

ACTES and Monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happenyng in the Church, with an Vniuersall history of the same, wherein is set forth at large the whole race and course of the Church, from the primitiue age to these latter tymes of ours, with the bloudy times, horrible troubles, and great persecutions agaynst the true Martyrs of Christ, sought and wrought as well by Heathen Emperours, as nowe lately practised by Romish Prelates, especially in this Realme of England and Scotland.

Newly reuised and recognised, partly also augmented, and now the fourth time agayne published and recommended to the studious Reader, by the Authour (through the helpe of Christ our Lord) IOHN FOXE, which desireth thee good Reader to helpe him with thy Prayer.

APOC. VII.

Salus sedenti super thronum & agno.

An. 1583. Mens. Octobr.

The Kalender.

Ianuary hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.	Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.		
3	A	1	Circumcision.	
	b	2	Iohn Wickliffe Preacher, Martyr.	1387
11	c	3	I. Aston confes.	1382
	d	4	William Sawtry priest Martyr.	1400
19	e	5	Swinderby a priest, martyr.	
8	f	6	Epiphany.	
	g	7	Sir Rog. Acton knight, Martyr.	1401
16	A	8	Iohn Browne Gentlemā Martyr.	1413
5	b	9	Iohn Beuerley preacher Martyr.	1413
	c	10	Richard Silbecke martyr.	14 1413
13	d	11	Iohn Castellaue Doctor, Martyr.	12 1521
2	e	12	Tho. Whittle Minister, Martyr.	27 1525
	f	13	Bartlet Greene Gentleman, Martyr.	27 1556
10	g	14	Iohn Tudson, Martyr.	27 1556
	A	15	Thomas Went, Martyr.	27 1556
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	27 1556
			Isabel Foster, Martyr.	27 1556
7	c	17	Ioane Warne, aliâs Lashford, Martyr.	27 1556
	d	18	Iohn Lomas, Martyr.	31 1556
15	e	19	Anne Albright, aliâs Champnes, Martyr.	31 1556
4	f	20	Ioane Catmer, Martyr.	31 1556
			Agnes Snoth, Martyr.	31 1556
	g	21	Ioane Sole, Martyr.	31 1556
12	A	22	William Waterer, martyr.	15 1556
			Conuer. of Paule.	15
1	b	23	Steuken Kempe, Martyr.	15 1557

			William Hay, Martyr.	15 1557
	c	24	Thomas Hudson, Martyr.	15 1557
9	d	25	William Lowicke, martyr.	15 1557
	e	26	William Prouting martyr.	1557
17	f	27	Nicholas Finall, Martyr.	1557
6	g	28	Math. Bradbrige Martyr.	16
	A	29		
14	b	30	Iohn Philpot, Martyr.	1557
3	c	31	Thomas Steuens, martyr.	
February hath 28. dayes. Daies of their Yeare of				
The Moone xxix. death. our Lord.				
	d	1	William Thorpe priest, confessor.	1407
11	e	2	Purification of our Lady.	
19	f	3	Iohn Claidon, Martyr.	1413
8	g	4	Richard Turmine, martyr.	1413
	A	5	Zisca a confessor.	1416
16	b	6	Sir Iohn Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Martyr.	1418
5	c	7	Richard Houeden, martyr.	1430
	d	8	Thomas Bagley priest, Martyr.	1431
			Paule Crawes, Martyr.	1431
13	e	9	Thomas Rhedon. Martyr.	1436
2	f	10	Rainold Pecocke bishop, confessor.	1457
	g	11	Sir Roger Onley knight Martyr.	1441
10	A	12	Elenor Cobham gentlewoman, confessor.	
	b	13	Mother of the lady Yong Martyr.	1490
18	c	14	Thomas Norice, Martyr.	1507
7	d	15	Thomas Eckles Martyr.	1510
	e	16	Thomas Bungay Martyr.	1511
15	f	17	D. Martin Luther, confessor.	18 1546
4	g	18	Pope of Eay, Martyr.	1512
	A	19	Peake, Martyr.	1512
12	b	20	George Carpenter, martyr.	8 1527

1	c	21	Iohn Rogers Preacher, Martyr.	4	1555
	d	22	Laurence Sanders Preacher, Martyr.	8	1555
9	e	23	Iohn Hooper Bishoppe, Martyr.	9	1555
	f	24	Mathias Apostle.		
17	g	25	Rowland Tailor Doctor Martyr.	9	1555
6	A	26	Robert Farrar Bishoppe, Martyr.	22	1555
	b	27	Agnes Potten, Martyr.	19	1556
14	c	28	Trunchfields wife, martyr.	19	1556
March hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.	Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.			
3	d	1	William Taylour Martyr.	2	1422
	e	2	Iohn Weselianus a doctor, Martyr.		1479
11	f	3	Doctor Ueselus, aliâs Basilius, confessor.		1490
	g	4	Henry Sudphen, Martyr.		1524
19	A	5	Iohn Hougley, Martyr.		1526
8	b	6	Petrus Flestedius, martyr.		1528
	c	7	Adolphus Clabachus, Martyr.		1528
16	d	8	Patrike Hamelton martyr.		1528
5	e	9	Thomas Hitton, Martyr.		1530
	f	10	Thomas Bilney, Martyr.		1531
13	g	11	Dany Foster, Mar.		1531
2	A	12	Edward Freese, confessor.		1531
	b	13	Ualentine Freese and his wife, Mar.		
10	c	14	Father Bate, confes.		1531
	d	15	Rawlin White, Mar.	5	1555
18	e	16	Thom. Tomkins, Martyr.	15	1555
7	f	17	Thomas Higbed gentleman, Mar.	25	1555
	g	18	Thomas Cawson Gentleman, Mar.	25	1555
15	A	19	William Hunter, Martyr.	25	1555
4	b	20	William Pigot, Martyr.	28	1555
	c	21	Stephen Knight, Martyr.	28	1555
12	d	22	Iohn Laurence Minister Martyr.	29	1555
1	e	23	Thomas Cranmer Arch ^b ishop of	21	1556

			Canterbury, Martyr.	
	f	24	Robert Spicer, Martyr.	24 1356
9	g	25	Annuntiation of our Lady.	
	A	26	Williā Coberley, Martyr.	24 1556
17	b	27	Maundrell, Mar.	24 1556
6	c	28	Rich. Crashfield, Martyr.	15 1557
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpsō, martyr.	28 1558
14	e	30	Hugh Foxe, Mar.	28 1558
3	f	31	Iohn Deuennish, Martyr.	28 1558
Aprill hath 30. dayes. The Moone xxix.				
	Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.		
	g	1	Robert Hatches Martyr.	
			Archer Martyr.	4 1519
			Hawkins Martyr.	
11	A	2	Thomas Bound, Martyr.	4 1519
	b	3	Wrigsham Martyr.	4 1519
19	c	4	Lansdale Martyr.	4 1519
8	d	5	Maystres Smith Widow Martyr.	4 1519
16	e	6	Iames Baynham Gentleman Martyr.	30 1532
5	f	7	Iohn Awcocke Confessor.	2 1555
	g	8	George Marsh Preacher Martyr.	24 1555
13	A	9	William Flower Minister Martyr.	24 1555
2	b	10	Robert Drakes Minister, Martyr.	24 1556
	c	11	Thomas Tyms Martyr:	24 1556
10	d	12	Richard Spurge Martyr.	24 1556
	e	13	Thomas Spurge Martyr.	
18	f	14	Iohn Cauell Martyr.	24 1556
7	g	15	George Ambrose Martyr.	24 1556
	A	16	I. Harpole Martyr. Ioane Bech Martyr.	1 1556
15	b	17	Iohn Hullier Minister, Martyr.	2 1556
4	c	18	Christopher Lister Minister, Martyr.	28 1556
	d	19	Iohn Mace Martyr.	28 1556

12	e	20	Iohn Spencer Martyr.	28 1556
			Symon Ioyne Martyr.	28 1556
1	f	21	Richard Nicholl Martyr.	28 1556
	g	22	Iohn Hamond Martyr.	28 1556
9	A	23	S. George Martyr.	
	b	24	Thomas Loseby Martyr.	12 1556
17	c	25	Marke Euangelist.	
6	d	26	Henry Ramsey Martyr.	12 1557
	e	27	Thomas Thyrtle Martyr.	12 1557
4	f	28	Margaret Hyde Martyr.	12 1557
	g	29	Agnes Stanley Martyr.	12 1557
	A	30	William Nicholl Martyr.	1558

May hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.	Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.		
11	b	1	Phillip and Iacob Apostles.	
	c	2	Iohn Hus, Martyr.	141 5
19	d	3	Hieronimus Sauonarola, Martyr.	23 149 9
8	e	4	Dominike, Martyr.	23 149 9
	f	5	Siluester, Martyr.	23 149 9
16	g	6	Frier Roy, Mar.	153 1
			Rob. Kyng, mar.	153 2
5	A	7	Robert Debnam, Martyr.	153 2
	b	8	Nicholas Marsh, Martyr.	153 2
13	c	9	Cardmaker, aliâs Taylour, Preacher Martyr.	31 155 5
2	d	10		
	e	11	Iohn Warne, mar.	31 155 5
10	f	12	Margaret Ellis, confessor.	13 155

					6	
	g	13	Hugh Laerocke, Martyr.	15	1556	
18	A	14	Iohn Apprice, mar.	15	1556	
7	b	15	Katherine Hut Widow, Martyr.	16	1556	
	c	16	Elizab. Thackuell, martyr.	16	1556	
	15	d	17	Ione Hornes, mar.	16	1556
4	e	18	A blind boy and another with him, mar.	5	1556	
	f	19	Thomas Spycer, Martyr.	21	1556	
12	g	20	Iohn Denny, mar.	21	1556	
1	A	21	William Poole, Martyr.	21	1556	
			Iohn Slesh, confessor.	30	1556	
	b	22	William Norant, Martyr.	29	1557	
9	c	23				
	d	24	Steuken Gratwike, martyr.	29	1557	
17	e	25	Iohn Thurstone, confessor.		1557	
6	f	26	William Seaman, martyr.	19	1558	
	g	27	Thomas Carman, martyr.	19	558	
14	A	28	Thomas Hudson, Martyr.	19	1558	
3	b	29	William Harries, Martyr.	26	1558	
	c	30	Rich. Day, mar.	26	1558	
11	d	31	Christian George, Martyr.	26	1558	
Iune hath 30. dayes. Days of Yeare of						
The Moone xxix. their death. our Lord.						
	e	1	⟨...⟩ , martyr.		1	1416
19	f	2	Anne Askew, Martyr. Ioh. Lassels, gent. Mar. Nich. Belman, Mar.			1546
8	g	3	Tho. Hawkes, Mar. Tho. Wa•tes, Mar.	••		1555
16	A	4	Iohn Simplon, Mar. Iohn Ardl•y, Mar. Nic. Chamberlain, mar.	14		1555
5	b	5	Tho. Hosmond, mar. W. Bramford, Mar. Tho. Harland, Mar.	15		1555
	c	6	Iohn Oswald, Mar. Tho. Read, Mar.	6		1556

13	d	7	Tho. Abington, Mar. Tho. Wood, minist. Mar. Tho. Milles, Mar.	20 1556
2	e	8	Wil. Adherall Minister, confessor. Iohn Clement, confes.	23 1556 25 1556
	f	9	A merchants seruaunt, Martyr.	26
10	g	10	H. Adlington, mar. Lau. P••nam, mar. Hen. Wic, mar.	27 1556
	A	11	W. Halliwell, mar. Th. Bowyer, mar. George Serle, mar.	27 1556 27
18	b	12	Edm. Hurst, mar. Lion Cawch, mar. Rafe Iackson, mar.	27 1556 27
7	c	13	Ioh. Derifall, mar. Iohn Roth. mar.	1556
	d	14	Eliz. Pepper, mar. Agnes George, mar. Tho. Parret, confes.	27 27 1556
15	e	15	Hunt & Ambrose, confes. Ioh. Morice, confes.	28 1556
4	f	16	Rog. Bernard, mar. Adam Foster, mar. Rob. Lawson, mar.	29 1556 30 1556
	g	17	Walter Apleby & Petronill his wife, mar.	18 1557
12	A	18	Edm. Allen, and Katharine his wyfe, mar. Io. Bradbrige, mar.	
1	b	19	I. Manning, mar. Eliz. a blind maid, mar. Tho. Moore, mar.	18 1557
	c	20	Nich. White, mar. Nich. Pard••e, mar.	19 1557
9	d	21	I. Fishcocke, mar. Barbara Final, mar. Bradbriges wid. Mar.	
	e	22	Bendens wife, and Wilsons wife, Mar.	19 1557
17	f	23	Rich. Woodman, mar. Nat. of S. Iohn Bap.	
6	g	24	G. Stephens, W. Mainard, Alexander Hosmans man, Martyrs.	22 1557
	A	25	Tomasin a Woods maid, Margery Morice, Iam.	22 1557
14	b	26	Morice sonne, Dennis Burges, Asdowns wife, Groues wife, Martyrs.	
3	c	27	Henry Pond, mar. R. Estland, mar.	27 1558
	d	28	Ro. Southam, mar. Mat. Ricarby, mar. Pete• and Paule.	

11	e	29	Iohn Lloyd, mar.	27 1558
	f	30	Iohn Holyday, mar. Rog. Holland, mar.	

Iuly hath 31.
dayes. The
Moone xxx.

	Dayes of their death	Yeare of our Lord.		
19	g	1	Henry Uoz, Mar. Iohn Esch, mar.	• 1522
8	A	2	⟨...⟩ Martyr.	4 1523
	b	3	Andrew Hewet, Martyr.	
16	c	4	Anthony Person, Martyr.	
5	d	5	Robert Testwood, Martyr. H. Finnemore, mar.	18 1543
	e	6	Iohn Bradford preacher, Martyr.	1 1555
13	f	7		
2	g	8	Iohn Leafe, mar. Iohn Polley, Mar.	
	A	9	Will. Ming Minister, Mar. Richard Hooke, Mar.	2 1555
10	b	10	Iohn Blande Preacher, Mar.	12 1555
	c	11	Iohn Franke, mar. Humfrey Middleton, Mar.	12 1555
18	d	12	Nich. Shetterden, Martyr.	12 1555
7	e	13	William Dighel, Martyr.	
	f	14	Dirike Caruer, mar. Iohn Launder, mar.	2 1555
15	g	15	Thomas Iueson, Martyr.	3 1555
4	A	16	Nich. Hall, Mar.	
	b	17	Iohn Alewoorth, confessor.	
			Iohn Carelesse confessor. Iohn Gwin, mar.	1 1556
12	c	18	Iulius Palmer a schoole-maister, and Askine, Martyrs.	•6 1556
1	d	19	Katharine Cauches, and Parati•e Massy, with her child not one hower old, and Guillemine Gilbert, Mar.	17 1556
	e	20		
9	f	21	Thomas Dungate, mar.	
	g	22	Iohn Foreman, Martyr.	18 1556
17	A	23	Symon Miller, Mar. Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.	13 1556
6	b	24	Mary Magdalene.	
	c	25	Richard Yeoman, Minister, mar.	10 1558

14	d	26	William Pikes, Mar.	14	1558
3	e	27	Iames Apostle.		
	f	28	Stephen Cotton, Martyr.	14	1558
			Iohn Slade, mar.	•4	1558
11	g	29	Stephen Wight, Mar. Rob. Milles, mar.	14	1558
	A	30	Rob. Dines, mar.	14	1558
19	b	31	Tho. Benbricke Gentleman, mar.	19	1558
August hath 31. dayes. Daies of <...> our					
The Moone xxx.		their death.	Lord.		
8	c	1	Leonard Keyfer, Martyr.	16	1527
16	d	2	Iames Abbes, mar.	2	1555
5	e	3	Iohn Demy Gentleman mar.	8	1555
	f	4	Iohn Newman, Martyr.	•8	ibid.
13	g	5	Patrike Patingham, mar.	28	ibid.
2	A	6	Will. Coker, mar.	23	ibid.
			Wil. Hopper▪ mar.	23	ibid.
	b	7	Henry Laurence, Martyr.	23	ibid.
10	c	8	Richard Collier, Martyr.	23	ibid.
	d	9	William Steere, Martyr.	23	ibid.
18	e	10	Richard Wright, Martyr.	23	ibid.
7	f	11	Elizabeth Warne, martyr.		
	g	12	George Tankerfield, mart.	26	ibid.
15	A	13	Richard Smith, Martyr.	8	ibid.
4	b	14	8		ibid.
	c	15	Stephen Horwood, martyr.	30	ibid.
			Thomas Fusse. mar.	30	ibid.
12	d	16	William Haile, Martyr.	31	ibid.
	e	17	Robert Samuell Preacher, mar.	31	1555
	f	18	Ioane Waste, Mar.		1556
9	g	19	William Bongeor, martyr.	2	1557
	A	20	Robert Puras, mar.	2	1557
17	b	21	Thomas Bennold, martyr.	2	1557
6	c	22	Agnes Siluerside, aliâs Smith, mar.	2	1557
	d	23	Bartholomew Apostle.		
14	e	24	Ellin Ewring, mar.	2	1557
3	f	25	Elizabeth Folkes mayd, Martyr.	2	1557
	g	26	William Munt, Martyr.	2	1557

11	A	27	Alice Munt, mar.	2	1557
19	b	28	Rose Allin, maide, Martyr.	2	1557
	c	29	Iohn Iohnson, mar. George Egles, mar.	2	1557
8	d	30	One Frier and the sayde George Egles sister, Martyrs.	2	1557
	e	31			

September hath 30. dais The Moone xxix.	Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.			
16	f	1	Father Abraham, Marsor.		1428
5•	g	2	Williā Wright Priest, Martyr.		1428
	A	3	Iohn Waddon Priest, Martyr.		1428
1•	b	4	Williā Gardiner, Martyr.		1552
			W. Allen, Mar. Tho. Cob, Martyr.		1556
2	c	5	Tho. Coe. Mar.		
	d	6	Will. Androw, confessor.		1555
••	e	7	Thomas King, confessor.		ibid.
	f	8	Thomas Leis, confessor.	5	ibid.
			George Catmer, Martyr.	6	ibid.
••	g	9	Robert S•rcate•, Martyr.		
•	A	10	Anthony Burward, martyr.		ibid.
	b	11	George Bradbrige, mar'tyr. Iames Tutty, Mar.	6	ibid.
15	c	12	Thom. Hayward, Martyr.		ibid.
4	d	13	I. Goreway, Mar. Rob. Glouer, Mar.	20	ibid.
	e	14	Cornelius Bungay, mar'tyr.		
12	f	15	Edw. Sharpe, mar. Iohn Hart, mar.	8	1556
•	g	16	Tho. Rauensdale a sho•maker, or a Currier, mar.	24	1556
	A	17	Iohn Horne and another woman, mar.	25	1556
•	b	18	Iohn Kurd, mar. Cicelie Ormes, mar.	20	1556
		Ioyce	23		1557

			Lewys, mar.		
		c	19	Rafe Allerton, mar.	10 1557
17		d	20	Richard Roth, mar.	17 1557
				Mathew Apostle.	
6		e	21	James Ansco and Margery his wyfe, mar.	17 1557
		f	22	Agnes Bongeor, Martyr.	17 1557
•		g	23	Mar. Thurstone, Martyr.	1557
•		•	24	Iohn Warren, mar.	
		b	25	Christi. Grouer, Martyr.	
		c	26	Thomas Athoth, Martyr.	1557
		d	27	Iohn Ashdone, Martyr.	1557
				Thomas Spurdaunce, Mar.	
		e	28		
8		f	29	Michael Archangel.	
		g	30	Iohn Fortune, Martyr.	1557
October hath	their	⟨1			
31. dayes The	death	paragraph⟩			
Moone xxx.	Dayes of				
6	A	1	Bartholer Mi••on, martyr.		1534
	b	2	Iohn de Burge a riche merchant, Mar.		1534
3•	c	3	The receiuer of Naunts Mar.		1534
•	d	4	Henry Poile, Mar. Catelle a schoolemaistres Martyr.		1534
				15•4	
	e	5	Stephen de la Foarge, a merchant, Mar.		1134
10	f	6			1536
	g	7	William Tyndall, Mar•tyr.		
18	A	8	William Leyton, Martyr.		1537
			Puttedew, Mar.		1537
7	b	9	Ioh. Lambert, aliâs Nicolson, Mar.		1538
	c	10	Collins, Mar. Cowbrige, Mar.		1538
			Peter a Germane, Martyr.		1539
15	d	11		1539	
4	e	12	Launcellot, Mar. Iohn a Painter, Mar.		1539
	f	13	Giles Germaine, Martyr.		1539
			Robert Barnes, Mar.		1539
12	g	14	Thomas Garrard, martyr.		1541
	A	15	William Hierome, martyr.		

	b	16	William Wolsey, Martyr.	4	1555
9	c	17	Rob. Pigot, Mar.	4	1555
	d	18	Luke Euangelist.		
17	e	19	Nicholas Ridley Bishop▪ Martyr.	6	1555
6	f	20	Hugh Latymer Bishop, Martyr.		
	g	21	I. Web, gent. mar. George Roper, mar.	31	1555
14	A	22	Gregory Parke, Martyr.		
3	b	23	Adam Walles, mar. Marke Burges, mar.	2	1551
	c	24	William Hooker, Martyr.		1560
			Simsō Priest, Beuerech Frier, Keyler blacke		
11	d	25	Frier. Dauby Strattō, gentleman, Norman		
			Gorley Uicar of Dolor, a blacke Canon, with		
			4. other, martyrs		
19	e	26			
	f	27			
8	g	28	Simon and Iude.		
	A	29	Three died in prison at Cicester, confes.	18	1556
16	b	30	Mother Seaman, confessor.		1556
5	c	31	Mother Bennet, confessor.		1556

Nouember hath 30. dais. The Moone xxix.		Dayes of their death	Yeare of our Lord.		
		d	1	The feast of all Saints.	
•		e	2	Richard Mekings, martyr.	1541
2		f	3	Richard Spenser, Martyr.	1541
		g	4	Andrew Hewet, Martyr.	1541
10		A	5	Iohn Porter, confes.	1542
		b	6	Thomas Bernard, martyr.	1542
18		c	7	Iames Morton, Martyr.	1542
7		d	8	George Wizard Gentleman, Mar.	1146
		e	9	Iohn Kirby, Mar.	1546
•5		f	10	Roger Clarke, Mar.	1546
4		g	11	Richard Barfield, aliâs Somersam, Mar.	20 1531
		A	12	Iohn Clarke, confes.	1556
12		b	13	Dimstane Chittenden, confes.	1556

	c	14	William Foster, Martyr.	1556
	d	15	Alice Potkins, confessor.	1556
9	e	16	Iohn Archer, confes.	1556
	f	17	Hooke, Mar.	1556
17	g	18	Iohn Hallingdale, Martyr.	18 1557
6	A	19	William Sparow, martyr.	18 1557
	b	20	Richard Gybson Gentleman, Mar.	18 1557
14	c	21	Saunder Gouch, Martyr.	4 1558
3	d	22	Elizabeth Driuer, martyr.	4 1558
			Phillip Humfrey, Martyr.	5 1558
	e	23	Iohn Dauy, Mar.	5 1558
11	f	24	Henry Dauy, Mar.	5 1558
19	g	25	Iohn Corneforth, Martyr.	10 1558
	A	26	Christopher Browne, Martyr.	10 1558
8	b	27	Iohn Herst, Mar.	10 1558
	c	28	Alice Snoth, Mar.	10 1558
16	d	29	Katharne knight, Martyr.	
5	e	30	Andrew Apostle.	
December hath 31. daies				
The Moone xxx.				
	Daies of	Yeare of		
	their death.	our Lord.		
	f	1	Williā Tracy Esquier, confes.	1534
13	g	2	Peter Sapience, Martyr.	1545
28	A	3	George Bucke•alias Adam Damlip Martyr.	1531
10	b	4	An old man of Buckingham shire, Mar.	1381
	c	5	Two gray Friers, Martyrs.	1513
18	d	6	Iohn Hilton, confessor. Iohn Coignes, confessor.	1517
7	e	7	Robert Warde, confessor.	1517
	f	8	A scholer of Abbeuile, Martyr.	1522
				1528
15	g	9	A Iew, Martyr. Richard Hunne, Martyr.	4 1515
4	A	10		
			Iohn Tewkesbery, martyr.	20 1531
	b	11	Iames Gore, confes.	7 1555

12	c	12	William Wiseman confessor.	13	1555
1	d	13	Iohn Philpot Preacher, Martyr.	•8	1557
	e	14	Iohn Rough, Preacher, Martyr.	22	1557
9	f	15	Margaret Mering, mar'tyr.	22	1558
	g	16	Thomas Tyler, confessor.		1558
17	A	17	Mathew Withers, confessor. Dale, confes.		1558
6	b	18	Thomas Apostle.		1550
	c	19	Wil. Plaine.		
14	d	20	Elizabeth Lawson, confessor. Ioh. Glouer, confes.		1550
3	e	21	Nicholas Burton, martyr.	22	1562
	f	22	Nat ^a of our Lord. Stephen, Mar.		
11	g	23	Iohn Euangelist. Childermasse.		
19	A	24	Thomas Rhedonenfis, an Erle, mar.		1436
	b	25	Picus Mirandula, confessor.		1497
8	c	26	Erasmus Roterodamus, confessor.		1513
	d	27	Mart. Bucer, confe•.		1549
16	e	28	Paulus Phagius, confessor.		1551
				1559	
5	f	29	Phillip Melancton, confessor.		1562
	g	30	Peter Martir, confes.		1553
13	A	31	King Edward the sixt, confessor.		

Ad Dominum Iesum Christum Seruatorem clementissimum, Eucharisticon. Ioan. Foxi.

CONFECTO NVNC OPERE, QVOD TVIS PRIMVM AVSPICIjs ac voluntate aggressus (summe & adorande Iesu, idem{que} Seruator clementissime) inchoavi, quod{que} tuo demum beneficio ao fauore exegi atque absolui, praeter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: superest itaque pro officio meo, vt animula haec, ceu pro votiua tabula, gratias, si non quantas debeat (vtinam enim id posset) at quantas queat maximè, munificentissimae tuae persoluat maiestati: quae tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemuis 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementer suffulcerit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quae vix aestimari à multis poterit: tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens maiestas, huius, quaecunque sit, negoti• confectio quibus quan{que} non ferendis curis, vigili•s, molestijs constitit: Quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi fauentis gratiae tuae numen affluisset, ac sese quodam modo admiscuisset operi.* Quid ni enim fatear ac tester ingenuè, quod re ipsa experti sumus. Persensimus enim, penèque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excelsae dexteræ tuae 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, non modo in successu negotij prouehendo, sed in vita etiam spiritû{que} inter labores, conseruando. Tui igitur muneris est (clementissime Iesu) quod opus tuis susceptum auspicijs huc vsque prouectum sit. Nos vicissim quod nostri sit officij, gratias clementiae tuae, cum nostro priuatim, tum publico quodammodo ecclesiae tuae nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam Martyrum tuorum aestimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tanta faueas propensione. Quanquam verò si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitae tuae libro inscripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare maiestas, nobis{que} innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, vt eandem multo cum gloriae foenore abs te recipiat clariorè, quam si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiae tuae ratio, longe à mūdo hoc diuersum, quòd in castris tuis militantes siue viuant, tibi viuant, siue moriantur, multò clarescant a funere foelicius, quàm si vixissent maximè.

Sic Cranmerum videmus,* Riddleum, Latimerum, Iohannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, caeteros{que} eiusdem decuriae pugiles, quanto maiore occubuisse cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quàm si relictæ statione, in qua erant collocati, saluti ipsi suae causam tuam postposuissent. Quae enim gens, quae lingua, quae natio, quae temporum vetustas, quae hominum posteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wicleuum vnquam, aut Cobhamum natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tua in causa tam egissent strenuè? Quanto honori illud Hussio Bohemensi, nostro{que} Tindallo fuit, quod vitam in Euangelij tui causa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quam ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diuersa parte aduersarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat caedes, iniurias, crudelitates aduersus tuos, multá{que} item occultè & scelestè ab ijsdem perpetrata, quae nūquam sperabant fore palam: Et tamen quid vnquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis est designatum tam occultè aduersus Ecclesiam, quod non in apricum tua produxit producet{que} prouidentia? atque ita produxit, vt vnde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibi ipsis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte

vnquam finire poterint. Quis Guisios, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non nouit? non exhorret, quis eorum facinora obliterabit dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tanta multitudine hostium tuorum recenseo? * Cui vnquam prospere cessit tuo rebellare numini, aut hostem se ecclesiae tuae profiteri? Papae nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probrosius? Cardinalitium fastigium coeperunt primo admirari homines, multàque prosequi reuerentia: * Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem & credulam: At postquam spreta veritate tua caeperunt grassari contra te, tuorum{que} homicidae fieri eo tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) vt reliqua fex nihil aliud iam esse praeter vocabula quaedam ad ignominiam relictà videatur.

Haec nimirum (sanctissime domine ac deus noster) iustissimi iudicij tuisunt praeludia, ex quo haud difficile aestimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est in suo ipsorū regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine, merito à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuae debetur, simul & habetur, bonitati. Primum quòd in ecclesiae tuae causa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem spiritum [unspec 1] omnibus{que} tormentis maiorem aduersus parricidas Papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd & nobis [unspec 2] [unspec 3] in illorum desudantibus historia propitius adeò clementiae tuae fauor affuerit. Debetur & hoc priuatim meo quoque nomine singulari tuae pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, [unspec 4] quantam tu solus nouisti, laboris immensitate conseruatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud inprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amorì, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi huius ad flammās & cineres adegerit peruersitas, causam & innocentiam velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiam{que} ecclesiae tuae reuocare at patefacere dignatus sis. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo iudicio tuo, quum virtutes coelorum mouebuntur, omnis eorum ad amussim excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quo{que} in ecclesia tua causam ipsorum, facta, vitae{que} virtutes caeteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos vberior gloria, ad nos interea maior redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia constar• poterit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid & nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Sed hic rursus (dulcissime Iesu) opus est benigno fauoris tui praesidio. Nos enim qui filij Martyrum tuorum sumus, * quosque maximè maiores nostros imitari conueniebat, nunc nihil serè parentum tenemus, praeter vitae solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: qua etiam ipsa nimium abutimur intemperanter, vtiam periculum sit, ne non filij modò Martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim intersit discriminis, quam{que} prorsus disconuenit ordine toto nostra consuetudo ab illorum vestigijs & disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cuius nihil non perspicit maiestas ac intuetur? Quanto illis studio ac curae fuit amore tui, caetera quae{que}, adeo{que} seipsos ad vitae etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideriis floccifacere, voluptates tanquam nugās spernere? Nec sinebant pericula vndi{que} imminetia opibus congerendis multo{que} minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contra verò nostra nunc vita, studium, omnis{que} adeò contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur & ambitus? At illi quam praeclarè secum actum putassent, si vel viuere modò licuisset. Ideo{que} multi fuere eorū qui Mariae Reginae facultates & possessiones omnes adus{que} extremum assem obtulerūt, * dum•do solam ipsis remitteret

conscientiam. Et quae nos tanta haec habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec vnus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine opibus, sacerdotijs, censui{que} dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non vt viuamus solum, verum vt sublimes viuamus & honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quanta constantia, qua animi alacritate perpassi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem deo remittentes, cui & causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos aduersariorum deijcere, nec minae frangere, non ludibria mouere, non pericula, non tormenta vlla consternere, nec delinire blanditiae potuerunt.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet, Nam quae tam leuis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quae non illico praecipites ac transuersos rapiat in auaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quae tam leuis obijci poterit iniuriola, pro qua non coelum terrae miscemus, maria{que} turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, vt mortem simus vnquam, tua causa subituri, siquando res Martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare iussu velimus.*
Quapropter vt Martyrum quidem illorum causa gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto: ita nostra vicissim causa deprecamur, vt qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi foelicitatem aspires: sicque ecclesiae tuae affulgeat tua gratia, necubi seducti huius mundi illecebris, secordiores ipsi in retinenda Euangelij tui victoria, quam illi in comparanda strenui, videamur. Postremo quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in ea re operam studium{que} posuimus, quo facta gestaue sanctorum tuorum (sanctissime Iesu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum ecclesiae publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simul{que} historiae tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus, cui & opus ipsum, totum{que} meipsum, quem tot modis tuae misericordiae debeo, toto corpore & anima, totis{que} viribus commendo, dedico, consecroque, cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox & lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes ecclesias tribuat personetque. Amen.

**To the Right Vertuous, most Excellent and Noble
Princesse, Queene ELIZABETH, our dread Lady, by the
grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland,
Defender of Christes Faith and Gospell, and principall
Gouernour both of the Realme, and also ouer the sayd
Churche of England and Ireland, vnder Christ the Supreme
head of the same▪ &c. Iohn Foxe her humble subiect wisheth
daily increase of Gods holy spirite and Grace, with long
raigne, perfect health, and ioyfull peace, to gouerne hys
flocke committed to her charge, to the example of all good
Princes, the comforte of his Churche, and glory of hys
blessed name.**

CHRIST the Prince of all Princes, who hath placed you in your throne of Maiestie, vnder him to gouerne the Church and Realme of England, geue your royall highnesse long to sit, and many yeares to raigne ouer vs, in all flourishing felicitie, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting ioy of all your subiects. Amen.

When I first presented these ACTES and MONVMENTES vnto your Maiestie (most deare Soueraigne Queene ELIZABETH, our peaceable SALOME) which your Maiesties rare clemencie receiued in such gentle part: I well hoped that these my trauailes in this kynd of writing had bene well at an ende, whereby I might haue returned my studies agayne to other purposes after myne owne desire, more fitte then to write histories, especially in the English tong. But certaine euill disposed persons, of intemperant tongues, aduersaries to good procedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising vp such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would haue thought Christ to haue bene new borne agayne, and that Herode with all the Citie of Ierusalem had bene in an vprore. Such blustering and stirring was then against that poore booke thorough all quarters of England, euen to the gates of Louaine: so that no English Papist almost in all the Realme thoght himselfe a perfect Catholike, vnlesse he had cast out some word or other to geue that booke a blow.

Whereupon, considering with my selfe what should moouue them thus to rage, first I beganne with more circumspect diligence to ouerlooke agayne that I had done. In searching whereof, I found the fault both what it was, and where it lay: which was in deede, not so much in the Booke it selfe (to say the truth) as in an other certayne priuy mysterie and working of some: of whome Ioannes Auentinus shall tel vs in his own words, & shew vs who they be: Quibus, inquit, audiendi quae fecerint, pudor est: nullus faciendi, quae audire erubescunt. Illic vbi opus nihil verentur: hic vbi nihil opus est, ibi verentur. &c. Who beyng ashamed belike to heare their worthy stratagemes lyke to come to light, sought by what meanes they might, the stopping of the

same. And because they could not worke it per brachium seculare, by publike authoritie (the Lord of heauen long preserue your noble Maiestie) they renewed again an old wonted practise of theirs: doying in like sort herein as they did sometymes with the holy Bible in the dayes of your renowned father of famous memory king Henry the viij. who when they neither by manifest reason could gainstand the matter contained in the booke, nor yet abide the comming out thereof, then sought they by a subtile deuised traine to deprauē the translation, notes and Prologues thereof, bearing the king in hand and all the people, that there was in it a thousand lies, and I cannot tell how many mo: Not that there were such lies in it in very deede: but because the comming of that booke should not bewray their lying falshood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselues against it: playing in their stage like as Phormio did in the old Comedie, who beyng in all the fault himselfe, began first to quarell with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heeles.

With like facing brags these Catholike Phormiones thinke now to dash out all good bookes, and amongst others also, these Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide beyng aliue, so neither can they now suffer their memories to lyue after their death, least the acts of them beyng knowne, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruell murthers to detestation: and therfore spurne they so vehemently against this booke of histories, with all kind of contumelies and vprores, railing and wondering vpon it, much like as I haue heard of a company of thieues, who in robbing a certaine true man by the high wayes side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more then he would be acknown of, they cried out of the falshood of the world, meruailing and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.

Euen so these men deale also with me: for when they themselues altogether delight in vntruths, and haue replenished the whole Church of Christ with fained fables, lying miracles, false visions, miserable errors contained in their Missals and Portuses, Breuiars, and Summaries, and almost no true tale in all their Saintes lyues and Festiuals, as now also no great truthes in our Louanian bookes, &c. Yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceiue them, they pretend a face and zeale of great veritie: And as though there were no histories els in all the world corrupted, but onely this history of Actes and Monumentes, with tragicall voyces they exclaime and wonder vpon it, sparing no cost of Hyperbolicall phrases, to make it appeare as full of lies as lines. &c. much after the like sort of impudencie as Sophisters vse sometymes in their Sophismes to doe (and sometimes is vsed also in Rhetorike) that when an Argument commeth against them which they cannot well resolue in deed, they haue a rule to shift of the matter with stoute wordes and tragicall admiration, whereby to dash the Opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand, the same to be the weakest & slenderest argument that euer was heard not worthy to be answered, but vtterly to be hissed out of the Schooles.

With like sophistication these also fare with me, who when they neither can abide to heare their owne doings declared, nor yet deny the same, which they heare to be true for three or foure escapes in the booke committed (and yet some of them in the said Booke amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly vnderstanding that they read, inueigh and maligne so peruersly the setting out therof, as though neither any word in al that story were true, nor any other story false in al the world besides. And yet in accusing these my accusers, I do not so excuse my self, nor defend my book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I haue taken these paines, & reiterated my labours in trauiailing out the story again, doying herein as Penelope

did with her web, vntwisting that she had done before: Or as builders do sometimes, which build and take down againe, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recognising this history I haue employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I tooke in hand: partly also to assay, whether by any paynes taking I might pacifie the stomacks, or satisfie y^e iudgments of these importune quarellers: which neuerthelesse I feare I shall not do, when I haue done all I can. For well I know that all the heads of this hissing Hidra will neuer be cut of, though I were as strong as Hercules. And if Apelles the skilfull Painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning vpon a piece of worke, which no good artificer would or could greatly reprocue, yet was not without some controlling Sutor, which tooke vpon him Vltra crepidam, much more may I looke for the like in these controlling dayes.*

Neuerthelesse committing the successe thereof vnto the Lord, I haue aduentured againe vpon this story of the Church, and haue spent not onely my paines, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now beyng finished, like as before I did: so againe I exhibite and present the same vnto your Princely Maiestie, blessing my Lord my God with all my heart: first for this libertie of peace and tyme, which through your peaceable gouernement he hath lent vnto vs for the gathering both of this and other like bookes, tractations and monuments requisite to the behoofe of his Church, which hitherto by iniquitie of tyme could not be contriued in any Kinges raigne since the Conquest, before these Alcion dayes of yours.

Secondly, as we are all bound with publicke voyces to magnify our God for this happy preservation of your royall estate: so priuately for mine owne part, I also acknowledge my selfe bound to my God and to my Sauour, who so graciously in such weake health, hath lent me time, both to finish this worke, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your Maiesty: desiring the same to accept in worth t^o donation thereof, if not for the worthinesse of the thing geuen, yet as a testification of the bounden seruice and good will of one, which by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to geue.

And though the story being written in the popular tongue, serueth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned: yet I shall desire both you and them, to consider in it the necessity of the ignoraunt flocke of Christ committed to your gouernement in this Realme of England. Who, as they haue bene long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindenesse for lacke specially of Gods word, and partly also for wanting the light of history, pity I thought but that such should be helped, their ignoraunce relieued, and simplicity instructed. I considered they were the flocke of Christ, and your subiectes, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price and hauing as deare soules to the Lord as other. And though they be but simple and vnlearned, yet not vnapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore what inconuenience groweth of ignoraunce, where knowledge lacketh, both I considered: and experience dayly teacheth.

And therefore hearing of the vertuous inclination of your Maiesty, what a prouident care, & Zeale full of solicitude you haue, minding (speedely I trust) to furnish all quarters & countreyes of this your realme with the voice of Christes Gospel, & faythful preaching of his word, I thought also not vnprofitable to adioyne vnto this your godly proceedinges, and to the office of the ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiasticall history, which in my minde ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and preceptes of

doctrine so by the other they may haue examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their fayth,* and the edification of Christian life. For as we see what light and profite commeth to the Church by histories in olde times set forth of the Iudges, Kinges, Machabees, & the Actes of the Apostles after Christes time: so likewise may it redound to no small vse in the Church, to knowe the Actes of Christes Martirs now since the time of the Apostles.

Besides other manifolde examples and experimentes of Gods great mercies and iudgementes in preseruing his Church,* in ouerthrowing tyrauntes, in confounding pride, in altering states & kingdomes, in conseruing Religion against errorrs and dissentions, in relieuing the godly, in brideling the wicked, in losing and tying vp againe of Sathan the disturber of common weales, in punishing transgressions as well against the first table as the second: wherein is to be seene Idolatry punished, blasphemy plagued, contempt of Gods holy name and religion reuenged, murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers & Wedlockbreakers destroied, periuries, extortions, couetous, oppressions, and fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent workes of the Lord: the obseruing and noting whereof in histories, minister to the readers therof wholesome admonitions of life: with experience and wisdom both to know God in his workes, and to worke the thing that is godly: especially to seeke vnto the sonne of God for their saluation, & in his fayth onely to finde that they seeke for, and in no other meanes. The continuance and constancy of which fayth, the Lord of his grace and goodnes graunt to your noble Maiesty, and to his whole beloued Church, and all the members of the same, to euerlasting life. Amen.

Ad doctum Lectorem Ioh. Foxus.

COgitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo quàm peri•ulosa res aleae sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in man•s oculósque multorū subeat, his praesertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibús{que}, vbi tot hominum dissidijs, tot studijs partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, & Criticorum sannis feruent ferè omnia, vt difficillimum sit quicquā tam circumspectè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur: perbeati profectò foelicésque videnturij, quibus eum vitae cursū tenere liceat, vt in otio viuentes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro ociosi sedentes spectatores, vt nullum interim ipsis uel ex actione taedium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me vero nescio quo pacto longe diuersa quidem hactenus exercuit vitae ratio, quippe cui nec fortunae illam foelicitatem, in cuius complexibus tam multos suauiter foueri video, nec otij amoenitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum feruore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror, quam semper contempsì, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modo lobores ij, tantum vel prodesse vel placere caeteris possent hominibus, quantum me priuatim atterunt incommodántque. Nuncad meae infoelicitatis cumulum accedit in super, quod in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod praeter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, praeter linguae inamoenitatem, praeter tractandi difficultatem, quae vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eo porro autorem ipsum redigit angustiae, vt neque falsa narrare sine iniuria historiae, nec verum dicere sine magna sua inuidia odi• que multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo historiae argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modo temporū res gestas altéque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam aetatem nostram, nostraeque gentis nunc homines etiamnum praesentes, viuósque sic attingat, sic perfricet, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiae genere necessario faciundum fuit: quaeso quid híc mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquā frustrà me defatigando, valetudinem attriuerim, oculos perdiderim, senium acciuerim, corpus exhauserim, demum vt post haec omnia multorum me hominum odijs, sibilis, inuidiae ac calumniae exponam. In tot istis asperitatibus cum nihil me tutum praestare poterit, non Caesar, non Monarchae, non Rex, non Regina, non vlla huius mundi praesidia, preter solam diuini numinis potentem deteram: principiò igitur atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asylum me recepi, huic me librúmque commendaui & commendo. Tum vero insuper in eodem domino tuum illum candorem (docte piéque Lector) eāque tuam humanitatem appellare vol•i, qua ex humanioribus literis studiisque te scio praeditum, quo nostris his fudoribus tuae approbation ••cedat calculus, aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne fauoris desit benignitas: cui si appro•atum iri hanc historiae nostrae farraginem senserimus, caeterorum iudicia obtrectatorum leuius feremus.

Nam alioquì non defuturos sat scio qui varijs modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hic momus suos morsus, sycophanta suos sibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori sua lingua & aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet historiae. Ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus iudicium desiderabit. Illi forsán operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita seruâtāque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta religionis pugna, in tanta iudiciorum, capitum, sēsuum varietate, vbi suae quisque fauet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè aut circumspectè enarra•i potest, quod placeat vniuersis? Quin & iam nunc mussitari etiam audio a nonnullis, qui longa sese teneri dicant expectatione, quoad haec tandem (Legenda nostra vt appellant Aurea) euulganda sit: qui si nostram primùm in eo tarditatem repraehensam

velint, nae ego suaues istos homines vicissim rogatos velim, vt ipsi prius in edendis suis se praebeant expeditiores, quam alienam incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminerint prouerbiali praecepto, lentam esse festinationem oportere. Et bos dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili nostra, egimus spero & pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine, addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipsorum venia adijcere liceat, egisse nos maturius quam ipsis forsitan expediet, qui in hunc nugantur modū: certè maturatius egimus, quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conueniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curam{que} postulabat, cū a nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim praeparandae materiae, comportandis componendis{que} rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quae scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandae historiae, & in ordinē redigendae. &c, noueruntij qui testes adfuerint, & temporis conscij; & laboris socij. Quòd si autem Legendae suae aureae titulum huc eò accomodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent historiam, hinc que odioso vocabulo eius preiudicent veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quam quòd ingen•iè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne ad editionem quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam nouerint. At{que} interim quidem illud bene habet quòd ipsis tandem aliquando Aureae suae legendae pudeat tam fabulosae. Et tamen fabellis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, si qui Legendae illi, hoc est, menda cissimis illorum nugis auderent detrahere. Quare cum nihil magis esse possit impium quam sacrosanctam ecclesiae fidem fabulamentis huiusmodi confictisque praeter omnem veri fidem delirijs commaculare, tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores ex suo ingenio caeteros quòsque scriptores metientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus alijs fidem habendam putāt, cuncta videlicet suis aureis somnijs similia existimantes. Quin apagè cum Aureatua legenda, nugator impudens, quem ego librum, cum omnes cum scimus, nec ipse ignoras prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis & vanissimis vndique commentis scatere, ne cū Homeri quidē fabulis conferre velim: tantum abest vt cū verè serijs grauib us{que} ecclesiae historijs quicquam commune habeat. Quid? an quia Papistis illis tuis & impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam grauem historiae auctoritatem putas in ecclesia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de Eusebij ecclesiastica, & tripartita Sozomeni & Socratis caeterorūque historijs iudicemus. Sunt praeter haec & alia quaedam de Sanctis & Diuis conscripta miracula, quae proprius ad Legendam hanc accedunt, & tamen nequa{que} eo loco apud nos habentur, vt Legendae illi Papisticae annumerentur, etiam quae suspectissimae sunt fidei. Quan{que} de scriptoribus caeteris mea nihil interest censuram ferre. Quòd ad hanc verò nostram 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 attinet, testatum id velim vniuersis, datam esse a nobis operam fedulò ne quid vsquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut eiusmodi, quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod Legendae illi aureae (magis dicam plumbeae) non vndique foret dissimillimum. Id quod res ipsa & natiua historiae facies testari poterit, cuius tota textura ex ipsis Episcoporum Archiuis atque Registris, partimque ex proprijs martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac cōflata videri poterit. In qua historia etsi neque id exigam vt singula hic {pro}oraculis habeantur, at dedimus tamen pro virili operam vt si non plenè assequeremur, accederemus tamen quam proximè ad veterē illam historiae legem, vt duas res, prae cipuas historiae pestes vitaremus, timorem uidelicet & assentationem: quarum altera saepe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit quàm par est, narrationi. Sed huius rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam & natiuam faciem, quam non erit deficile non muccosis

naribus lectori, ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, siue alijs circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum caeteris in rebus locum habeat veteris prouerbij experientia: faciunt quippe mendaces vt ne vera etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in Martyrologicis sanctorum Legendis vitisque describendis mendacia, ac nugacissimae somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, sit vt & caeterae eiusdem argumenti materiae eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, vt vix iam quic{que} legi dicîue in ecclesia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, satis erit quod nostrarum erat virium id nos praestitisse. Quod superest, diuinae curandum prouidentiae relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatésque historiae haec hactenus: quae vtinam ne tam vera quidem certaue esset, quàm isti videri volunt, at falsâ potius, consimilisque huic quam dicunt, Aureae ipsorum Legendae, aut Vitis patrum, aut Festiual•, aut Dormi secure, caeterisque Papisticis istis 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 foret. Nunc verò martyrurum horum non a nobis ficta, sed inflicta à vobis supplicia, atroxque caedes veriore hanc comprobant historiam, plurés{que} suae veritatis testes habent quàm vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio iam ad alteram criminationis partem, quae de Calendario fortassis obijcietur. Audio enim & hic mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorūdam voces, quibus iniquè a me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris ecclesiae Diuis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, Virginibús{que}, nouos eorum loco Martyres at Confessores infultiam. Primùm nulli ego veterum Diuorum hoc facto praeiudicatum velim. Neque verò ideò inter Diuos a me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nun{que} sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Porro neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, vt nouam aliquam festorum dierum legem praescribam ecclesiae, Tum multò minus cultum sancti alicuius instituo. Festorum dierum iam plus satis erat in mundo. Vtinam dominicum solum sabbatum dignè, atque vt par est, transigeremus. Habeant per me suum papistae Calendarium. Habeat & ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recētes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim idē ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti, tàm verè etiam sancti sint.

Verum enimvero cum non dubitauit sua etiam aetate Hieronimus multos existimare eorum gehennae ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis haberent in ecclesia: quid hîc tum diceret Hieronimus, si modo superstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluuiem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Episcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad priuatum Lectoris seruiret vsum. Et tamen si in templis etiam fas sit singulorum mensium dies proprijs sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare: quî minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere Martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus tanta sibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiserunt? Si non poena, sed causa Martyrem faciat, cur non vnum Cranmerum sexcentis Becketis Cantuariensibus non conferam, sed praetulerim? Quid in Nicholao Ridleo videtur cum quouis Diuo Nicholao non conferendum? Qua in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marsheus, Simpsonus, caeteri{que} christia•i martyrij Candidati, inferiores summis maximisque illis papistici Calendarij Diuis, imo multis etiam nominibus non praepoendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sancti que viri (modo qui verè sanctus sit) causam laedo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat Calendarium, memineret non in templis collocari, sed domesticae tantum lectioni praeparari.

Sed missis hisce aduersatorum calumnijs, ad te, docte candidéque Lector (quoniam haec ad te instituta est epistola) tempus est vt recurrat oratio, cuius in his rebus iudicium vt pluris aestimo, ita egeo magis hîc quoque patrocínio. Scio enim in vasta hac congerie reperies nonnulla, ad quae merito corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facile potuit, praesertim in tanta operis praecipitatione, vt cun, cta ad amussim atque ad vnguem perfectè adeo elimarētur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret authori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eueniret, quod cani solet in prouerbij nimium prae studio properanti, caecos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis haec apud te, docte simul & humanissime Lector, ante operis ingressum libuit 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , vt si quid inter euoluendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleantis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum Theologorum acumen expressum aut minus alioqui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites haec non tuis auribus data esse, sed meae hoc est crassioris turbae hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam iudicantur. Aut si ne id quidem grauissimae tuae sententiae fecerit satis, liceat illa mihi vt lege, qua semper permissum est opere in magno scriptori obrepere somnum. Quod si vero tuam hac in re facilitatem impetrauero, minus laborabo quid caeteri obstrepant, graeci memor prouerbij, cuius & ipsos commeminissi velim: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

**To the true and faythfull Congregation of Christes
Vniuersall Church, with all and singuler the members
therof, wheresoeuer congregated or dispersed through the
Realme of England, a Protestation or Petition of the Author,
wishing to the same aboundaunce of all peace and
tranquility, with the speedy comming of Christ the Spouse,
to make an ende of all mortall myserye.**

SAlomon the peaceable Prince of Israell, as we read in the thirde of Kynges, after he had finished the buildyng of the Lordes Temple (which he had vij. yeares in hand) made his petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the sayde Temple, or turne theyr face toward it. And his request was graūted, the Lord aunswering him, as we read in the sayd booke. cap. 6. I haue heard (sayth he) thy prayer and haue sanctified this place. &c. Albeit the infinite Maiesty of God is not to be compassed in any materiall walles, yet it so pleased his goodnesse to respect this praier of the king, that not only he promised to heare thē which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his own glory. For so we read again in the book aforesayd: Et non poterant ministrare propter nebulā, quia repleuit gloria domini, domū domini. 3. Re. 7.

Vpon like trust in Gods gracious goodnes, if I sinnefull wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but folowing the zeale of the builder might either be so bold to aske, or so happye to speed, after my vij. yeares trauayle about this Ecclesiasticall History, most humbly would craue of almighty God to bestow his blessing vpon the same, that as the prayers of them, which prayed in the outward Temple were heard: so all true disposed mindes which shall resort to the reading of this present Hystory containing the Actes of Gods holy Martyrs, and monumentes of his Church, may by example of theyr lyfe, fayth, & doctrine, receiue some such spirituall fruit to theyr soules through the operation of his grace, that it may be to the aduauncement of his Glory, and profite of his Churche, through Christ Iesus our Lord. Amen.

But as it happened in that Temple of Salomon, that all which came thither, came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see newes, other to talke and walke, some to buy and sell, some to carpe and finde fault, and finally some also at the last to destroy and plucke down, as they did in deed. For what is in this world so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraryed? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling Theon will not set in his tooth? Euen so neither do I looke for any other in this present Hystory: but that amongst many well disposed Readers, some Waspses nest or other will be styrrd vp to busze about mine eares. Such a daungerous thing it is now a dayes to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the Godly, or by true speaking procure hatred with the wicked. Of such stinging Waspses and buszing Drones I had sufficient triall in my former edition before, who if they had found in my book any iust cause to carpe, or vpon any true zeale of truth had proceded agaynst the vntruths of my story and had brought iust proofes for the same, I could haue right well abide it. For God forbid, but that faultes, wheresoeuer they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore Accusers in a Common wealth after my mind do serue to no small stead.

But then such Accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration speaketh, which being set in Capitolio to fray away Theeues by night, left the Theeues and fell to barcke at true men walking in the day. Where true faultes be, there to bay & barcke is not amisse. But to carpe where no cause is, to spye in other strawes, and to leape ouer theyr owne blockes: to swallow Camels, and to strayne gnattes: to oppresse truth with lyes, and to set vp lyes for truth, to blaspheme the deare Martyrs of Christ and to Canonize for Sayntes, whom Scripture would scarce allow for good Subiectes, that is intollerable. Such barcking Curres, if they were well serued, would be made a whyle to stoope. But with these brauling spirites I entend not at this time much to wrastle.

Wherefore to leaue them a while, till further leasure serue me to attend vpon them, thus much I thought in the meane season, by way of Protestation or petition, to write vnto you both in generall & particular the true members and faythful Congregation of Christes Church, wheresoeuer either cōgregated together, or dispersed through the whole Realme of England, that forsomuch as all the seeking of these Aduersaryes is to do what they can, by discrediting of this History with slaunders & sinister surmises, how to withdraw the Readers frō it: This therfore shalbe in few wordes to premonish and desire of all and singuler of you (all well minded louers and partakers of Christes Gospell) not to suffer your selues to be deceiued with the big brags, and hyperbolically speeches of those flaundering tongues, whatsoeuer they haue or shall hereafter exclaime agaynst the same. But indifferently staying your iudgement till truth be tryed, you will first peruse, & then refuse measuring the vntruthes of this Hystory, not by the scoaring vp of theyr hundreds and thousandes of lyes which they geue out, but wisely weying the purpose of theyr doinges, according as you finde, and so to iudge of the matter.

To read my bookes I allure neither one nor other. Euery man as he seeth cause to like as he list. If any shall thinke his labor to much in reading this history, his choyce is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruite thereof shall recompence the Readers trauell, then would I wish no man so light eared, to be caryed away for any sinister clamour of Aduersaryes, who many times depraue good doinges, not for the faultes they finde, but therefore finde faultes because they would depraue. As for me and my history, as my will was to profite all and displease none: so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose bene simple, and certes the cause no lesse vrgent also, which moued me to take this enterprise in hand.

*For first to see the simple flocke of Christ, especially the vnlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignoraunce of history, not knowing the course of times, and true discent of the Church, it pittied me, that part of diligence so long to haue bene vnsupplied in this my countrey Church of Englande. Agayne considering the multitude of Chronicles and story writers, both in England, and out of England, of whome the most part haue bene either Monkes or Clientes to the sea of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled theyr storyes. Whose paynefull trauell albeit I cannot but cōmend, in committing diuers thinges to writing, not vnfruitful to be knowne, or vnpleasant to be read: yet it lamented me to see in theyr Monumentes the principall poyntes, which chiefly concerned the state of Christes Church, and were most necessary of all christen people to be knowne, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honor specially of the Church of Rome, or els to the fauor of theyr owne sect of Religion. Werby the vulgare sort, hearing and reading in theyr writings no other church mentioned or magnified but onely that Church which here florished in

this world in riches and iollity, were drawne also to the same persuasion, to thinke no other Church to haue stand in all the earth, but onely the Church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of writers, besides our Monkes of England (for euery Monastery almost had his Chronicler) I might also recite both Italian, and other countrey authors, as Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antoninus, Vincētius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Pollid▪ Virgilius, with many more, who taking vpon thē to intermeddle with matters of the church, although in part they expresse some truth in matters concerning the Bishops and sea of Rome: yet in suppressing an other part, they play with vs, as Ananias and Saphira did with their mony, or as Apelles did in Pliny, who painting the one halfe of Venus comming out of the sea, left the other halfe vnperfect. So these writers while they shew vs one half of the B. of Rome, the other halfe of him they leaue vnperfect, & vtterly vntold. For as they paynt him out on the one part glistering in welth and glorie, in shewing what succession the Popes had from the chaire of S. Peter, when they first began, and how long they sate, what Churches and what famous buildings they erected, how farre theyr possessions reached, what lawes they made, what counsels they called, what honour they receiued of Kyniges and Emperours, what Princes and Countryes they brought vnder theyr authority, with other like stratagemes, of great pompe and royalty: so on the other side what vices these Popes brought with them to theyr seat, what abhominatiōs they practised, what superstition they mainteined, what Idolatry they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the expresse word of God, to what heresies they fell, into what diuision of sectes they cut the vnity of christian Religion, how some practised by Simony, some by Necromancy and Sorcery, some by poysoning, some indenting with the Deuill to come by theyr Papacy, what hypocrisy was in theyr liues, what corruptiō in theyr doctrine, what warres they raysed, what bloudshed they caused, what treachery they trauersed agaynst their Lordes and Emperours, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templaryes and Saracēs, in bringing other vnder theyr feet, also in beheading some, as they did with Fredericus and Conradinus, the heires and ofspring of the house of Fredericus Barbarossa. an. 1269. furthermore how mightely almighty God hath stand agaynst them, how their warres neuer prospered agaynst the Turke, how the iudgementes of the godly learned frō time to time haue euer repugned agaynst theyr errorrs▪ &c. of these and a thousand other mo, not one word hath bene touched, but all kept as vnder Benedicite in Auricular confession.

This partiall dealing and corrupt handling of Historyes, when I considered, I thought with my self nothing more lacking in the church, then a ful & a complet history, which being faythfully collected out of all our Monastical writers & writtē Monuments, should containe neither euery vain written fable for that would be to much, nor yet leaue out any thing necessary, for that would be to little: but with a moderate discretion taking the best of euery one, should both ease the labor of the reader from turning ouer such a number of writers: and also should open the plaine truth of times lying long hid in obscure darcknes of antiquity. Wherby all studious Readers, beholding as in a glasse the state, course, and alteration of Religion, decay of doctrine, and the controuersies of the church, might discern the better betwene antiquity and nouelty. For if the things which be first (after the rule of Tertullian) are to be preferred before those that be latter, then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what folowed after. And therfore not without cause Historia,*in old authors is called the wnesse of times, the light of verity, the life of memory, teacher of life, & shewer of antiquitie. &c. Without the knowledge wherof mans life is blind, and soone may fall into any kind of errorr,

as by manifest experience we haue to see, in these desolate latter times of the Church, when as the Bishops of Rome vnder colour of antiquity haue turned truth into heresy and brought such new found deuises of straunge doctrine and Religiō as in the former age of the church were neuer heard of before, and all through the ignorance of times, and for lacke of true history.

For to say the truth, if times had bene well searched, or if they which wrote Hystories had without partiality gone vpright betwene God and Baall, halting on neither side, it might well haue bene found the most part of all this catholicke corruptiō intruded into the church by the bishops of Rome, as Transubstantiation, leuation, and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vowes of Priestes not to mary, veneration of Images, priuate and satisfactory Masses, the order of Gregories Masse now vsed, the vsurped authoritie, & Summa potestas of the sea of Rome, with all the route of their ceremonies and wieses of superstition ouergrowing nowe the Church, all these (I say) to bee new nothings lately coyned in the minte of Rome without any stampe of antiquitie, as by readyng of this present history shall sufficiently, I trust, appeare. Whiche history therefore I haue here taken in hand, that as other story writers heretofore haue employed their trauayle to magnifie the Church of Rome,* so in this history might appeare to all Christian readers the Image of both Churches, as well of the one as of the other: especially of the poore oppressed and persecuted Church of Christ. Which persecuted Church though it hath bene of long season troden vnder foote by enemyes, neglected in the world, nor regarded in histories, and almost scarce visible or knowne to worldly eyes, yet hath it bene the true Church only of God, wherein he hath mightely wrought hetherto in preseruing the same in all extreeme distresses, continually stirring vp frō time to tyme faythful ministers, by whō alwayes hath bene kept some sparkes of hys true doctrine and Religion.

Now for asmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone,* but is accompanied wyth some other Church or Chappel of the deuill to deface and maligne the same, necessary it is therefore the difference betweene them to be sene, and the descent of the right Church to be described from the Apostles tyme. Which hetherto in most part of histories hath bene lacking, partly for feare, that men durst not: partly for ignoraunce that men could not discerne rightly betweene the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of the worlde, so shining in outward beauty, to beare suche a porte, to cary suche a trayne and multitude, and to stand in such hye authoritie, opposed the same to be only the right Catholike mother. The other because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true church of Christ. Wherin they were far deceaued. For although the right church of God be not so inuisible in the world, that none can see it, yet neyther is it so visible agayne that euery worldly eye may perceiue it. For like as is the nature of truth▪ so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it,* but such onely, as be the members and partakers thereof. And therefore they which require that Gods holy Church should be euident and visible to the whole world seeme to de|fine the great sinagogue of the world rather then the true spirituall Church of God.

In Christes time who would haue thought, but the congregations and Councelles of the Pharises had ben the right church: and yet had Christ an other Church in earth besides that, which albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet was it the onely true Church in the sight of God. Of this Church ment Christ speaking of the Temple, whiche he would rayse agayne the thyrd day. And yet after that the Lord was risen, he shewed not himselfe to the worlde, but onely

to his electe which were but few. The same Church after that encreased and multiplied mightely amonge the Iewes, yet had not the Iewes eyes to see Gods Church, but did persecute it till at length all their whole nation was destroyed.

After the Iewes, then came the heathen Emperours of Rome, who hauing the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could do, to extinguish the name and church of christ. Whose violence cōtinued the space of 3. hundreth yeares. All which while the true church of christ was not greatly in sight of the world, but rather was abhorred euery where, and yet notwithstanding the same small •elly flocke so despised in the worlde, the Lorde highly regarded and mightely preserued. For although many then of the Christians did suffer death: yet was their death neither losse to them, nor detriment to the Church: but the more they suffered, the more of theyr bloud encreased.

In the time of these Emperours, God raysed vp then in this Realme of Britayne diuers worthy teachers and witnesses, as Elnanus, meduinus, Meltiuianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Iulius and other moe In whose time the doctrine of fayth without mens traditions was sincerely preached. After theyr death and Martyrdom, it pleased the Lord to prouide a generall quietnes to his Church, wherby the number of hys flocke began more to encrease.

In this age then followed here in the sayd land of Britayne Fastidius,^{*}Niuianus, Patricius, Bacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, Daud, Daniell, Sampson, Elnodugue, Asaphus, Cildas, Heulanus Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuell, Niuius, and a great sort moe, whiche gouerned the Church of Britayne by Christen doctrine a long season, albeit the ciuil gouernours for the tyme, were then dissolute & careles, as Gildas very sharply doth lay to theyr charge, and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while about the space of foure hundred yeares, Religion remayned in Britayne vncorrupt and the word of Christ truely preached, till about the comming of Austen and of hys companions from Rome, many of the sayd Britayne preachers were slayne by the Saxons. After that began Christen fayth to enter & spring among the Saxons, after a certayne romish sort, yet notwithstanding some what more tollerable, thē were the times, which after folowed, through the dilligent industry of some godly teachers, which then liued amongst them: as Aidanus, Finianus, Coleman Archbishop of Yorke Beda, Iohn of Beuerlay, Alcuinus, Noetus, Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealredus, Alexander Neckam, Negellus, Fenallus, Alfricus, Sygeferthus & such other: who though they erred in some few thinges, yet neither so grossely,^{*} nor so greatly to be complayned of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet, all thys while, the error of Transubstantiation and leuation, with auricular confession was not crept in for a publicke doctrine in Christes Church, as by theyr owne Saxon Sermon, made by Aelfricus, & set out in the second Volume of this present history may appeare pag. 1114. During the which meane time although the Bishops of Rome wer had here in some reuerēce with the Clergy: yet had they nothing as yet to do in setting lawes touching matters of the Church of England: but that only appertayned to the kings and gouernours of the land as is in this story to be seene. pag. 754.

^{*}And thus the Church of Rome albeit it began then to decline a pace frō God, yet during all this while it remayned hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length after that the sayd Bishops began to shout vp in the world through the liberalitie of good Princes, and especially by Mathilda

a noble Duches of Italy. Who at her death made the Pope heyre of all her landes, and indued his sea, with great reuenewes. Then riches begot ambition. Ambition destroyed Religion, so that all came to ruine. Out of this corruption sprang forth here in Englād (as did in other places more) an other romish kind of Monkery, worse then the other before, being much more drowned in superstition and ceremo'nies, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 980. Of this swarme was Egbertus Aigelbert▪ Egwine, Boniface, Wilfrede Agathon, Iames, Romaine, Cedda, Dunstane, Oswold, Athelwold, Athelwine Duke of Eastangles, Lanfrancke, Anselme and such other.

And yet in this tyme also through Gods prouidence, the Churche lacked not some of better knowledge and iudgement, to weigh with the darcknes of those dayes. For although king Edgar, with Edward his base sonne being seduced by Dunstane, Oswold and other Monkish Clerkes, was thē a great author and fautor of much superstition, erecting as many Monasteries, as were Sondayes in the yeare: yet notwithstanding this continued not long. For eftsoones after the death of Edgar came king Ethelrede and Queene Elfhred his mother, with Alferus Duke of merceland, and other peeres and nobles of the Realme, who displaced the Monkes againe, and restored the maryed Priests to their old possessions and liuings. Moreouer after that followed also the Danes whiche ouerthrew those Monkish foundations, as fast as king Edgar had set them vp before.

And thus hetherto stode the condition of the true Church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficultie, yet in some meane state of the truth & veritie, till time of pope Hildebrand called Gregory 7. which was nere about the yeare. 1080. And of Pope Innocentius 3. in the yeare 1215. By whome altogether was turned vpside downe, all order broken, dissipline dissolued, true doctrine defaced. Christian faith extinguished. Instead whereof was set vp preaching of mens decrees dreames, and idle traditions. And whereas before truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now libertie was turned into law, Argument into Authoritie. Whatsoeuer the Byshoppe of Rome denounced, that stode for an oracle, of all men to be receaued without opposition or contradiction: whatsoeuer was contrary, ibso facto it was heresie, to be punished with fagot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere fayth of this English Church,* which held out so long, to quayle. Then was the clerre sunne shine of Gods word ouershadowed, with mistes and darcknes, appearing like sacke-cloth to the people, which neither could vnderstand that they read, nor yet permitted to read that they could vnderstand. In these miserable dayes, as the true visible Church beganne now to shrink and keep in for feare: so vpstart a new sort of players to furnish the stage, as schole Doctours, Canonistes, and foure orders of Friars. Besides other Monasticall sectes and fraternities of infinite variety. Which euer since haue kept such a stirre in the Church, that none for them almost durst rout, neyther Caesar, king, nor subiect. What they defined, stode. What they approued, was Catholicke: What they condemned, was heresie: whom soeuer they accused, none almost could saue. And thus haue these hetherto continued or raigned rather in the Church, the space now of foure hundreth yeares and odde. During which space, the true Church of Christ, although it durst not openly appeare in the face of the world, oppressed by tyranny: yet neyther was it so inuisible or vnknown: but by the pro'uidence of the Lord, some remnaunt alwayes remayned from tyme to time, which not onely shewed secret good affection to sincere doctrine, but also stode in open defence of truth agaynst the disordered Churche of Rome.

*In which Catalogue, first to pretermitt Barthramus and Barenarius, which were before Pope Innocent 3. a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses here might be produced, whose names

neither are obscure nor doctrine vnknowne: as Ioachim Abbot of Calabria, Almericus a learned Byshop, who was iudged an hereticke for holding agaynst Images, in the time of the sayd Innocentius. Besides the Martirs of Alsatia, of whome we read an hundred to be burned by the sayd Innocentius in one day, as writeth Hermanus Mutius. Adde likewise to these Waldenses or Albigenses, which to a great number segregated themselues from the Church of Rome. To this number also belonged Reymundus Earle of Tholose, Marsilius, Patuius, Gulielmus de S. Amore, Simon Tornacensis Arnoldus de noua villa, Ioannes Semeca, besides diuers other preachers in Sueuia standing agaynst the Pope. Anno. 1240. Ex Cranz. Laurentius Anglicus a Mayster of Parris. anno. 1260. Petrus Ioannis a Minorite, who was burned after hys death. anno. 1290. Robertus Gallas a Dominicke Frier, anno. 1291. Robert Grosthead Byshoppe of Lincolne which was called Malleus Romanorum. anno. 1250. Lord Peter de Cugnerijs. anno. 1329. To these we may adde more our Gulielmus Ockam, Bongratijs Bergomensis, Luitpoldus Andraeas Laudensis. Vlricus Hangenor Treasurer to the Emperour, Ioannes de Ganduno. anno. 1330. mentioned in the Extrauagantes, Andraeas de Castro, Buridianus, Euda, Duke of Burgundy, who counselled the french king, not to receiue the new found constitutions, and extrauagantes of the Pope into his realme, Dantes Alligerius, an Italian, who wrote agaynst the Pope, Monkes and Fryers, and agaynst the donation of Constantine. anno. 1330. Taulerus a Germaine preacher, Conradus Hager imprisoned for preaching agaynst the Masse an. 1339. The author of the booke called, Poenitentiarius Asini, compiled about the yeare 1343. Michael Cesenas a gray Fryer, Petrus de Corbaria, with Ioannes de Poliaco, mentioned in the Extrauantes and condemned by the Pope, Ioannes de Castilione. with Franciscus de Arcatara, who were burned about the yeare of our Lord. 1322. Ioannas Rochtaylada, otherwise called Haybalus, with an other Frier martyred about the yeare. 1346. Franciscus Petrarcha, who called Rome the whore of Babilon. &c. an. 1350. Georgius Ariminensis, an. 1350 Ioannes de Rupe Scissa, emprisoned for certayne prophesies against the Pope. an. 1340. Gerhardus Ridder, who also wrote against Monks and Friers a book called Lacryma Ecclesiae. an. 1350. Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Ioannes Monachus Cardini. Armachanus, Nicholaus Orem preacher. an. 1364. Militzius a Bohemian, which then preached that Antichrist was come, and was excommunicate for the same, an. 1366. Iacobus Misnensis, Mathias Parisiensis a Bohemian borne, and a writer against the Pope, an. 1370. Ioannes Mountziger, Rector of the Vniuersitie of Vlme, U anno. 1384. Nilus Arch. of Thessalonica. Henricus de •ota, Henricus de Hassia. &c.

I do but recite the principall writers and preachers in those dayes: Howe many thousandes there were which neuer bowed their knees to Baall, that is knowne to God alone. Of whome wee finde in the writings of one Brushius that xxxvi. Citizens of Maguntia were burned, an. 1390. Who following the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirmed the Pope to be the great Antichrist. Also Massaeus recordeth of one hundred and fourty, which in the prouince of Narbon were put to the fire, for not receiuing the decretalles of Rome: besides them that suffered at Paris to the number of xxiiij. at one time, anno. 1210. and the next yeare after were foure hundred brent vnder the names of Heretiques. Besides also a certayne good Heremite, E an Englishman, of whome mention is made in Iohn Bacon. Dist. 2. Quest. 1. who was committed for disputing in Paules Church, agaynst certaine Sacramentes of the Church of Rome. an. 1306.

To discend now somewhat lower in drawing out the discent of the Church. What a multitude here commeth of faythfull witnesses in the time of Iohn Wickleffe, as Ocliffe, Wickliffe. an. 1376. W. Thorp White, Puruey, Patshall, Payne, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoyne, Williã Swinderby,

Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry about the yeare. 1400. Iohn Badby, an. 1410. Nicholaus Tayler, Rich. Wagstaffe, Mich. Scriuener, William Smith Iohn Henry, W. Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an Ancresse called Mathilde in the Citie of Leicester, Lord Cobham, Syr Roger Acton knight, Iohn Beuerley preacher, Iohn Husse, Hierome of Prage Scholemaister, with a number of faithfull Bohemians and Thaborites not to be told with whō I might also adioyne Laurentius Valla and Ioannes Picus, the learned Earle of Mirandula. But what do I stand vpon recitall of names, which almost are infinite.

Wherefore if any be so farre beguiled in his opinion to thinke the doctrine of the church of Rome (as it now standeth) to be of such antiquitie, & that the same was neuer impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius now of late, let him read these histories: or if he thinke the sayd historie not to be of sufficient credite to alter his perswasion let him peruse the Actes and Statutes of Parliamentes, passed in this realme of auncient time and therein consider and conferre the course of times; where he may finde and read. *An. 5. Regis Richardi. 2. in the yeare of our Lord. 1380. of a great nūber (which there be called euill persons) goyng about from town to town in freese gownes preaching vnto the people &c. which preachers although the wordes of the Statute do terme there to be dissembling persons, preaching dyuers Sermons contayning heresies & notorious errors, to the emblemishment of Christen faith, & of holy Church &c. as the words do there pretend: yet notwithstanding euery true Christian reader may conceaue of those Preachers to teache no other doctrine, then nowe they heare theyr owne Preachers in Pulpits Preache, agaynst the Bishoppe of Rome and the corrupte heresies of his Church.

Furthermore he shall finde likewise in Statut. An. 2. Henr. 4. Cap. 15. in the yeare of our Lord. 1402. another lyke company of good Preachers and faythful defenders of true doctrine agaynst blynd heresie and error. Whom albeit the wordes of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsely terme, * to be false and peruerse Preachers, vnder dissembled holines, teaching in those dayes openly and priuely new doctrines and hereticall opinions contrary to the faythe and determination of holy Church. &c. yet notwithstanding whosoeuer readeth histories and conferreth the order and discent of times, shall vnderstand these to be no false teachers, but saythfull witnesses of the truth, not teaching any newe doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church: But rather shall finde that Church to be vnholly, which they Preached agaynst, teaching rather it selfe hereticall opinions contrary both to antiquitie, and veritie of Christes true Catholicke Church.

Of the lyke number also, or greater, of lyke true faythfull fauourers and followers of Gods holy worde, we find in the yeare of our Lord. 14•2. specified in a letter sent from Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Martin 5. in the fift yeare of his Popedome, where mention is made of so many here in Engand infected: (as he sayde) with the heresies of Wickleffe and Husse, that without force of any army they could not be suppressed. &c. Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardinals to the Archbishop to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spirituall and Religious men, * and the money to be layde in the chamber Apostolicke, and if that were not sufficient, the residue to bee made vppe of Chalice, Candlestickes, and other implementes of the Church &c.

What shall neede then any more witnes to proue this matter, when you see so many yeares agoe, whole armyes and multitudes, thus standing agaynst the Pope? who thought they bee termed

here for heretickes and schismatickes, yet in that, which they call heresie, serued they the liuing Lord, within the Arke of his true spirituall and visible Church.

And where is then the friuolous bragge of the Papistes, which make so much of there paynted sheath, & would nedes beare vs downe, that this gournment of the Church of Rome which now is, hath bene of such an old standing, time out of minde, euen from the primitiue Antiquitie, & that neuer was any other church demonstrable here in earth for men to follow, besides the said only Catholick mother church of Rome? whē as we haue sufficiently proued before by the continual descēt of the Church till this present tyme, that the sayd Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begunne matter, but euen the olde continued Church, by the prouidence and promise of Christ, still standing, which albeit it hath bene of late yeares repressed by the tyranny of Romaine Byshops, more then before: yet notwithstanding it was neuer so oppressed but God hath euer maintayned in it the truth of his Gospell, agaynst heresies and errors of the Church of Rome, as in thys history more at full is to be seene.

*Let vs now proceede farther as we began, deducing this descent, of the Church vnto the 1501. yeare. In which yeare the Lord began to shew in the partes of Germany wonderfull tokens, and bloody markes of his Passion, as the bloody Crosse, hys nayles, speare, and Crowne of thornes, which fell from heauen vpon the garments and cappes of men, and rockes of woman, as you may further read in this booke pag. 816. By the which tokens almighty God (no doubt) presignified what grievous afflictions and bloody persecutions shoulde then begin to ensue vpon his Church for hys Gospels sake, according as in this history is described, wherein is to be seene what Christen blood hath bene spilt, what persecutions raysed, what tyranny exercised, what tormentes deuised, what trechery vsed agaynst the poore flocke and Church of Christ, in such sort as since Christes tyme greater hath not bene seene.

*And now by reuolution of yeares we are come from the time of .1501. to that yeare now present 1570. In which the full seuentie yeares of the Babilonicall captiuitie draweth now well to an ende, if we count from the first appearing of these bloody markes aboue mentioned. Or if wee reckon from the beginning of Luther, and hys persecution, then lacketh yet xvi. yeres. Now what the Lord wil do with this wicked world, or what rest he will geue to hys Church after these long sorrowes, he is our father in heauen, his will be done in earth, as seemeth best to his diuine maiestie.

In the meane time let vs for our partes with all patient obedience wayt vpon hys gracious leysure and glorifie his holy name, and edifie one an other with all humilitie. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing, and contending one agaynst an other: yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And for asmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Sathan thus should be let lose amongst vs for a short time: yet let vs striue in the meane while what wee can to amende the malice of the tyme with mutuall humanitie.* They that be in errour, let them not disdayne to learne. They whiche haue greater talentes of knowledge committed, instruct in simplicitie them that be simple. No man liueth in that common wealth where nothing is amisse. But yet because God hath so placed vs Englishmen here in one common wealth, also in one Church as in one shippe together: let vs not mangle or deuide the shippe, which being deuided perisheth: but euerie man serue in his order with dilligence, wherein he is called. They that sitte at the helme, keepe well the poynt of the needle, to knowe how the ship goeth, and whether it should. Whatsoever

weather betydeh, the needle well touched with the stone of Gods word will neuer fayle. Such as labour at the oares, start for no tempest, but doe what they can to keepe from the rockes. Likewise they whiche be inferiour rowmes, take heede they moue no sedition, nor disturbance agaynst the rowers and mariners. No storme so daungerous to a shippe on the sea, as is discord and disorder in a weale publique. What countryes and nations, what kingdomes and Empyres, what Cities, townes, and houses discord hath dissolued, in storyes is manifest: I neede not spend tyme in rehearsing examples. The Lord of peace, who hath power both of land and Sea, reach forth hys mercifull hand to helpe them vp that sincke, to keepe them vpp that stand, to still these windes and sourging seas of discord and contention among vs: that wee professing one Christ, may in one vnitie of doctrine gather our selues into one Arke of the true Church together, where we continuing stedfast in fayth may at the last luckely be conducted to the ioyfull porte of our desired landing place by hys heauenly grace. To whome both in heauen and in earth be all power and glory, with his father and the holy spirite for euer. Amen.

The vtilitie of this Story.

SEyng the worlde is replenished with such an infinite multitude of bookes of all kinde of matters, I may séeme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand superfluous and needles, at this present to set out such Uolumes, especially of histories, considering now a dayes the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty therof, but of all other treatises, so that books now seeme rather to lacke Readers,* then Readers to lacke bookes: In which multitude of bookes I doubt not, but many doe both perceiue, and inwardly bewayle this insatiable boldnes of many now a dayes both in writing and printing, which to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man els beside: and would therefore no man should thinke that vnaduisedly or with rashnes I haue attempted this enterprise, as one being not onely doubtful, but also both bashfull and feareful within my self for setting the same abroad. And why? first I perceaued howe learned this age of ours is in reading of bookes, neither could I tell what the secret iudgementes of readers woulde conceaue, to see so weake a thing, to set vpon such a weighty enterprise, not sufficiently furnished with such ornamentes able to satisfie the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serue the vtility of the studious: and the delight of the learned. Which abilitie the more I perceiued to be wanting in me, the lesse I durst be bold to become a writer.

But agayne on the other side, when I weyed with my selfe what memorable Actes and famous doynges this latter age of the Church hath ministred vnto vs by the patient suffringes of the worthy martyrs: I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious Monumentes of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registred in books, should lie buried by my default vnder darkenes of obliuion. Me thought somewhat was to be sayd of them for their well deseruing, and something agayne of our partes for benefites by them receaued. But aboue all other thinges nothing did so much styrre me forward hereunto, as the dilligent consideration and speciall regard of the common vtilitie which euery man plentifully may receaue by the reading of these Monuments or Martyrologe which history as I haue taken in hand chiefly for the vse of the English Church: so haue I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best vnderstand.

Nowe if men commonly delite so much in other Chronicles which intreate onely vpon matters of pollicye, and reioyce to beholde therein the variable euentes of worldlye affayres, the Stratagemes of valiaunt captaynes, the terrour of foughten fieldes, the sacking of Cities, the hurlye burlies of Realmes and people. And if men thinke it such a gaye thing in a common wealth to committe to history such olde antiquities of thinges prophane and bestow all theyr ornamentes of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same: how much more then is it meete for Christians to conserue in remembraunce the liues: Actes and doynges, not of bloody warriours, but of myld and constant Martyrs of Christ, which serue not so much to delight the eare, as to garnish the lyfe, to frame it with examples of great profite, and to encourage men to all kinde of Christian godlines? As first by reading thereof wee may learne a liuely testimony of Gods mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheistes, and all the whole nest of Epicures. For like as one sayd of Harpalus in times past, that his doyngs gaue a liuely testimony agaynst God, because he being so wicked a man escaped so long vnpunished: so contrariwise in these mē we haue a much more assured and playne witnes of God both in whose liues and deathes appeared suche manifest declarations of Gods diuine working, whiles in such sharpnes of tormentes we behold in them strength, so constant aboue mans reach, such readines to aunswere,

such patience in imprisonment, suche godlines in forgeuing, cherefulnes so couragious in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the holy ghost which they in their liues so plentifully tasted in theyr afflictions,* as in readyng of theyr letters euidently we may vnderstand. Ouer and besides this, the milde deaths of the sayntes do not a little auayle to the stablishing of a good conscience: to learne the contempt of the world, and to come to the feare of God. Moreouer, they confirme fayth, encrease godlines, abate pride in prosperitie, and in aduersitie do open an hope of heauenly comfort. For what man reading the misery of these godly persons, may not therein as in a glasse behold his owne case, whether hee be godly or godles. For if God geue aduersitie vnto good men, what may eyther the better sort promise themselues, or the euill not feare? And whereas by reading of prophane storyes we are made perhaps more skilfull in warlike affayres: so by reading of this we are made better in our liuinges, and besides are better prepared vnto like conflictes, if by Gods permission they shall happen hereafter more wiser by theyr doctrine, and more steadfast by theyr example.

To be short, they declare to the world what true Christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquire which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now I trust at hand. In consideration whereof, me thinkes I haue good cause to wish, that like as other subiectes: euen so also Kinges and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall stories, would diligently peruse such Monumentes of martyrs, and lay them alwayes in sight, not alonely to read, but to follow, and would paynt them vpon theyr walles, cups, ringes and gates. For doubtles suche as these: are more worthy of honour thē an hundreth Alexanders, Hectors, Scipions and warlike Iulies. And though the world iudgeth prosperously of thinges, yet with God the true iudge, certes such are to be reputed in deede, not that kill one an other with a weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods cause, do retayne an inuincible constancie agaynst the threatens of tyrantes and violence of tormentours. Such as these, are the true Conquerours of the world, by whome we learne true manhoode, so many as fight vnder Christ, and not vnder the world. With this valiantnes did that most milde Lambe and inuincible Lyon of the tribe of Iuda first of all go before vs, of whose vnspeakeable fortitude we heare this propheticall admiration: who is this (sayth he) which walketh so in the multitude of hys strength? * Forsooth the high sonne of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the same maner he was conquered.

The like daunce did all hys other Martyrs follow, to whome the auncient antiquitie of the Church did attribute so great honour, as neuer king or Emperour could purchase in this world with all theyr images, pillers hie spires, triumphes, temples, and all theyr solemne feastes. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not onely the memory, but also the reliques of those good Martyr's were receaued & kept amongst the auncient Christians. We haue also for witnes the learned Hymnes and Songes of Prudentius and Nazienzene, wherewith Pindarus did neuer so much set out hys triumphes of Olympia and Nemea. I neede not here rehearse the learned Orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chrysostome, Ambrose. and Hierome, who neuer shewed theyr eloquence more, then when they fell into the commendations of the Godly Martyrs?

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to Martyrs: with what gratulation, reioyce, myrth, and common ioy the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christes quarrell, were sometime receiued and solemnised, and that not without good reasonable cause.

For the Church did well consider howe much she was beholding to theyr benefites, by whose death she vnderstoode her treasures to encrease. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our tyme deserue any lesse commendation, then the other in the primatiue Church, which assuredly are inferiour vnto them in no poynt of prayse: whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatnes of theyr formentes, or theyr constancie in dying, or also consider the fruite that they brought to the amendment of posteritie, and encrease of the Gospell. They did water the truth with theyr bloud,* that was newly springing vp: so these by theyr deathes restored it agayne, being sore decayed and fallen downe. They standing in the forewarde of the battell, did receaue the first encounter and violence of theyr enemies, and taught vs by that meanes to ouercome such tyranny. These with like courage agayne like old beaten souldiours did winne the field in the rereward of the battayle. They like famous husbandmen of the world did sow the fieldes of the Church, that first lay vnmanured and wast: these with fatnes of their bloud did cause it to battell and fructifie. Would to God the fruite might be speedely gathered into the •arne, whiche onely remayneth behinde to come.

Now, if we ascribe such reputation to Godly preachers (and worthely) which diligently preache the Gospell of Christ, when they liue notwithstanding by the benefite of tyme, without all feare of persecution: howe muche more reasonable cause haue we to prayse and extoll such men as stoutly spend theyr lyues for the defence of the same? All these premisses duely of our partes considered and marked, seeing we haue found so famous Martyrs in this our age, let vs not fayle then in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that poynt we seeme more vnkinde to them, then the writers of y^e primitiue Church were vnto theirs. And though we repute not theyr ashes chaynes, and swerdes in the stede of reliques▪ yet let vs yeld thus much vnto theyr commemoration, to glory the Lord in hys Saintes, and imitate theyr death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or theyr liues at y^e least with like innocency. They offered theyr bodies willing, to the rough handling of the tormentors. And is it so great a matter then for our part, to mortifie our flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not onely the riches and glory of the world for the loue of Christ, but also their liues: and shal we then keepe so great a styrr one agaynst an other, for the transitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done vnto them, and when theyr very heartes bloud gushed out of theyr bodyes: and yet will not wee forgeue our poore brother, be the iniury neuer so small, but are ready for euery trifling offence to seeke hys destruction, and cut his throat. They wishing well to all men, did of theyr own accord forgeue theyr persecutors: & therefore ought we, which are now the posteritie and Children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from theyr former steps, but being admonished by their examples, if we cannot expresse theyr charitie toward all men, yet at lest to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let vs geue no cause of offence to any. And if any be geuen to vs, let vs ouercome it with patience, forgeuing and not reuenging the same. And let vs not onely keepe our handes from shedding of bloud, but our tongues also from hurting the same of others. Besides, let vs not shrink if case so require, martyrdom or losse of lyfe, according to their example, to yeld vp the same in the defence of the Lordes flocke. Whiche thing if men would do, much lesse contention and busines woulde be in the world •hen now is. And thus much touching the vtilitie and fruit to be taken of this history.

To all the professed frendes and followers of the Popes proceedinges, foure Questions propounded.

TO you all and singuler, which professe the doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy Father,* and of your mother Church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholickes▪ commōly termed Papistes, wheresoeuer abiding in the Realme of England, these foure Questions or Problemes hereunder folowing I would moue, desiring you all either to muse vpon thē, or to answere thē at your leisure.

*The first Question.

First,* forsomuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Iesai, the hill of his holines) beareth in the scripture an vndoubted type of the spiritual church of Christ: & for so much as the sayd Iesai. ca. 11. & 65. prophesying of the sayd Mount Sion, sayth in these wordes: *Non nocebunt ne{que} affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus. &c. 1. They shall not kill nor hurt, in all my holy hill, sayth the Lord. &c. And agayne in the same chap. thus we read: Habitabit Lupus cum agno, & Pardus cū haedo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo & ouis vna commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos. &c. i. The wolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, & the Leopard with the Kid: the Calfe, the Lion & the sheepe shall feed together, & a yong child shall rule thē. The Cow also & the Beare shall abide together w^t theyr yong ones, & the Lion shall eat chaffe & fodder like y^e Oxe. &c.

Upon these premises now foloweth my question, how the church of Rome can be answerable to this hill of Siō: seing in the sayd church of Rome is,* and hath bene now so many yeares such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning & spoyling of christen bloud, such malice & mischief wrought, as in reading these historyes may to all the world appeare.

To this if they aunswere, & expound these wordes of the Prophet, as pertaining to the church triumphant therevnto I reply agayne: * that by the wordes in the same place & in the same sentence expressed that sence cannot stand, for as much as the Prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy mountayne without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, & sheweth also the cause of that godly peace. Because (sayth he) the earth is replenished with knowledge & science of the Lord. &c. ibid. And furthermore the Prophet speaking of the same day when this shalbe, addeth saying: In that day the root of Iesse shall stand for a signe to the people, for the Gentils to be conuerted, and to seeke vnto him▪ &c. Which day in no wise can be applyed to the church in heauen triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Touching which place of Iesai,* further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Moūt Sion (which comprehendeth both the states, as well ecclesiasticall as tēporall) is not restrayned the publicke penalty of good lawes needfull to be executed vpon publicke malefactors, but here is restrayned the fierceness, reuenge, cruelty, & violence of mens affections. To which affectiōs men being commonly subiect by nature, through grace & working of the gospel are altered, reformed, & chaūged to another disposition: frō stoutnes to softnes: frō violence to sufferance: from fierceness to forbearing: frō pride to humility, frō cruelty to

compassion, from wilynes to simplicity, frō solemne singularity to humanity and meekenes. Which vertues, if they had bene in the church of Rome (according to the rule of S. Paul, which willeth men that be stronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meeknes. &c. Rom. 15. Gal. 6.) I should not haue needed now at this time to write such a long history as this of the suffering of so many Martyrs.

The second Question.

MY second question is this: * to demaūd of you catholicke professors of the popes sect, which so deadly maligne and persecute the protestants professing the gospell of Christ, * what iust or reasonable cause haue you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bear vnto the, y^r neither you your selues can abide to liue w^t them, nor yet will suffer y^e other to liue amongst you? If they were Iewes, Turkes or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any Idolatrous impitie or detestable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly destruction, or priuy conspiracies to oppresse your liues, or by fraudulent dealing to circūuent you, then had you some cause to cōplaine, and also to reuenge. Now seing in their doctrine ye haue neyther blasphemy, idolatry, superstition nor misbeliefe to obiect vnto them: seing they are baptised in the same beliefe, and beleue the same articles of the Crede, as ye do: hauing the same God, y^e same Christ & sauour, the same baptisme, & and are ready •s con•erre with you in all kinde of Christen doctrine, neyther do refuse to be tryed by any place of the scripture, how then riseth this mortall malice of you agaynst them? If you thinke them to be her•tickes, then bring forth if ye can, any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the minde of holy scripture: expounded by the censure of most auncient Doctours? Or what is there in all y^r scripture to be required, but they acknowledge & confesse the same? See & try the order of their liues & doinges, what great fault find you. They serue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be transgressors toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deserued why you should be so bitter agaynst them?

What offended the poore habitants of Merindal & Cabriers when the bishop of Aix, the Cardinall of Turon, and other Bishops of France wrasting from Fraunces the French king a commission, * sent Men•rius w^t his Captayne Iohn de Gay to destroy theyr countrey, an. 1530. who driuing y^e poore people there into a barn ful of straw, set y^e barn on fire, & burned vp men, women, and children: And likewise in a church, exercised the like crueltie vpon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand yong and old, women, children, and yong infants, besides vii. whole townes, with the most part of the dwellers thering, being murdered & burnt in y^e sayd country of Prouēce.

Also before that, what offended the Cittizens of Tholouse and Auinion when Pope Gregory the ix. set Lewes the French king to warre agaynst them and agaynst Raymundus their Earle, without cause, where also the sayd kyng died at the siege.

Or to speake of later yeres, what hurt or harme did the poore Protestantes in the towne of Uassy, who peaceably being at a Sermon, were miserably slayne and cut• men, women, and children, by the Duke of Guyes and hys armed souldiours? besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbred of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Fraunce, and now of late in Flaunders, and in other countreyes moe.

But to let other countryes passe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernment in this realme of England, vnder this our so milde & gracious Queene now presently reigning. Under whome you see howe gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed vnto you: how quietly ye liue. What lacke you, that you woulde haue, hauing almost the best rowmes and offices in all the realme, not onely without any losse of lyfe▪ but also without anye feare of death. And though a few of your Arch•lerkes be in custody: yet in that custody so shrewdly are they hurt, that many a good Protestant in the realme would be glad with all their hartes to chaunge rowmes and dyet with them if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure haue slipt ouer the seas, if their courage to see countries abroade did so allure them, who coulde let them, yet this is certayne, no dreade there was of death that draue them. For what papist haue you seen in all this land to lose eyther life or limme for papistry during al these xii. yeares hetherto since this Queenes reigne? And yet all this notwithstanding, hauing no cause to complayne, so many causes to geue God thāks ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety but hope for a day, and fayne would haue a chaunge. And to preuent your desired day, ye haue conspired, and rise vpp in open rebellion agaynst your Prince, whom the Lord hath set vp to be your gouernour.

And as you haue since that,* nowe of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable state of Scotland, in murdering most trayterously the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in sparing the Queenes life there when he had her in his handes, hath now therfore lost his own) so with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would disturbe the golden quiet and tranquillitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your willes▪ Which the mercifull grace of almightie, for Christ his sonnes sake our Lord, forfend and vtterly disapoynt. Amen.

Wherefore these premises cōsidered, my question is to aske of you & know, what iust or reasonable cause ye haue of these your vnreasonable doinges,* of this your so mortall and deadly hatred, fury and malice you beare agaynst these your euenchristened, of these your tumultes, coniurations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutteringes, & murders, wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world. Of all which mischiefes, if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtles to be none other but onely the priuate cause of the Bishop of Rome, that he is not receiued, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

Touching which cause how vnreasonable and vniust it is, more shalbe sayd (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shal see theyr answer, if it shall so please thē, or any of thē to answer this question. In the meane time this for a briefe note shall suffice: that it standeth not with the scripture, but contrary to the scripture that the Bishop of Rome should so reuenge his owne priuate cause. If his title & plantatiō be good & of God, why doth he not refer it vnto god? And no doubt,* but if it be so, God will maintein it, though the whole world sayd no. If it be otherwise, it will fall & be rooted out, though all the world sayd yea, yea the greatest argument to proue this plantation of the Popes supremacy not to be of God, is, that the Pope fighting in his owne priuate cause, by outward & worldly force seeketh his owne glory▪ Christ our sauior being here refused himselfe, yet neither reuenged his cause, nor sought his owne glory, but only the glory & will of his father, thus speaking of himself: Si ego glorifico meipsū, gloria mea nihil est, pater meus est, qui glorificat me▪ &c. Ioan. 8. i. If I glorify my selfe, my glory is nothing, my father is he that glorifyeth me. &c. Euen so I saye with scripture, that if the Popes proc•edings were planted of God, he would not so wrastle for his glory, as •e doth. But forsomuch as he

seeketh by such cruelty and bloodshed to exalt himselfe, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he shalbe brought low. &c. Luke. 18.

* The third Question.

MY third question I take of the 13. chap. of the booke of Reuelation. Which booke as it containeth a Prophetical history of the Church: * so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened. In this chapter mention is made first of a certayne beast comming out of the Sea, hauing vij. heads & x. hornes, with x. diademes of blasphemy. Unto y^e which beast the dragon, the deuill, gaue his strength, and great power to fight agaynst the Sayntes▪ & to ouercome them, & to make xliij. monethes: of the which beast, one of his heades was wounded at length to death, &c.

After this immediatly in the same chap. mentiō foloweth of an other beast, rising out of the land, hauing 2. hornes like a lambe, & spake like a dragon, & did all the power of the former beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the beast: whose head was wounded, and liued. Who also had power to geue spirit & life to the sayd former beast, to make the Image of the beast to speak, & to cause al men frō the highest to the lowest, to take the marke of the beast in theyr handes and foreheades, & whosoeuer worshipped not the Image of the beast should be killed. &c.

Upon this description of these two beastes riseth my question, wherein I desire all papistes, from the highest to the lowest, either to answere or to consider with thēselues, what the spirit of the prophesy meaneth by the sayd 2. beastes. Neither is the mistery of this prophesy so obscure, but being historicall, by histories it may be explaned & easely expōded. Writing therfore to the Papistes, as men expert in histories, my question is this: that seing the prophesy of these 2. beastes must needes prefigure some people or dominiō in the world, of some high estate & power: they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this should be. Which if they will do playnely and truely, according to the markes & propertyes of the sayd ij. beastes here set forth, they must needes be driuen of force ineuitable to graunt and confesse, the same only to agree to the City & Empyre of Rome, & to no other: Which by these reasons folowing of necessity must needes be concluded.

*First, the beast wich came out of the sea, hauing the strength, the seat, and power of the great Dragon (the Deuill, called the Prince of this world, committed to him, who also had power geue ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people and countryes in the earth) must needes be an Empyre or Monarchy of great force, passing all other Monarchies in the world besides, and this must needes argue the Empyre of Rome and none other.

*Secondly, in that the best had vij. heads & x. hornes, with x. diademes full of blasphemy vpō thē: those vij. heades being expounded in the sayd booke, cap. 17. for vii. hilles, notoriously importeth the Citie of Rome, wherein were 7. hilles conteyned. The like also may be thought of y^e x. hornes being there expounded for x. kinges (signifying belike y^e x. Prouincies or Kingdomes of the worlde subdued to the Romaine Empyre) with x. crownes of blasphemy vppon their heades: all which conueniently agree to the Cittie of Rome.

Thirdly, where the sayd beast had power to make 42. monthes and to fight against the Saintes, and to ouercome them, &c. therby most manifestly is declared the Empyre of Rome, with the heathen persecuting Emperours, whiche had power geuē the space of so many monthes, (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius. 294. yeares) to persecute Christs Church as in the Table of the primitiue Church hereafter following is discoursed more at large.

Fourthly, where the prophet speaketh of the one of the heades of the beast to be wounded to the death, & the woūd afterward to be cured agayne, by that ye haue to vnderstand the decay and subuersion of the Citie of Rome & of Italy, which being one of the heades of the Romaine Monarchie, was subdued by the Gottes, Uandals, & Lombards, and the Cittie of Rome, thrise sackt and taken betweene the reigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the tyme of Iustinian Emperor of Constantinople, & so remayned this head of Rome wounded a long time vnder the dominion of y^e Lombards, till at length this wound was cured agayne, as the sequele of this prophesie declareth: For so it followeth in the foresayd chap. of the Reuelation: And after this I saw (sayth he) an other beast rising out of the land, hauing two hornes like the lamb, and spake like the Dragon. Who practi•ed all the power of the first beast before his face, and caused all the inhabitantes of the earth to worship the first beast whose head was wounded and cured agayne &c. And to him it was geuen to geue life to the Image of the beast, and to make it speake: and also to make all them that will not worship the image of the beast, to bee slayne, and caused all from the most to the least, both rich and poore, free men and bondmen, to take the marke of the beast in their right hand and in their foreheades, so that none should buy and sell vnles he had the beastes marke about him▪ &c.

The description of this second beast being well viewed: it cannot be auoided, but needes must be applied to y^e byshop of Rome and to none other: * as by the history and order of times is euident to be proued. For who els representeth y^e hornes of the lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world, but only he? who speaketh with y^e voyce of y^e Dragon so proudly, as he? The voice of the Dragon spake once to Christ: That all the glory of the world was his to geue to whom he would, & that he would geue it. &c. And doth not thys fal•e horned lambe speaking in the same voyce of the Dragon, say by the mouth of Pope Gregory 7. that all the kingdomes of the earth were hys, and that hee had power in earth to loose, and take away Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what els soeuer mortall menne may haue, * and to geue them where he would? &c. Ex platina in Vit. Gregorij. 7.

Furthermore, at what time the declining state of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought vnder subiection of y^e Lombardes, then the Pope stirred vp Pipinus and Carol•s Magnus, to take his part agaynst the Lombardes, and to restore agayne, the old glory of y^e Monarchie to hys former state. And therefore who cured the wounded head of this beast agayne, but onely he? who gaue life and speach to the Image of the beast but he? who after that by helpe of the French kings, had subdued those Lombardes with other aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome, into hys own handes, he so repared & aduaunsed the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons from the hiest, to the lowest, both rich & poore haue bene glad to send & seek to Rome, yea Kinges, Emperors, Queens, & Dukes haue bene glad to kisse the Bishops feete▪ and to lead hys horse by the bridle: So that the Maiesty of Rome in the old heathē Emperors days was neuer more terrible, nor glorious, nor neuer had more power to persecute & ouercome gods Saintes thē these lambelyke Byshops of Rome haue had, * and haue exercised these 500. yeares

in Christendome. And therefore who els in all the world hath so much power to do the workes of the first beast, before hys face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poore, free and bond to receaue the seale, and to become loyall to the Citie and sea of Rome: so that whoseuer hath not the marke whereby to be knowne to holde of the Church of Rome, shall haue no place, to buy and sell nor to occupy in all Christendome.

Now if any Papist whatsoeuer, in answering to this my questiō can apply this prophetically mistery of these 2. beasts otherwise then thus, I would hartely desire him, to take so much paynes to satisfie this doubt at his good pleasure & laysure. In the meane season let this stand for a Corolarium, that the bishop of Rome by this description must be that second beast prophesied to come in the latter time of the Church vnder a false pretended lambe, to restore agayn the old persecutions of Rome, and to disturbe the whole Church of Christ, as this day to truely is come to passe.

The fourth Question.

AS touching my fourth question, although I could vrge you w^t an other like prophetically place of scripture no lesse euident agaynst the bishop of Rome,* taken out of the second Epistle of S. Paule to the The•la. where mention is made of the sonne of perdition, sitting in the Temple of God, as god, & aduaūcing himselfe aboue al that is called god &c. which place ye can by no reasonable euasiō auoyd: yet notwithstanding to let this passe, I turne my questiō to aske this of you, whether the religion of Christ be mere spiritual, or els corporall. If ye affirme it to be corporall as was the old religiō of the Iewes cōsisting in outward rites, sacrifices, ceremonies of the law: thē shew if ye can, what any one outward actiō or obseruatiō is required in christian religiō by the scripture, as necessary in a christen man, for remissiō of sinnes & saluation,* saue onely the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptisme, & of the Lordes Supper? Howbeit neither these also as they are corporall, that is to say neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other cōferreth remissiō of sinnes, nor saluation, but onely are visible shewes of inuisible & spirituall benefits. And furthermore if our god, whō we serue, be spirituall, how can his religiō & seruice be corporall as we are taught by the mouth of our sauior, saying: God is a spirit and therefore they that worship him, must worship in spirit & verity. &c. Ioan. 4.

Now if ye graunt (as ye must needes) this our christen religion to be spirituall, & not a corporall religiō, thē shew if ye can, any one poynt of all these things which ye striue for so much with vs, to be spirituall, but altogether corporall, & externe matters & ceremonially obseruations,* nothing cōducing to any spirituall purpose, as your outward successiō of bishops, garmentes, vestures, gestures, co•lors, choise of meates, differēce of dayes, times & places, hearing, seing, saying, touching, tasting, numbring of beades, gilding & worshipping Images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloysters, abstaining from flesh & white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping Imberdayes hearing masse & diuine seruice, seing & adoring the body in forme of bread, receiuing holy water, & holy bread, creeping to the crosse, carying palmes, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage going, sensing, kneeling, knocking, aultars, superaltars, candlestickes, pardons: In orders crossing, annoynting, shauing, forswearing mariage: In baptisme, crossing, salting, spatling,* exorcising, washing of handes: At Easter ear• confession, penance doing, satisfaction: And in receiuing with bearded new shauen, to imagine a body, where they see no body: & though he were there present to be sene, yet the outward seing &

touching of him, of it selfe, without fayth, conduceth no more, thē it did to the Iewes. At Rogatiō daies, to cary banners, to follow the crosse, to walke about the fieldes. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At halowmas to watch in the church, to say a dirige & commendations, & to ring for all soules to pay tithes truely, to geue to the high aultar. And if a man will be a Priest, to say Masse & Mattens, to serue the Saynt of that day, and to lift well ouer his head. &c. In sicknes to be aneled, to take his rites, after his death to haue funerals, & obites sayd for him, and to be rong for at his funerall, moneth mind, and yearemind. &c. Adde moreouer to these the outward sacrifici• of the Masse, with opus operatum sine bono motu vtentis. &c.

All which thinges aboue recited,* as they conteine the whole summary & effect of all the popes catholicke religion: so are they all corporall exercises, consisting in the externe operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right catholicke christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the holy ghost. For what is in all these, but the flesh & blood, of his strength is able to accōplish, though no inward strength or motion of the holy Ghost did worke.

But now the order of our religion, & way of saluation consisteth not in such corporall or outward things as these, but in other more higher & more spirituall gifts, which farre exceed the capacity of flesh & blood: of the which giftes the chieftest & onely meane cause that saueth man, & remitteth sinnes, is his fayth in Christ. Which fayth I thus define, for a man to beleue by the bloudshedding of Iesus y^e sonne of god, his sinnes to be forgeuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, & himselfe to be iustified perfectly from all accusations that can be layd vnto him. &c. And though the Papistes make a light matter of this, to beleue in Christ, and when they heare vs say, that fayth onely iustifieth, they object to vs again and make it a small matter to be sauēd, if fayth onely iustifie vs. Yet notwithstanding, this fayth, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attayne therto, vnles Gods holy spirite frō aboue do draw him.

Moreouer besides this fayth, many other thinges are incident also to the doctrine of our saluation. Albeit as no causes therof, but either as Sacramentes and seales of fayth, or as declarations thereof, or els as fruites, & effects folowyng the same. So Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord be as testimonies and profes: that by our fayth only in Christ we are iustified, that as our bodyes are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine: so by the bloud of Christ, our sinnes be purged, and the hunger of our soules releued by the death of his body.

Upon the same fayth riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other thinges also as fruites and effectes do follow after fayth, as peace of conscience, ioy in the holy Ghost, inuocation, patience, charitie, mercy, iudgement, & sanctification. For God for our fayth in Christ his sonne, therefore geueth into our hartes his holy spirite of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby mans hart is moued to a godly disposition to feare God, to seek him,* to call vpon him, to trust vnto him, to stick to him in all aduersities and persecutions, to loue him: & for hys sake also to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compassion vpon them, to visite them if they be in prison, to breake bread to them, if they be hungry: and if they be burdened, to ease them: to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseles. Mat. 25. with such other spirituall exercises of pietie and sanctification as these. which therefore I call spirituall, because they proceede of the holy spirite and law of God which is spirituall.

And thus haue ye a Catholicke Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the Gospell. Now conferre these Antitheses together, and see whether of these is the truer christian, the ceremonial man after the Church of Rome, or the spirituall man with his fayth and other spirituall fruites of pietie following after y^e same. And if ye say that ye mixt them both together, spirituall thinges with your corporall ceremonies, to that I aunswere agayne, that as touching the end of remission of sinnes, and saluation, they ought in no case to be ioyned together, be^cause the meane cause of all our saluation and remission, is onely spirituall, and consisteth in fayth, and in no other.

And therefore vpon the same cause I come to my question agayne, as I began, to aske whether the Religion of Christ be a mere spirituall religion: and whether in the Religion of Rome: as it is now, is any thing but onely mere corporall thinges required, to make a catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your aunswere.

IN turning ouer the first leafe of this booke, which is pag. 2. col. 1. and in the latter end of the same colume, thou shalt finde gentle Reader, the argument of Pighius & Hosius, wherein thus they argue: That forsomuch as Christ must needes haue a catholicke Church euer continuing here in earth, which all men may see & wherunto all men ought to resort: and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the Apostles, visible here in earth, but only y^e church of Rome: they conclude therefore the Church onely of Rome to be the right Catholicke Church of Christ. &c.

In aunswering whereunto this is to be sayd: that forsomuch as the medius terminus of this argument, both in the Maior and Minor, consisteth onely in the word (visible and vnknowne) if they meane by this word (visible) in the Maior that Christes Church must be seene here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false: Likewise if they meane by the same word (visible in the Minor: that no other Church hath bene seene and known to any, but onely the Church of Rome, they are likewise deceiued. For the true Church of Christ neyther is so visible, that all the worlde can see it, but onelye they whiche haue spirituall eyes: and bee members thereof: nor yet so inuisible agayne, but suche as be Gods elect, and members therof, doe see it and haue seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot so doe. &c. Wherof read more in the protestation aboue prefixed to the church of England.

*The first Question.

First,* forsomuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Iesai, the hill of his holines) beareth in the scripture an vndoubted type of the spiritual church of Christ: & for so much as the sayd Iesai. ca. 11. & 65. prophesying of the sayd Mount Sion, sayth in these wordes:*Non nocebunt ne{que} affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus. &c. 1. They shal not kill nor hurt, in all my holy hill, sayth the Lord. &c. And agayne in the same chap. thus we read: Habitabit Lupus cum agno, & Pardus cū haedo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo & ouis vna commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos. &c. i. The wolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, & the Leopard with the Kid: the Calfe, the Lion & the sheepe shall feed together, & a yong child shall rule thē. The Cow also & the Beare shall abide together w^t theyr yong ones, & the Lion shall eat chaffe & fodder like y^e Oxe. &c.

Upon these premises now foloweth my question, how the church of Rome can be answerable to this hill of Siō: seing in the sayd church of Rome is,* and hath bene now so many yeares such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning & spoyling of christen blood, such malice & mischief wrought, as in reading these historyes may to all the world appeare.

To this if they aunswere, & expound these wordes of the Prophet, as perteing to the church triumphant therevnto I reply agayne:* that by the wordes in the same place & in the same sentence expressed that sence cannot stand, for as much as the Prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy mountayne without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, & sheweth also the cause of that godly peace. Because (sayth he) the earth is replenished with knowledge & science of the Lord. &c. ibid. And furthermore the Prophet speaking of the same day when this shalbe, addeth saying: In that day the root of Iesse shall stand for a signe to the people, for the Gentils to be conuerted, and to seeke vnto him▪ &c. Which day in no wise can be applyed to the church in heauen triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Touching which place of Iesai,* further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Moūt Sion (which comprehendeth both the states, as well ecclesiasticall as tēporall) is not restrayned the publicke penalty of good lawes needfull to be executed vpon publicke malefactors, but here is restrayned the fiercenes, reuenge, cruelty, & violence of mens affections. To which affectiōs men being commonly subiect by nature, through grace & working of the gospel are altered, reformed, & chaūged to another disposition: frō stoutnes to softnes: frō violence to sufferance: from fiercenes to forbearing: frō pride to humility, frō cruelty to compassion, from wilynes to simplicity, frō solemne singularity to humanity and meekenes. Which vertues, if they had bene in the church of Rome (according to the rule of S. Paul, which willeth men that be stronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meeknes. &c. Rom. 15. Gal. 6.) I should not haue needed now at this time to write such a long history as this of the suffering of so many Martyrs.

The second Question.

MY second question is this: * to demaūd of you catholicke professors of the popes sect, which so deadly maligne and persecute the protestants professing the gospell of Christ, * what iust or reasonable cause haue you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bear vnto the, y^r neither you your selues can abide to liue w^t them, nor yet will suffer y^e other to liue amongst you? If they were Iewes, Turkes or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any Idolatrous impitie or detestable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly destruction, or priuy conspiracies to oppresse your liues, or by fraudulent dealing to circūuent you, then had you some cause to cōplaine, and also to reuenge. Now seing in their doctrine ye haue neyther blasphemy, idolatry, superstition nor misbeliefe to object vnto them: seing they are baptised in the same beliefe, and beleue the same articles of the Crede, as ye do: hauing the same God, y^e same Christ & sauour, the same baptisme, & and are ready •s con•erre with you in all kinde of Christen doctrine, neyther do refuse to be tryed by any place of the scripture, how then riseth this mortall malice of you agaynst them? If you thinke them to be her•tickes, then bring forth if ye can, any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the minde of holy scripture: expounded by the censure of most auncient Doctours? Or what is there in all y^r scripture to be required, but they acknowledge & confesse the same? See & try the order of their liues & doinges, what great fault find you. They serue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be transgressors toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deserued why you should be so bitter agaynst them?

What offended the poore habitants of Merindal & Cabriers when the bishop of Aix, the Cardinal of Turon, and other Bishops of France wrasting from Fraunces the French king a commission, * sent Men•rius w^t his Captayne Iohn de Gay to destroy theyr countrey, an. 1530. who driuing y^e poore people there into a barn ful of straw, set y^e barn on fire, & burned vp men, women, and children: And likewise in a church, exercised the like crueltie vpon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand yong and old, women, children, and yong infants, besides vii. whole townes, with the most part of the dwellers thering, being murdered & burnt in y^e sayd country of Prouēce.

Also before that, what offended the Cittizens of Tholouse and Auinion when Pope Gregory the ix. set Lewes the French king to warre agaynst them and agaynst Raymundus their Earle, without cause, where also the sayd kyng died at the siege.

Or to speake of later yeres, what hurt or harme did the poore Protestantes in the towne of Uassy, who peaceably being at a Sermon, were miserably slayne and cut▪ men, women, and children, by the Duke of Guyes and hys armed souldiours? besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbred of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Fraunce, and now of late in Flaunders, and in other countryes moe.

But to let other countryes passe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernment in this realme of England, vnder this our so milde & gracious Queene now presently reigning. Under whome you see howe gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed vnto you: how quietly ye liue. What lacke you, that you woulde haue, hauing almost the best rowmes and offices in all the realme, not onely without any losse of lyfe▪ but also without anye feare of death. And though a few of your

Arch•lerkes be in custody: yet in that custody so shrewdly are they hurt, that many a good Protestant in the realme would be glad with all their hartes to chaunge rowmes and dyet with them if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure haue slipt ouer the seas, if their courage to see countries abroad did so allure them, who coulde let them, yet this is certayne, no dreade there was of death that draue them. For what papist haue you seen in all this land to lose eyther life or limme for papistry during al these xii. yeares hetherto since this Queenes reigne? And yet all this notwithstanding, hauing no cause to complayne, so many causes to geue God thāks ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety but hope for a day, and fayne would haue a chaunge. And to preuent your desired day, ye haue conspired, and rise vpp in open rebellion agaynst your Prince, whom the Lord hath set vp to be your gouernour.

And as you haue since that,* nowe of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable state of Scotland, in murdering most trayterously the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in sparing the Queenes life there when he had her in his handes, hath now therfore lost his own) so with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would disturbe the golden quiet and tranquillitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your willes▪ Which the mercifull grace of almightie, for Christ his sonnes sake our Lord, forfend and vtterly disapoynt. Amen.

Wherefore these premises cōsidered, my question is to aske of you & know, what iust or reasonable cause ye haue of these your vnreasonable doinges,* of this your so mortall and deadly hatred, fury and malice you beare agaynst these your euenchristened, of these your tumultes, coniurations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutterings, & murders, wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world. Of all which mischiefes, if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtles to be none other but onely the priuate cause of the Bishop of Rome, that he is not receiued, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

Touching which cause how vnreasonable and vniust it is, more shalbe sayd (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shal see theyr answer, if it shall so please thē, or any of thē to answer this question. In the meane time this for a briefe note shall suffice: that it standeth not with the scripture, but contrary to the scripture that the Bishop of Rome should so reuenge his owne priuate cause. If his title & plantatiō be good & of God, why doth he not refer it vnto god? And no doubt,* but if it be so, God will maintein it, though the whole world sayd no. If it be otherwise, it will fall & be rooted out, though all the world sayd yea, yea the greatest argument to proue this plantation of the Popes supremacy not to be of God, is, that the Pope fighting in his owne priuate cause, by outward & worldly force seeketh his owne glory▪ Christ our sauior being here refused himselfe, yet neither reuenged his cause, nor sought his owne glory, but only the glory & will of his father, thus speaking of himself: Si ego glorifico meipsū, gloria mea nihil est, pater meus est, qui glorificat me▪ &c. Ioan. 8. i. If I glorify my selfe, my glory is nothing, my father is he that glorifyeth me. &c. Euen so I saye with scripture, that if the Popes proc•edings were planted of God, he would not so wrastle for his glory, as •e doth. But forsomuch as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloudshed to exalt himselfe, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he shalbe brought low. &c. Luke. 18.

* The third Question.

MY third question I take of the 13. chap. of the booke of Reuelation. Which booke as it containeth a Prophetical history of the Church: * so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened. In this chapter mention is made first of a certayne beast comming out of the Sea, hauing vij. heads & x. hornes, with x. diademes of blasphemy. Unto y^e which beast the dragon, the deuill, gaue his strength, and great power to fight agaynst the Sayntes▪ & to ouercome them, & to make xliij. monethes: of the which beast, one of his heades was wounded at length to death, &c.

After this immediatly in the same chap. mentiō foloweth of an other beast, rising out of the land, hauing 2. hornes like a lambe, & spake like a dragon, & did all the power of the former beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the beast: whose head was wounded, and liued. Who also had power to geue spirit & life to the sayd former beast, to make the Image of the beast to speak, & to cause al men frō the highest to the lowest, to take the marke of the beast in theyr handes and foreheades, & whosoeuer worshipped not the Image of the beast should be killed. &c.

Upon this description of these two beastes riseth my question, wherein I desire all papistes, from the highest to the lowest, either to answere or to consider with thēselues, what the spirit of the prophesy meaneth by the sayd 2. beastes. Neither is the mistery of this prophesy so obscure, but being historicall, by histories it may be explained & easely expōded. Writing therfore to the Papistes, as men expert in histories, my question is this: that seing the prophesy of these 2. beastes must needes prefigure some people or dominiō in the world, of some high estate & power: they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this should be. Which if they will do playnely and truely, according to the markes & propertyes of the sayd ij. beastes here set forth, they must needes be driuen of force ineuitable to graunt and confesse, the same only to agree to the City & Empyre of Rome, & to no other: Which by these reasons folowing of necessity must needes be concluded.

*First, the beast wich came out of the sea, hauing the strength, the seat, and power of the great Dragon (the Deuill, called the Prince of this world, committed to him, who also had power geuē ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people and cuntryes in the earth) must needes be an Empyre or Monarchy of great force, passing all other Monarchies in the world besides, and this must needes argue the Empyre of Rome and none other.

*Secondly, in that the best had vij. heads & x. hornes, with x. diademes full of blasphemy vpō thē: those vij. heades being expounded in the sayd booke, cap. 17. for vii. hilles, notoriously importeth the Citie of Rome, wherein were 7. hilles conteyned. The like also may be thought of y^e x. hornes being there expounded for x. kinges (signifying belike y^e x. Prouincies or Kingdomes of the worlde subdued to the Romaine Empyre) with x. crownes of blasphemy vpon their heades: all which conueniently agree to the Cittie of Rome.

Thirdly, where the sayd beast had power to make 42. monthes and to fight against the Saintes, and to ouercome them, &c. therby most manifestly is declared the Empyre of Rome, with the heathen persecuting Emperours, whiche had power geuē the space of so many monthes, (that is,

from Tiberius to Licinius. 294. yeares) to persecute Christs Church as in the Table of the primitiue Church hereafter following is discoursed more at large.

Fourthly, where the prophet speaketh of the one of the heades of the beast to be wounded to the death, & the woūd afterward to be cured agayne, by that ye haue to vnderstand the decay and subuersion of the Citie of Rome & of Italy, which being one of the heades of the Romaine Monarchie, was subdued by the Gottes, Uandals, & Lombards, and the Cittie of Rome, thrise sackt and taken betweene the reigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the tyme of Iustinian Emperor of Constantinople, & so remayned this head of Rome wounded a long time vnder the dominion of y^e Lombards, till at length this wound was cured agayne, as the sequele of this prophesie declareth: For so it followeth in the foresayd chap. of the Reuelation: And after this I saw (sayth he) an other beast rising out of the land, hauing two hornes like the lamb, and spake like the Dragon. Who practi•ed all the power of the first beast before his face, and caused all the inhabitantes of the earth to worship the first beast whose head was wounded and cured agayne &c. And to him it was geuen to geue life to the Image of the beast, and to make it speake: and also to make all them that will not worship the image of the beast, to bee slayne, and caused all from the most to the least, both rich and poore, free men and bondmen, to take the marke of the beast in their right hand and in their foreheades, so that none should buy and sell vnles he had the beastes marke about him▪ &c.

The description of this second beast being well viewed: it cannot be auoided, but needes must be applied to y^e byshop of Rome and to none other: * as by the history and order of times is euident to be proued. For who els representeth y^e hornes of the lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world, but only he? who speaketh with y^e voyce of y^e Dragon so proudly, as he? The voice of the Dragon spake once to Christ: That all the glory of the world was his to geue to whom he would, & that he would geue it. &c. And doth not thys fal•e horned lambe speaking in the same voyce of the Dragon, say by the mouth of Pope Gregory 7. that all the kingdomes of the earth were hys, and that hee had power in earth to loose, and take away Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what els soeuer mortall menne may haue, * and to geue them where he would? &c. Ex platina in Vit. Gregorij. 7.

Furthermore, at what time the declining state of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought vnder subiection of y^e Lombardes, then the Pope stirred vp Pipinus and Carol•s Magnus, to take his part agaynst the Lombardes, and to restore agayne, the old glory of y^e Monarchie to hys former state. And therefore who cured the wounded head of this beast agayne, but onely he? who gaue life and speach to the Image of the beast but he? who after that by helpe of the French kings, had subdued those Lombardes with other aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome, into hys own handes, he so repared & aduaunsed the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons from the hiest, to the lowest, both rich & poore haue bene glad to send & seek to Rome, yea Kinges, Emperors, Queens, & Dukes haue bene glad to kisse the Bishops feete▪ and to lead hys horse by the bridle: So that the Maiesty of Rome in the old heathē Emperors days was neuer more terrible, nor glorious, nor neuer had more power to persecute & ouercome gods Saintes thē these lambelyke Byshops of Rome haue had, * and haue exercised these 500. yeares in Christendome. And therefore who els in all the world hath so much power to do the workes of the first beast, before hys face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poore, free and bond to receaue the seale, and to become loyall to the Citie and sea of Rome:

so that whoseuer hath not the marke whereby to be knowne to holde of the Churche of Rome, shall haue no place, to buy and sell nor to occupy in all Christendome.

Now if any Papist whatsoeuer, in answering to this my questiō can apply this propheticall mistery of these 2. beasts otherwise then thus, I would hartely desire him, to take so much paynes to satisfie this doubt at his good pleasure & laysure. In the meane season let this stand for a Corolarium, that the bishop of Rome by this description must be that second beast prophesied to come in the latter time of the Church vnder a false pretended lambe, to restore agayn the old persecutions of Rome, and to disturbe the whole Church of Christ, as this day to truely is come to passe.

The fourth Question.

AS touching my fourth question, although I could vrge you w^t an other like propheticall place of scripture no lesse euident agaynst the bishop of Rome,* taken out of the second Epistle of S. Paule to the The•la. where mention is made of the sonne of perdition, sitting in the Temple of God, as god, & aduaūcing himselfe aboue al that is called god &c. which place ye can by no reasonable euasiō auoyd: yet notwithstanding to let this passe, I turne my questiō to aske this of you, whether the religion of Christ be mere spiritual, or els corporall. If ye affirme it to be corporall as was the old religiō of the Iewes cōsisting in outward rites, sacrifices, ceremonies of the law: thē shew if ye can, what any one outward actiō or obseruatiō is required in christian religiō by the scripture, as necessary in a christen man, for remissiō of sinnes & saluation,* saue onely the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptisme, & of the Lordes Supper? Howbeit neither these also as they are corporall, that is to say neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other cōferreth remissiō of sinnes, nor saluation, but onely are visible shewes of inuisible & spirituall benefits. And furthermore if our god, whō we serue, be spirituall, how can his religiō & seruice be corporall as we are taught by the mouth of our sauior, saying: God is a spirit and therefore they that worship him, must worship in spirit & verity. &c. Ioan. 4.

Now if ye graunt (as ye must needes) this our christen religion to be spirituall, & not a corporall religiō, thē shew if ye can, any one poynt of all these thinges which ye striue for so much with vs, to be spirituall, but altogether corporall, & externe matters & ceremoniall obseruations,* nothing cōducing to any spirituall purpose, as your outward successiō of bishops, garmentes, vestures, gestures, co•lors, choise of meates, differēce of dayes, times & places, hearing, seing, saying, touching, tasting, numbring of beades, gilding & worshipping Images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloysters, abstaining from flesh & white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping Imberdayes hearing masse & diuine seruice, seing & adoring the body in forme of bread, receiuing holy water, & holy bread, creeping to the crosse, carying palmes, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage going, sensing, kneeling, knocking, aultars, superaltars, candlestickes, pardons: In orders crossing, annoynting, shauing, forswearing mariage: In baptisme, crossing, salting, spatling,* exorcising, washing of handes: At Easter ear• confession, penaunce doing, satisfaction: And in receiuing with beardes new shauen, to imagine a body, where they see no body: & though he were there present to be sene, yet the outward seing & touching of him, of it selfe, without fayth, conduceth no more, thē it did to the Iewes. At Rogatiō daies, to cary banners, to follow the crosse, to walke about the fieldes. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At halowmas to watch in the church, to say a dirige & commendations, & to ring for all soules to pay tithes truely, to geue to the high aultar. And if a man will be a Priest, to say Masse & Mattens, to serue the Saynt of that day, and to lift well ouer his head. &c. In sicknes to be aneled, to take his rites, after his death to haue funerals, & obites sayd for him, and to be rong for at his funerall, moneth mind, and yearemind. &c. Adde moreouer to these the outward sacrifi• of the Masse, with opus operatum sine bono motu vtentis. &c.

All which thinges aboue recited,* as they containe the whole summary & effect of all the popes catholicke religion: so are they all corporall exercises, consisting in the externe operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right catholicke christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the holy

ghost. For what is in all these, but the flesh & blood, of his strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the holy Ghost did worke.

But now the order of our religion, & way of saluation consisteth not in such corporall or outward things as these, but in other more higher & more spirituall gifts, which farre exceed the capacity of flesh & blood: of the which giftes the chieftest & onely meane cause that saueth man, & remitteth sinnes, is his fayth in Christ. Which fayth I thus define, for a man to beleue by the bloudshedding of Iesus y^e sonne of god, his sinnes to be forgeuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, & himselfe to be iustified perfectly from all accusations that can be layd vnto him. &c. And though the Papistes make a light matter of this, to beleue in Christ, and when they heare vs say, that fayth onely iustifieth, they object to vs again and make it a small matter to be saued, if fayth onely iustifie vs. Yet notwithstanding, this fayth, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attayne therto, vnles Gods holy spirite frō aboue do draw him.

Moreouer besides this fayth, many other thinges are incident also to the doctrine of our saluation. Albeit as no causes therof, but either as Sacramentes and seales of fayth, or as declarations thereof, or els as fruites, & effects folowyng the same. So Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord be as testimonies and profes: that by our fayth only in Christ we are iustified, that as our bodyes are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine: so by the bloud of Christ, our sinnes be purged, and the hunger of our soules releued by the death of his body.

Upon the same fayth riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other thinges also as fruites and effectes do follow after fayth, as peace of conscience, ioy in the holy Ghost, inuocation, patience, charitie, mercy, iudgement, & sanctification. For God for our fayth in Christ his sonne, therefore geueth into our hartes his holy spirite of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby mans hart is moued to a godly disposition to feare God, to seek him,* to call vpon him, to trust vnto him, to stick to him in all aduersities and persecutions, to loue him: & for hys sake also to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compassion vpon them, to visite them if they be in prison, to breake bread to them, if they be hungry: and if they be burdened, to ease them: to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseles. Mat. 25. with such other spirituall exercises of pietie and sanctification as these. which therefore I call spirituall, because they proceede of the holy spirite and law of God which is spirituall.

And thus haue ye a Catholicke Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the Gospell. Now conferre these Antitheses together, and see whether of these is the truer christian, the ceremonial man after the Church of Rome, or the spirituall man with his fayth and other spirituall fruites of pietie following after y^e same. And if ye say that ye mixt them both together, spirituall thinges with your corporall ceremonies, to that I aunswere agayne, that as touching the end of remission of sinnes, and saluation, they ought in no case to be ioyned together, be'cause the meane cause of all our saluation and remission, is onely spirituall, and consisteth in fayth, and in no other.

And therefore vpon the same cause I come to my question agayne, as I began, to aske whether the Religion of Christ be a mere spirituall religion: and whether in the Religion of Rome: as it is now, is any thing but onely mere corporall thinges required, to make a catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your aunswere.

IN turning ouer the first leafe of this booke, which is pag. 2. col. 1. and in the latter end of the same colume, thou shalt finde gentle Reader, the argument of Pighius & Hosius, wherein thus they argue: That forsomuch as Christ must needes haue a catholicke Church euer continuing here in earth, which all men may see & wherunto all men ought to resort: and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the Apostles, visible here in earth, but only y^e church of Rome: they conclude therefore the Church onely of Rome to be the right Catholicke Church of Christ. &c.

In aunswering whereunto this is to be sayd: that forsomuch as the medius terminus of this argument, both in the Maior and Minor, consisteth onely in the word (visible and vnknowne) if they meane by this word (visible) in the Maior that Christes Church must be seene here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false: Likewise if they meane by the same word (visible in the Minor: that no other Church hath bene seene and known to any, but onely the Church of Rome, they are likewise deceiued. For the true Church of Christ neyther is so visible, that all the worlde can see it, but onelye they whiche haue spirituall eyes: and bee members thereof: nor yet so inuisible agayne, but suche as be Gods elect, and members therof, doe see it and haue seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot so doe. &c. Wherof read more in the protestation aboue prefixed to the church of England.

Foure considerations geuen out to Christian Protestantes professours of the Gospell with a briefe exhortation inducing to reformation of life.

The first consideration.

AS in the page before, foure questions were moued to the Catholick Papists to answere them at theyr leysure: so haue I here to the Christian Gospellers foure considerations likewise for them to muse vpon, with speede conuenient.

THE first consideration is this euery good man well to weigh with himselfe the long tranquillitie, the great plenty, the peaceable libertie, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed vpon this land during all the reigne hetherto of this our Soueraigne and most happy Queene ELIZABETH, in such sort as the like example of Gods abundant mercies are not to be seene in any nation about vs, so as we may well sing with the Psalme in the Church. Non fecit taliter omni natione, & opes glorie sue non manifestauit eis▪ first in hauing the true light of Gods gospel so shining among vs, so publickly receiued, so freely preached, with such libertie of conscience without daunger professed, hauing withall a Prince so vertuous, a Queene so gracious geuen vnto vs, of our owne natieue country, bred and borne amongst vs▪ so quietly gouerning vs, so long lent vnto vs in such peace defending vs, agaynst such as would els diuoure vs: briefly what could we haue more at Gods hand, if wee woulde wish? or what els could we wish in this world, that we haue not▪ if this one thing lacked not grace to vse that well, which we haue.

The second consideration.

AS these things first are to be considered concerning our selues: so secondly let vs consider likewise, the state and tymes of other our countrymen, and blessed Martyrs afore past: what stormes of persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what enemies they were matched▪ with what crosses pressed, vnder what Princes, vnder what Prelates they liued, or rather dyed in the dayes of King Henry the 4. king Henry 5. King Henry 7. King Henry 8. Queene Mary. &c. vnder Bo•er Bishoppe of London, Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, Bishoppe Arundell, Stokesley, Courtney, Warham. At what time children were caused to set fire to their fathers: The father adiured to accuse the sonne, the wife to accuse the husband, the husband the wife, brother the sister, sister the brother, examples whereof are plenty in this booke to be seene, pag. 774.

The third consideration.

THirdly let vs call to mynd, considering thus with our selues: These good men and worthy Martyrs in those dangerous daies, tastyng as they did, the heauy hand of Gods sharpe correction, beginning commonly with his owne house first if they were aliue now in these Alcion daies, vnder the protection of such a peaceable prince, O what thanks would they geue to God, how happy would they count themselues hauing but halfe of that we haue, with freedome onely of conscience, and safetie of lyfe. Or if in case we our selues had bene in those times of theirs so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in consistories,

pinched in prisons, sequestred from wife, house and children, loking for nothing but death, What would we say? what would we thinke? what would we do? Much otherwise doubtlesse, then we do now, God graunt we may do better, for worse I thinke we cānot if we would. Ioh Wickliffe, W. Swinderby, Thorpe, Sawtrie, with a nūber of godly men moe, beyng thē glad in friese gownes goyng barefoote, to preach where they could. If they were now alyue, how glad would they be of these dayes, what paines would they take, yea what pains would they▪ not take in preaching the gospell, not for lucre, nor for mony, nor passing for promotions or dignities of the church? Sir I. Oldcastle L. Cobham, sir Rog. Acton, with diuers worshipful gentlemen a great nūber, If they being in our state might enioy with vs their houses and lands, with the good fauour of their Prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they haue contented themselues though they neuer raised their rentes and fines to the vndoing of their poore tenants? Likewise in the tyme of Ioh. Hus and Hierome of Prage, the Nobilitie and gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might haue had halfe this tranquillitie which we haue, to enioy the liberty of Gods word, and true vse of the sacraments without molestatiō of Romish prelates, what would they haue cared how simply they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pomp in pranckyng vp themselues, as we Englishmen in these reformed dayes walke now, more like plaiers in a stage, then gods children in his Church.

The fourth consideration.

WHerfore, welbeloued, these thinges being so, let vs call our selues to mind, considering the times that haue bene, the times that be, and times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the fauor of God onely, that doth support vs in the midst of so many enemies, let vs beware, in no wise we prouoke his indignation. If it be his trueth and Gospell that we professe, let vs walke in the light of his truth, and keepe our selues within the compasse of his Gospell: what the Gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? And yet who foloweth that he knoweth? If S. Paule willeth euery one to depart from iniquity▪ which nameth the Lord Iesus: And if the Lord Iesus himselfe testifieth playnely, his kingdome not to be of this worlde, how will then the nature of that kingdome so spirituall, and our conditions so worldly match well together? To rippe vp all our deformities in particular, I minde not here, neither need I, the same being so euident to all mens eyes, that who cannot see our excessiue outrage in pompous apparrell, our carnall desires and vnchast demeanors, without feare of God, our careles security with out conscience, as though there were no iudgement to come, our studyes so vpon this world, as though there were no other heauen: what pride and idlenes of life, double dissembling in word & deed with out simplicity, auarice vnsatiable, litle regard to heare Gods word, lesse to read it, least of all to folow it, euery man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, litle or no mercye to the poore, racking of rentes & fines, bribing and taking vnmeasurable. What should I speake of the contentions and vnbrotherly diuision amongst vs most lamentable to see,* but more lamentable, if all were seene which may or is like to folow vpon the same. Such were the times once of the Churh before the horrible persecution of Dioclesian, for so we read, such hatred and disdayne, through much peace and prosperity of the Church, to creepe in amongst the Church men. Read pag. 77.

Wherefore let vs be exhorted (dearely beloued) to reclayme our selues, whyle time doth serue. If we finde the Lord so gracious in sparing vs▪ as he doth, let that not make vs worse, but better. It is a lewd childe, which will not learne without beating. A well minding man will be good, not

forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As aduersity if it come, ought not to dismay vs: * so neither prosperity now present ought not to puffe vs vp in security, conside•ing what commonly is wont to folow. As Plato well writeth: Summae at{que} effrenatae libertatis seruitutē plerum{que} affeclam esse. Of immoderate liberty, and to much security, foloweth most commonly extreme seruitude. And as Hippocrates sayth: dispositions of bodyes when the are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subiect to daunger of sickenes. &c. Let vs therfore hauing light geuen vs, walke like children of light. Otherwise if we walke like children of disobedience, God hath his roddes to scourge vs, if we will needes be Rebelles, he hath his Pharaos and Nabuchodonosors to plague vs. Or if we will be so vnordinate, and (with reuerence be it spokē, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish, one to another, the Lorde lacketh not his Doggestrikers to whippe vs. And would God our liues were such, that the destruction and ruine here of late seene amongst vs, may portend nothing agaynst vs, as I trust there is no cause for vs to feare, but rather to feare the Lord and walke in his obedience & amend that is amisse amongst vs. Amen.

The Grace of our Lord Iesus blesse thee gentle reader, that long mayst thou read and much mayst thou profite. Amen.

Pax Pradicantibus. Gratia Audientibus. Gloriam Iesu Christo. *Amen.

In Martyrologium Ioan. Foxi, Laurentius Humfredus.

TRistes Iliadas docti miramur Homeri:

Quas scite studuit texere 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,

Haec madidis spectant maesta theatra genis.

Multa dolenda quidem, sed vaturn somnia multa,

Fictis intexunt vera probata nothis.

Sunt quos delectant vanae commenta Legendae,

Quam stabulum Augeae rite vocare queas.

Dum vitam & mortem Sanctorum naerrat, vt errat?

Vt pingit, fingit, Plumbeus ille liber?

Aurea nunc tandem prodit, noua, vera Legenda:

Egregium Chronicon, lugubris historia.

Authorem commendat opus, sic rursus adornat

Author opus: simul haec vtra{que} felle carent.

Authorem specta: pius est, & tersus, & amplius,

Iudicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.

Si rem consideras, casus, caedes{que} bonorum

Tractat, & immeritae stigmata saeua crucis.

Illudant alij, carpant, at Zoilus olim

Dum perijt, quid sit rodere iam docuit.

Hic discas Lector, quam sit furiosa tyrannis

Romanae caulae cornigeri{que} gregis:

Vt lupus innocuos semper grassetur in agnos:

Vt fremat, atque avidis faucibus ossa voret.

Nonne satis fuerat Christi pia membra cremare?

Et viuos flammis perdere, nonne satis?
Nonne satis damnasse senes, pueros{que}, viros{que},
Faemellas, omni ex ordine, nonne satis?
Cur iuuat, heu, Manesscriptis lacerare iacentes,
Et Diuos Foxi dicere stercoreos?
Ah miser, ah Christi teneros compungis ocellos,
Pupillam tangis, quisquis es, ergo saepe.
Haec est progenies cuius stolalota cruore
Agni, per Christum candida tota nitet.
Illa sub altari querulatur, Christe quous{que}?
Christe veni propere, Christe quousque feres?
Extra tela tua est, & praedicat illa Tonantem:
Mors pretiosa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabiose Sathan? quid spicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniásque pios?
Frustra carnifices, carcer tormenta, faces{que}.
In Coelo regnant membra caput{que} simul.
Corpora sanctorum mundus consumpsit, in altum
Migrarunt auimae, nomina Foxus habet.
Nomina Foxus habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina iam nullo contumulanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus Foxus, cum numine viuent
Nomina, cum{que} suo stirps generosa deo.
Monstra, Christe, tuis portum, compescito fluctus
lactatae naui sit sua, Christe, quies.

Sanguine Fraterno posthaec ne terra madescat:

Ne pergat Foxus scribere Martyria.

Perdita decurtes sceleratae tempora vitae,

Tandem mortiferus transeat iste calix.

Sit finis, veniat{que} tuum, pater optime, regnum:

Sit tibi sit Christo, Spiritui{que} decus.

In Sanct. Martyrum historiam, Abrah. Hartwelus.

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ipsi

Sed nos: non Coelum, Foxe, sed orbis eget.

Illorum creuisse malis laetho{que} putatum est

Quos nunc ipse vides degenerare greges.

Illorum, crede, historia velut ignibus antè

Calsiet quod nunc friget Euangelium.

Certabit{que} aetas veniens millesima, quorum

Fortia facta leget, fortia facta sequi.

Et calamo seruata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,

Funera tot, lacrymas, damna, pericla, neces,

Nulla dies tollet, non qui malus intulit hostis:

Non quamuis omni cum Phlegetone velit.

Non renuente deo, quondam qui saeuijt hostis,

Non, renuente deo, bis violentus erit.

Bis fremat: innocuo rapietur cum grege pastor,

Grege cadet & pastor, spes{que} futura gregis.

Nullus restabit laceris in ouilibus agnus,

Nulla, deus, recta simplicitate pecus.

Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus: alma

Simplicitas fuco, perfidiae{que} fides:
Iniusto, falso, scelerato, sanguineo{que}
Virtutum sacer Euangelium{que} chorus.
Quid facient disce ex factis: ventura probantur
praeteritis.
Ni tua de coelo veniat Clementia, cuius
tolluntur digito parua, superba cadunt.
Et venias aeterne, potens, inuicte, triumphans:
Sic, vt in Aegypto vel Babylone, veni.
Non tanti Babylone Draco Belus{que} fuere,
Cultus{que} insani, & foeda superstitio.
Et licet Aegypti crudelia facta legentur,
Aegyptus non tam saeua minax{que} fuit.
Vtra{que}, nec satis est, monstrum concreuit in vnum.
Et si qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus praeco, styliue magister?
Doctae quid poterunt veriparae{que} scholae?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus sanguifluus{que} liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui viuos vndi{que} testes,
Factores viuos, & modò gesta canit?
Scilicet vt monstret sanctorum Ecclesia qualis,
Collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Vt doceat, firmet, soletur cordapiorum:
Dedoceat, vincat, excrucietue malos.

Vt tibi parta, deus, stet semper gloria, nati
Vt possit teoum gloria stare tui:
Sanguinis vt sacri, non occultanda trophaea.
Vtra{que} posteritas, sancta, maligna, sciat.
Haec, venerande, tibi tanto quaesita labore,
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exant lata tot, & sudata diebus,
Tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos.
Christi, non hominum, laudes sparsuraper orbem
Facta{que} (credo) aetas qualiarara feret:
Haec, oro, tibi Summipotens nobis{que} secundet,
Numinis in laudem perpetuum{que} decus.
Inuideat Sathanas, & Zoilus iliarumpat,
Obtrectet mendax cum grege Roma suo.

In idem argumentum. Rob. R.

EN iterum in magnos noua commentaria vates:
Auctius & plus est, quàm fuit antè decus.
Sanctorum historias, & nostri perfida secli
Tempora, lector habes, terrificum{que} scelus.
Dignum certè opus est, quamuis sit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat posteritas{que} probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) maius: numerosa sophorum est
Littera, sed similis pondere & arte stylus.
Crede mihi historiam hanc quondam lectura vetustase
Suspiciet genium (Foxe diserte) tuum.

Non tamen insani sinit haec dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patitur ve viros.
Histrio, scurra dicax, parasitus, hypocrita, mimus,
Vappamage arrident, leno, papista placent.
Nescis adulari, nec verum (Fuxe) silere:
Scripta{que} miraris non placuisse tua?

Eiusdem.

QVis{que} bonus te (Fuxe) colit, tua scripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc studij tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat, doctorum concio laudat,
Vnde ergo in libros invidia ista tuos?
Vnde Papizantis subita haec conuersio sectae:
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud puduit.
Vnde tot Harpyae, nempe Hardyngi{que} Copi{que}.
Vnde haec Louanij garrula turba scholae?
Causa patet: furiae Musas, nec sacra Papismus,
Nec Christi athletas rasafarina probat.
Nec te adeò oderunt puto, sed verum{que} fidem{que},
Heu bene nulla potest lingua maligna loqui.

In Acta Martyrum, Carmen, Thom. Drant.

[unspec a.] ERgone sic Papae potuit vox improba iussu
Tam durum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Contumulasse rogis, cineres sine honore sepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? quaeue hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit gens vlla, pios sine lege necari,
Tot{que} simul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?

Papa refer, qu• te rapuit rabies{que} furor{que}
Corpora tam diris sanctorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miscere hominum, tot plectere ciues,
Vastare & toto diuisos orbe Britannos?
Dic quid nostrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima passis
Vix pars vlla manet terrae qui panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata est fraus{que} dolus{que},
Et 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , & amor sceleratus habendi?
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem sonat: ergo
Rite putabamus papam cacadaemone natum?
An quod cum Christo nos conspirare debebas?
Quod te cum Christo non conspirare videmus?
Quòd te Romanam crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus, vt sceleris magni, vitij{que} ministrum?
Hinc illud quod se versat diris{que} minis{que},
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus assit.
*Sis miser & nulli cuiquam miserabilis Huius
Tu cladis tantae pars magna Bonere fuisti:
Mactator pecudum Christi, dispensor ouilis,
Triste malum stabulis, & nil nisi pessima clades.
Vos quoque vos omnes Ihouae tetigisse prophetas,
Et calcasse pios, numen spreuisse benignum
Quêis ioculare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.
Iam satis est (proh) plus satis est, resipiscite sero,

Ser animis non vlla dies, nunc discite tandem,
Discite vel tandem moniti non temnere Christum.*
Oscula libetis gnato, ne saeuat vltor,
Et male vos spersos deturbet tramite vitae
At vos qui laeti quidujs superastis acerbum,
Coelicolae, quibus aeternum licet esse beatis,
Dulce decus{que} Dei, Christum quia morte decora
Ornastis, clari superi, coetus{que} triumphans.
Non caro, non mundus, non vos turcae, papa, daemon,
Non phoebe pernox vexabit, sol vè diurnus.
Et vos ô cuncti, scanso qui culmine coeli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relictæ:
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes: tormenta, cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tale? quid ignes?
Scilicet vt fuluum spectatur in ignibus aurum:
Sic vos mactarunt spectata holocausta Christo.
Interitus vester Domini, preciosus ocellis,
Horum (Foxe) pijs, dum tu sic nomina scriptis.
Et mortem, & mores longum diffundis in aeuum,
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipso.
Ergo tu doctis pergis palles•ere chartis
Nocturna versando manu, versando diurna,
Athlas clarorum gnauus, gnarus{que} laborum
Et studijs, dum magna cohors sua commoda captans

(Auspice non Christo) mundi venatur honores.

Vel tu Romano, vel tu sermone Britanno

Scribito, praeteriti vel produc temporis acta,

Patre Deo monstrante viam, data fata secutus:

Omne feres punctum, simisces vtile dulci.

Magne Deus, Coeli{que} sator, mundi{que} monarcha,

Quem nos terrarum tempestatum{que} potentem*

Credimus, & solum scimus venerabile numen,

Aspicias insano vexari cuncta tumultu,

Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volui?

Parce gregiparuo, pacem te poscimus omnes.

Sis bonus (ô) Foelix{que} tuis, vel parvulo Christo,

Cuius membra nimis iam mundus laedit & odit.

per tibi dilectam sponsam promissa{que} pacta,

per passum Christum, per dulcia pignora passi,

per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

Contra Papistas incendiarios.

Sifas caedendo coelestia scandere cuique est,

Papiculis coeli maxima porta patet.

I. F.

In idem argumentum Aegidius Fletcher Cantabrigiensis.

I Am tua ter magnum spatij emensalaborem

Aequora lustravit puppis, ter littora vidit, Foxe.

Dum{que} fugas, enses{que} canis, consumpta{que} flammis

Corpora, consumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent

Membra, sed vtilior nobis tibi noxia soli

Indefessamanet virtus. Quin otia carpis
Mollia, iam solare tuos (diuine) labores.
Non potes, & semper mentem tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparat{que} nouas inpectore vires.
Ergo age quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorum
Facta canis sacro properans indulge labori.
Iam veniet magni seriem dum colligit aeui
Posteritas, quam longa tenet custodia famae,
Dum{que} tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimós{que} duces, medios{que} petita per ignes
Sydera, te ventura simul mirabitur aetas,
Et veterum sacras imitabitur aemula laudes.
Scilicet aethereas ardentia pectora flammās,
Non ignes alij, non ipsa potentia Regum,
Nec vis vlla domat ferri, non tela, nec enses.
Qualis vbi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert munus, cinerés{que} paternos,
Dúm{que} rogum, flammás{que} parat sibi, maior ab igne
Egreditur, qua{que} illa nouis volitauerit alis,
Indigenae volucres laeto clamore sequuntur:
Foelices animae vobis super alta beatis
Sydera calcatur quicquid mortalia tangit
Pectora, nec iam noster honor, nec praemia curae:
Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus inuida tellus.
Ecce tamen, quales poterit, persoluet honores

Posteritas, dum facta legens ingentia, vires
Miratur, plausu{que} fidem super astra sequetur
Victricem. (Hoc siquid debent mortalibus) ipsi
Sanctorum cineres tibi se debere fatentur, Foxe.
Tempus erit, cum tu post fata, piósque labores,
Aucturus superos foelix super alta videbis
Sydera, iam quorum transcribis nomina famae,
Insignes heroas, & ipse videberis illis.
Iam{que} patres superans mundo labente sequetur
Progenies, Coelo se clarior exeret alto
Relligio, humani generis decus, optima custos
Imperij, quam sancta fides comitatur euntem,
Et circum laetis crescet pax aurea terris,
Tum quoque diuini passim monumenta laboris,
Et sacrum florebitopus, fructú{que} beabit,
Et populum, & populi per secula longa nepotes.

In idem argumentum Tho. Ridley Cantabrigiensis.

COrrpora quae quondam iusto caruere sepulchro
Ossá{que} per campos vndi{que} sparsapia
Collegit magna cum sedulitate peritus
Foxus, & in vnum conglomerauit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna Papistae,
Frustra tam sanctum persequerentur opus.
Auxit, & ex vno, idem bina volumina fecit,
Obstruxít{que} suis hostibus ora pius.
Nec sic contentus, rursus limaui & •uctum

Arctauit, populi commoditate sui:
Nequaquam veritus stolidae conuitia linguae,
Dum vestra ô sancti fortia facta sonet.
O vos foelices animae, quae sanguine vestro
Coelestes nobis testificastis opes.
Et tu qui tali decorasti funere sanctas
Reliquias, peragens triste ministerium:
Sed tibi praeclarum, nobis{que} nec inutile, vt istu
Exemplis fortes possumus esse fide.

M. M. S.

PERlege, quae fastis signata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Angligeûm & feruida fata virûm.
Admiranda tibi gemini spectacula coetus,
Pugnantés{que} suo dispare Marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbus saeuo ferus impete Sathan
Tartare as praefert in suaregnafaces.
Illinc Rex superûm, trans flammâs, trans{que} cruentas
Mille neces, Christus sternit ad astra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lacrymae, i•iunia templis
Iussus honos summi iussá{que} sacra patris.
Concilium hoc Cyclopum rabies, fera corda fatigant
Eumenides, tristi pectora senta situ.
Missa volat flammis, & sanguinis ebria riui•
Ante, gradum retrò Roma maligna premit.
Taliam dum memorat Foxus certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit.

Interea veri vis stat sata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato iam Phlegetonte super.
Post alios foetus, alios post deinde labores
Haec extrema subit vindicis ira manus,
Tertia{que} ista patri suspendimus arma Quirino
Parua prius iam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis iam tum miracula saxi
Prodidit Assyriaregius exul humo.
Exiguus lapis hic, sed qui se attollere in auras
Iussus Atlantaeos aequiparare sinus.
Nunc quoque qui impleuit sinuoso fragmine mundum
Aetherio{que} ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipse totius flagranti distulit axe
Imperia, & vertit Regna superba solo.
Saeua Silex quia nam flammantibus incita fundis
Vrbium & elatis peruiciosaminis.
Coctilibus muris Romana Semiramis audax
Prospice, iam Babylon iam ruit illatua.
Saxeaiam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas strages miseris horrida Romulidis
Ultimus hic labor est montis rapientis avari
Puppicolae{que} papae papicolae{que} popas.
At vos foelices animae, quibus aurea cordi
Saecla, pias puro funditis ore preces.
Aligerae{que} acies, ciues stellantis Olympi:

Plaudite: Roma fuit Babela, papa fuit.

In sanguisugas Papistas, Philippus Stubbes.

QVi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum,

Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic stimulum.

Florida quae nimio compressa est pondere palma,

Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.

Auricomans{que} crocus quo calcatur magis, ex••

Hoc magis, excrescit, floret, eo{que} magis.

Sic 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 quantumuis turba papalis

Conspuat, exurat, crescit vbi{que} tamen.

FINIS.

Actes and Monumentes of Christian Martyrs, and matters Ecclesiasticall, passed in the Church of Christ from the Primitiue beginning, to these our dayes, as well in other Countreys, as namely, in this Realme of England, and also of Scotland, discoursed at large.

CHRIST our Sauour in the Gospell of S. Mathew, Cap. 16. hearing the confessiō of Simon Peter, who first of all other openlye acknowledged him to be the sonne of God, and perceauing the secret had of his father therin, aunswered agayne and alludyng to his name, called him a Rocke, vpon which Rocke hee would buylde his Church so strōg, that the gates of Hell should not preuaile against it. &c. In which wordes three things are to be noted: First that Christ will haue a Church in this world. Secondly that the same Church should mightely be impugned, not onely by the world, but also by the vttermost strength & powers of all hell. And thirdly, that the same Church notwithstanding the vttermost of the deuill & all his malice should continue. Which Prophetie of Christ, we see wōderfully to be verified. In somuch that the whole course of the Church to this day, may seeme nothyng els but a verifying of the sayd Prophetie. First that Christ hath set vp a Church needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and sortes of men, of Princes, Kynges, Monarches, Gouvernours, and rulers of this world, with their subiectes publikely & priuately, with all their strength & cunnyng haue bent them selues against this Church. And thirdly, how the sayd Church all this notwithstanding hath yet endured & holden his owne. What stormes & tempestes it hath ouerpast, wonderous it is to behold. For the more euident declaration wherof, I haue addressed this present history, entendyng, by the fauorable ayde of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the eares of my countrey in readyng of newes, as most especially to profite the harts of the godly in perusing antiquities of auncient times, to the ende, that the wonderfull workes of God first in his Church might appeare to his glory. Also that the continuaunce and proceedings of the Church from tyme to tyme beyng set forth in these Actes and Monumentes, more knowledge and experience may redound therby to the profite of the Reader, and edification of Christian faith.

For the better accōplishyng wherof, so to prosecute the matter,* as may best serue to the profite of the Reader, I haue thought good first, begynnyng from the tyme of the primitiue Church, & so continuyng (by the Lordes grace) to these latter yeares, to runne ouer the whole state and course of the Church in generall, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this history, into fiue sundry diuersities of tymes:

1First, I will entreat of the suffring tyme of the Church which continued from the Apostles age about .300. yeres.

Secondly, of the florishyng time of the Church, which lasted other 300. yeares.2

Thirdly, of the declinyng or backeslidyng tyme of the Church, which comprehendeth other 300. yeares, vntill the loosing out of Sathan, which was about the thousand yeare after the ceasing of persecution. During which space of tyme,3 the Church, although in ambition & pride, it was much altered from the simple sinceritie of the Primitiue tyme, yet in outward profession of

doctrine and religion, it was somethyng tollerable, & had some face of a Church: notwithstanding some corruption of doctrine,⁴ with superstition and hypocrisie was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that as followed after, it might seeme (as I sayd) somethyng sufferable.

Fourthly, foloweth the tyme of Antichrist, and loosing of Sathan, or desolation of the Church, whose full swyng containeth the space of 400. yeaes. In which tyme, both doctrine and sinceritie of life, was vtterly almost extinguished, namely, in the chiefe heades and rulers of this West church, through the meanes of the Romaine Byshops, especially countyng from Gregory the vij. called Hildebrand, Innocentius the iij. and Friars which with him crept in, til the tyme of Iohn Wickliffe, & Iohn Husse, duryng 400. yeres.

Fiftly and lastly,⁵ after this tyme of Antichrist, raining in the Church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation & purgyng of the church of God, wherein Antichrist begynneth to be reuealed, and to appeare in his coulors, and his Antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his Church decreasing, and the number of the true Church increasing. The durance of which tyme hath continued hetherto about the space of 280. yeres, and how long shall continue more, the Lord and gouernour of all tymes, he onely knoweth. For in these fiue diuersities & alterations of tymes, I suppose the whole course of the Church may well be comprised. The which Church, because it is vniuersall, and sparsedly through all countreys dilated, therefore in this history standing vpon such a generall argument I shall not be boūd to any one certaine nation, more then an other: yet notwithstanding keepyng mine argument aforesayd, I haue purposed principally to tary vpon such historicall actes and recordes, as most appertaine to this my country of England and Scotland.*

And for somuch as the Church of Rome, in all these ages aboue specified, hath chalenged to it selfe the supreme title, and ringleadyng of the whole vniuersall Church on earth, by whose direction all other Churches haue bene gouerned, in wrytyng therfore of the Church of Christ, I can not but partly also intermedle with the actes and proceedynges of the same Church, for somuch as the doynges & orderyngs of all other Churches from tyme to tyme, as well here in England, as in other nations, haue this long season, chiefly depended vpon the same. Wherefore, as it is much needefull and requisite to haue the doynges & orderyngs of the sayd Church to be made manifest to all Christen congregations: so haue I framed this history, accordyng to the same purpose. First in a generall description briefly to declare as in a summary Table, the misguidyng of that Church, comparyng the former primitiue state of the forenamed Church of Rome, with these later tymes of the same. Which done, then after in a more speciall tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars therof, so farforth as shall seeme not vnprofitable for the publike instruction of all other Christen Churches, to behold and consider the maner & dealyng of this one.* In the which one church of Rome foure things, as most speciall points, seeme to me chiefly to be considered. To wit, Title, Iurisdiction, Life, and Doctrine, wherin I haue here to declare, first concernyng the title or primacie of the Church, how it first began, and vpon what occasion. Secondly, concernyng the iurisdiction and authoritie therof, what it was, and how farre it did extend. Thirdly, touchyng the disorder of lyfe and conuersation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the forme of doctrine, how superstitious & Idolatrous of late it hath bene. Of the which foure y^e first was preiudiciall to all Byshops, the second derogatorie to Kings and Emperours. The third detestable to all men. The fourth iniurious agaynst Christ.

For first,* the title and stile of that church was such, that it ouerwent all other churches, beyng called the holy vniuersall mother Church, which could not erre, and the Byshop therof holy father y^e Pope, Byshop vniuersal, prince of Priestes,* supreme head of the vniuersall Church, and Uicare of Christ here in earth, which must not be iudged, hauyng all knowledge of Scripture and all lawes cōtayned with in the chest of his brest.

[Page 2](#) Secondly the iurisdiction of that Byshop was such, that chalenging to him selfe both the swordes,* that is, both the keyes of the spirituality, and the scepter of the Laytie: not onely he subdued all Byshops vnder him, but also extended him selfe aboue Kynges and Emperours, causing some of them to lye vnder his feete, some to hold his sturup, Kynges to leade his horse by the bridle, some to kisse his feete, placyng and displacyng Emperours, Kynges, Dukes and Earles, whom and whē he listed, takyng vpon him to translate the Empire at his pleasure. First from Grece to Fraunce, from Fraūce to Germany, preferryng and deposing whom he pleased, confirmyng them which were elected. Also beyng Emperour him selfe sede vacante, pretendyng authoritie or power to inuest Byshops, to geue benefices, to spoyle Churches, to geue authoritie to binde and lose, to call generall Councils to iudge ouer the same, to set vp religions, to canonize Saintes, to take appeales, to binde consciences, to make lawes, to dispence with the law and word of God, to deliuer from Purgatory, to commaunde Aungels. &c.

Thirdly, what was the lyfe and conuersation of the court of Rome,* hereafter in the proces of this history followeth to be sene and obserued.

Fourthly, such was his doctrine in like maner, tedious to Students, pernicious to mens consciences, iniurious to Christ Iesus, & cōtrary to itselfe. In lawes more diuers,* in volume more large, in diligēce & study more applied, in vauntage & preferment more gaynfull, then euer was the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which foure pointes well cōsidered and aduised in this present history set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent Christiā Reader, sufficient instructiō to iudge, what is of this sea and Church of Rome to be esteemed.

But here by the way is to be noted, that all these deformities aboue touched of vayne title, of pretended iurisdiction, of hereticall doctrine, of schismaticall lyfe, came not into the Church of Rome all at one tyme, nor sprang with the begynnyng of the same Church, but with long workyng, and continuaunce of tyme by litle and litle crept vp, through occasion, & came not to full perfectiō, till the tyme partly of Pope Siluester, partly of pope Gregory the vij. an. 1170. partly of Innocentius the thyrd,* and finally of Pope Boniface the viij. an. 1300. Of the which foure Popes, the first brought in the title. an. 670. which was neuer in such ample wise before publickely exacted & receiued publickely in the sayd Church of Rome.* The second brought in iurisdiction. The thyrd, which was Pope Innocent with his rable of Monkes and Friers, (as Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Iohannes Scotus;) and with such other Bishops as succeeded in the same sea after hym,* corrupted and obscured the sinceritie of Christes doctrine and maners also. And lastly, Pope Bonifacius the viij. and after him Pope Clement the fift, ouer and besides the iurisdiction, sufficiētly aduaunced before by Pope Hildebrand,* added moreouer the temporal sword to be caryed before them. And that no Emperour (were he neuer so well elected) should bee sufficient and lawfull, without the Popes admission. an. 1300. whereby the Popes power was

brought now to his full pride and perfection. And thus came vp the corruption of the Romish Church in continuance of yeares by degrees, and not all together, nor at one tyme, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Christ willyng) shalbe expressed.

Wherefore, whosoever shall haue hereafter to do with any aduersaries, about the antiquitie or authoritie of the Church of Rome, let him here well consider when, & how the title, iurisdiction, & corruption of doctrine first begā in the Popes sea. And so shal he see, that the church of Rome, as it is now gouerned with this maner of title, iurisdiction, & institution of doctrine, neuer descended frō the primitiue age of the Apostles,* or frō their succession, nisi tātum aquinocè, & non vniuocè: Like as Sancta Maria picta, non est sancta Maria, & homo pictus est non homo, as the scholes do say: that is as the picture of the holy virgine, is not the holy virgine, and as a man painted on the wall, is not a man: so it is to be sayd of the Church of Rome, (the institution and doctrine of the Church of Rome I meane) that although it haue the name of the Church Apostolicall, & doth bring forth a long Genealogie of outward succession from the Apostles, as the Phariseis did in Christes tyme bryng their descent frō Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I sayd) but onely aequiuocè,* that is, in name onely, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apostolicall Church in deede, for as much as the definition of the Apostolicall Church, neither agreeth now with this present Church of Rome, nor yet the maner, forme, & institution of the sayd Romish Church, as it now standeth with this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine, had euer any succession or of•pring from the primitiue Church of the Apostles. But as Christ sayd by the Phariseis, that they were the childrē not of Abraham, but of the deuill: in semblable wise may be aūswered, that this Church of Rome now present, with this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine now vsed, can not be fathered vpon the Apostles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of an other author, whō here I will not name.*

And here now commeth in the Argument of Pighius, Hosius, and Eccius, to be aunswered vnto, who arguyng for the antiquitie and authoritie of the Church of Rome, reason on this maner.

Da That for somuch as an ordinary & a knowen Church visible must here be knowen cōtinually on earth, during frō the time of the Apostles, to the which church all other Churches must haue recourse.

xi. And seeyng then there is no other Church visible, orderly known to haue indured from the Apostles time, but onely the Church of Rome.

j. They conclude therfore that the Church of Rome, is that Church wherunto all other Churches must haue their recourse. &c.

To the which Paralogisme I aūswere thus:* that this word Durans Ecclesia, the during Church in the Minor, hath fallaciā aequiuoci. For although the name of the Church and outward successiō of Byshops haue had their durance frō tyme of the Apostles, yet the definition and matter which maketh a true Apostolicall church in deede, and vniuocè, neither is now in the church of Rome,* nor yet the forme & institution of the church now vsed in Rome was euer frō the Apostles, whiche Apostles were neuer Authors or fathers of this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies euer to the same.

Agayne to the Maior which standeth vpon two partes,* I aunswere, first although the necessitie of the church duryng from the Apostles, may and must be graūted, yet the same necessitie was not boūd to any certaine place, or persō, but onely to fayth, so that wheresoeuer, that is to say, in whatsoeuer congregation true fayth was, there was the church of Christ: And because the true fayth of Christ must needes euer remaine in earth, therfore y^e Church also must needes remaine in earth. And God forbid that the said true faith of Christ should only remaine in one citie in y^e world, and not in other as well. And therfore to the secōd part of the Maior is to be sayd, that as this true and sincere fayth of Christ is not so geuen, to remaine fixely in one place or citie alone: so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained & appointed of God, that al other Churches should haue their recourse vnto it, for determination of their causes and cōtrouersies incident. &c. And thus much to the Argument of Pighius and Hosius, &c.

Now as touchyng the authorities & allegations of the auncient Doctours, and holy fathers in the commēdation of the Church of Rome, here commeth in also to be noted, that whosoeuer will vnderstand rightly their authorities and aūswere to the same, must first learne to make a difference and distinction of the sayd Church of Rome, frō that it was, to that it is, for as much as the Church of Rome is not the same Church now,* which it was then, but onely aequiuocē: otherwise as touching the very propertie and definition of a Church▪ it is an other Church, and nothing agreing to that was then, saue onely in outward name and place, therefore by this distinction made, I aunswere the place of Irenaeus, Cyprianus, and other famous Doctours, commendyng the Church of Rome as Catholicke and Apostolicall, and say that these Doctours speakyng of the Church of Rome which then was, sayd not vntrue, calling it Catholicke & Apostolicall,* for that the same Church tooke their ordinary succession of Byshops, ioyned with the ordinary doctrine and institution frō the Apostles: but speakyng of the Church of Rome, whiche now is, we say the sayd places of the Doctours are not true, neither doe appertaine to the same, all which Doctours neither knew the Church of Rome that now is, neither if they had, would euer haue iudged any thyng therein worthy such commendation.

Ouer and besides,* our aduersaries yet more object agaynst vs, who heauing and shouyng for the antiquitie of the Romish Church for lacke of other sufficient reason to proue, are driuen to fall in scannynge the tymes and yeares. What, say they, where was this Church of yours, before these fiftie yeares? To whom briefly to aunswere, first we demaund what they meane by this, which they call our Church? If they meane the ordinaunce and institution of doctrine and Sacramentes,* now receaued of vs, and differing from the Church of Rome, we affirme and say, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet [Page 3](#) hatched out of the shell, nor did yet euer see any light: that is, in the time of the Apostles, in the primitiue age, in the tyme of Gregorie the first, & the old Romane church, when as yet no vniuersall pope was receiued publikely, but repelled in Rome, nor this fulnesse of plenary power yet knowen, nor this doctrine, and abuse of Sacramentes yet heard of. In witnes wherof we haue the old actes and histories of aūcient tyme to geue testimony with vs, wherein sufficiēt matter we haue for vs, to declare y^e same forme, vsage, and institution of this our church reformed now, not to be the begynnyng of any new church of our owne,* but to be the renewyng of the old aūcient church of Christ: nor to be any sweruyng from the church of Rome, but rather a reducyng to the church of Rome, Whereas contrary the church of Rome whiche now is, is nothyng but a sweruyng from the church of Rome, as partly is declared, and more shall appeare (Christ willyng) hereafter.*

And where the sayd our aduersaries doe moreouer charge vs with the fayth of our fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptised, accusing and cōdemnyng vs, for that we are now reuolted frō them & their fayth,* wherin we were first Christened: To this we aūswere, that we beyng first baptised by our fathers & Godfathers, in water, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, & of the holy Ghost, the same fayth wherin we were Christened thē, we do retaine, & because our Godfathers were thē selues also in the same fayth,* therefore they cā not say that we haue forsaken the fayth of our Godfathers. &c. As for other points of Ecclesiasticall vses & circumstaunces cōsidered, besides the principall substaunce of fayth and baptisme, if they held any thyng whiche receaded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, therein we now remoue our selues not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remoue from the rule of Christes doctrine. Neither doth the Sacramēt of our baptisme binde vs in all points to the opiniōs of them that baptised vs, but to the fayth of him, in whose name we were Baptised. For as if a man were Christened of an heretique, the Baptisme of him notwithstanding were good, although the Baptiser were nought: so if our Godfathers or fathers, which Christened vs, were taught any thyng, not consonant to Christiā doctrine in all pointes, neither is our Baptisme worsse for that, nor yet we boūd to folow thē in all thynges, wherein they them selues did not folow the true church of Christ.

Wherefore as it is false, that we haue renounced the fayth of our Godfathers wherin we were first baptised, so is it not true y^t we are remoued from the church of Rome. But rather say,* and (by the leaue of Christ) will proue that y^e Church of Rome hath vtterly departed frō the church of Rome, accordyng to my distinctiō afore touched. Which thyng y^e more euidently to declare, I will here compare y^e church of Rome, with y^e churche of Rome: And in a gene'rall description set forth (by Godsgrace (the difference of both the churches, that is of both y^e tymes of the church of Rome:*) to y^e intent it may besene, whether we or y^e churche of Rome haue more Apostated from y^e church of Rome.

And here first I diuide the churche of Rome in a double consideration of tyme, first of those first .600. yeares which were immediatly after Christ: and secōdly of the other .600. yeares, which now haue bene in these our latter dayes. And so in cōparyng these two together, will search out what discrepance is betwene them both. Of the which two age and states of the Romane church, the first I call the primitiue church of Rome. The other I call the latter churche of Rome, countyng this latter churche from the thousand yeares expired after the binding vp of Sathā, to the time of his lousing agayne accordyng to the Prophetie of the xx. chap. of S. Iohns Reuelation, countyng these .1000. yeares from the ceasing of persecution, vnder Constantinus Magnus, to the beginnyng of persecution of the churche agayne vnder Innocentius 3. and Ottomannus the first Turcian Emperour. And thus haue ye the churche of Rome parted into two churches, in double respect and cōsideration of two sondry states and tymes. Now in setting and matchyng the one state with the other, let vs see whether the churche of Rome hath swarued from the church of Rome more then we,* or no.

AND to begyn first with the order and qualities of life: I aske here of this Romane Clergie, where was this Church of theirs which now is, in the old auncient tyme of the primitiue Church of Rome, with this pompe and pride, with this riches & superfluitie, with this gloria mundi, and name of Cardinals, with this praunsing dissolutenes and hooryng of the Curtisans, with this extortiō, bribyng, bying and sell yng of spirituall dignities, these Annates, reformations,

procurations, exactions, and other practises for money, this auarice insatiable, ambition, intollerable, fleshly filthynes most detestable, barbarousnes and negligence in preachyng,*
promise breaking saythlesse, poysoning and supplantynge one another, with such schismes & diuisions, which neuer were more seen then in the elections and Court of Rome these 700. yeares, with such extreme crueltie, malice and tyranny in burnyng and persecutyng their poorebrethren to death.*

It were to long, and a thing infinite, to stand particularly vpō these aboue rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the schismes that haue bene in y^e Church of Rome since the time of Damasus the first, which are coūted to the number of xviiij. schismes. What a volume would it require? Or if here should be recorded all that this Sea hath burned and put to death since loosyng out of Sathan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleightes to get money should be described as processe of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principall groundes are reckoned at least to xiiij. or xv. sleights.

First for Annates,* or vacanties of Archbyshoprikes, Byshoprikes, Abbacies, Priories conuentuall, and other benefices electiue.

Secondly, for the holdyng and reteinyng of all other spirituall liuyng whatsoever, besides this which now the incumbent payeth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

Thirdly, new annates for all the same are required agayne, toties quoties, any one of all his spirituall liuynges be, or are fayned to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chaunced diuers tymes three or foure Annates to be payed for one benefice.

Fourthly, for geuyng out preuētiōs of benefices before they fall, and many tymes some one preuention to be geuē to diuers and sundry persons, by the office for money sake.

Fiftly, for resignations vpon fauour, whiche in many cases the Pope chalengeth to be reserued to him selfe.

Sixtly, for commendams.

Seuently, for compoūdyng with such as be absent frō their charge, and geue attendaunce about the Court.

Eightly, for infinite dispensations, as to dispence with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as if the nūber be full, if the house be of such or such an order. Item dispensation for irregularitie, for whoredome & aduoutry, for times of mariage, for marying in degrees forbidden, or in affinitie canonicall, for Gossips to mary, for the which it hath bene sene in Fraūce a thousand crownes to be payd to Rome at one tyme, for dispensing with this canonicall affinite of Gossippes, as we call it, the same beyng yet not true, but fayned. Item dispensing for caryng meates in tymes prohibited.

Ninthly, for innumerable priuilegies, exēptiōs, graces for not visityng, or visityng by a Proctor, for cōfirmations of priuileges, for transactiōs made vpon speciall fauour of the Pope, for permutatiōs of benefices with dispensation annexed, or makyng of pensiōs, with such like.

Tenthly, for mandates graunted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, wherof euery Ordinary, if he haue the collation or presētatiō of x. may receaue one mādate, if he haue fifty, he may receaue ij. mandates, & for euery mandate cōmeth to the Pope about xx. ducates. And yet notwithstādyng so many are sold, as will come buyers to pay for them.

Eleuenthy, for the Popes penitētiarie, for absolutiō of cases reserued to y^e Pope, for breaking & chāging of vowes for translation frō one monastery to another, also from one order to an other, for licēce to enter into certaine Monasteries, to cary about altars, with many other things of like deuise, pertaiynyng to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

Twelffly, for geuyng & graūtyng of innumerable Pardons and Indulgences, to be read not onely in publicque tēples, but also to be bought in priuate houses, and of priuate persons, in diuers and sundry respectes.

Thirteenthly, for makyng Notaries, and Protonotories, and other offices of the Court of Rome.

Fourteenthly, for grauntyng out Buls and Commissions of new foundatiōs, or for chaungyng of the old, for reducyng regular Monasteries, to a secular state, or for restoryng agayne into the old, & for other infinite rescriptes & writes, about matters dependyng in controuersie, & otherwise might and ought by the Ordinary to be decided.

Fiftenthly, for geuing the palle to Archbishops newly elected, by reason of all whiche deuises (besides the first of the Annates) it hath bene accounted out of the kynges recordes in Fraunce, in the tyme of Ludouike the ix. (as testifieth Molineus) to the number of CC. thousand crownes, onely out of Fraunce payd & transported to Rome. Which summe since that time hath bene doubled & tripled, besides Annates and Palles, whiche all together are thought to make the totall summe, yearly goyng out of Fraunce to [Page 4](#) the Popes coffers •f late yeares x. Myriades, or Milliōs, euery Myriade mountyng to x. thousand crownes.* Now what hath risen besides in other Realmes and Natiōs, let other men coniecture.

Wherefore if the Gospell send vs to the fruites to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the Church of Rome, with these fruites of lyfe? Or if we will seeke the Church in length and number of yeares, where was this Church of Rome with these qualities then, at what tyme the Church of Rome was a persecuted Church, not a persecutyng Church? And when the Byshops therof did not make Martyrs, as these do now, but were made Martyrs them selues, to the number of xxv. in order one after an other? Or when the Byshops therof were elected & exalted, not by factiōs conspiring, not by power or partes taking, not by money or frendes makyng, as they be now, but by the free voyces of the people & of the Clergy, with the consent of the Emperour ioyned with all, and not by a few cōspired Cardinals, closed vp in a corner, as they be now &c.

*AND yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but onely corruptiō of life, all that we would tollerate, or els impute to the common fragilitie of man, and charge them no further

therein, then we might charge our selues. Now ouer and beside this deformitie of life, wherein they are cleane gone frō the former steppes of the true Church of Rome, we haue moreouer to charge them in greater pointes, more nearely touchyng the substauntiall ground of the Church,* as in their iurisdiction presumptuously vsurped, in their title falsely grounded, and in their doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three pointes, this latter pretenced Church of Rome, hath vtter sequestred it selfe from the Image and nature of the auncient and true Church of Rome, and haue erected to them selues, a new Church of their owne makyng, as first vsurping a iurisdiction neuer knowen before to their auncient predecessors. For although the Church of Rome in the old primitiue tyme had his due authoritie and place due vnto that sea, among other Patriarchall Churches, ouer and vpon such Churches as were within his precinct, & bordering neare vnto it,* as appeareth by the Actes of Nicene Coūcell: yet the vniuersall fulnesse and plenitude of power in both the regimentes, spirituall & temporall, in deposing & dispensing matters of the Church, not to him belōging, in taking Appeales, in geuyng elections, inuestyng in benefices, in exēpting him selfe from obedience & subiection of his ordinary power & Magistrate, with his coactiue power newly erected in the church of Rome, was neuer receaued nor vsed in the old Romane church, frō which they disagree in all their doings.* For although Victor thē bishop of Rome. an. 200. went about to excōmunicate the East Churches, for the obseruation of Easter day: yet neither did he proceede therein, neither was permitted by Irenaeus so to doe. And although Boniface the first likewise, writyng to the Byshops of Carthage, required of thē to send vp their appellatiōs vnto the Church of Rome, alledgyng moreouer the decree of Nicene Coūcell for his authoritie: The Byshops & Clergy of Carthage assemblyng together in a generall Coūcell (called the vj. Councell of Carthage) to the nūber of .217. Byshops,* after they had perused the decrees in the autentike copies of the foresayd Nicene Councell, & fōūd no such matter, by the sayd Bonifacius alledged, made therefore a publike decree, that none out of that countrey should make any appeale ouer the sea. &c. And what maruell if appeales were forbiddē them to be made to Rome,* whē as both here in Englād the kyngs of this land would not permit any to Appeale frō them to Rome, before king Henry the ij. because of the murther of Thomas Becket, beyng thereunto compelled by Pope Alexander the iij. And also in Fraunce y^e like prohibitions were expressely made by Ludouicus Pius, an. 1268. which did forbid by a publicke instrument,* called Pragmatica sanctio, all exactions of the Popes court within his Realme. Also by kyng Philip named Le bel, an. 1296. the like was done, which not only restrayned all sēdyng or goyng vp of his subiectes to Rome, but also that no money, armour, nor subsidy, should be transported out of his Realme. The like also after him did king Charles the v.* surnamed the Wise, and his sonne likewise after him Charles the vj. who also punished as traytours, certaine seditious persons for appealyng to Rome. The like resistaūce moreouer was in the sayd countrey of Fraūce,* against the Popes reseruatiōs, preuētiōs, & other like practises of his vsurped iurisdictiō in y^e dayes of pope Martin the v. an. 1418. Item, when kyng Henry the vj. in England, and kyng Charles the 7. in Fraūce, did both accord with the Pope, in inuesting & in collatiō of benefices, yet notwithstanding the highe Court of Parliamēt in Fraunce did not admit the same, but still maintayned the old libertie & customes of the French Church. In so much that the Duke of Be•hfort came with the kynges letters patēt to haue the Popes procurations & reseruatiōs admitted, yet the court of Parliamēt would not agree to the same, but the kyngs Procurator generall was fayne to go betwixt them, as is to be sene in their Registers. an. 1425. the fift day of Marche. In the dayes of the which kyng Charles the vij. was setforth in Fraunce,* Pragmatica san•tio, as they call it, agaynst the Anna•es, reseruatiōs, expectatiues, and such other procedyngs of the Popes pretenced iurisdictiō. an. 1438. Wherefore what maruell if this

iurisdiction of the Popes Court in excommunicatyng, in takyng Appeales, and geuyng of benefices, was not vsed in the old Church of Rome, when as in these latter dayes it hath bene so much resisted?

And what should I speake of the forme and maner of elections,* now vsed in the Church of Rome, cleane cōuerted from the maner of the old Church of their predecessors? For first in those auncient dayes, when as yet the Church remayned in the Apostles onely, & a few other Disciples, the Apostles then with prayer and imposition of handes, elected Byshops & Ministers, as by the Apostles Iames was made Bishop of Hierusalem. Paule in Creta elected Titus, and Timothe in Ephesus. Also Peter ordayned Linus and Clement in Rome. &c. After which tyme of the Apostles, when the Church began more to multiply, the election of Byshops and Ministers stode by the Clergie & the people, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the tyme of the Primitiue Church,* till the tyme, and after the time of Constantine the 4. Emperour, which Emperour (as writeth Platina and Sabellic. Enead. 8. lib. 6.) published a law concernyng the election of the Romane Byshop, that he should be takē for true Byshop, whom the Clergy and people of Rome did chuse & elect, without any taryng for any authoritie of the Emperour of Constātinople, or the Deputie of Italy: so as the custome and fashion had euer bene before that day, an. 685. And here the Byshops began first to writhe out their elections and their neckes a litle from the Emperours subiection,* if it be so as the sayd Platina and Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many coniectures there be, not vnprobable, rather to thinke this constitutiō of Constantine to be forged and vntrue. First, for that it is taken out of the Popes Bibliothecarie, a suspected place and collected by the keeper and maister of the Popes Librarie, a suspected author, who whatsoeuer fayned writynges or Apocripha he could finde in the Popes chestes of Recordes, makyng any thyng on his maisters side: that he compiled together, and therof both Platina, Sabellicus, & Gratianus take most part of their reportes, & therefore may the more be suspected. &c.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus say that Constantine moued with the holynes of Pope Benedict the first made that cōstitutiō, how seemeth that to stād with truth, when both the Emperour was so farre of from him being at Constantinople, & also for that the sayd Pope raigned but x. monethes? which was but a small tyme to make his holines knowen to the Emperour so farre of. And giue he were so holy, yet that holynes might rather be an occasiō for the Emperour so to confirme and maintaine the olde receaued maner of his institution, then to alter it.

The third coniecture is this, for that the sayd constitution was not obserued, but shortly after by the sayd Benedict was broken in the election of Pope Conon. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election there by was not takē away from the people, and limited to the Clergy onely, and much lesse might be taken away frō the Clergie, and be limited onely to the Cardinals, without the consent of their Prince and ruler, accordyng to their owne Rubrice in their Decrees, where the Rubrice sayth:*De ordinatione Episcopi: Nullus inuitis detur Episcopus, cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & desiderium requiratur, &c. That is: Let no Byshop be geuen to any people agaynst their wils: but let the consent & desire both of the Clergy and of the people, and of the order, be also required. &c. And in the same Dist. also, cap. Sacrorū, we read the same libertie & interest to be graunted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his sonne, not to a few Cardinals onely, but to the order as well of the Clergy, as of the people, to chuse not onely

the Bishop of Rome, but any other Bishop within their owne Diocesse whatsoever, and to the Monkes likewise, to chuse their owne Abbot, setting aside all respect of persons and giftes, onely for the worthynes of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for doctrine, and exāple vnto the flocke. &c. And this continued till the tyme of the foresayd Carolus Magnus, and [Page 5](#)Ludouicus his sonne,* an. 810. of the which two, Carolus the father receaued expresly of Pope Ad••••he first, full iurisdiction and power to elect & ordeine the Bishop of Rome, like as pope Leo the ix. did also to Ottho•he first German Emperour, an. 961. The other, that is, Ludouicus, sonne to the foresayd Charles, is sayd to renoūce agayne, and surrender from him selfe and his successours, vnto pope Paschalis and the Romaines, the right and interest of chusing the Romane Bishop, and moreouer to giue and graunt to the sayd Paschalis the full possession of the Citie of Rome, & the whole territorie to the same belongyng. An. 821. as appeareth by the decree, Ego Ludouicus Dist. 63. But admit that fayned decree to be vnfaynedly true (as it may wel be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fōtaine, with the cōstitution of Constantine afore mentioned, that is, from the maister of the Popes Library, of whō both Gratianus & Volateran,* by their owne confession take their ground) yet the same decree doth not so geue away the freedome of that election, that he limiteth it onely to the Cardinals, but also requireth the whole cōsent of the Romaines, neither doth he simply & absolutely geue the same, but with cōditiō, so that, Omnes Romani vno consilio, & vna concordia sine aliqua promissione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent: that is, whō as all the Romaines with one counsaile, & with one accord, without any promise of their voyces graūted before, shall chuse to be Byshop of Rome. And moreouer in the same Decree is required, that at the consecration of the same Bishop, messengers should be directed incōtinent to the Frēch kyng concernyng the same.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope Stephen the fourth, and pope Paschalis the first, in Ludouicus time were impaced thorough discord without election of the Emperour, yet they were fayne by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the tyme of Eugenius the ij. which succeded next to Paschalis, Lotharius sonne of Ludouicus,* and Emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed lawes & magistrates ouer the Citie. Whereby may appeare the donation of Ludouike, in geuyng away the Citie of Rome to the Pope, to be fayned. And after Eugenius, pope Gregory the iiij. who followyng within a yere after Eugenius, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the sayd Emperour Ludouicus. And so in like maner his successours pope Sergius the ij: Pope Leo, the iiij. pope Nicolas the first, and so orderly in a long tract of tyme, from the foresayd Nicolas the first, to Pope Nicolas the ij. an. 1061. (which Nicolas in his Decree beginnyng,*In nomine Domini Dist. 23. ordained also the same) so that in the election of the Bis•ops of Rome, commonly the consent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergy of Rome, was not lackyng. After which Nicolas came Alexander the 2. and wicked Hildebrād, which Alexander being first elected without the Emperors will and consent, afterward repenting the same, openly in his preaching to the people declared that he would no longer sit in the Apostolique sea, vnlesse he were by the emperor confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand and his folowers so ordred the matter of this election, that first the Emperor, then the lay people, after that the Clergie also began to be excluded. And so the election by litle & little was reduced into the handes of a few Cardinals, cōtrary to all anciēt order, where euer since it hath remained.

And like as in elections, so also in power iudiciarie, in deciding and determining of causes of fayth, and of Ecclesiasticall discipline, the state of the Church of Rome, now beyng, hath no cōformitie with the old Romane Church heretofore. For then Byshops debated all causes of fayth onely by the Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiasticall discipline they determined by the Canōs, not of the Pope, but of the Church, such as were decreed by the auncient Councils, as writeth Greg. Turonensis in Francorum historia. Where as now both the rule of scripture, & sanctions of the old Councils set aside, all thynges for the most part are decided by certaine new decretall or rather extradecr•tall & extrauagant constitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his Consistories practised.

And where as the old ordinaunce and disposition, as well of the common law, as of the sacred Coūcels, and institution of auncient fathers haue geuen to Byshops & other prelates, also to patrons and donors of Ecclesiastical benefices euery one within his owne precinct and dominion, also to cathedrall Churches and other: to haue their free elections & to prosecute the same in full effect: ordryng and disposing promotions, collatiōs, prouisions & dispositions of prelacies, dignities, and all other Ecclesiasticall benefices whatsoever, after their owne arbitremēt, as appeareth by the first generall Councell of Fraunce.* 16. q 7. cap. Omnes Basilicae, by the first generall Councell of Nice, cap 6. Also by the generall Councell of Antioche. cap. 9. and is to be seene in the Popes Decrees. 9. q. 3. Per singulas. And also beside these auncient decrees, the same is confirmed agayne in more latter yeares by Ludouicus the ninth French kyng in his constitution called Pragmatica sanctio, made and prouided by full Parliament agaynst the popes exactions. An. 1228. in these wordes as folow. Item exaction•s & onera grauissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam Ecclesiae regni nostri impositas vel imposita (quibus regnum miserabiliter de pauperatum existit) siue etiam imponendas vel imponenda leuari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & vrgentissima causa, vel ineuitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, & spontaneo iussu nostro, & ipsius Ecclesiae regni nostri. &c. that is. Item all exactions & importable burdens of money, which the Court of Rome hath layd vpon the Church of our kingdome (whereby the said our kingdome hath bene miserably hetherto impouerished) or hereafter shall impose or lay vpon vs, we vtterly discharge and forbyd to be leuied or collected hereafter for any maner of cause, vnlesse there come some reasonable, godly, & most vrgent, & ineuitable necessitie, & that also not to be done without the expresse & voluntary commaundement of vs, & of the Church of the same our foresayd kingdome. &c. Now contrary and agaynst to these so manifest & expresse decreementes of generall Councils, & constitutions Synodall, this latter Church of Rome of late presūption, degeneratyng frō all the steppes of their elders, haue taken vpon them a singular iurisdiction by them selues, & for their owne aduauntage, to entemedle in disposing & trāsposing Churches,* Colledges, Monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goodes & landes to the same belongyng, by reason and exāple wherof haue come in these impropriations, first fruites, & reseruations of benefices to the miserable dispoyling of Parishes, & horrible decay of Christen fayth, which thynges amōg the old Romaine elders were neuer knowē. For so much then did it lacke, that due necessities were pluckt frō the Church, that Emperours, Kyngs, & Princes plucking frō their owne, rather did cumulate the Church with superfluities.

Agayne, when such goodes were geuen to the Church by those auncetors, they were neither so geuen, nor yet taken, to serue the priuate vse of certaine churchmen takyng no paynes therein, but rather to serue the publike subuētiō of the needy, as is cōteined in the canonicall institutiōs

by the Emperour Ludouicus Pius set forth. An. 830. The wordes be these: [*Res Ecclesiae vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum](#), that is: The goods of the church be the vowes and bequestes of the faythfull, prices to raunsome such as be in captiuitie or prison, and patrimones to succour them with hospitalitie, that be needy.

Wherunto agreeth also the testimony of Prosper, [*](#) whose wordes be these: *Viros sanctos ecclesiae non vendicas•e vt proprias, sed vt commendatas pauperibus diuissis*: that is, good men tooke y^e goodes of the church not as their own but distributed thē as geuē & bequeathed to the poore. And sayth moreouer: *Quod habet Ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune*, that is: Whatsoeuer the church hath, it hath it common, with all such as haue nothyng. &c.

Adde to these the worthy testimony of S. August. ad Bonif. *Si autem priuatim, [*](#) quae nobis sufficient possidemus, nō sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum quorum procuracionem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis vsurpatione damnabili vendicamus*, &c.

Likewise vowsons and pluralities of benefices were thyngs then as much vnknown, [*](#) as now they are pernicious to the church, taking away all free election of ministers from the flocke of Christ.

All which inconueniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authoritie & iurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome, so it can not be denyed, but the sayd latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it selfe much more, [*](#) thē either the limites of Gods word do geue, or standeth with the example of the old Romane church, in these three thynges especiall. Whereof as mentiō is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

The first is in this, that whatsoeuer the Scripture geueth and referreth, [1](#) either to the whole church vniuersally, or to euery particular church seuerally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to it selfe absolutely and onely, both doyng iniury to other churches, & also abusing the Scriptures of God. For albeit the Scripture doth geue authoritie to binde and loose, it limitteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the Citie of Rome onely, more thē to other Cities, nor to y^e sea of Peter, more thē to other Apostles, but geueth it clearely to y^e Church, wherof Peter [Page 6](#) did beare the figure, so that where soeuer the true Church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bynde & loose, geuen and taken meerly as from Christ, and not mediatly by the Pope or Byshop of Peters sea.

The second poynt wherein this present Church of Rome abuseth his iurisdiction contrary to Scripture and steps of the old Romane Church, [2](#) is this, for that it extendeth his authoritie farther and more amply, thē either the warrant of the word, or example of time will giue. For although the Church of Rome hath (as other particular churches haue) authoritie to binde and absolue, yet it hath no such authoritie to absolue subiectes frō their othe, subiection, and loyaltie to their rulers & Magistrates, to dispēse with periury, to denounce remissiō, where no earnest repentaunce is sene before, to number remission by dayes & yeares; to dispense with thynges expressly in the word foriddē, or to restrayne that which the word maketh free, to deuide Religion into Religions, to binde and burthen consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters, as for breakyng of parkes, for not ringyng bells at the

Byshops commyng, for not bringyng litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rētes, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their princes side in princely cases, for not going at the Popes commaundement, for not agreeyng to the Popes electiō in an other princes Realme, with other such thyngs mo & more vayne then these. &c. Agayne, although the Scripture geueth leaue and authoritie to the Byshop and Church of Rome to minister Sacraments, yet it geueth no authoritie to make Sacramentes, much lesse to worshyp Sacraments. And though their authoritie serueth to baptise mē, yet it extendeth not to Christen bels: * neither haue they authoritie by any word of God to adde to the word of God, or take from the same, to set vp vnwritten verities vnder payne of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to institute straunge worship, otherwise thē he hath prescribed, which hath told vs how he would be worshipped. &c.

3The third abuse of the Popes iurisdiction standeth in this, that as in spirituall iurisdiction they haue vehemētly exceeded the boūdes of Scripture, so they haue impudētly intermedled them selues in temporall iurisdiction, wherein they haue nothing to do. In so much that they haue trāslated the Empire, they haue deposed Emperours, Kyngs, Princes & rulers & Senatours of Rome, & set vp other, or the same agayne at their pleasure, they haue proclaymed warres, & haue warred them selues. And where as Emperours in aūcient tyme haue dignified thē in titles, haue enlarged thē with donations, & they receauyng their confirmation by the Emperours, haue like ingrattull clients to such benefactors, afterward stampte vpon their neckes, haue made thē to hold their s•urrupe, some to hold y^e bridle of their horse, haue caused them to seeke their confirmation at their hand, yea haue bene Emperours thēselues: Sede vacante, & in discordia electionis, and also haue bene Senators of the Citie. Moreouer haue extorted into their owne handes the plenary fulnes of power & iurisdiction of both the swordes, especially since the tyme of Pope Hildebrand: which Hildebrand deposing Henricus the iiij. Emperour, made him geue attendance at his Citie gate. And after him Pope Bonifacius the viij. shewed him selfe vnto the people on the first day like a Byshop, with his keyes before him, & y^e next day in his robes Imperiall, hauyng a naked sword borne before him, like an Emperour. an. 1298. And for so much as this inordinate iurisdiction hath not onely bene vsed of thē, but also to this day is mainteined in Rome, let vs therefore now compare the vsage hereof to the old maner in tymes past, meanyng the primitiue and first age of the Church of the Romaines. Wherein y^e old Byshops of Rome in those dayes, as they were then subiect to their Emperours, so were other Byshops in like maner of other nations subiect euery one to his Kyng & Prince, acknowledging them for their Lordes, & were ordered by their authoritie & obeyed their lawes, and that not onely in causes ciuile, but also in regiment Ecclesiasticall as appeareth Dist. 10. cap. 1. & 2. Dist. 97. cap. De illicita.

Also 24. q. 3. So was Gregorius surnamed Magnus, subiect to Ma••itius, * and to Phocas, although a wicked Emperour. So also both Pope & people of Rome tooke their lawes of the Emperours of Constantinople, & were submitted to thē, not onely in the time of Honorius an hūdreth yeares after Constantine the great, but also in the tyme of Martianus * an. 1451. & so further vnto the tyme of Iustinian & of Carolus Magnus, and also after the dayes of them. In all which cōtinuance of tyme, it is manifest, that the Emperiall law of Martiane did rule & bynde in Rome, both in the days of Iustinian, an. 150. yeres after, til the tyme of the Empire beyng translated from Grece vnto Fraūce. Whereby it may appeare false▪ that the Citie of Rome was geuē by Constantine the first vnto the bishop of Rome to gouerne, for that Pope 〈◇〉 the first wrytyng to the Emperour Honorius, c••eth in the same place Rome the Emperours Citie. Dist. 97. cap. 1. And Lotharius, also Emperour appointed Magistrates and lawes in Rome, * as is aboue

mentioned. Moreouer, for further probation hereof, that both the Byshop of Rome & all other Ecclesiasticall persons were in former tyme, and ought to be subiect to their Emperours and lawfull Magistrates, in causes as well spirituall as ciuile,* by many evidences may appeare, takē out both of Gods law, and mans law. And first by Gods law we haue exāple of godly kyng Dauid, who numbred all the Priestes and Leuites, & disposed thē into xxiiij. orders or courses, appointyng thē cōtinually to serue in the ministry euey one in his proper order & turne, as came about: which institution of the Clergy, also good king Ezechias afterward renued, of whō it is written: he did that was right in the sight of the Lord, accordyng to all things as his father Dauid had done before, he tooke away the high groues, and brake downe Images. &c. 4. Reg. 8. The sayd Ezechias also reduced the Priests & Leuites into their orders, prescribed by Dauid before, to serue euey one in his office of ministratiō .2. Paralip. 30.31. And this order frō Dauid still continued till the time of Zachary at the cōmyng of Christ our Lord, beyng of Abias course, which was the viij. order of the Priestes appointed to serue in the tabernacle. Luc. 1. To passe ouer other lighter offices translated from the Priestes to the Kyngs authoritie, as cōcernyng the orderyng of oblations in the Temple, and reparations of the Lordes house, kyng Salomon displaced Abiathar the high Priest, by his kyngly power, and placed Sadoch in his stede. 3. Reg. cap. 6▪ Also dedicatyng the temple of the Lord with all the people, blessed the whole congregation of Israell. 3. Reg. 8. Iudas Machabeus also elected Priestes, such as beyng without spot had a zeale to the law of the Lord, to purge the Temple, which the Idolatrous Gentiles had before prophaned. 1. Machab. 4.

Also kyng Alexander writyng to Ionathas, appointed him chief Priest in his coūtrey.* 1. Mac. 10. Demetrius ordeined Simon & Alchinus in the like office of Priesthood. Iosaphat likewise as in the whole lād did set Iudges, so also in Hierusalem he appointed Leuites & Priestes, and heades of families to haue the hearyng of causes, and to minister Iudgement ouer the people.* 2 Paral. 19. By these & many other is to be sene, the Kynges & Princes in the old tyme as well, when Priestes were borne Priestes, as whē they were made by election, had the dealyng also in Ecclesiasticall matters, as in callyng the people to Gods seruice, in cutting down groues, in destroying images, in gathering tithes into y^e Lordes house, in dedicating the tēple, in blessing the people, in castyng downe the brasen Serpēt within the tēple, in correcting & deposing Priestes, in cōstituting the order & offices of Priestes, in commaundyng such thynges as pertained to the seruice & worshyp of God, & in punishyng the contrary. &c. And in the new Testament what meaneth the exāple of Christ himselfe both geuing & teaching tribute to be geuen to Caesar? to Caesar I say, & not to y^e high Priest.* What meaneth his wordes to Pilate not denying power to be geuen to him from aboue?

And agayne declaryng the kynges of nations to haue dominiō ouer thē, & willing his Disciples not so to do, geuyng vs to vnderstād the difference betwene the regimēt of his spirituall kingdome, & of y^e kingdome of this world, willyng all worldly states to be subiect vnder the superiour rulers & Magistrates, in whose regiment is dominiō and subiectiō, & not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the doctrine of S. Paule,* where it is written: let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, vnder whose obedience neither Pope, Cardinall, Patriarch, Byshop, Priest, Frier nor Monke is excepted,* nor exempted, as Theophilactus expoūdyng the same place declareth, & sayth: Vniuersos erudit, siue sacerdos sit ille, siue monachus, siue Apostolus, vt se principibus subdant: that is, he teacheth all sortes, whether he bee Priest, or Monke, or els Apostle, that they should submit themselues vnder their Princes. &c. And S. Augustine writyng

ad Bonifacium, sayth in much like sort: Quicun{que} autem legibus imperatoris,*quae, pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium, that is, whosoever refuseth to obey the lawes of the Emperor, which make for the veritie of God, incurreth the daunger of great punishmēt. &c. Also in an other place, writyng cō•ra Cresconium,* hath these words: In hoc enim reges sicut eis diuini•us praecipitur, Deo seruiunt, in quantum reges, si in suo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non solū quae pertinent ad humanam s•cietarem, verumetiam quae ad diuinam religionē &c. that is, Kynges accordyng as it is inioyned them of [Page 7](#) God, do serue God in that they are kynges, if they in their kyngdome commaunde those thynges that be good, & forbid thynges that be euill, such as appertaine not onely to humaine societie, but also to Gods Religion. &c. And yet to come more neare to the Popes owne Doctours, Thomas Aquine not much discrepant from the iniunction of the Apostle aboue alledged,* thus describeth y^e office of a kyng: Hoc inquit, officium rex se suscepisse cognoscat, vt sit in regno, sicut in corpore anima, & sicut Deus in mundo, &c. Let a kyng (sayth he) vnderstand, that he hath taken this office vpon him, to be as the soule within the body, and as God in the world. In like agreemēt with the holy Apostle S. Paule, ioyneth also S. Peter:* be you subiect (sayth he) to euery humaine creature, whether it be to the king, as most preeminent, or to other set ouer you. &c. Where the common Glose addeth thereto, to obey the same, whether they be good or euill. These places rightly pondered, let any mā now iudge whether the Pope hath done open wrong to the Emperour, in surprising aboue the iurisdiction of his lawfull Prince and Magistrat, notwithstanding whatsoever his owne Canon law sayth to the contrary.

And as it is sufficiently hetherto proued by Gods law, that all Ecclesiasticall persons owe their due subiection to their lawfull Princes, in matters as well tēporall, as spirituall: so no lesse euidēces may also be inferred out of mā's law, and examples of the oldest fathers, to proue the same. And first to begyn with the example of Gregory the great, who in his Epistle to Mauritius writeth thus: Dominus meus fuisti,*quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: Ecce per me seruum vltimum suum, & vestrum respondebit Christus, &c. that is: You were thē my Lord, whē you were not the Lord of the whole Empire, behold Christ him selfe shall make you aūswere by me, which am his most simplest seruauēt and yours, &c. And before him Eleutherius his predecessour Byshop of Rome, writyng to Lucius, kyng of this Realme,* calleth him by the name of Christes Uicare: But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, whē the Popes decrees & Canons be full of recordes hereof, testifiyng how the auncient Church of Rome not onely receaued, but also required of the Emperours, lawes & cōstitutions to be made, touchyng not onely such causes, but also such persons as were Ecclesiasticall. And here to omit by the way the chap. Principes seculi, also cap. Administratores, 23. q. 5. with diuers other beside, I will recite out of the Epistle of Boniface the 1. to the Emperour Honorius,* so much as serueth for our purpose, written dist 92. cap. Ecclesiae, cap. Victor. Where it is mentioned that the sayd Bonifacius Byshop of Rome sent an hūble supplication to the forenamed Emperour, desiryng him by his authoritie to prouide some remedy against the ambitious cōtentions of the clergie, concerning the bishoprike of Rome. Which Emperor Honorius incontinent at his request, directed & stablished a law, that none should be made Byshop of Rome through ambitiō, charging all Ecclesiasticall Ministers to surcease frō ambition, appointyng moreouer, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be takē, but the election to proceed further to an other to be chosen by a full consent of voyces,* as is expressed. Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.

To this I adioyne also the law & constitution of Iustinian the Emperour, ratified and renewed afterward in the counsell of Paris, in tyme of king Ludouicus Pius. Where all Byshops & Priestes be expresly forbiddē not to excommunicate any mā, before his cause was knowen & proued to be such, as for the whiche the auncient Canons of the Church would him to be excōmunicate. And if any should otherwise proceede cōtrary to the same, thē the excōmunicate person to be absolved by y^e authoritie of an higher degree, & the excōmunicate to be sequestred frō the communiō, so long as should seeme conueniēt to him that had the executiō therof, as is expressed. 24. q. 3. De illicita. The same Iustinian moreouer in his lawes & cōstitutions,* how many thynges did he dispose & ordeine in Church matters, as to haue a determinate number of Churchmen or Clerkes in Churches. cōst. 3. Also cōcerning Monasteries & Mōkes. const. 5. how Byshops & Priestes should be ordeined. cōst. 6. concerning remouyng of Ecclesiasticall persons frō one Church to an other.* Also concernyng y^e constitution of the Churches in Affrike. And that the holy misteries should not be done in priuate houses, so y^t whosoever should attēpt the contrary, should be depriued. const. 57. Moreouer cōcernyng Clerkes leauyng their Churches. const. 58. Also concerning the order & maner of funerals. const. 59. And that Byshops should not keepe frō their flocke. const. 67. The same Iustiniā graūted to the Clergy of Constātinople the priuiledge of the secular court, in cases onely ciuile, and such as touched not the disturbaūce of the Byshop, otherwise in all criminall causes he left them to the iudgemēt of the secular court. const. 83. He geueth also lawes & decrees for breach of matrimonie. const. 117. & in diuers other places. And in his const. 123. after the doctrine of S. Paule, he commaūdeth all Byshops & Priestes to sounde out their seruice,* & to celebrate the misteries, not after a secrete maner, but with a loude voyce, so as they might not onely be heard, but also be vnderstand of the faythfull people, what was sayd & done, Whereby it is to be gathered, that diuine prayers and seruice then, was in the vulgar toung.

And as the said Iustinian, & other Emperours in those dayes had the iurisdiction and gouernement ouer spirituall matters & persons, the like examples also may be brought of other kyngs, in other lādes, who had no lesse authoritie in their Realmes,* then Emperours had in their Empire. As in Fraūce, Clodoueus the first Christened kyng at Orleans caused a Coūcell of 33. Byshops, where .33. Canons were instituted cōcernyng the gouernemēt of the Church,* within .200. yeares after Christ. Ex primo Tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus, beside his other lawes and edictes political, called v. Synodes, one at Mentz, the second at Rome, the third at Remes, the fourth at Cabilone, the fift at Ar•late, where sundry rites & ordinaūces were geuen to the Clergy, about .810. yeares after Christ. The same Carolus also decreed that onely the Canonickall bookes of Scripture should be read in the Church,* & none other. Which before also was decreed. an. 4.17. in the third generall Councel of Carthage. Item he exhorteth and chargeth Byshops and Priests to preach the word, with a godly iniūction: Episcopi verò vt siue per se, siue per vicarios, pabulum verbi diuini sedulò populis annuncient. Quia vt ait beatus Gregorius: Iram contra se occulti iudicis excitat Sacerdos si sine praedicationis sonitu incedit. Et vt ipsi clerum sibi commissum in sobrietate & castitate nutriant. Superstitiones quas quibusdam in locis in exequijs mortuorum nōnulli faciunt,*eradicent, that is: That bishops either by them selues, or their deputies shall shew forth y^e foode of Gods word to the people with all diligēce. For as Gregory sayth, the Priest procureth against him the wrath of y^e secret iudge, which goeth without the sound of preaching. And also that they bring vp their Clergy to thē cōmitted in sobernes & chastitie.* The superstitiō which in certaine places is vsed of some, about the Funerals of the dead, let them exterminate & plucke vp by the rootes, &c.

Moreouer, instructing & informyng the sayd Byshops & Priestes in the office of preaching, willeth thē, not to suffer any to fayne or preach to the people any new doctrine of their owne inuētion, & not agreing to the word of God, but that they them selues both will preach such thyngs as lead to eternall life, and also that they set vp other to do the same, & ioyneth with all a godly exhortation. Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde praeparemus nos in scientia veritatis, & mox: vt diuina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & crescat, & multiplicetur, in profectum Ecclesiae Dei sanctae, & salutem animarū nostrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini nostri Iesu Christi Pax praedicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Amen. Furthermore, the said Carolus in his constitutions diuideth the goodes geuē to the Church so, that in y^e more welthy places, two partes should go to the vse of the poore, y^e third to the stipēd of the Clergy. Otherwise in poorer places an equall diuisiō to be made betwene the pouertie & the Clergy, vnles the gift had some speciall exception. Ex Ansegiso. lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the same booke a little after, cap. 83. the author declareth by the sayd Carolus to be decreed, that no Ecclesiasticall person or persons frō thenceforth should presume to take of any person, any such gift or donation, wherby y^e childrē or kinsfolkes of the sayd Donor should be defeited of their inheritance duly to them belongyng. Ludouicus Pius king of France, & after Emperour, was sonne to the foresaid Charles who being ioined together with the said Charles his father in y^e Empire,* ordained also with his father sundry actes & obseruaunces touchyng the gouernement of the Church, as in y^e author before alledged may appeare. As first, that no entry should be made into the Church by Symony:* Agayne, that Byshops should be ordained by the free electiō of the Clergie & of the people, without all respect of person or reward, onely for the merite of life, and gift of heauenly wisdomē.

Also the sayd Kynges & Emperours forbad that any free mā or Citizen should enter the professiō of Monkerie, without licence asked of the kyng before, & added a double cause wherfore. First, for that many not for meere deuotiō, but for idlenes and auoyding the kynges warres, do geue thē selues to Religiō: againe, for that many be craftely circumuēted & deluded by subtile couetous persons, seekyng to get frō them that which they haue. Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Itē that no young childrē or boyes should be shauē or enter any profession, without the will of their Parētes. And no young maydens should take the veale or profession of a [Page 8](#) Nunne, before she came to sufficient discretion of yeres to discernē & chuse what they will follow. That none should be interred or buried thēce forth within the Church, which also was decreed by Theodosius & Valentinianus 40. yeares before them.* Item the sayd Carolus .22. yeares before this Emperour, enacted that murderers & such as were gilty of death by the law, should haue no sanctuary by flyng into the Church. &c. which also was decreed by Iustiniā .300. yeares before this Carolus. Ex Nouel. Iustinia.

Moreouer the foresayd Ludouicus Pius, with his sonne Clothari{us} (or as some call him, Lotharius) ioyned with him, among other Ecclesiasticall Sanctions, ordained a godly law, for laymen to cōmunicate the Sacrament of the body & bloud of the Lord in these wordes: Vt si nō frequētius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: nisi fortē grauioribus quibus•am criminibus impediātur. That laymen do communicate at least thrise, if not oftē, except they be let percase by some more haynous greuous offences. Anseg. lib. 2. cap. 43. Item they enacted that no goodes of the Church should be alienated vnder the payne Leoninae constitutionis. Unto this Lotharius French kyng and Emperour, Pope Leo the 4. writeth that Romana lex,* that is, the Romane law (meanynge the law of the Frēch Emperours) as it hath hetherto stode in force: Ita & nunc suum

robur propriūm{que} vigorem obtineat, that is: so now it may continue still in his vigour and strength.*Ino Carnotensis. lib. 11. Decretorum, about the yeare of the Lord .848. After this Lotharius succeeded his sonne Ludouicus the second in the kyngdome & Empire of Fraunce, before whō the foresayd Pope Leo was brought into iudgement, & pleaded his cause of treason, and there was before the Emperour quyte and released. Which declareth that Popes and Byshops all this while were in subiection vnder their Kynges and Emperours.

Moreouer descendyng yet to lower tymes. an. 1228. Ludouicus 9. called holy Ludouike, made a law agaynst the pestiferous simonie in the Church, also for y^e maintenaūce of the libertie of the Church of Fraūce, established a law or decree, agaynst the new inuētions, reseruatiōs, preuētiōs, & exactions of y^e court of Rome, called Pragmatica sanctio, S. Ludouici,* the which Sāction was also practised lōg after in the kyngdome of Fraūce agaynst the popes collectors & vndercollectors, as appeareth by the Arestum of the coūsaile of Paris. an. 1463. ex Molinaeo in Cōmētarijs. Furthermore king Philip le Bel. 1303. set forth a law, called Philippina, wherein was forbid any exactiō of new tithes and first fruites, & other vncustomed collections, to be put vpon the Church of Fraūce. Carolus the v. named Sapiens. an. 1369. by a law cōmaūded, that no Byshops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his kyngdome of Fraūce should execute any censure of suspense, or excommunicatiō, at the Popes cōmaundemēt, ouer or vpō the Cities, or townes, corporations, or cōmons of his Realme, ex regist, antiquarū const. chart. 62.* Itē Carolus vi. an. 1388. agaynst y^e Cardinals & other Officials, & collectors of the Pope, reuoking againe the power which he had geuē to thē before, prouided by a law, that the fruites & rentes of benefices, with other pensions, & Byshops goodes that departed, should no more be exported by the Cardinals & the Popes collectours vnto Rome, but should be brought to the king, and so restored to them to whō they rightly did appertaine.

The like also may be inferred & proued by the stories & exāples of our kyngs here in Englād, as kyng Offa, kyng Egbertus, Edgarus, Aluredus, Athelwoldus, Canutus, Edwardus. William Conquerour, Wilhel. Rufus, Henricus the first, Henricus the second, till the tyme of kyng Iohn and after. Whose dealyng as well in Ecclesiasticall cases, as in tēporall, is a sufficient demonstration to proue what iniury the Popes, in these latter dayes, haue done vnto the Emperours their lawfull gouernours & Magistrates: in vsurpyng such fulnes of power & iurisdictiō ouer them, to whō properly they owe subiection, cōtrary to the steps & example of the old Romaine Byshops their aunciters, & therfore haue incurred the daūger of a Premunire, worthy to be depriued. Although it is not to be denyed, but that Ecclesiasticall ministers and seruitures haue their power also committed vnto thē, after their sort, of the Lord: yet it becommeth euery man to know his owne place & standyng, & there to keepe him, wherein his owne precinct doth pale him & not rashly to breake out into other mēs walkes. As it is not lawfull for a ciuile Magistrate to intermedle with a Byshops or a Preachers function: so vnseemely & vnorderly it is agayne that Boniface the viij. should haue borne before him the tēporall male, & the naked sword of the Emperour, or that any Pope should beare a triple crowne, or take vpon him like a Lord and Kyng. Wherefore let euery man consider the compasse & limitation of his charge, & exceede no farther. The office of a Bishop or seruiture Ecclesiasticall, was in the old law to offer sacrifice,* to burne incense, to pray for the people, to expounde the law, to minister in the tabernacle, w^t which office it was not lawfull for any Prince or mā els to intermedle, as we read how Ozias was punished for offering incense, & an other for touchyng the Arke: so now the office of Christian Ministers is to preach the word, to minister Sacramēts, to

pray, to binde and loose, where cause vrgently requireth, to iudge in spirituall cases, to publishe & denounce free reconciliation, & remissiō in the name of Christ, to erect & comfort troubled consciences with the rich grace of the Gospell, to teach the people the true differēce betwixt the law and the Gospell, whereof the one belongeth to such as be not in Christ, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true beleuers in the sonne of God, to admonish also the Magistrates erryng or transgressing in their office. &c.

And as these properly belong to the functiō of the Ecclesiasticall sort: * so hath y^e ciuile gouernour or Magistrate agayne his proper charge & office to him assigned, whiche is, to see the administratiō of iustice & iudgement, to defend with power the right of the weake that suffer wrōg, to defend from oppression the poore oppressed, to minister with equalitie, that which is right and equall to euery man: to prouide lawes good & godly, to see the execution of y^e same as cause moueth: especially to see the law of God mainteined, to promote Christes glory & Gospell, in setting vp & sendyng out good Preachers, in mainteinyng the same, in prouidyng Byshops to be elected that be faythfull, in remouyng or els correctyng the same beyng faulty or negligēt, in congregatyng the Clergy whē neede is of any coūsell or electiō, to heare their learning in causes propouēded, & according to the truth learned, to direct his iudgemēt, in disposing such rites & ordinaunces for the church, as make to edification not to the destruction therof, in conseruyng the discipline of the Church, and setting all thynges in a congrue order. Briefly, the office of the ciuile ruler & Magistrate extendeth to minister iustice and iudgement in all Courtes as well temporall, as Ecclesiasticall: to haue correction ouer all trāsgressours, whether they be laymen or persons Ecclesiasticall. And finally all such thyngs as belong to the mouyng of y^e sword, whatsoeuer, that is to say, all outward punishment, is referred to the iurisdiction of the secular Magistrate, vnder whose subiection the ordinaunce of God hath subiected all orders and states of mē.

Here we haue the witnesse also of Hormisda Byshop of Rome, which being well weyed, maketh y^e matter plaine, that Princes haue to deale in spirituall causes also, not onely in temporall: where the sayd Hormisda writeth to Epiphanius, Patriarche of Constant. in this sort: Clara coelestis misericordiae demonstratio procedit, quando regēs seculi causas de fide, cum gubernatione politiae coniungunt. &c. ex Act. v. vniuers. concil. Constantini secundi. an. 528. And thus much, and to much peradventure concernyng the matter of iurisdiction, in which poynt this new Church of Rome hath swarued from the auncient Church of Rome, which was, as is sufficiently proued.

THE third point wherein the church of Rome hath broken and is departed from the Church of Rome, * is the forme of stile & title annexed to the Bishop of that Sea. As where he is called Pope, most holy father, vicare generall, & vicare of Christ, successour of Peter, vniuersall Byshop, Prince of Priestes. head of the Church vniuersall Summus orbis pontifex, Stupor mundi, head Byshop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor mā, but a thyng betwene both. &c. for all these termes be geuen him in Popish bookes. Albeit y^e name Pope, beyng a Greeke name, deriued of < in non-Latin alphabet >, which soūdeth as much as Father, in the Syracusane speach, may peradventure seeme more tolerable, as which hath bene vsed in the old time among Byshops, for so Austen was called of the Coūcell of Aphrike, Hierome, * of Boniface & other. Also Cyprian Byshop of Carthage, was called Papa. 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur & dist. 50. cap. De eo tamen. Item Clodouaeus or (as Rheanus calleth him) Ludouicus, first Christiā king of Fraūce, calleth a certain simpler Byshop, Papam. Hierome also in his Epistle to Chromatius

calleth Valerianus, by the name of Pope: & likewise writyng to Eustachium, and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius beatum Papam. In the Apologies of Athanasius, we read oft tymes that he was called Papa, and Archiepiscopus. Ruffinus also Lib. 2. cap. 26. calleth him. Pontificem maximum: Also Aurelius President in the vi. Councell of Carthage was called of the sayd Councell, Papa, ex cap. 4. vi. Concil. Carthag. And before this Eleutherius Byshop of Rome, writyng to kyng Lucius the first Christian kyng in this land, calleth him in his Epistle, the vicare of Christ. &c. But that any of these termes were so peculiarly applied to the Bishop of [Page 9](#) Rome, that other bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one bishop about the rest, had the name of Oecumenicall, or vniuersall, or head, to the derogation of other Bishoppes, or with such glory as is now annexed to the same: that is not to be found neither in histories of the old tyme, nor in any example of the primitiue Church, nor in the testimonies of auncient approued Doctours. First before the Councell of Nice,^{*} it is euident by Pope Pius the ij. that there was no respect had to the church of Rome, but euery church then was ruled by his owne gouernance, til the yeare of our Lord, 340. Then folowed the Councell of Nice, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole vniuersitie of Christes Church, which was now far spread ouer all the world, certaine Prouinces or precincts to the number of foure were appointed, euery one to haue his head church, and chiefe bishop, called then Metropolitane or Patriarch, to haue the ouersight of such churches as did lie about him.^{*} In the number of which Patriarches or Metropolitanes, the Bishop of Rome had the first place, The Bishop of Alexandria was the second. The Bishop of Antioche the third. The Bishop of Hierusalem was the fourth Patriarch. Afterward in the number of these Patriarches, came in also the Bishop of Constantinople in the roome of the bishop of Antioch. So these foure or fiue Metropolitanes or Patriarches, had their peculiar circuites and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them should not deale within an others precinct, & also that there should be among them equalitie of honour, wherupon we read so oft in the decrees of the olde Councils, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,^{*} that is, equall degree of thrones, and of honour among priests and ministers. Againe, speaking of the said Patriarches or Primates, we read in the 2. and 3. chap. of the Councel of Constant. 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,^{*} that is, That bishops should not inuade the Dioces of other bishops without their borders, nor confound together churches, &c. Moreouer, the old Doctours for the most and best part, do accord in one sentēce, that all bishops placed wheresoeuer, in the church of God, be eiusdem meriti & honoris, & successores Apostolorum, that is, to be of one merite, of like honour, and all to be successors together of the Apostles. Also, he that is the Author of the booke called Dionysius Areopagita, calleth all the Bishops 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , that is, of equall order, and of like honor, &c. All this while the Bishop of Rome was a Patriarch, and a Metropolitane or bishop called of the first sea, but no Oecumenicall Bishop, nor head of the vniuersall Church, nor any such matter. In so much, that he, with all other Bishops, was debarred from that, by a playne decree of the Councell of Carthage, Can. 39. in these wordes: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,^{*} that is, That the bishop of the first seat shall not be called the Prince of priests, or the high priest, or any such thing.

And least any here should take occasion of cauilling, to heare him called bishop of the first sea, here is to be expounded, what is ment by the first sea, and wherfore he was so called, not for any dignitie of the persō, either of him which succedeth, or of him whom he is said to succede, but onely of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainly proued by the councell of Calcedone, cap. 28. Wherin is manifestly declared the cause why the sea of Rome among all other Patriarchall seas is numbred for the first sea by the auncient fathers.^{*} For why, saith the Councell, 〈 in non-Latin

alphabet › , that is, for that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chiefe degree of honour to the sea of old Rome, because the principall raigne or Emperie was in that Citie, &c. The same also is confirmed by Eusebius Caesariensis, declaring, quòd excellentia Romani Imperij extulit papatum Rom. Pontificis supra alias Ecclesias. That the excellencie of the Romaine Emperie did aduance the Popedom of the Romaine bishop aboue other churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Moreouer,* saith the said Caesariensis: Nicena synodus hoc contulit priuilegium Rom. pontifici, vt sicut Romanorum rex Augustus prae caeteris appellatur: ita Rom. pontifex prae caeteris Episcopis Papa vocaretur. That is, The Councell (saith he) of Nice gaue this Priuiledge to the Bishop of Rome, that like as the king of the Romaines is named Emperour aboue all other kings, so the bishop of the same citie of Rome should be called Pope aboue other bishops &c. By these places hitherto alledged (and such other, many more then be here alleaged) it appeareth that though these titles of superioritie had bene attributed to the Bishop of Rome, yet it remaineth certaine, that the said Bishop receiued that preferment Iure non diuino, sed humano, by mans law, not by the law of God. And so is the distinction of the Popes proued false,* where is said: Romanam Ecclesiam non a concilio aliquo, sed a diuina voce primatum accepisse, that the church of Rome, tooke not his primacie by any Councell, but onely by the voyce of God. And this is to be said although it were true, that these titles & termes were so giuen to the bishop of Rome in the olde time, yet how and by whom they were giuen, ye s•e. Now to trie this matter, as ioyning an issue with our aduersaries, whether those foresaid titles of soueraigntie, were applied in the old tyme of the Primitiue church, to the Bishop of Rome, as to be called the vicare generall of Christ, the hed of the whole church, and vniuersall bishop, remaineth to be proued. Wherunto this in my minde is to be answered, that albeit the bishops of Rome (of some peradventure) were so called by the names of higher preeminence of that citie, of some going about to please them, or to craue some helpe at their handes, yet that calling 1. First, was vsed then but of a few. 2. Secondly, neither was giuen to many. 3. Thirdly, was rather giuen, then sought for, of the most. 4. Fourthly, was not so giuen that it maketh or can make any generall necessitie of law, why euery one is so bound to call them, as the bishop of Rome now seeketh to be taken and called,* and that by necessitie of saluation, as the decree of Pope Boniface 8. witnesseth, where is said, quòd sit de necessitate salutis, vt credatur Primatus Ecclesiae Rom. & ei subesse. That it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation, to beleue the Primacie of the church of Rome, and to be subiect to the same, &c.

As touching therefore these titles and termes of preheminence aforesaide, orderly to set foorth and declare what histories of times doe saye in that matter, by the grace of Christ. First we will see what be the titles, the Bishop of [unspec 1] Rome doth take and chalenge to himselfe, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When the first came in, whether in [unspec 2] the primitiue time or not, and by whom. 3. How they were [unspec 3] first giuen to the Romane Bishops, that is, whether of necessary duety, or voluntary deuotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the Citie, or els of the worthines of the Bishop which there sat. 4. And if the [unspec 4] foresayd names were then giuen of certaine Bishops, vnto the bishop of Rome: whether all the saide names were geuen, or but certaine, or what they were. 5. Or whether [unspec 5] they were then receaued of all Bishops of Rome, to whō they were giuen, or els refused of some. 6. And finally whether [unspec 6] they ought to haue bene refused beyng giuen, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertaine to the profession, rather of Diuines, then hystoricians, and would require a long and large debating: yet for so much as both in these, & diuers other weighty controuersies of

Diuinity, the knowledge of times and histories, must needs helpe Diuines disputing about the same so much as the grace of Christ shall assiste me therein, I wil ioyne to the seeking out of truth, such helpe as I may.

And first to begin with the names and titles,* now claymed and attributed to the sea and Byshop of Rome: and what they be, is sufficiently declared aboue, that is, the cheife Preist of the worlde, the Prince of the Church, Byshop Apostolicall, the vniuersall head of the Church, the head and Byshop of the vniuersall Church, the successor of Peter, most holy Pope, the vicar of God on earth, neither God nor man, but a mixt thing betweene both: the Patriarche or Metropolitane of the Church of Rome, the Byshop of the first sea. etc. Unto the which titles or stile is annexed a triple crowne, a triple crosse, two crossed keyes, a naked sword, seauenfold seales, in token of the seauenfolde giftes of the holy Ghost, he being carried pickbacke vpon mens shoulders, after the maner of heathen kynges, hauing all the Empire, and the Emperour vnder his dominion: & that it is not conuenient for any terrene Prince to reigne there, where he sitteth, hauing the plenary fulnes of power, as well of temporall things as spirituall things in his handes, that all thinges are his, and that all such Princes as haue gyuen him any thing, haue giuen him but his owne, hauing at his will and pleasure to preach indulgencies, and the crosse against Christen Princes whatsoever:* And that the Emperour, & certaine other Princes, ought to make to him confession of subiection at their coronation: hauing authoritie to depose, and that he de facto, hath deposed Emperours and the king of France: Also to absolue the subiects from their allegiance to their Princes, whom kings haue serued for footmen to lead his horse, and the Emperour to hold his stirrop, that he may and doth geue power to Bishops vpon the bodies of men, and hath graunted them to haue prisons,* without whose authoritie no general Councell hath any force. And to whom appellations in all maner [Page 10](#) of causes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equall with the decrees of Nicen Councel, and are to be obserued and taken in no lesse force, then if they had bene confirmed with the heauenly voyce of Sainct Peter himselfe ex fra. Barth. & alijs. Item that the sayd Byshop of Rome hath the heauenly disposition of thinges and therefore may alter and chaunge the nature of thinges, by applying the substance of one thing to an other.*cap. Quando de transl. Epis. tit. 7. Item that he can of nothing make something, and cause the sentence, which before was none to stande in effect, and may dispence aboue the lawe, and of iniustice make iustice, in correcting and chaunging lawes, for he hath the fulnes of power.* And againe. dist. 40. cap. Si Papa. If the Pope doe leade with him innumerable soules •• flockes into hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faultes in this worlde. Item that it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation to beleuee the Premacie of the sea of Rome, and to be subiect to the same. &c.

These thinges thus declared, now let vs see whether these names and titles, with the forme and maner of this authoritie and regalitie aboue rehearsed: were euer attributed of any in the primitiue tyme to the byshop of Rome. For al these, he doth chalenge and clayme vnto him by old possession from the time of S. Peter. And here a question is to be asked of our aduersaries the Papistes, whether they will auouch all these aforesaide titles, together wyth the whole forme and tenour of regalitie, to the same belongyng as is afore touched, or not? if they wil, let them come forth with their allegations, which they neuer haue done yet, nor euer shalbe able: if they will not, or can not auouch them all together in maner as is specified, then why doth the byshop claime them altogether so stoutly, vsurpe them so falsely, and obtrud them vpon vs so straitly. Moreouer if the sayd our aduersaries, being conuicted by plaine euidence of hystorye, and

example of time, will yeld vnto vs (as they must needes) in part, and not in the whole, let vs come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regalitie they wil defend, and deriue from the auncient custome of the Primitiue Church (that is from the first fyue hundred yeares,* I meane after Christ.) First, in the Coōcell of Nyce, which was the yeare of our Lord. 340. and in the .vj. Canon of the sayd Councell, we finde it so decreed: that in euery prouince or precinct of some one Church,⁶ and Byshop of the same, was appointed and set vp to haue the inspection and regiment of other churches about him. Secundum morem antiquum, that is, after the ancient custome, as the wordes of the Councell do purport, so that the Byshop of Alexandria shoulde haue power of Lybia, & Pentapolis in Egypt, for as much as the Byshop of the Cytie of Rome, hath the like or same maner. And in like sort also in Antioch, & in other countreyes, let euery Church haue his due honor, & consequently y^t the Bishop of Ierusalem haue also his due honor to him reserued, so that such order be kept, that the Metropolitane Cities be not defrauded of their dignitie which to them is due and proper. &c. In this Councell and in the same Canon. vj. and vij. where the Byshops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are ioyned together in on like maner of dignity, fyrst there appeareth no difference of honor to be ment therin. Secondlye for somuch as in the sayde two Canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no Byshops should be made without consent of their Metropolitanes, yea and that the City also of Hierusalem should be vnder hys Metropolitane,* and that the Metropolitane should haue the ful power to confirme euery Byshop made in his prouince: Therfore it may be well suspected that the third Epistle decretall of Pope Anacletus, and of Pope Stephanus, with other mo are forged, wherein these Byshops, and especially the Byshop of Rome is exempted and desceuered from the name of a Metropolitane or an Archbyshop, to the name of a Patriarch or Primate:* as appeareth in the decrees. dist. 22. cap. Sacro sancta. wherefore as wee must needes graunt the Byshop of Rome to be called a Metropolitane or an Archbyshop by the Councell of Nice:* so we will not greatly sticke in this also, to haue him numbred with Patriarches or primates. which title seemeth in the old tyme to be common to mo Cities then to Rome, both by the Epistle of Anacletus, of Pope Stephanus, of Pope, Iulius, and Leo, &c.

After this followed a generall Councell in Aphricke, called the vj. Councell of Carthage, an. 420. where were congregated. 217. Byshops among whom was also, Augustinus, Prosper, Orosius, with diuers other famous persons. This Councell continued the space of v. yeares, wherein was great contention about the supremacie, and iurisdiction of Rome. The Byshop wherof then was Zosimus. This Zosimus the Romane Bishop had receaued the same time into the communion of the church without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Aprike,* named Apiarius, a Priest whom Aurelius the Metropolitane with the Councell of Aphrike had worthelye excommunicated for his detestable conditions before. Uppon this Zosimus after that hee hadde receaued and shewed such fauor to Apiarius, for that he did appele to him, sendeth to the Councell his messengers, to wit Fastinus Byshop of Potentine and two Priestes of the Church of Rome named Philippus and Asellus, with these foure requestes: first that Apiarius whom he had absolved might be receaued of them againe, and that it might be lawful for Byshops or Priestes to appeale from the sentence of their Metropolitans, & also of the Councell, to the sea of Rome.

Secondly, that Byshops should not saile ouer importunely ad comitatum. Thirdly, that if any Priest or Deacon were wrongfully excommunicate by y^e Byshops of their owne prouince, it should be lawfull for thē to remooue the hearing and iudgeing of their cause to their neighbour bishops. Forthly,* that Vrbanus there Byshop, either should be excommunicated, or els sent vp to

Rome, vnlesse he would correct those things that were to be corrected. &c. For the approbation whereof, the sayde Zosimus alledged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene Councell. The Councell of Carthage hearyng this, and remembring no such thing in the Councell of Nice to bee decreed, & yet not suspecting the Byshop of Rome to dare wrongfully to falsefie the wordes of that Councell: writeth againe to Zosimus, declaring that they neuer reade to their remembraunce, in their common Latine exemplare of Nicene Councell any such Canon, yet notwithstanding for quietnes sake, they woulde obserue the same tyll time they might procure the originall copies of that councell to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to Pope Boniface, which then succeeded Zosimus.

And thirdly also to Celestinus, which shortly after succeeded Boniface. In the meane time this foresayd Councell sent their Legates, Marcellus and Innocentius to Atticus Patriarche of Constantinople, and to Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, for the autentique copies in Greeke of Nicene Councell, which being sent vnto them, & they finding in the true originals no such Canon,* as the Bishoppe of Rome had falsely forged, they wrote a sharpe & an handsome letter to Celestinus Byshop of Rome, calling him in the said letter by the way: Domine frater: declaring to him, how they had perused all the copies of y^e Councell of Nice coulde finde no such Canon: as he and his predecessours had falsely alledged, and therewithall reciting the vj. Canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of Nicene Councell had committed all and singular persons Ecclesiasticall, as well Byshops, as other, vnto the charge of their Metropolitanes. Moreouer expounding the same decree, they shewed the reasons thereof. [unspec 1]

1. For that (sayd they) the fathers of that councell did well foresee,* to be most iust and conuenient, that all controuersies there be ended (in ijsdem locis) where they begin.
2. For that it is not to be supposed contrary, but that the grace of God wil be as prest and ready in one prouince as in other, to instruct his ministers both prudētly to vnderstand iudgement, and constantly to mayntayne the same.
3. For that there is no need to seeke further to any outlandish helpe, because especially that the party whosoeuer [unspec 2] is not contented with the determination of his iudges or [unspec 3] commissioners, may lawfully appeale either to the prouincial [unspec 4] or to any generall counsell.
4. That way to be better, then to runne to any forranine Iudge, it must needes be graunted, because it is not like that our God will inspire his iustice and truth of examining, vnto one Byshop, and denie it to a multitude congregated in a whole Councell.
5. Neither can it be, that any such outlandish iudgement [unspec 5] in hearing and determining causes,* can stand perfect and vpright, for that the necessary persons of witnesses, either for infirmitie of sexe of age, of sickenes, or some other impeachment, are not able to be present, by whom the truth of the sentence, should be directed. Wherefore as by these & other reasons they thought it not conuenient from them to bryng their matters ouer vnto Rome: so neither was it to be found, sayd they, by any councell of the old fathers decreed, that any Legates should be sent frō Rome to thē, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the sayd bishop of Rome, that he would not induce fumosum typū, (or rather as I may call it) typhos seculi, in

Ecclesiam Christi,*quae lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis prefaert ijs qui Deum Diligunt, that is, that he would not induce the swelling pride of the worlde into the Church of Christ, [Page 11](#) which church sheweth and giueth the light of simplicitie & of humilitie to such as loue to see God, &c. In these foresaid letters moreouer,* is signified how y^e forenamed malefactor Apiarius, whom the bishop of Rome before had absolued & receiued to the communion of the church, was afterward found culpable, and therfore the councell proceded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, & so enioined him due penance for his demerites, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the Bishop of Rome before proceeding.

[unspec 1] In summe, out of this Councell of Carthage these are to be noted. First, how glad the Bishops of Rome were to receiue such as came to them for succour.

[unspec 2] 2. What pride they tooke by the occasion therof, thinking and seeking thereby to haue all vnder their subiection.

[unspec 3] 3. To the intent to allure other to seeke to them, how redie they were to release and quit this Apiarius as guiltles, which after was tried culpable by his owne confession.

[unspec 4] 4. How contrary to the actes and doings of the Romish bishop, this Councell condemned him, whom the said bishop of Rome before had absolued, litle respecting the proceedings of the Romish church.

[unspec 5] 5. How the bishops of old time haue bene falsifiers of ancient Councils and writings, wherby it may be suspected, that they which shamed not to falsifie & corrupt the Councell of Nice, much lesse would they sticke to abuse and falsifie the decretall Epistles and writings of perticular Bishops & Doctors, for their owne aduantage, as no doubt they haue done many one.

[unspec 6] 6. In this foresaid Councell, whereat Augustine himselfe was present, & where Aurelius President of the same, was called Papa, the bishop of Rome was called expresly in their letters, but bishop of the citie of Rome, and Dominus frater, that is, brother Bishop.

[unspec 7] 7. Seuently, the dominion of this Romain Patriarch, in the said Council of Carthage. was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to thē of Affrike to appeale ouer the sea to him, nor for him to send ouer his Legates to them for ending their controuersies. Wherby it may sufficiently appeare, that the Bishop of Rome in those dayes, was not fully admitted to be the chiefe of all other Bishops, nor the head of the vniuersall church of Christ in earth, &c.

[unspec 8] 8. We heare in this Councell, fiue causes or reasons giuē, why it is not necessary nor yet conuenient for all forraine causes to be brought to one vniuersall head or iudge, as is before recited.

[unspec 9] 9. Lastly, by the said Councell of Carthage, we heare a vertuous exhortation to be giuen to the bishop of Rome, that he would not induce into the meeke & humble church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the world, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other Councell of Carthage, it was moreouer prouided by expresse law, and also specified in the Popes decrees,* that no Bishop of the first sea, should be called the Prince of Priests, or the

chiefe priest, or any such like thing but onely the bishop of the first seat, as followeth more in the said decree, Vniuersalis autem, nec etiam Rom. pontifex appelletur,* that is, Be it enacted, that no bishop, no not the Bishop of Rome be called vniuersall bishop, &c. And thus much cōcerning this foresaid Councell of Carthage.

Not long before this Council, was celebrate in Affrike an other Council, called Synodus Mileuitana, about the yere of our Lord, 442. at the which Councell also S. Augustine was present, where it was decreed vnder payne of excommunication, that no minister or bishop should appeale ouer the sea to the bishop of Rome, whereby it may appeare that the bishop of Rome all this space was not vniuersally called by the terme of Oecumenical or vniuersal bishop, but Bishop of the first sea: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reuerence of the place, and not in the authoritie of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the Cittie of Rome onely, but the first seate then was called Metropolitane Church, as by the woordes of Nicene Councell, and other constitutions moe, is to be seene where the foure Patriarches were called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, or 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, or 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, as namely, by the woordes of the Councell of Carthage may appeare, which be these: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉. that is, except he haue some special licēce or exception, by y^e consent of y^e first seat of y^e proper bishop in euery country, that is, of him that is the Primate in y^e said countrey,* &c. Also the woordes of the can. 39. of the Councell of Carthage, before touched be these, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, That is, that the bishop of the first sea, be not called Prince of Priestes, or head Priest, or els any such like. Againe Anicetus the x. bishop of Rome, and Pope Stephen & Pope Felix making a difference betwene Primate & Metropolitane,* writeth thus. Let no Archbishops bee called Primates, but onely such as haue the first seat, &c. Thus it is made plaine, how the bishop of the first seate, or first bishop, or Primate is none other, but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not only to the church of Rome, but to all such cities & places, where as before among the Gentiles were primi flamines, &c. dist. 80. cap. vrbes & loca, & in illis.* Where, by the way is to be noted the repugnance or contrarietie of such as crastily, but falsly haue counterfaieted the Popes decretall epistles, which besides other great and many coniectures also hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus, epist. 12. Anicetus and other, ioyning together the office of Patriarchs & Primates,* do deuide the same from the order of Metropolitanes or Archbishops, alledging therin the constitution of the Apostles and their successors, that is, to be found false by the Canōs of the Apostles, by the Councell of Nice, and by the councell of Antioche with other moe. For in the Canons of the Apostles, where in euery Canon almost, mention is made of Bishops, Priestes, and Deacons, no worde is there touched,* neither of any order aboue the Bishop, or lower then the Deacon, saue only in the 33. Canon, setting an order among bishops, the Canon willeth the Bishops of euery nation to know their first or chiefe bishop, & him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but the head of those bishops. And where? not in Rome onely, but plainely and expresly in euery nation, for so the woordes purport, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉. That is, the bishops of euery nation ought to know the first or chiefe 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 them, &c. Moreouer, the Councell of Antioch reciting 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 foresaid Canon worde for worde, expoundeth the 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 plainly,* in stead of 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, writing 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉: Which is as much to say, as Metropolitan: and in the end of the said Canon, calleth him 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, Id est, Metropolitanum, 6. q 3. per singulas. Wherby it is concluded, that to be false, that Clement and Anacletus, and Anicetus bee reported (but falsedly) to put a difference betwene

Primates or Patriarchs,* and Metropolitans or Archbishops. Whereas by sufficient authoritie it is to bee proued, that in the old church both Primates, first bishops bishops of the first seat, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, bishops of the Mother citie, and Archbishops were all one. First, that Primates and Metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the Canons of the Apostles,* & by the Councell of Antioch aforesaid. Agayne, that Patriarches and Archbishops were all one, it is euident Ex Nouella Iustiniani. cap. 23. where the sayd constitution reciting the 4. Patriarches (aboue mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbishops. And a little after calleth the Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop, by these wordes: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , That is, which be vnder the Archbishop and Patriarch of Constantinople. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, diuers from that of Clement, Anacletus and Anicetus, in placing these foresayd persons, first beginning with bishops,* then ouer them setteth the Metropolitane, and ouer him againe, the Archbishop, and there staieth, making no further mention of any other aboue him: whose wordes be these, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . That is, if a Bishop be accused, the Metropolitane to haue the examination of these things that are brought against him, if the Metropolitane be accused, then the Archbishop to haue the hearing therof, vnder whom he dwelleth & pertaineth, &c.

And in the same constitution moreouer, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . &c. If any sute or supplicaton be brought against a Bishop by a minister,* first the Metropolitane to haue the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the iudgement thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the Archbishop, &c.

In this constitution of Iustinian, although the Metropolitane be placed aboue the Byshop,* and the Archbishop aboue the Metropolitane: yet notwithstanding by this is sufficiently confuted the forged constitution of Clement Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephanus, & Felix: who in their Epistles [Page 12](#) decretall, doe ioyn together in one forme and order, both Archbishop and Metropolitane,* and aboue them both do place the Patriarch, and aboue the Patriarch, the Apostolicall sea to wit the Bishop of Rome, as may appeare in reading the first Epistle of Clement. In illis autem ciuitatibus &c. the second Epistle of Anacletus. Art. 4. prouinciae. dist. 99. prouincie multo, and the Epistle of Anicetus art. 23. dist. 99 cap. Nulli Archiepiscopi. Also the Epistle of Pope Stephen the first, Art. 5. (where note by the way, that Gratianus referreth this place of the Epistle to Pope Lucius.) Item the Epistle of Pope Felix the second, Art. 12. in which all foresayd Epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the first and principall place is giuen to Primats or Patriarches, the second to Metropolitans or Archbishops, the third to Byshops, and finally aboue all these is extolled the Apostolicall sea of the Byshop of Rome,* contrary to all that which before hath bene alledged out of Iustinian, the Councell of Nice & of Antioch, &c. Whereby it may appeare that either Iustiniā in preferring Archbishops aboue Metropolitans, did not read these Epistles decretall, if they were vnfayned, or if they were forged, they which forged the said Epistles in their names, did not wel aduise that Iustinian had written in this matter before.

*Thus then these titles aboue recited, as Byshop, Metropolitane, Byshop of the fyrst seat, Primate, Patriarche, Archbyshop, that is to meane, chiefebyshop, or headbishop to other Byshoppes of his prouince, wee deny not but were in the olde time applyed, and myght be applyed to the Byshoppe of Rome lyke as the same also were applyed to other Patriarches in other chiefe Citties and prouynces.

As touching the name likewise of the high Priest, or hyghpriesthood, neither doe I denye but that it hath bene found in old monuments and recordes of auncient times, but in such wise and sort, as it hath beene common to Byshops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one Byshoppe or sea. Whereof testimony we haue out of the .viij. generall Councell. dist 38. cap. Omnes, where the Byshoppes office is called Summum sacerdotium,* the hygh Priesthood, in these wordes: Substantia summi sacerdotii nostri sunt eloquia diuinitus tradita .i. vera diuinarum Scripturarū disciplina. etc. That is, the substance (say they) of our hygh Priesthood is the word of discipline of holy scriptures geuen vs from aboue. &c.

And likewise the Councell of Agatha, maketh relation De pontificibus in sūmo sacerdotio constitutis, of Bishops set in the high Priesthood,* meanyng not of any one, but indiffynitly & indifferently of whomsoeuer. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices. Also Fabianus Byshop of Rome, an. 240. wryting in generall to his brethren, and to all Byshoppes and Ministers Ecclesiasticall doth attribute to them the same title of Summum sacerdotium, in these words, Deus ergo, fratres, qui praeordinauit vos,* & omnes qui Summo sacerdotio fūguntur. &c God which hath preordayned you brethren, and all them which beare the office of high priesthoode. 3. q. 1. cap. Deus ergo. With like phrase of spech, Anacletus also in his second Epistle,* speaking of Bishops in general, calleth them Summos sacerdotes: vnde, inquit, liquit quod summi sacerdotes. i. Episcopi a Deo sunt iudicandi. &c. The high priests, that is, Byshops, saith he. And moreouer in the same place calleth thē Apostles, and successours of the Apostles. &c, So doth Innocentius the first, an. 405. as appeareth. dist. 61. cap. Miserum. Item Zosimus Byshop of the sayd Citie of Rome, an. 420, as witnesseth. dist. 59. cap. 1. who speaketh de summo sacerdotio,* that is, of high priesthood, not onely of y^e church of Rome, but of all other churches. Vrbanus the first was Byshop of Rome, an. 226. who in his writinges alleaged by Gratian, referreth the name & place Summi pontificis, of the hygh Byshop, not onely to the seate of Rome, but vniiformely to euery Byshop, as appeareth in the wordes of the dist. 51. cap. Si officia. &c.

And thus much as touching the name or title of high Priest, or supreme Byshop. Which title as I doe not deny to haue bene vsed in maner & forme aforesayd: so do I denye this tytyle and style of Summus orbis pontifex, as it is now vsed in Rome, to haue bene vsed, or vsually receaued duryng all the primitiue tyme of the Church, that is v. hūdred yeares after Christ, after the manner and sort I mean of that authoritie and glory, which in these dayes now is vsed and is giuen to the same, vntil the time of Phocas, the wicked Emperour, which was after the yeare of the Lord 608. The which title as it is to glorious for any one Byshop in y^e church of Christ to vse: so is it not to be found in any of the approued and most auncient writers of y^e church namely these, as Cyprianus, Basilius, Fulgentius, Chrysostomus Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Tertullianus, but rather writeth against the same, especially of the last. And therefore not with out cause it is written and testified of Erasmus,* who speaking of the sayd name, of Summus orbis pontifex, denieth plainely the same to be hearde of among the olde writers, whose wordes be these: Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omniū scriptis licet colligere. &c. lib. Epist. 3. Epist. 1. art. 37. &c. as whosoever readeth the same authours shall finde to be true.

The like is to be affirmed also of other presumptuous titles of like ambition,* as the head of the vniuersal church, the Uicar of Christ in earth, Prince of Priestes, with such like, which all be new

found termes, straunge to the cares of the old primitiue writers and Councels, and not receiued openly and commonly before the tyme of Boniface the third, and Phocas the aforesayd.

Now remaineth the name of the Pope, which of his nature, and by his first origine, being a word of the Syracusane speech called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,* and signifieth as much as Pater, Father, was then vsed and frequented of them in the old tyme, not so as proper onely to the Byshop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other Byshops or personages, whosoever were of worthy excellēce, as is partly before declared. But nowe contrarily, the generalitie of this name is so restrayned and abused, that not onely it is appropriate to the Byshop of Rome, but also distincteth and disceuereth the authoritie and preminence of that Byshop alone from all other Byshoppes, for which cause it is now worthely come into contempt and execration. No lesse is to be reiected also the name of vniuersalis, or oecumenicus, pontifex, Summus orbis Episcopus, Caput vniuersalis Ecclesiae, Christi in terris, Princeps vicari{us} sacerdotū, &c. Al which termes and vocables, tending to the derogation of other Bishops & Patriarches, as they were neuer receaued nor allowed in Rome (if we beleeeue Gregory) during the tyme of y^e Primatiue church, so now are worthely of vs refused.

Although it cannot be denied,* but certaine were in the Primatiue time, which began priuately to pretende that proude and wicked title of vniuersall Byshop, as Menna, and especially Ioannes Patriarche of Constantinople, who calling a Counsell at Constantinople, went about to stablish and ratifie and to dignifie his throne by the consent of the Councell, and the Emperour of Constantinople, and obtained the same as appeareth in the v. generall Councell of Constantinople the 2. where both Menna is named Oichumenicus Patriarcharum and also Ioannes in the sayde Councell is titled Oicumenicus Patriarcha: ex Concil. general. 5. cap. Domino. Concerning the which title although it was then vsed to Constantinople through the sufferance of the Emperours, being then willing to haue their imperiall City aduanced: yet notwithstanding this foresayde title, all this while was not in the City of Rome. And in Constantinople it stode not then in force: Iure aliquo diuino, but onely by mans lawe. And thirdly it was then but onely, verbalis titulus: hauing no true dominacion vpon all other Churches, or any reall subiection belonging to the same. Forasmuch as neither y^e Bishop of Rome, nor any of the West churches were subiect or did acknowledge seruice vnto them but rather did repugne the same: namely Pelagius the 2. & Gregorius the 1. both Byshops at that time of Rome, whiche Pelagius writing to all Byshops, sayth playnely in these wordes:* that no Patriarch should take the name of vniuersalitie at any time, because that if any be called vniuersall, the name of Patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be farre, saith he, from all faithfull men, to will to take that thing to him, wherby the honor of his brethren is diminished. Wherefore y^e sayd Pelagius chargeth all such Byshops, that none of them in their letters will name any Patriarche to be vniuersall, least he take from him selfe the honour due to him, while they giue that which is not due to another.* What can be more euidēt then these wordes of Pelagius, who was Bishop of Rome next before Gregory. an. 583? In lyke maner or more plainely, and more earnestly writeth also Gregory of this matter in his register, prouyng and disputing that no man ought to be called vniuersall Byshop. Moreouer with sharpe wordes and rebukes detesteth the same title, calling it new, folish, proude, peruerse, wicked, prophane, and such, as to consent vnto it, is as much, as to denye the fayth. He addeth further and saith, that whosoever goeth about to extoll himselfe aboue other Byshops, in so doing followeth the fact of Sathan, to whō it was not sufficient to be counted equall or like vnto other angels. In his Epistles how oft doth he repeate, and declare y^e

same to repugne directly against the Gospell, and auncient decrees of Counsels? affirming that none of his predecessours did euer vsurpe to himselfe that style or title, and concludeth that whosoever so doth, declareth himselfe to be a forerunner of Antichrist. &c. With this iudgement of Gregory wel [Page 13](#) well agreeth also the wordes of S. Augustine, Lib. 3▪ cap. 3. De Baptismo,* where reciting the wordes of Cyprian thus saith: Neque enim quisquam nostrum se Episcopum Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannicomore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suns a•igit, &c. That is, for none of vs doth euer set himselfe to be Bishop of Bishops, or after a tyrannical maner doth subdue and bring vnder his fellowes vnto the necessitie of his obedience,* &c. By these woordes of Cyprian and Augustine, it is manifest, that in their tyme was no supremacie, or vniuersall title among Bishops receiued, nor that any greater respect was had to the bishop of Rome (as Pius the 2. saith, Epist. 301.) before the Councell of Nice. And after in that Councell the said Bishop of Rome had no further authoritie to him limited, then only ouer his prouince, and places suburbane, bordering about the Citie of Rome. Against whose primacie diuers cities also did resist long after that,* as the Church of Rauenna, Mediolanensis, and Aquilegiensis. Also the Greeke Churches long resisted the same, so did the churches of Asia, Rutenicae, Moscouiticae, Valachicae, and other moe.

But to returne againe to Gregory, who confirming the sentence of Pelagius his predecessour aboue mentioned, had no small conflicts about this title matter, both with the Patriarche, and with the Emperour of Constantinople▪ as witnesseth Antonius,* & other. &c. The historie is thus: After that Iohn beyng made of a Monke, Patriarche of Constantinople, by his flatterie & hypocrisie, had obtained of Mauritius the Emperour, to be extolled aboue other Bishops with the name of vniuersall Patriarche, and that he would write to Gregorie bishop then of Rome, for his consent concerning the same: Gregory abiding still in his constancie, did set himselfe stoutly against that Antichristian title, and would geue no place. At the same tyme the Lombards had inuaded the countrey of Italy, and the Citie of Rome, the Emperour keeping then at Constantinople, and setting in Italy an ouersear called Exarchus, to rule in Rauenna▪ Gregory perceiuing the Emperour Mauritius to bee displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Constantina the Empresse, arguing and declaring in his letters, that presumption and pride of him to bee vniuersall Patriarch, was both against the rule of the gospel, and decrees of the Canons, namely, the vj. Canon of Nicene Councell, and the noueltie of that newfound title to declare nothing els, but that the tyme of Antichrist was neere. Upon this, Mauritius the Emperour taking displeasure with him, calleth home his souldiours againe from Italy, and inciteth the Lombardes against the Romaines: who with their king Agilulphus, therupō contrary to their league made before, set vpon the citie of Rome, and besieged it a whole yeare together, Gregory yet notwithstanding still remaining in his former constancie. After these afflictions thus ouerpast, Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the said Gregory in his letters, naming him vniuersall Pope, vnto whom Gregory refusing the same, answereth againe as followeth.

The letter of Gregorie, to the Patriarch of Alexandria.

BEhold in the Preface of your Epistle directed to me, ye haue vsed a worde of a proud name, calling me vniuersall Pope, which I pray your holinesse you will cease hereafter to doe, for that is derogated from you, whatsoever is attributed to an other more then right and reason requireth. As for me I seeke not mine aduauncement in wordes, but in maners: neither doe I account that any honour, wherein the honour of my brethren I see to bee hindred:. For my honour I take to be

the honour of the vniuersall Church: my honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth. For if your holinesse call me vniuersall Pope, in so doing you denie your selfe to be that, which ye affirme me to be vniuersal. But that God forbid, let these words therefore go, which do nothing but puffe vp vanitie, and wound charitie, &c.

It were too long here to inferre all such letters and Epistles of his, concerning this matter, written to the Emperour Mauritius, and Constantina the Empresse, but that shal more largely appeare hereafter (Christ willing) in the body of the history, when we come to the yeare and time of Gregory, which was well nie about vj. hundred yere after Christ. In the meane season this is sufficiēt to declare how the church of Rome with the fourme and maner of their title of vniuersall supremacie now vsed & maintained, hath vtterly swerued from the auncient steps of the primitiue church of Rome.

Now let vs see what the aduersarie side hath to obiect againe for the title of their vniuersalitie, or rather singularity. And first here commeth in a blind cauillation of a certaine Sophister,* who glosing vpon the wordes of Pelagius aboue recited, laboureth to colour the playne text with a subtile meaning, as though the sense of the Canon were this, not to deny there the state of supremacie: Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse vniuersalem Episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quòd esset cuius{que} Ecclesiae proprius rector, ita quòd nullus alius esset Episcopus, &c. That is, but to denie there, that any may be vniuersall bishop after this sense and meaning only, so that he should be the proper Pastor of euery Church alone, and that there should be no other bishop beside him self, &c. Thus goeth this Sophister about to dash out this text, but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did Iohn the Patriarch then seeke any such thing, to be bishop and proper Pastor of euery church alone, nor if he had the Councell of Chalcedon, and the Emperor Iustinian, would neuer haue agreed therunto. Neither is it true, that this Gloser denieth Pelagius, here to forbid the primacie or supremacie of that Patriarch, which in deed is the onely intent of Pelagius in that Canon, witnessing as well other Historiographers, as namely, Anton. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13. & also the glose ordinary vpon the same Canon, &c.*

Out of the same fountaine springeth the like or very same reason of late renued by a certaine new start English Clarke in these our dayes, who aunswering to the places of Gregory touching the said matter, laboureth to auoide the cleare authoritie of him, by a like blind cauillation, saying, that Iohn bishop of Constantinople, by this title of vniuersall bishop, vnderstood himselfe onely to be a bishop, and none els. And that Gregory in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to prooue this to be the very meaning of Gregory, he reciteth the wordes of Gregory written to the said Iohn Archbishop of Constantinople as followeth:*Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, vt Episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quando{que} perductus es, vt despectis fratribus Episcopus appetas solus vocari. That is to say, For thou (Iohn bishop of Constantinople) which sometime didst graunt thy selfe vnworthy the name of a bishop, art now come to this, that y^u doest seeke to be called a bishop alone, &c. Upō this word Episcop{us} solus, this gloser would groūd a surmise▪ that Gregory did find fault with the Archbishop, not for any primacie which he sought for aboue other Bishops, but onely, for that he coueted to be bishop and Pastor alone in euery Church, in such sort, as there should be no other Bishop nor Pastour els but himselfe onely. But as is said, that was neuer the Archbishops seeking, nor the matter of Gregories reprehension. For the said Archbishop of Constantinople, went not about to bee Bishop alone, (which was to

much absurd, and also impossible) but to be vniuersall alone: nor to take away the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith Gregory, vt despectis fratribus, not depositis fratribus, so that this worde solus, here noteth a despising of other, not a deposing of other, & importeth a singularitie in condition aboue other, and not the office or substaunce of ministration without other, that is, to be vniuersall among many, and not to bee one alone without any, nor to diminish the number of them, but only to encrease the honour to himselfe. For the more euident probation whereof (although the thing of it selfe is so euident, that it needeth no prooffe) what can be more playne, then the words themselues of Pelagius and Gregory wherwith they charge him for running before his brethren, for chalenging superioritie aboue them, for diminishing their honour, by taking more honour then to him was due, for following the aungell of pride in exalting himselfe, in admitting that to him, which the bishops of Rome and their predecessours had refused, beyng offered to them before, &c All which declare that he sought not to thrust out all other bishops out of their churches, and to be bishop himselfe alone. For that was neuer offered to the Bishops of Rome by the Councell of Chalcedon, that they should be bishops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer seeke to haue no mo angels in all heauen, but himself, but he to be aboue all other alone.

Likewise the word praecurrere, that is, to runne before other in the Epistle of Pelagius,* declareth that Iohn sought not to be bishop alone, but Bishop vniuersall. We say not that a man runneth before another, whē he runneth alone, and no mā followeth him, that is not properly praecurrere, but solus currere. Moreouer, in seeking to be superior to other bishops, he seeketh not to take away other Bishops, but to make other bishops inferior to him. For where no inferior is, there can be no superior, forasmuch as these together are correlatiues, & inferre necessary respect mutually. And if it were true as this Gloser sayth, that he had sought to be bishop alone, how would that Councel either [Page 14](#) haue graunted that vnto him, or haue offered it to the Bishop of Rome before? or if they had, howe could it be possible for him alone to serue all Churches, without any felow Bishop to helpe him? And where this foresaid clerke standeth so much vpon the wordes of S. Gregory: Solus Episcopus Gregory therefore shall expound Gregory, and one Solus shall declare another. Wherefore if this diuine (whatsoever he be Doctour or Bacheler) either knoweth not, or would learne, what (onely Byshop) meaneth in this place: an other place of the sayde Gregory may instruct him, where Gregory wryting to Eulogius,* Patriarch of Alexandria, geueth this reason, why he refused the same title offered to him (which then was offered to the sayde Iohn Patriarche of Constantinople) saying: Quia videlicet si vnus Patriarcha vniuersalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen coeteris derogatur, sed absit hoc. &c. That is to say: For if one alone woulde be called Patriarch vniuersall, then should the name of Patriarches be derogated from all other. &c. Wherby two things are to be noted: First what thing it was which the Patriarche of Constantinople did seeke, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was geuen to Iohn, which was to be called Patriarche vniuersal. The seconde thing to be noted, is the cause why Gregory did rebuke this title, both geuen to Iohn, and offered to him, because (sayeth he) if one take vpon him the name of vniuersall Patriarch, then is the name Patriarche taken from the rest. As who would say: if I should take vpon me to be named vniuersal Patriarch, then should there be no other Patriarche• but I shoulde be Byshop Patriarche alone. And here commeth in your Solus Episcopus. &c.

*Furthermore, the same Gregory speaking of the sayde Solus, in an other place by, seemeth to declare there what he meaneth by this Solus here, in these wordes as follow: vt & nulli subesse,

& solus omnibus praeesse videretur That is to say: so that he would be subiect to none, and would be chieftain to all other alone. &c. And so by this place, may the other place be expounded, vt solus Episcopus sit is, qui solus inter Episcopos praeesse appetat. That is, he that seeketh to be as bishop alone, who alone seeketh to be extolled aboue other byshops. But to be short in a matter that needeth not many wordes: he that thus cauilleth vpon this place Solus Episcopus in Gregory, must be desired here not to take Solus alone, but ioyne with all the word going before, which is, despectis fratribus, by the which might seeme sufficiently declared, what Gregory ment by Solus Episcopus, meaning, that to despise other bishops, & to diminish their honor, to set vp his owne, & to be subiect to none, but to preferre him selfe inequally before al other, is as much as to be counted bishop alone. And thus much touching this obiection.

*An other obiection of our aduersaries is this: although (say they) no Byshop of Rome was euer called, or would be called by the name of vniuersal Bishop: yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be heades of the vniuersall Church. Their reason is this:

As S. Peter had the charge of the whole Church (by the testimonie of Gregory) committed vnto him, although he were not called vniuersall Apostle:

So no more absurde it is, for the Pope to be called the head of the whole Church,* and to haue the charge thereof, although he be not called vniuersall Byshop. &c.

Wherein is a double vntruth to be noted. First in that they pretend Peter to be the head, & to haue the charge of the whole Church: if we take here (charge or head) for dominion or mastership vpō or aboue the Church, in all cases iudicarie, both spirituall & temporal: for the wordes of the Scripture be plaine. Non dominantes in clerum 1. Pet. Vos autem non sic. Luke. 22. That is. Not as maisters ouer the Clergy. &c. but you not so. &c. Againe that the Church is greater, or rather the head of Peter it is cleare: 1. Corrin. 3. All thinges are yours, whether it be Paule, or Apollo, or Cephas: either the world, death, or life, you be Christes, Christ is Gods. &c. In which wordes the dignitie of the Church no doubt is preferred aboue the Apostles, and aboue Cephas also. Moreouer as the dignitie of the wife is aboue the seruant, so must needes the honour and worthines of the Church (being the spouse of Christ) surmount the state of Peter or other Apostles, which be but seruants to Christ and to the Church, yea and though they were Princes of the Church,* yet after the minde of Baldus: Magis attenditur persona intellectualis, quàm organica. Otherwise if by this word (charge) he ment only the office and diligence of teaching: to that I aunswere: The same Lord that sayde to Peter, feede my sheepe, said also to the other, go & preach this Gospell to al nations. And he that said to Peter: what soeuer thou loosest, said also to the other: whatsoever ye remit in the earth. Moreouer if the matter goe by preaching, Paul the Apostle laboured more therin, then euer did Peter by his owne confession: Plus laboraui, also suffered more for the same, Plus sustinui, neither was his doctrine lesse sound. Yea and in one point he went before Peter, & was teacher and schoolmaister vnto Peter, whereas Peter was by him iustly corrected. Gal. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not always nor in all things a point of maistership, but sometime a point of seruice.* As if a Frenchman should be put to an Englishman to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kind of facultie, yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulnes of power vpō him, to appoint his diet, to rule his houshold, to prescribe his lawes, to stinte his lands, and such other. Wherefore seing in trauail in teaching, in paines of preaching, in gifts of tongs, in largenes of commission, in operation of miracles, in

grace of vocation, in receauing the holy Ghost, in vehemencie of tormentes and death for Christes name, the other Apostles were nothing inferiour to Peter:*. Why Peter then should claime any special prerogatiue aboue the rest, I vnderstād no cause. As in deed he neuer claimed any, but the patrons of the Apostolicall sea do claime it for him, which he neuer claimed himself, neither if he were here, would no lesse abhorre it with soule and conscience, then we do now: & yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or any vantage to our selues, but only the vehemencie of truth, & zeale to Christ and to his congregation. Moreouer, if these men would needes haue Peter to be the Curate and ouersear of the whole vniuersall Church (which was too much for one man to take charge vpon) and to be Prince of al other Apostles, then would I faine learne of them, what meaneth (Dextrae societatis) the right hand of societie betwene Peter,*, Paul, & Barnabie, mentioned, Gal. 2. What taking of hands is there betwene subiects & their Prince, in way of fellowship? Or where fellowship is, what maistership is there? Or againe, what state of maistership is it like, that Christ would geue to Peter, who beyng in deede maister of all, tooke such little maistership vpon himselfe, and that not only in inward affection, but also in outward fact. Although I am not ignorant that Peter in places of the Gospell hath his commendation, neither doe I denie Peter to bee worthy of the same. But yet these wordes of commendation, geue to him no state of superioritie, or iurisdiction vpon all other, to haue all vnder his subiection. As if a Schoolemaister should haue more special charge to some one of his scholers for his riper towardnes: yet this geueth him no fulnes of authoritie, or power coactiue vpō the rest, vnlesse by special admission he be deputed therunto. Whereof, nothing can be gathered of Peter, for if it bee true that S. Augustine saith, that such things as were spokē to Peter,*, haue no lightsome vnderstanding, except they be referred to the church, wherof Peter did beare a figure: thē hath y^e person of Peter nothing to claime by these woordes, but all redoūdeth to the church, which being ment by Peter, hath power by this reason, both ouer the person of Peter, and all other persons in the Lord.

But here stumbleth in an argument of our aduersarie againe,*, which he in the margent of his book calleth an inuincible argument drawen out of the bowels of S. Iohn Chrisostome. Lib. 2. De Sacerd. Wherby he supposeth to haue giuen a shrewd blow to the Protestants, and to haue gotten Hectors victory vpon a certaine English prisoner taken in plain field, and of all such as take his part. The text onely of Chrysostome he reciteth, but maketh no argument albeit he maketh mention of an inuincible argumēt in the margent. But because he either wist not, or list not to shew his cunning therein, I wil forme that in argumēt for him which he would haue done, but did not: and so will forme it (the Lord willing) as he himselfe must of necessitie bee driuen to do, if the matter euer come to the triall of act, and not to the trifling of wordes. First, he taketh his text out of Chrysostome,*, as followeth: for what cause, I pray you, did Christ shed his bloud? Truely, to redeeme those sheep, whose charge he committeth to Peter, and to Peters successours. Upon this place of Chrysostome. this Clarke taketh his medium, Christes suffring. His conclusion is, that all which Christ died for, were committed to Peter, Wherfore the forme of the argument must needes stand thus in the third figure.

Christ suffred for all men.

Christ suffered for them whome hee committed to Peter.*

Ergo, All that Christ dyed for, were committed to Peter.

If this be the forme of his insoluble argument, as it seemeth to be, by the order of his reasoning, & also must needs be, taking that medium, and making that conclusion as he doth, (for els in the first figure, and first moode, the text of Chrysostome will not serue him) then must the forme and [Page 15](#) violence of this inexpugnable argumēt be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of Logike, making his conclusiō vniuersall, which in that figure must needes be perticular, either affirmatiue or negatiue. And so this argument inuincible, falleth into one of these two straites, either cōcluding thus, the forme wil not serue him, or cōcluding in another figure, the wordes of Chrysostome will not aunswer to his purpose, to proue that all the world was committed to Peter. Which proposition as it is strange in scripture: so neither is it the proposition of Chrysostome. And though it were, yet both without inconuenience might be graunted of vs, and being graunted, serueth his purpose nothing, so long as the proposition is not exceptiue, excluding other Apostles. For the words of Chrysostom do not so sound, that the whole world was committed to Peter onely and to none other. Likewise then as it may be well affirmed of vs, that the world was committed to Peter, so can it not be denied of them, that the world was also committed to Iohn,*James, Bartholomew, Paul, Barnabe, and other all and singular Apostles. For he that said to Peter, Feede my sheepe, said also to all and singular his Apostles: Go into all the world & preach, &c. Math. vlt. Moreouer, for as much as this man collecteth out of Chrysostome, that the whole world was committed to Peter, how shall we then ioyne this meaning of Chrysostome with S. Paule, which sayth that the Gospel was committed to Peter euer the circumcision, as was Paule ouer the vncircumcision? And here an answer to this doughtie argument, both to the forme, & to the matter thereof, albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be said more of Peters successours in the text of Chrysostome.* By the which successours is not ment the bishop of Rome onely (as the Papists would beare vs in hand) but all such true and faithfull Pastors, whom the Lordes calling sendeth, and setteth ouer his flocke, where so euer, or whatsoeuer they be. For as Peter beareth a representation of the church, by the testimonie of August. in Ioan. tract 124. Praefat. in Psal. 108. so the successours of Peter be all faithfull Pastors and ouerseers of Christes Church,* to whom Christ our Lord hath committed the charge of his flocke. Wherefore they are not a little deceiued, which looking vpō the rocke onely of the person, and not the rock of confession (contrary to the rule of Hilarie,*De trinit. lib. 6.) doe tie the Apostleship or rocke of Peter, to one onely Bishop, and the succession of Peter to one onely sea of Rome: where as this being a spiritual office, and not carnall, hath no such carnall race or discent after any worldly or locall vnderstanding: but hath a more mysticall meaning, after a spirituall sense of succession,* such as Hierome speaketh of, epist. ad Euagriū. Omnes, inquit, Apostolorum successores sunt &c. That is, All, saith he (speaking of Bishops) be successours of the Apostles, &c.

Of like force and fashion, and out of the same figure, the same Author patcheth moreouer another argument, proouing that the Bishop of Rome was tituled the head of Christes church, in the primitiue time of the old aunciters, before the age of Gregory. His argument procedeth thus, in the third figure.

[*S.](#) Peter was called by the auncient fathers, head of Christes church.

S. Peter was bishop of Rome:

Ergo, the bishop of Rome was called head of y^e Church in the old auncient tyme.

This argument expository, beyng clouted vp in the third figure,* and concluding singularly, hath rather a shew of an argumēt, then maketh any necessarie conclusiō, standing vpon no moode in the said figure, if the Author thereof were put to his triall. Albeit to leaue the forme, and to come to the matter of the argument. First, how wel he wil dispatch himselfe of the Maior, & prooue vs that S. Peter, although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome, and suffred at Rome: yet that he was bishop and proper Ordinarie of that citie and speciall sea of Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias, Orosius, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Optatius, and Augustine, brought forth for his most aduantage,* to prooue his Maior: thus I answer cōcerning Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, and Augustine, that where they speake of S. Peters chaire, or planting y^e faith at Rome, straightway this man argueth there upon, that Peter was Bishop of Rome. But that doth not clarkely follow. For the office of the Apostles was to plant the faith in all places, and in euery regiō, yet were they not bishops in euery region. And as for the chaire, as it is no difference essentiall that maketh a bishop (for so much as a Doctour may haue a chaire, and yet be no bishop) so cannot he conclude by the chaire of Peter, that S. Peter was Bishop of Rome. For all this proueth no farther, but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the fayth of Christ, as Paul did also, and peradventure in a chayre likewise: yet we say not that Paule was therefore Bishop of Rome. But that he was there as an Apostle of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his feete, or sitting in a chayre. In the Scripture commonly the Chaire signifieth doctrine or iudgement, as sitting also declareth such as teach or iudge, whether they sit in the chaire of Moyses, or in the chaire of pestilence. Planting likewise is a worde Apostolicall, and signifieth not onely the office of a Bishop. Wherefore it is no good consequent, he sate, he taught, he planted at Rome his chaire and seate was at Rome: Ergo, he was Bishop of Rome. And thus much touchyng Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine.

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and such other, although we should haue much wrong offered, and neuer should make an ende, if we should be prest with the authoritie of euery one that could or did mooue pen, in all the whole first age of the church, to be our iudges in euery ecclesiasticall matter: and much more wrong should haue, if the authors either corrupted, or countersaited, should be layd vnto vs, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherin they wrote: yet to helpe and to faine the authorities of these authors so much as we may, I answer to their allegations, with this distinction of a bishop, which is to be taken either generally or specially. After the first,* a bishop is he to whom so euer the publike cure and charge of soules is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of Bishop is concident with the office of Apostle, or any publique Pastour, Doctour, or Curator of the vniuersall flocke of Christ. And thus may Paule, Peter, or any other of the Apostles be called Bishops. So also is Christ himselfe by expresse worde called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 and 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,* that is, Bishop and Pastor, 1. Peter. 2. And thus may Peter wel be named a bishop of these foresaid authors after this maner of taking. But this publike and generall charge vniuersally ouer the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the Apostles. For then were bishops by places and prouinces appointed, to haue speciall ouersight of some perticular flock or prouince, and so to be resident and attendant onely vpon the same.

The other diuersitie of this name bishop, is to be taken after a more speciall sort, which is, when any person orderly called, is assigned, namely & specially to some one certain place, citie, or prouince, wherunto he is only bound to employ his office & charge, and no where els, according to the old Canons of the Apostles, and of the Councell of Nice. And this Bishop differing from

the other,* is called Episcopus intitulus, hauing his name of his citie or Dioces. And thus we deny that Peter the Apostle was euer Bishop elected, installed, or intituled to the Citie of Rome, neyther doth Optatus, Abdias, Ado, or Hierome affirme the same. And if Ado say that Peter was bishop of Rome 25. yeares, vntill the last yeare of Nero, that is easilie refuted both by the Scriptures and Histories: for so we vnderstand by the declaration of Saint Paule, Gal. 1.2. that 14. yeares after his conuersion, Saint Paule had Peter by the hand at Hierusalem.

Moreouer, the said Paule in the foresaid Epistle, witnesseth, that y^e charge Apostolical was cōmitted vnto Peter ouer the Circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also S. Paule writing to the Romans, in his manifold salutations to them in Rome, maketh no mentiō there, of S. Peter, which doubtles should not haue bene vnremembred, if he had bene then in Rome. Againe S. Peter dating his Epistle from Babilon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, histories doe record, that Peter was at Pontus v. yeares, and at Antioch. 7. yeares. How could he then be 25. yeares at Rome? Finally, where our aduersary alleaging out of Ado, saith, that S. Peter was there 25 yerres, vntill the last yere of Nero: how can that stand, when S. Paule suffering vnder Nero, was put to death the same day tweluemonth, that is, a whole yeare after Peter, &c. But especially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Christ should make Peter an Apostle vniuersall to walke in all the world: Item per vniuersum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi testes vsque ad fines terrae. &c. And our Papists would needs make him a sitting Byshop, and intitle him to Rome. How accorde these: Apostolus and Episcopus ire and sedere. Omnes gentes, and Roma together?

And thus haue I resolved the first vntrueth of that Popish demonstration aboue rehearsed, Pag. 14. wherein they thinke to proue that as Peter, although hee was not called vniuersall Apostle, yet was the head of the whole Church: so the Pope might and hath had after him the charge of the whole Church, although he was not called vniuersall Bishop in the olde tyme. &c.

Now followeth the second vntrueth to be touched in the [Page 21](#) same argument, which is, that because Peter was the head of the church:* so therfore the Pope must also be the head of the church, and was, albeit he was not called vniuersal bishop a long time. But this we do deny, yea the matter denieth it selfe, by their owne position, for being graunted by them, that the title of vniuersall bishop was not receiued at Rome, but refused to the time of Gregory: then mst it necessarily be graunted, that the Bishops of Rome before S Gregory, had not the charge of the whole church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the church. For so much as there can be no head, but which is vniuersall to the whole body, neither can any haue charge of the whole, but he must needes be vniuersal to all and singuler partes of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in sciences, whosoever hath knowledge & cunning in all the seuen liberal sciences, & all the partes therof pertaining to liberall knowledge, is said to be an vniuersall learned man: so in office, to whomsoever the publike charge of all Churches doth appertaine, how is he not to be called bishop vniuersal? Now if before S. Gregories time the name of vniuersall bishop, was repealed in Rome: how then can the name be refused, & the definition of the name be admitted? Or els let our aduersaries tell vs how they define an vniuersall Bishop, seing this word bishop is properly the name of office whereto is annexed charge. Wherefore, if a Bishop be he which hath the charge of all soules in his Dioces cōmitted to him, & must render account for thē al: then whose charge extendeth to all & singuler churches, & must render account for euery christian

soule within the whole world, to him cā not be denied the name of an vniuersal bishop, hauing the office of an vniuersall bishop. Or if he be not an vniuersall bishop, he cannot then haue the charge of the whole that is, of all and singular churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition,*Cui cōuenit definitio, conuenit & definitum, & contra. Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur. Although this word vniuersall, in the Greeke writers, signifieth that, which we in our vulgar English tongue call catholike,* yet I suppose our aduersaries here wil not take vniuersall in that sense. For after that meaning, as we doe not deny that the bishops of Rome may be vniuersall Bishops, so neither can they deny but other bishops also may be as vniuersall, that is, as catholike as they. But such as more distinctly & schoolelike discusse this matter,* define vniuersall or catholike by three things: to witte, by tyme, place, and person. So that whatsoeuer extendeth it selfe to times, all places, & to all persons that is properly vniuersal or catholike. And contrarywise, what thing is to be called vniuersal or catholike, reacheth to all those three aforesaid, cōprehending al places, times, & persons, & extendeth it selfe of his owne nature to the same,* or els it is not to be called properly vniuersal or catholike. And thus iij. things there be, which most commōly we cal catholike or vniuersal: that is, the church which is called the catholike church: Faith, which is called the catholike faith: A man, whome also we call a man catholike, because these iij. of their owne nature & disposition (no contrary obstacle letting) extend themselues so to all, that no time, place, nor persō is excluded. Which iij. conditions,* if they altogether cōcurre in the charge of y^e bishop of Rome, then is it an vniuersal, charge, and he an vniuersal bishop: if not, then is his charge neither vniuersall, nor he the head of the Church, nor yet vniuersall bishop. For how these three can be separated, I can not see, except the aduersary part do proue it more euidently, then yet they haue done.

And thus much to the obiection of our aduersaries, arguing thus: that as S. Peter being not called vniuersall Apostle, yet was the head of the vniuersal church: So the Pope although he was not first called vniuersall Bishop, had, and might haue the charge of the whole Church, and was the vniuersall head of the same. The which obiection conteining (as is said) a double vntruth, our aduersaries yet notwithstanding do busie themselues greatly to fortify by sunory testimonies and allegations, patched out of old and auncient Doctours,* but specially out of Theodoritus, Irenaeus, Ambrose, & Augustine, proouing by them, that the sea of Rome hauing the preeminence and principallitie, hath bene honoured aboue all other churches. Whereupon the said aduersarie before minded, groundeth this consequent.

Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine and Theodoritus affirme that the church of Rome is the chiefe of all other churches.

Ergo, the Bishop and head of that church is chiefe and head ouer all other bishops, & head of all other churches.

But this consequent is to be denied, for that the excellencie of the church or place doth not always argue the excellencie of the minister or bishop,* nor yet necessarilie doth cause the same. For in matters of the church which are spirituall, all preeminence standeth vpon spirituall & inward gifts,* (spiritualia enim spiritualibus comparantur) as fayth, pietie, learning and godly knowledge, zeale and feruencie in the holy ghost, vnitie of doctrine, &c. which giftes many tymes may excel in a church, where the minister or bishop is inferiour to bishops or ministers of other churches. As the most famous schoole in a realme hath not alway y^e most famous

schoolemaister, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in learning aboue of all other: So if our aduersaries do meane by this preeminēce of the church of Rome, such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, vnitie and peace of religion: then say I, the excellencie hereof doth not inferre or argue the excellencie of the Bishop. And thus concerning the principallitie of the Church of Rome, commended at that time of the Doctors, it may be true, & so well expounded one way. And thus do I graunt the antecedent of this argument, and deny the consequent. But here will our aduersaries peraduenture reply againe and say,* that y^e principallitie of the church of Rome which is commended by the Doctours, is not ment here so much by inward gifts and induments belonging to a christian church, as by outward authoritie and domination ouer other churches, whereto is to be aunswered. First, what necessitie is there, or where did our Papists learne, to bring into the spiritual church of Christ, this outward forme of ciuile regimēt and pollicie? that as the Romaine Emperours in tyme past gouerned ouer all the world,* so the Romaine bishop must haue his monarchie vpon the vniuersall Clergy, to make all other churches to stoupe vnder his subiection. And where then be the wordes of our Sauour: Vos autem non sic, If they hold their affirmatiue, quòd sic where then is Christes negatiue, non sic? if they say, there must needes be distinction of degrees in the church, and in this distinction of degrees, superioritie must necessarily be graunted for the outward discipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of schismes, for setting orders, for commensing of Conuocations and Councels, as neede shall require, &c. Against this superioritie we stand not, & therefore we yeld to our superior power, kings, and princes, our due obedience, and to our lawfull gouernours vnder God of both regiments, Ecclesiasticall and Temporall. Also in the Ecclesiasticall state, we take not away the distinction of ordinarie degrees, such as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the primatiue church allowed. As Patriarchs, or Archbishops, Bishops, Ministers and Deacons, for of these foure, we especially read as chiefe. In which foure degrees as we graunt diuersitie of office, so we admitte in the same also, diuersitie of dignitie: neither denying that which is due to ech degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singuler person. For as we geue to the minister place aboue the Deacon, to the bishop aboue the minister, to the Archbishop aboue the Bishop:* so we see no cause of inequalitye why one minister should be aboue an other minister: One bishop in his degree aboue an other bishop to deale in his Diocesse: or one Archbishop aboue another Archbishop. And this is to keepe an order duely & truly in the church, according to the true nature and definitiō of order by the authoritie of August. lib. De ciuit. Dei. Where he thus defineth that which we call order: Ordo, est parium disparium{que} rerum sua cui{que} loca tribuens dispositio. Order) saith he) is a discretion or di•position giuen to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to euery one his owne right and proper place.

This definition of S. Augustine, standing with the things before premised, now here ioyneth the questiō betwene vs and the Papistes, whether the Metropolitane Church of Rome, with y^e Archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitane churches & Archbishops, through vniuersall Christendome or not? To the answer wherof, if the voyce of order might here be heard, it would say: geue to things that be matches & like, like honour, to things vnlike, vnlike honour, &c. Wherefore, seyng the sea of Rome is a Patriarchall sea appointed by the Primitiue Church, and the Bishop thereof an Archbishop limited within his owne bordering churches, which the Council of Nice calleth suburbicas Ecclesias, as other Archbishops be: he ought therefore orderly to haue the honor of an Archbishop (ordering himselfe thereafter) & such outward preeminence as to other Archbishops is due. More if he do require, he

breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into presumption, and doth wrong vnto his fellows, and they also do wrong vnto themselues, whosoever they be, which feeding his humour of ambition, geue more vnto him thē the foresaid rule of order doth require. For so much as they yeld to him more thē is his right, so much they take frō thē|selues, which is due to thē. And the same is the cause, why both Gregory and Pelagius his predecessour reprehendeth them, which gaue to the Archbishop of Constantinople, [Page 17](#) that,* which now the bishop of Rome clauneth to himselfe charging them with the breach of order in these words: Nedum priuatim aliquod daretur vni, honore debito sacerdotes priuarentur vniuersi, that is, least that while any singular thing is giuen to due person,* all other Priestes be depriued of their due honour. And for the like case Pelagius exhorteth that no Priest do giue to any one Archbishop, the name of vniuersall bishop, ne sibi debitum subtrahat cum alteri honorem offert indebitum. That is, least (saith he) in so doing, he take from himselfe his due honour, while he yeldeth that; which is not due to another. And also in the same Epistle: Quia si summus Patriarcha vniuersalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen caeteris derogatur. For (saith he) if he be called the chiefe vniuersal Patriarch, then is the name of Patriarchs derogated from other. &c. Wherefore as is said, seing the bishop of Rome is an Archbishop, as other be. Order giueth that he should haue the dignitie, which to Archbishops is due, whatsoever is added more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giuing to euey degree, his place and honour.

The second reason or answer to the obiectiō before moued, pag. 16. is this:* that beyng graunted to the Papists, that the Doctours aforesaid, speaking of the principalltie of the church of Rome, doe meane not onely of the inward vertues of that church, but also of the outward authoritie and iurisdiction of the same, aboue other churches: yet the cause wherfore they did attribute so much to the church, is to be expēded, which was this, as before was alledged out of the Councel of Calcedon, cap. 28. 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, that is,* for the title and Imperie which that citie of Rome had then aboue other cities, which cause being outward & carnall, was neither then cause sufficient, and now ceasing, importeth not to vs the like effect, according as they say: Sublata causa, tollitur effectus. So that by the reason therof, the foresaid principalltie of the church of Rome, did not hold then iure diuino, sed humano. And as it holdeth by mans law, so by mans law may be repealed againe.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the Pope sitteth and succedeth in the chaire of Peter, and also that he is the Bishop of the greatest citie in the world: yet it followeth not therby that he should haue rule and lordship ouer all other bishops and churches of the world. For first touching the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered.

*First, whether Peter sate, and had his chaire in Rome, or not?

Secondly, whether he sate there as an Apostle, or as a Bishop?

Thirdly, whether the sitting in the outward seate of Peter, maketh successour of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he sitteth in the chaire & seat of Peter, which sitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fiftly, whether the succession of Peter maketh rather an Apostle then a Bishop, & so should we call the Pope, the Apostle of Rome, and not the bishop of Rome?

Sixtly, whether Ecclesiasticall functions ought to be esteemed by ordinarie succession of place, or by Gods secret calling or sending?

Seuenthy and lastly, whether it stand by Scripture, any succession at all to be pointed in Christes Church, or why more from Peter, then from other Apostles?

All which Interrogatories being wel discussed (which would aske a long proces) it should wel appeare what litle hold the Pope hath to take this state vpon him, aboue all other Churches as he doth. In the meane tyme, this one argument by the way may suffice in stead of many, for our aduersaries to answer to at their conuenient leisure. Which argument thus I forme and frame in Camestres.

*Ca- All the true successors of Peter, sit in the chaire of the doctrine of Peter, and other Apostles vniformly.

me- No Popes of this latter Church of Rome, sitte in the chaire of Saint Peters and other Apostles doctrine vniformely.

stres. Ergo, no Popes of this latter church of Rome, be the true successors of Peter.

And when they haue well perused the Minor of this argument, and haue well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the Popes, of iustification of a Christen man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largenes of sinne, of mens merites, of free will, of works of supererogation, of setting vp images, of vij. Sacramentes, of auricular confession, of satisfaction, of sacrifice of the Masse, of communicating vnder one kinde, of eleuating and adoring the Sacramentall elements, of Latine seruice, of inuocation, of prohibitiō of meates and mariage, of vowing chastitie, of sectes & rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardōs: also with their doctrine taught now of magistrates, of the fulnes of power, and regalitie of the sea of Rome, with many other like to these, &c. then will I be glad to heare what they wil say to the premisses.

Secondly, if they would proue by the allegation of the Doctours, Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoritus aforesaid, the Bishop of Rome to bee the chiefe of all Bishops, therfore, because the citie wherof he is bishop, is the chiefe and principall aboue all other Churches, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking as I said, the principallitie of that church to stand 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 that is, vpon the principal dominion of that citie) no more then this consequent followeth.

London is the chiefe Citie in all England.

Ergo, the bishop of London is the chieftest of all bishops in the Realme.

Which argument were derogatory to the bishop both of Canterbury, and of Yorke.

Yea to graunt yet more to but aduersaries (which is all they can require) the minde of the foresaid Doctours Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoritus, in giuing principallitie vnto Rome, to haue respect vnto y^e vertue of incession from Peter, and not vnto the greatnes of the Citie: yet notwithstanding, for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered, to say.

The Apostolicall Sea of Rome,* hauing successiō from Peter, with the bishops therof, was chief then of all other churches, in the primitiue tyme of these Doctours.

Ergo, the Apostolicall sea of Rome, with the Bishops therof, hauing successiō from Peter, ought now to be chiefe of all other churches in these our dayes.

This consequent might well follow,* if the tymes were like, or if succession which gaue them the cause of principallitie, were the same now, which was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession in the time of these Doctours, was as well in doctrine Apostolicall, as in place Apostolicall.* Now the succession of doctrine Apostolicall hath not long ceased in the sea Apostolicall: and nothing remaineth but onely place, which is the lest matter of true spirituall and Apostolical succession. And thus much to the authoritie and testimonie of these forenamed Doctors.

Besides these obiections heretofore recited out of Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoritus, our aduersaries yet object and heape vp against vs: moreouer, examples of the primitiue time of the church, testimonies of generall Councils, and opinions of auncient writers, taken out of the booke of Councils, & Epistles decretall, wherby their intent is to prooue, the foresayd termes (of the head of the church, ruler of the church, chiefe of all other Priestes) to bee applied not onely to Peter, but also to the Bishop of Rome within the compasse of the primitiue time. And here commeth in the testimonie cited of Vincentius Lirinensis.* Of the Epistle of Paschasius and his fellowes, writing to Leo from the Council of Chalcedon. The testimonie also of Iustinian the Emperour in his Codex: where Ioannes then Pope was called caput omnium Ecclesiarum Epist. inter claras cap. De summa Trinit & fide Cath. The testimonie also of Athanasius, with his fellow bishops of Egypt, of Thebaida, and Libia, in their Epistles to Pope Marcius, Liberius & Felix. Likewise the testimonie of Hierome, In praef. in 4. Euang. Item Epist. 42. Tom. 1. Item Epist. 41. Tom. 2. Of S. Ambrose, 1. Tim 3. Of S. Augustina to Boniface. Ad Bonifac. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Item, Lib. 2. De Baptism. cap. 1. Of Theodoritus in his Epistle to Pope Leo. Epist Commentar. in Pauli Epist. praefixa. Of Chrysostome, Epist ad Innocentium, Tom. 5. &c. By which testimonies our aduersaries would prooue S. Peter, and after him the Bishop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the church, chiefe bishop, prince and ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which obiections fully and exactly to aunswer in order, would require a whole volume by it selfe. In the meane time, leauing the rest vnto them vnto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this one short distinction.* I answer these & all such other like places, where S. Peter with his successours are called: head of the church, chiefe of Bishops, Prince of the Apostles, &c. In which places, this worde head, chiefe, and Prince of the Apostles, may be taken two maner of waies: to note, either dominiō, or els commendation. For so we read sometime Caput,* and princeps, to be wordes not of authoritie, but of excellencie, wherby is declared the chiefeest and worthiest part among many parts, and not possessour and gouernour of the whole. Like as in the person of mā, the hed is the principal part of the whole body, being endued with reason, & furnished with most excellēt

senses, by the which y^e whole body of mā is directed, [Page 18](#) so thereof is deriued by a metaphor, to what man or thing soeuer nature or condition hath giuen the greatest excellēcie, of gifts and properties aboue other partes or mēbers, the same societie to be called of the said parties, Caput, or Princeps, head or Prince. And yet the same head or Prince so called, hath not alwayes dominion or iurisdiction of the rest. So we call in our vulgar speach the head or chiefe men of the parish, who for their riches, wisdom, or place, are most specially noted: After like phrase of speach we call the head man of the Inquest, him that hath the first place. And yet neither they nor these haue any dominion or iurisdiction vpon the residue. In a schoole the chieftest Scholer in learning, is not therefore the maister or gouernour of his fellowes.* Neither hath M. Cicero any title thereby to claime subiection and seruice of all other Oratours, because he is named Princeps eloquentiae, and goeth before them in that kind of phrase. The same Cicero. Lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippū principem huius aetatis Philosophorum: as Homerus also may be called Poetarum Princeps: And yet neither Philosophers to Cratippus, nor Poetes to Homere, owe anye thing els, but onely fame and praise.

And what if S. Peter the blessed Apostle be called and counted of the old auncient Doctours, as head and Prince of the Apostles,* which is as much as Coryphaeus Apostolorum, for his excellent faith, for his deuine confession & singular affection to the Lorde Iesus: yet what Interest or charge either hath he to challenge ouer the Apostles, or the Pope after him ouer all other bishops & the whole church of Christ, although the Pope haue the like excellencie of Christes faith which Peter had, as would God he had? As concerning these allegations therfore out of the Doctors, two thinges are to be obserued: First, that neither these names and titles though they be geuen to Peter, doe geue him any state or dominion aboue other Apostles: nor yet the succession of him doth further any whit this celsitude and regalitie of the Pope to aduance him aboue his fellow Archbishops, as he now doth.

And if our aduersaries would needs prouoke vs to the numbring of testimonies, & deuiding the house (speaking of the writers and Counsels of the Primitiue age) for these aforesaid testimonies alleaged on their side, I could on the contrary part recite out of the witnesse of Doctours, out of the examples of Councils, & practises of Emperors, no lesse then 60. voices, much more repugnant against their assertion, then there is for the Pope. The tractation wherof for this present I do refer, either to them that haue more laisure at this time to discourse them, or els omit it to an other time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be, to graunt me further laisure in an other Booke to intreat thereof at large, in such order, as (if the Lord so graunt) shal appeare sufficient matter, to proue by the Doctors, general Councils, examples and histories of time, that the Bishops of Rome during the first 500. yeres after Christ, although for the greatnes of the Empire, were somewhat more magnified then the other, and therfore were sought of many, and were flattred of some, and they themselues diuers, did set forth themselues more then they should: yet by the commō consent of churches, were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consension of the most part, within the compasse of that age the Bishops of Rome had not this regall state of title, iurisdiction, and fulnes of power, which now they vsurpe, but were taken as Archbishops, of equal honour, of equal merite with other Archbishops & rulers of y^e church. And if any preferment was giuen vnto them some thing aboue the rest, yet neither was it so giuen of all, nor of the most part:* secondly, neither was it so giuen of them for any such necessitie of Gods worde, aut iure aliquo diuino, as which did so bind them thereunto, nor yet so much for the

respect of Peter, & his succession: as for certaine other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of 13.

[unspec 1] Of which, the first is the greatnesse of the citie and Monarchie of Rome.

[unspec 2] The second, is the authoritie of the Emperour Constantine the great, first of the Emperours conuerted to the faith, and ruling in the same citie, by whom the vniuersal libertie of the church was first promooted, and the causes of the bishops being then at variance, were committed partly to the bishop of Rome, partly to other bishops nere by, to be decided, as appeareth Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

[unspec 3] The third, was the Councel of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that church to haue the ouersight of the churches bordering about it.

[unspec 4] The fourth cause of aduauncing the church of Rome, was the vnquiet state of the Greek church, much troubled in those dayes with sects, factions, and dissensions, wherof we may read, Socrat. lib. 2. cap 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

[unspec 5] The fift, when Synodes were called by other Metropolitanes, then if it chanced the bishops of Rome to be absent, and their sentence being absent to be required, by the occasion therof, they began at length to take their sentence for a Canon or rule Ecclesiasticall, & thereby to refuse other Synodes, where their decree or sentēce was not required.

An other cause was, that when any common matter [unspec 6] was in hand in other places, whatsoever was done, commonly the maner was to write to the Romaine bishop for his approbatiō in the same, for publike vnitie and consent to be had in Christes church, as appeareth Lib. 10. Epist. 78. Ambrosij ad Theophilum.

Item, for that the testimonie somtimes of the Romain [unspec 7] bishop was woont in those dayes also to be desired, for admitting teachers and bishops in other churches, whereof we haue example in Socrat lib. 4. cap. 37.

Moreouer, this was a great setting vp of that church, [unspec 8] when as their sentence not only was required, but also receiued diuers times of other bishops. And when Bishops of other prouinces were at any dissention among thēselues they of their owne accord appealed to the bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite vp both parties, and to haue the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Macarius and Hesychius send to Iulius then bishop of Rome, &c.

Item, in that certaine of the Arrians returning from [unspec 9] their Arrianisme, offered vp and exhibited vnto the bishops of Rome their libels of repentance, and were of them receiued againe, as Vrsatius and Valens did to Iulius. Socra. lib. 2. cap 24.

The x. cause was also, for that Gratianus the Emperour [unspec 10] made a law, that all men should retaine that religiō which Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria did hold. Sozom lib. 7. cap. 4.

And also, if it happened the bishop of Rome to disallow [unspec 11] the ordering of any minister or ministers, the Popes perceiuing how diligent and redy they were to seeke their fauour, and to send vp their messengers to Rome for their purgation, tooke therby no little maner of exaltation. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

Besides these aforesaid, the bishops of Rome had also [unspec 12] an other artificiall practise, that in sending out their letters abroad, as they did to many, in all their Epistles (if the Epistles be theirs, and not forged) euer they were harping of the greatnes of their name, and of their Apostolike sea, and of the primacie of S. Peter, their predecessor and prince of all the Apostles, &c. And this they vsed in euerie letter, when so euer they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretall, namely, in the letters of Miltiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, &c.

Againe, if any of the East church directed any writing [unspec 13] to them, wherein any signification was contained of neuer so little reuerence giuen vnto them (as learned men commonly vse for modesties sake) that was taken by & by and construed for plaine subiection, and due obediēce, as declareth the letter of Damasus, written to the bishops of the East Church, beginning thus: Quod debita reuerentia, &c. in English thus: but that your charitie yeldeth due reuerēce to the Apostolicall sea, you in so doing (deare children) do much for your selues, &c. Theodoret. Lib. 5. cap. 9. where as the Bishops of the East Church notwithstanding had shewed little or no reuerence in their Epistle to Pope Damasus before.

Thus haue ye the first and originall groundes, by the meanes wherof, the Archbishops of the Romish Sea haue atchieued to this their great kingdome and celsitude ouer Christes church, first beginning the mysterie of their iniquitie, by that which was modestly and voluntarily giuē them. Afterward by vse and custome claiming it ambitiously vnto them, of dutie & seruice, & lastly holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possessiō, so that now in no case they can abide the birdes to cal home their fethers againe, which they so long haue vsurped.

And thus much concerning the life,* iurisdiction, & title of the Romain bishops: In all which (as is declared) they and not we, haue fallen from the church of Rome. To these I might also ioine the maner of gouernment, wherein the said Romish Bishops haue no lesse altered both from the rule of Scripture, and from the steps of the true church of Rome, which gouernment as it hath bene, and ought to be only spirituall: so hath the bishop of Rome vsed it of late yeres no otherwise, thē hath an earthly king or prince gouerned his realme & dominiōs, with riches, glory, power, terror, outward strēgth, force, prisō, death, executiō, lawes policies, promooting his friends to dignities, reuenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more then other offences against God committed, vsing and abusing in all these things the word of God for his pretext & cloke to worke his worldly purpose withall: [Page 19](#) whereas indeede the word of God ministreth no such power to spirituall persons, but such as is spirituall: according to the saying of the Apostle. Arma militiae nostrae non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia. &c. The armour and artillery, sayth S. Paule, of our warfaire is not carnall, but spirituall: such as serue not against flesh and bloud, nor against the weake person of man: but against Sathan, agaynst the gates of hell, and the profundities of the wicked power. &c.

*Which armour as it is al spiritual, so ought they, which haue the dealing therof, to be likewise spirituall, well furnished with all such giftes and graces of the holye Ghost, meere for the

gouernance of his spiritual Church: as with wisdom and knowledge in the Scripture, to instructe the ignorant: with inward intelligence & foresight of the craftye cogitations and operations of Sathan, with power of the spirit to resist the same: with practise and experience of tentations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of Sathan: with heavenly discretion to discern spirits, and truth from vntruth: with iudgment and knowledge of tounge and learning to conuict error: wyth zeale of Gods glory, with feruencye of prayer, with patience in persecution: with a minde contented with all cases and states incident, with teares and compassion on other mens greeues: with stoutnes and courage against proud and stout oppressours: with humilitie toward the poore and miserable: with the counsaile of the Lorde Iesus, by his word and spirite to direct him in all things to be done with strength against sinne: with hatred of this worlde: with gift of fayth: power of the keyes in spirituall causes, as to minister the word, the Sacraments and excommunication when the worde biddeth, that the spirite may be saued, and to reconcile againe, as case requireth. &c. These and such like are the matters wherin consisteth the sinews and strength of the church, and the true gouernance of the same. But cōtrary to these aforesaid both y^e Bishop & clergie of this latter Church of Rome, proceeding in their administration and gouernaunce, as who vnder the name and pretence of Christ and his word, haue exercised of long time nothing els but a worldly dominion, seeking indede their owne glory,* not the glory of Christ: riches of the world, not the lucre of soules: not feeding the flocke, but fylling the purse: reuenging their owne wronges, but neglecting gods glory: stryuing against man onely, and killing him, but not killing the vice, nor confuting the error of man: strong against flesh and bloude, but weake against the Deuill, stout against the simple, but meeke against the mightie: briefly, doing almost all thinges preposterously, more like to secular Princes, then spirituall Pastours of Christes flocke, with outward forcement, and feare of punishment, wyth prysoning, famishyng, hanging, racking, drowning, headyng, slaying, murdering, and burning, and warring also: on the other side with his riches and treasures, wyth his garde and gardiance, with strength of men, with Court and Cardinals: with pomp and pride about them, with their triple crowne, with the naked sworde: with theyr ordinary succession: with their lawes, and executions: their promotions and prefermēts: their biddings and commandings: threatninges and reuenginges. &c.

*In fine, to compare therefore the Images of a worldly kingdome, with this kingdome of the Pope, there is no difference, saue onely that this kingdome of the Pope, vnder hypocrisie maketh a face of the spirituall word, which is the worde of God: but in verie deede doth all things with the temporall sworde, that is with outwarde forcement and coaction: differing nothing from ciuile and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For as in an earthly kingdome first there is a Prince or some chiefe Magistrate appointed, hauing dominion ouer his nobles and commons, conteining all his subiects vnder his statutes and lawes, with the which lawes notwithstanding he dispenseth at his pleasure: vnder whom all other inferior Magistrates haue their order and place to them appointed to rule ouer the subiects, and yet to be subiect vnder him: So if the state and forme of the Pope be well aduised, we shall see it altereth nothing from the same, but onely in the names of the persons. In ciuile gouernment, al subiectiō is referred to one head ruler, whose authoritie surmounteth all the rest, and kepeth them vnder obedience: In like maner the gouernement of the Popish Church is committed to one man, who as chiefe steward, ouerseer and ruler of Christes houshold in his absence, hath supream power ouer all Churches, to moderate and direct all the affaires thereof. But here stādeth the difference, in ciuill policy he is called a Kyng or Prince: here he is called a Pope.

The King hath next vnto him his Dukes & Earles▪ The Popes nobilitie standeth in his Cardinals,* and Legats, who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pōpe and prid will not onely giue checke to them, but also mate to Kings themselues, it they might be suffered, as did Theodorus, Lancfrancus, Ancelmus, Thomas Becket, and so would Thomas Woulsey haue done, had not the King giuen him a necke to his mate betime.* In ciuile policie next to Dukes & Earles foloweth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights Esquiers, Gentlemen, with Mayors, Sheriffes, Cōstables, Bayliffes, Wardens. &c. The like race is to be seene also, although vnder other names, in the Popes policie: of Primates, Bishops, Suffraganes, Prouostes, Deanes Canons, Uicars, Archdeacons, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacōs, Acolites, Exorcists, Lectors, Dorekeepers, Singsters, with other Clerks. And as in the other vnder wardens cometh the order of Scauingers: so neither doth the Popes Monarchy lacke his kaynilrakers, to whome may well be compared the rablement of Abbotes, Prouincials, Priors, Monkes, Friers, with their Couentes and Nonneries.

Moreouer from Iustices,* Iudges, Laweyers, Sergeants, Attorneyes, which be necessary offices in the cōmon wealth, what differeth the Popes Inquisitors, Canonistes, Doctours and Bachelers of the Popes lawe, Comissaries, Officials, Proctors, Promoters, with such other, which serue no lesse in spirituall Court, & in the consistorie, then the other aforesaid doe in temporall Court, or in the Yeldhall. Now who so list to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other:* also the power and strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other: and so the ryches of the one, wyth the ryches of the other, I suppose he shall see no great ods betweene them both, taking the Popes kingdome as it hath stood in his full ruffe, & yet doth stande, where Churches are not reformed.* As for subiltie and politike practise, there is no man that doubteth, that is indifferent, nor that seeth not, that hath his eyes, but that the Popes hierarchie in holding vp their state, far excelleth all y^e kingdomes of worldly Princes, of whome all other may take example to learne.

Thus in comparing the Popes regiment with ciuile gouernance as they doe little or nothing disagree asunder:* So in comparing againe the same with the order of scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old auncient Church of Rome, we shall see no resemblaunce betwene them. As we read in the Apostles time, all the armour of Christes ministers was spirituall and full of godly power against the spirituall enimies of our saluation,* gouerning the Church then with peace, patience, humilitie, true kn•ledge of God, the sword of the spirite, the shielde of fayth, the breastplate of righteousnes, harty charitie, sincere faith, and good conscience: so after the Apostles in the time of Ambrose,* by his owne testimonie is to be vnderstand, that the armour of Churchmen was then, preces & lachrymae, prayers and teares: where now the armour of the popes Priesthoode is nothing els but ignis & ferrum, i. fire and sword, wherewith they keepe all things vnder their subiection.* And here commeth the enorme and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, and interdiction in cases friuolous, or worldly, and for such, as for which the ciuile magistrate will not commit any Citizens to the stockes, the Popes censure will not sticke to commit a Christian to the deuill:* not to speak of their other vsurped dealings and doings in matters, that belong to y^e ciuile sword, & be to them impertinent. As in punishing whoredome and adultery, in administration and probates of testaments, in bearing ciuile office, as popes to be Senators of Rome and Emperour also sede vacante. Cardinals to be Capitaines in warre, and rulers of regions: Byshoppes to be Presidentes or Chauncelours, Priestes to be stewards in great mens houses, or maysters of minutes, or Clerkes of y^e market, or gardiners to Gentlemen. &c. All which here I ouerpasse referring thē to y^e deeper consideratiō of such as

haue more leisure to mark y^e order of their doings, & so to iudge of the same with indifferencie, according to y^e rule of truth, touched with Gods worde, and publike examples of y^e auncient Church of Christ in the primitiue tyme.

Thus hauing discoursed, sufficiently so much as concerneth the maner of life,* title, iurisdiction, and gouernement of the Popes sea (in all which pointes is to be sene how this latter Church of Rome hath receded from the true auncient Church of Rome) now remaineth, according to my promise, and order prefixed, consequentely to proceede to the fourth and last point, which is of doctrine: wherein consisteth the chieftest matter that maketh with vs and against them, in such sort as (their doctrine standing [Page 20](#) as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true Catholikes being altered so far from them: nor we otherwise then heretikes if we shoulde now ioyn with these. For the more triall whereof,* let vs examine the doctrine & rites of the sayd Church of Rome now vsed, and compare the same with the teaching of the auncient Catholikes, to the intent that such simple soules as haue beene hetherto, and yet seduced by the false visour and image of this pretenced and bastardly church, perceauing what lieth within it, may be warned by tyme, either to eschue the perill, if they list to be instructed: or if not, to blame none but thēselues for their owne wilfull destruction. And albeit I coulde here charge the newfangled Church of the Pope with vij. or viij. heynous crimes, as blasphemy, Idolatry, heresie, superstition, absurditie, vanitie, crueltie, and contrarietie (as which neither agreeth with the old learning of their forelders, nor yet with thēselues in sundry points) yet after a more temperate sort to passe this matter wyth them, these ij. things, I will & dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the Pope nowe taught in the Church of Rome, is neither any consolation of conscience, nor saluation of mans soule.* For seeing there is no life nor soule health but onely in Christ, nor any promise of saluation or comfort made, but only by faith in the sonne of God, what assurance then can there be of perfect peace, life, or saluatiō where that which onely maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least are most esteemed? For to say the simple truth, what els is the whole course and body of the popes law now set foorth,* but a doctrine of laws, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merites, a foundation of new Religions: al which conferre not one iote to the iustification of our soules before the terrible iudgement of God.

And therefore (as it may be truely saide) this doctrine of the Pope to be voyd of all true comfort and saluation: so likewise it seemeth that these which addict themselues so deuoutly to y^e popes learning, were neuer earnestly afflicted in conscience, neuer humbled in spirite nor broken in hart, neuer entred into any serious feeling of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the strength of the law & of death. For if they had,* they shoulde soone haue seene their owne weakenes and be driuen to Christ: then should they haue seene what a horrible thing it is to appeare before GOD the father, or once to thinke on him (as Luther saith) without christ. And on the contrarye side, then shoulde they know what a glory,* what a kingdome, what liberty and life it were to be in Christ Iesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondsonne of Agar, but with the free sonne of Sara: by promise and not by y^e law: by grace, and not by works: by gift and not by deseruing, that god onely might be praysed and not man.

And thus were the olde Romaines first taught by S. Paule writing to the Romanes. The same did Cornelius the Romaine, and first that was Baptised of all the Gentiles, learne of S. Peter when he receaued the holy Ghost, not by the deedes of the law, but onely by hearing the faith of

Iesus preached. And in the same doctrine the sayd Church of the Romaines many yeares continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine, the byshop of Rome with his Romanes now also should still remayne, if they were such auncient Catholickes as they pretende, and woulde follow the old mother Church of Rome,* and holde the first liquor wherewith they were first seasoned. But the sweete verdor and sent of that liquor and pleasant must is nowe cleane put out through other vnsauery infusions of the Popes thrusting in, so that almost no tast nor peece remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine which S. Paule and other Apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what maruell if the Romanes now in so long tract of time haue lost their first sap,* seying the Church of the Galathians then in the very time of S. Paule their Schoolemaister, he being amongst them, had not so soone turned his backe a little, but they were all turned almost from the doctrine of fayth, and had much a doo to be recouered againe.

Of this defection and falling from faith. S. Paule expressly foretelleth vs in his letters both to the Thessalonians, and also to Timothe, where he sheweth: that a defection shall come, and that certaine shall depart from the faith,* attending to spirits of errour. &c. 1. Tim. 4. And to know what errours these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth vs to vnderstande in the same place, where the sayd Apostle, speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eate meates ordeined of God to be taken with thanks giuing, for mans sustenance, most euidently as with his finger, pointeth out vnto vs y^e church of Rome, which not in these pointes onely but also in all other conditions, almost is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall sincerity of that doctrine which Saint Paule planted in the Church of the Romanes, and of all other Gentiles.

The Summe of S. Paules doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.

1. First,* the doctrine of S. Paule ascribeth all our iustification freely & meerly to faith onely in Christ as to the onely meanes and cause immediate, whereby y^e merites of Christes passion be applyed vnto vs, without any other respect of worke or workes of the law, whatsoever? and in this doctrine the Church of the Romanes was first planted.
2. Secondly,* the same doctrine of S. Paule cutting of and excluding all glory of mans deseruing, stayeth onely vpon Gods promise and vpon grace, not mans merites, vpon mercy, not mans labouring or running: vpon election and calling, not mans willing. &c.
3. Thirdly,* the same doctrine casting downe the strength of man and his integra naturalia (as the scholes doe terme them) concludeth all fleshe vnder sinne, and maketh the same destitute of the glory of God.
4. Item,* it maketh manifest difference betweene the law and the Gospell, declaring the vse and ende of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken, the one to cōdemne, the other to iustifie: the one to haue an ende and a tyme, the other to be perpetuall. &c.
5. Item,* the same doctrine of S. Paule, as it sheweth a difference betweene the law and the Gospell: so it maketh no lesse difference betweene Iusticia Dei, and Iusticia propria, that is, the righteousnes of God and the righteousnes of man, abhorryng the one, that is, mans owne

righteousnes, comming by the law and works: and embracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciously to vs for Christ his sonnes sake,* in whom we beleue.

6. Item, it wipeth away al traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoeuer, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

7. Likewise it reiecteth and wipeth away al curious subtilities, and superfluous speculations, & knoweth nothing els but Christ onely Crucified, which is onely the obiect whereunto our faith looketh.

8. Furthermore, as the same doctrine of S. Paule defineth al men to be transgressours by disobedience of one Adam,* though they neuer touched the Aple, comming of his stocke by nature: so doth it prooue all men to be iustified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, being likewise borne of him by spirituall regeneration and faith.

9. And therefore as all men comming of Adam be condemned originally, before they grow vp to commit anye sinne agaynst the law, so all men be saued originally being regenerated by fayth in Christ, before they begin to do any good worke of charitie, or any other good deede.

10. Item, the doctrine of S. Paule perpending the high glory of a Christen mans state in Christ Iesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with almightie God.* Rom. 5. Secondly exempteth him from all condemnatiō. Rom. 8. Thirdly it matcheth him with aungels, it equalleth him with Saints and felow citizens of heauen, it nūbereth him with the housholde of God,* and inheriteth him with Iesus Christ himselfe. Ephes. 2. Fourthly it adopteth him from the state of a seruaunt, to the state of the sonne of God, crying Abba father. Gal. 4. Fiftly, it openeth to him a bolde accesse and entraunce to the high maiestie and throne of grace,* Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtlye, it subiecteth all thinges vnder him: as ministers, yea, the Apostles themselues in their hiest office, death, life, thinges present, thinges to come, with the whole worlde besides, and assigneth him no spirituall head, but onely Christ, saying. And you are Christes,* and Christ is Gods. 1. Cor. 3. Seuently, it aduaunceth and setteth him in a spirituall liberty or freedome, aboue all terrours of spirite, rising either of Gods lawe or mans lawe, aboue all dreadfull feares of sinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or purgatory: aboue al seruile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vses, yokes, customes, or what els soeuer oppresseth and intangleth the spirituall freedome of a conscience with Christ hath set at libertie: And requireth moreouer that wee walke and stande stout in that liberty with the free sonne of Sara, whereto we are brought, and not suffer our selues any more to bee clogged with any such seruile bondage: that is to meane, although we must be content to subiect our bodies to all seruice & to all men, yet that we yeld not our spirituall consciences [Page 20](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 16](#) and soules as slaues and seruants to be subiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, forasmuch as we are in that part made Lordes and Princes ouer all things whatsoeuer can harme or binde, or terrifie vs. Ga. 4. Colloss. 2.

*11. Item, the right vayne of S. Paules doctrine putteth no difference nor obseruation in dayes and tymes. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

12. Item, it leaueth all meates to be indifferent, wyth thanks giuing, to serue the necessitie of the body, and not the body to serue them. Col. 2. 1. Tim. 4.

13. Item, it permitteth marriage without restraint or exception, lawfull and also expedient for all men, hauyng neede thereof. 1. Cor. 7.

14. Item, it admitteth no sacrifice for sinne but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done once for all with bloude. For without blood there is no remission of sinne whiche onely is applied to vs by fayth, & by nothing els. Heb. 9.

15. Item, as touching the holy Communion, by the letters of S. Paule to the Cor. 11. we vnderstande, that the vse then amongst them was, to haue the participation of the bread called the Lordes body, and of the cup called the Lordes bloud, administred not at an altar, but at a plaine bord or table, the congregation there meeting together after the time of their supper, where not the minister alone did receaue and the other looked on, but the whole congregation together did cōmunicate with reuerence & thanks giuyng, not lifting ouer the Priestes head, nor worshipyng, nor kneeling, nor knocking their brestes, but eyther sittynge at the supper, or standing after the supper. According to which forme the Muscouites yet to this day followyng the old rite of the Country (although being drowned otherwise in much superstition) vse to receaue it after they be risen from their diner standing. Experience wherof was seene here at London the first day of October. 1569.

*16. Item, the sayde Apostle, besides the sacramentall supper maketh mention of Baptisme, or washing of regeneration, although he himselfe Baptised but few. 1. Cor. 1. of the other sacraments he maketh no mention.

17. Item, by the same doctrine of S. Paule no tongue is to be vsed in the congregation which is not knowen and doth not edifie. 1. Cor, 14.

18. Item, the rule of S. Paules doctrine subiecteth euery creature vnder the obedience of Kinges and Princes and ordinary Magistrates ordeined of God to haue the sword and authoritie of publike regiment to order and dispose in all thinges not contrary to God, whatsoever pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the euil: from whose iurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations of persons, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or politicall. And therefore to this office appertaineth to preserue peace, to set things in lawfull order, to conserue Christian discipline in the Church of Christ, to remooue offences, to bridle the disobedient, to prouide and procure wholesome and faithfull teachers ouer the people, to maintaine learning and set vp schooles, to haue ouersight not onely of the people, but also of all Ecclesiastical ministers to see to euery one to do his dutye, & to remooue or punish such as be negligent: also to call Councels and Synodes, & to prouide the Church goodes to be faithfullye dispensed by the handes of true dealers, to the sustentation of the Church, of true teachers, & to the publike necessitie of the poore, &c.

*19. Furthermore, by S. Paules doctrine, the Ministers and superintendentes of Christes Church haue their authoritie and armour likewise to them limited, which armour is onely spiritual, and not carnal, wherby they fight not against flesh & blood, but against the power of darkenes,

errour, and sinne against the spirituall seduction and crastines in heauenly things, against the works and proceedings of Sathan the Prince of this worlde, in comforting weak consciences against the terrors of the deuill, and desperation, and finally against euery cogitation lifted vp against Christ, to subdue euery celsitude to the subiection and power of Christ Iesu the sonne of God.

An other briefe recapitulation of the same

BRiefly and in a compendious summe to reduce the whole doctrine of S. Paule,* in these fiue pointes chieflie it consisteth.

1. First, in setting foorth the grace, great loue and good\will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Iesus his sonne to mankinde, which so loued the worlde, that he hath giuen his owne sonne for the redemption thereof. Iohn 3. which gaue his sonne to die for vs being his enimies. Rom. 5. which hath quickned vs being dead in sinne Ephes. 2. which so mercifully hath reconciled the world to himselfe by his sonne,* and also by his ambassadours desireth vs to be reconciled vnto him, 2. Cor. 5. who hath giuē his owne sonne to be sinne for vs. 2. Cor. 5. to be accursed for vs. Gal. 3. which by firme promise hath assured vs of our inheritance.* Rom. 4. which not by the works of righteousnes that we haue done, but of his owne mercy hath sauēd vs by the washing of regeneration. Tit. 3. &c.

2. The seconde point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant Maiestie of Christ Iesus the sonne of God,* and the excellency of his glory, who being once dead in the infirmitie of flesh rose againe wyth power, ascending vp with maiestie, hath led away captiuitie captiue, Eph. 4. sitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heauenly thinges, aboue all principates and potestates, powers and dominations, & aboue euery name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come, Ephe. 1. In whose name euery knee hath to bende both in heauen and in earth, and vnder the earth, and euery tongue to confesse our Lord Christ Iesus to be of the glory of God the Fathee.* Phil. 2. In whome and by whome all things are made both in heauen and in earth, things visible & inuisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates, or potestats, al are by him and for him created, and he is before all, & all thinges consist in him, who is the head of his body the Church, the beginning and first borne from the dead, in whome dwelleth all fulnes.* Col. 1. To whome the Father hath giuen all iudgement, and iudgeth no man himselfe any more. Ioh. 5. To whom the Father hath giuen all things to his hands Iohn. 13.* To whome the father hath giuen power of all flesh. Iohn. 17. To whome all power is giuen in heauen and in earth. Math. vlt. In whome be all the promises of God. Est. & Amen. 2. Cor. 1.

3. Thirdly,* he declareth the vertue of his Crosse & Passion, and that what exceeding benefites proceede to vs by the same. By whose blood we haue redemption & remission of our sinnes. Ephes. 1. By whose strypes we are made whole. Eay. 53. By whose Crosse all thinges are pacified, both in heauen and in earth. Col. 1. By whose death wee are reconciled. Ro. 5. Who hath destroyed death, & brought life to light. 1. Timot. 1. Who by death hath destroyed him which had the power of death, that is the diuell, and hath deliuered them which liued vnder feare of death all theyr life in bondage. Heb. 2. By whose obedience we are made iust: by whose righteousnes we are iustified to life. Rom. 5. By whose curse wee are blessed, and deliuered from

the malediction of the law. Gala. 8. By whose blood we that once were farre of, are made neere vnto God. Ephes. 5. Who in one body hath reconciled both Iewes & Gentiles vnto God. Eph. 2. Who by his flesh hath taken away the diuision and separation betweene God and vs, abolishing the law which was set against vs in preceptes & decrees. Ephes. 2.* Who is our peace, our aduocate, and propitiatio for the sinnes of the whole worlde. 1. Iohn. 2. Who was made accursed,* & sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousnes of God in him. 2. Cor. 5. Who is made of God for vs,* our wisdom and righteousnes, & sanctification, and redemption. 1. Cor. 1. By whom we haue boldnes, and entraunce with all confidence through faith in him.* Ephes. 3. Who forgiveth all our sinnes, and hath torne a peeces the obligation or handwriting, which was against vs in the law of commaundements, and hath crucified it vpon the Crosse,* & vtterly hath dispatched and abolished the same, and hath spoiled principates and potestates, as in an open shew of conquest, triumphing ouer them openly in himselfe. Col. 2. Who iustifieth the wicked by faith. Ro. 4. In whom we are made full and complete. Col. 2. &c.

4. The fourth branch is,* to teach and informe vs (to whō these benefites of Christes Passion and victory do apperteine) by what meanes the same is applied & redoundeth vnto vs: which meanes is onely one, that is onely faith, in Christ Iesu,* and no other thing. Which faith it pleaseth almightie God, to accept for righteousnes. And this righteousnes it is, which onely standeth before God and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and especially by the doctrine of S. Paule. Which righteousnes thus rising of faith in Christ. S. Paule calleth the righteousnes of God, where he speaketh of himselfe, vtterly refuseth the other righteousnes which is of the lawe, that the might be found in him, not hauing his own righteousnes which is of the law, but the righteousnes of Christ, which is of faith. Phil. 3.* Againe, the saide Apostle writing of the Iewes, which sought for righteousnes and found it not: and also of the Gentiles which sought not for it, and yet found it, sheweth the reason why: because (saith he) the one sought it as by workes and the lawe, and came not to [Page 22](#) it, who not knowing the righteousnes of God, and seeking to set vp their owne righteousnes,* did not submit themselues to the righteousnes whiche is of God: The other, which were the Gentiles, and sought not for it, obtained righteousnes, that righteousnes, which is of faith. &c. Ro. 9. Also in an other place, Saint Paule in the same Epistle writing of this righteousnes which commeth of faith, calleth it the righteousnes of God, in these wordes. Whome God (saith he) hath set vp for a propitiatio by faith in his blood,* whereby to make manifest the righteousnes, which is of himselfe in tollerating our sinnes. &c. Rom. 3. By the which righteousnes it is euident that S. Paule meaneth the righteousnes of faith,* which almightie God nowe reuealeth & maketh manifest by preaching of the Gospell. Wilt thou see yet more plainely this righteousnes of God howe it is taken in S. Paule, for the righteousnes of faith, & therefore is called the righteousnes of God, because it is imputed onely of God to fayth, and not deserued of man? In the same Epistle to the Romanes and in the 3. chap. aforesayd, his wordes be manifest: The righteousnes of God (sayth he) is by faith of Iesus Christ,* in all, and vpon al that doe beleue. &c.

Wherefore whosoever studieth to be accepted with God and to be found righteous in his light, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of S. Paule to make a difference & a separation, as farre as from heauen and earth, betweene these two, that is betweene the righteousnes of workes, & righteousnes of faith: & in any wise beware he bring no other meanes for his iustification, or remission of his sins, but onely faith apprehending the body or person of Christ Iesus crucified. For as there is no way into the house but by the doore, so is there no comming to God but by

Christ alone, which is by faith. And as the mortall body, without bodely sustenance of bread & drinke can not but perishe so the spiritual soule of man hath no other refreshing but only by faith in the body and bloude of Christ,* whereby to be saued.* With this faith the Idolatrous Gentiles apprehēded Iesus Christ, and receaued therby righteousness. Cornelius (the first Baptised Ramane) so sooone as he heard Peter preache Christ, receaued straightway the holy Ghost, Peter himselfe confessed, and for his confession, hadde the keyes of heauen. Math. 16. Zacheus receaued the person of Christ into his house,* and withal receaued saluation both to him and his whole houshold. Luc. 19 What a sinner was Mary,* which had no lesse in her then vij. deuils, & yet because she set her hart and affectiō vpon that person, many sinnes were forgien her. Luc. 7. The right hand theefe,* how farre was he from all works of the law, & yet by faith entred he iustified into Paradise y^e same day with christ. Luc. 23. In like maner, although the poore Publicane came to the Church with lesse holines after the law, yet went he home to his house more iustified then the Pharisie with all his workes,* and all by reason of fayth. Luc. 18, The parable of the prodigal sonne which was lost yet reuiued agayne: Also of the lost groat, and of the lost sheepe which went astray and was found againe, what do these declare but that which is lost by the lawe, to be recouered by faith and grace? And how oft doe we reade in the Gospels:*Thy faith hath saued thee. &c. Iesus seing their beliefe &c. He that beleueth in me I will raise him vp in the last day. &c. Beleue also in me &c. He that beleueueth in me hath euerlasting life. &c. Without me ye can do nothing. &c. He that is in me. &c. He that looueth me. &c. He that heareth me. &c. He that abideth in me. &c. He that receaueth me. &c. Onles ye eate my flesh: and drinke my bloud.*&c. That they may receaue remission of sinnes by their faith in me. &c. Act. 26. To him al the Prophets giue witnes, to haue remission of sinnes, whosoener beleueueth in his name &c. Act. 10. He that beleueueth & is baptised. Mat. vlt. He that beleueth in me shall do the works that I do, & greater then these. &c.

And likewise in the writings of S. Paule, how often doe we heare the name of Christ, almost in euery thirde or fourth line,* where hee still repeateth: In Christo Iesu per Christum Iesum, Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum. &c. Qui credunt in ipso. &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo. &c. Credentes illo, in eum credentes illi, in nomen eius, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, &c. Beleue, (saith S Paule to the Iaylor) in the Lorde Iesus, and thou shalt be saued and thy whole house, &c. Actes. 16.

Thus then thou seest as the passion of Christ is onely the efficient or personall cause immediate of our saluation: so is faith onely the instrumentall or meane cause that maketh the merits of Christ to vs auailable. For as the Passion of Christ serueth to none but such as do beleue: so neither doth faith (as it is onely a bare qualitie or action in mans minde) it self iustifie,* vnles it be directed to the body of Christ crucified, as to his obiect, of whom it receueth all his vertue.* And therefore these ij. must alwayes ioyntly concurre together, faith, and Christ Iesus crucified. As for example, when the children of Israel were byd of Moses to looke vp to the brasen Serpent,* neither could y^e Serpent haue helped them, except they had looked vp, nor yet their looking vpward haue profited them, vnles they had directed their eyes vpon the said Serpent, as the only obiect set vp to the same purpose for them to behold. So our faith in like case directed to the bodye of Iesus our Sauour is onely the meanes wherby Christes merits are applied vnto vs, and we now iustified before God, according to the doctrine of S. Paule, who in expresse wordes, defining to vs what this faith is, and how it iustifieth, sayth: If thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus,*and beleue with thy hart, that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saued.

&c. Rom, 10. Besides this, what action or qualitie soeuer is in man,* either, hope, charitie, or any other kinde of faith and beleeuing, be it neuer so true except it apprehend this object (which is) the body of Christ, the sonne of God it serueth not to iustification. And that is the cause why we adde this particule Onely,* to faith, and say that faith, Onely, in Christ iustifieth vs, to exclude all other actions, qualyties, giftes, or works of man, from y^t cause of iustifying for so much as there is no other knowledge nor gift giuen of God to man, be it neuer so excellent, that can stand before the iudgement of God to iustification, or wherevnto any promise of saluation is annexed: but onely this faith lookyng vp to the brasen Serpent, that is to the body of Christ Iesus for vs crucified.

As for example,* when the Turke sayth, that he beleeueth in one liuyng God that made heauen & earth, his beleife therin is true, yet it iustifieth him not, because it lacketh the right object, which is Christ. So when the Iewe saith that he beleeueth in one God maker of heauen and earth,* and beleeueth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, iust, and true of promise, and that he hath elected the seede of Abraham: true it is that he beleeueth, and yet all this serueth him not, because Christ y^e sonne of God is not ioyned to all.* And though y^e said Iew should be neuer so deuout in his prayers, or charitable in almose, or precise in keeping y^e law, & beleueed neuer so stedfastly y^t he is elect to be saued: yet he is neuer the neerer to saluation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded vpon y^r head cornerstone, which is the person and body of Christ Iesus the true Sauour. After like sort, it may be sayd of the Papist, when he saith that he is Baptised, and beleueth in the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, three persons and one God, and also confesseth Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God, which died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our righteousnes. &c. his beleife therin is true, & indede would saue him, if he did stay his saluation in this faith, and vpon Christ his Sauour, Onely. according to the promise and grace of God, and go no farther. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ onely to be his perfect Sauour without the helpe of the patrons, heades, aduocates, and mediators, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ, Onely to be the meanes of his iustification, but setteth vp other by meanes, as hope, charitie, sacrifice of the Masse, confession, penance, satisfaction, merites, and pardons, supposing thereby to worke his iustification before God, contrary to the word of promise, to the Gospell of grace, & to the doctrine of S. Paule whereof we shall see more (the Lord willing) hereafter,

And thus much of the true causes of our iustification after the doctrine of S. Paule.* Concerning which causes this distinctiō furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the originall causes of our saluation, which be diuers and sondry, some are externall, & without vs: some are internall,* and within vs. Of the external causes which are without vs, the first and principal is the mercy & grace of god. Of this foloweth predestination and election. Thē cōmeth vocation. The last and next cause to vs is the deth and bloudshed of christ wherby we are redemed, & al these be external causes, because they are without vs. Of internall causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, & no mo in scripture apointed, that is, our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in vs. Beside this there is no gift of God giuen to man, vertue, work, merite, nor any thing els, that is any part or cause of saluation, but only this gyft of fayth,* to beleue in Christ Iesu. And this is the cause why we hold that faith onely iustifieth, meanyng, that amongst all the workes, deedes, actions, labours, and operations, whatsoever man doth, or can doe, there is nothing in that man that worketh saluation but onely his fayth gyuen to hym of God to beleue in Christ his sonne, following therein the trade of S. Pauls teaching: who in precise wordes so

ascribeth iustification to fayth, that he excludeth all other actions of man, & works of the law: And therefore in the same Epystle to the Romanes, [Page 23](#) S. Paule resoning of the glory of iustifyng, asketh this question how this glory is excluded: whether by the law of works? and concludeth no: ascribing onely y^e glory thereof to the law of faith,* And consequently vppon the same he inferreth: Colligimus enim iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis. We hold that a man is iustified by faith. without the deedes of the law.

And how then can that he accounted for any part of our iustification, which S. Paule vtterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalfe? of which like exclusiues and negatiues the whole course of S. Paules doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: Sine operibus, absque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum est,*non ex operibus ne quis sed secundū misericordiā gloriatur, Ephe 2. Non ex operibus iustitiae quae fecimus nos sed secundū propositi suum & grati•m &c. Titi. 3. Non secundum opera nostra.*&c. Timot 1. That is to say, It is the gift of God, not of works, that no mā should glory. &c. Not of the workes of righteousnes, which we haue done, but of his own mercy. &c. Not after our workes, but after his owne purpose, & grace which is giuen to vs,*&c., Agayne Gal 2. Non iustificatur homo ex operibus. &c. That is, A man is not iustified by works &c. Item,*Ei qui non operatur credenti autē in eū qui iustificat impium fides imputatur ad iustitiam &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but beleueth in him which iustifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousnes.*&c. By these exclusiues, and negatiues in Saint Paules doctrine what doth he els meane, but vtterly to seclude all kinde of mans merits, and works of the law from the office & dignitie of iustifying? And although he expresseth not y^e word, Onely, yet vpon his exclusiues and negatiues, this exceptiue must needes be inferred. For in all Logike the cōsequent is necessary and formall, as one man is suffered, to come into the house: and no person els is suffered but one Ergo, one man only is suffered to enter into the housé. And thus much concerning faith in Christ, prooued to be the onely meane, or instrumentall, or conditionall cause of our saluation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of S. Paule taught to the ancient Romanes.

5. The fift branch, which I note in S. Paules doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established vs in certainty of our saluation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth vs vehemently and with all instaunce of good workes, shewing the true vse and ende of good workes: which is, first to shewe our obedience, and dutifull seruice (as we may) vnto God, who hath done so great thinges for vs. Secondly to relieue our neighbours with our charitie and kindes, as God hath bene kinde to vs his enimies. Thirdly, to stirre vp other by our example, to praise God, to embrace the same Religion, & to do the like. For requisite it is, that as God hath bene so merciful to vs and gracious in eternal giftes, we should be merciful likewise to other in temporall cōmodities. And seeing it hath pleased him of his fatherly goodnes (of our partes so litle deserued) to call vs to so high a vocation, to giue the bloud of his sonne for vs, to forgiue vs al our sinnes, to deliuer vs from this present wicked worlde, to make vs Citizens of heauen, yea his children, more then seruaunts: little then can we doe, and well may we thinke those benefites ill bestowed, if we forgiue not our neighbours, and shewe some thing againe worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called vs, in mortifying our worldly lustes here, & studying after heauenly thinges: and finally if we being prouoked with such loue & kindnes, reder not againe some loue for loue, some kindnes for kindnes, seeking how to walke in the steps which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, seruing him (so much as we may) in holines & righteousnes all the

daies of our life. And though our obedience shall alwaies be imperfect, doe the best we can: yet reason would that some obedience we should shew as louing children to such a louing father.

And this is the cause why S. Paule is so vehement & vrgent to call vpon good workes, not that workes should iustifie, but that we being iustified so mercifully & tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vayne, but endeouour our selues to our vttermost to render our seruice againe to him, in such conuersation of life as may most make to his glorye, and profite of our neighbour. And though the words of our sauour seme in some places to attribute to our obedience and charitie here in earth, great rewards in heauen, that is of his owne free grace & goodnes so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for vs to claime any meede thereby or thanke at hys hande, as by any worthines of our dooings, no more then the seruauant when he commeth from the plough and seruing the cattell in the field, serueth first his master at home and waiteth vpon his table: the master is not bound (saith Christ) to thanke his seruauant therefore, and bid him sit downe: So you (saith he) when you haue done that is cōmanmanded you, say ye are vnprofitable seruants: ye haue done but what your bound duety was to doe. Luc. 17.

Againe, here also is to be vnderstand, that where such rewardes be ascribed vnto mens deedes, it is not for the worthines of the deede it selfe, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the worke to bee good in Gods sight: for els if an infidell should do the same worke that the christian doth, it were nothing but meere sinne before god. In that therefore the christian mans worke is accepted be it neuer so small (as to giue a cup of cold water) the same is onely for his fayth sake that doth it,* and not for the worke which is done. Whereby againe we may learne how faith onely doth iustifie a man, and that three maner of wayes.

First it iustifieth the person in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to doe any good worke.

Secondly, it iustifieth a man from sinne, in procuring remission and forgiuenes of the same.

Thirdly, it iustifieth the good deedes and workes of man, not onely in bringing foorth good fruites, but also in making the same workes to be good and acceptable in the sight of God,* which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office therfore of faith and works is diners, and must not be cōfounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, & iustifieth him in the sight of god, both in couering his yll deedes, and in making his good deedes acceptable to God, clyming vp to heauen, & there wrastling with God and his iudgement for righteousness, for saluation, and for euerlastins life. Workes and charitie, folow faith, and are exercised here vpon the earth, & glorieth onely before man,* but not before God, in shewing foorth obedience both to God & to man. Further then this our good works doe not reach, nor haue any thing to doe in the iudgement of God touching saluation. I speake of our good workes (as S. Paule speaketh Rom. 7.) as they be ours & imperfect. For els if our workes could be perfect according to the perfection of the lawe, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh, that is if we could perfect them, as it is sayd: Qui fecerit ea viuet in eis. But now seeing the imbecilitie of our flesh cannot attaine thereto it foloweth thereof that all glory of iustifying is taken from workes, and transferred onely to faith.

And thus much concerning the principall contents of S. Paules doctrine. Wherein the Church of the auncient Romanes first was grounded & planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the prymityue state of the Church. Likewise the same forme of doctrine the latter Romanes also that followed shoulde haue maintained,* and not haue fallen away for any mans preaching, but hold him accursed, yea if he were any Apostle or an Angell from heauen,* teaching any other doctrine besides that institution which they haue receaued. Gal. 1, for so were they warned before by the Apostle S Paule, to doe. And yet notwithstanding all this forewarning & diligent instruction of this blessed Apostle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, especially among the Romanes, whereof the sayde Apostle also foretold them so long before, forepropheciying: That the day of the Lord shall not come,*except there come a defectiō before, and that the man of sinne should be reuealed, the proude aduersary of God. &c. Thei. 2, meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the holy ghost had then planted by his ministry, among the Gentiles. As we see it now come to passe in the Church of Rome. Which Church is so gone from the faith that S. Paule taught, that if he were now aliue, and saw these decrees and decretals of the Bishop of Rome, these heapes of ceremonies & traditions, these masse bokes, these Portuses, these Festiuals and Legendes, these Processionals, Dymmes and Sequences, these Beades and Graduals, & the maner of their inuocation, their Canons, Censures, & latter Councels, such swarmes of superstitious Monkes and Friers, such sectes of so many dyuers religions, the Testament of S. Fraunces, the rule of S. Benedict, of S. Brigit, of S. Anthony. &c. the intricate subtel•ies & labyrynthes of the scholemen, the infinite cases and distinctiōs of the Canonistes,* the Sermons in Churches, the assertions in schooles, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the clergie, the cruelty of persecuting Prelates with their officials and promotors: he woulde saye this were not a defection, but rather a plaine destruccion and ruine of fayth: neyther that this were any true Church of Christ, but a newe found Religion, or paganisme rather, brought in vnder the shadow of Christianity, wherein remaineth almost no"thing els but the name onely of Christ, and the outwarde [Page 24](#) forme of hys religion, the true vayne, and effect whereof is vtterly decayed, as to them which list to examine all the parts of this new Romish religion, may some appeare.

For saue onely that they pretend the solemne forme and wordes of the Crede, and are Baptised confessing y^e name of the father the sonne & holy ghost: As touching all other points and true sincerity of the Christian faith which they outwardly professe, they are vtterly degenerated from that which S. Paule & the word of God first had taught them,

First, they cōfesse the father in word, but his will in his word expred they renounce,* his grace they acknowledg not, his benefits and promisses giuen vnto vs in his sonne they receaue not, the vigor of his law they feelee not, the terrour of his iudgements earnestly they feare not, his commaundementes they obserue by the traditions and commaundements of their owne.

Likewise the name of Christ his sonne in worde they confesse, but his office indede they deface and deminish: his glory they seeke not, but vnder his name they do seke their owne: the power of his bloud and passion they know not or els dissemble it, who neither they admit to be the head of his Church alone, nor sauour alone, nor only to be our patrone & aduocate; but match with him our Lady, and other patrons, so that euery Parish almost in christendome hath his peculiar patrone besides Christ to hold by.

In like maner they confesse the name of the holy Ghost, But God himselfe knoweth how farre they are from the comfort, knowledge, and tast of the holy ghost, as wel may appeare by their counsels, by their expounding of Scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies, by their outward worshipping and Idolatrous inuocation to stockes and stones and dead creatures,* by their scrupulous obseruatiō of dayes, tunes, places, numbers & gestures: And no lesse also by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poore harts of simple Christians, of their due consolation, ioy and liberty in the holy Ghost, & kepeth them still in a seruile bondage, and a doubtfull incertainty of their saluation, contrary to the working of the holy spirite of God.

And thus the Church of Rome pretending onely the name of Christ and of his Religion,* is so farre altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that vnder the name of Christ, it persecuteth both Christ & his Religion: working more harme to the Church of Christ, then euer did the open tirants and persecuting Emperours among the heathen: not much vnlike herein to the olde Sinagoge of the Scribes and Phareseis, who vnder the name of God, crucified the sonne of God,* and vnder pretence of the law, fought against the Gospell, and vnder the title of Abrahams children, persecuted the childrē of Abraham. And as they bragging so highly of the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lorde, did in deede destroye the true Temple of the Lord: right so these pretended Catholikes in these dayes, after they haue rayased vppe a Catholike Churche of their owne,* and haue armed the same with lawes, and haue gathered vnto them a power of Priestes, Prelates, Abbats, Priors, of religious men, of Cardinals, and also of secular Princes to take their part, now vnder the name of the Catholicke Church, they persecute the true Catholike church, and coloring their procedings still with In nomine Domini, most cruelly they put to death, which die pro nomine Domini, condemning them for heretikes, schismatikes, and rebles, not which deny any part of the creede, which they themselues professe, nor such whome they can conuince by any Scripture, but onely such which will not ioyne wyth their errors and heresies contrary to the honour of God and truth of his worde.

And lest any should thinke this that we here protest a'gainst the corrupt errors & manifold deformities of this latter Church of Rome, to proceede of any raucor or affection, rather then grounded of necessary causes, and demōstrations euident, my purpose is (by the Lordes leaue) to take herein some litle paine, that as I haue collected a litle before, the summe & cōtents of S. Paules doctrine, where with the old Church of Rome was first seasoned and acquainted, so now as in a like summary table, to discrye the particular braunches and contents of the Popes doctrine now set foorth, to the intent that all true Christian readers comparing the one with the other may discern what great alteration there is betwene the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that then was, planted by the Apostles in the primitiue time. And to the ende to open to the simple reader some waye whereby he may the better iudge in such matters of doctrine, & not be deceaued in discerning truth from error, first we wil propound certeine principles or general positions, as infallible rules or truthes of the Scripture, wherby al other doctrines & opinions of men being tried and examined as in the touchstone, may the more easely be iudged whether they be true or cōtrary, & whether they make agaynst the scripture, or no.

Certeine Principles or generall verities grounded vpon the truth of Gods word.

The first principle.

1. AS sinne and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: * so righteousnes and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith & Baptisme, Rom. 5.
- The 2. Principle.
 2. The promise of God, was freely giuen to our first parentes without their deseruing, that the seede of a woman should breake the Serpents head. Gen. 3.
- The 3. Principles.
 3. * Promise was giuen freely to Abraham before he deserued any thing, that in his seede all nations should be blessed. Gen. 12.
- The 4. Principle.
 4. To the worde of God neither must wee adde, nor take from it. * Deut. 4.
- The 5. Principle.
 5. He that doth the workes of the law, shall liue therein. Leuit. 18. Gal. 3. *
- The 6. Principle.
 6. Accursed is he, which abideth not in euery thing that is written in the booke of the law. Deut. 27. Gal. 3.
- The 7. Principle.
 7. God onely is to be worshipped. Deut. 6. Luc. 4.
- The 8. Principle.
 8. * All our righteousnes is like a defiled cloth of a woman Esay. 64.
- The 9. Principle.
 9. In all my holy hill, they shall not kill, nor slay saith the Lord. Esay. 11.65. *
- The 10. Principle.
 10. God loueth mercy and obedience, more then sacrifice. * Osee. 6.1. Reg. 15.
- The 11. Principle.
 11. The lawe worketh anger, * condemneth, and openeth sinne. Rom. 3.
- The 12. Principle.
 12. The end of the law is Christ, to righteousnes to euery one that beleueth, Rom. 10. *
- The 13. Principle.
 13. Whosoeuer beleeueth and is Baptised, shall be sauēd. Mat. vlt. *
- The 14. Principle.
 14. A man is iustified by faith without workes freely by grace, not of our selues. Gal. 2. Ephes. 2. *
- The 15. Principle.
 15. There is no remission of sinnes without bloud. * Heb. 9
- The 16. Principle.
 16. Whatsoeuer is not of faith is sinne. Rom. 14. without faith it is impossible to please God. * Heb. 11.
- The 17. Principle.
 17. One Mediatour betweene God & man Christ Iesus. 1. Tim. 2. & he is the propitiatiō for our sinnes. * 1. Iohn. 2.
- The 18. Principle.
 18. Who soeuer seeketh in the law to be iustified, is fallen from grace. *
- The 19. Principle.
 19. In Christ be all the promises of God, * Est & Amen. 2. Cor. 1.
- The 20. Principle.

20. Let euery soule be subiect to superiour powers, gyuyng to Caesar that which is Cesars,* & to God that which is Gods. Rom. 13.

These principles and infallible rules of the Scripture, as no man can denie, so if they be granted, the doctrine thē of the Popes Church must needes be found not to be Catholike, but rather full of errours and heresies, as in the sequele folowing remaineth more expressely and particularly by the grace of Christ to be conuincd.

Here foloweth a Summary collection of the errours, heresies, and absurdities conteyned in the popes doctrine, contrary to the rules of Gods vvord, and the first institution of the Church of Rome.

Of Faith and Iustification.

First,* as touching the onely meanes and instrumentall cause of our iustificatiō, wherby the merites of Christes [Page 25](#) Passiō be applied to vs & made ours,* ye heard before how S. Paule onely ascrybeth the same to faith: as appeareth by all his letters, especially to the Romanes. Where he excluding al kind of works, ascribeth al our saluation, iustification, righteousness, reconciliation, and peace with god onely to faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine the Pope and his church hath set vp diuers and sondry other meanes of their owne deuising,* whereby the merites of Christes passion (they saye) are applyed to vs and made ours, to the putting away of sinnes, and for our iustification, as hope, charitie, sacrifice of the Masse, auricular confession, satisfacion, merites of Saintes, and holy orders, the Popes pardons, &c. So that Christs sacrifice, stripes, and sufferynge, by this teaching doth not heale vs, nor is not beneficiall to vs, though we beleue neuer so well, vnles wee adde also these workes and merites aboue recited. Which if it be true, then is it false that Esay the prophet doth promise:* chap. 53. In his stripes all we are made hole. &c. This error and heresie of the Church of Rome, though it serue at fyrst sight to the naturall reason of man to be out of small importaunce yet if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deede the most pernicious heresie that euer almost crept into the Church, vpon the which as the onely foundation, all, or the most part of all the errours, absurdities, and inconueniences of the Popes Church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not iustified by his fayth in Christ alone, but that other meanes must be sought by our owne working and merites to apply the merites of Christes Passiō vnto vs, then is there neither any certainty left, of our saluation, nor end in setting vp newe meanes and merites of our owne deuising,* for remission of sinnes. Neyther hath there beene any heresye that eyther hath rebelled more presumptuously against the high Maiestie of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath iniuried the soules of the simple, then this doctrine.

First of all it subuerteth the will and testament of God. For where almighty God of mercy hath giuen vs his son to dye for vs, and with him hath giuen out his full promise, that whosoever beleueueth vpō him should be sauēd by their fayth, & assigneth none other condition either of the lawe or any works, but onely of fayth, to be y^e meanes betweene his sonne and vs: these men take vpon them to alter this testament that God hath set, and adioyne other conditions, which the Lord in his word neuer appointed nor knew. To whom the wordes of Hierome may be well applyed vpon the Epistle to the Gal. speaking of such. Qui de Euangelio Christi faciunt hominis

Euangelium, vel quod peius est, Diaboli, &c. That is, Which make of the Gospell of Christ, the Gospell of men, or rather the Gospell of the deuill &c.

*Secondly, whereas the Christian reader in the Gospell, reading of the great grace and swete promises of god gyuen to mankinde in Christ his sonne, might thereby take much comfort of soule, and be at rest and peace with the Lorde his God: commeth in the pestiferous doctrine of these heretikes, wherewyth they obscure this free grace of God, to choake the sweete comforts of man in the holy Ghost, and oppresse Christen libertie, and bring our spirituall into bondage.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they shew themselues manifest enimies to Gods grace:* so are they no lesse iniurious to Christen men, whom they leaue in a doubtfull distrust of Gods fauour and of their saluation, contrary to the worde and will of God, and right institutiō of the Apostolicke doctrine.* And wheras our new schoolemen of late, to mayntaine the sayde wicked point of doctrine, doe object vnto vs that wee rather leaue mens consciences vncertaine, for so much as, if lyfe (saye they) were not a due rewarde, it were vncertaine. And nowe for somuch as due debt is certaine, and mercy or fauour is vncertaine,* therefore (say they) we leauing mens consciences to the mercy of God, doe leaue them in a doubtfull vncerteintie of their saluation. To this I aunswere that due debt, if it be proued by the law duely deserued, it must be certaine. But if the lawe shall prooue it vnperfect or vnsufficiently due, then is it not certaine, neither can there be any thing duely claymed. Nowe as touching mercye, so long as it remaineth secret in the Princes wyll, and not knowne to his subiectes, so long it is vncertaine, But when this mercy shall be openly published by proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will and Testamēt,* established in bloude, and sealed wyth Sacraments, then this mercy remayneth no more doubtful, but ought firmly to be beleued of euery true faythfull subiect. And therefore Saint Paule, to establish our harts in this assuraunce, and so aunswere to this doubte, in his Epistle to the Romaines doth teach vs, saying: And therefore of fayth, that after grace the promise might be firme & sure to the whole seede of Abraham. &c. Rom. 4. Meanyng hereby, that workes haue nothing to doe in this case of Iustifying,* and noteth the reason why. For then our saluation should stande in a doubtfull wauering, because in working we are neuer certaine whether our desertes be perfect and sufficient in Gods iudgement or no. And therefore (sayeth Saint Paule) to the intent our saluation should be out of all doubt,* and certaine, it standeth not of workes, in deseruing, but of fayth in apprehending, and of Gods free grace in promising.

Fourthly,* as in this their sinister doctryne they break this principle of Christian Religion, which sayth that a man is iustified by fayth wythout workes, so agayne it breaketh an other principle aboue rehearsed. For this rule beyng graunted that nothing is to be added to gods word nor taken from it: then haue these men done wickedly in adding (as they doe) to Gods worde.* For where the word of god lymiteth to our iustification no cōdition but fayth: Beleeue (sayth he) in the Lorde Iesu and thou shalt be sauēd, and thy whole house, &c. Act. 16. these Iusticiaries doe adde thereto dyuers and sondry other conditions besides, and such as the worde also precisely excludeth, as hope, charitie, the sacrifice of their Masse, the work of the Priest Ex opere operato, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deedes. &c. And thus much concerning the doctrine of fayth and iustification. Whereby it may appeare to what horrible blindnes and blasphemie, the Church of Rome is now fallen: where this kinde of doctrine is not only suffered, but also publicly professed, which speaking against fayth, thus blasphemously dare say: Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit,*& certo statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata,

sese{que} possessurum vitam aeternam, non sides est, sed temeritas: non spiritus sancti persuasio, sed humanae audaciae presumptio. That is, That fayth wherewith a man firmly beleueth and certeinly assureth himselfe, that for Christes sake his sinnes be forgyuen him, and that he shall possesse eternal life, is not faith but rashnes: not the perswasion of the holy Ghost, but presumption of a mans boldnes.

Of workes, and the law.

AS touching the doctrine of good workes and the lawe,* what the teaching of Saint Paule was to the Romanes, yee hearde before. Who although hee excludeth good workes from the office of Iustifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practise and c••uersation of Christen life, but most earnestly calleth vpon all faythfull beleeuers in Christ, to walke worthye their vocation, to laye downe their olde conuersation, to gyue theyr members seruauntes of ryghteousnes, to offer their bodyes vppe to God a liuelye Sacrifice, &c. The like example of whose teachyng, if the Churches nowe reformed doe not folowe, let their Sermons, their Preachynges, wrytinges, exhortynges, and lyues also beare recorde. who although they can not say with Christ. Which of you can blame me of sinne, yet they may say to the aduersaryes, whosoever of you is wythout fault, cast the fyrst stone of reproch agaynst vs.* Wherefore Hosius, Pighius, wyth their fellowes, doe them open wrong, and slaunderously belye them in comparing them in this behalfe to Aetius Eunominus, and other heretikes called Anomaei, who taking the good sentences of S. Paule, did abuse the same to filthy licence of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

But to let these slaunders passe, nowe what the errorrs be of the Church of Rome, touching this part of doctryne, remayneth to be declared. Whose error first standeth in this, that they misunderstanding the definition of good workes, doe call good workes, not such as properly are commaunded by the lawe of God, but such as are agreable to the Popes law: As buylding of Abbayes and churches, gyuing to the high altar, founding of trentales, fynding of chauntries, gylding of Images, hearing of Masses, going on pilgrimage, fyghting for the holye crosse, keeping of vowes, entryng to orders, fastyng of vigiles, creepyng to the Crosse, praying to Saintes, &c. All which are not onely reputed for good workes, but so preferred also before all other workes, that to these is gyuen pardon from the Pope, double and triplefolde more, then to any other good worke of charitie commaunded in the law of almightie God.*

An other errorr also may be noted in the Papists, touching the efficient or formall cause of good workes. For albeit they all confesse in their bookes, that Gratia dei gratis data, is the chiefe principall cause thereof, and worketh in vs iustitiam primam (as they call it) yet the good workes after regeneration,* they refer to other subordinate causes vnder God, as to fre wil, or to habitum virtutis, or ad integra [Page 26](#) naturalia, & nothing at all to faith, when as faith onelye next vnder God, is the roote and fountaine of all well dooyng: as in the fruites of a good tree, albeit the planter or the husbandman be the principall agent thereof, and some cause also may be in y^e good ground, yet the next and immediate cause is the roote that maketh the tree fruitefull. In like maner the grace of God, in a soft & repentaunt mollified hart planteth the gift of fayth. Fayth as a good roote can not lye dead or vnoccupied, but springeth foorth and maketh both the tree fruitefull, and also the tree thereof to be good.* which otherwise had no acceptatiō nor goodnes in them, were it not for the goodnes of the roote from whence they spring. So Paule although he had certeine workes in him such as they were, before his conuersion, yet had he no good workes

before the grace of Christ had rooted fayth in him. So Mary Magdelene the sinner, and Zacheus the Publicane. So all the nations of the Gentiles began to bryng foorth frute, and especially good fruit, when they began to bee ingrafted in Christ,* and to receaue the roote of hys fayth, whose fruites before that were all damnable and vnsauery. As touchyng the cause therefore of good workes,* there is no other in man but fayth, whose office as it is to iustifie vs in heauen so the nature of it is here in earth to worke by loue, as the roote worketh by the sappe. For as a man seeth and feeleth by fayth, the loue and grace of God toward him in Christ his sonne:* so begynneth he to loue agayne both God and man, and to doe for his neyghbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly springeth the runyng fountaine of al good works and deedes of charitie.

Thirdly, as they erre in the cause of good works, so do they erre much more in the ende of the lawe, and of good workes: for where Saint Paule teacheth the lawe to be gyuen to thys vse and ende, to conuict our transgressions, to prooue vs sinners, to shewe and condemne our infirmitye, and to dryue vs to Christ: they take and applye no other ende to the lawe, but to make vs perfect, to keepe vs from wrath, and to make vs iust before God. And likewise where Saint Paule prooueth al our good works to be vnperfect, and vtterly secludeth them from the ende of Iustifying, they contrariwise doe teache, as though the ende of good workes were to merite remission of synnes, to satisfye vnto God, to deserue grace, to redeeme soules from Purgatory, and that by them the person of the regenerate man doth please God, and is made iust before God. For so they teach most wickedly and horribly, saying. That christ suffered for originall sinne, or sinnes going before Baptisme, but the actuall sinnes, which followe after Baptisme, must be done away by mens meryts. And so they assigne to Christ the begynning of saluation, or obteyning of the fyrst grace (as they call it) but the perfection or cōsūmation of grace, they giue to works & our own strēgth. Neither can they in any case abide, that we be iustified frely by the mercy of God through fayth onely apprehending the merites of Christ. Howbeit neyther doe all Papistes in this their erreue agree in one. For some make distinction and say:* that we are iustified by Christ principaliter .i. principally: & minus principaliter .i. lesse principally, by the dignitie of our owne deedes, contrary to the eight principle before mentioned, page. 24. Other holde that we are made ryghteous before God, not by works that go before fayth: but by our vertues that follow after. Some againe do thus expound y^e saying of Saint Paule: We are iustified by faith: y^t is (say they) by fayth, preparing vs or setting vs in a good way to be iustified.* Other expōde by it y^e figure Sinecdoche, that is, by faith conioyned together with other vertues. Other thus: by faith, that is, being formed with charytie, &c. Thus all these doe derogate from the benefite of Christ, and attribute vnto works a great or the greatest part of our iustification, directly against the true veine of Saint Pauls doctryne and first institution of the auncient Church of Rome, and against all the principles of holy Scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the sayde doctryne of the lawe and good workes, they erre in misunderstanding the nature of the lawe and workes. For where Saint Paule disputeth that the lawe is spirituall, and requireth of vs perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which wee beyng carnall are neuer able to accomplish: they affirme otherwise that the lawe doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented: And this obedience they say, man is not onely able to performe, but also to do more and greater things then the law requireth. Wherof riseth y^e works of supererogatiō, contrary to y^e 6. and 8. principles aboue specified, page. 24. Also there be say they, among other certaine workes of the lawe, which pertayne not to

all men, but are consilia, counsayles, left for perfect men,* as matter for them to merite by, and these they call opera perfectionis, or opera indebita, adding also to these newe deuises to serue God after their owne traditions besides the worde of God, as Monasticall vowes, wilfull pouerty,* difference of meates and garmentes, pilgrimage to reliques and Saints, worshipping of y^e dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, &c. With such like, and these they call workes of perfection, which they preferre before the other commaunded in the lawe of God. In so much that in comparison of these, the other necessary duties commaunded and commended by the worde of God (as to beare office in the common wealth, to liue in y^e godlye state of matrimony, to susteine the office of a seruant in a house) is contemned,* and accounted as prophane in cōparison of these, contrary to the 10. principle aboue mentioned. pag. 24.

*** Of Sinne.**

OF Sinne likewise they teach not rightly,* nor after the institution of the Apostles, and the auncient Church of Rome, while the consider not the deepenes and largenes of sinne, supposing still to be nothing els but inwarde actions with consent of will, or outwarde, such as are agaynst will: whereas the strength of sinne extendeth not onely to these, but also comprehendeth the blyndnes and ignorance of the minde, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the vntowardnes of mans minde to Godwarde, the priuy rebellion of the hart against the lawe of God, the vndeliting will of man to God and his worde. The sense of flesh S. Paule also calleth an enimie against God, and feeleth in himselfe, that is, in his fleshe nothing dwelling but sinne.

As touching also originall sinne,* wherein we are borne which is the destruction of original iustice, and of gods Image in vs (remayning in vs and bringing foorth in vs wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtynes, against the law of God, and neuer ceaseth so long as man liueth) this originall sinne the Popes doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the same and holdeth that this inwarde concupiscence & vicious affections not brasting out in vs with consent of will,* are no mortall nor damnable sinne, but only fomes peccati: And say moreouer, that this concupiscentia in vs, is no deprauation of the higher, but onely of the lower partes of man, beyng as a thing 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, indifferent, and no lesse naturall in vs then is the appetite to eate and drinke,* and that the same is left to remaine in the Saintes after Baptisme, to be to them occasion of more meriting, &c.

*** Of Penaunce, or Repentaunce.**

OF Penaunce,* this latter Latterane Church of Rome, of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle before pag. 24.) which penaunce say they, standeth of three partes. Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction canonicall. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free will, without the lawe, and the holy Ghost per actus elicitos, through mans owne action and endeuour.* Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sinne. In confession, they require a full rehearsall of all sinnes,* whereby the Priest knowing the crymes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sinnes, ex opere operato deserueth remission, contrary y^e to 14. principle before, pag. 24. Satisfactiones they call opera indebita,* enioyned by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away, and chaungeth eternall punishment, into temporall paynes, which paines also it doth mittigate. And againe, these satisfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence. &c.

This vnsauery and hethenish doctrine of penance farre differeth from the true teaching of holie Scripture.* By the which teaching repentaunce properly containeth these three partes, contrition, fayth, and new life. Contrition is called in Scripture the sorrow of hart, rysing vpō the consideration of sinne committed and of the anger of God prouoked, which sorrowe dryueth a man to Christ for succour: wherevpon ryseth fayth. Fayth bringeth, afterward amendement or newenes of life, whiche wee call newe obedience, working fruites worthye of repentaunce.

Difference betweene the law and the Gospell.

AS there is nothing more necessary and cōfortable for troubled consciences,* then to be well instructed in the [Page 27](#) difference betweene the lawe and the Gospell: so is the Church of Rome much to blame in this behalfe, because it confoundeth together those two, beyng in nature so dyuers & contrary one from another: as threatninges and promises, thynges temporall wyth thinges eternall, sorrowfull thinges wyth glad tydinges, death wyth lyfe, bondage with freedome, &c. Teaching the people, that whatsoever the lawe sayth the Gospell confirmeth, and whatsoever the Gospell sayth the same is agreeable to the lawe, and so make they no difference betweene Moses and Christ, saue onely that Moses (they saye) was the gyuer of the olde lawe, Christ is the gyuer of the newe and a more perfect lawe. And thus imagine they the gospell to be nothyng els but a newe lawe gyuen by Christ, bynding to the promises thereof, the condition of our dooynges and deseruinges, no otherwise then to the olde lawe. And so denyde they the whole lawe after this destinction, into three partes, to wytte, the law of Nature, the lawe of Moses, and the lawe of Christ. And as for the Gospell (they saye) it is reueled for no other cause, but to shew to the world more perfect preceptes and counsailes, then were in the olde lawe: to the fulfylling whereof they attribute iustification, and so leaue the poore consciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other many folde errors: bryngyng the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though he were not a remedy against the law, but came as an other Moses, to gyue a newe lawe to the worlde.

Furthermore, as they make no difference betweene the nature of the lawe and nature of the Gospell, confoundyng Moses and Christ together: so neyther doe they distinct or discern the tyme of the lawe, and the time of the Gospell a sonder. For where S. Paule, bryngeth in the law, to be a schoolmaster, & limiteth him his tyme vnto Christ: & saith that Christ is the end of the law, that is, wheras y^e law ceaseth, there Christ beginneth, & where christ beginneth there the law endeth, they cōtrary make y^e law to haue no ende nor ceasing,* but gyue to it immortall life & kingdome equall with Christ, so that Christ and the lawe together do reigne ouer the soule and conscience of man. Which is vntrue. For either Christ must giue place, and the lawe stande: Or els the law (the condemnation and malediction of the lawe I meane) must ende, and Christ reigne. For both these, Christ and the lawe, grace and malediction, can not reigne and gouerne together. But Christ the Sonne of God which once dyed, can die no more, but must reigne for euer. Wherefore the lawe with his strēgth styng, and curse, must needes cease and haue an end. And this is it that S. Paule speaking of the tryumph of Christ, saith, that he ascendyng vp led away captiuitie captiue, & hath set man at lyberty, not at libertie to liue as flesh listeth, neither hath freed him from the vse & exercyse of the law, but from the dominion and power of the lawe, so that there is nowe no condemnation to them that bee in Christ Iesu, which walke not after the flesh, &c. Romaines, 8, And in an other place Saint Paule speaking of the same power and dominion of the lawe, sayth, that Christ hath taken the oblygation written against vs in

decrees, and hath nayled it vpon the Crosse, tryumphing ouer all, &c. so that as the kyngdome of Christ fyrst began vpon the Crosse, euen so vpon the same Crosse, and at the same time the kingdome of the lawe expired, and the malediction of the lawe was so crucified vpon the Crosse, that it shall neuer ryse agayne, to haue any power agaynst them that be in Christ Iesu. For lyke as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, & hath maryed an other man, the first husbāde hath no more power ouer her: * euen so we nowe beyng espoused vnto Christ our seconde husbāde, are discharged vtterly from our first husbād the law: (& as S. Paule in an other place sayth) are no more vnder the law, that is, vnder the dominion & malediction of the lawe, but vnder grace, * that is, vnder perpetual remission of al sinnes, cōmitted not only before our Baptisme, but as well also after Baptisme, and duryng all our lyfe long. For therein properly consisteth the grace of God, in not imputyng sinne vnto vs, so often as the repenting sinner rising vp by fayth flyeth vnto Christ, * and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remission promised in him, according to the testimonie both of the Psalme: Blessed is the man to whome the Lord imputeth no sinne. &c. & also of all the Prophets, which (as Saint Peter saith) giue recorde to him that through his name all that beleue in him shall receaue remission of their sinnes, &c. Actes. 10. Which being so, as it can not be denied, then what needeth these priuate and extraordinary remissions to be brought into the Church by eare confession, by meritorious deedes, and by the Popes pardons? for if there be no condemnation but by the law: and if this law it selfe be captiued, crucified, abolished, and departed, which was the first husbāde, what condēnation thē can there be to thē that be in Christ Iesu, or by whome should it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and generall deliuerance for all men, once gotten by the victorie of Christ, from the penalty of y^e lawe: what nedeth thē any particular remission of sinnes, * at sondry tymes to be sought at the Priestes handes or the Popes pardons? He that hath a generall pardon needeth no particular. If remedy for sinne be generall and perpetuall once gotten for euer, to all them that be in Christ Iesu, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confession? If it be not generall and perpetuall, howe then, is it true that Saint Paule sayth: the lawe is crucified, and condemnation abolished? or howe standeth redemption perpetuall and generall, * if remission be not generall? For what is redemption els, but remission of sinnes, or sinnes bought out? or what is els to kill the lawe, but to discharge vs from condemnation for euer? He that deliuereth his friende for a time out of his enimies hande, doth him a pleasure: but he that killeth the enimie once out of the way giueth perpetuall safety. So if remission of sinnes by Christ were for some sinnes and not for all, the lawe then must needes liue still. But nowe the kylling and crucifying of the law importeth full remission to be absolute, * and our safety to be perpetuall. But here percase will be obiected of some: how standeth remission of sinnes certeine and perpetuall, seeyng newe offences being daily committed, doe daily require newe remission? * Hereto I aunswere? albeit sinnes doe daily growe, whereby wee haue neede dailie to desire God to forgiue vs our trespasses (&c. yet notwithstanding the cause of our remission standeth euer one and perpetuall, * neither is the same to be repeted any more, nor any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the sacrificed body of Christ once vpon the Crosse for all sinnes that either haue or shall be committed. Beside this cause, there is no other, neither confession, nor mens pardons that remitteth sinnes. *

Furthermore, as the cause is one and euer perpetuall, which worketh remission of sinnes vnto vs: so is the promise of God euer one, once made and standeth perpetuall that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the sayde promise of God is alwayes sure and can not fayle, * which offereth remission to all them that beleue in Christ, being limited neyther to

time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time soever a repenting synner beleueeth, and by fayth applyeth to him the sacrifice of Christ, he hath by Gods owne promise remission of his sinnes, whether they were done before, or after Baptisme.

And moreouer,* for so much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentaunt synner, by no other meanes nor condition. but onely one, that is, by fayth in Christ: therefore excluding all other meanes and conditions of mans working, we say, that what repenting sinner soever beleueeth in Christ, hath already in him selfe (and needeth not to seeke to any Priest) perpetuall assuraunce of remission,* not for this time or that time onely, but for euer and a day. For the promise fayth not, he that beleueeth in Christ shall be pardoned this tyme, so he sinne no more: neyther doth it say, that the law is stayde, or the sentence repriued, but sayth playnely, that the law with her condemnation and sentence her selfe is condemned and hanged vp, and shall neuer ryse agayne to them that be in Christ Iesu: and promiseth indeterminatelye, without limitation,* remission of sinnes, to all that beleue in his name. &c, Actes. 10. and likewise in an other place the Scripture speaking absolutely, saith, Sinne shall not preuaile ouer you, & addeth the reason why: saying: Because ye are not vnder the law but vnder grace. Rom. 6. Adding this lesson withall, (as it followeth in the same place) not that sinners shoulde sinne more therefore, because they are vnder grace, but onely that weake infirmities myght be releued,* broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the prayse of Gods glory. For as God forgiueth not synners because they should sinne: so neither doth infirmite of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrate the same, as it is written: My strength is made perfect in infirmite. 2. Cor. 12. and againe: Where sinne aboundeth, there superaboundeth also grace.

In remission of synnes therefore, these foure thinges must concur together: the cause that worketh (which is the sacrifice of Christes body) 2. the promise that offereth, 3. fayth that apprehendeth. 4. the repenting sinner that receaueth. And although sinnes daily do grow, which daily prouoke vs to craue remission, yet as touching the cause [Page 28](#) that worketh remission of our daily sinnes: & the meanes which apprehendeth and applieth the sayd cause vnto vs, they remayne alwaies one & perpetuall: besides which no other cause nor meanes is to be sought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners & be in Christ Iesu there is no law to condemne them, though they haue deserued condemnation: but they are vnder a perpetual kingdome and a heauen full of grace and remission to couer their sins and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Iesu our Lord.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, fyrst which seeke any other cause of remission, then onely the bloud of our Sauour. Secondly, which assigne any other meanes to apply the bloudshedding of Christ vnto vs, besides onely faith. Thirdly and especially, which so limite and restraîne the eternall priuiledge of Christs passion, as though it serued but only for sinnes done without and before faith: and that the rest after Baptisme committed must be done away by confession, pardons, and satisfactory deedes. And al this riseth, because the true nature of the law, & of the Gospell is not knowen, nor the difference rightly considered betwene the times of the one, and of the other. Neither againe doe they make any distinction betwene the malediction of the law, and vse of the law. And therefore whensoever they heare vs speake of the law (meanyng y^e malediction of the law) to be abolished, therevpon they maliciously slaunder vs, as though we speak against the good exercises of the lawe, and giue liberty of fleshe to

carnall men to liue as they list. Whereof more shalbe sayd (by the Lordes grace) as place and time shall hereafter require.

Of free will.

COncerning free will, as it may peraduenture in some case be admitted that men without the grace may doe some outward functions of the law, and keepe some outward obseruaunces or traditions: so as touching thinges spirituall & apperteining to saluation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirme and impotent that he can performe nothing,* neither in dooing well nor willing well. Who after he be regenerated by grace may worke and doe wel, but yet in such sort, that still remaineth notwithstanding a great imperfection of flesh, & a perpetuall repugnaunce betwene the flesh and spirit. And thus was the originall Church of the auncient Romanes first instructed. From whome see now howe farre this latter Church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the law,* & prepare themselues to receaue grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and of congruitie obtaine grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly performe the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spirituall actions, and workes which God requireth,* and so those workes, of cōdignitie, deserue euerlasting life. As for the infirmity which still remaineth in nature, that they nothing regarde nor once speake of.

Of Inuocation, and Adoration.

*OUer and besides these vncatholike and almost vnchristian absurdities and defections from the Apostolicall faith aboue specified, let vs consider the maner of theyr Inuocation, not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men saying: that saintes are to be called vpon tanquam mediatores intercessionis: as Mediatours of intercession: Christum vero tanquam mediatorem Salutis, and Christ as the Mediator of Saluation. And affirme moreouer, y^t Christ was a Medyatour onely in time of his Passion. Which is repugnaunt to the wordes of S. Paule writing to the old Romanes chap. 8. where he speaking of the intercession of Christ: Which is (saith he) on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for vs, &c. And if Christ be a Mediatour of saluation, what needeth then any other intercession of the Saintes for other sutes? for saluation being once had what can we require more? or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saintes, which is sure to be saued only by Christ? And yet in their Catholicke deuotions: why doe they teach vs thus to pray to the blessed virgine: Salua omnes qui te glorificant, i. Saue all them that glorifie thee, &c. if saluation onely belong to Christ? vnles they study of purpose to seeme contrary to themselues.

Hetherto also pertaineth the worshipping of reliques, and the false adoration of Sacramentes, that is, the outward signes of the things signified, cōtrary to the 7. principle before, page▪ 24. Adde to this also the prophanation of the Lordes Supper, contrary to the vse for which it was ordeined,* in reseruing it after the Communion ministred, in setting it to sale for money, and falsely perswading both them selues and other, that the Priest doth merite both to him selfe that saith, and to him that heareth, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu vtentis, &c. That is, Onely by the meere doing of the worke, though the partie that vseth the same, hath no good motion in him. &c.

*** Of Sacramentes, Baptisme and the Lordes Supper.**

AS touching Sacramentes, their doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneus.*

1. First they erre falsely in the number. For where the institution of Christ ordeineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth principle aboue prefixed) haue added to the prescription of the Lords worde, fine other Sacraments.

2. Secondly, in the cause finall they erre. For where the word hath ordeined those Sacraments to excite our faith, and to giue vs admonitions of spiritual things: they contrariwise doe teach that the Sacramentes doe not onely stirre vp faith, but also that they auayle and are effectuall without faith, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu vtentis &c. as is to be founde in Thom. Aquine, Scotus, Catharinus, and other moe.

3. Thirdly,* in the operation & effect of the Sacramentes they faile: where the contrary to the minde of the Scriptures, doe say, that they giue grace & not onely do signifie, but also conteine and exhibite that which they signifie, to wytte grace and saluation.

4. Fourthly, they erre also in Application, applying their Sacramentes both to the quicke and the dead, to thē also that be absent, to remission of sinnes, and releasing of payne. &c.

In the Sacrament of Baptisme they are to be reprooued,* not onely for adding to the simple wordes of Christs institution, diuers other newfound rites & phantasies of men: but also where the vse of the olde Church of Rome was onely to baptise men,* they Baptise also Belles, and applye the wordes of Baptisme to water, fire, candels, stockes, and stones. &c.

But especially in the Supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthely swarueth from the right minde of the Scripture,* all order, reason, and fashion, most worthy to be exployded out of all Christen Churches. Touching y^e which Sacrament, the first errour is their Idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, sensing, knocking and kneelyng vnto it, in reseruing also and carying the same about in pompe and procession in townes and fieldes. Secondly also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous,* leauing there no substance of bread and wine to remayne, but onely the reall body and bloud of Christ, putting no difference betweene calling, and making. Because Christ called bread, his body therfore, say they, he made it his body, and so of a wholesome Sacramēt, make a perilous Idole, & that which the old Church of Rome did euer take to be a mistery,* they turne into a blind miste of meere accidentses to bleare the peoples eies, making them beleeeue they see that they see not:* & not to see y^t which they see: & to worship a thing made, for their maker, a creature for their creator: and that was threshed out of a wheaten sheffe they set vp in the Church, & worship for a Sauour: and when they haue worshipped him, then they offer him to his father: and when they haue offered him, then they eate him vp, or els close him fast in a pixe. Where if he corrupt & putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne him to powder & ashes. And notwithstanding they know wel by the scriptures, that the body of christ can neuer corrupt and putrifie, yet for all this corruption, will they needes make it the body of Christ, and burne all them which beleeeue not that, which is against true Christian beleefe.

***Of Matrimony.**

What order and rule S. Paule hath set for mariage in his Epistle to the Corinthians it is manifest.* Wheras he preferreth single life in such as haue the gift of continence, before the married state, so againe in such as haue not the gift he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing euery such one to haue his wife because of fornication. Furthermore, how the said Apostle alloweth a Byshop to be the husband of one wife (so he excede not to the maner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many) & how vehemently he reprobeth them that restraine mariage,* his letters to Timothy do record. Moreouer, what degrees be permitted by the law of God to marry, in the booke of Leu. [Page 29](#) is to be seene. cha, 18. Also how children ought not to marry without consent of their parents,* by manifest examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Contrary to these ordinaunces of the Scripture, the new Catholikes of the Popes church,* first doe repute and call mariage a state of imperfection, & preferre single lyfe, be it neuer so impure, before the same, pretending y^t where the one replenisheth the earth, the other filleth Heauen. Further, as good as y^e third part of Christendome, if it be not more both men and women, they keepe through coacted vowes from mariage, hauing no respect whethy they haue the gift or no. Ministers and Priestes, such as are found to haue wiues, not onely they remove out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death vpon them & account their children for bastardes & illegitimate. Again, as good as the iij. part of the yeare they exempt & suspend from liberty of mariage. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extend farther then euer did the law of God, euen to the fift or sixth degree. Which degree notwithstanding they release againe when they list for money. Ouer and besides al this they haue added a new found prohibition of spiritual kindred, that is, that such as haue bene gossips, or godfathers and godmothers together in christening an other mans child, must not by their law mary together. Briefly and finally in this their doctrine and cases of Matrimony they gaine and rake to themselues much money from the people, they augment horrible Sodomity, they nourish wicked adultery and much fornication. They fill the worlde with offenses, and bastardes, and giue great occasion of murdering infants.

Of Magistrates and ciuill gouernement.

YE hard before what rules and lessons S. Paule gaue to the old Romanes concerning Magistrats, to whose authoritie he would all humaine creatures to be subiected and how they are the ministers of God, hauing the sworde giuen vnto them, wherewith they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintaine that which is true & right. Rom. 13. Now let vs suruey a litle the Popes proceedinges, and marke how farre he transgresseth in this, as he doth in al other points almost from true christianity.

1. First, the Pope with all his clergy exempt themselues from all obedience ciuill.
2. They arrogate to themselues authoritie to ordeine and constitute, without all leaue or knowledge of the ordinary Magistrate.
3. Yea, they take vpon them to depose, and set vp rulers and Magistrates whom they list.

Of Purgatory.

*The Paradoxes, or rather the phantasies of the latter Church of Rome concerning purgatory, be monstrous, neither old nor Apostolicall.

1. First, (say they) there is a Purgatory, where soules do burne in fier after this life.
2. The paine of Purgatory differeth nothing from the paynes of hell, but onely that it hath an end, the paines of hell haue none.
3. The painefull suffering of this fier fretteth and scoureth away the sinnes before committed in the body.
- *4. The time of these paines indureth in some longer, in some lesse, according as their sinnes deserue.
5. After which time of their paines being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to heauenly blisse, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.
6. The paines of purgatory be so great, that if al the beggars of the world were seene on the one side, and but one soule of Purgatory on the other side, the whole worlde woulde pitie more that one, then all the other.
7. The whole time of punishment in this Purgatory must continue so long, till the fier haue cleane fretted and scoured away the rusty spots of euery sinnefull soule there burning, vnlesse there come some release.
8. Helpes and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, be the Popes pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the alter, dyrges, and trentals, prayer, fasting meritorious deedes out of the treasure house of the Church, almes, and charitable deedes of the liuing in satisfiying gods Iustice for them, &c.
9. Lacke of beliefe of Purgatory, bringeth to hell.

Many other false errorrs and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, vanities, & follies, besides their blasphemous raylinges and contumelies, may be noted in the said latter church of Rome,* wherein they haue made manifest defection from the old faith of Rome, as in depriuing the Church of one kinde of the Sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods word, in praying and speaking to the people and administring sacramentes in a tongue vnknowne, in mistaking the authoritie of the keyes, in their vnwritten verities, in making y^e authority of scripture insufficient, in vntrue iudgement of the Churche and the wrong notes of the same, in the supremacy of the sea of Rome, in their wrong opinion of Antichrist.

But because these with all other partes of doctryne are more copiously and at large comprehended in other bookes both in Latine and Englishe set foorth in these our dayes, I shall not need further herein to trauell, especially seeing the contrariety betweene the Popes Church, and the Church of Christ, betweene the doctrine of the one, and doctrine of the other, is so euident that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no handes almost, that feeleth it not.

For (briefely in one note to comprehende,* which may suffice for all) where as the doctrine of Christ is altogether spirituall, consisting wholly in spirite and veritie, and requireth no outwarde thing to make a true Christen man but onely Baptisme (which is the outwarde profession of fayth) and receauing the Lordes supper:* let vs now examine the whole religion of this latter Church of Rome, and we shall finde it wholly from toppe to toe, to consist in nothing els but altogether in outwarde and ceremoniall exercises, as outward confession, absolution at the Priests hand, outward sacrifice of the Masse, buying of pardons, purchasing of obites,* externe worshipping of Images and reliques, pilgrimage of this place or that: building of Churches, founding of Monasteries, outward workes of the law, outwarde gestures, garments, colours, choise of meates, difference of times and places, peculiar rytes, and obseruauncies, set prayers and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigiles, keeping of holidayes, comming to Church, hearing of seruice, externe succession of Bishops,* and of Peters sea, externe forme and notes of the Church. &c. so that by this religion to make a true Christian and a good Catholike, there is no working of the holy Ghost almost required: As by example to make this matter more demonstrable, let vs here define a Christen man after the Popes making: whereby we may see the better what is to be iudged of the scope of his doctrine.

A Christen man after the Popes making defined.

After the Popes Catholike Religion,* a true Christen man is thus defined: first to be baptised in the Latine tongue (where the Godfathers professe they can not tell what) then confirmed by the Byshop: the Mother of the childe to be purified. After he be growen in yeares, then to come to the Church, to keepe his fasting dayes, to fast the Lent, to come vnder benedicite. that is, to be confessed of the Priest, to doe his penance, at Easter to take his rites to heare Masse, and diuine seruice, to set vppe candels before Images to creepe to y^e Crosse, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on processio, to cary his palmes & candle, and to take ashes, to fast the Ember daies, Rogation daies, & vigiles, to keepe the holy dayes, to pay his tithes and offeringe daies, to go on pilgrimage, to buy pardons, to worship his maker ouer the Priestes head, to receaue the Pope for his supream head and to obey his lawes, to receaue S. Nicolas Clerks, to haue his beades, & to giue to the high altar, to take orders, if he will be Priest, to saye his Mattens,* to sing his Masse, to lift vp fayre, to keepe his vow, and not to marry. When he is sicke to be anneeld and take the rites of holy Church, to be buried in y^e church yard, to be rong for, to be song for, to be buried in a Fryers coule, to finde a soule Priest. &c.

All which pointes being obserued, who can denie but this is a deuoute man and a perfecte Christian Catholike, and sure to be saued, as a true faithfull childe of the holye mother Church.

Now looke vpon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what faith or spirite, or what working of the holye Ghost in all this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Iesus giue the true light of his Gospell to shine in our hartes, Amen.

〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

The first booke contayning the 300. yeares next after Christ.

THEse things before premised, hauing thus hitherto prepared y^e way vnto our story, let vs now (by the grace and speede of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter: y^t as we haue heretofore set forth in a generall descriptiō the whole state as wel of the primitiue as of the latter times of this Church of Rome: so now consequently to discourse in particular sort the Actes and doings of euery age, by it selfe, in such order [unspec 1] as is afore prefixed.

First, to declare of the suffering time of the Church, which conteineth about the time of three hundreth yeares [unspec 2] after Christ.

Secondly, the flourishing & growing time of the same: [unspec 3] conteyning other 300. yeares.

Thirdly the declining time of the Church, and of true [unspec 4] Religion, other 300. yeares.

Fourthly, of the time of Antichrist, raigning & raging [unspec 5] in the Church, since the loosing of Sathan.

Lastly, of the reforming time of Christes Church in these latter 300. yeares.

In the tractation of all which things our chiefe purpose and indenor shalbe (so neare as the Lord will giue vs grace) not so much to intermedle with outward affaires of Princes, or matters ciuile,) except sometime for example of life) as specially minding (by the helpe of the Lorde) to prosecute such thinges, which to the Ecclesiasticall state of the Church are appertaining: as first to entreat of the stablishing of Christian faith, then of the persecutions of tyraunts, the constancy and patience of Gods Saintes, the first conuersion of Christen Realmes to the faith of Christ namely of this Realme of England & Scotland: first beginning with king Lucius, and so forward following the order of our English kings here in this land, to declare the maintenaunce of true doctrine, the false practise of Prelates, the creping in of superstition, and hipocrisie, the manifold assaultes, warres and tumults of the princes of this world, against the people of God. Wherein may appeare the wonderfull operation of Christes mightie hand, euer working in his church, & neuer ceasing to defend the same against his enimies, according to the verity of his owne word, promising to be with his Church while the worlde shal stand, so as by the proces of this story may welbe proued, and be testified in the sequell thereof.*

In the traction of all which things 2. especiall pointes I chiefly commend to the reader, as most requisite and necessary of euery Christen man to obserue & to note for his owne experience and profite, as first the disposition & nature of this worlde: secondly the nature & condition of the kingdome of Christ, the vanitie of the one, and stablishment of the other: The vnprosperous and vnquiet state of the one,* ruled by mans violence & wisdom: And the happy successe of the other euer ruled by Gods blessing & prouidence. The wrath and reuenging hand of god in the one and his mercy vpon the other.* The world I call al such as be without or against Christ, eyther by ignoraunce not knowing him, or by heathenish life not following him, or by violence resisting him. On the otherside the kingdome of Christ in this world I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ, & here take his part in this world against the world. The nūber of whom although it be much smaller then the other and alwaies lightly is hated & molested of the world,*

yet it is the number, which the Lorde peculiarly doth blesse and prosper, and euer will. And this number of Christes subiects is it,* which we cal the visible Church here in earth. Which visible Church hauing in it selfe a difference of 2 sorts of people, so is it to be deuided in two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward profession only, the other which by election inwardly are ioyned to Christ, the first in words & lips seemeth to honor Christ, and are in the visible Church onely, but not in the Church inuisible, & partaketh the outward Sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ: the other are both in the visible & also in the inuisible Church of Christ, which not in wordes onely and outward profession, but also in hart doe truely serue & honour Christ, partaking not onely the Sacramentes, but also the heauenly blessings and grace of Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as betweene the world, and the kingdome of Christ there is a continual repugnaunce: so betweene these two partes of this visible Church aforesaid, oft times groweth great variaunce and mortal persecution, insomuch that sometime y^e true church of Christ hath no greater enimes, than of their owne profession and company, as happened not onely in the time of Christ,* and his Apostles, but also from time to time almost continually, Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 1. But especially in these latter daies of the Church vnder the persecution of Antichrist and his retinue, as by the reading of this volume more manifestly hereafter may appeare.

At the first preaching of Christ, and comming of the Gospel: who should rather haue knowen & receaued him, then the Phariseis and Scribes of that people, which had his law? And yet who persecuted and reiected him more, then they themselues? What followed▪ They in refusing Christ to be their king, and chosing rather to be subiect vnto Caesar, were by the sayde their owne Caesar at length destroyed: when as Christes subiectes the same time escaped the daunger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the Gospell of God, when it is so gently offered.

The like example of Gods wrathful punishment is to be noted no lesse in the Romanes also themselues.* For when Tiberius Caesar, hauing receaued by letters frō Pontius Pilate, of the doings of christ, of his miracles. Resurrection, and ascention into heauen, & how he was receiued as God of many, was himselfe also mooued with beliefe of the same, and did conferre thereof with the whole Senate of Rome, to haue Christ adored as god: but they not agreyng therunto refused him, because that contrary to the law of the Romanes, he was consecrated, (said they) for God, before the Senate of Rome had so decreed & approued him.* &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vaine Senate following rather the law of man, then of God, & which were contented with the Emperour to reigne ouer them, were not cōtented with the meeke king of glory the sonne of God to be their king. And therefore after much like sort to y^e Iewes were scourged and intrapped for their vniust refusing, by the same way which they themselues did preferre. For as they preferred the Emperour, and reiected Christ, so the iust permission of God, did stirre vp their owne Emperours against them in such sort, that both the Senatours themselues were almost all deuoured, & the whole Citye most horrible afflicted the space almost of 300. yeares together. For first the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his reigne was a moderate and a tollerable Prince, afterward was to them a sharpe and heauy tyraunt, who neyther fauoured his owne mother, nor spared his owne newewes, nor the Princes of the City, such as were his own counselors, of whom to y^e number of xx, he left not past two or three aliue,* & so cruell was he to the Citye, that as the story recordeth: Nullus a paena hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus

quidem ac sacer. Suet. reporteth him to be so sterne of nature and tirannical, that in time of his reigne, very many were accused and condemned with their wiues & children, Maydes also first defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth .xx. persons to be drawn to y^e place of execution. By whom also, through the iust punishment of God Pilate vnder whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the towne of Lyonce, and at length did slaye himselfe. Neither did Herode and Cayphas long escape,* of whome more followeth hereafter. Agrippa also by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored. In y^e raigne of Tiberius the Lord Iesus the sonne of God, in the xxxiiij. yeare of his age, which was the xvij. of this Emperour by the malice of the Iewes, suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sinne, death, and Sathan the Prince of this world,* and rose againe the third day. After whose blessed Passion & resurrertiō, this foresayde Tiberius Nero (otherwise called) Liberius Mero,* liued vj. yeares, duryng which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the Christians,* through y^e commaudemēt of the Emperour.

In the raigne also of this Emperour, and yeare which was the next after the passion of our Sauior, or somewhat more,* S. Paule was conuerted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius: whē he had raigned 23. yeares, succded C. Caesar Caligula,* Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which 3. were likewise such scourges to the Senate and people of Rome that the first not onely tooke other mens wiues violentlye from them, but also defloured three of his owne sisters. and afterward banished them.* So wicked he was that he cōmaunded himselfe to be worshipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and vsed to sit in the temple among the Gods, requiring his images to be set vp in all temples, and also in the temple of Ierusalem whiche caused great disturbaunce among the Iewes, and then began the abomination of desolation to be set vp in y^e holy place, [Page 31](#) spoken of in the gospel. His cruel condition, or els displeasure was such toward the Romaines,* that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that hee at hys pleasure might destroy such a multitude. By this sayd Caligula, Herode the murtherer of Iohn Baptist, and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetuall banishment, where he died miserably. Cayphas also which wickedly sat vpon Christ, was the same tyme remoued from the high Priests roome, and Ionathan set in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula incensed agaynst the Romaines, had not thus ceased, had not he bene cut of by the handes of a Tribune, and other gentle men, which slew him in the 4 yeare of hys raigne. After whose death was found in his closet. 2. litle libels, one called a sword, the other the daggar. In the whiche libels were contayned the names of those Senatours, and noble men of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death.* Besides this sword and daggar, there was sound also a cofer, wherein diuers kindes of poyson were kept in glasses and vessels, for the purpose to destroy a wonderful number of people. Which poysons afterward being thrown into the sea,* destroied a great number of fish. Gotfr. Viterb.

But that which this Caligula had onely conceaued, the same did the other two, which came after, bring to passe, Claudius Nero,* who raygned xiii. yeares with no little cruelty. But especially the third of these Neroes, called Domitius Nero.* Whiche succeeding after Claudius, rayned 14. yeares, with such fury and tyranny, that he slewe the most part of the Senats,* he destroyd the whole order of knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he, more like a beast, yea rather a deuill then a man, that he seemed to be borne to the destruction of man.* Such was his monstrous vncleannes, y^t he abstayned not from hys owne mother, his naturall sister, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his

mother, his brother in law, his sister, hys wyse great with childe, also his instructor Seneca and Lucane, with diuers moe of his owne kindred and consanguinitie. Moreouer, he commaunded Rome to be set on fire in vii. places, and so continued it 6. dayes and 7. nights in burning, while that he to see the example how Troy burned, sang the verses of Homere. And to auoide the infamie therof, he layd the fault vpon the Christian men, & caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable Emperour in his reigne 14. yeares, till at last the Senate proclaiming him a publike enemie of mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the citie, and to be whipped to death. For the feare whereof, he flying the hands of his enemies,* in the night fled to a manor of his seruants in the countrey, where he was forced to slay himselfe, complayning that he had then neither friend nor enemie left, that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero,* Peter also and Paul were put to death for the testimonie and faith of Christ. an. 69.

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the iust scourge and heauie indignation of God from tyme to tyme euer followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Iesus the sonne of god is contemned, and not receiued, as by these examples may appeare, both of Romains which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their owne Emperors, but also by ciuile warres, wherof three were fought in two yeres at Rome, after the death of Nero, and other casualties (as in Sueton is testified) so y^t in the dayes of Tiberius aforesaid, 5000. Romains were hurt and slaine at one time by fal of a Theatre. And also most especially by the destruction of the Iewes, which about this same tyme, an. 73. and 40. yeres after the passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of S. Peter and Paule,* were destroyed by Titus & Vespasian his father, (who succeeded after Nero in the Empire, to the number of xi. hundred thousand besides them which Vespasian slue in subduing the country of Galilie, ouer and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other prouinces, to vile slauery, to the number of 17. thousand, 2000. were brought with Titus in his triumph,* of which, part he gaue to be deuoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slaine. By whose case al nations and realmes may take exāple, what it is to reiect the visitation of Gods veritie being sent, and much more to persecute thē which be sent of God for their saluation.

And as this wrathfull vengeance of God thus hath ben shewed vpō this rebellious people both of the Iewes and of the Romains, for their contempt of Christ, whome God so punished by their own Emperours, so neither the Emperors themselues, for persecuting Christ in his members escaped without their iust reward. For amongst so many Emperours, which put so many christian Martyrs to death, during the space of these first 300. yeares, fewe or none of them scaped either not slaine thēselues, or by some miserable end or other, worthily reuenged. First, of y^e poisoning of Tiberius, & of the slaughter of the other thre Neroes after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba. within 7. monthes was slaine by Ottho. And so did Ottho afterward slay himselfe, being ouercome by Vitellus. And was not Vitellus shortly after drawn through the citie of Rome, and after he was tormēted, was thrown into Tiber Titus a good Emperor, is thought to be poysoned of Domitian his brother. The said Domitian after he had bene a persecutor of the christians, was slaine in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Commodus was murdered of Narcissus.* The like end was of Pertinax and Iulianus. Moreouer, after that Seuerus was slayne here in England, and lieth at Yorke, did not his sonne Bassianus slay his brother Geta, and he after slaine of Martialis▪ Macrinus with his sonne Diadumenus were both slayne, of their owne souldiours. After whom Heliagabolus that mōstrous

bellypanch, was of his owne people slain, & drawn through the citie, and cast into Tiber. Alexander Seuerus, that worthy and learned Emperour, which sayd he would not feede his seruants doing nothing, with the bowels of the common wealth, although in life and vertues, was much vnlike other Emperours, yet prooued the like ende, beyng slayne at Mentz, with his godly mother Mammea by Maximinus whom the Emperour before of a Muletore had aduanced to great dignities. The which Maximinus also after three yeres was slaine himselfe of his souldiours. What should I speake of Maximus, and Balbinus, in like sort both slaine in Rome? Of Gordian slaine by Philip: of Philip the first christened Emperour, slaine or rather martired for the same cause? of wicked Decius, drowned, and his sonne slaine the same time in battail? Of Gallus and Volusianus his sōne, Emperours after Decius, both slaine by conspiracie of Aemilianus, who rose against them both in warre, and within three monthes after was slaine himselfe? Next to Aemilianus succeded Valerianus and Galianus his sonne, of whome Valerianus (who was a persecuter of the Christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a ridyng foole of Sapore their king, who vsed him for a stoole to leap vp vpon his horse, while his sonne Galienus sleepeing at Rome, either would not, or could not once proferre to reuenge his fathers ignominie. For after the taking of Valerian, so many Emperours rose vp as were prouinces in the Romaine Monarch: At length Galienus also was killed by Aureolus, which warred against him. It were too long here to speake of Aurelianus an other persecuter, slain of his Secretarie: Of Tacitus and Florinus his brother, of whom the first raigned 6. months, and was slaine at Pontus, the other raigned two months, and was mured at Tarsis. Of Probus, who although a good ciuill Emperour, yet was he destroyed by his souldiers. After whom Carus the next emperour was slaine by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecuter Dioclesian, with his fellowes Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, vnder whom all at one time (during the life of Dioclesian) the greatest and most grieuous persecution was moued against the Christians x. yeares together. Of which, Dioclesian and Maximian deposed themselues frō the Empire. Galerius the chiefe minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderfull sicknesse, hauing such a sore risen in the neather part of his belly, which consumed his priue members, and so did swarme with wormes, that being not curable, neither by Surgerie nor Phisike, he confessed, that it happened for his crueltie toward the Christians, and so called in his proclamations against them. Notwithstanding, he not able to sustain (as some say) the stench of his sore slue himselfe. Maximinus in his warre being tormented with payne in his guttes, there died. Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewise beyng ouercome by the said Constantine the great, was deposed from his Empire, and afterward slaine of his souldiours. But on the other side, after the tyme of Constantine, when as the fayth of Christ was receiued into Imperiall seate, we read of no Emperour after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Iulianus or Basilius which expelled one Zeno, & was afterward expelled himselfe: or Valende, besides these we read of no Emperour to come to ruine, as the other before mentioned. Ex lib hist. tripart.

And thus haue we in a briefe summe collected out of the Chronicles, the vnquiet and miserable state of the Emperours of Rome, vntill the tyme of Christian Constantine, with the examples no lesse terrible then manifest, of Gods seuerer iustice vpon them, for their contemptuous refusing [Page 32](#) and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

Moreouer, in much like sort and condition, if leisure of tyme, or haste of matter, would suffer me a little to digresse vnto more lower tymes, and to come more nere home, the like examples I

could also inferre of this our countrey of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and vnthankfull refusing or abusing the benefite of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred vp Gildas to preach to the old Britains,* and to exhort thē vnto repentance and amendment of life, and afore to warne thē of plagues to come, if they repented not. What auayled it? Gildas was laughed to scorne and taken for a false prophet, and a malicious preacher. the Britains with lusty courages, whorish faces, and vnrepentant hartes, went forth to sinne, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on euery side, & destroyed them, and gaue the land to other nations. Not many yeres past, God seing idolatry, superstition, hipocrisie, and wicked liuing vsed in this Realme, rayased vp that godly learned man Iohn Wickliffe, to preach vnto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their liues, to forsake their Papistry & Idolatry,* their hypocrisy, superstition, and to walke in the feare of God. His exhortations were not regarded. He with his Sermons was despised. His bookes and he himself after his death were burnt, what followed? they slue their right king, and set vp three wrong kings on a rowe, vnder whom all the noble bloud was slaine vp, & halfe the commons thereto, what in Fraunce, & with their own sword in fighting among themselues for the crowne, and the Cities and townes decayed, and the land brought halfe to a wildernes, in respect of that it was before. O extreme plagues of Gods vengeance. Since that tyme euen of late yeares, God once againe hauing pitie of this realm of England, raised vp his prophets, namely, William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, Iohn Frith, Doctor Barnes, Ierome Garret, Anthonie Person, with diuers other, which both with their writings and sermons earnestly laboured to call vs vnto repentaunce, that by this meanes the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from vs. But how were they intreated? how were their painfull labours regarded? they themselues were condemned and burnt as heretikes, and their bookes condemned and burnt as heretical. The time shall come saith Christ, that whosoeuer killeth you, will thinke that he doth God hie good seruice. Whether any thing since that tyme hath so chaunced this Realme worthy the name of a plague, let the godly wise iudge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgeuē vs these our wicked deedes, as I trust he hath, let vs not therefore be proud and hie minded, but most humbly thanke him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like vngodly enterprises hereafter. Neither is it here any neede to speake of these our lower and latter tymes,* which haue ben in king Henry and king Edwards dayes, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh, and cannot be forgotten. But let this passe, of this I am sure, that God yet once againe is come on visitation to this church of England, yea and that more louingly & beneficially then euer he did afore. For in this his visitation he hath redressed many abuses, and cleansed his church of much vngodlines and superstition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the olde forme and state. And now how gratefull receiuers we be, with what hart, study and reuerence we embrace that which he hath giuen,* that I referre either to thē that see our fruits, or to the sequele, which peradventure will declare. But this by the way of digression. Now to regresse againe to the state of the first former tymes. It remaineth, that as I haue set foorth the iustice of God vpon these Romain persecutors: so now we declare their persecutions raised vp against the people and seruauntes of Christ, within the space of 300. yeares after Christ. Which persecutions in number commonly are coūted to be tenne, besides the persecutions first mooued by the Iewes in Hierusalem and other places against the Apostles. In the which,* first S. Steuen the Deacon was put to death, with diuers other moe, in the same rage of tyme either slaine, or cast into prisō. At the doing wherof, Saule the same tyme playd the doughtie Pharisie, beyng not yet cōuerted to the fayth of Christ, wherof the history is playne in the Actes of the Apostles set forth at large by S. Luke.

After the Martyrdome of this blessed Steuen, suffered next Iames the holy Apostle of Christ,* and brother of Iohn. Of which Iames, mention is made in the Actes of the Apostles the xii. chap. Where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephen, king Herode stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certaine of the cōgregation: among whome Iames was one, whom he slew with the sword, &c. Of this Iames, Eusebius also inferreth mention, alleaging Clement, thus writing a memorable story of him. Thus Iames (saith Clement) when hee was brought to the tribunall seat,* he that brought him (& was the cause of his trouble) seeing him to be condemned, and that he should suffer death: as he went to the execution, he being mooued therewith in hart and conscience, confessed himselfe also of his owne accord to be a Christian. And so were they both led foorth together, where in the way he desired of Iames to forgiue him that he had done. After that Iames had a little paused with him vpon the matter,* turning to him Peace (sayth he) be to thee brother, and kissed him, and both were beheaded together, an. 36.

Dorotheus in his booke named Synopsis testifieth, that Nicanor one of the vii. Deacons, with 2000. other, which beleued in Christ, suffred also the same day, when as Steuen did suffer.

The faith Dorotheus witnesseth also of Simon,* an other of the Deacons, Bishop afterward of Bostrum in Arabie, there to be burned. Parmenias also an other of the Deacons suffred.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians: Also to the Germans, Hiraconis, Bactris, & Magis. He suffred in Calamina a Citie of Iudea, being slaine with a dart.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the Countrey of Affrike. And in Britania hee was lykewise crucified.

Iudas brother of Iames, called also Thaddeus, and Lebeus, preached to the Edessens, and to all Mesopotamia. He was slayne vnder Augarus. king of the Edessens in Berito.

Simon called Cananeus, which was brother to Iude aboue mentioned, and to Iames the younger, which all were the sonnes of Mary Cleopha, and of Alpheus, was Bishop of Hierusalem after Iames, and was crucified in a Citie of Egypt in the tyme of Traianus Emperour, as Dorotheus recordeth.* But Abdias writeth, that hee with his brother Iude, were both slayne by a tumult of the people in Suanyr a citie of Parsidis.

Marke the Euangelist,* and first Bishop of Alexandria, preached the Gospell in Egypt, and there drawen with ropes vnto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, vnder the raigne of Traianus Emperour.

Bartholomeus is sayd also to preach to the Indians,* and to haue conuerted the Gospell of S. Mathew into their tonge, where he continued a great space doing many miracles. At last in Albania a citie of greater Armenia, after diuers persecutions, he was beaten doune with staues, then crucified, and after being excoriate, he was at length beheaded. Ioan. De Monte Regali.

Of Andrew the Apostle and brother to Peter, thus writeth Ierome in his booke De catalogo scriptorum Eccles. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the tyme and raigne of Vespasianus, as our aunceters haue reported) did preach in the 80. yeare of our Lord Iesu Christ to the Scithians,

Sogdians to the Saxons, and in a Citie which is called Augustia, where the Ethiopians do now inhabite. He was buried in Patris a citie of Achaia, being crucified of Egeas the gouernour of the Edessians: hitherto writeth Ierome Although in the number of yeares he semeth a little to misse, for Vespasianus reached not to the yere 80. after Christ. But Bernard in his second Sermon, and S. Cyprian in his booke De duplici Martyrio, doe make mention of the confession and Martyrdome of this blessed Apostle, wherof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers we haue collected after this maner: that when as Andrew being conuersant in a Citie of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Christ: Egeas the gouernour knowing this, resorted thither to the intēt he might constraine as many as did beleue Christ to bee God, by the whole consent of the Senate, to doe sacrifice vnto the Idols, and so geue diuine honor vnto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsaile,* and the doings of Egeas, went vnto him, saying in this effect vnto him: that it behoued him which was Iudge of men, first to know his Iudge which dwelleth in heauen, and then to worship him being knowen, and so in worshipping the true God, to reuoke his mynd from false Gods and blynd Idols. These wordes spake Andrew to the Consul.

But he greatly therewith discontented, demaunded of him whether he was the same Andrew that did ouerthrow the Temple of y^e gods,* and perswaded men of that superstitious sect, which the Romaines of late had commaunded to be abolished and reiected. Andrew did plainly affirme that the Princes of the Romans did not vnderstand the truth, & that the sonne of God comming from heauen [Page 33](#) into the world for mans sake, hath taught & declared how these Idols, whom they so honoured as Gods, were not only not gods, but also most cruell Deuils, most enemies to mankind, teaching y^e people nothing els, but that wherwith God is offended, and being offended turneth away and regardeth them not, and so by the wicked seruice of the Deuill doe fall headlong into all wickednesse, and after their departing, nothing remaineth vnto them, but their euill deedes.

But the Proconsul esteeming these thinges to bee as vayne, especially seing the Iewes (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therfore charged and commaunded Andrew not to teach and preach such thinges any more, or if he did, that he should be fastened to the crosse with all speede.

Andrew abiding in his former mynd very constāt, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened, he would not haue preached the honour and glory of the crosse, if he had feared the death of the crosse. Wherupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew teaching and enterprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods ought to be crucified.* Andrew commyng to the place, and seying a farre of the crosse prepared, did chaunge neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecillitie of mortal men is woont to do, neither did his bloud shrinke, neither did he faile in his speech, his body faynted not, neither was his mynd molested, his vnderstanding did not fayle him, as it is the maner of men to do, but out of the aboundance of his hart his mouth did speake.* And feruent charitie did appeare in his words as kindled sparckles. He said, O crosse most welcome and long looked for with a willing mynde, ioyfully and desirously I come to thee, beyng the Scholer of him which did hang on thee: Because I haue bene alwayes thy louer and haue coueted to embrace thee. So beyng crucified, he yelded vp the Ghost and fell on sleepe, the day before the Calendes of December.

Mathew otherwise named Leui, first of a Publicane made an Apostle, wrote his gospell to the Iewes in y^e Hebrue tongue, as recordeth Eusebius, lib. 3.24.39. lib 5. cap. 8. cap. 10. Also Iraeneus, lib 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo script. Ecclesiast. concerning the doings and decreementes of this blessed Apostle and Euangelist, diuers things bee recorded by Iulius Africanus, vnder the pretensed name of Abdias. Also of Vincentius, Perionius, and others, but in such sort, as by the contents may greatly be suspected, the matter not to lacke some craftie forgerie, for the more establishment of latter decretals, and Romish doctrine, as touching merites, consecration of Nunnes, the superstitious prescription of Lent fast, not onely in abstainyng from all fleshmeates, but also from all matrimoniall copulatiō betwene man and wife, during the said tyme of holy Lent. Item, the straight prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance, before the receiuing of the Lordes supper. In ordaining of Masse, and that no Nunne must marry after the vowe of her profession, with such other like.

*Ioan de Monte Regali, testifieth of Mathias, that after he had preached to the Iewes, at length he was stoned & beheaded. Some other record that he died in Ethiopia.

Philippus the holy Apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the worde of saluation to them, at length he suffered as the other Apostles did, in Hierapolis a citie of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death, where also he was buried, & his daughters also with him. Isido.

*** Of Iames the brother of the Lord, thus we read in the story of Clement and Egesippus.**

AFTER that Festus had sent the Apostle Paul vnto Rome after his appellatiō made at Caesaria, & that the Iewes by the meanes thereof had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him conceiued, they fel vpon Iames the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Ierusalem, against whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to denye before all the people the faith of Christ. But he otherwise: then they all looked for, freely and with a greater constancie before all the multitude, confessed Iesus to be the sonne of God, our Sauour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimonie of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the iustest among all, for the highnes of deuine wisdom, and godlinesse, which in liuing he declared, they killed him, finding the more opportunitie to accomplish their mischief, because the kingdom the same tyme was vacant. For Festus being dead in Iewrie, the administration of that prouince was destitute of a ruler, and a deputie. But after what maner Iames was killed,* the words of Clement do declare, which writeth that he was cast doune from the pinnacle of the temple, and being smitten with the instrument of a Fuller was slain, but Egesippus which liued in the tyme next after the Apostles, describeth this cause diligently, in his fift Commentarie, after this maner as followeth.

Iames the brother of our Lord, tooke in hand to gouern the Church after the Apostles (beyng counted of all men from the tyme of our Lord to be a iust and perfect man.) Many and diuers other Iameses there were beside him, but this was borne holy from his mothers wombe, he dronke no wine, nor any strong drinke. neither did he cate any liuing creature, the razor neuer came vpon his head, he was not annointed with oyle, neither did he vse bathe, to him onely was it lawfull to enter into the holy place, neyther was he clothed with woollen cloth; but with silke; and he onely entred into the temple, falling vpon his knees, asking remission for the people, so

that his knees by ofte kneling, lost the sence of feeling, being benumbed & hardened like the knees of a Camell. He was (for worshipping God and crauing forgiuenes for the people) called iust, & for the excelencie of his iust life named Oblas, which (if you do interprete it) is the sauegard, and iustice of the people as the Prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the heretikes which were among the people asked him what maner of dore Iesus should be, he aunswered that he was the Sauour. Wherof some do beleue him to be Iesus Christ, but the aforesaid heretikes neither beleue the resurrection, neither that any shall come, which shal render vnto euery man according to his workes, but as many as beleue, they beleued for Iames cause. When as many therefore of the Princes did beleue,* there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Iewes, and Phariseis, saying: it is daungerous least that all the people do looke for this Iesus, as for Christ, therefore they gathered themselues together, & sayd vnto Iames: We beseech thee restrain the people, for they beleue in Iesus, as though he were Christ. We pray thee perswade them all which come vnto the feast of the Passeouer of Iesus, for we are all obedient vnto thee, and all the people do testifie of thee that thou art iust, neither that thou doest accept the person of any man, therefore perswade the people that they be not deceiued in Iesus, and all the people, and we will obey thee, therefore stand vpon the pillar of the temple, that thou mayest be seene from aboue, and that thy wordes may be perceiued of all the people, for to this passeouer all the tribes do come with all the countrey. And thus the forenamed Scribes, and Phariseis did set Iames vpon the battlements of the Church, and they cried vnto him and sayd, thou iust man whom all we ought to obey, because this people is led after Iesus, which is crucified, tell what is the dore of Iesus crucified: and he aunswered with a great voyce, what do you aske me of Iesus y^e sonne of man, seeyng that he sitteth on the right hand of God in heauen, and shall come in the cloudes of the skie? But whō many were persuaded of this, they glorified God vpon the witnes of Iames, and sayd: Osanna in the highest to the sonne of Dauid. Then the Scribes and the Phariseis sayd among themselues, we haue done euill that we haue caused such a testimony of Iesus. But let vs go vp and let vs take him, that they being compelled with feare, may deny that faith. And they cried out, saying: O, O, this iust man also is seduced, and they fulfilled that Scripture which is spoken of in Esay.* Let vs take away the iust man, because he is not profitable for vs: Wherfore let them eat the fruits of their workes. Therefore they went vp to throwe doune the iust man, and said among themselues: let vs stone this iust man Iames, & they toke him to smite him with stones for he was not yet dead whē he was cast doune, but he turning, fell doune vpon his knees, saying: O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgeue them, for they know not what they do.* But whē they had smitten him with stones one of the priests of the children of Rechas, the sonne of Charobim, spake to them the testimonie which is in Ieremie the Prophet: leaue off, what do ye? The iust man praieth for you. And one of those which were present, tooke a Fullers instrument, wherwith they did vse to beat and purge cloth, and smote the iust man on his head, and so he finished his Martyrdome, and they buried him in the same place, & his pillar abideth yet by the temple. He was a true testimonie to the Iewes and the Gentiles. And shortly after Vespasianus the Emperour destroying the land of Iewrie, brought them into captiuitie. These thinges being thus written at large of Egesippus, do well agree to those which Clement did write of him. This Iames was so notable a man, that for his iustice he was had in honour of all men, in so much that the wise men of the Iewes shortly after [Page 34](#) his Martyrdome did impute the cause of the besieging of Ierusalem and other calamities which happened vnto thē to no other cause, but vnto the violence and iniurie done to this man.* Also Iosephus hath not left this out of his historie, where he speaketh of him after this maner: These things so chanced vnto the Iewes

for a vengeance because of that iust man Iames which was the brother of Iesu, whō they called Christ, for the Iewes killed him although he was a righteous man.

The same Iosephus declareth his death in the same booke and chapter, saying: Caesar hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus the Lieuetenant into Iewrie, but Ananus the yonger, being bishop, and of the sect of the Saduces, trusting that he had obtained a conuenient tyme, seing that Festus was dead, and Albinus entred on his iourney, he called a Councell, and calling many vnto him, among whom was Iames by name the brother of Iesu which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as breakers of the law.

*Whereby it appeareth, that many other besides Iames also the same tyme were Martyred and put to death amōg the Iewes, for the faith of Christ.

A description of the X. first persecutions in the Primitiue Church.

*These thinges being thus declared for the Martyrdome of the Apostles, and the persecutiō of the Iewes. Now let vs (by y^e grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like breuitie, the persecutions raised by the Romaines, against the Christians in the Primitiue age of the Church, during the space of 300. yeares, till the comming of godly Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned of Eusebius, and by the most part of writers, to the number of x. most speciall.

Wherin meruailous it is, to see and read the numbers incredible of Christian innocents that were slaine and tormented, some one way, some an other. As Rabanus saith, & saith truly. *Alij ferro perempti. Alij flammis exusti. Alij flagris verberati. Alij vectibus perforati. Alij cruciati patibulo. Alij demersi pelagi periculo. Alij viui decoriati. Alij vinculis mancipati. Alij linguis priuati. Alij lapidibus obruti. Alij frigore afflicti. Alij fame cruciati. Alij truncatis manibus, aliisue caesis membris spectaculum contumeliae, nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c. That is, Some slaine with sword. Some burnt with fire. Some with whips scourged. Some stabbed in with forkes of iron. Some fastned to the crosse or gibbet. Some drowned in the sea. Some their skinnnes pluckt of. Some their tongues cut off. Some stoned to death. Some killed with cold. Some starued with hunger. Some their hands cut off or otherwise dismembred, haue bene so left naked to the open shame of the world, &c. Whereof Augustine also in his booke De Ciuit. 22. cap. 6. thus saith: *Ligabantur, includebantur, caedebantur, torquebantur, vrebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contemnentes pro seruatore. Whose kindes of punishments although they were diuers, yet the maner of constancie in all these Martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpenes of these so many and sundry tormēts, and like cruelnes of the tormentors: yet such was the nūber of these constant Saintes that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his Saints, that as Hierome in his Epistle to Chromatius, *and Heliodorus saith: Nullus esset dies qui non vltra quin{que} millium numerum Martyrum reperiri posset ascriptus excepto die Kalendarum Ianuarij. That is, There is no day in the whole yeare, vnto which the nūber of fine thousand Martyrs cannot be ascribed, except onely the first day of Ianuary.

***The first Persecution.**

The first of these x. persecutions, was stirred vp by Nero Domitius,¹ the vj. Emperour before mentioned, about the yeare of our Lord, 67. The tyrannous rage of which Emperour, was so fierce against the Christians (as Eusebius recordeth) Vs{que} adeò vt videres repletas humanis corporibus ciuitates,^{*}iacentes mortuos simul cum paruulis senes: foemi. narúm{que} abs{que} vlla sexus reuerentia nudata in publico,^{*}reiectá{que} starent cadauera. That is, In so much that a man might then see cities lye full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the yong, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked,^{*} without all reuerence of that sexe in the opē streets. &c. Likewise Orosius writing of the said Nero, saith, that he was the first which in Rome did raise vp persecution against the Christians, and not onely in Rome, but also through all the prouinces therof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of Christians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreouer the testimonie of Hierome vpon Daniel, saying: thàt many there were of the Christians in those dayes, which seyng the filthy abominations, and intollerable crueltie of Nero, thought that he should be Antichrist, &c.

In this persecution,^{*} among many other Saintes the blessed Apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified as some doe write, at Rome, albeit othersome, and not without cause doe doubt thereof, concerning whose lyfe and hystory, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the Gospell, and in the Actes of S. Luke. chap. 4.5. 12. I neede not heere to make any great repetytion therof. As touching the cause and maner of hys death, diuers ther be,^{*} which make relation, as Hierome, Egesippus, Eusebius, Abdias, and other: although they doe not all precisely agree in the tyme. The wordes of Hierome be these: Simon Peter the sonne of Iona, of the prouince of Galile, and of the Towne of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew. &c. After hee had bene Byshop of the Church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersion of them that beleued, of the Circumcision in Pontus, Galacia, Capadocia, Asia, and Bithinia in the second yeare of Claudius, the Emperour, (whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 44.) came to Rome, to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chayre, the space of ^{*} 25. yeares, vntill the last yeare of the foresayd Nero, which was the 14. yeare of hys raygne, of whome he was crucified, hys head being downe, and his feete vpward, himselfe so requiring, because he was (he sayd) vnworthy to be crucified after the same forme and maner, as the Lord was. &c. Egesippus, prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias, also, (if any authoritie is to be geuen to hys booke, who following not onely the sense, but also the very forme of wordes of Egesippus in this Hystory, seemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other authors) sayth, that Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper, of hys life, was required vpon a tyme to be present at the raysing vp of a certayne noble young man in Rome,^{*} of Neros kindred, lately departed. Wheras Peter also was desired to come to the reuiuing of the sayd personage. But when Magus in the presence of Peter could not doe it: Then Peter calling vpon the name of the Lord Iesus, dyd rayse him vp, and restored him to hys mother, wherby the estimation of Simon Magus, began greatly to decay, and to be detested in Rome. Not long after the sayd Magus threatned the Romaynes, that he would leaue the Citie and in their light flye away from them into heauen. So the day being appoynted Magus taking hys winges in the Mounte Capitolinus, began to flye in the ayre. But Peter by the power of the Lord Iesus brought him downe with his winges headlong to the ground, by the whiche fall hys legges and ioyntes were broken, and he thereupon dyed. Then Nero sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter agaynst Peter to put hym to death. Which when the people perceiued, they entreated Peter with much a doe, that he would flye the Citie. Peter through their importunitie at length perswaded, prepared himselfe to auoyd. But comming to the gate he sawe the Lord Christ come to meete

him, to whom he worshipping sayd: Lord whether doest thou goe? To whome he aunswered and sayd, I come agayne to be crucified. By this Peter perceauing hys suffering to be vnderstanded, returned backe into the Citty agayne. And so was he crucified, in maner as is before declared. And this out of Egesippus.

Eusebius moreouer, writing of the death not onely of Peter,* but also of his wife, affirmeth, that Peter seeing his wife goyng to her Martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging vpon the crosse) was greatly ioyous and glad thereof, who crying vnto her with a loud voyce,* and calling her by her name, bade her remember the Lord Iesus. Such was then (saith Eusebius) the blessed bonde of Mariage among the Saintes of God. And thus much of Peter.

Paule the Apostle, which before was called Saule, after his great trauail and vnspeakable labours in promootng the Gospell of Christ, suffred also in this first persecution vnder Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hierome in his Booke De viris illustr. Paule, otherwise called Saule, one of the Apostles, yet out of the number of xij. was of the tribe of Beniamin, and of a towne of Iewrie called Gisealis:* which towne beyng taken of the Romans, he with his parents fled to Tharsus a town of Cilicia. Afterward was sent vp by his parents to Hierusalē, [Page 35](#) and there brought vp in the knowledge of the law, at the feete of Gamaliel,* and was at the death of Stephen a doer. And when he had receiued letters from the high Priest to persecute the Christians, by the way going to Damascus, was stricken downe of the Lordes glory, and of a persecutor, was made a professor, an Apostle, a Martyr, a witnesse of the Gospell, and a vessell of election.

Among his other manifold labors & trauails in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he wan Sergius Paulus, the Proconsul of Cyprus, to the faith of Christ, whereupon he tooke his name as some suppose,* turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had passed through diuers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, he tooke to him Barnabas, and went vp to Hierusalem, to Peter, Iames, and Iohn, where he was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach vnto the Gentils.

And because it is in the Actes of the Apostles sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable conuersion, & conuersation of this most worthy Apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his history, I will here adde, how the sayd Apostle Paule, the 25. yere after the passion of the lord, in the second yeare of Nero, what tyme Festus ruled in Iewrie, was sent vp in bondes to Rome,* where he remaining in his free hosterie two yeares together, disputed daily against the Iewes, proouing Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first answer or purgation there made at Rome, the Emperor Nero, not yet fully confirmed in his Empire, & yet not bursting out into those mischiefs, which histories report of him, he was at that tyme by Nero discharged, and dismissed to preach the Gospell in the West partes and about the coastes of Italy, as he himselfe writing vnto Timothie, afterward in his second apprehension, in his second Epistle witnesseth,* saying: In my first purgation, no man stode with me, but did all forsake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge. But the Lord stood with me, & did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, & that all the Gentiles might heare and be taught, and I was deliuered out of the Lions mouth, &c. In which place by the Lion he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterward likewise saith: I was deliuered from the mouth of the Lion, &c. And againe, the Lord hath deliuered me out from all euill workes, and hath saued me vnto his heauenly kingdom, &c.

speaking this, because he perceiued thē the tyme of his Martyrdome to be nere at hand. For in the same Epistle before. he saith: I am now offred vp, and the tyme of my dissolution draweth on.

Thus then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the 14. yeare of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same yeare as some write, but in the next yeare following) was beheaded at Rome for the testimonie of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia.* The yeare after the passion of the Lord 37. He wrote ix. Epistles to seuen Churches: to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galathiās one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreouer, he wrote to his Disciples, to Timothie two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The Epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrues, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the stile & phrase, but either iudged to be written of Timothie, as Tertullian supposeth, or of S. Luke as other do thinke: or els of Clement afterward Bishop of Rome, who as they say, was adioyned with Paul, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and maner. Or els,* as some do iudge, because S. Paul wrote vnto the Hebrues, for the odiousnes of his name among that people, therefore he dissimuled, and confessed his name in the first entre of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrues he being an Hebrue, so he wrote in Hebrue, y^t is, in his own tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth from his other Epistles, and is after a more eloquent maner translated into the Greeke, then his other Epistles be.* Some also read the Epistle written to Laodicea, but that is exploded of all men. Thus much Hierome.

As touching the tyme and order of the death and Martyrdome of S. Paule, as Eusebius, Hierome, Maximus and other authors doe but briefly passe ouer: So Abdias (if his booke be of any substāiall authoritie) speaking more largely of the same doth say:.* that after the crucifying of Peter, & the ruine of Simon Magus, Paule yet remayning in free custody, was dismissed and deliuered at that time from Martyrdome by Gods permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the Gospell by him.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his story, declareth moreouer, that as Paule was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the Emperour, not onely for teaching new doctrine,* but also for stirring vp sedition against the Empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demaunded to shew the order and maner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, to teach all men peace and charitie how to loue one an other, how to preuent one an other in honor,* rich mē not to be puft in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the liuing God. Meane men to be contented with foode and rayment, and with their present state. Poore mē to reioyce in their pouertie with hope. Fathers to bring vp their children in the feare of God. Children to obey their parents. Husbandes to loue their wiues. Wiues to be subiect vnto their husbands. Citizens and subiects to giue their tribute vnto Caesar and to be subiect to their magistrates. Maisters to be curteous not currish to their seruants. Seruants to deale faithfully with their maisters. And this to be the summe of his teaching, which his doctrine he receiued not of men nor by men, but by Iesus Christ, and the father of glory, which spake to him from heauen, the Lord Iesus saying to him, that he should goe and preach in his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the spirit of life to all that beleued in him, and that whatsoever he did or said, he would iustifie it, &c. After that Paule had thus declared vnto the Emperour, shortly after

sentence of death was pronounced against him,* that he should be headed. Unto whose execut•ō then Nero sent two of his Esquiers Ferega, and Parthemius to bring him word of his death. They comming to Paule, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them that they might beleue. Who told them that shortly after they should beleue, and be baptised at his Sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.)* This done, the souldiours came and led him out of the Citie to the place of execution, where he after his prayers made, gaue his necke to the sword. Abdias reporteth,* that as his head was strokē off, in stead of blood issued out white milke, and that at laying downe his head he signed himselfe with the signe of a crosse in his forehead, but this being found in no other historie,* Abdias semeth either to adde of his own, or els to borow out of the Legend as he doth many other things beside, wherof more shalbe sayd (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of milke flowing out of his necke, is referred also vnto Ambrose, who in his sermon 68. (if it be not counterfaieted) seemeth to affirme the same. Of the tyme and yeare when these blessed Apostles did suffer, histories doe not all agree. They that follow the commō opinion,* and the Popes decrees say, that both Peter and Paul suffred both in one day and in one yeare, which opinion semeth to be taken out of Dionysius bishop of Corinth. Hierome in his booke De viris illustr. affirmeth that they suffred both in one day, but he expresseth not the yeare.* So doth Isodorus and Eusebius. Symon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some, which thinke that Paul suffred not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his Peristephanō, noteth that they both were put to death vpon the same day, but not in the same yere, and saith that Paule followed Peter a yeare after.

Abdias aboue mentioned, recordeth that Paule suffered two yeares after Peter. Moreouer, if it be true which Abdias saith, that after the crucifyng of Peter, Paul remained in his fyare custody at Rome, mētioned in the Actes of the Apostles, which was as Hierom witnesseth the 3. or 4. yere of Nero, then must it be x. yeare betwixt the Martyrdome of Peter and of Paule, for as much as it is by all writers confessed, that Paule suffered the 14. yeare, which was the last yeare of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himselfe. And thus much of the first persecution.

The second Persecution.

THE first Romaine persecution beginning vnder Nero, as is aforesaid,* ceased vnder Vespasianus who gaue some rest to the poore Christians. After whose raigne was mooued not long after the second persecution,* by the Emperor Domitian brother of Titus. Of whome Eusebius and Orosius so write, that he first beginning mildly, afterward did so farre outrage in pride intollerable, that he commaunded himself to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and siluer in his honour should be set vp in Capitolio.* The chieftest nobles of the Senators, either vpon enuy, or for their goodes, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slaine priuilie.

And as his tyranny was vnmeasurable, so the intemperancie of his life was no lesse.* He put to death all the nephewes of Iuda, called the Lordes brother, and caused to be sought out, and to be slayne all that could be found of the [Page 36](#) stocke of Dauid (as Vespasian also did before him) for feare least he were yet to come of the house of Dauid,* which should enioy the kingdome. In the tyme of this persecutor, Symeon Bishop of Hierusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Iustus afterward succeeded in that Bishopprike.

In this persecution Iohn the Apostle and Euangelist was exiled by the sayd Domitianus into Pathmos.* Of whō diuers and sundry memorable actes, be reported in sundry Chronicles. As first how he was put in a vessell of boiling Oile,* by the Proconsul of Ephesus. The Legend and Perionius say, it was done at Rome. Isidorus also writing of him and comprehending many things in few wordes, declareth that he turned certaine peeces of wood into gold, and stones by the seaside into Margarites, to satisfie the desire of two, whom he had before perswaded to renounce their riches: And afterward they repenting that for worldly treasure, they had lost heauen, for their sakes agayne he changed the same into their former substance. Also, how he raised vp a widow and a certaine yong man from death to life. How he dronke poison, and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had dronke the same before. These and such other miracles, although they may be true, & are foūd in Isidorus & other writers mo,* yet because they are no articles of our Christian belief, I let them passe, and only content my selfe with that which I read in Eusebius, declaring of him in this wise: That in the 14. yeare after Nero, in the second persecution, in the dayes of Domitian, Iohn was banished into Pathmos for the testimonie of the word,*an. 97. And after the death of the foresaid Domitian being slaine, & his actes repealed by the Senate,* Iohn was againe released vnder Pertinax the Emperour, & came to Ephesus, an. 100. Where he continued vntill the tyme of Traianus, & there gouerned the Churches in Asia, where also he wrote his Gospell, and so liued till the yeare after the Passion of our Lord, 68. which was the yeare of his age. 99.

Moreouer, in the foresayd Ecclesiasticall story of Eusebius, we read that Iohn the Apostle and Euangelist,* whō the Lord did loue, was in Asia, where he being returned out of Pathmos, after the death of Domitian, gouerned the Churches and congregations. Irenaeus in his second booke thus writeth: And of him all the Elders do witnes, which were with Iohn the Disciple of the Lord in Asia, that he spake and wrote these thinges, &c. for there he continued with them vnto the tyme of Traianus, &c. Also the said Irenaeus, Lib. 3. Hypothes. in like wordes declareth,* saying: The Church of the Ephesians being first founded by Paul, afterward beyng confirmed of Iohn, (who continued in the same Citie vnto the tyme of Traianus the Emperour) is a true witnesse of this Apostolicall tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreouer noteth, both the tyme of this holy Apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain history of him, not vnworthy to bee remembred of such which delite in things honest and profitable.* Of the which historie Sozomenus also in his Commentaries maketh mention. The wordes of the author setting forth this historie, be these: Heare a fable, and not a fable, but a true report which is told vs of Iohn the Apostle, deliuered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, whē Iohn was returned to Ephesus, from the Ile of Pathmos: he was desired to resort to the places bordering neare vnto him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordaine and set such, of the Clergy in office, whom the holy ghost should elect. Wherupon, when he was come to a certaine citie not farre of, the name of which also, many do yet remember, and had among other thinges comforted the brethren, he looking more earnestly vpon him which was the chiefe bishop among them, beheld a yong man mighty in body, and of a beautiful countenance, and of a feruent mind. I commend this man (saith he) to thee with great diligence, in the witnesse here of Christ and of the Church.

When the Bishop had receiued of him this charge, and had promised his faithfull diligence therein. Agayne the second tyme Iohn spake vnto him and desired him in like maner and contestatiō as before. This done, Iohn returneth againe to Ephesus. The Bishop receiuing the

yong man, commēded & commicteth to his charge, brought him home, kept him and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate, (that is) he baptised him. And in short tyme through his diligence, brought him into such order and towardnes, that he cōmitted vnto him the ouersight of a certaine cure in the Lordes behalfe. The yong man thus hauing more his libertie, it chanced that certaine of his companions & old familiars being idle, dissolute, & accustomed of old time to wickednes, did ioynē in company with him. Who first brought him to sumptuous & riotous bankets. Then entised him forth with them in the night to rob and steale.* After that, he was allured by thē vnto greater mischiefe and wickednesse. Wherin by custome of tyme by litle and litle, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like vnto a wild or an vnbrokē horse, leauing the right way & running at large without bridle, was caried headlong to the profunditie of all disorder and outrage. And thus being past all hope of grace, vtterly forgetting and reiecting the wholesome doctrine of saluatiō, which he had learned before, began to set his mynde vpon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entred so farre in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceded in the same. And so associating vnto him the company of his companions, and fellow thieues, tooke vpon him to be as head and captaine among them, in committing all kynd of murther and felony.

In the meane time it chaunced, that of necessitie Iohn was sent for to those quarters againe, and came. The causes being decided, and his busines ended, for the which he came, by the way meeting with the Bishop afore specified, requireth of him the pledge, which in the witnes of Christ and of the congregation then present, he left in his handes to keepe. The bishop something amased at the woordes of Iohn, supposing he had meant of some money committed to his custody, which he had not receiued, and yet durst not mistrust Iohn, nor contrary his woordes could not tell what to aunswer. Then Iohn perceauing his doubtyng, and vtterlyng his mynde more plainely: The yong man (saith he) and the soule of our brother committed to your custody, I do require. Then the bishop with a loude voice, sorrowing and weeping, said, he is dead: to whom Iohn said, how? And by what death? The other said, he is dead to God: for he is become an euill man, and pernicious, to be briefe, a thiefe: & now he doth frequent this mountaine with a company of villains and thieues,* like vnto himselfe against the Church. But the Apostle renting his garmēts, and with great lamentation, said, I haue lett a good keper of my brothers soule. Get me a horse, and let mee haue a guide with me, which being done, his horse and man procured, hasted from the Churche as much as he could, and comming to the same place, was taken of theeues y^e watched. But he neyther flying, nor refusing sayd: I came for this same cause hither, lead me (sayd he) to your captayne. So he being brought, the captaine all armed, fiercely begā to looke vpon him. And eftsoones comming to the knowledge of him, was stroken with confusion and shame, and began to flie. But the olde man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age and crying: My sonne, why doest thou flie from thy father? an armed man, from one naked,* a yong man, from an olde man. Haue pitie on me my sonne, and feare not, for there is yet hope of saluation, I will make an answer for thee vnto Christ, I will dye for thee if neede be, as Christ hath died for vs. I will giue my life for thee, beleue me, Christ hath sent me. He hearing these things, first as in a mase stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he cast downe his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea and wept bitterly: and comming to the old man, embraced him, and spake vnto him with wepyng (as well as he could) beyng euen then baptised a fresh with teares, only his right hand beyng hid and couered. Then the Apostle, after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Sauour, and also prayed falling downe vpon his knees, & kissed his murdering right hand, which for shame he

durst not shew before: as now purged through repentaunce, brought him to the congregation, and when he had prayed for him with continuall prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mynde with many sentences, went not from him (as the author reporteth) before he had restored him to the congregation againe, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

Moreouer, the foresayd Irenaeus in Lib. 3. cap. 3. and Eusebius, Lib. 3. cap 28. and Lib. 4. cap. 14. prosecuting the historie of Iohn, declare in these wordes, saying, that there were certaine which heard Policarpus say; that Iohn the disciple of our Lord,* goyng into Ephesus to be washed, seying Corinthus within, he leaped out of the bathe vnbathed, because he feared the bathe should haue fallen, seing that Cerinthus an enemy to the truth, was within. Such feare had the Apostles (saith Irenaeus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the story of Iohn the blessed Euangelist, commeth in matter and occasion, not geuē by him, but takē of other, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the Catholike, subtile, illuminate, and seraphicall Doctors of the Popes Catholike [Page 48](#) Church, these 500. yeares. The difficultie is this: that for so much as auricular confession hath bene,* & is yet receiued in the Popes Catholike Church for an holy and necessary Sacrament, extending vniuersally to al & singular creatures Christian. Here then riseth a question, who was our Ladies confessour, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the Catholikes to bee S. Iohn. Whosoeuer denieth or doubteth of this,* is straight wayes ipso facto an heretike. This then so determined, ariseth an other question or doubt, that seeyng our Lady was without all originall sinne, and also actuall or mortall: what need then had she of any Confessour? or what should she confesse vnto him? For if she had confessed any sinne, when she had none: then had she made herselfe a lyer,* & so had sinned in deede. Here therefore gentle Reader, in this perplexitie, these our illuminate Doctours stād in neede of thine ayde, to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus y^e great diuine, denieth not, but that she in deede, although most pure, yet was confessed to her ghostly father, to keepe the obseruances of the law, appointed for such as had that neede, which she had not. And therfore (sayth he) necessary it was that she should confesse with mouth. But then here is to be asked, what did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confesse? To this Albertus aunswereth agayne, and telleth vs plainely what she sayd in her confessiō which was this:* that she had receiued that great grace, not ex condigno, that is, not of any dignitie of her own, but yet notwithstanding of congruitie. And this was it (sayth Albert) that she sayd in her confession. Albert cap. 74. super Euang. Missus est, &c.

Moreouer, to helpe this case out of all doubt, commeth in famous Thomas of Watring,* & thus looseth the knot, much after like effect, saying: that as Christ, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithstanding receiued he Circumcision, to geue to other example of humilitie and obedience: In like maner would our Lady shew her selfe obedient to the obseruaunce of the law, albeit there was no cause, why she had any neede thereof. And thus hast thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful questiō mooued and soluted, to the intent I would reueale to thee some part of the deep diuinitie of our Catholike Maisters, that haue ruled and gouerned the Church in these their late Popish dayes.

But breaking of this matter, to returne againe where we left, that is, to this foresayd 2. persecutiō vnder Domitianus. In which persecution besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly Martyrs, sufferiſg for the like testimonie of y^e Lord Iesus, was Flauia y^e daughter of Flauius Clemens, one of the Romaine Consuls, which Flauia with many other was banished out of Rome into the Isle Pontia, for the testimony of the Lord Iesus by the Emperour, Domitianus, Euseb. Lib. 3.

This Domitianus feared the comming of Christ as Herode did, & therefore commaunded them to be killed which were of the stocke of Dauid in Iewry. There were remaining alieue at that tyme certayne of the Lordes kindred, which were the nephewes of Iude, that was called the Lordes brother after the flesh. These when the Lieuetenānt of Iewry had brought vp to Domitian to be slayn: the Emperour demaunded of thē, whether they were of the stocke of Dauid: which when they had graūted, he asked againe, what possessions, and what substaunce they had. They aūswered, y^t they both had no more betweene them in all, but xxxix. acres of grounde, & how they gat their liuing & sustained their families with the hard labours of their hādes shewing forth their hands vnto the Emperour, being hard and roughworne with labours, to witnes that to be true which they had spoken. Then the Emperour inquiring of them concerning the kingdome of Christ, what maner of kingdome it was, how and when it should appeare: they aunswered that his kingdome was no worldly nor terren thing, but an heauenly and Aungellicall kingdome, & that it should appeare in the consummation & end of the world what tyme he comming in glory, should iudge the quicke and the dead, and render to euery one according to his deseruinges. Domitian, the Emperour hearing this (as the saying is) did not condemne them, but despising them as vile persons, let them go, & also staid the persecution then mooued against the Christians. They being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the gouernmēt of Churches, beyng taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lords stock, and so consumed in good peace till the tyme of Traianus. Haec Egesip. & Euseb Lib. 3. cap. 20.

By this story here recited may appeare, what were the causes why the Emperours of the Romaine Monarchie did so persecute the Christians: which causes were chiefly these: feare, and hatred: 1. feare, for that the Emperours and Senate of blinde ignoraunce, not knowing the maner of Christes kingdome, feared and misdoubted least the same would subuert their Emperie. Like as the Pope thinkeeh now that this Gospel wil ouerthrow his kingdom of maiestie. And therefore sought they all means possible, how by death and all kindes of torments vtterly to extinguish the name and memorie of the christians. And therupon semeth to spring the old law of the Romaine Senate: Non debere dimitti Christianos qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent. i. That the Christians should not bee let goe, which were once brought to the iudgement seate, except they chaunged their purpose, &c. Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 21.2. Hatred, partly for that this world of his owne naturall condition hath euer hated and maliced the people of god, from the first beginning of the world. Partly agayne, for that the Christians beyng of a contrary nature and Religion, serueng only the true liuing God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many tymes stopped the power of Sathan, working in their Idoles. And therefore Sathan the Prince of this world, stirred vp the Romaine Princes & blynd Idolaters to beare the more hatred and spite against them.

Upon these causes and such like, rose vp these malicious slaunders, false surmises, infamous lies & slanderous accusations, of the Heathen idolaters against the Christian seruaunts of God,

which incited the Princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what crimes so euer malice could inuent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed to the Christians, as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their concourses, puttyng out their candles, they ranne together in all filthy maner, that they killed their owne children, that they vsed to eate mans flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not sweare by the fortune & prosperitie of Caesar, that they would not adore the Image of Caesar in the market place, that they were pernicious to the Emperie of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the Citie or Prouinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, warres, wonders, vnseasonablenes of weather, or what other euils soeuer hapned, it was imputed to the Christians, as Iustinus recordeth. Ouer and beside al these, a great occasion that stirred vp the Emperours against the Christians came by one Publius Tarquinius the chiefe Prelate of the idolatrous sacrifices,* and Mamertinus the chiefe gouernour of the Citie, in the tyme of Traianus, who partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent counsa•e, partly with infamous accusations (as witnesseth Naucerus) incensed the mynde of the Emperour so muche against Gods people.

Also among these other causes abouesaid, crept in some piece of couetousnes withal (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promotors and accusers for sucre sake, to haue the possessions of the christians, were the more redy to accuse them to haue the spoyle of their goods.

Thus hast thou (Christian reader) first the causes declared of these persecutions.* 2. The cruell law of their condemnation. 3. Now heare more what was the forme of inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second Apologie of Iustinus) to this effect: that they should sweare to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Christians or not: and if they confessed then by the law the sentence of death proceeded. Iust. Apol. 2.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organes of Sathā thus contented with death onely,* to bereaue the life from the bodye. The kindes of death were diuers, and no lesse horrible then diuers. Whatsoever the cruelnesse of mans inuention could devise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the Christians (as partly I haue mentioned before, and more appeareth by the Epistle sent from the brethren of France,* hereafter following. Craftie traynes, outcries of enemies, imprisonments, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, plates of iron layd to them burning hote, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, tossing vpon the hornes of Bulls: Moreouer, whē they were thus killed, their bodies laid in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtayne them to be interred and buried. Ex Epistola fratrum Viennensium ac Lugdunensium. &c.

And yet notwithstanding for all these continual persecutions,* and horrible punishments, the church of the christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the Apostles,* and of men Apostolicall, and watered plenteously with the bloud of Saintes, as saith Nicephorus. Tib. 3.

Whereof let vs heare the worthy testimony of Iustinus Martyr in his Dialogue with Tripheus: And that none (saith he) can terrifie or remoue vs which beleue in Iesus, [Page 38](#) by this it daily appeareth: for when we are slaine, crucified, cast to wild bestes,* into the fire, or geuen to other torments, yet we goe not from our confession: but contrary, the more crueltie and slaughter is

wrought against vs, the mo they be that come to pietie and faith by the name of Iesus: no otherwise then if a man cut the vine tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine tree planted by God and Christ our Sauour, is his people. Haec Iust.

To comprehend the names and number of all the Martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions (which are innumerable) as it is vnpossible, so it is hard in such varietie and diuersitie of matter, to keepe such a perfect order and course of yeares and times, that either some be not left out, or that euery one bee reduced into his right place, especially seeing the Authors themselues, whome in this present worke we follow, doe diuersly disagree, both in the tymes, in the names, and also in the kynd of Martyrdome of them that suffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the Church, and the Epistles Decretall doe take Anacletus to succeed after Clement,* next before Euaristus. Contrary Eusebius, Lib. 3. & Lib. 5. cap 6. making no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, sayth that Euaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Ruffinus and Epiphanius, speakyng nothyng of Anacletus, make mention of Linus and of Cletus, next before Clement, but say nothing of Anacletus,* whereby it may appeare that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Aenead. 7. Lib. 2. speaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and sayth that they were ordained helpers vnder Peter, while he laboured in his Apostleship abroad,* and so sayth also Marianus Scotus. Contrary Irenaeus Lib. 3. contra Haeres. speaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Wherby it may appeare by the way, what credite is to be geuen to the Decretall Epistles whom all the latter hystories of the Popes Church do follow in this behalfe, &c. Moreouer, where Antoninus, Vincentius, Iacobus in Supplemento, Symoneta, Aloysius, with other, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died Martyrs. Eusebius in his Ecclesiasticall history writing of them, maketh therof no mention.

And first as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first Bishop of Rome after Peter) they say that he was sent out in banishment of Traianus, beyond Ponticus, with 2000. christians, where he opened to them a welspring, whiche in the wilderness were condemned to the Mines. Afterward being accused to the Emperor, he was throwne into the sea with a Milstone fastened about his necke, and that not long after his body was cast vp & buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the wel was made. Some say it was found first in the dayes of Pope Nicholas the first, Fascicul. tempor. But forasmuch as I finde of his Martyrdome no firme relation in the auncient authors, but onely in such new writers of latter tymes, which are woont to painte out the liues and histories of good men, with fained additions offorged miracles, therefore I count the same of lesse credite, as I do also certaine Decretall Epistles, vntruely (as may seeme) ascribed and intituled to his name. Eusebius in his third booke, writing of Clemens, geueth no more of him, but thus: After he had gouerned the Church of Rome ix. yeares, the sayd Clement left y^e succession thereof to Euaristus.

Of which Euaristus next Bishop of Rome, thus we find in Irenaeus,*Lib 3. cap. 3. Peter and Paule (sayth he) cōmitted the charge of that church to Linus. After whom came Anacletus, then succeeded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euaristus, after whome came Alexander, and then Sixtus the vj. Bishop of Rome after the Apostles. After Sixtus sate Telesphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, then Ani•etus. And when Soter tooke the place after hym, then the xij. Bishop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is sayd) Euaristus in the second or third yeare of Traianus as sayth Eusebius, or as Nicephorus sayth, the fourth yeare of the sayd

Emperour. But howsoever the counte of the yeares stand, little or nothing remayneth of the Actes and Monuments either of this, or of other Bishops of Rome in those dayes. Whereby it may appeare that no great accompt was then made of Romain Bishops in those daies, whose actes and deedes were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to history. Notwithstanding certaine Decretal Epistles are remayning,* or rather thrust vpon vs in their names, containing in them litle substance of any doctrine, but all together stuffed with lawes, iniunctions, and stately decrees, litle to the purpose, and lesse sauoring of the nature of that time then present. Amongest whō also are nūbred the two epistles of this Euaristus. And when he had geuen these orders, & had made vi. Priestes, two Deacons, and fiue Byshops, for sondry places (sayth the story,) he suffered Martyrdome, but what kinde of death, for what cause he suffred, what constancy he shewed what was the order or conuersation of hys life, is nothing touched, and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new historyes do say: because the olde auncient writers haue no remembraunce thereof, which otherwise would not haue passed such thinges ouer in silence, if they had bene true.* Agayne, neyther do the authors fully agree in the tyme of hys martyrdome, which Nauclerus witnesseth to be in the last yere of Traianus: but Platina thinketh rather that he suffered vnder. Hadrianus: Fascicul temporum, referreth it to the third yeare of Hadrian, Volateranus, to the begynning of the reigne of Hadrian, Contrary, Eusebius, comming neare to the simple trueth (as seemeth) doth affirme that Euaristus succeeded Clement in the third yeare of Traianus, and so geuing to him .ix. yeares, it should follow thereby that Euaristus deceased the xii. yeare of Trianus.

After whome succeeded next Alexander,* in the gouernaunce of that Church, of whose tyme & death the like discrepance is among the writers, Marianus Scotus, sayth, he was the fourth Byshop from Peter, but that could not be. Some say he was the sixt & some the vii. but they likewise were deceiued.* For the most part all do graunt Sixtus to be the vi. Damasus affirmeth that hee was in the reigne of Traiane. And how can that be, when the sayd Damasus affirmed before that Euaristus hys predecessour suffered in the last yeare of Traiane, and then the Byshopricke stood at least a moneth voyde, except hee meane that the sayd Alexander succeeded Euaristus in the last yeare of Traianus? But then how can that stand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, which say, that he suffered vnder Traianus, or with Otto Frisingensis, which sayth he suffered the fourth yeare of Hadrian, whē he had bene Byshop ten yeares, by the generall consent of most writers?

They which write of the deedes and doynge of thys blessed Byshop, as Bergomensis, Antoninus, Equelinus and such as follow them, declare that he had conuerted a great part of the Senators to the fayth of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes a great man in Rome, whose sonne being dead, Alexander raysed agayne to lyfe, and likewise restored sight to hys mayd being blinde. Hadrian the Emperour then absent hearing this, sent word to Aurelianus gouernour of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus,* otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina sayth, hys two Deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to warde with Quirinus the Tribune: whiche being done as their story recordeth, Alexander inclosed in a diuers prison from Hermes. Notwithstanding by the guiding of an Aungell through three doores w^t three lockes a peece, was brought with candle light to the lodging of Hermes. And so returning to the prison agayne: cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina. by reason whereof the sayd Quirinus, with his whole houshold were all Baptised, and suffered also for the fayth of Christ.

Thus then sayth the story, about the second yeare of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexander the Byshop, with Hermes, hys wife children, and hys whole houshold, to the number of a M, CC.L. and threw them in prison. And not long after the sayd Alexander with Euentius his Deacon, and Hermes and the rest were burned in a fornace, Theodulus an other Deacon of Alexander, seeyng and rebuking the crueltie of the tyrant, suffered also the same Martyrdome.

Quirinus also the same tyme (as sayth Antoninus) hauyng first his tongue cut out,* then his hands and feete, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs. Equilinus saith that he was beheaded and cast into Tyber in the raigne of the Emperour Claudius, but that cannot be. Albeit Platina maketh relation but onely of Alexander with his two Deacons aforesayd.* Declaring moreouer, that in the tyme of this Bishop, Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Romaine suffred Martyrdome.

Florilegus, the Author of Flores Historiarum, affirmeth that Alexander Byshoppe of Rome was beheaded seuen myles out of Rome, where he lyeth buried, anno. 105. but that agreeth not with the Chronicles aboue recited. Eusebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third yeare of Hadrian, he ended his life and office, after he had bene bishop ten yeares.

Diuers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the Canon Legends, and liues of Saintes: which as I deny not but may be true: so because I cannot auouch them by any graue testimony of auncient writers, therefore I dare not affirme them, but dd referre them to the authors & Patrons thereof, where they are founde. Notwithstandyng, whatsoeuer is to be thought of his miracles. this is to bee [Page 39](#) affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly & vertuous Bishop.

And as I say of his miracles, the like iudgement also I haue of the ordinaunces both of him and of Euaristus his predecessour testified in the Popes Decrees, by Gratianus, as 93. Dist. cap. Diaconi, where is sayd that Euaristus deuided diuers titles in the Citie of Rome to the Priestes, also ordeined in euery Citie vij. Deacons to associate and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witnes of truth. Notwithstāding, if probable coniectures might stand against the authoritie of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this absolute ordination of Priestes was first forbidden by Euaristus, and whether the intitulation of Priestes was first by hym brought in or not: wherein an instance may be geuen to the contrary, that this intitulation seemeth to take his first beginning at the Councell of Chalcedon,* and of Pope Vrbane in the Councell of Placent. In the which Councell of Chalcedon the wordes of the Canon (making no mention of Euaristus at all) doe expressly forbid, that any Ecclesiasticall person eyther Priest or Deacon should be ordayned absolutely, otherwise the imposition of handes without some proper title of the party ordayned, to stād voyde and frustrate. &c. And likewise Vrbane in the counsell of Placentia,* doth decree the same, alledging no name of Euaristus, but the statutes of former Councils.

Moreouer in the time of Euaristus the Church then being vnder terrible persecutions, was deuided in no peculiar Parishes or Cures, wherby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and desertes, where they could best hide themselues. And as the Church of Rome, in those dayes was not deuided into seuerall Parrishes or Cures (as I suppose) so neyther was then any such open or solemne preaching in Churches, that the assistaunce or testimony of vii. Deacons eyther could auayle among the multitude of the Heathen, or els needed amongst the

christian secret congregations. Agayne the constitution of vii. Deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the counsell of Neocesaria long after Euaristus,* where it was appoynted that in euery Citie were it neuer so small, there should be vii. Deacons after the rule. And this rule the sayd Councel taketh out of the booke of the Actes of the Apostles, making no word or mentiō of Euaristus at all Dist. 93. but these (as is said) be but onely coniectures, not denying y^t which is commonly receiued, but onely shewing what may bee doubted in their Epistles Decretall.

More vnlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander,* that he should be the first founder and finder of holy water mixt with salt, to purge and sanctifie them vpon whom it is sprinckled. The wordes of the Dist. be these: Aquam sale conspersam in populis benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendū esse mandamus, &c. That is, We blesse water mixt with salte among the people, that all men being sprinckled therewith may be sanctified and purified. And this we commaund all Priests to do,* &c.

The opinion is also, but how true I haue not to affirme, that by him first was ordained, water to bee mixte with wine in the chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the Masse Canon,* beginning: Qui pridie, &c. And thus much of these foresayd Bishops of Rome, martired in the dayes of Traian and Hadrian.

***The third Persecution.**

BEtwene the second Romain persecution and the third, was but one yeare, vnder the Emperour Nerua. After whom succeeded Traianus. And after him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third, are noted of some to be both one, hauing no more difference but one yere betwene them. This Traianus if we looke well vpon his politike and ciuill gauernance, might seeme in comparison of other, a right worthy and commendable Prince. Much familiar with inferiors, and so behauing himself toward his subiectes, as he himselfe would haue y^e Prince to be to him, if he himselfe were a subiect. Also he was noted to be a great obseruer of iustice, in so much that when he ordained any Pretour, geuing to him the sword, he would bid him vse the sword against his enemies in iust causes, and if he him selfe did otherwise then iustice, to vse then his power against him also.* But for all these vertues, toward christian Religion, he was impious and cruel, who caused the third persecution of the Church. In the which persecution Plinie the second, a man learned and famous, seyng the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moued therewith to pitie, wrote to Traianus of the pitifull persecution: certifiyng him that there were many thousāds of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Romaine lawes worthy persecution, sauing that they vsed to gather together in the morning before day, and sing Hymnes to a certaine God, whom they worshipped, called Christ. In all other their ordinaunces they were godly and honest. Werby the persecution by commaundement of the Emperour, was greatly stayd and diminished. The forme and copy of which Epistle of Plinie I thought here not inconuenient to set downe as followeth.

***The Epistle of Plinie an Heathen Philosopher to Traiane the Emperour.**

IT is my propertie and maner (my soueraigne,*) to make relation of all those thinges vnto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my slackenesse, or instruct mine ignorance then you? I was neuer yet present my selfe, at the exaamination and execution of these Christians. And therefore what punishment is to be administred, and how farre, or how to proceede in such Inquisitions, I am plaine ignoraunt, not able to resolue in the matter, whether any difference is to bee had in age and person, whether the young and tender ought to be with like crueltie intreated as the elder and stronger, whether repentance may haue any pardon, or whether it may profite him or not, to denie which hath bene a Christiā, whether the name onely of Christians without other offences, or whether the offences ioyned with the name of a Christian ought to be punished. In the meane season, as touching such Christians as haue bene presented vnto me, I haue kept this order, I haue inquired the second and third time of them, whether they were Christians, manacing them with feare of punishment, and suche as did perseuere, I commaunded to execution. For thus I thought, that what so euer their profession was, yet their stubburnenesse and obstinacie ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madnesse, whom because they were Citizens of Rome, I thought to send them backe againe to the Citie. Afterward, in further processe & handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

There was a libell offred to me bearing no name, wherein was contained the names of many which denied themselues to be Christians, contented to doe sacrifice with incense, and wine to the Gods and to your Image (whiche Image I for that purpose caused to be brought) and to blaspheme Christ: whereunto none such as were true Christians in deede could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let goe. Other some confessed that they had bene Christians,* but afterward denied the same, &c. Affirming vnto me the whole summe of that sect or error, to consist in this, that they were woont at certain times appointed, to conuent before day, and to sing certaine Hymnes to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselues to abstaine from all theft,* murther, and adulterie, to keepe their faith and to defraude no man: which done, then to departe for that time, and afterward to resort againe to take meate in companies together both men and women, one with an other, & yet without any acte of euils.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or not,* I caused two maidens to bee laied on the Racke, and with tormentes to bee examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but onely lewde and immoderate superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquirie, til tyme that I might be further aduertised in the matter from you, for so the matter seemed vnto me worthy and needefull of aduisement, especially, for the great number of those that were in daunger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both men & women which then were & more are like hereafter to incurre the same perill of condemnation. For that infection hath crepte not onely in Cities, but Villages also and Boroughs about, which seemeth that it may be staied and reformed For as much as we see in many places that the Temples of our Gods whiche were woont to be desolate, beginne now againe to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from euerie parte to be solde, whiche before verie fewe were founde willing to buie them. Whereby it may easilie be coniectured, what multitudes of men may bee amended, if space and tyme bee giuen them, wherein they may be reclaimed.

The Epistle of Traianus to Plinie.

The Acte and Statute my Secundus, concernyng the causes of the Christians whiche ye ought to followe,* ye haue rightlye executed. For no suche generall lawe can be enacted, wherein all speciall cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and conuicted, then let them suffer execution: So notwithstanding that whosoever shall [Page 40](#) deny himselfe to be a Christian, and that he do it vnfaignedly in open audience, and do sacrifice to our Gods, howsoever he hath bene suspected before, let him be released vpon promise of amendment. Such libels as haue no names, suffice not to any iust crime or accusation, for that should geue both an euill President, neither doth it agree with the example of our tyme.

Tertullian writing vpon this letter of Traianus aboue prefixed, thus saith: O sentence of a confused necessitie: He would not haue them to be sought for as men innocent, & yet causeth them to be punished as persons guilty. And thus the rage of that persecutiō ceased for a tyme, although notwithstanding many naughty disposed men and cruell officers that were, which vpon false pretence to accomlishe their wicked myndes, ceased not to afflict the Christians in diuers prouinces. And especially if any occasiō were geuē neuer so litle for the enemies to take hold, or if any commotion were raised in the Prouinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid vpon the christians. As in Hierusalem after that the emperor Traianus had sent doune his commaundement,* that whosoever could be found of the stocke of Dauid, he should be enquired out and put to death: vpon this Egesippus writing, saith, that certaine sectaries there were of the Iewish nation, that accused Simeon the bishop then of Ierusalem and sonne of Cleophas to come of the stocke of Dauid, and that he was a Christian. Of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said Egesippus) that certaine of them likewise were apprehended and taken to bee of the stocke of Dauid, and so right iustly were put to execution themselues, which sought the destruction of other. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the foresayd Egesippus thus writeth: That Simeon the lordes nephew, whē he was accused to Attalus the Proconsul, by the malicious sect of the Iewes,* to be of the line of Dauid, & to be a christian, was scourged, during the space of many dayes together, beyng of the age of an hundred and twentie yeres. In which his Martyrdome he indured so constant, that both the Consul and all the multitude did meruaile to see him of that age so constantly to suffer, and so at last being crucified finished his course in the Lord, for whome he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

In this persecution of Traianus aboue specified, (which Traianus next followed after Nerua) besides the other afore mentioned,* also suffred Phocas bishop of Pontus, whome Traianus because he would not do sacrifice to Neptunus, caused to be cast into an hote Limekilne: and afterward to be put into a skalding bathe, where the constant godly Martyr, in y^e testimony of Christ ended his life, or rather entred into l•e. Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.

In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Seruilianus, two Romans.* Whose wiues are sayd to bee Euphrosina and Theodora, whom Sabina did cōuert to the faith of Christ, and after were also Martyred. Of which Sabina Iacobus Philippus author of the booke called Supplementum, reporteth that in the mount of Auentine in Rome, she was beheaded of Clepidus the gouernour, in the dayes of Hadriā. Under whom also suffred Seraphia a virgin of Antioche, as Hermannus witnesseth.

The forenamed authors Anton. and Equilius make mētion moreouer of Nereus and Achilleus, who in this persecution of Traiane, had the crowne of Martyrdom, being put to death at Rome.

Eusebius in his iiij. booke cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the same tyme suffered Martyrdome in Asia, Seruilius Paulus beyng then Proconsul in that Prouince.

In this persecution beside many other, suffred the blesed Martyr of Christ Ignatius, who vnto this day is had in famous reuerence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishoprike of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do say, that he beyng sent from Syria to Rome,* because he professed Christ, was giuen to the wilde beasts to be deuoured. It is also sayd of him, that when he passed through Asia, being vnder the most straight custody of his garders, he strengthned and confirmed the parishes through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God: and admonished them especially and before all other things, to beware and shunne those heresies risen vp, and sprong newly among them, and that they should cleaue and sticke fast to the traditiō of the Apostles, which he for their better safeguard, beyng about to denoūce or put in writing, thought it a thing very necessary to trauaile in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one epistle to the congregation of Ephesus,* wherin he made mention of Onesimus their Pastor, & an other he wrote to the congregation of Magnesia, beyng at Meandre, wherein also he forgetteth not Dama their Bishop. Also an other he wrote to the congregation of Trallis: the gouernour of which Citie at that time he noteth to be one Polibius. Unto which congregation he made an exhortation, lest they refusing Martyrdome, should loose the hope that they desired.

But it shalbe very requisite that I aledge somewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter.* He wrote therefore as the wordes lye in this sort. From Syria (saith he) euen till I came to Rome had I a battell with beastes, as well by sea, as land, both day & night, being bound in the midst of ten cruell Libardes (that is, the company or band of the souldiers) which, the more benefites that they receaued at my hands, became so much the woorse vnto me. But I being exercised and now wel acquainted with their iniuries, am taught euery day more and more: but hereby am I not yet iustified. And would to God I were once come to y^e beasts, which are prepared for me. Which also I wish with gaping mouthes were ready to come vpon me, whō also I will prouoke that they without delay may deuoure me, and forbear me nothing at all, as those whome before they haue not touched or hurt for feare. And if they wyll not vnlesse they be prouoked, I will then inforce them agaynst my selfe. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficiall it is to me, I knowe. Now begin I to be a scholer I force or esteeme no visible thinges,* nor yet inuisible thinges, so that I may get or obtaine Christ Iesu. Let the fire, the galowes, the deuouring of wild beastes, the breaking of bones, the pulling a sunder of my members, the broosing or pressing of my whole body, and the tormentes of the deuill or hell it selfe come vpon me, so that I maye winne Christ Iesus.

And these things wrote he from the foresayde Citye, vnto the congregations which we haue recited. And when he was euen now iudged to be throwne to the beastes, he spake for y^e burning desire that he had to suffer,* what tyme he heard the Lyons roaryng: I am the wheat or grayne (sayth he) of Christ, I shall be ground wyth the teeth of wylde beastes, that I may be found pure bread. Hee suffered in the xj. yeare of Traian the Emperour. Haec Eusebius, & Hieronym.

Besides this godly Ignatius, manye thousandes also were put to death in the same persecutiō, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius secundus aboue recited, written vnto the Emperour.

Hierome in his booke intituled De viris illustrib,^{*} maketh mention of one Publius Byshop of Athens, who for the sayth of Christ, the same time during this persecution was put to death and martyred.

Hadrian Emperour.

NExT after this Traianus succeeded Hadriā the Emperor, vnder whom suffered Alexander the Bishop of Rome, with his two Deacons: Euentius and Theodorus: Also Hermes, and Quirinus, with their families, as latly before was declared.

It is signified moreouer in the historyes, y^t in the time of this Hadrian,^{*} Zenon a noble man of Rome with ten thousand, two hundreth and three, were slayne for Christ. Henr. de Erfordia, and Bergomensis, Lib. 8. make mention of tenne thousand, in the daies of this Hadrian, to be crucified in the mount Ararath, crowned with crownes of thorne, & thrust into the sides with sharpe Dartes, after the example of the Lordes passion. Whose Captaines (as Antonin us, & Vincentius in spec. histor. declareth (were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this story be y^e same with the other aboue of Zenō,^{*} or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the angell, I referre the certainty therof to Vincentius and such other like authors where mo things seme to be told, then to be true.

There was one Eustachius a Captaine, whom Traianus in tyme past had sent out to warre against the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace ualiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victory: Hadrian for ioymeting him in his iourney, to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would do sacrifice to Apollo, for the victory gotten, willing also Eustachius to doe the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no meanes therto be inforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children suffred Martyrdome vnder the foresayd Hadrian. It were a long processe here to recite all the miracles contained or rather suspected in this story of this Eustachius concerning his conuersion and death. How the crucifixe appeared to him betwene the hornes of an Hart. Of the sauing of his wife frō the shipmen. Of one of his sōnes saued from the Lion, the other saued from y^e wolf. Of their miraculous preseruacion from the wild beasts, frō the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomensis, and Vincētius and [Page 41](#) other. All which as I find them in no ancient records, so I leaue them to their authors and compilers of the Legēds.^{*}

We read also of Faustinus and Iobita, citizens of the Citie of Brixia, which suffered Martyrdome with like grievous torments. At the sight wherof, one Calocerius seeing their so great pacience, in so great torments, cried out with these wordes: Verè Magnus Deus Christianorum. That is, verily great is the God of the Christians. Which woordes being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their executiō, was made partaker of their Martyrdome. Ex Ant. Equilin.

^{*}The history of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed her sonne Eleutherius to Anicetus bishop of Rome, to be brought vp in the doctrine of Christian faith, who afterward beyng Bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foresayd mother Anthia, Onomast.

Iustus also and Pastor two brethen, with like Martyrdome ended their liues in a citie of Spaine called Gomplutum, vnder the said Hadrian the Emperour.

Likewise Symphorissa the wife of Ge•ulus the Martyr, with her vij. children, is said about the same time to suffer: who first was much, and oft beaten & scourged, afterward was hanged vp by the haire of her head. At last hauing an huge stone fastened vnto her, was throwne headlong into the riuer, & after that her seuen childrē in like maner, with sundry & diuers kindes of punishment diuersly were martyred by the tirants.

The story of M. Hermannus, and Antoninus, and other, report of Sophia,* with her three children also. also of Serapia and Sabina, to suffer vnder the said Emperour, about the yeare of our Lord, 130.

As concerning Alexander bishop of Rome, with his ij. Deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphyra, and Sabina▪ Some writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus recorde that they suffred vnder Traianus. Others againe, as Otto Frisingensis with like mo, report that they suffred in the iiij. yeare of this Emperour Hadrian, but of these Martyrs sufficiently hath bene sayd before.

While Hadrian the Emperour was at Athens, he purposed to visite the countrey of Eleusina,* and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles Gods, after the maner of the Grecians, had geuen free leaue & libertie, whosoeuer would to persecute the Christians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no lesse zeale excellent, as of famous learning, being thē Bishop of Athens, and Disciple of the Apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the Apostles, and following after Publius (who a litle before was martyred for the testimony of Christ) did offer vp and exhibite vnto Hadrian the Emperour, a learned and excellent Apologie in the defence of the Christian Religion. Wherein he declared the Christians without all iust cause or desert, to be so cruelly entreated and persecuted,* &c. The like also did Aristides an other no lesse excellēt Philosopher in Athens, who for his singular learning and eloquence being notified to the emperor, and comming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent Oration. Moreouer, did exhibite vnto the said Emperour a memorable Apologie for the christians, so ful of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome sayth, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his tyme, that loued to see wit and learning. Ouer and besides these, there was also an other named Serenus Granius a man of great nobility, who likewise did write very pithy & graue letters to Hadrian the Emperour, shewing and declaring therein, to be consonant with no right nor reason, for the bloud of innocents so to be geuen to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, onely for the name and sect that they followed.

Thus the goodnes of God being mooued with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the hart of the Emperour, that he beyng better informed concerning the order & profession of the christians, became more fauorable vnto them. And immediatly vpō the same directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mencioned) Proconsul of Asia,* willing him frō henceforth to exercise no more such extremitie against the Christians, as to condemne any of them hauing no other crime objected against them but onely their name. The copy of which his letter, because that Iustine in his Apologie doth alleage it, I thought therefore to expresse the same in his owne wordes as followeth.

The letter of Hadrian the Emperour, to Minutius Fundanus.

I Haue receiued an Epistle writen vnto me from Serennius Granianus, our right worthy and welbeloued, whose office you do now execute.* Therefore I thinke it not good to leaue this matter without further aduisement and circumspection to passe, least our subiects be molested, and malicious sycophants boldned and supported in their euill: Wherefore if the subiects of our prouinces, doe bring forth any accusation before the iudge agaynst the Christians, and can prooue the thing they object against them, let them doe the same, and no more, and otherwise for the name onely, not to impeach them, nor to cry out against them. For so, more conuenient it is, that if any man will be an accuser, you to take the accusation quietly, and iudge vpon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the Christians, and complaine of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then geue you iudgement according to the qualitie of the crime But notwithstanding who so euer vpō spite and maliciousnes shal commence or cauil against them, see you correct and punish that man, for his vnordinate and malicious dealing.

Thus by the mercifull prouidence of God,* some more quiet and rest was geuen to the Church, although Hermannus thinketh these Alcione dayes did not very long continue, but that the Emperour changing his Edict, began to renue agayne persecution against gods people, albeit this soundeth not to be so by the wordes of Melito in his Apologic to Antoninus hereafter ensuing.* In the meane tyme this is certain, that in the dayes of this Hadrian, the Iewes rebelled agayne & spoyled the country of Palestina. Against whom the Emperour sent Iulius Seuerus, who ouerthrew in Iurie, 50. castels, and burnt and destroyed 980. villages and Tounes, and slue of the Iewes 50. thousand, so that with famine, sickenes, sword, and fire, Iuda was almost desolate. But at length Hadrian the Emperour, which otherwise was named Aelius, repaired and enlarged the Citie agayn of Hierusalem, which was called after his name Aeliopolis, or Aelia Capitolina, the inhabitaunce whereof, he graunted only to the Gentiles, and to the Christians, forbidding the Iewes vtterly not to enter into the Citie.

After the death of Hadrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeded Antoninus Pius, about the yeare of our Lord, 140. and raigned 23. yeres.* Who for his clemency and modest behaiour, had the name of Pius, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, that he had rather saue one Citizen, then destroy a thousand of his aduersaries. At the beginning of his raigne,* such was the state of the Church, as Hadrian his predecessour had left it, as in which, although there was no Edict set forth to persecute the Christians: yet the tumultuous rage of the Heathen multitude for the causes aboue specified, did not cease to disquiete and afflict the quiet people of God, impu•ing and ascribing to the Christians whatsoever misfortune happened contrary to their desires. Moreouer, inuentynge agaynst them all false crimes and contumelies wherein to accuse them. By reason whereof, diuers there were in sundry places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the Emperour, who of nature was so mylde and gentle, that either he raysed vp no persecution agaynst the Christians, or els he soone stayed the same beyng mooued. As well may appeare by his letter sent doune to the countreys of Asia, the tenor whereof here insueth.

The Epistle of Antoninus Pius, to the Common of Asia.

EMperour and Caesar,* Aurelius, Antoninus, Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleuen tymes, Consull thrise,

vnto the commons of Asia greeting.

I am very certayne, that the Gods haue a care of this, that they which be such, shall be known, and not lye hid. For they doe punish them, that will not worship them more then you: which so vexes and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they haue conceaued, and doe conceaue of you, that is, to bee wicked men. For this is their ioy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they couet to dye for their God, then to lyue. Whereby they are Victorers, and doe ouercome you,* geuing rather their lyues, then to bee obedient to you, in doying that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconuenient to aduertise you of the Earthquakes, which haue, and doe happen among vs, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraide, then conferre your case with them. For they vpon a sure confidence of their God, are bolde and fearelesse, much more then you: who in all the tyme of this your ignoraunce, both doe worship other Gods, and neglect the Religion of immortalitie, and such Christians as worship him, them you doe driue out, and persecute them vnto death. Of these and such like matters, many Presidents of our Prouinces, did write to our father of famous memorie heretofore. To whome he directed his aunswere agayne, willing them in no case to molest the Christians, except they were found in some trespasse preiudiciall against the Empire of Rome. [Page 42](#) And to me also many there be, which write, signifiyng their mind in like maner.* To whome I haue aunswered agayne, to the same effect and maner as my father did. Wherefore, if any hereafter shall offer any vexatiō or trouble, to such, hauing no other cause, but onely for that they are such, let him that is appeached, be released and discharged free, yea although he be founde to bee such, (that is a Christian) and let the accuser sustaine the punishment, &c.

This godly Edict of the Emperour was proclaymed at Ephesus, in the publique assēbly of all Asia, wherof Melito also Byshop of Sardis, who florished in the same tyme, maketh mention in his Apologie written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare. By this meanes then the tempest of persecution in those daies began to be appeased, through the mercifull prouidence of God, which woulde not haue hys Church vtterly to be ouerthrowne, though hardly yet to growe.

***The fourth Persecution.**

After the decease of the foresayd quiet and milde Prince Aurelius Antonius Pius (who among all other Emperours of that tyme made the most quiet end, followed his sonne M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the yeare of our Lord .162. a man of nature more sterne and seuerer. And although in study of Philosophy, & in ciuile gouernement no lesse commendable: yet to ward the Christians sharpe and fierce, by whome was moued the fourth persecution after Nero. In whose tyme a great number of them which truely professed Christ, suffered most cruel tormentes, and punishments,* both in Asia and in Fraunce. In the number of whome was Policarpus, the worthy Bishop of Smyrna. Who in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, among many other most constant Saintes was also Martyred. Of whose end and Martyrdome I thought it here not vnexpedient to cōmit to history, so much as Eusebius declareth

to be taken out of a certaine letter or Epistle, written by them of hys owne Church, to the brethren of Pontus the tenor of which Epistle here followeth.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium,* and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercy to you, peace, and the loue of God our father, and of our Lord Iesu Christ, be multiplied, Amen. We haue written vnto you brethren of those men which haue suffred Martyrdome, and of blessed Polycarpus which hath ended and appeased this persecutiō, as it were by the shedding of his own bloud. And in the same epistle, before they enter into farther matter of Polycarpus,* they discourse of other Martyrs, describing what patience they abode and shewed in suffring their torments: which was so great and admirable (saith the Epistle) that the lookers on were amased,* seeing and beholding. how they were so scourged and whipped, that the inward vaynes & arteries appeared, yea euen so much that the very intrailes of their bodies, their bowels and members were seen, & after that, were set vpon sharp shels taken out of the sea, edged, and sharpe,* and certaine nailes and thornes for the Martyrs to go vpon, which were sharpned and pointed called Obelisci. Thus suffred they all kind of punishment and torment that might be deuised: and lastly, were throwne vnto the wild beasts to be deuoured. But especially in the foresayd Epistle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he most woorthily perseuered and ouercame by the grace of God,* that feare of death which is ingrafted in the common nature of all men, whose notable patience & sufferance was so notable, that the whole multitude wondring at this beloued Martyr of God, for this his so bold constancie, and also for the singular strength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Christians: began sodenly to cry with a loud voyce, saying: destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for. And whilst a great vprore and tumult began thus to be raised vpon those cries: A certaine Phrigian named Quintus,* lately come out of Phrigia, who seyng and abhorring the wilde beasts, and the fierce rage of them, of an ouer light mynd betrayed his own safetie. For so the same letter of him doth report, that he, not reuerently but more malipertly then requisite, was together with others rushed into the iudgement place, and so being takē, was made a manifest example to all the beholders, that no man ought rashly and vnreuerently with such boldnesse, to thrust in himself, to entermeddle in matters, wherewith he hath not to do.

But now we will surcease to speake more of them, and returne to Polycarpus, of whome the foresayd letter consequently declareth as foloweth: How that in y^e beginning, when he heard of these things, was nothing at all afrayd nor disquieted in mynd, but purposed to haue taried stil in the Citie, till beyng perswaded by the intreatie of thē that were about him (which desired him instatly that he would conuey himselfe away) hid himselfe in a grange or village not farre of from the Citie,* and there abidyng with a fewe more in his company, did nothing els (night nor day) but abode in supplication, wherin he made his humble petitiō for the obtaining of peace vnto all y^e congregatiōs through out the world.* For that was his accustomed maner so to doe. And as he was thus making his prayers three dayes before he was apprehended, in a vision by night he saw the bed set on fire vnder his head, and sodainly to be cōsumed. And when he awaked,* he told by and by & expounded vnto them that were present, his vision, and told them before what thing should come to passe, that is, how that in y^e fire he should lose his life for Christes cause. It is further mentioned. that whē they were hard at hand, which so narrowly sought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and loue of his brethren,* to fleet into an other village, to which place notwithstanding within a little while alter the pursuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt therabouts, they so beat one of them w^t

whips, y^l by the bewraying or confession of him, they were brought to the Inne where Polycarpus was. And they say that the pursuers making no great hast to enter, found him in the vppermost place of the house,* from whence he might haue escaped into other houses, if he would, but this he would not do, saying: the wil of God be done. Furthermore, whē he knew that they were come, as the said history sheweth: he came downe, and spake vnto them with a very chereful and pleasant countenaunce, so that it was a wonder to see those which a while agoe knew not the man, now beholding & viewyng his comely age, and his graue & constant countenaunce, lamented that they had so much employed their labour, that so aged a man should be apprehēded. To conclude, he commaunded that straightway without any delay the •able should be layd for them, and persuaded thē that they would eate and di•e well, and required of them boldly, that he might haue an houres respite to make his prayers.* Which thing after it was graunted, he arose and went to pray, so being replenished which the grace of God, that they which were present, and hearyng the prayers that he made, were astonied at it, and now many of them were sory that so honest and godly an aged man should be put to death.

After this, the foresaid Epistle or letter, prosecuting the historie, addeth more as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, & had called to his remēbrance al those things which euer hapned vnto him, and to the vniuersal catholike church throughout all the world (whether they were small or great, glorious or els inglorious) and that the houre was now come in which they ought to set forward, they set him vpon an Asse, and brought him to the Citie vpon a solemne feast day. And there met him Irenarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which causing him to come vp into the chariote where they sate, persuaded him & sayd:* What hurt I pray thee shall come thereof to thee, if thou say (by the way of salutation.) My Lord Caesar, and to do sacrifice, and thus to saue thy selfe? But he at the beginning made them none aunswere. Till that when they inforced him to speake, he sayd: I wil not do as ye counsail me I should. When that they sawe he could not be persuaded, they gaue him very rough language, & of purpose molested him, that in goyng doune the chariot from them, he might hurt or breake his legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merily and diligently forward, making hast vnto the place appointed. And when there was such vprore in the place of execution,* that he could not be heard but of a very few, there came a voyce from heauen to Polycarpus, as he was going into the Stage or appointed place of iudgement, saying: be of good cheare Polycarpus and play the man. No man there was, which saw him that spake, but very many of vs heard his voyce. And when he was brought in, there was a great noise made by them which vnderstood that Polycarpus was apprehended. The Proconsul asked him whē that he was come,* whether his name was Polycarpus or not, and when he said, yea it was, he gaue him counsail to deny his name, and said vnto him, be good vnto thy selfe, and fauour thyne old age, and many other such like words which they accustome to speake. Sweare saith he, by the Emperours good fortune, looke vpō this matter, say thou with vs: Destroy these naughtie men. Then Polycarpus beholding with constant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and geuing a great sigh, looked vp to heauen, saying: Thou, thou it is that wilt destroy these wicked naughty men. And the Proconsul thus being earnestly [Page 43](#) in hand with him, sayd, take thine othe, and I will dyscharge thee, desye Christ, Polycarpus aunswered: fourescore and syxe yeares haue I beene his seruauent,* yet in all this tyme hath he not so much as once hurt me: how then may I speake euill of my king & souereigne Lorde, which hath thus preserued me: Then the Proconsull againe inforced him and sayd: Sweare thou I aduise thee by Caesars prosperity. Polycarpus replieth, if thou require of me this fonde word of vaine boasting,*

teyning not to know (as y^u saiest) who I am, I doe thee to wit, that I am a Christian: And if thou desire to know the doctrin of Christianity, appoint a day, & thou shalt heare. Perswade the people to this said the Proconsul: Truly sayth Policarpus, I haue thought it my part, thus to say vnto you, for so much as we are commaunded to giue vnto the gouernours & powers ordayned of God,* the honor meete & due to them, and not hurtfull vnto vs: but as for those I doe iudge them vnworthy, to purge my self vnto them. Hereupon the proconsul stode vp, I haue, saith he, wilde beasts, to whom I will throwe thee, vnles thou take a better way: Whereunto Policarpus answered let thē come: we haue determined with our selues that we will not by repentance turne vs from the better way, to the worse, but rather conuenient it is, that a man turne from the thinges that be euill, to that which is good and iust.* Agayne sayth the Proconsul, I will taine thee with fire, if that thou set not by the wilde beastes, nor yet repent. Then said Policarpus you threaten me with fyre which shal burne for the space of an houre, & shalbe within a litle while after put out & extinguished, but y^u knowest not the fire of the iudgement that is to come and of euerlasting punishment, which is reserued for the wicked & vngodly. But why make you all these delayes, giue me what death soeuer ye lift. These & many other such like thinges being by him spoken, he was so replenished with ioy, and boldnes, and his countenaunce appeared so full of grace & fauour, that not onely he was not troubled with those things which y^r Proconsul spake vnto him, but contrarily the Proconsul himselfe began to be amased and sent for the crier, which in the middle of the stage was commaunded to cry 3. times, Policarpus, hath confessed himself to be a Christian, which wordes of the cryer, were no sooner spoken, but that all the whole multitude both of the Gentiles and Iewes inhabiting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loude voice cried. This is that Doctour or teacher of Asia, the father of the Christianes, and the destroyer of our gods, which hath instructed a great nūber that our Gods are not to be worshipped, & after this they crid vnto Philip the gouernour of Asia, and required him that he would let loose the Lion to Policarpus. To whom he made aunswere that he might not so doe, because he had already his praye. Then they cried againe altogether with one voice that he woulde burne Policarpus a liue. For it was requisite that y^r vision which he saw as concerning his pillow or bolster should be fulfilled: which when he had seene burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himselfe vnto the faithful sort which were with him, saying by the way of prophecie, it will so come, that I shall be burned a liue. And the Proconsul had no sooner spoken, but it was out of hande performed. For why the multitude by and by brought out of their shops, workehouses, and baynes, woode and other dry matter for that purpose and especially the Iewes were most seruiceable for that matter, after their wōted maner. And thus the pile being layd, and that now hee had put of his garments & vndone his girdel, and was about to pul of his shooes, which he had not done before, for that all the faithfull sort amongst themselues striued (as it were) who should first touch his body at their farewell,* bicause for the good conuersation of his life, yea, from his yonger age, he was had in great estimation of al men. Therefore straightway those instruments which are requisite to such a bonfire, were brought vnto him, & when the would haue nayled him to the stake with yron hoopess, he said, let me alone as I am, for he that hath giuen me strength to suffer and abide the fire, shal also giue power, that without this your prouision of nayles, I shall abide, & stirre not in the midst of this fire or pyle of woode. Which thing when they heard,* they did not nayle him, but bounde him. Therefore when his handes were bounde behinde him, euen as the chiefest Ramme taken out of the flocke, he was sacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God saying: O father of thy wel beloued and blessed sonne Iesus Christ, by whom we haue attained the knowledge of thee, the God of aungels and powers, and of euery creature, and of al iust men which liue before thee,* I giue thee thanks, that thou hast vouchsafed to graūt me this day that I

may haue my part amongst the number of the Martyrs in the cup of Christ vnto the resurrection of eternall life both of body & soule, through the operation of the holy spirit, among whome I shalbe this day receaued into thy sight for an acceptable sacrifice: & as thou hast prepared, and reueled the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same. Which canst not lye, O thou most true God. Wherefore Im lyke case for all things prayse thee, blesse thee, and glorifie thee by our euerlasting Bishop Iesus Christ to whom be glory euermore.*Amen.

And assoone as he had ended this word Amen, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, & as the flame flashed out vehemently: we to whom it was giue to discern the same, saw a marueilous matter, which were also to this purpose preserued, that we might shewe the same to other.* For the fier being made like to ar•fe or vaute of a house, and after the maner of a shipmans •yle, filled with wind, compassed about the body of the Martir as with a certaine wall, and he in the middle of the same, not as flesh, that burned, but as gold and siluer whe• it is tried in the fier. And surely we smelt a sauour so swete as if Myrre or some other precious balme had giuen a sent. At the last when those wicked persons sawe y^e hys body could not be consumed by fire, they commaunded one of the tormentors to come vnto him, & thrust him through with his sworde.* Which being done, so great a quantitie of bloude ran out of his body that the fire was quenched therewith, & the whole multitude marueyled that there was so much diuersitie betwene the infidels and the elect, of whom this Policarpus was one, being a Disciple of the Apostles, and a propheticall instructour of our times, and Bishop of the Catholique Church of Smyrna, for what worde soeuer he spake both it was and shalbe accomplished. But the subtil and enuious aduersary, when he saw the worthines of his martirdome, & that his conuersation euen from his yoüger yeares could not be reprovied, and that he was adourned with the crowne of martirdome, and had now obtained that incomparable benefite, gaue in charge, that we should not take & deuide his body. For feare least the remnaunts of the dead corps should be taken away, & so worshipped of the people. Whervpon diuers whispered Niceta the father of Herode, and his brother Dalces in the eare, to admonish the Proconsul, that in no case he should deliuer his body, least (saith he) they leaue Christ & begin to worship him.* And this spake they because the Iewes had gyuen them secret warning & prouoked them thervnto, who also watched vs that we shoulde not take him out of the fire. not being ignoraunt how that we ment, at no time to forsake Christ, which gaue his life for the saluation of the whole world, (as many I meane as are elected to saluatiō by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the sonne of God, but the Martirs do we loue as disciples of the Lord (& that worthely) for their aboundaunt loue towards their king and maister,* of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, & to be made his disciples. Whē therfore the Centurion saw & perceaued the labour of the Iewes, the corps being layd abroad, they burnt the same, as was their maner to doe.

Thus good Policarpus with xij. other that came from Philadelphia,* suffered Martyrdome at Smyrna, which Policarpus specially aboue the rest is had in memory, so that hee in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the ende of this worthy disciple of the Apostles. Whose hystory the brethren of the congregation at Smyrna, haue wrytten in this their Epistle as is aboue recited.

Iraeneus in his 3. booke against heresies,* the 3. chap. and Eusaebius in his 4. booke, and 14. chap. of his Ecclesiasticall history reporteth this worthy saying of Poticarpus: This Policarpus

(sayth hee) meeting at a certeine time Martion, the heretick, who said vnto him, doest thou not know me? made answere, I know that thou art the first begotten of Sathan. So great feare what euil might ensue therof, had the Disciples of the Apostles, that they would not speake to them whom they knew to be the deprauers of the verytie, euen as Paule saith: The hereticke after the first and second admonition, shonne, and auoyd: Knowing that he which is such one, is peruerse or frowarde, and damneth himselfe. This most holy confessor and Martyr of Christ Policarpus,* suffered death in the fourth persecution after Nero, when Marcus Antonius, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus raigned, an. Dom. 167. as Vrsperg. affirmeth, an. 170. as Eusebius witnesseth in his Chronicles the 7. before the Calendes of Februarie.

Of Germanicus mention is made aboue in the storye of Policarpus of whome writeth Eusebius Lib. 4. cap. 15.* notyng him to be a younge man, and most constantly to perseuere in the profession of Christes doctrine, whom whē the Proconsul went about to perswade, to remember his age, and [Page 44](#) to fauor him selfe, being in the floure of his age, he woulde nor be allured: but constātly and boldly, and of his owne accorde incited and prouoked the wild beast to come vpon him, and to deuour him, to be deliuerd more spedely out of this wretched life. Haec Eusebius, an, 170.

Thus haue you heard out of the Epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and li•e of Policarpus, wherby it may appeare that he was a very aged mā who had serued Christ, lxxxvj. yeares since the first knowledge of him, and serued also in the ministry about the space of 70. yeares. This Policarpus was the schooler and hearer of Iohn the Euangelist, and was placed by the sayde Iohn in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his Epistle which he wrote in his iourney to Rome, going toward his martyrdome, and commended to him the gouernement of hys Church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Policarpus then was in y^r ministry. Likewise Irenaues writeth of the sayd Policarpus after this maner.* He alwaies taught (sayd he) those things which he learned of the Apostles, leauing them to the Church, and are onely true. Wherevnto also at the Churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Policarpus to this day beareth witnes, And the same Irenaues witnesseth also that the sayd Policarpus wrote an Epistle to the Phillipians,* which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Policarpus, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the sayd Epistle diuers things are founde very wholesome and Apostolicke: as where he teacheth of Christ, of iudgement and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaryng that by grace we are saued,* and not by works, but in the will of God by Iesus Christ.

In Eusebius we reade in like maner a part of an Epistle written by Irenaues to Florinus,* wherein is declared how that the said Irenaues being yet yong, was with Policarpus in Asia: at what time he saw & well remembred, what Policarpus did, and the place where he sat teaching, his who•e order of life and proportion of his body, with the sermons & wordes which he said to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembred howe that the saide Policarpus often times reported vnto him those thinges which hee learned and heard them speake of the Lord,* his dooinges, power, and doctrine, who heard the worde of life with their owne eares, all which were more consonant and agreeable to the holy Scripture. Thus with much more hath Irenaues, concerning Policarpus.*

Hierome also writing of the same Policarpus, hath howe he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholer to the Apostles and to them which did see and were conuersant with Christ himselfe, whereby it is to be coniectured his authority to be much not onely with them of his owne Church, but wyth all other Churches about him.

Ouer and besides, it is witnessed by the sayd Irenaeus, that Policarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus Byshop of Rome about the yere of our Lord. 157. in y^r raigne of Antoninus Pius, whose cause of his comming thether appeareth to be about the controuersie of Easterday: wherein the Asians and the Romanes somthing disagreed amonge thēselues. And therefore the said Policarpus in the behalfe of the brethren and Church of Asia, tooke his long iourneye thether to come and conferre with Anicetus. Wherof wryteth also Nicephorus Lib. 4. declaring that Policarpus and Anicetus, something varied in opinions and iudgement about that mater. And that notwithstanding, yet both frēdly communicated either with the other. insomuch that Anicetus in his Church gaue place to Policarpus to minister the Communion and Sacrament of the Lordes Supper for honour sake, which may be a notable testimony now to vs, that the doctrine concerning the free vse and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence of stomacke, or breach of Christian peace in the Church.

This Policarpus (as is aboue mentioned) suffered his Martyrdome euen in his owne Church at Smyrna, where he had laboured so many yeares in planting of the Gospel of Christ, which was about the yeare of our Lorde 170. as Eusebius rekoneth in his Chronicle, and in the 7. yeare of Antoninus Verus his raigne:* wherby it appeareth that Socrates in Historia tripartita was much deceaued saying that Policarpus suffered in the time of Gordianus.

In this fourth persecution beside Policarpus and other mentioned before, we read also in Eusebius of diuers other, who at the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.

Ouer and besides in the said persecution suffered moreouer Metrodorus a ministr: who was giuen to the fier, & so consumed. An other was worthy Pionius, which after much boldnes of speeche, with his Apologies exhibited, & his sermons made to the people in the defence of christian sayth, and after much reheuyng and comforting of such as were in prisons, and otherwise discōforted, at last was put to cruell torments and afflictions, then giuen likewise to the fire, so finished his blessed martyrdome.

After these also suffered Carpus Papyrus, and Agathonica, a woman who after their most constaunt and worthy confessions were put to death at Pergamopolis in Asia, witnessing Eusebius Lib. 4, cap 7.

And as these suffered to in Asia, so in Rome suffered Felicitas with her 7,* children, who vnder this M. Antoninus Verus, sustayned also the cruelty of this persecution. The names of whose children Bergomensis and other histories doe thus recite, Ianuarius. Felix, Philippe, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her first and eldest sonne Ianuarius after he was whipped and scourged with roddes, was prest to death with leaden waightes. Felix and Phillippe had their braynes beaten out with maules. Siluanus was cast downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis was beheaded. Last of all Felicitas the mother

(otherwise then the accustomed maner was, for such as hadde borne Children) was slayne with the sword. Ex Supplem.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, vnder the raigne of Antonius Pius,* suffered also good Iustinus, a man in learning and Philosophy excellent, & a great defender of Christian Religion. Who first exhibited unto the Emperour & to the Senate, a booke or Apologie in the defence of the Christians,* and afterward himselfe also dyed a Martyr. Of whom in the history of Euseb. Lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded: That about what tyme, or a little before that Polycarpus with other diuers Sainctes suffered Martyrdome in Pargamopolis, a Cittie of Asia, this Iustinus (as is aforesayd) pre•ented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the Emperour, to wit vnto Antonius, and to the Senate. After which he was also crowned with like Martyrdome vnto those, whome he in his booke had defended, through the malicious meanes, and crafty circumuention of Crescens.

This Crescens was a Philosopher confirming hys lyfe and maners to the Cynical sect,* whom for because this Iustinus had reproofed in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the trueth which he defended, he therefore as much as in him lay, did worke & procure vnto him this crowne of Martyrdome. And this did also Iustine him selfe a Philosopher, no lesse famous by hys profession, foresee and declare in hys foresayd Apology, telling almost all those thinges before hand which should happen vnto him, by these words saying: And I looke after this good turne, that I be slayne goyng by the way, eyther of some of those whom I haue named, and to haue my braynes beaten out with a bat, or els of Crescens, whom I cannot call a Phylosopher, but rather a vayne boaster. For it is not conuenient to call him a Philosopher, whiche openly professeth thinges to him vnknowne, and whereof he hath no skil, saying and reporting of vs, that the Christians be vngodly & irreligious: And all to please and flatter them, which are reduced by errorr.

For whether he obieteth against vs the doctrine of the Christians whiche he hath not read,* yet is he very malicious, and worse then the vnlearned ideotes, who for the most part vse not to dispute or iudge of thinges they know not, and to beare witnes of the fame. Or put case that he had read them, yet vnderstandeth he not the maiestie of the matters therein contained, or if peradventure he vnderstandeth them, and doth it for thys purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them: then is he so much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondslaue of vyle & beastly both fame and feare. For this I testifie of him, geuing you truely to vnderstand that for a truth,* which I declare vnto you, how that I haue apposed him, and haue put vnto him many questions, whereby I know and perceaue, that he vnderstandeth nothing. But if so be that this our disputatiō with him, hath not come vnto your eares, I am ready to communicate vnto you agayn those questions which I demaunded of him,* whiche things shall not be vnfit for your Princely honour to heare. But if ye knowe and vnderstand both what thinges I haue examined him of, as also what aunswere he hath made, it shal be apparant vnto you, that he is altogether ignoraunt of our doctrine and learning, or els if he knoweth the same, he dare not vtter it for feare of hys auditors, which thing, as I sayd before, is a prooffe that he is no Philosopher, but a slaue to vayne glory, which maketh none accompt of that, which his own Mayster Socrates had in so great estimation. And thus much of Iustine, out of Iustine himselfe.

Now to verifie that, which Iustine here of him selfe doth prophecie, that Crescens would and did procure his death, [Page 45](#)Tacianus (a man brought vp of a childe in the institutions of the

Gentiles,* and obtayned in the same not a little fame, and which also left behinde him many good monumentes and Commentaries) writeth in hys booke agaynst y^e Gentiles in this sort: And Iustine sayth he, that most excellent learned man, full well spake and vttered his minde, that the afore recited men were lyke vnto theeues or lyers by y^e high way side. And in the sayd book speaking afterward of certaine Philosophers, the sayd Tacianus inferreth thus: Crescens therefore (sayth he) when he came first into that great Cittie, passed all other in the vicious loue of children, and was very much geuen to couetousnes, and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himself doth feare death, that he did all his indeuour to oppresse Iustine with death, as with the most greatest euill that was, and all because that Iustine speaking trueth, reproued the Philosophers to be men onely for the belly and deceauers,* and this was the cause of Iustines Martyrdome. Hierome in his Ecclesiasticall Catalogue thus writeth: Iustine when in the Cittie of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproued Crescens the Cinike, for a great blasphemer of the Christians: for a bellygod and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery:* at the last by his indeuour and conspiracie was accused to be a Christian, and for Christ shed his bloud in the yeare of our Lord. 154. vnder Marcus Antonius, as the Cronicles doe witnes, Abb Vrsperg: and Eusebius in his Cronicle in the xiii. yeare of the Emperour Antoninus.

Among these aboue recited is also to be numbred Praxedis a blessed virgine, the daughter of a Citizen of Rome, who in the tyme of Anicetus there Byshop, was so brought vp in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to hys religion, that she with her sister Potentiana, bestowed all her patrimony vpon the relieuing of poore Christians, geuing all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burryng of y^e bodyes of the Martyrs. And after she had made free all her famelie with her seruauntes, after the death of her sister, she also departed and was buried in peace.

Under the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomeus, and Lucius for the confession of Christ, in a Cittie of Egipt called Alexandria,* whose history because it is described in the Apology of Iustinus Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alledged in Eusebius, declaring the manner and occasion therof. Lib. 4 cap. 17. in wordes and effect as followeth, &c.

*There was (sayth he) a certayne woman maryed vnto a husband, who was geuen much to laciuiusnes, whereunto she her selfe in tymes past was also addict. But she afterward being instructed in the Christian religion, became chaste her self and also perswaded her husband to liue chastly: often times telling him that it was written in the preceptes of the Christians, that they should be punished eternally, which liued not chastely and iustly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthines, thereby caused his wife to estraunge her selfe from his company. For why? the woman thought it not conuenient to continue in her husbandes company, which contemning the lawe of nature, sought otherwise to satisfie hys filthy appetite. Therefore she was purposed to be deuorced frō him. But her neighbours and kinsfolkes prouoked her, by promising hys amendment, to keepe company agayne with hym, and so she did. But he after this, tooke hys iourney into Alexandria and when it was shewed her, that there hee liued more licenciously, then at any time before, for that she would not be counted partaker of his incestuous lyfe by coupling her selfe any longer with him, she gaue him a letter of diuorce, & so departed frō him. Then her husbād, who ought rather to haue reioyced to haue so honost and chaste a wife, which not onely would not commit any dishonest thing her selfe, but also could not abide any lewde or misordered behauour in her husband, and that by this her seperation shee went about to reclayme hym from hys incest and wickednes to better amendment of lyfe: He in recompence to

hys wyfe agayne, accused her to be a Christian, whiche at that tyme was no lesse then death. Whereupon she being in great perill and daunger deliuered vp vnto the Emperour (as Iustinus in his Apology writing to the Emperour him selfe declareth) a supplication, desiring and crauing of hys maiesty, first to graunt her so much licence as to set her familie in order, and that done, afterward to come agayne & make aunswere to all that might or should be layd agaynst her: whereunto the Emperour condescended. Then her husband seing that he could haue no vantage agaynst her deuised w^t himselfe, how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her instructor in the fayth of Christ) in trouble and accusation: vsing the meanes of a certayne Centurion who was hys very frend, whom he perswaded to examine Ptolomeus whether he were a Christian or not. Ptolomeus (as one y^e loued the trueth, & not thinking good to hide hys profession) confessed no lesse then to the examinour, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the veritie of Christian doctrine. For who so denyeth him selfe to be that he is, eyther cōdemneth in denying that thing that he is, or maketh himselfe vnworthy of that, the confession whereof he flyeth, whiche thing is neuer found in a true and sincere Christian. Thus thē he being brought before Vrbicius the iudge and by him condemned to suffer: One Lucius being also a Christian, standing by, and seing the wrong iudgement, and hasty sentence of the Iudge, sayd to Vrbicius: what reason, I pray you or equitie is this, that this man, who neyther is adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor fealon, neyther hath committed any such crime, wherein hee may be charged, thus is condemned onely for hys name and confession of a Christian. This cōdemnation and these maner of Iudgementes (O Vrbici) are neither seemely for the vertuous Emperour, nor to the Philosopher hys sonne, nor yet for the estate of hys Senate of Rome.

Which wordes being heard, Vrbicius making no farther examination of the matter,* sayd vnto Lucius: me thinketh thou art also a Christian. And when Lucius had geuen him to vnderstand that he was also a Christian, the Iudge without further delay commaunded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he aunswered: I thanke you with al my hart,* that you release me from most wicked gouernours, and send me vnto my good and most louing father, being also the king of all Gods. And in like maner the third man also, comming vnto him, and vsing the like libertie of speeche,* had also the like sentence of death and condemnation, and crowned also with the same crowne of Martyrdome. And thus much out of the Apology of Iustinus, by the which story it may appeare not to be true, that Gratianus attributeth vnto Higynus Byshop of Rome,* the deciding of causes matrimoniall, seeing that in Iustinus tyme (who was in the same age of Higynus) the deuorcement of this woman in this history aboue touched, was not decided by any Ecclesiasticall law, or brought before any Byshop, but was brought before a Heathen Prince, and determined by the law ciuill.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the Martyrologe of Isuardus,* of one Concordus a minister of the Citie of Spolete, who in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice vnto Iupiter, but did spit in the face of the Idole,* after diuers and sundry punishments sustaynd, at last with the sword was beheaded. Vincentius in hys x. booke, chap. 108. reciteth a long story of his actes and life, wherof some part perhappes may seeme tollerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing besides his sepulchre in the forenamed Cittie of Spolete, vnto the whiche water was geuen (sayth Vincentius) by the vertue of hym,* for whose name hee suffered, to restore sight to the blinde, to heale the sicke, and to cast out deuils. &c. Which kinde of vertue to open the eyes of the blinde, and to expell deuils, neither doth God

geue to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordius the blessed Martyr did or would require any such thing at the handes of God.*

Isuardus and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other authors moe, make relation of diuers other Martyrs that by sondry kindes of tormentes were put to death,* vnder the foresayd Antoninus Verus: the names of whome be Simmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodus, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cause or whose Martyrdome was the reprehending of Idolatry and because at the Emperours cōmandement, they would not sacrifice to Idols. Many sortes of punishmentes and of miracles are tolde of them, but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected, the histories of these writers not to be certayne or true, aswell touching these, as also other Martyrs, as may appeare in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, & other authors of like sort. In which authors they which list to read more of their miracles, there may finde them.

A little before, pag 41 mention was made of Symphorissa, otherwise named Symphorosa, wife of Getulus, with her vii. sonnes. This Getulus or Getulius, was a minister or a teacher (as witnesseth Martyrol. Adonis) in the Cittie of Tyber, which Getulus with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitiuus, by the commaundement of Adria were condemned to the fire, wherein they were Martyred and put to death. The names moreouer of the seuen sonnes of this Symphorosa, I finde to be Crescens, Iulianus, Nemesius, Primitiuus, Iustinus Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the Chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commaundement of Hadrian, [Page 46](#) being fastened to viij. stakes, and so racked vp wyth a pulley,* and at last were thrust through, Crescens in the necke, Iulianus in the brest, Nemesius in the hart, Primitiuus about the nauell, Iustinus cut in euery ioynte of his bodye, Stateus run through with speares, Eugenius cut a sonder frō the brest to the lower partes, and then cast into a deepe pyt, hauyng the name by the Idolatrous Priestes, intituled Ad septem Biothanatos. After the martirdome of whō also Symphorosa the mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Under the sayd Antoninus Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia onely,* but in other countryes also, suffered the glorious & most cōstant Martirs of Lyons and Uienna, two Cities in Fraunce, gyuing to Christ a glorious testimony, & to all Christian men a spectacle, or example of singular constancie, and fortitude in Christ our sauour. The history of whom, because it is written and set forth by their owne Churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to expresse the same in the forme and effecte of their owne wordes, as there is to be seene. The title of which their Epistle written to the brethren of Asia and Phrigia thus beginneth.

*** The seruauntes of Christ inhabiting the Cities of Vienna and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia and Phrigia, hauing the same faith and hope of redemption with vs: peace, and grace, and glory, from God the father, and from Iesus Christ our Lorde.**

*The greatnes of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against vs, & the tormentes which the blessed martyrs suffered, neither can we in wordes, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deserue, set forth. For the aduersary with all his force gaue his endeour to the working of such preparatiues, as he himselfe listed, against his tyrannous comming, & in euery place practised he and instructed his ministers, how in most spitefull maner to set them against the seruantes of God: so that not onely in our houses shoppes and markets we were restrained, but also were vniuersally cōmaunded, that none (so hardy) should be sene in any place. But God hath alwaies mercy in store and tooke out of their hands such as were weake amongst them, and other some did he set vp as firme and immoueable pillers, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the enemie, induring all their opprobrious punishment they could devise: to cōclude, they fought this battell for that intent to come vnto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light: therby shewing that al that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to counteruayle the great glorye which shall be shewed vpō vs after this life. And first they patiently suffered whatsoeuer the multitude of frantike people running vpon head did vnto them, as railings, scourgings, drawynges and hailings, flynging of stones, imprisoninges, & what other thing soeuer the rage of the multitude are wōt to vse and practise against their professed enemies. Then afterwarde they being led into the marked place, and there iudged of the Captayne and rest of the Potentates of the Citie, after their confession made openly before the multitude were commaunded againe to prisō, vntil the returne of their chiefe gouernor. After this they being brought before him, and he vsing all extremity that possibly he might against them: * One Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, replenished with feruent zeale, both towards god and his brethren (whose conuersation, although he were a young man was counted as perfect, as was the life of Zachary the Priest, for he walked diligently in al the commaundements and iustifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren blamles) he hauing within him the feruent zeale of loue, and spirit of god, could not suffer that wicked iudgement which was giuen vpon the Christians but being vehemently displeased, desired that the Iudge woulde heare the excuse which he was minded to make in the behalfe of the christians, in whom saith he is no impietie founde, But the people cryed againe to those that were assistentes w^t the chiefe Iustice, that it might not be so (for indede he was a noble man borne) neither did the Iustice graunt him his lawfull request, but onely asked him whether he himselfe were a Christian or not. And he immediatly with a loude and boulde voice, * answered and sayde, I am a Christian. And thus was he receiued into the felowship of the martirs, and called the aduocate of the Christians. And he hauing the spirite of God more plentifully in time, then had Zachary, the abundaunce thereof he declared, in that he gaue his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whersoever he goeth.

By this mans example the rest of the Martirs were the more animated to martirdome, and made more ioious with al courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were vnready and not so well prepared, * and as yet weak, not well able to beare the vehemency of so great conflict: of whom x. there were in number, that faynted, ministring to vs much heauines & lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest which were not yet apprehēded, to be lesse willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variablenes of confession not a litle astonied: not y^t we feared the punishment intended against vs, but rather as hauing respect to the ende, and fearing least any shoulde fal. Euery day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulful the number of them which were fallen. In so much that of two churches, such as were chieftest, & which were the principall gouernors of our Churches were apprehended. With these also certeine

of the Ethnicks, being our men seruaunts, were apprehended (for so the gouernour commaunded, that all of vs ingenerall without any respect, should be taken) which seruants being ouercome by Sathan, and fearing the torments which they saw the Saintes doe suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the meanes of the souldiers, fained against vs that we kept the feastinges of Thiestes,* and incest of Oedipus, and many such other crimes, which are neither to be remembred, nor named of vs, nor yet to bee thought that euer any man would commit the like.

These things being now bruted abroad, euery man began to shewe crueltie against vs, insomuch that those which before for familiarities sake were more gentle toward vs,* now vehemently disdained vs, and waxed mad against vs. And thus was now fulfilled that, which was spoken by Christ, saying, the time will come that whosoever killeth you, shall thinke that he doth God great good seruice. Thē suffered the Martirs of God such bitter persecution as is passing to be tolde: Sathan still shooting at this marke, to make them to vtter some blasphemy by all meanes possible. Marueilous therefore was the rage both of the people & Prince, specially against one Sanctus, which was Deacon of the congregation of Uienna, and agaynst Maturus, being but a litle before baptised, but yet a worthy souldiour of Christ, and also against Attalus, being borne in Pergama, which was the foundation and pyller of that congregation, and also against Blandina, by whome Christ sheweth, that those things which the world esteemed vyle and abiect, to be glorious in Gods sight, for the very loue which in hart and deede they beare vnto him, not in outward face onely. For when all we were afrayd, & specially her mistres in flesh, who also was her selfe one of the nūber of the foresayd martirs, least happely for the weakenes of body she would not stande strongly to her confession, the foresaid Blandina was so replenished with strength & boldnes,* that they which had the tormenting of her by course from morning to night, for very werines gaue ouer & fell downe, & were themselues ouercome, confessing that they could do no more against her, & marueiled that yet she liued hauing her body so torne and rent. And testified that any one of those torments alone without any moe had ben inough to haue plucke the life from her body. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthy battell, became strōger & stronger, & as often as she spake these words) I am a Christian, neither haue we committed any euill) it was to her a marueilous comfort and bolding to abide the torments.

Sanctus also another of the Martyrs,* who in the midst of his tormentes, induring more paines, then the nature of a man might away with, also at what time y^e wicked supposed, to haue heard him vtter some blasphemous words, for the greatnes & intollerablenes of his torments & paines, that he was in, abode notwithstanding in such constancy of mind,* that neither he told them his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what Citie brought vp, neither whether he was a free man or a seruaunt, but vnto euery question y^t was asked him, he aunswered in the Latine tounge, I am a Christian, and this was al that he confessed both of his name, citie, kinred, and all other thinges in the place of execution, neither yet could the Gentils, get any more of him: whereupon both the Gouernour & tormentours, were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to vexe him with all, they clapped plates of Brasse red hote, to y^e most tenderest parts of his body, wherewith his body indede being schorched, yet he neuer shronke for the matter, but was bold and constant, in his confession,* being strengthened and moystened with the fountaine of liuely water, flowing out of Christs side. Truely his body was a sufficient witnes, what torments [Page 47](#) he suffered for it was all drawne together and most pitifully wounded and scoarched, so that it had therwith lost the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained inspeakeable glory, for that he ouercame his aduersa•y, and to the instruction of other

declared, that nothing els is terrible, or ought to be feared where the loue of God is, nor nothing greeuous, wherein the glory of Christ is manifested.

And when those wicked men, began after a certayne time againe to torment the Martyr, & hoped well to bring it to passe, that either they should ouercome him in causing him to recant, by rei•erating his torments, now whē his body was so sore & swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hande, or els that if hee died vnder their handes,* yet that thereby they should strike such feare into the harts of the rest, to cause them to deny Christ. But they were not only disappointed here in, but also contrary to the expectation of men, his bodye was in the latter punishment & torments soupled & restored, and toke the fyrst shape and vse of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the grace of Christ (in steede of punishment) a safe medecine.

Also Sathan now thinking to haue setteled himselfe in the hart of one Byblides, being one of them which had denied Christ,* and thinking to haue caused her, beyng a weake and feable woman in faith, to haue damned her soule, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: inforcing to wrest some wicked thing out of the mouth of the Christians. But she in middle of her torments, returning to her selfe, and waked as it were out of her dead slepe, by that temporall paine, called to her remembraunce the paynes of hell fire, and against all mens expectations reuiled the tormentors, saying. How should we Christians eate young infants (as ye reported of vs) for whom it is not lawfull to eate the bloud of any beast▪ Upon that so soone as she had confessed her selfe to bee a Christian, she was Martyred with the rest. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannicall torments, by the patience & sufferance of our Saintes, the diuell yet inuented other engynes and instruments. For when the Christians were cast into prison,* they were shut vp in darke and ougly dongeons, and were drawne by the feete, in a racke or ingine made for that purpose, euen vnto the fift hole. And many other such punishmentes suffered they which the furious ministers stirred vp with deuilish furye, are wont to put men vnto: so that very manye of them were strangled & killed in the prisons, whom the Lorde in thys maner would haue to enioy euerlasting life, & set forth his glory. And surely these good men were so pittifully tormented, that and if they had had all the helpe, & medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to lyue, & to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison destitute of al humaine helpe, were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in body and minde confirmed, that they comforted & stirred vp the myndes of the rest,* the yonger sor•e of them, whiche were latter apprehended, & put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt y^e lash of y^r whip, were not able to in•dure y^e sharpness of their imprisonment, but died of y^e same.

*The blessed Photinus, who was a Deacon to the bishop of Lyons, about. 90. yeares old, and a very feeble or weake man, & could scarcely draw breath for the imbecilitie of his body: yet was he of a liuely courage & spirit. For the great desire he had of martyrdome, when he was brought vnto the iudgement seate: although his bodye was feeble and weake, both because of his old age, and also through sicknes, yet was his soule or life preserued to this purpose, that by the same Christ might triumph & be glorified. He, being by the souldiers brought to the place of iudgement, many Citizens & men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude cried vpon him diuersly, as though he had beene Christ himselfe, gaue a good testimony. For being demaunded of the chiefe ruler, what was the Christian mans God, he aunswered: If thou be worthy to know thou shalt know. He being with these words somewhat neere touched, caused

him to be very sore beaten. For those that stood next him, did him all the spit & displeasure y^t they could both with hand and foote, hauing no regarde at all to his olde age or white heares. And they which were further of,* whatsoeuer came next to hande, they threwe at him, & euery man thought y^t he did very wickedly reframe that withheld his hande from not doing the like. For by this meanes they thought that they did reuenge the quarell of their Gods. Photinus, now euen as it were gasping after life, was throwen into prison, and within two daies after dyed.

And here is the mighty prouidence of God, and the inspeakable mercy of Iesus Christ declared, which prouidence being assured amongst a fraternity, is neuer destitute of the aide of Iesus Christ. For those which in theyr first persecution denied Christ, they also were put in pryson, and made pertakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time helpe them that had demed Christ, but they which confessed him, were imprisoned as christians, neither was there any other crime ob'jected against them, but the other sort taken like homicides and wicked doers, were layd hand on, and had double more punishment then the others had.* These mē were refreshed with the ioy of martyrdome, the hope • Gods promises, the loue toward Christ, and the spirite of God: The other their consciences accused them, & that very sore in so much that by their ga•e, their countenances bewra•ed vnto the rest their gi••ie consciences. For the Christians went forth hauing cheerefull co•ntenaunces, very much adourned with glory and grace, insomuch that the verye bondes wherewith they were dyed, set them out are men in seemely apparel: and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithal laud•ed as of the redolent smell of Christ, so that it might be suppo•ed them to be annointed with some sweete ba••e: whereas the other were doubtfull and 〈...〉, filled, w^t al shame, and furthermore related of the Gentils themselues, as wretches, degenerate, hauing the crime of 〈◇〉 and dest•u• of the most precious, glo•ious, and likely calling o• the Christian name. And truly by th•se lightes the rest were confirmed, & being apprehended, conf••ing christ without any 〈◇〉, no• hauing so much as y^e thought of any such 〈...〉 of 〈◇〉. And in the same Epistle of the foresayd brethren of Fraunce, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this maner, After these things done, the Martirdome of these holy Sai•ts were deuie•d diuers•y. into diuers kindes and formes, as the offering to God the Father a garland decked with diuers and sundry kinds of colours and 〈◇〉. For it so behoued the wor•hy Champions of God, after they had suffered diuers kindes of torments, and so winning a triumphaunt victory to obtaine great reward of immortalitie.

Then Maturus Blandina, and Attalus together were brought to the cōmon 〈◇〉, there in the face of the people to be cast & deuoured of the beasts. And Maturus with Sanctus being brought y^e second time to the scaffold, suffered againe all kinde of torments, as though hetherto they had suffered nothing at all, yea rather as though y^e aduersarye being oftentimes put to the worst, they as striuyng for the crowne,* suffered againe more scourginges. the tearing of wilde beastes, & what thing els soeuer the frantike people on euery side cryed for and willed. And aboue al the rest they brought an yron chayre, in the which their bodies being set,* were so •ryed and scorched as on a gridiron fried vpon the coales, filled with the sauour of the frying all the people that stode by. And yet for all that the tormentours cea•ed not, but waxed more fierce and mad against thē, laboring to ouercome the patience of the Saints. Notwithstanding al this they could not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning he declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alieue in this their most horrible conflicte, at the length were slaine, being made al that whole day a spectacle vnto the worlde in

place and in stede of the games and sightes, which were woont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

Now concerning Blandina, who being fastened vpon a stake, was cast to the rauening beastes to be deuoured, which thing was not done without the determinate wyll of God: * to this ende that while she seemed to hang vpon a crosse (as it were) by the feruentnes of her praier, she much cōforted the rest of the saints, as beholding vnto her christ, with their bodily eyes, which in that agonie suffered for them all, and that al which beleue in him, and suffer for the glory of Christ, might be assured to liue with him for euer. And when they sawe that no beast woulde come neare her thus hanging, they toke her downe from the tree, and cast her againe into prison till an other time, that she hauing y^e victory of many battels, might triumphe ouer that ang•y Serpent the deuill, & that she being a weake and fely woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ the inuincible conquerour, might incourage her brethren, and by the induring of this battaile might winne a crowne of incorruptible glory.

Now to Attalus, who being also required and cald for of the people to punishment, already prepared (for his conscience sake) commeth forth to the •ight. For he being worthely exercised in the Christian profession, was alwayes a witnes and a mayntayner of our doctrine. Therfore when the presse of people was about the scaffold, and the table [Page 37](#) caried before him, wherein was written in the Romaine tounge. * This is Attalus the Christian. Then the people were in a marueilous rage against him, but the gouernor vnderstanding y^t he was a Romane, commaunded him againe to prison, with the rest of his prison fellowes: whereof he wrote to the Emperour, and waited for aunswere what his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not ydle in y^e meane seasō, nor vnprofitable to their brethrē, but by their patience the vnspeakable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before, were now reuiued by them that liued and they which were Martyrs, profited them which were none, & the Church did much reioyce, as receiuing them againe aliue, whō she had lost before as dead For many of them which before had denied, * now by theyr denial were restored and stirred vp, and learned to be confessours. And now being reuiued and strengthned, and tasting the sweetenes of him which desireth not the death of a sinner, but is mercifull to the penitent, came of their own accorde to the iudgement seate againe, that they might bee examined of the Iudge. And for that the Emperour had written backe againe to him, that all the confessors should be punished and the other let go, and that the Sessions or Sises were now begun, which for the multitude that had repayre thether out of euery quarter, was marueilous great: he caused all the holy martirs to be brought thether, that the multitude might beholde them, & once againe examined them, and as many of them as he thought had the Romane fredome, he beheaded, the residue he gaue to the beastes to be deuoured. And truely Christ was much glorified by those which a little before had denied him, which againe contrary to y^e expectation of the Infidels, confessed him euen to the death. For they were examined a part frō the rest. because of their deliuery, which being found Confessours, were ioined to the company of the martirs, & had with them their part. But there were then abroade, which had no saith at all, neither yet so much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all, of the feare of God, but blasphemed his waies, by the lewd conuersatiō of their life, euen such as were the children of damnation. Al the residue ioined thēselues to the congregation: which whē they were examined one Alexander a phrigian, borne, and a Phisition, * which had dwelt long in Fraunce, and knowen almost of euery man, for the loue he had to God, & boldnes of speaking (neither was he voide of the Apostolicall loue) this Alexander standing

somewhat neare to the barre, by signes and beκες perswaded such as were examined to confesse Christ: so that by his countenance somtime reioising, and some other while sorrowing, he was descryed of the standers by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted, by and by againe to sticke to their first confession, they cried out against Alexander, as one that was the cause of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the Iudge and cōmaunded what Religion he was of, he aunswered: I am a Christian. He had no sooner spoken the worde, but he was iudged to the beastes, of them to be deuoured.

The next day following, Attalus, of whome I made mention a litle before, and Alexander, were brought foorth together (for the gouernour graunting Attalus vnto the people, was baited againe of the beastes.) When these men were brought to the scaffold, and had taken a tast of all the instruments that there were prepared for their execution, and had suffered the greatest agonie they could put thē to, were also at the length slaine: Of whome Alexander neuer gaue so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but frō the bottome of his hart praised and praied to the Lorde.* But Attalus when he was set in the yron chaire, and began to frye, and the frying sauour of his burning body began to smell, he spake to the multitude in y^e Romane language: Behold (sayth hee) this is to eate mans flesh which you doe, for we neither eate men, nor yet cōmit any other wickednes. And being demaunded what was the name of their God: our God (saith he) hath no such name as men haue. Then said they, now let vs see whether your God can helpe you, and take you out of our handes or not.

After this, being the last day of the spectacle, Blandine againe, & one Pōticus, a child of xv. yeare old was brought forth, and this was euery day, to the intent they seing the punishment of their fellowes, might be compelled thereby to sweare by their Idoles. But because they constantly abode in their purpose, & defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the child, nor fauoring the sexe of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and paine they could deuise, & often times inforced them to sweare, & yet were not able to cōpel them therevnto. For Ponticus so being animated of his sister, as the Heath•ikes standing by did see, after he had suffered all torments and paynes gaue vp the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore being the last that suffered, after she had like a worthy mother giuen exhortations vnto her children, and had sent them before as conquerours to their heauenly k•ng, and had called to her remembrance al their batels & conflicts, so much reioiced of her childrens death, & so hastened her owne, as though she had bene bidden to a bridall, & not in case to be throwne to the wilde beastes. After this her pittifull whipping,* her deliuey to y^e beastes, & her tormentes vpon the gridiron, at the length she was put in a net, and throwne to the wild Bull, and when she had bene sufficiently gored & wounded with the hornes of the same beast, & felt nothing of all that chaunced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ & heauen•y thinges, was thus slaine, insomuch that the verye Heathen men themselues confessed that there was neuer woman put to death of them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious crueltie thus asswaged against the Christians. For the cruel barbarous people, like wilde beastes when they be moued, knew not when the time was to make an ende, but inuented new & sundry torments euery day against our bodies. Neyther yet did it content thē when they had put the Christians to death,* for y^t they wanted the sense of men: for which cause both the magistrate & people were vexed at the very harts that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, he that is wicked, let him be wicked stil, and he that is iust let him be more iust. For those which in their prisons they strangled they threw after to the dogs setting

keepers both day and night to watch them, that they shoulde not be buried, and bringing forth the remnaunt of their bones & bodies, some halfe burnt, some left of the wilde beasts, & some also be mangled, also bringing forth heads of other which were cut of, and like maner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to see them remaine vnburied.

The Gentiles grinded & gnashed at the Christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplifie their punishment: some other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idoles, attributing vnto them the cause of thys crueltie and vengeance shewed to vs. Such which were of the meeker sort, and seemed to be moued with some pyty, did hit vs in the teeth, saying, where is your God, that you so much boast of: & what helpeth this your religion: for which you giue your liues? These were the sundrye passions and affects of the Gentiles, but the Christians in the meane while were in great heauines, that they might not burye the bodies and reliques of the holy Martirs. Neither could the dark night serue them to that purpose, nor any intreaty, nor waging them with money, whiche were appointed for watchmen: but they so narrowly looked vnto the matter, as though they should haue gotten great benefite and profite thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martirs made a wonderying stocke, and laye sixe dayes in the open streetes, at the length they burned them, & threwe their ashes into y^e riuer of Rods, so that there might appeare no remnaunt of thē vpō the earth. And this did they as though they had beene able to haue pulled god out of his seat, & to haue let the regeneration of the Saintes, and taken from them the hope of the resurrection, whereof they being perswaded (sayd they) bring in this newe and straunge Religion, and set thus light by death and punishment. Atque haec: haec ex Epistola Viennensium. &c.

Amongest other that suffered vnder Antoninus,* mention was made also of Iustinus, who as it is said before, exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of christian doctrine, the one to the Senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the Emperour, cōcerning whose suffering, and the causes therof is partly before declared: this Iustine was borne in Neapoli, in the countrey of Palestine, whose father was Priscus Bachius, as he himselfe doth testifie. By whom in his youth he was set to schole to learne,* wherin processe of time he became a famous and worthy Philosopher, o• whose excellency many learned & notable men doe record, For first, he being altogether inflamed and rauished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructors singularly seene in all kinde of Philosophy, wherevpon he writeth of him selfe in the beginning of his Dialogue Cum Tripone, thus declaring,* that in the beginning he being desirous of that sect and societie, applied himselfe to be the scholer to a certaine Stoicke, & remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in diuine knowledge (wherof the Stoicke had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge therof not to be necessary) he forsoke him, and went to another of the sect of the Perepatetick, a sharp witted man, as he thought with whom after he had beene a while, he demaunded of him a [Page 49](#) stipend• for his teaching, for the better confirmatiō of their familiaritie. Whereupon Iustine accōpting him as no Philosopher left him,* & departed. And yet not satisfied in mind but desirous to heare of further learning in Philosophie. adioyned himselfe to one that professed y^e Pithagorian •ect, a man of great fame, and one who made no small accompt of himselfe. Who after he had followed a time, his maister, demaunded of him whether he had any sight in Musicke, Astronomy, and Geometry, wythout the sight of whiche science, he saide he coulde not be apte to receiue the knowledge of vertue and felicitie, vnles before he had vsed to apply his minde from sensible matters to the

contemplation of things intellible. And speaking much in the commen•ation of these sciences, how profitable and necessary they were: after that Iustine had declared him selfe not to bee sene therin, the Philosopher gaue him ouer, which greued Iustine not a little, & so much themore because he thought his master to haue some knowledge in those sciences. After this Iustine considering with himselfe what time was requisite to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to di•erte any longer, thought best to resort to the secte of the Platonistes for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he chose vnto him a singuler learned man of that secte,* which lately was come to those parties & so remaining w^t him seemed to profite not a litle in contemplation of supernall things, & inuisible formes, insomuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpnes of witte and wisdom, that out of hand he might atchiue to the comprehension & contēplation of god,* which is the end of Plato his Philosophie. And in this maner he bestowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, howe & by what meanes the said Iustine came to the knowledge & profession of chritianitie, it foloweth likewise in his saide first Apologie: where he affirmeth of him selfe (as witnesseth Eusebius in his fourth booke) that when he did behold the christians in their torments and sufferinges to be so constaunt in theyr profession,* was therewith maru•ilously mooued: after this maner reasoning with himselfe, that it was impossible for that kinde of people to be subiect to any vice or carnalitie, which vices of their owne nature are not able to sustayne any sharpe aduersitie,* much lesse the bytternesse of death. The sight wherof helped him not a litle (being of his own nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge & vertue) to begin thereby to loue and imbrace Christian Relygion, for so he doth witnes of himselfe in the ende of y^e fyrst Apologie: signifiyng there how it was his seking and indeuor to attaine to Christianitie: Understanding how the Christians by malice of wicked persons were cōpelled to suffer wrong and tormentes,* and to be euill spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himselfe, he became a Christian, through this occasion, for being thus afflicted in his minde as is aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietnes to go aside to some desert and solitary place void of concourse of people, vnto a village or graūge neare to y^e seaside: whither as he approched, thinking there to be al alone, there meeteth with him an old auntient father of a comly visage and gentle behauior,* who folowing him a litle of began to reason with him, where after lōg disputation, when y^e old man had declared vnto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the Philosophers, which neither knewe God, neither were aided by the holy Ghost: & further had reasoned w^t him of y^e immortality of y^e soule, of the reward of the godly, & punishment of the wicked: then Iustine being confirmed with his reasons and arguments, yelded to him of his owne accorde, and demaunded of him by what meanes he might attaine to that true knowledge of God, Wherof he had spoken.* Who then counsailed him to read & searche the Prophetes, adioyning therewith prayer: but what master, quoth Iustine should I vse for the instruction therof. & who shalbe able to helpe vs if these philosophers (as you say) lacke the truth, & are voide of the same? To whom the old father aunswering, there haue bene saide he many yeres before these philosophers, other more aūtient then all these, which beyng accompted for Philosophers were iust and beloued of God:* who spake by the spirite of God, foreseeing and prophesiying these thinges which wee see now come to passe, & therefore they are called Prophets. These only haue knowen the truth and reueled it to men, neither fearing nor passyng for any: who were seduced w^t no opinions of mans inuention, but only spake & taught those things which they themselues both heard and sawe, being inspired with the holy spirit of god:* whose writings and works yet to this day remaine. Out of which the reader may receiue great profite & knowledge of thinges, as concerning the first creation of the worlde & end of y^e same, with al other things necessary to be knowne of euery true Philosopher

which wil giue credite vnto them. Neither in their teaching they do vse any demonstration, as being more certaine o^r themselues, then that they neede any such demonstration to be made. For asmuch as the accomplyshing and the end of things both paste,* & now present constraineth vs of necessitie to beleue the words and doctrine which they taught: which men not only therefore are to be beleued, but also for their miracles and wonders done are worthy of credite, for that they both preached of God the maker and creator of all thinges: And also did prophesye before of Christ his sonne to be sent of him, The which the false Prophets being seduced with false and wicked spyrits, neither haue done, nor do, but onely take vpon them to worke certaine prodigious wonders for men to gase at, setting out thereby to the worlde false & vncleane spirites: But then afore all thinges make thy prayer, that y^e gate of light may be opened vnto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained vnto of euery man, but onely of such, to whom God and his Christ giueth vnderstanding. These thinges with much more (which now leasure serueth not, to prosecute) after the foresaid old father had declared vnto him he departed: exhortyng him well to follow the thinges which he had spoken. And after that Iustine as he himselfe witnesseth, saw him no more. Immediatly after thys Iustine being all inflamed as with fyre kindled in his breast, began to conceiue a loue & zeale toward the Prophets and all such as were fauoured of Christ. And thus he reuoluing in his mind more and more these wordes, found only this Philosophie among all other professions, both sure and profitable,* and so became he a Philosopher, & in time by these meanes afterwards he was made a Christian and Baptised. But where he receiued this holy Sacrament of Baptisme, it is not read of, nor yet by what occasiō he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Ierome that he was in Rome, & there vsed certaine exercises which he called Diatribas, disputing there with Crescens, a Cynical philosopher,* as is before touched. But this is certaine how that Iustine after he had receaued the professiō of Christian Religiō, became an earnest defēder of the same, traueiling and disputing against al the aduersaries thereof fearing neither peril of life nor daunger of death whereby he might maintaine the doctrine of Christ, against the malicious blasphemers and also augment the number of Christian beleuers.* As may appeare by his vehement disputations against y^e heathen Philosophers. Also moreouer aswell appeareth in that long disputatiō which he had with one Tripho at Ephesus: as also in his confutations of heretikes.* Furthermore his conflictcs and Apologies which with great courage & security he exhibited against the persecutors of the Christians, both the Emperour and the Magistrates, yea and the whole Senate of Rome, doe testifie the same.

Of the which Apologies the first he wrote to the Senate of Rome,* and after to Antoninus Pius the Emperour as is before mentioned, where, in the fyrst writing wyth great liberty to the Senate he declared: that of necessitie he was compelled to write and vtter his minde and consciēce to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duety, and highly offended God, and therefore neede they had to be admonished. And further writing to Vrbinius liefetenaunt of the Citie, sayd, that hee put men to death and tormentes for no offence committed, but for the confession onely of the name of Christ: which proceedinges and iudgementes neyther became the Emperour nor hys sonne, nor the Senate: defending moreouer in the sayd Apology and purgyng the Christiāns of such crimes as falsely were layd and obiected agaynst them by the Ethnikes.

And likewise in hys second Apology writing to Antoninus the Emperour and his successours,* with like grauity and free libertie, declareth vnto them how they had the name, cōmonly beyng

reputed & taken as vertuous Philosophers, mayntayners of iustice, louers of learning, but whether they were so, their actes declared. As for him neither for flattery nor fauour at their hands, he was cōstrayned thus to write vnto them, but onely to sue vnto thē and desire a serious & righteous kind of dealing in their iudgements and sentences. For it becommeth Princes to folow vprightnes & pietie in their iudgements, not tyranny and violence: & also in playne wordes chargeth as wel the emperour as the Senate with manifest wrong. For that they did not graunt the Christians, that which is not denied to all other malefactors, iudging men to death not conuicted but onely for the hatred of the name: Other men which be appeached (said he) in iudgement, are not condemned, before they are cōuicted: but on vs you take your name only for the crime, when as indeede you ought to see iustice done vpō our accusers. And againe (saith he) if a Christian being accused onely denie that name, him you release beyng [Page 50](#) not able to charge him with any other offence. But if he stande to his name, onely for his confession you may cast him, where indeede it were your duety rather to examine their maner of life what thing they confesse or denye, and according to their demerites to see iustice done.

*And in the same further he saith, you examine not the causes, but incensed with rash affections as with the spur of fury, ye slay & murder them not conuicted, without any respect of iustice. And further he addeth: Some peraduenture wil say certaine of them haue bene apprehended & taken in euill doinges, as though (saith he) you vsed to enquire vpō them being brought afore you, & not commonly to condemne thē before due examination of their offence for the cause aboue mentioned. Where also in the ende of y^e said Apology after this maner he reprehendeth thē. You do degenerate (quoth he) from the goodnes of your predecessours, whose exāple you followe not: for your father Adrian of famous memorye, caused to bee proclaymed that Christians accused before the iudge, should not be cōdemned, vnles they were found guilty of some notorious crime I finde that all his vehement and graue Apologie stādeth vpon most strong & firme probations: denying y^t the christians ought by conscience at the will & commaundement of the Emperour & Senate to doe sacrifice to the Idols. For the which they being condemned, affirme y^t they suffer open wrong: approuing moreouer that the true & only Religion, is the Religion of the Christians: whose both doctrine and conuersation hath no fault. Iustinus although with these and such like perswasions did not so preuayle with the Emperour to cause him to loue his Religion & become a christian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus writing to his Officers in Asia in the behalfe of the Christians, required and cōmaunded them, that those Christians which onely were founde gilty of any trespasse, should suffer, and such as were not conuicted, should not therfore onely for the name be punished, because they were called Christians. By these it is apparant with what zeale and faith this Iustinus did striue against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill onely but could not hurt.

*This Iustinus by the meanes and malice of Crescens the Philosopher as is before declared, suffered Martyrdome vnder Marcus Antoninus Verus a little after that Polycarpus was martired in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius. Lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceiued in the time of his death, saying that he suffered vnder Rusticus the president, and Adrian the Emperour, being of xxx. yeares of age, which indeede agreeth not neither with Eusebius, nor Ierome, nor Swide, nor other moe, which manifestly declare and testifie how he exhibited his Apology vnto Antoninus Pius which came after Adrian. Thus hast thou good Reader the li•e of this learned & blessed martir although partly touched before, yet now more fully & amply

discoursed, for the better commendatiō of his excellent & notable vertues of whose small ende thus writeth Photius saying that he suffering for Christ died cheerefully & with honor.

*Thus haue ye heard the whole discourse of Iustinus and of the blessed Saints of Fraunce, Vetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with other, recorded and set foorth by the writing of certaine Christian brethren of the same Church & place of Fraunce. In the which foresaid writing of theirs moreouer appeareth the great meekenes and modest constancie of the said martirs described in these words: such folowers were they of christ who when he was in the forme of God thought it no robbery to be equal with god, being in y^e same glory with him, that they not once nor twise, but oft times suffered martyrdome, & taken againe from the beastes & bearing wounds tearinges and skarres in their bodies, yet neither woulde counte them selues Martirs, neyther woulde they suffer vs so to cal thē: but if any of vs either by word or letter woulde call them Martirs, they did vehementlye rebuke them: saying that y^e name of martirdome was to be gyuen to Christ the faithfull and true martir, the first borne of the dead, & the captaine of life, testifiyng moreouer that martirdome belongeth to such, who by their martirdome were already passed out of this life, and whom as christ by their worthy confession hath receiued vnto him selfe and hath sealed vp their Martirdome by their ende finished: * As for thē, which were not yet consūmated, they (said they) were not worthy the names of martirs, but only were humble and worthy confessours, desiring also their brethren with teares, to praye without ceasing for their confirmation. Thus they performing in deede that whiche belonged to true Martirs, in resisting the heathen with much lybertie, and great patience, without all feare of man, being replenished with the feare of God, refused to be named of their brethren for martirs. And after in the said writing it followeth more: they humbled themselues vnder the mightye hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted. Then they rendred to all men a reason of their faith, they accused no man, they loosed all, they bounde none. And for them which so euill did intreate them, they praied, following the example of Stephen the perfect Martir, which sayde: O Lord impute not their sinne to them. And after againe: Neither did they proudly disdaine against them which fell but of such as they had, they imparted to them that lacked bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentifull teares for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and saluation, and as God gaue it them, they also did communicate to their neighbours. And thus they as conquerers of all thynges departed to God. They loued peace, and leauing the same to vs; they went to God, neither leauyng any molestation to their mother, nor sedition or trouble to their brethren, but ioye, peace, concorde, and loue to all.

Out of the same writyng moreouer concernyng these Martyrs of Fraunce afore mentioned, is recorded also an other history, not vnworthy to be noted, taken out of the same booke of Eusebius. cap. 3. Which history is this.

There was among these constaunt and blessed Martirs, one Alcibiades,* as is aboue specified: which Alcibiades euer vsed a very straight diet, receiuing for his foode and sustenance nothing els but only bread and water: when this Alcibiades now •eing cast into prison, went about to accustome the same straightnes of diet, after his vsual maner before it was reueiled by God to Attalus afore mentioned, one of the said company, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict vpon the scaffold that Alcibiades did not well in that hee refused to vse and take the creatures of God: & also thereby ministred to other a pernicious occasion of offense

example. Whereupon Alcibiades being aduertised, & reformed, began to take al thinges boldly and with giuing thankes, whereby may appeare to all scrupulous consciences,* not only a wholesome instruction of the holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those dayes they were not destytute of the grace of God: but had the holy spirite of God to be their instructor, Haec Euseb.

The foresaide martirs of Fraunce also the same tyme, commended Irenaeus newly then made minister,* with their letters vnto Eleutherus Bishop of Rome: as witnesseth Euseb. in the x. thap. of the same booke, which Irenaeus fyrst was the hearer of Polycarpus, then made minister (as is sayde) vnder these Martyrs. And after their death, made Byshop afterward of Lyons in Fraunce and succeded after Photinus. Besides this Iustinus there was also the same time in Asia, Claudius Apolinaris, or Apolinarius Byshop of Hierapolis, And also Melito Bishop of Sardis an eloquent & learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who succeeding after the time of the apostles, in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited vnto him, learned and eloquent Apologies, in defence of Christes Religion, like as Quadratus and Aristides aboue mentioned, did vnto the Emperour Hadrian whereby they mooued him somewhat to stay, the rage of his persecution. In like maner did this Apolinaris and Melito (stirred vp by God) aduenture to defende in writing the cause of the christians vnto this Antoninus. Of this Melito, Eusebius in his fourth booke making mention, excerpeth certaine places of his Apologie,* in these wordes as followeth. Nowe saith he which was neuer seene before, the godly suffereth persecution by occasion of certaine Proclamations & Edictes proclaimed throughout Asia, for vilanous Sichophantes, robbers & spoylers of other mens goods grounding them selmes vpon those Proclamations, and taking occasion of them, robbe openlye night and daye, and spoyle those which doe no harme: And it followeth after: which if it be done by your commaundement, be it so well done. For a good Prince wyll neuer commaund but good things. And so we wil be contented to sustaine the honor of his death. This onely wee most humblye beseech your Maiestie, that callyng before you and examining the authors of this tumult and cōtention, then your grace would iustly iudge whether we are worthy of cruell death or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceedeth not by your occasion (which indeede against your barbarous enimies were to badde) the more a great deale we are petitioners to your hyghnes,* that hereafter you wyll vouchsafe to heare vs thus so vexed and oppressed with these kinde of vylanous robberies. And verily our Philosophy & doctryne did first among the barbarous take place, which doctrine fyrst in the daies of Augustus your predecessor, when it did raygne and florish, thereby your Empire became most famous & [Page 51](#) fortunate: and from that time more and more the state of the Romane Empire increased in honor wherof you most happely were made successour,* and so shall your sonne to. Honor therefore this Philosophie, which with your Empire sprang vp and came in with Augustus whiche your progenitors aboue al other honored & most esteemed. And verily this is no small argumēt of a good beginning, that since our doctrine flourished in the Empire, no misfortune or losse happened frō Augustus time: but contrary alwaies victory, good and honorable yeres, as euer any mā would wishe. Onely among all, and of all Nero and Domitian beyng kindled by diuers naughty and spitfull persons cauillingly obiected against our doctrine, of whom this Sicophanticall slaundring of vs by naughty custome first came and sprang vp. But your godly fathers espying the ignoraunce of these, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerous attemptes in that behalfe. Among whom your granfather Adrian w^t many other is read of, to haue wrytten of Fundayne the Proconsul and Lieutenāt of Asia. And your father, your own father I say, with whom you ruled in al things, wrote to the Cities vnder his signet, as the Laersens,

Thessalonicenses, Athenienses and Grecians rashly to innouate or alter nothing of your highnes: therefore, who in this case is of that sect as your predecessours were, yea & of a more benigne & Philosophicall minde, we are in good hope to obtaine our peticion and request.

*Thus much out of the Apologie of Melito, who writing to Onesimus, geueth to vs this benefite to knowe the true Catalogue, & the names of al the autentike bookes of the olde Testament, receaued in the auncient time of the prymitiue Church. Concerning the number & names wherof the said Melito in his letter to Onesimus declareth, howe that he returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there hee diligently inquired out the bookes aprooued of the old Testament, the names wherof in order he subscribeth & sendeth vnto him as followeth: The fiue bookes of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Iesus Naue, The Iudges, Ruth, Foure bookes of Kings: Two bookes Paralipomenon. The Psalmes Prouerbes of Salomon The booke of Wisedome: The Preacher. The song of songs. Iob. The Prophets, Esay, Hieromie, twelue Prophetes in one booke, Daniel, Ezechiel, Esdras. And thus much of thys matter, which I thought here to record, for that it is not vnprofitable for these latter times to vnderstande what in the first times was receaued, and admitted as autentike, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression to returne to our matter omitted, that is, to the Apologies of Apolinarius and Melito, in the story so it followeth, that whether it was by the occasiō of these two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a Philosopher, and a Legate of the Christians, it is vncertaine: but this is certaine that the persecution the same time was staid. Some do thinke, which most probably seeme to touch the truthe, that the cause of staying this persecution, did rise vpon a wonderfull myracle of God, shewed in the Emperours campe by the Christians the story wherof is this: At what time the two brethren Marcus Antonius, and Marcus Aurelius Commodus Emperours, *ioyning together, warred against the Quades, Vaudales, Sarmates, and Germanes, in the expeditiō against them their army by reason of the imminent assault of their enimies, was cooped & shut in within the straights and hoate dry places, where their souldiours besides other difficulties of battaile, being destitute of water, fyue dayes, were like to haue perished, which dread not a little discomfited them, & did abate their courage. Wherin this their so great distresse and ieopardy, sodainely wythdrew from the army a legian of the christian souldiours for their succour: who falling prostrate vpon the earth, by ardent prairer, by & by obtained of God double reliefe: by meanes of whom God gaue certaine pleasaunt showers from the element, whereby as their souldiors quenched their thirst so were a great number of their enimies discomfited & put to flight by the continual lightnings which shooted out of the aire. This miracle so pleased & won the Emperour, that euer after he waxed gentler & gentler to the Christians & dyrected his letters to diuers of his rulers, as Tertullian in his Apologie witnesseth, commaūding thē therin to giue thanks to the Christians, no lesse for his victory, then for the preseruacion of him and all his men. The copy of which letter hereafter ensueth.

Marcus Aurelius Antonius Emperour, to the Senate and people of Rome.

I Giue you hereby to vnderstande, what I intend to doe, as also, what successe I haue had in my warres in Germany, and with how much difficultie I haue vited my campe, being compassed

about with 74. fierce Dragons, whome my Scottes descryed to be within ix. miles of vs, and Pompeianus our Liefetenaunt hath viewed as he signified vnto vs by hys letters: Wherefore I thought no lesse but to be ouerunne and all my bandes of so great multitude, as well my vaward mayne warde as reere warde, with all my souldiours of Ephrata. In whose host there were numbred of fighting men ix. hundreth seenty and fiue thousand. But when I saw my selfe not able to encounter with the enemy, I craued ayde of our countrey Gods, at whose hands I finding no comfort, and being driuen of the enemye vnto an exegent, I caused to be sent for those men which we call Christians who being mustred were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in farther rage, then I had good cause, as afterwarde I had experience by their merueilous power, who forthwith did their indeuour, but without either weapon, munition, armour or trumpets, as men abhorring such preparation and furniture but onely satisfied in trust of their God, whome they cary about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hartes. For they falling prostrate vpon the ground, prayed not onely for me, but for the host also, which was with me, beseeching their God for helpe in that our extremitie of vittels and fresh water. For we had bene now v. dayes without water, and were in our enemies land, euen in the middest of Germany. who thus falling vppon their faces, made their prayer to a GOD vnknowne of me: and there sell a|mongest vs from heauen a most pleasaunt and cold shower, but amongst our enemies a great storme of hayle mixt with lightning so that immediately we perceiued the inuincible ayde of the most mighty God to be with vs. Therefore we geue those men leaue to professe Christianitie, least perhap by their prayer, we be punished with the lyke, and thereby make my selfe the author of such hurt as shalbe receiued by the Christian profession. And if any shall apprehend one that is a Christian, onely for that cause: I will that he being apprened without punishment, may haue leaue to confesse the same, so that there be none other cause obiected agaynst hym, more then that he is a Christian: But let his accuser be burned aliue. Neither will I that he confessing and being founde a Christian, shalbe enforced to alter the same his opinion by the gouernour of any of our prouinces, but le•t to hys owne choyse. And this decree of myne I will to be ratified in the Senate house, and commaund the same publiquely to be proclaymed and read in the Court of Traianus and that farther from thence it may be sent into all our Prouinces by the diligence of Veratius gouernour of our Citie Polione. And further we geue leaue to all men to vse and write out this our decree, taking the same out of our co••e publiquely in the common Hall set forth.

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians began for a tyme to assuage partly by the occasion hereof, partly also vpon other causes incident, cōpelling the enimies to surcease their persecutiō, as great plagues & pestilence lying vpon the countrie of Italy: lykewise great warres, as well in y^e East partes, as also in Italy and Fraunce, terrible earthquakes great flouds, no•some swarmes of flies and vermine deuouring their corne fieldes,* &c. And thus much of thinges done vnder Antoninus Verus which Antoninus in the beginning of his raygne ioyned with him in the gouernement of the Empire, hys brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also was wyth hym at the miraculous victory gotten by the Christiās, as Eusebius cap. 5. Lib. 5. recordeth, contrary Platina in vita Soteris, and the book intituled Flores historiarū, referre the same to the time of Antoninus verus, and his sonne Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus hys brother. But howsoever the truth of yeares doe stand, certaine it is,* that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus, Commodus the sonne of Verus who raigned 13. yeares.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incōmodious Prince to the Senatours of Rome,* yet notw^tstanding there was some quietnes vniuersally through the whole Church of Christ from persecution by what occasion it is not certaine. Some thinke of whom is Xiphilinus that it came through Marcia the Emperours concubine, which fauoured the Christians: but how soeuer it came saith Eusebius, the furye of the raging enimies was then somewhat mittigated. & peace was giuen by the grace of Christ, vnto the Church throughout the whole worlde. At what time the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel allured and reduced the harts of all forces of people, vnto the true Religion of God, insomuch that many both rich and noble personages of Rome, with their whole families and houtholdes to their saluation, adioyned thē to the Church of Christ.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man and a Senatour of Rome,* mentioned in Eusebius. Lib. 5. ca. 21. who being maliciously accused vnto the Senate by one [Page 52](#) whom Hierome writeth to be the seruaunt of y^e said Apollonius, and nameth him Seuerus: but whose seruaunt soeuer he was,* the wretched man came soone inough before the iudge, being condignely rewarded, for that his malicious diligence. For by a law which y^e Emperour made that no man vpon paine of death shoulde falsely accuse the Christians, he was put to execution, & had his legs broken forthwith, by the sentence of Perenninus the iudge, which being an heathen man, he pronounced against him: but the beloued martyr of God,* when the iudge with much a doe had obtained of hym to render an accout before the honorable Senate of his faith, vnder whose defence and warrant of lyfe he did the same, deliuered vnto them an eloquēt Apologie of the christian beliefe: but the former warrant notwithstanding, he by the decree of the Senate, was beheaded, and so ended his life.* For that there was an auncient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and therefore araigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is said in stories to be so sure & steddly handed in casting the dart, that in the open Theatre before the people, he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in place where he appointed. Among diuers other his vicious and wild parts he was to farre surpressed in pride & arrogancy,* that he would be called Hercules, and many times would shewe himselfe to the people in the skinne of a Lion, to bee counted thereby the king of men, like as the Lion is of the beastes.

Upon a certaine time being his birth day, this Commodus, calling the people of Rome together, in a great roialtye hauing his lions skinne vpon him, made sacrifice to Hercules & Iupiter, causing it to be cried through the Citty that Hercules was the patrone and defender of the Citye. There were the same time at Rome. Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, and instructors of the people,* who folowing the steps of the Apostles, went about from place to place where the Gospell was not yet preached, conuerting the Gentiles to the sayth of Christ, These hearing the madnes of the Emperour & of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindnes, teaching in villages & townes al that heard them, to beleue vpon y^e true and only God, and to come away from such worshipping of deuils, and to giue honor to God alone, which only is to be worshipped, willing them to repent and to bee Baptised,* least they perished with Commodus. With thys their preaching, they conuerted one Iulius a Senatour and other to the Religion of Christ. The Emperour hearyng thereof, caused thē to be apprehended of Vitellus his Captaine, and to be compelled to sacrifice vnto Hercules, which when they stoutly refused, after

diuers greuous torments and great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with •eaden waighes to death, Vincentius. Lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

*This Peregrinus aboue mentioned had bene sent before by Xistus Byshop of Rome, into the parties of Fraunce, to supply there y^e rowme of a Bishop and teacher, by reason y^t for the continual and horrible persecutions there aboue touched, those places were left desolat and destitute of ministers and instructors, where after he had occupied hym selfe w^t much frute among the flocke of Christ, and had stablished the congregation there, returning home againe to Rome, there finished at last (as it is said) his martirdome.

Now remaineth likewise to speake of Iulius, which Iulius being as is afore described, a Senator of Rome, and now won by y^e preaching of these blessed men, to the fayth of Christ, did eftsoones inuite them & brought them home to his house,* where being by them more fully instructed in christian religiō, he beleued in the gospel. And sending for one Ruffinus a Priest, was with all his family by him baptised, who (not as the common sort was wont to do) kept close and secret his faith: but incensed with a marueylous and sincere zeale openly professed the same: altogither wishing and praying to be giuen to him by God, not only to beleue in Christ, but also to hasarde his life for him. Which thing the Emperour hearing, how that Iulius had forsakē his old religion, and became a christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, vnto whom he spake on this wise O Iuly, what madnes hath possessed thee, that this thou doest fall from the olde & common Religion of thy forefathers who acknowledged and worshipped Iupiter & Hercules their gods, & now doest embrace a new & fond kind of Religion of the Christians: At which time Iulius hauing good occasion to shew and opē his faith gaue straight way accompt thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules & Iupiter were false Gods, & how the worshippers of thē should perish with eternall damnation & punishmentes. Which the Emperour hearing, how that he condemned & despised his Gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath as he was by nature very cholericke, committed him foorthwith to Vitellus, the master of the souldiours, a very cruell & fierce man, to see Iulius either to sacrifice to mighty Hercules or refusing the same to slea him. Vitellus as hee was commaunded) exhorted Iulius to obey the Emperors cōmaundement and to worship his Gods, Alledging how that the whole Empire of Rome was not onely constituted, but also preserued and maintained by them. Which Iulius denied vtterly to do, admonishing sharply in like ma'ner Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commaundementes, least he with his maister should dye some greeuous death. Whereat Vitellus being moued, caused Iulius with cougels to be beaten vnto death.

These things being thus briefly recited touching such holy martirs, as hetherto haue suffered, nowe remayneth that wee returne againe to the order of the Romaine Byshops such as followed next after Alexander,* at whome we left, whose succeder next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixt Byshoppe counted after Peter, and gouerned that ministerye the space of x yeares as Damascus & other do write. Vrspergensis maketh mention but of ix. yeares. Platina recordeth that he died a Martir, and was buried at Uaticane. But Eusebius speaking of his discease, maketh no word mentiō of any Martyrdome. In the 2. tome of the Councelles certaine Epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius Damasus, Hierome, and other olde authors, as they make no relation, so seeme they to haue no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these cōūterfeit epistles, & in Platina appeareth y^e Xistus was the first author of these ordinaunces.* First that the holy misteries and holy vessels shoulde be touched, but onely of persons holy and consecrated,

especially of no woman, Itē that the corporas cloth should be made of no other cloth, but of fine linnen. Item that bishops such as were called vp to the Apostolicke sea, returning home againe,* should not be receiued at their returne, vnlesse they brought with them letters from the bishop of Rome, saluting the people. Itē, at the celebration he ordained to be song this verse, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Where moreouer is to be noted, that the saide Platina, in the life of thys Xistus, doeth testifie that Peter ministred the celebration of the cōmunion onlie wyth the Lordes prayer. These tryflyng ordinaunces of Xistus, who is so rude that seeth not or may not easly cōiecture to be falsly fathered of Xistus,* or of anye father of that time, first by the vniforme rudenes and stile of all those decretal letters, nothing sauouryng of that age, but rather of y^e later dunsticall times that followed. Also by the matter and argument in those leters contained, nothing agreing with the state of those troublesome daies. Neither againe is it to be supposed that any such recourse of bishops was then to the Apostolicall sea of Rome, that it was not lawfull to returne without their letters: when as the persecution against the Christians was then so hoate, in the daies of Hadrian that the Bishoppes of Rome themselues were more glad to flee out of the Citie, then other bishops were to come to them vnto Rome. And if Xistus added the Sanctus vnto the Masse cannon, what peece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xistus: And if they came after Xistus that aded the rest, why did they set their peeces before his, seing they y^t began the first peece of the canon, came after him?

The same likewise is to be iudged of the Epistles & ordinaunces of Telesphorus,* who succeded next vnto Xistus, and being Bishop of that congregation the terme of a 11, yeares, the first yeare of the raigne of Antoninus Pius, dyed Martyr, about the yeare of our Lorde. 138. His Epistle like vnto the rest containing in it no great matter of doctrine,* hath these ordinaunces: First he cōmaundeth al that were of the Clergy to fast and abstaine from flesh eatyng, vij. weekes before Easter. That three Masses shoulde bee said vpon the Natiuity day of the Lord. That no lay man should accuse either bishop or priest. He ordained moreouer Gloria in excelsis, to be added to the Masse, &c. but these things falsely to be fained vpon him may easly be coniectured. For as touching the vij. weekes fast neither doth it agree with the old Romane terme cōmonly receaued, calling it Quadragesima,* that is the xl. daies fast: neither with the example of our Sauour, who fasted not seuen wekes but onelye xl. dayes. Moreouer, as concernyng this xl. daies fast, wee reade of the same in the Epistle of Ignatius, which was lōg before Telesphorus: wherby it may appere that this Telesphorus was not the first inuentour thereof. And if it be true, that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but vntruly, as by many coniectures may be proued) there is read, that in the daies of S. Mathewe this Lent, fast of xl. dayes was obserued long before Telesphorus: by [Page 56](#) these wordes that followe: In the dayes sayd he, either of Lente, or in the time of other lawfull fastinges, he that abstaineth not as well from the eating meate as also from y^e mixture of bodies, doth incurre in so doing not onely pollution, but also cōmitteth offence, which must be washed away with the teares of repentaunce.* Agayne, Apollonius, affirmeth that Montanus the heretike, was the first deuiser and brynger in of these lawes of fasting into the Church, which before was vsed to be free. Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 18. but especially by Socrates, wryter of the Ecclesiasticali story, who lyued after the daies of Theodosius, maye bee argued, that this vij. wekes fast is falsely imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates in his first booke, speaking of this time hath these wordes:*Romani namque tres ante Pascha septimanas praeter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas ieiuiant, that is: the Romanes (saith he) doe fast three weekes continually before Easter, beside the Sabaoth and the Sunday. And moreouer, speaking

of the diuers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and diuers Churches, he addeth these words: And because that no man can bring forth any commaundement written of this matter, it is therefore apparant, that the Apostles left this kind of fast free to euery mans will and iudgement, least anye should be constrayned by feare and necessitie to doe that which is good, &c. With this of Socrates, agreeth also the wordes of Sozomenus,* liuing much about y^e same time, in his seuenth voke, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some comprehend in sixe weekes, as doe the Illyrians, and the west churches, with al Libia, Egipt, & Palestina: some in vij. weekes, as at Cōstantinople, & y^e parties bordering to Phoenicia: other some in three weekes, next before the day of Easter, & some againe in ij. weekes. &c. By y^e whiche it may be collected, y^t Telesph. neuer ordained any such fast of vij. wekes: whiche otherwise neither woulde haue ben neglected in Rome, & in y^e west churches: neither againe woulde haue bene vnremembred of these auncient Ecclesiasticall writers, if any such thing had bene. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not onely of his constitutions: but also of the other auntient Byshops & Martyrs, which followed after him, as of Higinus. an. 142. who succeding him & dying also a Martyr, as Volateranus, Lib. 22. declareth, is saide or rather fained to bring in the creame, one Godfather and Godmother in Baptisme, to ordayne the dedication of Churches: when as in his time so far it was of, that anye solemne Churches were standing in Rome, that vnneth the Christians could safely conuent in their own houses. Likewise they distincting the orders of Metropolitanes, Byshops, and other degres, sauour nothing lesse then of that tyme.

After Higynus followed Pius, who as Platina reporteth was so precisely deuout aboute the holye misteries of the Lords Table, that if any one croome therof did fall downe to the grounde, he ordained that the Priest shoulde doe penaunce xl. daies. If any fell vpō the Superalter, he should doe penaunce iij. daies: if vpon the linen Corporas cloth iiij. daies: if vpon any other linnen cloth. ix. daies. And if any drop of the bloude (saith he) should chaunce be spilled, wheresoeuer it fell it should be licked vp, if it were possible if not the place should be washed or pared, & so being washed or pared, should be burned and layd in the vestry. All which toies may seeme to a wise man, more vaine and trifling, then to fauour of those pure and straight times of those holy Martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conuersaunt with Hermes called otherwise Pastor. Damasus saith he was his brother, but how is that like that Hermes being the disciple of Paule,* or one of the lx. disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes & of the reuelations the foresaid Pius in his Epistle decretall (if it be not forged) maketh mentiō, declaring that vnto him appeared the aungel of God in the habite of a shepherde,* commaunding him, y^t Easter day should be celebrated of al men vpō no other day, but vpon a sonday, whereupon, saith the Epistle, Pius the Byshop, by his authoritie Apostolicall, decreed and commaunded the same to be obserued of al men.

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutharius, about the yeare of our Lord.* 180. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius king of Britanes, sent to him Damianus, and Fugatius, by whom the king was conuerted to Christes saith, and baptised about the yeare of our Lorde 179. Naclerus, Lib. Chro. Gen. 6. saith, it was, an. 156. Henr. de Erfodia, saith, it was, 169. in the xix. yeare of Verus the Emperour, some say it was in the vj. yeare of Commodus, which shoulde be about the yeare of our Lorde, 185. Timotheus in his storye thinketh that Eleutherius came himself: but that is not like And as there is a variaunce among the writers for y^e count of yeres: So doth there rise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this lande or not. Nicephorus. Lib. 2. cap. 4. saith that Symō Zelotes, came

into Britaine. Some other alledge out of Gildas de victoria Aurel Ambrosi,* that Ioseph of Aramathie after the dispersion of the Iewes, was sent to Philip the Apostle from Fraunce to Britaine; about the yeare of our Lord 63. and here remained in this land al his time, and so with his fellowes laide the first foundation of christian fayth among the Britaine people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers cōming afterwarde confirmed the same & increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scotishmen & so doth count them as more auntient Christians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the testimonie of Origene, of Tertulian, and the wordes also of the letter of Eleutherius whiche importe no lesse, but that the faith of Christ was here in Englande among the Britaine people, before Eleutherius time, & before the king was cōuerted, but hereof more shalbe spokē hereafter (Christ willing,) when after the tractation of these .x. persecutiōs, we shal enter y^e matter of our English stories.

About this time of Commodus aforementioned among diuers other learned men and famous teachers whō God stirred vp at that time (as he doth at all other times rayse vp some) in his church, to confound y^e persecutors by learning and writing, as the Martirs to confirme the truth with their blood,* was Serapion Byshop of Antioche, Egesippus a writer of the Ecclesiasticall historye from Christes Passion to his time, as witnesseth Hierome, & Eusebius Lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which bookes of his be not nowe remayning And those that be remaining (which be 5. de excidio Hierosol.) be not mentioned neither of Hierome, nor of Eusebius Miltiades which also wrote his Apology in defence of christian Religion,* as did Melito Quadratus, and Aristides before mentioned. About y^e same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotations & enarrations vpon the newe Testament, and Epistles of the Apostles. Also Theophilus Byshop of Caesaria, Dionysius Byshoppe of Corinthe a man famously learned, which wrote diuers Epistles to diuers Churches, & among other writeth, exhorting Penitus a certaine Byshop, Ne graue seruandae castitatis onus necessario fratribus imponat, sed multorum sese imbecilitati attemperet, that is, that he would lay no yoke of chastitie of any necessity vpon his brethren: but that he would consider the infirmitie of other, and beare with it. Euseb. Lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreouer y^e sayd Dionisius in his Epistles writing of Dionisius Agiopagites, declareth of him how that he was first cōuerted to the Christian faith by S. Paule, according as in the actes is recorded, and afterwarde was made the first Byshop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his booke de Hierarchia. Whereby it maye easely appeare, what is to be iudged of that booke. Furthermore, by the Epistles of the saide Dionisius Corint. this wee haue to vnderstande, to be the vse at that time in Churches to reade the letters and Epistles, such as were sent by learned Bishops and teachers vnto the Congregations, as may appeare by these words of Dionisius, who writing to y^e church of the Romanes, and to Soter saith. This day we celebrate the holy Dominical day. In which we haue read your Epistle, which alwaies we wil read for our exhortation,* like as we doe reade also the Epistle of Clement sent to vs before, &c. Euseb. ibid. where also mention is made of keepyng the Sondag holy. Whereof wee finde no mention made in auntient authors, before his time, except onely in Iustinus Martyr, who in his description declareth two tymes most especially vsed for Christen men to congregate together, first, when any conuert was to be Baptised. The second was vpon the Sondag, which was wont for ij. causes then to be halowed. First, because (saith he) vpon that day God made the worde, Secondlye, because that Christ vpon that day first shewed himselfe after his resurrection to his Disciples, &c.

Ouer and beside these aboue named, about the daies of Commodus,* wrote also Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose bookes, although for a great part be lost, yet certaine of them yet remaine wherin is declared among other thinges, the order and number of the bookes and Gospels of the new testament, &c.

The same time moreouer liued Pantenus, which was the first in Alexandria, that professed in open schoole to reade of whom is thought first to proceede the order and maner among the Christians to read and professe in Uniuersities This Pantenus for his excellency of learning was sent by Demetrius Bishop of Alexandria to preach to the Indeans,* where he founde the Gospell of S. Mathewe written in Hebrew, left there by S. Bartelinewe, which booke afterward he brought with him from thence, to the Library of Alexandria.

Duryng all the raigne of Commodus; God graunted rest & tranquility, although not without some bloudshed [Page 54](#) of certaine holy Martyrs, as is aboue declared, vnto his Church. In the which time of tranquillitie, the Christians hauing now some laisure from the foraine enemy,* begā to haue a little contention among themselues, about the ceremonie of Easter: which contention albeit of long time before had bene stirring in the church as is before mentioned of Polycarpus and Anicetus: yet the variance and difference of that ceremonie brought no breach of Christian concorde and societie among them: Neither as yet did the matter excede so farre, but that the band of loue, and communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the ceremonie of the day. For they of the West Church pretending the tradition of Paule and Peter, but in deede beyng the traditiō of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, which was vpon the Sunday after the 14. day of the first moneth. The Church of Asia following the ordinance of Iohn the Apostle, obserued an other, as more shalbe declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the tyme of Victor Bishop of Rome. In the meane tyme as concerning the fourth persecution, let this hetherto suffice.

The fift Persecution.

After the death of Commodus, raigned Pertinax but few monthes, after whom succeeded Seuerus. Under whom was raised the fift persecution against the christian saints: who rainging the terme of 18. yeares, the first x. yeares of the same, was very fauourable and curteous to the Christians. Afterward through sinister suggestions and malicio•s accusations of the malignāt,* was so incensed against them, that by Proclamations he commaunded no Christians any more to be suffered. Thus the rage of the Emperour beyng inflamed agaynst them, great persecution was stirred vpon euery side,* wherby an infinite nūber of Martyrs were slayne, as Eusebius in his sixt booke recordeth, which was about the yeare of our Lord,* 205. The crimes and false accusations obiected against the Christians, are partly touched before, pag. 37. as sedition and rebellion against the Emperour, sacriledge, murthering of Infants, incestuous polution, eating rawe flesh, libidinous cōmixture, whereof certaine in deede called then Gnostici, were infamed. Item, it was obiected against them, for worshipping the head of an Asse, which whereof it should rise, I finde no certain cause, except it were perhaps by y^e Iewes. Also they were charged for worshipping the sunne, for that peraduenture before the sunne rise, they conuented together, singing their morning Hymnes vnto the Lord, or els because they prayed toward y^e East: but especially for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods and were counted as enemies to all men. &c.

The Capitaines and Presidentes of this persecution vnder the Emperour were Hilarianus,*Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus Ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Vespronius, also Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian. And Aquila Iudge of Alexandria, of whom Euseb. Lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged, were Affrica, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage.

The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of the Ecclesiasticall story was innumerable.* Of whō the first was Leonides, the father of Origene, who was beheaded: with whō also Origene his sonne, beyng of the age thē of xvij. yeares, should haue suffered (such a seruent desire hee had to be Martired for Christ) had not hys mother priuily in the night season conueied away his clothes & his shirt.* Wherupō more for shame to be seen, then for feare to die, he was cōstrained to remaine at home: and when he could do nothing els, yet he writing to his father a letter with these words: Caue tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quam martyrij constanter faciendi propositum cogites, that is, Take heede to your selfe, that you tourne not your thought and purpose for our sake,* &c. Such a feruency had this Origene being yet young, to the doctrine of Christes faith, by the operation of Gods heauenly prouidence, and partlye also by the diligent education of his Father, who brought him vp from his youth most studiously in all good literature, but especially in y^e reding & exercise of holy scripture, wherein he had such inward & mystical speculatiō, that many times he would moue questions to his father, of the meaning of this place, or y^t place in y^e scripture. Insomuch y^t his father diuers times would vncouer his brest being a sleepe,* & kisse it, giuing thanks to God which had made him so happy a father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goodes confiscated to the Emperour, he wyth his poore mother, and sixe brethren, beyng brought to such extreme pouerty, did sustaine both himself and them by teaching a schole. Til at length being wearye of y^t profession, he transferred his study onely to the knowledge and seeking of diuine Scripture, & such other learning conducible to the same. So much he profited both in the Hebrue and other touns, that he conferred y^r Hebrue text with the translation of the lxx. And moreouer did conferre and find out the other translations which we call the common translation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adioyned to these aforesaid other foure translations, wherof more is in the story of Eusebius expressed.

They that write of the life of Origene, testifie of him that he was of wit quicke and sharpe, much patient of labour, a great traueler in the tongues, of a spare dyet, of a straight life, a great faster, his teaching & his lining were both one: his going was much barefoot. A straight obseruer of that saying of the Lorde, bydding to haue but one coate, &c, he is said to haue written so much as seuen Notaries, & so many maides euery day could penne. The nūber of his bookes by the accōpt of Hierome, came to 7000. Uolumes, y^e copies whereof he vsed to sel for 3. d. or a little more, for the sustentation of his liuing. But of hym more shalbe touched hereafter. So zelous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christes Martirs, that he nothing fearyng his owne perill would assist & exhort them going to theyr death, & kisse them, insomuch that he was oft in ieoperdie to be stoned of the multitude. And sometimes by the prouision of Christen men had his house garded about wyth souldiers, for the safety of them, which daily resorted to heare his readings, & many times he was cōpelled to shift places & houses, for such as laid waite for him in al places, But such was the prouidence of God to preserue him in the midst of all this tempest of Seuerus.

Among other which resorted vnto him, & were his hearers. Plutarchus, was one,* and died a martyr, & with him Serenus hys brother who was burned. The third after these was Heraclides, The fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fift, was an other Serenus also beheaded, Rhais, and Potamiena. who was tormented with pitch poured vpon her, & martyred with her mother, Marcella, who died also in the fyre. This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beautie, who because she could not be remoued from her profession was committed to Basilides one of the Captaines there in the armie, to see the execution done, Basilides receyuing her at the Iudges hand, & leading her to the place, shewed to her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and raylinges of the wicked aduersaries: for the which Potamiena, the virgine, to requite againe his kindnes, bad him bee of good comfort, saying that she would pray y^e Lord to shewe mercy vpon him. And so went she to her Martyrdome, which she both strongly and quietly did sustaine.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required to giue an othe in a matter cōcerning his fellowe souldiours: which thing he denied to doe,* plainly affirming y^e he was a Christian. For their othe then, was woont to be by the Idoles & the Emperor. At the first he was thought dissimulingly to iest, but after whē he was heard constantly, & in earnest to confirme the same, he was had before the iudge, and so by him committed towarde. The Christians marueiling thereat, as they came to him in the prison inquired of him the cause of that his sodaine conuersion. To whom he aunswered againe and saide, that Potamiena had praied for him to the Lord, & so he saw a crowne put vpon his head: adding moreouer that it should not be long, but he should be receiued. Which things thus done, y^e next day following, he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded, Euseb. Lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the said Eusebius, giueth this story of no credite,* but onely of heare say, as he there expresseth.

As diuers and many there were that suffered in the daies of this Seuerus:* so some were againe which through the protection of God his prouidence, being put to great torments, yet escaped w^t life. Of whom was one Alexander who for his constant confessiō and torments suffered, was made Bishop afterwarde of Hierusalem, together with Narcissus, who being then an olde man of an hundred and threescore yeares and three, as sayeth Eusebius, was vnwiely for his age to gouerne that function alone.

Of this Narcissus is reported in the Ecclesiasticall historie, that certaine miracles by him were wrought verye notable,* if they be true. First of water by him turned into oyle at the solemne vigile of Easter, what time the cōgregation wanted oyle for their lampes. Another miracle is also told of him, which is this. There were three euill disposed persons, who seing the soundnes & graue constancy of his vertuous life, & fearyng their owne punishment, as a conscience that is giltie, is alwaies fearefull, thought to preuent his accusations, in accusing him first, & laying an haynous crime to his charge. And to make their accusatiō [Page 55](#) more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great othe: One wishing to be destroyed with fire if he sayd not true. The other to bee consumed with a grievous sickenes. The third to loose both his eyes if they did lye. Narcissus although hauing his conscience cleare, yet not able beyng but one man to withstand their accusation bound with such othes gaue place, and remooued himself• from the multitude, into a solitarie desert by himself, where he continued the space of many yeares. In the meane time to them which so willingly and wickedly forswear themselves, this happened:* the first by casualtie of one litle smal sparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his familie. The second, was taken with a great sicknesse from the top to the toe, and deuoured

with the same. The third, hearing and seying the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears, that he lost both his eyes.* And thus was their false periurie punished. Narcissus after long absence returning home agayne, was by this meanes both cleared of the facte, and receiued into his bishoprike agayne. To whom, as is said, for impotencie of his age, Alexander was ioined with him in execution of the function. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 6. cap. 10. Of this Alexander is recorded in the sayd Ecclesiasticall history, that after his agonies and constancie of his confessiō shewed in the persecution of Seuerus, he was admonished by a vision in the night season to make his iourney vp to Hierusalem & Palestina (for that place remained free from this persecution) to see there the congregation, & to pray. Thus he taking his iourney,* and drawing nere to the city, a vision with playne wordes was geuen to certaine chiefe heads of Hierusalem, to go out of the gate of the city, there to receiue the Bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and receiued, and ioyned partner with aged Narcissus, as is before expressed in the Citie of Hierusalem, where he continued bishop about 40. yeares, vntill the persecution of Decius, and there crected a famous Libraric, where Eusebius had his chieftest helpe in writing his Ecclesiasticall history. He wrote also diuers Epistles to diuers churches, and licensed Origene openly to teach in his Church.* At length beyng very aged, was brought frō Ierusalem to Cesaria before the Iudge vnder Decius, where after his constant confession the second tyme, he was committed to prison, and there died.

Besides these that suffred in this persecution of Seuerus recited of Eusebius, Vincentius also, Lib. 11. cap. 6. Ex Martyrol. speaketh of one Andoclus,* whom Polycarpus before had sent into Fraunce: which Andoclus because he spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Seuerus, and first beaten with stauies and battes, after was beheaded.

To these aboue named, may also be added Asclepiades, who although was not put to death in this persecution of Seuerus,* yet constantly he did abide the trial of his confessiō & suffered much for the same, as Alexander did before mentioned. Wherefore afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of vij. yeares of whom Alexander writeth to the Church of Antioche, out of prison, much reioysing and geuing thanks to God, to heare that he was their Bishop.

About the same tyme during the raigne of Seuerus, died Irenaeus,* Henr. de Erfordia, Ado, and other Martyr writers, do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of other moe, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fift yeare of Seuerus. This Irenaeus as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom he calleth omnium doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem: a great searcher of all kynde of learning. He was first scholer and hearer of Polycarpus, frō thence either was sent or came to Fraunce, and there by Photinus, and the rest of the Martyrs was instituted into the ministry, commended by their letter vnto Eleutherius, as is before premonished. At length after y^e Martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed bishop of Lions, where he cōtinued about the space of 23. yeres. In y^e tyme of this Irenaeus, the state of the Church was much troubled, not only for the outward persecution of the foraine enemy, but also for diuers sectes and errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few of his bookes be now remayning. The nature of this man well agreeyng with his name, was such, that he euer loued peace, and sought to set agreement when any controuersie role in the Church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renued to the Church, bebetwene Victor bishop of Rome, and the churches of

Asia, and when Victor would haue excommunicated them as schisinatikes, for disagreeyng from him therein: Irenaeus with other brethren, of the French Church, sory to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, conuented themselues together in a common Councell, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent vnto Victor, intreating him to stay his purpose, & not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselues agreed with him in obseruing the Soday Easter as he did: yet with great reasons and arguments exhorted him not to deale so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient custome of their coūtreȳ maner in that behalf. And beside this he wrote diuers other letters abroad concerning the same contentiō, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after Irenaeus followed also Tertullian about the tyme of this Seuerus,* and Antoninus Carcalla his sonne, a man both in Greeke and Latin wel expert, hauing great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his bookes declare, & as the commendation of al learned men doth testifie no lesse. To whom Vincentius Lirinensis geueth such prayse, that he calleth him the floure of all Latine writers, and of the eloquence of his stile so he writeth, that with the force of his reasons, he saith, whom he could not persuade, them he cōpelled to consent vnto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many victories he had, &

Such men of doing and writing, God raiseth vp from tyme to tyme, as pillers and stayes for his poore Church, as he did this Tertullian in these dangerous dayes of persecution. For whē the christians were vexed with wrongs,* & falsly accused of the Gentils, Tertullian taking their cause in hand, defendeth them against the persecutors, & against their slaunderous accusations: First, that they neuer minded any styre or rebellion, either against the Empire or Emperours of Rome: forsomuch as the vse of Christians was to pray for the state of their Emperours and gouernours. And where as they were accused falsly to bee enemies to all mankind,* how could that be (saith Tertullian to Scapula) seyng the proper office of the Christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to loue their enemies, neuer requiting euil for euil, when as all other do loue but onely their friends, and scarcely them? As touching the horrible slaunder of murdering infants, how can that be true in the Christians (saith he)▪ whose order is to abstayne from all bloud, & strangled: in so much, that it is not lawful for thē to touch the bloud of any beast at their tables when they feede? From filthy copulation no sort more free then they: which are and euer hath ben the greatest obseruers of chastitie, of whom, such as may, liue in perpetuall Uirginitie all their life, such as cannot, contract matrimony, for auoyding all whoredom and fornication. Neither can it be proued of the christians to worship the sunne, which false surmise, Tertulliā declareth to rise hereof,* for that the maner of the Christians was to pray toward the East. Much lesse was there any of them so mad as to worship an Asses head whereof the occasion beyng taken onely of the Iewes, the slaunder therof therefore he prooueth to be falsly and wrōgfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

And likewise against all other lies and slaunders, obiected of the Heathen against the Christians, the sayd Tertullian purgeth the Christians, declaring them falsly to be belied, & wrongfully persecuted, not for any defect of theirs but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstāding by the same persecutions, he prooueth in the same Apologie, the religion of the christians nothing to be empai red, but rather encreased. The more (saith he) we are mowen doune of you,* the moe rise vp. The bloud of Christians is seede. For what man sayth he, in

beholding the painfull torments, and the perfect patience of them will not search and inquire what is in the cause? And when he hath found it out, who will not agree vnto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus (faith he) this sect will neuer die, which the more it is cutdout, the more it groweth. For euery man seing and wondring at the sufferance of the Saints, is moued the more therby to search the cause in searching, he findeth it, and in finding, he followeth it. Tertul in eodem Apolog.

Thus Tertullian in this daungerous tyme of persecution, being stirred vp of God, defended the innocēcie of the Christians, against the blasphemy of the aduersaries, and moreouer for the instruction of the church compiled many fruitfull workes, whereof some are extant, some are not to be found.* Notwithstanding the great learning & famous vertues of this worthy mā, certaine errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origine, & Irenaeus, and likewise of them were they neuer so excellent, that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this story to prosecute. This by the way shall be sufficient to admonish the Reader, neuer to looke for any such perfection of any [Page 53](#) man in this world, how singular so euer he be (Christ onely excepted) but some blemishe or other ioyneth himselfe withall, whereof more perchaunce shall be sayd when we come to Cyprian.

And now to returne agayne to the order of bishops of Rome intermitted: after Eleutherius afore mentioned, next in the bishoprike of Rome succeded Victor, who as Platina sayth, died quietly in the dayes of Seuerus. But Damasus Supplementum, Lib. 8. and such as folow the common Chronicles, affirme that he died a Martyr, after he had sitten x. or as some say xij. yeares. This Victor was a great styrrer (as partly before is signified) in the controuersie and contention of Easterday. For the which he would haue proceded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenaeus then bishop of Lions, with the counsaile of other his brethren there assēbled, repressed his intended violence. As touching that cōtrouersie of Easter in those daies of the primitiue Church, the originall thereof was this, as Eusebius, Socrates, Platina, and other record. First, certain it is, that the Apostles onely being intentiue and attendaunt to the doctrine of saluation, gaue no heed nor regard to the obseruation of dayes & times, neither bound the Church to any ceremoni•s and rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the Actes of the Apostles, as strangled and bloud, which was ordayned then of the holy Ghost, notwithstanding a most vrgent and necessary cause, touched partly in y^e history before. For when the murdering and bloud of Infants was commonly objected by the Heathen perse•utors agaynst the Christians, they had no other argumēt to help thēselues, nor to refell the aduersarie, but only their own law, by the which they were commaūded to abstaine not onely from all mens bloud, but also from the bloud of all cōmon beastes. And therefore that law seemeth by the holy Ghost to be geuen, & also to the same end & continued in the Church, so long as the cause, that is the persecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Beside these we read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the Apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the libertie of Christians, euery man to vse therein his own discretion, for the vsing or not vsing thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremoniall obseruations of dayes, tymes, places, meates, drinks, vestures, and such other, of all these things neither was the diuersitie among men greatly noted, nor any vniformitie greatly required. In so much, that Irenaeus writing to Victor of the tradition of dayes,* and of fastings, and of the diuersitie of these things then vsed among y^e primitiue fathers, saith: Nihilominus omnes Illi pacem inter se retinuerunt, & retinemus etiam nū, & leuiunij dissonantia, fidei concordiam commendat, &c. That is, Notwithstanding all this varietie, all they kept peace among

themselves, & yet we keepe it still, and this difference of fasting among vs, commendeth more the concord of faith. And so long did the doctrine of Christian libertie remaine whole & sounde in the Church till the tyme of Victor,* which was about the yeare of our Lord, 200. Although the diuersitie of these vsages, began something before also in the dayes of Pius and Anicetus, about the yere of our Lord, 163. to be misliked: yet restraint hereof was not so much vrged before, as in y^e tune of Victor. And yet neither did the violēce of Victor take such place, but that the doctrine of Christian libertie was defended and maintained by meanes of Irenaeus and other, and so continued in the Church till after the Councell of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of Christian libertie of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Now to returne to Victor agayne, to shew what diuersitie there was in obseruing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the story: First, in the tyme of Pius and Anicetus, an. 163. the questiō of Easter day began first to be moued, at what tyme Pius, by the reuelation of Hermes, decreed the obseruatiō of that day to be chaunged from the wonted maner of the 14. day of the moone in the first moneth, vnto the next Sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius Bishops of Rome, which also determined the same.* Agaynst these stode Melito. Bishop of Sardis, Polycarpus, and as some thinke, Egesippus, with other learned men of Asia which Polycarpus being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is aforesayd, to cōferre with Anicetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both cōmunicate together with reuerēce, & departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easterday remained Adiaphoron, as a thing indifferent in the Church, till the time of Victor. Who folowing after Anicetus and hys fellowes, and chiefly stirring in this matter, endeouored by all meanes and might, to draw, or rather subdue the Churches of Asia vnto hys opinion, thinking moreouer to excommunicate all those Byshops and churches of Asia, as heretickes and schismatickes, which disagreed from the Romaine order, had not Irenaeus otherwise restrayned him from that doyng,* as is aforesayd, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord .191. in the reigne of Commodus. Thus then began the vniformitie of keeping that holy day to be first required, as a thing necessary, & all they accompted as heretickes and schismatickes, which dissented from y^e Bishop & traditiō of Rome.

With Victor stode Theophilus Byshop of Cesar•a, Narcissus of Hierusalem, Irenaeus of Lyons, Palmas of Pontus, Banchillus of Corinthe, the Byshop of D••roena, and other moe. All which condescended to haue the celebration of Easter vpon the Sunday, because they would differ frō the Iewes in all things, as neare as they might, and partly because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

On the contrary side diuers Byshop were in Asia, of whom the principall was Policrates Byshop of Ephesus, who being assembled with a great multitude of Bishops and brethren of those parties,* by the common assent of the rest, wrote agayne to Victor, and to the Church of Rome, declaring, that they had euer from the beginning obserued that day, according to the rule of Scripture vnchaunged, neither adding nor altering any thing frō the same. Alledging moreouer for them the examples of the Apostles and holy fathers their predecessours, as Phillip the Apostle, with hys three daughters at Hierapolis: also Iohn the Apostle and Euangelist at Ephesus, Polycarpus at Smyrna Thraseas at Eumenia, Byshoppe and Martyr, lykewise of Sagaris at Laodicea Byshop and Mattyr, Holy Papyrius, and Melito at Sardis. Beside these bishops also of his own kindred,* and his owne aunceters, to the number of seuen which all were bishops before

him, & he the eight now after them. All which obserued (saith he) the solemnitie of the same day, after the same wi•e and sort as we do now.

Victor being not a litle mooued herewith,* by letters agayne denounceth against them (more bold vpon authoritie, then wi•e in his commission) violent excommunicatiō, Albeit by the wise handlyng of Irenaeus, and other learned men, that matter was staid, and Victor otherwise perswaded. What the perswasīōs of Irenaeus were, partly may appeare in Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 26. the summe whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no straunge matter in the Church of Christ,* when as this varietie is not onely in the day of Easter, but also in the maner of fasting, & in diuers other vsages among the christian. For some fast one day, some two days, some other fast moe. Other there be, which counting xl. houres, both day & night, take that for a ful dayes fast. And this so diuers fashion of fasting in the church of Christ, began not onely in this our tyme, but was before among our fore elders. And yet notwithstanding they with all this diuersity, were in vnitie among themselues, and so be we, neyther both this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concorde of fayth. And bringeth forth the examples of the fathers of Telesphorus,*Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and such other, who neither obserued the same vsage themselues, neither prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept christian charitie with such as came to cōmunicate with them, not obseruing the same forme of things which they obserued, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one vniforme custome of rites, yet refused not to cōmunicate together, the one geuing reuerence vnto the other. Thus the controuersie being taken vp betwene Irenaeus & Victor, remained free to the time of Nicene Councell. Haec ex Iren. Eusebius. And thus much cōcerning the controuersie of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

After Victor, succeeded in the sea of Rome Zephyrinus, in the dayes of the foresayd Seuerus,* about the yeare of our Lord .203. To this Zephyrinus be ascribed two Epistles, in the first Tome of the Councels. But as I haue sayd before of the decretall Epistles of other Romaine Bishops: so I say and verily suppose of this, that neither the countenāce of the stile, nor the matter therin contained, nor the condition of the •yme,* doth otherwise giue to thinke of these letters, but that they be verily bastard letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these tymes, but craftily and wickedly pact in by some, which to set vp y^e primacie of Rome, haue most pestilently abused the authoritie of these holy & auncient fathers, to deceaue the simple Church. For who is so rude, but that in considering onely the state of those terrible tymes, may easily vnderstand except affectiō blind him, beside a number of other probable coniectures to lead him, that the poore persecuted bishops in that time, would haue bene glad to haue any safe couert to put their heades in: so far was it of, that they had any lust or laisure, thē to seeke for any Primacie or Patriarkeship, or to driue all other churches to appeale to the sea of Rome, or to exempt [Page 57](#) all Priests from the accusation of any lay man: as in the first Epistle of Zephyrinus is to be seene,* written to the Bishops of Sicilia, And likewise the second Epistle of his, to the Bishops of the prouince of Egypt, containing no maner of doctrine, nor consolation necessary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpose, argueth no lesse but the said epistles neither to sauor of that man, nor taste of the tyme.

Of like credite also seemeth the constitution of the Patines of glasse,* which Damasus sayth that the same Zephyrinus ordained to be caried before the Priest, at the celebratiō of the Masse.

Againe Platina writeth that he ordained the ministration of the Sacramēt to be no more vsed in vessels of wood, or of glasse, or of any other mettall, except only siluer, gold, and tinne, &c. But how these two testimonies of Damasus and Platina ioyned together, let the reader iudge: especially seying the same decree is referred to Vrbanus, that came after him. Againe, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be stablished afterward in the Councell of Tybur and Rhenes,* if it had bene enacted before by Zephyrinus? How long this Zephyrinus sate, our writers do varie. Eusebius sayth, he died in the raigne of Caracalla, and sate 17. yeares, Platina writeth that he died vnder Seuerus, and sate 8. yeares, and so saith also Nauclerus. Damasus affirmeth that he sate 16. yeares and two monthes.

Matthaeus author of the story intituled, Flores Historiarū, with other latter Chronicles,* maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Reuocatus, her brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the persecution of this Seuerus, gaue ouer their liues to Martyrdome for Christ, beyng throwen to wild beasts, and deuoured of the same, in Carthage and in Affrike, saue that Saturninus brought agayne from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secūdulus dyed in prison, about the yeare of our Lord, 202. as writeth Florilegus.

This Seuerus the persecutor raigned, as the most part of writers accord the terme of 18. yeares, who about y^e latter tyme of his raigne, came with his army hether into Britaine, where after many conflictes had with the Britains, in the borders of the North, he cast vp a ditche with a mighty walle made of earth and turues, & strong stakes, to the length of 132. myles from the one side of the sea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reached to the Scottish sea, which done, he remooued to Yorke, and there by the breaking in of the Northren men and the Scots, was besieged and slaine, about the yere of our Lord, 214. leauing behind him two sonnes, Bassianus, and Geta. which Bassianus surnamed Caracalla,* after he had slayne his brother Geta here in Britaine, gouerned the Empire alone, the space of sixe yeares.* After whose death, he beyng slayne also of his seruants (as he had slayne his brother before) succeded Macrinus with his sonne Diadumenus, to be Emperour, who after they had raigned one yeare, were both slayne of their owne people.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus, in the empire, rather to be called a Monster, then a man, so prodigious was his life in all glotonie, filthines, and ribaudry. Such was his pompe,* that in his lampes he vsed balme, & filled his fishpodes with rosewater. To let passe his sumptuous vestures which he would not weare but only of gold,* and most costly silkes: his shoes glistering with precious stones finely engraued he was neuer ij. dayes serued with one kynd of meate, he neuer wore one garment twise, and likewise for his fleshly wickednes: some dayes his company was serued at meale with the braynes of Ostriges, and a straunge foule called Phenocapterie, an other day with the touns of Popiniayes, and other sweete singing birdes. Beyng nye to the sea, he neuer vsed fish: in places farre distant from the sea, all his house was serued with most delicate fishes. At one supper he was serued with 7000. fishes, and 5000. foules. At his remoouing in his progresse,* often there followed him 600. chariots, laden only with baudes, common harlots, and ribaudes. He sacrificed with young children, and preferred to the best aduancementes in the common weale, most light personages, as baudes, Minstrels, Carters, and such like. In one word he was an enemy to all honesty & good order. And when he was foretold by his Sorcerers and Astronomers, that he should dye a violent death, he prouided ropes of silke to hang himselfe, swordes of gold to kill himselfe▪ and strong poyson in Iacincts and Emeraudes

to poyson himself, if needs he must thereto be forced.* Moreouer, he made an high tower, hauing the floore of boordes couered with gold plate, bordred with precious stones, frō the which toure he would throw himself downe, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his prouision, he was slayne of the souldiours, drawen through the Citie, and cast into Tiber after he had raigned two yeres and viij. monthes, as witnesseth Eutropius, other say foure yeres.

This Heliogabalus hauing no issue,* adopted to his sōne and heyre Aurelius Alexander Seuerus, the sonne of Mammea who entring his raigne the yeare of our Lorde, 224. cōtinued 13. yeares,* well commended for vertuous, wise, gētle, liberal, & to no man hurtful. And as he was not vnlearned himself, through the diligent education of Mammea his mother, so he was a great fauourer of men, wise and learned. Neither did he any thing in the common weale, without the assistance of learned and sage counsailors.* It is reported of him, to beare such stomacke against corrupt iudges, that when he chaunced to meete with any of them, by the commotion of his mind, he would cast vp choler, being so mooued with them that he could not speake, and was redy with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court he dismissed all superfluous and vnneedful seruants saying, that he was no good pupil, which fed idle seruants with the bowels of his common weale.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth also that he was frendly and fauourable vnto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered: For when the christians had occupied a certaine publike place in some good vse, belike for the assembling and conuenting together of the congregation, the company of the Cookes or tiplers, made challenge of that place to belōg vnto thē. The matter being brought before the Emperour, he iudged it more honest, the place to serue to the worship of God, howsoeuer it were, then to the dirtie slubbering of Cookes and Skullians.

By this it may be vnderstand,* that in Rome no Christian churches were erected vnto this tyme, when as yet (notwithstanding this fauour of the Emperour) no publike house could quietly be obtained for the christians. So that by the reason hereof may appeare the decretall epistle and ordinance of Pope Higynus concerning the dedication of churches aboue mentioned, pag. 53. to bee falsified. And likewise the ordinaunce of Pius his successour, concernyng the Altar, or Superaltare, to be also false. For what Superaltare was it like, they had in the tyme of Higynus and Pius, when as at this tyme which was long after, no publike place almost could be graunted them for the Christians to assemble together?

Of this Alexander, Platina writeth, that as hee was a great hater of all boasters & flatterers,* so he was of suche prudence, that no deceit could escape him, and bringeth in a story of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people beleue that he was of great authoritie with the Emperour, and that he could helpe them to haue whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the Emperour being certified,* caused him in the open market to be fastned to a stake, and there killed with smoke, where the Crier stood thus crying to the people: Smoke he sold, and with smoke he is punished.

Mammea the mother of this Alexander aboue mentioned (whom Hierome calleth a deuout and religious woman) hearing of the same and the excellent learning of Origene, being then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antioche, desirous to heare and see him▪ Unto whom the foresayd

Origene according to her request, resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the Emperour, and his mother, returned againe to Alexandria.

And thus continued this good Emperor his raigne the space of 13. yeares, at length at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammea he was slaine. After whome succeeded Maximinus, contrary to the mynd of the Scuate, only appointed by the souldiours to be Emperour. During all this tyme betwene Seuerus and this Maximinus, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some meane tranquillitie from persecution. Albeit some Martyrs there were at this tyme that suffred,* whereof Nauclerus giueth this reason: For although (saith he) Alexander beyng perswaded through the entreating of his mother Māmea, did fauour the Christians: yet notwithstanding, there was no publike Edict or Proclamation prouided for their safegard. By reasō wherof, diuers there were which suffered Martyrdome vnder Almachius & other iudges.* In the number of whom after some stories, was Calixtus Bishop of Rome, who succeeded next vnto Zephyrinus; aboue mentioned. And after him Vrbanus also, which both beyng Bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opiniō of some writers, vnder Alexander Seuerus.

This Calixtus in his two decretal Epistles, written to Benedictus,* and to the Bishops of Fraunce, geueth these ordinances, that no actions or accusations agaynst the Prelates or teachers of the church should be receaued, that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops. Item, no man to communicate with persons excōmunicate. Also [Page 58](#) no bishop to excommunicate or to deale in an other Dioces.* And here he expoundeth the Dioces or the Parish of any bishop or minister to be his wife. The wife (sayth the Apostle) is bound to the law, so long as the husbād liueth, when he is dead, she is free from the law: So (saith Calixtus) the wife of a bishop (which is his Church) so long as he liueth, is bound duely to him, neither ought to be iudged or disposed by any other man, without his will and iudgement: after his death she is free from the lawe, to marrie to whō she will, so it be in the Lord, that is, regulariter, regularly. In the end of the sayd his epistle decretall, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen, are not to be receiued agayne. Which heresie after the tyme of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Nouatus, in the dayes of Cornelius. Moreouer, in his sayd first Epistle decretall, is contayned the fast of the foure tymes, commonly called the Imber fast,* whereof also Marianus Scotus, maketh mention. But Damasus speaking of the same fast, sayth, he ordayned the fast but of three tymes, which was for the encrease of corne, wyne, and oyle.

By these hetherto premised, it is not hard for a quicke Reader to smel out the crafty iugling of that person or persons whosoeuer they were, y^e falsly haue ascribed these decretall institutions to those holy fathers. For first, what laysure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their bishops, when we neuer read nor finde in any story any kynde of variaunce in those dayes among them, but all loue, mutuall compassion, and harty communion among the Saintes. And as we read of no variaunce among the people in those dayes, nor of any fault or backsliding among the Bishops, who for the most part then died all constant Martirs: so neither do we read of any tribunall seat or Consistorie vsed or frequented then about any such matters. Agayne, if a man examine well the dangers of those busie days, he shall see the poore flocke of the christians, so occupied and piteously oppressed by the cruell accusations of the Heathen Infidels, that though the cause did, yet the tyme would not serue them to commense any law against their bishops. Secōdly, as touching their conspiracie against bishops, what conspiracie either would they then

practise agaynst them, which always gaue their liues for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any cōpanies together, when neuer a true thristian man durst once put his head out of his dores, neither was there in the church any Christian man in those perilous dayes, except he were a true man in deed, such as was farre from all false conspiracies? And when as all the world almost in all places conspired agaynst them: What tyme, what cause, or what hart trow ye could they haue to cōspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that heresie, how standeth the confutation with the tyme of Calistus, whē Nouatus the author of that heresie was after him in the tyme of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the lawe of Calixtus, euery Dioces be the proper wife of euery bishop or minister, then how many bishops wiues, and persons wiues hath the adulterous Pope of Rome defloured in these latter dayes of the Church, which so proudly and impudently hath intermedled and taken his pleasure & his owne profit in euery Dioces and Parish almost through all Christendome, without all leaue and licence of the good man, who hath bene in the meane tyme, * & yet is compelled stil, where so euer the Popes holines commeth, Vigilante sternere naso, and to giue him leaue vnasked, to do what he list. Wherefore if this Canon decretall be truly his, why is it not obserued, so as it doth stand without exceptiō? If it bee not, why is it then falsly forged vpon him, and the Church of Christ deceaued? And certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifyng of such trifling traditions vnder the false pretēce of antiquitie, either was begon in the Church, to deceaue the people: or that it hath remayned so long vndetected. For as I thinke, the church of Christ will neuer be perfectly reformed, before these decretall constitutions & Epistles which haue so long put on the visard of antiquitie, shalbe fully detected, and appeare in their owne colour, wherein they were first paynted.

And yet neither do I say this, or thinke contrary, but that it may be, that bishops of Rome and of the same name haue bene the true authors of these traditions: but here cōmeth in the error (as I credibly suppose) that when other later bishops of the like name, haue deuised these ceremoniall inuentions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitiue fathers, * although beyng of an other time, yet bearing the same name with the true inuentors thereof. But of Calixtus enough: who as Damasus sayth in the dayes of this Alexander Seuerus, died a Martyr. Vincentius affirmeth that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a window was thrown into a ditch. Eusebius speakyng of his death, maketh no mention of his Martyrdom, and sayth he sate v. yeares. Platina sayth vj. yeres, * Sabellicus giueth him vij. yeares, and so doth Damasus.

After Calistus folowed Vrbanus, about the yeare of our Lord 227. * who in his epistle decretall (comming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all bishops, making no mention of the heauy persecutions of the Church, nor ministring any exhortation of comfort or constancie to the brethren, onely geueth many straight precepts, for not transporting or alienating the goods of the Church, and to pay truly their off•••ngs, which they vow: also to haue all common among the Clergie. * Moreouer, about the ende of his epistle he instituteth the confirmation of children after Baptisme (which the Papistes bee woont to take into the number of their vii. Sacraments) affirming and denouncing more then Scripture will beare, that the imposition of the Bishops hand bringeth the holy ghost, and thereby to be made full Christiās, &c. But of these decretall epistles inough is sayd before, more may bee considered of the discrete Reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, & other late story writers doe hold as is aforesayd, * that he dyed a Martyr in the dayes of Alexander Seuerus, after he had gouerned that seat, 4. yeares, as Damasus and Platina do witnes, as Marianus sayth, eight yeares.

The same Damasus and Platina do testifie of him, that he by his preaching and holines of life cōuerted diuers Ethnikes to the fayth.* Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus the husband of Cecilia, which both being noble men of Rome, remained constant in the fayth vnto the end and Martyrdome.

Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the Martyrologe by Ado,* that Cecilie the virgin, after she had brought Valerian her husband espoused, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and fayth of Christ, and with her exhortations had made them constant vnto Martyrdome: after the suffryng of them she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the Idols to do sacrifice, which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the iudge to haue the condēnation of death. In the meane time the Sergeants and officers which were about her, beholdyng her comely beautie, and the prudent behauior in her conuersation, began with many persuasions of wordes to sollicite her mynd, to fauour her selfe, and that so excellent beautie, and not to cast her selfe away, &c. But she agayne so replied to them with reasons & godly exhortations, that by the grace of almighty God their hartes began to kindle and at length to yeld to that Religion, which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceauing, desired of the iudge Almachius a litle respite. Which beyng graunted, she sendeth for Vrbanus the Bishop home to her house, to stablish and ground them in the fayth of Christ. And so were they, with diuers other at the same tyme Baptised, both men & women, to the number (as the story sayth) of 400. persons, among whome was one Gordianus a noble man. This done, this blessed Martyr was brought before the iudge,* where she was condemned: then after was brought to the house of the Iudge, where she was enclosed in a whote bath, but she remayning there a whole day & night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and cōmaundement giuen that in the bath she should be beheaded. The executor is said to haue foure strokes at her necke, & yet her head beyng cut off, she (as the story geueth) liued three days after. And so died this holy Virgine martyr, whose body in the night season Vrbanus the bishop tooke and buried among the other Bishops. Ado the compiler of this Martyrologe addeth that this was done in y^e tyme of Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. But that cannot be, for so much as Vrbanus by all histories, was long after those Emperors, and liued in the dayes of this Alexander as is aboue declared. Antoninus, Bergomēsis, Equilinus with such other writers, set forth this history with many strāge miracles, wrought by the said Cecilia, in conuerting her husband Valerianus, and his brother, in shewyng them the Angell which was the keeper of her virginite, and of the Angell putting on crowns vpon their heads. But as touching these miracles, as I do not dispute whether they be true or fabulous: so because they haue no ground vpon any ancient or graue authors, but taken out of certain new Legends, I do therfore referre them thether from whence they came.

Under the same Alexander diuers other there be whom Bergomensis mentioned to haue suffred martyrdom,* as one Agapitus of the age of xv. yeares, who beyng apprehended and condemned at Preneste in Italy, because he would not sacrifice to Idoles, was assayled with sundry tormentes: first with whips scourged, then hanged vp by the feete, after hauing hote water poured vpon him, at last cast to the [Page 59](#) wild beasts, with all which tormentes, when he could not be hurt,* finally with sword was beheaded. The executor of these punishments (as by Henricus Erford, may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who in the executing of the foresayd tormentes, sodenly fell downe from his iudiciall seate, crying out, that al his inward bowels burned within him and so gaue vp the breath, Henr. de Erfordia, Lib. 6. cap. 29.

Also with the same Agapitus is numbred Calepodius a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawn through the citie of Rome, & after cast into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Then followeth Pammachius a Senatour of Rome, w^t his wife and children, and other both men and women, to the number of xlii.

Item an other noble Senator of Rome named Simplicius all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged vp in diuers gates of the Citie, for a terrour of other, that none should professe the name of Christ.

Beside these suffred also Quiritius a noble man of Rome, who with his mother Iulia, and a great number moe, were put likewise to death.

Also Tiberius and Valerianus, Citizens of Rome, and brethren, suffered (as Bergomensis sayth) the same tyme, who first being bruised and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Erfordiensis, make mētion of Martina a Christian virgine, which after diuers bitter punishments, beyng constant in her fayth, suffered in like maner by the sword.

Albeit as touching the tyme of these forenamed Martyrs, as I find them not in elder writers: so do I suppose them to suffer vnder Maximinus, or Decius, rather then vnder Alexander.

***The sixt Persecution.**

After the death of Alexander the Emperour, who with his mother Mammea (as is said) was mured in Germany folowed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the souldiours, rather then by the authority of the Senate, about the yeare of our Lord, 237. who for the hatred hee had to the house of Alexander (as Eusebius recordeth) raysed vp the vi. persecution against the Christians: especially against the teachers and leaders of the Church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captains of them were remooued out of the way. Whereby I suppose rather y^e Martyrdome of Vrbanus the bishop, and of the rest aboue specified,* to haue happened vnder the tyranny of this Maximinus then vnder Alexander. In the tyme of this persecution, Origene wrote his booke De Martyrio: which booke if it were extant would geue vs some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, which now lye in silence vnknowne. And no doubt but a great number they were, & moe should haue bene, had not the prouidēt mercy of God shortened his dayes, & brideled his tyranny, for he raigned but three yeares. After whom succeeded Gordianus an 240. a man no lesse studious for the vtilitie of the commō wealth,* as mild and gentle to the christians. This Gordian after he had gouerned with much peace and tranquillitie the Monarchie of Rome the space of vj.* yeares was slayne of Philip Emperour after him.

*In the dayes of these Emperours aboue recited, was Pontianus bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Vrbanus aboue rehersed, about the yeare of our Lord, 236. in the xij. yeare of Alexander, as Eusebius, Lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth: declaring him to sit vj. yeares. Contrary Damasus and Platina write, that he was bishop ix. yeares and a halfe. And that in the tyme of Alexander,

he with Philippus his Priest was banished into Sardina, and there died, But it semeth more credible that he was banished rather vnder Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the raigne of Gordianus. In his Epistles decretal (which seeme likewise to be fayned) he appeareth very deuout, after the common example of other bishops to vphold the dignitie of Priests, and of Clergie men, saying: that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offrings and oblations of other, and forgiueth their sinnes,* and reconcileth them vnto him. Also, that they do make the body of the lord with their owne mouth, and geue it to other, &c. Which doctrine how it standeth with the Testament of God, & glory of Christ, let the Reader vse his owne iudgement.

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raysed vp in the church, as Philetus Bishop of Antioch, which succeded after Asclepiades afore mentioned,*an. 220. and after him Zebennus bishop of the same place, an. 231.

To these also may be added Ammonius the schoolemaister of Origene, as Suidas supposeth, also the kinsmen of Porphyry the great enemy of Christ. Notwithstanding, this Ammonius endued w^t better grace,* as he left diuers bookes in defence of Christes religion: so he did constantly perseuere (as Eusebius reporteth) in y^e doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning receaued, who was about y^r days of Alexander.

Iulius Aphricanus also about the tyme of Gordianus aforesayd, is numbred among the old and auncient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth to be the scholer of Origene, and a great writer of histories of that tyme.

Unto these Doctors and Confessors may be adioyned the story of Natalius;* mentioned in the fift booke of Eusebius. This Natalius had suffred persecution before like a constant confessor, who being seduced and persuaded by Asclepiodotus and Theodorus (which were the Disciples of Theodorus) to take vpon him to be bishop of their sect, promising to geue him euery month an hundreth and fiftie pieces of siluer, and so he ioyning himselfe to them, was admonished by vision and reuelatiō from the Lord. For such was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Christ Iesu, that he would nor his Martyr, which had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his church. For the which cause (sayth Eusebius) God by certaine visions did admonish him.* But he not taking great heede thereunto, beyng blynded partly with lucre, partly with honor, was at length all the night long scourged of the Angels: In so much that he beyng made thereby very fore, and early on the morow putting on sackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephyrinus the bishop aboue mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Christian congregation, shewed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be receiued into their communion again, from which he had sequestred himselfe before. And so was admitted according as he desired.

After the decease of Pontianus Bishoppe of Rome afore mentioned,* succeeded next in that place Anterius of whom Isuardus writeth that Pontianus departing away, did substitute him his roome. But Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. Damasus sayth, that because he caused the actes and deathes of the Martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martirdome himselfe, by Maximinus the Iudge.* Concerning the tyme of this Byshop, our writers do greatly iarre. Eusebius and Marianus Scotus affirme that he was Bishop but one moneth. Sabellicus

sayth that not to be so. Damasus assigneth to him xii. yeares & one moneth. Volateranus, Bergomensis, and Henricus Erford, geue to him three yeares & one moneth. Nauclerus writeth that he sat one yeare and one moneth. All which are so farr discrepant one from an other, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lyeth in doubt. Next to this Bishop was Fabianus, of whom more is to be sayd hereafter.

Of Hippolytus,* also both Eusebius and Hieronymus maketh mention that he was a bishop, but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth Theodoretus witnes him to be a bishop, and also a Martyr, but namyng no place. Gelasius contra Eutichen sayth, he dyed a Martyr, and that he was bishop of an head Citie in Arabie. Nicephorus writeth, that he was Bishop of Ostia, a port towne neare to Rome. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many workes in the Church, which Eusebius and Hierome do recite: by the supputation of Eusebius, he was about the yeare of our Lord, 230.*

Prudentius in his Peristephanon, making mentiō of great heapes of Martyrs buried by ix. together, speaketh also of Hippolytus, and sayth that he was drawn with wild horses through fields, dales and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitifull story.

After the Emperour Gordianus, the Empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his sonne, gouerned the space of vj. yeares,*an. 246. This Philippus with his sonne and all his familie, was christened & conuerted by Fabianus & Origene, who by letters exhorted him and Seuera his wife to be bap'tised,* being the first of all the Emperours that brought in Christianity into the emperiall seat.* Howsoeuer Pomponius Letus reporteth of him to be a dissembling prince, this is certayne, that for his Christianitye, he with his sonne was slayne of Decius one of his Captaynes. Sabellicus Bergomensis Lib 8. sheweth this hatred of Decius agaynst Philippus to be conceaued, for that the Emperour Philip both the Father and the sonne had committed their treasures vnto Fabianus then Bishop of Rome.

The seuenth Persecution.*

THus Philippus beyng slayne,* after him Decius inuaded the crowne about the yeare of our Lord, 250, by whom [Page 60](#) was mooued a terrible persecution against the Christians, which Orosius noteth to be the vij. persecution.* The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant conceaued agaynst the Christians, was chiefly, as is before touched, because of the treasures of the Emperour which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

This Fabian first being a maryed man, as Platina writeth, was made Bishop of Rome after Anterius aboue mētioned by the miraculous appointment of God, which Eusebius doth thus describe in this sixt booke:* When the brethren (sayth he) were together in the Congregation, about the electiō of their Bishop, and had purposed among them selues vpon the nominatiō of some noble and worthy personage of Rome,* it chaūced that Fabianus amōg other was there presēt, who of late before was newly come out of the countrey to inhabite in the Citie. This Fabian, as is sayd, thinking nothyng lesse then of any such matter sodenly cōmeth a Doue fleing from aboue, and sitteth vpon his head. Whereupon all y^e Congregation beyng moued, wyth one minde and one uoyce, dyd chose hym for their Bishop. In the which function he remayned the space of xiiij. yeares, as Eusebius writeth. Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus say. xiiij. Yeares

vnto y^e tyme of Decius. Who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treasures,* or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his raigne caused him to be put to death. Sendyng out moreouer his Proclamation into al quarters that al which professed the name of Christ, should be slayne.

To this Fabian be ascribed certaine ordinaunces, as of consecrating new oyle once euery yeare, and burnyng the olde, of accusations against Byshops, of appealing to the sea Apostolicke, of not marying within the fift degree, of communicating thrise a yeare, of offering euery Sunday, with such other things moe in his. iij. Epistles decretall, the which Epistles, as by diuers other evidences may be supposed to be vntuely named vpon hym, gyuing no signification of any matter agreing to that tyme: so do I finde the most part of the iij. Epistle, worde for word standing in the Epistle of Sixtus y^e 3. which folowed almost 200. yeares after him, beside the vnseemely doctrine also in the ende of the sayd Epistles contayned, where he contrary to the tenour of the Gospell, applyeth remission of sinnes (onely due to the bloud of Christ) vnto the offerings of bread and wyne by men and women euery Sunday in the Church.

To this Fabianus wrote Origene De orthodoxia suae fidei, that is, of the rightnes of his fayth. Whereby is to be vnderstode,* that he continued to the tyme of Decius, some say also to the tyme of Gallus. Of this Origene partly mention is touched before, declaring how bolde and feruente he was in the dayes of Seuerus, in assisting, comforting, exhorting and killing the Martyrs that were imprisoned & suffered for the name of Christ, with such daunger of his owne life, that had not bene the singular protectiō of God, he had bene stoned to death many tymes of the Heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily to his house to be catechised & instructed in the christian fayth by him, that souldiours were hyred of purpose to defend the place where he taught them. Agayn, such search sometymes was set for him, that vnneth any shiftyng of place or countrey could couer him. In those laborious trauailes and affayres of the Church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of 52. yeares, vnto the tyme of Decius and Gallus. Diuers and great persecutions he sustayned,* but specially vnder Decius, as testifieth Eusebius in his sixt booke, declaring, that for the doctrine of Christ he sustained bands and torments in his body, rackings with barres of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threatens of death and burning. All this he suffred in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relatiō of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus following the same, sayth further concerning him,* that the sayd Origene, after diuers and sundry other torments, which he manfully and constantly suffred for Christ, at length was brought to an altar where a foule filthy Ethiopie was appointed to be, and there this option or choyse was offred vnto him, whether he would sacrifice to the idole, or to haue his body polluted with that foule and ouglie Ethiopie. Then Origene (sayth he) who with a Philosophicall mynd,* euer kept his chastitie vndefiled, much abhorring y^e filthy villany to be done to his body, condescended to their request. Wherupon, the iudge puttyng incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire vpō the altar. For the which impietie, he afterward was excommunicated of the Church.* Epiphanius writeth that he beyng vrged to sacrifice to Idols, and takyng the boughes in his hand, wherwith the Heathen were woont to honour their Gods, called vpon the Christians to cary them in the honour of Christ. The which fact the church of Alexandria misliking, remooued him from their communion. Wherupon Origene driuen away with shame and sorow out of Alexandria, went into Iewry, where beyng in Hierusalem among the congregation, and there requested of the Priestes and Ministers (he being also a Priest) to make some exhortation in the

church, refused a great while so to do. At length by importunate petition being cōstrained therunto, rose vp, and turning the booke, as though he would haue expounded some place of the Scripture, only read the verse of the 49. Psalme: but God sayd to the sinner, why doest thou preach my iustifications, & why doest thou take my testament in thy mouth, &c. Which verie beyng read,* he shut the booke, and sate downe weepyng and wayling, the whole congregation also weeping & lamentyng with him, Suid. Niceph. More what became of Origene it is not found in history, but onely that Suidas addeth, he dyed and was buried at Tyrus. Eusebius affirmeth, that he departed vnder the Emperour Gallus, about the yeare of our Lord 255. and the 70. yeare of his age, in great miserie (as appeareth) and pouertie.

In this Origene diuers blemishes of doctrine be noted wherupon Hierome some tymes doth inueigh against him.* Albeit in some places agayne he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apologie agaynst Ruff. and in his Epistle to Pammachus and Ocean,* where he prayseth Origene, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apostle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wit, and for a Philosopher. And yet in his Prologue vpō the Homelies of Origene vpon Ezechiel, he calleth him an other maister of the churches,* after the Apostles. And in an other Preface vpon his questions vpon Genesis, he wisheth to himself the knowledge of the scriptures, which Origene had, also with the enuy of his name. Athanasius moreouer calleth him singular, and laborious, and vseth also his testimonies against the Arrians. Socrates, Lib. 6. cap. 13.*

After Origene, the congrue order of history requireth. next to speak of Heraclas his Usher, a man singularly commēded for his knowledge, not only in Philosophy, but also in all such faculties as for a christiā diuine doth appertain. This great towardnes of wit and learning when Origene perceiued in him, he appointed him aboue all other, to bee his Usher or vnderteacher, to helpe in his schoole or Uniuersitie of Alexandria, in the raigne of Antoninus Caracalla, sonne of Seuerus. And after in the x. yeare of Alexander, Origene departing vnto Cesarea, he succeeded in his roome to gouerne the schoole in Alexandria. Further also, in the time of Gordianus, after the decease of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, this Heraclas succeeded to be Bishop of the said Citie. Eusebius. Lib. 6. cap. 29.* In the which functiō he ministred the terme of xvj. yeares, Eusebius, Lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas writeth also Origene himselfe, that he, although beyng Priest, yet ceased not to read ouer and peruse y^e bookes of the Gentils, to the intent he might the better out of their owne bookes confute their error. &c.

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius Alexandrinus, in the bishoprike of Alexandria, like as he succeeded him in y^e schole before.* Which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas vnto Philemon a Priest of Rome, thus saying: Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla Papa nostro accepi, &c. that is, This Canon and type I receaued of blessed Heraclas our Pope, &c. This Heraclas was no Martyr which dyed 3. yeares before Decius,* about the yeare of our Lord, 250. After whom succeeded next in the same seat of Alexandria, Dionysius Alexandrinus,* who also suffered much vnder the tyranny of Decius, as hereafter shalbe shewed (Christ willing) when we come to the tyme of Valerian.

Nicephorus in his fift booke, and other which write of this persecutiō vnder Decius, declare the horriblenes therof to be so great and so innumerable Martyrs to suffer in the same, that he sayth it is as easie to number the sandes of the sea, as to recite the perticular names of them, whō this

persecution did deuour. In the which persecutiō the chieftest doers and tormenters vnder the Emperour, appeare in the history of Vincentius to be these: Optimus the vnder Consull,*Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therfore it be hard here to inferre all and singular persons in order that dyed in this persecution: yet such as remayne most notable in stories I will briefly touche, by the grace of him for whose cause they suffred.

In the former tractation of the fift persecution,* mentiō was made before of Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, and of his troubles suffred vnder Seuerus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed bishop of Hierusalem, where he continued a very aged man, aboue the terme of 40, yeares gouernour of that Church, til the tune [Page 61](#) of the first yeare of Decius. At what tyme he being brought from Hierusalem to Cesarea into the iudgement place, after a constant and euident confession of his fayth made before the Iudge, was committed vnto prison, and there finished his lyre,* as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the six• booke of Eusebius. After whome succeeded in that seate Mezabanes the xxxvj. Bishop of that Citie, after Iames the Apostle.

Mention was made also before of Asclepiades Bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Seuerus did likewise perseuer a constant confessor,* and as Vincentius testifieth in his xj. booke suffered Martyrdome at last vnder this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of tyme, for as much as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus and other, the sayd Asclepiades after Serapion, entred the bishops seate of Antioch, an. 214. and sate vij. yeares before the tyme of Gordianus. After whom succeeded Philetus, an. 221. gouerning the function xij. yeares. And after him Zebinus followed, an. 232. and so after him Babylas, which Babylas if he dyed in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same tyme, who dyed so long before him, as is declared.

Of this Babylas bishop of Antioche, Eusebus and Zonaras record, that vnder Decius he dyed in prison, as did Alexander bishop of Hierusalem aboue rehearsed.

We read in a certaine treatise of Chrysostome, intituled Contra Gentiles,* a notable and a long history of one Babylas a martyr, who about these times was put to death for resistyng a certaine Emperour, not suffring him to enter into the temple of the Christians, after a cruell murder cōmitted, the story of which murder is this: There was a certaine Emperour, who vpon conclusiō of peace made with a certain nation, had receiued for hostage or suretie of peace the sonne of the king beyng of yong and tender age, with conditions vpon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should euer be vexed of him. Upon this the kings sonne was deliuered not without great care and feare of the father vnto the Emperour, whom the cruell Emperor, contrary to promise, caused in short tyme, without all iust cause to be slayne. This fact so horrible beyng committed, the tyrant with all hast would enter into the temple of the christians:* Where Babylas beyng bishop or minister withstoode him that he should not into y^e place approach. The Emperour therewith not a litle incensed, in great rage commaunded him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could beare, & from thēce shortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas going constantly and boldly to his Martyrdome, desired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, & so he was. The story proceedeth moreouer, and saith, that in continuaunce of tyme in the raigne of Constantinus, Gallus then made the ouersear of the East partes, caused his body to be translated into the suburbs of

Antioch called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with diuelish Oracles & answers, geuen by that Idole, or by the deuill rather in that place. In the which temple after y^e bringing of the body of Babylas, the idole ceased to geue any more Oracles, saying, that for the body of Babylas, he could geue no moe answers, but complaining that that place was woont to bee consecrated vnto him, but now it was full of dead mens bodies. And thus the Oracles there ceased for that tyme, till the comming of Iulianus: who inquiring out the cause why the Oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy Martyr to be remooued agayne from thence by the christians, whom he then called Galileans. They commyng in a great multitude both men, maydens, and children, to the tombe of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commaundement of the emperour, singing by the way as they went, the verse of the Psalme in wordes as followeth: Confounded be all that worship Images and all that glory in Idoles, &c. which comming to the Emperours •ares, set him in great rage against the Christians, stirring vp persecution against them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise: saying, that so soone as the body of him and other Martyrs were remooued away, incontīnēt the temple of the Idole with the Image, in the night was consumed with fire.* For the which cause (sayth Zonaras) Iulian stirred vp with anger, persecuted the Christians, as shall be shewed (Christ willyng) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the same Babylas Bishop then of Antioche, or an other of the same name, it appeareth not by Chrysostome: which neither maketh mention of the Emperours name, nor of the place where this Babylas was bishop. Agayne the stopping out of the Emperour out of the Church importeth as much as that Emperour to have bene a Christian. For otherwise if he had come in as an Heathen and as a persecutor,* it was not then the maner of christian bishops violently to withstand the Emperours or to stop them out. Ouer & beside the testimony of Eusebius, Zonaras doth wisse contrary in his vj. booke, that this Babylas which was then Bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison. Wherefore it is not vnpossible, but this Babylas,* and this Emperour which Chrysostome speaketh off may be an other Babylas, then that which suffered vnder Decius. Nicephorus in his v. booke maketh mention of an other Babylas beside this that suffered vnder Decius, which was bishop of Nicomedia.

In the forenamed Citie of Antioche, Vincentius, Lib. 11. speaketh of 40. virgines Martyrs, which suffered in this persecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrigia, and in the toune of Lampsar, the same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter, which there was apprehended, and suffered bitter tormentes for Christes name, vnder Optimus the Proconsul. And in Troada likewise of other Martyrs that there suffered, whose names were Andrew, Paule, Nicomachus, and Dionisia a virgin. Lib. 11 cap. 46.

Also in Babylon (sayth he) diuers christian Confessours were found of Decius, which were led away into Spayne, there to be executed, Lib. eodem, cap. 43.

In the countrey of Cappadocea at the Citie of Cesarea, in like maner of the sayde author is testified, of Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, and Vitalis, to suffer Martyrdom for Christ, eodē cap 52. And in y^e same Booke mētion also is made of Polychronius Byshop of Babylon, cap. 89. And in Pamphilia of Nestor there Bishop, y^t dyed Martyr, cap. 52.

At Perside in the Toune of Cardala, Olympiades and Maximus.* In Tyrus also Anatolia Uirgin, and Audax gaue theyr lyues likewyse to death, for the testimonie of Christes name.

Eusebius moreouer in his sixt booke, reciteth out of the Epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus, diuers that suffred diuersly at Alexandria, the which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good for the auncientnes of the author, to insert and notifie in his own wordes, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius bishop of Antioch, as followeth.

This persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the Emperor,* but began a whole yeare before, by the occasion and meanes of a wicked person, a Southsayer, and a follower of wicked Artes: who comming to our Citie here, stirred vp the multitude of y^e Heathen agaynst vs, and incited them to maintaine their own olde superstition and gentilitie of their countrey, whereby they beyng set a gog, and obtayning full power to prosecute their wicked purpose so thought & no lesse declared, all their pietie & religiō to consist only in the idolatrous worship of deuils, and in our destruction. And first flying vpon a certaine priest of ours named Metra, apprehended him & brought him forth,* to make him speake after theyr wicked blasphemy, which whē he would not do, they layd vpon him with slaues and clubs, and with sharp reedes pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the suburbes, there they stoned him to death. Then they tooke a faithfull woman called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their Idols,* to compell her to worship with them, which whē she refused to do, and abhorred their Idols, they bound her fecte, and drew her through y^e whole streete of the citie, vpon the hard stones, & so dashyng her against milstones, & scourging her with whippes brought her to the same place of the suburbes, as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her lyfe. This done, in a great outrage, & with a multitude running together, they brust into houses of the religious & godly christians, spoiling, sacking, and carying away all that they could finde of any price. The rest of things, such as were of lesse value & of wood, they brought into the open market, & set them on fire.* In the meane time the brethren voyded aside, & withdrew themselues, taking patiently and no lesse ioyfully the spoyling of their goods, then did they of whome S. Paule doth testifie. Neither do I know any of them all (one only excepted) apprehended of them, which reuoltyng from his profession, denied the Lord yet to this present day.

Among the rest that were taken, there was a certayne virgin wel stricken in yeres, named Apollonia, whome they brought forth, & dashing out all her teeth out of her iawes, made a great fire before the citie, threatning to cast her into the same, vnlesse she would blaspheme with them and deny Christ. Whereat she staying a litle with herselfe, as one that would take a pause, sodenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

[Page 62](#) There was one also Serapion, whom they tooke in his owne house, and after they had assayled him with sundrye kyndes of torments,* and had broken almost all the iointes of his body, they cast him downe from an vpper lost, & so did he complete his Martirdom. Thus was there no way neither priuie nor publike, nor corner nor alley left for vs, neither by day nor by night to escape, al the people making an outcry against vs, that vnlesse we vttred words of blasphemy, we should be drawn to the fire & burned. And this outrageous tumult endured a certaine space, but at length as the Lord would,* the miserable wretches fell at dissentiō among themselues, which turned the crueltie they exercised against vs, vpon their own heads. And so

had we a litle breathyng tyme for a season, while the fury of the Heathen people by this occasion aswaged.

Shortly then after this, word was brought vnto vs of the state of the Empire, which before was somthing fauorable to vs, to be altered and changed agaynst vs, putting vs in great feare. And consequently vpon the same folowed the Edict of the Emperour so terrible & cruell, that according to the forewarning of the lord, the elect if it had bene possible, might haue bene thereby subuerted. Upon that Edict such feare came ouer vs al, that many there were especially of the richer sort, of whō some for feare came rūning, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawne by their neighbours beyng cited by name, to those vnpure and idolatrous sacrifices. Other some came trembling & shaking, as men not which should do sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselues, the multitude laughyng them to scorne. Some agayne came boldly to the aultars, declaring themselues neuer to haue bene of that professiō, of whom it is said, that hardly they shalbe saued. Of the residue, some followed one part, some an other, some ran away, some were taken. Of whome certaine continued to bands & torments constant. Other agayne after long imprisonment, before they should come before the Iudge, renounced their faith. Some also after they suffred tormēts, yet after reuolted. But other being as strong as blessed, & valiant pillars of the Lord, fortified with constancie agreing to their fayth, were made faithfull Martyrs of y^e kingdome of God.

*Of whom the first was Iulianus, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to go, being caried of two men, of whō the one quickly denied, the other Cronion surnamed Eunus, with the foresayd Iulianus, the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect fayth, were layd vpon Camels, and there scourged, at length cast into the fire, with great constancie were so consumed.

*As these aforesaid were going to their Martyrdome, there was a certaine souldiour, who in their defence tooke part agaynst them that rayled vpon them. For the which cause the people crying out agaynst hym, he also was apprehended, and beyng constant in his professiō, was forthwith beheaded.

*Likewise one Macar, a man borne in Lybia, beyng admonished and exhorted of the Iudge to deny his fayth, and not agreyng to his persuasions was burned alyue.

*After these suffred Epimachus, and one Alexander, who beyng long deteined in prison and in bandes, after innumerable paynes & torments with razers & scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with foure other women with them, which all there ended their Martyrdome.

Also Ammonarion an holy virgine, whō the cruel iudge had long and bitterly tormented, for that she promising the Iudge before, that for no punishment she would yelde to his request, and constantly performyng the same, suffred likewise Martyrdome, with two other women, of whom there was an aged Matrone,* named Mercuria, the other was called Dionysia, beyng a mother of many fayre childrē, whom yet notwithstanding she loued not aboue the Lord. These after they could nothe ouercome by no tormēts of y^e cruell iudge, but he rather ashamed and confounded to be ouercome of sely women, at length they beyng past feeling of all torments, were slayne with the sword, first Ammonarion like a valiant Captaine suffryng before them.

*Heron, Ater, and Isidorus Egyptians, and with them Dioscorus also a child of xv. yeres, were crowned with y^e same crowne of Martyrdom. And first the iudge began with the child, thinking him more easie to be wonne, with wordes to entise him, then with torments to constrain him, but he persisted immouable, geuing neither place to persuasions nor punishments. The rest after he had greuously tormēted being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. At Dioscorus, the iudge greatly meruailing for his wise answers & graue constancie dismissed him, sparing (as he said) his age to a longer respite: which Dioscorus is yet also with vs at this present, wayting for a longer triall.

Nemesion beyng also an Egyptian,* first was accused for a companion of thieues, but beyng purged thereof before the Centurion, was then accused of Christianitie, and for that cause being in bands, was brought to the President, who most vnrighteously tormenting and scourging hym double to al other thieues and felons, at length among the thieues burned him to death, making him a blessed martir.

There were standing before the tribunall seate certaine of the warriors or knights,* whose names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, and with them a certayne aged man called Theophilus, who standing by, at what tyme a certaine christian man was before the iudge examined, and there seying him for feare redy to incline and fall away, did burst almost for sorow within themselues, making signes to him with their hands, and all iestures of their body, to be constant. This beyng noted of all the standers by, they were redy to lay hold vpon them, but they preuenting the matter, preased vp of their owne accord before to the bench of the iudge, professing themselues to be Christians. In so much, that both the President with the benchers were all astonied, the christians which were iudged, more emboldned to suffer, and the Iudges therby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and reioycing for the testimony that they had geuen of their fayth. Many other besides were in other cities and tounes rent and torne asunder by the Heathen, among whom, one I wil speake off for cause worthy of memory.

Ischirion one that was in seruice with a certaine noble man,* was commaunded of his maister to make sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: After persisting in the same, was greuously threatned with sharp and manacing wordes. At last his maister when he could not preuaile against him, taking a stake or pike in his handes, ran him through into the body and slue him.

What should I speake of the multitude of them which wandering in desertes and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sicknes, thieues, or wilde beasts, of whose blessed victorie they which be aliue, are yet witnesses. In the number of whom, one I will speake off, among diuers other,* named Cheremon Bishop of the Citie called Nilus, an aged man, he with his wife flying to the mountain of Arabia, neuer returned again, nor euer could be seene after. And though they were sought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found. Many other there were which flying to these moūtaines of Arabia, were taken of the barbarous Arabians: of whom some with much mony could scarce be ransomed, some were neuer heard off yet to this present day. Thus much out of the Epistle of Dionysius alledged in Euseb. Lib. 6 cap. 41 42. &c.*

Moreouer, the foresaid Dionysius in an other place writyng to Germanus, of his owne daungers and of other, sustained in this persecution, & before this persecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: I, sayth he, behold before the sight of God, I lye not: and he knoweth, I lie not, how that I hauing no regard of myne owne life, and notwithstanding the motion of God, did flye and auoyde the daunger of this persecution. Yea and also before that this persecution of Decius did rage against vs: Sabinus the same houre sent a Farmer to seeke me, at what tyme I remaining at home waited iij. dayes for his comming. But he searching narrowly for me by all wayes, fields, flouds, & corners, where he thought I might best haue hid my self, or to haue passed by, was stroken with such a blindness, that he could not find myne house, thinking with himself nothing lesse, then that I would abide at home in such so dangerous persecution. Thus these iij. days beyng past, vpon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to flie, and also maruelously opening to me the way, I with my* children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of my selfe, but to be the worke of Gods prouidence, the sequel of those things declared, wherein afterward I was not vnprofitable peraduenture to some, &c.

Againe in another place shortly after the foresayd Dionysius proceedyng in the narration of himselfe, thus inferreth: Then I comming to Hierusalem with them which were with me, was brought by souldiours vnto Taposixis, where as Timotheus (by the prouidence of God) neyther was present, nor yet takē. Who then returning home foūd his house desert, and officers watching about the same, & vs within taken, &c. And agayne shortly after it foloweth: And to see (sayth he) the admirable disposing of God his workes. As Timotheus was thus flying with much hast & great feare,* a certain man, as happened, a dweller neere by met him by the way, & asked, whether he went so hastily: to whome Timotheus aunsweryng declared all the matter simply as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on hys [Page 63](#) iourney, whether he was purposed to go, which was to a mariage,* the maner of which mariages then was to sit vp all the night long feasting and drinking. Thus as he was come, sitting with them at the feast, he telleth his companions what was done, & what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forthwith vpon a head, as stroken with a sodain fury rushing out together, made toward vs as fast as they could, with such crying & noyse, as might seeme very terrible. At the first hearing wherof, the souldiours that had vs in keping, being afraid, ran away, by reason wherof we were left alone, & found as we were lying vpon fourmes & benches. I then, (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my selfe that they had bene thieues, which came to spoyle and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt onely as I was, the rest of my garments lying by me, I offred to them. They then willed me in all hast to rise and get away, wherby I then perceauing the cause of their commyng,* cryed vnto them desiring that they would suffer vs so to do: And if they would do any benefit for me for so much as I could not escape the hands of thē which would pursue me and cary me away, I prayed them that they would preuent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus vnto them, casting my selfe groueling vpon the pauement as my companions can testifie, who were pertakers of all these thinges, they brust forth violently, takyng me by the handes and feete, and caried me out of the doores, and led me away. There followed me Gaius, Faustus, Petrus, Paulus, (who were witnesses of all the same) which brought me also out of the Citie, and so setting me vpon a bare Asse, conueyed me away. Thus much writeth Dionysius of himselfe, the example of whose Epistle is cited in the Ecclesiasticall story of Eusebius, Lib. 6. cap. 40. also Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Nicephorus in his fift booke, cap. 27. maketh mention of one named Christophorus, which also suffered in this persecution of Decius. Of which Christophorus, whether the fable riseth of that mighty Giant set vp in Churches, wadyng through the Seas, with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking staffe, &c. it is vncertayne. Georg. Wicelius alledgeth out of Ruggerus Fulden (and mentioneth of one Christophorus, borne of the nation of the Cananites, which suffered vnder Decius, beyng, as he sayth of xii. cubites hye. But the rest of the history paynted in Churches, the sayd Wicelius he derideth as fables of Centaurus, or other Poeticall fictions.

*Bergomensis in hys viii. booke maketh relation of diuers martyred vnder Decius, as Meniatius which suffered at Florence, of Agatha an holy virgine of Sicile, who is sayd to suffer diuers and bitter tormentes vnder Quintinianus the Proconsul, with prisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking, roled also vpon sharpe shelles and hot coles, hauing moreouer her brestes cut from her body, as Bergomensis, and the Martyrologe of Ado recorde. In the whiche Authors as I denye not, but part of the story may be true, so agayne concernyng the myracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the yong man clothed in a silken vesture, with an hundreth yong mē after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, Mentem sanctam, &c. I doubt.

*Hard it is to recite all that suffred in this persecution, whē as whole multitudes went into wildernes & mountains, wandring without succour or comfort, some starued with hunger and cold, some with sicknes consumed, some deuoured of beastes, some with barbarous theeues taken and caried away. Vincentius in his xj. booke speakyng of Asclepiades, * writeth also of xl. virgins and Martyrs, which by sundry kindes of tormentes were put to death about the same tyme, in the persecution of this tirant.

Likewise in the said Vincentius, mentiō is made of Tryphon, a man of great holines, and constant in his suffryng, who beyng brought to the Citie of Nice, before the President Aquilus, for his constant confession of Christes name was afflicted with diuers and grieuous tormentes, and at length with the sword put to death.

*At what tyme Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the Citie of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the Citie there, to sacrifice to the Idoles, seuen Christians were found, whose names were Maximianus, Malchus, Martianus, Dionysius, Ioannes, Serapion, and Constantinus, who refusing the Idolatrous worship, were accused for the same vnto the Emperour to be Christians. Which when they constantly professed, and did not deny, notwithstanding, because they were souldiours, retayning to the Emperours seruice, respite was geuen them for a certaine space to deliberate with themselues, til the returne agayne of the Emperour, which then was goyng to warre. In the meane space, the Emperour being departed, they taking counsail together, went and hidde themselues in secret caues of the Mount Caelius. The Emperour returnyng agayne, after great inquisitiō made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were, to be closed vp with heapes of stones, that they not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martired. * The story (if it be true) goeth further that they betwene feare and sorrow fell a sleepe, in which sleepe they continued the space of certaine ages after, till the tyme of Theodosius the Emperour, before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus, Lib. 5. ca. 27. and partly also Henr. Erfordiens▪▪ But of their awakyng, that I referre

to them that lift beleue it. Certain it is, that at the last day they shall awake in deede without any fable.

Hieronymus in the lyfe of Paulus the Hermite,* reciteth a story of a certaine souldiour, whom the Pretor could not otherwise with torments remooue frō his Christianitie, he deuised an other way, which was this: he comaunded the souldiour to be layd vpon a soft bed in a pleasant garden among the flourishing Lillies and red Roses, which done, all other beyng remoued away, & himself there left alone, a beautifull harlot came to him, who embracing him, & with al other intisements of an harlot, laboured to prouoke him to her naughtines. But the godly souldiour fearyng God more, then obeying flesh, bitte of his tong with hys owne teeth, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was kissing him, and so got he the victorie, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.*

An other like example of singular chastitie is written of the virgin Theodora, and an other souldiour, by Ambrose Lib. 2. De virginibus. At Antioche, this Theodora refusing to do sacrifice to the Idols, was condemned by the Iudge to y^e stewes, which notw^tstanding by the singular prouidence of god was wel deliuered. For as there was a great company of wanton yong men ready at the doore to prease into the house where she was, one of the brethren, named Didimus (as Ado sayth) moued with fayth and motiō of God, putting on a souldiours habite, made himselfe one of the first that came in, who rounding her in the eare, tolde her the cause and purpose of his commyng, beyng a christiā as she was: his counsaile was that she should put on y^t souldiors habite, and so slip away. And he puttyng on her garmentes would there remaine to abide their force. And so did, whereby the virgine escaped vnknownen. Didimus left vnto the rage and wondring of the people beyng a man in stead of a woman, was presented vnto the President, vnto whom without delay he vttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing him so as he was, to be a christiā, and therupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora vnderstanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing her selfe, offred her selfe as the partie guiltie, vnto the Iudge, clayming and requiring the condemnation to light vpon her, the other as innocent to be discharged. But the cruell Iudge (crueller then Dionysius, which spared Damon & Pithias) neither considering the vertue of the persons,* nor the innocency of the cause, vniustly and inhumanely proceded in execution against thē both, who first hauing their heads cut off, after were cast in the fire, Ambros. Ado. Although what tyme, or in what persecution these did suffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appeare.

Agathon a man of armes in the Citie of Alexandria, for rebuking certaine lewd persons,* scornefully deridyng the dead bodies of the Christians, was cried out off and rayled on of the people. Afterward accused to the iudge, was condemned to loose his head. Erfordiensis

The sayd Erfordiensis also maketh mention of Paulus, and Andraeas,* whome the Proconsul of Troada gaue to the people beyng scourged, and after drawne out of the Citie, they were troden to death with the feete of the people. Hen. de Erford.

Among other that suffered vnder this wicked Decius,* Bergomensis also maketh mention of one Iustinus a Priest of Rome, and of an other Nicostratus a Deacon. To these Vincentius also addeth Portius a Priest of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the conuerter of Phillip the Emperor afore mentioned.

Of Abdon and Sennas we read also in the foresayd Bergomensis and Vincentius,* two noble men, who because they had buried the christians, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to Decius, & brought to Rome, where they beyng commaunded to sacrifice to dead Idols, would not obey, and for the same were geuen to the wilde beastes to be deuoured: but when the wild beastes more gentle then the men would not touch them, they were at length with the sword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 4 Albeit to me it seemeth not vnpossible nor vnlike, this Abdon and [Page 64](#)Sennas, to be the same, whome in other storyes we finde, and before haue mentioned to be Ammon and Zenon.

One Secundianus was accused to Valerian a Captayne of Decius, to be a Christian, which professiō when he stoutly did maynetayne, was commaunded to prison. By the way as the souldiours were leading him to the gaile, Verianus and Marcellianus seing the matter, cried to the souldiours, asking them whether they drew the innocent. At the which worde, when they also confessed them selues to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a Citie named Centumcellas• where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit vpon the Idols, and so after sentence and iudgement geuen, first they were beaten with wasters or trunshons, after that were hanged and tormented vpō the gibbet, hauing fire set to their sides. Vincentius addeth moreouer that the tormentors some of them fallē sodainly dead, other some being taken w^t wicked spirites, the Martyrs w^t sword at length were beheaded. Vinc. Lib. 11 cap. 31.

To prosecute in length of history, the liues and sufferings of all them, which in this terrible persecution, were Martyred, it were to long, & almost infinite: briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we finde alledged out of a certaine briefe treatise of Bede intituled De temporibus,* cited by Henricus De Erford, it shalbe at this time sufficient. Under Decius suffered Hyppolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abnudus, Victoria a virgine, being noble personages of Antioche Bellias Byshoppe of the Citie of Apollonia, Leacus, Tyrsus, and Gallinetus, Nazanzo, Tryphon in the Citie of Egypt called •anais. Phileas Bishop, Philocomus with many other in Perside. Philcronius byshop of Babylon, Thesiphon Byshop of Pamphilia. Nestor Byshop in Corduba. Parmenius Priest with diuers moe. In the Prouince called Colonia, Circensis, Marianus and Iacobus. In Africa, Nemesianus, Felix, Rogatianus priest. •elicissimus. At Rome Iouinus, Basileus, also Ruffin•, and Secunda Uirgines, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemesius, Sempronianus, and Olympius. In Spayne Teragone, at Verona Zeno Byshop. At Caesarea, Marinus, and Archemius. In the towne of Miliane Priuatus Byshop, Theodorus surnamed Gregorius Byshop of Pontus. Haec Beda.

Vincentius in his xj. booke, maketh also mention, citing Ex Hugone,* of certaine children suffering Martyrdome vnder the same persecution, in a Citie of Tuscia called Aretium: whose names I finde not, except they be •rgentius & Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus, Lib. 5. cap. 80.

Nowe that I haue recorded of them sufficiently, which vnder this tempest of Decius,* constantly gaue their liues to Martyrdome for the testimonie of Christ: it remaineth, that a fewe wordes also be spoken of such that for feare or frailtie in this persecution did shrinke backe, & slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whome first commeth in the remembrāce of Serapion an aged olde man. Of whom writeth Dionysius Alexandrinus, vnto Fabius, declaring: that this Serapion was an olde man,* which liued amongst them a sincere and vpright life of long time,

but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many times desired to be receaued againe, but no man listened to him, for hee had sacrificed before.* After this not long after he fell into sicknesse where he remained three dayes dombe, and benumbed of all his sēses. The fourth day following, beginning a litle to recouer, he called to him his sisters sonne, & saide: how long, how lōg (my sonne) do ye hold me here? Make hast I pray you, that I were absolved. Call hether some of the ministers to me, and so saying no more, held his peace, as dombe & speechles. The boy ranne, it was then night, vnto the minister, who at the same time being sicke, could not come with the messenger, but sayde: for somuch as he willed heretofore (as he sayde) that such as lay a dying, if they couet to be receaued & reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, wherby with the better hope & confidence they may depart hence: therefore he gaue to the boy a litle of the * Eucharist, willing him to crumble it into the cup, & so to drop it into the mouth of the olde man. With this the boy returned, bringing w^t him the holy Eucharist. As he was now nere at hād, before he had entred in, Serapiō the old mā, speaking againe, cōmest thou (sayd he) my sonne? The Priest, quoth the messenger, is sicke & can not come, but do, as he willeth you, & let me go. And the boy immixed the Eucharist, & dropt it in softly into the mouth of the old mā. Who after he had tasted a litle, immediatly gaue vp the Ghost. &c. Haec Dionys. ex Eus.

In the Citie of Troade, as the Proconsul was grieuously tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out, that he was no Christian, and so was let downe againe. And when after he had sacrificed, he was taken eftsoones with a wicked spirite, and so throwen downe vpon the ground, where he byting of his tounge with his teeth, so departed. Henr. de Erfordia.

Dionysius in his Epistles also writyng to Fabius, and lamentyng the great terrour of this persecution declareth,* how that many woorthy and notable Christians, for feare and horror of the great tyranny therof, did shew themselues feeble and weake men. Of whome some for dread, some of their owne accord, other after great torments suffered, yet after reuolted from the constancy of their profession. Also S. Cyprian in his treatise De lapsis, reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth, how that a great number at the first threatnyng of the aduersary, neither beyng cōpelled nor thrown downe with any violence of the enemy, but of their volūtary weakenes fell downe themselues. Neither (sayth he) tarying while the iudge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stroken in the field,* turned their backs, & played the cowards, not only comyng to their sacrifices, but preuētyng the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreouer theyr infantes & children eyther put into their hands, or taking them with them of their owne accord, and exhortyng moreouer other to do the lyke after their example.

Of this weaknesse and falling, the said author sheweth two causes,* either loue of their goodes and patrimonie, or feare of torments. And addeth moreouer examples of the punishmentes of them which so reuolted: affirmyng that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked sprites. And of one man among other which after his voluntary deniall, sodainly was stroken dombe. Agayn, an other after his abiuration as he should communicate with other, in stead of bread receiued ashes in his hād. Itē of a certayn mayden, who beyng taken & vexed with a sprite, did teare her owne tounge with her teeth, and tormented with paine in her bellie and inward partes so deceased.

Among other of this sort, S. Cyprian, Lib. 2 cap. 8. maketh also mention of one Euaristus a Bishop in Aphrica, who leauing his charge, and making a shipwracke of his faith, went wandering about in other countreys, forsakyng his owne flocke. In like maner he maketh also mention of Nicostratus a Deacon, who forsakyng his Deaconship, and takyng the goods of the Church with him, fled away into other countreys, &c. Albeit Bergomensis geueth that this Nicostratus the Deacon afterward dyed a Martyr. Thus then although some did relent, yet a very great nūber saith he, there was, whom neither feare could remoue, nor pain could ouerthrow to cause them to betray their confession, but that they stode like glorious Martyrs vnto the ende, Cyprian.

The same Cyprianus also in an other booke De mortalitate, reciteth a notable story of one of his owne Colleges and fellow Priest: * who beyng oppressed with weaknesse, and greatly afayrd with death drawyng at hand, desired leaue to depart, and to be discharged. As he was thus entreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a yong man, of an honorable and of reuerend maiestie, of a tall stature, and comely behauior, so bright & cleare to behold, that scarce mans carnall eyes was able to beare the beholding of him, but that he was able so to do, which was now redy to depart this world. To whom this yong man speaking with a certaine indignation of mynd and voyce, thus said: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To suffer ye dare not, to goe out ye will not, what would ye me to do vnto you?

Upon the occasion of these and such other, * which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose vp first the quarell & heresie of Nouatus, who in these dayes made a great disturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for feare of torments had offred incense to the idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Christ. This Nouatus beyng first Priest vnder Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by stirring vp discord and factions, began to disturbe the Bishopricke of Cyprian, to appoint there a Deacon called Felicissimus, agaynst the bishops mynd or knowledge, also to allure and separate certayne of the brethren from the Bishop, all which Cyprian, Lib. 2. Epist. 8. doth well declare. After this the sayd Nouatus goyng to Rome, kept there the like stirre with Cornelius (as the same Cornelius in Eusebius, * Lib. 6. cap. 43. doth testifie) setting himselfe vp as Bishop of Rome against Cornelius, which was the lawfull Bishop of Rome before. The which to bring to passe, he vsed this practise: first he had allured to him to be his adherents, thre or foure of good men and holy confessours, which had suffered before great tormentes for their confession, whose names were Maximus, Vrbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus. After this he entised three simple bishops about the coastes of Italy to repayre [Page 65](#) to Rome, vnder pretence to make an end of certain cōtrouersies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them dronke, or by other craftye counsell, to lay their handes vpon him, and to make him Bishop, & so did. Wherefore the one of those three Byshops hardly was receiued to the communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two by discipline of y^e church, were displaced from their Byshoprickes, & other possessed with their roomes. * Thus then were there two Byshops together in one church of Rome, Nouatus and Cornelius, which was vnsemely, & contrary to the discipline of the Church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of S. Cyprian, writing in his Epistles so much of one Byshop, and of the vnity to be kept in Ecclesiasticall regimēt, as appeareth, Lib. 4. Epist. 2. De simplicit. praelat. item. Lib. 3. Epist. 11. &c. And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himselfe of one Byshop, saying: Ita{que} Vindex ille Euangelij ignorauit

vnum esse debere Episcopū in Catholica Ecclesia. &c. That is, He knew not that there ought to be one Byshoppe in a Catholicke Church. &c. This by the way, not out of the way I trust, I haue touched briefly, to detect or refute the cauling wrastling of the Papistes, which falsely apply these places of Cyprian and Cornelius to mainetayne the Popes supreme maistershippe alone, ouer the whole vniuersall Church of Christ in all places. Whē their meaning is otherwise, how that euery one Catholicke Church or dioces ought to haue one Byshop ouer it, not that the whole world ought to be subiect to the dominion of him onely that is Byshop of Rome. Now to the story againe. Nouatus beyng thus Bishop tooke not a little vpon him, goyng about by all meanes to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Insomuch that (as in the foresayd book of Eusebius appeareth) whē Nouatus came to the distributing of the offrings, and should geue euery man his part, he cōpelled the simple persōs euery man to sweare, before they should receiue of the benediction, & of the collectes or oblations, holding both their handes in his, & holding them so long, speaking these wordes vnto them, (Sweare to me by the body and bloud of our Lord Iesu Christ, that thou wilt not leaue me and goe to Cornelius,) till that they swearing vnto him, in'stead of Amē (to be sayd at y^e receauing of the* bread, should aunswere, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. Where note by the way, that the Latine booke of Christofersons translation, in this place, craftely leaueth out the name of bread. This story being written in Eusebius, also contained in Nicephorus, although not in the same order of wordes, yet in effe•t drawne out of him, doth declare in playne wordes in both the Authors (who so will marke the same) that the sacrament of the bodye of Christ, is termed with the playne name of bread, after the consecration.

It followeth more in the story, that Maximus, Vrbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus before mentioned, perceiuing at length the crafty dissimulation and arrogancy, of Nouatus, left him, and with great repentance returned agayne to the Church, & were reconciled to Cornelius, as they thēselues writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an Epistle gratulatory doth declare. Lib. 3. Epist. 3. & Cornelius also in his Epistle to Fab{us} witnesseth the same. In thi• Epistle the sayd Cornelius moreouer writeth of one Moses a worthy Martyr, which once being a follower also of Nouatus, after perceiuing his wickednesse forsooke him, and did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian also maketh mention, & calleth him a blessed confessor. Lib. 2. Epi. 4. Damasus in his pontificall sayth, that he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicostratus aboue mentioned, & was put with them in prison, where he ended his life. And thus much of Nouatus (agaynst whom, as Eusebius testifieth) a Synode was holdē at Rome of lx. sondry Byshops in the tyme of Cornelius, and vnder the reigne of Decius an. 255. whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecutiō at that tyme was somewhat calmed.*

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Flauianus) next succeeded into the bishoprick of Rome Cornelius,* whō Cyprian noteth to be a worthy Byshop, and for his great vertue & maydenlye continency much commēdable, chosen to that roome, not so much of his owne consent, as of y^e full greement both of the Clergy men,* and also of the people. Hierome addeth also that he was a man of great eloquēce, wherby it may appeare those two Epistles decretal, which go in his name not to be his, both for the rudenes of the barbarous and grose stile, and also for the matter therein contained, nothing tasting of that tyme, nor of that age nor doings then of the Church. Wherof in the first he writeth to all ministers & brethren of the Church,* concerning the lifting vp of the bodyes & bones of Peter & Paule, De cathecumbis, and transposed to Vaticanum, at the instance of a certayne deuoute woman named Lucina, hauing no great argumēt or cause to write therof vnto the churches, but onely that he in that letter doth desire thē to pray vnto the Lord, that

through the intercession of those Apostolicall Sayntes; their sinnes might be forgeuen them. &c. In the second Epistle writing to Ruffus a Byshop of the East Church, he decreeth and ordaineth that no oth ought to be required or exacted of any head or chiefe Byshop, for any cause, or by any power. Also that no cause of Priestes or Ministers ought to be handled in any straunge or forreine Court, without his precinct, except onely in the Court of Rome by appellation; whereby who seeth not the trayn of our latter Byshops, going about craftely to aduaunce the dignity of the Court of Rome, vnder and by the prtenced title of Cornelius, and of such auncient Byshops. If Cornelius did write any Epistles to any in deede in those so turbulent times of persecution; no doubt but some signification thereof he would haue touched in the sayd his letters, either in ministring consolation to his brethrē, or in requiring consolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would haue geuē some touch also of the matter of Nouatus, with whom he had so much to do, as in deed he did: for so we finde it recorded both in Eusebius, and in Hierome that he wrote vnto Fabius Byshop of Antioche, of the decreementes of the counsell of Rome, and an other letter of the maner of the Counsell: the third also of the cause of Nouatus, and agayne of the repentaunce of such as fell, wherof there is no word touched at all in these foresayd Epistles decretall.*

What trouble this Cornelius had with Nouatus, sufficiently is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himselfe very constantly and faythfully, whiche sustayned great conflictes with the aduersaries, as S. Cyprian geueth winesse,*Lib. 1. Epist. 1. Hierome testifieth that he remayned Byshop after the death of Decius, to the tyme of Gallus, and so appeareth also by S. Cyprian, which hath these wordes: Et tyrannum armis & bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicit. But Damasus and Sabellicus, his folowers, affirm that he was both exiled & also martired vnder the tyrannous reigne of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this story, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and sayth:* that Cornelius by the commaūdemēt of Decius, was banished a towne called Centumcellas, bordering in Hetruria, from whence he sent letters to Cyprian Byshop of Carthage, and Cyprian agayne to him. This comming to the eares of Decius the Emperour, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him: how he durst be so bolde to shew suche stubbernes, that he neither caring for the Gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his Princes, durst, agaynst the cōmon wealth, geue and receiue letters from other. To whom Cornelius answering agayne, thus purged himselfe, declaring to the Emperour, that letters in deede he had written and receiued agayne concerning the prayses & honoring of Christ, & of saluation of soules,* but nothing as touching any matter of the common wealth. And it foloweth in the storie: Then Decius moued with anger commaūded him to be beaten with plumbattes (which is sayth Sabellicus a kinde of scourging) and so to be brought to the temple of Mars: either there to do sacrifice, or to suffer the extremitye. But he rather willing to dye, then to committe such iniquity, prepared himselfe to Martyredome, beyng sure that he should dye.* And so commending the charge of the Church vnto Stephanus his Archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faythfull Martyrdome. Eusebius in one place sayth, that he sat ij. yeares, in an other place sayth, that he sat three yeares, and so doth Marianus Scotu., following also the diuersity of the sayd Eusebius. Damasus geueth him onely two yeares.

In this foresayde persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished, but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reigne of Gallus next Emperour after Decius, whereof more shall be sayd, (Christ willing) in this place hereafter. In the mean time the sayd Cyprian in his second booke, Epist. 5. & 6. maketh mention of two that

suffered either in the time of this Decius,* or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthy and valiant yong man, who was twice in tormentes for his confession, which he neuer denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the aduersary, till he was banished, and also after. And therefore was commended of Cyprian to certayne brethren, to haue him for their lecturer, as in the forenamed Epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus,* who the day before he suffered, declaring to the Proconsul, in the midst of his tormentes, & saying: Videbis cras agonem: that is, to morrow you shall see the running for a wager. &c. was brought forth according as he forespake, to Martyrdome, and there with no lesse constancie then patience did suffer.

[Page 66*](#) And thus much of the tyrannie of this wicked Decius agaynst God his Saintes, now to touch also the power of God his vengeance and punishment against him, like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement, not long to continue: so it happened with this tyrannical tormenter, who raining but two yeares as sayth Eusebius, or three at most,* as writeth Orosius among the middle of the Barbarians with whom he did warre, was there slayne with his sonne, like as he had slayn Philippus, and his sonne his predecessours before, so was he with his sonne slayne by the righteous iudgement of God himselfe.*Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius affirmeth that he warrying agaynst the Gotthians, and beyng by them ouercome, sest he should fall into their handes, ranne into a whurlepyt, where he was drowned, and his body neuer found after.

*Neither did the iust hand of God plague the Emperor onely, but also reuenged as well the heathen Gentils and persecutors of hys word, throughout all prouinces & dominions of the Roman Monarchie, amongst whom the lord immediatly after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lastyng for the space of x. yeares together, that horrible it is to heare, and almost incredible to beleue. Of this plague or pestilence, testifieth Dionysius to Hierax a bishop in Egypt,*Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 21.22. Where he declareth the mortalitie of this plague to bee so great in Alexandria, where he was bishop, that there was no house in y^e whole Citie free.* And although the greatnes of the plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen Idolaters much more: beside that the order of their behauiour in the one, and in the other was much diuers. For, as the foresayd Dionysius doth recorde, the Christians through brotherly loue and pietie, did not refuse one to visit and comfort an other, and to minister to him, what need required. Notwithstanding it was to them great danger: for diuers there were, who in closing vp their eyes, in washyng their bodies, & interryng them in the ground, were next themselues which folowed them to their graues. Yet all this stayed not them frō doying their duetie, and shewyng mercy one to another. Where as the Gentils contrarily, beyng extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neyther yet considered they their neighbour, but euery man shifting for himselfe, neither cared one for an other: but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doores halfe dead, to be deuoured of dogges and wilde beasts, some they let dye within theyr houses without all succour, some they suffred to lye vnburied, for that no mā durst come neare him. And yet notwithstanding,* for all their voyding and shiftyng, the pestilence followed them whether soeuer they went, & miserably consumed them. In so much, that Dionysius bishop y^e same tyme of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne City: that such a great mortalitie was then among them, that the sayd City of Alexandria had not in number of all together, both old and yong, as it was woont to contayn before of the old men onely from the age of 60. to 70. such as were found in tyme past commonly almost in that Citie.

Pomponius Laetus, and other Latine writers also makyng mention of the sayd pestilitie, declare how the beginnyng therof first came (as they thinke) out of Ethiope, and from the hote countreys, and so inuading and wastyng first the South partes, from thence spread into the East, & so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially, wheresoeuer the Edicts of the Emperour went agaynst the Christians, it followed after, and consumed the most part of the inhabitauntes, whereby manye places became desolate and voyde of all concourse, and so continued the terme of x. yeares together.

This pestiferous mortalitie (by the occasion whereof Cyprian tooke the ground to write hys booke De mortalitate) began as is sayd, immediately after the death of Decius the persecutor,* in the beginning of the raigne of Vibias Gallus, and Volusianus hys sonne: who succeeded through treason, next vnto Decius, about the yeare of our Lord. 255. and continued their raygne but two yeares.

This Gallus although the first beginning of the raygne was some thing quiet,* yet shortly after following the steps of Decius, by whō rather he should haue taken better heed, set forth Edictes in like maner, for y^e persecution of Christians, albeit in this Edict we finde no number of Martyrs to haue suffered, but only all this persecution to rest onely in the exilement of bishops or guides of the flock. Of other suffrings or executions we do not read: for the terrible pestilence following immediatly, kept the barbarous heathē otherwise occupied. Unto this tyme of Gallus, rather then to the tyme of Decius,* I referre the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage. Of the which banishment, he himselfe testifieth in diuers of his epistles, declaryng the cause therof to rise vpon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himselfe, lest the sedition should grow greater. Notwthstāding the sayd Cyprian, though beyng absent, yet had no lesse care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had bene present with them. And therefore neuer ceased in his Epistles continually to exhort and call vpon them to be constant in their profession,* and pacient in theyr afflictions. Amongst diuers other, whom he doth comfort in his banishmēt, although he was in that case to be comforted himselfe, writing to certayne that were condemned to minyng for metals, whose names were Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, with other bishops, Priests and Deacons, declareth vnto them, how it is no shame but a glory not to be feared, but to be reioyced at, to suffer banishment or other paynes for Christ. And confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth, how worthily they do shew themselues to be as valiant captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffring of their body, the hartes of the brethren to Christian Martyrdome, whose example was and is, a great confirmation to many, both maydes and children to follow the like. As for punishment and sufferyng, it is (sayth he) a thing not execrable to a Christian. For a Christian mans brest, whose hope doth wholly consist in the*tree, dreadeth neyther batte nor club, woundes and skarres of the body be ornaments to a Christian man, such as bring no shame nor dishonestie to the partie, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the mettals be digged there be no beds for Christian mens bodies to take their rest, yet they haue their rest in Christ. And though their wearie bones lye vpon the cold ground, yet it is no payne to lye with Christ. Their feete haue bene fettered with bandes and chaynes, but happily he is bound of man, whome the Lord Christ doth loose:*happily doth he lye tyed in the stockes, whose feete therby are made swifter to runne to heauen. Neither can any man tye a Christian so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They haue no garmentes to saue them from colde, but he that putteth on Christ, is sufficiently coated. Doth

bread lacke to their hungry bodies? But man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery worde proceedyng from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (sayth he) shall be turned to honour, your mourning to ioy, your payne to pleasure, and felicitie infinite. And if this doe grieue you, that ye cannot now employ your sacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner: yet your sacrifice daily ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble hart, as when you offer vp daily your bodies a liuely and a glorious sacrifice vnto the Lorde, which is the sacrifice that pleaseth God. And though your trauaile be great,*yet is the rewarde gre•ter, which is most certaine to follow. For God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confesse his name, in their willyng mynd approoueth them, in their striuyng helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in vs, which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With these and such like comfortable wordes he doth animate his brethren, admonishing them, that they are now in a ioyfull iourney, hasting apace to the mansions of the Martyrs, there to enioy after this darknes a stable light, and brightnes greater then all their passions, according to the Apostles saying: These sufferings of this present tyme be nothing like comparable to the brightnesse of the glory that shall be reuealed in vs, &c.

And after the like wordes of sweete comfort and consolation writing to Seagrins,* and Rogatianus, which were in prison and bondes for the testimony of truth, doth encourage them to continue stedfast and patient in the way, wherein they haue begun to runne, for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiseth to bee with vs to the worldes ende: and therefore willeth them to set before their eyes in their death immortalitie, in their payne euerlasting glory, of the which it is written: Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saintes. Item, although before men they suffred torments, yet their hope is full of immortalitie, and beyng vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters. For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire.*And writeth moreouer, admonishing them, that it is so appoynted from the beginnyng of the world, that righteousnes here should suffer in secular conflicts, for so iust Abell was slayne in the beginnyng of the world, and after him all iust and good men, the Prophets also and the Apostles sent of the Lord himselfe, vnto whome all, the Lorde first gaue an example in himselfe, teachyng that there is no comming to his kingdome, but by that way which he entred himselfe, saying by these wordes: he that loueth his lyfe in this worlde, shall loose it, &c. And agayne, feare ye not them, that slay the body, but haue no power to slay the soule. And S. Paule likewise admonishing all them, whosoeuer couete to be pertakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord sayth: if we suffer together with him, we shall raigne toge•her, &c.

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage here the holy Martyrs, which were in captiuitie: to persist▪ so likewyse [Page 66](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 67](#) writing to the Priestes and Deacons, which were free, exhorteth them to be seruiceable and obsequious with al care and loue, to cherish and embrace thē that were in bondes. Cypria. Lib. 3. Ep. 6. wherby may appeare the feruent zeale & care of this good-Byshop, toward the Church of Christ,* although beyng now in exile, in the time of this Emperour Gallus.

In the same time and vnder the said Gallus reigntyng with his sonne Volusianus was also Lucius bishop of Rome sent to banyshment who next succeeded after Cornelius, in that byshopricke, about the yeare of our Lorde 256. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue,* but returned againe home to his Church: as by the Epistle of, S. Cyprian, Lib 3. Epist. 1. maye appeare. As to all other Bishops of Rome in those primitiue daies certaine decretall Epystles with

seuerall ordinaunces be ascribed,* bearing theyr names and titles, as hath bene afore declared: so also hath Lucius one Epistle, fathered vpon him, in the which Epistle he writing to the brethren of Fraunce and of Spayne, appointeth such an order and forme of the church, as seemeth not to agree with the time then present.* For so hee declareth in that Epistle that a Byshop in al places, whether soeuer he goeth, should haue two Priestes with three deacons waiting vpō him, to be witnesses of al his waies and doings. Which ordinaunce although I deny not, but it may be and is conuenient, yet I se not how that time of Lucius could serue then, for a Bishop to cary such a pompe of Priestes & Deacons about him, or to study for any such matter: for so much as Bishops commonly in those daies were seldome free to go abroad, went they neuer so secrete: but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or els in banishment.* Moreouer in the said Epistle how pōpously he writeth to the Church of Rome: This holy and Apostolycall Church of Rome (sayth he) the mother of all Churches of Christ, which by the grace of God omnipotent, hath neuer bene proued to swerue out of the pathe of Apostolicall tradition, neyther hath euer fallen, or bene depraued with heretical innouations: but euen as in the first beginning it receaued the rule of the Apostolicall faith by his first instructors, the Princes of the Apostles, so it continueth euer immaculate and vndefiled vnto the end.

Unto this Lucius also is referred in the decrees of Gratian this constitution,* that no minister whatsoever, after his ordination, should at any time reenter to the chamber of his owne wife, in paine of loosing his Ministry in the Church, &c. Eusebius in his vij. booke, making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his Martyrdome, saith that he sate but eight moneths. But Damasus in his Martyrologe holdeth that hee sat thre yeares, & was beheaded the second yeare of Valerian and Galienus Emperours. And so doth also Marianus Scotus, and Nauclerus, with other that folow Damasus, affirme the same.

After him came Stephanus next Bishop of Rome following Lucius: whome Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus, affirme to haue sit vij. yeares fine monethes, & to die a martir. Contrary Eusebius and Volateranus holding with hym, giue him but two yeares, which part commeth most neare to the truth, I leaue to the readers iudgement, of his two Epistles decretall, and of his ordinaunces out of the same collected, I nede not much to tary, for two respects, eyther for that concerning these decretal Epistles suspiciously intituled to the names of the fathers of the primitiue church,* sufficiently hath bene said before: or els because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue and also the matter it self therin contained is such, that although no testimony came against it, yet it easely refelleth it selfe. As wherein the second Epistle he decreeth, that no Byshop being expulsed out of hys seate or depriued of his goodes, ought to be accused of anye, or is bound to aunswere for himselfe, before that by the lawe regularly he be restored agayne fully to his former state, and that the Primates and the Synode render to him agayne all such possessions and fruites, as were taken frō him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the lawes Canon & also seculare. First here I would desire y^e Reader a little to stay,* & this to consider to himself, who be these here ment, which either vsed or might despoile these bishops of their goods, & expulse thē frō their seates for such wrōgfull causes, but only Kings & Emperours, which at this time were not yet Christened nor vsed any such proceedinges against these Bishops, in such sort as either Primates or Synodes coulde restore them again to their places and possessiōs. Againe what priuate goodes or possessions had Byshops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued wyth patrimonies nor possessions. And if any treasures were cōmitted to the church, it pertained not properly to y^e Byshop, but went in general to the subuention of the poore

in the Church, as in the Epistle of Cornelius to Fabius maye appeare, alleaged in Eusebius, Lib. 6. cap. 43. where he speaking of his Church, & declaring how there ought to bee but one Byshoppe in the same, •ntereth mention of xlvj. Priestes, vij. Deacons, with vij. Subdeacons, xlij. Acoluthes, of widowes and poore afflicted persons to the ••ber of a 1500,* and aboue, founde and nourished in the same Church, by the mercifull benignitie and prouidence of god Eusebius. Lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth more in the ende of the said Canon. which thing is forbidden both by the lawes Ecclesiastical, & also seculer, &c. Now what lawes seculer were in the time of Stephen, for bishops not to be charged w^t any accusation before they were restored againe to their state, let any Reader marking well the state or the Heathen lawes that then were, iudge, and in iudgeing, I doubte not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be ynough to descry the vntruth hereof.

Moreouer, by diuers other probable notes and arguments in the saide seconde Epistle of Stephanus, it maye be easely espied,* this Epistle to be famed and ••authored, especiall by the fift Canon of the saide Epistle, where hee so solemnly entreateth of the difference betweene Primats, Metropolitanes, and Archbishops, which distinction of degres and titles, sauoring more o• ambition, then of persecution, giueth me verily to suppose this Epistle not to be written by this Stephen, but by •ine other man, either of that name or of some other time when the Church began to be settled in more prosperitie, and orders therein to bee taken, for euery man to know his •eg••e and limits of his authoritie according as t• specified by the vj and vij. Canon, of Nicene Councell ••ceeing of the same matter.

The like 〈...〉 of the seuenth Canon of the said Epistle, where he writeth and appointeth all causes iudicarie to be decided & determined within the precinct of their owne proper Prouince, and not to passe ouer the boundes theron,* vnlesse (saith he) the appea•e be made to the Apostolical sea of Rome: which san•reth in my nose, rather of a ••acke of Popery then of the veine of Christianity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among y^e Byshops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretall Epistle of Stephanus: although of the first Epistle also written to Hilarius, some thing may be said,* as where he speaketh in the said Epistle of holy ••timentes, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the aulter, seruing to diuine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any mā, sauing of Priests alone. Concerning all which implements, my opinion is this, that I thinke the Church of Rome not to haue beene in so good state thē, that either Stephanus or Sixtus before him beyng occupied about other more earnest maters, and scarce able to hide their owne heades, had any minde or cogitation to studie vpon such vnnecessary inuentions, seruing in publike Churches. Neither doe I see howe the Heathen in those daies would haue suffered these ornaments to be vnconsumed, which would not suffer the Bishops themselues to liue amongst them. Notwithstanding Isidorus and Polydorus iudge the contrary. Betweene this Stephen and Cyprian Byshop of Carthage was a great contention, about rebaptising of heretickes, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be saide.

Besides these Byshops aboue specified, diuers other there were also sent into banishmēt vnder the forenamed Emperours Gallus & Volusianus, as appeareth by Dionysius writing to Hermammon on this wise: that Gallus not seeyng the euill of Decius, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seductiō and ruine,* stumbled himselfe also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes. For at y^e first beginning when his Empire went prosperously foreward, and all thinges went

luckely with him, afterward he draue out holy men, which praied for his peace and safegarde, and so with them reiected also the praiers which they made for him. &c. Eusebius. Lib. 7. cap. 1. Otherwise of any bloudshed or any Martirs that in the time of this Emperour were put to death, we doe not read.

After the raigne of which Emperour Gallus and of his sonne Volusianus being expired who reigned but ij. yeares, [*Emelianus](#) which slewe them both by ciuill sedition, succeeded in their place▪ who reigned but three monethes, & was also slayne. Next to whom Valerianus, & his sonne Gallienus were aduanced to the Empire.

About the chaunging of these Emperours, the persecution which first began at Decius, & afterwarde slacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague raining in all places, partly by y^e change of the Emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the first entraunce of the Empire for the space of iij. or foure yeres, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, & well accepted to the Senate. Neither was there any of all the Emperors before him, no not [Page 68](#) of the which openly professed Christ, that shewed himselfe so louing and familiar toward the Christians as he did: [*](#) in so much that (as Dionysius, writing to Herman doth testifie) all hys whole courte was replenished w^t holy Saintes & seruantes of Christ, and godly persons, so that his house might seeme to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Sathan, through wicked counsell these quiet dayes endured not very long. For in processe of tyme this Valerianus beyng charmed or incensed by a certayne Egiptian, a chiefe ruler of the Heathen Synagoge of the Egiptians, [*](#) a mayster of the Charmers or inchaunters, who in deede was troubled, for that he could not do his Magicall feates for the Christians, was so farre infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable prouocations of that deuilishe Egyptian, he was wholly turned vnto abhominable Idols, and to execrable impietie, in sacrificing young infāts and quartering bodies, and deuiding the entrals of childrē new borne, and so proceeding in his fury, moued the eight persecution, agaynst the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian coulde not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyars of hys Magicall enchauntinges, about the yeare of our Lord. 259.

The eight Persecution.

IN the which persecution the chiefe administers and executours were Emilianus President of Egipt, [*Paternus](#) and Galerius Maximus, Proconsuls in Aphrica, Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus. [*](#) Uicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius speaketh also of Nicerius, and Claudius Presidentes. &c.

What was the chiefe originall cause of this persecution, partly is signified before, [*](#) where mention was made of the wicked Egiptian. But as this was the outward and politicall cause, so S Cyprian sheweth other causes more speciall, and Ecclesiasticall, in his iiii. booke. Epist. 4. whose wordes be these: but we (sayth he) must vnderstand and confesse, that thys turbulent oppression & calamitie, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole company, and doth daily consume, [*](#) riseth chiefly of our owne wickednes & sinnes: while we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor obserue his preceptes left vnto vs for our institution. The Lord obserued the will of his father in all poynts: but we obserue not the will of the Lord, hauing all our minde and study set vpon lucre & possessions, geuen to pryde, full of emulation and dissention, voyde of

simplicitie and faythfull dealing, renouncing thys world in word onely, but nothing in deede, euery man pleasing himselfe, and displeasing all other. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthely. For what stripes and scourges doe wee not deserue, when the confessors themselues (such as haue byd the tryall of their confession) and such as ought to be an example to the rest of well doynge, doe keepe no discipline? And therefore because some such there be, proudly puffed vp with this swelling and vnmanerly bragging of their confession, these tormentes come: such as doe not easely send vs to the crowne, except by the mercy of God, some being takē away by quicknes of death, do preuēt the tediousnes of punishimēt. These things do we suffer for our sinnes and desertes, as by the Lordes censure we haue bene forewarned, saying: If they shall forsake my lawe, and will not walke in my iudgementes: If they shall prophane my institutions, and will not obserue my preceptes, I will visite their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (sayth he) we feelee, which neyther please God in our good deedes, nor repent in our euill deedes. Wherefore the sayd Cyprian, adding this exhortation withall, exhorted them to pray and intreate from the bottome of their hart and whole minde, the mercy of God which promiseth, saying: but yet my mercy I will not scatter from them. &c. Let vs aske, and wee shall obtayne, and though (sayth Cyprian) it be with tariance, yet for so much as we haue greuously offended, let vs continue knocking, for to him that knocketh, it shalbe opened, if our prayers, sighinges, and weepinges knocke still at the dore with continuance, and if our prayers be ioyned together with brotherly agreement &c.

Moreouer, what vices were then principally raygning among the Christians,*hee further specifieth in the sayd Epistle: which chiefly were deuision and dissention among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a vision, by these wordes Petite & impetrabitis, that is: Pray, and ye shall obtayne, afterward it was required of the congregation there present, to direct their prayers, for certayne persons assigned to them by name: but they could not agree and cōdescend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissonant in their consent and petition: whiche thing (sayth Cyprian) did greatly displease hym, that spake vnto them: Pray, and ye shall obtayne, for that there was no vniforme equalitie of voyce and hart nor one simple and ioyned concorde among the brethren, whereof it is written the Psalme. 67. God which maketh to dwell in the house together men of one accord.*&c. And so by the occasion hereof, he writeth vnto them in the foresayd Epistle, and moueth them to prayer and mutuall agreement. For (sayth he) if it be promised in the Gospell, to be graunted whatsoever any two consenting together shall aske, what shall then the whole Churche do agreeing together? or what if this vnanimitie were among the whole fraternitie, which vnanimitie (sayeth Cyprian) if it had bene then among the brethren, non venissent fraetribus haec mala, si in vnum fraternitas fuisset animata, that is: these euiles had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimitie.*&c.

After the causes thus declared of this, or other persecutions, the sayd, S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed Epistle (worthy to be read of al men) describeth likewise a certayne vision, wherein was shewed vnto them by the Lord, before the persecutiō came, what should happen. The vision was this: There was a certayne aged father sitting, at whose right hand set a young man very sad and pensiue: as one with an indignation sorrowfull, holding hys hand vpon hys brest, hys countenance heauy and vnchearefull. On the left hand sate an other person, hauing in hys hand a net, whiche he threatned to lay to catch the people that stode about. And as he was marueiling that saw the sight thereof, it was sayd vnto him: The young man whō thou seest sit on the tight

hand, is sad and sory, that hys preceptes be not obserued. But he on the left hand daunceth and is merry, for that occasion is geuen him to haue power of the aged Father geuen him to afflict men. And this vision was seene long before this tempest of persecution happened,*Wherein is declared the same that before is sayd, the sinnes of the people to be the cause, why Sathan in this persecution and all other, hath had and hath still such power with hys net of destruction, to rage agaynst the bloud of Christen men, and all because (sayth Cyprian) we forslacke our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as wee shoulde: wherefore the Lord because he loueth vs, correcteth vs, correcteth vs, to amend vs, amendeth vs to saue vs. &c. Cyprian.

Furthermore,* the same Cyprian, and in the same Epistle, wrting of his own reuelation or message sent to him, thus sayth: And to hys least seruauent both sinfull and vnworthy (meaning by himselfe) God of his tender goodnes hath vouched safe to direct this word. Tell him sayth he that hee be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come. Albeit a litle stay there is for a while, for that some remain yet to be proued and tryed.* &c. And sheweth also in y^e same place of an other reuelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in hys feeding, and sober in hys drinke, least hys minde geuen to heauenly meditation might be caryed away with worldly allurements, or oppressed with to much surfet of meates and drinckes, should be lesse apt or able to prayer and spirituall exercise.

Finally in the latter end of the foresayd Epistle, mention also followeth of other reuelations or shewinges,* wherein the Lord (sayth Cyprian) doth vouchsafe in many of hys seruantes to foreshew to come the restauring of hys Church, the stable quiet of our health and safeguard, after rayne fayre weather, after darcknes light, after stormy tempest, peaceable calme, the fatherly helpe of his loue, the wont & old glory of hys diuine maiesty whereby both the blasphemy of the persecutors shall be repressed, and the repentance of such as haue fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand, shall reioyce and glory. Thus much hath S. Cyprian, writing of these thinges to the Clergy. Lib. 4. Epist. 4.

As touching now the crymes and accusations in this persecution layd to the charge of the Christians,* thys was the principall, first because they refused to doe worship to their Idols and to the Emperours: then for that they professed the name of Christ. Besides all the calamities and euils that happened in the world, as warres, famine, and pestilence,* were onely imputed to the Christians. Agaynst all which quarreling accusations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Christians in his booke Contra Demetrianum: Like as Tertulian had done before, writing Contra Scapulam page. 55. And first touching the obiection for not worshipping Idoles, he cleareth the Christians both in his booke Contra Demeir. & also De vanitate idol. prouing those Idols to be no true Gods, but Images of certayne dead kinges, which neyther could saue themselues from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the testimony of Sosthenes, Plato, and Trismegistus, the which God the Christians doe truely worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be causes of publique calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles Idoles, he purgeth the Christians thereof, prouing that if there be any defect in increase of thinges, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now toward her age and latter end. Agayne for that it hath bene so foresayd and prophecied, that toward the end of the worlde should come warres, famine, and pestilence. Moreouer if there be anye [Page 69](#) cause therof more proper then other, it is most like to be imputed to their vaine Idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such euils be

increased by the wickednes of the people, so that to speake in his owne words famem maiorem facia• rapacites quam siccitas, i. famine cometh more by auarice of men, then by drought of the aire, but especially the cause therof to procede of the cruell shedding of the innocent bloud of the Christians &c.

Thus with many other mo probations doth Cyprian defend the Christians, against the barbarous exclamatiōs of the heathē Gentiles. Of which Cyprian forsomuch as he suffered in the time of his persecution, I mynde (Christ wylling) to recapitulate here in ample discourse, the ful summe, first of his life and bringing vp, then of his death, & Martyrdome, as the worthines of that man deserueth to be remembred. Of this Cyprian therfore, otherwise named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenns, Iacobus de Voragine,*Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus. Hieronymus, and other, that he being an Aphrican, and borne in Carthage, first was an Idolater and Gentill, altogether giuen to the study and practise of the Magicall Artes, of whose parentage and education in letters from his youth, no mention is made but y^t he was a worthy Rethorician in Aphrica. Of whose conuersion and baptisme he himselfe in his first booke & second Epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent Hystory.* Which his conuersion vnto the christian fayth as Hieronimus affirmeth in his commentary vpon Ionas, was through the grace of God and the meanes of Cecilius a Priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the history of the Prophet Ionas. The same Hierome moreouer testifieth how he immediatly vpon his conuersion distributed among the poore al his substaunce and after that being ordained a Priest,* was not long after constituted bishop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus of whom he often maketh mention, which also was the first author of rebaptization, or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth vncertain. But this is most true, he himselfe shined in his office and dignitie with such good giftes, and vertues, that as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the gouernment of the whole, east Church, and church of Spain, and was called the Bishop of the Christian men.

And to the further setting foorth (to the praise of God) of his godly vertues wherwith he was indued appearing as well in his owne workes, to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy writers, he was curteous and gentle, louing and ful of patience, and therewithall sharpe & seure in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first booke and third epistle. Furthermore he was most louing and kinde towarde his brethren, and tooke much payne in helping and relieuyng the Martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the Elders, and Deacons of his Bishopricke, that with all study and indeuour they should gently entertaine and shewe pleasure vnto the Martirs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The third Epistle of his first booke doth declare of what stomacke and godly courage he was, in executyng his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence & circumspection, but was adorned with marueilous modestie,* wherby he attempted nothing vpon his owne head and iudgement, but with the consent of his fellow byshops and other inferiour Ministers, & that chiefly (amōg others) doth the 10. Epistle of his third booke witnes. He was of a marueilous liberal disposition towards the poore brethren of other countries: for so often as he had cause of absence he committed the care of those poore men to his fellow officers, and wrote vnto them, that of their own proper goods, they would helpe their banished brethren, to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the 24. Epistle of his thirde booke.* He reciteth among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the visions and heauenly admonitions of

the persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the gouernment of y^e Church in his first booke & third Epistle, and fourth booke and fourth Epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the forme or maner of a certaine vision, which we haue before sufficiently expressed.

He had moreouer great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chaunce, as may be gathered in the vj. Epistle of his fourth booke. Also Augustine doth attribute vnto him many worthy vertues, which wryteth much in setting foorth his giftes of humilitie, in his seconde booke of Baptisme, the fourth chapter, against the Donatistes, and in his vij. booke and xj. chap. of his long sufferance and patience. Also of his curtesie and meekenes by which vertues he concealed nothing that he vnderstoode,* but vttered the same meekely and patiently. Also that he kept the Ecclesiasticall peace & concorde with those that were of an other opinion then he was of: lastly, that he neither circumuented nor did preiudice any man, but followed y^r thing which seemed good in his iudgement, it is manifest in S. Augustine his fift booke, De Baptismo contra Donatistas. Neyther is this to be passed with silence, that Hierome writeth that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian, For he saieth that he saw a certaine olde man whose name was Paulus,* which tolde him he saw the notarye of blessed Cyprian, being then an olde man when he him selfe was but a springal in the Citie of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprians wont neuer to let one daye passe wythout some reading of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say vnto him: giue me any master, meanyng thereby Tertullian.

Now a few wordes touching his exile, and Martyrdome. Of his Epistles which he wrote backe to his congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made aboue wherin he sheweth the vertue beseeming a faithfull pastor in that he tooke no lesse care, as wel of his owne church, as of other Bishops being absent, then he did beyng presente. Wherin also he himselfe doth signifie y^t voluntarily he absented himselfe, least he should doe more hurt then good to the congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewyse declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth vnto his brethren, as in his third booke and x. Epistle is manifest, which thing semeth to be done in the raigne of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned againe but of exile,* in the raigne of this Valorianus, he was also after that the second tyme banished of Paternus the Proconsull of Aphrica, into the Citie of Thurbin, as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian sheweth, or els as Pontius the Deacon saith,* into a Citie named Fur•bilitana, or Curabilitana. But when Paternus the Proconsull was dead, Galienus Maximus succeded in the rowme and office of Paternus, who fynding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his Sergeauntes, and to be brought before the Idoles, to offer sacrifice, which when he woulde not doe, then the Proconsul breaking forth in these words sayd: Long hast thou liued in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of wicked conspiracie, and hast shewed thy selfe an enimie to the Gods of the Romanes, and to their holye lawes: neither could the sacrete Emperours Valerianus & Galienus reuoke thee to the secte of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyraunt condemnyng him to haue hys head cut of,* he patiently and willingly submitted his necke to the stroke of the sword (as Hieronimus affirmeth.) And so this blessed Martyr ended this present life in the Lorde, Xistus then being Byshop of Rome,* as Eusebius noteth, in the yeare of our Lorde. 259. Sabellicus saith that he was Martired in the raigne of Gallus and Volusianus, Lucius, being bishop of Rome, but that seemeth not like.

Now remayneth to speake something likewise of hys workes and bookes left behind him,* although al peradūecture doe not remaine, that he wrote: wherof some are missing, some againe which in the liuery of his name & title, are not his, but such as be certainly his by the style & sense may soone be discerned: such is the eloquence of his phrase, & grauity of his sentence, vigour of wit, power in perswasion, so much differing from many other, as he can lightlie be imitated but of fewe. Of the which his bookes with vs extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthely cōmended, proceeding out of the schoole of Rhetoricians, so is the authoritie therof no lesse reputation, not onely among vs of this age of the Church, but also among the Auncient fathers. Whereof S. Austen speaking of his commendation sayth,*Ego inquit, literas Cypriani non vt canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonis considero: & quod in eis deuinarum Scripturarum autoritati congruit cum laude eius accipio: quod autem non congruit, cum pace eius respuo. &c. By which words it may appeare that Austen, although he did not repute y^r bookes and writings of Cyprian, to be equiualent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding next after the scriptures he had the same in great admiration.

Vincentius, and Laziardus Celestinus, recyting the names of dyuers bookes, bearyng the tytle of Cyprian (moe perchaunce then be truly his) do collect out of them a certaine extract of his most pithy sentences, al which here to repeat were to tedious. To giue a tast of the speciall, I thought it not impertinent. As where he speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth saying:

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis,*quod pauperi prodesse potest• i.

Let it not sleepe in thy treasures, that may profite the poore.

Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine, cor semper nouas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo. [Page 70](#) i.

Two things neuer waxe old in man, the hart euer in imagining new cogitations, the tounge euer in vttering the vaine conceptions of the hart.

Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte prodiuina remuneratione distribuendum est .i.

That which a man must needs forgo of necessitie, wisdom it is a man to distribute so, that God may euerlastingly reward him.

Disciplina est morum praesentium ordinata correctio, & malorum praeteritorum regularis obseruatio. i.

Discipline is an ordinate amendment of maners present, and a regular obseruation of euils past.

Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, vbi qui improbos damnent, desunt: & soli qui damnentur, occurrunt.

There can be no integrity, wheras they which should condemne the wicked are euer wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are euer present.

Auari ad hoc tantum possident, quae habent, vt ne alteri possidere liceat.

A couetous man onely possesseth his goodes for this, because an other should not possesse them.

Sericum & purpurum indutae, Christum induere non possunt.

Wemen that aduaunce themselues in putting on silks and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.

Foeminae crines suos inficiunt malo praesagio: Capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metuunt.

They which colour their lockes with red and yealow, beginne betime to prognosticate, of that colour theyr heades shall be in hell.

Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit Deus metuant ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.

They which loue to paynt themselues in this world otherwise then God hath created thē: let them feare, least when the day commeth of resurrection, the creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemosinam dat, Deo suauitatis odorem sacrificat.

He that gyueth an almes to the poore, sacrificeth to God an odour of swete smell.

Contemnenda est omnis iniuria praesentium molorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

All iniurie of euils presēt to be neglected, for the good hope of good thinges to come.

Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, & factis destruere.

To set out vertue in wordes, and to destroy the same in factes, is nothing worth.

Quo plures domi sint tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum sed erogandum est, quia multorum iam delicta redimenda sunt multorum purgandae conscientiae.

The mo children and greater houshoulde thou hast at home the more cause thou hast not to horde vp, but to disperse abroode, for that many sinnes are to be redeemed many consciences are to be purged.

*Moreouer, least the Papists here should take an occasion by this text, grounded vpon the text of Tobī, cap. 4. Almoſe (saith he) deliuereth from al sinne and death: to build vp the workes of satisfactiō, the said Cyprian. Lib. 4. Epist, 2. more plainely expoundeth both himſelfe, and that place of Scripture, writing in these wordes: Quia scriptum est, Eleemosina ab omni peccato, & morte liberat. Yob. 4. non vtique ab ea morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, & a qua nos salutaris Baptismi & tedemptoris nostri gratia liberauit, sed ab illa quae per delicta postmodum serpit. &c. That is: Almoſe doth deliuer from all sinne and from death. Yob. 4. not from that

(saith Cyprian) which the bloude of Christ hath once extincted, and from which the wholesome grace of our Baptisme, and of our redeemer hath deliuered vs, but frō that death which afterward creepeth in by sinne. &c. Cyprian. Lib. 4. Epist. 2. by which words it is apparant, that Cyprian meaneth this deliuerance (which commeth by almose gyuing) from death and sinne, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death euerlasting, from which only the bloude of Christ doth saue vs, but for temporall or transitory punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of sin. For so it is nothing repugnaunt, but that temporall vertues may haue their temporall rewards in this life, & likewise sinnes committed may haue temporal punishments both of vs and in our families, our eternal saluation standing euermore firme in Christ yet notwithstanding.

The foresaide Vincentius moreouer speaking of an other booke of Cyprian (although the said booke be not numbred in the Catalogue of his workes) maketh mention of xij. abuses, or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these:

- 1. Sapiens sine operibus. A wise man without good workes.
- 2. Senex sine religione. An old man without religion.
- 3. Adolescens sine obedientia.* A young man without obedience.
- 4. Diues sine eleemosina. A rich man without almose.
- 5. Foemina sine pudicitia. A woman shameles,
- 6. Dominus sine virtute. A guide without vertue.
- 7. Christianus contentiosus. A Christian man contentious.
- 8. Pauper superbus. A poore man proude.
- 9. Rex iniquus. A king vnrighteous.
- 10. Episcopus negligens. A byshop negligent.
- 11. Plebs sine disciplina. People without discipline.
- 12. Populus sine lege. Subiectes without law.

As I haue hetherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian this blessed Martyr:.* so must we nowe take heede againe, y^t we do not here incurre the old & common daunger, whiche the Papystes are commonlye accustomed to runne into, whose fault is alwayes almost to be immoderate and excessiue in their proceedings, making to much almost of euery thing.* So in speaking of the holye Sacraments, they make more of them then doth y^e nature of Sacraments require, not vsing them, but abusing thē, not referring or applying them, but adoring them, not taking thē in their kind for thinges godly as they are, but taking thē for God himselfe, turning religion into superstition, & y^e creature to the creator, y^t things signifying to the things them selues signified, &c. To the Church likewise and ceremonies of the church, to generall Councils, to the blessed virgin Mary mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, and to all other in like case, not contented to attribute that which is sufficient, they excede moreouer the bounds of iudgement and veritie, iudging so of the Church, & general coūcels, as though they could neuer, or did neuer erre in any iote. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst al women was blessed, and a virgine ful of grace, the Scripture & truth doth giue, but to say that she was borne without al original sinne, or to make of her an aduocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further then truth wil beare. The ceremonies were first ordained to serue but onely for order sake, vnto the which they haue attributed so much at length, that they haue set in them a great part of our Religion yea & also saluation. And what thing is there els almost, wherein the Papistes haue not exceeded?

Wherefore to auoyd this common error of the papists,* we must beware in cōmending the Doctors & writers of the Church, & so commend them, that truth and consideratiō, go with our cōmendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed Martyrs were holy men, yet notwithstanding they were men that is such as might haue, & had their falles & faultes, men I say, & not aungels, nor gods, sauēd by God, not sauīours of men, nor patrons of grace: and though they were also men of excellent learning, & worthy Doctors, yet w^t theyr learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their bookes be (as they ought to be of great authority, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit the saide well in most things, yet it is not therefore inough that what they said it must stande for a truth.* That preeminence of authority onely belongeth to the worde of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and Doctors, be they neuer so famous, there is none that is voyde of his reprehension.* In Origene (although in his time the admiratiō of his learning was singuler) yet how many things be there, which the Church nowe holdeth not? but examining him by Scriptures, where he sayd well, they admit him, where otherwise they leaue him.* In Polycarpus the church hath corrected and altered that which he did holde in celebrating the Easter day after the Iewes. Neither cā holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in al his sayings:* as where he maketh the fasting vpon y^e Sonday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kil Christ him selfe, Ignat Epist. ad Phillip. contrary to this saying of Saint Paule. Let no man iudge you in meate & drinke. Also where the said Ignatius speaketh De virginitate, and of other thinges mo.* Irenaeus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free will in man, in those thinges also that be spirituall. He saye• that Christ suffered after he was fifty yeares old, abusing this place of the Gospell.* Quinquaginta annos nondum habes. &c. Tertulianus (whom S. Cyprian neuer laide out of his handes almost) is noted to be a Chiliaste: also to haue bene of Mōtanus sect. The same did hold also w^t Iustine, Cyprian, & other, that the Aungels fel first for the concupiscence of women, Lib. de habitu mulierum. He defendeth fre wil of man after y^e corruption of nature, inclining also to the errour of them, which defend the possibilitie of keeping God his law. Cōcerning Mariage. Vnum matrimonium (inquit) nouimus, sicut vnum Deum. i. We know (sayth he) one Mariage, as [Page 71](#) we know one God condemning the second maryage. Lib. de Monogam. Diuers other things of like absurditie in him be noted. Iustinus also seemeth to haue inclined vnto the errour of the Chiliastes,* of the fall of certaine Aungels by wemen, offree will or man, of possibilitie of keeping the lawe and such other. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great schooler of Tertulian, vtterly exempt from the blot of them, who contrary to the doctrine of the Church,* did hold with rebaptising of such, as were before Baptised of heretikes, Whereof speaketh S. Austen, myslyking the same errour of Cyprian, in these words contained in his 2. booke, Contra Cresconium. Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego consequi non valeo eius multis literis mea scripta non comparo, eius ingenium diligo eius ore delector, eius charitatem miror, eius Martyrium veneror. Non accipio quod de baptisandis haereticis & schismaticis sensit.*&c. Uppon the whiche matter there was a great contention betwene the sayd Cyprian, and Stephen Bishop of Rome, as partly afore is note•. Of Austen himselfe likewise, of Ambrose, Hierome, Chrisostome, the same maye be said, that none of them also clearely passed away, but their peculiar faultes and errours went with them, whereof it were to long, and out of our purpose at this present to entreate. And thus much concerning the story of Cyprian the holy learned Martyr of Christ.

*Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of Cyprian that this Cyprian was not he, whome the narration of Nazianzen speaketh of (as is aboue mentioned) who from

Arte Magicke was conuerted to bee a Christian, which Cyprian was a Citizen of Antioche, and afterward Bishop of the same Citie, and was Martyred vnder Diocletian. Where as this Cyprian was Byshop of Carthage, and died vnder Valerianus, as is sayd, &c. By the decrees of Gratiā. Dist. x. Quoniam. it appeareth moreouer that there was also a third Cyprian in the time of Iulianus the Emperour Apostata,* long after both these aforenamed. For so giueth the title prefixed before the saide Distinct. Cyprianus Iuliano Imperatori: the distinction beginning. Quoniam idem mediator Dei & hominum homo Christus Iesus, he actibus proprijs, & dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis vtriusque discernit, &c. Upon the which distinctiō the glose commeth in with these words saying: * y^t the popedome, and the seate Imperial, haue both one beginning of one that is, Christ: who was both Bishoppe, and king of Kings. And that the said dignities be distincted, albeit the Pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand and may exercise them both some time. And therefore although they be distincted, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally vnder the other, so that the imperiall dignitie is subiect vnder the Papall dignitie, as the inferiour is subiect vnder the superiour: that as there is one ruler ouer the whole which is God: so in the Church is one Monarche, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawfull right both of the heauenly and terrene dominion. Haec Glosa.

*Thus much I thought here to note by the waye because this distinction is fathered vpon Cyprian, which is false, for this Cyprian was not in the time of Iulian, not by 200. yeares, and so likewise by the other Cyprian, which died Martyr vnder Diocletian. Of anye Cyprian besides these two, we read not. Neither is it credible, that if there were any such Cyprian, he would euer haue written of any such matter, of the difference and mutuall nede of Christiā Emperours and Christen Popes. When as that Emperour being an Apostata, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any Pope.

*About this tyme, and vnder the same Emperour Valerianus suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the seconde of that name, Byshop of Rome, who being accused of his aduersaries, to be a Christiā, was brought with his vj. deacons to the place of execution, where he with Nemesius & other hys Deacons were beheaded and suffered Martyrdome. Laurence in the same time being also Deacon folowed after complayning to Xistus, as one being greued, that he might not also suffer with him, but to be seclused as the sonne frō the father. To whom the Bishop aunswering againe, declared that within thre daies he should folow after. In the meane time, hee willed him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any vnto y^e poore. The iudge belike hearing mentiō to be made of treasures to be giuen to the poore, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custody, cōmaunded him to bring the same vnto him, according as the discourse of his storye here vnder written, more fully may appeare. Which history, because it is set foorth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other writers, and containeth in it mo things in it worthy to be noted of the Reader, we haue therfore with the more dilygence here inserted the more ample description of y^e same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glory shewed in him.

Now then as order requireth,* let vs enter the story of that most constaunt and couragious Martir of Christ S. Laurence, whose words and works deserue to be as freshe and greene in Christian harts, as is the flourishing Laurel tree, This thirsty hart longing after the water of lyfe, desirous to passe vnto it, through the straight doore of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilaunt Shephearde, Xistus led as an harmles lambe, of harmefull tyrantes to his death, cried out with

open mouth and hart inuincible, saying,* O deare father, whether goest thou, without the company of thy deare sonne? Whether hastenest thou, O reuerend Priest, without thy Deacon? Neuer wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What cryme is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhod? Hast thou proued me vnnaturall? Now try swete father, whether thou hast chosen a faithfull minister or not. Deniest thou vnto him the fellowship of thy bloud, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lordes bloud? See that thy iudgement be not misliked, whilst thy fortitude is liked & lauded. The abasing of the scholer, is the disgracing of the Maister. What? haue we not learned that worthy Maisters, haue obtained most worthy same, by y^e worthy actes of their Disciples and Scholers? Finally Abraham sacryficed his onely begotten Isaac. Stoned Stephen prepared the way to preaching Pe•er, euen so father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy sonne. Offer thou him that proferreth him selfe. Graunt that the body of thy scholer may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beau'tefied. These wordes with teares S. Laurence vttered, not becau•e his master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to tast of deaths cup, which he thirsted a•ter.

Then Xistus to his sonne shaped this aunswere:* I forsake thee not, O my sonne, I giue thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the rase of a lighter & easier death. But lusty and young thou art, and more lustely, yea more gloriously shalt thou triumph ouer this tiraunt. Thy time approcheth, cease to wepe & lament, three daies after thou shalt follow me. Decent is it, that this space of time come betwene the Priest & the Leuite. It may not beseeme thee O sweete Pupill, to triumphe vnder thy master, least it be said he wanted an helper. Why crauest thou to be pertaker with me in my passion? I bequeath vnto thee the whole inheritaunce. Why requirest thou to enioy my presence: let weake scholers go before, and the strōger come after, that those without maister may get the victory, which haue no neede by maister to be gouerned. So Helias left behynde him his beloued Heliseus. I yeelde vp into thy handes the succession of my vertues. Such was their contention, not vnmeete for so godly a priest, so zelous a minister, striuing with themselues, who shoulde first suffer for the name of Christ Iesu.

In tragical histories we haue it mentioned, y^t through ioy & admiration people claped their handes, whē Pylades named himselfe Orestes, Orestes, as truth it was, affirmed himselfe to bee Orestes. Pylades wishing to die for Orestes, Orestes, not suffering Pylades to loose his life for his sake: But neither of them might escape death, for both these louers were guilty of bloud the one committing the facte the other consenting. But this our Laurence the Martyr most constant, was by no meanes enforced to make this profer, sauing onely by his ardent zeale, and feruent spirite, who thirsting after the cup of Maytirdome, had it shortly after filled to the hard brymme.

Now let vs draw neare to the fire of Martyred Laurence,* that our colde hartes may be warmed thereby. The mercylesse tyraunt, vnderstanding this vertuous Leuite, not onely to be a minister of the Sacramentes, but a distributor also of the Church riches (whereof mention is made before in the wordes of Xistus) promised to himselfe a double pray, by the appresion of one silly soule. First with the rake of Auarice to scrape to himselfe the treasu•e of poore Christians, then with the firy forke of tyranny so to tosse and turmoyle them, that they should waxe weary of their Christian profession: With furious face, and cruell countenaunce, the greedy wolfe demaunded where this Deacon Laurence had bestowed the substaunce of the Church. Who crauing three dayes respite, promised to declare where the treasure might he had. In the meane time he caused

a good number of poore Christians to be congregated. So when y^e day of his aunswere was come, the persecutor straightly charged him to stād to hys promise. Then valiant Laurēce stretching out his armes ouer the poore sayde: These are the precious treasure of the church: * These are the treasure in deede, in whom the faith of Christ raigneth, in whome Iesus Christ hath his mansion place. What more precious [Page 72](#) Iuels can Christ haue, thē those in whō he hath promised to dwel? For so it is written, I was hungry, & ye gaue me to eate: I was thirsty, and ye gaue me to drinke: I was harborles, and ye lodged me. And againe: Looke what ye haue done to the least of these, the same haue ye done to me. What greater riches can christ our maister posses, then the poore people, in whō he loueth to be sene? Oh, what tounge is able to expresse the fury and madnes of the tirants hart? Now he stāped, he stared, he rāped, he fared as one out of his wit: his eies like fier glowed, his mouth like a bore fomed, his teeth like an helhoūd grinded. Now not a reasonable man, but a roaryng lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no spare. Hath this vyllaine deluded the Emperour? away with him, away with him. Whip him with scourges, iercke him with rods: buffet him with fistes, braine him with clubs, iesteth the traitour with the Emperour? Pinche him with fyrie tonges gyrde him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chaines, and the fireforkes, and the grated bedde of yron. On the firewith it, bind the rebell hande and foote, & when the bed is fire hot, on with him: rost him, broyle him, tosse him, turne him: On paine of our highe displeasure do euery man his office, O ye tormentors.

The worde was no soner spoken, but all was done. After many cruell handlings, * this meeke lambe was layd I will not say on his firye bed of yron, but on his soft bed of downe. So mightily God wrought with his Martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire, not a bed of consuming paine, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it vnto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the Emperour might seeme to be tormented: the one broiling in the fleshe, the other burning in the hart. When this tryumphant Martir had beene pressed downe with firepikes for a great space, in the mightie spirite of God he spake to the vanquished tyraunt:

*This side is now rosted inough, turne vp O tyraunt great, Assay, whether rosted or raw, thou thinkest the better meate.

O rare and vnaccustomed patience. O faith inuincible, that not onely not burnest, but by meanes vnspeakable doest recreate, refresh, stablish, & strengthen those that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why so mightilye comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they beleue in gods promises infallible. By thee this glorious Martir ouercommeth his torments, vanquisheth this tyraunt, confoundeth his enimies, * confirmeth the Christiās slepeth in peace, raigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy graunt vs grace, by the life of Laurence to learne in Christ to liue, and by his death to learne for Christ to dye. Amen.

Such is the wisdom and prouidence of God, that the bloud of his deare Saints (like good seede) neuer falleth in vaine to the grounde, * but it bringeth some increase: so it pleased the Lord to worke at the Martirdome of this holy Laurence, that by the constant confession of this worthy & valiaunt Deacon, a certaine souldiour of Rome beyng therewith compuncted, and conuerted to y^e same faith, desired forthwith to be Baptised of him: for the which he being called for of the iudge, was scourged, and afterwarde beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

Under the same Valerianus suffered also Dionysius byshop of Alexandria much affliction and banishment,* with certaine other brethren, Of the which he writeth himselfe, & is alledged in the Ecclesiasticall story of Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 11. the wordes whereof tend to this effect: Dionysius wyth three of his Deacons, to wit, Maximus, Faustus, and Cheremon, also with a certaine brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then President, who there declared vnto them in circumstance of words how he had signified vnto them y^e clemencie of his Lords and Emperours: who had graunted them pardon of life, so that they would returne to them, & worship the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Emperie, asking them what aunswere they would gyue him there vnto: trusting as he saide that they would not shew themselues ingrateful to the clemency of them which so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius aunsweryng, said:* Al men worship not al Gods, but diuers men diuers gods, so as euery one hath in himselfe a mind or phantasie to worship. But we worship not many nor diuers Gods, but onely that one God, who is the creator of all things, & hath committed to our Lords Valerianus and Galienus the gouernmēt of their Empery, making to him our prayers •cessauntly for their prosperous health and continuance. Then the President sayde: And what hurt is it, but that you may both worship your God, what God soeuer he be, and these our Gods also? For you are cōmaunded worship such Gods, as al men know to be gods. Dionysius answered we worship none other, but as we haue sayd▪ Emilianus the President said: I see you are ingrattfull men, and consider not y^e benignitie of the Emperous,* wherefore you shal remaine no longer in this City, but shal be sent out to the parts of Libya, vnto a towne called Cephro. For that place by the commaundement of the Emperour I haue chosen for you. Neither shal it be lawful for you, to cōuent your assemblies, or to resort, as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you shal be found out of your places wherunto you are apointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye shal be watched well inough. Depart therfore to the place as is cōmaunded you. and it foloweth more in the said Dionysius speaking of himselfe:* And as for me (sayth he) although I was sicke, yet hee vrged mee so straightly to depart, that he would not giue me one dayes respite. And how (saith he writing to Germanus) coude I congregate or not congregate any assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth. And yet neyther am I altogether absent from the corporall societie of the Lordes flocke, but I haue collected them together, which were in the Citye, being absent, as though I had bene present, absent in body yet present in spirit.* And in the same Cephro, a great congregation remayned with mee, as well of those brethren which followed me out of the City, as also of them which were remayning there out of Egypt. And there the Lorde opened to me the doore of his word, although at the first entraunce I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fel from their Idoles and were cōuerted vnto the Lord. And so by vs the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which ministery after that we had accomplished there, the lord remoued vs to an other place. For Aemilianus translated vs frō thence to more sharpe and straighter places of Libya, commaunding vs to meete altogether at a city Mareota, thinking there to separate vs seuerallye into sundrye villages, or thinking rather to take and preuent vs by the way. After we were come thether, it was assigned to me (saith Dionysius) to go to Colluthion, which place I neuer hearde of before: which was the more grieve to me, yet some solace it was to me, that the brethren told me, it was neare to a Citie named Paraetionium. For as my being at Cephro got me the acquaintance of manye brethren of Egypt, so my hope was that the vicinitie of that place where I shoulde be, to the Citie, might procure the familiaritie and concourse of certaine louing brethren, which would resort and assemble with vs,* and so it came to passe, &c.

Moreouer the said Dionysius in his Epistle ad Domitium & Dydymū, making mention of them whiche were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian, recordeth in these wordes saying: it were superflous (saith he) here to recite the names peculiarly of all our brethren slaine in this persecution, which both were manye and to me vnknowne.* But this is certaine that there were men, wemen, younge men, maydens, olde wiues, souldiers, simple innocentes, and of all sortes and ages of men. Of whome some with courages and fire, some with sworde obtained victorye, and got the crowne. Some continued a great time, and yet haue bene reserued. In the whiche number am I reserued hetherto to some other oportune tyme knowen vnto the Lord, which sayth: In the time accepted I haue herd thee, and in the daye of saluation I haue helped thee, &c. Nowe as concerning my selfe in what state I am, if thou desire to know first howe I and Caius, and Faustus Petrus, and Paulus, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certayne of the towne of Mareote, I haue declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here included, in a west place of Libya, distant the space of thre daies iourney from Paraetionium. &c. And in processe farther he addeth: In the Citie (saith he) were certaine priuily which visite the brethren: of Priestes Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Faustinus and Aquilla, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the Deacons besides them whō sicknes hath consumed, Faustus, Eusebius, & Cheremon, are yet alyue.* Eusebius hath God raised and stirred vp to minister to the confessours lying in bandes, and to burye the bodies of the blessed Martirs, not without great perill. Neither doth the President cease yet to this day, cruellye murderying such as be brought afore him, some tearynge with torments, some imprisoning and keeping in custody commaunding that no man should come to them,* inquiring also who resorted vnto them. Yet notwithstanding God with chearefulnes and dailye resorte of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. Haec Dionysius.

Concerning these deacons aboue recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made Bishop of Laodicia in Syria. Maximus the Priest aforesaide, had the mynistration of the Church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus [Page 73](#) long after continued in great age,* vnto the latter persecution, where he being a very old man at length was beheaded, and died Martyr.

As touching Dionysius him selfe, thus the stories report, that he suruiuing all these troubles and persecutiōs, by the prouidence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, vnto the xij. yeare of the raigne of Galienus, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 268. and so departed in peace in great age, after that he had gouerned the Church of Alexandria the space of xvij. yeares, & before that, had taught the schole of the sayd Citie of Alexandria, the terme of xvj. yeares. After whom succeeded Maximus, as is aboue specified. And thus much touching the full storie of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other also Martyrs and Confessours of Alexandria.

In Caesaria Palestine, suffered also the same time, Priscus, Malchus,* and Alexander, the which three dwelling in the countrey, and good men, seing the valiaunt courage of the Christians, so boldly to venter, & constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecutiō, as men being greued with them selues, began to repent & accuse their so great sluggishnes, and cowardly negligence, to see other so zealous & valiant, & themselues so colde & faint harted, in laboring for the crowne of Christian martyrdome: first consulting and agreing within themselues, came to Cesarea, & there stepping to the Iudge, declared thēselues what they were, & obtained the end they came for, being giuen to the wilde beasts. After which like maner also and in the same Citie of Cesarea, a certaine woman whose name Eusebius expresseth not, who had beene before of the

secte of Marcion was brought before the President, and likewise obtayned the same Martyrdome. *Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 12.

Neither was the citie of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, * if credit should be giuē to the speculatiue glasse of Vincentius, who cyting out of Hugo, recordeth of 300. Martyrs, of which 300. Martyrs the history saith thus, that the President setting before the cooles and incense to doe sacryfice, by a lyme kilne, which was there neere at hand, offred vnto them this condition, either to set incense to the coales, for sacrifice to Iupiter, or els to go into the fornace of lyme: wherupon they altogether with a generall motion sodenly rushed into the kilne, and ther with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered Vincent. Erford.

*In Aphrica also in the City of Tuburba, the sayd Vincētius out of the Martyrologe inferreth mention of thre constaunt virgins Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda, who in the persecution of this Valerian and Galienus, first had giuen for their drinke vinager and gaule, then with scourges were tried, after that vpon the gibbet were tormented, & rubbed with lime: then were scorched vpon y^e fiery gridirō, at last were cast to the wilde beastes, who being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded, Vincent. Erfor.

*In Symela a City in Italy, vnder the Alpes, one Pontius beyng there apprehended, by the commaundement of Claudius the President, was hanged first vpon the racke, then was cast to the wilde beastes, * of whom he being nothing hurt, was after cōmitted to the fire. And finally neither touched therwith, (if the storie of Vincentius be true) was headed by y^e ryuers side, & his body throwne into the floude, where immediatlye the same houre, the foresayde Claudius with his assistant Anabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed, that they byt of their tongues, and died.

*Zenon also Byshop of Verona, is saide also in the same persecution to sustayne Martyrdome.

*Moreouer in the same Citie of Alexandria aforesayde, Bergomensis in his 8. booke, writing of the story of Valerianus Emperour, maketh mention of Philippus, bishoppe of the said sea of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was vnder the sayd Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be founde in any approued story, nor stādeth with the truth of time that any such Philip then was bishop of Alexandria, or any other except onely Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained xvij. yeares, and after him Theonas, &c. So that by the auncient recordes of olde writees it appeareth not that Philippus or any other of that name was Bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other later writers, as Equilinus Antoninus, and Bergomensis▪ I finde a certaine historye of one Philippus, President of Alexandria about the same tyme of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the Emperour and Senate of Rome, to gouerne those quarters, where he was at length conuerted to the christian faith, and after made Priest or Bishop, * as they saye, of Alexandria, but that not to be so, the testimony of auntient writers doth refell. The history of this Philippus, witnessed in our later Chronicles is this: Philippus, being promoted to the Presidentship of Alexandria came downe with his wife Claudia, * and his two sonnes, Auitus, and Sergius, and with his daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long history full of straunge and prodigious miracles is written of Antoninus & other, wherof many things I will cut

of, and briefely touche the effect of the storye, leauing to the iudgement of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.

Thys Eugenia daughter of Philippus, being of singular beautie, and diligently brought vp by her parentes in y^e studie of science and learnyng, was by occasion of hearyng Christians,* reduced and brought vp to Christianitie, with two other Eunuches her Schoolefellowes called Prothus and Hiacyntus: wyth whome shee takyng counsaile, vpon occasion, whether to auoyde the daunger of persecucion, or refusing to marry wyth a Pagane, vnknowne to her parents and fryendes dyd flee awaye, and because the more boldlye shee might resort to heare the readynges of Helenus then an aged Byshoppe and of others, chaunged her selfe into mans apparell, and named her selfe Eugenius,* vnder the whiche name she was at length admitted vnto a certayne Monastery, or a societie of christians in the suburbes of Alexandria although I hardly beleeeue that any Monasterye of Christians was then in the suburbes of Alexandria permitted, where also at the last for the excellencye of learnyng and vertue, shee was made head of the place. Here by the waye I omit the myracles of the foresayde Helenus) Byshoppe as the story saith of Hierapolis (howe he caried burning coales in his lap,* & how he aduētured himself to goe in the burning fyre, to resell wicked Zereas a Pagane, remaining in the same vnburned. Here also I omit the careful search of her parents for her, and of the answere of the Pythonisse againe vnto them, that she was taken vp to the heauen among y^e Goddesses. I omit moreouer the miracles done by y^e sayde Eugenia, in healyng the diseases and sicknesses or such as came to her, &c. The story proceedeth thus: Among other which were by this Eugenius cured & restored, there was a certaine Matrone of Alexandria named Melancia, who after she had vsed the helpe and acquaintaun• of Eugenius supposing her to be a man,* fell into an inordi•ate loue, sekyng by al meanes how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence. In so much that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to breake her mind, and to entise her to her ludenes. Eugenius contrary exhorted her to vertue & honesty, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the peryll of that folly. Melancia seeing that by no meanes shee would be allured, nor by force drawen to her desire, & fearyng moreouer that she in detecting of her would bringe her to shame, beginneth first to make an outcry of Eugenius, declaring howe y^t she went about corruptly to defloure her, & so presented her accusation before Philippus y^e President, as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well knowen, the crime began to seeme suspitious, and so much the more, because it was obiected against the Chrystians. By reason whereof Eugenius with her felow Chrystians was now not only in great hatred, but also in daūger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius purging herselfe & her honesty, although with sufficient probation, yet notwithstanding perceiuing that it coulde take no place, what so euer she said, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the daunger as well of her owne selfe, as specially of her brethren which troubled her more: desired of the Iudge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and so shewed her selfe what she was, and how she was his daughter, the other to be Prothus & Hiacyntus the two Eunuches, her schoolefellowes, vtterying moreouer to him and to her brethrē the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof Philippus her father,* and her two brethren comming to the knowledge of her conceaued no litle ioy, in receauing their Eugenia againe whom they thought had bene lost. No lesse gladnes was among the people, to see y^e euidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one,* & the falsenes of the other. Wherat y^e malignant accuser was to double shame cōfounded, first for her dishonesty falsly clokod, secondly for the vntruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth moreouer, y^t the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus

Eugenia trying her honestly to her parents & friends, not onely was receaued of them againe, but also by the grace of the Lord working with her in the space of time did win thē to Christ. Wherby Philippus the father of her by nature,* now by grace was begottē of his own daughter to a more perfect life, & whō once he thought to haue bene lost, not only he foūd againe, but also w^t her found his own soule, & his own life, which before he [Page 74](#) had lost indeede.* This Phillippus (sayth the storye) was made afterwarde Bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered Martyrdome. Concerning whose Martyrdome I denye not but it may be true, but that he was byshop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently prooued, out of Eusebius and other auncient historians.

Lykewyse it is sayd, that Eugenia after the Martyrdome of her father, returning to Rome with Prothus, and Hiacinthus, by occasion of conuerting Basilla (who shoulde haue bene married to a Pagane husband,* and was then beheaded) to the Christian faith, was assayled wyth sundrye kinds of death, first being tied to a great stone & cast into Tyber, where she was caried vp from drowning, thē put in the hoate bathes, which were extincted, and she preserued: afterward by famishment in prison, where they saye she was fed at the hande of our Sauior, all which Legendary miracles I leaue to the Reader to iudge of them, as shal seeme good vnto him. At last the story sayeth, she was with the sword beheaded, Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

*And because in this prent history mention was made of Helenus whom Antoninus with his fellowes noteth to be the byshop of Hierapolis, here is to be vnderstoode & obserued by the way, y^t as Philippus in the foresaide history is falsly saide to be byshop of Alexandria, so lykewise vntrue it is that Helenus was bishop of Hierapolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, Lib. 7. cap. 5. alleading the words of Dionysius that he was bishop of Tarus in Cilicia, and had there ouersight of that Church from the tyme of our Lorde, 254. to the yeare. 274.

The vj. yeare of Valerianus and Galienus we read in the story of Herfordiensis,* cited out of Isuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in prison the space of three yeares with Claudianus and Bossa his wife,* are sayde to haue sustayne• great tormentes, and Martyrdome, for the testimony and name of Christ. Ex. luardo.

Aurelius Prudentius in his booke intituled Peristephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuosus Byshop of Tarracona in Spaine, who with his two Deacons Augurius and Eulogius, suffered also Martyrdome being burned after syxe daies imprisonment, vnder y^e foresaid Emperours in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christs name. Their Iudge and condemner was Emilianus: Their imprisonment indured sixe dayes. The kinde of death ministred vnto them was fire, wherin they being altogether cast with their armes bound behind them, their bandes (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolued, their hands vntouched with the fire, and their bodies remayning whole. The charge of this Iudge vnto the Byshop was this, that he would worship the Gods, whome the Emperour Galienus worshipped. To whom Fructuosus the byshop aunswering: nay, (sayde he) I worship no dombe God of stockes and blockes, whom Galienus doth worship, but I worship the Lord and maister of Galienus, the Father and creator of all times, and his onely Sonne, sent downe to vs of whose flock I am here the Pastor and shepeherd. At this worde Emilianus aunswering agayne, Nay, (saith he) say not thou art, but say thou wast. And forthwith commaunded them to be committed to the fyre,* where (as is sayd) their bandes and manicles being loosed, by the fire, they lifted vp their hands to heauen,

praysyng the liuing God, to the great admiration of them that stode by, praying also that the element which seemed to fle from them, might worke his full force vpon them, & spedely dispatche them,* which was after their request obtained. In the meane space as they were in the fire, there was a certayne Souldier in the house of Emilianus, who did see the heauens aboue to open, and these foresayd Martyrs to enter in the same, which souldiour likewise shewed the sight the same time vnto the daughter of Emilianus, the president who beholding the same sight with the souldiour, was a present witnesse of the blessednesse of them, whom her cruell father had condemned.

As thys godly Byshop was preparyng to his death (sayth Prudentius) the brethren approching to him, brought him drinke, desiring him with much weeping to receaue & drinke with them, but that he refused to do, requiring thē moreouer to refrayne their teares. With like readines the brethren also were diligent about him to pluck of his shoes & hose, as he was addressing himselfe to the fire. But neyther would he suffer any seruaunts helpe in that,* wherein he was no lesse willing as able to helpe himself. And thus this blessed and fruitefull byshop Fructuosus with his twoo Deacons Augurius and Eulogius, beyng brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of christ, with the shedding of their bloude. Aurel. Prudentius. Ado. Equilinus.

And thus farre continued wicked Valerian, in his tyranny against the Saintes of Christ. But as all the Tyrauntes before, and oppressors of the Christians had theyr deserued reward at the iust hand of God,* which rendreth to euery man according to his workes: so this cruel Valerian, after he had reigned with his sonne Galienus, y^e terme of vj. or vij. yeares, and about two yeares had afflicted the Church of Christ, felt the iust stroke of his hande, whose indignation before he had prouoked, whereof we haue to witnes Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus: For making hys expedition agaynst the Persians, whether by the fraude and treason of some about him, or whether by his owne rashnes, it is doubtfull: But this is certayne, that he fell into the handes of hys enemies, being about the age of lxx. yeares, where he led hys wret•hed age in a more wretched captiuitie.* In so much that Sapoires the king of the Persians vsed him (and well worthy) not for his ryding foole, but for hys riding blocke. For whensouer the king should light vpon hys horse openly in the sight of the people, Valerian Emperour quondam, was brought forth in steede of a blocke, for the king to tread vpon hys backe, in goyng to hys horsebacke. And so continued this blockishe butcherly Emperour with shame and sport inough vnto his finall end, as witnesseth Laetus and Aurelius Victor.

And albeit Eusebius in a certaine Sermon to the Congregation,* declareth a more cruell handling of him, affirming that he was slaine, writing in these wordes: Sed & tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum saeuitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, iustum Dei iudicium declarasti, dum captiuus ac vinctus vna cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo imparatorio ornatu abductus, ac tandem a Sapore Persarum Rege excoiri iussus, sale{que} conditus, perpetuum infaelicitatis tuae trophaeum erexisti. &c. That is and thou Valerian, for so much as thou hast exercised the same crudelitie in murdering the subiects of God, therefore hast proued vnto vs the rightuous iudgement of God, in that thy selfe hast bene bound in chaynes, and caryed away for a captiue slaue, with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperiall attire, and at length also beyng commaunded of Sapoires king of the Persians to be slayne and poudred with sault, hast set vp vnto al men a perpetuall monument of thine owne wretchednes. &c. Euseb.

The like seueritie of God his terrible iudgement is also to be noted in Claudius,* his Presidēt, and minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius, Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was possessed and vexed of the deuill, in such sort, that he byting of his owne tongue in many small peeces, so ended hys life. Erford.

Neither did Galienus the sonne of Valerian, after the captiuitie of hys father, vtterly escape the righteous hand of God. For beside the miserable captiuitie of hys father whom he could not rescue, such portentes straunge, & out of the course of nature, such Earthquakes did happen, also such tumultes, commotions, and rebellions did followe, that Trebellio doth reckon vp to the number of 30. together which in sundry places all at one time tooke vpon them to be tyrantes and Emperours ouer y^e Monarchie of Rome, by the meanes whereof he was not able to succour hys father, though he would. Notwithstanding the sayd Galienus beyng (as is thought) terrified by the exāple of his father,* did remoue: at least did moderate the persecutiō stirred vp by the Edictes of Valerian hys father, directing forth hys imperiall Proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be sene in Euseb. Lib 7. ca. 13. Emperour and

Caesar, Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius Fortunatus, Augustus, vnto Dionysius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian and to all other the like Bishops. The bountifull benignitie of my gift, I haue willed and commaunded to be proclaymed through the whole worlde, to the intent that such whiche are deteined in banishment for discipline sake, may safely returne home agayne, from whence they came. And for the same cause I haue here sent to you the example of my rescript for you to peruse & to enioy, so that no man so hardy to vexe or molest you. And thys whiche you may now lawfully enioy, hath bene long since by me graunted. And therefore for your more warrant in the same, I haue committed the examplar hereof to the custody of Aurelianus Cyrenius my chiefe Steward, where you may •et the copy to see at your pleasure.

This mandate aboue prefixed did Galienus sent to Dionysius Alexandrinus,* and to other Byshops as is premised. An other rescript also the sayd Emperour sent to other Christian Byshops, permitting to them full libertie to receaue agayne their wonted places, where they were wont to associate together, called of them Caemiteria•

By this it may appeare that some peace was then graūted vnder this Galienus,* to the Church of Christ: albeit not so,* but y^e some there were which suffered. Among whome was one Marinus mentioned in Eusebius. Lib. 7. This Marinus being a warriour and a noble man in Cesarea, stooode [Page 75](#) for the dignitie of a certaine order, whiche by all order of course, was next to fall vpon him by right, had not the enuious ambitiō of him y^t should follow next after hym, supplanted him both of office & life. For he accused him to be a Christian, and therefore sayd that he was not to be admytted vnto their offices, which was against their Religion. Wherupon Achaius then being iudge examined him of his faith, who finding him to be a christian indeede, & constantly to stand to his profession, gaue him .iij. houres to deliberate & aduise wyth himselfe. There was the same time in Cesarea a Byshop named Theotechnus,* otherwise called Theodistus, who perceiuing him to stand in doubtfull delyberation and perplexitie in himselfe, tooke him by the hand & brought him into the house or Church of the Christians, laying before him a sworde (which he had vnder his cloke for the same purpose) and a booke of the new Testament & so willed him to take his free choyse which of them both he would preferre.* The

souldior immediately without delay ran to the booke of the Gospell, taking that before the sword. And thus he being animated by the bishop, presented himselfe boldly before the iudge,* by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a Martyr. Euseb. ibid.

*Whose body he beyng dead, one Asyrius a noble Senatour of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that order, (who the same tyme was there present at hys Martyrdome) toke vp and bare vpō his owne shoulders, wrapping it in a rich & sumptuous weede, & so honourably committed it to the burial.*Euseb, Lib. 7. cap 16.

Of which Asyrius the sayde author writeth, moreouer this storye, howe that in the foresayde Citie of Cesarea, the Gentiles vsed ther, of an aūcient custome to offer vp a certayne sacrifice by a fountaine side, the which sacrifice by the working of the deuill, was wont sodainly to vanish out of their eies, to the great admiraciō of the inhabiteurs by. Asyrius seing this and pittying the miserable errour of the simple people, lifting vp his eies to Heauen, made his praier to almightie God in the name of christ. y^t the people might not be seduced of the deuil any lōger: by y^e vertue of whose praier the sacrifice was seene to swimme in the water of the fountaine, & so the straunge wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter coude be their wrought any more.*Euseb. Lib, 7. cap. 17.

And because mention is made here of Cesarea, there foloweth in y^e next chapter of y^e same author, a strange miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth, howe y^t out of the same City was the woman, which in y^e gospel came to our Sauour, and was healed of her bloody issue. Her house being in the Citie of Cesarea, before the doore thereof was set vp a certayne pyller of stone, & vpon the piller, an Image was made of brasse, of a woman mekely knelyng on her knes, and holding vp her hands, as one that had some sute. Against the which there was an other Image also of a man proportioned of the same mettall, cūningly engrauen, in a short semely vestur•, & stretching forth his hand to the woman.* At the foote of which piller grew vp a certayne herbe of a straunge kind, but of a more straunge opiration, which growing vp to the hemme of his vesture, & once touching the same, is saide to haue such vertue, that it was able to cure all maner of diseases. This picture of the man, (they say) represented the image of Christ. The history is written in Eusebius, as is said, the credite whereof I referre to the Reader, whether he will thinke it true or false. If he thinke it false, yet I haue shewed him myne author: if he thinke it true, then must hee thinke with all that this miraculous operation of the herbe, proceded neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by the praier of the other being both dombe pictures, and engrauen no doubt at that time by the hand of Infidels, but to be wrought by some secret permission of God his wisdom, either to reduce the Infidels at that time to the belief of the storye,* or to admonish the Christians to consider with them selues what strength and health was to be looked for onelye of Christ, and no other aduocate, seing the dumbe picture engrauen in Brasse, gaue his efficacie to a poore herbe to cure so many diseases. This picture saith Eusebius remained also to his time which was vnder Constantinus the great.

As touching the line and order of the Romaine Bishops hetherto intermitted, after the martirdome of Xistus aboue specified, the gouernement of that church was committed next, to one Dionysius, about the yeare of our Lord, 266. who continued in the same the space of ix, yeares, as Eusebius saith,* as Damasus recordeth but onely vj. yeares, and two moneths. Of his decretall Epistles because sufficient hath bene sayd before concerning that matter, I omit to

speake. After whom succeeded Felix, in the first yeare of Probus the Emperour, about y^e yeare of our Lord, 280. who gouerned that church v. yeares, and died as Pla[•]ina saith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, both martyrs, as the histories of some do recorde.

About the time of these byshops, lyued Theodorus byshop of Neocesarea, who is otherwise called Gregorius Mogrus, whome also Nicephorus for his myracles, calleth 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Thus Galienus the foresayd Emperour raygned as is declared, with his father Valerian, vij, yeares, after whose captiuitie he ruled the Monarchie, alone about ix. yeares, with some peace and quietnes graunted to the Church.

The daies of this Galien[•]s being expired,* followed Claudius a quiet Emperour,* as most stories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mouer of persecution against the Christiā^s, & maketh mention of 262. Martyrs, which in his time did suffer, but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius, who woulde not haue omitted some memoriall thereof if it had bene true, therefore I referre the same to the free iudgement of the Reader to finde such credite as it maye.* This Claudius raigned but two yeares, after whome came Quintilianus, his brother next Emperour, & a quiet Prince, who cōtinued but onely xvij. daies, and had to his successor Aurelianus, vnder whome Orosius in his seuenth booke, doth number the ix. persecution against the Christians.

The ix. Persecution.

HEtherto from the captiuitie of Ualerian the Church of Christ was in some quietnes till the death of Quintilianus,* as hath beene declared: After whom Aurelianus the next successor possessed the crowne, who in the first beginning of his raigne (after the common maner of al princes) shewed himselfe a Prince moderate and discrete, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was seuer & rigorous in correcting,* dissolute in manners, in so much that it was said of him in a vulgare prouerbe, that he was a good phisition, sauynge that he gaue to bitter medicines. This Emperour being sicke, neuer sent for Phisition, but cured himselfe with abstinence. And as his beginning was not vnfruitefull to the common wealth: so neither was he any great disturber of the christians: whom he did not onely tolerate in their religiō but also in their counsell,* beyng the same tyme assembled at Antioche, semed not to be against them. Notwithstanding in continuance of time through sinister motion and instigation of certaine about him (as commonly such are neuer absent in al places from the eares of princes (hys nature somewhat inclinable to seueritie, was altered to a playne tyranny, which tyranny first he shewed beginnyng with the death of his owne sisters sonne, as wytnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to mooue, or at least to purpose persecution against the Christians.* Albeit that wicked purpose of the Emperour, the mercifull working of God his hand did soone ouerthrow. For as the edict or proclamation should haue beene denounced for the persecuting of the christians, and the emperour now ready to subscribe the edict with his hande, the mighty stroke of the hand of the lord sodainly from aboue did stop his purpose, binding,* as a man might say, the Emperours hands behinde him: declaryng (as Eusebius saieth) to all men, how there is no power to worke any violence against the seruantes of God, vnlesse his permission do suffer them, and gyue

them leaue. Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Uopiscus affirme, that as the said Aurelianus was purposing to rayse persecutiō against vs, he was sodainly terrified with lightning, and so stopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after about the fifte or sixt yeare of hys rayne,* he was slaine betwene Bizance and Hieraclea, an. 278. Thus Aurelianus rather intended thē moued persecution.* Neither is there any more then this founde cōcerning this persecution in auncient histories and records of the Church. Wherefore I maruell the more, that Vincentius collecting out of the Martyreloges, hath comprehended such a great Cataloge of so manye martirs, whiche in Fraunce and in Italye (sayeth he) suffered death and torments vnder this Emperour Aurelianus. Whereunto Orosius also seemeth to agree, in numbring this to be the ninth persecution vnder the sayd Aurelian.

Next after Aurelianus the succession of the impery fell to Publius Annius Tacitus,* who raigned but vj. monethes, Him succeded his brother Florianus, who raigned but lx. dayes. And after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus. Of whome more hereafter (God willing) shal appeare.

In the meane time, within the compasse of these Emperours ••lleth in a story recorded, of Eusebius, and not vnworthy [Page 76](#) here to be noted, whereby to vnderstand the faithfull diligence of good Ministers, what good it may doe in a common wealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius the Deacon of Dyonisius, whom God stirred vp to vnite and comfort the saintes that were in prison and bandes, and to burye the bodies of the blessed Martyrs departed, not without great perill of his owne life, and after was made bishop (as is sayde) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be bishop there, it chaunced, the sayde Eusebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the citie to be besieged of the Romaines, Pyrchus being there captaine. In the which siege halfe of the citie did hold with the Romaines, the other half withstoode them.* In that part which went with the Romaine captaine was Eusebius, being also in great fauour with the captaine for his worthy fidelitie and seruice shewed. With the other halfe that resisted the Romaines, was Anatholius, gouernour or moderator then of the schole of Alexandria, who also was bishop after the sayde Eusebius of Laodicea. This Anatholius perceiuing the citizens to be in miserable distresse of famine and destruction by reason of penury and lacke of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius beeng then with the Romaines, and certifieth him of the lamentable penurie and perill of the citie, instructing him moreouer, what to do in the matter. Eusebius vnderstanding the case, repaireth to the captaine, desiring of him so much fauoure, that so many as would flee out of the citie from their enemies, might be licenced to escape and freely to passe, which was to him eftsoones graunted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the capitaine,* on the other side Anatholius for his part laboured with the Citizens, moouing them to assemble together, and perswading them to geue themselues ouer, in yeelding to the force and might of the Romaines. But when the Citizens could not abide the hearing therof: yet (sayde Anatholius) this I trust you will be con•ented, if I shal cōsaile you, in this miserable lacke of things to auoide out of your citie, all such superfluities and vnnecessary impedimentes vnto you, as olde women, yong children, aged men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, & not to suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they dy, & lesse if they liue, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serue thē that be more able to defend the Citie. The Senate hearing this sentence, & vnderstanding moreouer the graunt of the captaine, promising them their safetie, were well cōsenting therevnto. Then Anatholius, hauing a

speciall care to them that belonged to the Church of Christ, calleth them together, with the rest of the multitude, and perswading them what they should do, and what had bene obtained for thē, caused them to void the citie, and not onlie them, but also a great number of other mo, who perswaded by him, vnder that pre•ence, changing themselues in womens apparell, or faming some impotencie, so escapeh out of the citie. At whose comming out Eusebius on the other side was readie to receiue them, and refreshed their hungrye and pined bodies, whereby not onelye they, but the whole Citye of Alexandria was preserued from destruction.*Eusebius. lib. 7. cap. 32.

By this little historie of Eusebius and Anatholius, described in the vij. booke of Eusebius. cap. 32. and briefly here set foorth to thee (gentle Reader) thou mayest partly vnderstande the practise of the Prelates what it was in those daies in the church, which was then onlie imploied in sauing of life, and succouring the common weales wherein they liued, as by these two godly persons Eusebius and Anatholius may wel appeare. Unto the which practise if we compare the practise of our latter prelates of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appeare.

The next Emperour to Florianus (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus,* a Prince both wise and vertuous, and no lesse valiant in martiall affaires, as fortunate in the successe of the same. During his time we reade of no persecution greatly stiring in the church, but much quietnes, as well in matters of religion, as also in the common wealth In so much that after his great and manye victories, such peace ensued,* that his saying was, there needed no more souldiers, seing there were no moe enimies to the cōmon wealth to fight against. It was his saying also, that hys souldiers nede not to spend corne and victuale, except they laboured to serue the common wealth.* And for the same cause he caused his souldiers to be set a worke about certayne mountaynes in Syrinia & in Messia to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest, therefore by them at length he was slayne, after he had reigned the space of vj. yeres, and 4. moneths, an. 284 Eutrop.*

Carus with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus, succeeded next after Probus in the Empire,* the raygne of which Emperors, continued in all, but iij. yeares. Of the which three first Carus,* warring agaynst the Persians, was slayne with lightning. Of Numerianus his sonne, beyng with his father in his warres against the Persians, we finde much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers, which testified to him to be a valiaunt warriour, an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamatiōs and writinges sent to the Senate. Thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This Numerianus sorrowing & lamentyng for the death of hys father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great sorenes of his eyes, by reason whereof he keping close, was slaine not long after of his father in lawe, named Aper who traiterously aspiring to the Empire, dissnnuled his death, with a false excuse to the people, asking for him, saying, for the payne of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather, til at length by the stinch of his body being caried about, his death was vttered.

In the life of this Emperor Carus aforesaide,* written by Eutropius in the later edition set forth by Frobenius, I finde (whiche in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus the sonne of this Carus was he that slewe Babylas the holye Martyr, whose history before wee haue comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like both by the narration of Chrysostome, and also for that Vrspergensis declaryng the same hystorie and in the same wordes,* as it is in Eutropius,

saith that it was Cyrillus, whome Numerianus killed, the story whereof is this: what time Carus the Emperour in his iourney going toward the Persians, remayned at Antioche.*Numerianus his sonne would enter into the church of the christians, to view and behold their misteries. But Cyrillus their bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the church, saying that it was not lawfull for him to see the misteries of God,* who was polluted with sacrifices of Idoles. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyrillus, in his fury did slay the godlye Martyr. And therefore iustly (as it seemed) was he himselfe slayne afterward by the hands of Aper.

Thus Carus with his sonne Numerianus being slaine in the East partes, as is declared, Carinus the other sonne raigned alone in Italye, where he ouercame Sabinus striuyng for the Empire, and raigned there with much wyckednes, till they returning home of the army againe from the Persians,* who then set vp Dioclesian to be Emperour, by whome the foresayde Carinus for the wickednes of hys life, being forsaken of his host, was ouercome, & at length slayne with the hande of the Tribune, whose wyfe before he had defloured. Thus Carus with his two sonnes, Numerianus and Carinus ended their liues, whose raigne continued not aboue three yeares.

All this meane space we reade of no great persecution stirring in the Church of Christ,* but was in meane quiete state and tranquillitie,* vnto the xix. yeare of the raigne of Dioclesian, So that in counting the time from the latter ende of Ualerian, vnto this foresaid yeare of Dioclesian, the peace of the church which God gaue to his people, semeth to continue aboue 44. yeares. During the which tyme of peace and tranquillitie, the church of the Lord did mightely increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honor and reuerence it wan daily among the Gentiles in al quarters, both Grekes and barbarous, in so much that (as Eusebius in his vij. booke describeth) amongst the Emperours themselues, diuers there were which not onely bare singular good will and fauor to them of our profession, but also did commit vnto them offices & regiments ouer countries and nations, so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they priuiledged the same with liberty and indemnitie. What needeth to speake of them which not only liued vnder the Emperours in libertie but also were familiar in the court with the Princes themselues,* entertained with great honour and speciall fauour beyond the other seruitures of the court, as was Dorotheus with his wife, children and whole family, highly accepted & aduanced in the palace of the Emperour: Also Gorgonius in like maner with diuers other mo, who for theyr doctrine & learning which they professed, were with theyr Princes in great estimation. In like reuerence also were the bishops of cities and Diocesse,* with the Presidentes and rulers where they liued: who not onely suffered thē to liue in peace, but also had them in great price and regarde, so long as they kept themselues vpriight, and continued in God his fauour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in euery citie, and the notable cōcurses of such as dayly •locked to the common Oratoures to pray▪ For the which cause they beyng not able to be contained [Page 77](#) in their old houses, had large and great churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent togither. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by processe of tyme did the church of christ grow and shout vp daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neith•r enuie of men coulde infringe, nor any deuill could inchaunte, neither the craftie policie of mans wit coulde supplant, so long as the protection of God his Heauenlye arme went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of christian life.

*But as commonly the nature of al men being of it selfe vnruely and vntowarde, alwaies secketh & desireth prosperity, and yet can neuer wel vse prosperitie, alwaies would haue peace, and yet hauing peace, alwaies abuseth y^e same: so here likewise it happened with these mē, which through this so great libertie & prosperitie of life began to degenerate & languishe vnto idlenes & delycacy, & one to worke spite and cōtumely against an other, struiing and contending among thēselues for euery occasiō, with railing wordes after most despitfull maner: * bishops against bishops, and people against people, mouing hatred and seditiō one against an other, besides also cursed hipocrisie and simulation with all extremity encreasing more and more, by reason wherof the iudgemēt of god after his wonted maner, (whilst yet the congregatiō began to multiply) began by a litle and litle to visite our men with persecution, fallyng first vpon our brethrē which were abroad in warfare, but whē y^t toucht y^e other nothing or very litle, neither did they seeke to appease gods wrath, & call for his mercy, but wickedly thinking with ourselues, that god neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one vpon an other, & they which semed to be our pastors refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions on against an other. and thus whilst they were giuen onely to the studie of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutual hatred, & dyscord, euery man seeking his owne ambition, * and persecuting one another after the maner of tirany: Then, then, I say, the Lord according to the voice of Ieremy tooke awaye the beauty of the daughter of Sion. & the glory of Israell, fell downe from heauen, neither did he remember the footstoole of his feete in the day of his wrath. And the Lorde ouerturned all y^e comely ornaments of Israell, & destroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and according to the saying of the Psalme, subuerted and extinguished the Testament of his seruauant, and prophaned his sanctuary in destruction of his churches, and in laying wast the buildinges thereof so that all passingers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to al the dwellers about. For he hath exalted the strength of his enimies, * and turned away the helpe of his sword from her, nor ayded her in the battayle, but ceased from the purging of her and her seate. He stroke downe to the ground and deminished her daies and ouer all this poured vpon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled vpon vs, when we saw the temples rased from the top to the ground, and the sacred scriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the Pastours of the church to hide themselues, some here, some there, some other taken prisoners with great shame, were mocked of their enimies, whē also according to the saying of the prophet in an other place: Contempt was poured out vpon the Princes, and they caused to goe out of the waye, and not to keepe the straithe pathe.

The x. Persecution.

BY reason whereof (the wrath of God being kindled against his church) ensued the tenth and last persecucion against the christians, * so horrible and greeuous, that maketh the pen almost to tremble to writ vpon it, so tedious that neuer was any persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of tenne yeares together. This persecution although it passed thorow the handes of diuers tyrantes and workers moe then one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Dioclesiā who was Emperour as is aboue noted, * next after Carus & Numerianus. Thys Dioclesian euer hauyng an ambitious minde, aspired greatly to be Emperour. To whom Druas his Concubine sayd, * that first he should kill a wilde Boore before he should be Emperour. Hee taking effect at these wordes, vsed much with handes to kill wylde Boores: but seeing no successe to come thereof, vsed this prouerbe: Ego Apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is, I kill the Boores, but other doe eate the fleshe. At length the sayde Dioclesian

being nominate to be Emperour,* and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerianus the Emperour) standing thereby sware, to the souldiers that Numerianus, was wrongfully killed, and forthwith runing vpon Aper with his sworde,* slew him. Vopisc. After this he being stablished in the Empire, and seeing on euery side diuers and sundrie cōmotions rising vp against him, which he was not well able himselfe to sustaine, in the first beginning of his raigh he chuseth for his Colleague Maximianus surnamed Herculus,* Father of Maxentius. Which two Emperours, because of diuers warres that rose in manye prouinces, choose to thē two other noble men, Galerius, & Constantinus, whome they called Caesars. Of whome Galerius was sent into the East partes against the Persians.* Constantinus was sent ouer to Britannie to this our country of England, to recouer the tribute. Where he toke to wife Helena the daughter of king Coil, which was a maiden excelling in beautye, and no lesse famously brought vp in the study of learning of whome was borne Constantinus the great.*

All this while hitherto no persecution was yet stirred of these 4. princes against the church of Christ, but quietlie and moderatly they gouerned the common wealth, wherfore accordingly God prospered their doings and affaires, and gaue them great victories, Dioclesian in Egipt, Maximian in Aphricke and in Fraunce, Galerius in Persia, Constantinus in England and in Fraunce also. By reason of which victories Dioclesian and Maximian pu•te vppe in pride, ordeyned a solemne triumph at Rome, after which triumph Dioclesian gaue commaundement that he woulde be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the Sunne and Moone,* and adourning his shooes with golde and precious stones commaunded the people to kysse hys feete.

And not long after by the iudgement of God, for certaine enormities vsed in the church,* about touched, began the great and greuous persecution of the Christians, moued by the ragious cruelty of Dioclesian,* which was about the nyneteenth yeare of his rayne, who in the Moneth of Marche when the feast of Easter was nye at hande,* commaunded all the churches of the Christians to bee spoyled and cast to the earth, and the bookes of holy scripture to be burned.

Thus most violent edictes and proclamations were set foorth,* for the ouerthrowing as is saide, of the Christians temples throughout all the Romane Empire. Neyther did there want in the officers any cruell execution of the same proclamations. For their temples were defaced euen when they celebrated the feast of Easter. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the first edicte giuen out by Dioclesian,* the next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the bookes of the holy scripture, which thyng was done in the open market place as before: then next vnto that were edictes giuen forth for the displacing of such as were Magistrats,* and that with a great ignominie, & al other whatsoever bare anye office. Imprisoning suche as were of the common sorte, if they would not abiure Christianitie, and subscribe to the heathen religion.* Euseb. lib. 8. cap 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap 4. Zonaras also in his seconde tome. And these were the beginning of the Christians euils.

It was not long after but that new edictes were sent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferiour to the first: for the casting of the elders and bishops into prisō, and then constraining them with sundry kindes of punishments to offer vnto their Idoles. By reason whereof ensued a great persecutiō amongst the gouernors of the church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neyther were ouercome therwyth, being tormented and examined diuers of them diuerslye, some scourged, all their bodies ouer with whips & scourges,

some with racks, rasings of y^e flesh intolerable were cruciated: some one way, some another way put to death. Some againe violently were drawn to the vnpure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeede they did not, were let go. Other some neither comming at al to their aultars, nor touching anye peece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand of thē that stode by, that they had sacrificed, & so suffering that false infamation of their enymies, quietly went away. Other as dead men were caried and cast away, being but halfe dead. Some they cast down vpon the pauement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people beleue that they had sacrificed. Furthermore other there were which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some saide they were Christians, & gloried in the profession of that name: some cryed saying, that neither they had, nor would euer be pertakers of that idolatry. And those being buffeted on the face & mouth wyth the handes of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the Saintes did seeme neuer so little to doe▪ what the enimies would haue [Page 78](#) them, they were made much of. Albeit all this purpose of the aduersary, did nothing preuayle against the holye and constaunt seruaunts of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weake sort innumerable there were, which for feare & infirmity fell and gaue ouer, euen at the first brunt.

At the first comming downe of these edictes into Nicomedia, there chanced a dede to be done,* much worthy of memory, of a Christien, being a noble man borne, whiche moued by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was set vp, by and by ranne and tooke downe the same, and openly tare and rent it in peeces, not fearing the presence of the two Emperours, then being in the citie. For which acte he was put to a most bitter death,* whiche death he with great faith & constancie endured euen to the last gaspe, Euseb. lib. 8. lib. 3. & 5.

After this the furious rage of the malignaunt Emperours, being let loose against the saintes of Christ proceeded more & more, making hauock of gods people through out all quarters of the worlde.* First Dioclesian which had purposed with himselfe to subuert the whole christian religion, executed his tyranny in the east) and Maximianus in the west, But wily Dioclesian began very subtilye, for hee put the matter first in practise in his owne campe, among whom the marshall of the field, as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. affirmeth, put the Christian Souldiers to this choise,* whether they would obey the Emperors commaundement in that maner of sacrifice he cōmaunded, and so both to keepe their offices, and leade their bands, or els to lay away from thē their armor and weapons.* Whereunto the Christen men couragiously aunswered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour & weapons, but also to suffer death if it should with tiranny be enforced vnto them, rather thē they would obey the wicked decrees and comaundements of the Emperour.

There might a man haue seene very manye whiche were desirous to liue a simple and poore life: and whiche regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true pietie & godlines. And this was no more but a subtile and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at theyr owne liberty, whether they would willingly abiure their profession or not, as also this was an other, that in the beginning of the persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterwarde by little and little hee began more manifestlye to braste out into persecution: It can hardly be expressed with wordes what number of Martirs,* and what blood was shedde through all cities and regions for the name of Christ Eusebius, in his 8 booke & chap. 7. saith that he himselfe knew the worthy Martirs that were in Palestina.* But in Tire of Phenicia he declareth in

the same a marueilous martyrdome made, where certayne christians being geuen to most cruell wild beasts were preserued without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders and those Lions, Beares, and Lybardes (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to deuoure them, which notwithstanding most vehementlye raged against those by whome they were brought into the stage, and stode as they thought without daunger of thē, such were first deuoured. But the Christian Martyrs because they could not be hurt of the beasts being slayne with the sworde, were afterwarde throwen into the sea. At that time was martyred the Bishop of Sydon. But Syluanus the Byshop of Gazensis with 39. other were slayne in the mettall mynes of Phenitia.*Pamphilus the elder of Cesarea being the glory of that congregation, died a most worthy Martyr, whose both life and most commendable martyrdome, Eusebius oftentimes declareth in his 8. booke and 13. chapter, in so much that he hath written the same in a booke by it selfe. In Syria all the chiefe teachers of the congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heauye & cruell spectacle to behold,* as also the bishops, Elders, and Deacons, which all were esteemed as menquellers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts. Eusebius. Lib. 8. cap. 6, After that we read of an other, whose name was Tirannion which was made meate for the fishes of the sea, and of Zenobius which was a verry good Phisition, which also was slaine with brickebates in the same place. Eusebius. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Furthermore he maketh mention in the same place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and feared without ceasing: Of some others that were brought to the sacrifices and commaunded to doe sacrifice, which woulde rather thrust their right hande into the fire, then to touch the prophane or wicked sacrifice, also of some others that before they were apprehended, would cast downe themselues from steepe places, left that beyng taken they should commit any thing against their professiō. Also of two virgines very faire and proper, with their mother also which had studiously brought them vp,* euen from their infancy in all godlines, beyng long sought for and at the last founde, and straightly kept by their keepers, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw thēselues downe headlong into a riuer, also of other two yong maidēs being sisters, & of a worshipfull stock, moued with many goodly vertues, which were cast of the persecutors into the sea: and these things were done at Antioche as Eusebius in his 8. booke, and 13. chap. affirmeth. But Syluanus the Bishop of Emissa y^e notable martyr together with certaine others were throwen to the wilde beastes. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Diuers and sondry torments were the christians in Mesopotamia molested with, where they were hāged vp by the feete, & their heads downewards, & with the smok of a small fire strangled. And also in Capadocia, where the Martirs had their legs broken. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the Martyrs of Tharsus in Cilicia as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus: But yet the Martirs in the region of Pontus suffered far more passing and sharper tormentes, wherof I wil hereafter make mention. Eusebius ibidem. So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution whiche the Emperour made in Nicomedia in Bithinia. as afore is saide, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the children of Emperours, neither yet from slaughter of the most chieftest princes of his court, who a litle before he made as much of, as if they had ben his owne childrē: Such an other was Peter, which among diuers and sundry tormentes: (among whō he being naked was lefted vp, his whole body being beaten with whips and torne, that a man might see y^e bare bones, and after they had mingled vineger & salt together

they poured it vpon the most tender parts of his body, & lastly rosted at a soft fire, as a man would rost flesh to eate as a victorious Martir ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius being in great authoritie and office vnder the Emperour, after diuers torments were strangled with a halter,* which both being of the priuie chamber, to him, when they saw & beheld the greuous punishment of Peter their houshold cōpanion: wherfore (said they O Emperour) do you punish in Peter that opinion which is in all vs? Why is that accounted in him an offence, that all we confesse we are of that faith religion & iudgement y^t he is of. Therefore he commaunded them to be brought forth, & almost with like paynes to be tormented as Peter was,* & afterwarde hanged. Euseb. Rufini Lib 8. cap. 6. After whom Anthimus the Byshop of Nicomedia after he had made a notable confession, & bringing with him a great company of Martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus dispatched y^e Emprour vainly thought y^t he might cause y^e rest to do whateuer him listed. To this ende came Lucianus the Elder of the congregation of Antioche, and was martyred after hee had made his Apologie before the Emperour. Eusebius. Lib. 8. Cap. 13.

Hermanus also that monster, caused Serena the wife of Dioclesian the Emperour, to be martyred for the Christian Religion: so much did the rage of persecutiō vtterly forget all naturall affectes. Other Martyrs of Nichomedia doth Nicephorus in hys vii. booke and xiiii. chapter recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agapen, Ireneia, Chionia, and Anastacia, vnder Illyricus, chiefe officer, were bound hand & foote to a post and brent. Vincentius. Lib. 12 cap. 66. And also Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth such an other like matter full of horror and grief. There assembltd together in their temple many Christian men to celebrate the memory of the Natiuitie of Christ, of euery age and sorte some: There Maximianus thinking to haue bene geuen a very fit occasion to execute hys tyranny vpō the poore Christians, sent thether such as should burne the temple, the doores being shut and closed rounde about. Thether came they with fire, but first they commaunded the cryer with a loud voyce to cry, y^t who soeuer would haue life, should come out of the temple, & do sacrifice vpō the next altar they came vnto of Iupiter, and vnles they would do this, they shoulde all be brent with the temple. Then one stepping vp in the temple, answered in the name of all y^e rest with great courage & boldnes of minde, that they were all Christians, & beleued that Christ was their onely God & king,* and that they woulde doe sacrifice to him, with his father and holy Ghost, & that they were now all readye to offer vnto him. Wyth these words the fire was kindled and compassed about the temple, and there were brent of men, women, and children certeine thousands. There were also in Arabia, very manye martyrs slayne with axes, as Eusebius. Lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phrigia a citie, vnto which the Emperour sent his Edictes that they should doe sacrifice to the gods, and worship Idoles, all which Citizens the Maior himselfe, [Page 79](#) the Questor, and chiefe Captaine confessed that they were all Christians. The Citie vpon this was besieged & set on fire,* and all the people, Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina a region of Armenia, the bishops and Elders were cast in prison. Eusebius eodem cap. 6. In Arabrace a region neare adioyning to Armenia Eustratius was Martyred, as Nicephorus declareth, Lib 7 cap. 14. This Eustratius was y^r countrey man borne, and very skilfull in the Greeke tong, executyng by the Emperours commaundement, the shiriffes office at Licia in the East, which also did execution there vpon the Christians, and was a Scribe of great estimatiō called Ordinis Ducalis. This man beholding the meruailous constancie of the Martyrs, thirsted with the desire of Martyrdome, for that he had priuily learned the Christian religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accusers, detected himself, and worthely professed that he was a christian, openly execrating the madnesse and vanitie of the wicked Ethnikes. He therefore being caried away, was tyed vp, beyng first most bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire, beyng put vnto his

bowels, and thē basted with salt and vinagre, and lastly, so scotched & bemangled with the sheldes of sharpe and cutting shels, that his whole body semed to be all one continual wound, howbeit, by gods great goodnes afterward, it was restored to the first integritie. After this he was caried away to Sebastia, where, w^t his companion Orest he was burned.* At that tyme also suffred Eugenius, Auxentius, Mardarius, Nicepho. Lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no lesse wise raged this persecution throughout al Egypt: where Eusebius in his 8. booke, and 13. chapter maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus Martyrs and byshops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable conflictes of Christian and true constant Martyrs that suffred: which Phileas the Bishop of Thumitane describeth as after (God willing) shalbe declared. In this persecution of Alexandria, the principall that then suffred was Peter the bishop of Alexandria, with the Elders of y^e same most worthy Martyrs, as Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius, also Phileas, Hesichius, Pachiminus, and Theodorus, which all were bishops of the congregations within Egypt, and besides them, many other both famous and singular mē. The whole legion of Christian souldiours which lay at Thebes in Egypt, vnder the christian captaine Mauritius, when they would not obey the Emperours commaundement touching the worshipping of Images, were tythed to death once, and then againe. And at last through the exhortation of Mauritius, dyed altogether like constant Martyrs. Vincentius in speculo, Lib 13. cap. 2. Likewise at Antino diuers Christian souldiours, notwithstanding they were seriously dissuaded, suffred death together, amongst whome were Ascla, Philemon, and Apollonius, ibidem, cap. 50. and also in y^e other partes of Aphrica and Mauritania, was great persecution, as Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 6. Also in Sammum, of whiche place Chronicon maketh mention, and Scilia, where were 79. Martyrs slayne, for the profession of Christ, as writeth Henricus de Erfordia.

Now let vs come vnto Europe, Nicephorus in his vij. booke and xiiij. chap. sayth, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the Martyrs were in most miserable and pitifull wise handled, where Lysia had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon suffred Euphemia, vnder Priscus the Proconsul. Vincentius, Lib. 12. cap. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia sayth that at Rome, Iohannes and Crispus, beyng priests, had the execution of Martyrs. And at Boemia Agricola, and Vitalis, Vincentius. Lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the Emperour commaunded euery man to kill the Christians. Vincentius, Lib. eodem cap. 58. and amongst those Martyrs he maketh mention of Felices, and Fortunatus. Reginus also writeth that in other places of Italy the persecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Neaples Campania, Beneuentus, at Venusa in Apulia, and in Thussia, and Henricus de Erfordia, saith, also at Verona. In France doubtlesse Rectionarus appoynted to that office,* played the cruell helhound, of whose great cruelty agaynst y^e Christiās many histories are full. At Mediolanus suffered Victor. And at Massilia, Maximianus set forth his decree, that either they should all do sacrifice to the Gods of the Gentils, or els be all slayne with diuers kindes of torments. Therefore many Martyrs there dyed for the glory of Christ. Antonius & Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 2. In Beluacus suffred Lucian.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spain, where was great persecution, as at Emerita, where suffred Eulalia, of whom more foloweth hereafter, & Adula, where also suffred Vincentius, Sabina and Christina. At Toletum suffred Lencadia the virgin, at Cesarea Augusta, where were put to death, 18. beside a great number of other Martirs, which suffred vnder Decianus the gouernour, which afflicted with persecution all the coast of Spayne, as sayth

Vincentius, lib. 13. cap. 123.124.128.130.134• The foresayd Rictionarus made such persecution at Treuers neare the riuer of Mosella,* that the bloud of christian men that were slayne, ran like small brookes, and couloured great and mayne riuers. Neyther yet did this suffise him, but from thence sent certaine horsemen with his letters, commaunding them to ride into euery place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehēded any Christians, that they should immediatly put them to death. Vincent. Lib. 13. cap. 136.

Also Henricus de Erfordia,* and Reginus make mention of great persecution to bee at Colonia where Agrippina and Augusta were martyred, as also in the Prouince of Rhetia.

Beda also sayth, that this persecution reached euen vnto the Britains in his booke De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Nosegay or tyme do declare that all the Christians in Britanny were vtterly destroyed. Furthermore, that the kindes of death & punishment were so great and horrible,* as no mans tong is able to expresse. In the beginning, when the Emperour by his subtiltie and wilines, rather dallied then shewed his rigor, he threatned them with bands and imprisonment: but with in a while when he began to worke the matter in good earnest, he deuised innumerable sortes of torments & punishments, as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire, and ship boates, wherin a great nūber beyng put, were sunke & drowned in the bottom of the sea. Euseb. Lib 8. cap 6. & 7. Also hanging them vpon crosses, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads donneward,* hanging them by the middles vpon gallowses, til they dyed for hunger, throwyng them aliue to such kind of wilde beastes as would deuour them, as Lyons, Beares,* Libardes, and wild Buls. Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 8. Pricking and thrusting them in with bodkins and talants of beastes till they were almost dead, lifyng them vp a high with their heads douneward, euen as in Thebaide, they did vnto the women beyng naked and vnclothed, one of theyr feete tyed and lifted a high, & so hanging doune with theyr bodies, which thing to see was very pitifull, with other deuised sortes of punishments most tragicall, or rather tirannicall, and pitiful to describe: as first, the bindyng of thē to trees, and to the boughes therof. The pulling & tearing asunder of their members and iointes,* beyng tyed to the boughes and armes of trees. Euseb. Lib 8. cap. 9. The mangling of them with axes, the choking them with smoke by small and soft fires,* the dismembring of their hands, eares, and feete, with other ioyntes, as the holy Martyrs of Alexandria, suffred, the scorching and broyling of them w^t coales, not vnto death, but euery day renued. With such kynde of torments the Martyrs at Antioche were afflicted.* But in Pontus other horrible punishmentes and fearefull to bee heard, did the Martyrs of Christ suffer, of which, some had their fingers endes vnder the nayles thrust in with sharpe bodkins, some all to be sprinckled with boyling lead, hauing their most necessary members cut from them, some other suffryng most filthy, intollerable, and indurable tormentes and payne in theyr bowels and priuy members. Eusebius eodem,*cap. 12.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which rained in Alexandria, was, and with how many & sundry kindes of new deuised punishments the Martyrs were afflicted:*Phileas, the byshop of the Thumitanes, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his epistle to the Thumitanes, the copy wherof Eusebius hath in his 8. booke & x. chapter, out of the which we meane here briefly to recite somewhat.

Because (sayth he) euery man might torment the holy Martyrs as they listed themselues,*some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whippes, some with thongs, and some with cordes, and this example of beating was in sundry wise executed, and with much crueltie. For some of them hauyng their handes bound behynde their backes, were lifted vp vpon tymber logs, and with certaine instruments their members & ioints were stretched forth, whereon their whole bodies hanging, were subiect to the will of the tormentors, who were commaunded to afflict them with all maner of torments, and not on their sides onely (like as homicides were) but vpon their bellies, thighes, and legges, they scratched them with the talents and clawes of wylde beasts. Some other were seene to hang by one hand vpon the engine, wherby they might feele the more grieuous pullyng out of the rest of their ioyntes and members. Some other were suche sort bound vnto pillers with their faces turned to the wall, hauing no stay vnder their feete, and were violently wayed downe with the payse of their bodies, that by reason of their straight binding, they beyng drawn out, might be more greuously tormēted. And this suffered they not onely during the tyme of their examination, and while the Shiriffe had to do with them, but also the whole day long. And whilest the Iudge went thus from one to another, he by his authoritie appointed certaine officers to attende vpon [Page 80](#) those he left, and not to be let downe vntill either through the intollerablenes of the payne, or by the extremitie of cold, they being neare the point of death, should be let downe: and so were they haled vpon the ground. And further they were commaunded that they should shew not so much as one sparke of mercy or compassion vpon vs, but so extremely and furiously did deale with vs, as though our soules and bodies should haue died together.*And therfore yet an other torment our aduersaries deuised to augmēt our former plagues. After that they had most lamentably beaten them, they deuised moreouer a new kinde of racke, wherein they lying vpright, were stretched by both the feete aboue the fourth stop or hole with sharpe shels or shares strowed vnder them, after a strange kind of engine to vs here vnknown. Other some were cast downe vpon the pauement where they were oppressed so thicke, and so grieuously with tormentes, that it is not almost to be thought what afflictions they suffred.

Thus they lying in paines and torments, some died therewith, not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular pacience. Some halfe dead and halfe aliue, were thrust into prison, where shortly after by paynes and woundes of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again beyng cured of their woundes by their indurance in prison, were more confirmed, who beyng put to the choise whether they would come to their cursed sacrifice, and enioy their wicked libertie, or els sustaine the sentence of death,*did willingly and without delay abide the extremitie, remembring with themselues what is written in the Scriptures: He that sacrificeth (sayth he) to straunge Gods, shall be exterminate, &c. Item, thou shalt not haue any strange Gods beside me, &c.

Thus much wrote Phileas to the Congregation where he was Bishop, before he receyued the sentence of death,* beyng yet in bandes, and in the same exhorteth his brethren constantly to persist after his death, in the truth of Christ professed. Euseb Lib 8. cap. 10.

Sabellicus in his vij. Ennead. and viij. booke, sayth that that christened man, which tore and pulled down the wicked Edict of the Emperour in Nicomedia, beyng stript and beaten y^t the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vineger, was then slaine with this cruell kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorteth him to dye so constantly.

But as all their torments were for their horriblenesse, meruailous and notable, and therewithall so studiously, deuised, & no lesse greuous and sharpe: so notwithstanding therewith were these Martyrs neither dismayd, nor ouercome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened, so merily and ioyfully sustained they what so euer was put vnto them.*Eusebius sayth that he himselfe beheld and sawe the huge and great persecution that was done in Thebaide, in so much that the very swordes of the hangmen and persecutors beyng blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselues for wearines sate downe to rest them, and other were fayne to take their places. And yet all this notwithstanding the murdered christians, shewed their meruailous readines▪ willingnes, and diuine fortitude, which they were indued with, with stout courage, ioy, and smiling, receiuing the sentence of death pronounced vpon thē, and song euen vnto the last gaspe,* Hymnes and Psalmes to God. So did also the Martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas aboue mentioned. The holy martyrs (saith he) keping Christ in their myndes, beyng led with the loue of better rewards, sustained not onely at one tyme, whatsoeuer labour and deuised punishments they had to lay vpon them: but now also the second tyme haue done the same, and haue borne all the manaces of the cruell souldiors, not onely in wordes, wherwith they threatned them, but also whatsoeuer in deede and worke they could deuise to their destruction, and that with most manly stomackes, excluding all feare, with the perfection of their inspeakable loue towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cānot by wordes bee expressed. And Sulpitius sayth in the second booke of his sacred history, that then the Christians with more greedie desire preased and sought for Martyrdome,* then now they desire bishoprikes.

Although some there were also, as I haue sayd, that with feare and threatnings, and by their owne infirmitie, were ouercome and went backe. Eusebius, Lib. 8. cap. 3. Amongst whom Socrates nameth Miletius, Lib. 1. cap. 6. and Athanasius in his second Apologie, nameth the bishop of Licus a Citie in little Egypt, whom Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, excōmunicated,* for that in this persecution he sacrificed to the Gentiles Gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus the Byshop of Rome, I will speake afterwarde. For he beyng perswaded by others, and specially of the Emperour Dioclesian himselfe, did sacrifice, whereupon he was excōmunicated, but afterwarde he repēting the same, was agayne receaued into the congregation, and made Martyr as Platina and the compiler of the booke of the general coūcels, affirme. The number of the Martyrs increased daily, sometymes tenne, sometymes twenty were slaine at once, some whiles 30. and oftentymes 60. and otherwhiles a C. in one day, men, women, and children by diuers kindes of death. Eusebius, Lib 8. cap. 9 also Damasus, Beda, Orosius, Honorius and others do witnes, that there were slayne in this persecution by the names of Martyrs, within the space of 30. days, 17. thousand persons, beside an other great number and multitude that were condemned to the mettall mines and quarries with like crueltie.

At Alexandria with Peter the Bishop, of whom I haue made mention before, were slayne with axes 300. & aboue, as Sabellicus declareth. Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with 300. of his fellowes, as saith Henricus de Erfordia. Mauritius the Captaine of Christian religion, with his fellowes 6666. Victor in the citie of Troy now called Xanthus, with his fellowes 360. were slayne, as sayth Otto Phrinsigensis, Lib. 2. cap 45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other Martyrs, to the number of 120.

And for as much as mention here hath bene made of Mauritius and Victor, the perticular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado & other story writers, as insueth.

Mauritius came out of Syria into Fraunce and Italy, beyng Captaine of the bande of the Theban souldiours, to the number of 6660. beyng sent for of Maximianus, to goe agaynst the rebellious Bangandes, but rather as it should seeme by the treason of the •irant, which thought he might better in these quarters vse his tyranny vpon the Christians, then in the East part. These Thebans with Mauritius the Captaine, after that they had entred into Rome, who were there of Marcellus the blessed bishop, confirmed in the fayth, promising by othe that they would rather be slayne of their enemies, then forsake that faith which they had receaued, who followed the Emperours hoste through the Alpes euen into Fraunce. At that tyme the Caesarians were incamped not farre from the towne called Ottodor, where Maximianus offred sacrifice to his deuils, and called all the souldiours both of the East and West to the same, straightly charging them by the aultars of his Gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bangandes, and persecute the christian enemies of the Emperors Gods: which his commaundement was shewed to the Thebanes hoste, which were also incamped about the riuer of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne, but to Ottodor they wold in no wise come, for that euery man did certainly appointe and perswade with themselues rather in that place to dye, then either to sacrifice to the gods, or beare armour against the Christians. Which thing in deede very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed,* vpon their othe befor taken to Maximianus when he sent for them. Wherwith the tyrant beyng wrathfull and all mooued, commaunded euery tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sworde, whereto striuingly and with great reioysing they committed theyr neckes. To which notable thing and great force of fayth, Mauritius himselfe was a great encourager, who by & by w^t a most graue Oration exhorted & animated his souldiours both to fortitude & cōstancie.* Which beyng again called of y^e Emperor, answered in this wise saying:

We are O Emperour your souldiours, but yet also to speake freely, the seruants of god. We owe to thee seruice of war, to him innocēcie: of thee we receaue for our trauell, wages: of hym the beginning of lyfe. But in this we may in no wayes obey thee O Emperour, to deny God our author and Lord, and not onely ours, but your Lord likewise, will ye, nill ye. If we be not so extreemely enforced that we offend him, doubtles as we haue hitherto before, we will yet obey you, but otherwise we will rather obey hym then you. We offer here our handes agaynst any other enemies: but to defile our handes with the bloud of innocentes, that we may not doe. These right hands of ours haue skill to fight agaynst the wicked and true enemies: but to spoyle and murder the godly and Citizens, they haue no skill at all. We haue in remembraunce how we tooke armour in hand for the defence of the Citizens, and not agaynst them. We fought alwayes for iustice sake, pietie, and for the health of innocentes. These haue bene alwayes the rewardes of our perils and trauell We haue fought in the quarrell of fayth, whiche in no wise we can keepe to you, if we doe not shewe the same to our God. We first sware vpon the Sacramentes of our God, then afterward to the king: and doe you thinke the second will aduaile vs▪ if we breake the first▪ By vs you would plague the Christians, to doe which feate we are onely commaunded by you. We are here ready to confesse God the author of all thinges, and beleue in hys sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellowes and partakers of our labours and trauailes, to be put to the sword, and we sprinkled with their bloud, of which our most blessed companions and brethrē, their end and death we

haue not bewayled nor mourned, but rather haue bene glad, and haue reioyced [Page 81](#) thereat, for that they haue bene counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreeme necessitie of death cannot moue vs agaynst your maiesty, neyther yet any despiratiō, O Em^{perour}, which is wont in ventrous affayres to do much, shal 〈◇〉 vs agaynst you. Behold here we cast downe our weapons, and resist not, for that we had rather to be killed, then kill, and guiltles to dye, then guilty to liue. What soeuer more ye will commaūd appoynt and inioyne vs, we are here ready to suffer, yea both fire sword, and whatsoeuer other tormentes. We confesse our selues to be Christians, we cannot persecute Christians, nor will do sacrifice to your deuilish Idols.

With which their aunswer the kyng beyng altogether incensed and mooued, [*](#) commaunded the second tyme the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case murdered. That crueltie also beyng accomplished, at length whē the christian souldiours would in no wise condescend vnto his mynde, he set vpon them with his whole host, both footemen and also horsemen, and charged them to kil them all. Who with all force set vpon them, they making no resistance, but throwyng downe their armour, yelded theyr lyues to the persecutors, and offered to them theyr naked bodies.

[*](#)Victor at the same tyme was not of that bande, nor yet then any souldiour, but one beyng an old souldior, and dismissed for his age. At which tyme he comming sodainly vpon them as they were haketting and making mery with the spoyles of the holy Martyrs, was bidden to sit downe with them: and first asking the cause of that their so great reioysing, and vnderstanding the truth therof, detested the gueses, and refused to eate with them. And then being demaunded of them whether happily he were a Christian or no, openly confessed and denied not, but that he was • christian, and euer would be. And therupon they rushing vpō him, killed him, and made him partner of the like Martyrdome and honour.

[*](#)Beda in his history writeth, that this persecution beyng vnder Dioclesian, endured vnto the seuenth yere of Constantinus, and Euseb Lib 8. cap. 6 sayth, that is lasted vntill the x. yeare of Constantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the day in which Dioclesian & Maximianus ioyning themselues together, began their persecution, when that they sawe the number of the Christians rather to encrease then to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that euer they coule shew; and now were out of all hope for the vtter rootyng out of them. [*](#) which thing was the cause of their first enterprise, and had now euen their fill of bloud, and lothed as it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at the last of theyr owne accord to put any mo christians to death: But yet of a great multitude they did thrust out their right eyes, and maymed their left legs at the hamme with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of mettals, not so much for the vse of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemencie and release of the crueltie of those Princes, which sayd that it was not meete that the cities should be defiled with the bloud of citizens, and to make the Emperours highnesse to bee destained with the name of cruelty, but to shew his princely beneficence and liberalitie to all men. [*](#)Eusebius, Lib. 8. cap 10.

When Dioclesianus and Maximianus had raigned together Emperours twenty yeares and one (Nicephorus saith xxij. yeares) at length Dioclesian put himselfe from his imperiall dignitie at Nicomedia, and liued at Salona, Maximianus at Mediolanum, and led both of thē a priuate life in the 309. yeare after Christ. This strange and meruailous alteration gaue occasion, and so came

to passe, that within short space after,* there were in the Romaine commō welth many Emperours at one tyme.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Dioclesian beyng made Emperour, tooke to him Maximinian. Also how these two gouerning as Emperours together, chose other two Caesars vnder them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus & Constantius the father of Constantine the 〈◇〉. Thus then Dioclesian rainging with Maximinian, in the 19. yeare of his raigne, began his furious persecution against the christians, whose raigne after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrants mouth, that within two yeares after, he caused both him and Maximinian (for what cause he knoweth) to geue ouer his Imperial function▪ and so to remayne not as emperours any more, but as priuate persones: So that t•ey beyng now displaced and dispossessed, the Imperial dominion remayned w^t Constantius & Galerius Maximinus, which two deuided the whole Monarchie betwene them: so that Maximinus should gouerne the East countreys, & Constantius the west partes. But Constantius as a modest Prince, onely contented with the Imperial title, refused Italy and Aphrike, contenting himselfe only with Fraunce, Spaine, and Britaine. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to hym his two sonnes Maximinus and Seuerus. Likewise Constantius tooke Constantinus his sonne, Caesar vnder him. In the meane tyme, while Maximinus with his two Caesars were in Asia, the Romaine souldiours set vp for their emperour Maxentius the sonne of Maximinian, who had before deposed himselfe. Against whom Maximinus the Emperour of the East, sent his sonne Seuerus, which Seuerus was slayne in the same voyage of Maxentius. In whose place then Maximinus tooke Licinius. And these were the Emperours and Caesars, which succeeding after Dioclesian, and Maximinian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximinian before begun,* duryng neare the space of seuen or viij. yeares, which was to the yeare of our Lorde, 318. Saue onely that Constantius with his sonne Constantinus,* was no great doer therin, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the Christians. Which Constantius surnamed Chlorus for his palenesse, was the sonne of Eutropius, a mā of great nobilitie of the Romaine union, as Loetus affirmeth. He came of the lyne of Aeneas and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man had not the desire of great and mightie dominion, and therefore parted he the Empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britaine, and Spayne, refusing the other kingdomes for the troublesome and difficult gouernment of the same. Otherwise he was a Prince, as Eutropius maketh description of him, very excellent, ciuill, meeke, gentle, liberall, and desirous to do good vnto those that had any priuate authoritie vnder him.* And as Cyrus once sayd, that he ga•e treasure inough, when he made his friendes rich: euen so it is sayd that Constantius would often tymes say, that it were better that his subiects had treasure, thē he to haue it in his treasure house. Also he was by nature suffised with a little, In so much, that he vsed to eate and drinke in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathotles the Sicilian, a great commendation) and if at any tyme cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his frendes.* To these vertues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, deuotion, loue, and affection towards the word of God, as Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 13. affirmeth, after which vertues ensued great peace and tranquillitie in all his Prouinces: By which worde he being guided, neither leuied any warres contrary to pietie and christian religion, neither he aided anye other that did the same: neither destroyed he the churches, but commaunded that the christians should be preserued and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelions iniuries. And when that in the other iurisdictions of the Empire,* the congregatiōs were molested with persecution, as Sozomenus declareth, Lib. 1. cap. 6. he only gaue licence vnto the Christians to

liue after their accustomed maner. This wonderfull acte of his followyng, besides other, doth shew that he was a sincere worshipper of the christian religion.

Those which bare the chiefe offices among the Ethnikes, draue out of the emperors count all the godly Christians: wherupon this ensued, that the Emperors themselues at the last, were destitute of helpe, when suche were driuen away,* which dwelling in their courtes, and liuyng a godly lyfe, poure out their prayers vnto God for y^e prosperous estate and health both of the Empire & Emperor. Constantius therefore thinkyng at a certayne tyme to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in hys courte, called together all hys officers and seruaunts in the same, fayning himselfe to chitise out such as would do sacrifice to deuils, and that those only should dwell there & keep their offices, and that those which would refuse to doe the same, should be thrust out & banished the court. At this appointment, all the <◇> deuided thēselues into

<◇> ▪* The Emperor marked which were the constantest & godliest from the rest▪ And when <◇> sayd that they would willingly do sacrificie, other serue openly and boldly denied to do the same: Then the Emperor <◇> rebuked those which were so redy to doe <◇>, & iudged them as false traitors vnto God accountyng their vnworthy to bee in his court, which were such traitors to God, and forthwith commaunded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended them, which refused to doe sacrifice and confessed God, affirmyng that they onely were worthy to be aboue • prince, forthwith <◇> thē that thenceforth they should be the <◇> counsellors and defēders both of his person & kingdom, saying thus much more that they onely were worthy to be in office, whome he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he ment to haue them in more estimation,* then the substāce he had in his treasurie. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first booke of the life of Constantius, and also Sozomenus in his 1. booke and •. chap.

[Page 82](#)With this Constantius was ioyned (as hath bene aforesayd) Galerius Maximinus,* a man as Eutropius affirmeth, very ciuill and a passing good souldior: Furthermore, a fauourer of wise and learned men, of a quiet disposition, not rigorous, but in his dronkenesse, wherof he would soone after repent him, as Victor writeth. whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus his sonne, it is vncertayne. But Eusebius farre otherwise describeth the conditions of him in his viij. booke, and first chapter. For he sayth he was of a tyrannicall disposition: The feareinllest man that might be, and curious in all magicall superstition, in so much that without the diuinatiōs and aunsweres of diuels he durst do nothing at al, & therefore he gaue great offices and dignities to enchaunters. Furthermore that he was an exactor and extortioner of the Citizens, liberall to those that were flatterers, geuen to surfeting and riote, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drounkenesse most like a mad man, a Ribaud, an adulterer, which came to no City but he rauished virgins & defiled mens wiues.* To conclude he was so great an idolater, that he built vp Temples in euery City, and repayred those that were fallen in great decay: and he chose out the most worthiest of his politicall Magistrates to be the idols priestes, and deuised that they should execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pompe. But to Christian piety and religion he was most incensiuē, and in the East Churches exercised cruel persecution, and vsed as executioners of the same, Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus beside others.

Notwithstanding he was at length reuoked from his cruelty by the iust iudgemēt and punishment of God.* For he was sodenly vexed with a fatall disease most filthy and desperate, which disease

to describe was very straunge, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, frō thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his bodye. For in the priuy members of his body ther happened vnto him a suddayne putrificatiō, and after in the bottome of the same a botchy corrupt bile, with a Fistula, cōsuming & eating vp his entrals, out of the which came swarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with such a pestiferous stinche that no man coulde abide him, and so much more, for that all the grosenesse of his body by aboundance of meat before he fell sick, was turned also into a fat: which fat now putrified, and stincking was so vgsome and horrible, that none that came to him coulde abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the Phisitions which had him in cure,* some of thē notable to abide the intollerable stinch were commaunded to be slayne. Other some because they could not heale him being so swollen and past hope of cure were also cruelly put to death. At length being put in remembraunce that his disease was sent of God, he began to forethinke the wickednesse that he had done agaynst the sayntes of God, and so comming agayne to himselfe, first confeseth vnto god all his offences, then calling them vnto him which were about him, forthwith commaunded all men, to cease from the persecutions of the Christians. Requiring moreouer that they should set vp his Imperiall proclamatiōs, for the restoring and reedyfiyng of their tēples, and that they would obtayne this of the Christians, in their assembles (which without all feare and doubt they might be bolde to make) that they would deuoutly pray to theyr God for the Emperour. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the Imperiall proclamations in euery City were set vp, contayning the retraction or countermaund of those things which agaynst the Christians were before decreed, the copy whereof ensueth.

*Amongst other thinges which for the benefite and cōmodity of the common weale we established, we cōmaunded to reforme all thinges according to the auncient lawes and publicke discipline of the Romaines, and also to vse this pollicy, that the Christians which had forsaken the religion of those forefathers should be brought agayne to the right way. For such phāsticall singularity was amongst them, that those thinges which their elders had receiued and allowed, they re•ected and disallowed, deuising euery man such lawes as they thought good, and obserued the same, assembling in diuers places great multitudes of people.

Therefore when our foresaid decree was proclaymed, many there were that felt the penalty therof, and many being troubled therefore suffered many kindes of death. And because we see yet that there be many which perseuere in the same, which neither geue due worship vnto the Celestiall Gods neither receiue the God of the Christians, we hauing respect to our accustomed benignitie, wherewith we are wont to shew fauour vnto all men, thinke good in this cause also to extend our clemencie, that the Christians may be agayne tollerated, and appoynt them places where againe they may meet together, so that they doe nothing contrary to publick order and discipline By an other Epistle we meane to prescribe vnto the iudges, what shal be conuenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountifull clemencie deserueth, let them make intercession to God for our health, common weale, and for themselus, that in all places the state of of the common weale may be preserued, and that they themselues may be able safely to liue within their bondes.*Euseb. lib. 8. cap. vltimo.

But one of his inferior officers whose name was also Maximinus, was not well pleased when this countermaūd was Published throughout all Asia, and the Prouinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example that it was not conuenient for him to repugn the pleasure of those

Princes which had the chiefe authority as Constantius and Maximinus, set forth of himselfe no edict touching the same: but commaunded his officers in the presence of others, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians: of which commaundement of the inferiour Maximinus,* each of them gaue intelligence vnto their fellowes by their letters. But Sabinus which then amongst them all, had the chiefest office and dignitie: to the substitutes of euery countrey, wrote by his letters the Emperours pleasure in this wise.

The maiestie of our most gracious and Soueraigne Lordes the Emperours, hath lately decreed with speciall diligence and deuotiō, to induce all men to an vniforme life, so that they which seemed to dissent from the Romaine custome by a straunge maner of liuing, shoulde exhibite to the immortall Gods their due and proper worshipp, but the wilfull and obstinate minde of diuers so much, and so cōtinually resisted the same, that by no lawfull meanes they might be reuoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terror or punishment. Because therefore it so came to passe, that by this meanes many put themselues in perill and ieoperdy: The maiestie of our soueraigne Lordes the Emperours according to their noble pietie, considering that it was far from the meaning of their princely maiesties that suche thinges should be, whereby so many men and muche people should be, destroyd, gaue me in charge that with diligence I shoulde write vnto you, that if any of the Christians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exercise of their religion, that in no wise you molest the same, neither for that cause you doe iudge any man worthy of punishment: for that in all this time it hath euidentlye appeared that by no meanes they might be allured from such wilfulnesse. It is therefore requisite that your wisdome write vnto the Questors, Captaynes, and Constables of euery City and village, that they may know it not to be lawfull for them, or any of them,*to do contrary to the prescript of this commaundement, neither that they presume to attempt the same.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

The gouernours therefore of euery prouince, supposing this to be the determinate pleasure (and not fayned) of the Emperour,* did first aduertise thereof, the rusticall & Pagan multitude: After that they released and set at libertye all suche prisoners as were condemned to the mettall mines, & to perpetuall imprisonmēt for their fayth, thinking therby (where in deed they were deceiued) that the doing thereof would well please the Emperor. This therefore seemed to them as vnlooked for, and as light to traouellers in a darcke night.* They gather themselues together in euery City, they call their Synodes and counsels, & much maruell at the sodden chaunge and alteration. The Infidels themselues extoll the onely and true God of the christians. The Christians receiue agayne all their former libertie, and such as fell away before in the tyme of persecution, repent themselues and after penaunce done, they returned agayne to the congregation. Nowe the Christians reioyced in euery Citty, praying God with hymnes and Psalmes.*Eusebius ibidem. This was a maruailous sodaine alteration of the Church, from a most vnhappy state into a better, but scarce suffered Maximinus the Tyraunt the same vj. monethes vniuolated to continue. For whatsoever seemed to make for the subuersion of the same peace (yet scarcely hatched) that did he onely meditate. And first of all he tooke from the Christians all libertie and leaue for them to assemble and congregate in churchyardes vnder a certayne coulour. After that he sent certayne Miscreants vnto the Athenians, to sollicite them agaynst the Christians, and to prouoke them to aske of him as a recompence and great reward, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabite in their countrey: and amongst them was one Theotechnus, a most wicked miscreant, an inchaunter, and a most deadly enemy agaynst the Christians. He first made the way whereby the

Christians were put out of credite, and accused to the Emperour, to which fraud also he erected a certayne Idoll of Iupiter to be worshipped of the inchaunters and coniurers,* and mingled the same worship with ceremonies, full of deceiueable witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same Idoll to geue this sound out of his [Page 83](#) mouth. That is: Iupiter commaundeth the christians to be banished out of the Citie and suburbs of the same, as enemies vnto him. And the same sentence did the rest of the gouernors of the prouinces publish against the Christians, and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appoynted and instituted high priestes and bishops in euery citie to offer sacrifice vnto Idoles, & inueigled all those that were in great offices vnder him, that they should not onely cease to pleasure them & to do for them, but also that they should with new deuised accusatiōs agaynst thē, at their pleasure,* put as many to death as by any meanes they might. They also did counterfet certaine practises of Pilate against our sauour Christ full of blasphemie, and sent the same into all the Empire of Maximinus by their letters, commaunding that the same shoulde be published and set vp in euery citie and suburbs of the same, and that they should be deliuered to y^e scholemaisters, to cause their scholers to learne by roate the same.

After that one named Praefectus castrorum, whome the Romaines do call captaine, allured certaine light womē, partly by feare, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus in Phenicia, and taken out of the court wherein they were accused, that they shoulde openly say in wryting that they were once Christians, and that they knewe what wicked & lasciuious actes the Christians were wont to execute amongst themselues vpon the sondaies, & what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the slander of the Christians. The capitaine sheweth vnto the emperour theer words, as though it had bene so in deede, and the Emperour by and by commanded the same to be published throughout euery city. Furthermore, they did hange vp in the midst of euery Citie (which was neuer done before) the Emperours edicts against y^e Christians, grauen in tables of brasse. And the children in the scholes with great noise and clapping of handes did euery day resound, the contumelious blasphemies of Pilate vnto Iesus,* & what other things so euer were deuised of the magistrates, after most despitefull maner. Euseb. lib. 8, cap. 3.4.5.6.7. And this is the copie of the edict, which Maximinus caused to be fastened to pillers fraught, with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ.*

The weake and imbecil rebellion of mans minde (all obscuritie and blindnesse of ignorance set aparte, which hetherto hath wrapped the mindes of impious and miserable men, in the pernicious darkenesse of ignoraunce) is now at the length able to discerne, that the same is gouerned, as also corroborated by the pro|uidence of the immortall gods the louers of vertue: which thing, how acceptable it is to vs, howe pleasant and gratefull, and howe much prooffe the same hath declared of your wel disposed willing minds, is incredible to be tolde: Although this was not vnknown before with what diligence and deuotion yee serued the immortall Gods, whose wonderfull and constant faith is not knowen by bare and naked wordes, but by your worthy & notable deeds. Wherefore worthely is your Citie called the habitation and seate of the immortall Gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth, and prospereth by the presence of the celestially Gods. For beholde, your Citie not regarding your priuate businesses, nor esteeming that which shoulde haue bene for the speciall commoditie thereof, when it perceaued that cursed vanitie to begin againe to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brandes thereof began to kindle and make a great flame: by and by without delay ye hauing recourse vnto our pietie, as vnto the Metropolitan of all diuine worship and Religion,* craued remedie and

helpe, which wholesome minde for your pieties sake, it is most manifest that the gods haue indued you with. Therefore hee, euen that most mightie Iupiter I say, which preserueth your most famous Citie: to that intent he might deliuer and make free your countrey Gods, your wiues and children, your housholde Gods and houses, from all detestable corruption, hath inspired you with this wholesome and willing minde, shewing & declaring howe worthy, notable, and healthfull a thing it is to worship & to sacrifice to the immortall Gods.*For who is so void of reason & vnderstanding, that knoweth not that this thing happeneth vnto vs by the carefull studie of the goodnes of our gods, that the grounde denieth not to geue her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the husband mans hope, nor that wicked warre dare shew her face vpon the earth, nor that the corruption of the aire is nowe cause of pestilence, neither that the sea swelleth with immoderate windes,*neither that sodaine stormes are cause of hurtfull tempestes. To conclude, that the ground which is as the nurce and mother of all things, is not swallowed vp of her deepe chappes and gapings, by terrible earthquake, neither that the hils made leuell with the earth, are not with gaping cliftes deuoured, all which euils and greater then these, before this time to haue happened euery mā knoweth. And all these mischiefes came vpō vs for the pernicious errours sake of the extreeme follie of those wicked men the Christianis, when filthinesse it selfe (as I may call it) so occupied their mindes, and ouerranne the worlde. Let them beholde the fieldes nowe all about full of corne,*and ouerflowen as it were with eares of corne. Let them vewe the pleasant medowes clothed with flowers, and moistned with showers from heauen, and also the pleasant and temperate weather. Therefore let all men reioyce, that by your pietie, sacrifices, & worshipping, the maiestie of the most stearne God of battell Mars is appeased, & that therfore we enioy pleasant & firme peace. And how many so euer haue left that blind error and straying of the Christians vnfaignedly, and be of a better minde, let them specially reioyce, as men deliuered out of a sodaine great tempest, and from a greuous disease, and haue afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtlesse, if they had remained in that execrable vanitie, farre of had they bene chased from your Citie & suburbs of the same (according to your desire) that your Citie by that meanes, according to your commēdable diligence, clensed from all impuritie and impietie, may offer sacrifices according to the meaning of the same, with due reuerence of the immortall Gods. And that you may perceiue in how good part your supplication (yea vnasked and desired) we are most willing and ready to further your honest endeouours, and graunt vnto you for your deuotion, whatsoever you aske of our magnificence. And that thys thing may be accomplished, forthwith aske and haue. And thys thing with all speede, indeuour you to obtaine, which shall bee a perpetuall testimony of pietie exhibited of your Citie to the immortall Gods, and shalbe a president to your children and posteritie, and withall you shall obtaine of vs for this your willing desire of reformation,*condygne and worthy rewardes.

Eusebius. Lib 9. cap. 7.

Thus came it to passe that at the length persecutiō was as great as euer it was, and the magistrates of euery prouince were very disdainefull against the Christians which cōdemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three christians at Emisa,* in Phenicia, w^t whom Siluanus the bishop a very old man, being 40. yeres in the ecclesiasticall function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus the elder of Antioche, brought thether, after he had exhibited to the emperour his Apologie concerning the doctrin of the Christians, was cast in pryson, and after put to death. In Amasea a City of Capadocia, Bringes the lieftenaunt of Maximinus, had at that time, the executing of that persecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a most worthy byshop was beheaded with whome manye other Egiptian byshops also died. Euseb. Lib.

9. cap. 7. Nicepho. Lib. 7. cap. 44. Quirinus the Byshop Scescanius hauing a hanmyll tyed about hys necke, was throwne headlong from the bridge, into the flood, and there a long while fleeted aboue the water, and when hee opened his mouth to speake to the lookers on that they shoulde not be dismaied with that his punishmēt, was with much a do drowned. Chron. Euseb. At Rome dyed Marcellus the bishop as sayeth Platina, also Timotheus the elder, with many other bishops & Priests were martyred. To cōclud many in sundry places euery where were martyred, whose name y^e booke intituled Fasciculus temporum declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Castorius, with his wife, Castulus, Cesarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martirs,* Erasmus, Bonifacius, Iuliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basilinus with seuen others, Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hireneus, Ianuarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea. Theodora, and 270. other Martyrs, Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modestus, Crescentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia, the virgin, and Antheus the king with many thousād martirs mo. Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Iustus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other mo to an infinite number,* suffered martirdome in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the booke of life. Also Felix Victor, with his parents Lucia the widow, Gemenianus, with 79 others, Sabinus, Anastasia, Chrisogonus, Felix, and Audactus, Adrianus, Nathalia, Eugenia, Agnes, also when she was but 13. yeare old was martyred▪ Euseb. in his 8. booke and 15. chap. rehearseth these kinds of torments and punishmēts,* that is to say, Fire, wilde beastes, the sword, crucifyinges, the bottome of the sea, the cutting and burning of mēbers, the thrusting out of eyes, dismembring of the whole body, hūger, imprisonment, & whatsoeuer other cruelty y^e Magistrates coulde deuise. All which notwithstanding the godly ones, rather then that they woulde doe sacrifice as they were bid, māfully endured. Neither were the womē any thing at al behind thē. For they beyng intised to the filthy vse of their bodies, rather suffered banishmēt, or willingly killed themselues. Neither yet could the Christians liue safely in the wildernes, but were fetched euē frō thēce to death and tormentes, in so much that this was a more greeuous persecution vnder Maximianus, the tyraunt, then [Page 84](#) was the former cruell persecution, vnder Maximianus the Prince.* Euseb. Lib. 9. cap. 6. & 10.

And forasmuch as yee haue hearde the cruell Edict of Maximinus proclaymed against the Christians, grauen in brasse, which he thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ & his Religion: Now marke againe the great handy worke of God, which immediatly fel vpon the same,* checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, prouing al to be false and contrary, that in the brasen Proclamation was contained. For where the foresaide Edict boasted so much of the prosperitie and plentie of all things in the time of this persecution of the Christians, sodenly befell such vnseasonable drougt with famine and pestilēce among the people, besides also the warres with the Armenians, that all was founde vntrue that hee had bragged so much of before. By reason of which famine and pestilence y^e people were greatly consumed, in so much that one measure of wheat was sold for two thousand and fiue hundred peeces of money of Athens coyne, by reason whereof innumerable died in the Cities, but many more in the countrey and villages, so that most part of the husbād men and countrey men died vp with the famine and pestilence. Diuers there were which bringing out their best treasure,* were glad to geue it for any kinde of sustenāce, were it neuer so litle. Other selling away their possessions, fel by reason thereof to extreme pouertie and beggary. Certaine eating grasse, and feeding on other vnholosome herbes, were faine to relieue them selues with such foode as did hurt and poyson their dodies.

Also a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extreeme miserie and penurie, were constrained to depart the Citie, and fal to begging through the coūtrei.* Some other were weake and faint (as Images without breath) wandring vp and downe, & not able to stand for feblenesse, fel downe in the middle of y^e streetes, and holding vp their handes most pitifull, cried for some scrappes or fragments of bread to be geuen them, & being at the last gaspe, ready to geue vp the Ghost, and not able to vtter any other words, yet cried out that they were hūgry. Of the richer sort diuers there were, who being weary with the number of beggers and askers, after they had bestowed largely vpon them, became hard harted, fearing least they should fall into the same miserie themselues, as they which begged. By reason wherof the market place, streetes, lanes, and alleis lay full of dead & naked bodies, being cast out and vnburied, to the pitifull & grieuous beholding of them that saw them. Wherefore many were eaten of dogges, for which cause they that liued fell to the killing of dogges, least they running mad, shoulde fall vpon them, and kill them.

*In like maner the pestilence scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no lesse consume them, especially those which through plēty of vitail escaped famine. Wherefore the rich Princes Presidentes and other innumerable of the Magistrates, being the more apt to receiue the infection, by reason of their plēty, were quickly dispatched, and turned vp their heeles. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places was full of mourning, neither was there any thing else seene, but wailing and weeping in euery corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence in short time brake vp and consumed whole houtholdes, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from one house to one funerall,

These were the rewards of the vaine bragges of Maximinus and his Edicts, which he did publish in all townes and Cities against vs, whē it was euident to al men, how diligent and charitable the Christians were to them all in this their miserable extremitie. For they onely in all this time of distresse, shewing compassion vpō them, trauelled euery day, some in curing the sicke, & some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their owne sort were forsaken. Other some of the Christians calling and gathering the multitude together,* which were in ieopardie of famine, distributed bread to them, whereby they ministred occasion to all men to glorifie the God of the Christians, and to confesse them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeard by their workes. By the meanes and reason hereof, the great God and defender of the Christians, who before had shewed his anger and indignation against al men, for their wrongfull afflicting of vs, opened againe vnto vs the comfortable light of his prouidence, so that by meanes thereof peace fell vnto vs, as light to them that sit in darknesse, to the great admiration of all men, which easely perceiue God himselfe to be a perpetuall director of our doings, who many times chasteneth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction, againe sheweth himselfe mercifull and fauourable to them which with trust call vpon him.

By the narration of these things heeretofore premised, taken out of the storie of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so is it wonderfull to marke and note, how those counsailes and rages of the Gentiles, atchieued against Christ and his Christians, when they seemed most •ure against them, were most against them selues. And whereby they thought most to confoūd the Church & Religion of Christ, the same turned most to their owne confusion,* and to the profite and praise of the Christians, (God of his marueilous wisdomes so ordering & disposing the end of things.) For where the brasen Edict of the Emperour promised temperate weather, God sent drought,

where it promised plentie, God immediatly sent vpon them famine and penurie: where it promised health, God stroke them euen vpon the same, with grieuous pestilence, and with other moe calamities, in such sort, that the most reliefe they had, was chiefly by the Christians, to the great praise both of them, and to the honour of our God.

Thus most plainely and euidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his Church,* affirming and assuring vs, that the gates of hell shall not preuaile against his Church builded vpō his faith: as sufficiently may appeare by these x. persecutiōs aboue specified and described. Wherein as no man can deny, but that Sathan & his malignaunt world haue assayed the vttermost of their power and might to ouerthrow the Church of Iesus: so must all men needes graunt, that read these stories, that when Sathan and the gates of hell haue done their worst, yet haue they not preuailed against this mount of Sion, nor euer shall. For els what was here to be thought, where so many Emperours and tyraunts together, Dioclesian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Maxentius, Licinius with their Captaines and officers, were let loose, like so many Lyons, vpon a scattered and vnarmed flocke of sheepe, intending nothing els, but the vtter subuersion of all Christianitie, and especially also when lawes were set vp in brasse against the Christians, as a thing perpetually to stand: what was here to be looked for, but a finall desolation of the name and Religion of Christians? But what folowed, partly ye haue heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the storie foloweth.

I shewed before how Maxentius the sonne of Maximinian, was set vp at Rome by the Pretorian souldiours to be Emperour. Whereunto the Senate, although they were not consenting, yet for feare they were not resisting. Maximinian his father, who had before depriued him selfe with Dioclesian, hearing of this, tooke heart againe to him, to resume his dignitie, and so laboured to perswade Dioclesian also to do the same: but when he could not moue him therunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinking to wrast the Empire out of his sonnes hand: but when the souldiours woulde not suffer that, of a craftie purpose he flieth to Constantinus in Fraunce, vnder pretense to complaine of Maxentius his sonne, but in very deede to kill Constantinus. Notwithstāding that conspiracie being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Constantinus had maryed, so was Constantinus through the grace of God preserued,* & Maximinian retired backe. In y^e which his flight by the way hee was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximinian.

Now let vs returne to Maxentius againe,* who all this while raigned at Rome, with tyranny and wickednes intollerable, much like to an other Pharaο or Nero. For hee slewe the most part of his noble men, and tooke from them their goodes. And sometime in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his souldiours, as Eusebius declareth,* lib. 8. cap. 14. Also hee left no mischieuous nor lasciuious acte vnattempted, but was the vtter enemie of all womanly chastity, which vsed to send the honest wiues whome he had adulterated with shame and dishonestie vnto their husbandes (being worthy Senators) after that he had rauished them. He abstained from no adulterous acte, but was inflamed with the inquencheable lust of deflouring of women.* Letus declareth that he being at a time farre in loue with a noble & chaste gentlewoman of Rome, sent vnto her such courtiers of his, as were mete for that purpose, whome also he had in greater estimation then any others, and with such was wont to cōsult about matters for the common weale. These first fell vpon her husbande and muredred him within his owne house, then when they coulde by no meanes neither with feare of the tyrant,* nor with threatning of death

pull her away from him: At length she being a Christian desired leaue of them to go into her chamber, and after her prayers shee would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her chamber, vnder this pretence, she killed her [Page 85](#) selfe. But the Courtiers when they sawe that the woman taryed so long, they being displeased therewith, brake open the doores, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the Emperor, who was so far past shame, that in steade of repentance, hee was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

He was also much addict to the arte Magicall, which to execute,* hee was more fitte then the Imperiall dignitie. Also sometime he would rippe women when they were in laboure, and would search the place where the infant lay, being borne a little before. Often he would inuocate Diuels in a secrete maner, and by the answeres of them hee sought to breake the warres, which he knew Constantinus and Licinius prepared against him. And to the ende hee might the rather perpetrate hys mischieuous and wicked attemptes, which in his vngracious minde he had conceiued, according to his purpose,* in the beginning of his raigne he fained himself to be a fauourer of the Christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome hys friendes, hee commaunded that they shoulde cease from persecuting of the Christians, and hee himselfe in the meane season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at last to shewe hymselfe an open persecutour of them: at which time as Zonaras wryteth hee most cruelly raged against all the Christians thereabouts, vexing them w^t all maner of iniuries. Which thing he in no lesse wise did, then Maximinus, as Euse. in his 8. booke and 15. chap. seemeth to affirme.* And Platina declareth in the life of Marcellus the Bishop, that hee banished a certaine noble woman of Rome, because shee gaue her goodes to the Church.

Thus by the grieuous tyranny and vnspeakable wickednesse of thys Maxentius,* the Citizens and Senatours of Rome, being much grieued and oppressed, sent theyr complaintes wyth letters vnto Constantinus, wyth much sute and most hearty petitions, desiring hym to helpe and release their Countrey and Citie of Rome: who hearyng and vnderstanding theyr miserable and pitifull state, and grieued therewyth not a little, first sendeth by letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to refrayne his corrupt doinges, and great crueltie. But when no letters nor exhortations would preuaile, at length pitying the wofull case of the Romaines, gathered together hys power and armie in Britayne and Fraunce, wherewyth to repress the violent rage of that tyraunt. Thus Constantinus sufficiently appoynted with strength of men, but especially wyth strength of God, entred hys iourney comming towarde Italie, whyche was about the last yeare of the persecution.* Anno 318. Maxentius vnderstanding of the comming of Constantine, and trusting more to his diuelish Arte of Magike, then to the good will of hys subiectes, whych hee little deserued, durst not shewe hymselfe out of the Citie, nor encounter wyth him in the open fielde, but wyth priuie garrisons laide in waite for him by the waye, in sundry straightes as he should come. With whom Constantine had diuers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lorde did euer vanquishe them and put them to flight.* Notwythstanding Constantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in hys minde (approching nowe neare vnto Rome) for the Magicall charmes and sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith hee had vanquished before Seuerus sent by Galerius against hym,* as hath bene declared, which made also Constantinus the more afrayde. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and reuoluing many thinges in his minde, what helpe he might haue against the operatiōs of hys charming, which vsed to cut women great with childe, to take hys diuelishe charmes by the entrals of the infants, with such other like feates of deuilishnes

which he practised: These thinges (I say) Constantinus doubting and reuoluing in his minde, in his journey drawing toward the Citie, and casting vp his eyes many times to heauen, in the South part, about the going downe of the sunne, sawe a great brightnesse in heauen, appearing in the similitude of a crosse, wyth certaine starres of equall bignesse, geuing this inscription like Latine letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is: In thys ouercome. Euseb. De vita Constant lib. 2. Nicep. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib 1. cap 3. Socrat lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrspurgens. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. Thys miraculous vision to be true, for the more credite, Eusebius Pamphilus in hys first booke De vita Constantini doeth witnesse moreouer, that hee had hearde the sayde Constantinus himselfe oftentimes reporte, and also to sweare this to be true and certaine, which hee did see with his owne eyes in heauen, and also his souldiours about him. At the sight wherof, when he was greatly astonied, and consulting with his men vpon the meaning thereof, behold in the night season in his slepe Christ appeared to him with the signe of the same crosse, which he had seene before, bidding him to make the figuration therof, and to carie it in hys warres before him, and so shoulde he haue the victorie.

Wherin is to be noted (good Reader) that this signe of the Crosse,* and these letters added withall: In hoc vince, was geuen to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opynion of the Crosse, as though the crosse it self, had any such power or strength in it, to obtaine victorie: but onely to beare the meaning of an other thing, that is, to be an admonition to him, to seeke and aspire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified vppon the crosse for the saluation of him, and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of his name, as afterwarde it came to passe. This by the way, now to the matter.

The next day following after this nights vision,*Constantinus caused a crosse after the same figuratiō to be made of golde and precious stone, and to be borne before him in steade of his standard: and so with much hope of victory & great confidence, as one armed from heauen spedeth himselfe towarde his enemye. Against whom Maxentius being constrained perforce to issue out of the Citie, sendeth al his power to ioyn with him in the fiede beyonde the riuer of Tybur, where Maxentius craftely breaking downe y^e bridge called Pons Miluius, caused an other deceitfull bridge to be made of boates and whirries, being ioyned together, and couered ouer with boordes and planckes in maner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But here it came to passe which in the 7. Psalme is writtē. He digged a pit,*and fell therein himselfe. Let his working returne vpon his owne head, and his vnrighteousnesse vppon hys owne pate, which heere in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two hostes did meete, hee being not able to sustaine the force of Constantine fighting vnder the crosse of Christ against hym,* was put to such a flight, and driuen to suche an exigent, that in retyring backe, for hast thinking to get the Citie, vppon the same bridge which he did lay for Constantine, was ouerturned by the fall of hys horse into the bottome of the floude, and there with the waight of his armour, he with a great part of his beatē men were drowned. Representing vnto vs the like example of Pharaō & his host drowned in the red sea. Who not vnaptly seemeth to beare a Prophetically figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Israel were in long thraldome and persecution in Egypt vnder tyrantes there, til the drowning of this Pharaō theyr last persecutour: so was this Maxentius and Maximinus and Licinius the last persecutours in the Romane Monarchie of the Christians, whome thys Constantinus fighting vnder the crosse of Christ, did vanquishe and set the Christians at liberty,* who before had bene persecuted nowe 300. yeares in Rome, as hath bene hetherto in this historie declared.

Wherefore as the Israelites with their Moses at the drowning of their Pharaos, [*](#) song gloriously vnto the Lorde, who myraculously had cast downe the horse and horsemen into the sea: So no lesse reioycing and exceeding gladnesse was heere, to see the gloryous hande of the Lorde Christe fighting with his people, and vanquishing hys enemyes and persecutours.

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten: [*](#) yet we neuer read, nor euer shal of any victory so wholsom, so commodious, so opportune to mākind as this was, which made an ende of so much bloudshed, & obtained so much libertye & life to the posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some persecutiō was yet stirring in the East countreys by Maximinus and Licinius, as shall be declared: Yet in Rome and in all the West partes, no martyr died after this heauēly victory gotten. And also in the East partes the said Constantinus with the said crosse borne before him, consequently vpon the same so vanquished the tyrants, [*](#) and so established the peace of the church, that for the space of a iust M. yeares after that, we reade of no set persecution against the Christians, vnto the time of Iohn Wickliffe, when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of Christ, as in further processe of thys historie (Christ graunting) shall appeare. So happie, so glorious (as I sayde) was this victorie of Constantine, surnamed the great. For the ioy & gladnes wherof, the Citizens who had sent for him before, with exceding triumph brought him into the citie of Rome, where he w^t the crosse was most honourably receiued and celebrated the space of vij. dayes together, hauing moreouer in the market place, his image set vp, holding in his right hande the signe of the crosse, w^t this inscription: Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio, ciuitatem nostram iugo tyranni ereptam liberaui. That is, with this wholesome signe, the true [Page 86](#) token of fortitude, I haue rescued and deliuered our Citie from the yoke of the tyrant. [*](#)Euseb lib. 9. cap 9.

By this heauenly victorie of Constantinus, and by the death of Maxentius no little tranquillity came to the church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the East churches the storme of this tenth persecutiō was not yet altogether quieted, but that some taile thereof in those partes remained for the space of ij. or iij. yeare. [*](#) But of this we minde to speake (Christ willing) hereafter. In the meane season, to returne againe to the West partes here in Europe, where Constantinus then had most to doe, great tranquillitie followed, and long cōtinued in the church without any open slaughter, for a thousande yeares together (to the time of Iohn Wickliffe and Waldenses, as is before touched) by the meanes of the godly beginning of good Constantinus, who with his fellow Licinius, being now stablished in their dominion, eftsones set foorth their generall proclamation or edict, not cōstraining therein any man to any religion, but geuing liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adioyne wyth them, whosoeuer pleased. Which thing was very wel taken, and highly allowed of the Romaines, and al wise men. The copie of the Edict or constitution here ensueth.

The copie of the Imperial constitution of Constantinus and Licinius, for the establishing of the free worshipping of God, after the Christian religion.

NOt long agoe we weying with our selues, that the libertie and freedome of religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, [*](#) but that free leaue ought to be geuen to euery man to doe therein

according to his wil and minde, we haue giuen commandement to all men to qualifie matters of religion as they themselues thought good, and that also the Christians shoulde keepe the opinions and faith of their religion. But because that many & sundry opinions by the same our first licence spring and increase through such libertie graunted, we thought good manifestly to adde thereunto, and make plaine such things, wherby perchance some of them in time to come, may from such their obseruaunce be let or hindered. When therfore by prosperous successe, I Constantinus Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus came to Mediolanum, and there sate in councell vpon such thinges as serued for the vtilitie and profit of the common weale, these things amongst others, we thought woulde be beneficiall to all men, yea and before all other things we purposed to establish those things, wherin the true reuerence and worship of God is comprehended, that is, to geue vnto the Christians free choise to followe what religion they thinke good, and whereby the same sinceritie and celestiall grace which is in euery place receaued, may also be embraced and accepted of all our louing subiects. According therefore vnto this our pleasure vpon good aduisement and sounde iudgement, we haue decreed, that no man so hardy, be denied to chuse and followe the Christian obseruance or religion: But that this libertie be geuen to euery man, that he may apply his minde to what religion he thinketh meete himselfe, whereby God may performe vpon vs all his accustomed care and goodnesse. To the intent therefore you might knowe that this is our pleasure, wee thought it necessary this to wryte vnto you, whereby all such errorrs and opinions being remooued, which in our former letters (being sent vnto you in the behalfe of the Christians) are conteyned, and which seeme very vndiscreete and contrary to our clemēcy, may be made frustrate & adnihilate. Now therfore firmly and freely we will and commaunde, that euery man haue a free libertie to obserue the Christian religion, and that without any griefe or molestation hee may be suffered to doe the same. These things haue we thought good to signifie vnto you by as plaine wordes as we may, that we haue geuen to the Christians free and absolute power to keepe and vse their religion. And for as much as this libertie is absolutely geuen of vs vnto them, to vse and exercise their former obseruance, if any be so disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establishe the publike tranquillitie of our time, euery man to haue licence and libertie to vse and chuse what kinde of worshipping he list himself. And this is done of vs onely for the intent, that we woulde haue no man to be enforced to one religion more then an other. And this thing also amongst others we haue prouided for the Christians, that they may haue againe the possessiō of such places, in which heretofore they haue bene accustomed to make their assemblies, so that if any haue bought or purchased the same either of vs, or of any other: the same places without either mony or other recompence, forthwith and without delay we will to be restored againe vnto the sayd Christians. And if any man haue obtained the same by gift from vs, and shall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalf: Then let the Christians repaire vnto the President (being the iudge appoynted for that place) that consideration may be had of those mē by our benignitie: al which things we will and commaunde, that you see to be geuen and restored freely, and with diligence vnto the societie of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselues are vnderstoode to haue had not onely those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certaine other peculiar places also, not being priuate to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation and societie: you shall see also al those to be restored vnto the Christians, that is to say, to euery fellowship and company of them, according to the decree, whereof we haue made mention, all delay set apart. Prouided that the order we haue taken in the meane time be obserued, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust but be sure to be saued harmelesse by vs. In all these things it

shall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foresayde companie of the Christians, whereby this our commaundement may speedely be accomplished, and also in this case by our clemencie the common and publike peace may be preserued. For vndoubtedly by this meanes, as before we haue sayde, the good will and fauour of God towards vs (whereof in many cases we haue had good experience) shall alwayes continue with vs. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the copie of these our letters be set vp in all places, that men may reade and knowe the same, least any should be ignorant thereof.

By these hystories I doubt not (good reader) but thou doest right well cōsider and behold with thy selfe the marueilous working of God his mighty power: * to see so many Emperours at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and his Christ annoynted, whose names before we haue recited, as Dioclesian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Licinius, who hauing the subiection of the whole world vnder their dominion, did bende and extende their whole might and deuises, to extirpate the name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of man could haue preuailed, * what coulde they not doe? or what coulde they doe more then they did? If policie or deuises could haue serued, what policie was there lacking? If torments or paines of death could haue helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be inuented, which was not attempted? If lawes, edictes, proclamations, wrytten not onely in tables, but ingrauen in brasse, could haue stande, all this was practised against the weake Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see howe no counsaile can stand against the Lorde, note heere how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his Church doth stande. Fyrst, of the taking away of Maximinian you haue heard, also of the death of Seuerus, of the drowning moreouer of Maxentius, * inough hath bene sayde. What a terrible plague was vpon Galerius, consuming his priuie members with Lice, hath bene also described. Howe Dioclesian the quondam being at Salona, hearing of the proceedings of Constantinus, * and this his Edict, either for sorrow died, or as some say did poyson himselfe. Onely Maximinus now in the East partes remained aliuie, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no lesse expressed the same wyth mortall persecution, to whome Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be deliuered: at the sight whereof, although hee was somewhat appaled, and defeated of his purpose: yet forasmuch as he saw himselfe too weake to resist the authoritie of Constantinus and Licinius the superiour Princes: * Hee dissembled his counterfet pietie, as though hee himselfe had tendered the quiet of the Christians: directing downe a certaine decree in the behalfe of the Christians, wherein hee pretendeth to wryte to Sabinus afore mentioned, first repeating vnto him the former decree of Dioclesian and Maximinian in few wordes, with the commandement therein contained touching the persecution against the Christians. After that hee reciteth the Decree which he himselfe made against them, when he came first to the imperiall dignitie in the East part ioyned wyth Constantius. Then the Countermaund of an other Decree of his agayne, for the rescuing of the Christians, wyth such fayned and pretensed causes, as is in the same to be seene. After that declareth howe he comming to Nicomedia, at the sute and supplication of the Citizens (which he also fained, as may appeare before) he applying to their sute, reuoked that his former Edict, and graunted them that no Christian should dwell within their Citie or territories. Upon which Sabinus also had geuen foorth his letters, rehearsing withall the generall recountermaunde sent forth by him, for the persecution againe of the Christians. Last of all nowe hee sendeth downe againe an other Surrecountermaund, * with the causes therein conteyned, touching the safetie of the Christians, and tranquillitie of them: Commaunding Sabinus to publish the same. Which edict

of his is at large set forth of Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 9. But this Surrecountermaunde hee then dissimuled, as he had [Page 87](#) done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he making warres, and fighting a battaile with Licinius, wherein hee lost the victory,* comming home againe, tooke great indignation against the Priestes and Prophetes of his Gods, whom before that time he had great regard vnto, and honored: vpon whose answers he trusting, & depending vpon their enchantments, began hys warre against Licinius. But after that he perceaued himselfe to be deceaued by thē,* as by wicked enchaunters and deceauers, and such as had betrayed hys safety and person, he kylled and put them to death. And hee shortly after, oppressed with a certaine disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preseruacion of them, wyth franchise and liberty: the copy wherof ensueth.

Imperator Caesar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus. It is necessary that we alwaies carefully prouide and see vnto, the benefite and commoditie of such as be our subiects, & to exhibit such things vnto them, wherby they may best obtaine the same. But we suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but knowe and vnderstand what things make best for the profite & commoditie of the common weale, & best please euery mans disposition. But it is meete and conuenient that euery man haue recourse to that which they haue sene done before their eyes, and that all sortes of men consider the same, & beare it in their mindes. When therfore, and that before this time it came vnto our knowledge: vpon the occasion that Dioclesianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitours of famous memorie, commaunded the assemblies and meetings of the Christians to be cut of, there were many of them spoyled and robbed of our Officials: which thing we also perceiue is now put in practise against our subiects, that they in like case may be spoyled of their goods and substance, which thing chiefly to preuent, is our onely indeuour. By our letters sent to the gouernours of euery prouince the yere past, we ordeined that if any man were disposed to leane vnto the Christian religion, that he might without any iniury done vnto him, accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested: and that he might without any feare or suspition, do whatsoeuer he therein thought good. But now also we vnderstand that there be certaine iudges which haue neglected▪ our commandemēt, and haue put our subiects in doubt, whether that hath ben our pleasure or not, which thing they did, that such men might be the better aduised, how they entred into such religion: wherein they followed their owne phantasie. To the entent therfore that after this, all suspition, doubt, and feare may be taken away: we haue thought good to publish this our edict, whereby it may be made manifest to euery man, that it shalbe lawfull for all such as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our graunt and letters patents, to vse what religion they like best. And also hereby we graunt vnto them licence to build them Oratories or Temples.* And furthermore, that this our graunt may more amply extende vnto them, we vouchsafe to appoynt and ordaine, that whatsoeuer landes and substance, before belonging and appertaining to the Christians, and by the commandement of our predecessors were transposed to our reuenue and exchequer, or els be in the possession of any Citie, by meanes of the franchises of the same, or els otherwise sold or geuen to any man: all and euery parcell thereof we commaund shall be restored vnto the proper vse of the Christians againe, whereby they may all haue in this matter more experience, of our godly deuotion and prouidence. Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

Maximinus thus being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued wyth an incurable disease in the guts, sent by the hande of God, was compelled by torments and aduersitie to cōfesse the true

God, whom before he regarded not, and to write thys Edicte in the fauour of those Christians, whom before he did persecute.* Thus the Lord doth make many times hys enemyes, be they neuer so sterne & stout, at length to stoupe, & mauger their harts, to confesse him, as this Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemencie of his disease ended his life.* Whereby, no mo tyrauntes nowe were left aliue, to trouble the Church, but onely Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of hys persecutions stirred vp in the East partes, against the Saints of God, now remaineth in order of story to prosecute.

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made first Caesar by Galerius,* as is aboue specified, was afterward ioyned with Constantinus in gouernement of the Empyre, and in setting foorth the Edicts, which before we haue described: although it seemeth, all this to be done of him w^t a dissembling minde. For so is he in all hystories described, to be a man passing all other in desire of vnsatiable riches, geuen to lechery, hasty, stubburne, and furious. To learning hee was such an enemye, that he named the same a poyson and a common pestilence,* and especially the knowledge of the lawes. Hee thought no vice worse became a Prince, then learning, because hee him selfe was vnlearned. Eutropius, Letus, Ignatius. Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

There was betweene him and Constantinus in the beginning great familiaritie: and such agreement, that Constantinus gaue vnto him his sister Constantia in Matrimonie, as Aurelius Victor wryteth. Neither woulde any man haue thought him to haue bene of any other Religion then Constantinus was of, hee seemed in all thinges so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Constantinus in the behalfe of the Christians, as we haue shewed. Eusebius,* Lib. 9. cap. 9. And such was Licinius in the beginning. But after arming him selfe with tyrannie, began to cōspire against the person of Constantinus, of whom he had receaued so great benefites, neither fauorable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his othes, his bloud, nor promises. But when hee considered that in his conspiracies he nothing preuailed,* for that he saw Cōstantinus was preserued and safely defended of God: And partly being puffed vp w^t the victory against Maximinus, he began vehemētly to hate him, and not onely to reiect the Christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. Hee saide he would become an enemy vnto the Christiās, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantinus. Therefore, first by litle and litle and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the christians,* & banished them his Court, which neuer were by any meanes preiudiciall to his kingdom. Then he commāded that all those should be depriued which were knights of the honourable order, vnlesse they would do sacrifice to deuils. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. The same persecution afterwarde stretched he from his court, into all his prouinces, which with most wicked and deuised lawes hee set forth. First, that for no cause the Byshops shoulde in any matter communicate together: neither that any man should come at the Churches next vnto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and vtilitie of the Church.

After, that the men & women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the women should come in those places where they vsed to preach and read the worde of God, neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the Byshops, but should chuse out such women amongst them as shoulde instruct them.* The thirde most cruell and wickedst of all was, that none should helpe and succour those that were cast in prison, nor shoulde bestowe any almes or charitie vpon them, though they shoulde die for hunger: and they which shewed any compassion vpon those that were condemned to death, should be as greatly punished,* as they to

whome they shewed the same shoulde be. Eusebius libro primo de vita Constantini. These were the most horrible cōstitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and passed the boundes of nature.

After this he vsed violence against the Byshops, but yet not openly,* for feare of Constantinus, but priuely and by conspiracie: by which meanes hee slewe those that were the worthiest men amongst the Doctours and Prelates. And about Amasea and other Cities of Pontus, he razed the Churches euen to the ground. Other some he shut vp, that no man should come after their accustomed maner to pray and worship God: and therefore as we sayde before, his conscience accusing him, all this hee did, for that he suspected they prayed for Constantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the East parties vnto the Libians, which bordered vpon the Egyptians, the christians durst not assemble and come together for the displeasure of Licinius,* which hee had conceaued against them. Zozomenus. Lib. 1. cap. 2.

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were vnder him, thinking by this meanes to please him, slewe & made out of the way many byshops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had bene homicides & hainous offenders: and such rigorousnes vsed they towards some of them, that they cut their bodyes into gobbets and small peeces in maner of a Boucher, and after that threwe them into the Sea to feede the fishes.*Euseb. Lib. 10. cap. 8. What shall we speake of the exiles & confiscations of good and vertuous men? For he tooke by violence euery mans substaunce, and cared not by what meanes he came by the same: But threatned them with death, vnlesse they would forgoe the same. Hee banished those which had committed none euill at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour, should be made out of the way, neither yet herewith content, but gaue their daughters that were vnmarried, to varlets and wicked ones to be defloured. And Licinius himselfe (although that by reason of his yeres, his body was spent) yet shamefully did hee vitiate many women, mens wiues & maids.*Euseb Lib. 1. de vita Constantini. Which cruel outrage of him caused many godly mē of their owne accorde to forsake their houses: and it was also seene that the woodes, fieldes, desert places and mountaines, [Page 88](#) were faine to be the habitations, and resting places of the poore and miserable Christians.*Eusebius. Lib. 10. cap. 14. Of those worthy men and famous Martyrs, which in this persecution founde the way to heauen, Nicephorus. Lib. 7. cap. 10. first speaketh of Theodorus, who first being hanged vpon the crosse, had nawles thrust into his arme pits, and after that his head stricken of. Also of another Theodorus being the Byshop of Tyre, the thirde was a man of Perga. Basilius also the Byshop of Amasenus, Nicolaus, the Byshop of Mirorus, Gregorius, of Armenia the great: After that, Paule of Neocaesaria, which by the impious commandemēt of Licinius had both his hands cut of with a searing yron. Besides these were in the Citie of Sebastia, xl. worthy men, & Christian souldiours in the vehemēt cold time of winter, soused and drowned in a horse pond, whē Locias as yet, of whom we spake before, and Agricolaus executing the Shrieues office vnder Licinius in the East parts, were aliue: and were in great estimation, for inuenting of new and strange torments against the Christians. The wiues of those 40. good men, were caried to Heraclea a Citie in Thracia, and there with a certaine Deacon whose name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them most constauntly indured) slaine with the sworde. These thinges wryteth Nicephorus. Also Zozomenus in his ninth booke & 2. Chapter maketh mention of the same Martyrs. And Basilius in a certaine Oration seemeth to intreate of their history, sauing that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And surely Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fel out according to his desire, to haue ouerrunne all the Christians: to which thing neither counsell, nor good will, nor yet oportunitie,

perchance wanted: vnlesse God had brought Constantinus into those parties, where he gouerned: where, in the warres which hee himselfe began (knowing right well that Constantinus had intelligence of his conspiracy & treason) ioyning battaile with him, was most cowardly ouercome.

Diuers battailes betweene them were fought, the first fought in Hungarie, where Licinius was ouerthrowen: Then he fled into Macedonia, & repairing his army, was againe discomfited. Finally, being vāquished, both by sea and lande: he lastly, at Nicomedia, yelded himselfe to Constantine: and was cōmaunded to liue a priuate life in Thessalia, where at length he was slaine by the souldiours.

Thus haue ye heard, the ende and conclusion of all the vij. tyrants,* which were the authors and workers of this x. and last persecutiō, against the true people of God. The chiefe Captaine, and incentour of which persecution was first Dioclesian, who died at Salena, as some say, by his owne poyson. An. 319. The next was Maximinian, who as is sayde, was hanged of Constantine at Masilia, about the yeare of our Lorde. 310. Then died Galerius, plagued with an horrible disease sent of God. Seuerus was slaine by Maximinian, father of Maxentius the wicked tyraunt was ouercome and vanquished of Constantine. an. 318. Maximinus the vi. tyraunt taried not long after, who being ouercome by Licinius, died, about the yere of our Lord. 320. Lastly, how this Licinius was ouercome by Constantine and slaine. An. 324. is before declared. Only Constantius, the father of Constantine being a good and a godly Emperour, died in the third yeare of the persecution. An. 310. and was buried at Yorke. After whom succeeded after his godly father, Constantinus, as a seconde Moses sent and set vp of God to deliuer his people out of this so miserable captiuitie, into libertie most ioyfull.

*Now remaineth after the end of these persecutors thus described, to gather vp the names & stories of certain particular Martyrs, which nowe are to be set forth worthy of speciall memory: for their singular constancie & fortitude, shewed in their sufferings & cruell torments. The names of all which that suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, being in number infinite, in vertue most excellēt, it is impossible heere to comprehend: but the most notable, and in most approued authors expressed, we thought heere to insert, for the more edification of other Christiāns, which may and ought to looke vpon their examples, first beginning with Albanus, the first Martyr that euer in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

At what time Dioclesian & Maximinian the Pagan Emperours had directed out their letters with all seueritye, for the persecuting of the Christians:*Alban being then an infidell, receiued into his house a certaine Clerke, fleeing from the persecutours hands, whom when Alban beheld, continually both day & night to perseuer in watching and in prayer: sodenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith & vertuous life:* whereupon by litle and litle he being instructed by his holesom exhortation, and leauing the blindnesse of his Idolatrie, became at length a perfect Christian.* And when the forenamed Clerke had lodged with him a certaine time, it was enformed the wicked Prince, that this good man & Confessour of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albans house, or very neare vnto him. Whereupon immediately he gaue in charge to the souldiours, to make more diligent inquisition of the matter. Who as soone as they came to the house of Alban the Martyr, hee by and by putting on the apparell wherewith his guest and maister was apparelled (that is,* a garment at that time vsed,

named Caracalla) offered him selfe in the steade of the other to the souldiours: who binding him, brought him forthwith to the iudge. It fortuneth that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought unto the Iudge, they founde the same Iudge at the aulters offering sacrifice vnto Deuils, who as soone as hee sawe Alban, was straight waies in a great rage, for that hee woulde presume of his owne voluntary will, to offer him selfe to perill, and geue him selfe a prisoner to the souldiours, for safegarde of his guest whome he harbored: and commaunded him to be brought before the Images of the deuils whome he worshipped,* saying: For that thou haddest rather hide & conuey away a rebell, then to deliuer him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our Gods) he should not suffer punishment and merite of his blasphemye: looke what punishment he shoulde haue had, thou for him shalt suffer the same: if I perceiue thee any whit to reuolt from our maner of worshipping. But blessed Alban, who of his owne accorde had bewrayed to the persecutors that hee was a Christian, feared not at all the manaces of the Prince, but being armed with spirituall armour, openly pronounced that hee woulde not obey his commandement. Then sayd the Iudge: of what stocke or kindred art thou come? *Alban answered, what is that to you, what stocke soeuer I am come of, if you desire to heare the veritie of my Religion, I do ye to wit that I am a Christian, and apply my selfe altogether to that calling. Then sayd the Iudge, I would knowe thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay. Then sayde hee, my parentes named me Alban, and I worship and honour the true and liuing God, which hath created all the worlde. Then sayd the Iudge fraught with fury, if thou wilt enioy the felicitie of this present life,* doe sacrifice (and that out of hande) to these mighty Gods. Alban replieth: these sacrifices which ye offer vnto deuils, cā neither helpe them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliāts: But rather shal they, what soeuer they be, that offer sacrifice to these Idoles, receaue for their meede euerlasting paines of hell fire. The Iudge, when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commaunded the tormentors to whip this holy Confessour of God,* indeuoring to ouercome the constancy of his hart w^t stripes, which had preuailed nothing with wordes. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay rather ioyfully, for the Lordes sake. Then when the Iudge saw that he would not with torments be ouercomen, nor be reduced from the worship of Christian Religion, he commaunded him to be beheaded.

The rest that foloweth of this story in the narration of Bede,* as of drying vp the Riuer, as Alban went to the place of his execution: then of making a welspring in the top of the hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with such other prodigious miracles mētioned in his story) because they seeme more legēdlike, then truthlike: againe, because I see no great profit, nor necessitie in the relation thereof, I leaue them to the free iudgement of the Reader, to thinke of them, as cause shall moue him.

The like estimation I haue of the long story,* wherein is written at large a fabulous discourse of all the doings & miracles of S. Alban, taken out of the Librarie of S. Albans, compiled (as there is saide) by a certaine Pagan, who (as he sayth) afterwarde went to Rome, there to be Baptised. But because in the beginning or Prologue of the Booke, the sayde writer maketh mention of the ruinous walles of the towne of Verolanium, containing the storye of Albanus, and of his bitter punishments: which walles were then falling downe for age, at the wryting of the sayde booke, as he saith: Therby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the martyrdome of Alban either by a Britaine, or by an English mā. If he were a Britaine, how then did the Latin translation take it out of the English tounge, as in the Prologue hee him selfe doeth testifie. If hee were an

Englishmā, how then did he go vp to Rome for baptisme, being a Pagan, when he myght haue bene baptised amōg the Christian Britaines more neare at home.

But among al other euidences and declarations sufficient to disproue this Legendary story of S. Alban, nothing maketh more against it, then the very storie it selfe: as [Page 89](#) where he bringeth in the head of the holy martyr, to speake vnto the people after it was smitten of from the body. Also where he bringeth in the Angels going vp, & comming downe in a pillar of fire, & singing al the night long. Item in the riuer which he sayth, S Alban made drie, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottome, were founde aliue. With other such like Monkish miracles and grosse fables,* wherewith these Abbey Monkes were wont in time past to deceaue the Church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their owne aduātage. Notwithstanding this I write not to any derogatiō of the blessed and faithful martyr of God, who was the first that I did euer finde in this Realme, to suffer Martyrdome for the testimonie of Christ. And worthy no doubt of condigne commendation, especially of vs here in this land: whose Christian faith in the Lorde, and charitie toward his neighbour: I pray God all we may followe. As also I wishe moreouer that the stories both of him, and of al other Christian Martyrs might haue bene deliuered to vs simply as they were, w^tout the admixture of all these Abbey like additiōs of Monkish miracles,* wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such saintes to the moste, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receaue most aduauntage.

As touching the name of the Clearke mētioned in this story,* whome Alban receaued into his house, I finde in the Englishe stories to be Amphibalus, although the latine authors name him not, who y^e same time flying into Wales was also set from thence againe to the same towne of Uerolamium, otherwise called Uerlancaster, where hee was martyred, hauing his bellie opened, and made to runne about a stake, while all his bowels were drawen out, then thrust in with swordes and daggers: and at last was stoned to death, as the foresaid legend declareth.

Moreouer the same time with Alban, suffered also ij. citizens of the foresaide Citie of Uerlancaster, whose names were Aaron and Iulius:* beside other, whereof a great number the same time no doubt, did suffer, although our Chronicles of their names doe make no rehearsall.

The time of the Martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, seemeth to be about the second or thirde yeare of this tenth persecution, vnder the tyrāny of Dioclesian, and Maximinianus Herculus, bearing then the rule in England, about the yeare of our Lorde 301. before the comming of Constantius to his gouernement.* Where, by the way is to be noted, that this realme of Britaine being so christened before, yet neuer was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Dioclesian & Maximinian. In which persecution our stories and Polichronicon doe recorde, that all Christianitie almost in the whole Ilelande was destroyed, the Churches subuerted, all bookes of the Scripture burned, many of the faithfull both men & women were slaine. Among whome the first and chiefe ringleader (as hath bene sayde) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britaine. Nowe from Englande to returne againe vnto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemētly rage: we will adde hereunto (the Lorde willing) the stories of other, although not of all that suffered in this persecution (which were impossible) but of certaine most principal, whose singular constancie in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in latter histories: beginning first with Romanus the notable and admirable souldiour and true seruauant of Christ, whose historie set forth in

Prudentius, doth thus proceede: so lamentably by him described, that it will be harde for any man almost with dry cheekes to heare it.

*Pitiles Galerius with his graunde captaine Asclepiades violently inuaded the citie of Antioche, entending by force of armes to driue all Christians to renounce vtterly their pure religion. The Christians as god would, were at that time cōgregated together, to whom Romanus hastely ran, declaring that the Wolues were at hande, which woulde deuour the christian flocke, but feare not (sayde he) neither let this imminēt perill disturbe you, my brethren: brought was it to passe, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that olde men and matrones, *fathers and mothers, young men and maidens were all of one will and minde, most ready to shed their bloud in defence of their Christian profession. Word was brought to y^e captaine that the band of armed souldiors was not able to wrest the staffe of faith, out of the hand of the armed congregation: and all by reason that one Romanus so mightely did encourage them, that they sticke not to offer their naked throtes, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. Seeke out that rebell (quod the captaine) and bring him to me that he may aunswer for the whole sect. Apprehended he was, & bound as a sheepe appoynted to the slaughter house, was presented to the Emperour: who w^t wrathfull countenance beholding him, sayde: What? Art thou the author of this sedition? art thou the cause why so many shall loose their liues? By the gods I sweare thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the paines, *whereunto thou hast encouraged the hearts of thy felowes. Romanus answered: Thy sentence O Emperour I ioyfully embrace, I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell meanes as thou mayest inuent: and whereas thy soldiors were repelled from the christian cōgregation, that so happened, because it lay not in Idolaters and worshippers of Deuils to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Asclepiades wholly enflamed with this stoute answere, commaunded him to be trussed vp, and his bowels drawne out. The executioners themselues more pitiful in hart then the captaine, said: not so sir, this man is of noble parentage: vnlawful is it to put a noble man to so vnnoble a death: scourge him then with whips (quod the captaine) with knaps o• lead at the ends. In stede of teares, *sighs & grones, Romanus song psalmes al the time of his whipping, requiring them not to fauour him for nobilities sake, not the bloud of my progenitours (said he) but Christian profession maketh me noble. Then with great power of spirit he inueied against the capitain, laughing to scorne the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created heauen and earth, before whose iudiciall seat all nations shall appeare. but the wholesome wordes of the Martyr were as oyle to the fire of the captaines fury. The more the Martyr spake, the madder was hee, in so much that he commaunded the Martyrs sides to be launced with kniues, vntil the bones appeared white againe. Sorie am I, O captain (quod the Martyr) not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorowfull, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others. The seconde time hee preached at large, the liuing God, and the Lorde Iesus Christ his welbeloued sonne, *eternall life through faith in his bloud, expressing therewith the abhomination of idolatry, w^t a vehement exhortation to worship & adore the liuing God. At these words Asclepiades commaunded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronounciation at least wise might be impeired: The commandement was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eye liddes torne with their nailes, his cheekes scorched with kniues, the skin of his bearde was plucked by little and little from the flesh, finally his seemely face was wholly defaced. The meeke Martyr sayde: I thanke thee, O Capitaine, that thou hast opened vnto me many mouthes, whereby I may preach my Lord & Sauour Christ. Looke howe

many woundes I haue, so many mouths I haue lauding and praising God. The captaine astonished w^t this singular constancie, commanded them to cease from the tortures. Hee threatneth cruell fire, he reuileth the noble martyr,* he blasphemeth god, saying: Thy crucified Christ, is but an yesterdaies God, the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquitie.

Heere againe Romanus taking good occasion, made a long Oration of the eternitie of Christ, of his humane nature, of the death & satisfaction of Christ for all mankinde. Which done, he sayde: geue me a childe (O Capitaine) but seuen yeres of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherwith riper age is commōly infected, and thou shalt heare what he will say, his request was graunted. A pretie boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. Tell me my babe (quoth the Martyr) whether thou thinke it reason that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one father, or els that we worship infinite gods? Unto whom the babe aunswered:* That certainly, whatsoever it be, that men affirme to be God, must nedes be one: which with one, is one and the same: and in as much as this one is Christ, of necessitie Christ must be the true God, for, that there be many gods, we children cannot beleue. The capitaine hereat cleane amased, said: thou yong villaine & traitor, where and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother (quod the childe) with whose milke I sucked in this lesson,* that I must beleue in Christ. The mother was called, and shee gladly appeared, the capitaine commanded the childe to be horsed vp, and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitillesse acte, could not temper thēselues from teares: the ioyful and glad mother alone, stood by with dry cheekes: yea, shee rebuked her sweete babe for crauing a draught of colde water, she charged him to thirst after the cup,* that the infantes of Bethleem once dranke of, forgetting their mothers milke and pappes, shee willed him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sworde wherewith, & the altar wheron he should be sacrificed, willingly profered his tender necke to the dent of his fathers sword. [Page 90](#) Whilest this counsel was ingening, the boucherly torture pluckt the skin from the crowne of his head,* heare and all. The mother cried, suffer my childe, anone thou shalt passe to him that will adorne thy naked head, with a crowne of eternall glory. The mother counselleth, the childe is counselled: the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged: & receiued the stripes with smiling countenance. The capitaine perceiuing the childe inuincible, and himselfe vāquished, committeth the sillie soule, the blessed babe, the childe vncherished, to the stinking prison, commaunding the tormentes of Romanus to be renued and encreased, as chiefe author of this euill.

Thus was Romanus brought foorth againe to newe stripes and punishments, to be renued and receiued vpon his old sores, in so much the bare bones appeared, the flesh all torne away: wherein no pitie was shewed, but the raging tyrant puffing out of his blasphemous mouth, like a madde man these woordes, cried out to the tormentors, saying:

Where is quod the Capitaine, where is your might?

What?* are ye not able one body to spill?

Scant may it, so weake is it, stand vpright:

And yet in spite of vs, shall it liue still?

The Gripe with talent, the dog with his tooth,

Could soone ye dastardes, this corpes rent and teare,

He scorneth our gods in all that he doth,

Cut, pricke, and pounce him, no longer forbear.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but nedes he must draw nearer to the sentence of death: is it painefull to thee (sayde he) to tary so long aliue? a flaming fire doubt thou not shalbe prepared for thee, by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of rebellion shall be consumed into ashes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laide handes on Romanus, hee looked backe saying: I appeale from this thy tyrannie, O iudge vniust, to the righteous throne of Christ that vpriight iudge: not because I feare thy cruell torments and mercilesse handlings, but that thy iudgements may be knowne to be cruell and bloody. Nowe when they were come to the place, the tormentor required the child of the mother, for she had taken it vp in her armes:*. And shee onely kissing it, deliuered the babe. Farewel she said my sweete childe, and as the hangman applied his sword to the babes necke, shee sang on this maner.

All laude and praise with heart and voice,

O Lorde we yelde to thee:*

To whome the death of all thy Saintes,

We know most deare to bee.

The innocentes head being cut off, the mother wrapped it vp in her garment, and laide it to her brest. On the other side a mighty fire was made, wherinto Romanus was cast: who sayde, y^t he should not burne: wherewith a great storme arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire.* The Capitaine gaue in commandement that his tounge should be cut out, out was it plucked by the harde rootes and cut of: Neuerthelesse, hee spake▪ saying: hee that speaketh Christ shall neuer want a tongue, thinke not that the voyce that vttereth Christ, hath neede of the tong to be the minister. The Capitaine at this, halfe out of his wit, bare in hande that the hangman deceiued the sight of the people by some subtile sleight and craftie conueiance. Not so (quoth the hangman) if ye suspect my dede, open his mouth and diligently search the rootes of his tongue. The Captaine at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, straightly commaundeth him to be brought backe into the prison,* and there to be strangled. Where his sorowfull life and paines being ended, hee nowe enioyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetuall hope of his miserable body to be restored againe with his soule into a better life: where no tyrant shall haue any power: Prudentius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

Gordius was a citizen of Caesaria, a worthy souldiour, and Capitaine of an hundreth men. Hee in the time of extreme persecution, refusing any lōger to execute his charge did chuse of his owne accord willing exile, and liued in the desert many yeares a religious and solitary life. But vpon a certaine day when a solemne feast of Mars was celebrated, in the citie of Caesarea, and much people were assembled in the Theatre to beholde the games: he left the desert, and got him vp into the chiefe place of the Theatre,* and with a loude voyce vttered this saying of the Apostle:

Beholde I am foūd of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for mee, haue I openly appeared. By which wordes he let it to be vnderstood, that of his owne accorde he came vnto those games. At this noise, the multitude litle regarding the sights, looked about to see who it was y^t made such exclamation. As soone as it was knowne to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded silence, he was brought vnto the shiri•e,* which at that instant was present, and ordeined the games. Whē he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thether, he telleth the truth of euery thing as it was. I am come,* saith he, to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the Christian religion: but that I professe Iesu Christ to be my hope and safety. And when I vnderstood with what crueltie ye handle other men: I tooke this as a fitte time to accomplish my desire. The Shirife with these wordes was greatly mooued, and reuengeth all his displeasure vpon poore Gordius, commaunding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while gibbet, & whatsoeuer torments els might be deuised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, that it shoulde be to him an hinderance and damage if hee coulde not suffer and endure diuers torments and punishments for Christ his cause. The shirife being more offended with this his boldnesse, commaunded him to feele as many kinde of torments as there were, with all which Gordius notwithstanding, coulde not be mastered or ouercome: but lifting vp his eies vnto heauen singeth this saying out of the Psalmes. The Lorde is my helper, I will not feare the thing that man can doe to me: and also this saying, I will feare none euill, because thou Lord art with me.*

After this, he against him selfe prouoketh the extremitie of the tormentours, & blameth them if they fauour him any thing at al. When the Shrif saw, that hereby he could winne but little, he goeth about by gentlenes and intising wordes, to turne the stoute and valiant minde of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he wil denie Christ:* as to make him a Captaine of as many men as any other is, to geue him riches, treasure, & what other thing so euer hee desireth. But in vaine as the Prouerbe is, pipeth the minstrell to him that hath no eares to heare, for he deriding the foolish madnesse of the Magistrate sayth, that it lieth not in him to place any in authority, which he worthy to haue a place in heauen. The Magistrate with these wordes throughly angred and vexed, prepareth him selfe to his condemnation.* Whom after that he had cōdemned, he caused to be had out of the Citie to be brent. There runneth out of the Citie great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution, some take him in their armes, & louingly kisse him, persuading him to take a better way and saue himself,* and that with weeping teares. To whom Gordius answered, weepe not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which alwaies make warre against the Christians: weepe I say for them which prepare for vs a fire, purchasing hell fire for themselues in the day of vengeance: And cease of further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my settled minde. Truly (saith he) I am ready for the name of Iesus Christ, to suffer and indure a thousande deathes if neede were. Some other came vnto him which persuaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, & to keepe his conscience to himselfe. My tounge (sayeth hee) which by the goodnes of God I haue, cannot be brought to denie the author and geuer of the same: for with the heart we beleue vnto righteousness, and with the tounge we confesse vnto saluation. Many moe such like wordes he spake: but especially vttering to them such matter, wherby he might perswade the beholders to death, and to the desire of Martyrdome. After all which, with a mery and glad countenance, neuer changing so much as his colour, hee willingly gaue himselfe to be brent. Basilus in Sermone in Gordium militem Caesariensem.

Not much vnlike to the story of Gordius is the story also of Menas an Egiptian, who being likewise a souldiour by his profession, in this persecution of Dioclesian forsooke al, & went into the desert, where a long time he gaue hym selfe to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the Scriptures. At length returning againe to y^e Citie Cotys, there in the open theatre, as y^e people were occupied vpon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loude voice openly proclaimed himselfe to be a christian, and vpon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the President: * of whome, he being demaunded of his faith, made thys aunswere: Conuenient it is that I shoulde (sayth he) confesse God in whome is light and no darkenes, for so much as Paule doth teache that with hart we beleue to righteousnes, with mouth cōfession is giuen to saluation. After this the innocent Martyr was most painfully pinched and cruciate with sundrie punishments. In all which, notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith inuincible, hauing these wordes [Page 91](#) in his mouth being in the midst of his torments. * There is nothing in my minde that can be compared to the kingdome of heauen. Neither is al the world, if it were wayed in balance able to be conferred with the price of one soule. And sayd, who is able to separate vs from the loue of Iesus Christ our Lord: shal afflictio or anguish? And moreouer (said he) I haue thus learned of my Lord & my king, not to feare them which kill the body and haue no power to kill y^e soule, but to feare him rather, who hath power to destroy both bodye and soule in hell fire. To make the story short, after manifold tormentes borne of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was vpon him pronounced which was to be beheaded: * Menas being then had to the place of execution said: I giue thee thanks my Lord god, which hast so excepted me to be foūd a partaker of thy precious death, & hast not giuen me to be deuoured of my fierce enimies, * but hast made me to remaine cōstant in thy pure faith vnto this my later end: And so this blessed souldiour fighting valiantly vnder the baner of Christ, lost his head, * & wan his soule. Symeon Metaphrast. tom. 5. In the which autor there foloweth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I doe omit,

Basilius in a certayne Sermon of 40. Martyrs rehearseth this story not vnworthye to bee noted. There came (saith he) into a certaine place (which place he maketh no mention of) the Emperours Marshall or officer, with the edict which the Emperour had set out against the Christians, that whosoeuer confessed Christ, shoulde after manye tormentes suffer death. And first they did priuily suborne certaine which should detect & accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had layde wayte for: vpon this the sword, * the gibbet, the wheele, & the whips were brought forth: At the terrible sight whereof, the harts of all the beholders did shake & tremble. Some for feare did flee, some did stand in doubt what to do: Certaine were so terrified at the beholding of these engines & tormenting instruments that they denied their faith. Some other began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of Martydome, but vanquished at length, by the intollerable paine of their torments, * made shipwracke of their consciences, & lost the glory of their confession. Amōg other xl. there were at that time younge gentlemen all souldiers, which after the Marshall had shewed the Emperours Edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely & boldly of their owne accord confessed themselues to be Christians & declared to him their names. The Marshall somewhat amased at this their boldnes of speach, stādeth in doubte, what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with faire words, aduertising them to consider their youth, neither that they shoulde chaunge a cruell and vntimely death, * or a sweete and pleasant life: After that hee promiseth them money, and honorable offices in the Emperours name. But they little esteming all these thinges breake forth into a long and bolde Oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignitie, nor money, but

onelye the celestiaall kingdome of Christ, saying further that they are ready for the loue and faith they haue in god, to indure the afflictioⁿ of the wheele, the crosse, and the fire. The rude Marshall being herewith offended,* deuise^th a newe kinde of punishment. He spied out in the middle of the citie a certaine great pond, which layfull, vpon the cold Northren winde, for it was in the winter time, wherein he caused them to be put all that night, but they being merry & comforting one another, receiued this their appointed punishment, and sayd, as they were putting of their clothes: we put off (said they) now not our clothes, but we put of y^e old mā, corrupt with the deceit of cōcupiscence. We giue thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparell we may also put of by thy grace, the sinfull man: for by meanes of the Serpent we once put him on, and by the meanes of Iesus Christ we now put him of.* When they had thus said: they were brought naked into y^e place where they felt moste vehement colde: in so much that all the partes of their bodies were starke & stiffe therewith. Assone as it was daye, they yet hauing breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes throwne into the flud. By chaunce there was on of the company more liuely, and not so neere dead as the rest, of whome y^e executioners takyng pitie, saide vnto his mother standing by, that they would saue his life. But shee with her owne handes taking her sonne brought him to the pile of wood where y^e residue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be brent, admonished him to accomplish the blessed iourney he had taken in hand with his companions. Basil.

A lyke hystory of 40. Martyres, which were maryed men, we read of in Niceph. & Zozomenus. Lib. 9. cap. 2. which were killed likewise in a lake or pond at Sebastia, a towne of Armenia, vnder Licinius, if the story be not the same with this, Niceph. Zozom.

In this felowship and company of martyrs can not be left out and forgotte the story of Cyrus: This Cyrus was a Phisition borne in Alexandria, which fleing into Egipt, in the persecution of Dioclesianus, and Maximianus, led a solitary life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and myracles, vnto whose company after a certaine tyme did Ioannes, borne in the Citie of Edessa, beyond the ryuer Euphrates, ioyne himself, leauing the souldiers life which before that time he had exercised. But whilest as yet the same persecution raged in a city in Egipt called Canope, there was cast into prison for the confession of their fayth, a certayne godly Christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters,*Theoctiste, Theodota, and Eudoxia: wyth whom Cyrus was well acquainted. At whose infirmities he much fearing accompanied with his brother Iohn, came and visited them for their better confirmation: at which time Lyrianus was chiefe captaine and Lieutenaunt of Egypt, of whose wickednes and crueltie, especially agaynst women and maydens: Athanasus maketh mention in hys Apologies, and in his Epistle to those that lead a solitary life. Thys Cyrus therefore and Ioannes, being accused and apprehended of the Heathen men, as by whose perswasions, the maydens and daughters of Athanasia contumelyously,* despised the Gods and the Emperours religion, & could by no meanes be brought to doe sacrifice, were after the publication of their constaunt confession put to death by the sworde. Athanasia also and her three daughters being condemned to death. This history writeth Symeon Metaphrastes.*

Sebastian being borne in the part of Fraunce called Gallia Narbonensis was a Christian, and was Lieutenaunte generall of the vawward of Dioclesian the Emperor, who also encouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations, vnto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therfore accused to the Emperor, was commaunded to be apprehended, and that he should be

brought into the open field, where of his owne souldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrowes, and after that hys body was throwne into a iaque or sinke. Ambrosius maketh mention of this Sebastian the martir in his Cōmentary vpon the 118. Psalme. & Symeon Metaphrastes amongst oher Martyrs that suffered with Sebastian numbred also these followyng: Nicostratus wyth Zoe hys wyfe, Tranquillinus wyth Martia his wyfe: Traglinus Claudius, Castor, Tiburtius, Castullus, Marcus, and Marcellinus wyth other moe.

Basilius in an other Sermon also maketh mention of one Barlaam being a noble and famous Martyr, which abode al the torments of the executioners euen to the point of death, which thing when the tormentors sawe, they brought him and laid him vpon the altar, where they dyd vse to offer sacrifices to their idoles,* and put fire & frankensence into his right hād wherin he had yet some strēgth, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heate & force of the fire, would haue scattered the burning incense vpon the aultar and so haue sacrificed. But of that their hope, the pestiferous tormentors were disapointed: for the flame eate round about his hand, and the same indured euen as though it had bene couered with hote embers, when Barlaam, recited out of the Psalmes this saying: Blessed is the Lord my God which teacheth my handes to fight.

To this narration of Basilius touching the Martyrdome of Barlaam, we will anexe cōsequently an other story of Ambrose: Hee making a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the same Oration cōmendeth the martirdomes of Agricola & Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution vnder Dioclesian and Maximinian (as they so affirme) at Bononie. This Vitalis was seruauant to Agricola, who both togyther betweene themselues had made a compact to giue their liues wyth other Martyrs for the name of Christ. Wherupon Vitalis, being sent before of his maister to offer himselfe to Martirdome, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all maner of meanes to cause him to deny Christ. Which when he would in no case do▪ but stoutly persisted in the confessiō of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kinds of torments: So vnmercifully that there was no whole skinne left in all his body. So Vitalis in the midst of the agonie, & painefull torments, after he had in a short praier, cōmended him selfe to God, gaue vp his life. After him the tormentours set vpon Agricola his Master, whose vertuous manners & gentle conditions, because they were singularly wel liked and knowen to the enimies, his suffring therfore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abyding the long delay and driuing of, and prouoking moreouer y^e [Page 92](#) aduersaries to quicker speede, at length was fastned vnto the crosse and so finished his martirdome,* which he so long desired, Ambros in Exhortatione ad Virgines.

No lesse worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdome of Vincentius, whose historie here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Leuite most godly and vertuous, who at this time suffered Martyrdom at Valence, vnder Dacianus the President, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne.*Bergomensis in his supplement reciteth these words concerning his martyrdome, out of a certaine sermon of S. Augustine: Our heart conceiued not a vaine and fruitles sight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but a great sight & marue•lous, certainly, and there with singulare pleasure receiued it, when the painefull passion of Victorius Vincentius was read vnto vs. Is there any so heauye harted, that will not be moued in the contemplation of this immooueable Martyr so manly, or rather so godly fighting against the craft and subilty of that Serpent, against the tyranny of Dacianus, against the horrors of death, & by the mightie spirite of his God conquering all: But let vs in few wordes rehearse the degrees of his

tormentes though the paynes thereof in many wordes can not be expressed. First Dacianus caused the Martir to be layde vpon the torture,* and all the ioyntes of his body to be distended and racked out, vntill they crackt againe. This being done in most extreme and cruel maner al the members of his painful and pittiful body were greuously indented with deadly woundes. Thirdly (that his dolours & griefes might be augmēted) they miserably vexed his flesh with yron combes sharpely filed. And to y^e end the tormentors might vomit out al their vengeāce on the meeke & milde martyrs fleshe, the tormentors themselues also were vily scourged at the Presidentes commaundement. And lest his passion through want of paines might seeme imperfect or else to easie, they laid his body being all out of ioint, on a grate of iron, which body when they had opened with iron hookes, they seared it with firie plates, with hote burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all into a vyle dongeon was this mighty Martir drawen, the floure whereof first was thicke spreadde wyth the sharpest shels that might be gotten, his fete then being fast locked in the stockes, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort: but the Lorde his God was with him, the holye spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his hart with ioy & gladnes. Hast thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruell tyraunt, O deuouring Lion) for the Martirs bed:* the Lorde shall make that bed softe and sweete vnto him. Rackest thou his bones and ioyntes al a sunder, His bones, his ioints, his heares are al numbred. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal woundes: the Lord shal poure abūdantly into al his sores of his oyle of gladnes. Thy scraping combes, thy sharpe fleshhookes, thine whote searing yrons, thy parched salte, thy stincking prison, thy cutting shelles, thy pinching stockes shal turne to this patient Martyr to the best. Altogether shall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of ioy shall hee reap into the barne of his soule, out of this mighty haruest of paines that thou hast brought him into. Yea thou shalte proue him Vincentius indede: that is, a vanquisher, a tryumpher, a conqueror subduing thy madnes, by his mekenes, thy tyranny by his pat•ence, thy manifold meanes of tortures, by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

In this cataloge or company of such holy martirs, as suffered in this foresaid tenth persecutiō, many mo and almost innumerable there be expressed in authors, beside thē whom we haue hetherto comprehended, as Philoromus, a man of noble byrth,* & great possessions in Alexandria, who being perswaded by his friendes to fauour himselfe, to respect his wife, to consider his children and familie did not onely reiect the counsels of them,* but also neglected the threatens and torments of the Iudge, to keepe the confessiō of Christ inuiolate vnto the death, & losing of his head. Euseb. Lib. 8. cap. 9. Niceph. Lib. 7. cap. 9. of whome Euseb. beareth witnes that he was there present himselfe.

Of like estate and dignitie was also Procopius in Palestina, who after his conuersion brake his images of siluer, and golde, and distributed the same to the poore and after al kinde of tormentes, of racking, of cording, of tearing hys flesh, of goring and stabbing in, of fiering, at lēghth had his head also smitten of, as witnesseth. Niceph. Lib. 7. cap. 15.

To this maye be ioyned also Georgius, a younge man of Capadocia, who stoutly inueighing against the impyous idolatry of the Emperours, was apprehended, and cast in prison, then torne wyth hooked yrons, burnt with hoate lyme, stretched with cordes, after that his hands and feete with other members of his body being cut of, at last wyth a sworde had his head cut of. Niceph. ibid.

With these aforenamed adde also Sergius,* and Bacchius, Panthaleon, a phisition in Nicomedia, mentioned in Supplem. Lib. 8. Theodorus of the Citie Amasia in Hellesp. mentioned of Vincentius. Lib. 3. Faustus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph. Lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon with 318. fellow martirs which suffered about Colours. Petr. de nat. Lib, 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the President of Athens, who being conuerted by the constancie of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item Samonas, Gurius and Abibus, mentioned in Symeon Metaphrast. Hieron also w^t certaine of his confessors, vnder Maximinus, mentioned in Metaphrastes. Iudes, and Domuas, who suffred with many other Martirs aboue mentioned, at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphrastes. Euelasius, Maximinus the Emperors officers, whom Fausta the virgin in her torments conuerted. Also Thyrsus, Lucius, Callinicus, Appollonius, Philemon, Asilas, Leonides, with Arrianus president of Thebaide, Cyprianus, likewise a Citizen of Antioche, who after he had continued a long time a filthy Magitian, or sorcerer, at length was conuerted, & made a Deacon then a Priest, and at last the Bishop of Antioche, Vincent lib. 12. cap. 120. of whome partly we touched somewhat before. Pag. 72. This Cyprian w^t Iustina a virgin suffered amōg the martirs, Item, Glycerius at Nicomedia, Felix a minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, Deacons in the citie of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Cyriacus Deacon to Marcellus the bishop. Carpophorus Priest at Thuscia, with Abundus his deacō. Item, Claudius, Syrinus, Antonius, which suffered with Marcellinus the Bishop Sabell Enead. 7. Lib. 8. Cucusatus, in the citie Barcinona. Felix Byshop of Apulia, with Adauctus & Ianuarius his priests, Fortunatus & Septimus hys readers, who suffered in the Citie Venusina vnder Dioclesian. Bergom. Lib. 8.

It were to long a trauell or trouble to recite al and singular names of them particularly,* whom this persecutiō of Dioclesian did consume. The number of whom being almost infinite is not to be collected or expressed: One storye yet ramayneth, not to be forgotten of Cassianus, whose pitifull story being described of Prudentius we haue here inserted, rendring metre for metre as followeth.

1

Through Forum, as in Italy,

I passed once to Roome:

Into a Church by chaunce came I,

And stoode fast by a toome.

2

Which church sometime a place had bene,

Where causes greates in lawe:

Were scand and tryed, and iudgement giuen,

To keepe brute men in awe.

3

Thys place Sylla Cornelius,
First built: he raysed the frame:
And called the same Forum, and thus,
That City tooke the name.

4

In prayer feruent as I stoode,
casting mine eie aside:
A picture in full piteous moode,
(Imbrude) by chaunce I spied.

5

A thousand wounded markes full bad,
All mangled, rent, and torne:
The skinne appeared as though it had,
Bene iagde and prickt with thorne.

6

A scull of pictured boyes did bande,
About that lothsome sight:
That with their sharpned gads in hand,
His members thus had dight.

7

These gads were but their pens wherewith,
Their Tables written were:
And such as scholers often sith,
Vnto the scholes doe beare.

8

Whom thou seest heere thus picturde sitte,

And firmly dost behold:

No fable is, I do thee witte,

Vnaskte a Prelate tolde

9

That walkt thereby: but doth declare,

The history of one,

Which written, would good recorde beare,

What faith was long agone.

10

A skilfull scolemaister this was,

That here sometime did teach:

The Bishop once of Brixia as,

And Christ full plaine did preach.

11

He knew well how to comprehend▪

Long talke in few lynes:

[Page 93](#) And it at length how to amende,

By order and by times.

12

His sharpe precepts, and sterne looks,

His beardles boyes did feare:

When hate in hart (yet for their bookes)

Full deadly they did beare.

13

The childe that learnes, I doe yee weete,

Termes aye his tutor crule.

No discipline in youth seemes sweete,

Count this a common rule.

14

Behold the raging time now here,

Oppressing sore the faith:

Doth persecute gods children dere,

And all that Christ bewraith.

15

This trusly teacher of the swarme,

Profest the liuing God:

The chiefe good thing, they compt their harme,

Perhaps he shakes his rod.

16

What rebels aske the president,

Is he, Theare so loude

Vnto our youth an instrument,

They say, and low they bowde.

17

Go bring the caytiffe foorth he bids,

And make no long delay:

Let him be set the boyes amids,

They doe as he doth say.

18

Let him be giuen vnto them all,
And let them haue their will:
To doe to him what spite they shall,
So that they will him kill.

19

Euen as they list let them him fray
And him deride so long:
Till wearines prouokes their play,
No lenger to prolong.

20

Let them I say then vncontrold,
Both pricke and scotch his skinne:
To bath their hands let them be bold,
In the hote bloud of him.

21

The scholers hereat make great game,
It pleaseth them full well:
That they may kill and quench the flame,
They thought to them a hell.

22

They binde his hands behind his back●,
And naked they him stripe:
In bodkinne wise at him they nacke,
They laugh to see him skippe.

23

The priuy hate that ech one hath,
In hart it now appeares:
They poure it foorth in gally wrath,
They wreake them of their teares.

24

Some cast great stones, some other breake,
Their tables on his face:
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke,
(Oh barren boyes of grace.)

25

The bloud runnes downe his cheekes and doth,
Imbrue the boxen leames:
Where notes by them were made (though loth)
And well proponed theames.

26

Some whet, some sharpe, their penseles pointes,
That serude to write with all:
Some other gage his flesh and ioyntes,
As with a pointed nall.

27

Sometimes they pricke, sometime they rent,
This worthy martirs flesh:
And thus by turnes they do torment,
This confessour a fresh.

28

Now all with on consent on him,
Their bloody handes they lay:
To see the bloud from limme to limme,
Drop downe they make a play.

29

More painefull was the pricking pange,
Of children oft and thicke:
Then of the bigger boyes that stange,
And neere the hart did sticke.

30

For by the feeble strokes of the one,
Death was denied his will:
Of smart that made him wo begon,
He had the better skill.

31

The deeper strokes the great ones gaue,
and neerer toucht the quicke:
The welcomer he thought the same,
Whom longing death made sicke.

32

God make you strong he saith I pray,
God giue you might at will:
And what you want in yeares I say,
Let crueltie fulfill.

33

But whilst the hangman breatheth still,
and me with you do match:
That weakely worke, yet want no will,
my 〈...〉 to dispatch.

34

My griefes waxe great, what gronest thou now?
Sayd some of them againe?
In schoole, aduised well art thou?
Whom there thou pu•st to payne?

35

Behold we pay, and now make good,
as many thousande stripes:
As when with weeping eyes we stoode,
In daunger of thy gripes.

36

Art thou now angry at thy bande,
that alwayes cried writ•, write,
And neuer wouldst that our right hand,
Should rest in quiet plyte•

37

We had forgot our playing times,
Thou churle deniedst vs of:
We now but pricke and point our lines,
And thus they grinne and scof.

38

Correct good sir your viewed verse,
If ought amisse there be:
Now vse thy power and then rehearse,
that haue not marked thee.

39

Christ pittying this groaning man,
With tormments torne and tyred:
Commaundes his hart to breake euen then,
And life that was then hyered.

40

He yeeldes againe to him that gaue,
And thus he makes exchange:
Immortall▪ for mortall to haue,
That in such payne did •aunge.

41

This is saith he, that this plesure,
Thou so beholdst, Oh g••t:
Of Cassianus Martir pure,*
Doth preach I doe protest.

42

If thou Prudence haue ought in store,
In pietie to deale:
In hope of iust reward therefore,
Now shew thy louing zeale:

43

I could not but consent, I weepe,

Hys tombe I doe embrace:

Home I returne, and after sleepe,

This pittifull preface,

44

I write as a memoriall,

For euer to endure:

Of Cassianus scolemaster,

All others to allure.

45

To constancy vnder the crosse,

Of their profession:

Accompting gaine what euer losse,

For Christ they take vpon.

No lesse admirable then wonderfull was the constancy also of woemen and maidens, who in the same persecution gaue their bodyes to the tormentes & their liues for the testimony of Christ, with no lesse boldnes of spirite, thē did the men themselues aboue specified, to whome howe much more inferiour they were in bodely strēgth, so much more worthy of prayse they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here we minde (Christ willing) to inferre, such as in our stories and Chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we haue taken out of the foresayd Prudentius as followeth.

In the West part of Spaine called Portingall, is a City great and pop•lous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought vp a virgine borne of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia,* which Emerita although for the apte situation therof, was both rich & famous, yet more adourned and famous was the renowne therof, by y^e martyrdome, bloud,* and sepulture of this blessed virgine Eulalia. Twelue yeares of age was shee and not much aboue, when she refused great and honourable offers in mariage, as one not skilfull, nor yet delighting in courtly daliaunce, neyther yet taking pleasure in purple and gorgeous apparell, or els in precious balmes, or costly ornamentes and iuels.* But forsaking and despising all these and such lyke pompeous allurements, then shewed she her self most busie in preparing her iourney to her hoped inheritance, and heauenly patronage. Which Eulalia as she was modest and descrete in behaiour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also witty and sharp in aunswering her enemies. But when the 〈◇〉 rage of persecution inforced her to ioyne her self amongst Gods

Children in the houshold of faith, and when the Christians were commaunded to offer incense and sacrifice to deuils or dead Gods: Then began the blessed spirite of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a pro•tipt & ready wit thought forthwith (as a couragious captayne) [Page 94](#) to geue a charge vpon this so great, and disordered a battayle: and so she, [*](#) silly woeman, pouring out the bowels of her innocent hart before God, more prouoketh therby the •orce and rage of her enemies agaynst her. But the godly care of her parentes, fearing least the willing minde of the Damsel, so ready to dye for Christes cause, might make her guilty of her owne death, [*](#) hid her and kept her close at their house in the countrey, being a great way out of the Citty. She yet misliking that quiet life, as also detesting, to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doores (no man knowing therof) in the night and in great hast leauing the common waye, openeth the hedge gappes, and with werye feete (god knoweth) passed through y^e thorny & bryery places, accompanied yet w^t spirituall garde: & although darke & dreadfull was the silent night, yet had shee with her the Lord & guider of light. And as the children of Israel comming out of Egipt, had by the mightye power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in y^e day, & a flame of fire in the night, so had this godly virgine, traueling in this darke night, when she fleing & forsaking the place where al filthy idolatry abounded, & hastened her heauenly iourney, was not oppressed with the dreadfull darknes of the night, But yet she before the day appeared in this her speedy iourney, with her selfe considered & mused on a thousand matters, & more. [*](#) In the morning betime with a bould courage she goeth vnto the tribunall or iudgement seat, & in the midst of them all with a loud voice, crying out sayde: I praye you what a shame is it for you thus rashely, and without aduisement to destroy and kill mens soules, and to throwe their bodies aliue against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent god? [*](#) Would you know (O you vnfortunate) who I am? behold, I am one of the Christians: an enimie to your deuilish sacrifices, I spurne your idols vnder my feete: I confesse God omnipotent with my hart and mouth. Isis, Apollo, and Uenus, what are they? Maximinus himselfe, what is he? The one a thing of naught, for that they be y^e workes of mens hands, y^e other but a cast away bicause he worshippeth the same worke. Therefore friuolous are they both, and both not worthy to be set by. Maximinus is a Lorde of substaunce, and yet he himselfe falleth downe before a stone, and voweth the honor of hys dignitie vnto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppresse so tirannically, more worthye stomacks and courages then himselfe? He must nedes be a good guid, and an vpright iudge, which fedeth vpon innocent bloud: and breathing in the bodies of godly men doth rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in destroying and subuerting the faith.

Go to therfore thou hangman, burne, cut and mangle thou these earthly mēbers. It is an easie matter to breake a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt not thou hurt for any thing thou canst do. The pretor thē or iudge wyth these words of hers, set in a great rage, saith, hangmā take her and pull her out by the heare of her head & torment her to the vttermost. Let her feelee the power of our countrey gods, and let her know what the Imperiall gouernement of a Prince is. [*](#) But yet, O thou sturdy girle, faine woulde I haue thee (if it were possible) before thou dye, to reuoke this thy wickednes. Behold what pleasures thou maiest enioy by the honorable house thou camest of. Thy fallen house and progenie followeth thee to death with lamentable teares, & the heauy nobility of thy kindred maketh dolfull lamētation for thee. What meanest thou, wilt thou kill thy self so younge a flower, & so neare these honorable mariages and great dowries that thou mayest enioy? Doth not the glistering and golden pompe of the bried bed moue thee? Doth not the reuerende pietie of thyne Auncitours pricke thee? whom is it not, but that this thy rashnes and

weakenes sorroweth? behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death. Either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beastes shalt thou be pulled in peeces, or els yⁿ being cast into the fiery flames shalbe (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to escape al this? If thou wilt but take & put with thy fingers a little salt & incense into the censers, thou shalt be deliuered from al these punishmēts. To this Eulalia made no aunswere, but being in a great furye shee spitteth in the tirauntes face, she throweth downe the Idoles, and spurneth abroad with her feete the heape of incense prepared to the censers: then without further delay, the hangmen with both their strengthes tooke her, & puld one ioynite from an other, and with the talantes of wilde beastes, scotched her sides to the hard bodes: she all this while singing and praying God in this wise. Beholde, O Lord I will not forget thee: what a pleasure is it for them O Christ that remember thy triumphant victoryes, to attayne vnto these high dignities, and still calleth vpon that holy name,* al stained and embrued with her owne bloude. This sang she with a bold stomacke, neither lamentyngly nor yet wepingly, but being glad and mery, abandonyng from her mind all heauines and grieffe, when as out of a warme fountain her mangled members with fresh bloud bathed her white and fayre skinne. Then proceede they to the last and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the yron grat, & hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned, on euery side with flaming torches her tormented brests,* and sides: her heare hanging about her shoulders in two parts deuided (wherewith her shamefast chastitie and virginitie was couered) reached downe to the ground: but when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her heare, and reacheth the crowne of her head: thē she desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame, and so rested shee in peace.

The sayde Prudentius and Ado,* also Equilinus adde moreouer, writinge of a white doue issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body, also of her body, couered miraculously wyth snow, with other things more, wherof let euery reader vse hys owne iudgement.

As ye haue heard now the Christian life and constant death of Eulalia,* much worthy of praise & commendation: So no lesse commendation is worthely to be giuen to blessed Agnes, that constant Damsell and martir of God, who as she was in Rome of honorable parentes begotten, so lyeth she there as honorably intombed & buried. Whiche Agnes for her vnspotted & vndefiled virginitie, deserueth no greater praise and commendation, then for her willing death and martirdome.* Some writers make of her a long discourse, more in my iudgement then necessary, reciting diuers & sundry straunge miracles by her done in the processe of her history, which partly for tediousnes, partly for the doubtfulnes of the author, (whome some father vpon Ambrose) and partly for the straungenes and incredibilitie therof I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius, brefly writeth of her,* as foloweth: Shee was (sayth hee) yong & not marriageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked Edictes of the Emperour: least that through idolatry she might haue denied and forsaken the holy faith: but yet first proued by diuers and sundry pollicies to induce her to the same (as now with y^e flattering and intising words of the Iudge, now with the threatnings of the storming executioner) stode notwithstanding,* stedfast in al couragious strength: and willingly offered her body to hard & painful torments, not refusing as she sayd, to suffer whatsoever it should be, yea though it were death it selfe. Then said the cruell tyraunt: if to suffer paine & torment, be so easie a matter and

lightly regarded of thee & that thou accomptest thy life nothing woorth: yet y^e shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that vnles thou wilt make obeisaunce to the aultar of Minerua, and aske forgiuenes of her for thy arrogancy,* thou shalt be sent or abandoned to the cōmon stewes or brothelhouse. Agnes y^e virgine, with more spirit and vehemency inneieth against both Minerua & her verginitie: the youth in sculs flocke and runne together, and craue that they may haue Agnes their ludibrious pray:* thē saith Agnes, Christ is not so forgetfull of those that be hys, that he wil suffer violently to be taken frō them their golden and pure chastitie, neither wil he leaue them so destitute of helpe: he is alwaies at hande and ready to fight for such as are shamfast and chast virgines, neither suffereth he his giftes of holy integritie or chastitie to be polluted. Thou shalt sayth shee, willingly bathe thy sworde in my bloud if thou wilt, but thou shalt not defile my body with filthy lust for any thing thou canst doe. She had no sooner spoken these wordes, but he commaunded that she should be set naked at the corner of some streete, (whiche place at that time, such as were strumpets cōmonly vsed, the greater part of the multitude both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameles a sight,* went their wayes, some turninge their heades, some hiding their faces. But one amongst y^e rest, with vncircumcised eies, beholding the Damsell, and that in such opprobrious wise: behold a flame of fire lyke vnto a flash of lightning, falleth vpō him, striketh his eies out of his head, wherupon he for dead falling to the groūd, sprauleth in the chanel durt, whose cōpanions taking him vp, & carrying him away, bewayled him as a dead man. But the virgin for this her miraculous deliuey from the danger and shame of that place, singeth prayses vnto God and Christ.

There be (saith Prudentius) that report how that shee [Page 95](#) beyng desired to pray vnto Christ for the partie, that a litle before with fire frō heauen for hys incōtinency was stricken was restored by their prayer,* both vnto hys perfect health & sight. But blessed Agnes after that she had climed this her first griefe and step vnto the heauēly pallace, forthwith began to clime an other: for fury ingendring now, y^e mortall wrath of her bloody enemy, wringing his handes crieth out saying, I am vndone: O y^t the executioner draw out thy sword, and doe thyne office that y^e Emperour hath appoynted thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdy and cruell fellow (to behold) stand behinde her, or approaching neere vnto her with a naked sword in his hand: I am now glad,der sayth she, & reioyce, y^t such a one as thou, being a stout, fierce, strong and sturdy souldiour art come, then one more feable, weake, & faynt should come, or els any other yong man sweetly enbalmed,* and wearing gaye apparell that might destroy me with funerall shame. This, euen this is he I now cōfesse, y^t I do loue. I wil make hast to meet him and will no longer protract my longing desire: I wil willingly receaue into my papes the length of hys sword, and into my brest will draw the force therof euē vnto the hilts: That thus I being maryed vnto Christ my spouse,* may surmount and escape all the darckenes of this world, that reacheth euen vnto y^e skyes. O eternal gouernour, vouchsafe to opē the gates of heauen once shut vp agaynst al the inhabitantes of the earth, and receaue (oh Christ) my soule that seeketh thee. Thus speaking and kneeling vpon her knees, she prayeth vnto Christ aboue in heauen, that her necke might be the redyer for the sword,* now hāging ouer the same. The executioner then with his bloody hand, finished her hope, & at one stroke cutteth off her head, & by such short & swift death doth he preuente her of y^e payne therof.

I haue oftentimes before complayned that the stories of Sayntes haue bene poudered and sawsed with diuers vntrue additions and fabulous inuentiōs of men,* who either of a superstitious

deuotion, or of a subtyll practise, haue so mingle mangled their stories and liues, that almost nothing remayneth in them simple and vncorrupt, as in the vsuall Portues wont to be read for dayly seruice, is manifest and euident to be seene, wherein, few Legendes there be, able to abide y^e touch of history, if they were truly tried. This I write vpon the occasiō specially of good Katherine, whome now I haue in hand. In whom although I nothing doubt, but in her life was great holines, in her knowledge excellency, in her death constancy: yet that all thinges be true that be storyed of her, neyther dare I affirme, neyther am I bound so to thinke: So many strange fictions of her be fained diuersly of diuers writers, wherof some seeme incredible, some also impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus,* writing of her conuersion declareth, how that Katherine sleeping before a certayne picture or table of the Crucifixe, Christ with his mother Mary appeared vnto her: And when Mary had offered her to Christ to be his wife, he first refused her for her blackenes. The next tyme, she beyng baptised, Mary appearing againe, offered her to mary with Christ, who then being liked, was espoused to hym and maryed, hauing a golden ring the same tyme put on her finger in her sleep. &c. Bergomensis writeth thus, that because she in y^e sight of the people openly resisted the Emperour Maxentius to hys face and rebuked hym for hys crueltie,* therefore she was commaunded and committed vpon the same to prison, which seemeth hetherto not much to digresse from trueth. It followeth moreouer, that the same night an angell came to her,* comforting and exhorting her to be strong and constant vnto the Martyrdome, for that she was a mayd accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with her, for whose honor she did fight, and that he would geue her a mouth and wisdom, which her enemies should not withstand: with many other thinges mo, which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning y^e 50. Philosophers, whom she in disputation conuicted, and conuerted vnto our religion, and dyed martyrs for y^e same. Item, of the conuerting of Porphyrius kinsmā to Maxentius and Faustina the Emperours wife. At length (saith the story) after she proued the racke, and the foure sharpe cutting wheelles,* hauing at last her head cut off with the sword, so she finished her martyrdome, about the yeare of our Lord (as Antoninus affirmeth) 310 Symeon Metaphrastes, writing of her, discourseth the same more at large, to whome they may resort, which couet more therein to be satisfied.

Among the workes of Basill a certayne Oration is extant concerning Iulitta the martyr,* who came to her martyrdome (as he witnesseth) by this occasion. A certayne auaricious and greedy person, of great authoritie, and as it may appeare, the Emperour his deputy, or other like officer,* (who abused the decrees and lawes of the Emperour agaynst the Christians, to hys own lucre and gayne) violently tooke from this Iulitta all her goodes, landes, cattell, and seruaunts, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pittifull cōplaint to the Iudges, a day was appointed, when the cause should be heard.* The spoyled woman, and the spoiling extorcioner stode forth together, y^e woman lamentably declareth her case, y^e man frowningly beholdeth her face. When she had proued that of good right the goods were her owne & that wrongfully he had dealt with her: the wicked & bloudthirsty wretch, preferring vile worldly substaunce, before the precious substaunce of a Christen body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that she was as an outlaw in not seruing the Emperors Gods, since her christian faith hath bene first abiured.* His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon incense & fire were prepared for her to worship the Gods, which vnles she would do,* neither the Emperors protectiō, nor lawes, nor iudgment, nor life, should she enioy in that cōmon weale. When this handmaid of the Lorde heard these wordes, she saide, farwell life, welcome death: farwell ryches welcome pouerty. All that I haue if it were a thousand times more,* would I rather loose, then to speake one wicked &

blasphemous word against God my creator. I yeeld thee thanks most hartly, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemne & despise this frayle and transitory world, esteeming Christian profession aboue all treasures. Hence forth whē any question was demaunded, her aunswere was: ^{*}I am the seruaunt of Iesus Christ. Her kindred & acquaintaunce flocking to her, aduertised her to chaunge her minde. But that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their Idolatry. Forthwith the Iudge, with the sharpe sworde of sentēce not only cutteth of al her goodes & possessions, but iudgeth her also to the fire most cruellye. The ioyfull Martyr imbraceth the sentence as a thing most sweete and delectable. ^{*}She addresseth her selfe to the flames, in countenance, iesture, and wordes, declaring the ioy of her hart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her, sententiouslye shee spake: Sticke not, ^{*}O sisters, to labour and trauell after true piety and godlines. Cease to accuse the fragilitie of feminine nature. What? are not we created of the same matter, that mē are? Yea, after Gods Image and similitude are we made, as liuely as they. Not flesh only God vsed in the creation of the woman, in signe and tokē of her infirmitie, & weaknes, but bone of bones is she, in token that shee must be strong in the true and liuing God, all false Gods forsaken. Constant in faith al infidelity renounced patient in aduersity, all worldly ease refused. Waxe wery, (my dere sisters) of your liues lead in darkenes, & be in loue with my christ, my God, my redeemer, my comforter which is the true light of the worlde. Perswade your selues, or rather the spirite of the liuing God perswade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worshippers of idoles and deuils shal be tormented, perpetually, the seruauntes of the high god shalbe crowned eternally. With these words she embraced the fire, and swetely slept in the Lord.

There haue bene moreouer beside these aboue recited diuers godly women and faithfull Martirs, ^{*}as Barbara a noble woman in Thuscia, who after miserable prisonmēt sharpe cordes, & burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also Fausta the virgin, which suffered vnder Maximinus by whome Euelasius a ruler of the Emperours palace, and Maximinus the President were both conuerted and also suffered martirdome, as witnesseth Metaphrastes. Item Iuliana a virgine of singular beautie in Nicomedia, who after diuers agonies suffered likewise vnder, Maximinus. Item, Anysia a mayd of Thessalonica, who vnder the said Maximinus suffred. Metaphr. ibid. Iustina which suffered with Cyprianus bishop of Antioche, not to omit also Tecla although most writers doe accorde that she suffered vnder Nero. Platina in vita Caij, maketh also mentiō of Lucia, & Agatha. All which holy maides and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martirdome in this tenth & last persecution of Dioclesian.

During the time of which persecution these bishops of Rome succeded on after another ^{*}Caius who succeded next after Xist{us} mētioned. pag. 71. Marcellinus Marcellus (of whō, Eusebius in his story maketh no mention) Eusebius, & then Miltiades: al which, died martirs in the tempest of this persecution. First Marcellinus after the Martirdome of Caius was ordeined Bishoppe, he being brought by Dioclesian, to the Idoles, ^{*}first yeelded to their Idolatry & was seene to sacrifice, wherefore being excommunicated by the Christians, fell in such repentaunce, that he returned agayne to Dioclesian, where he standing to his former confession, and publicly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recouered the crowne of martirdome: suffering with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus.

Page 96 Marcellus likewise was vrged of Maxentius to renounce his bishoprick & religion, ^{*}& to sacrifice with them to idols. which when he constantly refused, was beaten with cudgels, and so

expelled the city. Then he entring into y^e house of Lucina a widow, assembled there the cōgregation, which when it came to the eares of Maxentius the tiraunt, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts, and so with the stinch thereof and miserable handling was put to death. Eusebius late byshop of Rome, as Euseb. in Chron. saith. 7. monethes: Marianus Scotus saith 8. months.*Damasus affirmeth 6. yeares, Sabellicus alledgeth certaine authors that say, that he was slayne by Maximinianus: but correcteth that himselfe, affirming that Maximinianus died before him.

Miltiades by the testimony of Platina, and other that follow him sat 3. yeares, & 7. moneths, & suffred vnder Maximinianus. But that semeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note,* affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time: Forasmuch as the saide Galerius Maximinus raigned but 2. yeares, and died before Miltiades. Also Eusebius manifestly expresseth the example of a letter of Constantine written to this Miltiades Byshop of Rome,* playnely conuicting that to bee false, which Platina affirmeth.

In the booke collected of general counceles among the decretal epistles, there is a long tractation about y^e iudgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: wherof the Maysters & Patrones of popery, in these our daies, take great hold to proue the supremacy of the pope to be aboue al generall counceles, and that he ought not to be subiect to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written: Nemo vnquam iudicauit Pontificem, nec Praesul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes non iudicabitur a quoquā. &c. Although this sentence of Miltiades seemeth apparantly to be patched in, rather by some Heldibrandus, then by Miltiades: both for that it hangeth with little order of sense, vpon that which goeth before: & againe bicause that prima sedes here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the sea of Rome before the counsell of Nice, where the order and placing of byshops was first established. But to let this sentence passe, yet notwithstanding the circūstance & proceeding of this iudgement, if it be rightly weyed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the bishops of this counsell of Sinuesse, did not condemne Marcellinus: for the wordes of the counsell bee plaine. Subscripserunt igitur in eius damnationem & damnauerunt eum extra ciuitatem. That is: They subscribed therfore to his comdemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the citie. Moreouer by y^e said counsell were brought in, the 42. witnesses against Marcellinus. In the saide counsell the verdit of the same witnesses was demaunded and also receiued. Furthermore, Quirinus there, one of the Byshops openly protested, that he would not depart y^e counsell, before the malice of the bishops were reuealed: what doth al this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there,* and did appeare before the iudgement seat of the Counsell, and there stode subiecte to their sentence & authoritie, by the which he was expelled out of the City? As for the wordes of the counsell, whereupon our Papistes stand so much. Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius iudicio cōdemnaberis, &c. Item: Tuo ore iudica causam tuā. &c. These words import not here the authority of the Romane bishop to be aboue the councel, neither do they declare what the counsell could not do, but what they would and wished rather to be done, that is, that he should rather acknowledge his crime before God & them, with a voluntary yelding of his hart, then that the confession of such an hainous fact should be extorted from him through their condemnatiō: for that they saw to be expedient for hys soules health. Otherwise their cōdemnation should serue him to smal purpose. And so it came to passe. For he being vrged of thē to condemne himselfe,* so did: prostrating himselfe and weeping before them. Wherupon immediatly they proceded to the sentēce against him, condemning & pronouncing him to be expelled the city. Now whether

by this may be gathered, that y^e Byshop of Rome ought not to be cited, accused, and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent Reader iudge simply.

*As touching y^e decretal epistles, which be intituled vnder the name of these foresaide bishops: who so well aduise them, and with iudgement will examine the stile, the time, the argument the hanging together of the matter, & the constitutions in them contained (little seruing to anye purpose, and nothing seruing for those troublous dayes then present) may easely discerne them: either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of other, which liued in other times: speciallye seing al the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting vp and to exalt the sea of Rome aboue al other, Bishops and churches, and to reduce all comes & appeals to the said sea of Rome. So the epistle of Caius beginnyng with the commendation of the authoritie of his sea, endeth after the same tenor, willing and cōmaunding all difficult questions in al prouinces whatsoever emerging, to be referred to the sea Apostolicall. Moreouer, the greatest part of the said epistle from this place. Quicunque illi sunt ita obcaecati. &c. to the ende of this periede: Quoniam sicut ait. B. Apostolus Magnum est pietatis. &c. is conteyned in the epistle of Leo, vnto Leo the Emperour: & so rightly agreeth in al poynts with the stile of Leo, that euident it is the same to be borrowed out of Leo, out of the epistle of Caius, or to bee patched into the epistle of Caius taken out of Leo.

Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus to get more authoritie with y^e reader, is admixed with a great part of S. Paules epistle to the ephesians, worde, for worde. And howe is it like that Marcellinus which died in the 20. yeare of Dioclesian coulde write of consubstantialitie of the diuine persons, when that controuersie and terme of Consubstantialitie, was not heard of in the Church, before Nicene councell, which was 23. yeares after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bewray themselues, so that for the confuting therof needeth no other probation, more then onely the reading of the same. Such a glorious stile of ambition therein doth appeere, as it is easie to be vnderstoode, not to proceede either frō such an humble Martir, or to sauour any thing of the misery of such a time. His wordes of hys first epistle written to the brethren of Antioche, and alleaged in the popes decrees by Gratianus are these:

We desire you brethren that ye doe not teach nor conceiue any other thing, but as yee haue receiued of the blessed Apostle S. Peter, and of other Apostles & fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed. wherefore you must not forsake your owne father and followe others. For hee is the head of the whole Church to whom the Lord sayd: Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke I will build my church. &c. whose seate was first with you in Antioche: which afterward by the commaundement of the Lord was trāslated frō thence to Rome, of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of god) to be the gouernour. Frō the which church of Rome, neither ought you to separate your selues, seeing to the same church all maner causes ecclesiasticall, being of any importance (Gods grace so disposing) are comended to be referred: by the same to be ordered regularly, from whence they tooke their first beginning. &c. And followeth consequently vpon the same. And if your Church of Antioche, which was once the 1. wil now yeld her self vnto the sea of Rome, ther is no other Church els, which will not subiect it selfe to our dominion: to whom all other Byshops, who so euer listeth, and as they must needes do (according to the decrees of the the Apostles and of their successors) ought to flee vnto, as to their head, and must appeale to the same, there to haue their redresse, and their protection from whence they tooke their first instruction and consecration. &c.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus that blessed martyr, in those so dreadfull dayes, I say no more,* but onely desire thee (gētle reader) to iudge.

In hys second Epistle moreouer, the sayd Marcellus, writing to Maxentius, the bloody tyraunt, first reprehendeth him for his crueltie, sharply admonishing him howe & what to do: to learne and seeke the true religion of God, to mayntayne hys Church, to honor and reuerence the Priestes of God, and specially exhorteth him to charitie, and that he would cease from persecution. &c. All this is possible,* and like to be true: but now marke (good reader) what blanched stuffe here followed withall: as where hee alledging the statutes and sanctions of hys predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no byshop nor minister ought to be persecuted, or depriued of hys goodes. And if they be, then ought the to haue their possessions and places againe restored (by the law) before they were bound (by the law) to aunswere to their accusations layd in agaynst thē. And so after that, in conuenient tyme, to be called to a councell. The which councell notwithstanding, without the authoritie of the holy sea, cannot proceede regularly (albeit it remayne in hys power to assemble certayne Byshops together.) Neyther can he regularly condemne any Byshop, appealing to this hys Apostolicall sea, before the sentence diffinite do proceede from the foresayd sea. &c. And it followeth after: and therefore (sayth he) let no Byshop of what crime soeuer he be attached, come to hys accusation or be heard, but in hys owne ordinary Synode at hys conuenient time: the regular and Apostolicalll authoritie beyng ioyned withall. Moreouer in the sayd Epistle writing to Maxentius, hee decreeth that no lay men, or any suspected Byshop, ought to accuse Prelates of the Church:

so that if [Page 97](#) they be either laye men, or men of euill conuersation, or proued manyfest enimies, or incensed with anye hatred, their accusations against any Byshops ought not to stande. Wyth other such matters moe, concerning the disposition of iudiciall court. Which matter, if Pope Gregory the seuenth, had written to Henrye the third Emperour, or if Pope Alexander the third, had written to the Emperour Predericus the first: it might haue stand with some reason and opportunity of time.

But nowe for Marcellus to write these decrees in such persecution of the Church, to Maxentius the Heathen and most cruell Emperour: howe vnlyke it is to bee true, and howe it serued then to purpose, the Reader may soone discerne. And yet these be the epistles and constitutions decretal, whereby (vnder the pretended title of the fathers) al churches of late time,* & al ecclesiastical causes haue beene, & yet are in this realme of england to this day gouerned, directed, and disposed.

The like discussion & examination I might also make of the other epistles that followe of Eusebius and Miltiades, which al tende to the same scope, that no Prelate or bishop ought to come to his answeere (or ad litem cōtestatam, as the words of their writing do terme it) before they be orderly & fully restored again to their possessiōs. Who moreouer in y^e said their epistles stil harpe vpon this key of y^e scripture: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, Declaring more ouer that this priuiledge of iudging al mē and to be iudge of no man, but onely to be left to y^e iudgement of the Lord: was gyuen to this foresayd holy sea of Rome, from tyme of the Apostles, & chiefly left w^t Peter the holye key keeper: so that although the election of the Apostles was equall, yet this was chiefly graunted to Saint Peter; to haue preheminenes aboue the rest. Concluding in the ende hereby.*Quod semper maiores causae, sicut sunt episcoporum, & potiorum curae negotiorum, ad vnam beati principis Apostolorum Petri sedem confluerent: That is: that alwaies all greater causes, as be the matters of Byshoppes, and such

other cares of weighty importaunce, should be brought to the sea of S. Peter, the blessed prince of the Apostles. &c. These be the wordes of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly be smelled of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of thē which forged these writings and letters, vpon these auntient holy martirs.

This I cannot but maruell at, in the thirde Epistle of Eusebius the bishop of Rome, that where as Marcellius his late predecessor before,* in his owne time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same iustly to be expulsed the Citie by the counsell of 300. Byshops: yet notwithstanding the foresaid Eusebius in his third epistle alledging y^e place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a profe of the same and saith: Quia in sede Apostolica extra maculam semper est Catholica seruata religio. &c. That is, for in the Apostolicall sea, alwaies the Catholike Religion hath bene preserued without any spot or blemish.

But howsoever the forgers of these decretal Epistles haue forgottē themselues,* most certeine it is that these holy bishops, vpon whom they were and are ascribed: liued perfect good men, and died blessed martirs. Of whom this Miltiades was the last among all the Bishoppes of Rome here in the west Church of Europe, that euer was in daūger of persecution to be Martired, yet to this present day.

And thus haue ye heard the stories and names of such blessed Saintes, which suffered in the time of persecution, from the xix. yeare of Dioclesian, to the vij. and last yeare of Maxentius with the deathes also & plagues described vpon these tormentors,* and cruel tiraunts, which were the captaines of the same persecutiō. And here commeth in (blessed be Christ) the ende of these persecutions here in these West Churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantinus did chiefly extend.

Yet notwithstanding in Asia al persecution as yet ceased not for the space of foure yeres, as aboue is mentioned by the meanes of wicked Licinius.* Under whome diuers there were holy and constant martirs, that suffered greuous torments: as Hermylus a Deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the prison, which both, after their punishments sustained,* were strangled in the flood Ister. Metasth. Also Theodorus y^e Captaine, who being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, and because he brake his Gods in peeces, and gaue them to the pore, therfore was fastned to the crosse, and after being pearsed with sharpe pricks or bodkins, in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Adde to this also Milles, who first being a Souldiour, afterward was made bishop of a certaine Citie in Persia, where he seing himselfe could do no good to conuert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among thē, cursed the Citie and departed. Which citie shortly after by Saporess king of Persia was destroied.

In the same countrey of Persia, about this time suffered vnder Saporess the king (as recordeth Symeon Metasthenes) diuers valiant & constant martirs,* as Acindymus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus, also Symeon Archbishop of Seleucia, with Ctesiphon an other bishop in Persia, with other ministers & religious men of that region, to y^e number of 128. Of this Symeon and Ctesiphon thus writeth Zozomenus lib. 2. That the idolatrous Magitians in Persia, taking counsaile together against y^e Christians, accused Symeon & Ctesiphō, to Saporess y^e king, for y^f they were gratefull & accepted vnto y^e Romane Emperor & bewraied to him, such things as were done in y^e land of Persia. Whereupon Saporess being moued, toke great displeasure against

y^e christians, oppressing them with taxes & tributes vnto their vtter impouering, killing also their Priestes with the sword: After that calleth for Symeon the Archbyshop, who there before the king declared himselfe a worthy & a valiant captaine, of Christs church. For when Sapores had cōmaūded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shronk for any feare, nor shewed any great humble sute of submission for any pardon: wherat the king partly marueiling, partly offended, asked why he did not knele downe, as he was wont before to do. Symeon to this aūswered, for that saith he, before this time I was not brought vnto you in bondes to betray the true God,* as I am now, so long I refused not to accomlishe that which the order & custome of the Realme of me required: but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our Religion and true doctrine. When Symeon thus had aunswered, the king persisting in his purpose, offereth vnto him y^e choise, either to worship with him after his maner (promising to him many great gifts, if he would so doe) or if he would not,* threatneth to him and to al the other christians within his land, destruction. But Symeon neither allured with his promises, nor terrified with his threatnings, cōtinued constaunt in his doctrine professed, so that neyther he could be induced to Idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into hands, and there commaūded to be kept to the kings pleasure further knowne.

It befel in the way as he was going to y^e prison, there was sitting at the kings gate a certaine Eunuche,* an olde Tutor or scholemaister of y^e kings, named Vsthazares, who had bene once a christian, and afterward falling from hys profession, fell with the Heathen multitude to their Idolatrie. This Vsthazares sitting at the doore of the kinges pallace, and seing Symeon passing by led to the prison, rose vp and reuerenced the Bishop. Symeon againe with sharpe wordes (as the time would suffer) rebuked him & in great anger cried out against him:* which being once a christian, woulde so cowardly reuolt from his profession, & returne againe to the Heathenish Idolatry. At the hearing of these words the Eunuch forthwith brasting out in teares, laying away his courtly apparell, which was sumptuous & costly & putting vpon him a blacke and mourning weede, sitteth before the court gates weping and bewailing, thus saying with himselfe:* wo is me, wyth what hope, wyth what face, shall I looke hereafter for my God, which haue denied my god: whē as this Symeon my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?

These things being brought to the •ares of the King (as such tale cariers neuer lacke in Princes courtes) procured against him no litle indignation. wherupon Sapores the king sending for him, first with gentle words & courtly promises began to speake him faire, asking him what cause he had so to mourne, & whether there was any thing in his house, which was denied him, or which he had not at his owne will and asking.* Whereunto Vsthazares aunswering againe saide: That there was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or wherūto his desire stod. Yea would god (said he) O king any other grief or calamitie in al the world, whatsoeuer it were, had happened vnto me, rather thē this for y^e which I do most iustly mourne and sorrow. For this sorroweth me that I am this day aliue, who should rather haue died long since, & that I see this sonne, which against my hart and mynde, for your pleasure dissēblyngly I appeared to worship, for which cause doublewise I am worthy of death. First, for y^t I haue denied Christ. Secondly, because I did dissemble with you. And incontinent vpon these wordes, swearing by him that made both heauen & earth, affirmed most certainly, that although he had plaid y^e foole before, he would neuer be so mad againe, as in steede of the creator and maker of all thinges, to worship

the creatures which he had made and created. Saporess the king being astonied at the so sodaine alteration of this man, and doubting with hym selfe, whether to be angry with those inchaunters, or with [Page 98](#) him, whether to intreat him wyth gentlenes, or wyth rygour, at length in this moode commaunded the sayde Vsthazares his old auncient seruaunt,* and first Tutor & brynger vp of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded: as he was going to the place of execution, he desired of the executioners, a lyttle to staye, whyle he myght sende a message vnto the king, which was this (sent in by certayne of the kings most trusty Eunuches) desiring him that for all the old and faythfull seruyce he had done to his Father,* & to him, he would now requite him w^t thys one office agayne, to cause to bee cryed openlye by a publike cryer in these wordes followyng: that Vsthazares was beheaded not for any trechery or cryme committed against the king or the Realme,* but onelye for that hee was a Christyan, and woulde not at the Kinges pleasure denye hys God. And so accordyng to hys requeste it was performed and graunted. For thys cause dyd Vsthazares so much desire the cause of hys death to be publyshed: because that as his shrynking backe from Christ, was a great occasion to manye Christians to doe the lyke: so nowe the same hearing y^t Vsthazares dyed for no other cause but only for y^e religion of Christ, shoulde learne lykewyse by hys example to bee feruente and constaunt in that which they professe. And thus thys blessed Eunuch dyd consummate hys Martyrdome.* Of the which hys Martyrdome, Symeon hearing being in pryson was very ioyfull, and gaue god thanks. Who in the nexte daye followyng, being brought foorth before the Kyng, and constantly refusyng to condescende to the Kynges request,* to worship visible creatures, was lykewyse by the commaundement of the Kyng beheaded, wyth a great number mo, whiche the same daye also did suffer, to the number as is sayd of an hundreth and more. All whiche were put to death before Symeon,* he standing by, and exhortyng them, wyth comfortable wordes: admonishing them to stande fyrme and stedfast in the Lord, Preachyng and teachyng them concernyng death, resurrection, and true pietye, and prooued by the Scriptures y^t to be true which he had sayde. Declaryng moreouer that to be true lyfe in deede, so to dye: and that to be death in deede, to deny or to betray God for feare of punishment. And added further, that there was no man alyue, but needes once must dye. For so much as to all men is appoynted necessarelye, here to haue an ende. But those thyngs which after this lyfe followe hereafter, to bee eternall, which neyther shall come to all men after one sorte. But as the condition and trade of lyfe in dyuers men doth dyffer, and is not in all men like: so the tyme shall come, when all men in a moment shall render and receaue accordyng to theyr dooynges in thys present lyfe immortall rewardes: such as haue here done well, of lyfe and glory, such as haue done contrary, of perpetual punishment: As touching therefore our well doying, here is no doubte but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deedes, there is no hyer or greater deede, then if a man here loose his lyfe, for hys Lord God. Wyth these wordes of comfortable exhortation, the holye Martyrs beyng prepared, willyngly yeelded vp their liues to death. After whom at last followed Symeon, with two other Priestes or Mynisters of his Church,* Abedecalaas, and Ananias, which also wyth him were pertakers of the same Martyrdome. At the sufferyng of those aboue mentioned, it happened that Pusices one of the Kynges offycers, and ouerseer of hys Artificers,* was there present: who seeyng Ananias beyng an aged olde Father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the syght of them that suffered: O Father (sayde he) a lyttle moment shut thyne eies, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God. Upon these words thus spoken, Pusices immediately was apprehended & brought to the King.* Who there confessing himselfe constantly to be a Chrystian, and for that he was very bould and hardy before the king in the cause of Christs faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his Martyrdome.* For in the vpper part of hys necke they made a

hole to thrust in theyr hande, and pluckt out hys tongue out of hys mouth, and so he was put to death. At y^e which time also the daughter of Pusices, a godly virgine, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended & put to death.

The next yere followyng, vpon the same day, when the Christians did celebrate the remembraunce of y^e Lords passion,* which wee call good Frydaye before Easter (as wytnesseth the sayde Zozomenus.) Sapores the king directed out a cruell and sharpe Edict throughout al his land, condemning to death all them, whosoever confessed themselues to be Christians.* By reason whereof an innumble multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant Magitians suffered the same tyme by the sworde, both in Citie and in Towne: some beyng sought for, some offeryng themselues willyngly, least they shoulde seeme by their sylence to deny Christ. Thus al the Christians that could be founde, without pitie were slaine and diuers also of the kinges owne court and housholde. Amonge whome was also Azades an Eunuche,* and whome the Kyng did entirely loue and fauour. Which Asades after that the King vnderstoode to be put to death, beyng greatly mooued with the sorrow thereof commaunded after that,* no Christians to bee slayne, but them onely which were the Doctours and teachers of Chrystian Religion.

In the same tyme it happened that the Queene fell into a certaine disease:* vpon the occasion whereof the cruell Iewes with the wicked Magicians, falsely and maliciously accused Trabula, the sister of Symeon, the Martyr, a godly Uirgine, with an other sister also of hers: that they had wrought pryue charmes to hurt the Queene, for the reuenging of the death of Symeon. This accusation beyng receaued and beleued: innocent Trabula, with the other were condemned, and with a sawe cut in sunder by the middle. Whose quarters were then hanged vpon stakes: the Queene goyng betweene them, thinking thereby to be deliuered of her sickenes. This Trabula, was a mayde of a ryght comelye beauty, and verye amiable, to whome one of the Magicians cast great loue, much desiring and labouryng by gyftes and rewardes sent into the pryson to wyne her to hys pleasure: promising that if she woulde applye to hys request shee shoulde bee deliuered and set at lybertye.* But she vtterly refusing to consente vnto hym, or rather rebukyng him for his incontinent attempt dyd chuse rather to dye, then to betray eyther the Religion of her minde or the virginie of her body. Zozom.

Now forsomuch as the king had cōmaunded that no Christians should be put to death,* but onely such as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke: the Magicians and Archmagitians, left no diligence vntried, to set forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and persecutions was among the Byshops and teachers of the Church, which in all places, went to slaughtre, especially in the country of Diabenor, for that part of Persia aboue al other was most Christian.* Where Acepsimas y^e Byshop with a great number of his flocke and clergy, were apprehended and taken: vpon the apprehension of whō the Magicians to satisfie y^e kings commaundement, dismissed al the rest, onely depriuing them of their liuing and goods. Onely Acepsimas the bishop they retayned, with whom one Iacobus a Minister or priest of his church was also ioined: not of any compulsion, but onely as himselfe so desired and obtained of those Magicians, y^t he might folow him, & be coupled in y^e same bonds to serue the aged byshop, and to relieue (so much as he might) his calamities, and heale his woundes. For he had bene sore scourged before of the Magians,* after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worshippe the sunne, which thing because he would not do, they cast him into prison againe, where this Iacobus was

waiting vpō him. At the same time likewise Athalis a Priest or Minister, also Azadanes and Abdiesus Deacons were imprysoned, and miserably scourged for the testimony of the Lorde Iesus. After this the Archimagus espying his time, complaineth to the king of them, hauing authoritie and commission giuen him (vnles they would worship the sunne) to punish them as he pleased. This commaundement receyued of the king, the master Magus doth declare to thē in prison. But they aunswered againe plainly, that they would neuer be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the sunne. wherupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments. Where Aceptsimas strongly persisting in the confession of christ, endureth to death. The other being no lesse rent & wounded with scourges, yet cōtinued meruailously aliue. And because they woulde in no case turne from their constant sentence, were turned againe into prison. Of whome Athalas in the time of his whipping was so drawne & rackt with pulling, that both his armes being loosed out of the ioynts, hanged downe from his body: which he so caried about without vse of any hande to feede himselfe,* but as he was fed of other.

Miserable and almost innumerable were the slaughters vnder the raigne of this Saporess, of Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, religious men holy virgins, and other ecclesiasticall persons such as did then cleaue to the doctrine of Christ and suffered for the same. The names of the bishops besides the other multitude taken in that persecution, is recited in Sozom. lib. 2. and in Niceph. lib. 8 cap. 37. in this order following, Barbasymes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Ioannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Isaac, Dausas Bicor. also with Maureanda his fellow bishop, and the rest of his Churches vnder hym, [Page 99](#) to the number of 250. persons, which were the same time apprehended of the Persians.* &c. Briefly to cōprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the maner of their apprehension, the cruelnes of their tormēts, how and where they suffered, & in what places it is not possible for any history to discharg. Neither are y^e Per'sians them selues (as Zozomenus recordeth) able to recyte them. In summe, the multitude and number of thē whom they are able to recite by name, commeth to the summe of xvj. thousand men and women.

The rumor and noyse of this so miserable affliction of the Christians in the kingdome of Persia, comming to the eares of Constantinus the Emperour, put him in great heauines, studing and reuoluing with himselfe, howe to helpe the matter, which in deede was very hard for him to do. It so befell the same time, that certaine Embassadors were then at Rome from Saporess king of Persia, to whom Constantinus did easely graunt, and consent, satisfying all their requestes, and demaundes, thinking thereby to obtaine the more friendship at the kings handes, that at hys request, he would be good to the Christians to whome he writeth his Epistle in their behalfe, and sendeth the same by his messengers beginning thus:

Diuinam fidem seruans veritatis lucem sortior. Veritatis luce ductus diuinam fidem cognosco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agēdas confirmat, sanctissimam religionem cognitam redd•, & hunc m• cultum doctorem cognitionis sancti dei habere confiteor. &c. Eusebius. de vita. Constantinus. lib. 4. The contentes whereof, briefly do tende to this effect. Declaring vnto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request he would shew some quiet and rest to the Christians. In whose religion there was nothing which he could iustly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they vse to kil nothing, nor to shed no bloud, but only to offer vp vnbloudy sacrifices, to make their praiers vnto God, who delighteth not in bloud shedding, but onely in the

soule that loueth vertue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing to true pietie. And therefore such men as doe leade him and learne so to beleue, and to worship God, are more to bee commended. Moreouer he assureth him to finde God more mercifull to him, if hee woulde embrace the godlye pietye and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the stories of Galienus and Valerianus,* who so long as they were fauorers of the Christiāns did prosper and flourish. But as soone as they moued any persecution agaynst them, it happened to them, as it did to all other Emperors before them, that all went backward with them, as especially might appere by Valerianus, who after he had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was eftsoones ouercome of the Persians, the reuenging hand of God falling vpon him, where hee led euer after a miserable life, in wretched captiuitie. Farther also for the more euidēce of the same, inferreth the examples of those Emperors and tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished & subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith, God was hys helper, and gaue him the victory in many battailes, and triumph ouer great tyrants, whereby he hath also enlarged the dominiō of the Romane monarchie from the west Ocean, to the vttermost parts wel neere of al the East. To the doing and working wherof, he neither called to him the helpe of any charmer, or diuination of southsayer, nor vsed the killing of any sacrifice: but onely the following of the crosse, and prayer made to almightie God, without any other bloudy sacrifice, was the armour wherewith hee ouercame, &c. And in the end of the Epistle addeth these words What ioy (saith he) what gladnes would it be to my hart, to heare the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by embracing this sort of men, the Christians I meane? so that both you with them, and they with you in long prosperite may enioy much felicity together as your harts would desire, & in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you haue God, which is the author and creator of all this vniuersall worlde, to be mercifull and gracious to you. These men therefore I commend vnto you vpon your kingly honour, And vpon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are indued, I commit them vnto you, desiring you to embrace & receaue them according to your humanitie and benignity, agreing and conuenient to your estate: who in so doing shal now both procure to your selfe grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthy of thanks.

This Epistle wrot Constantinus to king Saporess Such care had this godly Prince for them that beleued in Christ not onely in his owne Monarchie,* but also in all places of the world: neither is it to be doubted but this intercessiō of the Emperour did something mitigate the heate of the Persians persecution. Although thereof we reade no certaine thing in our histories.

Of other troubles and persecutions we read of, which happened afterward in the said country of Persia, vnder Isdigerdes the king, but these followed long after about the time of the Emperour Theodosius. At which time suffered Andas their bishop, and Hormisda a great noble mans sōne, and of great reputation among the Persians:* whom whē the king vnderstod to be a Christian, and to deny to turne from his religion, condemned him to kepe his Elephants naked. In processe of time the king looking out, and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the sunne, commanded him to haue a shirt put on, & to be brought before him. Whome then the king asked, if he woulde denye Christ. Hormisda hearing this, tare of his shirt from his body, and cast it frō him saying: If yee thinke that I will denye my faith to Christ for a shirt, haue heere your gift againce &c. And so was vpon that expelled the country. Theodor. lib. 5.

An other there was that same time, named Suenes, which had vnder him an hundreth seruaunts. The king takyng displeasure with him, for that he would not alter from hys religion and godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his seruaunts. And him the king made ruler of all y^e rest, and coupling him with his maisters wife,* brought also Suenes vnder his subiection, thinking therby to subdue also the faith of Suenes, but it was builded vpon a sure foundation.

Of Beniamin the Deacon thus writeth the saide Theoret,* in his fift booke, that after two yeares of his imprisonment, at the request of the Romaine Legate hee was deliuered, who afterward contrary to the kings commaundement hee preached and taught the Gospell of Christ, was most miserable excarnificate, hauing xx. sharpe prickes of reeds thrust vnder his nayles, but when he did laugh at y^t, then in his priuye yarde had a sharpe reede thrust in with horrible paine. After that a certaine long stalk ragged and thorny being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him with the horriblenes of the paine,* whereof the valiant and inuincible souldiour of the Lord gaue ouer his life. Theodor. *ibid*. And thus much concerning the martirs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not of this time, which came (as it is sayd) long after the daies of Constantinus, about the yeare of our Lorde. 425.

Likewise vnder Iulianus the wicked Apostata, certaine there were which constanly suffered Martyrdome by the Heathen Idolaters,* as Emilyanus, who was burned in Thracia, and Domitius, which was slayne in hys caue. Theodorus also for singing of a Psalme at the remoouing of the body of Babylas (wherof mention is made of before pag 60.) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciate from morning almost to noone,* that hardly he scaped with life. Who being asked afterward of his friendes, howe he coulde abide so sharpe torments, said that at the first beginning he felt some paine but afterward there stode by him a yong man, who as he was sweating, wiped of his sweate, and refreshed him w^t cold water, oft times: wherewith he was so delited, that when he was let downe from the engine, it greeued hym, more then before. Ruff. lib. 5. cap 36. Theodor. lib. 3. cap. 11. Zozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Artemius also the captaine of the Egiptian soldiours the same time lost his head for his religiō indede: although other causes were pretended against him. Theo. Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Adde to these moreouer, Eusebius and Nestabus twoo brethren, with Nestor also, which for their christianitie were dragged through the streetes, and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza. Sozo. Lib. eod. cap. 11.

But especially the crueltie of the Arethusians, a people of Syria, exceeded against the Christian virgines, whome they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned, after that being shauen, they couered them with swil and draffe woont to be giuen to their hogs, & so caused theyr bowels and flesh to be deuoured of the hungry swine. This rage & furye of the wicked Arethusians, Zozomenus supposeth to come of this, because that Constantinus before had broken them from their country maner, of setting forth and exposing their virgins, filthely to whom soeuer lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis, restrayning the people there from their filthines and vile whoredome. Sozom. Lib. 5 cap. 10.

Of the lamentable story or rather Tragedy of Marcus Arethusius, their Byshop, thus writeth the said Sozomenus, and also Theodoretus in his third booke, in these words as followe.

This Tragedye (saith hee) of Marcus Arethusius,* doth require the eloquence and worthines of Aeschilus, and Sophocles, which may, as the matter deserueth, set forth, and beautify his great afflictions. This man at the commaundement of Constantinus, pulled downe a certayn temple dedicated to Idols, and in the stead thereof built vp a church where the Christians might congregate. The Arthusians remembring the little good wil that Iulianus bare vnto him [Page 100](#) accused him as a traitour and enimie to him. At the first, according as the scripture teacheth he prepared him selfe to flee. But when he perceiued that there were certaine of his kinsmen or frynds apprehēded in his steed,* returning agayne of his owne accord he offred himselfe to those that thirsted for his bloude. whome when they had gotten as men neither pytiyng his old age & worne yeares, nor abashed at his vertuous conuersation, being a man so adourned both with doctrine & maners, first strypt him naked, & pittifully beate him, then within a while after, they cast him into a foule filthy sinke, & from thence being brought, they caused boyes to thrust him in with sharpned stickes, made for the nonce to prouoke his paine the more.* Lastly, they put him into a basket, and being annointed with hony, & broth, they hung him abroad in the heate of the sunne as meate for waspes and flies to feede vpon. And all this extremity they shewed vnto him, for that they woulde enforce him to do one of these things (y^t is either to build vp-againē y^e temple, which he had destroied, or else to giue so much money as should pay for the building of y^e same:*) but euen as hee purposed with him selfe to suffer & abide theyr greuous torments, so refused he to doe that they demaunded of him. At the length they taking him to be but a poore man, and not able to pay such a summe of mony, promised to forgiue him the one halfe, so that he would be contented to pay the other halfe. But he hanging in the basket woūded pitifully with the sharpned sticks of boies & children, and all to be bitten with waspes & flies, did not only conceale his paine & griefe, but also derided those wicked ones and called them, base, low, and terrene people, and he himselfe to be exalted and set on high. At length they demaunding of him but a small some of money, he answered thus, it is a great wickednes to confer one halfe penyē in case of impietie,* as if a man should bestow the whole. Thus they beyng not able to preuaile against him, let hym downe. And leauyng him went their waye, so that euery man might learne at his mouth the example of true pietie and faithfulness.

Although the tractation of these foresayd stories & persecutions of Persia, aboue premised, do stray somewhat out of the order & course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome: yet because in this present history we are in hand with the holy martirs and Saintes of Christ, for as much as these also gaue such a faithfull testimony of the Lord Iesus with their bloud, I thought therefore not to passe them ouer with some testimony in this our Catalogue of holy Martirs. And here an end of these persecutions of the primitiue church.

It may peraduenture be marueiled of some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions aboue specified, why God the almighty director of al things, would suffer his owne people and faithfull seruants, beleeuing in his owne and onely begotien sonne Iesus, so cruelye to bee handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extreemly to be tormented and put to death, & that the space of so many yeres together, as in these foresaid persecutiōs may appeare. To the which admiration I haue nothing to aunswere, but to say with the words of Hierome:*) Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate, perturbare videntes, &c. We ought not to be mooued with this iniquitie of things, to see the wicked to preuaile against the godly: for so much as in the beginning of the worlde we see Abell the iuste to bee killed of wicked Cain.* And afterward

Jacob being thrust out, Esau to reigne in his fathers house. In like case the Egyptians with bricke and tyle, afflicted the sonnes of Israel. Yea and the Lorde himselfe, was hee not crucified of the Iewes, Barrabas the thief being let go? Time would not suffise me, to recite, & reckon vp how the godly in this world go to wracke, the wicked flourishing and preuailing. Hiero. Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whetherfor our sins here in this life, or how else, soeuer, yet this is to vs, & may be to all men a sufficient stay,* that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God his people in this worlde, not to come by any chaunce, or blinde fortune, but by the prouydent appointment, and forewarning of God. For so in the old law by the affliction of the children of Israell,* he hath prefigured these persecutions of his Christians. So by the words of Christes owne mouth in the Gospell, he did forwarne his church of these troubles to come. Again neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall vpon hys seruants, before that he had premonished them sufficientlye by speciall Reuelation in the Apocalips of Iohn his seruaūt,* in the which Apocalips he declared vnto his church before, not onely what troubles were comming at hande toward them, where, and by whome, they shoulde come, but also in playne number, if the wordes of the prophecye be well vnderstoode assygneth the true tyme,* howe longe the sayde persecutions shoulde continue, and when they shoulde cease. For as there is no doubt, but by the beast with seauen heades, bearing the whoore of Babylon, dronken wyth the bloude of Saintes, is signified the Citie of Rome: So in my iudgement, the power of making fortie two moneths (in the thirteene of the Apocalips) is to bee expounded,* taking euery Moneth for a Sabboth of yeares, that is, reckonyng for seauen yeares a moneth: so that forty and two such Sabbots of yeares, being gathered together make vppe the yeres iust,* betweene the time of Christes death, to the last yeare of the persecution of Maxentius, when Constantinus fyghting vnder the banner of Christ, ouercame him, and made an ende of all persecution, wythin the Monarchie of Rome. The number of which yeares,* by playne computation come to 294. to the which 294. yeares, if yee adde the other sixe yeares, vnder the persecution of Licinius in Asia, then it fylleth vp full the three hundreth yeares. And so long continued the persecution of Christes people, vnder the heathen tirants and Emperours of the Monarchie of Rome, accordyng to the number of the fortye two monethes which the beast had power to make, specified in the thirteenth of the Apocalips. For the better explication wherof, because the matter, being of no small importance greatly apperteineth to the publike vtilitie of the Church, & least any shoulde misdoubt me herein to follow any priuate interpretation of mine own, I thought good to cōmunicate to the Reader, that, as hath bene imparted to me, in opening these mis•ycall numbers in the foresayd booke of Reuelation conteyned, by occasion as followeth.

As I was in hand with these histories, and therin cōsidered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intolerable tormentes of the blessed Sainctes, so cruelly rackt, rent, torne, and pluckt in peeces, with all kinde of tortures paynes and punishmentes that could be deuised, more bitter then any death it selfe, I coulde not without great sorrow & passiō of minde, behold their sorrowfull afflictions, or write of their bloody passiōs. Wherin much like it happened to me, as did to T. Liuius, who writing of the warres of Carthage, was so moued in the writing thereof: *Ac si in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset.* Further I proceeded in the story, & the hoater the persecutions grew, the more my grieve with them, & for thē encreased, not onely pityng their wofull case, but also almost reasoning with God, thus thinking like a foole with my selfe, why God of hys goodnesse would suffer hys children and seruants, so vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted. If mortal things were gouerned by heauenly prouidence (as must needs be graūted) why did y^e wicked so rage & flourish, & the godly so to go to wrack? If sinnes deserued

punishmēt, yet neyther were they sinners alone, & why was their death aboue all other so sharpe and bitter? At least why woulde the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutiōs to endure so long tyme agaynst hys poore Church, shewing to thē no certayne determined end of their tribulatiōs, wherby they knowing the appoynted determinatiō of almighty God, with more consolatiō might endure out the same. As the Israelites in the captiuitie of Babilon had 70. yeares limitted vnto them. And vnder Pharaο they were promised a deliuerance out. Also vnder the Syrian tyrautes. 62. Weekes were abridged vnto them. Onely in these persecutions, I could finde no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliuerance. Wherevpō much marueiling w^t my selfe, I searched the booke of Reuelatiō, to see whether any thing there might be found. Where although I well perceaued, the beast there described to signifie the Empire of Rome, which had power to ouercome the Saintes: yet cōcerning the tyme & continuance of these persecutions vnder the beast, I found nothing to satisfie my doubt. For albeit I read there of. 42. monethes, of a tyme, tymes and halfe a tyme, of 1260. dayes, yet all this by computation cōming but to 3. yeares & a halfe, came nothing neare the lōg continuance of these persecutiōs, which lasted. 300. yeares. Thus being vexed and turmoyled in spirite, about the reckening, of these numbers and yeares, it so happened vpon a Sondag in the morning lying in my bed, & musing about these nūbers, sodēly it was answered to my minde, as with a maiestie, thus inwardly saying within me: thou foole count these monethes by Sabbots, as the Weekes of Daniell are counted by Sabbots. The Lorde I take to witnes thus it was. Wherupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the 42. monethes by Sabbats, first of monethes, that would not serue, thē by Sabbots of yeres wherein I began to feele some probable vnderstāding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to haue the matter more sure, eftsoones repaired to certaine Merchaūts, of myne acquaintance. [Page 101](#) Of whom one is departed a true faythfull seruauent of the Lord, the other two be yet aliue, and witnes hereof. To whom the number of these foresayd 42. monethes, being propounded and examined by Sabbots of yeares, the whole summe was found to surmount to 294. yeres, conteining the full and iust tyme of these foresayd persecutions neither more nor lesse.

Now this one claspe beyng opened, the other numbers that follow, are plaine and manifest to the intelligent reader to be vnderstood. For where mention is made of three yeares and a half: of one tyme, two times, & halfe a tyme, also of 1260. dayes, all these come to one reckoning, & signifie 42. monethes, by which monethes, as is sayd, is signified the whole tyme of these primitiue persecutiōs, as here in order may appeare.

The mysticall numbers in the Apocalyps opened.

First, where mention is made, Apocal. chap. 11. that the two Prophetes shall prophesie 1260. dayes. And also that the woman fleing into the desert shall there be fed. 1260. dayes: who knoweth not, that. 1260. dayes make three yeares & a halfe: that is, monethes

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Secondly, where we read, chap. 11. the bodyes of the two foresaid Prophets shal lye in the streetes of the great citie vnburied, the space of iij. days & a half, and after the said iij. dayes & a half they shall reuiue againe, &c. let the houres of these iij. dayes and a half (which be 42.) bee reckoned euery day for a Sabboth of yeares, or els euery day for a moneth, and they come to moneths

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Thirdly, where as in the same booke is expressed that the woman had ij. wings geuen her to flye vnto the desert for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, geue for one time, one yere, or one day: for ij. times ij. yeares, or ij. dayes: for halfe a tyme, halfe a yere, or half a day. And so it is manifest, that those three yeares & a halfe, mounteth to monthes

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Fourthly, account these 42. moneths aforesaid (which the beast had power to make. Apoc. 11.) by Sabbots of yeares, that is, vij yeares for a moneth: or euery moneth for seuen yeares, & it amounteth to the summe of yeares

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And so haue ye the iust yeares, dayes, times, & months of these foresaid persecutions vnder the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of Iohn Baptist vnder Herode the Romain king to the ende of Maxentius, and of Licinius, ij. last great persecutors, the one in the West the other in the East, who were both vanquished by godly Constantinus. And so peace was geuen to the Church, albeit not in such ample wise, but that diuers tumultes and troubles afterward ensued, but they lasted not long: & the chief brunt, to speake of these Romain persecutions, which the holy ghost especially considered aboue all other, in this his Reuelatiō thus ended, in the time of this Constantinus. Then was the great Dragon the deuill, to witte, the fierce rage & power of his malicious persecuting, tied short for a thousand yeres after this, so that he could not preuaile in any such sort, but that the power and glory of the gospel by little and litle encreasing and spreading with great ioy and libertie, so preuailed that at length it got the vpperhand, & replenished the whole earth,* rightly verifiyng therein, the water of Ezechiel, which issuing out of the right side of the aulter, the farther it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole Ocean Sea, & healed all the fishes therin. No otherwise the course of the Gospell proceeding of small & hard beginnings kept still his streame, the more it was stopped, the swifter it ranne: by bloud it seeded, by death it quickned: by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprong, till at last out of thraldome and oppressiō it brast forth into perfect libertie, & florished in al prosperitie, had it so bene, that the christians wisely & moderatly could haue vsed this rest & libertie, & not abused the same, forgetting their former estate to their own pride, pomp & worldly ease, as it came afterward to passe, wherof more is to be seene & said (the Lord willing) in place & time conuenient.

And thus much touching the propheticall numbers in the Apocalips. Wherein is to be noted and magnified the eternall wisdom, and hie prouidence of almighty God, so disposing and gouerning his church, that no aduersitie or perturbation hapneth at any time vnto it, which his prouident wisdom doth not foresee before & preordaine, neither doth he preordaine or determine any thing, which he doth not most truly perform, both foreseeing the beginning of such persecutions, and limiting the end therof how long to continue and when to cease.* In much like sort we reade in the bookes of Genesis, how the stocke of Israell, was. 400. yeares in the lande of Egipte. During the space of which 400. yeares, after the death of Ioseph, (who beareth a playne figure of Christ) they were hardly intreated and cruelly afflicted of the Egiptians, about the space

of. 300. yeares, reckning from after the death of Ioseph, to their deliuerance out of the bōdage of Egipt, semblably as these Christians, after Christes time suffered the like bondage vnder the Romane tyrauntes.

Thus much by the way I thought to insinuate, least any should ••se, or take any offēce in himself, to see or read of the Church, so long & so many yeares to be vnder so miserable & extreme afflictions.* Wherin neither chaunce nor fortune, nor dispositiō of man, hath had any place: but onely the forecounsaille & determination of the Lord so gouerned and desposed the same. Who not only did suffer thē to fall, and foresee those persecutions before they fell: but also appointed the times and yeares how long they should last & when to haue an ende. As by the foresaide. 42. monethes in the 13. and 11. chap. of S. Iohns Apocalips haue beene declared. Which monethes conteyning. 294. yeares, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time betweene the first yeare of the persecution of Christ vnder the Iewes & Herode, till the last yeare of persecution vnder Licinius, which was from the natiuitie of Christ, an. 324. from the fyrst persecution of Christ, an. 294. as is aforesaide. After the which yeare, according to the preordinate counsel of God, when his seueritie had bene sufficiently declared vpon his own house, it pleased him to shew mercy againe, & to bind vp Sathan the old serpent, according to the xx. chap. of the Reuelation for the space of a thousand yeares, that is, frō this time of Licinius, to the time of Iohn Wickleffe, and Iohn Husse. During all which time, albeit certaine conflicts and tumults haue bene among Christian byshops themselves in the church, yet no vniuersal murdering persecutiō was stirring, before the preaching of Iohn Wickleffe, of Husse, and such other, as in the further processe of this history (Christ willing and aiding vs) shall more appeare hereafter.

Thus hauing at large discoursed these horrible persecutions past, and heauy afflictions of Christian Martyrs, now by the grace of God, cōming out of this redde sea of bloody persecution, leauing Pharaο and his host behynde: let vs sing gloriously to the worthy name of our god, who through the blood of the lambe, after long & tedious afflictions at length, hath visited his people with comfort, hath tide vp Sathan shorte, hath sent his meeke Moses (gentle Constantine I meane) by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to worke deliuerance to his captiue people, to see his seruants at liberty, to turne their morning into ioy, to magnifie the church of his sonne, to destroy the Idoles of al the world, to graunt life and liberty (and would God also not so much riches) vnto them which before were the abiectes of all the world: and all by the meanes of godly Constantinus, the meeke and most christian Emperour of whose diuine victories against so many tyraunts and Emperours persecutors of Christes people, and lastly against Licinius, an. 324. of whose other noble actes & prowesses of whose blessed vertues and his happy birth and progeny, part we haue comprehended before, part now remaineth (Christ willing) to be declared.

This Constantine was the sonne of Constantius the Emperour,* a good and vertuous childe, of a good and vertuous father, borne in Britaine, as saith Eutropius whose Moother was named Helena, daughter, in deede of King Coilus, although Ambrosius in his funerall Oration of the death of Theodosius, sayth was an Inhouders daughter. He was a most bountifull and gracious Prince, hauyng a desire to nourishe learning and good artes,* and did oftentimes vse to read, write, and study himselfe. He had marueilous good successe & prosperous atchieuing of al things he tooke in hand, which then was (and truely) supposed to proceede of this, for that he was so great a fauourer of the Christian fayth.* Which faith when he had once embraced, he did euer after most deuoutly and religiously reuerence: and commaunded by especiall commission and

proclamations, that euery man shoulde professe the same Religion throughout al y^e Romaine Monarchy.* The worshipping of Idoles, whereunto he was addict, by the allurement of Fausta his wife: in so much that he did sacrifice vnto them: after the discomfite of Maxentius in battaile, he vtterly abiured. But Baptisme he deferred euen vnto his olde age, because hee had determined a iourneye into Persia, and thought in Iordan to haue beene baptised.*Eusebius. lib. 4. de vita Constantini.

As touching his naturall disposition and wit, he was [Page 102](#) very eloquent, a good philosopher, & in disputation sharp and ingenious.* He was accustomed to say, that an Emperour ought to refuse no labor, for the vtilitie of the common weale: yea, & that to aduenture the mangling of hys body for the remedy thereof, but if otherwaies it maye bee holpen to cherish the same. This Aurelius, Victor, Pomponius, Letus, & Ignatius write of him. And Aelius Lampridus saith writing vppon the life of Heliogabalus, that Constantinus was woont to saye, that an Empire was giuen by the determinate purpose of God, that he to whom it was giuen should so imploy his diligēce, as he might be thought wor^thy of the same at the hands of the gyuer. Which same saing also Augustine noteth in his 3. booke against Cresconius.*epist. 49. and 50.

He first entred into the Empire, by the mercifulnes of God minding after long waues of dolefull persecution to restore vnto his church peace and tranquillitie, an. 311. as Eusebius accompteth in his Chronicle.* His raigne cōtinued, as Eutropius affirmeth, 30. yeares, Letus saith 32. yeares lacking, 2. monethes. Great peace and tranquillitie enioied the Church vnder the raigne of this good Emperour, which tooke great paine and trauell for the preseruatiō thereof. First, yea and that before he had subdued Licinius, he set forth many edictes for the restitution of the goods of the church,* for the reuoking of the Christians out of exile, for taking away the dissension of the Doctours out of the Church, for the setting of them free from publike charges, and such like, euen as the copies of his constitutions here vnder declare, which Eusebius in his 10. booke, and 5. chapter, repeateth in this wise.

The copy of an Epistle of Constantinus, sent to his subiectes inhabiting in the East.*

Victor Constantinus Maximus, Augustus, to our louing subiectes inhabiting throughout the east parts, sendeth greting.

The thing it selfe, which in the sure and most firme law of nature is conteyned, doth giue vnto all men (euen as God hath ordeyned the same) sufficient perseuerance and vnderstanding,* both of such things as man ought to foresee, as also what things presently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted, of such as haue their mindes directed to the scope or marke of perfect vnderstanding: so that the perfect comprehending of sound reason, and the perseuerance thereof, be compared with the knowledge of God,* being the true and perfect vertue. Wherefore let no wise man be troubled, although he see diuers men of diuers dispositions. For wisdom which springeth of vertue cannot abide, or acquaint her selfe with fonde ideotes, vnles, that (on the other side) the malice of peruerse lithernes prolong her daies, and cause the same Ideocie to suruiue. Wherefore assuredly the crowne and price of vertue lieth open vnto all men, & the moste mightie God ordereth the iudgement of the same. I vndoubted as

manifestly as possible is, will endeuour my selfe to testifie and confesse vnto you al, the hope which is in me. I think verily that the Emperours which before this time haue latelie bene, euen for their tiranny had the Empire taken from them: & my father onely exercising and vsing al meekenes and lenity in his affaires, calling vpon God the father, with great deuotion & humility, hath beene exalted to the same. And all the rest, as men wanting their wits, and in comparison as sauage beastes, rather did giue themselues to like cruelty, then vnto any lenitie & gentlenes towards their subiects: in which tyranny euery one for his time being noosed, * vtterly subuerted the true and vnfallible doctrine. And so great malice was their kindled in their brestes, that when all things were in peaceable tranquillitie, they made and raysed most cruell and bloody intestine or ciuill warres. It is credibly informed vs, that in those daies, Apollo gaue aunsweres but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certaine caue & darke place (saying) that he was much disquieted by those that were the iust men and liuers vpon the earth, so that he could or would not for them, declare a truth of such things as others demaunded: & hereby it came to passe that such false deuinations were geuen from the golden tables in Apollos temple. And this thing did his propheticall priest complayne of, when he tooke vp againe the heare of his head, that other had cōtemptuously cast down, & that the neglecting of his diuination was the cause of so many euils, amongst men. But let vs see what was the ende hereof: we now boldly & without all feare inuocate & worship the omnipotent God▪ when I was a childe I heard, that he which then was chiefe Emperour of Rome, vnhappy, yea, most vnhappy man being seduced, and brought into errour, by his souldiers, curiously inquired who were those iust men vpō the earth that Apollo ment: and one of his priests which was nere about him, made answere that they were the christiās. This answere hereupon vnto him be'lyng as delectable, as hony vnto the mouth, drew the sword giuen vnto him to be a reuenger vpon euill doers and malefactours against the professors of the irreprehensible sanctimony and relygion. * And straight way he gaue forth a commission (to bloody homicides as I may well cal them) & gaue commaundement to all the Iudges, that they should endeuour themselues with all the cunning they had to the deuising of more greuouser, & sharper punishments against the poore Christians. Then, then I say, a man myght haue seene, how greatly the honest professors of that religion, were molested with cruelty, and daily suffered no smal iniuries and contumelies, * and that also they suffered and sustained the same with such tēperancy as though they had had no iniuries done vnto them at all. Which temperancie and patience of theirs was the cause why the furious citizens were the more madder & raging against them. What fires, what tortures, what kinde of torments were there, but they without respecte either of age, or sexe were enforced to feele?

Then did the earth without doubt, * herselfe bewayle her children and the round worlde which containeth all things, beyng sprinkled and imbrued with their blood made dolefull lamentation for them, and the daye it selfe prouoked for to mourne, was made amased for them. But what is this to purpose. Now the very barbarous nations reioyce for their sakes which receaued and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from vs: keping them as it were in most louing & amiable captiuitie. And they saued not onely their liues, but also were a defence for their religion. And now also the Romaine nation remembreth and hath before there eies this blame and spotte, which the Christians that were of that time, worthely gaue vnto them when they by them were banished (as vnfitte members of their common wealth) amongst the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearsall of the mourning lamentation, which the heathen people themselues throughout all the world, made for the pittifull murther and slaughter of them? After this it came to passe that they which were authors of all these mischiefes died also, * and were

cōmitted for there reward to the most filthy & horrible dungeon of hel. They being so intangled with intestine and ciuile warres, left aliue neyther name nor kinsmen of their owne: which thing vndoubtedly had not chaūsed vnles the wicked deuinatiōs of Apol^los oracles had deceiued & bewitched thē.* To thee therfore now I pray, oh most mightie God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be mercifull, and pardon all the east parts and inhabitaunts of the same, being oppressed with present calamitie: and that by mee thy seruauant thou wilt of thy goodnes helpe and relieue the same. And these things rashly craue I not at thy hands: oh Lord, most mighty and holiest God of all.* For I being perswaded by the onely oracles haue both begone and also finished wholesome and profitable things, and further by the bearing and shewing of thine ensigne, haue ouercome a mighty and strong host, and when any necessitie of the common weale (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto, (following those signes & tokens of thy vertues) I bouldly go forth and fight against mine enimies: and for this cause haue I sacrificed my soule vnto thee, purified and clensed both with thy loue and feare. Yea truely, thy name doe I sincerely loue,* and thy power doe I reuerence, which by many tokens and wonders hast shewed and confirmed thereby my beleefe & faith. Therefore will I doe my endeuour, and bende my selfe thereunto, that I may redifie thy most holy house, which those wicked & vn^godly Emperours haue with so great ruine laid wast, thy people do I desire to bring & stablish, in firme peace & trāquilitie, & that for the publike vtilitie of all the inhabitants of the earth. Those which yet erre & are out of the way, enioy the benefite of peace and quietnes, with, and amongst the number of the faithful sort: for I trust the restitution of the like societie, and participation may be a meanes to bring them also that erre into the perfecte way of verity. Let no man therfore be greeuous one vnto another but what euery man thinketh best that let him doe.* For such as are wi^e ought throughly to be perswaded, that the onely meane to liue holily and as they should doe, whome the spirite of God moueth,* to take their delight and recreation in reading his holye will. And if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleauing to the Synagogues of false doctrine, they maye at their owne perill: as for vs we haue the most worthy house or congregation of Gods veritie, which he according to his owne goodnes & nature hath giuen vs. And this also we wish vnto the, that with like participation & common consente,* they may fele wyth vs the same delectation of mind. For this our religiō is neither new nor newly inuented, but is as old as wee beleue the creation of the worlde to be: and which God hath commaunded to be celebrated with such worship as both seemed and pleased him. But all liuing men are lye^s,* and are deceiued with diuers and sundrye illusions. Thou O God for Christ thy sonnes sake, suffer not this wickednes againe to take roote: thou hast set vp a cleare burning light, that thereby as manye as thou hast chosen maye come vnto thee. These thy myracles approoue the same. It is thy power that kepeth vs in innocencye and fydelitye. The Sunne and the Moone runne their appointed course: neyther yet in ranging wi^e, wander the starres to what place of the worlde they list themselues. [Page 103](#) The dayes, yeares, monethes, and times, keepe their appoynted turnes The earth abideth firme and vnremoueable at thy worde, and the winde at the time (by thee directed) stormeth & bloweth. The streaming waterie floudes, ebbe in time according as they flow. The raging sea abideth within her bounded limites And for that the Ocean Sea stretcheth out her selfe in equall length and breadth with the whole earth: this must needes be wrought with some marueilous workmanship of thine owne hand: which thing vnlesse it were at thy will made and disposed,* without all doubt, so great difference and partition betweene, woulde or this time haue brought vtter ruine & destructiō, both to the life of man, as to all that belōgeth to man beside. Which for that they haue such great and huge conflictes amongst themselues, as also the inuisible spirites haue: we geue thee thanks, O Lorde most mighty God of all Gods, that al mankinde hath not bene destroyed thereby. Surely,*

euen as greatly as thy benignitie and gentlenes, is manifested by diuers & sundry benefites bestowed vpon vs: so much also is the same set foorth and declared in the discipline of thy eternall word, to those that be heauenly wise, & apply themselues to the attainment of sincere & true vertue. But if any such there be, that litle regard or haue but small respect vnto the consideration thereof▪ let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the same.* For that Phisicke whereby health is obtained, is manifestly offered vnto all men: now therefore let no man go about to subuert that, which experience it selfe doth shew (of necessitie) to be pure and good. Let vs therefore altogether vse the participation of this benefite bestowed vpon vs, that is to say, the benefite of peace and tranquillitie, setting a part all controuersie. And let no man hurt or be preiudiciall to his fellowe for that thing, wherein he thinketh him selfe to haue done wel. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, hee thinketh he may profite hys neighbour, let him doe the same, if not, let him geue ouer, and remit it til on other time. For there is a great diuersitie betwixt the willing and voluntary embracing of religion, and that whē a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of these things haue I made a more larger discourse, then in deede, the scope of mediocritie requireth: especially because I woulde not haue my faith (touching the veritie) to be hid.* For that I heare there be some, which complaine the olde accustomed haunting of their temples, & that the power of such darkenesse is cut of and taken away: which thing surely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagitious error, were so fixed in many mens heartes, whereby they thirst after the vtter subuersion of the common weale and Empire.

Such was the goodnesse of this Emperour Constantinus, or rather such was the prouidēce of almighty God toward his Church, in stirring him vp: that all his care and study of minde was set vpon nothing els, but onely howe to benefit & enlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him inough to deliuer the Church and people of God,* from outward vexation of foraine tyrants and persecutors. No les beneficial was his godly care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbaunce within the Church among the Christian bishops themselues, according as we read of Moses the deliuerer of y^e Israelits, in agreing the brethren together, when he saw them at variance. Exod. 2. No lesse also did his vigilant study extend in erecting, restoring, & enriching the Churches of God in al Cities, and in prouiding for the ministers of the same. And therefore wryting to Anilinus his chiefe captaine, declareth his will & minde to him in letters, concerning the goodes whych did appertaine to the Churches of the Christians: that hee shoulde procure vigilantly for the same: that all suche goodes, houses, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, shoulde agayne be restored in all speedie wise: and that hee therein might be certified with speede. &c.

Moreouer, he wryting to the saide Anilinus in an other letter, signifieth vnto him in this effect: that for so much as the contempt of God his reuerent religion, is & hath bene euer the greatest decay to the name & people of Rome, as contrary the maintaining and reuerencing the same, hath euer brought prosperitie to all common weales: Therefore he in consideration therof, hath taken that order, & geueth to him in charge, that through y^e prouince, where he hath to doe, which was in Aphrica where Cecilianus was Byshop, he should there see & prouide, that all such ministers and Clerkes, whose vocation was to serue in the Church, should be freed and exempted from all publike duties and burdens: whereby they being so priuileged, and all impediments remoued, which shoulde hinder their diuine ministration: thereby the cōmon vtilitie of the people might the better flourish,* &c.

Furthermore, the sayde Constantinus in an other letter wryting to Miltiades, Byshop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them, howe Cecilianus Byshop of Carthage, hath ben accused vnto him by diuers of his colleages and fellow byshops. Wherefore his will is, that the sayd Cecilianus, with x. byshops his accusers, with x. other his defendants should repaire vp to him at Rome,* where in the present assistance of the foresayde Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellowe Colleages, the cause of Cecilianus myght be harde, and rightly examined, so that all schisme and deuision might be cut of from among them: wherein the feruent desire of Constantinus to peace and vnitie, may well appeare.

Upon the lyke cause and argument also,* he wryteth to Chrestus Byshop of Syracusa, so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him with his vnder Ministers and three seruants, hys free caryage to come vp to him vnto the Councel of other bishops, for the agreeing of certaine matters belonging to the Church.

Hee writeth also an other letter to the forenamed Cecilianus Byshop of Carthage.

To the prouinces likewise of Palestina & those partes about,* hee directeth his Edict in the behalfe of the Christians: for the releasing of such as were in captiuitie: and for the restoring againe of them, which had sustained any losse in the former persecution before, & for the refreshing of such as heeretofore had bene oppressed with any ignominie, or molestation, for their confession sake: declaring in the sayd Edict, howe that his whole body, life and soule, and what soeuer is in hym, hee oweth to God, and to the seruice of him, &c.

Moreouer an other leter he wryteth to Eusebius,* for the edifying of newe Christian Churches, & restoring of them whych had bene wasted before by forreine enemies. And after hee had collected the Synode of Nice, for the studie of peace and vnitie of the Church,* he wryteth vpon the same to Alexander and Arrius. In which hys letters hee most lamentably vttered the great grieve of his hear•, to see and heare of theyr contention and diuision: whereby the peace and common harmonie of the Church was broken, the Synode prouoked & resisted, the holy people of the Lorde deuided into partes and tumultes, contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duetie were rather to nourish concorde and to seeke tranquillity. And though in some small poynts and light trifles they did disagree from other: yet as the example of Philosophers might teache them, who although in some part of a sentence or peece of a question, some might dissent from other: yet in the vnitie of their profession, they did all ioyned as fellowes together. In like case were it theyr duetie in such fruitles questions (or rather peeces of questiōs) to keepe them in the conceptions of their mindes, in silence vnto themselues, and not to bring them forth into publicke Synodes, to breake therefore from the communion of the reuerent Councell. Declaring moreouer in the sayde Epistle, the first origine and occasion of thys theyr contentious dissention to ryse vpon vaine & trifling termes, vile causes, and light questions, and peeces rather of questions: about such matters as neither are to be moued, nor to be answered vnto, being mooued, more curious to be searched, and perillous to be expressed, then necessary to be inquired, magisque puerilibus ineptijs, quam sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiae conuenientia, as he there doth terme them. Wherefore by al maner meanes he doth labour them, doth entreate them, and perswade them, not onely with reasons, but also with teares and sighing sobbes, that they would restore againe peace vnto the Church, and quietnesse to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet vnto him) and that they would returne againe to the

communion of the reuerent Councell. Who in so doing should open his way and purposed iourney into the East partes, which otherwyse hearing of their discorde and dissention, would be sorye to see with his eyes, that which greueth him now to heare with hys eares: with much more in the same Epistle contained, but this is the effect of the whole. Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib. 2. Thus much I thought summarely to comprehende,* whereby the diuine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meeke & religious Constantine might more notoriously appeare to all Princes: for them to learne by hys example, what zeale and care they ought to beare toward the Church of Christ, & how gently to gouerne, and how to be beneficiall to the same.

Many other Edicts & Epistles wrytten to other places and parties, be expressed at large in the seconde booke of Euseb De vita Constantini: wherein the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperour toward the Church of Christ may appeare. Wherof in a brieue recapitulation such specialities we haue collected as here followeth, and is to be seene in Zozo. Lib. 1. Cap. 8.9.

First hee commaunded all them to be set free, who soeuer for the confession of Christ, had bene condemned to banishment, [Page 104](#) or to the mines of metall,* or to any publike or priuate labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamie or open shame among the multitude, hee willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominie. Souldiours whych before were depriued eyther of theyr place, or put out of theyr wages: were put to their liberty, eyther to serue againe in theyr place, or quietly to lyue at home. Whatsoeuer honour, place, or dignitie had bene taken away frō any man, should be restored to them againe. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoeuer they were alienated, should returne to theyr heires, or next of kinne: or for lacke of them should be geuen to the Church. Hee commaunded moreouer that onely Christians shoulde beare office. The other he charged and restrayned, that neither they should sacrifice, nor exercise any more diuinations and ceremonies of the Gētiles, nor set vp any Images, nor to keepe any feastes of the heathen Idolaters. He corrected moreouer and abolished all such vnlawfull manners and vnhonest vsages in Cities, as might be hurtfull any waies to the Church, as the custome that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people vsed to runne together lyke brute beasts,* both men & women, and with all kinde of filthines and Sodomitrie to pollute their Cities, in celebrating the increase of that riuer. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called Androgynae, to be killed. By reason whereof the Riuer afterward (through the benefite of God) yelded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertilitie of the ground, then it did before.

Among the Romanes was an olde lawe, that such as were barren hauing no fruite of children, should be amerced of halfe their goodes. Also, that such as being aboue the yeares of xxv. vnmarried, should not be nūbred in the same priuileges with them that were married, neither should be heires to them, to whom notwithstanding they were next in kinde. These lawes because they seemed vnreasonable, to punish the defect of nature, or gift of virginity, by mā's lawe, hee abrogated and tooke away. An other order was among the Romanes, that they which made their willes being sicke, had certaine prescribed and conceiued wordes appoynted to thē to vse, which vnlesse they followed, their willes stode in none effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to euery man in making his testament to vse what wordes, or what witnesses he woulde. Likewise among the Romaines hee restrained and tooke away the cruel and bloudy spectacles & sights, where men were wont with swordes one to kill an other. Of the barbarous

and filthy fashion of the Arethusians in Phoenicia, I haue mentioned before, pag. 104. where they vsed to expose and set foorth their virgines to open fornication, before they should be married,* which custome also Constantine remooued away. Where no Churches were, there he commaunded new to be made: where any were decayed, he commāded them to be repaired: where any were to litle, he caused them to be enlarged, geuing to the same great giftes and reuenues: not onely of such tributes and taxes comming to him from certaine sundry Cities, which hee transferred vnto the Churches, but also out of his owne treasures. When any Byshops required any Councell to be had, hee satisfied their petitions: And what in their Councils and Synodes they established, being godly & honest, hee was ready to confirme the same.

The armour of his soldiours, which were newly come from Gentilitie, he garnished with the armes of the crosse, whereby they might learne the sooner to forget their olde superstitious idolatry. Moreouer like a worthy Emperour he prescribed a certaine forme of prayer in steade of a Catechisme for euery man to haue, & to learne how to pray and to inuocate God. The which forme of prayer is recited in the fourth booke of Eusebius De vita Constantini,* in wordes as foloweth.

Te solum nouimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adiutorem inuocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum constituimus, tibi praesentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: Imperatorem nostrum Constantinum, ac pientissimos eius filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus, per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

In English.

We knowledge thee onely to be our God, we confesse thee onely to be our king, we inuocate and call vpon thee our onely helper, by thee we obtaine our victories, by thee we vāquish and subdue our enemies, to thee we attribute whatsoever present commodities we enioy, & by thee we hope for good thinges to come, vnto thee we direct all our sute & petitions: most humbly beseeching thee to conserue Constantine our Emperour, and his noble childrē in long life to cōtinue, and to geue them victory ouer all their enemies, through Christ our Lord.* Amen.

In hys owne palace, hee set vp an house peculiar for prayer and doctrine, vsing also to pray and sing with his people. Also in hys warres hee went not without hys tabernacle appoynted for the same. The Sonday he cōmanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all iudiciarie causes, from markets, martes, faires, & all other manuall labors, onely husbandry excepted: especially charging that no Images or Monuments of Idolatry should be set vp.

Men of the Clergy and of the ministry in al places he endued with speciall priuileges and immunities,* so that if any were brought before the ciuill Magistrate, and listed to appeale to the sentence of his Bishop, it should be lawfull for him so to doe: and that the sentence of the Byshop should stande in as great force as if the Magistrate or the Emperour himselfe had pronounced it.

But here is to be obserued & noted by the way, that y^e Clerkes & ministers thē newly creeping out of persecutiō, were in those dayes, neyther in nūber so great nor in order of life, of y^e like dispositiō to these in our dayes now liuing.

No lesse care and prouision the sayd Constantinus also had to the maintenance of scholes pertayning to y^e Church and to the nourishing of good artes and liberall sciences,* especially of Diuinitie: not onely with stipends and subsidies furnishing them, but also with large priuilegies and exemptiōs defending y^e same, as by the wordes of his own law is to be seene: and read as followeth: Medicos, Gramaticos, & alios professores literarum & doctores legum, cum vxoribus & liberis.*&c. In English: Phisitions, Gramarians, and all other prefessors of liberal artes, and Doctors of the law, with their wiues and childrē, and all other their possessions, which they haue in Citties: we commaund to be freed from all ciuill charges and functions, neyther to receaue forren straungers in prouinces, nor to be burdened with any publique administration, nor to be cited vp to ciuill iudgement, nor to be drawne out, or oppressed with any iniury. And if any man shall vexe them, he shall incurre such punishment, as the Iudge at his discretion shall awarde him. Their stipendes moreouer and solaries, we commaunde truely to be payd them, whereby they may more freely instruct other in artes and sciences. &c.

Ouer and besides this,* so farre did hys godly zeale and princely care and prouision extend to the Church of Christ, that he commaunded and prouided bookes and volumes of the Scripture, diligently and playnly to be written and copied out, to remayne in bublique Churches to the vse of posteritie, Whereupon writing to Eusebius byshop of Nicomedia in a speciall letter (recorded in the 4. booke of Eusebius, De vita Constant.) he willet him with all diligence to procure 50. volumes of parchment well bound and cōpacted: wherein he shoulde cause to be written out of the scripture in a fayre legeable hād, such things as he thought necessary and profitable for the instruction of the Church. And alloweth him for that busines two bublique Ministers. Also writeth concerning the same, to the generall of hys army, to support and further hym with such necessities, as thereunto should appertayne.* &c.

In vewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the Christian zeale of this Emperour, I wish that eyther this our Printing and plēty of books had bene in his dayes: or that this so heroycal hart toward Christes Religion, as was in this so excellent Monarche, might something appeare in inferiour Princes raigning in these our Printing dayes.* &c.

The liberal hand of this Emperor, borne to do al men good, was no lesse also open and ready towarde the needie pouertie of such, which either by losse of parents, or other occasions were not able to helpe them selues: to whom he commaunded and prouided dew subuention both of corne and raiment to be ministred out of his owne coffers, to the necessary reliefe of the poore men, women, children, orphanes, and widowes, Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib 4.

Finally,* among al the other monuments of his singular clemencie and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted: that through all the Empire of Rome and prouinces belonging to the same, not only he diminished such taxes, reuenewes, and impostes, as publickly were comming to him, but also clearely remitted and released to the contributors, the fourth part of the same.

This present place would require something to be sayd of the donation of Constantine whereuppon as vpon their chieftest anchor holde,* the Byshops of Rome doe grounde theyr supream dominion and right, ouer all the politicall gouernement of the West partes, & the spiritual gouernement of all the other Seas and partes of the world. Which [Page 105](#) donation to be falsly fained and forged, and not to procede from Constantine, many arguments might heere be inferred, if laisure from other matters would suffer me.*

1. First, for that no ancient history, nor yet Doctour maketh any mention thereof.

2. Naclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the hystorie of Isidorus: but in the olde copies of Isidorus no such thyng is to be founde.

3. Gracianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, [unspec 3] not vpon any auncient authoritie, but only vnder the title of Palea.

[unspec 4] 4. Gelasius is sayd to geue some testimony therof, in Dist. 15. Sancta Romana, but that clause of the said distinction touching that matter, in the olde ancient bookes is not extant.

[unspec 5] 5 Otho Phrasingensis, who was about the time of Gracian, after hee hath declared the opinion of the fauourers of the Papacie: affirming this donation to be geuen of Constantine, to Siluester the Pope: induceth consequently, the opinion of them that fauour the Empire, affirming the contrary.

[unspec 6] 6. How doth thys agree, that Constantine did yeelde vp to Siluester all the politicall dominion ouer the West, when as the sayd Constantine at hys death, deuiding the Empire to his three sonnes, gaue the West part of the Empire to one, the East part to the secōd, the middle part to the third?

[unspec 7] 7. How is it like that Theodosius after them, being a iust and a religious Prince, would or could haue occupied the Citie of Rome, if it had not bene his right, but had belonged to the pope, & so did many other Emperors after him?

[unspec 8] 8. The phrase of this decree being conferred w^t the phrase and stile of Constantine, in his other Edictes and letters aboue specified doth nothing agree.

[unspec 9] 9. Seeing the papists themselues confesse that the decree of this donation was writtē in Greeke, how agreeth that with truth: when as both it was written not to the Gretians, but to the Romanes, and also Constantine himselfe for lacke of the Greeke tounge, was faine to vse the Latine tounge in the Councell of Nice?

[unspec 10] 10. The contents of this donation (who soeuer was the forger thereof) doeth bewray it selfe. For if it be true which there is confessed, that he was Baptised at Rome of Siluester, & the iiij. day after his baptisme this patrimonie was giuen (which was before his battaile against Maximinus or Licinius, An. 317. as Niceph. recordeth) howe then accordeth this wyth that which followeth in the donation, for him to haue iurisdiction geuen ouer the other iiij. principall seas of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople and Hierusalem? when as the Citie of Constantinople was

not yet begun, before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, and was not finished, before the xxviii. yere of the raigne of Constantine, an. 339. or if it be true, as Hierome counteth, it was finished the xxiiij. yere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lorde 334. long after this donation by their owne accōpt.

[unspec 11] 11. Furthermore, where in the sayde constitution is sayd that Constantine was baptised at Rome of Siluester, & therby was purged of Leprosie: the fable thereof agreeth not with the trueth of historie: for so much as Eusebius, lib. 4. De vita Constantini, Hieronymus in Chron. Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib 2. cap. 34. doe altogether consent that hee was Baptised not at Rome, but at Nicomedia: and that moreouer, as by theyr testimonie doth appeare, not of Siluester but of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, not before his battaile against Maximinus, or Licinius, but in the xxxj. yeare of his raigne, a litle before his death.

[unspec 12] 12. Againe, where as Constantine in this donation appoynted him to haue the principalitie ouer the other iiij. Patriarchall Seas: that maketh Constantine contrary to himselfe. Who in the Councell of Nice afterwarde agreed with other bishops, that al the iiij. patriarchal seas should haue equall iurisdiction, euery one ouer his owne territorie and precinct.

[unspec 13] 13. In summe, briefly to conclude: who so desireth more abundantly to be satisfied touching this matter, let hym read the bookes of Marsilius Patauinus, intituled: defensor pacis, An 1324. of Laurētius Valla, An. 1440. of Antoninus archbishop of Florence, who in hys hystorie, plainely denieth the tenour of thys donation to be founde in the old bookes of the decrees. Of Cusanus Cardinalis. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. wryting to the Councell of Basil, Anno 1460. Of Aeneas Syluius in Dialogo, of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus, An. 1496. of Raphael Volateranus, An. 1500. of Lutherus, An. 1537. &c. all which by many and euident probations, dispute and proue this donation taken out of a booke De gestis Syluestri, and translated (as they faine) by one Bartholomeus Picernus, out of Greke into Latine: not to proceede from Constantinus, but to be a thing vntruelly pretended, or rather a fable imagined, or els to be the deede of Pipinus or Charles, or some such other, if it were euer the deede of any.

And thus hast thou (beloued Reader) briefly collected the narration of the noble actes and heauenly vertues of thys most famous Emperour Constantine the great: a a singulare spectacle for all Christian Princes to beholde and imitate, and worthy of perpetuall memorie in all congregations of Christian Saintes. Whose feruent zeale & pietie in generall, to all cōgregations, and to all the seruants of Christ was notable: but especially the affection and reuerence of hys heart toward them was admirable, whych had suffered any thyng for the confession of Christ, in the persecutions before, them had hee principally in price and veneration, in so much that hee embraced and kissed theyr woundes and stripes, and their eyes, being put out. And if any suche Byshops or any other Ministers brought to hym any cōplaints one against an other, a (as many times they did) he would take theyr bils of complaint, and burne them before theyr faces: so studious and zealous was hys mind to haue them agree, whose discord was to hym more grieve, then it was to themselues. All the vertuous actes and memorable doings of this diuine & renowned Emperour to comprehend or commit to hystorie: it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherfore contented with these aboue premised, because nothing of him can be sayde inough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

One thyng yet remaineth not to be omitted,* wherein (as by the way of a note) I thought good to admonish the learned Reader, suche as loue to be conuersant in reading of auncient authors: that in the Ecclesiasticall hystorie of Eusebius, where in the latter ende of the booke, is added a certaine Oration, Ad cōuentum Sanctorum, vnder the name of Eusebius Pamphilus, here is to be vnderstād, that the sayd Oration is wrongly intituled vpon the name of Eusebius, whych in very truth is the Oration of Constantinus hymselfe. For the probation whereof, beside the stile and matter therein contained, and tractation heroycall) liuely declaring the religious vaine of Constantine) I alledge the very testimonie of Eusebius hymselfe in his fourth booke De vita Constantini, where he in expresse wordes not onely declareth that Cōstantine wrote such an Oration intituled Ad Conuentum Sanctorum, but also promiseth in the end of hys booke, to annexe the same: declaring moreouer what difficultie the interpretors had, to translate the same from the Romaine speeche, to theyr Grecian tounge. Eusebius de vita Constantini. Lib. 4 pag. 211.

And here an end of these lamentable & doleful persecutions of the primitiue Church, during the space of the 300. yeres frō the passion of our Sauour Christ, til the cōming of this Constantinus, by whom, as by the elect instrumēt of God, it hath so pleased his almighty maiesty, by his determinat purpose to giue rest after lōg trouble to his church, according to that S. Cyprian declareth before,* pag. 68. to be reueled of God vnto his Church: that after darkenes and stormy tempest should come peaceable calme, & stable quietnes to his church, meaning this time of Constantine now present.* At which time it so pleased the almightie, that the murdering malice of Sathan should at length be restrained, and he him selfe to be tied vp for a thousande yeares, through his great mercie in Christ, to whome therefore •e thankes and praise now and for euer. AMEN.

The ende of the first Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE, CONTAINING the next 300. yeares following, with such things specially touched, as haue happened in England, from the time of king Lucius, to Gregorius, and so after to the time of king Egebert.

BY these persecutions hytherto in the Booke before precedent, thou maiest vnderstand (Christian reader) how the furie of Sathan and rage of men, haue done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christ. For what thing did lacke, that eyther death coulde doe, or torments coulde worke, or the gates of hell coulde deuise: all was to the vttermost attempted. And yet all the furie and malice of Sathan, al the wisdom of the world, & strength of men, doing, deuising, practising what they could: notw^lstanding the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the vpper hand. Which thing I wish thee greatly (gentle reader) wisely to note, and diligently to ponder, in cōsidering these former histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them, vnles thou do first read & peruse them: let me craue therfore thus much at thine handes, to turne & read ouer the said hystories of those persecutiōs aboue described: * especially aboue all the other hystories of this present volume: for thy especiall edification, whych I trust thou shalt finde not vnworthy the reading.

Nowe because the tying vp of Sathan geueth to the Church some rest, & to me some leisure to addresse my selfe, to the handling of other stories: I minde therefore (Christ willing) in thys present booke, leauing a while the tractation of these generall affaires, pertaining to the vniuersal Church: to prosecute such domesticall hystories, as more neare concerne this our country of England & Scotland, done here at home: beginning first with king Lucius, with whome the faith first begā here in this Realme, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. * And for somuch as here may rise, yea and doth rise, a great cōtrouersie in these our Popish daies, cōcerning the first origine & planting of the faith in this our Realme: it shall not be greatly out of our purpose, * somewhat to stay & say of this question, whether the Church of England first receiued the faith from Rome or not. The which, although I graunt so to be, yet being so graunted, it little auaileth the purpose of them whiche woulde so haue it: for be it so, that England first receaued the Christian faith and Religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius theyr Byshop. 180. yeares after Christ: and also in the time of Austen, whome Gregory sent hether 600. yeares after Christ: yet their purpose followeth not thereby, * that we must therefore fetch our Religion from thence still, as from the chiefe welhead and fountaine of all godlines. And yet as they are not able to proue the second, so neither haue I any cause to graunt the first: that is, that our Christian faith was first deriued from Rome, which I may proue by vj. or vij. good cōiectural reasons. Wherof the first I take of the testimony of Gildas, * our coūtreymen, who in his history affirmeth plainly, 1 that Britaine receaued the Gospell in the time of Tiberius the Emperour, vnder whome Christ suffered. Lib. De victoria Aurelij Ambrosij. And sayth moreouer, that Ioseph of Arimathie after dispersion of the Iewes, was sent of Philip the Apostle frō France to Britayne, about the yeare of our Lord. 63. and heere remained in this land al his time: and so with his fellowes, laide the first foundation of Christian faith amōg the Britayne people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward confirmed the same, and increased it.

[22](#). The secōd reason is out of Tertullian, who liuing neare about, or rather somewhat before the time of this Eleutherius, in hys booke Contra Iudaeos, manifestly importeth the same: where the sayde Tertullian testifying how the Gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the Apostles, & there reckening vp the Medes, Persians, Parthiās, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Iewry, Cappadocia, Pōtus, Asia, Phrigia, Egypt, Pamphilia, with many mo, at length cōmeth to the coasts of the Moorrians, and al the borders of Spayne: with diuers natiōs of Fraunce, & there amongst all other reciteth also the partes of Britayne, whyche the Romaines could neuer attaine to, and reporteth the same now to be subiect to Christ, as also reckeneth vp the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germanes, the Scithiās, with many other prouinces and Iles to him vnknown: in all which places, sayth he, raigneth the name of Christ, which now beginneth to be commō. This hath Tertullian. Note here, how amōg other diuers beleuing nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of Britaine to be of the same number. And these in his time were Christened, who was in the same Eleutherius time, as is aboue sayd. Then, was not Pope Eleutherius, the first whych sent the Christian fayth into this Realme, but the Gospell was heere receiued before hys time, eyther by Ioseph of Arimathia, as some Chronicles recorde, or by some of the Apostles or of their scholers, which had bene heere preaching Christ, before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

3. My thirde probation I deduct out of Origen, Home. 4. in Ezechielem,[3](#) whose words be these: Britāniam in Christianam consentire religionem. Whereby it appeareth that the faith of Christ was sparsed here in England before the daies of Eleutherius.

4. For my fourth probation I take the testimony of Bede, where he affirmeth that in his time, and almost a thousand yeare after Christ, here in Britayne: Easter was kept after the maner of the East Church,[4](#) in the full moone: what day in the weeke soeuer it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Wherby it is to be collected, that the first preachers in this land, haue come out from the East part of the world,[5](#) where it was so vsed, rather then from Rome.

5. Fiftly, I may alledge the woordes of Nicephorus, Lib. 2. cap 40. where hee sayeth, that Symon Zelotes did sprede the gospel of Christ to the West Oceane, and brought the same vnto the Iles of Britayne.

6. Sixtly may be added here also the words of Petrus Cluniacensis, who wryting to Bernard, affirmeth that y^e Scots in his time did celebrate their Easter,[6](#) not after y^e Romane maner, but after the Greekes. &c. And as the said Britains were not vnder the Romane order in the time of this Abbot of Cluniake: so neither were they nor woulde be, vnder the Romane legate, in the time of Gregory: nor would admit any primacy of the bishop of Rome, to be aboue thē.

7. For the seuenth argument, moreouer I may make my probation by the plaine woordes of Eleutherius, by whose Epistle wrytten to king Lucius,[7](#) we may vnderstande, that Lucius had receaued the faith of Christ in his lande, before the king sent to Eleutherius for the Romane lawes: for so the expresse woordes of the letter do manifestly purport, as hereafter followeth to be seene. By all which coniectures, it may stand probably to be thought, that the Britaynes, were taught first by the Grecians of the East Church, rather then by the Romaines.

Peraduenture Eleutherius might helpe something, eyther to conuert the king, or else to encrease the Faith then newly sprong among the people: but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proued. But graunt he were, as in deede the most part of our English stories confesse, neither will I greatly sticke with them therin: yet what haue they got thereby, when they haue cast all their gaine? In fewe wordes to conclud this matter, if so be that the Christian faith and religiō was first deriued from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but graunt to vs the same faith and religion, which then was taught at Rome: and from thence deriued hether by the sayd Eleutherius, and we wil desire no more. For then neither was any vniuersal Pope aboue all Churches and Councils,* whych came not in before Bonifacius time, whych was 400. yeres after: neither any name or vse of the Masse, the partes whereof how and by whom they were compiled, here after in this booke following appeareth to be seene. Neither any sacrifice propiciatorie for the scouring of Purgatory was then offered vpon halowed altars, but onely the Communion frequented at Christian tables: where oblations and gifts were offered, as well of the people, as of the Priestes to God: because they should appeare neither emptie nor vnkinde before the Lord, as we may vnderstand by the time [Page 107](#) of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstātiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand yere after. Neither were then any images of Saints departed, set vp in Churches, yea a great number of the Saints worshipped in this our time, were not as yet borne, nor the Churches wherein they were worshipped, were yet set vp: but came in long after, especially in the time of Irene & Constans the Emperour. Likewise neyther Reliques nor peregrinations were then in vse. Priestes Mariage was then as lawfull, and no lesse receiued as now: neither was it condemned before the dayes of Hildebrand, almost a thousande yeaes after that. Their seruice was then in the vulgare tounge,* as witnesseth Hierome. The Sacrament ministred in both kindes, as wel to lay men, as to Priestes, the witnes wherof is Cyprian. Yea, and that temporal men which would not then communicate at Easter, Whitsontide, and Christenmasse: were not coūted for Catholiks, the Popes owne distinction can testifie. In funeralles, Priestes then flocked not together, selling trentals and diriges for sweping of Purgatorie: but onely a funeral cōcion was vsed, with Psalmes of praises, & songs of theyr worthy deedes: and Alleluya sounding on high, which did shake the gilded seelings of the temple, as witnesseth Nazianzene, Ambrose, and Hierome, &c.

In the Supper of the Lord, & at Baptisme, no such ceremonies were vsed, as now of late hath bene intruded, in so much that as in this story is shewed hereafter, both Austen and Paulinus Baptised then in Riuers not in halowed fountes,* as wytnesseth Fabianus. The Portuis of Sarum, of Yorke, of Bangor, with Mattens and Euensong of the day: againe neither the orders and religions of Monks & Friers, were not yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand yeaes after, &c. So that, as I sayde, if the Papistes would needes deriue the faith & religion of this Realme, from Rome: then let them set vs & leaue vs there, where they had vs: that is, let them suffer vs to stand content w^t that faith and religion, which then was taught & brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothing frō the same) and we wil desire no better. And if they wil not, then let the wise Reader iudge, where the fault is, in vs or them which neither themselues will persist in the antiquitie of the Romish religion, whych they so much bragge of, neither will they permit vs so to do.

And thus much by the way, to satisfie the foresayd obiection: whereby we may haue now a more ready passage into the order and course of the Hystorie.* Beyng therefore graunted vnto them, whych they so earnestly sticke vpon, that the Christian faith and Religion of this Realme was

brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterwarde by Austen: thus wryteth the Chronicles of that matter.

About the time and yeare of the Lord. 180. king Lucius sonne of Coilus,* which builded Colchester, king of the Britaines, who then were the inhabitors & possessors of this land (which now we Englishmen call England) hearing of the myracles & wonders done by the Christians at that time in diuers places (as Monumetensis wryteth) directed his letters to Eleutherius Byshop of Rome, to receaue of him the Christian faith. Although about the computation of the yere and time: great difference there is in authours, when this shoulde be. Naclerus sayth it was An. 156. but that cannot be, forsomuch as Eleutherius was not yet Byshop by the space of 20. yeres after that. Henricus de Erfordia sayth,* it was An. 169. in the 19. yere of Verus Emperor, but that agreeth not with approued histories: which all consent, that Verus reigned not 19. yeres, and if he had, yet that yere commeth not to the yere of our Lord. 169. but to the yere. 181. Some other say, that Eleutherius was made Byshop, in the 6. yeare of Commodus, which was the yeare of our Lorde. 186. but that seemeth to goe to farre, but let the authours agree as they can. Let vs returne to Eleutherius the good Byshop, who hearing the request of this king, & glad to see the godly towardnes of his well disposed mind: sendeth him certaine teachers & preachers,* called Fugatius, or by some Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus: which conuerted first the king and people of Britaine, and Baptised them w^t the Baptisme and Sacrament of Christes faith. The Temples of Idolatry and all other Monuments of Gentilitie they subuerted, conuerting the people frō their diuers & many gods to serue one liuing God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decayed, w^t al other rites of Idolatrie. There were thē in Britaine 28. head Priestes, which they called Flamines, & 3. Archpriests among them, which were called Archflamines: hauing the ouersight of their maners,* & as Iudges ouer the rest. These 28. Flamines they turned to 28. Bishops. And the 3. Archflamines, to 3. Archbyschoppes, hauyng then their seates in three principall Cityes of the Realme: that is, in London, in Yorke, and in Glamorgantia, videlicet, in Vrbe legionum, by Wales. Thus the Countreys of the whole Realme, being deuided euery one vnder his owne Bishop, and all things settled in a good order: the foresaide king Lucius sent againe to the sayd Eleutherius, for the Romane lawes: thereby likewise to be gouerned as in Religion nowe they were framed accordingly. Unto whome Eleutherius againe writeth, after the tenour of these words ensuing.

The Epistle of Eleutherius Bishop of Rome,* sent to king Lucius.

ANno. 169. a Passione Christi scripsit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniae, ad correctionem Regis & procerum regni Britanniae, and so foorth, as foloweth in English.

Yee require of vs the Romane lawes and the Emperours, to be sent ouer to you: which you may practise & put in vre wythin your Realme. The Romane lawes, & the Emperours, we may euer reprove, but the lawe of God we may not. Yee haue receaued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine, the lawe and faith of Christ: ye haue with you within the Realme both the parties of the Scriptures.* Out of them by gods grace, with the Coucel of your realme, take ye a law, and by that lawe (through gods sufferance) rule your kingdome of Britayne. For you be Gods Vicare in your kingdome, according to the saying of the Psalme. Deus iudicium tuum Regi

da, &c. That is. O God geue thy iudgement to the King, and thy righteousnes to the kings sonne. &c. He sayd not the iudgement & righteousnes of the Emperour, but thy iudgement and iustice: that is to say, of God. The kinges sonnes be the Christian people & folke of the Realme, which be vnder your gouernement, and liue and continue in peace within your kingdome, as the Gospel sayeth: like as the henne gathereth her chickē vnder her wings, so doth the king his people. The people and folke of the Realme of Britayne be yours, whome if they be deuied ye ought to gather in concord and peace: to call them to the faith and lawe of Christ, and to the holy church, to cherish and maintaine them, to rule and gouerne them, and to defende them alwaies from such as would do them wrōg, from malicious men and enemies. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of hauing a Realme. You shalbe a king while ye rule wel, but if you do otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, & you shall lose it, which God forbid. The almightie God graunt you so to rule the Realme of Britayne, that you may raigne wyth him for euer, whose Vicar ye be in the Realme.

After this maner, as you haue heard, was the Christiā faith either first brought in, or els confirmed in this realme of Britayne, by the sending of Eleutherius, not w^t any crosse or procession, but onely at the simple preaching of Fagane and Damian, through whose ministerie this realme & Ileland of Britaine was eftsoones reduced to the faith & lawe of the Lord,* according as was prophecied by Esay, as wel of that, as other Ilelands mo, where he sayth, chap. 42. he shall not faint, nor geue ouer till hee hath set iudgement in earth, and Ilelands shal waite for hys lawe. &c. The faith thus receiued of the Britaynes cōtinued among them and florished the space of 216. yeres, till the cōming of the Saxones: who then were Paganes: whereof more followeth hereafter to be sayde, the Lorde Christ assisting thereunto. In the meane time somthing to speake of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first cōming in of the Saxones: first is to be vnderstanded, that all this while as yet the Emperours of Rome had not receiued the faith, what time the kings of Britaine, & the subiects therof, were cōuerted now, as is sayd, to Christ: for the which cause much trouble and perturbation, was sought against them, not onely here in Britayne, but through all parts of Christendome by the Heathen infidels. In so much that in the persecution onely of Dioclesian & Maximinian raigning both together within one moneth xvij. thousand martyrs are nūbred to haue suffered for the name of Christ, as hath bene hetherto in the booke before sufficiently discoursed.

Thus therefore although the foresayd Lucius, the Britaine king, through the mercifull prouidence of God, was then Christened and the gospel receaued generally almost in all the land:* yet the state thereof as wel of the Religion, as of the common wealth, coulde not be quiet, for that the emperours & nobles of Rome were yet infidels, & enemies to the same: but especially for this cause, the cause so happening, that Lucius the Christen king died without issue: for therby such trouble & variance fel amōg the Britaines (as it happeneth in al other Realmes, namely in this our Realme of England when soeuer succession lacketh) that not onely they brought vpon them the Idolatrous Romaines, & at length the Saxons: but also in wrapped them selues in suche miserie and desolation, as yet to thys day amongst them remayneth. Such a thyng it is (where a Prince or a King is in a kingdome) there to lacke succession, as especially in this case may appere. For after y^e death [Page 108](#) of Lucius, when the Barons and Nobles of the land could not accord wthin themselves vpon succession of the crowne: stept in the Romaines, & got the crowne into their owne hands, wherupon followed great misery and ruine to the realme: for sometimes the Idolatrous Romaines, sometimes the Britaynes raigned and ruled, as violence and victorie would

serue, one king murder yng an other, till at length the Saxones came and depriued them bothe, as in processe hereafter followeth to be seene.

In the meane season touching the story of king Lucius, here is to be reproued the fable of some wryters falsely faining of him, that he shoulde after hys Baptisme receaued, put of all his kingly honor, and forsake the land & be made a preacher: who after long trauaile in preaching and teaching, in Fraunce, in Germany, in Augusta, & in Sueuia, at length was made Doctor and Rector of the Church of Cureak: where (as this fable sayeth) he suffered Martyrdome. But this phātasie of whomsoeuer it first did spring, disagreeeth from all our English stories: Who with a full consent do for the most part cōcord in this, that the said Lucius, after he had fōūded many Churches, and geuen great riches and liberties to the same: deceased with great tranquillitie in his owne lande,* and was buried at Glocester, the 14. yeare after his Baptisme, as the booke of Flores Historiarum, doeth counte, which was the yeare of our Lorde (as he sayeth) 201. and reckoneth his conuersion to be. An. 87. In some I finde hys decease to be the fourth, & in some the tenth yeere after his Baptisme, and holde that he raigned all the space of lxxvij. yeares, and thus much concerning king Lucius.

Now to proceede in order of the storie, briefly to touch the state of the foresaid land of Britayne, betwene the time of king Lucius, and the entring of the Saxones, who were the kings thereof: and in what order they succeeded, or rather inuaded one after an other, this Catalogue heere vnder written will specifie.

Kinges of Britaine from the time of Lucius till the cōming of the Saxons.

Lucius,

*a Britayne.

Seuerus,

a Romaine.

Bassianus,

a Romaine by the father.

Cerausius,

a Britayne.

Alectus,

a Romaine.

Asclepiodotus,

a Britayne.

Coilus,

a Britayne.

Constantius,

a Romaine.

Constantinus,

a Britayne by the Mother, named Helena, who being y^e daughter of Coel, & maryed to Constantius, father of Cōstantinus, is said to make the walles first of London, also of Colchester, much about the yere of the Lorde, 305. and borne in Britayne.

Octavius,

a Gewissian.

Maximinianus,

a Romaine borne, but hys mother a Britaine.

Gratianus,

*a Romaine.

Constantinus,

a Britayne by the mother.

Constans,

a Romaine by the father.

Votigerus,

a Gewissian or Bri.

Vortimerus,

a Brit.

Vortigernus.

again.

By this table may appere a lamentable face of a common wealth so miserably rent and diuided into two sortes of people, differing not so much in coūtrey, as in religion. For when the Romaines raigned: so were they gouerned by the Infidels. When the Britaynes ruled, so they

were gouerned by Christians. Thus what quietnesse was or could be in the Church, in so vnquiet and doubtful dayes, it may easely be considered.

Albeit, notwithstanding al these foresayd Heathen rulers of the Romaines, which here gouerned, yet (God be praised) we read of no persecution, during all these x. persecutiōs aboue mentioned, that touched the christian Britaynes, before the last persecution onely of Dioclesian,* and Maximianus Herculus, whych here then exercised much crueltie. Thys persecution, as it was the last among the Romane Christians, so it was the first of many & diuers that followed after in thys Church and Realme of England: wherof we will here after intreate (Christ willing) as order of the matter shall leade vs. In the meane tyme this rage of Dioclesian as it was vniuersally through all the churches in the world fierce & vehement: so in this realme of Britayne also it was so sore, that as all our English Chronicles do testifie, and recorde, all Christianitie almost in the whole land was destroyed: Churches were subuerted, all bookes of the Scripture burned, many of the faythfull both men and women were slaine. Among whom the first and chiefe was Albanus, then Iulius, Aaron, and Amphibalus. Of whome sufficiently hath bene sayde before. What were the other, or howe many they were that suffered beside, stories make no rehearsall. And thus much therof.

Nowe as concerning the gouernement of these aboue named kinges of Britayne,* although I haue little or nothing to note, which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this Ecclesiasticall hystorie: yet this is not to be past ouer: first how in the order of these kings commeth Constantinus the great & worthy Emperour,* not onely a Britayne borne by hys mother Helina being kyng Coilus daughter, but also by the helpe of the Britaynes army (vnder the power of God) whych the sayde Constantine tooke wyth hym out of Britain to Rome: obtained with great victory, peace and tranquillitie to the whole vniuersall Church of Christ: hauing iij. legions w^t him out of this realme, of chosen & able soldiours. Wherby the strēgth of the lād was not a litle impaired & indangered, as afterward in this story foloweth.

After him likewise Maximian following his steppes, tooke wyth him also (as stories recorde) all the power and strength whych was left: and whatsoeuer he could make, of able and fighting men, to subdue Fraunce: besides the garrisons whych he had out wyth him before, sending for mo to the number of C.M. souldiours at once, to be sent to hym out of Britayne into Fraunce.* At whych time also Conanus his partener being then in Fraunce, sent ouer for virgins from Britaine to the number of xi.M. who with Vrsula, the Prince Dionets daughter being shynned ouer, many perished in the sea:* some were taken of the infidels, marching vppon the borders, wyth whome because they wold not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserably dispersed (some one way, some an other) so y^t none escaped.

Thus poore Britayne being left naked and destitute on euery side, as a maimed body w^tout myght or strength: was left open to hys enemyes, not able to succour it selfe, without helpe of forreine friendes. To whome they were then constrained to flie, especially to the Romans to whō the Britaynes sent this worde or message. Aetio ter Consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare. Repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo sunerum genera, quia aut iugulamur, aut submergimur. But the Romans then began to forsake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by Gwanus and Melga,* had not Gwetelinus the Archbyshop of London made ouer to lesser Britayne, and obtayning theyr helpe, had brought Constantinus the

kings brother, to rescue his countrey against the infidels. Thys Constantinus was brother to Aldroenus king of litle Britayn, and father to Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, & Vter, who after raigned kings in Britayne.

Thus by the meanes of the good Archbyshop and Constantinus, the state of the Religion and Realme of Britayne was in some meane quiet & safetie, during the time of the sayd Constantine and of the good Archbishop. But as the Realme of Britayne almost from the beginning was neuer without ciuill warre, at length came wicked Vortigerne, who cruelly causing Constans his Prince to be muredred,* ambitiously inuaded the crowne: who then fearing the other two brethren of Constans, whych were Aurelius & Vter, being then in litle Britayne: did send ouer for the aide of the Saxons being then infidels, and not onely that: but also married with an infidell, the daughter of Hengist called Rowen. Whereupon the sayde Vortigerne not long after, by the sayd Hengist and the Saxones was with like trayterie dispossessed of his kingdome, & the people of Britayne driuen out of their countrey, after that the Saxons had slaine of their chiefe Nobles & Barons at one meeting, ioynning together subiltie with crueltie, to the number of CC.lxxi. some stories say CCCC.lx.* This wicked acte of the Saxones, was done at Almisbury, or at a place called Stonehenge, by the monument of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britaynes there were buried.

This fabulous Storie of the Welshemen, of brynging these stones from Ireland by Merlyn I passe ouer. Some storyes record that they were slaine being bid to a banquet, other do say that it was done at a talke or assembly, where the Saxons came with priuie kniues contrary to promise made, with the which kniues they geuing a priuie watchword, in their Saxones speache, neme your sexes) slewe the Britaynes vnarmed: and thus farre concerning the historie of the Britaynes. As this great plague could not come to the Britaynes without Gods permissiō, so Gildas sheweth in hys Chronicle, the cause thereof, wryting thus:

Quòd Britones propter auaritiam & rapinā Principum, propter iniquitatem & iniustitiam ludicum, propter desidiam praedicationis Episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse. &c.

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A description of England, as it was deuided in the Saxones time into vij. kingdomes.

[illustration]

The entring and rainging of the Saxons.

THis was the comming in first of the Angles or Saxones into this realme, being yet vnchristened and infidels: which was about the yeare of our Lord, as William Malmesbury testifieth * .CCCC.lxix. the Captaines of whō were Hengistus and Horsus. Although the sayd Hengist and Saxones at their first comming, for all their subtile working and cruell attempt, had no quiet setling in Britayne, but were driuen out diuers times by the valiantnesse of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Vter aboue mētioned, who raigned after that among the Britaynes: yet notw^tstanding they were not so driuen out, but that they returned againe, and at length possessed all, driuing the Britaynes (such as remained) into Cambria,* whych we call nowe Wales. Hengistus, as some Chronicles recorde, reigned. 43. yeares, and died in Kent. Galfridus in suo

Britannico sayeth: that he was taken in warre by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningesburgh, after he had raigned xxxix. yeare.

After the death of Hengist, hys sonne Osca, raigned xxiiij. yeres leauing his sonne Octa, to whose reigne with hys sonne Ymenricus, hystories doe attribute liij. yeares, who also were slaine at length by Vter Pendragon,*Polichroni. Lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Saxones after they were setled in the possession of England, distributed the Realme among themselues, first in seuen partes: euery part to haue his king, that is: The first to be the king of Kent. The second to be king of Sussex and Southerye, holding hys Palace at Cicester. The thirde king was of Westsexe. The fourth king of Essex. The fift king was of the Eastangles,* that is, of Cambridgeshire, Northfolke, and Southfolke. The vj. king of Merceland, or Mercia, and in his kingdome were cōteined the Countesses of Lincolne, Leycester, Huntynghdon, Northampton, Orford, Darby, Warwike. &c. The vii. king had all the countries beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Of these seuen kingdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioyned all in one, comming all into the possession & subiECTION of the Westsaxons: yet for the space they cōtinued (which was w^t continuall trouble & warres among themselues) thys is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be seene.

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A Table describing the seuen kingdoms of the Saxons, raigning here in England.

IN the tyme of Vortiger aboue mentioned, began the raigne of the Saxons in this land, the which comming out of 3. sortes of the Germaine people (to witte) the Saxons, the Intes and Angles, replenished the land, of them called now Anglia. Of whom first Hengistus raigned in Kent, which countrey of Kent he had obtayned by Rowen his daughter, of king Vortiger, which was about the yeare of our Lord as some doe count, 476. or as I finde in the computation of our English Tables, 456. in some, 463. After Hengist, came in Octha, with Eosa, or Ysse his kinsman: who afterward succeeded the sayd Hengist in Kent. Not long after came in an other company of the Saxons, with Elle their Captaine, which planted themselues in Southsexe. And after them agayne an other garrison of the Saxons with Cerdice their Captain, which did occupy the West part of the land, called by them Westsaxon. And so likewise the other multitude of the Saxōs after them, which as yet beyng vnchristened and Infidels, deuided the whole land among themselues into vij. kingdoms, as in this Table followeth.

456. The Kings of Kent, with the yeares
 how long they raigned.

Kent. Hengistus, slaine. 31

 Eosa, or Ysse. 24

Ocha, or Octha.

Emenricus, or Emericus. 26

Ethelbertus, the first of y^e Saxon
kings that receyued the fayth by
Aug. an. reg. 35.56

This Ethelbert first of all the Saxons receiued the fayth,
and subdued all the other vj. kings, except onely the king
of Northumberland.

Edbaldus. 24

Ercombertus. 24

Ercombert commaunded Lent first to be fasted in his
dominion.

The kings
of Kent.

Egebertus, or Edbrieth slayne. 9

Egebert killed two Sonnes of his Uncle.

Lotharias slayne. 12

Eadrichus. 6

Unto the time of Eadrick all the bishops of Canterbury
were Italians.

Nidredus. 7

Some Chronicles doe place these two, Nidredus and
Wilhardus, after Edricke, and geue to them seuen
yeaes, some agayne do omit them.

Wilhardus. 7

Withredus. 33

Egfertus, or Edbert. 23

Ethelbert. 11

Alricus. 34

Betweene the raygne of Alricke, and Cuthred, some
Stories do insert the raigne of Eadbert, which raigned
two yeaes.

Eadbertus, surnamed Pren. 2

Cuthredus. 18

Baldredus, expulsed. 81

In the raigne of this Baldred the kingdom of Kent was translated to Egbertus, otherwise called Egbrict, king of the Westsaxōs, who subduing the foresaid Baldred, an. 832. gaue the said kingdome to Athelstan his younger sonne. After whose decease it came to Ethelwolfe the elder sonne of Egbrict, and so was vnited to the Westsaxons, who then began to be the Monarch of the whole land. This kingdom began nere about the yeare of our Lord, 456. and continued 342. yeares, and had xv. kings.

478. The Kings of Southsaxe, with the yeares of their raigne.

Southsaxe.	Elle, or Alle. 31 Cissa.	Of this Cissa came Cicester, which he builded, and where he raigned.
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Now called Sussex.	Nancanleus, or Nancanleodus.	This Nathanleod seemeth by some old stories to be a Britaine, & the chief Marshall of king Vter, whome Porth the Saxon slew.
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Porth.	This Porth a Saxon, came in at the hauen, which now is called of him Porthmouth.
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Ethelwelfus.	Because I find but little mention of these two I thinke it rather like to bee the same Ethelwold or Ethelwaldus, which after followeth.
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The kings of Sussex.	Redwallus.
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Condebertus.	Of Condebertus and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table only, supposing therfore that the true names of these were Ercombertus and Egebertus, which were kings of Kent the same tyme, and peraduenture might then rule in Sussex.
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Ethelredus, or Ethereus.

Adelwood, or Ethelwaldus, slayne.	This Adelwold was the first kyng of Sussex Christened, and as Fabian saith, the iiij. king of the Southsaxōs: as other say the vij. so vncertain be
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the histories of this kingdom.

Adelbrich, or Berethunus, slayne. 5

Adhumus. 15

This kingdome endured y^e shortest season of all other, and soonest passed into other kingdoms, in the dayes as some write of Iue king of Westsaxe, and so endured not aboue an hundred & twelue yeres vnder seuen or at most xj. kings, beginning first in the yeare of the Lord, 47• and about the 30. yeare of the first comming of the Saxons.

Westsaxe. 522. The principall kingdome of the Westsaxons, and of their raignes.

This kingdome contained
Cerdicus, or Sommersetshire, Barkshire,
Credicus. 17 Dorsetshire, Deuonshire,
Cornewall, &c.

Kenricus. 26

Chelingus 30.33. lib. cycl.

Celricus, or Ceolfricus. 5

Celwulfus, or Ceolulfus. 14

Kynigilsus & Quicelinus. 32 This Kynigilsus was first Kyng Christened in that prouince, conuerted by Birinus after made Monke.

Kinewalkins. 31

Sexburga. •

Escwynus, Ascwynus, or
Elkwinus. 2

The kings of Centwinus, dyed at Rome.
Westsaxe. 7

Cedwalla. 3 Cedwalla went to Rome,
and there was Christened

and dyed.

Ina, or Iue.

35

Edelardus, or Athelardus.

14

Ina also went to Rome, and was made Monke.

Cuthredus, or Cuthbert. 16

Sigebertus, or Sigherus,
slayne. 1

Sigebert for his pride and crueltie was deposed of his people.
And as he had killed before one of hys faythfull counsel geuing
him wholesome counsaile: so after was he slayne of y^e same
counsellors Swynard, as he hid him selfe in a wood.

Kynulfus, or Kynewlfus,
slayne. 31

Brithricus. 13

Egbertus, or Egbrichtus,
otherwise Athelbert{us}, or
Athelbrich, &c. 37

This Egbert was first expelled by Brithricus, who after
returning againe and raigning, was much deryded and scorned
with mocking runes for a coward of Bernulfus king of Mercia.
At lēgth the sayd Egbert subdued hym first, then all the rest, to
his kingdome• causing the whole land to be called no more
Britayne, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in
that Lordship hereafter followeth.

This Egebert subdued all the other seuen kingdomes, and first began the Monarchie of all the Saxones, which after by Alured was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the lord willing) to be declared. This kingdom of the Westsaxons began the yere of grace, 522. & as it subdued all the other, so it did the longest continue, til about the comming of William Conqueror, which is about the tyme of 554. yeares.

547. Northumberlād.

The Kings of Northumberland,
with the yeares of their raigne.

Ida. 12

This Ida of his wife had vj.
children, Adda, Elricus,
Osmerus, Theodledus, of
concubines other 6.

After Ida the kingdome
of Northumberland was
deuided into two
prouinces, Deyra and
Bernicia.

Alle, or Elle, Deirorum. 30

This Alle was the sonne of Iffe, & raigned in
Deyra, 30.

Adda, Bernicorum. 7

Some Chronicles set vnder
Adda, to raigne in Bernicia
these kings, Glappa or Clappa,
Theonulfus, or Husa, or
Theowalrus, Frihulfus,
Theodoricus.

Alricus, or Alfricus Deirorum. 5

This Alfricus was the sonne of Ida and raigned
fiue yeares.

This Ethelfridus was he that slew the monkes of
Bangor, to the number [Page 111](#) of 2200.
whyche came to praye for the good successe of
the Britaynes, and by hys wife Accan, the
daughter of Elle, had vij. sonnes, Eaufridus,
Osualdus, Oswius, Oslacus, Osmundus, Os•,
Of•a. Flor. Histor.

Ethelfridus Bernicorū.

Edwinus, Northumberland,
slaine. 17

Thys Edwinus was the first of the
Northumberland kings, whych was conuerted
and Christened by Paulinus Byshop of London.

Osricus Deirorum, slaine.

These two are put out of the rase of kings,
because they reuolted frō the Christian faith,
and were both slayne miserablie by Cedwalla a
Brittayne, which then raigned in
Northumberland, and in Mercia.

Eaufridus Bernicia, slaine.

The kings of
Northūberland.

Oswaldus, Northumberland,
slaine.

This Oswaldus, called S. Oswald, fought with Cedwalla, & Penda with a small army, and by strength of prayer vanquished thē in the field. He sent for Aedanus into Scotlād to preach in hys cōūtry, & as he preached in Scottish, y^e king expōūded in English. He was a great geuer of almes to y^e poore. Of his other actes more appeareth hereafter.

Oswius, Northumberland. 28

This Oswius lighting against Penda, vowed to make his daughter Elfred a Nonne, geuing wyth her .12. Lordships, to build 12. Monasteries .vj. in Bernicia .vj. in Deira.

Oswinus raigned together with
Oswius in Deira slaine. 7

The same Oswius in the beginning of hys raigne tooke one Oswinus the sonne of Edwyne to be his partener ouer the countrey of Deyra. Afterward causing him to be killed, tooke to hym an other called Edelwald, the sonne of Oswalde. Of thys Oswynus more followeth hereafter to be declared.

Egfridus, Northumberberland.
slayne. 15

Thys Egfrid married Etheldrida, who being xij. yeares married to hym, could after, by no meanes be allured to lye with him, but obtaining of him licence, was made Nunne, & then Abbes of Elye. She made but one meale a day, & neuer weare linen. At last the same Egfrid fighting against y^e Scots, was slayne in the fiede by a trayne of the Scots, faining themselues to flee.

Alridus, Northumberland,
slaine. 20

Of this Alfride, Bede in his historie testifieth that he was exactly and perfectly seene in the holy Scriptures, & recouered much that hys predecessors had lost before. Bed. lib. 4. cap. 24. Some say he raigned not 18. yeares.

Osred{us}, Northumberland,
slaine. 11

Osred began his raigne being but viii. yeares old, and raigned the space of x. yeares.

Kenredus, North. 2

Oriscus, North. 20	Some affirme that Oriscus raigned but xi. yeares.
Celulfus, Northumb. made a Monke. 9	This Celulf after he had raigned .8. yeares was made a Monke. To hym Beda wrote his storie.
Egbertus, or Eadbertus, Northumberlād, Monke. 21	
Osulfus, Northumber. slaine. 1	
Mollo, or Ethelwold, North. 11.	Mollo by the subtil traine of Altredus was made away, whych Altredus also himselfe after he had raigned x. yeres, was expulsed by his owne people.
In some Chronicles vj. yeeres.	
Altredus, Northum. expulsed. 10	In some Chronicles this Altredus raigned but viij. yeares.
Ethelbertus, or Edelredus, Northumberland, expulsed. 5	
Alfwoldus, Northumberland slaine, 11	
Osredus.	
Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus, North. slaine. 16	

After this Ethelbert, the kingdome of Northumberland ceased the space of xxv. yeares, till Egbertus King of the Westsaxons subdued also them, as hee did the other Saxons to his dominion. After the whych Egbert king of the Westsaxons succeeded in Northüberland hys sonne.

Kings of Westsaxons, rainging in Northumberland.

- Ethelwolfus.
- Ethelbertus.
- Ethelbaldus.
- Ethelredus.

In the tyme of thys Ethelredus there were two vnder Kinges in Northumberland Ella, and Osbright, whom the Danes ouercame and raigned in theyr place, whose names were these.

Danes.

- Exbertus.
- Richsi.
- Egebert.
- Gurthed.
- Guthrid.

After the raigne of these foresayd Danes, the kingdome of Northumberland came into the hands of the Westsaxons, in the time of A^thelstane and his brother Edmundus. It began first. An. 547. and so endured. 409. yeares. It contained Yorkeshyre, Notinghamshyre, Darbishyre, the Byshopricke of Dyrham, Copeland and other.

(561) The kings of Mercia, or Merceland with the yeares of their raigne.

Mercia. Grida, or Creodda. 35

Wibba. 20

Ceorlus. 10

Penda slew in battaile Edwyne and Oswald kinges of Northumb. Also Sigebert, Edrike, and Anna, kinges of the Eastangles. Also he droue out Kenwalkins king of the Westsaxons.

Peda, or Weda, slayne by his wife. Under Peda, and Wlferus, Chris^{••}s faith was receiued in those parts, they being conuerted by Finianus Bishop.

The same Peda raygned in a part of Mercia, with hys brother Wlferus, which were both the sonnes of Penda.

Wlferus. 29 This Wlfer{us} by his wife Erneburg had iii. daughters, Milburg, Mildrith, and Mildgith, holy virgines,

Adelredus, or Ethelred, made Monke. 30 or. 19 This Adelredus, or Ethelredus was Monke of Baroney, whose sisters were Kynedrid, and Kynswith, holye virgines.

Kenredus made also Monke

at Rome. 5

The Kinges of
Mercia.

Ceolredus, or Kelredus.

In the tyme of this Ceolred was Guthlake otherwise called S.
Guthlake, the Popish Eremite of Crouland.

Ethelbaldus,
slaine. 41

Under Ethelbaldus dyed
Beda. Ethelbad gaue that all
churches should be free
from all exactions and
publike charges.

Bernredus. 1

This Bernred for his pride & stoutnes toward his people, was
by thē deposed, & the same yeare by the iust iudgement of
God burned. Histor. Cariens. Offa causing or cōsenting to the
death of good Ethelbert king of the Eastangles, peaceably
comming to mary his daughter, for repentaunce caused the
Peter pence first to be geuē to Rome, and there did his
penaunce.

Offa. 39

Egfredus. 1

Kenulphus, slaine, 20 or.
16.

Kenelmus, murthered
Ceolwolfus expulsed, 1. or
3.

This Kenelme beyng of vii. yeares of age, was wickedly slayne
after hee had raygned vi. monethes.

Bernulphus, slaine. 3

Ludecanus, slaine. 2Some
Chronicles here insert
Milefred{us}.

This Ludicane after the 2. yeare of his raigne was slayne of
Egbert, king of the Westsaxons, by whome the rest of the
Saxons were also subdued.

Wilafius, or Withlacus
beheaded. 12

This Withlacus in the beginning of his raigne was vanquished by Egfrid king of Westsaxe, to
whome hee became tributarie wyth hys successours here following.

Some wryters say that these kinges were subdued by the Danes.

- Berthulfus. 12
- Buthredus. 20
- Celustus. 1
- Elfredus. 1

After this Elfride the kingdome of the Mercians was translated vnto the Westsaxons, in the latter time of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edwardus Senior, and so was adioyned to the Westsaxons, beginning. An. 561. It endured the space of 250. yeares, til about the latter end of Aluredus, by whome it was ioyned to the kingdome of Westsaxons. This kingdome stretched out to Huntingtongshire, Hertfordshire, Glocestershire, Worceter, Warwick, Lichfield, Couentry, Chester, Darbshire, Staffordshire, Shrosecbury, Oxforde, Buckingham Dorceter, Lincolne, Leicester. &c.

(561) The kings of the Eastsaxons, with the yeares of their raigne.

Eastsax|ons. Erchwinus. 35

Sledda. 17

Sebertus, or Sigebertus. 14 This Sebertus nephew to Ethelber king of Kent amōg these kings was first Christened by Mellitus, whych made the Church of Paules.

Sexredus, and Sewardus, brethren slaine. 7 Sexred, & Seward, and Sigebert, expelled Mellitus the Bishop, because he would not minister to them the sacramētal bread, they being not baptised.

[Page 112](#) Sigebertus paruus. 23 This Sigebertus Paruus with his brother Sebertus were slayne of Kynegilsus and Swithelinus his brother, by the iust iudgement of God, for they reuolted againe from their Faith, and expelled Mellitus Bishop of London.

Segebertus Bonus, or Sibertus, slaine. This Segebertus Bonus or Sibertus, much resorting to Oswy, king of Northumberland, by his perswasion was brought to Christiā baptisme, baptised of Finlanus Bish. to whō also was sent Cedde with other ministers to preache & to baptise in hys countrey. At last he was slaine of his mē about him, vsing to much to spare his enemies, & to forgeue their iniuries that repented. Flor.

The kings of the East Swythelinus. 14

saxons.

Sigherius, sonne of
Segebertus Paruus.

This Sigherius and Sebbi first fell to Idolatry, then through the
meanes of Wolferus King of Mercia, were reduced, & at last Sebbi
became a Monke.

Sebbi Sonne of
Sewardus, which
was made a
Monke.

Sigehardus, and
Suefridus,
brethren. 8

Offa. 5

Offa after hee had raigned a while, became a Monke at Rome.

Selredus, or
Colredus, slaine. 38

Swithredus,

Thys Swithredus was subdued vnto Egbert King of Westsaxons, Albeit London remained vnder the Mercias to the time that they also were subdued to the Westsaxons. This kingdom began. An. 561. and so continued till the time of Egbertus. Some stories say it continued to the time of Edward sonne of Aluredus, about the cōming of the Danes, and contained vnder it the Lordship of Midlesex and London. The Metropolitane sea of this prouince of Essex was London, where the famous Church of S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert king of Essex, whō Ethelbert had lately before turned to Christes faith: wherof the first bishop was Mellitus, the ij. byshop was Ceddus, y^e third came in by Simonie, whose name was Wine. Malmesb. de vitis Pont. After him was Erkenwaldus, of whom writeth Bede, that he being diseased in hys legges that he could neither go nor ride, yet would be caried about in a litter to preach in his Dioces. &c. Although W. Malmesb. wryting of the Byshoppes of London in his booke De vitis Ponti. sayth that Mauritius first the kings Chauncelor, then Byshop there, did first begin this so large and famous building of the Church of S. Paul in London: Which worke after him Richardus his successour did prosecute, bestowing al the rents of his Bishopricke vpon the same, and yet was scarsely seene: yet herein may be answered peraduenture, that the Church builded before by King Ethelbert, and king Sigebert, myght be ouerthrowen by the Danes, and afterward was reedified by these Bishops aboue mentioned.

(561)

The kinges of the
Eastangles, with the
yeres of their

raigne.

Eastangles.	Vffa, or Vlfa, 30	Of thys Vffa the people of Northfolke were then called Vfkyns.
	Titulus, or Titila. 13	Redwaldus first was conuerted in Kent: afterwarde through the wicked perswasion of his wife and other, ioyned Idolatry with Christianitie.
	Redwaldus. 12	
	Erpwaldus, or Corpwal ^l dus, slaine. 38	Notwythstanding his sonne Erpwaldus through the meanes of Edwyn king of Northūberland, was brought to the perfect faith of Christ, & therein faithfully did continue.
	Sigebertus, or Sibrect first a mōke slaine. 3	Thys Sigebert made hym selfe a Monke, and afterwarde brought out to fighte agaynst Penda, wyth a white sticke in hys hande, was slayne in the field.
The kings of the East ^l angles.	Egnicus, or Egricus, slaine. 3	
Anna, slaine. 3	The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberta, and Saint Etheldreda.	
Adelhere, or Adelredus, slaine. 2	Adelwoldus, or Ethelbaldus. 9	
	Adulphus. 25	
	Elkwoldus. 12	This Ethelredus for hys holinesse & godly vertues is counted for a Saint, he innocently comming to Offa kyng of Mercia to marrie wyth Althrid hys Daughter, by the sinister suspicion of Offa, and wicked counsaile of Kineswina his wife, was cruelly put to death in y ^e house of Offa. For the which cause Offa afterward repenting went to Rome, where he made him selfe a Monke.

Beorna. 26

Ethelredus, slaine. 52

Ethelbritus, slaine. 5

After this sinfull murther of Ethelbert, the kingdome of Eastangles during the time of certaine yeares, was in great trouble and desolation, vnder diuers kings and tyrants, sometime the king of Westsaxe, somtimes of Kent, or of Mercia, hauing dominion ouer them, till the comming of S. Edmund, whych was the last King there ruling vnder the Westsaxons.

- S. Edmund, Martyred. 16.

After the death of S. Edmund, being slaine of the Infidel Danes, the kingdom remained with the Danes .50. yeares, till at length Edward King of the Westsaxons, expelled the Danes, and ioyned it to hys kingdome. It began about the yere of our Lord .561. and continued neare about 377. yeares. Fabian numbreth but 12. kinges, but in other I finde moe.

The Metropolitane sea of this prouince of Eastangles, which was first at a towne called Dunmoke or,* or Dūwich (which in time past hath bene a famous & populous towne w^t a maior & 4. bailifs, & also diuers Parish Churches, & hospitals, whereunto great priuiledges by diuers kings haue bene graunted, whych towne is nowe fallen into ruine and decay, and more then half consumed by the eating in of the Sea, as also greatly impouerished by losse of the Hauen, which heretofore hath flourished wyth diuers tall shippes belonging to the same (the inhabitantes therof being not able of them selues to repaire it wythout the helpe of other good people,) where the first bishop was Felix, a Burgundian, who sate there 14. yeres. After this, vnto the time of Egbert King of Westsaxe, thys prouince was euer ruled by two Bishops, wherof the one had hys sea at Dunmoke, now called Dunwich. The other at Demaham, where 12. sate, one after an other. From thence it was translated to Thetford, where sate three Bishops. At last by Byshoppe Herbert it was remooued to Norwich, where he erected a Monasterie of Monkes.

And thus standeth the order and race of the Saxon kinges, raigning together wyth the Britaines in thys Realme. Nowe foloweth the description of the Britayne kings, raigning with the Saxons in like maner.

Although the miserable Britaines thus were beried of their land, by the cruel subtilty of the Saxons, yet were they not so driuē out or expelled, but that a certaine kingdom remained amōg them, in some part of the lād, namely about Cornewall, and the partes of Cambria, which is deuided in two partes, Southwales, called Demetia, and Northwales called Venedocia. The sayd Britaines moreouer through the valiant actes of their kings, sometimes raigned also in other countreis, displacing the Saxons, & recouering againe their owne: somtimes more, somtimes lesse, till the time of Carecius, when as the Britaines being deposed by Godmundus, (whose help they themselues sent for out of Irelande, agaynst Carecius theyr wicked King) vtterly lost their land and kingdome: being thence driuen vtterly into Wales and Cornewale, the yere of our Lorde 570. What the order of these kings was, what were theyr actes, their names, and times when they

raigned: in this briefe table vnder wrytten is expressed. Wherein first is to be premonished that Constantinus secundus had three childrē, to wit, Constans, whych was made a Monke in Winchester, and after made a king: the seconde was Aurelius Ambrosius: the thirde was Vter Pendragon. This being premised, we wil now enter the description of our Table, beginning with Vortigernus.

A Table declaring the Kings of Britayne, which raigned together with the Saxones, after their comming into this land. Kings of Britaine whiche here raigned in the time of the Saxones.

- Vortigernus.
- Vortimerius.
- Vortigernus, againe.
- Aurelius Ambrosius.
- Vter Pendragon.
- Arthurus.
- Constantinus 3.
- Aurelius.
- Conanus.
- Vortiperius.
- Malgo.
- Carecius.

Here is to be vnderstand that these Britaine kings aboue mentioned, did not so raign here in this land, frō the time of Vortigerne, that they had the full possession and gouernement ouer all the whole realme: but only ouer parcels or partes, such as by force of armes, they could either [Page 113](#) hold or win from the Saxons: * which cōming in daily and growing vpon thē, did so replenish the land w^t multitudes of them, that y^e Britains at lēgth were neither able to hold y^t which they had, nor to recouer that which they lost: Leauing exaple to al ages & countreis, what it is, first to let in forreine nations into their dominion, * but especially what it is for Princes to ioyne in mariage with infidels: as this Vortiger did w^t Hengistus daughter, which was the mother of al this mischief: geuing to the Saxons not only strēgth, but also occasion and courage to attempt that whych they did. Neyther was this vncōsidered before of the Britaine Lords and Nobilitie: who worthely being therew^t offended, iustly deposed their king, & introned Vortimerus hys sonne in his rounge. By the which Vortimer being a punāt prince, the Saxons were then repulsed and driuen againe into Germany, where they stayed a while till the death of Vortimer whome Rowen daughter of Hengistus caused traiterously to be poysoned. * Then Vortiger being again restored to his kingdome, through the entreatie of Rowen hys wife, sent into Germanie againe for Engist, who eftsoones making his returne, came in wyth a name of 300. shippes wel appointed. * The Nobles of Britain hearing this, prepared them selues to the contrary side in all forceable wise to put them of. But Engist through Rowen hys daughter so laboured the king: excusing himselfe, and saying that he brought not the multitude, to worke any violence eyther against him or against his coūtrey, but only thinking that Vortimer had yet bene aliue, whom he minded to impugne for the kings sake, and to take hys part. And nowe for so much as he heareth of y^e death of Vortimer hys enemie, hee therefore committeth both himselfe & his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of thē he wold to remaine within his land: the rest should returne. And if it so pleased the King, to appoynt day & place, where they might meete and talke together of the matter, both he and his would stande to such order as the

king with his counsaile should appoynt. With these faire words the king and his nobles (wel contented) did assigne to them both day & place, which was in the towne of Ambry: where he ment to talke with them, adding thys condition w^t all, that eche part shoulde come without any maner of weapon. Engist shewing him selfe well agreed thereto,* gaue priuy intelligence to his side, that eche man should cary w^t him secretly in his hose a long knife, w^t their watch worde also geuen vnto them whē they should draw their kniues: wherwith euery Saxon shoulde (and so did) kill the Britayne, wyth whō he talked, as is aboue declared. The Britaine Lords being slayne, the Saxons tooke Vortigerne the King, and bound him: for whose ransome they required to be deliuered to them the Cittie of London, Yorke, Lincolne, Winchester, w^t other the most strongest holdes within the lande whych being to them graunted, they begin to make spoile & hauocke of the Britaine nation, destroying the Citizens, plucking downe Churches, killing vp the Priestres, burning the Bookes of the holy Scripture, leauing nothyng vndone that tyrannie could worke, whych was about the yeare of our Lorde. 462. The King seeing thys miserable slaughter of the people fled into Wales.

This whyle Aurelius Ambrosius, & Vter Pendragon brethren to king Constans aboue mentioned, whō Vortigerne wickedly caused to be killed,* were in little Britayne. To whome the Britaynes sent woorde, desiring theyr ayde in helping their countrey. Aurelius vnderstanding the wofull state of the Realme,* speedeth hym ouer to satisfie their desire, and to rescue (what in him was) their necessitie. Who at his first commyng eftsoones being crowned for theyr king seeketh out wicked Vortigerne, the cause of all thys trouble and murder of king Constās hys brother. And finding him in Wales in a strong tower, wherein he had immured him selfe,* setteth hym and his castell on fire. That done he moued his power against the Saxons, w^t whom, and wyth Elle Captaine of the Southsaxons (who then was newly come ouer) he had diuers conflicts.

Our English old Chronicles make record that Horsus the brother of Engist was slaine before in the time of Vortimer. The same also doe recorde, that thys Engist was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against Aurelius Ambrosius▪ who then cōsulting with his Nobles and Barons, what was to be done with him: the Byshop of Glocester, called Eldadus, standing vp, gaue this counsaile, saying: that 〈◇〉 all men would deliuer him, yet he with his owne hāds wold cut him in peeces, alleaging the exāple of Samuel against Agag King of the Amelech, taken by King Saul in the field: whome the sayde Samuel caused to be cut in peeces. Euen so (saith he) do you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without childrē: so his mother mai be made this day of him likewise. And so was Engist taken out of the Citie by Eldo Consull or Maior of Glocester, and there was beheaded: if truth or credit be to be geuen to these our old Britaine stories: wherof I haue nothing certainly to pronōuce, but that I may suspect the truth therof, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 490. Henr. Hunting. Galfr. cum alijs.

A certaine auncient written history I haue in Latine, compiled in the .xiiij. yeare of king Richard the seconde, and by him caused to be writtē as the title declareth: whych because it beareth no name of the author: I cal it by the name of him of whom I borrowed thys booke,* wyth many other likewise without name, Historia Carians. This hystorie recordeth that Hengistus dyed in Kent the xxxii. yeare of hys raigne: which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at Cunynburgh, and slaine in the North. Thys Aurelius Ambrosius before mentioned,* is thought of Polidorus Vergilius citing the authoritye of Bede, to descende of the stocke of the Romaines: whych as it is not vnpossible to be true: so this is certaine by the full accord of al our old wrytten

stories, that both the sayde Aurelius, and his brother Vter Pendragon being the sonnes of Constantinus, brother to Andoenus king of litle Britaine, were nursed and brought vp in England, in their tender age, and instructed by Gultelinus Archbyshop of London, and after the murder of Constans their elder brother, were conueied from hence to litle Britaine: whereby it is manifest that they were borne in thys land, and though their father were a Romaine as Polydorus pretēdeth, yet lyke it is that they were Britains borne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the storie sayeth) was poysoned by the crafty meanes of Pascentius,* sonne of Vortigernus (suborning one, vnder the weede of a Monke to play the Phisicion, and so to poyson him) next succeeded hys brother Vter, surnamed Pendragon, about the yeare of our Lord. 497. who fighting against Octa and Cosa,* tooke them and brought them to London there to be kept. But they breaking out of pryson returned into Germanie for more aid. In this meane time daily recourse was of Saxons, with great companies cōming out of Saxonie: with whom the Britains had diuers & sundry conflictes,* sometimes winning, sometimes loosing. Not long after Octa & Cosa, renuing their power in Germany, in all most speedy hast did returne againe, and ioyne with the other Saxons against the Britaines. Heere began the state of miserable Britaine daily more and more to decay,* while the idolatrous Saxons preuailed in number and strength against the Christian Britaines: oppressing the people, throwing downe Churches and Monasteries, murdering the Prelates, sparing neither age nor person, but wasting christianity almost through the whole realme. To these miseries it fell moreouer that Vter their king was sicke & could not come out. Notw^tstanding being greeued with the lamentable destructiō of his people, caused his bed to be brought into the campe, where God gaue him victorie: Octa & Cosa there being slaine. After this victorie in short space Vter died of poyson (as is sayde) put into a fountaine of water, whereof the king was wont to drinke, about the yeare of our Lorde. 516. Hor. Hist.

About which time and yeare,* came in Stuph and Wigarius two nephewes of Certhice king of Westsaxons, wyth their companies so violently vpon the Britains, that they of the West part of the realme, were not able to resist them. Then the merciful prouidence of almighty God, raised vp for them King Arthure,* the sonne of Vter: who was then crowned after him and victoriously raigned. To thys Arthure the old Britaine historyes do ascribe xij. great victories against the Heathen Saxons: whose notorious & famous conquests, mētioned in the Britain stories, I leaue them as I finde them: referring them to the credite of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding as I do not thinke contrary, but God by the foresayde Arthure, gaue to the Britaines some stay and quietnes during his life,* and certaine of his successours: so touching certaine of great victories & conquests, not onely ouer thys land, but also ouer all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, then y^t any credit should be geuen vnto them, more worthy to be ioyned with the Iliades of Homere, then to haue place in any Ecclesiasticall hystorie.* After Arthure next King of the Britaines, was Constantinus the third. After him Aurel[•]us Conanus. Then Vortiporius, after whome followed Malgo, noted in storyes to be a Sodomite. And after hym the last King of the Britaines, was Carecius, all geuen to Ciuill warre, execrable to God & man. Who being chased out by the Britains thēselues, the land fell to the possession of the Saxons: about the yere of our Lord. 568. by whom all the Clergy and the Christiā ministers of the Britaines, were then vtterly driuen out: In so much that Theonus Archbishop [Page 114](#) of London,* & Thadeseus Archbishop of Yorke, seeing theyr Churches all wasted, and Parishes dispersed, wyth their cariages and monumēts: left theyr seas in Britaine, and fled into Cambria, which we nowe

call Wales. Touching which matter, and touching also the cause of this desolation & ruine of the Britaines kingdom, the first fountaine & origin therof partly before is declared, where was shewed in the time of Cōstantinus Magnus and Maximinian, pag. 108. howe these noble Princes with other moe, achieuing their venturous affaires in other countreis, tooke w^t them great multitudes & armies out of Britaine: through the occasion whereof, the land was greatly empaiied and depriued of his most chiefe and principall nobles, being caried away to serue in forreine warres. Whyche was no small cause, why the realme of Britaine (being so wasted) was the lesse able to helpe it selfe against theyr enemyes. Although this was not the chief occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherfore God by his iust iudgement, suffered this plague and ouerthrow to fall vpon that people, as here out of an olde author,* and partly out of Gildas, as I haue found it, so I thought to annexe it in hys owne woordes, first in Latine, then afterwarde Englishing the same, for the more credite of that which shalbe alleaged, in tenour as foloweth.

Nobiliores totius regni praedictos duces sequ•ti fuerunt & ignobiles remanebāt,* qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere coepissent, extulerunt se vltra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentia diuitiarum superbi coeperunt, tali & tantae fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, vt Gildas historicus testatur, non solū hoc vitium sed omnia quae humanae naturae accidere solent, & praecipue quod totius boni euertit statu, odium veritatis, amor mendacij, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiae pro benignitate: exceptatio Sathanae pro angelo lucis: vngebantur reges, non propter dominium, sed qui caeteris crudeliores essent. Si quis verò eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniae subuersorem omnia odia, tela{que} torquebantur. Omnia quae Deo placebant & displicebant aequali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solū hoc seculares viri, sed & ipse grex domini, eius{que} pastores sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amittere quam praedicto modo maculabant.

*In English thus: The nobles of this realme folowing the Princes and Captaines aboue named: by the reason thereof the vulgare and rascall sorte remained behinde at home. Who when they had gotten the rouses and places of the nobles, they aduanced them selues aboue that their dignitie required. And through their aboundāce of riches, they surprised wyth pride, began to fal into such & so great fornication, as was neuer heard of euen among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the Hystoriographer witnesseth, not into vice only, but also into al maner of wickednes, wherto mans nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the ouerthrow of al good estates, the hatred of the truth, loue of lies, imbracing of euil in stead of goodnesse, regardyng of mischiefe in stead of vertue, receauing of the deuill in stead of an Angell of light. They annoynted kings not such as could wel rule a common wealth, but those which exceeded all other in cruelty. And if any might be perceaued to be somewhat more humble or meeke, or to be more inclined to fauour the trueth then the residue, him did euery one hate and backbite as the ouerthrower and destroyer of Brittain. All thinges whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alyke. And not secular men onely did this. but also the congregation of the Lorde and their Bishops and teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marueiled, that such people so degenerating and going out of kinde should lose that countrey, which they had after this maner defiled.

And thus much hetherto concerning the history of the Britaines, till, by the grace of Christ, the order of time shal bring vs heereafter to the treatise of Cedwalla and Calwalladrus. Nowe

remaineth, in returning againe to the matter of the Saxons, to discourse particularly, that which before in the table aboue we haue sommarely comprehended.

In this order and rase of the Saxon kings, aboue specified which had thus thrust out the Britones, & now deuided their land in seuen kingdomes: as there were many noughty and wicked kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on warre and bloudshed, are greatly to be detested and eschued of all true godly Princes) so some there were againe (although but fewe) very sincere & good. But none almost from the first to the last, which was not either slaine in warre, or murdered in peace, or els constrained to make him selfe a monke. Such was the rage then and tyranny of that time. Whether we shuld impute it to the corruption of mans nature, or to the iust iudgement of Gods hand, so disposing the matter, that as they had violently & falsely dispossessed the Britons of their right: so they most miserably were not onely vexed of the Danes, and cōquered at last by the Normās: but also more cruelly deuoured them selues, one warring still agaynst an other, till they were neyther able to helpe themselues, nor yet to resist others. Of thē which are noted for good among these Saxon kings,* the first and principal is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbrict the first king of Kent aboue specified, who by the meanes of Austen, and partly through hys wife, named Berda, firste receiued and preferred the Christian faith, in al this land of the English Saxons, wherof more foloweth hereafter to be said (the Lorde so permitting) as place and oportunitie shall require. The next place I geue to Oswaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did hys endeuour in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his people: but also being king, disdained not himselfe to stande vp and interprete to his nobles & subiectes the preaching of Aidanus, preaching Christ to them in his Scottish language. In the same cōmendation also, like as in the same line, commeth hys vncle Edwin, king of Northumberlād, a good Prince, and the first receauer of Christes faith in that land, by the meanes of his wife, and Paulinus Byshop. Adde to these also Sigebert, first Christened king of the Eastangles, & Sebert, first Christened king of Essex: of whome the one was a great furtherer of Religion, & setter vp of scholes: y^e other which is Sebert or Sexbrieth, was neuew to Ethelbert of Kent, vnder whom he ruled in Essex. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the sayd Sebert the Church of Paules was builded at London, and Christian faith much enlarged. &c. Of the same name there was also an other Ethelbert King of the Eastangles, a good Prince: who by the aduise of his counsaile perswaded to mariage (though against his wil) went peaceably to King Offa for despousage of Athilride hys daughter, wher the good king meaning innocētly through the sinister and deuilishe counsaile of king Offa hys wife, was secretely beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa through repentance thereof, made the first Peter pence to be geuen to S. Peters church in Rome.

In the Cathologue of these good kinges is also to be numbered Kenelmus king of the Mercians, and Edmundus king of the Eastangles:* of the which ij. the first was falsely & abominably circumuented & beheaded, by the meanes of his cruell sister and hys tutor; as he was in his hunting at Corfcastle. The other whych is called king Edmund the Martyr, was slaine at Bury, or as some wryte at the Castle of Halesdon by the Danes: vpon what occasion, histories do vary. The author of Flores Historiarū sayeth, it was by reason of one Lothebrocus a Dane: who being of the kings bloud, & being with his Hawke on the sea side in a litle boat, was driuen by force of weather into the coast of Northfolke, wher he being presented to king Edmūd, was retained in his Court with great fauour: til at length one Bericke the kings Fawkner, enuying and despiting hym, for his great dexteritie in that facultie, priuily did murder him in a wood. This being at last spied

(as murder lightly will come out) Bericke was set in Lothbrockes boate alone without all tackling, to be cōmitted vnto the Sea: and as it chāced so, was driuen into Denmarke, who there being seene in Lothbrockes boate, was straitly examined of the partie. He then to excuse himselfe, falsly sayd he was slaine by the cōmandement of the king. Upō the occasion wherof Inguar and Hubba sonnes to the sayde Lothebroke gathering an army of Danes, inuaded first Northūberland: after that bursting into Northfolke on euery side, sent thys message to king Edmund after this tenor: Signifying that king Inguar the victorious Prince (dreade both by sea and lande) as he had subiect diuers other landes vnder him,* so arriuing now to the coasts of Northfolke, where he intēdeth to winter: chargeth and commaundeth him to deuide with him his olde treasures, and his fathers riches, and so to rule vnder him: which if he would not do, but wold cōtemne his power so strōgly furnished wyth such an army, he should be iudged as vnworthy both of kingdom & life. &c. The king hearing this message, not a little astonysed therat, calling his cōsaile about hym, consulted w^l them, especially with one of his Bishops, being then his Secretarie, what was best to be done: who fearing the kinges life, exhorted him by wordes & diuers examples to agree to the message. At this a while the king holding his peace, at length thereto made aunswere againe in these wordes, saying: Go (saith he) tel your Lord, and let him know that Edmundus the Christened King, for the loue of this temporal life, wil not subiect him selfe to a Pagane Duke, vnles before he become a Christiā, &c. The messenger taking his answere was not so soone out of the gates, as Inguar meeting him and bidding him to be short in declaring hys answere, caused all the kings garrison to be set round about. [Page 115](#) Some say that the king flying to Thetforde, there pitcht a field with the Danes, but the Danes preuailing,* the good king from thence did flie to the Castle of Halesdon aboue mentioned: where he beyng pursued of the Danes was there taken, and at length being bounde to a stake, there, of the raging Danes was shot to death. And thus much for the good kings.

Now as concerning those kinges which made them selues Monks (which in number be vij. or viij.) although the example be rare & straung,* and much commēded of the chroniclers of that time: yet I cannot rashly assent to their cōmendation, albeit the case therof is no matter of our history. First in altering their estate from kings to monkes, if they did it to finde more ease, and lesse trouble thereby: I see not howe that excuse standeth with the office of a good man, to chaunge his publike vocation, for respect of priuat commodity. If feare of ieoperdy & daunger did driue them therunto: what praise and commendation they deserue, in so doing let the monkish histories iudge what they lyst: me seemeth so much prayse as they deserue in prouiding their owne safetie, so much they deserue againe to be discōmended in forsaking the common welth. If they did it (as most like it is) for holinesse sake, thinking in that kinde of life to serue and please God better: or to merite more toward their saluaciō then in the estate of a king, therin they were far deceaued: not knowing tha• the saluation which cōmeth of God, is to be measured & estemed, not by mans merits, or by any perfectiō of life or by differēce of any vocation more of one then another, but only by the free grace of the gospell, which freely iustifieth all them, that faythfully beleue in Christ Iesu. But here will be saide againe peraduenture, in the solitary life of Monkery, be fewer occasions of euils, then in kings courtes, wherefore that lyfe serueth more to holines,* & more is to be preferred then the other. To this I aunswere, to auoid the occasions of euill is good where strength lacketh to resist. But otherwyse, where duety & charge bindeth to tary, there to auoyde the occasiōs of euil, where rather they are to be resisted: rather declareth a weakenes of the man, thē deserueth any praise. As it is truely saide of Tullie: Out of Asia, saith he, to liue, a good life, is no god a mercy: but in Asia where so

great occasiōs of euils abound, there to liue a good mā that is praise worthy. With the like reason I may infer, if a man be called to be a king, there not to chaunge the vocation for voiding of occasions, but rather to resist occasions, & to keepe his vocation, declareth a good & perfect man. But of these bymatters hetherto sufficient.

*These things now thus premised, concerning the order & raigne of kinges, as is aboue prefixed: consequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of such thinges, as in the time and raigne of the foresaide kings happened in the Church: first putting the Reader againe in minde of the former persecutions within the realme, partly before touched in the time of the Britaine kinges, which speciallye were three or foure before the commyng of Austen into Englande.

1, The first was vnder Dioclesian, and that not onely in England but generally throughout al the Romaine Monarchie, as is aboue specified. In this persecution Albanus Iulius, Aaron, with a great number moe of other good Christian Britanes, were martyred for Christes name.

2. The seconde persecution or destruction of Christian faith, was by the inuading of Gnauius and Melga, whereof, the first was captaine of the Hunnes, the other of y^e Pictes. These two tyrauntes, after the cruell slaughter of Vrsula, and other. 11000 noble virgines, made their rode into Brytaine hearyng the same to be destitute of y^e strength of men. At what time they made miserable murder of Christes Saints, spoiling & wasting Churches, without mercy either of women or children, sparing none.

3. The third persecution came by Hengist, and the Saxones: who likewise destroied and wasted the christen congregations within the lande, like raging Wolues fleeyng vpon the sheepe, & spilling the bloud of Christians, til Aurellus Ambrosius came, and restored againe the Churches destroyed.

4. The fourth destruction of Christen faith & Religion was by Gurmundus a Pagan king of the Africanes: who ioyning in league with the Saxons, wrought much greuaunce to the christians of the land. In so much that Theonus Byshop of London, and Thadioceus Bishop of Yorke, with the rest of the people so many as were left, hauing no place wherin to remaine with safety, did flee some to Corn^wall, and some to the mountaines of Wales about the yere of our Lord 550. and this persecution remained to the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, an. 589.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the 5. king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first receaued of the Saxons or Englishmen, by the meanes of Gregory bishop of Rome, in maner and order as here foloweth, out of old histories collected and recorded.

First then to ioyne the order of our history together: The Christē faith first receiued of king Lucius, endured in Britaine till this time, neare vpon the season of CCCC. yeares and odde: when by Gurmundus Africanus, (as is saide) fyghting wyth the Saxons against the Brytaynes, it was neare extinct in all the land, duryng the space about fortie foure yeares.* So that the first springing of Christes Gospell in thys lande, was an. 180. The comming of the Saxons was. an. 449. or an. 469. The comming of Austen, was an. 596. From the first entring in of the Saxons to their complet conquest, and the driuing out of the Brytanes (which was aboute the latter time of Gadwalader) were 240. yeares.* In summe from Christ to Lucius were, 180. yeares. The

continuaunce of the gospel frō Lucius to the entring of the Saxons was 302. yeares. The decay of the same to the entring of Austen, was. 143. yeares which being added together make from Lucius to Austen. 445. from Christ to Austen they make 598. yeares. In this yeare then. 598. Austen being sent from Gregory came into England: the occasion wherupon Gregory sent him hether was this.

In the daies of Pelagius Byshop of Rome,*Gregory chauncyng to see certayne chyldren in the market place of Rome (brought thether to be sould out of England) being faire and beautifull of visage,*demaunded out of what coūtrey they were: and vnderstanding they were Heathenish out of England, lamented the case of y^e land being so beautifull and Angelicall, so to be subiecte vnder the Prince of darknes. And asking moreouer out of what prouince they were it was aunswered, out of Deyra, a part of Northsaxons: wherof as it is to be thought, that which we now cal Deyrham taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of Deyra, these people (saith he) art to be deliuered de Dei'ira, which is from Gods wrath, Moreouer vnderstanding the kings name of that prouince to be Alle (aboue mentioned) alluding likewise to his name: there (saith he) ought Alleluia to be song to the liuing God.* Wherevpon beyng moued and desirous to go and helpe the cōuersion of that country, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romanes for that time to accomplish his desire. But afterwarde being Bishop himselfe next after Pelagius, he sent thether the foresaide Austen with other preachers neere about to the nūber of xl. But by the waye, howe it happened I cannot saye: As Austen with his company were passing in theyr iourney, such a sodaine feare entred in their harts (that as Antonius saith) they returned all. Other write that Austen was sent backe to Gregory againe, to release them of that viage so daungerous and vncertaine, amongst such a barberous people: whose language neither they knewe, nor whose rudenes they were able to resist. Thē Gregory with pithy perswasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters both to the Bishop of Arelalensis, willing him to helpe and aide the said Austen,* and his company in all whatsoever his neede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine, vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go foreward boldly in the Lords work, as by the tenour of the said Epistle here followyng maye appeare.

Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei,*seruis Domini nostri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab ijs quae coepta sunt cogitatione retrorsum redire, &c. In Englishe. Gregory the seruaunt of Gods seruaunts, to the seruaunts of the Lord. Forasmuch as it is better not to take good things in hande, then after they be begon, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe therefore now you may not nor cannot (deare children) but with all feruent study and labor, must needes go forward in that good busines, which through the helpe of God you haue wel begunne. Neither let the labor of your iourney, nor the slanderous tounge of men appalle you, but that with all instaunce and feruency yee proceede, and accomplish the thing which the Lorde hath ordeyned you to take in hande: knowing that your great trauell shalbe recompensed with rewarde of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we sende here Austen to you againe, whom also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doe you humblye obey him in all thinges, knowing that it shall be profitable so for your soules, whatsoever at his admonition yee shall doe. Almighty God with his grace defend you and graunt me to see in the eternall country the fruite of your labour, that although I can not labour as I woulde wyth you,* yet I may be found pertaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same felowship with you together. The Lord God keepe you safe, most deare and welbeloued children. Dated the x before the Calendes [Page 116](#) of

August, in the raigne of our soueraigne Lord Mauritius most vertuous Emperour, the .xiiij. of his Empire.

Thus they emboldened & comforted through the good wordes of Gregory, sped forth their iourney till they came at length to the Ile of Thene•• lying vpon the East side of Kent. Neare to the which landing place, was then the Manory or palace of the king, not farre from Sandwiche (Eastward from Caunterbury) which the inhabitauntes of the Isle, then called Richbourgh: whereof some part of the ruinous walles is yet to be sene. The king then raigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as aboue appeareth, the fifte King of that prouince: who at that time had Married to wyfe a French woman beyng Chrystened,* named Berda: whom he had receiued of her parents vpon this conditiō, that he shoulde permitte her with her Bishop committed vnto her, called Lebardus, to enioye the freedome of her fayth and Religion: by the meanes whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace the preaching and doctrine of Christ. Thus Austen beyng arryued sent forth certayne messengers and interpreters to the Kyng, sygnifying that such a one was come from Rome, brynging with hym glad tydings to him and all his people, of lyfe and saluation eternally to reygne in heauen, with the onely true and lyuing God, for euer: if he would so willingly harken to the same, as he was gladly come to preache and teach it vnto him.

The King, who had heard of this Religion before by meanes of his wife, within a few daies after commeth to the place where Austen was to speake with him: but that shoulde be without the house, after the maner of his lawe. Austen against his cōming, as stories affirme, erected vp a banner of the crucifixe (such was then the grosenes of that tyme) and preached to him the word of God.* The Kyng aunswering againe saith in effect as followeth: the words be very faire that you preach and promise. Neuerthesse, because it is to me vncoth and new, I can not soone starte away from my country law wherwith I haue bene so lōg inured and assent to you.* Albeit yet notwithstanding for y^e ye are come, as ye saye, so farre for my sake: ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be rightwell intreated, hauing al thinges to you ministred necessarye for your supportatiō. Besydes this, neither doe we debarre you, but to haue fre leaue to preach to our people and subiects to conuert, whō ye may to the faith of your Religion.

When they had receaued this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the Citie of Dorobernia, or Caunterbury, singyng Alleluya with the Letanie, which then by Gregory, had beene vsed at Rome in the time of the great plague reigning thē at Rome, mentioned in old histories. The wordes of the Letany were these:*Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a ciuitate ista, & de domo sancta tua: quoniam peccauimus. Alleluya. That is. We beseech thee O Lorde in all thy mercyes, that thy fury and anger maye cease from this Citie, & from thy holy house for we haue sinned. Alleluya. Thus they entryng in the Citie of Dorobernia, the head Citie of all that dominion at that time, where the king had gyuen them a mansion for there abode: there they contynued preaching and baptising such as they had conuerted in the east side of the Citty in the old church of S. Martine (where the Queene was woont to resorte) vnto the time that the kyng was conuerted himselfe to Christ. At length when the king had wel cōsidered the honest conuersation of their life,* and moued with the myracles wrought through gods hand by thē, he heard them more gladly, and lastly by their wholsome exhortations, and example of godly life he was by them conuerted and christened in the yeare aboue specified. 586. and the 36. yeare of his reigne. After the King was thus conuerted, innumerable other daily came in, & were adioyned to the Church of Christ: whom the

King did specially embrace but cōpelled none: for so he had learned that the faith and seruice of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not coacted. Then he gaue to Austen a place for hys Byshops sea at Christes Church in Dorobernia, & builded the Abbey of Saint Peter and Paule,* in the East side of the sayde Citie, where after Austen, and all the Kinges of Kent were buried, and that place is now called S. Austen.

In this while Austen sailed into Fraunce to the Byshop Arelatensis, called Ethereus: by him to bee consecrated Archbishop, by the commaundement of Gregory, & so was. Also the said Austen sent to Rome, Laurentius one of his cōpany, to declare to Gregory how they had sped, and what they had done in Englande: sending with all to haue the counsaile and aduise of Gregory, concerning ix. or x. questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenour of his questions or interrogations, wyth the aunsweres of Gregory to the same: here follow in English briefly translated.

The questions of Austen Archbyshop of Caunterbury sent to Gregory, with the aunswere againe of Gregory to the same.

The first interrogation.

MY first question (reuerende father) is concerning Byshops,* how they ought to behaue themselues towarde their clerks Or of such oblations as the faithfull offer vpon the altar: what portions or diuidentes ought to be made thereof.

The aunswere.

How a Bishop ought to behaue himselfe in the Congregation,* the holy scripture testifieth which I doubt not but you know right well, especialye in the Epistles of S Paule to Timothie: wherein he laboureth to informe the sayd Timothe, how to behaue his conuersation in y^e house of the Lord. The maner is of the sea Apostolike, to warne and charge all such as be ordeined Bishops, of all their stipend or that which giuen, to make foure pertitiōs. One to the Bishop for hospitalitie, and receauing commers in. An other to the Clergy,* The third to the pore. The fourth to the repairing of Churches. But because your brotherhode instructed with rules of Monasticall discipline, cānot liue separated from your clerkes about you, therfore in the English Church (which nowe through the prouidence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you muste obserue this institution, concerning your conuersation, which was in the first Fathers in the begynning of the prymitiue Church, among whom there was not one which counted any thing to be his owne proper, of all that he did possesse: but all was common among them.

The seconde interrogation.

I desire to know and to be instructed,* whether Clerkes that cannot containe, may marry. And if they do mary whether then they ought to returne to the secular state againe or no?

The aunswere.

If there be any Clerkes out of holy orders,* which can not contene, let them haue their wiues, and take their stipends or wages without. For we read it so written of the foresayd fathers, that they deuised to euery person, according as their worke was. Therefore as concerning the stipend of such, it must be prouided and thought vpon. And they must be also holden vnder Ecclesiasticall discipline, to liue a godly cōuersation: to employ themselues in singing Psalmes, & to refraine their tongue, hart and body (by the grace of God) from all things vnseemely, and vnlawfull▪ As for the vulgar and common sort, which lyue after the common condition of men: to describe what partitions to make, what hospitalitie to keepe, or what works of mercy to exhibite to such, I haue nothing to saye but to giue (as our maister teacheth) in all our deedes of mercy; of that which aboundeth. Of that (saith he) whiche aboundeth or is ouerplus, gyue almes, and beholde all thinges bee cleane vnto you.

The thyrd interrogation.

Seing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then, the ceremonies and customes of Churches to bee so diuers.* As in the Church of Rome there is one custome, and maner of Masse▪ and the French Church hath an other?

The aunswere.

The custome of the Church of Rome,* what it is you know: wherin ye remēber that you 〈◇〉 bene brought vp frō your youth: but rather it pleaseth me better, that whether it be in the church of Rome, or in any Frēch Church: where ye finde any thing that seemeth better to the seruice and pleasing of God: that ye chuse the same: and so inferre & bring into the English Church (which is yet new in the faith) the best & pikedst thinges chosen out of many Churches: for thinges are not to be beloued for y^e place sake,* but the place is to be beloued for the thinges that be good: wherfore such thinges as be good, godly, and religious: th••• chose out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take roote in the mindes of Englishmen.

The fourth interrogation.

I praye you what punishment iudge you for him,* that shall steale or pylfer any thing out of the Church.

The aunswere.

This your brotherhood may soone discerne,* by the person of a theefe, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be which hauing sufficient to liue vpon yet doe steale. Other there be which steale of meere necessity. Wherfore considering the qualite & difference of the crime, necessarye it [Page 117](#) is that some be corrected by losse of goodes, some by stripes some other more sharply, and some more easly: yea, & whē sharpee correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with charity, and with no fury: for in punishing offenders this is the cause and ende wherfore they are punished, bicause they should be saued & not perish in hell fire. And so ought discipline to proceede in correcting the faithfull, as doe good Fathers in punishing their children, whom both they chasten for their euill, and yet being chastened, they looke to haue them their heires, and thinke to leaue them all they haue, notwithstanding they correct them

sometimes in anger. Therefore this charitie must be kepte in mind. And in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind neuer do any thing without the rule of reason. Ye adde moreouer with what recompence of measure those things ought to be required againe which be stollen out of Churches. But God forbid that the Church should euer require againe with increase, that which is lost in outwarde thinges, and to seeke her gaine by endamaging other.

The fift interrogation.

*Item, whether two brethen may mary two sisters, beyng far of from any part of kindred?

The aunswere.

This in no part of scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.*

The sixt interrogation.

Item, to what degree of kyndred may the mat••mony of the faythfull extende with their kindred,* or wheth•• 〈◇〉 it lawfull to marry with the stepmother and her kinsfolkes?

The aunswere.

A certaine terrene law amongst the old Romaines doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the sonne & daughter of two brethren may marry together.* But by experyence we learne, that the issue of such mariage doth neuer thryue, nor come forewarde. Also y^e holye law of God forbiddeth to reueale the turpitude of thy bloude or kindred.

Wherefore necessary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithfull may lawfully marry, for in the seconde as being vnlawfull, they must needes refraine. To be copled with the stepmother is vtterly abhominable, for it is written in the law. Thou shalt not reueale the turpitude of thy Father. Forsomuch then as it is so written in y^e law and they shall be two in one flesh: the sonne then that presumeth to reueale then the turpitude of his stepmother, which is one flesh with his Father, what doth he then but reueale the turpitude of his owne father.* Likewise it was forbidden and vnlawfull to mary with thy kinswoman, which by her first Mariage was made one flesh with thy brother. For the which cause Iohn y^e Baptist also lost hys head, and was crowned a Martyr. Who though he dyed not for the confession of Christ: yet for so much as Christ saith: I am the truth, therefore in that Iohn Baptist was slayne for the truth, it may be sayd his bloud was shedde for Christ.

The seuenth interrogation.

Item, whether such as be so coupled together in filthy and vnlawfull matrymony ought to be separated and denied the partaking of the holy Communion.*

The aunswere.

Because there be many of the nation of English men which being yet in their infidelitie,* were so ioyned & coupled in such execrable mariage: the same comming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstaine from the like, & that they know the same to be greuous sinne. That they dread the dreadfull iudgement of God, least for their carnall delectation, they incurre the tormentes of eternall punishment. And yet notw^tstanding they are not to be secluded therefore from the participation of Christes body & bloud,* lest we should seme to reuenge those things in them which they before their baptisme, through ignoraunce did commit. For in this time the holy Church doth correct some faultes more feruently, some faultes she suffereth againe through mansuetude and mekenes, some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at, and dissemble: that many times the euil which she doth detest, through bearing and dissembling she may stop & bridle. All they therfore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they cōmit no such offence. Which thing if they doe, they are to be depriued of the Communion of the Lords body & bloud. For like as in them that fall through ignoraunce, their default in this case is to be tolerate: so in them againe it is strōgly to be ensued, which knowing they do nought, yet feare not to commit.

The eight interrogation.

*Item, in this I desire to be satisfied, after what maner I should deale or do with the Bishops of Fraunce, and of Brittaines.

The aunswere.

As touching the Bishops in Fraunce,* I geue you no authoritie or power ouer them. For the Bishop of Arolas, or Orlance hath by the olde tyme of our predecessours receiued the Palle, whome now we ought not to depriue of hys authoritie. Therefore when your brotherhoode shall goe vnto the Prouince of Fraunce, what soeuer yee shal haue there to doe with the Byshop of Orlance, so do, that he loose nothing of that which he hath found and obtayned of the auncient ordinaunce of our foreelders. But as concerning the Bishops of Brittain, we commit them all to your brotherhoode,* that y^e ignoraunt may be taught the infirme by perswasion may be confirmed, the wilful by authoritie may be corrected.

The ninth interrogation.

Whether a woeman being great with childe,* ought to be baptised, or after she hath children, after how long time she ought to enter into the Church. Or els that which she hath brought forth, least it should be preuented with death, after howe many dayes it ought to receaue Baptisme. Or after howe long tyme after her childebyrth is it lawfull for her husband to resorte to her? Or els if she be in her monthly course, after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the Churche, and receaue the Sacrament of the holy Communion? Or els her husband after the lying with hys wife, before he be washed with water, whether is it lawfull for him to enter the Church, and to draw vnto the mistery of the holy Communion? All which thinges must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen.

The Aunswere.

The childing or bearing woman,* why may she not be Baptised: seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of almighty God. For our first parentes in Paradise, after they had transgressed: lost their immortallitie by the iust iudgement of God which they had takē before. Then, because almighty God woulde not mankinde vtterly to perish because of hys fall (although he lost nowe hys immortallitie for hys trespasse) yet of hys benigne pietie, left notwithstanding to hym the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of mans nature, which is conserued by the gift of almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptisme?

As concerning the churching of women after they haue trauailed: where ye demaund after howe many dayes they ought to goe to the Church, this you haue learned in y^e old law,* that for a man child .30. dayes, after a womā child .66. dayes be appoynted her to keepe in. Albeit this you must take to be vnderstād in a mistery. For if she should y^e houre after her trauayle enter into the Churche to geue thanks, she committed therein no sinne. For why the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the trauaile and payne of the flesh is sinne. In the coniunction of the fleshe is pleasure, but in the trauaile and bringing forth of the child is payne & gronyng. As vnto the mother of all it is sayd: In sorrow thou shalt trauaile. Therefore if we forbid the woman after her labour to enter the church, thē what doe we els but count y^e same the punishment geuen vnto her, for sinne? Therefore for the woeman after her labour to be baptised,* eyther that whiche shee hath trauailed foorth (if present necessitie of death doth so require) yea in the selfe same houre, eyther shee that hath brought foorth, eyther that which is borne in the same houre when it is borne, to be baptised we doe not forbid.

Moreouer,* for the man to company with his wife, that he must not: before the child that is borne be wayned. But now there is a lewd and naughty custome risen in the conditiō of maryed folks, that mothers do contemne to nurse their owne children, which they haue borne, but set them to other woemen out to nurse: whiche seemeth onely to come of the cause of incontineny. For while they will not contayne themselues, therefore they put from them their children to nurse. &c.

As concerning the woman in her menstruous course whether she ought to enter the Churche? To this I aunswere: she ought not to be forbid. For the superfluitie of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neyther is it iust that she shold be depriued of her accesse to the Church, for that which she suffereth agaynst her wil. And if the woeman did well, presuming in touching the Lords coate in the tyme of her bloody issue: why then may not that be graunted vnto all woemen infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmitie? Therefore to receaue the misterie of the holy communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so farre presume in her great infirmitie, she is to be prayسد: but if she do receaue, she is not to be iudged. For it is a point of a good minde in some maner to knowledge hys sinnes there, where is no sinne: because manye times that [Page 118](#) is done without fault, which commeth of fault. As when we be hungry, we care without fault, notwithstanding it commeth by the fault of our first father to vs that wee are hungrye, &c.

Where ye aske, if a man after the company with hys wyfe, may resort to the Church or to the holy Communion, before he be purged with water. The law giuen to the old people, commaunded that a man after the companye wyth his wife, both shoulde be purified with water,

and also should tary the Sunnes set before he came to the congregation. Which seemeth to be vnderstand spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his minde through delectation is ioyned to vnlawfull concupiscence in his hart and cogitation. At what time, before the said fire of concupiscence shall be remooued, let the person thinke himselfe vnworthye the entraunce to the congregation, through the viciousnes of his filthy will. But of this matter sondry nations haue euery one their sondry customes: some on way & some another. The auncient maner of the Romanes frō our forefathers, hath beene, that in such case, first they purged themselues with water, then for a little they abstaine reuerently, and so resort to the Church. &c.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he inferreth: but if any person not for voluptuousnes of the flesh, but for procreation of children, do company with his wife, that man concerning either the comming to the Church, or the receauing the misteries of the Lords body & bloud, is to be left to his owne iudgement: for he ought not to be forbid of vs to come, which when he lieth in the fire will not burne. &c.

There is an other question also to these adioyned, with his aunswere likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night, but I thought these at this present to our english eares, sufficient.

To returne now to the story againe, Gregory after he had sent these resolutions to the questions of Austen, sendeth moreouer, to the Church of Englande moe coadiutors, and helpers, as Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, and Ruffianus, with bookes and such other implemēts as he thought necessary, for the English Church. He sendeth moreouer to the foresaide Austen a palle with letters wherein he setteth an order betweene the twoo Metropolitane seates, the one to be at London the other to be at Yorke. Notwithstanding he graunteth to the sayde Austen during his lyfe to be the onely chyefe Archbyshop of al the lande: and after hys tyme, then to returne to the two foresaide seats of London and Yorke, as is in y^e same letter contened, the tenour whereof here followeth in hys owne wordes as ensueth.

The copie of the Epistle of Gregory, sent to Augustinus into Englande.

REuerendissimo & sanctis. fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei. Cum certum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborātibus ineffabilia aeterni Regis praemia reseruari, nobis tamen eis necesse est bonorum beneficia tribuere, vt in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare: and so forth as followeth here in English.

TO the reuerende and vertuous brother Augustine, his fellow Byshop, Gregorius the seruaunt of the seruauents of God. Although it be most certaine that vnspeakeable rewardes, of the heauenly king, be laide vp for all such, as labour in the wordes of almighty God, yet it shall be requisite for vs, to reward the same also with our benefites, to the ende, they may be more encouraged, to go forward in the study of their spirituall worke. And for asmuch now, as the new church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of almightie God, through his mightie helpe, and your trauaile, therefore we haue graunted to you the vse of the palle, only to be vsed at the solemnitie

of your Masse: so that it shall bee lawfull for you to ordaine twelue Bishops, such as shal be subiect to your prouince or dition. So that hereafter alwaies the Byshop of the Citie of London, shall be ordeyned and consecrate by his owne proper Synode: and so to receaue the palle of honour frō the holy and Apostolike seate, wherein I here (by the permission of God) doe serue. And as touching the Citie of Yorke, we wyll sende also a Bysh. thether, whō you may thinke meet to ordayne. So that if that Citie with other places bordering thereby, shall receiue the word of God, he shall haue power likewise to ordayne twelue byshops, and haue the honour of a Metropolitane: to whō also if God spare me life, I intend by the fauour of God, to sende a palle: this prouided, that notwithstanding he shal be subiect to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same Metropolitane, so to be ouer the Byshops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wise subiect to the Metropolitane of Londō after you. And here after betwixt these two Metropolitanes, of London, & Yorke, let there be had such distinction of honour, that hee shall haue the prioritie, which shall in time first bee ordeyned: Wyth common counsell, and affection of hart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord, such things as be to be done, for the zeale of Christ. Let them forethinke and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wisely, let them accomplish concordly, not gerryng, nor swaruing, one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be indued with authoritie, not onelye ouer those Byshops, that you constitute, and ouer the other constituted by the byshop of Yorke. But also you to haue all other Priestes of whole Brytaine, subiect to our Lord Iesus Christ: to the ende that through your preaching and holines of life, they may learne both to beleue rightly and to liue purely, and so in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and vertuous maners, they may attaine, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdome of heauen.*

God preserue you in health reuerend brother:

the x before the Kalend. of Iuly, in the raygne of our soueraigne Lord Mauritius, most vertuous Emperour.

Besides this, the said Gregory sendeth also an other letter to Mellitus,* concerning his iudgement what is to bee done with the idolatrous temples and Phanes of the Englishmen newly cōuerted, which Phanes he thinketh not best to plucke downe, but to conuert the vse thereof, and so let them stand. And likewise of their sacrifices and killyng of Oxen, how the same ought to be ordered, and howe to bee altered: disputing by the occasions therof, of the sacrifices of the old Egiptians, permitted of God vnto the Israelits the ende 〈...〉 thereof being altered. &c.

He sendeth also an other letter to the foresaid Austen,* wherein he warneth him not to be proude or puffed vp, for the myracles wrought of God by him, in conuerting the people of Englande, but rather to feare and tremble, least so much as he were puffed vp by the outward work of miracles, so much he shoulde fall inwardly through the vayne glory of his hart: and therfore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of hart, with the remembraunce of his sinnes rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament, then to reioyce for the other. Not all the elect of God (saith he) worketh miracles, and yet haue they their names written in the booke of life. And therefore he shoulde not count so much of those miracles done, but reioyse rather with the Disciples of Christ, & labor to haue his name written in the booke of life, where al the electe of God be contained, neither is there any ende of that reioicing. And whatsoeuer miracles it hath

pleased god by him to haue beene done, he shoulde remember they were not done for him: but for their conuersion, whose saluation god sought thereby, &c.

Item,* he directed an other Epistle to king Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntynghon, Lib. 3. in the which Epistle, first he praised God, then commendeth the goodnes of the king, by whom it pleased god so to worke such goodnes of the people. Secondly exhortteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christes faith, and to be feruent and zealous in the same: in conuerting the multitude, in destroying the temples and works of idolatry, in ruling and gouerning the people in all holines & godly conuersation, after the godly example of the Emperour Constantinus the great. Lastly, cōforting him with the promises of lyfe and reward to come, wyth the Lord that raigneth and liueth for euer: premonishyng him besides, of the terroures & distresses that shall happen (though not in his dayes) yet before the terrible daye of Gods iudgement: wherfore he willeth him alwaies to be sollicitous for his soule, and suspectfull of the houre of hys death, and watchfull of the iudgement, that he may be alwaies prepared for the same, when that iudgement shall come. In the ende he desireth him to accept such presentes as giftes which he thought good to sende vnto him from Rome, &c.

Austen thus receyuing his palle from Gregory,* as is aboue said, and now of a Monke beyng made an Archbyshop, after he had baptised a great part of Kent: hee after made two Archbyshops or Metropolitanes, by the commaundement of Gregory, as witnesseth Polychronicon, the one at London, the other at Yorke.

Mellitus, of whō mention is made before, was sent specially of the Eastsaxons in the prouince of Essex, where after he was made Bishop of London, vnder Sigebert kyng of Essex: which Sigebert together with his vncle Ethelbert, first built the church and minster of saint Paule in Londō, and appointed it to Mellitus for the byshops sea, Austē (associate with this Mellitus and Iustus through the help of Ethelbert) assembled and gathered together the Byshops & Doctours of Britaine in a place, which taking the name of the sayd Austen, was called Austens Oke. In this assēbly [Page 119](#) he charged the sayd Byshops, y^t they should preach w^t him y^e word of God to the Englishmen,* & also that they should among themselues reforme certayne rytes and vsages in their church, specially for keping of their Eastertyde: baptising after the maner of Rome, and such other lyke. To these the Scotese and Brytons woulde not agree refusing to leaue the custome, which they so long time had contynued, wythout the assent of them all which vsed the same. Here the stories both of Bede, Cestrensis in Polychron. Huntynghonensis, Iornalensis, Fabianus and other moe, write of a certaine miracle wrought vpon a blinde Englishe man: whom when the Britons could not helpe, Austen kneeling downe and praying, restored the blynde man to sight before them all: for a confirmation (as these authours saye) of hys opinion in keeping of Easter. But concerning the credite of this miracle, that I leaue, to the authours of whom I had it.* Then Austen gathered an other Synode, to the which came seauen Byshops of Brytons, with the wisest men of that famous Abby of Bangor. But first they tooke counsell of a certayne wyse and holye man amongst them, what to doe: and whether they shoulde be obedient to Austen or not. And he saide: if he be the seruauant of god agree vnto him. But howe shall wee knowe that, sayde they? To whom he aunswered againe: If he be meeke and humble of hart, by that know that he is the seruant of god. To this they said againe: & how shal we know him to bee hūble & meeke of hart? By this quoth 〈◇〉 seing you are y^e greater number, if he at your comming 〈◇〉 your Synode rise vp, & courteously receaue you, 〈...〉 him to bee an humble and a meke man. But

if he shall contemne and despise you (being as ye are) the greater part, despise you him agayne. Thus the Brytaine Byshops entring into the Counsell, Austen after the Romishe maner keeping hys chaire would not remoue. Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heate of words, in disdain & great displeasure departed thence. To whō then Austen spake: and said, that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receaue war with their enimies: And if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their handes the reuenge of deth.* Which not lōg after so came to passe by the meanes of Ethelfride king of Northumberlande: who being yet a Pagan, and stirred with a fierce fury against the Britanes came with a great army against the city of Chester: where Brocmayl the Consull of that Citie, a fryend and helper of the Britaines side, was readye with his force to receaue him. There was at the same time at Bangor in Wales an exceding great Monastery,* wherin was such a number of Monkes, as Galfridus with other authors doe testifie that if the whole company were deuided into seuen parts in euery of the seuen parts were contained not so few as 300. Mōkes: which al did liue with the sweat of their browes, and labor of their owne hands, hauing one for their ruler named Dinoe. Out of this Monastery came the Monks to Chester to pray for the good succes of Brocmayl, fighting for them against the Saxons. Thre daies they cōtinued in fasting and praier. When Ethelfride the foresaide king, seing them so intent to their praiers: demaunded the cause of their comming thether in such a cōpany. When he perceaued it was to pray for their Consull, then (saith he) although they beare no weapon, yet they fight against vs, & with their praiers & preachings they persecute vs. Whervpon after that Brocmayl, being ouercome did flee away, the king commaunded his men to turne their wepons against the sely vnarmed Monkes: of whome he slewe the same time, or rather Martired .1100. onely fiftie persons of that number did flee and escape away with Brocmayl: the rest were all slaine. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare & saye howe the forespeaking of Austen, was here veriefied vpon the Britanes: which because they would not ioine peace with their friends, he said should be destroyed of their enimis. Of both these parties, the reader may iudge what he pleaseth.* I can not see but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First Austen in this matter can in no wise be excused, who being a monke before, & therefore a scholer & professor of humilitie: shewed so litle humilitie in this assembly, to seuen Byshops & an Archbishop, cōming at his cōmaundement to the Councell, that he thought scorne once to stirre at their comming in. Much lesse would his Pharisaicall solemnity haue girded himselfe, & washed his brethrens feete, after their trauaile, as Christ our great maister did to his Disciples: seyng his Lordship was so hie, or rather so heauy, or rather so proude, that coulde not finde in his hart to giue them a little moouing of his body to declare a brotherly & humble hart. Againe the Britaynes were much, or more to blame, who so much neglected their spirituall duety, in reuenging their temporal iniury: that they denyed to ioine vnto their helping labour, to turne the Idolatrous Saxons to the way of lyfe and saluatiō. In which respect all priuate cases ought to geue place, and to be forgotten. For the whiche cause, although lamentable to vs, yet no great meruaile in them, if the stroke of gods punishment did light upon thē: according to the wordes of Austen, as is before declared. But especially the cruell king, in this fact, was most of all to blame, so furiously to flee vpon them, which had neither weapō to resist him, nor yet any will to harme him. And so likewise the same or like, happened to himselfe afterward. For so was he also slayne in the field by Christian Edwine, who succeeded him: as he had slayne the Christians before, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 610. But to returne to Austen agayne, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelty was done: after he had baptised and christened x. thousand Saxons or Angles in the West riuer, that is called Swale, beside Yorke on a

Christēmasse day: perceauing hys end to draw neare, he ordayned a successor named Laurentius to rule after him the Archbishops see of Dorobernia.* Where note by the way Christian Reader, that whereas Austen baptised then in riuers: it followeth, there was then no vse of fontes. Agayne, if it be true that Fabian sayth,* he baptised x. thousā in one day: the rite thē of Baptising at Rome was not so ceremoniall, neither had so manye trinkets at that tyme, as it hath had since, or els it could not be, that he coulde baptise so many in one daye.

In the meane season, about this time departed Gregory Byshop of Rome: of whom it is sayd, that of the number of al the first Bishops before him in the primitiue time, he was the basest.* of all them that came after him, hee was the best. About whiche tyme also dyed in Wales, Dauid Archbishop first of Kayrleion, who then translated the see from thence to Meneuia,* and therefore is called Dauid of Wales. Not long after this also, deceased the foresayd Austen in England after he had set there xv. or xvi. yeares: by the which count we may note it, not to be true that Henry Huntington and other doe witnesse, that Austen was dead before that battaile of Ethelfride agaynst the Mōkes of Bāgor. For if it be true that Polycronicon testifieth of this murder,* to be done about the yeare of our Lorde. 609. and the comming of Austen first into the Realme, to be an. 596. then Austen enduring xvi. yeares could not be dead at thys battell. Moreouer Galfridus Monumetensis declareth, concerning the same battell,* that Ethelbert the king of Kent, beyng (as is sayd) conuerted by Austen to Christes fayth: after he saw the Britaynes to disdayne and deny their subiection vnto Austen, neyther would assist him w^t preaching to the English nation: therefore stirred vp he the foresayd Ethelfride to warre agaynst the Britaynes. But that seemeth rather suspicious then true, that he being a Christen king, eyther could so much preuayle with a Pagan Idolater, or els would attempt so farre to commit such a cruell deede. But of vncertayne things I haue nothing certainly to say, lesse to iudge.

About this present tyme aboue prefixed,* which is 610. I read in the story of Ranulphus Cestrensis, the writer of Polychronicon, of Iohn the Patriarche of Alexandria who for his rare example of hospitality and bountifulnes to the poore:* I thought no lesse worthy to haue place amongst good men, then I see the same now to be followed of few. This Iohn (beyng before belike a hard and sparing man) as he was at hys prayer vpon a tyme (it is sayd) there appeared to him a comely virgine hauing on her head a garland of Oliue leaues: which named her selfe mercy, saying to him and promising that if he would take her to wi•e, he should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or els inuented for a morallitie,* I would wish this flourishing damsell so to be maryed to moe then to this Iohn, that shee should not liue so long a virgine now as she doth, because no man will marry her. But to returne to his Patriarch, who after that day (as the story recordeth: was so merciful and so beneficiall, especially to the poore and needy, that he counted them as hys maysters, and himself as a seruauent and steward vnto them. This Patriarch was wont commonly twice a weeke to sit at hys doore all the day long, to take vp matters, and to set vntie, where was any variaunce: One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before hys gate, and saw no man come, lamented that all that day hee had done no good: To whome his Deacon standing by, aunswered agayne, that hee had more cause to reioyse, seeing he had brought the Cittie in that order and in such peace, that there needed no reconcilment amongst them. An other time as the sayd Iohn the Patriarche was at the Seruice and reading the Gospell [Page 120](#) in the church, the people (as their vsed maner is) went out of the church to talke and iangle: he perceauing that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them: wherat they marueyling to see him do so. My children said he, where the flocke is, there ought the shepherd to be:

wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you, or els if you tary out, I will likewise tary out together with you, &c.

*As touching the actes and deedes of Gregory aboue mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pryde of Iohn, Patriarche of Constantinople, which woulde be the vnyuersall Priest, and onely chiefe Byshop of all other: declaring him to be no lesse then the forerunner of Antichrist, that woulde take that name vppon him: howe and wyth what reasons he aunswered againe the letters of the Emperour Mauritius in that behalfe, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entry and beginning of this booke. This Gregory among manye other thinges induced into the Church (the specialties whereof hereafter shall followe Christ willing more at large) fyrst beganne and brought in thys title among the Romaine Bishoppes, to be called Seruus seruorum Dei: * putting them in remembraunce therby both of their humblenes, and also of their duetie in the Church of Chryst. Moreouer as concerning his acte for the sole lyfe of Pryestes fyrst begonne, and then broken againe. Also concerning the order of Gregoryes Masse booke, to be receaued in all churches, hereof who so lifteth to read more, shall fynde the same in other places hereafter, namelye when wee come to the tyme of Pope Adrian the first.

*After the death of Gregory, aboue mentioned, first came Sabinianus, who as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory & of his works, so he continued not long, scarce the space of two yeres. After whom succeded next Bonifacius the 3. which albeit he reigned but one yere, * yet in y^e one yere he did more hurt then Gregory, with so great labours, and in so many yeres could do good before: for that which Gregorye kept out, he brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked Emperour for him and his successours after him, that the see of Rome aboue al other churches should haue the preeminence: and that the Bishop of Rome should be the vniuersall head, through all Churches of Christ in Christedome: alleading for him this friuolous reason, that S Peter had and left to his successours in Rome the keyes of byndyng and loosing, &c. And thus began first Rome to take an head aboue all other Churches, by the meanes of Boniface the 3. * who as he lacked no boldnes nor ambitiō to seeke it, so neither lacked he an Emperour fit and meete to gyue such a gift. Thys Emperours name was Phocas a man of such wickednes and ambitiō most like to his owne Bishop Boniface, that to aspire to the Empire, he murthered his owne maister and Emperour Mauritius, & his children. Thus Phocas coming vp to be Emperour, after this detestable vilanie done: thinking to establish his Empire with friendship and fauour of his people, & especially with the byshop of Rome: quickly condescended to al hys petitions, & so graunted him (as it is sayd) to be that he would, the vniuersall and heade Bishop ouer all Christen Churches. But as bloud commonly requireth bloud againe, so it came to passe on the said Phocas. For as he had crueltye slayne the Lorde and Emperour, *Mauritius, before, so he in lyke maner (of Heraclius the Emperour succeedyng hym) had his hands and seete cut of, & so was cast into the Sea. And this wicked Phocas which gaue the first supremacy to Rome, lost his owne. But Rome would not so soone loose his supremacy once giuen, as y^e gyner lost his life: for euer since frō that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by al force & policy possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whō, by the words of Gregory, we may well call the runner before Antichryst. For as Gregory brought into their stile, Seruus seruorum Dei, * so this Boniface brought into theyr heades, first Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac praecipimus. That is. We will and commaunde, we enioyne and charg you. &c.

Mention was made a little before of Ethelbert kyng of Kent, and also of Ethelfride king of Northsaxone or Northumbria. This Ethelbert hauing vnder his subiection al the other Saxon kinges, vnto Number, after he had fyrst receaued himselfe, and caused to be receaued of other, the Christian faith by the preaching of Austen, being cōfirmed afterward in the same faith, amōg other costly dedes, with the helpe of Sigebert kyng of Essex his nephew,* then reigning vnder him, began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London,* & ordained it for the Bishops see of Londō. For the Archbishops see which before tyme had bene at London, was by Austen and this Ethelbert at the praier of the Citizens of Dorobernia translated to the said Citie Malmesberie's Lib. de pontific.* Wherefore such authors as say that Paules was diuided by Sigebert, say not amisse: which Sigebert was y^e king o^f Essex, •n which prouince standeth the Citie of London. This Ethelbert also founded the Church of Saint Andrewe in the Citie of Dorubres in Kent, now called Rochester, of one Rot, distaunt from Dorobernia, 24. miles. Of this citie, Iustus was bishop ordained before by Austen. Moreouer the •orenamed Ethelbert, styrred vp a dweller or Citizen of London to make a Chappell or church of Saint Peter in the west end of Lōdon, then called Thorny, now the Towne of Westminster, which Church or Chappell was after by Edward the confessour enlarged or newe builded:* lastly of Henry the 3. it was newly agayne reedified and made as it is now a large Monasterye. &c. After these Christian and worthy actes this Ethelbert when he had reigned the course of lvi. yeares chaunged thys mortall life about the yeare of our Lorde 616. whome some stories say to be slaine in a fyghte betweene him and Ethelfride king of Northsaxons.*

In the meane time the foresaid Ethelfride king of Northumberland, after the cruell murder of the Monkes of Bangor, escaped not long vnpaid his hire, for after he had raigned.* 24. yeares he was slaine in the fiele of Edwine, who succeded in Northumberland after him.

This Edwyne being the sonne not of Ethelfride,* (as Galfridus Monumetensis saith) but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Gambrensis <◇> to witnes more truely) was first a Panim or <◇> : afterward by Paulinus was Christned and the first <◇> king in Northōberland. The occasion of which his calling or conuersion, as is in sundry stories contained, was this.

Edwine being yet a Pagane, maryed the daughter of Ethelbert king of kent, called Edelburge a Christian womā, otherwise called Tace. But before this marriage, Edwyne beyng yet young, Ethelfride the king, conceyuing enuy agaynst him: persecuted him so sore, that he was forced to flee to Redwaldus king of Eastangles, as in the table of the kings is expressed. The which Redwaldus what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length priuily had intēded to haue betrayed Edwyne. But as gods will was, Edwyne hauing warning thereof by a secrete frynde of his, was mooued to flee and to saue himselfe beyng promised also of his friendes to bee safely conueyed awaye, if he would thereto agree. To whome Edwyne said, whether shall I flee which haue so long fleene the handes of myne enymies, through all prouinces of the Realme? And if I must nedes be slayne I had rather that he should doe it, then an other vnworthy person. Thus he remayning by himselfe alone & solitarie, sitting in a great study, there appeared vnto him sodainely, a certaine straunger, to hym vnknowne, and saide, I knowe well the cause of thy thought and heauines. What wouldest thou giue him that should deliuer thee out of this feare, & should recōcile king Redwald to thee againe? I woulde gyue him (saide Edwyne) al that euer I coulde make. And he saide agayne: And what if he make thee a mightier king, then was anye of thy Progenitours? Hee answered againe as before. Moreouer, (saith he)

and what if hee shewe thee a better kind and way of life, then euer was shewed to any of thine aunceters before thee: wilt thou obey him & doe after his counsell? yea (said Edwyne) promising most firmly, wyth al his hart so to do.* Thē he laying his hand vpon his head when (said he) this token hapneth vnto thee: then remember this time of thy tribulation, & the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say vnto thee. And with that he uanished out of his sight sodainely. After this so done as Edwyne was sitting alone by him selfe pensieue and sad:* his foresaid friend, which moued him before to fle commeth to him, bidding him be of good chere, for the hart (said he) of king Redwaldus which had before intended thy destruction, was nowe altered through the counsell of the Queene, and is fully bent to keepe his promise wyth you, whatsoeuer shall fall thereupon. To make the story short Redwaldus the King (although Fabian following Henry Huntynghton) saith it was Edwyne) with al conuenient speed assembled an host:* wherwith he sodainly comming vpon Ethelfryde, gaue battaile vnto him aboute the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfryde king of Northumberlande, also with Reyner Redwaldus sonne was slaine in the fiele. By reason wherof Edwyne (his enimies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possessiō of Northumberlād.* All this while yet Edwyne remained in his old Paganisme, albeit his Queene being (as is aboue declared) king Ethelbertes daughter a Christen woman, with Paulinus the byshop, ceased not to stirre and perswad the king to christian fayth. But he taking counsell with his nobles and counsellors vpon the matter, was hard to be wonne. Then the [Page 121](#) Lord, who despoth all things after his purpose, to bring al good things to passe, sent an other trouble vpon him, by meanes therof to cal him.* For by affliction God vseth cōmonly to call them whom he wil saue, or by whom he wil worke saluation vnto other. So his diuine wisdometh thinketh good to make them first to knowe themselues, before they come to know him, or to teach him to other: so it was with Paule, who was stricken downe, before hee was lyfted vp, with Constantinus Edwynus and many moe. Howe long was Ioseph in prison before he bare rule? How hardly escaped this our Queene nowe being (Queene Elizabeth) by whō yet notwithstanding it hath pleased god to restore this his gospel now preached amongst vs? In what conflictes and agonies inwardly in his spirite was M. Luther before he came to preach the iustification of Christ openly? And so be all they most commonlye, which come to anye liuely feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

But to returne to Edwyne againe. The occasion of hys trouble was this: Quicelinus with Kynegilsus his brother, Kings of Westsaxons (as aboue is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kings) conspiring the death of Edwyne now king of Northumberland. vpon enuy and malice sent vpon an Easter day, a swordman named Emner, priuelye to slay the said Edwyne.* This swordman or cutthroate came to a Citie beside the water of Darwent in Darbeshire, there to waite his time, and lastly founde the king smallye accompanied, and intēded to haue runne the ki•• through with a sword inuenemed. But one Lilla the kinges trustye seruaunt, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defēd his maister,* start betwene the king & the sword, and was strikē through the body and died, and the king was wōūded with the same stroke. And after he wounded also the third which was a knight, & so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to worke that treason. The other knight that was secondly wounded died, and the king lay after long sicke, or he were healed.

After this, about whitsontide the king being scantlye hole of his wounde, assembled his host, intending to make against the king of westsaxons: promising to Christ to be Christened, if he would giue him the victory ouer his enimies. And in token therof caused his daughter borne of

Edelburge y^e same Easter day when he was woūded, named Eufled to be baptised: with xij other of his familie, of Paulinus. Thus Edwyne proceded to the battel against Quicelne and Kynegilsus with his sonne Kenwalcus and other enimies, who in the same battell being al vanquished & put to flight, Edwyn through the power of Christ returneth home victorer. But for all this victory & other things gyuen to him of God, as he was in wealth of the worlde, forgat his promise made, and had little mind therof, saue only that he by the preaching of Paulinus forsoke his maumentry. And for his excuse saide that he might not clearly deny his olde lawe, which his forefathers had kept so long, and sodeinly to be Christened without authority and good aduise of his counsaile.

About the same season Pope Boniface the 5. sent also to the sayd Edwyne letters exhortatory, wyth sundrye presentes from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the Queene. But neither would that preuaile. Then Paulinus seyng the king so hard to be conuerted, poured out his praiers vnto God for his cōuersion: who the same time had reuealed to him by the holy ghost, the oracle aboue mentioned, which was shewed to the King, when hee was with Redwaldus king of the Eastangles. Wherupon Paulinus comming afterward to the king, on a certaine day, and laying his hād vpon the kings head, asked him if he knew that tokē. The king hearing this & remembring wel the token, was ready to fall downe at his feete. But Paulinus not sufferyng that, did lift vp hym againe, saying vnto him: behold, O king, you haue vanquished your enimies, you haue obtained your kingdome, now performe the third, which you haue promised, that is to receaue the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Wherupon the king conferryng with his Counsell, & his nobles, was baptised of the said Paulinus at Yorke, with many of his other subiectes with hym: Insomuch that Coyfi the chiefe of the Prelates of his olde maumentry armed him selfe wyth hys other Idolatrous Bishops, and bestrode good horses, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but onely a Mare: & so destroyed al the altars of the maumentrye, & their temple of Idoles, which was at Godmundham, not far from Yorke, and this was the xi. yeare of his raigne,

From that time forth, during the life of Edwyne which was the terme of vj. yeares moe, Paulinus christened, continually in the riuers of Gweny, & Swala, in both prouinces of Deira, and in Bernicia, vsing the said riuers for his fountes, and preached in the shire of Lincsesey, where he builded also a Church of stone at Lincolne.

In this time was so great peace in the kingdome of Edwyne after his conuersion, that a womā laden with gold might haue gone from the one side of the sea to the other, and no man molest hir. Moreouer by the hye waye sydes, through al his kingdom he caused by euery wel or spryng to be chayned a dish, or bole of brasse to take vp water; for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which boles of brasse there remained safe, that no man touched them, during all the life of the said Edwyne. Such was then the tender care and study of Christen Princes, for the refreshing of their subiectes. But that was then the Brasen worlde, which now is growne to yron and leade, called Aetas ferrea or rather plumbea.

This Edwyne, who first brought in the fayth in the North partes continuing after his Baptisme. vj. yeres, at length was slaine in battell by Cedwalla, king of the Britaines. and by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, wyth his sonne also Offricus in the field called Hatfield.

This Paulinus was the first Archbyshop of Yorke, and as he was of Iustus Archbyshop of Caunterbury, ordained Archbyshop of the sea of Yorke, so he againe after the discease of Iustus, ordained Honorius to be Archbyshop of Caunterbury.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwyne, seing vnmerciful Cedwalla or Cedwallon with his Britaines,* and wycked Penda w^t the Idolatrous merciās, to spoile the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age nor sexe, nor Religion, was compelled to fle with Edelburg the Queene and Eufride her daughter, by water into Kent: where the said Archbishop Paulinus remained Bishop of Rochester, the space of xix. yeares. And so the Church of Northumberland lacked a Byshop for the space of xxx. yeares after. Notwithstanding he lett there one Iames his Deacon,* a good man, who continued their baptising and preaching, in the North parts, till that peace being recouered, & the number of the faithfull increasing, the church came againe to his stay.*Hunting. Lib. 3.

By the meanes of this Edwyne Erpwaldus King of the Eastangles sonne to Redwaldus aboue mentioned, was reduced to Christes faith.*

After the decease of Edwyne and his sonne Offrike, both slayne in battell, reigned Ofricus and Eufridus the one in Deyra, the other in Bernicia. Osricus was the sonne of Elfricus which was brother to Ethelfride. Eaufridus, was the eldest sonne of Ethelfride (for Ethelfride had three sonnes to wit, Eaufridus, Oswaldus, & Osricus. These two kinges of Desyra and Bernicia, Osricus, and Eaufride, beyng fyrst Christened in Scotlande: after being kinges returned to their old idolatry, & so in the yeares following were slaine one after the other, by the foresaide Cedwalla, and wycked Penda, as is in the table aboue expressed.*

After whō succeded in Northumberlaad, the seconde sonne of Ethelfride named Oswaldus, hauing rule on both the Prouinces as well Deyra, as of Bernicia.* Whereof when the foresaide Cedwalla, (or Cadwallo) the Brytayne king had vnderstanding,* who before had made hauoke of the Saxons and thought to haue rooted them vtterlye out of England: he sent king Penda w^t a mighty host of y^e Brittaines, thinking to slea also Oswald, as he had before slaine his brother Eaufride, and King Edwyne before them. But Oswald when he was warned of the great strength of this Cadwal, and Penda made his prayes to God, and besought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enimie: for the saluation of his people. Thus after Oswald had prayed for the sauing of his people, the two hostes met in a fielde named Denesburne, some say Heuenfield, where was faught a strōg battell. But smally the armye and power of Penda, & Cedwall, which were farre exceeding the number of Oswaldus host, was chased and most part slaine by Oswaldus, after he reigned ouer the Britanes xxij. yeares leauing after him a sonne, whom Gaufridus called Cadwaladrus, the last king of the Britanes.

Of this Oswald, much praise and commendation is written in authors, for his feruent zeale in Christes Religion, & mercifull pittie toward the poore, with other great vertues moe. As touching the miracles of S. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to reporte of him, I haue not here to affirme: This I find in stories certaine, that he being well and vertuously disposed to the setting foorth of Christes faith and doctrine, sent into Scorlande for a certeine Bishop,* there called Aidanus, which was a famous preacher. The king what time he was in Scotland banyshed, had learned the scotish tounge perfectly: wherfore as this Aidanus preached in his scotish tounge to

the Saxons, the king himselfe interpreting that which hee had said, disdayned not to preach & expounde the same to his nobles & [Page 122](#) subiectes in the English tounge.

Moreouer, toward the poore and needy, his pittie & tendernes was such, being notwithstanding of so highe & Princely calling: [*](#) that vpon a time being then Easter day, he sitting with the saide Aidanus at meate and serued after the maner of kings in siluer, there commeth to him one of the seruitures bringing him word, that there was a great multitude of poore people sitting in the strete, which desired some almes of the king. Hee hearing this, commaundeth not only the meate prepared for his owne table to be caried vnto them, [*](#) but also taking a Siluer platter whiche stode before him, brake it in peeces and sent it among thē: And so relieued his pore subiectes, not onely with y^e meate of his table, but with his dishes also. Aidanus the Byshop seing this and marueiling therat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise. This hand, sayth he, I pray God may continue and neuer putrifie. What the stories say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I entēd not to medle farther then simple, true, and due probalitie will beare me out. In those dayes and partly by the meanes of the said Oswald Kynigilsus king of the Westsaxons was cōuerted to Christes faith, [*](#) especially through the godly labor of Berinus which was sent by Pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made Bishop of Dorchester. To whom Quicelinus brother of Kynigilsus after he had also receiued baptisme of the said Berinus gaue to him y^e sayd Citie to make there his sea. [*](#) And as Guydo witnesseth the said Quicelinus gaue after to the Byshop of Winchester, seauen myles compasse of land, to builde there the Byshops sea, the which was accomplished and finished Kenwalkus hys sonne.

Of this Berinus Malmesbery, Polychronicon, with dyuers other writers do report, a thing straunge and myraculous which if it be a fable as no doubt it is, [*](#) I cannot but maruel that so many authors so constantly agre in reporting and affirming the same. The matter is this: this Berinus being sent as is said, by Honorius to preach in Englād promiseth him to trauell to the vttermost borders therof, and there to preach the Gospell, where the name of Christ was neuer heard. Thus he seting forward in his iourney passeth through Fraunce, and so to the sea side, where hee found a passage ready, and the winde serued so faire, that he was called vpon in such hast, that he had no leysure to remember himselfe to take all things with him, which hee had to cary. At length as he was on the sea sailing and almost in the middle course of his passage, remembred himselfe of a certaine relique left behinde him for hast: which Honorius had giuen him at his comming out. Malmesberiensis calleth it Corporalia. Historia Iornalensis calleth it Pallulam super quam Corpus Christi consecraret, which wee call a Corporas or such a like thing, and what els enclosed with in it I can not tell. Here Berinus in great sorow coulde not tell what to doe, if he should haue spoken to the Heathen mariners, to turne their course backe againe, they woulde haue mocked him, [*](#) and it had bin in vaine. Wherefore as y^e stories write, he boldly steppeth into the Sea, and walkeyng on fote back again, taketh w^t him that which was left behind, & so returneth to his company againe, hauing not one thred of his garments wette. Of his miracle, or whether I should cal it a fable rather, let the reader iudge therof, as he thinketh, because it is not written in the Scripture we are not bound to beleuee it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of god not for any holines in the man: or in the Corporas, but a speciall gifte for the conuersion of the heathen, for whose saluation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Berinus being receiued in the ship againe with a great admiration of the Maryners, beyng therewyth conuerted and Baptysed: was driuen at last by the weather, to the coast of the Westsaxōs, where Kynigilsus and his brother Quicelinus aboue mentioned did raigne. [*](#) Which two kinges, the same time by y^e preaching of

Berinus were conuerted, and made Christen men, with the people of the country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time when the forsaid kings shoulde bee christened, that Oswaldus (mentioned a little before) king of Northumberland, was thē present, and the same day married Kynigilsus his daughter,* and also was godfather to the king.

Thus Oswald after he had reigned ix. yeares in such holines and perfectnes of life, as is aboue specified, was slayne at length in the field called Maxfield, by wicked Pēda, king of the Mercians, which Penda, at length after all his tyranny was ouercome and slaine by Oswy brother to Oswald, next king after Oswald of Northumberland, notwithstanding he had thryse y^e people which Oswy had: this Penda being a Panim had iii. sonnes Wolferus, Weda, and Egfridus. To this seconde sonne Weda, Oswy had before time married his daughter, by consent of Penda hys father. The whiche Weda by helpe of Oswy was made Kyng of Southmercia,* the which Lordship is seuered from northmercia by the ryuer of Trent. The same Weda moreouer, at what time he married the daughter of Oswy, promised to him that he would become a christen man, which thing he performed after the death of Penda his Father, but afterward within iij. yeares of his reigne, he was by reason of his wife slaine: And after him the kingdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, who beyng wedded to Ermenilda, daughter of Ercomber kyng of Kente, was shortly after Christened, so that he is accounted the first christened king of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Kenwalcus Kyng of Kent, and gat y^e Ile of Wight, which after he gaue to Sigbert King of Theastangles,* vpon condition he would be Christened. And thus the Eastangles, which before had expulsed Mellitus there bishop,, as is declared recouered againe the Christian faith vnder Sigbert their King, who by the meanes of the foresayd Wolferus was reduced and Baptised by Finanus the Byshop.

But to returne againe to Oswy,* from whom we haue a litle digressed, of whom we shewed before how he succeeded after Oswald in the prouince of Bernicia, to whom also was ioyned Oswynus hys cosin, ouer the Prouince of Deyra, and therwith his fellow, Oswy, raigned the space of vij. yere: this Oswyne was gentle, & liberal to his people and no •sse deuout towarde God: who vpon a time had giuen to Aidanus the bishop aboue mentioned, a Princely Horse with the trappers, & al that appertained therto:* because he should not so much trauel on foote but some tyme ease himselfe withall. Thus Aidanus the Scottishe Byshop as he was riding vpon his kingly horse, by the way meteth him a certaine poore man asking and crauing hys charitie. Aidanus hauing nothing els to giue him: lighted down,* and giueth to him his horse trapped and garnished as he was. The King vnderstanding this, & not contented therewith, as he was entring to dinner with the sayd Aidanus what ment you father Byshop, (sayd he) to giue away my horse I gaue you, vnto the begger? Had not I other horses in my stable that might haue serued him well enough, but you must giue awaye that which of purpose was pickt out for you among the chieftest? To whome the Bishop made aunswere againe saying or rather rebuking the king, what be these wordes (O king saide he) that you speake? Why set you more price by an horse, which is but the sole of an horse, then you do by him which is the sonne of Mary, yea which is the sonne of God? He said but thys when the king forthwith vngirding his sword frō about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting) falleth downe at the feete of the Bishop,* desiring him to forgiue him that, and he would neuer after speake word to him, for any treasure he should afterward giue away of his. The Bishop seing the king so mekely affected, hee then takyng him vp, & chering him againe with words, began shortly after to weepe & to be very heauy, his minister asking the cause therof, Aidanus aunswered in his scottish language saying to him: I

weepe saith he for that this king cannot liue lōg. This people is not worthy to haue such a Prince as he is to raigne among them.* And so as Aidanus sayd, it came to passe. For not long after Oswy the king of Bernicia disdainng at him, when Oswyne either being not able or not willing to ioyne with him in Battaile,* caused hym traiterously to be slaine. And so Oswy, with his sonne Egfride raigned in Northumberland alone.

In the time & also in the house, of this Oswy king of Northūberland, was a certaine man named Benedict, who was the bringer vp of Bede from his youth, & tooke him to his institution, whē he was but seuen yere old, & so taught him during his life. This Benedict, or Benet, descending of a noble stocke and rich kinne & in good fauour with Oswy: forsoke seruice, house, and al his kindred to serue Christ, & wēt to Rome (where he had bene in his life time v. times) and brought from thence bookes,* into Monasteries, wyth other things which he thought then to serue for deuotion. Thys Bennedict surnamed Byshop, was the fyrst that brought in the arte and vse of glasing into this lande. For before that, glasse windowes were not knowen, either in churches, or in houses.

In the raigne of the foresaid Oswye and Egfride hys sonne, was Botulphus Abbot: which builded in the East part of Lincolne an Abbey. Also Aidanus, Finianus, & Colmannus, with iii. Scottish Bishops of Northumberlande holy men, held with y^e Britaines, against the Romish order, for the keeping of Easter daye. Moreouer Cutbertus Iarumannus, Cedda, and Wilfridus liued the same time, who as I iudge to be Byshops of an holy conuersation, so I thought it sufficient here only to name them. As touching [Page 123](#) their miracles wherefore they were made Saintes in the Popes calender, seing they are not written in the Gospel, nor in my Crede, but in certaine old chronicles of that age so they are no matter of my faith: notwithstanding as touching there conuersation,* this I read, and also do credite, that the Clergy both of Britaine & Englande at that time, plied nothing that was worldly, but gaue thē to preching and teaching the word of our Sauour, and followed the life that they preached, by giuing of good ensample. And ouer that, as our histories accord, they were so voyd of couetousnes, that they receiued no possessions or territories as was forced vpon them.

About this season or not much before, vnder the raigne of Oswy & Oswyne,* kynges of Northumberlande, an other Synode or Councell was holden against the Brytaines and the Scottish bishops, for the ryght, obseruyng of Easter, at Sternehalt. At what time Agilbertus Byshop of westsaxons came to Northumberlande, to instytute Wilfride, Abbot of Rypon, where this question for Easter day began to be moued.* For Colmannus then Byshop of Northūberland followed not y^e custome of Rome, nor of the Saxons: but followed the Brytaynes, and the Scottish Bishops, his predecessors in the same sea before. Thus on the one side was Colmannus the Archbyshop of Yorke and Hilda the Abbes of Sternhalt: which alleaged for them the doinges and examples of their predecessours, both godly and reuerend byshops: as Aidanus, Finianus, Archbishops of that sea of Yorke before them, and diuers moe. Who had vsed alwaies to celebrate the Easter, from the xiiij. day of the first moneth, till the xxviij. of the same. And specially for that S. Iohn y^e Euangelist at Ephesus, kept and obserued that day, &c. On the otherside was Agilbert bishop of westsaxons, Iames the Deacon of Paulinus aboue mentioned: Wilfride Abbot of Ripon: and King Alfride Oswyes sonne, with his Queene, holding on the same side. The full contentes of which disputation here followeth, according as in the story of Bede at large is described: with their reasons and argumentes, on both sydes as insueth, &c.

*The question of Easter, and of shauing, and other Ecclesiasticall maters being moued, it was determined that in the Abbey which is called Streneshalch, of the which Hilda a deuout woman was Abbes: a conuocation should be had and this question there determined. To the which place came both the kinges, the father and the sonne. Byshop Colman with his clergy of Scotland. Aigelbert wyth Agathon and Wilfride Priestes,*James and Roman were on their sides. Hilda the Abbes with her company was on the Scottish part. And the reuerend Byshop Cedda was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. King Oswye begā first with an Oration: declaring that it was necessary for such as serued one God, to liue in one vniforme order, and that such as loked for one kingdome in heauen should not differ in celebration of the heauenly sacraments, but should rather seeke for the true tradition & follow the same. This said, he commaunded his Byshop Colman to declare what the rite and custome was in thys behalfe that he vsed,* and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman obeying his princes cōmaundement, sayd: the Easter,* which I obserue I receaued of my auncestors that sent me hether a Bishop. The which, all our forefathers being men of God, did celebrate in like maner, & left it should be coutēned or despised of any man, it is manifestly aparant, to be y^e very same, which y^e holy Euangelist S. Iohn (a disciple especially beloued of the Lord) did customably vse, in al churches and congregations, where he had authoritie. When Colman had spoken manye thinges to this effect, the king cōmaunded Aigelbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to shew the order that he then vsed, from whence it came & by what authoritie he obserued the same. Aigelbert requested the king, that his scooler Wilfride, a Priest, might speake for him: in as much as they both with the rest of h^{is} clergy, were of one opinion herein: and that the said Wilfride coulde vttey his minde better and more plainely in the Englishe tounge then he himselfe could.* Then Wilfride at the kings cōmaundements, began on this sort and sayd: The Easter which we keepe, wee haue seene at Rome, whereas the holye Apostles, Peter, & Paule, did liue and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is vsed in Italy, and in Fraunce: the which coūtries we haue traueled for learning,* and haue noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Asia also and in Aphricke, in Egipt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same maner of Easter is obserued, that we vse▪ saue onelye by these here present with their accomplice & the Pictes & the Britanes: with the which two (& yet not altogether agreing) they condescend & striue foolishly in this order against the vniuersal world.* To whom Colman replied, saying, I maruel you wil cal this order folish, that so great an Apostle as was worthy to lie in the Lordes lap, did vse, whom all y^e world doth wel know to haue liued most wisely: and Wilfride aunswered,* god forbid that I should reprooue S. Iohn of folye who kept the rites of Moses law according to the letter (the Church being yet Iewishe in manye pointes) and the Apostles not as yet able to abdicate al the obseruations of the law before ordained: as for example y^e could not reiect Images inuented of the Diuel, the which all men that beleue on Christ ought of necessitie to forsake, and detest:* least they should be an offence to those Iewes that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause dyd S. Paule Circumcise Timothie, for this cause did hee sacrifice in the temple, and did shau his head with Aquila and Priscilla, at Corinth. all which thinges were done to none other purpose, then to eschue the offēce of the Iewes. Hereupon also said James to Paule, thou seest brother howe many thousand Iewes do beleue & all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seing the Gospell is so manifestly preached in the worlde, it is not lawfull for the faithfull to bee Circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice o^f carnall things to God. Therefore Iohn according to the custome of the law, the xiiij. day of the first moneth at euening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were relebrated in the Sabbath, or in any other feriall day. But Peter when hee preached at Rome, remembring that the Lord did

arise from death on the first day after the Sabbath giuing thereby an hope to y^e world of the resurrection,* thought good to institute Easter on y^e day, & not after the vse and precepts of the law (that was) the xiiij. day of the first moneth. Euen so Iohn looking for the Moone at night if it did arise, & the next day after were Sunday, which was then called the Sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the euening like as wee vse to do euē at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the xiiij,* day, but fel on the xvi. day, or xvij or on a'ny other day vnto the xxi: he taried alwayes for it, and did begin the holy solemnitie of Easter, on the euening nexte before y^e sabbath. And so came it to passe that Easter, was alwaies kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the xv. day vnto the xxj. Neither doth this tradition of the Apostle breake the law, but fulfilled the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted frō the xiiij. day of the first moneth at euening vnto the xxj. day of the same moneth at euening, the which manner all S. Iohns successours in Asia, after his death did follow, and the Catholike Church throughout the whole worlde. And that this is the true Easter, and onely of all Christians to be obserued, it was not newly decred: but confirmed by y^e Councell of Nice,* as appeareh by the Ecclesiasticall history. Wherupon it is manifest that you (Colman) do neither folow the example of S. Iohn as ye thinke, nor of S. Peter whose tradition you do willingly resist, nor of y^e church nor yet of the gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For S. Iohn obseruing Easter according to the preceptes of the law kept it not on the first daye after the Sabbath. But you precisely keepe it, onely on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter did celebrate Easter from the xv. daye of the moone to the xxj. day, but you keepe Easter from the xiiij. vnto the xx. day, so that you begin Easter oftentimes the xiiij. day at night: of which maner neither the law nor the Gospell maketh any mention.* But the Lord in y^e xiiij. day either did eate the olde passouer at night, or els did celebrate the sacraments of the new Testament in the remēbraunce of his death and passiō. You doe also vtterly reiect from the celebration of Easter the xxj. daye, the whiche the law hath chiefly willed to be obserued. And therefore as I saide in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree wyth S. Iohn, nor with Peter, nor with the lawe, nor yet with the Gospel. Then Colman againe aunswere to these things, saying. Did then Anatholius a godly man and on much cōmended in the foresaid Ecclesiasticall history, agaynst the law & the Gospell? who writeth that the Easter was to be kept frō the xiiij. day vnto the xx: or shal we thinke that Columba our reuerend father, and his successors being mē of God, who obserued the Easter, after this maner, did against the holye Scripture? where as some of them were men of such godlines and vertue as was declared by their wonderful miracles. And I hereby (nothing doubting of their holines) do endenor to fallow their life,* order, & dyscipline. Then saide Wilfride, it is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly and a learned man, and worthy of great commendation, but what haue you to do with him, seyng you obserue not his order? For he following y^e true rule in keping his Easter, obserueth the circle of xix. yeares. The which either you know not, or if you do, you cōtemne the [Page 124](#) common order obserued in the vniuersal church of Christ. And moreouer the saide Anatholius doth so count the xiiij. day in the obseruation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to •e the xv day at night, a•ter the maner of the Egiptiās. and likewise noteth the xx. day to be in the feast of Easter, the xxi. in the euening: the which distinctiō that you know not, by this may appeare, for that you keepe the Easter on the xiiij. daye before the full Moone. Or otherwise I can aunswere you touching your father Columba, and his successors, whose order you say you follow, moued therto by their miracles on this wise: that the Lorde will aunswere to many that shall say in the day of iudgement,* that in his name they haue prophesied & cast out deuils, & haue done many miracles. &c. that he neuer knew thē. But God forbid that I should say so of your fathers, bicause it is much beter to beleue wel of those we know not, then ill. Wherevpō I

deny not, but they were the seruaunts of God and holy men,* the which loued the Lord of a good intēt, though of a rude simplicitie. And I thinke that the order whiche they vsed in y^e Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could shew thē the right obseruation of the same, for them to follow. For I thinke if the truth had beene declared vnto them, they woulde as well haue receiued it in this mater as they did in others. But you and your felowes if you refuse the order of the apostolicall sea, or rather of the vniuersal Church, which is confirmed by the holy scripture, without al doubt you doe sinne:* and though your forefathers were holy mē, * what is their fewnes being but a corner of an Ilelād, to be preferred before the vniuersall Church of Christ dyspersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (& ours also being of Christ) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to bee preferred before y^e Prince of the holy Apostles? to whom the Lord said, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I builde my Church, and the gates of hell shal not preuayle against it, & I will giue thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heauen?

Wilfride hauing thus ended his argument, the kyng said to Colman: Is it true that the Lord spake these things to S. Peter?*_ And Colman aunswered yea. Then sayde the King: Can you declare any thing that the Lorde gaue to Colum. Colman aunswered no. Then quoth the king doe both of you agree and consent in this matter, without any controuersie, and that these wordes were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gaue him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? And they both aunswered yea. Then concluded the king on this wise: for asmuch as S. Peter, is the doore keper of heauen. I will not gainesay him: but in that I am able, I will obeye his orders in euery point least when I come to the gates of heauen, he shut them against me.

Upon this simple & rude reason of the king, the multitude eftsoones consented:*_ and with them also Cedda was contented to giue ouer. Onely Colmanus the Sto•, beyng thē Archbishop of Yorke, in displeasure left the Realme, & departed into Scotlande, carying with him the bones of Aidanus, Bed. Lib. 3. cap. 25. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

After the decease of Oswy,*Egfride his sonne was King after him in Northumberland xv. yeares. By this Egfride Cutbert was promoted to the Bishopricke of the Ile of Farne. And Wilfride which before had bene Archbishop of Yorke, was displaced through the meanes of Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury:*_ and Cedda possessed that sea, Wilfride when he was put out, went to Rome & complained of him to Agathon the Bishop, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorus had there such Proctors and frindes, that hee returned without speeding of hys cause. Wherefore he returned into the Southsaxons and builded an Abbey in Silesey, and preached vnto the Southsaxons xv. yeares. The king of the Southsaxons at that time, Ethelwold, to whom he declared a little before, that Wolferus king of the Mercians, gaue the Ile of wight vpon condition, that he would be Christened, and so was baptised by Berinus:*_ the sayd Wolfer being his Godfather and sonne in law, both in on day. Wherefore Wolferus now being licensed by Ethelwod the king, preached vnto his nobles & people of Southsexe, and conuerted thē to Christ. In y^e tune of whose baptising the raine which before they lacked three yeares together, was giuen them plentifully: whereby their great famine slaked, and the countrey was made frutefull,* which before was dried vp with barēnes: In so much that as in some storyes is said, the people penured with famine, would go▪ xl. together, vpon the rocks by the seaside, and taking handes together would throw themselues downe to the sea. Moreouer, where they lacked before the arte of fishing, the foresaide Wilfride taught them how with nets to fish,

And thus by processe haue we discoursed from tyme to tyme how and by what meanes the Idolatrous people were induced to the true fayth of Christ: * of whome these Southsaxons with the Ile of wight was the last.

After Egfride who was slaine in the strayghtes of Scotland, next succeeded Alfride his brother, and bastarde sonne to Oswy, & raigned xvij. or xix. yeres in Northumberland. This Alfride restored againe the foresaid Wilfride to the sea of Yorke, whom his brother had before expelled, & put in Cedda. Notwithstanding, the same king within v. yeares after, expelled the saide Wilfride againe and so went he to Rome. But at length by Osrike his successour was placed againe, the Archbishop of Yorke: and Cedda was ordayned by Theodorus Byshop of Mercia. The which prouince of Mercia, * y^e said Theodorus Archbishop of Canterbury by the authoritie of the Synode holdē at Hatfield, did after diuide into fiue bishoprickes: that is, one to Chester, the second to worceter, the third to Lichfield, y^e fourth to Cederna, in Lindesey, the fift to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincolne.

Neare about this time, * in the yeare of our Lord, 666. y^e detestable sect of Mahumet, begā to take strēgth & place: Although Polychronicon differing a little in yeares, accoūteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before: * but y^e most diligent searchers of thē which write nowe, refer it to this yeare, which wel agreeth with the number of y^e beast, signed in the Apocalips. 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , That is. 666. Of this Mahumet came the kingdome of Agarenes (whome hee after named Saracenes) to whom he gaue sondry lawes, patched of many sectes & religions together, he taught thē to pray euer to the South: And as we keepe the Sunday, so they keepe the friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to haue as many wiues as they were able to maintaine: to haue as many concubines as they list: to abstaine from vse of wyne, except vpon certaine solemne daies in the yeres: * to haue & worship onely one God omnipotent: saying that Moses & the Prophetes were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the Prophets, as being borne of the virgine Marye by the power of God, without mans seede: and at last was taken vp to heauen, but was not slaine: but an other in his likenes for him, with many other wicked blasphemies in his law cōtained. At length this kingdome of y^e Saracenes beganne to be conquered of the Turkes, & in processe of time wholly subdued to them.

But now to returne again to the time of our English Saxons. In this meane season Theodorus was sent from Italy into England by Vitellianus the Pope, to bee Archbyshop of Caunterbury, & with him diuers other monks of Italy, to set vp here in Englād Latine seruice, Masses, ceremonies, * letanies, with such other Romishe ware, &c. This Theodorus being made Archbishop and Metropolitane of Canterbury began to play the rex, placing & dysplacing the byshops at his pleasure. As for Cedda & Wilfride Archbishops of Yorke he thrust them both out vnder the pretence, that they were not lawfully consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficientlie authorised by theyr kinges, and were placed against their willes. Wherefore Wilfride as is before touched went vp to Rome, but could haue no redres of his cause: yet to shew what modesty this Wilfride vsed against his enimie, being so violently molested as he was, because the wordes of his complainte are expressed in W. Malmesbery, I thought here to expresse the same both for the commendation of the partie, and also for the good example of other, in case any such be, whome good examples will mooue to well doing. This Wilfride therefore hauing such iniury and violence offered vnto him by the handes of Theodore: although he had iust cause to doe his vttermost, yet in prosecuting his complaint, how hee tempered himselfe: what wordes of

modestie he vsed, rather to defende his innocencie, then to impugne his aduersary, by this his suggestion offered vp to the Byshop of Rome, may appeare: whose words in effect were these: Quid autem acciderit,*vt Theodorus sanctiss. Archiepiscopus (me superstite in sede) quam, licet indignus dispensabam: absque consensu cuiuslibet Episcopi ex sua autoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinauit tres Episcopos: omittere magis quam vrgere, pro eiusdem viri reuerentia *cōdecet. Quem quide, pro eo quod ab hac Apostolicae sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo, &c. In English. Howe it chaunceth that Theodorus, the most holy & reuerend Archbishop (my selfe being aliue in the sea, which I though vnworthy did rule and dispose) hath of his own authority, without the cōsent of any bishop (neither hauing my simple voice agreing to the same) ordained iij. Bishops: I had rather passe ouer in silence, then to stir any farther therin, because of the reuerence [Page 125](#) of that man, and no lesse thought I it my duetie so to doe. The which man for that he hath beene dyrected by the authoritie of this sea Apostolicall,* I wyll not nor dare not here accuse, &c. Thus the cause of the sayd Wilfride, albeit it was sufficiently knowne in the Court of Rome, to be well allowed for iust and innocent, yet it was not then redressed. In such estimation was this Theodorus then among y^e Romaines. Upon this controuersie of these two Bishops I may wel here inter y^e words of W. Malmelbury, not vnworthy in my minde, to be noted, whiche be these in his Latine story: [*Vbi videri & doleri potest humana miseria, quod videlicet quantum libet, quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum peruicaces mores exuat, &c.](#) That is: In the whiche Theodore, saith hee, the weake and miserable infirmitie of man, may be sene and also lamented, considering, that although a mā be neuer so holy, yet in the same man is some thing, whereby it may be perceaued, that hee hath not vtterly put of all his stubburne conditions, &c.

[*In the time of this Theodorus, and by the meanes of hym, a prouincial Synode was holden at Thetford, mentioned in the storie of Bede:*](#) the principall contents wherof were these.

[unspec 1] First that Easter day shoulde bee vniformely kept and obserued through the whole Realme, vpon one certayne daye videlicet prima, 14. Luna mensis primi.

[unspec 2] Secondly, that no Byshop should entermedle within the Dioces of an other.

Thirdly, that monasteries consecrated vnto GOD, [unspec 3] should be exempt and free from the iurisdiction of the byshops.

Fourthly that the Monkes should not stray from one [unspec 4] place (that is) from one Monastery to another, without y^e license of his Abbot: also to kepe the same obedience which they promised at their first entryng.

Fiftly, that no Clergyman shoulde forsake his owne [unspec 5] Byshop, and to be receaued in any other place, wyth out letters commendatory of his owne Byshop.

Sixtly, that forraine Byshops & Clergimen cōming [unspec 6] into the Realme, should be content onely with the benefite of such hospitality, as should be offered thē: neither should entermedle any further within the precinct of any bishop, without his speciall permission.

[unspec 7] Seuently, that Synodes prouinciall should be kept within the Realme at least once a yeare.

[unspec 8] Eightly, that no Bishop shoulde preferre himselfe before an other, but must obserue the time and order of hys consecration.

[unspec 9] Ninthly, that the number of Byshops should be augmented, as the number of the people encreaseth.

[unspec 10] Tenthly, that no mariage should be admitted, but that which was lawfull, No incest to be suffered: neyther any man to put away his wyse for any cause, except onelye for fornication, after the rule of the Gospell. And these bee the principall chapters of that Synode. &c.

In the next yere following was the sixt general councell kept at Constaunce, whereat, this Theodore was also present vnder Pope Agatho, where Mariage was permitted to Greeke priests, and forbidden to the Latin. In this Councell the Latine Masse was first openly saide by Iohn Portuensis the Popes Legate, before the Patriarche and Princes at Constantinople, in the temple of S. Sophy.

After the decease of Alfride king of Northumberlande (from whom he was digressed) succeeded his sonne Osredus,* rainging xj. yeares. After whome raigned Kenredus 2. yeares.* And next Osricus after him .xj. yeares.

In the time and raigne of these 4. kings of Northumberland, king Iua reigned in westsaxe: who succeeding after Cadwalder, the last king of the Britaines, began his reigne about the yeare of the Lorde, 689. and raigned with great valiauntnes ouer the westsaxons, the tearme of xxxvij. yeares. Concerning whose actes and wars mayntayned against the Kentish saxons, and other kinges: because I haue not to entemedie withal, I referre the reader to other Chroniclers.

About the sixt yeare of the raigne of this Iua or Iue, Polychronicon, & other make mentiō of one Cuthlacus, whō they call S. Cuthlake a confessor, who about the 24. of hys age, renouncing the pompe of the world, professed himself a Monke in the abby of Repindon, and the third yeare after went to Crowlande, where he led the life of an Anker. In the which Ile and place of his buryng was builded a faire Abbey, called afterward for the great resort and gentle entertainment of straungers, Crowlande the courteous: but why this Cuthlake should be sainted for his doinges, I see no great cause, as neither doe I thinke the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgare people are made to beleue, that he enclosed the deuill in a boyling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erecte vp houses,* with such other fables and lying miracles, &c. Among which lying miracles also maye be reckened that, which the stories mention in the xi. yeare of the raigne of Iua, to be done of one Brithwalde or Drithelmus: who •eing dead a long season, was restored to lyfe againe, & told many wonders of straunge things that he had seene, causing thereby great almes & deedes of charitie to bee done of the people. And so y^e disposing of his goods giuen in iij. partes went to the Abbey of Mailroos, where he continued the rest of his life.

Moreouer, about the xvj. yeare of the saide Iua Etheldred king of Mercia, after he had their raigned, 30. yeares, was made a Monke: and after an Abbot of Bacdncy.

And about the xvij. yeare of the raigne of Iue, died the worthy and learned bishop Aldelmus, first Abbot of Malmesbery, afterward bishop of Schirborn: of whō William Malmesbery, writeth plenteously, with great commendation, and that not vnworthelye as I suppose: especially for the notable praise of learning and vertue in him aboue the rest of that time (nexte after Bede) as the great number of bookes and Epistles and Poemes by him set forth, will declare. Although concerning the miracles which the sayd author ascribeth to him,* as first in causing an infant of ix. daies old to speak at Rome, to cleare pope Sergius, which was then suspected the father of the said child. Also in hanging his cauiule vpō the sunne beames. Item, in making whole the altarstone of Marble, brought from Rome. Itē in drawing a length one of the timber peces, which wente to the building of the temple in Malmesbery. Item, in sauing the Mariners at douer, &c. As concerning these and such other myracles, which William Malmesbery, to hym attributeth, I can not consent to him therein, but thynke rather the same to be Monkishe deuises,* forged vpon their Patrons, to maintaine the dignitie of their Houses. And as the Authour was deceaued (no doubt) in beleuing such fables himselfe: so maye he likewise deceaue vs, through the dexteritie of his style,* and fyne handling of the matter, but that father experience hath taught the worlde nowe a dayes more wisdomē, in not beleuing such practises: this Aldelmus was Byshoppe of Schyrborne, which sea after was vnited to y^e sea of Winton. In which Church of Winchester the like miracles also are to be read of Byshop Adelwod, and S. Swithune, whom they haue canonized likewise for a Saint.

Moreuer neare about the xxv. yeare of Iue,* by the report of Bede S. Iohn of Beuerley, which was then Byshop of Yorke died, and was buried at the porche of the Minster of Deirwod or Beuerley. In the which portch it is recorded in some Chronicles, that as the said Iohn vpon a time was praying, being in the portch of S. Michael in Yorke: y^e holy Ghost in the similitude of a Doue sat before him vpon the altar, in brightnes shining aboue the sunne. This brightnes being sene of other,* first commeth one of his Deacons running vnto the portche: who beholding the Bishop their standing in his praier,* and all the place replenished with the holy ghost, was strokē with the light therof, hauing al his face burnt, as it were with hote burning fire. Notwithstanding the Bishop by and by cured the face of his Deacon againe, charging him as the storye saith, not to publishe what hee had seene duryng hys lyfe time. &c. which tale semeth as true, as that we read about the same time done of S. Egwyne,* in Polychron Abbot of Eusham, and Byshop of Worcester (then called Wyctes:) who vpon a time when he had fettered both his feete Inyrans fast locked, for certaine sinnes done in his youth, and had cast the key therof in the sea:* afterward a fish brought the key againe into the ship, as he was saying homeward from Rome.

But to leaue these Monkishe phantasies, and returne into the right course againe of the story. In y^e time of this foresaide Iue, began first the right obseruing of the Easter day to be kept of the Pictes,* and of the Britaines. In the obseruation of which day (as is largely set foorth in Bede, and Polychron, Lib. 5. cap. 17. and 22.) three thinges are necessary to be obserued, the full Moone of the first Moneth, that is of the month of March: Secondly, the Dominical Letter: Thirdly, the Equinoctiall day, which Equinoctiall was wont to be counted in the East church, and especially among the Egyprians, to bee about the 17. daye of Marche.* So that the full Moone

either vpon the Equinoctiall day, or after the Equinoctiall day being obserued the next dominicall day following that full moone, is to be taken for Easter day. Wherin is diligētly to be noted two thinges. First the fulnes of the Moone, must be perfectly ful, so that it be the beginning of the third weke of y^e mooue which is the 14. or 15. day of the moone. Secondly, is to be [Page 126](#) noted, that the said perfect fulnes of the moone beginnyng the thirde weeke,* must happen either in the very euening of y^e Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day. For els if it happen either on the Equinoctiall day before the euening, or before the Equinoctial day, then it belongeth to y^e last moneth of the last yeare, and not to the first moneth of the first yeare, and so serueth not to be obserued.

This rite and vsage in keping Easter day being receiued in the Latin church, began now to take place amōg the Pictes & Britaines, through the busie trauaile of Theodorus Cuthlacus, but namelye of Elbert the holy Monke, as they terme him: and of Colfrid Abbot of Sirwin in Northumberlande, which wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus the King of Pictes, concerning the same: who also among other thinges writeth of the shauen crownes of Priestes, saying:* that it was as necessary for the vow of a Mōke, or degre of a Priest, to haue a shauen crowne for restraunte of their lustes: as for any Christen man, to blesse him against spirits, when they come vpon him. Bede Lib. 5. The copy of which letter as it is in Bede, I haue here annexed, not for any great reason therin contained, but only to delite y^e Reader with some pastime, in seing the fond ignorance of that Monkish age: the copy of the letter thus proceedeth.

Of the shauing of Priestes, out of the fift booke of Beda the xxi. chap.

* CONCERNING the shauing of Priestes (wherof you wryte also vnto me) I exhort you that it be decently obserued according to the Christian faith. We are not ignorant that the Apostles were not al shauen, after one maner, neither doth the Catholicke Church at this day agree in one vniforme maner of shauing, as they do in faith, hope, and charity. Let vs consider the former time of the Patriarches, and we shall finde that Iob (an example of patience) euen in the very point of his afflictions, did shaue his head: and he proueth also: that in y^e time of his prosperitie, he vsed to let his heare grow. And Ioseph an excellent Doctour & executor of chastity, humilitie, pietie and other vertues: whē he was deliuered out of prison & seruitude was shauen: wherby it appeareth that whilst he abode in prisō he was vnshauen.* Behold doth these being men of god did vse an order in the habite of their body one contrary to the other, whose consciences notwithstanding within did wel agree in the like grace of vertues. But to speake truely and rely the difference of shauing hurteth not such as haue a pure faith in the Lord, & sincere charity, towards their neighbor: especially for that there was neuer any controuersie amongst the Catholike fathers about the diuersitie thereof, as there hath beene of the difference of the celebration of Easter and of faith. But of all these shauinges that wee fynde either in the Church or els where: there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed & embraced, as that which he vsed on his head, to whō the Lord said, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke. I will builde my Church and the gates of hel shall not preuaile against it, & I will gyue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And contrarywise there is no shauing so much to be abhorred and detested as that which he vsed to whom the same S. Peter said, thy money bee with thee to thy destruction,* because thou thinkest to possesse the gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part

nor lot is not in this worde. Neither ought we to bee shauen on the crowne onely because Saint Peter was so shauen, but because Peter was so shauen; in the remembrance of the Lords Passion: therefore we that desire by y^e same Passion to be saued, must weare the signe of the same passion with him vpon the top of our head which is the highest part of our body. For as euery Church that is made a Church by the death of the Sauour, doth vse to beare the signe of the holy crosse in the front: that it maye the better by the defence of that banner, bee kept from the inuasions of euill spirits: & by the often admonition therof, is taught to crucifie the flesh, with the concupiscence of the same: In like maner it behoueth such as haue y^e vowes of Monkes and degrees of the Clergy, to bind them selues with a straiter bit of continencie for the Lords sake. And as the Lord bare a crowne of thorne on his head in his passion,* wherby he tooke & caried away from vs the thornes and prickes of our sinnes: so must euery one of vs by shauing our heads, patiently beare and willinglye suffer, the mockes and scornors of the worlde for his sake: That wee may receaue the crowne of eternall life, which God hath promised to all that loue him, & shall by shauing their corporal crownes beare the aduersity, & contemne the prosperity of this worlde. But the shauing which Symon Magus vsed, what faithful man doth not detest together with his magickall arte? The which at the first apparance hath a shew of a shauen crowne, but if you marke his necke, you shal finde it curtailed in such wise as you will say it is rather meete to be vsed of the Symonistes then of the Christians.* And such (of foolish men) be thought worthy of the glory of the eternall crowne, whereas indede for their yll liuing they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same but also of eternall saluation.* I speak not this against thē that vse this kinde of shauing, & liue Catholically in fayth and good workes, but surely I beleue there be diuers of them be very holy and godly men. Amongst the which is Adamnan, the Abbot and worthy Priest of the Columbians: who when he came Embassadour from his country vnto king Alfride desired greatly to see our Monastery: where he declared a wonderful wisdom, humilitie and Religiō both in his maners and wordes. Amongest other talke I asked him why he, that did beleue to come to the crown of life y^t should neuer haue end, did vse contrary to his belief a definite Image of a crowne on his head. And if you seke (quoth I) the felowship of S. Peter, why doe you vse the fashion of his crowne whom S. Peter did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to liue eternally? Adānā answered saying: you know right well brother though I vse Symons maner of shauing, after the custome of my country, yet doe I detest & with all my heart abhorre hys infidelitie.* I desire notwithstanding to imitate the footsteps of the holy Apostle as far forth as my power wil extend. Then said I: I beleue it is so. But then is it appaunt you imitate those thinges which the Apostle Peter did frō the bottom of your hart, if you vse the same vpon your face that you know he did. For I suppose your wisdom vnderstandeth that it is right decent, to differ in the triming your face or shauing, frō his whom in your hart you abhorre. And cōtrariwise as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to haue a * mediator betweene God & you, so it is meete you imitate the maner of his apparell and shauing. Thus much saide I, to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our Churches: in so much that he returning into Scotland, reformed many of his churches there, after our celebratiō, albeit he could not do so amongst the Monks,* with whom he had special authority. He endeouored also to haue reformed their maner of shauing if he had bene able. And nowe (O King) I exhort your maiestie to labor together with your people (ouer whom the King of Kinges and Lorde of Lordes hath made you gouernor, to imitate likewise in all these points the Catholicke and Apostolical churches. So shall it come to passe that in the end of this your temporall kingdome y^e most blessed prince of the Apostles shall opē you the gates of the heauenly kingdome together with

the other elect of god. The grace of the eternal king preserue you most derely beloued sonne in Christ long time to reigne ouer vs to the great tranquility of vs all.

When this letter was read before king Nayton wyth other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper language, he semed to reioyce very much at the exhortation therof, insomuch as rising vp from among his noble men, he kneled on the ground and gaue God thanks that he had deserued to receaue so worthye a presente out of England, & so caused it forthwith by publike proclamation to be writen out, learned, & obserued throught out all the prouinces of the Pictes, defacing the errours that had bene vsed there by the space of 700. and 4. yeares. For all the ministers of the altar & all Monkes, were shauen, on the crowne. And al the people reioiced for the new dyscipline of the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, S. Peter which they had receaued.

By this monkish letter aboue prefixed,* voide of all Scripture, of all probation & truth of history, thou maiest note gentle Reader: howe this vaine tradition of shauen crownes hath come vp, & vpon how light and trifling occasion: which in very deede was none other but the dreaming phantasies of Monkes of that time, falsely grounding vpon the example of Peter: when by no olde monument of any aūtient record they can euer proue, either Peter or Symon Magus to haue bene shauen. Moreouer in the said leter also is to be noted, how the Scottish Clergy at that season, did weare no such Priestly crownes, as our English Churchmen then did.

But to cut of this matter of shauing,* more worthy to be laught at thē to be storied, let vs now againe returne where as we left at king Iue, of whom W. Malmesbery, and Fabian in his chronicle do record that whē the foresaide Iue had ruled the west saxons by y^e tearme of 37. yeares, by the importunate perswasion, and subtile policie of his wife Ethelburga, was allured to go to Rome, & there to be made a Monke. Which Ethelburga, after she had a long tyme laboured [Page 127](#) him to leaue the world, and could not bring about her purpose:* vpon a season when the king and she had rested them in a faire pallace richly behanged, & were vpon the morow thence departed: she by her commaundement caused the pallace to be replenished with all kinde of filth & dong,* and hogs and vile beasts therin to be sayd, as wel in the chambers as other houses of office. And in theyr owne chamber where they did lye, there was a Sow laid with her yong pigs. And when she knew that this palace was thus deformed, being a certain space out of the town, she besought the king to visite the said pallace. And when she had brought him therunto, she said to him: I pray you my Lord behold now this house, where are now the rich tappets and clothes of gold & silke,* and other rich apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies & pleasant seruitors, and costly dishes, that you and I lately were serued with? Be not all these passed & gone? My Lord (saith she) in like maner shall we vanish away, as sodainly as you see these worldly things bene passed. And our bodies which now be delicately kept, shal fal and turne into the filth of the earth. Wherefore haue in mynde my wordes that before tyme to you I haue often shewed & told, and busie you to purchase that palace that euer shal endure in ioy without transmutation.

By meane of these wordes and other, the Queene turned so the kings mynd,* that shortly after he resigned the gouernance of his kingdom vnto Ethelardus his nephew: & for the loue of Christ tooke vpon him the habite of a poore man. And setting apart all the pompe & pride of this wicked world, associated himself in the felowship of poore men, and trauelled to Rome with

great deuotion, when he had bene king of Westsaxons, as before is sayd 37. yeares. After whose departing, the foresaid Ethelburga his wife, went vnto Barking 7. miles from London, where in the Nunry of Barking before of Erkenwald founded,* she continued & ended the rest of her life, when she had bene Abbes of the place a certaine time. The said Malmesbery in his story also testifieth, that this Iue was the first king that granted a peny of euery fire house through his dominion to be paid vnto the Court of Rome, which afterward was called Romescot, or Peter pence, & long after was paid in many places of England.

This Iue, like as for his time, he was worthy and valiaunt in his actes: so was he the first of the Saxon kings (that I read of) which set forth any lawes to his country: the rehearsall of which lawes, to the number of 80. & odde, were not vnprofitable here to be inserted together with other lawes of the Westsaxon kings after him, before the tyme of William Conquerour: in case it were not for the length & prolixitie of this present volume. And thus much concerning the raigne of king Iue, king of Westsaxons by the way. Now to repaire againe to the course of Northūberland kings something intermitted.

*Next vnto the foresaid Osricus, folowed Celulfus, whom he had adopted, brother to Kēred aboue specified. This Celulfus as he was himselfe learned, so were in his tyme diuers learned mē then flourishing in England, among whō was Beda, who vnto the same king Celulfus offred his story intituled Anglorum Historia, not onely to be ratified by his authoritie, but also to be amended, as Malmesburiensis writeth by his knowledge and learnyng.

And for as much as I haue here entred into the mention of Bede, a man of worthy and venerable memory, because of the certifiyng of the truth of that man: and for that I see all writers (as touching his life) do not agree, some saying that he was no Englishman borne: I thought so much to report of him, as I finde by his owne words testified of himselfe in the latter end of his ecclesiastical history of England, offred to the said Celulfus aboue mentioned the wordes of whom be these.

Thus much by the helpe of God, I Bede the seruant of Christ, and Priest of the Monastery of Peter and Paule at wire, haue compiled and digested concerning the Britain history. And so the same Bede proceding further in his narration, declareth that he being borne in the territorie of the sayd Monastery, beyng of the age of vij. yeares, was committed of his parents and friends,* to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom aboue relation is made) and of Celfride Abbots of the foresaid Monastery. In the which place or Monastery he continuyng, from that tyme forth, all his lyfe long, gaue hymselfe and all his whole study to the meditating of holy scripture. Whatsoever tyme or laisure he had frō his daily seruice in the church, that he spent either in learning, or in teaching, or writing somthing. About xix. yeares of his age, he was made Deacon, the xxx. yeare of his age he was made priest. From the which time to the age of 59. yeares, he occupied himself in interpreting the workes of the auncient fathers for his owne vse, and the necessitie of others: and in writing of treatises, which came in all to the number of 37. volumes, which he digested into 78. bookes.

Some say that he went to Rome either there to defend his bookes to be consonant to catholike doctrine either els if they should be found faulty, to amend & correct the same as he should thereto be commaunded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirme that euer he

was at Rome: but that he was inuited and called thether to come: both it is manifest in stories, and also this Epistle of Pope Sergius doth sufficiently prooue, declarnig moreouer in what price and estimation Bede was accepted, as wel in the court of Rome, as in other places besides. The Epistle of Sergius sent to Celfride, thus proceedeth in tenor and forme as followeth in Latin.

The Epistle of Pope Sergius sent to Celfride Abbot of Wire Abbey, requiring Bede to be sent vp to him to Rome for the same of his worthy learning.

Sergius Episcopus seruus seruorsi Dei,* Celfrido religioso Abbati. Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, at{que} inenarrabilem prouidentiam possumus <◇> & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis eius circa nos beneficijs persolvere qui in tenebris & in vmbra mortis positos ad lumen scientia perducit? Et infra Benedictionis gratiam: quam nobis per praesentem portatorem tua deuota misir religio; lib•i & hilari animo ficuti ab ea directa est nos suscepisse, cognosce Oportunis igitur ac dignis amplectandae tuae sollicitudinis petitionibus, arctissima deuotione satisfaciendes: hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuae bonitatem, vt quia exortis quibusdam Ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artes literaturae, sicut decet Deo deuotum auxiliatorem sanctae matris vniuersalis Ecclesiae obedientem deuotionem huic nostrae exhortationi non desistas accommodare: sed absque vlla immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem Monasterij tui Praesbyterum, ad limina Apostolorū principum dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostrae mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere: Quem, satisfaciente domino sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire (peracta praemissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate.) Erite enim vt confidimus etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Ecclesiae generali claruerit per eius praestantiam impartitum &c.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foresayd Bede,* that the Church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both stood in need of his helpe, and also requireth the same, about the discussing of certaine causes and controuersies appertaining to learning. Moreouer the whole Latin church at that time, gaue him the maisterie in iudgement and knowledge of the holy Scripture.* In all his explanations his chieffest scope and purpose did euer driue, to instruct and informe his Reader simply and without all curiousnes of stile, in the sincere loue of god, & of his neighbour. As touching the holynes and integritie of his life, it is not to be doubted: for how could it be, that he should attend to any vicious idlenes, or had any laisure to the same, who in reading & digesting so many volumes, consumed all his whole cogitations in writing vpon the scriptures: for so he testifieth of himselfe in the 3. booke vpon Samuel, saying in these wordes. If my treatises and expositions, saith he, bring with them no other vtilitie to the Readers therof: yet to my selfe they conduce not a little in this, that while all my study and cogitatio was set vpon them, in the meane while of the slipperie intitements and vayne cogitations of this world I had little mynd. Thus in this trauail of study he continued til the age of 62. yeres.* At length drawyng to his latter end, beyng sicke vij. wekes together besides other occupiyngs of his mynde,* and other studies which he did not intermit: he translated also the gospell of S. Iohn into English. At length with great comfort of spirite departed this lyfe, pronouncyng many comfortable sayings to

them that stood about him, vpon the Ascension day, the same yeare when Nothelinus was instituted Archbishop of Caunterbury. And thus much concernyng the story of Bede.

This Celulfus king of Northumberland afore mentioned,* after he had raigned viij. yeares was made a Monke in the Abbey of Farne, otherwise called Lindefar, or holy Iland: where by his meanes licence was geuen to the monkes of that house to drinke wyne or ale, which before by the institution of Aidanus aboue mentioned, dronke nothing but milke and water. After whom succeded Egbert his cosin, brother to Egbert (the same tyme beyng bishop of Yorke) which brought againe thether the palle that hys [Page 128](#) predecessors had forgone,* since the tyme that Paulinus had left the sea, & fled to Rochester, as is before declared. The said Egbert also erected a noble Library in Yorke, whose example I would other bishops now would follow.

About the beginning of the raigne of this Egbert, was Cutbert Archbishop of Canterbury: who collected a great Synode of Bishops and Prelates, in the yere of our Lord, 747. in the month of September,* neare to the place called Clonesh*. In the which Synode assembled, these decrees were enacted.

- 1. First, that Bishops should be more diligent in seing to their office,* and in admonishing the people of their faults.
- 2. That they shoulde liue in a peaceable minde together, notwithstanding they were in place disseuered a sunder.
- 3. That euery Bishop once a yere should go about al the Parishes of his Dioces.
- 4. That the said Bishops euery one in his dioces should monish their Abbots & monks to liue regularly: and that Prelates should not oppresse their inferiors, but loue thē.
- 5. That they should teach the Monasteries which the secular men had inuaded, and coulde not then be taken from them, to liue regularly.
- 6. That none should be admitted to orders, before his life should be examined.
- 7. That in Monasteries the reading of holy Scripture should be more frequented.
- 8. That Priests should be no disposers of secular busines.
- 9. That they should take no mony for baptising infants.
- 10. That they shoulde both learne and teache the Lordes Prayer and Creede in the English tounge.
- 11. That all should ioine together in their ministry after one vniforme rite and maner.
- 12. That in a modest voice they should sing in the church.
- 13. That all holy and festinall dayes should be celebrate at one time together.
- 14. That the Sabboth day be reuerently obserued & kept.*
- 15. That the vij. houres Canonical euery day be obserued.
- 16. That the Rogation dayes both the greater and lesser should not be omitted.
- 17. That the feast of S. Gregory, and S. Austen our Patron, should be obserued.
- 18. That the fast of the foure times shoulde be kept and obserued.
- 19. That Monkes and Nunnes should go regularly apparelled.
- 20. That Byshops should see, these decrees not to be neglected.
- 21. That the Churchmen should not geue them selues to dronkeunesse.
- 22. That the Communion should not be neglected of the Churchmen.
- 23. Item, that the same also should be obserued of the laye men, as time required.
- 24. That lay men first shoulde be well tried, before they entred in Monkerie.
- 25. That almes be not neglected.
- 26. That Byshops should see these decrees to be notified to the people.

- 27. They disputed of the profite of Almes.
- 28. They disputed of the profite of singing Psalmes.
- 29. That the Congregation shoulde be constitute, after their habilitie of their goodes.
- 30. That Monkes should not dwell among lay men.
- 31. That publike prayer should be made for kinges and Princes.

These decrees and ordinaunces beyng thus among the Bishops concluded: Cutbert the Archbishop, sendeth the copy therof to Boniface, whiche Boniface otherwise named Winfride an English man borne, was than the Archbishop of Mentz, and after made a Martyr, as the Popish stories terme him.

This Boniface being, as is sayd, Archbishop of Mentz in the time of this foresayd Synode, wrote a letter to Ethelbald king of Merceland: which Ethelbald was also present in the same Synode, of whome Bede maketh mention in his historie, calling him proude Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon kinges in his time. First this Ethelbald after the departing of Ceolulph into his Monkerie, inuaded and spoiled the countrey of Northumberland. Moreouer he exercised mortall and horrible warre a long space wyth Cudred, otherwise of some named Cutbert, King of Westsaxons. Furthermore he with other Saxon kings, so impugned the Britains, that from that time they neuer durst prouoke the Saxons any more. At length the said Cudred refusing the intollerable exactions of proud Ethelbald, doth incounter with him in battaile: Where notwithstanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adioyned, of the Mercians, of the Eastsaxons, of the Eastangles, and of Cantuarites: yet the saide Cudred through Gods power, and the meanes of a certaine valiant warriour called Edelhim a Consul,* ouerthrew the pride of Ethelbald, after a sore and terrible cōflict. Which Ethelbald notwithstanding repairing his power againe the next yere after, renued battaile with the foresayd Cudred. In the which battaile Ethelbald after he had raigned xli. yeaeres in Mercia, was slaine by one Beornred, who after raigned in that dition but a smal tyme. For Offa nephew to the sayd Ethelbald expelled the sayd Beornred, and succeeded king in that prouince of Mercia, where he raigned xxxix. yeaeres, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Iesu speeding therein our purpose) to be declared as place and time shal require. In the meane season not to forget the letter before mentioned of Boniface Archbishop of Mentz, sent vnto thys Ethelbald: I thought the same not vnworthy here to be inserted (at the least the effect thereof) not so much for the authors sake, as for that some good matter peraduenture may be picked thereout, for other Princes to behold & consider.

The copy and tenor of the Letter of Boniface Archbishop of Mentz, and Martyr of God (an Englishman) sent to Ethelbald king of Mercia, freely and yet charitably admonishing him of his adulterous lyfe, and oppression of Churches.

REgi & filio charissimo,* & in Christi amore caeteris regibus Anglorum praeferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius Archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanae Ecclesiae perpetuam in Christo charitatis salutem. Consistemus coram Deo, qui nouit an verè atque ex animo dicam: Quando prosperitatem vestram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, laetamur. Quando autem aliquid

aduersum vel in euentu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audiuius enim quòd eleemosinis intentus, furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defensor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quòd verò legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile. Sed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile, & damnable. Nam & famam gloriae vestrae, coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter idololatrās cōstituit, quia templum Dei violasti. Quapropter fili Charissime poenitere, & memorare oportet, quàm turpe sit, vt tu qui multis gentib{us}, dono dei, dominaris, ad iniuriā eius sis libidinis •er uis. Audiuius praeterea quòd optimates penè omnes gentis Merciorum, tuo exemplo legitimas vxores deserant, & adulteras & sanctimoniales constuprent. Quod quàm sit peregrinum ab honestate, doceat vos alienae gentis institutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia, vbi nulla est Christi cognitio: si virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, sub coniuge suerit adultera, manu propria strangulatam cremant, & supra fossa sepultae corruptorem suspendunt, aut cingulo tenus (vestibus abscissis) flagellant eam castae matronae, & cultellis pungunt. Et de villa in villam missae occurrunt nouae flagellatrices: donec interimant. Insuper & vinuli, quod est faedissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem vt mulier viro mortuo, se in rogo cremantis pariter arsura praecipiter. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum castitatis habent: quid tibi conuenit fili Charissime, qui Christianus & rex es? Parce ergo animae tuae: Parce multitudini populi tui pereūtis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quid si gens Anglorum (sicut in Francia, & Italia, & ab ipsis Paganis nobis impropertur) spretis legitimis matrimonijs per adulteria deficit: nascitura{que} sit ex ea commixtione gens ignaua & Dei contemptrix,* quae perditis moribus patriam pessundet: sicut Burgundionibus & prouincialibus, & Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestarunt propter peccata praeterita? Praeterea nunciatum est nobis, quòd multa priuilegia Ecclesiarum & monasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendū duces tuos exemplo prouoces. Sed recogita quaeso quàm terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, eiusdem culpae conscios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum praedecessorem tuum stupratorem Sanctimonialium, & ecclesiasticorum priuilegiorum fractorem, splendidè cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus malignus arripuit: & sine confessione & viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti, & legem Dei detestanti animam extorsit. Osredum quo{que} regem Deiorum & Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrenatum regem egit: vt regnum & iuuenilem aetatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quo{que} princeps Francorum monasteriorum multorum euersor, & Ecclesiasticarū pecuniarum in vsus proprios commutator, longa tortione, & verenda morte consumptus est. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili Charissime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur. vt non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinem tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim bono regi salubrius, quàm, fi talia commissa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur. Quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sapientiam. Ideo, fili Charissime, oftendentes consilium iustum, contestamur [Page 129](#) & obsecramus per viuientem Deum & per filium eius Iesum Christum, & per spiritum sanctum, vt recorderis quàm fugitiua sit vita praesens, & quam brevis & momentanea delectatio spurcae carnis: & quam ignominiosum sit, vt brevis vitae homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam cōponere, & praeteritos errores iuuentutis corrigere: vt hic coram hominibus laudem habeas, & in futuro aeterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celfitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

In this Epistle here is to be seene and noted, first the corruption and great disorder of lyfe, which alwayes from tyme to tyme hath bene found in these religious houses of Nūnes,* whose

professed vow of coacted chastitie, hath yet neuer bene good to the Church, nor profitable to the common wealth, and least of all to themselues. Of such yong & wanton widowes, S. Paul in his tyme complayneth, 1. Tim. 5. which would take vpon them the wilfull profession of single lyfe, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxurie deserued worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it bene for these lasciuious Nunnes not to haue refused the safe yoke of christian matrimonie, then to intangle themselues in this their superstitious vow of perpetuall maidēhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keepe.

Secondly, no lesse are they also to be reprehēded, which mainetayned these superstitious orders of vnprofitable Nunnes and of other religions: In the number of whom was this foresayd Boniface otherwise called Winfride, who although in this epistle doeth iustly reprehend the vicious enormities both of secular, and of religious persons: yet he him self is not without the same or rather greater reprehē^sion,* for that hee gaue the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious orders of such lasciuious Nunnes and other religions, & restraining the same from lawful mariage. For so we finde of him in stories that hee was a great se•ter vp & vpholder of such blinde superstition, and of all Poperie. Who being admitted by Pope Gregory the secōd, Archbishop of Magunce, and indued 〈◇〉 full authoritie legantine ouer the Germanes, brought diuers countreys there, vnder the Popes obedience: held many great Coūcels, ordained Bishops,* builded Monasteries, canonised Saints, commaunded reliques to be worshipped, permitted religious fathers to cary about Nunnes with them a preaching. Amongst all other he founded the great monastery of Fulda in Germany of English monkes: into the which no women might enter, but only Lieba, & Tecla, two English Nunnes. Item, by the authoritie of y^e said Archbishop Boniface, which he receiued frō Pope Zacharie, Childericus king of Fraunce, was deposed from the right of his crowne:* and Pipinus betraier of his maister was cōfirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registred in the Popes decrees, Dist. 40. cap. Si Papa which in a certaine Epistle of his, is this. That in case the Pope were of most filthy liuing, and forgetfull or negligent of himselfe, and of the whole christianitie, in such sort, that he led innumerable soules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing. For he hath (saith he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged agayne.

In the tyme of this Archbishop, Pope Gregory the second, also Gregory the third, and Pope Zachary, and before these also Pope Constantine the first: wrought great maisteries against the Greeke Emperours, Philippicus, & Leo, and others, for the maintaining of Images to be set vp in Churches. Of whom Philippicus lost both his Empire and also his eyes. Leo for the same cause likewise was excommunicate of Gregory the third. This Gregory the third (so farre as I can coniecture) was he that first wrote the foure bookes of Dialogues in Greeke, falsely bearyng the name of Gregory the first, which bookes afterward Zachary hys successour translated out of Greeke into Latin. Item, the same Gregory the third; first brought into the Masse Land, the clause for reliques beginning, Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu, &c. Item, brought into the sayd Canon the memoriall, the offring, and sacrifice for the dead: Lyke as Zachary brought in the Priests vesture and ornaments: & as the foresaid Constantinus also was the first that gaue his feete to be kissed of the Emperours. But turne agayne into the course of our English story.

In the tyme of this Egbert king of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sigbert raigned in Westsaxony: a man of so cruell tyranny to his subiectes (turning the lawes & customs of his forefathers after his

owne will and pleasure) that when he was somewhat sharpely aduertised by one of his nobles, an Earle called Combranus, to chaūge his maners, and to behaue him more prudently toward his people: he therfore maliciously caused him to be put to cruell death. Whereupon,* the sayd king Sigebert continuing in his cruell conditions, by his subiectes conspiring agaynst hym, was put from his kingly dignity: and brought into suche desolation, that wandring alone in a wood without comfort,* was there slayne euen by the swineheard of the sayd Earle, whom before he had so wrongfully murdered, as partly is aboue touched: whereby is to be seene, the cruell tyranny of Princes neuer to prosper well▪ without the iust reuenge both of God and man.*

This Sigebert being slayne, in his place succeeded Kenulphus, in the yeare of our Lord 748. who with the agreemēt of the westsaxons was one of the chiefe doers against Sigebert his Maister. This Kenulphus kept stronglye his Lordship agaynst Offa; and agaynst the power of all hys enemies: till at length, after that he had raigned, as Fabian sayth 31. yeares,* he resorting to a paramour which he kept at Merton, was there beset & likewise slayne by the trayn and meanes of a certayne kinsman of the foresayd Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in reuengement of king Sigebertes death.*

Moreouer in the raigne of the foresayd Egbert kyng of Northumberland, and in the viij. yeare of Kenulphus king of Westsaxons: Offa after he had slayne the tyraunt Beoruredus, which before had slayne Ethelwald kyng of Mercia, and Uncle to this foresayde Offa: raigned King of that Prouince.

Of this Offa are told many notable deedes, which because they concerne rather politicall affaires, and doe not greatly appertayne to the purpose of this ecclesiastical history, I omit here to recite.* As his warres and victories against Egbert & the Northumbres, as also against Etheldred king of East Angles. Item, against Egbert king of Kent, otherwise called Wren, whom Fabian saith he tooke prisoner, & led him bound with him to Mercia. Malmesbury witnesseth otherwise, this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Christ willing hereafter shall appeare. After these victories Offa had such displeasure vnto the Citizens of Canterbury,* that he remooued the Archbishops see, and landes of Lambrith Archbishop of Caunterbury (by the agreement of Pope Adrian) vnto Lichfield. He also chased the Britaines or Welchmen into Wales, and made a famous dyke betwene Wales and the vtter bonds of Mercia or middle England, which was called Odfitche. And builded there a Church which long tyme a•ter was called Offekyrke.* This Offa also married one of his daughters to Brightricus that was king of Westsaxons. And for that in his tyme was variance betwene him and the Frenchmen, in so much that the passage of merchants was forbidden: therfore he sent Alcuinus a learned man, vnto Charles the great, then king of France, to common the meanes of peace: which Charles had after that, y^e said Alcuinus in great fauour and estimation, and afterward made him Abbot of Turonia in Fraunce.

About the latter tyme of the raigne of Offa,* kyng of Mercia: Ethelbert beyng then kyng of Eastangles (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the Court of Offa: prouoked by the counsell of his Nobles, to sue for the mariage of his daughter, wel accompanied like a prince, with his men about him. Wherupon, the Queene conceiuyng a false suspicion, and fearing that which was neuer minded: that Ethelbert with his company vnder the pretence and made matter of mariage,* was come to worke some violence against her husband, and the kingdom of Mercia, so she perswaded with king Offa: and cetrine of her counsel that night: that the next day followyng,

Offa caused him to be trayned into his pallace alone from his company, by one called Guymbertus: who tooke him and bound him, & there stroke of his head,* which forthwith he thā presented to the king & Queene. And thus the innocent king Ethelbert was wrongfully murdered, about the yeare of our Lord, 793. but not without a iust reuenge at Gods hand. For as the story recordeth, the foresayd Queene worker of this villanie, liued not iij. monthes after: and in her death was so tormented, that she was fayne to bite and rent her tong in pieces with her owne teeth. Offa vnderstanding at length the innocencie of this king, and the haynous cruelty of his fact: gaue the tēth part of his goods to holy church and to the church of Hereford, in remembraunce of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great landes.* Moreouer, builded the Abbey of S. Albons, with certayne other monasteries beside. And so afterward he went vp to Rome for his penāce, where he gaue to the Church of S. Peter a peny through euery house in his dominion, which was called commonly Romeshot, or Peterpence, payed to the Church of S. Peter: and there at length was transformed from a king to a monke, about the yeare of our Lord .794. with Kenredus [Page 130](#) king of Northūberland aboue mentioned, although some storyes deny that he was a Monke.*

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had raigne xxxix. yeares succeded his sonne Egfredus, who raigne but foure monthes: of whome thus writeth the foresayd Alcuinus: Non arbitror quòd nobilissimus iuuenis Egfredus,*propter peccata sua mortuus sit: Sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione regni eius multum sanguinem effudit, &c. That is: This noble yong man died not so much for offences of his owne, as for that his father had spilled much bloud, to confirme him in his kingdome.

Next to which Egfredus, succeded Kenulphus in the said kyngdome of Mercia, which Kenulphus keping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predecessor against the Cantuarites, made warre against them: where he tooke Egbert their king otherwise called Wren, whom he bound and led prisoner to Mercia. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with princely clemency in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same tyme a church: vpō the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of xij. bishops, and of Cutbert, whom he had placed in y^e same kingdom of Canterbury before, and x. Dukes, and many other great estates. Kyng Kenulphus brought the sayd Egbert king of Kent out of prison into the Church, where he enlarged him of imprisonment, and restored hym to his place agayne.* At the sight whereof, not onely Cutbert the foresayd king reioyced, but also all the estates and people beyng there present, made such an exclamation of ioy and gladnes, that the church, (and not onely the Church, but also the streetes) range withall. At which tyme such boūtifulnes of gifts and iewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without somthing geuē, according as to euery degree was thought meete.* Although Fabian referreth this story to king Offa, yet causes there be, why I assent rather to Malmesbury and to Polychronicon, which attribute the same to Kenulphus the second king of Mercia, after Offa.

A little before in speaking of certain bishops of Rome, mention was made of Pope Constantine the first, Pope Gregory the second, Pope Gregory the third, & of Pope Zachary, which deposed Childerike, & set vp Pipinus the French king,* &c. Next after this Zachary, in order followed Pope Stephen the second, to whom the foresayd Pipinus to gratitie agayne the sea of Rome for this their benefite shewed to him, gaue and contributed to the said sea of Rome, the exarchat or Princedome of Rauenna, the kingdome of the Lombardes, and many other great possessions of

Italie, with all the Cities thereto adioyning vnto the borders of Uenice.* And this donation of Pipine, no doubt if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsly hath bene thought to be the donatiō of Constantine. For els how could it be, that the exarchate of Rauenna could belong all this while to the Emperours of Constantinople, if Constantine before had geuen it and all Italy from the Empire to the sea of Rome?*

To this Pipinus, as witnesseth Polychronicon, was sent first into France, the mention of the Organs out of Grecia, by Constantine Emperour of Constant. 757.

Next to this Stephen the ii. succeeded Paule the first, who following his predecessors, thundred out great excōmunications against Constantinus the Emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking downe Images set vp in Temples. Notwithstanding this Constantine neglecting the Popes vaine curses perseuered in his blessed purpose, in destroying Idolatry till the end of his lyfe. Then came to be Pope, Constantinus the second a lay man, and brother to Desiderius the king of Lombardy: for the which cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a monastery, hauing his eyes put out.

In whose stead succeeded Stephen the iij. who ordained that after that, no lay man should be Pope: condemnyng moreouer the councel of Constantinople the vii. for heretical, because in that councell the worshiping of Images was reprooued and condemned. Contrary to the which Councell, this Pope not only maintained the filthy Idolatry of Images in Christian Temples, but also aduaunced their ueneration, commaunding them most Ethnically to be incensed, &c. At this tyme Carolus Magnus called Charles the great a little before mentioned, began to raign, by whom this Pope caused Desiderius the Lombard king, to be depriued,

Then in this race of Popes, after this Stephen the iij. commeth Hadrianus the first, who likewise followyng the steps of his forefathers the Popes, added and attributed to the veneration of Images more then all the other had done before, writing a booke for the adoration and the vtilitie proceding of them, commaunding them to be takē for lay mens Calenders, holdyng moreouer a Synode at Rome against Felix,* and all other that spake against the setting vp of such stockes and Images. And as Paul the first, before him made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: so this Hadrian clothed the body of S. Peter all in siluer, and couered the aulter of S. Paule with a Palle of gold,* This Pope Hadrian was he, whome we declared in the former part of this treatise, to ratifie and confirme by reuelation the order of S Gregories Masse, aboue the order of S. Ambrose masse, for vnto this time which was about the yeare of our Lord, 780. the Liturgie of S. Ambrose was more vsed in the Italian churches. The story whereof, because it is registred in Durandus,*Naclerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same, to this especiall purpose, for the Reader to vnderstand the tyme, when this vsuall Masse of the Papists began first to be vniuersall & vniforme, & generally in churches to be receaued. Thus it foloweth in the story by the foresayd authors set forth. Iacobus de Voragine in the life of Pope Gregory the first telleth a tale concerning this matter.

In tymes past (saith he) when the seruice which Ambrose made, was more frequented and vsed in Churches, then was the seruice which Gregory had appointed, the bishop of Rome then called Adrian, gathered a Councell together: in the which it was ordained, that Gregories seruice should be obserued and kept vniuersally: which determination of the Councell, Charles the Emperor did

diligētly put in executiō while he ran about by diuers Prouinces, & inforced all the Clergy, partly with threatnings, and partly with punishments, to receiue that order. And as touching the bookes of Ambrose seruice, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many priests that would not consent and agree to the matter. Blessed Eugenius the Bishop comming vnto the Councell, found that it was dissolued iij. dayes before his comming. Notwithstanding through his wisdom, he so perswaded the Lord Pope, that he called agayne all the Prelates that had bene present at the Councell, and were now departed by the space of three dayes. Therefore when the Councell was gathered agayne together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the Masse bookes of Ambrose and Gregory should be layd vpon the aulter of blessed Peter the Apostle, and the church dores diligently shut, and most warily sealed vp with the signets of many and diuers bishops. Againe, that they should all the whole night geue themselues to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, open & shew vnto them by some euident signe or token, which of these two seruices he would haue vsed in the Temples.* Thus they doing in all pointes as they had determined, in the morning opened the church dores, and founde both the Myssals or Masse bookes open vpon the aulter: or rather, as some say, they found Gregories Masse booke vtterly plucked asunder one piece from an other, and scattered ouer all the church. As touching Ambrose booke, they only found it open vpō the aulter in the very same place where they before laid it.* This miracle Pope Adrian like a wyse expounder of dreames, saith, that as the leaues were torne and blown abroad all the church ouer, so should Gregories booke be vsed throughout y^e world, whereupō they thought themselues sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the seruice which Gregory had made, ought to be set abroad & vsed throughout the world, and that Ambrose his seruice should onely be obserued and kept in his owne church of Mediolanum, where he sometye was bishop.

Thus hast thou heard (brother Reader) the full and whole narration of this misticall miracle, with the Popes exposition vpon the same, which semeth to be as true, as that which Daniell speaketh of, how the Idoll Bell did eate vp all the meate that was set before him all the night, Daniel, 14. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practises of these nightcrowes, to blind the world with forged inuentiōs in stead of true stories. Albeit to graunt the miracle to be most true & vnfallible, yet as touching the exposition therof, another man beside the Pope, percase might interprete this great miracle otherwise, as thus: That God was angry with Gregories booke, and therefore rent it in pieces, and scatered it abroad, and the other as good, lay sound vntouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to bee thought of this miracle with the exposition therof,* thus the matter fell out, that Gregories seruice had only the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of Europe, y^e seruice of Ambrose beyng excluded. And thus much touching the great act of Pope Adrian, for the setting vp of the Masse. By the relation wherof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at least to vnderstand, how that commonly in christen nations abroad, as yet no vniforme [Page 131](#) order of any Missall or Masse booke was receiued, as hath bene hetherto discoursed.

Now from the Popes to returne againe to the emperours from whence we digressed, like as Pipinus the father of Charles (as hath bene before sufficiently told) had geuen to the sea Papall all the pryncedome of Rauenna, with other donations and reuenewes, & landes in Italy: so this Carolus following his fathers deuotion, did confirme the same, adding moreouer therunto, the Citie and dominion of Venice,*Histria, the Dukedome Foroiuliense, the dukedom Spoletanum and Beneuentanum, and other possessions moe, to the patrimonie of S. Peter, making him the

Prince of Rome and of Italy. The Pope agayne to recompence his so gentle kindnes, made him to be intituled most Christen king, and made him Patricium Romanum Moreouer ordeined him onely to bee taken for Emperour of Rome.* For these and other causes moe, Carolus bare no little affection to the sayd Adrian aboue all other Popes: as may well appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnus sent to king Offa, what tyme the said Offa (as is aboue prefixed) sent to hym Alcuinus for entreatie of peace: whereunto the foresayd Carolus aunswereth agayne to the message of Offa in a letter, the contents whereof be these.

The tenour of a Letter sent by Carolus Magnus to king Offa, answering to his request concerning the intreatie of peace betwene them.

*Carolus Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, Patricius Romanorum viro venerando, & fratri charissimo Offae Regi Merciorum Salut. Primò gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, de Catholicae fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis verò qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum, beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non seruientes, sed lucra sectantes inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitime. Et si in aliquo loco, iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament se ad nos, vel nostros iudices, & plenam •stitiam iubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis nostris vel pallijs ad singulas sedes Episcopales regni vestri vel Ethelredi direximus, in eleemosinam Domini Apostolici Adriani, deprecantes vt pro eo intercedi iubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed vt fidem & dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed & de thesauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Iesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per Metropolitanas ciuitates: Direximus vestrae quoque dilectioni vnum baltheum, & vnum gladium & duo pallia serica, &c.

*The cause why this Carolus writeth so fauorablye of Adriā partly is touched before, partly also was, for y^e Carolomane his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha with her two Children came to Adrian, to haue them confirmed in their fathers kingdome: whereunto the Pope to shew a pleasure to Carolus would not agree: but gaue the mother with her two children, & Desiderius the Lombard king with hys whole kingdome, hys wife and Children, into the hands of the said Carolus, who led them with him captiue into Fraunce, and there kept them in seruitude during their lyfe.

Thus, Carolus Magnus beyng proclaymed Emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian, and of Pope Leo the third which succeeded next after him, was the Empire translated from the Grecians about the yeare of our Lord 801.* vnto the Frenchmen: where it continued about 102. yeares till the comming of Conracus and hys nephew Otho, which were Germaines: and so hath continued after them amōg the Almanes vnto this present time. This Charles builded so many Monasteries as there be letters in the row of A.B C. he was beneficiall chiefly to Churchmen also mercifull to the poore, in hys actes valiaunt and triumphaunt, skilde in all languages, he held a counsell at Francford, where was condemned the Councill of Rice and Irene, for setting vp and worshipping Images, &c.

Concerning which Councell of Nice, & thinges there concluded and enacted (because no man shal thinke, the detesting of Images to be any new thing now begon) thus I finde it recorded in an auncient written history of Roger Houeden, called Continuationes Bede▪ His wordes in Latin be these: Anno 792. Carolus Rex Francorum misit Sinodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi à Constantinopoli directum. In quo lib. Heu, proh dolor, multa inconuenientia, & verae fidei contraria reperiuntur, maximè quòd pene omnium orientalium Doctorum non minus quàm 300. vel eo amplius Episcoporum vnanimi assertionem confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: Quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus Epistolam ex autoritate diuinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam,*illam{que} cum eodem libro ex persona Episcoporum ac principum nostrorum, Regi Francorum attulit. Haec ille. That is. In the yeare of our Lorde, 792. Charles the Frenche King sent a booke contayning the actes of a certeine Synode, vnto Brittainne, directed vnto hym from Constantinople.* In the which booke (lamentable to behold) many thinges inconuenient, & cleane contrary to the true fayth are there to be found: especially for that by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the East Church, not so few as 300. it was there agreed that Images should be worshipped.* Which thing the church of god hath alwayes abhorred. Against which booke Albin{us} wrote an Epistle substantially grounded out of the authoritie of holy Scripture. Which Epistle with the booke, the sayde Albinus in the name and person of our Bishops and Princes, did present to the French king.

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to returne agayne to the Northumberland kings where we left at Egbert.* Which Egbert as is before declared, succeeded after Ceolulphus after he was made Monke.* And likewise the sayd Egbert also followyng the deuotion of hys vncle Ceolulphus, and Kenredus before him: was likewyse shorne monke after he had reigned 20. yeres in Northumberland, leauing his sonne Osulphus after him to succede: about which tyme, and in the saine yeare when Ceolulphus deceased in his Monastery, which was the yeare of our Lord, 764. diuers Cities were burnt with sodaine fire, as the citie of Wenta, the citie of London, the citie of Yorke, Dōacester, with diuers other townes besides. Roger Houeden. Lib. Contin. post Bedam, who the first yeare of hys raigne, which was the yere of our Lord, 757, beyng innocently slayne, next to him followed Mollo, otherwise called Adelwald, who likewise beyng slayne of Alcredus after hee had reigned ii. yeres departed. After, Alcredus whē he had reigned 10. yeres, was expulied out of his kingdom by his people. Then was Ethelbert otherwise named Edelred the sonne of the foresayd Mollo receaued kyng of Northumberland. which Ethelbert, or Adelred in like sort after he had reigned v. yeares, was expelled. After whome succeeded Alswold,* who likewise when he had reigned ii. yeres, was vniustly slaine. So likewise after him his nephew, and the sonne of Alcredus named Osredus reigned one yeare & was slayne. Then the foresayd Ethelbert the sonne of Mollo after 12. yeares banishment, reigned agayne in Northumberland the space of foure yeares, and was slayne: the cause wherof (as I finde in an old written story) was that forsaking his old wife, he married a new. Concerning the restoring of whō Alcuinus writeth in this maner: Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus. Nuper Edelredus filius Edelwaldis de carcere processit in solium, & de miseria in maiestatem, cuius regni nouitate detenti sumus ne veniremus ad vos, &c. And afterward the same Alcuinus againe speaking of his death, writeth to king Offa, in these wordes: Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra, quod Do. Carolus amabiliter & fideliter saepe mecum locutus est de vobis, & in eo habetis fidelissimum amicum. Ideo & vestrae dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per Episcopales sedes regni vestri, similiter & Edelredo Regi, & ad suas Episcoporum sedes direxit dona. Sed heu Proh dolor, donis datis, & Epistolis in manus missorum, superuenit tristis legatio per missos qui

de Scotia per nos reuersi sunt, De infidelitate gentis, & nece Regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, vt ait, perfidam & peruersam, & homicidam dominorum suorum, peiorem eam paganis estimans, vt nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, & mali machinari, iam fecisset, &c.

The kingdom of Northumberland ceaseth.

Thus as you haue heard,* after the raigne of king Egbert, before mentioned, such trouble and perturbatiō was in the dominion of Northumberland: with slaying, expulsiō, and disposing, their kings one after an other, that after the murdering of this Edelred aboue specified, none durst take the gouernemēt vpon him, seing the great danger thereupon insuing. Insomuch that the foresayd kingdome did lye void and waste the space of xxxiiij yeares together, after the terme of which yeares this kingdome of Northumberland, with the kingdomes also of the other Saxons besides, came all together into the handes of Egbert king of the Westsaxons and his progeny: which Monarchy began in the yeare of our Lord. 827. and in the 28. yeare of the raygne of the sayd Egbert: whereof more shall be sayd (Christ willing) hereafter.* Of this troublesome & ragious time of Northumberland people, speaketh also the sayd learned man Alcuinus otherwise called Albinus, in [Page 132](#) the same country borne: writing out of Fraūce into England, and complayning of the same in diuers his letters, as first to Offa, where he thus writeth. Ego paratus eram eū muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reuerti. Sed melius visum est propter pacem gentis meae, in peregrinatione remanere,*nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, vbi nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia sancta a Paganis vastata, altaria periurijs faedata, monasteria adulterijs violata, terra sanguine dominorum & principum faedata, &c. Moreouer the sayd Alcuinus writing to the foresayd Edelred a little aboue mentioned, after the same tenor reporteth: Ecce Ecclesia sancti Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa (omnibus spoliata ornamentis) locus, cunctis in Britannia venerabilior. Paganis gentibus datur ad depraedādum. Et vbi primū post decessum S. Cuthberti ab Eboraco, Christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium: ibi miseriae & calamitatis caepit initiū, &c. Item, writing to Osbert a noble piere of the Mercians, complayning on the same maner, sayth: Regnum nostrum Northumbrorum penē perijt, propter intestinas dissentiones, & fallaces coniurationes, &c.

Item, in another place the sayd Alcuinus writing to Adelard Archbishop of Caunterbury, complayneth moreouer: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus insulae nostrae, quae prope trecentis & quadraginta annis à parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildae sapientissimi Britonum, quòd ijdem Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam principum: propter iniquitatem & iniustitiam iudicum: propter desidiam praedicationis Episcoporum: propter luxuriam & malos mores populi: patriam perdidere. Caueamus haec eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patriam conseruet in prosperitate bona, quam nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus est, &c.

Ouer and besides the same author Alcuinus writyng to the foresayd Edelred king of Northumberland,* maketh record of a straunge sight which he himselfe did see the same time in y^e citie of Yorke, to raine bloud: wherof, his words which he wrote concerning the same,* to the said king Edelred be these. Quid significat pluuiā sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco ciuitate, quae caput est totius regni in Ecclesia beatiprincipis Apostolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus domus, (sereno aëre) de summitate minanter cadere? Nonne potest putari, à

borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram? That is: what signifieth the rayne of blood which in tyme of Lent in the Citie of Yorke, the chiefe Citie of that dominion, and in the church of S. Peter the chiefe of the Apostles, we our selues did see to fall from the Church top (the element being cleare) out of the North partes of the temple,* &c. This wondrous sight testified by Malmesburiensis, is thought of Fabian to happen in the second yere of the raigne of Brighthricus (as with the tyme doth well agree) which was the yeare of our Lord,* 780. & is thought of some expositors to betoken the comming of the Danes into this land, which entred shortly after about vij. yeres, in the 9. yeare of the raigne of Brighthricus king of the Westsaxons. Which Brighthricus in defence therof, sent forth hys Steward of his housholde with a small companie which shortly was slaine: but by the strength of the sayd Brighthricus and the other Saxon kings, they were compelled to voyd the land for that time,* which was, An. 790. To this Brighthricus king Offa, as is aforesaid, gaue his daughter Ethelburga to wife, by whom he at length was imployed, besides certaine other of his nobles: vpon whom, the said Queene before hym had practised the same wickednesse. Who then after that, fledde ouer to Charles the great into Fraunce, where she beyng offred for her beautie to marrie either to him, or to his sonne, because she chused rather his sonne, married neither the one nor yet the other: but was thrust in a Monastery,* where she then playing the harlot with a Monke, was expelled from thence, and ended her lyfe in penury and misery.

In the meane tyme while this Edelburga was thus workyng her feates in England: Irene Empresse of the Greekes, was as busie also for her part at Constantinople. Who first through the meanes of Pope Adrian, tooke vp the body of Constantine Emperour of Constantinople, her owne husbands father. And when she had burned the same, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he disanulled, Images. Afterward raigning with her sonne Constantine the 6. sonne to Leo the 4. (whome also we declared before to be excommunicate for taking away Images) beyng at dissention with him,* caused him to be taken & laid in prison. Who afterward through power of frends beyng restored to his Empire againe, at last she caused the same her owne sonne to bee cast in prison, and his eyes to be put out so cruelly, that within short space he dyed. After this the sayd Irene Empresse, with the counsaile of Therasius Bishop of Constantinople, held a Councell at Nicea, where it was decreed that Images should agayne be restored to the church: which Councell, after was repealed by an other Councell holden at Franckford by Charles the great.* At length she was deposed by Nicephorus (who raigned after) and was expelled the Empire: who after the example of Edelburga aboue mentioned (condignely punished for her wickednesse) ended likewise her lyfe in much penurie and miserie.

About the tyme when the foresayd Brighthricus was imployed by Edelburga his wife, died also king Offa,* which was about the yeare of our Lord, 795. or as some say, 802. After which Offa (as is aforesayd) succeeded Egbert, then Kenelphus, after whom succeeded Kenelmus his sonne, who in his yonger age was wickedly murdered by his sister Quindreda, and Askebertus, about the yeare of our Lorde, 819.* And in the Church of Winchcombe was counted for an holy Martyr. After him succeeded his vncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the first yeare of his raigne expelled and raigned in his place. Who likewise the third yeare of his raigne was ouercome and expelled by Egbert kyng of the Westsaxons, and afterward slayne by the Eastangles. And the kingdom of Mercia also ceased, and came into the handes of the Westsaxons.

Hetherto I haue brought, as thou seest (good Reader) the confused and turbulent raignes of these vij. Saxon kings, who after the expulsion of the Britaines, ruled and raigned asunder in sundry quarters of this land together, vnto this present tyme of Egbert king of the Westsaxons. By whom it so pleased God to begin to reduce and vnite all these scattred kingdomes into one monarchicall forme of dominion. Wherefore, as in the foresayd Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the common wealth here in this land among the Saxons: so my purpose is (the Lord willing) with the same Egbert to enter a new beginnyng of my third booke, after a briefe recapitulation first made of such things as in this second booke before, are to be collected and noted, especially touching the monasteries builded, the kings which haue entered the life and profession Monastike: also Queenes & Queenes daughters, which the same tyme professed solitary life in monasteries, which they or their auncetors had erected.

The conclusion of the story precedent, concerning the seuen kingdoms of the Saxon kings aboue mentioned.

And thus hast thou (gentle Reader) concerning the vij. kingdoms of these Saxons, ruling altogether in England, the course and order of their doings briefly described and discoursed vnto thee, in such order, as the matter beyng so intricate, in such confusion & diuersitie of things incident together, would permit: followyng especially in this story hitherto, the line of the Northumberland kings as the other stories most folow the line of Westsaxō kings. The which seuen kingdoms of these sayd Saxones, after they had vntruely expulsed and chased out the Britaines from their land, like as they neuer were in quietnes amōg themselues, rainging thus together till the tyme of this Egbert: so also after the raigne of Egbert, the whole realme beyng reduced into one regimēt, no lesse were they impugned & afflicted by the Danes continually frō tyme to time, till the last conquest of William the Normand Thus it pleseth (God euer) lightly to reuenge with bloud,* bloody violence, and the vniust dealings of men, with iust and lyke retribution. But of this let the christian Reader consider, as Gods grace shall worke in him. In the meane tyme we, as much as in vs did lye, satisfiying the part of an Historician, haue thus hetherto set forth and declared concerning these vij. foresayd kingdoms: first the names and lineall descent of the kings seuerally by themselues, as by the table precedent may appeare, then what were the doings and actes of the same. How first being Pagans, they were conuerted to the christian faith: what things in their time happened in the church, how many of them, of kings were made monkes: how deuout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwyse in lyfe, then afterward they declared themselues to bee. Through which deuotion of the said kings, first came in, the Peterpence or Romeschots in this Realme, as by Iue first in his dominion, then by Offa in his Lordship, & afterward by Adelwulph brought in and ratified through the whole Realme: where also is to be noted, that by the foresayd Kings and Queenes of the sayd Saxons, the most part of the greatest Abbais & Nunneries in this realme, were first begun and builded, as partly the names of some [Page 133](#) here follow to be seene.

*First the Church or Minster of S. Paule in London, was founded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert kyng of Essex, about the yeare of our Lord. 604.

*The first crosse and aulter within this realm was first set vp in the North partes in Heuenfield, vpon the occasion of Oswald king of Northumberland, fighting against Cadwalla, where he in the

same place set vp the signe of the crosse, kneelyng and praying there for victory, Polychron. lib 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The Church of Winchester was first begon and founded by Kingilsus king of Mercians,* hauing 9. myles about it: after finished by his sonne Kewalcus, where Wyne, of englishmen was first bishop, An. 636. Guliel. Malmesb. Lib. De gestis pont. Ang.

*The Church of Lincolne first founded by Paulinus Bishop, An. 629.

The Church of Westminster began first by a certayne Citizen of London,* through the instigatiō of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an Ile of thornes, Bed. An. 614.

*The common schooles first erected at Cambridge by Sigebert king of Eastangles, An. 636.

The Abbey of Knouisburgh builded by Furceus the Hermite, An. 637.

The monasterie of Malmesbery by one Meldulfus a Scot, about the yeare of our Lord, 640. Afterward enlarged by Agilbert bishop of Winchester.

The Monasterie in Glocester, first builded by Ofricus King of Mercia,* as Cestrensis sayth. But as William Malmesb. writeth, by Vlferus, and Etheldred brethren to Kineburga Abbess of the same house, An 679.

*The monastery of Mailrose by the floud of Twide by Aidanus a Scottish bishop.

The Nunnery of Heorenton by Heui, who was the first Nunne in Northumberland,*Bede, Lib. 4. cap. 1.

*The Monastery of Hetesey by Oswy Kyng of Northumberlād, who also with his daughter Elfred, gaue possessions for twelue monasteries in the partes of Northūberland, An. 656.

*The monasterie of S. Martine in Douer, builded by Whitred king of Kent.

The Abbey of Lestingey by Ceadda (whom we call S. Cedd) through the graunt of Oswald, sonne to S. Oswald, King of Northum. An. 651.*

The Monastery of Whitby called otherwise Strenhalt by Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwyne Kyng of Northumberland, An▪ 657.

Item an other monastery called Hakanos, not far from the same place builded by the sayd Hilda the same yeare.

The Abbey of Abbington builded by Cissa Kyng of Southsex, An. 666.

Item an Abbey in the East side of Lyncolne, called Ioanno, by S. Botulph. Polychro. Lib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.

The monastery in Ely founded by Etheldred or Edeldrida daughter of Anna king of Eastangles, and the wyfe of Elfrid king of Northumb. An. 674.

The Monastery of Chertsey in Southrey, founded by Erkenwald bishop of London, an. 674. thrown down by the Danes, after reedified by king Edgar.

Item the Nunnery of Berking edified by the sayd Erkenwaldus bishop of London about the same tyme.*

*The Abbey of Peterborough called otherwise Modehamstede founded by King Ethelwald King of the Mercians, An. 675.

*Bardney Abbey by Etheldredus King of the Mercias, An. 700.

*Glastonbury by Iua king of the Westsaxons, and after repayred and enriched by King Edgar, an. 701.

*Ramesey in the tyme of king Edgar by one Ailwinus a noble mā, an. 973. King Edgar builded in his tyme 40. monasteries, who raigned, an. 901.

*The Nunnery of Winburne builded by Cuthburga sister to Ingilsus, king Iua his brother, an. 717.

*The Monastery of Sealesey by the Ile of Wight, by Wilfridus bishop of Yorke, an. 678.

*The Monastery of Wincombe by Kenulphus Kyng of the Mercians, an. 737.

*S. Albanes builded by Offa, King of the Mercians. Anno. 755.

*The Abbey of Eusham by Egwinus Byshop. An. 691.

*Ripon in the North by Wilfridus Bishop. An. 709.

*The Abbey of Echelinghey, by king Aluredus, an. 891.

*The Nunnery of Shaftesbury by the same Aluredus, the same yeare.

Thus ye see what monasteries in what tyme began to be founded by the Saxons kings, newly conuerted to the Christian fayth, within the space of 200. yeares: who, as they semed then to haue a certain zeale & deuotion to godward, according to the leading & teaching that then was: so it semeth againe to me, two things to be wished in these foresayd kings.* First, that they which began to erect these monasteries and celles of Monkes and Nunnes, to lyue soly and singly by themselues out of the holy state of matrimony: had forseene what daunger & what absurd enormities might and also did thereof ensue, both publikely to the Church of Christ, & priuately to their own soules. Secondly, that vnto this their zeale & deuotion had bene ioyned like knowledge & doctrine in Christes gossell, especially in the article of our free iustification by the faith of Iesu Christ.* Because of the lacke wherof, as wel the builders & founders therof, as

they that were professed in the same, seeme both to haue run the wrong way, & to haue bene deceiued. For albeit in them there was a deuotion & zeale of mynd, that thought well in this their doynge, which I wil not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deedes & buildings cannot be excused, beyng contrary to the rule of Christes Gospel, for so much as they did these things seeking thereby merites with God, and for remedy of theyr soules, and remission of their sinnes, as may appeare testified in their owne recordes, wherof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this Charte (if it please thee gentle Reader) of king Ethelbald his donation, & charter giuen to churches and religious persons, which Ethelbald was the builder (as is sayd) of Peterborough, the wordes of his record and instrument be those.

*** The donations and priuiledges granted and geuen by King Ethelbald, to religious men of the Church.**

PLerum{que} contingere sole•it,*pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, vt ea quae multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilio{que} roborata fuerint fraudulenter per contumaciā plurimorum, & machinamenta simulationis, sine vlla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur, nisi auctoritate literarum (testamento Chyrogaphorum) aeternae memoriae comittantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum, pro amore caelestis patriae, & remedio animae meae studendum esse praeuidi: vt eam per bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiae suae, absque vllo antecedente merito, sceptrum regiminis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Huius rei gratia hanc donationem, me viuente, concedo, vt omnia monasteria & Ecclesiae regni mei, à publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absoluantur: nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium quae nulli vnquam prosunt. Praeterea habeant famuli Dei, propriam libertatem in fructibus siluarum & agrorum, & in captura piscium, ne munuscula praebeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria. Sed liberi Deo seruiant, &c.

By the contentes hereof may well be vnderstand (as where he sayth, pro amore caelestis patriae, pro remedio animae, pro liberatione animae, & absoluteione delictorum, &c) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was: who lacking no zeale, onely lacked knowledge to rule it withall: seeking their saluation not by Christ onely, but by their owne deseruings and meritorious deedes. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehensiō of them, but rather to put vs in minde and memory, how much we at this present are bound to God, for the true sincerity of his truth: hidden so long before to our foreauncetors, and opened now to vs by the good will of our God, in his sonne Christ Iesu. This onely lamēting by the way, to see them to haue such works, and to lacke our fayth: and vs to haue the right fayth, and to lacke their workes. And this blinde ignoraūce of that age, thus aboue prenoted, was the cause not onely why these kinges builded so many Monasteries vpon zealous superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of Princely regiment, gaue themselues ouer to Monasticall profession, or rather wilfull superstition. Concerning the names and number of which kings that were professed Monkes, is sufficiently in the storye before declared:• the names of whome wee shewed to be seuen or eight, within the space of these two hundreth yeres. Such was then the superstitious deuotiō of kings & Princes in that age: and no lesse also to bee noted in Queenes and kings daughters, with other noble women, of the same age and time. The names of whom, it were to long here to recite. As Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwine king of Northumberland. Abbesse of the house of Ely. Erchengoda with her sister Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus

king of Kent: * whiche Erchengoda was professed in Saint Brigets order in Fraunce. Item Edelberga wyfe and Queene to Kyng Edwyne of Northumberland, and daughter of kyng Anna, which was also in [Page 134](#) the same house of S. Brigit made a Nunne. Item, Etheldreda whō we terme S. Eldride, wife to king Ekfride of Northumberland, who beyng married to two husbands, could not be obtained to geue her consent to either of them during the space of 12. yeares, but would needes liue a Uirgin, and was professed Nunne at Helings. *Werburga was the daughter of Vlferus king of Mercians, & made Nunne at Ely. *Kinreda sister of king Vlferus and Kinswida her sister, were both Nunnes professed. Sexburga daughter of kyng Anna king of Mercians, and wyfe of Ercombert kyng of Kent, was Abbess at Ely. Elfrida daughter of Oswy kyng of Northumberland, was Abbess of Whitney. Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, all three daughters of Merwaldus king of West Mercians, entred the profession and vow of Nūnish virginity. *Kineburga, wife of Alfride king of Northumberland, and sister to Ofricus king of Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was professed Abbess of the Monastery in Glocester, Elfleda, daughter of Oswy king, and wyfe of Peda, sonne of king Penda, likewise inclosed her self in the same profession and vow of Romish chastitie. * Likewise Alfritha wyfe to king Edgar. And Editha daughter to the sayd Edgar, with Wolfrith her mother, &c. All which holy Nunnes with diuers mo, the Romish catholikes haue canonised for Saintes, and put the most part of thē in their Calender, and onely because of the vowe of chastitie solemnly professed. Concerning the which chastitie, whether they kept or no, little I haue to say against them, and lesse to sweare for them. But whether they so kept it or not, if this gift of chastitie which they professed, were geuen them of God, small prayse worthy was it in them to keepe it: If it were not geuen them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath bene sayd of some other, which sufficiently haue painted out to the world, the demeanour of these holy votaries. But this will I say, that although they kept it neuer so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Iesus, and a true fayth in him.

Likewise remayneth, that as we haue declared the deuotion of these noble women, which professing Monastick lyfe, haue cast of all worldly dignitie and delightes: so we should also intreate of such noble men, who among the Saxon kings in lyke zeale of deuotion, haue geuen ouer themselues from the world (as they thought) to the contemplatiue life of Monkish profession. The names of whō as in the Catalogue of the Saxon kings before is described, be these, to the number of ix.

A Table of such Saxon Kings, as were after made Monkes.

1.

*Kynigilsus, king of Westsaxons.

2.

lue, king of Westsaxons.

3.

Ceolulfus, king of Northumberland.

4.

Eadbertus, king of Northumberland.

5.

Ethelredus, king of Mercia.

6.

Kenredus, king of Mercia.

7.

Offa, king of Eastsaxons.

8.

Sebbi, king of Eastsaxons.

9.

Sigebertus, king of Eastangles.

Of whiche kynges and their doynge, what is to be iudged, looke gentle Reader before▪ pag. 133.

By these historyes it is apparaunt: what mutations, what perturbations, and what alteratiō of state hath bene in this Realme of Britayne, first from Brittaines kings, to Romaines, then to Britaynes agayn, afterward to the Saxons. First to vij. altogether raigning, then to one. &c. And this alteratiō not onely happened in y^e ciuile gouernment, but also followed in the state Ecclesiastical. For as in the Britaynes tyme the Metropolitan see was in Londō: so in the Saxons time after the comming of Austen, it was remoued to Cāterbury, the Catologue and order of which Metropolitanes, from the tyme of Austen to Egbertus, is thus, as in the history of Malmesberiensis described.

The names and order of the Archbishops of Caunterbury, from Augustine, to the tyme of king Ethelbert.

1. Augustinus. 16.

2. Laurentius. 5.

3. Mellitus. 5.

4. Iustus. 3.

5. Honorius. 25.

6. Deus dedit. 10.

- . Theodorus. 22.

Hitherto from Augustine all the Archbishops of Caunterbury were Italians and foreiners.

8. Berctualdus In his tyme the Monasterie of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witredus &
English. 37 hys brother, kings of Kent.
9. Tacuinus. 3
10. Nothelinus. 5
11. Cuthbertus. 17 This Cutbert after his death forbad all funerall exequies or lamentation for him to
bee made. William Malm. De vitis, Lib. 1.
12. Breguinus. 3
13. Lambrihtus, or In his tyme king Offa translated the Metropolitane sea from Caunterbury to
Lambertus. 27 Lichfield by the graunt of Pope Adrian, beyng ouercome with Apostolicall
arguments, as sayth Flores Hist. that is with money.
- Ethelardus. 13
15. Vlfredus. 28
16. Fegeldus. 3 m. This Ethelardus by his Epistles to Pope Leo, obtayned the Metropolitane sea
agayne to Cāterbury.
17. Celnochus. 41

Duryng the course of these 17. Archbishops of Cant. in Rome passed in the meane tyme 34. Popes, of whome partly heretofore we haue declared.

And thus much touching the tyme of the seuen kingdomes of the Saxones, rulyng together in Englande, from the raygne of Hengist, vnto Egbert, the first Kyng and Monarche of the whole lande, after the expulsion of the Britaynes.

NOW remayneth (by the grace of Christ) in the next booke followyng, to prosecute the order of such kings as principally rainging alone, had this realme in their possession: from the tyme of Egbert king of Westsaxons, to the comming of William Conqueror the Normand, comprehending therein the rest of the next 300. yeares, with the actes & state of Religion, as in that space was in the Church: wherin may appeare the declining tyme of the Church, and of true Religiō, preparing the way to Antichrist, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this mean tyme, Sathan (as is sayd) was bound vp from his raging and furious violence, counting from the tyme of Constantinus, to the next loosing out of Sathan, which was foretold by the

Reuelation of S. Iohn aboue mentioned, to be a thousand yeares. Wherof by the order of the history (Christ graunting) more shall be sayd hereafter.

The ende of the second Booke.

THE THIRD BOOKE CONTAINING THE next 300. yeares, from the raigne of King Egbertus, to the tyme of William Conquerour.

NOW remayneth likewise as before I did in describing, the discent and diuersitie of the seuen kings altogether raigning and ruling in this land, so to prosecute in like order the lineal succession of them, which after Egbert king of Westsaxones, gouerned and ruled soly, vntill the conquest of William the Normand: first expressing their names, & afterward importing such acts as in their tyme happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touchyng the actes and doyngs of these kings, because they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of Latine writers into the English tong by sondry authors, and namely in the story or Chronicle of Fabian. I shall not spende much trauaile therupon, but rather referre the reader, to him or to some other: where the troublesome tumulis betwene the Englishmen and the Danes at that tyme may be seene, who so listeth to read them. Onely the Table of their names and raigne, in actes done vnder their raigne, I haue compendiously abridged, vsing such breuitie, as the matter would suffer.

A Table of the Saxon Kings, which ruled alone from King Egbert, vnto William Conquerour.

- Egbertus raygned 37. yeares and had issue.
 - Athelwulfus raygned 20. yeares had by his wife Osburga.
 - Ethelbaldus raygned 5. yeares.
 - Ethelbertus raygned 6. yeares.
 - Etheldredus raygned 5. yeares.
 - Aluredus or. Alfredus raygned 28. yeares
 - Edwardus raygned 24. yeares.
 - Adelstanus raygned 16. yeares.
 - Elfrede and Ethelwald•
 - Edmond raygned 6. yeares.
 - Edwin raygned 4. yeares.
 - Edgar raygned 16. yeares.
 - Edwardus raygned 4. yeares.
 - Ethelredus raygned 36. yeares.
 - Edmond Irenside raygned 2. yeres.
 - Alfredus.
 - Edward the Confessor who raygned 24. yeares.
 - Edredus raygned 9. yeares.
 - Egelwardu•

Here is to be noted, that before the raigne of Edward the confessor, the Danes obtayned the crowne vnder their captaine Canutus who raygned yeares

4

Hardeknoutus sonne of Canutus.

2

Edwar. the confessor, an englishmā, sonne of Etheldred.

24

Haraldus sonne of Erle Godwine an vsurper.

1

William Conqueror a Normand.

King Egbertus.

IN the raigne of Brightricus a little before mentioned,* about the yere of grace 7•5. there was in his dominion a noble personage, of some called Egbert, of some Ethelbert, of some Athelbright, who being feared of the same Brightricus, because he was of a kingly bloud, & nere vnto the crowne, was by the force & conspiracie of the forenamed Brightricus, chased & pursued out of the land of Britam into Frāce, where he endured till the death of the sayd Brightricus.* After the hearing whereof, Egbert sped him eftsoones out of Fraunce, vnto his countrey of Westsaxe, where he in such wise behaued himselfe, that he obtained the regiment and gouernance of the abouesaid kingdom.

Bernulphus king of Mercia aboue mentioned, with other kings, had this Egbert in such decisiō, that they made of him diuers scoffing gestes,* and scorning rimes, at which he susteined for a time. But when he was more established in his kingdome, & had proued the mindes of his subiects and especially God working withall:* he afterward assembled his knights, and gaue to the saide Bernulphus, a battaile in a place called Elindē, in the prouince of hāton. And notwithstanding in that fight was great oddes of number, as 6. or 8. against one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord which giueth victory as pleaseth him) had the better and wan the field:* Which done he seased that Lordship into his hand. And that also done, he made war vpon the Kentish saxons, and at length in likewise, of them obtained the victory.* And as it is in Polychronicon testified, he also subdued Northumberland, and caused the kings of these three kingdomes to liue under him as tributaries or ioyned them to his kingdome. Ex Flor. Hist. This Egbert, also wan from the Britons or Welshinē, the town of Chester, which they had kept possession of, till that daye. After these & other victories, he peaceably enioying the land, called a Councell of his Lords at Winchester, where by their aduises he was crowned king & chief Lord ouer this land,* which before that day was called Britaine: but thē he sent out into all coasts of the land his commaundements and cōmissions, charging straightly y^t from that day forward the Saxons should be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

About the 30. yeare of the raigne of Egbert,* the heathenish people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, & especially in y^e Ile of Lindesarue, where they spoyled the Churches, and murthered the ministers,* with men, women, and children,

after a cruell maner, entered now the second tyme with a great host into this land, and spoyled the Ile of Shepy in Kent, or nere to Kent, where Egbert hearing therof, assembled his people and met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict sped not so well as he was woont in tymes before, but with his knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding in the next battail, the sayd Egbert with a small power ouerthrew a great multitude of them, and so droue them backe. The next yeare followyng, the sayd Danes presuming vpon their victory before, made theyr [Page 136](#) return again into the land Westward,* where ioining with the Britaines, by the helpe and power of them, they assayled the landes of Egbert,* & did much harme in many places of his dominion, and els where, so that after this day, they were continually abiding in one place of the realme of england or other▪ till the time of Hardeknutus, last king of the Danes bloud, so that many of them were married to English women, and many that now be, or in times past were called Englishmen, are descended of them. And albeit that they were many and sundry times driuen out of the land, & chased from one countrey to an other, yet that notwithstāding, they euer gathered new strengthes and power, that they abode still within the land.

And thus (as by the storyes appeareth) this troublesome land of Britaine,* now called England, hath bene hetherto by v. sundry outward nations plagued. First, by the Romans, then by the Scots & Pictes, 3. by the Saxons, 4. by the Danes, of whose outrageous cruelty & hostilitie, our English histories do most exclaime & complayne:,* fiftly by the Normanes, which I pray God be the last.

Thē it followeth in the story, that the time of this persecution of the foresayd Paganes and Danes continuing, king Egbert when he had ruled the Westsaxons, and ouer the more part of England, by the terme of xxxvij. yeares, dyed, and was buried at Winchester, leauing to his sonne Ethelwolfe his kingdome, which first was Byshoppe of Winchester (as Houeden recordeth) and after vpon necessity made king, leauing withal and pronouncing this saying to his sonne: Foelicem fore, si regnum, quod multa rexerat industria, ille consueta genti illi non interrumperet ignauia.

*** King Athelwulfus.**

Athelwulfus, the sonne of Egbert, in his former age had entred into the order of Subdeacon, and as some other say was made Byshop of Winchester. But afterward being the onely sonne of Egbert was made king through the dispensation (as Fabian sayth) of Pope Paschalis, but that can not be: for Paschalis then was not Byshopp: so that by the computation of tyme, it should rather seeme to be Gregory the 4. This Athelwulfe (as being himself once nuseled in that order) was alwayes good and deuoute to holye Church and religious orders.* In so much that he gaue to them the rythe of all his goods and landes in Westsaxons, with liberty and freedome from all seruage and ciuil charges. Whereof, his charte instrument beareth testimony after this tenour proceeding: much like to the donation of Ethelbaldus king of Mercians, aboue mentioned.

*** The Priuiledges and donations geuen by king Ethelwulfus to the Clergie.**

REgnante Domino nostro imperpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opumstrarum, nec non & vastantium crudelissimas depredationes hostiū,* barbarum, paganarum{que} gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum vsque ad

internecionem,*tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem, ego Ethelwulfus Rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio Episcoporum & principum meorum, consilium salubre, & vniforme remedium affirmaui: vt aliquam portionem terrarum haereditariam, Deo & sanctae Mariae, & omnibus sanctis iure perpetuo possidendam concedam, scilicet partem terrae meae,*vt sit tuta & immunis ab omnibus secularibus seruicijs, nec non regalibus tributis maioribus & minoribus siue taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Wittereden: sit{que} libera omnium rerum,*pro remissione animarum & peccatorum nostrorum, ad Deo soli deseruiendum, sine expeditione, & pontis constructione, & arcis munitione: vt eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum seruitutem in aliqua parte leuigamus, &c.

Hereby may it appeare, how when the Churches of England, began first to be indued with temporalities and lands: also with priuileges & exemptiōs enlarged. Moreouer (and that which specially is to be considered & lamented) what pernicious doctrine was this, wherewith they were led: thus to set remission of their sinnes, and remedy of their soules: in this donation and such other deedes of their deuotion, cōtrary to the information of Gods word, and no small derogation to the Crosse of Christ?

These thinges thus done within the Realme, then the sayd Ethelwulfus the king, taking his iourney to Rome, with Alured his youngest sonne, committed him to the bringing vp of Pope Leo the iiij. where he also reedified the English schole at Rome: which being founded by king Offa, or rather by Iue king of Mercians (as in the flowers of Hist. is affirmed) was lately in the tyme of king Egbert his father,* consumed with fire. Farther and besides, th•s king gaue and graunted there vnto Rome, of euery fire house a peny to be payd through his whole land, as king Iue in his dominion had done before. Also he gaue & graūted yearely to be payd to Rome. 300 markes, that is to the mainteining of the light of S. Peter .C. markes: to y^e light of S. Paul .C. markes: to the vse of the Pope also an other hundreth. This done, returning home through Fraunce, married their Iudith the daughter of Carolus Caluus, y^e•rēch king: whom he restored afterward, contrary to the lawes of Westsaxons, to the title and throne of a Queene. For before, it was decreed among the Westsaxons (by the occasion of wicked Ethelburga, who poisoned Brightricus her owne husband) that after that, no kinges wife there should haue the name or place of a Queene.

And forsomuch as I haue here entred into the mention of Iudith, daughter of Carolus Caluus: the occasion thereof putteth me in memory, here to insert by the way a matter bone, although not in this Realme, yet not impertinent to this ecclesiasticall history. And first to deduct the narration hereof from the first originall. The father of this Carolus Caluus, whose name was Ludouicus, first of that name, called Pius king of Fraunce, had two wiues: whereof by the first, he had iij. sonnes, Lothary, Pipin, and Lewys. Which iij. sonnes vnnaturally and vnkindly, cōspiring against their father,* and his second wife, with her sonne, their youngest brother, persecuted him so, that through a certaine councill of Lordes spirituall and temporall, they deposed the same their naturall and right godly father, dispossessing and discharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreouer, caused him to renounce his temporal habite, inclosing him in the Monastery of S. Marke, for a monke or rather a prisoner. All which done, they deuided his Empire and kingdome among themselues.

Thus was Ludouicus Pius,* of impious sonnes left desolate. But the power of God, whiche worketh when all earthly power ceaseth, of hys deuine mercy so ayded and recouered him out of

all this tribulation to this Imperial dignitie agayne: that it was to all his enemyes confusion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his 2. wife whose name was Iudith, he had this Charles the Bald here mentioned. Which Iudith was thought and so accused to the Pope, to be within such degree of aliance, that by the Popes law, she might not continue hys wife without the popes dispensation.* It so fell out in the meane time that this Ludouicus the Emperour, had promoted a young man named Frederick to be Bishop of Utricke•and to hym had geuen sad and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the constancy of his predecessours, woulde mayntayne right and trueth without all exception of anye person, & punish misdoers with excommunication, as wel the riche as the poore, with such like wordes of godly cōsaile. Fredericke hearing the king thus to say, sitting at dinner with him, as the manner was beyng newly inuested, in these words answered to the Emperor again. I thanke your maiestie saith he, which with your so wholesome exhortation putteth me in mind of my profession. But I beseech you of your benigne fauour & patience, that I may freely disclose, that which hath long encombred and pierced my conscience. To whō leaue being geuen, thus he began.* I pray you (Lord Emperor) to shew me herein your mynd (pointing to the fish before him) whether is it more according, to attain this fish here present, beginning first at the head or at the taile? What a tale is this, quoth the Emperor, of the taile & of the head: At the head quoth he. Then Frederike taking thereof his occasion, proceedeth: Euen so let it be (Lord Emperour) sayth he, as you haue sayd. Let Christian fayth and charitie first begin with your selfe, as with the head, admonishing you to cease frō your face, and error, that your subiects by your example be not boldned to follow your misdoing. Wherefore first forsake you, your vnlawful wedlock,* which you haue made with Iudith your neare kinswoman. These wordes of the new Bishop, although they moued Ludouicus the Emperor not a litle, yet he, with a gentle modestie, and modest silence was contented, suffring the bishop to go home in peace. But the word beyng vttred in such an audience, could not so be concealed but spread and brast out in much talke in the whole court, and especially among the Bishops, consultyng earnestly with themselues about the matter. Through whose counsaile and labour so at length it fell, that the Emperour was constrained to leaue the company of his wife, till hee had purchased a licence of the bishop of Rome, to retaine her again, who then forgauē the said bishop all that was past. But the woman hired two knights that slew him in hys vestimentes, when he had ended his masse. Ranulphus, and Guliel Libro de pontificib, geue forth this story in his great [Page 137](#) commendation to dye a Martyr.* Whereof I haue not to iudge, nor here to pronouce: but that rather I think him to be comended in his dying, then the women for her killing.

And for asmuch as mention hath bene made of Ludouicus Pius, here is to be noted, that in Fraunce then was vied of Priestes and Churchmen, precious and shewing vestuce, and golden, and rich staring girdles, with rings and other ornamentes of golde. Wherefore the sayd Lewes purchased of the Bishop of Rome a correctiō, for all such as vsed such disordinate apparell, causing them to weare browne and sad colours, according to their sadnes. Fab.

Of this Lewes the Papistes doe fayne, that because he conuerted certayne of their Church goodes and patrimonie to y^e wages of his souldiours, his body (say they) was caryed out of his tombe by deuils, and was no more seene.

And thus a little hauing disgressed out of our course, now let vs returne out of Fraunce into England agayne: * kyng Ethelwulfus, who comming from Rome by the coūtre of Fraunce, was now returned agayne into his own dominion, where he continued not long after.

This Ethelwulfus, had especially about him two Bishops, whose counsell he was most ruled by, Swythinus Byshop of Winchester, and Adelstanus Byshop of Syreborne. Of the which two, the one was more skilfull in tēporall and ciuill affayres touching the kings warres, and filling of hys coffers, * and other furniture for the king. The other (whiche was Swythinus) was of a contrary sorte, wholly disposed and enclined to spirituall meditation, and to minister spirituall coūcel to y^e king: who had ben scholemaister to the king before. Wherein appeared one good cōdition of this kings nature, among his other vertues, not onely in following the preceptes and aduertisements of his old scholemaister: * But also in y^t he like a kinde & thākfull pupille did so reuerence hys bringer vp, and old scholmaister (as he called him) that he ceased not, till hee made hym Byshop of Winchester, by the consecration of Celnock then Archbishop of Canterbury. But as concerning the miracles which are read in the Church of Winchester, * of this Swythinus, them I leaue to be read together with the Iliades of Homere, or tales of Robenhood.

This Gregory the fourth here in this present Chapter aboue mentioned: was the third pope which succeeded after Paschalis the first, being but. 4. yeares betwixt them, which Paschalis succeeded after Steuen the 4. who followed after Leo the 3. next Pope vnto Hadrian aboue in our history mentioned, whereas we intreated of Charles the great. From the tyme of that Hadrian the first, vnto Pope Hadrian the 3. The Emperours had some stroke in the election (at lest in the confirmation) of the Romaine Pope. Notwithstanding, diuers of those foresayd popes in the meane time began to work their practises to bring that purpose about. But yet all their deuises could take no full effect, before the sayd Hadrian the iij. as hereafter (Christ willing) shalbe declared. So that the Emperours all this while bare some rule in chusing the Popes, and in assembling generall Councils. Wherefore by the commaundement of Ludouicus the Emperour, in the tyme of this Gregory the iiij. a generall Synode was commensed at Aquisgrauē, where it was decreed by the sayd Gregory and his assistaunce: first that euery Church should haue sufficient of his owne proper landes and reuenues, to finde the Priestes thereof: that none should need to lacke or go about a begging. Itē that none of the Clergy of what order or degree soeuer he be, should vse any vesture of any precious or scarelet coulour. Neither shall weare ringes on their fingers, vnlesse it be when Prelates be at Masse, or geue their consecrations. Item that Prelates should not keepe to great portes or families, nor keepe great horse, vse dice, or harlots. And the Monkes should not exceed measure in glotony or riot. Item that none of the Clergye being either annoynted or shauen: should vse either golde or siluer in their shooes, slippers, or girdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be coniectured, what pompe and pride in those daies was crept into the Clergy. Moreouer, by the sayd pope Gregory the 4. at the commaundement of Ludouicus Emperour, the feast of all Saintes was first brought into the Church.

After this Pope, came Sergius the second which first brought in the altering of the Popes names, because hee was named before os porci, that is, Swines snout: which also ordayned the Agnus thrice to be song at the Masse, and the hoast to be deuided into three partes.

After him, was Pope Leo the iiij. to whom this kyng Ethelwulfus (as in this present chapter is aboue specified) did commit the tuition of his sonne Alured. By this Pope Leo, it came in, and

was first enacted in a Counsell of hys, that no Bishop should be condemned vnder 72. witnesses, according as ye see in the witnesses, at the condemnation of Stephen Gardiner, orderly practised.*

Item contrary to the law of Gregory the iiij. his prediessor: this Pope ordayned the crosse (all let with golde & precious stone) to be caried before him, like a Pope.

And here next now followeth & commeth in, the whore of Babylon (rightly in her true colours by the permission of God and manifestly without all tergiuersation) to appeare to the whole world: and that not only alter the spiritual sense, but after the very letter, and the right forme of an whore in deed. For after this Leo aboue mentioned, the Cardinals proceeding to their ordinary electiō (after a solemne Masse of the holy Ghost,* to the perpetuall shame of them & of that sea) in stead of a mā Pope, elected an whore in deed to minister Sacraments, to say masses, to geue orders, to constitute Deacons, Priests, and bishops, to promote Prelates, to make Abbots, to consecrate Churches and altars, to haue the raigne and rule of Emperors and kings: And so she did in deede, called by name Ioan. the 8. This womans proper name was Gilberta (a Dutch woman of Magunce) who went with an english monke out of the Abbey of Fulda in a mans apparell vnto Athens, and after through her dexteritie of wit and learning, was promoted to the Popedom, where she sate two yeres & 6. monthes. At last openly in the face of a general procession, fell in labour & trauail of child, & so died. By reason wherof, the Cardinals yet to this day do auoid to come nere by that streete where this shame was taken.* By Benedictus the iij. who succeeded next in the whorish sea, was first ordained (as most writers record) the Dirge to be sayd for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregory the iij. had done in that matter, worthily for his part already.

After him sate Pope Nicholas the first,* who enlarged the Popes decrees with many constitutions, equallyng the authoritie of them, with the writings of the Apostles. He ordayned that no secular Prince, nor the Emperour himself, should be present at their Councils, vnles in matters concerning the fayth: to the end that such as they iudged to be heretikes, they should execute and murther. Also, that no lay men should sit in iudgement vpon the clergy men, or reason vpon the Popes power. Item that no Christian Magistrate should haue any power vpon any Prelate, alledging that a Prelate is called God. Item that all Church seruice should be in Latine: yet notwithstanding, dispensing with the Sclauonians, and Polonians, to retaine still their vulgar language. Sequences in the Masse were by him first allowed. By this Pope, Priestes began to be restrained and debarred from marrying:* whereof Hulderike Bishop of Ausbrough (a learned & an holy man) sending a letter vnto the Pope, grauely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth against his vndiscret proceedings touching y^t matter. The copy of which letter, as I thought it vnworthy to be suppressed, so I iudged it here worthy & meete for the better instruction of the Reader, to bee inserted. The wordes whereof here follow out of Latine into English translated.

*** A learned Epistle of Hulderike bishop of Ausbrough, sent to Pope Nicholas the first, proouing by probations substantiall, that Priestes ought not to bee restrayned from Mariage.**

Nicolao Domino & patri, peruigili sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae prouisor, Huldericus solo nomine Episcopus, amorem vt filius, timorem vt seruus. Cum tha (O pater & Domine) decreta super clericorum continentian, &c.*

The same in English.

Hulderike bishop onely by name, vnto the reuerend father Nicholas the vigilant prouisor of the holy church of Rome: with due commendation sendeth loue as a sonne, and feare as a seruaunt. Vnderstanding reuerend father your decrees which you sent to me concerning the single lyfe of the Clergy, to be far discrepant from all discretiō, I was troubled partly with feare, partly with heauinesse. With feare, (for that, as it is sayd) the sentence of the pastor, whether it be iust or vniust, is to be feared.

For I was afrayde for the weake hearers of the Scripture (which scarcely obey the iust sentence of their Pastour) much more despyssing this vniust decreement, through the onerous and importable transgression of their Pastor, should shew themselues disobedient. With heauines I was troubled, and with compassion for that I doubted how the members of the body should doe (their head being so greatly out of frame) For what can be more greuouse or more to be lamēted, touching the state of the church then for you, being the Bishop of the principall seat, to whom appertaineth the regiment of the whole church, to swarue neuer so little, out of the right way Certes, in this you haue not a little erred, in that you haue gone about to constraîne your Clergy to singlenes of life, through your imperious tyranny: whom rather [Page 138](#) ye ought to stirre vp to the continency of mariage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyranny to the iudgement of all wise men: when a man is compelled by your decrees to doe that which is against the institution of the Gospell,* and the proceeding of the holy Ghost? Seyng then there be so many holy examples both of the olde and new Testament, teachyng vs (as you know) due information: I desire your patience not to thinke it greuouse for me to bryng a few here out of many.

First in the olde law, the Lord permitteth mariage vnto the Priestes, which afterward in the new law, we doe not read to bee restrayned, but in the Gospel thus he sayth: There bee some Eunuches which haue gelded themselues for the kingdome of heauen, but all men do not take this word, he that can take it, let him take it. Wherefore the Apostle sayth, concerning virgins I haue no commaundement of the Lord, but onely I geue counsell. Which counsaile also all men do not take, as in the commaundement of the Lord before, but many there be, false dissemblers and flatterers,* goyng about to please men and not God, whome we see vnder a false pretence of continencie, to fall into horrible wickednesse: Some to lye with their fathers wiues, some to bee Sodomites, and not to abhorre to play the beastes with brute beastes. And therefore, least through the infection of this wicked pestilēce, the state of the Church should too much go to ruine: therefore he sayd, because of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wyfe. Touching which saying, our false hypocrites falsly do lye, & faine: as though onely it pertayned to the laitie, and not to them. And yet they themselues seming to be set in the most holy order, are not afrayd to abuse other mens wiues, and as we see with (weeping eyes) all they do outrage in the foresayd wickednes.

These men haue not rightly vnderstanded the Scripture, whose brestes while they sucke so hard (in stead of milke) they suck out bloud.* For the saying of the Apostle: let euery man haue his

own wife: doth except none in very deede, but him onely which hath the gifte of continency, prefixing with himselfe to keepe and to continue hys virgine in the Lord. Wherefore (O reuerend father) it shalbe your part to cause & ouersee, that whosoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vowe of continencie, and afterward would forsake, either should be compelled to keepe his vowe, or els by lawfull authoritie should be deposed from his order.

And to bring this to passe, ye shall not onely haue me, but also all other of my order, to be helpers vnto you. But that you may vnderstand, that such which know not what a vowe doth meane, are not to be violently compelled thereunto: heare what the Apostle sayth vnto Timothie. A Bishop (sayth he) must be irreprehensible, the husband of one wife. Which sentence, least ye should turne and apply onely to the Church, marke what he inferreth after: he that knoweth not (sayth he) to rule his owne householde and familie, how should he rule the Church of God? And likewise the Deacons (sayth he) let them be the husbandes of one wyfe, which haue knowledge to gouerne their owne house and children. And this wyfe, how she is woont to bee blest of the Priest, you vnderstand sufficiently: I suppose, by the decrees of holy Siluester the Pope.

To these and such other holy sentences of the Scripture, agreeth also,* he that is the writer of the rule of the Clergy, writing after this maner. A Clarke must be chaste and continent, or els let him be coupled in the bandes of Matrimony, hauing one wyfe. Whereby it is to be gathered, that the Bishop and Deacon, are noted infamous and reprehensible, if they be deuied in mo women then one: otherwise, if they do forsake one vnder the pretence of Religion, both they together, as well the Bishop as the Deacon bee here condemned by the Canonically sentence, which sayth: Let no Bishop or Priest forsake his owne wife, vnder the colour and pretence of Religion. If he doe forsake her, let hym bee excommunicate. And if he so continue, let hym bee disgraded. Saint Augustine also, a man of discrete holynesse, sayth in these wordes: There is no offence so great or grieuous, but it is to auoyd a greater euill.

Furthermore, we read in the second booke of the Tripartite history: That when the Councell of Nice, goyng about to establish the same decree, would enact that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, after their consecration, either should abstaine vtterly from their own wiues, or els should be deposed. Then Paphnutius (one of those holy Martyrs, whom the Emperor Maximus had put out the right eie, & hockt their left legs) rising vp amongst the, withstood their purposed decreement: confessing Mariage to be honourable, and calling the bed of matrimony to be chastitie, and so perswaded the Councell from making that law, declaring thereby what occasion might come to themselues & their wiues of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being vnmarried himself) declare vnto thē. And the whole Councell commending his sentence, gaue place thereto, & left the matter freely without cōpulsion, to the will of euery man, to do therein as he thought.

Notwithstanding there be some, which take S. Gregory for their defence in this matter, whose temeritie I laugh at, & ignorance I lament, for they know not, being ignorauntly deceiued, how daungerously the decree of this heresie was (being made of S. Gregory) who afterward well reuoked the same, with condign fruit of repentaunce.

For vpon a certaine day as he sent vnto his fishpond to haue fish,* and did see more then sixe thousand infants heades brought vnto him, which were taken out of the same pond or mote: did greatly repent in himselfe the decree made before, touchyng the single lyfe of Priests, which he

confessed to be the cause of that so lamentable a murther. And so purging the same with condigne fruite of repentaunce, altered agayne the things which he had decreed before, commending that counsaile of the Apostle, which sayth: It is better to marry then to •urne. Adding moreouer of himself thereunto, and saying: It is better to marry, then to giue occasion of death.

Peraduenture if these men had read with me this, which so happened: I thinke they would not be so rash in their doing and iudging, fearyng at least the Lordes commaundement: Doe not iudge, that ye be not iudged. And S Paule sayth: Who art thou that iudget an other mans seruant? Either he standeth or falleth to his owne maister, but he shall stand, for the Lord is mighty and able to make him stand. Therefore let your holynes cease to compell and enforce those, whom onely ye ought to admonish: least through your owne priuate commaundement (which God forbid) you be found contrary, as well to the olde Testament, as to the new. For as S. Augustine sayth to Donatus: this is onely that we do feare in your iustice, lest (not for the consideration of christian lenitie,* but for the grievousnes and greatnesse of transgressions committed) you be thought to vse violence in executyng punishment of that which onely we do desire you (by Christ) not to do. For transgressions are so to be punished, that the lyfe of the transgressours may repent. Also an other saying of Augustine we would you to remember,* which is this: Nil nocends fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate, & nihil fiat imman•ter, nihil inhumaniter. That is: Let nothing be done through the greedines of hurting, but all things through the charitie of profiting: Neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing vngently. Item of the same Augustine it is written. In the feare and name of Christ I exhort you, which of you soeuer haue not the goods of this world be not greedy to haue them.* Such as haue them, presume not to much vpon them. For I say, to haue them is no damnation, but if ye presume vpon them, that is damnation, if for the hauing of thē ye shal seeme great in your owne fight, or if ye do forget the cōmon condition of man through the excellencie of any thing you haue. Vse therfore therin due discretion, tempered with moderation, the which cup of discretion is drawn out of that fountaine of the Apostolike preaching which sayth: Art thou loose frō thy wife? Do not seeke for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seke not to be loosed from her? Where also it followeth, Such as haue wiues, let them be as though they had them not, and they that vse the world,* let them be as not vsing it.

Item concerning the widow he sayth: Let her marry to whō she wil, only in the Lord. To marry in the Lord, is nothing els but to attempt nothing in cōtracting of matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid, Ieremy also saith: Trust not in the words of lies, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The which saying of Ieremy, Hierome expounding, saith thus: this may agree also, & be applied vnto such virgins, which brag & vaunt their virginie with an impudent face, pretending chastitie, when they haue an other thing in their conscience, and know not how the Apostle defineth the virgin,* that she should be holy in body, and also in spirit. For what auayleth the chastitie of the body, if the mind inwardly be defloured? Or if it haue not the other vertues, which the propheticall Sermon doth describe? The which vertues, for as much as we see partly to be in you, and because we are not ignorant, that this discretiō (although neglected in this part, yet in the other actiōs of your life to be kept honestly of you) do not dispaire, but you dispaire, but you wil also soone amend the little lacke which is behind. And therefore with as much grauitie as we can, we cease not to call vpō you, to correct and amend this your negligēce. For although according to our common calling, a bishop is

greater then a Priest, yet Austen being lesse then Hierome (notwithstāding the good correctiō proceeding frō the lesser to the greater) was not to be refused or disdained, especially when he which is corrected, is found to striue against the truth to please mē.* For as S. Austen faith, writing to Boniface: the disputatiōs of all mē, be they neuer so Catholick or approued persōs: ought not to bee had in stead of the Canonickall Scriptures. So that we may disprooue or refuse (sauing the honor & reuerence which is due vnto thē) any thing that is in their writings: if any thing there be found, contrary to trueth: and what can be found more contrary to the trueth then this? When as the trueth him selfe speaking of continency, not of one onely, but of all men together, (the number onely excepted of them which haue professed continencye) sayth: He that can take, let him take: the which saying, these men (mooued, I cannot tell by what occasion) doe turne and say: he that cannot take, let him be accursed. And what can bee more foolishhe amongst men, then when anye Byshoppe or Archdeacon, runne themselues headlong into all kinde of lust, to adultery [Page 139](#) and incest, and also Sodomity: yet shame not to say, that the chaste mariage of Priestes doe stincke before them. And as voyde of all compassion of true righteousnesse, doe not desire or admonish their Clerkes, as their fellow seruauntes to abstayne, but commaund them and enforce them as seruauntes, violentlye to abstayne.* Vnto the whiche imperious commaundement of theirs or counsell (whether you will call it) they adde also thys foolishhe and filthy suggestion, saying: that it is more honest, priuily to haue to doe with many women, then apertly in the sight and consciences of many men, to bee bounde to one wife. The whiche truely they would not say, if they were eyther of hym, or in him, which saith, wo to you Phariseis which do all thinges before men. And by the Psalmist: because they please men, they are confounded: for the Lord hath despised them. These be the men, who rather ought to perswade vs, that we should shame to sinne priuily in the sight of him, to whē all things be open, thē to seeme in the sight of men for to be cleane. These men therefore, although through their sinful wickednes, deserue no counsell of godlines to be giuen thē: yet we not forgetting our humanitie, cease not to giue them counsell by the authoritie of Gods word, which seketh al mens saluation, desiring thē by the bowels of charitie, & saying with the wordes of Scripture: Cast out thou hypocrite first the beame out of thine owne eye, and then thou shalt see to cast out the mote of the eye of thy brother.

Moreouer, this also we desire them to attend, what the Lord saith of the aduouterous woman: which of you that is without sinne let hym cast the first stone against her. As though hee would say, if Moses bid you, I also bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent ministers and executors of the law: Take heede what yee adde thereunto, take heede also I pray you, what you are your selues: for if (as the Scripture saith) thou shalt well consider thy selfe, thou wilt neuer defame or detract an other.

Moreouer it is signified to vs also, that some there be of them,* which (when they ought like good shepherds to giue their liues for the Lordes flocke) yet are puffed vp, with such pride: that without all reason they presume to rent and teare the Lords flocke, with whippings and beatings, whose vnreasonable dooynges Saint Gregory bewailing,, thus saith: Quid fiat de ouibus quando pastores lupi fiunt? That is, what shall become of the sheepe when the pastors themselues be Woolues? But who is ouercome but he which exerciseth cruelty,? Or who shall iudge the persecutor, but he which gaue patiently his backe to stripes? And this is the frute which commeth to the Church by such persecutors, also which commeth to the clergy, by such despitefull handling of their Byshoppes or rather Infidels. For why may ye not call them Infidels,* of

whome Saint Paule thus speaketh and writeth to Tymothie? that in the latter dayes there shall certaine depart from the faith, geue heede to spirits of errour and doctrine of deuils, of them that speake false through hypocrisie, and hauing their consciences marked with an hote yron, forbidding to marry, and commaunding to abstaine from meates. &c. And this is if it be well marked, the whole handfull of the darnell and cockell growing amongst the corne: this is the couente of all madnes, that whiles they of the Clergye, be compelled to relinquish the cōpany of their own lawful wiues: they become afterward fornicators and adulterers with other women, and wicked ministers of other sinnefull filthinesse. These bee they which bring into the Church of God this heresie (as blinde guides leading the blinde) that it might be fulfilled which the Psalme speaketh of: as foreseeing the errors of such men, & accursing thē after this maner, let their eyes be blinded that they see not, & bow down alwaies their backe. For as much then (O Apostolical Sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you, through the light of your discretion had vnderstanded and seene, what poysoned pestilence, might haue come into the Church thorough the sentence of this your decree: they would neuer haue consēted to the suggestions of certaine wicked persons. Wherefore we counsell you by the fidelitie of our due subiection, that wyth all diligence, you would put away so great slaūder from the Church of God: and through your discret discipline, you will remooue this Pharisaeicall doctryne from the flocke of God: so that thys onely Sunanite of the Lords (vsing no more adulterous husbāds) do not separate the holy people, and the kingly Priesthooe from her spouse which is Christ▪ through an vnrecouerable diuorment: seing that no man without Chastitie (not only in the virgines state,^{*} but also in the state of matrimony) shall see our Lord, who with the father and the holy ghost, lyueth and raigneth for euer, Amen.

By this Epistle of Byshop Huldericke, aboue prefixed, the matter is plaine (gentle Reader) to conceiue, what was then the sentence of learned men, concerning the mariage of ministers, but that here by the way, the Reader is to be admonished. that this Epistle which by error of the writer is referred to pope Nicholas y^e first, in my mind is rather to bee attributed to the name and tune of Nicolas the 2. or 3.

After this pope, Nicolas succeded Hadrianus. 2. Ioannes ix. Martinus. ij. After these came Hadrian the third and Stephē the v. By this Hadrian it was first decreed, y^t no Emperour after that time should intermedle or haue any thing to do in the election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperors fyrst to decay,^{*} and the Papacie to swell and ryse aloft. And thus much concerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to returne where we lefte, touching the storye of King Ethelwolfe. About the latter ende of his reigne, the Danes which before had inuaded the Realme, in the time of king Egbert, as is aboue declared: now made there reentre againe, with 33. shippes arriuing aboute Hamshyre: through the barbarous tyranny of whō, much bloudshed and murther happened here among englishmen, in Dorcet shire, about Pourtchmouth in Kent, in Eastangle, in Lindesey, at Rochester, about London, and in Wests•xe▪ where Ethelwolfe the king was ouercome, besides diuers other vnder kings and dukes, whome the Danes dayly approching, in great multitudes in dyuers victories had put to flight. At length king Ethelwolfe, with his sonne Ethelbaldus, warring against them in Southrey, at Oclea, draue them to the sea, where they houering a space, after a while brast in againe with horrible rage and crueltie, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much as to our purpose shall serue, professing in this history, to write not of matters

externe and politike, but onely pertaining to the Church. The cause of this great affliction sent of God vnto this realme thus I found expressed and collectlected in a certayne olde wrytten storye,* which hath noe name: the wordes of which writer, for the same cause as he thought to recite them, writing as he saith (ad cautelam, futurorum) I thought also for the same here not to be omitted, albeit in all partes of his commendation I doe not fully with him accorde. The wordes of the writer be these.

In Anglorum quidem Ecclesia primitiua,* religio clarissime, respēduit: ita vt Reges & Reginae et Principes ac Duces, Consules, & Barones &c.

In English thus.

In the primitiue Church saith he of the Englishmen, Relygiō did most clerely shine, in so much that kings Queenes, Princes and Dukes, Consuls, Barons, and Rulers of Churches, incensed with the desire of the kingdome of heauen, laboring and stryuing among themselues to enter into Monckery, into voluntarye exile and solitary life, forsoke all and followed the Lord. Where in processe of time, all vertue so much decayed among them, that in fraude and trechery none seemed like vnto them: Neither was to them any thing odious or hatefull but pietie and iustice Neither any thing in price or honor, but ciuill warre and sheddyng of innocent bloud. Wherefore almighty God sent vpon them pagane and cruell nations, like swarmes of Bees, which neyther spared women, nor children, as Danes, Norwagians, Gothes, Sueuians, Vandals, and Fresians. Who from the beginning of the reigne of king Ethelwolfe till the comming of the Normandes, by the space neere of 230. yeares, destroyed their sinfull land from the one side of the sea, to the other, from man also to beast. For why? they inuading England oft times, of euery side, went not about to subdue and possesse it, but onely to spoyle and destroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be ouercome of Englishmen, it auailed nothing, when as other nauies still with greater power in other places were ready vpon a sodaine and vnawares to approche vpon them, &c. Historia Cariana.

Thus farre haue ye the wordes of mine author, declaring the cause, which prouoked Gods anger, whereunto may be adioyned the wickednes, not onely of them but of their forefathers also before them, who falsely breaking the faith and promise made wyth the Britanes, did crueliye murther their nobles, wickedly oppressed their cōmons, impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, miliciously possessed their land and habitation: chasing the inhabitaunts out of house and country, besides the violent murther of the Monkes of Bangor, and diuers soule slaughters against the poore Brytaines, who sent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore, Gods iust recompence fallyng vpon them from that time, neuer suffered them to be quiet from forreine enimies, till the comming of William the Normande &c.

Moreouer,* concerning the outward occasiōs giuē of the Englishmens parts, mouing the Danes first to inuade the Realme, I find in certain stories two most especially assigned. The one iustly giue, & iustly takē. The other not giuen iustly, and 〈◇〉 taken. Of the which two, the first was giuen in Northumberland, by meanes of Osbryght,* reigning vnder king of Westsaxons, in the North partes. This Osbright vppon a time iourneyng by the way, turned into the house of one of his nobles called Bruer. Who hauing at home a wife of great beautie (he beyng [Page 140](#) absent abroad) the king after his dinner (allured wyth the excellency of her beautie) tooke her to a secret

chamber,* where he forceablye contrarye to her will did rauishe her, whereupon she being greatly dismaied, and vexed in her minde, made her mooue to her husband returning, of thys violence and iniury receaued. Bruer consulting with his frindes, first went to the king, resigning to his hands, all suche seruice and possessions which he did hold of him: that done tooke shipping and sailed into Denmarke, where he had great friends: and had his bringing vp before. There making his mone to Codrinus the king,* desired his aide in reuenging of the great vilany of Osbryght against him and his wife. Codrinus hearing this, and glad to haue some iust quarell to enter that land: leuied an army with al spede: & preparing all things necessary for the same, sendeth foorth Inguar and Hubba two brethren,* his chief Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of Danes into England. who first arriuing at Holdernesse, there brent vp the country, & killed without mercy both men, women, and chidrē, whō they could lay hāds vpon. Then marching toward York, entred their battaile, with the foresayde Osbryght, where he with the most part of his armye was slaine. And so the Danes entred the possession of the Citie of Yorke. Some other say, and is by the most part of storye writers recorded, that the chiefe cause of the comming of Inguar & Hubba with the Danes,* was to reuenge king Edmund reygnyng vnder the Westsaxons ouer the Eastangles in Nothfolke and Southfolk: for the murdering of a certaine Dane being father to Inguar and Hubba which was falselye imputed to king Edmund. The story is thus told.

A certaine noble man of the Danes of the kings stock called Lothebocus father to Inguar and Hubba entring vppon a time with his hauke into a certaine schaffe or cockebote alone: by chaunce through tempest was driuen with his hauke to the coast of Nothfolke named Rodhā, where he being found and detained was presented vnto the king. The king vnderstanding his parentage, & seing his case: entertained him in his court accordingly. And euery daye more and more perceiued his actiuities, and great dexteritie in hunting & hauking, bare speciall fauour vnto him. In so much that the kinges faukener, or maister of game, bearing priuy enuy against him, secretly as they were hūting together in a woode, did murther him, & threw him in a bush. This Lothebroke, being murthered, within two or three daies began to be missed in the kinges house: of whō no tidings could be heard, but onely by a dogge or spaniel of his,* which continuing in the wood with the corps of his maister, at sondry times came and fauned vpon the king: so long that at length they folowing the trase of the hound were brought to the place where Lothebroke laye. Wherevpō inquisition made, at length by certeine circumstances of words and other evidences, it was knowne how & by whom he was murthered, that was by the kings huntzman name•Berike. Who thereupon being conuicted, was set into the same bote of Lothebroke, alone and without any takeling to driue by seas, either to be saued by the weather or to be drowned in the deepe. And as it chaunced Lothebroke from Dennemarke to be driued to Northfolke, so it happened that from Northfolke he was caried into Denmarke. Where the bote of Lothebroke being well knowen, hands were laid vpon him, & inquisition made of the party. In sine in his torments, to saue himselfe, he vttered an vntruth of king Egmund, saying, that the king had put him to death in the country of Northfolke. Wherupon grudge first was conceiued, thē an army appointed, & great multitude sent into England, to reuenge that fact: where first they arriuing in Northumberland, destroyed (as is sayd) those parties first. From thence sayling into Northfolke they exercised the like tyranny there, vpon the inhabitaūts therof, especially vpon the innocent prince, & blessed matter of God, king Edmund. Cōcerning the farther declaration wherof, hereafter shal follow (Christ our Lord, so permitting) more to be spoken, as place and obseruation of time and yeares, shall require.

*In the meane seasō, king Ethelwulphe, in this chapter here presently touched, when he had chased y^e foresaid Daues (as is aboue rehearsed from place to place, causing thē to take the Sea, he in the meane while departeth him selfe both from land and life: leauing behinde him foure sons, which reigned euery one in his order, after the discease of their father. The names of whom were Ethelbaldus, Ethelbrightus, Ethelredus, and Aluredus.

King Ethelbalde.

KING Ethelbald the eldest sonne of Ethelwulfe, succeeding his father in the prouince of Westsaxe: and Ethelbright in the prouince of Kent: reigned both together, the terme of v. yeares,* one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald, the first le^t this infamie, behinde him in storyes, for marrying and lying with his stepmother,* wife to hys owne father named Iudith. After these two succeded Ethelred, the thirde sonne, who is his time was so encombred with the Danes, brusting in on euery side: especiallye about Yorke, (which Citie they then spoyled and brent vp) that he in one yeare stode in ix. battailes against them,* w^t the helpe of Alured his brother. In the beginning of thys Kinges reigne, the Danes landed in East Englande, or Northfolke & Southfolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forsake that country,* and so toke again shipping, and sayled Northward, and landed in Northūberlande: where they were met of the Kinges then there reigning, called Osbright, and Ella, which gaue to them a strong light. But notwithstanding the Danes, with help of such as inhabited the country, wanne the City of York, and helde it a certaine season as is aboue foretouched.

In the reigne of this Ethelred, the Northumberlanders rebelling against the king,* thought to recouer again the former state of their kingdome out of the Westsaxons hand, by reason of which discord (as happeneth in al lāds where dissention is) the strength of the Englishe nation was thereby not a litle weakned,* and the Danes the more thereby preuailed.

About the latter time of the reigne of this Etheldred▪ which was about the yeare of our Lord. 870. certayne of the foresaide Danes being thus possessed of y^e north country: after their cruel persecution and murther done there, (as partly is touched before) tooke shipping frō thence, intending to saile toward the Eastangles, who by the way vpon the sea, met with a flot of Danes: whereof the Captaines or leaders were named Inguar & Hubba. Who ioyning altogether in one counsel, made al one course, & lastly landed in East England, or Northfolke, & in proces of time came to Thetior•. Thereof hearing Edmund, then vnder king of that prouince: assembled an host, that gaue to them battall. But Edmund and his company was forced to forsake the field, & the king with a few persons fled vnto the castle of Framingham,* whō the Danes pursued. But he in short while after, yelded himselfe to the persecution of the Danes: aunswering in this maner to y^e messēger, that told him in the name of Inguar Prince of the Danes:* which most victoriously (saith he) was come with innumerable legions, subduing both by sea and land manye nations vnto him: & so now arriued in those parts, requireth him likewise to submit himself, yelding to him his hid treasures, and such other goods of his auncetors, and so to reign vnder him, which thing if he would not do, he shold (said he) be iudged vnworthy both of life & reigne. Edmūd hearing this proud message of y^e Pagane, consulted wyth certayne of his fryends: and amongst other, with one of his bishops being thē his Secretary, who seyng the present daunger of the king: gaue him counsell to yeeld to the conditions. Upon this the king pausing a little with him self, at length rendred this aunswere: Bidding the messenger go to tell his Lord in these words.* That

Edmūd a christian king, for the loue of temporall life, will not submitte himselfe to Pagane Duke, vnlesse he before woulde bee a Christian Incontinent vpon the same, the wicked & crafty Dane approaching in most hasty speede vpon the King, encountred with him in battell (as some say) at Thetford: where the king being put to the worse, & pittieng the terrible slaughtre of his men: thinking with himselfe rather to submit his owne person to daunger, then his people should be slaine did flye (as Fabian sayth) to the Castle of Framingham: or (as my author writeth to Halesdō, now called S. Edmundesbury, where this blessed man, being on euery side cōpassed of his cruel enimies, yelded himself to their persecution. And for that he would not reny or deny Christ and his lawes, they therfore most cruelly bound him vnto a tree, & caused him to be shot to death: and lastly caused his head to be smitten from his body, & cast into the thicke bushes. Which head and body at the same time was by his frendes taken vp, and solemnely buried at the sayd Halesdon, otherwise now named S. Edmunds bury. Whose brother named Edwoldus (notwithstanding of ryght, the kingdome fell next vnto him) setting a part the lyking & pleasure of the world, became an Hermite at the Abbey of Cerum, in the Countrey of Dorset.

After the Martirdome of this blessed Edmund, when the cruell Danes had sufficiently robbed and spoyled that country: they tooke agayne their shippes, and landed in Southrey, & continued their iourney till they came to the towne of Reading, & there wan the towne with the castle where (as Cambrensis saith) within three dayes of their thether comming, the foresayde Inguar and Hubba Captaines of the Danes, as they went in purchasing of theyr prayes or booties: were slaine at a place called Englefelde. Which Princes of the Danes thus slaine, the rest of them kept whole together, in such wise that y^e Westsaxons might take of them none aduantage. But yet within fewe dayes after the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the castle, & to defend them in plain battaile. In the whiche (by the industry of king Ethelred and of Allured his brother) the Danes were discomfited, & many of them slaine: which discomfort made them flie againe into the castle, and there kept them for a certain time. The King then committing the charge of them to Ethelwolde Duke of Baroke or Barkshire, so departed. But whē the Danes knew of the kings departure, they brake sodeinly out of their hold, and tooke the Duke vnprouided, & slewe him, and much of his people. And so adioyning thēselues with other that were scattered in the countrey, enbattelled them in such wise, that of them was gathered a strōg host.

As the tidings hereof was brought to king Etheldred, (which put him in great heauines) word also was brought the same time of the landing of Osrike, king of Denmarke: who with assistance of the other Danes had gathered a great host, and were enbattelled vpō Ashdowne. To this battaile king Ethelred with his brother Alured (forced by great neede) sped them selues to withstand the Danes. At which time, the king a litle staying behind being yet at his seruice, Alured which was comen before, had entred already into the whole fight with the Danes: who strake together with huge violēce. The king being required to make speede (hee being then at seruice, and meditations) such was his deuotion: that he would not stirre out one foote, before the seruice was fully cōplete. In this meane while, the Danes so fearsly inuaded Alured and his mē, that they wanne the hill: and the Christen men were in the valley, and in great daunger to loose the whole felde. Neuerthesse through the grace of God, and their godly manhooe, the king comming from his seruice, with his fresh souldiours recouered the hill of the infidels: and so discōfited the Danes that day, that in fleing away not only they lost the victory, but most part also of them

their liues. In so much that their Duke or king Osride or Osege, and fiue of their Dukes, with much of their people were slain, and the rest chased vnto Reding towne.

After this, the Danes yet resembled their people, and gathered a new host, so that within xv. dayes, they mete at Basingstoke,* and there gaue battaile vnto the king, & had the better. Then the king againe gathered his mē, which at that field were disparted, and with fresh souldiours to them accompanied, mete the Danes within two moneths after at the towne of Merton, where hee gaue to them a sharpe battaile: so that much people were slaine as well of the Christen, as of the Danes, but in the ende, the Danes had the honour of the fiede, and king Ethelred there was wounded, and therefore faine to saue himselfe.

After these ij. fields thus won by the Danes, they obtained great circuit of groūd, and destroyed man & childe, that would not yeld to them. And Churches and temples they turned to the vse of stables, & other vile occupations.

Thus the king beset with enemies on euery side, seing the land so miserably oppressed of the Danes: his knights and soldiours consumed: his owne land of Westsaxons in such desolation: he being also wounded himself: But especially for that he sending his commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and Eastanglia, could haue of them but smal or litle comfort (because they through wicked rebellion, were more willing to take the part of the Danes, then of their king) was sore perplexed therewithall,* as the other Kinges were both before him and after him, at that time. So that, as Malmesbury witnesseth, magis optarēt honestum exitium, quàm tam acerbum imperium. That is, They rather wished honestly to die, then with such trouble and sorrow to reigne. And thus this King not long after deceased, when he had reigned, as Fabian sayth viij. yeres, as Malmesbury wryteth,* but v. yeares. During which time of his reigne, notwithstanding hys so great troubles and vexations in martiall affaires, (as is in some stories mentioned) he founded the house or college of Chanōs at Exeter, and was buried at the Abbey of Winborn or Woborn.* After whose decease, for lacke of issue of his body, the rule of the land fel vnto his brother Alured.

*** King Alured otherwise called Alfrede.**

AMong the Saxon kinges hetherto in this historie afore mentioned: I finde fewe or none to be preferred (or almost to be compared) to this Alured, or Alfrede for the great and singulare qualities in this king worthy of high renowne and commendation. Whether we behold in him the valiant actes, and manifold trauailes which he continually from time to time sustained against his ennemies in warres, during almost all the time of his raigne, for the publicke preservation of his people: Or whether we consider in him, his godly and excellent vertues, ioyned with a publicke and tender care, and zealous study; for the common peace and trāquility of the weale publicke: appearing as wel in his prudēt lawes by him both carefully set forth, and with the like care executed, as also by his own priuate exercises touching the vertuous institution of his life. Or whether we respect that in him, which with equall praise matcheth with both the other before: That is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a feruēt loue and Princely desire, to set forth the same through all his Realme (before his time being both rude and barbarous) All whych his heroical properties, ioyned together in one Prince, as it is a thing most rare, and seldome seene in Princes now a daies: so I thought the same the more to be noted and

example fide in this good king. Therby either to moue other rulers and Princes in these our daies, to his imitation: or els to shew them what hath ben in times past, in their anceters, which ought to be, and yet is not founde in them. Wherefore of these three partes to discourse either part in order, first we wil enter to entreat of his actes and painefull trauailes sustained, in defence of the Realme publicke: against the raging tyrannie of the Danes, as they be described in the Latin histories of Rog. Houeden, and Huntington: * whome Fabian also seemeth in this part somewhat to follow. King Alfred therfore, first of al the English kings, taking his crowne and vnction at Rome of Pope Leo (as Malmesberiensis and Polycronicon do recorde) in the beginning of his raigne, perceauing his Lordes & people much wasted and decaied, by the reason of the great warres of Ethelred, had against the Danes: yet as well as he coulde, gathered a strength of men vnto him, and in the secōd moneth that he was made King, he met with the Danes beside Wylton, where hee gaue to them battaile. But being farre ouermatched, through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worse: although not wythout a great slaughter of the Pagane army. Which army then of the Danes, after that victorie, by compaction made wyth King Alfrede, to depart out of his dominion of Westsaxe: remoued from Reading to London, where they abode all that winter. * Where Halden their king, taking truse wyth Burhered, King of Mercians, the next yeare followinge voyded those partes, and drewe to Lyndesey: in robbing and spoyling the townes and villages as they went, and holding the common people vnder their seruage. From thence after to Repyngdon: where they ioyning wyth the three other Kings of the Danes (called Surdrim, Osketel, and Hamond) grewe thereby in mighty force and strength. Who then deuiding their armie in two partes, the one halfe remained wyth Halden in the countrey of Northumberland: the residue were with the other three kings, wintering and sojourning all the next yeare at Grantbrige, which was the fourth yeare of King Alfred. In the which yeare King Alfred his men had a conflict on the Sea, with sixe of the Danes shippes, of which one they tooke, the other fled away. * In this yeare went Rollo the Dane into Normandie, where hee was Duke thirtie yeare, and afterwarde was Baptised in the faith of Christ, and named Robert The foresayde armie of the three Dane Kinges aboue mētioned frō Grantebryge, returned again to Westsaxonie, and entred the Castle of warrham: where King Alfrede with a sufficiēt power of men, was ready to assault them. But the Danes seeing his strength durst not attēpt with him, but sought delaies, while more ayd might come. In the meane season they were constrayned to intreat for truce: leauing also sufficient pledges in the Kinges hand, promising moreouer vpon their othe, to voyde the country of the westsaxons. The king vpon the surety let them go. But they falsely breaking their league, priuely in the night brake out, taking their iourney toward Exceter. In which iourney, they lost vi. score of their small ships, by a tempest at Sandwych (as Henry Huntington in hys storye recordeth.) Then kyng Alfrede followed after the horsmen of the Danes, but coulde not ouertake them, before they came to Exceter, where he tooke of thē pledges and fayre promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding the number of the Pagāes did dayly more and more increase, in so much (as one of my authors sayth) that if in one day 30. thousand of them were slayn, shortly after they increased double as many agayne. After this truce taken with King Alfrede, the Danes then voyded to the land of Mercia, whereof part of that kingdome they kept themselues, part they committed to one Ceolulphus: vpon condition [Page 142](#) that he should be vassall to them, and at their commandement, with his people at all times.

*The next yere insuing, which was the vij. yeare of the raigne of Alfred, the Danes; who nowe hauing all the rule of the Northpart of Englande, from the riuer of Tames, with Mercia, London, and Essex: disdained that Alfrede shoulde beare any dominion on the other side of Tames

southward. Whereupon the foresayde three kings with all the force and strength they coulde make, marched towarde Chippenham in Westsexe,* with such a multitude, that the king w^t his people was not able to resist them. In so much that the people which inhabited there, some fled ouer the sea, some remained with the king, diuers submitted themselues to the Danes. Thus King Alfrede being ouerset w^t multitude of enemies, and forsaken of hys people, hauing neither lād to hold, nor hope to recouer that which he had lost: * withdrew himselfe w^t a fewe of his nobles about him, into a certaine wood countrey in Somersetshire, called Ethelyng: where he had right scant to liue with, but suche as he and his people might purchase by hunting and fishing. This Edelyng or Ethelyng or Ethelyngsey, standeth in a great Maresse or Moore, so that there is no accesse vnto it, without ship or boate: and hath in it a great woode called Selewood, and in the midle a litle plaine, about of two acres of ground. In which Ile is veneson. and other wilde beastes, with soule and fishes, great plenty. In this wood, King Alured at his first comming, espied a certaine deserte cotage of a poore Swynarde, keeping swine in the woode, named Dunwolphus: of whome the King then vnknown was entertained and chearished, with such poore fare as he and his wife could make him.* For the which, King Alfrede afterwarde, set the poore Swinarde to learning, and made him Bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, while King Alfrede accompanied with a few, was thus in the desert wood, waiting the euent of these miseries: certaine stories recorde of a poore beggar, which there came and asked hys almes of the King. And the night folowing he appeared to the King in hys sleepe: saying his name was Cutbert, promising (as sent frō God, vnto him for his good charitie) great victories against the Danes. But to let these dreaming fables passe, althoughe they be testified by diuers authours, both Wilielmus Lib. de Reg. Polychronicon, Rog. Houeden, Iornalensis, and other mo. Notwythstanding the king in processe of time, was strēghened and cōforted more,* through the prouidence of God: respecting the miserable ruine of the Englishmen. First the brother of King Haldene the Dane before mentioned, comming in with xxiiij. ships, landed about Deuonshire: where by chaunce being resisted by a bushment of king Alfrede's men (who for their safegarde there lay in garyson) were slaine to the number of 1300. men,* and their ensigne called the Ranen was taken. Houedenus in hys booke of Continuationis wryteth, that in the same cōflict both Inguar and Hubba were slain among the other Danes. After this, King Alfrede being better cheared, shewed him selfe more at large: so that daily resorted to him, men of Wiltshyre, Somersetshyre, and Hamshyre, till that hee was strongly accompanied.

Then the King put himselfe in a bold and dangerous venture (as wryteth Wilelmus Lib. de Reg. Polychron. and Fabian which followeth them both) for he apparelling him in the habite of a Minstrell (as hee was very skilfull in all Saxon Poemes) with his instrument of Musike, entred in the tentes of the Danes, lying then at Eddendime: and in shewing there his interlude and songs, espied all theyr slouth and ydlenes, and heard much of their counsell. And after returning to hys companie, declared vnto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly vpon the same, the King sodainly in the night fell vpon the foresaid Danes, & distressed and slewe of them a great multitude, chased them from that coast. In so much that through hys strong & valiaunt assaults vpon his enemies, out of his tower of Edelyng newly fortified: he so encōbered them, that he clearly voyded the countrey of them, betweene that and Selwoodes. His subiectes eftsones, hearing of these hys valiaunt victories, and manful deedes, drewe to him daily out of all coasts. Who through the helpe of God, and their assistāce, helde the Danes so short, that he wanne from them Winchester, & diuers other good townes. Briefly, at lēgth he forced them to seeke for

peace: * the which was concluded vpon certaine couenaunts. Whereof one and the principal was, that the forenamed Gutrum their King shoulde be Christened. The other was, that suche as woulde not be Christened, should depart and voide the countrey.

*Upon these couenants, first the sayde Gutrum the Danish Prince cōming to Winchester, there was Christened with xx. of his greatest Dukes or Nobles. To the whyche Gutrum King Alured being hys Godfather at hys Baptisme, named hym Athelstane. Who after a certaine season that he had feasted the said Danes: he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto theyr King the countrey of Eastanglia, containing Northfolke & Suffolke, and part of Cambridshire. Moreouer (as saith Polychron.) he graūted to the Danes that were Christened, the Countrey of Northumberland. So the residue that wold not be Christened, departed the land, and sailed into Fraunce▪ where, what vexation and harme they wrought, the Chronicles of Fraunce do partly comprehend.

King Athelstane thus hauing the possession of these countreis, * had all Eastangles vnder his obedience. And albeit that he held the sayd prouince as in fee of the king, & promised to dwel there as his liege mā: yet that notwithstanding, hee continued more like a tyrant, by the terme of xj. yeare and died in the xij. yere. During the which space, King Alfrede hauing some more rest and peace, repaired certain townes and strong holds afore by the Danes empaired. Also he builded diuers houses of religiō, * as y^e house of Nunnes at Shaftesbury. An other religious house at Ethelyng he foūded. Item an other in Winchester, named the new monastery. Item, he endewed richly the Church of S. Cutbert in Dyrham. He sent also to India, to pay and performe his vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the time of his distresse against the Danes.

About the xv. yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and so came to Rochester, and besieged that City: and there lay so long, that they builded a Tower of tymber against the gates of the Citie. But by strength of the Citizens, that tower was destroyed, and the Citie defended t• King Alfrede came and reseued them. Whereby the Danes were so distressed, and so nere trapped: that for feare, they left their horses behind them, and fled to their ships by night. But the King, when he was thereof ware: sent after them and tooke xvj. of their shippes, & slew many of the said Danes. This done, the King returned to London, & repaired the same honorably (as sayth Houedenus) & made it habitable, which before was sore decaied and febled by the Danes.

The third yeare after this, * which was the xix. yeare of the raigne of king Alfred: the foresayd Athelstane the Danish king of Northfolke (which by Alfred was Christened before) deceased. Not lōg after this, about the xxj. yeare of this kinges reigne, the Danes agayne landed in foure places of this land: which was, in Eastinglande: in the North: and in the West, in two places. Before the landyng of these Danes, it chaunced king Elfred, hearing of the death of King Athelstane, and of other complayntes of the Danes, was then in Eastengland, when these tidings c•me to him.

When King Alfrede was hereof ascertained: forsomuch as some of the Danes were landed in that coast, thincking with themselues the further they wēt in those parties, the lesse resistance to haue, * and the more speede, as they were wont to haue before: Alfride therefore sending

messengers in all hast to Etheldred Duke of Mercia, to assemble to him an host, to withstand the Danes which landed in y^e West, made forth toward hys enemies there, where hee was in Eastanglia, whom he pursued so sharpely, that hee droue them out from those parties. They then landed in kent, whether the king with his people sped him, and in lyke maner draue the Danes from thence, without anye great fight,* so farre as in our authors we can see. After this, agayne the Danes tooke shipping, and sayled into Northwales, and there robbed and spoyled the Britones, & from thence returned by the sea into Eastanglia, with an hundreth ships, and there rested them, for so much the king then was gone Westward.

The fourth host of the Danes, the same yeare came to Chester, which at length they won, but then, the countrey adioyning pressed so sore vpon them, and besieged them so long,* keeping them selues wythin the City, that at the last the Danes weryed with the long siege, were compelled to eat their owne horses for hunger. But by appointment, at last they gaue ouer the towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, whyche was about the xxiiij. yeare of king Alfrede: Which Alfrede in the meane while with his host, sped him thetherward. Thē the Danes, leauing their strong holdes and Castles garnished with men and vitaille: tooke againe shipping, and set theyr course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, & so came to the porte of Lewes: and from thence toward London, and builded a Tower or Castle neare vnto the riuer of Ley,* xx. mile frō London. But the Londiners hearing therof, manned out a certaine number of men of armes, who w^t the assistance of them of that countrey, put the Danes from that tower: [Page 143](#) and after beat it downe to the groūd. Soone after the king came downe thether. And to preuent the daungers that might ensue,* commaunded the riuer of Luye to be deuided in iii. streames: so that where a shyp might sayle in times before, then a litle boate might scantly row. Frō thence the Danes, leauing their shippes & wiues, were forced to flie that countrey, and tooke their way againe toward Wales, and came to Quadrage neare to the Riuer of Seuerne. Where, vpon the borders therof, they builded then a castle, there resting themselues for a time: whome the King eftsoones wyth his armie pursued. In the meane tyme, the Londiners at Luye taking the Danes shippes: some of them they brought to London, the rest they fired. During all these three yeres, from the first comming of the Danes to Luye, Englande was afflicted with three maner of sorrowes: with the Danes,* wyth pestilence of men, and morreine of beasts. The which troubles notwithstanding, yet the King manfully resisted the malice of his enemyes, and thāked God alway, what trouble soeuer fel to him, or vnto his Realme, and susteined it wyth great pacience & humilitie. These three yeares ouerpast,* the next yeare folowing, which was the xxviiij. of the reigne of Alfrede: the Danes deuided their hoste: of whom part went to Northumberland, some to Northfolke, part sailed ouer to Fraunce, some other came to Westsaxe.* Where they had diuers conflictcs with the Englishmen, both by lande and especially vpon the Sea: of whome some were slaine: many by shypwracke peryshed, diuers were taken and hanged, and xxx. of their shippes were taken.

*Not long after this, king Alfred, when he had reigned xxix. yeares, and vj. monethes, chaunged this mortall life. And thus much (and more peraduēture, then will seeme to thys our Ecclesiasticall storie appertaining) touching the painfull labours and trauailes of this good king: which he no lesse valiantly atcheued, then patiently susteined, for the necessary defence of his Realme and subiects.

Now if there be any Prince, who listeth to see and follow the vertuous and godly disposition of this king: both touching the institution of his owne life, & also concerning his carefull gouernement of the cōmon weale: thus the histories of him do record. That at what time he being yōg, perceaued hymselfe somewhat disposed to the vice of the flesh, & thereby letteth from many vertuous purposes: did not as many young Princes, and Kinges sonnes in the world be now wont to do: that is to resolute thēselues into all kind of carnal licence, and dissolute sensualitie, running and folowing without bridle, whether soeuer their licence geuen doth leade them (as therefore not without cause the common prouerbe reporteth of them) that Kings sonnes learne nothing well els, but onely to ride. Meaning therby, that Princes and Kinges sonnes hauing about them flatterers, whych bolster them in theyr faultes: onely their horses geue to them no more, then to any other: but if they sit not fast, they wil cast them. But this young king seeing in him selfe the inclination of his fleshly nature, minding not to geue hym selfe so much as he might take,* but rather by resistance to auoid the tentation thereof: besought God that he wold send to him some continual sicknes, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publike busines of the cōmon wealth, and more apt to serue God in his calling. Cestrens. Lib. 5. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.

Then at Gods ordinance, he had the euill called Ficus, til he came to the age of xx. yeres,* wherof at length he was cured (as is sayd in some stories) by the virgin called Modwen, an Irishwoman. After this sicknesse being taken away, to him fell an other: which continued with him from the xx. yeres of his age, to xlv (according to his own petition & request made vnto God) wherby, he was the more reclaimed & attempered from other more great incōueniences, and lesse disposed to that which he did most abhorre.

Moreouer to beholde the bountiful goodnes ioyned w^t like prudence in this man:* in the ordering & disposing hys riches and rents, it is not vnworthy to be recited. How he deuided his goods in two equall partes: the one appertaining to vses secular, the other to vses spirituall or Ecclesiasticall. Of the which two principall partes, the first he deuided into three portiōs: the first to the behofe of his house and family,* the second vpon his workmen and builders of his new works, whereof he had great delight & cunning: the third vpon strangers. Likewise the other second halfe, vpon spirituall vses, he did thus diuide in foure portions: One to the releuing of the poore: An other to monasteries: The iij. portion to the schooles of Oxforde,* for the mainteining of good letters: The iiij. he sent to foreine Churches, without the Realme. This also is left in stories written to his commendation, for his great tolerance and sufferance: that when he had builded the new Monastery at Winchester, and afterward hys sonne Edward had purchased of the Byshop and the Chapter a sufficient peece of grounde for certaine offices to be adioyned vnto the same, & had geuen for euery foote of ground, mancam auri pleni ponderis (which was as I thynke a marke of golde) or more: yet Alfrede therewithal was not greatly discontented to see his coffers so wasted.

Ouer and besides,* how sparing and frugall hee was of time (as of a thing in this earth most pretious) and howe farre from al vain pastimes and idlenes he was: this doth well declare, which in the storie of William de Reg. & other wryters is tolde of hym. That hee so deuided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by warres, or other great busines: that eight houres hee spent in studie & learning: and other eight houres he spent in praier and almes dedes: and other eight houres he spent in his natural rest, sustenance of his body, and the needes of the realme.

The which order he kept duely by the burning of waxen tapers kept in his closet by certaine persons for the same purpose. Guliel.

How studious he was & carefull of the commō wealth and maintenance of publike tranquillitie: his lawes most godly set forth and diuised by him may declare. Wherein especially by him was provided, for the extirping and abolishing all theft and theeues out of the Realme. Wherby, the Realme through his vigilant care, was brought into such trāquillitie or rather perfection, that in euery crosse or turning way, he made be set vp a golden brouch at least of siluer gilded, through his dominiōs: and none so hardy neither by day nor night to take it downe: for the more credit wherof, the wordes of the Latin story be these: *Armillas aureas iuberet suspendi, quae uiantium audiatem irritarent, dum non essent, qui eas abriperent.* &c. Guliel. Lib. de Regibus Angl. And no great maruel therein, if the Realme in those dayes was brought in such an order, and that iustice then was so well ministred, when the king him selfe was so vigilant in ouerseeing the doings of his iudges and officers. Whereof thus also we read in the saide author testified: *Iudiciorum a suis hominibus factorum, inquisitor, perperam actorum asperrimus corrector.* 1. he was (sayeth mine author speaking of the king) a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his iudges, and a strict punisher of theyr misdoinges. Iornalensis also wryting vpon the same, thus sayth: *Facta ministrorum suorum, & potissimè iudicum diligenter inuestigauit, adeo ut quos ex auaritia aut imperitia errare cognosceret, ab officio remouebat,* that is, he did diligently search out the doings of his officers, & especially of his iudges: so that if he knewe any of them to erre eyther through couetousnes, or vnskilfulnes: them he remooued from their office.

And thus much concerning the valiant actes, and noble vertues of this worthy Prince: whereunto although there were no other ornamēts adioyning besides: yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Nowe besides these other qualities & gifts of Gods grace in him, aboute mentioned: remayneth an other part of his no litle praise & commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters: wherof he not onely was excellently expert hym selfe, but also a worthy maintainer of y^e same through al his dominiōs: where before, no vse of Grammer or other sciences was practised in this Realme, especially about the Westparts of the lād: there through the industrie of this king, schooles began to be erected, and studyes to florish. Although amōg the Britaynes in the towne of Chester in Southwales lōg before that, in kyng Arthurs tyme, as Galfridus writeth: both Grammer, and Philosophy with other tongues was thē taught. After that some writers record, that in the tyme of Egbert kyng of Kent, this llande began to florishe with Philosophy. About which tyme some also thinke: that the Uniuersitie of Graūtechester, neare to that which nowe is called Cambrige, began to be founded, by Bede: following this coniecture therein, for that Alcuinus (before mētioned) which after went to Rome, & from thence to Fraunce in the tyme of Charles the great, where he first began the Uniuersitie of Paris: was first traded vp in the exercise of studies, at the same schoole of Graūtechester. Bede Lib. 111. cap. 18. writing also of Sigebert king of Eastangles, declareth how the sayd Sigebert returning out of Fraunce into England (according to the examples whiche hee did there see) ordered and disposed schooles of learning, through the meanes of Felix then Bishop: and placed in them maisters and teachers, after the vse and maner of the Cantuarites. And yet before these times, moreouer is thought to be two schooles or vniuersities within the realme: the one Grek, at y^e town of Greglade, which afterward was called Kyrk|lade: The other for Latine, whiche place was then called Latinelade: afterward Letthelade neare to Oxford.

[Page 144](#) But howsoever it chanced that the knowledge and study of good letters being once planted in this realme, afterwarde went to decay: yet King Alfrede deserueth no little praise, for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they haue euersince continued, albeit not continually through euery age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to haue a Prince learned him selfe, who feeling and tasting the price and value of science & knowledge, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but also to instruct & frame his subiectes, from a rude barbaritie, to a more ciuile congruencie of life, & to a better vnderstanding of thinges: as we see in this famous Prince to happen. Cōcerning whose first education & bringing vp, although it was somewhat late before he entred any letter: yet suche was the apt towardnesse & docilitie of his nature, that being a childe, he had the Saxon Poemes (such as were vsed then in his owne tounge) by hart and memory. Who afterward with yeares and time grewe vp in such perfection of learning and knowledge, in so much, that as mine author sayeth, Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel in interpretando elegantior. The which thing in him the more was to be marueiled, for that he was xij. yeares of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, careful and tender ouer him, hauing by chance a booke in her hand, which he wold faine haue: [*](#) promised to geue him the same, so that he wold learne it. Whereupon he for greedines of the booke, eftsoones learned the letters, hauing to his Scholemaister Pleimundus, after bishop of Canterbury. And so daily grew more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine author sayth, [*](#) Plurimam partem Romanae bibliothecae, Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam praedam peregrinarum mercium, ciuium vsibus conuertens. That is. A great part of the Latin Librarie hee translated into English, conuerting to the vses of his Citizens, a notable pray of forein ware & marchādise. &c. Of which bookes by him and through him translated, was Orosius: Pastorale Gregorij. The historie of Bede: Boëtius de consolatione Philosophiae. [*](#) Also a booke of his owne making and in his owne tounge, which in the English speach he called a hādbooke, in Greke called it Enchiridion, in Latine a Manuel. Besides the historie of Bede translated into the Saxons tounge▪ he also himselfe compiled a story in the same speach, called the storie of Alfrede &c. which both bookes in the Saxons tounge I haue seene, though the language I do not vnderstād. And as he was learned himself excellently well, so likewise did he inflame all his countrey men to the loue of liberall letters, as the wordes of the storie reporteth, Illos praemijs, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum, ad quamlibet curiae dignitatem aspirare permittens. [*](#) That is. He exhorted and stirred his people to the studie of learning, some with giftes, some by threatens, suffering no man to aspire to any dignitie in the Court, except he were learned. Moreouer an other storie thus sayth, speaking of his nobles: Optimates quo{que} suos ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum prouocauit, vt sibi filios suos, vel saltem si filios nō haberent, seruos suos, literis commendarent. That is. Also his nobles so much hee did allure to the embracing of good letters, that they set all their sonnes to schoole: or if they had no sonnes, yet their seruantes they caused to be learned. Whereby the common prouerbe may be found not so common, as true. Such as is the Prince, such be the subiectes. He began moreouer to translate the Psalter in English, [*](#) & had almost finished the same, had not death preuēted him. Guliel. de Regib Angl. In the Prologue of the booke intituled Pastorale Grego. thus hee wryteth: declaring the cause why hee was so earnest and diligent in translating good bookes from Latine into English, shewing the cause therof, why he so did, as foloweth: Quòd Ecclesiae in quibus innumerae priscae bibliothecae continebantur, cum libris a Danis incensae sint: quod{que} in tota insula studium literarum ita abolitū esset vt quis{que} minus timeret capitis periculum, quam studiorum exercitia adire. Qua propter se in hoc, Anglis suis consulere &c. That is. The cause was, for that innumerable auncient Libraryes which were kept in Churches, [*](#) were

consumed with fire by the Danes: And that men had rather suffer perill of their life, thē to follow the exercise of studyes: And therefore he thought thereby to prouide before for the people of the English nation. &c.

It is tolde of him both in Polychron Malmesb. Ironalensis, and other storyes mo, whereof I haue no names: that he seing his countrey (namely Westward) to be so desolate of scholes and learning, partly to profite himselfe, partly to furnish his countrey & subiectes with better knowledge, first sent for Grimbouldus a learned Monke out of Fraunce,* to come into England. Also sent for an other learned man out from the partes of Wales, whose name was Asserion, whome he made Byshop of Shyreborne. Item out of Mercia, he sent for Werefrithus, bishop of Worceter: to whō he put the Dialogues of Gregoy to be translated.* But chiefly he vsed the Counsell of Neotus, who then was counted for an holy man, and Abbot of a certaine Monasterie in Cornwall. By the aduisement of which Neotus, hee sent for these learned men aboue recited: and also ordained certaine scholes of diuers artes, first at Oxforde, and also fraunchised the same with many great liberties. Guliel. Iornalens. Fabi. cap. 171. Wherof perhaps the schole, now called the new Colledge (first then begon of this Neotus) myght take hys name: which (afterwarde peraduenture) the Byshops of Winchester after a larger manner did reed•fie, and inlarge wyth greater possessions.

Moreouer, amōg other learned men which were about king Alfrede: histories make mention of Iohannes Scotus (a godly Diuine, and a learned Philosopher) but not that Scotus, which nowe we call Duns. For that Iohannes Scotus came after this, many yeaes. This Iohannes is described to be a sharpe wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the Greeke tounge: pleasant and mery of nature and cōditions, as appeareth by diuers his doings & aunsweres. First he comming to Fraunce out of his owne countrey of Scotland, by reason of the great tumultes of warre, was there worthily intertained:*, and for hys learning had in great estimation of Carolus Caluus the French king, whom he commonly and familiarly vsed euer to haue about him, both at table, and in chamber. Upon a time the King sitting at meate, and seeing something (belike in thys Iohn Scot) which semed not very courtly: cast forth a mery word asking of him, what difference there was betwixt a Scot, & a Sot. Whereunto the Scot sitting ouer against the King, somewhat lower, replied againe sodainly, rather then aduisedly (yet merely) saying: Mensa tantum, that is, the table onely: importing thereby himself to be the Scot, and so calling the king a Sot by craft. Which word howe other princes would haue taken to stomake, I knowe not: but thys Charles, for the great reuerēce he bare to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his nobles, & so let it passe.

An other time, the same king being at dinner, was serued wyth a certaine dish of fish: wherein, were two great fishes, and a litle one. After the king had taken thereof his repast, setteth downe to Iohannes Scotus the foresayde fish, to distribute vnto the other ij. Clarke sitting there wyth him: which were two tall and mighty persons, he himselfe being but a litle man. Iohannes taketh the fish, of the which the two great, he taketh and carueth to himself: the litle fish he reacheth to the other two. The king perceiuing this his diuision thus made, reprehended the same. Then Iohannes, whose maner was euer to finde out some honest matter to delite the King, answered to him againe, proouing his diuision to stand iust and equal. For here (sayth he) be two great, and a litle, poynting to the two great fishes & himselfe: And likewise here againe is a litle one and two great, pointing to the litle fish, & two great persons, I pray you (sayeth hee) what oddes is there,

or what distribution can be more equal? Whereat the King with his nobles, being much delighted, laughed merely.

At the request of thys Charles surnamed Bawld, the Frenche king, this Scotus translated the booke of Dionysius, intituled De Hierarchia, from Greeke into Latin, worde for worde, quo fit (as my author sayth) vt vix intelligatur Latina litera,*quum nobilitate magis Graeca, quam positione construitur Latina. He wrote also a Booke De corpore & sanguine Domini, whych was afterward condemned by the Pope In Concilio Vercellensi.

The same Iohannes Scotus moreouer compiled a booke of his own, geuing it a greeke title, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , that is, De naturae diuisione. In which booke (as sayeth my foresayd author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions (but so) that he is thought to followe the Greeke Church,* rather then the Latine, and for the same was counted of some to be an hereticke: because in that booke some thinges there be, which in all poyntes accorde not with the Romish Religion. Wherefore the Pope, wryting to the saide king Charles of thys Scotus, complayneth, as in his owne wordes here followeth:

Relatū est Apstolatui nostro, quòd opus Dionysij Areopagitae, quod de diuinis nominibus, & de caelestibus ordinibus, Graeco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper transtulit in Latinum. Quod, iuxta morem Ecclesiae, nobis mitti, & nostro iudicio debuit approbari• praesertim quum idem Ioannes (licèt multae scientiae esse praedicatur) olim non sane sapere, in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur. &c. That is: Relation hath bene made vnto our Apostleship, that a certaine man called Iohannes a Scottish man, hath translated the booke of Dionysius the Areopagite: of the names of God, and of the heauenly orders, from Greeke into Latin. Which Booke, according to the custome of the Church, ought first to haue [Page 145](#) bene approued by our iudgement: namely seeing the sayde Iohn (albeit he be sayde to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath bene noted by common rumour, to haue bene a man, not of vpriht or sounde doctrine, in certaine pointes. &c. For this cause the sayde Scotus, being constrained to remoue from Fraūce,* came into England, allured (as some testifie) by the letters of Alured or Alfrede, of whom he was with great fauour entertained. and conuersant a great space about the king: til at length (whether before or after the death of the king it is vncertaine) he wēt to Malmesbery, where he taught certaine scholers a fewe yeares, by the which Schollers at laste most impiously he was murdered and slaine with their penkniues,* and so died, as stories say, a Martyr, buried at the sayd monastery of Malmesbury with this Epitaph.

Clauditur in tumulo sanctus sophista Ioannes,

Qui ditatus eratiam viuens dogmate miro.

Martyrio tandem Christi condescendere regnum

Qui meruit, regnans secli per secula cuncta.

King Alfrede hauing these helpes of learned men about him,* & no lesse learned also himself, past ouer his time not onely to great vtilitie and profite of his subiectes, but also to a rare & profitable example of other Christen kings and Princes, for them to follow. This foresaid Alfrede

had by his wife called Ethelwitha, two sonnes: Edwarde and Ethelward, and three daughters: Elflena, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida: Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri. That is, Whome he set all to their bookes and study of liberall arts: as my storie testifieth. First Edward his eldest sonne succeeded him in the kingdome,* The second sonne Ethelward died before his father. Ethelgora hys middle Daughter was made a Nunne. The other two were married, the one in Marceland, the other to the earle of Flanders. Thus king Alfrede the valiaunt, vertuous and learned Prince, after he had thus Christianly gouerned the realme the terme of 29. yeares & 6. monethes,* departed this life. v. Kal. Nou. and lyeth buried at Winchester. An Dom. 901. Of whome thys I finde moreouer greatly noted and commended in historie, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example therof touching this Alfrede: that wheresoeuer he was, or whethersoeuer he went, he bare alwaies about him, in his bosome or pocket, a litle booke cōtaining the Psalmes of Dauid, and certaine other Orasons of his owne collecting. Wherupon he was continually reading or praying when soeuer he was otherwise vacant,* hauing leisure therunto. Finally what were the vertues of this famous king, thys litle table here vnder written, which is left in ancient writing, in the remembraunce of his worthy and memorable life: doth sufficiently, in fewe lines containe.

In Regem Alfredum, & virtutum illius claram memoriam.

Famosus, Bellicosus, Victoriosus: Viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum pauperumque prouisor studiosus, Poetarum Saxonorum peritissimus: Suae genti Chatissimus: Affabilis omnibus: Liberalissimus: Prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, Iustitia praeditus: in infirmitate, qua continuè laborabat pacientissimus: In exequendis iudicijs indagator discretissimus: In seruicio Dei vigilantissimus & deuotissimus: Anglosaxonum Rex Alfreodus, pi•ssimi Ethelulfi filius. 29. annis sexque mensibus regni sui peractis mortem obiit. Indict. 4. Quinto Kalend. Nouemb. feria quarta, & Wintoniae in nouo monasterio sepultus immortalitatis stolam, & resurrectionis gloriam cum iustis expectat. &c.

Moreouer in the Historie of Henricus Huntingtonensis, these verses I finde wrytten in the commendation of the same Alfrede: made (as I suppose and as by his words appeareth) by the sayd author, whereof I thought not to defraude the reader: the wordes whereof here follow.

Epitaphium Regis Alfredi.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,

Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitasque laborem.

Perpetuum{que} labor nomen, cui mixta dolori

Gaudia semper erant, Spes semper mixta timori.

Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella pauebas:

Si modò victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.

Cui vestes sudore iugi, cui sica cruore.

Tincta iugi, quantum sit onus regnare probarunt.

Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,

Cui tot in aduersis nil respirare liceret.

Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,

Aut gladio potuit, vitae finisse dolores.

Iam post transactos vitae regni{que} labores,

Christus ei sit vera quies, sceptrum{que} perenne.

In the storie of this Alfred,* a little aboue, mention was made of Pleimundus Scholemaster to the sayde Alfrede, and also Byshop of Caunterbury, succeeding Etheredus, there Byshoppe before him. Which Pleimundus gouerned that Sea, the number of xxxiiij. yeares. After Pleimundus succeeded Athelmus; and sate xij. yeares. After him came Ulfe•mus xiiij. yeares. Then followed Odo a Dane borne, in y^e sayd Sea of Caunterb. and gouerned y^e same xx. yeares, being in great fauoure with King Athelstane, king Edmund, and Edwine, as in processe hereafter (Christ willing) as place & order doth require, shall more at large be expressed.

As touching the course and proceedings of the Romish Bishoppes there:* where I last entered mention of them pag. 139. I ended wyth Pope Stephen the fifth. After hys time was much broyle,* in the election of the Byshops of Rome: one contending against an other: in so much that wythin the space of ix. yeares, were ix. Byshops. Of the which, first was Formosus, who succeeded next vnto the forenamed Stephen 5. being made pope against the mind of certaine in Rome: that wold rather Sergius then deacon of the church of Rome, to haue bene Pope. Notwythstanding, Mars and money preuailed on Formosus part. This Formosus, of whome partly also is mentioned in other places, of this Ecclesiastical historie, being before bishop of Portuake:* had in time past (I knowe not vpon what causes) offended Pope Iohn the viij. of that name. By reason whereof for teare of the Pope, he voided away, and left his Bishopprike. And because hee being sent for againe by the Pope, woulde not returne: therefore was excommunicated. At length comming into France, to make there his satisfaction vnto the Pope, was degraded from a Byshop into a secular mans habite, swearing to the Pope that he would no more reenter into the City of Rome, nor claime his Bishopprike againe: subscribing moreouer with his owne hand to continue from that time in the state of a secular person. But then, Pope Martin (the next Pope after Iohn) released the saide Formosus of his othe, and restored him againe vnto his Bishopprike. Whereby Formosus entred not onely into Rome againe, but also obtained shortly after y^e papacie. Thus he being placed in the popedome, arose a great doubt or controuersie among the Diuines, of his consecration, whether it was lawfull or not: some holding against him, that for so much as he was solemnly deposed, degraded, vnpriested, and also sworne not to reiterate the state Ecclesiastical: therefore he ought to be taken no otherwise, then for a secular man. Other alledged againe, that whatsoever Formosus was, yet for the dignitie of that order,* and for the credite of them, whom he ordered: all his consecrations ought to stand in force, especially, seeing the sayd Formosus was afterwarde receiued and absolved by Pope Martin, from that his periury and degradation. &c. In the meane time (as witnesseth Sigebertus) this

Formosus sendeth for King Arnulphus for aide against his aduersaries. Who then marching toward Rome, was there resisted by the Romaines from entring. But in the siege (sayeth the author) the Romaines within so playd the Lyons, that a poore Hare (or such a like thing) comming towarde the Citie: the hoste of Arnulphus followed after with such a maine crie, that the valiaunt Romaines vpon the walles for very feare, (where there was no hurt) cast themselues desperately ouer the walles: so that Arnulphus with little laboure scaled the walles, and gate the Citie. Thus Arnulphus obtaining the Citie of Rome, rescueth Pope Formosus, and beheadeth hys aduersaries, whome the Pope, to gratifie wyth like recompence againe, blesseth and crowneth him for Emperoure. Thus Formosus sitting fast about y^e space of 4. or 5. yeres followed his predecessours: after whose time (as I sayde) within the space of ix. yeares were ix. Bishops as followeth. But in the meane time concerning the storie of thys Formosus declared by Sigebert, and many other Chroniclers: this thing woulde I gladly aske, and more gladly learne of some indifferent good Catholike person, whyche not of obstinacie, but of simple error being a papist wold aunswere his conscience. Whether doth he thinke the holy order of Priesthoode, which hee taketh for one of the seuen Sacramentes, to be Character indelebilis or not? If it be not indelebilis,* that is, if it be such a thing, as may be put of: why then doeth the Popes doctrine so call and so hold the contrary, pretending it to be indelebile, vnremoueable? If it be in deede, so as they teach and affirme, indelebilis character, why then did Pope Iohn, or could Pope Iohn, adnichilate & cuacuate one of his vij. Popeholy Sacraments: making of a Priest a non Priest, or a layman: vncharactering hys owne order, which is (as he sayeth) a Character, which in no wise may be blotted out, or remoued? Again, [Page 146](#) how soeuer Pope Iohn is to be iudged in this matter, to do either wel or not wel,* this wold I know, if he did well in so dispriesting and discharactering Formosus, for suche priuate offences? If yea, how then stādeth his doing wyth his owne doctrine, which teacheth the contrary? If he did not well, how then standeth his doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his Synode of Cardinals can not erre? Moreouer if this Pope Iohn did not erre in his disordering Formosus: howe then did Martinus hys successoure not erre, in repealing the sayd doing of hys predecessour? Or how did not Pope Formosus erre hymselfe, who beyng vnpriested by Pope Iohn: afterwarde wythout reiterating the Character or order of Priesthoode, tooke vppon hym to be Pope, and made actes and lawes in the Churche? Again, if Formosus nowe Pope did not erre, how then did Pope Stephen hys successoure afterwarde not erre: who did annihilate the consecration, and all other actes of the said Formosus, as erroneous? Or againe, if we say that this Stephen with his Synode of Cardinales did right: then howe could it be, that Pope Theodore, & Pope Iohn the tenth, which came after the foresayde Stephen, did not plainely erre? Who approuing the consecration of Formosus: did condemne, and burne the acts Synodale, of Stephen and his Cardinals, which before had condemned Formosus: according as in storie here consequently may appeare?

After Formosus had gouerned the Sea of Rome fiue yeres,* succeeded first Bonifacius the vj. who continued but 25. dayes, then came Stephen the vj. which so enuyed the name of his predecessor Formosus: that he abrogated and dissolued his decrees: And taking vp his bodye, after it was buried, cut two fingers of his right hande, and commanded them to be cast into Tiber, & then buried the body in a priuate or laymans sepulchre.

Thus Stephen after he had sat in the chaire of pestilēce one yere: succeeded in the same chaire, Pope Rhomanus, and sate iij. monthes: repealing the actes decreed by Stephen his predecessor, against Formosus. Next to whome came Theodorus 2. who likewise taking parte with Formosus

against the foresaid Stephē,* reigned but 20. dayes. Then sate Pope Iohn the 10. who did fight and repugne against the Romanes. And to confirme the cause of Formosus more surely, did holde a Sinode at Rauenna of 74. Bishops, w^t the French king Endo and his Archbishops being present at the same. At the which councel, were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formosus: and the contrary acts of the Synode of Stephen the vj. were burned.* This Pope liued not Pope fully two yeares: after whom succeeded Benedictus the 4. which kept the chaire three yeares. After whom Leo the 5. was next Pope, who with in 40. daies of his papacie, was with strong hand taken & cast in prison by one Christopher his own houshold chaplain, whō he had long norished before in his house. Which thing (sayeth Platina) could not be done without great conspiracie and great slaughter of men.* Which Christofer being Pope about the space of seuen monthes, was likewise himselfe hoisted from his Papall throne by Sergius, like as he had done to hys maister before. And thus within the space of 9. yeares, had bene 9. Popes one after an other. Then Sergius after he had thrust downe Pope Christofer, and shorne him Monke into a Monasterie,* occupied the rouse 7. yeares. This Sergius a rude man, and vnlearned, very proude and cruell: had before bene put backe from the Popedome by Formosus aboue mentioned. By reason whereof,* to reuenge Formosus againe being nowe in his papacie, caused the body of Formosus, where it was buried to be taken vp: and afterwarde set in the Papall sea (as in his pontificalibus) first disgraded him, then commanded his head to be smitten off, w^t the other thre fingers that were left (as Sigebertus writeth) which done, he made his body to be throwne into Tiber, deposing likewise all such, as by the said Formosus before had bene consecrated and inuested. This body of Formosus thus throwne into Tiber, was afterward (as our writers say) found & taken vp by certaine fishers,* and so brought into s. Peters temple. At the presence whereof (as they say) certaine images there standing by, bowed downe themselues, and reuerēced the same, with lie and all. But such deceiueable miracles of stocks and images in monkish and frierly tēples, be to vs no newes, especially here in England: where we haue bene so inured with the like, & so many, that such wily practises cannot be to vs inuisible: though this crownshorn generation, thinke themselues to daunce in a nette. But the truthe is,* while they thinke to deceaue the simple, these wily beguily most of all deceiue themselues, as they will finde except they repent. By this Pope Sergius, first came vp to beare about candels on Candelmas day: for y^e purifying of the blessed virgine. As though the sacred conception of Iesus the sonne of God, were to be purified as a thing vnpure, and that with candell light.

After Sergius,* entred pope Anastasius, in whose time the body of Formosus forenamed, is thought to be foūd of fishermen in the riuer of Tiber, & so brought, as is said, into the temple to be saluted of the images, which thing may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how it is to be thought that the body of Formosus so long dead before, and now lying 7. yeares in the riuer: could remaine whole all that while, that Fishers might take it vp, & discern it to be the same? After Anasius had sate two yeres,* folowed Pope Lando, the father (as some stories think) of pope Iohn, which Iohn is sayde to be the paramour of Theodora'a famous harlot of Rome,* & set vp of the same harlot eyther against Lando, or after Lando his father to succede in hys rouse. There is a storie writer called Liuthprandus, who wryting de Imperatoribus.* Lib. 2 cap. 13. maketh there mention of this Theodora, and Pope Iohn xj. and sayeth moreouer, that this Theodora had a daughter named Marozia: which Marozia had by pope Sergius aboue mentioned, a sonne which afterward was Pope Iohn the 12. The same Marozia afterward it chāced to marry with Guido Marques of Tuscia: through the meanes of which Guido and hys frends at Rome, she brought to passe that this pope Iohn the 11. was smothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had

reigned 13. yeares. And so the foresayd Iohn the 12. her sonne, to succede next after him. But because y^e clergie and people of Rome did not agre to his election, therfore was Pope Leo the 6. in his place set vp.* Thus Pope Iohn the sonne of Sergius and Marozia being deiected, reigned Pope Leo 7. moneths. After him Pope Stephen 2 yeares. Who being poysoned, then was Pope Iohn the 12. aboue rehearsed, the sonne of Sergius and Marozia, set vp againe in the Papacie, where hee reigned neare the space of 5. yeres. Of the wickednesse of this strompet Marozia, howe she married two brethren, one after the death of the other: And howe she gouerned all Rome, & the whole church at that time, I let it passe. Although the latin verses wherewith the sayd Liuthprandus, doeth inuey against such women as marie two brethren,* were neither worthy here to be recited, and perhappes might be further applied then to that Marozia of Rome, but for shortnesse I let them also passe.

After Ioan. 12. followed Pope Stephen three yeares.* Pope Leo 3. yeares and 4. monethes. Pope Stephen the eight 3. yeres and 4. moneths. Pope Martine 3. yeres and 6. monethes. After him Pope Agapetus 8. yeres and 6. monethes. About whose time or a little before began first the order of monkes called Ordo Cluniacensis, &c.

But nowe to leaue of these monstrous matters of Rome,* and to returne againe to our country of England, where we last left before.

King Edward the elder.

After the reigne of the famous king Alfred, hys sonne Edward succeeded,* surnamed the elder. Where first is to be noted, that before the Conquest of the Normandes, there were in England 3. Edwardes, first this Edwarde the elder. 2. Edward the martyr. 3. Edward the confessor. Whereof hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall followe in order, as place shall geue to be declared. This Edwarde began his reigne,* the yeare of our Lord. 901. and gouerned the land right valiantly and nobly 24. yeares. In knowledge of good letters and learning, he was not to be compared to his father. Otherwise, in princely renowne, in ciuile gouernment,* and such like martiall prowesse, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him. Through whose valiant actes, first the pryncedome of Wales, and kingdom of Scotland, with Constantine king thereof were to hym subdued. He adioyned moreouer to his dominion the coūtre of Eastanglia, that is, of Norfolk, Suffolke and Essex. All Merceland also he recouered and Northumberlād out of the hands of the Danes. In all his warres he neuer lightly wēt without victory. The subiects of his prouinces and dominions were so inured, and hardened in continuall practise and feates of warre,* that when they hearde of any ennemies comming (neuer tarying for any bidding from the king, or from his dukes) straight wayes they encountred wyth them: both in number, and in knowledge of the order of warre excelling alwayes their aduersaries. Guliel. de Regi. Ita hostes militibus contemptui, Regi risui erant. To meane, So was the comming and assaulting of theyr enemyes to the people and common Souldiours but a trifle, to the king but a ridicule. Among other aduersaries which were busie rather then wise, in assailing this king: [Page 147](#) was one called Clito Ethelwoldus a yong man, king Edwardes vncler sonne. Who first occupying the Towne of W•nborne (taking thence a Nonne whome he had married) fled oc by night to Northumberland, to adioyne himself vnto the Danes, who was made chiefe king and captaine ouer them. Then chased from thence, hee fled ouer into France, but shortly returning againe into England, landed in Eastengland, where the saide Clyto wyth a company of Danes of that countrey gathered vnto

him, destroyed and pillaged much of the country about Crekeford and Crikeland. And so passing over Thamis after he had spoiled the land there to Bradeuestocke: returned againe to Northfolke and Suffolke, where he meeting with a bushment of Kentish men, which dragged & taried after the maine hoste of Edward, contrary to his commaundement, inclosed them in, and slew the moste parte of them. Soone after the two hostes meeting together, betwene the two ditches of S. Edmunds lād, after a long fight, Clyto with many of the Danes were slaine, and the remnaunte were constrained to seeke for peace, which vpon certaine conditions, and vnder a tribute was to them graunted.

*In processe, about the 12. yeare of his reygne, the Danes repenting them of their couenants, and minding to breake the same: assembled an hoste and met w^t the king in Staffordshire at a place called Totenhall, & soone after at wodnefield: at which two places the king slew two kings, two erles, & many thousand of Danes, that occupied the country of Northumberland.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being asswaged, King Edward hauing nowe some leysure geuen from warres,* to other studies: gaue his minde to the building or repairing of cities, townes, and castles, that by the Danes were rased, shatred, and broken. As first of Chester, which cite he double enlarged to that it was before: compassing the castle within the walles of the same, which before stood without. That done, the king builded a strong castle at Herford in the edge of Wales. Also for the strengthening of the Countrey, he made a Castle at the mouth of the water of Auene, and an other Castle at Buckingham, and the third fast thereby vpon the riuier of Owse. Moreouer he builded or reedified the townes of Towsetor, and Wigmore, & destroyed the castle that the Danes had made at Domes•ord. Likewise vpon the riuier of Trent against the old towne of Notingham, he builded a new towne on the southside, and made a bridge over the riuier, betwene the said ij. townes. Also by the riuier of Merce, he builded a citie or towne, in the North end of Mercia, and named it Thilwall, and after repaired the citie of Manchester, that sore was defaced with warre of the Danes.

In this reuuing and building of townes and Castles for the more fortifying of his Realme: his Sister Elfleda, daughter of king Alfrede, & married to the Duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no small helper. Of this Elfleda it is firmly of wryters affirmed that shee being as is sayde married to Ethelrede Duke of Mercia, after she had once assayed the paines of women in traueling wyth her childe: so much shee abhorred euer after the embracing of her husbände, that it seemed to her (she sayde) not seemely for a noble womā to vse such fleshly liking, wherof so gret sorow and trauaile should ensue. And yet notwithstanding the same Elfleda, for all her delicate tendernes in eschewing the natural passion, which necessity geueth to women: so hardy she was in warlike daungers, which nature geueth not to women, that fighting against the Danes, so venturous shee was of stomacke,* that foure of her nexte knights, which were gardeius of her body, were slain fast by her. This Elfleda among her other noble actes, whereby she deserued praise, was a great helper and stirrer vp of her brother Edward: who builded and newly repaired many Castels and townes, as Toniworth, beside Lichfelde, Stafforde, Warwike, Shrowesbury, Watrisbury, Eldisbury, besides Chester in the forrest now destroyed. Also in the North end of Mercia, vpon the riuier of Merce, a castle called Rimcorne, also a bridge ouer Seuerne named Brimmisbury bridge.

As touching the lawes and statutes of thys Edwarde, as also of his father Alfrede made before him, I omit heere to recorde them for length of matter and wast of time: yet notwithstanding, this admonition by the way I thinke good to note: that in those dayes of these auncient Kinges reigning in Englande, the authoritie then both of conferring Bishoprickes,* and spirituall promotions, and also of prescribing lawes as well to the church men▪ as to the la•tie, and of ordering and intermedling in matters mere spiritual, was then in the hands of kings, ruling in the land, and not onely in the hande of the Pope, as appeareth by these lawes of Alfrede.

Si quis fornicetur cum vxore aliena, &c,

Si quis in quadragesima sanctum velum in publico vel in lecto. &c.

Vt Christiani Deum diligant & paganismo renuncient. &c.

Si quis Christianitatem mutet. &c.

Si quis ordinatus sacris furetur. &c.

Si praesbyter ad rectum terminum sanctum Chrisma. &c.

Si duo fratres, vel cognati cum vna aliqua fornicentur. &c.

By these and other such like constitutions of King Alfrede,* it may appeare: how the gouernaunce and direction of the church in those daies, depended not vpon Monsieur le Pope of Rome: but vpon the kings which here in their time (vnder the Lorde) did gouerne the land. To this also the example of King Edwardes time geueth testimonie: which Edward wyth Pleimundus (aboue mentioned) Archbishop of Canterbury, and with other bishops in a sinode assembled: assigned and elected 7. Byshops in 7. Metropolitane churches of the realme. Which were, 1. Fridestane. 2. Adelstane. 3 Werstane▪ 4. Adelelme. 5. Edulfus 6 Dernegus. 7 Kenulphus. In which election the kings authoritie semed then alone to be sufficient. &c.

This Edward (as in the beginning was sayd) reigned 24.* yeares. Who had three wiues, Egwine, Elfled, and Ethelwide. Of Egwine hee had hys eldest •onne Adelstane, who next succeeded in the kingdom, and a daughter married after to the duke of Northumberland. Of Elflede, he receiued two ionnes,* and vj. daughters, to witte Ethelward and Edwyne. Ethelward was excellently well seene in all knowledge of learning: much resembling both in countenance and conditions his grandfather Alfrede, and died soone after his father.* Of his vj. daughters, two of them. 1 Elflede and Ethelhilda, were made nonnes. The other foure were married. Edgina to Charles the French King, in hys fathers time. Ethilda by King Ethelstane was maryed to Hugo, the sonne of Duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina, were both sent to Henricus Prince of Almaines. Of which two sisters the seconde, the sayd Henricus, married to hys sonne Otho, who was the first Emperour of the Almaines. The other sister which was Edgitha, the foresayde Henticus, married to a certaine Duke about the border of the Alpes, in Italie. Of his thirde wife Ethelwide, he receiued two sonnes, Edmund, and Edred: which both reigned after Adelstane. And two daughters, Egburga whome hee made a Nonne, and Eadguina who was married to Ludouicus, Prince of Aquitania in Fraunce.* These sonnes and daughters Kyng Edward thus brought vp: Hys daughters hee set to

spinning, and to the needle. Guliel. de Reg. His sonnes he set to the studie of learning, vt quasi Philosophi ad gubernandam remp. non iam tudes procederent: that is, to the ende, that they being as first made Philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to gouerne the common wealth.

King Ethelstane, or Adelstane.

EThelstane or Adelstane,* after the death of Edwarde hys father: began his reigne in England, and was crowned at Kingstone. He was a prince of worthy memorie, valyant and wise in all his actes, nothing inferiour to hys father Edwarde, In like worldly renowne of ciuile gouernance, ioyned with much prosperous successe, in reducing this realme vnder the subiection of one monarchie. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scottes, and quieted the Welshinē, as wel in Northwales, as also in Cornwale. The first enemie against this Ethelstane, was one Elfredus: who, with a faction of seditious persons conspiring against the saide Ethelstane at Winchester, continently after the death of hys father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithstanding the king escaping that danger: through the helpe of God, was at that time deliuered. Elfrede vpon the same being accused, fled to Rome: there before y^e Pope to purge himselfe by hys othe. Who being brought to the Church of S. Peter, and there swearing (or rather forswearing himself to be cleare,* which in deede was guiltie thereof: sodenly vpon his othe fell downe, and so brought to the English house in Rome within 3. daies after departed. The Pope sending worde to king Ethelstane, whether he would haue the sayde Eldred buried among Christians or not: at length through the perswasions of his friendes and kinsfolkes, it was concluded that he should be buried in Christen buriall. This storie although I finde in no other writers mentioned,* but only in the Chronicles of Guliel. Lib. de Regi. yet forasmuch as it heareth the witnesse and wordes of the king himselfe, as testified in an old dede of gift, giuen to the monastery of Malmesbury: I thought the same the more to be of credite. The wordes of the king procede in this tenor as followeth.

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The copie of an olde writing of king Ethelstane, testifying of the miraculous death of Duke Elfrede, sodenly stroken by the hande of God for periurie.

SCiant sapientes regionis nostrae, non has praefatas terras me iniustè rapuisse, rapinamque Deo dedisse. Sed sic eas accepi, quemadmodum iudicauerunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum.* Insuper & Apostolicus Papa Romanae ecclesiae Ioannes (Elfredo defuncto) qui nostrae foelicitati & vitae aemulus extitit, nequitiae inimicorum nostrorum consentiens: quando me voluerunt (patre defuncto) coecare in vrbe Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripuisset. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remissus est ad Romanam ecclesiam, vt ibi se, coram Apostolico Ioanne iureiurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare sancti Petri. Sed facto iuramento, cecidit coram altare, & manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad scholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finiuit. Et tunc Apostolicus ad nos remisit, & quid de eo ageretur a nobis consuluit, an cum caeteris Christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis: optimates regionis nostrae cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, vt corpus illius per nostram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Christianorū. Nosque flagitationi illorum

cōsentientes Romam remisimus: & Papa consentiente, positus est ad caeteros Christianos, quamuis indignus. Et sic iudicata est mihi tota possessio eius in magnis & in modicis. Sed & haec apicibus literarum praenotauius, ne quando aboleatur, vnde mihi praefata possessio, quam Deo & sancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec iustiùs noui, quàm Deo & sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui aemulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi prosperitatem regni largiti sunt. &c.

In the second yeare of the reigne of King Adelstane, for an vnitie and a peace to be had betwene the King and the Danes of Northumberlande: hee married to Sythericus their king his sister, whereof mention is made before. But shortly after,* within one yeare this Sythericus died. After whose death King Ethelstane seized that prouince into hys owne hande, putting out the sonne of the foresayde Sythericus called Alanus:* who wyth his brother Godfridus fledde the one into Irelande, the other to Constantine King of the Scottes. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberlande, hee shortly made subiect vnto him Constantine King of Scottes. But the sayde Constantine meeked himselfe so lowly to the King, that he restored him to his former dignitie, saying, that it was more honour to make a king, then to be a king.

Not long after, the sayde Constantine King of Scottes did breake couenaunt with king Ethelstane. Wherefore hee assembled his Knights, & made toward Scotland. Where he subduing his enemies, and bringing them againe vnto due subiection, returned into England with victory. Here by the way in some storie wryters (who forgetting the office of historians, seme to play the Poetes) is written and recorded for a maruell, that the sayde Ethelstane, returning out of Scotland into England, came to Yorke, and so into the Church of S. Iohn of Beuerly,* to redeeme his knife, which before hee had lefte there for a pledge at hys going forth. In the which place he praying to God & to S. Iohn of Beuerley, that he might leaue there some remembrance wherby they that came after, might know, that the Scots by right should be subdued to the English mē: smote with sword (they say) vpon a great hard stone standing nere about the castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large elne deepe (with a lie no lesse deepe also, then was the stroke in the stone.) But of this poetical or fabulous storie, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Iornalensis, and other mo constantly accorde in the same: yet in Guliel and Henricus, no mention is made at all. But peradventure hee that was the inuentour first of this tale of the stone, was disposed to lie for the whetstone: Wherefore in my minde he is worthy to haue it.

Of like truth & credite seemeth also to be this that followeth,* about the same yeare and time, vnder the raigne of King Ethelstane, being the viij. yeare of hys raigne, of one Bristanus Bishop of Winchester,* who succeeded Frithstanus in the same see, and gouerned that Bishoprike iiij. yeares. This Bristanus being a deuout Bishop in prayer and contemplation:* vsed much among his solitary walkes, to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the soules there, and all christen soules departed. Upon a time, the sayde Bristanus after hys wonted maner proceeding in hys deuotions, when he had done, came to requiescant in p̄e. Whereunto, sodainly a great multitude of soules aunswering together with one voyce, said Amen. Of thys miracle, albeit I haue not much to say (hasting to other matters) yet this question wold I aske of some indifferent papist, which were not wilfull, but of ignorance deceiued: if this multitude, which here answered Amen, were the soules of them buried in the churchyard or not?* If yea, then howe were they in purgatorie, what time they were hearde in that place answering Amen▪ Except we shoulde thinke Purgatorie to be in the churchyarde at Winchester, where the soules were hearde then so many

answering and praying Amen. And yet thys storie is testified by the accord of wryters of that time, Guliel. Polychron. Houedenus, Iornalensis, and other moe. Much like miracles and Prophecies also wee reade of Elphegus, which succeeded him: but because we haste to other things let these fables passe.

Ye heard a little before, howe king Ethelstane after the death of Sythericus King of Northumberland, seized that land or prouince into his owne hand, & put out hys sonne Alanus: who after flying into Scotland, married the daughter of Constantine King of Scots. By whose stirring and exhortation, he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and other, and entred the mouth of Humber with a strong nauie of 615. ships.

Whereof King Ethelstane wyth his brother Edmund e hauing knowledge: prepared his army, and at length ioyned in fight with him & his people, at a place called Brimābruch or Brimford: ^{*} where he fighting with them from morning to euen, after a terrible slaughter on both sides (as the like hath not bene sene lightly in England) had the victorie. In which battaile were slaine fiue small and vnder kings, with Constantine king of Scots: and xij. Dukes with the more part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. ^{*} Here also our wryters put in an other miracle in this battaile: howe king Ethelstanes sworde miraculously fell into his sheath through the prayer of Odo, then Archbishop of Canterburie.

Concerning this battaile, I finde in a certaine written Chronicle these verses: ^{*} which because they shoulde not be lost, I thought not vnworthy here of rehearsall.

Transierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,

lure regens ciues, subigens virtute tyrannos:

Cum redit illa Lues Europae noxia labes.

Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries Aquilonis,

Et lacet in campis pelago pirato relicto,

Illicitas toruasque minas Analanus anhelans, ^{*}

Bacchanti furiae, Scotorum rege volente,

Commodat assensum Borealis terrae serenum.

Etiam grande tument, iam terrent aera verbis.

Cedunt indigenae, cedit plaga tota superbis.

Nam quia rex noster fidens alacrisque iuuenta,

Emeritus pridem detriuerat ocia lenta,

Illi continuis foedabant omnia praedis,

Vrgentes miseros iniectus ignibus agros.
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Aegra seges votum deluserat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium, concursus quadrupedantum.
Exciuit tandem famae querimonia regem,
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri.
Quod sua barbaricae cessissent arma securi,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia signa cohortes,
Explicat inuentum vexilla ferocia centum,
Iuncta virum virtus, decies bis milia quina,
Ad stadium belli comitantur prae uia signa.
Hicque clet strepitus armatorum legiones.
Terruit insignis venientum fama latrones.
Vt posita proprias praeda repetant regiones.
At vulgus reliquum miseranda strage peremptum,
Infecit bibulas terris nidoribus auras.
Fugit Analasus de tot modo millibus vnus &c.

After thys victorie thus obtained of the Danes and Scottes: [*](#) King Ethelstane also subdued (or at least quieted) the North Brytaines. Whome he conuenting together at Herforde (or there about) forced them to graunt vnto him as a yerely tribute, xx. pound of gold: three hundreth poũde of siluer: and of heades of neate xxv. hundred: with haukes and dogs, [*](#) to a certaine number. This done, he wēt to Exceter, and there likewise subduing the South Brytaines about Exceter and Cornewall: repaired the walles of Exceter with sufficient strength, and so returned.

Among these victorious and noble actes of this King: One blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehēded, as in the other before to be commended (that is) the innocent death and murther of his brother Edwyne. The occasion thereof was this: King Edward aforenamed their father, in the time of his youth, cōming by a certaine village or grange, where he had bene nursed and brought vp of a child: thought of curtesy to goe [Page 149](#) see howe his nurse did. Where hee entring into the house, espied a certaine yong damsel

beautifull and right seemely attired, Egwina by name. This Egwina before being a pore mans daughter, had a vision by night, y^t of her body sprang such a bright light of the Moone, that the brightnes therof gaue light to the Realme of England. By reason wherof, she was taken into the foresaide house, & daintely brought vp in stead of their owne daughter: for hope of some commoditie to ensue thereby, as afterwarde it came to passe. For King Edward (as it is declared) comming into the house,* and rauished with the beautie of the maiden: begate of her the same night this Ethelstane. Wherefore the sayd Ethelstane being thus vasily borne of Egwina, the first wife to Edward (as is sayd) before he was married to her: and fearing his next brother Edwyne, which was rightly borne (especially being stirred therunto through the sinister suggestion of his Butler) did cast such displeasure to the foresayde Edwyne hys brother, being yet but young, that (notw^tstanding hys innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rottē boate in the broade Sea (onely with one Esquier w^t hym) w^tout any tackling or other prouision to the same. Where the young and tender Prince being dismaid with the rage of windes and of the floudes, and nowe weary of his l••e, cast himselfe ouer board into the sea, and so was drowned. Notwithstanding the Esquire shifting for himselfe as he could, and recouering the body of his master, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the king afterwarde comming to the remembraunce of himselfe, was stroken with great repentaunce the space of vij. yeares together. And at length was reuenged of him that was the accuser of his brother. This accuser (as is sayde) was the kings cupbearer, who (as God the righteous iudge of all things woulde haue it) vpon a certaine solemne feast, bearing the cuppe vnto the king, chanced in the middle of the floure to stumble with one foote, helping and recouering himselfe with the other, saying in these wordes: Thus one brother (as ye see) helpeth an other.* These wordes being thus spokē in the hearing of the king, so moued his mind, that forthwith he commaunded the false accuser of his brother to be had out to execution. Whose iust recompence I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sowe discorde betwixt brother and brother.

King Ethelstane (besides his vij. yeares lamentation, for this acte) builded the two Monasteries of Midletone, and of Michelenes, for hys brothers sake (or as the stories say) for his soule. Whereby it may appeare, what was the cause most speciall in those daies,* of building monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sinnes both of them departed, and them aliue, which cause howe it standeth wyth the grace and veritie of Christes Gospell, and of his passion, let the Christen reader trie & examine with himselfe. This cruell fact of the king toward Edwyne, caused him afterwarde, to be more tender and careful toward his other brethren and sisters left in his handes vnmarried. Which sisters, as is partly in the Chapter before declared, he richly bestowed, in great mariages: As one to the king of Northumberlād Sithericus:* an other he gaue to Lewes King of Aquitania, the thirde to Henricus Duke of Almaine for hys sonne Otho: who was the first Emperour of the Germanes. Whereby it is to be vnderstand, that the Empire at this time began first to be translated from Fraunce (where it remained about C. yeares and halfe) vnto Germanie where it hath euer since continued.

The fourth of his sisters, being a virgine of singulare benty Hugo y^e French king required to be geuen vnto him: sending to King Ethelstane pretious and sumptuous presents,* such as were not before seene in England. Among the which presents & gifts, besides the rare odours of sondry fauours & fine spices: and besides the precious & costly gemmes, namely of Smaradges of most redolēt grene, besides also many and great coursers and palfries richly trapped, especially of one iewell (as wryters make inention) which was, a certaine vessell finely and subtilly made of the

precious stone Onichinus so radiantly wrought, y^t in it appeared the liuely corn growing, and mens images walking. &c. Ouer and besides was sent also the sworde of Constantine the great, w^t the name of the possessor wrytten in golden letters, where in the hast of the same al beatē in gold,* was one of the yron nailes, wherwith our Sauour on the crosse was nailed. Of the veritie whereof I am not disposed at thys present muche to say what I suspect, but that this in the Ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius, is euidēt. That two of the foresaid nailes of Christ, was spēt on the bridle of Constantine: the 3. he cast into the Sea in a raging tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed w^t 4. nailes, perhappes this naile might be one. If he were nailed but with iij. I see not how this storie can stand with other stories, neither howe this fourth naile can stand with truthe. Among the rest moreouer, was the speare (as is reported) wherwith the side of our Sauour was opened: which also the sayd Constātine was wōt to cary in the field against his enemies: with a portion likewise of the holy crosse inclosed in Cristall: Also a part of the crowne of thorne in like maner inclosed. &c. Of the whych Reliques, part was geuen to Winchester, part to the Church of Malmesbury, where king Ethelstane was buried. As this King was indued and enlarged, by the gift of God (the serter vp & disposer of all kings) w^t great victories of worldly renowe: hauing vnder hys subiection both the Scottes, and Britons, and the whole Monarchie of the land: So he deuised diuers good and holesom lawes for the gouernment of the same, as wel concerning the state of the orders Ecclesiasticall, as also of the secular or lay people. Whereby it is to be vnderstād, that the vsurped power of the bishop of Rome, did not then extend it selfe so largely, nor so proudly to derogate frō the authority of kings & princes: but that euery one in his owne dominion, had (vnder God, and not vnder the Pope) the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained: whether they were causes tēporal, or spiritual.* As by the decrees and constitutions of this king (& also of other as well before him, as after him) may euidently be testified: as where hee among other lawes, thus ordeineth •ouching the bishop, in wordes as folowe.

Episcopo iure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promouere Dei videlicet,*ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum instruere, quid ei •it agendum iure, & quid hominibus secularibus iudicare debeant.

Debet etiam sedulò pacem & concordiam operari cum seculi iudicibus: qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alij perperam agat, in iureiurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumuentionem iniustae mensurae, vel iniusti ponderis. Sed conuenit vt per consilium & testimoniū eius, omne legis rectum, & burgi mensura, & omne pondus sit secundum*ditionem eius, institutum valde rectū: ne quis proximum suum seducat, pro quo decadat in peccatum.

Et semper debet Christianis prouidere contra omnia, quae praedicta sunt, & ideo debet se de pluribus intromittere: vt sciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum custodire suscepit, ne diabolus cum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod superseminet. Nunquam enim erit populo benè consultum, nec dignè Deo conuersabitur, vbi lucrum impium & magis falsum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum est eneruare, & quod iustum est eleuare, nec pati vt propter falsum, & pecuniae questum homines se forisfaciant erga verè sapientem Deum, cui displicet omnis iniustitia.

Christianis autem omnibus necessarium est, vt rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent & faltem sacris ordinibus euecti iustum semper erigant, & praua deponant.

Hinc debent Episcopi cum iudicibus, iudicia dictitare & interesse, ne permittant (si possint) vt illinc aliqua prauitatū gramina pullulent. Et sacerdotibus pertinet in suo Dioecesi, vt ad rectum sedulò quemcumque muent, nec patiantur (si possint) vt Christianus aliquis alij noceat, non potens impotenti, non summus infirmo, non praelatis*subditis, non Dominus hominibus suis, seruis, aut liberis. Et secundum*ditionem, & per mensuram suam, conuenit per rectum, vt necessaria*serui operentur super omnem scyram cui*praeest.

Et rectum est vt non sit aliqua mensurabilis virga longio• quàm alia, sed per*Episcopi mensuram omnes institutae sint, & exequatae per su•m*dioecessin. Et omne pondus constet secundum dictionem eius, & si aliquid cōtrouersiarum intersit, discernat Episcopus.

Vniuscuius{que} Domini proprium est & necesse, vt seruis condescendat,*& compatiatur, sicut indulgentius poterit: Quia Domino Deo viuenti sunt aequae chari seruus, & liber. Et omnes vno & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes sumus Deo necessariò serui: Et sic iudicabit nos, sicut antè iudicauimus eos, in quos potestatem iudicij in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus est vt eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent & tunc manutenebimur in Dei omnipotentis proprio iudicio. Amen.

The sayde Ethelstane besides, prescribed other constitutions also, as touching tithes geuing: where hee sayeth and proclaimeth. Ego Ethelstanus Rex, consilio V•felmi Archiepiscopi mei & aliorum Episcoporum, mando praepositis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini & sanctorum omnium, vt inprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in viuente capitali, quàm in mortuis frugibus terrae: & Episcopi mei similiter faciant de suo proprio, & Aldermanni mei & praepositi mei, &c. That is, I Ethelstane King, charge and commaund all my officers through my whole Realme, to [Page 150](#) geue tithes vnto God of my proper good, as wel in liuing cattel, as in the corne and fruites of the groūd, and that my Byshops likewise of their proper goods, and mine Aldermen, and my officers and headmen shal do the same. Item this I wil: that my Bishops & other headmen doe declare the same,* to suche as be vnder their subiection, & that to be accomplished at the terme of S. Iohn the Baptist. Let vs remember what Iacob said vnto the Lord: Of all things that thou geuest to me, I wil offer tithes vnto y^e Lord. &c. Also what the Lord sayeth in the Gospel of S. Mathewe. To him that hath, it shalbe geuen: and he shall aboūd. We must also cōsider how terribly it is written in bookes, that if we will not offer our tenths, from vs ix. partes shall be taken away, and only the x. part shalbe left vs. &c. And in the same place, after that he hath assigned y^e Church rightes to be paide in the place, whereto they belong: it followeth thus.*Facite etiam vt mihi mea propria cupiatis, quae mihi poteritis recté acquirere. Nolo vt aliquid mihi iniuste cóquiratis. Sed omnia vestra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea similiter exoptetis. Cauete simul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & transgressionem meam.

Among his other lawes & ordinances, to the nūber of xxxv. diuers things be comprehended pertaining as well to the spirituall,* as also to the temporall iurisdiction.

Out of the lawes of this King, first sprang vp the attachement of theeuers, such as stoale aboute xij. pence, and were aboute xij. yeares old, should not be spared.

And thus much briefly concerning the historie of King Ethelstane, & things in his time done: who reigned about the space of xvj. yeares. And because he died without issue, therefore after him succeeded his brother Edmund, the yere of our Lord. 940. who reigned vj. yeares.

King Edmund.

EDmund the sonne of Edwarde the elder, by his thirde wife (as is declared) and brother of Ethelstane, being of the age of xx. yeares, entred his raigne: who had by hys Queene Elgina, two sonnes, Edwyne, and Edgarus, surnamed Pacificus, which both reigned after him, as followeth. This Edmund continued his reigne vj. yeares & a halfe. By him were expulsed the Danes, Scottes, Normandes, and all foreine enemies out of the land. Such Cities and Townes which before were in the possession of strangers: as Lyncolne, Nottingham, Derby, Stafforde, and Leycetour, he recouered out of their hands. Thus the realme being cleared of foreine power, for a time: then the king set his study and mind in the redressing and maintaining the state of the Church: which all stode then in building of Monasteries, and furnishing of Churches, eyther with newe possessions,* or w^t restoring the olde which were taken away before. In the time of thys Edmund, thys I find in an old written story, borrowed of W. Cary: a citizen of London, a worthy treasurer of moste worthy Monuments of antiquitie. The name of the author I can not alledge: because the booke beareth no title, lacking both the beginning, and the latter end. But the words therof faithfully recited, be these: Huius regis tempore, facta est dispersio Monachorum Eushmensis coenobij,* cum substitutione Canoniorum per Althelmum, & Vlrimum laicos, & Osulphum Episcopum. &c. That is: In the time of this King, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the Monkes out of the Monastery of Eusham, and Canons substituted in their place: through the doing of Athelmus, & Ulricus lay men, and of Osulfus Byshop. &c.

Where, as concerning this matter betwene Monkes and other of the clergie, first it is to be vnderstande: that in the realme of England,* heretofore before the time of Dunstane: the Byshops seas and cathedrall churches were replenished with no monkes, but wyth priestes and canons (called then clerks or men of the clergy) After this beginneth to rise a difference or a sect betwixt these two parties, in straitnesse of life and in habite:* so that they which liued after a straiter rule of holines, were called monkes, & professed chastitie: that was, to liue from wiues, (for so was chastitie then defined in those blinde daies) as though holy matrimony were no chastitie, according as Paphnutius did well define it in the councel of Nice. The other sort which were no monkes but priests or men of the clergy called, liued more free from these monkish rules and obseruances: and were then commōly (or at least lawfully) maryed,* and in their life and habite, came nearer to the secular sorte of other christians. By reason wherof great disdaine & emulation was among them: in so much that in many Cathedral churches, where as priests were before, there monks were put in. And contrary, sometime where as Monkes were intruded, there priests and canons againe were placed, and monkes thrust out: wherof more shal appere here after (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the lyfe of Dunstane. In the meane time, something to satisfie the cogitation of the reader, which peradventure either is ignorant, or els would know of the first cōming in of monks, into this realme and Church of England in the Saxones time:* this is to be noted, according as I finde in old Chronicles, namely in the latine history of Guliel. de gestis pontificum Angl. recorded, touching the same. That about thys time of king Edmund or shortly after, when hardnes and straitnesse of life, ioyned with superstition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holinesse: Men therefore, either to winne publique same with

men, or merites with God, gaue themselues to lead a strait life: thinking thereby, the stranger their conuersation was,* and farther from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect to be toward God and mā. There was at that time (and before that) a monastery in France named Floriake, after the order and rule of Benedict: from the which Monasterie did spring a great part of our english mōks. Who being there professed, and afterward returning into England, did cōgregate men daily to theyr profession. And so, partly for strangenesse of theyr rule: partly for outwarde holinesse of their strait life: partly for the opinion of holinesse that many had of them, were in great admiration: not onely with the rude sort, but with kinges and princes: who founded their houses, maintained their rules, and enlarged them with possessions. Among the which order of monks comming from Floriake, especially was one Oswaldus, first a monke of Floriake, then bishop of Wirceter and of Yorke: a great patrone and setter vp of monckery.* Touching the which Oswaldus, William in his booke, De pontific. writing of his historie, hath these woordes: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis consuetudo fuit, vt si qui boni afflati essent desiderio, in beatissimi Benedicti monasterio caenobialem susciperet habitū: a quo, religionis huiusce manauit exordium, &c. That is, It was a common custome at that time amōg English men, that if any good men were well affected or minded toward religiō, they went to the Monasterie of blessed S. Benedict in France, and there receiued the habite of a Monke: Wherupon the first origine of this religion began,* &c. But of this Oswald bishop of Yorke, and Dunstane bishop of Canterburie, and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, howe they replenished diuers Monasteries, & Cathedral Churches with Monkes: and howe they discharged maryed Priestes and Chanans out of their houses, to plante in Monkes in their celles: more shall be spoken (by the grace of Christ) heereafter. Nowe let vs returne againe to the matter where we left, of king Edmund: who besides his noble victories against his enemies, and recouering the Cities aboue expressed into his own hāds: did also subdue the prouince of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two sonnes of Dunmail king of Cumberland,* he committed the gouernance therof to Malcolinus king of Scots: vpon promise of his trustie seruice & obedience, when the king should stande in any neede of him. In the time of this king, Dunstane was not yet Archbi. of Canterbury, but onely Abbot of Glastenbury:* of whom many fabulous narrations passe among the wryters, importing more vanity then verity. Wherefore this is one of the first: what time Edgarus called Pacificus was borne,* Dunstane being the same time Abbot of Glastenbury (as the monkish fables dreame) heard a voyce in the ayre of certaine Angels singing after this tenour, and saying: Nowe peace commeth to the church of England in y^e time of this child and of our Dunstane, &c. This I thought to recite, that the christian reader might the better pōder wyth himselfe, the impudent and abhominable fictions of this Romish generation. Out of the same mint also haue they forged, how the sayd Dunstane should heare the aungels sing the Kyrieleyson, vsed to be song at euensong in the church. Guliel de pontif. lib. 1. Which is as true as that the Harpe hanging in a womans house, played by it selfe the time of the Antheme, called Gaudent in coelis, &c. What would not these deceiuers faine in matters something likely, whych in thinges so absurde and so inconuenient, shame not to lie and to forge so impudently & also so manifestly? Through the motion of this Dunstane: King Edmund builded and furnished the monasterie of Glastenbury, & made the sayd Dunstane Abbot thereof.

Concerning the ende and death of this King, sundrye opinions there be, Alfridus and Marianus say: that while this King Edmund endeuored hymselfe to saue his sewer from the daunger of his enemies, which would haue slaine him at Pulcherchurch: the king in parting of the fray was wounded, and died shortly after. But Guliel. de Regibus. lib. 2. sayeth, that the king being at a

feast at Pulcherchurch [Page 151](#) vpon the day of S. Augustine, espied a fellow sitting in the hall, named Leof, whom he before for his felony had exiled. And leaping ouer the table did flie vpon him, & plucked the thiefe by the haire of the head to the ground. In which doyng, the fellow with a knife wounded the king to the death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the kings seruants, and at length was all to hewen, and died forthwith.

*By the lawes of king Edmund (ordeyned and set forth, as well for the redresse of church matters, as also of ciuile regiment) it may appeare, that the state both of causes temporal & likewise spiritual, appertained then to y^e kings right (the false pretended vsurpatiō of the bishop of Rome notwithstanding) as by these lawes is to be seene: where he by the aduise of his lordes and bishops, did enact & determine concerning the chastitie & pure life of ecclesiastical ministers, and such as were in the orders of the Church, w^t the penalties also for them which transgressed the same.

Item, for tithes to be payd of euery christian man, and for the church fees, and alme fees, &c.

Item, for deflouring of womē professed, which we call Nunnes, &c.

Item, for euery bishop to see his churches repaired, of his owne proper charge, and boldly to admonish the king whether the houses of God were well maintayned, &c.

Item, for flying into the church for sanctuary, &c.

Item, concerning cases and determinations spousall, or matrimoniall, &c.

All which constitutions declare, what interest kings had in those days in matters as wel ecclesiastical as other, within their dominion, and that not only in disposing the ordinances and rites, such as appertained to the institutiō of the church: but also in placing and setting Bishops in their sens, &c.

In the tyme of this Edmund, was Ulstanus Archb. of Yorke,* and Odo Archbishop of Canterbury, which Odo beyng a Da•e borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that sea by king Ethelstane, for that (as they say) hee being first bishop of Witone, & present with kyng Ethelstane in the field against Analafus before mentioned, what time the said Ethelstane had lost his sword, he thorough his intercession vp to heauen, did see a sworde from heauen, come downe into the sheath of the kyng. Whereof relation beyng made to the kyng by the foresayd Byshop,* Ethelstane vpon the same was so affected toward Odo, that not onely he counted him for a Patrone of his life, but also made him Primate of Canterbury after the decease of Ulfelmus. This Odo was the first from the commyng of the Saxons, till his tyme which was Archbishop of Canterbury being no mōke.* For all the other before him were of the profession of Monkes, of whō a great part had bene Italiās vnto Berctualdus. Notwithstanding this Odo, beyng also a stranger borne, after he was elected into the bishoprike, to aunswer to the old custome of others before him, sayled ouer into France, and there at Floriake (after the vsuall maner aboue mentioned of Englishmen) receiued the profession and habite of monkish religion, as sayth my foresayd author. And like as the sayd Odo first beyng no monke, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. So also Ulstanus the same tyme, beyng bishop of Yorke and of Worcester,* differed

from diuers his predeceßours before him in profession and in habite: of whome the forenamed author thus writeth in his iij. booke, speaking of Ulstanus qui sanctitate discrepabat & habitu, that is, he differed in sanctimonie and in habite.* Whereby is to be collected, that in those dayes was a difference in habite & garment, not only betwene monkes & bishops, but also betwene one Bishop and an other. Albeit what difference it was yet, I do not finde. But I returne agayne to Odo, who by the description of his maners, might seeme not to be the worste that occupied that place, were it not that our lying histories faining false miracles vpon him (as they do of other) make him in deede to seeme worse then he was.* As where they imagine that he should see from heauen a sworde fall into the scabberd of king Ethelstane. Itē, where he should couer and defend the church of Canterbury with his praiera from raine.* And also where he should turne the bread of the aulter (as the writer termeth it) into liuely fleshe, & from flesh into bread againe, to confirme the people which before doubted in the same. Where note agayn (good Reader) that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is vntrue: yet is it to be noted, y^t in those dayes was a great doubt among englishmen of the popish sacrament,* & that transubstantiatiō was not receiued into the christiā creed. The like iudgement is to be geuē also of that, where our English writers testifieng of the same Odo, say that hee should prophesie long before of Dunstan, to be his successor in the church of Canterbury. But to let these fantasies and idle stories passe, this which we find of Odo, his own writing is certain, that the said Odo in the raighe of kyng Edmund, had a synode commensed of the chiefe Prelates and mē of the clergy in his time, to whom he directed this letter here following: the copy whereof I thought to expresse, for the Reader to see what zelous care raigned in Archbishops then toward the Church of the Lord. The wordes of his epistle proceed in this tenour.

The letter or an Epistle of Odo Archbishop of Caunterbury, sent to the other Bishops and men of the Clergy.

Mirabili cunctipotentis polorum praesulis clementia opitulante: Ego Odo,* ecclesiae Saluatoris Domini nostri Iesu Christi Archiepiscopus, Douerniensis ciuitatis Metropolitanus, coepiscopis fidei catholicae compagatoribus spirituali charitatis rigore meis confratribus. Praesentium prosperitatem aetherei{que} decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The same in English.

By the deuine grace of God, I Odo of the church of our lord and sauour Iesus Christ, Archbishop & Metropolitane of the citie of Douer, to my fellow bishops, and fellow planters of the catholike fayth, and my fellow brethren in the spirituall bonde of charitie, with greeting, wish prosperitie in this world present, & in the world to come felicitie. If it were so, or by any meanes could be, that all the riches of this world were layd before myne eyes, so that I beyng Emperour had all things vniuersally vnder my subiection, all those things gladly would I geue, yea and my selfe also would offer willingly for the health of your soules, as which also do desire and trust likewise my self to be strengthened with the feruencie of your holynesse, as appertayning to those things wherein the Lord our God hath set vs to be workmen, &c.

And after a few other wordes of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heauy burden of his office, it followeth after this maner.

Wherefore most humbly and one vnworthy, but yet a deuou• fellow brother of yours, I beseech and exhort your holines: that you will not shew your selues cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of soules, so that in the tyme of the feareful iudgement, the Lord doe not complaine of you, saying, my shepeheardes did not feed my flocke, but they fed thēselues And agayne they were princes of my flocke, and I knew not of it. But rather let vs take heede, and be diligent ouer the houshold of the Lord, ouer which he hath set vs to be the leaders: to geue them meate & true measure of corne in tyme conuenient: that is to say, wholesome doctrine. And although vpon myne owne demerites or worthinesse I do not presume to comfort or exhort any man: but as one beyng vnworthy & faultie in transgressions innumerable, am glad, and stand in neede, rather to be strengthened by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the auncient authoritie of my predecessors as of Augustine, of happy memory, and also of all other saintes by whose industrie the rule of christianitie did first florish and spring from this Metropolitane see, vnto all quarters of England. Therefore I haue thought good to direct vnto you these my letters to the profit of you all: especially, for that our renowned & princely king Edmond, with all his people doth ioy to folow that which he heareth in you, and of you: and also, forsomuch as all his subiectes which be vnder his Imperiall dominion, doe loue and delight to follow most ioyfully, the same and report of your sincere conuersation, &c.

This Odo continued bishop the space of 20. yeres. After whom Elsinus was elected and ordained by the kyng to succeede through fauour and money: [*](#) but in goyng to Rome for the Popes palle, in his iourney thorough the Alpes, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon succeeded Dunstane• as in tyme and place (by the leaue of Christ) foloweth to be declared.

This Edmund gaue to S. Edmund the Martyr before mentioned, the towne of Bredrich•ehworth, which is now called S. Edmondesbury, with great reuenues and lands appertaynyng to the same. But concerning the friuolous miracles which our Monkish storywriters here •ayne of this good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them passe.

And thus much concerning the reign of king Edmūd, [*](#) who after he had reigned vj. yeres and half, was slaine as is sayd at Pulchorchurch, and buried at Glastenbury of Dunstane: [*](#) leauing behynd him two children, Edwine & Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But because the foresaid children were yet yong & vnder age, therefore Edrede brother to king Edmund, and vnclē to the children, gouerned as Protector about the space of 9. yeres and halfe, [*](#) til Edwine the eldest sonne came to age. This Edrede with great moderation, and fidelitie to the young children, behaued himselfe [Page 152](#) during the tyme of his gouernement. [*](#) In his tyme, Dunstane was promooted through the means of Odo the Archbishop, from Abbot of Glastenbury, to be Bishop of Wirceter, and after of London. By the counsayle of this Dunstane, Edrede was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted: In so much that the sayd Edrede is reported in stories to submit himselfe to much fond penance, and castigations inflicted to him of the said Dunstane. Such zelous deuotion was then in princes, and more blynd superstition in bishops. And here agayn is an other miracle as fantastickall as the other before, forged of Dunstane. That whē that Edrede beyng sicke, sent for Dunstane to be hys confessor by the way: Dunstane should heare a voyce declaring to him before, that Edrede was already departed, at the declaring wherof Dunstans horse fel immediately dead vnder hym, [*](#) with lye and all.

* King Edwine.

EDwine the eldest sonne of king Edmund afore mētioned, after his vnclē Edrede, began his raigne about the yere of our Lord, 955. being crowned at Kingston by Odo the Archbishop of Caunterbury. Of this Edwine it is reported of diuers writers, that the first day of his coronation, sitting with his Lordes, brake sodainly from them & entred a secrete chamber, to the company of a certaine woman, whom he inordinately retained (being as some say an other mans wife) whose husband he had before slayne, as other say being of his aliance, to the great mislikyng of hys Lordes, and especially of the Clergy. Dunstane was yet but Abbot of Glastenbury, who following the king into the chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Odo the Archbishop,* causing him to be separate from the company of the foresayd partie, by the which Odo, the king was for his fact suspended out of the Church. By reason whereof the king beyng with Dunstane displeased, banished him his land, & forced him for a season to flee to Flanders where he was in the monastery of S. Amandus. About the same season the Monasticall order of Benedict Monkes or blacke monkes (as they were called) began to multiply and encrease here in England.* In so much, that where before tyme other priestes & Canons had bene placed. there monkes were in their rouses set in, and the secular priests (as they then were called) or Canōs put out, But king Edwine for the displeasure he bare to Dunstan, did so vexe all the order of the said monkes, that in Malmesbury Glastenbury, & other places mo, he thrust out the monkes, and set in secular priestes in their stead.

Notwithstanding it was not long, but these priestes and Canons were agayne remooued, and the said monkes in their stead restored, both in the foresayd houses, and in diuers other Churches Cathedrall besides, as in the next story of Kyng Edgar (Christ willyng) shall at more large appeare.

*In fiue kyng Edwine beyng hated by reason of certaine his demeanours, of all his subiectes (especially the Northumbrians and Mercians) was by them remooued from his kingly honour, and his brother Edgar in his steade receiued: so that the Riuer of Thamys deuided both theyr kingdomes. Which Edwine after he had raigned about the terme of foure yeares departed, leauing no heyre of hys bodye. Wherefore the rule of the lande fell vnto Edgar his younger brother.

King Edgar.

EDgar the second sonne of Edmund, and brother to Edwine being of the age of xvj. yeares, began his raygne ouer the realme of England, in the yeare of our Lord, 959. but was not crowned till 14. yeares after: the causes whereof here vnder follow (Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his raigne he called home Dunstane, whome king Edwine before had exiled. Then was Dunstane, which before was Abbot of Glastenbury,* made bishop of Worcester, & then of London. Not long after, this Odo the Archbishop of Cant. deceaseth, after he had gouerned y^e Church 24. yeares. After whom Brithelinus bishop of Winchester, first was elected. But because he was thought not sufficiēt to furnish y^e roome: Dunstane was ordained Archb. and the other sent home agayne to his old Church. Where note by the way, how in those dayes the donatiō and assignyng of ecclesiasticall dignities remayned in the kings hand, onely they fet their palle frō Rome, as a token of the Popes confirmation. So Dunstane beyng by the kyng made Archb. tooke hys iourney to Rome for his palle of Pope Iohn the 13. which was about the beginning of the

Kings raygne. Thus Dunstane obtayning his palle, shortly after his returne agayne from Rome,* entreateth King Edgar, that Oswaldus (who, as is said, was made monke at Floriake, and was nephew to Odo late bishop of Cant.) might bee promooted to the bishoprike of Worcester, which thyng to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the sayd Dunstane, Ethelwoldus (whom stories doe fayne to be the great patrone of Monkerie) first Monke of Glastenbury, thē Abbot of Abbendon, was also made Bysh. of Winchester. Of this Ethelwold, Gulielmus libro de gestis pōtificum recordeth, that what tyme he was a Monke in the house of Glastenbury, the Abbot had a vison of him which was this. How that there appeared to him in hys sleepe a certayne great tree, the branches wherof extended through out all the foure quarters of the Realme, which branches were al couered with many little Monkes coules, where, in the top of the tree was one great maister coule, which in spreading it selfe ouer the other coules, inclosed all the rest, which maister coule in the tree top, myne Authour in the interpretation applyeth to the lyfe of this Ethelwold.* Of such prodigious fantasies, our monkish histories bee full, and not onely our histories of England, but also the Heathen histories of the Gentiles be stuffed with such kynd of dreames of much like effect.

Of such a lyke dreame we read of the mother of Ethelstane, how the Moone did spring out of her wombe, & gaue light to all England. Also of king Charles the Emperour, how he was led by a threed to see the torments of hel. Like wise of Furceus the Heremite mentioned in the third booke of Bede, who sawe the ioyes of heauen and the 4. fires that should destroy the world: the one of lying, for breakyng our promise made at Baptism. The second fire was of couetous. The third of dissention. The fourth was of the fire of impietie and wrongfull dealing. Item, in like sort of the dreame of Dunstane, and of the same Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three bishops, Bristanus, Birinus, and Swithinus, &c. Itē, of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who beyng great with him, did see a golden Egle flee out of her mouth, &c. Of the dreame likewise, or the vision of Kyng Edgar concerning the falling of the two apples,* and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Also of king Edward the Confessor, touching the ruine of the lande by the conquest of the Normands. We read also in the history of Astiages, how he dreamed of Cyrus. And likewise of many other dreames in the bookes of the monkes, & of the Ethnike writers. For what cannot either the idle vanitie of mans head, or the deception of the lying spirite worke by man: in foreshewing such earthly euentes as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to be vnderstood betwene these earthly dreames, speaking of earthly things,* and matters of humaine superstition, & betwene other spiritual reuelations sent by God touching spirituall matters of the Church, pertayning to mans saluation. But to our purpose, by this dreame, and by the euent which followed after, it may appeare how & by what meanes the multitude of Monkes began first to swarme in the Churches of England (that is) in the dayes of this Edgar, by the meanes of these three Bishops, Dunstane, Ethelwold and Oswald. Albeit Dunstane was the chieftest ring leader of this race, yet Ethelwold beyng now Bishop of Winchester, & Oswald bishop of Worcester, were not much behind for their partes. By the instigation and counsail of these three aforesaid, king Edgar is recorded in histories to build either new out of the ground, or to reedifie monasteries decayed by the Danes, mo then xl. As the house of Ely, Glastenbury, Abington, Burgh by Stamford, Thorney, Ramsey, Wilton, Wenton, Winchtombe, Thamstock in Deuonshire, with diuers other moe. In the setting vp and building of the which, the foresayde Ethelwold was a great doer and a founder vnder the king. Moreouer, thorough the motion of this Dunstane and his fellowes, kyng Edgar in diuers great houses and Cathedrall Churches, where Prebendaries and priestes were before,* displaced the priestes, and set

in Monkes. Whereof we read in y^e chronicle of Rog. Houeden, in wordes and forme as followeth: Hic nam{que} Ethelwoldus Regem cuius eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maximè prouocauit, yt clericos à Monasterijs expelleret, & monachos sanctimoniales{que} in eis collocaret, &c. That is, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the kings coūsaile, did vrge the K. chiefly to expel Clerks out of Monasteries, and in their rowmes to bestow Monks and Nunnes, &c. whereunto accordeth likewise Historia Iornalensis, containing the like effect in these wordes: Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oswaldus Wygornensis Episcopi, iussu Regis Edgari (clericis de quibusdam maioribus Ecclesijs expulsis) Monachos instituerunt, aut de eisdem clericis & alijs monachos in eisdem fecerunt. Gulielmus also writing of the tyme of Dunstane, maketh the matter somewhat more plain [Page 553](#) where he sayth: Ita{que} clerici multarum Ecclesiarum data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes. Surgebant itaque in tota insula, religiosorum monasteria, cumulabātur mole pretiosi metalli sanctorum altaria, &c. Thus the secular priests being put to their choise, whether to chaunge their habite, or to leaue theyr roumes, departed out of their houses, geuing place for other better men to come in. Then the houses & Monasterics of Religious men through all the Realme, went vp apace, &c.

After the kings mynd was thus perswaded and incited by these bishops to aduance Monkery, then Oswaldus bishop of Worcestre, & also made Archbishop of Yorke, after the decease of Oskitellus,*sui <◇> compos effect{us} (as Houeden writeth) hauing his sea in the cathedrall Church there of S. Peter, began first with faire perswasions to assay the myndes of the Canons and priests, whether they could be content to change their profession, and to be made monks, or no: which when he saw it would not take effect, he practised this pollicie with thē. Nere to the said Church of S. Peter, within the churchyard he erected an other Church of our Lady, which when he had replenished w^t Monkes, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there he sat, and was euer there conuersant.* By reason whereof, the other church was left naked and desolate, and all the people gathered there where the bishop was.* The priests seying themselues so to be left and neglected both of the Bishop and of the people, to whome nothing remayned but shame and contempt, were driuen of shame either to relinquish the house (such as would not enter the Monkish profession) or els to become monkes, such as had nothyng els to stay vpon. After the like superstition (although not after the same subtiltie) did Ethelwold also driue out the Canons and priests from the new Monastery in Winchester, afterward called Hida,* and placed his monkes. So in Oxford and in Mildune, with diuers other places moe: the secular Priests with their wiues were expelled to geue place to Monkes. The cause wherof is thus pretended in certaine story writers, whom I see also Fabian to folow, for that the priests and Clerkes were thought slack and negligent in their Church seruice, and set in Uicars in theyr stead, while they liued in pleasure, and mispent the patrimony of the Church after their owne lust. Then king Edgar gaue to the Uicars the same land which before belonged to the Prebendaries, who also not long after shewed themselues as negligent as the other.* Wherefore king Edgar (as mine authors write) by the consent of Pope Iohn, 13. voyded clerely the priests, and ordained there monkes. Although certaine of the nobles, and some of the Prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following, may partly appeare.

But for so much as we haue entred into the mention of Monkes & Nunnes,* and of their profession, which I see so greatly in our Monkish stories commended: lest perhaps the simple Reader may be deceiued thereby, in hearing the name of monkes in all histories of tymes to be

such an ancient thing in Christian life (euen frō the primitiue church after the Apostles tyme) both commonly recited and well receiued: therfore to helpe the iudgement of the ignorant, and to preuent all error herein, it shall not be vnprofitable in followyng the present occasion here geuen (by way of a little digression) to entermedle somewhat concerning the originall institution of monkes, what they were in the old tyme, which were called Monachi, wherein the monkes of the primitiue tyme, did differ from the Monkes of the middle time, and from these our Monkes now of this latter age. Moreouer, wherein all these three do differ from Priests (as we call them) and frō men of the clergy. Wherefore to aunswer to the superstitious scruple of such, which alledge the old antiquitie of the name and title of monks: first I graunt, the name and order of Monkes to be of old continuance, during neare from the tyme of 300. yeares after Christ. Of whom diuers old authors do record, as Augustinus, Hieronymus, Basillus Magnus, who was also himself one of the first institutors and commendors of that superstition.

Chrysostomus,*Nazianzenus, Euagrius, Sozomenus, Dionysius, and diuers other. In the number of these monkes (which then were deuided into Hermites or Anachorites and into Coenobites) wexe Antonius, Paulus, Ioannes, wyth diuers other recluses. Among the which was Hierome, Basile, Macarius, Isidorus, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite other, both in Palestina, Syria, Thebaide, Mesopotamia in Egypt, in Africa and Scythia. In so much that Cassianus, Lib. 2. cap. 4. de Canon. Noctur. orat. maketh mention of a certaine Monastery in Thebaide, wherein were aboue 5000. monks, vnder the gouernment of one Abbot. And here also in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thousand & two hundred Monkes vnder one mans ruling, in the yeare of our Lord, 596. wherby it appeareth that Monkes were then, and 2000. yeares before in the primitiue tyme of the Church. But what monks these were, is to be considered. Such as either by tyranny of persecution were driuen into solitary and desert places, or els such as not constrained of any, but of their owne voluntary deuotion (ioyned with some superstition among, for the loue they had to spirituall contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrewe themselues from all company, either hauyng nothyng to themselues proper,* or els all things common with other. And all these were then nothing els but lay men. Of which lay men there were two sundry sortes, one of the vulgare & common people, which onely were pertakers of the Sacraments, the other in folowing a Monasticall kynde of lyfe, were called Monkes (beyng nothing but lay men) leadyng a more seure and straighter trade of lyfe, then the other, as may sufficiently appeare by August. Lib. de moribus Ecclesiae cap. 13. Item, Lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item Epistola ad Aurelium. Also by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writing these wordes: Alia Monachorum est causa, alia clericorum. Clerici pascunt oues, ego pascor, &c. That is, One thing pertaineth to Monkes, an other thing to them of the Clergy. They of the Clergy feede their flocke. I am fed, &c. Et ex Dionysio. Also the same appeareth likewise by the 4. Canon of the Councel of Chalcedone, where it is prouided, Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negocijs immisceant. That is, That Monkes should not intermedle with matters of the Church. &c. Et Leo Epistola 62 vetat Monachos & laicos, etsi scientie nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

By these foresayd authors alledged,* it is euident: that Monkes in the former age of the church, albeit they lyued a solitary life, yet they were then no other but only lay mē, differing from priests, & differing from the other monkes, which succeeded them afterward in the middle age of the Church, and that in iij. pointes. First, they were tyed and bound to no prescript forme eyther of diet or apparel, or any thing els, as we may see testified by the wordes of S. Augustine, which be these:

Ne{que} inter haec nemo vrgetur in aspera, quae ferre non potest: Nulli quod recusat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur à caeteris, in quod eis imitandis se fatetur inualidum. Meminerunt enim quantoperè commendata sit in Scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c Nō quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod exit. Ita{que} non reiiciendis generibus ciborum, quasi pollutis, sed concupiscentiae perdomandae, & dilectioni fratrum retinendae,

inuigilat omnis industria. And Sozomenus, Lib 3. cap. 16. speaking of the Monkes of the same time, which in cities had seuerall mansions frō other, sayth: Alij in turba ciuitatum conuersabantur, sic seipsos gerentes, vt nullius momenti viderentur, & à multis nihil differrent, &c. 1. Some liued in cities, so behauing themselues, as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothyng from the multitude, &c. The second point wherin they were discrepant from the latter Monkes: was, in that they remained no other but in the order of lay men (onely beyng of a straighter lyfe then the rest) and had nothing to do in matters & charges Ecclesiasticall.* Which was afterward broken, by Pope Bonifacius the 4. as followeth more (the lord willing) to be sene and sayd. Thirdly, the foresaid monkes of that age (albeit the most part of them liued sole & single from wiues) yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrayned from mariage. Of such as were married,* speaketh Athanasius in Epistola ad Dracontium, qui ait se nouisse & Monachos & Episcopos coniuges & liberorum patres, &c. That is, which sayth that he knew both Monkes and Bishops married men, and fathers of children, &c.

And yet the said Monkes of the old tyme,* though they were better then the other which folowed them: yet al that notwithstanding, superstitiō with them and among them begā then to creepe into the church, through the crafty subtilty of Sachan, and all for the ignorance of our free iustification by faith in Iesus Christ. Examples do declare the vaine and prodigious superstitiō of these Monasticall sort of men, which examples do not lacke: if <◇> rather did not lacke to bring them in. But ij. or iij. shal suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to insert: to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better consider and vnderstand,* how shortly after the tyme of Christ and his Apostles, the doctrine of christian iustification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to superstition, & the price of Christes passion to bee obscured through the vayne opinion of mens merites,* &c. A certaine Abbot named Moses thus testifieth of himselfe in the Collations of Cassianus, that he so afflicted himselfe with much fastyng and watching, that sometimes for ij. or iij. dayes together, [Page 154](#) not onely he felt no appetite to eate, but also had no remēbraunce of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driuen also frō sleepe. In so much, that he was caused to pray to God, but for a little refreshing of sleepe to be geuen him some piece of the night. In the same author, mention is made of a certaine old man an Hermite, who because hee had conceiued in himselfe such a purpose neuer to eat meat without he had some guest or strāger with him, sometyme was constrained to abstaine v. daies together vntil Sonday, while he came to the Church and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

*Two other examples yet more will I adde out of the said Cassianus, to declare how the subtiltie of Sathan, thorough superstition and false colour of holynes, blindeth y^e miserable eyes of such which rather attend mens traditions, then the word of God. In the xl. chap. of the sayd author in his booke de Gastrimargia, is told of a certain Abbot named Ioannes, in the desert of Scythia, who sent ij. of hys Nouices with figs vnto one that was sicke in the wildernes 18. miles off from the Church. It chaunced these two yong Nouices missing the way, wandered so long in the wild

forest or wildernes, and could not find the Celie, that for emptines and wearines they waxed faint & tired. And yet rather would they die then tast the figs committed to them to cary,* and so dyd, for shortly after they were found dead, their figges lying whole by them.

An other story he also reciteth of two Monasticall brethren, who making their progresse, in the desert of Thebaide: purposed with thēselues,* to take no sustenance, but such as the Lord should minister himselfe vnto them. It happened, as they were wandering desolate in the desert, and faynting almost for penury, certayne Mazices, a kinde of people by nature fearce and cruel: notwithstanding, being sodenly altered into a new nature of humanitye, came forth and of their owne accord offered bread vnto them. Which bread the one thankfully receaued, as sent of God. The other as counting it sent of man and not of God, refused it, and so for lacke perished.

Hereunto might I also annexe the story of Mucius, who to declare his obedience, did not sticke at the commaundement of his Abbot, to cast his sonne into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning, so far were the Monkes in those dayes drowned in superstition. What is this, but for mans traditions and commaundements, to transgresse the commaundement of God, which saith: Thou shalt do no murther. Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God? What man is so blynd, that seeth not by these & infinite examples mo: what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this Monkery, almost from the beginnyng to creepe into the Church? Wherefore I cannot maruell inough, seeyng that age of the Church, had in it so many learned and famous Doctors, who not onely did approue and allow these monasticall sectes of life: but also certaine themselues were the authors and institutors of the same, yea and of mens traditions made the seruice of God. In number of whome may be reckoned Basilius Magnus, & Nazianzenus, who with immoderate austeritie did so plucke downe themselues,* that when they were called to the office of Bishops, they were not able to sustaine the labour therof.

After these foresayd monkes of that time aboue recited, followed other Monkes of the middle age of the Church:* who as in multitude, so also in superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolate dens in the vaste wildernes, to approach more neare to great towns, where they had solemne Monasteries founded by Kinges and Queenes, and kings daughters, and other rich Consuls, as is partly before touched. And the causes also touched withall, for the which they were first founded, as these: pro remedio animae meae,* pro remissione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorū meorum, & pro salute regnorum, qui{que} meo subiacent regimini populorum. In honorem gloriosae virginis, &c. For all these impious, and erroneous titles, and causes, we finde alleaged in storyes, as in Malmesberiensis, Iornalensis, Henricus, and other moe. In which histories I also note, that the most part of these foresayd monasteries were erected first vpon some great murther, either by war in the field, or priuately committed at home: as shall well appeare to them which read the bookes whom I haue alledged. But to returne to our Monks agayn, who (as is sayd) first began to creepe from the cold field into warme townes and cloysters:* from townes, then into citties, and at length from their close cellors and citties, vnto Cathedrall Churches (as here appeareth by this storye of King Edgar) where not onely they did abound in wealth and riches (especially these Monkes of our latter tyme) but much more did swimme in superstition, and Pharisaicall hipocrisie, beyng yoked and tied in all their doings, to certaine prescript rules and formal obseruances: in watching in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walkyng, in talking, in looking, in tasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures, euery mā apparailled, not as the proper condition of other would require, nor as

the season of the yere did serue, but as the coacted rules & order of euery sect did inforce them. The number of which sectes was infinitely diuers: some after Basilius rule, went in white: some after Benets rule in blacke: some Cluniacēsis, first set vp by Otho in the tyme of this king Edgar,* wearing after the rule of Benets order: some after Hieroms rule leather girdled and coped aboue their white coate: some Gregorians copper coloure•: Some de valle vmbrosa, graye Monkes: Some Grand•montenses, wearing a coate of mailles vpon theyr bare bodyes, with a black cloake therevpon: Some Cistercianes, who had white rochets on a blacke coate: Some Celestines, all in blew, both cloake, coule, and cap: Some Charter Monkes, wearing hearecloth next their bodyes.* Some Flagellants, going barefoot in long white linnen shirtes, with an open place in the backe, where they beat themselues with scourges on the bare skinne euery day, before the peoples eyes, till the blood ranne downe: saying that it was reuealed to them by an Angell, that in so scourging themselues, within 30. dayes and 12. houres, they should bee made so pure from sinne, as they were whē they first receiued baptisme: some starred Monkes: Some Iesuites, with a white girdle & a russet coule. Briefely, who can reckon vp the innumerable sectes and disguised orders of their fraternities? Some holding of S. Benet, some of S. Hierome, Some of S. Basill, Some of S. Barnard: Some of S. Bridget: Some of S. Bruno: Some of S. Lewes: as though it were not enough for Christen men to holde of Christ onely: so subiect were they to seruite rules, that no part of Christen liberty remayned among them. So drowned and sunck in superstition: that not onely they had lost Christes religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the descrete gouernment of reasō, in all outward doynges, wherein no one rule can serue for all men:* the circumstance of tyme, place, person, and busines being so sundry and diuers. Contrary, among these, not reason but onely the knock of a bell, ruled all their doinges: their rising, their sleeping, theyr praying, their eating, their comming in, their going out, their talking, their silēce, & altogether like insensible people, either not hauing reason to rule themselues, or els as persons vngrateful to God, neyther enioyning the benefite of reason created in them, nor yet vsing the grace of Christes libertie, wherunto he redemed them.

Thus thou seest (gentle Reader) sufficiently declared, what the monkes were in y^e primitiue time of the Church,* & what were the Monkes of the middle age, and of these our latter dayes of the church. Wherunto ioyned this with all, that where the Monkes of elder tyme (as is sayd) were meere lay men and no spirituall ministers. Afterward Bonifacius the 4. made a decree, an. 606. that Monkes might vse the office of preaching, of Christening, of hearing confessions, & also of assayling them of their sinnes, &c. So thē monkes, who in the beginning were but lay men, and no spirituall ministers, forbidden by the generall Councell of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters ecclesiasticall: afterward in proces of time did so much incroch vpon the office of spirituall ministers, that at lēghth the Priests were discharged out of their Cathedrall churches, & monkes set in their places. Because that Monkes in those dayes leading a straighter lyfe,* and professing chastitie, had a greater countenance of holynes amōg the people, then the Priests, who then in the dayes of king Edgar had wiues (at least so many as would) no law forbidding them to the contrary, till the tyme of Hildebrand, now called Gregory the 7. whereof more shall be sayd (Christ willing) in the booke next followyng.

And thus much by the way as touching the order and profession of Monkes.* Nowe to turne in agayne from whence we digressed (that is) to the matter of kyng Edgar, who followyng the counsaile and leading of Dunstane, and the foresayd Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, was

somewhat thereby inclined to superstition. But otherwyse of his owne nature, well geuen to all vertues and princely actes worthy of much commēdation,* and famous memory. So excellent was he in iustice, and sharpe in correctiō of vices (as well in his magistrates, as other subiectes) that neuer before his dayes was lesse felony by robbers, nor lesse extortion or bribery by false officers. Such Prouinces & lordships as were not yet come vnder the kings subiection, he vnited and adioyned to his dominion. And [Page 155](#) so made one perfect monarchy of the whole realme of England, with all the Ilelands and borders about the same. Such as were wicked, he kept vnder, he repressed thē that were rebels, the godly he maintayned, he loued the modest, he was deuout to God, and beloued of his subiects, whom he gouerned in much peace and quietnes. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did blesse hym with much aboundaunce of peace and rest from all warres: so that as the history recordeth of hym,*Nullas insidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum sen serit, for the which he was called Pacificus. He neyther tasted of any priuy treson among his subiectes, nor of any inuasion of foraine enemies. So studious he was of the publike profite of hys Realme, and fruitfull in his gouernment, that as the sayd story testifieth of him, Nullus ferè annus in Chronicis praeterijt, quo non magnum & necessarium patriae aliquid fecerit: No yeare passed in all the tyme of his raigne,* wherein he dyd not some singular and necessary commoditie for the common wealth, &c. A great mainteyner he was of Religion and learning, not forgetting herein the foresteps of Kyng Alfred his predecessor. Among his other princely vertues this chiefly is to be regarded, that where as other princes commonly in much peace and quietnes, are wont to grow into a dissolute negligence of life, or obliuiō of their charge committed vnto them. This king in continuance of peace (that notwithstanding) kept euer with him such a watch, & a vigilant seueritie ioyned with a seemely clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witnesse of our story writers, testifiyng of his diligent care ouer the common wealth: which was so great, Vt nullum cuiuscun{que} dignitatis hominē, leges eludere impunè permetteret i.* That he would suffer no man of what degree of nobilitie so euer he were, to dally out his lawes without condigne punishment, &c. And foloweth more in the same author. Nemo eius tempore priuatus latro, Nemo popularis praedo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alias grassari propriae vitae dispendio,*&c. In all his tyme there was neither any priuy picker nor open thiefe, but he that in stealing other mens goods, would venter and suffer (as he was sure) the losse of his owne lyfe, &c. Guliel. de Reg.

Moreouer, as the studious industrie of this Prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent prouision dyd not lacke in this also,* in driuing out the deuouring & rauening Wolues, throughout all his land. Wherein he vsed this pollicie, In causing Ludwallus Prince or Kyng of Wales, to yelde to him yearely by way of tribute, 300. Wolues. By meanes whereof, within the space of 4. yeres after in England and Wales, might scantly be founde one Wolfe alyue.

This Edgar among other of his politike deedes, had in readines 3600. ships of warre, to scoure the Seas in the Sommer tyme, wherof 1200. kept the East seas, as many to defend the Westside, againe, as many on the Southseas to repulse the inuasion of foraine enemies. Moreouer, in Winter season, the vse and maner of this vertuous Kyng was this: During all the tyme of his life, to ride ouer the land in progresse, searching and inquiring diligently (to vse here the wordes of mine author.) Quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum obseruarentur: & ne pauperes à potentibus praeiudicium passi opprimerentur. That is, How his lawes and statutes by him ordeined were kept, & that the poore should suffer no preiudice or he oppressed any maner of wayes by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy prince to be commended,

so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him like a Phenix to flee alone, that of all his posteritie so few there bee that seeke to keepe him company. And although I haue shewed more already of this king, then I thinke will wel be folowed, yet this more is to be added to the worthines of his other acts.* That where as by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in diuers places of Englād much excessiue drinking was vsed, wherupon ensued dronkennes, and many other vices, to the euill example and hurt of his subiects: he therfore to preuent that euill, ordeined certaine cuppes with pinnes, or nailes set in them, adding therunto a law, that what person dranke past that marke at one draught, should forfeite a certaine peny. Whereof one halfe should fall to the accuser, and the other half to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

It is reported of this Edgar by diuers authors, that about the 13. yere of his raign, he bring at Chester, a kings (called in histories Subreguli) to wit petykings, or vnderkings, came & did homage to him. Of whom the first was the king of Scots, called Kinadius: Macolinus of Cumberland. Mackus or Mascusinus king of Moniae, and of diuers other Ilands,* & all the kings of Wales, the names of whō were Dufuall, or Dunewaldus; Sifreth, Hu••all, Iacob, Vikyll, Iuchell. All which kings after they had geuen their fidelitie to Edgar:* the next day following (for a pompe or royaltie) he entred with these aforesaid kings into the riuer of Dee. Where he sitting in a boate tooke the rule of the helme, and caused these 8. kings, euery person taking an ore in hys hand,* to row him vp and downe the riuer to and from the Church of S. Iohn vnto his palace agayne, in token that he was maister and Lord of so many prouinces: whereupō he is reported to haue sayd in this maner: Tunc demum posse successores suos gloriari, se Reges Angliae esse, cum tanta praerogatiua honorum fruerētur. But in my mynd this king had sayd much better, if he had rather said with S. Paule, Absit mihi gloriari,* nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

And thus ye haue heard hetherto touching the cōmendation of king Edgar, such reportes as the old Monkish writers thought to bestow vpon him, as vpon the great patron of their monkish religion, who had builded so many monasteries for them, as were Sondayes in the yere, (as some say) or, as Edmer reporteth, but 48.

Now on the other side,* what vices in him were raigning, let vs likewise consider, according as we find in the sayd authors described, which most write to his aduancement. Wherof, the first vice is noted to be crueltie, as well vpon others, as namely vpon a certaine Erle being of his secret counsaile called Ethelwold. The story is this, Ordgarus Duke of Deuonshire, had a certaine daughter named Elfrida, whose beautie beyng highly commended to the king, he being inflamed therwith, sent this foresaid Ethelwold (whom he especially trusted) to the partie, to see and to bring him word againe, & if her beautie were such as was reported,* willing him also to make the match betwene them. Ethelwold wel viewing the partie, and seing her beautie nothing inferior to her fame, and thinking first to serue his owne turne, tolde all things contrary to the king. Wherupon the king withdrawing his mynd otherwise, in the ende it came to passe that Ethelwold hymselfe did marry her.

Not long after, the king vnderstanding further by the complaints and rumors of certayne, how he was preuented and beguiled, set a faire face vpon the matter before Ethelwold, and merily iesting with hym, tolde hym how he would come and see his wyfe, & in deed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold the husband perceauing this matter to go hardly with hym, made hast

to hys wife, declaring to her the comming of the king, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done, desired her of all loue, as she would saue his life, to disgrace & deforme her selfe with garmentes and such attyre, as the king might take no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this what did she, but contrary to the request of her husband, & promise of a wife, against the kings commyng trimmed her selfe at the glasse,* & decked her in her best aray. Whom when the king beheld, he was not so much enamoured w^t her, as in hatred with her husband who had so deceaued him. Wherupon the king shortly after making as though he would goe to hunt in the forest of Harwood, sent for Ethelwold to come to him vnder the pretence of huntyng, & there ran him thorow and slew him. After this the bastard sonne of Ethelwold comming to him, the king asked hym how he liked that hunting. Who aunswered againe, that which pleaseth the king, ought not to displease him. For the death of which Ethelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a Monastery of Nunnes in remission of sinnes.*

An other fault which Malmesbury noteth in hym, was the comming in of strangers into this land, as Saxones, Flemmings, & Danes, whome he with great familiaritie retained, to the great detriment of this land, as the forsaid story of Malmesbury recordeth, whose wordes be these. Vndè factum est, vt fama eius per ora omnium volitante, alienigenae, Saxones, Flandritae, ipsi etiam Dani huc frequenter annauigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti: quo rum aduentus magnū prouincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde meritò iure{que} reprehendunt eum literae, &c. That is, wherby it happened, that diuers straungers out of foraine countreys* allured by hys fame, came into the land, as Saxones, Flemmings, and Danes also, all which he retained with great familiaritie. The comming of which straungers wrought great dammage to the realme, and therefore is Edgar iustly blamed in stories, &c. with the which reprehension all the Saxone stories also do agree.

The third vice to him obiected,* was his incontinent & lasciuious lust in deflouring maides, as first of a Dukes daughter being a Nūne, and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilfrude, of which Wilfride was borne Editha, a bastard daughter of Edgar. Also of an other certaine virgin in the town of Audeuar. who was priuily conueied into his bed by this meanes. The lasciuious king commyng to Andeuar, not farre from Winchester, and thinking to haue his [Page 156](#) pleasure of a certayne Dukes daughter, of whose beautie he heard much speaking, commaunded the mayde to bee brought vnto him. The mother of the virgine grieved to haue her daughter made a concubine, secretly by night cōueyed to the kings bed in stead of her daughter, an other mayden of beauty and fauour not vncomely: who in the morning rising to her worke, and so beyng known of the king what she was, had graunted vnto her of y^e king such libertie and freedome, that of a seruant she was made mistresse both to her maister, and also to her mistresse. Ex Mat. Paris. lib. de Regib.

*An other concubine he had also besides these aforesaid, which was Egelfleda or Elflada, called Candida y^e white daughter of duke Ordinare (as Guliel. Malmesb. recordeth) she beyng also a professed Nunne, of whom he begot Edward in bastardy. For the which he was enioined by Dūstane 7. yeares penance. After which penance beyng complete, then he tooke to him a lawfull wyfe (as Malmesbury sayth) Elfritha, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, or otherwise called Egelred, whereof more shall be sayd (the Lord willing hereafter.

Ouer and besides all these vices noted and objected to king Edgar in our monkish storywriters, I also obserue another no lesse, or rather greater vice then the other afore recited, which was blynd superstition and idolatrous mōkery brought into the church of Christ, with the wrongfull expulsiō of lawful married priests out of their houses. Whereupon, what inconueniences ensued after in this realm, especially in the house of the Lord, I leaue it to the consideration of them which haue heard of the detestable enormities of these religious votaries. The occasiō wherof, first and chiefly began in this Edgar through the instigation of Dunstane and his fellowes, who after they had inueigled the kyng & had brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a Councell of the Clergy, where it was enacted and decreed, that the Canons of diuers Cathedral churches, Colleginars, Persons, Uicars, Priests and Deacons, with their wiues and childrē, either should geue ouer that kind of life, or els geue rōume to Monkes, &c. For execution of which decree, two principall Uisitors were appointed, Athelwold or Ethelwold, bishop of Win|chester, and Oswold bishop of Worcester, as is partly before touched.*Osbernus in vita Dunstani, Malmesb. De vit. pontif. Rog, Houed.

And thus much concerning the history of king Edgar and of such things as in his tyme happened in the church. Which Edgar after he had entred into the partes of Britannie, to subdue the rebellion of the Welchmen, and there had spoiled the coūtrei of Glamorgan, & wasted the country of Ono within x. dayes after, when he had raigned the space of xvj. yeares, died, and was buried at Glastenbury, leauing after him two bastards,* to witte, Editha and Edward, and one sonne lawfully begottē, named Ethelred, or otherwise by corruption called Egelred: For Edmund the elder sonne died before his father.

Ye heard before how king Edgar is noted in all stories to be an incontinent liuer in deflouring maydes and virgines. Of which virgins iij. notoriously are expressed in authors, to witte, Wlfrude or Wlfride: The second, was the dukes maid at Andeuar, nie to Winchester: The third, was Elflede mother of Edward, for the which Elflede he was stayd and kept backe from his Coronation by Dunstane Archbishop of Cant. the space of 7. yeares, and so the sayd kyng beginning his raigne in the 16. yeare of his age beyng the yeare of the Lord,* 959. was crowned at his age 31. An. dom. 974. as is in the Saxon Chronicle of Worcester church to be prooued. For the more euident declaration of which matter concerning the coronation of the kyng, restrained, and the presumptuous behauiour of Dunstan against the king:* and his penance by the sayd Dunstane enioyned, ye shall heare both Osborne, Malmesb. and other authors, speake in their owne wordes as followeth, *Perpetrato ita{que} in virginem velatam peccato*, &c. After that Dunstane had vnderstanding of the kings offence perpetrated with the professed Nunne, and that the same was blased amongst the people, with great ire and passion of mynde he came to the king. Who seing the Archb. comming, eftsones of gentlenes arose from his regall seate towards hym, to take him by the hand,* and to geue him place. But Dunstan refusing to take him by the hand, and with sterne countenance bending his browes, spake after this effect of words (as stories import) vnto the king: You that haue not feared to corrupt a virgine mayde handfast to Christ, presume you to touch the consecrated handes of a bishop? you haue defiled the spouse of your maker, & thinke you by flattring seruice to pacifie the friend of the bridegrome? No sir, his frend will not I be, which hath Christ to his enemy, &c. The king terrified with these thundring wordes of Dunstan, and compuncted with inward repentance of his crime perpetrated, fel down with weping at the feete of Dunstane. Who, after he had raysed him vp from the ground againe, began to vtter to him the horriblenes of his fact,* and finding the king redy to receiue whatsoever

satisfaction he would lay vpon him, enioyned him this penance for 7. yeres space, as followeth: That hee should weare no crowne all that space, that he should fast twice in the weeke, he should distribute his treasure left to him of his auncesters, liberally vnto the poore, he should build a Monasterie of Nunnes at Shaftsbury, that as he had robbed God of one virgine through his transgression, so should he restore to him many again in tymes to come: Moreouer, he should expell Clerkes of euil life (meaning such priests as had wiues and children) out of churches, and place Couents of Monkes in their rowme, &c.

It followeth then in the story of Osborne,* that whē the 8. yeres of the kings penance were expired: Dunstan calling together all the pieres of the Realme, with Bishops, Abbots, and other ecclesiasticall degrees of the Clergy, in the publike sight of all the multitude,* set the crowne vpon the kings head at Bathe, which was the 31. yeare of hys age, and the 13. yeare of his raigne, so that he raigned only but 3. yeares crowned king. All the other yeares besides, Dunstan belike ruled the land as he listed. Furthermore, as touching the sōne of the sayd Elfled, thus the story writeth: Puerum quo{que} ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, sacro fonte regeneratum lauauit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium sibi adoptauit. i. The child also, which was gotten of the harlot, he baptised in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and so geuing his name to bee called Edward, did adopt him to be his sonne, &c. Ex Osberno.

By the which narration of Osberne,* agreing also with the story of the Saxon booke aboue mentioned, is conuincid a double vntruth or error, eyther negligently ouerseen or of purpose dissembled in our latter Monkish storywriters, as in Malmesbury, Math. Paris. Math. Westm. & other mo. Who to conceale the fault of king Edgar, or to beare with Dunstans fact, in setting vp Edward for the maintenance of their monkish order, first doe falsly affirme, that Editha the daughter of Ulfride was borne after Edward, & that for her this penance was enioyned to king Edgar, which neither is, nor can be so, as in processe hereafter (the Lorde willing) shall appeare.

Secondly, they are deceiued in this, that they affirme king Edgar to haue two wiues, and that Elfleda the mother of Edward was not a professed Nunne in deede, but dissembled so to be, to auoid the violēce of the king: where as in deede the truth of the story both geueth her to bee a Nunne, and her sonne to be base, and she her selfe neuer to be married vnto the king.

Now,* forasmuch as we haue hitherto entred mention of Elfleda and Editha, also of Wlfride and Dunstane, here would not be let passe to speake something of their lying miracles, falsly forged to the great seductiō of christen people by superstitious Monkes, who cared not what fables and lyes they brought into the church, so they might haue the vantage of poore mens purses and oblations. And first here commeth in the fabulous myracles wrought at the tombe of Elfleda the kings concubine, which W. Malmesb. in these verses expresseth:*

Nam nonnullis passa annis morborum molestiam.

Defecatam & excoctam Deo dedit animam.

Functas ergo vitae futo beatas exuias.

Infinitis clemens signis illustrauit Deltas.

Inopes visus & auditus si adorant tumulum.

Sanitati restituti probant sanctae meritum.

Rectum gressum refert domum, qui accessit loripes.

Mente captus redit sanus, boni sensus locuples.

The English of which verses is needlesse here to bee recited. Briefly, the effect is this: That both the blynde, deafe, halte, and such as be mad, receiue their health agayne, if they worship the tombe of this Elfleda, &c.

The like fainings and monstrous miracles we reade also in chronicles of doting Dunstane,* drowned in all superstition, if he were not also a wicked sorcerer: First, how he beyng yet a boy, chased away the deuill, set about with a great company of dogs, and how the Angels did open the church dore for him to enter.* Then how the Lute or Harpe hanging vpon the wall, did sing or play without any finger these wordes: Gaudent in coelis animae sanctorum, qui Christi vestigi• sunt sequuti, & qui pro eius amore sanguinem suum suderunt: ideo cum Christo regnabunt in aeternum. Item where a certayne great beame or maisterpost was •••ed out of the place:* he with making the signe of a Crosse, set it in right frame agayne. Moreouer, how the sayd Dunstane being tempted vpon a tyme of the deuill with the cogitation [Page 157](#) of women,* caught the deuill by the nose with a whore paire of tongs, and helde him fast. Item, how ofte heavenly spirits appeared to him, and vsed to talke with him amiliarly. Item, how he prophesied of the birth of king Edgar, of the death of king Egelred, of the death of Editha, and of Ethelwood bishop of Winchester. Also how our Lady with her fellowes appeared visibly to hym, singing this song: Cantemus Domino sociae, cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio. Agayne, how the Angels appeared to him, singing the Hymne called Kyr•• Rex splendens, &c And yet these prodigious fantasies with other mo, are written of him in Chronicles, and haue bene beleued in Churches.

Among many other false and lying miracles, forged in this corrupt tyme of Monckery, the fabulous or rather filthy legēd of Editha were not to be ouerpassed, if for shame and honesty it might well be recited. But to cast the dyrt of these Pope holy monkes in their owne face, which so impudently haue abused the church of Christ, and simplicitie of the people with their vngratious vanities, let vs see what this miracle is, & how honestly it is told. Certayne yeres after the death of Editha, saith Will. of Malmes. which yeres Capgraue in his new Legend reckoneth to be thirtene, the said Editha & also S. Denys holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunstan in a vision, willing and requiring him that the body of Editha in the church of Wilton, should be taken vp & shrined, to the entent it might be honored here in earth of her seruants, according as it is worshipped of her spouse in heauen. Dunstan vpon this, comming from Salisbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commaunded her body to be taken vp with much honor & solemnitie. Who there in opening her tombe (as both Malmes. and Capgraue with shame enough recorde) found all the whole body of this Editha cōsumed to earth, saue only her thombe, her belly, & the part vnder the belly. Wherof the said Editha expounding the meaning, declared that her thombe remained found, for the much crossing she vsed with the same. The other partes were incorrupted for a testimony of her abstinence, and integritie, &c. Ex Malmes. & Capgrauo. What Sathan hath so enuied the true sinceritie of christian faith and doctrine, so to contaminate the

same with such impudent tales, such filthy vanities, & Idolatrous fantasies as this? Such Monkes with theyr detestable houses,* where Christes people were so abhominably abused and seduced to worship dead carcasses of men and women, whether they deserued not to bee rased, and pluckt downe to the ground, let all chaste Readers iudge. But of these matters enough and to much.

Here followeth the Epitaphe written by Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington,* vpō the prayse and commendation of king Edgar.

*Autor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,

Septiger Edgarus regna superna petit.

Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,

Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.

Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,

Nequitiae lapsum, iustitiae{que} locum

Nouit enim regno verum perquirere falso,

Immensum modico, perpetuum{que} breui.

*Among his other lawes, this king ordained that the Sonday, should be solemnised from Saturday at ix. of the clocke, till Monday morning.

King Edward called the Martyr.

AFTER the death of Edgar no smal trouble arose amōgst the Lordes and Bishops for succession of the crowne:* the principall cause wherof rose vpon this occasion, as by the story of Symon of Durham,* and Roger Houeden, is declared. Immediately after the decease of the king, Alferus Duke of Mercia, and many other nobles, which held with Egelrede or Ethelrede the onely right heyre and lawfull sonne of Edgar, misliking the placing and intrudying of Monkes into churches, & the thrusting out of the seculare Priestes, with their wiues and children out of their auncient possessions, expelled the Abbots and Monkes, and brought in againe the foresayd priestes with theyr wyues. Against whom, certayne other there were on the contrary part, that made resistance, as Ethelwine Duke of Eastangles, Elfwoldus his brother, and the Erle Brithnothus, saying in a councell together assembled, that they would neuer suffer the religious Monkes to be expelled and driuen out of the Realme, which held vp all Religion in the land, and therupon eftsoones leuied an army, whereby to defend by force the Monasteries, such as were within the precinct of Eastanglia.

In this hurly burly amongst the Lordes about the placing of Monkes and putting out of Priests,* rose also the contention about the crowne, who should be their king: the bishops and such lordes as fauoured the Monkes, seeking to aduance such a king as they knew would inclyne to their side, so that the lordes thus deuided, some of them would haue Edward, and some consented

vpon Egelred the lawfull sonne. Then Dunstane Archb. of Cant. & Oswold Archb. of Yorke, with other their fellowbishops, Abbots, and diuers other Lordes and Dukes assembled in a councel together.* In the which councell Dunstan cōmyng in with his crosse in his hand, & bringyng Edward before the Lords, so perswaded them that in the ende Edward by Dunstans meanes was elected, consecrated, and annointed for theyr kyng.

And thus hast thou (good Reader) the very truth of this story, according to the writing of authors of most antiquitie which liued nerest to that age,* as Osberne and others, which Osberne liuyng in the dayes of William Conquerour, wrote this story of Dunstan through the motiō of Lanfran•us, and alledgeth or rather translateth the same out of such Saxon stories as were writtē before his tyme. Besides which Osberne, we haue also for witnesse hereof, Nic Trinet, in his English story written in French, and also Ioannes Paris, in his French story written in the Latine tong, where he plainly calleth Edward, non legitimum filium, that is, no lawfull sonne. Whereunto adde moreouer the testimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in playne termes likewyse report the same.

Nowe hauing sayd the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter,* let vs come to examine how truely our latter writers do say, which write that Editha, and not Edward was the child for whom Dunstane enioined to the king 7. yeares penance, and also how truely they report Edward to be a lawfull heyre, and Elflede to bee a lawfull wyfe to king Edgar.

For first touching Editha, this is confessed by the sayd writers themselves, that she was of good yeares, at what tyme Edgar her father was enioyned his penance. After the which seuen yeares of his penance expyred, he lyued at the most but in yeares and a halfe. Which seuen yeares and 3. yeares and a halfe, make in all but x. yeres & a halfe. But now the said authors themselves do graunt, that she was made Abbas by her father, he beyng then alyue. And how can this then stand with her Legend, which sayth that she was not lesse then 15. yeares of age? By which account it must needes fall out, that she could not be so little as v. yeres old, before the birth of that chyld for whom the kyng did penance.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in like maner, to consider of the tyme of Edward. First, this by all writers is graunted,* that he was slayne in the 15. yeare of his age. Which yeares do well agree to that chyld which king Edgar begate in bastardy, & for the which he did hys penance. For the more euidence whereof, let vs come to the supputation of yeares in this sort.

First, the penance of the king, after the byrth of this child, lasted 7. yeres. Then the king after the same lyued 3. yeres & a halfe. After whose death Edward raigned other 3. yeres and a half, which in all make the full summe of 14. yeres. About the count of which age, the said Edward goyng on his 15. yeres, by their owne reckoning was slaine.

And thus haue ye by manifest demonstration prooued by the right casting of the yeres, after their owne graunt & rekonig, that Editha daughter of Wlfride in no case can be the child which was borne after Edward, & for whom the king was enioyned penance, but that Edward rather was borne after Editha, and was the childe for whom the penance was enioined, contrary to the opinion commōly receiued in the church, which for ignorance of y^e story hath hetherto holden Edward to be an holy Martyr,* and right heyre vnto the crowne. Which error and opinion, how it

first sprang and by whom, albeit it pertaine not to my story to discusse, yet were it no hard matter to coniecture.

First, after that Dunstane and Oswolde, wyth other Bishops,* Abbots, and certayne Lordes & Dukes of that faction, for the maintenaunce of Monkery, had aduaunced Edward to be king against Queene Alfrith mother of Ethelred, & Alferus duke of Mercia, and certayne other Nobles, which held with the contrary side of the Priestes agaynst the Monkes. In processe of tyme the monkes that came after to write stories, perceiuing Dunstane to be reputed in the Church of Rome for an holy Saint, and the sayd king Edward for an holy Martyr, and partly also to bolster vp their owne religion of Monkery so muche as they could: to the intent therfore they would saue the credite both of Dunstane and of the kyng, and especially bearing [Page 158](#) fauour to their owne religion, and partly that the reputation of the church of Rome should not be disteined by opening y^e truth of this matter, either did not see, or would not confesse herein what they knew, but rather thought best to blanch the story, and colourably to hide the simple truth therof, making the people falsly beleue, that Elfleda the mother of Edward was wife to king Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully borne, and also that Editha was born after Edward, & to be the child for which the king was enioyned penance. All which is false and cōtrary both to the order of tyme aboue declared, and also to the plaine words of Malmesbury, which speaking of king Edgars last concubine, sayth in plaine wordes:*Dilexit vnicè, integram lecto vni deferens sidem, quoad legitimam vxorem accepit Elfthride, filiam Ordgari. That is, he had a concubine whom he loued entirely, keping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntil the tyme he married for his lawfull wife Elfride the daughter of duke Ordgare, &c. Wherby we haue to vnderstand that whatsoeuer concubine this was which Malmesbury speaketh off, certayne it is, that Edgar liued in whoredome till tyme he married his lawfull wyfe. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beside these arguments and allegations aboue recited,* let this also be perpended, how the said Dunstan with his complices, after the killing of king Edward, leauing the right heyre of the crowne (which was Ethelred) went about, as Capgrau and their owne Legend cōfesseth, to set vp Editha the other bastarde to possesse the crowne, but that she more wise then her brother Edward, refused the same. Wherby what is to be thought of the doyngs of Dunstane, and what should be the cause why hee preferred both Edward and Editha to the crowne rather then the lawfull heyre, I leaue to all indifferent Readers therof to iudge.

After that Dunstane and his fellowes had thus set vp Edward for their king, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the kingdom of Monkery for euer, through the helpe of the young king, and the Duke of Eastangles, and certayne other nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter passed not so wel with them, as they hoped.* For shortly after the coronation of this yong king. Alferus duke of Mercia, who folowed much the deedes of the Queene with other great men, stoutly standing on the contrary side, droue out the Monkes from the Cathedrall churches,* which king Edgar before had set in, and restored agayne the Priestes (as Ranulphus sayth) with their concubines: but in the historie of the Librarie of Iornall, I find it plainly expressed with their wiues. The wordes of the very author be these: Alferus princeps Merciorum, caeteri{que} plures, eiectis monachis de magnis monasterijs, quos rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, clericos cum vxoribus reduxerunt: That is, Alterus duke of Mercia,* with other great men mo, droue out the Monkes from the great monasteries, whom king Edgar had there set in before, & restored agayne the priests with their wyues.

Wherby it doth euidently appeare, that priests in those dayes were married and had their lawfull wiues.* The like before that in king Inas tyme is plaine, that Bishops then had wiues and children, as appeareth by the words of the lawe then set forth, extant in the history of the said Iornalensis, which be these: Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, sit simile cognationi, & crescat emendatio secundum Weram eius Regi,*sicut cognationi. Si de parentela sit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, sicut manbota Domini. Si Episcopi filiulus sit, sit dimidium hoc, &c. And thus much by the way for Priestes wyues and their children.

Now to the purpose agayne of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and Nobles of England expulsed the Monkes out of the Monasteries after the death of kyng Edgar. Whereof let vs heare what the Monkish story of the Abbey of Crouland recordeth. Monachis de quibusdam Monasterijs eiectis, clerici sunt introducti, qui statim monasteriorum maneria ducibus terrae distribuebant, vt sic in suas partes obligati, eos contra monachos defensarent. Tunc de monasterio Eueshamensi, monachis expulsis, clerici fuerant introducti. Terrae{que} tyranni de terris Ecclesiae praemiati sunt, quibus Regina nouercali nequitia,*stans cum clericis in regis opprobrium, fauebat. Cum monachis autem Rex, & sancti Episcopi persistebant. Sed tyranni fulti Reginae fauore & potentia, super monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliae factus est. Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crouland, &c. That is, The Monkes beyng expelled out of certayne Monasteries, the Clarkes agayne were brought in, who distributed the Manors or Fermes of the sayde Monasteries, to the Dukes and Lordes of the land, that they beyng obliged to them should defēd them against the Monkes. And so were the monkes of Euesham thrust out and the seculare Clarkes placed,* & the landes of the church giuen to the Lordes, with whom the Queene, the Kings stepmother holding the same time, tooke part also with the sayd Clerkes against the king. On the contrary part stood the king & the holy bishops, taking part with the monkes. Howbeit, the lordes & pieres of the Realme staying vpon the fauour and power of the Queene, triumphed ouer the monkes, &c.

Thus as much ado there was through all quarters of the realme,* about the matter among the Lordes, so arose no lesse contention betwene the priests & monkes of England. The Priestes complainyng to the Kyng and Dunstane, layd for themselues that it was vncomely, vncharitable, yea and vnnaturall, to put out an old known dweller for a new vnknown: and that God was not pleased, that to be taken from the auncient possessor which by God was geuen him, neither that it could be to any good man accepted, to suffer any such iniury to be done, least peraduenture the same thing wherein he was preiudiciall to an other, might after reuert & redound vpon himself at length. The monkes on the other side, layd for their part, y^e Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new commer, nor yet looked vpon the person, but who so would take y^e crosse of penance vpon him, and follow Christ in vertuous liuing, should be his disciple.

These & such other were the allegations of the monkes. But whether a monkes coule or a wiewes life, make a sufficient title to enter into other mens possessiōs or no, I referre it to the iudgemēt of the godly. The troublous cares in mariage, the necessary prouision for house keepyng, the vertuous bringing vp of children,* the daily helping of pouertie and bearing of publike charges, with other manifold perturbations and combraunces daily incident to the state of matrimony, might rather appeare to godly wyse men, to come nearer to the right crosse of penance, then the easie & loytring idlenes of monkery. In the end, vpō this controuersie was holden a Councell of Bishops, & other of y^e Clergy. First, at Reading or at Winchester as Guliel. saith, where the

greater part both of the nobles & commōs iudged the priestes to haue great wrong, and sought by all meanes possible,* to bring thē agayne to their old possessions and dignities. Iornalensis here maketh rehearsall of an Image of the Crucifixe, or a roode standing vpon the frater wall, where the Councell was holden. To this roode Dunstane requireth them all to pray, beyng belike not ignorant of some spiritual prouisiō before hand.* In the midst of their prayer the roode, or els some blind monke behynd him in a trūke through the wall, is reported to speak these words: Absit hoc vt fiat, absit hoc vt fiat: iudicastis benè, mutaretis non benè. In remembraunce whereof, these verses were written vnder the roodes feete.

Humano more crux praesens aediditore.

Coelitus affata, quae perspicis hic subarata.

Absit vt hoc fiat,* vt cae tera tunc memorata.

Of this Dunstanicall, or rather Satanical oracle, Henricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus, nor yet Houedenus, nor Fabian in their histories. Gulielmus in his booke de Regibus, reporteth it but by hearesay, in these wordes saying: Aliae literae docent, &c. Wherefore the lesse it seemeth to be of credite. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proueth in this matter nothing els, but Dunstan to be a Sorcerer, as Polydorus Virgilius, also himselfe seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding for all this, yet the strife ceased not. In so much that a new assembly of the Clergy and other,* was appointed after at a place called the streete of Calue, where the Councell was kept in an vpper lofte. In this Councell many grievous complaints were obiected (as Malmes buriensis saith) against Dunstane. But yet he kept his opinion, and would not remooue from that which hee began to maintaine. And while they were there in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed,* (if it be true that in the stories is written) sodenly the ioyes of the lof• failed, & the people with the nobles fell downe, so that certaine were slaine, & many hurt. But Dunstane (they say onely, standing vpon a poast of the sollar,* which remained vnbroken) escaped without dāger. Which thing, whether it so happened to portend before the ruine of the Realme and of the nobles (as Henry Hunting. doth expoūd it) which after ensued by the Danes, or whether it was so wrought by Dunstanes sorcerie (as was not vnpossible) or whether it were a thing but fained of the monkish writers, and not true, all this I leaue to the Readers, to thinke therein what them liketh. The stories say further, that vpon this the matter ceased, and Dūstan had all his will.

These things thus done at Calue, it hapned not long [Page 159](#) after the same, that king Edward, whom the writers describe to be a vertuous and a meeke prince, much pitifull & beneficiall to the poore, about the iiij. yeare of hys raigne, came vpon a season from hunting in the forest alone, with out the company of his seruaunts, to the place in the West countrey,* where Alfeith his mother, with her sonne Egelred did lye. When the Queene the mother was warned of his comming by her men, anone she calleth a seruaunt of hers, which was of her speciall trust, opening to hym all her conceiued counsaile, & shewyng him all pointes how & what to do for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing so done, she made towards the king, and receaued him with all curtesie, desiring him to tary y^e night. But he in like curtesie excused

himselfe, and for speede desired to see his brother, and to drinke, vpō his horse sitting, the which was shortly brought.

And while the cup was at his mouth, the seruauent of the Queene (before informed) strake him in the body with a long two edged dagger. After the which stroke the king took the horse with the spurres, and ran toward the way, where he supposed to meete with his company. But he bled so sore, that with faintnes he fell from hys horse, hys one foote beyng in the styrrup. By reason whereof, he was drawen of his horse ouer fieldes and landes, till he came to a place named Coryfgate, where he was found dead. And for that, neither the maner of his death, nor yet he himselfe, for the king was knowen, was buried vnhonourably at the towne of Warham, where the body remayned y^e space of iij. yeares, and then after was taken vp by Duke Al•ere aboute mentioned,* and with pompe and honor accordingly, was remoued to the Minster of Shaftsbury, and there bestowed in the place called Edwardstow. Many tales runne (moe perchaunce then be true) concerning the finding and taking vp of his body, which our most common histories ascribe to myracles and great wonders, wrought about the place where the king was buried. As first how a poore woman borne blynde, receyued her sight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where he did lye. Also how a pillar of fire from heauen, descended ouer the place of his buriall. Then how the foresaid Queene Alfrith taking her horse to goe to the place, was stopped by the way, that neither her horse could be driuen by any meanes, nor she her selfe on foote was able to approach neare to the place where the corpes of S. Edward was. Furthermore, how the sayd Queene in repentaunce of her facte,* afterward builded two Nunneries, one at Amesbury by Salisbury, the other at Werewell, where she kept her selfe in continuall repentaunce all the dayes of her lyfe. And thus as ye haue heard, was this vertuous yong king Edward murthered when he had reigned almost iiij. yeares, leauing no issue behynd him, wherby the rule of the land fell to Egelredus his brother.*

But here by the way is to be noted (vpon the name of this Edward) that there were three Edwardes before the conquest.* The first, was kyng Edward the Senior. The second, king Edward the Martyr, which was this kyng. The third, was king Edward called the Confessor▪ whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ willyng) to be declared.

In the order and course of the Romain Bishops; mētion was made last of Agapetus the second. After whome next succeeded Pope Iohn xiiij.* of whom Dunstane Archbishop of Canterbury receiued his palle, as in the story of King Edgar is before mynded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleate from his first bringing vp with abhominable vices: a whoremaister, an adulterer, incestuous, libidinous, a gamester, an extorcioner periured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruell, and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, some he put out their eyes, from some he cut of their tongues, some their fingers, some theyr noses, &c. In a generall councell before the Emperour Otho, she first of that name (who was the first Emperour of the Germaines) after the Empire was translated out of Fraunce to Germany by Pope Agapetus (as is aboute historied) these obiections were articulate agaynst hym.* First, that he neuer sayd hys seruice, that in saying hys Masse he did not communicate, that he ordained Deacons in a stable, that he committed incest with two of hys sisters, that playing at dice,* he called for the Deuill to helpe, that for money he made boyes Bishops, that he defloured Uirgins and strangers, that of the palaice of Laterane he made a Stewes, that he lay with Stephana his fathers concubine, likewise with Ramera and with Anna and her neese, that he put out the eyes of the bishop Benedict, that he caused houses to be

set on fire,* that he brake open houses, that he dranke to the deuill, that he neuer crossed himselfe, &c. For the which causes (and worthily) he was deposed by the consent of the Emperour with the Prelates,* and Pope Leo was substitute in his place. But after hys departing (thorough the harlots of Rome and their great promises) the said Pope Iohn was restored agayne to his place,* and Leo (set vp by the Emperour) was deposed. At length about the tenth yere of the Popedome of this Iohn he beyng found without the citie with another mā's wife, was so wounded of her husband, that within viij. daies after he dyed.

After him,* the Romains elected Pope Benedictus the fift, without the consent of the Emperour. Wherupon the sayd Otho the Emperour beyng not a little displeased for displacing of Leo,* whom he had before promoted, and for the chusing also of Benedict, came with his army, and said siege to Rome, and so set vp Pope Leo agayne, the viij. of that name.* Which Leo to gratifie his benefactor agayne, crowned Otho for Emperour, and intituled him to be called Augustus. Also the power which Carolus Magnus had geuen before to the Clergy and people of Rome: this Leo by a synodall decree graunted to the emperor and hys successors:* that is, touching the election of the Byshop of Rome. The Emperor againe restored to the sea of Rome, all such donations and possessions, which either Constantinus (as they falsly pretend) or which Carolus Magnus tooke from the Lombards, and gaue to them.

After Pope Leo had raigned a yere and iij. moneths, succeeded Pope Iohn the 14. agaynst whom (for holding with the Emperour) Petrus the head captaine of the Citie,* with two Consuls, xij. Alderine, and diuers other nobles, gathering their power together, layd hands vpon him, in the Church of Laterane,* and clapt the Pope in prison, 11. months. The Emperour hearing this, with all speede returned with his army agayne to Rome, who after execution done vpon the authors and chief doers of that fact, among other 〈...〉 foresayd Petrus, to the Popes arbitrement. Whom 〈◇〉 caused first to be stript naked, then his beard beyng shauen, to be hanged by the haire a whole day together, after that to be set vpon an Asse (his face turned backward, and his hands bound vnder the asses tail) and so to be led through the Citie, that all men might see him:* that done, to be scourged with rods, and so banished the Citie. Thus ye see, how the holy father followeth the iniunction of the Gospell: Diligite inimicos vestros, Loue your enemies, Luke. 6. &c. From this Pope proceded first the Christening of bells, an. 971.

After him followed Pope Benedictus the sixt,* who in like maner was apprehended by Cynthius a Captayne of Rome, & cast in prison, where he was strāgled, or as some say, famished to death.

Then came Pope Donus the ij. After whom Bonifacius the vij. was Pope: who likewise seeing the Citizens of Rome to conspire agaynst him, was constrained to hide himselfe, And seeing no place there for hym to tary, tooke the treasure of S. Peters Church,* and so priuily stole to Constantinople. In whose stead the Romaines s^t vp P. Iohn the xv. Not long after: Boniface returning agayne from Constantinople, by hys money & treasure procured a garrisō or company to take his part: By whose meanes the foresayd Pope Iohn was taken,* his eyes put out, and so throwne in prison, where he was as some say famished: some say he was slayne by Ferrucius. Neither did Boniface raigne many dayes after, but sodenly dyed: whose carkase after hys death was drawne by the feete through the streetes of Rome, after the most despitfull maner of the people shriking and exclayming against him.* an. 976.

Next pope after him was Benedictus the vii. by y^e con^sent of the Emperour Otho the 2. and raigned xix. yeares. In the tyme of this pope: Hugh Cappet the French king, tooke Charles (the right heyre to the crowne) by the treason of the Bishop of Laou, and when hee had imprisoned him,* he also committed to prison Arnoldus Archbishop of Raynes, and placed in hys rowme Gilbertus a monke of Florsake (a Nicromanser) who was schoolemaister to D. Robert the kinges sonne. But this pope Benedictus, calling a Councell at Remis, restored the sayd Arnoldus agayne: and displaced Gilbertus: which after by the help of Otho was made Archbishop of Reuenna, and at length was Pope, as in processe hereafter (Christ graunting) shalbe declared.

After Benedictus succeeded in the sea of Rome Pope Iohn the xvi. & dyed the viij. month of hys Papacy.* Next to whom came Iohn the xvii. And after him Gregory the .v. in the yeare of our Lord. 995. This Gregory (called before Bruno) was a Germane borne, and therefore y^e more malaced of the Clergy & people of Rome. Wherupō, Crescētus with the people and Clergy, conuenting agaynst y^e sayd Gregory: set vp Pope Iohn the xvij. Gregory vpon [Page 160](#) the same,* sped himselfe in all conuenient hast to the Emperour, Otho the iij. in Germany. Who hearing the complaint of Gregory, and vnderstanding his wrongs, set forward with his army well appointed, to Italy: gate the Citie, & there tooke both Crescentius the Consull, and Iohn the Pope.* Which Iohn first hauing his eyes put out, was depriued after of his life. Crescentius the Consul was set vpon a vile horse, hauing his nose and eares cut off, and so was led through the Citie, his face beyng turned to the horsetayle, & afterward hauyng his members cut off, was hanged vpon a gibbet.

Pope Gregory thus being restored to his former state,* raigned iiij. yeares in his Papacie (although Marianus Scotus and Martinus say, that he sate but ij. yeares) &c. During the which time he assembled a councell in Rome: where, he to stablish the Empire in his owne country (by the consent and counsaile of Otho) ordeined vij. Princes of Germany,* to be electors of the Emperour: which order, yet to this day remaineth. What be the names of these vij. electors, and what is their office, thus I finde in these verses expressed.

Maguntinensis, Treuerensis, Coloniensis.

*Quilibet Imperij fit cancellarius horum.

Et Palatinus Dapifer, Dux portitor ensis.

Marchio praepositus camerae, Pincerna Bohemus.

These vij. he ordeined to be electors, 3. bishops, 3. princes (to wit) the Palatine, the duke of Saxonie, the Marques Brandenburg. To whom was added also the king of Boheme to geue the odde voice, if the euen voices could not agree. This constitution being first begon, an 997. was after established in Germany by Otho the Emperour, the yeare of the Lord, 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digression, concerning the rages and tumultes of the Romish church. Now to our matter agayne.

King Egelred, or Elred.

King Edward thus being murdered as is aforesayd, the crowne fell next to Egelrede his yonger brother,* & sonne to king Edgar by the foresayd Queene Alfrith, as we haue declared. This Egelred had a long raigne geuen of God,* which dured the terme of 38. yeares, but very vnfortunate, and full of great miseries. And he himself (by the histories) seemeth to be a Prince, not of the greatest courage to gouerne a common wealth. Our English stories writing of him, thus report of his raigne: That in the beginning, it was vngracious, wretched in the middle, and hatefull in the latter end. Of this Egelred it is read, when Dunstane the Archbishop should christen him,* as hee dyd hold him ouer the Fonte, something there happened, that pleased not Dunstan: whereupon he sware, per sanctā Mariam, iste ignauus homo erit. i. By the mother of Christ he wil be a Prince vntoward and cowardlike, Chron. de Croulād. I finde in William of Malmesbury, Lib. 2. de Regi. That this Egelred beyng of the age of x. yeares, when he heard hys brother Edward to be slayne, made suche sorow & weping for him, that his mother falling therewith in a rage, tooke waxe candles (hauing nothing els at hand) wherwith she scourged him so sore (well neare till he swounded) that after the same, he could neuer abide any waxe candles to burne before him. After this, about the yeare of our Lord, 981.* (the day of his coronation beyng appoynted by the Queene, the mother, and the nobles) Dunstan the Archb. of Cant. (who first refused so to doe) with Oswald Archb. of Yorke,* were enforced to crowne the king. And so they did at Ringstō. In doing wherof, the report of stories go, that the said Dunstane should say, thus prophesieng vnto the king: that for so much as he came to the kingdome by the death of his brother,* and through the conspiracie of the wicked conspirators and other Englishmen: they should not be without bloudshedding and sword, till there came a people of an vnknown tongue, and should bring them into thraldome, neither should that trespasse be clensed with out long vengeance, &c.

In the Chronicles of Crouland, I finde these wordes, Quoniam ascendisti ad thronum tuum, per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini, hoc dicit Dominus. Nō deficiet gladius de domo tua, saeuens in te omnibus diebus vitae tuae, & interficiens de semine tuo, & de gente tua, vsque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: Cuius ritum & linguam gens tua non nouit, nec expiabitur, nisi longa vindicta, & multa sāguinis effusione peccatum matris tuae, & peccatum virorum pessimorum, qui consenserunt consilio eius nequam, vt mitterent manum in Christum Domini, ad effundendum sanguinem innocentem. Chron. de Crouland.

Not long after the coronation of this king, a cloud was seene throughout the land, which appeared the one halfe like bloud, and the other halfe like fire. And changed after into sondry colours and vanished at the last in the morning.* Shortly after the appearaunce of this cloud, in the iij. yeare of his raigne, the Danes arriuing in sondry places of the land, first spoyled Southhampton, either slaying the inhabitants, or leading them captiue away. Frō thence they went to the Ile of Thanet, then they inuaded Chester, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Deuonshire,* & so to Sussex: where, in those coastes they did much harme, and so retired to their ships agayne. Roger Houeden writing hereof, sayth: that London, the same tyme (or as Fabian sayth) a great part of London, was consumed with fire. About this tyme fell a variance betwene the foresayd Egelred, and the bishop of Rochester: In so much, that he made warre against him, and besieged the Citie. And notwithstanding that Dunstan required the king, sending him admonishment to geue ouer, for

the sake of S. Andrew, yet continued he his siege, till the bishop offred him an hūdreth pounds of gold, which he receaued, and so departed. The Danes seing the discord that then was in the realme, and specially the hatred of the subiectes against the kyng: rose againe, and did great harme in diuers places of England: In so much, that the king was glad to graunt them great summes of mony for peace to be had.* For the assurāce of which peace, Analeffe capitaine of the Danes, became a christen man, and so returned home to his countrey, & did no more harme.* Besides these miseries before recited, a sore sicknes of the bloody flixe, and hote feuers fell among the people, wherof many died, with a like moraine also among the beastes. Moreouer, for lacke of iustice, many thieues, rioters and bribers were in the land, with much miserie and mischief.

About the xi. yeare (some say the ix. yeare) of this kings raigne, died Dunstan. After whom succeded Ethelgarus, or as Iornalensis writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif. But as Polydorus sayth, Siricius. After him Elfricus came, but Siritius after the mynd of William, Lib. 1. But Polydorus sayth Aluritus, thē Elphegus, &c.

About the same tyme in the yeare of our Lord,* 995. Aldunus Bishop, translated the body of S. Cuthbert from Chester (which first was in a Northren Iland thē at Rochester) to Durelme or Dunoline.* Wherupon the bishops sea of Duresme first began.

Not long after the death of Dunstane, the Danes agayne entred England, in many and sondry places of the land: In such sorte, that the kyng was to seeke, to which coast he should go first to withstand his enemies. And in conclusion, for the auoyding of more harme, he was compelled to appease them with great summes of mony. But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and assailing the land in diuers places, not only about the countrey of Northumberland, but also besieged the Citie of London at the last. But being frō thence repulsed by the manhood of the Londoners,* they strayd to other countreys adioyning, as to Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, burnyng and killing where so euer they wēt, so that for lacke of a good head or gouernour, many things in the land perished. For the king gaue himselfe to the vice of lecherie,* and polling of his subiects, and disinherited mē of their possessions, and caused them to redeeme the same agayne with great summes of money, for he payed great tribute to the Danes yerely,* which was called Danegelt. Which tribute so increased, that from the first tribute of x.M. poūd, it was brought at last in processe of v. or vj. yere, to xl.M. pound. The which yearly (during to the comming of S. Edward, and after) was leuied of the subiects of this land.

To this sorow moreouer, was ioyned hunger & penury among the commōs: in so much that euery one of thē was constrained to plucke & steale from other. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes,* and what by inward thieues and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit, the greatest cause of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not so much to bee imputed to the kyng, as to the dissention among the Lordes themselues, who thē did not agree one with another. But when they assembled in consultation together,* eyther they did draw diuers ways, or if any thing were agreed, vpon any matter of peace betwene the parties, soone it was broken againe: or els if any good thing were deuised for the preiudice of y^e enemy, anone the Danes were warned therof by some of the same counsaile. Of whom, the chiefe doers were Edrike Duke of Mercia, and Alfrike the Admirall or captain of the ships, who betrayed the kings nauy to the

Danes. Wherefore the kyng apprehending Alfagarus sonne of the said Alfrike, put out [Page 161](#) his eyes, and so did he after to the two sonnes of Duke Edrike in like maner.

*The Danes thus preuayling more and more ouer the english men, grew in such pride & presumption: that when they by strength, caused the husbandmen to care and sowe the land, and to do all other vile labour belongyng to the house, they would sitte at home, holding the wife at theyr pleasure, with daughter and seruauant. And when the husband man came home, he should scantly haue of his own, as his seruants had, so that the Dane had all at his will & till, taring of the best, when the owner scantly had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people beyng of them oppressed, were in such feare and dread, that not onely they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, & called euery one of them in the house where they had rule, Lord Dane. Which worde after (in processe of tyme, * when the Danes were voyded) was for despite of the Danes turned of the english men to a name of opprobry, that when one English man would rebuke an other, he would for the more part call him Lurdaine.*

And thus hitherto (through the assistaunce of Christ) we haue brought this history to the yere of our lord, * 1000. During now & continuing these great miseries vpon this English natiō, the land being brought into great ruine by the grieuous tribute of the Danes, and also by sustaynyng the manifold villar•ies and iniuries, * as wel by them as by other oppressions within the realm. This yere which was the yeare of our sauour 1000. This Egelred through the counsail of certain his familiars about him, * in the 21. yeare of his raigne, began a matter which was occasion eyther geuen by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to ensue vpon the Saxōs, who had driuen out the Britaines before. That was in ioynyng with the Normans in mariage. For the king this yere abouesaid, for the more strēth (as he thought) both of him and the realm, married Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. Which Richard was the third Duke of the Normains, and the first of that name. By reason of which mariage, king Egelred was not a little enhaunsed in his owne mynd: and by prosumption thereof, sent secret & straight commissions to the rulers of euery towne in England, that vpon S. Brices day at a certayne houre appointed, the Danes should bee sodenly slayne. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

After that tidings came into Denmarke of the murder of those Danes. Anone after, Suanus king of Denmarke with a great host and nauy, landed in Cornewall: where, by treason of a Normand named Hugh, which by fauour of Queene Emma, was made Erle of Deuonshire: The sayd Suanus tooke Exceter, & after beat downe the wals. From thence proceding further into the land, they came to Wilton and Shireborne, where they cruelly spoyled the countrey and slew the people. But anone Suanus hearing that the king was comming to him with the power of his land, tooke his ships & set about to Norfolke: where, after much wasting of that countrey, and spoyling the citie of Norwich, * and burning the towne of Thetford, and destroying the countrey thereabout, at length Duke Uskatel met him and beat him, & slew many of the Danes. Wherefore, Swanus for that yeare returned to Denmarke, and there made great prouision, to reenter the land againe the next yeare following. And so did, landing at Sandwich about the 25. yere of the raign of king Egelred, * & there spoiled that countrey. And as soone as he heard of any hoste of englishmen comming toward him, then he tooke shipping againe. So that when the kings army sought to meet him in one coast, then would he sodainly land in an other. And when the king prouided to meete with them vpon the sea, either they would fain to flee, or els they would with gifts blynd the Admirall of the kings nauy. * And thus wearied they the englishmen, & in

conclusion brought them in extreme and vnspeakable misery. In so much that the King was fayne to take peace with them, & gaue to king Suanus 30000. pound. After which peace thus made, Suanus returned agayne to Denmarke.

But this peace continued not long. For the yeare next following, king Egelred made Edricus aboue mētioned, Duke of Mercia, which was subtile of witte, glosing and eloquent of speach, vntrusty, and false to the king and the Realme. And soone after one Turkillus (a Prince of the Danes) landed in Kent with much people, and there dyd such harme, that the Kentishmē were faine to make peace with great gifts, and so thence departed. But this persecution of the Danes (in one country or other in England) neuer ceased, nor the king did euer geue to them any notable battaile. For when he was disposed to geue them battail, this Edricus would euer counsaile him to the contrary, so that the Danes euer spoyled and robbed, and waxed rich,* and the english men euer poore and bare.

After this Suanus beyng in Denmarke, and hearing of the increase of hys people in England, brake hys couenaunts before made, and with a great army and nauie in most defensable wyse appoynted, landed in Northumberland proclaimyng himselfe to be king of this land. Where, after much vexation, when he had subdued the people, and caused the Erle with the rulers of the countrey to sweare to him feaultie:* he passed by the riuer of Trent to Ganisburgh, and to Northwatlyng streete, and subduyng the people there, forced them to geue hym pledges: whiche pledges he committed with his nauy vnto Canutus hys sonne to keepe, whyle he went further into the lande. And so with a great hoste came to Mercia, killing and slaying. Then he tooke by strength Winchester, and Oxford, & dyd there what him liked.* That done, he came toward London, and hearing the king was there, passed by the Riuer Thamys, and came into Kent and there besieged Canterbury, where he was resisted the space of 20. dayes. At lēgh by treason of a Deacon called Almaricus (whom the Bishop had preserued from death before) wanne it,* and tooke the goods of the people and fired the Citie, and tythed the Monkes of S. Augustines Abbey (that is to meane, they slew ix. by cruell torment, and the tenth they kept aliue as for their slaues.) So they slew there of religious men, to the number of 900. persons: of other men, women, & childrē, they slew aboue 8000. And finally, whē they had kept y^e Bishop Elphegus in straight prison the space of 7. monethes, & because he would not cōdescend to geue vnto thē 3000. pound: After many villanies vnto hym done, they brought him to Greenewich, & there stoned him to death.

Kyng Egelred in the meane tyme, fearing the ende of this persecution, sent his wyfe Emma with his ij. sonnes Alphred and Edward, to the Duke of Normandy, with whom also he sent the bishop of Londō. The Danes proceeded still in their fury and rage: and when they had won a great part of Westsaxonie, they returned againe to London. Whereof hearing the Londiners, sent vnto them certayne great giftes and pledges. At last the king about the 35. yeare of his raigne,* was chased vnto the Ile of Wight, & with a secret company, he spent there a great part of the Winter.* And finally, without cattaile or comfort sailed into Normandy to his wyfe. Swanus beyng ascertayned thereof, (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding impositions vpon the people. And amōg other he required a great summe of mony of S. Edmunds lands, which the people there clanning to bee free from kings tributes, denied to pay.* For this Suanus entred the territory of S. Edmūd, and wasted, and spoyled the countrey, despising the holy Martyr, & manacing also the place of his sepulture. Wherefore the men of that countrey fearing his tyranny, fell to prayer and fasting, so

that shortly after Suanus dyed sodenly, crying and yelling among his knightes.* Some say that he was stricken with the sword of S. Edmund, wherof he dyed the 3. day after.

In feare whereof, Canutus his sonne which ruled as king after his father, graunted them the freedome of all their liberty,* and moreouer ditched the land of the sayde Martyr with a deepe ditche, and graunted to the inhabitaunts thereof, great freedoms, quityng them from all talke or tribute. And after builded a Church ouer the place of his sepulture, and ordained there an house of Monkes, and endued them with rich possessions. And after y^e tyme it was vsed, that kings of England when they were crowned, sent their crownes for an offering to Saint Edmuds shrine, and redeemed the same agayne afterwarde with a condigne price.

When king Egelred heard of the death of Suanus,* he made prouision & returned into england. Of whose sodain comming Canutus being vnprouided fled to Sandwich, And there cutting of the noses and handes of the pledges, which his father left with him, sayled into Denmarke: who the next yere returned againe with a great nauy, and landed in the South country. Wherefore the eldest sonne of king Egelrede called Edmond Ironside: made prouision with the ayd of Edrike Duke of Mercia to meet him. But Edrike fayning himselfe sicke came not,* but deceiued him. For as it was after proued, Edrike had promised his allegiance to Canutus. By reason wherof. Canutus entred y^e country of Westsaxon, & forced the people to be sworn vnto him, and to geue him pledges. In this season, king Egelred being at london, was taken with great sickenes, & there dyed: and was buried in the Northside of Paules church behind the quire, after he had raigned vnprosperou|sly 36. yeares: leauing after him his sayd eldest sonne Edmond Ironside, and Alphred, and Edward which were in [Page 162](#) Normandy, sent thither before as is aboue rehersed. This Egelred although he was miserably impugned and vexed of his enemies, yet he with his counsail gaue forth wholsome lawes. Whereof this is one parcell conteinyng good rules and lessons, for all Iudges and Iustices to learne and follow.

OMnis iudex iustus misericordiam & iudicium liberet in omnibus, vt inprimis per rectam scientiam, dicat emendationē secundum culpam, & eam tamen admensuret propter indulgentiam. Quaedam culpa reputantur à bonis iudicibus, secundū rectum emendandae Quaedam per Dei misericordiam condonādae. Iudicia debent esse sine omni haderunga, quod non parcat diuiti alicui, vel egeno, amico, vel-inimico ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniustius est, quàm susceptio munerū pro iudicio subuertendo: Quia munera excaecant corda sapientum, & subuertunt verba iustorum, Dominus Iesus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaueritis iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem suum, ne in die iudioij mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacun{que} factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus Dominus, nulla potestas, stultos aut improbos iudices constituāt, quia stultus per ignauiam,* improbus per cupiditatem vitat, quam didicit veritatem. Grauius enim lacerātur pauperes à prauis iudicibus, quàm à cruentis hostibus. Nullus hostis acerbior, nulla pestis efficacior quàm familiaris inimicus. Potest aliquoties homo fuga, vel defensione vitare prauos inimicos. Non ita possunt iudices, quoties aduersus subditos malis desiderijs inflammantur. Saepe etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & ministros nephādos: quorum reatibus ipsi domini constringuntur, si non •os coerceant, & à rapacitate cohibeant.* Quia dominus & minister seculorum ait: Non solū malè agentes, sed omnes consentientes digni sunt aeterna morte. Saepe etiam prauis iudices iudicium pe•uertunt, vel respectant & non finiunt causam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et

quando iudicant, non opera, sed munera considerant. Impij iudices, iuxta verbum sapientum, sicut rapaces lupi vespere nil residuant vsque mane,* id est, de praesenti solum vita cogitant, de futura nihil considerant. Malorum praepositorum mos est, vt quicquid possunt, auferant: & vix necessarium parum quid relinquunt sustentationi. Iracundus iudex non potest attendere rectam iudicij satisfactionem. Nam per furoris excoecationem, non perspicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iustum iudicium, vbi non persona consideratur. Scriptum est: Non attendas personam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, vt à vero declines, & iniustè iudices. Susceptio muneris est dimissio veritatis. Ex historia bibliothecae Iornal.

*Of this king Egelred I find noted in the booke of Rog. Houed. that he deposed and depriued from all possessions, a certayne Iudge or Iusticer named Walgeatus, the sonne of one Leonet, for false iudgemēt and other proud doings, whom notwithstanding he loued aboue all other.

Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.

After the death of Egelred, variaunce fell betwene the Englishmen for the election of their king. For the citizens of London with certayne other Lordes: named Edwyne the eldest sonne of Egelred (a yong man of lusty and valiant courage) in martial aduētures, both hardy & wise, and could very well endure all paynes. Wherefore he was surnamed Irenside. But the more of the Lordes, fauoured Canutus the sonne of Swanus: especially the Abbots Bishoppes,* and men of the spiritualtye which before had sworne to his father. By meanes whereof, betwene these two martial princes were fought many great battels, first in Dorsetshyre, where Canutus was compelled to flie the field.* And after that they fought an other battayle in Worcetershire, so sore, that none could tell, who had the better: but either for wearines or for lacke of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next morow fought againe: but then Canutus was compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, & there fought agayne, where Edmond (as storyes say) by the treason of that false Edrick Duke of Mercia (whom he before had receiued to sauour) had the worse. Thus many great conflicts there were betwene these 2. princes. But vpon a season, when the hosts were redy to ioyne, and a certayne time of truce taken before battayle: a knight of the party of Edmond stode vp vpon a high place, and sayd these wordes.

Daylye we dye, and none hath the uictorye: And when the knightes be dead on either part,* then the Dukes compelled by need shall accord: or els they must fight alone. And this kingdome is now sufficient for 2. men, whiche some time sufficed. 7. But if the couetousnesse of Lordship in these twayne be so great, that neither can be content to take part and liue by the other, nor the one vnder the other then let them fight alone, that will be Lordes alone. If all men fight still: at the last all men shall be slayne, and none left to be vnder their Lordship, nor able to defend the king that shall be, agaynst straunge enemies and natiōs.

These wordes were so well allowed of both the hostes and Princes:* that both were content to try the quarrel betwene thē two onely. Then the place & time was appointed where they •oth met, in sight of both hoastes. And whē either had assayd other with sharpe swordes and strokes: first by the motion of Canutus (as some write) hastelye they were both agreed, and kissed each other to the comfort of both hostes. And shortly after they agreed vpon particion of y^e land: & after that, during theyr lines they loued as brethren.* Soone after, a Sonne of wicked Edricus, by the minde

(as appeared afterward) of his father: espied, when king Edmond was at the draught: & with a speare (some say with a long knife) thrust him into the fundamēt, wherof the sayd Edmond shortlye after dyed, after that he had raigned two yeres. He left behinde him two sonnes, Edmond and Edward, whom Edricke the wicked Duke, after the death of their father, tooke from theyr mother (not knowing yet of the death of Edmond her husband) & presēted them to king Canutus,* saluting him in these words: Aue Rex solus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmond Irenside, was king alone of the whole realme of englād. And afterward by the aduise of his counsaile, he sent the foresayd sonnes of Edmond Irōside, to his brother Suanus king of Sueueland to be slayne: who abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon king of Hūgary, where Edmond being married to the kings daughter dyed. Edward was married to Agatha daughter of his brother Henry the 4. Emperour.

When Canutus was stablished in the kingdom, he called a parliament at London,* where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the bishops, Barōs, and Lordes of the parliament there present, whether that in the compositiō made betwene Edmund and Canutus, any speciall remembraunce was made for the children, or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Wherunto the english Lordes falsly •latteryng with the foraine kyng, and speaking against their own myndes, as also against their natiue countrey, aunswered and sayd nay. Affirming moreouer with an oth (for the kings pleasure) that they to y^e vttermost of their powers, would put of the blood of Edmund, in all that they might. By reason of which answer and promise, they thought (many of thē) to haue purchased with the king great fauour.* But by the iust retribution of God, it chaunced farre otherwise. For many of them, or the most part (such especially as Canutus did perceiue to be sworne before tyme to Edmund, & his heyres: and also considering that they were natiue englishmen) he mistrusted and disdained euer after. In so much, that some he exiled, a great sort he beheaded, & some by Gods punishment died sodainly. Among whom wicked Edricke also the traytour (although with hys sugred wordes he continued a while in the kings fauour) at lēgth escaped not condigne reward for his deceiuable dealyng. For (as the history of Iornalēsis recordeth) as the king was in his palace beyond Thames, this Edricke (beyng belike accused, or els suspected of the king before) comming vnto him, began to reckon vp his benefites & labours bestowed for his sake. First, in forsaking and betraying Egelred, then in slaying king Edmund his sonne, with many such other deedes moe,* which all for his sake he had done. Well saith the king, thou hast here rightly iudged thy selfe, and worthily thou shalt dye, for slaying thy naturall Prince, & my sworne brother. And so commaunded him to be bound immediately hand and foote, & to be thrown into Thames. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the king with Aue rex solus, and shewed him the slaying of Edmund, Canutus (promising that he would make him therefore higher then all the lordes of the realme) commaunded his head to be stricken off, & to be set vpon London bridge, and hys body to be cast in the towne ditche.* And thus with shame ended he his wretched life, as al they commonly do, which with like dissimulatiō seeke the destruction of their Prince and of their countrey.*

This Canutus (shortlye after the death of king Edmond, by the counsaile of Edricke) exiled Edmond, being brother to King Edmund, called Rex rusticorum: the king of Choor•es. But afterward, he was reconciled agayne to the kings fauour: and lastly slayne by certayne of the Kinges Secretaries or Seruauntes. Also, through the counsaile of the sayd Edricke, and of Emma his wife he sent the two Sonnes of Edmond Ironside (Edmond [Page 163](#) and Edward) to his brother Suanus king of Denmark, to be slaine, as is aboue sayd.

In this meane time, Suanus king of Denmarke, brother to Canutus, died. Wherefore that land fel to Canutus: which anon after sailed thether, and tooke thereof possession. And after he had set it in an order, he retourned into England, and married Emma, late wife before of Egelred: and by her had a sōne called Herdeknight or Hardeknoutus. Moreouer this Canutus assembled a Parliament at Oxford: where it was agreed, that Englishmen & Danes should holde the lawes made by king Edgar, because they were thought so good & resonable aboue any other lawes.

Thus the Danes being in England, began by little & little to be Christen men. And Canutus went to Rome, & so returning againe to England, gouerned that lande the space of 20. yeares, leauing after him two sonnes, Harold & Hardeknoutus: which Hardeknoutus was made king of Denmarke in his fathers time.

Harold (called Harefoote, for his deliurnes and swiftnes) sonne to Canutus by Elgina his first wife: * began his raigne ouer England, an. 1039. Of him is little left in memory, for he reigned but 4. yeres, saue that he banished his stepmother Emma, & tooke her goods & iewels from her.

*Hardeknoutus, being king of Denmarke, and second sonne to Canutus by his last wife Emma, was next King of England. In the time of these Danish kings, there was one Godwyn an earle in England, * which had bene before in great fauour with Canutus, for his actes done in Denmarke against the Northwegians: and afterward maryed y^r sister (some say the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwyn was of a cruell and subtill wit, as he declared no lesse by the two sonnes of king Egelred: For when these two aforesaid (whose names were Alfride, and Edward) came from Normādie into England, to visit their mother Emma, and brought w^t them a great company of Normands: this Godwine (hauing a daughter called Godith, whome he thought to marry to Edward, & set him vp to be King, to bring his purpose about) vsed this practise: y^t is, to perswade king Hardeknoue, & the Lordes not to suffer those Normandes to be within the realme for ieoperdie, but rather to punish them for example. By which meanes he gat authoritie to order the matter himselfe: * wherefore he $\langle \diamond \rangle$ them on Guild downe, and there most wretchedly murdered, or rather Martyred the most number of the Normandes, and that innocently. For as Swanus before had tithed the Monkes of Canterburie: so he^e with the cruell cōpany of english soldiors, slew ix. of the saide Normands and saued the x. And yet passing the furie of Swanus (as not contented with that tiranny) he tithed againe the sayde tithe, and slew euery x. knight, and that by cruel tormēt, as winding their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. And among other, put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfridus, and sent him to an Abbey of Elie: where he being fed wyth breade and water, endured not long after. Of some writers it was recorded, that he was there slayne wyth the forenamed torment, and Edward was conueied by some other to his mother. Who fearing the treason of Godwine, sent him soone ouer the sea to Normady againe. This cruell facte of Godwine and his men against the innocent Normandes, whether it came of himselfe, or of the kings setting on: seemeth to me to be the cause, why the iustice of God, did shortly after reuenge the quarell of these Normands, in conquering & subduing the english nation by William Conqueror, and the Normandes which came with hym. For so iust and right it was, that as the Normandes comming with a naturall English Prince, were murdered of English men: so afterwarde the Englishe men shoulde be slaine and conquered by the Normandes, comming with a forraine King being none of their naturall country.

*Then it followeth in the storie that this king Canute or Hardeknout: when he had reigned ij. yeres (being mery at Lambeth) sodainly was striken dōmbe, & fell downe to the ground, and within 8. daies after died, without issue of his body. Who was the last that raigned in England of the blo•d of the Danes.

This foresaid Godwine, had by the daughter of Canutus his wife,* but one sonne which was drowned. Of hys seconde wife he receiued vj. sonnes, to wit, Suanus, Harold, Tostius, Wilmotus, Sirthe, or Surth, and Leofricus, with one daughter Galled Goditha, which after was married to king Edward the Confessor.

Concerning the story of this Alfred, I find it something otherwise reported in our english chronicles:* that it shuld be after the death of Hardeknout: forasmuch as the Earles & Barons after his death, assembled and made a councell, that neuer after, any of the Danes blood should be king of England, for the despite that they had done to english mē. For euermore before, if the English men and the Danes, had happened to mete vpō a bridge, the english men shuld not so hardy to mooue a foote,* but stande still, till the Dane were passed forth. And moreouer, if the English men had not bowed downe their heades to doe reuerence vnto the Danes, they should haue bene beaten and defiled. For the which despites and villanie, they were driuen out of the land after the death of Hardeknout, for they had no Lorde that might maintaine them. And after this maner auoided the Danes England, that they neuer came againe.

The Erles and Barons, by their common assent and counsaile: sent vnto Normandy for these two brethren, Alphred and Edward: intending to crowne Alphred the elder brother, & to make him king of England. And to thys the Earles and Barons made their othe: but the Earle Godwine of Westsaxe (falsly and traiterously) thought to slea these two brethren, assoone as they came into Englad, to that intēt to make Harold his sonne king: which sonne he had by his wife Hardeknoutes daughter that was a Dane. And so this Godwine went priuily to Southampton, to meete there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the messengers that went (saith mine author) into Normandie, found but onely Alphred the elder brother. For Edward his younger brother was gone to Hungarie, to speake wyth his cou•in the outlaw, which was Edward Ironsides sonne.

When Alfrede had heard these messengers and perceiued their tidings:* he thanked God, and in all hast sped him to England, arriuing at Southampton. There, Godwin the false traitor (hauing knowledge of his comming) welcommed & receaued him with much ioy: pretēding to lead him vnto London, where the Barons waited for to make him king. And so they together passed forth toward London. But when they came to Guild downe, the traitor cōmanded all his men to slea all that were in Alphredes cōpany, which came w^t him from Normandie. And after that to take Alphrede, & to lead him into the Isle of Ely, where they shuld put out both his eyes: and so they did. For they slew all the company that were there, to the number of xij. Gentlemen, which came w^t Alfrede from Normandie: and after that they tooke Alphrede, and in the Isle of Ely they executed their commissiō. That done, they opened his body, tooke out his bowels▪ set a stake into the ground▪ and fastened an end of his bowels therunto, & with needles of ••on they pricked his tēder body, therby causing him to go about the stake, till that all his bowels were drawen out. And so died this innocent Alphred or Alured, being the right heire of the crowne: through treason of wicked Godwyne. When the Lordes of Englande heard thereof, and how

Alphred, that should haue ben their king, was put to death through the false traitor Godwyne, they were wonderous wroth: and sware betwene God and them, that he should die a worse death then did Edrith which betrayed his Lord Edmund Ironside: and wold immediatly haue put him to death, but that the Traitour fledde thence into Denmarke: and there helde him iiij. yeares and more, and lost all his landes in England.

An other Latin story I haue (bearing no name) which saith that this comming in of Alphred & the Normandes:^{*} was in the time of Harold Canutus sōne. And how Godwyne (after he pretended great amitie to them) sodenly in the night came vpon them at Gilford: And after he had tithed the Normandes: sent Alfrede to Harold at London, who sent him to the Isle of Ely, and caused his eyes to be put out.

And thus much of Canutus:^{*} and of his sonnes, Harold and Hardecanutus. Besides these ij. sonnes Canutus had also a daughter named Gunilda: married to Henricus the Emperour. Of whome some write, that she being accused to the emperor of spousebrech,^{*} and hauing no champion or Knight that woulde fight for her (after the maner of that coūtre) for trial of her cause: a certaine litle dwarf or boy, whom she brought with her out of England (stirred vp of God) fought in her cause against a mighty bigge Germain of a monstrous greatnesse: which sel•e dwarfe, cutting •y chaūce the sinews of his leg, after stroke him to the groūd, and so cut of his head, and saued the life of the Queene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Of this Canutus it is storied,^{*} that he folowing muche the superstition of Achelnotus Archbishop of Cant. went on pilgrimage to Rome: and there founded an hospital for English pilgrimes. He gaue the Pope pretious gifts, and burdened the land with an yerely tribute called the Rome sho•e: he shrined the body of Berinus, & gaue great lands and ornaments to the Cathedrall Church of Winchester: he builded S. Benets in Northfolk, which was before an [Page 164](#) Hermitage. Also S. Edmundes bury, which king Ethelstane before ordeined for a Colledge of Priests, he turned to an Abbey of monkes of S. Benets order.

^{*}Henricus Archdeacon of Huntynghon, Lib. 6. maketh mention of thys Canutus, as doeth also Polidorus, Lib. 7. That he after his comming from Rome, walking vppon a tune by the porte of Southhampton. (But as Polydorus sayeth) and Fabian affirmeth the same, that it was by Thames side at London. When his flatterers comming about him,^{*} began to exalt him vp with high wordes, calling him a king of all kings (most mighty) who had vnder his subiection both the people, the land, and also the sea. Canutus reuoluing this matter in his minde (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to tr•e and refell their flattering words) cōmaunded his chaire of estate to be brought to the sea side, at what time it should begin to flowe. Polydore sayth, that no seate was brought, but sitting vpon his garments being folded together vnder him: there charged and commaunded the floudes arising & comming toward his feete,^{*} that they shoulde not touch neither him, nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinary course, came nearer and nerer: First to his feete, and so growing higher began to wash him welfauoredly. Wherewith the king abashed & partly also afeard starte backe: and looking to his Lordes: Loe (sayth he) ye call me such a mighty king & yet can I not commaunde backe this litle water to stay at my worde,^{*} but it is ready to drowne me. Wherefore all earthly kings may know, that all their powers be but vaine: and that none is worthy to haue the name of a king, but he alone: which hath all things subiect to the power & authoritie of his word: which is the Lord of heauen & earth: the creatour aboue of

all thinges: * the father of our Christ and Lorde: who with him for euer is to be glorified: him let vs worship and extoll for our king for euer. After this (as histories witnes) he neuer suffred the crowne to come vpon his head, but went to Winchester (or as some say, to Canterbury, but both those may be true) for his going to Cāterbury, was to acknowledge y^t there was a Lorde much higher, & of more power then he himselve was, and therewithal to render vp his crowne for euer. With that, Egelnothes Archbyshop of Canterbury: informed him of the image of the Crucifix before mētioned, which dissolued the matter betweene married Priests and life of Monkes, and did many other myracles moe, being then at Winchester. Wherewith the King prouoked to go to Winchester to the roode, * there resigned vp hys regall Crowne, and made the roode king ouer all the land.

Here is also to be noted in this Canutus, that although (as is said) he cōdescended in the beginning of his raigne, vpon king Edgares lawes: yet after in proces of time, hee set forth peculiar lawes of his own. * Among which, diuers there be that concerne as well causes Ecclesiasticall, as also temporal. Whereby it may appeare, that the gouernmēt of spirituall matters not to depende then of the Bishop of Rome: but to appertaine to the lawfull authoritie of the temporall Prince, no lesse then of matters and causes temporall. As for example by these ordinaunces of the foresayd Canutus, * may be well considered as here folowe. Pecunia sepulturae iustum est vt aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a sua parochia deferatur in aliam, pecunia sepulturae. &c. In English.

It is mete and right that in funerals, money be geuen for opening the earth.

If anybody, or corse, be caried from his owne Parishe into an other: the money of the buriall shal pertaine by the law to his owne Parish Church.

All ordinaunces and ceremonies of God, let them be obserued, as neede in all things requireth.

Uppon the Sondag, we forbid all publike •ayres or markets, all Synodes or conuenticles, huntinges, or any such seculare actions, to be exercised, vnlesse vrgent necessitie compell therunto.

Let euery Christē man prepare himself thrise a yere to approche to the receauing of the Lords body: so to eate the same as not to his iudgemēt, but to his wholsome remedy.

If a minister of the altare doe kill any man, or haue intangled himselve in any notorious crime, let him be depriued both from his order and dignitie.

If any married woman (her husband being aliue) haue committed adultery & be proued with the same: to her opē shame in the world, * let her haue her nose and eares cut of.

Let euery widow after the death of her husband: so remaine sole xij. monethes: or if shee marrye, let her loose her ioynter.

And heere an ende of the Danish kyngs. Nowe to the English kings againe, whose right line cōmeth in againe in Edward here following.

King Edward called the Confessor.

FOR so much as God of his mercye and prouidence, who is onely the maker of heires: * thought it so good, after the wofull captiuitie of this Englishe nation, to graunt now some respite of deliuerance, * in taking away the Danish kings without any issue left behind them: who reigning here in Englād, kept the english people in miserable subiection, * about the space of xxviij. yeaes, and that from their firste landing in the time of King Brightricus: wasting and vexing this land, the terme of cc. • v. yeres: Now their tyranny here comming to an ende, the next election & right of the crowne fell (as appertained) to Edward the yonger sonne of king Egelred and Emma, a meere Englishman: who had bene now long banished in Normandy, as is aboue declared. A man of gentle and soft spirite: more appliable to other mens coūsailles, then able to trust to his owne: of nature & condition so geuen from al warre and bloudshed: that being in his banishment, he wished rather so to continue all his life long in that priuate estate, then by warre or bloudshed to aspire to any kingdome. This Edward, after the death of Canutus the seconde, or Hardecanute, being sent for of the Lordes into Normādie to take possession of the Realme, although he something mistrusted the vnconstant and fickle heads of Englishmē (yet hauing sufficient pledges laid for him in Normandie) came ouer, with a few Normands accompanied: and not long after was crowned at Winchester. an. 1043. by Edsius then Archbishop of Cant. * And not long after that, he married Goditha, or Editha daughter of Earle Godwyne: whome he entreated after such sort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet delt with her fleshly. Whether it 〈◇〉 for hate of her kin (as most like it was) or for loue of chastitie, it remaineth vncertaine. * But most writers agree, y^t he continued his lyfe without offence with women: • or the which he is highly exalted among our story writers and called holy king Edward. After he had thus taken vpon him the gouernement of the realme, he guided the same w^t much wisdom and iustice, the space of 24. yeres, lacking two monethes: from whome issued (as out of a fountaine) much godlinesse, mercy, pitie, and liberalitie toward the poore: gentlenes and iustice toward all men: and in all honest life he gaue a vertuous example to his people. He discharged the Englishmen of the great tribute called Dane gelt, which before time was yerely leuied to the great impouering of the people. He subdued the Scottes and Welshmen, which in their borders began to rebell against him. In much peace he continued his reigne, hauing no forreine enemye to assault him: Albeit, as some Chronicles do shewe, * certaine Danes and Norgwaines there were, which entended to set vpon Englande: But as they were taking shipping, there was brought to them first one bowle, then an other, of meede or methe, to drinke vpon a bon viage. Thus one cup comming after an other: after drinke came dronkennes, after dronkennes followed iangling, of iangling came stryfe: and strife turned vnto stripes. whereby many were slayne, and the other returned to their home agayne. And thus the mercifull prouidence of the Lord dispatched that iourney.

In the time of this Edward: Emma his mother, was accused to be familiar with Alwyn the Byshop of Winchester: vpon which accusation (by counsaile of Earle Godwyn) he tooke from her many of her iewels, and caused her to be kept somedeale more straightly in y^e Abby of Warwel, and the Byshop committed to the examination of the clergy. Polydore sayth, they were both in prison, at Winchester: where she sorrowing the defame both of her selfe and of the Byshop, and trusting vpon her conscience, desireth them of iustice, offering her selfe ready to abide any lawfull triall: yea although it were with the sharpest.

Then diuers of the Byshops made labour to the king for thē both,* and had obtayned, had not Robert thē Archbishop of Cant. stopped the sute. Who not well contented with their labour sayd vnto them: My brethren how dare ye defend her which is no woman but a beast? she hath defamed her owne sonne the king, and taken her lecherous leman the Byshop. And if it be so, that the woman will purge the priest, who shall then purge the woman that is accused to be consenting to the death of her sonne Alphred: and procured venim to the poysonyng of her sonne Edward? But whether she be giltye or giltles: if she will goe barefooted for her self foure steps, and for the Bishop fiue, continually vpon ix. plough shares fire hote: then if she escape harmeles, he shalbe assoyled of this challenge and she also.

To this she graunted, the day was appointed at which day, the king and a great part of his nobles were present, except onely Robert the Archbishop. This Robert had [Page 165](#) bene a monke of a house in Normandie,* & an helper of the king in his exile: and so by the sēding for of the king, came ouer and was made first Bishop of London, after Archbishop of Cant. Then was she led blindfield vnto the place betwene two men, where the yrons lay brenning hot; and passed the ix. shares vnhurt.* At last sayde shee, good Lorde when shal I come to the place of my purgation, whē they then opened her eyes, and shee sawe that shee was past the paine, she kneeled downe geuing God thanks.

Then the king repented (sayeth the story) and restored vnto her, that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgeuenes. But the Archbyshop fled into Normandie.

Neare about this time, about the x. yere of his raigne• fell passing great snow,* from the beginning of Ianuary, to the 17, day of Marche. After which insued a great mortalitie of men, morrian of cattel, & by lightning the corne was wonderfully blasted and wasted.

Not lōg after this: a certaine Earle of Bologne, who had married king Edwardes sister,* came into Englande: through the occasion of whom: when execution should be done vpon the citizens of Douer, for a fray betwene them, and the Earles men: variance happened betweene Kyng Edward and Earle Godwyne. Who perceauing that he could not wstand the kings malice, (although he gathered a great company to worke therein what he could) fled into Flanders,* & was outlawed with his 5. sonnes. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the sayde Godwine: but the second yere after, by mediators he was recōciled to the king againe, and called from banishment: And for his good a bearing, he gaue for pledges his two sōnes, Byornon, and Tostius, which were sent to the Duke of Normandy there to be kept.

During the time of the outlawry of Godwyn: William Bastard Duke of Normandy,* came with a goodly company into England to see king Edward, & was honorably receaued. To whom the king made great cheare, & at hys returne inriched him with great gifts and pleasures. And there (as some wryte) made promise to him, that if he died without issue, the said William should succeede him in the kingdome of England.

In this kinges raigne liued Marianus Scotus the story writer.* As concerning the end of erle Godwin, y^e cruell murderer of Alphred, and of the Normandes: although diuers histories diuersly do vary: Yet in this the most part do agree, that as he sate at the table with king Edward at Winsor, it happened one of the cupbearers one of erl Godwins sonnes to stumble and recouer

again, so that he did shed none of the drinke: wherat Godwin laughed, & sayd, howe the one brother had sustained the other. With which wordes the King calling to minde his brothers death that was slaine by Godwine: beheld the erle (saying) so should my brother Alphred haue holpē me, had not Godwin ben. Godwine then fearing the kinges displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himselfe, sayde: So mought I safely swallow this morsel of bread as I am giltles of the deede. But assoone as hee had receiued the bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawne from the table, & so was cōueyed by Harolde his sonne to Winchester, and there buried.

About the 13. yere of this kings reigne, the sayde King Edward sent Aldred bishop of Worceter to the Emperour Henricus the 4. praying him, that he would send to y^e king of Hungary, that his cosin Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside, might come to England: for so much as he intended to make him King after him, which was called Edward outlawe. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into Englande with his wife Agatha,* and with hys children, to witte, Edgar Adeling, Margarete, and Christina. But the yere after his returne into the realme, thys Edward deceased at London,* and was buryed at westminster: or as Iornalensis sayeth, at Paules church in London. After whose decease, the King then receaued Edgar Adeling his sonne, as his owne childe: thinking to make him his heire. But fearing partly the vnconstant mutabilitie of the Englishmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the sonne of Godwine, & of other (perceauing therby, that he could not bring that his purpose so wel to passe) directed solemne Embassadors vnto Williā Duke of Normandy,* his kinsman: admitting & assigning him to be hys lawfull heire, next to succede after him to the crowne.

After the death of Godwin, Harolde his sonne waxed so in the kings fauour: that he ruled the moste and greatest causes of the realme, and was liefetenant of the kings army: Who with his brother Toston or Tostius (sent by the king against the Welchmen) subdued their rebellion. But afterward, such enuie grewe betwene these ij. brethren, for that Tostius saw his brother Harold so greatly aduanced in the kings fauour,* that at Herford, the said Tostius slew all his brothers men. Whom when he had cut in pieces, he poudered their quarters and mangled parts, in barrels of salt, vinegre, wine, and other liquors. That done, he made a power against his brother Harold (being king) with the aide of certaine Danes and Norgaines, and fought a battail with him in the North, as after shal follow (God willing) to be seene.* So vngratious were these wicked children of Erle Godwin: that if they had sene any faire mansion or maner place, they woulde slay the owner thereof, withall his kinrede, and enter the possession thereof themselues.

At length it came in the minde of this Harolde to saile ouer the sea (as Polydore sayth) into Normandie to see hys brother Wilnotus,* as also his cosin Hacus, whom y^e king had sent thither to be kept for pledges, as yee heard before. Polydore sayth these pledges were Tosto & Byornon, but that can not be, for Tostius was then in England. But as Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington sayeth, his iourney was into Flāders, as semeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that Harold who was a doer in y^e cruell murther of Alphred, and of the Normanes: wold venter into Normandy, & therefore more like it is,* that his sailing was into Flaunders. But as the storie proceedeth, he being in the course of his sailing, was weather driuen by tempest into the prouince of Pountith, where he was taken as a prisoner, and sent to Duke William of Normandy. To whome he was made to sweare, that he in time following shoulde marry his daughter: and that after the death of King Edward, he should kepe the land of Englande to his behoue, according to

the will & minde of Edward (after some writers) and so to liue in great honor & dignity next vnto him in the realme.* This promise faithfully made to the Duke, Harold returneth into Englād (with his cosin Hacus the sonne of his brother Suanus being deliuered vnto him.) But Wilnotus brother of Harold, the duke kepeth stil for performance of the couenāts. Thus Herold I say, returning home, sheweth y^e king al that he had done in the foresayde matters. Wherewith the King was well contented. Wherby it may be gathered, that king Edward was right wel willing, that Duke William should reigne after hym, and also semeth not vnlike, but that he had geuen him his promise therunto before.*

Among all that were true and trusty to king Edward of the english nobility, none had like commendatiō as had Leofricus erle of Mercia and of Chester. This Leofricus purchased many great liberties for the towne of Couētry, and made it free of all maner things, except onely of horse. Which fredom there was obtained by meanes of his wife Godina, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a strāge maner through the towne. This Leofricus with his wife Godina, builded also the abbey of Couentrie, & indued the same with great lands and riches.*

You hearde a little before, of the comming ouer of Edward called the outlaw, sonne of king Edmund Ironsid: whom king Edward had purposed to haue made king after him. But soone after his comming ouer, he deceased at London. This Edward had by his wife Agatha, a sonne & a daughter called Edgar Adelyng, & Margaret. Which Margaret being married afterward to the king of Scots, was the mother of Matild or Maude Quene of England and of Dauid king of Scots. &c.

This vertuous & blessed king Edward, after he had reigned 23. yeres, and 7. moneths, died and was buried in the monastery of Westminster,* which he had greatly augmented & repaired, but afterward was more enlarged after this form which it hath now, by Henry the third, sōne of king Iohn.

They that write the historie of this King, heere make mention of a dreame or reuelation that shoulde be shewed to him in time of his sicknes: how, that because the peeres & bishops of the realme were seruantes not of God, but of the deuil: God wold geue this realm to the hād of others. And the king desired vtteraunce to be geuen him, that hee might declare the same to the people, whereby they might repent. It was answered againe, that neither would they so do, or yet if they did, it should be geuen to an other people. But because it is a dreame, I let it passe.

Diuers lawes were before in diuers countreis of this realme vsed, as the lawe first of Dunuallo Molinucius, w^t the lawes of Mercia called Mercenelega: then the lawes of Westsaxone kinges, as of Iue, Offa, Alfred, &c. whyche was called Westsaxenelaga. The thirde were the lawes of Canutus & of Danes called Danelaga. Of all these lawes which before were diuersly in certain particuler countreis vsed and receiued: this Edward compiled one vniuersal & commō law for al people through the whole realm, which [Page 166](#) were called R. Edwardes lawes: which lawes being gathered out of the best and chieftest of the other lawes, were so iust, so equall, an so seruing the publike profite & weale of all es•ates: that mine authors say: the people long after did rebell against their heads and rulers, to haue the same lawes againe (being taken from them) and yet coulde not obtaine them.

*Furthermore, I read and find in Math. Paris. that when Will. Conquerour at his comming in, did sweare to vse & practise the same good lawes of Edward, for the common lawes of this realme: afterward (being established in his kingdome) he forswore himselfe, & placed his owne lawes in their rowme, much worse and obscurer then the other were. &c.

Notwithstanding among the said lawes of Edward, and in the first chapter and beginning therof, this I finde among the auncient recordes of the Guildhal in London. The office of a King, with such other appurtenaunces as belong to the realme of Britaine: set forth and described in the latine stile, which I thought here not vnmete to be expressed in the English tong, for them that vnderstande no Latine. The tenor and meaning wherof thus followeth.

De iure & appendijs regni Britannia, & quod sit officium Regis.

REx autem quia vicarius summi Regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, vt regnum terrenum & populum domini, & super omnia sanctam eius veneretur ecclesiam & regat, & ab iniuriis defendat, & maleficos ab ea auellat & destruat, & penitus disperdat. Quod nisi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo constabit. Verum, Papa Ioanne testante, nomen regis perdit, cui Pipinus & Carolus filius eius nec dum reges, sed principes sub rege Francorum stultò scripserunt quaerentes: si ita permanere deberent Francorum reges, solo regio nomine contenti. A quo responsum est, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt, & regunt Ecclesiam Dei & populum eius, &c.

In English thus.

*The king because he is the vicar of the hiest king, is appointed for this purpose: to rule the earthly kingdom, and the lords people, and aboue al things, to reuerence his holy church: to gouerne it, and to defende it from iniuries: to plucke away wicked doers, and vtterly to destroye them. Which vnlesse he doe, the name of a king agreeth not vnto him, but he loseth the name of a King, as witnesseth Pope Iohn: to the which Pope, Pipinus & Carolus his sonne (being not yet kings but princes vnder the French King being not very wise) did write, demanding this question, whither the kings of France ought so to continue hauing but onely the name of a king. *Unto whome Pope Iohn answereth againe, that it was conuenient to cal thē kings which vigilā^{ly} do defend and gouerne the church of God and his people, following the saying of King Dauid the Psalmograph. He shal not dwel in my house which worketh pride. &c. Moreouer, the king by right & by his office, ought to defend & conserue fully & wholly in all amplenesse w^tout diminution, all the lands, honors, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crowne of his kingdome. And further to reduce into their pristine state, all suche thinges as haue bene dispersed, wasted and lost, which appertaine to hys kingdome. Also the whole and vniuersall lande wyth all Ilelands about the same vnto Norway and Denmarke, be appertaining to the crowne of his kingdome, and be of the appurtenances and dignitie of the King: making one monarchie and one kingdome, *which somtime was called the kingdom of Britains, and now the kingdom of England: such bonds and limites as is abouesaid, be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdome.

Moreouer, in the foresaid lawes of this king Edward, it followeth in the same booke where the foresaid Edward describing the office of a King, *addeth in these wordes. A king sayth he, ought aboue al things to feare God: to loue and to obserue his commaundements: and cause them to be obserued through his whole kingdome. He ought also to kepe, chearish, maintaine, & gouerne

the holy church w^tin his kingdome, with al integritie and liberty, according to the constitutions of his auncetors and predecessors: and to defend the same against all enemies, so that God aboue all things be honored, & euer be before his eies. He ought also to set vp good lawes and customes, such as be wholesome and approued: such as be otherwise, to repeale them, and thrust them out of his kingdom. Item, he ought to do iudgement and iustice in his kingdome, by the counsell of the nobles of his realme. All these things ought a King in his own person to do, taking his othe vpon y^e Euangelist, and the blessed reliques of saintes, swearing in the presence of the whole state of his realme (as well of the temporaltie as of the spiritualitytie) before he be crowned of the Archbishops & Bishops. Three seruants the king ought to haue vnder him as vassals: fleshly lust, auarice, and greedie desire. Whom if he kepe vnder as his seruants and slaues, he shal reigne wel and honorably in his kingdom.* Al things are to be done with good aduisement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a king. For hastie rashnes bringeth all things to ruine, according to the saying of the Gospell: Euery kingdome deuided in it selfe, shall be desolate. &c.

After the duetie and office of Princes thus described, consequently followeth the institution of subiects, declared in many good & necessary ordinaunces, very requisite and cōuenient for publique gouernment. Of the which lawes William Conquerour was cōpelled, thorough the clamor of the people to take some: but the most parte he omitted, contrary to his owne oth at his coronation, inserting and placing the moste of his owne lawes in his language: to serue hys purpose: and whych as yet to this present day in the same Normande language do remaine. Nowe (the Lorde willing) let vs proceede in the storie, as in order followeth.

* King Harold.

Harolde the seconde sonne of Earle Godwine,* and laste king of the Saxons: notwithstanding that diuers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the next heire after Edmund Ironside:*, yet he through force and might contemning the young age of Edgar, and forgetting also his promise made to duke William, toke vpon him to be king of England, An. 1066. When Harolde Harefager, sonne of Canutus, king of Norway & Dēmark, heard of the death of king Edward, he came into England with 300. shippes or mo: who, then ioyning w^t Tostius, brother to the sayde Harold king of England, entred into the North partes, & claimed the land after the death of Edward. But y^e Lords of the countrey arose and gaue them battail, notwithstanding the Danes had y^e victory. And therefore Harold king of Englād prepared toward them in all hast, & gaue them an other strōg battel, and there had the victory, where also Harold the Dane was slaine,* by the hand of Harold king of Englande. And Tostius was also slaine in the battell. After this victorie, Harold waxed proude & couetous: and would not deuide the praies to his Knights that had deserued it, but kept it to himselfe whereby he lost the fauour of many of his knights and people.

In this meane time William Duke of Normādy, sent Ambassades to Harolde king of Englande, admonishing him of the couenauntes that were agreed betweene them: which was, to haue kept the land to his vse after the death of Edward. But because that the daughter of Duke William (that was promised to Harolde) was dead: Harolde thought him thereby discharged, and sayd, that such a nice foolish promise ought not to be holden (concerning an others land) without the

consent of the Lordes of the same: and especially for that hee was thereunto, for neede or for dread compelled.

Upon these answeres receaued, Duke William, in the while that the messengers went and came: gathered his knightes, and prepared his name, and had the assent of the Lordes of his lande to aide and assist him in his iourney.* And ouer that sending vnto Rome to pope Alexander, cōcerning his title & viage into england: the pope cōfirmeth him in the same, and sent vnto him a banner, willing him to heare it in the ship, wherein himselfe should saile. Thus Duke William, being purueied of al things cōcerning his iourney: sped him to the sea side, and tooke shipping at the hauen off. Ualery: where he taried a lōg time, or he might haue a conuenient winde. For the which his souldiours murmured (saying) it was a woodnesse, & a thing displeasing God, to desire to haue an others mans kingdome by strength, and namely whē God was against it in sending contrary wind.* &c. At the last the winde shortly after came about, and they tooke shipping with a great cōpanie, and landed at Hastings in Sussex.

For three causes Duke William entred thys lande, to subdue Harold.* One was, for that it was to him geuen by king Edward his nephew. The secōd was to take wreke, for the cruell murther of his nephewe Alfrede, King Edwardes brother, and of the Normands, which deede he ascribed chiefly to Harolde. The thirde was, to reuenge the wrong done to Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, which was exiled by the meanes & labour of Harold, in the time of king Edward.

Thus, while Harold was in the North: Duke William made so great spede that he came to London before the King: out of which he was holden, till he had made good [Page 167](#) surety, that he & his people should passe through the Citie without tarying: which promise he well obseruing, passed the bridge, and went ouer vnto Sussex. From whence he sent a Monke vnto Harold, & profered to him three maner of wayes. 1. Either to render to him the possession of the land, and so to take it againe of hym vnder tribute, raigning vnder him.* 2. or els to abide and stand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both: or thirdly to defende hys quarel in his own person against the Duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dinte of sworde, wythout any other bloudshedding.

But Harold refused all these offers, saying: it should be tried by dinte of swordes, & not by one sworde. And so gathered his people, & ioyned battaile with the Normands, in the place where afterwarde was builded the Abbey of Battaile in Sussex.* In the beginning of which fight the englishmen kept them in good array, like to vanquishe the Normandes. Wherefore Duke William caused hys men to geue backe, as though they fled: wherby the englishmē followed fast and brake their array. Then the Normanes fiercely geuing a charge vpon them, in cōclusion obtained the victorie, through the iust prouidence of God. Where king Harolde, who before had murdered Alfrede the true heire of the Crowne, with his company of Normandes so cruelly: was now wounded of the Normandes, in the left eye with an arrow, and therof incontinent died: although Gerardus sayeth,* hee fled away to Chester, and liued after that a Monke in the monasterie of S. Iames. Whyche is not like, but rather that he was there slaine, after that he had raigned nine moneths, and was buried at Waltham (which proueth that he died not at Chester) and so was he the last that raigned in England of the bloud of Saxons: the which continued (to reckon from Hengistus his firste raigne in Kent) by the space of 591. yeres. And if it be reckened from the yeares of the Westsaxons, then it endured the space of 565. yeres.

*This William Duke, and king Edward, were by the fathers side, cousin germanes remoued. For Richard the first of that name, which was the thirde duke of Normandy after Rollo: was father to Duke Richard the second of that name, & brother to Emma mother to king Edward. Which Duke Richarde the seconde, was father to Duke Robert, this Duke Williams father.

Albeit in this matter, other some may gather otherwise and better, perchance, yet if I may say what I thinke, verely I suppose, that there is no consanguinitie so muche here the cause, why God of hys vnknownen iudgements suffered the Normandes here to preuaile: as was rather the cruell murder of Alfred, & of the innocent Normands, wrought by the cruel despight of Harold and the englishmen, as is before declared.* The which merciles murther, God here iustly in this conquest recompensed.

Now remaineth also to these forein affaires of kings & Princes, to adde somthing likewise concerning the continuation of the Archbishops of Caunterburie, beginning there where we last left:* that is with Elphegus, whome we declared a little before to be stoned by the Danes at Grenewich. After which Elphegus next succeeded Liningus, after him Egelnothus also aboue mentioned. Then Robertus a Normand,* a great doer (as is declared) about king Edward, and a faithfull counsaile vnto him: but he abode not long. After whom, Stigandus inuaded the sea (as they report) by simony: being both Archbishop of Cāt. Byshop of Winchester, and also Abbot in an other place. Wherin he cōtinued a great space, gathering and heaping goodes together, till at length Duke William clapt him in prison, and there kept him: placing in his rounge, Lancfrācus a Lombard borne, of whom more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter to be declared.

Although the Church of Christ, and state of religion first founded and groūded by Christ and his Apostles,* did not continually altogether remaine in his primatiue perfection, wherein it was first instituted: But in processe of time, began from better to worse, to decrease & decline into much superstition & incōuenience: partly through the com'ing in of Mahumet, partly through y^e increase of wealth and riches, partly through the decrease of knowledge & diligence in such as should be the guides of Christes flocke: yet the infection & corruption of that time (though it were great) did not so abounde in such excessiue measure, as afterwarde in the other latter times nowe following, about the thousand yeares expired after Christ: whereof we haue to intreat, Christ so permitting. About the which time and yeare came Siluester the seconde of that name, who next succeeded after Gregorie the v. before mentioned.* pag. 159. and occupied the sea of Rome about the yere of our Lorde 1000. lacking one or two.

This Siluester was a Sorcerer,* which after the sorte of them, that worke by familiars (as they cal them) and by cōiuration▪ cōpacted with the deuil, to be made pope. And so he was (through the operation of Sathan) according to his request, Which thing some histories say, he did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration heereof, I will bring in the wordes of Ioannes Stella, a Uenetian, translated from Latin into English, cōcerning the said Siluester: to the entent that our inchaunters and sorcerers now a dayes (wherof there be to many in England) may the better through his example be admonished. The words of Stella be these,* agreeing also with the narration of Benno, Platina and many other. Siluester the second of that name, being Pope, and a Frenchman, called Gibertus: sate in his Papacie iiij. yeares, one moneth and viij. dayes. He entred into his Papacie, through wicked & vnlawful meanes: who from his youth being a monke, and leauing his monasterie, gaue himself wholly to the deuill, to obtaine that which he required.

And first comming to Hispalis a City in Spayne, there applied his booke and profited there in somuch, y^t he was made Doctour, hauing amongst his auditours, Otho the Emperours sonne, and Robert the French King, Lotharius Archbyshop of Senon, with diuers other moe. By whose aduancement he was promoted, first Bishop of Rheme, afterward Bishop of Rauenna, and at last through the operation of Sathan, was exalted to the Papacy of Rome; vpon this condition, that after his death, he should geue himselfe to the deuill, by whose procuremēt, he came to that promotion. Upō a certaine time he demanded an answer of the deuill, how long he should enioy his Popedome, to whom he answered againe: vntill thou say Masse in Ierusalem thou shalt liue. At length the iiij. yeare of his Popedome, saying Masse at Lent time, in the temple of the holy crosse being called then Ierusalem, there he knewe the time was come, when hee should die. Wherupon being stroke with repentance,* confessed his fault openly before the people: desiring al men to cut his body al in peeces (being so seduced by deceits of the deuill) & so being hewen in peeces, they woulde lay it vpon a cart, and bury it there, where soeuer the horses wold cary it of their accorde. And so the saying is to be, that by the prouidence of God (whereby the wicked may learne yet hope of remission w^t God, so that they will repent them in their life) the horses of their own accord staid at the church of Laterane, and there he was buried: wheras commonly by the ratling of his bones within the tomb, is portended the death of Popes as the common reporte goeth. Thus much out of Ioannes Stella,* concerning Siluester. By whō our sorcerers and inchanters, or magicians may learne to beware of the deceitfull operation of Sathan: who, at the ende deceiueth and frustateth al them, that haue to do with him: as the ende of all such doth declare commonly, which vse the like art or trade. The Lorde and God of al mercye, through the spirite of Iesus our redemer, dissolue y^e works of Sathan, and preserue the hartes of our nobles, and of al other Englishmen from such infection. Amen.

After Siluester succeeded Ioannes .xix. by whom was brought in (as Volateran sayth) the feast of all soules,* an. 1004. through the meanes and instigation of one Odilo Abbot of Cluniake, to be celebrate; next after the feast of all Saintes. This Monke Odilo, thinking that Purgatory (as he heard) should be in the mount Aetna: dreamed vpō a time in the countrey of Sicile, that he by his Masses had deliuered diuers soules from thēce: saying moreouer, that he did heare the voyces and lamētations of deuils crying out, for that the soules were taken frō them by the Masses & Dirges funerall. Ex Bakenthorpo. in prolo. 4. Lib. Sentent. And not lōg after him came Iohn the xx. and Sergius the iiij. After whom succeeded Benedictus the viij. then Iohn the 21. who being promoted by art magike of Theoyhilact his nephew, Gratianus, Brazutus and other Sorcerers brought in first the fast of the euē of Iohn Baptist and S. Laurēce.* After him followed pope Benedictus the 9. likewise aspiring to his Papacy, by like magike, practising inchauntmentes and coniuration in woodes, after horrible maner. Who resisting the Emperor Henricus 3. sonne to Conradus, and placing in his rowme. Petrus the king of Hungarie wyth this verse. Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam: Afterward for feare of Henricus preuailing in battaile; hee was faine to sell his seate to his successoure Gratianus, called Gregorius vi. for 1500. poundes.* At which time were 3. Popes together in Rome, rainging & raging one against an other. Benedictus ix. Siluester 3. & Gregorius vi. For the whych cause Henricus surnamed Niger; the Emperour, comming to Rome: displaced these 3. monsters at one time, placing for them, Clemens 2. and [Page 168](#) thereupon inacting,* that there should no bishop of Rome henceforth be chosen, but by the consent and confirmation of the Emperour. Which constitution though it was both agreeable & also necessary for publike trāquilitie of that citie, yet the Cardinals would not suffer it long to stand, but did impugne it afterward by subtile practise and open violence, as in processe (the

Lord permitting) shal appeare, in the time of Henricus the 4. and 5. In the time of this Clement, the Romanes made an othe to the Emperour, concerning the election of the Byshops, themselves to entermeddle no farther therein, but as the assent of the Emperour should goe with all.* Howbeit the Emperour departing thence into Germanie againe, by and by they forgote their othe, and within 9. monethes after poysoned the Bishop. Which fact some impute to Stephen his successour, called Damasus 2. Some impute it to Brazutus, who (as histories record) within 13. yeares poysoned 6. popes,* that is, Clemens 2. Damasus. 2. Leo. 9. Uictor. 2. Stephanus 9. Nicolaus the 2.

Thus Clement being poysoned, after him succeeded Damasus 2. neither by consent of the people, nor of the emperour elected: but by force and inuasion, who also within 23. daies being poisoned. An. 1049. much contention and struing began in Rome about the Papal seat. Whereupon the Romans, through the counsel of the Cardinals, sent to the foresaid Emperour, desiring to geue them a bishop, and so he did, whose name was Bruno an Almain, and bishop of Colle*, afterwarde called Leo 9. This Bruno being a simple man and easie to be led with euil counsel, comming from the Emperour towards Rome in his pontificall apparell like a Pope: meeteth him by the way the Abbot of Cluniake, and Hildebrand a monke. Who seing him so in his pontificalibus, begā to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would so take his authoritie of the Emperour, and not rather of the Clergy of Rome & the people thereof, as other his predecessors were wont to doe: and so counselled him, to lay downe that apparel, and to enter in w^t his own habite, till he had hys election by them. Bruno following their counsel, and confessing his fault before the Clergie of Rome, obtained their fauor, and so was nominate Leo 9. wherby Hildebrand was made a Cardinall, & put in high rowme. Under this Pope Leo were two Councils, one kept at Uercellis, where the doctrine of Berengarius against the reall substance in the Sacrament was first condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, whych neuerthelesse was done after in the Council of Lateran*, vnder Nicolas 2. An. M.lx.* The other was kept at Moguntia, where amongst many other decrees was enacted, priests to be excluded and debarred vtterly from mariage▪ Item, that no lay men might geue benefice, or bishoprick, or any spirituall promotion. &c.

This Leo, being at Wormes w^t the Emperour vpon Christmas day, did excommunicate the subdeacon because in reading the Epistle, he did it not in the Romane tune, he being there present. The Archbishop moued therewith, departed from the altare (being then at Masse) saying, he would not proceede no farther in his seruice, vnlesse hys subdeacon were restored. Whereupon the Pope commāded him to be released, & so they went forward in their seruice.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poysoned the first yere of his popedome. Theophilactus did strue to be Pope: but Hildebrand to defeat him, went to the emperor, (partly also being sent by y^e Romanes for feare of the Emperours displeasure) who assigned an other bishop, a Germaine, called Uictor 2. This Uictor hauing a Councell at Florence, deposed diuers Bishops and Priestes, for simony and fornicatiō. For simony, in that they tooke of secular men their dignities for money:* for fornication, in that contrary to their Canon, they were married. &c. The 2. yeare of his papacie and little more, this Pope also followed his predecessours being poysoned by the foresaide Brazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his maister.

Here now began the Church and Clergie of Rome, to wring out of the emperours hand the election of the pope: electing Stephen the 9. for pope,* contrary to their oth and to the Emperours assignement. Here was the Church of Millan first brought to obedience of the Romish Church, by this Stephanus the 9. bishop of Rome. Who also shamed not to accuse the Emperor Henry (of whom mention is made before) of heresy: for minishing the authority of the Romane sea. So this was their heresie at that time, not to maintaine the ambitious proceedings of the Romish prelate. And simonie they called this, to take & enioy any spirituall liuing at a secular mans hand. Wherefore Stephen hearing this simonie to raigne in diuers places,* namely in the Churches of Burgundy and Italy, sent foorth the Cardinal Hildebrand to reforme the matter: who was no lesse earnest in that kinde of commission to help the matter forward.

In the meane time Stephanus y^e pope,* tasting of Brazutus cup fel sick. Hildebrand hearing that, applieth home w^t all post speede. So being returned to Rome, assembleth all the companies and orders of the Clergy together, making thē to sweare: that they should admit none to be Byshop, but which should be appointed by the publike cōsent of them altogether. This being done, Hildebrande taketh his iorney to Florēce (belike to fetch the bishop of Florēce) to stal him bishop: the clergy swearing to him, that no bishop shuld be ordained before his returne againe. But the people of Rome not suffering the election to stand so long, after the death of Stephan: elected one of their owne citie, called Benedictus the 10. Hildebrand hearing of this,* was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome wyth one Gerhardus bishop of Florēce, caused y^e clergy to procede to a newe election, saying: that Benedictus was not lawfully called but came in by force & bribing. But y^e clergie not daring to attempt any new election at Rome,* wēt to Sene, and there elected this Garhardus bishop of Florence, whome Hildebrande brought with him. So were 2. popes in Rome together: But Garhardus named Nicolaus 2. holding a councel at Sutrium, through the helpe of Duke Godfride and Guibert, and other bishops about Italie, caused the other Pope to be deposed. Benedictus vnderstanding them to be set against him through y^e means of Hildebrand, vnpoped himself, and went to Ueltras, liuing there more quietly thē he shuld haue done at Rome.

Here is to be touched by the way,* the error of the glose vpon the 23. dist. which falsly alledgeth out of the Chronicles, y^t Benedictus 10. which succeeded Stephen, was deposed: after whō came Ioannes bishop of Sabine for money, & he againe deposed. Benedictus was then restored, and after displaced againe, and then Ioannes Archdeacon ad portam latinam, was made Pope, and he againe deposed by the Emperor, and all this w^tin one yere. Which history neither is founde in any Chronicle, nor agreeth vpon any Benedictus, saue only that Benedictus 9. was deposed, & then reigned 3. popes together, Benedictus 9. Silvester 3. & Gregorius 6.* which before was called Ioannes ad portam latinam, whome the Emperor deposed (all three together.) But that Benedict neither was the 10.* neither did hee succede pope Stephen, as the glose recordeth. Nicolas thus being set vp without the minde both of the emperour,* & of the people of Rome, after his fellow Pope was driuen away: brake vp the Synode of Sutrium, & came to Rome, where he assembled an other councel, called concilium Lateranum. In which councel first was promulgate the terrible sentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, & beginneth: In nomine Domini nostri. &c. The effect whereof is this. First, that he after a subtile practise (as farre and as plainly as he durst speake) vndermindeth the Emperours iurisdiction, and transferreth to a few Cardinals, and certaine Catholike persons, the full authoritie of chusing the Pope.* Secondly, against all such as do creepe into the seat of Peter, by money or fauoure w^tout the full consent of the Cardinals: he

thūdreth with terrible blasts of excommunication, accursing them and their children with deuils, as wicked persons to the anger of almighty god, geuing also authoritie and power to Cardinals, with the Clergie and laitie, to depose all such persons, and cal a councel general, wheresoeuer they wil against them.

Item,* in the sayde Councell of Laterane, vnder Pope Nicholas the seconde, Berengarius Andegauensis, an Archdeacon was driuen to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the reall substance of Christes holy body and bloud to be in the Sacrament, otherwise then sacramentally and in mysterie.

In the same councell also was hatched & inuented,* the new found deuise and terme of Transubstantiation.

It were to long heere to declare the confederation betwixt this Nicholas, and Robertus Guiscardus: whome this pope (cōtrary to all right and good law, displacing the right heire) made Duke of Apulia,* Calabria, Sicilia, and captain general of S. Peters lands: that through his force of armes and violence, he might the better subdue all such as should rebell to his obedience, and so did. Nowe let all men iudge & vnderstand (which be godly wise) howe this standeth w^t the doctrine of Christ,* the example of Peter, or the spirit of a christen bishop, by ourward armes & violēce to conquer christen men & countreis, vnder the obedience of a bishops sea. Thus Pope Nicolas the 2. well aunswering to his Greeke name: by might and force continued 3. yeres and a halfe. But at length he mette with Brazutus cup,* and so turned vp his heeles.

At the beginning of this Nicolas, or somewhat before, [Page 169](#) about the yere of our Lorde 1057. Henricus the 4. after the decease of Henrie the 3. was made Emperour being but a childe,* & raigned 50. yeres: but not without great molestatiō and much disquietnes, and all through the vngracious wickednesse of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord so permitting) shalbe declared.

Here, by the way commeth to be noted, an exāple, wherby all Princes may learne and vnderstand, how the pope is to be handled, whosoeuer loketh to haue any goodnesse at his hand. If a man stand in feare of his curse, he shall be made his slaue, but if he be despised of you, ye shal haue him as you list. For the Popes curse may well be assimiled to Domicianus thunder:,* If a man geue eare to the noise and cracke, it semeth a terrible thing: but if ye consider the causes and effect therof, it is a most vaine ridicule.

In the reigne of this Nicolas, An. 1060. Aldredus Byshop of Worcester,* after y^e decease of Kinsius his predecessor shuld be made Archbishop of Yorke, who comming to Rome with Tostius erle of Northumberlād, for his palle (as the maner was) could not obtain it, but was depriued of all his dignitie (for some default, I can not tell what) in his aunswer. And furthermore, after his reuersion home, was spoyled also of all that he brought w^t him. Whereupon he returning againe to Rome with Tostius the foresayde Erle,* there made his complaint, but could not be heard: til Tostius, a man of stout courage, taking y^e matter in hand, tolde the Pope to his face, that his curse was not to be feared in farre countre•s, which his owne neighbours, yea & most vile vacabonds derided and despised at home. Wherefore he required the Pope, either to restore Aldredus again to his goods lost, or els it should be known, that they were lost through his meanes and subtlery. And furthermore, it would come to passe, that y^e king of

England hearing this, would debar him of s. Peters tribute, taking it for a great shame to him & his realme, if Aldredus should come from Rome both depriued of dignity, & spoiled also of his goods. &c. In fine, the Pope thus perswaded by the argument of his purse, was content to sende home Aldredus with his palle, according to his request.

After the death of Nicholas, the Lombardes being oppressed before by pope Nicholas, and brought vnder fear, were the more desirous, and thought it good to haue a Bishop of their company: * and so elected the bishop of Parniē called Cadolus, to be Pope: sending to the emperour and desiring his fauour and supportation therein. For the election of the Pope (sayd they) most properly appertained vnto him.

The emperor wel pleased and content, geueth his good leaue and voice w^tal. Hildebrandus, no lesse a wicked Necromancer, then a stoute maintainer of popish liberties against good emperors, hearing this: setteth vp by a cōtrary faction, an other bishop, Anselmus, after called Alexander the 2. Cadolus thus elected by the emperor & the Cardinals, * setteth forward to Rome with a sufficient army & strength of mē. Alexander also no les prepared, there receiueh him with an other army, * where they had a great conflict, & many slaine on both sides. But Cadolus as he had the better cause, so had he the worse fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himself and came again with a greater power. Albeit, he preuailed not. The Emperor seeing this hurly burly: to take vp the matter, sent thither his ambassador Otho, Archbishop of Colen: who cōming to Rome, beginneth sharply to chide the pope for taking so vpō him without the leaue or knowledge of the emperor, declaring how y^e election of that sea ought chiefly to appertein to the right of the emperor, as it hath done for y^e most part in the time of his predecessors tofore. But Hildebrande all set on wickednes and ambition, and also puft vp not a litle, with his late victories: not suffering the ambassador to tel to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale, affirming, y^t if they should stand to law and custome, the libertie of that election shuld rather belong to the clergy, then to the Emperor. To make short, Otho the ambassador bearing (belike) more with the Clergie, then with the emperour, was content to be perswaded: onely required this in the emperors name, a coūcell to be had, to decide the matter: wherat the emperor should be present himselfe. And so he was: In the which counsell being kept at Mantua, * Alexander was declared pope, the other had his pardon graunted. In this counsell amongst many other cōsiderations, was concluded concerning priests to haue no wiues: such as haue cōcubines to say no masse: priests children not to be seclued from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for mony. Alleluya to be suspended in time of Lent out of the church. * &c. This also was decreed (which made most for Hildebrandus purpose) that no spirituall man, whatsoeuer he be, shoulde enter in any Church, by a secular persone, & that the Pope should be elected onely by the Cardinals, &c. Benno Cardinalis wryteth thus of Alexander, * that after he perceiued the frauds of Hildebrande, and of other the Emperours enemies: and vnderstanding that he was set vp and inthronised, but onely for a purpose: being at his Masse, as he was preaching to the people, told them, he wold not sit in y^e place, vnlesse he had the licence of the Emperour. Which when Hildebrandus heard, he was stricken in suche a furie, that scarsly he could keepe his handes of him, while Masse was done. After the Masse being finished, by force of soldiours & strength of men he had him into a chamber, and there all to be pomild Pope Alexander with his fistes, rating and rebuking him for that he would seeke for fauoure of the Emperor. * Thus Alexander being kept vp in custody, and being stinted to a certaine allowance, as about v. groates a day. Hildebrand incrocheth all the whole reuenues of the Church to him selfe, procuring thereby muche treasure. At length

Alexander vnder the miserable endurance of Hildebrand, died at euentide after 11. yeares & half▪ of his popedome. And thus much of Romish matters.

These things thus discoursed concerning the matters of Rome (now returning againe to our owne country story) the order therof would require to enter againe into the reigne of William Conqueror, the next king following in England. But as a certain oration of K. Edgarus, which should haue bene placed before, chanced in the meane time to come to my hands, not vnworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the ende of this booke, to insert the same (although out of order) yet better I iudge it out of order, then out of the booke.

The oration of king Edgar to the Clergie.

BEcause God hath shewed his great mercy to worke with vs: it is meete (most reuerend Fathers) that with worthy works we should answer his innumerable benefites.* For we possesse not the land by our owne sworde, and our owne arme hath not saued vs: but his right hande and his holy arme, because he hath bene delighted in vs. Therefore it is meete that we should submit both our selues and our soules to him that hath subiected all these thinges vnder our gouernement: and that we ought stoutly to laboure, that they whome he hath made subiect to vs, might be subiect to his lawes. It belongs to me to rule the lay people with the lawe of equitie, to doe iust iudgement betwene man and his neighbour, to punish Church robbers, to holde vnder rebelles to deliuer the helpelesse from the hande of the stronger, the needye also and the poore from them that robbe them. It belongs also to my care to prouide necessary things to the ministers of the Churches, to the flockes of the Monkes, to the company of virgins, and to prouide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whose maners belongeth vnto vs: whether they liue chastly, if they behaue themselues honestly towarde them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods seruice, if they be earnest to teache the people if they be sober in eating and drinking, if they keepe measure in apparell, and if they be discreete in iudgement. If ye had regarded these thinges with a triall of them (O reuerende fathers, by your leaues I speake) suche horrible and abhominable thinges of the Clearkes, shoulde not haue come vnto our eares. I omit to speake how their crowne is not broad, nor their rounding conuenient, the wantonnesse in your life, your pryde in your gesture, the filthinesse in your wordes, doe declare the euill of the inward man.

Furthermore what negligence is in Gods seruice, when scarce they will be present at the holy vigils? And when they come to masse, they seeme rather to be gathered to play and laugh, then to sing. I will tell that, that good men be sory for, and the euil laugh at. I will speake with sorrow (if so be I may expresse it) how they be riotous in banquetings, in chambering dronkennes, and vnshamefastnes: that now clerkes houses may be thought to be a stewes of harlots, and a couent of players. There be dice, there is dancing, and singing, there is watching to midnight, with crying and shouting. Thus the goods of kinges, the almes of princes, yea (and that more is) the price of that precious bloud is not esteemed. Haue our fathers thē spent their treasures for this purpose▪ Hath the kinges cofers decayed by taking awaye many reuenues, for this cause? Hath the kinges liberalitie geuen landes and possessions to Christes Churches for this intent, that Clarkes harlots shoulde be decked with the same? that riotous feastes might be dressed? that houndes and haukes and such other toyes might be gotten? The souldiours crye out of these thinges, the people grudge minstrels sing and daunce, and yet ye regard it not, ye spare it, ye dissemble it. Where is the sworde of Leuy, and the zeale of Simeon, whiche killed the

Sichemites, and the Circumcised, which bare the figure of them that defile Christes Church,* with filthy deedes, because they abused Iacobes daughter as a harlot? Where is Moyses spirite whiche spared not hys owne kinsfolke that worshipped the head of the Calfe?

Page 170Where is Phinies the priestes dagger, which pacified Gods anger by his holy zeale,* when he killed him that plaid the harlote with the Madianite? Where is Peters spirite, by whose power couetousnes is destroyed, & simonical heresie is condemned? Be earnest ye Priests, be earnest, to followe the waies of the Lord, & the righteousnes of our God. It is time to doe against them that haue broken the law of God.* I haue Constantines sword, and yee haue Peters sworde in your hands, let vs ioyne right hands, let vs couple sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the tēples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the sonnes of Leuie may minister in the temple, who said to his father and mother I know you not, and to his brothers I know not you. Goe to diligently I pray you, least we repent to haue done that, that we haue done, & to haue geuen that, that we geue. If we shall see that to be spent not in Gods seruice, but on the riotousnes of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life for lacke of chastisement: let the reliques of holy saintes which they despise, and the holy altars, before which they play the madde men, moue you. Let the great deuotion of our ancetours moue you, whose almes the madnesse of the Clearkes doeth abuse. My great graundfather (as yee know) gaue the tenth parte of all hys landes to Churches and Abbeyes. My greate greate graundfather Alfredus of holy memorie, thoughte it not meete to spare hys Treasures, his goodes, no costes, nor rentes, that he might enriche the Church. My grandfather the elder, Edward, your fatherhoode is not ignoraunt, howe great things he gaue to the Churches It becommeth you to remember with what gifts my father & his brothers did enrich Christes altars. O father of fathers Dunstane, beholde I pray thee the eyes of my father looking on thee, from that bright place of heauen. Harken his complaining words, sounding in thine eares thus pitifully lamenting. O father Dunstane, thou, thou I say, geuest me counsell to builde Abbaies and Churches, thou wast my helper and fellow worker in all things. I chose thee as a shepheard and bishop of my soule, and a keper of my maners. Whē did I not obey thee? what treasures did I preferre in respect of thy counsels? What possessions did I not despise, if thou badde me? If thou thought meete to geue any thing to the poore, I was ready. If thou thought meete to geue any thing to Churches, I deferred not. If thou complained that Monkes or Clearkes wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidest that almes lasted for euer, and that there was none more fruitfull then that which was geuen to Abbeis or Churches. For with that, both Gods seruaunts are sustained, and that which remaineth is geuen to the poore. O worthy almes. O worthy price of the soule. Oh wholesome remedie for our sinnes, which nowē doeth stincke in the sweete furies of priests lemmans, wherwith they adorne their eares & decke their fingers, apparelling their delicate bodies with silke and purple. O father, is this the fruite of mine almes, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise? What wilt thou answer to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know, when thou didst see a thiefe, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them, but wordes haue bene despised. Nowe we must come to stripes of correction, thou hast here with thee the worshipfull father Edward bishop of Winchester. Thou hast the reuerend Prelate Oswold bishop of Worcester, I commit this businesse to you, that both by Bishoply correction, and the kings authority the filthy liues may be cast out of the Churches, and they that liue orderly may be brought in. &c.

In this Oration of K. Edgar aboue prefixed, 3. things are chiefly to be noted & considered, to them y^t haue iudgements to marke and vnderstand, to witte: The religious zeale and deuotion of kings, both in geuing to the church, & also in correcting the maners of churchmen. 2. Secondly, the dissolute behaiour and wantonnesse of the clergie, then abusing the great donatiōs and patrimonies of princes bestowed vpon them. 3. Thirdly, the blinde ignorance and superstition of that time in both states, as well Ecclesiastical as temporal, in esteeming Christes religion chiefly to consist in geuing to Churches, and in maintaining of Monkery, falsly being perswaded that remission of theyr sinnes, & remedy of their soules therein did lie in building monasteries, erecting churches and cloysters, and in placing monks in the same, and such other almes deedes, and workes of deuotion. Wherin appeareth how ignorāt that time was of the true doctrine of Christes faith, and of free grace of the Gospell, which promiseth life, remedy, and iustification, not by any deuout merits of oures,* nor by any workes either of the lawe of God, or of the inuentions of man, but onely and freely by our faith vpon Christ Iesus the sonne of God, in whom only consisteth al the promises of God. Amen.

Nowe remaineth as in the former booke before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the order & race of Archbishops of Canterbury, as we haue done the race of kings, beginning with Etheredus, who succeded next after Celnocke, the seuententh Archbishop of that Sea mentioned, where we last left before, Pag. 131.

The names and order of the Archbishops of Caunterburie, from the time of king Egbert to William Conquerour.

18. Ethelredus. 18

19 Pleimūdus. 29 This Pleimundus was scholemaster to king Altrede.

20. Athelmus. 12.

21. Vlfelmus. 23

22. Odo. 20. By the players of thys Oddo, the Monkish stories say, that the sworde of King Ethelstane was brought again into his scabberd. As touching the Epistle of thys Odo, sent to other Byshoppes, vide pag. 251.

23. Elfius, or
Elfinus. 1 This Elfius first bishop of Winchester, came to the sea of Cant. by the commaundement of King Edgar, some say by bribes, contrary to the mind of Odo. Wherupon in the first day of hys consecration, he insulting vppon the tomb of Odo, with despite, shortly after wēt to Rome for his pal, where in his iorny vpon the alps he died for colde, in so much that his horses being killed, & he put in their warme bellies, yet could get no heate. Malms.

24 Dunstan. 20. Of this Dunstane many monkish miracles be fained,* as of the harpe vpon the wall playing by it self, Gaudent in Coelis, &c. of our ladie with her companie appearing to him singing, Cantemus domino sociae, Cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor christi

personet ore pio. Also of the Angels singing Kyrieleyson, &c. Item, of holding the Deuill by the nose with a paire of tonges, tempting him with women. Malmes. Item of seeing the holy Ghost at his masse in likenesse of a Doue. Item, in deliuering the soule of Edwine from the Deuill. Item, in foreseeing the death of King Edred, by the death and falling of his horse. Item, of his mother being great with Dustane, when all the candels of others went out, her onely candle remained light, & many other like fables, &c.

Polydorus maketh
Dunstane to be the
23. archb.

25. Ethelgarus. 1 This Siricus was the counsellor to king Egelred, to redeme peace of the Danes, with a great tribute.

26. Elfricus. 11

27. Siricius. 5

28. Elphegus. 6 Elphegus because he denied to paye to the Danes a tribute, was stoned to death at Greenewich, & of some is called a martyr.

29. Liuingus. 7

30. Egenoldus. 17

31. Edsius. 11

32. Robertus. 2 This Robertus caused Godwine and his sonnes to be banished, accusing them of Treason. But afterward they being restored, he went to Rome, and at his returne died.

33. Stigandus. 17 Stigandus being an English man, in the time of W. Conquerour the Normane, was by the craft of the sayd William conueied into Normandie, where a while with great honour he was entertained. At length the sayde William procured secreately the popes letters to depose him, that hee might place Lanfrancus in his rounge. This Stigandus died at length in prison.

34 Lanfrancus. 19

The ende of the thirde Booke.

THE FIFT BOOKE CONTEYning the last 300. yeares from the loosing out of Satan.

*THVS hauing discoursed in these former Bookes, the order and course of yeares, from the first tying vp of Sathan vnto the yeare of our Lorde 1360. I haue a little ouerpassed the stint of time in the Scriptures appoynted, for the loosing out of hym againe. For so it is wrytten by S. Iohn Apocal. 20. that after a thousande yeares, Satanas the olde Dragon shalbe let loose againe for a season, &c. *

For the better explanation of the whych mysterie, let vs first consider the context of the scripture: afterward, let vs examine by history and course of times, the meaning of the same. And first to recite the wordes of the Apocal. the text of the Prophecy is this, cap. 23.

And I saw an Aungell descending from heauen, hauing a key of the bottomlesse pitte, *and a great chaine in his hande. And hee tooke the Dragon the olde Serpente, whych is the deuill and Satanas, and bounde hym for a thousand yeares, and put hym in the bottomlesse dungeon and shutte him vp, and signed him with hys seale, that he should no more seduce the Gentiles, till a thousande yeares were expired. And after that he must be loosed againe for a little space of time. And I sawe seates, and they sate vpon them: and iudgement was geuen vnto them, and the soules I sawe of them which were beheaded for the testimonie of Iesus. &c.

By these wordes of the Reuelation heere recited, three speciall times are to be noted.

- 1. First, the being abroade of Sathan to deceyue the world.
- 2. The binding vp of him. *
- 3. Thirdly, the losing out of him againe, after a thousand yeares consummate, for a time.

Concerning the interpretation of whych times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceiued by ignorance of hystories, and state of things done in the church: supposing that the chaining vp of Sathan for a thousand yeares, spoken of in the Reuelation, was meant from the birthe of Christe our Lorde. Wherein I graunt that spiritually the strength and dominion of Sathan in accusing & condemning vs for sinne, was cast downe at the passion and by the passion of Christ our sauour, and locked vp not onely for a thousande yeares, but for euer and euer. Albeit as touching the malicious hatred and furie of that Serpent, against the outward bodies of Christes poore saints (which is the heele of Christ) to afflicte and torment the Church outwardly: That I iudge to be meant in the Reuelation of S. Iohn, * not to be restrained til the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitiue Church. At what time it pleased God to pity the sorrowfull affliction of his poore flocke, being so long vnder persecution, the space of three hundred yeares, and so to assuage their griefes and torments. Which is meant by binding vp of Sathan, worker of all those mischiefes: vnderstanding thereby, that for so much as the Deuill prince of thys worlde had now by the death of Christ the sonne of God lost al his power and interest against the soule of man, shoulde turne his furyous rage & malice which he had to Christ against the people of Christ, (which is meant by the heele of the seede. Genes. 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet shuld not be for euer, but for a determinate time, when as it shoulde please the Lord to bridle the malice, and snaffle the power of the olde Serpent, and geue rest vnto his Church for the

terme of a thousand yeares. Which time being expired, the sayd serpent should be suffred loose againe for a certaine or a small time. Apoc. 20.

And thus to expound this Propheticall place of scripture I am led by three reasons.*

*The first is, for that the binding vp of Sathan, and closing hym in the bottomles pit by the Angell, importeth as much that hee was at libertye, raging and doynge mischiefe before. And certesse those so terrible and so horrible persecutiōs of the primitiue time vniuersally through the whole world, during the space of three hundreth yeares of the Church, do declare no lesse. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed, that Sathan all that time, was not fastened and closed vp.

The second reason moouing me to thinke that the closing vp of Sathan was after the ten persecutions of the primitiue Church,* is taken out of the twelft chapter of the Apocalips. Where we read, that after the woman (meaning the Church) had trauailed foorth her man childe, the olde Dragon the Deuill, the same time being cast downe from heauen, drawing the thirde part of the starres wyth him: stode before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is the Church of God) with a whole floude of water (that is, wyth aboundance of all kindes of torments) and from thence went moreouer to fight agaynst the residue of her side, and stode vpon the sands of the sea, wherby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked vp.

The thirde reason I collect out of the Apocalyps thirteenth Chapter,* where is wrytten of the beast, signifying the Emperiall Monarchie of Rome:* that hee had power to make warre fourtie and two monethes. By the whych monethes is meant no doubt, the tyme that the Dragon, and the persecuting Emperours, should haue in afflicting the Saintes of the primitiue Church.* The computation of which fortie two monethes (counting euery moneth for a Sabboth of yeares, that is for seuen yeares, after the order of Scripture) riseth to the summe (counting from the passion of the Lord Christ) three hundred yeares lacking sixe, at what time Maxentius the last persecutour in Rome fighting against Constantinus, was drowned wyth his souldiours, like as Pharaο was drowned persecuting y^e children of Israel in the red sea. Unto the which xliij. moneths, or Sabbothes of yeares, if yee adde the other sixe yeares wherein Licinius persecuted in the East: ye shal finde iust three hundred yeres, as is specified before in the first booke of thys volume. pag. 97.

After the which fortie and two monethes being expired,* manyfest it is that the furie of Sathan, that is, hys violent malice and power ouer the Saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained vniuersally through the whole world.

Thus then the matter standing eident, that Sathan after 300. yeares, counting from the passion of Christ, began to be chayned vp, at what time the persecution of the primitiue Church began to cease: Nowe let vs see, howe long thys binding vp of Sathan shoulde continue, which was promised in the booke of the Reuelation to be a thousand yeares. Which thousand yeares, if yee adde to the xliij. monethes of yeares, that is, to 294. yeares: they make 1294. yeares,* after the passion of the Lord. To these moreouer adde the 30. yeares of the age of Christ, and it commeth to the yeare of our Lord 1324. which was the yeare of the letting out of Sathan, according to the prophesie of the Apocalips.

A Table containing the time of the persecution both of the primitiue, and of the latter Church, with the count of yeares from the first binding vp of Sathan, to his loosing againe, after the minde of the Apocalips. [Page 398](#)

The first persecution of the primitiue Church, beginning at the 30. yeares of Christ, was prophesied to continue 42. monthes, that is, An.

294.

*The ceasing of the laste persecution of the primitiue Church by the death of Licinius the last persecutour, began. An. 324. from the natiuitie of Christ, which was from the 30. yeare of hys age. 294.

294.

The binding vp of Sathan after peace geuen to the church, counting from the 30. yeares of Christ, began An.

294.

*And lasted a thousand yeres, that is, counting from the thirtie yeare of Christe, to the yeare.

1294.

*About which yeare Pope Boniface the 8. was Pope, and made the 6. booke of the decretals: confirmed the orders of Friars, and priuiledged them with great fredomes, as appeareth by his constitution: Super cathedram. An.

1294.

*Unto the which count of yeares doeth not much disagree that I founde in a certaine olde Chronicle prophesied and wrytten in the latter ende of a booke, which booke was wrytten as it seemeth, by a monke of Douer, & remayneth yet in the custodie of William Cary, a Citizen of London: alledging the Prophetie of one Hayncardus a gray Frier, grounded vppon the authoritie of Ioachim the Abbot, prophesying that Antichrist shoulde be borne the yeare from the Natiuitie of Christ. 1260. Which is, counting after the Lordes passion, the very same yere and time, when the orders of Friars both Dominickes and Franciscans began first to be sette vp by Pope Honorius the 3. and by Pope Gregorius 9. which was the yere of our Lord counting after his passion.

1226.

And counting after the Natiuitie of the Lord, was the yeare.

1260.

Wherof these verses in the author was wrytten.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,

*Et decies seni post partum virginis almae:

Tunc Antichristus nascetur daemone plenus.

And these verses were wrytten, as appeareth by the sayd author. An. 1285.

These thyngs thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the prophetie of the Apocal. nowe let vs enter (Christe willing) to the declaration of these latter times, which folowed after the letting out of Sathan into the worlde. Describing the wondrous perturbations and cruell tyranny stirred vp by him against Christes Church. Also the valiant resistance of the Church of Christ against him and Antichrist, as in these our bookes heere vnder following may appeare.

*The argument of which booke consisteth in 2. partes, first to entreate of the raging furie of Satan nowe loosed, and of Antichrist: Against the saints of Christ fighting and traueiling for the maintenance of the truth, & reformation of the Church: Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the said Antichrist, through the power of the word of God being at length (eyther in a greate parte of the worlde) ouerthrowen, or at least vniuersally in the whole world detected.

*Thus then to begin wyth the yeare of our Lord. 1360. wherin I haue a litle as is aforesayd, transgressed the stint of the first loosing out of Sathan: we are come now to the time wherin the Lord,*after long darknes beginneth some reformation of hys Church, by the diligent industrie of sondry hys faithful and learned seruauntes: of whome diuers already we haue foretouched in the former booke before, as namely Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marsilius Patauinus: Ockam: Robertus Gallus: Robertus Grosted: Petrus de Cugnerijs: Ioannes Rupescissanus: Conradus Hager: Ioannos de Poliac, Cesenas, wyth other moe: whych withstoode the corrupt errors, and intollerable enormities of the Byshop of Rome. Beside them which about these times were put to death by the saide bishop of Rome, as Chastilion, & Franciscus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded: also the two Franciscanes, Martyrs, which were burned at Auinion, mentioned, pag. 391.

Now to these (the Lord willing) we will adde such other holy Martyrs and confessors, who following after in the course of yeares with like zeale and strength of Gods worde, and also with like daunger of their liues, gaue the like resistance against the enemie of Christes religion, and suffered at hys handes the like persecutions. First begynning wyth that godly man, whosoeuer he was the author of the Booke (hys name I haue not) intituled the prayer and complaint of the Ploughman: wrytten as it appeareth, about thys present time.

Which booke as it was faithfully set foorth by William Tindall,*so I haue truely distributed the same abroade to the Readers handes: neyther chaunging any thyng of the matter, neyther altering many woordes of the phrase thereof. Although the oldnesse and age of hys speache and termes be almost growne nowe out of vse: yet thought I it so best, both for the vtilitie of the booke to reserue it from obliuion, as also in his owne language to let it go abroad, for the more credite and testimonie of the true antiquity of the same. Adding withal in the margent for the better vnderstanding of the reader, some interpretation of certaine difficult termes and speches, as otherwise might perhaps hinder or stay the reader. The matter of this complaining prayer of the ploughman, thus proceedeth.

An olde auncient wryting, intituled, The prayer and complaint of the Ploughman.

IESV CHRIST that was ybore of the maid Marie,* haue on thy poore seruauntes mercie and pitie, and helpe them in their great nede to fight against sinne, and against the deuill that is author of sinne, and more nede nes there neuer to cry to Christ for helpe, then it is ryght nowe. For it is fulfilled that God sayde by Isay the Prophet: ye riseth vp erlich to follow drunkennesse, and to drinke till it be euen, the harpe and other minstrelsies beeth in your feastes and wine. But the woorke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe to the workes of his handes: And therefore my people is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren dry for thirst, and therefore hel hath

drawen abroade theyr soule, and hath yopened hys mouth wythout any ende. And estsoones sayeth Isay the Prophet: The worde is floten away, and the highnesse of the people is ymade sicke, and the earth is infecte of his wonnyers, for they haue broken my lawes, and ychaunged my right, and han destroyed mine euerlastynge bonde and [*](#) forward betwene them & me. And therefore cursing shal deuour the earth, and they that wonneth on the erthly shallen done sinne. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen waxe woode, and fewe men shullen cen yleft vpon the earth. And yet sayth Isay the Prophet, this sayeth God, for as much as this people nigheth me with their mouth, & glorifieth me with their lippes, and their hart is farre from me. And they han ydrad more mens commandement, then mine, and more draw to their doctrines, then mine. Therefore will I make a great wondring vnto this people, wisdom shall perish away from wise men, and vnderstanding of ready men shall be yhid. And so it seemeth that an other saying of Isay is fulfilled, there as God bad hym goe teach the people, and sayd go forth and say to this people: eares haue ye, and vnderstād ye not, and eyes ye haue and sight ne know ye not. Make blinde the hart of this people, & make their eares heauy, and close their eyen, least he see with his eyen, and yheare with his eares, and vnderstand with his hart, and by yturned, and ych heale him of his sicknes. And Isay sayd to God: how long Lord shall this be? And God sayd: For to that the cities ben desolate withouten a wonnier, and an house withouten a man.

Here is mychel nede for to make sorow, & to cry to our Lord Iesu Christ hertilich for helpe and for succour, that hee wole forgeue vs our sinnes, and geue vs grace and cōning to seruen him better here after. And God of his endles mercy geue vs grace and cōning trulich to tellen which is Christes law in helping of mens soules, for we beth lewde men, and sinfull men, and vnconning, and if he woll be our helpe and our succour, we shullen wel perfourme our purpose. And blessed be our Lorde God that hideth his wisdom from wise men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to small children, as Christ teacheth in the Gospell.

Christen men haue a law to keepe, the which lawe hath twe parties.[*](#) Beleue in Christ that is God, & is the foundmēt of their law, and vpon this foundement, as he sayde to Peter, and the gospel beareth witnes, he woll byelden his Church, and thys is the first party of Christes law. The secōd party of this law beth Christes commaundements that beth written in the gospel, and more verilich in Christen mens hartes.

And as touching the beleue, we beleuen that Christ is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleuen neuertheles that in the Godhead there bene three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, and all these three persons ben one God, and not many Gods, and all they beth ylich mighty, ylich good, and ylich wise, and euer haue bene, and euer shullen ben We beleuen this God made the worlde of nought, and man he made after hys owne likenesse in Paradise that was a land of blisse, and gaue him [Page 398](#) that land fo• hys heritage, and bad him that he should not eate the tree of knowledge of good and euil, that was [*](#) a midde Paradise. Then the deuell that was fallen out of heauen for his pride, had enuie to man, and by a false suggestion he made man eate of this tree, and breake the commaundement of God, and tho was man ouercome of the deuill, and so he lost his heritage, and was put out therof into the world that was a land of trauel, and of sorow vnder the feendes thraldome, to be punished for his trespasse. There man followed wickednes and sinne, and God for the sinne of man sent a•sloud into this world, and drownd all mankind saue eight soules. And after this flud he let mē multiply in the world, and so he assailed whether man dread him or loued him, & among other he found a man that hight

Abraham: * this man he prooued whether he loued him and drad him, and bad hym that he should offeren Isaac his sonne vppon an hill, and Abraham as a true seruaunt fulfilled his Lords commaundement: and for this buxumnes and truth, God sware vnto Abraham that he would multiply his seede as the grauell in the sea, and as the starres of heauen, and he behight to him and to his heires the lande of behest for heritage for euer, gif they wolden ben his true seruauntes and keepe his hests. And God * held him forward, for Isaac Abrahams sonne begat Iacob and Esau: and of Iacob that is ycleped Israel, comen Gods people that he chose to be his seruaunt, and to whome he behight the land of behest. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt vnder Pharaο that was king of Egypt: and they cr•eden to God that he should deliueren them out of that thraldome, and so he did: for he sent to Pharaο, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliuer his people to done him sacrifice: and to fore Pharaο he made Moses done many wonders, or that Pharaο wold deliuer his people, and at the last by might he deliuered his people out of thraldom, and led them through a desert toward the lande of behest, and there he gaue them a lawe that they shulden lyuen after, when they comen into their countrey, and in their way thither ward, the ten commaundements God wrote himself in two tables of stone: the remnaunt of the lawe he taught them by Moses his seruaunt, how they shoulde do euery chone to other, and gif they trespassed againe the law, he ordeined how they shoulde be punished. Also hee taught them what maner sacrifices they should doe to him, and he chose him a people to ben his priestes, that was Aaron and his children, to done sacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterwarde in the temple also. He chese him the remnant of the children of Leuy to ben seruauntes in the tabernacle to the priestes, and he sayde: When ye come into the lande of behest, the children of Leuy they shullen haue none heritage amōgst their brethren, for I would be their part, & their heritage, & they shullen serue me in the tabernacle by dayes and by nigh•es, and he ordeined that priestes should haue a part of the sacrifices that were offred in the tabernacle, and the first begotten beastes, both of men and beastes and other things as the lawe telleth. And the other children of Leuy that serued in the tabernacle, should haue tythings of the people to their liueloode, of the which tythings they should geuen the priestes the tenth partie in forme of offering. The children of Leuy both priestes and other, shoulde haue houses and croftes, and lesewes for their beastes in the land of behest, & none other heritage: & so God gaue thē their land of behest, and bade them that they ne shoulde worship no other God then him Also he bade that they should kepe his cōmand•ments, and gift they did so, all their enemies about them shuld drede thē and be their seruaunts. And giue they worshipped false gods and so forsaken his lawes, he bihight them that he woulde bring them out of that land & make them serue their enemies, but yet he said he would not benemen his mercy away from them, if they would cry mercy and amende their defautes, and all thys was done on Gods side.

And heere is much loue showed of God to man. And who so looketh the Bible, hee shall finde that man showed him little loue againeward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgotten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the Prophetes and his seruaunts * fele times to bidde them withdrawen them from their sinnes, and other they haue slowen them, or they beaten them, or they ledde them in prison: and oft times God tooke vpon them great vengeance for their sinnes, & when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall processe of the old Testament, that God gaue to his people by Moses his seruaunt. And al this Testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a newe Testament that was geuen by Christ. And it was byhoten by Ieremie the Prophet, as S. Paul beareth witnes in the Epistle that he wryteth to the Iewes. And Ieremy sayeth in this wise: Loe

dayes shall come, God sayth, and I will make a new band to the house of Israel, and to the house of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers in that day that I tooke their hand to leade them out of the lande of Egypt, the which forward they maden veyne, and I had Lordship ouer them. But this shalbe the forward that I wold make with them after those daies: I wil geue my lawes with them in their inwardnes, and I will wryten them in their hearts, and I wil be their God and they should be my people, and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour ne his brother. For all (God sayeth) from the least to the most, should knowe me, for I will forgeuen them their sinnes, and I wil no more thinke on their sinnes.

Thys is the newe Testament, that Christe both God and man borne of the maid Marye, he taught here in this worlde to bryng man our of sinne and out of the deuils thraldome and seruice to heauen, that is land of blisse and heritage to all tho that beleueen on him and kepen hys commaundements, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the third day arose againe from death to life, and fette Adam and Eue and many other folke out of hell, and afterward he came to his disciples and comforted them. After he stied vp to heauen to his father, and tho hee sent the holy Ghost amonges his disciples: and in time comming he wol come and demen all mankinde after their werkes, and after the wordes he spake vpon earth: some to blisse, with in body and in soule euer withouten end, and some to paine withouten end, both in body and in soule.

This is our beloue and all christen mennes, and this beleue is the first poynt of the newe Testament that yche Christen man is holde stedfastly to beleue, and rather to suffe the death thair forsaken this beleue, and so this beleue is the bread of spirituall life, in forsaking sinne, that Christ brought vs to life.

But for asmuch as mans liuing ne stondeth not all onlych by bread, he hath ygilten vs a draught of water of life to drink. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne shall neuer afterward ben a thirst. For this water is the cleare teaching of the gospel, that encloseth seuen commaundements.

The first is this: * thou shalt loue thy GOD ouer all other things, and thy brother as thy selfe, both enemy and frend.

The second commaundement is of meekenes, in the whych Christ chardgeth vs to forsake Lordship vppon our brethren and other wordly worships, and so he did himselfe.

The third commandement, is in stonding stedfastlich in truth and forsaking all falsenes.

The fourth commaundement, is to suffer in this world diseases and wrongs withouten ageinstondings.

The fifth commandement is: mercy, to forgeuen our brethren their trespasse, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeaunce.

The sixth commaundement is poorenes in spirite, but not to ben a begger.

The seuenth commaundement, is chastity: that is a forsaking of fleshlich likings displeasing to God. These commaundements enclosen the ten commaundements of the old law, and somewhat more.

Thys water is a blessed drinke for christen mennes soule But more harme is, much folke would drinke of thys water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God sayth by Ezechiel the prophet: when iche geue to you the most cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feete, and that water so defouled, yee geue my shepe to drink.* But the clene water is yhid fro the shepe, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread least the sheepe dyen for thirst. And Christ that is the wisdom of the father of heauen, & well of thys wisdom that come from heauen to earth to teache man this wisdom, thorow the which man should ouercome the sleights of the deuill that is principall enemy of mankind: haue mercy and pity of his people, and shew if it be his will howe thys water is troubled, and by whom: and * sith clere thys water that his sheepe mowne drinke hereof, and kele the thirst of theyr soules. Blessed more our Lord bene, for he hath itaught vs in the Gospell, that ere then hee woulde come to the vniuersall dome, then should come many in his name and sayen, that they weren Christ: and they shoulde done many wonders, and begilen many men. And many false prophets shoulde arisen and begylen much folke.

A Lorde, yblessed more thou ben of euerich creature: which ben they that haue ysayd that they weren Christ, & haue thus begiled thus thy people? Trulich Lord I trowe, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy steede, and * binemen thy worship, and maken thy people worshippen them as God, & haue hid thy lawes from the people. Lorde, who durst sit in thy steede and benemen thee thy woorship and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the people woorship them as gods? The Sauter telles, that God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodiliche sacrifices & Holocaustes: But God sayth, yeld to me sacrifice of heryng, and yeld to God thine auowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ych wole defend thee, and thou shalt worship me.

The heryng of God standeth in 3 things.* In louing God ouer al other things. In dreading God ouer al other things. In trusting in God ouer all other things.

These 3 poyntes Christ teacheth in the gospell. But I trowe men louen him but a little. For who so loueth Christ, he wole kepen his wordes. But men holden his wordes for heresie and folye, and kepeth mennes wordes.* Also men dreden more men & mens lawes and their cursings, then Christ and his lawes and his cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helps, than they doe in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hath hee that setteth in [Page 400](#) Gods stede, by no men God these three hor•ings, & maketh men louen him and his lawes, more then Christ and Christes law, and dreden him also. And there as the people shulde yeelde to God their vowes, he sayth he hath power to assoylen them of theyr avowes, and so this sacrifice he * nemeth away• from God. And there as the people shoulde cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their cryng to God and byne meth God that worship. This day of tribulation is whan man is fallen thorowe sinne into the deuils seruice, and than we shuldes cry to God after help, and axen forgeuenes of our sinne, and make great sorow for our sinne, and ben in f•ll will to do so no more ne none other sinne, and that our Lord God wole forgeuen vs our sinne, & maken our soule clene. For his mercy is endlesse.

*But Lord, here men haue by nomen thee much worshyp: For men seyn that thou ne might not cleane assoylen vs of our sinne: But if we knowlegen our sinnes to priests, & taken of them a penance for our sinne gif we mowen speake with them.

A Lord thou forgave sometime Peter his sinnes and also Mary Magdaleine,* and many other many sinfull men without shriuing to priests, & taking penance of priests for their sinnes. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man haue bynomen thee thy might. And we lewed men beleuen, that there nys no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh him selfe of so great power he* heigheth himselfe aboue God. And S. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God & highten him aboue God, and gif any such be, he is a false Christ.

*But hereto seyn priests, that whē Christ made cleane leprous men, he bade them goe and shewe them to priests. And therefore they seyn that it is a commandement of Christ, that a man should shewen his sinne to priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the olde lawe betokeneth sinne in this new lawe. A Lorde God, whether thine Apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done nowe? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest cōmanded men to shriuen them to priests, and they ne taught not that commandement to the people, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trow they knewen wel that it was none of thy commaundements, ne nedeful to heale of mans soule. And as me thinketh the law of lepre, is nothing to the purpose of shriuing: for priestes in the olde law hadden certain poynts and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: and gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane, & then they hadden power to receiuen him among his brethren, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God.

This nis nothing to the purpose of shriuing. For there nis but one priest, that is Christ, that may knowe in certaine the lepre of the soule. Ne no priest may make the soul cleane of her sinne, but Christ that is priest after Melchisedekes order: ne no priest here beneath may ywit for certaine whether a man be cleane of hys sinne or cleane assoyled, but gif God tell it him by reuelation. Ne God ordeined not that his priestes should set men a penance for their sinne after the quantitie of the sinne,* but this is mannes ordinaunce, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wote well that God is much vnworshipped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his yeres of grace, than in Christes absolutions, and therby is the people much appaired. For now, the sorow a man should make for his sinne, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to do sinne for trust of thys shrift, and of this bodilich penance.

An other mischief is, that the people is ybrought into thys beleefe,* that one priest hath a greater power to assoylen a man of his sinne and clennere, then an other priest hath.

An other mischief is this, that some priest may assoylen them both of sinne and paine, and in this they taken them a power that Christ granted no man in earth, ne he ne vsed it nought on earth himselfe:

An other mischief is, that these priestes sellen forgeuenes of mens sinnes and absolutions for money, and this is an heresie accursed that is ycleped simonie: and all thilke priestes that axeth price for graunting of spirituall grace, beth by holy lawes depriued of their priesthode, and

thilke that assenteth to this heresy. And be they ware, for Helyse the prophet toke no mony of Naaman when he was made cleane of his lepre, but Giesi his seruant: and therefore * the lepre of Naaman abode with him and wyth his heires euermore after.

Here is much matter of sorow, to see the people thus far ylad away from God and worshupen a fals god in earth, that by might and by strength hath ydone away the great sacrifice of God out of his temple: of which mischiefe and discomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witnes in the gospell. Who that readeth it vnderstand it. Thus we haue ytold apertie, how he that saith he sitteth in Christs stede,*binemeth Christ his worship and his sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worshopen him as a God on earth.

Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sinnes euerichone to other as S. Iames teacheth, and pray we hartilich to God euerichone for other, & then we shulen hopen forgeuenes of our sinnes. For God that is endles in mercy sayth, that he ne wil not a sinful mans death, but that he be turned from his sin & liuen. And therefore, when he came downe to saue mankinde, he gaue vs a lawe of loue and of mercy and bade, gif a man do a trespas, amend him priuilich: and gif he leue not his sinne, amend him before witnes: and gif he ne amendeth not men should tel to the church: and gif he ne amendeth not than, men shuld shone his company as a publicane, or a man that is misbeleued, and this lawe was yfigured in the law of lepre, who that readeth it, he may see the sooth.

But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede, hath vndo thy lawe of mercy and of loue, Lord, thou biddest loue enemies as our self: as thou shewest in the gospell, there as the Samaritane had mercy on the Iewe.* And thou biddest vs also prayen for them that cursen vs, and that defamen vs, & pursuen vs to death. And so Lorde thou didst, & thine apostles also. But he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy church, he hath vndone thy lawe of loue and mercy. For gif we speaken of louing our ennemies, h• teacheth vs to fight with our enemies, that Christ hath forboden. He curseth and desireth vengeance to them that so doth to hym. Gif any man pursueth him, hee curseth him, that it is a sorowe a Christen man to hearken the cursinges that they maken, and blasphemies in such cursing. Of what thing that I know, I may beare true witnes.

But gif we speake of louing of our brethren, this is vndone by him that sayth he is Godsvicar in earth.* For Christ in the gospell biddeth vs, that we shoulde clepen vs no father vpon earth: But clepen God our father, to maken vs loue perfitlich together. And he clepeth himselfe father of fathers, & maketh many religions, & to euerich a father. But whether is loue and charity encreased by these fathers and by their religions, or els ymade lesse? For a Friar ne loueth not a monke, ne a secular man neither, nor yet one frier a nother that is not of the order, and it is againward.

A Lord, me thinketh that there is litle perfection in these religions. For Lorde, what charity hauen such men of religion, that knowen how they mown against and sin, and fleeen away frō their brethren that ben more vncūning then they ben, & suffren them to trauelen in the world withouten their coūcell as beastes? Trulich Lorde, me thinketh that there is but litle charity, and then is there litle perfection. Lorde God, when thou were on earth, thou were among sinful men to drawen them from sin, & thy disciples also. And Lord, I trow thou ne graūtest not one mā

more kūning then an other al for himself: and I wote wel that lewd mē that ben laborers, ne trauel not alonlich for himself. Lord our belief is, that thou ne wer not of the world,* ne thy teaching neither, ne thy seruantes that liueden after thy teaching. But all they forsaken the world, and so euery christen man must. But Lorde, whether thou taughtest menne forsake their brethrens companie and trauell of the worlde, to liuen in ease and in rest, and out of trouble and anger of the worlde, by their brethrens trauell and so forsaken the world▪

A Lord, thou ne taughtest not a mā to forsaken a pore estate and trauel, to ben afterward a Lord of his brethren, or ben a lords fellow and dwelling with Lords, as doth men of these new religions. Lord thou ne taughtest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the world,* to liuen in perfection by them selfe in ease, and by other mens trauell. But Lord they sayen they ben ybound to thy seruise, and seruen thee both night and day in singing their prayers, both for themselfe and for other men, that done them good both quicke and dead, and some of them gone about to teach thy people when they hauen leisure.

A Lord, gif they ben thy seruauntes: whose seruaunts ben we that cannot preyen as they done? And when thou were heere on earth, for our nede thou taughtest thy seruauntes to preyen thy father priuulich and shortlich: And gif there had beene a better maner of praying, I trowe thou wouldest haue taught it in helpe of thy pe•ple. And Lorde thou reprovest hypocrites that preyen in long preyer and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the gospel, wo to you Pharisees hypocrits. And lord thou ne chargedest not thy seruaunts with such maner seruice: But thou seest in the gospel, that the Pharises workshopē thee with their lippes, and their hart is farre from thee. For they* chargen more mens traditions than thy commaundements.

And Lord, we lewd men han a beleefe, that thy goodnesse is endles: and gif we keepen thine hestes, than ben we thy true seruauntes. And though we preyen thee but a litle & shortlich,* thou wilt thinken on vs, and graūten vs that vs nedeth, for so thou behighted vs sometime: And Lord I trowe, that pray a man neuer so many quaint prayers, gif he ne kepe not thine hests he is not thy good seruaunt. But gif he keepe thine hestes, than he is thy good seruaunt, and so me thinketh. Lorde that praying of long prayers ne is not the seruice that thou desirest, but keping of thine heftes: and than a lewd man may serue God as wel as a man of religion: though that the Plowman ne may not haue so muche siluer for his prayer, as men of religion. For they* kunnen not so wel preisen their prayers as these other chapmen: But Lorde our hope is, that our prayers be neuer the worse though it be not so wel solde as other mens prayers.

Lorde, Ezechiel the Prophet sayth that whan he spake to the [Page 401](#) people thy words, they turned thy words into songs & into tales, And so Lord men done now: they singin merilich thy words, and that singing they clepen thy seruice. But Lord I trow that the best singers he herieth thee not most: But he that fulfilleth thy wordes he * herieth thee full well, though he wepe more then sing. And I trow that weping for breaking of thy commandements, be more pleasing seruice to thee, than the singing of thy words. And wold God that men would serue him in sorow for their sinnes, and that they shoulde afterward seruen thee in mirth. For Christ sayth, yblessed ben they that maken sorow,* for they shoulde ben yconforted. And woe to them that ben merry and haue theyr comfort in this world. And Christ sayd that the world should ioyen, & hys seruāts shulde be sory, but their sorow shuld be turned into ioy.

*A Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, hath y ordained an order of priestes to doe thy seruice in church to fore thy lewd people in singing matens, euensong & masse. And therefore hee chargeth lewde men in paine of cursing, to bryng to hys priests tithyngs and offerings to finden his priests, and he clepeth that Gods part, & due to priests that seruen him in church.

But Lord, in the olde law, the tithings of the lewde people ne were not due to priestes, but to that other childer of Leuie that ferueden thee in the temple, and the priest haddē their part of sacrifices, and the first bygeten beastes and other things as the lawe telleth. And Lorde, S. Paul thy seruant sayth, that the order of the priesthode of Aaron ceased in Christes comming and the lawe of that priesthode. For Christ was end of sacrifices yoffered vpō the crosse to the father of heauen, to bring man out of sinne and become himself a priest of Melchisedeks order. For he was both king & priest without beginning and end, and both the priesthooe of Aaron, and also the law of that priesthode, ben ychaunged in the comming of Christ. And S. Paul sayth it is reprobued, for it brogh• no man to perfection. For bloude of gotes ne of other beastes ne might done away sinne, for to that Christ shad his bloud.

A Lord Iesu, wether thou ordenest an order of priests to offrē in the auter thy flesh and thy bloude to bringen men out of sinne,* and also out of peine? And whether thou geue them alonelych a power to eat thy flesh and thy bloud, and wether none other man may eate thy flesh and thy bloud with outen leue of priestes? Lord, we beleeuē, that thy flesh is verēy meate and thy bloude verēy drinke, and who eateth thy flesh and drinketh thy bloud dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth this bread shall liue without end. But Lord thine disciples sayd, this is an hard worde, but thou answerest them and seidest: When yee seeth mans soone stiuen vp there hee was rather, the spirite is that maketh you liue, the wordes that yche haue spoken to you ben spirite & life Lord, yblessed more thou be, for in this worde thou teachest vs that hee that kepeth thy wordes and doth after them, eateth thy fleshe and drinketh thy bloude, and hath an euerlasting life in thee. And for we shoulde haue minde of thys liuing, thou gauest vs the sacrament of thy flesh and bloud in forme of bred and wine at thy supper, before that thou shouldest suffer thy death, and tooke bread in thine hand, and saidest: take ye this, and eate it, for it is my body: and thou tookest wine, and blessedest it, and sayde: thys is the bloud of a new and an euerlasting testament, that shall be shed for many men in forgeuenes of sinnes: as oft as ye haue done, doo ye this in minde of me.

A Lord, thou ne bede not thine disciples makē this a sacrifice, to bring men out of paines, gif a priest offred thy body in the alter: but thou bede them go and fullen all the folke in the name of the father, & the sonne, and the holy ghost, in forgeuenes of their sinnes: and teache ye them to keepe those thynges that ych haue cōmanded you. And Lord, thine disciples ne ordeined not priests principallich to make thy body in sacrament, but for to teach the people, and good husbandmen that well gouern their houtholds, both wiues & children, & their meiny, they ordeind to be priests to teachen other men the law of Christ, both in worde, in dede, & they liuedein as true Christen men, euery day they eaten Christes body,* and drinken his bloude, to the sustenance of liuing of theyr soules, and otherwhiles they taken the sacrament of his body in forme of bread and wine, in mind of our Lord Iesu Christ.

But all this is turned vpse downe: for now who so will liuen as thou taughtest, he shal ben holden a foole. And gif he speake thy teaching, he shal ben holden an heretick, & accursed. Lord yhaue no longer wonder hereof, for so they seiden to thee whē thou wer here some time. And therefore wee moten take in pacience theyr wordes of blasphemy as thou didest thy selfe, or els we weren to blame. And truelych Lord I trowe, that if thou were nowe in the world, and taughtest as thou diddest some time, thou shuldest ben done to death.* For thy teaching is damned for heresy of wise men of the world, and then moten they nedes ben heretickes that teachen thy lore, and all they also that trauelen to liue thereafter.

And therfore Lord, gif it be thy wil, helpe thine vnkunning & lewde seruaunts, that wolen by their power and their kunning, helpe to destroy sinne. Leue Lorde, sithe thou madest woman in helpe of man, & in a more fraile degree then man is, to be gouerned by mans reason: What perfection of charity is in these priests and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spoushod that thou ordeinedst in Paradise betwixt man and woman, for perfection to forsaken traueile, and liuen in ease by other mens traueile▪ For they mow not do bodilich workes for defouling of their handes, with whom they touchen thy precious body in the aulter.

Leue Lorde, gif good men forsaken the company of woman, & nedes they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then motē they ben ycoupled with shrewes,* and therfore thy spoushode that thou madest in clennes from sinne, it is nowe ychaunged into liking of the flesh. And Lord, this is a great mischiefe vnto thy people. And young priestes and men of religion, for defaulte of wiues maken many women horen, and drawen through their euell ensample many other men to sinne, and the ease that they liuen in, and their welfare, is a great cause of this mischiefe. And Lord me thinketh, that these ben quaint orders of religion and none of thy sect, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes,* and forsaken wiues that God ne forfendeth not And forsaKen traual that God commaunds, and geuen their selfe to idlenes, that is the mother of all noughtines.

And Lorde, Mary thy blessed mother and Ioseph, touched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their honds, and liueden in as much clennes of soule, as our priestes done nowe, and touched thy body, and thou touchedest them in their soules. And Lorde our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans soule that traueileth for his liuelode with his handes. For Lord, our beliefe is, that thine house is mans soul, that thou madest after thine owne likenes.

But Lord God,* men maketh nowe great stonen houses full of glasen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houses and Churches. And they setten in these houses Mawmets of stockes and stones, and* to fore them they knelen priuulich & apert, and maken their prayers, and all this they sayen is thy woorship, and a great * herieng to thee. A Lorde, thou forbiddest sometime to make suche Mawmetes, and who that had yworshipped such, had be woorthy to be deade.

Lorde in the Gospell thou sayst, that true * heriers of God ne herieth him not in that hil beside Samarie, ne in Hierusalem neyther, but true heriers of God herieth him in spirite and in trueth. And Lord God what herying is it to bilden thee a church of dead stones, and robben thy quicke Churches of their body liche lyueloode? Lord God what heryeng is it, to cloth mawmets of stockes and of stones in siluer and in golde, and in other good colours? And Lorde I see thine image gone in colde and in here in clothes all to broken, without shone and hosen, an hungred and a th•ust. Lorde what heryenge is it to teende tapers and torches before blinde mawmets that

mowen not I seyen: And hide thee that art our light and our lanterne toward heauen and put thee vnder a bushell that for darkenes we ne may not seene our way toward blisse? Lorde what heryenge is it to kneele tofore mawmetes that mowe not yheren, and worshepen them with preyers, and maken thine quicke images knele before them, and asken of them absolutions and blessings, and worshupen them as gods, and putten thy quicke images in thraldom and in traueil euermore as bestes, in colde and in heate, and in feeble fare to finden them in liking of the world? Lord what herieng is it to fetch deed mennes bones out of the ground there as they shulden kindelich roten, and shrinen them in golde and in siluer: And suffren thy quicke bones of thine images to rot in prison for default of clothingh? And suffren also thy quicke images to perish for default of sustenance, and rooten in the hoore house in abhominable lecherie? Some become theeues and robbers, and manquellers that mighten ben y holpen with the golde and siluer that hongeth about deed mens bones and other blind mawmetes of stockes and stones.

Lorde here ben great abominations that thou shewdist to Ezechiel thy Prophet, that priests done in thy temple, & yet they clepen that thine heryenge. But leue Lorde, me thinketh that thy louen thee litle that thus defoulen thy quick images, & worshippen blinde mawmetes.

And Lord an other great mischiefe there is now in the world, an hunger that Amos thy Prophet speaketh of, that there shal comen an honger in the earth, not of bread ne thrust of drinke, but of hearing of Gods worde. And thy sheepe woulde be refreshed, but their shepheards taken of thy shepe their liuelode, as tythings. &c. and liuen them selfe thereby where them liketh.

Of such shepheardes thou speaketh by Ezechiel thy Prophet, and seist: wo to the shepheardes of Israel that feden them selfe, for the flockes of sheepe shoulde ben yfed of their shepheardes: but yee eaten the milke and clothen you with their wolfe, and the fat sheepe ye slow, and my flocke ye ne fede not, the sicke shepe ye ne healed not, thilke that weren to broken yee ne knit not together, thilke that perished ye ne brought not againe: but ye ratled them with sternship and with power. And so the shepe be sprad abroad in deuouring of all the beasts of the felde. And Ieremie the Prophet sayeth: wo to the shephards that disperse•h abroad and •eareth the flocke of my * lesewe.

A Lorde, thou were a good shepheard, for thou putttest thy soul for thy sheep: but lord thou teldest that thilke that comé not in by the dore ben night theues & day theues, and a these as thou [Page 402](#) seest cōmeth not but for to steale, to sleine, & to destroy. And Zachary the prophet sayth, that thou wouldest reren vp a shepherde vnunning, that ne wol not hele thy shepe that beth sick, ne seek thilke that beth lost. Apon his arme is a swerd, and vpon his right eye: his arme shall waxe dry, and his right eye shall lese his light. O Lorde, helpe, for thy shepe beth at great mischiefe in the shepheardes defaute.

But Lord, ther commeth hired men, & they ne fedden not thy shede in thy plenteous lesew, but feeden thy sheep with * sweuēs and false miracles & tales. But at thy trewth they ne comen not, For Lord, I trowe thou sendest them neuer. For haue they hire of thy sheep they ne careth but little of the feding and the keping of thy shepe, Lord of these hired men speaketh Ieremy the Prophet, and thou seyst that woorde by him: I ne sende them not, and they ronne* blieue: I ne speake vnto them, and they propheciden. For if they hadden stonden in my cōsel, and they had made my words knowē to the puple, ich wold haue turned them away from their yuell way and

from their wicked thoughtes. For Lorde, thou seyst that thy woordes ben as fire, and as an hammer breaking stones. And Lord, thou saist: Lo I to these Prophetes meeting sweuens of lesing, that haue ytolde her sweuens, and haue begyled my puple in their lesing & in their fals miracles, when I neither sent ne bede them. And these haue profitet nothing to my puple. And as Ieremie sayth, from the lest to the * mest all they studien couetise, and from the Prophet to the priest, all they done gyle.

A Lord, here is mych mischief & matere of sorow, & yet there is more. For gif a lewed man wold teach thy people trewth of thy words as he is y holde by the commaundement of charite, he shal be forboden and put in prison gif he do it. And so Lord, thilk that haue the key of conning, haue y lockt the trewth of thy teaching vnder many wardes, & yhid it from thy children. But Lorde, sith thy teaching is y come from heauen aboue, our hope is, that with thy grace it shall breaken these wardes, and showe hym to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and the thrust of the soule. And then shal no shepheard, ner no fals hiridman begile thy puple no more. For by thy law I wryte, as thou hightest some time, that from the left to the mest, all they shullen knowen thy wil, and* weten howe they shullen please thee euer more in certaine.

And leue Lord, gif it be thy will helpe at thys nede, for there is none helpe but in thee. Thus Lord, by him that maketh himselfe thy viker in earth, is thy commaundement of loue to thee & our brethren ybroken, both to him and to thy puple But Lorde God, mercy and pacience that beth* tweyne of thy commandements, beth destroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For Lord, Daud in the Sauter sayth: Blessed beth they that done dome and rightfulness in euerich time.

O Lord, thou hast itaught vs as rightfulness of heauen, & hast ybeden vs forgeuen our brethren as oft as they trespassen against vs. And Lord, thine olde lawe of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he should suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth But Christ made an end of this law, that one brother should not desire wracke of an other: but not that he would that sinne shoulde ben vnpunished, for thereto hath he ordained Kinges and Dukes and other lewde officers vnder them, whilke as S. Paule sayth, ne carien not the swerd in vaine, for they ben the ministers of God, and wrakers to wrath, to them that euil done. And thus hath Christ ymade an ende of this olde lawe, that one brother may not suen an other himselfe,* for that to wreken without sinne, for breaking of charity. But this charity Lord hath thy vicar ybroke, and says that we sinnen, but gif we suen for our right. And we se I wote that thou taughtest vs sometime to geue our mantell also, euer that we shoulde suen for our coate. And so Lord beleue we,* that we ben ybounden to don by thy law, that is all charitye, & officers duty is to defenden vs from thilke theuery though we cōplainen not▪ But lord, thy law is turned vpsedown.

A Lord, what dome is it to sleane a theefe that take a mā's cattell away from hym, and suffren a spousebreaker to liue, and a lecherour that killeth a womans soule? And yet thy lawe stoned the •pousebreakers and leachours, and let the theeues liuen and haue other punishment.

A Lord, what dome is it to sleane a these for stealing of a hors, and to let him liue vnpunished, & to maintaine him that robbeth thy poore people of their liuelod, and the soule of his foode•

Lorde, it was neuer thy dome to sayen, that a man is an heretike and cursed for breaking of mans lawe, and demen hym for a good man for breaking thine hestes.

*Lord, what dome is it to curse a lewd man if he smite a priest, and not curse a priest that smiteth a lewed man, and leeseth hys charitie.

Lord, what dome is it to curse the lewd people for tythings, and not curse the parson that robbeth the people of tythings, and teacheth them not Gods lawe, but feedeth them with painting of stone walles, and songs of Latin that the people knowen not?

Lord, what dome is it to punish the poore mā for his trespass, and suffer the rich to continue in his sin for a quantity of mony?

Lord, what dome is it to slaine an vncunning lewed man for his sinne, and suffer a priest, other a clerke that doth the same sin, scape a liue? Lord the sinne of the priest or of the cleark is greater trespasse then it is of a lewd vncunning man, and greater ensample of wickednes to the common people.

Lord, what maner people be we,* that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulness of the old testament that was a law of drede, nor thy domes and thy rightfulness of thy new testament that is a law of loue and of mercy: but haue an other law, and taken out of both thy lawes that is liking to vs, and remnaunt of heathen mennes lawes, and Lord this is a great mischief.

O Lord thou sayest in thy law, deme ye not and ye should not be demed: for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to you againeward.* And Lord thou sayst that by their worke we should know them And by what we knowe that thou commaunded vs not to demen mens thoughts, nor their workes that were not agaynst thy law expresly. And yet Lord he that saith he is thy vicar, will demen our thoughtes and aske vs what we thinke: not of the Lord, of thy hestes, for they caren little for them but of him and of his wilke they sate aboue thine, and maken vs accusen our selfe, or els they willen accursen vs, for our accusers mowen we not knowne. And Lord thou sayest in thyne olde law, that vnder two witnes at the least or three, shoulde stand euery matter And that the witnes shoulde euer be the first that shoulde helpe to kill them.

And when the scribes and the Pharises some tymes brought before thee a woman that was itake in spouse breaking, and exeden of the a dome, thou didst write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dom: He that is without sinne: throw first at her a stone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman▪ & thou forgau the woman her trespasse,* and bad her go forth and sinne no more.

Sweete Lord, if the priestes tooke keepe to thy dome, they would be agast to demen men as they done. O Lord if one of them breake a commaundement of thy law, he will axe mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the sinne, for peyne of death were to little.* O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breaking of theyr lawes, other assent to such law? for breaking of thy law they will set penance or pardon them, and mayntayne them as oft as they trespassen. But Lorde, if a man ones breake theyr lawes or speake agaynst them, he may done penance but

ones, and after be burnt. Trulych Lord thou sayst, but if euery of vs forgeue other his trespasse, thy father will not forgeuen vs our sinnes. And Lord when thou honge on the crosse, thou prayed•t to thy father to haue mercy on thine enemies.

And yet the sain Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for the sain they ne mowen by their law demen any man to the death. A leeuē Lord, euen so saden theyr forefathers the phariseis, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any man. And yet they bidden Pilate to done thee to the death agaynst his owne conscience, for he wold gladly haue iquitte thee, but for that they threatened him with the Emperour, and broughten agaynst thee false wnesse also. And he was an heathen man.

O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilate that was an heathen iustice, then in our kinges and iustices that woulde demen to the death and berne in the fire him: that the Priests deliueren vnto them withouten witnes or prefe? For Pilate ne would not demen thee: for that the Phariseis sayden that gif thou ne had dest not bene a misdoer we ne would not deliuer him vnto thee: for to,* they broughten in theyr false wnesse agaynst thee. But Lord, as thou saydest sometime that it should ben lighter at domes day to Tyro and to Sydon and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles: so I dred, it shall be more light to Pilate in the dome, then to our kinges and domes men that so demen without wnesse and prefe. For Lord to demen thy folke for heretickes: is to holden thee an hereticke: and to brennē them, is to brennen thee, for thou saydest to Paule when he persecuted thy people: Saule, Saule, wherefore persecutest thou me, & in the dome thou shalt say, that ye haue done to the left of mine ye haue done to me.

Thus Lord, is thy mercy & iustice foredone by him that sayth he is thy vicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himselfe nor nill not suffer other to do it.

The third commaundement, that is patience and sufferance is also ibroken by this vicar. Lord thou biddest sufferen both wrōges and strokes withouten againstanding, and so thou diddest thy selfe to geuen vs ensample to sufferen of our brethren. For suffering nourisheth loue, and agaynstandeth debate. All thy lawes is loue, or els the thing that draweth to loue.

But Lord, men teachen, that men shoulde pleten for their right and fighten also therefore, and els they seyn, men ben in perill: and thou bid in the olde law men fight for theyr countrey. And thy selfe haddest two swordes in thy company when thou shouldest go to thy passion, that as these clerkes seyn, betokeneth a spirituall sword and a temporall sworde, that thou gaue to thy vicar to rule with, thy church.

Lord this is a sleight speech, but Lord we beleuē that thou art king of blisse,* and that is thine heritage and mankindes countrey and in this worlde wee ne bene but straungers and pilgrimes. [Page 403](#) For thou Lord ne art of this world, ne thy law nether, ne thy true seruauntes that kepen thy law. And Lord, thou were king of Iuda by enheritance if thou wouldest haue ihad it, but thou forsooke it and pletedest not therfore, ne fought not therfore.

But Lord, for thy kinde heretage and mankindes countrey, that is a land of blisse, thou foughtest mightilich: In battaile thou ouercame thy enemie, & so thou wonne thine heretage. For thou that were a Lord mightiest in battail, and also Lord of vertues, are rightfullich king of blisse, as Dauid

saith in the Psalter. But Lorde, thine enemy smote the despitesullich, and had power of thee and hang thee vpō the crosse as thou haddest ben a these, & benomyn thee all thy clothes, and sticked thee to the hart with a spere.

O Lord, this was an hard assault of a battaile, and here thou ouercome by paciē;ce mightilich thine enemies, for thou ne woldest not done against the will of thy father. And thus Lorde thou taughtest thy seruants to fight for their countrey. And Lorde this fighting was in figure itaught in the old law. But Lord men holdē now the shadow of the old fighting & leuen the light of thy fighting, that thou taughtest openlych both in word and in deede.

Lord thou gaue vs a sword to fighten against our enemies for our conntrey, that was thine holy teaching, & christen mens law. But Lorde thy sworde is put in a shethe and in priests warde, that haue forsake the fighting that thou taughtest. For as they seyn it is against their order to ben mē of armes in thy battail, for it is vnsemelich, as they seyn, that thy vicar in erth, other hys priests shulden suffer of other mē. And therefore gif any man smite him, other any of his clerkes,* hee ne taketh it not in pacience, but anon hee siniteth with his sworde of cursing, and afterward with his bodylich sworde, he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is a fighting against kinde, and much against thy teaching.

O Lorde whether axsedest thou after swerdes in time of thy passion to again stonde thine enemies? nay forsooth thou Lorde. For Peter that smote for great loue of thee, had no great thanke of thee, for his smiting. And Lorde thou were mighty ynough to haue againe stonde thine ennemies, for through thy looking they fellen downe to the ground, Lorde iblessed mote thou be. Heere thou teachest vs that we shoulde suffren: For thou were mighty ynow to haue agaynst and thine ennemies, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren harty to haue smitten.

O sweet Lord, how may he for shame clepen himselfe thy Viker and head of the Church, that may not for shame suffer? Sithe thou art a Lord: and sufferedst of thy subiectes, to geuen vs ensāple: and so did thy true seruauntes.

O Lord: whether geue thou to Peter a spirituall sworde to curse & a temporal swerd to sle mens bodies? Lord I trow not for thē Peter that loued thee so much, wold haue smitwith thy swerds: But Lord, he taught vs to blessen them that cursen vs, and suffren and not smiten.* And Lord he fed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he suffered the death as thou didst.

O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters successor that hath forsaken patience, and feedeth thy people with cursing and wyth smiting? Lord thou saydest in thy Gospell, when thy disciples knewen well that thou were Christ, and that thou mustest goe to Ierusalem, and sufferen of the Scribes and Pharises, spittinges, reprofes, and also the death. And Peter tooke thee aside, and sayd God forbid that.* And Lord thou saydst to Peter, goe behinde me Sathanas, thou sclaunderest me in Israell. For thou ne sauorest not thilke thinges that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wyt it is vnreasonable, that thou or thy Vicar, gif thou madest any on earth, shoulde suffren of your suggests.

A Lord, whether thou ordeynest an order of fighters to turne men to the beliefe? Other ordeinest that knightes shoulde swear to fighte for thy wordes?

A Lord, whether bede thou, that gif a man turne to the fayth, that he should geue his goodes and cattell to the Vicar that hath great Lordships, and more then him needeth? Lord I wot wel that in the beginning of the church men that weren cōuerted, threwn adowne theyr goodes before the Apostles feete. For all they weren in charitie, and none of them sayd thus is myne, ne Peter made himselfe no Lord of these goodes.

*But Lord, now he that clepeth himselfe thy Vicar vpon earth, and successor to Peter, hath ybroke thy commaundement of charitie, for he is become a Lord. And he hath also broken thy commandement of mercy, and also of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into great mischief and thraldome, for our chiefetayne hath forsaken war and armes, and haue treated to haue peach with our enemies.

A Lord, gif it be thy will draw out thy swerd out of his sheth that thy seruauntes may fight therewith agaynst their enemies, * & put cowardise out of our hartes. And comfort vs in bataille, or than thou come with thy sword in thy mouth, to take vengeance on thine enemies For gif we bene accorded with our enemies til that time come, it is dread least thou take vengeance both of thē and of vs together. A Lord, there is no helpe now in this great mischief, * but onely in thee.

Lord, thou geuest vs a commaundement of truth, in bidding vs say yea, yea, nay, nay, and sweare for nothing. Thou geue vs also a maundement of meekenes, and an other of poorenes, But Lord he that clepeth himself thy Vicar on earth, hath both ybrokē these commaundements, for he maketh a law to compell men to sweare and by his lawes he teacheth that a man to saue his life, may forswear and lye And so Lord, through cōfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to sweare and to lye, ne oft times to forswearen them. Lord here is little truth.

O Lord, thou hast ybrought vs to a liuing of soules that standes in beleeuing in thee, & keeping thy hestes, and when we breken thine hestes, than we slen our soule. And lesse harme it were to suffer bodylich death.

Lord, king Saule brake thine hestes, and thou tooke his kingdome from his heyres euermore after him, and gaue it to Dauid thy seruaunt, that kept thine hestes. And thou saydst by Samuell thy prophat to Saule king, that it is a mannour of worshipping of false Gods to breake thy hestes. For who that loueth thee ouer all thinges, and dreadeth thee also: he nole for nothing breake thyne hestes.

O Lord, * gif breaking of thine hestes be heryeng of false gods, I trow that he maketh the people breake thyne hestes, and commaundeth that his hestes ben kept of the people, maketh himselfe a false GOD on earth: as Nabuchodonosor did some tyme: that was king of Babilon.

But Lord, we forsaken such false Gods, and beleuen that ther ne ben no mo Gods then thou And though thou suffer vs a while to bene in disease for knowledging of thee: we thanken thee wyth our hart, for it is a token that thou louest vs, to ••uen vs in thys world some penaunce for our trespas.

Lord, in the old law, thy true seruauntes tooke the death, for they would not eaten swynes fleshe that thou haddest forbid them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in vs to eaten vncleene mete of the

soule, that thou hast forbid? Lord thou sayst, he that doth sinne is seruaunt of sinne, and then he that lyeth in forswearing hymselfe, is seruaunt of lesing; and then he is seruaunt to the deuill that is a lyer and father of lesinges. And Lord thou sayst no man may serue two Lordes at ones. O Lord then euery lyer for the tyme that he lyeth, other forsweareth hymselfe, and forsaketh thy seruice for drede of hys bodyly death, and becommeth the deuils seruaunte.

O Lord,* what truth is in him that clepeth hymselfe seruaunt of thy seruantes. & in his doing, he maketh him a Lord of thy seruauntes: Lord thou were both Lord and maister, and so thou sayd thy selfe, but yet in thy warkes thou were as a seruaunt. Lord this was a great truth and a great meeknes: but Lord bid thou thy seruauntes that they should not haue Lordship ouer theyr brethren? Lord thou saydst kings of the heathē men han Lordship ouer their subiectes, and they that vse their power be cleped well doers.

But Lord, thou saydst it shoulde not be so amongst thy seruantes, But he that were most should be as a seruaunt. Thou Lorde thou taughtest thy disciples to be meeke. Lord in the old law thy seruauntes durst haue no Lordship of theyr brethren, but if that thou bid them.* And yet they should not doe to theyr brethren as they did to thrailes that serued them. But they should doe to theyr brethren that were theyr seruauntes as to theyr owne brethren. For all they were Abrahams Children, And at a certaine tyme they should let theyr brethren passe from them in all freedome, but if they would wilfullich abiden still in seruice.

O Lord thou gaue vs in thy comming a law of perfect loue, & is token of loue thou clepedst thy selfe our brother. And to make vs perfect in loue, thou bid that we shoulde clepe to vs no father vpon earth, but thy father of heauen we should cleape our father. Alas Lord, how violently our brethren and thy childrē ben now put in bodily thraldome, and in despite as beastes euermore in greuous trauell to finde proude men in ease: But Lord, if we take this defoule and this disease in pacience and in meeknes and kepe thine hests, we hope to be free. And Lord geue our brethren grace to come out of thraldome of sinne, that they fal in through the desiring and vsage of Lordship vpon theyr brethren.* And Lord thie priestes in the old law had no Lordships among theyr brethren, but houses and pastures for theyr beastes: but Lord our priestes now haue great Lordship, and put theyr brethren in greater thraldome then lewed men that be Lordes. Thus is meeknesse forsaken.

Lord thou biddest in the Gospell that when a man is bid to the feast he should sit in the lowest place, and then he may be set hyer with worship when the Lord of the feast beholdeth how his gestes fitteth. Lord it is drede that they that sit now in the hiest place should be bidd in tyme comming fit beneath. And that will be shame and vileny for them. And it is they saying, those that hyeth hymselfe shuld be lowed, and those that loweth themselues should be an heyghed. O Lord thou biddest in thy Gospell to beware of the Pharaseis, for it is a poynt of pryde contrary to meeknesse. And Lord thou sayst that they loue the first sittinges at supper, and also the principall chaires in churches, and greetings in cheeping and to be cleped maysters of men. And Lord thou sayest be ye not cleped maisters, for one is your maister, and that is Christ and all ye be brethren. And clepe ye to you no father vpon earth, for one [Page 404](#) is your father that is in heauen. O Lord this is a blessed lesson to teach men to be meke.

*But Lord he that clepeth himself thy vicar on earth he clepeth himselfe father of fathers agaynst thy forbidding. And all those worships thou hast forbad. He approueth them, and maketh them maisters to many, that teach thy people their owne teaching, and leaue thy teaching that is nedefull, and hiden it by quainte gloses from thy lewd people, and feede thy people with sweuens that they mete, and tales that doth little profit: but much harme to the people. But Lorde, these glosers obiecte that they desire not the state of maistry to be worshipped therby, but to profit the more to thy people whē they preach thy word. For as they seggē the people will beleue more the preaching of a maister that hath taken a state of schole, then the preaching of an other man that hath not take the state of maistry.

Lorde whether it bee any neede that maysters beren witnes to thy teaching that it is true and good? O Lord whether may any maister mowe by his estate of maisterie, that thou hast forboden, drawe any man from his sinne, rather then an other man that is not a maister, ne wole bee none, for it is forboden him in thy Gospell? Lord thou sendest to maysters to preach thy people, and thou knowledgist in the Gospel to thy father that he hath hid his wisdom from wise men and redy men, and shewed it to litle Children.* And Lord, maisters of the law hylden thy teaching foly, and seiden that thou wouldest destroy the people with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, so these maisters seggeth now: for they haue written many bookes agaynst thy teaching that is truth, & so the prophecie of Ieremy is fulfilled, when he sayth: Truelich the false points maisters of the law hath wrought leasing. And now is the time come that S. Paul speaketh of, where he sayth: time shal come when men shall not susteine wholesome teaching. But they shullen gather to hepe maisters with hutching eares, and from trueth they shullen turnen away their hearing, and turnen them to tales that maisters haue maked to showne their maistry and their wisdom.

And Lord a man shall beleue more a mans workes then hys words, & the dede sheweth well of these maisters that they desiren more maistrie for their own worship than for profit of the people, For when they be maisters, they ne preachen not so oft as they did before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is before riche men there as they mowen beare worship and also profite of their preaching. But before poore men they preachen but seldem, when they ben maisters: and so by theyr woorkes wee may seene that they ben false glosers.

And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen thine hestes him needeth no gloses: but thilke that clepen them selfe Christen men, and lyuen agaynst thy teaching and thine hestes, needelich they mote glose thine hestes after their liuing,* other els men shulden openlich yknow their hipocrisie and their falshod.

But Lord, thou sayst that there ys nothing yhid that shall not be shewed some time. And Lord yblessed more thou be. For somewhat thou shewest vs now of our mischiefes that wee bene fallen in through the wisdomes of maysters, that haue by sleighes ylad vs away from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were thy maister of heauen taught vs for loue, when thou were here some time to heale of our soules, withouten error or heresie. But maisters of worldes wisdom and their founder, haue ydamned it for heresie and for errour.

O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reprove thy wise\dom and thy teaching. And Lord me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor king of Babilon that thus hath reproved thy teaching and

thine hestes, and commandeth on all wyse to kepen his hests: maken thy people hearken him as a God on earth, and maketh thē his thrales and his seruauntes.

But Lord: we lewd men knowen no God but thee, & we with thine help and thy grace forsaken Nabugodonosor and his lawes. For he is in his proud estate wole haue all men vnder him, and he nele be vnder no man.* He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordeynest to ben kept, and maketh his owne lawes as him liketh: and so he maketh him king aboue all other kinges of the earth, and maketh men to worshippingen him as a God, and thy great sacrifice he hath ydone away.

O Lord, here is thy commaundement of meekenes, mischiflich to broke: And thy blessed commaundement of poorenes is also to broken,* and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zacharie thy prophet sayth, that thou that shouldest be our king, shouldest bene a poore man, and so thou were: for thou saydest thy selfe. Foxes haue dens, and birdes of heauen nestes, and mans sonne hath not where to legge his head on. And thou saydest yblessed ben poore men in spirite for thy kingdome of heauen is therein. And woe to riche men, for they han theyr comfort in this world. And thou bad thy disciples to ben ware of all couetise,* for thou saydest, in the aboūdance of a mans hauing, ne is not his lyfelode. And so thou teachest that thilke that han more then them needeth to theyr liuing lyuen in couetise. Also thou sayst, but gif a man forsake all things that he oweth, he ne may not bene thy disciple. Lord, thou sayest also that thy worde that is sowne in riche mens hartes, bringeth forth no fruite: for riches and the busines of this world maken it withouten fruit

O Lord, here bene many blessed teachinges to teach men to bene poore, and loue porenes. But Lord harme is, poore men and poorenes ben yhated, and ryche men ben yloued and honoured. And gif a man be a poore man,* men holden him a man without grace, and if a man desireth poorenes, men holden him but a foole. And if a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious man, and thilke that ben busy in getting of riches: ben yhold wyse men and ready: but Lord these rich men sayen that it is both leful and needefull to them to gather riches together. For they ne gathereth it for themselfe, but for other men that ben needy, and Lord their woorkes shewen the truth. For if a poore needy man woulde borowen of theyr riches,* he nele leane him none of his good, but gif he mow be seker to haue it againe by a certayne day.

But Lord, thou bede that a man should send, and not hoping yelding againe of him that he lendeth to: and thy father of heauen wol quite him his mede. And gif a pore aske a rich man any good, the rich man will geue him but a little, and yet it shall be little worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is little loue and charitie, both to God and to our brethren.

For Lord, thou teachest in thy Gospell, that what men doe to thy seruauntes: they done to thee. A Lord, gif a poore man axe good for thy loue, men geueth him a little of the wurst.* For these rich men ordeinen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurst that they haue. O Lord, sith all good that men hath commeth of thee: how dare any man geue thee of the wurst, and kepe to himselfe the best? How may suche men say that they gatheren riches for others need, as well as himselfe, sith their workes ben contratrary to their words? And that is no great truth. And be ye seker these goods that rich mē han, they ben gods goods, ytake to your keeping, to loke how he wolen be setten them to the worshipping of God. And Lord, thou sayest in the Gospell, that who so is true in litle, he is true in that thing that is more. And who that is false in a litle thing,* who wole taken

him toward things of a greater value? And therefore, be ye ware that han gods goods to keep. Spend ye thilke truelich to the worship of God, least ye leesen the blysse of heauen, for the vntrue despending of Gods goods in this world.

O Lord,* these rich men seggen that they done much for thy loue. For many poore labourers ben yfound by them, that shoulde fare febelich, ne were not they and their readines: Forsooth me thinketh that poore labourers geueth to these rich men, more then they geuen them agaynward. For the poore men mote gone to his labour in cold and in heate, in wete and dry, and spend hys flesh and his bloud in the richmens works, vpon Gods gound, to finde the rich man in ease, and in liking, and in good fare of meate of drink and of clothing. Here is a great gift of the poore man, for he geueth his owne body. But what geueth the richman hym agaynward? Certes feeble meat, and feeble drinke, and feeble clothing. What euer they seggen, suche be their workes, and here is little loue. And whosoeuer looketh well about, all the worlde fareth as we seggē. And all mē studieth on euery side, how they may waxe rich men. And euerich man almost is ashamed to ben holden a poore man.

And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, men token litle regarde to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to geue vs a new testament of loue,* & therefore it was semelich that thou came in poorenes, to prooue who wold loue thee, and kepen thine hestes. For gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich man and of a Lord, men wold rather for they dread then for thy loue, haue ykept thyne hestes. And so Lord now thou might wel ysee which louen thee as they should in keeping thyne hestes. For who that loueth thee in thy poorenes and in thy lownes, needes he more loue thee in thy Lordship and highnesse.

But Lord, the world is turned vpse downe, & men loue poore men but a litlene poorenes neither. But men be ashamed of poorenes, and therefore Lord,* I trow that thou art a poore king. And therefore I trow that he that clepeth himselfe thy vicare on earth, hath forsaken poorenes, as he hath do the remnaunt of thy lawe: and is become a rich man and a Lord, & maketh his treasure vpon the earth that thou forbiddest in the Gospell. And for his right and riches he will plete, and fight & curse. And yet Lord, he will segge that he forsaketh all thinges that he oweth, as thy true disciple mete done after thy teaching in the Gospell.

But Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken his goodes and plete for them and fight,* and curse. And Lord he taketh on him power to asloyle a man of all maner things, but if it be of det. Truely Lord, me thinketh he knoweth litle of charitie. For who that beth in charitie, possesseth thy goodes in common and not in proper at his neighbours nede. And then shall there none of them segge this is mine, but it is Gods that God granteth to vs to spenden it to his worship. And so if any of them boroweth a porcion of those goodes,* and dispendeth them to Gods worship: God is apayed of this spending, and alloweth him this true doyng: And if God is payed of that dispēding that is the principal Lord of those goods, how dare anye of his seruauntes axen there of, accountes, [Page 398](#) other challenge it for dette? Serten, of one thing I am incerteine, that these that charge so much det of worldly cattell, they knowe little of Christes lawe of charitie. For if Ich am a bayly of Gods goodes in the world. If I see my brother in nede, I am holde by charitie to part with him of these goodes to his nede: and if he spendeth them well to the worshop of God, I mote be well apayd as though I my selfe had spended them to the worship of GOD. And if the principall Lord is well payed of my brothers doyng; and the despending of his goodes:

howe may I segge for shame that my brother is dettour to me, of the goodes that I tooke hym to spend in Gods worship at his nede? * And if my brother spendeth amisse the goodes that I take him, I am discharged of my deliuerance of the goodes; If I take him in charitie thilke goods at his nede. And I am hold to be sory of his euill dispending, ne I may not axen the goodes, that I tooke him to his nede in forme of dette, for at his neede they were his as well as myne. And thus is my brother yholde to done to me gif he see me in nede, and gif we bene in charitie, little should we chargen of dette. And ne we shold not axen so dertes, as men that knowen not God. And than we be poore in forsaking all thinges that we own, For gif we ben in charitie, we wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goodes with our brethren.

O Lord thus thou taughtest thy seruauntes to lyuen. And so they lyueden while they hadden good shepherds, that fedden thy, sheepe and robbed them nat of their lifelode, as Peter thy good shepheard and thy other Apostles. But Lord: he that clepeth hym selfe thy vicar vpon earth and successour to Peter: he robbeth thy puple of their bodylich lyfelode, for he ordeneth proud shepherds to lyuen in ese by th^eitenth party of poore mens trauell. And he geueth them leue to lyuen where them lyketh. And gif men no wolen wilfullich geuen them the tithinges, they wolen han them agaynst their will by maysterye & by cursing, to maken thē riche.

Lord, how may any man segge that such shepherdes that louen more the wolfe then the sheepe, and feden not thy sheepe in body ne in soul, ne ben such rauenours & theeues? And who may segge that the mayntaynour of such shepherdes, ne is not a maintenour of theeues and robbers? How wole he assoyle shepherdes of their robbing without restitution of theyr goodes, * that they robben thy sheep of against their will? Lord of all shepherdes, blessed mote thou be. For thou louedst more the sheepe then theire wole. For thou feedest thy sheepe both in body and soule. And for loue of thy sheepe thou tooke thy death to bring thy sheepe ou^r of Wolves mouthes. And the most charge that thou gone to Peter was to feede thy sheepe. And so he did truelich, and took the death for thee and for thy sheepe. For he came into the fold of shepe by the that were the dore. And so I trowe a fewe other did as he did, though they clepen himselfe successors to Peter, * for theyr workes shoven what they ben. For they robben and sleen and destroyen: they robben thy sheepe of the tenth part of their trauel, and feden themselfe in ease. They sleen thy sheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of theyr soule to the death. They destroyen the sheepe, for with might and with sternship they rulen thy sheepe: that for dred they beene disparsed abroade in mountaynes, * and there the wilde beasts of the field destroyeth thē for default of a good shepeheard.

O Lord, gif it be thy will deliuer thy sheepe out of such shepherdes ward that retcheth not of thy sheepe, they han their wolfe to make them selfe rich. For thy shepe ben in great mischiefe and foule accombred with their shepherdes.

* But for thy shepherdes wolden ben excused, they haue ygeten them hyred men to feede thy people, and these comen in sheepes clothing. But dredles, their workes shewen that * with in forth they ben but Wolfes. For han they theyr hyre, they ne retcheth but a little howe sorilich thy sheepe ben kept. For as they seggen themselfe, they ben but hyred men that han no charge of thy sheepe. And when the shulden feden thy sheepe in the plentuous * lesewe of thy teaching, they stonden betweene them & theyr lesewe, so that the sheepe ne han but a sight of thy lesewe, but eaté they shall not therof. But they fedē them in a sorry sowre lesewe of lesinges & of tales. And

so thy sheepe fallen into greeuous sicknes through this euill lesewe. And gif any shepe breake ouer into thy lesewe to tasten the sweetnes therof, anon these hyred men driue him out with hounds. And thus thy shepe by these hyred men, ben ykept out of their kindlich lesewe, and ben yfed with soure grasse & sory baren lesewe. And yet they feden but seldome, and when they han sorilych fed them, they taken great hyre, and gone away from thy sheepe and letten them a worth. And for drede least thy sheepe wolden in theyr absence goe to thy sweet lesewe, they han enclosed it all about so stronglich and so high, that there may no sheepe comen there with in, but gif it be a* walisch leper of the moūtayns that may with his long legs lepen ouer the wallys. For the hirid men ben ful certayn, that gif thy sheepe had ones ytasted the sweetnes of thy lesewe: They ne would no more bene yfed of these hyred men in their foure lewes, & therfore these hyred mē kepen thē out of that lesewe. For hadden the sheepe once ytasted well of thy lesewe, they wouldē without a leder go thider to their mete,* and then mote these hired men sechen them another labour to liue by than keping of shepe. And they bene sel and ware ynowe thereof, and therefore they feden thy sheepe with soure meate that naught is & hiden from thy shepe the swetenes of thy lesew. And so though these hyred men gone in shepes clothing, in their works they ben wolues, that much harme done to thy sheeps as we haue ytold.

O Lord, they comē as shepe, for the seggē that they ben poore and haue forsaken the world to liuen parsetlich as thou taughtest in the gospell. Lord this is shepes clothing. But Lord tho•• ne taughtest not a man to forsaken the trauelous liuing in porenesse in the world, to liuen in ese with riches by other mens trauell, & haue Lordship on their brethrē. For lord this is more to forsakē thee & go to the world.

O Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake the world to liuen in poorenes of begging by other mens trauell that bene as feble as they ben.* Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to liuen in poorenes of begging, that were strong inough to trauell for his lifelode. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to ben a begger to beg of mē more then him nedeth, to build great castles and make great •uasts to thilke that han no need.

O Lord thou ne taughtest not men this poorenes, for it is out of charitye. But thy poorenes that thou taughtest, nourisheth charitye. Lord sith Paul sayth, that he that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben* homelich with him, hath forsaken his fayth and is worse then a misbeleued man: How then now these men seggen that they beleuē in Christ, that han forsake their poore feeble frendes; & let them liue in trauell and in disese, that trauelled full sore for thē, when the weren young and vnmighty to helpen themselfe? And they wolē liue in ese by other mens trauell euermore begging withouten shame.

Lord thou ne taughtest not this maner poorenes, for it is out of charite. And all the law is charity and thing that nourisheth charite. And these shepheards send about to kepe thy shepe & to feden thē other whiles bareyne lewsewes. Lord thoune madest none such shep'heardes,* ne keepers of the sheepe that ••desory lich thy shepe, and for so litle trauell taken a great ••, and sithē al the yeare afterward, do what them liketh, and let thy shepe perish for default of keping.

But thy shepherdes abiden still with their sheepe; and feden thē in thy plenteou, lesewe of thy teaching, and gone byfore thy shepe, and teachen them the way into the plenteous and swete
〈◇〉 we, and kepen thy flocke from rauening of the wilde bestes of the field.

O Lord deliuer the sheepe out of the ward of those shepheardes and these hyred mē,* that stonden more to kepe their riches that they robben of thy shepe, than they stonden in keping of thy sheepe.

O Lord when thou come to Ierusalem, some time thou droue out of the temple sellers of bestes and of other chaffre, and saydest: Mine house shoulde ben cleped an house of prayers: but they maden a dē of theues of it. O Lord, thou art the temple in whom we shoulde prayen thy father of heauen. And Salomons temple that was ybelded at Ierusalem, was figure of this temple. But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, and sayth that he occupyeth thy place here on earth: is become a chapman in the temple, and hath his chapmen walking in diuers countreys to sellen hys chaffare, and to maken him rich. And he sayth, thou gaue him so great a power abouen all other men, that what euer he bindeth other vnbindeth in earth, thou bindest other vnbindest the same in heauen. And so of great power he selleth other men forgeuenes of their sinne.* And for much money he will assoylen a man so cleane of his sinne, that he * behoteth men the blesse of heauen withouten any payne after that they be dead, that geuen him much mony.

Bishopriches & cherches, & such other chaffares he selleth also for mony, and maketh himselfe rich And thus he beguiled the puple.

O Lord Iesu, here is much vntruth, and mischief, and matter of sorow. Lord thou saydest sometime, that thou wouldest be with thy seruantes into the end of the world. And thou saydest also, there as tweyne of three ben ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the midle of thē. A Lord, then it was no need to thee to maken lietetenaunt, sith thou wolte be euermore amongst thy seruauntes.

Lorde thou axedst of thy disciples,* who they trowed that thou were. And Peter aunswered and sayd, that thou art Christ Gods sonne. And thou saydest to Peter. Thou art I blessed Symon Bariona, for flesh and bloud ne showed not this to thee, but my Father that is in heauen. And I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this stone ych wole byld my Church, and the gates of hell he shullen not aua•len agens it. And to the ych wole geue the keyes of heauen and what euer thou byndest vpon earth, shall be bound in heauen: & what euer thou vnbyndest on earth, shalbe vnbounden in heauen. This power also was graunten vnto the other disciples as well as to Peter as the Gospell openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that thou graunted to Peters successors, the selue power that thou gaue to Peter. And therefore the Bishop of Rome, that sayth he is, Peters successour, taketh this power to him to binden and vnbynden in earth what him liketh. But Lord, ych haue much wonder how he may for shame clepen himselfe Peters successour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kept the hestes of thy law: but these han forsaken the hestes of thy law, and hath y maked a law contrary to thyne hestes of thy law. And so he maked himself a false Christ and a false God in earth. And It row thou gaue hym no power to vndoe thy law.* And so in taking this power vpon him, maketh him a false Christ & Antichrist. For who may be more agens Christ, than he that in his wordes maketh himselfe Christes vicar in earth. And in hys werkes vndoth the ordinaunce of Christ, and maketh men byleuē that it is needful to the heale of mens soules: to byleuen that he is Christes vicar in earth. And what euer he byndeth in earth is ybounden in heauen, & vnder this colour he vndoth Christes law, and maketh men alwayes to kepen his law, and hestes. And thus men may yseene that he is agenst Christ, and therefore he is Antichrist that maketh men worshupen him as a God

on earth,* as the the proud K. Nabugodonosor did sometime, that was K. of Babylon. And therefore we lewed men that knowne not God but thee Iesu Christ, beleuen in thee that art our God, and our king, and our Christ, and thy lawes. And forsaken Antichrist and Nabugodonosor that is false God, and a false Christ, and hys lawes that ben contrary to thy preaching. And Lord strength thou vs agenst our enemies. For they ben about to maken vs forsaken thee and thy lawe, other elles to putten vs to death. O Lord, onlich in thee is our trust [Page 408](#) to helpe vs in this mischiefe, for thy great goodnes that is withouten end.

Lord, thou he taughtest not thy disciples to assoylen men of her sinne, and setten them a penaunce for their sinne in fasting ne in prayeng, ne other almous dede: ne thy selfe, ne thy disciples, vseden no such power here on earth. For Lord, thou forgeue men their sinnes, and bede him sinne no more. And thy disciples* fulleden men 〈◇〉 name, in forgeuenesse of her sinnes. Nor they toke no such power vpon them as our priestes dare now. And Lord, thou ne affo•tedest no man both of his sinne and of his payne, that was dew for his sinne, ne thou grauntedst no man such power here on earth.

And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorye, and any earthliche man had power to deliueren sinfull men from the paynes of Purgatory,* he shoulde and he were in charitie, sauen euerich man that were in waye of saluation from thilke paynes, sith they make them greater then anye bodeliche paynes of thys world Also gif the Bishop of Rome had such a power, he himselfe should neuer comen in purgatory ne in hell. And sith we see well that he ne hath no power to kepen himselfe ne other men nother out of these bodilych paynes of the world,* and he may goe to hell for his sinne as an other man may: I ne by leue not, that he hath so great power to assoylen men of their sinne as he taketh vpon hym abouen all other men. And I trowe that in this he higheth hymselfe aboue God.

As touching the selling of Byshopricks & personages, I trow it be a poynt of falsehed. For agenst Gods ordinaunce he robbeth poore men of a porcion of theyr sustenaunce, and selleth it, other geueth it, to finde proud men in id•enes that done the lewd puplelitell profite, but much harme as we told before. Thus ben thy commaundementes of treweth, of meekenes, and of poore nesse, vndone by him that clepeth himselfe thy vicar here vpon earth.

A Lord thou gaue vs a commaundement of chastice that is aforsaking of fleshlich lustes. For thou broughtest vs to a liuing of soule that is ygouerned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinedist woman more frele than man to ben ygouerned by mans rule & his help to please thee & kepe thine hests.* Ne thou ne ordeinedist that a man should desire the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to lyuen with her in hys lustis, as a swyne doth or a hors. And his wife ne like him not to his lustes, Lord thou ne gaue not a man leaue to departen hym from his wyfe, and taken hym an other.

But Lord, thy mariage is a common accord betwene man & woman, to lyuen together to theyr liues ende, and in thy seruice eyther the better for others helpe, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, bene ioyned by thee, and thilke that God ioyneth, may no man depart. But Lord, thou sayest that gif a man see a woman to coueten her, than he doth with the woman lecherye in his hart, And so Lord, gif a man desire his wife in couetise of such lustes, and not to flye from whoredome, his weddins is lechery, ne thou ne ioynest them not together. Thus was Raguels

doughter ywedded to seuen husbandes that the deuill instrangled. But Toby tooke her to lyue with her in clennes, and brynging vp of her children in thy worship, and on him the deuill ne had no power. For the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through God,*

A Lord, the people is farre ygo from this maner of wedding. For now men weddē theyr wyues for fairenes, other for riches, or some such other fleshlich lustes. And Lord, so it preueth by thē for the most part. For a man shall not finde two wedded in a lande, where the husband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulde after thy law of maryage. But other the mā loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of prefe, that neuer fayleth no preue whether it be done by thee or no.* And Lord, all this mischief is common among thy people, for that they knowe not thy worde, but theyr shepheardes and hyred men sedden them with their * sweuens and leasinges. And Lord, where they shoulde gon before vs in the field, they seggen theyr order is so holy for thy mariage. And Lord, he that calleth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, will not suffren priestes to taken them wiues, for that is agaynst hys law: But Lord,* he will dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certayne somme of mony. And Lord, all horedome is forfended in thy law. And Lord, thou neuer forfendest priestes their wiues, ner thy Apostles neyther. And well I wote in our land, priestes hadden wiues vntill Anselmus dayes in the yere of our Lord God, a leuē hundred and twenty and nyne, as Huntingdon writes. And Lord, this makes people for the most part beleuen, that lechery is no sinne. Therefore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send vs shepheardes of thine owne that wolen feeden thy flocke in thy lesewe, and gon before thēselfe, and so written thy law in our harts, that from the least to the most all they mayen knowne thee. And Lord, geue our king and his Lordes, hart to defenden thy true shepheardes and thy sheepe from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Christ, the sonne of thy heauenly father, from the Antichrist, that is the sonne of pride. And Lorde, geue vs thy poore sheepe patience and strength to suffer for thy law, the cruelnes of the mischieuous Wolues. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these dayes. Lord we axen this now, for more •eede was their neuer.

I doubt not gentle reader, but in reading this goodly treatise aboue prefixed, the matter is <◇> & playne of it selfe w^out any further explication, what is to be thought and iudged of this vicare of Christ, and successour of Peter, whome we call the Bishop of Rome: whose life here thou seest not onely to be so disordered in all poynts, swar^oing from the steppes and example of Christ the Prince and Byshop of our soules, but also whose lawes and doctrine is so repugnant and contrary from the preceptes and rule of the Gospell, that almost there is no conuenience betweene them: as in the perusing of this complayning prayer, thou mayest notoriously vnderstand. Wherefore hauing no neede to stand in any further expressing of thys matter, but leauing it to thine own consideration, and discretion: I will speede my selfe (Christ willing) to proceede toward the time of Iohn Wickliffe, and his fellowes taking by order of yeres as I go, suche thinges by the way as both happened before the said time of Wickleste, and also may the better prepare the minde of the reader, to the entring of that story. Where first I think it not inconuenient to inferre a propheticall parable, written about this time or not much before, which the author morally applieth vnto the Byshop of Rome. To what author this prophecie or morall is to be ascribed, I haue not certainly to affirme. Some say, that Rupesciffanus (of whome mention is made before. pag. 390. was the author therof, & alledge it out of Froysard, but in Froisard as yet I haue not found it. In y^e mean seasō, as I haue foūd it in Latin expressed, because it painteth out y^e Pope so rightly in his fethers & colours, as I thought the thing not to be omitted, so I tooke

this present place, as most fit (although peradventure missing the order of yeares a litle) to insert the same. The effect of which parable followeth here vnder written.

In the time of Pope Innocent the 6. aboue specified, this Ioannes de Rupe scissa: a Fryer among other hys prophecies merueilously forespake (as alledged Froysard, who both hard and saw him) of the taking of Iohn the Frenche king prisoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in y^e Church to come. And at what time the pope kept hym at Auinion in prison (where Froysard is sayd to see hym and to speake with him) the sayd Froysard hard in y^e popes Court this example and parable, recited by the foresayd Fryer Rupescissanus, to the two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinall Hostiensis, and Cardinal Auxercensis, which followeth in these wordes.*

When on a certayne time, a byrde was brought into the worlde all bare and without fethers, the other byrdes hearing thereof, came to visite her: & for that they sawe her to be a merueilous fayre and beautifull byrd they counsailed together howe they might best do her good, sith by no meanes without fethers, she might eyther flee or liue commodiously. They all wished her to liue for her excellent forme and beauties sake, in so muche that among them all there was not one, that would not graunt some part of her own fethers to decke this byrde withall: yea, and the more trim they sawe her to be, the more fethers still they gaue vnto her, so that by this meanes she was passing well pēned and fethered, and began to flee. The other byrdes that thus had adourned her with goodly fethers, beholding her to flee abroad, were merueilously delighted therewith. In y^e end, this byrd seeing her selfe so gorgeously fethered, & of al the rest to be had in honor: began to waxe proud & hauty. in so much that she had no regard at all vnto thē,* by whōe she was aduanced: yea she pūged them with her beak, plucked them by the skinne and fethers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the byrdes sitting in counsell agayne, called the matter in question, demaūding one of an other what was best to be done touching this vnkind bird whom they louingly with their own fethers had decked & adourned: Affirming, that they gaue not theyr fethers to y^e intent that she therby puft vp with pride, should contemp'tuously dispise them all. The Pecocke therefore aunswereth first. Truly sayth he, for that she is brauely set forth with my paynted fethers, I wil againe take them frōter. Then sayth the Falcon, and I also will haue mine againe. This sentence at length took place among them all, so that euery one plucked frō her those fethers which before they had geuen, chalenging to them their owne agayne. Now this proude byrd seeing her selfe thus to be dealt wythall, began forthwith to abate her hauty stomacke, and humbly to submit her selfe openly, cōfessing and acknowledging y^e or her selfe she did nothing: but that her fathers, her honor and other ornamentes was their gifte: she came into the world all naked & bare, they clad her with comely fethers, and therefore of right may they receaue thē againe. Wherefore in most humble wise she desireth pardon, promising to amend all that is past, neither would she at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride she might lose her fethers againe. The gentle byrdes that before had geuen their fethers, seing her so humble and lowly, being moued with pitie, restored againe the fethers whiche lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition. We will gladly, say they, behold thy flying amōg vs, so long as thou wilt vse thine office with humblenes of minde, which is y^e chieftest comelines of al the rest. But this haue thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extoll thy selfe in pride, we will straightwayes depriue thee of thy fethers, & reduce thee into thy former state wherin we found thee. Euen so oh you Cardinals (sayth Iohannes Rupescissanus) shal it happen vnto you. For y^e Emperours of Romaines and Almayne, and other Christian kings, potentates,

and princes of the earth, haue bestowed vpon you goods, lāds, and riches, that should serue God, but you haue poured it out and consumed it vpon pride, all kinde of wickednes, ryot and wantonnes.

Armachanus.

*IN the Catalogue of these learned and zelous defenders of Christ against Antichrist aboute rehearsed, whome the Lord about this time began to rayse vp for reformation of his Church, being then farre out of frame, I cannot forget nor omit something to write of the reuerend Prelate, and famous Clerke Richard Armachanus, primate and Archb. of Ireland: A man for his life and learning so memorable, as the condition of those dayes then serued, that the same daies then as they had but sewe good, so had none almost his better. His name was Richard Fizraf, made primate and Archb, as is sayd, of Ireland. First brought vp in the vniuersitie of Oxford, in the study of all liberall knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profire vnder Iohn Bakenthorpe his tutor and instructor. In this time the begging Friers began greatly to multiply and spread, vnto whome this Bakenthorpe, was euer a great enemye. Whose steppes the scholler also following, began to do the like. Such was the capacitie and dexteritie of this Fizraf, that he being commended to king Edward the 3. was promoted to him, first to be Archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the commissary of the vniuersitie of Oxford. At length to be Archbishop of Armach in Ireland. He being Archbishop, vppon a time had cause to come vp to London: * At what time here in the said citty of London was contention betweene the Friers and the clergie about preaching, and hearing confessions &c. Whereupon, this Armachanus being requested to preach, made 7. or 8. sermons. Wherein he propounded 9. * conclusions agaynst the Friers, for the which he was cited vp by the Friers before this pope Innocent the 6. to appeare, And so he did, who before the face of the pope valiantly defended, both in preaching & in writing the same conclusions, & therein stood constantly vnto the death, as the wordes of Iohn Wickliffe in his Trialogo do well testifie in this wise:

Ab Anglorum Episcopis conductus Armachanus, nouem in Auinione conclusiones coram Innocentio 6. & suorum Cerdinalium coetu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicauit, verbóque ac scriptis ad mortem vsque defendit

. The like also testifieth of him Waldenus in fasciso zizianniorum. Also Volateranus reporteth the same. Gulielmus Botonerus testifying of him in like maner, saith: that Armachanus first reprobued begging Friers for hearing the confessions of professed nonnes, without licence of their superiours, and also of maryed women without knowledge of their husbandes. What daungers and troubles he susteyned by his persecutors, and howe miraculously the Lord deliuered him from their handes: In so much, that they meeting him in the open streetes and in cleare day light, * yet had no power to see him, nor to apprehend hym. In what perill of theeues and searchers he was in, and yet the Lord deliuered him, yea and caused his mony being take from him, to be restored againe to him by portions, in time of his necessitie and famine. Also from what dangers of the kinges officers, which comming with the kings letters layd all the hauens for him: yet howe the Lord Iesus deliuered him, * shewing him by what wayes how to escape them. Moreouer, what appeales were layd agaynst hym, to the number of 16. and yet how the Lord gaue him to triumph ouer al his enemies. How the Lord also taught him & brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotles subtlety, to the study of the Scriptures of God. All this w^t much more, he himselfe expresseth in a certaine prayer or confession made to Christ Iesus our Lord, in

which he describeth almost the whole history of his owne life. Whiche prayer I haue to shewe in old written hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intēd as time serueth to publish the same. The beginning of the prayer in latin is this.

Tibi laus,*tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Iesu pijssime, Iesu potentissime, Iesu dulcissime: qui dixisti, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. Via sine deuio: veritas sine nubilo: & vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti. Tute veritatem me docuiste Et tute vitā mihi promisisti: Via eras mihi in exilio. Veritas eras in consilio. Et vita eris mihi in premio
. With the rest that followeth in the foresayd prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited vp by the Friers to the P. you haue part|ly heard: Nowe what were his reasons and argumentes wherwith he defendeth his cause in the popes presence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof firste I must put the reader in remēbrauce of the controuersie mētioned before in the story of Guliel de sancto de Amore. Pag. 322. Also in the story of the vniuersitie of Paris contending against the Friers pag. 392. For so long did this controuersie continue in the Church, from the yeare. 1240. whē y^e Oxford men began fies• to stand against the Fryers to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the yeare 1360. and after this time yet more encreased. So it pleased the secret prouidence of God (for what cause he best knoweth) to suffer his Church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controuersies of no great importance. Eyther to keepe the vanitie of mens wits thus occupied frō idlenes, or els to prepare their mindes by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other thinges more graue and weighty. Like as nowe in these our Queenes dayes, we see what tragidies be rayسد vp in Englād about formes &, fashions of ministers wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same: Euen so at this time happened the like stirre about the liberties and priuilegies of the Friers, which not a little troubled, and occupied al the churches & Diuines almost through Christendome. The whiche controuersie, to the intent it may better be vnderstanded (all y^e circumstances therof being explained) we will first begyn from the originall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of yeres, vpon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased & multiplide in gathering more matter, and brast out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therfore this present matter, first it is to be vnderstand, that in the yeare of our Lord. 1215. vnder pope Innocent the 3. was called a generall coūcell at Laterane, mentioned before. Pag. 253. in the dayes of king Iohn. Iu the which councell among many other thinges, was constituted a certaine law or Canon, beginning Omnis vtrius{que} sexus. &c. the tenour of which canon in English is thus.*

Be it decreed, that euery faythfull Christian, both man and woman comming to the yeares of discretion, shall confesse hymselfe alone of all his sinnes, to the priest of hys own proper parish, once in the yeare at least: and that he shall endeouour by hys owne self to fulfil the penance, whēsoeuer he receiueth the sacrament of Eucharistie, at least at the time of Easter. Vnlesse by the assent of his Minister, vpon some reasonable cause to abstayne for the time. Otherwise dooing, let him both lacke the communion of the Church being aliue, and Christian buriall when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, that this wholesome constitution shalbe published accustomedly in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindnes make to himselfe a cloke of excuse. And if any shall confesse himselfe to any other priest then of his owne parishe vpon any

iust cause, let him aske and obtayne first licence of his owne priest: Other els, the Priest to haue no power to hinde him or to loose him. &c.

In the time of this Innocentius,* and of this Laterane councell, was Dominicke, the first author and founder of the preaching Fryers: who laboured to the said Pope Innocent, for the confirmation of his order, but did not obteyne, in his life tune.

The next yeare after this Laterane councell, dyed pope Innocent. an. 1216. after whome came Honorius 3. who in the first yeare of his Popedom confirmed the order of the frier Dominicke, and gaue to him and his fryers authority to preach and to beare confessions, with diuers other priuilegies more. And vnder this Pope whiche gouerned 10. yeares, liued Dominick fiue yeares after y^e confirmatiō of his order and dyed an. 1221. About which yeare, the order [Page 408](#) of the Franciscane Friers began also to bread,* & to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

After this Honorius next followed Pope Gregory the 9. about the yeare of our Lord 1228. who for the promoting of the forsayd order of Dominickes, gaue out this Bull, in tenour as followeth.

*Gregorius bishop seruaunt of Gods seruauntes, to his reuerende brethren, Archbishops Bishoppes, and to his welbeloued Children, Abbots, Priors, and to All Prelates of churches, to whom soeuer these presentes shall come, greting, and Apostolical blessing. Because*iniquitie hath abounded, & the charity of man hath waxt cold: Behold, the Lord hath rayseed vp the order of our weiloued children the preaching Friers, who not seking things of their owne, but pertayning to Iesus Christ, to the extirping as wel of heresies as to the roting out also of other pernicious pestilenciés: haue dedicate themselues to the preaching of the*word of God We therefore minding to aduaunce their sacred purpose. &c. and followeth, commaunding you to see the sayd persons, gently to be receaued among you: And that your flockes committed to your charge do receaue deuoutly the seede of Gods word out of their mouth, and doe confesse their sinnes vnto them, all suche as list, whome wee haue authorised to the same, to heare confessions, and to enioyne penance. &c. Dat. Perusij. an. Pont. nostri. 8.

*This pope Honorius dyed about the yeare of our Lord 1241. after whom came Celestinus the fourth and sat but 18. daies, then came Innocentius the fourth and sat 11. yeares and 6. monethes. who although he began first to fauour the friers: yet afterward being altered by certayn Diuines of Uniuersities, Prelates of Churches, and Curates: and debarred them of their liberties and priueledges, & gaue out agayne preceptes and excommunications, as well agaynst the Friers, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was dispatched.

Innocentius being thus remoued out of the way, about the yeare of our Lord, 1353. Then succeeded Pope Alexander the fourth a great mayntainer of the Friers, and sat 7. yeares. He reuoked and repeated the Actes and writings of Pope Innocent his predecessour, geuen forth agaynst the Friers: wherwith the Diuines and Students of Paris benig not wel contented, stirred vp foure principall Doctours: The first and chiefe captayne was Guliel. de sancto Amore, mentioned before. pag. 322. against whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquine. And at last he was condemned by this foresayd Pope Alexander the 4. in the Extrau. Non sine multa. The second was Simon Iornalensis, the third, Godfridus de Fontibus, the iiii. Henricus de

Gandaue. These foure with other their complices, compiled a certaiene booke against the begging order of Friers, both Dominicans, and Franciscāns intituled, Depericulis Ecclesiae, cōreiningxim chapters. wherof the 14. which is the last, with 39. articles agaynst the Friers we haue already trāslated and expressed, pag. 317. Beside these. 39. articles, be other vii. articles moreouer to the said booke annexed, vnder the name of the students of Paris against the Friers, prouing why the sayd Friers ought not to be admitted into their societie. which vii. articles because they are but short, I thought here better to place, then to omit them.

Certaine articles geuen out by the Studentes of Paris, agaynst the Fryers, why they should not be admitted to theyr societie.

*First we say, they are not to be admitted to the societie of our schole, but vpon our will and licence. For our company or fellowship ought not to be coactiue, but voluntary and free.

Secondly, we say they are not to be admitted, for somuch as we oft proued their community, manifold wayes to be hurtfull and incommodious.

Thirdly, seeing they be of a diuers prosession from vs (for they are called regular, and not schollasticall) we therefore ought not to bee ioyned and associate together in one scholasticall office. For asmuch as the Councell of Spayne doth say, * thou shalt not plough with the Oxe, and with the Asse together. which is to say: Men of diuers professions ought not together to be matched in one kinde of calling, or standing, for theyr studies and conditions be disagreeing and disseuered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one communion.

Fourthly we affirme, by the Apostle that they are not to be admitted because they worke dissensions and offēces: For so sayth the Apostle Rom vlt. we desire you brethren, that ye obserue. * and take heede of such as make dissensions and offēdicles about the doctrine which you haue learned by the Apostles, and auoyd them. For such serue, not the Lord, but their own belly. Glose Some they flatter some they backbyte, whereby they might feede their belly. That through their sweete and pleasaunt wordes, * and by their benedictions, they may deceaue the hartes of the simple. Glose. That is, with their fine sugered, and trimme couched wordes, they set forth their own traditions, wherewith they beguile the hartes of the simple innocentes.

Fiftly, we say they are not to be admitted. For that we feare least they be in the number of them, which goe about and deuoure mens houses. For they thrust in themselues into euery mans house, searching and sacking the consciences and states of all persons. * And whom they finde easie to be seduced, as women: such they doe circumuent, & lead them away from the counsailes of their Prelates, bynding them either in acte or oth: from such we are warned by the Apostle to auoyd.

Sixtly, wee say they are to bee auoyded: because wee feare they are false Prophetes. Whiche being neither Byshops, ner parish priests, * nor yet their Uicars, nor sent by them, yet they preach (not sent) against the minde of the Apostle, Rom. 10. saying: How shall they preach except they be sent? For els there appeareth in them no such great vertue, for the whiche they

ought to be admitted to preach vncalled. Seing therefore that such are so daungerous to the Church, they ought to be auoyded.

Seuenthly, we say they are not to be admitted, because they be a people so curious in searching & inquiring of oother mens doings and spirituall demaynour. And yet be they neyther Apostles,* nor yet successours of y^e Apostles, as bishops: nor of the number of the 72. Diciples of the Lord: nor their successors, y^t is parish Priestes: nor their helpers, nor yet Uicars, wherefore, seing they liue so in no order, by the sentence of the Apostle we are commaunded to auoyd them. 2. Thess. vlt. where he saith: we admonish and denounce vnto you (O brethren) in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ: that is, as the Glose, sayth (we commaund you by the authoritie of Christ) that you withdrawe your selues from euery brother, that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition, which you haue receaued of vs. &c. Looke vpon the common glose of this place, and you shall finde, that such are to be auoyded till time they amend from so doing. &c.

Besides these articles aboue rehearsed,* certaine propositions or conclusions were also propounded in the scholes of Paris the same time, solemnly to be disputed and defended agaynst the Fryers: which in a briebe some of wordes to collect, were these.

First, that the begging Friers were not in the state of saluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labour with theyr handes that could, and not to begge.

Thirdly, that they ought not to exercise the office of preaching, or to heare the confessiōs of them that wil come to them, although being licensed thereunto by the Byshop of Rome, or by the Diocesane: for somuch as the same is preiudiciall to the ministers and Priestes of the Parishes.

All these foresayd articles & conclusions,* w^t the booke set forth by these Paris men: This Pope Alexander the 4. condemned to be abolished and burned, writing his preceptes to the French K. and also the Vniuersitie of Paris, in the fauour of the Friers: willing and commaunding the sayd Fryers to be restored to all their priueledges and libertyes, in as ample maner as in Pope Gregories tyme before.

Not long after Pope Alexander the 4.* followed Clement the 4. an. 1263. and sate 3. yeares. Who also gaue the priuiledge to the Friers, beginning: Quidam temerè &c. In which priueledge he condemneth them that say, that no mā without licence of his Curate or minister, ought to confesse him to the Friers, or that a subiect ought to aske licence of theyr ministers so to doe, whiche was agaynst the Canon Omnis vtriusque sexus &c. made by the Pope Innocent the 3. before recited.

After this Clement, agayn came Pope Martine the 4. an. 1281. who renued again the Canon. Omnis vtriusque sexus; in the behalfe of the Curates against the Friers.

Then Pope Boniface the 8. began to sit, an. 1294, viii. yeares. ix. monethes. Who taking side with the Fryers, gaue to them an other priuiledge, beginning,* Super Cathedram. &c. In the whiche priuiledge he licensed the Fryers, that without licence of Uicars of Churches, they shal first present themselues to the Prelates to be admitted: by whō if they be refused the second time,

then they vppon speciall authoritie of this Pope, shall be priueledged: without eyther Byshop or Curate, to preach, to bury, and to heare cōfessions who soeuer will come to them, reuoking all that was decreed by his predecessours before to the contrary notwithstanding.

Page 409 By this Pope Boniface, a certayne Dominick Frier was made Cardinall named Nicholaus de Teruisio, and after the death of Boniface, was made also Pope. an. 1303. surnamed Pope Benedictus 11. Who seing the constituciō of Boniface his predecessor to gender dissension betweene the Prists and Friers,* made an other constitution, beginning: Inter cunctas &c. reuoking the constitution of Boniface his predecessour. Upon which constitution of Pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus, make a Glose, reuoked also his other Glose made vpon the constitution of Boniface before.

Again, after this Benedictus the 11. folowed pope Clement the 5. an. 1335. and sat 9. yeeres, who in his generall Councell holden at Uienna, reuoked the constitution of Benedictus his predecessor, and renewed agayne the former decree of Boniface, by a new constitution of his, beginning: Dudum a Bonifacio. 8. &c. whiche constitution moreouer was confirmed afterwarde by Pope Iohn the 22. an. 1316. which Pope also caused Ioannes de Poliacco to recant.

Upon this variable diuersity of the Popes (one dissēting and repugning from an other) rose among the Diuines & scholemen in Uniuersities great matter of cōtention, as well in the Uniuersity of Paris, as the Uniuersity of Oxford about the begging Friers, some holding one way, some an other way. But especially 5. principal opinions to be noted of learned men, who thē disputing against the friers, were condemned for heretickes, and their assertions reproued.

*The first, was the opinion of thē which defended, that the friers might not by the licence of the Byshop of Rome and of the Prelats, preach in Parishes, and heare confessions. And of this opinion was Guliel. de Sācto Amore, with his felowes, who as is sayd, were condemned.

The second opiniō was this, that friers, although not by theyr own authority, yet by priuiledge of the Pope and of the Bishop, might preach and heare confessions in Parishes, but yet not without licence of the Parish Priestes. Of this opinion was Bernardus glosing vpon the canō. Omnis vtriusque sexus, afore mentioned,

The third opinion was, that friers might preach and heare confessions, without licence of the Parish Priestes: but yet the sayd parishners notwithstanding were boūd, by the Canon: Omnis vtriusque sexus: to repeate the same sinnes again, if they had no other, to theyr own proper curate: and of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de Fontibus: Henricus de Gandauo:*Ioannes Monachus Cardin: Ioannes de Poliacco. Which Ioannes de Poliacco, Pope Iohn the 22 caused openly in Paris, to recant and retract.

*This Ioannes de Poliacco Doctor of diuinity in Paris, being complayned of by y^e friers for certaine articles or assertions, was sent for to the Pope: where time and place being to him assigned, he in the audience of the Pope and of Frierly Cardinals & other doctors: was straitly examined of his articles. To make the story short, he at length submitting himselfe to the authority of the terrible see of Rome: was caused to recant his assertions openly at Paris. His assertions which he did hold, were these.

The three assertions of Ioannes de Poliaco, which he was caused by the Pope to recant at Paris.

His three assertions.

- *Whereof the first was, they which were confessed to friers, although hauing a generall licence to heare confessions: were bounde to confesse agayne their sinnes to their own Parish Priest, by the constitutiō. Omnis vtriusque sexus. &c.
- The second was, that the sayd cōstitution, Omnis vtriusque sexus, standing in his force, * the Pope could not make: but parishners wer boūd once a yere to confesse theyr sinnes to their Priest. For the doing otherwise importeth a contradiction in it selfe.
- The 3. was, that the Pope could not geue geuerall licēce to heare confessiōs so, but y^r the parishners so confessed were bound to reiterate y^e same confession made, vnto his owne Curate. Which be proued by these places of the Canon law, 25. q. 1. Quae ad per. petuam. Those thinges which be generally ordeyned for publike vtilitey, ought not to be altered by any chaunge, &c. Item, the decrees of the sacrat Canons, none ought to keepe more then the Bishop Apostolicall. &c. Ibidem. Item, to alter or to ordeine any thing agaynst the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authoritey or power, uo not of the Apostolicall sea. Ibidem.

The fourth opinion was, * that the Friers by the licēce of the Pope and of the Bishops might lawfully heare cōfessions, and the people might be of them confessed and absolved. But yet notwithstanding, it was reason, cōueniēt, honest and profitable, that once in the yeare they should be confessed to theyr curats (although being cōfessed before to the friers) because for the administration of Sacraments, * especially at Easter. Of which opinion was Gulielinus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo also held, not onely to be conuenient, but also that they were bound so to doe.

The fift opinion was, that albeit the Friers might at all times, and at Easter also, heare confessions as the Curates did: yet it was better and more safe, at the time of Easter to confesse to the curates, thē to the Friers. And of this opiniō was this our Armachanus, of whom we presently now entreat.

And thus haue ye, as in a briefe summe opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betweene the friers and the Church men. What Popes made with the friers: and what Popes made against thē. Moreouer, what learned mē disputed against them in Paris, and other places, and what were theyr opinions.

The matter of contention about the Friers, stode in foure pointes. First preaching without licence of Curats, Second, in hearing cōfessions. Thyrd, in burying. Fourth in begging and taking of the people.

Popes that mainteined the Friers.

were Honorius.

3

were Gregorius.

9
were Alexande.

4
were Clemens

4
were Boniface.

8
were Clemens.

5
Popes that mainteiued Curates
were Innocentius.

9
were Innocentius.

4
were Martinus.

4
were Benedictus.

11
The learned men that disputed agaynst the Friers.
were Guilielmus de S. Amore.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Barnardus super capitulum, Omnis vtriusque sexus,

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Godfridus de Fontibus.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Henricus de Gandauro.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Guilielmus de Landuno.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Ioannes Monachus Cardini.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Ioannes de Poliaco.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.
were Armachanus.

All these were cōdemned by the Popes, or els caused to recant.

These considerations and circūstaunces hetherto premised, for the more opening of this present cause of Armachanus sustained agaynst the idle beggerly sects of friers,* in whom the reader may well perceiue Antechrist plainly reigning, and fighting against the Church: Now remayneth, that as I haue before declared the trauelles & troubles of diuers godly learned mē in the Church striuing agaynst the sayd friers, continually from the time of Guliel. de Amore, hetherto: So now it remaineth, that for so much as this our Armachanus labouring and in the same cause sustained the like conflict with the same Antechrist: we likewise collect and open his reasons and arguments vttered in the consistorye and in the audience of the Pope himselfe wherwith he maynteyneth the true doctrine and cause of the Church agaynst the pestiferous canker creeping in, by these friers after subtle wayes of hypocrisy, to corrupt the sincere simplicity of Christes

holy fayth & perfect Testament. The which reasons and argumentes of his, with the whole processe of his doinges: I thought good and expedient for the vtility of the Church, more amply and largely to discourse and prosecute, for that I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these friers, such subtle poyson to lurke: more pernitiuous & hurtfull to the religion of Christ and soules of Christians, then all men peradventure do consider.

Thus Armachanus ioyning with the clergy of England, disputed and contended with the friers here of England [Page 410](#) an. 1358. about a double matter. Wherof the one was concerning confessiō and other exchetes which the friers encroched in parish Churches agaynst the Curates, and publicke pastors of Churches. The other was concerning wilfull beggery and pouerty, which the Friers then tooke vpon them, not vpon any necessity being otherwise strōg enough to worke for their liuing, but onely vpon a wilfull and affected profession. For the which cause the Friers appealed him vp to the court of Rome. The occasion wherof thus did rise.

It befell, that Armachanus vpon certayne busines comming vp to London, found there certayne Doctours disputing and contending about the begging of Christ our Sauior. Wherupon (he being greatly vrged and requested oft times therūto) at request, made seuen or eight sermōs vnto the people at London, wherein he vttered 9. conclusions. Wherof the first and principal conclusion was, touching the matter of the friers priuiledges, in hearing confessions. His conclusion was this.

First, that if a doubt or question be moued for hearing cōfessiōs, which of 2. places is rather to be chosē. The parish church is to be preferred before the church of the friers.

Secondly, being demaunded whether is to be taken (to heare the confession of the parishioners the Parson, or the Curate, or the frier) It is to be sayde, rather the Parson or the Curate.

Thirdly, that our Lord Iesus Christ in his humayne conuersatiō was alwayes poore, but not that he loued pouerty, or did couet to be poore.

Fourthly, that our Lord Iesus Christ did neuer beg, wilfully professing to be poore.

Fiftly, that our Lord Iesus Christ did neuer teach wilfully to beg, or to professe wilfull beggery.

The sixt conclusion was, that Christ our Lord did cōtrary, that men ought not wilfully or purposely wythout meere necessity to beg.

Seuēthly, that there is neither wisdom nor holines, for any man to take vpon him wilfull beggery, perpetually to be obserued.

The eight, that it is not agreing to the rule of the Obseruants, or Friers Minorites, to obserue wilful pouerty.

The last conclusion was, touching the Bull of Pope Alexander the 4. whiche condemned the libell of the maisters of Paris: that the same Bull touched none of these 7. last conclusions.

Upon these 9. conclusions premised, Armachanus being appealed, cited, and brought vp to the presence of the Pope: began to proue the same his foresaid conclusions or assertions vnder protestation made, that his intētiō was not to affirme any thing contrary to the christian fayth, or to the Catholicke doctrine, or that should be preiudicial or destructiue to y^e orders of the begging friers, such as were approued by holy Church, or confirmed by the high Byshops: But onely his intētiō was, to haue the sayd orders reduced to the purity of their first institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his reasons to be heard, which if they should be fōūd weaker then the reasons of the friers, the punishment should be his. If otherwise, that then the friers iustly to be rewarded, for their slaūderous obtrectation and publique cōtumelies, & iniurious dealinges both priuatly and publickly wrought and sought agaynst him:* And so taking for his Theame: Nolite iudicare secundum faciem, sed iustum iudicium iudicate. &c. That is. Iudge not after the outward face, but iudge true iudgement. &c. Iohn. 7. he entreth to the probation of his conclusions:* First beginning with the former conclusion, that the Parish church was a place more fit and conuenient, for the confessiōs or burials of the Parishioners to be vsed, then any other exempt Church or place of the Friers. Which he proued by three causes:* First for the more surenes or certaynty to the conscience of the Parishioners confessed. Secondly, for the more vtility and profit of him.* Thirdly, for the lesse incommodity ensuing by confessions taken in Parish churches, then in friers Churches.

*As touching the first, for the more assurednesse and certainty, thus he argued vpon the place of Deu. 12. vnto that place, which y^e Lord your God shall assigne of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therein: thether shall you resort, to offer vp your oblations, tithes. &c. And the same place God sayth: See thou offer not thy sacrifice in euery place that liketh thee: but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the tribes, and thou shalt doe in all thinges as I commaund thee. Also vpon the wordes of Leuit. 4. and 5. which be these. Whosoeuer sinneth of ignorance, shal offer to the priest, and he shall pray for him,*and he shalbe forgeuen &c. Upon these places thus he argued: that forasmuch as the Sacramēts of the Church are to be frequented and vsed in no other place but onely in that, which by God himselfe peculiarly is assigned and commaunded for the same: And seing that elect place in the law representeth the Parish Churches: neither can it be proued that the Friers Church is the place prescribed of God, but onely permitted by Byshops of Rome: He concluded therefore, that Parish Churches for confessions and burialles, were more sure and certayne to the conscience of Parishioners, then the exempt places of the Friers.

By an other reason also he confirmed the same, for that the parish Church commonly standeth free frō the Popes interdict, so do not the Churches of the Friers:* As which stand not so cleare, but that they are vnder suspition, and doubt of the Popes interdict: by the Decretall. De sepulturis in sexto. cap Animarum periculis. In which Decretall, all such conuentuall Churches and Churchyardes of Friers be interdicted, which do induce any person or persons, either by oth or promise made, to chuse their burying places in their churches, as commonly the friers are reported to do. For els what parishner would forsake his owne church & parish where his auncestors do lye, to be buried among the Friers, if the Friers did not induce thē so to do:

Moreouer for the secōd part,* concerning the vtility of the place, that he confirmed doublewise. First, for that confessiō made within the parish church, hath a double merit of obedience, both for obeying the commaūdement of God in opening his confessiō thus he speaketh according to y^e

blindnes of that time, for that auricular confessiō hath any cōmaundement of God, cannot be proued: & also in obeying the commaundemēt of God in obseruing the place by him appointed, y^e which second merit of obedience lacketh in y^e Friers part.* Secondly, he proued to be greater vtility for a parishioner to confesse him in his parish Church, thē with the Friers. Because commonly the number of Christen people praying, is ten times more in parish churches. Wherby is to be thought, that ech singuler persō may better be helped through moe prayers, then in the Oratories of the Friers, &c.

Farther as touching the third part of the first conclusion or Article he proued,* that it had fewer incōmodities to resort euery man to his parish Church, then to the friers: for that both great vtilitye, and more certaynety (as hath ben proued) did ensue therof: which two being take away, (as must need, in resorting to the friers Church) thē two speciall commodities should be hindred, & so great incommodities therof should follow. And thus much for y^e place of the friers.

Now to the second conclusion or Article touching the person of the frier,* and of the ordinary Curate. If the questiō be, which of these two is to be preferred in the office of Ecclesiasticall administratiō: the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinary Curate was better then the extraordinary frier,* and that for the three foresayd respectes, to wit, for certaintie or assuraunce, for vtility, and for incommodity to be auoyded.

First that it is more safe and sure for the parishioners to resort to theyr ordinary or parish priest, hee argued by 3. reasons: first because the person of the lawfull ordinary or priestes is expressly of God commaūded, where the persō of the frier is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, because the parishner may more trust to his ordinary Curate, as who is more bound & obliged to prouide and to be carefull for him, then any other extraordinary person, Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinary curate, commonly there is no doubt of any interdict to bind him: whereas contrary in the friers be halfe: there is good matter to doubt, whe|ther he stand bound vnder the popes cēsure of excōmunication or not, and that for diuers causes, as by the cap. Reli|giosi, in Clemētinis de decimis.* Where is decreed, that all such religious mē, which hauing no benefices or cure of soule, presume to impropertate vnto them glebe land or other tithes due vnto Churches, and not appertayning to them (by any maner of colour or fraudulent circumuention) do incur the sentence of excommunication,* ipso facto. Also by another cap Religiosi, De priuilegijs. in Clement. Where it is sayd, that all such religious men are excommunicated De facto, whosoever doe absolue any, agaynst whom the sentence of excommunication hath bene denounced by statute prouincial, or sinodal: as it is commonly said, that the friers hearing mēs cōfessions are accustomed to do, in loosing them whom the censure of prelates, or their Officials haue bound. Wherof the sayd Armachanus bringeth forth example of his own Dioces: For I (sayd he) in mine own Dioces of Armachan, haue as good as two thousād vnder me, who by the censure of excōmunication euery yere, denoūced against wilfull murtherers, common theues, burners [Page 411](#) of mens houses, & such like malefactors, stand accursed: Of all which number notwithstanding, scarcely 14. there be, which come to me or to any about me for their absolution. And yet all they receiue the Sacramentes as other do, & all because they be absoyled, or because they faine themselues to be absoyled by none other then by friers: who in so doing, are proued to be vnder the daūger of excommunication, both the friers, and also the parishners, if they knowing therof do consent to theyr error.

Also out of the said Clementines, by three other places in one chapter, he proued the friers to be excōmunicate, to with in the chap. *Cupientes, De poenis in Clement. In y^e which chapter: First, all such religious men are excommunicate, which in their Sermons presume to withdraw their hearers from their tithes paying, due vnto churches. Secōdly, in the sayd chapter all such friers are suspended from preaching, * and so are excommunicate, which within a certayne time did not make a conciō to such as come to theyr confessions, in paying their tythes truely and duely to the Church. Thirdly, in the foresayd chapter also, all such religious persons be bound in excōmunication, which induce men by any maner of meanes, either by vow, othe, or promise, to chuse theyr burials within their Churches, or not to chaūge the same, if they haue made any such promise before. In all which three poyntes, he proued the friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

*Moreouer, for the more surer way for y^e parishners to resort to their appointed curates, thē to y^e friers, he argued thus. For that the parish Priest or Curate being better acquaynted with his owne parishner thē is a straunger, can better iudge of the nature and dispositiō of his disease, and minister to him due Phisick of penaunce for the same, and also wilbe more carefull in curing him.

Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proued and argued, Armachanus procedeth farther to proue the second part: that is better for the parishners to leaue the Friers, and to resort to their owne Pastors. Which he proued by eight or nine reasons.

First, for that the ordinary pastor, is properly appointed of God vnto that ministry: Wheras the Frier, is but onely permitted of man therunto.

Secondly, for that in resorting to the ordinary of the parish, is a double reward of merite, wheras in comming to the Friers there is but one.

Thirdly, because the ordinary is more bounde to his owne flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and carefull ouer them, then a straunger.

Fourthly, because to resort to the person of his owne ordinary, there is more assuraunce and certainty, (as is aboue declared) then to an other.

*Fiftly, because (as Innocentius, Cap. Si animarum, sayth) the comming to the curate or pastor ordinary, is more easy and light, both in the night and in necessity.

Sixtly, for so much as the parishner must needes come to his Curate at some time, and especially beeing in necessity: It is expedient and profitable, that his former life before were knowne to him, rather then to the other.

Seuenthly, for that (as the sayd Innocentius affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sinne to the parishner to be confessed to his curate whom he seeth euery day, then to a frier vnknowne.

Eightly, because it is more profitable especially for thē that liue in Matrimony, that he which heareth the confession of the one, should heare also the cōfession of the other. So that one

hearing the confession of them both as a spirituall Phisition taking two cures in one body, may better know what spirituall coūsell is to be ministred to the one, after he hath cured the other, &c.

*These things thus proued before, then Armachanus consequently proceedeth to the third part: Arguing, how the greater detrimetes and inconueniences do ensue by confessions, burials, and other Ecclesiasticall functions exercised by the friers, then by pastors & secular curats, seruing in parishes. About the which matter, the sayd Armachanus learnedly and worthely inferreth a long discourse prouing and inferring how pernicious these orders of friers are to the whole state of the church: And what mischief commeth by the priuiledges of certain Popes, which haue priuiledged them to intermeddle in the office & function of Ecclesiasticall ministers, to preach, and to take almes, and tithes of the people, and impropertions from the church. All which his reasōs & argumēts to prosecute in order as he hath left them in writing, it would make a matter of a large booke. Notwithstanding, because it shall not be vnfruitfull both for the time present & the posterity, to know the manifold de•rimetes and discommodities receiued by these friers, and to know what benefit God hath done for vs in vnburdening the Church of this monstrous generation: * And especially because the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwise to be found, intituled, Defensorum Curatorum: I haue briefly therfore contracted out of the same, certaine of his reasons, such as semed most apperteyning and most worthy of noting.

And first, alleading the authority of Innocent the 4. He importeth foure incōueniēces rising by the friers, whibe these: Contempt of the people against their ordinaries, decreasing of deuotion, taking away of shame frō the people by confessing to the friers, deteining of oblations, such as the people are wont to geue at their confessiō & burials, and which by right belong to the parish churches.

Item, by the sayd priuiledges of the Popes, graunted to the friers, * many other great enormities do rise. As first because therby, the true shepheards do not know the faces of their flocke.

Item, * by the occasion of these priuiledges, geuen to the Friers, great contention, and sometimes blowes rise betwene the friers and secular curates, about tythes, impropertions, and other auayles.

Item, by the occasion of the foresayd priuiledges, diuers yoūg men as well in vniuersities as in their fathers houses, are allured craftely by the friers their confessors, to enter their orders: from thence afterward, they can not get out though they would, to the great grieve of their parentes, and no lesse repentaunce to the young men themselues. The example wherof, Armachanus in the sayd hys treatise inferreth, of a certayne substantiall English man being with him at his Inne in Rome: who hauing a sonne at the vniuersity of Oxford, which was entised by y^e friers to enter into their order, could by no meanes after release him out. But whē his father & his mother woulde come vnto him, they could not be suffered to speake with him, but vnder the friers custody. Wheras the Scripture commaundeth plainly, * that who so stealeth any man & selleth him (being therof conuicted) shal be put to death. Exod. 21. And for the same cause, the father was compelled to come vp to Rome to seek remedy for his sonne. And thus sayth Armachanus, it may appeare what damage and detrimets come, by these friers vnto the common people.

And no lesse inconuenience and daunger also by y^e sayd friers,* riseth to the Clergy: for so much, as lay men seeyng their childrē thus to be stollē frō thē in the vniuersities by y^e friers, do refuse therfore to send thē to their studies: Rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to folow the plough, then so to be circumuēted and defeated of their sonnes at the vniuersity, as by dayly experiēce (sayth he) doth manifestly appeare. For where as in my time (sayth Armachanus) there were in the vniuersity of Oxford 30000.* studentes: now are there not to be founde 6000. The occasion of which so great decay, is to be ascribed to no other cause, but to this circumuention onely of the friers aboue mentioned.

Ouer and besides this,* an other incōuenience as great or greater, the said Armachanus inferred to proceed by the friers, through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all maner faculties and liberall sciences, which thus he declared. For that these begging friers through their priuileges obtained of the Popes, to preach, to heare confessions, and to bury: and through theyr charters of improperatiōs, did grow therby to such great riches and possessions by theyr begging, crauing, catching and intermeddling with church matters, that no booke could stirre of any science, either of Diuinity,* law, or Phisicke, but they were both able and ready to buy it vp. So that euery couent hauing a great library full stuffed and furnished with all sortes of bookes, and being so many couents within the realme, & in euery couent so many friers increasing dayly more and more: by reason therof, it came to passe, that very few books or none at all remayne for other students.* Which by his owne experiēce he thus testifieth, saying: that he himselfe sent forth to the vniuersity foure of his owne Priests or chaplaynes, who sending him word agayne y^t they could neither finde the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of diuinitye meete for theyr studye, therefore were minded to returne home to their country: and one of them, he was sure, was returned by this time agayne.

Furthermore, as he hath proued hetherto, the Friers to be hurtful both to the laity,* and to the clergy: so proceeding farther, he proueth them to be hurtfull also to themselues. And that in 3. poynts, as incurring the vice of disobedience agaynst God, against their owne rule: The vice of auarice: and the vice of pride. The probatiō of all which poyntes, he prosecuted in a long discourse.

[Page 412](#)First (sayth he) they are disobedient to the law of God: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbors house,* Oxe nor Asse, nor any thing that is his: In that they procure the Popes letters to preach in Churches, and to take burials from churches, with licence annexed withal to receiue the auailles which rise of the same, which properly belōgeth to the right of parish priestes.

*Item, they are disobedient to this rule of the Gospell: So do to other, as thou would haue done to thee.

Itē, they be disobediēt agaynst theyr owne rule, which being fouēded vpon straight pouerty and beggery, this licence obtained for thē to require necessary for theyr labors of the people, is repugning agaynst the same foundation.

Item, they be disobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which sayth: let no man take honor vnto him, except he be called, as Aarō, Also saith S. Paul, how shall they preach, vnlesse they be sēt. And how obserue they this rule of obedience, who professing to keepe the perfection of the

Gospell, yet contrary to the Gospell, procure to thēselues priuiledges to runne before they be sent▪

Itē, to theyr own rule they are disobediēt: For where theyr chapter sayth, that if any wil take vpō them this order, & will come to our brethren: let our brethren first send them to the prouincials to be examined of the Catholicke fayth and Sacraments of the Church. &c. Cōtrary wherevnto the friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onely the prouincials, but other inferiors also may take vnto them indifferently, whom they can catch: so farre without al examination, that almost at this day there is no notable house of friers, wherein is not either a whole, or halfe a couent of lads & boyes vnder 10. yere old, being circūuented, which neither can skill of the Creed nor Sacraments.

*Agayne, the rule of Frauncise sayth: that his brethren Obseruaunts must obserue not to preach in the Dioces of any bishop, without the consent of the Bishop: And moreouer the sayd Frauncise in his testament sayth: that if he had as much wisdomē as Salomon, and found poore secular priests in the parishes where the dwel: yet he would not presume to preach without theyr will, and also would feare, loue, & honor them, & all other as his maisters, & so they be Haecille. Against which rule, how the friers do disobey, how litle they reuerence Bishops or secular priests: what priuileges, exemptions, & immunities they procure agaynst them, the world may see and iudge.

Itē, when none may be admitted to preach, or to heare confessions, vnles they be entred into orders: and seing by the commō law of the Church, none must be admitted into holy orders, except he haue sufficient title of liuing and clothing: The friers therefore hauing no such title (being wilfull beggers) do disobey in both respects, that is, both in entring into such orders without conuenient title, and in exercising the office of preaching without such lawfull orders.

Moreouer the foresayd Frauncise in his testament cōmaundeth thus: I commaund (sayth he) firmly by vertue of obedience, to all and singular my brethren wheresoeuer they be: that none of them presume to obtayne in the court of Rome any letter or writing, either by himselfe or by any other meanes, neither for the Church nor for any other place nor vnder any coulour of preaching, nor yet for the persecuting of their owne bodyes &c. Against which testamen of Francise, the Franciscanes in procuring theyr priuiledges from the Bishop of Rome, haue incurred manifest disobediēce, as all the world may see. Neither will this obiectiō serue them, because the Pope hath dispensed with Francise rule. For if the testament of Francise as he sayth came from GOD, (and so should God haue three testaments) how then can the Pope repeale his precept, or dispense with his rule, when by the rule of the law. Par in parem non habet imperium?

*Secondly, concerning the vice of auarice, manifestly it may be proued vpon them (sayth Armachanus) for els, seing so many charges belong to the office of a secular parish priest, as to minister the Sacrament at Easter, to visit the sicke with extreme vnction to baptise childrē, to wed, with such other wherein standeth as great deuotion: how then happeneth that these friers making no labor for these, onely procure to thēselues priuiledges to preach in churches, to heare confessions, and to receiue licence to bury frō parish churches but because there is lucre and gayne in these to be looked for, in the other is none?

Which also may appere by this: for otherwise if it were for mere deuotion onely,* that they procure licence to bury from parish churches, and to preach: why then haue they procured with all, licence to take offerings? oblations and legacies for theyr funerals. And for theyr preaching, why haue they annexed also licence to require and take of the people necessaryes for theyr labor, but onely auarice is the cause thereof.

Likewise for hearing of confessiōs: whē all good men haue enough to know theyr owne faults,* and nothing left to heare the faultes of other: It is probably to be supposed by this theyr priuilege of hearing all mens confessiōs, that they would neuer haue bene so desirous of procuring that priuilege, were it not that these friers did fele some sweetnes and gayne to hang vpon the same.

Item, where the rule of frier Francise forbiddeth them to company with any womē, to enter into Monasteries, to be Godfathers and Gossips to men and women:* how commeth it, that they contrary to theyr rule, enter into the secret chambers of Queenes and other women: and made to know the most secret counsels of theyr doings, but that auarice and commodity haue so blinded their eyes, & styrred theyr hartes.

Thirdly,* that the friers fall into the vice of pride & ambition, the sayd Armachanus proued thus.

To seek or to procure any high place in the Church, is a poynt of pride & ambition. Chrisost. in opere perfecto: Nūquam sine ambitione desideratur primatus in Ecclesia.

The friers se•k and procure a high place in the church.

Ergo. the friers be proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proueth: To haue the state of preaching and hearing confessions, is in the church a state of honor.

The friers seeke and haue procured the state of preaching and hearing confessions.

Ergo, The friers seeke and procure an high place in the Church. &c.

His third conclusion was,* that the Lord Christ in his humane conuersation was alwayes poore, not for that he loued or desired pouerty for it self. &c, Wherin this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not frō the friers in this that Christ was poore, and that he loued pouerty: but here in stood the difference, in maner of louing, that is whether he loued pouerty for it self, or not. Wherin the foresayd Armachanus vsed foure probations.

First, forsomuch as to be poore, is nothing els but to be miserable: and seing no man coueteth to be in misery for it self: Therefore he concluded, that Christ desired not pouerty for it selfe.

His second reason was deriued out of Aristotle. Nothing (sayth he) is to be loued for it selfe,* but that frō which (all commodities being seclused which folow therupō) is voluntarily sought and desired. But take from pouerty al respect of cōmodities folowing y^e same, it would be sought neither of God nor mā, Ergo, he cōcluded, Christ loued not pouerty for it selfe.

Thirdly agayne: No effect of sinne, said he, is to be loued for it selfe. But pouerty is the effect of sinne. Ergo, pouerty was not loued of Christ for it selfe.

Fourth, Item, no priuation of the thing that is good, is to be loued for it selfe. Pouerty is the priuation of the thing that is good, that is of riches (for God hymselfe is principally rich:) Ergo, pouerty for it selfe was not loued of Christ.

The fourth conclusion was, that Christ our Lord and Sauior did neuer begge wilfully.* Which he proued by son'dry reasons.

1. First, for that Christ in so doing should breake the law, which sayth: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbors house, his wife, his seruāt, his maid, his oxe, his asse, or any thing that is his, Exod. 20. In the daunger of which cōmaundement, he that beggeth voluntarily must needs incurre.

2. Item, if Christ had begged voluntarily he should haue committed agaynst an other cōmaundement, which sayth. There shalbe no begger, nor needy person among you &c. Deut. 6.

3. Item, Christ in so doing should haue transgressed the Emperours law, vnder which he would himselfe be subiect (as appeareth by geuing, & bidding tribute to be geuē to Cesar) forasmuch as the same Emperours law sayth. There shall no valiant begger be suffered in the City.

4. Item, if Christ had bene a wilfull begger, he had broke the law of louing his neighbor: whō he had vexed, hauing no need. For who so without need asketh or craueth of his neighbor, doth but vex him, in such sort as he would not be vexed himselfe. Which Christ would neuer do.

5. Item. if Christ had begged wilfully, he had moued slaūder therby to hys owne Gospell, which he with miracles did confirme. For then they that saw his miracle in feeding 5000. in wildernes, would haue thought much with them selues how that miracle had bene wrought, if he in feeding other, either could not, or would not feed himselfe.

[Page 4136](#). Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himselfe condemneth by Paule: for so we read. 1. Timo. 6. That Paule condemneth them, which esteme piety to be gayne and lucre. Which all they do that vnder the coulour of piety, hunt or seeke for gayne, when otherwise they need not.

7. Item, if Christ had begged willfully, he had offended in declaring an vntruth, in so doing. For he that knoweth in his mind, that he needeth not in deed that thing whych in word he asketh of other: Declareth in himselfe an vntruth as who in word pretendeth to be otherwise then he is in very deede, which Christ without doubt neuer did nor would euer do,

8. Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, that is, hauing no •eue•nced thereunto: then had he appeared cither to be an hipocrite, seeming to be that he was not, and to lacke whē he did not: or els to be a true begger in very deed, not able to suffice his necessity. For he is a true begger in deed, whiche being constrainned by mere necessity, is forced to aske of other that which he is not able to geue to himself. But neither of these two agreeth in Christ.

*9. Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of S. Clement his disciple, finding her to stād amōg the beggers, whō he thought to be strōg enough to labor with her handes for her liuing: If she in so doing had folowed the example of Christ:

*10. Item, if Christ had begged wilfully: And if the Friers do tightly define perfectiō of the Gospell by wilful pouerty: thē was Clement S. Peters successor to blame, which labored so much to remoue away beggery and pouerty frō among al them, that were conuerted to the faith of Christ: and is specially for the same commended of the Church:

*11. Agayne, why did the sayd Clement, writing to Iames Byshop of Ierusalem, commaund so much to obey the doctrine and examples of the apostles: who as he sheweth in that Epistle, had no begger nor needy person amōgst thē, If Christian perfection (by the friers Philosophy) stadeth in wilfull beggery?

12. Item, if Christ the high priest had begged wilfully, thē did holy Church erre wittingly, which ordeined that none without sufficient title of liuing & clothing, should be admitted to holy orders. And moreouer, when it is seyde in y^e canonically decrees, that the bishop or clerke that beggeth, bringeth shame vpon the whole order of the clergy.

13. Item: if Christ had wilfully begged, then the example of wilful pouerty had perteyned to the perfection of Christian life, which is contrary to the old law: which commaūdeth the Priestes (which liued then after the perfection of the law) to haue possessions and tithes, to keep them from beggery.

14. Item, if Christ did wilfully begge, then beggery were a poynt of christian perfection. And so the Church of God should erre, in admitting such patrimonies and donatiōs geuen to the Church, and so in taking from the Prelates their perfection.

15. Agayne, what will these friers which put their perfection in begging, say to Melchisedech: who without begging or wilfull pouerty, was the high Priest of God, and King of Salem, and prefigured the order and Priesthoode of Christ?

16. And if beggery be such a perfection of the Gospell (as the friers say) how cōmeth it, that the holy Ghost geuen to the Apostles, which should lead them into all trueth: tolde them no word of this beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned therof through the whole Testamēt of God.

17. Moreouer, where the Prophet sayth, I neuer did see the lust man forsaken, nor his seed go begging their bread: How standeth this with the iustice of Christ, which was most perfectly iust, if he should be forsaken, or his seede goe begge their bread? And thē how agreeth this with the abominable doctrine of friers Franciscan, which put theyr perfection in wilfull begging?

18. Finally, doe wee not read that Christ sent his disciples to preach without scripp or wallet, and bid them salute no man by the way? Meaning that they should begge nothing of no man? Did not the same Christ also labor with his handes, vnder Ioseph? S. Paule likewise did he not labour

with his handes, rather then he would burden the Church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth state of perfectiō in wilfull begging.

*The fift conclusion of Armachanus agaynst the friers was this: that Christ neuer taught any man wilfully to begge, which he proued thus. It is written Actes. 1. Christ began to do and to teach. If Christ therfore, which did neuer wilfully beg himselfe, as hath bene proued, had taught men otherwise to do, then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, if Christ which neuer begged himselfe wilfully, had taught men this doctrine of wilfull begging contrary to his owne doing: he had geuen suspition of his doctrine, and ministred slaunder of the same; as hath bene proued •t the fourth conclusion before.

Moreouer in so reaching, he had taught cōtrary to the Emperors iust law, which •xpresly forbiddeth the same.

The sixt conclusion of Armachanus agaynst the Friers was,* that our Lord Iesus Christ teacheth vs, that we should not beg wilfully, which he proueth by seuē or eight reasons.

First where it is written Luke. 14. when thou makest a feast call the poore, weake, lame, and blind: and thou shalt be blessed, for they haue not wherewith to reward thee agayne.

To this also pertaineth y^t decree of y^t apostle. 1. Thes. 3. He that will not worke let him not eat. Furthermore, the same Apostle addeth in the same place: For you haue vs for exāple how we were burdenous to nomā, neither did we eat our bread freely: but with labor and wearines, toiling both day and night, and all because we would not burthē you. &c.

4. Item, where we read in the scripture, the slouthful in ā reprehended, Pro. 6. why slepest thou O sluggard, thy pouerty and beggery is comming vpon thee like an armed man. &c. And agayne in the same booke of Prouerbs. The slouthfull man (sayth the scripture) for colde would not go to the plough, therfore he shal beg in sommer, and no man shall geue bun. &c. Also in the sayd booke of Prouerb. last chapter. The diligent labouring woman is commended, whose fingers are exercised about the rocke & spindle. And all these places make agaynst the wilfull begging of sturdy Friers.

5. Item,* Frier Frances their owne founder in his owne testament sayth: And I haue laboured with mine owne hands, and will labor, and will that all my frierlings shall labor and litle of theyr labor, wherby they may support thē selues in an honest meane. And they that cannot worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetousnesse to receiue for theyr labor, but for example of good workes, and to auoyd idlenesse. And when the price of theyr labor is not geuen them, let them resort to the Lords table, & aske their almes from dore to dore. &c. Thus much in his Testamēt. And in his rule he sayth: Such brethren to whom y^e Lord hath geuen the gift to labor, let them labour faithfully and deuoutly. &c. wherfore it is to be maruelled, how those friers with their wilfull begging, dare transgresse the rule & obedience of Frier Frauncis their great graundfathers testament.

6. Item, if Christ at any time did beg or did lacke, it was more because he would vse a miracle in his own persō, thē because he would beg wilfully: as when he sent Peter to y^t sea to finde a groat in the fishes mouth. which thing yee he thought rather to do, thē to beg the groat of the people, which he might soone haue obtained.

7. Item, by diuers other his examples he seineth to teach the same as where he sayth: The workmā is worthy of his hier. Also the workeman is worthy of his meate. Math. 10. Luke 10. And whē he spake to Zache, that he would turne into his house. And so likewise in Bethany and all other places he euer vsed rather to burden his frends thē to beg of other, vnacquaynted.

8. Item, with playn precept thus he sendeth forth his disciples, willing them not to go from house to house, Luke. 10. so as Friers vse now to goe. Many other Scriptures there be, which reprove begging: as where it is sayd. The foot of a foole is swift to the house of his neighbor, Eccl. 29. And in an other place: My childe (sayth he) see thou want not is the tune of thy life, for better it is to die then to lack. Eccl. 21.

9. Itē, where Christ counselling the young man, had him go and sel that he had and geue to the poore and folow him if he would be perfect: doth not there cal him to wilful beg'ging, but calleth him to folow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The seuenth conclusion of Armachanus is: that no wise nor true holy man can take vpon him wilfull pouerty to be obserued alwayes,* which he proueth by foure reasons.

First, that wilfull beggery was reprobued both by the doctrine of Christ and of the Apostles, as in the conclusion before hath bene declared.

2. Item, a man in taking vpon hym wilfull beggery, in so doing should lead himselfe into temptation, which were agaynst the Lordes prayer. For as muche as Salomon [Page 414](#) Prouerb. 30. saith:* O Lord, beggery and great riches geue me not, but onely sufficiency to liue vpon: least if I haue to much, I be driuen to deny thee, & say: who is the Lord. Agayne, if I haue to litle, I be forced thereby to steale, and to p•riure the name of my God. Wherefore sayth Eccle. 27. For need many haue offēded. And therefore they that chuse wilfull pouerty, take to them great occasion of temptatiō.

3. Item, they that take wilfull pouerty vpon them when they need not induce themselues voluntarily to break the commaudemēt of God: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house. &c. Agayne, where it is commaunded, there shalbe no begger among you. &c.

4. Item, he that taketh vpon him needles and wilfully to beg, maketh himselfe vnapt to receiue holy orders, hauing (as is sayd) no sufficient title thereunto, according to the lawes of the Church.

*The 8. conclusiō of this matter: That it is not agreing to the rule of the Friers obseruant, to obserue wilfull beggery. which (saith he) may be proued, for that Frier Frances, both in his rule and in his Testamēt, being left to his Franciscans, doth plainly preferre labor before begging.

*The 9. and last conclusion of this matter is. That the bull of pope Alexander the 4. which condemneth the booke of the maisters of Paris, impugneth none of these conclusions premised. For the prooffe therof, he thus inferred.

1. First, that Pope Iohn the 24. in his constitutiō, beginning thus: *Quia quorundam, affirmeth expresly, how Pope Nicholas the 3. reuoked and called backe the sayd Bull of Pope Alexander the 4. and all other writings of his: touching all such articles, which in the same foresayd constitution of this Pope Iohn be cōreined and declared. Wherin also is declared, how strayt the pouerty of the friers ought to be, which they call wilfull pouerty.

2. Item, it is manifest and notorious to all men, how the sayd Pope Nicholas the 3. in his declaratiō sheweth, how the friers both ought to labor with their handes and how moreouer the sayd Friers ought not to preach within the dioces of any bishop, wheresoeuer they be resisted. Which being so, the conclusion appereth, that the bull of Pope Alexander the 4. as touching these articles, is voyde and of none effect. Beside the which articles, there is nothing els in the sayd Bull of Alexander (that I remember) which unpugneth any of these conclusions premised.

*Many things mo(sayd he) I had beside these, both to obiect and to aunswere again to the same: and to confirme more surely and firmly these my reasons and assertions premised. But I haue already to much wried your holynesse, and your reuerend Lordships here present. Wherefore I conclude and humbly and deuoutly beseech you, according to my former petition premised in the beginning of this matter: that you iudge not after the outward face, but iudge ye true iudgement. Iohn. 7. Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus Defensorium Curatorum.

Notes to be obserued in this former Oration of Armachanus.

*BY this Oratiō of Armachanus the learned Prelate, thus made before Pope Innocent and his Cardinals, diuers and sundrye thinges there be for the vtility of the Church worthy to be obserued. First what troubles and vexations came to the Church of Christ by these Friers. Also what persecution foloweth after by the meanes of them, *agaynst so many learned mē & true seruants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariety was among the Popes, & how they could not agree among themselues about the Friers. Fourthly what pestiferous doctrine, subuerting welneare the testament of Iesus Christ. Fiftly what decay of ministers in Christes church, as appereth pag. 411. Sixtly, what robbing and circumuenting of mens children, as appeareth, pag. 411. Seuently, what decay of vniuersities, as appeareth by Oxforde, pag. 411. Eightly, what damage to learning, and lacke of books to students came by these friers, as appeareth pag. 411. Ninthly, to what pride vnder coulour of feined humility to what riches, vnder dissimuled pouerty they grew vnto, here is to be seene. In so much that at length through theyr subtle & most daungerous hipocrisy they crept vp to be Lordes, Archbishops, Cardinals & at last also, Chauncelors of realmes, yea and of most secret counsell with king and queenes, as appeareth pag. 411.

*All these things wel cōsidered, now remaineth in the church to be marked: that forsomuch as these Friers (with theyr new foūd testament of Frier Fraunces) not beeing contented with the testamēt of God in his sonne Christ, began to spring the same time, when as Satan was prophesied to be let loose, by the order of the Scripture, whether therefore it is to be doubted, that

these Friers make vp the body of Antechrist, which is prophesied to come in the Church, or not: so much more to be doubted, because who so li•t to trie shall finde, that of all other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be priuy, all be together cruel: yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleightly deceiue the simple christian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, then doth this doctrine of the Friers.

But of this Oration of Armachanus enough.* which Oration what successe it had with the Pope, by story it is not certain. By his own life declared, it appereth, that the Lord so wrought, that his enemies did not triumph ouer him. Notwithstāding, this by story appereth, that he was 7. or 8. yeares in banishment for the same matter, & there died in the same at Auiniō, Of whom a certayne Cardinal hearing of his death openly protested, that the same day, a mighty pillar of Christes church was fallen.

After the death of Armachanus,* the Friers had contētion likewise with the monkes of Benedictes order about the same yeare, 1360. and so remoued theyr cause both against the monkes and agaynst the vniuersity of Oxford, vnto the court of Rome, wherin seyth the author, they lacked an other Richard. Ex Botonero. By this appeareth to be true,* which is testified in the first tome of Wald. that lōg debate continued betwene the friers and the vniuersity of Oxford: Against whom first stood Robert Brosted bishop of Lincolne aboue mentioned: Then Seuallus of Yorke. Afterward Ioannes Bachothorpe, and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently we entreate. And after hym agayne Iohn Wickliffe, of whom (Christ willing) we will speake hereafter. Ex Waldeno. Against this foresayd Armachanus wrote diuers Friers, Roger Conaway a Franciscan, Iohn Heyldeshā Carmelite, Balfridus Hardby frier Augustine. Also frier Engelbert a Dominican, in a booke intituled, Defensorium priuilegiorum, and diuers other. I credibly heare of certayne olde Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tounge,* which if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and Archbishop of Ireland, a man worthy for his christian zeale of immortall cōmendation.

After the death of this Innocent, next was poped in y^t sea of Rome,* pope Urbane the fift, who by the fathers side was an englishman.* This Urbane had bene a long wayter in the court of Rome: and when he saw no promotion would light vpon him, complayning to a certayn frend of his, made to him his mone, saying:* That he thought verily, if all the Churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which frend after seing him to be Pope, and inthronised in his threefold crowne, commeth to him, & putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, sayth: that where his holynesse had moned his fortune to him, that if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpō his head: Now (sayth he) god hath otherwise so disposed, that all the churches in the world are fallen vpon your head. &c.

This Pope mayntayned and kindled great wars in Italy, sending Egidius his Cardinall and Legate, and after him Arduinus a Burgundian his legate and Abbot with great puissaunce and much mony agaynst sundry cities in Italy:* By whose meanes, the townes and Cittyes which before had broken frō the bishop of Rome were oppressed: also Bernabes & Baleaceus princes of Millam, vanquished.* By whose example other being sore feared, submitted themselues to the Church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great possessiōs, which her patrons would needes father vpon Constantine the godly Emperor.

In the time of this Pope Urbane the 5. and in the second yeare of his raign, about the beginning of the yere of our Lord. 1364. I finde a certayne Sermon of one Nicolas Drem, made before the Pope and his Cardinalies on Christmas euen. In the which Sermon, the learned man doth worthely rebuke the prelates and priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to be farre of, by certayne signes taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the Prophets spoken agaynst the wicked priestes of the Iewes,* he doth aptly apply against the clergy of his time, comparing the Church then present to the spirituall strumpet spoken of in the 16. of the Prophet Ezechiel. And proueth in conclusion the clergy of the church then, to be so much worse then the old Synagoge of the Iewes, by how much it is worse to sell y^t church & Sacraments, thē to suffer doues to be solde in the church. with no lesse iugement also and learning he answereth to the old and false obiection of the papists: who albeit they be neuer so wicked, yet thinke themselues to be the church which the Lord cannot forsake. All which thinges to y^t entent they may the better appeare in his owne words, I haue thought here to translate [Page 415](#) and exhibite the Sermon as it was spoken before the Pope.

A copy of a Sermon made before Pope Vrbane. 5. the fourth sonday in Aduent 1364. by Nicholas Orem.

*IVxta est salus mea, vt veniat, & iustitia. &c. That is: My sauing health is neare at hand to come, and my righteousnes to be reuealed. &c. Esay. 56. After the sentence of S. Paule Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the Natiuity of Christ: the whole world was deuided into two sorts of men, the Iewes and Gentils. The Iewes who wayted for the opening of the dore of Paradise, by the bloud of the Sauior to come. The Gentiles who yet sitting in darcknesse were to be called to light, and to be iustified by fayth, as is written. Rom. 5.

This saluation pertaining both to the Iew and Gentile. God promised before time to the Fathers by the Prophets, to stirre vp the desire thereof in their hartes the more: and to encrease theyr firme hope and fayth in the same. As first in Mich. 6. the voyce of the Lord cryeth: Health and saluation shall be to all men which feare my name. And Esay. 46. I will geue in Sion saluation, and in Ierusalem my glory. &c. with diuers such other places like. And forsomuch as hope in many times which is deferred, doth afflict the soule, and conceiueth wearinesse of long deferring: He therefore prophesying of the nearenesse of the commying thereof sayeth moreouer. Esay. 14. his time is neare at hande to come. Also Abacuc. 2. He will come and will not tary, with many such other places mo[•]. So then the holy Fathers being in Limbo, looked & hoped that he should bring out them that sate bound, and which in the house of prison sat in darcknesse, as is read Esay. 41. Then the time drew on in which came the fulnesse of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this mistery being hidden from the world, and from generations. Col. 1. Wherefore the Lord in this text doth both certifie our fathers of the comming of our Sauior,* and doth comfort them touching the nearenesse thereof, and also teacheth the iustification of the Gentils by fayth approching now neare at hand, according to the words of my text, Iuxta est salus mea. &c. Which words were fulfilled thē, what time the Lord did manifest his saluation, and did reueale his righteousnes in the sight of all the Gentiles. And is deuided in 3. partes. Of which the first speaketh of the nearenesse of his comming,* where is sayd, Iuxta est salus. &c. The second concerneth the mistery of the Aduent of Christ and his incarnation,* where he sayth: Vt veniat. &c. Thirdly is considered the seuerity of God,* his terrible reuenging

iudgement to be reuealed, where he sayth: Vt reueletur. &c. which is to be expounded of his primitiue iustice: whereof speaketh Amos the 5.* saying: And iudgement shall be reuealed like a sloud, and righteousnesse like a strong stream. Wherefore for our contēplation let vs receiue with ioy the solemnities of his holy vigile, the word I say of God the father, that is, Christ. To whom it is sayd Esay. 49. I haue geuen thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be my saluation, through the ends of the world. Agayne Esay. 46. My saluation shall not slacke. &c.

As touching the nearenes thereof, it is in these dayes opened to vs by the gospell, where we read in S. Math. When the virgine Mary was dispoused vnto Ioseph before they did come together: she was found with childe by the holy Ghost. By this it was euident to vnderstand, that our sauior ought shortly to proceed out of the chaste wombe of the virgin, according as the Prophet dyd foretell, saying: Behold a virgine shall conceiue and bring forth a sonne. &c. For like as the grape when it waxeth great and full, is neare to the making of wine, and the floure when it shooteth abroad, it hasteth to the fruit: So the saluation of the world in the swelling and growing of the virgins wombe, began to draw nigh to mankinde. For then appeared the grace and benignity of our Sauior, when his mother was found to haue in her wombe by the holy Ghost as is declared in that as followeth by the Angell saying: for that which is borne of her, is of the holy Ghost.

Touching the 2. part of that which is sayd, vt veniat: this may be applyed to the contemplation of the mistery of Christes comming in the flesh.* Wherof speaketh Aggeus the Prophet 2. He shal come, who is desired and looked for of all nations. &c. Albeit the same also may be applied to the second Aduent, spoken of the 3. of Esay. The Lord shall come to iudgemēt &c. In memoriall wherof, the 4. sonday was dedicate, in the olde time of the fathers. And of this day of iudgement is writtē in the Prophet Sophon. cap. 1. The day of the Lord is neare:.* great & mighty it is approaching at hande & wondrous shoort. &c. And albeit not in it selfe, yet it may be expōded in tribulatiōs that go before, as preambles vnto the same: as Greg. saith: The last tribulation is preuēted with many & sundry tribulations going before, although the end of al be not yet.

Wherefore now cōming to the 3. part of my sermō or the am,.* let vs see of those tribulations that go before the last comming of Christ, if there be any such tribulation approaching nigh at hand, wherof this last part of my theame may be verified, where is said: vt reueletur, that my righteousnes shalbe reuealed to wit the righ|teousnes primitiue, that righteousnesse may be brought, and the Prophecy of Daniel fulfilled Dan. 9. Concerning which matter. 4. thinges here come in order to be declared.

First concerning the reuealing of tribulation,.* according to that part of my theame. Vt reueletur. &c.

Secondly,.* concerning the nearenes of the tribulatiō cōming according to the part of my theame. Quia iuxta est. &c.

Thirdly,.* of the false opinions of some, vpon this part of my theame. Vt veniat &c.

Fourthly,.* what meanes and consultation we ought to take. Vt iuxta est salus.

As for the first,* it is so notorious and so commō in the scriptures that the church should suffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to stand in alleading any thing touching either the causes to be weid, or the terme to be coniectured thereof. As concerning the which causes,* I will geue 2. rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that to follow. The first rule is, that by the 2. kingdomes of the nation of Hebrues, which were in the olde time, to wit, by the kingdome of Israel, whose head was Samaria, is signified in the prophets the erroneous sinagoge: And by the second kingdome of Iuda, of whose stock came Christ, whose head metropolitane was Ierusalem, is signified the true Church.* And this rule is not mine, but is an authentike glose of S. Ierome, and also is the rule of Origene in the last Homely vpon the olde testament, and is approved by the church.

The second rule is,* that by the brodell house and fornication mentioned in the Prophets: is signified simony, and abused dispēsations, and promotions of persons vnworthy, for lukers sake, or els for any other partiall fauour, whiche by vnlawfull wayes, by al lawes of the world to come to office and honor. Merx dicitur namque a merendo, that is, for gaine or price is deriued of gaining: For the which gayne or price, that is solde which by nature ought not to be solde. Therefore, to geue any thing for respect of gayne or hier, which ought to bee geuen freely for vertues sake, is a kinde of spirituall corruption & as a man would say,* an whorish thing, wherof the prophet Esay, complayneth speaking of Ierusalem, and saying: The Citty which once was faythfull and full of iudgement,* how is it now become an whorish city? And in like maner Osee also the prophet. chap. 9. Ierusalem, thou hast fornicated and gone an whoring frō thy God. Thou hast loued like an harlot, to get gayne in euery barne of corne. And in many other places of Scripture, where fornication can not be otherwise expounded.

These two rules thus premised, now let vs marke the Scriptures, and according to the same iudge of the whole state of the Church, both that is past, and that is to come: first intreating of the causes of tribulation to come: secōdly of the vicinity of time of the sayd tribulation to come.

And first concerning the state of the Church,* & of causes of tribulation. Thus sayth the Lord in the prophet Ezechiel. 16. cap. speaking to the Church vnder the name of Ierusalem. In the day of thy byrth I came by thee, and saw thee troden downe in thine owne bloud.* &c. Here he speaketh of the time of the martyrdome of the Church. Then it followeth: After this thou wast clensed frō thy bloud, that wast growne vp, & waxen great: thē washed I thee with water, I purged thy bloud from thee (speaking of ceasing of persecution) I annoynted thee with oyle,* I gaue thee chaunge of rayments, I girded thee with white silke, I decked thee with costly apparel, I put ringes vpon thy fingers, a chayn about thy neck, Spangs vpon thy forehead, and Earinges vpon thine eares. Thus wast thou deckt with siluer & gold, & a beautifull crowne set vpon thine head. Meruelous goodly wast thou & beautifull, euen a very queen wast thou: For thou wast excellēt in my beuty, which I put vpon thee, sayth the Lord God. &c. This prophecy or rather history speaketh of and declareth,* the prosperity of the church.

And now heare the corruptiō and transgression of the church, for so it followeth: But thou hast put confidence in thine own beauty, and playd the harlot, when thou haddest gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredome with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires: Yea thou hast taken thy garments of diuers coulors and decked thine altars therwith, whervpon thou mightest fulfill thy whoredome of such a fashion as neuer was done, nor shall be. Which

whoredome can in no wise be expounded for carnall, but spirituall whoredome. And therefore, see how liuely he hath paynted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

And therefore followeth now the correction and punishmēt of the Church.* It followeth: Beholde, I stretch out my hand ouer thee, and will diminish thy store of foode, and deliuer thee ouer into the willes of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: And they shall breake downe thy stues, and destroy thy brodell houses (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickednesse) they shall strippe thee out of thy clothes: All thy fayre and beautifull iuels shall they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare.* &c.

Here is playnely to be seene what shall happen to the church [Page 416](#) and followeth more in the sayd chapter. Thine eldest sister is Samaria, she and her daughters vpon thy left hand: But the yongest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whose sinnes were these: pride, fulnesse of meate, aboundāce and idlenesse,* neither retched they theyr hand to the poore. And yet neither Sodoma thy sister with her daughters,* hath done so euill as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Sumaria (that is the Sinagoge) done half of thy sinnes, yea thou hast exceeded them in wickednesse.* Take therefore and beare thine owne confusion. &c. Agayne in the 23. chapter of Ezechiel. After the Prophet had described at large the wickednesse, corruption, and punishment of the Sinagoge, turning to the Church, sayth: And when her sister saw this,* the raging and was madde with lust, loue of riches, and folowing voluptuousnes. Her fornication and whoredome she committed with Princes and great Lordes, clothed with all maner of gorgeous apparell:* so that her puppes were brused, and her brestes were marred. And then speaking of her punishment, sayth: Then my hart forsooke her, like as my hart was gone from her sister also. And moreouer repeating againe the cause therof, addeth: Thy wickednesse and thy fornications hath wrought thee all this. &c.

The like we finde also in Esay, Jeremy, Ezechiel and in all the other Prophetes, who prophesying all together in one meaning: and almost in one maner of wordes:* Do conclude with a full agreement and prophecye to come, that the Church shall fall, and then bee punished for her great excesses, and to bee vtterly spoiled except she repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh Oseas chap. 2. Let her put away her whoredome out of her sight; and her aduoutry from her brestes, least I strip her naked and set her euen as she came naked into the world (that is in her primitiue pouerty) So if she do not it,* it shal folow of her as in the prophet Nahum, chap. 3. For the multitude of the fornication of the fayre and beautifull harlotte, which is a maister of witchcraft, yea and selleth the people through her whoredome, and the nations through her witchcraft. And followeth vpon the same: Behold I will vpon thee sayth the Lord of hostes, and will pull thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednes shall appeare among the heathen, and thy shame among the kingdomes. &c.

*Wherefore by these it is to be vnderstand, that vpon this Church the primitiue iustice of God is to be reuealed hereafter. And thus much of the first of the foure members aboue fore touched.

*Now to the second member of my theame, Iuxta est: concerning the nearenesse of time. Although it is not for vs to knowe, the momēts and articles of time: yet by certaine notes and signes peraduenture it may be collected and gathered, that whiche I haue here to say. For the tractation whereof, first I grounde my selfe vpon the saying of the Apostle Paule. 2. Thessal. 2.

where he writeth: That vnlesse there come a defection first. &c. By the whiche defection. Ierome vltima quaest. ad inquisitiones Ianuarij, gathereth and expoundeth allegoricallye,* the desolation of the monarchy of Rome: Betweene the which desolation, and the persecution of the Church by Antechrist, he putteth no meane space. And now what is the state of that common wealth, if it be compared to the maiesty of that it hath bene, iudge your selues. An other glose there is that sayth, how by that defection is ment: that from the Church of Rome shall come a departing of some other Churches.

The second note and marke is this, when the Church shalbe worse in maners then was the Sinagoge: as appeareth by the ordinary glose vpon the 3. of Ieremy where it is written. The backslider Israell, may seeme iust and righteous in comparison of sinfull Iuda. That is, the Sinagoge in comparison of the Church of God Whereof writeth Origenes saying: Thinke that to be spokē of vs what the Lord sayth in Ezech. 16. Thou hast exceeded thy sister in thine iniquities. Wherefore now (to compare the one with the other) First ye know how Christ rebuked the Phariseis, who as Ierome witnesseth were then the Clergye of the Iewes: of couetousnesse, for that they suffered doues to be solde in the temple of God. Secondly, for that they did honor God with their lips and not with theyr mouth, & because they sayd, but dyd not. Thirdly, he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the first then let vs see, whether it be worse to sell both Church & Sacramentes, then to suffer doues to be solde in the Temple or not. The second, where as the phariseis were rebuked for honouring to God with their lips, and not with hart: there be some, which neither honor God with hart, nor yet with lips: And which neyther do well, nor yet say well, neither do they preach any word at all, but be domb dogs not able to barke, impudent and shameles dogs that neuer haue enough, such pastors as haue no vnderstanding declining & straying all in their owne way, euery one geuē to couetousnes from the highest to the lowest. And thirdly, as for hipocrisy there be also some, whose intollerable pride & malice is so manifest and notorious, kindled vp like a fire; that no cloake or shadow of hypocrisy can couer it, but are so past all shame, that it may be well verified of them which the Prophet speaketh. Thou hast gottē thee the face of an Harlot, thou wouldest not blush &c.

The 3. signe and token of tribulation approching neare to the Church,* may well be taken of the to much vnequall proportion seene this day in the church. Where one is hungry and statueth, another is dronke. By reason of which so great inequality, it cannot be that the state of the Church as it is now, can long endure. For like as in good harmony to make the musick perfect, is required a moderate and proportion at equality of voyces,* which if it do much exceed it taketh away all the sweet melody: So according to the sentence of the Philosopher, by to much immoderate inequality or dispariety of citizens, the cōmon wealth falleth to ruine. Cōtrary, where mediocrity, that is, where a mean inequality with some proportion is kept; that pollicy standeth firme & more sure to continue. Now among al the politicke regiments of the gentlle, I thinke none more is to be found in histories, wherin is to be seene so great and exceeding oddes, then in the pollicye of Priestes: Of whom some be so high, that they exceed all Princes of the earth, some agayne be so base, that they are vnder all rascals, so that such a pollicy or common wealth, may well be called Oligarchia.*

This may we playnely see and learne in the body of man, to the which Plutarchus (writing to Thracinius) doth semblablye compare the common wealth In the which body, if the sustināce receiued should all runne to one member, so that that member should be to much exceedingly

pampered, and all the other parts to much pined, that body could nor long continue. So in the body of the wealth ecclesiastical, if some who be the heads be so enormously ouergrown in riches and dignity, that the weaker members of the body be scant able to beare them vp, there is a great token of dissolution and ruine shortly. Wherupon commeth well in place the saying of the Prophet Esay.* Euery head is sicke, euery hart is full of sorrow, of the which heads it is also spoken in the Prophet Amos.* chap. 6. Wo be to the secure and proud wealthye in Sion, and to such as thinke themselves so sure vpon the moūt of Samaria, taking themselves as heads and rulers ouer other. &c. And moreouer in the sayd prophet Esay it followeth: Frō the top of the head to the sole of the foot, there is no whole part in all the body, to witte: In the inferiours, because they are not able to liue for pouerty: in the superiours, because for theyr excessiue riches, they are left from doing good. And followeth in the same place: But all are woundes and botches and strypes, beholde here the daunger comming, the woundes of discorde and deuision, the botch or sore of rancor and enuy, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischief.

The 4. signe is the pride of Prelates.* Some there haue bene which fondly haue disputed of the pouerty of Christ, and haue inueyed agaynst the Prelates, because they liue not in pouertye of the saynts. But this phantasy cōmeth of the ignoraunce of morrall Philosophy and diuinity,* and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all nations, and by common lawes, priests haue had and ought to haue wherewith to sustayne themselves more honestly then the vulgare sort, and Prelates more honestly then the subiectes. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great horses, theyr troupes of horsemen, their superfluous pompe of theyr wayting men and great famylyes, whyche scarcely can bee maynteyned without pride, neyther can be susteyned with safe iustice, and many not without fighting and iniuries inconueniēt: not much vnlike to that as Iustine the historian writeth of the Carthaginenses. The family (sayth he) of so great Emperours was vntolerable to such a free Citty. In semblable wise, this great pride in the Church of God (especially in these dayes) doth moue not so few to due reuerence, as many to indignation: and yet mo to those thinges aforesayde, which thinke no lesse but to doe sacrifice to God if they may robbe and spoile certayne fatte priests and parsons namely such as neither haue nobility of bloud, and lesse learning to beare themselves vpon but are lyers, seruile and fraudulent, to whome the Lorde speaketh by his Prophet Amos fourth.* Heare you fatted kine of Samaria, ye that doe poore men wrong, and oppresse the needye, the daye shall come vpon you. &c.

The fift signe is the tyranny of the Prelates and Presidentes,* which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot be long lasting. For as Salomon sayth, Sap. 16.* For it was requisite that (without any excuse) destruction shoulde come vpon those whiche exercised tyranny. The property of a tyraunt is to seeke the commodity not of his subiectes,* but onely his will and profite. Such were the Pastours that fedde not the Lordes flocke, but fed themselves: of whom and to whom speaketh the Prophet Ezech. 34. Woe be vnto those Pastours of Israel that feede themselves. Shoulde not the shepheardes feede the flockes? With many other threatninges agaynst them in the sayd chapter. Wo be vnto them which reioyce at the transgressions of such whom it lieth in theyr power to cōdemne, neither do they seeke what he is able to pay, to whom crieth Micheas the Prophet 3. chap. Ye hate the good and loue the euill,* ye pluck of mens skinnies and the flesh, from the bones: ye eat the flesh of my people, and slay of their skin: ye break their bones, [Page 417](#) ye chop them in peeces as it were into a Caudron, and as flesh into the pot.* &c. And therefore the foresayd Ezechiel pronounceth: Behold I will my selfe vpon the shepheardes, and require my sheepe from theyr handes, and make them cease from feeding my sheep, yea the

shepheards shall feed themselues no more, for I will deliuer my sheep out of theyr mouthes, so that they shall not deuour them any more.

The sixt signe is in promoting of the vnworthy, and of neglecting them that be worthy. This as Aristotle sayth, is a greate cause many times of the dissolution of common weales. And often times it so happeneth in the wars of princes, that the contēpt and small regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that be lesse worthy, in gendereth diuers kindes & kindlinges of sedition. For by the reasō partly of the same, partly of the other causes aboue recited: We haue read not only in books, but haue sene with our eies, diuers flourishing Cities welneare subuerted. Wher as good men be not made of, but are vexed with sorrow & grieve by the euil: the contentiō at length brasteth out vpon the prince, as Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This hath alwayes bene the per uers incredulitye of mans harde heart, that not onely in hearing, but also in seing: yet will they not beleue that other haue perished, vnlesse they also perish themselues.

The seuēth signe is the tribulation of outward policy & commotions of the people,* which in a great part is now happened already. And therefore forasmuch as Seneca sayth: Men do complayne commonly that euils onely come so fast: It is to be feared least also the ecclesiastical policy be afflicted not onely outwardly but also in it selfe.* And so be fulfilled in vs, that in Jeremy is prophesied cap. 4. Murther is cryed vpon murther, and the whole land shall perish and sodenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tentes very quickly. And Ezec. 7.* Wherfore I will bring cruell tyraunts from among the heathen, to take theyr houses in possession, I will make the pompe of the proud, to cease, and their sāctuaries shall be taken. One mischiefe and sorow shall follow another, and one rumor shall come after an other, then shall they seek visions in vayne at theyr prophets, the law shall be gone frō theyr Priests, and wisdom from their Elders &•.

The eight signe is the refusing of correction, neither will they heare theyr faultes tolde them, so that it is hapned to the princes and rulers of the Church, as it is written in the prophet Zach. ca. 7. They stopped their eares that they would not heare: yea they made their hartes as an Adamant stone, least they shoulde heare the law and words which the Lord of hostes sent in his holy spirite by the Prophetes aforetime. Also Esay witnessing after the same effect. cap. 30. sayth: For it is an obstinate people, lying children and vnfaythfull, children that will not heare the law of the Lord: which say to the Prophetes, meddle with nothing, and tell vs nothing that is true and right, but speake frendly wordes to vs. &c. All this shall be verified when the Prelates begin to hate thē that tell them trueth,* and haue knowledge, like vnto such of whō Amos speaketh, chapter. 5. They beare him euil wil that reproueth them openly and who so telleth them the playne trueth, they abhorre him And therefore sayth the Lord to the Church of Ierusalem.* Ose 4. Seing thou hast refused vnderstanding, I haue refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my priest. And for so much as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and chaunge theyr honor into shame. And so shall it be like priest, like people &c. And many other saynges there be in the prophets, speaking of the deiecting and casting downe of the priestly honor.

Besides these foresayde signes and tokens hitherto recited, there be also diuers other:* As the backsliding from righteousness, the lacke of discreete and learned Priestes, promoting of childrē into the Church with such other like. But these being alreadye well noted and marked, you may

easely iudge and vnderstand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and cleare from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the word of the Lord be true according to my theame. Iuxta est iustitia mea vt reueletur, my righteousnes is neare at hande to bee reuealed. &c. And thus muche of the second part.

*Now to the third part or member of my subdeuision, which is concerning the false and perilous opinions of some, vpon thys word of my theame vt veniat &c. which opinions principally be 4. repugning all agaynst the truth of the canonicall Scripture.

The first opinion is of such men, who hauing to much confidence in thēselues, do think and perswade with themselves, that the Prelates be the Church, which the Lord will alwayes keepe and neuer forsake as he hath promised in the persons of the Apostles. Mathew. 28. saying: And I will be with you to the end of the world. &c But this is to be vnderstanded of fayth, whereof Christ speaketh Luke. 21. I haue prayd for thee, that thy fayth shall not fayle. Whereof we read Ecclesiast. 40. fayth shall stand for euer. &c. And albeit Charity waxe neuer so colde, yet fayth notwithstanding, shall remayne in few, and in all distresses of the world: of the which distresses, our Sauour doth prophecy in many places to come And least peradventure some shoulde thinke themselves to be safe from tribulation because they be of the church, this opinion the Lord himselfe doth contrary in Ieremy the 7.* Trust not (sayth he) in false lying wordes, saying: the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, and a litle after, but you trust in wordes and lying counselles which deceiue you and doe you no good.

The second opinion is of them,* which deferre tyme, for thys they well graunt, that the Church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly: thinking thus with thēselues, that these causes & tokens afore recited, haue bene before at other times as well in the churche. For both by Gregory and Bernard holy doctors, in time past the Prelates haue bene in like fort reprehended, both for theyr bribinges, for theyr Pompe and pride, for the promoting of persons and children vnfitte vnto ecclesiasticall functions and other vyces moe, which haue reigned before this in the Church of God more then now, and yet by God his grace, the Churche hath prospered and stand. Doe ye not see, that if an house haue stand and continued ruinous a long season, it is neuer more neare the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreouer, many times it commeth so to passe in Realmes and Kingdomes, that the posterity is punished for the sinnes of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the booke of Lamentations the 5. chapter. Our fathers haue sinned, and are now gone, and we must beare their wickednesse.* &c. Agaynst this cogitation or opinion well doth the Lord aunswere by the Prophet Ezechiel chapter 12 saying: Beholde thou sonne of man the house of Israel sayeth in this maner.* Tush as for the vision that he hath seene, it will bee many a day or it come to passe: It is farre of yet, the thing that he prophecieth. Therefore say vnto them, thus sayth the Lord God: The wordes that I haue spoken shall be deferred no longer, looke what I haue sayd, shall come to passe sayth the Lord. &c. We haue seene in our dayes thinges to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath bene seene in other times also: as we read written in the booke of Lamentations chapter. 4. The kinges of the earth nor all the inhabitaunce of the worlde would not haue beleueed,* that the enemy and aduersary shoulde haue come in at the gates of the Citty, for the sinnes of her priestes, and for the wickenesse of her Elders that haue shedde Innocentes blood within her. &c. by Hierusalem, as is sayd, is ment thē Church.

The third opinion or error is very perilous and peruerse, of all such as say, [* veniat](#), let come that will come: Let vs conforme out selues to this world, and take our time with those Temporifers which say in the booke of wisdom. Sap. 2. Come let vs enioy our goodes and pleasures that be present, [*](#) and let vs vse the creature as in youth quickly. &c. Such as these be, are in daungerous case, and be greatly preiudicial to good men in the Church: And if the heades and rulers of the Church were so vile to haue any such detestable cogitation in them, there were no place in hell to deepe for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the bloud of so many Martyrs, enlarged and increased with the vertues and merites of so many Sayntes, and indued so richly with the deuotion of so many secular princes, and so long prospered hetherto: If it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great daunger of ruine, and they for theyr negligence and wickednes well deserued of God to be cursed, yea here also in this present world to incurre temporall tribulation and destruction, which they feare more: by the sentence of the Lord saying to them in the booke of Prouerbes cap. 1. [*](#) All my counsels ye haue despised, and set my correctiō at nought. Therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall vpon you.

Fourthly, an other opinion or errour is of such as being vnfaithfull, [*](#) beleue not any such thing to come. And this errour semeth to haue no remedy, but that as other thinges & other kingdomes haue theyr endes and limittes set vnto them, which they cannot ouerpasse: 80 it must needes be, that such a domination & gouernment of the Church haue an end, by reason of the demerites and obstinacyes of the gouernors prouoking and requiring the same: like as we reade in the Prophet Ieremy cap. 8. [*](#) There is no man that taketh repentaunce for his sinne, that will so much as say, wherefore haue I done this? But euery man runneth forth still like a wilde horse in a battell And the Prophet Ieremy in the 13. [*](#) chapter of his prophecy: Like as the man of Inde may chaunge his skinne, and the Cat of mountayne her spottes, so may ye that be exercised in euill, doe good. Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the same Prophet. chap. 17. speaking of Iuda signifying the Church: [*](#) The sinne of Iuda (sayth he) is written in the table of your hartes, and grauen so vpō the edges of your altars with a penne of Iron, and with an Adamant claw, which is as much to say, as indelible, or which cannot be raced out: as also Ezechiell speaking of the punishment, [*](#) chapter 21. sayth: I the Lord haue drawne out my sword out of the sheath, and cannot be reuoked. Notwithstanding, all these signifye no impossibility, but difficulty, because that wicked men are hardly conuerted: for otherwise the Scripture importeth no such inflexibility [Page 418](#) with God, but if conuersion come, he will forgeue. So we read in the Prophet Ionas cap. 3. [*](#) Who can tell? God may turne and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath that we perish not. And to the like effect sayth the same Lord in Ieremy. cap 26 Looke thou keepe not one word backe, [*](#) if peradventure they will harken and turne euery man from his wicked way, that I also may repent of of the plague which I haue determined to bring vpon them, because of their wicked inuentiōs. &c. For the further prooffe wherof Niniuy we see conuerted, and remayned vndestroyd. &c. Likewise, the Lorde also had reuealed destruction vnto Constantinople by sundry signes and tokens, as Augustine in a certayne Sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my deuision.

[*](#)Fourthly and lastly remayneth to declare, some wholesome concluding now vpon the causes preceding: That is, if by these causes and signes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the Church, then let vs humble our mindes mildly and wisely. And if we so returne with hart and in deed vnto God, verely he shall rescue and helpe after an inestimable wise: and

will surcease from scourging vs, as he promiseth by his Prophet Ieremy. 18.* If that people agaynst whom I haue thus deuised, cōuert from their wickednesse, immediately I will repent of the plague that I deuised to bring vpon them: speaking here after the maner of men: &c. Now therefore, for so much as tribulation and affliction is so neare comming toward vs, yea lyeth vpon vs alreadye, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercy. For I thinke verely these many yeares •here hath not hene so many and so despihtfull hartes and euill willers, stout, and of such a rebellious hart aganst the Church of God, as be now adayes: neither be they lacking that would worke all that they can agaynst it, and louers of new fanglenes: whose hartes the Lord happelye will turne that they shall not hate his people and worke deceipte agaynst his seruauntes, I meane agaynst Priestes whom they haue now in little or no reputation at all:• Albeit many yet there bee through Gods grace, good and Godly. But yet the furye of the Lord is not turned away, but still his hand is stretched out. And vnlesse ye be conuerted, he shaketh his sworde, he hath bent his bowe, and prepared it readye. Yet the Lorde standeth wayting, that he may haue mercy vpon you. Esay. 30.* And therefore as the greatnesse of feare ought to incite vs, so hope of saluation may allure vs to pray and call vpon the Lord, especially now toward this holy and sacrat time and solemnity of Christes natiuity: For that holy and continuall prayer without intermission is profitable and the instant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iust man, is of great force. And if terreine kinges in the day of celebration of their natiuity, be wont to shew themselnes more liberall and bounteous, how much more ought we to hope wel, that the heauenly king of nature most benigne, now at his natall and byrth day, will not denye pardon and remission to such as rightly call vnto him.

And now therefore as it is written in Iosue chap. 7. Be you sanctified agaynst to morow. &c. And saw vnto him as it is written in the first booke of Kinges chap. 25. Now let thy seruaunts I pray thee finde fauour in thy sight, for we come to thee in a good season. Moreouer ye may finde that ye aske, if that ye aske that which he brought in the day of his Natiuity, that is, the peace of the Church, not spirituall onely but also temporall, which the angelicall noyse did sounde, and experience the same time dyd proue, testified by T. Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen storywriwriters, which all maruelled thereat saying: that such an vniuersal peace as that •ould not come on earth but by the gift of God. For so God did forepromise in the Prophet Esay. chap. 66.* Behold I will let peace into Ierusalem like a waterfloud. &c. And in the Psalme. 71.* In his time righteousnesse shal flourish, yea and abundance of peace. &c.

Therefore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord,) & you here in this present assembly, behold I say the day of life and saluatiō: Now is the oportune time to pray vnto god, that the same thing which he brought into the world at his byrth, he will graunt in these dayes to his Church that is, his peace. And like as Niniuye was subuerted ouerturned, and not in members but in maners: so the same wordes of my theame, Iuxta est iustitia mea vt reueletur, may be verified in vs, not of the primitiue iustice, but of our sanctification by grace, so that: As to morow is celebrated the natiuity of our Sauour, our righteousnesse may rise together with him, and his blessing may be vpon vs, which God hath promised, saying: My sauing health is neare at hand to come. &c. Whereof speaketh Esay the Prophet,* chapte. 51. My sauing health shall endure foreuer. &c. This health graunt vnto vs the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost. Amen.

This Sermō was made by maister Nicholas Orem before Pope Urbane and his Cardinals vpon the euē of the Natiuity of the Lord, being the fourth Sonday of Aduent, in the yeare of our Lord, 1364. and the second of hys Hopedome.

*In the 5. yere of this forenamed Pope Urbane, began first the order of the Iesuites. And vnto this time whiche was about the yeare of our Lord, 1367. *the offices here in England, *as the Lord Chauncellor, Lord Treasurer, & of the priuy seale: were wont to be in the handes of the clergy. But about this yeare through the motion of the Lords in the Parliamēt, and partly (as witnesseth mine author) for hatred of the clergy: all the sayd offices were remoued from the clergy, to the Lordes temporall.

After the death of Pope Urbane, next succeeded Pope Gregory the 11. who among his other acres, first reduced agayne the papacy out of Fraunce vnto Rome, which had from thence bene absent, the space now of 70. yeres, being therto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the answer of a certain bishop, whom as the Pope saw standing by him asked, why he was so long from his charge and church at home, *saying: not to be the part of a good Pastor, to keepe him from his flocke so long. *Wherunto the Bishop aunswering agayne, sayd: And you your selfe being the chiefe Bishoppe, who may and ought to be a spectacle to vs all: why are you from the place so long where your Church doth lye? By the occasion whereof, the Pope sought all meanes after that to remoue and to rid his Court out of Fraunce againe to Rome, and so he did.

This 11. Gregory in a certayne Bull of his sent to the Archb. of Prage, maketh mētion of one named Militzius a Bohemiā, & saith in y^e same bull y^t this Militzius should hold apinion. & teach. an. 1366. that Antechrist was alredy come. Also that the said Militzius had certayn cōgregations folowing him: & that in the same conragation were certain harlots, who being conuerted frō theyr wickednes were brought to a godly life. Which harlots being so conuerted, he vsed to say were to be preferred before al the holy religious virgins. And therfore commaunded the archbishop to excōmunicate and persecute the sayd Militzius, *which in foretime had bene a religious man of Prage, and after forsook his order, and gaue himselfe to preaching, and at length was by the foresayd Archb. imprisoned.

Iacobus Misnensis a learned man and a writer in y^e time of I. Hus, maketh mention of this Militzius, and calleth him a worthy and a famous Preacher. Also citeth many things out of his writings: In the which writinges thys good Militzius thus declareth of himself how he was moued & vrged by the holy Ghost to search out by the sacred Scriptures, *concerning the comming of Antechrist. And that he was compelled by the same holy spirite at Rome publickly to preach, and also before the Inquisitor there to protest plainly, that y^e same great Antechrist which is prophesyed of in y^r holy Scriptures, was alredy come. Moreouer his saying was, that the church through negligēce of the pastors was desolate, did abound in temporall riches, but in spirituall riches to be empty. Also that in y^r Church of Christ, where certayne Idols which destroyd Ierusalē, and defaced the Temple, but hypocrisye caused that those Idols could not be sene. Also that many there were which denied Christ, because that knowing the truth, yet for feare of mē they durst not confesse their conscience. &c. And thus much of good Militzius, liuing in the time of Gregory 11. and king Edward the third. an. 1370.

The which king of England holding a Parliamēt in the 3. yeare of this Pope, sent his Embassadors to hym, desiring him: that he from thenceforth would abstayne frō his reseruatiōs of benefices vsed in the court of England. And that spiritual men within his realme promoted vnto Bishopricks,*might freely enioy theyr electiōs within the realme, and be confirmed by theyr Metropolitanes, according to the auncient custome of the realme. Wherefore, vpō these and such other like wherein the king and the realme thought thēselues greued, he desired of the Pope some remedy to be prouided. &c. Wherunto the Pope returned acertayne answeare agayne vnto the king, requiring by his messengers to be certified agayn of the kings mind cōcerning the same. But what answeare it was, it is not in y^e story expressed, saue that the yere folowing, which was 1374. there was a tractation at Burges vpon certain of the said articles betwene the king & the Pope, which did bāg two yeares in suspēse, so at length it was thus agreed betwene them: that the pope should no more vse his reseruatiōs of benefices in England,* and likewise the king shoulde no more cōferre and geue benefices vpon the writ, Quare impedit. &c. But as touching the freedome of elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitane, mentioned in the yeare before, therof was nothing touched.

As touching these reseruatiōs, prouisiōs, and collations, with the elections of Archbishops, Bishops, beneficed men and other, wherwith the Pope vexed this realme of England, as before you haue heard. The king by y^e consent of the Lordes and commons, in the 25. yeare of hys raigne enacted: that according to a statute made in the 30. [Page 419](#) yeare of his graundfather Edward the first, wherein was made an act against y^e rauinous pillage of the Pope, thorough the same prouisiōs, reseruatiōs, & collations. &c. but not put in execution. By the which prouisiōs, y^e state of the realme decreased more and more, the kings royaltie & prerogatiue greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the realme transported, aliens & straungers placed in the best and fattest by shoprickes, abbeyes, and benefices within the realme. And suche, as eyther for their offices in Rome, as Cardinalships & such like could not be here resident,*or if resident, yet better away for causes infinite, as partly haue bene touched before: Not onely reuiued the sayde statute made by Edward the first hys graundfather, but also enlarged the same. Adding therunto very strait and sharpe penalties against the offenders therin, or in any part therof, as exemptiō out of the kings protection, losse of al their lands, goods, and other possessions, and theyr bodies to be imprisoned at the kings pleasure: And farther, who so euer was lawfully conuict, or otherwise for want of appearance by proces directed forth, were wythin the lappes of this statute or premunire (for so bare the name therof) shuld suffer al and euery such molestation & iniuries, as men exempted frō the protection of the king. In so much, that who so euer had killed such mē, had bene in no more daunger of lawe therefore, then for the killing of an outlaw, or one not worthy to liue in a commō weale. Lyke vnprofitable members were they then in that tyme, yea of ignoraunce esteemed in thys common weale of Englande, as would offer themselues to the wilfull slavery and seruile obedience of the pope: which thyng in these dayes, yea and that amōgst no small fooles, is coūted more then Euangelicall holynes. He that list to peruse the statute, and would see euery braunch and article therof at large discussed and handled, wyth the penalties therefore due:*[Let him read the statute of prouision and premunire](#), made in the 25. yeare of thys kynges dayes. And let hym read in the statutes made in the parliamentes holden the 27, yeare, and 38. yeare of hys raigne: And vnder the same title of prouision and premunire shall finde, the popes primacie and iurisdiction wythin this Realme more nearely touched, and much of hys papall power restrayned: In so much, that who soeuer for any cause or controuersy in law, either spirituall or temporal, y^e same being determinable in any

of y^e kyngs courts (as all matters were) whether they were personall or reall, citations or other: or should eyther appeale or consent to any appellation, to be made out of the realme to the pope or see of Rome: should incurve the sayd penaltie and daunger of premunire. Diuers other matters wherein the Pope is restrained of his vsurped power, authoritie & iurisdiction within this realme of England: are in the sayd titles and statutes expressed, & at large set forth, who euer list to peruse the same, which for breuities sake I omitte, hastening to other matters.

*About this tyme, being the yeare of our Lorde. 1370. lyued holy Brigit, whom the Church of Rome hath canonised not onely for a saint,*but also for a Prophetesse: who notwithstanding in her booke of reuelations, which hath bene oft times imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of his clergie, callyng him a murtherer of soules, a spiller, and a pyller of the flocke of Christ: more abhominable then Iewes, more crueller thē Iudas: more vniust then Pilate, worse then Lucifer hymselfe. The see of the Pope she prophesieth, shalbe throwne down into the deepe, lyke a mylstone. And that his assister shall burne w^t brimstone: Affirmyng, that the prelates, byshops, & priests are the cause, why the doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extincted. And that the clergie haue turned the ten commaundementes of God into two wordes,*to wyt, Da pecuniam, that is, Geue money. It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth. Among the rest which I omitte, let this suffice for all, where as the sayde Brigit affirmeth in her reuelations,*that when the holy Uirgine should say to her sonne, howe Rome was a fruitfull and fertile field: yea, sayd hee, but of weedes onely and cockle. &c.

To thys Brigit I will ioyne also Catherina Senensis, an holy virgin,*which lyued much about the same tyme, ann. 1379. Of whome writeth Antoninus. part. historiae. 3. Thys Katherine hauyng the spirite of prophesie, was wōt much to complaine of the corrupt state of the church, namely of the prelates of the court of Rome, & of the pope: prophesying before of the great schisme, which then folowed in the Church of Rome, and dured to the Councell of Constance, the space of xxxix, yeaes. Also of the great warres ano tribulation, which ensued vpon the same. And moreouer declared before and foretold, of this so excellēt reformation of religion in the Church now present. The words of Antoninus be these.*After this Uirgine in her going to Rome, had tolde her brother of the warres and tumultes that should rise in y^e coūtries about Rome, after y^e schisme of the two Popes. I then curious to know of thinges to come, & knowing that she vnderstood by reuelation what should happen, demaunded of her: I pray you (good mother) sayd I,*and what shall befall after these troubles in the Church of God? And she sayd: By these tribulations and afflictions, after a secret maner vnknowne vnto man, God shall purge his holy Church,* and stirre vp the spirit of his elect. And after these thinges shall follow suche a reformation of the holy Churche of God, and suche a renouation of holye Pastors, that the onely cogitation and remembraunce thereof maketh my spirit to reioyce in the Lord And as I haue oftentimes tolde you heretofore, the spouse which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and deckt with most rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faythfull shall be glad and reioyce to see themselues so beautified with so holy shepheards. Yea and also the Infidels then allured by the sweet sauour of Christ, shall returne to the catholicke folde, and be conuerted to the true Bishop and shepheard of their soules. Geue thanks therefore to God, for after this storme, he will geue to his a great calme. And after she had thus spoken, she stayd, and sayd no more.

Beside these aforementioned, the Lord which neuer ceaseth to worke in his Church: styrred vp agaynst the malignant church of Rome, the spirites of diuers other good & godly teachers,*as Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian borne, who about the yeare of our Lord 1370. wrote a large booke of Antechrist, and proueth him already come, and noteth y^e Pope to be the same.*Which booke one Illiricus a writer in these our dayes hath, & promiseth to put it in print. In this booke he doth greatly inuey against the wickednesse and filthines of the Clergy, and agaynst the neglecting of theyr duety in gouerning the church. The Locustes mentioned in the Apocalips, he sayth, be the hypocrites raigning in the church. The workes of Antechrist he sayth be these, the fables and inuentions of men raigning in the Church: the Images & fained reliques that are worshipped euery where. Itē, that men do worship euery one his proper Saint and Sauior beside Christ, so that euery mā and City almost hath his diuers and peculiar Christ. He taught and affirmed moreouer, that godlines & true worship of God, are not boūd to place, persons, or times, to be heard more in this place, thē in an other, at this time more thē at an other. &c. He argueth also agaynst the cloisterers which leauing the onely and true Sauior, set vp to them selues theyr Franciscanes, theyr Dominickes, and suche other: and haue them for theyr Sauiors, glorying and triumphing in them, and fayning many forged lyes vpon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monks & friers, for neglecting or rather burying the word of Christ and in stead of him, for celebrating & setting vp theyr own rules and canons, affirming it to be much hurtfull to true godlines, for that Priestes, Monkes, and Nunnes do account themselues onely spirituall, and all other to be lay & secular, attributing onely to themselues the opinion of holynes, & contemning other men, with al theyr politick administration & the office as prophane in cōparison of theyr owne. He further writeth that Antechrist, hath seduced all Uniuersities & Colleges of learned men, so that they teach no sincere doctrine, neither geue any light to the Christiās with theyr teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to passe, that God yet once againe will raise vp godly teachers, who being feruent in the spirite and zeale of Helias, shall disclose and refute the errors of Antechrist, and Antechrist himselfe, openly to the whole world. This Mathias in the sayd booke of Antechrist alledgeth the sayinges and writings of the Uniuersity of Paris, also the writings of Guilielmus de sacto amore, and of Militzius afore noted.

About the same time,*or shortly after. an. 1384. we read also of Ioannes of Mountziger, Rector of the Uniuersity of Ulme, who opēly in the scholes in his Oratiō propoūded that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God with that kinde of worship called Latria, as the Sophister termeth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored,*which afterward he also defended by writing: affirming also that Christ in his resurrection tooke to him agayne all his bloud which in hys passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to inferre, that the bloud of Christ which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the bloud of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was resisted and withstood by the Monks and friers: who by this kinde of Idolatry were greatly enriched,* till at length the Senate & councill of the city was fayne to take vp the matter betwene them.

Nilus was Archbishop of Thessalonica, & liued much [Page 420](#) about this time. He wrote a long worke agaynst the Latins that is, agaynst such as tooke part and held with the Church of Rome. His first booke being written in Greeke, was after translated into latin, & lately now into english, in this our time. In the first chap. of his booke, he layeth all the blame and fault of the dissention & schisme betwene the East and the West Church vpon the Pope. He affirmed that the Pope onely would commaund what him listed, were it neuer so contrary to all the olde & auncient

canōs. That he would heare and folow no mans aduise: that he would not permit any free cōūcels to be assēbled. &c. And that therefore it was not possible, that the cōtrouersies betwene the Greeke Church and Latine Church, should be decided and determined.

In the second chap. of his book, he purposely maketh a very learned disputation. For first he declareth that he no whit at all by Gods commaūdement, but onely by humain law, hath any dignity, more thē hath other bishops: which dignity, the Councels, the fathers, & the Emperors haue graunted vnto him: Neither did they graūt the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinaunce: then for that the same City then had the Impery of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, that the same premacy or pre|rogatiue is not such and so great as he and his Sicophāts do vsurpe vnto thēselues. Also he refuteth the chieftest propositions of the Papistes one after an other. He declareth that the Pope hath no dominion more thē other Patriarches haue, and that he himselfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that he is subiect both to lawes & councels, as well as other Bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperor, to call generall councels: & that in Ecclesiasticall causes he could establish and ordeine no more then all other Bishops might. And lastly, that he get|teth no more by Peters succession, then that he is a Byshop as all other Bishops after the Apostles be.*&c.

I can not among other, folowing here the occasion of this matter offered, leaue out y^e memory of Iacobus Misnensis, who also wrote of the comming of Antechrist. In y^e same he maketh mentiō of a certayn learned man, whose name was Militzius, which Militzius (sayth he) was a famous and worthy preacher in Parga. He liued about y^e yere. 1366. long before Husse, and before Wickliffe also. In the same his writings he declareth, how y^e same good man Militzius was by the holy spirit of God incited, and vehe|mently moued to search out of y^e holy Scriptures the maner and comming of Antechrist: and found that now in his time he was all ready come. And the same Iacobus sayth, that the sayd Militzius was constrayned by the spirite of God to go vp to Rome, & there publickely to preach. And that afterward before y^e Inquisitour he affirmed the same. That the same mighty and great Antechrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already comen.

He affirmed also, that the Church by the negligence of the Pastors, should become desolate: and that iniquitye should abound, that is, by reason of Mammon, master of iniquitie. Also, he sayde that there were in the Church of Christ idols, which shoulde destroy Ierusalem, and make the tēple desolate, but were cloked by hypocrisy. Further, that there be many whych deny Christ, for that they keepe silence: neither do they heare Christ, whome all the world should know and cōfesse his verity before men, which also wittingly do detaine the verity and iustice of God.

*There is also a certaine Bull of Pope Gregory 11. to the Archbishop of Praga: wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute Militzius and his auditours. The same Bull declareth, that he was once a Chanon of Praga, but afterward he renounced his Canonship, & began to preache: who also for that he so manifestly preached of Antichrist to be already come: was of Iohn Archbishop of Praga put in prison, declaring what hys errour was. To wit, howe he had his company or cōgregation to whō he preached, and that amongst the same were certain conuerted harlots, which had forsaken their euill life, and did liue godly and well: whych harlots

he accustomed in hys sermons to preferre before all the blessed virgins that neuer offended. He taught also openly, that in the Pope, cardinals, Bishops, prelates, priests, & other religious men: was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that onely he, & such as held with him, taught the true way of saluation. His Postill in some places is yet to be sene. They alledge vnto him certaine other inconuenient articles, which notwithstanding I thinke, the aduersaries to deprave him with all, haue slanderously inuented against hym. He had as appeared by the foresaid Bull, very many of euery state and condition, as wel rich as pore, that cleaued vnto him.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1371. liued Henricus de Iota, whom Gerson doth much commend, and also his companiō Henricus de Hassia, an excellent learned and famous man. An Epistle of this Henricus de Hassia which he wrote to the Bishoppe of Normacia, Iacobus Carisiensis inserted in his booke De erroribus Christianorum. In the same Epistle, the author doth greatly accuse the spirituall men of euery order, yea and the most holiest of all other the Pope himselfe, of many and great vices. He sayd, that the Ecclesiasticall gouernors in the primitiue Church, were compared to the sunne shining in the day time, and the politicall gouernors, to the Moone, shyning in the night. But the spirituall men he said, that now are, do neuer shine in the day time, nor yet in y^e night time, but rather with theyr darcknes do obscure both the day and night, that is: with theyr filthy liuing, ignorance, and impiety. He citeth also out of the prophesy of Hildegadis these words: Therefore doth y^r deuill in himselfe speake of you Priests: Dainty bankets & feasts, wherein is all voluptuousnes do I finde amongst these men: In so much that mine eies, mine eares my belly, and my vaynes, be euen filled with the froth of them, & my brestes stand astrut with the riches of them. &c. Lastly, saith he, they euery day more and more as Lucifer did, seek to climbe higher and higher: till that euery day with hym more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1390. there were burned at Bringa 36. Citizens of Moguntina, for the doctrine of Waldenses, as Brushius affirmeth: which opiniō was no thing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the Pope to be that great Antechrist, which should come: Unlesse peraduenture the Pope seemed then to be more euidently conuicted of Antechristianity thē at any other time before, he was reueled to be.

For the like cause, many other beside these, are to be found in storyes, which sustained the like persecutiō by the Pope, if leysure would serue to peruse all that might be searched. As where Masseus recordeth of diuers to the nūber of 140. which in the prouince of Narbone chose rather to suffer whatsoeuer greuous punishment by fire, thē to receiue the decretals of the Romish Church, contrary to the vpriht truth of the Scripture.

What should I here speake of the 24. which suffered at Paris. an. 1210? Also in the same author is testified that an. 1211. there were 400. vnder the name of heretiques burned 80. beheaded: Prince Americus hanged, and the Lady of the Castle stoned to death.

Moreouer, in the Chronicles of Houedon, and of other writers be recited, a maruelous nūber, which in the countryes of Fraunce were burned for heretiques. Of whom, some were called Publicans, some Catharits, some Paterines, and other by others names. What their assertions were, I finde no certayne report worthy of credit

In Trittenius is signified of one Eckhardus a Dominican Frier,*who not long before Wickliffes tyme, was condemned and suffered for heresy at Hedelberge. an. 2330. who as he diffreth not much in name, so may he be supposed to be the sawe, whom other do name Beghardus, and is sayd to be burned at Erphord.

Of Albingenses because sufficient mētion is made before of whom a great number were burned about the time of king Iohn, I passe them ouer.

Likewise I let passe the heremite,*of whom Iohn Bacon maketh relation, in hys. 2. Dist. Quaest. 1. Who disputing in Paules church, affirmed that those Sacraments, which were then vsed in y^e church, were not instituted by Christ, An. 1306. Peraduenture it was the same Ranulphus, mētioned in the floure of hystories, & is sayd to die in prison: for the time of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the Pope should so much commend a certaine king, because for one man, he had slaine 400. cutting away the genitals from the rest, I can not iudge, except the cause were that, which the Pope calleth heresie.

But to let these things ouerpasse that be vncertayne, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them which haue w^tstand the corruption of the popes sea: neyther haue we any such firme testimony left of their doings, credibly to stay vpon: we wil now (Christ willing) cōuert our story, to thyngs more certaine & vndoubted, grounding vpon no light reportes of feble credit, nor vpō any fabulous legendes wythout authority: But vpon the true and substantial copies of the publique recordes of the Realme, remaining yet to be sene vnder the kings most sure & faithfull custody.*Out of the which records, such matter appeareth against the Popish church of Rome, and against hys vsurped authority, such open stāding & crying against the sayd sea, & that not priuely, but also in open parliament, in the daies of this king Edward the third: that neyther wil [Page 421](#) the Romish people of thys our age easely thynke it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to deny the same, so cleare standeth the force of those recordes.

Ye heard a litle before, pag. 381. howe Iohn Stratford Archb. of Cant. being sent for and required by the king to come vnto hym,*refused so to do. What the cause was why he denyed to come at the kings sending, is neither touched of Poiidore Uirgil, nor of any other monkish Chronicler, wryting of those aces and times. Whose part hath bene, faithfully to haue dispensed the simple truth of thyngs don to theyr posterity. But that whych they dissemblingly and colourably haue concealed, contrary to true lawe of storie, the true cause thereof we haue found out by the true Parliament roles, declaring the story thus.

King Edward the 3. in the 6. yeare of hys raigne, hearing that Edward Bailol had proclaimed himselfe kyng of Scotland:*Required counsell of the whole estate to wit, whether were better for hym to assaile Scotlande, and to claim the demesing or demeines of the same: or cls by making hym party to take hys aduauntage. And thereby to enioy the seruice, as other hys auncesters before hym had done. For thys cause he sommoned a Parliament of all estates to meete at Yorke, about the begynning of December. Where the kyng was alredy come, waiting for y^e comming of such as were warned thereunto. For the want of whose comming, the parliament was reiourned til monday, and from thence to Tuesday next ensuing. But forsomuch as most of the states were

absent, the assembly required the continuance of the parliament, vntil the vtas of S. Hillary then ensuing at Yorke, whych was graunted. And so a new summons was especially awarded to euery person with special charge to attend, so that the affaires of the king and the realme myght not be hindered, because of the debate betwene the Archb. of Cant. and Archbishop of Yorke, for the superiour bearing of theyr crosse.

*In conclusion, for all the kyngs summoning, none other of all the Clergy came, but onely the Archb. of Yorke, the byshop of Lincolne, and of Carliel, & Abbots of Yorke and Seleby. So that hereunto came not the Archb. of Cāterb. nor any other of hys prouince, and all for bearing the crosse. Werby the same was not onely a losse to the oportunitie to Scotland: but also an importable charge to the whole estate by a newe reassembly. And thus much out of the recordes. Whereby thou mayest easely iudge (prudent Reader) what is to be thought of these Pope holy Catholique Churchmen) being of the Popes broode and setting vp whom such friuolous causes of contention stirre vp to such disquietnes, both among themselues, and also to such disobedience against their Prince: excuse them who can. Ex. An. 6. Regis Edwardi 3.

*It foloweth moreouer in the same records, concerning the abandoning of the popes prouisions: how that the cōmons finde great default at prouisions commyng from Rome, wherby straungers were enabled wⁱn this realme to enioy ecclesiastical dignities, & shew diuers inconueniences ensuing thereby, namely the decay of daily almose, y^e transporting of the treasure to nourish the kings enemies the discovering of the secrets of the realme, & the disabling and impouerishing of the clerkes within this realme.

They also shew how the pope had in most couert wyse graunted to two new Cardinalles wythin thys Realme, *(and namely to Cardinall Peragotz) aboue ten thousand markes of yerely taxes: They therfore required the kyng and nobles to finde some remedy, for that they neuer could ne would any longer beare those straunge oppressions, or els to helpe them to expell out of thys realme the Popes power by force.

Hereupon, the King, Lords, and commōs, sent for the act made at Carliel, *in the 35. yere of king Edward y^e first, vpon the lyke complaint: thereby forbidding, y^t any thyng shoulde be attempted or brought into the Realme, whych should tend to the blemishing of the kings prerogatiue, or to the preiudice of hys Lords or commons. And so at thys time, the statute called the acte of prouision was made by common consent, whych generally forbiddeth the brynging in of any Bulles, or such trinkets from the Court of Rome, or the vsing, enioying, or allowing of any such bil, processe, instrument, or such ware, as therby at large doth appeare. Whereof sufficiently is touched before, pag. 353.

The penalty of whych statute afterwarde followed in the next parliament, * An. Reg. Ed. 18. tit. 32. the whych penalty was this: the transgressors thereof to lie in perpetuall prison, or to be foriured the land. And that al iustices of assize, gaile deliuery, and yer and determiner, may determine the same. Required withall, that the same act of prouision, should continue for euer.

Item, that the sayd 18. yeare of the raigne of king Edward, tit 34. it was moreouer propoūded: that if any archbyshop, or any person religious or other, doe not present wⁱn 4. monthes some

able clerke to any dignitie, where any person hath obtayned from Rome any prouision, Bul, &c. but surcease the same: that then the Kyng may present some able clerke.*

Item, propounded in the sayd Parliament, an. 18. Reg. Ed 3. that if any Byshop elect, shall refuse to take any suche byshoprikes, other then by such Bull: that then such elect, shal not enter ne enioy hys temporalties without his speciall licence.

Also,*that the king shall dispose all such benefices and dignities of such aliens his enemies, as remain in the coūtrei of hys enemyes, and employ the profites therof to the defence of the realme.

Moreouer propounded,*that commissioners be sent to all the kings portes, to apprehend all such persons as shal bring in any such instrument frō Rome, and to bring them forthwyth before the counsaile to answeare thereto.

Propounded farthermore,*that the Deanry of Yorke which is to be recouered by iudgemēt in the kyngs court, may be bestowed vpon some able man within the realme, who will maintaine the same agaynst hym (meanyng the Cardinall, who holdeth the same by prouision frō Rome, being the enemy to the king and to the realm) and that the profites may be employed to the defence of the realme.

The kynges aunswere.*To all whych petitions aunswere was made in forme followyng: It is agreed by the King, Earles, Barons, Iustices, & other wise men of the Realme, that the petitions aforesayd, be made in sufficient forme of law, according to the petitions aforesayd.

Note in thys answere of the kyng (good reader) that at the graunt hereof,*the consent of the byshops is neyther named, nor expressed, with the other Lords of the Parliament: and yet, the Parliament standeth in hys full force, notwythstanding.

Notes of the Parliament holden in the 20. yeare of king Edward 3.

TO passe farther in the 20. yeare of the kings reigne in the Parliament holden the same yere,* it was propoūded: that all alien Monkes should auoyde the Realme by the day of S. Michael, and that theyr liuings shuld be disposed, to young English scholers. The liuings of these the king tooke to hys handes.

Item, that the king may take the profites of all others strangers liuings,* as Cardinals and others, during their liues. The profites of whō were also in the kings hands.

That such aliens enemies, as be aduanced to liuyngs here in England (being in their owne countreys, shomakers, tailers, or chamberlaines to Cardinals) shuld depart before Michaelmas, and theyr lyuings disposed to poore English scholers. The lyuings also of these remayned in the kings handes.

The commons denied to pay any paiment, to any cardinals lying in Fraunce, to entreat of war or peace: which also was graunted of the kings part as reasonable.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yearely aduauncement of two thousand markes (graunted by the pope to two Cardinals,* out of the prouinces of Canterb. and Yorke) should be restrained, and suche as shall pursue therfore to be out of the law.

Lykewise enacted and agreed, that no Englysh man should take any thing in ferme of any Alien religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of theyr counsaile, on payne of perpetuall imprysonment.

Enacted further, that no person should bryng into the realme to any Byshop or other, any Bul, or any other letters from Rome, or from any Alien: vnlesse he shewe the same to the Chauncelour or warden of the Cinque ports, vpon losse of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the said Parliament, the bishops were commaunded before the next conuocation, to certify into the Chancery the names of such Aliens, of their benefices, and the values of the same.

Notes of the 25. yeare of kyng Edward the third.

The Parliament of the 25. yeare,* was begon the 6. day of February, the 25. yeare of king Edward 3. In the which parliament beside other matters mo, was propounded: that remedy might be had against the popes reseruations, by which brocage and meanes the pope receiued the first fruits of all Ecclesiastical dignities: A more consumption to the Realme, then all the kings warres.

[Page 431](#) Also the like remedy myght be had against suche, as in the Court of Rome presume to vndoe any iudgement geuen in the kinges courte,* as if they enforced to vndoe the lawes of the realme.

Wherunto it was answered, that there was sufficient remedy prouided by law.

Notes of the 38. yeare of king Edward the third.

IN the Parliament holden at Westminster, the 38. yeare of Edward 3. in the vtaues of Hillary (Symon Byshop of Ely being Lorde Chauncelour) it was required by the kings owne mouth, & declared to the whole estates: How daily citations & false suggestions were made to the pope, for matters determinable in his courtes w^tin the Realme, and for procuring prouisions to Ecclesiasticall dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient lawes, to the spoyling of his crowne, to the daily conueying away of the treasure to the wasting of ecclesiastical liuings, to the withdrawing of diuine seruice, almose, hospitalitie, and other acceptable workes, and to the daily increase of all mischiefes: Wherfore, in person and by hys owne month, the king required the whole estate to prouide here of due remedy.

To be noted finally in thys parliament of the 38. yere, that the Acte of prouisors, brought in thys parliament, although in the printed copy.*cap. 1.2.3.4. doth agree with the recorde, in maner: yet in the saide recordes vnprinted, are moe biting wordes against the Pope: a mysterie not to be knownen of all men.

Notes of the 40. yeare of king Edward the third.

IT followeth moreouer in the sayd Acts of king Edward the 3. and in the 40. yere of his raigne, an other Parliament was called at Westminster the 3. of May. An. 1366. the Bishop of Ely being Lord Chauncelour and speaker. Who in the 2. day of the sayd assembly in the presence of the King, Lordes and commons, declared: howe the day before, generally they vnderstoode the cause of thys their assembly, and now more particularly shuld vnderstand the same: specially howe that the king vnderstode, y^e the Pope (for the homage which K. Iohn made to the sea of Rome for the Realmes of Englād & Ireland, and for the tribute by him granted) ment by proces to cite the king of Rome, to aunswere thereto. Wherein, the king required their aduises, what were best for him to do, if any such thing were attempted. The Byshops by their selues required respite of answere, vntill the next day. So did the Lordes & commons euery of them by their selues.

The same next day, the whole estates reassembled together, & by common consent enacted in effect following, * vz. For asmuch as neither K. Iohn nor any other kyng, coulde bring his realme & people in such thraldome & subiection, but by common assent of Parliament, the whyche was not done: and therefore done against his othe at hys coronation (besides many other causes.) If therefore the Pope should attempt any thing against the King, by processe or other matter in deede: That the king shall his subiects, should withall their force and power resist the same.

Here moreouer is not to be omitted, howe in the sayd present Parliament, the Uniuersities of Oxford & Cambridge on the one side, and the Friers of the foure orders mēdicants in the said vniuersities on the other side: Made long complaintes the one against the other, to the kyng in Parliament, and in the ende submitted themselues to the kings order.

After which, the king vpon full digesting of the whole matter (by assent of Parliament) tooke order: that as well the Chancelour & scholers, as the friers of those orders in the sayd Uniuersities: should in al graces and other schole exercises, vse eche other in frendly wise, wythout any rumor as before. That none of those orders, shoulde receyue any scholers into theyr sayde orders, being vnder the age of 18. yeares.

*That the said Friers shall take no aduantage, ne procure Bulles or other processe from Rome, against the said vniuersities, or procede therein.

And that the kyng haue power to redresse all controuersies, betweene them from thence forth. And the offenders to be punished at the pleasure of the King, and of the counsaile.

*** Notes of the 50. yeare of king Edward the third.**

IN processe of the foresayd Actes and Rolles, it followeth more, that in the 50. yeare of the reigne of king Edward the 3. the yeare of our Lorde 1376. an other great Parliament was assembled at Westminster the xxiiij. of Aprill: Where, Syr Iohn Knyuet being Lorde Chauncelour of England, a certaine long Bill was put vp against the vsurpatiōs of the Pope, as being the cause of all y^e plagues, murrions, famine, and pouerty of the realme, so as thereby was not left the third person, or other cōmodity within the realme that lately was.

2. That the taxes payed to the Pope of Rome for Ecclesiasticall dignities,* doe amount to fiue fold as much, as the taxe of al profites as apperteine to the king by the yeare of his whole Realme: And that for some one Byshoprike or other dignitie, the Pope by way of translation and death, hath 3.4. or 5. seuerall taxes.

3. That the brokers of that sinfull Citie,* for money promote many caitifes (being altogether vnlearned and vnworthy) to a 1000. markes lyuing by yeare, where the learned and worthy can hardly obtaine 20. marks, wherelearning decayeth.

4. That aliens (enemyes to this land) who neuer saw ne care not to se their parishioners,* haue those liuings wherby they despise Gods seruice, & conuey away the treasure, and are worse then Iewes or Sarasens.

5. Also it was put vp in the said Bill to be considered, that the lawes of the church, would such liuings to be bestowed for charitie, onely without praying or paying.

6. That reason woulde that liuings geuen of deuotion, should be bestowed in hospitality.

7. That God had committed his sheepe to the Pope, to be pastured and not shoren or shauen.

8. That lay patrones perceiuing the couetousnes and simony of the pope,* do therby learne to sell their benefices to beasts, none otherwise then Christ was sold to the Iewes.

9. That there is none so rich a Prince in Christendome, that hath the fourth part of so much treasure, as the Pope hath out of this realme, for churches most sinfully.

10. Ouer and besides in the sayd Bill,* repeting againe the tendering zeale, for the honor of the Church: was declared and particularly named, all the plagues whych haue iustly fallen vpon this realme, for suffering the same church to be so defaced, wyth declaration that it will daily encrease wythout redresse.

11. Wherupon,* with much persuasion this was desired, to helpe to reedifie the same: and the rather for that, this was the yeare of Iubiley, the 50. yeare of the kynges reigne, the yeare of ioy and gladnesse, then the whych there could be no greater.

12. The meanes howe to begyn this, was to wryte 2. letters to the Pope: the one in Latine vnder the kyngs scale, the other in French vnder the seales of the nobles, importing their particularities, & requiring redres, of the which letter of the Lordes, the effect may be seene in a like letter mentioned before, pag. 479.

13. And for a further accomplishment hereof to enact,* that no money were caried foorth of the realme by letter of Lūbardy or otherwise, or paine of forfeiture and imprisonment, and to enact the articles hereafter ensuing.

14. The king hath heretofore by statute prouided sufficiēt remedy, and otherwise pursueth the same with the holy father the Pope, & so mindeth to do from time to time, vntill he hath obtained aswel for the matters before, as for the articles ensuing being in a maner all one.

15. That the popes collector & other straungers the kings enemies,* and onely lyger spies for English dignities, and disclosing of the secretes of the realme, may be touched.

16. That the same collectour being also receauour of the popes pence, keepeth a house in London with clerkes and officers therto, as it were one of the kings solēne courtes, transporting yearly to the Pope xx. M. markes, and most commonly more.

17. That Cardinals & other aliens remaining at Rome, wherof one Cardinall is Deane of Yorke, an other of Salisbury, an other of Lyncoln, an other archdeacon of Canterbury, an other Archdeacon of Duresme, an other archdeacon of Suffolk, an other Archdeacon of York, an other prebendary of Thame & Nassington, an other prebendary of Buckes in the Church of Yorke: Haue diuers of the best dignities of England,* & haue sent ouer to them yerely xx. M. marks ouer and aboue that whych English brokers lying there, haue.

18. That the Pope (to raunsome the Frenchmenne the kings enemyes, who defond Lumbardy from hym) doeth alwaies at his pleasure leuie a subsidy of the whole Clergie of England.

19. That the Pope for more gaine maketh sundry translations of all the Byshoprickes and other dignities wythin the Realme.

[Page 423](#)20. That the popes collector hath this yere taken to hys dic the first fruits of all benefices, by collatiō or prouision.

*21. To renue all the statutes against prouisors frō Rome, sith that the Pope reserueth all the benefices of the worlde for hys owne proper gift, & hath thys yere created 12. new Cardinals, so as nowe there are thirty, where was wont to be but 12. and all those Cardinals, except 2. or 3. are the kings enemies.

22. That the Pope in tyme, wil geue the temporall mannors of those dignities to y^e kings enemies,* sith he so daily vsurpeth vpon the Realme, and the kings regalities.

23. That all houses and corporatiōs of religion, who vnto the kings raigne nowe had free election of heades, the Pope hath encroched the same to hymselfe.

24. That in all legacies from the Pope, whatsoever: the English clergie beareth the charge of the legates,* and all for the goodnesse of our money.

25. And so it appeareth, that if the money of the Realme were as plentiful as euer it was: the Collectors aforesaid, wyth the Proctors of Cardinals, would soone conuey the same.

26. For remedy heereof it may be prouided, that no suche Collector or Proctor doe remayne in Englande, on payne of lyfe and member. And that no Englysh man on the like payne, become any such Collector or Proctor, or remayne at Rome.

27. For better information hereof, and namely touchyng the Popes Collector, for that the whole clergy beyng obedient to him, dare not displease hym: It were good, that syr Iohn Strensale, parson of S. Botulphes in Holborne, may be sent to come before the Lordes and commons of this Parliament. who beyng straightly charged, can declare much more, for that hee serued the same Collector in house 5. yeares.

* And thus much of this bil touching the popes matters: wherby it may appere, not to be for nought that hath bene vpon vs reported by the Italians and other straungers, which vsed to call English men good Asses: for they beare all burdens that be layd vpon them.

*Item, in the said parliament it was prouided also, that such order as is made in London against the horrible vice of vsury, may be obserued throughout the whole realme.

The commons of the dioces of Yorke complaine of the outrageous taking of the Byshop and his clarkes,* for admission of priestes to their benefices.

To these recordes of the parliament aboue prefixed of the 50. yere of thys king Edward: we will adioyne also other notes, collected out of the parliament, in the yere next following, which was 51. and last yeare of this kings life and raigne, An. 1377. the 27. of Ianuary: Although in the printed boke, these statutes are said to be made at the parliament holden, as aboue in the 50. yeare whych is muche mistaken, and ought to be referred to the 51. yere, as by the recordes of the sayd yere, manifestly doth appeare.

In which Parliament, the Byshop of S. Davids being Lord Chauncelour, making a long oration, taking his theame out of S. Paul: Libenter suffertis insipientes. &c. Declaring in the sayde Oration many thyngs, as first, in shewing the ioyfull newes of the olde kings recouerye: then declaring the loue of God toward the king and realme, in chastising hym wyth sicknesse: Afterwarde shewyng the blessing of God vpon the king, in seeing hys childrēs children: Then by a similitude of the head & members, exhorting the people as members to cōforme themselues to the goodnesse of the head. Lastly, hee turned his matter to the Lordes and the rest, declaring the cause of that assembly: that for somuch as the Frenche kyng had allyed hymselfe wyth the Spanyardes and Scottes the kyngs enemyes, whych had prepared great powers, conspiring to blot out the English tonge and name: the king therefore was willyng to haue therein their faithfull counsaile.

This being declared by the Bishop: Sir Robert Ashton the kings chamberlaine, declaring y^t he was to moone them from the king, for the profit of the realme (the whych wordes perca•e lay not in the Byshops mouth, for that it touched the Pope) vz. By protesting first, that the Kyng was ready to do al that ought to be done for the pope. But for that diuers vsurpations were done by the Pope to the Kyng hys crowne, and Realme, as by particular billes in thys parliament should be shewed, he required of them to seeke redresse.

In this present parliament petition was made by the commons, that all prouisors of things from Rome, & their ministers, should be out of the kings protection.

Whereunto the kyng answered, that the Pope had promysed redresse, whych if hee did not, the lawes then should stand.

It was also in that Parliament required, that euery person of what sexe soeuer,* being professed of any religion, continuing the habite of 15. yeares, may vpon the triail of the same in any of the kings courts, be in law vtterly forbarred of all inheritaunce, albeit he haue dispensation from the pope. Against which dispensation, is the chief grudge. whereunto the king and the lordes answered, saying, that they would prouide.

Item, in the sayde Parliament was propounded, that the statute of prouisors made at any time may be executed, and that remedy may be had agaynst such Cardinalles, as haue wythin the prouinces of Caunterbury and Yorke, purchased reseruations,* wyth the clause of Anteferri, to the value of xx. or xxx. thousande Scures of golde agaynst the Popes Collector: who was wont to be an Englishman, and now is a mere French, residing at London, & conueieth yearly to the Pope xx. M. markes, or xx. M. pounce, who this yeare gathereth the first frutes whatsoever. Alledging the meanes to meete wyth these reseruations and nouelries, as: to commaund all straungers to depart the Realme during the warres, that no English man to become their farmour, or to send to them any mony without speciall licence, on payne to be out of the kings protection: whereunto was answered by the kyng, that the statutes and ordinaunces therefore made, should be obserued.

In these rolles and recordes of such Parliaments as was in this kings time continued,* diuers other thynges are to be noted muche worthy to be marked, and not to be suppressed in silence. Wherein the Reader may learne and vnderstand the state of the kings iurisdiction here wythin this realme, not to be straightned in those daies (although the Pope then seemed to be in his chief ruffe) as afterward since in other kings dayes was seene. As may appeare in the parliament of the 15. yeare of this king Edward the 3. and in the 24. article of the sayde Parliament: where it is to be read,* that the kings officers and temporall Iustices did then both punish vsurers, and impeached the officers of the Church for bribery, and for taking mony for temporall paine, probate of willes, solemnitie of Mariage. &c. all the pretended liberties of the popish church to the contrary notwithstanding.

Furthermore, in the Parliament of the 25. yeare, appeareth:* that the liberties of the clergie and their exemptions in claiming the deliuerance of men by their booke vnder the name of Clerks, stode then in litle force, as appeared by one Hauketyne Honby knight: who for imprisonning one of the kings subiectes, till hee made fine of 20. li. was therefore executed, notwithstanding the liberty of the Clergie, whych by his booke would haue saued hym, but could not.

The like also appeared by iudgement geuen agaynst a priest at Notingham, for killing of his maister.

And likewise by hanging certaine monks of Combe. Ex Parliam. An. 23. Ed. 3.

Item, in the Parliament of the 15. yeare, by apprehending of I. Stratford,* Archbishop of Canterbury, and hys arrainment: concerning which his arrainment, all things were committed to sir William of Kildisby.

Besides these truthes and notes of the kings Parliaments, wherin may appeare y^e toward procedings of this king & of all his commons against the pretensed church of Rome: Thys is moreouer to be added to the commendation of the king, how in the volumes of the actes & rolles of the king appeareth. That the sayd king Edward the 3. sent also Iohn Wickleffe,* reader then of the Diuinitie lector in Oxford, wyth certaine other Lords & Ambassadors ouer into the parts of Italy, to treat wyth the Popes Legates concerning affaires betwixt the King and the Pope wth ful cōmission: the tenor whereof here foloweth expressed.

REX vniuersis, ad quorum notitiam presentes literae peruenerint. &c.

In English thus.

The King to all and singuler to whome these presentes shall come greeting. Know ye, that we reposing assured confidence in the fidelitie and wisdome of the reuerend father Iohn Bishoppe of Bangor, and other our louing and faithful subiects, M. Iohn Wickliffe, reader of the diuinitie lecture, M. Iohn Gunter Deane of Segobyen. and M. Symon Moulton doctor of the lawe, Syr William Burton Knight, M Iohn Belknappe, & M. Iohn Honnington, haue directed them as our Ambassadors and special Commissioners to the partes beyond the seas. Geuing to the sayde our Ambassadors and Commissioners, to sixe or fiue of them, of whome I will that the sayde Bishop shalbe one, full power and auctoritie, wyth commaundement speciall, to treat and consult mildely and charitably with the Legates and Ambassadors of the L. Pope touching certaine affaires. Where upon of late we sent heretofore the [Page 424](#) sayd Bishop, and M. William Vghtred monke of Duresme, and M. Iohn Shepie to the see Apostolicall: And hereof to make ful relation of all things done and past in the sayd assembly, that all such things which may tend to the honor of holy Church and the aduauncement of our crowne and this our realme may by the assistaunce of God and the wisdome of the see Apostolicall bee brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witnes our selues. &c. at London dated the 26. day of Iuly in the 48. yeare of our raigne.

By the which it is to be noted, what good wil the king then bare to the sayd Wickleffe, and what smal regarde he had to the sinfull sea of Rome.

Of the whych Iohn wickleff, because we are now approched to his time: remaineth consequently for our story to entreat of, so as we haue heere to fore done of other lyke valiant souldiours of Christes Church before him.

Iohn Wickliffe.

*AFTER all these heretofore recited, by whome (as ye haue heard) it pleased the Lord something to worke against the Byshop of Rome, & to weaken the pernitious superstition of the Friers. Nowe remayneth consequently following the course of yeares, orderly to enter into the story and tractation of Iohn Wickleffe our countreyman, and other moe of his time, and same countrey,

whom the Lord (wyth the like zeale and power of spirit) rayased vp here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poison of the Popes doctrine, & false religion set vp by the Fryers. In whose opinions and assertiōs, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted: yet such blemishes they be, whych rather declare him to be a mā that might erre, then which directly did fight against Christ our Sauour, as the Popes proceedings and the friers did. And what doctor or learned man hath ben from the prime age of the church, so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whome no opinyon hath sometyme swarued awry? * And yet be the sayd articles of hys, neither in number so many, nor yet so grosse in themselues and so cardinall, as those Cardinal ennemies of Christ perchance doe geue them out to be: if his bookes whō they abolished, were remaining to be conferred w^t those blemishes, which they haue wrasted to the worste, as euill will neuer sayde the best.

This is certaine and can not be denied, but that he being the publike Reader of Diuinitie in the Universitie of Oxford: was for the rude time wherein he liued, famously reputed for a great clerke, a deepe scholeman, & no lesse expert in all kinde of philosophie. * The which doth not onely appeare by his owne most famous and learned wrytings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden hys most cruel & bitter enemy. Who in a certain Epistle wrytten vnto pope Martin the fift, sayth that he was wonderfully astonysed at his most strong arguments, wyth the places of authority whych hee had gathered, wyth the vehemency and force of hys reasons. &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as haue obserued the order and course of tunes, that this wickleffe florished about the yeare of our Lord. * 1371. Edward the third raigning in England: for thus we doe finde in the Chronicles of Caxton. In the yere of our Lord 1371. (sayeth he) Edward the third, king of England in his Parliamēt, was against the Popes clergy: He willingly harkned and gaue eare to the voices and tales of heretickes, wyth certaine of his counsel: conceiuing and folowing sinister opinions against the Clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he tasted and suffred much aduersity & trouble. * And not long after, in the yeare of our Lord (sayth he) 1372. he wrote vnto the Byshop of Rome, that he should not by any meanes entermeddle any more w^t in his kingdom as touching the reseruatiō, or distribution of benefices: and that all such by shops as were vnder hys dominion, should enioy their former and anciēt liberty, and be confirmed of theyr Metropolitanes, as hath ben accustomed in tunes past. * &c. Thus much wryteth Caxtō: But as touching the iust number of the yere and time, we will not be very curious or carefull about, at this present. Thys is out of all doubt, that at what time all the worlde was in most desperate and vile estate, & that the lamentable ignorance and darknes of God his truth had ouershadowed the whole earth: this man stepped forth like a valiant champiō, vnto whom it may iustly be applyed that is spoken in the boke called Ecclesiasticus of one Simon the sonne of Onias. Euen as the morning star being in the midst of a cloud, & as the Moone being ful in her course, and as the bryght beames of the Sunne, so doeth he shine and glister in the temple and Church of God.

Thus doth almighty God continually succor & helpe, whē all thinges are in dispaire: being alwaies (according to the Prophecy of the Psalme) a helper in tyme of need. The which thing neuer more playnely appeared, then in these latter dayes and extreme age of the Church: when as the whole state & condition (not onely of worldly things, but also of Religion) was depraued and corrupted. That like as the disease named Lethargus among the Phisicians, euen so the state religion amongst the Diuines, was past al mens helpe and remedy. The onely name of Christ remayned amongst Christians, but his true & liuely doctrine was as farre vnknowne vnto the

most part, as his name was cōmon vnto al men. As touching fayth, cōsolation, the end & vse of the law,* the office of Christ, of our impotency and weaknes, of the holy ghost, of the greatnes & strength of sinne, of true works, of grace and free iustification of liberty of a Christian man, wherein consisteth and resteth the summe and matter of our profession: there was no mention or any word almost spokē of Scripture, learning & diuinity, was knowne but vnto a few, & that in the scholes onely: & there also turned & cōuerted almost al into sophistry. In stead of Peter & Paule, men occupied theyr time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the maister of sentēce. The worlde leauing & forsaking the liuely power of Gods spirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies & humaine traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a maner of all christian perfection did consist & depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining saluation fully fixed: hereunto all thynges were attributed. In so much, that scarcely any other thyng was sene in the temples or Churches, taught or spoken of in sermōs, or finally intēded or gone about in theyr whole life, but only heaping vp of certain shadowed ceremonies vpon ceremonies, neither was there any end of theyr heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see, and did see almost nothing whiche they did not worship.

The Church being degenerated from the true Apostolick institutiō aboue al measure (reseruing onely the name of the Apostolick Church, but farre from the truth thereof in very deede) did fall into all kinde of extreme tyranny: where as the pouerty and simplicity of Christ was chaūged into cruelty and abomination of life. In stead of the Apostolicke giftes and continuall labours and trauelles, slouthfulnes & ambitiō was crept in amongst the priests. Besides all this, there arose & sprong vp a thousand sortes and fashions of straunge religions, being the onely root & well head of all superstitiō. How great abuses and deprauations were crept into the Sacramentes, at what tyme they were compelled to worship similitudes and signes of thinges, for the very things themselues: and to adore such things as were instituted and ordeined onely for memorials? Finally what thing was there,* in the whole state of Christen religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstitiō? Besides this, with how many bondes & snares of dayly new fangled ceremonies, the sely consciences of men redeemed by Christ to liberty, were snared and snarled? In so much, that there could be no great differēce almost perceiued betwene Christianitie and Iuishnes, saue onely the name of Christ, so that the state and condition of the Iewes, might seeme somewhat more tolerable then ours. There was nothing sought for out of the true fountaines, but out of the dirty pudles of the Philistians. The christian people were wholly caried away as it were by the noses, with mere decrees and constitutions of men, euen whether as pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christes will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and ouerwhelmed with errorrs and darknesse. And no great maruell, for why the simple and vnlearned people being far from all knowledge of the holy Scripture: thought it sufficient inough for them, to know onely these things whych were deliuered them by their pastors and shepherds, and they on the other part taught in a maner nothing els, but such things as came foorth of the Court of Rome. Whereof the most part tended to the profite of their order more then to the glory of Christ.

The Christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but y^t euery man should know that Christ once suffred, that is to say, that all men should know and vnderstand y^t thing which the deuils thēselues also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderful holines. All men

were so addict vnto outward shewes,* that euen they thēselues which professed y^t most absolute & singular knowledge of the scriptures, scarsly did vnderstād or know any other thing. And thys euidētly did appere, not only in the common sort of doct•urs and teachers, but also in the very heades and captaines of the Church: whose whole religion [Page 425](#) and holines, consisted in a maner in the obseruing of dayes, meates, and garments, and such like rethorical circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts & fashions of vestures and garments: so many differences of colours & meates: with so many pilgrimages to seuerall places, as though f. Iames at Compostella could do that, which Christ could not do at Canterbury: Or els that God were not of like power & strength in euery place, or could not be found but being sought for by running & gadding hether and thether. Thus the holines of the whole yere was trāsported and put of vnto the Lent season.* No countrey or land was counted holy, but onely Palestina, where Christ had walked himselfe wyth his corporall feete. Such was the blindnes of y^t tune, men did striue and fight for the crosse at Hierusalem, as it had bene for the chief and onely force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to reade the monumentes of the formore times, to see and vnderstand what great troubles & calamities thys crosse hath caused almoste in euery Christian common wealth. For the Romish champions neuer ceased, by wryting, admonishing, and couंसailing, yea and by quarelling, to moue & stirre vp Princes mindes to warre & battail, euen as though the faith & beleefe of the gospell, were of small force or little effect w^tout that wooden crosse. This was y^e cause of y^t expedition of the most noble prince K. Rich.* vnto Ierusalem. Who being taken in the same iourney, and deliuered vnto the Emperour: could scarsly be raunsomed home againe, for xxx. M. markes. pag. 248. In the same enterprise or iourney,* Fridericus the Emperour of Rome a man of most excellent vertue, was muche endamaged in the same iourney. an. 1179. And also Philip the king of Fraunce, scarsly returned home againe in safety not without great losses:* so much did they esteeme the recouery of the holy citie and crosse.

Upon this alone, all mens eyes, minds, & deuotions, were so set and bent: as though either there were no other crosse but that, or that the crosse of Christ were in no other place but onely at Hierusalem. Such was the blindnesse and superstition of those daies, which vnderstood or knew nothing but such as were outwardly sene: wheras y^e profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. what was the cause why that Urbanus did so vexe and torment himselfe? Because that Antioche with the holy crosse, was lost out of the hands of the Christians. For so we doe finde it in the Chronicles, at what time as Ierusalem with king Buido,* and the crosse of our Lord was taken, and vnder the power of Sultan: Urbanus toke the mater so greuously, that for very sorow he died.* In whose place succeeded Lambertus which was called Gregory the 8. by whose motion it was decreed by the Cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousnes) they should preach the crosse of Christ, and by their pouerty and humility first of all shuld take the crosse vpon them, & go before others into the lād of Ierusalem. These are the words of the history, wherby it is euidēt vnto the vigilant reader, vnto what grosenes the true knowledge of the spiritual doctrine of the gospel was degenerate and growen vnto in those daies: How great blindnes & darknes was in those dayes, euen in the first primacy, & supremacy of the bishop of Rome: as though the outward succession of Peter and the Apostles,* had ben of greater force and effect to that matter. What doeth it force in what place. Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that euery man should labor and study with all theyr endeuor to followe the life & confession of Peter: And that man seemeth vnto me to be the true successour of Peter, against whom the gates of hel shall not preuaile. For if that Peter in the gospell do beare

the type & figure of the christian church (as all men in a maner do affirme) what more foolish or vaine thyng can there be: then thorough priuate vsurpation, to restraine and to binde that vnto one man, which by the appoyntment of the Lorde, is of it selfe free and open to so many?

*Thus in these so great and troublous times and horrible darkenes of ignoraunce, what time there seemed in a maner to be no one so litle a sparke of pure doctrine left or remaining: This foresayd wickliffe by Gods prouidence sprang and rose vp: thorough whom, the Lord would first waken and raise vp agayne the worlde, which was ouermuch drowned and whelmed in the depe streames of humaine traditions. Thus you haue heere the time of wickliffes originall.

*Which Wicliffe after he had now by a long time professed deuinity in the vniuersity of Oxford, and perceiuing the true doctrine of Christes Gospell to be adulterate and defiled, with so many filthy inuentions of Bishops, sectes of monkes, and darke errors: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himselfe (with many secrete sighes and bewailing in hys mind the generall ignorance of the whole world) could no lōger suffer or abide the same but that he at the last, determined with himselfe to heale and to remedy such things as he saw to be wide and out of the way. But for so much as he saw that this daungerous medling, could not be attempted or stirred wythout great trouble, neyther that these things which had bene so long tune with vse and custome rooted and grafted in mennes mindes, coulde not be sodenly plucked vp or taken away, he thought w^t himselfe that this matter should be done by litle & litle. Wherefore he taking his original at small occasions, thereby opened himselfe a way or meane to greater matters. And first he assailed his aduersaries in logicall & metaphisical questiōs, disputing w^t them of the first forme & fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, w^t other such like sophemes of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding did not a little helpe and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters, first began Regningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against Iohn Wicliffe.

By these originals, the way was made vnto greater poynts, so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the sacraments, and other abuses of the Church. Touching whych thinges this holy man tooke great paynes, protesting (as they saide) openly in the scholes, that it was hys chiefe and principall purpose and intent: to reuoke and call backe the Church from her Idolatry to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ. But this bile or sore could not be touched wythout the great griefe and paine of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glutte of Monkes and begging Friers were set on a rage or madnes, which (euen as Hornets wyth their sharpe stings) did assaile this good man on euery side: fighting (as is sayd) for their aultars, paunches and bellies. After them the priests, and then after them the Archb. tooke the matter in hand being then S. Sudbury, who for the same cause depriued him of his benefice,* which then he had in Oxford. Notwythstanding he being somewhat friended & supported by the king, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friers, and of the Archb. all this while of his first beginning, till about the yeare of our Lorde. 1377. After whych time now to prosecute likewise of his troubles & conflict, first I must fetch about a little compasse, as requisite is, to inferre some mention of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster the kings sonne, and Lord Henry Percy, whych were his speciall maintainers.

As yeares and time grew on, king Edward the third, which had reigned nowe about 51. yeares, after the decease of prince Edward his sonne, who departed the yeare before: was stricken in

great age, & in such feblenes withall, that he was vnweldy through lacke of strēgh to gouerne the affairs of the realm. Wherefore, a parliament being called the yeare before his death, it was there put vp by the knights & other the burgesses of the Parliament (because of the misgouernment of the realme by certain greedy persons about the king, raking all to themselues, without seing any iustice done) that 12. sage and discrete Lordes and Pieres, such as were free from note of all auarice, shuld be placed as tutours about the Kyng, to haue the doing and disposing vnder him (6. at one time, and in their absence 6. at an other) of matters pertinent to the publike regiment.* Here by the way I omit to speake of Alice Perris the wicked harlot, which (as the story geueth) had bewitched the kings hart, & gouerned all and sate vpon canses herself through the diuelish help of a Frier Dominick: who by the duke of Lancaster was caused to be take, and was conuicted, & should haue suffred for the same, had not the Archb. of Cant. and the Friers (more regarding the liberty of their Church, then the punishing of vice) reclaimed hym for their own prisoner. This Alice Perrys, notwithstanding she was banished by this Parliament from the king,* yet afterward she came againe, & left him not: til at hys death shee tooke all his rings vpon his fingers and other iewels frō him, and so fled away like an harlot. But thys of her by the way.

These 12. gouernours by the parliament aforesayd being appoynted to haue the tuition of the king,* & to attend to the publike affaires of y^e realme: remained for a certaine space about him, till afterward it so fel out, that they being againe remoued, all the regiment of the realme next vnder the King, was committed to the Duke of Lancaster the kings sonne: For as yet Richard the sonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very yong and vnder age.

This Duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceiued a certaine displeasure against the popish clergy: [Page 426](#) whether for corrupt and impure doctrine ioyned w^t lyke abhominable excesse of life,* or for what some other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Onely by story the cause thereof may be gessed, to rise by William Wickam bishop of Winchester. The matter is thys.

The Bishop of Winchester (as the saying went then) was reported to affirme, that the foresaid Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lācaster, was not the sonne of king Edward, nor of the Quene. Who being in trauel at Gaūt, had no sonne (as he sayd) but a daughter:* which the same time by lying vppon of the mother in the bedde, was there smothered. Whereupon, the Quene fearing the kings displeasure, caused a certaine manchild of a woman of Flaunders (borne the very same time) to be conueyed and brought vnto her in stead of her daughter aforesayde. And so brought vp the child whom she bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this (said the Bishop) did the Queene tell him, lying in extremes on her death bed vnder seale of confession: charging hym if the sayde Duke should euer aspire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes should fall vnto hym, he then should manifest the same, & declare it to the worlde, that the sayde Duke of Lancaster was no part of the kings bloud, but a false heire of the king. This slaunderous report of the wicked Byshop, as it sauoureth of a contumelious lie, so seemeth it to proceede of a subtile zeale toward the Popes religion, meaning falshoode. For that the foresayd Duke by fauouring of Wickliff, declared hymselfe to be a professed enemy against the Popes profession. Whych thing was then not vnknown, neyther vnmarked of the Prelates and Byshops then in Englande. But the sequele of the story thus followed.

Thys slanderous vilany of the Byshops report being blased abroad, and comming to the Dukes eare: he therw^t being not a litle discontented (as no maruell was) sought againe by what meanes he coulde, to be reuenged of thys forenamed Bishop. In conclusion, the Duke hauing now al the gouernment of the realm vnder the king his father, in hys own hand: so pursued y^e byshop of Winchester, that by acte of parliament he was condemned and depriued of al his temporal goods,* which goods wer assigned to prince Rich. of Burdeur, the next inheritour of the crowne after the king, and furthermore inhibited the said bishop not to appoch nere to y^e court by 20. miles. Further as touching thys bishop, the story thus procedeth. Not lōg after in the yeare of our Lord. 1377. a Parliament was called by the meanes of the Duke of Lancaster, vpon certaine causes & respects: in which parliament great request, and sute was made by the cleargy for the deliuerance of the B. of Winchester. At length whē a subsidie was asked in the kyngs name of the clergy, and request also made in the kings behalfe for spedy expedition to be made for the dissoluing of y^e parliament, the Archb. therfore accordingly conuented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whō the B. w^t great lamentation cōplained for lack of their felow and brother B. of Wint. Whose iniury said they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: And therfore denied to ioyne themselues in tractation of any such matters, before al the members together were vnited w^t the head: And (seing the matter touched them altogether in common, as well him as thē) would not otherwise do. And seemed moreouer to be moued against y^e Archb. for that he was not more stout in the cause, but suffered him so to be cited of the duke.

*The Archb. although hauing sufficient cause to excuse himselfe, wherefore not to send for him (as also he dyd) because of the perils which might ensue therof: yet being enforced & persuaded therunto, by the importunitie of the bishops, directed downe his letters to the foresaid bishop of wintch, willing hym to resort vnto the conuocation of the clergy. Who being glad to obey the same, was receyued w^t great ioy of the other bishops. And at length by y^t meanes of Alice Perris, the kings paramor, aboue mētioned, (geuing to her a good quantity of mony) the sayd Winchester was restored to his temporalities againe.

As the Bishops had thus sent for wintch. the Duke in the meane time had sent for Iohn Wickliffe: who as is saide, was then the diuinity reader in Oxford, and had cōmenced in sondry actes and disputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the Popes church in many things: who also for the same had bene depriued of his benefice, as hath bene afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, first in his lectures, and sermōs to entreat of, and wherefore he was depriued were these. That the Pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, then hath an other. That if it be geuē by any persō to the pope to excōmunicate, yet to absolue the same is as much in the power of an other priest, as in hys. He affirmed moreouer, y^t neyther y^e king nor any temporall Lord could geue any perpetuity to the church, or to any ecclesiasticall person: for that when such ecclesiasticall do sinne, habitualiter, continuing in the same still, the temporal powers ought and may meritoriously, take away from them, that before hath bene bestowed vpon thē. And that he proued, to haue bene practised before here in England by Williā Rufus. which thing (sayd he) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? if he did it vnlawfully, then both the church erre (sayth he) & doth vnlawfully in praying for him.* But of his assertions more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The story which ascribeth to him these assertions being taken out (as I take it) of y^t monastery of S. Albons addeth withall: that in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to be an hypocrite, the cause was this:

First, because he resorted much to the orders of the beg'ging Friers, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their pouerty.

Secondly, because he and his felowes vsually accustomed in their preaching to go baretoote, and in simple russet gownes.

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how far it was frō the ambitiō & pride,* which in the slaundrous pen of Polydore Virgil, reporting in his 19. book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (conceiuing therfore indignation agaynst the clergy) became theyr mortall enemy. How true this was, he onely knoweth best, that rightly shall iudge both y^r one and the other.

In the meane time,* by other circūstaunces & partes of his life, we may also partly cōiecture what is to be thoght of y^t mā. But howsoeuer it was in him either true or false: yet it had bene Polidors part, either not so intemperatly to haue abused his pen, or at least to haue shewed some greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing els but flying fame, so rashlye to defame a man whose life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faythful story writer.

But to returne from whēce we digressed.* Beside these his opinions and assertions aboue recited, with other mo, which are hereafter to be brought in order: He began also then something nearely to touch the matter of the Sacrament, prouing that in the sayd Sacrament, the accidences of bread remayned not without the subiect, or substaunce: both by the holy Scriptures, and also by the authoritie of the doctors, but specially by such as were most aunciēt. As for the latter writers, that is to say such as haue written vpon that argumēt vnder the thousand yeres since Christes time, he vtterly refused: saying, that after these yeares Sathan was losed & set at liberty. And that since that time the life of man hath bene most subiect and in danger of errors: the simple and playne truth to appeare and consist in the Scriptures, wherunto all humam traditions whatso'euer they be, must be referred, and specially such as are set forth & published now of late yeares.* This was the cause why he refused the latter writers of decretals, leaning only to the Scriptures & auncient doctors: most stoutly affirming out of them that in the Sacramēt of the body which is celebrate, with bread the accidēce not to be present with out the substaunce.* That is to say, that the body of Chryst is not present without the breade, as the common sorte of Priestes in those daies did dreame, As for his arguments what they were: we wyll shortly at more oportunity by Gods grace, declare them in an other place. But herein the trueth (as the Poet speaketh very truly) had gotten Iohn Wickeliffe great displeasure and hatred, at many mens handes: and specially of the Monkes and richest sort of Priestes.

Albeit through the fauor and supportation of the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, he persisted hitherto in some meane quiet against their woluish violence & eruelty: Till at last about the yeare of our Lord. 1376. the Byshops still vrging and inciting their Archbishop Symon Sudberye, who before had depriued him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stirre any more in those sorts of matters: had obtained by processe and order of citation to haue him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare after theyr vsuall forme was to him assigned.

The Duke hauing intelligence that Wickliffe his client should come before the Bishops, fearing that he being but one, was to weake agaynst such a multitude: calleth to him out of the orders of Friers, foure Bachelers of Diuinity, out of euery order one, to ioine them with Wickliffe also for more surety. When the day was come assigned to [Page 427](#) the said Wickliffe to appeare, whiche day was Thursday, the 19. of February: Iohn Wickliffe accompanied with the foure Friers aforesayd, and with them also, the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, Lord Marshal of England, the said Lord Percy also going before them to make rowme and way wherewith wickliffe should come.

Thus wickliffe (through the prouidence of god) being sufficiently garded,* was comming to the place where the Bishops sate: whome by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor shrink a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all vnlearned (said they) in respect of him. For so proceede y^t wordes of my foresaid author, whom I follow in this narration: neither that he shold dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselues assiste and defend, in such sort as he should take no harme. With these wordes, and with the assistaunce of the nobles: wickliffe in hart encouraged, approcheth to y^t church of S.* Paule in London. where a mayne prease of people was gathered to heare, what shold be sayd & done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the Lordes (for all y^e puissance of the high Marshall) vnneth with great difficulty could get way through. In so much,* that the bishop of London (whose name was William Courtney) seeing the stir that the Lord Marshal kept in the Church, among the people, speaking to y^t Lord Perry, sayd: that if he had knowne before what maistries he would haue kept in the church, he would haue stopped hym out, from comming there.

At which wordes of the Byshop, the Duke disdayning not a little, aunswered to the Byshop agayne, and sayd: that he woulde keepe such maisterie there, though he sayd nay.

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies chappell. Where the Dukes and Barons were sitting together with the Archbishops & other Bishops.* Before whome the foresayd Iohn Wickliffe according to the maner, stode before thē, to know what shold be laid vnto him. To whome first spake the Lord Percy, bidding him to sit downe, saying: that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the bishop of London cast eftsoones into a fumish chase w^t those words, sayd: he should not sit there. Neither was it sayd he: according to law or reason, that he which was cited there to appeare to answeare before his ordinary, should sit downe during the time of his aunswere, but shold stād. Upon these words a fire began to heat & kindle betweene them. In so much that they began to rate and to reuile one the other, that the whole multitude therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurrey.

Then the Duke taking the Lord Percies part wyth hasty wordes began also to take vp the bishop. To whom the Bishops again nothing inferiour in reprochful checks and rebukes, did render & require not onely to him as good as he brought: but also did so far excell him, in this rayling arte of scolding, that to vse the words of mine author, Erubuit Dux quòd non potuit praeualere litigio. i. that the Duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not ouerpasse the Bishop in brawling and rayling, and therefore fell to playn threatning, manasing y^t bishop, that he would bring down the pride not onely of him, but also of all the prelatie of Englande: And speaking moreouer vnto him: Thou (sayd he) bearest thy self so brag vpon thy parentes,* which shall not be able to helpe thee: They shall haue enough to do to helpe themselues. For his parentes were

the Earle and countesse of Deuonshire. To whom the byshop again aunswered, that to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parentes, nor in any man els, but onely in God in whō he trusted.* Then y^e Duke softly whispering in the care of him next by him, sayd that he woulde rather plucke out the Bishop by the heyre of his head out of the Church, then he would take this at his hand. This was not spoke so secretly, but that the Londiners ouerheard him. Wherupon being set in a rage, they cryed out, saying: that they would not suffer theyr bishop so cōtemptuously to be abused. But rather they woulde loose their liues, then that he should so be drawen out by the heyre. Thus that councell being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before 9. of the cloke. And the Duke with the Lord Percy went to the Parliament. Where the same day, before dinner a bill was put vp in the name of the king by the Lord Thomas Wostock,* and Lord Henry Percy, that the Cittie of London shoulde no more be gouerned by a Mayor, but by a Captayne, as in times before. And that the Marshall of England shold haue al the adoe in taking the Arestes within the said Citty, as in other citties beside, with other petitions moe, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. which bill being read, standeth vp Iohn Philpot Burgesse then for the cit•y, saying to thē which read the bill, that that was neuer seene so before: & adding moreouer that the Mayor woulde neuer suffer any such things, or other arest to be brought into the citty, with mo such wordes of like stoutnes.

The next day following, the Londiners assembled thēselues in a councell, to consider among them vpon the Bill for chaunging the Mayor,* and about the office of the Marshall, also concerning the iniuries done the day before to theyr Bishop.

In which meane time they being busy in long consultation of this matter, sodenly and vnawares entred in the place two certaine Lodes, whether to come to spy, or for what other cause the author leaueth it vncertayne, the one called Lord Fizwalter: the other Lord Guy Brian. At the first comming in of thē, the vulgare sort was ready forthwith to flee vppon them, as spies, had not they made theyr protestation with an othe, declaring that their comming in was for no harme toward them. And so were compelled by the citizens to sweare to the city their truth and fidelity, contrary to the which othe if they shoulde rebell, contented to forfeit whatsoeuer goods and possessions they had within the citie.

This done,* thē began the Lord Fizwalter in this wise to perswade and exhort the Citizens: first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to theyr Citty, not for the othe onely now newly receiued, but of old and ancient good will from his great graundfathers tyme. Beside other diuers dueties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principall fautors: for so muche as what so euer tended to their damage and detriment, redounded also no lesse vnto his owne, for which cause he coulde not otherwise chuse, but that as he did vnderstand to be attempted against the publike profite and liberties of the Citty, he must needs communicate the same to them. who vnlesse they with speedy circumspection do occurre and preuent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turne in the end to theyr no small incōmoditie. And as there were many other thinges, whiche required their vigilant care and diligēce, so one thing therr was, which he could in no wise but admonish them of: which was this, necessary to be cōsidered of them all, how the Lord Marshall Henry Percy in his place within himselfe had one in ward and custody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he coulde not tell: this he coulde tell, that the sayd Lord Marshall was not alowed any suche ward or prison in his house, within the liberties of the Citty. Which thing if it be not seeke to in time, the example therof

being suffered, would in fine breede to such a preiudice vnto their customes and liberties, as they shoulde not hereafter, when they would reforme the iniurie thereof.

These words of the Lord Fizwalter were not so soone spoken,* but they were as soone taken of the rash Citizens, who in al hasty fury running to their armour & weapons, went incontintently to the house of the Lord Percy, where breaking vp the gates, by violence they tooke out the prisoner, & burned the stockes wherein he sate, in the midst of London. Then was the Lord Percy sought for (whome sayth the story) they woulde doubtlesse haue slayne if they might haue found him. With their bils and iauelins, al corners and priuy chambers were searched, beds & hangings torne a sunder.* But the Lord Percy (as God would) was then with the Duke, whome one Iohn Yper the same day with great instance had desired to dinner. The Londiners not finding him at home, and supposing that he was wyth the Duke at Sauoy, in all hasty heat turned their power thither,* running as fast as they could to the Dukes house. Where also in like maner they were disapoynted of their cruell purpose. In y^t meane while as this was doying, cometh one of the Dukes men running post hast, to y^t Duke & to the Lord Percy, declaring what was done. The Duke being then at his oysters, without anye further tarying, and also breaking both his shinnes at the forme for haste, tooke boate with the Lord Percy, and by water went to Kingstone,* where then y^e princesse with Richard the yong Prince did lye. Who there declared vnto the Princesse all y^e whole matter, concerning the outrage of the Londiners as it was. To whom she promised againe, such an order to be taken in the matter, as shoulde be to his contentation. At what time the commons of London, thus as is sayd, were about the Dukes house at Sauoy, meteth with the a certain priest, who marueling at the sodain rage & concourse, asked what they sought. To whome aunswere was geuen agayne of some, that they sought for the Duke and Lorde Marshall, to haue of them the Lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had detained in prison. To this the Priest aunswered agayne more boldly then oportunely. That [Page 428](#) Peter (sayd he) is a false traytour to the king, and worthy long since to be hanged.* At the hearing of these words, the furious people with a terrible shoute cryed out vpon him, that he was a traytour and one that tooke the Dukes part and so falling vpon him with theyr weapons striued who might first strike at him. Who after they had wounded him very sore, so being wounded they had him into prison, where within few dayes vpon the sorennes of his wounds he dyed.

Neither would the rage of the people thus haue ceased had not the bishop of London leauing his dinner come to them at Sauoy, and putting them in remembraunce of the blessed tyme (as they terme it) of Leut, had perswaded them to cease and to be quyet.

The Londiners seeing that they could get no vantage against the Duke:* who was without theyr reach: To bewreke theyr anger they tooke hys armes, whiche in most despitefull wise, they hanged vp in the open places of y^e city in signe of reproch, as for a traitour. In so much that when one of his gentlemen came through the Citty with a plate conteyning the Dukes armes, hanging by a lace about his necke the cittizens not abiding the sight therof, cast him from his horse, and pluckt his scutchine from him, had were about to work the extremitie against him, and not the mayor rescued him out of theyr handes, and sent him home safe vnto the Duke his mayster. In such hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of London.

After thys, the princesse vnderstanding the hartes and broyle of the Londiners set against the foresaid Duke,* sent vnto London 3. Knightes, syr Albred Lewer, sir Symon Burle, and sir

Lewes Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The Londiners answered: that they for the honour of y^e princesse, would obey and do with all reuerēce, what she would require. But this they required & enioyned the messēgers to say to the Duke, by word of mouth, that he should suffer the byshop of Winchester afore mentioned and also the Lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their aunswere, & to be iudged by theyr pieres. Wherby eyther they might be quite if they were gilty: or otherwise, if they be found culpable, they might receaue according to theyr desertes after the lawes of the realme. What grieve and displeasure the Duke conceiued and reteyned in his minde hereof: Agayne what meanes & sute the Londiners for their part made to the old king for their liberties: What rymes and songes in London, were made agaynst the Duke: Howe the Bishops at the Dukes request were mooued to excōmunicate those malicious slaunders:^{*} And moreouer, howe the Duke at last was reuenged of those contumelies & iniuries: How he caused them to be brought before the king: How sharply they were rebuked for their misdemeanour, by the worthy oration of the Lord Chamberlayne, Robert Aston in the presence of the king, Archbishops, Byshops, with diuers other states, the Kinges children, and other nobilities of the realme: In conclusion how the Londiners were compelled to this at length, by the common assent, and publike charges of y^t citty, to make a great taper of waxe, whiche with y^e Dukes armes set vpon it, shoulde be brought with solemne procession to the church of S. Paule, there to burne continually before the Image of our Lady:^{*} And at last, how both the sayd Duke and the Londiners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new king, with the kisse of peace, in the same reconcilment publikely denounced in the church of Westminster, and what ioy was in the whole citty therof: These because they are impertinent, and make to long a digressiō from the matter of Wickliffe, I cut off with breuitie, referring the reader to other historyes, namely of S. Albones, where they are to be found at large.

As these aforesayd for breuitie sake I passe ouer, so will I not be long and yet cannot omitte that,^{*} which happened the same tyme and yeare, to the Bishop of Norwich, to y^e intent that this posteritie now may see, to what pryde the clergy then of the Popes Church was growne to. The same time as this broyle was at Lōdon,^{*} the Bish. of Norwich a litle after the time af Easter comming to the towne of Lennam, belonging to his Lordship: being not contented w^t the olde accustomed honour due vnto him, & vsed of his predecessours before in the same town, required moreouer with a nue and vnused kind of magnificence to be exalted: In so much, that when he saw the chiefe Magistrate or Mayor of that towne to go in the streetes with his officer going before him, holding a certayne wand in his hand tipped at both endes with black horne,^{*} as the maner was: He reputing himselfe to be Lord of that towne (as he was) and thinking to be higher then the highest, commaunded y^e honour of that staffe due to the Mayor, to be yelded & born before his Lordly personage: The Mayor or Bailiffe, with other the townesmen, courtuously answered to him again that they were right willing and contented with all theyr hartes to exhibite that reuerence vnto him, and woulde to do, if he first of the king and counsaile coule obtayne y^e iustome, and if the same might be induced after any peaceable way with the good willes of the commons and body of y^e town: Other els, sayd they, as the matter was dangerous so they durst not take in hand any such newe alteration of ancient customes and liberties least the people (whiche is alwayes inclinable and prone to euill) do fall vpon them w^t stones, & driue them out of the towne. Wherefore kneeling on theyr knees before hym, and humbly they besought him that he would require no such thing of them: that he would saue his owne honour and their liues, who otherwise if he intended that way,^{*} were in great daunger. But the bishop youthfull and hauty, taking occasion by their humblenes, to swell the more in himselfe, answered that he

would not be taught by their counsaile, but that he wold haue it done, though all the commons (whome he named Ribals) sayd nay. Also rebuked the Mayor and his brethrē for mecockes and dastardes, for so fearing the vulgar sort of people.

The citizens perceauing the wilfull stoutnes of the bishop, meekly answering againe, sayde, they minded not to resist him, but to let him doe therin what he thought good, onely desired him that he would licēce them to depart, and hold them excused for not wayting vppon him, & conducting hym out of the town with that reuerence which he required. For if they should be seene in his company, all the suspicion thereof would be vpon them, and so should they be all in daunger, so much as theyr liues were worth. The Byshop not regarding their aduise and counsaile, commaunded one of hys men to take the rod borne before the Mayor, & to cary y^e same before him. Which being done, & perceaued of the commons: the Byshop after that maner went not farre, but the rude people rūning to shut y^e gates came out with their bowes, some with clubbes and staues soome with other instrumentes,* some w^t stones, & let driue at the Bishop and his men, as fast as they might: in suche sort, that both the bishop & his horse vnder him with most part of his men were hurt & wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this iolly prelate, ruffling in hys new scepter, was receaued and welcomed there. That is, was so pelted w^t battes and stones, so wōded with arrowes and other instrumentes fit, for such a skirmishe, y^t the most part of his men, with hys mace bearer, & all running away frō him, the poore wounded bishop was there left alone, not able to keepe hys old power, which went about to vsurpe a new power more thē to hym belonged.* Thus at is cōmōly true in al, so is it wel exemplified here, which is commōly sayd, and as it is commonly seene, that pride will haue a fall, and power vsurped will neuer stand. In like maner if the Citizens of Rome, following the example of these Lēnam men, as they haue the like cause, and greater to doe by the vsurped power of theyr Byshop, would after the same sauce handle the pope,* and vnscepter him of hys mace and regalitie which nothing pertaineth to him: They in so doing both should recouer theyr owne liberties, with more honour at home, and also win muche more commendation abroad Ex chron. mon. D. Albani.

This tragedy with all the partes thereof, beyng thus ended at Lennam,* whiche was little after Easter (as is said) about the month of April. an. 1377. the same yeare vpon the 12. day of the moneth of Iune next after, dyed the worthy and victorious Prince king Edward the 3. after he had raygned yeares 51. A prince no more aged in yeares thē renoumed, for many snguler & heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his singuler meekenes & clemency toward his subiects and inferiors, ruling them by gentlenes and mercy, without all rigour or austere seueritie. Among other noble and royall ornamentes of his nature, worthely & copiously set forth of many, thus he is described of some, which may briefly suffice for the comprehēision of all the rest.*Orphanis erat quasi pater, afflictis compatiens, miseris condolens, oppressos releuans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna. That is. To the Orphans he was as a father, compacent to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieuing the oppressed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of neede. &c. But chiefly aboue all other thinges, in this Prince to be commemorate in my mynde, is thys: that he aboue all other Kinges of this Realme vnto the time of king Henry the eight was the greatest brideler of the popes vsurped power and outrageous oppressions during all the time of whiche king, neyther the Pope could greatly preuayle in thys Realme, and also Iohn Wickliffe was maintained with fauour and ayde sufficient.

[Page 429](#) But before we close vpp the story of this king: there commeth to hand that which I thought not good to omit a noble purpose of the king in requiring a viewe to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall remayning in the handes of Italians and Alious with the true valuation of the same directed down by commission in the time of king Richard the second wherof the like also is to be found: the tenour of which commission of king Edward I thought here vnder to set down for worthy memory.

The king directed writtes vnto all the Byshop's of England in this forme.

[*E](#)Edward by the grace of God king &c. To the reuerend father in Christ. N. By the same grace Bishop of L. greeting.

Beyng willing vpon certayn causes to be certified what and how many benefices aswell Archdeaconries & other dignities as vicaradges personages Prebendes and Chappels within your dioces be at this present in thandes of Italions and other strangers, what they be of what valour, and how euery of the sayd benefices be called by name. And how much euery of the same is worth by the yere, not as by way of Taxe or extent, but according to the true valor of the same: likewise of the names of al & singuler such strangers being now incombentes or occupying the same and euery of thē: moreouer the names of all them, whether Englishmen or Straungers, of what state or condition soeuer they be whiche haue the occupacion or disposicion of any such benefices with the fruites and profites of the same in the behalfe or by the authoritie of any the foresayd Straungers by way of ferme, or title or procuracion or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever, and how long they haue occupied or disposed the same: and withall if anye the sayd straungers bee nowe residents vppon any benefices: commaunde you as wee heretofore commaunded you that you sende vs a true certificat of all and singuler the premisses into our high Court of chauncerie vnder your seale distinctly and openly on this side the feast of thascention of our Lord next comming without farther delay: returning vnto vs this our writte withall.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster 16 day of April in the 48. yeare of our Reigne of England, and ouer Fraunce the 35. yeare.

BY vertue hereof certificat was sent vp to the king into his chauncerie out of euery dioces of England of al such spiritual liuings as were then in the occupation eyther of Priors Aliens or of other straungers whereof the number was so great, as being all set downe would fill almost halfe a quyer of paper. Whereby may appeare that it was highe time for the king to seeke remedie herein, either by treatie with the Pope or otherwise: considering so great a porcion of the reuenues of his realme was by this meanes conueyed awaye and employed either to the reliefe of his enemies, or mayntenaunce of the forreners: Amongst whiche number, the Cardinals of the courte of Rome lacked not their share. As may appeare by this which followeth.

[*The](#) Lord Fraunces of the title of S. Sabyne, Priest and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome doth hold and enioy the Deanry of the Cathedrall Church of Lichfield whiche is worth in the iurisdiction of Lichfield fiue hundreth marks by the yeare. And y^e Prebend of Brewood, & the personage of Adbaston to the same Deanry annexed, which prebend is worth by the yeare foure score marks and the personage twenty pound, which deanry with the prebendes & personage

aforesayd hee hath holden and occupied by the space of 3. yeres. And one maister de in gris a strāger as proctor to the saide Cardinall doth hold and occupy the same Deanry with other y^e premisses with thappurtenances by name of Proctor during the yeares aforesayd, and hath taken vp the frutes and profites, to the sayd Cardinall, dwelling not in the Realme.

*L. William Cardinall of S. Angelo, a straunger doth holde the Archdeaconrye of Suff. by vertue of prouision Apostolicall, from the feast of S. Nicholas last past, he is not resident vpon his sayd Archdeaconry. And the sayd Archd. together with the procuratiōs due by reason of the visitation is worth by yeare Lxvi.li.xiii.s.iiii.d. And maister Iohn of Helinington. &c. doth occupy the seale of thosficiall of the said Archdeaconry, &c.

*L. Reinnald of S Adriane Deacon Cardinall: hath in the said County the personadge of Godalmonge, worth by yeare xl. pound, and one Edward Teweste doth ferme the sayd personadge for ix. yeares past.

*The L. Anglicus of the holy Church of Rome prieste and Cardinall, a straunger was incumbent & did holde in possession the Deanry of the Cathedrall Church of Yorke from the 11. day of Nouember Anno. Dom. 11366. and is yearely worth according to the true valor thereof iiij.C.li. and maister Iohn of Stoke Canon of the sayd Church, doth occupy the said Deanry and the profites of the same in the name or by the authoritie of the sayd L. Deane &c. But the said Deane was neuer resident vpon the sayd Deanry since he was admitted thereunto.

Item. L. Hewgh of our Lady in Deacon and Cardinall a straunger doth possesse the Prebend of Dristild in the sayd Church of Yorke from the 7. day of Iune Ann. Do. 1363. from whiche day. &c. Iohn of Gisbourne, and George of Conpemanthorpe &c. doe occupy the said Prebend worth by yeare. C.li. the sayd L. Hewgh is non Resident vpon the sayd Prebend.

Item. L. Simon of the Title of S. Syxt priest and Cardinall, &c. doth possesse the Prebend of Wystow in the sayd Church of Yorke worth by yeare C.li. And the foresaid maister Iohn of Stoke doth occupy the foresayd Prebend and the profites thereof &c. But the sayd Lord Symon is not resident vpon the said Prebend.

Item. L. Frauncisce of the Tytle of S. Sabyne Priest and Cardinall, a straunger doth possesse the Prebend of Stransall in the sayd Church of Yorke worth by yeare C. markes. And mayster William of Merfield. &c. doth accupy the sayd Prebend. &c. but the sayd L. Fraunces is not resident vpon the sayd Prebend.

L. Peter of the title of S. Praxed priest and Cardinall a straunger doth hold the Archdeaconry of York, worth by yeare C.li.* and M. William of Mecfeld &c. for fermers.

The Deanry of the cathedral church of Sar with churches and chappels vnderwritten to the same Deanry annexed doth remayne in y^e hands of L. Reginald of the title of S. Adrian deacon and Cardinall and so hath remayned these 26. yeares and is neuer resident his protector is Laurence de ingris a straunger & is worth by yeare CCLiiii.li. xiiij.s.iiij.d.

Richard Bishop doth hold vycaradse of Meere to the sayd Deanry annexed and hath holden the same, for xix. yeares, worth by yeare. xl.li.

Robert Codford fermer of the Church of heightredbury to the same annexed worth by yeare l.li.*
l.li.*

The Church of Stoning and the chappell of Rescomp to the same Deanry annexed worth by yeare lxx. markes.

The Chappell of herst to the same Deanry annexed worth by yeare xl.li.

The Chappell of wokenhame to the same Deanry annexed worth by yeare xxxvi.li.

The Chappell of Sanhurst worth by yeare xl.s.

The Church of Godalininge to y^e same Deanry annexed in the dioces of Winchester worth by yeare. xl.li.

The dignitie of Treasurer in the Church of Sar.* with Church and Chappels vnderwritten to the same annexed is in y^e hāds of L. Iohn of y^e title of S. Mark priest & Cardinall and hath so contained 12. yeares who was neuer resident in the same, worth by yeare Cxxxvi.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

The Church of Figheldon to the same annexed worth by yeare. xxvj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d.

The church of Alwardbury with the chappell of Putton, worth by yeare. x li.

The Prebend of Calue to the same Treasurer annexed, worth by yeare. C.li.

The Archdeaconry of Berck. in the Cathedrall Church of Sarisbury, with the the church of Mordon to the same annexed, is in the hands of Lord William of the title of S. Stephen, who was neuer resident in the same: worth by yeare. viij. score markes.

The Archdeaconry of Dorset in the Church of Sarisbury with the Church of Gissiche to the same annexed in the handes of L. Robert of the title of y^e xij. Apostles priest and Cardinall, and is worth by yeare. Ciiij. markes.

The Prebende of Woodforde and Wyuelefforde in the Church of Sarisbury, is in the handes of the Robert Cardinall aforesayd: and is worth xl. markes.

The Prebend of Heiworth in the Church of Sarisbury is in the handes of the L. Cardinall of Agrisolio, who is neuer resident, and is worth by yeare. lxxx.li.

The Prebend of Netherbarnby and Beinyenster in the Church of Sarisbury one Hewgh Pelgrini a stranger d•d hold xx. yeares and more, and was neuer resident in the same worth by the yeare viij. score markes.

The church Prebendary of Gillinghame in the noonery of Salisbury lately holden of L. Richard now Byshop of Elye is in the hanhs of the Lord Peter of the title of S. Praxed priest and Cardinall &c. worth by the yeare lxxx.li.

L. William of the holy Church of Rome Cardinall a straunger doth hold the archdeaconry of Canterbury and is not Resident the true valor of all the yearly frutes,* Rentes and profites is worth seuen hundreth Florens.

The L. Cardinall of Caunterbury is Archdeacon of Welles & hath annexed to his Archdeaconry the churches*[Page 430](#) of Hewish Berwes, and Sowthbrent which are worth by yeare with their procuracion of visitations of the sayd Archdeaconry. C threescore pound.

Item. the L. Cardinall is treasurer of the church of wels, and hath the moyty of the church of mertock annexed therunto worth by yeare lx.li.

Item. the Lord Cardinall of Agrifolio is archdeacon of Tawnton in the church of wels, and is worth by yeare w^t the procuracions and the Prebend of Mylinerton to the same annexed Lxxx.li.

Like maiter is also found in the time of king Richard the 2. vpon what occasion it is vncertayne: But as it seemeth by Recorde of that time, A new Pope being come in place he would take no knowledge of anye matter done by his predecessors that might anye way abridge his commoditie. And therefore this king was forced to beginne a new as may appeare by this following.

L. Cardinall of Agrifol. is prebendary of the Prebend of Soringhame together with a portion of S. Marye of Stowe to the same annexed, the frutes whereof by commō estimat be worth by yeare Clxv.li. Maist. Iohn Uicar of Coringhame and mayster Robert person of Ketelthorpe and W. Thurly be Fermoures.

L. Cardinall Albanum is Prebendary of the Prebend of Sutton y^e frutes whereof be commonly esteemed worth by yeare CCCC. markes. Roger Skyret of Buckinhame and William Bedeford of Sutton do farne the same Prebēd. The L. Cardinal Blandacen is Prebendary of y^e prebend of Nassington worth by estimacion CCC. markes.* Robert of Nassington and Iohn sonne of Robert of Abbethorpe do occupy the same Prebend.

L. Cardinal Nonmacē is parson of Adderbury worth by estimacion C.li. Adam Robelyn clerke is his proctor and occupyeth the same.

L. Cardinall of S. Prebendary of Thame worth yearly by common estimacion CC.* markes. Iohn Heyward and Thomas a lay man doe occupye the same Prebend.

*L. Peter de Yeuerino Cardinall is Prebendary of Aylesbury worth yearly by common estimacion lxxx. marks. Holy Duse of Alesbury doth occupy the same Prebend.

The Cardinall of S. Angeli hath the Archdeaconry of Suff.* and is worth by yeare by common estimation a hūdreth markes.

L. Cardinall Neminacem Treasurer of the Church of Sar. hath the Archdeaconry of Sar. the Church of Figheldon to his dignity annexed which is let to ferme to Grace late wife of Edmund Sawyne deceased paying yearly 1. markes, he hath also in the same Archdeaconry and coūtye the sayde Church of Alwardburye with the Chappels of Putton and Farle to the same annexed which is let to ferme to the L. Pryor of the house of Ederose for y^e yerly rent of xxiii.li.* he hath also the Prebend of Calne in the said Archdeaconry and County worth by yeare. C.li. and fermour therof is Raymunde. Pelegrini.

L. Cardinall of Agrifolio. hath the Archdeaconrye of Berck. worth by yeare 120. markes and remayneth in hys owne handes. Item he hath the Prebende of worth, worth by yeare a hundreth pound Raymund Peregrine is fermour there.

L. Cardinall Gebanen hath the Prebendes of Wodford and Willeford Countye of Wiltshyre lett to ferme to Iohn Bennet of Sar. worth by yeare xl. markes.

Lord Andomar de Rupy is Archdeaconry of Caunterbury to the which Archdeacon belong the Church of Lymin within the same Dioces worth by yeare after the Taxation of the tenth. xx.li.. The Church of Tenham worth by yeare after the sayd taxation Cxxx.li.vi.s.viii.d. •he Church of Hakington neere Caunterbury worth by yeare xx. markes. The Church of S. Clement in Sandwiche worth by yeare after the taxation aforesayd viij. markes.* The church of Saint Mary in Sandwich worth by yeare viiij. pound of the whiche the sayd Archdeacon receaueth onely vi. markes. The profites of all which premisses S. William Latimer knight hath receaued together with the profites arising out of the Iurisdiction of the Archdeaconry worth by yeare. xx.li.

*Anglicus of the Church of Rome priest and Cardinall hath the deanry of the Cathedrall Church of Yorke worth by yeare CCclxxiiij.li.vi.s.viii.d. And the Prebende of Southcane, valued yearly at C.lx. markes.

L. Cardinall Gebauen doth hold the church of Wermouth,* and Archdeaconry of Durhame worth by yeare CC. marks. And Iohn of Chambre and Thomas of Harington of Newcastle bee the fermors and proctours of the sayd Cardinall.

Ex Bundello Breuium Regis de An. 2. Rich. 2. parte. 1.

King Richard the second.

AFfter king Edward the third succeeded hys sonnes sonne Richard the second beyng yet but yong,* of the age of eleuen yeares: who in the same yeare of his fathers decease in great pompe and solemnitie was crowned at Westminster, an 1377. who following his fathers steppes, was no great disfauorer of the way & doctrine of wickliffe: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquitie of tyme partly through the popes letters, he could not doe that he would. Nothwithstāding something he did in that behalf, more perhaps then in the end he had thanke for of the Papistes, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appeare. But as times do chaunge, so changeth commonly the cause and state of man. The bishop nowe seeing the aged king to be taken away, during y^e time of whose olde age all y^e gouernment of the realme depended vpon the Duke of Lancaster. And now the sayd Byshops agayne seeing the said Duke, with the Lord

Percy, the Lord marshall to geue ouer their offices, and to remayne in their priuate houses without intermedling, thought now the time to serue them,* to haue some vauntage against Iohn wickliffe, who hetherto vnder the protectiō of the foresayd Duke, and Lord Marshall had some rest and quiet. Concerning the story of whiche Wickliffe, I trust (gentle reader) it is not out of thy memory what went before pag. 427. how he being brought before the Byshops, by the meanes of the Duke and Lord Henry Percy, the councell was interrupted, and brake before ix. of the clocke. By reason whereof, Wickliffe at that tyme escaped without anye further trouble. Who not withstanding being by the bishops forbid to deale in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellowes going barefoot, and in long frise gownes preaching dilligentl̃e vnto the people. Out of whose sermons these articles most chiefelye at that time were collected.

That the holy Eucharist after the consecration,* is not the very body of Christ, but figurally.

That the church of Rome, is not the head of all churches more then any other church is: Nor that Peter hath anye more power geuen of Christ, then anye other Apostle hath.

Item, that the Pope of Rome hath no more in the keyes of the Church, then hath any other within the order of Priesthoode.

Item, if God be: the Lordes temporall may lawfullye and meretoriously take away theyr temporalities from the churchmen offending, habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall Lord doe know the Church so offending, he is bound vnder payne of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.

Item, that the Gospell is a rule sufficient of it selfe to rule the life of euery christian man here, without any other rule.

Item, y^t all other rules vnder whose obseruances, diuers religious persōs be gouerned, do ad no more perfection to the gospell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neyther the Pope nor any other Prelate of the church, ought to haue prisons wherin to punish transgressours.

Beside these articles,* diuers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of hys writings and preachings by the byshops of England, which they sent diligently to Pope Gregory at Rome: where the sayde articles being red and perused, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by 23. Cardinals.

In the meane time the Archb. of Cant. sending forth hys citations, as is aforesayd: called before hym the sayde Iohn wickliffe in the presence of the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, who vpon the declaration of the Popes letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him not to entreat any more of those matters. But then through the disturbaunce of the Bishop of London and the Duke, and lord Percy that matter was soone dispatched, as hath bene aboue recorded, pag. 427. And all thys was done, in the daies & last yere of king Edward the 3. and pope Gregory the eleuenth.

The next yere folowing,* which was the yere of our Lord 1378. being the first yere of king Richard the second. The sayd Pope Gregory taking hys time, after the death of king Edward,* sendeth his bull by the hands & meanes (peradventure) of one master Edmund Stafford, directed vnto the vniuersity of Oxford, rebuking thē sharply, imperiously and like a Pope, for suffring so long the doctrine of Iohn Wickliffe to take roote, and not pluckyng it vppe wyth the crooked cicle of their Catholike doctrine. Whych [Page 423](#) Bull when it came to be exhibite vnto their handes,* by the Popes messenger aforesayd: the proctors and maysters of the Uniuersitie ioynning together in consultation, stood lōg in doubt deliberating with themselues, whether to receiue the Popes Bull with honour, or to refuse and reiect it wyth shame.

I cannot here but laugh in my minde to behold the authours of this story whom I follow: what exclamations, what wondrings and maruels, they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so playne, so manifest of it selfe, (as they say) whether the popes Bull sent to them frō Rome was to be receaued or cōtrary. Which thing to our monkish writers seemed then suche a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheekes are feyne to cut of the matter in the midst with silence.

The copy of this wilde Bull, sent to them from the Pope, was this.

Gregory the Bishop, the seruant of Gods seruaunts, to his welbeloued sonnes, the Chauncellour and Vniuersitie of Oxford, in the diocesse of Lincolne greeting, and Apostolical benediction.

WE are compelled not onely to meruell,* but also to lament that you considering the Apostolicall seate hath geuen vnto your vniuersitie of Oxford so great fauour and priueledge and also for that you flow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and Catholicke fayth, (without the which there is no saluation) by your great negligence and slouthe, will suffer wylde cockle, not onely to grow vp among the pure wheate of the flourishing field of your Vniuersitie, but also to wake more strong and choke the corne. Neither haue ye anye care (as we are enformed) to extirpe and plucke the same vp by the rootes, to the great bleblemishing of your renowned name, the perill of your soules, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the auncient fayth. And further (which greueth vs) the encrease of that filthy weed was more sharply rebuked & iudged of in Rome then in England where it sprang. Wherefore let there be meanes sought by the help of the faithful, to roote out the same. Greuously it is come to our eares,* that one Iohn Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a professour of diuinitie (would god he were not rather a maister of errorrs) is runne into a kinde of detestable wickednes, not onely and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his brest, diuers professions false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies. Whereby he might defile the faythfull sorte, and bring them from the the right path headlong into the way of perdition ouerthrow the state of the Churche, and vtterly subuert the secular policy. Of which his mischieuous heresies, some seem to agree: (onely certayne names and termes chaunged) with the peruers... opinions, and vnlearned doctrine of Marcellius of Padua, & Iohn of Gandune, of

vnworthy memory: whose bookes were vtterly abolished in the realme of England,* by our predecessour of happy memory Iohn 22. Which kingdome doth notonely florische in power, and aboundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shyning in purenes of fayth: Accustomed alwayes to bring forth men excellentlye learned in the true knowledge of the holye scriptures, ripe in grautie of manners, men notable in deuotion, and defenders of the Catholicke fayth. Wherefore wee will and commaunde you by our writing Apostolicall, in the name of your obedience, and vpon payne of priuation of our fauour, indulgences and priueledges graunted vnto you and your vniuersitie, from the sayd see Apostolicall: that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, that those subtile and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right senses of fayth and good workes (how soeuer they terme it,* or what curious implication of wordes soeuer they vse) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question: Least if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked vp by the rootes, it might perhaps be to late hereafter to prepare medicins when a greater number is infected with the cōtagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately or cause to be apprehended the sayd Iohn Wickliffe,* and deliuer him to be deteyned in the safe custodie of our well beloued brethren, the Archbishop of Caunterbury, and the byshop of London or eyther of them. And if you shall finde any gaynesayers, corrupted wyth the sayde doctrine (whiche God forbid) in your sayd vniuersitie wythin your iurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the sayd errors: that then in lyke manner ye apprehend them, and committe them to safe custodie, and otherwise to doe in this case as it shall appertayne vnto you: So as by your carefull proceedynges herein, your negligence past concerning the premisses, may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not onely purchase vnto you the fauour and beneuolence of the seate Apostolicall, but also great reward and merite of almightie God.

Yeuén at Rome at S. Maries the greater. xi. Kalend. of Iune, and in the seuenth yeare of our consecration.

Beside this Bull sent to the Uniuersitie of Oxford,* the sayd Pope Gregory directed moreouer his letters the same tyme to the Archbyshoppe of Canterbury Symon Sudbury: to the Byshoppe of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe therein inclosed, commaūdyng them, by vertue of those his letters Apostolicall, and straitly enioyning them to cause the sayd Iohn Wickliffe to be apprehended; and cast in prison: And that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to geue any credite to the saide Iohn Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wise. &c.

Beside this Bill or Bull of the Pope, sent vnto the Archbyshop of Cāterbury and to the Byshop of London,* bearyng the date. 11. Kalend. Iuni. and the 7. yeare of the raigne of the Pope: I finde moreouer in the sayd story, two other letters of the Pope concernyng the same matter, but differyng in forme, sent vnto the same Byshops, and all hearyng the same date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of the raigne of the sayd Pope Gregory. Whereby it is be supposed, that the Pope either was very exquisite and solicitous aboue the matter, to haue Wickliffe to be apprehēded which wrote three diuers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one businesse: or els that he did suspect the bearers thereof, the scruple wherof I leaue to the iudgement of the Reader.

Furthermore beside these letters writtē to the Uniuersitie, and to the Byshops, he directeth also an other Epistle bearyng the same date vnto kyng Edward (as one of my stories sayth) but as an other sayth, to the kyng Richard, whiche soundeth more neare to the truth, forasmuch as in the 7. yeare of Pope Gregory the xi. which was the yeare of our Lord. 1•78. Kyng Edward was not aliue. The copy of his letters to the kyng here followeth.

The copy of the Epistle sent by the Byshop of Rome to Richard kyng of England, to persecute Iohn Wickliffe.

VNto his welbeloued sonne in Christ, Richard the most noble kyng of England health. &c.

The kyngdome of England which the most highest hath put vnder your power and gouernaunce,* beynge so famous and renowned in valiancy and strength, so aboundaunt and flowyng in all kynde of wealth and riches: but much more glorious resplendent and shynyng through the brightnesse and clearenesse of all godlynesse and fayth: hath accustomed alwayes to bryng forth men endued with the true knowledge and vnderstandyng of the holy Scriptures, graue in yeares, feruent in deuotion, and defenders of the Catholicke fayth: The which haue onely directed and instructed their own people through their wholesome doctrine and preceptes into the true path of Gods commaundementes, but also as we haue heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great grief & hart sorow) that Iohn Wickliffe Parson of Lutterworth, in the Dioces of Lincolne, professor of diuinitie (I would to God he were no author of heresie) to be fallen into such a detestable and abhominable madnes: that he hath propounded and set forth diuers and sundry conclusions full of errorrs and cōteinyng most manifest heresie, the which do tende vtterly to subuert and ouerthrow the state of the whole Church. Of the whiche, some of them (albeit vnder coloured phrase and speache) seeme to smell and sauour of peruerse opinions, and the foolish doctrine of condemned memory of Marsilius of Padua, and Iohn of Ganduno, whose bookes were by Pope Iohn the 22. our predecessour, a man of most happy memorye reprobued and condemned. &c.

Hetherto gentle reader, thou hast heard how Wickliffe was accused by the Byshop. Now you shall also heare the Popes mighty reasons and argumentes, by the which he did confute him to the kyng. It followeth.

Therefore, for so much as our Reuerend brethren the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Byshop of London haue receiued a speciall commaundement from vs by our autoritie,* to apprehend and committe the forenamed Iohn Wickliffe vnto prison, and to transporte his confession vnto vs: If they shall seeme in the prosecution of this their businesse to locke your fauour or helpe, we require and most earnestly desire your maiestie euen as your most noble predecessors haue alwayes bene most earnest louers of the Catholicke fayth (whose case or quarell in this matter is chiefly [Page 432](#) handled) that you woulde vouchsafe euen for the reuerence of God, and the fayth aforesayd, and also of the Apostolicke seat, and and of our person, that you will with your helpe and fauour, assist the sayd archbishop and all other that shall goe about to execute the sayd busines. Wherby besides the prayse of men, you shall obtayne a heauenly rewarde and great fauour and good will at our hand, and of the sea aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kal. of Iune, in the 7. yeare of our Byshoprick. an. 1378.

The Articles included in the popes letters whiche he sent to the Bishoppes, and to the king against Wickliffe, were these as in order do follow.

The conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe exhibited in the conuocation of certayne Bishops at Lambeth.

ALL the whole race of mankinde here on earth besides Christ, hath no power simply, to ordayne that Peter and all his ofspring should politickely rule ouer the world for euer.

2. God cannot geue to any man for him and hys heyres anye ciuill dominion for euer.

3. All writinges inuented by men, as touching perpetuall heritage, are impossible.

4. Euery man being in grace iustifyng, hath not onely right vnto the thing, but also for his time hath right in deede aboue all the good thinges of God.*

5. A man cannot onely ministratoriously geue any temporal or continuall gift, eyther as well to his naturall sonne, as to his sonne by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriously take away the riches from the Church, when they do offend habitualiter.

7. We know that Christes Vicar cannot, neyther is able by hys Bulles, neyther by his owne will and consent, neither by the consent for his colledge, eyther make able or disable any man.

8. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or vndoing, except he be first and principally excommunicate by himselfe.

9. No man ought, but in Gods cause alone, to excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceede to reuenge by anye ecclesiasticall censure.

10. A curse or excommunication doth not simply binde, but in case it be pronounced and geuen out agaynst the aduersarye of Gods law.

11. There is no power geuen by any example, eyther by Christ or by his Apostle, to excommunicate any subiect, specially for the denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwise.

12. The disciples of Christ haue no power to exact by anye ciuill authoritie, temporalities by censures.

13. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Christian, doe pretend by any meanes to bynd or to lose, that thereby he doth so bynde and loose.

14. We ought to beleue that the Vicar of Christ, doth at suche tymes onely bynde and loose, when as he worketh conformably by the law and ordinaunce of Christ.

15. This ought vniuersally to be beleued that euery priest righ^{ly} and duely ordered, according vnto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacramentes, and consequently absolue any man confessing hys faulte, being contrite and penitent for the same.

16. It is lawfull for kinges (in causes licenced by the lawe) to take away the temporalities from the spirituality, sinning habitualiter, that is, which continue in the custome of sinne, and will not amend.

17. Whether they be temporall Lordes or any other men whatsoeuer they be, which haue endowed any Churche with temporalities: It is lawfull for them to take away the same temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, for to auoyd sinne, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiasticall censure, for so much as they are not geuen but vnder a condition.

18. An ecclesiasticall minister, and also the Byshop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subiectes, and for the profite of the Church, be accused eyther of the Clergy or of the Laitie.

These letters with the articles inclosed being thus receiued from the pope, the bishops tooke no litle hart, thinking and fully determining with themselues and that in open profession, before their prouinciall Councell, that all maner respectes offeare or fauour set apart, no person neither high nor low should let them, neither woulde they be seduced by the intreaty of any mā, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most surely vpriight iustice and equitie: yea albeit presēt danger of life should follow therupon. But these so fierce brags, & stout promise, with the subtile practises of these Byshops, which thought them so sure before: the Lord (against whō no determination of mans counsaile can prenayle) by a small occasion,* did lightly confound & ouerthrowe. For the day of examination being come: a certayn personage of the princes court, & yet of no great noble byrth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the Byshops: commaunded them that they shold not proceed with any diffinitive sentence against Iohn Wickliffe.* With which wordes all they were so amased and their combes so cut, that (as in the story is mentioned) they became so mute and speachlesse, as men hauing not one word in their month to answere. And thus by the wonderous worke of God his prouidence, escaped Iohn Wickliffe the second time out of the Byshops hands, and was by them clearly dismissed vppon his declaration made of his articles as anone shall follow.

Moreouer here is not to be passed ouer, how at the same tyme,* and in the sayd Chappell of the Archb. at Lamheth, where the byshops were sitting vpon Iohn Wickliffe, the story writing of the doing therof, addeth these wordes, say'ing: Non dico ciues tantū Londinenses, sed viles ipsius ciuitatis se impudenter ingerere praesumpserunt in eandem capellam, & verba facere pro eodem, & istud negotium impedire, confisi, vt reor, de ipsorum praemissa negligentia praelatorum. &c. That is, I say not onely, that the Citizens of London, but also the vile abiectes of the Citty, presumed to be so bold in y^t same Chappell at Lamheth, where the Byshops were sitting vppon

Iohn Wickliffe: both to entreat for him, and also to let and stoppe the same matter trusting as I suppose, vpon the negligence which they sawe before in the Byshops. &c.

Ouer and beside, here is not to be forgotten, how y^e sayd Iohn Wickliffe, the same time of his examination, offered and exhibited vnto the Bishops, in writing a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his owne minde, vpon the sayd his articles, the effect whereof here followeth.

The protestation of Iohn Wickliffe.

First I protest (as I haue often before done) that I doe minde and intend with my whole hart (by the grace of God) to be a true Christian,* and as long as breath shal remayne in me, to professe and defend the law of Christ. And if it shall happen that through ignoraunce or otherwise, I shall fayle therein. I desire my Lord God of pardon & forgeuenes. And now againe as before also, I do reuoke and make retractation, most hūbly submitting my selfe, vnder the correction of our holy mother y^e church. And for somuch as the sentence of my fayth, whiche I haue holden in the scholes and els where, is reported euen by children, & more ouer, it is caried by children euen vnto Rome: Therefore left my deare beloued brethren should take any offence by me, I wil set forth in writing the sentēce and Articles, for the which I am nowe accused and impeached: the whiche also euen vnto the death I will defend. As I beleuee all Christians ought to doe, and specially the Bysh. of Rome and all other priestes and ministers of the Church. For I do vnderstand the conclusions after the sense and maner of speaking of the scriptures and holy doctours, the whiche I am ready to expound: And if they shall be found contrary vnto the faith, I am ready to reuoke and speedily to call them backe agayne.

An exposition vpon the conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited by him to the Byshop.

ALL the race of mankinde, here in earth beside Christ, hath no power simply to ordayne, that Peter. &c.

This conclusion of it selfe is euidēt,* for as much as it is not in mans power to stop the cōming of Christ to hys finall iudgement, but he must needes come, according to y^e article of our Creede, to iudge both the quick and the dead. And then (as the scripture teacheth) shall surcease all ciuill and politicke rule here, I vnderstand the temporall and secular dominion, pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortall life. For so doe the Philosophers speake of ciuill dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, & hath an end, is called sometimes perpetuall: yet because in holy scripture, and in vse of the Church, and in the bookes of Philosophers most commonly that is takē to be perpetuall, which hath no ende of tyme hereafter to come: according to the which sense, the Church singeth Gloria Patri. &c. nunc & perpetuum. I also after the same signification do take here this woorde (perpetually) and so is this conclusion consonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in mans power to ordayne the course and voyage of the Church, here perpetually to last.

2. God can not geue to any man. &c.

To the second conclusion I aunswere, vnderstanding [Page 433](#) ciuil dominion,* as in the conclusion before. And so I hold, that God, first by his ordinate power cannot geue to any person ciuil dominion here for euer: Secondly, by his absolute power it is not probable for hym so to doe. For so much as he cānot euer detaine his spouse in perpetual prison of thys life, nor alwayes deferre the finall beatitude of hys Church.

3. To the third conclusion. Many wrytings or chartes inuented by men, as touching perpetual hereditage ciuile, be vnpossible.

The verity of this conclusion is incident. For we must not canonize all maner of Charts, what soeuer, as Catholicke, or vniuersal: for then it were not lawful by any meanes to take away or sequester thyngs geuen by Charte or charter, when any doth vniustly occupye the same. And so, if that stand confirmed and ratified by the fayth of the Church, great occasion thereby should be ministred to men so chartered, to trust to their temporall chartes, and so might grow thereby much libertie and licence to sinne. For like as by what supposition euery truth is necessary: so by the same supposition, euery false thyng is possible, as it is playne by the testimony of Scripture, & of holy Doctours speakyng of necessitie of thynges to come.

*4. Euery man beyng in grace iustifying finally, hath not onely right vnto the thyng, but also for his tyme hath right in deede, ouer all the good thynges of God.

The veritie hereof is euident, by holy Scripture Math. 24. Where veritie promiseth to euery mā entryng into his ioy: verely (sayth he) I tell you, he shall set & place him ouer all the goodes he hath.* For the right and title belōgyng to the cōmunion of Saintes, in their countrey (he meaneth in the kingdome of heauen) Fundatur obiectiuè super vniuersitatem bonorum Dei: That is: Hath his relation, as vnto his obiect, to all the goodes and possession of God.

5. A man can but onely ministratoriously, geue any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall sonne, as to his sonne by imitation.

It is euident. For euery mā ought to recognise himselfe in all his workes and doyngs, as an humble seruaunt, and minister of God. As the wordes of Scripture doth teach vs. Let a man so esteeme of vs as the ministers of Christ. Yea so Christ himselfe did teach his chief Apostles to minister, but in their countrey the Saints shall geue vnto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goodes vt pater de suis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura accordyng to the wordes of Luke. 6. They shall geue you and put into your bosomes a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped vp, and runnyng ouer.

6. If God be, temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriously take away the goodes of fortune from the Church when they do offend, habitualiter.

This conclusion is correlatiue with the first. Article of our fayth: I beleue in God the father almighty. &c. Where I vnderstand this word (may) in this conclusion after the maner of autentique Scripture, which sayth & graunteth: that God is able, of these stones to rayse vp children to Abraham, for otherwise all Christian Princes were heretiques. For this conclusiō, thus stādeth the reason: If God be, he is omnipotēt: & if he be almighty, he is able to commaunde the

Lordes temporall so to do: & if he way so commaunde, thē may they lawfully so take away such goods. &c. And so by the vertue of the same principle, Christian Princes haue practised the sayd sentence vpon the Church mē heretofore, as did William Rufus. &c. But God forbid that any should beleue hereby my intencion to haue bene, that secular Lords may lawfully take away what goodes soeuer and by what meanes soeuer, by their owne naked authority at theyr pleasure: but only by the authority of the church may so do, in cases and forme limited by the law.

7. We know that it is not possible that the vicare of Christ is able by his pure Bulles. &c.

This is manifest by the Catholique faith, for asmuch as the Church doth fully beleue that the abling of any mā, ought first to procede and come of God: wherfore, no man being Christ his vicar, hath any power in this matter, but onely as vicar in the name of the Lord so far forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notify vnto the church whom God hath enabled. Wherfore if any mā do any thing not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethinke to be his author and head: It is a presumption of Lucifer, for so much as Christ by his Apostle sayth. 1. Cor. 3. all our hability or sufficiency cōmeth of God. And so consequently, it commeth not purely by the ministerie of hys Uicarship, that he is inabled, but the ablenesse or vnablenesse of him being the Uicar of Christ, commeth to hym an other way from aboue.

8. A man can not be excommunicate to his hurt or vndoing, except he be excommunicate first and principally, of himselfe.

It is euident, forasmuch as all such excommunication ought to procede & begin originally of his owne sin which is damnified: wherupon Augustine sayth De verbis Domini, Sermon 51. Doe not thou conculcate thy selfe, and man ouercōmeth thee not. And moreouer the faith of the church doth teach, quòd nulla ei nocebit aduersitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas, that is to say. No aduersitie shall hurt, if no miquitie haue the vpper hand. And yet notwithstanding, euery excommunication for many causes is also to be reared, although that the excommunication of the Church to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable but wholesome.

9. No man ought but in Gods cause alone to excommunicate, suspende.&c.

It is cleare, for asmuch as euery iust cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be wayed and pondered. Yea the loue of the person excommunicate ought to surmount the zeale of reuengement, and the desire of all temporall goodes whatsoever, for otherwise he that doeth excommunicate, doth damnify himselfe. To this 9. conclusion notwithstanding it is congruent, that a Prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of man, so that his principal respect in so doing be had to y^e iniury done to his God, as appeareth 13. quaest. 4 Inter querelas.

10. No curse or excommunication can binde simply, but in case it be geuen out against the aduersary of Christes lawe.

And it appeareth thus, because that God doth bynde simply euery one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but onely for trāsgression of his law. Whereunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the Church doth not binde simply, but secondarely in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the aduersary of the members of the Church.

11. There is no example of Christ which geueth power to hys disciples to excommunicate any subiecte (especially for denying of any temporalities) but contrary.

Which is thus declared by the fayth, whereby we beleue that God is to be beloued aboue all thynges, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloued aboue all tēporall goodes of this world necessarily, for the law of God cannot be contrary vnto it selfe.

12. The disciples of Christ haue no power by any ciuill coaction, to exact temporall things by their censures.

This appeareth by the fayth of the Scripture. Luke 23. Where Christ did forbid hys Apostles ciuilly to raigne or to beare any lordship. The kings (sayth he) of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them, but you not so. And after thys sense it is expounded of S. Bernarde, of S. Chrysostome, and other holy men: which conclusion notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporal things by ecclesiastical cēsure incidently, if case be that it appertaine to the reuengement of their God.

13. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Christian doe pretende to binde or loose at their pleasure, by what meanes soeuer, that thereby hee doeth so binde and loose.

The contrary of this cōclusion will destroy the whol• Catholicke fayth, importyng no lesse but him to be a blasphemmer whiche so vsurpeth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet by this conclusion I entend not to derogate from the power of the Pope or of any other Prelate of the Church, but that he may by the vertue of the head so bynde and lose. But doe vnderstand the conditionall of this negative (to be impossible) after this sense: that it cannot bee that the Pope or any other Prelate of the Church can pretend by himselfe to bynde or lose (how and after what maner he lyst himselfe) except in such sorte, that hee doe in deede so bynde and lose before God as he doth pretend to doe.

14. We ought to beleue, that the vicare of Christ doeth at suche times onely binde and loose, when as hee worketh conformably by the lawe, and ordinaunce of Christ.&c.

The reason thereof is thys, because otherwise it is vnlawfull for hym so to do, except he should do it in the vertue of that law, and so consequently, vnlesse it be cōformable to the law and ordinaunce of Christ.*

15. To this conclusion, this ought vniuersally to be beleueed, that euery Priest rightly and duely ordered, hath power according to hys vocation,&c.

The reason heereof is this, because y^t the order of priesthode in his owne nature and substance, receaueth no such degrees, either of more, or of lesse. And yet notw^tstanding, the power of inferiour Priests, in these daies be vpon due consideration restrained, and some times againe in time of extreme necessity released. And thus according to the Doctours, a Prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, & the power of iurisdictiō or regimēt. And according [Page 434](#) to this second power, the Prelates are in an higher Maiestie, and regiment.

16. It is lawfull for Princes and Kynges (in cases by the law limited) to withdraw temporall commodities, from Church men abusing the same, habitualiter.

The reason therof is playne for that temporall Lordes ought rather to leaue to spirituall almes, which bryngeth with it greater fruite, then to corporall almes the case so standyng, that some tyme it were a necessary work of spirituall almes, to chastise such Clerkes by takyng from them their temporall liuinges, which vse to abuse the same to the damnifyeng both of their soule and body. The case, which the law doth limite in this matter, were the defect of correctyng his spirituall head or elles for lacke of correctyng the fayth of the Clerke which so offendeth,* as appeareth. 16. q. 7. filijs. Dist. 40. cap. Si Papa.

Whether they be temporall Lordes, or any other men whatsoever, which haue endued any Church with temporalities.&c.

The truth thereof is euidently sinne, for that, nothyng ought to stoppe a man frō the principall workes of charitie necessarily, because in euery action and worke of man is to be vnderstand a priuy condition necessary of God his good will concurring with all, as it is in the ciuill law de c. Conradi cap. 5. in fine collat. x. And yet God forbid, that by these wordes occasion should be geuen to the Lordes temporall to take away the goodes of fortune from the Church.

18. An Ecclesiasticall minister, yea the Byshop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subiectes, and for the profite of the Church be accused, either of the Clergie, or of the laytie.

The proufe of this is manifest hereby, because the sayd Byshop of Rome is subiect to fall into the sinne agaynst the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, sauynge the sanctitude, humilitie and reuerence due to such a Father. For so long as our brother is subiect vnto the infirmitie of fallyng, he lyeth vnder the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole Colledge of Cardinals may be slouthfull in ministryng due correction for the necessary prosperitie of the Church: it is apparent that the residue of the body of the Church, which possibly may stand most of lay men, may wholesomely correct the same accuse and bryng him to a better way. The possibilitie of this case is touched. Dist. 40. Si Papa. If the Pope doe erre from the right fayth. &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to bee supposed in the Lord Pope without manifest euidence: so agayne such an obstinacie ought not to be supposed in hym, possibly beyng fallen, but that bee will humbly receaue the wholesome medicine of his superiour, correctyng him in the Lord. The practise of whiche conclusion also is testified in many Chronicles. Farre be it from the Church of Christ that veritie should be condemned, which soundeth euill to trāsgressours and other slouthfull persons, for then the whole •ayth of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus Iohn Wicklesse in geuyng his Exposition vnto his foresayd propositions and conclusions, as is aboue prefixed, through the fauour and diligence of the Londoners, either shifted of the Byshops, or elles satisfied them so: that for that tyme he was dismissed and scaped clearely away, onely beyng charged and commaunded by the sayd Byshops, that he should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man beyng escaped from the Bishops, with this charge aforesayd, yet notwithstanding, ceased not to proceede in his godly purpose, labouryng and profityng still in the Church as he had begon.

Unto whom also (as it happeneth by the prouidence of God) this was a great helpe and stay, for that in the same yeare, or in the begynnyng of the next yeare folowyng, the foresayd Pope Gregory xi. whiche was the styrrer vp of all this trouble agaynst hym, turned vp hys heeles and dyed. After whom insued such a schisme in Rome, betwene two Popes, and other succeeding after them, one striuyng agaynst an other: that the schisme thereof endured the space of. xxxix. yeares, vntill the tyme of the Councell of Constance.

*The occasioner of whiche schisme first was Pope Urbane the 6. who in the first begynnyng of hys Popedome was so proude and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queenes, and so set to aduaunce his Nephew and kyndred, with iniuries to other Princes that the greatest number of his Cardinales and Courtyours by litle and litle shronke from him, and set vp an other Frenche Pope agaynst hym, named Clement, who reigned xi. yeares. And after hym Benedictus the 13. who reigned yeares 26. Agayne of the contrary side after Urbanus the sixth succeeded, Boniface the ninth, Innocentius the viij. Gregorius the xij. Alexander the fift, Iohn 13.

Papae,	yeares.	month.	Antipapae.	yeares.
Vrbanus. 6.	11.	8.	Clement.	11
Bonifacius. 9.	14.	9.	Benedictus. 13.	26.
Innocentius. 8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius. 12.	2.	7		
Alexander 5.	0.	11.		
Iohannes. 13.	5.	10		

As touching thys pestilent & most miserable schisme, it would require heere an other lleade to comprehend in order all the circumstaunces and tragicall partes thereof, what trouble in the whole Church, what partes taking in euery Countrey, what apprehending and imprysoning of priests & prelates, takē by land and sea, what sheddyng of bloud did folow therof. How Ottho duke of Brunsewyke & Prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. Howe Ioane Queene of Hierusalem and Sicilia his wife, who before had sent to Pope Urbane, beside other gifts at hys coronation, xl. M. Duckets in pure gold: after by the sayd Urbane was committed to prison, and in the same pryson strangled. What Cardinales were racked, and miserably wythout all mercy tormented on gibbettes to death, what slaughter of men, what battails were fought betwene the two Popes,* whereof 5000. on the one side were slaine, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of 5. cardinals together after long tormēts, and how the bishop Aquilonensis, being suspected of pope Urbane, for not riding faster with the Pope, his horse being not good, was there slaine by the Popes commaundement, sending his soldiours vnto him, to slay him, and cut hym in peeces. All whych things, with other diuers moe acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of thys abhominable schisme, because they are abundantly discoursed at full, by Theodorike Niem, who was neare to the sayde Pope Urbane,* and present at all his doings: therefore as a thing needlesse, I here pretermit, referring them who couet to be certified more amply herein, vnto the 3. bookes of the sayd Theodorike aboue mentioned.

About the same time,* also about 3. yeres after, there fel a cruell dissention in England, betwene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a little disturbe and trouble the common wealth. In thys tumult, Symon of Sudbury Archbyshop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustical & rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place after, succeeded William Courtney, which was no lesse diligent then his predecessor had ben before him, in doing his diligence to roote out heretickes. Notwithstanding, in the meane season Wickleffes secte increased priuely, and daily grewe to greater force,* vntill the time that William Barton Uicechancellor of Oxford, about the yeare of our Lord 1380. had the whole rule of that vniuersitie: who callyng together 8. monastical doctors, and 4. other, with the consent of the rest of hys affinitie, putting the common seale of the vniuersitie vnto certaine wrytings: he set foorth an Edict, declaring vnto euery man, and threatning them vnder a greeuous penaltie, that no men should be so hardie, hereafter to associate thēselues wyth any of Wickliffs fautors or fauourers: and vnto Wickliffe himselfe, he threatned the greater excommunication, and farther imprisonment, and to all his fautors, vnles that they after 3. dayes canonical admonitiō or warning, or as they cal it, peremp'tory, did repent & amend.* The which thing whē Wickliffe vnderstood, forsaking the pope & all the clergy, he thought to appeale vnto the kings maiestie: but the Duke of Lancaster comming betweene, forbad hym that he shoulde not heereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himselfe vnto the censure and iudgement of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliffe being beset wyth troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waues, he was forced once againe to make cōfession of his doctrine: in the whych his confession, to auoid the rigor of things, he aunswered as is aforesaide, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sorte, that he did mitigate and asswage the rigor of hys enemies.

The next yere after,* whych was 1382. by the commandement of William Arch. of Cant. there was a conuocation holden at London, where as Iohn Wickliffe was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally, or not, I find it not in story certainly affirmed. The mandate of the Archb. Wil. Courtney (sent abrode for the conuenting together of this councell) heere followeth vnder wrytten, truely copied out of his owne registers.

Memorandum,* that where as well amongst the nobles as commons of this realme of England, there hath a certain brute ben spread of diuers cōclusions both erroneous, [Page 435](#) & also repugnant to the determination of the Church which tend to the subuersion of the whole Church, and to our prouince of Canterburie,* and also to the subuersion of the whole realme, being preached in diuers & sundry places of our sayd prouince, generally, commonly, & publikely: We William by Gods permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the sea Apostolicall, beeing minded to execute our office and duetie heerein: haue conuocated or called together, certaine our fellow brethren & others a great many, as well Doctours and Bachelers of diuinitie, as doctours of the Canon and ciuil law, and those whome we thought to be the most famous men, skilfullest men. and men of soundest iudgemēt in religion, that were in all the realme, whose names here vnder ensue. And the same being (the 17. day of the month of May) in the yere of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the priory of the friers preachers of London before vs and our foresayd fellow brethren assembled, then and there personally present: After that the sayd conclusions (the tenour whereof here vnder ensueth) were opely proponed, and distinctly and plainly read: We burdened our foresayd fellow brethren, doctours, and bachelers, in the faith wherin they stode bound to our Lorde Iesus Christ, and as

they would aunswer before the hygh iudge in the day of iudgement, that they shuld speake their opinions touching the sayde conclusions, and what euery of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had vppon the premisses, the foresaid our brethren the bishops, doctours, & Bachelers, reassembled before vs the 21. day of the same moneth in the foresayd chamber, the foresayde conclusions being againe and againe repeated and plainly read: by vs and by the common consents of vs all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are hereticall, and other some erroneous and contrary to the determination of the Church, as heereafter most manifestly shall appeare. And for as much as by sufficient information we finde & perceiue, that the sayd conclusions in many places of our sayde prouince, haue bene as is sayde, bothe taught & preached: and that diuers other persons do hold and maintaine the same, and be of heresie vehemently and notoriously suspected: haue thought good as wel generally as specially, to send out thys processe vnder wrytten.

The names of the Iurers were these.

- IN primis viij. Bishops, Canterbury, Winchester, Durram, Exeter, Herforde, Sarum, Rochester, and Fryer Botlesham. B.
- Item 3. friers preachers, Syward, Parris, Langley.
- Item 4. minorites, Foluile, Carlel, Frisley, Bernwel.
- Item, Augustine Friers. foure. Ashborne, Bowkyn, Woldley, Hornyngton.
- Item, Carmelites 4. Glanuile, Dis, Loney, Kynnyngham.
- Item, Monkes 4. Wels, Ramsey, Bloxam, Marton.
- Item, doctours of the Canon and Ciuill lawe 14. Appelby, Waltrom, Baketon, Chadesden, Tregision, Stow, Blaunchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flayneburgh, Motrum, Brandon and Prophet.
- Item, Bachelers of Diuinitie 6. Humbleton, Pickweche, Lindlow, Wich, Chiselden, Tomson.

The Articles of Iohn Wickleffe heere aboue specified, wherof some were 10. which were by these Friers cōdemned as heretical, y^e rest as erroneous: here in order follow, and are these. Although it may be thought, that some of them were made worsse by their sinister collecting, then he ment them in his owne workes and wrytings.

The articles of Iohn Wickliffe, condemned as hereticall.

- 1. The substance of material bread & wine, doth remaine in the Sacrament of the aulter after the consecration.
- 2. The accidents, doe not remaine wythout the subiect in the same Sacrament, after the consecration.
- 3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the altar truly and really, in hys proper and corporall person.
- *4. * That if a Byshop or a Priest be in deadly sinne, hee doth not order, consecrate, nor baptise.
- 5. That if a man be duely and truely contrite & penitent: all exterior and outer confession, is but superfluous and vnprofitable vnto hym.

- 6. That it is not found or stablished by the Gospell, that Christ did make or ordaine masse.
- 7. If the pope be a reprobate and euil man, & consequently a member of the deuill: he hath no power by any maner of meanes geuen vnto him ouer faithfull Christians, except peradventure it be geuen him from the Emperour.
- 8. That since the time of Urbane the 6. there is none to be receaued for Pope, but to liue after the manner of the Greekes, euery man vnder his owne law.
- 9.*To be against the Scripture, that ecclesiasticall ministers should haue any temporall possessions.

The other Articles of Iohn Wickleffe, condemned as erroneous.

- 10 THat no Prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he knew him first to be excōmunicate of God.
- 11. That hee which doeth so excommunicate any man, is therby himselfe either an hereticke or excommunicated.
- 12. That a Prelate or Bishop excommunicating any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the king or to the counsel, is thereby himselfe, a traytor to the king and realme.
- 13. That all such which do leaue of preaching or hearyng the worde of God or preaching of the Gospell, for scare of excōmunication: they are already excommunicated, and in y^t day of iudgement, shalbe counted as traytors vnto god.
- 14. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God, without the authority or licēce of the Apostolicke sea or any other of his Catholickes.
- 15. That so long as a man is in deadly sinne, he is neyther Byshop nor Prelate in the Church of God.
- 16.*Also that the temporal lordes, may according to theyr owne will and discretion, take away the temporall goodes from the Church men, whensoever they do offend.
- 17. That tenthes are pure almose, and that the Parishioners may for the offence of their curates, deteine and keepe them backe, & bestow them vpon others, at their own wil and pleasures,
- 18. Also, that all speciall praiers applied to any priuate or particular person, by any Prelate or religious man: do no more profite the same parson, then generall or vniuersall prayers doe profite others, whych be in lyke case or state vnto hym.
- 19. Moreouer, in that any man doeth enter into any priuate religion, whatsoever it be, hee is thereby made, the more vnapt and vnable to obserue and keepe the commādements of God.
- 20. That holy men which haue instituted priuate Religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also the order of begging Friers, hauing no possessions) in so doyng, haue greeuously offended.
- 21. That religious men, beyng in their priuate religions, are not of the Christian Religion.
- 22. That Friers are bounden to get their liuing, by the labour of their handes and not by beggyng.
- 23. That whosoever doth geue any almose vnto Friers, or to any begging obseruaunt, is accursed or in daūger therof.

The letter of the Archbyshop directed to the Byshop of London, agaynst Wickleffe and his adherentes.

William by Gods permission Archbyshop of Canterbury,* Metropolitane of all England, and of the Apostolicall sea Legate:

To our reuerend brother by the grace of God Byshop of London, salutation. The Prelates of the Church ought to be so much the more vigilant and attentue about the charge of the Lordes flocke committed vnto them: how much the more they shall vnderstand the Wolues beyng clothed in sheepes apparell, fraudulently to goe about to woory and scatter the sheepe. Truly, by the continuall cry and bruted fame (which it greeueth me to report) it is come to our knowledge: that although by the canonicall sanctions, no man beyng forbidden or not admitted, should either publickely or priuily without the authoritie of the Apostolicall sea or Byshop of that place, vsurpe or take vpon him the office of a Preacher: Some notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, beyng vnder the vale of blynde ignoraunce, are brought into such a dotyng mynde, that they take vppon them to Preache, and are not affrayde to affirme and teach diuers and sundry propositions and conclusions here vnder recited, both hereticall, erroneous, and false, condempned by the Church of God: and repugnaunt to the decree of holy Church, whiche tend to the subuerting of the whole state of the same, of our prouince of Canterbury, and destruction and weakenyng of the tranquillitie of the same: and that as well in the Churches, as in the streetes, as also in many other prophane places of our sayd prouince, generally, cōmonly, and publikely, do preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing thē lamentably to wāder out of the way, & frō the catholick Church, without which [Page 436](#) there is no saluation. We therfore considering, that so pernicious a mischiefe whych may creepe amongst many, wee ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to passe ouer, which may with deadly contagion slea the soules of men, least their bloud be required at our hands: are willing so much as God wil permit vs to do, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsaile and consent of many of our brethrē and Suffraganes, we haue conuented diuers and sundry Doctours of Diuinitie, as also professours and other Clerkes of the Canon and Ciuill lawes, the best learned wythin the Realme, and of the most soundest opinion and iudgement in the Catholicke faith, to geue their opinions and iudgements cōcerning the foresayde conclusions.* But for as much as the sayde conclusions and assertions: being in the presence of vs, and our fellowe brethren and other conuocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by common counsaile and consent, as wel of them as of vs, and so declared that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous & repugnant to the determination of the Church, as here vnder are described: Wee will and commaund your brotherhoode, and by vertue of holy obedience straightly enioyne, all and singular our brethren and Suffraganes of our body and Church of Canterbury, that with all speedye diligence you possible can, you likewise enioyne them (as we haue enioyned you) and euery of them. And that euery one of them in their Churches & other places of their Citie and Dioces, doe admonish and warne, and that you in your Church and other Churches of your Citie and Dioces, do admonish and warne, as we by the tenor of these presents, do admonish and warne the first time, the second time, and the third time: and yet more straightly doe warne, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition an other day, & for the third admonition canonicall and peremptorie, an other day: That no man from hence forth of what estate or cōdition soeuer, do hold, preach or defend the foresayd heresies and errors or any

of them: nor that hee admitte to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he fauour or leane vnto hym either publicquely, or priuely: But that immediatly he shonne hym as he would auoide a Serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison,* vnder paine of the greater curse, the which we commaund to be thundered against all and euery one which shalbe disobedient in this behalfe, and not regarding these our monitions, after that those 3. dayes be past which are assigned for the canonical monition, and that their delay, fault or offence, committed require the same: That then according to the tenour of these wrytings, wee commaund both by euery one of our felowe brethren & our Suffraganes in their Cities and Dioces, and by you in your City and Dioces (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the vttermost, both ye and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced.* And furthermore, wee will and commaunde our foresayd felowe brethren, and all & singular of you a part by your selues, to be admonished, and by the aspersion of the bloud of Iesus Christ we likewise admonish you: that according to the institution of the sacred Canons, euery one of them in their Cities & Dioces, bee a diligent inquisitour of this hereticall prauitie: and that euery one of you also in your Cities and Dioces,* be the like inquisitor of the foresayd heretical prauitie: And that of such like presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalfe) wyth effect do procede against the same, to the honor and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preseruacion of the Christian faith and Religion.

Here is not to be passed ouer, the great miracle of gods diuine admonition or warning: for when as the Archbyshop and suffraganes, with the other Doctours of diuinitie, and lawyers with a great company of babling Friars, & religious persons were gathered together to consult, as touching Iohn Wickleffes bookes, and that whole secte: When as they were gathered together at the Gray fryers in Lōdon,*to begin their busines, vpon S. Dunstons day after dinner, about 2. of the clocke the very houre & instant y^t they should go forward with their businesse: a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell, through out al England: wherupon, diuers of the suffraganes being feared, by the strange and wonderfull demonstration, doubting what it shuld meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpose. But the Archbyshop (as chiefe captaine of that army, more rash and bold then wise interpreting the chaunce which had happened, cleane contrary to an other meaning or purpose, did confirme & strengthen their harts and minds, which were almost daunted with feare, stoutly to proceede and go forward in theyr attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing Wickliffes articles, not according vnto the sacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but vnto theyr owne priuate affections and traditions, pronounced and gaue sentence, that some of them were simply and plainely hereticall, other some halfe erroneous other irreligious, some seditious, and not consonant to the Church of Rome.

Item,*the 12. day of Iune, in the yeare aforesaid, in the chamber of the Friars preachers: the foresayd M. Robert Rigges Chauncelor of the vniuersitie of Oxford, & Thomas Brightwell professors of diuinitie, beyng appoynted the same day and place, by the foresayde reuerend father in God Archbyshop of Canterbury: appeared before hym, in the presence of the reuerend father in God, Lord William, by the grace of God Byshop of Winchester, and diuers others doctours and bachelers of Diuinitie and of the Canon and ciuill lawe, whose names are before recited. And first the sayd Chauncelor by the said Lord Archb. of Cant. being examined what his opinion was touching the foresayd articles: Publicquely affirmed and declared, that certaine of those conclusions were hereticall, and certaine erroneious, as the other doctors and clerks afore

mentioned had declared: And then immediately next after hym, the foresayd Thomas Brightwel was examined, which vpon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but in the end being by the sayd Archbishop, diligently examined vpon the same, did affirme and repute the same to be hereticall and erroneous, as the foresayd Chancelor had done. An other Bachelor of Diuinitie also there was named N. stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that hys opinion therein was, as was the iudgement of the foresayd Chauncelour and Thomas as is aboue declared. Whereuppon, the sayde Lord Archb. of Cant. willing to let and hinder the perill of such heresies & errours: Deliuered vnto the foresayd Chauncelour there being publiquely read his letters patents, to be executed, the tenour whereof in these wordes doth folow.

William by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. primate of all England,* and Legate of the Apostolicall see: To our welbeloued sonne in Christ the Chancelor of the vniuersitie of Oxford, within the diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, grace and benediction. The prelates of the Church, about the Lordes flocke committed to their charge, ought so much to be more vigilāt as that they see the wolfe clothed in sheepes attire fraudulētly go about to worow and scatter the sheepe. Doubtles, the common fame & brute is come vnto our eares. &c. Vtin mandato praecedenti. We will therefore and commaunde, straightly enioyning you, that in the Church of our blessed Lady in Oxforde, vpon those dayes the which accustomedly the Sermon is made, as also in the schooles of the sayde Vniuersitie vpon those dayes the Lectures be read, ye publish and cause by others to be published to the clergie and people, as well in their vulgare tounge, as in the Latine tounge, manifestly and plainly without any curious implication, the same hereticall and erronious conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy Church, as is aforesayd: to haue bene & be condemned, and which conclusions also we declare by these our letters to be vtterly condemned: And that farthermore you forbid, and canonically admonish, and cause to be admonished, as we by the tenour of these presents doe forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrise, and that peremptorily: that none hereafter hold, teach, preach, or defende the heresies and errours aboue sayde, or any of them eyther in schoole or out of schoole by any sophistical cauillation or otherwise: or that any admit to preache, heare, or hearken vnto Iohn Wyckliffe, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppindon Chanon regular, or Iohn Ayshton, or Laurence Readman, which be vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresie, or els any other whatsoever, so suspected or defamed: or that either priuely or publiquely, they either aide or fauoure them or any of them, but that incontinently they shunne and auoide the same as a Serpent which putteth foorth moste pestiferous poyson. And farthermore, we suspend the sayd suspected persons from al scholasticall acte, till such time as they shall purge themselves before vs in that behalfe, and that you denounce the same publiquely, by vs to haue bene and be suspended, and that yee diligently and faithfully inquire, of all their fautours and fauourers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the haules of the sayde vniuersitie. And that when you shall haue intelligence of their names & persons,* that yee compell all and euery of them to abiure their outragies by Ecclesiasticall Censures and other paines Canonically whatsoever vnder paine of the greater curse, the whych against al and singular the rebellious in thys behalfe, and disobeying our monitions wee pronounce: so that their fault, deceit, and offence in thys behalfe, deserue the same (the sayde monition of ours being first sent) which in this behalfe we exteeme and allowe Canonically, that then and agayne accordyng to the effect of these our letters. &c. The Absolution of all and singular such, whych shall incurre the sentence of thys instrument by vs sent foorth (whyche God forbidde) Wee specially reserue vnto oure selues: exhortyng you the Chauncellour by the

aspersion of the bloud of IESVS CHRIST, that to the vttermost of your power hereafter you doe your indeuoure, that the Clergie and people [Page 437](#) being subiecte vnto you, if there be whych haue strayed from the Catholique faith by such errorrs, may be brought home againe, to the laud and honour of his name that was crucified, and preseruatiō of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatsoeuer you shal do, in the premisses in maner & forme of our processe in this behalfe, to be had and done: that you for your parte, when you shalbe required thereunto, plainly & distinctly do certifie vs by your letters patents, hauing the tenour hereof.

The conclusions and articles here mentioned in thys letter, are aboue prefixed. Of which some were cōdemned for hereticall, some for erroneous.

After this, within fewe daies the foresayd Archbyshop W. Courtney, directed down his letters of admonitiō to Robert Rigge commissary of Oxford, for the repressing of thys doctrine. Which yet notwithstanding both then, and yet to this day (God be praised) doth remaine. The copie of his monitiō to the Commissary here out of hys owne Register, foloweth.

The monitiō of the Archbyshop, vnto the foresayd Chauncellour.

*IN Dei nomine Amen. Where as we William by the permission of God Archbyshop of Canterbury Lorde Primate of England and Legate of the Apostolicall sea, by the consent of our suffraganes, haue caused to be assembled together diuers clerkes both secular and regular of the vniuersitie of Oxford, wythin our prouince of Canterbury and other Catholicke persons to informe vs of, and vpon certayne conclusions heretical and erroneous generally and commonly preached and published in diuers places of the sayd prouince of Canterbury to the subuersion of the whole state of the Church, and our sayd prouince: And also mature deliberation had vpon the same: by the common counsaile of the said our suffraganes & their conuocates, it was declared, that certain of the sayde conclusions, to haue bene and be condemned, some for heretical, and some for erroneous, and notoriously repugnāt to the determinatiō of the church, which we also our selues haue declared to be damnable: And haue vnderstode by credible information, and partly by experience that thou Robert Rigge, Chancelor of the vniuersity aforesaid, hast & doest incline partly to the foresaid damnable conclusions, whome also we in thys part haue partly suspected, doest intend to molest these our Clerkes aboue specified, & others adhering vnto vs in this behalf, as they ought to do: through thy subtill and sophisticall imaginations, sondry & manifold wayes, therefore we admonish thee M. Robert Chauncellour aforesaid, the first, second, and third time, and peremptorily: that thou doest not greue, let, or molest, iudicially or extraiudicially, apertly or priuely, or cause to be greued, let and molested, or procure directly or indirectly, by thy selfe, or any other, as much as in thee lieth to be greued, the foresayd Clerks secular or regular, or such as fauor them in the premisses, in their scholastical acts or in any other condition whatsoeuer. And that thou suffer none. hereafter to teach, maintaine, preach, or defend any such heresies or errorrs in the sayde Vniuersitie, either within or wythout the scholes: Neither that thou do admit I. Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Repindon, Iohn Ayshton, or Laurēce Redman, which are vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresie, or any other so suspected or defamed, vnto that office of preaching. But that thou denounce the sayd persons to be suspended, whom we haue suspended from all scholastical act, whilst they cleare their

innocencie in this part before vs, vnder the paine of the greater curse, which we here in these wrytings denounce against thy person if thou shalt not obey those our admonitions, with effecte, as thy crime, subteltie and offence in this behalfe shal require according to this our admonition premised, which we repute in thys parte for canonicall, as well then as now, and now as wel as then, reseruing the absolution of this sentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to light vpon thee, as (God forbid) specially vnto our selues. Testified with the handes of the Iurers, aboue in the page 410. before specified.

The examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Repingdon, and Iohn Ayshton.

THE 18. day of the month and yere aforesaid in the chamber of the preaching Friers afore mentioned, before the foresayde Archb. in the presence of diuers Doctours and Bachelers of Diuinitie, and many Lawyers both Canon and Ciuil, whose names are vnder written: appeared M. Nich. Herford, Philip Repingdon, & Iohn Ayshton Bachelers of diuinity. Who after a corporal oth taken to shew their iudgements vpon the cōclusions aforesayd, were examined seuerally eache one by himselfe, before the Archb. Who there required day and place to deliberate vpon the conclusions aforesayd, and to geue their answeere vnto the same in wryting. And also required to haue a copie of the sayde conclusions to be deliuered vnto them. The which copy,* the sayd Nicholas & Philip (being openly read vnto them) receiued. Also the foresayd M. Iohn Ayshton lykewise was examined, and iudicially admonished by the said Archbishop by vertue of his othe, that hee setting aside all sophisticall words & suttelties, he fully and plainly would say his minde vpon the conclusions aforesayd. And being asked moreouer by the said Archbishop whether he would haue a further day to deliberate vpon his answers, as the foresaid Nicholas and Philip had before: said expresly that he would not, but would answer presently to those cōclusions.* And so for finall aunswere sayde, as concerning all these conclusions (containing them all together) that hys iudgement was in this behalfe to hold his peace. Wherefore the foresaid Archbishop reputing the saide Iohn herein to be suspected, admonished him in form of words as foloweth: We admonish thee Iohn Ayshton, whome we repute to be defamed, & notoriously suspected of heresie, the first, the second, and third time: that in our prouince of Canterbury hereafter, thou do not preach publickely or priuately w^tout our speciall licence, vnder paine of the greater curse, which we denoūce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for nowe as for then. And consequently, for as much as the sayd Iohn being asked of the Archb. confessed that hee had heard before of the publication of the Archbysshops Mandate, wherein was inhibited y^t no person prohibited or not sent,* should preach hereafter: the foresayde Archb. assigned to him Friday next folowing, which was the 20. day of the same moneth, after dinner to appeare before hym, either at Lamheth, or in the same place: to say for himselfe, wherefore he myght not be pronounced for an heretick, & for such a one to be denounced through hys whole prouince. Also the said Archbishop assigned to the foresaid Nicholas and Philip, the saide day & place to answer peremptorily, and to say fully & plainly to the conclusions aforesayde, all sophistication of woordes and disputation set a part.

The names of the Friers that sate vpon them.

- **Friers preachers 7.**

- Thom. Barnwel,
- William Swynherd,
- William Pitworth,
- Tho. Whatley,
- Laurence Grenham,
- Iohn Leigh,
- Iohn Haker.

Carmelites 3.

- Walter Dish,
- Iohn Kinningham,
- Iohn Louey.

Augustine Frier.

- Thomas Ashborne Doctour.

In the 20. day aforesaid of the said month of Iune,* the yere and place aboue prefixed, before the foresayde Archbyshop, sitting in his tribunall seat, in the presence of diuers Doctours of Diuinitie, and lawyers, both Ciuil and Canon: personally appeared M. Nicholas Herford, & Phillip Repindon,* Bachelers of Diuinity, and Iohn Ayshton maister of Arte. Where, the foresaid Nicholas and Philip, being required by the sayd Archb. to answeere and say fully and plainly their iudgements vppon the conclusions prefixed, whereunto the sayde Archbyshop had assigned to the sayd Nicholas and Philip the same terme: did exhibite to the sayd Archbyshop there iudicially sitting, certaine aunsweres in wryting contained, after the maner of indētūre, the tenour whereof here vnder is contained, and after the same forme answered to the sayd conclusions. The tenour of which Indenture containing the foresaide conclusions vnto them moued as afore, foloweth in these wordes.

The protestation of Nicholas, Philip, and Iohn, with their Articles and aunsweres to the same.

WE protest here as before, publikely in these presēts: that we intend to be humble and faithful children to the church and holy scripture,* and to obey in all things the determinations of the Church. And if it shall chaunce vs at any time which god forbid, to swarue from this our intention, we submit our selues humbly to the correction of our reuerend father Lorde Archbishop of Cant. and primate of all England: and of all other, which haue interest to correct such swaruers. This protestatiō premised, thus we answeere to the conclusions aforesayd.

That the substance of material bread and wine, remaineth in the Sacrament of the aulter after consecration.

After the sense contrary to the Decretall, beginning Firmiter credimus, we graunt that it is heresie.

[Page 438](#) That the accidents doe not remaine wythout the subiect after consecration of the Sacrament.

*After the sense contrary to that Decretall Cum Marthe, We graunt that it is heresie.

That Christ is not in the sacrament, the selfe same truly and really in hys owne corporall presence.

Although this conclusion as the words stand sound to be probable and intelligible: yet in the sense cōtrary to the decretal in Cle, Si dudum. We graunt that it is heresy. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the Sacrament of the aulter as touching also all other thyngs, we professe that we will both in worde and sense, holde wyth the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church and sayings of the holy Doctours.

Obstinatly to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Gospell that Christ ordained the Masse.

We graunt that it is heresie.

That God ought to obey the deuill.

In this sense that God in hys owne person or essence, ought to obey the deuill with the obedience of necessity.

We graunt that it is heresie.

If a man be duely contrite, that all externall confession is to him superfluous and vnprofitable.

We graunt that it is heresie.

If the Pope be a reprobate & an euill man, and consequētly a member of the deuill: He hath no power ouer the faithful of Christ, giuē to him of any, vnleast it be of Cesar.

We graunt that it is heresie.

That after Pope Urbane the 6. none is to be receyued for Pope, but that wee ought to liue after the maner of the Grecians vnder our owne lawes.

We graunt that it is heresie.

To say that it is against the holy Scripture for ecclesiasticall persons to haue temporall possessions.

If obstinacie be ioyned withall: wee graunt that it is heresie.

That no Prelate ought to excommunicate any man, vnles he know him before to be excommunicate of God.

We graunte that it is an error. Understanding thys knowledge to meane an experimental knowledge: so that heerewith may stand the Decree of the Church. 11. q. 3. Nemo Episco.

That he which doth so excommunicate, is thereby an hereticke or excommunicate.

After the sense agreeing w^t the other before, we graunt to be an error.

That a Prelate excommunicating a clerke, whych appealeth to the king or counsell of the realme, in so doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realme.

We graunt it is an error.

That they whych leaue off to preache, or to heare the word of God & the gospel preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate: and in the day of iudgement shalbe counted for traytors to God.

Understanding this cōclusion vniuersally so, as scripture and lawes do vnderstand such indefinit propositions: We graunt it is an error.

To affirme that it is lawful for any Deacon or Priest, to preach the word of God without the authority of the sea Apostolique or catholique Byshop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient.

We graunt it is an error.

To affirme that there is no ciuile Lord, no Bishop nor Prelate whilest he is in mortall sinne, wee graunt it is an error.

That temporall Lordes may at their pleasure take away the temporal goodes from Churches offending habitualiter: We graunt it is an error, after this sense that they may so take away temporall goodes of the churches wythout the cases limited in the lawes of the Church and kingdomes.

That the vulgar people may correct the Lordes offending at their pleasure: vnderstanding by thys word may, that they may do it by the law: We graunt it is an error, because that subiectes haue no power ouer theyr Lordes,

That tithes be pure almes, and that parishioners may for the offences of their Curates detaine the same and bestow them to others at theyr pleasure: vnderstanding by thys word may, as before, to may, by the lawe: we graunt it is an error.

That special praiers applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit then the general praiers, if there be no let by the way to make them vnlike: Understanding thys conclusion vniuersally negatiuely, & vnderstanding by special prayers, the prayers made vpon special deuotion and general praiers of general deuotion: then after this sense, no such special prayers applied to any one person, by special orators do profite more specially the said person,

then general praier doe, which are made o• y• same and for the same persons, we graunt it is an errour.

He that geueth almes to the friers, or to any frier that preacheth, is excommunicate both he that geueth, & he that taketh: Understanding thys proposition vniuersally or conditionally as is aforesayd: We graunt to be an errour.

That who so entreth into any priuate religiō what so euer, is thereby made more vnapt and vnmete to obey the commaundements of God: We graunt it is an errour.

That such holy men as did institute any priuate religions whatsoever, as well of secular hauing possessions, as of friers hauing none, in so instituting did sinne: Understanding thys reduplitatiuely or vniuersally: Wee graunt it is an error. After thys sense, that what Saint soeuer dyd institute priuate religiōs, instituting the sayd religion vpon that consideration as they did, did sinne.

That religious men liuing in priuate religiōs, be not of the religion of Christ: Understanding the proposition vniuersally as is aforesayd: We graunt it is an errour.

That friers are bound to get their liuings by the labor of their handes and not by begging: Understanding this propositiō vniuersally as before: We graūt it is an errour.

These things haue we spoken reuerend father & Lord, in all humility, vnder your gracious supportation and benigne correction, according to our abilities & slender capacities for this present (the honor of god, the verity of our belief, and safe cōscience in all poynts reserued) more humbly yet beseeching you: that if any other thing there be that semeth meete vnto your excellency & discretion to be more or otherwise said & spoken: that your gracious fatherhood would vouchsafe to informe vs as children by the sacred scriptures by the determination of the church, or authorityes of the holy Doctours. And doubtles with redy wils, and obedient mindes we wil consent and agree vnto your wholsom doctrine. May it therefore please your fatherhode right reuerende in God, according to y^e accustomed maner of your benignity, fauourably to accept these our wordes and sayings, forasmuch as the foresayde conclusions were neuer by vs either in scholes affirmed, or els in Sermons publicly preached.

Further examinations and proceedings against the foresayd Nich. Herford, Phillip Reppindon, and Io. Aishton.

WHen all these answers were made vnto the said lord Archb. of Canterb. the sayde Nicholas and Phillip,* for that they aunswered not vnto the meaning and words of the first conclusion expresly: but contrary to the sense of the decretall Firmiter credimus, were there iudicially examined what their sense and meaning was, but they wold not expresse the same. Then was it demaunded of them according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the behalfe of the sayd Lord of Cant. whether the same materiall bread in numero, whych before the consecration is laid vpon the aulter, remaine in the proper substance and nature, after the consecration in the Sacrament of the aulter, and likewise of the wine? To this the said Nicholas & Phillip aunswered, that for y^t time they could say no more therein, then that they had already aunswered, as is afore

alledged in writing. And for that vnto the sence and wordes of the second conclusion they aunswered not fully and expresly, but in a sence contrary to the Decretall Cum Marthe, beyng asked what was y^e meaning, would not expresse the same. Therefore it was demanded of them according to the sence of the same conclusion, declared in the behalfe of the sayde Lord of Caunterbury, whether those corporall accidences which formally were in the bread and wine before the cōsecration of them: after the consecration were in the same bread and wine, or els were subiected in anye other substaunce? To this they aunswered, that better to answeare, then before in theyr writinges they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and wordes of the third conclusion, for that they aunswered not playnly and expresly, but in sence contrary to the decretall in the Clementines Si dudum, being asked what was that sence and meaning, woulde not declare the same: Wherefore it was then demaunded of them according to the sence of the same conclusion, declared on the behalfe of the sayd Lorde of Canterbury. Whither the same body of Christ whiche was assumed of the Uirgine, be in the sacrament of the aulter, secundum se ipsum, euen as he is really in carnall substance, proper essence, and nature. To this they aunswered, that for that time they could say no more then that they had sayd, as before is specified in writing.

[Page 439](#) Furthermore, to the sence and text of the sixt conclusion, for that they aunswered not fully and expresly, beyng asked whether God ought any maner of obedience to the Deuill or not: they said yea, as the obedience of loue, because he loueth him, and punished him as he ought. And to proue that God ought so to obey the deuill, they offered themselues to the fire.

To the 11. conclusion, for that they aunswered not expresly, being asked whither a prelate might excommunicate any man being in the state of grace: said yea.

Unto the 20. cōclusion, for that they answered not fully, simply, and expresly, being demaunded whether special or genenerall prayers did most profit, and were of greater force? They would not say but that speciall.

Unto the last conclusion, for that they aunswered neyther simply nor expresly, and being demanded particularly, whether any frier were bounde to get his liuing wyth his manuall labour, so that it might not be lawfull for them to liue by begging? They would make no aunswere at all.

After that, the foresaid Lord Archb. of Cant. demaunded of all the foresaid Doctors,* what their iudgement was touching the answeres that were made vpon all & singuler such conclusions. All which doctors and euery of them seuerally, sayd: y^e there all the answeres geuen vnto the first second, third, and sixt cōclusions (as is before recited) were insufficient, hereticall and subtill, and that all the answeres made specially to the tenth, ninth, and last conclusions, as is aboue mentioned: were insufficiēt, erroneous and peruerse. Whereupon the Lord sayd Archbishop of Caunterbury, considering the sayd aunsweres to be hereticall, subtill, erroneous and peruerse, accordingly as the said Doctors (as is aforesayd) had wayed and considered: admonished the said Nicholas and Phillip sufficiently▪ vnder these forme of wordes.

The name of Christ being called vpon: we William by Gods permission,* Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitane of al England, and Legate of the Apostolique see, and through all our prouince of Caunterbury, Inquisitor of all heretical prauitie: do sufficiently and lawfully

admonish and cite you Nicholas Herford and Phillip Repingdon professors of Diuinitie, hauing this day and place assigned you by your own consent and our prefictiō, peremptorily to answere and to say, fully and playnely your opinions touching these conclusions wherunto we do referre you (all subtyll, sophisticall, and Logicall wordes set apart) being therunto sworne, cited, & commanded: Which thyng to do, without cause reasonable or any licence geuen thereunto, you neither haue bene willing nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuously refused to aunswere to some of those conclusions before vs iudicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commaundement before sayd. But for that, ye haue answered vnto some of them heretically, and to other some erroneously, although not fully, we admonish and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily: that plainely and fully (all subtile, sophisticall and logicall wordes set apart) you and euery of you answer vnto the same conclusions, and vnto that sense and meaning by vs limited: vnder the payne that otherwise such conclusions deserue by you confessed, and that for the same conclusions you ought to haue.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the foresayd Nicholas and Phillip would make none other answere: The said Lord archbish. of Caunterbury concluded that busines, prefixing and assigning vnto the foresayd Nichalas and Phillip 8. dayes space,* that is to say, vntill the 27. day of the same month: And that then they shoulde appeare before the sayd Lord Archbishop of Canterbury whersoever within the same his prouince of Caunterbury hee shoulde fortune to be, to heare his decree that shoulde be made in that behalfe. This done, the foresayd Archbish. of Caunterbury, monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently, Iohn Aishton vnder the the tenour of these wordes following.

In the name of God: we William by Gods permissiō, Archb. of Cant. Primate of all England, Legate of the see Apostolicall, and through all our prouince of Cant. of all heretical prauities chiefe Inquisitour: do monish & cite thee, Iohn Asheton maister of arte, and student in diuinitie appearing before vs, iudicially to say and speake the playne veritie touching these conclusions to the which we doe referre thee: and to the which we haue caused thee to sweare, laying thy hand vpon a booke: as being also otherwise by vs admonished and commaunded to keepe this daye and place by vs appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone such reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced an hereticke. And sufficiently and lawfully we monish and cite thee, the first, second and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou, fully and playnely (all subtyll, sophisticall, and logicall wordes for apart) doe aunswere vnto the same conclusions, vnder the payne that vnto such conclusions belong & on thy part confessed, and that thou for suche conclusions oughtest to suffer whiche monition, being thus premised: The sayde Archbishop read the first conclusion, and of the sayd Iohn inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein, and hereupon he said his minde conce•ning the foresayd monition. Then, the foresayd Iohn Asheton being often required by the archbishop that he would aunswere in the •a•me tongue to <◇> questions whi•h were demaunded of him,* because <◇> lay people that stood about him: he crying out into the Englishe tongue, vttered friuolous and approbrious <◇> to <◇> and excite the people against the sa•• Archbishop as it should seem. Neyther did he vnto the fi•st con•lusion nor vnto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seeme to them to aunswere: but rather by the subtilties, & shiftes, saying oftentimes and as expresly as Luke said, it was sufficiēt for him to beleue as the holy Church beleued. Then the said Archbishop examined him vpon the first conclusion touching y^e Sacrament of the an••r: whether, that after the wordes of consecration, there remayneth materiall

bread particular bread,* or vniuersall bread? He sayde the matter passed his vnderstanding, and therefore said the woulde in that forme and maner aunswere and otherwise not. But amongst other things, he spake in deriding wise vnto the said Archb. against this worde Materiall, saying, you may put that in your purse if you haue any. Whereupon the said Archbishop, calling that an vnwise and foolishe aunswere as the rest of the doctors did (of whome mention was made before) rather for that he was a graduat in the schooles, farther proceeded against the said Iohn Asheton in this wise.

And thou Iohn Asheton monished and commaunded by vs as is aforesayd, after thine oth taken: without anye reasonable cause or any other other licence, neither wouldest thou nor yet will, but refused and yet doest contemptuously, to aunswere vnto such conclusions before vs, iudicially according to our monition & commandement aforesad doe hold all such conclusions by thee confessed, & thee the foresaid Iohn with all thy said conclusions, conuicted. And therefore we do pronounce and declare by sentence geuing, that thou Iohn Ashton cōcerning those cōclusions, which by vs with good deliberation of diuers prelates our suffraganes, and also diuers and sondry professours of diuinitie, and other wise men and learned in the lawe according to y^e Canonically sanctions, being condemned and declared for an hereticke and hereticall: to haue bene and still is, an hereticke, and thy conclusions heretical. And as touching thy other conclusions by vs hertofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned: we doe pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that both thou hast erred and doest erre.

Upon the same 20. day of Iune in the yeare and place aboue recited:* the foresaid Lord of Caunterbury being desirous, as he pretended to be informed by Thomas Hilmā bachelor of diuinitie there being present and somewhat fauouring the said M. Iohn Asheton what his iudgement & opinion was touching y^e foresaid conclusions: prefixed and assigned vnto the said Thomas (for that time demaunding the same deliberation and day) 8. dayes after, that is to say, the 28. of the said month:* that he appeare before the Bishop of Cant. wheresoeuer within his said prouince of Canterbury, he should then happen to be, to declare playnely and fully what his iudgement and opinion was, touching the foresaid conclusions. Ex Regist W. Courtney.

The names of Friers and Doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.

- Friers Obseruantes, Botlesham B. of Nauaton, frier Iohn Langley, William Suard.
- Friers of Dominickes order, Iohn Kyngham, Iohn Louey, Peter Stokes, Walter Dish.
- Friers Carmelites, Thomas Ashburn, Baukine, Robert Walbey.
- Doctors and Fryers Augustines, M. Iohn Barnet, M. Thomas Backton, M. Iohn Blanchard, M. Iohn Shillingford, M. Lydford, M. Thomas Southam.

The Friday next following,* that is to say, the 28. day of Iune: the foresaid M. Nicholas, Phillip, and Thom. Hilman, appeared before the said Archb. and lord Inquisitour of Canterbury, in the chappell of his manor of Otfurd, in [Page 440](#) the Dioces of Canterbury, there sitting in his Tribunall seat. To whom the sayd bishop of Canterbury saying, that for because at that time he had not the presence & assistance of the doctors in diuinitie, and of the Canon and ciuil law: He continued the sayd busines touching the sayd Nicholas Phillip,* and Thomas, in the same state wherin thē it was till Tewesday next & immediately ensuing: that is to say, the first day of Iuly, the yeare of the Lord abouesayd, and prefixed vnto the said Nicholas, Phillip, and Thomas

Hilman the same day to appeare before him, wheresoeuer within his prouince of Caunterb. he should then chaunce to be, to do that whiche vppon the sayd 28. day, they were purposed to doe together or a part.

Which Tuesday being come, the foresaid Archb. in the chiefe house of his Church at Canterbury, before the houre of 9. with the doctours, whose names are vnder conteined and other Clerkes a great multitude: Expected the foresaid Nicholas, Phillip, and Thomas, long•ime by the bedle calling them and looking after them. who neuerthelesse appeared not before two of the clocke after dinner the same day, continuing the foresayd busines in the pristine state til the same houre. At which houre the foresaid Archbishop of Cant. hauing assistentes, the doctors, & clerkes, vnder recited: examined the foresayd maister Thomas Hilman, thē and there iudicially appearing, what his opiniō was touching the foresayd conclusions: who at them and the meaning of them somewhat stammering, at last, to all and singuler the same conclusions then to him red and expounded thus aunswered.* I suppose and iudge all & singuler those conclusions lately condemned by my Lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the cōsaile and consent of hys clerkes, to be hereticall and erroneous, euē as the same my Lord of Caunterbury, and other doctours of Diuinitie of the Canon and ciuill law, by common consent & counsaile haue supposed and thought. And that the same (being for hereesies and errors as before is sayd condemned) doe as much as in me is condemne: protesting that I will holde and affirme the contrary of those cōclusions, & in the same sayth liue and dye.* Then sayd the archbishop of Caunterbury, then & there sitting as Tribunall or iudge, pronouncing the said maisters Nicholas and Phillip (long in court called before and taried for, and yet not appearing) guilty of contumacy and disobedience: excommunicated them for the penaltie of this their cōtumacie, in tenor of these words following.

We William by the grace of God archbishop of Caunterbury, Primate of Englande, Legate of the Apostolicall see, and thorough all our prouince of Canterbury, of al hereticall prauitie chiefe Inquisitour:* Do pronounce maister Nicholas Herford, and maister Phillip Repingdon, professours of diuinitie, hauing this day and place by our prefiction appoynted to heart & decree in this busines of hereticall prauitie (being in Court by our Bedle long called & taried for, and yet not appearing) to be stubburne and disobedient persons: and for the penalty of this their contumacie, we do excommunicate them and either of them by these presentes.

*** The denouncing of the excommunication agaynst Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Reppington.**

*William by Gods permission Archb. of Caunterb. &c. To our beloued sonne in Christ, whosoeuer he be, y^t this instaunt sonday shall preach at Paules crosse in London, Salutatiō, grace and blessing. For asmuch as we prefixed a certaine competent day and place to maister Nicholes Herford, and maister Phillip Reppingtō, Canon Regular of the Monastery of our Lady of Leicester, beyng Doctours of Diuinitie and of heretical prauitie, vehemētly suspected: After certayne aunsweres not fully made, but impertinently and nothing to the purpose, as also hereticall and erroneous: In diuers places of our said prouince commonly, generally, and publicly taught and preached, and therefore that they should iudicially appeare before vs, to doe & to receaue peremtorily in that behalfe, what thing soeuer the quallitie of that busines shoulde

moue vnto vs: and that we haue for their contumacie in not appearing before vs at that day and place iudicially appoynted as right therein required: We by these presentes commaund & commit vnto you, firmly enioyning you, that when all the multitude of people shalbe gathered together to heare your sermō: that in the day and place appoynted, you publikely and solemnly denoūce the foresaid Nicholas & Phillip, holding vp a crosse, and lighting vp a candle, and then throwing downe the same vpon the ground, to haue bene so and in such maner excommunicated and still be.

Fare ye well.

In our Manour house at Lambeth, the 13. day of Iuly, the yeare of our Lord. 1382. and first yeare of our translation.

*** The Citation agaynst the sayd Nicholas and Phillip.**

William by the grace of God. &c. To our welbeloued sonne M. Robbert Rigge chauncellour of the Vniuersitie of Oxford salutation &c. For as muche as we haue prefixed a competent day and place to M Nicholas Heerford, and M. Phillip Reppington &c. as before. We straightly charge and commaund you that you publiquely and solemnly denounce in the church of our Lady, and in the scholes of the Vniuersity, the foresayd Nicholas and Phillip, to haue bene by vs excommunicated and still is. And that you further cite or cause to be cited peremptorily, the foresayd Nicholas and Phillip, that they and euery of them appeare before vs within 15. dayes after the date of this citation, wheresoeuer it shall fortune vs, within our sayd prouince of Caunterbury then to be: To heare and see how we meane to proceed against them, and euery of them concerning the foresayd hereticall and erroneous conclusions, according to the forme of retroactions and quallitie of the busines in this behalfe had and vsed. And that both of the day of the receipt of this present citation, of the maner and forme thereof, or if that you shall apprehend by personall citation the sayd Nicholas and Phillip or either of them, or whither they shall be absent and hide themselves, as of euery thing els which in this behalfe you shall thinke meete to be done: that betweene this and the feast of S Laurence, you clerely certifie vs by your letters patentes contayning the effect of these thinges.

Fare ye well.

At our Manour of Lambeth the 13. day of Iuly, the yeare of our Lord. 1382. and first yeare of our translation.

*** The names of the Doctours and Fryers assistentes at this sitting.**

- Seculars, M. William Blankpayne. M. Wil. Barton.
- Friars Carmelits, Robert Euery prior, Iohn Reningham, prior, and Iohn Lunne.
- Friars Minors, William Barnwel, Iohn Ryddin, and William Brunscombe.
- Friars Augustines, Iohn Court, Patrington, Tomson and Reepes.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archb. the parties excommunicate,* commēced and exhibited their appeale vnto the bishop of Rome. Which appeale of theirs as insufficient, or

rather to him vnpleasaunt, the said archbishop vtterly reiected (as might oftētimes ouercommeth right) proceeding in his preconceaued excommunication against thē, and writing moreouer his letters to hym that should preach next at Paules crosse, as is aforesaid, to denounce and to publishe openly the said Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repington to be excommunicate, for that not appearing and theyr terme assigned.* Which was in the 13. day of the month of Iuly.

Which archbishop moreouer the said yeare, month and day aforesaid, sent also an other letter to M. Rigge Commissary of Oxford, straightly enioyning and charging him not onely to denounce the sayd sentence of excommunication, and to geue out publique citation against them, but also to make dilligent search and inquisition through all Oxford for them, to haue them apprehended and sent vp to him, personally before him to appeare, at a certain day prescribed for the same. Werby may appeare howe busie this Bish. was in disquieting & persecuting these pore mē, whō rather he should haue nourished and cherished vs his brethren. But as his labour is past, so his reward will follow at what day the great Archbishop of our soules, shall iudicially appeare in his tribunall seat, to iudge both the quick and the dead.

The archb. yet not contented with this,* doth moreouer by all meanes possible, sollicite the king to ioine withall, the power of his temporall sword, for that he well perceaued, that hitherto as yet the popishe Clergy had no authoritie sufficient by any publique law or Statute of thys land to proceede vnto death against anye person whatsoever, in case of Religion, but onely by the vsurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle reader) for thy better vnderstanding the practise of the romish prelates in seeking the kinges help to further their bloody purpose against the good saintes of God.* Which king being but young and vnder yeares of ripe iudgement partly enduced or rather seduced by importune suite of the foresayd [Page 441](#) Archbishop, partly also eyther for feare of the Bishoppes (for kings cannot alwayes doe in their realmes what they will) or els perhaps entised by some hope of subsidie to be gathered by the Clergy was contented to adioyne his priuate assent (such as it was) to the setting downe of an ordinaunce which was in deede the very first lawe that is to be found made against Religion and the professors thereof bearing the name of an Acre made in the Parliament holden at Westminster Anno. 5. Rich. 2.* where among sundry other Statutes then published and yet remayning in the printed bookes of Statutes, this supposed Statute is to be found Cap. 5. & vltimo. as followeth.

Item forasmuch as, it is openly knowne that there be diuerse euill persons within the realme going from county to countie and from Towne to Towne in certayne habites vnder dissimulation of great holinesse and without the licence of the ordinaries of the places or other sufficient authoritie, preaching dayly not onely in Churches & churchyardes, but also in markets, fayres, and other open places where a great congregation of people is (diuers sermons contayning heresies and notorious errours to the great emblemishing of Christen fayth and destruction of the lawes, and of the estate of holy Church to the great perill of the soules of the people and of all the realme of England as more plainly is found and sufficiently proued before the reuerend father in God the Archbishop of Caunterbury and the bishops and other prelates maisters of Diuinitie, and doctors of Canon & of ciuil law, and a great part of the clergy of the said Realme specially assembled for this great cause, which persons do also preach diuers matters of slander to engender discorde and discention betwixt diuers estates of the said realme as well spirituall as temporall, in exciting of the people to the great perill of all the Realme, which preachers cited or

summoned before the ordinaries of the places thereto: answered of that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their summons & commandements, nor care not for their monitions nor censures of the holy Church, but expressly despise them. And moreover by their subtile and ingenious wordes doe drawe the people to heare their Sermons, and doe maintayne them in their errors by strong hand and by great routes It is ordained & assented in this present parliament,* that the kinges commissions be made and directed to the Sheriffes and other ministers of our soueraigne Lord the king or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates therof to be made in the Chancery from time to time to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintayners, and abbettours, and doe hold them in arrest and strong prison till they will iustify to them according to the law and reason of holy Church. And the king will and commaund that the Chancellour make such commissions at all times that he by the Prelates or any of them shalbee certified and thereof required as is aforesaid.

An examination of the foresayd supposed Statute and of the inualiditie therof.

WHich supposed statute for as much as it was the principall ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time, it is therefore not impertinent to examine the same more particularly, whereby shall appeare that as the same was fraudulently and vnduly devised by the Prelates onely: so was it in like maner most iniuriously and vnderly executed by them. For immediately vpon the publishing of this lawe, without further warrant eyther from the king or his counsell, commissions vnder the great seale of England were made in this forme. Richard by the grace of God &c.*vt patet act pag. 541. Witnesse my self at Westminster the 26. day of Iune in the sixt yeare of our raigne. Without more wordes of warrant vnder written such as in like cases are both vsuall and requisite. Viz. per ipsum Regem: per Regem & Concilium: or per breue de priuato Sigillo: all or any of which wordes being vtterly wanting in this place as may be seene in the kinges Recordes of that time: it must therefore be done eyther by warrant of this foresayd Statute, or els without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said Statute appointed the commissions to be directed to the Sheriffe, or other ministers of the kings, or to other sufficient persons learned for the arresting of suche persons: the sayd commissions are directed to the Archbishop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth parties in the case, autorising the further without either the wordes or reasonable meaning of the sayde Statute to imprison them in their owne houses or where els pleased them.

Besides also what maner of law this was, by whome devised and by what authoritie the same was first made and established iudge by that that followeth. Viz.

In the Utas of S. Michell next following at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster the sixt yeare of the said king, among sondry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this forme. Articl. 52.

Item,* prayen the commons, that whereas an Estatute was made the last parliament in these wordes. It is ordained in this present Parliament that commissions from the king be directed to the Sheri•fes and other ministers of the king or to other sufficient persons skilfull, and according to the certificates of the Prelates thereof to be made vnto the Chancery from time to time to arrest all suche preachers & their fautores maintainers and abbettours. And them to deteine in strong prison, vntill they will iustifie themselves according to reasō, & law of holy church. And

the king willeth and commaundeth that the Chauncellor make such commissions at all times as shalbe by the prelates or any of them certified and thereof required as is aforesayd.* The which was neuer agreed nor graunted by the commens: but what soeuer was moued therein was without their assent. That y^e said statute be therfore disanulled. For it is not any wise their meaning y^t either thēselues, or such as shal succeed thē,* shalbe further iustified or bound by the Prelates, then were their ancesters in former times whereunto is answered, il pl[•]ist aa Roy. 1. y^e king is pleased.

Hereby notwithstanding the former vniust lawe of Anno. 5. was repealed, and the fraude of the framers therof sufficiently discouered: yet such meanes was there made by the prelates, that this acte of Repeale was neuer published nor euer fithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that Parliament. In so much as the sayd Repeale being concealed, like commissions and other proces were made from time to time by vertue of the sayd Basterd statute aswel during al the reign of this king as euer sithence against the professors of religion: As shall hereafter by the grace of God appeare in the second yeare of king Henry the fourth, where the Clergy pursued the like practise. And now againe to the story of our Oxford Diuines, and of the Archbishop to whom the king writeth his letters patents first to the Archbishop then to the Uicechauncellor of Oxford in forme as followeth.

The kinges letters patentes to the Archbishop.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England and Lord of Ireland:.* To all those to whome these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reuerend •ather in God, William Archb. of Caunterbury, Primate of England exhibited vnto vs, we right well vnderstand: That diuers and sondry conclusions very contrary to wholesome doctrine and redounding both to the subuersion of the Catholike fayth, the holy Church, and his prouince of Cant. in diuers and sundry places of the same of his prouince haue bene openly and publiquely preached, although damnably preached. Of the which conclusions, some as heresies, other some as errors haue bene condemned: but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and vsed, and by common counsaile of the said Archbishop, his suffragans and many doctors in diuinitie and other clerkes and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were sententially and holesomely declared. Whereupon the sayd Archbishop hath made his supplication vnto vs: that both for the coercion and due castigation of such as shall henceforth of an obstinate minde preach or mayntaine the foresaid conclusions that we would vouchsafe to put to the arme and helping hand of our kingly power. We therefore moued by the zeale of the catholicke faith, whereof we be and will be defendours, and vnwilling that any such heresies or errors shoulde spring vp within the limites of our dominion: Geue and graunt speciall licence and authoritie by the tenour of these presentes, vnto the foresayd Archbishop,* and to his Suffraganes, to arest and imprison either in their owne prisons or any other, all and euery such person and persons as shall either priuely or apertly preach and mayntayne the foresayd conclusions so condemned, and the same persons so imprisoned there at their pleasures to detain, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of suche hereticall prauities, or els shall be of suche arestes by vs and our counsaile otherwise determined and provided. Further charging and commaunding all and singuler our liegemen ministers, and subiectes, of what state and condition so euer they be, vpon their fidelitie & allegiance wherein they stand bound to vs that by no meanes they eyther fauour, counsaile, or helpe the preachers or els mayntayners of the sayde conclusions so condemned or their

fauourers, vpon payn and forfeiture of all that euer they haue: But that they obey and humbly attend vpon the said Archbishop, his Suffraganes, and ministers in the execution of these presentes, so that due and manifest publication agaynst the foresaid conclusions and their mayntayners, [Page 442](#) without any perturbation may be done and executed, as for the defence of our Realme and catholike fayth shalbe thought most meete and requisite. In witnesse wherof, we haue caused these our letters patentes to be made.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 16. day of Iune, and 6. yeare of our reigne.

*** The kinges letters patentes to the Uicechauncellour.**

*The king: To the Chauncellour and the procuratours of the vniuersitie of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall be: Greeting. Moued by the zeale of christian fayth, where of we be and alwayes will be defenders, and for our soules health induced thereunto, hauing a great desire to repress, and by condigne punishmēt to restraine the impugners of the foresaid fayth, which newly and wickedly go about and presume to sow their naughty and peruerse doctrine within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the peruertering of our subiectes and people as we vnderstand: Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or els infect others: We haue by these presentes appoynted you to be inquisitour generall (all the chiefe diuines of the sayd vniuersitie being your assistents) and the same likewise to be done of all and singular the Graduates, Diuines, & lawyers of the same vniuersitie. And if they shall know any which be of the iurisdiction of the sayd vniuersitie of Oxford, whiche be probablie of them to be suspected in the fauour, belyefe, or defence of anye heresie or error, and especially of any of the conclusions publiquely condemned by the reuerend Father, William Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Counsaile of his Clergye, or els of any other conclusion like vnto anye of them in meaning or in wordes: and that if henceforth you shall finde any that shall beleue: fauoure, or defend anye of the foresayd heresies or errors or anye other suche like, or els which shall be so bolde to receaue into their houses and Innes Maister Iohn Wickliffe, M. Nich. Herforde, M Phillip Repingdon, or M. Iohn Asheton, or anye other noted by probable suspicion of anye the foresayd heresies or erreurs, or any other like vnto them in meaning or in worde: Or that shall presume to communicate with anye of them, or els to defend or fauour anye of suche fauourers, receauers communicantes and defendours: within 7. dayes after the same shal appeare and be manifest vnto you, to banish and expell them from the Uniuersitie and towne of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocency before the Archbishop of Caunterbury for the time being, by manifest purgation. So notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certifie vs and the sayd archbishop vnder your seales, frō time to time within one month that they be such maner of men. Commaunding furthermore, that thorough all the halles of the sayd vniuersitie, ye cause dilligently to be searched and inquired out of hād: If any man haue any book or tractation of the Edition or compiling of the foresayd M. Iohn Wickliffe, or Nicholas Herford: and that when and whersoever ye shall chaunce to finde any such booke or tractation, ye cause the same to be arested and taken, and vnto the foresayd Archbishop within one month (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatsoever) word for word, & sentēce for sentence, to be brought and presented And therefore we straightly enioine and command you, vpon your fidelitie and allegeaunce wherein ye stand bound vnto vs, and vpon payne of forfeiture of all and singuler your liberties and priuilegies of your sayde vniuersitie, and of all that euer you haue besides: that

you geue your diligent attendance vpō the premisses, and that well and faythfully you execute the same in maner and forme aforesayd. And that you obey the foresayde Archbishop, and his lawfull and honest mandates, that he shall thinke good to direct vnto you in this behalfe, as it is meete ye should. And we geue in charge vnto the Uicechauncellour and Mayor of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singuler our Sheriffes,* vndersheriffes, Bayliffes, and subiectes, by these presents: that they ayde, obey, and be attendaunt vpon you in the execution of the premisses. In witnes whereof, &c.

Witnesse the King at Westminster, the 13. day of Iuly, the sixte yeare of hys raigne.

Besides these letters patentes the said young King moued by the vnquyet importunitie of the Archb. sendeth moreouer an other special letter to the Uicechancellor and proctors of the Uniuersitie of Oxforde. Wherein vnder a pretensed zeale of defence of Christian fayth, he straightlye and sharply enioyneth & assigneth them (for the vtter abolishing of those conclusions & opinions) to make a generall Inquisition through the whole vniuersitie as wel for the parties aforesaid, Iohn Wickliffe. Nicholas Herford, Phillip Repington, Iohn Ashton, & such other, as also for al other whō they know or iudge to be suspected of y^t doctrine, or to be mayntayners, receauers, and defenders of foresayd parties, or their conclusions any maner of way, to the intent that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be wⁱⁿ 7. dayes of their admonitions expelled the vniuersitie, and cited vp to the archb. of Cant. before him to appeare, and to stand to their answers. Willing moreouer and commanding the said vicechauncellor & proctors with other regents their assiters, that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or colledge, or in anye other place shalbe found to haue any of theyr books, or treatises compiled by the sayd Iohn Wickliffe. Nicholas Herford &c. they will cause without delay y^e sayd person or persons,*with theyr bookes to be arested and attached, & presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foresayd Archbishop, vpon their fayth and allegiance, as they will auoyd the forfeiture of all and singuler the liberties and priueledges to the vniuersity apertayning. And that they will be obedient to the Archb. aforesayd in the ordering hereof, and all other his iniunctions to be obeyed in all thinges lawfull and honest. Beuing moreouer in these our letters charge and commaundement to the Mayor, Bayliffes and other the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant vnto the foresayd vicechancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premises,*bearing the date of the fourteenth day of Iuly: which was the yeare of our Lord. 1382.

*** Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Uicechauncellor of Oxford. Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repington, with other.**

The vicechauncellor the same time in Oxforde was M. Robert Rigges.* The 2. proctors were Iohn Huntman, & Walter Dishe, who then as farre as they durst, fauoured the cause of Iohn Wickliffe and y^t side. In so much y^t the same time and yeare, which was an. 1382. when certaine publicke sermons should be appoynted customably at y^t feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the cloyster of S. Frideswyde (now called Christs church) before the people, by the vicechancellor aforesayd & the proctoures (the doinges thereof the vicechauncellor aforesaid and proctors had committed to Phillip Repington, and N. Her. so y^t N. Her.* shold preach on y^e Ascension day, and Repington vpō Corpus Christi day) First Herford beginning was noted to defend Iohn Wickliffe, opely to be a faythful, good, & innocent man: for

the which no small adoe with outcries was amongst the Fryers. This Herford, after he had long fauoured & mayntayned Wickliffes part, grew first in suspicion amongst the enemies of the truth. For assoone as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce & vtter any thing which tended to the defence of Wickliffe, by and by the Carmelites, and al the orders of religion were in his top, and laid not a few here sies vnto his charge, the which they had strayned here and there out of his sermons, & had cōpyled together in a certaine forme, by the handes of a certayne notaries, through the industry & diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite a kind of people prone & ready to all kinde of mischiefe,* vprores, debate, and discention. After this the feast of Corpus Christi drue neare, vppon which day it was looked for that Repington should preach. This man was a Canon of Leicester, & had before taken his first degree vnto Doctorship: who preaching the same time at Bradgate for the same Sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the PharisaiCALL broode of the Fryers. But through the great amd notable dexteritie of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modesty and honesty: he did so ouercome, or at the least asswage thys cruelty and persecution whiche was towardses him, that shortly after,* by the consent of the whole fellowship, he was admitted doctour. Who as soone as he had taken it vpon him, by and by he stepped forth in the schooles, and began immediately to shewe forth and vtter, that whiche he had long hidden and dissembled. Protesting opēly, that in all morall matters, he would defend Wickliffe. But as touching the sacrament he woulde as yet hold his peace, vntill suche time as the Lorde shall otherwise illuminate the hartes and mindes of the clergie.

Nowe the day of Corpus Christi aforesayd approaching neare, when the Fryers vnderstood that this man should preach shortly, fearing least that he would rub the galles of their religion, they conuented with the Archb. of Cant. that the same day a little before that Phillip shold preach: Wickliffes conclusions which were priuately condemned, should be openly diffamed in the presence of the whole vniuersitie.* The doing of which matter, was committed to Peter Stokes Fryer, stonderd bearer and chiefe champion of that side against Wickliffe.

There were also letters sent vnto the commissary, that [Page 443](#) he shoulde helpe and ayde him in publishing of the same conclusions, as is before declared.

These thinges thus done and finished, Repingdon at the houre appointed proceeded to his sermon. In y^e which sermon among many other thinges, he was reported to haue vttered these sayinges, or to this effect

*That the Popes or Byshops ought not to be recommended aboue temporall Lordes.

Also that in morall matters he woulde defend maister Wickliffe as a true Catholicke doctor.

Moreouer that the Duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be receaued vnder hys protection: Besides many thinges moe which touched the prayse and defence of Wickliffe.

And finally, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence: I will (sayd he) in the speculatiue doctrine, as appertayning to the matter of the sacrament of the au•ter, keep

silence and hold my peace, vntill such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hartes of the Clergie.

When the sermon was done, Repington entred into Saint Frideswides Church, accompanied with many of his friendes: who, as the enemies surmised, were priuilye weaponed vnder their garmentes, if need had bene. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforesayd, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afrayd of hurt, kept to himself wⁱn the sanctuary of the church, not daring as then to put out his hed. The Vicechauncellor and Repington, friendly saluting one an other in the church porch, sent away the people, and so departed euery man home to his owne house. There was not a little ioy thorough the whole vniuersitie for that sermon,^{*} but in the meanetime, the vnquiet & busie Carmelite, slept not his matter. For first by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter vnto the archbishop exaggerating the perils and daungers that he was in, requiring and desiring his helpe and ayd, pretermittig nothing, wherby to moue & stirre vp the archbishops minde, which of his owne nature was as hote as a toste as they say,^{*} and ready inough to prosecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (3. dayes after) with a fierce and bold courage, the sayd Fryer breathing out threatninges and heresies agaynst them, tooke the way vnto the schooles: mynding there to proue, that the Pope and the Bishops ought to be prayed for before the Lordes temporall. Whiles thys Frier was thus occupied in the schooles, he was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after he was sent for by the Archbishop to London: whom immediately after, the Vicechauncellor & Brightwell followed vp, to purge and cleare themselues and their adherentes from the accusations of this Frier Peter. At the length they being examined vpon Wickliffes conclusions y^t were condemned: they did all consent, that they were worthily condemned. The Vicechauncelor being afterward accused for the contempt of the Archbishops letters, when as he perceaued & sawe, that no excuse would preuayle to auoyd that daunger, hūbling himselfe vpon his knees, he desired pardon. The which when he had now againe (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtayned: By the help of the Bishop of Winchester, he was sent away agayn with certayne commandementes, and suspencions of heretickes. Then began the hatred on eyther part somewat to appeare and shew, and specially all men were offended,^{*} and in the toppes of these Friers and religious men, vpō whom whatsoeuer trouble or mischiefe was raysed vp, they did impute it as to y^e authors and causers of the same. Amongest whome there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Cistercion, a well learned deuine, which afterward was accused by the Byshops of heresie, He at that time was openly suspected by the Commissary,^{*} because in his lectures he called the heretickes Lolardes, from his actes (as they terme them) in the schoole. Then he comming by and by vp to London, made his complaynt vnto the Archbish. and to the kinges counsell.

Whereupon he obtayning the letters of the king, and of his counsaile, by the vertue therof (returning againe to the vniuersity) was released & restored again to his former state: the wordes of whiche letter here followeth vnder written.

*** The copy of the kinges letter.**

^{*}The king to the Vicechauncellour and procuratoure of the Vniuersitie of Oxforde, greeting.

Where as we of late vnderstanding by the grieuous complaynt of Henry Crompe monke and regent in deuinitie within the sayd vniuersitie, howe that he, being assisted by the reuerend father

in God the Archb. of Cant. and by other clerkes and deuines in the Citty of London,*to proceede in the condemnation of certayne conclusions erroneous and hereticall, hath bene therfore molested by you: And that you through sinister suggestion of some aduersaryes (pretending the peace of the sayd vniuersitie) to haue bene broken by the sayde Henry in his last lecture: did therefore call him before you to appeare and answeere: and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obstinate, and conuicte of peace breaking: also haue suspended the sayd Henry from his lectures, and all scholasticall actes. And whereas we, by our writte did call you vp for the same, to appeare and aunswere before our counsaile, vnto the premisses: so that all thinges being well tryed and examined by the sayd counsaile, it was found and determined, that all your processe agaynst the sayd Henry, was voyde and of none effecte: and commaundement geuen, that the sayd Henry shoulde be restored and admitted agayne to his former lectures and scholasticall actes. and to his pristine state as you knowe. To the intent therefore that this decree aforesaid shoulde be more duely executed of your part, we heare by these presentes straightly charge and commaund you: That you speedily reuoking agayne all your processe against the sayd Henry in the vniuersitie aforesayd, with all other that followed thereof: doe admitte and cause to be restored agayne the sayd Henry to his scholasticall actes, his accustomed lectures and pristine estate, without all delay according to the forme of the decree and determination aforesayd. Enioyning you moreouer and your commissaries or deputies and your successours, and all other maisters regent and not regent, and other presidentes, officers, ministers, and scholers of the vniuersitie aforesayd, vpon your faith and legeance you owe vnto vs that you doe not impeache,*molest, or greeue, or cause to be greued (any maner of way, priuy or apertly) the sayd Frier Henry for the causes premised, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occasion of his absence from the vniuersitie, or Fryer Stephen Packingtō Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person fauouring them, vpon the occasion of any eyther word or deed whatsoever, concerning the doctrine of maister Iohn Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford and Phillip Repindon, or the reprove and condemnation of their herefies and erroures, or the correction of their fauourers But that you doe procure the peace, vnitie and quiet, within the sayd vniuersitie, and chiefly betweene the religious and secular persons: and that you with all diligence nourishe, encrease, and preserue the same to the vttermost of your strength And that you in no case omitte to doe it accordingly, vppon the forfaytures of all and singular the liberties and priuiledgies of the vniuersitie aforesayd.

Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 14. day of Iuly.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how M. Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford, comming vp wyth M. Bryghtwell to the archb. of Cant. was there straightly examined of the conclusions of Wickliffe, Where he notwithstanding through the helpe of the B. of Wint. obtayned pardon, and was sent away agayn with commaundementes and charges, to seeke out all the fauorers of Iohn Wickliffe. This commaundement being receaued, Nicholas Herford,* and Phillip Repington (being priuily warned by the sayd Vicechauncellor) in the meane season cōueied them out of sight, and fled to the Duke, of Lācaster for succour & help, but the Duke whether for feare, or what cause els, I cannot say, in the end forsooke his poore and miserable clientes.*

In the meane time, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great search and inquisition was made for them to cite and to apprehend them where so euer they might be found. Wherupon, the archb.

of W. Courtney directed out his letters first to the Vicechauncellor of Oxford, then to the Bishop of London named Rob. Braybroke• charging them not onely to excommunicate the sayd Nicholas and Phillip, within their iurisdiction, and the sayd excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the dioces of his suffraganes: [*](#) but also moreouer, that dilligent search and watch should be layd for them, both in Ox•orde and in Londō, that they might be apprehended: requiring moreouer by them to be certified agayne, what they had done in the premisses. And thys was written the 14. day of Iuly. an 1382. Ex Regist.

Vnto these letters receaued from the archbishop, dilligent certificat was geuen accordingly, as well of the Byshop of London his part, as also of the Vicechauncello•, the tenour whereof was this.

*** The letter certificatorie of the Vicechauncellor to the Archbishop.**

[*](#)TO the reuerend father in Christ, Lord William Archbishop o Caunterbury Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolique [Page 444](#) see, Rob. Rigges professour of diuinitie, and Vicechancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxforde, greeting with due honour.

Your letters bearing the date of the 14. of Iuly I haue receaued: By the authoritie wherof, I haue denounced and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresayd Nicholas and Phillip, to haue bene and to be excommunicate publikely and solemnly in the Church of S. Mary: and in the schooles, and to be cited also personally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commaunded. But after dilligent search layd for them of my part to haue them personally cited and apprehended, I coulde not finde neyther the sayd M. Nicholas, not M. Phillip: who haue hyd or conuayed themselues, vnknowing to me, as here is well knowne. Whereof I thought here to geue signification to your Fatherhoode. [*](#)

Sealed and testified with the seale of mine office.

From Oxford the 25. of Iuly.

In y• meane time Nicholas Herford, and Repington being repulsed of the Duke, and destitute (as was sayde) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of theyr owne accorde went to the archbish. it is vncertayne. This I finde in a letter of the foresayd archbishop, contayned in his register: [*](#) that Repington the the 23. day of October the same yeare 1382. was reconciled agayne to the Archbishop and also by his generall letter was released and admitted to his scholasticall actes in the vniuersitie. And so was also Iohn Ashton, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of Nicholas Herford all this while I finde no speciall relation.

In the meane time, about the 23. of the month of September the sayd yeare, [*](#) the king sent his mandate to the Archbishop for collecting of a subsidie and to haue a conuocation of the clergie sommoned, against the next parliament, which should begin the 18. day of Nouember. The Archb. likewise on the 15. day of October, directed his letters monitorie (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke bishop of London, to geue the same admonition to al his suffraganes and other

of the Clergie within his prouince for the assembling of the conuocatiō aforesayd. All which done and executed, the parliamēt begon being holden at Oxford the 18. day of Nouember,* where the conuocation was kept in the Monastery of Frideswide in Oxforde. In the which conuocation, the Archbishop with the other bishops there sitting in their Pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly, whereby (sayth he) to repress heresies, which began newly in the realme to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the Church. The other cause (sayd he) was to ayde and support the king with some necessary subsidie of mony to be gathered, whiche thus declared, the conuocation was continued till the day following which was the 19. of Nouember.

*At the sayd day and place, the Archbishop with the other Prelates assembling themselues as before: The archbishop after the vsed solemnitie, willed the procuratoures of the clergy appoynted for euery dioces, to consult within themselues, in some conuenient seuerall place, what they thought for theyr partes touching y^e redresse of thinges, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren. &c.

Furthermore, forsomuch (sayth he) as it is so noysed through all the realme, that there were certayn in the vniuersitie of Oxford, which did hold and mayntayne conclusions (as he called them) heretical and erroneous condemned by him,* and by other lawyers and doctours of Diuinitie. He therefore assigned the bishops of Saram, Herford and Rochester, with William Rugge then Vicechauncellour of the Vniuersitie of Oxford (for belike Robert Rigge was then displaced) as also William Berton, and Iohn Middleton Doctors,* geuing them hys full authoritie wyth cursing and banning, to compell them to search and to enquire with all diligence and wayes possible, ouer all & singular whatsoeuer, eyther Doctors, Bachellers, or schollers of the sayd vniuersitie, which did hold, teache, mayntaine and defend, in schooles or out of schooles, the sayd cōclusions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to geue certificat truely and playnly touching the premisses.* And thus for that day the assembly brake vp to the next, and so to the next, and the third being monday, the 24. day of Nouember. Ex. Regist. W. Courtney.

On the which day, in the presence of the Prelates and the clergy in the chapter house of Saint Frideswide, came in Phillip Repington (otherwise called of the brethren afterward Rampington) who their abiured the conclusions and assertions aforesayd, in this forme of wordes as followeth.

In Dei nomine Amen. I Phillip Repington, Canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholique and Apostolick sayth do curse and also abiure all heresie, namely these heresies and errours vnder written, condemned & reproued by the decrees canonicall, and by you most reuerend father, touching which hitherto I haue ben• dissamed: condemning moreouer & reprouing both them and the au|thors of them, & doe confesse the same to be catholically cōdemned: And sweare also by these holy Euangelics, which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, neuer by any perswasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, anye of the sayd conclusions vnder written: but do & will stand and adhere in all thinges, to the determination of the holy Catholicke Church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Ouer and besides, all suche as stand contrary to this fayth, I doe pronounce them with their doctrine & followers worthy of euerlasting curse. And if I my selfe shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thinge contrary to the premisses. I shall be content to abide the seueritie of the Canons.

Subscribed with mine owne hand, & with mine own accord. Phillip Repington. And thus the sayd Rampington was discharged, who afterward was made Byshop of Lincolne, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of al the other bishops wⁱn the realm, as in proces hereafter may appeare.

After the abiuration of this Repington,* immediately was brought in Iohn Ayshton, student of Diuinitie: who being examined of those conclusions, and willed to say hys mynde, aunswered: that he was to simple and ignoraunt, and therefore would not, and could not answere any thing clearely or distinckly to those conclusions. Whereupon, the Archb, assigned to him Doctor W. Ruge the Vicechauncellour, and other deuines such as he required himselfe to be instructed in the mistery of those conclusions against the after no one: who then appearing again after dinner before the archbishop and the Prelates, did in like sort and forme of wordes abiure as did Repington before.

Of this Iohn Ayshton we read, that afterwarde by Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant. he was cited and condemned,* but whether he dyed in prisō, or was burned, we haue yet no certainty to shewe. This is certayne by the playne wordes of the chronicle of S. Albans, that when the arch. with his doctors and fryers •ate in examination vpon this sayd Iohn Ashton, in London: the Londiners brake open the dore of the conclaue, ipsum{que} Archiepiscopum in ciuitate sedentem impediuerunt, cum processum fecisset contra Iohannē Ashton. &c. That is and did let the Archbishop himselfe sitting in the Citty of London, when he woulde haue made processe agaynst Iohn Asheton. an. 1382. And thus muche of Iohn Asheton.*

As touching Nicholas Herford during the time of this conuocation, he did not appeare: and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Agaynst which he put hys appeale from the archb. to the king and his Counsaile. The Archb. would not admit it, but finding staves and stoppes caused him to be apprehended and enclosed in prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God, and good meanes he escaped out of the prison returning agayn to his former exercise, and preaching as he did before, albeit in as couert and secret maner as he could. Whereupon the Archbishop thundring out his boltes of excōmunication agaynst him, sendeth to al pastors and ministers, willing thē in al churches, and all festiuall dayes, to diuulge the sayd his excommunication against him, to al men. Writeth moreouer and sendeth speciall charge to al and singular of the laity, to beware that theyr simplicity be not deceaued by his doctrine, but that they like Catholicke children will auoyd him, and cause him of all other to be auoyded.

Furthermore, not contented with this, addresseth also his letters vnto the king, requiring also the ayde of his tēporall sword to chop of hys neck, whō he had already cast down. See and note reader, the seraphicall charitie of these priestly prelates towards y^e poore redemed flock of Christ And yet these be they whiche washing theyr handes wyth Pylate, say and pretend: Nobis non licet interficere quenquā. It is not our partes to kill any man. The cōpye of the letter written to the king, is this.

The letter of the Archbishop to the king.

*TO the most excellent prince in Christ, &c. William &c. greeting in him by whom kinges do reigne, & princes beare rule.

Vnto your kingly celsitude by the tenour of these presentes we intimate, that one M Nich. Herford D. of diuinitie, for his manifest contumacie and offēce in not appearing before vs being called at the day and place assigned, therefore is inwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publiquely by our ordinary authoritie. And in the same sentence hath continued nowe forty dayes, & yet still continueth with indurate hart, wickedly contemning [Page 445](#) the keyes of the Church, to the great perill both of his soule, and to the pernicious example of other. For so much therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to do or to proceed any further in this matter: we humblye desire your kingly maiestye, to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the sayd excommunicat according to the custome of this realme of England,*wholsomely obserued and kept hetherto: to the intent, that such whome the feare of God doth not restrayne from euill, the discipline of the secular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue.

From Lambeth the 15. of Ianuary.

To this letter of the Archb, might not the king (gentle reader) thus aunswere agayne, and aunswere well?

*YOur letters with your complaynt and requestes in the same conteyned, we haue receiued and well considered. For the accomplishing wherof, ye shall vnderstand that as we are readely bent to gratify and satisfy your minde in this behalfe on the one side: so we must beware agayne on the other, that our authoritye be not abused either to oppresse before we know, or to iudge before we haue tryed. Wherefore for so much as you in your letters do excite and sharpen the seuer discipline of our secular sword, agaynst one Nich. Herford, for his not appearing before you: and yet shewing in the sayd your letters no certaine cause to vs what you haue to charge him withall: we therfore following the exāple of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equity in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part, as the other do assigne both to him, when as he may be found, & to you whē you shal be called a terme to appeare before vs. To the intēt that the controuersy betwene you and him, stāding vpon points of religiō, being tried by the true touchstone of Gods holy word due correction indifferently may be ministred according as the offence shall be founde. In the meane time, this we cannot but something maruell at in your sayde Letters: First, to see you mē of the Church and Aungels of peace to be so desirous of bloud. Secondly, to consider you again so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your lawe: and yet so colde in pursuing the breache of the expresse law of God and his commaundementes. Thirdly, to behold the vnstable doublenesse in your proceedings, who pretending in your publick sentence, to become as intreaters for them to vs in the bowels of Iesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our seuerity, and yet in your letters you be they which most set vs on. If not appearing before you▪ be such a matter of contumacy in case of your lawe, that is in no case to bee spared: what shoulde then our Princely discipline haue done to men of your calling: Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich, being at Cant. was sent for by our speciall commaundement to come to our speach, denyed to come, and yet we spared him. Iohn Stratforde Archbyshop your predecessour, being required of our progenitour king Edward the third to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occasion whereof, Scotland the same time was lost, • yet was he suffered. The like might be sayd of Robert Winchelsey in the dayes of king Edward the first, and of Edmund Archb. of Cant in the daies of K. Henry 3. Stephen Langhton was sent for by K. Iohn to come,*he came not. The like cōtumacy was in Becket toward K. Henry. 2. Also

in Anselme toward K. Henry. 1 All these for theyr not appearing before their princes, ye do excuse, who notwithstanding might haue appeared without daunger of life. This one man for not appearing before you, you think worthy of death: whose life you would haue cōdemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. It is no reason if the Squirill climing to the tree from the Lyons clawes, would not appeare, being sēt for to be deuoured: that the Eagle therfore should seise vpon him without any iust cause, declared agaynst the party. Wherefore according to this, and to that aforesayde when he shall appeare, and you be called, and the cause iustly wayed, due execution shall be ministred.

And thus farre concerning Nicholas Herforde, & the other aforesayd, but all this meane while what became of Iohn Wickliffe it is not certaynly known. Albeit so farre as may be gathered out of Waldē, it appereth that he was banished, and driuen to exile. In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but he was aliue during all this whyle, wheresoeuer he was as by his letter may appeare, which he about this time wrote to Pope Urbane the 6. In the which letter he doth purge himselfe, that being commaūded to appeare before the Pope at Rome, he came not: declaring also in the same a brie•• confessiō of his fayth. The copy of which Epistle here followeth.

The Epistle of Iohn Wickliffe sent vnto Pope Urbane the 6. An. 1382.

*Verely I do reioyce to open and declare the fayth which I do holde vnto euery man. And specially vnto the Bish. of Rome, the which for so much as I doe suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirme my sayd fayth, or if it be erroneous amend the same.

First I suppose, that the Gospell of Christ, is the whole bodye of Gods law, and that Christ which did geue that same law hymselfe, I beleue him to be a very man, and in that poynt, to exceed the law of the Gospell, and all other partes of the Scripture. Agayne I do geue and holde, the Bishop of Rome, for so much as he is the Vicare of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men vnto that law of the Gospell. For the greatnesse amongst Christes Disciples, did not consist in worldly dignity or honours but in the neare and exact following of Christ, in his life and maners: wherupon I do gather out of the hart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poore man, abiecting and casting of all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Gospell of Math. the 8. and the 2.. Corinthians. 8. chapter.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faythfull man ought to follow, *neither the Pope himselfe, neither any of the holy men, but in such poynts, as he hath folowed the Lord Iesus Christ. For Peter and the sonnes of Zebede by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the folowing of Christes steppes did offend, and therfore in those errors, they are not to be folowed.

Hereof I do gather, as a Coūcell, that the Pope ought to leaue vnto the secular power, all temporall dominion and rule, & therunto effectually to moue and exhort his whole Clergy: for so did Christ, and specially by his Apostles. Wherefore, if I haue erred in any of these poyntes, I will most humbly submitte my selfe vnto correction euen by death if necessitye so require: And if I coule labor according to my will or desire in my owne person, I would surely present my selfe before the Bishop of Rome: but the Lorde hath otherwise visited me to the cōtrary, and hath

taught me rather to obey God then men. For so much then, as God hath geuē vnto our Pope, iust and true Euangelicall instinctions, we ought to pray, that those motions be not extinguished by any subtle or crafty deuise.

And that the Pope and Cardinals, be not moued to doe anye thing, contrary vnto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let vs praye vnto our God, that he will so stirre vp our Pope Vrbane the sixt as he began, that he with his Clergye may folow the Lorde Iesus Christ, in life and maners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully folow them in the same. And let vs specially pray, that our Pope may bee preserued from all maligne and euill counsell, as which do know that euill and enuious men of his householde would geue him. And seing the Lord will not suffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, much lesse then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able, forsomuch, as that is the playne condition and maner of Antichrist.

Thus muche wrote Iohn Wickliffe vnto Pope Vrbane:^{*} but this pope Vrbane otherwise termed •urbanus was so hote in his warres against Clement the Frenche Pope his aduersary, that he had no leasure, and lesse lyst, to attend vnto Wickliffes matters. By the occasion of which schisme, God so prouided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in some more rest & quietnes. Cōcerning which schismaticall wars of these popes, for as much as we haue here entred into y^e mention therof, it shall not be unpertinent frō the order of our story, disgressyng a litle from the matter of Iohn Wickliffe, to touch something of the tragical doings of these two holy popes striuing for the triple crowne: to the intent that the Christian reader (iudging by their fruits and proceedings) may see and vnderstand what difference is betweene these popes, and Christ and his Apostles. For though in the story of the Gospel it is read,^{*} that certaine of the disciples did striue which shuld be the greater, yet neither do we read that one of them tooke euer weapō against the other: and moreouer in the sayd story of the Gospell it doeth appeare, that they in so striuing as they did, were therefore sharply rebuked of our Sauour Christ, & were taught by him an other lesson.

About the beginning of the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1383. Pope Vrbane setting all his study howe to repress and cōquere the contrary Pope his aduersary, being then at Auinion (seing al his other means to sayle, and that his crosse keyes coulde doe no good) tooke to hym the sword of Romulus, & set vpō him with open warre. And first deuising w^t himselfe whom he might best chuse for hys chief champion: thought none meeter for such affaires thē Henry Spenser beyng then Bishop of Norwich, a young and a stout Prelate, more fitter for the camping cure, then for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appeare before by his acts done at Lēuam in striuing for the Mayres Mace, mētioned before, pag. 428. Vnto this byshop of Norwich, the Pope had sent his bulles about this [Page 446](#) tune, to Cro•sy whosoever would go w^t him into Fraūce, to destroy the Antipope which named himselfe Clemēt, & to make warre agaynst all those that took his part. Which Bulles, for that they gaue vnto him such great authority, he caused to be published in the Parliamēt house, & caused the cōpyes of the same to be sent all about, & to be set vp & fastened vpon all the church dores & monastery gates that al men might read thē. In the which Buls these priuiledges were graunted, the copy whereof here foloweth.

- 1. In primis,^{*} that the sayd Bishop of Norwich may vse his sword against the Antipope, & all his adherents, fauorers, and cou•ellers, and with violence put them to death.

- 2. Item, that he hath full power to inquire of all & singular such schismatikes, and to put them in prison: & to confiscate all their goods moueable and immoueable.
- 3. Item, that he hath power and authority to depriue all lay men that are such schismatikes of all maner secular offices whatsoever, and to geue theyr offices to other fit and conuenient persons.
- 4. Item, that he may depriue all such clerks, and declare them to be schismatickes, and in this behalfe to geue & bestow their benefices either with cure or without cure, their dignities personages or offices, to other persōs more meet for the same.
- 5. Item, he hath power & authority ouer lay persōs that are exempt, and Clerkes both secular and regular, yea although they be Friers mendicantes, or maisters & professors or other houses or hospitals of S. Iohns of Ierusalem, or S. Mary of Flaunders, or professours of what orders soeuer els.
- 6. Item, he hath power to dispense with what secular Clerkes soeuer▪ being beneficed either with cure or without cure; and also with such as haue dignities, personages or offices, being regulars either exēpt or not exempt, that euery one of them may be absent with him from their dignities & benefices, &c. vnder the stāderd of the crosse, without licence of any of thier Prelats required, and yet to receiue and take the intire cōmodities of their benefices, as though they had bene personally resident vpon the same.
- 7. Itē, there is graunted to all that passe the seas in this quarel, either at their own expenses or at the expēses of any other, full remission of their sins: & as large priuileges are graūted to all those that go ouer the sea with him, as to any that pay their mony, or go to fight for the holy land.
- 8. Also, all such as with their proper goods & substaunce shall geue sufficient s•ipend to able souldiors, at the discretiō of the foresayd Lord Bishop mustered, or by any other his deputy, although he himselfe be not personally at this busines aforesaid: yet shall he haue like remission, & indulgēce, as they which haue bene personally with him in this expedition.
- 9. Itē, all they are pertakers of this remissiō, which shal geue any part of theyr goods to the sayd Bishop to fight agaynst the sayd schismatikes.
- 10. Item, if any shall chaūce to dye in the iourney, that are souldiors vnder the sayd standard of y^r crosse, or els before the quarell by some meanes be finished: shall fully & wholly receiue the sayd grace, and shalbe partakers of the foresayd remission and indulgence.
- 11. Item, he hath power to excommunicate, suspend, and interdict what persons soeuer be rebellious or disturbers of him in y^e execution of his power & authority committed vnto him: of what dignity, state, degree, preheminēce, order, place, or cōditiō soeuer they shalbe: whether they shall be either of regal, queenly, or imperial dignity, or of what dignity els soeuer either ecclesiasticall or mundane.
- 12. Item, he hath power and authority to compell and inforce what religious persons soeuer, to appoynt them and send them ouer Sea, if it seeme good to him: yea although they be professors of the Friers mendicants, for the execution of the premisses.

The Popes absolution by the Bishop pronounced.

BY the authority Apostolicall to me in this behalfe committed, we absolue the A.B. from all thy sinnes confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy hart, and wherof thou wouldst be

cōfessed if they came vnto the memory: & we graunt vnto thee, plenary remission of all maner of sinnes,* and we promise vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iust men, and of euerlasting saluation. And as many priuileges as are graunted to them that go to fight for the holy land, we graunt vnto thee: & of all the prayers & benefites of the church the vniuersall Synode, as also of the holy Catholicke Church, we make thee partaker of.

This couragious or rather outrageous bishop armed thus with the Popes authority, and prompt with his priuileges, in the yeare aforesayd. 1283. about the time of lēt, came to the Parliament, where great consultation & contention, & almost no lesse schisme was about the voiage of this Popish Bishop in the Parliament, thē was betwene the Popes themselues. In the which Parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the kings people & subiectes, vnto a rude and vnskilfull Priest. So great was the diuersity of iudgements in that behalfe, that the voiage of the sayd Bishop was protracted vnto the saterday afore Passion Sondag. In the which Sondag was song the solemne Antheme Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes aduersae. That is, Beholde the crosse of the Lord: Flye away all you aduersaries. After which Sondag, the parties so agreed amongst themselues by common decree, that the Bishop should set forward in his voiage, hauing to him geuen the fifteen which was graunted to the king in the Parliament before. Which thinges thus concluded in the Parliament, this warlike Bishop preparing before all thinges in a readinesse set forward in his Pope holye iourney. Who about the moneth of May, being come to Canterbury, and there tarying for the winde, in the Monastery of S. Augustin, receiued a writ from the king that he should returne to the king, and to know further of hys pleasure. The Bishop fearing that if he turned agayne to the king, his iourny should be stayd, and so all his labor & preperance lost with great derision and shame vnto him: thought better to commit himselfe to fortune with that litle army he had, then by tarying to be made a ridicle to his aduersaries. Wherefore, he sent word backe agayne, to the king, that he was now ready prepared, well forward on his iourny. And that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kinde of talke which peraduenture should be to no maner of purpose: and that it was more conuenient for him to hasten in his iourney to Gods glory, & also to the honor of the king. And thus he calling his men vnto him, entred forthwith the seas, & went to Calis: where he wayting a few dayes for the rest of his army, after the receipt of them, tooke his iourny first to the towne of Grauenidge which he besieged, so desparatly without any preparaunce of engines of warre or counsell, or of politicke men skilfull in such affayres: that he seemed rather to flye vpon them, then to inuade them. At lenth through the superstition of our men, trusting vpon the Popes absolution, he so harishly approached the walles and inuaded the enemies, that a great number of them were pitiously slayn with shot & wild fire: till at the end (the inhabiteurs being oppressed and vanquished) our men entred the town with their Bishop, where they at his commaundement destroyng both man, woman and childe, left not one aliue of all them,* which remayned in the whole town. Sic{que} crucis beneficio factum, vt crucis hostes ita delerentur, quòd v•us ex eis non remansit: That is. And so it came to passe by the vertue of the crosse, that our men croysed so preuayled against the enemies of the crosse,* that not one of them remained aliue. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

From Grauenidg this warlike Bishop set forward to Dunkyrke, where not long after the Frenchmen meeting with him, ioyned with them in battell: in which battell (if the story be true) 12. thousand of the Frenchmen were slain in the chase, and of our men but seuen onely missing. It would require a long tractatiō here to discourse all thing done in these popish warres. Also it would be no lesse ridiculous to view & behold the glorious temerity of this new vpstart captain.

But certes, lamētable it is to see the pitifull slaughter & murther of Christs people, by y^e meanes of th^ese pitillesse Popes, during these warres in Fraūce: As when the Bishop comming frō Dunkirke to the siege of Ypres a great number of Englishmen there were lost, and much mony consumed, and yet nothing done effect, to the great shame and ignominy of the Bishop. Agayne, after, the siege of Ypres (thus with shame broke vp) the sayd bishop proceeding with a small power, to fight with y^e frēch kinges ca^{••}e, contrary to the counsell of his captaynes, which counted him rash & vnskilfull in his attempt, was fayne to breake company with them, whereby part of the army wēt vnto Burburgh, & the bishop with his part returned to Grauenidg, which both townes shortly after were besieged by the french army, to the great losse both of the English and French men. In fine, when the Byshop could keepe Grauenidg no longer, the sayd Bishop with his croysies, crossing the seas, came home agayne as wise as he wēt, & thus making an end of this Pontificall war, we will returne agayne from whence we digressed, to the story and matter of Iohn Wickliffe.

Which Iohn Wickliffe returning againe within short space, either frō his banishment, or from some other place [Page 447](#) where he was secretly kept, repayred to his parish of lutterworth, where he was parson, there quietly departing this mortall life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384. vpon Siluesters day.

Here is to be noted the great prouidēce of the Lord in this man, as in diuers other: whom the Lord so long preserued in such rages of so many enemies, frō all their handes, euen to his olde age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing agaynst him in his tomes entituled: De Sacramentis contra Wicleuum,* that he was well aged before he departed: by that which the foresayd Walden writeth of him in the Epiloge speaking of Wickliffe, in these wordes: Ita vt cano placeret, quod iuueni complacebat. &c. That is: so y^t the same thing plesed him in his old age, which dyd please him being young. Whereby seemeth that Wickliffe liued, till he was an olde man, by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will haue kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliffe, had written diuers and sundry workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410. were burnt at Oxford, the Abbot of Shrewsbury being then Commissary, and sent to ouersee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme, likewise the bookes of the sayde Wickliffe were set on fire, by one Subincus Archbishop of Prage, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them: The number of the volumes, whiche he is sayd to haue burned most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of golde,* and rich coueringes (as Eneas Siluius writeth) were aboue the number of two hundreth.

Ioannes Cocleus in his booke De historia Hussitarū, speaking of the bookes of Wickliffe, testifyeth: that he wrot very many bookes, sermons and tractations. Moreouer the said Cocleus speaking of himselfe, recordeth also: that there was a certaine Bishop in England which wrot vnto him declaring, that he had yet remayning in his custodie two huge and mighty volumes of Iohn Wickliffes workes, which for the quantity therof might seme to be equal with the workes of S. Augustine. Haec Cocleus.

Amongest other of his Treatises I my selfe also haue found out certayne, as de censu & veritate scripturae. Item, De Ecclesia. Item, De Eucharistia confessio Wickleui, whiche I entend hereafter: the Lord so graunting; to publish abroad.

As concerning certayne aunsweres of Iohn Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the 2. touching the right and title of the king, and of the Pope: because they are but short, I thought here to annexe them. The effect whereof here foloweth.

Iohn Wickliffes aunswere vnto K. Richard the second, as touching the right and title of the king and the Pope.

IT was demaunded, whether the kingdom of England, may lawfully in case of necessity, for his own defence, deteyne and kepe backe the treasure of the kingdome, that it be not caried away to forreine & straunge nations, y^e pope himselfe demaunding and requiring the same vnder pain of censure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliffe setting a part the minds of learned mē, what might be sayd in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England or y^e ciuill law, it resteth (saith he) now onely to perswade and proue, the affirmatiue part of this doubt, by the principles of Christes law. And first I proue it thus, Euery natural body hath power geuen of God to resist agaynst his contrary, and to preserue it selfe in due estate, as the Philosophers knew very well.

In somuch, that bodyes without life, are indued with such kinde of power (as it is euidēt) vnto whom hardnes is geuen to resist those thinges that woulde breake it, and coldnes to withstād the heat that dissolueth it. Forsomuch then, as the kingdome of England (after the maner and phrase of the Scriptures) ought to be one body: & the clergy with the communalty, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdome hath such power geuē him of god, and so much the more apparaunt: by how much the same body is more precious vnto God, adorned with vertue & knowledge. For somuch thē as there is no power geuē of god vnto any creature: for any end or purpose: but that he may lawfully vse the same to that end and purpose: It followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keep backe and deteyn theyr treasure, for the defence of it selfe, in what case soeuer necessity do require the same.*

Secondarily, the same is proued by y^e law of y^e gossell. For y^e Pope cannot challenge y^e treasure of this kingdom, but vnder the title of almes, & consequētly vnder the pretence of y^e works of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

But in case aforesayd, the title of almes ought vtterly to cease, Ergo, the right and title of chalenging the treasure of our Realme shall cease also in the presupposed necessitie.* For so much as all charitie hath his beginning of himselfe, it were no worke of charitie, but of meere madnes, to send away y^e treasures of y^e realme vnto forreine natiōs, wherby the Realme it selfe may fall into ruine, vnder y^e pretence of such charitie.

It appeareth also by this, that Christ the head of the Church, whom all Christen Priests ought to follow: liued by the almes of deuoute women. Luke. 7.8. He hungred and thyrsted, he was a straunger, and many other miseries he sustained, not onely in his mēbers, but also in his owne body, as the Apostle witnesseth, Cor. viii. He was made poore for your sakes, that through his pouertie, you might be rich wherby, in the first endowīg of the Church, what soeuer he were of the Clergy that had any temporall possessiōs, he had the same by forme of a perpetuall almes, as both writinges and Chronicles do wnesse.

Whereupon S. Barnard,* declaring in his 2. booke to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the vicar of S. Peter, writeth thus: that if S. Iohn should speake vnto the pope himselfe, as Barnard doth vnto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be so, that you do challenge it vnto you, by some other wayes or meanes: but truely by any right or title Apostolicall, you can not so doe. For how could he geue vnto you that, which he had not himselfe? That which he had he gaue you, that is to say, care ouer the Church, but did he geue you any Lordships or rule. Harke what he sayth: Not bearing rule (sayth he) as Lordes in the Clergy, but behauing your selues as examples to the flocke. And because thou shalt not thinke it to be spoken only in humility, and not in verity, marke the word of the Lord him selfe in the Cospell. The kinges of the people do rule ouer them, but you shall not do so.

Here Lordship and dominion,* is plainly forbidden to the Apostles: and darest thou then vsurpe the same? If thou wilt be a Lord, thou shalt lose thine Apostleship, or if thou wilt be an Apostle, thou shalt lose thy Lordship. For truely thou shalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou shalt lose both, or els thinke thy selfe to be of that number, of whom God doth so greatly complayne, saying: They haue reigned, but not through me. They are become Princes, and I haue not knowne it. Now if it do suffice thee to rule with the Lord,* thou hast thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keepe that which is forbidden vs, let vs heare what is sayd: he that is the greatest amongst you (sayth Christ) shalbe made as the least, and he which is the highest, shalbe as the minister: and for example, set a childe in the midst of thē. So this then is the true forme and institution of the Apostles trade. Lordship and rule is forbidden, ministration and seruice commaunded.

By these wordes of this blessed man whom the whole Church doth reuerence and worship,* it doth appeare that the Pope hath not power to occupy the Church goodes as Lord therof, but as minister, and seruaunt, and proctor for the poore. And would to God that the same proud & greedy desire of rule & Lordship, which this seat doth challenge vnto it; be not a preamble to prepare a way vnto Antechrist.* For it is euident by the Gospell, that Christ through his pouerty, humility, & suffering of iniury, got vnto him the children of his kingdome.

And moreouer, so farre as I remember, the same blessed mā Barnard in his 3. booke writeth also thus vnto Eugenius: I feare no other greater poyson to happen vnto thee, then greedy desire of rule and dominion.

This Wickliffe albeit in his life time, had many greeuous enemies, yet was there none so cruell vnto him, as y^e Clergy it selfe. Yet notwithstanding he had many good frends, men not onely of the base and meanest sort, but also nobility, amongst whom these mē are to be nūbred: Iohn Clēbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas La'timer, William Neuell,* Bohn Mountegew, who plucked downe all the Images in his Church. Besides all these, there was the Earle of Salisbury, who for contēpt in him noted towards the Sacrament, in carying it home to his house: was enioyned by Radulph Ergom Bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a crosse of stone, in which all the story of the matter should be writtē, and he euery Friday during his life to come to the crosse barefoot and barehead in his shyrt, & there kneeling vpon his knees: to do pe'nance for his fact. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita. Ric. 2.

The Lōdiners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the Maiors authority, who for that yeare was Ihon of Northamptō: Took vpō them the office of the Bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to Ciuill law) of suche persons as they had found and apprehēded in committing both fornication and adultery. For first they put the womē [Page 448](#) in the prison which amongst thē then was named Doliū. And lastly bringing them into the market place, wher euery man might behold them, & cutting of their goldēlockes from theyr heads: they caused them to be caryed about the streets, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them to the intent they should be the better knowne & their cōpanyes auoyded: according to the maner then of certayne the eues that were named Apellatores, (accusers or pechers of others that were guiltles) which were so serued. And w^t other such like opprobrious and reprochfull contumelyes did they serue the men also that were taken with them in cōmitting the forenamed wickednesse and vices.* Here the story recordeth how the sayd Londiners were encouraged hereunto by Iohn Wickeliffe and others that folowed hys doctrine to perpetrāt this act, in the reproch of the Prelats being of y^r clergy. For they sayd, that they did not so much abho•re to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthye auarice they did asmuch detest: which for gredynes of money were choked w^t bribes and winking at the penaltyes due to such persons by the lawes appoynted, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons fauourably to continue in their wickednes. They sayd furthermore, that they greatly feared, least for such wickednes perpetrated within the city and so apparantly dissimuled: that God would take vengeance vpō thē & destroy their city. Wherefore they said, that they could do no lesse then to purge the same: least by the sufferaunce thereof, God would bring a plague vpon them, or destroy thē with the sword,* or cause the earth to swallow vp both them and theyr City. Haec ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

This story (gentle Reader) albeit the author therof whom I folow, doth geue it out in reprochfull wise, to the great discōmendation of the Lōdyners for so doing. Yet I thought not to omitte, but to commit the same to memory, which semeth to me rather to tend vnto y^e worthy cōmendation both of the Londiners that so did: & to the necessary example of all other Cityes to follow the same. After these things thus declared, let vs now adioyne the testimoniall of the Vniuersity of Oxford, of Iohn Wickliffe.

*** The publicke testimony geuen out by the Vniuersity of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of Iohn Wickliffe.**

VNto all and singular the Children of our holye Mother the Church, to whom this present Letter shall come: the Vicechauncellor of the Vniuersity of Oxford with the whole congregation of the Maisters,* wish perpetuall health in the Lord. Forsomuch, as it is not commonly seene, that the Actes and Mmonumentes of valiaunt men, nor the prayse and merites of good men should be passed ouer and hidden with perpetuall silēce, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in straunge & farre distant places, both for the witnes of the same, and example of others: Forsomuch also as the prouident discretion of mans nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath deuised and ordayned this buckeler and defence, against such as do blaspheme and slaunder other mens doings, that whensoever witnes by word of mouth can not be present, the penne by writing may supply the same.

Hereupon it followeth, that the speciall good will and care which we bare vnto I. Wickliffe, sometime childe of this our Vniuersity, and professor of Diuinity: mouing and stirring our minds (as his maners and conditions required no lesse) with one mind, voyce and testimony,* we do witnesse all his conditions & doings throughout his whole life, to haue bene most sincere & commēdable: whose honest maners and conditions, profoundnes of learning, and most redolent renowme and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified & known vnto all faithful, for that we vnderstand the maturity and ripenesse of his couuersation, his diligent labors and trauels to tend to the prayse of God, the helpe & sauegarde of others, and the profite of the Church.

Wherefore we signify vnto you by these presents, that his cōuersatiō (euen frō his youth vpwards, vnto the time of his death) was so praise worthy and honest, that neuer at any time was there any note or spot of suspition noysed of him. But in his aunswering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaued himselfe laudably, and as a stout and valiaunt champion of the fayth: vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by theyr wilfull beggery blasphemed and slaundered Christes Religion.* Neither was this sayd Doctor conuict of any heresy, either burned by our Prelates after his buriall. God forbidde that our Prelates should haue condemned a man of such honesty, for an hereticke: who amongst all the rest of the vniuersitye, had written in Logicke, Philosophie, Diuinitye, Moralitye, and the Speculatiue art without peere. The knowledge of which all & singular things, we do desire to testify and deliuer forth: to the intent, that the fame and renowne of this sayd Doctor, may be the more euident and had in reputation amongst them, vnto whose handes these present letters testimoniall shall come.

In witnes wherof, we haue caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our cōmon seale.

Dated at Oxford in our congregation house, the fift day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1406.

The testimony and wordes of Maister Iohn Hus, as touching maister Iohn Wickliffe.

VERely,* as I do not beleue neither graūt that M. Iohn Wickliffe is an horeticke: so do I not deny, but firmly hope that he is no hereticke: For so much as in all matters of doubt I ought, as neare as I can, to chuse the best part. Wherefore I surely trust, that M. I. Wickliffe is one of the number of thē which are saued. The words of Christ moneth me therunto, saying Math. 7. Doe ye not iudge that ye be not iudged, & Luke the 6. Do not condemn, & ye shal not be condemned: and the wordes of the Apostle. 1. Cor. 4 Do ye not iudge before the Lord himselfe do come, y^e which shall opē those things that are hid in darknes, to manifest the priuities of all hartes.

Secondly, the loue and charity which I ought to bear vnto my neighbor (louing him as my selfe) doth moue me thereunto. Luk. 10.

Thirdly his good fame & report moneth me, the which he hath of the good Priests, of the vniuersity of Oxford, & not of the wicked, & commōly of the vulgar sort, although not of the couetous, proud, and luxurious Prelates.

Fourthly, his owne workes & writings doe stirre me therunto, by the which he goeth about w^t his whole indeuor, to reduce all men vnto the law of Christ, & specially y^e clergy: that they shoulde forsake the pompe & dominion of this world, and with the Apostles lead the life of Christ.

Fiftly, his owne protestations, which he doth oftentimes vse in his sentences, often repeating the same, doth not a litle moue me.

Sixtlye, his earnest desire and affection which he had vnto the law of Christ, doth not a litle allure me therunto, disputing of the verity therof, the which cannot fayle in any one iote or title.* Whereupon he made a booke of the verity of the holy Scripture, approuing euen vnto the vtter most, the trueth of Gods law.

Wherefore it were too foolish a consequēt to say, that because the number of the Prelates and clergy in England. Fraunce, and Boheme do coūt Iohn Wickeliffe for an hereticke,* that therfore he is an heretick. &c. Like as the reason for burning of the bookes, for it is written in the first booke of Machabees first chapter: that they did burne the books of the Lord, tearing them in peeces, and whosoever was founde to haue kept any bookes of the Testament or will of the Lord, or the which obserued and kept the lawe of the Lord, they were by the kinges commaundemen put to death. If then the burning of these bookes by wicked men did argue or proue the euilnesse of the books, thē was the law of God euill and nought.

So likewise the burning of S. Gregories bookes, and diuers other sayntes and good men, should argue & proue that they were euill & naughty men.* Whereupon as it doth not folow, that because the Bishops, Scribes, and Phariseis, with the elders of the people, condemned Christ Iesus as an heretick, that therfore he is an heretick: So likewise doth it not follow of any other man. The Byshops, maisters of diuity, monkes and prelates condemned thys man as an hereticke.* Ergo he is an hereticke. For this consequēt is reproved by Iohn Chrisostom, which was twice condemned as an hereticke by the Bishops and the whole clergy. Likewise S. Gregory in his bookes, was condemned by the Cardinals.

By like prooffe also as they affirme M. Iohn Wickliffe to be an hereticke:* Iohn Duke of Lācaster (a man of worthy memory and progenitor of Henry king of Englande) should also be an hereticke. For the sayd Duke defēded, fauored, and greatly loued M. Iohn Wickliffe, Ergo, the sayd Duke is or was an hereticke, the consequent is good. The Minor is well knowne vnto the Englishmen. The Maior appeareth in the Canon, where it is sayd, he which defendeth an hereticke. &c.

But these thinges set apart, I demaund of the aduersary, whether M. Iohn Wickliffe be damned for euer or no? If he say that he is damned because he is an hereticke:* I propounde this vnto him, whether M. Iohn Wickeliffe whiles he liued held any false doctrine cōtrary to the holy Scripture: If he do affirme it, let him then shew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obstinately: And he shall finde, that in his bookes he alwayes wrote most commendable protestations agaynst obstinacye and [Page 449](#) stifneckednesse. And by and by after, M. Iohn Stokes in his intimation sayth, that M. Iohn Wickliffe in Englād, is counted for an hereticke. This seemeth also false by the letter testimoniall of the Vniuersity of Oxforde: vnto the which there is more credit to be geuē, then vnto him. And this shall suffice for this present.

Now as we haue declared the testimony of the Vniuersity of Oxford, & of Iohn Hus, concerning the praise of Iohn Wickliffe: It followeth likewise, that we set forth and expresse the contrary censure and iudgementes of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him: especially of the Popes Councel gathered at Constance,* proceeding first in condemning hys bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copy of which theyr sentēce geuen against him by that counsell here foloweth.

*** The sentence geuen by the Councell of Constance, in condemning the doctrine and 45. Articles of Iohn Wickliffe.**

THE most holy and sacred councell of Cōstance,* making and representing the catholick Church for the extirpation of this present schisme, and of all other errors and heresies, springing and growing vnder the shadow and pretence of the same: and for the reformation and amendment of the Church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, for the perpetuall memory of the time to come.

We are taught by the acts and historyes of the holy fathers, that the catholicke fayth without the which, as the holy Apostle S. Paule saith, it is vnpossible to please God hath bene alwayes defēded by the faythfull and spirituall souldiours of the Church, by the shield of fayth, agaynst the false worshippers of the same fayth, or rather peruerse impugnors: which through their proud curiosity will seeme to know more, and to be wiser then they ought to be, & for the desire of y^e glory of y^e world, haue gone about oft times to ouerthrow the same. These kindes of warres and battelles haue bene prefigured to vs before in those carnall warres of the Israelites agaynst the Idolatrous people. For in those spirituall warres the holy catholick Church, through the vertue & power of fayth, being illustrate•••) the beames of the heauenly light, by the prouidēce of God, and being holpen by the helpe and defence of the Saints & holy men, hath alway continued immaculate, & (the darcknes of errours, as her most cruell enemyes being put to flight) •he hath most gloriously triumphed ouer all. But in these our daies, the old and vnclean enemy hath raysed vp new cōtētions & strifes, that the elect of this world might be knowne, whose Prince and captayne in time past was one Iohn Wickliffe a false Christian. Who during his life time, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles, cōtrary and agaynst the Christian Religion,* and the Catholicke fayth. And the same Iohn Wickliffe wrote certayne bookes which he called a Dialogue, & a Trialogue, besides many other treatises and works, the which he both wrot and taught, in the which he wrot the aforesayd, and many other damnable & execrable articles: The which his books for the publication and aduancement of his peruers doctrine, he did set forth opēly for euery man to read. Wherby beside many offēces, great hurt & damages of soules, hath ensued in diuers regions & countreyes, but specially in the kingdomes of England and Boheme. Against whom the maisters and Doctors of the Vniuersities of Oxforde and Prage, rising vp in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of schooles, within a while after did reprocue and condemne the sayd Arcicles.

Moreouer,* the most reuerent fathers the archbishops, and bishops, (for that time present) of Cāterbury, Yorke, and Prage, Legats of the Apostolick sea, in the kingdome of England and Boheme, did condemne the bookes of the sayd Wickliffe to be burnt. And the sayd Archbishoppe of Prage, commissarye of the Apostolicke sea, did likewise in this behalf determin & iudge. And

moreouer he did forbid, that any of those bookes whiche did remayne vnburned, should not be hereafter any more reade. And agayne these things being brought to the knowledge & vnderstanding of the Apostolicke sea, and the generall counsell: The Bishop of Rome in his last Councell, condemned the sayde bookes, treatises and volumes, commaunding them to be openly burned. Most straightly forbidding, that any men which should beare the name of Christ, should be so hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the sayde bookes or treatises, volumes, or workes, or by any meanes to vse or occupy them: either els to alledge thē opely or priuely, but to their reproofe & infamy. And to the intent that this most daūgerous and filthy doctrine should be vtterly wiped away out of the Church,* he gaue commaudemēt through out al places: that the Ordinaries should diligētly enquire and seeke out by the Apostolick authority and Ecclesiasticall censure, for all such bookes, treatises, volumes, & workes. And the same so being found, to burne & consume thē with fire: prouiding withall; that if there be any such foūd, which will not obey the same: processe to be made agaynst them, as agaynst the fauourers and mayntayners of heresies. And this most holy Synode hath caused the sayd 45. Articles to be examined and oft times perused,* by manye most reuerend fathers of the Church of Rome, Cardinals Bishops, Abbots, maisters of diuinitye and Doctours of both lawes,* besides a great number of other learned men: the which Articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it was no lesse) that many, yea a great number of thē to be notoriously for heretical reproved and condemned by the holy fathers: other some not to be Catholick, but erroneous: some full of offence and blasphemy: Certayn of thē offensiue vnto godlye eares and many of thē to be rashfull and seditious. It is found also, that his bookes do contain many Articles of like effect and quality, and that they doe induce and bring into the Church, vn•ōūd and vnwholesome doctrine, contrary vnto the fayth and ordinance of y^e Church.* Wherefore in the name of our Lorde Iesu Christ, this sacred Synode, ratefying and approuing the sentēces and iudgements of the Archbishops & counsell of Rome: do by this theyr decree and ordinance, perpetually for euer more condemne and reproue, the sayd Articles and euery one of them, his bookes which he intituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, & all other bookes of the same author, volumes, treatises & workes, by what name so euer they bee entituled or called, the which we wil here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also we forbid the reading, learning, exposition, or alledging of any of the sayd bookes, vnto all faythfull Christians, but so farreforth as shall tend to the reproofe of the same:* forbidding all and singular Catholick persons vnder the payn of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy openly to preach, teach, or holde, or by any meanes to alledge the sayd Articles or any of them, except (as is aforesayd) that it do tend vnto the reproofe of them: commaunding all those bookes, treatises, works, and volumes aforesayd to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synode at Rome, as is afore expressed. For the execution wherof duely to be obserued and done, the sayd sacred Synode doth straitly charge & commaund the ordinaries of the places, diligently to attend & looke vnto the matter, according as it appertayneth vnto euery mā's duty, by the Canonick lawes and ordinaunces.

What were these articles here condemned by this coūcell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to y^r sayd Coūcell, to the number of 45. The copy of them foloweth vnder written.

*** Certaine other Articles gathered out of Wickeliffes bookes by his aduersaries, to the number of 45. exhibited vp to the**

Councell of Constance, after his death, and in the same counsell condemned.

BEsides the 24. Articles aboue mentioned,* there were other also gathered out of his books, to y^e number of 45. in all, which his malicious aduersaryes peruersly collecting, and maliciously expounding, did exhibite vp to the Coūcel of Constance: which to repeat all, though it be not here needfull, yet to recite certayn of them as they stand in that Councell it shall not be superfluous.

25. All such as be hyred for temporall liuing to pray for other, offend and sinne of simony.

26. The prayer of the reprobate preuayleth for no man.

27. Halowing of Churches, confirmation of children, the Sacrament of orders, be reserued to the Pope & Bishops onely for the respect of temporall lucre.

28. Graduations, and Doctorships in Vniuersities and Colledges as they be vsed, cōduce nothing to the church.

29. The excommunication of the Pope and his Prelates, is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antechrist.

30. Such as foūd & build Monasteries, do offend & sinne, and all such as enter into the same be mēbers of the deuil.

31. To enrich the Clergy, is agaynst the rule of Christ.

32. Siluester the Pope, & Constantine y^e Emperor were deceiued in geuing & taking possessions into the Church.

33. A Deacon or Priest my preach the word of God with out the authority of the Apostolick sea.

34. Such as enter into order, or religion monasticall, are therby vnable to keep Gods commaundements, and also to atteine to the kingdome of heauen except they reurne from the same.

[Page 450](#)35. The Pope with all his Clergye, hauing those great possessions as they haue, be heretiques in so hauing, & the secular powers in so suffering them do not well.

36. The Church of Rome is the sinagoge of Sathan, neither is the Pope immediately the vicare of Christ, nor of y^e Apostles.

37. The Decretals of the Pope be Apochripha and seduce from the sayth of Christ, and the Clergy that study them, be fooles.

38. The Emperor and secular Lordes be seduced, which so enrich the Church with such ample possessions.

39. It is not necessary to saluation to beleue the church of Rome to be supreme head ouer all Churches.

40. It is but folly to beleue the Popes pardons.

41. All othes which be made for any cōtract or ciuill bargayne betwixt man and man, be vnlawfull.

43. Benedict, Fraunces, Dominicke, Bern, with all such as haue bene patrons of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with such also as haue entred into the same: be in a damnable state, and so from the Pope to the lowest Noues they be all together heretickes.

Besides these Articles to the number of 45. condemned (as is sayd) by the Counsell of Constance: Other articles also I finde diuersly collected or rather wrasted out of the bookes and writings of Wickliffe: some by William Wodford, some by Walden, by Frier Tyssington & other, whom they in theyr bookes haue impugned rather thē cōfuted. In the number of whom, William Wodford especially findeth out these Articles, and writeth agaynst the same, to the number of 18. as here vnder follow.

- 1. The bread remayneth in his owne substaunce, some after the consecration therof vpon the aultar, and ceaseth not to be bread still.
- 2. As Iohn was figuratiuely Helias, and not personally, so the bread figuratiuely is the body of Christ, and not naturally. And that without all doubt, this is a figuratiue speach, to say: this is my body, as to say: This Iohn, is •elias.
- 3. In the Decree, Ergo Berengarius, the Courte of Rome hath determined that the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist, is naturally true bread.
- 4. They which do affirme, that the infantes of the faythful departing without the Sacrament of baptisme, are not to be sauēd: be presumptuous, and fooles in so affirming.
- 5. The administration of the Sacrament of confirmatiō, is not onely reserued to the Bishops.
- 6. In the time of S. Paule, onely two orders of Clerkes did suffice in the Church: Priests, and Deacons. Neither was there in the time of the Apostles any destinction of Popes, Patriarches and Archbishops, and Bishops, but these the Emperors pride did finde it out.
- 7. Such as in times past either for couetousnes of temporall lucre, or of hope of mutuall succour by kindred, or for cause to excuse their lust (although they dispayred of issue) were maryed: were coupled together, not by true Matrimony.
- 8. The causes of diuorcement, either for spirituall consanguinity or for affinity, be not fouēd in Scripture, but are onely ordinaunces of men.
- 9. These words, I will take thee to wife, are rather to be taken in con•ract of matrimony, then these wordes I doe take thee to wife. And the contract with any party by the words of the future tence, ought not to be frustrate for the contract with any party afterward made, by the words of the present time.

- 10. There be 12. disciples of Antechrist, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deanes, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, and Pardoners.
- 11. In the booke of Numbers the 18. chapter & in Ezechiell. 44. chapter it is commaunded simply, that neither the Priestes of Aaron, nor the Leuites should haue any part of inheritance with other tribes, but should liue meerly of tithes and oblations.
- 12. There is no greater hereticke or Antechrist, then that Clerke which teacheth that it is lawfull for Priestes and Leuites of the law of grace, to be indued with temporall possessions. And if there be any hereticckes, Apostates, or blasphemers, these Clerkes be such.
- 13. It is not onely lawfull for the Lords temporal to take away goods of fortune from the Churchmen, sinning vsually: but also are bounde so to doe, vnder payne of eternall damnation.
- 14. He that is the more humble and more seruiceable to the Church, and more enamoured with the loue of Christ, he is in the church militant, the greater and the more nearest Vicar of Christ.
- 15. If corporall vnction or aneling were a Sacrament (as now it is fayned to be) Christ and his Apostles would not haue left the ordinaunce thereof vntouched.
- 16. Vnto the true dominion secular, is required vertuous life of him that ruleth.
- 17. All thinges that happen, doe come absolutely of necessity.
- 18. Whatsoeuer the Pope or his Cardinales can deduce clearely out of the Scripture: that only is to be beleued, or to be done at their monitiō: & whatsoeuer otherwise they do commaund is to be condemned as hereticall.

Besides this W. Woodford afore mentioued, diuers other there were which wrote agaynst these articles of Wickliffe aforesay,* maynteyning the Popes part, as seemeth for flatterye, rather then following any iust cause so to doe, or shewing forth any reason or learning in disprouing the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrary part some there were againe both learned and godly, which taking y^e part of Wickliffe, without all flattery, defended the most of the sayd articles, openly in scholes and other places, as appereth by the works of Iohn Hus: who in his publicke determinations in the vniuersity of Prage, stode in defence of the same agaynst all his aduersaries. As partly is here to be seene in these tractations vnder folowing.

THE PVBLICK DEFENCE of certayne Articles of Iohn Wickliffe, in the first Act before the whole Vniuersity of Prage, in Charles Colledge

The determination of I. Hus vpon the xiiij. Article of Wickliffe as touching the preaching and hearing of the word of God, made in the yeare of our Lord. 1412.

FOR so much as to condemne the trueth wittingly or without reasonable examination doth tende to greate daunger of saluation,* as the Lord sayth. Luke the sixt, doe ye not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned: Therefore to auoyd this great daūger, the Vniuersity of Prage, and the whole communalty there of the Rector Masters, Doctors, Bachelers and Studentes, in theyr generall assembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctors in theyr councell house, requireth of the sayde Doctors a reasonable prooffe of theyr condemnation, and

that they should by scripture, authority or infallible reasō proue the falsehead of euery those fiue and forty Articles. The which being once done,* the sayd Vniuersity will agree to the sayd condemnation as iust: For the Vniuersity doth well know, that as Augustine sayth, in the end of his second booke of Christian doctrine: That what so euer a man doth learne besides the holy scriptures, if it be hurtfull, there it is condemned: If it be profitable, there it is founde. And when a man hath founde all thinges therein which he hath profitably learned els where, he shall much more abundantly finde those thinges which are found in no place els, but are learned in the maruelous deapth, and maruellous profoundnesse of those most sacred Scriptures onely.

Thus writeth Augustine:* And Gregory in his three & twenty booke of Moralles, sayth thus, God in the holye scripture hath comprehended whatsoeuer thing may happen vnto any man, and in the same hath, by the examples of those which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reforme theyr liues. Whereby it appeareth that if euery of the fiue and forty Articles conteyneth in it wholly the thing that is false and vntruth, the same is either playnelye or darckly condemned in the holye Scriptures.

Secondly it followeth by the sentence and minde of this holy man that if the condemnation of the fiue and forty Articles be profitable, the same is founde in the holy scriptures. And where as agayne Saynt Augustine writeth vnto Saynt •ierome in his •ight Epistle and the ninth Distinction. I (sayth he) haue learned to attribute this honor and reuerence vnto those writers onely which are called Canonically, that I dare affirme none of them to haue erred in theyr workes or writinges. As for all other writers I doe so read them that although they abound wyth ueuer so much holynesse, or excell in doctrine, I do not by and by thinke it true because they themselues do so iudge: [Page 451](#) but if they can by other Canonically Authors or probable reasons perswade or proue that they doe not degresse frō the trueth.

Also the sayd Augustine in his booke De vnico Baptismo Lib. 2. sayeth thus: Who doeth not knowe or vnderstande that the holy canonically scripture to be containd in hys owne bondes and limittes, and the same to be preferred before all other letters and decrees of Bishops. &c. And a litle after he hath the like saying: as for the letters of other Bishops, which haue bene written or be written (after the Canon. being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reprobued both by the word of them that be more skilfull in that matter, and also by the auncient authority of other Bishops, or by the prudēce and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or els by generall cōsels if it so chaunce that they in any poynt haue erred and gone a stray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of S. Austen and other like. &c. The Vniuersity of Prague hath concluded and determined that they will not receiue the condemnation of the fiue and forty Articles made by the Doctors in their councel house as iust and true, except they which condemned them, will proue theyr condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons vpō euery of the fiue and forty Articles.

Wherefore for the dew examination of the foresayd cōdemnation, whether it be effectuell or no, we will at thys present take in hand the fouretenth Article of the number of the fiue and forty, which Article is this.

They which leaue of preaching and hearing of y^e word of God for feare of excommunicatiō of men,* are alreadye excommunicate, and in the day of iudgement shalbe counted the betrayers of Christ.

This Article containeth first that all priests omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men they are already excommunicate.*

Secondly, it containeth that all such as doe omitte the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunicatiō, are already excommunicated.

Thirdlye that both these sortes of men in the day of iudgement shalbe counted traitors of Christ.*

As concerning the first poynt, it is presupposed that the preaching of the word of God, is commaunded vnto the Apostles and theyr followers, as it appeareth in Mathew the tenth, where it is sayd. Iesus sent his xii. Disciples, commaunding them and saying goe and preach, that the kingdome of heauen is at hand. Also in the last of Mathew, and the tenth of Luke. Whereupon, Peter the Apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commaundement for himselfe and for the other Apostles and successors in the 10. of the Actes, sayth thus, he commaunded vs to preach and to testifie, that it is he which is ordayned of God the iudge both of the quicke and the dead. This commaundement also, the other Apostles did acknowledge, & specially the chosen vessell pronouncing vnder a great threatning in the first Corinthians 9. chap. Wo be vnto me if I do not preach the Gospell. And Pope Nicholas considering that great threatning in 43. Distinction, sayeth: the dispensation and distribution of the heauenly seade is commaunded and enioyned vnto vs. Woe be vnto vs, if we doe not sow it abroode or if we hold our peace. Whiche thing when as the vessell of election did feare and cry out vpon, how much more ought all other inferiours to feare and dread the same. To the same purpose doth S. Gregory write in his pastorall in the distinction.* Sit rector. It is also euident by many other doctours and holy men as by S. Augustine, Hierome, Isidore, Bernard, whose words it were here to long to rehearse.

As touching the second poynt that the hearing of the word and law of God,* is commaunded vnto the people it is euident both by the olde and new law, for it is sayd in the 28. of the Prouerbes, he that turneth away his eare & will not heare the law of God, his prayer shall be cursed. And our Sauior rebuking the Scribes and Pharesyes concludeth thus in the 8. of S. Iohn saying, he that is of God heareth Gods word: But forsomuch as you are not of God therefore you heare not his word.

Thirdly it is to be noted that excommunication is a seperation from the Communion,* the 11. Question 3. Nihil & cap Canonica. And 27. question, first, Viduas. 34. Question 3. Cum sacerdos. And this excommunication is double that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret excommunication is, whereby a man is seperated from the mysticall body of Christ, and so from God through sinne according vnto the 59. Psalme. Your iniquities haue made seperation betwene your God and you. And with this excommunicatiō doth the Apostle excommunicate euery man which doth not loue the Lorde Iesu Christ. Saying in the first Corinth. and the last Chapter. If any man do not loue the Lord Iesu Christ,* let him be accursed. The manifest and apert excommunication may be deuided into a manifest excommunication by God: Whereof it is

spoken. Math. 25. go ye curied. &c. And often times els in the lawe of God: Also into a manifest excommunication by men, whereby the Prelate doth either iustly or vniustly cast out any man from the participation of the Communion of the Church. Whereof this shall suffice at this present.

Then as touching the first part of the article,* it is thus argued. &c.

Whosoeuer forsaketh or leaueth the commaundemēts of God vndone, they are excommunicate of God. But the Priestess which leaue of the preaching of the word of God for feare of y^e vniust excommunication of men do leaue the cōmaundement of God vndone. Ergo those Priests which do leaue of preaching of the word of God are excommunicated of God.

The first part of this Article is true: The maior appereth by the Psalme. Cursed be they which doe decline and swarue from thy preceptes. The Minor is euident by the first proposition which proueth that the preaching of the word of God, is the commaundement of God enioyned vnto those Priestess and ministers: Whereupon the saying of our Sauior, Mathew 15. is spoken vnto them. Wherefore do you transgresse the commaundements of God for your owne traditiōs, preaching the word of God for feare of vniust excommunication and so dishonouring the Father Christ and the mother the holy Church.

It is thus confirmed all they which do omit or let slip any maner of worke, principally and straightly enioyned them of the Lord Iesu Christ, vnder the cloake and coulour of grace for feare of any excommunication of men, they are already excommunicate. But Priestess and specially Curates admonished by the spirit of God, leauing of the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, they omit and leaue of for feare of the same excommunication a work principally and straitly enioyned vnto them of the Lord Iesus Christ, vnder the cloake and coulour of grace: Ergo, Priestess and specially Curates and such as be admonished and warned by the spirite of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of excommunication, are excommunicate. The consequence is well known. The Maior appeareth by the Psalme, Cursed be they which do decline and goe away from the commaundements. The Minor is also euident, agayne by the first suposition.

Item, if the apostles of Christ had left of the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excōmunication of men which the Lord did foreshewe vnto them in the 16. of S. Iohn,* saying. They shall excommunicate you out of their Sinagoges. They had bene excommunicated of God. Ergo, by like euidence the Priestess and Ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same spirite to preach and declare the word of God, if they leaue it vndone for feare of the excommunication of men: They are alreadye excommunicate. The consequent dependeth vpon a similitude. And the Antecedent is euident, for if the Apostles had left of preaching for feare of excommunication, they had broken the commaundements of God. And consequētly had bene accursed. Wherefore they willing to obserue and keepe the commaundementes of God, and to put of the excommunication of men, sayde vnto the hye Priestess, Elders and Scribes at Ierusalem, to Annas, Cayphas, to Iohn and Alexander, and al other of the kindred of the Priests which were gathered together and commaunded them that they should not preache nor teach in the name of Iesu: If it be iust in the sight of God, that we shoulde rather obey you then God, that iudge you? Acts 4. and in the 5. of the Acts, they sayde vnto them: we ought rather to obey God then man. By this

saying of the Holy Ghost, it is concluded that the Priestres and ministers o• Christ, inspired by the holy Ghost to preach the word of God,* ought rather obey the holy Ghost then those which shall prohibite and commaund them to the contrary, and to suffer the excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon •. Anacletus spake very well in this, as it is writē distinction 43. We know (sayth he) that many doe goe about to molest and trouble the Doctors and Teache vs to this end that they might vtterly destroy them, and full theyr owne prope• lus•es & desires: yet notwithstanding the said Doctors as much as in them lyeth ought not to depart or goe backe from theyr good doinges and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake. Thus much writeth he: And the reuerēd Bede (vpon these words: Ye shall finde an Asse tyed vp, and an he fole with her, lose her and bring her vnto mee, & if any man say any [Page 452](#) thing vnto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them) writeth thus. Here it is mystically commaunded vnto the Doctors and Teachers, that if any aduersity do let or hinder, or any man doe prohibite or stop, that sinners cannot be losed from theyr bondes or snares, and be brought vnto the Lord, by the confessiō of theyr fayth that they notwithstanding shoulde not leaue of preaching but constantly & boldly affirme and say that the Lord hath need of such, to edify & build agayne his Church. For so did the Apostles: so likewise ought all the humb•e and meeke Ministers of Christ to do.* And S. Hierome writing vnto Rusticus the Bishop of Narbone saith thus, Let no Bishop frō hencefore be puffed vp or enflamed with y^e enuy of deuillish tēptation, if the Priestres now and then do exhort and teache the people or preache openlye in the Churches, or as it is sayd do blesse the people. For vnto him which shoulde deny vnto me the doing hereof, I would say in this maner: He that will not that Priestres shoulde doe those thynges which they are commaunded by God, let him say that he is greater and aboue Christ, by the which wordes S. Hierome doth openly declare, that Priestres are commaunded to exhort and teach the people and to preach in the Churches. Secondly that a Bishop denying or forbidding the same to be done, specially the Priestres or Ministers being apt men there vnto is extolled aboue Christ. And therefore consequently is not to be obeyed or heard in his doinges.

Item,* admit that the Pope be an Heretique and teach peruerse and contrary doctrine vnto the holy scriptures, and that the Bishop be a catholicke man vnto whom the Pope geueth in commaundement that he shall not suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion. As it happened in Pope Leo and Saynt Hillary the Bishop, adding this also that the Bishop doe execute the Popes commaundement vnder payne of excommunication, this notwithstanding if the Catholicke Priestres, learned in the law of God do leaue of preaching against the Popes heresies for feare of excommunication of men they are already excommunicate. The which thing is euident for so much as they are accursed through the consent of theyr scilence, as S. Isidor sayth 11. Question. 1. He that doth consent vnto sinners or defendeth a sinner, he shall be cursed both before God and man, and shalbe punished with a most seuerer rebuke, and in the 7. Question. 4. Omnis, It is sayde without he that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct committeth no lesse fault then he which had before offended, for not onely they which do cōmit the offence, but also they which consent thereunto, are iudged partakers thereof. In lyke case Priests which do not preach agaynst the heresy which the Pope teacheth, are dum dogges not able to open their mouthes or barcke agaynst the Woofe which will kill the sheep of Iesus Christ: Ergo, how can it then be otherwise but they must needes be betrayers of the sheepe of theyr owne shepheard.

Item, let it so be that the Bishop with the chiefe Prelates be an aduouterer or otherwise an open offender and that he together with his Prelates doe commaund vnder payne of excommunicatiō,*

that none be so hardy to preach agaynst adultery, in such a case they which do omitte theyr duety in preaching against adultery for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God. Ergo the first part of the Article is true. The Antecedent is proued, for our sauior in the 8. of Marke sayth thus. He that acknowledgeth me and my wordes in this wicked and adulterous generation, the sonne of man shall also acknowledge and confesse him when he shall come in the glorie of his Father with his Aungels. Therefore he that shall cōfesse Christ and these wordes of Christ Math. 5. you haue heard, that it was sayd to them in olde time, thou shalt not commit adulterye: But I say vnto you, that euery one, which shall beholde a woman to lust after her, he hath already committed adultery, with her in his heart: Hee I say that shall confesse these thinges, before an adoulterous Bishop, with his chiefe Prelates, the which perchaunce are the wicked and adoulterous generation, the sonne of man shall also acknowledge him, when he shall come in y^e glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Cōtrary wise he which for the feare of excōmunication of men will not confesse Christ and his words, before the sinneful and adoulterous generation, is accursed. The consequent holdeth by the wordes of Christ. Luk. 9. He that is ashamed of me and my wordes, him shall the sonne of man be ashamed of, when he shall come in his maiesty, and in the glory of his Father and his holy Aungels, pronouncing that which is spoken Math. 25. Verely, I say vnto you, I know you not, go you cursed into euerlasting fire.

Also our Sauior Iesu Christ,* did not omitt or leaue of the preaching of the kingdome of God, for any pretended excommunication of the Bishops, Scribes and Pharisies: So likewise his true and humble Priestes, ought not to omit theyr preaching, for any pretensed excommunication of men, the consequent holdeth by the saying of Christ. Iohn. 15. be ye mindfull of the words which I haue spoken vnto you, the seruaunt is not greater then his master: If they haue persecuted me, they will persecute you also. The Antecedent is apparant by the saying of Saynt Iohn in his 9. chapter. Euen now the Iewes had conspired, that whosoever did confesse him to be Christ, shoulde be excommunicate. And likewise Iohn. 7. Whether did any of the Princes or rulers, or any of the Phareseis beleue in him. But this people which knoweth not the law are accursed.

Also the humble and iust ministers of God,* ought not vnder payne of sinne to cease from the fruitfull preaching of the law of God for any vniust excommunicatiō, or vnlawfull commaundement, and it is proued thus: the humble and iust ministers of Christ, ought to obey theyr Prelates, in such thinges as are not contrary to God: as all the holy Doctors, and such as are learned in the Lawe of God, do wholly with one consent affirme. And forsomuch, as an vniust excommunication, and vnlawfull commaūdement, are agaynst God, therefore the iust and true ministers of God, ought not to obey such vnlawfull excommunication, and commaundements, and consequently ought not to cease for them, from the fruitfull preaching of the Gospell of our Lord Iesu Christ. But ought boldely and gladly to preach the same. For so much, as the Lord doth comfort them in the 5. of Mathew, saying thus, blessed and happye are ye, when as men doe curse you, and persecute you, and speake all kinde of euill against you, making lies and slaunders vpon you, for my sake, reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen.

Also euery Minister hauing power geuen him from aboue,* to preach the Gospell, he hath the same geuen vnto him for the edefying of the Church, and not for the destruction of the same.

As the Apostle saith 2. Corinth. 10. But euery one, leauing of the preaching of the Gospell, for feare of any pretensed excommunication of men, he shoulde frustrate the power geuē him, for

the edefying of the Church. And therefore in so doing should sinne agaynst God and his church: And consequently ought rather to chuse, not to cease from preaching, for feare of any such excommunicatiō, least that he be excommunicate of our Lord Iesu Christ.

Item,* set case that the Pope doth commaūd that there shall be no preaching in any place, then the Ministers of Christ, leauing of theyr preaching, for feare of the Popes curse, are already excommunicated of God. It is euident, for so much as they haue neglected the commaundement of God for the commaundement of men. And this case is possible: For by what reason the Pope may commaunde vnder payne of excōmunication that there shalbe no preaching in any place, neither in the parish Churches, by the same reason, he may command that no man should preach in any place.

The first part is euident by the prohibition of Pope Alexander, who in his bull, did prohibite to preach y^e word of God, vnto the people in Chappels, although the sayde Chappels were confirmed by the priuiledge of the Sea apostolicke. The which Bull, the Lord Subincon Archbyshop of Prage, with his Canons, obteyned. By these aforesayd, the first part of the Article is euident, which is this that all Priestes omitting the preaching of the woorde of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

The seconde part of the Article is this,* that all they which doe omitte, the hearing of the woorde of God, for feare of the excommunication of men are alreadye excommunicate.

And it is proued thus, all such as neglect the cōmaundementes of God, are excommunicate. But they whiche neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are they which neglect the commaundementes of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men are already excommunicate.

The Maior, is apparant by the 118. Psalme. Cursed be they which decline from thy commaundementes. And the Minor is euident, by the second supposition, which sayth, that the hearing of the word of God is commaunded vnto the people.

This is confirmed,* al such as omit the necessary mean vnto saluation, are excommunicate: but such as omitte the hearing of the woorde of God for the excommunication by men, be such as do omit the necessary mean vnto saluation. [Page 453](#) Therefore, in so doing they are excommunicate: The consequent is playne: The Maior is made euident by this: That all suche as do omit the necessary meane vnto saluation doe also neglect theyr saluation, and so are out of the way of saluation, and be excommunicated of God. The Minor appeareth hereby that to heare the word of God is the meane more necessary vnto saluation, as the apostle doth proue in his 10. chapter to the Romans. How sayth he, shall they beleue on him, whō they neuer heard of? And how shal they heare without a preacher? And by & by after the Apostle inferreth vnto the purpose. That sayth commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

Item, what so euer is done contrary vnto conscience, doth edefy vnto eternall damnation: As it is said, as touching the restitutiō of the spoyled goods. Chap. Literas porro: But to omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunicatiō of men, is a thing which is done against conscience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the worde of God for excōmunication, doth edefy

vnto eternal damnatiō. And therefore cōsequētly ought not to be done, for feare of any excommunication: Wherefore a woman being iudged vnto a man, whom she knoweth to be within the degrees of cōsanguinity, which Gods law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that iudgement least that she offend against God: but meekly & patiently to sustain y^e excommunication, as it appereth in the chapter before alledged: So likewise all true christians ought rather then to offend agaynst God, meekly to suffer the excōmunication of men, thē to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose also, serueth that which is spoken in the 11. quest. 3. He that feareth the omnipotēt God, will not presume by any meanes to do any thing contrary vnto the gossell or apostles, either contrary vnto the Prophetes, or the institutions of y^r holy fathers. By these premises, the 2. part o. this article is manifest, that all such as do omit, the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicated.

And forsomuch, as all christians, being of lawfull age, not repenting at y^e end,* shalbe counted, in a maner as traitors of Christ, in the day of iudgement, because that they were vnfaythfull seruauntes of Christ. Therefore they which through feare omit the preaching & hearing y^e word of God, for the excommunication of men, shall be counted as trayers of Christ, and shall render account therof, vnto the Lord: whereupon Chrisostome, touching both those sorts in the 41,* Homely, shewing how the Lord woulde haue some to be teachers, and other some to be disciples: sayth thus. For vnto those which he would haue to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his Prophet Esay: Ye priestes, speak in the harts of the people, for if y^e priestes do not manifest all the truth vnto the people, they shall rēder accoūt therof at the day of iudgemēt. And likewise if the people do not learne the truth they shal also geue an account at y^e day of iudgemēt. It is also made more euidēt by him, vpō the tenth of Mathew. Do not feare them which kill the body, least that through the feare of death, you do not frely speak that which you haue heard, neither boldly preach that vnto all mē, which you alone haue heard in your eares. So y^t hereby alone it is euidēt, that not onely he is a betrayer of the truth, which transgressing the truth, doth openly speak lyes in the stead of truth: But he also, which doth not freely pronounce or doth not freely defend the truth,* which he ought boldly to defēd, is also a traytor vnto the truth. For like as the Priest is a debter to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord: euē so the lay man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the minister approued by the scriptures, which if he do not, then is he a traytor vnto the truth. For stedfast beliefe, with the hart preuayleth vnto righteousness, the confession which is made with the mouth, helpeth vnto saluation. Thus much writeth Chrisostome: Who together with the people meekely bearing the excommunication of the Bishops freely preached truth, and the people heard him, and so by hys word and his workes he freely taught the truth, least he should be a Traytor vnto the truth, & consequently be counted as a Traytour vnto our Lord Iesu Christ, in the day of iudgement. And thus the third part of the Article aforesayde, is manifest.

The defension of the xv. Article of Iohn Wickliffe by Iohn Husse.

*IT is lawfull for any Deacon or Priest, to preach the worde of God without the authority of the Apostolicke Sea, or of his Catholickes.

Fir I vnderstand here, by the authority of the Apostolicke Sea,* properly his speciall consent, authorising. And likewise I vnderstand by authority of the Bishop, a speciall consent of the Bishop, authorising the sayde Deacon or Priest to preach.

Now as touching the truth of this Article, I thus argue, like as after matrimony once complete, the man and wife may lawfully without any speciall licēce of the Pope or Bishop,* procreate carnall children: So likewise Deacons or Priestes by the motion of God through the Gospell of Iesu Christ may lawfully without any speciall licence either of the Pope or Bishoppe generate spirituall children. Ergo, this Article is true and the antecedent is thus proued. For as it is an acceptable worke vnto God for man and wife without the speciall licence of the Pope or Bishop to generate carnall children, so it is acceptable vnto him, that Deacons or Priests by the motion of God through the Gospel of Iesu Christ, should lawfully generate spirituall children without the speciall licence of the Pope or of any other Byshop, Ergo, the assumptio is true.

But if any man wil deny this similitude, let him shew the diuersitye. Yea seing it is worse not to receiue, or to choake the seed of Gods word, then the carnall seed: So contrarywise, is it better to receiue and sow abroad that seed of the word of God whereby children might be raysed vp vnto God, then to receiue or geue such seede, whereby carnall children may be gotten. Whereupon our Sauour in the 10. of Mathew sayth thus: whosoever doth not receiue you, neither heareth your wordes, wpe of the duste from your feete, verelye I say vnto you that in the daye of iudgement, it shalbe more better vnto the Lande of Sodome and Gomer then to that City.

Also a Deacon or Priest being sturred by the spirite of Iesus Christ may preache the word of God without the speciall licence of the Pope or Bishop. Ergo, it is lawful for him so to do. The consequent is thus manifest, for so much as the spirite of God moo•ing the Deacon or Priest vnto the preaching of the Gospell, is of greater force then anye prohibition of Pope or Bishop inuented by man: Ergo, according vnto the rule of the Apostles they ought infallibly to be obediēt vnto the spirit of Christ which doth so moue them therunto, and rather to obey God then man. Actes. 5. Also by like reason as Heldad and Medad vpon whom the spirit of God did rest, did lawfully prophecy without requiring any licence at Moyse's handes, as it is written. Numery. 11. by the same reason may the meeke minister of Christ, vpon whom the spirite of God doth rest, without the requiring any licence, either of the Pope or Bishoppe, may lawfully preache the worde of God vnto the people. And would to God in this behalfe all Prelats had the spirite of Moyse,* for it is sayd: Numeri. 11. That when as Heldad and Medad were prophesying in the tentes, a childe ranne vnto Moyses and tolde him, saying, Heldad and Medad do prophecye in the Tentcs, and by and by Iosue the sonne of Nunne the seruaunt of Moyse which he had chosen out amongst many, (sayd) my maister Moyses forbid them, and he sayd, why enuiest thou for my sake, would God that all the people could prophecy, and that the Lord would geue them his spirite. O would to God the Pope and Bishops had the affection which this holyc man the frend of God had. Then would he not prohibite the meeke Deacons and Ministers of Iesus Christ, to preach the Gospell of Iesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed man Gregory which in his 22. booke of Morals writeth vpon these wordes of Iob. And I haue afflicted the soule of his husbandmen, he sayth thus, the husbandmen of this earth are these, which being set in small authority, with as feruent desire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, doe worke by the preaching, of grace to the erudition of the holy Churchc, the which husbandmen of this world not to afflict, is not to enuy their labors and doinges: neither ought the ruler of the Church, albeit he doe challenge vnto

himselfe alone the title of preaching, through enuy gainesay others which do preach truly and vprightly. For the godly mind of the pasture which seketh not his owne glory amongst men, desireth to be holpen, the which thing also the faythfull preacher doth wish, if it might by any meanes, be brought to passe, that the trueth which he alone cā not sufficiētly expresse, all mēs mouthes might declare.

Wherefore when as Iosue woulde haue resisted the 2. which were prophecying in the host, why doest thou enuy (sayd he) for my sake, for he did not enuy that good in other which he himselfe had, this writeth S. Gregory.*

Also the meeke ministers of Christ haue by a speciall gift of God, knowledge and minde to preach the Gospell, but neither is it lawfull for the Pope or Bishop or any other [Page 454](#) man to let or hinder them, least thereby they should let the word of God, that it haue not his free course. Ergo, this article is true, for the king doth not so much rule ouer the goods of his subiects, no not of his owne sonnes, but y^t they may geue almes to whom they will: muche more the bishop hath not so great authority ouer the knowledge of the meeke minister, with his other giftes of God, but that he may frely vnder the title of spirituall almes frely preach the gospell vnto the people. Ergo, forasmuch it should seme straunge that a Bishop should forbid any man to geue any corporall almes to the poore that are a hūgred, much more straūge and maruelous would it be, if that he should prohibite the spirituall minister of Christ to geue spirituall almes, by the preaching of the gospell of the word of God.

Item no catholicke man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose is more bounde to teache them which are ignoraunt, to counsell & comfort the weake in spirit, to correct such as are vnruely, to forgeue those that do thē wrong, thē to do any other work of mercy, forsomuch then as he that hath sufficient, is bound vnder paine of dānation to geue corporall almes as it appeareth Math. 25. much more he which is able, is bound to doe spirituall almes. And this alms S. Barnard writing vnto Eugenius in his 3. book perceiued to be very necessary for the Bishop of Rome,* where as he said thus: I feare no greater poyso, nor greater sword or mischief will happen vnto thee, thē this vnsatiabie desire of dominion. With what face then cā the faythfull minister withdraw or keepe back, the spirituall almes from the Pope and any other, euen without the speciall licence of the Pope or of the Bishop, which licence through the far distance from the Pope, the ministers can not so easily obtaine or come by. For all prohibition of anye Prelate beeing broken through necessitye is not to be blamed. 11. Quest. 3. Intercessor, and also in the chapter folowing.

Item, all authoritye of preaching geuen vnto deacons and Priestes in theyr consecration were but vayne, except that in 〈◇〉 of necessitye without any speciall licence they might pr•ach the gospell. It is euident, forsomuch as it is not lawfull for them to vse that authority, by their aduersary without a speciall licēce. Ergo, it is geuē them in vain. The consequent is euident by the common saying of the Philosopher, that power is but vayne, wherof proceedeth no vse of action. But forsomuch as this Article doth as it were depend vpon the article before passed, therefore this shall suffice,* spoken therof at this present.

But agaynst the affirmations o• both these Articles, this is obiected, out of the 16. quest. 1. All faythfull people, and specially all priests deacons and all others of the clergy, ought to take heede

that they doe nothing without the licence of theyr bishop. It is also objected out of the 5. book of Decretals, Titulo de hereticis cap. cū ex iniuncto. Where it is no man ought to vsurp to himself, indifferētly the office of preaching, forsomuch as the Apostle sayth, how shall they preach except they be sent. Where as also Innocentius doth declare,* that it is not sufficiēt for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach except he do shew the same. As touching the first poynt, the Glose doth sufficiently aunswere vpon this word without licence, that is to be expounded, sayth he, without generall licence: the which is obtayned and geuen, when as a bishop doth appoynt any priest to gouern the people. For therby (sayth he) it semeth a bishop is thought to geue him generall power to minister vnto the people and to rule the church. Thus much in the glose. And to the same end and purpose it is sayd in the 7. quest. 1. chap. Episcopi Bishops or Priestes, if they come vnto the church of an other Bishop, for to visite the same, as it is said,* glose. 1. in honore suo. Let them be receiued in their degree, and desired as well to preach the word, as to do any other consecration or oblation. Secondly it is to be noted, y^t which is uery wel spoken in y^e same place, no man ought to vsurpe vnto himselfe the office of preaching, as a thing indifferent. For to vsurpe, is vnlawfully to vse any thing: ergo, the same deacon or priest, doth then vsurpe the office of preaching as indifferētly,* who liuing viciously, cōtrary vnto the law of Christ, or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for gayne, or couetousnes of lyuing, either for his belly or dainty life, or for any vaynglory, but he whiche doth liue according vnto the lawes of Christ, & being moued with the affection of sincere charity intending purely the honor of God and the saluatiō of him selfe & his neighbors, doth preach no lyes nor vayne iests or other things not authorised, but only the law of Christ, & the minds of y^e holy doctors. And he that doth so preach, necessity occationing or mouing him therunto, in case there be no Pope or Bishop, or in case possible to withstand the preaching of heretickes, or false preachers, he in so doing doth not vsurpe the office of preaching, and in suche case there is no doubt but he is sent of God, and this doth also answere vnto that, which is consequently sayd, that if any man will peraduenture craftely answere, that such preachers are inuisibly sēt of God, although not visibly of mē, when as that inuisible sēding of God is much more better thē the visible sending of men: A man may reasonably answere therunto, that forsomuch as that interuall sēding is secret, it is not sufficient for a man onely to say that he is sent of God, forsomuch as euery hereticke may so say, but he ought to proue the same his inuisible calling, by y^e working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of the scripture.

Here it is to be noted,* according to S. Augustine in his 65. booke of quest. vnto Orosius, that there is 4. kindes of sending. The first is from God onely, whereof we read in Moises & other, which were inspired by God. And this kinde sending, loseth from the daunger of the statute: so that he whom the spirit of God hath enspired, this prelate geuing thankes, may proceed vnto a better life. Wherupō Pope Urbane sayd 19. quest. 2. There be (sayd he) 2. lawes y^e one publick the other priuate.* The publick law is that which is confirmed in writing by y^e holy fathers, such as is the canon law: which is only geuen for transgressions: As for example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of y^e clergy shall go frō one bishopricke vnto an other, without y^e letters commendatory of his bishop, the which was ordeined onely for offēders, that no infamed persons should be receiued of any bishop. For they were wont when they could not celebrate or do their office vnder their owne Bishopricke, to go vnto another: which now is forbidden by the lawes and precepts.* The priuate law is that which by y^e instruction of the holy Ghost, is written in y^e hart as the Apostle speaketh, of many, which haue y^e law of God, writ^ten in their hartes. And in an other place: Forsomuch as the Gentiles haue not the law of God, but naturally doe those

things,* which are of the law, they are lawes vnto thēselues. And afterward he sayth, y^e priuate law is much more worthy, then the publicke law. For the spirit of god, is a law: And they which are moued by the spirit of God, are led by the law of God: And who is he, that can worthely resist agaynst the holy Ghost? Whosoeuer therefore is led by the spirit of God, albeit his bishop do say him nay, let him go freely by our authority, for y^e law is not appointed for the iust man, for where as the spirit of God is, there is liberty, and if ye be led by the spirite of God, ye are not vnder the law.

Beholde here it is affirmed, that the sending by God, through inspiration, is not bound vnder y^e bondage of the law, for that law is more worthy then the publicke law. Secondly that the law is made for transgressors & offenders, and not for the iust. Thirdly, that whosoeuer is ledd by the spirite of God, although his Bishop stand agaynst him, he may proceed vnto a better life. Whereby it is euident that a deacon or priest, disposed to preach, and being led by the spirit of God, he may freely preach the gospell of christ without the spiritual licence of his bishop. It is euident for somuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest, do liue well & preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may proceede from idlenes vnto the labor & office of preaching, and so vnto a better life.

But where as it is sayde afore,* that for so much as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man, barely to affirme onely, y^e he is sent of god, when as euery heretick may so say, but it is necessary, that he do confirme & proue his inuisible sending, by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of y^e scripture.* Here is to be noted, that there are 2. kindes of preachers, some true preachers of our sauior Christ, & other seducers of Antechrist. The first sort following the mayster Christ, teach the people in truth: The other sort, being of a corrupt minde, and reprobate touching faith, resist against y^e verity. And through couetousnes, by their fained words do make marchandise of the people: And these mē do geue & shal geue miracles, as our sauior saith, Math. 24. There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, the which shall shew great signes and wonders, in so much that euen the elect thēselues, if it were by any meanes possible, shoulde be brought into error. And the apostle in •he 2. to the Thes. 2. as touching their head Antechrist, writeth thus, whose comming shalbe according to y^e operation of sathan with al power and signes, false miracles, seducing vnto iniquity, those which do perish, because they haue not receiued y^e charity and loue of truth, that they might be saued: Therefore will the Lord send vpon them the operation of error, that they shall geue credit vnto lies. That all such as haue not belued the truth, but consent vnto wickednes, should be iudged: Behold, how expressly our Sauior by himself, [Page 455](#) and by his Apostle doth teach vs, how the disciples of An'techrist, with theyr head,* should shine through their great signes and wōders: But the true disciples of Christ, shall not so do, in the time of Antechrist. For as S. Isidor sayth in his first book, 22. De summo bono: Before that Antechrist shall appeare, all vertues and signes shall cease from the Church, that he may the boldlier persecute the same, as an abiect. For this profit, shall all miracles and signes cease, vnder Antechrist, that thereby the patience of the holy mē might be known, and the lightnes of the reprobate, which are offēded, may be opened, & also that the cruelty of y^e persecuters shuld be made more scare. Thus writeth S. Isidor, & S. Gregory in his 24. booke of Morals,* sayth: For why by a terrible examination of Gods secret dispēsatiō, shall all signes of vertue, or power be takē away from the holy church, before that the Leuiathan appeare, in y^r most wicked and damnable man, whose shape, he doth take vpon him. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is takē away, the vertue of lōg abstinēce, is deminished, y^e words of doctrine is put to silence, and the wonderfull workes of

miracles are extinguished, which things, nothing can vtterly take away: but onely the dispensation of God. But this dispēsatiō, is not so openly & manifoldly declared, as it hath bene in times past, the which also is done by a maruelous dispensation, that through one onely thing, both Gods loue & iustice should be fulfilled. For a while y^e pow^rer of miracles, being taken away, the holy church appereth the more abiect and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, which reuerēced the same for the hope of heauēly riches, & not for any present signes: And that the minds of euill men agaynst the same, might y^t sooner be knowne, which neglect to folow y^e inuisible thinges, which y^e church doth promise, whiles they be led with visible signes.

Forsomuch then, as the humility of the faithfull is, as it were destitute of the multitude, and appering of signes, by the terrible working of Gods secret dispensation, wher|by mercy is geuē vnto the good and iust, wrath heaped vpō the euill. For so much then it is truely said, that before this Liuiathan, shall playnely and manifestly come, pouerty shall go before his face, for before that time, y^e riches of miracles shalbe taken away from the faythfull. Then shall that auncient enemy, shew himselfe agaynst them, by open wonders: That as he is extolled through signes & wonders, so shall he the more manly be vanquished of y^e faythfull, without any signes or miracles. Also, in his 16. booke vpon this word,^{*} which the blessed man Iob sayde, who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth, what he hath done, whilest he did speake of the body of all euill, he sodenly connected his speach vnto the head of all the wicked,^{*} for he did see, that toward the end of the world Sathan should enter into man whom the scripture calleth Antechrist, he shalbe extolled with such pride, he shall rule with such power, he shal be exalted with such signes, & wonders, vnder the pretence of holmes, that his doing can not be cōtrolled of mē, for somuch, as his signes & tokens are ioined with power, & terror, & with a certain shew of holynes. Wherefore he saith who shall controll his wayes before him, what man is he, that dare once rebuke or check him, whose looke or countenance, is he afeard of? But notwithstanding, not onely Enoc & Elias the which are brought as ample for his exprobaton, but also all the elect do argue & reproue his way, whiles that they do contemne and by the force and power of their minde, resist his malice: But for somuch as this thing is not done by their owne power or strength, but by Gods helpe and grace, therefore is it very well sayd, who shall argue or reproue his waies before him who but onely God? By whose help the elect are ayded, and made able to resist.

And a little after, vpon the same booke of Iob Gregory saith, in so much as holy men do withstād his iniquity: It is not they thēselues which do so rebuke his wayes, but it is he, thorowe whose helpe they are strengthened. Also, in his second booke, he sayth: now the holy Church doth not regarde,^{*} but despise the signes and miracles of the heretikes if they do any: for so much as y^e Church doth sufficiently vnderstand, that it is no kind of holynes: for why, y^e prose of holines, is not to make signes or wōders, but to loue euery man as him selfe, to thinke truely of the very true God, & to thinke better of thy neighbor then of thy selfe: for trew vertue & holynes, cōsisteth in loue, and not in shewing of miracles. This y^e veretie declareth, saying: hereby shall all men know y^t ye are my disciples, if ye loue one an other, but he saith not, y^t hereby mē shal know y^t ye are my disciples, because ye worke miracles, but contrary wise: if ye loue one an other, declaring plainly therby, that it is not miracles, but the mere charitie & loue of God, which maketh vs the seruants of God. Wherefore the chiefe testimony of being Gods disciple, is to haue the gift of brotherly loue. This thorow out doth S. Gregory write, and often times in other places, he

speaketh verie much of miracles, howe that they shall cease amongst the iust, and abound amongst the wicked.

Also Chrisostome in his lv. Homily,* sayth thus, it is a common & an indifferent woorke betwene y^e ministers of God & the ministers of the deuil, to cast out deuils, but to confesse y^e trueth and to worke righteousnes, is the onely worke of the saints and holy men, therefore whomsoeuer thou doest see casting out of deuils, if he haue not the confessiō of the trueth in his mouth, neyther righteousnes in his hands, he is not a man of God, but if thou doest see a man openly confessing & declaring the truthe and doing iustice, although he do not cast out no deuils, yet he is the man of God. And it followeth: let vs know that like as at the cōming of Christ, before him, y^e Prophets, and with him thapostles wrought miracles thorow the holy ghost, for such as the thing is which is sturred, such sent & sauor wil proceede frō the same. He writeth also vpon y^e beginning of Mathew. The whole world did maruel & wōder at three things, y^t Christ rose againe after his deth, y^t flesh ascendeth into heauē,* & that he did conuert y^e whole world by his xi. apostles: There is iiii. causes which wrought the same. That is to say, y^e contempt of riches or money. The dispising of pomp and glory. The seperation of thēselues from all worldly occupation and busines, and the pacient suffering of tormentes. Thus much writeth Chisostome, also saint Isydore in his first booke and xxv. cha. De summo bono, writeth thus, like as in the apostles the maruelous effect & power of works was much more cōmendable then the vertue of their signes, euen so now in y^e Church is it much more better, to liue wel thē to worke any signes or miracles.* And the cause why that the church of God doth not at this present worke miracles as it did in the time of the Apostles, is this. That it was necessary at that time that the worlde should beleue miracles, and nowe at this present euery faithful beleuer ought to shine with good workes, for to this end were signes & miracles then outwardly wrought, that their sayth thereby might be inwardly strenghtned and stablished, for what soeuer faithfull man he be that seketh to worke miracles, he seeketh vaine glory to be prayسد of mē, for it is written, miracles are signes and tokens vnto the infidels, & misbeleuers, and not vnto the faythfull. Thus muche wryteth Isidore.

Item Saint Augustine in his Booke of cōfession sayth thus,* there is no greater miracle amongst mē, thē to loue our enemies. By these wordes of these holy men, a man may easely gather that both in our dayes and in the time to come, y^e disciples of Antichrist both do & shall more flourish and shewe thēselues by strannge signes & miracles, thē the disciples of Christ, according to y^e saying of our sauior Iesu Christ. There shall rise vp amongst you false prophets which shall worke straunge miracles. Secōdly, it is approued, that they are greater & straūger miracles, to confesse y^e truth & to do iustice, then to worke any other kind of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered therby, that what soeuer minister or deacon doth loue his enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glorie of the worlde, and flyeth frō al worldly troubles, meekely sustaineth & suffreth most terrible and cruel threatnings and strokes for y^e gospel sake, he worketh miracles, hauing thereby a testimony and witnesse, that he is the true disciple of Iesu Christ. And it is euident by the saying of our sauior Iesu Christ. Mathew.* V. Let your good workes so shine before men: y^t they may see your good works & glorify your father which is in heauen. And likewise Iohn x. Trust vnto your good workes, wherevpon Saint Gregory in his first booke of Dialoges, wryteth thus: the estimation of a true life, consisteth in y^e vertue of his workes, and not in y^e shewing of signes, whereby it is fourthly concluded, by y^t which is aforesaide, that it is a more effectual testimony and witnes for a priest or a deacon, that he is sent of God to confesse y^e truth and follow Christ in

the aforesayde vertues then to cast out deuils, or to do any other miracles. As it is euident by the saying of Chrisostome before alleged, whomsoeuer thou doest see to cast out deuils, if the cōfession, or acknowledging of the trueth be not in his mouth, neither righteousnesse nor iustice in his handes, he is not a man of God. This is also confirmed by the wordes of Christ. Math. 7. Many shall say vnto me in that day, Lord, Lord, haue not we prophcyed in thy name: haue not we cast out Deuils in thy name: and haue not we also wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will aunswere & say vnto them, forsomuch as I haue not knowne you any time, depart frō me ye workers of iniquity, & as [Page 456](#) touching y^e second part, Chrisostom saith: If you see a mā confessing & preaching y^e trueth, & working righteousnes, although he do not cast out deuils he is a man of God.

Hereby it appeareth that euery deacō, priest, or minister confessing the truth,* and working iustice, hath a perfect & sure testimony that he is sent of God, & that it is not necessary for him to approue this his sending by y^e working of any miracle, in stead of working righteousnes, neyther by any testimonial, the which should plainly declare hint by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach.

The first part appeareth manifest, by that which is alreadye spoken, that all miracles in the time of Antichrist shal cease in the elect.

The second part is also euident, for so much as none of the present preachers, can shew by the scripture of y^t lawe of God, that he is specially named therevnto.

And likewise do I also affirme & say, as touching all preachers which shal come hereafter, that they are not na^med by name: But let no man here obiect Enoc & Elias, which were auncient preachers, & prophcyed by the holy spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to proue, that this priest or deacon is sent of God to preache, because he woorketh miracles, so is it not a cause sufficient to proue, that he is not sent of God to preach, because he doth no miracles, but to confesse the truth, to worke righteousnes, to contemne y^e world with the glory therof, patiently to suffer rebukes is a sufficient testimony for any priest or deacon hauing knowledge of y^e lawe of God, freely to preach the gospell of Iesus Christ. For so much as in such case he is sent of God, & this is the sending which the Apostles speaketh of in y^e x. Romains. How should they preach without they be sent? Wherevpō y^t glose of S. Augustine writeth thus. These things serue to set forth gods grace, declaring that all our goodnesse, is preuented of grace.

For be sayth, beleefe cōmeth of hearing, hearinge commeth of preaching, & preaching by the sending of God, so that altogether holly cōmeth out of the fountain of grace, & preaching truly, cōmeth of sending. This hath the glose how shal they then preach, without they be sent of God? And this is euident, that the first & principall sending is frō God alone, as it is proued by Moises.

The second sending is both from God & mā, as by the example of Iosue & others, which were sent both by God and the rulers to preach.

The third sending is from man alone, the which is not founded in y^e lawe of God, but in mens traditions, which they rather esteeme.

The fourth sending which hath but the name onely, is proper to them, which of themselues vnworthely vsurpe the office of preaching, as those false prophets, of whō god speaketh in y^t xxiii. of Ieremy, I did not send them, & they ran. I spake not vnto them, and they prophecied. If they had continued in my counsels, & had declared my wordes vnto my people. I would haue conuerted thē from their ruill waies, & wicked imaginatiōs, & our sauior speaketh of these Prophettes in Mathew, saying, There shall arise false Prophets. And peter his true vicar in his second Epistle, and second chapter prophecying vnto y^e faithful beleuers in Christ, speaketh thus of thē: There were amōgst the people false Prophets, as there shalbe amongst you also maisters of lies, thorow whom the truth shalbe blasphemed and slaundered. And that he might the better instruct the people to knowe them, he addeth that they shall go about w^t fained wordes, for couetousnes sake, to make merchaundice of you.

Wherefore euery faithful man, diligently waying these things in his minde, may now easely perceiue how great a number of false Prophets there be, thorowe whom the Christian truth is blasphemed. And all couetous dealyng is exercised, & these are they which freely preach lies. But the hūble & true ministers of Christ, wheresoeuer they do apneare, by & by they are persecuted, whereby y^e prophecie of y^t Apostle is verified, which is written in the second Epistle to Timothe the iij. All men sayth he which desire to liue godly, shall suffer persecution, but y^e euil men & seducers shal prosper in their wickednes running dayly more & more into al kinde of errorrs. The wicked haue now so much preuailed y^t they do preache lies, making heretikes of the faithfull christians, neyther is there any man y^t dare prohibet them their lying, so that they do not preache agaynst the byces of the prelates. Howe then can you say that Antichryst is not exalted aboue all that which is called God, suppressing downe the members of Christ in his office, fortelyng and fostrng his members in lying? Therefore the trew and faithfull disciples of Christ ought to stand ready girt about their loynes, and shewes vpon their feete in defence of the Gospell, takinge the sworde in hand, which is the word of God. Ephes. 6. And to fight agaynst the craftes of Antichrist, who goeth about vtterly to extinguish y^e true preaching of the Gospell of our Lord Iesu Christ.

**The Second disputation in the Vniuersity of Prage, vpon the
17. Article of Iohn Wickliffe, most fruitfull to be read,
prouing by 24. reasons out of the Scriptures, how that
Princes and Lordes temporall, haue lawfull authority and
iurisdiction, ouer the spiritualty and Church men, both in
taking from them, and correcting their abuses, according to
their doinges and desertes.**

TO the honour of almighty God, and of our Lord Iesu Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother the church, according to the congregation of our Vniuersitye of Prage, which auoyding alwayes to doe that shall be preiudiciall to the trueth, hath differred to geue theyr consent vnto the condemnation of the 45.* Articles, wishing euen vnto this present, sufficient probation to be geuē of the condemnation of the said Articles, and perticularly of euery one of them. Whereupon the sayd Vniuersity, doth alwayes require due prooffe of the same, for

so much as Pope Damasus in his Canon distinction 68. chapter. Chorepiscopi, sayth thus. That it is necessarye that what so euer thing standeth not by due reason, should be rooted out, whereby it appeareth that the condemnation of the 45. Articles, if it stand not with prooffe and sufficient demonstration for euery Article; it is necessary to be rooted out.

But if any man wil object and say, that to require a reason of euery thing is to derogate From Gods deuine power. Vnto this obiection Maister William doth answere himselfe in his Philosophy, the first booke almost at the end, where he entreating of the place, in Genes. 2. God made man of the slime of the earth &c. hath these wordes: For in what poynt (sayth he) are we contrary to the holy scriptures, if we seeke by reason to declare, Wherefore any thing is done, which is sayd in the scriptures to be done, for if that a wise man should say that a thing is done, and do not declare how it is done: And another manne speaketh the very selfe same thing, & declareth how it is done what cōtrariety is there? But forsomuch as they themselues, know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might haue all men partakers with them of their ignoraunce, they would haue no man to enquire it out. But they would haue vs beleue as ignoraunt people, neither to seeke any reasō of our belief, that the Prophecy might be fulfilled, such as the people is, such shall be the priest. But we truely do say, that in all thinges a reason is to be sought, if it may by any meanes be found. But if that any man doe stay at any thing, which the scripture doth affirme, let him commit the same vnto fayth, & vnto the holy ghost. For Moises sayth, if the Lambe cannot be eaten, let it not be by and by consumed in the fire: But let him first call hys neighbor, which dwelleth next house vnto him, and if they also be not sufficient to eat the Lamb, then let it be burned in the fire: So likewise when as we go about to seeke any thing as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our selues to comprehend the same,* let vs call our neighbor which dwelleth next house vnto vs: That is to say, let vs seeke out such a one, as dwelleth in the same catholicke sayth with vs, and if then, neither we, neither yet he be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of fayth.

But these men, albeit they haue many neighbours dwelling neare vnto them, yet for very pride, they will not call any mā vnto them, chusing rather to continue still ignorant, thē to aske any question. And if they do know any man to enquire for his neighbor in such case, by & by they cry out vpon him, as an hereticke. Presuming more vpon their own heads, then hauing confidence in their wisdom. But I exhort you geue no credit, vnto their out ward appearance, for already it is verified in thē which the satyricall Poet sayth, no credit is to be guen vnto the outward shew for which of them all is it that doth not abound with most strame full and detestable vices? And in another place he sayth. They are very daynty of their speach, and haue great desire to keep silence. And thus much hath maister Wilhelmus. Let all such here whom this parable doth touche. For I with the rest of the maisters, bachelers and studentes of our vniuersity considering how heard a matter the condemnation of the 45. articles of Wickliffe without reason is, and how greuous a thing it were, if we should thereunto consent, do call together my neighbors, the doctors of this Vniuersity, & all others which would object any thing agaynst the same, that we might presently finde out the reason of the comdēnation of this Article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the Clergy.

Notwithstanding I do professe that it is not my intent,* like as it is not the meaning of the vniuersity, to perswade that Princes [Page 457](#) or seculer Lordes should take away the goods from the cleargie when they would, or howe they would, and conuert them to what vse they

list. But our whole intent is, diligently to search out whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporallities from the cleargie may haue in it any true sence, whereby it may be defended without reproofe Wherefore this article being the 17. in the nombre of the 45. is propounded vnder thys fourme. The Lordes temporall may at their owne will and pleasure, take away the temporal goodes from the cleargy, if they doe offend, and therein continue: It is thus prooued. The kings of the old Testament toke away the temporall goods at Gods commandement from the cleargie. That is to say from the priestes offending. Therefore the kings also of the new Testament, at Gods cōmandement, may do the like. When as the priests of the new law do offend. The consequent dependeth vpon a similitude. And the antecedent is euident. First it is prooued by Salomon in the 3. of the kings 2. chapter. Which Salomon deposed Abiathar the hygh priest, because hee had toke part with Adonias, the brother of Salomon, to make him king, without the aduice either of Daud, or of Salomon him selfe which ought to raigne: And set vp Sadoc the priest in the place of Abiathar, because he had not consented with Abiathar vnto Adonias, as it is writtē in the 3. boke of kings 1. chapter. Where it is sayde, Adonias the sonne of Agithe, exalted himselfe, saying: I will raigne, and made vnto him selfe chariotes and horsemen, and 40. men which should runne before him: neyther did his father rebuke him at any time, saying: Wherefore hast thou don this? For he was very comely being second sonne, next to Absolon, and his talke was with Ioab the sonne of Saruia and Abia•har the priest, which toke part with Adonias. But Sadoc the priest, and Banaias the sonne of Ioaida and Nathan the Prophet, and Semei, and Serethi, and Felethi, and all the power of Dauids host, were not on Adonias part.

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar, because hee toke part with Adonia, that he should be king against Salomon the eldest sonne of king Daud, wherefore it is wrytten in the thirde boke and second chapiter of the kings. The king sayd vnto Abiathar the priest, goe your wayes vnto Anatoth thine owne field, for thou art a man of death, but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast caried the Arke of the Lorde before my father Daud, and diddest labour in all things wherein my father laboured. Then did Salomon cast out Abiathar, that hee should be no more the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which he spake vpon the house of Hely in Sylo.

Beholde the most prudent king Salomon, according to the wisdome which was geuen him of God, did exercise hys power vpon the sayd priests, putting him out of his priesthode, & setting in his place Sadoc the priest this was a greater matter thē to take away the temporalities. If then in the law of Christ whych nowē raigneth ouer vs, a byshop, should likewise rebell against the true heire of the kingdome, willing to sette vp another for king, why shoulde not the king or his heire, haue power in like case, to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

*Item, it is also euident by the king Nabuchodonozor whych had power geuen him of God, to lead away the children of Israel with their priests and Leuites, into the captiuitie of Babylon, as it is wrytten 4. booke of the kings 25. chapter.

*Item it is red in the 4. boke of kings and 12. chapter. How that Iosias the most godly king of Iuda according to the wisdō which God had granted him, toke away all the consecrate vessels, which Iosaphat, Ioram, and Ochosias, his forefathers kings of Iuda had consecrated, and those which hee himselfe had offered, and all the treasure that could be found in the temple of the Lord, and in the kings pallace, and sent it vnto Azahel king of Syria, & he departed from

Ierusalem. Marke how this most holy king exercised hys power, not onely in taking away the temporalities of the priests, but also those things which were consecrate in the temple of the Lord, to procure vnto the common wealth, the benefite of peace.

*Item, in the 4. booke and 18. chapter of the kings, it is wrytten howe that the holy king Ezechias tooke all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the kings treasurie, & brake downe the pillers of the temple of the Lorde, and all the plates of gold which he himselfe had fastned therupon, and gaue them vnto the king of the Assyrians, yet was hee not rebuked of the Lorde therefore, as hee was for his other sinnes, as it appeareth in the 2. booke of Paral. 32. chapter, for so much then as in time of necessity, all things ought to be in common vnto Christians, it foloweth then that the seculere Lordes in case of necessitie, in many other common cases, may lawfully take away the mooueable goodes from the cleargie, when they do offend.

Item, it is also read in the 12. of Mathewe, that the disciples of Iesus for to slake their hunger vppon the Saboth day, pulled the eares of corne, and did eate them, and the Pharisies rebuked them therefore, vnto whome Christ aunswered. Haue ye not read what Dauid did,* when hee was hungry, and those that were wyth him, howe he entred into the house of the Lorde, and did eate the shew breades, which it was not lawfull for hym, neither for them that were with hym to eate, but only for the priests. This story is written in the 1 booke of the kings and 21. chapter. And the commandement in the 12. of Deuteronomie. Whereby it appeareth that it is lawfull in time of necessitie to vse any thing, bee it neuer so much consecrate.* Otherwise children by geuing their moueables to the consecration of any temple, shoulde not be bound to helpe their parents, which is contrary and against the Gospel of S Mathew in the 16. chapter: whereas our Sauour sharply rebuked the Pharisies, that for their owne traditions they did transgresse the commaundement of God.

Item, Titus and Vespasian seculer princes had power geuen them of God 24. yeares after the Lordes Ascension to take away the temporallities from the priestes whych had offended agaynst the Lordes holy one. And thereby also berest them of their liues, and it seemeth vnto many they did,* and might worthely doe the same according to Gods good wil and pleasure. Then forsomuch as our priests in these dayes may transgresse and offend as much, and rather more against the Lordes annoynted, it followeth that by the pleasure of God, the seculer Lordes, may likewise punyshe them for their offence.

Our sauour being king of kings, and high bishop wyth hys disciples did geue tribute vnto Cesar, as it appeareth Mathewe 17. and commaunded the Scribes and Pharisies to geue the lyke [unspec 7] vnto Cesar Mat. 22. Whereby hee gaue example vnto all priestes that shoulde come after hym to render tribute vnto their kinges,* whereupon blessed S Ambrose in his 4 booke vppon these wordes in the 5. of Luke, (cast out your nettes) wryteth thus. There is an other kinde of fishing amongst the Apostles, after which manner the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, cast out thy hoke, and that fish, which cōmeth first vp, take hym. And then vnto the purpose he sayth. It is truely a great & spirituall document, wherby all Christian menne are taught, that they ought to be subiecte vnto the higher powers, and that no man ought to thinke that the lawes of a king here on earth are to be brokē. For if the sonne of God did pay tribute, who art thou so great a man, that thinkest thou oughtest not to pay tribute? He payed tribute which had no possessions: and thou which daily seekest after the luker of the world, why doest thou not acknowledge the

obedience and duetie of the worlde? Why doest thou thorowe the arrogancie of thy minde exault thy selfe aboue the worlde, when as thorowe thine owne miserable couetousnesse, thou art subiect vnto the worlde? Thus writeth S. Ambrose, and it is put in the 11. quest. 1. *Magnum quidem*. He also wryteth vpon these wordes in the 20 of Luke, shewe me a pennie,* whose Image it hathe, if Christ had not the Image of Cesar, why did hee pay any tribute? He gaue it not of hys owne, but rendred vnto the worlde, that which was the worldes: And if thou wilt not be in daunger of Cesar, possesse not those things which are the worldes, for if thou hast riches, thou art in daunger of Cesar.

Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing vnto any earthly king, forsake all chose things, and followe Christ If then all ecclesiasticall ministers, hauing riches, ought to be vnder the subiection of kings, and geue vnto them tribute: It foloweth that kings may lawfully by the authoritie which is geuen them, take away theyr temporallities from them.

Here vpon S. Paule acknowledging him selfe to be vnder the iurisdiction of the Emperour, appealed vnto Cesar, as it appeareth Actes 25.

I stand sayth he,* at Cesars iudgement seat, there I ought to be iudged Whereupon in the 8: distinction, chapter *quo iure*. S. Ambrose alleageth, that all things are lawfull vnto the Emperour, & al things vnder his power. For the confirmation wherof, it is said Daniel second chapter, the God of heauen hath geuen vnto thee a kingdome,* strength, Empire, and glory, and all places, wherein the children of men do dwell, and hath geuen into thy power, the beastes of the field, and fowles of the aire, and set all things vnder thy subiection.

Also in the 11. question and 1. He sayeth, if the Emperour require tribute, we do not denie that the landes of the Church shall pay tribute, if the Emperour haue neede of our landes, hee hath [unspec 9] power to challenge them, let him take them, if hee will, I doe not geue them vnto the Emperour, neither doe I denie them. Thys wryteth S. Ambrose, expresly declaring that the seculare Lorde hath power at hys pleasure to take away the lands of the Church, and so consequently the seculer Lords haue power at their owne pleasures to take away the temporal goodes from the Ecclesiasticall ministers, when they doe offend.

Item S. Augustine wryteth, if thou sayest, what haue we to do wyth the Emperour. But nowe as I sayde, wee speake of mannes lawe.* The Apostle would be obedient vnto the kings, and honor them, saying. Reuerence your kings: and doe not say what haue I to doe with the king? What haste thou then to doe wyth possessions. By the kings law the possessions are possessed, thou hast said, what haue I to doe with the king: but doe not say, what hath thy possessions to doe wyth the king? For then haste thou renounced the lawes of menne, whereby thou diddest possesse thy landes. [Page 458](#) Thus wryteth S. Augustine in his 8. distinction, by whose wordes it is manifest that the king hath power ouer the church goodes, & consequently may take them away from the clergie, transgressing or offending.

Item in his 33 Epistle vnto Boniface, hee sayeth, what sober man will say vnto our kings,* care not you in our kingdome, by whome the church of the Lorde is maintained, or by whome it is oppressed, it pertaineth not vnto you, who will bee eyther a religious man, or who will be a church robber? Vnto whome it may be thus answered. Doeth it not pertaine vnto vs in our

kingdom, who will either liue a chast life, or who will be an vnchast whoremonger? Beholde this holy man sheweth heere howe that it is the duety of kings,* to punish suche as are robbers of Churches, and consequently the proud clergy when as they do offend.

Item, hee wryteth in the 33. quest. 7. si de rebus. The secular Lorde may lawfully take away the temporall goodes from heritickes, and for so much that it is a case greatly possible that many of the cleargie are vsers of Simonie, and thereby heretickes: Therefore the secular Lorde may very lawfully take away their temporallities from them. For what vnworthy thyng is it sayeth Saint Augustine, if the Catholickes doe possesse according vnto the will of the Lorde, those thynges whych the heretickes helde? For so muche as this is the worde of the Lorde vnto all wycked men.* Mathew 21. the kingdome of God shall be taken away from you, and geuen vnto an nation, whiche shall doe the righteousnesse thereof, is it in vaine whych is wrytten in the 11. chapter of the booke of Wisedome?* The iust shall eat the labours of the wicked.

And whereas it may bee objected as touching the desire of other mennes goodes,* Saynte Augustine aunswareth that by that euidence the seuen nations, whyche did abuse the lande of promesse, and were driuen out from thence by the power of God, may obiecte the same vnto the people of God, whyche inhabite the same. And the Iewes them selues from whome accordynge vnto the woorde of the Lorde, the kingdome is taken away and geuen vnto a people, whiche shall doe the woorkes of righteousnesse maye obiecte the same vnto the Church of Christ, as touching the desire of other mennes goodes, but Sainte Augustines aunswere is thus.

Wee, sayeth he, doe not desire another mannes goodes, for so much as they are oures by the commandement of him, by whom all things were made. By like euidence the clergie hauing offended, their temporall goodes are made the goodes of others, for the profite of the church,* to this purpose also, according to S. Augustine, serueth the 14. question 4. vnto a misbeleuer, it is not a halfepennie matter, but vnto the faithfull is a whole worlde of riches, shal we not then conuince al such to possesse an other mans goodes, which seemed to haue gathered great riches together, and know not howe to vse them, for that truely is not an others, whych is possessed by right, and that is lawfully possessed, whych is iustly possessed, and that is iustly possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that is euell possessed is another mannes, and he doth ill possesse it, which doth euell vse it.

If then anye of the cleargie doe abuse the temporall goodes, the temporall Lorde maye at theyr owne pleasure, accordynge vnto the rule of charitie take away the sayde temporall goodes from the cleargie so transgressing. For then according to the allegation aforesayde, the cleargie doeth not iustly possesse those temporall goodes, but the temporall Lorde proceedynge according to the rule of charitie: Doe iustly possesse those temporallities, for so muche as all things are the iust mannes. 1. Corrinth. 3. chapter.* All thynges sayeth the Apostle are youre. Whether it be Paule or Apollo, or Cephas, eyther the worlde, eyther life, or death, or thynges present, or thynges to come, for all thynges be youre, you be Christes, and Christe is Goddes. Also 23. quest. 7. Quicunque.* It is wrytten. Iure diuino omnia sunt iustorum. The woordes of Sainte Augustine in that place, ad Vincentium, be these: Who so euer sayeth hee, vppon the occasion of this law or ordinaunce of the Emperour doeth molest or persecute you, not for loue of any charitable correction, but onely for hatered and malyce to doe you displeasure, I holde not wyth hym in so doynge.

And althoughe there is nothyng heere in thys earthe, that any manne may possesse assuredly, but eyther hee must holde it, by Goddes lawe, by whyche cuncta iustorum esse dicuntur: that is, all thynges be sayde to pertayne to the possession of the iuste: or else by mannes lawe, whych standeth in the kinges power to sette and to ordaine. &c. Hereby the woordes of Augustine alledged. Yee see all thinges belong to the possession of the iust, by Goddes lawe.

*Item, for so muche as the cleargie by meanes of their possessions are in daunger of the Emperour and King: It followeth that if they doe offend, the Emperour or King, may lawfully take away their possessions from them. The consequent dependeth on thys poynte, for so much as otherwise they were not in subiection vnder the Emperour or king, and the antecedent is manifest by the 11. question and 1. Parag. His ita respondetur. Where as it is specified in Latine thus. [His ita respondetur, clerici ex officio Episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus praediorum imperatori sunt obnoxij, ab Episcopo vnctionem, decimas, & primitias accipiunt: ab imperatore vero praediorum possessiones nanciscuntur:] that is to say. The cleargie by meanes of their office are vnder the Byshoppe, but by reason of theyr possessions they be subiect vnto the Emperour: Of the Byshoppe they receiue vnction, tithes and first frutes of the Emperour, they receiue possessions. This then it is decreed by the Emperiall lawe, that liuelyhoodes should be possessed, whereby it appeareth that the cleargie by the possession of their liuelyhoodes are in daunger of the Emperour, for hym to take away from them, or to correcte them accordyng to their deseruings, and to haue the controllement of them, as it shall seeme good vnto hym.

Item,* the temporall Lordes may take away the temporallities from such as vse Simonie, because they are heretickes. Ergo, thys Article is true.

The antecedent is manifest, for so much as the secular Lordes maye refuse suche as vse Simonie, and punishe them except they doe repent. For by the decree of Pope Paschasius in the first and laste question it appeareth,* that all suche as vsed Simonie, were to be refused of all faythfull people, as chiefe and principall heretickes, and if they doe not repent after they be warned, they are also to bee punyshed by the externe power. For all other faultes and crimes, in comparyson of Simonie, be counted but light, and seeme small offences.

Where vppon the glose expounding the same text,* sayth that by thys woorde externe, is vnderstande the laetie, whyche haue power ouer the cleargy, besides the Church, as in the 17 distinct. [Non licuit, & 23 quest. 5. principes.] Whereby it is euident that the temporall Lordes may take away the temporall goodes from the cleargie when as they doe offende.

Item,* Saint Gregorie in the Register vppon hys 7. booke 9. Chapter, wryteth thus vnto the Frenche Queene. For so much as it is wrytten that ryghteousnesse healeth the people, and sinne maketh them myserable: then is that kingdome counted stable, when as the offence whyche is knowen, is soone amended.

Therefore,* for so muche as wicked priestes are the cause of the ruyne of the people, (for who shall take vppon hym, to bee intercessour for the sinnes of the people, if the priest which ought to intreate for the same, haue committed greater offences) and vnder youre dominions the priestes doe liue wickedly and vnchastly: therfore that the offence of a few myght not tourne to the destruction of manye, wee oughte earnestly to seeke the punyshment of the same. And it

followeth, if wee doe commaunde any personne, wee doe sende hym forth, wyth the consent of your authoritie, who together wyth other Priests, shall diligently seeke out, and according vnto Goddes worde correct and amende the same. Neyther are these things to be dissimuled, the whyche wee haue spoken of, for hee that may correcte any thyng, and doeth neglect the same wythout all doubte, he maketh hym selfe partaker of the sinne or offence.

Therefore foresee vnto your owne soule, prouide for youre newewes, and for suche as you do desire to raigne after you, prouide for your countrey, and wyth diligence prouide for the correction and punishment of that sinne, before our creatoure doe stretch out hys hand to strike.

And in hys next Chapter, hee wryteth vnto the French king, what so euer you doe vnderstande, to pertaine eyther vnto the honoure and glorie of oure God, to the reuerence of the church, or to the honour of the priestes, that doe you dilligently cause to bee decreed and in all poyntes to be obserued. Wherefore once againe wee doe mooue you,* that you commaunde a Synode to be congregated, and as wee wrote lately vnto you, to cause all the carnall vices whyche raigneth amongst your Priests, and all the wickednesse and Simonie of your Byshoppes, whyche is moste harde to be condemned and reprooued: vtterly to bee banished oute of your kyngdome, and that you wil not suffer them to possesse anye more substaunce vnder your dominion, then Goddes commaundement doeth allowe.

Beholde howe carefully blessed Gregorye doeth exhort the Queene and the Kyng to punishe the vices of the cleargie, leaste through theyr negligence they shoulde be partakers of the same: and howe they ought to correct their subiectes. For as it is conuenient to be circumspect and carefull against the outward enemies, euen so lykewyse ought they to bee agaynste the inward ennemyes of the soule. And lyke as in iuste warre agaynste the outward ennemyes, it is lawfull to take away theyr goodes, so long as they contynue in theyr malyce, so also is it lawfull to take away the goods of the cleargie, being the inward enemy. The consequent is prooued thus, for so much as the domesticall enemies are most hurtfull.

Item, it is thus argued, if God bee, the temporall Lordes may meritoriously and lawfully take away the temporall goodes [Page 459](#) from the Cleargie, if they doe offende. For thys poynt lette vs suppose that we speake of power, as the true autentike scripture doth speake. Matt. 13. God is able euen of these stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham.

Whereupon it is thus argued, for if God be, he is omnipotent, and if he so be, he may geue like power vnto the seculer Lordes. And so consequētly they may meritoriously and lawfully vse the same power. But least that any man may object that a profe made by a strange thing is not sufficient, it is therefore declared howe that the temporal Lords haue power to take away their almes bestowed vpon the church. The church abusing the same, as ie shall be proued heereafter. And first thus, it is lawfull for kings in cases limitted by the lawe to take away the moueables from the clergie when they do offend, it is thus proued. For the temporall Lordes are most bound vnto the workes of greatest mercy most easie for them, but in case possible, it shuld be greater almes, & easier temporal dominion, to take away their almes frō such as build therewithal vnto eternal damnation, through the abuse therof, then to geue the saide almes for any bodely reliefe, Ergo the assumption is true.

Whereuppon first this sentence of the law of Christ in the 2. Thes. 3. is noted whereas the Apostle wryteth thus. When we were amongst you, wee declared this vnto you, that he that would not worke should not eate. Wherefore the law of nature doth licence al such as haue the gouernance of kingdoms, to correct the abuse of the temporalities which wold be the chief cause of the destruction of their kingdoms: whether the tēporall Lords or any other had endowed the Church with those temporalities or not. It is lawful for them in some case to take away the temporalities as it were by way of phisicke to withstand sinne, notwithstanding any excommunication or other Ecclesiasticall censure. For so much as they are not endowed, but only with cōditiō therunto annexed.

Heereby it appeareth that the condition annexed to the endowing or enriching of any church, is that God shuld be honoured, the which condition if it once fail the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is lost: and consequently the Lord which gaue the almes ought to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not to let the fulfilling of iustice,* Secondly according to the Canon lawe. 16. quest. 7. This sentence is noted where it is thus spoken as touching the children newewes and the most honest of the kindred of him which hath builded or endowed any church. That it is lawful for them to be thus circumspect, that if they perceiue the priest doe defraude any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish or warne him, or els complaine on him to the bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the bishop him selfe attempt to do the like, let them complaine of him to his Metropolitane, and if the Metropolitane do the like, let them not deferre the time, to report it in the eares of the king. For so saith the canon. Let them not deferre to report it in the eares of the king. To what ende I pray you? but that he shuld do correction, neither is it to bee douted but that correction doeth more appertaine vnto he king in this poynt for their goods wherof he is chiefe Lord by a substraction proportional, according to the fault or offence.

Item it is thus proued. It is lawful for the secular Lords by their power to do correction vpon the clergy by some kind of fearfull discipline appertaining to their secular power. Ergo, by like reason it is lawful for them by their power to do such correction, by all kind of fearful discipline pertaining vnto their secular power.* For so much then as the taking of their temporalities is in kinde of fearful discipline pertaining vnto the secular power: It foloweth that it is lawfull for them therby to doe such correction. And consequently it followeth that the truthe is thus to be proued. The consequent is euident and the antecedent is proued by Isidore 23 quest. 5. Principes. Where it is thus wrytten. There shuld be no secular powers within the church, but onely for thys purpose, that whatsoeuer thing the priests or ministers cannot bring to passe by preaching or teachings the secular powers, may command the same by the terror and feare of discipline: For oftētimes the heauēly kingdom is profited and holpen by the earthly kingdom, that they which are in the church and do any thing contrary vnto faith and discipline by the rigour of the princes, may be troden downe. And that the power of the rulers may lay that discipline vpon the neckes of the proude and stifnecked, which the vtility and profit of the church can not exercise or vse.

Item all things that by power ought to worke or bring to any perfect ende by the reasonable measuring of the meane thereto; it may lawfully vse by power, the substraction or taking away of the excesse and the addition of the want of the meanes according as shall be conuenient or meete for the measure to be made. For so much then as the secular Lordes ought by their power to

prouide for the necessary sustentation of the Christian clergie by the reasonable measuring of their temporalties whych they are bounden to bestow vpon the Christian cleargie, it followeth that they may lawfully by their power vse the taking away or putting vnto of those temporallities according as shall be conuenient for the performance of that reasonable matter.

Item, it is lawfull for the clergie, by their power to take away the sacramentes of the Church from the laitie customably offending forsomuch as it doeth pertaine to the office of the Christian ministers by their power to minister the same vnto the lay people. Wherefore, for so much as it doeth pertaine vnto the office of the laitie, according vnto their power to minister, and geue temporallities to the clergie of Christ, as the Apostle sayeth. 1. Cor 9. It followeth that it is also lawfull for them by their power to take away the temporallities from the clergie, when they do customably sinne and offend.

Item, by like power may he which geueth a stipende or exhibition withdraw and take away the same from the vnworthy labourers, as hee hath power to geue the same vnto the worthy labourers, for so much then as temporallities of the clergie, are the [unspec 20] stipendes of the laitie: it followeth that the lay people may by as good authority, take away the same again from the clergy, which will not worthely labour, as they might by their power bestowe the same vpon those, which would worthely labour according to the saying of the Gospel. Mat. 21 The kingdome shalbe taken away from you, and geuen vnto a people which shall bring forth the frutes thereof.

Item, it is also lawfull for the secular Lodes, by their power to chastice and punish the lay people when they do offend, by taking away of their temporalties, according to the exigēt of their offence, forsomuch as the lay people are subiect vnder their dominion. [unspec 21] Wherefore the clergy being also subiect vnder the dominion of the secular Lodes, as appeareth Rom. 13. and many other places, it is euident that it is lawfull by their power to punish the cleargie, by taking away of their temporalties, if their offence do so deserue.

Item, the true and easie direction of the cleargie vnto the life of Christ and the Apostles and most profitable vnto the laity: that the cleargie shuld not liue contrary vnto Christes institution, semeth to be the taking away of their alms, and those things which [unspec 22] they had bestowed vpon them. And it is thus proued, that medicine is most apt to be laide vnto the sore, whereby the infirmitie might soonest be holpen, and were most agreeable vnto the pacient: Such is the taking away of the temporallities. Ergo, this article is true: The minor is thus proued, for so much as by the aboūdance of temporallities the worme or serpent of pride is spronge vp, where vpon vnsaciable desire and lust is inflamed, and thereby proceedeth all kinde of gluttonie and lecherie. It is euident in this poynt, for so much as the Temporallities being once taken away, euery one of those sinnes is either vtterly taken away, or at the least diminished, by the contrary, vertue induced and brought in: It semeth also most pertinent vnto the laity, forsomuch as they ought not to lay violēt hāds vpon their ministers or to abiect the priestly dignity, neither to iudge any of the cleargie in theyr open courts: It semeth also by the law of cōscience, to pertain vnto the lay people, for so much as euery man which worketh any worke of mercy, ought diligently to haue respecte vnto the habilitie of them that he bestoweth his almes vpon, least that by nourishyng or helping loyterers, hee be made partaker of his offence. Wherevpon if a priest doe not minister of

their spiritualties, as Hostyensis teacheth in his 3. booke, of their tithes, first frutes and oblations, that the people ought to take away the almes of their tithes from them.

Item, it is confirmed by the last chapter of the 17. question, [unspec 23] out of the decre of rents appropriate vnto the church, quicun{que} Whereas the case is put thus, that a certaine man hauing no children, neither hoping to haue any, gaue all his goodes vnto the church, reseruing vnto him selfe the only vse and profites therof: it happened afterward that he had children, and the bishop restored againe his goodes vnto him, hoping not for it. The bishop had it in his power, whether to rēder again or no, those things which were geuen him, but that was by the lawe of man, and not by the lawe of conscience. If then by the decree of the holy doctoure S. Augustine in his sermone of the life of the cleargie Aurelius the Byshop of Carthage had no power by Gods lawe to with holde that which is bestowed vppon the church, for the necessitie of children, by the which law the wanton, proud, and vnstable clergy being more then sufficiently possessed, and enriched, do detain and keepe backe the temporallities to the detrement and hurt of their owne state, and of the whole Militant church, the seculare patrones being thereby so impouerished that they are compelled by penurie to robbe and steale to oppresse their tenants, to spoile and vndoe others, and oftentimes by very necessitie are driuen to beggerie.

Item, suppose that a priest and minister, howe greuously so euer [unspec 24] he doe offend by what kinde or signe of offence so euer it be, as it was in the bishop Iudas Iscarioth of the religious monk Sergius, of Pope Leo the hereticke, and many other priests, of whom the scripture and chronicles make mention, and daily experience doeth teache vs the same: It is euident that as it is supposed, the priestes in the kingdom of Boheme greuously offending, it is the kings part, forsomuch as he is supreme head next vnder God, and Lorde of the kingdome of Boheme, to correct and punish those priests. And for so much as the gentillest correction, & punishmēt [Page 460](#) of suche as be indurate in their malice, is the casting away of their temporal goods, it followeth, that it is lawful for the king to take away temporallities. Wherefore it shuld seme very maruelous and strange, if that priests riding about, shuld spoile virgins, violently corrupt & defile honest matrones, if in such case it were not lawful for them to take away their armors, weapons, horses, gunnes and swordes from them. The like reason were it also, if they had vnlawfully conspired the death of the king, or that they woulde betray the king vnto hys ennemies.

[unspec 28] Item, whatsoever any of the clergy doth require, or desire of the seculer power, according vnto the law & ordināce of Christ, the seculer power ought to performe & graunt the same. But the clergy being letted by riches, ought to require helpe of the seculer power, for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo the seculer power ought in such case by the law of Christ, to take vpon them the office or duty of getting, keping, & distributing all such manner of riches, the Minor is heereby proued, that no man ought to haue riches, but to that end, that they be helps, preferring & helping vnto the office which is appoynted of God. Therefore in case that seculer possession doe hinder the cleargy from their duetie. The seculer power ought to take it away, for so did the Apostles, Actes 6. saying, it is not lawfull for vs to leaue the worde of God vntaught, and to minister to Tables.

And thus hetherto hath Iohn Hus prosecuted Wyckleffs articles, with long arguments and reasons, the which were to long a trauaile, neither agreable for this place, to alledge all the whole order of his reasons and profes, which he vsed in that desputatiō, aboue the number of 20. more

besides the testimonies of all the wryters before recited, the which hee alledgeth out of the scriptures, decretals, S. Ambrose in his booke of offices, S. August in his 5. booke & 5. quest. and also vnto Macedo, Isydore, the councell of Nice, Greg his 11. quest. Bernard vnto Eugenius in his 3. booke, and out of Lyncolniensis 61. Epistle, besides many other moe. The sum of al which testimonies tend vnto this end, that he might vtterly take away all earthly rule & dominion from the clergy, and to bring them vnder the subiection and censure of kings & Emperors, as it were within certaine bonds, the which is not onely agreeable vnto equity and Gods word, but also profitable for the cleargy themselues. Hee teacheth it also to be necessary, that they shuld rather be subiect vnder the seculer power, then to be aboue them, because that els it were dangerous, lest that they being intangled with such kinde of busines, they should be an easier pray vnto sathan, and soner trapped in his snares. And therby it should come to passe that the gouernance & principality of al things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergy, the lawful authority of kings & princes shuld not only be geuen ouer vnto them, but in a maner as it were growe out of vse: specially for so much as already in certaine kingdoms and common wealths, the ecclesiastical power is growen vnto such height, that not only in Boheme, but also almost thorowout al the common welths, they do occupy the 3. or at least the 4. part of the rents and reuenues. And last of al, he alleageth the exāple of Greg. and of Mauritius, & afterwarde the prophecy of Hildegardis wryting in this manner.*

As the Ecclesiastical ministers do willingly receiue rewarde and praise of kings & rulers for their good deedes: So also ought they when they do offend willingly suffer and receiue punishmēt at their hands for their euil doings. The consequent holdeth thus, forsomuch as the punishment mekely and hūbly receiued for hys offence doth more profit a man, then his praise receiued for any good work.* Wherupon S. Greg. wryteth thus vnto Mauritius the Emperour when he did persecute him, saying: I beleue that you do please almighty God so muche the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, which haue ben so euell a seruaunt vnto him. If then thys holy Pope did so humbly and mekely, without any offence suffer thys affliction of the Emperour, why should not any of the clergy, when they do offend, mekely sustaine punishment, at the kings or rulers hands, vnder whom he is boūden to be subiect? When as the true vicar of Christ sayth the 1. of Peter and 2. chap. Be ye subiect vnto euery creature for Gods cause, whether it bee vnto the kyng, as most excellent, or vnto the rulers, as men sent of God, for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good, for so is the good will of God.

*Wherupon Pope Leo, leaning vnto thys rule, submitted him self vnto Ludouicus the Emperour, as it is wrytten the 2. quest. 7. Vnder these words: if we haue done any thing incompetently, or that we haue not obserued the vpright path and way of equitie amongst subiects, wee will amende the same, either by your owne iudgement, either els by the aduise or iudgement of those whych you shal appoynt for that purpose. For if we which ought to correct and punish other mens fauts, doe commit more greuous our selues, we are not then the disciples of the trueth (but as with sorow we speake it) we shalbe aboue al other, the masters of error.

And in the 10. distinction hee wryteth thus, as touching the obedience vnto the Emperour, as concerning the precepts and commandements of our Emperors, and our predecessors bishops (the which the glose nameth Emperors, which are annoynted after the manner of Bishops) to be obserued & kept vnbroken, wee do professe our selues by all meanes possible, as much as in vs lieth; or that wee may and can by the helpe of God preserue and kepe them both now and euer.

And if peradventure any man do informe, or hereafter shall informe you otherwise, know you him assuredly, to be a liar and slaunderer.

Marke how this deuout and holy Pope, calling the Emperors bishops, submitted himself according to the rule of S. Peter the apostle vnder the obedience, and also punishment of the Emperor. Wherefore then should not the clergy of the kingdome of Boheme submit themselves vnder the obedience of their king, for Gods cause,* for to be punished if they do offende, and not onely submit themselves vnto the king, but also vnto the rulers, and not onely vnto the rulers, but vnto euery other creature? For by how much they do so humble, and abase themselves in this world for Gods sake, so much the more shal they be exalted with him, but what is the let therof, but only pride wherby Antichrist doeth exalt hym selfe aboue the most humble and meeke Lord Iesu Christ?

Also it semeth to appere by that which is aforesayd vpon the taking away of the temporallities out of the prophecie of Hildegardis the virgin,* the which he wryteth in his bokes vnder Eugenius the Pope in the councel of Treuerse approued & allowed by many bishops of France, Italy, & Almany, which were there present, whereas also S. Bernard himselfe was present, the which virgin prophecying, spake in this manner. The kings & other rulers of the world, being stirred vp by the iust iudgement of God shall set themselves against them & run vpon them saying, we wil not haue these men to raigne ouer vs with their rich houses, & great possessions, and other worldly riches, ouer the which we are ordeined to be Lords and rulers, and how is it mete or comely that those shauelings with their stoles and chisils shuld haue more soldiers or more, or richer armour or artillery then we? So is it not connenient that one of the clergy should be a man of warre, neither a soldier to be one of the clergy. Wherefore let vs take away from them, that which they do not iustly, but wrōgfully possesse. And immediatly after shee sayeth thus: The omnipotent father equally deuided all things: that is to say, the heauens he gaue vnto heauenly creatures, and the earth vnto the earthly. And by thys meanes was there a iust deuision made betweene the children of men, that the spiritualty shuld haue such things as belongeth vnto them, and the secular people, such things as are mete & necessary for them, so that neither of these 2. sorts shuld oppres eche other by violēce, for God doth not cōmand that the one sonne or child should haue both the cloke and the cote, and the other should go naked, but he willed that the one shuld haue the cloke, and the other the cote. Wherefore the secular sort ought to haue the cloke for the greatnesse of their worldly cares, and for their children, which daily increase and multiply. The cote hee geueth vnto the spiritualty, that they shuld not lacke clothing, & that they should not posses more then necessity doth require. Wherefore we iudge and thinke it good that al these aforesaid be deuided by reason & equity. And whereas the cloke and the cote are both found, there the cloke be taken away, & geuen vnto the nedy, that they do not perish for lacke or want. These aforesaid spake the virgin Hildegardis, plainly for shewing the taking away of the tēporalities from the clergy by the secular Lords, and shewing for what cause they shall be so taken away. And what manner of deuision shalbe made of those thinges that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent vnprofitably.

For so much as mention is heere made of Hildegardis, it shall not seme impertinent, moued by the occasiō hereof to geue forth vnto the reader such things as we haue found in certen olde volumes, touching her prophecie of the comming of certaine false Prophets, onely meaning as it

seemeth, the begging friers, whych sprang vp shortly after her time. The tenour wherof is this, worde for word, as we finde it wrytten.

In those daies,* there shall rise vp a people without vnderstanding, proud, couetous, vntrusty, and deceitfull, the which shall eat the sinnes of the people, holding a certaine order of folish deuotion, vnder the fained cloke of beggery, preferring themselues aboue all other, by their fained deuotion, arrogant vnderstanding, and pretended holines, walking without shamefastnes, or the fear of God, inuventing many new mischiefs being strong & stout, but this order shalbe accursed of al wise men, and faithful Christians, they shal cease from labour, and geue them selues ouer vnto idlenes. Chusing rather to liue thorow flattery, thē by begging. More ouer they shall together study, howe they may peruersly resist the teachers of the trueth. And slay them together wyth the noble men, how to seduce and deceiue the nobility, for the necessitie of their liuing and pleasures of thys worlde, for the Deuill will graft in them foure principall vices: that is to say, flatterie, enuie, hypocrisie and slaunder. Flatterie, that they may haue large giftes geuen them. Enuie, when they see giftes geuen vnto other, and not vnto them. Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation, they maye please men Detraction, that they may extoll and commend them selues, and backbite others, for the praise of menne and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preache wythout deuotion or example of the Martyrs, and shall detract the seculer princes, [Page 461](#) taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiuing almes of the poore, diseased, and miserable, and also associating them selues with the common people, hauing familiaritie with women, instructing them howe they shall deceiue their husbandes and friendes by their flatterye and deceitfull wordes, and rob their husbandes to geue it vnto them, for they will take all these stollen and euill gotten, and say, geue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you, so that they beyng curious to hide other mens faultes, doe vtterly forget their owne, and alas, they will receiue all thinges of rousers, pickers, spoylers, theeues and robbers, of sacrilegious persons, vsurers, adulterers, Heretikes, Schismatikes, Apostataies, whores and baudes, of noble men, periurers, merchantes, false iudges, souldiours, tyrantes, princes, of such as liue contrary to the law, and of many peruers and wicked men, following the persuation of the deuill, the sweetnes of sinne, a delicate and transitory life, and fulnes euen vnto eternall damnation. All these things shall manifestly appeare in them vnto all people, and they day by day, shal waxe more wicked and hard hearted, & whē as their wickednes and disceits shalbe found out, then shall theyr gifts cease, and then shal they go about their houses hungry, & as mad dogs loking down vpon the earth, & drawing in their necks as doues, that they might bee satisfied with bread, then shall the people crye out vpon them. Woe be vnto you ye miserable children of sorow, the worlde hath seduced you, the deuill hath bridleed your mouthes, your flesh is frayle, and your heartes without sauour, your mindes haue bene vnstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanitie and folly, your daintie bellies desire delicate meates. Your feete swift to runne vnto mischief, remember when you were apparantly blessed, yet enuious, poore but rich, simple, mightie deuout flatterers, vnfaithfull betrayers, peruerse detractors, holy hypocrites, subuerters of the truth, ouermuch vpriight, proude, vnshamefast, vnstedfast teachers, delicate marters, confessours for gaine, meeke slaunderers, religious, couetous, humble, proud pitifull, hard harted liers, pleasant flatterers, peace makers, persecutors, oppressors of the poore, bringing in new sects newly inuented of your selues, mercifull, wicked, louers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoylers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, sedicious cōspirators, dronkards, desirers of honor, maintainers of mischiefe, robbers of the worlde, vnsaciable, preachers, men pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discorde, for Moyses the glorious prophet, spake very well of you in his song. A

people without coucel or vnderstanding, would to God they did know, vnderstand and foresee the end. You haue builded vp an high, and when you could ascend no hier, then did you fall euen as Symon Magus, whom God ouerthrew, and did strike with a cruel plage, so you likewise thorowe your false doctrine, naughtines, lies, detractions and wickednes, are come to ruine, and the people shall say vnto them goe yee teachers of wickednesse, subuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamitie, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which haue fained your selues to followe the life of the Apostles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in no part, sonnes of iniquitie, we wil not follow the knowledge of your waies, for pride & presumption hath deceiued you, and insaciable cōcupiscence hath subuerted your erroneous hearts. And whē as yet would ascēd hier thē was mete or comely for you, by the iust iudgement of God, you are fallen backe into perpetual opprobry and shame. Thys blessed Hildegardis whose prophecy this is, flourished about the yeare of our Lord a 1546. as it is wrytten in Martins chronicles.

*Also Hugo in his second boke of sacraments, in the 2. parte, 3. chapter and 7. sayth, the laity forsomuch as they entermedle wyth earthly matters necessary vnto an earthly life, they are the least part of the body of Christ. And the clergy for so much as they doe dispose those things which pertainē vnto a spirituall life, are as it were the right side of the body of Christ, and afterward interpreting both these partes him selfe, he sayeth: A spirituall man ought to haue nothing, but such as pertaineth vnto God, vnto whom it is appoynted to be sustained by the tithes and oblations whych are offered vnto God: But vnto the Christian and faithfull laietie, the possession of the earth is graunted, and vnto the cleargie the hole charge of spiritual matters is committed, as it was in the old Testament. And in his 7. chapter he declareth howe that certaine things are geuen vnto the Church of Christ, by the deuotion of the faithfull, the power and authority of the seculer power reserued, least there might happen any confusion: For so much as God him selfe cannot alow no disordered thing. Wherupon oftētimes the worldly princes do graunt the bare vse of the church, and oftentimes vse and power to exercise iustice, which the clergy cannot exercise by any Ecclesiasticall minister, or any one person of the clergy. Notwithstāding they may haue certain lay persōs, ministers vnto that office. But in such sort sayeth he, that they do acknowledge the power which they haue to come from the seculer prince or ruler, and that they do vnderstand their possessions can neuer be alternate away from the kings power, but (if that necessity or reason doe require) the same possessions in all such case of necessity do owe him obeisance and seruice. For like as the kings power ought not to turne away the defence or sauegarde which he oweth vnto other: so likewise the possessions obtained and possessed by the clergy, according to the duty and homage which is due vnto the patronage of the kings power cannot by right be denied. Thus much wryteth Hugo:

In the third acte the same yeare, after the feast of S. Vitis, as touching Tithes. &c.

Tithes are pure almes.

Vpon this article it is to be noted, that for so much as almes is a worke of mercy, as S. Augustine, Chrysostome, and others do ioyntly affirme,* and that mercy (according to Lincolniensis minde) for the present is a loue or desire to helpe the miserable out of his misery: and for so much as the misery of mankinde is double:* that is to say spirituall and bodily: the

whiche is the want or taking away of the good, and the goodes of man is eyther the goodes of the soule or of the body: And the goods of the soule is double (That is to say: the lighting of the minde, & the vprightnes of affection) the misery of the soule is also double as the darcknes of ignorance and a froward and wilfull sweruing from the truth. And both the goodes of the soule are wont to be comprehended vnder one title of name: * that is to say; wisdom, and both the miseries of the soule vnder the name of follie. Wherupon all the hole goodnes of the soule is wisdom, and all the hole misery thereof is ignoraunce, the miseries of the body are lacke of meat, that is to say, hunger, and lacke of drinke called thirst: and briefly all misery is the want of something which is desired. * Also these are bodely miseries, nakednes, lacke of harbour, sicknesse, and imprisonment. All the miseries therfore being nombred together, are but one of the soule, the which is folly and lacke of wisdom, and 6. of the body, the which the Lord in the 25. of Mathew doth plainly reherse. There are also commonly appoynted 7. bodely almes, that is to say, to feede the hungry, to geue drinke vnto the thirsty: To clothe the naked, to harbor the stranger or haberles, to visit the sick, & to bury the dead, the which altogether are cōteyned in these verses.

Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.
The which verse is thus Englished, word for word.
Visite the sicke, the hungry feede,
Geue drinke to the thirsty, cloth the naked:
Bury the dead, the captiue redeme,
The harbourles receiue to thy lodging.

There be also 7. other spirituall almes appoynted, * whych are these, to teache the ignoraunt, to counsell him that is in dout. To comfort him which is in heauinesse. To correct the offender. To forgeue him which hath offended against thee. To beare those which are greuous. And to pray for all men, the which are also contained in these verses following.

Consule castiga solare remitte fer ora.
The which verse is thus Englished, word for word.
Instruct the ignorant, the weake confirme,
Comfort the heauy hart, and correct sinner
Forgeue the offender, beare with the rude,
Pray for all men both euel and good.

So that notwithstanding vnder the same, counselles and doctrine be comprehended. Thus writeth Thomas in the 2. part of the 2. quest. 32, article. 2.

Secondly it is to be noted, that in this present article our intent is only to intreat of bodely almes (the which as Thomas writeth in his 2. part 2. questi. 32. Arti. 1.) according vnto some mens mindes is this defined. * Almes is a worke whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needy of compasiō for Gods sake. And for so much as this definition serueth as well for the spirituall, as for the corporall almes. Therefore to the purpose, almes is a worke, whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needy in body for compassion, & for Gods sake. Or that is giuen of compassion or pitie vnto the bodely needy for Gods sake.

Whereupon it is manifest that almes as S. Augustin & other holy men say, is a worke of mercy, as also to geue almes. As it appeareth by the name, for in the Greeke it is deriued frō this word Misericordia, which is mercy, for as in the Latine, this word Miseratio, which signifieth pitie, is deriued of Misericordia, which is mercy, so this word Eleemosyna, which signifieth almes, is deryued of the Greeke word Elemonia, which is to say mercy, and of the word Sina, which is to say commandement, as it were a commaundement of mercy, or otherwise of this word Elemonia. By this letter I, which is to say God, and this worde Sina, which is commaundement As if it were said, the commaundement of God as Ianuensis in his booke intituled Catholicō affirmeth.

For our Sauour doth commaunde in the xj. of Luke to geue almes, saying, geue almes and behold all thinges are cleane vnto you: least that in this point there may be any equiuocation it is supposed presently, that the almes giuē of mē is a corporal almes giuen simply vnder the name of almes. Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tythes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of fortune, giuen by a man simply vnder the name of almes for Gods sake.*

These things being thus noted and supposed the article is thus proued. Euery gift of fortune, or temporal gift, simply giuē vnder [Page 462](#) the name of almes is almes. But some tiths are the gift of fortune, or temporall gift vnder the name of almes. Therefore some tithes are almes. This consequent is manifest of his selfe. The Maior appeareth by the first supposition. And the Minor by the seconde.

Item, euery gift geuen by a man euen of loue, to relieue and helpe the miserable out of his misery is an almes. The 10. part of the goodes of fortune geuen by a man, simply vnder the name of almes, for Gods sake, is geuen by the same man euen of loue, to helpe the miserable out of his misery: Therefore the 10. part of the goods of fortune being geuē by any man simply vnder the name of almes for Gods sake is almes. The consequent is manifest. The Maior appeareth by this, that euery such gift is either a spirituall or bodely almes. The Minor seemeth hereby true, for so much as many holy men haue geuen, and do geue, euen for loue to relieue the miserable out of his miserie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that such kinde of tithes are almes. For S. Augustine vpon these words of the Lord in the Gospell wryteth thus. Woe be vnto you Pharises which do tithe minte and anise. If they cannot be clēsed without they beleue in him, he which doth clense his heart thorow faith, to what purpose is it, that hee sayth, geue almes, and beholde all thinges are cleane vnto you. Let vs geue care, and peraduenture he doth expound it himselfe.* They did take out the 10. part of all their frutes, and gaue it for almes, the which any Christian mā doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, whē he spake these words to them, as vnto men which wold do no almes. Thys the Lord forknowing, said: Wo be vnto you Pharises which tithe mint and rue, and al kind of herbs. And passe ouer the iudgement & charity of God, for this it is to do almes, if thou dost vnderstād it, begin with thy selfe: For howe canst thou be mercifull vnto an other, which art vnmercifull vnto thy selfe. This wryteth S. Augustine, in plainly saying that tithes are almes.

Also in his Enchiridion 76. chap. vpon these wordes of Luke in the 11 chapter.* Notwithstanding that which is more then sufficient, geue in almes and all thinges shall be cleane vnto you, hee sayth thus: when he had rebuked them that they washed thēselues outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquity & abomination, admonishing them, what, and howe a man ought first to bestowe almes vpon him self, and first to clense him self inwardly, he sayth. That which doth remaine,

geue in almes, & beholde all things are cleane vnto you. Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had geuen them warning of, & what they neglected to do, that they shuld not iudge him ignorant of their almes: he sayth, Wo be vnto you Pharisies, as though hee shoulde say, I verely gaue you warning that you shuld geue such almes, wherby al things might be cleane vnto you: but wo be vnto you which do tith mint, rue, and all kinde of herbes, for I do know these your almes, that you shuld not thinke with your selues that you had geuē me warning therof: and neglect and passe ouer the iudgement and charitie of God, by the which almes ye might be clēsed from all your inward filthinesse. And your bodies also which you doe wash shoulde be cleane For all these things both inward, and also outwarde, as it is sayde in an other place, cleanse that which is wythin, and the outward things shalbe also cleane.

But least that he should seme to refuse those almes which are geuen of the frutes of the earth, he sayd, you ought to haue done these thinges: That is to say, the iudgement and loue of God, & not to neglect the same. That is to say, the almes of the frute of the earth This wryteth S. Aug expresly calling the tithes almes.

Also Chrysostome vpon the same wordes in the 11. of Luke, that which remaineth geue in almes, he sayth thus: wheras it was spoken of the Iewish kind of clensing it is wholly passed. But for so much as tithes is a certaine almes,* and the time was not yet expresly come to kil the sacrifices of the law, for this cause he saith, ye ought to do those things, & not to omit the other. And S. Thomas alledgeth him in his glose vppon S. Luke. And Chrysostome himselfe doth touch two poynts. First that tithes is almes. Secōdly, that tithes are in a manner lawfull, forsomuch as the gift therof vnto the priests did not cease in the time of Christ.

Also Augustin in a certaine Sermon of geuing almes, sayeth thus, what is to say: geue almes: And behold all things are cleane vnto you. Let vs geue eare, and peraduenture he doth expounde it him selfe. When he had spoken these words, without dout they thought within themselues, who did geue almes, and howe they did geue it. They tithed all that they had, and toke out the 10. part of all their frutes. And gaue it for almes: the which no Christian lightly doth so. Marke what the Iewes did, they tithed not onely their wheate, but their wine and oyle, and not that only, but also vile things. For the commandement of the Lord, as commin, rue, and anise, of the which they tooke the 10. part, and gaue it for almes. I thinke therefore, for so much as they called vnto theyr mindes and thought with them selues, that our Lord Christ spake in vaine vnto them that they did no almes, when as they knewe their owne workes, that they tithed the smallest, and worst of all their frutes, and gaue almes thereof: They mocked hym amongst themselues, because he did speake in such sort vnto them, as vnto men that did no almes. The which the Lord fore seeing, by and by added notwithstanding, wo be vnto you Scribes, Pharisies & hypocrites, which tithe your mint, commin, and rue, and all kinde of herbes: that you may know; I doe vnderstand your almes Truely, these are your tithes. These are your almes, you tithe out the least and worst of all your frutes, and haue left the waighty matters of the lawe vndone Here S. Augustin often expoundeth, that tithes are almes: Also he wryteth the like in his booke of homilies in his 6. homelie.

Item, for the prooffe of thys article that tithes are pure almes, it is thus argued. For this proposition, tithes are pure almes is infinite, taking the trueth for many of his particularities. It is moste certaine that it is not damnable, but most catholike, that God is something the which being false in all particulers, it is onely true for that alone which doth surmount all kinde. Ergo, by like

reason this particuler is true, tenthes are pure almes: For it is thus proued. These tenthes of a good lay man being wholly distributed by a faithfull minister vnto a nedy lay man, according to a good entent, how can they be but pure almes, yea, and more pure then any almes geuen by any of the cleargie being a fornicatour. The whole Antecedent I suppose as possible, and doutfull vnto the condemners, if it be true.

Item, it is also thus proued, these tithes, and all other goodes of fortune, are pure almes in respect of God. Forsomuch as euery man, Emperour and king, is a begger of God. As S. Augustin doth oftentimes affirme, and consequently if he doe receiue frutefully any such goodnesse at the hand of God, the same is pure almes in respect of God: neither is there any faithfull man that will deny the same, but that it simply foloweth that the same is pure almes before God, Ergo it is pure almes.

It is also thus argued, all tithes are by themselues, and euery part of them almes, neither is there any reason cōtrary vnto this, that they are almes. Ergo, they are pure almes. For they are by no other meanes or reason, then almes, if they be all together themselues almes: Forsomuch as it followeth, if they be by any other meanes or otherwise then almes, then they are otherwise then some almes, and forsomuch as they themselues are some almes, it foloweth that they are otherwise then they are in dede, the which is false.

But now to passe beyond the bonds of Logicke,* it is to be demaūded, whether before the church was endowed, or that sustenance and clothing were geuen vnto the Apostles, there was any pure almes, or that they were geuen by any other meanes by bōd of det, amōgst men. And forsomuch as the reason is not to be fained, but that they were pure almes, so afterwarde the custome of the same thing according vnto like reasō doth not alter the kind of the reason. For so might beggers chalenge by custome beyond the purity of almes, the temporallities which they do beg. Neither doth det vtterly exclude the purity of almes before God: for euery man duely geuing almes, doth as he ought to do: as euery man duely receiuing his almes, ought so to receiue it as according to Gods will. And simplie to establish any humaine title, vppon the continuance of any such almes, it is altogether contrary vnto the reason of almes. Therefore they do continually obserue, and kepe the reason of the purity of almes, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned, doth not destroy the purity thereof. Wherefore there is no cause why it should be denied that tithes are pure almes: except that the proud should be maruelously extolled, contrary to the humility of Christ. For they doe chalenge by the title of their lacke or want so to be pleased for their tithes. For so might the begging Frier, by the continuance of hys daily begging chalenge according vnto the like quantitie or circumstance But it is no argument, that if the curate doe performe his corporall ministrie, that he ought therefore to chalenge tithes by any ciuill title, because that as wel on the behalfe of him, which geueth the tithe, as also in the behalfe of the Curate, euery suche ministry ought frely to be geuen, and not by any ciuill exchange. Forsomuch as it is not required, but that rather the comparison of such exchaunges are repugnant, forsomuch as also no mā frely geueth any almes except he doe looke for the duetie of recompence, by the law of conscience.

Item, all temporall goods bestowed vppon the clergie, by the lay people vnder condition, as the goodes of the church are the almes of them which geue it, it is prooued thus, for so much as all

those goods are the goods of the poore, as it appeareth by many sayings of holy men and by the lawes.

But they were not the goods of the pore, after they were mere secular goodes, but onely by the meane of the woorke of mercie, wherby they were bestowed vpon the pore Ergo, they were pure almes. The cōsequent dependeth vpō the definitiō of pure almes.

Item, all things changed to the vse and power of an other, either by ciuill exchange or Euangelical is changed But the church goods are so changed by one of these ministries. But the Euangelical exchange is not to be fained, because it is not done, neyther by bying or selling, or any other ciuill exchange. Therefore there doth not remaine, but only a pure gift, for hope of a heauenly reward, the which is mercy, and so pure almes. And it semeth to followe consequently that all the Clergie receiuing such almes, are not onely in respect of God, as all other menne: But in respect of [Page 463](#) men beggars. For they wold not so instantly require those almes except they had neede of them: neither ought we to be ashamed therof,* or to be proud beggars: for so much as Christ touching his humanitie became a begger for vs, because hee declared his need vnto his Father saying. &c.

Item, when any Kyng, Prince, Knight, Citizen, or anye other man doth geue vnto the clergy, or to anye priest for his stipend, he geueth the same vnto the Church of God, and to the priuate party, as a perpetuall almes, that he should attend to his vocation, preaching, praying and studying. But this kinde of geuing doth not suffice to ground any secular dominion amongst the clergye it followeth that the bare vse remayneth in them, or the secular vse without any secular power.

The maior appeareth hereby, forsomuch as otherwise almes should not be a worke of mercy. Whereby it may also appeare, that tenths are pure alms geuen to the church, to the vse of the pore.

And hereupon the holy men doe say that tenthes are the tributes of the needy soules. Whereupon S. Augustine in a sermon made vpon the restoring of tithes sayth.* The geuing of Tithes most deare brethren are the tributes of the poore soules therefore pay your tribute vnto the poore. And by and by after, he sayth, therefore who desireth eyther to get any rewarde, or to haue anye remission of sinnes, by geuing of his tenthes, let him study to geue almes euen of the ninth part: so that what soeuer shall remayne more then a competent liuing, and decent clothing: that it be not reserued for riot, but that it be layd vp in the heauenly treasure, by geuing it in almes to the poore. For what so euer God doth geue vnto vs more then we haue neede of: he doth not geue it vs specially for our selues: but doth send it vs to be bestowed vpon others by our handes, if wee doe not geue it, we inuade an other mans possessions.

Thus much wryteth S. Augustine, and is repeted in the xvi. question 1. Decime.

Also S. Ierome in an Epistle, and it is put in the 16. question, and 2. chap Quicquid. What soeuer the clergy hath it is the goods of the poore.

Also S. Augustine in his 33. Epistle vnto Boniface, and it is aleaged in the 1. question and 12.

Also in the 23. question 7. If we doe possesse any thinge priuately, the which doth suffice vs, they are not oures, but the goods of the poore, whose stewardest we are, except we doe challenge to ourselues a property by some damnable vsurpatiō. The glose vpon that part of the 23. question 7. sayth. The Prelates are but onely the stewardest of the church goodes, and not Lordes thereof.

S. Ambrose also vpon this saying of the Gospell. Luke the 16. Geue accompt of your bailiship, or stewardship: Hereby then doe we learne, that they are not Lordes, but rather stewardest and baliffes of other mens substaunce.

And S. Ierome, writing to Nepotianus saieth, howe can they be of the clergie, which are commaunded to contemne and dispise their owne substaunce, and to take away from a frend, it is theft, to deceiue the Church it is sacriledge, and to take away that, which should be geuen vnto the poore.

[illustration]

The order and maner of taking vp the body of Iohn Wickliffe and burning his bones 41. yeares after his death.

And S. Bernard in his sermon,* vppon these wordes (Symon Peter sayd vnto Iesus, chap. 17) sayd. Truely the goodes of the Church, are the patrimony of the poore: And whatsoeuer thyng the ministers and stewardest of the same, not Lordes or possessours do take vnto themselues more then sufficient, for a competent liuing, the same is taken away from the poore, by a sacrilegious crueltie.

And Eusebius in his treatise vpon the pilgrimage of S. Ierom writeth thus, if thou doest possesse a garment, or anye other thing more then extreme necessitie doth require and dost not help the needy, thou art a thief & a robber. Wherefore dearly beloued children, let vs be stewardest of our temporallities, and not possessors.

And Isidore in his treatise De summo Bono chap. 42. sayth. Let the byshop know that he is the seruaunt of the people,* and not Lord ouer them.

Also in the 5. booke of decretals, extra de donationibus, sub autoritate Alexandri tertij. Episcopi paristensis. He sayth, we beleue that it is not vnknowne vnto your brotherhoode, that a Byshop, and euery other Prelate is but a steward of the Church goodes, and not Lord thereof. By these sayinges of these holy men it is euidently declared, that not only tithes, but also al other substaunce which the clergie hath by gift of worke of mercy, are pure almes, which after the necessitie of the clergie once satisfied, ought to be transported vnto the poore.

Secondly it is declared how that the Clergye are not Lordes and possessours of those goods, but ministers & stewardest therof.

Thirdly it is shewed, that if the Clergye doe abuse the same, they are theeues, robbers, and sacrilegious persons, and except they doe repent, by the iust iudgement of God they are to be condempned.

ANd thus hetherto I may peradventure seeme to haue made sufficient long resitall out of Iohn Dus, but so notwithstanding that the commoditie of those thinges, maye abundantly recompence the prolixitie thereof. Wherefore if I shall seeme vnto any man in the rehearsall of this disputation to haue passed very farre the boundes of the history: let him thinke thus of me, that at what tyme I tooke in hand to wryte of these Ecclesiasticall matters, I could not omit these thinges whiche were so straightly ioyned with the cause of the Church.

Neither that I did make more accompt of the historye which I had taken in hand then of the common vtilitie, whereunto I had chiefe respect. There were besides these certayne other articles. Whereupon the sayde Iohn Dus had very wisely and learnedly disputed, but these shal suffice vs for this present. And for the residue we will passe them ouer, to the intent we may the more spedely retourne whereas our story left, declaring what cruelty they vsed not onely against the bookes and articles of Iohn Wickliffe, but also in burning his body and bones, commaunding them to be taken vp 41. yeares after he was buried, as appeareth by the decree of the sayde Synode, the forme wherof, we thought hereunto to annexe as followeth.

The decree of the Synode of Constance touching the taking vp of the body and bones of Iohn Wickliffe to be burned 41. yeares after he was buried in his owne parish at Lutterworth.

FOrsomuch as by the authoritie of the sentence & decree of the Councell of Rome, and by the cōmaundement of the Church and the Apostolical see after due delayes being geuen, they proceeded vnto the condemnatiō of the said I. Wickliffe, and his memory: hauing first made proclamation, & geuen cōmaundement to cal forth whosoeuer would defend the said Wickliffe, or his memory (if there were any such) but there did none appeare, which would either defēd him or his memory. And moreouer witnesses being exami'ned by Commissioners appoynted by Pope Iohn & thys Councell, vpon the impenitencie and finall obstinacie and stubburnes of y^e said Iohn Wickliffe (reseruing that which is to be reserued, as in such busines, the order of the lawe requireth) and his impenitencie and obstinacy euen vnto his end, being sufficiently proued by euident signes and tokens, and also by lawfull witnesses of credite, was lawfully geuen thereunto. Wherefore at the instaunce of y^e steward of the treasury, proclamation being made to heare & vnderstand the sentence agaynst this day: the sacred Synode declareth, determineth and geueth sentence, that the said Iohn Wickliffe was a notorious obstinate hereticke, and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condemning both him and his memory.

This Sinode also decreeth and ordeineth, that the body & bones of the said Iohn Wickliffe, if it might be decerned and knowne from the bodyes of other faithfull people to be taken out of the ground, & throwne away farre from the buriall of any church, according vnto the canon lawes & decrees. Which determination and sentēce definitiue being red & pronounced, the lord president, & the foresaid presidentes of the 4. nations, being demaunded & asked whether it did please them or no? They all answered (and first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they alowed and confirmed all the premisses, &c.

[Page 464](#) What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to see these so sage & reuerend Catos, to occupy their heads to take vp a poore mans body, so long dead and buried before, by y^e space of 41. yeares? & yet peradventure were not able to finde his right bones, but took vp some other body, & so of a catholick made an heretike. Albeit, herein Wickliffe had some cause to geue them thanks that they woulde at least spare him so long till he was dead, and also to geue him so long respite after hys death 41. yeares to rest in his sepulchre before they vngraued him, and turned him from earth to ashes: which ashes also, they took & threw into the riuer. And so was he resolued into 3. elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking therby vtterly to extinct and abolishe both the name and doctrine of Wickliffe for euer. Not much vnlike to the example of y^e old Phariseis & sepulcher knightes, which when they had brought the Lord vnto y^e graue, thought to make him sure neuer to rise againe. But these and all other must knowe, that as there is no coūsaile against the Lord: so there is no keeping down of veritie, but it wil spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged vp his body, burnt his bones, & drowⁿed his ashes, yet y^e word of God and truth of his doctrine with the fruit & successe therof they could not burne: which yet to this day for the most part of his articles do remaine. Notwithstāding, the transitory body and bones of y^e man was thus consumed and dispersed, as by this picture here aboue set forth to thine eyes (gentle reader may appeare.

These things thus finished and accomplished, whiche pertayne to the story and time of Wickliffe: let vs now (by the supportation of the Lord) proceede to entreate & write of the rest, which either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same vniuersitie, and raysted vp (as ye wold say) out of his ashes were pertakers of the same persecution.* Of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his book, De sacramentis & sacramentalibus. cap. 53. Where he saith, that after Wickliffe many suffered most cruell death, and many mo did forsake the realme.

In the number of whome was William Swinderby, Walter Brute: Iohn Puruey: Richard White: William Thorpe:* Raynold Pecock B. of S. Assaph, and afterward of Chichester.

To this Catalogue also pertayneth (mentioned in ancient writers) Laurence Redman maister of Arte, Dauid Sautre deuine, Iohn Aschwarby vicar as they call him of S. Mary Church at Oxford, William Iames an excellent yong man well learned,* Thomas Brightwell, & William Haulam a ciuillian, Rafe Grenhurst. Ioh. Scut: and Phillip Norice: which being excōmunicated by P. Eugenius the 4. in the yeare of our Lord, 1446. appealed vnto a generall or oecumenicall Councell.

Peter Payne, who flying from Oxford into Boheme, did stoutly contend agaynst the Sophisters, as touchyng both kindes of the sacrament of the last supper. Who afterward among the rest of the Oratours was one of the 14. that was sent into the Councell at Basill: whereas by the space of 3. daies, he disputed vpon the 4. article, which was as touching the ciuill dominion of the clergy, an. 1438. Also the Lorde Cobham. &c. with diuers others besides whose names are mencioned in the kinges writte sent to the Sheriffe of Northampton which writ of the king, followith in this Teuor. Rex vicecomiti Northamptoniae salutem. &c. For so much as Iohn Attyate of Cheping warden: Iohn Warryner. Ro. Brewoode &c. be Recettours & fautoures of heretickes and especially of one Iohn Woodward priest publicquely diffamed and condemned of heresy will not be iustified by the censures of the Church as the reuerend father I. Bish. of Lincolne hath

certified vs. we therefore willing to withstand all defenders and fautors of such heresies doe will and commaunde as well the forenamed as namely the foresaid Iohn Woodward to be apprehended straightly charging the same to be imprisoned by theyr bodies or otherwise punished as shall seeme good to the Iustices, vntill they and euery of them shall submit them selues to the obedience of the foresayd Bishop in this behalfe: accordingly. Whereof fayle you not vnder payne of C.li. witnesse our selues, yeauen at our Mannor of Langley the viii. day of Marche, the 12. yeare of our Reigne.

To these aboue rehearsed and other fauourers of Wickliffe within this our countrey of Englande we may adde also the Bohemians: for so much as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliffe, in that Countrey also take roote, comming from England to Boheme, by thys occasion as in story here followeth.

There chaunced at that time a certayne student of the coutry of Bohemia to be at Oxford,* one of a welthy house and also of a noble stocke. Who returning home from the vniuersitie of Oxford, to the vniuersitie of Prage: caryed with him certayne bookes of Wickliffe, De realibus Vniuersalibus, De ciuili iure, & Diuino: De ecclesia, De questionibus varijs contra clerum &c. It chaunced the same time, a certayne noble man in the Citty of Prage, had founded and builded a great Church of Mathias and Matheus, which Church was called Bethleem: geuing to it great landes, & finding in it two preachers euery day, to preach both holy day and working day to the people. Of the whiche two preachers, this Iohn Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently fauoured for his worthy life amongst them.* This Iohn Hus hauing familiaritie wyth this yong man, in reading and perusing these bookes of Wickliffe, tooke such pleasure and fruit in reading therof, that not onely he began to defend this author opely in the schooles, but also in his sermons: commending him for a good man, an holy man and heauenly man, wishing himselfe when he should dye, to be there placed, where as the soule of Wickliffe should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliffes doctrine enough.

And thus much briefly concerning the fauourers & adherentes of Iohn Wickliffe, in generall. Now particularly & in order let vs (by Christes grace) prosecute the stories and persecutions of the said parties aforenamed, as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant champions wil. Swinderby and Walter Brute.

The history of William Swinderby.

IN the yeare 1389.* William Swinderby priest within the dioces of Lincolne being accused and detected vpon certayn opinions, was presented before Iohn bishop of Lincolne, and examined vpon certayne articles in the Church of Lincolne, after the forme and order of the popes law, according to theyr vsuall rite obserued, his denouncers were these: Fryer Frisby obseruant, Frier Hincely Angustine: & Tho. Blaxton Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in forme of wordes as they put thē vp, might seeme something straunge here to be recited: yet to the entent that all men may see the spitefull malice of these spider Fryers, in sucking al things to poyson, and in forging that is not true, as in processe (Christ willing) here after shall better appeare by his aunsweres, I thought good here to notifie the same.

[Page 465](#) That men may aske their debtes by charitie, but in no maner for debt to imprison any man: and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

That if parishners do knowe their Curate to be a lechour incontinent, and an euill man: they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or els they be fautours of his sinnes.

That tithes purely be almose, and in case that Curates be euill men, the same may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an euill Curate to curse his suget for withholding of tithes: is nothing els, but to take with extortiō wickedly and vnduely from them theyr money.

That no prelate may curse a man, except he know before that he is cursed of God.

That euery Priest may absolute any sinner being contrite and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the Bishop) to preach the Gospell vnto the people.

That a Priest taking any annuall pension vppon couenant, is in so doing a simoniacke and accursed.

That any priest being in deadly sinne, if he geue himselfe to consecrate the body of the Lord, he committeth idolatry rather then doth consecrate.

That no priest entreth into any house, but to euill intreat the wife, the daughter or mayde. And therefore he admonished the goodman of the house, to take heede what priest he let into his house.

An other conclusion falsly to him objected. That a child is not truely baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, or y^e godfather or godmother be in deadly sinne.

Item, that no man liuing agaynst the law of God is a priest, how euer he were ordeined priest of any Bishop.

These articles or conclusions vntruely collected, were as cruelly exhibited agaynst him by the Fryers in the Byshop of Lincolnes court. The which articles although he neuer preached, taught or at any time defēded, as appereth more in the processe following: yet the Friers with theyr witnesses standing forth against him,* declared him to be conuict: bringing also dry wood with them to the towne to burne him, and would not leaue him, before he made them promise and sweare for feare of death neuer to hold them, teach them, nor preach them priuily, nor apertly vnder payne of relapse: and that he shoulde goe to certayne churches to reuoke the foresayd conclusions, which he neuer affirmed. As first in the Church of Loncolne, then in S. Margarets Church of Leycester. Also in S. Martines Church in Leycester, and in our Ladies churches at Newarke: and in other Parishe Churches also, of Melton Moubray, of Haloughton, Hareburgh, and Lenthburgh. Which pennaunce being to him enioyned, he did obediently accomlishe: with this forme of reuocation, whiche they bound him vnto, vnder these wordes.

***The reuocation of William Swinderby whereunto he was forced by the Friers.**

I William Swinderby priest, although vnworthy of the dioces of Lincolne, acknowledging one true Catholique, and Apostolique fayth of the holy Church of Rome, doe abiure all heresie and error repugning to the determinatiō of the holy mother church wherof I haue bene hetherto infamed, namely the conclusions and articles aboue prefixed, and euery one of them to me iudicially objected, by the Commissary of the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, L. Iohn by the grace of God Byshop of Lincolne: and do reuoke the same, & euery one of them, some as hereticall, some as erroneous, and false, and do affirme and beleue them to be so, and hereafter will neuer teach, preach, or affirme publicly or priuily the same. Neither will make any sermon within the diocesse of Lincolne, but asking first and obtayning the licence, of the foresayd reuerend father and Lord the Byshop of Lincolne. Contrary to the which if I shall presume hereafter, to say or doe, to holde or preach: I shalbe content to abide the seueritie of the Canon, as I haue iudicially by the necessitie of the lawe, sworne, and doe sweare &c.

Thus haue you the conclusions and articles of thys good man, falsly objected to him by the malicious and lying Fryers: and also the retraction, whereunto they by force compelled him: wherby it may likewise be coniectured, what credite is to be geuen to the articles and conclusions which these caueling Fryers wrasting all thinges to the worst, haue objected and imputed both to Wickliffe & all other of that sort, whō they so falsly do infame, so slannderously doe bely, and so maliciously doe persecute. After these thinges thus done and wrought in the diocesse of Lincolne: it so befell, the sayd W. Swinderby to remoue to the diocesse and countrey of Herford, where, he was as much or more molested by y^e friers again, & by Ioh. Tresnant B. of Herford, as by the processe & story here ensuing set out at large out of their owne registers may appeare.

Here followeth the processe of Iohn Tresnant Bishop of Herford had against the aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of hereticall prauitie as the popishe heretickes cal it.*

THE glorious name of the prince of peace, and his counsaile (whose counsaillour no man is,* & whose prouidēce in his disposition is neuer deceaued) being inuocated: To all and singuler beleuers of Christ, which shall see or heare this our processe vnderwritten, Iohn by the sub•erance of God B. of Herford: greeting, and peaceable charitie in the Lord. Forasmuch as God the creator of all things, the keper of iustice, the louer of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his prouidence the sonnes of men, now through the fall of their first father, prone and declining to dishonest and filthy & detestable mischifes and to keep vnder their malice (which wicked transgressiō did first gender) hath appoynted diuers presidentes of the world stablished in sundry degrees, by whome and theyr circumspect prouidence, mans audacitie should be restrayned, innocency should be nourished amongst y^e good, & terror should be stricken into y^e wicked not to deceiue: also that their power to hurt, & theyr insolency should be bryddled in all places. And whereas amongst many kindes of cares whiche come to our thoughtes, by the duety of the office committed vnto us, we are specially bound to extend our strēgth, chiefly that the catholicke fayth may prosper in our tymes, and hereticall prauity may be rooted from out of y^e borders of the faythfull: we therefore being excited through the information

of many credible and faythfull Christians of our dioces,* to roote out pestiferous plantes, as sheep diseased with an incurable sicknes, going about to infect the whole and sound flocke, are by the care of the shepheard to be remoued from the flock, that is to say, Preachers, or more truly execrable offendours of the new sect, vulgarly called lollardes, which vnder a certayn cloked shew of holynes, running abroad through diuers places of our diocesse, & endeuoring to cut a sunder the Lords vnsowed coat that is to say, to rent the vnity of the holy Church, & of the Catholicke fayth, and also to teare in peeces with their tēpestious blasts y^e power of S. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strēgth of the ecclesiasticall states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy church, haue wickedly presumed & do presume from day to day to speak, to teach, to mayntayne (and that which is more horrible to be vttered) to preach openly many things hereticall,* blasphemies schismes, and sclaunderous diffaminges, euen quite contrary to the sacred Canons and decrees of the holy fathers so that they knowe not to direct their pathes in the wayes of righteousnes and trueth, in that, y^t they expounde to the people y^e holy scripture, as the letter soundeth, after a Iudiciall sort, otherwise then the holy Ghost will needs haue it: wheras the words wander from their proper significations, and appeare to bryng in by gessing new meanings: whereas the wordes must not be iudged by the sense that they make but by the sense whereby they be made, where as the constructiō is not bound to Donates rules: where as fayth is farre placed from the capacitie of reason: But they labour by their pernicious doctrines & teachings pu• like and priuy,* to boyle out the poysō of schismes betwene the clergie and the people. We to encounter agaynst suche kinde of preachers, nay rather deceauers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, aduauncing and rowzing vp ourselues in Gods behalfe, and holy mother Church, with the spirituall sword, whiche may strike them wisely, and wounde them medicinably, for theyr health and welfare: and namely William Swynderby Priest (so pretending himselfe to be) as a teacher of suche kinde of pernicious doctrine,* and an horrible seducer amongst the people: to whom personally appearing before vs on y^e wednesday to wit, the 14. of the month of Iune, in the parishe Church of Kington of our diocesse, in the yeare of our Lord. 1391. he being vehemently diffamed to vs of heresie, schisme and his peruerse doctrines both manifest and priuy: we therefore haue caused many cases and articles cōcerning the catholicke fayth to be ministred vnto him, that he should answer to the same at a day and place for him meet and conuenient, of his owne choyse and freewill: that is to say, on the Friday, being the last of the same month of Iune, next following assigned to him, at the Church of Bodenham of the same our diocesse. Of whiche cases and articles exhibited vnto vs, by many of Christes faythfull people,* zelous [Page 466](#) followers of the catholike fayth to make information to our office (which cases and articles also were by vs administred, as is before sayd, to the same William Swinderby) the tenor therof followeth, and is thus.

Reuerend father and high Lord, Lord Iohn. by gods sufferance bishop of Hereford: It is lamentably declared to your reuerend fatherhood on the behalf of Christs faythful people your deuout children of your diocesse of Herford that notwithstanding the misbeliefe of very many lollards, which hath to long a time sprong vp here in your diocesse, there is newly come a certayn child of wickednes, named William Swinderby: who by his horrible perswasions & mischieuous endeouours, and also by his open preachings and priuate teachings, doth peruert as much as in him is the whole ecclesiasticall state, and stirreth vp with all hys possible power, schisme betwene the clergy and the people. And that your reuerend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what maner of man the same William Swinderby is: there be proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhood on the behalf of the same faithful people of

Christ, against the same William Swinderby, ca'ses and articles. Which if the same William shall deny, thē shall the same cases and articles most evidently be prooued against him by credible witnesse worthy of beliefe, & by other lawfull prooffe and evidences to the end that those being proued, the same fatherhood of yours, may do and ordeine therin, as to your pastorall office belongeth.

* In primis, the same William Swinderby pretending himselfe priest, was opēly and publicquely conuicted of certayne articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismaticall, and hereticall, preached by him at diuers places and times before a multitude of faythfull christian people. And the same Articles and conclusions did he by force of lawe reuoke and abiure, some as hereticall, and some as erroneous and false. Aduouching and beleuing them for such, as that from thenceforth he would neuer preach, teach, or affirme openly or priuily any of the same conclusions. And if by preching or aduouching he shoulde presume to doe the contrary: that then he shoulde be subiect to the seuerity of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporall oth, iudicially vpon the holy Gospels.

2. Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openly taught and preached, and afterward abiured & reuoked as is aforesaid: are contained before in the processe of the B. of Lincolne, euen as they be there written worde by worde. And for the cases and articles, they were consequently exhibited by the forenamed faithfull christian people against the said William Swinderby together, with y^e conclusions before sayd, & hereafter written: of which cases and articles, the tenour hereof ensueth.

3. Item, the sayd William, contrary to the former reuocation & abiuratiō, not conuerting to repentance, but peruerterd from ill to worse, and geuen vp to a reprobate sense came into your diocesse, where, he running about in sondry places hath presumed to preach or rather to peruert and to teach of his own rashne many heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slaunderous things contrary and repugnant to the sacred Canons and the determination of y^e holy Catholike Church. What those things were, at what place and what time, it shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, the same William, notwithstanding your commaundementes and admonitions sealed with your seale, & to all the Curates of your diocesse directed: contayning amongst other thinges, y^t no person of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he were, shold presume to preach or to teach or els expound the holy scripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places, within your diocesse, with out sufficient authoritie, by any maner of pretence y^t could be sought, as in the same your letters monitorie & of inhibition (the tenor wherof hereafter ensueth) is more largely contained: which letters the same William did receiue into his handes, & did read them word by word in the towne of Monemouth of your diocesse, in y^e yeare of our Lord .1390. so that these your letters and the contentes thereof came to true and vndoubted knowledge of the same William: yet notwithstanding hath the same William presumed in diuers places and times to preach within the same your diocesse, after and agaynst your commaundement aforesayd. The tenour of the same letters before mentioned followeth and is this.*

IOhn by the sufferance of God Bishop of Hereford, to the deane and Chapter of our Church of Hereford, and to all and singuler Abbots, Priors, Prouostes, Deanes rurall, Parsons and Vicars of

Monasteries, Prioeres Churches, Colledges and Parishes, and to other hauing cure of soules within the Citty and diocesse of Herford, and to all and euery other being within the same Citty and diocesse. Greeting, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden laurell of teaching doctorall, is not from aboue indifferently euery mans gift, neyther is the office of preaching graunted, saue to such as are called, and especially by the Church admitted therunto: we doe admonishe and require you all and singuler Clerkes aforesayd, and do straightly enioyne you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admitte any man to preach or to teach the Catholique fayth, sauing such as the same office of preaching shall by the authoritie Apostolicall or els your Byshop be specially committed vnto: but that as much as in you shall lye, you doe by worde and deede, labour to let those that woulde attempte the contrary. And you Lordes, Ladyes, Knights, Barons, Esquires,*and all and singular persons, of what estate, degree, preheminance, or condition soeuer ye be, remayning within the city and diocesse of Herford, we doe beseech and exhort in our lord that following the wordes of our sauour, you beware of the leauen of the Phariseis.

Item according to the saying of the Apostle, be not ye caryed away with diuers and straunge doctrines: and that in the meane while (as sayth the Apostle) you be not remoued from the sense of the holy auncient fathers, least that any man by any meanes shold seduce you, but you agreeing together in one minde see that you honor God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not specially (as is aforesayd) committed, shall attempte to instructe or in this your life to directe you into the Catholicke faith do ye denye to geue them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assembles and shun ye theyr teachings, because they be wicked and peruerse. And as for vs we will not omitte to proceede according to the sacred Canons and preceptes of the holye fathers, agaynst such as doe the contrary. Dated at London in the house of our habitation vnder our seale, the last day saue one of December, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1389. and of our consecration the first.

5. Item, the same William in his preaching to y^e people, on Monday being the first of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1390. in the parishe of Whitney of your diocesse, dyd hold and affirme: That no Prelate of the world of what estate, preheminance or degree so euer he were of, hauing cure & charge of soule, he being in deadly sinne, & hearing y^e confession of any vnder his hand in geuing him absolutiō, doth nothing: As who neither doth lose him frō his sinne, nor in correcting or excōmunicating him for his demerites doth bind him by his sentence,* except y^r prelate shall be free himself from deadly sinne, as S. Peter was, to whom our Lord gaue power to binde and lose.

6. Item y^r same William in many places said & affirmed in the presence of many faythfull christen people, that after the sacramentall wordes vttered by the priest hauing the purpose to consecrate: there is not made the very bodye of Christ in the sacrament of the aulter.

7. Item, that accidencies cannot be in the sacrament of y^e aulter without a subiect:* and that there remayneth materiall bread there to such as be partakers communicant wyth the body of Christ, in the same sacrament.

8. Item, that a priest being in deadly sin, cannot be able by the strength of the sacramentall words, to make the body of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the Church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the Church.

9. Item, that all priestes are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them, in this world• are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminance.

10. Item, that onely contrition putteth away sinne, if so be that a man shal be duely contrite: and that, all auricular and outward confessiō is superfluous, and not requisite of necessitie to saluation.

11. Item, inferior Curates haue not their power of hynding and losing immediately from the pope or Bishop, but immediately from Christ. And therefore, neither can y^e pope nor bishop, reuoke to themselues such kind of power, whē they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

12. Item, that the pope cannot graunt such kinde of annuall & yerely pardons, because there shall not be so many yeares to y^e day of iudgement, as are in y^e Popes bulles or pardons containyd. Wherby it followeth that the pardōs are not of such like value as they speake of, & praysed to be.

13. Item, it is not in the popes power to graunt vnto any person penitent, forgeuenes of the punishment or of the faulte.

14. Item, that person y^t geueth his almes to any, whiche in his iudgement is not in necessitie, doth sinne in so geuing it.

15. Item, that it stands not in the power of any Prelate, [Page 467](#) of what religion soeuer he be of, priuately to geue letters for the benefite of his order, neither doth suche benefite graunted, profite them to the saluation of their soule, to whom they be graunted.

16. Item, that the same William vnmindeful of his own saluation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certayn desert wood, called Derualdwood of your diocesse, & there in a certain chappell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage: hath in contempt of the keyes, presumed of hys own rashnes to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17. Item, the same William hath also presumed to doe such thinges in a certayne prophane Chappell being situate in the park of Newton nigh to the town of Leintwarbin of the same your dioces.

Vpon Friday being the last of the month of Iune, in the yeare abouesayd, about 6 of the clocke, in the sayd parishe Church of Bodenhone, hath the sayd William Swinderby personally appeared before vs. And he willing to satisfie the terme to him assigned as before specified, hath read out, word by word before all the multitude of faythfull christian people, many answeres made and placed by the same William (in a certayne paper booke of the sheete folded into foure partes) to the sayd Articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath he really to vs exhibited, aduouching them to be agreeable to the lawe of Christ. Whiche thing beeing done the same William (without any moe with him) dyd departe from our presence, because that we, at the instaunce of certayne

noble personages, had promised to the same William free accesse, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those aunsweres, and also free departing without prefixing of anye terme, or without citation, or els anye other offence or harme in bodye or in goodes.

As for the tenour of the same answers, exhibited vnto thē by the same William, as is before specified: we haue here vnder annexed word for worde, and in the same olde language, vsed at that time, when it was exhibited. And followeth in these wordes.

The protestation of William Swinderby with hys aunsweres to the articles by the promotors, layd agaynst him to the bishop of Herford, taken out of the Registers in the same olde Englishe wherein he wrote it.

*IN the name of God amen. I William Swinderby priest vnworthy, couenting and purposing wholly with all my hart to be a true christian man, with open confessiō knowledging mine owne defaultes and vnwise deedes: making openly this protestation, cleping god to record here before our worshipfull Bishop Iohn, through the sufferance of God Bish. of Herford, with witnesse of all this people: y^t it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirme, to mayntain or to defend that is, contrary to holy writte, agaynst the beliefe of holy church, or that should offend the holy determination of Christes Church, or the true sentences of holy doctors. And if I haue here before through mine vncunning, bene vnordered, or by euill counsaile bene deceiued, or any thing sayd, preached, holden, mayntayned or taught contrary to the law of God: wholly and fully for that tyme for now and euer with ful will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as euerich christen man should: Praying and beseeching •che christen man, to whom this writing shal come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I do) or euer erred in any poynt, contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought sayd. And all the trothes that I haue sayd according with the law of God, that they mayntayne them, and stand by them for life or death to Gods worship, as a true Christen man shoulde, submitting me meekely to the correction of our Byshop that here is, or of any other christen man, after Christes lawes and holy writ: in will euer ready to be amended, and with this protestation I say and aunswere to these conclusions and articles that here followen after, the which bene put to me to aunswere to.

*The first is this: that I William of Swinderby pretending (he sayth) my selfe a priest, was iudicially conuented of certain articles, & conclusions of error, false schismatick & heresie, by me in diuers places & tymes preached (he sayth) before multitudes of y^e true christen men: & the s••e articles and cōclusions by need of law reuoked & for sworn some as heresies, and some as erroures and false: & suche I affirmed and veleued them to be. And that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirme, openly or priuily, ne that I should make no sermon to the people, ne preache but by lawfull leaue asked and gotten. And if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrary then to the seueritie of the lawe, I should be buxom, as by nede of the law I swore.

To this I say, witnessing God that is in heauen, to my wit and vnderstanding, that I neuer preached, helde, ne taught these conclusions and articles, the whiche falsely of Friers were put

vpon me, and of lecherous priestes to the Bishop of Lincolne. For I was ordayned by processe ^{*} yet sayd, of theyr law, by the byshop and his commissaryes, so as I graunted them to bring my purgation of 13. priestes of good same. And so I did, with a letter, & 12. scales therby, from the Mayor of Leycester, and from true Burgeses and 30. men to witnes with me, as the Duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the Erle of Darby, and other many great men that were that tyme in the towne, that I neuer sayd them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should haue made my purgation, there stooden forth fiue friers or moe, that some of them neuer sawe me before, ue heard me, ^{*} and three lecherous priestes openly knowne, some liuing in their lechery xx. yeare (men sayden) or more as by their childer was openly known. Some of these they clepinden, denunciations, and some weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falsely forsworne, they suing busily and crying with many an other Frier, with great instaunce to geue the dome, vpō me, to burne me & boughten dry wood before, as men tolden in that towne: & these sleighes, and swearing, and mony geuing, as men faiden, w^t fauor of the bishop (by what law I wor not, but sothly not by Gods law) they sayden they held me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgatiō. So as I fully forsooke them, and neuer graunted that I sayd them. Ouer this they made me sweare neuer to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, priuily ne apertly: and that I would go to certayne Churches to reuoke the conclusions that I neuer sayd, in sclaunder of my selfe, by great instance of the Fryers. And so for drede of death and for fleshly counsell that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they maden me to sweare, that I should not preach (by instance of y^e Fryers) within that diocesse, withouten licence asked & granted, and neuer sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me agayne: whether by Fryers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in slaunder of me it is: and therefore I will answere now (with Gods helpe) to the conclusions. Of the which the first is this.

That men mowen asken theyr debtes by charitie, ^{*} but in no maner for debt to imprison any man: and that he so emprisoning, is accursed.

So I sayd not: but thus I haue sayd, ^{*} and yet say with protestation put before: that who so pursues his brother with malice, prisoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy that fayne would pay it if he might: he sinneth agaynst Christes teaching, estote misericordes, sicut pater vester misericors est.

The second conclusion, ^{*} that false Friers and lecherous priestes putten vpon me was this: that if the parochiens know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man: they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and els they bene fautours of his sinnes.

Thus I sayd not but on this wise, ^{*} and yet I say wyth protestation put before: that if it be knowne openly to the people, that persons or Curates come to her benefice by simonie, and liuen in notory fornicatiō, and done not their office & her dueties to her parochiens by good ensample of holy life, in true preaching, liuing & residence, wendyng away frō his cure, occupied insecular office: he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offrings, ne hemowes not to hold him for her Curate, ny hemowes not to geuen him tithes, left they bene gyltie to GOD of consent and mayntayning of her open sinne. *Nemo militans deo, implicat se negotijs secularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. quisquis per pecuniā, & dist. 8 o. ca. Siquis.*

The thirde conclusion was this,* that friers and priests putten vpon me, that tithes purely bene almesses: And in case that curates bene euill men, they mowen leefully be geuen to othermen, by temporal Lords, and other temporalties bene done away from men of the Church, actually and openly trespassing.

This I sayd not in these termes,* but thus I saye with protestation made before: that it were medefull and leeful to secular Lordes by way of charitie, and power geuen to him of God, in default of prelates that amend not by gods law, cursed curates that openly misusen the goods of holy church, that ben poore mēs goods and customably agaynst the law of God: the which poore men, Lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend, to take away & withdrawe from such curates, poore mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilful offeringes, and their bodely almes deedes, and geue them to [Page 468](#) such that duely serue God in the Church, and bene needy in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde doe, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate & sic adimplebitis legem Christi. And as anenste taking away of temporalties I say thus with protestation made before: that it is leefull to Kynges, Princes, Dukes, and Lordes of the worlde to take away fro popes, Cardinals, fro Bishops and prelates, possessions in the Church, theyr temporalties, and theyr almes that they haue geuen them, vppon condition they shoulde serue God the better, when they verely sene that their geuing and their taking bene cōtrary to the lawe of God, to Christes liuing and his Apostles: and namely in that, that they taken vpon them (that shoulde be next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poorenes & meeknes) to be secular Lords: against the teaching of Christ and Saint Peter, Luc. xxii. Reges gentium. Et. 1. Pet. 5. Ne{que} dominantes in clero. And namely when such temporalties maken them the more proud, both in hart and in araye, then they shoulde bene els, more in strife and debate agaynst peace and charitie, and in euill ensample to the world more to be occupied in worldly busines. Omnem sollicitudinem proicientes in eum. And drawes them from the seruice of God, from edifying of Christes Church, in empouering and making lesse the state and the power of kings, princes Dukes, and Lordes that God hath set them in: in wrongfull oppression of commons for vnmightfulnes of realms. For Paule sayth to men of the Church (whose lore, Prelates shoulde souerainly followen) Habentes victum, & vestitum, hiis contenti simus.

*The fourth conclusion is this, that Friers and priests putten vppon me falsely: that an euill Curate cursing hys

Soget for withholding of tithes, is naught els, but to take with extortion wickedly and vnduely mony from thē.

Thus said I not, but thus I said, and yet do with protestation made before:* that an euill Curate cursing his parochiens, vnmighty to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitty, for his singuler worldly winning agaynst charitie, and not for heed of their soules, there he is holde by his power reasonably to helpe his needy parochiens, and doth nought of the goodes of the Church: wickedly and vnduely he withholdes from them, that which is due to them by the law of God. Dimittite & dimittetur vobis: date, & dabitur vobis: verum mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit dominus.

*The fift conclusion is this, that Friers and Priestes falsely putten vpon me: that no man may curse anye man, but if he were were him cursed of God, ne the commers w^t him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any maner.

Thus sayd I not, but thus I sayd, and say with protestation put before: * that no man ought to curse any man, but for charitie and with charitie. *Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant.* And sikerly I say, that no wrongfull cursing of Pope or any Prelate in earth, bindes * anenst God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly cursen men, for that men will not do their singular wil, vnreasonable bidding, with highnes of hart and cruelty (standing pacience and charity in them that they cursen wrongfully) he is blessed of almighty God, and they themselfe bene cursed. *Math. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines. &c. Et in Psalmo: Maledicent illi, et tu benedices Et Augustinus. xi. q. iij chap. illud.*

*The sixt conclusion is this, that Fryers and Priestes putten vppon me falsely: that each Priest may assoyle hym that sinneth, contrition had: and notwithstanding forbiddinges of the Bishop, is * holden to preach to the people the Gospell.

Thus I sayd not, but thus I sayd, and yet say with protestation made before: that each true Priest may counsaile sinfull men, that shewen to him her sinnes, after the witte and cunning that God had geuen him, to turne fro sinne to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Gospell, I say that no B. owes to let a true priest, that god had geuen grace, witte, and cunning to doe that office: for both Priestes and Deacons, that God had ordeyned Deacons and Priestes, ben holden by power geuē hem of God to preach to the people the Gospell, and namely & somely, popes, bishops, prelates, and curates: For this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue and aske of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it: *Math. 5. Luke. 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos Et Math. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum. Et Math 5. Euntes autem praedicate. Et dist. 21. ca. In nouo testamento. Et Ysidor. de summo bono. 44. Et Chrisost. distinct, 34 ca. Nolite. Et August. distinct. 34 ca. Quisquis. Et Greg in suo pastoralis ca 38. Et in Tollitano. ca. ignorantia Et Ierom. distinct. 95. ca. Ecce Ego.*

*The 7. conclusion is this, that Fryers and Priests falsely putten vpō me, that a Priest taking any thing for annuell, through couenaunt: in that, he is schismaticke & cursed.

This sayd I, * neuer in these termes: But thus I sayde, & yet say with protestation put before: that no Priest owes to sell by bargaining and couenaunt, his ghostlye trauaile, ne his masses, ne his prayers, ne Gods worde, ne hallowinges, baptisme, ne confirming, order geuing, for a codinges, for Christ, for housell, or for ennoynting, any worldly mens reward to aske or take for these or for any of there, or for any ghostly thing, he erres and doth simony. *Vt patet 1. q. 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex consilio Triburenti. capit. Dictum est. Et Christus in euangelio vendentes, et ementes eiecit de templo. Math. 22.*

The viii. * conclusion is this, that Fryers and Priestes putten vnto me falsely, saying that I beleeeue sadly as my tell sayes: that yche priest being in deadly sinne, yet he put him to make Christes body, rather he dos idolatrye then makes it.

Thus sayd I not,* but thus I sayd, and yet saye wyth a protestation put before: that what Priest that puts himselfe presumptuously and vnworthily in deadly sinne, wittingly to minister and to receaue that holy sacramēt, and so records hit cursedly and damnably, he receaues his dome. Qui manducat et bibit indignè, iudicium sibi manducat & bibit 1. Corin. 11.

The ix.* conclusion is this, that Friers & Priestes falsely putten vpon me: that no Priestes entres into any house but euill for to treat the wife, the daughter, or the wenche: and therfore they saydē, that I prayed the people that their husbandes should beware, that they suffer no priest to enter into her house.

And if I had sayd thus,* then I had prayed agaynst my selfe, for I come oft into mens houses: But thus I sayde, and yet I do, praying christen men to beware y^t they nourish nor mayntayne no lecherous Priestes in their sinnes: for there be where (as men well knowne) they ben mayntained in many places, continuing homely w^t her women And ich man there sayne they payne therefore a certaine to the B. almes. Et ideo ait Ysido. 11. q. 4. Qui consentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud deū & homines.

The x.* conclusion is this, that Friers and priestes putten vpon me falsely: that a childe is not verely baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, the godfather, or the godmother, ben in deadly sinne.

God wot in heauen they sayd full false:* but thus I said and yet I say: that the prayers that an euill Priest prayes (liuing in lechery or other deadly sinne) ouer y^r child when it shalbe holowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good priest. And the better & clenner the priest is, the Godfather, and the godmother: the more graciously God will heare him, if all they bene not greatest nor most rich in this worlde. Vnde gg. xiiij. q. vij. cap. in grauibus. Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus proculdubio ad deteriora prouocatur.

The xi.* conclusion is this, that Friers and priests putten vpon me falsely: that no man, liuing against the law of God is a priest, how euer he were ordayned Priest of any Byshop.

Certes this is false, for I sayd neuer thus in these termes: but thus I sayd,* and thus I say with a protestation put before, that what euery pope, or Cardinall, Byshop or Priest, or any Prelate of the Church comes to his state or dignitie by Simony, & in simony occupies that office, & holy churches goodes: I say that he is a theefe, and that by the dome of God, and comes but to steale and kill. Iob. 10. Fur non venit nisi vt furetur, & mactet, & pardat. And furthermore I say, that what Pope, Cardinall, Byshop, prelate, or priest, in maner of liuing, or teaching, or lawes making contrary to Christes liuing and hys lawes, or anye other ground put in ruling of the church of Christ, but by Christ & his lawes:* is very Antichrist, aduersary to Iesus Christ and his Apostles. Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus. Et patet 1. q. 3. c. Si quis Et 1. q. 6. c. Ego autem. Quicun{que}.

But this worshipfull father B. of Hereford, that here is, sayes thus in hys writing: that I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the foresayd reuocation and abiuration (not setting at hart, but from euill to worse he sayes peruerted so his dioces) he sayes I come running about by diuers places: and by mine own folly he sayes that I haue presinner to preach manye heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes, and other diffauies, and to holy canons and determinatiō of holy church

contrary and repugnant, which where & when within forth more specially it shalbe shewed, that ye be false enformed that I haue presumed in diuers places in your dioces to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, schismes and other diffames. And syr, all the coutry knowes whether this be sooth or not: for sire I presum [Page 469](#) not, sithen it is the office of a priest, by the law of Christ to preach the Gospell? ne nought I did it for presūption, but for the charge y^t I haue of God by priesthood (if al I be vnworthy) & to y^e worship of God, & helpe of christen soules, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will be amended. And sir touching your maundement that ye sendē to me, there was sēt none. And sir I made neuer yet disobediēce vnto you, ne to your ministers: & yef all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God thou to you, in that that ye bidden contrary to Christes bid ding. And sir as ye sayne, that I had no minde of my hele, it is to lightly demet: for God forbid, but yef there lye hele more then in your bidding. For God w^t for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in any minde. But sir it semes me that ye charge not by euidence of the punishing so greatly the breaking of Gods hests, as ye done of your own. And sir if it be your wil, in default that the people wanted, you to teache hem (and her curates did not) by the desire of the people that weren hungry and thirsty after gods word, ichone to beare vp others charge as gods law bids: I preached, not for disobedience to you, but sir in fulfilling of y^c obediēce that Gods law bids me do in excusing of my selfe to you of that ye blame me of, in opē shewing to holy Church, with y^p protestation that I first made, I aunswere thus to the Articles that ye haue put to me.

[*](#)The first is this, that I William of Swinderby, the Monday the first of August, the yeare of our Lorde. 1390.[*](#) preaching to the people in the Church of Whitney of your Dioces, held and affirmed (as ye sayne) that no Prelate of the world, of what state or degree that he be, hauing cure of soules, being in deadly sinne, and hearing confession of his suget,[*](#) does nought in assoyling him, ne he assoiles him not of his sinne: and also in amending his suget opēly sinning and him for his desertes cursing, his sentence byndes nor, but if that Prelate be as cleane out of deadly sinne as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gaue power of binding and vnbinding.

[*](#)I neuer thought this ne spake this, ne heard it to the time that I saw it written in our booke, and that will witnes the Lord of the towne that has the same sermon written, and many gentiles and other that heardē me that day: But thus I said, and thus I say with protestation put before: that there is no man,[*](#) Pope, ne bishop, prelate ne Curate, that bindes soothly, verily and ghostly, but in as much as his binding or vnbinding accordes with the keyes of heauen that God gaue to Peter. And as S. Gregory saies that power han they only, that hold together the ensample of the apostles with heere teaching. Illi soli in hac carne positiligandi atque soluendi potestatem habent,[*](#)sicut sancti Apostoli qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto sententiarum.

[*](#)The second article that is put vpon me, is this, that I should haue sayd, preached, & affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ:[*](#) that after the Sacramentall wordes sayd of the priest, hauing entention of consecratiō: That in the Sacrament of Gods body, is not very Gods body.

[*](#)This sayd I neuer God wote, and true men that haue heard me.

*The third article is this, that our bishop puts vpō me, that I should haue sayd in many places, and affirmed, that accidents mow not be in the sacrament of the aultar without subiect, and y^t material bread leues not therwith Gods body in the sacrament.

This conclusion I haue not holdē, ne taught, ne preached: for I haue not medled me of that matter, my wit suffiseth not thereto. But here I tell my beliefe with protestation put before: that the Sacrament of the aultar made by vertue of heauenly wordes, that Christ himselfe sayd in the Cene, when he made this sacrament, that it is bread & christes bodye, so as Christ himselfe sayes in the Gospell, & S. Paul sayes, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined to this sentēce. Math. 26. Mar. 14. Lu. 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. & 11. de con. distinct. 2. panis: & de consecra. dist. 2. Corpus. Iohn. 6 verus panis.

*The 4. article is this, that our Bishop accuseth me of, that I should haue preached about and sayd: that a Priest being in deadly sinne, may not by the strength of the Sacramentall words make gods body, or none other Sacrament of the Church, either performe to minister them to members of the same.

*Thus I neuer said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it for well I wot, the wickednesse of a Priest may appaire no very sacrament: but the wickednes of the Priest appayres himselfen, and all that boldnes & example of his sinne causen the people to liuen the worse agaynst Gods law. Vnde Greg. Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.

The 5.* article is this, that our bishop puts vnto me: y^t all priestes ben of euē power in all things, not withstāding that some of this world bene of higher dignity or more passing in highnes of degree.

Certes no man would say thus as I suppose,* no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wot of: But this I say with protestation made before, that what Priest liues most holily next following the law of God, he is most loue of God, and most profitable to the Church. If men speakē of world ly power and Lordships and worships, with other vices that raigen therin, what Priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree so he be) he is most Antichrist of all the priestes that ben in earth.*Vnde Augustinus ad Valerium scribens ait. Nihil est in hac vita, & maximè hoc tempore facilius & leuius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Episcopi, praēsbiteri aut decani officijs: sed si profunctoriè aut adulatoriè, nihil apud Deum miserabilius aut tristius & damnabilius.

The sixt Article is this,* that onely contrition does away sinne, if a man be duely contrite: and all outward cōfession by word is superfluous and not requiēt of need of health.

This conclusiō said I neuer that I know of.* But thus I say with protestation put before, that veray contrition of hart,* that is neuer without charity and grace: dos away al sinnes before done of that man that is verely contrite. And all true confessiō made by mouth outward to a wise priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needfull & helping that men shew their life to such,* trusting full to gods mercy, and that he forgeues thy sinne. Vnde August. de conse. distict. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus qui est agnus, tollens peccata mundi.

The 7. article is this,* that I should say that lower curates haue not here power of binding & assoiling, by mean of pope and bishop, but of Christ without mony. And ther fore neither pope ne bishop may reuoke such maner power for time and place at her will.*

Thus sayd I not, but * not for thy it seemes me thus, that no man should graunt any thing after his owne will, ghostly, ne bodily. But euerich man should be wel aduiser, that he graunt nothing but if it be the will of God that he so graunt it. And it is no doubt that ne God grauntes* by meane persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christes people. Vnde & Ioh. 19. ait Pilatus Nessis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te Et Christus. Non haberes potestatem aduersum me vllam, nisi esset tibi datum desuper.

The 8. article that our bishop puts me to,* is this: that I should say that the pope may not graūt such maner indulgence of yeres, for there shall not be so many yeres vnto y^r day of doome, as hene contained in his buls, or in y^e Popes indulgences: wherof it folowes that indulgences bene not so much worth as they semen and bene preached.

This article I sayd not thus:* but I say that the Pope may graunt indulgences written in his letter of yeres, all so farre forth that he may graunt him in Gods law, so farre to graunt, and farther not: yeres may he graunt no moe then God hath set.* Yf indulgence ben forgeuenes of sinne, I wot wel all onely God forgeues sinne. Yf it be releasing of paines in Purgatory ordeiner of God, if God haue bidden him release so many, or ordeined that be should release so many, he may then release him: if it be in his own disposing to release whom him likes, & how much, then he may destroy Purgatory and let none come there and release his owne payne, as charity wottes. So it semes he may be liker to be saued, if himselfe list. If any go to Purgatory, thē it semes he full fayles charitye. If Bulles bene the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not so much worth, as they costen there: for lightly they might be lost, drenched, or brend, or a rat might eatē them: his indulgence then were lost. Therefore sir haue me excuser, I know not these termes: teach me these termes by Goddes law, and truely I will learne hem.

The 9. Article is this that I should haue sayde:* that it is not in the popes power to graūt to any man (doing penance) remission from payne, ne from blame.

Leude I am, but this Article sayd I not thus leudly: But thus I say,* that sithen it is onely due to God to geue and to graunt plenary remission from paines & frō blame: that what euer he be, Pope or other, that presumptuously mistakes vpō him that power that is onely due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himselfe Christ, & blasphemeth in God, as Lucifer did, when he sayd: Ascendam & ero similis altissimo. Farther I say, if the Pope holde men of armes, in mainteining his temporalties & Lordship to venge him on hem that gilten & offenden him, and [Page 470](#) geues remissiō to fight & to slay hem that contraryen hem,* as men sayden he did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his swerd into his sheath, as God commaunded Peter. Mitte. &c. he is Antichristus, for he dos contrary to the commaundements of Iesus, that bad Peter forgeue to his brother seuēty sithe seuen sithe. Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quotiens demittam ei? Septies? &c. Et Christus: non dico tibi septies, sed septuagesies septies.

*The 10. Article is this, that our Bishoppe puts to me that I should haue sayd: that a man geuing his almes to any man after his dome (not hauing neede) sinnes, in so geuing,

This article sothly I sayd not in these termes: But of this matter I haue spoken, & will with protestation made before on this wise: that it is medefull to geue almes to ich man that asketh it bodely or ghostly, but not to geue to ich shameles begger, strong & mighty of body, to get his lifeloode leuefull & will not, in what degree so he be, men owē not to geue it to such a one, that he vnreasonably asketh, for if he geue it to him wittingly, he sins as fautor of his idlenes. Vnde Sap. 12. Si benefeceris, scito cui benefeceris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

The 11. Article is this, that is put to me, that I shoulde haue sayd, that it is not in y^e power of any prelate of what euer priuate Religion, to graunt letters of the good deeds of her order, ne such benefices graunted profits not to hele of soules to hem that they ben graunted to.

I said neuer thus i[•]•hese termes: but thus I say with protestation, that prelates of priuate religion mowē graūt letters of the good deedes of her order: But the gostly mede that comes of good deedes,* they mow not graunt, for that is onely propriēt to God. And if they blinde, the people in misbeliefe for her worldlye winning, wittingly behetting hem of her owne graūt gostly medes in heauen by her letters and her seale (vncertaine, who shall be damned) but make the people bolder to sinne by trust of her praier: hit is none heal to the soules, but harmes to that one & to that other. For God shall yeld to echone after here werkes. Ipse reddet vnicuique secundum opera sua•

The 12. Article is this: that our Bishops puts to me, that I mony times and oft haue come (he sayes) to a desert woode, cleped Derwaldswode of his dioces: and there in a Chappell not hallowed, but accurset*shepherds hulke, by mine own folly he sayes haue presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the keyes.*

Hereto I say, that this is falsly put vpō me of hem that told you this.* For it is a chappell where a priest sings certaine dayes in the yeaere, with great solemnity: and certes I neuer song therein seth I was borne into this world.

The 13. Article is this, that I should also presume to sing in an vnhallowet Chappell, that stondes in the parke of Newton, besides the town of Leyntwardy of this same Dioces.

Truely I wot not where the place stondes.

*The 14. Article is this, that I should say that no man owes to sweare for any thing, but simply withoutē oth to affirme or to deny, and if he sweare he sinnes.

This article sayd I not that I haue minde of, in thys maner: But oft I haue sayd and yet will, that men should not sweare by any creature by the law of God, and that no man should sweare in idel, as wel nigh al the people vseth, & therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in swearing. For from the olde vnto the young, & namely men of holy Church, breken his hest, and few Bishoppes pursuen hem therfore.

*The 15. Article is this, that I shoulde haue taught to true men of Christ, that on no maner they should worship the Image of him that was done on the crosse, or the Image of the blessed mayd his mother, or of other Sayntes into honor and worship of the same ordeinet in the minde of

them. And oft sithes, the worshipper of such Image, he has reprouet, saying and strongly affirming, that Church men sinnen and done Idolatry.

This conclusion haue I not sayd in these termes. But this I say with protestation.* that God commaūdes in his law in diuers places. Exod. 20. Leuit. 19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobiae 1. Baruc. 6.2. ad Corin. 10. Esay. 45. Iere. 2.6.8. & 10.22. & vltimo,*Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 5. & Threnorum 4. & postremo: that men should not worshippē grauen Images that ben werkes of mens handes: And also he bids that mē should not make to hem grauen Images in likenesse of the thinges that bene in heauen, to that end to worshippen hem: sethen neither God ne Christ by his manhood gaue neuer commaundement to make thes Images, ne expresse counsell, ne his Apostles in all his law, ne to worship such that bene made. But wel I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue misbeleuet in hem, that many mē sinnen in manmetry worshipping such dead Images.* Notforthy, to tho men bene Images good to whom they bene but kalēdars, and through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshippen oft God and his Saints. And to such mē they done harme that settē her hope and trust in hem or done any worship to hem agaynst Gods law & his hest. Vnde ait Gregorius in Registro libro. 10. in Epistola ad Serenum Episcopum. Si quis imagines facere voluerit,*minimè prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc sollicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex visione rei gestae, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius trinitatis prosternantur.

These conclusions, poyntes, and articles that I haue vnder protestation, in this booke affirmed: I will stand by hem, and maintayne hem (with the grace of almighty god) to the time that the cōtrary be prouet dewly by Gods law: And this protestation I make for my fayth and my beliefe as I did the beginning: that whensoever this worshipfull or any other Christē man shewes me verayly by gods law the contrary of this, I will holy forsake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better vnderstanding of wiser men, redy to be amended by the law of Iesu Christ, and be a true Christen man & faythfull sonne of holy church: And of these I beseech you all bere witnes where ye commen.

Subsequenter vero,*quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus posset in propria person a citari, ipsum Gulielmum vijs & modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi praetoris in Ecclesia nostra cathedrali Herfordensi & parochialibus ecclesijs de Kington Croste, & Whitney nostrae diocesis: vbi idem Gulielmus solebat commorari citari fecimus, prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor sequitur in haec verba.

The Citation.

IOhn by Gods permission Byshop of Hereford, to his deare sons our Deane of Leamster,* to the persons of Croft, Almaly, and Whitney, and also to the Vicars of Kingston, Iardersley, Wiggemore, and Monmouth Clifford, and of S. Iohns aultar in our cathe|drall Church of Hereford, and to the rest of the Deanes, Parsons, Vicars, Chapleines, parish Priestes, and to other, whosoeuer in any place are appoynted through our city and dioces of Hereford: sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

We bid and commaund, charging you straitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be cited peremptorily (and vnder the payne of excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be a Priest: That he appeare before vs, or our Commissaryes the 20. day of this present moneth of Iuly, at North Lodebury, within our dioces, which the continuance of the dayes following in other places also to be assigned vnto him if it be expedient, till such thinges as haue bene and shall be layde agaynst him be fully discussed, to aunswere more at large to certayne positions and articles, touching the Catholicke fayth, and the holy mother Churches determination, that haue bene exhibited and ministred vnto the sayd William. And to see and heare also many thinges that haue openly in indgement before vs and a great number of faythfull Christians by him bene euen in writing confessed, to be condemned as hereticall, false, schismaticall and erroneous. And to see and heare positions and Articles denied by the sayd William, to be proued by faythfull witnesses and other lawfull trials against the sayd William. And to receiue for his false hereticall, erroneous and schismaticall doctrine that iustice shall appoynt, or els to shew causes why the premisses shoulde not bee done.

And if the sayd William lieth priuely, or els cannot be so cited in his proper person: we will that in your Churches when most people shall then come together to diuine seruice, you opely with a loud voyce, and that may be vnderstanded, cause the said William peremptorely to be cited vnto the premisses: certifying the same William, that whether he shall appeare the day and place appointed or no, we notwithstanding will proceed vnto the premisses agaynst the sayd William according to the canonically decrees by forme of law, in the absence or contumacy of the sayde William notwithstanding. We will moreouer if the sayd William shall appeare at the sayd day and place as is aforesayde before vs, frendly heare him, and honestly, and fauorably, as farre as we may with Gods leaue, deale with him: graunting free licence to come and to go for his naturall liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And see that you fully certify vs of the thinges that you or any of you shall do about the execution of this our commaundement, and that by your letters patentes signed with your seale autenticall: geuing also faythsully to the sayde William or to his lawfull Proctor, if he require it, a cōpye of this our present commaundement.

Geuen at our house of Whitburne vnder our seale the fift day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord. 1391.

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The act of the first day.

On Thursday, the xx. of Iuly, in y^t yeare of the Lord aforesaid: * We in the parish church of North Lidebury afore sayd, about 6, of the clocke, sitting in iudgement, after that it was reported vnto vs how the foresayd Williā was personally taken and lawfully cited: Caused the sayd William then and there openly in iudgement to be called out, * to do, heare and receiue such thinges, wherto he was afore cited, & to do otherwise that which iustice should perswade. And the sayd William appeared neither by himselfe, nor by proctor: but onely by a seruau^t (whose name we know not) he sent a certayn schedule of paper, made like an indenture vnto vs to excuse him. After which schedule sene, read and with ripe deliberatiō wayed, and in any wise notwithstanding we adiudged the sayd William, after he was oftē called, & long euen to the due hour taried for, & by no meanes appering: worthely for his obstinacy, & for his stubberⁿnes assigned vnto him the

29. day of Iuly in the Church of Ponsley, to appeare before vs with the foresayd sauegard, to aunswere more fully to suche articles, and otherwise to heare, receiue, and do as before is noted.

The second dayes act.

*Upon Saturday being the 29. of Iuly, and in the yeare of the Lord aforesayd, we Iohn by Gods permission y^e fore remembred Bishop in the Church of Pontesbury, of our Dioces, at sixe of the clock, or there about, sitting in iudgement: made the sayd Williā of Swinderby to be opēly called, that (as was to him appointed aud assigned) he should appere before vs, to answere to the foresayd articles more fully and to declare the sayd articles as the darknes of his aunsweres did worthely require. And that the sayd William being called, & long for a due time looked for, did make no meanes to appere: and so we pronounced him to be obstinate, and for his obstinatnes (to ouercome his malice, & of our exceeding fauor) thought good to appoynt and dyd appoynt the 8. of August, thē next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the same our dioces, vnto the sayd William for the same thing.

The third dayes act.

Upon Tewsdays, *the 8. of August, the yeare aforesayd, I Iohn by Gods permission Bishop of Hereford aforesayd, in the Church of Cleobury Mor•emere, about 6. of the clocke, sitting in iudgement, caused the foresayd Williā Swinderby, to be called many times openly to do and receiue about the premisses, according to the appoyntment of the same day that iustice should aduise, which William did not appeare at all. Wherupō, we after that the sayd Williā was called, and often proclaymed, and long looked for but not appering at all, did iudge him worthely (as of right ap'pertainēd) obstinate: and for his obstinatnes, assigned him the 16. day of the same moneth of August next folowing, in the parish Church of Whithorne of the same our dioces, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all lawes, muniments, and other kinds of proofes, & to see also witnesses brought forth, admitted and sworne, by whom and which thinges we intend to proue the foresayde articles, or at least wyse some of the same.

The fourth dayes act.

*Upō wednesday the 16. day of the moneth of august the yeare aforesaid we Iohn y^e bishop in the parish Church of Whithorn aforesayd of our dioces, sitting in iudgement, caused the sayd William Swinderby often times to be called, who (as is aforesayd) appeared not at all: *whom after that hee was so called, proclaymed & long looked for, & yet by no means appering, we pronōced to be obstinate. We receiued also by certayne faithfull Christians, and zealous men for the catholicke fayth of our dioces a certayne proces made and had at an other time agaynst the same William, before y^e reuerend father in God and Lord, Lord Iohn by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincolne confirmed by the hanging on of the seale of the same reuerend father, y^e Lord Bishop of Lincolne. The tenor wherof word for word is contayned before. And these faythfull Christians moreouer agaynst the obstinatenes of the sayd William Swynderby brought forth discreet mē, M. William Leuiet, parson of the parish Churche of Kyuers•y, and also Edmunde Waterdon parish Chaplaine of the Chappell of N. & Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, lay men of the dioces of Lincolne, asking instantly that they might be receiued for witnesses, to proue some of the foresayd articles who agaynst the obstinatenes of the sayd William Swinderby we

thought good to receiue and did receiue, and their othes to the holy Gospels of God being layd handes on corporally in our hand. And did diligētly •ramine them in proper person seuerally in forme or law: whose sayinges & depositions are afterward brought in, & at the instance of the same faythfull Christians, we assigned the second day of Septēber then next folowing, to the sayd William Swinderby, to say and alledge agaynst the sayd proces: witnesses, and their sayinges, in the sayd Church of Whythorne: decreeing, that a copy should be made for him of these thinges that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witnesses.

Here we fayle in our copy, till the Register come to our handes agayne.

by the dore, but wendith vpon an other halfe, he is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he relieth how he that •ieth from theyr flock, is not the shepheard but an hired mā, and it pertayneth not to him of the sheepe.

☞ To the second conclusion that he saien is errour or heresy,* that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of Lordships of priests that bene euill liuers.

I say me seemeth that the conclusion is true,* & is thys: that it were medefull and leefull to secular Lords by way of charity, and by power geuen to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend naught by Gods law: cursed Curates that openly misuse the goodes of the holye Church, that ben poore mens goods: and customably ayens the law of God, (the which poore men, Lords ben holden to mayntayne and defend) to take away and to draw from such curates, poore mens goodes in helpe of the poore, and theyr owne wilfull offeringes, and theyr bodely almose deedes of worldly goodes, and geue them to such as duely seruen God in the Church: and bene ready in vpbearing of the charge that prelats shoulde do and done it not. And as anences taking away of temporalties:* I say thus, that it is leefull to Kinges, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lords of the world to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, frō Bishops, Prelates, and possessioners in the Church, theyr temporalties, and theyr almes that they haue geuē thē vpon conditiō, that they shoulde serue God the better: whē they verely seen that theyr geuing & taking bene cōtrary to the law of God, contrary to Christes liuing, and his Apostles, and namely in that that they takē vpon thē, that they shouldē be next folowers of Christ & his apostles, in poorenes and meeknes, to be secular Lords against the teaching of Christ and of S. Peter. Truely me semeth that all Christen men, and namely Priestes shoulde take keepe, that their doing were according with the law of god, either the old law either the new. The Priestes of the olde law wern forbidden, to haue Lordshippes among theyr brethren, for God sayd, that he would be theyr part and theyr heritage. And Christ that was the highest Priest of the new Testament forsooke worldly Lordship, and was here in fourme of a seruaunt, and forbad his Priestes such Lordships, and sayd, Reges gentium dominantur eorum. &c. vos autem non sic. That is. The kinges of the heathen, beare dominion and rule. &c. But you shall not do so. And as Saynt Peter sayeth. Neque dominantes in clero &c. Not bearing rule and dominion ouer the Clergy. &c. So it seemeth me: that it is agaynst both lawes of God, that they haue such Lordships, and that theyr title to such lordships is not ful good: And so it seemeth me, that zif they bene thereto of euill lining, it is no great perill to take away from them, suche Lordships but rather medefull, if the taking away were in charity, and not for singular couetousnesse ne wrath. And I suppose that if friers,* that be bounden to theyr fōunders, to liue in pouerty, would break theyr rule and take worldly Lordships: might not men lawfully take from thē suche Lordships, and make them to liue in pouerty as theyr rule would?

And forsooth it seemeth me, that Priestes oughten also well to keepe Christes rule, as Friers owne to keepe the rule of theyr founder. Ieremy witnesseth, how God cōmended Rachabs children, for they would not break theyr faders bidding in drinking of wine. And yet Ieremy profered thē wine to drinke. And so I trow, that God would commend his Priestes, if they woulden forsake worldlye Lordships, and holden them a payd with lifelot, and with clothing: and busy them fast about theyr heritage of heauē. And God sayth. Numeri. 18. In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partē inter eos: Ego pars & haereditas vestra in me dio filiorum Israel. &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis sacerdotes & Leuitae & omnes qui de eadem tribu estis, partem & haereditatem cum reliquo Israel, quia Sacrificia Domini & oblationes eius cō•dent, & nihil accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim •ipse hereditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est illis. Et Lucae 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus [Page 472](#) quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Et Ieronimus in Epistola. 34. Et Bernardus libro. 20. ad. Eugeneum Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte. 2. libri Secundi. cap. 7. Et 12. q. pri cap duo sunt: Et ca. clericus. Et Bernardus in Sermonē de Apostolis, super illud. Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chrisost super Math. & vetus Testamentum. That is, You shall haue no inheritaunce in theyr lād, nor haue no part amōgst them: I wil be your part and inheritaunce amongst the children of Israell. &c. Deut. 18. The Priestes and Leuites, and all that be of the same tribe shall haue no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israell: because they shall eate the sacrifices of the Lord and his oblatiōs, and they shall take nothing of the possession of theyr brethren. The Lord himselfe is their possessiō, as he spake vnto them. And the 14. chap. of Luke: Euen so euery one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. And Ierome in his 14. Epistle hath the like wordes. And Bernard in his 20 booke to Eugenius the Pope. And also Hugo in his booke De Sacramentis, the second part of his secōd booke the 7. chap. Also in the 12. q. first. chap Duo sunt, and in the chap. Clericus. And agayn, Bernard in his booke De sermone de Apostolis, vpon thys place: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Behold we leaue all. &c. & Chrisostome vpon the Gospell of S. Math. &c.

*☞ The third conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of Priestes, withouten leaue of Bishops, and is this that such true Priestes may counsel sinnefull men: that shewen to them their sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God hath geuen, to turne hem from sinne to vertuous life, & as touching preaching of the Gospell.

I say, that no Bishop oweth to let a true Priest, that God hath giffen grace,* wit and cunning to do that office. For both Priestes and Deacons that God hath ordeyned Deacons or Priests, bene holden by power geuen to them of God, to preach to the people the Gospell: and namely, & souerely Popes, Bishops, Prelates and Curates: for this is due to the people and the parishners, to haue it and aske it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generally to his Disciples: Ite & praedicate Euangelium omni creaturae, Goe and preach the Gospell to all creatures, as well as he sayd Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Goe and baptise all nations, that also as well longeth preaching to Priestes without leaue of a Bishop as doth baptising:* and then why may he not preach Gods word withouten a Bishops leaue. And sithen Christ bod his Priestes preach, who should forbidden them preaching? The Apostles were forbidden of a bishop at Ierusalem to speake more of the name of Iesus, but Peter sayd: Si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potiùs audire quàm Dominum iudicate. That is. Whether it be iust in the sight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord: be your selues Iudges. A Bishop may not let a Priest of geuing bodily almes in his Dioces: much more may he not let the doing of spiritual almes in his dioces by gods law. A

Priest may say his Mattines withouten the Byshops leaue: for the Pope that is aboue the Bishop, hath charged Priestes therewith: And me thinketh that Christes bidding should be all so much of charge as the Popes. Math. 10 Euntes autem praedicate, Ite ecce ego mitto vos Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum. &c. Lucae. 10. Ft Anacletus pap dis. 21 cap. In nouo Testamēto. Et Beda super illud: Messis quidem multa. Et Isydorus de summo bono. ca. 44. Et Gregorius in canone dis. 43. Preconis quippe officium suscipit &c. & Chrisostom. distinct. 43. Nolite timere. Et Aug. dis. 34. cap. quisquis. & Gregorius in suo pastoralis ca. 38. qui enim est. Et Chrisostom. 31. & in Tollitano concilio: Ignorantia. & Aug. in Prologo sermonum suorum & Ieronimus dis. 9. Ecce ego. Et Aug. super id: Homo quidam peregrinus. That is. Go you forth and preach. And agayn, Behold I send you. &c. Mar. 16. Go you into all the world. &c. and Luk. 10. cap. in nouo Testamento. And Beda vpon this place. Messis quidem multa: the haruest is great. Also Isidorus, De summo bono. cap. 44. And Gregorius in the Canon dist. 43. Preconis quippe officium suscipit. &c. and Chrisostome in hys 34. distinction: Nolite timere: And Augustine in the 34. dystinction cap. quisquis. And Gregorius in his Pastorall. cap. 38. Qui enim est. And Chrisostome in his 31. Homelye. Et in Tollitano concilio ignorantia. And Augustine in the Prologue of his Sermons. And Hiereme in the 95. distinct. Ecce ego. And Augustine vpon this place. Homo quidam peregrinus. A certayne traoueller.

☞ The fourth conclusion toucheth the Sacrament of the aaltar, and is this.

That wholly I beleue that the Sacramēt of the aaltar made by vertue of heauenly words, is bread and Christes body, so as Christ himselfe sayth in the Gospell and as S. Paule sayth, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined: To this sentence Iohn. 6. Moses hath not geuē you bread from heauen, but my father will geue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came downe from heauen and geueth life vnto the world. My father geueth vnto you bread in deed: the very true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and geueth life vnto the world. I am the bread of life: The bread which I wil geue is my flesh. And in the Canon of the Masse Panem sanctum vitae aeternae: the holy bread of life. And Corinth. the 10. cap. and first Epistle. The bread which we breake, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man proue himselfe and so eat of that bread. &c. And Canon De consecratione distinction. 2. Under the authority of Hilarius the Pope: Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari &c. And Augustine in the foresayd distinctiō. That which is sene, is bread &c. That which fayth requireth, is bread and is the body of Christ. And in the foresayd distinction. cap. Omnia quaecunque &c. By these two sentēces it is manifestly declared, that that bread & this, bee not two but one bread and one flesh. Note the woordes for that he sayth, the breade and fleshe. And the author, De diuinis officijs, and also Augustine in his booke De remedijs poenitentiae: why preparest thou thy teeth &c. And Ambrose, De Sacramentis: de consecratione: distinct. 2. Reuera mirabile est. &c. This meat which you receiue, & this bread of one which descended from heauen: doth minister the substaunce of eternall life, and whosoever shall eate the same shall not dye euerlastingly, and is the body of Christ. Note how he sayth and is the body of Christ.

☞ The 5. article telleth of forgeuenesse of sinnes & is this.* That very contrition withouten charity and grace, do away all sinnes before done of that man, that is verely contrite, and all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise Priest and a good, profiteth much to a man and it is needfull and helping, that men shew theyr life to such, trusting fully to Gods mercy,* that he forgeueth the sinne.

And herto I say, that there bene 2. remissiōs of sinnes: one that longeth onely to God: And that remission is the clensing of the soule from sinne. And the other remission, a certifying that one man certieth an other, that his sinnes bene forgeuen of God, if he be sory with all his hart for thē: and is in full wil to leaue them for euer: and this maner of forgeuenes longeth to Priests.* Of the first maner of forgiuenesse. Dauid sayth: And I sayd I will confesse my vnrighteousnes vnto the Lord, & thou forgauest me my misdeed. And Zachary sayth. And thou O childe shalt be called the Prophet of the highest. &c. To geue knowledge of saluation vnto his people for the remission of theyr sinnes, by the bowels of Gods mercy. And Iohn Baptist. Behold the lamb of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world. And S. Iohn the Euangelist sayth in his Epistle: If we confesse our sinnes, he is faythfull & iust to forgeue vs our sinnes and clense vs from al our iniquity. And it foloweth. If any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Iesus Christ and he it is that is the propitiatiō for our sinnes. And of the other remissiō of sinnes Christ speaketh in the Gospell, and sayth. Whose sinnes ye forgeue, they shalbe forgeuen.* And mans forgeuenes auayleth litle, but zif God forgeue our sinnes through his grace.

☞ The 6. conclusion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the Pope graunteth in his Buls, and men callen it an absolution A poena & a culpa.*

Of this maner of speach I cannot finde in the Gospel, ne in no place of holy write,* ne I haue not read that Chryst vsed this maner of remission, ne none of his Apostles. But as me semeth, if the pope had such a power sithē the paines after a mās death bene much greater thē any bodily paines of the world: me thinketh he should of charity keep mē out of such paynes, and then men needed not to finde so many vicious Priests after theyr life, to bring theyr soules out of Purgatory. An other thing me thinketh, that sithe the popes power ne may not keep vs in this world fro bodely paynes as from cold, from hunger, from dread, frō sorow, and other such paynes, how should his power help vs frō spirituall paynes, when we bene dead? But for that no mā commeth after his death to tell vs the sooth in what payne they bene, men mow tell thereof what him lust. S. Iohn sayth in his Apocalips, that he sawe vnder the aultar, the soules of them which were slaine for the word of God, and for the testimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice, saying: how long Lord holy and true, doest not thou reuenge our bloud of them which dwel on the earth. And white stoles were geuē to euery of thē,* to rest a while, till the number of theyr felow seruaunts & brethren should be fulfilled, which also remayned to be slayne as they were. &c. Here semeth it, that these soules were not assoiled a poena, that is from payne: for theyr desire is not fulfillen. And they were bidden abide a while, and that is a payne. And if Martyrs were not assoyled from payne, it is hard for any mā to to say, y^t he assoyleth other mē a poena. Also good mēs soules haue not but spirituall blisse, and they want bodely [Page 473](#) blysse, vntill their resurrection in the day of dome.* And after they desiren to haue that blysse, and abiden it, and that is paine to them. And I cānot see that y^r Pope hath power to bring him from this paine. But if any man can shew me, that he hath such a power graunted in the troth of holy write, I will gladly leefen it.

☞ The vii. point speaketh of the Pope and is this: Sith it is onely due to God, as I haue syd before, to geue & to graunt plener remissiō, from paine, and from blame: that whatsoever he bee Pope or other that presūptuously mistaketh vpon him the power that onely is due to God, in that,* in as much as in him is, he maketh him selfe euen w^t Christ, & blasphemeth God, as

Lucifer did, when he sayd: Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo, That is, I will ascend, and be lyke the highest &c.

For that I say, if y^e Pope holde men of armes in maintayning of his temporal Lordship, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, & geueth remission to fight and to slay them, that contraricn him, as men sayden he did by the Byshop of Norwich, not putting his sword in his sheath, as God commaunded to Peter: he is Antichrist. For he doth the contrary of the commaundement of Iesus Christ, that had Peter forgeuen to his brother. 70. sithe. 7. sithe. wel I finde in the Gospel, that when Christ sent his Disciples to Samarye, the Samaritanes would not receiuen them. And some of them bidden Chryst, that he should make a fire come down from heauen, to destroy the City. And he blamed them and said: Nescitis cuius spiritus estis: Filius hominis non venitanimas perdere, sed saluare. That is, ye know not of what spirit ye are: The sonne of man is not come downe to destroy,* but to saue y^e lyues and soules of mē. &c. If Christ then come to saue men, and not to slea them: who that doth the reuers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Antichrist. Christ bad Peter put his sworde in his sheath and sayd:*Omnes qui gladium acceperunt, gladio peribunt. That is: All which take the sword, shall perish with the sworde. And I cannot fynde that Peter drew out his sword after that time, but suffered as Christ sayd: Cum senueris, alius cinget te, & ducet quò tu non vis. That is, when thou shalt waxe old, an other shall gird thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not. And therefore sayd Peter, Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs example that we shoulde followe his steps. And Paule sayth: Not defending your selues, but geue place to anger: leaue reuenging to mee, and I shall rewarde them &c. And therfore it, seemeth to me, that it is much against Christes lore, that his Uicar should bee a fighter, sithen that hee mote be a shephearde, that shoulde go before his sheepe, and let them come after him, and not with swordes to driue them away from him. For as Christ sayth, a good shepheard shall put his lyfe for his sheepe. And zif al that Christ had two swordes when that hee was taken of the Iewes, he sayd himselfe, it was for that the Scriptures moten zit be fulfilled:*Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus est, that is: he was reputed among the wicked: and not to figure two swordes, that men sayen the Pope hath to gouerne with the church. And when I see such doinges of the Pope, & many other that accorden not with Christs lore, ne his liuing: And when I reade diuers Scriptures of holye writte, I am foule astenied whether they shoulde be vnderstanded of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods loue tell mee the sooth. Chryst sayth: Many shall come in my name, saying: I am Christ, and shall seduce many. &c. Christ (I wot well) is as muche to say,* as he that is anointed, & two annointinges there weren in the lawe, one of Kinges, an other of Priestes. And Christ was both King and Priest, and so the Pope sayth that he is. And if all that haue bene Emperours of Rome, and other heathen kinges haue bene Antichrists, they come not in Christes name. But who so commeth in Christes name, and fayneth him Christes frend, and he be priuely his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. S. Paul saith: before there commeth a defection first, and y^e sonne of perdition shalbe reuealed, which is y^e aduersary, and is extolled aboue al that is named God, or which is worshipped: so y^e he shal sit in the temple of God, shewing himself as God. And it followeth in the same place: And now ye knowe what holdeth till he be reuealed in his time, for he worketh already the mistery of iniquitie.* Onely he y^e holdeth, let him holde till he come abroad, & then that wicked one shall be reuealed, whom y^e Lord Iesus shal slay with the spirite of his mouth. &c. And S. Iohn saith in the Apocalips: I saw an other beast ascending out of the erth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He spake like y^e Dragō, & had the power of the first beast. Many such authorities astonick me oft sithes: and therefore I pray you for y^e loue of God, to tell me what they meane.

The sentence.

THE which schedule afore mencioned,* with the cōtentes thereof diligently of vs perused, we considering y^r diseases which be not easely cured wth gētle remedy, must haue harder playsters. Cōsidering moreouer these his articles with his aunswers to y^e same, & to other articles also lastly against him produced, first mature deliberatiō had before vpon y^e whole matter wth the foresaid masters & Doctors, as wel secular as regular, to a great number, obseruing in the same al thinges to be obserued in this behalfe, haue geuē sentēce against y^e said w. in forme as foloweth.

The name of Christ being inuocated, we Iohn, by the permission of God,* Bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunal seate, hauing God before our eyes, weying & cōsidering y^e articles by the foresaid faithfull Christians put vp against y^r said Swinderby, pretēding himselfe to be priest, with his aunswers vpō the same, Actis & Actitatis before vs in the cause of hereticall peruersitie, with mature deliberation had before in this behalfe, with masters & doctours of diuinitie, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and cōsent: Do pronounce, decree, and declare the sayd w. to haue bene and to be an hereticke, scismaticke, and a false informer of the people, & such as is to be auoided of faithfull Christians. wherefore we admonish, vnder y^r paine of the law, all & singular Christians, of what sex, state, condition, or preeminence soeuer: y^t neither they, nor any of thē wthin our dioces, or any other, do beleue, receaue, defend, or fauor y^e said w. til he shal deserue fully to be reconciled to the bosome againe of holy Church.

The appeale of W. Swynderby from this sentence of the Bishop prefixed, vnto the king and his counsaile.

IN nomine patris,*et filij, et spiritus sancti, Amen. I. W. Swynderby priest, knowledge openly to al men, that I was before the Bishop of Hereford, the thirde day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to aunswer to certaine conclusions of y^e faith that I was accused of. And mine aunswere was this, that if the Bishop or any man couthe shew me by Gods law, y^r my conclusions or mine aunsweres were errour or heresie, I would be amended, and openly reuoke them before al y^e people.* Knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden singly with word, that there was errours in them, and bidden me subiect me to y^e Bishop, & put me into his grace & reuoke mine errour, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reasō, ne proued which they weren. And for I would not knowledge mee guiltie, so as I knew no errour in thē, of which I should be guilty, therfore y^e Byshop sate in dome in mine absēce, and deemed me an heriticke, a schismaticke, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of y^e Church. And therefore for this vnrightfull iugement, I appeale to the kinges Iustices for many other causes.

One cause is, for the kynges Court, in such matter is aboue the Byshops court:.* For after that the Byshop has accursed, he may no feare by his law, but thē mote he sech succour of the kinges law, and by a writ of Significauit, put a man in prison.

The second cause is, for in cause of heresie there liggeth iudgement of death, & that dome may not be geuen without the kinges Iustices. For the Byshop will say: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam, That is: It is not lawfull for vs to kill anye man: as they sayden to Pilate, when Christ

should be deemed. And for I thinke that no Iustice wil geue sodenly & vntrue dome as the Byshop did, and therefore openly I appeale to hem and send my conclusiōs to the Knightes of the Parliament, to be shewed to the Lordes, and to be taken to the Iustices, to be wel auiset or that they geuen dome.

The thirde cause is,* for it was a false dome: for no man is an hereticke, but he, that maisterfully defends his error or heresie and stifly maintaines it. And mine aūswere has ben alway cōditional, as y^e people openly knows, for euer I say, & yet say & alway will: that if they ca•nen shew me by Gods law that I haue erret, I wil gladly ben amēdet, and reuoke mine errours and so I am no hereticke, ne neuer more in Gods grace will ben en no wise.

The fourth cause is.* For the Bishops lawe, that they deme men by, is full of errours and heresies, contrary to y^e truth of Christes law of the Gospell.

For there as Christs law biddes vs loue our enemies, the Popes law geues vs leaue to hate them & to sley them, and grauntes men pardon to werren againe heathē men, and sley hem. And there as Christes lawe teache vs to be [Page 474](#) mercifull, the Bishops lawe teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greatest wretch that mē mowen done on him that guilty is.

There as Christes law teaches vs, to blessen him that diseazen vs, and to pray for him: the popes law teacheth to curse them, and in theyr great sentence that they vsen, they presume to damne hem to hell that they cursen. And this is a foule heresy of blaspheme, there as Christes law byddes vs be patient, the Popes law iustifies two swords, that wherwith he smiteth the sheepe of the Church. And he has made Lordes and Kings to sweare to defend him and his Church.

There as Christes law forbiddeth vs leche•y, y^e popes law iustifies the abhominable whoredome of cōmon women, and the Bishops in some place haue a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

There as Christes lawe byddes to minister spirituall thynges freely to the people: the Pope with his law selles for mony, after the quātity of the gift, as pardons, orders, blessing, and Sacraments, & prayers, & benefices, & preaching to the people, as it is knowne amongst them.

There as Christes law teaches peace: the Pope wyth his law assoyles mē for mony to gader the people, priests, and other to fight for his cause.

*There as Christes law forbids swearing: The popes law iustifieth swearing, and compels men therto.

Wheras Christes law teacheth his Priests to be poore; the Pope with his law, iustifies and mayntaynes Priests to be Lordes.

And yet the 5 cause is, for the Popes law that byshops demen men by, is y^e same vnrightfull law that Christ was demet by of the Byshops, with the Scribes and with the Pharises. For right as at that time they gauen more credens to the 2. false witnesses that witnessed agaynst Christ then they deden to al y^e people that witnesseden to his true preaching and his miracles: so the Bishops of the Popes law geuen more leuen by their law to two hereticks & Apostats, or two comen

wymen that woulde witnesseden agaynes a man in the cause of heresy, than to thousands of people that were trewe and good. And for the Pope is this Antechrist and his law contrary to Christ his law,* fully I forsake this law and so I reed all Christen menne. For thus by an other poynt of this law, they mighten cōquere much of this world: For whan they can by this law presēt a man an hereticke: his goods shulen be forfet from him & frō his heyres, and so might they lightly haue 2. or. 3. false witnesses to recorde an heresy agayne what true man so hem liked. Herefore me thinkes, that whatsoeuer that I am a christen man I may lawfull appeale frō a false dome of the law, to be righteously demet by the trowth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not serue, I appeale opēly to my Lord Iesu Christ that shall deme all the world, for he I wot well, will not spare for no man to deeme a trowth. And therefore I pray GOD almighty with Dauid in the Sauter booke Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & iustitiam tuam filio regis: Iudicare populum tuum in iustitia & pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is. O God geue they iudgement to the king, and thy iustice to the kings sonne: to iudge thy people in iustice, and thy poore ones in iudgement. &c.

A letter sent to the Nobles and Burgesies of the Parliament, by M. William Swinderby.

*Iesu that art both God and man help thy people that louen thy law, and make knowne through thy grace thy teaching to all christen men. Deare sirs, so as we seen by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, & all that euer haue bene forth brought of Adams kinde into this world shulē come togeder at domesday riche and poore, ichone to geue accompt and receiue after hys deedes, ioy or paynen for euermore: Therefore make we our werks good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be yee stable and true to God, and ye shulen see hys helpe about you. Constantes estote & videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. This land is full of Ghostly cowardes, in Ghostly battayle few dare stand. But Christ the comforter of all that falleth (to that his hart barst for our loue) agaynst the fiend the doughty Duke comforteth vs thus: Estote fortes in bello. &c. Be ye strong in battell, he sayes, and fight ye with the olde adder. State in fide, viriliter agite. &c. Wake ye & pray ye, stonde ye in beleue, do ye manly and be ye comforted, and let all your thinges be done with charity: For Saynt Paule bidde thus in his Epistle, that saw the preuetyes of God in heauen: Euigilate iusti. &c. Awake ye that bene righteous men, be yee stable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickly and sleepe nought, and stonde now strongly for Gods law. For Saynt Iohn in the Apocalips sayes, blesset be he that awakes: for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the hower is now as Paule sayth to vs, from sleepe for to arise, for he that earely awakes to me, he shall finde me sayth Christ himseluen. This waking gostly is good liuing out of sinne: this sleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans hart from gostly comfort and to stand in the same through a deceauable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heauen: the fende makes men bold in sinne and ferd to do worship to God: death is a likening to a theefe that preuely steales vpon a man that now is riche, and full of wele, an one he makes him a needy wretch: therefore sayd God by S. Iohn in the Apocalips in this wise: Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre. And if the husbandman (sayes Christ) wist what houre the theefe should come, he shoulde wake and suffer him not to vndermine his house. Saynt Peter therefore warneth and sayth: wake and be ye ware, suffer ye no man (he sayes) as a theefe but wilfullye for Gods loue, for it is time (as Peter saies) that dome begin from the house of God: Ye bene the body of Christ (sayes Poule) that needes must suffer with the head, or els your bodyes bene but deade and departed from

Christ that is the head. And therefore curset be he (sayes Poule) that loues not Iesu Christ. And who it is that loues him, Christe himselfe telles in the Gospell: he that has my hestes, and keepes them, he it is that loues me. Cursed he be therfore (sayes Poule) that doth Christes workes deceiueably. Be ye not therefore (sayes Poule) ashamed of the true witnesse of Iesu Christ, for Christ our God sayes in his Gospell, he that shames me and my wordes, him shall mans sonne ashame when he shal come for to set in the siege of hys Maiesty. And each man he sayes, that knowes me and my wordes before men in this sinnefull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowledge him before my father sayes Christ himselfe, when he shall come with hys Aungels in the glory of his Father: Sithe ye therefore bene Christenmen, that is to say, Christes men, shew in deede that ye bene suche as ye daren shew you the kings men: for hit h•d bene, as Peter saies, better not to haue knowen the way of trueth, then after the knowing thereof to be conuerted backward there from. We knowen Christ, that is tought, we sain all through our beliefe if we turne from him for dred, truely wee deny the troth: And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knowes but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worship, when we haue time: Be true (sayes God) to the death and you shall haue the crowne of life: And thinke on Iudas Machabeus, that was Gods true knight, that comforted hartelye Gods true people, to be the folowers of his law. And geue ye, he sayd, your liues for the Testament of your fathers. And ye shulen winne, he sayd, great ioy, and a name for euermore. Was not Abraham, he sayd, in temptation founden true, and was arectet vnto him euermore to righteousness, Ioseph in time of his anguish he kept truely Gods hest, he was made by Gods prouidence Lord of Egypt, for his trouth. Phinees our fadure louing, he sayth, the zeale of God tooke the testament of euerlasting Priestthoode. Iosue for he fulfillet the worde of God was domes man in Israell. Caleph that witnessed in the Church, he tooke therefore the heretage, he sayth: Dauid in his mercy hee gat the siege of the kingdome in worldes. Hely for that he loued the zeale of Gods lawe, was taken vppe into heauen. Ananie, Azary, and Misaell, he sayes, weren deliuerer thoore through true beliefe out of the hoat flame of fire. True Daniel in his simplenes was deliueret from the Lyons mouthe. Bethinke ye therfore, he sayes, by generation and generation, and thou shalt neuer finde that he sayled that man that truely trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he sayes of the wordes of a sinnefull man: hys glory is, he sayes, but wormes and tordes: he is to day, he sayth, y made hye, to morow he sayes he is not foundē for he is turned, he sayes, into his earth agayn, & the minde of him is perisher. Sonnes therefore he sayes, be ye comforter, and dye manly in the lawe: for when ye han done that that Gods commaundes you to doe, ye shulen be glorious in him. And Dauid the king sayes also on this wise in the Psalter booke: blesset be they (Lord) that keepen thy law, in worldes of worldes they shall prayse thee. And in Leuiticus sayes God thus, gif that ye wenden in mine hestes & keepen my commaundementes, and done hem, I shall I shall bring forth theyt fruit,, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shallen eat your bread in fulnes, ye shoulē dwell in your lande without drede, I shall geue peace in your costes, ye shall sleep and no man shall feare you. Euill beastes I shall done away from you, and sword shall not passe your termes, ye shuln pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you, fifty of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies, hee saieth shulen fal through sword, and your sute. I shall he sayes behold you and make you to waxe, and ye shall be multiplier: And I shall strength with you my couenaunt, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in theron. And ye shuln cast forth the old, I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amonges you, and shalbe your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that ye heare me not, ne done nought all my hestes but dispisē my law and my domes, and that ye done not tho thinges that of me bene orderer, and breken my

commaundements and my couenant: I shall do these thinges to you. I shall visite you surely in [Page 475](#) nede and brenning, which shall dimme your eghenen, and shall wast your liues about nought: Ye shulne sow your sede for hit shalbe deuouret of enemies, I shall put my face agaynst you, and ye shall fall before your enemies. And ye shulen be vnderlings to them that han hatet you, ye shall flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall adde thereunto thornes and seuen folde blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnes of you, I shall geue the heauen aboue you as yron, & the earth as brasse. About nought shall your labour be, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruit, ne tree shall geue none apples to you. If that ye wenden agaynst me, and will not heare me, I shall adde hereto, seuen folde woundes for your sinnes, I shall send amongst you beastes of the field that shall deuour you and your beastes, I shall bring you into a field, and wayes shuln be desart. And if that ye will not receiue lore, but wenden agaynst me, I will also wenden agaynst you, and I shall smite you seuen sithes for your sinnes. I shall leade in vpon you, sword, venger of my couenaunt and vpon the fleeen into Cities, I shall send pestilence in the middest of you. So that tenne women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld thē agayne by wayght, and ye shall eat, & not be fillet. If that ye heare me not by these thinges, but wenden agaynst me, I shall wend in agaynst you in a contrary woodnesse, and blame you with seuen plagues for your sinnes, so that they shoulde eat the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And in so much my soule shall loth you, that I shal bring your Cities into wilderness, and your Sanctuaries I shall make desart, ne I shal not ouer that receiue sweet oder of your mouth. And I shall disperkle your land, and enemies shulen maruell thereon, when they shulen inhabite it, I shall disperpel you among Heathen, and draw my sword after you. These vengeaunces and many moe, God sayde should fall on them that breake his bidding, and dispiseth his lawes, and his domes. Than sithe Christ become man, and bought vs with his hart bloud, and has shewed vs so great loue, and geuen vs an easy law, of the best that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauen, and we despise it and louen it nought: what vengeaunce will be taken here on, so long as he has suffered vs, and somercifully abidden, when he shall come that righteous iudge in the cloudes to deme this worlde? Therefore turne we vs to him, and leaue sinne that he hates and ouer all thinges mayntayne his lawe that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, shoulde be demed at that day by the iust law of Christ, and the maker that them made, and then we wonne that long life and that ioy that Paule speaketh of, that eye ne see not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans hart ascended not, the blisse and ioy that God hath ordeyned to them that louen him and his lawes.

Deare worshipfull sirs in this world I beseech you for Christes loue, [*](#) as ye that I trow louen Gods law & trouth (that in these dayes is greatly borne abacke) that they wollen vouchsafe these thinges that I send you written to Gods worship, to let them be shewed in the Parliament as your wittes can best conceiue, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amē'ding of holy Church. My conclusions and mine appeale & other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can finde therein errour, falsenesse, or default, prouet by the law of Christ clearly to christen mens knowledge) I shall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet: euer redy to hold with Gods law opely & priuely with Gods grace, and nothing to holde, teach, or maynetayne that is contrary to his law.

Of the proces, answeres, & condemnation of this worthy priest and true seruaunt of Christ, Williā Swinderby, you haue heard, what afterward became vpō him, I haue not certainly to say or affirme, whether he in prisō died, or whether he escaped theyr handes, or whether he was burned

there is no certayne relation made. This remayneth out of doubt that during y^e time of K. Richard. 2. no great harme was done vnto him. Which was to the yeare. 1401. at what time K. Richard being wrongfully deposed, Hēry the 4. inuaded the kingdome of England. About the beginning of whose reigne we read of a certayn Parliament holden at Londō, mentioned also of Thomas Walden (as is aboue specified) in which parliamēt it was decreed: that whosoever shewed themselues to be fauorers of Wickliffe they should be apprehended, who at that time were called Lollards, and if so be they did obstinately perseuere in that doctrine, they should be deliuered ouer vnto the bishop of the dioces, & from him should be cōmitted to the correctiō of the secular magistrate. This law (sayth y^e story) brought a certaine priest vnto punishmēt the same yeare, who was burned in Smithfielde in the presence of a great number. This we haue drawne out of a piece of an old story, & it is most certaine that there such a Priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appeare by the story, what the Priestes name was. Notwithstanding by diuers coniectures it appeareth vnto me that his name was Swinderby that was forced to recant before by the Bishop of Lincolⁿ. Whereby what is to be conicetured by the premisses, let other men iudge what they think. I haue nothing here of expressly to affirme. This is plain for al men to iudge (which haue here sene and read his story) that if he were burned, then the bishops, Friers & priestes, which were the causes thereof, haue a great thing to answeere to the Lord, when he shall come to iudge y^e quicke and the dead, & seculum perignem.

The story and processe agaynst Walter Brute.

AFTER the story of William Swinderby,* I thought good and conuenient, next to adioyne the actes and doinges of Gualter Brute his ioynte fellow and companion, being a lay man, and learned: brought vpp as it seemeth in the Uniuersitie of Oxforde, being there also graduate. The tractation of whose discourse as it is something long, so therein may appeare diuers thinges worthye to be read and considered.

First, y^e mighty operation of gods spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicitie; his valiant constancie, hys learned reactations and manifolde conflictcs susteyned aagaynst Gods enemies.* On the contrary part in hys aduersaryes may appeare, might against right mans authoritie agaynst plaine veritie: against which they hauing nothing directly to aunswere, proceede in condemnation agaynst whom they are able to bring forth no confi^ration. The chieftest occasion that seemed to stirre vp the heart and zeale of this Walter agaynst the pope: was the in

udent pardons and indulgenses of Pope 〈◇〉, graunted to Henry Spenser Bishop of Norwich 〈◇〉 against pope Clement, mentioned before pag. 428. Secondly the •orōgfull condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby, the whole order wherof, in the processe here following more playnly may appeare.

The processe had by Bohn Byshop of Hereford, agaynst Walter Brute lay man, and learned, of the dioces of Hereford, touching the cause of heresie, as they called it, set forward by the way of the Byshops office &c. at the instruction of certain faithful Christians, as he termed them, but in deed cruell and false promoters.

IN y^e name of God,* Amen. To all maner of faithful christian people that shall see and heare this our presēt proces. Iohn by y^e sufferance of God bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting & cōtinual charitie in y^e Lord. We would y^e you al should know, that of late by many faithfull christian people, & specially zealous followers of the catholicke faith, it was lamētably done vs to vnderstand by way of complaine: that a certain sonne of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute lay person, learned, of our dioces, hath vnder a cloked shew of holynes, dānably seduced the people: & setting behind him y^e feare of God, doth seduce thē as much as he cā, frō day to day, informing & teaching openly and priuely, as well the nobles as the commōs, in certaine conclusiōs hereticall, schismatical, and erroneus & also heretofore condēned. And they haue also probably exhibited against y^e same Walter, articles vnder writtē, uⁿ maner and forme as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced to the bishop, against Walter Brute.

REuerend father and Lorde, we the faythfull people of Christ,* we the faythfull people of Christ, & zelous louers of the catholicke faith, and also your humble and deuout children: do minister & exhibite to your reuerend fatherhood, the articles vnder written, touching y^e catholicke faith, cōtrary and against malicious persons, & detractours of the same faith, & the determinations of holy mother church, & namely agaynst the childe of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer amongst y^e people. Hūbly beseeching, y^e you would vouchsafe to haue regard to y^e correction of the enormities vnder written, according vnto y^e Canonically constitutions, euen as to your office pastorall doth lye and belong.

In primis,* we do geue and exhibite and entēd to proue, that the same Walter Brute being vnmyndfull of his saluation, hath bene by many and diuers faythfull Christian people sundry times accused of the cursednes of heresy: As by the swift report, slaūder, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the most reuerend father & Lord, Lord William Archb. of Caunterbury, and also before the reuerend father & Lord, Lord Iohn late B. of Herford, your predecessor, [Page 476](#) and now Bishop of S. Asse, hath bene testified, and also hath bene many & diuers times cited to answeere vnto articles by him agaynst the Catholicke fayth auouched, & openly and publicly taught: But he in this matter of hereticall cursednes (so greeuously and shamefully spoken of) hath neuer regarded to purge his innocency, but luckingly and running into corners, hath many and sundrye yeres labored to aduance things erroneous, schismaticall, and also heresy, & to imprint them in the harts of faythfull people.

*Item, the foresayd Walter Brute hath opēly, publicly, and notoriously auouched, and commōly sayd & taught and stubbornly affirmed: that euery Christen man (yea & woman) being without sinne may make the body of christ so well as the priest.

*Item, the same Walter hath notoriously, opēly & publicly auouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the alter there is not the very body, but a signe and a memoriall onely.

*Item, the foresayd Walter hath sayd commonly and auouched, and also hath labored to informe mē and companyes, that no man is bound to geue tithes, nor oblations: and if any man will

needes geue, he may geue his tithes, and oblations to whom he wil, excluding therby theyr curates.

*Itē, that such as do preach and prefer croised matters, and pardons (graunted by the high bishop to them y^e helpe the purpose of the reuerēd father Lord Henry by the grace of God Bishop of Norwich, when as he tooke his iourney vpō him to fight for the holy father the Pope) are schismatickes and heretickes, and that the Pope cannot graunt such maner of pardons.

*Item, the sayd Walter hath oftentimes sayd, and commonly aduouched, that the Pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and vtterly agaynst the lawe and life of Christ.

*Item, wheras of late your reuerence did (at the instāce of faithfull christen people) proceed in forme of law against William Swinderby, and that the sayd Williā Swinderby had vnto the said articles objected against him, geuē vp his answeres in writing, cōteining in thē errors, schismes & heresies, euen as you with the mature counsel of maisters & doctors in diuinity, & other faculties haue determined & geuen sentence, and haue pronounced the same William Swinderby to be an heretick, & a schismatick, and an erroneous teacher of y^e people: Neuertheles y^e forenamed Walter hath openly, publickly, & notoriously said, aduouched, & stubbornly affirmed, that the sayd Williams aunsweres (whereof notice hath bene geuen before) are good, righteous, and not able to be conuincid, in that they conteyne none error, and that your sentence before sayd, geuen agaynst the same William, is euill, false & vniust: And that your assistants haue wickedly, naughtely, peruersly, & vniustly condemned the answeres aforesayd.

*Now therupon immediately, those same faythful christian people haue instantly required that we would vouch safe that other articles geuen by y^e same faythfull christiās against the sayd William Swinderby, together w^t the writings and answeres of the same William therunto: should be admitted agaynst Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of cursed heresy: of which Articles and aunswers, the tenors do folow in these wordes.

In primis, that one William Swinderby pretending himself priest, was of certayne articles and cōclussions erroneous, false, schismaticall & heretical, by him preached, at diuers places & times, before a great multitude of faithful Christians, iudicially cōuincid: and the same articles and conclusiōs did he (inforced by necessity of law) reuoke and abiure, some as hereticall, and other as erroneous & false: and for such did he aduouch thē euer afterward promising so to take and beleue them & that frō thenceforth he would opēly or priuily preach, teach, or affirme none of them: nor that he should make sermon or preach within your dioces without licence demaunded and obtained. And in case he should to the cōtrary presume, by preaching or auouching that then he should be subiect to the seueritye of the Canōs euen as he iudicially sware accordingly as the law inforced. Also the conclusions abiured by the sayd William doe folow and are such.

- *1. In primis, that men by the rule of charity, may demaund debts, but by no meanes imprison any man for debts: and that the party so imprisoning a body, is excommunicated, before. pag. 466.
- 2. Item, that if the parishioners shall knowe theyr Curate to be incontinent and naughty: they ought to withdraw from him theyr tythes. &c. pag. 467.

- 3. Item, that tithes are mere almosies, and in case that the Curates shal be ill, that they may be lawfully bestowed vpon others by the temporall owners. &c. pag. 467.
- 4. Item, that an euill Curate to excommunicate any vnder his iurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is nought els. &c. pag. 467.
- 5. Item, that no mā may excōmunicate any body, except that first he know him excōmunicate of God: Neither doe those that communicate with such a one, incur the sentence of excommunication by any maner of meanes. ibid.
- 6. Item, that euery Priest may absolue euery sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the Gospell vnto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Bishops, pag. 467.
- 7. Item, that a priest receiuing by bargaine any thing of yearly annuity, is in so doing a schismaticke, and excommunicate. pag. 467.
- 8. Item, he doth assuredly beleeeue (as he auoucheth) that euery priest being in deadly sinne, if he dispose himselfe to make the body of Christ, doth rather commit idolatry thē make Christes body. pag. 467.
- 9. Item, that no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the mayd, and therefore &c. pag. 467.
- 10. Item, that the child is not rightly baptised, if the priest &c. ibid.
- 11. Item that no maner of person if he liue agaynst Gods law. &c. ibid.
- 12. Item, the same William agaynst the thinges premised, and his reuocation and abiuration (not to his hart cōuerting, but from euill to worse peruerting) did turne aside into our dioces: where running to and fro in diuers places, hath of his owne rash head presumed to preach or rather to peruert. &c. 467.
- 13. Item, after that we had heard diuers rumors, & slaunders of very many, we directed diuers monitions and cōmaundementes comminatorye, to be sent abroad by our Commissaries to sundry places of our dioces: that no person of what estate, degree or condition so euer he were of, should presume to preach or to teach the sacred scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our dioces. &c. page. 466.
- 14. Item, that the same sort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our seale, came to the true & vndouted knowledge of the sayd William.
- 15. Item, the same William vnmindefull of his owne saluation hath sithens & agaynst those monitions,* inhibitiōs and preceptes, and (that which is more abhominable to be spoken) in contempt of the high Bishops dignity, & to the slaūder & offence of many people, presumed in diuers places of our sayd dioces, to preach or rather to peruert & to teach the forementioned, & other heretical, erroneous and schismaticall deuises.
- 16. Item, the same William in preaching to the people: on monday, to wit, the first of August, in the yere of our Lord 1390. in the Church of Whitney in our dioces, held and affirmed: that no Prelate of the world, of what state, preheminece or degree soeuer he were of, hauing cure of soule & being in deadly sinne. &c. pag. 466.
- 17. Item,* the same William in many places sayd & affirmed in the presence of many faythfull •hristian people, after the sacramentall words vttered by the priest, hauing y^e intent to consecrate, there is not made the very bodye of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist. pag. 466.
- 18. Item, that accidences cannot be in the sacramēt of the aulter without theyr subiect: & that there remayneth materiall bread Concomitanter with the body of Christ in the sacrament. Vide supra pag. 466.

- 19. Item, that a priest being in deadly sinne cannot by the power of the sacramētall words, make the body of Christ, &c. pag. 466.
- 20. Item, that all priests are of like power in all poynts, notwithstanding that some of them are in this worlde of higher dignity, degree, or preheminance. pag. 466.
- 21. Item, that contrition onely putteth away sinne, if a man shall be duely contrite: and that all vocall confession and exercise, is superfluous, and not requisite of necessitye to saluation. Ibidem.
- 22. Item, that inferior Curates haue not theyr power of binding and loosing mediatly from the pope or bishop, but immediately of Christ. &c. pag. 466.
- 23. Item, that the pope cannot graunt such kind of annuall pardons, because there shall not be so many yeares to the day of iudgement as is conteyned in the popes buls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noysed and praysed to be. Ibid.
- [Page 477](#)24. Item that it is not in the Popes power to graunt to any penitent body forgeuenes of the paine or of the trespasse. pag. 466.
- 25 Item that one geuing his almes to any bodye which as he iudgeth hath no neede thereof, doth sinne in so geeuyng it. pag. 466.
- 26 Item that it standes not in the power of any prelate, of what priuate religion soeuer he bee, to geue by letters benefites of their order. Neither do such kind of benefites geuen profit them to whom they be geuen for the saluatiō of soules. Vide supra. pag. 466.
- 27 Item that the same William vnmindfull of his owne saluation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert wood called Derwalswood of our dioces, and there in a certayne vnhalloved Chappell (nay a prophane cottage) hath presumed of his owne propre rashnesse,* to celebrate. &c. pag. 466.
- 28 Item the same William hath also presumed to do the like thinges in a certayne prophane chappel, situate in the parke of Newton, nigh to the towne of Leyntwardyn, in the same our dioces. pag. 466.

*Which thinges being done, the same faithful Christen people, and specially sir Walter Pride the penitentiarie of our Cathedrall Church of Hereforde, personally appearing before vs, sitting in our iudgement seate in the parish Church of Whiteborne of our diocesse: brought forth and exhibited two publike instruments against the same Walter Brute, in y^e case of cursed heresie aforsaid, of which instrumentes here followeth the tenours and Articles in this sort.

In the name of God Amen. Be it euidently knowē to all persōs by this presēt publike instrumēt:* y^e in the yeare frō y^e incarnatiō, after y^e course and cōputation of y^e church of England. 1391. the indiction xv. of y^e pontifical office of our most holy father and Lord in Christ, Lord Boniface y^e ix. by Gods Wisedome Pope, the second yeare the xv. day of y^e month of October, in the dwelling house of the worshipful mā maister Iohn Godemoston, Chanon of y^e Cathedral Church of Hereford, in the presence of me the publike Notary vnder written, and of witnesses subscribed: Walter Brute lay man learned, of Hereford dioces, personally appearing sayde, auouched, and stifly maintayned: that the sayde Bishop of Hereforde and his assistaunces, which were with him the third day of the foresayde month of October, the yeare of our Lord aforesayd, in the Church of Hereford:* did naughtely, wickedly, peruersly, and vniustly condemne y^e aunsweres of sir William Swinderby Chaplaine, geuen by the same sir William to y^e same Lord byshop in wryting, and also the articles ministred by the same sir William.

And furthermore he sayd, held, and aduouched, that the same conclusions geuen by y^e same sir Williā, euen as they were geuen, are true and Catholike.

*Item, as touching the matters obiected agaynst hym by them that stooode by, concerning the sacrament of y^e aulter: he sayd, that after the sacramentall words: there doth remaine very bread, and the substance therof after the cōsecration of y^e body of Christ, and that there do not remain accidencies without substance or subiect after the cōsecration of the body of Christ. And touching this matter, the doctors holde diuers opinions.

*Furthermore as concerning y^e Pope, he said, helde, and auouched: that he is the very Antichrist, because y^e in lyfe and maners he is contrary to the lawes, doctrines, and deedes of Christ our Lord.

All and euery of these things were done, euen as they be aboue writtē and rehearsed in y^e yeare of our Lord, pōtificall office, month, day, & place aforesayd, at supper time of the day aforenamed, thē and there being present y^e worshipful and discrete men. *sir Walter Ramsbury, chiefe chāter of the sayde Cathedrall Church of Hereforde, Roger Hoore Chanon of the same Church, Walter Wall, Chaplain of y^e said church of Hereford, being a vicar of y^e Choral & certaine other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to y^e premisses. Ex Regist. Herford.

*And I Richard Lee whelar, clerke of Worcester, being a publike notarye, by y^e authoritie Apostolike: was personally present at all and singuler the premisses, whylest that (as is before rehersed) they were done and a doing, in the yere of our lord. 1391. pontisical office, month, day, place, & y^e houre aforesaid: & I did see, write, and heare all and singuler those things thus to bee done, and haue reduced thē into this publike maner and forme: & being desired truely to restifie the premisses, haue sealed the sayde instrument, made hereupon, with mine accustomed scale and name.

In the name of God, *Amen. Be it plainly knowē to all persons, by this present publike instrumēt: that in y^e yere from the incarnation of the lord after y^e course and co•p•tation of y^e church of England. 1391. the indiction fiftene, in the 3. yere of the pontifical office of y^e most holy father in Christ, and our Lord, Lord Boniface Pope by the prouydēce of God the 9. & in y^e 19. day of the month of Ianuary. Walter Brute layman, of Hereford dioces, personally appearing before y^e reuerēd father in Christ and Lord. Lord Iohn by gods grace B. of Herford, in y^e presence of me being a publike notarie, & one of y^e witnesses vnder written: did say, *hold, publish, & affirme, y^e cōclusiōs hereafter written, y^e is to say: y^e christen people are not boūd to pay tithes neither by the law of Moses, nor by the law of Christ.

Item, that it is not lawful for Christians for any cause in any case, to sweare by y^e creator neither by the creature.

Item he confesseth openly and of his owne accord: that within the same month of Ianuary, he did eate, drink, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reuerend father: whereby y^e same William Swinderby was pronounced an heretique, schismaticque, and a false seducer of the common people. Which conclusions, the same reuerend

father caused to bee writtē, and in writing to be deliuered to the same Walter. Which when he had seene and red, he sayd also that he did maintaine and iustifie them according to the lawes aforesayd. These thinges were done in the chamber o^r the sayd bishop of Herford,* at his manor of Whitborne of the sayde dioces of Hereford: then being there present the same Byshop abouesaid. M. Reynold of Wolsten, Canon of Hereford, sir Phillip Dileske parson of y^e parish church of Blamurin, Thomas Guldefeld parson of the Church of Englisbyknore, Iohn Cresset parson of the church of Whytborne, and Thomas Wallewayne housholde seruante, for witnesses specially called and desired to the premisses of y^e dioces of Hereford and S. Asse.

And I Benedict Come clerke of the dioces of S. Asse,* publike notary by y^e Apostolike authoritie of the dioces of S. Asse, was personally present together with the witnes before named, at all and singuler these and other thinges here premised whilest they were so done and a doing, & did see, heare, & write those things so to be done, as is before mencioned: and did write the same and reduce them into this publike forme, & with my wonted & accustomed seale and name haue sealed it, being desired and required truly to testifie the premisses.

At the last, the aforesaid Walter Brute, did present and cause to be presented to vs (at diuers places and times assigned by vs to the same Walter, to aunswere to y^r former conclusions and articles) diuers scroules of paper writtē with his owne proper hand, for his aunswers to the same Articles and conclusions aboue written: he partly appearing by his owne selfe, before vs sitting in our iudgement seat, and partly by his messengers, specially appoynted to that purpose: of which scroules, y^e tenors do follow in order worde by worde, and be on this maner.

In the name of the father,* and of the sonne, and y^e holy ghost, Amen: I Walter Brute, sinner, layman, husbādmā & a Christian (hauing mine ofspring of the Brittons, both by my father & mothers side) of the Britons, haue ben accused to y^e B. of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the catholike Christen fayth: by whō I am required, y^r I should write an aunswere in Latin to all those matters. whose desire I wil satisfie to my power, protesting first of al, before God & before al the world: y^e like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuse y^e knowē truth,* for any reward greater or smaller, yea be it neuer so bigge, nor yet for y^e feare of any temporal punishment: euē so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any cōmodities sake. And if any mā, of what state, sect or condition so euer he be, wil shew me that I erre in my writings or sayings by the authoritie of the sacred scripture, or by probable reason grounded in y^e sacred scripture, I wil humbly and gladly receiue his information.* But as for y^e bare wordes of any teacher (Christ onely excepted) I wil not simply beleue, except hee shalbe able to stablish thē by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: for because, that in the holy Apostles elected by Christ, there hath beue fōūd error by the testimony of the holy scripture, because that Paule himselfe doth cōfesse that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, Galat. the 2. Chapter. There hath ben errors fōūd in the holy doctors, that haue ben before vs, as they themselues confesse of them selues. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error founde in the teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themselues, and s^{ome} of them do sometimes determine [Page 478](#) mine one thing for truth, and others do condemne the selfe same thing to be heresye or error. Which protestation premised, I wil here place 1. suppositions or cases for a groūd and a foundatiō of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions stablished vpō the same, and vpon the sacred Scripture. By which cōclusions, when as they shall be declared after my maner and fashion, it

shal playnely appeare what my opiniō & iudgement is concerning all matters that I am accused of.* But because I am ignoraunt & unlearned, I wil get me vnder the mighty defences of the Lord. O Lord I will remēber thine onely righteousnesses.

*God the father almighty vncreate, the maker of heauē and earth, hath sent his sonne (that was euerlastingly begotten) into this world: that he should be incarnated, for y^e saluation and redemption of mankind, who was cōceiued by the holy ghost, euerlastingly proceeding from the father and the sonne, and was borne of Mary the virgin, to y^e end that we might be borne a new. He suffered Passion vnder Pōtius Pilate for our sinnes, laying down his life for vs, that we should lay down our life, for our brethrē. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to vs. He was dead, that he might redeeme vs from death, by purchasing for vs forgeuenes of sinnes. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptisme, and that we dead to sins, should liue to righteousnesses. He descēded into hell, therby deliuering man frō thraldom, and from the bondage of the Deuill, & restoring him to his inheritaunce, which he lost by sinne. The thyrd day he rose from the dead, through the glory of his father, that we also should walke in newnes of life. He ascended vp to the heauens, to which no body hath ascended, sauing he that descended from heauē, euē the sonne of man which is in heauē. He sitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty, vntill his enemies be made his footstool. He being in very deed so muche better then the Aungelles, as he hath obteyned by inheritaunce a more excellent name then they. From thence he shall come to iudge the quick and the dead, accordingly to theyr workes, because the father hath geuen all iudgemēt to the sonne. In whose terrible iudgement we shall rise agayne, and shall all of vs stand before his iudgement seat, and receiue ioy as well bodely, as spiritually for euer to endure, if we be of the sheepe placed at the right hand: or els punishment both of bodye and soule if we shall be fōūd amongst goates, placed on the left hand. &c.

Iesus Christ the sonne of God, very God & very man a king for euer, by stablishing an euerlasting kingdome, breaking to ponder all the kingdoms of the world:* Dan. 2. a priest for euer after y^e order of Melchisedech, wherby also he is able euermore to saue such as by him come vnto god & alwayes liueth to intreat for vs. Hebr. 7. He offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for euer by one oblation, those that be sanctified. Heb. 10. Being y^t wisdom that cannot be deceiued, & the trueth that cannot be vttered: he hath in this world taught the will of the godhead of his father, which will he hath in worke fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct vs, and hath geuē the law of charity to be of his faythfull people obserued, whiche he hath written in the hartes and mindes of the faythful with the finger of God, wher is the spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of y^e Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be obserued aboue all other doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, because that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens doctryns there chanceth oftentimes to be error, and therefore we must forsake theyr doctrines, if cloyedly or expresly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Mens doctryns being made for the peoples profit must be allowed and obserued, so that they be grounded vpon Christes doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

If the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the seruante of the seruantes of God,* and the chiefe vicare of Christ in this world, do make & maintaine many lawes contrary to the Gospell of Iesu Christ: then is he of those that haue come in Christes name,* saying, I am Christ, & haue

seduced many a one, by the testimony of our sauour in Math. cap. 24. and the idoll of desolation sitting in the Temple of God, and taking away from him the cōtinuall sacrifice for a time, times, and halfe a time. Which idoll must be reueled to the christian people by the testimony of Daniel. Wherof Christ speaketh in the Gospell. When you shall see the abhomination of desolation that was tolde of by Daniell the Prophet, standing in the holy place: let him that readeth, vnderstand, and he is the pestiferous mountayn infecting the whole vniuersall earth, as witnesseth Ieremy. chap. 51. & not the head of Christes body. For the auncient person in yeares, & honorable in reuerence, he is the head, & the prophet teaching lies is the tayle, as Esay alledgeth. chap. 9. And he is that wicked and sinnefull Captayne of Israell, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away Cidarim, and take away the crowne, Ezech, chap. 21. to whom it was sayd: Forasmuch as thy hart was exalted, and did it say, I am a God, & sittest in the seat of god, in the hart of the sea, seing thou art a man and not God,* and hast geuen thine hart, as if it were the hart of God: therfore behold I will bring vpō thee the most strong and mighty straungers of the nations, & they shall draw theyr swords vpō the beauty of thy wisdom & shall defile the commaundements & kill thee, and pul thee out, & thou shalt dye in the destruction of the slayne, and it foloweth.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, & of the iniquities of thy marchandise,* thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, from the midst of the whole earth, & will make thee as ashes vpon earth. Thou art become nothing,* & neuer shalt thou be any more. Eze. cha. 28 Furthermore he is y^e idle shepheard forsaking his flock hauing a sworde on his arme, & an other sworde in his right eye.* Zach. 11. & sitting in the temple of God, doth aduaunce himselfe aboue all thing that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped, by the testimony of Paule to Thes, 2. epist. 2. chap. And in the defection or falling away shall the man of sinne be reueled, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth.* For euery kingd••e deuided in it selfe, shall be brought to desolation. He ••so besides, the beast ascēding vp out of the earth, hauing two hornes like vnto alambe, but he speaketh like a dragon, & as the cruell beast ascending vp out of the sea, whose power shall continue 42. monethes.* He worketh the things that he hath geuen to the image of the beast. And he compelled small and great, rich and poore, freemen and bondslaues, to worshyp the beast, and to take his marke in theyr forehead or theyr hands. Apo. 13 chap. And thus by the testimony of all these places is he the chiefe Antechrist vpon the earth, and must be slayne with the sword of Gods word, and cast with the dragon, the cruell beast and the false Prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

If the city of Rome do allow his traditiōs, and do disalow Christes holy commaundements, and Christes doctrine, that it may confirme his traditions:* then is she Babilon the great, or the daughter of Babilon, and the great whore sitting vpō many waters with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become dronken with the wine of her harlotry lying opē to baudry. With whose spiritual whordom enchauntments, witchcraftes, and Symon Magus marchaundises, the whole roūd world is infected and seduced: saying in her hart, I sit as a Queen, and widow I am not neither shall I see sorrowe and mourning. Yet is shee ignoraūt y^t within a litle while shall come the day of her destruction & ruine by the testimony of the Apoc. cha. 17.* Because that from the time that the continuall sacrifice was taken away, & the abhomination of desolatiō placed, there be passed 1299. dayes by the testimony of Daniell, and the Chronicles added do agree to the same.* And the holy City also

hath bene troden vnder foot of the heathen, for 42. monethes, and the woman was nourished vp in the wildernes (vnto which she fled for feare of the space of the serpēt) during 1260. dayes, or els for a time, times, & halfe a tyme which is all one. All these thinges be manifest by the testimony of the Apocalips, & the Chronicles therto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babilon aforesayd,* it is manifest in the Apoc. where it is sayd: In one day shall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shal be burned with fire. For strong is the Lord whych will iudge her. And agayn Babilon that great Citty is fallen, which hath made all nations to drinke of the wine of her Whoredome. And thirdly, one mightye Aungell tooke vp a myllstone that was a very great one, and did cast it into the Sea, saying: with suche a violence as this is, shall that great Citty Babylon be ouerthrowne, and shall no more bee founde. For her Marchauntes were the Princes of the earth, and with her Witchcraft all Nations haue gone astray, and in her is there founde, the bloud of the Sayntes and Prophetes. And of her destruction speaketh Esay in the 13. chapiter.* And Babilon that glorious Citty, being so noble amongst kingdomes in the pride of the Caldeans, it shall be that like as the Lorde did ouerturne Sodome and Gomorre vpside downe, it shall neuer more be inhabited, nor haue the foundation layde in no age, from generation to generation.* Jeremy sayeth: Your mother that hath borne you, is brought to very great confusion and made euē with the ground. And agayne: The Lord hath deuised and done as he hath spokē agaynst the inhabitors of Babilō, which dwel richly [Page 479](#) in their treasures vppon many waters, thine ende is come. And thirdly: Drouth shall fall vpon her waters, and they shall beginne to be drye, for it is a land of grauen imagies, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: It shall neuer more be inhabited, neyther be builded vp in no age nor generation. Verely, euen as God hath subuerted Sodome and Gomorre with her calues.

Pardon mee (I beseeche you) though I be not plentiful in pleasaunt wordes: For if I should runne after the course of this wicked world, & should please mē, I should not be Christes seruant. And because I am a poore man, & neyther haue nor cā haue notaries hyred to testifie of these my writings: I call vpon Christ to be my witnes, which knoweth the inward secrets of my hart, that I am redy to declare the things that I haue writtē after my fashion, to y^e profit of all Christen people, & to y^e hurt of no mā liuing, & am ready to be reformed, if any mā will shew me where I haue erred: being redy also (miserable sinner though I be) to suffer for y^e cōfession of y^e name of Christ & of his doctrine, as much as shal please him by his grace & loue to assist me a miserable sinner. In witnes of al these things, I haue to this writing set y^t seale of our Lord & sauior Iesus Christ, which I besech him to imprint vpon my forehed, & to take frō me al maner of marke of Antichrist. Amen.

These two suppositions (as they are termed in the scholes) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited vnto the Bishop, although they conteyned matter sufficient eyther to satisfie the bishop if he had ben disposed to learne, or els to haue prouoked him to replye agayne, if his knowledge therin had ben better thē his: yet could they worke neither of thē effect in him. But he receiuing & perusing the same when he neither could confute y^t which was said, neyther would reply or aunswere by learning to that whych was truth, finding other by causlations, said that this his writing was too short and obscure, and therefore required him, to write vpon the same againe more plainely and more at large. Whereupon the said Maister Walter (satisfying the Bishops request, and ready to geue to euery one an accōpt of his faith) in a more ample tractatiō renueth hys matter agayne before declared, writing to the Byshop in wordes and forme as followeth:

*REuerend father, forsomuch as it seemeth to you y^t my motion in my two suppositions or cases, & in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat darke: I wil gladly now satisfy your desire, according to my smal learning, by declaring the same conclusions. In opening wherof, it shall plainly appeare, what I do iudge in all matters, y^t I am accused of to your reuerence, desiring you first of al, that your discretiō would not beleue that I do enterpryse of any presumption to handle the secretes of y^e scriptures, which the holy and iust, & wise Doctours haue left vnexpounded. It is not vnknown to many, that I am in all points farre inferiour to thē, whose holynes of life & profoundnes in knowledge, is manifold waies allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of sinnes, are to my selfe and others sufficiently knowen: wherefore, I iudge not my selfe worthy to vnloose or to cary their shooes after them. Do you therefore no otherwise deeme of me, then I do of mine owne selfe. But if you shal finde any goodnesse in my writings, * ascribe it to God only: who according to the multitude of his mercy, doth sometimes reueale those things to Idiotēs and sinners, which are hidded from the holy and wise, according to this saying: I will prayse and confesse thee O father, for that, y^u hast hidden these things from the wyse and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the litle ones. Euen so O father, because it hath thus pleased thee. And in an other place. I am come to iudgement into this world, that they which see not may see, and that they which see, may be made blinde. And Paule saith: that God hath chosen the weake things of the world, to cōfound the mighty, that no man shal boast in him selfe, but that al mē should geue the honour to God.

It was commaunded to Esay, bearinge the type of Christ: *Go and say to this people: Heare ye with your hearing, and do not vnderstand? Beholde ye the vision, and yet knowe ye not the thing that ye see? Make blinde the hart of this people, & make dull their eares, and shut their eyes, least that perchaunce with their eyes they should see, and with their eares they shoulde heare, and with their harts they should vnderstand and bee conuerted, and I should heale thē. And I sayd, how long Lord? And he sayd, vntill that the cities be made desolate without inhabitants, and the house without any person within it. * Also in Esay thus it is written: And the multitude of all nations, which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that haue warred, and besieged and preuailed agaynst it, shall bee as a dreame that appeareth in the night, & as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, but whē he shall awake out of sleepe, hys soule is empty. And lyke as the hungry person dreameth that hee eateth, and yet after that hee shall awake, he is still wearye and thirstye, and hys soule voyde of nourishment: euen so shall it bee wyth the multitude of all nations that haue fought agaynst the mount Sion. Be you amased, and haue great wonder: reele ye to and fro, and staggre ye: be ye druncken, and not with wyne: staker, but not through drunckennes: for the Lorde hath myngled for you the spirite of drousines. He shall shut your eyes, he shall couer your Prophets and Prynces that see visions. And a vision shalbe to you all together, lyke the wordes of a sealed booke, which when hee shall geue to one that is learned, he shall say: Reade here, and he shall aunswere, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the booke shalbe geuen to one, that is vnlearned and knoweth not his letters, and it shal be sayd vnto him, Reade, And he shall aunswere, I knowe not the letters, I am vnlearned, Wherefore the lorde saith: For asmuche as this people draweth nigh me with their mouthes, and glorifyeth me with their lips, but their hart is farre from me, and they haue rather feared the commaundements of men, and haue cleaued to their doctrines: *Beholde therefore I will ad besides, and bring such a muse and maruell vpon this people which shal make men amased with marueling. For wisdomē shal perish from their wise men, and the vnderstanding of their prudent persons shalbe hidden. * And soone after it followeth in the same place, yet a litle while and Libanus shalbe turned into

Charmell, and Charmell counted for a cops or groaue, and in the same day shall the deafe folkes heare the worde of this booke, and the eyes of the blinde (changed from darkenes and blindnes) shall see.

Nabuchodouoser enquiring of Danyel said. Thinkest thou that thou canst truely declare mee the dreame that I haue sene, and the meaning thereof. And Danyel sayd: As for the mistery whereof the king doth aske, neyther the wise men, magitiens, southsayers, nor enchaunters can declare to the king: But there is a God in heauen, that discloseth misteries, who will declare to thee (O king Nabuchodonosor) what things shal come to passe in the last times of all. To me also is this sacrament or misterie disclosed (not for any wisdom that is in mee more then in all men liuing) but to that the interpretatiō might be made manifest to the king, & that thou shouldest know the cogitacions of thy minde.

It was also sayd to Daniel, *And thou Daniel, shut vp the wordes, seale vp the booke, vntill the time appointed. Verely many people shall passe ouer, and many folde knowledge shall there be: And Daniel sayde to the man that was clothed with linnen garments, who stode vpon the waters of the floud: How lōg wil it be before the end shal come of these marueilous thinges? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparel, who stode vpon the waters of the flouds, when he had lift vp his right hād and his left hand into heauen, and had sworne by him that liueth for euermore: that for a time, tymes, and a halfe tyme. And when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holye people shalbe accomplished: then shal al these things be finished. And I heard and vnderstoode not, and I sayd: O my Lorde, what shall bee after these things, and he sayd: Go thy wayes Daniel, for this talke is shut & sealed vp, vntil the time that is before appointed.

All these thinges haue I written to shew, that he that hath the key of Dauid, who openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth: doth (when and how lōg it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and the hid secrets of the Scriptures, from the wise, prudent, and righteous: and other whiles at his plesure, reuealeth the same to sinners and lay persons. & simple soules, that he may haue the honor & glory in all things. Wherefore as I haue beforesaid, if you shall finde any good thing in my wrytinges, ascribe the same to God alone: If you shal finde otherwise, think ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt or errour be shewed me in all my wrytynges, I wil humbly allow your information & fatherly correction.

But why that such maner of matters are moued touching the disclosing of Antichrist in this kingdome, more then in other kingdomes, and in this time also more then in time past: the aunswere, as concerning the time of the motion is, that it is the last coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter in the signe of the * Twins, which is the house of Mercury, being the signifyer of y^e Christian people: which coniunction seemeth to me to betoken the secōd comming of Christ, to reforme his Church, and to call men agayne by the disclosing of Antichrist, to the per•fection of the Gospell, from their Hethenish rytes and wayes of the Gentiles. By whom the holy citie was trampled vnder foote, for 42. monethes, euen as the coniunction of the sayd two planets being inclosed in the signe of the Virgine, which is also the house of Mercury: dyd betoken the first commyng of Christ, for the saluation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, wherby to call thē through the same comming, to the full perfection of the Gospell. [Page 480](#) As touching this calling of the Heathen, speaketh Christ in the Gospell, I haue also other sheepe, that are not of this folde, and those must I bring, and they shall heare my voyce, and there shall be

one shepefolde, & one shepherd. For although the Gentiles be conuerted, from the infidelitie, of their idolatrie, to the fayth of Christ: yet are they not conuerted to the perfection of the law of Christ, And therefore did the Apostles in the primitiue Church, lay no burthen vpon the Gentiles,* but that they shoulde abstaine from haynous thinges, as from thynges offred to idols, and from bloud, and strangled, and fornicatyon. As touching this second comming, speaketh Esay: On that day the roote of Iesse which standeth for a signe or marke to the people, to hym shall the heathen make theyr homage and supplication, and hys sepulchre shall be glorious: and in that daye shall it come to passe, that the Lorde shall the second tyme put to his hande, to possesse the remnant of hys people &c. And he shall lift vp a token toward the nations, and hee shall assemble the runnagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Iuda shall he gather together from the fower quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to peeces, and the enemyes of Iuda shall come to nought. Paule to the Thessalonians sayeth: We beseeche you brethren, by the comming of our Lorde Iesus Chryst, and of our gathering together before him: that you be not soone remooued from your vnderstanding, neyther that you bee put in feare, as though the day of the Lorde were at hand, neyther as it were by letter sent by vs, neither by spirite, nor yet by talke. Let not any bodye by any meanes bring you out of the waye, or seduce you: For except there shall first come a departyng, and that the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition shalbe disclosed, whych maketh resistaunce, and is aduaunced aboue all thing that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he doth sitte in the temple of God,*shewing hymselfe as if he were God. Do ye not remember that whilst I was as yet with you, I tolde you of thys: and nowe you knowe what keepeth hym backe, that he may be vttered in hys due tyme: For euen nowe doth he worke the mysterie of iniquitie, onely that he which holdeth, may holde styll vntill he be come to light: and then shall that wicked one be disclosed, whom the Lorde Iesus shall slaye wyth the breath of hys mouth, and shall destroy with the brightnesse of his comminge, euen hym whose comming is accordyng to the workyng of Sathan, in all power, with signes and lying wonders, and in all deceipfull leading out of the truthe towards those that do perysh, because that they receiue not hartely the loue of truth, that they might be saued.

Christ being demaunded of the Apostles, what should be the token of his comming, & of the end of the worlde: sayd vnto them. There shall come many in my name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many. Also he telleth them of many other signes, of battayles, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. But the geatest signe of all he teacheth to bee this.*When you shall see (sayth he) the abomination of desolation stādyng in the holy place, he that readeth, let him vnderstand. But Luke 21. in his Gospel speaketh more plainely hereof. When you therefore shall see Ierusalem to be compassed about with an army, then knowe ye that the desolation thereof shall drawe nigh. And afterward it followeth: And they shall fall by the face of the sword, and shalbe led away captiue to all nations, and Ierusalem shalbe troden vnder foote of the heathen, vntill the tymes of the nations bee fulfilled. Now in Daniel thus it is writtē of this matter. And after 72. weekes, shal Christ be slain, neyther shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the Citie and Sanctuarie, shall a people (wyth his captayne that will come with them) destroy the sayde Citie and sanctuarie,*and hys ende shalbe to be wasted vtterly, till it be brought to naught, and after the ende of the warre, shall come the desolation appoynted. In one weeke shall he confirme the couenant to many, and wythin halfe a weeke shall the offering and sacrifice cease. And in the temple shall there bee the abomination of desolation, and euen vnto the end shall the desolation continue. And els wher••n Daniel, thus it is written. From the tyme that the continuall

sacrifice shalbe offered,*and that the abhominatyon shalbe placed in desolation, there shal be 1290. dayes.

Nowe, if any man will beholde the Chronicles, he shal finde, that after the destruction of Ierusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abhominatyon, that is to saye, the Idoll of desolation of Ierusalem, wythin the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had passed 1290, dayes taking a day for a yere, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whose rytes and customes God suffered the holy Citie to be trampled vnder foote for 42. monethes.* For although the Christyan Church, which is the holy Citie, contynued in the fayth from the Ascension of Chryst, euen till thys time: yet hath it not obserued and kept the perfection of the fayth all this whole season. For soone after the departure of the Apostles, the fayth was kept wyth the obseruatyon of y^t rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moses law, nor of the lawe of the Gospell of Iesus Chryst, Wherefore seing that this time of the errour of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the rytes of their gentilitie, to the perfection of the Gospell, as hee called the Iewes frō the lawe of Moyses to the same perfection, in his first comming: that there may be one shepefolde of the Iewes and Gentiles, vnder one shepeheard Seing therefore that Antichrist is knowen which hath seduced the nations: then shall the elec• after that they haue forsaken the errours of their Gentilitie, come through the light of Gods word, to the perfection of the Gospel, & that same seducer shalbe slayne with the sword of gods worde. So that by these things it doth partly appeare vnto mee, why y^t at this time rather then at an other time, this matter of Antichrist is moued.

And why that this motiō is come to passe in this kingdome, rather then in other kingdomes: me thinkes there is good reason, because that no nation of the Gētiles was so soone conuerted to Chryst as were the Brytons the inhabitauntes of this kingdome: For to other places of the worlde there were sent preachers of the fayth, who, by the workyng of miracles and continuall preaching of y^e word of God,* and by greuous passion and death of the bodye, dyd conuert the people of those places: But in this kingdome, in the time of Lucius kyng of the Brytons, and of Eleutherius Byshop of the Romaines did Lucius heare of the Romaines that were Infidels (by the waye of rumors and tales) of the Christian fayth, whych was preached at Rome. Who beleued straightwayes, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius for men skilfull to informe hym more fully in the very fayth it selfe: at whose comming he was ioyfull, and was baptised with his whole kingdom. And after the receiuing of the fayth,* they neuer forsooke it, neyther for any maner false preaching of other, neyther for any maner of tormēts, or yet assaults of the Paynims, as in other kindomes it hath come to passe. And thus it seemeth to me the Britons amongst other natiōs, haue ben, as it were by the spirituall election of God, called & conuerted to the fayth.

Of them as me seemeth,* did Esay prophecy saying: For they did see to whō there was nothing told of him, & they did behold, that had not heard of him. And againe, behold, thou shalt call a nation which thou knewest not: & natyons that haue not knowen thee, shall runne vnto thee: for the lord thy God, & y^e holy one of Israel, shall glorify thee.

Of this kingdome, did S. Iohn in the Apocalips prophecy (as me semeth) where he said, The Dragō stode before the woman, which was about to be deliuered of child, to the intent y^t when she had brought it forth into y^e world, he might deuour vp her sōne: & she brought forth her child

which was a māchild,* who should gouern al natiōs with an yron rod. And the same sonne was taken vp to God, & to his throne.* And y^e womā fled into the wildernes, wheras she had a place prepared of God, y^t they may feede her. 1260. dayes. And agayne in the same chapter, after that the Dragon saw that he was cast out vpō y^e earth, he did persecute the womā, which brought forth the manchild. And there were geuen to the womā two wings of a great Eggle, that she might flee into the wilderness into her place, where as she is fostred vp for a time, times, & a halfe time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did cast as it were a floud of water after the woman, to the intēt that he might cause her to be drowned by y^e floud: and the earth opening her mouth, did heare the woman, & did swallow vp the floud which the Dragon did cast out of his mouth. Let vs see how these sayinges may bee applyed vnto this kingdom rather then to other kingdomes. It is wel known y^t this kingdome is a wildernes or a desert place, because that the Philosophers & wisemen did not passe vpon it, but did leaue it for a wildernes and desert, because it is placed without the clymates.*

Vnto this place fled y^e woman, that is to say, y^e Church (which by fayth did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world) where as she was fed with the heauenly bread, the flesh and bloud of Iesus Christ, for 1260. daies, seing that for so many daies, taking a day for a yere, the Brytons cōtinued in y^e faith of Christ, which thing cannot be found so of any Christen kingdome, but of this desert: and wel is it said, that she flew to this place. For whom y^e East came the faith into Brytaine, not by walking in iourney, nor yet by sayling: for then should it haue come by Rome, Italy, Almaine, France, which cānot be found: & therefore she flew ouer those places, & rested not in them, euen as a birde flying [Page 481](#) ouer a place, resteth not in the same: but rested in thys wildernes for a time, times, and halfe a time, that is, 1260. yeres from the first comming of the faith into Britaine vntill this present.

In saying for a time, times, and halfe a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the lesse. The greatest time that we name, is a 1000. yeres, there is a time: and the next time that is lesse in the singuler number, is one 100. yere. In the plural number, times signifie that there be mo hundreths then one, at lest 200. yeres. Wherefore if they be put vnder a certaine number, it must nedes be that they be two, but the same two cānot fitly be called some times; except they be hundreths. For in that, that there is a goyng downe from the greater to the lesse, when as it is sayde a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of a 1000. is likely assigned for a time: it must nedes folow that times must be taken for hundreths, and half a time for 60. because it is the greater halfe of an hundreth yeres, though that 50. be the euen half. And when that the serpent sent the water of the persecution after the woman to cause her to be drowned of the floud: then did the earth, that is to wit, y^e stablenes of faith helpe the woman, by supping vp the water of tribulation. For in the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian and Maximiane against the Christians, when as christianity was almost euery wher roted out: yet did they in this kingdom stand continually in the faith, vnmoueable. And so, considering that the Britons, were conuerted to y^e faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election and piking out amongst all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had receiued the faith, they did neuer starte backe from the faith for no maner of tribulation: It is not to be meruailed it in their place y^e calling of the Gentiles, be made manifest to the profiting of the gossell of Iesus Christ, by the reuealing of Antichrist.

But besides this, me seemeth that Ezechiel doth specially speake of them, whereas hee speaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, saying: for asmuch as thy heart is lifted vp as if it were the hart

of God, therefore beholde: I wil bring vpon thee, some of the strongest of the heathen, & they shall draw their naked swords vpon the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy comelines, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the slaine persons, in the heart of the sea.

This prince who sayth, that he himself is God, & doth sit in Gods chaire in y^e heart of the sea, doth signify (as most likely it seemeth to me) that Antichrist shalbe destroyed by the most mighty persons of the Gentils folke, through the sworde of the worde of God.* Because that amongst the other Gentiles, there haue bene none more strong then the Britones, either in their body or their faith, & in their bodely warres there haue bene none more mighty then they. For neuer in warres haue they bene vanquished, but by their owne sedition or treason. But how many kingdomes haue they conquered? Yea, and nother by the most mighty city of Rome, could they be driuen out of their kingdome, vntill that God sent vpon them pestilence and famine: whereby they being wasted, were compelled to leaue their country, which thing I haue not hard of any other people. Now, in the faith, haue they bene amongst all the people, the strongest, as before is sayd, because that by no tribulation, could they be compelled to forsake the faith.* Wherefore of them, this seemeth to me to be vnderstanded. Thē I wil bring vpon thee, some of the most strongest people, & they shal draw their naked swordes, &c. By these things it may plainly appeare, why at this time (rather then in time past) thys matter is stirred vp: and why in this kingdome (rather then in other kingdomes) the calling of the Gentiles is intreated of, to the verifying of the Gospell, through the disclosing of Antichrist.

But forasmuch as many tales and fables are tolde of Antichrist and his comming, and many things whych doe rather seduce then instruct the hearers, are applied to hym out of the scriptures of the prophets: we will briefly wryte those things which are spoken of hym, and we will shewe that the same fable sprang from the error of people imagining, & from no truth of the scriptures prophesying. Now then they do say, that Antichrist shall be borne in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, & conceiued of the mixture of man and woman in sinne, because that Christe was borne of a virgin, and conceiued of the holy ghost. They say, that he shall be an ill fauoured personage, because that it is wrytten of Christ: comely and beautifull is he, beyonde the sonnes of men. They say that he shall preach three yeres and an halfe where Christ preached, & that he shall circumcise himselfe, and say that he is Christ, and the Messias sent for the saluation of the Iewes. And they say, that he shal 3. maner of waies seduce the people by false miracles, giftes, and torments. So that whom he shall not be able to ouercome w^t myracles nor with gifts, those shall he goe about to ouercome with diuers kinds of tormēts. And those that he shal seduce, will he marke with hys tokens in their forehead or hands. He shal sit in the temple of God, and cause himselfe to be worshipped as God. He shall fight (as they say) with the 2. witnesses of Christ, Enoch & Hely, and shal kill thē, and he himselfe shall finally be slaine with lightening.* To this imagined man of their own imagination, but of none of the prophets foreshewed (at least in no such wyse as this is) do they apply the Prophets, as this of Daniel: When y^r cotinual sacrifice shalbe taken away, & abomination shall be placed to desolation: That is (say they) when the worshipping of God shalbe taken away, & desolation (to wit, Antichrist) shall abominably shewe foorth hymselfe to be worshipped, then shall there be 1290. dayes: that is to say, 3. yeres and a halfe. And this time doe they say is the time, times, and halfe a time. And when it is sayde in Daniell: Blessed is hee that looketh for, and cōmeth to a 1335. dayes. This do they say, is thus to be vnderstanded. 45. dayes of repentance to such as haue worshipped Antichrist: whych 45.

dayes added to the 1290. make 1335. daies. Which dayes they that shall reach vnto, shalbe called blessed.

They apply also to thys Antichrist,* this saying of the Apocalips: I saw a beast rising vp out of the Sea, hauing 7. heads, and 10. horns, who had power geuē him to make 42. moneths. Which moneths (as they say) do make 3. yere & a halfe, in which Antichrist shall raigne. And many other things there are told, and applied vnfitly to this imagined Antichrist, y^t are not truly grounded vpon the scriptures.

Now,* let vs shew the errors of this fable. First of al, if there shall come such one (saying expresly that he is Christ) what Christian would be seduced by him, though he shuld do neuer so many miracles: neither shall he come after the maner of a seducer, which shal shew himself an expresse aduersary. Neither is it likely that the Iewes can be seduced by such a one,* seeing that Christ is not promised vnto them of the stocke of Dan by any of the Prophets, but of y^e stocke of Iuda: nor yet is he promised to thē to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking warre away, & not making warre. For of Christ sayeth Esay:* And in the last dayes, shall there be prepared the mountaine of the house of the Lorde, in the toppe of the mountaines, and it shalbee exalted aboue the hilles: and to it, shall all the nations haue great recourse, and manye people shal goe and say: Come, let vs go vp to the mountaine of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Iacob, and hee shall teache vs his wayes,* and wee shall walke in his pathes. For out of Sion shall there goe a lawe, and the word of the Lord from Ierusalem, and he shall iudge the nations, & reprove much people. And they shall turne their swordes into plowshares, and their speares into sithes. There shall not a nation lift vp it selfe against an other nation, nor yet shall they bee any more exercised to warre.* And againe: A litle babe is borne to vs, and a sonne is geuen to vs, and his Imperiall kingdome vpon his shoulder, and his name shall bee called: The great counsaillour: The mighty God: The father of the world to come: The Prince of peace. His Empire shall be multiplied, and there shalbe no ende of his peace. He shall sit vpon the seat of Daud, and vpon his kingdom: that he may make it stedfast and strong in iudgement, and in iustice, from hencefoorth & for euermore. Zachary doeth say of Christ:* Reioyce thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion, be thou exceeding merrie, O daughter Ierusalem: Beholde thy king shall come a righteous person, and a Sauior vnto thee, and yet he a poore man, and getting vp vpon an asse, euen vpon a yong colt of the she asse. And I wil scatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horse of Ierusalem. And the bow of warre shalbe dispersed,* and he shall speake peace to the nations, and hys power shall be from the sea to the sea, and from the floud vnto the borders of the earth.

By which thinges it is manifest, that the wise Iewes knewe well inough, Christ to be promised to them of the stocke of Iuda and not of the stocke of Dan: & that he was geuen, all to peace & not to warre: Therefore it is not likely, that they cā be seduced by such a one. But if there should haue beene in time to come some such singular Antichrist, then would Christ (seing he loued his) haue sayd somewhat vnto thē of him. Now, of one singularly doth he not speak: but of many, saying. Many shall come in my name, & say, I am Christ: and they shal seduce many persons. But now let vs see, how the prophecies in Daniell, & the Apocalips (aforesayd) be falsly and erroneously applied to the same imagined Antichrist.* For in Daniel the ix. chapter thus it is written. And after 72. weekes shall Christ be slaine, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the Citie and sanctuary, shal a people, with their Captain that shal come with them destroy, whose end shalbe vtter desolation, and after the end of the war a determined destruction. Now,

he shall in one weeke confirme his couenaunt [Page 482](#) towards many, and in the halfe weke shal the offring and sacrifice cease, and in the temple shall there be an abomination of desolation, and euē to the fulfilling vp of all, and to the end, shal the desolation continue. It is plaine & manifest that this prophecy is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their Captaine, destroyed Ierusalem euen to the ground, and the people of the Iewes was slayne and scattered.* And the abomination, that is, the Idol of desolation was placed of Adrian, in the last destruction in Ierusalem in the holy place, that is to say, in a place of the tēple. And from that time hetherto haue passed neare about 1290. dayes, taking a day for a yeare, as Daniel takes it in hys prophecies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel speaking of 62. weekes, doeth not speake of the weekes of daies but of yeares. So therfore when he sayth: From the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away. &c. 1290. dayes must be taken for so many yeares, from the tyme of the desolation of Ierusalem, euen vnto the reuealing of Antichrist: and not for 3. yeares and an halfe, which they say, Antichrist shall raigne. And againe, whereas Daniel sayd, How long till the ende of these marueilous matters? it was aunswered him.* For a time, and times, and halfe a time. Beholde also, how vnfitly they did assigne this time, by 3. yeares and a halfe, which they say, Antichriste shall raigne. For when as it is sayde, a time, times, and halfe a time: there is a going downward from the greater to the lesse: from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to halfe time. If therefore, there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the middest (which is greater then the whole it selfe) the going downwarde is not meete nor agreeing. And thys is done when as it is sayd, that a time, times, and halfe a time is a yeare, two yeares, and halfe a yeare. Wherefore more fitly it is sayd, that a time, times and halfe a time, doth signifie 1290. yeares, as is before sayde in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecie of Daniel falsly applied to that imagined Antichrist.

Likewise is the proces of the Apocalips applied to the same imagined Antichrist,* too much erroneously. Because that the same cruell beast which came vp out of the sea, hauing 7. heads, and 10. hornes, to whome there was power geuen ouer euery tribe, people, and tounge, and the power geuen for the space of 42. monethes: Thys beast doth note thē Romaine Emperors, which most cruelly did persecute the people of God, aswell Christians as Iewes. For whē as the condēnatiō of the great whore sitting vpon the many waters was shewed to Iohn: he saw the same woman sitting vpon the purple coulored beast full of the names of blasphemy,* hauing 7. heads, and 10. hornes: and he saw a woman being dronken with the bloud of the Saintes and Martyrs of Iesu.* And the angell expounding and telling him the mistery of the woman and the beast that caried her sayde: That 7. heades are 7. hilles, and are 7. kinges: Fiue are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: & when he shall come, he must reigne a short time. And y^e 10. hornes whiche thou sawest, are 10. kinges, who haue not yet taken theyr kingdome,* but shall receiue theyr power as it were in one hour, vnder the beast. And finally he sayth, y^e woman whō thou sawest, is the great Citty, which hath the kingdome ouer the kings of the earth. And it is manifest that the City of Rome, at the time of this prophecy, had the kingdom ouer the kings of the earth. And this City was borne vp & vpholden by her cruell & beastly Emperors: who by theyr cruelty and beastlynes did subdue vnto thēselues in a maner, all the kingdomes of the world, of a zeale to haue lordship ouer others, and not vertuously to gouerne the people that were theyr subiectes, seeing that they thēselues did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the fayth and from vertue.

Wherefore what cruell beast comming vp out of the sea, doth rightly note the Romain Emperors,* who had power ouer euery language, people and couētry. And the power of this beast was for 42. moneths: because that from the first Emperour of Rome, that is to say, Iulius Cesar, vnto the ende of Fredericke the last Emperour of Rome there were 42. monethes, taking a moneth for 30. dayes, as the monethes of the Hebrues and Grecians are, and taking a day alwayes for a yeare, as commonlye it is taken in the Prophetes. By whiche thinges it may playnely appeare, how vnfitly this prophecy is applied to that imagined Antichrist, and the 42. moneths taken for three yeares and an halfe, which (they say) he shall reigne in agaynst the saying of the Prophetes, because that dayes are taken for yeares. As in the 1.* of the Apocal. They shall be troubled 10. dayes. Which do note the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian against the Christians that endured 10. yeares. And in an other place of the Apocalips,* it is written of the smoke comming vp out of the bottomles pit. Out of which pit there came foorth Grashoppers into the earth:* and to them was power geuen, as scorpions haue power, to vexē & to trouble men 5. moneths. Now it is manifest, that from the beginning of the Friers minours and preachers, to the time that Armachanus, began to disclose and vncouer their hypocrisie, and their false foundation of valiant begging vnder the pouertie of Christ, were 5. monethes, taking a moneth for 30. dayes, and a day for a yeare. And to Ezechiel were dayes geuen for yeares. Wherefore it is an vnfit thing to assigne the 42. moneths being appoynted to the power of the beast, vnto 3. yeares and a halfe, for the reigne of that phantasticall and imagined Antichrist: specially seing that they do apply to his reigne y^r 1290.* dayes in Daniel, which make 42. moneths, and in the Apocalips they assigne hym 42. moneths. It is plaine that the Psalterie and the harpe agree not. And therefore seing that it is sufficiently shewed, that the same fabling tale of that imagined Antichrist to come, is a fable and erroneous: Let vs goe forward to declare whether Antichrist be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed wythin a litle while, according to the truthe of the holy Scripture, for the saluation of the faithfull.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine aunswere, I haue conditionally put it, who is that Antichrist lying priuie in the hid Scriptures of the Prophets: I will passe on the declaration of that cōclusion, bringing to light those things, whych lay hid in darkenesse, because nothing is hid which shal not be disclosed, and nothing couered that shal not be knowen: And therefore, the thing that was sayd in the darkenesse, let vs say in the light: and the thyng that we haue heard in the eare, let vs preache vppon the house toppes. I therefore as I haue before sayd, so say, that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himselfe the seruant of God, and the chiefe Vicare of Christ in this world, do make and iustify many lawes contrary to the gospell of Iesu Christ:* then is he the chiefe of many, whych comming in the name of Christ, haue said, I am Christ, who haue seduced many. Which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest. For Christ is called of Hebrues the very same, that we call annoynted.* And amongst them there was a double sort of legall annoynting by the lawe, the one of kings and the other of Priestes. And aswell were the kynges, as the priestes, called in the lawe, Christes. The kings, as in the Psalme. The kings of the earth stode vp together, and the Princes assembled them selues in one agaynst the Lorde and against hys Christ or annoynted. And in the bookes of the kings very often are the kinges called Christes.* And our Sauour was Christ, or annoynted king, because hee was a king for euermore vpon the throne of Dauid, as the Scriptures doe very oftentimes witnesse. The Priestes also were called annoynted, as where it is wrytten: Doe not yee touch my Christes, that is, mine annoynted ones, and be not ye spitefull against my Prophetes. And so was our Sauour Christ, a Priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech.

Seyng then, that the Byshops of Rome do say, that they are the high Priestess: they say also therein that they are kynges,* because they say that they haue the spirituall sword pertainyng to their Priesthode, and the corporall sword which agreeth for a kynges state. So is it playne, that really & in very deede, they say that they are Christs, albeit that expresly they be not called Christes. Now that, they come in the name of Christ, it is manifest, because they say that they are his principal Vicars in this world, ordeined of Christ specially for the gouernement of the Christian Church.* Therefore, seyng they say, that really and in very deede they are Christes, and the chief frendes of Christ: If they make and iustifie many lawes contrary to the Gospell of Iesu Christ, then is it playne that they themselues in earth are the principal Antichristes, because there is no worse plague and pestilence, then a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be agaynst Christ, and yet in open appearaunce they say that they are his frendes: they are somuch the more meete to seduce and deceiue the Christiā people, because that a manifest enemy shall haue much a doe to deceaue a man, because men trust him not: but a priuey enemy pretendyng outward frendshyp, may easly seduce, yea those that be wise.

But that this matter may the more fully be knowē, let vs see what is the law & doctrine of Christ, that ought to be obserued of all faithfull people:* which beyng knowen, it shalbe an easy thing to see, if the bishop of Rome doe make or maintaine any lawes, contrary to the law of the gospell of Iesu Christ.

I say then, that the lawe of Christ is charitie, whych is the perfect loue of God and of Christ. This thing is plaine and manifest. For Christ being demaunded of a certayne [Page 483](#) doctour of the law: What is the greatest commaundement in the lawe▪ answered.* Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy minde: This is the principall & greatest commaundement. And as for the second, it is like vnto this: Thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thine owne selfe. In these two commaundements, doth the whole law and Prophets depend. And in an other place Christ sayeth: All maner of things therefore, y^t you would that men should do to you, the same also do ye vnto them. For thys is the lawe and the Prophets. And in Iohn the 13. chap. sayth Christ. And now doe I say vnto you,* I geue you a new commaundement, y^t you shuld loue eche other: as I loued you, in like maner that you also shuld loue one another. In this shal all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall haue loue one towards an other.* And Iohn 15. chapter: This is my commaudemēt that you loue together as I haue loued you. Greater loue then this, hath no body, that a man shuld geue his life for his frendes. The Apostle Peter sayth in his first Epistle 4.* chapter: Aboue all things, hauing continually charity one towards an other, for charitye couereth the multitude of sinnes. Be yee harborers, and intertaine ye one an other without grudging: euery one as hee hath receaued grace, so let him bestowe it vpon an other man, as the good stewards of the manifold graces of God. If any mā speak, let him speake as the word of God. If any man doe ought for an other, let it be don with singlenes and vnfained verity, ministred of God to vs ward, that in all thyngs God may be honoured through Iesus Christ our Lord. Iames in his Epistle the 2.* chapter. If ye performe the royal lawe accordingly to the Scriptures (thou shalt loue thy neighbour) ye do wel: But if ye be parcial in receiuing and preferring mens personages, ye worke wickednes being blamed of the law as transgressors. And againe, so speake ye, and so do ye, as ye should nowe begin to be iudged by the law of libertie. What shall it auaille (my brethren) if a man say he haue faith, and haue no workes? Neuer shall y^t faith be able to saue him. For if a brother or sister be naked, and haue neede of daily foode, and some of you say to them, goe ye in peace, be ye made warme and satisfied: and if ye shall not

geue those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it auaile? Euen so faith, if it haue not workes, is dead in it selfe.

John in his first epistle the 3. chap. This is the tidings whych you haue heard from the beginning, that you shuld loue one another. And againe, we know that we are tra^slated from death to life, if we loue the brethren: He that loueth not, abideth in death. And againe, herein do we know the loue of God, because that he hath laide downe hys life for vs, & we ought to lay down our liues for the brethren. He that shall haue the substaunce of thys world, and shall see his brother haue neede, and shall shut up hys bowelles from him: howe abideth the loue of God in hym? My little children, let vs not loue in worde nor tounge, but in deede and truth. And againe 4. chap. Most dearly beloued, let vs loue together. For loue is of God, he y^t loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is loue. In thys thing hath the loue of God apeare in vs, that God hath sent his only begotten sonne into the world, that we shuld liue by him. Herein is loue: not y^t we haue loued God, but that he hath first loued vs, and hath sent hys sonne an attonement for oure sinnes. Most dearly beloued, if God haue loued us: we so ought to loue together. No mā hath sene God at any time: if we loue together, God abideth in vs, & hys loue is perfect in vs. And againe, let vs loue God, for he hath first loued vs. If a man shall say, I loue God, & do hate hys brother, he is a lyar. For he that loueth not his brother whom he seeth, how cā he loue God whom he seeth not? And this commaundement haue we of God, y^t who so loueth God, should loue his brother also. Paule the Apostle in his epistle to the Rom. 13.* chapter. O we ye nothing to no body, sauing that ye should loue together, for he that loueth hys brother hath fulfilled the lawe. For thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not beare fall witness, thou shalt not couet thy neighbors good: and if there be any other commaundement, it is plētifully fulfilled in this word: thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy selfe. Wherefore the fulfilling of the law is loue.

Paule to the Corinthians 5. sayeth: If I shoulde speake with the tonges of men and angels, and yet haue not charitie, I am become as it were a peece of sounding mettall or rinking cimball. And if I shall haue all prophecie, & know all misteries, and all knowledge, and shall haue all faith, so that I might remooue mountaines, and yet shall not haue charitie: I am nothing. And if I shall geue abroade all my goodes to feede the poore, and shall geue vp my body to be burned, and yet haue not charitie: it profite mee nothing. To the Galathians 5. sayeth Paule: For you my brethren, are called into liberty: doe ye not geue your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by charity of the spirit, serue ye one an other. For all y^e law is fulfilled in one saying: thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thine owne self.* To the Eph. 4. chap. he saith: I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord, do beseech you, that you would walke worthy of the calling where w^t ye are called, with all humblenes and mildnes, with patience forbearing one another in loue, being carefull to kepe the vnitie of the spirit, in the bond of peace: that you be one body, and one spirite, euen as you be called in one hope of your calling.* And againe in the 5. chap. Be ye followers of me, as most deare children, and walke ye in loue as Christ also hath loued vs, and hath deliuered vp hymselfe for vs, an offring and sacrifice to God of a sweete fauour,* To the Phil. thus hee speaketh in the 1. chap. Onely let your conuersation be worthy of the Gospell of Christ, that eyther when I shall come and see you, or els in mine absence. I may heare of you, that you stand stedfast in one spirit, laboring together with one accorde for the faith of the Gospell. And in nothing be ye afraide of the aduersaries, whych is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of saluation, and y^t of God. For to you it is geuen, not onely that you should beleue in him, but also that you shuld

suffer wyth him, you hauing the lyke fight and battaile that both you haue seene in me, and also now do heare of me. If therefore there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charitie, if any felowship of the spirite, if any bowels of compassion fulfill you my ioy, that you may be of one iudgement, hauing one and the self same charitie, being of one accord, of one maner of iudgement, doing nothing of contention, nor of vaine glory, but in humblenes, accompting other amongst you, euery one better then your selues, not euery body looking vppon the things that be hys owne, but those that belong vnto others.* And to the Coloss. 3. chapter thus he writeth: You therefore as the electe of God, holy, and beloued, put vpon you the bowels of mercy, gentlenesse, humblenesse, lowlinesse, modestie, pacience, bearing one wyth an other, & geuing place to your selues (if any haue a quarel against any body) euen as the Lord forgaue you, so do you also. Aboue all things haue ye charitie, which is the bonde of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in whych peace you also are called in one body. And be yee kinde & thankfull. And to the Thessalonians thus Paule writeth in the 4.* chapter. As concerning brotherly charity, we haue no neede to wryte vnto you: for you yourselues haue learned of God, that you shoulde loue one an other. And the same thing ye do towards all y^e brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Out of all these & many other places of the holy scripture it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charitie, neither is there any vertues commaunded of Christ, or any of hys Apostles to be obserued of the faithfull people, but that it commeth out of charitie, or els doeth nourish charitie.

The lawe is geuen by Moses, and the truth by Christ. Christ came not to vnlose the lawe and the Prophetes,* but to fulfill them. But yet many things were lawful & might haue bene obserued in the time of the law, whych in y^e tyme of grace must not be obserued. And many things wer vnlawfull to them that were vnder the law, which in the time of grace are lawful inough. After what sort then he did not loose the lawe, but did fulfill it, it is necessary to declare, for those thyngs which hereafter must be sayd. For amongst Christians, many things are iudged to be lawfull, because in the former testament in the law, they were lawfull: and yet they be expresly contrary to Christes Gospell. But the authors of such thinges doe argue and reason thus: Christ came not to loose the law of the prophets. Now after what sort he did not vnlose them, it is manifest by the holy scripture: that the law geuen by Moses, was written in tables of stone, to declare the hardnes of y^e peoples hart towards the loue of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath wrytten his law in the harts and in the minds of his, that is to say, the law of perfect loue of God & of Christ. Which law whosoeuer obserueth, he doth obserue the law of Moyses, & doth much greater works of perfection, then were the works of y^e law. Thus therefore were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charitie of Christ, and not vnloosed: because they are much more perfectly obserued, then of the Iewes. This I say, if the Christians doe obserue the commandements of Christ in such sorte, as he commanded the same to be obserued. Christ hath fulfilled the lawes morall of the old testament, because that the morals and iudicials were ordained, that one person should not do iniury to an other, & that euery man should haue paid him that is hys. Now, they that are in charity, wil do no iniury to others, [Page 484](#) neither do they take other mens goodes away from them. Nay it seeketh not her owne things. For charitie seeketh not the things that be her owne. Wherefore, much lesse by a stronger reason it ought not to seke for other mens goods. And whē as the iudicials & morals were ordained: Christ did not

by y^e workes of the law iustifie the beleuers in him, but by grace iustified them frō their sins. And so did Christ fulfill that by grace, that the lawe could not by iustice.

Paule to the Romaines declareth in a godly discourse,* and to the Galath. likewise: that none shall be iustified by the workes of the lawe, but by grace, in the faith of Iesu Christ. As for the morals & ceremonies of the lawe, as circumcision, sacrifices for offence and for sinnes,* first fruites, tenthes 〈◇〉, diuers sortes of washings, the sprinkling of bloud, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from vnclean meats whych are ordeined for the sanctifying and clensing of the people frō sinne, no nor yet the praiers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets, could clense a man from his sin. For death raigned euen from Adam to Moises, and sinne from Moises to Christ, as Paule declareth to the Romaines in the 5. chapter.* But Christ, willing to haue mercy,* and not sacrifice, being a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, & an high Priest of good things to come: did neither by the bloud of goats or calues but by his owne bloud enter in once vnto the holy places, when as euerlasting redemption was founde:* neither did Iesus enter into the holy places that were made wyth handes, which are the examples of true thynges, but into the very heauen, y^t now he may appeare before the countenaunce of God for vs. Nor yet he did so, y^t he should offer vp himselfe oftentimes,* as the high Byshop entred into the holy place euery yeere w^t straunge bloud (for otherwise he must nedes haue suffred oftentimes sithens y^e beginning of the world) but now in the latter end of the world hath he once appeared by his owne sacrifice, for the destruction of sinne. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that commeth iudgement: euen so was Christ once offred vp to cōsume away the sinnes of many. The second time shall hee appeare without sinne, to the saluation of such as looke for him. For the law hauing a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substaunce it selfe of the things: can neuer, by those sacrifices which they offer (of one selfe same sort continually yere by yere) make them perfect that come vnto her. Otherwise men would leaue of offring because that those worshyps being once clensed, should haue no more pr•••e of conscience for sinne afterwarde. But in them is their remembrance made of sinnes euery yere. For it is impossible,* that by the bloud of goats & bulles, sinnes should be taken away. Wherefore, he entring into y^e world, doth say, as for sacrifice and offring thou woldst not haue, but a body hast thou framed vnto mee. And sacrifices for sinne haue not pleased thee, then said I, behold I come. In the head or principall part of the booke it is wrytten of me, that I should do thy wil, O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations and burnt offerings, and that for sinne thou wouldest not haue: neyther were those thyngs pleasāt to thee whych are offred according to the law: then sayd I, behold I come, that I may do thy wil O God: He taketh away the first, that he may stablish that that folowed. In whych will, we are sanctified and made holy by the offering vp of the body of Iesus Christ, ones. And verely euery Priest, is ready euery day ministring, & oftentimes offring the self same sacrifices, which neuer can take away sinnes. But this man offering one sacrifice for sinnes, doth for euer and euer sit at Gods right hād, looking for the rest to come till that hys enemies be placed to be his footestoole. For with one offering hath hee for euer made perfect those that be sanctified. By which thinges it plainly appeareth, y^t Christ by one offring hath clensed hys from their sinnes: who could not be clensed from the same, by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfill that which the priesthoode of the law could not. Wherefore onely the morals and iudicials he fulfilled by the lawe of charitie, and by grace: and the ceremonials, by one offering vp of hys body in the aultar of the crosse. And so it is plaine, that Christ fulfilled the whole lawe.

Wherefore sithens that the holy things of the law, were a shadowe of those things that were to come in the time of grace: * it were meete that all those thynges should vtterly cease amongst Christians, which should either be against charity, or the grace of Christ. Although in the time of the lawe, they were lawfull, and not vtterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Christes faith: yet it were meete that they should cease at y^e comming of the perfection whych they did prefigure: as circumcision, the eating of the paschal lambe, and other ceremonial points of the law. Whereupon also Paul to the Hebrues the 7. chapter sayeth thus. If therfore the making vp of y^e perfection of all was by the Leuiticall priesthode (for the people receiued the law vnder hym) why was it necessary besides, that an other Priest should rise vp after the order of Melchisedech, * & not be called after the order of Aaron. For whē the Priesthode is remoued, it must needes be, that the lawe also be remoued. For he, in whom these things are spokē, is of an other tribe, of which, none stode present at the aulter. Because it is manifest that our Lorde had hys offspring of Iuda: in which tribe Moises spake nothing of the Priests. And besides this, it is manifest: if according to the order of Melchisedech there doe rise vp an other Priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commaundement, but according to the power of the life that cannot be losed. For thus he beareth witnes, that thou art a priest for euer, * after the order of Melchisedech: so that, the cōmandement, that went before, is disallowed for the weakenes & vnprofitablenesse thereof. For the lawe hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Christ making an end of the priesthode of Aaron, doth also make vp a full end of the law belonging to that Priesthode. Whereupon I maruell y^t your learned men doe say, that Christen folkes are bound to this small ceremonie of the paiment of tithes, and care nothing at all for other as wel the great as the small ceremonies of the lawe.

It is plaine, that the tithes were geuen to the sonnes of Leui, for their seruing in the tabernacle & in the temple of the Lord, as the first fruites were geuen to the priestes, and also part of the sacrifices, & so were the vowes for their ministry, as it appeareth in the booke of Numbers the 22. chapter. But forasmuch as the labor of those sacrifices did cease at the comming of Christ: howe should those thyngs be demaunded, which were ordained for that labour? * And seeing that the first fruits were not demaunded of Christians, which first fruits were then rather and soner demanded then the tithes: why must the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore paraduenture because that the tythes be more worth in value then be the first fruites?

Secondly, why are the lay people boūd to the paiment of tithes, more then the Leuites and the priests were to the not hauing of possessions of realties & Lordships amongst their brethren, seeing y^t the selfe same lawe in the selfe same place (where he sayeth that the tithes ought to be geuen to Leuites) sayth also to the Leuites, you shall be contented with the offering of the tithes, and haue none other thyng amongst your brethren. Wherefore seeing that the Priestes be bounde, to the not hauing of temporall Lordshippes: how are the lay people boūd, by that law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the paiment of tithes?

Thirdly, * as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the lawe, and was geuen before the law, & was an vniuersall ceremonie, concerning the couenant betwene God & hys people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was sayde: The soule, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall pearysh from amongst his people: yet did thys ceremonie vtterly cease at the comming of Christe, although that certayne of the Iewes did say in the primatiue Church, that the Christians must needes kepe the commandement of

circumcision with the faith: whom Paule reprooueth wryting thus to the Galathians the 4. chapter, where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman & of the free woman, which do signify the two Testaments. But we (O brethren) are the children of the promise after Isaac, but like as at that time he that was borne after the flesh, did persecute hym, which was after the spirit: euen so it is now also. But what saith the scripture? Throw out the bondwoman and her sonne. The sonne of the bondwoman, shall not be heire wyth the sonne of the free woman. Wherefore brethrē, we are not the sonnes of the bondwoman, but of the free. S•ad ye stedfast in the liberty,* wherwith Christ hath deliuered you, and be not ye holden againe vnder the yoke of slavery. Behold I Paule say vnto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profite you. For I testifie againe to euery man that circumciseth hymselfe, that hee is bounde to keepe all the whole law. Ye are vtterly voide of Christ: whosoever will be iustified in the law, are fallen from grace.

In like maner, we may reason, if we be bounde to tything, we are debtors,* & bound to keepe al the whole law. For to say that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, & not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same * olde lawe, men are not bound to pay tithes, it may be shewed by many reasons, which we nede not any more to multiply & encrease, because the things that be sayd, are sufficient. Whereupon some do say, that by the Gospell we are bound to pay tithes, because Christ saide to the Pharisies, [Page 485](#) Math. 23. chapter: Woe be you Scribes and Pharisies, whych pay your tithe of Mint, of Anets seede, and of commin: and leaue iudgement, mercy, and trueth vndone, being the weightier things of the lawe, both shuld ye haue done these things, and also not haue left the other vndone. O ye blinde guides,* that straine out a gnat, and swallowe vp a camell. Thys worde soundeth not as a commaundement or manner of bidding, wherby Christ did command tithes to be geuen: but it is a worde of disallowing the hypocrisie of the Pharisies, who of couetousnesse dyd rather weigh and esteeme tithes, because of their owne singulare commoditie, rather then other great and weighty commaundements of the lawe. And me seemeth that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisies, which doe leaue of al y^e ceremonies of y^e old law,* keping onely the cōmandement of tything. It is manifest and plaine inoughe by the premisses, and by other places of the scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedech, of the tribe of Iuda, not of the tribe of Leuie: who gaue no newe commaundement of tything of any thing to him and to hys priests whome he would place after him: but whē hys Apostles sayd to him: Behold, we leaue all things & haue followed thee, what then shall we haue, hee did not aunswere them thus:* Tithes shall be paide you, neither dyd he promise them a temporall, but an euerlasting rewarde in heauen. For hee, both for foode, and also apparell taught his disciples not to be carefull. Be ye not carefull for your life, what ye shall eate, or for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life of man more worth then the meate? and the body more worth then apparell? Beholde ye the birds of heauen,* whych do not sow, nor reape, neither yet lay vp in barnes, and yet your heauēly father feedeth them. And as for apparell, why should you be carefull? Consider the lillies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither do they spinne. &c. In conclusion he sayth, be not yee carefull, saying, what shall we eate, or what shall we drinke, or wherewithall shall we be couered? For all these things doe the Gentiles seeke after. For your father knoweth, yⁱ you haue neede of all these things. First therefore seeke yee for the kingdome of God and the righteousnes therof, and all these things shall be cast vnto you. And Paule ryght well remembring this doctrine, instructeth Timothe and sayth thus.* But we hauing foode and wherewithall to be couered, let vs therewyth be contented. And as the Acts of the

Apostles doe declare: In the first conuersion of the Iewes at Ierusalem, they had all thinges common, and to euery one was diuision made, as nede required. Neither did the priestes make the tithes theyr owne proper goodes.* For like as it was not meete that the lay people being conuerted, should haue proprietie of goods: euen so neither that priests should haue proprietie of tithes. So that if y^e priests started backe from feruent charitie in chalenging to themselues the proprietie of tithes: it is no meruaile of departing backward (as do the priests, frō the perfection of charitie) also of the laitie to be willing to appropriate to them selues the ix. partes remayning after tithes. Wherefore, seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the Apostles, commanded to pay tithes: it is manifest and plaine, neither by the lawe of Moses, nor by Christes lawe, Christen people are bounde to pay the tithes: but by the tradition of men, they are bounde.

By the premisses nowe it is plaine, that Christ did not vndo the law,* but by grace did fulfill it. Notwithstanding, in the lawe many thynges were lawfull, which in the time of grace are forbydden, and many thynges were then vnlawfull, which now are lawfull inough. For nothing that is contrary to charitie, is lawfull to a Christian.

Let vs now heare what maner of commaundements Christ hath geuen vs in the Gospel, without the obseruation of which commaundements, charitie shal not perfectly be kept. By which cōmandements, Christ did not vndo the olde lawe, but did fulfill it. By the obseruation also of which commaundements, he teacheth vs to passe and got beyond the righteousnes of the Scribes & Pharises, who most perfectly thought themselues to keepe the law. This absolute and perfect righteousnes, which we are bound to haue beyonde the rightuousnesse of the Pharises and the Scribes, he teacheth in Math. 5.6. and 7. chap. Whych being heard, and compared to the traditiōs made and commaunded by the Romane prelates: it shall plainly appere, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore sayeth, you haue heard,* that it was sayd to them of the olde time. Thou shalt not kill. For hee that killeth shall be guiltie of iudgemēt. But I say vnto you, that euery one that is angry with hys brother, shall be in danger of iudgement. In thys he doeth teach, that we ought not to be angrie wyth our brethren: not that he would vndoe this did comman (thou shalt not kil) but that the same should be the more perfectly obserued. Againe he sayth. You haue heard that it was sayd, thou shalt loue thy frend, and hate thyne enemy: But I say vnto you, Loue your enemies, doe well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute & slander you, that you may be the children of your father which is in heauen: Which maketh his sunne to arise vppon the good and the euill people, and raineth vppon the iust and vniust. For if you loue them which loue you, what reward shall you haue? Doe not the Publicanes thus? And if you shall salute your brethren onely, what great thing doe ye? Do not the heathen thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heauenly father is perfect.

Againe Christ sayeth,* you haue heard that it is said: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth: but I say vnto you, see that you resist not euill. But if any man shall strike you vppon the right cheeke, geue hym the other to. And to hym that will striue with thee for thy coate in iudgement, let hym haue thy cloke also. And whosoeuer shall constraîne thee one mile, goe with him also two other. He y^e asketh of thee geue him: and hee that will borrowe of thee, turne not thy selfe from him.

By these thinges it may plainely appeare, howe that Christ the king of peace, the Sauour of mankynde, who came to saue and not to destroy, who gaue a law of charity to be obserued of his faithfull people: hath taught vs not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, not to render euil for

euill, nor to resist euill. For all these thinges doe softer and nourish peace & charitie, and do procede and come forth of charity, & when they be not kept, charity is loosed, & peace is broken. But the bishop of Rome approueth and alloweth warres, and slaughters of mē in warre, aswell against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians for temporall goodes. Nowe, these things are quite contrary to Christes doctrine, and to charity, and to peace.

In the decrees 23. q. 1. cap. Paratus,* it is taught, that the precepts of pacience must alwayes be retained in purpose of the heart, so that pacience w^t beneuolence must be kept in the minde secrete. But apparantly and manifestly, that thing should be done, which seemeth to doe good to those, whom we ought to wish well vnto. Wherein they geue to vnderstande, that a Christian may freely defend hymselfe. And for confirmation of thys saying, they doe say: That Christ whē he was stroken in the face of the hygh bishops seruaunt, did not fulfill (if we looke vpon the wordes) hys owne commaundement: because he gaue not to the smiter the other part,* but rather did forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his iniurie. For he sayd, if I haue spoken euill, beare witnes of euill, but if wel, why doest thou strike me? I do meruail of this saying: for first if those commandements of pacience must be kept in secrete in the minde: and seing the body doth worke at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be mooued and ruled by the same: It must then nedes be, that if pacience be in the mind, it must appeare also outwardly in the body.

Secondly I meruail that it is said, that Christ did not fulfill his owne precept of pacience.* For it is manifest, that albeit he teaching alwayes as a good scholemaster, those things which were fit for the saluation of soules, speaking the wholesom word of instruction to the high bishops seruant, smiting him vniustly: did neither by word forbid an other stroke to be geuen on the other cheke, neither did he defend himselfe bodely from striking on the same cheeke: But speaking to him, it is likely y^e hee gaue him the other cheek, he meaneth, y^t he turned not the other cheek away. For a man tourneth not away from him whome he speaketh to, or whom he informeth, but layeth open before him al his face: Euen so do I beleue y^t Christ did, that he might fulfill in very deede that, which before hee had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ by his word or by his deede, shew any thing of defence, or of bodely resistance.

Thirdly,* I meruail why wise men leauing the plaine & manifest doctrine of Christ, wherby he teacheth pacience: do seeke corners of their imagining, to the intent they may approoue fightings and warres. Why marke they not after what manner, Christ spake to Peter striking the hygh Byshoppes seruaunt, saying: Put vp thy sworde into the sheath, for euery one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sworde. But in an other case we must make resistance: which case may be so righteous, as it is for a mans Lorde & maister being a most rightuous man,* and yet suffering iniurie of mischieuous persons.

Fourthly,* I maruel seing that we are bound of charity & by the law of Christ to geue our liues for our brethren, how they can allow such maner of dissentions & resisting. For when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou maist be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into [Page 486](#) the snare of the deuill. If thou shalt keepe pacience, he shal be ashamed of his doing, and thou maist bow & bend hym to repentaunce, and take him out from the snare of the deuil, and cal him backe againe to charity. If thou resist, and perchaunce by resisting doest strike againe, his fury shalbe the more kindled,* & hee being stirred vp to greater wrath, peradventure shal either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thy self, thou art vncertaine, if thou go about to make

resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou goe backwarde from the perfection of Christes commaundement: Neither doest thou knowe but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moued, as that by the heate & violence of wrath,* thou shalt slay him. Whereas if thou wouldest dispose thy selfe to pacience (as Christ teacheth) thou shouldest easily auoide all these mischieues, aswel on the behalfe of thy brother, as also of thyne owne parte. Wherefore, the obseruing of charitie as the precept of pacience is to be obserued.

Fifthly, I do maruel why that for the allowing of thys corporall resistaunce, he doth say in the same Chapter: that Paule did not fulfill the precept of the pacience of Christ, when as he being stroken in the place of iudgement by the cōmandement of the high Priest, did say, God strike thee, O thou painted wal: Doest thou sit to iudge me according to the law, and doest thou cōmand me to be stricken against the lawe? It is manifest that Paule made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the Priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had ouerpassed the bounds of pacience, through the grief of the stroke: what of that? Must the deede of Pauls impacience for this cause be iustified, and the commandement of paciēce taught by Christ, be left vndone for Pauls deede, and corporal resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paule and Peter might erre. But in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no error. Wherefore, we must geue more credence & beliefe to Christes sayings, then to any liuing mans doings. Wherefore, although Paule had resisted, which I do not perceiue in that Scripture: it followeth not therof, that corporall resistance must be approued, which is of Christ expresly forbidden. I much maruel that alwayes they seeke corners and shadowes to iustifie their deedes. Why doe they not marke what great thyngs Paule reciteth hymselfe to haue suffered for Christ? And where I pray you haue they found, that hee after his conuersion, stroke any man that did hurt him? Or where doe they finde that he in expresse word doth teach such a kinde of corporal resistance? But as touching pacience, he sayth in plaine words to the Romanes: Be not wise in your owne conceits.*Render ill for ill to no body: prouiding good things not onely before God, but also before all men, if it be possible: Be at peace with all folkes as much as in you lieth: not defending your selues, my most dearely beloued, but geue you place vnto anger. For it is wrytten, vengeance is mine, & I will recompence them, sayth the Lorde. But if thine enemye shalbe an hungred, geue hym meate. If he be a thirst, geue him drinke For thus doing, thou shalt heape coales of fire vpon his head. Be not ouercomen of euill, but overcome thou euill with good.

To the Corinthians the 5. as touching iudgement and contention,* whych are matters of lesse weyght then are fightings, thus he wryteth: Nowe verely there is great faulte in you, that you be at lawe amongst yourselues. Why rather take yee not wrong? why rather suffer yee not deceit? And generally in all his Epistles he teacheth, that pacience shuld be kept,* and not corporall resistance by fighting, because charitie is pacient, it is curteous, it suffereth all things. I maruaile howe they iustifie and make good the warres by Christians, sauing onely the warres against the deuill and sinne. For seeing that it is plaine, that those things whych were in the olde Testament, were figures of things to be done in the new Testament: Therefore we must needes say, that the corporall warres being then done, were figures of the Christian warres against sinne and the deuill, for the heauenly countrey, whych is our inheritance. It is plain that it was wrytten thus of Christ. The mighty Lord, and of great power in battaile, hath girded himselfe in force and manlynnesse to the warre: and he came not to sende peace into the earth, but warre. In thys warre ought Christian people to be souldiours according to that manner whych Paule teacheth to the

Ephesians the last.*Put vpon you the armour of God, that you may be able to stande against the deceites of the deuill. For wee haue not to wrastle against flesh and bloude, but against princes & potestates, against the rulers of these darknes of the world, against spirituall wickednesse in heauenly things, whyche are the high places. Wherefore take yee the armour of God, that yee may be able to resist in the euil day, and to stand perfectly in al things. Stande you therefore girded about in truth vpon your loynes, hauing put vpon you the brest plate of rightuousnesse, and your feete shoed in a readinesse to the Gospel of peace, in all things taking the shield of faith, wherwith you may quēch all the firy darts of that wicked one. And take vnto you the helmet of saluation, and the sworde of the spirite, which is the worde of God.

By these thyngs it is plaine, what are the warres of Christians,* and what are the weapons of theyr warfare. And because it is manifest, that this Testament is of greater perfectiō then the former: we must now fight more perfectly then at that time. For nowe spiritually, then corporally: nowe for an heauenly euerlasting inheritance: then for an earthly and temporall: now by pacience, then by resistance. For Christ sayeth, blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousnesse,*for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. He saith not, blessed are they that fight for righteousnes. How can a man say, that they may lawfully make warre, & kill theyr brethren for the temporall goodes, whych peraduenture they vniustly occupy, or vniustly intende to occupy? For he that killeth an other, to gette these goods whych an other body vniustly occupieth: doeth loue more the very goodes, then hys owne brother. And then hee falling from charitie, doth kill hymselfe spiritually. If he goe forward without * charitie to make warre: then doeth he euill, and to hys owne damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor iustly in proceeding to the damnation of his own selfe & his brother, whome though he seeme vniustly to occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kil. And what if such kinde of warres were lawfull to the Iewes:* thys argueth not, that now they are lawfull to Christians, because that theyr deedes were in a shadow of imperfection, but the dedes of Christians in the light of perfection. It was not said vnto them, All people that shal take the sword, shal perish with the sworde. What if Iohn the Baptist, disallowed corporal fightings, and corporall warfare, at such time as the souldiours asked him saying. And what shall we do? Who sayth to them, See that you strike no man, neither picke ye quarels against any, and be yee contented with your wages. Thys saying of Iohn alloweth not corporal warfare amongst Christians. For Iohn was of the Priests of the olde Testament,* and vnder the law, neyther to hym it appertayneth to follow the lawe, but to warne the people to the perfect obseruation of the lawe. For he being like wyse demaunded of the publicanes what they should doe, sayde vnto them, Doe no other thyng then is appoynted vnto you. But Christ the author of the newe Testament and of greater perfection, then wa• the perfection of the old law, which gaue newe things, as it plainly appeareth by the Gospel. So that, Christians ought to receiue information of Christ, not of Iohn. For of Iohn also doth Christ speak: Uerely I say vnto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of women, a greater then Iohn Baptist: but hee that is lesse in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. In which saying Christ sheweth that those that be least in the kingdome of heauen in the tyme of grace,* are placed in greater perfection thē was Iohn, which was one of them that were the elders, & he liued also in y^t time of the law in greater perfection. And whē as certain of Iohns disciples sayd vnto him, maister, he that was beyōd Iordan, to whō thou gauest witnesse, beholde hee baptiseth, and all people come vnto him. Iohn answered and sayde: A man cannot take any thing vpon him, vnlesse it shall bee geuen him from aboue. You your selues doe beare me recorde, that I sayde I am not Christ, but that I was sent before hym. He that hath the bride, is the bridegrome, as for the bridegromes

freunde, who standeth and heareth him: reioyceth wyth greate ioy to heare the voyce of the bridegrome. Thys therefore my ioy is fulfilled: he must increase, and I must bee diminished. Hee that commeth from an hie is aboue all. Hee that is of the earthe is earthy, and speaketh of the earthe: Hee that commeth from heauen, is aboue all folkes: that which hee hath seene and heard, the same doth he witnesse, and yet his witnessing doth no body receiue. But he that receiueh his witnessing, hath put to his Seale, that God is true. For he whome God hath sent, speaketh the wordes of God.

By whych things it plainely appeareth, that credence is to be geuen neither to Iohn, nor yet to angell, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christes doctrine. For Christ is aboue the Aungels, because that God infinitely passeth them in wisdom. Nowe if Moses the seruaunt of God a minister of the old testament was so much to be beleued, y^t nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminished from the commandements that were geuen by hym, (for so Moses had sayd, the thyng that I commaund thee, that do thou onely to the Lorde, neither adde thou any thing, nor diminish.) How much more ought we not to adde nor to take away from the commandements geuen by God himselfe, and also the sonne of God? In the primitiue Church because the Christians had seruent loue and charity, they obserued these precepts as they were geuē: but their feruent [Page 487](#) charitie afterward waxing luke warme, they inuented gloses by drawing the commaundementes of God backe to their own deedes, which they purposed to iustifie and mayntayn,* that is to say, warres against the infidels. But that they by warres should be conuerted to the fayth, is a fact faithlesse inough: because, that by violence or vnwillingly, no body can beleue in Christ nor be made a christian, neither did he come to destroy them by battaile, that beleued not in him: for he said to his disciples, you knowe not what spirite you are of. The sonne of man came not to destroy mens liues, but to saue them. Then to graunt pardons and forgeuenes of sinnes, to those that kill the infidels, is to much an infidels fact, seducing many people For what greater seducing can there be, then to promise to a man forgeuenes of sinnes, and afterwarde the ioye of heauen, for setting himselfe against Christes commaundementes in the killing of the Infidels, that would not be conuerted to the fayth: where as Christ doth say, not euery one that sayth to me Lord, Lord, shal enter into y^e gidgdome of heauen: but he y^t doth the will of my father which is in heauen, this person shall enter into the kingdome of heauen. Now the will of the father is, that we should beleue in his onely sonne Iesus Christ, and that we would obey him by obseruing of those thinges which he himselfe hath commaunded. Wherefore Christes preceptes of pacience must be fulfilled. Warres, fightinges, and contentions must be left, because they are contrary to charitie.

*But peraduenture some man wil thus reason against Christ: The saintes by whome God hath wrought myracles, do allow warres as well against the faithfull people, as also against the infidels. And the holy kings were warriours, for whose sakes also myracles haue bene shewed, as well in theyr death as also in their life, yea in the very time wherin they were a warfare. Wherefore it semeth that their factes were good and lawfull. For otherwise, God would not haue done myracles for them.

*To •is agayne I say, that we for no myracles must do contrary to the doctrine of Christ. For in it can there be no errour, but in myracles there oftentimes chaunceth error as it is plaine as well by the old as by the new testament: God forbid then, that a Christian should for deceiuable myracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Exodus the 7. chapter it is manifest, howe that the

wicked wise men of the Egiptians, through the inchauntments of Egipt, and certayne secret workinges, threw theyr wands vpon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, euē as Aaron before time in y^e prefēce of Pharaο threw his wand vpon the earth: which by the power of God was turned into a serpent. In the third of the kinges the 22. chap. Micheas did see the Lord sitting vpon his throne, and all the hoste of heauen standing about him on the right hand, and on the left. And the Lord sayd, who shall deceaue Achab y^e king of Israel, that he may go vp and be slayn in Ramoth Gilaad. And one sayd this way, and an other otherwise: now, there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord & said, I will deceiue him. To whō the Lord spake: by what meanes? And he sayd, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophetes. And the Lord sayd thou shalt deceiue him and preuaile, go thy wayes forth, and do euen so. Thus also is it written in Deuteronomium. If there shall arise a Prophet amongst you, or one that shall say hee hath seene a dreame, and shall foretell a signe and a wonder: & if that shall come to passe that he hath spoken, and he shall say vnto thee: Let vs go and follow straunge Goddes (whom thou knowest not) and let vs serue them: thou shalt not harken vnto the wordes of that Prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether ye loue him or no, with all your hart, and with all your soule.

In Ieremy the 12. chap. Are not my wordes euen lyke fire sayth the Lord? and like an hammer, that breaketh the stone? Therefore behold, I wil come against the Prophets whiche haue dreamed a lye (sayth the Lorde) whiche haue shewed those things, and haue seduced the people through theyr lies and their miracles, when as I sent thē not neyther commanded them, which haue brought no profit vnto this people (sayth the Lord.) In Marke the 13. chapter sayth Christ: For there shall arise false Christes and false Prophetes, and shall shewe great signes and wonders to deceiue if it were possible euen the very elect. Paule in hys second Epistle to the Corinthians the xi. chap.* Suche false Apostles are deceitfull workers, transforming themselues into the Apostles of Christ, and no maruayle: For euen Sathan transformeth himselfe into an angell of light therefore it is no great thing, though his ministers transforme themselues, a• though they were the ministers of righteousnes, whose end shal be according to their works.

In the Apocalips the 13. chap.* Iohn saw a beast ascending vp out of the earth and it had two hornes like a lamb but he spake like the Dragon, and he did all that the first beast could do before him: and he caused the earth and the inhabitantes therof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders so that he made fire come downe from heauen on the earth, in y^e sight of men, and deceiued thē that dwell on y^e earth, by meanes of the signes which were permitted to him to do in y^e sight of the beast.

By these thinges it is most manifest and playne,* that in miracles this manifold errour oftentimes happeneth thorough the working of the deuill, to deceiue the people w^tal. Wherefore, we ought not for the working of miracles, to depart from the commaundements of God: I woulde to God y^t they which put confidence in miracles would geue heed vnto the word of Christ,* in the 7. chap. of Math. thus speaking:* Many shall say vnto me in that day, Lord, Lord haue we not in thy name prophecied? and in thy name cast out deuils? and in thy name done many great workes? &c. I wil professe vnto them, I neuer knew you, depart from me all ye which worke iniquitie.

By this saying it is most manifest, that the seruantes of Christ are not discerned by the working of miracles, but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquitie, and obeying the

cōmaundements of God. Wherefore it is wōderful, that any in this life dare presume to preuent the day of the iudgement of God, to iudge by meanes of miracles, that some are Saints whom men ought to worship, whō peradventure God will in the last iudgement condemne, saying: depart from me all ye which worke iniquitie. If any man could here on earth iudge sinners to be condemned, then if this iudgement were certayne, Christ shoulde not iudge the 2. tyme,* and what soeuer such iudges bynde in earth: the same ought to be bound in heauen. But if such a iudgement be vncertayne, then it is perillous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth may in steede of saintes worship suche as are damned with the fellowship of the deuils, and in prayer require their ayde, who euen like as the deuils their companions are more ready and more of might to euill then to good, more to hurt then to profite. I wonder they marke not what Christ sayd, when his kinswoman came vnto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying: Commaund that these my two sonnes may sit, one vpon thy right hand and the other vpon thy left hand, in thy kingdome. But Iesus aunswering, sayd: Ye know not what ye aske, can ye drinke of the cup whiche I shall drink of? they sayd vnto him, we cna. He sayd vnto them. Of my cupp in deede ye shall drinke, but to sit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to geue, but vnto whom it is prepared for, of my father. Christ, being equall vnto the father according to his God head, exceeding all maner of men, according to his manhode, namely in goodnes and wisdom, sayde, to sit my right hande, or at my left, is not mine to geue but vnto whome it is prepared of my father. If it were none of his to geue to sit at the right hand, or at the left &c. How then is it in the power of anye sinnefull man to geue vnto any man, a seate eyther on the right hand, or on the left in the kingdome of God? whiche sinnefull man knoweth not whether suche haue anye seate prepared for thē of the father in his kingdome.* They much extoll themselues which exercise this iudicial power in geuing iudgement: that there are some sayntes, which ought to be honoured of men, by reason of y^e euidency of dreames or of deceitfull miracles, of which men they are ignoraunt whether God in hys iudgement will condemne them or not together with the deuils for euer to be tormented. Let them beware, for the vnfallible truth sayth, that euery one that exalteth himselfe shall be brought low.

By these thinges is gathered, that the warres of Christians are not lawfull, for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, by reason of the euidency of the deceitfull miracles of those, whiche haue made warres amongst the Christians, as well agaynst the Christians, as also agaynst the infidels. Because Christ could not erre in his doctrine for as much as he was God: And forasmuch as heauen and earth shall passe awaye, but the wordes of Christ shall not passe away. He therefore: whiche establisheth his lawes, allowing warres and the slaughter of mē in the warre, as well of Christians, as of Infidels: doth he not ins••ie those thinges which are contrary vnto the gossell & law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against christ? and therefore Antichrist: seducing the people, making men beleue that to be lawfull & meritorious <◇> them, which is expressedly prohibited by Christ.

And thus much concerning the first parte touching peace and warre, wherein he declareth Christ and the pope [Page 488](#) to be contrary, that is, the one to be geuen al to peace, the other all to warre, and so to proue in conclusion the Pope to be Antichrist. Where in the meane time thou must vnderstand (gentle reader) his meaning rightly: not that hee so thinketh, no kind of warres among y^e Christiās in any case to be lawful, for he himself before hath opely protested the contrary. But that his purpose is to proue, y^e Pope in all his doings & teachings, more to be addicted to warre, thē to peace, yea in such cases, wher is no necessity of war. And therein

proueth he y^e Pope to be contrary to Christ, y^e is to be Antichrist. Now he proceedeth further to y^e second part which is of mercy.

In the which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth vs to be merciful, because mercye (as he sayth) proceedeth frō charity, and nourisheth it. In which doctrine of mercye, he breaketh not y^e law of righteousnes, for he himself by mercy hath clensed vs from our sinnes, from which we coude not by the righteousnes of the law, be clensed. But whom he hath made cleane by mercye, vndoubtedly it behoueth those same to be also merciful. For in y^e v. chapter of Mathew, he sayth: Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtaine mercy.* And againe in y^e 6. of Mathew: If ye forgeue vnto men their sinnes, your father will forgeue vnto you your sinnes. And againe in the vij. chapter of Mathewe: Iudge not,* & ye shal not be iudged, condemne not, and ye shal not be condemned, & with what measure ye measure, with the same shal it be measured vnto you againe.* In the xvij. chap. of Mathew, Peter asked the lord, saying: Lord how often shal my brother sinne agaynst me,* and I shall forgeue him, seuen times? Iesus sayd vnto him: I say not vnto thee seuen times, but seuentie times seuen tymes. Therefore is the kingdome of heauen likened vnto a certaine king, which would take accōpt of his seruants. And when he had begun to reckē, one was brought vnto hym which ought him tenne thousand talents: And because he had nothing where withal to pay, his maister commaūded him to be solde, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be payd. The seruaunt therefore fell downe and besought him, saying: haue pacience with me, and I wil pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that seruant, and loosed him, and forgaue him the debt. But when the seruant was departed, he found one of his fellow seruants, which ought him an hundred pence, and he layed handes on him, and tooke him by the throte, saying: pay me that thou owest, and his fellowe fell downe, and besought him, saying: Haue pacience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast hym into prison, till he shoulde pay the debt. And when his other fellowes saw the things that were done, they were very sorye, and came & declared vnto their maister all y^t was done: Then his maister called him, and said vnto him: O thou vngratious seruant, I forgaue thee al y^t debt when thou desiredst mee: Oughtest thou nor then also to haue such pity on thy felow, euē as I had pity on thee? And his lord was wroth, and deliuered him vnto the laylers, till he should pay all that was due vnto him. So likewise shall my heauēly father do vnto you, except ye forgeue from your hartes eche one to his brother their trespasses.

By this doctrine it is most plaine and manifest that euery Christiā ought to be mercifull vnto his brother, how often soeuer he offendeth against him.* Because we so often as we offend, do aske mercy of God. Wherefore, for asmuch as our offence agaynst God is farre more grievous then any offence of our brother agaynst vs: it is playne, that it behoueth vs to be merciful vnto our brethren, if we wil haue mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this doctrine of mercy.* The Romish bishop maketh & confirmeth many lawes, which punishe offenders, euen vnto the death. As it is plaine by y^e processe of y^e decrees. Distin 23. quest. 5. It is declared and determined, that to kill men ex officio, that is, hauing authority and power so to do, is not sinne. And againe: the souldiour which is obediēt vnto y^e higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guilty of murther. And againe, he is the minister of the Lord, which smiteth y^e euil in that they are euill and killeth thē. And many other such like thinges are throughout the whole processe of y^e question determined.* That for certayne kinds of sinnes men ought by the rigour of the law, to be punished euen vnto death: But the foundation of their saying, they tooke out of the olde law, in which for diuers transgressions were appointed diuers punishments. It is very much wōderful

vnto me, why that wyse men being the authors & makers of lawes, do alwayes for the foundation of their sayings, looke vpon the shadow of the lawe, and not the light of the gospel of Iesus Christ, for they geue not heede vnto y^e fygure of perfection, nor yet vnto the perfection figured. Is it not written in y^t 3. of Iohn▪ God sent not his sōne into the world to iudge the world, but to saue y^e world by him.* In Iohn the 8. chap. The scribes and phariseis bring in a woman taken in adultery, and let her in the midst, and sayd vnto Christ: Maister euen nowe this woman was taken in adultery. But in the lawe. Moises hath cōmaunded vs to stone such. What sayest thou therfore? This they sayd to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Iesus stouped downe, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him: he lift himselfe vp, and sayd vnto them, let him that is among you without sinne, cast the first stone at her. And agayne he stouped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, the went out one by one, beginning at the eldest: so Iesus was lefte alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Iesus had lift vp himselfe agayne he said vnto her: where be they which accused thee, hath no man condemned thee? She sayd, no man Lord. And Iesus sayd vnto her: Neyther do I condemne thee? Goe thy way and sinne now no more.

It is manifest by y^e scriptures, y^e Christ was promised he should be king of the Iews, & vnto y^e kings pertained the iudgements of y^e law: but because he came not to iudge sinners according to the rigor of the law, but came according to grace, to saue that which was lost, in calling y^e sinner to repentaunce: it is most playne, that in the comming of the law of grace,* he would haue the iudgement of the lawe of righteousnes to cease: for otherwise he had dealt vniustly with y^e foresayd woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adultery, bare witnes against her. Wherefore seeing y^e same king Christ was a iudge, if it had bene his will that the righteousnes of the law shoulde be obserued, he ought to haue adiudged the woman to death, according as the law commaunded, whiche thing forasmuch as he did not, it is most euident that the iudgementes of the righteousnes of the law are finished in the cōming of the king, being kyng of the lawe of grace: euen as the sacrifices of the priesthooe of Aaron, are finished in the comming of the priest, according to the order of Melchisedech, who hath offred himselfe vp for our sinnes. Because as it is before sayd, neyther the righteousnes of the law, nor sacrifices for sinne, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it was necessary that the same (by reason of their imperfection. And seeing amongst all the lawes of the world, the law of Moses was most iustest, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most iust iudge: and by that law alwaies looke, what maner of iniury one had done vnto an other, contrary to the cōmandement of the law, the like iniury he should receaue for his transgression, according to y^e vpright iudgemēt of the law. As death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and most iust punishmentes were ordayned according to the quantitie of the sinnes. But if this lawe of righteousnes be cleane taken away in the comming of the lawe of grace, how then shall the lawe of the Gentiles remayne among Christians, which was neuer so iust? Is not this true, that in them, whiche are conuerted vnto the sayth, there is no distinction betweene the Iewe and the Grecian? For both are vnder sinne, & are iustified by grace in the sayth of Christ, being called vnto sayth and vnto the perfection of the Gospell.

If therefore y^e gētiles cōuerted, are not boūd to play the Iewes, to follow the lawe of the Iewes: why should the Iewes conuerted, follow the lawes of the Gētiles which are not so good? * Wherefore it is to bee wondred, at, why theues are among christians, for theft put to death where after y^e lawe of Moyses they were not put to death. Chrystiās suffer adulterers to liue, Sodomits,

and they which curse father and mother, & many other horrible sinners: And they which accordinge to the most iust lawe of God were condemned to death, are not put to death: So wee neyther keepe the law of righteousnes geuen of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.

Wherefore the lawe makers and Iudges, do not geue heede vnto the aforesayd sentēce of Christ vnto y^e Scribes and Phariscis, who sayd: * He which amōgst you is with out sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. What is he that dareth be so bolde as to say he is without sinne? Yea and without a grieuous sinne, when as the transgression of y^e commaundement of God is a greeuous sinne? And who can say that hee neuer transgressed this commaundement of God. Thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy selfe: Or the other cōmaūdement which is of greater force: Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with al thy hart. &c. Wherefore thou whatsoeuer thou art that iudgeth thy brother vnto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the iudgemēt of God, which peradūture hast offended more greuously thē hath he whom thou iudgeth? How •ee• thou a mote in thy brothers eye, & seest not a beame in thine owne eye? Knowest [Page 489](#) than not that with what measure thou measurest, y^e same shall be measured to you agayne? Doth not the scripture say: Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render agayne sayth y^r Lord? How can any man say that these men can with charitie keepe these iudgementes of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God iust iudgement for his offence? He desireth nor iudgement, but mercy. If he desire mercy for him selfe, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? Howe therefore loueth he his brother as himselfe? Or how doest thou shewe mercy vnto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commaundement of Christ) which seekest the greatest vengeance vpon him that thou canst inferr vnto him? For death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grieuous vengeance then death, can no man inferre. Wherefore, they which wil keep charitie, ought to obserue the commaundements of Christ touching mercy: and they * which liue in the law of charitie ought to leaue the lawe of vengeance and iudgementes. Ought we to beleue, that Christ in his comming, by grace abrogated the most iust law whiche he himselfe gaue vnto the Children of Israell by Moses his seruaunt, and established the lawes of the Gentiles being not so iust to be ob'serued of his faythfull? * Doth not Daniell expounding the dreame of Nabuchodonozer the king cōcerning the image whose head was of gold, the brest and armes of siluer, the belly & thies of brasse, the legges of iron, one part of y^e feete was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonozer saw that a stone was cut out of a mountaine w^tout hands, and strake y^e Image in his feete of iron and of clay, & brake them to peeces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brasse, the siluer and gold broken altogether, and became like y^e chaffe of the sommer flower, which is caryed away by the winde and there was no place found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountayne, and filled the whole earth. * He applieth therfore 4. kingdomes vnto the 4. partes of the Image, namely: the kingdome of the Babilonians vnto the head of the gold: The kingdome of the Medes and Persians vnto the brest and armes of siluer: The kingdom of the Grecians vnto the belly and thighes or brasse: But the fourth kingdome whiche is of the Romaynes, he applyeth vnto the feet and legges of iron. And Daniell addeth: In the dayes of their kingdomes, shall God rayse vp a kingdome which shall neuer be destroyed: And hys kingdome shall not be deliuered vnto an other, but it shal breake and destroy those kingdomes: and it shal stand for euer, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountayne without handes, and brake in peeces the clay and iron, * brasse siluer and golde. Seeing therfore it is certain that this stone signifieth Christ whose kingdome is for euer: it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to raygne euery where, and to breake in peeces the other kingdoms of y^e world. Wherefore it terrestriall kinges and the terrestriall kingdom of the Iewes, and their laws and

iudgementes haue ceased by Christ the king, calling the Iewes vnto the perfection of his gospel, namely, vnto Fayth and Charitie: It is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles which is more imperfect & their lawes, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing frō their Gentillitie vnto the perfection of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. For there is no distinction betwene the Iewes and Gentiles being conuerted vnto the faith of Christ, but all of them abiding in that eternall kingdome ought to be vnder one lawe of Charitie and of vertue. Therefore they ought to haue mercy, and to leaue the iudgments of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make lawes marke not the parable of Christ, saying: The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man whiche sowed good seede in hys field: but when men were on sleepe, the enemy came and sowed Tares in the midst of the wheate, & went his way. But when the herbe was growne and brought forth fruite, then appeareth the Tares. And the seruauntes came vnto the good man of the house and sayd vnto him, Lorde didst not thou sowe good seede in thy field? From whence then come these Tares? And he sayd vnto them: The enemy hath done this. And the seruauntes sayd vnto him: wilt thou that we goe and gather them vp? And he sayd no: least peraduenture gathering vp the Tares ye plucke vp the wheate by the rootes: Suffer them both to grow vntill the haruest, and in the time of the haruest, I will saye vnto the haruest men, gather first the Tares and binde them in the bundels that they may be burnt, but gather the wheate into my barne. Christ himselfe onely expoundeth this parable in the selfe same chapter, saying: He whiche soweth the good seede is the sonne of man, but the field is the world, and the good seede, those are the children of the kingdome. But the Tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which soweth them is the Deuill, And the haruest is the end of the world and the haruest men are the Aungels. Euen as therfore the Tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The sonne of man shall send hys Aungels, and they shal gather out of his kingdome al offendoures, and those which commit iniquitie, and shall put them into a furnace of fire, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teethe.

By whiche playne doctrine it is manifest,* that Christ will haue mercy shewed vnto sinners, euen vnto the ende of the world, and will haue them to remayn mingled with the good: Least peraduenture when a man thinketh that he doth right well, to take away the tares, he taketh away y^e wheat. For how great a sinner soeuer a mā be, we know not whether his end shalbe good, and whether in the end he shall obtayne mercy of God: Neither are we certayn of the time, wherein God will by grace iudge him whom we abhorre as a sinner. And peraduenture suche a one shall more profit after his conuersion in y^e Church, then he who we think to be iust, as it came to passe in Paul. And if god iustifieth a man by grace (although at his ende) why darest thou be so bold to be his iudge, and to condemne him? Yea, rather although a man seeme to be obstinate and hardened in his euill, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction (correct him before one alone) if he doe not receaue open correction being done before two or three witnesses, neyther passeth vpon a manifest correction when his sinne is made known vnto the Church: Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea rather he sayth, if he harken not vnto the church: let him be vnto thee as an Ethnicke and Publicane. And Paule following this doctrin in the 1. Corin. 5. chapter saith:* There goeth a common saying that there is fornication among you & such fornication as is not once named among y^e gen^tiles that one shold haue hys fathers wife. And ye are puffed vp, and haue not rather sorrowed, that he whiche hath done this deed, might be put from among you. For I verily as absent in body, but present in spirite, haue already determined, as though I were present: that he whiche hath done this thing, whē ye are gathered together and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ that such one by

the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ, be deliuered vnto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirite may be sauēd in the day of the Lord Iesus. Paule teacheth not to kill this man (as some gather by this text) but to separate him from the other faithfull, and so frō Christ, which is the head of the Church of the faithfull, and so is he deliuered vnto Sathan, which is separated from Christ: that the flesh may be killed, that is, that that carnall concupyscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after y^e wife of his father, may be destroyed in him, by such a separation, that y^e spirite may be sauēd, & not that his body should be killed. as some say, as it is most manifest in the selfe same chapiter, where he sayth: I wrote vnto you in an Epile, that ye shoulde not keepe company with fornicatours, and I ment not of all the fornicators of this world, eyther of the couetous, or extorcioners or Idolaters, for then must yee nedes haue gone out of the world. But now I haue written vnto you, that ye keepe not company together, if anye that is called a brother be a fonicatour, or couetous persō, or a worshipper of Images, eyther a cursed speaker, or dronkard, or an extorcioner: with him that is such, see that ye care not.

By whych it is manyfest, that Paule woulde haue the foresayd fornicatour separated from the fellowship of the faithful: that his carnall concupyscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the body should be killed. Wherefore, they do ill vnderstand Paule, which by this saying,* do cōfirme y^e killing of mē. And forasmuch as heresie is one of y^e most greuous sinnes (for an heretike leadeth men in errorrs, wherby they are made to stray frō fayth, without which they cannot bee sauēd) it doth most great hurt in the Church.

Further as concerning such a wicked man. Paul thus speaketh, flye from the man y^t is an heretike after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subuerted and sinneth, forasmuch as he is by his owne iudgemēt condemned. Behold Paule teacheth not to kill thys man, but with Christ to separate him frō the fellowship of the faythfull. But some say, that Peter in y^e primitiue Church slewe Ananias and Saphyra for their sinnes, wherefore they say it is lawful for them, to condemne wicked men to death. We wil declare in shewing the whole processe how falsly they speake in alleaging of Peter, for to iustify their errorr.

In the 4. chap. of the Actes it is written, that as many as were possessours of landes or houses, they solde them & offred the prices of that whych they solde and layed it before [Page 490](#) the feete of the Apostles:* & it was deuēdēd vnto euery one as he had neede thereof. But a certaine man Ananias with Saphira his wife solde a piece of land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being priuy vnto it, and bringing a certaine part therof, he laid it at the feete of the Apostles. But Peter saide vnto Ananias: Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy hart that thou shouldest lye vnto the holy ghost, to keepe backe a part of y^e price of the land? Did it not whilest it remayned, remayne vnto thee: and being sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceiued this thing in thine hart? Thou hast not lyed vnto mē, but vnto God. And whē Ananias heard these wordes, he fell downe and gaue vp the ghost, & great feare came on all them that heard these things. And the young mē rose vp and tooke him vp, and caried him out and buried him. And it came to passe about the space of iij. houres after, that his wyfe came in being ignorant of that whych was done. And Peter sayd vnto her, Tel me womā, sold ye the land for so much? And she sayd, yea for so much. But Peter saye vnto her, why haue ye agreed together to tēpt the spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feete of them which buried thy husbāde are at the doore, and shall cary thee out, And straight way she fel downe before his feete, and gaue vp the ghost,* and the yong men entring in, found her dead and they caried her out, and buried her by her

husbād. And great feare came on all the church, & all those which heard these thinges. It is meruaile y^t any man that is wise, wyll say that by this processe Peter slue Ananias or hys wife. For it was not his act but y^e act of God, who made a wedding to his sonne, & sent his seruant to cal them, that were bidden vnto the wedding, and they would not come. The king then sent forth his seruantes, to the outcorners of the hie wayes, to gather all that they could find, both good and euill. And so they did. And the maryage was full furnished with gestes. Then came in also the king to view and see them sitting. Among whom he perceaued there one sitting hauing not a wedding garment, and sayth vnto him, frend how camest thou hither? And he being dumme, had not a worde to speake. Then said the king to the seruitures, take and binde him hand and foote, and cast him into the outward darcknes, there shall be weeping and gnashinge of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen. &c.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charitie, without which, because Ananias entred into the maryage of Christ, he was geuen to death, that by one many might be informed to learne & vnderstand: that they which haue fayth & not charitie, although they appeare to men to haue yet it can not be priuy to the spirite of God, that they doe fayne. Such there is no doubt, but they shalbe excluded frō the mariage of christ, as we see this here exemplified in the death of Ananias & his wife by the hand of God, & not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter thē haue iudged Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? For why, by the law he had not bene guilty of death, for that part, which they fraudulently & dissemblingly did reserue to themselues. Yea and if they had stolne as much from an other man, which was greater nei^ther ye• for hys lie committed, he had not therfore by y^e law of iustice bene found gilty of death. Wherefore if he did not condēne hym by y^e law of iustice, it appeared that he codēned him by the law of grace and mercy, whiche he learned of Christ. And so consequently it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death: * Furthermore to say that Peter put him to death by the meere motion of his own will, and not by authoritie of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and slaunderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill hym, why then doth the Byshop of Rome which pretendeth to be successor of Peter, excuse himselfe and his priestes from the iudgement of death agaynst heretiques and other offēders, although, they themselues be consēting to such iudge^ments done by lay men? For that which was done of Peter without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his felow Priestes from the spot of crime. Actes. 5. It is manyfest that there was another which did more greeuously offend thē Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharpe words: but yet he commanded him not so to he put to death. For Simon Magus also remayning at Samaria, after that he beleued and was baptised, he ioyned himselfe with Phillip: And when he sawe that the holye spirite was geuen by y^e Apostles (laying theyr handes vpon mē) he offred thē mony, saying geue vnto me this power, that vpon whome soeuer I shall lay my hand, he shall receaue the holy Ghost. * To whom Peter answered: Destroyed be thou and thy money together: And for that thou supposest the gifte of GOD to be bought with money, thou shalt haue neyther part nor fellowshippe in this doctrine. Thy hart is not pure before god, therefore repēt thee of thy wi^kednesse, and pray vnto God that this wicked thought of thy hart may be forgeuen thee: for I perceiue thou art euē in the bitter gall of wickednes and bande of iniquitie. Beholde here the greuous offence of Symon Peters hard & sharp rebuking of him, and yet therupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Anamas aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered seing the iudgements of death are not grounded vpon the expresse and playn scriptures, but onely vnder the shadow of

the olde law: that they are not to be obserued of Christians because they are cōtrarye to charity. Ergo y^e bishop of Rome approuing such iudgements, alloweth those that are contrary to the law & doctrine of Christ, as before is sayd of warres, where hee approueth & iustifieth that which is cōtrary to charity. The order of Priesthood, albeit it doth iustifie the iudgemēts to death of the laity, whereby offenders are condēned to die, yet are they themselues forbidden to put in execution the same iudgementes. The priestes of the old law being vnperfect, whē Pylate said vnto thē concerning Christ (whō they had accused worthy death) take him vnto you and according to your law iudge him, answered: that it was not lawful for them to put to death any man.

Wherby it appeareth that our priests being much more perfect,* may not lawfully geue iudgemēt of death against any offenders: yet notwithstanding, they claime vnto thē the power iudicial vpon offēders: Because say they, it belongeth vnto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to iudge vpō the same being knowne, aud to ioynē diuers penances vnto y^e parties offending, according to the quantitie of their offences cōmitted, to that y^e sinner may make satisfactiō say they vnto God for the offences which he neuer committed. And to cōfirme vnto thē this iudicial power, they alleage y^e scriptures in many places, wrasting it to serue their purpose.

First they saye that the Bishop of Rome (who is the chief priest and iudge among them) hath full power & authority to remit sinnes. Wherupon they say, that he is able fully & wholly to absolue a man a poena & culpa, so that if a man at the time of his death had this remission:* he should straightwaies flie vnto heauen without any paine of Purgatory. The other Bishops (as they say) haue not so great authoritie. The priests constituted vnder euery Byshop, haue power, say they, to absolue the sinnes of thē that are confessed, but not al kind of sinnes: because there are some grieuous sinnes reserued to the absolutions of the Byshops, and some againe to the absolution onely of y^e chiefe and high Byshop. They say also that it behoueth the offēders, for the necessitie of their soule health, to call to remēbrance their offences, and to manifest the same with al the circumstances therof, vnto the priest in auricular cōfessiō, supplying the place of God, after the maner of a Iudge: & afterwarde humbly to fulfill the penaunce enioyned vnto him by the priest for his sinnes, except the sayde penaunce so enioyned, or any part thereof be released by the superior power. All these things (say they) are manifestly determined, as wel in y^e decrees, as decretals. And although these things haue not expressly their foundation in the playne and manifest doctrine of Christ, nor any of y^e Apostles: yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning thys matter, haue groūded the same vpon diuers places of the scriptures, as in y^e proces of Christ in y^e Gospell of Saynt Mathew y^e xvj. chapter.* Wherupon they ground y^t popes power iudicial, to surmount the powers of other priests, as where Christ sayd vnto his disciples: whō do men saye that I am? And they aunswered:* some saye that thou art Iohn Baptist, some Elias, & some Ieremy, or one of the Prophets. To whom he sayde: but who saye you that I am? Symon Peter makeinge aunswere, sayde: Thou art Christ, the sonne of the liuing God. And Iesus answered and said vnto him: Blessed art thou Symon the sonne of Ionas, for flesh & bloud hath not opened this vnto thee: but my father which is in heauen. And I say vnto thee: y^t thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke wil I buyld my church: and hel gates shal not preuaile against it. And I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And whatsoever thou shalt binde vpon earth, shal also be bound in heauen: and whatsoever thou shalt lose vpon earth, shall bee loosed also in heauen.

Out of this text of Christ, diuers expositiōs haue drawen diuers errors. For when Christ sayd: And I say vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wil I build my Church: Some therupon affirme, that Christe meant he would builde his Church vpon Peter by authority of that text,* as it is writtē in y^e first part of y^e decrees, Dist. 19. cap. Ita dominus noster. The exposition hereof, is ascribed [Page 491](#) to Pope Leo, the error wherof is manifestly known. For the Church of Christ is not builded vpon Peter, but vpon the rocke of Peters confession, for that he sayd: Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God, and for that Christ sayd singularly vnto Peter: I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and whatsoever thou shalt binde. &c. By this saying they affirme, that Christ gaue vnto Peter specially, as chiefe of the rest of the Apostles a larger power to binde and to lose, then he did vnto the rest of the apostles,* or disciples. And because Peter answered for him self & al the Apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly aboue the rest, but also y^e faith whiche the rest of the Apostles had euen as himselfe, by the reuelation of the heauēly father: It appeareth that as the fayth of al the Apostles was declared by the answeere of one: so by this that Christ sayd vnto Peter: whatsoever thou shalt binde. &c. is geuen vnto the rest of the Apostles the same power & equallitie to binde & to lose,* as vnto Peter. Whiche Christ declareth in the Gospell of S. Mathew the 18. chapter, in these words: Verely I say vnto you what thinges so euer you shall binde vpon earth, shalbe bound in heauē & whatsoever you shal lose vpon earth, shalbe also losed in heauē, And further he addeth: And agayne I say vnto you: that if two of you shall consent vpon earth, and request whatsoever it be: it shall be graunted vnto you of my father which is in heauen. For when two or three be gathered together in my name,* I am there in the midst of them. And in Iohn the xx. chapter, he sayth generally vnto them: Receaue ye my spirit. Whose sins ye shall remit, shalbe remitted vnto them: and whose sinnes you shall retayne, shall be retained.

By this it appeareth, that the power to bynde and to loose is not specially graunted to Peter as chiefe and head of the rest: and that by him the rest had their power to bind and to loose, for that the head of the body of the Church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, are the good members of the body of Christ, receiuing power & vertue of Christ: wherby they do confirme and glew together the other mēbers (as well the strong & noble as the weake and vnable) to a perfect composition and seemelines of the body of Christ: that all honour from all partes and members may be geuē vnto Christ as head and chiefe, by whome as head, all the members are gouerned. And therefore Paule. 1. Corinthians chap. 3. When any man sayth, I hold of Paule, and an other sayth I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnall men? For what is Apollo? what is Paule? The minister of him in whom ye haue beleued, and he as God geueth vnto euery man. I haue planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath geuen the increase. Therefore neither he that plāteth is any thing neither he y^t watereth,* but God that geueth the increase. And Paul to the Gal. chap. 2. God hath no respecte of persons. Those that seemed to be great and to do much, auayled or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the circumcision vnto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with me also amōg the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was geuen me Peter, Iames, and Iohn straightwayes ioyned themselues with me and Barnabas: wee among the Gentiles, and they in circumcision onely, might be mindefull of the poore, the which to do I was very carefull. Hereby it appeareth, that Paule had not his authoritie of Peter to conuert the Gentiles,* to baptise them, and to remit their sinnes, but of him which said vnto him Saule, Saule, why persecutest thou

mee. It is hard for thee to kicke agaynst the pricke. Heare is Paule the head of the Church and not Peter: By which head they say, that al the members are sustayned and made liuely.

*The thyrd error (which the authors of the canons cōceiue in the sayd text of Christ) which was sayd to Peter Unto thee will I geue the keyes &c. is this. They say that in this sentence which was sayd to Peter of the authoritie to binde and loose was ment: that as Christ gaue vnto Peter aboue all the rest of the Apostles a speciall, and as it I were an excellent power aboue all the Apostles: euen so say they, he gaue vnto the Bishops of Rome (whome they call Peters chiefe successors) the same speciall power and authoritie, exceeding the power of all other Byshoppes of the world.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appeare manifestly by y^e premisses to be erroneous: wherein is playnly shewed, that the other Apostles, had equall power with Peter to binde and lose. *Wherefore cōsequently it followeth, the 2. part of the similitude, grounded vpon the same text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the sayd similitude were truth as it is not, yet the second part must needes be an error, wherein is sayd that y^e Bishops of Rome are Peters chiefe successors. For although there be but one Catholicke christian Church, of al y^e faithful sort conuerted: yet the first part therof and first conuerted was of the Iewes, the second of the Greeks, & the third part was of the Romaines or Latines. Whereof, the first part was most perfectly conuerted vnto the fayth, for that they faithfully obserued the perfectiō of charitie, *as appeareth in the Actes of the Apostles by the multitude of the be|leuers. The were of one hart, and one soule neyther called they any thing that they possessed theyr owne, but all was common amongst them. *

Hereupon Paule to the Romaines: Salutation to euery beleuer, *first to y^e Iew, & to the Greeks after y^e Iewes The Greekes were the second, and after the Iewes, best conuerted, and after them the Romaines, taking their information of the Greekes as appeareth by the Chronicles although in deed some Romaines were conuerted vnto y^e fayth, by Peter and Paule. And as Christ sayd thrise vnto Peter, feed my sheepe, so Peter ruled these three Churches as witnesseth the Chronicles. But first he reformed the Church of the Iewes in Ierusalem and Iudea, *as appeareth by the testimony of the Actes of y^e Apostles: For Acts 1. It is manifest how Peter standing vp amongst his brethren spake vnto them concerning the election of an Apostle in the place of Iudas the traytor, alledging places vnto thē out of the scripture, that an other should take vpon him his Apostleship. *And so by lot was Mathias constitu|ted in the 12. place of Iudas, acts. 2. After y^t the holy Ghost was come vpon the Apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of al men, the heares were astonied at the miracle And some mocked them saying, these men are full of newe wine: But Peter stood vp & spake vnto thē, saying, that it was fulfilled in thē that was prophecied by Ioell the prophet, and he preached Christ vnto the people, whome they of ignoraunce had put to death. To them was Sauoure promised by the testimony of the Prophets. And whē they heard the wordes of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying vnto him and the rest of the Apostles: What shal we then do? And Peter sayd vnto them, repent: and let euerye one of you be baptised in the name of Iesus Christ for the remission of your sinnes, and ye shall receaue y^e holy ghost. And there were ioined vnto them the same day about three M. soules. *And Actes 3.4.5. it appeareth, that Peter aboue the rest did those thinges which belonged to the ministry of the Apostleship, *as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some Chronicles say, that Peter gouerned the church of the Iewes at Ierusalem 4. yeares, before he gouerned Antioche. And by

the testimony of Paule to y^e Gal. as before is sayd: The Gospell of the vncircumcision is cōmitted to Paule euen as the circumcision to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of circumcisiō wrought with Paule amongst the Gentils. Wherby it apareth that the Church of the Iewes was committed to the gouernment of Peter And in the proces of the Actes of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter beleued that the fayth of Christ was not to be preached vnto those Gentiles, which alwayes liued in vncleannes of Idolatry. But whē Peter was at Ioppe, Cornelius a Gētile sent vnto him, that he wold come & shew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before of the comming of the messengers of Cornelius) being in his chāber, after he had prayed, fel in a trance and saw heauen open, and a certayne vessel descending euen as a great sheete, letten downe by foure corners from heauen to earth. In the which were all maner of foure footed beastes, serpentes of the earth, and foules of the ayre. And a voyce spake vnto hym saying, arise Peter, kill and eate, and Peter sayd, not so Lorde, because I haue neuer eaten any common or vncleane thing: This was done thrise. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision did signifie) and found the messengers of Cornelius.

As concerning the authoritie iudicial of the clergie, many things are written thereof in the Canons of decrees,* greatly to be marueiled at, and farre from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the Canons say, that Chryst gaue vnto the priests, power iudicial ouer sinners y^t confessed their sinnes vnto them. And this they ground vpon the text of Christ:* I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and what soeuer thou loosest &c. And these keyes of the kingdome of heauen they cal the knowledge to discern, and the power to iudge, which they say onely belongeth to the priestes,* except in case of necessitie, then they say a lay man may absolue a man frō sinne. And as touching absolution they say, there are three thinges to be required on the sinners part: first harty cōtritiō, wherby the sinners ought to bewaile their offēding of god thorough sinnes: the second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to shew vnto the Priest his sinnes, & the circumstances of them: The third is satisfaction, thorough penance enioyned vnto hym by the Priest for his sinnes [Page 492](#) cōmitted.* And of his part that geueth absolution, there are two thinges (say they) to be required that is to say: knowledge to discern one sinne from an other, wherby he ought to make a difference of sinnes, & appoynt a conuenient penance, according to the quantitie of the sinnes: The secōd is authoritie to iudge, wherby he ought to ioyne penance to the offender. And further they say, that he y^t is confessed, ought with al humilitie to submit himself to this authoritie, and wholly and voluntarily to doe those penances which are commaunded him by the priest, except the sayde penance be released by a superiour power: for all priestes (as they say) haue not equall authoritie to absolue sinnes. The chiefe priest whome they call Peters successour hath power fully and wholly to absolue. But the inferior priests haue power, some more some lesse. The more as they are neare him in dignitie: The lesse as they are farther from the degree of his dignitie.* All this is declared by proces in the decrees, butnot by the expresse doctrine of Christ or any of his Apostles. For although Christ absolved men from their sinnes, I do not find that he did it after the maner of a iudge, but of a sauior. For Christ sayth, God sent not his sonne into the world to iudge sinners, but that the worlde should be sauied by him. Iohn chap. 3. Wherupon he spake vnto him whom he healed of the palsie: Beholde thou art made whole,* go thy wayes and sinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Christ sayd, woman where be thy accusers, hath no man condemned thee? who sayd: No man Lord. To whom then Iesus thus said: No more wil I condemne thee, go, and now sinne no more.

By which words and deedes of Christ and many other places of the scripture, it appereth he was not as a Iudge at his first cōming to punish sinners according to the quātitie of their offences: but y^t day shal come hereafter, where in he shall iudge all men according to their workes, as in Mat. 25. where he sayth: When the sonne of man shal come in his maiesty, and all his aungels with him: then shall he sit vpon the seat of his maiesty, and all nations shal be gathered together before him, and he shall separte them one from an other, as a shepheard separateth the sheepe from y^e Goates. &c. Neither shall he iudge alone, but his Saintes also with him. For he sayth, you that haue followed me in this generation,* when the sonne of man shall sit in the seat of his maiestie, shal sit also vpon 12. seats, and iudge the 12. tribes of Israell. If then sith Christ came not as a Iudge, why doe the Priestes say that they supplye the roome of Christ on earth, to iudge sinners according to the quantitie of theyr offences? And yet not onely this, but it is more to be maruailed at, how the Byshop of Rome dareth to take vpon him to be a Iudge before the day of iudgement, and to preuent the time, iudging some to be saintes in heauen, & to be honoured of men, and some agayn to be tormented in hel eternally w^t the deuils. Would God these men wold wey the saying of S. Paule. Corin. 4. Iudge ye not before the time,* vntill the comming of the Lorde, who shall make light the darcke and secret places, and disclose the secretes of hartes, and then euery one shall haue his prayse. Let the Byshop of Rome take heede, lest that in Ezechiell be spoken by him: because thy hart is eleuate, and laydst vnto thy selfe I am God, I haue sitten in the seat of God, in the hart of the sea, when thou art but man and not God. It is manifest, that the remission of sinnes principallie belongeth to God, who through grace washeth away our sinnes. For it is sayd, the lamb of God taketh away the sinnes of the world.* And vnto Christians it belongeth as the Ministers of God. For in the 20. of Iohn Christ sayth: Receaue vnto you y^e holy Ghost, whose sinnes you shall remit, they are remitted vnto them: and whose sinnes you shal retain they are retained. Seing therfore, that all Christians that are baptised in the name of the Father, and of the sonne, & of the holy Ghost, receaue the holy ghost: it appeareth, that they haue power geuē vnto them of Christ, to remit sinnes ministerially. Hath not euery Christian authoritie to baptise• and in the baptisme all the sinnes of the baptised are remitted? Ergo, they that doe baptise, do remit sinnes. And thus ministerially all suche haue power to remitte sinnes.* Therefore, to say that one man hath more authoritie to remit sinnes then al other Christians haue, is to much to extol him & to place him euen in Gods seat. I pray you how are the sinnes remitted him that is baptised of the Prieste (yea although he were of the pope himselfe baptised) more then if he were baptised of an other Christian? Surely I thinke no more. For seing that before Baptisme he remayneth a sinner and of the kingdome of the deuill by sinne, after baptisme he entreth into y^e kingdome of heauen: It appeareth, that he y^t doeth baptise,* openeth the gate of y^e kingdome of heauen to him that is baptised: the whiche he cannot do, w^tout the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Therefore euery one that both baptise: hath the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, as well the in•eriour Priest as the Pope But these keyes are not the knowledge to discerne, & power to iudge, because these doe nothing anayle in baptisme Ergo, there are other keyes of the kingdome of heauen thē these:* Wherefore it seemeth, that the authors of the Canons erred in mistaking the keyes, wherupon they ground the authoritie iudiciall of the Clergy.

Now a little errour in the beginning graunted, grow|eth to great incōuenience in y^e end. Wherefore in my iudgement it seemeth, that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen are sayth and hope. For by fayth in Iesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sinnes,* we enter y^e kingdome of heauē. This faith is a spiritual water, springing from Iesus Christ the fountayne of wisdom, wherein the soule of the sinner is washed from sinne. With this water were the faithfull

Patriarches baptised before the lawe, and the faythfull people of the Hebrewes, and the faythful Christians after the law. Wherefore I greatly maruell of that saying in the decrees, which is ascribed vnto Augustine: that litle children that are not baptised, shal be tormented with eternall fire, although they were born of faithfull parents that wished them with all their hartes to haue bene baptised: as though the sacrament of Baptisme in water were simply necessary to saluation, when neuerthelesse many Christians are saued without this kinde of Baptisme, as Martirs. If that kinde of Sacrament be not necessary, to one of elder yeres, how thē is it necessary to an infant born of the faythfull? Are not all baptised with the holy Ghost and with fire? But yet not with materiall fire, no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to washe awaye sinnes, but onely spirituall water, that is to say, the water of fayth. Are not the quicke baptised for them that are dead, as witnsseth Paule. 2. Corin. 15.* If the dead arise not at all why are the liuing then baptised for them? If the liuing be baptised for the dead? Why then is not the infant saued by the baptisme of his parentes: seeing the infant it selfe is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptisme? Christ sayth, he that beleueth and is baptised, shalbe saued.* He sayth not, he that is not baptised: but he that beleueth not shall be damned. Wherefore in the 12. chap. of Iohn, Christ sayth, I am the resurrection and lyfe, he that beleueeth in me, yea although he were dead, shall lyne. The faith therfore is necessary which the infāt hath in his faithfull parents, although he be not washed with corporall water. How then is the infant damned and tormēted with eternall fire? Were not they that were before the comming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousande yeres saued also by his death and passion? All y^t beleued in him, were baptised in his bloud, and so were saued and redemed from sinne and the bondage of the deuill, and made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. How then in y^e time of grace, shall the infāt be damned that is borne of faythfull parents, that do not despise, but rather desire to haue theyr children baptised? I dare not consent to so hard a sentēce of the decrees: but rather beleue, that he is saued by vertue of the passion of Christ in fayth of his faythfull parentes, and the hope which they haue in Christ. Which fayth and hope are the keies of the heauenly kingdome. God were not iust and mercifull, if he would condemne a man that beleueth not in him, except he shewed vnto him the fayth which hee ought to beleue. And therefore Christ sayth: If I had not come and spokē vnto them, sinne could not haue bene layd vnto theyr charge, but nowe they haue no excuse of sinne. Therefore seing the fayth of Christ is not manifest vnto the infāt departing before baptisme,* neither hath he denyed it: how thē shal he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligēce of the infant, as he speaketh vnto Aungels: who then knoweth (saue God alone) whether the infant receiueth or not re'ceiueth the fayth of Christ?

What is he therfore that so rashly dare take vpō him to iudge the infants begottē of faythfull parents, dying with out baptisme, to be tormēted with eternal fire? Now let vs cōsider the 3. thinges which y^e canons of decrees affirme to be requisite for the remission of y^e sinnes of those that sinne after baptisme: that is to say, contrition of hart, auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed through penance enioyned by the priest for the sinnes cōmitted. I cannot finde in any place in the Gospel, where Christ commaūded that this kind of confession should be done vnto y^t priest:* nor I cannot find that Christ assigned any penance vnto sinners for theyr sinnes, but that he willed thē to sinne no more. If a sinner confesse that he hath offended God through sinne, & soroweth hartely for his offēces, minding no more hereafter to sinne: then is he truely repentaunt for his sinne, & then is he conuerted vnto the Lord. If he shall then hūbly [Page 493](#) and with good hope crane mercy at God & remission of his sinnes: what is he that can let God to absolue that sinner from his sinne? And as God absolueth a sinner from hys sinne, so hath Christ

absolued many, although they confessed not theyr sinnes vnto the priests, and although they receiued not due penance for their sinnes. And if Christ could after y^t maner once absolue sinners: how is he become now not able to absolue? Except some man wil say, that he is aboue Christ, and that his power is minished by y^e ordinances of his own lawes? How were sinners absolued of god in the time of the Apostles, and alwayes heretofore, vnto y^e time that these Canons were made? I speake not these thinges as though confession to priestes were wicked, but that it is not of necessity requisite vnto saluation. I beleue verily that the confession of sinnes vnto good priestes, and likewise to other faythful Christiāns, is good, as witnesseth S. James the Apostle: * Cōfesse ye your selues one to another, & pray ye one for another, that ye may be saued: for the continuall prayer of the iust auayleth much. Helias was a man that suffered many things like vnto you, and he praid that it should not rayne vpon the earth, & it rayned not in 3. yeares & 6. monethes. And agayne he prayed, and it rayned from heauen, and the earth yelded forth her fruit. This kinde of confession is good, profitable and expedient: for if God peradventure heareth not a mans own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others: Yet neuerthelesse y^e prayers of the priests seemeth to much to be extolled in the decrees, where it treateth of penitēce, and that saying is ascribed vnto Pope Leo. Cap. multiplex misericordia Dei. &c. And it followeth: * So is it ordeyned by the prouidence of Gods diuine wil, that y^e mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the praier of y^e priests. &c. The praier of a good priest doth much auayle a sinner confessing his faults vnto him. The counsel of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to geue the sinner counsell to beware hereafter to sinne, and to instruct him how he shal punish his body by fasting by watching, and such like actes of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preserued from sinne.

After this maner I esteeme confessiō to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to cōfesse sinnes vnto the priest as vnto a iudge, & to receiue of him corporall penāce for a satisfaction vnto God for his sinnes committed, I see not how this can be founded vpō the truth of the scripture. For before the comming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfactiō vnto God for his sins, although he suffred neuer so much penance for his sinnes. And therefore it was needefull, that he that was without sinne should be punished for sinnes, * as witnesseth Isayas. chap. 53. where he sayth: he took our griefes vpon him, and our sorrowes he bare. And again: He was wōded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickednes. And agayn: The Lord put vpon him our iniquity. And agayne: for the wickednes of my people haue I strikē him. It therefore, Christ through his passion hath made satisfaction for our sinnes, whereas we our selues were vnable to do it, then through him haue we grace & remission of sinnes. How can we say now, that we are sufficient to make satisfaction vnto God by any penance enioyned vnto vs by mans authority? seing that our sinnes are more greuouse after Baptisme: thē they were before the comming of Christ. Therefore, as in Baptisme the payne of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sinnes: euen so after Baptisme if we confesse that we haue offended, & be hartly sorry for our sinnes, and minde not to sinne agayne offerwardes.

*Hereupon Iohn writeth in his first epistle. ca. 1. If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, & the truth is not in vs. If we confesse our sinnes, God is faythfull and iust, he will remit them, and clense vs from all our iniquities. If we say we haue not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not vs. My welbeloued children, this I write vnto you that ye sinne not: but if any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely, but for y^e sinnes of y^e whole world.

Therefore,* we ought to confesse our selues chiefly vnto God euen frō the hart, for that he chieflye doth remit sinnes, without whose absolution litle auaieth the absolutiō of man. This kinde of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the Canons say, that although auricular confession made vnto the Priest, be not expresly taught by Christ, yet, say they,* it is taught in that saying, which Christ said vnto them diseased of the leprosy, whom he cōmaūded: Go your wayes, & shewe yourselues vnto the Priestes, because as they say, the law of clensing lepers, which was geuen by Moyses, signified the confession of sinnes vnto the Priest. And wheras Christ commaūded the lepers to shew themselues vnto the Priestes, they say that Christ ment, that those y^t were vncleane with the leper of sinne, should shew theyr sinnes vnto the Priestes by auricular confession.* I maruell much at the authors of the Canons, for euen from the beginning of their decrees vnto the end, they grounde theyr sayings vpō the old law, which was the law of sinne and death, and not (as witnesseth Paule) vpon the words of Christ, which are spirite & life. Christ sayth, the word•s which I speake vnto you, are y^e spirit and life. They groū• theyr sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ. For euery euill doer hateth the light, & comm•th not into it, that his deeds be not reprobud: but he that doth the truth, commeth into the light, that his workes may be openly sene,* because they are done in God. Joh. 3.

Now let vs passe to the words that Christ spake to the leper. Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me cleane. And Iesus stretching forth his hand, touched him, saying: I will, be thou cleane: and straight wayes he was cleansed of hys leper. And Iesus sayd vnto him: See thou tell no man, but go and shew thy selfe to the Priest, and offer the gyft that Moyses cōmaūded for a witnesse of these thinges.* This Gospell witnesseth playnely that y^e diseased of lepers were clensed onely by Christ, and not by the Priests, neither did Christ commaund the leper to shew himselfe vnto the priestes,* for any helpe of cleansing that he should receiue of the Priestes: but to fulfill the law of Moyses, in offering a sacrifice for his clensing, & for a testimony vnto the Priestes, who alwayes of enuy accused Christ as a transgressour of the law. For if Christ after he had clensed the leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were cleane, before he had shewed himselfe clensed vnto the Priests, thē might the Priestes haue accused Christ, as a transgressour of the law: Because it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was cleansed, shoulde shewe himselfe vnto the Priestes. And they had signes in the booke of law, whereby they might iudge whether he were truely clēsed or no. And if he were clensed, then would the Priestes offer a gift for his clensing.* And if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him, frō the company of others that were cleane. Seing euery figure, ought to be assimuled vnto the thyng that is figured: I pray you then, what agreement is there betwene the clensing of lepers by the law, & the confession of sinnes? By that law the Priest knew better whether he were leprouse then he himselfe that had the leper. In cōfession the priest knew not the sinnes of him that was confessed, but by his owne confession. In that law the Priest did not clēse the leprouse: How now therfore ought the priests to clense sinners from their sinne, & that without thē they cannot be clensed? In this law y^e Priest had certein signes, by the which he could certaynly know, whether a mā were clensed frō his leper or not. In confession, the Priest is not certaine of the clensing of sinnes, because he is ignoraunt of his contrition: He knoweth not also whether he will not sinne any more, without the which contrition and graunting to sinne no more, God hath not absolued any sinner. And if God hath not absolued a man, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confession figured vnder that law? Doubtlesse so it seemeth to me (vnder the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of

excommunication, & reconciliation of him, that hath bene obstinate in his sinne, & is reconciled agayne. For so it appeareth by the processe of the Gospell, that when as the sinner doth not amend for the priuate correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publick correction of the whole Church: Then is he to be counted as an Ethnike, & a Publicane & as a certayn Leper to be auoyded out of the company of all men. Which sinner notwithstanding, if hee shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then clensed from his obstinacy.

But he which pretendeth himselfe to be the chiefe vicar of Christ,* and the high Priest, sayth: that he hath power to absolue A poena & culpa: Which I doe not finde how it is founded in the scripture, but that of his owne authority, he enioyneth to sinners, penance for their sinnes. And graūt y^t frō their sinnes he may well absolue them, yet frō the payn (which they call a poena) he doth not simply absolue,* as in his indulgences he promiseth. But if he were in charitye, and had such power, as he pretēdeth, he would suffer none to lie in Purgatory for sinne, forsomuch as that payn doth farre exceed all other payne which here we suffer. What mā is there being in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormēted in this world, if he may, he will helpe him, and deliuer him? Much more ought the Pope thē, to deliuer out of paynes of Purgatorye, indifferently as well rich as poore. And if he sel to the rich his indulgēces, double wife, yea triple wise he seduceth them. First in promising to deliuer thē out of the payne from whēce he doth not, neither is able to [Page 494](#) deliuer thē:*. And so maketh thē falsly to beleue that, which they ought not to beleue. Secōdly, he deceiueth thē of their mony, which he taketh for his indulgence. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he promising to deliuer them frō payne, doth induce thē into greuous punishment in deed, for y^e heresy of simony, which both of thē do cōmit, & therefore are worthy both of great payne to fall vpon thē: for so we read, that Iesus cast out buiers and sellers out of hys temple.* Also Peter sayd vnto Symon y^e first author of this heresy. Thy mony, sayd he, with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought, the gift of God to be possessed for mony. Moreouer, whereas Christ sayth, frely you haue receiued, frely geue, and whereas contrary the Pope doth sell that thing, which he hath taken: what doubt is there, but that he doth greuously deserue to be punished, both he that selleth, & he that buyeth, for the crime of simonye, which they commit. Ouer and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proued, that he doth not absolue a man, contrite for his sinne, although he doe absolue him from the guilt.

But this marueileth me, that he in his indulgēces promiseth to absolue men from all maner of deadly sinnes:*. & yet cannot absolue a man from debt: forasmuch as the debt which we owe to god, is of much more greater importāce, then is the debt of our brother. Wherefore, if he be able to re'mitte the debt due to God, much more it should seme, that he is able to forgeue the debt of our brother.

An other thing there is, that I maruell at: for that the pope sheweth himselfe more strait in absolving a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his mattens: thē for trāsgressing the commaundemēt of God: considering that the transgression of the cōmaundement of God, is much more greuous then the breach of mans commaundement.

For these and many other errours concurring, and in this matter of the Popes absolutiōs, blessed be God, & honor be vnto him for the remission of our sinnes And let vs firmly beleue and

know, that he doth and wil absolue vs from our sinnes, if we be sory frō the bottome of our harts that we haue offended him hauing a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let vs be bolde to resorte vnto good and discreet Priests, who with wholesome discretion and sound counsell can instruct vs, how to auoad the corruption of sinne hereafter. And which, because they are better then we, may pray to God for vs: whereby we may both obtayne more sooner the remission of our sinnes past,* and also may learne better how to auoyd the daunger of sinne to come. Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford.

* And thus much concerning the iudgement and doctrine of this Walter, for Christian patience, charity and mercy, which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true Christianity, so the sayde Walter Brute making comparison herein betweene Christ and the Pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest, whereby all men may see, what contrariety there is betweene the rule of Christes teaching, and the proceedinges of the Pope: betweene the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two as one is altogether geuen to peace: so is the other on the contrary side as much disposed to wars, murder, and bloudshed, as is easy to be sene, who so looking not vpon the outward shewes and pretensed wordes of these Romishe Popes, but aduising and considering the inward practises, and secret works of them, shall easily espye, vnder their visour of peace what discord and debate they work. Who bearing outwardly the meek hornes of the Lambe mentioned in the Apocalippes, within doe beare the bowels of a Wolfe, full of crueltye, murder, and bloudshed which if any doe thinke to be spoken of me contumeliously, would God that man could proue as well the same to be spoken of me not truely. But trueth it is, I speake it sincerely, without affection of blinde partiality, according to the trueth of historyes both olde and new. Thus vnder in Dei nomine. Amen, how vnmercifully doeth the Pope condemne his brother: And while he pretendeth not to be lawfull for him to kill any man, what thousandes hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretēding, in visceribus Iesu Christi, as though he woulde be a mediatour to the magistrate for the party: yet in deed will he be sure to excommunicate the Magistrate, if he execute not the sentence geuen. Who be true heretiques, the Lord when he commeth shall iudge: but geue them •o be heretiques, whom he condemneth for heretiques. Yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing, but burning, faggoting, drowning prisoning, chayning, famishing racking, hanging, tormenting, threatning, reuiling, cursing and oppressing, and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of thē, what they can say.* The like cruelty also may in theyr warres appeare, if we consider how Pope Vrbane 5. beside the racking and murdering of 7. or 8. Cardinals, set vp Henry Spencer Bishoppe of Norwich to fight agaynst the French Pope. Innocentius 4. was in warre himselfe agaynst the Apulians. Likewise Alexander. 4. his sucessour stirred vp the sonne of king Henry 3. to fight agaynst the sonne of Fredericke. 2. Emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moued Albertus (which stood to be Emperour) to driue Philip the frēch King out of his Realm Gregorius. 9 excited Ludouike the French king 3. sundry times, to mortall warre agaynst the Earle Raimundus and City of Tholouse, and Auinion, where Lewes the sayd Frence king dyed. Honorius 3. by strength of warre many wayes resisted Fredericke 2. and sent out 35. Gallies agaynst the coastes of the Emperours dominions. The same Pope also besieged Ferraria, to passe ouer the warre at Ticinum, with many other battayles and conflictes of Popes, agaynst the Romanes, Venetians, and diuers other nations. Innocentius 3. set vp Philip the French king to warre agaynst king Iohn. What stirre Pope Gregorye the 7. otherwise named Hildebrand, kept agaynst the Emperour Henricus 4. it is not vnknowne. And who is able to recite all the warres, battayles, and fieldes fought by the stirring vp of the Pope? These with many other like examples considered, did

cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as he did, making yet thereof no vniuersall proposition: but that Christian Magistrates, in case of necessity, might make resistance, in defence of publique right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Touching the matter (sayth he) of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ,* diuers men haue diuers opinions, as the learned do know As concerning my iudgemēt vpon the same, I firmly beleue whatsoeuer the lord Christ Iesus taught implicitly or expresly to his Disciples and faythfull people to be beleued: for he is (as I beleue and know) the true bread of God, whiche descended from heauen, and geueth life to the world. Of which bread whosoever eateth, shall liue for euer, as it is in the 6. of S. Iohn declared. Before the comming of christ in the flesh, although men did liue in body, yet in spirit they did not liue, because all men were then vnder sinne, whose soules therby were dead: from the which death, no man by law, nor with the law was iustified: for by the workes of the law shall no flesh be iustified. Galat. 2. And agayne in the same epistle cap. 3. that by the lawe no man is iustified before God it is manifest:* for the iust man shall liue by his fayth, the law is not of fayth: but whosoever hath y^e workes therof, shall liue in them. And agayn in y^e same chap. If the law had bene geuen, which might haue iustified, then our righteousness had come by the law. But the scripture hath concluded all vnder sinne, that the promise might be sure by the fayth of Iesu Christ to all beleuers. Moreouer, before that fayth came, they were kept and concluded all vnder the law, vntill the comming of that fayth whiche was to be reuealed. For the law was our schoolemaister in Christ Iesu, that we should be iustified by fayth. Also the sayd Paul Rom. 5. sayth:* that the law entred in the meane time, whereby that sinne might more abound. Where then sinne hath more abounded there hath also grace superabounded, that like as sinne hath rained vnto death: so that grace might raigne also by righteousness vnto eternal life, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Whereby it is manifest, that by the fayth which we haue in Christ, beleuing him to be the true sonne of God, which came downe from heauen to redeme vs from sinne: we are iustified from sinne, and so do liue by him, which is the true breade and meat of the soule. And the bread which Christ gaue, is his flesh geuen for the life of the world.* Iohn. 6. For he being God, came downe from heauen, and being true carnall man, did suffer in the flesh for our sinnes, which in his diuinity he could not suffer.* Wherefore like as we beleue by our fayth that he is true God: so must we also beleue, that he is a true man. And then do we eate the bread of heauen, and the fleshe of Christ. And if we beleue that he did voluntarily shed hys bloud for our redemption, then do we drinke his bloud.

And thus, except we eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and shall drinke his bloud: we haue not eternall life in vs. Because the flesh of Christ verily is meate,* and hys bloud is drinke in deed: and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ and drinketh his bloud, abideth in Christ & Christ in him. Ioh. ca. 6. And as in this world y^t soules of y^e faythfull liue, and are refreshed spiritually with this heauenly bread, and with the flesh and bloud of christ: So in the world to come, the same shall liue eternally in heauen, refreshed with the deity of Iesus Christ, as touching the most principall part therof, that is to wit, intellectū: For as much as this bread of heauē, in that it is God, hath in it selfe all delectable pleasātnes. And as touching the intelligible powers of y^e same (as well exteriour as interior) they are refreshed with the flesh (that is to say) with the humanitye of Iesus Christ: which is, as a queene standing on the right hand of God, decked w^t a golden robe of diuers coulours: for this queen of heauen alone by the word of God, is exalted aboue the [Page 495](#) company of all the angels: that by her, all our corporal power intellectuē, may fully be refreshed as is our spirituall intelligence, with the beholding of y^e deity of Iesus Christ, and euen

as the Aungels, shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refectiō, present in this world and in the world to come: hath Christ geuen vnto vs (for eternal blessednes) the Sacrament of his body and bloud, in the substaunce of breade and wine, as it appeareth in Mathew.* chapter. 26. As the disciples sat at supper, Iesus tooke bread and blessed it, brake it, & gaue it vnto his disciples, and sayd: Take, eate, this is my bodye. And he tooke the cup, and thanked, and gaue it them, saying: Drinke ye all of this, this is my bloud of the new Testament, which shall be shed for many,* for y^e remission of sinnes. And Luke in his Gospell chap. 22. or this matter thus writeth. And after he had taken the bread, he gaue thanks, he brake it, and gaue it vnto them, saying: Thys is my body whyche shall be geuen for you: doe you this in my remembraunce. In like maner he tooke the cup after supper, saying: Thys is the cup of the new testament in my bloud, which shall be shed for you. That Christ said, this is my body, in shewing to them the bread, I firmly beleue & know that it is true: That Christ (for so much as he is God) is the very trueth it selfe:*, and by consequence, all that he sayth is true. And I beleue that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body: for in y^t he is almighty, he hath done what so euer pleased him. And as in Cane of Galile, he chaunged the water into wine, really, so that after the transubstantiation it was wine and not water: so when he sayd,* This is my body: If he would haue had the breade really to be transubstātiated into his very body, so that after this chaunging it should haue bene his naturall body, & not bread as it was before: I know, that it must needes haue bene so. But I finde not in the Scripture, that hys will was to haue any such reall transubstantiation or mutation.

And as the Lord God omnipotent in his perfectiō essential being the sonne of God, doth exceed the most purest creature, and yet when it pleased him, he took vpō him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, & was really made man: so y^t after this assumpting of our substaūce he was really very God & very man: Euē so if he would, when he sayd: This is my body: He could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remayning as it was before. For lesse is y^e difference of the essence, betwene bread and the body of a man, then betwene the deity & humanity: because that of the bread, is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made bloud: of the bloud, naturall seede: and of naturall seede, the naturall substaunce of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man: This is an action supernatural. Wherefore he that could make one man to be very God and very mā: could if he would make one thing to be really very bread, & his very body. But I do not finde it expresly in the Scripture, that he would any such Identitie or coniunction to be made. And as Christ sayd,* I am very bread, not chaunging his essence or being, into the essence or substaunce of bread: but was the sayde Christ, which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figuratiue speech: So if he would, it might be, y^t when he sayd: This is my body: That this should really haue bene the bread as it was before,* and Sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth vnto me, most nearest to agree to the meaning of Christ, forasmuch as he said: do this in the remembraunce of me. Then for as much as in the supper it is manifest, that Christ gaue vnto his Disciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with theyr mouthes: in which bread, he gaue himselfe also vnto them as one in whō they should beleue (as to be the food of the soule) and by that fayth they should beleue him to be theyr sauior which tooke his body, wherein also he would it to be manifest, that he woulde redeeme them from death: So was the bread eaten with the Disciples mouthes, that he being the true breade of the soule, might be in spirite receiued and eaten spiritually, by theyr fayth, which beleued in him.

The bread which in the disciples mouthes was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomacke: For as Christ saith: * whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, & from thence into the priuy. Mathew. chap. 15. But that true and very bread of the soule, was eaten of the spirite of the Disciples, and by fayth entred theyr minds, and abode in their intralles through loue. And so the bread broken, semeth vnto me to be really y^e meat of the body, & the bread which it was before: but Sacramentally to be the body of Christ, as Paule. 1. Cor. 10. The breade which we breake, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So, the bread which we breake, is the participation of the Lordes body. * And it is manifest, that the heauēly bread is not broken neither yet is subiect to such breaking: Therefore, Paul calleth the materiall bread, which is broken, the body of Christ which the faythfull are partakers of. The breade therefore chaungeth not his essence, * but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally. Euen as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratiuely the vine: So, the temple of Ierusalem was really the materiall temple: & figuratiuely it was the body of Christ: Because he sayde, destroy you this temple, and in three dayes I will repayre the same agayne. And this spake he of the temple of his body, whereas others vnderstood it to be the materiall temple, as appeared by theyr answer: For sayd they 47. yeres hath this temple bene in building, and wilt thou build it vp in three dayes?

Euen so, may the consecrated bread be really bread as it was before, and yet figuratiuely the body of Christ. And if therefore, Christ would this bread to be only sacramentally his body and would not haue the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, & so ordeined his Priestes to make this Sacrament as a memoriall of his passion: * Thē do the Priestes greuously offend, which besech Christ in their holy Masse, that the bread which lyeth vpon the aultar may be made really the body of Christ, if he woulde not haue the same to be but a Sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceiued themselues, and also do greatly deceiue others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is onely y^e body of Christ sacramentally: No doubt, but that the people are maruellously deceiued. * For the people beleue that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himselfe betwene the handes of the Priestes (for so is the common othe they sweare.) By him whō I saw this day betwene the priestes hands. And the people beleue that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or els when they lie vpon theyr death bed, and receiue with their bodely mouth the Sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admitte the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) is in the Sacrament, indiuisibiliter, that is, not able to be deuided, and so immensurabiliter, that is, not able to be measured: Ergo, inuisibiliter, that is, not able to be sene. To beleue therefore that he may be sene corporally in the Sacrament, is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ, is the soules food and not the food of the body in this world, for that who'soeuer beleueth, doth eat spiritually, and really, at any time when he so beleueth: It is manifest, that they doe greatly erre which beleue that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with theyr teeth the Sacrament of the body of Christ.

And although it should be to the great honor of priests that the bread really were chaūged into the body of christ, * by the vertue of the Sacramentall words pronounced: yet if Christ would not haue it to be so, then they desiring to do this contrary to the will of Christ, and informing the people, that is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ: are in great peril, most daūgerously seducing both themselues and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a litle worldly and transitory honour for a short time: It is to be feared, least perpetual shame finally shall follow and insue vpon the same. * For Christ sayth, euery one that exalteth himselfe, shall be brought

low. Let them therefore take heed, least they extolling themselves for this Sacrament, about the company of Angels which neuer sinned, for the error which they be in, for euermore be placed with the sinnefull angels vnder the earth.

Let euery man therefore think lowly of himself in what state or degree soeuer he be, neither let him presume to doe that which he is not able to do: Neither desire to haue that thing done, which God would not haue done.

I greatlye maruell at those which were the makers of the Canons,* how variably & contrary one to another they write of this Sacrament of the body of Christ. In the last part of the decrees where this matter is touched: not only in the text, but also in the proces of the matter, diuers do diuersly write, and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth *Prima inquit haeresis*, it is thus written: You shall not eate this bodye which you see, nor shall drinke this bloud which they shall shed, which shall crucify me: I will commend vnto you a certayne Sacrament spiritually vnderstood y^t quickneth you, for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the same chapter, it is thus written: Till the world shall haue an end, the Lords place is in heauen: yet notwithstanding, the verity of the Lord is here abiding with vs.* For the body wherewith he rose, ought to be in one place, but his verity is in euerye place diffused & spread abroad. And in y^e chapter folowing which thus beginneth, *Omnia quaecun{que} voluit. &c.* it is [Page 496](#) written:* Although the figure of the bread & wine seeme to be nothing: yet notwithstanding they must after y^r wordes of consecration be beleued, to be none other thing then the very flesh of Christ and his bloud. Whereupon, the veritye himself said vnto his Disciples:* This is sayth he, my flesh, which is geuen for the life of the world: and to speake yet more maruellously, this is none other flesh, thē that which was borne of the virgin Mary, & suffered vpon the crosse, and rose out of the sepulchre.

See how far this chapter differeth from the first. And in the chapter which beginneth *Ego Berengarius.*&c.* This is the confession which Berengarius, himselfe cōfessed touching this Sacrament, and his confession is of the church allowed. I confesse (sayth Berengarius) that the bread and wine which is layd vpon the aultar after the consecration, is not onely a Sacrament: but also that it is the very body & bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ: And the same not onely sensually to be a Sacrament, but also verely to be handled with the Priestes hands and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faythfull men. This confession doubtlesse is hereticall:* for why if the body of Christ be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is so determined: it is there then *Multiplicatiuè*, and so *indiuisibiliter*, wherfore not *sensualiter*. And if it be there *indiuisibiliter*, that is, in such sort as it cannot be deuided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken nor with the teeth of men chewed.

The writers of this time and age do affirme: that if by the negligence of the Priest, the Sacrament be so negligētly left, that a Mouse or any other beast or vermine eate the same: then they say, that the Sacrament returneth agayne into the nature and substaūce of bread. Wherby, they must nedes confesse, that a miracle is as wel wrought by y^e negligence of the Priest, as first there was made by the consecration of the Priest in making the Sacrament. For either by the eating of the Mouse, the body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which is a *transubstantiatiō* supernaturall: Or els of nothing by creation is this bread produced. And therefore, either of these operations is miraculous & to be maruelled at. Now cōsidering the

disagreing opinions of the Doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I beleue with Paule, that the bread which we break, is the participation of the body of Christ: and as Christ sayth, that the bread is made the body of Christ for a memorial and remembraunce of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his body, in the same maner & sort do I beleue it to be his body.

But whether women may make the body of Christ, & minister vnto the people: * or whether that Priests be deuied frō the lay people, for their knowledge, preeminence, & sanctity of life, or els by externall signes onely: Also whether the signe of consure and other externall signes of holines in Priestes, be signes of Antichrist and his charecters, or els introduced & taught by our Lord Iesus Christ: consequently it remayneth next to speake of vnto the faythfull sort (according to the proces of the holy Scripture) first of the three kindes of the Priestes. I remember that I haue read, the first of them to be Aaronicall, legall, & temporall: The second to be eternall and regall according to the order of Melchisedech: * The third to be a Christian. The first of these ceased at the comming of Christ: for that as S. Paule to the Hebrues sayth. The Priesthood of Aaron was trāslated to the Priesthood of the order of Melchisedech. The legall sort of Priestes of Aaron, were separate from the rest of the people, by kinred, office, and inheritance. By kinred, for that the children of Aaron onely were Priestes. * By office, for that it onely pertayned to them to offer sacrifice, for the sinnes of the people, and to instruct the people in y^e precepts and ceremonies of the law. By inheritaunce, because the Lord was their portiō of inheritaūce: neither had they any other inheritaunce amongst theyr brethren, but those thinges which were offered vnto the Lord, as the first fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and vowes, except places for their mansion houses for them and theirs, as appeareth by the processe of Moyses law. The Priesthood of Christ, did much differre from this Priesthood, as Paule doth witnes to the Hebrues chapter. 1.8.9.10.

*First, in kinred, because that our Lord & Sauour Iesus Christ, came of the stocke and tribe of Iuda: of whiche tribe none had to do with the aultar and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the Priestes of Moses.

The second, for that other were made Priestes without their othe taken but he by an othe, by him which sayd: The Lord swore, and it shall not repent him: Thou art a Priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech.

Thirdly, by durability, for that many of thē were made Priestes but during the terme of their liues: but he for that he remaineth for euer, hath an eternall Priesthood. Wherefore he is able to saue vs for euer hauing by himself accesse vnto God, which euer liueth to make intercession for vs.

The law made also such men Priestes as had infirmities, but Sermo (that is, the word which according to the law is the eternall sonne and perfect) by an othe.

The Priesthood of Christ also did differ frō the Priesthood of Aaron and the law, * in the matter of the sacrifice: & in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of the sacrifice: because they did vse in theyr sacrifices straunge bodyes of the matter of their sacrifices, and did shed straūge blood for the expiation of sinnes: But he, offering himself vnto God his father for vs, shed his owne blood, for the remission of our sinnes. * In the place of sacrificing: because that they did offer theyr sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple: But Christ suffering death without the gates of the City, offered himselfe vpon the aultar of the crosse to God his father, & there shed his precious blood.

In his supping chamber also hee blessed the bread and cōsecrated the same for his body, & the wine which was in y^e cup, he also cōsecrated for his bloud: deliuering the same to his Apostles to be done, for a commemoration and remembraunce of his incarnation & passion. Neither did Iesus enter into the sāctuary made with mans hands, which be examples & figures of true things: but entred into heauē it selfe, that he might appeare before the maiesty of God for vs. Neither doth he offer himself oftētimes, as the chief priest in the sanctuary did euery yeare with straunge bloud (for then should he often times haue suffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in y^e latter end of the world, to destroy sinne by his peace offering, hath he entred. And euen as it is decreed, that mā once shal dye and then commeth the iudgement: so Christ hath bene once offered to take away the sinnes of many. The second time he shall appeare without sinne to them that looke for him, to their saluation. For the lawe hauing a shadowe of good thinges to come, can neuer by the Image it selfe of thinges (which euery yeare without ceasing they offer by such sacrifices) make those perfect that come therunto, for otherwise that offering should haue ceased:*. Because that such worshippers being once cleansed from theyr sinnes, should haue no more conscience of sinne. But in these, commemoratiō is made euery yere of sinne: for it is impossible that by the bloud of Goates and Calues, sinnes should be purged and taken away. Therefore comming into y^e world he sayd: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst not haue, but a body hast thou geuen me, peace offeringes for sinne haue not pleased thee: Then sayd I, behold I come. In the volume of the booke it is written of me, that I should doe thy will O God: Saying as aboue, because thou wouldest haue no sacrifices, nor burnt offeringes for sinne, neyther doest thou take pleasure in those things that are offered according to y^e law. Then sayd I, behold I come, that I may doe thy will O God. He taketh away the first, to stablishe that which followeth. In which will, we are sanctified by the oblation of the body of Iesus Christ, once for all. And euery priest is ready dayly ministring, and oftentimes afferring like sacrifices, which can neuer take away sinnes. But this Iesus offering one sacrifice for sinne, sitteth for euermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time tyll his enemies be made his footstoole. For by his owne onely oblation, hath he consummated for euermore those that are sanctified.

All these places haue I recited which Paule writeth, for the better vnderstanding and declaration of those thinges I meane to speak.* By all which it appeareth manifestly, how the Priesthood of Christ, differeth from the legall priesthood of Aaron: and by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other priesthood Christian, that immitateth Christ. For the properties of the priesthood of Christ aboue recited, are founde in no other Priest, but in Christ alone. Of the third priesthood, that is, the Christian priesthood: Christ by expresse wordes speaketh but litle, to make any difference betwene the priests and the rest of the people, neither yet doth vse this name of Sacerdos or praesbiter in y^e Gospell. But some he calleth disciples, some apostels, whom he sent to baptise & to preach, & in his name to do miracles. He calleth them y^e salt of the earth, in which y^e name of wisdom is ment: and he calleth them the light of the world, by which, good liuing is signified. For he sayth, So let your light so shine before mē, that they may see your good workes, and glorify your father which is in heauen. And Paule speaking of the Priestes to Timothe,* and Titus, seemeth not to mee to make any diuersity betwixt the Priestes and the other people, but in that he woulde haue them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth priesthood, is the Romaine priesthood, brought in by the Church of Rome: which Church maketh a distinction betwene the clergy and the lay people: & [Page 497](#) after that the clergy is deuided into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the decretals.

This distinction of the clergy from the laitye, with the consure of clerkes, began in the time of * Anacletus, as it doth appeare in the Chronicles. The degrees of the clergy were afterward inuaded & distincted by their offices, and there was no ascentiō to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitiue church it was not so: for immediately after tht conuersion of some of thē to the fayth & baptisme receiued: they were priests & bishops made, as appeareth by Ananias, whom Marcus made of a taylor or shomaker, to be a bishop. And of many others it was in like case done, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Priests are ordeined to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to blesse & sanctify. The oblation of the priesthood,* onely to Priestes (as they say) is congruent: whose duties are, vpon the aultar to offer for the sinnes of the people the Lords body, which is cōsecrated of bread. Of which saying I haue great maruell, considering S. Paule his wordes to the Hebrues before recited. If Christ offering for our sinnes one oblation for euermore, sitteth on the right hand of God, and wyth that one oblation hath cōsūmated for euermore, those that are sanctified? * If Christ euermore sitteth on the right hand of God, to make intercession for vs, what neede he to leaue here any sacrifice for our sinnes, of the Priestes to be dayly offered? I do not finde in the scriptures of God nor of his Apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sinne: but onely as a Sacrament and commemoration of the sacrifice passed, whiche Christ offered vpon the aultar of the crosse for our sinnes. For it is an absurditye to say, that Christ is now euery day really offered as a sacrifice vpon the aultar by the Priestes: for then the Priestes should really crucify him vpō the aultar, which is a thing of no Christian to be beleueed. But euen as in his supper, his body & his bloud he deliuered to his Disciples, in memorial of his body that should be crucified on the morrow for our sinnes: So after his ascētion, did his Apostles vse the same (when they brake bread in euery house) for a Sacramēt, and not for a sacrifice, of the body and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ. And by this meanes were they put in remembraunce of the great loue of Christ, who so entirelye loued vs, that willinglye he suffered the death for vs, & for the remission of our sinnes. And thus did they offer thēselues to God by loue, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the sauing health of theyr brethren fulfilling the new commaundement of Christ, which sayd vnto them: A new cōmaūdement do I geue vnto you that you loue one another, as I haue loued you. But whē loue began to waxe cold or rather to be frosen for cold, thorow the anguish & anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ: * then Priests did vse the flesh and bloud of Christ, in ••tad of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitarye places, not daring to geue themselues a sacrifice by death vnto God through the confession of his name, & sauing health of theyr brethrē: Some other worshipped Idols fearing death, as did also y^e chiefe Bishop of Rome, and many other mo in diuers places of the world. And thus it came to passe, as that which was ordeined and instituted for a memoriall of the one & onely sacrifice, was altered (for want of loue) into the realtye of the sacrifice it selfe.

After these thinges thus discussed, he inferreth consequently vpon the same, an other briefe tractation of women and laye men, whether in defect of the other, they may exercise the action of prairer, and administration of Sacraments belonging to Priestes: wherein he declareth the vse receiued in the Popes Church, for women to Raptise, which, sayth he, cannot be without remission of sinnes, wherefore seeing that women haue power by the Pope to remit sinne, and to baptise, why may they not aswell be admitted to minister the Lordes Supper, in like case of necessity? Wherin also he maketh relation of Pope Iohn. 8. a woman Pope, mouing certayne

Questions of her. All whiche for breuitye I pretermitte, proceeding to the ministration of prayer, and blessing or sanctification, appropriate to the office of Priestes as followeth.

Furthermore, as touching the fūction & office of praying and blessing, whereunto Priestes seme to be ordeined (to omitte here the question whether women may pray in Churches, in lacke of other meete persons) it remayneth now also to prosecute. Christ being desired of his Disciples to teach them to pray, gaue them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my estimation, no other is to be compared. For in that first, the whole honor due vnto the deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoeuer is necessary for vs, both for the time present, or past, or for time to come, is there desired & praid for. He informeth vs besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close chāber, and there in secrecy he willeth vs to pray vnto his father. And sayth moreouer, when ye pray,* vse not much babling, or many words as doth y^e heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolix praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to thē. By the which doctrine he calleth vs away frō the errors of the healthē Gentils: frō whom proceed these superstitious maner of actes (or rather of ignoraunces) as Necromancy, the art of diuinatiō, & other spises of coniuratiō, not vnknown to them, that be learned: for these Necromancers beleue, one place to be of greater vertue then an other, there to be heard sooner, then in an other. Like as Balaam being hyred to curse y^e people of God, by his arte of southsaying, or cherming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he remoued to an other, but he in y^e end, was deceiued of hys desire. For he intending first to curse them, was not able to accurse thē whom the Lord blessed, so that his curse coulde not hurt any of all y^t people. After like sort the Nicromancers turne theyr face to the East, as to a place more apt for theyr prayers. Also y^e Necromāsers beleue, that the vertue of y^e words of the prayer, & the curiosity therof, causeth thē to bring to y^e effect, which they seek after, which is also an^other poynt of infidelity, vsed much of Charmers, Sorcerers, Inchaūters,* Southsayers & such like. Out of y^e same arte (I feare) proceedeth the practise of exorcising, wherby deuils & spirits be coniured to do that, wherunto they are inforced by the Exorcist. Also wherby other creatures likewise are exorcised or coniured, so that by the vertue of their exorcisme, they may haue theyr power and strength exceeding all naturall operation.

In the Church of Rome,* many such exorcismes & coniurations be practised, & are called of them benedictions, or halowings. But here I aske of these Exorcisers, whether they beleue the thinges and creatures so exorcised and halowed, haue that operation and efficacy geuē them, which they pretēd? * If they so beleue, euery childe may see that they are farre beguiled. For holy water being of them exorcised or cōiured: hath no such power in it, neither cā haue which they in theyr exorcisme do cōmaund. For there they iniōyn and commaund, that whersoever that water is sprinckled, all vexatiō or infestatiō of the vnclean spirit, should auoid, and that no pestilēt spirit there should abide. &c. But most playn it is, that no water, be it neuer so holy, can haue any such power so to do, as it is commaunded, to wit, to be an vniuersall remedy to expell all diseases.

This I woulde aske of these Exorcistes:* whether in theyr commaunding, they do coniure or adiure the thinges coniured, to be of an higher vertue and operation, thē their own nature doth geue: Or els whether they in their prayers desire of God,* that he wil infude into them that vertue, which they require? If they in theyr commaunding doe so beleue, thē do they beleue that they haue that power in thē to the which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiuing that which is commaunded. And so doing, are much more deceiued, forasmuch as they

see themselves, that they which are so authorised to the office of exorcising, say to the deuill being coniured: Go, & he goeth not: And to an other come, and he cometh not, & many thinges els they commaūd the inferior spirite their subiect, to do, & he doth not. So in like case, when they pray to God to make the water to be of such vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse euery vncleane spirit,* & to chase away all maner of distemperature and pestilence of the ayre (being an vnreasonable petition asked, & sore displeasing to God) it is to be feared least theyr benediction, their halowing & blessing is chaūged into cursing, according to that saying that followeth. And now O you priests, I haue a message to say vnto you: If you will not heare and beare well away in your mindes, to geue the glory vnto my name sayth the Lord God of hostes, I will send scarcety amongst you, and I wyll curse your blessings. What things and how many are blessed, or halowed in the Church, that in halowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore according to the saying of S. James,* they aske & are not heard, because they aske not as they should, that they in theyr owne dsires may perish, Let a man beholde the blessing or halowing of their fire, water, incense, waxe, bread, wine, the church, the aultar the Churchyard, ashes, belies, copes, pallmes, oile, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staffe, & of many such like things:* & I beleue that a man shall find out many errors of the hethē Magicians, Witches, southsayers and charmers. And notwithstanding the auncient and old Magicians in their bookes, commaund those that [Page 498](#) be coniurers that they in any wise liue deuoutly (for otherwise as they say the spirites will not obey their cōmaūdements, and coniuratiōs) yet the Romane cōiurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy wordes, because they be they, which worke, and not the holynes of the coniurers. How commeth it to passe that they say, the thinges consecrated of a cursed and vicious Iauell, should haue so great vertue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and misticall words: as if they were pronouced of a Priest neuer so holy. But I maruell that they say so,* reading this saying in the Actes of the Apostles: because the charmers pronouncing the name of Iesus (that is about all names) would haue healed those that were possessed with deuils, and sayd. In the name of Iesus whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men. And the possessed with deuils answered, Iesus we know, and Paule we know, but what are ye: and they all to be beat the coniurers.

And now considering this and many such like things, I maruell wherfore the vicious Priests, do sell theyr praier and blessings dearer (as also theyr Masses & Trentals of Masses) then those that be deuout lay mē, and holy women: which with all theyr hart desire do flee from vices, & take hold of vertue. For as much as God in diuers places of the Scripture doth promise, that he will not heare sinners & wicked persons: Neither should he seme to be iust, if he should sooner heare the praier of his enemies, then of his faythfull frend. How I pray you shall a sinneful priest deliuer an other man from sinne by his prayers, or els frō the punishment of sinne: whē he is not able to deliuer him selfe by his prayer frō sinne? What then doth God so much accept in the Masse of a vicious Priest:* that for his masse, his prayer or oblatiō, he might deliuer any man either frō sinne, or from the payne due for sinne? No, but for that that Christ hath once offered himselfe for our sinnes, & now sitteth on the right hand of God the father, alwayes shewing vnto him what and how great things he hath suffered for vs. And euery priest alwayes maketh mētion in his masse of this oblation: Neither do we this, that we might bring the same oblation into the remembraunce of God: because that he alwayes in his presence seeth the same.* But that we should haue in remēbraunce this so great loue of God, that he would geue his own sonne to death for our sinnes, that he might clense & purify vs frō all our sinnes. What doth it please God, that the remembraunce of so great loue is made by a prest, which more loueth sinne then God? Or

how can any prayer of such a priest please God, in what ho^lly place soeuer he be, or what holy vestimēts soeuer he put on, or what holy prayers soeuer he maketh? And where as Christ and his Apostles do cōmaund the preaching of the word of God: * the Priests be now more bound to celebrate the Masse, and more straitly bound to say the Canonickall houres: whereat I cannot but greatly maruell. For why, to obey the precepts of men, more then the cōmaūdements of God, is in effect to honor mā as God, and to bestow the sacrifice vpon man, which is due vnto God, and this is also spirituall fornication. How therefore are Priests bound at the commaundement of man to leaue the preaching of y^e word of God, at whose cōmaundemēt they are not bound to leaue the celebration of the Masse, or singing of Matines? Therefore as it seemeth, Priestes ought not at the commaundement of any man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, vnto the which they are boūd both by diuine and Apostolicall preceptes. With whom agreeth the writing of Hierome vpon the Decretals, * saying in this wise: Let none of the Bishops swell with the enuy of deuilish temptation, let none be angry, if the Priestes do sometime exhort the people, if they preach in theyr Church. &c. for to him that forbiddeth me these thinges I will say, that he is vnwilling that Priestes should do those thinges, which be commaunded of God. What thing is there about Christ? or what may be preferred before his body and his bloud &c.

*Do Priestes therfore sinne or not, which bargayne for mony to pray for the soule of any dead man? It is well knowne that Iesus did whip those that were buyers and sellers out of the tēple, saying: My house shalbe called the house of prayer, but you haue made the same adenne of theenes. Truely he cast not out such Marchaunts frō out of the Church, but because of theyr sinnes. Wherupon Hierome vpon this text sayth. Let the Priests be diligent and take good heede in this Churche, * that they turne not the house of God into a den of theeues. He doubtles is a thief which seeketh gayne by Religion, & by a shew of holynes studieth to finde occasion of marchaundise. Hereupon, the holy Canons do make accursed, Symoniacal heresy, & doe commaund that those should be depriued of the priesthood, which for the passing or maruelous spiritual grace, do seek gayne or monye. Peter the Apostle sayde to Symon Magus, Let thy mony and thou go both to the deuill, whiche thinkest that the giftes of God may be bought for money. Therefore, the spirituall gyftes of God ought not to bee solde.

Uerely prayer is the spirituall gift of God, as is also y^e preaching of y^e word of God, * or the saying on of handes, or the administration of other Sacramentes. Christ sending forth his Disciples to preach, sayd vnto them: Heale ye the sicke, cast out deuils, rayse the dead, freely haue ye receiued freely geue ye agayne. If the Priestes haue power by theyr prayers to deliuer soules being in Purgatory, from greeuous paynes: without doubt, he hath receiued that power freely from God. How therefore can he sell his act, vnlesse he resist the commaundementes of God, of whom he hath receiued that authoritye? This truly cannot be done without sinne, which is agaynst the commaundement of God.

How playnly spake Christ to the Pharisies, & Priests saying, wo be vnto you Scribes & Pharisies hypocrites, because ye haue eaten the whole houses, of such as be wydowes, by making long praiers, and therefore haue you receiued greater dānation. Wherin I pray you do our Pharisies and Priestes differ from them? * Do not our Priestes deuour widowes houses and possessions, that by their lōg prayers they might deliuer the soules of their husbāds frō the greuious paynes of purgatory? How many Lordships I pray you, haue bene bestowed vpon the religious mē & womē to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliuer those dead men from the payne (as

they sayd) that they suffer in purgatory, greuously tormented and vexed? If theyr prayers and speaking of holy words, shall not be able to deliuer themselues frō payn,* vnlesse they haue good works: How shall other men be deliuered from payne, by their praier, which whilst they liued here, they gaue ouer themselues to sinne? Yea peraduenture those Lordships or landes which they gaue vnto the priestes to pray for them, they themselues haue gotten by might from other faythful men, vniust, and violently. And the Canons doe say, that sinne is not forgeuē, till y^e thing taken away wrōgfully, be restored. How thē shal they be able (which do vniustly possesse such Lordshippes or landes) to deliuer them by theyr prayers from payne, which haue geuen to them these lordships or landes, seing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt sacrifices? Not euerye one that sayth vnto me Lord, Lord, shal enter into the kingdome of heauen: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heauē.* And agayne, not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be iustified.

If therefore the words of him that prayth, do not deliuer himselfe from sinne, nor frō the payne of sinne: how do they deliuer other men from sinne or frō the payne of sinne when no man prayth more earnestly for an other man thē for himselfe? Therefore many are deceiued in buying or selling of prayers, as in y^e buying of pardons that they might be deliuered from payne: whē as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud & vicious prelates, thēfor the prayers of deuout women and deuout men of the laye people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayth, neither the place in which he praith, nor his apparell, nor the curiousnes of his prayer, but y^e humility and godlye affection of him that prayeth.* Did not the Pharysy and the Publican goe vp into the temple to pray? The Publicans prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisies prayer for his pride & arrogancy is contempned. Cōsider that neither the person, nor the place, nor y^e state, nor the curiousnes of his prayer doth helpe the Pharysy: Because the Publicane not thinking himselfe worthy to lift vp his eyes vnto heauen, for y^e multitude of his sinnes, saying (O God be mercifull vnto me a sinner) is iustified by his humility, and his praier is heard. But the Pharysy boasting in his righteousnes is despised, because God thrusteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meek. The rich glutton also, that was clothed with purple and silke, & fared euery day daintely, prayd vnto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buryed in paynes and torments of hell fire. But Lazarus whiche lay begging at his gate (being full of sores) is placed in the bosome of Abraham. Behold y^t neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciousnesse of his banquets, or the gorgiousnes of his estate, neither the aboundance of his riches, doth helpe any thing to prefer the prayers or petitiōs of the rich glutton, nor yet diminishe his tormentes, because that mighty men in their mightines shal suffer tormentes mightely. How dare any man by cōposition demaund or receiue any thing of an other man for his prayers? * If he beleue y^t he can by his praier deliuer his brother frō greuous paine, he is boūd by charity to relieue his brother with his prayers although he be not hired thereunto, but and if he will [Page 499](#) not pray vnles he be hyred, thē hath he no loue at al. What therefore helpeth his prayer, which abideth not in charitie? Therefore let him first take compassion of himselfe by praier, that he may come into charitie, and then he shalbee the better able to helpe others. If he beleue not, or y^t he standeth in doubt to be able to deliuer his brother by his praier: wherfore doth he make with him an assured bargayn, & taketh his mony, and yet knoweth not whether he shall relieue him euer a whit the more or not, from his paine? I feare least the words of the Prophet are fulfilled, saying: From the least to the most al mē applye themselues to couetousnes, and from the Prophet to the Priest all woorke deceitfully. For the poore priests excuse themselues, of such bargaining and selling of their praier, saying: The yong cock

learneth to crow of the olde cocke. For sayeth he, thou maist see that the Pope himselfe in stalling of Bishops & Abbots,* taketh the first frutes: In y^e placing or bestowing of benefices, he alwaies taketh somewhat, & specially if the benefices be great. Also he selleth pardōs or bulles, and to speake more plaine, he taketh mony for them. Bishops in geuing orders, in hallowing churches & churchyards, do take mony: In ecclesiastical correction they take mony for the mitigation of penance: In the greuous offences of cōuict persons, mony is required, & caused to be payed, Abbots, Monkes, & other religious men that haue possessiō, wil receiue no mā into their fraternitie, or make thē partakers of their spiritual suffrages, vnles he bestow somewhat vpon them, or promise them somewhat. Curates & vicars hauing sufficient liuings, by the tithes of their paryshioners, yet in dirges and yeares myndes, in hearing confessions, in weddinges & buryings, do require & haue money. The Fryers also of the fower orders of beggers, which think thēselues to be the most perfitest men of the Church, do take mony for their praiers, confessions, & buryings of the dead: and when they preach, they beleue that they shal haue eyther money or some other thyng worthy money. Wherefore then be the poore priests blamed? ought not they to bee held excused, although they take money for their praiers by cōpositiō? Truly (me thinketh) that this excuse by other mens sins, doth not excuse thē: forasmuch, as to heap one mischief vpon anothers head, is no sufficiēt discharge. I would to God that al the buyers & sellers of spiritual suffrages,* would with the eyes of their harte beholde the ruine of the great Citie, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall saye after that fall. Doth not the Prophet say: And the merchaunts of the earth shall weepe and mourne for her, because no man shall buy anye more their marchandise, that is, their marchandise of gold and siluer, and of precious stone and of pearle, and of silke and purple: And again he sayth. And the marchaunts which were made riche by her, shall stand alouse for feare of her tormentes, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas, Alas, that Citie Babylon; that great Citie whych was woont to weare purple, whitesilke, crim sin, gold, pearle, and precious stone, because that in one hour al those ryches are come to nought: And agayne: And they cast dust vpon their heads and cryed out weping and mourning and saying, Alas, Alas, that great and mightie Citie Babilon, by whom al such as had shippes vpon the sea were made riche by her rewards: Because that in one houre she is become desolate.

This Babilon, this great Citie, is the Citie of Rome, as it appeareth by the processe of the Apostle.* Because the aungel which shewed vnto Saint Iohn the destructiō of the mightie harlot sitting vpon many waters, with whō the kinges of the earth haue committed fornication, and al they which dwell vpon the earth are made dronke with y^e wyne of her whoredome, sayd vnto him: And the woman which thou sawest, is the great citie which hath dominion aboue kings &c. And in dede in y^e daies of Saint Iohn the whole world was subiect to the temporall Empire of the Citie of Rome, and afterwarde it was subiect to the spiritual Empire or dominion of the same. But touching the temporal gouernment of the City of Rome,* it is fallen alreadye: and so that the other also, for the multitude of her spiritual fornicatiōs shal fall. The Emperours of this city gaue themselues to Idolatry, and would haue that mē should honour them as Gods,* & put al those to death that refused such idolatry, & by the cruelty of their tormentes, al infidels gate the vpper hand.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchodonosor, y^e empire of the Romaines is likened to yron, which beateth together, and hath the mastery of all mortals. And in the visiō of Daniel, wherein he saw the foure windes of heauen to fight in the mayne sea, and fower great beastes comming out of the sea: * The kingdom of the Romaines is lykened to the fourth terrible and maruelous

beast, the which had great yron teeth: eating & destroying, and treading the rest vnder his feete: & this beast had ten hornes, & as Danyell sayth, he shall speake words agaynst the most highest, and shall teare with his teeth the Saynts of the most highest: and he shall thinke, that he may be able to chaunge times and lawes, and they shall be delyuered into hys power, vntill a tyme, tymes, and halfe a time. In the Apocalips, Saine Iohn sawe a beast comming out of the sea, hauyng 7. heads and 10. hornes, and power was geuen to hym to make monthes 42.* So long time endured the Empire of the Romaines, that is to say, from the beginning of Iulius Cesar, which was the first Emperour of y^e Romaines, vnto the ende of Fridericus, whych was the last Emperour of the Romaines. Under this empire Christ suffred, & other Martirs also suffred for his name sake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon (which is all one) accordyng to the maner of speakyng in the Apocalips as touchyng the temporal and corporal power of gouerning. And thus shall she fall, also touchyng the spirituall power of gouerning, for the multitude of the iniquities and spirituall fornication and merchaundise that are committed by her in the Church.

The feete of y^e image which Nabuchodonezor saw,* dyd betoken the Empire of Rome, & part of them were of yron, and part of clay & earth. The part that was of yron fell, and y^e power therof vanished away, because y^e power therof was at an end after certayne monthes. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it shal vanish away by the testimony of the Prophets: whereupon saint Iohn in the Apocalips: After that, he sawe the part made of yron rising out of the sea, to which eche people, tribe, and tong submitted themselues. And he saw an other beast cōmyng out of the earth, which had two hornes, like to the hornes of a Lambe, and he spake like a Dragon, and he vanquyshed the first beast in his sight.

This beast as seemeth me, doth betoken the claye and earthē part of the feete of y^e image,* because hee came out of y^e earth. For y^e by terrene helpe he is made the high & chief priest of the Romaines, in the church of Christ, & so from alow he ascended on hygh. But Christ from heauen descended, because that he which was God & author of euery creature became man: and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the shape of a seruant. And although that in the heauens the company of angels minister vnto him, he himselfe ministred or serued in earth, that he might teache vs humilitie, by which a man ascendeth into heauen, euen as by pride a man goeth downe into the bottomlesse pyt. This beast hath two hornes most like a Lambe, because y^t he chalengeth to himselfe both y^e priestlye & kingly power, aboue al other here in earth. The Lambe that is Chryst which is a king for euer vpō y^e kingly seat of Dauid, & he is a Priest for euer after y^e order of Melchisedech: but hys kingdome is not of this world, but the kingdome of thys beast is of this world, because those y^t be vnder him, fyght for him. And as Iesus is Christ two maner of waies, because that Christus is as much to say as Vnctus.* He verelye was annoynted king, & annoynted priest: so this beast saieth that he is chiefe king & priest. Wherefore doth he call himselfe Christ? because that Chryst knowing that afore, sayd: Many shal come in my name, saying, I am Chryst, and shall decyue many. And thus because that he is both king & priest, he chalengeth to himselfe the double sworde, that is the corporall sword and the spirituall sworde. The corporal sword is in his right hand, and y^e spiritual sword is in his right eye, by the testimony of Zachary. But hee speaketh subtilly like a Dragon,* because that by the testimony of Christ he shal deceiue many, as the Apoc. witnesseth. He did great wonders, that also he might make more fire to come from heauen into the earth in the sight of mē, that he might deceiue those that dwel vpon the earth, because of the wonders that are permitted hym to do in the sight of the beast, & hee ouercame the first beast which ascended out of the sea. For that beast

challenged vnto himselfe authoritie of gouernment of y^t whole worlde. He hath put to death & tormented those that resist his commaundements, and would be honored as a God vpon the earth. The byshop of Rome sayth, that y^t whole world ought to be in subiectiō vnto him, those that be disobediēt vnto his commaundements, he putteth in prison, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commaundeth them to be cast into the deuils dūgeon. But hee that hath no power ouer y^r body, much lesse hath he power ouer y^e soule. And truely his excommunicatiō, nor the excommunication of any priest vnder him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicat, so that the person of him that is excommunicate, be not first excommunicat of God through sinne.

And thus it seemeth a trouth vnto me, that God thus turneth their blessinges into cursinges, because they geue [Page 500](#) not due glory vnto his name. So when y^t they vniustly excommunicate & curse, he turneth their cursings into blessings. Also the bishop of Rome doth make me to worship him as God, because that y^e special sacrifice that God doth require of vs, is to be obedient vnto him in keping of hys commaundements.* But now y^e Popes commaudemēts be commaunded to be kept, and be kept in very deede, but the commaundements of Christ are contemned and reiected. Thus sitteth the Byshop of Rome in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe as God, and extollethe himselfe aboue al that which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall he shalbe reuealed, because that euery kingdome deuided in it self, shalbe made desolate. He teaching a truthe, is the head of the Churche, but the Prophet teaching a lye, is the tayle of the Dragon. Hee seducyng the worlde, shalbe acknowledged to be the veritie of the doctrine of Christ, but after he is knowne, he shalbee reiected and naught esteemed. He geueth to small and great, riche and poore, free and bonde, markes in their right hands, & in their foreheades: that no man shoulde buy or sell, but those that shall haue the markes of the name of the beast, or that looketh to haue of him some recompence, small, mean, or great, or els the number of his name, which number is 300. The Pope sayth that in y^e administration of euery sacrament, he doth imprint a certaine charecter or mark into the soul of him that receiueth. In baptisme he saith that he doth imprint into the soule of hym that is baptised, a marke that cannot be wiped out, and so likewise in other sacraments.* And I knowe that in a Sacrament are two things, that is, the sacramental signe, & spiritual grace represented by the same signe: the sacramental signe is geuē to man of man, but the spirituall grace is geuen of Christ.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty Priest doth baptise any man, if he that is baptised or his parents (if he be a childe) do aske with faithful meaning baptisme, & do meane faithfully hereafter to obserue the wordes of baptisme: is as well baptised, as if hee were baptised of neuer so vertuous a priest. So also the sinner which with al hys hart is sory for his sinnes, and doth aske faithfully mercye of God, is as wel absolued of a vicious priest, as of a vertuous. Because the Lambe of god whych taketh away the sinnes of the word, wipeth away inwardly our sinnes by his grace, because that he is y^e bishop & pastor of our souls. All other priestes do outwardly worke absolution, which knowe not for a certaintye whether they haue absolued or not. So also is it in y^e other, because y^t the grace of y^e sacrament is geuen of God, and the sacramental signe, of man. In geuing of orders, the chiefe bishop doth imprint y^e corporall markes, but of the spiritual markes, I know none: vnlesse a man will say, that by receiuing the order he hath some beliefe that he may worke some thinges pertayning to that order, the which before the receiuing of the order he could not. But this one thing is, that none in the churche ought to sell spiritual marchandise (of which thinges wee haue spoken before) vnles he haue the marke of the beast.

My counsell is, let the buyer beware of those markes: because that after the fall of Babylon,* if any man hath worshipped the beast and her image, & hath reciuēd the marke vpon his forehead, & vpon his hand, he shall drinke of the wine of gods wrath, which is mixed with the wyne in the cup of his anger, and he shalbe tormented in fire & brymstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the Lambe: and the smoke of their tormentes shall euer more ascend, although he looke for a recompence, small, mean, or great,* of the beast, or els the nūber of his name. The beast doubtles doth recompence his friends, with his small rewarde, that is, with great gifts and benefices corporall: with a meane reward, that is, with great spirituall gifts, in authority of blessing, losing, binding, praying, & exercising other spiritual workes: & with his greatest rewarde, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honored in earth amōg the saints.* The number of his name according to y^e opinion of some men, is Dux Cleri, the captayne of the clergie, because by that name he is named, & maketh his name knowne,* and that name is 666.

This is my opinion of the beast ascending out of the earth, and shall vntill suche time as I shalbee of the same beast better instructed. And although that this beast doth signifie the Romaine bishops: yet the other cruel beast ascending out of the sea, doth signifye the Romaine Emperours. And although that the Dragon being a cruel beast, and the false Prophet geuing the marke, must be throwen into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormēted for euer: I woulde haue no man to iudge, but I leaue such things altogether to the finall iudgement of Chryst to bee detemined. But Martine the Popes confessour which maketh the Chronicle of the Emperours and Popes, recyteth many errours of the Popes,* more horrible and abhominable then of the Emperours. For he speaketh of the idolatrous Popes, hereticall, simoniacal, and Popes y^e were murderers,* that vsed nigromancie, and wytychcraft, that were fornicatours, and defyled with al kinde of vice. But I haue partly declared how that the Popes lawe is contrary to Christes lawe, and howe that he sayeth, that he is the chiefe vicar of Christ in earth: and in his deedes is cōtrary to Christ, and doth forsake both hys doctrine & lyfe. I can not see who els may be so well Antichrist, and a seducer of the people. For there is not a greater pestilence, then a familiar enemy.

As concernyng idols,* and the worshipping of them, I think of them as Moses, Salomon, Isayas, Ieremy, and the rest of the Prophetes, which all spake agaynst the making of Images, as also y^e worshipping of Images. And faithful Dauid full of the spirit of God, sayth: Let all those be confounded y^t worship Images,* and that reioyce in Idols: And againe he sayth: Let thē be made like vnto them y^t make them, & al such as put their trust in them. Wherefore I pray god that this euil come not vpon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by Dauid the prophet. Nor I will be by Gods grace, neither a maker, nor els a worshippinger of Images.

As cōcernyng othes,* I beleue and obey the doctrine of the almighty God, & my maister Iesus Christ, which teacheth: that Christian men in affirmation of a truth, should passe the righteousnes of the Scribes and Pharises of the olde Testament, or els he excludeth thē from the kingdom of heauen. For he saith: Unles your righteousnes exceede the righteousnes of the Scribes and Pharises, ye cannot enter into y^e kingdome of heauē. And as concerning othes he sayth. It hath bene sayd to them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thy selfe, but shalt performe vnto the Lorde those thinges which y^u vowest. But I saye vnto you thou shalt not sweare at all, neyther by the heauē nor yet by the earth. &c. But let your cōmunication be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever shalbe more then this, proceedeth of euill. Therefore, as the perfection of the

auncient men of the old Testament was, not to forswear themselves: so the perfection of Christian men is not to sweare at all, because they are so cōmaunded of Christ, whose commaundement must in no case be broke: although that y^e Citie of Rome is contrarye to thys d^octryne of Chryst euen as in manye things she is found contray to her selfe.

As touching the taking away of temporal goods from those that are ecclesiastical persons offendyng habitualiter: by such as are temporall Lordes, I will not affirme anye thing to be lawfull in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreable to charitie: And that for because it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of charity, because peradventure he that taketh away, is the more mooued to suche maner of taking away be reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he indeuoureth to take away: or els, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person, from whom he goeth about to take away those goods, then that hee from whom those goodes be taken, should be amended. Therefore, vnlesse he that taketh away, be onely mooued of charity to the taking away of such goodes, I dare not affirme that such taking is lawfull. And if such takyng away procede of charitie, I dare not iudge it vnlawfull: because that the Byshop of Rome which receyued hys temporall dominion of the Emperour, when the Emperour rebelled and was not obedient vnto hym, he depriued him frō hys temporall iurisdictions: Howe much more then may temporal Lordes do the same which haue bestowed vpon them many temporall dominions and lordships, onely to the intent that they might the better intende to serue God and keepe his commaundementes. Howe if they perceiue that they be against the lawes of God, and that they be ouer busily occupied about worldly matters: I cannot see but y^t they may wel inough take frō them those temporall goodes, which to a good purpose they gaue them. But if in time to come after this, those that be temporal lordes shall take from ecclesiastical persons such temporalities: let him that desireth to vnderstand this, read the prophet Ezechiel in the chapiter of the shepeherds of Israel, which fedde themselves in stead of their flocke: and also let hym reade the Apocalyps of the fall of Babylon. Let hym also reade the Popes decretalles agaynst heretikes, and in those hee shall fynde, that the takynge awaye of the temporaltyes from the Cleargy, shall come to passe for the multitude of their sinnes.

Thus reuerend father, haue I made mine aunswere of the matter wherof I am accused: beseching you, that as I haue bene obedient to your desire, and that euen as a sōne [Page 501](#) declaring vnto you the secrets of my hart in plain words (although rudely) so I desire to know your opinion, and craue your fatherly beneuolēce: that now your labor may be for my instruction and amendment, & not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginninge I haue promised you, y^t if any man of what state, sect, or condition soeuer he be, can shew me any error manye of my wrytings by the authoritie of holy scripture, or by any probable reason grounded in the scriptures: I will receiue hys information willingly and humbly.

After that all the foresaid thinges were exhibited & geuen by the foresayd Walter Brute, vnto the foresayd B. of Herford: he further appointed to the same Walter, y^t third day of the month of October, at Herforde, with y^e cōtinuance of the dayes followyng to heare hys opinion. Which third day now at hande, beinge Friday in the yeare of our Lord God 1393. the sayde Walter Brute, appeared before hym, sitting in Commission in the Cathedrall Church of Hereford, at sixe a clocke or thereabout: hauing for his assistentes in the same place, diuers Prelates and Abbotes, and xx. Bachelers of Diuinitie, wherof xii. were Monks, and two Doctors of the law. Amongst these was Nicholas Hereford, accōpanied with many other Prelates and worshypfull

men & wyse Graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the foresayde Walter apposed of his wrytings aforesaid, & the cōtents therin. Earnest were they in pycking out of those writings, his heresies, & in shewing his schismes, sundry errorrs, and diuers other things. Now, after that they had cōtinued al that day and the two dayes following (that is Fryday, Saterday, & Sunday) in their informations & examinations agaynst the same Walter Brute. The same Walter Brute submitted him selfe to the determination of the church,* & to the correction of the sayd Iohn Bishop, as it appeareth word for word in a scroule written in the English tong: The tenour of which scroul, is as followeth.

I Walter Brute submit my selfe principally to the Euangely of Iesus Christ,* and to the determination of holy kirke, and to the general Counsels of holye kirke. And to the sentence and determination of the foure Doctours of holye write, that is Austen, Ambrose, Ierome, and Gregory. And I meekely submie mee to your correction, as a subiect ought to his Byshop.

Which scroule as afore is recited in y^e English tong, the foresayd Walter Brute read, with a lowde and intellible voice, at the Crosse in the churchyard on Monday, that is to say, the 6. day of the sayd month of October, before the sermon made vnto the people in presence of y^e sayd byshop of Herford & other aboute written,* as also other Barons, knights and noble men & cleargy, and also a great multytude of people. After which reading of the scroule, the foresaid Tho. Crawlay bachelor of diuinitie, made y^e Sermon vnto the people, & toke for hys theame the wordes of y^e Apostle to the Rom. the xi. chap. that is as foloweth. Be not ouer wise in your owne conceites but stand in feare &c.

☞ Out of these declarations and wrytinges of Walter Brute, the Bishop with the Monkes and doctours aboute rehersed, did gather and draw out certaine articles, to the number of 37. which they sent to the Uniuersitie of Cambridge to be cōfuted, vnto two learned men. M. Colwill, & M. Newton, Bachelors of diuinitie. Which M. Colwil, & Newton did both labor in the matter, to the vttermost of their cunning, in replying and aunswering to the said 37. articles.

* Besides them also W. Woodforde a Frier (who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliff) labouring in the same cause, made a solemne & a long tractation, compiling the articles of the said Brute, to the nūber of 29. All which treatises, as I wish to come to the readers hande, that the slendernes of them myght be knowen: so it maye happen perease, y^t the same being in my handes may hereafter bee further published, with other like tractations moe, as cōuenient time for the prolixitie therof may hereafter, better serue then now.

What after this became to this Walter Brute, orwhat end he had, I find it not registred: but like it is, that he for this time escaped. Certain other writings I finde moreouer, which albeit they beare no name of this Walter, nor of any certaine author: yet because they are in y^e same register adioined to y^e history of him, I thoght therefore most fit here to be inserted. Of y^e which y^e one was a letter sēt to Nicholas Hereford a little aboute specified: who beinge at y^e first a great follower of Iohn Wicklif, as appereth before pag. 438. was now in the number of thē which sate vpon thys Walter, as is in y^e next page aboute recorded. The copy of this letter, bering no name of any special author, but only as sēt by a certain Lollard (as y^e register doth terme him) is written in maner and forine as followeth.

Here followeth the Copy of a letter sent to maister Nicholas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the Register it is sayd.

FOR as much as no man that putteth hys hande to the plough and looketh backe,* is meete for the kyngdome of God, as our Sauour Christ sayth: What maruel is it, although maister Nicholas Herford, which at the first (by the visitatiō of the spirit of god peradventure) put his hand, that is, gaue his diligence, vnto the plough, that is, to the sowing of the word of God and holy scripture, as well in preaching as in doyng good workes: is now so blynde and vnskilfull to expound the scripture, that he knoweth not what is vnderstoode by the kyngdome of heauen. Truly it is no maruayle, O thou that arte maister of the Nicholitanes, which like Nicholas the moste false deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy scripture. For the true knowlledge of the Theologicall veritie is shutte vp as well from thee as from all the other Nicholitanes following thy conditions,* for as much as thou goest not in by the dore to expound the same Euāgelical veritie. Therefore whē thou didst recite this other day, first, the pharisaycal and hypocritical woe (nothing at all to any purpose) thou shouldest haue sayd iustly in this sort, both of thy self, and other thy followers and religious Antichristes: Wo be vnto vs Scribes and Pharises, which shut vp the kyngdome of heauen, that is to say, the true knowledge of the holy Scripture, before men by our false glofes and crooked similitudes: and neyther we our selues enter into the same kyngdome or knowledge, nor suffer other to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth vnto the faythfull sort, that wrongfully, falsy, & without any reuerence, yee haue expounded that text of Gregorye. 1. q. 1. that is to saye. Quicumque studet. &c. For this is the true vnderstandinge of the same.* Knowing first that there be some priests after the thing, and name onely; and doth shew that this is true: that whosoever studieth to receiue the holy order by geuing of money: He is not a priest, secundum rem, & nomē: But to say the truth, he desireth to be called a priest, that is to be a priest Secundum nomen tantum. And such a priest which is a priest in name onely, is no priest. No more then S. Mary paynted is S. Mary: Nor a false doctour a doctour, but no doctour: And a man painted is not a man, but no mā. And thus such a priest in name onely, is not a priest. Because that all faythfull men do firmly beleue with S. Gregory that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a priest as he sayth. 1. q. 1. They that buy or sell holy orders can be no priestes. Whereupon is written, Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi. That is Simoniacall heresie. And it followeth, how therefore, if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed▪ And whē that they be not in the body of Christ, howe can they eyther receiue or deliuer the body of Christ? He that is accursed, how can he blesse? as though he would say. It is vnpossible. As Pope Vrbanus saith. 1. q. 1. Si qui a Simoniacis. &c. Where he saith thus. They that willingly know & suffer thēselues to be cōsecrated,* nay rather execrated of those that are infected with Simony: wee iudge that their consecration is altogether voyde. Also Pope Leo in 2. q.* 1. sayth in this wise. Grace, if it be not freely geuen or receyued, is not grace Spiritual vsurers do not receiue freely: Therefore, they receiue not the spirituall grace, whych specially worketh in the ecclesiastical orders. If they receyue it not, they haue it not: if they haue it not freely, they cannot geue it freely. And by this it is more clearer then the light that they which know so much and receyue orders by spirituall vsury or simonye, are neither priests nor deacōs, neither after the maner nor charecter. For if such carecter or marke were otherwise geuen in geuing orders, it were requisite alwayes that there shoulde bee a certayne grace imprinted in the man, but there is no suche grace geuen or imprinted as afore is manifest: Therefore there is no such Character to be sayned. Therefore, such Character or marke abydeh

not in him, for as much as he neuer had nor hath the same. And yet furthermore in the same place. What then do the simonycall prelates geue? And he maketh aunswer truely euen that which they haue, as the spirit of lying. How proue we this? Because that if it be the spirite of veritie, as the same veritie doth testifie from whō it commeth, it is freely receaued. And it followeth for the whole purpose no doubt: It is conuicted to be the spirite of lying, which is not freely receyued.

By this it appeareth manifestly to the faythfull sort, that those which weetingly and simonically are made priestes, for as much as they receyue not the Character of the Lorde but only the spirite of lying and the marke of Symon Magus, and of Iudas the traytor, that they be not priestes neyther according to the marke nor manners. Nor such do no more make the sacramentes of the Church, then other lay men may in the time of necessitie, nor yet so truely,* during their hereticall naughtynesse. And yet in deede (brother myne,) vniuocè natura, but yet aequiuocè in moribus. I doe not wryte thus sharpely vnto you, through anger, or anye [Page 502](#) vnperfect hate: but through the perfect hate of your horrible heresie, and denying the fayth of Christ, that I may say with Dauid in the Psalme. Perfecto odio oderam &c. And I am very sorye for you, that you which in times past haue excellētly well, and fruitfully preached the Gospell in the pulpit, do nowe as wel fayle in the congruitie of the Latine tounge, as in the other science naturall. For as it was heard thrise in one lecture you sayde appetitis, that is to saye, pronouncyng the myddle syllable longe, whych thyng not onely the maisters, but also the yong scholars vnderstoode. And many other faultes there in your Grammer, which for shame I dare not recite. I send vnto you these fiue cōclusions.

The first conclusion. It is an infallible veritie that the wordes of the foure chiefe doctours, expounding the holy scripture according to the veritie which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept.*

The second: He which importeth any equiuocatiō out of any of the Doctours expounding, for the coulouring of his text, his equiuocation is alwayes to be left.

The thirde: No peruersion of any reprobate is able to turne the congregation of the elect from the faith, because al things y^t shal come to passe, are eternally in God deuysed & ordayned for the best, vnto the elect Christians.

The fourth: Like as the mystical body of Christ is the congregation of al the Electiso Antichrist mystically is the church of the wicked & of al the reprobates.

The fift: The conclusions of Swinderby, be agreable to the fayth in euery part.

This letter was thus subscribed. By the spirite of God, sometime visityng you.

☞ Besides this epistle aboue prefixed, there is also fōūd annexed with the same, a deuise of an other certayne letter coūterfeited vnder the name of Lucifer prince of darknes: writing to the Pope and al popishe Prelates, persecuting the true and right Church (with all might and mayne) to maintayn their pride and domination in this earth, vnder a coulourable pretence & visor of the catholique church, & succession Apostolical. Which letter although it seemeth in some authors to

be ascribed to Dekam, aboue mentioned: yet because I find it in the same Register of the church of Herford cōteyned, & inserted amōg y^r tractations of Walter Brute, and deuised (as y^r Register said) by y^r Lollards: I thought no meeter place, then here to annexe the same, the tenour wherof thus proceedeth in words as follow.

The deuise or counterfayt of a certayne letter fayned vnder the name of Lucifer Prince of darknesse, wryting to the persecuting prelates of the popish clergy.

I Lucifer prince of darknes and profound heauinesse, Emperour of the high mysteries of the Kyng of Acharont,* Captaine of the dungeon, Erebus kyng of hell, and comptroller of the infernall fire: To all our children of pryde, and companions of our kyngdome, and especially to our Prynces of the Church of this latter age and tyme (of which our aduersary Iesus Christ, accordyng to the Prophet, saieth: I hate the church or congregation of the wicked) send greeting, & wish prosperitie to all that obey our commaundementes, as also to those that be obedient to the lawes of Sathan already enacted, & that are diligent obseruers of our behestes, and the precepts of our decree. Know ye that in times past certayne vicars or vicegerents of Christ,* following hys steppes in miracles and vertues, liuing and continuynge in a beggerly lyfe, conuerted (in a maner) the whole world from the yoke of our tiranny vnto their doctrine & maner of lyfe: To the great derision and contempte of our prison house and kyngdome: and also to the no little preiudice and hurt of our iurisdiction and authoritye, nor fearing to hurt our fortified power ond to offend the maiestie of our estate. For then receiued we no tribute of the world, neyther dyd the myserable sort of common people, rushe at the gates of our deepe dungeon as they were wont to do with continuall pealyng and rappyng,* but then the easie, pleasant, & broad way, which leadeth to death, lay still without great noyce of trāpelyng trauaylers, neyther yet was trode with the feete of myserable men. And when all our courtes were without sutets, Hell then began to houle: And thus continuynge in great heauines & anguish, was robbed and spoyled. Which thing considered, the impacient rage of our stomacke coulede no longer suffer, neyther the ougle retchelous neglygence of our great Captayne generall could any longer indure it. But we, seeking remedy for the time that should come after, haue prouyded vs of a verye trimme shift: For in stead of these Apostles and other their adherentes whyche draw by the same lyne of theirs, as wel in maners as doctrine, & are odious enemis vnto vs: We haue caused you to be their successors, & put you in their place, which be Prelates of the church in these latter times, by our great might and subtiltie, as Chryst hath sayd of you they haue raigned but not by me. Once we promised vnto him al the kingdom of the world if he would fal down and worships vs,* but he would not, saying: my kingdom is not of this world, and went his way, when the multitude would haue made him a temporall kinge. But to you truely which are fallen from the state of grace, and that serue vs in the earth: is that my promise fulfilled, and all terrene thyngs be our meanes which we haue bestowed vpon you, are vnder gouernment. For he hath said of vs as ye know: The prince of the world cōmeth &c. and hath made vs to raigne ouer al children of vnbeliefe Therefore our aduersaryes before recited, dyd pacientlye submit themselues vnto the Princes of the worlde, and did teache that men shoulde do so, saying. Be ye subiect to euery creature for Gods cause, whether it be to the Kyng as moste chieftest. And agayne: Obey ye them that are made rulers ouer you &c. For so their maister commaūded them saying: The kinges of the heathen haue dominion ouer them &c. But I think it long til we haue powred our poyson vpō the earth, and therefore fill

your selues full. And now bee yee not onely vnlyke those fathers, but also contrary vnto them in your lyfe and conditions, and extoll your selues aboue all other men. Neyther do ye geue to God that which belongeth to him,* nor yet to Caesar that which is his: But exercise you the power of both the swordes, according to our decrees, makinge your selues doers in worldlye matters,* fighting in our quarell, intangled with secular labours and busines. And clyme ye by litle & little from the myserable state of pouerty, vnto the highest seates of all honours, & the most princely places of dignitie by your deuised practices, & false and deceitfull wyles and subtlety: that is, by hypocrisy, flattery, lying, periurie, treasons, deceits, simonye, and other greater wickednes then which our infernal furies may deuise. For after that ye haue by vs bene aduaunced thither where ye would be: yet that doth not suffice you, but as greedy staruelings more hūgry then ye were before, ye suppress the poore, scratch and rack together all that comes to hand, peruertering and turninge euerie thing topsie toruey: so swollen, that redy ye are to burst for pride liuing like Lechers in all corporal delicatenes, and by fraude dyrecting all your doinges. You challenge to your selues names of honour in the earth, callyng your selues Lordes, holye, yea and most holy persons.

Thus, eyther by violence ye rauē, or els by ambition, subtilly ye pilfer away, and wrongfully wraft, and by false title possesse those goodes whych for the sustentation of the poore members of Christ (whom frō our first fall we haue hated) were bestowed and geuen: consuming them as ye your selues lyst, & therewith ye cherish and maintaine an innumerable sort of whoores, strumpets,* and bawdes, with whom ye ride pompously like mightie Prynces, farre otherwise goinge, then those poore beggerly priestes of the primatiue Church. For I would ye shoulde buylde your selues ryche and gorgeous palacies, yee fare lyke Prynces, eating and drinking the most daintiest meates, and pleasauntest wi•es that may be gotten: ye hoord and heepe together an infynite deale of treasure, not like to him that sayd, golde and siluer I haue none, ye serue and fight for vs according to your wages O most acceptable societie or fellowship, promised vnto vs by the Prophet, and of those fathers long ago reprooued: Whilest that Christ called thee the Sinagogue of Sathan, and lykened thee to the mighty whoore which committed fornicatiō with the kings of the earth,* the adulterous spouse of Christ, and of a chaste person made a strompet. Thou hast left thy first loue and hast cleaued vnto vs, O our beloued Babilon, O our citizens, which from the transmigration of Ierusalem, come hether: we loue you for your desertes, we reioyce ouer you, which contemne the lawes of Simon Peter,* and imbrace the lawes of Symon Magus our friend, and haue them at your fingers endes, and exercise the same publiquely, buying and selling spirituall thynges in the Church of God, and against the commaundement of God. Ye geue benefices and honors by petition, or els for money, for fauor, or els for filthy seruice. And refusing to admit those that bee worthy to ecclesiastical dignities, & perfering those that are vnworthye, you call vnto the inheritance of gods sanctuarie, baudes, lyers, flatterers, your nephues, and your owne children, & to a childish boy, ye geue many prebends: the least whereof ye deny to bestow vpō a poore good man: ye esteeme the person of a man and receyue giftes, ye regarde money and haue no regarde of soules. Ye haue made the house of God a denne of theeues. Al abuse, all extortiō, is more exercised, a hundreth fold in your iudgement seats, then with any secular tyrant. Ye make laws & kepe not the same, & ye dispence with your dispensations as it pleaseth you,* you iustifye the wicked for rewardes, and ye take away the iust mās desart frō him. And briefly ye perpetrate or cōmit all kind of mischief, euen as it is our wil ye should. And ye take much paine for lucre sake in our seruice,* and especially to destroy the Christian fayth. For now the lay people are almost in doubt what they may beleue, because if ye

preach any thing to them at sometimes (although it be but seldome seene,* & that negligently inough, euen as we would haue it) yet notwithstanding they beleue you not, because they se manifestly that ye do cleane contrary, to that ye say. Whereupon, [Page 503](#) the common people, doing as ye do, which haue the gouernemēt of them,* & should be an example to them of wel doing: •ow many of them leaning to your rules, do rūne hedlong into a whole sea of vices:* And so continually a very great multitude flocketh at the strong and wel fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtles, ye send vs so many day by day of euery sort and kinde of people, that we should not be able to entertaine them, but that oure insatiable Chaos with her thouſande rauening lawes is sufficient to deuoure an infinite number of soules. And thus the souerayntie of our Empire,* by you hath bene reformed, and our intollerable losse restored. Wherefore, most specially we cōmend you, & geue you most hartie thanks: Exhorting al you, that in any wyse ye perseuere and continue, as hetherto ye haue done: neither that you slack hēceforth your enterprize. For why, by your helps we purpose to bring the whole world again vnder our power & dominion. Ouer and besides this, we cōmit vnto you no small authoritie, to supply oure places in the betraying of your brethren, and we mak and ordaine you our vicares, & the ministers of Antichrist our sonne,* now hard at hand, for whō ye haue made a very trimme way and passage. Furthermore, we counsell you which occupy the highest roomes of all other, that you worke subtilly, and that ye (faynedly) procure peace betwene the princes of the world, and that ye cherish and procure secret causes of discorde. And like as craftely ye haue destroyed and subuerted the Romain Empire:* so suffer ye no kingdome to be ouermuch enlarged or enriched by tranquillitie and peace. Least perhaps in so great trāquilitie (all desire of peace set aside) they dyspose themselues to vew and consider your most wicked workes, suppressing on euery side your estate: and from your treasures take away such substance, as we haue caused to be reserued and kept in your hands, vntil the cōming of our welbeloued sonne Antichrist. We would ye shuld do our cōmēdations to our entierly beloued daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, auarice, bellichere, and lechery, & to al other my daughters: and especially to Lady Symony, which hath made you men, and enryched you, and hath geuen you sucke wyth her own brests, & weaned you, and therefore in no wise see that you cal her sin. And be ye lofty and proud, because that the most high dignitie of your estate doth require such magnificence. And also be ye couetous,* for whatsoever ye get and gather into your fardell, it is for Saint Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimony and the Crucifixe, and therefore yee may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the highest seat of dignities without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of our aduersarye Iesus Christ, and alledging againe: that he preferred his kinsfolkes (beinge but of poore and base degree) vnto the Apostleship, but do not you so, but rather call, as ye do, those that liue in arrogancy, in hawtines of mynde, and filthy lechery, vnto the state of welthy riches and pride, and those rewardes & promotions,* which the followers of Christ forsooke, do ye distribute vnto your frinds. Therefore as ye shall haue better vnderstanding, prepare yee vyces cloked vnder the similitude of vertues. Alleadge for your selues the gloses of the holy scripture, and wrest them,* directly to serue for your purpose. And if any man preach or teache otherwise then ye wil, oppresse ye them violently with the sentence of excommunication, & by your cēsures heaped one vpon another, by the consent of your brethren. Let him bee condemned,* as an hereticke, and let him be kept in most straight prison, and there tormented till he die, for a terryble example to all such as confesse Christ. And setting all fauour apart, cast him out of your temple: least peraduenture the ingrafted word may saue your soules, which word I abhorre, as I do the soules of other faithful mē. And do your indeuor, that ye may deserue to haue the place which we haue prepared for you, vnder the most wicked

foundatiō of our dwelling place. Fare ye well, with such felicitie as wee desire and intende finally to reward and recompence you with.

Geuen at the centure of the earth, in that our darke place, where all the rablement of Deuils were present, specially for this purpose called vnto our most dolorous Consistory, vnder the Charecter of our terrible seale, for the confirmation of the premisses. Ex Registro Herfōrdensi ad verbum.*

Who was the true author of this poesie or epistle aboue writtē it is not euidētly knowē: neither yet doth it greatly skill. The matter beyng well considered of their part, which here be noted: may minister vnto them sufficiēt occasion of holesome admonition, either to remember themselues what is amisse, or to be thinke with thēselues what is to be amended. Diuers other writings of like argumēt both before & since, haue bene deuised: as one bearinge the title *Luciferi ad malos principes Ecclesiasticos*, imprinted first at Paris in Latin. And vnder the writing therof, bearing this date. Anno a palatij nostri fractione, consortium{que} nostrorum subtractione. 1351. Which if ye count from the Passion of the Lord: reacheth wel to y^r time of Wickliffe 1385. which was aboue vj. yeres before y^r examination of this Walter Brute.

There is also an other epistle of Lucifer,*prince of darknes, ad praelatos, mentioned in the Epistle of the schoole of Prage, to the vniuersitie of Oxford, set forth by Huldericus Huttenus, about the yeare of our Lorde (as is there dated) 1370. which seemeth to be written before this epistle.

Also Vincētius in Speculo histo.* lib. 25. cap. 89. inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiendes infernal, vnto the clergy men as in a vision represēted before 400. yeres. In which the deuils geue thanks to the spirituall men, for that by their silence and not preaching the Gospel, they send infynite soules to hell. &c.

Diuers other letters also of like deuise, haue ben written, & also recorded in authors. Whereunto may be added, that one Iacobus Cartusienensis,*wrytinge to the Byshop of Wormace, alleageth out of the prophecie of Hildegardis in these wordes: Ideo et diabolus in semetipso de vobis sacerdotibus ait: Escas epulantium, conuiuia et omnes voluptates in istis inuenio, sed et oculi, et aures, et venter meus, et venae meae, de spumis illorum plenae sunt, et vbera mea plena sunt diuicijs illorum &c. 1. Therefore saith he, y^r deuil may say of you priests in himselfe: The meates of banketting dishes, and feastes of al kind of pleasure, I find in these men: Yea also, mine eyes, mine eares, my belly, & all my vaines be full of their froathing, and my brests be full stuffed with their ryches. &c. Furthermore, saith he, they labour euery day to rise vp higher with Lucifer, but euery daye they fall wth him more deeply.

Hereunto also appertayneth a story written, & cōmonly found in many olde written bookes. In the yeare of our Lord. 1228. at Paris in a Synode of the clergie, there was one appointed to make a Sermō.*Who being much carefull in hys minde, & solicitous what to say, the deuil came to him, and asking why he was so careful for his matter, what he should preach to y^r clergy, say thus, quod he: The princes of hell salute you (Oh you princes of the Church) & gladly geue you thanks, because through your default and negligence, it cōmeth to passe, that al soules go downe to hel. Adding moreouer, that he was also enforced by the commaundement of God to declare the same, yea and that a certayne token moreouer was geuen to the sayde clerke for a signe, wherby the sinode might euidently see, that he did not lye. Ex catall. Illyr. Fol. 546.

The Bull of Pope Bonifacius the ix. agaynst the Lollardes.*

BOnifacius Bishop, seruauant of the seuants of God: To the reuerend brother Iohn Bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting & Apostolicall benediction. We meane to write vnto our welbeloued sonne in Christ (Richard the renowned king of England) in forme enclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and commaund your brotherhood, that as much as ye maye, ye study and endeouour your selfe to exhort and induce the same king, to doe those thinges which we haue wrytten vnto him, as it is sayde before. And notwithstanding, that now many a day you ought to haue done it of your self, & not to loke that wee should perswade you to that effect by vs wrytten: you may proceed as well by our authoritie, as by your owne, for as much as it was geuen you before: that here after we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeale your deuotion beareth vnto the Catholike fayth, and to the conseruing of the ecclesiasticall honour, and also to the execution of your pastorall office.

Geuen at Rome, at S. Peters the xv. Kalendes of October, the 6. yeare of our bishoplike dignitie.

The tenour of the Bull, to the renowned prince Richard by the grace of God king of England & of Fraunce: whereof mention is made aboue, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

TO our welbeloued sonne in Christ,* Rycharde the noble king of Englande, wee send greetinge &c. It greeueth vs from the bottome of our hartes, and our holy mother the Church in all places through Christendome lamenteth. Wee vnderstande that there bee certayne heresies sprong, and do without any condign restraynt raunge at their owne libertie, to the seducynge of the faithful people, and do euery day with ouermuch liberty enlarge their vndiscreete boundes.* But howe much the more carefullie we labour for the preseruacion both of you & your famous kingdome, and also the sinceritie of the faith: and doe with muche more ardent desire couet, that the prosperous state of the same should be preserued and elarged the sting of greater sorow doth so much the more penetrate and molest vs, for as muche as wee see (alas the while) in our tyme, and vnder the regall presidence [Page 504](#) of your moste Christyan gouernment: a certayne craftye and hairebraine sect of false Christians, in the same your kingdom, to grow and increase: which call themselues the poore men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples, and whom the common people by a more sounder name call Lollardes (as a man would saye withered darnell) according as their sins require: and perceyue, that they waxe strong, & as it were preuayle agaynst the diocesās of some places, and other gouernors as they meete together not courageously addressing themselues agaynst them as they ought to do (whereof chiefly and not vnderseuerdly I geue them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption and stomacke among the vnlearned people. And for as muche as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadowes or ghosts of men, do rise vp against the sound fayth, & holy vnyuersall church of Rome: and that very many of them beinge indifferently learned,* which (to the confusion & eternall damnation of some of them) they got sitting vppon their mothers lap the sayde Church of Rome, doe rise vp or inueye agaynst the determination of the holy fathers, with too much presumptuous boldnes, to the subuersion of the whole ecclesiasticall order and estate:

Haue not bene afrayd, nor are not yet afrayd, publicly to preach, very many erroneous detestable, and hereticall articles, for that they are not put to silence, reprobued, driuen out, rooted out or otherwise punished, by any that hath authoritie and the feare and loue of God.* And also they are not afrayd, openlye to write the same articles, and so being written to deliuer thē to your kinglye parliament, and obstinately to affirme the same. The venemous and disdainfull recitall of which articles, vpon good aduisement at this present we passe ouer: lest the sufferance of such sensualitie, might fortune to renue the woūd that reason may heale. Yet notwithstanding, least so great and contagious an euil should escape vnpunished, and that without deserued vexation, and also that it might not get more hart and waxe stronger: we therefore (according to that our office and duetie is, where such neglygence and sluggishnes of our prelates being present, where this thing is) do commit and geue in commaundemēt to our reuerend brethren, Canterbury,* and Yorke, Archbishops by other oure letters: that they stand vp in the power of God agaynst this pestilent and cōtagious sect, and that they liuely persecute the same in forme of lawe: roote out and destroy those, that aduisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foote frō the same stumbling block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But because the assistance, counsaile,* fauour, and ayde of your kingly estate & highnes are requisite to the execution of the premisses: we require, exhort, and beseech the same your princely highnes, by the bowels of the mercy of Iesus Christ, by his holy fayth, by your owne saluation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperitie assured to euery man and woman, that not onelye your kingly seueritie may readily shewe and cause to bee shewed vnto our Archbishops and their Commissaries (in this behalfe requyring the foresayd due execution) conuenient ayd and fauour, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted: But that also you wil enioyne your Magistrates and Iustices of assise, and peace more straightly, that of their owne good wils, they execute the authoritie committed vnto thē, with al seueritie against such damned men, according as they are boūd by the office which they are put in trust with: Against those I mene, which haue determyned obstinately to defile thēselues in their malice and sinnes, those to expell, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keepe them, til cōdigne sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punyshment. For your kingly wisdom seeth, that such as they be, do not only deceiue poore simple souls (or at the least do what they can to deceiue thē) but also bring their bodies to destructiō, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall vnto their temporall Lordes. Go to therefore my sweete sonne, and indeuour your self to worke so in this matter,* as vndoubtedly we trust you will: that as this firebrand (burning and flaming ouer sore) beganne vnder your president or gouernment: so vnder your seuerer iudgement and vertuous diligence, might, fauour, and ayde: not one sparke remaine hid vnder the ashes, but that it be vtterlye extinguyshed and spedely put out.

Geuen at our palace of S. Peter at Rome, the xv. Calendes of October, in the sixt yere of our pontificalitie.

The Kynges Commission.

RIchard by the grace of God, kyng of Englande, & Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande. To all those vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that where as lately at the instance of the reuerend father, William Archbishop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane of all England, and Legate of the Apostolycal seate: we for the redresse and amendement of all those whych would obstinately preach or maintaine, publicly, or priuely, any conclusions of the holy

scripture, repugnant to the determynatiō of our holy mother the church, & notoriously redounding to the subuersion of the Catholique faith, or cōtaining any heresie or errour, within the prouince or bishopricke of Cāterburie: Haue by our special letters patents, in the zeale of the fayth, geuē authoritie and licence vnto the foresayd Archbishop & to all and singular his suffraganes, to arest all and euerye of them that will preach or maintaine any such cōclusions, wheresoeuer they may be found, and to cōmit them either to their owne prisons or any others at their owne pleasure: and to kepe thē in the same, vntill they repēt them of the errours & prauities of those heresies: or til that, of such maner of arests, by vs or by our counsayle it shoulde be otherwise determined,* that is to say, to euery one of them and their ministers throughout their cities and dioces. And nowe the reuerēd father in god Iohn B. of Herford, hath for a certaintie informed vs: that although the same B. hath accordinge to iustyce cōuincēd a certain fellow named W. Swinderby, pretending himself to be a chaplaine,* & one Stephē Bell a learned man, and hath pronounced thē heretikes and excōmunicate, & false informers among the cōmon people, and hath declared the same by the definitiue sentence of the aforesaid bishop for that they haue presumed to affirme and preach openly in diuers places within the dioces of Herford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subuersion of the Catholike sound faith, and tranquillitie of our kingdome. The same Bishop notwithstandinge, neyther by the ecclesiasticall censures, neyther yet by the force and strength of our cōmission was able to reuoke the foresaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacie of them: For that they, after that they were vpon such heretical prauitie conuict by the same bishop (to the intent they might delude his iudgement and iustice) conueyed thēselues by and by, vnto the borders of Wales, with suche as were their factours and accomplices, in keping themselues close, vnto whō the force of our said letters doth in no wise extende. Whereupon, the sayde Bishop hath, made supplication vnto vs, that wee will vouchsafe to prouide a sufficient remedye in that behalfe. Wee therfore which alwayes (by the helpe of almightie God) are defēdours of the fayth, willing to withstand suche presumptuous and peruerse enterprises by the most safest way and meanes we maye geue and cōmit full power and authoritie to the foresayd bishop and to his ministers, by the tenour of these presents, to arrest or take,* or cause to be arrested or taken, the foresayde William and Sthephen, in any place within the citie & dioces of Hereford and our dominiō of Wales, with al the speede that may be, and to cōmit thē either to our prison or els to the prison of the same bishop or any other prison at their pleasure, if such neede bee, and there to keepe thē safe. And afterwards, vnles they will obey the commaundements of the Church, with dilygence to bring them before vs and our coūsel, or els cause them to be brought. That we may determine for their further punishment, as we shall thinke it requisite conuenient to be done by the aduise of our coūsell,* for the defence and preseruatiō of the Catholike faith. And that the foresayde William and Stephen, beinge succoured by the aide of their factours or fauourers, should not bee able to flye or escape to their accustomed starting holes: and that the sharpnes of their paines so aggrauated, may geue them sufficient cause to returne to the lap againe of their holy mother the church: we strayghtlye charge and commaunde all and singular our Shrifes, Bailifes, Barones, and al other our officers, in the Citie and Dioces of Hereford, & in any other place being within our dominion of Wales, by the tenour of these presentes: that from time to time (where they thinke it most meete) they cause it openly to be proclaimed in our name, that none, of what state, degree, preeminence, kind, or other cōdition he shalbe of, do cherish opēly or secretlye, the foresayd William and Steuen, vntil the time that they repent thē of their heresies and errours, and shalbe recōciled vnto the holy Church of God: Neither that any person or persons: be beleuers, fauorers, or receiuers, defendours, or in any case wittinglye instructours, of

the said William or Stephen, or any other of the residue of the heretikes that are to be cōuincēd: vpon the forfeiture of all that euer they haue. And that also they geuing their attendance, be obedient & aunswerable to the foresayd bishop and his deputies in this behalfe, for the execution of the premisses: and that they certify vs and our counsel distinctly, and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singular persons, which shall fortune to be found culpable in this behalfe, vnder their seales. In witnes whereof, we haue caused these out letters patentes to be made.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the ix. day of Marche, in the xv. yeare of our reigne.

Farington

An other letter of the sayd kyng agaynst Walter Brute.

Richard by the grace of God kyng of England and of Fraunce and Lorde of Irelande: ^{*}To hys beloued and faythfull Iohn Chaūdos knight, Iohn Eynfore knight, Renold de la Bere knight Walter Deueros knight, Thomas de la Bare knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight, and to the Maior of the [Page 505](#) Citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Rich, Nash, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, Iohn Skydmore, Iohn VpHarry, Henry Motton, and to the Shiriffe of Hereford, sendeth salutations.

^{*}For asmuche as it is aduertised vs, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquitie, haue damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certaine articles and conclusions being notoriously repugnaunt against the holy Scripture (of the which, some of them as heresies, and the rest as errours, are finally by the Church condemned) and that in diuers places within the dioces of Hereford and partes neare adioyning, both priuely, openly, and obitimately : which thing wee perceiue not onely to redounde to the subuersion (in a maner) of the Catholicke faith, which as well we, as other catholicke Princes ought of duety to maintaine, but also to forewarne vs of the subuersion of our faithfull Diocesans. And that the sayd Bishop, vpon the good deliberation and aduisement of a great number of Doctours in Diuinitie, and other learned & skilfull men in the Scriptures, of speciall deuotion, according to his bounden duetie, purposed to begin and make diuers and sundry processes by law to be sent vnto the foresayd Walter and hys accomplices, to appere personally before him and other the Doctours aforesaid, in the cathedrall church of Hereford, the morow after the translation of S. Thomas of Hereforde next ensuing, and to procede in the same place against the same Walter, in the foresaide articles and conclusions, for the amendement of his soule. Now a fresh (because that the sayd Walter and others of their retinue, cleaning and confederating with him, might not suffer condigne paines according to their demerites) indeuour themselues to make voide and frustrate the sayde godly purpose of the same Bishop, ^{*}in such correction & execution as should haue bene done: and with force doe resist and let the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of vs and of our crowne, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: Doe appoynt you and euery of you, immediatly as soone as this our commission shall be deliuered vnto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation in the diocesie and partes aforesayde, where ye shall thinke it most meete and conuenient: That no man be so hardy hencefoorth, of what state or condition soeuer he shall be, within the Dioces and partes aforesayde, vpon paine of forfeiture of all that euer hee hath, to make or leaue any conuenticles, assemblies, or confederacies, by any

colour: or that they presume to attempt or procure any other thing, wherby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the same Bishops and Doctors aforesaid, may be by any meanes molested or let in the execution of suche correction as is to be done, according to the Canonical sanctions, and to arest all those which ye shal finde or take offending in this behalfe, or that keepe themselves in any suche conuenticles. And that they being committed to prison, be there kept, till you shall haue other commaundement from vs and our counsel for their deliuerance: And that ye distinctly and plainly certifie vs and our sayd counsell, of all your doing in thys behalfe vnder your seales, or else the seales of some of you. And therefore we straightly charge and commaunde you, and euery of you: that ye diligently attende vpon the premisses, and that in your deedes yee execute the same with all diligence and carefull indeuour, in the forme and maner aforesaide. And further, wee geue straight charge and commaundement to all and singular Shriffes, Maiors, Bailiftes, Constables, and other our faithfull subiectes, by the tenour of these presents: that they be attending vpon you, counselling and aiding you and euery of you, as is meete and conuenient in the doing and execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made.

Witnesse my selfe at Westminster, the 22. day of September, in the 17. yeare of our raigne:

By the same King and Counsell.

Thus king Richard by the setting on of W. Courtney Archb. of Canterb. and his fellowes,* taking part wyth the Pope, and Romith Prelates: waxed something strait and harde to the poore Christians of the contrary side of wyckleffe, as by these letters aboue prefixed may appeare. Allbeit, during all the life of the saide king, I finde of none expresly by name that suffered burning. Notwythstanding, some there were which by the foresaide Archbish. William Courtney, and other Bishops, had bene condemned and diuers also abiured, and did penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the towne of Leycester as followeth here to be declared,* out of the Archbyshoppes register and recordes:

At what time the saide Archbishop W. Courtney was in his visitation at the towne of Leycester, certaine there were accused and detected to him, by the monks and other Priestes in the sayd towne. The names of which persons there detected, were one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor Richard Wagstaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, Wil. Parchmeanar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitances of the same towne of Leycester: These wyth othermoe, were denounced to the Archbyshop for holding the opinion of the Sacrament of the aultare, of auriculare confession, and other Sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of Rome doth preach and obserue. All whych parties aboue named, & many other mo whose names are not knownen, did hold these heresies and errors here vnder wrytten, and are of the Romish church condemned.

- 1. That in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ wyth the materiall bread.
- 2. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, nor that no man ought to set any candles before them.
- 3. That no crosse ought to be worshipped.

- 4. That Masses, and Mattens, ought not wyth an high and loud voice to be sayd in the Church.
- 5. Item, that no Curate or Priest taken in any crime can consecrate, heare confessions, nor minister any of the Sacraments of the church.
- 6. That the Pope and all prelates of the Churche, can not binde any man in the sentence of excommunication, vnles they know him to be first excommunicated of God.
- 7. That no Prelate of the church, can graūt any pardons.
- 8. That euery lay man may in euery place, preach & teach the Gospell.
- 9. That it is sinne to geue any almes or charitie, to the friers preachers, Minorites, Augustines, or Carmelites.
- 10. That no oblation ought to be vsed at the funeralies of the dead.
- 11. That it is not necessary to make confessyon of oure sinnes to the Priest.
- 12. That euery good man although hee be vnlearned, is a Priest.

These Articles they taught,* preached, & affirmed manifestly in the towne of Leceiter & other places adioyning: Whereupon, the saide Archb. monished the saide Roger, and Nicholas w^t the rest, on the next day to make answer vnto him in the sayd monastery to the foresayd articles. But the foresaide Roger and Nicholas with the rest, hid theselues out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon, the Archb. vpon All hallow day, being the 1. day of Nouember, celebrating the high masse at the high aulter in the sayd monasterie, being attired in hys Pontificalibus: denounced the saide parties with all their adherents, fautors, fauourers, and counsellors, excommunicate and accursed, whych cyther helde, taught, or maintained the foresaide conclusions heretical & erroneous, and that in solemn wise, by ringing the bells, lighting the candels, and putting out the same againe, and throwing them downe to the grounde w^t other circumstances thereunto belonging. Upon the morow after (being all Soule day) he sent for al the curates & other lay men of the towne of Leicester, to inquire more diligētly of the verity of such matter as they knewe, & were able to say against any persons whatsoever, concerning y^e foresayd articles, as also against the parties before named and specified vpon their others: denouncing euery one of them, seuerally by their names to be excōmunicated and accursed, & caused them also in diuers parish churches in Leicester, also to be excommunicate.* And further the said Archb. interdicted the whole Towne of Leycester, & all the churches in the same, so long as any of the foresayde excommunicate persons should remaine or be wythin the same, and till that all the lollardes of the towne, should returne and amend from such heresies & errors, obtaining at the sayde Archb. hys handes the benefite of absolution.

At length it was declared & shewed to the sayd Archb.* that there was a certain anchoresse whose name was Matilde, inclosed wythin the Churchyard of S. Peters church of the sayd towne of Leycester, to be infected (as they sayd) with the pestiferous contagion of the foresaid heretikes & lollardes: wherupon, after that the sayd Archb. had examined the foresayd Matilde, touching the foresayde conclusions, heresies, and errours, and founde her not to answerd plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtelly: gaue and assigned vnto her a day peremptorie, personally to appeare before hym in the Monasterie of C. Iames at Northampton, more fully to aunswer to the sayde articles, heresies, and errours, which was the 6. day of the sayd moneth of Nouember: commanding the abbot of the monasterie of Pratis aforesayd, that the doore of the recluse in which the sayd Matild was, should be opened, and that til his returne he

shuld cause her to be put in safe custody. That done, he sent forth his mandate, against the lolardes vnder this forme.

William by the permission of God.* &c. To his welbeloued sonnes, the Maior & bailiffes, of the towne of Leicester Dioces, greeting. Wee haue lately receiued, the kings letters graciously graūted vs for y^e defence of the catholike [Page 506](#) faith, in these wordes folowing. Richarde by the grace of God, king of England and of Fraunce. &c. Wee on the behalfe of our holy mother the Church, by the kings authoritie aforesaid, do require you: that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arested, and sent vnto vs, that they wyth their pernicious doctrine doe not infect the people of God. &c. Geuen vnder our seale. &c.

*By an other instrument also in the same Register, is mention made of one Margaret Caily Nonne, whych forsaking her order, was by the sayde Archb. constrayned against her wil, againe to enter the same, as by thys instrument here vnder insuing may appeare.

William by the grace of God, &c. To our reuerend brother in God, Iohn by the grace of God, Byshop of Ely greting. &c. In the visitation of our dioces of Lincolne according to our office, amōgst other enormities worthy reformation, we found, one shepe out of our fold strayed and amongst the briers tangled, to witte, Margarete Caily, Nunne professed, of the monasterie of S. Radegonde wⁱn your Diocesse: who casting the habite of her Relygion, was founde in secular attire, many yeares being an Apostata, & leading a dissolute life. And least her bloud shoulde be required at our hands, we haue caused her to be taken, and brought vnto you being her pastor: and straitly inioyning you by these presents do commaund, that you admit the same Margarete againe into her foresayd Monasterie (although returned against her wil) or els into some other place, where for her soules health you shall thinke moste conuenient: and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the straight examination of the same you wil yeld an accompt. Geuen vnder our seale. &c.

*By sundry other instrumentes also in the same register recorded I finde, that the foresaide Matilde the anchoresse, vpon the straight examination and handeling of the foresaid Archbishop, before whome peremptorily she was enioyned to appeare, and till that day of apparance taken out of the recluse and committed to safe custodie as you heard: resracted and recanted her foresayd articles and opinions. For the which she being enioyned 40. dayes penance, was againe admitted into her foresaid recluse in Leycester. The Byshops letter to the Magistrates of the towne thus beginneth. Willielmus permissione diuina. &c. dilectis filijs. &c.

*Also, by an other letter of the foresayde Archbish. to the Deane of the Cathedrall church of our Ladye of Leycester being registred, I finde: that of the number of those 8. persons before recite•, whom the Archbishop himselfe at high Masse, did in hys Pontificalibus so solemnely curse wyth booke, bell, and candle: After certeine proces being sent out against them, or els in the meane time being apprehended & taken: two of them recanted their opinions, to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But in the meane tyme Alyce the wife of the sayde Roger Dexter, takyng holde of the foresaid articles with her husband also, together wyth the said William Smith, abiured the same. For these be the wordes of the instrument. Subsequenter verò, praefati Wilielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus suos respicientes, se nostro conspectul praesentarunt. &c. Notwythstanding, whether they presented thēselues willingly, or els were brought against their

wils (as most like it was) hard penance was enioyned them before they were absolved. These be the wordes of the instrument.

Sancta mater ecclesia. &c. i. Seeing our holy mother the church, denieth not her lap to any penitēt childe returning to the vntie of her, but rather profereth to them the same: we therefore do receiue againe the sayd William, Roger, & Alice to grace. And further haue caused them to abiure all and singular the aforesaide articles & opinions before they receiued of vs the benefit of absolution, & were loosed from the sentence of excōmunication wherein they were snarled: inioyning vnto them penance, according to the quantitie of the crime,* in forme as foloweth, that is to say. That euery one of them y^e sonday next after their returning to theyr proper goodes: they the sayd William, Roger, & Alice, holding euery one an image of y^e crucifix in their right hands, and in their left handes euery one of them a taper of waxe, waying half a pound waight, in their shirts (hauing none other apparel vppon them) doe goe before the Crosse three times, during the procession of the Cathedrall Church of our Lady of Leicester: that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession: to the honor of hym that was crucified in the memoriall of his passion, and to the honor of the virgin his mother: who also deuoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kisse the same crucifixe so helde in theyr handes. And so with the same procession, they entring againe into the church: shall stand during all the time or the holy Masse, before the image of the Crosse with their Lapers and crosses in their handes. And when the Masse is ended, the sayde William, Roger, & Alice, shall offer to him that celebrated that day the Masse.* Then vpon the Saterday next insuing: the sayd William, Roger, and Alice, shal in the full and publique market, within the towne of Leicester, stande in like manner in their shirtes, without any more clothes vpon their bodies, holding the foresayd crosses in their right hāds, which crosses, three tunes they shal (during the market) deuoutly kisse reuerently kneelyng vppon their knees:* that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the ende of the market. And the sayde William (for that hee some what vnderstandeth the Latine tounge) shall say this Antheame wyth the collect Sancta Katharina:* and the foresayde Roger and Alice, being vnlearned, shall say deuoutly a Pater noster, and an Aue Maria. And thirdly, the Sonday next immediatly after the same, the sayde William, Roger, and Alice, in theyr parish Church of the sayd towne of Leicester, shall stand and do as vppon the Sonday before, they stoode and dyd in the cathedrall Church of our Ladie aforesayde, in all thynges. Which done, the foresayd William, Roger, and Alice, after Masse, shall offer to the Priest or chaplaine that celebrated the same, with all humiliti and reuerence the waxe tapers, which they shall carie in their handes. And because of the colde weather y^t now is, least the foresaid penitents myght peraduenture take some bodely hurt standing so long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the sayd our rigor) we geue leaue:* That after their entrance into the churches aboue sayde, whylest they shall be in hearing the foresayde masses : that they may put on necessary garments to keepe them from cold, so that their heads and feete notwithstanding, be bare and vncouered. Wee therefore will and commaund you together and a part, that you denounce the said William, Roger, and Alice, to be absolved and restored againe to the vntie of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in maner and forme aforesayde. Giuen at Dorchester, the 17. day of Nouember in the yeare of our Lorde God 1389. and the 9. yeare of our translation.

Unto the narration of these aboue sayd, we will adioyne the story of one Peter Pateshul au Austen Frier,* who obtaining by the Popes priuiledge (through the meanes of Walter Dis,

confessour to the Duke of Lancaster) libertie to chaunge his coat and religion, and hearing the doctrine of Iohn Wicklesse & other of the same fort: began at length to preach opely and to detect the vices of his order, in such forte as all men wondered to heare the horrible recyting thereof. This being brought to the cares of hys order, they to the number of 12. (cōming out of their house to the place where he was preaching) thought to haue withstode hym perforce. Among whome one especially for the zeale of hys religion, stode vp openly in his preaching, and contraried y^t which he said, who then was preaching in the Church of S. Christopher in London.* This when the faithfull Londoners did see, taking grieffe hereat, were mooued w^t great ire against the said Frier, thrusting him with hys other brethren out of the church, whome they not onely had beaten and fore woūded, but also followed them home to their house, mineding to haue destroyed their mansion w^t fire also, and so would haue done, had not one of the sheriffes of London, wyth two of the Friers of the sayde house well knowen & reported amongst the Londiners, wyth gentle wordes mitigated their rage and violence.* After thys, Peter Pateshull thus disturbed as is aforesayd, was desired by the Londiners (for so much as he could not well preach amongst them) to put in writing that, which he had sayde before, and other things more that he knew by the Friers: Who then at their request wryting the same, accused the friers of murther, cōmitted against diuers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparant & credible, he declared the names of them that were murthered,* wyth the names also of their tormentours. And named moreouer, time and place where and when they were murthered, and where they were buried. Hee affirmed further, that they were Sodomites and traitours both to the kyng and the realme with many other crimes, which mine authour for tediousnes, leaueth of to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friers, the Londiners caused the sayd Bill, to be openly set vp at S. Paules Church doore in London,* Which was there red and copied out of very many. Thys was doue in the yere of our Lord 1387. and in the 10. yere of King Richarde seconde. Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis. [Page 507](#) Cuius est exordium. Anno gratiae millesimo. &c.

Thus it may appeare by this and other aboue recited, how the Gospel of Christ preached by Iohn Wickleffe and others, began to spread & fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would haue done no dont, had not William Courtney, the Archbishop & other Prelates with the king, set them so forceably with myght & maine, to gainstand the course therof. Albeit as is sayde before, I finde none which yet were put to death therefore, during the raigne of this king Richard the second.* Wherby it is to be thought of this king, that although he cānot be vtterly excused for molesting the godly & innocent preachers of that time, (as by his brieues & letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was hee so cruell against them, as other that came after him: And that which he dyd seemed to procede by the instigation of the Pope and other Byshops, rather then either by the consent of his Parliament, or aduise of his coūsail about him, or els by his own nature. For as the decrees of y^t parliament in all his time, were constant in stopping out the Popes prouisions,* & in bridling his authority as we shall see (Christ willing) anone: so y^e nature of the king was not altogether so fiersly set, if that he following the guiding thereof, had not stand so much in feare of the Bishop of Rome and his Prelates, by whose importune letters & calling on, he was cōtinually urged, to do contrary to that, which both right required, & wil perhaps in him desired. But howsoeuer the doings of this king are to be excused,* or not, vndouted it is y^t Queene Anne hys wife most rightly deserueth singulare commendation: who at the same time liuing with y^e kyng had the gospels of Christ in English, w^t 4. doctours vpon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and sister to Wincelaus K. of

Boheme before: who was maryed to king Richarde about the 5. (some say, the 6.) yeare of hys reigne, and continued w^t hym the space of 11. yeres. By the occasion whereof it may seeme not vnprobable, y^t the Bohemians comming in wyth her, or resorting into thys realme after her, perused and receiued heere the bookes of Iohn Wickleffe, which afterward they conueied into Bohemia, wherof partly mention is made before, pag. 464.

The said, vertuous Queene Anne, after shee had liued with king Richarde about 11. yeares, in the 17. yeare of hys reigne changed this mortall life, and was buried at Westminster. At whose funeral, Thomas Arundel then Archb. of Yorke, and Lorde Chauncelour, made the Sermon. In which Sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worceter recorded) he entreating of the commendation of her, sayde these wordes: that it was more ioy of her, then of any woman that euer hee knewe. For notwithstanding that shee was an alien borne, she had in English all the 4. gospels, w^t the Doctours vpon them: affirming moreouer and testifying, y^e she had sent the same vnto him to examine. And he sayde they were good and true. And further wyth many wordes of praise did greatly commend her, in that she being so great a Lady, & also an alien, would study so lowly so vertuous bookes. And he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the Prelates, & other men. In so much that some sayd, he would on the morow, leaue vp the office of Chauncelour, and forsake the world, & geue him to fulfil his pastoral office, for that he had seene and read in those bookes. And then it had bene the best Sermon that euer they heard. Haec ex libro Wygo. In the whiche Sermon of Thomas Arundell, three poynts are to be considered, first the laudable vse of those olde times receaued to haue the Scripture and Doctours in our vulgare English tounge. Secondly, the vertuous exercise and also example of thys godly Lady, who had these bookes not for a shew hanging at her girdle: but also seemeth by this Sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the sayde Thomas Archbyshoppe declared also himselfe to receiue at the hearing and reading of the same bookes of hers in the English tounge.* Notwythstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this Sermon and promise made, became the most cruell enemy that might be against English bookes, and the authors therof as foloweth after in his story to be seene.

For shortly after the death of Queene Anne, the same yere (the king being then in Irelād) this Thomas Arundel Archb. of Yorke, and Byshop of London, Rob. Braybrocke (whether sent by the Archb. of Cant. and the clergy, or whether going of their owne accorde) crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king in all speddy wise to returne and help the faith and church of Christ, against such as holding of Wickleffes teaching, went about (as they sayde) to subiect at their proceedings, and to destroy the canonical sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint the king hearing the one part speake, and not aduising the other, was in such forte incensed: that incontinent leauing all his affaires incomplete, he spedde his returne toward England, Where he kept his Christians at Dublin, in the which meane time, in the beginning of the next yere following, which was Anno. 1395. A Parliament was called at Westminster, by the commaundement of the Kyng. In which parliament, certaine Articles or Conclusions were put vp by them of the Gospell side,* to the number of 12. Which Conclusions moreouer were fastened vp vpon the church doore of S. Paule in London, and also at Westminster: The copie of which Conclusions with the words and contents thereof, here vnder ensueth.

The booke of Conclusions, or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, and set vp at Paules doore and other places, in the 18. yeare of the raigne of king Richard the 2. & in the yere of our Lord. 1395.

The first conclusion,* when as the Church of Englande began first to dote in tēporalities after her stepmother the great church of Rome, & the churches were authorised by appropriations: faith, hope, and charitie began in diuers places to vanish and flie away from our Church, for so much as pride with her most lamentable and dolerous genealogie of mortall and deadly sinnes, did challenge that place by title of heritage, and this conclusion is generall and approued by experiēce, custome and maner, as ye shall after heare.

The second conclusion,* y^t our vsuall Priesthode which tooke his originall at Rome, & fained to be a power higher then aungels, is not that Priestthode which Christ or•cyned vnto his disciples. This cōclusion is thus proued, forso much as the Romish priesthod is done with signes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force & effect, neither hauing any ground in scripture, for so much as the Bishops ordinall and the new Testament do nothing at all agree, neither do we see that the holy Ghost both geue any good gift through any such signs or ceremonies: because that he together with all noble & good giftes, cannot cōsist and be in any person wyth deadly sinne. The corolary or effect of this conclusion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockerye vnto wise men, to see the Byshops mocke & play with the holy Ghost in the geuing of their orders: because they geue crowns for their characters and markes, in stede of white hartes, & this carактер is the marke of Antichrist, brought into the holy Church to cloke and colour their idlenesse.

The third conclusion,* that the law of chastity enioyned vnto priesthode, the which was first ordeined to the preiudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the church: but we doe excuse vs by the Bible, because the suspect decree doeth say, that we should not name it. Both reason & experience proueth this cōclusion.* Reason thus, forsomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the Clergy, will haue either a naturall purgation, or some worse. Experience thus, for somuch as the secrete triall and prooffe or suche men is, y^t they do delite in women. And whensoever thou doest prooue or see such a man, marke him well, for he is one of y^e number. The corolarie of this conclusion is, that these priuate religions with the beginners therof,* ought most chiefly to be disanulled as the original of y^e sinne and offence: But God of hys might, doth of priuie sinnes send open vengeance.

The fourth conclusion,* that most harmeth the innocent people is this: that the fained miracle of the Sacrament of bread, induceth al men, except it be a very few, vnto idolatry: For somuch as they thinke that the body whych shall neuer bee oute of heauen, is by the vertue of the Priestes wordes essentially included in the little breade, the which they doe shewe vnto the people. But woulde to God they would beleue that which the Euangelicall Doctour teacheth vs in his Trialoge, Quòd panis altaris est accidentaliter Corpus Christi.*i. that the breade of the aulter is the body of Christ accidentally: for so muche as wee suppose that by that meanes, euery faithful man and woman in the law of God, may make the Sacrament of that bread without any such

miracle. The corolarie of this conclusion is, that albeit the body of Christ,* be endowed w^t the eternal ioy, the seruice of Corpus Christi made by Frier Thomas, is not true, but painted ful of false miracles, neither is it any maruell: for so much as frier Thomas at that time taking part with the Pope, would haue made a myracle of a hens egge, and we knowe it very well that euery lie openly preached and taught, both turne to the rebuke & opprobry of him whych is alwayes true without any lacke.

The 5. conclusion is this, that the exorcisme & halowings, consecrations, and blessings ouer the Wine, Bread, [Page 508](#)*Waxe, Water, Dyle, Salte, Incence, the Aulter stone, and about the Church walles, ouer the Westiment, Chalice, Miter, Crosse, and Pilgrimstaues, are the very practises of Nigromancy, rather then of sacred diuinity. This conclusion is thus prooued, because y^t by suche exorcismes, the creatures are honored to be of more force & power then by their own proper nature, for we do not see any alteration, or chaunge in any creature so exorcised, except it be by false faith which is the principall poynt of deuilish art. The cocolarie of this is, that if the booke of exorcisation or coniuring of holy water which is sprinkled in the Church, were altogether faithfull and true: we thinke certainly that holy water vsed in the Church, were the best medicine for all kinde of sicknesse and sores, Cuius contrarium experimur. i. the contrary wherof daily experience doth teach vs.

The sixt conclusion which mainteineth much pride, is, that a king and Bishop both in one person,* a Prelate and iustice in temporall causes, a Curate an Officer in worldly office, doth make euery kingdome out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporalty and the spirituality, are two parts of the holy vniuersal Church, and therefore he which addicteth himself to the one part, let hym not intermeddle wyth the other, Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis seruire, wherfore to be called Amphroditae, whyche are men of both kindes or Ambidextri, which is such as can play with both handes, were good names for suche men of double estates. The Corolary of thys conclusion is, that therupon we the procuratours of God in this case, doe sue vnto the Parliament: that it may be enacted, that all suche as be of the clergie (as well of the highest degree as of the lowest) shuld be fully excused, and occupy themselues with their owne cure and charge, and not wyth others.

*The seuenth conclusion that wee mightely affirme is, that spirituall prayers made in the church for the soules of the deade (preferring any one man by name, more then an other) is a false foundation of almes, whereuppon all the houses of almes in England are falsly founded. This conclusion is prooued by two reasons: The one is, that a meritorious praier (of any force or effect) ought to be a worke proceeding from meere charity: and perfect charity accepteth no person, because thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy self, Wherby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporall gift bestowed & geuen vnto priestes and houses of almes, is the principall cause of any speciall prayers, the which is not farre different from sunonie. The other reason is, that euery speciall prayer made for men condemned to eternall punishment, is very displeasent before God. And albeit it be doubtful, yet is it very likely vnto the faithfull Christian people, that the founders of euery suche house of almes for their wicked endowing of the same, are for y^e most part passed by the broad way. The corolary is, that euery praier offorce and effect proceeding of perfect charitie, woulde comprehend generally all such, whom God wold haue saued, and to liue. The marchaundise of speciall praiers now vsed for the dead, maketh mendicant possessioners & other hierling priestes, which otherwise were strong enough to worke & to serue the whole realme:

And maintaineth the same in idlenesse, to the great charge of the realme, because it was prooued in a certaine booke which y^e king hath, that a hundreth houses of almes,* are sufficient for the whole realme. And thereby might peradventure greater increase and profite come vnto the temporalitie.

The 8. conclusion needefull to tel the people beguiled, is, that pilgrimages, praiers, and oblations made vnto blinde crosses or roodes,* or to deafe images made eyther of woode or stone: are very neare of kinde vnto Idolatry, and farre different frō almes. And albeit that these thyngs which are forbidden and imagined,* are the booke of errour vnto the common people: notwithstanding, the vsual and common image of the Trinity is most especially abhominable. This conclusion God himselfe doeth openly manyfest, commaunding almes to be geuen to the poore & needy man, for he is the image of God in more perfite similitude and likenesse then any blocke or stone. For God did not say, let vs make a blocke or stone vnto our likenes and image, but let vs make man, for so muche as the supreme & highest honor which y^e clergy calleth Latria, pertaineth only to the Godhead,* & the inferior honour which clergy call Dulia, pertaineth vnto men and angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corolarie is, y^e the seruice of y^e crosse celebrate twice euery yere in our church, is ful of idolatry: For if roode, tree, nailes, and speare, ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped,* then were Iudas lippes (if any man could get them) a marueilous goodly relique. But thou Pilgrime, we pray thee tell vs, when thou doest offer to the bones of the Saintes and holy men whych are layd vp in any place: whether dost thou relieue therby the holy man which is already in ioy, or that almes house that is so well endowed,* whereas they are canonised (the Lord knoweth howe) and to speake more plaine, euery faithfull Christian may well iudge and suppose, that the strokes of that same man, whom they calls. Thomas, were no came of Martyrdome, nor yet be.

The 9. conclusion that keepeth the people low, is, that auricular confession which is said to be so necessary for saluation, & the fained power of absolution: exalteth and setteth vp the pride of priests, and geueth them oportunity of other secrete talkes, which we will not at thys tune talke of, for so much as both Lordes and Ladies doe witnes that for feare of their confessors, they dare not speake the truth: and in time of confession is good oportunitie ministred, of wooing, or to play the baudes, or to make other secret conuentions to deadly sinne. They affirme and say, that they are commissaries sent of God to iudge & discern of al maner sinne, to pardone and clense what so euer please them. They say also,* that they haue the keyes of heauen and hell, & that they can excommunicate, curse and blesse, binde and loose, at theyr owne will and pleasure: in so muche, that for a small rewarde, or for 12. d. they will sell the blessing of heauen by charter and clause of warrantes sealed by theyr commō seale. This conclusion is so common in vse, that it nedeth not any probation.* The corolarie hereof is, that the Pope of Rome whych fained himselfe to be the profounde treasurer of the whole Church, hauing that same woorthy iewell which is the treasure of the passion of Christ in hys owne keping and custody, together with the merites of all the saintes in heauen, wherby he geueth fained indulgences and pardons a poena & culpa: Hee is a treasurer almost banished out of chariti, wherby he may deliuer al captiues being in purgatory at hys pleasure, and make them not to come there. But heere euery faithfull Christian may easily perceiue that there is much falshode hid in our church.*

The 10. that manslaughter (either by warre or by any pretended law of iustice, for any temporall cause, or spirituall reuelation) is expresly contrary vnto the newe Testamēt, which is the law of

grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is euidently proued by the examples of the preachyng of Christ heere in earth, who chiefly teacheth euery man to loue his enemies, and haue compassiō vpon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reason is this, that for the most part when as men do fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken: and whosoeuer dieth without charity, goth the right way to hell. And beside that, we doe well vnderstand & know that none of the clergy, neither by any other lawfull reason, can deliuer any man from the punishment of death, for one deadly sinne, and not for an other: but the law of mercy which is the new Testament, forbiddeth all maner of murther. For in the Gospell it is spoken vnto our forefathers, thou shalt not kil. The corolary is: It is a very robbing of the people, when Lordes purchase indulgences and pardons a poena & culpa, vnto such as do helpe their armies to kil and murther the christian people in soreine countreys for temporal gaine, as we do see certaine souldiors which do runne amongst the Heathen people to get themselues fame & renowme by the murther & slaughter of men. Much more doe they deserue euil thanks at the hands of the king of peace, for so much as by humility and peace, our faith is multiplied & increased: for murtherers and manquellers, Christ doeth hate and manaseth: he that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword.

The 11. conclusion is, whyche is shame to tell: that the vow of chastity made in our church by women whych are fraile and vnperfite in nature, is the cause of brynging in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident vnto the nature of man. For albeit, the murther of their children borne before their time,* and before they are christened, and y^e destruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy & foule sinnes: yet they accompanying amongst themselues, or with vnreasonable beastes, or with any creature not hauing life, doe passe to such an vnseemelinesse, that they are punished by infernal torments. The corolarie is, that widowes & such as take the mantell and the ring delitiously fed, we would that they were married, because that we can not excuse them from priuate offence of sinne.

The 12. that the multitude of artes not necessary (vsed in this our Church) causeth much sinne & offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious apparell: experience & reason partly doth shewe the same, for so much as nature with a few actes, is sufficient for mans vse and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our ambassade which Christ hath commanded vs to prosecute at this time, most fit and conuenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be heere briefly noted and touched: yet notwithstanding, they are more at large declared in another boke with many [Page 509](#) other more in our owne proper tounge, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore, we earnestly desire and beseeche God for his great goodnesse sake, that he will wholly reforme our Church (now altogether out of frame) vnto the perfection of his first beginning and original. Ex Archiuis Regijs.

These verses following, were annexed vnto the conclusions.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert horum sunt idola causa malorum,
Surgunt ingrati Gyerzite Simone nati,
Nomine praelati hoc defensare parati,
Qui Reges estis populis quicunque praeestis,
Qualiter his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis▪

The which verses are thus Englished.

The English nation doth lament, of Sodomites their sinne.
Which Paule doth plainely signifie, by Idoles to begin.
But Giersitis full ingrate, from sinfull Symon sprong.
This to defende (though Priests is name) make bulwarkes greed and strong.
Ye Princes therefore which to rule, the people God hath placed,
With iustice sword why see ye not, this euill great defaced.

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the Parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin into England, toward the latter ende of the Parliament. Who at his return, called certaine of his nobles vnto him, Richard Stury, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, Iohn Mountacute,* &c. whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that hee heard them to be fauourers of y^t side: charging them straightly, neuer to hold, maintaine, nor fauour any more those opinyons and conclusions. And namely of Richarde Stury, he tooke an othe that he should neuer from that day, fauoure or defende any such opinions: which othe being taken, the king then answered. And I sweare (sayth he) againe to thee, that if thou doest euer breake thine oth, thou shalt die for it a shameful death. &c. Ex Chron. D. Albani.

All this while W. Courtney Archbyshop of Caunterbury was yet aliue, who was a great stirrer in these matters. But yet Pope Urbane the great maister of the Catholicke secte was deade and buried 6. yeare before.* After whom succeeded in the schismatical sea of Rome pope Boniface 9. who nothing inferiour to hys predecessour in all kinde of cruelties, left no diligence vnattempted to set forward that which Urbane had begon, in suppressing them that were the setters forth of the light of the Gospell: and had wrytten sundry times to king Richard as well for the repealing of the Actes of Parliament against his prouisions, Quare impedit, and premunire facias: as also that hee should assist the Prelates of Englande in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such,* whom he falsly suggested to be Lollardes and traytors to the Church, to the king, and the Realme. &c. Thus the curteous pope, whom he coulde not reach with his sword, at least with cruel slander of hys malitious tounge, would worke his poyson agaynst them, which letter he wrote to the king in the yeare of our Lord. 1396.* Which was the yeare before the death of W. Courtney Archbishop of Caunterbury. After whom succeded in that see, Thomas Arundel brother to the Earle of Arundel, being first Byshop of Ely, afterwarde Archbyshop of Yorke, and Lord Chancellor of England, and at last made Archbyshop of Caunterbury about the yeare of our Lorde 1397. The next yeare following, which was the yeare of our Lord 1398. and the 9. yeare of the Pope, I finde in certaine recordes of the Bishop of Duresme, a certaine letter of K. Richard 2. written to the said pope Boniface: Which because I iudged not vnworthy to be sene, I thought here to annexe the same, proceeding in forme as foloweth.

To the moste holy father in Christ and Lorde, Lorde Boniface the 9. by the grace of God high Pope of the most holy Romish and vniuersall Church, hys humble and deuout sonne Richard by the grace of God king of England, and Fraunce, Lord of Irelande, greeting, and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted Church, and kissing of that his blessed feete.

Who wil giue my head water, & mine eyes streaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay and manifold troubles of our mother,* which haue chaunced to her by her owne children in the

distresse of this present schisme and diuision. For the sheepe haue forgotten the proper voyce of their shepherds, and hirelings haue thrust in themselues to feede the Lordes flocke, who are clothed with the apparell of the true shepheard, chalenging the name of honour & dignity, resembling so the true shepheard, that the pore sheepe can scarce know whome they ought to folow, or what pastour as a straunger they ought to flee, and whom they shuld shun as an hireling: Wherefore we are afraid, least the holy standard of the Lord beforsaken of his host, and so that Citye being full of riches become solitary and desolate, and the land or people whych was so•t to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sate as a Quene, and am not a widowe, least it be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched that shee shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in mases, that she shal hot know where to turne her, that she might more easily finde him, and that she shall with weeping speake that saying of the spouse: I sought him whom my soule loueth, I sought him and found him not: For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, beholde here is Christ, or there, we may not beleue him so saying: and so many shepheards haue destroyed the Lordes vineyarde, and made his amiable portion a waste wilderness.

This multitude of shepherdes is become very burdenous to the Lords flocke. For when two striue to be chief, the state of both their dignities standes in doubt, and in so doing they geue occasion to all the faithfull of Christ, of a schisme and diuision of the Church. And although both parties goe about to subdue vnto their power the whole Church militant, yet cōtrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise nowe a diuision in the body of the Church. Like as when the diuision of the quicke innocent body was asked, when the two harlots did striue afore Salomon: * like as the ten tribes of Israel folowed •eroboham the intruder, and were withdrawne from the kingdome for Salomons sinnes euen so of olde time the desire of ruling hath drawne the great power of the world from the vnitie of the Church. Let your selues remember, we beseeche you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish Church in the time of the faction of the primarche of Constantinople, * and howe Mahome' with his felowes by occasion of the supremacie in Ecclesiasticall dignitie, deceiued a great part of Christians, and withdrewe them from the Empire and ruling of Christ. And nowe in these dayes, where as the same supremacie hath wythdrawen it selfe from the obedience of it, in so much that nowe in very fewe realmes the candle that burnes afore the Lord remaineth, and that for Dauids sake his seruaunt: And although nowe remaine fewe countreys professing the obedience of Christs true vicare: yet peraduenture if euery man were left to his owne libertie, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or that is worse, woulde vtterly refuse it by such doubtfull euidence alleaged on both sides: and thys is the subtil craft of the croked Serpent, that is to say, vnder the pretense of vnitie, to procure schismes: as the spider of a wholesome flower gathers poyson: and Iudas lerned of peace to make warre. Wherefore, it is liuely beleueed of wise men, that except this pestilent schisme be withstand by and by, the keyes of the Church will be despised, and they shall binde the consciences but of a few? and when either none dare be bolde to correct this fault or to reforme things contrary to Gods lawe, * so by this meanes at length temporall Lordes will take away the liberties of the Church, and peraduenture the Romanes will come and take away their place, people and landes: they wil spoile their possessions and bring the men of the Church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reuiled and despised: because the obedience of the people and deuotions towards them will almoste bee taken away, when the greater part of the Church left to their owne libertye shall waxe prouder than they be wont, leauing a wicked example to them that doe see it. For when they see the Prelates studie

more for couetousnesse than they were wont, to pursse vp money, to oppresse the subiectes, in their punishings to seeke for gaine, to confounde lawes, to stirre vp strife, to suppress truth, to vexee poore subiects with wrong corrections, in meat and drinke intemperate, in feastings past shame: what maruell is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of Gods lawe? but all these things doe folowe if the Church shoulde be left long in this doubtfulnessse of a schisme, and than shoulde that olde saying be verified: in those dayes there was no king in Israel, but euery one did that that seemed right and straighte to himselfe. Micheas did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountaines as they had bene shepe without a shepheard: for when the shepheard is smitten, the sheepe of the flocke shalbe scattered, the great stroke of the shepheard is the minishing of his iurisdiction, by which the subiects are drawn from his obedience. When Iason had the office of the highest Priest, hee chāged the ordinance of God, and brought in the customes of the heathen, the priests leauing the seruice of the holy altar & applying themselues to wrasting other exercises of the Grecians, & despising those things that belōged to the priests, did labor with all their might to learne suche thinges of the Grecians, and by that meanes the place, people, and holy oynting of Priestes whych in time past were hadde in greate reuerence of kynages, were troden vnder foote of all men, and robbed by the kinges power, and was [Page 510](#) prophaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore, let the hyghest vicare of Christe looke vnto this with a diligent eye, and let hym be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authoritie aboue others.* If you mark well most holy father, you shal find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coueting the fease of honour: hee taught them not to play the Lordes ouer the people, but the more grace they were preuēted with, to be so much more humble then other, and more lowly to serue their brethren. To hym that asked hys coate, to geue the cloake: to him that smote him on the one cheeke, to tourne the other to him. For the sheepe that are geuen to hys keeping, hee must forsake all earthly thyngs, and to shedde his owne blood,* yea and if neede required to die. These things I say be those that adorne the highest Byshop if they be in him, not purple, not hys white horse, nor his Imperiall crowne, because hee among all men is most bounde to all the sheepe of Christ. For the feare of GOD therefore, and for the loue of the flocke which yee guide, consider these things diligently, and doe them wisely, and suffer vs no longer to wauer betwixte two: although not for your owne cause, to whom peraduenture the fulnes of your owne power is knowen: yet in pitying our weakenes, if thou be he, tell vs openly, and shew thy self to the world, that al we may follow one. Be not to vs a bloody bishop, least by your occasion mans blood be shed, least hel swallow such a number of soules, & least the name of Christ be euill spoken of by Infidels, thorough suche a worthy personage. But peraduenture yee will say, for our righteousnes it is manifest inough,* and we will not put it to other mens disputations. If this bald aunswer should be admitted, the schisme should continue still, seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other: and where the world is as it were equally deuided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to geue place to the other without much bloudshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection was well inough knowen to himselfe and his disciples, yet hee asked of his father to be made knowen to the world. Hee made also the Gospel to be wrytten, and the doctrine of the Apostles, & sent his Apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be knowen to all men. The foresayde reason is the subtelty of Mahomet, the which knowing himselfe guilty of his sect, vtterly forbad disputations. If ye haue so ful trust of your righteousnesse, put it to the examination of worthy persones in a generall counsell, to the which it belōgeth by right to define such doubts, or els commit it vnto able persons, and geue them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the lest by forsaking the office on both parties, leaue the Church of God free, speedily to prouide for a new shepheard.

We finde, kings haue forsaken their temporal kingdomes, vpon onely respect of deuotion,* and haue taken the apparel of Monkes profession. Therefore let Christes Vicar (being a professour of most high holinesse) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honor, to the offence of all people, and the preiudice and hurt of the Romish church, and the deuotion of it, and cutting away kingdomes from it. But if you say, it is not requisite that the cause of Goddes church should be called in controuersie, and therefore we cannot so easily goe from it,* seeing our conscience gainesayeth it. To the which we answer, if it be the cause of God and the church, let the general council iudge of it: but if it be a personal cause (as almost all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the follower of Christ, ye would rather chose a temporall death, then to suffer such a wauering, I say not, to the hurt of so many, but the endles destruction of soules,* to the offence of the whole world, and to an euerlasting shame of the Apostolical dignitie. Did not Clemente named (or that I may more truely speake) ordeined of S. Peter to the Apostolike dignitie and to be bishop, resigne his right, that his dede might be taken of his successours for an example? Also Pope Siricius gaue ouer his Popedome to be a comfort of the 11000. Virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if neede require) geue ouer your Popedome, that you might gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, euen to bludshed: so is it somtimes necessary for a man to wincke at his owne cause, and to forsake it for a greater profite, and by that meanes better to procure peace. Shoulde not he be thought a deuill and Christes enemy of all men, that woulde agree to an election made of him for the Apostolicall dignitie and Popedome, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, diuision of the church, the offence and losse of al faithfull people? If such mischiefs should be known to al the world by Goddes reuelation, to come to passe by such receiuing of the Popedome and Apostolicall dignitie: then by the like reason, why shall he not be iudged of all men an Apostata and forsaker of hys faith,* which chuseth dignitie, or rather worldly honour, then the vnitie of the Church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God which are scattered abroad: but such an enemy of God and the Church, wisheth his subiectes bodily to die in battaile, and the more part of the worlde to pearish in soule, rather then forsaking to be Pope to liue in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the feare of God the desire of the heauenly kingdō, & the earnest loue of the vnitie of the church do moue your hart, shew in dede that your workes may beare recorde to the truth.

Clement and Siricius most holy Popes, not only are not reprooued, but rather are reuerenced of all men,* because they gaue ouer their right for profitable causes, & for the same cause all the church of holy men shewe forth their praise Likewise your name should liue for euer and euer if ye would do the like for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the vnitie of Gods Church. Geue no heede to vnmeasurable cryings of them that say, that the ryghte chusing of Popes is lost, except ye defend your part manfully: but be afraid, least such stirrers vp of mischiefe looke for theyr owne commoditie or honour,* that is to say, that vnder your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this sort Achithophel was ioyned and Absolon in persecuting his owne father, and false vsurping of hys kingdome.

Furthermore, there shoulde be no ieopardie to that election, because both parties sticke stifly to the old fashion of election, and either of them couer the preheminance of the Romish Church,* counsailing all Christians to obey them. And although throughe their geuing ouer the fashion of chusing the Pope should be chāged for a time: it were to be borne, rather then to suffer any longer this diuision in Gods church. For that fashion in chusing is not so necessary required to

the state of a Pope, but the successour of the Apostle as necessary cause required, might come in at the doore by an other fashion of chusing, and that Canonically enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the fathers: for Peter the Apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by false usurping of power, as we suppose. And it was thought, that that fashion of appointing of Popes, was lawfull unto the time of Pope Hillary. Which decreed that no Pope should appoint his successor.

Afterward,* the election of the Pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the Emperors counsel agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the blessed Gregory. But Martinus Pope with the consent of the holy Synode granted Charles the power to choose the Pope. But of late Nicholas the 2 was the first whome Martine makes mention of in his counsels, to be chosen by the Cardinals. But all the Bishops of Lombardie (for the most part) withstood this election, and chose Cadulus to be Pope, saying that the Pope ought not to be chosen, but of the precinct of Italie. Wherefore, we thinke it not a safe way so earnestly to stick to the traditions of men, in the fashion of choosing the Pope, & so oft to change, least we be thought to breake Goddes traditions concerning the unity of the church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordaine a newe fashion of his election, and meet for hym as it hath bene afore.* But all things concerning the same election myght be kept safe, if Gods honour were looked for afore youre owne, and the peace of the Church were uprightly sought: for such a dishonouring shoulde be most honour unto you, and that geuing place shall be the getting of a greater dignitie, & the willing deposing of your honour,* shoulde obtaine you the entrie of everlasting honour, and shoulde procure the loue of the whole worlde toward you, and you shoulde deserue to be exalted continually, as Dauid was in humbling himselfe. O howe monstrous a sight and how foule a monster is a mannes body disfigured with two heades? So if it were possible, the spouse of Christ shoulde be made so monstrous, if shee were ruled with two such heades: but that is not possible, she is euer altogether faire, in whome no spot is found, therefore we must cast away that rotten member, & thruster in of his second head.* We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickednesse in Gods house, that we shoulde suffer Gods cote that wantes a feame, by any meanes to be torne by the handes of two, that violently draw it in sonder. For if these two should be suffered to raigne together,* they woulde so betwixte them teare in pieces that litle coate of the Lord, that scarce one piece woulde hang to another. They passe the wickednesse of the souldiours that cursed Christ. For they willing to haue the coate remaine whole, said: Let vs not cut it, but let vs cast lots for it, whose it shalbe. But these 2. Popes suffering their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way (although not in wordes yet in deedes) they pronounce this sentence: It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be deuided, for they chose rather as it appeareth to be Lords (though it be but in a litle part, and that to the confusion of unity of the Church) then in leuing that lording to seeke for the peace of the church. We do not affirme this, but we shew almost the whole iudgement of the world of them being moued so thinke by likely coniectures. We looked for amendment of this intollerable confusion, by the space that these two inuentours of this mischancelled. But wee looked for peace and beholde trouble: for neither in their lyues nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two wayes, left to their successours matters of contention continually. But nowe for the space of 7. yeres of their successors, that which we desired and looked for afore (that is, they shoulde beare good grapes and they bring forth wild grapes) in this matter we fall into a deepe despaire. But in as much that we heare the comfort of the Lorde, which promised that miserably he wold destroy those wicked men, & let his vineyard to other husbandmen which will bring him fruit at their times appointed, he hath

promised faithfully that he wil help his spouse in her nede, to thend of the world: & we leaning on the sure hope of this promise [Page 511](#) and in hope contrary to hope beleuing, by Gods grace will put our helping handes to easing of this misery, when a conuenient time shall serue, as much as our kingly power is able, although our wit doth not perceauē how these thinges afore rehearsed may be amended: yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of gods promise, will do our endeouour: lik as Abraham beleued his sonne being slaine by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seede should encrease to the number of the starres,* according to Gods promise. Now therfore the time drawes near to make an end of this schism least a third election of a schismaticke agaynst the Apostles successour make a custome of the doying, and so the Pope of Auinion shalbe double Romishe pope, and he shall say with hys partakers, as the Patriarch of Constantinople sayd vnto Christes vicar when he forsooke hym: The Lorde be with thee, for the Lorde is with vs. And is much to be feared of all Christen men. For that Pharisie begins now to be called the pope of Auinion among the people. But peradventure it would be thought of some men, that it belongeth not to secular princes to bridle outragies of the Pope:* to whome we aunswere, that naturally the members put them selues in ieopardy for to saue the head, and the partes labour to saue the whole. Christ so decked his spouse, that her sides shold cleaue together, and should vphold themselues, by course of time and occasion of thinges, they should correcte one an other and cleaue together tunably. Did not Moses put down Aaron, because he was vnfaythfull? Salomon put downe Abiathar, who came by lineall dissent from Anathoth, and remoued hys priesthoode from his kindred to the stock of Eliazar in the person of Sadock which had his beginning from Ely the priest• 3.2 O•ho Emperour, deposed Pope Iohn the 12. because he was lecherous. Henry the Emperour put downe Gratianus, because he vsed Simony in buying & selling spirituall liuings. And Otho deposed Pope Benner the first,* because he thrust in himselfe. Therefore by like reason, why may not kings and Princes bridle the Romishe Pope in default of the Church: if the quallitie of his fault require it, or the necessitie of the Church by this compell to helpe the Church oppressed by tyranny. In old time schismes which rose about making the Pope, were determined by the power of secular Princes: as the schisme betwixt Symachus and Laurence was ended in a Counsaile afore Theodoricus king of Italy. Henry the Emperour when two dyd striue to be Pope, he deposed them both, and receaued the thyrd being chosen at Rome to be Pope, that is to say, Clement the second, which crowned him with the Imperiall crowne. And the Romaines promised him that from thenceforth, they would promote none to be Pope without his consent. Alexander also ouercame 4. Popes schismatickes, all which Fredericke the Emperour corrected.

Thus looke on the register of Popes and theyr deedes, and ye shall finde that schismes most commonly haue bene decised by the powers of secular princes, the schismatickes cast out, and sometimes new popes made, and sometime the olde ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to theyr old dignities again. If it were not lawfull for secular princes to bridle the outragies of such a Pope lawfully made, and afterward becōming a tyraunt: In such a case he might oppresse ouermuch the Church, he might chaunge Christendome into Heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vayne,* or els truely God should not haue prouided for his spouse in earth by all meanes as much as is possible by seruice of men to withstand daungers. Therefore we counsell you with such a louing affection as becomes Children, that ye consider in your hart well, least in working by this meanes ye prepare away of Antichrist, through your desire to beare rule, and so by this meanes as we feare the one of these two shall chaunce: Either ye shall cause all the princes of the worlde to rise agaynst you to bring in a true follower of Christ to haue the

state of the Apostolicall dignitie, or that is worse, the whole world despising the ruling of one shepherd shall leaue the Romish Church desolate. But God keepe this from the worlde,* that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the Church of God: for then that departing away which the Apostle prophecied, shoulde come afore the comming of Antichrist, were at hand: which shold be the last disposition of the worlde, peaceably to receaue Antichrist with honour. Consider therefore the state of your most excellent holines, how ye receaued the power from God to the buil'ding of the Church and not to the destruction, that Christ hath geuen you wine and oyle to heale the wounded, and hath appoynted you his vicar in these thinges as pertayne to gentlenes, and hath geuen vs these thinges whiche serue to rigour. For we beare not the sword without a cause to the punishment of euill doers, the which power ordayned of God we haue receaued, our selues being witnes: beseeching you to receaue our counsel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweete with salt: least the axe swimme on the water and the wood fineke, and least the fruitfull Oliue degender into a wilde Oliue, and the l•prosie of Naaman that Noble man, cleaue continually to the house of Giezy, and least the pope and the Phariseis crucify Christ agayne, Christ the spouse of the Churche whiche was wont to bring the chiefe Byshop into the holiest place,* encrease your holines, or rather to restore it being lost.

Written, &c. Ex Fragmento libri cuiusdam Dunelm.

This Epistle of king Richard 2. written to Pope Boniface the 9. in the time of the schisme, about the yeare as appeareth 1397. As it contayned muche good matter of wholsome counsel to be followed: so how litle he wrought with the Pope, the sequell after warde declared. For the schisme notwithstanding continued long after, in whiche neyther of the popes would geue ouer theyr holde, or yelde any thing to good counsaile geuen them, for any respect of publike wealth. Such a stroke heareth ambition in thys Apostolicall see, whiche we are wont so greatly to magnifie. But of this inough, whiche I leaue and referre to the consideration of the Lorde, seeing men will not looke vpon it.

Drawing now toward the latter end of king Richards raigne, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of K. Edward the third,* so here also we shewe forth a summary recapitulation of such parliamentall notes & proceedinges as then were practised by publike parliament in this kings time, against the iurisdiction of the Bysh. of Rome: to the intent, that such (if any such be) that thinke, or haue thought the receauing of the popes double authoritie to be such an auncient thing within this realme, may diminishe theyr opinion: As euidently may appeare by diuers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and inuesting of byshops by the king. As where king Oswin cōmaunded Tedde to be ordayned Archbish. of Yorke. Also where king Egfride caused Cuchbert, was brought to K. Canuce and at his commaundement was instituted Byshop of the same see.*Ex lib. Malmesb. de gestis pontif. Anglorum. And likewise Math. Parisiensis testifieth, that king Henry the 3. gaue the Archbishopricke of Caunterbury, to Radulphus then Bishop of London, and inuested him wyth staffe and ring. And the s•re king gaue the Bishopricke of wint. to W. Gifford: and moreouer, following the steppes both of his father and brother before him, endued him with the possessions pertaining to the sayd Bishoprick (the contrary statute of pope Urbane, forbidding that Clerkes should receaue any Ecclesiasticall dignitie at the hand of Princes, or of any lay person to the contrary notwithstanding &c.) Innumerable examples of like sort are to be seen in auncient historyes of this our realme. As also

out of the parliament tolles in the time of king Edward hath sufficiently bene touched a little before. Whereunto also may be added the notes of such parliamentes, as haue bene holdē in the raygne of this present king Richard the second, the collation whereof in part here followeth.

*** Notes of certayne Parliamentes holden in the the raigne of king Richard 2. making agaynst the Pope.**

IN the first yeare of King Richard 2. in the parliament holden at Westminster,* it was requested and graunted: that the popes collector be willed no longer to gather the first frutes of benefices within this realme, being a verye noueltie, and that no person doe any longer pay them.

Item,* that no man doe procure any benefice by prouision from Rome, on payne to be out of the kinges protection.

Item,* that no Englishman do take to ferme of any Alien, anye Ecclesiasticall benefice or Prebende, on the lyke payne. In which byll was rehearsed, that the French men had 6. thousand poundes yearely of such liuinges in England.

Item,* that remedy might be had against the popes reseruations to dignities electiue, y^e same being done against the treaty of the pope, taken with king Edward 3.

In the second yeare of the sayd king Richard the secōd,* it was by petitiō requested: that some order might be takē touchyng Aliens, hauyng the greatest part of the Church dignities in their handes. Whereunto the kyng aūswered, that by aduise of the Lordes, he will provide therfore.

Item,* it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals and others rebels, to pope Urbane that now is, shal be seased into the kynges handes.

An Acte that Pope Urbane was true & lawfull Pope,* and that the liuynges of all Cardinals and other rebels to the sayd Pope, should be seased into the kinges handes, and the kyng bee aunswered of the profites thereof: And that whosoever within this Realme, shall procure or obtayne any prouision or other instrument from any other Pope then the same Urbane, shall be out of the kynges protection.

[Page 512](#)*Moreouer, in the thyrd yeare of kyng Richard the second, the Prelates and Clergie made their protestation in this Parliament, expressly agaynst a certaine new graūt, to wit,* their extortions: That the same neuer should passe with their assent and good will, to the blemishyng of the liberties of the Churche, if by that worde extortion, they ment any thyng largely to proceede against Ordinaries & others of the Church. But if they ment none otherwise to deale hereafter therin, thē before that y^e time had bene done then would they consent. Wherunto it was replied for the king,* that neither for the same their sayd protestation, or other wordes in that behalfe, the king woulde not stay to graunt to his Iustices in that case and all other cases, as was vsed to be done in times past, and was bound to doe by vertue of his othe done at his coronation.

Furthermore, in the fourth yeare of the sayd king Richard 2. it was requested,* that prouision might be had agaynst the popes collectors, for leuying of the first fruits of ecclesiasticall dignities within the realme.

*Item, that all Priors Aliens might be remoued out of their houses, and licensed to depart, & neuer to reuert. And that English men may be placed in their liuinges, answering the king as they did.

*And in the 9. yeare of the foresayd king, touching matter of the Staple: the speaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought best the same were planted within the realme, considering that Calis, Bruges, and other towns beyond the seas, grew very rich therby, and good townes here very much decayed, and so much for the common profite. Touching the king, he affirmed that the subsidie & custome of wool more yelded to the king whē the staple was kept in England by one thousand markes yearly, then it did now being holden beyond the seas.

*Item: that inquisition and redresse might be had against such religious persons, as vnder the licence to purchase 10. li. yearly, do purchase 80. li. or 100. li.

*Item, that all Clarkes aduaunced to any ecclesiasticall dignitie or liuing by the king, will graunt to the king the first frutes of their liuinges, none otherwise then they would haue done to the Pope being aduaunced by him.

*In the 11. yeare of K. Richard. 2. it was put vp by the petitions of the commons, that suche impositions as are gathered by the popes bulles of Volumus and imponimus of the translations of B.B. and such like might be employed on the kinges warres agaynst the schismatickes of Scotland. And that such as bring into the realme the like bulles and nouelries may be reputed for traytors.

*In the 13. yeare of his raigne, followed an other parliamēt, in which although the archbish. of Canterbury and Yorke, for them and the whole Clergie of their prouinces, made their solemne protestations in opē Parliament, that they in no wise ment or would assent to any statute or law made in restraynt of the popes authoritie, but vtterly withstood the same, willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the sayd protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect.

*Item, in the same Parliament was put vp by publike petion, that the popes collector should be commaunded to auoyd the Realme within 40. dayes, or els to be taken as the kinges enemy, and that euery such collector from henceforth, may be an Englishman and sworn to execute the statutes made in this Parliament.

Moreouer in the sayd Parliament, the yere abouesayd of the king: the 26. of Ianuary, M. Iohn Mandour Clark was charged openly in the parliament, that he should not passe, ne send ouer to Rome, ne attempt or doe any thinge there touching the Archdeaconry of Durham in preiudice of the king or of hys lawes, or of the party presented thereto by the king, on perill that might ensue.

*The next yeare following whiche was the 14. of thys kinges raigne, it was enacted first touching the staplers, that after the feast of the Epiphany next ensuing, that y^e staple should be remoued

from Calice into England, in suche places as are contayned in the statute made in 27. Edw. 3. the which statute should be fully executed: and further, that euery Alien that bringeth merchaundise into the Realme, should finde sufficient surety to buy and cary away commodities of the Realme, to halfe the value of his sayd merchaundise.

*Item, in the same parliament petition was made, that agaynst the horrible vice of vsury then termed shifts, practised as well by the clergie as laitie, y^e order made by Iohn Notte, late Mayor of Londō, might be executed throughout the Realme.

*Moreouer in the 15. yeare of the raigne of the foresayde king it was accorded: for y^t syr W. Brian knight, had purchased from Rome a Bull directed from the Archbshop of Cant, and Yorke, to excommunicate suche as had broken vp his house, and had taken away diuers letters, priuilegies, and charters. The same Bull being red in the parliament house, was adiudged preiudicial to the kings crown and in derogation of the lawes, for the whiche hee was by the king and assent of the Lordes committed to the Tower, there to remayne at the kinges will and pleasure.

In the sayd Parliament also, * W. Archb. of Canterbury maketh his protestation in the open parliament, saying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any bishop, or to entermeddle, for, or touching anye presentment to anye ecclesiasticall dignitie recorded in any the kinges courtes. He further protested, that the pope ought to make no tran'slation, to any Byshopricke, within the realme against the kinges will: for that the same was to the destruction of the realme and crowne of England whiche hath alway bene so free, as the same hath had none earthly soueraigne, but onely subiecte to God in all thinges touching regalties, and to none other. The which protestation he prayd might be entred.

In the 17. yeare of the raygne of the king aforesayd, it was desired that remedy might be had, * agaynst suche religious persons as caused their villains or vnderlinges to mary free women inheritable, wherby the lands came to those religious mens handes by collusion.

Item, that sufficient persons might be presented to [unspec 43] benefices who may dwell on the same so as theyr stocke for want therof do not perish.

Item, that remedy might be had agaynst the Abbotes [unspec 46] of Colchester and Abinton, who in the townes of Colchester and Colnham clayme to haue sanctuary.

To come to the parliament holden in the 20. yeare of this kinges raigne, * we finde moreouer in the sayd rolles: how that the Archb. of Cant. and York, for themselues and the clergy of their prouinces, declared to the king in open parliamēt, * y^t forasmuch as they were sworn to y^e pope and see of Rome, if any thing were in the parliament attempted in restraynt of the same, they woulde in no wise assent therto, but verily withstand the same, the which theyr protestation they require to be enrolled.

Upon the petition of the begging Friers there at large it was enacted: * that none of that order shoulde passe ouer the seas, without licence of his soueraigne, nor that he shoulde take vppon

him no order of M. of Diuinitie, vnlesse he were first apposed in his Chapter prouinciall, on payne to be put out of the kinges protection.

Item,* that the kings officers for making arests or attachementes in Churchyardes, are therefore excommunicated, wherof remedy was required.

In the yeare of the same kinges raygne. 21. the Parliement being holden at Westminster,* we find how the commons in full Parliament, accused Thomas Arundell archbishop of Caunterbury, for that he as Chauncellor procured, and as chiefe doer executed the same commission, made trayterously in the tenth yeare of the king. And also that he the sayd Archbishop procured the Duke of Gloucester and the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, to encroth to themselues royall power, and to iudge to death Simon de Burley, and sir Iohn Berners without the kings assent. Wheron, the Commons required that the same archbish. might rest vnder safe keeping: wherunto, for that the same impeachementes touched so great a person, they would be aduised.

Item,* the 25. day of September, the Commons prayed the king to geue iudgement agaynst the sayd Archbishop, according to his desertes. The king aunswered, that priuately the sayd Archbishop had confessed to him, howe he mistooke himselfe in the sayd Commission, and therefore submitted himselfe to the kings mercy.* Wherfore, the king Lordes and sir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergie: adiudged the facte of the sayd Archbishop to be treason, and hymselfe a traytour, and therefore it was ordered: that the sayd Archbishoppe shoulde be banished, his temporalties seased, his landes and goodes forfeited, as well in vse as in possession.

The king further prescribed,* that the sayd Archbishop shoulde take hys passing on Friday within 6. weekes of Michaelmas, at Douer, towards the parts of Fraunce.

Thus hauing hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such thinges as haue happened in the raygne of this king, necessary for the Church to knowe, by course of story: we come now to the 22. yeare of King Richardes raygne, which is the yeare of our Lord, 1399. In the which yeare happened the strange and also lamentable deposing of this king Richard the second aforesayd, from hys kingly scepter. Straunge, for that the like example hathe not [Page 513](#) often bene seene in seates royall. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grievous to any good mans hart,* to see him eyther so to deserue, if he were iustly deposed: or if he were vuiustly depriued, to see the kingly title there not able to hold his right, wher by force, it is compelled to geue place to might.

As concerning the order and processe of whose deposing for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contayned in Robert Fabian and in the kinges recordes, in the Chronicle of S. Albons, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to entermedle with repeting therof.* What were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath bene touched. In whome as some good vertues may be noted: so also some vices may seeme to be mixed withall. But especially this, that he starting out of the steps of hys progenitors, ceased to take part with them, whiche tooke part with the gospell. Wherupon, it so fell, not by the blind wheele of fortune, but by the secret hand of him, which directeth all estates:* that as he first began to forsake y^t mayntayning of the Gospell of God, so the Lord began to forsake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to fayle there can lack no causes to be charged

withall, whom God once giueth ouer to mans punishmēt. So that to me considering the whole life and trade of this prince, among all other causes alledged in storyes agaynst him: none seemeth so much to be wayed of vs, or more hurtfull to hym, then this forsaking of the Lord and his word, Although to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withall, many and sondry defectes in that king may appeare in storyes to the number of 33. articles alledged or forced rather agaynst him.*

In whiche as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame: so to be displaced therefore from his regall seate, and rightfull state of the crowne, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare so material in a prince which either could or els would haue serued: had not he geuen ouer before to serue the Lord and hys word, chusing rather to serue the humour of the Pope and bloody Prelates, thē to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of hys word. And thē as I sayd, how can enemies lack wher God standeth not to friend? or what cause can be so little whiche is not able inough to cast downe, where the Lords arme is shortned to sustayne? Wherefore, it is a poynt of principall wisdom in a Prince not to forget, that as he standeth alwayes in neede of God hys helping hand: so alwayes he haue the discipline and feare of him before hys eyes,* according to the counsaile of the godly King Dauid Psal. 2.

And thus much touching the time and race of this K. Richard, with the tragical story of his deposing. The order and maner whereof purposely I pretermit, onely contented briefly to lay together, a few speciall thinges done before his fall, suche as may be sufficient in a briefe somme, both to satisfie the Reader inquisitiue of suche storyes, and also to forwarne other Princes to beware the lyke daungers. In suche as wryte the life and Actes of this Prince, thus I read of him reported,* that he was much inclined to the fauouring and aduancing of certayne persons about him, & ruled all by theyr counsell, whiche were thē greatly abhorred and hated in the realme: The names of whome were Rob. Ueer Erle of Oxford, whō the king had made Duke of Ireland. Alexander Neuile Archbishop of York, Michiel Delapoole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian Lord chiefe Iustice, Nicholas Brembre with other.

These men, being hated and disdayned of diuers of the nobles,* and of the commons, the king also by fauouring them, was lesse fauoured hymselfe. In so much, that the Duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstock y^e kings Uncle, with the Erle of Warwicke, and Earle of Darby: stooode vp in armes against those counsailors and abusers (as they named them) of the king. In so much that y^e king for feare was constrayned agaynst hys minde to remoue out of his court, Alexander Neuile Archb. of Yorke, Iohn Foorde Byshop of Duresme, Fryer Thomas Rushoke Bishop of Chichester the kinges confessor, with the Lord Haringworth, Lord Burnell, and Bemond, Lord Ueer. and diuers other.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the same yeare following, Robert Trisilian the Iustice was hanged and drawne. Also Nicholas Brembre Knight, Iames Salisbury also, and Iames Barnese both Knights, Ioh. Bewchampe the kinges Steward and Iohn Blake Esquire in like maner. All these by the counsaile of the Lordes beyng cast in the parliament agaynst the kyngs mind, did suffer, which was in y^e 11, of his raig, he being yet vnder gouernours: but consequently after the same, the king clayming his own liberty, being come to the age of 20. began to take more vpon him. And this was one thinge that stirred vp the kinges stomacke agaynst the Nobles.*Ex Chron. Alban.

2. An other thing that styred hym vp as much against the Londiners was this: for that he would haue borrowed of them a M. pound, and they denied him to their double & triple disauantage, as after ensued vpon it. Ibidem. An other occasion besides this, betwene the king and the Londoners happened thus, by reason of one of the Byshop of Salisburies seruauntes, named Roman, and a Bakers man: who then caryng a basket of horsebread in Fletstreet the foresayd Roman tooke a horselose out of y^e basket. The Baker asking why he did so, the Byshops lusty yeomcu turned backe agayne and brake his head: whereupon the neighbors came out, and would haue arested this Roman but he escaped away vnto the Byshops house. Then the Constable would haue had him out, but the Bishops men shut fast the gates, that they shoulde not approche. Thus, much people gathered together, threatening to brust open y^e gates and fire the house, vnlesse they had the foresayd party to them brought out. Wherby much adoe there was, till at length the Mayor and Sheriffes came and quieted y^e rage of the commons, & sent euery man home to his house, charging thē to keepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done, but if the bishoppe for his part had beene quyet, and had not styrrd the coles of debate, which were well slaked already all had bene ended without further perturbation.* But th^e stomacke of the Byshop not yet digested (although hys m[•]n had done the wrong) hauing no great cause so to do, whose name was Iohn Waltam being then Treasurer of England,* went to Thomas Arundell archbish. the same time of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour of England to complayne of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather reueled by the way a priuy mistery, which although be not in this story touched of the writers: yet it touched the hartes of the bishops not a little.* For the Londoners at that time were notoriously knowne to be fauourers of wickliffes side, as partly before this is to be seene, and in the story of S. Albones more playnly doth appeare: where the author of the sayd history writing vpon the 15. yeare of King Richardes raygne, reporteth in these wordes of the Londoners,* that they were Male creduli in deum & traditiones auitas, Lollardorum sustentatores, religiosorū detractores, de cimarū detētores, & cōmunis vulgi depauperatores &c. y^t is not right beleuers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers: susteyters of the Lollardes: deprauers of religious men withholders of tythes: and impouerishers of the common people, &c.

Thus the Londoners being noted and suspected of the byshops,* were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the sayd byshops, whiche were the more ready to finde & take all occasions to worke agaynst them, as by theyr doynge herein may wel appeare. For the bishop of Salisbury, and archb. of Yorke,* hauing no greater matter agaynst them, then was declared: with a grievous complaynt went to the king, complayning of the Mayor and Sheriffes of Lōdon. What trespasse the Mayor and Sheriffes had done, as ye haue heard before, so may you iudge. Now what followed after let vs heare. The king incensed not a little w^e the complaynt of the Bishops, conceined estsoones against the Mayor and Sheriffes, and agaynst the whole Cittie of London, a great stomache. In so muche that the Mayor & both the Sheriffes were sent for, and remoued from theyr office. Syr Edward Darlyngton then was made warden & Gouvernor of the citie, who also for hys gentlenes shewed to the Cittizens, was also deposed, and an other named syr Baldwyn Radington,* placed in that roome. Moreouer, so much grew the kinges displeasure agaynst the City that he also remoued from London the courtes, & termes to be kept at Yorke, that is to say, the Chauncery, the Eschequer, the kinges benche the hamper, and the common place: where the same con••ued from Midsommer, tyll Christenmas, to the great decay of the Cittie of London: which was an. 1393.*

Thivdly, an other great cause whiche purchased the K. much euill will among hys subiectes, was the secret murdering of his owne Uncle named T. Woodstocke, Duke of Gloucester, of whom mention was made before, where was declared how the said Duke, with the Earle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwicke and the Earle of Darby, with other,* were vp in armour agaynst certayne wicked Counsaylours about the king. Whereupon, the king watching afterward hys time, came into Chelsford, & so to the place neare by, where the Duke lay: wherwith hys own hands he arested the sayd Duke his Uncle, and sent him downe by water immediatly to Calice. And there through the [Page 514](#) kinges commaundement,* by secret meanes was put to death, being strangled vnder a fetherbed, the Earle Marshall being then the keeper of Calis. Wherby great indignation rose in many mens hartes agaynst the king.

With the same Duke of Gloucester, also about y^e same time, was arested and imprisoned the Erle of Warwicke, and the Earle of Arundel: who being condemned by parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the heartes of many agaynst the king. an. 1397.

Fourthly to omit here the blanke chartes sent ouer all the land by the king: and how the king was sayd to let out his realme to ferme: Ouer and beside all these aboue premised, fell an other matter, whiche was the principall occasion of this mischief: The banishment I meane of Hēry Erle of Darby, and made Duke of Herford a little before, being sonne of Iohn of Gaunt the Duke of Lācaster (who dyed shortly after the banishment of hys sonne, and lieth buried in the Church of S. Paule in London) and the Duke of Northfolke: who was before Erle of Notingham, and after by this king, made Duke of Northfolke the yere before. At which time the king made 5. Dukes, a Marques and foure Earles, to wit: Duke of Herforde, whiche was before Earle of Darby: Duke of Awmerle, which was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Exester, whiche was before Erle of Huntington, and this Duke of North folke,* being before Earle of Notinghame, as is aforesayd &c. The occasion of banishing these foresayd Dukes was this.

About this present time, the Duke of Herforde did appeach the Duke of Northfolke vppon certayne wordes to be spoken against y^e king. Wherupon, casting theyr gloues one agaynst the other,* they appoynted to fight out y^r quarrell, a day being for the same appoynted at Couentry. But the king tooke vp the matter in hys owne handes, banishing the Duke of Northfolke for euer, whiche after dyed at Uenice: and y^e other Duke which was the Duke of Herford, for 10. yeres. Beside these, also was exiled in France Thomas Arunder archbishop of Caunterbury,* by Acte of Parliament, in the same yere, for poynts of treason, as ye haue heard before expressed, page. 512. col. 2. All which turned to y^e great inconueniēce of this king, as in the euent following may appeare.

These causes and preparatiues thus premised, it followed the yere after,* which was an. 1399. and last yere of this king, that the king vpon certayne affayres to be done, tooke hys viage into Ireland. In which meane time: Hēry of Bollingbroke, Earle of Darby, and Duke of Herford and with him the foresayd archbishop Thomas Arundel, (which before were both exiled) returning out of Fraunce to Calice, came into England challenging the Dukedome of Lancaster, after the death of hys father. With •hem also came the sonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundell, beyng yet

but yong. These together setting out of Calice, arriued at Rauenspur in the North. At the knowledge whereof, much people gathered vnto them.

In this meane time, as the Duke was houering on y^e sea to enter the land: L. Edmund Duke of York the kings Uncle to whome the king committed the custodye of thys realm (hauing intelligence thereof) called to him the Byshop of Chichester named Edmund Stafford Chauncellor of the Realme, and W. Scroupe Earle of Wiltshyre Lorde Treasurer, also I. Busshey W. Bagot, Henry Grene, and Iohn Ruschell, with diuers other, consulting with them what was best in that case to be done. Who then gaue their aduise (whether wilful or vnskilfull, it is not knowne, but very vnfruitfull) that he shold leaue london, and go to S. Albons, there to wayt for more strength able to encounter with the Duke. But as the people out of diuers quarters resorted thether, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the harme and preiudice of the Duke of Lācaster, who they sayd was uniuistly expulsed. The rest then of the counsaile. I. Busshey, W. Bagot, Henry Grene, W. Stroupe Treasurer, hearing and vnderstanding how the commons were minded to ioyne with the Duke of Hereford, left the Duke of York, and the lord Chauncellor, and fled to the Castell of Bristow. Where is to be vnderstand that these foure were they to whome the common fame ran that the king had let out hys realme to farme: and were so hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more then for the king,* this commotion was among the people.

As this broyle was in England; the noyse therof soun'ding to the kinges eares, being then in Ireland, for hastye speed of returning into England, left in Ireland both his busines, and most of hys ordinance also behinde hym. And so passing the seas, landed at Milforde hauen, not daryng as it seemed to come to London.

On the contrary side, vnto Henry Duke of Herforde, being landed as is sayde, in the North, came the Earle of Northumberland: Lord Henry Percy, and Henry his son the Earle of Westmerland, Lord Radulph Neuile, and other Lordes moe to a great number, so that the multitude rose to 60000. able souldiours. Who first making towarde the Castle of Bristow, tooke the foresayd Busshey, Grene Scroupe, and Bagot: of whom three incontinent were beheaded, Bagot escaped away and fled away to Ireland.

The king in this meane while,* lying about Wales, destitute and desolate without comfort or counsaile, who nei'ther durst come to London, neyther would any man come to him, and perceauing moreouer, the commons that were vp in such a great power agaynst hym, would rather dye, then geue ouer that they had begunne, for feare of themselues: Seing therforeno other remedy,* called to him L.T. Percy Earle of Worcester, and stewarde of hys household, willing him with other of hys family, to prouide for themselues in tyme. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commaunding euerye man to shift for himselfe. Although Fabian and some other say, that he did this of hys owne accord, contrary to his allegiance. The king compassed on euery side with miseryes, shifted from place to place, the Duke still following him, tyll at length being at the Castle of Conewey,* the king desired to talk with Tho. Arundell archb. and the Earle of Northūberland: To whom he declared, that he would resigne vp hys crowne, in condition that an honourable liuing might be for hym prouided, and life promised to 8. persons, such as he would name. Which being graunted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the Castle of Flint, where (after talke had with y^e Duke of Lācaster) he was brought the

same night by the Duke and his armye to Chester: And from thence was conueyed secretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way as he came neare to London, diuers euil disposed men of the city being warned thereof, gathered themselues, thinking to haue slayne hym,* for the great cruelty he had vsed before toward the Citty. But by the pollicies of the Mayor and rulers of the Cittie, the madnes of the people was stayd. Not long after followed the Duke, and also began y^e parliament. In which Parliament, the Earle of Northumberland with many other Earles and Lords were sent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full resignation according to hys former promise, and so they did. This done diuers accusations and articles were layd and engrossed agaynst the sayd King, to the number of 33. some say 38. which for the matter not greatly materiall in them containyd, I ouerpasse. And y^t next yeare after was had to Pomferr Castle, and there famished to death.

King Henry the fourth.

AND thus King Richard by common assent be'ing deposed from his rightfull crowne: The Duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundell the Archbishop, to the feat royall:* who there standing vp, and crossed himselfe on the forehead and the brest, spake in wordes as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster, clayme the Realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenaunces as I that am descended by right lyne of the bloud comming from that good Lord King Henry the 3. And thorough the right that God of his grace hath sent to me with the helpe of my kinne and of my frendes to recouer the same, which was in poynt to be vndone for default of good gouernance and due iustice. &c.

After which wordes,* the Archbishop asking the assent of the people, being ioyfull of theyr new king: took the Duke by the hād, & placed him in the kingly throne, which was an. 1399,* and shortly after by the foresayd Archbishop he was crowned also for king of England. Ex Chron. De Alban.

The next yeare after, followed a Parliament holden at Westminster, in which Parliament, one will. Sautre, a good man and a faythfull priest,* inflamed with zeeale of true Religion, required he might be heard for the commoditie of the whole realme. But the matter being smelt before by the Byshops, they obtayned that the matter should be referred to the conuocation:* Where the sayd William Sautre being brought before the Byshops and Notaries thereunto appointed, the conuocation was differred to the Saterdag next ensuing.

[Page 515](#)When Saterdag was come, that is to say, the 12. day of February, Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Caunterbury, in the presence of his Counsaile prouinciall being assembled in the sayd Chapter house, agaynst one fyr William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, Chaplayne personally then and there appearing by the commaundement of the foresayd archbishop of Caunterbury, objected: that the sayd sir William before the Byshop of Norwiche, had once renounced and abiured diuers and sondry conclusions heretical and erroneous: and that after such abiuration made, he publicquely and priuily, helde taught & preached, the same conclusions or els such like, disagreeing to y^e catholique fayth, and to the great perill and pernicious example of others. And after this, he caused such like conclusions holden and preached as is sayd, by the sayd Syr William without renunciation, then and there to be read vnto the sayd Archbishop, by

maister Robert Haull, Chācellor vnto the sayd byshop in a certayne scrole written, in tenour of wordes as followeth.

Syr William Chatris otherwise called Sautre, parish Priest of the Church S. Scithe the Uirgine in London, publiquely and priuily doth holde these conclusions vnder written.

- * In Primis, he sayth, that he will not worship the crosse on which Christ suffered, but onely Christ that suffred vpon the Crosse.
- 2. Item, that he would sooner worship a temporal king, then the foresayd wodden crosse.
- 3. Item, that he would rather worship the bodyes of the Saintes, then the very crosse of Christ, on which he hong, if it were before him.
- 4. Item, that he woulde rather worship a man truely contrite, then the crosse of Christ.
- 5. Item, that he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, then an aungell of God.
- 6. Item, that if any man would visite the monumentes of Peter and Paule, or go on Pilgrimage to the Toumbe of S. Thomas, or els any whether els, for the obtayning of any temporall benefite: he is not bounde to keepe hys vowe, but that he may distribute the expences of his vowe vpon the almes of the poore.
- 7. Item, that euery priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the canonical houres.
- 8. Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramental wordes of the body of Christ, the bread remayneth of the same nature that it was before, neyther doth it cease to be bread.

To which conclusions or articles being thus read, the Archbish. of Caunterb. required the same Syr William to aunswere. And then the sayd William asked a copy of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answere vnto the same. Whereupon the sayd Archb. commaunded a copy of such articles or conclusions to be deliuered then and thereunto the sayd syr William, assigning the Thursday then next ensiting to him to deliberate and make aunswere in. When Thursday the sayd day of apparance was come, Maister Nicholas Rishton, auditour of the causes and busines belonging to the sayd archbishop (then beyng in the Parliament house at Westminster otherwise let) cōtinued the sayd conuocation with all matters rising, depending and appartinent thereunto, by commaundement of the sayd Byshop, vntill the next morrow at eight of the clocke. When the morow came, being Friday. The foresaid sir William Sautre, in the chapter house before the sayd bishop and hys counsaile prouinciall then and there assembled, making his personall appearaunce, exhibited a certayne scrole contayning the aunsweres vnto certayne articles or conclusions geuen vnto him as is aforesaid by the said Bishop: * and sayd, that vnto the foresayd Archbyshop, he deliuered the same as his answere in that behalfe, vnder the tenour of such wordes as follow.

I William Sautre priest vnworthy, say and aunswere that I will not, nor intend not to worship the crosse wheron Christ was crucified, * but onely Christ that suffered vpon the crosse: so vnderstanding me that I will not worship the materiall crosse, for the grosse corporall matter: yet notwithstanding I will worship the same as a signe, token, and memoriall of the passion of Christ Adoratione vicaria. And that I will rather worship a temporall Kyng, then the foresayd wooden crosse, as the materiall substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodyes of Saintes, then the very crosse of Christ whereon he hong: with this addition, that if the very same Crosse were afore me, as touching the materiall substaunce. And also that I will rather worship a

man truly confessed and penitent, then the crosse on which Christ hong, as touching the materiall substaunce.

And that also I am bound,* and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truly confessed and contrite, then an angell of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanitie of Christ, and so is not a blessed aungell. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

Also, that if any man hath made a vow to visite the shrines of the Apostles Peter and Paule, or to goe on pilgrimage vnto S. Thomas tombe, or anye whither els to obtayne any temporall benefite or commoditie: he is not bound simply to keepe his vow, vpon the necessitie of saluation. But that he may geue the expences of his vowe in almes amongst the poore, by the prudent counsayle of his superiour as I suppose.

And also I say, that euery Deacon and Priest is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the canonicall houres, according to the primitiue order of the church.*

Also touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the aulter: I say that after the pronouncing of the sacramentall wordes of the body of Christ, there reaseth to be very bread simply, but remaineth bread, holy true, and the bread of life: ynd I beleue the sayd sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramentall wordes.

When all these aunsweres were throughly by Maister Robert Hall, directly and publikely there read: the foresaid Archb. of Cant. inquired of the sayd sir William, whither he had abiured the foresayd herefies and errors obiected agaynst him, as before is sayd, before the Byshop of Norwich or not, or els had reuoked and renounced the sayd or such like conclusions or articles, or not? To which he aunswered and affirmed, that he had not. And then consequētly (all other articles, conclusions and aunsweres aboue writen, immediately omitted) the sayd Archbishop examined the same sir W. Sautre, especially vpon the sacrament of the aulter.

First, whether in the sacrament of the aulter after the pronouncing of the sacramentall wordes, remayneth very materiall bread or not. Unto which interrogation y^e same sir W. somewhat waueringly, sayd, and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he sayd, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life whiche came downe from heauen.

After that the sayd Archbishop demaunded of hym, whither in the sacrament after the sacramentall woordes, rightly pronounced of the Priest, the same bread remayneth, which did before the wordes pronounced or not? And to this question the foresayde William aunswered in like maner as before, saying that there was bread holy, true, and the bread of life. &c.

After that, the foresayd Archb. asked him, whether the same naturall bread before consecration, by the sacramentall woordes of the priest rightly pronounced, be transubstantiated from the nature of bread, into the very bodye of Christ, or not? Whereunto sir William sayd, that he knewe not what that matter ment.

And then the sayde Archbish. assigned vnto the said sir William,* tyme to deliberate, and more fully to make hys aunswere till the next day: and continued this conuocation then and there till the morow. Which morrow to wit, the 19. day of February being come:* the foresayd Archbish. of Cant. in the sayd chapter house of S. Paule in London, before hys counsaile prouincial, then and there assembled, specially asked and examined the same sir William Sautre there personally present, vpon the sacramēt of the aulter, as before. And the same Sir William agayne in like maner as before, aunswered.

After this, amongst other thinges the sayd Byshop demaunded of the same William if the same materiall bread beyng vpon the aulter after the sacramentall wordes being of the priest rightly pronounced, is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ, or not? And the sayd sir William sayd he vnderstoode not what he ment.

Then the sayd archbishop demaunded, whether that materiall bread being round and white, prepared and disposed for the sacrament of the body of Christ vpon the aulter, wanting nothing that is meete and requisite thereunto, by the vertue of the sacramentall wordes being of the priest rightly pronounced, be altered and chaunged into the very body of Christ, and ceaseth any more to be materiall and very bread or not? Then the sayd syr William deredingly aunswering, sayd he could not tell.

Then consequently the sayd Archbishop demaunded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holye Church or not, which affirmeth: that in the Sacrament of [Page 516](#) the aulter, after the wordes of consecration, being rightly pronounced of the Priest, the same bread whiche before in nature was bread, ceaseth any more to be bread. To this interrogation,* the sayd sir William sayd: that he woulde stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.

This done: he demaunded of him agayne, what hys iudgement was concerning the Sacrament of the aulter: who sayd and affirmed, that after the wordes of consecration by the priest duely pronounced, remayned very bread and the same bread which was before the wordes spoken. And this examination about the sacrament, lasted from 8. of the clocke of the same day, vntill a 11. of the clock or there aboutes: in so much, that during all this time, the foresaid W. would no otherwise aunswere: neyther yet touching the same sacrament, receaue catholicke information, according to the institution of the popes Church and his Christen fayth Wherefore, the sayd Cant. by the counsaile and assent of his whole couent then and there present: did promulgate and geue sentence by the mouth of Robert Hall, agaynst the same Syr William Sautre (being personally present, and refusing to reuoke hys heresies, that is to say his true doctrine, but constantly defending the same) vnder the renour of wordes as followeth.

*IN the name of God amen. We Thomas by the grace of GOD Archbishop of Caunterbury, primate of England and Legate of the sea Apostolicall, by the authoritie of God almighty and blessed saint Peter and Paule, and of holy Church, and by our owne authoritie sitting for tribunal or chiefe iudge, hauing God alone before your eyes: by the counsel and consent of the whole clergy our fellow brethren, and suffraganes assistantes vnto vs in this pre|sent counsell prouincial, by this our sentence diffinitiuē, do pronounce, decree and declare by these presents, thee William Sautre otherwise called Chawtrey parish Priest pretended, personally appearing

before vs, in and vpon the cryme of heresie iudicially and lawfully conuicte as an hereticke, and as an hereticke to be punished.

Which sentence diffinitue being thus read: the foresaid Archb. of Cant. continued in the same prouinciall cōsaile till Wednesday next, and immediately ensuing, to wit the 24. day of the same month of February: whiche being expired, the bishop of Norwich, according to the cōmaundement of the said archb. of Cant. presented vnto the foresaid William Sawtre by a certayne friend of hys, beyng present at the same councell, a certayn processe inclosed and sealed with his seal, geuing y^e names of credible witnesses sealed with their seales: The tenour whereof followeth in this wise.

*Memorandum, that vpon the last day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1399. in the 7. indiction and 10. yeare of the papacie of Pope Boniface the 2. In a certayne chamber within the maner house of the sayd Bish. of Norwich, at South Helingham (where the register of the sayd Bishop is kept) before the houre of 9. in a certayne chappell within the sayd manour situate, and the 1. day of May, then next and immediately ensuing in the foresayd chamber, syr Wil. Chawtris, parish priest of the church of S. Margaret in the town of Linne, appeared before the Bishop of Norwich, in the presence of Iohn de Derlington, Archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, Frier Walter Disse, and Iohn Rikinghall professors in diuinitie, William Carlton, doctor of both lawes, and W. Friseby, w^t huge Bhridham, publike Notaryes: and there publicly affirmed and held, the conclusions, as before is specified.

All and singuler the premisses the foresayde William affirmed vpon mature deliberation. And afterwarde to wit the 19. day of May in the yeare, Iudiction, and Papacy aforesayd, in the chappell within the mannour house of the said Henry Bishop of Norwich, situate at South Helingham: The foresayd sir William, reuoked and renounced all and singuler the foresayd hys conclusions: abiuring and correcting all such heresies and errours, taking hys oath vpon a booke before the foresayd Henry the Byshop of Norwiche, that from that time forward he would neuer preach, affirme, nor holde, priuily nor apertly the foresayd conclusions. And that he would pronounce according to the appointment of the sayd Bishop, the foresayd conclusions to be erroneous and heresies, in the parish Churches of Linne and Tilney and in other places & at the assignement of the sayd Byshop, and farther sware, that he would stand to the ordinaunce of the sayd Byshop, touching the premisses, in the presence of the discrete and worshipfull men afore recited with diuers others moe.

As concerning the first conclusion that he sayd he wold not worship the Crosse &c. he confessed himselfe to haue erred and that the article was erroneous and submitted him'selfe. Also as touching the second article, that he sayde he would rather worship a king &c. he confessed himselfe to haue erred and the article to be erroneous and submitted himselfe, and so forth of all the rest.

Then next after this, vppon the 25. day of May in the yeare of our Lord aforesayd, in the Churchyard of the chap'pell of S. Iames within the towne of Linne The foresayd William, in presence of the foresayd Byshop and clergy and the people of the sayd Towne of Linne standing round about: publicly declared in English tongue, the foresayd conclusiōs to be erroneous and heresies, as was contayned in a certayne scrole. And after this, the 26. day of May in the yeare

abouesayd, in the Church of the Hospitall of S. Iohns in the towne of Linne: The sayd Syr William, before the sayd Byshop sitting as iudge, sware & tooke his othe vpon the holy Euangelistes that he would neuer after that time preach openly & publiquely the foresayd conclusions, nor would heare the confessions of anye of the subiectes of his Dioces of Norwiche, without the speciall licence of the sayd Bishop. &c, In y^e presence of Frier Iohn Smermen, M. Iohn Rikinghaie, Doctor of Diuinitie, W. Carlton Doctor of both lawes, and Thomas Bulton officer of the libertie of Linne aforesayd with dyuers others.

The tenour of the scrole and recantation.

IN primis, touching the first and second, where I sayd, [unspec 1] that I woulde adore rather a temporall Prince, and the liuely bodyes of the sayntes then the wooden cro•e, wher'upon [unspec 2] the Lord did hang, I do reuoke and recant the same as being therein deceaued.

To this I say, that the article is false and erroneous, [unspec 3] and by false information, I held it, the whiche I renounce and aske forgeuenes thereof, and say that it is a precious relique, and that I shall holde it while I liue, and that I sweare here.

I know wel that I erred wrōgfully, by false information: [unspec 4] for I wot well, that a deacon or a priest is more boūd to say his Martins and Houres, then to preach, for thereto he is bounden by right, wherfore I submit me &c.

Touching that article, I know right well that I erred [unspec 5] by false information. Wherfore I aske forgeuenes.

As concerning vowes, I say, that opinion is false and [unspec 6] erroneous, and by false information I held it, for a man is holden to hold his vowe &c.

To the 7. article I say, that I did it, by authoritie of [unspec 7] Priesthoode, where through I knowledge well that I haue gilt and trespassed, wherfore I submit me to god and to holy Church, and to you father, swearing that I shall neuer hold it more.

The 8. I say, that I held it by false and wronge information. [unspec 8] But now I know well that it is heresie, and that bread anone as the word of the sacrament is sayde, is no longer bread materiall, but that it is turned into verye Christes body and that I sweare here.

I say that this is false and erroneous. &c. [unspec 9]

I say as I sayd. &c. [unspec 10]

This being done,* the 22. day of February aforesayd in the yeare of our Lord 1400. in the chapter house of Sainct Paule in London aforesayd: The foresayd Archbishop of Caunterbury, in the conuocation of hys prelates & Clergy and such lyke men there beeing present, caused the fore recited proces of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly & publicly to Syr Wil. Sautre otherwise called Chatris. And afterward, he asked the sayd syr William, whether he playnely vnderstood and knew such proces & the contents within the same, and he sayd yea. And further

he demaunded of him, if he would or could say or obiekt any thing agaynst the proces, and he sayd no. And after that incontinent, the foresayd archbishop of Canterbury demaunded and obiekted against the said syr William as diuers others more did: That after he had before the Bysh. of Norwiche reuoked and abiured Iudicially diuers errors & heresies, that among other erroures, and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached he affirmed: That in the same sacrament of the aulter after the consecration made by y^e Priest as he taught, there remainyd materiall bread: which heresie amongst others as erroures also he abiured before the foresayd Bishop of Norwich.* Hereunto the foresayd William aunswered smiling or in mocking wise, saying, and denying that he knew of the premisses. Notwithstanding he publikey affirmed that he held and taught the foresayd thinges after the date of the sayd processe made by the sayd Bishop of Norwich, and that in the same councell also he [Page 517](#) held the same. Then finally, it was demaunded of the said sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresie, and further to proceede vnto his degradation, according to the canonicall sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he alledge any cause to the contrary.

Wheruepon, the foresayd Archb. of Cant. by the counsaile and consent of the whole council, and especially by the counsaile and assent of the reuerēd fathers and Bishops, as also, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other worshipfull Doctours and Clerkes then and there present in the council: Fully determined to proceede to the degradation, and actuall deposing of the sayde William Sautre, as refallen into heresy, and as incorrigible, according to the sentence definitiue put in wryting, the tenoure whereof is in wordes as foloweth.

*In the name of God Amen: Wee Thomas by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. Legate of the sea Apostolicall and Metropolitane of all England: doe finde and declare, that thou William Sawtrie, otherwise called Chatris Priest, by vs with the counsaile & assent of all and singular our felowe brethren and whole Clergy, by this our sentence diffinitive declared in wryting, hast bene for heresie conuict and condemned, and art (being againe fallen into heresy) to be deposed and degraded, by these presents.

And from that day being Wedensday, there was in the sayde councell prouinciall nothing further prosecuted, but was continued with all dependentes, till the Friday next insuing. Whych Friday approaching, M. Nicholas Rishton, by the commandement of the sayd Archb. of Canterb. being then busied as he said in the Parliament house: continued this council and conuocation with al incidents, dependents, and occasions, growing and annexed therunto, to the next day, to wit saterday next and immediatly after insuing. Upon Saterday being the 26. of the sayd moneth of February, the foresayde Archbishop of Canterbury fate in the Byshops seate of the foresayde Church of S. Paule in London, and solemnly apparelled in his Pontificall attire, sitting w^t hym as his assistents these reuerend fathers and Bishops, of London, Lyncolne, Harford, Exeter, Meneuensis & Roffensis Episcopi, aboue mentioned: commaunded and caused the sayd sir W. Sautry apparelled in priestly vestiments, to be brought & appeare before hym. That done, he declared and expounded in English to al the clergy and people there, in a great multitude assembled: that al processe was finished and ended against the said syr William Sautry. Whych thing finished, before the pronouncing of the sayd sentence of the Relapse against the sayd sir William as is premised, he often then and there recited & read. And for that he sawe the sayde William in that behalfe, nothyng abashed: He proceded to his degradation and actuall deposition in forme as foloweth.

IN nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti. Amen. We Thomas by Gods permission Archb. of Cant. Primate of al England, and Legate of the Apostolique sea: doe denounce thee William Sawtre otherwise called Chautris, Chapleine fained, in the habite and apparell of a Priest, as an heretick and one refallen into heresy by thys our sentēce definitiue, by counsaile, assent, and authoritye, to be condemned: And by conclusion of all our fellowe brethren, fellow byshops, Prelates, councell prouinciall, and of the whole clergy: do degrade and depriue thee of thy priestly order. And in signe of degradation and actuall depositiō from thy priestly dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment: we take from thee the patent and chalice, and doe depriue thee of all power & authority of celebrating masse: and also wee pull from thy backe, the Casule, and take from thee the vestiment, and depriue thee of all maner of Priestly honour.

Also, wee Thomas the aforesayde Archb. by authority, counsell, and assent, which vpon the foresayd William wee haue, being Deacon pretensed, in the habite and apparel of a Deacon, hauing the new Testament in thy hands, being an heretique and twise fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesayde: doe degrade and put thee from the order of a Deacon.* And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition we take frō thee the boke of the new testament, & the stole, and doe depriue thee of all authority in reading the gospel, and of all and all maner of dignity of a Deacon.

Item, we Thomas Archbish. aforesayd, by authoritie, counsell, and assent, which ouer thee the foresayde William wee haue, being a subdeacon pretensed: in the habite & vestiment of a subdeacon, an hereticke, and twise fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesayd: do degrade & put thee from the order of a subdeacon.* And in token of this thy degradation & actuall deposition, we take from thee the albe and maniple, and doe depriue thee of all and all manner of subdiaconall dignitie.

Also, wee Thomas, Archb. aforesayd, by counsaile, assent and authority whych wee haue ouer thee the foresayde William, an Accolite pretensed, wearing the habite of an Accolite, and heretike, twise fallen, by our sentence as is aforesaid condemned: do degrade and put from thee al order of an Accolite: And in signe and tokē of thys thy degradation, and actuall deposition,* we take from thee the candlesticke and taper, and also Vrceolum, and doe depriue thee of all and all maner dignity of an Accolite.

Also, we Thomas, Archb. aforesayd by assent, counsel, and authority whych vppon thee the foresayd William we haue,* an Exorcist pretensed, in the habite of an Exorcist or holy water clarke, being an hereticke, twise fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesayd condemned, we doe degrade & depose thee from the order of an Exorcist: and in token of thys thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from the booke of coniurations, and doe depriue thee of all and singular dignity of an Exorcist.

Also, we Thomas Archbish. aforesayd, by assent, counsaile, and authority, as is aboue sayd, doe degrade & depose thee the foresayde William, reader pretensed, clothed in the habit of a reader, an hereticke, twise fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesayd, condēned: from the order of a reader. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from thee the booke of the deuine sections (that* is the booke of the Church legende) and doe depriue thee of all and singular maner of dignity of such a reader.

Item, we Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury aforesayd, by authority, counsaile, and assent, the which we haue as is aforesaid,* do degrade and put thee foresayd William Sawtre, sexten pretended, in the habite of a sexten, and wearing a surplice, being an hereticke, twice fallen, by our sentence difinitive condemned, as aforesaid: from the order of a Sexten. And in token of thys thy degradation and actuall deposition,* for the causes aforesayd, we take from thee the keyes of the Church doore, and thy surplice, and doe depriue thee of all and singular maner of commodities of a doore keeper.

And also, by the authority of omnipotent God the father, the sonne, and holy ghost, and by our authority, counsaile, & assent of our whole councel prouinciall aboue written, we do degrade thee and depose thee being heere personally present before vs,* from orders, benefices, priuilegies and habite in the church, and for thy pertinacie incorrigible we doe disgrace thee, before the secular Court of the hygh Constable and marshal of England, here being personally present, and do depose thee from all and singular clerkely honours and dignities whatsoever, by these wrytings. Also in token of thy degradation and deposition,* here actually wee haue caused thy crowne and ecclesiastical tonsure in our presence to be rased away, & vtterly to be abolished, lyke vnto the forme of a seculare lay man: and here doe put vpon the head, of thee the foresayd William, the cap of a lay secular person: beseeching the court aforesaid, that they wil receaue fauourably the sayde William vnto them thus recommitted.

Thus William Sawtre the seruaunt of Christ, being vtterly thrust out of the Popes kingdome, and metamorphosed from a clerke to a secular lay man, was committed (as ye haue heard) vnto the secular power. Which so done, the Byshops yet not heerewith contented, cease not to call vpō the king, to cause him to be brought forth to speddy execution. Whereupon the king, ready inough and to much to gratify the cleargy, and to retaine their fauours, directeth out a terrible decree against the said William Sawtre, and sent it to the Maior and Sheriffes of London to be put in execution, the tenour wherof here vnder emueth.

The decree of the king against William Sawtre.

THE decree of our soueraigne Lord the king & his counsel in the Parliament,* against a certaine new sprong vp hereticke. To the Maior & Sheriffs of London. &c. Where as the reuerend father Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolicke sea, by the assent, consent, & counsell of other byshops, and his brethren Suffraganes, and also of all the whole Clergy within his prouince or dioces, gathered together in his prouincial counsel, the due order of the law being obserued in al poynts in this behalfe: hath pronounced and declared by his definitiue sentence, W. Sautre sometime chaplain, to be fallen again into his most dānable heresy, the which before time the sayde W. had abiured, thereupon to be a most manifest heretike, and therefore hath decreed, that he should [Page 518](#) be disgraded, & hath for the same cause really disgraded him frō al prerogatiue & priuilege of y^e clergie, decreing to leaue him vnto the secular power: and hath really so left him, according to y^e lawes & canonicall sanctions set forth in this behalfe,* and also that our holy mother the Church hath no further to do in the premisses. We therefore being zelous in religion, and reuerent louers of y^e catholike fayth, willing and minding to mainteine & defend the holy church, & the lawes & liberties of the same, to roote al such errours & heresies out of our kingdome of Englād, & with cōdigne punishmēt to correct & punish all heretiques or such as be cōuict: Prouided alwaies, that both according to the lawe of

God & mā, and y^e canonical institutions in this behalfe, accustomed, that such hereticks conuict & condēd in forme aforesaid, ought to be burned with fire. We command you as straightly as we may or can, firmly enioyning you, that you do cause the said Williā being in your custody, in some publike or opē place within y^e liberties of your citie aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published vnto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horroure of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Faile not in the execution hereof, vpon the perill that will fall thereupon, Teste rege, apud Westmonast. 26. Februar. an. regni sui.

[illustration]

The burning of William Sawtre.

*Thus it may appeare how kinges and princes haue bin blinded and abused by the false Prelates of the Church, in so much that they haue bene their slaues and butchers, to slay Christes poore innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for Princes, not to haue knowledge and vnderstanding themselues but to be led by other mens eies, & specially trusting to such guides, who through hipocrisie both deceiue them, & through crueltie deuour the people.

*As king Henry the fourth who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the vnmercifull burning of Christes saints, for standing against the Pope: so was this William Sawtre the true and faithfull martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliffes time, which I find to be burned in y^e raigne of the foresaid king, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1400.

After the martyrdome of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to keepe themselues more closely, for feare of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the Popes prelacy. Such was the raigne of this Prince, that to the godly he was euer terrible, in his actions immesurable, to few men hartely beloued, but Princes neuer lacke flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his raigne very quiet, but full of trouble, of bloud, and misery. Such was their desire of K. Richard againe, in the raigne of this king, that many yeares after he was rumored to be aliue (of them which desired belike that to be true, which they knew to be false) for the which,* diuers were executed. For the space of sixe or vij. yeares together, almost no yeare passed without some conspiracy against the king. Long it were here to recite the bloud of all such Nobles and other, which was spilt in the raigne of this king, as the Earle of * Kent, Earle of Salisbury, Earle of Huntington, named Iohn Holland. &c. as writeth the story of S. Albans. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of 4. Earles of Surrey, of Excester, of Salisbury, and Lord Spenser Earle of Gloucester.*Ex Lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.

And the next yeare following, Syr Ihon Clarendon knight, with two of his seruauntes, the Priour of Laund, with 8. friers, were hanged and quartered. And after these Henry Percy the younger, the Earle of Worcester, named Thomas Percy his vncle, Lord of Kinderton, and L. Richard de Uernoua. The Earle of Northumberland scarce escaped with his pardon.* an. 1403. In the which yeare, the prison in Cornhill called the tonne, was turned into the conduit, there now standing.

To let passe other moe hanged and quartered the same time, as Blount knight, & Benet Kely knight, and Thomas Winterset Esquier. Also the same yere was taken and executed sir Bernard Brokes knight, sir Iohn Shilley knight, Syr Iohn Mandelyn, and William Frierby. After all these L. Henry Earle of Northumberland, and L. Bardolfe conspiring the kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the 8. yere of this king Henry.

This ciuil rebellion of so many nobles & other against the king,* declared what grudging heartes the people then bare towarde this king Henry. Among whome I cannot pretermit heere also the Archb. of Yorke named Richarde Scrope, who with the L. Moubrey Marshal of England, gathered a great company in the North countrey,* against the foresaid king, to whom also was adioyned the helpe of L. Bardolfe, & Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland. Ex Chron. D. Albani. And to stirre vp the people more willingly to take their partes, they collected certaine Articles against the said king, to the number of 10. and fastned them vpon the doores of Churches and Monasteries, to be read of all men in English. Which articles if any be disposed to vnderstand, & for somuch as the same also containe a great part of the doings betweene king Henry & king Richard aforesayde,* I thought for the better opening of the matter heere vnder to inserte the same, in such forme as I founde them in the historie of Scala mundi expressed.

Articles set vp on Church doores against king Henry the fourth.

IN the name of God. Amen.* Before the Lorde Iesus Christ, iudge of the quicke and dead. &c. We A.B.C.D. &c. not long sithens became bounde by othe vppon the sacred Euangelicall booke, vnto our soueraigne Lorde Richarde late king of England and France, in the presente of many prelates, potentates, and nobilitie of the realme: that wee so long as we liued, should beare true allegiance and fidelity towards hym and his heires succeding hym in the kingdom by iust title, right, and line, accordyng to the statutes and custome of this realme of England: By vertue wherof, we are bound to foresee y^t no vices or hainous offences arise in the common weale, do take effect or wysshed ende, but that we ought to geue our selues and our goodes to w^tstand the same, without feare of sword or death whatsoever, vpon paine of periurie, which paine is euerlasting damnation. Wherefore, we seing & perceiuing diuers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceassing to be committed, by the children of the deuill and sathans soldiours against the supremacie of the Church of Rome, the libertie of the church of England, and the lawes of the realme, against y^e person of king Rich. and his heires against the prelates, noble men, religion, and comminaltie, and finally against the whole weale publike of y^e realme of England, to the great offence of the maiesty of almighty God, and to the prouocation of his iust wrath and vègeance towards the realme and people of the same. And fearing also the destruction both of the Church of Rome and England, & the ruine of our couñtry to be at hand, hauing before our eyes the iustice & the kingdom of God, calling alwaies on the name of Iesus, hauing an assured confidence in his clemency, mercy and power: haue here taken vnto vs certain articles subscribed in forme folowing, to be proponed, tried, and heard before the iust iudge Iesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honour, the deliuey of the church, the cleargy and comminalty, and to the utility & profite of the weale publick. But if (which God forbid) by force, feare of violence of wicked persons we shalbe cast in prison, or by violent death preuented, so as in this worlde we shall not be able to proue the saide articles as we would wish, then do we

apeale to the high celestiall iudge, that he may iudge & discerne the same, in the day of his supreme iudgement.

[Page 519*](#)1. First, we depose, say, except, and entend to proue against the Lord Henry Derby, sonne of the Lord Iohn of Gaunt late Duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England (himselfe pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto) and against his adherents, fautours, and complices: that euer they haue bene, are, and will be, traytors, inuaders, and destroyers of Gods Church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our soueraigne Lord Richard late King of England, his heires, his kingdom, and common wealth, as shall hereafter mani•estly appeare.

2. Secondarely we depose &c. against the said Lord Hēry, for that he had conceaued, deuted, & conspired certaine hainous crimes and traiterous offences against his sayd soueraigne Lord Richard his state and dignitie, as manifestly did appeare in the contention betwene the said Lord Henry, and y^r Lord Thomas Duke of Northfolke begon at Couentry, but not finished throughly. Afterwards he was sent in exile, by sentence of the said king Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord Iohn Duke of Lancaster, by the voice of diuers of the Lords temporall, & nobilitie of the realme, and also by his owne consent: there to remaine for a certaine time appointed vnto him by y^e said Lords, and withall he was bound by othe not to returne into Englād before he had obtained fauour & grace of the kyng. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that countrey appertaining to the crowne of England, but as then rebelling agaynst the same: the sayd Lord Henry in the meane time contrary to his oth and fidelitie, and long before the time limited vnto him was expired: with all his fautours and inuaders, secretly entred into the Realme, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his comming into the Realme in the absence of the king, was for none other cause, but that he might in humble sort with the loue and fauour of the king, and all the Lords spirituall and temporall, haue and enioy his lawfull inheritance descending vnto him of right after the death of his father: which thing as it pleased all men, so cried they: Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord: But how this blessing afterwards turned into cursing, shall appeare in that which followeth: and also ye shall vnderstand his horrible and wicked conspiracie against his soueraigne Lord king Richard,* and diuers other Lords as well spirituall as temporall, besides y^t his manifest periurie shal wel be known, and that he remaineth not only foresworne and periured, but also excommunicate, for that he conspired against his soueraigne Lord our king. Wherefore we pronounce him by these presents, as well periured as excommunicate.

3. Thirdly we depose &c. against the said Lord Henry, that he the said Lord Hēry, immediatly after his entry into England, by crasty and subtile policie, caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realme, that no tenths of the Clergy,* fiftenes of the people, sealing vp of cloth, diminution of wooll, impost of wine, nor other extortiōs or exactions whatsoever, should hereafter be required or exacted: hoping by this meanes to purchase vnto him y^e voice and fauour of the prelates spiritual, the Lords temporall, the Marchants, & comminaltie of the whole Realme. After this, he tooke by force the kings Castels and fortresses, spoiled and deuoured his goodes wheresoeuer he found it, crieng hauocke, hauocke. The kings maiestie subiects as well spirituall as temporal he spoiled and robbed, some he tooke captiue and imprisoned them, and some he slew & put to miserable death, wherof many were Bishops, prelates, Priests, and religious men. Whereby it is manifest, that the said Lord Henry is not only periured, in promising

& swearing that there should be hereafter no more exactiōs, paiments, or extortions within the realme, but also excommunicate for the violence and iniurie done to Prelats and Priests. Wherefore by these presents we pronounce him as afore, as well periured as excommunicate.

4. Fourthly we depose &c. against the said Lord Henry, that he hearing of the Kings returne from Ireland into Wales, * rose vp against his soueraigne Lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with al his power towards the Castle of Flint in Wales, where he tooke the king & held him prisoner, and so led him captiue as a traitor vnto Leicester: from whence he tooke his iourney towards London, misusing the king by the way both he and his, with many iniuries and opprobrious cōtumelies and scoffes. And in the end committed him to the Tower of London, and held a Parliament, the king being absent & in prison, wherein for feare of death he compelled the king to yeeld and resigne vnto him all his right & title of the kingdome and crowne of England. After which resignation being made, the said Lord Henry standing vp in the Parliament house, stoutly and proudly before them al; said & a...med: that the kingdome of Englād and crowne of the same with al therunto belonging, did pertaine vnto him at that present as of very right, and to none other: for that the said king Richard by his owne deede was depriued for euer of all the right, title, & interest that euer he had, hath, or may haue in the same. And thus at length by right and wrong, he exalted himselfe vnto y^r throne of the kingdome: since which time, our commō weale neuer florished nor prospered, but altogether hath bene void of vertue, for that the spiritualtie was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practises hath not bin mainteined, charitie is waxed cold, & couetousnes and miserie hath takē place, & finally mercy is taken away & vengeance supplieth the rcome. Whereby it doth appeare (as before is said) that y^r said Lord Hēry is not only periured & false by vsurping the kingdome and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, vniust imprisoning, and depriuing his soueraigne Lord the king of his roiall crowne and dignitie. Wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said Lord Henry to be excommunicate.

5. Fiftly we depose, &c. against the said Lord Henry, that he the same Lord Henry with the rest of his faouurers & complices, heaping mischief vpon mischief, haue cōmitted and brought to passe a most wicked and mischieuous fact, yea, such as hath not bene heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open iniurie against all humane nature, yet not cōtēt with this: they brought him to Poinfret Castle, and there imprisoned him, where xv. daies & nights they vexed him with continuall hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally berest him of life, with such a kind of death as neuer before that time was knownen in England, but by Gods prouidence it is come to light. * Who euer heard of such a deed, or who euer saw the like of him▪ Wherefore O England arise, stand vp, auenge the cause, the death, and iniurie of thy king and prince: which if thou do not, take this for certaintie, that the righteous God will destroy thee by strange inuasions and foreigne power, and auenge himselfe on thee for this so horrible an act. Whereby doth appeare, not only his periurie, but also his excommunication most execrable: so that as before we pronounce, the said Henry not only periured, but also excommunicate.

6. Sixtly we depose, &c. against the sayd Lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crowne and scepter of the kingdome, he caused forthwith to be apprehended diuers Lords spirituall, * Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arested, imprisoned, & bound, and against all order brought them before the secular iudges to be examined: not sparing the

Bishops whose bodies were annointed with sacred oyle, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanded them to be cōdemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithstanding the priuiledge of the Church, and holie orders, which he ought to haue reuerenced and worshipped if he had bin a true and lawfull king: for the first and chiefest othe in the coronation of a lawfull king is, to defend and keepe inuiolate the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deliuer anie Priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresie onely, and that after his degradation according to the order of the Church. Contrary vnto all this hath he done, so that it is manifest by this article as afore in the rest, that he is both periured and excommunicate.

7. Seuenthly we depose, &c. against the said Lord Henry that not onely he caused to be put to death the Lords spirituall and other Religious men, but also diuers of the Lords temporall and nobilitie of the Realme, and cheifly those that studied for the preseruatiō of the commonweale, not casing as yet, to cōtinue his mischeuous enterprise, if by Gods prouidēce it be not preuented & that with speed. Amongst all other of the Nobilitie, these first he put to death: the Earle of Salisbury, the Earle of Huntington, the Earle of Gloucester,* the Lord Roger Clarendon the kyngs brother, with diuers other knights and Esquiers: and afterwards, the Lord Thomas Percy Earle of Worcester, and the Lord Henry Percy sonne and heyre to the Earle of Northumberland, the which Lord Henry he not onely slew, but to the vttermost of his power againe and againe he caused hym to be slayne. For after that he was once put to death, and deliuered to the Lord of Furniuaile to be buried (who committed his body to holy sepulture, with as much honour as might be, commending his soule to almighty God, with the suffrages of the blessed masse & other praiers) the said Lord Henry most like a cruel beast still thirsting hys bloud, caused his body to be exhumate & brought forth againe, and to be reposed betwene two milstones [Page 520](#) in the towne of Shreusbury, there to be 〈◇〉 wyth armed men: And afterwards to be beheaded an• quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be caried vnto diuers cities of the kingdome. Wherefore for so detestable a fact neuer heard of in any age before, we pronounce him as in the former articles excommunicate.

8. Eightly, we depose, &c. agaynst y^c said Lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crowne, he willingly ratified, allowed, and approued a most wicked statute set forth & renued in y^r parliament holden at Winchester.* The which statute is directly against y^r Church of Rome, the power, & principalitie therof giuen by our Lord Iesus Christ and vnto blessed S. Peter & his successors Bishops of Rome: vnto whom belongeth by full authoritie the free disposing of all spirituall promotions as wel superior as inferiour: which wicked statute, is the cause of many mischiefes vid. of simonie, periurie, adultery, incest, misorder, & disobedience, for that many Bishops, Abbots, priors, and prelats (we will not say by vertue, but rather by error of this statute) haue bestowed y^r benefices vacant vpō yong men, rude and vnworthy persons, which haue compacted with them for the same, so that scarce no one prelate is found that hath not couenanted with the partie promoted for the halfe yearely, or at the least the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this meanes, the said statute is the destruction of the right of S. Peter, the Church of Rome, and England, the Cleargie and vniuersities, the mainteuance of wars, and the whole common wealth, &c.

9. Ninthly, we say and depose, &c. against the said Lord Henry, that after he had tyrannously taken vpon him the gouernement of the Realme: England neuer florished since, nor prospered, by

reason of his continuall exactions of money and oppressions, yearely of the cleargie and cōminaltie: neither is it knowen how this money so extorted is bestowed, when as neither his souldiours, nor his gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderfull toile and labour, neither yet the poore countrey people are satisfied for the victuall taken of them:*. And neuertheles, the miserable clergie, and more miserable comminalltie, are forced still to pay, by menaces and sharp threatnings. Notwithstanding he sware when he first vsurped the crowne, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergie nor l••tie. Wherefore, as afore, we pronounce him periured, &c.

10. In the tenth and last article, we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for our selues & all our assistents in the cause of the Church of Rome and England, and in the cause of king Richard his heires, the clergie, and comminalltie of the whole Realme: that neither our entention is, was, nor shall be, in word nor deed to offend any state, either of the prelates spirituall, Lords temporall, nor commons of the realme: but rather foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this Realme to approach, we haue here brought before you certeine articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectlie considered of the whole assembly, as well of the Lords spirituall as temporall, and the faithfull commons of England: beseeching you all in y^t bowels of Iesus Christ, the righteous iudge, and for the merits of our blessed Lady the mother of God, and of S. George our defender, vnder whose displayed banner we wish to liue and die, and vnder paine of damnation, that ye will be fauourable to vs and our causes which are three in number.* Wherof the first is, that we exalt vnto the kingdome the true & lawfull heire, and him to crowne in kinglie throne with the diademe of England. And secondly, that we renoke the weshmen, the Irishmen, and all other our enimies vnto perpetuall peace and amitie. Thirdly and finally, that we deliuer and make free our natieue countrey from al exactions, extortiōs, & vniust paiments: Beseeching our Lord Iesus Christ to graunt his blessing, the remission of their sinnes, & life euerlasting to all that assist vs to their power in this godly and meritorious worke: and vnto all those that are against vs, we threaten the curse of almighty God by the authority committed vnto vs by Christ and his holy Church, and by these presents we pronounce them excommunicate.

These Articles being seene and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to y^t archbishop. The Earle of Westmerland being then not far off,*, with Iohn the kings sonne (hearing of this) mustered his souldiours with all the power he was able to make, & bent toward the Archbishop: but seeing his part too weake to encounter with him, vseth practise of policie, where strength would not serue. And first comming to him vnder colour of frendship dissembled, laboureth to seeke out the causes of that great stirre: To whome the Archbyshop againe answering, no hurt to be entended thereby, but profit rather to the kyng and common wealth, and maintenance of publicke peace: but for so much as he stood in great scare, and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to doo:*. And withall shewed vnto him the contents of the Articles aforesaid, which when the Earle had read, setting a faire face vpon it, seemed highly to commend the purpose and doyngs of the Bishop: promising moreouer that he would helpe also forward in that quarell, to the vttermost of his power. And required vpon the same, a day to be set, when they with equall number of men, might meere together, in some place appointed to haue farther talke of the matter. The Archbishop easilie perswaded, was content, although much against the counsaile of the Earle Marshall, and came. Where the Articles being openly published and read, the Earle of Westmerland with his companie, pretended well to like vpon the same, and

to ioyne their assents together. Which done, he exhorted the Archbishop, that for so much as his garrison had bene now long in armour, and from home, he would therefore discharge the needeles multitude of his souldiers, and dismisse them home to their worke and busines,* and they would together drinke and ioyne hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they shaking hands together, the Archbishop sendeth away his souldyers in peace, not knowing himselfe to be circumvented, before he was immediately arested by the handes of the foresayde Earle of Westmerland,* and shortly after the king comming with his power to Yorke, was there beheaded the monday in Whi•sonweeke, and with him also Lord Thomas Moubray Marshall, with diuers other moreouer of y^e citie of Yorke, which had taken their parts. After whose slaughter, the King proceedeth farther to persecute the Earle of Northumberland, & Lord Thomas Bardolph. Who then did flie to Barwicke. From thence they reincoued to Wales. At length within two yeares after, fighting against the kyngs part, were slayne in the field. an. 1408. In the which yeare, diuers other also in the Northparts, for fauouring the foresaid Lords, were likewise condemned by the kyng and put to death. Among whome, the Abbot of Hales, for the like treason was hanged.

The kyng after the sheddyng of so much bloud, seeyng himselfe so hardly beloued of his subiects, thought to kepe in yet with the Clergy, & with the Bishop of Rome, seeking alwaies his chieffest stay at their hands. And therefore was compelled in all things, to serue their humour, as did appeare as well in condemning William Sawtre before, as also in other, which cōsequētly we haue now to intreat of. In the number of whom commeth now by y^e course of time to write of one Iohn Badby a Tailor and a lay man, who by the crueltie of Thomas Arundel Archbishop, and other Prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this kings reigne,* an. 1409. according as by their owne registers appeareth, & followeth by this narration to be seene.

Iohn Badby Artificer.

IN the yeare of our Lord.* 1409. on Sonday beyng the first day of March, in the afternoone: The excommunication following of one Iohn Badby Taylour, beyng a lay man, was made in a certaine house or haull within the precinct of the preaching friers in Londō, in an vtter cloister: vpon the crime of heresie & other articles, repugnant to the determinatiō of the erroneous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury and other his assistants, as y^e Archbishop of Yorke, of London, of Winchester, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Salisbury, of Bath, of Bangor, Et meneuensis Episcopi, and also Edmond Duke of Yorke, Thomas Bewford, the Chauncelour of England, Lord de Roos, the clerke of the rolles, & a great number of other Lords, both spirituall and temporall being then at the selfesame time present: Maister Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contemed in the instrument read by the foresayd M. Morgan, the tenour whereof followeth and in effect is such.

In the name of God, Amen: Be it manifest to all men by this present publike instrument,* that in the yeare after the incarnation of our Lord, according to y^e course and cōputation of the Church of England, otherwise in the yere 1409. in the second indictiō, in the third yeare of the Popedome of the most holy father in Christ & Lord, Lord Gregory xi. by y^e diuine permission Pope, the secōd day of Ianuary, in the Chappell Caruarie of S. Thomas Martyr, high vnto the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, being situate in the said Dioces, in the presence of me the publicke Notary, and of the witnesses vnder written: the foresayd [Page 521](#) Iohn Badby a lay man, of the sayd

Dioces of Worcester, appearing personally, before the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, Lord Thomas, by the grace of God Byshop of Worcester, sitting in y^e said Chappell for chiefe Iudge, was detected of and vpon the crime of heresie, being heretically taught, & openly maintayned by the foresayd Iohn Badby. That is,* that the Sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the Priest vpon the aulter, is not the true body of Christ, by the vertue of the wordes of the Sacrament. But that after the Sacramentall words spoken by the Priest to make the body of Christ: the materiall bread doth remaine vpon the aulter as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the Sacramental words spoken of the Priest. Which Iohn Badby, being examined and diligently demanded by the foresaid reuerēd father cōcerning the premisses, in the end did answere: that it was impossible that any Priest should make the body of Christ, & that he beleued firmly that no Priest could make the body of Chrst by such words Sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressly, that he would neuer while he liued beleue, that any Priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, vnlesse that first he saw manifestlie the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest vpon the aulter, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he sayd, that Iohn Rakier of Bristoll had so much power & authoritie to make the like body of Christ, as any priest had. Moreouer he said, that whē Christ sat at supper with his disciples: he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples: and he said expresly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words teaching & fortifieng the heresie in the same place, both greeuous, and also out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, sounding against the Catholike faith.

Upon which occasion, the same reuerend father admonished and requested the said Iohn Badby oftentimes, and very instantlie to charity: for so much as he would willinglie that he should haue forsaken such heresie and opinion, holden, taught, and mainteined by him, in such sort against the Sacrament, to renounce and vtterly abiure them, and to beleue other things which the holy mother the Church doth beleue. And he informed the said Iohn on that behalfe both gentlie, and also laudably. Yet the said Iohn Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantlie by the said reuerend father: said and answered expresselie, that he would neuer beleue otherwise then before he had said, taught, and answered. Wherevpon, the foresaid reuerend father Bishop of Worcester, seeing, vnderstanding, and perceiuing the foresaid Iohn Badby to maintaine and fortifie the said beresie, being stubborne,* and proceeding in the same stubbornnes: pronounced the said Iohn to be before this time conuicted of such an heresie, and that he hath bin, and is an hereticke, and in the end declared it in these words.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas Bishop of Worcester, do accuse thee Iohn Badby being a lay man of our Dioces,* of and vpon the crime of heresie before vs, sitting for cheese iudge, being oftentimes confessed and conuicted of and vpon that, that thou hast taught and openly affirmed, as hetherto thou doest teach, boldly affirme, and defend: that the Sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated vpon the aulter by the Priest, is not the true body of Christ: But after the Sacramental words to make the body of Christ by vertue of the said Sacramentall words pronounced, to haue bin in the crime of heresie: and we do pronounce thee, both to haue bene, and to be an heretike, and do declare it finallie by these writings.

These things were done accordingly as is aboue written and are recited in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day and place aforesaid, being present the same time, Iohn Malune Prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, Iohn Dudle Mōke,* and Iohn Haule the supprior of the said

Church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fekenham of the order of the preaching Friars, William Pomfret of the order of the Minorites, being professors and maisters in diuinitie, William Hailes, Gualter of London, Iohn Swippedew beeing publique Notaries,* and William Beuchampe and Thomas Gerbris being Knights, Richard wish of Tredington, Thomas Wilbe of Dentbury, Iohn Weston of Yewley, being parsons of Churches, and Thomas Baleinges, the maister of Saint Wolstone in Worcester, and also Henry Haggely, Iohn Penerell, Thomas Trogmorton and William Wasseborne Esquiers of the Dioces of Worcester and Norwich,* and many other worshipfull and honest men being witnesses and called specialllye to the things aforesaid.

And I Iohn Chew Clerke, of the Dioces of Bath and Welles, and by the authoritie apostolicall, publique Notarie of the said Bishop: haue in testimonie of the premisses, put my hand & seale to the examination, interrogatiō, monition, and aunswere of the same Iohn Badby, and to his obstinacie: & also to the proceedings of al and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him before the sayd bishop were handled & done, in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid, which with the forenamed witnesses was personally present: and y^e same, euen as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) caused them to be written and published, and into this publique forme haue compiled the same. I the foresayd Notary am also priuie, vnto the words and examinations interlined betweene seauen or eight lines of y^e beginning of this instrument, which lines I also the foresaide Notary doe approoue and make good.

And I Walter London Clerke, of the Dioces of Worcester, and by the authoritie Apostolicall, publique Notarie: to all and singular the foresaid things as afore by the foresaid Notary is recited, & in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid were handled and done, being with other the fore recited witnesses personally present: and to all & euery of the same (as I saw & heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required.) In testimony of the premisses, haue signed & subscribed according to y^e accustomed maner. Haec ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles, in the foresaid instrument contained, were by the Archbishop of Canterbury publicquely and vulgarly read and approued:* he publicquely cōfessed & affirmed, that he had both said and mainteined the same. And then the Archbishop to conuince the cōstant purpose of the said Iohn Badby, commanded the same articles againe to be read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the Religion that he was of. And furthermore, the said Archbyshop sayd and affirmed there openly to the same Iohn: that he would (if he would liue according to the doctrine of Christ) gage his soule for him at the iudgement day. And after that againe he caused those articles in the said instrument expressed, to be read by the foresaid Phillip Morgan, & the said Archbyshop himselfe expounded the same in English as before: wherunto Iohn Badby aunswered. As touching the first article concerning the body of Christ, he expresly sayd, that after y^e consecration at the aulter, there remaineth materiall bread, & the same bread which was before: notwithstāding (said he) it is a signe or sacrament of the liuing God.

Also; wen the second article was expounded vnto him, that it is impossible for anie Priest &c. To this article he answered and said, that it could not sinke into his minde that the words are to be taken as they litterallie lie, vnles he should denie the incarnation of Christ.

Also, being examined of the third Article concerning Iacke Raker, he said: That if Iacke Raker were a man of good liuing, and did loue and feare God, that he hath as much power so to do, as hath the Priest: and said further, that he hath heard it spoken of some doctors of diuinitie, that if he should receiue any such consecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, & were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he sayd that he would beleue the omnipotent God in trusitie,* and said moreouer that if euery hoste being consecrated at the aulter were the Lords body, that then there be 20000. gods in England. But he beleueed (he said) in one God omnipotent, which thing the foresaid Archb. of Cant. denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded. That Christ sitting with his Disciples at supper, &c. To this he answered and said that he would greatly maruell: that if anie man had a loafe of bread, and should breake the same and giue to euery man a mouthfull, that the same loafe should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and that all the said conclusions were often red in the vulgar tong: the foresaid Archb. demaunded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his opiniōs and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and Catholike faith? He answered, that according to that he had sayd before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answeere vnto. Then the Archb. oftentimes required the said Iohn in the bowels of Iesu Christ that he would forsake those opinions and conclusions,* and that hencefoorth he would cleane to the christian faith: which thing to do in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expresly denied and refused.

After all this, when the foresayd Archbishop of Cant. & the Bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keping the said Iohn Badby (vntill the wednesdaie next) might be committed: It was cōcluded, that he shold

[Page 522](#) be put in a certaine chamber or safe house within the Mansion of the Frier preachers,* and so he was: and then the Archbishop of Caunterbury sayd, that he himselfe would kepe the key therof, in the meane time. And when the foresayd wednesday was expired, being the 15. day of March, and that the foresayd Archbishop of Canterbury, with hys fellow brethren and Suffraganes were assembled in the Church of S. Paule in London:,* The Archbish. of Canterbury taking the Episcopall seate, called vnto him the Archbishop of Yorke, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, & the noble prince Edmond the Duke of Yorke, Rafe Earle of Westmerland, Thomas Beaufort Knight Lord Chancellour of England, and the Lord Beamond with other noble men as well spirituall as temporall, that stood and sate by, whome to name it would be long: Before whome the said Iohn Badby was called personallie to answeere vnto the Articles premised in the foresaid instrument. Who when he came personallie before them, the articles were read by the Officiall of the court of Cant. and by the Archb. (in the vulgare tong) expounded, publikely and expresly: and the same Articles, as he before had spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he liued, he would neuer retract the same. And furthermore he said specially to to be noted, that the Lord duke of Yorke personallie there present as is aforesaid, and euery man els for the time beeing: is of more estimation and reputation, then the Sacrament of the aulter, by the priest in due forme

consecrated. And whilst they were thus in his examination, the Archbishop considering and waying that he would in no wise be altered, and seing moreouer his countenance stout and hart confirmed, so that he began to persuade other as it appeared in the same: These things considered, the Archprelate whē he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, neither by exhortations, reasons, nor arguments, to bring the said Iohn Badbye from his constant truth to his Catholique faith (executing and doing the office of his great maister) proceeded to confirme and ratifie the former sentence giuen before by the Bishop of Worcester against the said Iohn Badby, pronouncing him for an open and publique hereticke. And thus shifting their hands of him, they deliuered him to the secular power: and desired the sayd temporall Lords, then and there present verie instantlie, that they would not put the same Iohn Badby to death for that his offence,* nor deliuer him to be punished or put to death, in y^r presence of all the Lordsabone recited.

These things thus done and concluded by the Bishops in the forenoone: on the afternoone, the Kings writte was not far behind. By the force wherof, I. Badby still perseuering in his constancie vnto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an emptie barrell, was bound with iron chaines fastened to a stake, hauing drie wood put about him.

And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tonne (for as yet Cherillus Bull was not in vre among the bishops) it happened that the Prince the kings eldest sonne, was there present. Who shewing some part of the good Samaritane, began to endeouour and assay how to saue the life of him, whome the hypocriticall Leuites and Phariseis sought to put to death. He admonished and counsailed him, that hauing respect vnto himselfe, he should spedelie withdraw himselfe out of these dangerous Laberinth of opinions,* adding oftentimes threatnings, the which might haue daunted anie mans stomacke. Also Courtney at that time Chancellor of Oxford, preached vnto him, and enformed him of the faith of holie Church.

In this meane season, the Prior of S. Bartlemewes in Smithfield, brought with all solemnitie the Sacrament of Gods body,* with twelue torches borne before, and so shewed the Sacrament to the poore man being at the stake. And then they demanded of him how he beleued in it, he answering: that he knew well it was halowed bread, and not gods body. And then was the tunne put ouer him, and fire put vnto him. And when he felt fire, he cried, mercie (calling belike vpon the Lord) and so the Prince immediatelie commanded to take awaie the tunne, and quench the fire. The Prince his commandement being done, asked him if he would forsake heresie to take him to the faith of holie Church: which thing if he would doo, he should haue goods enough, promising also vnto him a yearelie stipend out of the kings treasurie, so much as should suffice his contentation.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the princes faire words, as also contemning all mens deuises: refused the offer of worldly promises, no doubt, but being more vehemently inflamed with y^r spirit of God then with anie earthly desire.* Wherfore, whē as yet he continued vnmoueable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the pipe or tunne, and that he should not afterward looke for any grace or fauour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, euē so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but as a valiant champion of Christ, he perseuered inuincible to y^e end. Not without a great and most cruell

battayle, but with much more greater triumph of victorie: the spirit of Christ hauing alwaies the vpper hand in his members, maugre the furie,

[illustration]

The description of the horrible burning of Iohn Badby, and how he was vsed at hys death.

[Page 523](#) rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifestation of which torment, wee haue here set forth the picture of his burning, in such maner as it was done.

This godly Martyr Iohn Badby hauing thus consummate his testimony and martyrdome in fire, the persecuting Bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselues as yet eyther not strong inough, or els not sharpe enough agaynst tht poore innocent flock of Christ: to make all thinges sure and substantiall on theyr side,* in such sorte, as this doctrine of the Gospell nowe springing should be suppressed for euer: layd theyr conspiring heads together, & hauing now a king for theyr own purpose, ready to serue theyr turn in all poynts (during the time of the same Parliamēt aboue recited yet cōtinuing) the foresayd bishops and clergy of the realme, exhibited a Bul vnto the kings maiestie: subtilly declaring, what quietnes hath ben mayntayned within this realme by his most noble progenitours, who alwayes defended the auncient rites and customes of the Church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honor of God and the realme: and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietnes was now risen by diuers (as they termed them) wicked and peruerse men teachinge and preachinge openlye and priuilye,* acertayne new, wicked and hereticall kinde of doctrine, contrary to the Catholicke fayth and determination of holye Church: whervpon y^e king alwayes oppressed with blynd ignoraunce by the crafty meanes and subtile pretences of the clergie, graunted in the sayd Parliament (by consent of the nobilitie assembled) a statute to be obserued called Ex officio as followeth.

The Statute Ex officio.

*That is to say, that no man within this Realme or other the kinges maiesties dominions, presume or take vpon him to preach priuily or apertly, without speciall licence first obteyned of the ordinary of the same place (Curates in theyr owne parishe Churches, and persons heretofore priuiledged, and others admitted by the Canon law, onely excepted) Nor that any hereafter do preach mayntayne, teach, informe openly or in secret, or make or write any booke contrary to the catholique fayth, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter, make anye conuenticles or assemblies, or keepe and exercise anye maner of schooles touching this sect, wicked doctrin and opinion. And further that no man hereafter shall by any meanes, fauour anye such preacher, any such maker of vnlawfull assemblies, or any such booke maker or writer, and finally any such teacher, informer, or stirrer vp of the people. And that all and singuler persons hauing anye the sayd bookes, writings, or schedules contayning the sayd wicked doctrines and opinions, shall within forty dayes after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliuer or cause to be deliuered all and singuler the sayd bookes and writings, vnto the ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen anye person or persons of what kinde, state, or condition soeuer he or they be, to doe or attempt anye manner of thing contrarie to this present proclamation & statute, or not to deliuer the same books in forme aforesayd: That then the ordinary of the same place in his owne diocesse by authoritie of the sayd proclamation and

statute shall cause to be arested and detained vnder safe custody, the sayd person or persōs in this case diffamed, and evidently suspected or any of them, vntill he or they so offending haue by order of lawe purged him or themselues as touching the articles layd to hys or theyr charge in this behalfe: *or vntill he or they haue denyed and recanted (according to the lawes ecclesiasticall) the sayd wicked sect, preachinges, teachinges: and hereticall and erroneous opinions And that the sayd ordinary by himselfe or his Commissaries proceede openly and iudicially to all the effect of law agaynst the sayd persons so arested and remayning vnder safe custody, & that he end and determine the matter within three monethes after the sayd arest, (all delays and excuses set apart) according to the order and custom of the Canon law. And if any person, in any cause aboue mentioned, shalbe lawfully conuicted before the ordinary of the diocesse or hys Comissaries: that then the sayd Ordinary, may lawfully cause the sayd person so conuicted (according to the maner and quallitie of hys fact) to be layd in any of his owne prisons, and there to be kept so long as to hys discretion shall be thought expedient.

And further the sayd Ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the Canon law, the party offending ought to be deliuered to the seculer power) shall charge the sayd person wyth such a fine of mony to be payd vnto the kinges maiestye, as he shall thinke competent for the maner and quallitie of his offence, And the sayd diocesan shalbe bound to geue notice of the sayd fine, into the kinges maiesties Eschequer, by hys letters patent vnder his seale: to the intent that the sayd fine may be leuiod to the kinges maiesties vse of the goodes of the person so conuict.

And further if any person within this realme and other the the kinges maiesties dominion, shalbe conuicted before the Ordinary of the place, or hys Comissaryes, of the sayd wicked preachinges, doctrines, opinions schooles, and hereticall and erroneous informations or any of them: and will refuse to abiure and recant the sayd wicked sect, preachings teachings, opinions, schols and informations: Or if after hys abiuration once made, the relapse be pronounced agaynst hym by the diocesan of the place, or hys Commissaryes (for so by the Canon law he ought to be lefte to the secular power, vpon credite geuen to the ordinary or hys Commissaries) That then, the Sheriffe of the same Countie, the Mayor, Sheriffes, or Sheriffe, or the Mayor or Baliffes of the same Cittie, village or Borough of the same County, and neerest inhabiting to the sayd Ordinary or hys sayd Commissaryes: shall personally be present, as oft as they shalbe required, to conferre with the sayd Ordinary or his commissaries in geuing sentence against the sayd persons offending or any of them. *And after the sayd sentence so pronounced, shall take vnto them the sayd persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people: To the intent that this kinde of punishment may be a terror vnto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or the authours and fauourers thereof be no more mayntayned within this Realme and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian religion, and decrees of holy Church. In which all and singuler the premisses, concerning the statute aforesayd: Let the Sheriffes, Mayors, and Bayliffes of the sayd Counties, Cities: Villages, and Boroughes, be attendant, ayding, and fauoring, the sayd Ordinaryes and theyr Commissaries.

By this bloody statute so seuerely and sharply enacted agaynst these simple men, here hast thou (gentle Reader a little to stay with thy selfe: and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, howe it hath bene set and bent euer from the beginning, by all might, counsayle, and wayes possible, to striue agaynst the wayes of God, and to ouerthrow that which he will haue

set vp. And although the world may see by infinite storyes and examples, that it is but in vaine to striue against him: yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignitie) that it will not cease still to be like it selfe.

The like law and statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinus was attempted,* as before appeareth, pag. 83. & for the more strength were writtē also in tables of brasse, to the entent that the name of Christ should vtterly be extincted for euer. And yet, the name of Christ remayneth, where that brasen lawe remayned not three yeres. The which law writtē thē in brasse, although it differ in maner & form, from this our statute Ex officio, yet to the same ende & cruelty, to spill the blood of saintes, there is no difference betweene the one and the other. Neither is there anye diuersitie touching the first originall doer and worker of thē both. For the same Sathan, which then wrought his vttermost agaynst Christ, before he was bound vp: the same also now after his loosing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then
〈◇〉 outward violence as an open enemy, he did what he could Now by a more couert way, vnder the title of the Church he unpugneth the Church of Christ, vsing a more subtile way to deceaue, vnder gay pretēsed titles: but no lesse pernicious in the end, wherto be shouteth, as well appeareth by this bloody statute Ex officio, the sequell wherof cost afterward, many a Christen mans life. As in processe of story remayneth more hereafter (Christ willing) to be declared.

Furthermore for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesayd, concurrerth also an other constitution made much about the same tyme by the Archb. of Canterb. Thomas Arundell. So that no industrie nor pollicy of man here did lack to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops partes, who left no meanes vnattempted, how to subuert the right wayes of the Lord.

First, in most dilligent and exquisite execution of the kinges statute set forth: the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that maruell it is to consider, all other laws of kinges (commonly,) be they neuer so good) to be so coldly kept, and this onely among all the rest so neerely followed. But herein is to be scene the dilligence of the romishe Prelates, which neuer let any thing to fal, that maketh for the dignity of their estate.

Secondly, beside theyr vigilant care, in seeing y^r kinges statute to be executed: No lesse industrious also were they in adding thereunto mo^r constitutions of theyr owne, as from time to time appeareth as wel by other Archbishops hereafter, and by Pope Martine, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundell the Archb.

But before we enter to the relation of these foresayd [Page 524](#) cōstitutious of y^t clergy mē, here cōmeth in more to be said and noted touching y^r foresayd Statute ex Officio to proue the same not onely to be cruell and impious but also to be of it selfe of no force and validitie for the burning of anye person for cause of Religion, for the disprofe of whiche statute we haue sufficient authoritie remayning as yet in the parliament Rolles to be seene in her maiesties Courte of Recordes: which here were to be debated at large but that vpon speciall occasiō we haue differed the amp^e discourse therof to the cruell persecution of the Lord Cobhame hereafter ensuing as may appeare in the defence of the sayd lord Cobham agaynst Nicholas Happeffield vnder the title and name of Alanus Copus And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let vs now returne to Thomas Arundel, and his bloody constitutions

aboue mentioned. The stile and tenour wherof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appeare to all men I thought hereunder to adioyne, in wordes as followeth.

*** The constitution of Thomas Arundell, agaynst the followers of Gods truth.**

*Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all Englande, and Legate of the see Apostolicke: To all and singuler our reuerend brethren fellow Bishops, and our Suffraganes. And to Abbots, Priours, Deanes of Cathedrall Churches, Archdeacons, Prouostes and Canons: also to all persons, vicares, chaplaynes, & Clerkes in Parish Churches, and to all lay mē whome and where so euer, dwelling win our prouince of Canterbury, greeting: & grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother Church. It is a manifest & playne case: that he doth wrong and iniury to the most reuerend councell, who so reuolteth from the thinges, being in the sayd Councell once discussed and decided. And whosoeuer dare presume to dispute of the supreme or principall iudgment here in earth, in so doing incurreth the payne of sacrilege, according to the authoritie of ciuill wisdom and manifest tradition of humayne law. Much more then they who trusting to theyr own wittes, are so bold to violate and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deede to contemne the preceptes of lawes and Canons, rightly made and proceeding from the kaybearer and porter of eternall life and death: * bearing the rowme and person, not of pure man, but of true God here in earth: which also haue bene abserued hitherto, and of y^r holy fathers our predecessoures, vnto the glorious effusion of theyr blood, & voluntary sprinkling out of theyr braynes: Are worthy of greater punishmēt, deseruing quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the Church militent. For such ought to consider, what is in the old testament written: Moses and Aaron among hys Priestes, that is, were chiefe heads amongst them. And in the new Testament among the Apostles there was a certayne difference: And though they were all Apostles yet was it graunted of the Lord to Peter, that he should beare preeminence aboue the other Apostles: And also the Apostles themselues woulde the same, that he shoulde be the chiefetayn ouer all the rest. And being called Cephas, that is, head: shold be as Prince ouer the Apostles. Unto whome it was sayd: Thou beyng once conuerted, confirme thy brethren: as though he wold say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if anye of them chaunce to erre and stray out of the way of fayth, of iust liuing, or right conuersation: Doe thou confirme and reduce him in the right way againe. Which thing no doubt the Lord would neuer haue sayd vnto him, if he had not so minded, * y^t the rest should be obedient vnto him. And yet al this notwithstanding, we know and dayly proue, that we are sory to speake, howe the olde Sophister, the enemy of mankinde, (foreseeing and fearing left y^t sound doctrine of the church determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers: should withstand his malices, if it might keep the people of god in vnitie of faith vnder one head of y^r church) doth therfore endeouour by al meanes possible, to extirp the sayd doctrine, feyning vices to be vertues. And so vnder false pretences of veritie dissimuled, soweth discorde in catholike people, * to the intent, y^t some goyng one way, some an other: He in the meane time may gather to himselfe a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the vniuersall mother holy church. In the which Satan transforming hymselfe into an Angell of light, bearing a lying and deceitfull ballaunce in hys hād, pretendeth great righteousnes, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holye mother church, and refusing the traditions of the same determined and appoynted by holy fathers: perswading mē (by fayned forgeries) the same to be nought: and so inducing other new kindes of

doctrine, leading to more goodnes, as he by his lying perswasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodnes but rather that he may sow schismes, wherby diuers opinions & contrary to themselues being raysed in y^t Church fayth thereby may be diminished, and also the reuerend holy misteries through the same contention of words may be prophaned with Paganes, Iewes, and other infidels, and wicked miscreantes.* And so that figure in the Apos. 6. is well verified, speaking of him that sate on the blacke horse, bearing a payre of balaunce in hys hand, by y^t which heretiques are vnderstand. Who at the first appearaunce lyke to weightes or ballance, make as though they would set forth right and iust thinges, to allure the hartes of the hearers. But afterward, appeareth the blacke horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they vnder a diuers shew and colour of a iust ballance,* with the tayle of a blacke horse sprinkling abroad heresies and erroures, do strike. And beyng poysoned themselues, vnder colour of good, rayse vp infinite slaunders, and by certayn persons fitte to doe mischief, do publish abroad as it were the sugred tast of hony mixt with poyson, therby the sooner to be taken: working and causing through their slight and subtilties, that error shoulde be taken for veritye, wickednes for holines, and for the true will of Christ. Yea and moreouer the foresayd persons thus picked out, do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seede, before the seede discreetely be seperate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the Canons, prouided for the same purpose agaynst suche pestilent sowers, do preferre sacrifice Diabolicall (so to terme it) before obedience be geuen to the holy Church militant

We therfore considering and weying,* that error which is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed, and hee that openeth hys bosome to wyde, whiche resisteth not the viper thinking there to thrust out her venome: And willing moreouer to shake off the dust from our feete, and to see to the honor of our holy mother Church, whereby one vniforme holye doctrine may be sowne and planted in the church of God, (namely in thys our prouince of Caunterbury) so much as is vs doth lye, to the encrease of fayth and seruice of God, first rooting the euill weedes and offenditles which by the meanes of peruerse preaching, mad doctrine, haue sprong vp hitherto, and are lyke more hereafter to grow: purposing by some conuenient way with all dilligence possible to withstand them in tyme, and to prouide for the perill of soules, whiche we see to ryse vnder pretence of the premisses: also to remoue al such obstacles, by which the sayd our purpose may be stopped, by the aduise and assent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being present in this our conuocation of the Clergie, as also of the procuratours of them that be absent: and at the instaunt petition of the procurators of the whole Clergie within this our prouince of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto punishment and penalties condigne as be here vnder written, we will and command ordayne and decree.

That no maner of person seculer or regular,* being authorised to preach by the lawes now prescribed, or licenced by special priuiledge: shal take vpon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any meanes preach vnto the clergy or Laitie, either within the Church or without, in English, except he first present himselfe, and be examined of the Ordinary of the place where he preacheth. And so be ing found a fitte person, as well in maners as knowledge he shall be sent by the sayd Ordinary, to some one Church or more as shalbe thought expedient by the sayd Ordinary according to the quallitie of the person. Nor any person aforesayd shall presume to preach, except first he geue faythfull signification in due forme of his sending and authoritie, that

is: That he that is authorised, doe come in forme appoynted him in that behalfe: and those that affirme they come by speciall priuiledge, do shew their priuiledge vnto the Parson or Vicare of the place where they preach. And those that pretend themselues to be sent by the ordinary of the place, shall likewise shew the Ordinaries letters made vnto hym for that purpose, vnder hys great seale. Let vs alwayes vnderstand, the Curate (hauing the perpetuities) to be sent of right vnto the people of his owne cure.* But if any person aforesayd, shalbe bidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other superiour to preach, by reason of his errors and heresies whiche before peradventure he hath preached and taught: that then and from thenceforth, he abstayne from preaching within our prouince: vntill he haue purged hymselfe, & be lawfully admitted agayne to preach by the iust arbitrement of him that suspended and forbad him. And shall alwaies after that, cary with hym to al places wheresoeuer he shall preach, the letters testimoniall of him that restored him.

[Page 525](#) Moreouer, the Parish Priestes or Vicares temporall, not hauing perpetuities, nor being sent in forme aforesayd shall simply preach in y^t Churches where they haue charge onely those thinges whiche are expressly containyd in the prouinciall constitution set forth by Iohn our predecessour of good memory, to helpe y^t ignorance of the priests, which beginneth: Ignorantia Sacerdotum.* Which book of constitutions, we would should be had in euery parish Church in our prouince of Caunterbury, within three monthes next after the publication of these presentes, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by y^t priestes themselues yearely, and at the tunes appoynted. And least thys wholesome statute might be thought hurtfull of some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficultie: we therfore will & ordayne, that y^t examinations of the persōs aforesayd, and the making of theyr letters by the Ordinary be done gratis and freely without any exaction of money at all, by those to whome it shall appertayne. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded vpon the old lawe, after the publication of the same: he shall incurre the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto: whose absolution we specially reserue by tenoure of these presentes, to vs and our successours. But if anye such Preacher despising this wholsome Statute, and not weying the sentence of greater excommunication doe the secōd time take vpon hym to preach: saying and alledging, and stoutly affirming that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid, cannot be appoynted by the Church in the persons of the Prelates of the same: That then, the Superiours of the place, doe worthely rebuke him, and forbid him from the Communion of all faythfull Christians.

And that the sayde person hereupon lawfully conuicted (except he recant and abiure after the maner of y^t Church) be pronounced an hereticke by the Ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an hereticke and schismaticke, and that he incurre (ipso facto) the penalties of heresie and schismacie, expressed in the law: And chiefly that his goodes be adiudged confiscate by the law, and apprehended and kept by them, to whome it shal appertayne. And that hys fauours, receiuers, & defenders being conuicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not of within one month, being lawfully warned therof by theyr superiours.

*Furthermore, no clergy man, or parochians of any parish or place within our prouince of Cant. shall admit any man to preach w^tin their Churches, churchyardes or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knoweledge had of his authoritie, priuiledge, or sending thither,

according to the order aforesayd: Otherwise the Churche, churchyarde, or what place whatsoever, in whiche it was so preached, shal ipso facto, receiue y^e Ecclesiasticall interdict & so shall remayne interdicted, vntill they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, haue reformed themselues, and obtayned y^e place so interdicted, to be released in due forme of law, either frō the Ordinary of y^e place, or his superiour.

*Moreouer, like as a good housholder casteth wheat into the ground (well ordered for that purpose) therby to get the more encrease: euen so we wil and commaund, that the preacher of Gods word, * comming in form aforesayd, preaching eyther vnto the Clergy or Laity, according to hys matter proponed: shalbe of good behauour, sowing such seed as shalbe cōuenient for his auditory. And chiefly preaching to the Clergie, he shall touche the vices commonly vsed amongst them, and to the Laitie he shall declare the vices commonly vsed among them, and not otherwise: But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the ordenary of that place, according to the quallitie of that offence.

Item, for as much as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole: * we do decree and ordayn, y^e no preacher aforesayd, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacramēt of the aulter, matrimony, confession of sinnes, or any other sacrament of the Church, or article of the fayth, then that already is discussed by the holy mother Churche, nor shall bring anye thing in doubt y^e is determined by the church: * nor shal to his knowledg^e priuily or apertly pronounce blasphemous wordes concerning the same, nor shall teach, preach, or obserue any sect, or kinde of heresie whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the Church. He that shall wittingly & obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presentes, shall incur the sentence of excommunication ipso facto: From the which (except in poynt of death) he shal not be absolved, vntill he hath reformed himselfe by abiuration of his heresie, at the discretion of the Ordinary, in who^e territory he so offeded, and hath receiued wholsome penitence for his offences. But if the second tyme he shall so offend, being lawfully conuicted, he shalbe pronounced an hereticke, & his goods confiscate and apprehended, and kept by them to whome it shall appertayne. The penance before mentioned, shalbe after this manner: If anye man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in p^r decrees, decretals, or our constitutions prouinciall, doe openly or priuily teach or preach any kinde of heresie or secte he shall in the parish Church of the same place, where he so preached, vpon one sonday, or other solemne day, or more, at the discretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or lesse, expressly reuoke that he so preached, taught or affirmed, euen at the time of the solemnitic of the masse, whē the people are most assembled, and there shall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined by the church: and further shalbe punished after the quallitie of hys offence, as shalbe thought expedient to the discretion of the Ordinary.

Item, * for as much as a new vessell being long vsed, fauoreth after the head, we decree and ordayn, that no scholemaisters and teachers what soeuer, that instruct childrē in grammer, * or others whō so euer, in primitiue sciences shal in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning y^e catholicke rayth, the sacrament of the aulter, or other Sacramentes of the Church, contrary to the determinations of y^e church. Nor shall suffer theyr schollers to expound the holy Scriptures, (except the text as hath bene vsed of auncient time,) nor shal permit them to dispute openly or priuily concerning the catholicke fayth, or Sacramentes of the Churche. Contrariwise, the

offender herein shalbe greuously punished by the Ordinary of the place, as a fauourer o• errors and schismes.

Item,* for that a new way doth more frequently leade a stray, then an old way: we will and commaunde that no booke or treatise made by Iohn Wickliffe, or other whom soeuer, about that time or sithence, or hereafter to be made: be from henceforth read in schooles, halles, hospitalles, or other places whatsoever, within our prouince of Canterbury aforesayd,* except the same be first examined by the vniuersitie of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the last by twelue persons, whom the sayd vniuersities or one of the shal appoynt to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our predecessours: and the same being examined as aforesayd, to be expresly approued and allowed by vs or our successours, and in the name and authoritie of the vniuersitie, to be deliuered vnto the Stationers to be copyed out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable price, the originall therof alwaies after, to remayn in some chest of y^t vniuersitie. But if any man shall read any such kynd of booke in schooles or otherwise, as aforesayd: he shalbe punished as a sower offchisme, and a fauourer of heresie, as the qualitie or the fault shall require.

Item,* it is a daungerous thinge (as witnesseth blessed S. Hierome) to translate the text of the holy scripture out of one tongue into an other: for in the translation the same sense is not alwayes easily kept, as the same S. Ierome confesseth,* that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred. We therefore decree and ordayne, that no man hereafter by his owne authoritie, translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of a booke, libell, or treatise, and if no man read anye suche booke libell or treatise, nowe lately set foorth in the time of Iohn Wickliffe, or sithence, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, priuily, or apertly: vpon paine of greater excommunication, vntill the said translation be allowed by the Ordinary of the place, or (if the case so require) by the Councell prouinciall: He that shall do contrary to this shal likewise be punished as a fauourer of error & heresie.

Item,* for that almighty God cannot be expressed with any Philosophicall termes, or otherwise inuented of man: And S. Augustine faith, That he hath oftentimes reuoked such conclusions as hath bene most true, because they haue bene offensiue to the eares of the religious: we doe ordeine and specially forbid, that no maner o• person, of what state degree,* or condition, so euer he be, doe allege or propone any conclusions or propositions in y^t catholicke fayth, or repugnant to good manners, (except necessary doctrine pertayning to theyr facultie of teaching or disputing in theyr schooles or otherwise) although they defend the same with neuer so curious termes and wordes. For as sayth blessed S. Hugh of the Sacramentes, that whiche oftentimes is well spoken, is not well vnderstood. If any man therefore after the publication of these presents, shalbe conuict wittingly to haue proponed such conclusions or propositions, except (being monished) he reforme himselfe in one month by vertue of this present constitution: He shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto, and shalbe openly pronounced an excommunicate, vntill he hath confessed [Page 526](#) his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the sayd conclusion or proposition in one church or more, as shalbe thought ex^pedient to the Ordinary.

Item, no manner of person shall presume to dispute vpon y^t articles determined by y^t church,* as is cōtayned in the decrees, decretals, our constitutions prouinciall, or in the general Councils. But onely to seek out the true meaning therof, & that expressly, whether it be openly or in

secret: * nor none shal cal in doubt the authoritie of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authoritie of him that made thē, nor teach any thing contrary to y^t determination therof: And chiefly concerning the adoration of the holy crosse the worshipping of Images, of sayntes, going on pilgrimage to certayne places, or to the reliques of saintes, or agaynst y^t othes in cases accustomed to be geuen in both cōmon places, that is to say, spirituall & temporall: But of al it shalbe commonly taught and preached, that the crosse & Image of the Crucifixe, and other Images of Saynts in the honour of them whom they present, * are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knees, offring of frankincense, kissinges, oblations, lighting of candel, and pilgrimages, * and with all other kind of ceremonyes and manners that hath bene vsed in the time of our predecessoures: And that geuing of othes in cases expressed in the law, and vsed of all men to whome it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done vpon the booke of the Gospell of Christ. Contrarye vnto this who so euer doth preache, teache, or obstinately affirme (except he recant in manner and forme aforesayd) shall forthwith incurre the penaltie of heresie, and shalbe pronounced an heretique, in all effect of law.

*Item, we doe decree and ordaine, that no chaplayne be admitted to celebrate in any dioces within our prouince of Caunterbury, where he was not borne, or not receaued orders: * except hee bring with him hys letters of orders, & letters commendatory from his ordinary, and also from other Bishops in whose dioces of a long lyme he hath ben conuersaunt, whereby his conuersation and maners may appeare: So that it may be knowne, whether he hath bene detained with any new opiniōs touching y^t catholick faith or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shalbe sharply punished at the discretion of the Ordinary.

Finally, because those things which newly and vnaccustomably excepth vp, * standeth need of new and speedy helpe: and where more daunger is, there ought to be more mary circumspection and stronger resistance, & and not •out good cause: y^t lesse noble ought discretly to be cut away that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished Considering therefore, and in lamentable wise shewing vnto you, how the auncient Uniuersitie of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extēd forth her fruitful brāches to the honour of God, * the great perfection, and defēce of the Church: now partly being become wilde, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being vndiscreetly eaten of auncient fathers that thought themselues skilfull in the law of God: hath set on edge y^t teeth of their childrē: and our prouince is infected with diuers and vnfruitfull doctrines, and defiled with a new & damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproofe and offence of the sayd Uniuersitie being known in forren countryes: & to the great irkesomnes of the studentes there, and to the great damage and losse of the Church of England, which in times past by her vertue as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now like to runne in ruine not to be recouered. At the supplication therfore of y^t whole clergie of our prouince of Cāterbury: and by the consent and assent of all our brethren & suffragans: and other the prelates in this conuocation assembled, and the proctors of them that are absent: least the riuer being clensed: the fountayne should remayne corrupt and so the water comming from thence should not be pure entending most holesomly to prouide for the honour and vtilitie of our holy mother the Church and the vniuersitie moresayd. We do ordeine and decree: that euery warden, Prouost: or maister of euery College, or principall of euery hall w^hin the vniuersitie aforesayd: shall once euery moneth at y^t least, diligently enquire in the sayd College, hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whether anye scholler or inhabitant in such colledge, or hall. &c. haue holdē, alleaged,

or defended,* or by any meanes proponed, any conclusion proposition or opinion concerning the catholick faith or sounding contrary to good maners, or contrary to the determination of the Church, otherwise then appertayneth to necessary doctrine. And if hee shall finde anye suspected or diffamed herein, he shall according to his office admonish him to desiste. And if after such monition geuen, the sayde partye offende agayne in the same or suche like, hee shall incurre ipso facto (besides the penalties aforesayd) the sentence of greater excommunication. And neuerthelesse, if it be a scholier that so offendeth the second tyme, whatsoever he shall afterward doe in the sayd vniuersitie, shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctour, a maister, or bacheller, he shall sorth with be suspended frō euery schollers act, and in both cases shal lose the right that he hath in the said College or hall, wherof he is, Ipso facto: and by the warde: Prouost, Maister, principall, or other to whō it appertayneth, he shalbe expelled,* & a Catholique, by lawful meanes forth with placed in his place. And if the sayd wardens, Prouostes or Maisters of Colledges or principalles of halles, shalbe negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and diffamed by y^t space of x. dayes, frō the time of the true or supposed knowledge of y^t publication of these presentes: y^t then they shal incurre y^t sentence of greater excommunication: and neuerthelesse shalbe depriued ipso facto, of all the right which they pretēd to haue in y^e colledges, halles &c. and the sayd Colledges & halles &c. to be effectually vacant: And after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertayne, new wardens, Prouostes, Maisters, or principals, shalbe placed in they, places, as hath ben accustomed in colledges and halles, being vacant in the sayd vniuersitie. But if the wardens themselues, Prouostes, Maisters or principals aforesayd, be suspected and diffamed of and concerning the sayd conclusions or propositions, or be fauourers & defenders of such as doe therein offend: and doe not cease, beyng therof warned by vs, or by our authoritie: or by y^e ordinary of the place: that then by law they be depriued, as well of all priuiledge scholasticall within the vniuersitie aforesayd, as also of their right and authoritie in such Colledge, hall, &c. Besides other penalties afore mentioned, and that they incurre the sayd sentence of greater excommunication.

But if any man in any case of this present cōstitution or any other aboue expressed,* do rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our statutes in any part thereof (although there be an other penalty expressly there limited) yee shal he be made altogether vnable and vnworthy by the spare of three yeares after, without hope of pardon to obtayn any ecclesiasticall benefice within our prouince of Caunterbury: and neuertheles according to all hys demerites and the quallitie of hys excesse, at the discretion of his superiour he shalbe lawfully punished.

And further, that y^e maner of proceeding herein be not thought vncertayne: considering with ourselues,* that although there be a kinde of equallitie in the crime of heresie and offending the prince, as is auouched in diuers lawes: yet the fault is much vnlike, and to offend the deuine maiestie requireth greater punishment, then to oftend y^e Princes maiesty. And where it is sufficient (for feare of daunger that might ensue by delayes) to conuince by iudgement the offender of the Princes maiesties proceeding agaynst hym fully & wholly,* with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting prooffe by witnesses, and sentēce definitiue to be: we do ordeine, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offēders in the premisses, and for the better reformation of the church deuided and hurt, that all such as are diffamed, openly knowne, or vehemētly suspected in any of the cases aforesayd, or in anye article of the catholicke fayth sounding contrary to good manners: by authoritie of the ordinary of the place or other

superior, be cited personally to appeare, cyther by letters, publique messenger being sworne: or by edicte openly set at that place where the sayd offender commonly remayneth, or in hys parish Church, if he hath any certayne dwelling house. Otherwise, in y^e Cathedrall church of the place where he was borne, and in the parish church of the same place where he so preached and taught: And afterwarde certificate beyng geuen, that the citation was formally executed agaynst the party cited being absent and neglecting hys appearaunce it shalbe proceeded agaynst him fully and playnly without sound or shew of iudgement, and without admitting prooffe by witnesses and other canonicall probations. And also after lawful informatiō had, the sayd ordinary (al delays set apert) shall signifie declare, and punishe the sayd offender, according to the quallitie of his offence, and in forme aforesayd: and further, shall doe according to iustice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

Geuen at Oxford.

Who would haue thought by these lawes and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, so dilligently executed: but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort, should vtterly haue bene rooted vp, [Page 527](#) & neuer could haue stand. And yet such be the works of th^e lord, passing all mēs admiratiō, all this notwithstanding so far was it of, that the number and courage of these good men was vanquished, that rather they multiplied dayly & encreased. For so I finde in Registers recorded, that these foresayd persons, whome the king and the Catholique fathers, did so greatly deteste for heretickes, were in diuers countries of this realme dispersed and increased: especially at London, in Lincolnshire in Northfolk, in Herefordshyre, in Shreusbury, in Callice, and diuers other quarters mo, with whom the Archb. of Caunterbury Thomas Arundell, the same time had much ado, as by hys own registers doth appeare. Albeit some there were, that dyd shrinke, many did reuolt and renounce, for daunger of the law. Among whom was Iohn Puruey, whiche recanted at Paules Crosse,* of whom more foloweth (the Lord willing) to be said in the yeare 1421. Also Iohn Edward priest of the dioces of Lincolne, who reuoked in the greene yard at Norwich, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Willy of Lōdon, also Iohn Becket, who recanted at London. Item, Iohn Seynons of Lincolneshyre, who was caused to reuoke at Caunterbury. The articles of whom which commonly they did hold, and which they were constraigned to abiure, most specially were these as follow.

Their Articles.

*First, that the office of the holy Crosse (ordayned by the whole Church) celebrated, doth contayne idolatry.

Item, they sayd and affirmed, that all they which doe reuerence and worship the signe of the crosse, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, they sayd and affirmed, that the true fleshe and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the aulter, after the words spoken by the priest truely pronounced.

Item, they sayd and affirmed, the sacrament of the aulter to be sacramentall bread, not hauing life, but onely instituted for a memoriall of Christes passion.

Item, they sayd and affirmed, that the body of Christe which is taken on the aulter, is a figure of y^t body of christ as long as we see the bread and wyne.

Item: they sayd and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergie in the prouince of Caunterbury, in theyr last conuocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last Parliament agaynst him that was brent lately in the citty of London: was not sufficient to chaunge the purpose of the sayd Iohn, when the substance of materiall bread is euen as before in the sacrament of the aulter, it was no change being made in the nature of bread.

1* Item, that any lay man may preach the Gospel in euery place, and may teach it by his owne authoritie, without the licence of his Ordinary.

Itē, that it is sinne: to geue any thing to the preaching friers: to the Minorites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, that the confession of sins to the people, is vnneedfull.

Item, that euery good man (though he be vnlearned) is a priest.

Item, that the infant (though he dye vnbaptised) shalbe saued.

Item, that neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary can compell any man to sweare by any creature of God, or by the bible booke.

Item, that as well the Bishop, the simple man, the priest, and the lay man, be of like authoritie (as lōg as they liue well.)

Item, that no man is bound to geue bodily reuerence to any prelate.

William Thorpe.

*Thus much briefly being signified by the way, touching these which haue bene forced in time of this king, to open abiuration: Next commeth to our handes the worthy history of maister William Thorpe, a warriour valiaunt, vnder the triumphant banner of Christ, with the processe of his examinations, before the foresayd Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Caunterb. written by the sayd Thorpe and storyed by his owne pen, at the request of hys frendes as by hys own words in the processe here of may appeare. In whole examination (whiche seemeth first to begin. an. 1407.) thou shalt haue, good reader, both to learne and to merueile. To learne, in that thou shalt beare truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the aduersary dissolued. To marueile, for that thou shalt beholde here in this man, the merueilous force and strength of the Lordes might, spirite and grace, working and fighting in his souldiors, & also speaking in theyr mouthes, according to the word of hys promise. Luke xxi. To the rest of the sto^ry we haue neither added nor diminished: but as we haue receiued it, * copied out, & corrected by maister Williā Tindall (who had his own handwriting) so we haue here sent it, and set it out abroad.

Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wished it in his own naturall speach wherein it was first written. Notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scrouple herein, this I thought before to premonishe and testifie to the Reader, touching the certaintie hereof, that they be yet aliue whiche haue seene the selfe same copy in his own old English, resembling y^e true antiquitie both of the speach, and of the time: The name of whom as for recorde of the same to auouch, is M. Whithead, who as he hath seene the true ancient copy in the hādes of George Constantine, so hath he geuen credible relation of y^e sonne, both to the printer, & to me. Furthermore the sayd maister Tindall (albeit he did somewhat alter & amend the English therof, and frame it after our manner) yet not fully in al words: but that something doth remain, fauouring of the old speach of that time. What the causes were why this good man & seruauant of Christ, W. Thorp did write it• and pen it out himselfe, it is sufficiently declared in hys owne preface, set before his booke, whiche here is prefixed in maner as followeth.

The preface of William Thorpe.

THE Lord God that knoweth all thinges,* wroth well that I am right sorrowful for to write to make known this sentence beneath written: whereby of mine euē christē set in high state & dignitie, so great blindnes & malice may be knowne: that they which doe presume of themselues to destroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, neither dreade to offend God,* nor lust to please him as their workes doe shew. For certes the bidding of God and hys law, whiche in the praying of his most holy name he commaundeth to be known & kept of all men and women, yong and old, after the cunning & power that he hath geuen to them: The Prelates of this lande and their ministers, w^t the couent of priests chiefly consenting to them, enforce them most busily to withstand and destroy the holy ordinaunce of God. And there through, God is greatly wroth and moued to take hard vengeance, not onely vpon them that do the euil but also on them that consent to these Antichristes limnes: which know or might know, their malice and falshood, & dresse them not to withstand their mallice and theyr great pride.* Neuertheles, 4. things moueth me to write this sētence beneath.

The first thing that moueth me hereto is this, y^t where as it was knowne to certayn frendes, that I came from y^t prison of Shrewsbury, and as it befell in deed that I shold to the prison of Caunterbury: thē diuers friends in diuers places, spake to me full hartily and full tenderly: and commaunded me then, if it so were that I should be examined before the Archb. of Cant. that if I might in any wise, I should write mine apposing, and mine aunswering. And I promised to my special frendes, that if I might, I wold gladly doe their bidding as I might.

The second thing that moueth me to write this sentēce* is this: diuers frendes which haue heard that I haue bene examined before the Archbyshop, haue come to me in prison, and counsayled mee busily, and coueted greatly that I should doe the same thing. And other brethren haue sent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I should write out and make knowne, both mine apposing & mine aunswering, for the profite that (as they say) vpon my knowledging, may come thereof. But this they had me, that I should be busie in all my wits, to go as neare the sentence and the wordes as I could, both that were spoken to me & that I spake: Upauēture this writing may come an other time, before the archbishop and hys counsaile. And of thys counselling I was right glad: for in my conscience I was moued to doe this thing, & to aske hitherto the speciall help of God. And so then I considering the great desire of dyuers frendes of sondry places, according all in

one: I occupied all my minde & my wits so busily, that through gods grace I perceaued by theyr meaning and their charitable desire, some profite might come there through. For southfastnes and trueth hath these conditions: where euer it is impugned,* it hath asweete smell, and thereof commeth a sweet fauour. And the more violently the enemies dresse themselues to oppresse and to withstand the trueth, the [Page 528](#) greater and the sweeter smell commeth therof. And therefore, this heauenly find of Gods word, wil not as a smoke passe away with the winde: but it will descende and rest in some cleane soule, that thirsteth thereafter. And thus some deale by this writing may be perceaued thorough Gods grace, how that the enemies of the trueth (standing boldly in their malice) inforce them to withstand the fredome of Christes Gospell, for which freedome Christ became man & shed his hart bloud. And therefore it is great pitty & sorrow: y^t many men & women do their own weyward will nor busy thē not to know nor to do y^t pleasant wil of God.

The men & women that heare the truth and southfastnes, and heare or know of this (perceauing what is now in y^r churche) ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, & to set lesser price by themselues, that they without ta•ieng: forsake wilfully & bodely all the wretchednes of this life, since they know not how soon, nor whē, nor where, nor by whō God wil teach them, & assay their pacience. For no doubt, who that euer will liue pittiously, that is charitably in Christ Iesu, shall suffer now here in this life persecution, in one wife or an o^ther. That is, if we shalbe sauēd, it behoueth vs to imagin ful busily: the vility and soulnes of sinne, and how y^r Lord God is displeased therfore: & so of this vility of bidiousnes of sinne, it behoueth vs to busy vs in al our wits, for to ab^horre and hold in our mind a great shame of sinne euer, & so then we owe to sorrow hartely therfore, and euer fleing all occasion therof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penāce, continuing therin, for to obtayne of y^t Lord forgeuenes of our foredone sinnes, and grace to abstain vs hereafter from sinne. And but if we enforce vs to do thys wilfully: and in conueniēt time, the Lord (if he will not vtterly destroy and cast vs away) will in diuers manners moue tyrantes agaynst vs: for to constrayne vs violently to do penance,* which we would not do wilfully. And trust that this doing is a special grace of the Lord, & a great token of life & mercy. And no doubt, who euer will not apply him selfe (as is sayd before) to punish himself wilfully, neither wil suffer patiently, meekely, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howsoeuer that he will punish him: their wayward willes and their impacience, are vnto them earnest of euelasting damnation. But because there are but few in number that do able them thus faythfully to grace, for to liue here so simply and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging: herefore the louers of this worlde hate & pursue them that they knowe patient, meek, chaste, & wilfully poore, hating and fleing all worldly vanities & fleshly lusts. For surely, their verteous conditions are euen cōtrary to the manners of this world.

The third thing that moueth me to wryte this sentēce is this, I thought I shall busie me in my selfe to do faythfully, that all men and women (occupying all their busines in knowing and in keeping of Gods commaundements) able them so to grace, that they might vnderstād truely the truth, and haue and vse vertue and prudēce, and so deserue to be lightned from aboue with heauenly wisdom: so that all their words & their workes may be hereby made pleasant sacrifice vnto the Lord God: and not onely for helpe of their own soules, but also for edification of holy Church For I doubt not: but all they that will apply them to haue this foresayd busines, shall profite ful me kill both to freds & foes. For some enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, shall through charitable folkes be made astonied in their conscience, and peradventure

conuerted from vices to vertues: and also, they that labour to know and to keep faythfully the biddinges of God, and to suffer paciently all aduersities, shall hereby comfort many frendes.

And the fourth thing that moueth me to write this sētēce is this: ^{*} I knowe by my sodein & vnwarned apposing and aunswering, that all they that will of good hart w^tout faining, able themselues wilfully & gladly after theyr cunning and their power, to follow christ paciently, traueling busily, priuily, and apertly in worke and in word, to withdraw whom soeuer that they may from vices, planting in them (if the may) vertues, comforting them & furtheryng them that stand in grace: so that therwith they be not born vp in vaine glory, through presumption of theyr wisdom nor inflamed with any worldly prosperitie: but euer meek and pacient: purposing to abide stedfastly in y^t wil of God, suffering wilfully and gladly without any grutching what soeuer rod the Lord wil chastise them with: that then, thys good Lord will not forget to comfort al such men and women in all their tribulations, & at euery poynt of temptation that any enemy purposed for to doe agaynst them. To such faithfull louers specially, & pacient followers of christ the Lord sendeth by his wisdom frō aboue, them which the aduersaries of the truth, may not know nor vnderstand. But through their old and new vnshamefast sinnes, those tyrantes and enemies of southfastnes, ^{*} shalbe so blinded & obstinate in e•ill, that they shall weene themselues to doe pleasant sacrifices vnto the Lorde God in their malicious and wrongfull pursuing and destroying of innocent mens and womens bodyes: which men & women, for theyr vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the trueth and theyr pacient wilfull and glad suffering of persecution for righteousnes, deserue through the grace of God, to be heyres of the endlesse blesse of heauen. And for the feruent desire and the great loue that these men haue, as to stand in southfastnes and witnes of it: though they be sodeinly & vnwarnedly brought foorth to be aposed of their aduersaries: the holy Ghost yet that moueth and ruleth them thorough his charitie, will in that houre of theyr aunswering speake in them and shewe hys wisdom: that all theyr enemies shall not agayn say, nor agaynst stand, lawfully.

And therefore, al they that are stedfast in y^r fayth of God yea, which through diligent keeping of his commaundementes, & for theyr pacient suffering of whatsoeuer aduersitie that commeth to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand cōtinually in perfect charitie. For those mē and womē, dred not so the aduersities of this life, that they wil feare (after their cunning and their power) to knoweledge prudently the truth of gods word, when, where, and to whom they thinke their knowledging may profite. Yea and though therfore persecution come to them in one wise or an other, certes they paciently take it, knowing theyr conuersation to be in heauen. It is an high rewarde and a speciall grace of God: for to haue and enioy the euerlasting inheritance of heauen, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the terme of this life. For loe, this heuenly heritage & endles reward: is the Lord God hymselfe which is the best thing that may be. This sētence witnesseth the Lord God hymselfe where as he sayd to Abrahā I am thy meede: And as the Lord sayd: he was and is the meede of Abraham: so he is of all his other saynts. This most blessed and best meede, he graunt to vs all for his holy name, that made vs of naught, and sent his onely most deare worthy sonne, our Lorde Iesu Christ for to redeeme vs with his most precious hart bloud. Amen.

The examination of William Thorpe, penned with hys owne hand.

KNowne be it to al men,* that read or heare this writing that on the sonday next after the feast of S. Peter: that we call Lammesse: in the yeare of our Lord. 1407. I william Thorpe being in prison in the Castle of Saltwoode, was brought before Tho. Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury and Chauncellor then of Englande. And when that I came to him: he stode in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that he saw me, he went fast into a closit bidding all seculer men y^t followed hym to go foorth from him soone, so that no man was left than in that closet but the Archbishop himselfe and a Phisitian y^t was called Malueren, person of S. Dunstanes in London, & other two persons vnknowne to me which were ministers of y^r law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbish. sayd to me: William, I know well that thou hast this xx. winters & more, trauelled about busily in the north coutry and in other diuers countryes of England,* sowing about false doctrine, hauing great businesse if thou might with thine vntrue teaching and shrewd will, for to infect & poysō all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded & brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine euill purpose, and let thee to enuenime the sheep of my prouince. Neuertheles S. Paul sayth: If it may be, as much as in vs is, we ought to haue peace w^t all men. Therefore William, if y^r wilt now meckly and of good hart, without any feyning, kneele downe and lay thy hand vpō a booke and kisse it,* promising faythfully as I shall here charge thee, y^t thou wilt submit thee to my correction, & stād to myne ordinaunce, & fulfill it duely by all thy cūning and power, thou shalt yet find me gracious vnto thee. Then sayd I to the archbishop. Syr, since ye deme me an hereticke & out of beleue, will ye geue me here audience to tell my beleue. And he sayd, yea tell on. And I sayde. I beleue that there is not but one God almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three persons, that is, the father, the sonne, and the sothfast holye Ghost. And I beleue, that all these three persons are euen in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnes. For what soeuer that the father doth or can or will, that thing also the sonne doth and can and will: and in all theyr power, cunning and will, the holy Ghost is equall to the father and to the sonne.

[Page 529](#)ouer this I beleue, that through counsell of this most blessed Trinity, in most cōuenient time before ordeined for the saluation of mankinde, the second person of this Trini^ty; was ordeined to take the forme of mā, that is, the kinde of mā. And I beleue, that this secōd person our Lord Iesu Christ, was conceiued through the holy ghost, in y^e wombe of the most blessed virgin Mary, without mans seed. And I beleue, that after 9. monethes Christ was borne of this most blessed virgine, without any payne or breaking of the closser of her wombe, and without filth of her virginity.

And I beleue, that Christ our Sauour was Circumcise• in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Iesus, which was so called of y^e Angel, before that he was conceiued in the wombe of Mary his mother.

And I beleue, that Christ, as he was about xxx. yeare olde, was Baptised in the floud of Iordane of Iohn Baptist: and in the likenes of a Doue the holy Ghost descēded there vpon him, & a voyce was heard from heauen, saying: Thou are my welbeloued sonne, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleue, that Christ, was moued then by the holy ghost, for to go into desert, and there he fasted 40 dayes & 40. nightes without bodely meat and drink. And I beleue that by and by after his fasting, when the manhood of christ hūgred, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in

glottony, in vayne glory, and in courtise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the fiend, and withstood him. And then without taryng, Iesu began to preach and to say vnto the people: do ye penance, for the Realme of heauen is now at hand.

I beleue that Christ in all his time here liued most holity, and taught the will of his father most truly: and I beleue that he suffered therefore, most wrongfully, greatest reprints and despisinges.

And after this,* when Christ woulde make an end here of this rēporal life, I beleue that in the day next before that he would suffer passiō in the morne: In forme of bread and of wine, he ordeined the Sacrament of his flesh and hys bloud, that is, his owne precious body, & gaue it to his Apostles for to eat: cōmaunding them, and by them all their after commers, that they should do it in this forme that he shewed to them, vse themselues, and teach and comō forth to other men and womē this most worshipfull holiest sacrament, in mindfulnes of his holiest liuing, & of his most true preaching, & of his wilfull and patient suffering of the most paynefull passion.

And I beleue, that thys Christ our Sauour, after that he had ordeined this most worthy Sacrament of his own precious body: he wēt forth wilfully agaynst his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently vpō him, and to binde him, and to lead him forth as a theefe, & to scorne him, and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their spittings. Ouer this, I beleue, that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies, for to ding out with sharp scourges the bloud y^t was betwene his skinne and his flesh: yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruell Iewes to crowne him with most sharpe thornes, and to strike him with a reede. And after, Christ suffered wicked Iewes to draw him out vpon the crosse, & for to naye him thereupon hand and foote. And so through his pitifull nayling, Christ shed out wilfully for mans life, the bloud that was in his vaynes. And then Christ gaue wilfully his spirit into y^e hāds or power of his father, & so, as he would, & whē he would, christ died wilfully for mās sake vpon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, paynefully, & most shamefully put to death, as to the world: there was left bloud and water in his hart as before ordeined, that he would shedd out this bloud & this water for mās saluation. And therefore he suffred y^e Iewes to make a blinde knight to thrust him into the hart with a speare, and this the bloud and water that was in his hart, Christ would shed out formans loue, And after this, I be^lleue that Christ was taken downe from the crosse and buried. And I beleue that on the third day by power of hys Godhead, Christ rose againe from death to life. And the xl. day thereafter, I beleue that Christ ascēded vp into heauen and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the father almighty. And the fifty day after this vp going, he sēt to hys Apostles the holy ghost, that he had promised them before. And I beleue that Christ shall come & iudge all mankind; some to euerlasting peace, and some to euerlasting paines.

And as I beleue in the father & in the sonne, that they are one God almighty, so I beleue in the holy Ghost that he is also with them the same God almighty.

And I beleue an holy church, that is, all they that haue bene,* and that now are, & alwayes to the end of the worlde shalbe, a people the which shall endeouour them to know & to keepe the commaundements of God, dreading ouer all thing to offed God, and louing and seeking most to please him. And I beleue, that all they that haue had & yet haue, and all they that yet shall haue the foresayd vertues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercyfull

doinges, continuing to theyr end in perfect charitye, wilfully, paciently and gladly suffering persecutiōs, by the example of Christ chieflye and his Apostles, all these haue theyr names written in the booke of life.

Therefore I beleue,* that the gathering together of this people, liuing now here in this life, is the holy Church of God, fighting here on earth agaynst the fiend, the prosperi^ty of the world, and theyr fleshly lusts. Wherefore, seing that all the gathering together of this Church before sayd, and euery part therof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loueth, nor seketh any thing but to eschew y^r offēce of God, & to do his pleasing will: meekly, gladly, and wilfully, w^t all mine hart, I submit my selfe vnto this holy Church of Christ, to be euer buxome & obedient to y^r ordinaūce of it, & of euery member therof; after my knowledge and power by y^e help of God. Therefore I knowledge now and euermore shal, if God will, that with all my hart and with all my might, I wil submit me onely to the rule and gouernaunce of them, whō after my knowledge, I may perceiue by the hauing and vsing of the before sayd vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Wherefore these articles of belief and al other (both of the olde law and of the new, which after the commaundement of God any man ought to beleue) I beleue verely in my soule, as a sinful deadly wretch of my cunning and power, ought to beleue: praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to encrease my beliefe, and to helpe my vnbeliefe.

And for because to the praying of Gods name, I desire aboue all things to be a faithfull mēber of holy church,* I make this protesta^o before you all foure that are now here present, couering that all men & women that now be absent, knew the same: that is, what thing so euer before this time I haue sayde or done, or what thing here I shall doe or say, at any time hereafter.* I beleue, that all the olde law and the new law geuen and ordeined by the couēsell of the three persons of the Trinity, were geuen and written to the saluatiō of mankind. And I beleue, that these lawes are sufficient for mans saluation. And I beleue euery article of these lawes, to the intent, that these articles ordeined and commaunded of these 3 persons of the most blessed trinity, are to be beleued.

And therefore to y^r rule & the ordinaunce of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and wilfully, I submit me with all mine hart: that whosoever can or will by authority of gods lawe, or by open reason, tell me that I haue erred or nowe erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any article of beliefe (from which inconuenience God keepe me, for hys goodnesse) I submit me to be reconciled and to be buxum & obedient vnto those lawes of God, and to euery article of thē. For by authority, specially of these lawes, I will, thorow the grace of God, be vntied charitably vnto these lawes. Yea sir, & ouer this, I beleue & admit all the sentēces, authorities and reasōs of the saynts & doctors, according vnto holy scripture, and declaring it truely.

I submit me wilfully and meekely to be euer obedient after my cunning and power,* to all these saynts and Doctors, as they are obedient in worke and in word to God & to his law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie or state, thorow the helpe of God. But sir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding, I shal lay my hand vpon the booke, to what entent: to sweare thereby▪ And the Archby. sayd to me, yea, wherefore els? And I said to him.* Syr a book is nothing els but a thing coupled together of diuers creatures, and to swere by any creature both Gods law and mans law is agaynst it.

But Syr, this thing I say here to you before these your clerkes,* with my foresayd protestation, that how, where when, and to whom, men are boūd to sweare or to obey in any wise after Gods law, and saints, and true Doctours, according vnto Gods law: I will thorow Gods grace be euer ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you sir for the charitye of God, that ye will before y^t I sweare (as I haue here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I shal submit me: and shew me wherof that ye will correct me, and what is the ordinaunce that ye will thus oblige me to fulfill.

And the Archbishop sayd vnto me: I will shortly that now thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake al the opinions which the sect of Lollordes holde, and is slaundered with: so that after this time, neither priuilye nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shal (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to thee here. Nor thou shalt fauor no mā [Page 530](#) nor woman, young nor olde, that holdeth any these foresayd opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalt force thee to w^tstād al such distroublers of holy church in euery dioces, that thou comest in: and them that wyll not leaue their false and damnable opiniōs, thou shalt put them vp, publishing them and theyr names, and make thē knowne to the bishop of the dioces that they are in, or to y^t bishops ministers. And ouer this I will, that thou preach no more vnto the time y^t I know by good witnesse & true, that thy conuersation be such, that thy hart and thy mouth accord truely in one, contrarying all the seud learning that thou hast taught here before.

☞ And I hearing these wordes, thought in my hart, that this was an vnlefull asking: and demed my selfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto, & I thought how Susan sayd: Anguish is to me on euery side. And in that I stode still and spake not, the Archbishop sayd to me: Aunswere one wise or other. And I sayd: Syr, if I consented to you thus as ye haue here before rehersed to me, I should becom an appealer, or euery bishops espy, somoner of al Englād, For and I should thus put vp,* and publish the names of men and women, I should herein deceiue full many persons: Yea sir, as it is likely by the dome of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of men and womē. yea both bodely and ghostly. For many men & women that stand now in the way of saluation: if I should for the learning and reading of theyr beleue, publish them therfore vp to Bishops or to their vnpiteous ministers, I know some deale by experience, that they should be so distroubled & diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of thē (I thinke) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth thē to be trauailed, scorned, slaūdered, or punished, as bishops and their ministers now vse for to constrayne men & women to consent to them.

But I finde in no place in holy scripture, that this office that ye would now enfeaffe me with,* accordeth to any Priest of Christes sect, nor to any other christen man. And therefore to do this, were to me a full noyous bond to bee boūdē with, & ouer greuouse charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea Syr, might iustly vnto my confusion say to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them: since (as I thinke in mine hart) many men & women trust so mikle in this case, that I would not for sauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus should do, full many men & women would (as they might full truely) say, that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slaundered shamefully the word of God. For if I consented to you to do here, after your will, for bonchefe or mischief that may befall to me in this life: I deme in my cōscience, that I were worthy herefore to be cursed of god and also of all his Saynts: fro which inconuenience, keep me and all christē people, almighty God now and euer for his holy name. And then y^e Archbishop sayd vnto me. Oh, thine hart is ful hard indurate as was the hart of

Pharao,* and the deuill hath ouercomen thee and peruerted thee, & he hath so blinded thee in all thy wittes, that thou hast no grace to know the trueth nor the measure of mercye that I haue proferred to thee. Therefore, as I perceiue now by y^e foolish aūswere, thou hast no wil to leaue thine old errors.

But I say to thee leud losell, other quickly cōsent thou to mine ordinance and submit thee to stand to my decrees: or by S. Thomas, thou shalt be disgraded, and follow thy felow in Smithfield. And at this saying, I stode still and spake not,* but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bring me to such an end. And in mine hart I was nothing afrayd with this manassing of the Archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorowfull for that he had made William Sawtre wrongfully to be burnt: & as I considered, that y^e Archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocēt bloud. And fast therfore I was mo'ned in al my wittes, for to hold the Archbishop neither for Prelate nor for Priest of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the Archbishop, me thought I shoulde not haue any dread of him. But I was right heauy and sorowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by: but in my hart I prayd the Lorde God, for to comfort me and strength me agaynst them that there were agaynst the sothfastnesse. And I purposed to speake no more to the Archbishop and his clerkes then me need behoued: and all thus I prayde God for his goodnesse to geue me then and alway grace to speake, with a meke & an easy spirit: and whatsoeuer thing that I should speake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the Archbishops Clerks sayd vnto me. What thing musest thou? Doe thou as my Lord hath now commaunded to thee here.

And yet I stood still and aunswered him not:* And then soone after the Archbishop sayd to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt doe as I haue sayde to thee? And I said then to him: Syr, my father and my mother, on whole soules god haue mercy (if it be his will) spent mikle mony in diuers places about my learning, for the intēt to haue made me a Priest to God. But whē I came to yeres of discretion, I had no will to be Priest, and therefore my frends were right heauy to me, and then me thought theyr grudging agaynst me was so paynefull to me, that I purposed therfore to haue left theyr company. And when they perceiued this in me, they spake sometime full fayre & pleasaunt wordes to me: But for that they might not make me to consent of good hart to be a Priest, they spake to me full oftentimes very greuous wordes, and manassed me in diuers maners, shewing to me full heauy cheare. And thus one while in fayre maner, an other while in greuous, they were long time (as me thought) full busye about me, or I consented to them to be a Priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I shoulde euer beare their indignation, yea, theyr curse (as they sayde.) Then I seeing this, prayd them that they would geue me licence for to go to them that were named wise Priestes, and of vertuous conuersation to haue theyr counsell, and to know of them the office & the charge of Priesthood. And hereto, my father and my mother cōsented full gladly, & gaue me their blessing & good leaue to go, and also mony to spend in this iourney. And so that I wēt to those Priestes whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy liuing, and best learned, & most wise of heauenly wisdom: and so I communed with them vnto the time that I

perceiued by their vertuous and cōtinuall occupations, that their honest and charitable workes passed theyr same which I heard before of them.

Wherefore Syr, by the example of the doctrine of them: and specially for the godly and innocent workes whiche I perceiued then of them, and in them: After my cunning and power, I haue exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectly gods law, hauing a will and desire to liue thereafter, which willethe that all men and women should exercise themselues faythfully there about. If than Syr, either for pleasure of thē that are neither so wise nor of so vertuous conuersation to my knowledge, nor by cōmon fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as these men were of whom I tooke my counsell & information: I should now forsake thus sodenly and shortly, and vnwarned, all y^t learning that I haue exercised my selfe in this xxx. winter and more, my cōscience should euer be herewith out of measure vnquieted: and as Syr I know wel, that many mē & women should be there through greatly troubled & sclaundered: And as I sayd sir, to you before, for mine vntruth and false cowardnes, many a one should be put into full great reproofe, yea sir, I dread that many one (as they might thē iustly) would curse me full bitterly: and sir I feare not, but the curse of God, which I shoulde deserue herein, woulde bring me to a full euil end, if I continued thus. And if thorow remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligēce to cōstraine me now to forsake: yea sir, all the bishops of this lād, with full many other Priests, would desame, me, and pursue me as a relapse: & they y^t nowe haue (though I be vnworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter woulde neuer trust to me, though I could teach & liue neuer so vertuously, more then I can or may. For if after your coūsell I left vtterly all my learning, I should hereby first wound & defile mine owne soule, and also I should here through, geue occasiō to many men and womē of full sore hurting, yea sir as it is likely to me, if I cōsented to your will: I should be rin by mine euill example in it, as farre as in me were, flea many folke ghostly, y^t I should neuer deserue for to haue grace of god, to the edifying of his church, neither of my self, nor of none other mans life, and vndone both before God and man.

But sir, by exāple chiefly of some whose names I will not now rehearse,* of H. of I. P. and B. and also by the present doing of Philip Rampingtō, y^t is now become B. of Lincolne: I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace shalbe learned) to hate & to flee all such sclaunder that these foresayd men chiefly haue defiled, principally themselues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enue nimed all the church of God, for the sclaūderous reuoking at the crosse of Paules, of H.P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampingtō pursueth Christes people. And the faining that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping thē cowardly in theyr preaching and communing within the bondes and termes (which without blame may be spoken [Page 531](#) and shewed out to the most worldly liuers) wil not be vnpunished of God. For to y^t poynt of truth y^t these mē shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lines. But by example, each one of them as theyr words and their works shew, busy them through their fayning, for to sclaunder and to pursue Christ in his members, rather thē they will be pursued.

And the Archbishop sayd to me: These men the whiche thou speakest of now, were fooles and heretickes, whē they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other deme them vnwise. Neuerthelesse I wist neuer none that right sayd, that any while were enuenimed with your contagiousnes, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

☞ And I sayd to the Archbishop: Syr, I thinke well that these mē & such other are now wise as to this world:.* But as theyr words sounded sometime, and their works shewed outwardly, it was like to moue me that they had earnest of the wisdom of God, & that they should haue deserved much grace of God, to haue saued their owne soules & many other mens, if they had continued faythfully in wilfull pouerty, & in other simple vertuous liuing: and specially, if they had with these foresaid vertues continued in their busie fruitful sowing of Gods word: as to many mēs knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits, ful busily to know the pleasaunt will of God, traueilling all their members full busily for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praysing of the most holy name of god, and for grace of edification and saluation of Christen people.* But woe worth false couetise, and euill counsell and tyranny, by which they and many men and womē are led blindly into an euill end.

Then the Archbishop sayde to me: Thou and such other Losels of thy sect, would shaue your heardes full nere for to haue a benefice.* For by Iesu, I know none more couetous shrewes then ye are, whē that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I gaue to Iohn Puruay a benefice but a mile out of this Castle, and I heard more complaints about his couetousnes for tithes and other misdoinges, then I did of all men that were aduanced within my dioces.

☞ And I sayde to the Archbishop: Sir, Puruay is neither with you now for the benefice that ye gaue him, nor he holdeth faythfully with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor colde, and therefore he and his felowes, may sore dread, that if they turne not hastily to the way that they haue forsaken: peraduenture they be put out of the number of Christes chosen people.

And the Archbishop sayde: Though Puruay be now a false harlot, I quite me to him: But come he more for suche cause before me (or we part) I shall know with whom he holdeth. But I say to thee: which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

☞ And I sayd:.* Syr, Maister Iohn Wickliffe was holden of full many men, the greatest clearke that they knew then liuing, and therwith he was named a passing ruely man & an innocent in his liuing: and herefore, great men communed oft with him, and they loued so his learning, that they writt it, & busily inforced them to rule themselues thereafter. Therefore sir, this foresayd learning of M. Iohn Wickliffe, is yet holden of full many men and women, the most agreable learning vnto the liuing and teaching of Christ & of his Apostles, and most opely shewing & declaring how the church of Christ hath bene and yet should be ruled and gouerned. Therefore, so many men and women couet thys learning and purpose,* through Gods grace, to cōforme their liuing like to this learning of Wickliff. M. Iohn Aston taught & writ accordingly, and full busily, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he vsed it himselfe right perfectly vnto his liues end. And also Philip of Rāpington while he was a Canō of Leicester. Nicholas Hereford, Dauid Gotray of Pakring Monke of Byland and a Maister of Diuinitye, and Iohn Puruay and many other which were holden right wise men & prudent, taught and writ busily this foresayd learning, & cōformed them thereto. And with all these men, I was oft right homely & communed with them long time and oft: and so before al other men I those willingly to be informed of them and by thē, and specially of wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specially and of these men I tooke the learning that I haue taught: and purpose to liue thereafter (if God wil) to my liues end. For though some of those mē be contrary

to the learning that they taught before, I wote well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to vse y^t learnyng which I heard of them, while they fate on Moyses chayre, & specially while that they sat on y^t chayre of Christ. But after y^t workes that they now do, I will not doe with Gods helpe. For they feyne, and hide, & contrary y^t trueth, which before they taught out playnely and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men haue bene blamed for their slaunderous doynge: they graunt not that they haue taught a misse or erred before time, but that they we•e constrayned by payne to leaue to tell out the soth, & thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, then to suffer a while here persecution bodely, for sothfastnesse that Christ shedde out his hart bloud for.

And the Archbishop sayd: * That learning that thou callest truth and sothfastnes, is open slaunder to holy church, as it is proued of holy Church. For albeit, that Wickleffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many mē held him a perfect liuer: yet his doctrine is not approued of holy church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. * But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first Chanon, and after Abbor of Leicester, which is now Bishop of Lincolne: I tell thee, that the day is commē, for which he fast the euen. For neither he holdeth nowe, nor will holde, the learning that hee taught, when he was a Canon of Leicester. For no byshop of this land pursueth nowe more sharply them that holde thy way, then he doth.

☞ And I sayd: * Sir full many men and women wondereth vpō him, and speaketh him mikle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemy of the truth.

And the Archbish. sayd to me: Wherefore taryest thou me thus here with suche fables, wilt thou shortly (as I haue sayd to thee) submit thee to me or no?

☞ And I sayd: Sir I tell you at one word, I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenour & sentence tharye haue aboue rehearsed to me.

And thus as if he had be•e wroth, he sayd to one of his clerkes. Fetch hether quickly, the certification that came to me •rō Shrewsbury vnder the 〈◇〉 seale witnessing the errors and heresydes, which this Losel hath venunously sowne there.

Then hastely the clarke tooke out and layde forth on a cupbord, diuers rolles and writinges, among which there was a litle one, which the clarke deliuered to the Archbyshop. And by and by the Archbishop read this roll conteynynge this sentence.

The third sonday after Easter, * the yeare of our Lorde 1407. William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewsbury, and thorow leaue graunted vnto him to preache: He sayd openly in S. Chaddes church in his sermon, that the sacrament of the aulter, after the consecration, was materiall bread. And that images, should in no wise be worship^pped. And that mē should not go on pilgrimages. And that priestes haue no tittle to tithes. And that it is not lawful for to sweare in any wise.

And when the Archbishop had red thus this roll, * he rolled it vp agayne, and sayd to me. Is this wholesome learning to be among the people?

☞ And I sayd to him: Sir I am both ashamed on theyr behalf, and right sorowful for them that haue certified you these thinges thus vntruelye: for I preached neuer, nor taught thus priuily nor apertly.

And the Archbishop sayd to me, I will geue credence to these worshipfull men which haue written to me, and witnessed vnder theyr scales there amōg them. Though now thou denyest this,* weenest thou that I will geue credence to thee? Thou Losell, hast troubled the worshipfull communalty of Shrewsbury, so that the Balifes and comminalty of that towne haue writtē to me, praying me that am Archbishop of Cant. primate and Chancellor of England, that I will vouchsafe to graunt them: that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthy) to suffer open iouresse for thine heresies, that thou may haue thy iouresse openlye there among them: So that all they whome thou and suche other Losels haue there peruerted,* may thorow feare of thy deed be reconciled agayne to the vnity of holy Church. And also they that stand in true fayth of holy Church, may thorow thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased y^r Archbishop, he sayd. By my thrift, this harty prayer, and feruent request, shall be thought on.

But certaynely, nother y^r prayer of the men of Shrewsbury, nor the manassing of the Archbischoppe made me any thing afayrd. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it,* my hart greatly reioysed, & yet doth. I thank God for the grace, that I then thought, and y^t think shall come to all the Church of God here thorow, by the speciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrantes, by trusting stedfastly in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the sothfastnes, [Page 532](#) and to stand therby after my cunning and power: I said to the Archbishop, Sir if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to proue by likely euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the fayth of holy Church in Shrewsbury,* & in other places also, are in the true fayth of holy Church. For as theyr wordes found, and theyr workes shew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faythfully God) theyr will, their desire, ther loue & theyr busines are most set to dread, to offend God, & to loue for to please him in true & faythfull keeping of his cōmaūdementes. And agayne, they that are sayd to be in the faith of holy Church in Shrewsbury & in other places, by open euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule words & workes: neither know, nor haue wil to know, nor to occupy their wits truely and effectuously in the right fayth of holy Church. Wherefore all these, nor none that folow theyr maners, shall any time come verely in the fayth of holy church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women that are now called faithfull and holden iust, nother know, nor will exercise thēselfe to know (of faythfulnes) one commaundement of God.

And thus full many men and womē now, and specially mē that are named to be principall lims of holy church, styree God to great wrath, & deserue his curse for that they call or hold them iust mē, which are full vniust, as their vicious wordes, their great customable swearing, and theyr slaunderous and shamefull works shew openly and witnes. And therefore, such vicious men & vniust in theyr own confusion, call them vniust men & womē, which after their power and cunning busy themselues to liue iustly after the cōmaundement of God. And where sir ye say, that I haue distroubled the cōminalty of Shrewsbury, & many other men and women with my teaching: If it this be, it is not to be wondred of wise men,* since all the communalty of y^t City of Ierusalem was distroubled of Christes own person, that was very God and man, and most prudent

preacher that euer was or shalbe. And also all the Sinagoge of Nazareth was moued agaynst Christ, & so fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the Sinagoge rose vp and cast Christ out of theyr City, & led him vp to the top of a moūtayn for to cast him down there headl̄ing. Also accordingly hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moises, that he shall put dissention betwixt his people, and the people that cōtrarieth and pursueth his people. Who sir is he, that shall preach the truth of Gods word to the vnfaith full people, and shall set the sothfastnes of the Gospell, and the prophecy of God almighty to be fulfilled?

And the Archbishop sayd to me. It foloweth of these thy wordes, that thou and such other thinkest: that ye do right well for to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any Bishop. For ye presume, that the Lord hath chosē you onely for to preach, as faythful disciples and speciall folowers of Christ.

☞ And I sayd: Syr by authority of Gods law and also of Sayntes and Doctors I am learned to deme, that it is euery Priestes office and duty for to preach busilye, freely & truely the word of God. For no doubt euery Priest should purpose first in his soule, & couer to take the order of priesthood chiefly for to make knowne to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power: approuing his words euey to be true by his vertuous works, and for this intent we suppose that Bishops & other Prelates of holy church, should chiefly take and vse their prelacye, and for the same cause Bishops should geue to Priestes their orders. For Bishops should accept no man to Priesthood, except that he had good wil and f•l purpose, & were wel disposed, and wel learned to preach. Wherefore sir, by y^e bidding of Christ, & by the example of his most holy liuing, & also by the witnessing of his holy Apostles and Prophets, we are bounde vnder full great payn, to exercise vs after our cunning and power (as euery Priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfil duely the office of priesthood. We presume not here of ourselues for to be esteemed (neither in our owne reputatiō nor in none other mās) faythful disciples, & special folowers of Christ. But sir, as I sayde to you before, we deeme this by authority chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chief duety of euery priest, to busy thē faythfully to make the law of God knowne to his people, & so to commune the cōmaūdement of God charitably, how that we may best, where, whē, and to whom that euer we may, is our very duety. And for the will & busines that we owe of due debt to do iustly our office through the styrring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God,* hoping stedfastly in his mercy: we desire to be y^e fayth full disciples of Christ, and we pray this gracious Lord or his holy name, that he make vs able to please him with deuout prayers, & charitably Priestly works, that we may obtaine of him to folow him thankfully.

And the Archbishop sayd to me: L•ud losell, whereto makest thou such vayne reasons to me? Asu•h not Saynt Paule,* how shoulde Priestes preache, except they be sent? But I sent thee neuer to preache. For thy venemous doctrine is so knowne throughout England, that no Bishop will admitte thee to preache by witnessing of theyr letters. Why thē lewd Idiot, willest thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licensed of thy soueraigne to preache. Sayth not S. Paul, that subiects ough to obey theyr soueraignes, and not onely good & vertuous: but also tiraunts that are vicious?

☞ And I sayd to the Archbishop: Sir, as touching your le•ter of licence or other Bishops,* which ye say we shoulde haue to witnes that we were able to be sent for to preache: We know wel that neither you sir, nor any other bishop of this land, wil graūt to vs any such letters of licence, but if

we should oblige vs to you, and to other bishops by vnlefull othes, for to passe not the bondes and termes which ye sir, or other bishops will limit to vs. And since in this matter your termes be some to large, & some to strait: we dare not oblige vs thus to bee bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limit to vs, as you do to Friers, & such other Preachers.* And therefore, though we haue not your letter sir, nor letters of any other bishops writrē with inke vpon parchmēt: we dare not therfore leaue y^e office of preaching (to which preaching, all Priests after their cunning and power are boūd: by diuers testimonies of Gods law, and great Doctors) without any mention making of Bishops letters. For as mikle as we haue taken vpon vs the office of Priesthood (though we are vnworthy thereto) we come and purpose to fulfill it with the helpe of God, by authority of his own law, and by witnesse of great doctors and Sayntes, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercy of God.* For that he commaūdeth vs to do the office of Priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnes, if we by example of his holy liuing and teaching, specially occupy vs faythfully to do our office iustly: yea y^t people to whom we preach (be they faythfull or vnfaythfull) shall be our letters, that is our witnesse bearers: for y^e truth where it is sowne, may not be vnwitnessed. For all y^t are conuerted & saued by learning of Gods word, & by working thereafter: are witnes bearers: that the trueth and sothfastnesse which they heard and did after, is cause of theyr saluation. And agayne, all vnfaythfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do therafter: also all they that might haue heard the truth, & would not hear it, because that they would not do therafter.

All these shall beare witnes agaynst themselues, & the truth which they woulde not heare, or els heard it & despised to do therafter, through theyr vnfaythfulnes, is & shalbe cause of theyr damnation. Therefore sir, since this aforesayd witnessing of God, and of diuers Sayntes and Doctors, & of al the people good & euill, suffiseth to al true preachers: we thinke that we doe not the office of Priesthood, if that we leaue our preaching, because that we haue not, or may not haue duely Bishops letters, to witnesse that we are sent of them to preach. This sentence approueth Saint Paul, where he speaketh of himselfe, & of faithfull Apostles and disciples saying thus. We need no letters of commendatiō as some preachers do, which preach for couetousnesse of temporall goods,* and for mens praysing. And where ye say Syr, that Paule biddeth subiectes obey theyr soueraignes, that is soth, and may not be denied. But there is two maner of soueraignes, vertuous soueraignes and vicious tyrauntes.* Therefore, to these last soueraignes, neither mē nor womē that be subiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous soueraignes & charitable, subiectes owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counsel, in cōsenting to their charitable biddings. and in working after their fruitfull workes.

This sentence Paul approueth where he sayth to subiectes. Be ye mindefull of your soueraignes, that speake to you the word of God, & follow you the fayth of thē, whose cōuersation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul sayth, after these soueraignes, to whom subiectes owe to obey in following of the maners: worke besely in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in thēselues, and after in all their subiectes, and how they may best plāt in them vertues. Also these soueraignes, make deuout and feruēt prayers for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subiects may ouer all thing, dread to offend hym, and to loue for to please him. Also these soueraignste whō Paul biddeth vs obey, as it is said before, liue so vertuously: that all they that will liue well, may take of them good example, to know & to keep the cōmaundements of God. But in this foresayd wise, subiectes ought not to obey nor [Page 533](#) to be obedient to tyrantes, while they are vitious tyrants, since their will,* their counsell, their

biddinges, and theyr workes are so vicious, that they ought to be hated & lefte. And though such tyrantes be maisterfull and cruel in boas•ing and manasing, in oppressions & diuers punishinges: S. Peter biddeth the seruauntes of such tyrauntes, to obey meekely such tyrantes, sufferinges paciently their malitious cruelnes. But Peter counselleth not any seruaunt or subiect, to obey to any Lord or Prince, or soueraign in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

And the Archbishop sayd vnto me. If a soueraigne byd his subiect do that thing that is vitious, this soueraygne herein is to blame: but the subiect for his obedience, deserueth meede of God. For obedience pleaseth more to God, than any sacrifice.

☞ And I sayd. Samuell the Prophet sayd to Saule the wicked king, that God was more pleased with y^t obediēce of his commaundement, then with any sacrifice of beastes. But Daudid saieth, and S. Paule, and S. Gregory accordingly together,* that not onely they that do euill, are worthy of death and damnation: but also they that cōsent to euill doers. And sir, the law of holy Church teacheth in the decrees, that no seruant to his Lord, nor childe to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his Abbot, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawfull.

And the Archbishop said to me. All these alledgings that thou bringest forth,* are not els but proude presumptuousnesse. For hereby thou inforcest thee to proue, that thou and such other are so iust, that ye ought not to obey to Prelats. And thus against the learnyng of S. Paule that teacheth you not to preach, but if ye were sent: of your owne authoritie, ye will go forth and preach, and do what ye lift.

☞ And I saide. Syr, presenteth not euery Priest the office of the Apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the Archbishop sayd, yea.

And I sayde. Syr, as the x. chapt. of Mathew, and the last chapter of Marke witnesseth: Christ sent his Apostles for to preach. And the x. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seuēty disciples for to preach, in euery place that Christ was to come to. And S. Gregorie in the cōmon law saith, that euery man that goeth to priest hooode,* taketh vpon him the office of preaching: For as hee sayth, that Priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voyce of preaching. And as other more gloses vpon Ezechiell, witnesse: that the Priestes that preacheth not busilye to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saued by other speciall grace of God then by the Priestes preaching,* yet the Priests, in that they are ordeined to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are mansleas. For as farre as in them is, such Priests as preach not busily and truely, sleyeth all the people ghostly: in that they withholde from them the word of God, that is life and sustenance of mens soules. And Saynt Hydore sayd, Priestes shall be damned, for wickednesse of the people, if they teach not them that are ignoraunt, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the worke or businesse of Priestes,* standeth in preaching and teaching, that they edify all men, as well by cunning of fayth, as by discipline of workes, that is vertuous teaching. And as the Gospell witnesseth: Christ sayd in his teaching. I am borne & comē into this world, to beare witnesse to the truth, and he that is of the truth, heareth my voyce.

Then Sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is his voyce,* Priestes are commaunded to preache: whatsoeuer priest that it be, that hath not good wil and full purpose to doe thus, and

ableth not himselfe after his cunning and power to doe his office by the example of Christ and of hys Apostles: whatsoeuer other thing that he doth displeaseth God. For loe, S. Gregory sayth, that thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatsoeuer other thing that a man doth: it is vnthankfull to the holy ghost: and therfore sayth Lincolne. The Priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seene to haue none other defaulte, he is Antichrist and Sathanas, a night theefe, and a day theefe, a sleyer of foules, and an aungel of light turned into darckenes. Wherefore Syr, these authorities and other well considered, I deme my selfe damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply me not diligētly to prech the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those Priestes, which of good purpose and will, enforce thē not busily to do thus, & also all them that haue purpose or will to let any Priest of this busines.

And the Archbishop sayde to those 3. Clerkes that stode before him. Lo Syrs, this is the maner and busines of this Losell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy Scripture and Doctours, to mayntayne theyr sect & lore agaynst the ordinaunce of holy Church. And therefore Losell, it is thou that couetest to haue agayne the Psalter that I made to be taken frō thee at Caunterbury, to record sharpe verses agaynst vs. But thou shalt neuer haue that Psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know y^t thy hart & thy mouth accordfully, to be gouerned by holy Church.

☞ And I sayd: Syr,^{*} all my will and power is, & euer shal be (I trust to God) to be gouerned by holy Church.

And the Archbishop asked me, what was holy Church.

☞ And I sayd: Syr, I tolde you before, what was holye Church. But since ye aske me this demaund: I call Christ and his Saintes holy Church.

And the Archbishoppe sayd vnto me. I wore well that Christ and his Saintes are holy Churche in heauen, but what is holy Church in earth?

☞ And I sayd: Syr, though holy Churche be euery one in charity, yet it hath two partes. The first and pricipall part, hath ouercomen perfectly all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth ioyfully in heauen with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth, busily & continually fighting day and night agaynst temptations of the fiend: forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, dispising and withstāding theyr fleshly lustes, which onely are the pilgrimes of Christ, wandring toward heauen by stedfast fayth & grouēded hope, and by perfect charity. For these heauenly pilgrimes, may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reasō of any doctors discording from holy scripture, nor by the floudes of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of manasing of any creature: For they are all fast grounded vpon the sure stone Christ, hearing his word and louing it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wittes to do thereafter.

And the Archbishop sayd to his Clerkes. See ye not how his hart is indurate, and how he is trauelled with the deuill occupying him thus busily to alledgr suth sentences to mayntaine his errours and heresies? Certayne, thus he would occupy vs here all day, if we would suffer him.

One of the clerkes aunswered,* Sir, he sayd right now that this certification that came to you from Shrewsbury, is vntruely forged agaynst him. Therefore sir, appose you him nowe heare in all y^t points which are certified against him, & so we shall heare of his own mouth his answeres, and witnesse them.

And the Archb. took the certification in his hand, & looked theron a while, and then he sayd to me.

Loe here it is certified against thee by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewsbury, that thou preachedst there openly in S. Chads church: that the Sacramēt of the aaltar was material bread after the consecratiō, what sayst thou? was this truely preached?*

☞ And I sayd: Sir, I tell you truly y^t I touched nothing therof the sacrament of y^e aaltar, but in this wise, as I will with Gods grace tel you here. As I stood there in the pulpit, busiying me to teach the commaundemēt of God: there knilled a sacring bel, & therfore mickle people turned away hastily, and with noyse ran fro towards me. And I seing this, sayd to them thus: Good men ye were better to stand here still and to heare Gods word.* For certes the vertue & the mede of the most holy Sacrament of the aaltar stādeth mikle more in the beliefe therof y^t ye ought to haue in your soule, thē it doth in the outward sight therof. And therefore, ye were better to stand still quietly to heare gods word, because that through y^e hearing therof, mē come to very true belief. And otherwise sir, I am certaine I spake not there, of the worthy sacrament of the aaltar.

And the Archb. sayd to me: I beleue thee not whatsoever thou sayst, since so worshipful mē haue witnessed thus agaynst thee.* But since thou deniest that thou sayedst thus there, what sayst thou now? Resteth there after the consecration in the host, materiall bread or no?

☞ And I sayd: sir I know in no place in holy Scripture where this terme materiall bread is written: and therefore sir, whē I speak of this matter, I vse not to speake of materiall bread.

Then the Archb. sayd to me: Now teachest thou men to beleue in this sacrament?

☞ And I sayd: Syr, as I beleue my selfe, so I teach other men.

He sayd, tell out playnely thy beliefe thereof.

☞ And I sayd with my protestation: Sir, I beleue that the night before that Christ Iesu woulde suffer (wilfully) passiō for mankind on the morne after: he took bread in his holy and most worshipfull hands, lifting vp his eyes, and giuyng thanks to God his father, blessed this bread and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying to them: Take and eate of this all you, this is my body. And that this is & ought to be all mens beliefe, Mathew, Marke, Luke and [Page 534](#) Paule witnesseth. Other beliefe Sir I haue none, nor wil haue, nor teach: for I beleue, that this suffiseth in this matter. For in this beliefe with Gods grace I purpose to liue and dye, knowledging as I beleue and teach other men to beleue that the worshipfull Sacrament of the aaltar, is the Sacrament of Christes flesh and his bloud, in forme of bread and of wine.

And the Archb. sayd to me. It is sooth that this Sacrament is very Christes body in forme of bread. But thou & thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

☞ And I sayd: Neither I, nor any other of the sect that ye damne, teach any otherwise then I haue tolde you, nor beleue otherwise to my knowing. Neuertheles sir, I aske of you for charity, that ye will tell me here playnly, how ye shall vnderstand the text of Saint Paule, where he sayth thus: This thing fele you in your self that is in Christ Iesu, while he was in the forme of god. Sir, calleth not Paul here the forme of God, the substance or kinde of God? Also sir, sayth not the church in the houres of y^e most blessed virgin accordingly hereto, where it is writtē thus? Thou author of health remember, that sometime thou tooke of y^e vndefiled virgine, the forme of our body. Tell me for charitye therefore, whether the forme of our body, be called here the kinde of our body or no?

* And the Archb. sayde to me: Wouldest thou make me to declare this text after thy purpose, since the Church nowe hath determined: that there abideth no substaunce of bread after the consecration, in the sacrament of the aultar? Beleuest thou not this ordinaunce of the church?

☞ And I sayd: Sir, whatsoever Prelates haue ordeyned in the Church, our beliefe standeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinaunce of men vnder beliefe, should bee put into beliefe.

And the Archb. sayd to me: If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to know that thou art out of beliefe. If in this matter and other, thou beleauest not as the holye Church beleueth. What say Doctors treating of this Sacrament?

☞ And I sayd: Sir, S. Paule that was a great Doctor of holy Church, speaking to the people, and teaching thē in y^e right belief of this most holy Sacrament: calleth it bread y^t we breake. And also in the Canon of the masse after the cōsecratiō: this most worthy Sacramēt is called holy bread. And euery priest in this lād, after that he hath receiued this sacrament, sayth in this wise: That thing that we haue taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it w^t a pure and clean mind. That is as I vnderstand, we pray God that we may receiue throw very beliefe, this holy sacrament worthely. And Sir, Saint Augustine sayth: that thing that is seene, is bread: but that mens fayth asketh to be informed of, is very Christes body. And also, Fulgence an ententife Doctour, sayth: As it were an errour to say that Christ was but a substaunce, that is very man, and not very GGD: or to say that Christ was very God, and not very man: so is it (this Doctour sayth) an errour to say, that the Sacrament of the aultar is but a substaunce: And also Sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the midde Masse on Christmas day,* it is written thus: Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod diuinum est: which sentence sir, with the secret of the fourth fery, quatuor temporum Septembris: I pray you sir declare here openly in English.

* And the Archbishop sayd to me, I perceiue well enough where about thou art, and how the deuil blindeth thee, that thou may not vnderstand the ordinaunce of holy Church, nor consent therto. But I commaund thee now, aunswere me shortly: Beleuest thou that after the consecratiō of this foresayd Sacrament: there abideth substaunce of breade, or not?

☞ and I sayd: Sir, as I vnderstand it is all one to graūt or beleue, that there dwelleth substance of bread, & to graūt and to beleue that this most worthy sacrament of Christes owne body is accidēt

without subiect.* But Sir, for as mikle as your asking passeth my vnderstanding, I dare neither deny it nor graūt it, for it is schole matter, about whiche I busied me neuer for to know: & therefore I committe this terme accidens sine subiecto, to those Clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and straūge matters, & wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, w^t pro & contra,* till that they wot not where they are, & vnderstand not thēselues. But the shame that these proude Sophisters haue to yelde them to men, and before men, maketh thē oft fooles and to be concluded shamefully before God.

And the archb. said to me: I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerks, since thou art vnable therto: but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

☞ And I sayd: sir, by open euidence and great wnesse, a M. yeare after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I haue here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy Church as sufficient to the saluation of all them that would beleue it faythfully,* and work thereafter charitably. But Sir, the determination of this matter whiche was brought in since the fiend was loosed by Frier Thomas agayne, specially calling the most worshipfull Sacramēt of Christes owne body an accident without subiect:* whiche terme, since I know not that Gods lawe approueth it in this matter, I dare not graūt, but vtterly I deny to make this Friers sentence, or any such other, my beliefe, do with me God what thou wilt.

And the Archb. sayd to me:* Wel, wel, thou shalt say other\wise or that I leaue thee. But what sayest thou to this second point that is recorded agaynst thee by worthy men of Shrewsbury, saying that thou preachedst there, that Images ought not to be worshipped in any wise.

☞ And I sayd: Syr, I preached neuer thus, nor through gods grace I wil not any time consent to think nor to say thus, neyther priuily nor apertly. For lo, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that the thinges which he made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are & shalbe good and worshipfull in theyr kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them to, they are al praisable and worshipful, & specially man that was made after the image & likenesse of God,* is full worshipfull in hys kinde, yea this holy image that is man, God worshipping. And herefore euery man should worship other, in kinde, and also for heauenly vertues that mē vse charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold siluer, or any other matter that images are made of: al these creatures are worshipful in their kinde, and to the end that God made them for.* But the caruing, casting, & payntyng of an imagery, made within mans hād, albeit that this doynge be accept of man of highest state and dignitie, & ordayned of them to be a Calender to lend men, that neyther can nor will be learned to know God in hys word, neyther by his creatures, nor by hys wonderful & diuers workings: Yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in fourme, nor in the likenes of mans craft. Neuerthesse, that euery matter the paynters paynt with since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kinde, and to the ende that God made and ordayned it to serue man.

Then the Archbishop sayd to me, I graunt well that no body ought to doe worship to any suche images for themselues. But a crucifixe ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is paynted therein,* and so brought there through to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgine Mary Christes mother, and other images of sayntes,* ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthly kinges and Lordes which vse to send theyr letters ensealed with

their armes, or with theyr priuy signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receiue theyr Lordes letters, in whiche they see and know the willes and biddinges of the Lords in worship of theyr Lordes they doe off theyr caps to these letters. Why not them, since in Images made wyth mans hande, we may read and knowe many diuers thinges of GOD, and of hys Sayntes, shall we not worship their images?

☞ And I sayd,* within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worldly vsages of temporal lawes that ye speak now of, may be done in case without sinne. But this is no similitude to worshippe Images made by mans hande, since that Moyses, Daud, Solomon, Baruch, and other saints in the Bible, forbid so playnely the worshipping of suche Images.

Then the archbishop sayd to me: Leud losell: in the olde law before that Christ tooke mankinde, was no likenes of any person of y^e trinitie, neither shewed to man nor known of man: But nowe since Christ became man, it is lefull to haue Images to shew hys manhoode. Yea though many men which are right great Clerkes & other also, held it an errour to paynt the Trinitie: I say it is well done to make and to paynt the Trinitie in images. For it is great moouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie and other images of saints, carued, cast, & paynted. For beyond the sea, are the best paynters that euer I saw. And sirs I tell you, this is their maner, and it is a good maner. Whē y^t an Image maker shall carue, cast in molde, or paint any Images, he shall go to a Priest, & shriue him as clean, as if he should then dye: and take penance, and make some certayne vowe of fasting or of praying or pilgrimages doing, praying y^e Priest specially to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a fayre and a deuout Image.

[Page 535](#)☞ And I sayd: Sir, I doubt not if these paynters that ye speake of, or any other painters vnderstoode truly the text of Moyses, of Daud, of y^r wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors: These painters should be moued to shrine thē to God w^t ful inward sorowe of hart, taking vpon them to do right sharpe penāce for the sinful & vaine cra•t of painting, caruing, or casting they had vsed: Promising God faithfully, neuer to do so after: knowledging openly before al men their reprobable learning. And also sir, these priests that shrine (as you do say) painters, & enioine thē to do penance, & pray for their speede, promisyng to thē helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their sinful crafts: sinne herein more greuously, then the painters. For these priests do comfort and geue them, counsail to do that thing, which of great pain, yea vnder y^r pain of gods curse, they should vtterly forbid them. For certes sir, if the wonderful working of God, & the holy liuing & teachyng of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophetes, were made knowen to the people by holy liuing & true, and busy reaching of priests: these thinges (sir) were sufficient bookes and Kalenders to know God by, & his Saynts, without any images made with mans hand.* But certes, y^e vicious liuing of priests and their couetousnes, are chiefe cause of this errour, and all other viciousnes that raygneth amōg the people.

Then the Archbish. sayd vnto me, I hold thee a vicious Priest and a curst, and all them that are of thy sect, for all priests of holy church, & all images that moue men to deuotion, thou & such other go about to destroy.* Losel, were i• a faire thing to come into the church and see therin none Image?

☞ And I sayd: sir, they that come to y^r church for to praye deuoutly to the lord God, may in their inward wittes be the more feruent, that al their outwarde wits be closed frō al outward seing &

hearing, and frō all disturbance, & lettings. And since Christ blessed thē that saw him not bodely, and haue beleued faithfully in him: it suffiseth then to al mē (through hearing and knowing of gods word, and to do thereafter) for to beleue in God,* though they see neuer images made with mans hand after any person of y^e Trinitie, or of any other saint.

And the Archb. said to me, with a feruent spirit: I say to thee Iosell that it is right wel done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie,* Yea, what saist thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

☞ And I said: Sir, ye said right now that in the old lawe or Christ toke mākind, no likenes of any person of y^e Trinity was shewed to men: wherefore sir, ye said it was not thē leful to haue images, but nowe ye saye, since Christ is becomen mā, it is leful to make & to haue an image of the Trinitie,* & also of other saints. But sir, this thing would I learne of you: since y^e father of heauen, yea & euery persō of y^e Trinitie was without beginning God almightye, & many holy prophets that were deadly mē, were martired violētly in the old law, and also many men & women thē died Confessors: Why was it not then as leful & necessary as nowe to haue made an Image of the father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of Martirs, prophets, and holy Confessors, to haue ben Kalenders to aduise men and moue thē to deuotion, as ye say that images now do?

* And the Archb. sayd: The sinagogue of the Iewes had not authoritie to approue those thinges as the Church of Christ hath now.

☞ And I sayd: Sir: S. Gregory was a great man in the new lawe, & of great dignity, and as the cōmon law witnesseth, he commended greatly a Bishop, in that he forbad vtterly the Images made with mās hand should be worshipped.

And the Archb. sayd: Ungracious Iosell, y^u sauourest no more truth then an hound. Since at the roode at y^e Northdore at Londō, at our Lady at Walsingham, & many other diuers places in Englād, are many great & praynable miracles done: should not y^e images of such holy saynts and places,* at the reuerence of God & our lady & other saintes be more worshipped then other places and images, wher no miracles are done?

☞ And I said: Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagery, that any images should herefore be worshipped, wher fore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of god in any place in earth, because that any images made w^t mans hād should be worshipped. And herfore sir, as I preached openly at Shrewsbury & other places, I say now here before you: That no body should trust that there were anye vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no body should vow to thē nor secke them, nor kneele to thē, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them,* nor kisse them, nor ensence thē. For lo the most worthy of such images, the brasen Serpent (by Moises made, at Gods bidding) the good K. Ezechie destroied worthely & thankfully, & al because it was ensenced. Therefore sir, if men take good heede to the writing and to the learning of S. Augustine, of S. Gregory, and of Saint Iohn Chrisostome, and of other Saints and doctors, howe they spake & write of miracles, that shalbe done now in the last ende of the world: It is to dreyd, that for the vnfaythfulnesse of men & women, the Fiende hath great power, for to work many of the miracles that nowe are done in such places. For both men and women

delight now more for to heare and know miracles, then they do know Gods worde, or to heare it effectuously. Wherefore, to the great cōfusion of all them that thus do Christ sayth: The generation of adulterers requireth tokens,* miracles, and wonders. Neuertheles as diuers saints say, now when the faith of god is published in Christendome, the word of God suffyseth to mans saluation, without such miracles: and thus also the worde of God suffiseth to all faythfull men & women, without any such images. But good sir, since the father of heauen that is God in his godhead, is y^e most vnknownen thing that may be, and the most wonderful spirit, hauing in it no shape or likenesse, and members of anye deadlye creature: in what likenes or what image may God the father be shewed or painted?

And the Archb. said:* as holy church hath suffered the Images of the Trinitie, & al other images to be paynted & shewed: it sufficeth to them y^t are mēbers of holye church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holye church: thou fauorest not the ordinaunce therof. But since the day passeth, leaue we this matter

AND then he sayd to me:* What sayest thou to the third point that is ••••fied against thee, preaching opely in Shreusbury,* that pilgrimage is not lefull: and ouer this, thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste.

☞ And I said: Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach,* that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I said neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God: and therfore sir, howsoeuer mine enimies haue certified you of me, I told at Shrewsbury of two maner of pilgrimages.

And the Archbishop said to me, whom callest thou true pilgrimes?

☞ And I said:* Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes traueling toward y^e blisse of heauen, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do busie them faithfullie for to occupie all their wits bodelie and ghostlie, to knowe truelie, and to keepe faithfullie the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seauen deadlie sins, and euerie branch of them: Ruling them vertuouslie (as it is said before) with all their wits, doing discretlie, wilfully, and gladly, all the workes of mercy, bodelie and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the holy ghost, disposing them to receiue them in their soules, and to hold therein, the right blessings of Christ: Busieng them to knowe and to keepe, the seauen principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine heere through grace, for to vse thankfully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then, they shall be moued with the good spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligentlie their conscience, that neither wilfullie nor wittinglie they erre in anie article of beleefe, hauing continually (as frailtie will suffer) all their busines, to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to loue ouer all, and to seeke euer to do his pleasant will.* Of these pilgrimes I said, what soeuer good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke: Euery such thought, word and worke is a step numbred of God, toward him into heauen. These foresaid pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of Saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsooke wilfully the prosperitie of this life,* how they withstood the suggestion of the fiend, how they restrained their

fleshly lusts, how discret they were in their penance doing, how pacient they were in all their aduersities, how prudent they were in counseling of men and women, mouing them to hate all sinne, and to flie them, and to shame euer greatly thereof, and to loue all vertues, and to drawe to them, imagining how Christ and his followers by example of him, suffered scornes and sclaunders, and howe paciently they abode and tooke the wrongful manasing of tyrantes: How homely they were and seruisable to poore men, to relieue and comfort them bodely and ghostly, after [Page 536](#) their power and cunning, and how deuout they were in prayers, how feruent they were in heauenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings, and how stable they were to let and to destroy al vices, and how laborious and ioyfull they were, to sowe and to plant vertues. These heauenly conditions and such other, haue pilgrimes, or endeuour them for to haue: whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

And agayne, I sayde, as their workes shewe, the moste part of men and women that goe nowe on pilgrimages, haue not these foresaid conditions, nor loueth to busie thē faythfully for to haue. For as I well knowe, since I haue full oft assayde, examine whosoeuer will xx. of these pylgrimes, and he shall not finde three men or women that know surely a commaundement of God, nor can say their Pater noster, & Aue Maria, nor their Creede readely in anye maner of language. And as I haue learned & also knowe somewhat by experience of these same pilgrimes, tellynge the cause, why that many men and women go hether and thether now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their soules: more for to haue ryches and prosperitie of this world, then for to be enriched with vertues in their soules: more to haue here worldly & fleshly frendship, then for to haue frindship of God, and of his saints in heauen. For whatsoever thinge man or woman doth,* the frendship of God, nor of any other Saint cānot be had, wythout keeping of Gods commaundementes. Further, with my protestation, I say nowe as I sayde in Shrewsbury, though they that haue fleshly willes, trauel farre their bodies and spend mekel money, to seeke and to visite the bones or Images (as they saye they doe) of thys Saint or of that: such pilgrimage going is neither praisable nor thankful to God nor to any saint of God, synce in effect, al such pilgrimes dispise God and al his cōmaundements & Saints. For y^t cōmaundemēts of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor cōform thē to liue vertuously by example of Christ and of his Saints.* Wh•refore sir, I haue preached and taught openly, and so I purpose al my life time to do with Gods help, saying that such fond people waste blamefully Gods goods in their vain pilgrimages, spending their goods vpon vitious hostelars, which are oft vncleane womē of their bodies: & at the least, those goods with the which they should do works of mercy after Gods bidding, to poore needy men and women.

These poore mens goods and their liuelode, these runners about,* offer to riche priestes which haue me kill more liuelode then they neede. And thus those goods they wast wilfully, & spend them vniustly against gods bidding vpon straungers, with which, they should helpe and relieue, after Gods wil, their poore nedy neighbors at home: ye & ouer this folly, oft times diuers men and women, of these runners thus madly hether and thither into pilgrimage: borow hereto, other mens gooddes, ye and sometime they stealemens goods hereto, and they pay them neuer again. Also sir, I know wel that when diuers men and women wil go thus after their owne wills, and fyndinge out one pilgrimage: they will ordeyne wyth them before, to haue with them both men and women, that can wel sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrimes, wil haue with them bagge pipes: so that euery town that they come through, what with the noyse of their singing, and with the soūd of their piping, and with the iangling of their Caunterbury bells, and with the

barkyng out of dogges after them, that they make more noyce, thē if the king came there away, w^t all his clarions, & many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, tale tellers, and lyers.

And y^r Archb. said to me: Leud Iosel, thou seest not farre inough in this matter, for thou considerest not y^r great trauaile of pilgrims: * therfore, thou blamest that thing that is praysable. I say to thee, that it is right wel done, that pilgrimes haue with them both singers and also pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefoote, striketh his to vpon a stone, and hurteth him sore, & maketh him to blede: it is well done that he or his fellow begin thē a song, or els take out of his bosom a bagpipe, for to driue away w^t suche mirth, the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace, the trauaile and wearynes of pilgrymes, is lightly, and merily borne out.

☞ And I sayd: sir, S. Paule teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the Archb. said, what ianglest thou against mēs deuotion? Whatsoeuer thou or such other say, * I say that y^r pilgrimage that now is vsed, is to thē that do it, a praysable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee vnable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the deuotion of the people: since by authoritie of holye scripture, men may lefully haue & vse such solace as yⁿ reouest. For Daud in his last Psalme, techeth mē to haue diuers instruments of musike for to praise therwith God:

☞ And I saide: * sir, by the sentence of diuers Doctours expoūding the psalmes of Daud: that musike and minstrelsie y^t Daud & other saints of the olde lawe spake of, ought now nother to be taken nor vsed by the letter, but these instrumēts with their musike ought to be interpreted ghostly: For al those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please god, & praise hys name. For S. Paul sayth: al such things befell to them in figure. Therefore sir, I vnderstād, that the letter of this psalme of Daud and of such other Psalmes and sentences doth slay them that take thē now litterally. This sentence as I vnderstand sir, Christ approueth himself, putting out y^r minstrels, or that he would quicken the dead damsell.

And y^e Archb. said to me. * Lend losel, is it not lefull to vs to haue Organes, in y^e church for to worship there withall God? And I sayd, ye sir, by mans ordinance: But by y^e ordinance of God, a good sermon to y^e peoples vnderstāding were mekil more pleasant to God.

☞ And the Archb. said, that Organes and good delectable songs, quickned & sharpened more mēs wits then should any sermon.

But I saide: sir, lusty men & worldly louers, delite and couet & trauail to haue al their wittes quickned & sharpened w^t diuers sensible solace: But al the the faythful louers and followers of Christ, haue al their delite to heare gods word, and to vnderstand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offēd God, and to loue to please him in all things quickneth and sharpeneth all the wittes of Christs chosen people: and ableth them so to grace, that they ioy greatly to withdrawe their eares and al their wits and members, frō al worldly delite and from all fleshly solace. * For S. Ierome (as I thinke) sayth. No body may ioy with this world & raigne with Christ.

☞ And y^e Archb. (as if he had ben displeased w^t mine aunswer) said to his clerks. What gesse ye that this Idiot wyll speak there,* wher he hath no dread: since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Wel, wel, by God thou shalt bee ordayned for. And then he spake to me al angrily.

What saiest thou to this fourth point,* that is certified against thee, preaching openly & boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests haue no title to tithes.

And I sayd. Sir, I named there no worde of tythes in my preaching. But more then a month after that I was arested: there in prison, a man came to mee into the pryson, asking me what I sayd of tythes. And I sayd to him. Sir, in this towne are many clerkes and priests, of which some are called religious mē, though many of them be seculars. Therefore, aske ye of them this question. And thys man sayd to me. Syr, our Prelates say, that we also are ob^liged to pay our tithes of all thinges that renue to vs: and that they are accursed,* that withdraw anye part wittingly fro them of their tythes. And I sayd (sir) to that man, as w^t my protestation I say now before you: that I wonder that any priest dare say, men to be accursed, without the ground of Gods word, And the man said. Syr our priests say, that they curse men thus by authoritie of Gods law. And I said Sir I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore syr, I pray you that ye will aske the most cunning clerke of this town, that yee may know wher this sentēce of cursing thē y^t tithe not, is now writtē in gods law: for if it were writtē there, I wold right gladly be learned wher. But shortly this mā would not go fro me, to aske this questiō, of an other body: But required me there, as I would aunswer before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull & approued of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of S. Peter, teaching priests specially to halowe the Lord Christ in their harts: being euermore redy (as farre as in them is) to aunswer thorough faith and hope to thē that aske of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to vse with a meeke spirit & with dread of the Lord. Wherefore sir, I said to this man in this wise. In the old law,* which ended not fully, till the time that Christ rose vp againe from death to life: God cōmanded tithes to be giuen to the Leuits, for the great busines and daily trauaile that pertained to their office. But priests, because their trauel was mekil more easy & light, then was the office of the Leuits: God ordeined y^r priests should take for their liuelode to do their office, the tenth part of those tithes y^t were giuen to y^e Leuits. But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles tooke tithes of y^e people [Page 537](#) nor cōmanded the people to pay tithes, neither to Priests nor to deacons.* But Christ taught the people to do almes, that is, works of mercy, to poore needie men (of surplus, that is superfluous of their temporall goods) which they had, more then them needed reasonably to their necessarie liueloode. And thus (I sayde) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ liued and his Apostles: when they were so busy in preaching of the word of God to the people, y^r they might not trauell otherwise for to get their liueloode. But after Christes ascension, and when the Apostles had receiued the holy Ghost: they trauayled wyth their hands, for to get their liuelode, whē that they might thus do for busy preaching. Therefore by example of himselfe, S. Paule teacheth al the priestes of Chryst for to trauaile with their hand, when for busy teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus, all these Priests whose priesthode God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apostles time, and after their discease: wil do to y^e worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ. 211. yeare, one Pope the x. Gregory ordeined new tithes first to be geuen to priestes now in the new law.* But Saint Paule in his tyme, whose trace or example all Priestes of God enforce them to follow, seing the couetousnes that was among the people, desiring to destroy the soule sinne through the grace of

God & true vertuous liuing and example of himselfe: wrote & taught all priestes for to follow him as he followed Christ, pacyently, willingly, and gladly in hygh pouerty: Wherefore, Paule sayth thus.* The Lord hath ordeyned that they that preach the Gospell, shall lyue of the Gospell. But we (saith Paul) that couet and busye vs to be faythfull followers of Christ, vse not this power. For lo (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full poore and needy, preaching among the people: he was not chargeous vnto them, but wyth hys handes he trauayled not onely to get his owne lyuing, but also the lyuing of other poore and needye creatures. And since the people was neuer so couetous, nor so auarous (I gesse) as they are now: It were good counsell that al priestes toke hede to this heauenly learning of Paul following him herein wilful pouerty, nothyng chargyng y^e people for their bodily liuelode. But because that many Priests do contrary to Paule in this foresayde doctrine: Paul biddeth the people take hede to those priests that folow him as he had geuē them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people: Accept ye none other Priests then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certain, in whatsoever dignity or order y^r any Priest is in, if he conforme him not to follow Christ & his Apostles in wilful pouerty, & in other heauenly vertues, and specially in true preaching of Gods word: though such a one be named a Priest,* yet he is no more but a priest in name, for the worke of a very Priest, in such a one wanteth. This sentence approueth Augustine, Gregory, Chrisostom, & Limcolne plainly.

And the Archb. saide to me. Thinkest thou this wholesome learning for to sow openly, or yet priuily among the people? Certain, this doctrine contrarieth plainly y^e ordynance of holy fathers which haue ordeined, graunted, & licenced priests to be in diuers degrees, & to liue by tithes & offrings of the people, and by other dueties.

☞ And I said, sir, if priests were now in measurable measure & number, and liued vertuously, & taught busilye and truly the word of God, by example of Christ & of his apostles, without tithes, offrings, & other dueties that priests now challenge & take: the people would geue them freely, sufficient liuelode.

And a clerke said to me. How wilt thou make this good, that the people will geue freely to priestes their liuelode: since that now by the law euery priest cā scarcely cōstraine the people to geue them their liuelode.

☞ And I said. Sir it is now no wonder though the people grudge to geue priests the liuelode that they aske: Mekil people know now, how y^r priests should liue, & howe that they liue contrarye to Christ & to his Apostles. And therefore, the people is ful heauy to pay (as they doe) their temporal goods to parsons and to other vicares & priests, which should be faythfull dispensatours of the parishes goodes: taking to thēselues no more, but a scarce liuing of tithes, nor of offrings, by the ordinance of the cōmon law. For whatsoever priests take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duety or seruice) the priests ought not to haue thereof no more, but a bare liuing: & to depart the residue to the poore men & womē specially of the parish of whom they take this temporal liuing. But y^e most dele of priests now wasteth their parishes goodes, and spendeth them at their owne wil after the world, in ther vain lusts: So that in few places poore mē haue dully (as they should haue) their own sustenāce, nother of tithes nor of offrings nor of other large wages & foundations that priests take of the people in diuers maners aboue y^r they nede for nede full sustenance of meat & clothing.* But the poore nedye people are forsaken and left of Priests to

be sustayned o• y^e parishens, as if the priests toke nothing of the parishers for to helpe the people with.

And thus sir, into ouer great charges of the parishens they pay their tēporal goods twice where once myght suffice, if priests were true dispensatours. Also sir, the parishners that pay their temporal goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office amōg them iustly are parteners of euery sinne of those Priests: * because that they sustaine those priestes folly in their sinne, with their temporal goods. If these things be well considered, what wonder is it thē sir, if the parishners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the Archb. said to me, * Thou that shouldst be iudged & ruled by holy church, presumptuously thou deemest holy church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes & other dueties to be paid to priests. It shal be long or thou thriue Losel, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speake this (Losel) among the people? Are not tithes geuen to priests for to liue by?

☞ And I said: * Sir S. Paule saith, that tithes were geuen in the old law to Leuites and to Priests, that came of the linage of Leuy. But our priests he sayth, came not of the linage of Leuy, but of the linage of Iuda, to whych Iuda no tithes were promised to be geuen. And therfore Paule saith, since the priesthode is chaūged from y^e generation of Leuy to the generation of Iuda: It is necessary that chāging also be made of the law. So that priests liue now, w^t out tithes & other duety that they now claime, following Christ & his Apostles in wilfull pouerty, as they haue geuē thē example. * For since Christ liued (all the tyme of hys preaching) by pure almes of the people. And by example of him, his Apostles liued in the same wise, or els by y^e trauaile of their hāds as it is sayd aboue. Euery priest, whose priesthode Christ approueth, knoweth wel, & confesseth in worde and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be aboue his maister, but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as hys maister, simple, and pure, meke and pacient: and by example specially of his maister Christ, euerye Priest shoulde rule him in al his liuing, & so after his cūning & power, a priest should busy him to enforme and to rule, whom so euer hee might charitably.

And the Archbish. said to me with a great spirite, * Gods curse haue thou & mine for this teachinge: for thou wouldest hereby, make the olde law more free and perfect thē y^r new law. For thou saiest, that it is leful to Leuites and to priests to take tithes in the old law, * and so to enioy their priuilegies: but to vs priests in the new law, thou sayest it is not lawfull to take tithes. And thus thou geuest Leuites of the old law, more freedome than to priests of the new law.

☞ And I said. Sir, I maruell, that ye vnderstand thys plaine text of Paule thus. * Ye wot well, that the Leuites and priests in the old lawe that tooke tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his Apostles that tooke no tithes. And sir, there is a Doctor (I thinke that it is Saint Ierome) that saith thus. The priests that challenge now in the new law, * tithes: Say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans loue. Wherefore, this Doctor saith this sentence. Since tythes were the hires and wages limitted to Leuites and to priests of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slayeng and fleing of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the hoste of Israell, and other diuers obseruances that pertained to their office: Those priests that will challenge or

take tithes, deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the priests office of the old law, for whome tithes were granted: for els (as this Doctor saith) priests take now tithes wrongfully.

And the archb. said to his clarkes. Heard ye euer Losell speake thus? Certaine, this is the learning of them all, that whersoever they come, and they may be suffered: they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy Church.

☞ And I said.* Sir, why call you the taking of tithes, and of such other duties that priests chalenge now (wrongfullie) the freedome of holy church: Since neither Christ nor his apostles, chalenge nor tooke such duties. Herefore these takings of priests now are not called iustly the freedome of holy church, but all such geuing and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous couetousnes of men of the holy church.

And the archb. said to me. Why Losell, wilt not thou [Page 538](#) and other that are considered with thee, seeke out of holy scripture, & of the sence of doctors, al sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squiers, & against other secular men, as thou doest against priests.

☞ And I said: Sir, whatsoever men or women, lords of ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching specially, or in our cōmoning after our cūning, we tell out to thē their office & their charges: But sir, since Chrisostome sayth, that priests are the stomack of y^e people, it is nedeful in preaching, & also in commoning, to be most busy about this priesthode:. Since by the viciousnes of priestes both Lordes & cōmons are most sinfully infected & led into the worst. And because y^r the couetousnes of priests & pride, & the boast that they haue & make of their dignity and power: destroyeth not onely the vertues of priesthod in priests thēselues, but also ouer this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both vpon the Lords, & vpon cōmons, whych suffer these priests charitably.

* And the Archb. said to me. Thou iudgest euery priest proud y^r wil not go arayed as thou doest. By god I deme him to be more meke y^r goeth euery day in a scarlet gown, thā thou in thy threed bare blew gown. Wherby knowest thou a proud man?

☞ And I said. Sir a proud priest may be known, when he denieth to follow Christ & his Apostles, in wyfull pouerty and other vertues:*. & coueteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, & gathereth together with pleding, manasing, or with flattering, or w^t simony any worldly goodes: And most, if a priest busy him not chiefly in himselfe, & after in all other men, and women after his cunning & power, to withstand sinne.

* And the Archb. sayd to mee. Though thou knewest a priest to haue al these vices, & though thou sawest a pryest louely lye now by a womā, knowing her fleshly: wouldst thou therfore deme this priest dānable? I say to thee y^t in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

☞ And I sayd. Sir I wil not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may be done, so that the sinner leaueth his sinne. But by authoritie of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sinne: and most specially, a priest y^e shoulde be example to al other for to hate & flye sinne.* And in how short time that euer ye say y^e such a

sinner may be repēted: he ought not of him y^e knoweth his sinning, to bee iudged verily repentant, without open euidence of great shame & harty sorow for his sinne. For whosoeuer (and specially a priest) that vseth pride, enuy, couetousnes, lechery, simony or any other vices: sheweth not as open euidēce of repentance as he hath geuen euil exāple & occasion of sinning, if he cōtinue in any such sinne as long as he may: it is likely that sinne leaneth him, & he not sinne. And as I vnderstād such a one sinneth vnto death, for whō no bodye oweth to pray, as S. Iohn sayth.

* And a Clerke saide then to the Archb. Sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is: and the more ye busye you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kinde, that he shameth not onely to be himselfe a soule nest, but withou: shame he busyeth him to make his nest souler.

*☞ And the Archbishop saide to hys Clerke. Suffer a while, for I am at an ende with him, for there is an other poynt certyfied agaynst hym, and I will heare what hee sayth thereto.

And so thā he said to me. Lo it is here certified against thee, y^t thou preachedst opēly at Shrewsbury, that it is not lawful to sweare in any case.

☞ And I said, Sir I preached neuer so openlye, nor I haue taught in this wise in any place. But sir, as I preached in Shrewsbury, w^t my protestation I say to you now here: * that by the authoritie of the Gospell of S. Iames, & by witnes of diuers Saints & doctours: I haue preached opēly in one place or other, that it is not leful in any cause to sweare by any creature. And ouer this Sir, I haue also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities: y^e no body should sweare in any case, if that without othe in any wise he that is charged to sweare might excuse him to them that haue power to compel him to sweare, in leful thing & law|ful. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that haue power to cōpel him to sweare, than he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him onely that is southfastnesse, for to witnes the southfastnes.

*And then a Clarke asked me if it were not leful to a subiect at the bidding of his Prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy Gospel booke, and kisse it, saying: So helpe me God and this hollydome, for he should after hys cuninge and power, doe all thynges that hys Prelate commaundeth hym.

☞ And I said to them: Sirs, ye speake here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commaūded hys subiect to do an vnlawful thing, should he obey therto?

And the Archb. said to me: A subiect ought not to suppose, * that his prelate wil bid him do an vnlawfull thinge. For a subiect ought to thinke that his prelate wil bid him do nothing but that he wil aunswer for before God, that it is leful: And then, though y^e bidding of the prelate bee vnleful, the subiect hath no peril to fulfil it, since that he thinketh & iudgeth, that whatsoeuer thing his prelate byddeth him do, that it is leful to him for to do it.

☞ And I sayd, sir I trust not thereto. But to our purpose: Sir I tel you, y^t I was once in a gentlemās house, and there were then two Clarkes there, a maister of diuinity, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in diuinitie. And among other things, these men soake of

othes,* & the man of law sayd: at the bidding of his soueraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, he would lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare hys charge: and if his charge to his vnderstanding were vnlefull, he would hastily withdraw his hand vpō the booke, taking there onely God to witnes, that he would fulfil that lefull charge, after his power. And the maister of diuinitie sayde then to him thus. Certaine, he that layeth his hand vpō a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commaunded: Is obliged therby by boke othe, then to fulfil his charge. For no doubt, hee that chargeth him to lay his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, & swearing by it, and kissing it, promisinge in this forme to do this thing or that) wil say and witnes, that he that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne vpon that booke. And al other mē that see that man thus do, and also all those that heare hereof, in the same wise wyll say and witnes, that this man hath sworne vpon a booke. Wherefore,* the maister of diuinitie sayde, it was not lefull neyther to geue nor to take any such charge vpon a booke: for euery booke is nothing els, but diuers creatures, of which it is made of. Therefore to sweare vpon a booke, is to sweare by creatures, and this swearinge is euer vnlefull. This sentence witnesseth Chrisostome playnely,* blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to sweare vpon, charging Clarkes, that in no wise they constrayne any body to sweare, whether they thinke a man to sweare true or false.

And the Archbishop and his Clarkes,* scorned mee, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the Archb. manassed me with great punishment & sharpe, except I left thys opinion of swearing.

☞ And I said: Sir, this is not myne opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our sauour, & of S. Iames, & of Chrysostome, & other diuers saints and doctours.

Than the Archb. had a clarke read this homely of Chrisostom: which homely, this clerke held in his hand writtē in a roule: which roule the Archb. caused to be taken from my fellow at Caūterbury. And so then this clark read this role, til he came to a clause where Chrisostome sayth, that it is sinne to sweare well.

And then a clark Malueren (as I gesse) said to y^e Archb. Sir,* I pray you were of him, how he vnderstādeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to sweare well.

And so the Archbish. asked me, how I vnderstode here Chrisostome.

And certaine,* I was somewhat afraid to aunswer hereto: For I had not busied me to study about the sense therof, but lifting vp my minde to God, I praied him of grace, And as fast as I thought how Christ said to his apostles: When for my name ye shall be brought before Iudges, I shall geue into your mouth, wisdom y^t your aduersaries shal not against say. And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said: Sir, I know wel that many men & women, haue nowe swearing so in custome,* that they knowe not, nor wil not know, y^t they do euil for to sweare as they do: But they thinke and say, that they do wel for to sweare as they do, though they know wel that they sweare vntruely. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) voide blame or temporal harme, which they shoulde haue,* if they sweare not thus. And sir, many men and women maintaine strongly that they sweare well, when that thing is sooth that they sweare for. Also, full many men & women say nowe, that it is well done to sweare by creatures, when they may not (as the say) otherwise be beleueed. And also, ful many men and women now say, that it

is wel done to sweare by God, and by our Ladye, and by other saints, for to haue them in minde. But since al these sayings are but excusatiuous, and sinne: mee thinketh sir, that this sense of Chrisostom may be alleaged wel against [Page 539](#) all such swearers: witnessing that al these sinne greuously though they thinke themselues for to sweare in thys foresayd wise, well. For it is euil done and great sinne, for to sweare truth, when in any maner, a man may excuse himselfe without othe.

And the Archbishop sayd, that Chrysostome might bee thus vnderstand.

[*](#)And then a clerke sayd to me: wilt thou tarye my Lorde no lenger, but submit thee here mekely to the ordinance of holy Church, and lay thy hand vpon a booke touching the holy Gospell of GOD, promising not onelye wyth thy mouth, but also with thine hart to stand to my Lords ordinaunce?

☞ And I sayd: Sir haue I not told you here, how that I heard a maister of diuinity say: that in such case it is al one to touch a booke,[*](#) and to sweare by a booke?

And the Archb. sayd: There is no maister of diuinitie in England so great, y^e if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him as I shal do thee, except thou sweare as I shall charge thee.

☞ And I sayd: Sir, is not Chrisostome an ententife Doctour?

And the Archb. sayd, yea.

☞ And I sayd: if Chrisostome proueth him worthy great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to sweare vpon: it must nedes followe, that he is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

[*](#) And the Archb. said: if Chrisostome ment accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we wil accept him.

☞ And then said a clerke to me. Is not y^e word of God & God himselfe equipolient, that is, of one authoritie?

And I sayd, yea.

☞ Then he said to me, why wilt thou not sweare then by the Gospell of God, that is gods word, since it is al one to sweare by the word of God, & by God himselfe.

And I said: Sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleued, but by swearing: I perceiue (as Austen saith) that it is not spedeful that ye y^e should be my brethren should not beleue me: therefore I am redy by the word of God (as the lord commaunded me by his word) to sweare.

☞ Then the Clarke sayd to me. Lay then thine hand vpon the booke, touchinge the holy Gospell of God and take thy charge.

And I said: Sir I vnderstand that the holy Gospell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

☞ And the Clarke sayde I fonded, and that I sayde not truth.

And I asked this clerk whether it were more to reade y^r Gospel to touch the Gospell.

☞ And he said it was more to read the Gospell.

* Then I said: Sir, by authority of S. Hierome, the gospel is not the gospel for reading of the letter, but for the belief that men haue in the word of God. That it is the gospel that we beleue, and not the letter that we read: for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Gospel, but y^e sentence that is verily beleued in mā's hart, is the Gospel. For so Hierome saith. The Gospel, y^t is the vertue of Gods word, is not in y^t leaues of the boke, but it is in the roote of reason. Neyther the Gospel (he sayeth) is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the Gospell is in y^e marking of the sentence of scriptures. This sentence approueth S. Paule, saying thus. The kingdome of God is not in word but in vertue. And Dauid saith: The voice of the Lord that is his word, is in vertue. And after Dauid sayth: Through the word of God y^e heauē's were formed, and in the spirite of his mouth is all the vertue of thē. And I pray you sir,* vnderstand ye wel how Dauid sayth, then in the spirit of the mouth of y^r Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

And the clarke sayd to me. Thou wouldest make vs to fond with thee.* Say we not that the Gospels are written in the Masse booke?

☞ And I sayd. Sir, though men vse to saye thus, yet it is vnperfect speech. For the principal part of a thinge is properly the whole thing. For lo, mans soule y^t may not now be sene here, nor touched w^t any sensible thing, is properly man. And al the vertue of a tree is in the roote thereof that may not be sene, for do away the roote, & y^e tree is destroied And sir,* as ye sayd to me right now, God & hys word are of one authoritie: And sir, S. Hierome witnesseth, y^r Christ (very God & very mā) is hid in the letter of the law: thus also sir, y^r gospel is hid in the letter. For sir, as it is ful likely many diuers men and womē here in the earth, touched Christ & saw him, & knew his bodely persō, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knewe ghostly his godhead. Right thus sir, many men now touch & see, & write, & read y^e scrip'tures of gods law, which neither see, touch, nor read effectually the gospel. For as the godhead of Christ (that is the vertue of God) is knowen by the vertue of beliefe, so is y^e Gospel, that is, Christes word.

And a clerke said to me.* These be full misty matters and vnsauery that thou shewest here to vs.

☞ And I said: Sir, if ye, y^t are maisters, know not plainly this sentence, •e may sore dread that y^e kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was frō the princes of priests and from the elders of the •owes.

And then a Clerke (as I gesse) Malueren, sayde to me. Thou knowest not thine equiuocations: for the kingdom of heauen hath diuers vnderstandings. What callest thou the kingdom of heauen in thys sentence, that thou shewest here?

☞ And I said: * Sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors the Realme of heauen is called here, the vnderstanding of Gods word.

And a clerke said to me. From whom thinkest thou that this vnderstanding is taken away?

☞ And I sayde: Sir (by authoritie of Christ himselfe) the effectuall vnderstanding of Christes word is taken away from al them chiefly, * which are great lettered men, & presum to vnderstand high things, & wil be holden wise men & desire maistership & high state & dignitie: but they wyll not conforme them to the liuing and teaching of Christ & of his Apostles.

Then y^e Archb. said. Wel, wel, thou wilt iudge thy soueraignes. By God, y^e king doth not his duety, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

☞ And then an other Clerke sayd to me. * Why (on Fryday that last was) counsailedest thou a man of my Lordes that he should not shriue him to no man but onely to god?

And with this asking I was abashed: And then by and by I knew that I was subtilly betraied of a mā that came to me in prison on the Friday before, cōmoning with mee in this matter of confession. * And certaine, by his words I thought, that this man came then to me, of ful feruent and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me & to accuse me, God forgeue him if it be his wil. And withal mine hart when I had thought thus, I said to this clerk, Sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hether: and all the wordes as nere as I cā repete them, which that I spake to him, on Friday in the prison. I wil rehearse now here before you all, and before him.

☞ And (as I gesse) the Archbishop said then to me. They that are now here, suffice to repete them. How saidst thou to hym?

And I sayd: Syr, that man came and asked me in diuers thinges, * and after hys asking, I aunswered him (as I vnderstoode) that good was: And as he shewed to me by his wordes, he was sory of hys liuing in court, and right heauy for his owne vicious liuing, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and specially of priests euil liuing: & herefore he sayd to me with a sorrowfull hart (as I gessed) that he purposed fully within short time for to leaue the court, and to busie him to know Gods lawe, and to confirme all hys life thereafter. And when he had sayd to me these wordes & moe other whiche I would rehearse and he were present, he prayed me to heare hys confession. And I sayd to him, sir, wherefore come ye to me, to be confessed of me, ye wote wel y^e the Archb. putteth & holdeth me here, as one vnworthy either to geue or to take any sacrament of holy Church.

☞ And he sayd to me. Brother I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I common with you the more gladly. And I sayd to him. Certayne I wote well that many men of this court, and specially the priestes of this housholde would be full euill apayd both you & with me, if they wist that ye were confessed of me. * And he sayd, that he cared not therfore, for he had full little affection in them: And as me thought, he spake these wordes and many other, of so good will and of so high desire, for to haue knowne and done the pleasant will of God. And I sayd to hym, as with my foresayd protestation I say to you now here: Syr, I counsaile you, for to absent you from all euill company, and to draw you to

them that loue and busie them to knowe and to keepe the preceptes of God: And then the good spirite of God will moue you for to occupy busily all your wittes in gathering together of all your sinnes, as farre as ye can bethinke you, shaming greatly of them and sorrowing hartely for them: Yea syr, the holy Ghost will thē put in your hart a good will and a seruent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate euer and to flie, (after your cūning and power) al occason of sinne: and so then, wisdomē shal come to you from aboue, lightening (with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly desire) all your wittes,* enforming you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lorde: [Page 540](#) knowledging to him onely all your vicious liuing, praying to him euer deuoutly of charitable counsel and contynuaunce. Hoping without dout, that if ye cōtinue thus, busying you faythfully to know & to kepe his biddings, that he wil (for he onely, may) forgeue you al your sinnes. And this man said to me. Though God forgeue men their sins yet it behoueth men to be assoyled of priests, & to do y^e penance that they enioyne them.

And I sayde to him, Sir, it is all one to assoyle men o^r their sinnes, & to forgeue mē their sinnes. Wherefore, sined it pertayneth only to God to forgeue sinne:* It sufficeth in this case, to counsel men & women for to l•aue their sinne, and to comfort them that busy them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And agayne ward, Priestes ought to tel sharply to customable sinners, that if they wil not make an ende of their sinne, but cōtinue in diuers sin[•] while that they may sinne, all such deserue payne without any en[•] And herefore, Priests should ouer busye them to liue wel and holyly, and to teach the people 〈◇〉 & truly the worde of God, shewyng to all folke in open preaching and in priuy counseling; that the lord God only forgeueth sinne. And therefore, those priests y^t take vpō thē to assoyle mē of their sinnes, blaspheme God: since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes, For no doubt, a thousand yere after y^r Christ was man, no Priest of Christ durst take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuily nor apertly, that they behoued nedes to come to be assayled of them, as Priests now do. But by authoritie of Christes word: Priests bounde indurate customable synners, to euerlasting paines, which in no time of their lyuing, would busy thē faithfully to knowe the biddings of God, nor to kepe thē. And again, al they that would occupy al their wits to hate & to flye al occasion of sinne, dreading ouer al thing, to offend God, and louing for to please him continually: to these men & women Priests shewed, how the Lord assoyleth them of all their sinnes. And thus Christ promised to confirme in heauen, al the binding and loosing that priests by authoritie of his word, binde men in sinne that are indurate therin, or loose thē out of sinne here vpon earth,* that are verely repentaunt. And this mā hearing these words said, that he might well in conscience cōsent to this sentence. But he sayd. Is it not nedefull to the lay people y^t can not thus do, to go shrine them to priests[•] And I said, If a man feele himselfe so distroubled with any sinne,* y^r he can not by his own witte auoide this synne without counsel of them that are herein wiser than he. In such a case, the counsell of a good Priest is full necessarye. And if a good priest fayle as they do now cōmonly, in such a case S. Augustine sayth, that a man may lawfully common and take counsel, of a vertuous secular mā. But certain, that mā or womā is ouerladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their owne sinnes into their minde, busying them night and day for to hate & to forsake al their sinnes, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And sir, full accordingly to this sentence vpō Midlentō Sūday (two yere as I gesse now agone) I hard a Monk of Feuersam that men called Morden,* preache at Caūterbury at the crosse within Christ Church Abbey, saying thus of cōfession. That as through the suggestiō of the feend without counsell of any other body, of themselues many men & women, can imagine and find meanes & ways inough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other diuers vices: In

contrary wise this Monke said. Since the Lord God is more ready to forgiue sinne than the feend is or may be of power, to moue any body to sinne: than whosoeuer wil shame and sorow hartely for their sinnes,* knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other body than of God and himselfe (through the grace of God) all such men and women may find, sufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and so to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I sayd sir to this man of yours, and the selfe words as neere as I can gesse.

And the Archbishop said. Holy Church approoueth not this learning.*

☞ And I said. Sir, holy Church of which Christ is head in heauen and in earth, must needs approue this sentence. For loe, hereby all men & women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know & to keepe the commandements of God,* & to hate & to flie continually all occasion of sinne, and to loue and to seeke vertues busily, & to beleue in God stably, and to trust in his mercy stedfastly, & so to come to perfect charitie & continue therein perseuerantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, since Iesu Christ died vpon the crosse, wilfully to make men free: Men of the Church are to bold and to busie, to make men thrall, binding thē vnder y^e paine of endles curse (as they say) to do many obseruaunces and ordynaunces, which neither the liuing nor teachyng of Chryst nor of his Apostles approueth.

And a Clerke said thē to me: Thou shewest plainly here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that trauell to sow people amōg y^e wheat. But I coūsel thee to go away cleane frō this learning, & submit thee lowly to my lorde, and thou shall finde him yet to be gracious to ther.

And as fast then, an other Clerke said to me: How wast thou so bold at Paules Crosse in London, to stande there hard with thy upper boundē about thine head, and to reprove in his Sermon the worthy clerke Alkerton, drawing away al that thou mightest: yea, & the same day at afternoone, thou meeting the worthy Doctour in Watlyng streete, calledst him false flatterer and hipocrite.

☞ And I said: Sir, I thinke certainly that there was no man nor womā that hated verelye sinne, & loued vertues (heauing y^e Sermō of the clerk at Oxford, and also Alkersons Sermon) but they sayd, or might iustly say, that Alkerton reprobued that clerke vntruely, and slandered him wrongfully and vncharitably. For no doubt, If the liuing & teaching of Christ chiefly and of his Apostles be true, no body that loueth God and his law, wil blame any sentēce that the clerke then preached there: since by authoritie of Gods word, & by approued Saints & Doctours, & by opē reason, this Clerke approued all thinges clearly that hee preached there.

And a Clerke of the Archbishops saide to me, his Sermon was false, and that he sheweth openlye, since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he thē preached there.

☞ And I saide: Sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stande stedfastly thereby, or els he scaundereth foully himself, and also many other that haue great trust that he will stand by the truth of the Gospel. For I wote wel, this Sermon is written both in Latin and English, and many men haue it & they set great price thereby. And sir, If ye were present with y^r Archbishop at Lambeth when this Clarke appeared and was at his aunswere before the Archbishoppe, ye wote wel that this Clerke

denied not there his Sermon, but two daies he maintained it before the Archbishop and his Clerkes.

And then the Archbishop or one of his Clerkes said (I wote not which of them) that harlot shalbe met wyth, for that Sermon. For no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, prayseth any such preaching.

And then the Arbhb. said. Your cursed sect is busie, and it ioyeth right greatly to contrary & to destroy y^e priuilege and fredome of holy Church.

☞ And I said: * Sir, I know no men that trauell so busily as this sect doth (which you reprove) to make rest and peace in holy church. For pride, couetousnes, and simony, which distrouble most holy Church: this sect hateth & fleeth, and trauayleth busilye to moue all other men in like maner, vnto meekenes and wilfull pouerty, and charitie, and free ministring of the Sacraments: this sect loueth & vseth, and is full busie to moue all other folkes thus to do. For these vertues, owe all mēbers of holy church, to their head Christ.

Then a Clerke said to the Archbishop: Sir, it is farre dayes, and ye haue farre to ride to night: therfore make an end with him, for he wil none make. But the more sir, that ye busy you for to draw him toward you, y^e more cōtumax he is made, and the farther fro you.

And then Malueren said to me: * William, kneele down, and pray my Lord of grace, & leaue al thy phantasies, and become a child of holy church.

☞ And I said: Sir, I haue prayed the Archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the loue of Christ, that he wil leaue hys indignation that he hath against me: and that he wil suffer me after my cūning & power, for to do mine office of priest|hode, as I am charged of god to do it. For I couet nought els, but to serue my God to hys pleasing in y^e state that I stand in, and haue taken me to.

And y^r Archbishop said to mee: If of good hart thou wilt submit thee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsel, * obeying mekely and wilfully to mine ordinance, thou shalt finde it most profitable & best to thee for to doe thus. Therefore tary thou me no lenger, graunt to do this y^t I haue sayd to thee now here shortly, or denie it vtterly.

☞ And I said to the Archbishop: Sir, owe we to beleue that Iesu Christ was and is, very God and very man?

And the Archbishop sayd Yea.

☞ And I said: Sir, owe we to beleue that al Christes lyuing and his teaching is true in euery point?

And he sayd, yea.

[Page 541](#)☞ And I sayd: Syr, owe we to beleue, that the liuinge of the Apostles, and the teaching of Christ, and all the Prophetes, are true whiche are written in the Bible, for the health and saluation of good people?

And he sayd yea.

☞ And I sayd: Syr, owe all Christen men & women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing, to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and liuing of his Apostles and of Prophetes, in all thinges that are pleasaunt to God, and edification of his Church?

And he sayd, yea.

☞ And I sayd: Syr ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed vnto: except this doctrine, these biddings, or this counsel, may be graūted and affirmed by Christes liuing and his teaching specially, or by the liuing and teaching of his Apostles & Prophetes?

And y^e Archbishop said to me: Other doctrine ought not to be accepted,[*](#) nor we owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counsell, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counsell, accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophetes.

☞ And I sayd: Syr, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy Church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the priuy suggestions,[*](#) and the aperte temptations of the fiende? and also wayes and healeful remedies, to slea pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the braunches of them, and souereign meanes to purchase grace, for to withstand and ouercome all the fleshlye lustes and mouinges?

And the Archbishop sayd yea.

☞ And I sayd: Syr, whatsoeuer thing ye or any other body bid or counsel me to do, accordingly to this forsayd learning, after my cunning & power, through the helpe of god, I will meekly with all my hart obey therto.

And the archbishop sayd to me: Submit thee than now here meekly and wilfully, to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall shew to thee.

☞ And I sayd: sir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearsed, I will nowe be ready to obey full gladly to Christ the head of the holy Church, & to the learning and biddinges, and counselles of euerye pleasing member of him.[*](#)

Thē the archbishop striking with his hand fiercely vpō a cupborde, spake to me with a great spirit saying: By Iesu, but if thou leaue such additions, obliging thee now here without any exceptiō to mine ordinance (or that I go out of this place) I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the prison of Lanterne. Advise thee now what thou wilt do. And then as if he had bene angred, he went fro the cupborde where he stood, to a window.

And then Malueren and an other Clerke came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly: and an othe while they manassed me, and counselled full busily to submitte me,* or els they sayd I shoulde not escape punishing ouer measure: For they sayd, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, & so then damned. But now they sayd, thou mayst eschew all these mischiefes, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully & meekely to this worthye prelate, that hath cure of thy soule. And for the pittie of Christ (sayde they) bethinke thee, howe great Clerkes the Bishop of Lincolne, Hereford, and Purney were, and yet are, and also B. that is a well vnderstanding man. Which also haue forsaken & reuoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou and such other hold.* Wherfore, since each of them is mikle wiser thē thou art, we counsell thee for the best: that by the example of these foure Clerkes, thou follow them submitting thee as they did.

And one of the Bishops Clerkes sayd then there, that he heard Nicoll Hereford say: that since he forsook & reuoked all the learning & Lolards opiniōs, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delite to hold agaynst them, then euer he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

*And therefore Malueren said to me: I vnderstand and thou wilt take thee to a Priest, and shriue thee cleane, forsake all such opinions, & take the penance of my Lord here, for the holding & teaching of them: within short time, thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

☞ And I sayd to the Clerkes, that thus busily counselled me to folow these foresayd men: Sirs, if these mē of whom ye counsell me to take example, had forsakē benefices of tēporall profite, & of worldly worship, so that chey had absēted them, and eschewed from al occasions of couetousnes & of fleshly lustes, and had taken upon them simple liuing, & wilfull pouerty: they had herein geuen good example to me and to many other, to haue folowed thē. But now, since all these foure men, haue slaunderously and shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receiue and to haue and to hold tēporall benefices, liuing now more worldly & more fleshly then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world: I forsake them herein, and in all their foresayd slaunderous doing. For I purpose with the helpe of God (into remissio of my sinnes, and of my •oule cursed liuing) to hate and to flee priuily and apertly, to follow these men, teaching and counselling whome so euer that I may,* for to flee & eschew the way that they haue chosen to go in, which will lead them to the worst end, (if in conuenient time they repent them not) verely forsaking and reuoking opēly the flaunder that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Chri|stes Church. For certayne, so open blasphemy and slaunder as they haue spoken and done, in their reuoking & forsaking of the truth, ought not nor may not priuily be amēded, duely. Wherfore sirs, I pray you that you busy not for to moue me to follow these mē, in reuoking and forsaking the trueth, and sothfastnes as they haue done, and yet doe: wherein, by open euidence they stirre God to great wroth, and not onely agaynst themselues, but also agaynst all thē that fauor them, or consent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendement. For where as these mē first were pursued of enemies, now they haue obliged them by othe for to slaūder and pursue Christ in his members. Wherfore (as I trust stedfastly in y^e goodnes of God) the worldly couetousnes, and the lusty liuing and the sliding from the truth of these runnagates: shall be to me and to many other men and women, an example & an euidence, to stand more stifly by the truth of Christ.

For certayne,* right many men and women, doe marke and abhorre the foulnes and cowardnes of these foresayd vntrue men, how that they are ouercome & stopped wyth benefices, and

withdrawen from the truth of Gods word, forsaking vtterly to suffer therfore bodely persecution. For by this vnfaithfull doing and apostasye of them (specially that are great lettered men) and haue knowledged openly the truth: * and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrauntes, haue taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth and to hold agaynst it, slaundering and pursuing them that couet to followe Christ in the way of righteousnes, many men and womē therefore are now moued. But many mo thorow the grace of God, shall be moued hereby for to learne the truth of God, and to doe thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Then the Archbishop sayd to his clerkes. Busye you no lenger about him, for he and other such as he is, are cōsidered together, * that they will not sweare to be obedient, & to submit them to prelates of holy church. For now since I stode here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled hym that he should not sweare to me. And losell, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to lose this young man, but blessed be God, thou shalt not haue thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to be buxum & obedient to the ordinaunce of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full hartily for the venemous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling hym to do thereafter.

And for thy false counselling of many other & him, thou hast great cause to be right sory. For long time thou hast bu'sied thee to peruert whomsoeuer thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthye of, as thou hast geuen euill counselles. And therefore by Iesu, thou shalt go thether, where Nicoll Harford & Thom. Puruay were harbered. And I vndertake, or this day viij. dayes, thou shalt be right glad for to doe what thing that euer I did thee to do. * And Losell, I shal assay, if I can make thee there as sorowfull (as it was tolde me) thou wast glad of my last goyng out of England. By S. Thomas, I shall turne thy ioy into sorow.

☞ And I sayd: Syr there can no body proue lawfully that I ioyed euer, * of the maner of your going out of this land.

But Syr, to say the soth, I was ioyfull when ye were gone: for the bishop of London in whole prison ye left me, found in me no cause for to hold me lenger in his prisō, but at the request of my frēdes, he deliuered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

Then the archbishop sayd to me. Wherefore that I yede out of England, is vnknowne to thee: But be this thinge well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me agayn, and brought me into this land, for to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: as by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leaue a slip of you in this land.

☞ And I sayd to the archbishop: Syr, the holy Prophette Ieremy sayd to the false Prophet Anany. When the word that is the prophecy of a Prophet, is knowne or fulfilled: [Page 542](#) then it shalbe knowne, that the Lorde sent the Prophet in trueth.

And the Archbishop (as if he had not bene pleased with my saying) turned him awayward hether and thether, and sayd. By GOD, I shall set vpon thy shinnes a payre of pearles, * that thou shalt be glad to chaunge thy voyce.

These and many moe wonderous and conuicious wordes, were spoken to me, manassing me and al other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed vnto the vttermost.

And the Archbishop called then to him a Clerke, and rowned with him: * and that Clerk went forth, and soone he brought in the Constable of Saltwoode Castle, and the Archbishop rowned a good while with him: And then the Constable went forth, and then came in diuers seculars, & they scorned me on euery side, & manassed me greatly. And some counselled the Archbishop to burne me by and by, & some other counselled him to drowne me in the Sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a Clerke standing beside me, there kneeled downe to y^e Archbishop, praying him that he would deliuer me to him, for to say Martins with him: & he would vndertake: that within three dayes I shoulde not resist any thing that were commaunded me to do of my Prelate.

And the archbishop sayd, that he would ordayn for me himselfe.

And then after, came agayne the Constable and spake priuily to the Archbishop: And the archbishop cōmaunded the Constable to lead me forth thence with him, & so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were sent after agayne. And whē I came in agayne before the archbishop: a Clerke bad me kneele downe and aske grace, and submit me lowly, and I should finde it for the best.

*☞ And I sayd thē to the archbishop. Syr, as I haue sayd to you diuers times to day, I will wilfully & lowlye obey and submit me to be ordeined euer after the cunning and power, to God & to his law, and to euery member of holy Church, as farre forth as I can perceiue that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority, specially of Gods law.

And the archbishop sayd. I wist wel he would not with out such additions submit him.

And then I was rebuked, scorned & manassed on euery side: * and yet after this, diuers persons cried vpon me to kneele downe and submit me, but I stood still and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me and to me many great words, & I stood and heard them manasse curse and scorne me: but I sayd nothing.

Then a while after, y^e archbishop sayd to me. Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinaunce of holy Church?

☞ And I sayd: Syr, I will full gladly submitte me, as I haue shewed you before.

And then the Archbishop bad the Constable, to haue me forth thence in haste.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vn honest prison, * where I came neuer before. But thanked be God, when all mē were gone forth then from me, & had sparred fast the prison doore after them: By and by after, I therin by my selfe, busied me to thinke on God, & to thanke him of his goodnesse. And I was then greatlye comforted in all my wits, not onely for that

I was then deliuered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies: but much more I reioysed in the Lord,* because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, and among the manassing of mine aduersaryes, that without heauinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree layd vpon an other tree, ouerwharte or Crosse wise, so was the Archbishoppe and hys three Clerkes alwayes contrarye to me, and I to them.

Now good God for thine holy name, and to the praysing of the most blessed name: make vs one together, if it be thy will (by authority of thy word, that is true perfite charity) and els not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or heare, pray hartely to the lord God, that he for his great goodnesse that can not be with tongue expressed, graunt to vs and to all other, which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at dystaūce, to be knit & made one in true fayth, in stedfast hope, and in perfite charity. Amen.

Besides this examinatio here aboue described, came an other treatise also to our hands of the same W. Thorne, vnder the name and title of his testament: which rather by the matter and handling thereof, might seme to be counted a complaynt of vicious Priestes: which treatise or Testament, in this place we thought not meere to be left out.

MAtthew an Apostle of Christ,*and his Gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy Gospell, the most holy liuing and the most wholesome teachyng of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth thē that heare his wordes and keepe thē, to a wise mā that buildeth his house vpon a stone, that is a stable and a •ad ground. This house is mans soule in whome Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is stablished faythfully in his liuing & in his true teaching, adourned or made faire with diuers vertues, which Christ vsed and taught without any medling of any error, as are chiefly the conditions of charity.

This foresaid stone is Christ,*vpon which euery faythful soule must be builded, since vpon none other ground then vpon Christes liuing and his teaching, no bodye may make any building or housing, wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence wytnesseth S. Paule to the Corinthians, shewing to them that no body may set any other ground then is set, that is, Christes liuing and teaching. And because that all men and women shoulde geue all their businesse here in this life,*to build them vertuously vpon this sure foundation: S. Paule knowledging the seruent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesye, wrote to them comfortablye saying: Now ye are not straungers, guestes, nor yet comelinges, but ye are the Citizens and of the householde of God, builded aboue vpon the foundement of the Apostles and Prophetes. In which foundement, euery building that is builded or made thorough the grace of God, it encreaseth or groweth into an holy tēple, that is: Euery body that is grounded or builded faythfully in the teaching and liuing of Christ, is there through, made the holy temple of God.

This is the stable groūd and stedfast stone Christ, which is the sure corner stone,*fast ioyning & holding mightely together, two walles. For through Christ Iesu, meane or middle person of the Trinitye: the Father of heauen is pitious or mercifully ioyned and made one together to mankinde. And through dread to offēd God, and seruent loue to please him, mē be vnseparably made one to God and defended surely vnder his protection. Also, this foresayd stone Christ,*was figured by the square stones of whiche the temple of God, was made. For as a square stone,

wheresoeuer it is cast or layd, it abideth and lyeth stably: so Christ and euery faythfull member of his Church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true fayth, and in all other heauēly vertues in all aduersityes that they suffer in this valley of teares.

For loe, when these foresayd square stones were hewen and wrought for to be layde in the walles or pillars of Gods temple, none noyse or stroke of the workeman was heard. Certaine this silēce in working of this stone, figu•eth Christ chiefly and his faithfull members, which by example of him, haue bene and yet are, and euer to the worldes end shall be so meeke and pacient in euery aduersity, that no sound nor yet any grudging shall any time be perceiued in them.

Neuerthesse, this chiefe and most worshipfull corner stone which onely is ground of all vertues, proude beggers repriued: but this despight and reproofe, *Christ suffered most meekely in his owne person, for to geue example of all meekenesse and pacience to all his faythfull folowers. Certayne, this world is now so full of proud beggers which are named Priestes: but the very office of working of Priesthood which Christ approueth true, and accepteth, is farre from the multitude of Priests that now reigne in this world.

For from the highest Priest to the lowest all (as who say) study, that is, *they imagine and trauell busilye, how they may please this world and theyr flesh. This sentence and many such other dependeth vpon them, if it be well considered, other God the father of heauen hath deceiued all mankinde by the liuing specially and teaching of Iesu Christ, and by the liuing and teaching of his Apostles and Prophetes: or els all the Popes that haue bene, since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the Colledge of Cardinals, Archbishops, *and Bishops, Monks, Canons, and Friers, with all the contagious flock of the communalty of Priesthood, which haue (all my life time and mikle lenger) reigned and yet reigne, & increase damnably from sinne into sinne: haue bene and yet bee proud, obstinate heretickes, couetous simoners, and defouled adulterers in the ministering of the Sacramentes, and specially in the ministring of the Sacrament of the aultar. For as their workes sheweth whereto Christ biddeth vs take heed: the highest Priestes and Prelates of this Priesthood, *challenge and occupy vnlefull, tēporall Lordships. And for temporall fauour and meed, they sell & geue benefices to vnworthy and vnable persons, yea these simoners sell sinne, suffering men and women in euery degree and estate, to lye, and continue, from yeare to yere, in diuers vices slaūderously. And thus by euil example of high priests in the church, lower Priestes vnder them are not onely suffered, but they are mayntayned to sell full deare (to the people for temporall meed) all the Sacraments.

And thus all this foresayd Priesthooode, is blowne so high and borne vp in pride and vaine glory of their estate and dignity & so blinded with worldly couetousnes: *That they disdayne to follow Christ in very meekenesse and wilfull pouerty, liuing holylye and [Page 550](#) preaching Gods word truely, freely and continually, taking theyr liuelihood at the free will of the people of their pure almes, where and when they suffice not for theyr true and busy preaching to get their sustenance with their handes. To this true sentence grounded on Christes owne liuing and teaching of his Apostles, these foresaid worldly & fleshly Priests wil not consent effectually. *But as theyr workes and also their wordes shew: boldly and vnshamefastly these forenamed Priestes and Prelates, couet, and enforce them mightely and busily, that all holy scripture were expounded and drawne accordingly to their maners, and to theyr vngrounded vsages and findinges. For they will not (since they hold it but folly and madnesse) conforme their

maners to the pure and simple liuing of Christ and his Apostles,*nor they will not followe freely their learning. Wherefore, all the Emperours and Kinges, and all other Lordes and Ladyes, and all the common people in euery degree and state, which haue before time knowne or might haue knowne, and also all they that now yet know or might know this foresayde witnes of Priesthood, and would not nor yet will, enforce them after theyr cunning and power, to withstand charitably the foresayd enemies and traytors of Christ, and of his church: all these striue with Antichrist agaynst Iesu. And they shall heare the indignation of God almighty without end,*if in conuenient time they amend them not, and repent them verelye, doing therefore due mourning and sorow, after their cunning & power. For through presumtuouesnesse and negligence of Priestes & Prelates (not of the Church of Christ, but occupying theyr prelacye vnduely in the Church) and also flattering and false couetousnes of other diuers named Priestes: Lousengers and lounderers, are wrōgfully made and named Heremites, and haue leaue to defraud poore and needy creatures of their liuelode, and to liue by theyr false winning and begging, in slouth and in other diuers vices. And also of these Prelates, these coker noses, are suffered to liue in pride and hipocrisy, and to defoule themselues both bodelye and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsell of these foresayde Prelates and of other Priestes, are made both vayne brotherhoodes and sisterhoodes, full of pride and enuye, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissetion, and they multiply and susteyne it vncharitably: for in lustye eating and drinking, vnmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselues. Also this vaine confederacy of brotherhoodes, is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

And in all these vngrounded and vnlefull doinges, priests are parteners and great medlers and counsellors. And ouer this viciousnesse, Heremites and Pardoners, Ankers, and straūge beggers, are licensed and admitted of Prelates and Priestes, for to beguile the people with flatteringes and leasinges slaunderously agaynst all good reason and true beleue, and so to encrease diuers vyces in themselues, and also among all them that accept them or consent to them.

And thus, the viciousnesse of these foresayd named Priestes & Prelates, haue bene long time, and yet is, and shal be cause of wars both within the Realme and without. And in the same wise, these vnable Priestes haue bene, and yet are, and shalbe chiefe cause of pestilence of men, and morein of beastes, and of barrennesse of the earth, and of all other mischiefes, to the tyme that Lordes and cōmons able them through grace, for to know and to keepe the cōmaundements of God, inforcing them than faythfully and charitably by one assent, for to redresse and make one this foresayde Priesthood, to the wilfull, poore, meeke, and innocent liuing and teaching, specially of Christ and his Apostles.

Therefore, all they that know or might know, the viciousnes that raigneth now cursedly in these Priests and in theyr learning, if they suffice not to vnderstand this contagious viciousnesse: let them pray to the Lord hartily for the health of his Church, absteyning them prudently from these indurate enemyes of Christ and of his people, and from all their Sacraments, since to them all that know them or may know, they are but fleshly deedes and false: as S. Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees,*and in the first cause. Ca. Si quis inquit. For as this Saynt and great Doctour witnesseth there, that not onely vicious Priestes, but also all they that fauour them or consent to them in their viciousnesse: shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duely, as all they perished that cōsented to Dathan and Abiron. For nothing were more confusion to these foresayd vicious Priestes, than to eschew them prudently in all theyr vnlefull

Sacramentes, while they cōtinue in their sinnefull liuing slaunderously, as they haue lōg time done and yet do. And no body need to be afrayde (though death did folow by one wise or other) for to dye out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of these foresayd Christes enemyes: since Christ will not fayle, for to minister himselfe all Iefull & healfull Sacramentes and necessary at all time (and specially at end) to all them that are in true fayth, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charity.

But yet some mad fooles say (for to eschew slaunder) they wil be shriuen once in the yeare, and communed of theyr proper Priestes, though they knowe them defouled with slaunderous vyces. No doubt, but all they that thus do or consent priuely or apertly to such doing, are culpable of great sinne: since S. Paul witnesseth, that not onely they that do euill, are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to euill doers. Also (as their slaūderous workes witenesse) these aforesayd vicious Priestes, despise and cast from them heauenly cunning, that is geuen of the holye ghost Wherefore, the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they vse nor do any Priesthood to him.

No doubt than, all they that wittingly or wilfully, take or cōsent that any other body should take any Sacrament of any suche named Priest, sinneth openly and damnably agaynst all the Trinity, and are vnable to any Sacrament of health.

And that this foresayd sentēce is altogether true, into remission of all my sinnefull liuing, trusting stedfastly in the mercye of God, I offer to him my soule.

And to proue also the foresayde sentence true with the helpe of God, I purposefully for to suffer meekely and gladly my most wretched bodye to bee tormented, where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporall payne he will and death, to the praying of his name, and to the edification of his Church.

And I that am most vnworthy and wretched caytife, shall now through the speciall grace of God, make to him pleasaunt sacrifice with my most sinnefull and vnworthy body. Beseechyng hartely all folke that read or heare this end of my purposed Testament, that through the grace of GOD, they dispose verely and vertuously all their wittes, and able in lyke maner all their members for to vnderstand truely, and to keepe faythfully, charitably, and continually all the commaundementes of God, and so than to pray deuoutly to all the blessed Trinitie, that I may haue grace with wisdom and prudence from aboue, to end my lyfe here in this foresayd truth and for this cause, in true fayth and stedfast hope, and perfect charitie. Amen.

What was the ende of this good man and blessed seruant of God Williā Thorpe, I finde as yet in no story spe|cified. By all coniectures it is to be thought,* that the archbishop Thomas Arundell being so hard an aduersarye agaynst those men, would not let him goe. Much lesse it is to be supposed, that he would euer retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly mayntayned before the byshop, neither doth it seeme that he had any such recanting spirite. Agayne, neyther is it founde, that he was burned. Wherefore it remayneth most like to be true, that he beyng committed to some straight prison (according as the Archbyshop in his examination before, dyd threaten him) there (as Thorpe confesseth himselfe) was so straightly kept, that eyther he was secretly made away, or els there he dyed by sicknesse.

The like end also I finde to happen to Iohn Aston, an other good folower of Wickliffe, who for the same doctrine of the sacrament was condemned by the Bishops, And be'cause he would not recant, he was committed to perpetuall prison, wherein the good man continued till his death. An. 1382.

John Puruey.

FUurthermore, in the sayd examinatiō of Williā Thorpe, mention was made (as ye heard) of Iohn Puruey,* of whom also something we touched before: promising of the sayd Iohn Puruey, more particularly to entreate in order and processe of time. Of this Puruey, Tho. Walden writeth thus in his second tome, Iohn Puruey sayth he, was the Library of Lollordes, and gloser vpon Wickliffe. He sayde, that the worshipping of Abrahā was but a salutatiō. And in his third Tome, he sayth: this Iohn Puruey with Harford a doctour of diuinity, were greuously tormented, and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at y^e length recanted at Paules crosse at London (Tho. Arundel being then Archb. of Canterbury.)* Afterward agayne, he was emprisoned vnder Henry Chicheley Archb. of Canterbury, in the yeare of our Lord 1421. Thus muche writeth Walden. The workes of this man which he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lauingame his aduersarye, whiche I thinke worthy to be remēbred. First, as touching the Sacrament of the last supper, the Sacrament of penance, the Sacrament of orders, the power of the keyes, the preaching of y^e Gospell, of Mariages, of Uowes, of possessiōs, of the punishing and correcting of the Clergy, of the lawes and decrees of the Church, of the state and condition of the Pope and the clergy: Of all these generally, he left diuers monuments grauely and exactly written, part whereof, here in the end of his story we thought to exhibite, being translated out of Latine into English.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at Paules crosse,* were these hereafter folowing.

1. That in the Sacrament of the aultar after the consecration, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the subiect: But there verely remaineth the same substaūce [Page 544](#) and the very visible and incorruptible bread, & likewise y^e very same wine the which before the consecration were set vpon the aultar to be consecrate of the Priest: likewise as when a Pagan or infidell is baptised, he is spiritually conuerted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remayneth the very same man whiche he before was in his proper nature and substaunce.

2. Auricular confession or priuate penance, is a certeyne whispering, destroying the libertye of the Gospell & newly brought in by the Pope and the Clergye, to intangle the consciences of mē in sinne, & to draw their soules into hel.

*3. Euery lay man being holy, and predestinate vnto euer lasting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true Priest be'fore God.

4. That diuers Prelates and other of the Clergy, do liue wickedly contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ & his Apostles. Therefore they whiche so liue, haue not the keyes neyther of y^e kingdome of heauen, neither yet of hell: neither ought any christian to esteme his cēsure any more, then as a thing of no force. Yea albeit the pope should peradventure interdite the realme,

yet could he not hurt, but rather profite vs, for so much as thereby we should be dismissed from the obseruation of his lawes, and from saying of seruice according to the custome of the Church.

*5. If any man do make an othe or vow, to keepe perpetuall chastity, or do any thing els whereunto God hath not appoynted him, geuing him grace to perform his purpose: the same vow or othe, is vnreasonable and vndiscreet, neither can any Prelate compell him to keep the same, except he will do contrary vnto Gods ordinaunce. But he ought to commit him, vnto the gouernance of the holy ghost & of his owne conscience: for so much as euery man which will not fulfill his vow or othe, can not do it for that cause.

*6. Whosoeuer taketh vpon him the office of priesthood, although he haue not the charge of soules cōmitted vnto him according to the custome of the Church: Not onely they may, but ought to preach the Gospel frely vnto the people otherwise he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.

*7. That Innocentius the third Pope, and 600. bishops, and a thousand other Prelates, with all the rest of the clergy, which together with the same Pope agreed and determined: that in the sacrament of the aultar, after the couersion of the bread and wine into the body & bloud of Christ, that the acesdentes of the sayd bread and wine do remayne there, without any proper subiect of the same: the whiche also ordeyned, that all Christians ought to confesse theyr sinnes once a yeare vnto a proper priest, & to receiue the reuerent Sacrament at Easter, & made certaine other lawes at the same time: All they sayth he, in so doing were fooles and Blockeheades, Heretickes, Blasphemers and Seducers of Christian people. Wherefore, we ought not to beleue their determinations, or of their successours, neither ought we to obey theyr lawes or ordinances, except they be plain^{ly} grounded vpon the holy Scripture, or vpon some reasō which can not be impugned.

Other Articles drawne out of Purueyes bookes more at large by Ry. Lauingham.

*AS touching the Sacramēt of thanks geuing, he sayth: That that chap. of repentance and remission: Omnis vtriusque sexus, wherein it is ordeined that euery faithfull mā ought once euery yeare at the least, that is to say, at Easter to receiue the Sacrament of Eucharist: is a beastly thing, hereticall and blasphemous.

*Item, that Innocenius the 3. Pope, was the head of Antichrist, who after the letting loose of Sathan, inuented a new article of our sayth, and a certayn fayned verity touching the Sacrament of the aultar: That is to say, that the Sacramēt of the aultar is an accidēt without a substance, or els an heape of accidences without a substaunce. But Christ and his Apostles doe teach manifestly, that the Sacrament of the aultar is bread, and the body of Christ together after the maner that he spake: And in that he calleth it bread, he woulde haue the people to vnderstande as they ought with reason, that it is very and substaunciall bread, and no false nor sayned bread.

*And although Innocētius that Antichrist doth allege, that in the councell at Lions where this matter was decided were 600. Bishops with him, and 1000. Prelates, which were in one opiniō of

this determination: Al those notwithstanding he talleth. fooles according to that saying of Eccl. Of footes there are an infinite number. And so in like maner he calleth them false Christes & false prophets; of whom Christ speaketh the 24. of Mathew: Many false Christes and false Prophets shall arise and deceiue many: And therfore, euery Christian man ought to beleue firmly that the sacrament of the aultar is very bread in deed, and no false nor sayned bread, And although it be very bread in deed, yet notwithstanding, it is the very body of Christ in y^e sort he spake and called it his body: and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ.* And as Christ concerning hys humanity, was both visible and passible, and by his Diuinity was inuisible and unpassible: So likewise, this sacrament in that it is very bread, may be sene with the corporal eie, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that Sacrament, yet notwithstanding, cannot the body of Christ in that Sacrament be seene with the corporall eye, although it be the body of Christ in that maner he spake it: For that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in heauē. So the Sacrament of the cup is very wine, & the very bloud of Christ, according as hys maner of speaking was. Also Innocentius, 3, with a great multitude of his secular Clerkes, made a certayne new determination: that the Sacrament of the aultar is an accident without a substance,* whereas, neither Iesus Christ nor any of his Apostles, taught this sayth (but openly and manifestly to the contrary) neither yet the holy Doctours, for the space of a thousand yeares & more, taught this faith openly.

Therefore, when Antichrist or any of his shauelinges doth aske of thee that art a simple Christian, whether that this Sacrament be the very body of Christ or not: affirme thou it manifestly so to be. And if he aske of thee whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread els: say thou, that it is such bread as Christ vnderstood and ment by his proper word:* and such bread, as the holy ghost ment in S. Paule when he called that to be very breade whiche he brake, and wade thou no further herin. If he aske thee, how this bread is the body of Christ: Say thou, as Christ vnderstoode the same to be his body which is both omnipotent and true, & in whom is no vntrueth. Say thou also, as the holy Doctors do say, that the terrestriall matter or substaunce, may be conuerted into Christ, as the Pagan or infidell may bee Baptised: and herby spiritually to be conuerted and to be a member of Christ, and so after a certayne maner to become Christ, and yet the same man to remayne still in his proper nature. For so doth S. Augustine graunt, that a sinner forsaking his sinne and being made one spirite with God by fayth, grace, and charity: may be cōuerted into God, and to be after a maner, God: as both Dauid, and S. Iohn do testifie, and yet to be the same person in substaunce and nature, and in soule and vertue to be altered & chaūged. But yet, men of more knowledge and reasō, may more plainely conuince the falsity of Antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy Ghost working in thē. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will hūbly holde and keepe the manifest and apparaunt wordes of the holy scripture, & the playn sense and meaning of the holy ghost, and proceed no farther, but humbly to commit that vnto y^e spirite of God which passeth theyr vnderstanding: Then may they safely offer themselues to death, as true Martyrs of Iesus Christ.

As touching the Sacrament of penance: That chapter Omnis vtriusque sexus, by which a certayne newe founde auricular confession was ordeined:* is full of hipocrisie, heresy: couetousnes, pride, & blasphemy he sayth, and reproueth the same chapter verbatim, and that by the sentences of the same proces. Also, that the penance and paynes limited by the Canons, be vnreasonable and vniust, for the austerity and rigorousnes which they conteine, more then are taxed by Gods law. He also doth exemplify, of the solemne and publicke deniall of penitentes to

be receiued into orders, according to the decree of the generall Councell Distinctione 50. cap Ex poenitentibus. Also of the seuenfold penitence of a priest committing fornication, according to the chapter. Praes biter Distinct. 82. And farther sheweth, an other example of the penitence of Priestes according to that chater. Qui praes biterum &c. Whereas the decretall of the generall Counsell sayth, that such a one ought to remayne continuing his life, in the warres, and not to mary. And how Innocentius 3. brought in a new founde confession: whereby, the Priestes do oppresse the simple lay men. And that many other things they do, compelling them to confesse themselues to blind and ignoraunt Priests, in whom is nothing els then pride and couetousnes, hauing suche in contempt as are learned and wise. Also, that the Decretall of Innocentius 3. touching the foresayd auricular or vocal confession: was brought in and inuented, to intricate & intangle mens consciences with sinne, & to draw thē downe to hell. And furthermore, that such maner of confession, destroyeth the Euangelicall libertye, and doth let men to inquire after, & to retayn, the wise counsell & doctrine of such [Page 545](#) as be gods priests: which know faithfully how to obserue his precepts and commaundements, & which would willingly teach the people, the right way to heauē. For which abuse, all Christen men and spicially all Englishmē, ought to exciayne agaynst such wicked lawes.

As touching the Sacrament of order he sayth: That al good christians, are predestinate and be ordeined of God, & made true Priestes to offer Christ in themselues, and to Christ, themselues: as also to teach and preach the Gospell to their neighbors, as well in word as in exāple of liuing. But the worldly shauelings do more magnify the naked & bare signes of priesthood (inuented by sinfull men) then the true & perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true & liuely sayth, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needfull to haue such shauelings, God knoweth how, & can make when it pleaseth him, priestes (without mans working & sinfull signes, that is to say, without either sacramentes or characters) to be known & discerned of the people, by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of y^e law of God for so made he the first made priestes & elders before the law of Moyses: and so made he Moyses a priest before Aaron, & before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operation at all: And euen so hath God made al such as are predestinate, to be his priestes. But such as be true Christians,* receiue none such as Priestes, but vnlesse they follow Christ and his apostles, neither do they beleue that they make the sacrament of the auitar (which they affirme to be Gods body) when it pleaseth thē: least happely God be not with them, forasmuch as that they do this thing for couetousnes sake, or els to brag of their owne power And therefore such as be simple men, will worship that Sacrament in this doubtfulnes, with a silent conditiō, that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and to haue their deuotiō to the body of Christ in heauen. Also, that as such be elders, if they be Gods priestes, be Bishops, Prelates, and Curats of their Christian brethren, whom they may lead to heauē by the example of their holy conuersariō, and by preaching of the gospell although they make no sacrifice to that Antichrist of Rome for their confirmation: neither be they dedicated to the world by secular diuine thinges, and by consuming the liuinges of the poore: as be those secular bishops, prelates & curates.* Also, that although there were no pope according as the custome of the church is: yet Christ which is the hed of his church, doth ordeyne such a Pope as pleaseth him: and that is, whomsoeuer is most humble & lowly and best doth the office of a true Priest, although he be vnknown to y^e world. And although ther were no such proud bishop aboue all the rest, as the church doth vse: yet all the priestes might well gouern the church by common asient, as once they did, before such wordly pride crept in amōgst the Bishops, &c. And admit that no such Priestes were according to the accustomed vse now of receiuing of order & torsure,* by

such a mytred Byshoppe and his tonsure: yet: Christ knoweth both how to make and chuse such as shall well please him, both in conuersation of life, & sincere preaching of the Gospell, in ministring to his people all necessary sacraments. And euery holy man which is a minister of Christ, although he be not shauen, is a true Priest ordeined of God, although no mitred Bishoppe euer lay his character vpon him: So, that the Pope and Prelates, doe make more estimation of their Characters (as tonsures & crownes by them inuented) then of the true and perfect priesthood ordeined of God: whereas, all those that are predostinate, are true Priestes made of him.

As touching the authoritye of the keyes and censures, no Christian man ought to esteeme Sathan (whom men call the pope) and his vniust cēsures: more then the hissing of a serpēt, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of couetous Priestes, which indulgences do draw away the hope which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinful men, and do robbe the poore of such almes as is geuen to them: Such Priestes be manifest betrayes of Christ and of the whole Church, and be Sathans own stuardes to beguyle christen soules by theyr hipocrisy and fayned pardons. Also, forasmuch as those prelates and clergy men liue so execrable a life, contrary to the gospel of Christ, and examples of his Apostles, & teach not truly the gospell, but only lies and the traditions of sinfull wicked men: It appereth most manifestly that they haue not the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, but rather the keyes of hell. And they may be right well assured, that God neuer gaue vnto them authority to make & establish so many ceremonies & traditions, which be contrary to the liberty of the Gospell, and are blocks in christen mens wayes, that they can neither know nor obserue the same his Gospel, in liberty of cōscience, and so attayne a ready way to heauen.

Also, that al maner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter Religiosi, touching the priuiledges in the Clementines: may lawfully minister all sacramēts to the that are worthy the same. Forasmuch as the same is a worke of charity, which onely the will and ordinance of the pope and his sautors in this case is to hinder and set. Item, if the Pope shall interdict this our realme: that cannot hurt vs,* but much profite vs: Because that therby he should seporate vs from all his wicked lawes, and frō the charges of sustaining of so many thousand shauelings, which with smal deuotiō or none at all, patter and charter a new solid song seoundum vsum Sarum. So that not whatsoeuer y^e pope in his generall counsell hindeth in earth, is bound of God in heauen: either for that he hindeth vnreasonably, and cōtradictorily doth agaynst himself, or els for that he hath forsaken the iudgement of God.

As touching the preaching of the Gospell: whoseuer receiueth or taketh vpō him y^e office of a priest or of a bishop and dischargeth not the same by the example of his good cō|uersation and faythfull preaching of the Gospel: is a theef, excommunicate of God, and of holy church. And further if the curates preach not the word of God, they shalbe damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resigne their benefices: So that those prelates which preach not the Gospel of Christ (although they could excuse themselues from the doing of any other euill) are dead in themselues, are Antichristes, and Sathans trāffigured into angels of light, might theues, manquellers by day night, & betrayes of Christ his people.

Concerning the sacrament of Matrimony:* Notwithstanding any spirituall kinred or gossopry, a man and woman may lawfully mary together by the law of god, with out any dispensatiō

papistical. And in y^e same place he sayth that if our realm do admit one not borne in matrimony or illegitimate to the imperiall crowne, so that he doth well discharge the office of a king: God maketh him a king, and by cōsequence doth reiect an other king or heyre of y^e kindome, being borne in matrimony and legitimate: So, for such spirituall kindred there ought no diuorse to be made. Also notwithstanding the Cap. Si inter de sponsalibus: If any man shall make any contract with any woman by y^t wordes of the future tence, by an oth taken: & afterwards shall with an other woman make the like contract by the wordes of the present tence: [*](#) that then the second contract standeth. Also, if a man make any cōtract with a womā by the wordes of the future tence, vpō his oth taken: & maketh afterwarde the like contract with another not altering the words and hath carnal copulation vpon the same: the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also, if a man before witnes assure himselfe to a woman by a contract made in the present tence, & hath children by the same woman: & afterward the same man marieth another woman, with the like wordes in the present tence, before witnesse: Although the first witnesses be deade, or els by bribes corrupt, and y^e second bring his witnesses before the iudge to proue the second contract: the first cōtract yet standeth in force, although the Pope (allowing the secōd contract) doth compell them to liue in adultery agaynst y^e conmaundement of God. Also, he condemneth the decretall of the restitution of things stollen Cap. Literas tuas: which wrieth, that a man and woman hauing carnall copulation in the degree of consanguinity foriddē, and hath no witness hereof: If the woman will depart from the man she shall be compelled by the censures, to remayne with him, and to yelde her debt. Also, in case where a man hath made cōtract with two women, with one secretly hauing no witnesse, and wich the other openly hauing witnesse: Then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiency of the law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their owne consciences, then by the censures to compell them, to committe and lyue in adultery.

As touching the keeping and making of vowes: [*](#) That vow or othe is beastly, and is without al discretion made: which to performe and keep a man hath no power but by grace geuen him of God. Because that some such there be, whom god doth not accept to perseuere in the state of chastity and perpetuall virginity: and such a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the same. Also that euery one making a vow of continencye or chastitye, when making the same he shall not be accepted of God: doth very vndiscretly, and as one without al reason maketh the same, whē he is not able of himself without y^e gift of God to fulfil his promise: according to that saying of the wise mā. cap. 8. No man hath the gift of cōtinency, vnles that God geue it vnto him. For otherwise, if god help not such a one to perform the vow or othe which he hath made and sakē: No prelate can compell him, vnles he do cōtrary to Gods ordinance: [Page 546](#) but he ought to cōmit himself to the gouernment of Gods holy spirit, and his owne conscience.

[*](#)For the possessions of the Church: In another treatise it is declared, how the king, the Lordes and commōs may without any charge at all, kepe 15. garrisons, & finde 15000. souldiours, (hauing sufficient landes and reuenues to liue vpon) out of the temporalties gotten into the hands of the clergy & fained religious men: which neuer do that, which pertayneth to the office of curates to doe, nor yet to secular lords. And moreouer, the king may haue euery yere 20000 pound to come freely into his cofers and aboue. Also, may find or sustaine 15. Colledges more: and 15000. priestes and clerkes, with sufficient liuing: and a 100. hospitals for the sicke & euery house to haue one hundreth marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foresayde temporaltyes, without any charge to the realme: wherunto, the king, the Lords, and the commons

are to be inuited. For otherwise there seemeth to hang ouer our heads, a great and maruelous alteratiō of this realme, vnlesse the same be put in exe'cution. Also, if the secular Priestes and sayned religious, which be simoniackes and heretiques, which sayne themselues to say masse, and yet say none at all, according to the Canons,* which to their purpose the bring and alledge. 1. q 3. Audiuius. & cap. Pudenda. & cap. Schisma: By which chap. such priestes and religious do not make the Sacrament of the aultar: That then all Christians, especially all the soūders of such Abbeyes and indowers of bishoprickes, priories, and chaunteries: ought to amend this fault and treason committed agaynst their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominiōs which are the mayntenance of all their sinnes. And also, that Christian Lords & princes are bound to take away from the clergy, such secular domi'nion as noseleth & nourisheth them in heuesies: & ought to reduce them vnto the simple and poore life of Christ Iesus, and his Apostles.

And further, that all Christian Princes (if they will amend the maledictiō and blasphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalities frō that shauen generation,* which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction: And so in likewise, the fat tithes from Churches appropriat to rich monks & other religions fained by manifest lying, & other vnlawful meanes, likewise ought to debar their golde to the proud Priest of Rome, which doth poyson all Christendome with Simony and heresy. Further, that it is a great abhomination that Bishops, mōks, and other prelates, be so great Lords in this world, where as Christ with his Apostles, and disciples, neuer took vpon thē secular dominion, neither did they appropriat vnto them churches as these men do: but led a poore life, & gaue a good testimony of theyr priesthood. And therefore, all Christians ought to the vttermost of theyr power and strength to sweare that they will reduce such shauelings, to the humility and pouerty of Christ and his Apostles: And whosoever thus doth not, consenteth to theyr heresy. Also, that these two chapiters of the immunitye of Churches, are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap. Aduersus. Because they doe decree, that temporall Lordes may neyther require tallages nor tenthes, of any Ecclesiasticall per'sons.

Now to the correction of the clergy: By the law of god and by reason, the king and all other Christians may take reuenge of Italye, and of all the false Priests and Clerkes within the same, and to reduce them vnto the humble ordinaunce of Iesus Christ. Also, that the law of Siluester the Pope, which is declared in 2. q. 5. cap. Praesul, and cap. Nullam, is cōtrary to the law of Christ & either testament. And that proud and ambitious Siluester by this lawe, so defended two Cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Christ: that by no meanes they might be conuincid, although they were both vicious & euil. And although christ sustened and suffered the iudgemēt of vniust temporal iud'ges: Our mitred prelates in these dayes, so magnify them'selues beyond christ and his Apostles, that they refuse and will none of such iudgements. Also, that those decretals of accusations cap. Quando & Qualiter. Which do prohibite that any clerkes should be brought before a secular iudge to receiue iudgement: do contayne both heresy, blasphemy, and error, and bringeth great gayne and commodity to Antechristes cofers.

Furthermore, that all Christian kinges and Lordes, ought to exclayme agaynst the Pope and those that be hys sautors, and banish them out of theyr landes, till such time as they will obey God, and his Gospell, Kings and other ministers of Gods iustice. Also, that bishops and theyr fauourers, that say it appertayneth not to kings and secular Lordes (but vnto them and theyr Officials) to punish adultery and fornicatiō: do fall into manifest treason agaynst the king,* and heresy

agaynst the scripture. Also, that it appertayneth to the king, to haue the order both of priests & bishops, as these kings Salomon and Iosaphat had.

Furthermore, that chapter *Nullus iudicium de foro competenti*, by the which secular iudges are forbidden without the Bishops commandement to condemne any Clerk to death: Is manifestly agaynst the holy scripture, declaryng that kinges haue power ouer clerkes & priestes to punish thē for their deserued crimes. Also that the decree of Boniface de poenis in 6. cap. *foelicis*, made agaynst the persecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of Cardinals, as contrary both to the holy scripture & to all reason. Also, that by the law of God and reason a secular Lord may lawfully take a Cardinal & put him in prison for committing the crime of open sunony, adultery, & manifest blasphemy. Also y^t the chapier *Si Papa dist. 40.* which sayth that the Pope ought to be iudged of none, vnles he be deuus a fide, is cōtrary to y^e gospell which sayth: If thy brother sinne agaynst thee correct him. Also where as S. Gregory and S. Augustine called themselues the seruants of Gods seruants: this proud bishop of Rome which will not be iudged by his subiects (which be in very deed his Lordes, if they be iust & good men) doth destroy the order of Gods law, and all humility, and doth extoll himself aboue God and his Apostles. Also, that christian kings ought, not onely to iudge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him, by the example that *Cestrensis lib. 6. cap. 8.* declareth, of Otho the Emperour, which deposed Iohn the xii. and did institute Leo in his place.* And further, he maketh an exhortation to the Princes to iudge the Church of Rome, which he calleth the great and cursed strompet, of whom S. Iohn writeth in the Apocalips, chap. 17.

Lastly, touching the lawes and determinations of the church: Christians haue reasonable excuses and causes to repell the statutes of the pope and of his shauelings, which be not expresly grounded in the holy scriptures, or els vpon reason ineuitable. Also he sayth that that law whiche is set forth of consecration distinctione. 2. cap. *Seculares* & cap. *Omnis homo*, & cap. *Et si non frequentius*, & cap. *In coena domini*.* That such secular men as do not receiue the sacrament of the aultar at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsontide, are not to be counted amongst the number of Christians, nor are to be esteemed as christiās: wherby it followeth, that all Clerkes and lay men that obserue not the same, it seemeth they go strait to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the custome and vse in receiuing is contrary to the same: then may we blesse such rebellion & disobediēce to the pope and his law, for otherwise we should flee to hel without any stay or let. Wherby we may conclude, that all Christiās ought well to practise this schoole of disobedience against y^e Pope and all his lawes (not founded vpon the holy scripture) which do let men to clime to heauen by the keping of charity, and the liberty of the Gospell. Also, that Christian men haue great cause to refuse the lawes and statutes of these worldly clerkes, which y^e people call the papal lawes and bishoplike statutes, for the couetousnesse and voluptuousnesse of them: without the which, the church & congregation of God might safely run towards heauē by y^e sweet yoke of the Lord, as it did 1000. yeres before the said lawes were prescribed and sēt to the Uniuersities, and withdrew mē from studyng of y^e holy scripture, for the desire of benefices and worldly goods. Also that simple men do reuerētly receiue the sentences of the Doctors and other lawes,* so farre forth as they be expresly groūded vpon the holy scripture or good reason. Also, that where as the Popes lawes, & lawes of his ministers & clerks be both cōtrary to them selues, and haue not theyr fōundation neither vpon y^e scripture, nor yet vpon reason: simple mē ought to bid thē farewell. Also, that when all the apostles faith fayled thē in the time of the Lords passiō, faith thē rested in the blessed virgin: much more might that proud priest of Rome with all his

rabble easily erre in the fayth, and yet is the Christian fayth preserued whole and safe, in the faythful members of Christ, which are his true Church: But the Pope and all his rabblement,* cannot proue that they be any part of thys Church. Also, that the Pope with all his fautours, may as well be deceiued by a lying spirite, as was Achab and all his prophetes: and that one true prophet, as was Micheas may haue the verity shewed vnto him contra concilium, Also, that all good Christians ought to cast from them the Popes lawes, saying: Let vs breake their bandes in sonder, and let vs cast from our neckes those heauy yonkes of theyrs.* Also, that where these prelates doe burne one good booke, for one error perhaps conteyned in the same: they ought to burne all the books of the Canon law, for the manifold heresies contayned in them.

And thus muche out of a certaine olde written booke [Page 547](#) in parthment borrowed ouce of I.B. which booke conteining diuers auncient records of the vniuersitie: seemeth to belong sometimes to the library of the Uniuersitie, bearing the yeare of the compiling thereof. 1296. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him or that he recanted before Thomas Arundell Archbishop at Saltwood, where he was imprisoned. Whereunto I thought also to annexe, a certayne godly and most frutefull Sermon, of like antiquitie, preached at Paules crosse much about the same time, learned clerke, as I find in one old monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit among the auncient registers and records belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury: I haue an old worne copy of the said Sermon, written in very old English, and almost halfe consumed with age: purposing the said autor beere of bearing also the foresayd name. The true copy of which Sermon, in his owne speech wherein it was first spoken and preached at the crosse, on the Sonday of Quinquagesima, and after exhibited to the Archbishop of Canterburie (being then as it seemeth William Courtney) here foloweth.

A Sermon no lesse godly then learned, preached at Paules Crosse on the Sonday of Quinquagesima. ann. 1389. by R. Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem Gillicationis tuae.

Luce & •i.

*My dere frends, ye shullen vnderstand: that Christ autor and doctour of trueth, in his booke of the Gospell (likening the kingdome of heauen to anhouholder) saith on this maner. Like is the kingdome of heuen to an housholding man, that went out first on the morow to hire workemen into his vine. Also, about the third, sixt, nienth and enleunte houres he went out, and found men standing idel. And sayd to them. Go ye into min vineyerde, and that right is, I wille geue you. Whan the day was agoo, he clepid his stuard and high to geue echē man a peny.

*The spirituall vnderstanding of this housholder, is our Lord Iesu Christ that is head of the household of holy Church. And thus clepith men in diuerce houres of the day, that is in diuerce agees of the worlde. As in time of law of kinde, he cleped by enspiryng, Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham. In time of the old law, Moses, Dauid, Isay, and Ieremy. And in time of grace, Apostles Martyrs, and Confessours and Virgines. Also he cleped men in diuers agees, some on childhode,

as Iohn Baptist: some on state of waxing, as Iohn the Euangelist: some in state of manhoode, as Peter and Andrew: and some in old agee as Gamaliel, and Ioseph of Arimathie. And all these he clepeth to trauaile in his vine, that is the Church, and that in diuers maner. For right as yee seeth, that in tilling of the materiall vine there ben diuers labours, for some kutten away the voyde braunches, some maken forkis and railles to beren vp the vine, and some diggen away the olde earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben so necessary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it shall harme greatly, other destroy the vine: For but if the vine be kutte, she shall waxe wilde, but if she be rayled she shall be ouergo with netles and wedis. And but if the rote be fatted with donge, shee for feblenes shuld waxe baraine.

Right so in the Church beth nedefull thes three offices, priesthood, knythode, and laborers. To priests it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of sinnes with the swerd of her tong. To knighthode it falleth to letten wronges, and thefftes to ben done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers therof, and also to kepe the londe from enemies of other londes. And to labourers it falleth, to trauail bodelich, and with ther sore swete, geten out of the earth bodillech lifelode for hem, and other parties. And these states beth also nedefull to the Church, that none may well ben without other, for if priesthod lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods lawe, should waxe wilde in vices, and deyen gostely. And if the knithod laked, and men to rulin the puple by law and hardinesse, theeues and enemies shulden so encres that no man shuld liue in peace. And if the laborers were nought, both knightes and priestes must bicomme acre men and herdis: and els, they shuld for defaute of bodily sustenaunce deye. And therefore saith clerk Auicenne, that euery vnreasonable best if he haue that that kind hath ordeined for him: as kinde hath ordeined it: he is suffisaunce to liue by himselfe without any helpe of other of the same kind. As if there were but one horse other one shepe in the world, yet if he had grasse and corne as kind hath ordeined for such beastes, he shuld liue well I now. But if there ne were but O man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet for defaut he shuld deie, or his life shuld be wors tha if he were naught, & the cause is this for that thing that kind ordeineth for a mans sustenaunce, without other arraieng than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man haue corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meate according to him, vnto it be by mans craft, chaunged into bread: and though he haue flesh other fish, yet while it is rawe as kinde ordeined it, till it be by mans trauaile sodden, roasted, or baken, it cordit not to mans lifelode. And right so, wolle that the sheepe beareth mot by mannis diuers craftis and trauailes be chaunged or it be able do cloth any man: and certis O man by himselfe; shuld neuer doo all these laboures. And therefore saith this clerke, it is neede that some be acre men, some bakers, some makers of cloth, and some marchaunts to fetch that, that on londe fetteth from an other there it is plentie.

And certis this shuld be a cause why, euery state shuld loue other. And men of o craft shuld nor despise ne hate men of none other craft, fith they be so nedefull euerich to other. And oft thelke craftes that ben most vn timerly, might worst ben forbore: and o thing I dare well say that he that is neither trauailing in this world, on studieng, on praiers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to prists, neither ruling the people, mainteining ne defending fro enemies as it falleth to knights, neither traueling on the earth, in diuerse craftes, as it falleth to labourers: Whan the day of rokening commeth that is, the end of this life, right as he liued here withouten trauaile, so he shall there lack the reward of the pense, that is, the endles ioie of heauen. And as he was here liuing after none state ne order, so he shall be put than in that place that no order is in, but

eueralasting horror and sorow, that is in hell. Herfore, eueriche man se to what state God hath cleped him, and dwell he therin by trauaile according to his degree.* Thou that art a laborer or a crafty man, do this truely. If thou art a seruaunt or a bond man, be suget and lowe in drede of displeasing of thy Lord: If thou art a marchaunt, disceiue nought thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight or a Lord, defend the poore man and needy fro handes that will harme them.* If thou art a Iustice or a Iudge, go not on the right hand by fauour, neyther on the left hand, to punish any man for hate. If thou art a priest, vndernine, praye, and repreue, in all maner patience and doctrine. Vnderuime thilke that ben negligent, pray for thilke that bene obedient, reprove tho that ben vnobedient to God. So euery man trauaile in his degree. For whan the euen is come, that is, the end of this worlde: than euerye man shall take reward, good or euill, after that he hath trauallled here.

The wordes that I haue taken to make of my sermon, be thus muche to say. Yelde reconing of thy bayly. Christ autour of pitye and louer of the saluation of his people, in the proces of this gospell enfourmeth euery man what is his baylye, by maner of a parable of a bayly that he speaketh of, to aray him to answer of the goodes that God hath taken him, when the day of straight reconing shall be come, that is the day of dome. And so I at this tyme throwe the helpe of God, folowing him that is so great a maister of autoritie, because that I know nothing that should more drawe away mans vnreasonable loue fro the passing ioy of thys world, then the minde of the dreadfull reconing. As much as suffice, I shall shewe you how ye shall dispose you to auoide the vengeance of God, when ther shalbe time of so straight doome, that we shall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue isproken. For than it shal be said to vs,* and we shall not flee it: Yelde reconing of thy bayly.

But for forther proces of this first party of this sermon, yee shall wete: that there shall be three bay lifes that shall be cleped to this straight reconing. Twaine to answer for them selfe and for other, that bene priests that haue cure of mens soules, & temporal mē that haue gouernayle of people: and the thirde baylyf shall account onely for himselfe, and that is euerye Christen man, of that he hath receiued of God. And euery of these shall aunswer to three questions.* To the first question, how hast thou entred? The second, how hast thou ruled: And to the third, how hast thou liued? And if thou canst well assoile these three questions, was there neuer none earthly Lord that euer so well rewarded his seruant without comparison, as thy Lord God shal reward thee, that is with blisse, and ioye, and life that euer shall last. But on that other side, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine owne welfare, and take none heede of this reconing: If that day take thee sodainly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as thou worst neuer what shall fall thee) all the tounge that euer were, or euer shall be, mow not tell the sorrowe and wo that thou shalt euer be in, and suffer. Therefore, the desire of so great ioy, and the dread of so great paine, though loue ne dread of God were not in thine hart: yet should that make thee afeard to sinne, for to thinke that thou shalt giue reconing of thy bayly. Therefore as I say to thee, the first question that shall be proposed to the first bayly, that is a prelat other a Curat of mens soules, is this: How hast thou entred? Math. xxij. Friend, how entredst thou hether? Who brought thee in to this office? Truth or Symony? God or the Deuill? Grace or mony? The flesh or the spirit? Giue thou thy reconing if thou canst. If thou canst not, I rede that thou tary for to learne. For vp hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And if thou stande dombe for vnkunning, [Page 548](#) or els for confusion of thy conscience: thou fall into the sentence that anon followeth: Binde his handes and his feete, and cast him in to the vtter warde of darknes, there shall be weeping and grenning of teethe.

Therefore I rede thee, that thou aduise thee how thou shalt answer to this question. How hast thou entred? whether by cleeping, or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldest trauaile in Gods gospell, other for thou wouldest be richly arayed? Answer now to thy owne conscience as thou shalt answer to God, thou that hast take now the order of prieste, whether thou be curate or none: who stirred thee to take vpon thee so high an estate? Whether for thou wouldest liue as a priest ought to do studying of Gods law to preach, and most hartely to pray for the people: or for to liue a delicious life, vpon other mens trauaile, and thy selfe trauaile nought.* Why also setten men theyr sonnes either their cousins to schole? Where to, but for to get them great aduancements, or to make them the better to knowe howe they shoulde serue God? This men may see openly, by the sciences that they set them to. Why I pray you, put men their sonnes to the law ciuill,* or to the kings court to write letters & writs: rather thā to Philosophy or Diuinity, but for the hope that these occupations shoulde be euer means, to make them great in the world. I hope that ther wil no man say, that they ne shoulde better learne the rule of good liuing in the booke of Gods law, than in any bookes of mans worldly wisdom? But certes now it is so the, that Iohn Chrisostom saith Mothers be louing to the bodies of their children, but the soule they despise, they desire them to wel fare in this world, but they take none hede what they shall suffer in the tother: Some or deinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to godward: The lust of their bodies they wol deere by, but the health of their soule the reke nought of. If they see them poore or sicke, they sorrow and sigheth, but though they see them sinne, they sorrowe not. And in this they shew that they brought forth the bodies but not the soules.* And if we take heede truly, what abominations be scattered and spread abroad in holy church now adayes among priestes: we shul wel wit, that they come not all to the folde of Christ by Christes clepping for to profite: but by other wayes to get them worldly welth, and this is the cause of lesing of soules, that Christ bought so deare, and of many errors among the people: and therefore, it is iwrit in the booke of mourning, where the prophet speaketh thus to God. Tre 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all things desyrable to him:* for he hath let lawles folke enter into the sanctuary, of the which thou hadst commaunded, that they should not enter into the church: This enemy is Sathanas, as his name sowneth, that hath put his hande to all that him liketh. What sinne I pray you will the fiend haue sow on men, that nis now yvsed? In what plentie is now pride, enuy, wrath and couetise? Whan were they so great as they be now, and so of all other sinnes. And why trowest thou? But for there be a lawles people entred into thy sanctuarie, that neither keepe in hemselfe the law of God, ne konne teachen other:* And to euery such, saith God by the prophet, Ose 4. For that thou hast put away cunning: I shall put thee away that thou shal vse no priesthooode to me. Lo that God expresly heere in holy writte, forbiddeth men to take the state of pristhooode on them, but they haue cunning, that needeth them. Thou than that canst neither rule thy selfe ne other, after the lawe of God, beware how thou wilt answer to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he shall say to thee, that which I tooke to my theame.

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou hast entred.

The second question, that euery curate and prelate of holye Chirch shall aunswer to, is this. How hast thou ruled? That is to say, the soules of thy suggets, and the goods of poore men: Geue now thine acounte. First, how thou hast gouerned gods folke that were take thee to keepe: Whether art thou an herde or an hired man? that doost all for loue of bodelich hi e? As a father, or as a Wolfe, that eaten his sheepe and keepeth them nought? Say whome thou hast turned from his cursed liuing, by thy deuout preaching,* Whome hast thou taught the law of God that was earst

vncunning: Ther shal ben heard a greuous accusing of fatherles children, and a hard aleding, that priests haue liueden by their wages, and not done away their sins. Yelde also rekoning how thou hast ruled and spende the goodes of poore men. Harke what S. Bernard saith. Dreade clarkes, dreade the ministers of the Church, the which ben in the place of saintes, that they do so wickedly, nought holding them apayd with such wages that were sufficient to them: That ouerplus that needy men shuld be sustained by, they be not ashamed to wast in the house of their pride and leachery, and withholden to themselfe wickedly and cursedly that which should be the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickednes truly they sinne. First, for they reeuen other mens goods, and faith they misuse holy things in their vanities and in their filthes. Euery such Bayly therefore beware, for anone, to the last far thing he shall reckon with Christ. Trowest thou not then, that thou ne shalt be disallowed of God of that thou hast mispende in in feeding of fat Palfreys, of hounds, of Haukes, and if it so be that is worst of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is sayd of suche. They had led their dayes in wealths. And in a poynt they bene gone down into hell: Think therefore I rede thee, that thou shalt yelde reckening of thy bayly.

The third question that this baily shal aunswer to, is this: How hast thou lyued? What light of holynes hast thou shewed in thy liuing to the people, or what mirrour hast thou ben of holynes to them? Geue now thy reconing, how thou hast liued, as a priest, or as a leude man as a man or as a beast. That is to wonder truelye how the lyfe of priestes is chaunged They be clothed as knights, they speaken as vnhonestly as carels, other of wynnyng as Marchaunts: They riden as princes, and al that is thus spende, is of the goodes of poore men, and of Christs heretage. Therefore saith an holy doctor: The clay of Egypt was tough and stinking, and medled with bloud. The slates were harde to bee vndoe, for they were baked with fire of couetise, and with the light of lust. In this trauayleth riche men, in this they wake, a wayting poore men. In these trauaileth prelates, that ben to much blent with to much shining of riches, that make them houses lyke churches in greatnes, that with diuers pointries, coloren their chambers, that with diuers clothinges of colours, make images gay: but the poore mā for default of clothes beggeth; and with an empty wombe cryeth at the doore: And if I shall the foth say, saith this doctor, oft tyme poore men be robbed for to clothe the trees and stones: [*](#) Of such speaketh the Prophet. Howe art thou here? or as who art thou? Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martine: But how, as Iudas among the Apostles, as Symon Magus among the disciples, as a candle now queinte that stincheth all the house in steede of a light lanterne, as a smoke that blindeth mens eyen, in place of cleane fire. If thou contrarye thus the forme of liuing that Christ and his disciples left to priests: [*](#) Lo what saith the prophet Ieremye. They haue entred, and they haue had and nought ben obedient. They hauen with false title or with their false and corrupt intention, had poore mens goodes to their misusing, and they haue not bee obedient to the lawe of God in their owen liuing. [*](#) Therefore it is writ, that the hardest dome shall fall on such. An hard dome, for they haue misentred An harder dome, for they haue misruled. And the hardest dome, for they haue so cursedlie liued. Thinke therefore I rede, how thou wilt giue reckning of thy bayly.

The second Bayliff, [*](#) that accounteth at this dome for himselfe and also for other, is he: that keping hath of any communitie, as kings, princes, Maiers, and Shireues, and iustices. And these shull also answer to the same three questions. The first question, how hast thou hentred, that is to say, into thine office: Other for help of the people to destroy falshed and forthren treuth? other for desire of winning or worldly worship? If thou take such an office, more for thine owne

worldly profite, than for helpe of the comunite, thou art a tirant as the pholosopher seith. For it is to feare least there bene too many that desiren suche states, that they may the rather oppresse thilke that they hateth, and take giftes to spare to punish thilke, that hauen trespassed, and so maketh them parteners of their sinnes. And many such, when they ben so high, they reck nought that they beeth poore mens brethren: but they wene to passe them in kind, as they passeth in worldly worship, that is but winde: of which God faith by the prophet, they hauen raigned, but nought of me, they haue bene princes but I knowe nought.* So we reade of Roboam, that was the son of king Salomon, what time he was first king, the people of Israell comen to him, and sayd: Thy father in his last dayes, put on vs great charge. We pray thee some deale make it lighter, and we willen serue thee. And the king tooke counsayle of the olde wise men, and they counsailden to answer them faire, and that should be for the best. But he left these old wise mennis counsayle, and did after the counsayle of children that were his playferen, and sayd to the people, when they came agayne: My left finger, is greater then my fathers riegge. My father greeued you somewhat, but I will echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and tooke them another king and fith, the kingdome came neuer whole againe. And therefore it is good, that euery ruler of cominalties, that they be not lad by follies, ne by none other eare rowner, that he ne haue an eygh of loue to the comontie that he hath to rule. For were ye well be he neuer so high, that he shall come afore his higher, to yelde reconing of his bayly.

The second question is: * How hast thou ruled the people, and the office that thou haddest to gouerne? Thou that hast bene a Iudge in causes of poore men, how hast thou kept this hest of God? Thou shalt not take heede to the person of a poore man, to bee to him the harder for his pouertie,* ne thou shalt not behold a rich mans semblance, to spare or to fauour him in his wrong for his riches. O Lorde, what abusio is there among officers of both lawes, now adayes: If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, euery officer shall be readie to hye all that he may, that the rich man might haue such an end as he desired. But if a poore man pleade with a ritch man, than there shall be so manye delayes, that though the poore mans right be open to all the Countrie, for pure faute of spending, he shall be glad to cease. Shriues and Bayliffes willen retourne [Page 549](#) poore mens writs, with tarde Genit, but gif they feelen meede in their hands. And yet I heare sale, men that hauen seyen both lawes,* that ilke court that is cleeped Christes court, is much more cursed. Therefore it is writ: giftes they taken out of mens bosoms,* to ouerturne the right way of dome. But it is to dread the word of Christ: In what dome ye deeme, ye should be demed when ye comen to yelde a reconing of your bayly.

The third question is: Howe hast thou lyued, thou that deemest and punishest other men for their trespas. A great doctor saith: * thee behoueth to flee the wickednes of other men, that thou chastieest them for their trespas. For if thy selfe do vnlawfullich in deeming other men, thou damnest thy selfe, sythe thou doest that thou damnest. And Poul saith: why teachest thou nought thy selfe,* that thou teachest other? Why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steale? Saint Gregorie saith: He shall not take gouernaile of other, that can not go before them in good liuing. And when anye man stand before him in dome, he must take heede to fore what Iudge he shall stand him selfe, to take his dome after his deedes. But it is to dread, that manie fareth as the twe false priests that woulde haue damned to death holie Susan,* for she would not assent to their leacherie. Of the which it is writ: they turned awaie their eyen, for they would not see heauen, ne haue mynde of rightfull domes. So it happeth ofte, they that were more woorthie to bee hanged, damneth them that be lesse woorthye, as a clarcke telleth of Socrates the

Philosopher,* sayth hee, vpon a day a man asked of hym why hee laughed. And hee sayd: for I see great theeves leaden a little theefe to hanging. I pray thee, whether is hee a greater theefe that bynimeth a man hys house and hys land from hym and from his heyres for euermore,* other hee that for making of great neede, stealeth a sheepe or a calfe. Whether trow wee nought, that it happeth such extortioners to be other whyle Iudges, and demeth men thus: But I read thee that thus deemest other, thinke on that dome thou shalt come to, to yelde the rekening of thine bayly.

The third Baylife that shall be cleped to this dreadfull a count shall bee euerie Christian man, that shall geue rekening to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of hys. And heere I wyll speake but of the first question,* that is this: How entrest thou, And heere by the waie, yee that haue goten anie, worldly good, other take by extortion, by rauayne, by vsurie, other by disceit: Wo shall be to him at this dreadfull daie as Sainct Austen sayth. If he be cast into the fire that hath nought giuen of his owne good: where trowest thou shall he be castin, that hath reued other mens from them. And if he shulle brenne with the send that hath nought clothed the naked,* where trowest shall he brenne that hath made him naked that was earst clothed. But as Sainct Gregorie sayth, two thinges maketh men to liue thus by rauaine of other neighbours, that they desire heynes and drede pouertie, and what vengeance falleth of this sinne of couetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, whan the Angell sayd to Prophet Zacharie. Rere vp thine eyen, and see what is that goeth out. And the Prophet sayd what is it? Then the Angell sayd, this is the pot going out, this is the eize of hem on all the earth, And there was a weihgt of lede I bore, and there was a woman sitting in the middle of this potte. And the Angell sayd, this is impietie: And he tooke her, and cast her into the middle of this pot, and he tooke the gobette of leed and caste it into the pots mouth. And the Prophet lift vp his eye,* and he saw twoo women comming out, and spirites in her wing is like two kytes other gledes: and they are rid vp this pot betweene heauen and the earth, and than the Prophete spake to the Aungell, whider wol these beare this pot? And he sayd, into the lond of Sennaar: This pot is couetise. For right as a pot hathe a wide open mouth, so couetise gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in the pot, profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh thereof: so worldlie good ofte, profiteth not to churles, but to other that commeth after, as it is written. He that hath money, shall haue no frute of it. And this couetise is the eye of couetous men:* for they ben blinde to see how they shuld see to go to heauen, but to winning of worldly things they see manie wayes, lyke to owles, and nightcrowses, that seene better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, is the syn of obstination. The woman that sat in the pot, is vnpittie, as the Angell sayd, that foloweth vnrighteousnes and auarice. For through auarice, a man leeseth the pitie that he shuld haue of the mischiefe of his soule. For oft tyme, men leese the lyfe of theyr soule, by deadlie sinne that they doo to haue worldly winning: and also they leese the pitie that they should haue of their bodie, putting them selves to manie great bodelye trauayls and perils both by sea, and land, and all maketh couetise. This pot is stopped with the gobbet of leade, when vnpitie is thus by synne of obstination closed in couetise, that he may not goe out of the chinchs harte by penaunce.* For as Iob sayth: when he is fulfilled, he shall bee stopped. The two women that bare vp this pot, are pride and lust of flesh, that be cleped in holie writ the twey daughtren of the water Lethe, crying: bring, bring. And they had wings: the fyrst wing is grace spirituall, as cunning, wisdom, and counsell, with such other manie For which gifts manie men wexe proud. The second wing is bodely grace,* as strength, fairehood, gentrie, and manie other such, whereof men wexe proud. The winges of the second woman that is fleshlie desire, both glotony and slouth. Of glotonie speaketh S. Gregorie:* when the wombe is fulfilled, the prickles of leacherie beth meued. And of slouth S. Austine sayth: Lot

the while he dwelled in busines among shrewes in Sodome, he was a good man. But when he was in the hyll slowe, for sykkernes, he in his dronkennes lay by hys daughtren. And these women had wynges lyke Kytes, that with a crieng voyce seecheth theyr meate, as Bartholomeus sayth. And thus fareth couetise of men. Witnessing Sainct Austine, what is the greedynes of fleshlye desire. In as much as the rauinous fyshes haue sometime measure, yet when they hunger, they rapin, and when they fulfill, they spare: But onely couetise of men may not bee fulfilled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough. Neither hee dreadeth God, neither shame of men. He ne spareth hys father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, neyther keepeth truth with hys frende. He ouerpresseth widowes and fatherles children. Freemen he maketh bond, and bringeth foorth false witnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he shoulden neuer dye. What manhoode is this, sayth this doctour, thus to leese lyfe and grace,* and get death of soule? Win gold, and leese heauen? And herefore sayth the Prophet, haue trauaile in the midst, and leaue vnrighteousnes. Also Innocent speaking of the harmes that come of couetoise, sayth thus: O how manie men hath couetise deceiued and spilt? When couetise Balaam would for giftes that the kinge profered him, haue cursed Gods people, his owne Asse reprobued hym, and hurt his foote agaynst a wall. Achor was stoned to death, for couetise made him steale gold and clothes, against the commaundement of God. Giesy was smit with mesilrie,* for he sold Naamans heale, that came of Gods grace. Iudas for couetise sold Christ, and afterward hoong himselfe. An any and Zaphira his wife were dead sodainlie, for they forsoken to giue Peter theyr money that they had. And couetise maketh also that rich men eate the poore, as beastes done their lesous holding them lowe. This may we see all daye, in deede I dread. For if a ritche man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the midst or in the side thereof one acre, and a riche man haue all a streete saueth O house, that some poore brother of hys oweth, he ceaseth neuer till he get it out of the poore mans hand, eyther by prayer, or by bying, or by pursuing of disceit. Thus fared it by kyng Achab, that throughe his false Queenes ginne slowe the poore man Naboth, for that he woulde not sell hym hys vyneyard that was nye to the Kings palace. Vpon which proces,* thus sayth Sainct Ambrose: How far wyll yee ritche men stretch your couetise? Wyll yee dwell alone vppon the earth, and haue no poore man wyth you? Why put yee out your felow by kynde, and chalenge to your selfe the possession comen by kynde? In commune to all ritch and poore the earth was made, Why will yee ritche chalenge proper right heerein? Kynde knoweth no riches, that bringeth foorth all men poore. For wee bee not got with rich clothes, ne borne wyth golde ne wyth syluer. Naked hee bringeth them to this world, needie of meate and of drinke and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, as she naked brought vs hyther. She can not close with vs our possession in sepulchre, for kynde maketh no difference be•weene poore and rich, in comming hyther, ne in goyng hence. All in o manner hee bringeth foorth, all in o manner he closeth in graue. Who so wyll make difference of poore and rytch, abyde tyll they haue a little while leyne in the graue. Than open and looke among dead bones who was rych, and who was poore, but if it be thus that mo clothes rotteth with the ritche, then wyth the poore: and that harmeth to them that beth on lyue,* and profytte not to them that beene deade: Thus sayth the Doctour of suche extortion as it is writ. Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vyne of hym that the harme oppressed, they plucke awaye the grapes: they leueth men naked, and taketh awaye her clothis that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytwene heauen and earth. For couetous men nother haueth charite to ther brethren vpon earth, neyther to God in heauen: and they bare this pot into the lond of Sennaar, that is to say, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell, for there shall be stench, in stede of sweete smelling as I say sayth. Beware I rede, that yee nought haue to do with this pot, no with the woman therein: and on all

maner that ye be nought wed did to her for than yee must be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman: the kynges and marchauntis of the earth haue done lechery, and of her vertue they haueth bee made riche, whose dampnation is writen in the booke of priuities in these wordes. In o day, shall come all this vengeaunces of her death, weping and hunger and fire shall brenne her, for stronge is God that shall venge hym on her, and than shulleth weepe and howle vp on her the kyng• of the earth, that haueth done lechery with her, and haueth liu••• delices when they shull see the smoke of her brenning, stonding aferre weping and weyling and saying. [Page 543](#) Alas alas, thilke great citie that was clothed with bis and purple, and brasile, and ouergilte with gold and precious stones and pearle. For in one houre all these great riches shall be destroyed, than shall they sey that shall bee damned with her. We haue erred fro the waye of trouth and rightwisnes, light haue not shined to vs, and the sonne of vnderstanding haue not resen to vs: we haue be made weery in euerich way of wickednes and of lust, and haue gone hard wayes, but the wayes of God we knew nought: what hath pride profited to vs, or the boast of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is as a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holynes: in our wickednes we be wasted away. Thinke therefore I read, that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

Here endeth the first part of this Sermon, and beginneth the second part.

IN which secōd part with the helpe of God I will shew first, who shall clepe vs to this recKenynge. Afterward, to fore what iudge we shall reckyn: and last what punishyng shall be do to them that ben found false seruauntes and wicked, and what reward shall be gyue to them that be founde good and true. For the first ye shall wetoen that there shall be twey domes. The first doome anone after the departyng of body and of soule, an this shall be speciall. And of this rekenyng or doome speaketh the Gospell of Luke. The second rekenyng or doome shal be anone after the generall resurrection,* & shal be vniuersal. And of this is to spekē in the Gospel. To the first euery man shalbe cleped after other, as the wolrde passeth. To the secunde shall comeo togedre in the stroke of an eye all mankynde.* To the first, men shalbe cleped with three sumners other Sergeauntes: the firstlis sicknesse, the second is age, and the third is death: the first warneth, the second threteth, and the third taketh. This is a kyndly order, but otherwise it fayleth, for sume we seeth dyeth that neuer wist what was sicknes ne age, as children that ben sodenly slayne. And sume, ye the most part that deyeth now a dayes deyeth, byfore her kynde agee of deeth: therefore I say, that the first that clepeth to this speciall reckning is sicknes, that followeth all mankind, so that euery man hath it: and sum is sicknesse that sume men haueth but nought all. Yet the first sicknesse is double, for sume is withinne in the mightes of the soule, and sume is without in feblenes of the bodie that needis mo be stroyed, whan time by hem selfe is cause of corruption as Philosophie sayth, that thereby feblenes and sicknes. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of hys hart all maner of worldlie and fleshlie thoughtes, yet vnneth shall a man for ought that he can doo, thinke on God onelie, the space of o Pater noster, but that some other thing that is passing, entreth into the soule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God, what seekenes is this, an heuie burden on the sonnes of Adam, that on fowle moock and fen of the world we may thinke long ynow. But on that the soule should most delectation haue by kinde, mow we nought thinke so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the whete. Of this seekenes speaketh Poule, where he sayth. I see a lawe in my limmes fighting agenes the lawe of my sprite, and taking me into the law of sinne. So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the sun, and may nought do it long for nothing. And

forsooth that is for no default that is in the sunne, for she is most cleere in her selfe, and so by reason best should be seyn, but it is for feblenes of mans eye. Ryght so, syth Adam our first fader was put out of Paradyse, all hys offpring haue ben thus sicke, as the Prophet seyth. Our fadres haue eat a bitter grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The second sicknes, that is commune to all mankind, commyth of feblenes of the body: as hunger and thorst, cold and heate, sorow & werines, and many other as Iob. 18. sayth.* A man that is ibore of a woman, liuing a little whyle, is fulfilled with many miseases. Yet there is other sicknes that commeth to some men,* but not to all, as Lepvr, Palsey, Feuer, Dropsie, Blindnes, and many other, as it was seyden to the people of Israell, in holy writ. But thou keepe the commaundements that be writ in this booke, God shal echen the sicknes of thee and of thy seede, great sickenes and long abiding. Yet yee shall vnderstand, that God sendeth other while, such sicknes to good men, and other while to shrewes. To good men God doth it for two causes, and that is sooth. Of sicknes I wol to be vnderstand also, of all maner of tribulations. The first cause, for they shold alway euer know, that they haue none perfection of them selfe,* but of God onely, and to echen theyr meekenes. And thus sayth Poule, least the greatnes of reuelations rere me vp into pride, is giuen a pricke of my fleshe, the Aungell of Sathanas to smite me on the necke, wherefore I haue thrise prayed God, that he shuld go fro me, and he answered me: My grace is suffisant to thee for vertue is fulfilled in sicknes, where on thus sayn the glose. The fend axing Iob to be tempted, was herd of God, and nought the Apostle axing his temptation to be remoued. God herd him that shuld be damned, and he herd nought him, that he shuld saue. For oft the sick mā axit many things of the leche, that he wol not geue him, & that is for to make him whole of sicknes. Also God sendeth Saints oft sicknes & po••ution, to giue vs sinfull wretches example of patience: For if he suffer his Saints to haue such tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis that God sendeth not the hundred aparty of their sorowe, shulden beare it meekely sith we haue diserued a thousand so much as they haueth.* Whereof, Tobie that one day whan he was wery of byrying of poore men, the which shulden haue ley vnburied, and haue be etene of houndis, and foules, as caraynes, of other vnreasonable bestes, whan for werynesse he had leide him to reste, through Goddis sufferauce the swallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wexet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation for soth▪ Therefore God suffered to come to him, that to them that comen after, shuld be geuen ensample of pacience, as by the temptation of holie Iob. For sith from his childhod, euermore he drede God, and euer kept his hestes: He was not agreeued ayenst God that the misthief of blindnesse fell to him: but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of God, thanking him all the dayes of his life. Lo that holy writ sayth expresly, that God suffered this holie man to haue that sicknes, to geue them that should come after him ensample of pacience. Also other whyle, God sendeth syckenes and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes. First for that they should the rather drede God, and leaue their sinne.* As it is writ: their sickenes hath bene multiplied, and after they haue hyed to Godward. For we see oft men in sicknes know their God, that neuer would haue turned to him whyle they had beene whole. Also God sendeth them sicknes oft to agast other men, lest they follow their sin. As the sickenes of kyng Antioche, whome God smote with such a sickenes, that wormes fell out of hys body whyle he lyued, in so farforth, that he stanke so foule, that his frends were so wearye of it, that they might not suffer it. And at the last, when he himselfe might not suffer his owne stinch, then he began to know himselfe, and sayd: It is rightfull, to be subiect to God, and a deadly man not to hold himselfe onely euen with God, and the story saith he asked mercie of God, and made a vowe to God, that he would make the Citie of Ierusalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens: and that hee would honour Gods temple wyth

pretious ary, and multiply the holy vessels, and finde of his owne rent and spenses pertaining to the sacrifice. And he would become a Iew, and go ouer all the lond to preach Goddes might. And yet God gafe him not such mercy as he desired. And I trow certein that it was for good. In as much as God knew he would not afterward hold his couenaunt, or els for he axket it too late. What mede was it for him to forsake his wickednes whan hee was vnmightie to doo good or euill. Neuertheles, I trow he was not dampned, in as much as he had such repentaunce, for repentaunce in this life come neuer too late if it be trew. But by thys vengeance that God tooke on thys king, should men see, what it is to be vnobedient to God. And also it is to take heede, that whan euer sickenes commeth, euer it sheweth, that hee that suffreth this deadly, shall nedes dye For though he may skape of his sicknes, yet hee may not skape death. And so thou must needs come giue rekenyng of thy bayly. The second somnour that shall clepe thee to this particuler doome,* is elde or age. And the condition of him is this, though that he tarie with thee, he will not leue thee, till he bring thee to the thirde, that is death. But there be many that though they haue this somnour with them, they take none hede, though they see ther he are hore, her back crook, her breth stynke, her teeth fayle, her yen derk, her visage riuely, her crene wexit heuy to her. What meneth all this, but that age sunneth to the dome.

But what more madhead may be than a man to be cleped, and drawe to so dreadfull a reckenyng there, where but he aunswere well he forfegeth both body and soule to damnation for euer. If seing a litle wordly merth on the way, he thinketh so mekill theron, that he forgetteth who draweth him, or whether he draweth. So doth he that is smiten with age and liketh so on the false world is wealth, that he forgetteth whether he is away: Herefore sayth an holy Doctour, that among all abusions of the world most is of an old man that is obstinate: for he thinketh not on his out going of this world, ne of passing into the lyfe that is to come: he heareth messengers of death, and he leueth hem not, and the cause is this, for the threfold cord that such an old mā is bounden with, is hard to breke. This cord is custome, that is of three plights, that is, of idel thought, vnhonest speach, and wicked deede: the whiche if they groweth in a man from the childhood into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to bynde the old man on custome of sinne.* Herefore sayth Esay breake the bondes of sinne. Thinke herefore whosoeuer that thou be that art thus sumned, that thou might not scape that thou ne shalt yeld the rekenyng of thy bailly.

The third somner to this reckenyng, is death. And the condition of him is,* that whan euer he come, first, other the secōd, other the last houre he ne spareth, neither power, ne yought, ne he dreadeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer ne of no gift, ne he graunteth no respit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth Sainct Austen. Well ought euerie man drede the day of his death. For in what state a mans last day findeth hym, whan he dyeth out of this worlde, in the same state [Page 551](#) he bringeth hym to hys dome. Herfore seyth the wise man. Sonne, thinke on thy last day, and thou shalt neuer sinne. Therefore I rede that thou thinke, that thou shalt geue reconyng of thy bayly.* I sayd also, that there shall be another doome, to the which all men shall come together, and this shall be vniuersall. And right as to the other dome, euery man shall be cleped with these three sumnours: so to this dome all this world shall be cleped with three generall clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans end, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldly sicknes,* the second cleper is feblenes, and the third is the ende. The sicknes of the world thou shalt know by charitie a cooling. His elde and febles thou shalt knowe by tokens fulfilling, and hys end thou shalt know by Antichristes pursuing. First I sayd, thou shalt knowe the worldes sicknes by charitie a cooling.

Clerkes that treate of kynde sayne: that a bodie is sicke, when his bodely heate is to lite, or when his vnkindely heate is too much.* Sythe then all mankynde is one bodye, whose kindly heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors) vnkindly heate is lustfull loue to other creatures. When therefore thou seest that the loue of men to Godwa•de and to their neighbour is litle and faynt, and the loue of worldlye thynges and lustes of the flesh is great and feruent: then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this be acknowlich of this sicknes, I may proue by autoritie of Christ. For he himselfe gaue them as a signe of the drawing to the ende of the world: For that wickednes shall be in plente, charitie shall acoole. Therefore whan thou seest charitie this little in the worlde and wickednes encrease, know well, that this world passeth and hys welth, and that this somner is come.* And thus seyth Seint Poule, Wit ye well, that in the laste dayes shall come perilous times, and there shall be men louing them selfe, that is to say, their bodyes, couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynd fellows, withouten affection, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmylde, withouten benignitie, traytours, rebels, swelling, louers of lustes more then of God, hauing a lykenes of pietie, and denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If thou seest the people busied wyth such conditions, wyt thou well that the firste sumnour warneth all the world, that the day of reconing draweth towarde.

The second Sumnour, that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and hys feblenes, and sheweth tokens fulfillyng. But I know wel, that we be nought suffisaunt to know the times other the whyles that the fader in trinitie hath put on hys owne power, to shew certainly the day, yeere, other houre of this dome, sith this knowleche was hid fro the priuey Apostles of Christ, and fro Christs manhode as to shew it to vs. Natheles, we inough by autoritie of holy writ, wyth reasons, and expositions of Saints, well and openly shew, that thys day of wrath is nygh:.* But yet least any man sey in hys hert as it is writen of solie baylies, that they shall seien, my Lord, that is, tarrieth to come to the dome, and vppon hope hereof he taketh to smite seruauntes and hynen of God, eate and drinke and make him dronk: I shall shewe that this day is at the hond,* howe ny neuertheles, can I not seie ne wole For if Poule sayd now for a thousand and three hundred yeer, and passed moe: we ben thilke, into whome the endis of the worlde ben come, much rather may we seie the same that been so much neere the end than he was.* Also S. Chrysostome sayth: thou seest ouer all darkenesse, and thou doutest that the day is go, first on the valeyes is darknesse whan the day draweth downeward: whan therefore thou seest the valeies I derked, why doutest thou whether it be nigh euen, but if thou see the sunne so lowe that derknesse is vpon the hilles, thou wolt seie doutles, that it is night. Right so, if thou see first in the seculers and the lewd christen men begynneth derknesses of sinnes and to haue the maistrie,* it is token that this world endeth. But whan thou seest priests that ben put on the high toppe of spirituall dignities, that shulden be as hilles abouen the commune people in perfit liuing, that derknesse of sinnes hath taken them, who douteth that the world nis at the end. And also Abbot Ioochim in exposition of Ieremye, seyeth: Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200. all times beth suspect to me, and we ben passed on thys suspecte time nigh 200. yeare.* Also mayden Hyldegare in the booke of her prophecie the third partie, the xj. vision, the vij. chapter, meueth thys reason. Ryght as on seauen dayes God made the world, so in 7000. yeare the world shall passe. And right as in the sixt day man was made and fourmed: so in 6000. yeares he was brought ageine and reformed. And as in the seauenth daye the world was full made, and God left off hys working, right so its the 7000. yeare, the number of them that shullen be saued shall be fulfilled, and rest shall be to Seintes full in bodye and soule. If that it be so as it seemeth to followe of this maydens words,

that 7000. in passing of the world accordeth to seauen dayes in hys making it, see what lacketh that these 7000. yeares ne beth fulfilled. For if wee reken the number of yeeres fro the natiuitie of Christ, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world, to Christ, and thou wilt folowe Austyne, Bede, and Orosie, and most probable doctors treating of this matter,* are passed now almost, sixe thousand and sixe hundred as it is open in a booke that is cleped Speculum iudiciale So it suweth, that this last day is more than a halfe a go, if we shulden geue credence to thys maydens reasun: But if we shull lene to the Gospell, than we shall finde in the Gospell of Mathew, that the Disciples axiden of Christ three questions First,* what time the Citie of Ierusalem should be destroyed. The second, what token of hys comming to the doome. And the third, what signe of the endyng of the world. And Christ gaue them no certayne tyme of these thinges when they shoulde fall, but he gaue them tokens, by which they myght know when they drew nighe, and so as to the first question of the destruction of Ierusalem,* he sayd: when the Romaines come to beseege that Citie, then soone after she shall bee destroyed.

And as to the second and the thirde, hee gaue manye tokens, that is to say: that Realme shall rise against Realme, and people agaynst people, and pestilences and earthquakinges, the which we haue seene in our dayes. But the last token that hee gaue, was thys: when yee seene the abhomination of elengnesse sayd of Daniel the Prophet, standyng on the Sanctuary: then who so readeth, vnderstand. Vpon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a booke that he maketh of the end of the world. If the wordes of Daniel hauen autoritie (as God sayth that they hauen) it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the world, that Daniell hath written. Now Daniell in the twelfth chapter, speakyng of thys abhomination, putteth betweene the ceasing of the busie sacrifice of the Iewes, the which fell, when by Titus and Vespasianus, Ierusalem was destroyed, and the people of Iewes were disparkled into all the world. And thys abhomination that Doctors sayne, shall be in the great Antichristes dayes. 1290.* Nowe proueth thys Doctour, that a daye must be taken for a yere, both by autoritie of holy writ in the same place, and in other, and also by reason: So it seemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichrist shoulde come in the 1400. yere fro the birth of Christ, the which number of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelue yeares and a half lacking. And this reason put not I as to shewe anie certayne tyme of hys commyng, sithe I haue not that knowledge: but to shewe that he is nye, but how nygh I wot neuer. But take we heede to the fourth part of the second vision of Saint Iohn, put in the booke of Reuelations, in the which vnder the opening of the seauen seales, is declared the state of the Church, from the time of Christ into the end of the world. The opening of the foure first seales, shew the state of the Church, fro the tyme of Christ, to the tyme of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales. The opening of the fyrst seale, telleth the state of the Church in the tyme of the preaching of Christ and of hys Apostles. For the first, that is, the Lyon, gaue hys voyce, that betokeneth the preachers of Christes resurrection and hys ascension. For then yede out a whyte horse, and he that sat vppon hym, had a bow in hys hand, and he yede out ouercomming to ouercome. By thys whyte hors we vnderstand, the cleane life and conuersation that these preachers haden: and by the bowe, their true teaching, pricking sorow in mens hartes for their sinnes withouten flatteryng. And they wenten out of Iewry that they comen of, ouercommyng some of the Iewes, and maken them to leaue the trust that they hadden in the olde law, and to beleue in Iesus Christe, and shewen hys teachynge. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynemes, shewyng to them that theyr Images were no Gods, but mens woorkes, vnmighty to saue them selfe, or any other, drawyng them to the beliefe of Iesus Chryst God and man. In the opening of the second seale, there cryed the second beast, that is, a

calfe, that was a beast wonted to be slayne, and offered to God in the old law. Thys sheweth the state of the Church in the time of Martyrs,* that for their stedfast preachyng of Gods true law, shed theyr bloud, that is signified by the red hors that went out at thys seale opening: and thys estate began at Nero the cursed Emperour, and dured into the time of Constantine the great, that endowed the Church. For in thys tyme, many of Christes seruaunts, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke were slayne. For of xxij. Byshops of Rome that were betwene Peter and Siluester the first, I reade but of foure, but that they weren Martyrs for the lawe of Christ. And also in the tyme of Dioclesian the Emperour, the persecution of the Christen men was so great, that in xxx. dayes weren slayne xxij. thousand men and women in diuers counties, for the law of God.

The opening of the third seale, telleth the state of the Church in time of Heretikis that beth figured by the blacke hors,* for false vnder standing of holy write: for than cryed the third beest that is a man, for at that time was it neede to preache the mistery of Christes incarnation, and his passion ayenst these erretikis that feliden mis of these pointis:* how Christ tooke verreyly mans kynde of our Lady, hym beyng God as hee was bifore, and hys moder beeyng mayden byfore and after. The opening of the fourth scale, telleth the state of the Church in tyme of ypocritis, [Page 552](#) that beth signified by the pale hors,* that beth signes of penaunce with outfoorth to blinde the people. And he that sate vpon thys hors his name was death, for they shulle flee gostly them that they leden, and teacheth to trust vpon other thing than God: and helle foloweth him, for helle receiueth thilke that these disteineth. At that time shall it neede, that the fourth beast that is the Egle make hys cry, that flyeth highest of foules to reare vp Gods Gospell: and to preise that law aboue other, least mens wit, and their traditions ouergone and treden downe the law of God, by enforming of these ypocritis, and this is the last state, that is, other shall be in the Church, bifore the comming of the great Antichrist.* The opening of the fift seale, telleth the state of the Church that than shall folow, and the desire that louers of Goddis law shulleth haue after the end of this world to be deliuered of thys wo.* The opening of the sixt seale telleth the state of the Church, in time of Antichristis times, the which state yee may know to be in the Church whan ye seth fulfilled, that Saint Iohn Prophecieth to fall on the opening of thys, where hee sayth thus: After thys I saw foure Angels standing vpon foure corners of the earth, holdyng the foure windes of the earth that they blowen nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the sea, ne vpon eny tree. These foure Angels beth the number of all the Deuils ministers, that on that tyme shulleth in the pleasance of their Lord Antichrist, stoppe the four windis that beth the foure Gospels to be preached, and so let the breath of the grace of the holie Ghost to fall vpon men morning for sinne, and calling them to amendement, and to other that wolden encrease in vertues, other vpon perfit men. What is there after thys to fall, but that the mystery of the seauenth seale be shewed, that he come in hys owne person. That Iesu Chrst shall slee with the spirite of hys mouth, whan the fiend shall shew the vtmost persecution, that he and hys seruauntis may doo to Christis limmes, and that shall be the third warning that the world shall haue to come to thys dreadfull dome.

In all thys matter haue I nought seid of my selfe, but of other Doctours that beth proued.* I seyed also in my second principall part, that it were to wete tofore what Iudge we shull reken. Wherefore we shulleth wite, that God him selfe shall heere thys rekening, he that seeth all our dedis, and all our thoughtes fro the beginning of our lyfe to the end, and he shall shew there the hid thingis of our hert opening to all the world the rightfulnes of hys dome. So that with the myght of God, euery mans dedis to all the world shall be shewed,* and so it semeth by the

wordes of Seint Iohn, in the booke of preuites, there he seith thus. I saw dede men litel and great, stondyng in the sight of the throne, and bookes weren opened: and an other booke was opened that was of lyfe, and dede men weren iudged after the thyngs that weren written in the bokes after their worchings. These bokes beth mens consciences that now beth closed. But than they shulleth be opened to all the world to reden therein both dedis and thoughtes. But the booke of life, is Christis liuing and doctrine, that is now hid to men that shulleth be damned thugh theyr owne malice, that demeth men to serue the world, rather than God: In the first booke shall be writ all that we haueth doo, in that other booke, shall be write that we shulden haue doo, and than shulle dede men, be demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bokis: For if the dedis that we hauen do, the which ben written in the bookis of our conscience, bee accordyng to the booke of Christes teachyng and hys liuing, the whych is the booke of lyfe, we shulle be saued, and els we shulle be damned, for the dome shall be geuen after our workis. Looke therefore now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here: and if thou findest ought contrary to Christis life, other to hys teaching, with the knite of penaunce and repentaunce, scrape it awaie and write it better, euermore hertly thynkyng that thou shalt yelde rekenyng of thy bayly.

Also I said principally that it were to witen, what reward shal be geue on that doome, to wise seruauntes and good, and what to false seruauntes and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lord Iesu Christ, shall come to the dome here into this world, in the same body that he tooke of our Lady, hauyng thereon the wound is that he suffred for our agayne bieng. And all that euer shullen be saued, taking agayne their bodies clyuing to their head Christ, shull be rauished metyng him in the ayre as Paul sayth: They that shall be damned lyen vpon the earth, as in a tonne of wyne the dreggis dwellen byneth and the cliere wyne houeth aboue. Than shall Christ axe rekenyng of the deedes of mercy, reprouyng false Christen men for the leuyng of them, rehearsing the deedes of the same, and other truth is by the which his trewe seruauntes than folowed hym: than shulle thike false seruauntes goe with the deuill, whom they haue serued in the earth, then swallowyng into the endlesse fire. And rightfull men shullen goe into euerlastyng lyfe, than shall be fulfilled that is written, in the booke of priuitees. Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the earth. Woe to the paynyme that gafe that worshyp to dead Images wrought of mans handes, and to other creatures that hee shuld haue gone to GOD that him wrought: Woe to the Iewe that trusteth so muchil in the ould law, than shall he see Maries sonne deemyng the world whō he despised and set on the Crosse: Woe to the false Christen man that knew the will of his Lord, and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sinne of thinkyng to thee, that thou hast shytt out the meine of God, that is mynde of his Passion, holy contemplation, of his goodnesse and memorie of his benefites, fro the chaumber of thine herte: and hast made it an house of swyn and a den of theeues, by vncleane thoughtes and delites. As thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shall spere thee out of heauen: Thou hast herberwid the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou shalt thou shalt euer abide: woe also for sinne of speach, for thou might nought open thy foule and stynkyng mouth with the whiche thou hast spoken vnhonesty, cursyng, fraude, deceite, leasinges, forswearyng, scornynge, and backebityng, to prayse God in the felowshyp of Saintes. For louyng is nought comynlych, in mouthes of sinners. For in the whiche gif thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou shouldest haue songen in felowshyp of Aungels this blessed song: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Domenus Deus omnipotens. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty. Than yellyng and weepyng thou shalt cry in company of deuils. Ve, Ge, Ge, quante sunt tenebrae. Woe, woe, wo,

how great beth these darkenes, wo also for sinne of deede. Thou hast bene proud, thy pryde shall be drawn to hell, as Esay sayth, or thou hast bene brent wyth enuye of the deuill. Enuy entred into the world, and they shoulde folowen him that ben on hys syde, as Salomon sayth. Or thou hast be stirred with wrath, and euerich man that beareth wrath to hys brethren, is gilty in dome, as Christ in the Gospell sayth of Mathew. Or thou hast be slowe to good deedes, myssawe shall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy pouert as a man iarmed, as the booke of Prouerbes sayth. Or thou hast haunted lechery, glotonye, or couetise. That forsoth wete ye, that euerych auouterer, or vnclane man, that is a gloton, other chynch, shall neuer haue heritage in the Realme of Christ and of God, as Poule sayth. But fire, brimstone, and the spirit of tempests, that is, the fiend of hell, shulen be a partie of their payne, as it is written in the Psalter, when these damned men bee in this woe, they shulen syng thys reufull song that is ywritten in the booke of mourning.* The ioye of our hart is a go, our quier is turned into wo, the crowne of our heade is fallen vs fro. Alas for synne that we haue do. But ioye and ioye, and ioye to them that be saued. Ioy in God, ioy in them selfe, ioy in other that ben saued. Also ioy for theyr trauayle is brought to so gracious an end.* Ioy, for they scaped the payne of hell, ioy fore theyr blisse that they han in the sight of God, Cui sit honor & gloria, in secula seculorum, Amen.

And thus much concerning this worthie and fruitfull Sermon, whych as by the auncienines of the phrase seemeth to be preached much about the time of Iohn Wicklesse: so I thought heere, by the occasion of William Thorpes examination, best to place the same: for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially hauing before our eyes, the publique vtilitie of the Reader, to whome by the studious reading thereof, might rise plentifull matter of true Christian information, both of the wholesome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of euery Christian mans life.

Wherevnto I thought good to anexe further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdome of William Sawtrey, and of Iohn Badby thus described (as ye haue heard) which was about the yere 1409. By the way here is to be considered, at least to be admonished, that al this while the schisme in the church of Rome did yet continue, and so endured till the councell of Constance, which was in whole, the space of xxix. yeres. The origine whereof (as was sayd page. 000.) first began at Urbanus. 5. which Urbanus being dead, an. 1389. next folowed Pope Boniface the 9. who sate 14. yeres.* He in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the keyes of Peter (as sayth Platina) in contempt.* After hym succeeded Innocentius. 7. and sate 2. yeres: who being dead, the Cardinals consulting together, and seeing the foule enormitie and inconuenience growing vpon this contentious schisme in their Church of Rome (minding to prouide some remedie for the same, after the best deuise they could) in their conclaue where they were assembled for a new election of the Pope,* tooke this order, promising among themselues with solemne vow made to God, to Mary the blessed virgine, to Peter and Paule, and to all the blessed company of saints: That if any of them within the colledge or without the colledge, should be called to that high place of Apostolicall preeminence: he should effectuously renounce the iurisdiction and title of his Popedome, if or whensoeuer the cōtrary Pope for the time being, would in like maner renounce his place [Page 553](#) and title, and his Cardinals in like maner to cōdescend to the other Cardinals of Rome. So that both these two colleges of Cardinals agreeing together: one chiefe byshop might be chosen and takē out of them both, to be made the true Pope. Prouided moreouer, that none should seeke any releasement or absolution from the sayd promise, vow,

and bond, once passed among them: Unto al which things furthermore, euery one subscribed with his hande. These things thus prefixed and ratified vpon the same, they proceeded to y^e election. In which was chosen Gregorius the xii. who the same day of hys election, in the presence of all the cardinals: confirmed the vow, sacrament and promise made,*subscribing the same with his hand in forme as followeth. And I Gregorie, thys day being the last of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lorde 1407. chosen and elected for bishop of Rome: do sweare, vowe, and promise, & confirme all the premisses aboue contained. &c. Thys being done, shortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80. yeares. As the time thus passed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the Pope according to his othe would geue ouer, wyth the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began in deede betwene the two Popes to be attempted,*by letters from one to another: assigning both day and place, where and whē they should meete together: but yet no effect did folow.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the Cardinals,*to see their holy periured father, so to neglecte his othe, and vow aforenamed. In so much, that at length, diuers of them did forsake the Pope, as being periured (as no lesse he was) sending moreouer to kings and princes of other lands, for their counsell and assistance therein, to appease the schisme. Amongest the rest, Cardinall Bituriensis was sent to the king of Englande: who publishing diuers propositions and cōclusions (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundell) disputeth, that the pope ought to be subiect to lawes and counsels.*Then K. Henry (moued to write to Gregory the pope) directeth his letter here vnder ensuing, which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1409. The contents of the letter be these.

The letter of king Henry the fourth, to Pope Gregory 12.

MOst blessed father, if the discrete prouidence of the Apostolike sea,* would call to mind, with what great pearils the vniuersall world hath ben damnified hetherto, vnder pretēce of thys present schisme: and especially would consider, what slaughter of Christen people to the number of two hūdreth thousand (as they say) hath bene throughe the occasion of warre raised vp in diuers quarters of the world,* and now of late, to the number of thirty M. souldiours which haue bene slaine through the dissention moued about the Bishopricke of Leodium, betwene two set vp, one by the authoritie of one Pope, the other by the authoritie of the other Pope, fighting in campe for the title of that Bishoprike: Certes yee would lament in spirite, & be fore greeued in minde for the same. So that, with good conscience you wold relinquish rather the honour of the sea Apostolike, then to suffer such horrible bloudshed heereafter to ensue, vnder the cloake of dissimulation, followinge herein the example of the true mother in the booke of kings: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her childe, rather would depart from the childe, then the childe shoulde bee parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new creation of 9. Cardinals, by you last made contrary to your othe (as other men do say) that you do but little heede or care for ceasing the schisme: Yet farre be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect seat shoulde euer be noted & distained with such an inconstancie of minde: whereby the last errour may be worse, then the first. Ex Chron. D. Albani. part. 2.

King Henry the 4. to the Cardinals.

*AND to the Cardinales likewise, the sayde King directeth an other letter wyth these contentes heere following: Wee desiring to shewe what zeale wee haue had and haue, to the reformation of peace of the Church: by the consent of the states of the Realme, haue directed to the Byshop of Rome our letters after the tenoure of the copie herewith in these presentes enclosed, to bee executed effectually. Wherefore, we seriously beseeche your reuerende colledge, that if it chaunce the sayde Gregory to be present at the councell of Pise,*and to render vp hys Popedome, according to your desire, and hys owne othe: you then so ordaine for hys state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased therby, and that both the sayde Gregory, and also wee which loue intierly hys honor and commodity, may haue cause to geue you worthely condigne thanks for the same. Ibid.

This being done in the yere of our Lorde 1409. afterward in the yere next folowing,* an. 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to witte of Gregorius, and Benedictus: By common aduise assembled together at the citie of Pise,* for the reformation of vnity and peace in the Church. To the which assembly,* a great multitude of Prelates and bishops being conuented, a newe Pope was chosen, named Alexander 5.* But to thys election, neither Gregorius, nor Benedictus did fully agree. Whereby there were 3. Popes together in the Romaine church (that is to vnderstande) not 3. crownes vpon one Popes head, but 3. heads in one Popish church together. This Alexander being newly made pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple crowne: but straight geueth out full remission, not of a fewe, but of all maner of sinnes whatsoever: to all them that conferred any thing to the monastery of*. Bartlemew by Smithfeld resorting to the saide church any of these dayes following: to wit,* on Maundy thursday, good Friday, Easter euen, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first euēsong to the latter. But thys Pope which was so liberall in geuing remission of many yeares to other, was not able to geue one yere of life to himselfe: for within the same yere he died.* In whose stead stept vp Pope Iohn 23.

In the time of this Alexander, great stirre began in the country of Bohemia,* by the occasion of the bokes of Iohn Wickliffe, which then comming to the hands of I. Husse, and of other both men & women, especially of the lay sort, and artificers, began there to doe much good. In so much, that diuers of them not onely men, but women also, partly by reading of those bookes translated into their tounge, partly, by the setting forwarde of Iohn Husse, a notable learned man, and a singulare preacher at that time in the vniuersitye of Prage: were in short time so ripe in iudgement, and prompt in the scriptures, y^t they began to moue questions, yea and to reason wyth the Priestes, touchyng matters of the Scriptures.

By reason whereof, complaint was brought to the sayd Pope Alexander the fifte,* who caused eftsoones the forenamed Iohn Husse to bee cyted vp to Rome. But when hee came not at the Popes citation, then the sayde Pope Alexander addressed hys letters to the Archbyshop of Suinco. Wherein he straightly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority Apostolicall, all manner of preachings or sermons to be made to the people, but onely in Cathedrall Churches or Colledges, or Parish churches, or in Monasteries, or els in theyr Churchyardes. And that the articles of Wickliffe, shoulde in no case of any person of what state, condition or degree so euer, be suffered to be holdē, taught, or defended, eyther priuily or apertlye. Commaunding moreouer and charging the sayde Archbyshop, that wyth foure Bachelers of Diuinitie, and two Doctours of the Canon lawe ioyned vnto hym: would proceede vpon the same, and so provide that no person in churches, schooles, or any other place,* should teach, defend, or approoue any of the foresayd

Articles. So that who so euer should attempt the contrary, should be accounted an hereticke. And vnles he shall reuoke solemnly and publikely the sayde articles, and shall for euer abiure the bookes wherein the foresayde articles be contained, so that they may be vtterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithfull: the same to be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the help also of the secular arme being called thereunto, if nede shall require. &c. These were the contentes of this mighty & fierce bull of Pope Alexander.

Against the whych bull on the other side Iohn Husse iustly complaining,* excepteth againe and objecteth manye things, as appeareth in his boke intituled De Ecclesia. cap. 18. Where he declareth thys mandate of the pope to stande directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his Apostles:* Considering, how Christ himself preached to the people, both in the sea, in the desert, in fields, in houses, in synagoges, in villages: and the Apostles also in all places did the same, the Lord mightely working in them. He declared moreouer, the said mandate or bul of the pope to redound vnto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not haue his free passage. Also, the same to be preiudicial vnto chappels newly erected for the word of God to be preached in them. Wherefore (sayeth he) from thys commaundement or mandate of Pope Alexander,* I did appeale vnto the sayd Alexander, being better informed and aduised. And as I was persecuting my appeale, the Lord Pope (sayth Iohn Husse) immediately died.

Then the Archbishop of Suinco aforesayde, to whome this present bul was directed, whē he saw the proces, buls and mandates of the bishop of Rome, to be thus cōtemned of Iohn Husse, and hys fellows, neyther hauing any hope of redresse in winceslaus the king: which semed to neglect [Page 554](#) the matter, went out of hys countrey into Hungarie, to complaine vnto Sigismonde kyng of Hungarie, and brother to the sayd Wincseslaus. But this quarelling Archbyshop, whether before (as the Bohemians say) or after (as Syluius sayeth) that he had spoken with Sigismond: immediatly there (by the iust iudgement of God) died in Hūgary,* as the story saith for sorrow. Whereby a little more liberty and quiet was geuen by the Lord vnto hys Gospel, newly beginning to take rote among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquility there, did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither coulde it in those furious daies and raigne of Antichrist.* For after this Alexander aforesayde succeeded Pope Iohn 23. Who likewise playing hys parte in this tragedy, bent all his might and maine to disturbe the Bohemians, as more heereafter (Christ willing) shalbe declared in further processe of our history, comming to the yere of our Lord. 1413.

Thus the poore Christians (as ye see) like to the seely Israelites vnder the tyrāny of Pharaο, were infested and oppressed in euery place, but especially heere in England: and y^t so much the more here, because that the king not like to Wincseslaus, went ful and whole wyth the pope and his prelates against the Gospellers.

*By reason wherof, the kingdome of the Pope and hys members here in this realme began to be so strong, y^t none durst stirre or once mute agaynst them. The Byshops hauing the king so full on their side, armed moreouer wyth lawes, statutes, punishments, imprisonments, sword, fire and fagot: raigned and ruled as they listed, as kings and princes wythin thēselues. So strong were they of power, that no humaine force was able to stande against them: so exalted in pride and

puft vp in glory, that they thought all things to be subiect to their reuerent maiesties. What so euer they set foorth or decreed, it must of all men be receyued and obeyed.

And such was their superstitious blindnesse and curious vanitie, that whatsoeuer toy came once in their fantasie: it was straightwayes determined and stablished for a lawe of all men to be obserued, were it neuer so friuolous or superstitious. As wel appeareth by Thomas Arundell Archb. of Cant. and other, who hauing now a litle laisure from slaying and killing the innocēt people, Martyrs and Confessors of the Lord, & hauing nowe brought their enemies (as they thought) vnder feete: began to set vp themselues, and to inuent newe customes, as the guise is of the Popes church, euer to intrude into y^e church of God, some ceremony or custome of their owne making, whereby the Church of Christ hath bene hitherto exceedingly pestred. So likewise this Thom. Arundel, thinking the church yet not sufficiently stuffed with ceremonies and vaine traditions of men: bringeth in a new found gaud, commonly called the tolling of Aues, in honour of our Ladye, wyth certayne Aues to be saide, and daies of pardon to be geuen for the same. For the ratification wherof, vnder the pretence of the kings request,* he directed his mandate to the Byshop of London, well stuffed wyth woordes of I dolatry, as by the reading thereof may appeare, in forme of termes as followeth.

*** A mandate of Tho. Arundel directed to the Bishop of London, to warne men to say certayne prayers at the tolling of the Aues, or ringing of Curfew.**

*Thomas, &c. To the right reuerend our brother, the Lorde Robert by the grace of God bishoppe of London, greeting. &c. While we lift our eyes rounde about vs, and beholde attentiuely with circumspect consideration, how the most high woorde that was in the beginning with God, chose to him an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly stocke: in whose wombe he tooke true flesh by inspirall inspiration, that the mercifull goodnesse of the sonne of God that was vncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the posterity of mankind that was created, had by sinne incurred. Amongst other labours in the vine of the Lorde of Sabaoth, we song to God our sauour with great ioy in him: carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Christian religion did extol with voices of praises so worthy a virgin, by whō we receiued the beginnings of our redemptiō, by whom the holy day first shined to vs, which gaue vs hope of saluation. And although all the same people were drawen to reuerēce her, which being a happy virgin, cōceiued the sonne of God, the king of heauen, the redemer and sauour of all nations, ministring light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkenesse of death: We truely as the seruaunts of her owne * inheritance, and such as are wrytten of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are by euery mans confession acknowledged to be: we I say, ought more watchfully then any others, to shewe the endeouours of our deuotion in praising her. Who being hetherto mercifull to vs, yea being euen cowardes, would that our power being, as it were spread abroad euery where through all the coastes of the world, shoulde with a victorious arme, feare all foreine nations. That our power being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, did subdue vnto our victorious standards, and made subiect vnto vs, nations both neare at hand and farre off.

Likewise our happy estate (all the time that wee haue passed since the beginning of our liues) may be well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine: * to whom also we may worthely ascribe nowe of late in these our times vnder the mighty gouernment of our most Christian king, our deliuerāce from the rauening wolues, * and the mouthes of cruell beasts: which had prepared against our bankets, a messe of meat mingled full of gall, and hated vs vniustly, secretly lying in wait for vs, in recompence of the good wil that we shewed to them. Wherefore, that shee being on high sitting before the throne of the heauenly maiestie, the defendresse & patronesse of vs all, being magnified with al mens praises: may more plentifully exhibite to vs the sonnes of adoption the teates of her * grace, in all those things that we shall haue to do. At the request of the speciall deuotion of our Lord the king himself, we commād your brotherhode, straightly enioyning you: that you commaund the subiects of your citie and diocesse, and of al other suffraganes, to worship our Lady Mary the mother of God, and our * patronesse and protectresse, euermore in all aduersity: with such like kinde of prayer and accustomed maner of ringing, as the deuotiō of Christes faithful people is wont to worship her at the ringing of cōure le feu. * And when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like maner of praier & ringing, she be euery where honored deuoutly by the aforesaid our and your suffraganes and their subiects as wel religious as secular, in your and their monasteries and collegiate churches: That wee so humbly calling vpon the mercy of the heauenly father, the right hande of the heauenly piety, may mercifully come to the helpe the protection & defence of the same our Lord the king, who for the happy remedy of quietnesse, and for our succour from tempestuous flouds, is ready to apply his hands to worke, and his eyes with all his whole desire to watching. We therefore coueting more earnestly to stirre vp the mindes of all faithfull people to so deuout an exercise of God. &c. Wee graunt by these presents, to all and euery man. &c. that shall say the Lordes prayer and the saluation of the Angell fiue times at the morning peale with a deuout mind, * totiens quotiens, (how oft so euer) 40 dayes of pardon by these presents.

Geuen vnder our seale in our manor of Lambeth the 10. day of February, Anno nostrae trans. 9.

Ex. Regist. Thom. Arundel.

By this friuolous and barbarous constitution w^t many other of like sort heaped into the church by the papists: appeareth the proper nature and cōdition of this catholick generation. * Who being thēselues not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spirituall matter (as semeth) take vpon them to gouern the spiritual church of Christ, wherof in deede they haue no skill or very little. And therefore according to their vnskilfull handling, they lead and rule the church after such outward sights and ceremonies, seemely perhaps to their owne grosse affection: but not agreeing (nay rather cleane contrary) to the ryght nature & condition, of the spiritual house and kingdome of the Lord. And like as in their inuentions they swarue vtterly from the right handling of all spiritual gouernment: so in their maners & forme of life likewise, they do resemble little or no part almost, of such as are and ought to be, true pastors and ministers of the mysticall body of Christ.

Examples heereof are plenty and plaine, in these Romaine Prelates to be noted: who so well considering the humble state and lowly spirite which ought to be in pastorall leaders of the church, will compare the same wyth the vsuall pompe of these glorious potestates.

As for example,*what can be more conuenient for a true pastor ecclesiasticall, then humility of hart and spirit, according to the example of the head bishop himselfe? So, what greater shew of arrogācy and pride could there be, then in this: whom I haue oft named before. Th. Arundel, archb. of Cant. who passing by the high streat of London, did not only looke and waite for the ringing of the belles, for a triumph of his comming, but tooke great snuffe and did suspende all suche Churches in London (not onely wyth the steeple and bells, but also with the organes) so many as did not receiue his comming with the noyse of bells: according as out of his own registers may appeare, y^e wordes wherof written to his owne Somner, I haue hereto annexed in his owne forme as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspende certaine churches of London, because they rong not their bells, at the presence of my Lord the Archb. of Canterbury.

THomas by the permission of God, &c. To oure well beloued Thom. Wilton our Somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. [Page 555](#) The comelinesse of our holy Church of Canterb. ouer which wee beare rule:* deserueth and requireth, that while wee passe throughe the prouince, of the same our Church (hauiug our crosse caryed before vs) euery parish church in their turnes, ought & are bounden in token of speciall reuerence that they beare to vs, to ryng the bells. Which notwithstanding, ye on Tuesday last past, when wee betwixt 8. and 9. of the clocke before dinner, passed openly on foote as it were, through the middest of the citie of London, with our crosse caryed before vs: Diuers churches whose names are heere beneath noted, shewed towardes vs willingly (though they certainly knewe of our comming) vnreuerence rather then reuerence, and the duety that they owe to our church of Canterb. ringing not at all at our comming. Wherefore, wee being willing to reuenge this iniurie,* for the honor of our spouse as we are boūden: commaunde you, that by our authoritie, you put all those churches vnder our interditement, suspēding Gods holy organes and instruments in the same Which we also suspend by the tenor of these presentes, till the ministers of the aforesayde Churches be able hereafter to attaine of vs the benefit of more plentifull grace. Geuen. &c.

What great reason was in this, why this Archb. either should thus looke for the ringing of the belles, or why hee should be so displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Belike his minde in the meane time was greatly occupied w^t some great muse, as feling of Gods feare, with repentance and remembrance of hys sinnes, with zelous care and sollicitude for his flocke, wyth the earnest meditation of the passion & life of our sauour, who in this world was so despised: or else was set vppon some graue studie, while hee so waited for the ringing of the bells, which are wont to be so noisome to all students. And why were not the trūpetters also shent as well, because they did not soūd before his person? But and though the bells did not clatter in the sreples, and therefore his thunderbolt should haue fallen vpon the steples which had deserved: why shoulde the bodye of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poore Organes (me thinketh) had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quier,*because the bells rang not in the tower.

Of the like matter also we read in the sayde registers, falling betweene the B. of Worcester, and the priorie of the same towne, for not ringing at the bishops comming into the church. Wherupon

much sute and contention was betweene them, till at length the Archb. of Cant. tooke vp the matter, moderating it, as in the said registers, fol. 441. appeareth to be seene as followeth.

VNiuersis. &c. Thomas &c. where as there happened variance lately betwene our reuerend brother the Lorde B.* of Worcester on the one partye, and the religious and discrete men the Prior and couent of the same church on the one partye, for not ringing of bells at the comming of our saide brother to his foresayde church,* at length the parties (considering the great incōuenience that might come therof) at our instance and request did agree on this maner: that as often as it shall happen our reuerende brother to go to his aforesaide church, either to celebrate orders, or to visite his church in the head or in the inferiours, or to make creame and oyle in the same church: also in the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Mary, which is the chieffest feast in the Abbey aforesayde: then the Prior and the couent, and their successours for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his comming, or shall cause to be ronge solemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made against the same. Which agrement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all vnderstād by these presents, sealed with our seale. Geuen at our palace of Canterb. 12. Iuly, the 10. yeare of our gouernment.

The like stirre for bell ringing and for processyons had almost hapned betwene the Archb. of Can. successor to this Tho. Arundel, named Hen. Chichly on the one party, and the abbey of S. Albons on the other party, had not the abbot in time submitting hymselfe to the Archb. so prouided, that the ringing of their bells at hys comming, myght not redounde to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the Archb. graunted by these his letters as followeth.

HENry &c. to the religious men, the Abbot and Couent of the Monastery of S. Albons in the diocesse of Lincoln, health. &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance betwene vs, and you the Abbot & Couent, by reason of not geuing reuerence to vs, being due to our prouince of Cant. that is, for not ringing the bells and meeting vs with processions when wee passed by diuers places of our prouince as well due of common custome as of olde vse, and for the prerogatiue of the Church of Canterb. as also being due of euery one being within the compasse of this our sayd prouince, when and as often as we shal passe by their places: at length your Lord Abbot (comming personally to vs) did grant both for you and the Couent aforesaye, to do and to geue of your gentlesse all reuerence and honour, wyth such reuerence be the to vs and our church of Cant. as often as wee passe by your monasterie, or the places nigh or adioyning therto, or shall hereafter go by: So that it might not be preiudicial to your exemption and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priuiledge: and that it might not be chalenged for duety hereafter. Wherefore, wee desiring to kepe you from damage, let you vnderstande by these presents, that it is not our entent to derogate your exemptions or priuiledge whatsoever herein: nor by any meanes to be preiudiciall to you by these your reuerences or other dueties, whatsoever you haue or shall graunt to vs of your deuotion and liberalitie, both by you, and in places vnder your dominion. In wytnesse where of. &c.

Dated the 28. day of Ianuary 1425. at S. Albons, the 12. yere of our gouernment.

To expresse moreouer and describe the glorious pompe of these princelike prelates in these blinde dayes of popish religion raigning then in the church: I thought to adioyn hereunto an other example not much vnlike, neither differing muche in time,* concerning certaine poore men cited

vp, and enioyned straight penance by W. Courtney predecessour of the sayd Tho. Arundel, for bringing litter to hys horse, not in waines as they should do, but in priuy sacks, in a secrete maner vnder their clokes or cotes. For y^e which so hainous and horrible trespasse, the sayd Archbishop sitting in hys tribunall seate, did call and cite before hym the sayde persons (pro litera. i. for litter, after his owne Latine) and after theyr submission enioyned them penance. Whych penance, what it was, & what were the names of the foresaid parties,*here followeth out of the sayd Arch. registers, both by his owne words, & by picture of the persons in the same registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and heere is also to be seene.

A description of the poore men doing their penaunce, with their strawe on their backe.

This bagge full of strawe I beare on my backe.

Because my Lordes horse his Litter did lacke.

If ye be not good to my Lordes graces horsse,

You are like to goe barefoote before the crosse.

[illustration]

The picture of them drawn in all proportion according to the exemplar standing in the Register.

ERroris mater ignorantia, quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forstall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengam taliter obcoecauit,* quòd ante aduentum dicti domini Archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominice in ramis palmarum, anno domini millesimo trecentesimo non agesimo, de cariendo & ducendo ad dictum palatium, foenum, stramen, siue literam,* prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura suorum quas & quae tenent de domino & ecelesia sua Cantuariæ astringuntur per ballium domini ibidem iussi & legitimè praemoniti debita seruitia more solito impèdere dedignātes, stramē huiusmodi nō in carrucis & vehiculis publice in sufficiēti quātitate, sed modice in saccis sublatibulo, pontificis ad palatium praedictum perduxerūt, [Page 556](#) in vilipendium domini ac subtractionem: iurium ecclesiae suae Cantua. Vnde super hoc euocati coram domino, die Iouis in hebdomada Paschae in castro suo de Statewode pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius iudicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam & misericordiam pro commissis deuotè petēdo. Et deinde dominus praefatus, Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forstal, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, destando mandatis ecclesiae, & fideliter peragendo poenam eis pro eorum demeritis iniungendam, iuratos absoluit in forma iuris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpae poena salutari: videlicet, quòd die dominica tunc proximè sequente, praedicti poenitētes nudi capita & pedes, processionem apud ecclesiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet foeno & stramine) ita quòd stramen & foenum huiusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter & deuote.*In English.

Ignorance the mother of error so much hath blinded and deceiued certaine persons, to witte, Hugh Penny, Iohn Forstall, Iohn Boy, Iohn Wanderton, Will. Haywarde, and Iohn White, tenants of the Lord of Wengham: that against the comming of the aforesayde Archbishop to hys palace of Canterbury on Palmes Sunday euen, the yere of our Lord 1390, Where they being warned by the baillife, to conuey and cary hay, strawe, and other littour to the aforesayd palace,*as they were bounde by the tenor of theyr landes, which they hold of the sea of Canterbury: refusing and disdainng to doe their due seruice, as they were accustomed, brought their straw and other littor, not in cartes and waines openly & sufficiently, but by peece meale, and closely in bagges or sakes, in contempt of their Lord, and derogation of the right and title of the sea of Canterbury. Whereupon they being ascited & presented before the archb. sitting in iudgement at hys manour of Statewood, yelded and submitted themselues to hys Lordshyppes pleasure, humbly crauing pardon of their trespassse. Then the aforesayd archbishop absolved the aboue named Hugh Penny, &c. they swearing to obey the lawes and ordinance of holy church,*and to do the punishment that shuld be appoynted them for their desertes, that is: that they going laysurely before the procession, euery one of them should cary openly on hys shoulder, his bagge stuffed with hay and strawe, so that the sayd hay and strawe should appeare hanging out, the mouthes of the sakes being open.

*** Notes of certaine Parliament matters passed in this kings dayes.**

To proceede now further in the raigne of this king, & to intreat also some thing of his parlamentes, as we haue done of other before,* first we wil beginne with the Parliament holden in the first yere of hys comming in.

Moreouer, forsomuch as our Catholike papistes will not beleue yet the cōtrary, but that the iurisdiction of their father the pope hath euer extended throughout all y^e world, as well here in England as in other places: here therefore speaking of the Parliaments holden in this kings dayes concerning thys matter, I refer them to the Parliament of the sayd king Henry in his first yere holden,* and to the 27. article of the same. Where they may reade in the 10. obiection laid against K. Richard in plaine words: how that, for asmuch as the crowne of this realme of England, and the iurisdiction belonging to y^e same, as also the whole realme it selfe, at all times lately past, hath ben at such libertie, and enioyed such prerogatiue, that neyther the Pope, nor any other out of the same kingdome ought to intrude himselfe, nor intermedle therein: it was therefore objected vnto the forenamed king Richard the 2. for procuring the letters Apostolical from the Pope, to the confirming and coroborating of certaine statutes of hys, and that hys censures myght be prosecuted against the breakers thereof. Whyche seemed then to the Parliament, to tend against the crowne and regall dignitie, as also against the statutes & liberties of the said thys our realme of England.*Act. Parl. An. 1. Reg. Henrici 4. Act 27.

Furthermore, in the second yere of the saide king, thys was in the Parliament required, that all such persones as shalbe arested by force of the statute made against the Lollardes,* in the 2. yere of Henry 4. may be bailed, and freely make their purgation: That they be arested by none other then by the Sheriffes or such like officers, neither that any hauocke be made of their goods. The king granted to take aduise therein.

In the 8. yeare moreouer of thys kings raigne, it was likewise propounded in the Parliament,* that all suche persons as shall procure or sue in the court of Rome any processe touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shal incurr the paine of y^e statute of prouisors, made in the 13. yeare of Richard 2. whereunto the king granted,* that the statutes herefore prouided should be obserued.

Item, in the sayde Parliament, there it was put vp by petition, that the king might enioy halfe the profits of euery parsons benefice, who is not resident thereon. Therunto the king aunswered, that the ordinaries should do theyr duties therein, or els he would prouide further remedie, to stay their pluralities.

Item,* in the sayde Parliament, it was required: that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only in the kings courtes.

In the next yere folowing, which was the 9. of this Kyng, an other petition of the Commons was put vp in Parliament against the court of Rome, whych I thought good here to expresse as foloweth.

The Commons do beseeche, that forasmuch as diuers prouisors of the benefices of holy Church,* dwelling in the Court of Rome, through their singular couetounes now newly imagined to destroy those that haue bene long time incumbents in diuers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrōs therof, by coulour of prouisions, collations, and other grauntes made to the sayd prouisors by the Apostoil, of the sayd benefices, do pursue processes in the said court by citation made beyond the sea,* without any citations made within the Realme in deede against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents through such priuy & crafty processes and sentences of priuation and inhabilitation, haue lost theyr benefices, and others put in the places of the saide incumbents before the publication of the same sentēces, they not knowing any thing, and many are in great hassarde to lose theyr benefices through such processes, to theyr perpetuall destruction and mischief: and forasmuch as thys mischief cannot be holpen wythout an especiall remedy be had by parliament: Pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischief and daunger that may so come vnto diuers hys subiects without their knowledge through such citations out of the realme, and therupon to ordaine by the aduise of the Lords of this present Parliament, that none presented, be receiued by any ordinarie vnto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of priuation or inhabilitation wherof the processe is not founded vpon citation made wythin the realme, and also that such incumbents may remaine in all theyr benefices, vntil it be prooued by due enquest in the court of the King, that the citations whereupon such priuations & inhabilitations are graunted, were made within the Realme: and that if such Ordinaries, or such presented or others, doe pursue the contrary, that then they and theyr procurators, fautours and counsellours doe incurr the paines contained in the statute made against prouisors in the 13. yere of the raigne of the late Richard king of England the second, by processes to be made as is declared in the statute made against suche prouisors in the 27. yeare of the raigne of king Edward, predecessour to our Lorde the king that nowe is, any royall licences or grauntes in any maner to the contrary notwithstanding, and that all other statutes made against prouisors, and not repealed before this present Parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all poyntes.

That the kings counsell haue power by authoritye of Parliament, in case that any man finde himselfe grieved in particular, that he may pursue: and that the said counsel by the aduise of the iustices do right vnto the parties. This to endure vntil the next parliament, reseruing alwayes vnto the king his prerogatiue and libertie.

Item,* that no Popes collector thenceforth should leuy any money within the realme, for first fruites of any ecclesiasticall dignitie, vnder payne of incurring the statute of prouisions.

Besides in the sayd Parliament holden the 11. yeare of this king,* is to be noted: how the commōs of the land, put vp a Bill vnto the kyng, to take the temporall landes out from spirituall mens handes or possession. The effecte of which Bill was, that the temporalities, disordinately wasted by men of the Church, might suffice to finde to the K. xv. Earles, xv. C. Knights, vi. M. CC. Esquires, and a C. houses of almose, to the reliefe of poore people, moe then at those dayes were wythin England: And ouer all these foresayd charges, the king might put yearly in his cofers xx. M. pounce.

Prouided, that euery Earle should haue of yerely rent iii. M. marke, and euery Knight C. marke, and iiii. plough landes: Euery Esquier xl. marke by yeare, with ii. plough landes, & euery house of almose C. marke, wyth ouersight of two true seculars vnto euery house: And also with prouision, [Page 557](#) that euery township should keepe all pore people of their owne dwellers, whych might not labour for theyr liuing: with condition, that if moe fell in a towne then the towne might maintaine, than the said almes houses to relieue such townships.

And for to beare these charges, they alledged by theyr sayd bil,* y^t the temporalities, being in the possession of spiritual men, amounted to iii. C. and xxii. M. marke by yeare. Wherof they affirmed to be in the see of Cant. with the abbaies of Christes church, of S. Augustines, Shrewsbury, Coggeshale, and S. Osus xx. M. marke by yere. In the see of Yorke and Abbeyes there xx. M. marke. In the see of Winchester, and abbeyes there xx. M. marke. In the see of London, w^t abbeyes and other houses there, xx. M. marke. In the see of Lincolne, wyth the abbeyes of Peterborowe, Ramsey and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Norwyche, with the abbeyes of Bury and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Ely, Spalding and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Bathe, wyth the abbey of Okinborne and other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Worcester, wyth the abbeyes of Euisham, Abingdon & other, xx. M. marke. In the see of Chester with the precinct of the same, with the sees of s. Daud, of Salisbury, and Exceter, wyth their precinctes xx. M. marke. The abbeis of Rauens or Reuans of Fountains, of Bernons, and diuers other to the number of v. moe, xx. M. marke. The abbeyes of Leicester, Waltham, Gosborne, Merton, Ticetir, Osney and other, vnto the number of vi. mo, xx. M. marke. The abbeyes of Douers, Batil, Lewys, Couentry, Dauentre, & Tourney, xx. M. marke. The abbais of Northhampton, Thortō, Bristow, Killingworth, Winchcombe, Nailes, Parchissor, Frideswide, Notly, and Grimmisby, xx. M. marke.

The which foresaid sommes amount to the full of iii. c. M. marke. And for the odde of xxii. M. marke, they apointed Hardford, Rochester, Huntingdō, Swineshed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Teukesbury, Dunstable, Shirborne, Taunton and Biland.

And ouer this they alleaged by the sayde bill, that ouer and aboue the said summe of iii. C. and xxii. M. marke, diuers houses of religion in England, possessed as many tēporalties as might suffice to find yerely xv. M. priests and clerks, euery priest to be allowed for his stipend vii. marke by the yeare.

To the which Bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter wold take deliberation & aduisement, and wyth that answer ended, so that no further labor was made.

*These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching suche actes and matters as haue bene incident in the lyfe time of this king, followeth next the 13. yeare of his raigne. In the which yeare, the sayd king Henry the 4. after that hee had sent a little before a certaine company of captaines & souldiours to aide the duke of Burgundy in Fraunce (among whome was the Lord Cobham) keping his Christenmas at Eltham, fell greeuously sicke. From thence, he was conneied to London, where he began to call a parliament, but taryed not the end. In the meane time, the infirmitie of the king more and more increasing, * he was takē and brought into a bed in a fair chamber at Westminster. And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same chamber: and they answered and sayde, Ierusalem. And then he sayde it was his prophecie, that he should make his ende in Ierusalem. And so disposing himselfe towarde hys ende, in the foresayd chamber he died: vpon what sicknesse, whether of leprosie, or some other sharpe disease, I haue not to affirm. Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium, That all men called. The like prophecy we read, that pope Siluester, 2. pa. 180. to whom being inquisitiue for the time and place where he should die, * it was answered, that he shuld die in Ierusalē. Who then saying Masse in a Chappel (called likewise Ierusalem) perceiued his end there to be nere, and died. And thus K. Henry the 4. successor to the lawful K. Richard 2. finished hys life at Westminster, and was buried at Cant. by the tombe of Thomas Becket. &c. An. 1413.

King Henry the fift.

*After thys Henry the 4. reigned Henry the 5. hys sonne, which was borne at Munmorth in Wales, of whose other vertues and great victories gotten in Fraunce, I haue not greatly to intermeddle: Especially, seeing the memory of hys worthy prowesse, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader and vnburden my labor herein. Especially, seing these latter troubles and perturbatiuous of the Church offer me so much, that vnneth any vacant laisure shalbe left, to intermeddle wyth matters prophane,

After the coronatiō then of this new king, * which was the 9. day of April, called then passion Sondag, which was an exceding stormy day, and so tēpestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the same, a parliament began to be called & to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster An. 1413. At whych time, Thomas Arundel the Archbishop of Canterburie, collected in Paules church at London, * an vniuersal Synode of all the bishops and clergie of England. In that Synode among other weighty matters and ponderous, was determined: that the day of S. George, and also of S. Dunstane should be double feast, called Duplex Festum in holy kitching, in holy Church I would say.

And because the order and maner of those Pope holy feastes, either yet is not sufficiently knowen to some rude and grosse capacities, or may peraduenture growe out of vse, and to be

straunge & vnknownen to our posteritie hereafter: Therfore to geue a litle memorandum therof (by the way for eruditio of times hereafter to come) touching this misticall science of the Popes deepe and secrete diuinitie: here is to be noted, that the feastes of the Popes holy mother Catholique church,* be deuided in sondry members: Like as a plentifull roote in a fruitfull felde riseth vp and burgeneth into manifold armes, and the armes againe do multiply into diuers and sondry brāches, out of the which moreouer although no frute do come, yet both leaues and flowers doe bud and blossome in most copious wise, right beautifull to beholde: Euen so thys Festum, conteinyng a large matter of great variety of dayes and feasts, groweth to it selfe and multiplieth, being thus deuided: first into Festum duplex, and into Festum simplex, that is into feast double, and to feast simple. Againe, thys Festum duplex brauncheth foure folde wise, to wit, into Festum principale duplex: into Maius duplex: into Minus duplex, and infernis duplex, that is, in principal double, in greater double, in lesser double, and inferior or lower double. Unto these seneual sorts of feasts what daies were peculiarly assigned, it were to long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to vnderstand: that as vnto the principall double feast onely belonged 8. daies in the yere: so the Maius duplex festum, had geuen vnto him by thys conuocation, the day of S. George, and of S. Dunstane, as is afore remembred: albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custome it was not so vsed. Item, to be noted, that these two feastes, to witte, Principale duplex, and Maius duplex, did differ and were knownen from all other by foure notes, by seruice in the kitching, and by seruice in the Church, which was both double: by ringing in the steeple, which was with double peale: by copes in the quier, and by thurifyng or censeng the aultares. For in these two principall and greater double feasts, the vii, viii, and ix. lesson must be read wyth silken copes. Also at the said feasts in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurified, that is, smoked with incēse. &c. And likewise the Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex had also their peculiar seruice to them belonging.

Secondly the Simplex festum,* whych is the seconde arme springing of this diuision, is thus diuided: Eyther hauing a triple inuitorie, or a double, or els a single inuitorie. Of the which moreouer, some haue 3. lessons, some haue 9. &c.

And thus much by occasion for Popish feasts, not that I doe so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed to the great dishonor of our Lord our God, whych is onely to be honoured.

The trouble and persecution of the Lord Cobham.

BUT to lette this by matter passe,* againe to returne to the foresayde vniuersal Synode assembled by Thomas Arundel at S. Paules church in London, as is before remembred: the chiefe and principall cause of the assembling thereof (as recordeth the Chronicle of S. Albones) was to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospell, and especially to withstand the noble & worthy Lorde Cobham: Who was then noted to be a principall fauourer, receiuer, and maintainer of them, whome the Byshop misnamed to be Lollards, especially in the diocesses of London, Rochester, and Hereforde: setting them vp to preache whome the byshops had not licensed, and sending thē about to preach, which was against the constitution prouinciall, before remembred, pag. 5 24. holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments,* of images, of pilgrimage, of the keyes and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant, to the receiued determination of the Romish church. &c.

In y^e meane time, as these were in talke amōgst them, [Page 558](#) concerning the good Lord Cobham: resorted vnto them the 12. Inquisitors of heresies (whom they had appoynted at Oxford the yeare afore,* to searche out hereticke, wyth all Wickleffes bookes) who brought 200. and 46. conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the sayd bookes. The names of the sayd Inquisitors were these.

- 1. Iohn Witnam, a maister in the now Colledge.
- 2. Iohn Langedon, Monke of Christ church in Cant.
- 3. William Vfford, regent of the Carmelites.
- 4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominickes.
- 5. Robert Gilbert.
- 6. Richard Earthisdale.
- 7. Iohn Lucke
- 8. Richard Snedisham.
- 9. Richard Flemming.
- 10. Thomas Rotborne.
- 11. Robert Ronbery.
- 12. Richard Grafdale.

These things thus done, & the Articles being brought in: further they proceded in their communication, concluding among themselues, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christes coat w^out seame (meaning therby their patched Popish synagoge) vnlesse certaine great men were brought out of the way which seemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the sayde Disciples of Wickleffe. Among whō thys noble knight sir Iohn Didcastle the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctors to be the chiefe principall.* Him they accused first for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioces of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the mindes of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to haue sēt thether the saide preachers, but also to haue assisted them there by force of armes, notwithstanding their Synodall constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of al, they accused him, that he was farre otherwise in beliefe of the sacrament of the altar of penance,* of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and of the Ecclesiastical power, then the holy Church of Rome had taught many yeares before.

*In the ende it was concluded among them, that w^out any further delay, processe shoulde be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious hereticke.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience then the other: thought it not best to haue y^t matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made therunto before. Considering the sayde Lorde Cobham was a man of great birth, and in fauour at that time with the K. their counsaile was to know first the kings minde, to saue all things vpight. This counsaile was well accepted, and thereupon the Archbyshop thomas Arundell wyth hys other bishops, and a great part of y^e clergie, went straight waies vnto the king, then remaining at Kenningston. And there laid forth most greuous complaints against the sayd Lorde Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard those bloud thirsty Prelates, and farre otherwise then became his princely dignitie: notwythstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of hys noble stocke and knighthode, they should yet fauourably deale with him. And that they would if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling, reduce him

again to the Churches vnitie. Hee promised them also,* that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, hys selfe would seriously common the matter wyth him.

Anone after, the king sent for the saide Lorde Cobham. And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child, to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whome the Christen knight made this aunswer: You most worthy Prince, saith he, I am alwaies prompt & willing to obey, for somuch as I knowe you a christen king, & the appoynted minister of God, bearing the sworde to the punishment of euil doers, & for safegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole obedience, & submit thereunto (as I haue done euer) all that I haue, eyther of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoeuer ye shall in the Lord, commaund inc. But as touching the Pope and hys spiritually, I owe them neither sure nor seruice, forsomuch as I knowe him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the sonne of perdition, the open aduersary of God, & the abomination standing in the holy place. When y^e king had heard thys, w^t such like sentences more, he would talke no longer with hym, but left him so vtterly.

And as the Archbyshop resorted againe vnto hym for an answer, he gaue him his full authority to cite him, examin him, & punish him according to their deuillish decrees, which they called the lawes of holy church. Then the sayde Archb.* by the counsaile of his other Byshops and Clergy, appoynted to cal before him Sir Iohn Didcastle the Lord Cobham, and to cause hym personally to appeare, to aunswere to such suspect Articles as they shoulde lay agaynst hym. So he sent forth hys chiefe Sommoner, wyth a very sharpe citation vnto the castle of Cowling, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the sayd Sommoner was come thether, hee durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man wythout his licence, and therefore he returned home againe, hys message not done.

Then called the Archbish.* one Iohn Butler vnto him, which was then the doore keper of the kings priuy chamber: and wyth him he couenaunted through promyses and rewards, to haue this matter craftly brought to passe, vnder the kings name. Whereuppon, the sayde Iohn Butler tooke the Archbyshops Somner with him, and went vnto the saide Lord Cobham: shewing him, y^t it was the kings pleasure that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then saide he to them in few words, that he in no case would consent to those most deuillish practises of the Priestes. As they had informed the Archbyshop of that aunswere, and that it was for no man priuately to cite him after that, without pearil of life: he decreed by & by to haue him cited by publique processe or open cōmandement. And in all the hast possible, vpon the Wednesday before the Natiuity of our Lady in September: he commaunded letters citatorir, to be set vpon the great gates of the Cathedrall church of Rochester (whych was but 3. English miles frō thence) charging hym to appeare personally before him at Ledis the 11. day of the same moneth and yeare,* all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken down anone after,* by such as bare fauor vnto the Lord Cobham and so conueyed aside. After that caused the Archbish. new letters to be set vp on the natiuity day of our Lady, whych also were rent downe and vtterly consumed.

Then for somuch as he dyd not appeare at the day appoynted at Ledys (where her sate in Consistorie, as cruell as euer was Cayphas, with his court of hypocrites about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him, of most depe contumacy. After that, whē he had bene

falsly informed by his hired spies,* and other glosing glauers: that the sayd Lord Cobh. had laughed him to scorn, disdained al his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignity of a Bishop, & the order of priesthood (for all these was he than accused of) in his mody madnes w^tout iust profe, did he openly excommunicate him.* Yet was not withal this, his fierce tyranny satisfied: but commanded him to be cited a fresh, to appeare afore him the Saterday before the feast of S. Mathewe the Apostle, w^t these cruel threatnings added thereunto: that if he did not obey at the day, he wold more extremely handle him. And to make himselfe more strong towards the performāce thereof, he compelled the lay power by most terrible manasings of curses and interdictions: to assist hym against that seditious apostata, schismaticke, and hereticke, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the realme and great aduersary of all holy Church, for al these hateful names did he geue him.

Thys most constant seruant of the Lorde and worthy Knight sir Iohn Didcastle, the Lorde Cobham, beholding the vnpeaceable furie of Antichrist, thus kindled agaynst him:* perceiuing himself also compassed on euery side wyth deadly daungers: He tooke paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christen cōfession or rekening of his faith (whych followeth heereafter) both signing and sealing it wyth his owne hand. Wherein he also answered to the 4. chieftest articles that the Archbyshop laid against him. That done, he tooke the copie with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to finde mercy & fauour at his hande.* None other was y^t confession of his, then the common beleue or summe of the Churches faith, called the Apostles Creede, of all Christen men than vsed, with a brief declaration vpon the same, as here vnder ensueth.

The Christen beliefe of the Lorde Cobham.

I Beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth.* And in Iesu Christ hys onely sonne our Lorde, which was cōceiued by the holy ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, suffred vnder Ponce Pilate, crucified dead and buried, went downe to hell, the thirde day rose agayne from death, ascended vp to heauen, sitteth on the ryght hande of God the father almighty, and from thence shal come again to iudge the quicke & the dead. I beleue in the holy ghost, the vniuersal holy Church, the communion of Saints, the forgeuenesse of sinnes, the vprising of the flesh, and euerlasting life. Amen.

And for a more large declaration (sayth he) of thys my*[Page 559](#) sayth in the Catholicke Church: I stedfastly beleue, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the father, the sonne, and the holye Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfe same God almighty. I beleue also, that the second person of this most blessed Trinitie, in most conuenient tune appoynted therunto afore,* tooke flesh and bloud of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the sauegarde and redemption of the vniuersall kind of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence.

Moreouer I beleue, that the same Iesus Christ our Lord thus being both God and man, is the onely head of the whole Christian Church, and that all those that hathe bene or shalbe saued, be members of this most holy church. And this holy Church I thinke to be deuided into three sortes or companyes.

Wherof the first sort be now in heauen, and they are the sayntes from hence departed.* These as they were here cōuersant, conformed alwayes their liues to the most holye lawes and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Sathan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscences and euils.

*The second sort are in Purgatory (if any suche place be in the scriptures) abiding the mercy of God and a full deliuerance of payne.

The third sort are here vpon the earth, and be called the Church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaultes of the deuill, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthines of the flesh.

This latter congregation by the iust ordinance of God is also seuered into three diuers estates,* that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should ayd the other, but not destroy the other. The priestes first of al seclued from all worldlines, should conforme theyr liues vtterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Euermore shoulde they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely,* and in geuing wholesome examples of good liuing to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more louing, gentle, and lowly in spirite, should they be, then ano other sortes of people.

In knighthood are all they, which beare sword by law of office. These should defend Gods lawes, and see that the Gospell were purely taught,* conforming theyr liues to y^t same, and secluding all false preachers: yea these ought rather to hazard their liues, thē to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemisheth the eternall Testament of God, or yet letteth the free passage therof, whereby heresies & schismes might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they as I suppose,* then of erroneous constitutiōs, craftely first creeping in vnder hipocriticall lies, for aduauntage. They ought also to preserue Gods people from oppressours, tyrauntes, and theeues, & to see the clergie supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacramentes freely. And if they see them doe otherwise, they are bound by the law of office to compell them to chaung their doinges: & to see all thinges performed according to gods prescript ordinaunce.

*The latter fellowship of this Church, are the common people: whose duery is, to beare their good mindes & true obedience, to the aforesayd ministers of God, theyr kinges ciuill gouernours and Priestes. The right office of these, is iustly to occupy euery man his facultie, be it marchaundise, handicraft: or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to an other, following alwayes in their sortes the iust commaundementes of the Lord God.

Ouer and besidés all this, I most faythfully beleue y^e the Sacramentes of Christes Church are necessary to all Christen beleuers: this alwayes seen to: that they be truly ministred according to Christes first institution and ordinaunce. And forasmuch as I am maliciously & most falsly accused of a misbeliefe in the sacrament of the aulter, to the hurtfull slaunder of many: I signifie here vnto all men, y^t this is my fayth concerning that. I beleue in that Sacrament to be contayned very Christes body and bloud vnder the similitudes of bread and wyne, yea the same body y^t was conceiued of the holy ghost, borne of y^t virgine Mary done on the crosse: dyed, that was buryed, arose the thyrd day from the death: and is now glorified in heauen. I also beleue, the vniuersall law of God to be most true and perfect, and they which doe not so follow it in theyr

fayth and works (at one time or an other) can neuer be saned: Where as he that seketh it in fayth, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therin, and performeth it in loue, shall cast for it the felicitie of euerlasting Innocencie.

*Finally, this is my fayth also, that God will aske no more of a Christen beleuer in this life, but onely to obey y^t preceptes of that most blessed law. If any Prelates of the Church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, then this to be vsed: he contemneth Christ, exalting hymselfe aboue God, and so becommeth an open Antichrist. Al the premisses I beleue particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy scripture: that I should beleue. Instantly desiring you my siege Lord and most worthye king, that this confession of mine, may be iustly examined by the most godly wise and learned men of your Realme. And if it be found in all pointes agreeing to the veritie, thē let it be so allowed: and I therupon holden for none other then a true Christian. If it be proued otherwise: then let it be vtterly cōdemned: prouided alwayes, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God: and I shall most reuerently at all times obey therunto.

This brieue confession of this fayth, the Lorde Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and so tooke it with him to the court, offering it withall meekenes vnto the kyng to read it ouer. The king would in no case receaue it, but cōmanded it to be deliuered vnto thē that should be his iudges. Then desired he in the kinges presence, that an hundred knightes and Esquiers might be suffered to come in vpon hys purgation, which he knew, woulde cleare hym of all heresies. Moreouer he offered himsel•e after the lawe of armes, to fight for life or death in any man liuing, Christen or heathen, in the quarrell of hys fayth, the king and the Lordes of hys Councell excepted. Finally with all gētlenes he protested before all y^t were present, that he wold refuse no maner of correction that shold after the lawes of God he ministred vnto him, but that he would at al times with all meekenes obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to be sommoned personally in his owne priuy chamber. Then sayd the Lord Cobham to the king that he had appeled from the Archbishop to the Pope of Rome, & therefore he ought he sayd, in no cause to be hys iudge. And hauing his appeale there at hand ready writtē, he shewed it with al reuerence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased then afore, and sayde angerly vnto him, that he should not pursue hys appeale: but rather he should tary in hold, till suche time as it were of the Pope allowed. And thē, would he, or nild he, y^t archbishop should be his iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But for so much as he woulde not be sworne in all things to submit himselfe to the Church, and so take what penaunce the archbishop would enioyne him: He was arested agayne at the kinges commaundement, and so ledde forth to the Tower of London, to keepe hys day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appoynted him afore in the kinges chamber.

*Then caused he the foresayd confession of his fayth to be copyed agayne and the aunswere also (which he had made to the foure articles proponed agaynst him) to be written in maner of an Indenture in two sheetes of paper: That when he should come to hys aunswere, he might geue the one copy vnto the archbishop, and reserue the other to him selfe. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September the Saturday before the feast of saint Mathewe: Thomas Arundell the Archbishop, sitting in Cayphas rowme in the Chapter house of Paules, wyth Richard Clifford Byshop of London, and Henry Bolnig broke Byshop of Winchester: sir Robert Morley knight and Liefetenant of the Tower, brought personally before hym the sayd Lord Cobham, and there left him for the time vnto whom the archbishop sayd these wordes.

* The first examination of the Lorde Cobham.

Sir Iohn in the last generall conuocation of the clergie of this our Prouince, ye were detected of certayne heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon ye were by forme of spirituall law cited, and woulde in no case appeare. In conclusion, vpon your rebellious cōtumacie, ye were both priuately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding we neyther yet shewed our selues vnready to haue geuen your absolution (nor yet doe not to this houre) would ye haue meekely asked it. Vnto this the Lord Cobham shewed, as though he had geuen no eare; hauing hys minde otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution. But sayd, he would gladly before him and hys brethren make rehearsal of that fayth which he held and en tended alwayes to stand to, if it woulde please them to licence him thereunto. And then he tooke out of his vosome a certayn writing endented, concerning the articles wherof he was accused, and so opely read it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbishop, as he had made thereof an ende. Whereof this is the copy.

Page 560*I IOhn Didcastle Knight Lord of Cobham, will that all Christen men weet and vnderstād: that I clepe almighty God into witnesse, that it hath bene, nowe is, and euer with the helpe of God, shall be mine entent and my will, to beleue faythfully and fully all the sacramentes that euer God ordayned to be do in holy Church: and moreouer to declare me in these foure poynts, I beleue that the most worshipfull Sacrament of the aulter is Christes body in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed virgin our Lady sayne Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, the thyrd day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heauen.

*Also as for the sacrament of penaunce I beleue, that it is needefull to euery man that shalbe saued to forsake sinne and do due penaunce for sinne before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction as Gods lawe limitteth and teacheth, and els may he not be saued: which penaunce I desire all men to doe.

And as of Images I vnderstand, that they be not of be'leue, but that they were ordayned sith the beleue was zewe of Christ,* by sufferance of the Church to be Calenders to lewd men, to represent and bryng to minde the passion of our Lord Iohn Christ, and martyrdome and good liuing of other sayntes: And that who so it be, that doth the worship to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth suche hope or trust, in helpe of them, as he should doe to God, or hath affection in one more then in an other, he doth in that the greatest sinne of maumerry.

*Also I suppose this fully, that euery man in this earth is a pilgrime toward blisse, or toward payne: and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holy comaundementes of God in his liuing here (albeit that he be go on Pilgrimages to all the world, and he dye so) he shalbe damned: and he that knoweth the holy commaundementes of God, and keepeth them to hys ende, he shalbe saued though he neuer in hys lyfe goe on pilgrimage, as men now vse to Caunterbury or to Rome or to any other place.

*This aunswere to hys articles thus ended and read, he deliuered it to the Bishops as is sayd afore. Than counceled the Archbishop with the other two Bishops, and with diuers of the Doctours, what was to be done in this matter: commaunding hym for the tyme to stand aside. In

cōclusion by their assent & information, he said thus vnto him Come hether Syr Iohn. In this your wryting are many good thinges containyd,* and right Catholicke also, we deny it not: but ye must consider y^t thys day was appoynted you to aunswere to other pointes concerning those articles, wherof as yet no mention is made in this your Bil. And therefore ye must yet declare vs your minde more playnly.

And thus: whether that ye holde, affirme, and beleue, that in the sacrament of the aulter, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remayneth materiall bread, or not? Moreouer,* whether ye do hold, affirme and beleue, that as concerning the sacrament of penance (where as a competent number of priestes are) euery Christen man is necessarily bound to be confessed of hys sinnes to a priest ordained by the Church, or not.

After certayn other communication, this was the answere of the good Lord Cobham. That none otherwise would he declare his minde, nor yet aunswere vnto hys articles, then was expressly in his writing there containyd. Then sayd the Archbishop agayne vnto hym:* Syr Iohn, beware what ye do. For if ye aunswere not clearely to those thinges that are here objected agaynst you (especially at the time appointed you onely for that purpose) the law of holy Church is, that compelled once by a iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an hereticke. Unto whome he gaue this aunswere: Do as ye shall thinke best, for I am at a poynt.* Whatsoeuer he or the other Byshops did aske him after that, he had them resorte to hys Bill: for thereby would he stand to the very death. Other aunswere woulde he not geue that day, wherwith the Bishops and Prelates were in a maner amased and wonderfully disquieted.

At the last, the archbishop councelled agayne with hys other Bishops and Doctours, and in the end therof declared vnto him, what the holy Church of Rome (following the saying of S. Augustine, S. Hicrome, S. Ambrose, and of other holy Doctours) had determined in these matters, no maner of mention once made of Christ. Whiche determination (sayth he) ought all Christen men both to beleue and to follow.

Then sayd the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he would gladly both beleue and obserue whatsoeuer holy church of Christes institution had determined, or yet whatsoeuer God had willed him either to beleue or to do. But that the pope of Rome with his Cardinals,* Archbishops, bishops and other prelates of that Churche had lawfull power to determine such matter as stode not with his worde throughly: that would he not (he sayd) at the time affirme. With this y^t archbish. had him to take good aduiseement til the monday next following (which was the 25. day of Sep^tember) and then iustly to aunswere, specially vnto thys poynt: whether there remayned materiall breade in the sacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of consecration, or not? He promised him also, to send vnto hym in writing those matters clearely determined,* that he might then be the more perfect in his answere making. And all this was nought els, but to blinde the multitude with somewhat. The next day following, according to his promise, y^e Archbishop sent vnto hym into the Tower, this foolishe and blasphemous writing made by him and by hys vnlearned Clergy.

*** The determination of the Archbyshop and Clergy.**

*The faith and determination of y^e holy Church touching the blisfull sacrament of the aaltar, is this: that after the Sacramentall wordes be once spoken by a Priest in hys Masse, the material

bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christes very body. And the materiall wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christes very bloud. And so there remayneth in the sacrament of the aulter, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the Sacramentall wordes were spoken: Now beleue ye this article? ^{*} Holy church hath determined that euery Christen man liuing here bodely vpon the erth ought to be shriuen to a priest ordeined by the Church, if he may come to him. Now feelee ye this article?

Christ ordayned S. Peter the Apoistle to be his vicare here in earth, ^{*} whose sea is the holy church of Rome: And he graunted, that the same power which he gaue vnto Pe|ter, should succeed to all Peters successours, which we call now Popes of Rome: ^{*} By whose power in Churches particuler, be ordayned Prelates, as Archbishops, Byshops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom Christen men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy Church. Howe feelee ye this article?

Holy church hath determined, ^{*} that it is meritorious to a christen man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places: And there specially to worship holy reliques and Images of Saintes, Apostles, and Martyrs, Confessours, & all other Saintes besides, approued by the church of Rome. Howe feelee ye this article?

And as the Lorde Cobham had reade ouer this most wretched writing, ^{*} he maruailed greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he considered agayne, that God had geuen them ouer for their vnbeliefes sake, into most deepe errors & blindnes of soule. Agayne, he perceiued hereby, that their vttermost mallice was purposed agaynst him, howsoeuer he should answer. ^{*} And therefore he put hys life into the handes of God, desiring hys onely spirite to assiste hym in his next answer. When the sayd xxv. day of September was come (whiche was also the Monday before Michaelmas) in the sayd yeare of our Lord, 1413. ^{*} Thomas Arundell the Archbishop of Caunterbury commaunded his indiciall seate to be remoued from y^t chapter house of Paules to the Dominicke Friers within Ludgate at Londō. And as he was there set with Richard Byshop of London: Hēnry the Byshop of Winchester: ^{*} and Bennet the Byshop of Bangor: He called in vnto him his counsell & his officers, with diuers other Doctours and Fryers, of whome these are the names here following, maister Henry ware, y^e Officiall of Caunterbury: Phillip Morgan, Doctour of both lawes: Howell Kiffin, Doctor of the Canon lawe. ^{*} Iohn Kempe, Doctor of the Canon lawe. Williā Carleton, Doctour of the Canon law. Iohn Witnā, of the new College in Oxford. Iohn Wighthead, Doctor in Oxford also, Rob. Wōbewel, Vicare of S. Laurence in the Iewry, Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Minors, Robert Chamberlayne, Prior of the Dominickes, Richard Dodington, ^{*} Prior of the Augustines. Thomas Walden: Priour of the Carmelites, all Doctours of Diuinitie. Iohn Stephens also, and Iames Cole, both Notaryes, appoynted there purposely to write all that shoulde be eyther sayd or done. All these with a great sorte more of Priestes, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, Parishe Clerkes, belryngers, Pardoners, disdayned him, with innumerable mockes & scornes, reconding him to be an horrible hereticke, and a man accused afore God.

[Page 561](#) ^{*} Anone the Archbishop called for a masse booke, & caused all those Prelates and Doctors to sweare there vpon, that euery man should faythfully doe his office and duety that day. And that neyther for fauour nor feare, loue nor hate of the one party nor the other: any thing should there be witnessed, ^{*} spoken or done, but according to the truth, as they wold answer before God & all the world at the day of dome. Then were the two foresayd Notaryes sworne

also, to wryte and to witnesse the processe that there shoulde be vttered on both parties, and to say their mindes (if they otherwise knew) before they should register it.* And al this dissimulation was but to colour their mischiefes, before the ignoraunt multitude.

Consider herein (gentle reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the iust feare of God for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them Syr Robert Morley Knight and lieftenant of the Tower,* and he brought with him y' good Lorde Cobhā, there leauing him among them as a Lambe among wolues, to his examination and aunswere.

*** An other examination of the Lorde Cobham.**

Then saide the archbishop vnto him: Lord Cobham ye be aduised (I am sure) of the wordes & processe which we had vnto you vpon Saterday last past in the chapterhouse of Paules: which processe were nowe to long to be rehearsed agayne? I said vnto you then, that ye were accursed for your contumacie & disobedience to holy Church thinking that ye should with meekenes haue desired your absolution.

Then spake the Lord Cobham with a chearful countenaunce, and sayde. God sayde by his holy Prophet, Maledicam benedictionibus vestris,* whiche is as much to say as I shall curse where you blesse.

The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not hearde him,* saying: Sir, at that tyme I gently profered to haue assoyled you if ye woulde haue asked it. And yet I doe the same if ye will humbly desire it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordayned.

Then said the Lord Cobham. May forsooth will I not for I neuer yet trespassed agaynst you,* and therefore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled downe on the pauement, holding vp his handes to wardes heauen, and sayd, I shriue me here vnto thee my eternall liuing God, that in my frayle youth I offended thee (Lord) most greuously in pride, wrath, and gluttony: in couetousnes, and in leche'ry. Many men haue I hurt in mine anger,* and done many other horrible sinnes, good Lorde I aske thee mercye. And therewith weepingly he stode vp agayne and sayde with a mighty voyce. Loe, good people, loe. For the breaking of Gods law and his great commaundementes, they neuer yet cursed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, most cruelly doe they handle both me and other mē. And therefore, both they and theyr lawes, by the promise of God, shall vtterly be destroyed.

At this the archbishop and his companye were not a litle blemished. Nothwithstanding, he tooke stomack vnto him agayne after certayne words, had in excuse of their tyranny, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Christen beleue.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham made this godly aunswere. I beleue (sayth he) fully and faithfully the vniuersall lawes of God. I beleue that all is true whiche is conteyned in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleue,* all that my Lord God would I shoulde beleue. Then demaunded the Archbishop an answere of that Bill whiche he and the Clergie had sent him into

the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the Churche concerning the foure Articles whereof he was accused, specially for the Sacrament of the aulter, howe he beleueed therein.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham sayd, that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he sayd) concerning the sacrament. That his Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most deare disciples, the night before he should suffer, tooke bread in his hand. And geuing thanks to his eternall father, blessed it, brake it, and so gaue it vnto them, saying: Take it vnto you,* and eat therof all, this is my body whiche shall be betrayed for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembraunce. This doe I thoroughly beleue (sayth he) for this sayth am I taught of the Gospell in Mathewe, in Marke, and in Luke, and also in the first Epistle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. chap. 11.

Then asked the Archbishop,* if he beleueed that it were bread after the consecration or sacramentall words spoken ouer it.

The Lord Cobham said. I beleue that in the sacramēt of the aulter is Christes very body in forme of bread, the same that was borne of y^t virgin Mary, done on the crosse, dead, and buried: and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heauen.

Then sayd one of the Doctors of the law.* After the sacramentall wordes be vttered: there remaineth no bread, but onely the body of Christ.

The Lorde Cobham sayd then to one Maister Iohn whitehead:* You sayd once vnto me in the castell of Couling, that the sacred host was not Christes body. But I held then against you, and proued that therein was his body, though the seculars and Friers could not therein agree but held ech one against other in that opinion. These wer my wordes then, if ye remember it.

Then shouted a sorte of them together and cryed wyth great noyse.* We say all that it is Gods body.

And diuers of them asked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the consecration or not?

Then looked the L. Cobham, earnestly vpon the archbishop, and said: I beleue surely that it is Christes body in forme of bread. Syr beleue not you thus?

And the archbishop sayd,* yes mary do I?

Then asked him the Doctors, whether it were onely Christes bodye after the consecration of a Priest, and no body or not?

And he sayd vnto them, it is both Christes body and bread I shall proue it as thus. For like as Christ dwelling here vpon y^t earth, had in him both Godhead & manhood, and had the inuisible Godhead couered vnder that manhode, which was onely visible and seene in him:* So in the sacrament of the aulter, is Christes very bodye and bread also, as I beleue the bread is the thinge,

that we see wyth our eies, the body of Christ (which is his flesh & his bloud) is there vnder hyd and not seene, but in fayth.

And moreouer,* to proue that it is both Christes bodie and also bread after the consecration, it is by playne wordes expressed by one of your owne Doctours writing agayne Eutiches, whiche faith: Like as the selfe same Sacraments, do passe by the operation of the holy Ghost, into a Diuine nature: and yet notwithstanding keepe the propertie still of their former nature: so, that principall mistery declareth to remayne, one true, and perfect Christ. &c.

Then smiled they eache one vpon other,* that the people shoulde iudge him taken in a great heresie. And with a great brag diuers of them sayd. It is a foule heresie.

Then asked the Archbishop what bread it was? And the Doctors also inquired of him whether it were materiall or not?

The Lorde Cobham said vnto thē.* The scriptures maketh no mention of this worde materiall, and therfore my faith hath nothing to doe therwith. But this I say and beleue, that it is Christes body and bread.* For Christ sayd in the vi. of Iohns Gospell. Ego sum panis viuus, qui de coelo descendi. I which came downe from heauen, am the liuing and not the dead bread. Therfore I say now agayne as I sayd afore, as our Lord Iesus Christ is very God and very man: so in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter, is Christes very body and bread.

Then sayd they all with one voyce.* It is an heresie.

One of the Byshops stode vp by and by, and sayd. What? it is an heresie manifest, to say that it is bread after the Sacramentall wordes be once spoken, but Christes body onely.

The Lord Cobham sayd: S. Paule the Apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now,* and more gladly learned. And he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians. The bread that we breake, sayth he, is it not the partakyng of the body of Christ? Lo, he called it bread and not Christes body, but a meane whereby we receaue Christs body.

Then sayd they agayne. Paule must be otherwise vnderstand. For it is sure on heresie to say that it is bread after the consecration, but onely Christes body.

The Lord Cobham asked,* how they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They aunswered him thus. For it is agaynst the determination of holy Church.

Then sayd the archbishop vnto him. Syr Iohn, we sēt you a writing concerning the fayth of this blessed Sacrament, clearely determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy Doctors.

Then he sayd agayne vnto him. I know none holier then is Christ and his Apostles. And as for that determination I wore, it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the [Page 562](#) scriptures,

but manifestly against them. If it be the Churches, as ye say it is, it hath bene hers onely since she receaued the great poyson of worldly possessions, and not afore.

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith. If he beleued not in the determination of the Church?

*And he sayd vnto them. No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our Creede, this word (in) is but thrise mentioned concerning beleue. In God the father, in God the sonne, in in God the holy Ghost three persons and one God. The byrth, the death, the buriall, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath none (in) for beleue, but in him. Neyther yet hath the Church, the sacramentes, the forgeuenes of sinne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life euerlasting nor anye other (in) then in the holy ghost.

Then sayd one of the Lawyers. Such, that was but a word of office. But what is your beliefe concerning holy Church?

*The Lord Cobham aunswere. My beliefe is: (as I sayd afore) that all the scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All y^e is grounded vppon them I beleue throughly. For I know, it is Gods pleasure that I shuld so do. But in your Lordly lawes and idle determinations, haue I no beliefe. For ye be no part of Christes holy church, as your open deedes doth shew: But ye are very Antichristes, obstinately set agaynst his holy law and wil. The lawes that ye haue made, are nothing to his glory, but onely for your vayne glory and abhominable couetousnes.

*This they sayd, was an exceeding heresie (and that in a great fume) not to beleue the determination of holye Church.

Then the Archbishop asked hym, what he thought of holy Church.

He sayd vnto him my beliefe is, that the holye Churche is the number of them, which shalbe saued, of whō Christ is the head. Of this church, one part is in heauen wyth Christ, an other in purgatorye (you say) and the thyrd is here in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees in knighthoode, priesthoode, and the communaltie, as I sayd afore playnely in the confession of my beliefe.

Then sayd the Archbishop vnto hym. Can you tell me who is of this church?

The Lord Cobham answered: Yea truely can I.

Then sayd Doctor walden the Prior of the Carmelits It is no doubt vnto you who is thereof.* For Christ sayeth in Mathewe Nolite iudicare, presume to iudge no man. If ye be here forbidden the iudgement of your neighbour or brother, much more the iudgement of your superiour.

The Lorde Cobham made him this aunswere: Christ sayth also in the selfe same chapter of Mathew, that like as the euill tree is knowne by hys fruit, so is a false Prophet by his works, appeare they neuer so glorious: But that ye left behind ye. And in Iohn he hath this text: Operibus credite, belecue you the outwarde doinges.* And in an other place of Iohn: Iustum

iudicium iudicate, when wee knowe the thing to be true, we may so iudge it, and not offend. For Dauid sayd also: Rectè iudicate filij hominum. Iudge rightly alwayes ye children of men. And as for your superiority were ye of Christ, ye shoulde be meeke ministers, and no proud superiours.

Then said Doctor walden vnto him, ye make here no difference of iudgements.* Ye put no diuersitie betwene y' euill iudgements, whiche Christ had forbidden, and the good iudgements, which he hath cōmaunded vs to haue. Rash iudgment, and right iudgement, al is one with you. So swift iudges alwayes are the learned schollers of Wicklisse.

Vnto whom the Lord Cobham thus aunswered: It is wel sophistred of you, forsooth. Preposterous are your iudgements euermore.* For as the Prophet Esay sayth, ye iudge euill, good, and good, euill. And therefore the same prophet concludeth, that your wayes are not Gods waies nor Gods wayes your wayes. And as for that vertuous man wicklisse, whose iudgements ye so highly disdayne: I shall say here of my part,* both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I neuer abstayned from sinne. But since I learned therin to feare my Lorde GOD, it hath otherwise I trust, bene with me: so muche grace coulde I neuer finde in all your glorious instructions.

Then said Doctor Walden agayne, yet vnto him: It were not well with me (so many vertuous men liuing, & so many learned men teaching the scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous) If I thē had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the deuil preach S. Hierome sayth, that he whiche seeketh suche suspected Maysters, shall not finde the midday light, but the midday deuill.

The Lord Cobham sayd:* Your fathers the old Phariseis, ascribed Christes miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the deuil. And you as their natural children, haue still the selfe same iudgement, concerning his faythfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious liuing must needs be heretickes, and that must your doctors proue, whē you haue no scripture to do it. Then sayde he to them all: To iudge you as you be, we neede no further go, then to your owne proper actes. Where do ye find in all Gods law, that ye shold thus sit in iudgement of any Christen men, or yet geue sentence vppon any other man vnto death as ye doe here dayly? No grounde haue ye in all the Scriptures so Lordly to take it vppon you, but in Annas and Cayphas, which sat thus vpon Christ, and vppon his Apostles after hys ascension. Of them onely haue ye taken it to iudge Christes members as ye doe, and neither of Peter nor Iohn.

Then sayd some of the Lawyers: yes forsooth syr, for Christ iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham sayd: No, Christ iudged him not, but he iudged himselfe, and thereupon went forth, & so did hange himselfe: But in deede Christ sayde, woe vnto him, for that couerous act of hys, as he doth yet still vnto many of you. For since the venune of him was shed into y^e church ye neuer followed Christ: neither yet haue ye stande in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he ment by that venune?

The Lord Cobham sayd: your possessions and Lordships. For then cried an aungell in the ayre (as your owne Chronicles mentioneth) wo,* wo, woe, this day is veuime shed into the church of

God. Before that time, all the Byshops of Rome were martyrs in a manner. And since that time, we read of very few. But in deede since y^t same time, one hath put down an other, one hath poysoned an other, one hath cursed an other, and one hath slayne an other, and done much more mischief besides, as all the Chronicles telleth. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meeke, and mercifull. The pope is proude, and a tyraunt. Christ was poore and forgaue. The pope is riche and a malicious mansleaver, as hys dayly actes doe proue hym. Rome is the very neast of Antichrist, and out of that neast commeth all the disciples of him. Of whome Prelates, Priestes, and Monkes, are the body, and these pud Friers are the tayle which couereth his most filthy part.

Then said the Prior of the Fryers Augustines: Alacke sir, why do you say so? That is vncharitably spoken.

And the Lord Cobham said.* Not onely is it my saying but also the Prophet Esayes, long afore my time. The proph^t saith he, which preacheth lyes, is the tayle behind. For as you Fryers and monkes be (like Phariseis) deuided in your outward apparell and vsages, to make ye deuision a^mong the people. And thus, you with such other, are y^e very naturall members of Antichrist.

Then said he vnto them all:* Christ saith in his GossPELL. Woe vnto you Scribes and Phariseis, Hipocrites. For ye close vp the kingdome of heauen before men. Neyther enter ye in your selues, nor yet suffer any other y^t wold enter into it. But ye stop vp the wayes therūto with your owne traditions,* and therefore are ye the housholde of Antechrist: ye will not permit Gods veritie to haue passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing to haue your wickednes reprobued. But by suche flatterers as vphold you in your mischiefes,* ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

Then sayd the archbishop. By our Lady syr, there shal none such preach within my dioces (and God will) nor yet in my iurisdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh diuision or yet dissention among the poore commons.

The Lord Cobham sayd. Both Christ and hys Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they moste peaceable men. Both Daniell and Christ prophesied that such a troublous tyme shoulde come, as hath not bene yet since the worldes beginning. And this prophecy is partlye fulfilled in your dayes and doinges. For manye haue yee slayne already,* and more wil ye ssay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ sayth also, if those dayes of yours were not shortened, scarsly shold any flesh be sauēd.* Therefore looke for it iustly, for God will shorten youre dayes. Moreouer, though Priestes and deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacraments, with prouision for the poore: be grounded on Gods lawe: yet haue these other sectes no maner of ground hereof, so farre as I haue read.

Then a Doctor of lawe,* called maister Iohn Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copy of the bil which they had afore sent him into the tower, by the Archbishops counsel, [Page 563](#) thinking thereby to make shorter worke with hym.* For they were so amased with his aunsweres (not all vnlike to them whiche disputed with Stephen) that they knewe not well how to occupy the time,* their wits and sophistry (as God would) so fayled them that day.

My Lord Cobham (sayth this Doctor) we must briefly know your minde concerning these foure poyntes here following. The rest of them is this. And then he read vpō the bill: * The fayth and determination of holy churche touching the blessed sacrament of the aulter is this. That after the sacramentall wordes be once spoken of a Priest in his masse: the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned to Christes very body. And the materiall wine is turned into Christes bloud. And so there remayneth in the sacrament of the aulter from thenceforth no material bread nor materiall wine which were there before the sacramentall wordes were spoken. Sir beleue ye not this?

*The Lord Cobham said: This is normy beliefe. But my fayth is (as I sayd to you afore) that in the worshipfull sacrament of the aulter, is Christes very body in forme of bread.

Then sayd the archbishop: sir Iohn ye must say otherwise.

The Lord Cobham said: Nay, that I shall not, if God be vpon my side (as I trust he is) but that there is Christs body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is.

Then read the doctour againe.

The second poynt is this. * Holy Church hath determined that euery Christen mā liuyng here bodely vpō earth ought to be shriuen of a priest ordeined by the church, if he may come to him: syr what say you to this?

*The Lord Cobham aunswered and said: A diseased or sore wounded man, hath need to haue a sure wise Chirurgian and a true, knowing both the ground and the daunger of the same. Most necessary were it therefore to be first shriuen vnto God which onely knoweth our diseases and can helpe vs. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning. * For the lawes of God are to be required of the priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiote or a man of vicious liuing that is my curate, I ought rather to flee from him then to seeke vnto him: For sooner might I catch euill of him that is nought then any goodnes towards my soules health.

Then read the doctour agayne.

The third poynt is this, * Christ ordayned S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicare here in earth whose sea is y^e church of Rome. And he graunted that the same power whiche he gaue vnto Peter, should succede to all Peters successours which we call now popes of Rome. By whose special power in churches particular, be ordayned Prelates & archbishops, parsons, Curates, and other degrees more. Vnto whom Christen men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holye Church. Sir beleue ye not this?

To this he answered and sayd: He that followeth Peter most nighest in pure liuing, * is next vnto him in succession. But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly y^e lowly behaiour of poore Peter, whatsoeuer ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him, * till the time of Siluester, whiche for the more part were martirs, as I told you

afore. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selues with them at all. All the world knoweth this well inough by you and yet ye can make boast of Peter.

With that one of the other doctors asked him: thē what do ye say of the Pope?

The Lord Cobham answered. As I said before. He & you together maketh whole the great Antichrist.* Of whō he is y^e great head you bishops, priests, prelates, & monks are the body: and the begging friers are the taylor, for they couer y^e filthines of you both, with their subtile sophistry, Neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with Peter follow Christ in conuersation.

Then read the doctor againe.

The 4. point is this. Holy Churche hath determined that it is meritorious to a Christen man,* and to go on pilgrimage to holy places. And there specially to worship the holy reliques and images of saintes, Apostles, Martirs, Confessours and all other saintes besides, approued by y^t Church of Rome. Sir what say ye to this?

Wherunto he 〈◇〉. I owe them no seruice by any commaundement of god:,* and therefore I minde not to seeke them for your couetousnes. It were best ye swepte them faire from copwebs and dust, and so layde them vp for catching of scathe.* Or els to bury them fayre in y^t ground as ye do other aged people which are Gods Images.

It is a wonderfull thing, that sayntes now being dead shoulde become so couetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg: which all the life time hated al couetousnesse, and begging. But this I say vnto you, and I would all y^t world should mark it. That with your shrines and Idols your fained absolutions and pardons, ye draw vnto you the substaunce,* wealth and chiefe pleasures of all christen realmes.

Why sir (said one of the clerkes) will ye not worshippe good images?

What worship should I geue vnto them?,* said the Lord Cobham.

Then said Frier Palmer vnto him. Sir will ye worship the crosse of Christ, that he died vpon?

Where is it, sayd the Lord Cobham?

The Frier said, I put you the case sir, that it were here euen now before you?

The Lord Cobham aunswered.* This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thinge, and yet he himselfe knoweth not where the thing it selfe is. Yet once againe I aske you what worship I should do vnto it?

A clerke said vnto him.* Such worship as Paule speaketh of: and that is this. God forbid that I should ioy, but onely in the crosse of Iesu Christ.

Then said the Lord Cobham, and spread his armes abroad. This is a very crosse, yea, and so muche better then your Crosse of wood, in that it was created of God. Yet will not I seeke to haue it worshipped.

Then sayd the bishop of London. Sir, ye wote well that he died on a materiall crosse?

The Lord Cobham said,* and I wote also that our saluation came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which died therupon. And well I wote that holy S. Paule reioyced in none other crosse, but in christes passion and death onely, and in his owne sufferinges of like persecution with him, for the same selfe veritie that he had suffered for afore:

An other clerk yet asked him. Will ye then do none honour to the holy crosse?

He answered him. Yes, if he were mine own I would lay him vp honestly, and see vnto him that he shoulde take no more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goodes as he is now a dayes.

Then sayd the Archbish. vnto him.* Sir Iohn, ye haue spoken here many wonderfull wordes to the slaunderous rebuke of the whole spiritualtie, geuing a great euil example vnto the common fort here,* to haue vs in the more disdaine. Much time haue we spent here about you, and al in vaine so far as I can see. Well, we must nowe be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: Ye must otherwise submit your selfe to the ordinaunce of holy church or els throw your selfe (no remedy) into most deepe daunger. See to it in time, for anone it will be els to late.

The Lord Cobham sayd: I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Muche more haue you offended me, then euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.

Then said the archbishop again vnto him, we once agayne require to remember your selfe well,* & to haue none other maner opinion in these matters, then the vniuersall faith, and beliefe of the holy church of Rome is. And so like obedient childe returne agayne to the vnitie of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may haue remedy, where as anone it will be to late.

The Lord Cobham sayd expresly before them all. I wil none otherwise beleue in these poyntes, then that I haue told ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finally then the archbishop sayd,* wel, then I see none other but we must needes doe the lawe: we must proceede forth to the sentence dissinitue, and both iudge you, & condemne you for an hereticke.

And with that, the Archb. stood vp, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vayling theyr boners. And this was the tenour therof.

*** The diffinitue sentence of hys condemnation.**

IN the name of God. So be it.* We Thomas by the sufferance of God, Archbishop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane, and primate of al England, and Legate from the apostolicke see of Rome, willeth this to be knowne vnto all men. In a certayne cause of heresy and vpon diuers

articles,* wherupon sir Iohn Oldcastle knight and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before vs in our last conuocation of all our prouince of Caunterbury, holden in the Cathedrall Church of Paules at London: At the lawfull denouncement and request of our vniuersal Clergy in the sayd conuocation, we proceded [Page 564](#) agaynst him according to the law (God to witnes) with al the sauour possible.* And following Christes example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be conuerted and liue: we tooke vpon vs to correcte him, and sought all other wayes possible to bring him againe to the churches vnitie,* declaring vnto him what the holy & vniuersal church of Rome hath sayd, holden, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we founde him in the Catholicke fayth farre wyde and so stifnecked, that he would not confesse hys error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him therof: We yet pitttieng him of fatherly compassion,* and intirely desiring the health of his soule, appoynted hym a competent tyme of deliberation, to see if he wold repent and seek to be reformed: but since that time we haue found him worse and worse. Considering therefore, that he is not corrigible we are driuen to the very extremitie of the lawe, and wyth great heauines of hart, we nowe proceede to the publication of the sentence diffinitive, agaynst him.

Then brought he forth an other bill, conteynynge the sayd sentence, and that he read also in his beggerly Latine. Christi nomine inuocato, ipsum{que} solum prae oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, and so forth. Whiche I haue also translated into Englishe, that men may vnderstand it.

Christ we take vnto witnesse, that nothing els we seeke in this our whole enterprise,* but his onely glory. For as much as we haue found by diuers actes done, brought forth and exhibited by sundry euidences, signes and tokens, and also by many most manifest proues, the sayd sir Iohn Oldcastle knight and L. Cobham, not onely to be an euident hereticke in his owne person, but also a mighty maintainer of other hereticke agaynst the fayth and religion of the holy and vniuersall church of Rome:* namely about the two sacramentes (of the aaltar, and of penaunce) besides the popes power, and pilgrimages. And that he as the childe of iniquitie and darcknes,* hath so hardened his hart, that he will in no case attend vnto the voyce of his pastor. Neyther will he be allured by straight admonishmentes, not yet be brought in by fauourable wordes. The worthines of the cause first wayed on the one side, and his vnworthines agayn cōsidered on the other side, his faults also aggrauated or made double through his damnable obstinacie (we being loth that he which is nought shoulde be worse,* and so with his contagiousnes infecte the multitude) by the sage counsel and assent of the very discrete fathers, our honourable brethren and Lordes, Byshops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men here, both doctours of diuinitie, and of the lawes canon and ciuill, seculers and religious, with diuers other expert men assisting vs: we sententially and diffinitively by this present writing, iudge, declare & condemne the sayd syr Iohn Oldcastle, Knight,* and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable hereticke, conuicted vpon the same, and refusing vtterly to obey the Church agayne, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned hereticke to the secular iurisdiction, power & iudgement, to doe him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed,* not onely this hereticke here present: but so many els besides, as shall hereafter in fauoure of his errour, either receaue him or defend him, counsell him or help hym, or any other way mayntayne hym: as very fautors receauers, defenders, counsaylers, ayders, and mayntayners of condemned hereticke.

And that these premisses, may be the better knowne al faithfull Christen men: * we commit it here vnto your charges, & geue you straight commandement therupon by this writing also: That ye cause this condemnation and diffinitive sentence of excommunication, cōcerning both this heretick and his fautours: to be published throughout all diocesses, in Cities, towns & villages by your curates and parish priests, at such time as they shal haue most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sorte. As the people are thus gathered deuoutly together, let the curate euery where goe into the pulpit and there open, declare, and expound, this excesse in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voyce, that it may be perceiued of all men: and that vpon the feare of this declaration also, the people may fall from theyr euill opinions conceiued nowe of late by seditious preachers. Moreouer we will, * that after we haue deliuered vnto each one of you bishops which are here present, a copy hereof: that ye cause the same to be written out agayne into diuers copies, and so be sent vnto the other byshops and Prelates of our whole Prouince, that they may also see the contentes thereof solemnly published within theyr diocesses and cures. Finally we will that both you and they signifie agayne vnto vs seriously and distinctly by your writinges as the matter is, without fayned colour in euery poynt performed: the day wheron ye receaued this processe, * the time when it was of vs executed, and after what sort it was done in euery condition, according to the tenour hereof, that we may knowe it to be iustly the same.

A copy of this writing sent Thomas Arundel the arch\bishop of Caunterbury, afterward from Mydstone the x. * day of Octobr, within the same yeare of our Lord 1413. vnto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth: Thomas permissione diuina. &c.

The said Richard Clifford sent an other copy thereof, enclosed within his owne letters: vnto Robert Maschall a Carmelite frier, which was then bishop of Herforde in Wales, written from Haddam the 23. day of October in the same yeare, and the beginning thereof is this: Reuerende in Christo pater, &c.

This Robert Mascall directed an other copye thereof from London the 27. * day of Nouember in the same yeare enclosed in his owne commission also, vnto his archdeacon and and Deanes in Hareforde and Shrewsbury. And this is therof the beginning: Venerabilibus & discretis vitis. &c. In like maner did the other bishops within their diocesses.

After that the archbishop had thus read the bill of hys condemnation, with most extremitie before the whol multitude: * The Lorde Cobham sayd with a moste cheerefull countenance. Though ye iudge my body whiche is but a wretched thing, yet am I certayne and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soule, no more then could Sathan vppon the soule of Iob. He that created that, * will of his infinite mercy and promise saue it, I haue therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them euen to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God.

And therwith he turned him vnto the people, castyng hys handes abroad, and saying with a very loude voyce: Good Christen people, for Gods loue be well ware of these men. * For they will els beguile you, and leade you blindling into hell with thēselues. For Christ sayth plainly vnto you: If one blinde man leadeth an other, they are like both to fall into the ditch.

After this, he fell downe there vpon his knees, & thus before thē all prayed for his enemies,*holding vp both hys handes and his eyes towards heauen and saying: Lorde God eternall, I beseeche thee of thy great mercies sake, to forgeue my pursuers, if it be they blessed will. And then hee was deliuered to syr Robert Morly, and so led forth again to the tower of London. And thus was there an ende of that dayes worke.

Whyle the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower,*he sent out priuely vnto his friendes. And they at his request wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set vp in diuers quarters of London, that the people should not beleue the slaunders and lyes that his enemies the Byshops seruauntes and priestes, had made on him abroade. And thus was the letter.

FOR as much as Syr Iohn Oldcastle knight,*and Lorde Cobham, is vntruely conuicted and imprisoned, falsly reported and slandered among the common people by his aduersaries, that he should otherwise both thinke & speak of the sacramentes of the churche, and specially of the blessed sacrament of the aultar, then was written in the confession of his beliefe which was indended and taken to the clergy,*and so set vp in diuers open places in the cittye of London. Knowne be it here to all the worlde, that he (neuer since) varied in any poynt therefro, but this is playnly his beliefe: that all the sacramentes of the churche be profitable and expedient also to al them that shall be saued, taking them after the intent that Christ and hys true church hath ordayned. Furthermore he beleueeth, that the blessed sacrament of the aultar is verily and truely Christes body in forme of bread.

After this the bishops and priests were in much great discredite both with the nobilitie and commons,*partly for y^t they had so cruelly handled the good Lorde Cobham: & partly agayn, because hys opinion (as they thought at that tyme) was perfect concerning the sacrament.*The Prelates feared this to grow to further incōueniēce towards thē both wayes, wherfore they drew theyr heads together & at the last consented to vse an other practise somewhat cō|trary to that they had done afore. They caused it by and by to be blowne abroad by theyr feed seruauntes, frends, and babling sir Iohns: that the sayd Lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lowly submitted himselfe in all thinges vnto holy Church vtterly 〈◇〉 his opinion concerning the sacrament.*And thereupon, they counterfayted an abiuration in hys name, that the people shoulde take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had hearde of him before, and to stand so the more in awe of them. Cōsidering hym so great a man, and by them subdued.

This is the abiuration (say they) of sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, sometime the Lord Cobham.

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*** An Abiuration counterfaited of the Byshoppes.**

IN Deinomiue. Amon. I Iohn Oldcastle denounced, detected and conuincd,* of and vpon diuers articles sauoring both heresye and error, before the reuerend father in Christ & my good Lord, Thomas by the permission of God, Lord Archbishop of Caunterbury, and my lawfull and rightfull iudge in that behalfe, expresly graunt and confesse: that as cōcerning the estate and power of the most holy father the Pope of Rome,* of his Archbishops, his Bishops and hys other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy Sacramentes of the same, specially of the

Sacramentes of the aultar of penaunce and other obseruaunces besides of our mother holy Church, as Pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I say) before the sayd reuerend father Archbishop & els where, that I being euill seduced by diuers sedicious preachers, haue grieuously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously aunswered, and obstinately rebelled. And therefore I am by the sayd reuerend father,* before the reuerend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for an hereticke.

*Neuertheles yet, I now remembring my selfe, and coueting by this meane to auoyd that temporall payn which I am worthy to suffer as an hereticke, at the assigned 〈◇〉 of my most excellent Christen prince and siege Lord, King Henry the 5. now by the grace of God most worthy Kyng both of England and of Fraunce: Minding also to prefere the wholesome determination, sentence and doctrine of the holy vniuersall Church of Rome, before the vnwholesom opinions of my selfe, my teachers, and my followers: I freely, willingly, deliberately, and throughly cōfesse, graūt, and affirme, that the most holy fathers in Christ, S. Peter the Apostle and his successors byshops of Rome, specially now at this time, my most blessed Lord Pope Iohn, by the permission of God, the xxiii. Pope of that name, which now haldeth Peters seat (and each of them in theyr succession) hath full strength and power to be Christes Vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the strēgth of his office (what though he be a great sinner, and afore knowne of God to be damned) he hath full authority and power to rule and gouerne, bynde and loose, saue and destroy, accurse and assoyle, all other Christen men.

And agreeably still vnto this, I confesse, graunt, and affirme all other Archbishops, Byshops, and Prelates in their prouinces, Dioces, and Parishes (appoynted by the sayd Pope of Rome, to assiste him in his doinges or busines) by his Decrees, Canons, or vertue of his office: to haue had in times past to haue now at this time, and that they ought to haue in time to come: authoritye and power to rule and to gouerne, binde and loose, accurse and assoyle, the subiects or people of theyr aforesaid prouinces, dioces, & parishes, and that their said subiectes or people ought of right in all things to obey them.* Furthermore, I confesse, graunt, and affirme, that the sayd spirituall fathers, as our most holy father the Pope, Archbishops, Bishops, & Prelates: haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, authority and power for the estate, order and gouernaunce of their subiectes or people, to make lawes, decrees, statutes and constitutions, yea and to publishe, commaund, and compell their sayde subiectes and peoyle, to the obseruation of them.

Moreouer I confesse, graunt and affirme, that all these foresayd lawes,* decrees, statutes and constitutions made, published and commaunded, according to the forme of spirituall law, all christen people, and euery man in himself is straightly bound to obserue, & meekely to obey according to the diuersity of the foresayd powers. As the lawes, statuts, canons and constitutions of our most holy father the Pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Rescriptes, Sextiles, and Extrauagants ouer all the world: and as the prouinciall statuts of Archbishoppes in their prouinces, the Sinodall actes of Bishops in their dioces, and the commendable rules & customes of prelates in their colledges, and Curates in their parishes,* all Christen people are both bound to obserue, & also most meekly to obey. Ouer & besides all thys, I Iohn Oldcastle vtterly forsaking and renouncing all the aforesayd errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like vnto them, lay my hand here vpon this booke or holye Euangely of God, & sweare: that I shall neuer more from henceforth holde these aforesayd heresies, nor yet

any other like vnto them wittinglye.* Neither shall I geue counsell, ayde, helpe, nor fauor at any time, to them that shall holde, teach, affirme, or maintayne the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holy Euangelies.

And that I shall from henceforth faythfully obey and inuiolably obserue all the holy lawes, statutes, Canons, and constitutions of all the Popes of Rome,* Archbishops Bishops, and Prelates, as are conteyned and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretalles, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Rescriptes, Sextiles, Sumnies, papall, Extrauagantes, statutes prouinciall, actes synodall, and other ordinary regules and customes cōstituted by them, or that shall chaunce hereafter directly to be determined ormade. To these and all such other, will I my selfe with all power possibly apply.* Besides all this, the penaunce whiche it shall please my sayd reuerend father the Lord Archbishop of Caunterbury hereafter to enioyne me for my sinnes, I will meekely obey and faythfully fulfill. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whome I shall hereafter know suspected of heresy or errors:* I shall effectually present, or cause to be presented vnto my sayde reuerend father, Lord Archbishop or to them which haue his authority, so soone as I can conneniently do it, and see that they be corrected to my vttermost power.

This abiuration neuer came to the hands of the Lord Cobham, neither was it compiled of them for that purpose, but onely therewith to bleare the eyes of the vnlearned multitude for a time. After the whiche like fetch and subtle practise, was also deuised the recantatiō of the Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, to stop for a time the peoples mouthes. Which subtly in like manner was also practised with the false recantatiō of Bishop •oper, and diuers other, as in their places hereafter (Christ graunting) shalbe shewed.

And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of sir Iohn Oldcastle Lorde Cobham,* with all the circumstances of the true time, place, occasion, causes, and order belonging to the same. Wherin I trust I haue sufficiently satisfied all the parties, requisite to a faythfull history, with out corruption. For the confirmation wherof, to the intent the mind also of the wrangling cauiller may be satisfied, & to stop the mouth of the aduersary (which I see in all places to be ready to barke) I haue therfore of purpose anexed with all my ground & foundation taken out of the Archines and Registers of the Archb. of Cant, Ex epist. Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond.* Wherby may appeare, the manifest error both of Polydorus and of Edward Hall, who being deceiued in the right distinction of the times, assigne this citation and examination of the Lord Cobham, to be after the councell of Cōstance: when as Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Caunterbury at the councell of Constance was not aliue. The copy and testimony of his owne letter, shall declare the same, written and sent to the bishop of London in forme as foloweth.

*** The copy of the Epistle of the Archbishop of Caunterbury, written to the Bishop of London, whereupon dependeth the grounde and certaynety of this foresayd history of the Lord Cobham, aboue premised.**

TO the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Robert by the grace of God Bishop of Hereford,
Richard by the permission of God bishop of London, health and continuall increase of sincere loue.

We haue of late receiued the letters of the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, the Lorde Thomas by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolicke see, vnto our reuerend brother the Lord Richard Bishop of London, health and brotherly loue in the Lord. It was lately concluded before vs in the conuocation of Prelates and Clergye of our prouince of Caunterb. last celebrate in our church of S. Paul, intreating amongst other thinges with the sayd prelates & clergy vpon the vnion and reformation of the Church of England by vs, and the sayd prelates and Clergy: that it was almost impossible to amende the hole of our Lordes coate whiche was without seame, but that first of all certayne nobles of the realme, which are authors, fauourers, protectors, defenders, and receiuers of these heretickes called Lollardes, were sharply rebuked, and if neede were by the censures of the Church, and the helpe of the secular power, they be reuoked from their errorrs.* And afterward hauing made diligent inquisition in the conuocation amongst the proctors of the Clergy and others which were there in great number out of euery dioces of our prouince: It was found out amongst others, that sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, was and is the principall receiuer, fauourer, protector and defender of them: and that specially in the Diocesse of London, Rochester, and Hereforde, he hath sent the sayd Lollardes to preach, not being licenced by the ordinaryes and Bishoppes of the Dioces or places, contrary to the prouinciall constitutions in that behalfe made, and hath [Page 566](#) bene present at theyr wicked Sermōs, greuously punishing with threatnings, terrors, and the power of the secular sword: suche as did withstand him: alledging and affirming amongst others, that we and our fellow brethren Suffragans of out prouinces had not, neither haue any: power to make any such constitutions. Also he hath holden, and doth holde opinion and teach as touching the sacramentest of the aultar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of the worshiping of Sayntes, and of the keyes contrary to that which the vniuersall church of Rome doth teach ond affirme.

Wherefore, on the behalfe of the sayd prelates and clergy, we were then required that we would vouchsafe to proceed agaynst the sayd sir Iohn Oldcastle vpon the premisses. Notwithstanding, for the rouerance of our Lord the king, in whose fauour the sayde sir Iohn: at that presēt was, & no lesse also for honor of his knighthood:* we with our fellow brethren and Suffraganes then present, with a great part of the Clergy of our prouince, comming personally before the presence of our Lord the king, being then at hys Manor of Kenington, put vp against the said sir Iohn, a complaint, and partly reciting the defaultes of the sayd sir Iohn. But at the re^quest of our Lord the king, we desiring to reduce the sayd sir Iohn to the vnity of the church, without any reproche, we deferred all the execution of the premisses for a great time. But at the last, for so much as our sayd Lord the king after his great trauelles taken about the conuersion of him, did nothing at all profite, as our said Lord the king, vouchsafed to certify vs both by word & writing: We immediatly decreed to call forth the sayd sir Iohn personally to aunswere before vs at a certayne time already passed, in and vpon the premisses, and sent our messengers with these our letters of citation to the sayde sir Iohn, then being at his castle of Cowling, vnto the which messenger we gaue commaundement that he should in no case go into the Castle except he were licensed. But by the meane of one Iohn Butler, porter of the kings chāber, he should require the sayd sir Iohn, that he would either licēse the sayd messenger to come into the Castle, or that he would cite him, or on the least that he would suffer himselfe to be cited without his Castle. The whiche sir Iohn openly aunswered vnto the sayd Iohn Butler, declaring the premisses vnto him on the behalfe of

our Lord the king: that he woulde by no meanes be cited, neither in any case suffer his citation. Then we being certified of the premisses lawfully proceeded further.

First, hauing faythfull report made unto vs, that he could not be apprehended by personall citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly set vppe in the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Rochester next vnto him, litle more then three English miles distant from the sayd castle of Cowling. As we had thus caused him to be cited, and our edict aforesayde to be publickely & openly set vpon the porches of the said Church, that he should personally appeare before vs the 11. day of September last past to aunswere vnto the premisses, and certayne other thinges concerning heresye: The which day being come, we sitting in the tribunall seat in our greater chappell within the Castle of Leedes of our dioces, the which we then inhabited, and where as we then kept residence with our court, and hauing taken an othe whiche is requisite in the premisses, and the information by vs heard and receiued,* as the common report goeth: In the partes whereas the sayd sir Iohn dwelleth (fortifying himselfe in his sayd castle, defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the ke•es of the church and the Arbishops power.) We therefore caused the sayde Syr Iohn cited, as is aforesayd, to be openly with a loude voyce called by the cryer: and so being called, long looked for, and by no meanes appearing, we iudged him (as he was no lesse worthy) obstinate, and for punishment of his sayd obstinacye, we did then and there excommunicate him. And for so much as by the order of the premisses,* and other euident tokens of hys doinges, we vnderstand that the sayde sir Iohn for the defence of his errour doth fortify himselfe, as is aforesayd against the keyes of the Church, by pretence whereof, a vehement suspition of heresy and schisme riseth agaynst him: We haue decreed if he may be apprehended, agayne personallye to cite him, or els as before, by an edict that he should appeare before vs the Saterday next after the feast of Saint Mathew the Apostle and Euangelist next comming, to shew some reasonable cause if he can, why we shoulde not proceede agaynst him, to more greuouse punishment, as an open hereticke, schismaticke and open enemy of the vniuersall church. And personally to declare why he should not be pronounced such a one, or that the ayde of the secular power shoulde not be solemnely required agaynst him. And further to aunswere, do and receiue as touching the premisses, whatsoever iustice shal require. The which time being come, that is to say, the Saterday next after the feast of S. Mathew being the 24. day of September, sir Rob. Morley knight Lieftenant of the tower of London appeared personally before vs, sitting in the chapter house of the Church of S. Paule at London, with our reuerent fellowe brethren and Lordes, Richard by the grace of God Bishop of London, and Henry Byshop of Winchester, and brought with him sir Iohn Oldecastle Knight, and set him before vs (for a little before he was taken by the kinges seruantes and cast into the tower) vnto which sir Iohn Oldcastle so personally present, we rehearsed all the order of the proces, as it is contayned in the actes of the of the daye before passed with good and modest wordes and gentle meanes.* That is to say, howe he the said sir Iohn was detected and accused in the conuocation of the prelates and clergy of our sayd prouince as is aforesayd vpon the articles before rehearsed, and how he was cited & for hys contumacy excommunicate. And when we were come to that poynt, we offered our selues ready to absolue him. Notwithstanding, the sayd sir Iohn, not regarding our offer, sayd, that he would willingly rehearse before vs, and my sayde fellowe brethren, the fayth which he held & affirmed. So he hauing his desire & obtaining licence, tooke out of his bosome a certayne Scedule indented, and there openly reade the contentes of the same, and deliuered the same Scedule vnto vs, and the Schedule of the articles, wherupon he was examined, which was as in forme folowing.

*** The catholicke fayth and confession of the Lord Cobham.**

I Iohn Oldcastle knight, Lord of Cobham, desire to made manifest vnto all Christians, & God to be taken to witnesse, that I neuer thought otherwise or would thinke otherwise (by Gods helpe) then with a stedfast & vndoubted fayth to imbrace all those his Sacramentes whiche be hath instituted for the vse of his Church.

Furthermore that I may the more, playnly declare my mynde in these iiii.* pointes of my fayth: First of all I beleue the Sacramēt of the aulter to be the body of Christ vn der y^e forme of bread the very same body which was borne of his mother Mary, crucified for vs dead and buried, rose againe the third day, sitteth on the right hād of his immortall father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternall glory.* Then as touchyng the Sacrament of penaunce this is my belief, that I doe thinke the correction of a sinnefull lyfe to be most necessary for all such as desire to be sauēd and that they ought to take vpō them such repentaunce of their former lyfe by true confession, vnfayned contrition, and lawfull satisfaction, as the worde of God doth prescribe vnto vs. Otherwise there will be no hope of saluation.

Thirdly, as touchyng images, this is my opiniō, that I do iudge them no poynt of fayth,* but brought into the worlde after the fayth of Christ by the sufferance of the Church, & so growen in vse that they might serue for a kalender for the lay people and ignoraūt. By the beholdyng wherof they might the better call to remēbraunce the godly examples & martyrdome of Christ and other holy men: but if any man do otherwise abuse this representatiō, and geue the reuerence vnto those Images, which is due vnto the holy men whom they represent, or rather vnto him whom the holy •en themselues owe all theyr honour, setting all theyr trust and hope in them which ought to be referred vnto God: or if they be so affected toward the domb Images, that they do in any behalfe addict vnto them, eyther be more addicted vnto one Saint then another, in my minde they doe little differ from Idolatrye, grievously offending agaynst God the author of all honor.

Last of all I am thus perswaded that there be no inhabitants here in earth,* but that we shall passe straight either to life or punishment: for whosoever doth so order his lyfe that he stumble at the commaundementes of God, whiche either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vayne for him to look for saluation, although he ran ouer all the corners of the world. Contrarywise, he which obserueth his commaundements cannot perish, although in all his life time he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Caunterbury, nor Compostella, or to any other place, whither as the common people are accustomed to walke.

This Scedule with the articles therin contained being read (as is aforesaid) by the sayd sir Iohn: we with our felow brethren aforesaid, & many other doctors & learned mē had conference vpon the same. And at the last by the counsell and consent of them, we spake these wordes folowing vnto the sayd sir Iohn there present. Behold sir Ioh. there are many good and catholicke things contained in this scedule. But you haue this time to answeere vnto other matters which sauor of errors & heresies. Wherunto, by the cōtentes of this scedule, it is not fully answered, and therefore you must answeere therunto & more plainely expresse & declare your fayth & opinions as touching those poynts in y^e same bill. That is to say, whither you hold, beleue and affirme, that in

the sacrament of the aultar, after the cōsecration rightly done,* there remayneth materiall bread or not.

Item, whether you hold, beleue, and affirme, that it is necessary in the sacrament of penance for a man to cōfesse his sinnes vnto a priest appoynted by the church.

The which articles in this maner deliuered vnto him, [Page 567](#) amongst many other thinges he answered plainly, that he would make no other declaration or answere therunto thē was conteyned in the sayd Scedule. Wherupon we fauoring the sayd sir Iohn, with benigne & gentle meanes we spake vnto him in this manner. Sir Iohn take heed, for if you do not playnly answere to these thinges, which are obiected agaynst you within a lawful time now graūted you by the Iudges, we may declare you to be an hereticke, but the said sir Iohn perseuered as before, and would make no other answere. Consequently notwithstanding, we together with our sayd fellow brethren and others of our counsell took aduise, and by their counsell declared vnto the said sir Iohn Oldcastle, that the sayd holy Church of Rome in this matter following the saying of blessed S. Augustine Ierome,* Ambrose and other holy men, hath determined, y^e which determinations euery catholicke ought to obserue. Wherupon the said sir Iohn answered, y^t he would beleue and obserue whatsoever the holy Church determined, and whatsoever god would he should obserue and beleue. But that he would in no case affirme that our Lord the Pope, y^e cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops or other prelates of the church haue any power to determine any such matters. Wherunto,* we yet fauoring him, vnderhope of better aduisement promised the sayd sir Iohn: that we would geue him in writing certaine determinatiōs vpon the matter aforesaid. Wherunto he should more plainly answere, writtē in latin, and for his better vnderstanding translated into English: wherupon, we commaunded and hartily desired him that agaynst monday next folowing, he should geue a playne & full answere, the which determinations we caused to be trāslated the same day & to be deliuered vnto him the sonday next folowing. The tenor of which determinations here folow in this maner.

*The fayth and determination of y^t holy Church vpon the holy Sacrament of the aultar is this. That after the consecration done in the masse by y^t priest, y^t material bread shall be chaunged into the materiall bodye of Christ, & the materiall wine into y^e materiall bloud of Christ. Therefore after the consecratiō there remayneth no more any substāce of bread and wine, which was there before. What doe you answere to this article?

*Also the holy church hath determined that euery christian dwelling vpon earth ought to confesse his sinnes vnto a priest ordeined by the Church, if he may come vnto hym. How thinke you by this article?

Christ ordeined S. Peter his Vicare in earth, whose seat is in the Church of Rome, geuing and graunting the same authority whiche he gaue vnto Peter also to his successours which are now called Hopes of Rome, in whose power it is to ordeine and institute prelates in particulare churches.* As Archbishops, bishops, curates, and other ecclesiastical orders, vnto whom the Christian people ought obedience according to the traditiō of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church. What thinke you by this article?

*Besides this the holy Church hath determined, that it is necessary for euery christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, & there specially to worship the holy reliques of the Apostles, Martirs confessors, & all sayntes, whosoever the church of Rome hath allowed. What thinke you of this article?

Upon which monday being the 25. day of the sayd moneth of September before vs and our fellow brethrē aforesayd, hauing also takē vnto vs our reuerēd brother, Benedict by the grace of God, * Bishop of Bangor, & by our cōmaundement our counsellors and ministers. Master Hen'ry ware officiall of our court of Cant. Philip Morgan D. of both lawes, Dowell Kissin Doctor of y^e decretals, Iohn Kempe and William Carlton Doctors of law, Ioh Witnā Thomas Palmer, Rob. Wombewell, Iohn Withe and Robert Chamberlayne, Richard Dotington & Thomas Walden professors of diuinity. Also Iames Cole, & I. Ste'uens our notaries appointed on this behalf. They all and euery one being sworne vpon y^t holy gospell of god laying their handes vpon the booke that they shoulde geue theyr faythfull counsell in, and vpō the maner aforesayde, and in euery such cause and to the whole world. By and by appered sir Robert Morley Knight, Lieuutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the foresayde Syr I Oldcastle setting him before vs. Unto whom we gentlye and familiarly rehearsed the actes of the day before passed. And as before we tolde him that he both is and was excōmunicate, requiring and intreating him that he would desire and receiue in due forme the absolution of the Church. Unto whom the said Syr Iohn then and there plainly answered, that in this behalfe he would require no absolutiō at our handes but onely of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft meanes we desires and required him to make playne answer vnto the articles which were laid against him. And first of al, as touching the Sacrament of the aultar. To the which article, * besides other thinges he answered and sayd thus: That as Christ being here in earth had in him both Godhead & manhoode. Notwithstanding the Godhead was couered and inuisible vnder the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the sacrament of the aultar there is the very body and very bread, bread which we do see, the body of Christ hidden vnder the same which we do not see. And playnly denyed, that the fayth as touching the said Sacrament determined by the Romish church and holy doctors and sent vnto him by vs in the sayd Schedule, to be the determination of the holy Church. But if it be the determination of the Church he sayd that it was done contrary vnto the scriptures, after the church was endowed, and that poyson was poured into the Churche and not afore. Also as touching the Sacrament of penance and confession, he playnly sayd and affirmed thē and there: that if any man were in any greuous sinne, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were ex'pedient and good for him to go vnto some holy and discreet priest to take counsell of him. * But that he shoulde confesse his sinne to any proper Priest, or to any other although he might haue the vse of him, it is not necessary to saluation, for so much as by only contrition such sinne can be wiped a way, & the sinner himselfe purged. As concerning the worshipping of the crosse, he sayd and affirmed that y^t only body of Christ which did hange vpon the crosse is to be worshipped. For so much as that body alone was & is y^t crosse, which is to be worshipped.

*And being demaunded what honor he would do vnto the Image of the crosse. He aunswered by expresse wordes that he would only do it that honor that he would make it clean and lay it vp safe. As touching the power and authority of the keyes, the Archbishops, Bishop, and other prelates, he sayde that the Pope is very Antichrist, that is the head: the Archbishops, Bishops and other prelates to be his members, and the Friers to be his tayle. * The whiche Pope, Archbishops

and bishops a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ & of Peter, in their life, maners & conuersation, and that he is the successor of Peter, whiche is best and purest in life & maners. Furthermore, y^e said sir Iohn spreading his handes wyth a loude voyce,* sayd thus to those whiche stode about hym. These men which iudge and would condemne me, wil seduce you all & themselues, and wil lead you vnto hell, therfore take heed of them. When he had spoken those wordes, we agayne as oftentimes before with lamentable countenance, spake vnto the said sir Iohn, exhorting him wyth as gentle wordes as we might that he would returne to y^e vnity of the church, to beleue & hold that which the church of Rome doth beleue & hold. Who expresly aunswered that he would not beleue or holde otherwise then he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiuing as it appeared by hym that we coulde not preuayle: at the last wyth bitterness of hart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitiue sentence in this maner.

In the name of God Amen:* We Thom. by the permission of God Archb. and humble minister of the holy Church of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolicke see, in a certayne cause or matter of heresy vpon certeine articles, wherupon sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, Lord Cobham, before vs in the last cōuocation of our Clergy of our prouince of Caunterbury holden in the Church of S. Paul in London after diligēt inquisition therupon made, was detected & accused, & by our said prouince notoriously and openly defamed.* At the request of the whole Clergy aforesayd therupon made vnto vs in the said conuocatiō: with all fauour possible that we might (God we take to witnes) lawfully proceding agaynst him, following the footsteps and example of Christ which woulde not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be conuerted and liue, we haue endeououred by all wayes and meanes we might,* or could to reforme him, and rather reduce him to the vnity of the church: declaring vnto him what the holy vniuersall Church of Rome doth teach, hold and determine in this behalfe. And albeit that we founde him wandring astraye from the Catholicke fayth, and so stubberne and stiffnecked that he would not confesse his error or cleare himselfe thereof, to detest the same: Notwithstanding we fauouring him with a fatherly affection, and hartily wishing and desiring his preferuation, prefixed him a certayne competent time to deliberate with himself, and if he would to repent and reforme himselfe. And last of all, for so much as we perceiued him to be vnreasonable: obseruing chiefly those thinges whiche by the lawe are required in this behalfe, with great sorow and bitterness of hart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitiue sentence in this maner.

[Page 568](#)The name of Christ being called vpon setting him onely before our eyes. For so much as by actes enacted, signes exhibited, euidences and diuers tokens, besides sundry kinde of proofes, we find the said Sir Iohn to be, & haue ben an heretick, and a folower of heretickes in the fayth and obseruation of the sacred vniuersall Church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacraments of the Eucharist and of penaunce. And that as the sonne of iniquitye and darcknesse he hath so hardened his hart, that he will not vnderstand the voyce of his shepheard,* neither will be allured with his monitions, or conuerted with any fayre speech. Hauing first of al searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merites of the cause aforesayd, and of the sayd Sir Iohn, his desertes and faultes aggrauated through his damnable obstinacy: Not wil'ling that he that is wicked, should become more wicked, & infect other with his contagion, by the counsell and consent of the reuerent men of profound wisdom and discretion, our brethren the Lordes Richard bishop of London, Henry Byshop of Winchester, and Benedict Bishop of Bangor,* and also of many other doctours of Deuinity, the decretals and ciuill law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistantes, we haue iudged & declared sententiallye, and definitiue

condemned the sayde Syr Iohn Oldecastle knight, Lord Cobham, being conuict in and vpon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to returne vnto the vnity of the Church, and in those things which the sacred vniuersall Church of Rome doth holde, teach, determine, & shew forth. And specially as one erring in the articles aboue written, leauing him from henceforth as an heretick vnto the secular iudgement.

*Moreouer we haue excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and excommunicate him as an hereticke, and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his errour, shall receiue, defend, or geue him counsell or fauour, or helpe him in this behalfe, as fauourers, defenders, and receiuers of heretickes. And to the intent that these premises may be knowne vnto all faythfull Christians, we charge and commaund you, that by your sentence definitiue, you do cause the Curates which are vnder you, with a loud and audible voyce in their Churches, when as moste people is present, in theyr mother tongue, through all your Cittyes and dioces to publish and declare the sayd Sir Iohn Oldcastle as is before sayd, to be by vs condemned as an hereticke, schismaticke, & one erring in the articles aboue sayde: and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his errours shall receiue or defend hym, geuing him any counsell, comfort, or fauour in this behalfe, to be excommunicate as receiuers, fauorers, and defenders of heretiks. As is more effectually cōteined in the proces. That by such meanes the erroneous opinions of the people (which peradventure hath otherwise conceiued the matter) by those declarations of the trueth, how the matter is, may be cut of. The which thing also we will and commaund to be written and signified by you, word for word, vnto all our fellow brethren: that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all theyr cittyes and dioces, the maner and forme of this our proces, and also the sentence by vs geuen, and all other singular, the contentes in the same. And likewise cause it to be published by their Curates whiche are vnder them as touching the day of the receipt of these presents, & what you haue done in the premisses, how you and they haue executed this our commaundement. We will that you and they duety and distinctly certify vs the busines being done, by you and theyr letters patentes, according to this tenour.

Dated in our Manor of Maidstone, the 10. of October. an. 1413. and in the 18. yeare of our translation.

Thus haue you here the iudiciall proces of the bishops agaynst this most noble christen knight, described by their owne letters and stile.* After all this, the sentence of death being geuen, the Lord Cobham was sent away, Syr Robert Morley carying him agayne vnto the Tower, where as after he had remayned a certaine space, in the night season, (it is not known by what meanes) he escaped out and fled into Wales, where as he continued by the space of 4. yeaes.

A defence of the Lord Cobham, agaynst Nich. Harpsfield, set out vnder the name of Alanus Copus.

As I was entring into this story of the Lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former historyes, hetherto passed,* hauing next to set vpon this present matter, luckely, and as God woulde, in such oportunity of season, as may seeme, God to worke himselfe for defence of his Sayntes: commeth to my handes a certayne booke of new found dialogues, compiled in latine by Nich. Harps field, set out by Alanus Copus, an english man, a persō to me vnknown, & obscure

hetherto vnto y^t world, but now to purchase himselfe a name with Erostratus, or with the sonnes of Enachun, commeth out not with his fiue egges, but with his sixe rayling dialogues. In the which dialogues y^t sayd Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he vnder the armour of other,* or other vnder the title or his name, I knowe not, nor pa^e not) vncurteously behauing himselfe, intemperately abusing his time, study, and pen, forgetting himself, neglecting all respect of honesty, and milde modestly, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor passing for shame, neither fauoring the liuing, nor sparing the dead, who being aliue as they neuer offended him, so now cannot aunswere for thēselues being gone: thus prouoking both God and man agaynst him, alter an vnseemely sort, and with a foule mouth, and a stincking breath, rageth and fareth agaynst deade mens ashes, taking now y^t spoyle of theyr good name, after theyr bodyes lye slayne in the field. His gall and choler being so bitter agaynst them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remayne vpon the earth. In so much that for the hatred of them, he spurneth also agaynst me, and fleeth in my face, for that in my Actes and Monumentes, describing the history of the Churche, I would say any thing in the fauour of them; whome the Romish Catholickes haue so vnmercifully put to death.* The answeere to whose book although it woulde require a seuerall tractation by it selfe (as if Christ graunt space and leysure, hereafter it shall not be forgotten) yet because such oportunitie of the booke is offered to me at this present comming now to the matter of the Lord Cobham; Sir Roger Acton & other, with whom he first beginneth to quarell, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatsoever he be, so much as trueth shall geue me for theyr defence to say something. And here to cut of all the offalles of his raylinge talke and vnhonest rebukes, whiche I leaue to scoldes and men of his profession agaynst they liste to braule, let vs briefly and quietly consider the matter, for discussing of y^e truth.* Wherin first I shall desire the Reader with equality and indifferency to heare both the partes to speake, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and slayne could say for themselues, if they were present, as also what this man here doth object agaynst them now being gone. And so according to the same to iudge both vpon them as they deserue, and of me as they shall please.

Now to the scope of maister Copes matter,* which is this, whether this foresayd sir Iohn Oldcastle, L. Cobham (first to beginne with him) is rather to be commēded for a Martyr, or to be reprobued for a traytor. And whether that I in writing of him and of sir Roger Acton, wyth other moe in my former edition, haue belt fraudulently, and corruptly in cōmending thē in these Acts & Monumentes or no. Touching the discussion whereof, first I trust y^e gētle M. Cope my frend,* neither will, nor wel cā deny any part of all y^t hetherto, touching y^t story of y^t L. Cobham hath ben premised, who yet al this while was neither traitor to his country, nor rebell to his prince, as by the course of his hystory hetherto to the reader may well vnderstād. First in y^e time of king Henry the fourth, he was sent ouer to Fraūce to the Duke of Orlyance, he did obey. Afterward K. Henry the fift, cōming to the crowne, he was of him like wise well liked and fauored, vntill the time that Tho. Arundel with his clergy, cōplayning to the king, made bate betwene thē. Then the Lord Cobham being cited by the Archbyshoppe, at his citation, woulde not appeare. But sent for by the king, he obeied and came. Being come, what lowly subiection he shewed there to the king the pag. 558. declareth. After he yelded an obedient cōfessiō of his fayth, it would not be receiued. Then did he appeale to the bishoppe of Rome, for the which the king tooke great displeasure with him, & so was he repealed by the king to the Archb. and committed to the tower,* which also he did obey. Frō thēce he was brought to his examination once or twise: there like a constant martyr and witnesse of the trueth, he stood to his confession and that vnto the very sentence of death defined agaynst him. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let Alanus

Copus say what he wil, or what he can. This I say, at least I doubt, whether the sayd Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like triall himselfe, would venter so narrow a poynt of martirdome for his religion, as this christian knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed after this deadly sentēce, was thus awarded agaynst him, the sayd Lord Cobhā was thē returneth agayne vnto the tower, which he with patience and meeknes did also obey: from the which tower if he afterward by the Lordes prouidēce did escape, whether hath Alanus Copus, herein more to prayse God for offring to him the benefite, or to blame the man for taking that which was offred. What Catholicke in all Louen hauing his house ouer hys head on fire, will not be glad to haue if he might, y^e dore set open to flee the peril? or els why did Alanus Copus flye hys [Page 569](#) country hauing so litle need, if this mā, bleding almost vnder the butchers are, might not enioy so great an offer of so lucky deliuerance?

Thus hitherto I trust, the cause of the Lord Cobham, standeth firme and strong agaynst all daūger of iust reprehension. Who being (as ye haue heard) so faythfull and obedient to God: so submisse to his king: so soūd in hys doctrine: so constant in his cause: so afflicted for the trueth: so ready & prepared to death: [*](#) as we haue sufficiently declared not out of vncertayne & doubtful chronicles, but out of the true originals & instrumēt remaining in aūcient records: What lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he declaring himself such a martyr, that is a witnes to the verity (for the which also at last he suffred y^e fire) may therfore worthily be exorned with y^e title of a martir which is in Greek as much as a witnes bearer.

But here nowe steppeth in Dame 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, with her cosē scold Alecto. &c. who neither learning to hold her coūg nor yet to speak wel, [*](#) must needs find here a knot in a rush and beginning now to quarrell inferreth thus: But after (sayth he) that the Lord Cobham was escaped out of the tower, his felowes and confederates conuēted themselues together, seditously agaynst y^e king & against their coūtry: A great crime no doubt M. Cope, if it be true, so if it be not true, the greter blame returneth vnto your self, so to enter this action of such slaunder, vnles the ground wherupō ye stand, [*](#) be sure. First what felowes of y^e L. Cobhā were these you meane of? Sir Roger Acton ye say, maister Brown & Iohn Beuerley, with 36. other hanged and burned in the sayd field of S. Biles. A maruellous matter, y^e such a great multitude of 20000. specified in story, shoulde rise against y^e king, & yet but 3. persons only known and named. Thē to proceed further, I would aske of maister Cope what was the end of this conspiracy, to rebell against the king, to destroy their country, and to subuert the Christian fayth, for so purporteth the story. As like true the one as the other. For euen as it is like, that they being Turkes went about to destroy the fayth of Christ wherin they died, and to subuert their country wherin they were bred: euen so like it is that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey.

Yet further proceedeth this fumish promoter in his accusation, & sayth moreouer: that these foresayd felowes and adherentes of the Lord Cobham, were in the field assēbled and there incamped in a great number agaynst the king & how is this proued? [*](#) by Robert Fabian which appeareth to be as true, as that which in the sayde Robert Fabian followeth, in the same place where he affirmeth that Io. Cledon, and Richard Turmin, were burnt in the same yere, being 1413. When in deede by the true Registers, they were not burnt before the yere of our lord, [*](#) 1415. But what wil maister Cope say, if the originall copy of the inditemēt of these pretended conspirators doe testify, that they were not there assembled or present in the field as your

accusation pretendeth? But they purposed (will you say) and intended to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to iudge, where as no fact appereth. But geue their intēt was so to come: * yet might they not come to those thickets neare to the field of Saint Biles, hauing Beuerley theyr Preacher with them (as ye say, your self) as well to pray & to preach in that woody place, as wel as to fight? Is this such a straunge thing in y^e church of Christ, in time of persecution, for christians to resort into desolate woods, and secrete thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In Queene Maryes tyme was not the same coulour of treason obiected agaynst George Egle and other moe, for frequenting and vsing into backsides and fields, * and suffered for that, whereof he was innocent & guiltlesse? Did not Adam Damlipe dye in like case of treason, for hauing a French crowne geuen him, at his departure out of Rome, by Cardinal Poole? What can not cankred calumnia inuēt, when she is disposed to cauill? It was not the Cardinals crowne that made him a traytour, but it was the hatred of his preaching, that styrred vp the accuser.

In Fraunce what assemblyes haue there beene in late yeares of good and innocent christiās, congregating together in backfieldes & couertes in great routes to heare the preaching of Gods holy word, & to pray: yea and not with out their weapon also, for their owne safegard, & yet neuer intēded nor minded any rebelliō against their king. Wherefore, in cases of Religion it may & doth happē many times that such congregations may meete without intent of any treason ment. But howsoeuer the intent and purpose was of these fore said cōfederats of the Lord Cobham, whether to come, or what to do (seing this is playne by recordes, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come vnto y^e place (how will M. Cope now iustify his wordes, * so confidently affir^ming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the field of S. Biles agaynst the king? And marke here I besech thee (gentle Reader) how vnlikely and vntidely the poynts of this tale are tide and hang together (I will not say without all substaunce or truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lye) wherein these accusers in this matter seeme to me, to lacke some part of Siuons Arte, in conueiing their narration so vnartificiallye. First (say they) the king was come first with his garrison, vnto the field of S. Biles. And then after the king was there incamped, cōsequently the fellowes of the Lord Cobham (the Captayne being away) came & were assembled in the said field where the king was, * against the king: & yet not knowing of the king, to the number of xx. thousand: and yet neuer a stroak in that field geuen. And furthermore of all this xx. thousād aforesayd, neuer a mans name knowne, but onely three, to witte, sir Roger Acton, sir Iohn Browne, and Iohn Beuerley, a preacher. How this gear is clamped together let the reader iudge, and beleue as he seeth cause.

But geue all this to be true, although by no demōstration it can be proued, yet by the Popes dispensation (which in this earth is almost omnipotent) be it graunted: that after the king had take S. Biles field before, the cōpanions of the Lord Cobham afterward comming and assembling in the thickets neare to the sayd field, to fight seditiously agaynst the king, agaynst their country, & agaynst the fayth of Christ, to the nūber of xx. thousand, where no stroke being geuen, so many were takē, that al y^e prisons of London were full, and yet neuer a mans name knowen of all thys multitude, * but onely three: All this I say, being imagined to be true, the foloweth to be demaūded of M. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here present with this compaⁿy in the field, * or not? Not, in person (saith Cope) but with his mind and with his counsell he was present, and addeth this reason, saying: And therfore he being brought agayn, after his escape, was conuice both of treason and heresye, & therfore susteining a double punishmēt was both

hanged and burnt for the same. &c. And how is al this proued? By Robert Fabian, he sayth, whereunto briefly I aunswere, that Rob. Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the Lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsell. His wordes be these: That certaine adherentes of Sir Iohn Oldcastle assembled in the fielde neare to S. Biles, in great number: of whom was sir Roger Acton, sir Iohn Browne, and Iohn Beuerley. The which with 36. mo in number were after conuict of heresy and treason and for the same were hanged and burnt, w^ein the sayd field of S. Byles. &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion & condemnation of these mē: but that the Lorde Cobham, was there present with thē in any parte,* either of consent or counsell, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberall cornu copiae, wherof he is so copious and plentifull, that he may keep an open shop of such vnwrittē vntruethes, whiche he maye aforde verye good cheape I thinke, being such a plentifull artificer.

But here will bee obiected agaynst mee the wordes of the statute made the seconde yeare of king Henry the fifte wherupon this aduersary triumphing with no litle glory 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, thinketh himselfe to haue double vauntage against me:* first in prouinge these foresayd complices & adherents of the Lord Cobham, to haue made insurrection agaynst the king, and so to be traytors. Secondly, in conuicting that to be vntrue, where as in my former booke of Actes and Monumentes I doe reporte: how that after the death of sir Roger Acton of Browne, & Beuerley,* a Parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect: that all and singular, suche as wer of Wickliffes learning, if they would not geue ouer (as in case of felony and other trespasses, loosing all theyr goodes to the king) shoulde suffer death in two manner of kinds, that is, they should first be hanged for treasō against the king, and then be burned for heresy agaynst God. &c.

Wherupon, remaineth now in examining this obiectiō and aunswering to the same, that I purge both them of treason, and my selfe of vntruth, so farre as truth and fidelity in Gods cause shal assist me herin. Albeit in beginning first my history of Ecclesiastical matters, wherin I hauing nothing to do with abatement of causes iudiciall, but onely folowing the simple narration of things done and executed: neuer suspected that euer any would be so captious with me, or so nise nosed, as to presse me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing euery cause and matter so exactly, & straining (as ye woulde say) the bowels of the statute lawe so rigorously agaynst me. Yet for so much as I am therunto constrained now by this aduersary, [Page 570](#) I wil first lay open all the whole statute made y^e second yeare of this foresayd Henry the fift, after the death of the foresayd sir Roger Acton and his fellowes, at the Parliament holden at Leycester. an. 1415. That done, I will note vpon the words therof, so as by the circumstaunces of the same may appeare what is to be cōcluded, either for the defence of theyr innocencye, or for the accusation of this aduersary. The tenour and purport of the statute here vnder ensueth.

The wordes and contentes of the statute made an. 2. Henrici. 5. cap. 7.

*FORasmuch as great ([A](#)) rumors, congregations, and insurrections here in England by diuers of y^t king his maⁱesties seege people haue bene made here of late, as well by those which were of the sect of heresy called Lolardy, as by others of their cōfederatiō, excitatiōs, & abetmēt: to y^e

intēt (B) to adnulle & subuert y^e christian fayth & the law of God within the same Realme, as also to (C) destroy our soueraigne Lord the king himselfe and (D) all maner of estates of the same his Realme, as well spirituall as temporall (E) and also all maner pollicy, & the lawes of the land. Finally the same our Lord the king, to the honor of God, in conser'uation and fortification of the Christian fayth, & also in saluation of his royall estate, & of the estate of all his realme, willing to prouide a more open & more due punishmēt agaynst the malice of such heretickes & Lolardes, then hath bene had or vsed in that case heretofore, so that for the feare of the same lawes, and punishment, such heresydes and Lolardies may the rather cause in time to come:

* By the aduise and assēt aforesayd, & at the prayer of the sayd commons hath ordeined & established: that especially the Chaūcellor, the Treasurer, the Iustices of the one bēch and of the other, Iustices of Assise, Iustices of peace, Shiriffes, Maiors, and Bailiffes of Cityes and Townes, and all other officers hauing the gouernement of people either now present or which for the time shalbe, do make an othe in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole payne and diligence to put out,* to do to put out, cease & destroy, all maner of heresydes and errors commonly called Lolardies within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices, from time to time, with all their power: and that they assist, fauor, and maintaine the ordinaries and their commissaries so often as they or any of them shal be therunto required by the said ordinaries or their cōmissaries: So that the sayd officers and ministers, when they trauell or ride to arest any Lolard or to make any assistēce at the (F) instance and request of the ordinaries or their cōmissaries, by vertue of this statute: that y^e same ordinaries & commissaries do (G) pay for their costs reasonably. And that the seruices of the king (vnto whō the officers be first sworne) be preferred before al other statutes for the liberty of holy Church & the ministers of the same: And especially for the correction and punishment of hereticks & Lolards, made before these dayes & not repealed, but being in theyr force. And also that all persons conuict of heresy of whatsoever estate, condition or degree they be, by the sayd ordinaries or their cōmissaries left vnto the secular power according to the lawes of holy Church, shall leese & forfayte all theyr lands and tenements, which they haue in fee simple in maner and forme as followeth: That is to say, that the king shall haue all the landes & tenementes, which the sayd conuictes haue in fee simple & which be immediatlye holden of him, as forfayted: And that the other Lordes of whom the lands & tenements of such conuictes be holden immediatly, after that the king is therof seised & answered of the (H) yeare, day, & wast: shall haue lyuery therof out of the hands of the king of the landes & tenements aforesayde so of them holden, as hath bene vsed in case of attaynder of felonies, except the lands and tenements, which be holden of the ordinaries or their commissaries, before whom anye such empeached of heresyde be conuict,(I) which landes and tenements shall wholly remaine to the king as forfeit: And moreouer, that all the goodes and cattels of such conuicted, be forfayt to our right soueraigne Lord the king, so that no person conuict of heresyde & left vnto the secular power (according to the lawes of holy Church) do forfeit his landes before that he be dead. And if any such person so conuicted becuse offed, whether it be by fine, or by deede, or without deed, in landes and tenements, rentes, or seruices, in fee or otherwise in whatsoever maner, or haue any other possessions or cattels by gift or graunt of any person or persons, to the vse of any other then only to the vse of such conuicts: That the same landes, tenementes, rentes, nor seruices, nor other such possessions nor cattelles shall not be forfeite vnto our soueraigne Lord the king in no maner wise.

And moreouer, that the Iustices or the kinges bench, the Iustices of peace, & Iustices of Assise, haue full power to inquire of all such, which hold any errors or heresies, as Lolards and who be their mayntayners, receiuers, fautors, and susteiners, common writers of such bookes, as well of their sermons as scholes, conuenticles, congregations and confederacies, & that this clause be put in the cōmissions of the Iustices of peace. And if any persons be indited of any of the points aboue said, that the sayd Iustices haue power to award agaynst them a Capias, and that the Shriffe be bound to arest y^e person or persons so indited as soone as he can finde them, either by himselfe or by his officers. And for so much as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or Lolardies, appertain to the Iudges of holy church, and not vnto the secular Iudges, that such persons indited ([K](#)) be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, or to theyr Commissaries by Indentures betwene them to be made, within x. dayes after their arest, or sooner if it may be done, to be therof acquitted or conuict by the lawes of holy church in case such persōs be not indited of any other thing, the cognisaunce whereof appertayneth to the Iudges & secular officers, in which case after they shalbe acquitted or deliuered before y^e secular iudges of such thinges as apperteineth to y^e secular Iudges, they shalbe sent in safe custody vnto y^e said Ordinaries or their commissaries, & to thē to be deliuered by Indentures as is aforesayd, to be acquitted or cōuicted of the same heresy, errors and Lolardies, as is aforesaid, according to the lawes of holy church, & that with in the terme abouesayde. Prouided, that the saide indightments be not taken in euidence ([L](#)) but onely for information before the Iudges spirituall, agaynst such persons indighted: but that y^e Ordinaries begin their proces against such persōs indited, in the same maner, as though no such iudgement were, hauing no regard to such inditementes. And if any be indited of heresy, error, or Lolardy, and takē by y^e Shiriffe or any other officer of the king, he may be let to mayneprise within the sayde x. dayes, by good surety for whō the said Shriffes or other officers wil answer, so that the person so indighted be readye to be deliuered vnto the sayd Ordinaries, or to their Commissaries, before the end of the tenth day aboue recited, if he may be any meanes for sicknes. And that euery Ordinary haue sufficiēt Commissaries or Commissary, abiding in euery Countye in place notable, so that if any such person indited be taken, that the sayd Commissaries or Commissary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Shiriffe or any of hys officers to come vnto the Kinges Bayle within the sayd Countye, there to receiue the same person so indighted by Indenture as is aforesayd: And that in the Inquestes in this case takē, the Shriffes and other officers vnto whom it apperteineth, do impanell good and sufficient persōs not suspected nor procured, that is to say, suche as haue at the least euery one of thē that shal be so impanelled in such inquestes, within the Realme, a hundred shyllinges by the yere of lands, tenements, or of rent, vpon payne to leese to the kings vse xx. poūd. And that those which shalbe impanelled vpon such enquestes at sessions and gayles, haue euery one of them to the value of xi. shillings by the yere. And if any such person arested, whether it be by the Ordinaries or the officers of the king, ([M](#)) either escape or break prison before he be therof acquit before the Ordinary: that then all his goods and cattelles, which he had at the day of such arest, shall be forfeite to the king: And his landes and tenementes which he had the same day, be seised also into the kings handes, and that the king haue the profites therof from the same day vntill he render himselfe to the sayde prison from whence he escaped. And that the aforesaid Iustices haue full power to enquire of all suche escapes and breaking of prisons, and also of the lands tenements goods and cattels of such persons indighted. Prouided, that if any such person endighted, doe not returne vnto the sayde prison, and dyeth (not being conuict) that then it shall bee lawfull for his heyres, to enter into the landes and tenements of his or their aūcester without any other sute made vnto the king for this cause. And that all those which haue liberties or

franchises royall in England, as the coūty of Chester, the county and liberty of Durham and other like: And also al the Lordes which haue iurisdiccions and franchises royall in Wales where the kings writs do not run, haue like power to execute and put in execution in al pointes, these articles by them or by their officers in like maner as doe the Iustices and other the kinges officers aboue declared.

Notes touching the statute prefixed.

Thus hauing recited the wordes of the statute, nowe [Page 571](#) let vs consider the reasons & obiections of this aduersary, who grounding peraduenture vpon y^e preface or preamble of this foresaid statute: * will proue thereby the L. Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, with the rest of their abettours, to haue bin traitors to their king and their countrey. Wherunto I answere, first in generall, that although the face or preface prefixed before the statute, may shew and declare y^e cause & occasion originall why the statute was made: yet the making of the statute importeth no necessary probatiō of the preface alwaies to be true that goeth before, which being but a colour to induce the making therof: geueth no force materiall therunto, nor is any necessary part of y^e body of the said statute. * But onely adhereth as a declaration of the circumstance therof, and sometime is cleane omitted and differeth much from the substance of the same. For as statutes in ciuile policie most commonly do tend to a publike end & are generall: so prefaces before statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning therof, are priuate: and do stand only but vpō particular facts, which either of ill will & displeasure may be suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or forfeare may be beleueed, at least suspected, as many suspicious do oftimes rise in princes heads, through false surmises, & malicious cōplaints of certaine euill disposed about them, wherby many cruell lawes rising vpon a false ground, are promulgate to y^e ruine of much innocēt blood. Example wherof we haue not onely in this present statute, * an. 2. Reg. Hen. 5 but also in the like statute, commonly called the statute Ex officio vel de comburendo, made by this kings father and predecessour, an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 5. In the preface of which bloody statute, is contained an other like cōplaint of the Prelates & clergie, not so hainous, as also most shamefully false & vntrue against the poore Lollards, as by the wordes of the complaint may appeare, * beginning: Excellentissimo & Gratosissimo. principi, &c. Wherin, most falsely they slaunders and misreport the true seruants of Christ to be Lollardes, heretiques, subuerterers of the common wealth, destroyers of the Christian faith, enemies to all good lawes, and to the Church of Christ. The words of which statute proceeding much after y^e like course as doth this present statute, may easely bewray the vntruth and false surmise therof, if thou please (gentle reader) to marke and conferre the wordes according as they are there to be read and seene, as followeth: * Conuenticulas & confederationes faciunt, scholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt & informant, & ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, & magnas dissentiones in populo faciunt, & alia diuersa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei cathol. & ecclesiae subuersionem, diuini cultus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status, iurium, & libertatum dictae ecclesiae Anglic. And after a few words: Ad omnem iuris, & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus destruendum, &c. He that is or shall be acquainted with old hystories, * and with the vsuall practises of Sathan the oldenemie of Chrst, from the first beginning of the primitiue Church vnto this present time, shall see this to be no newes, but a common and (as ye would say) a quotidian feuer among Christes children, to be vexed with false accusations, and cruell slaunders.

Nemesion the Egyptian and true Martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a felon? And when that could not be proued,* he was condēned at the same iudgemēt for a Christiā: and therefore being cast into bands, was scourged, by the commandement of the President double to the other felons: & at length was burned with y^e theeues, although he neuer was found thief nor felon vide page. 62.

Against Cyprian in like sort it was slaunderously obiected by Galenus Maximus proconsull: Quòd diu sacrilega mente vixerit, & nephariae sibi conspiracy homines adiunxerit.* That he had long continued with a minde full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered vnto him men of wicked conspiracie, page. 69.

So Iustinus martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens? * Cornelius Byshop of Rome and Martyr, was accused of Decius, quòd ad Cyprianum literas daret contra remp i. That he wrote letters vnto Cyprian against the common wealth vide page. 65.

To consider the lawes and statutes, made by tyrauntes and Emperours in the first persecutions of the primatiue Church, against the innocent seruants of Christ, and to compare the same with the lawes and statutes in this latter persecution vnder Antichrist: * A man shall find, that as they agreed all in like crueltie, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretended causes and crimes deuised. For as then, the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections & rebellions against the Emperours and Empire, for beeing enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infāts, for worshipping the sinne (because they praied toward the East) for worshipping also the head of an Asse,* & diuide pag. 54. 36. vpon the rumors wherof, diuers and sundry lawes and statutes were enacted, some engrauen in brasse, some otherwise wrote, against them: So in this foresaid statute. an. 2. Henr. cap. 5 also, an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. and in such other statutes or inditements made and conceiued against the Lolards: the case is not so strange but it may ceedibly be supposed, that the making therof did rise rather vpō malice & hatred against their religion conceaued, then vpon any iust cause ministred of their partes, whome they did wrongfully charge & accuse. Like as in time of Domitianus, for feare of Dauids stocke,* all the nephewes of Iude the Lords brother in flesh, were accused to the Emperour, page 48. And also the like feare & hatred stirred vp other Emperours, and the Senate of Rome, to proceed with persecuting lawes against the Christian flocke of Christ. Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 21. Whereupon, rose vp those malicious slaunders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongfull accusations against the Christians: so that what crimes soeuer either malice could inuent, or rash suspition could minister, that was imputed against them,* vide page 48.

Not vnlike also it may seeme, that the Pope with hys Prelates fearing and misdoubting least the proceeding of the Gospell preached by these persons should ouerthrowe the state of their maiestie: Did therefore by sinister accusatiuous, inflame the harts of Princes against them, and vnder some colour couert, to shadow their cloked hatred, deuised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serue their purpose.*

This hetherto haue I said as in a generall summe answering to the preamble of the foresayd statute, for the defence of Sir Iohn Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Acton, and other, not as de•ining precisely what was or was not (for here I may say with Haule, that as I was not present at the deed doing, so with him I may also leaue the same at large.) But as one by trasing the footesteps

of the truth, as by all coniectures hunting out in this matter, what is most like, would but onely say my mynde sine strepitu (as Lawyers say) & sine figura iudicij.

Now consequently it followeth, that we descend to the speciall points and particulars of the foresaid preamble: to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarily is to be iudged, either for prose or disprove, of this foresaide Sir Iohn Oldcastle and his felowes.

(A) And first, where the prohome of this statute beginneth with rumours,* congregatiōs, and insurrections, &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forcible entrees or rebellio against y^e king, they would haue made any rumours therof before the deed done: so is it more credibly to be supposed, all these florishes of words to be but words of course, or of office, and to sauer rather of the rāknes of the inditers penne, who disposed either per amplificationem rhetoricam to shew his copy, or els per malitiam Papisticam, to aggrauate y^e crime. And to make mountains of mollhilles, first of rumours maketh congregations, & from congregations riseth vp to insurrections: where as in all these rumours, congregations, & insurrections, yet neuer a blow was geuen, neuer a stroke was stroken, no bloud spilt, no furniture nor instruments of war, no signe of battaile, yea no expresse signification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact described, neither in records, nor yet in any Chronicle. Againe, if these rumours were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tirant, an vsurper of the crowne, the Prince of Priestes, &c. why then be none of these words expressed in their inditements, or left in records? Doth M. Cope thinke for a man to be called a traitour, to be enough, to make him a traytour, vnlesse some euident prose be brought for him to bee so in deed, as he is called? Rumours (sayth he) congregations, and insurrections were made. Rumours are vncertaine: Congregations haue bene and may bee among Christen men in dangerous times for good purposes, and no treason against their princes ment. The terme of insurrections may be added 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 by practise, or surmise of the Prelates and pen men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might adde this rather of their owne gentlenes, then of the others deseruing. Certayne it is and vndoubted, that the Prelates in those dayes being so mightely inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor vtterly idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kinde of practise among the Popish Cleargy, haue not lacked neither before, nor since. Moreouer, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection [Page 572](#) against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason: How chaunceth then, that the whole body of the statute folowing after the said preface or preamble, runneth in all the parts and braunches thereof both in maner of arrest, of inditement, information, request, allowance of officers, cognisance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c. vpon cases of heresie and not of treason, as by particular tractation shall be (Christ willing) declared.

*And for so much as these men be so greuously accused of Alanus Copus, for congregating & rising against their K. & the whole Realme, if I had so much laysure to defend, as he hath pleasure to diffame: Here might be demaunded of him, to keepe him some further pley (touching this mighty insurrection, where as they came in nūber of xx. thousand against the king) in what order of battaile ray they marched, what Captaines, vnder Captaines, and pety Captaines they had to guide the wyngs, and to lead the army▪ whether they were horsemen, or footemen. If they were horsemen (as is pretensed) what ment they then to resort to the Thicketes neare to S. Gyles

field, which was no meet place for horses to stirre? If they were footemen: how standeth that with the author, which reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreouer, is to be demanded, what insignes or flagges, what shot, what powder, what armour, weapōs, and other furniture of war: also what treasure of money to wage so many, to y^e nūber of xx. thousand, what trumpets, drommes, & other noise necessary for y^e purpose they had. All these preparations for such an enterprise is requisite & necessary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well sought, it would be found at lēgth, that in stead of armies and weapon, they were comming onely with theyr bookes, and with Beuerlay their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact (as is before said) so haue I neither certeinly to define vpon theyr case, nor yet M. Cope to exclame against them, vnles peradventure he taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them: That because it was the hoate moneth of Ianuary, the 2. day after the Epiphany, therefore it is like, that Sir Iohn Oldcastle with xx. thousand Lollards. camped together in the fields in al the heate of the wether, to destroy the king and all the nobles, and to make hymselfe Regent of England. And why not as well the King, as regent of England, seeing all the nobles should haue bene destroyed, & he onely left alone to reigne by himselfe?

It followeth more in the preamble of y^e foresaid statute (B) to adnull, destroy, and subuert the Christen fayth, and the law of God, & holy Church, &c. He y^t was the forger & inuēter of this report (as it appeareth to proceed frō the Prelates) seemeth no cunning Daedalus,* nor halfe hys craftes maister in lying for the whetstone. Better he might haue learned of Sinō in Uirgill, more artificially to haue framed and conueied his narration. Which although in no case could sound like any truth, yet some colour of probabilitie should haue bene set vpon it, to giue it some countenance of a like tale. As if he had first declared the L. Cobham to haue bin before in secret cōfederacie with the great Turk, or if he had made him some termagāt or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herode of Iudea, or some Antichrist out of Rome, or some grandpanch Epicure of this world: and had shewed, that he had receiued letters from the great Souldan, to fight against the faith of Christ and law of God, then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said Sir Iohn Oldcastle with his sect of heresie, went about to adnull, destroye, and subuert the Christian faith, and law of God within the Realme of England, &c.

But now, where will either he or M. Cope finde men so mad to beleue, or so ingenious y^t can imagine this to be true: that the Lord Cobham (being a Christian) and so faithfull a Christiā, would or did euer cogitate in his mind to destroy and adnull the faith of Christ in the Realme of England? What soeuer the report of this pursuant or preface saith, I report me vnto the indifferent Reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? That he which before through the reading of Wickliffes works, had bene so earnestly cōuerted to the law of God, who had also approued himselfe such a faithfull seruant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ he being examined and tried before the Prelates, page. 553. not only ventred his life: but stood constant vnto the sentence of death,* defined against him: being a cōdemned and a dead man by law, Et qui, quantum ad eius deuotionem pertinet & timorem, passus sit, quicquid pati potuit, who had as much as to deuotion and feare appertained, suffered already what he might or could suffer, as Cyprian said by Cornelius. That he (I say) which a little before in the moneth of September, stode so constant in defence of Christes faith, would now in the moneth of Ianuary rise to destroy, adnull, & subuert Christes faith, and the law of God, and holy Church within the Realme of England?

How can it be not like only but possible to be true that he which neuer denied the faith: which euer confessed the faith so constantly, which was for the same faith condemned: yea and at last also burned for the faith, would euer fight against the faith, and law of God, to adnull and to subuert it? Let vs proceed yet further, and see when that he should haue to destroyed and adnulled the Christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he or did he entend to bring into the realme of England? The Turks faith? or the Iewes faith? or the Popes faith? or what faith else, I pray you? For he that will be an enemie to the faith of Christ, and will shew himselfe frend to no other faith beside, I accompt him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C)And therefore euen as it is true,* that sir Iohn Oldcastle with his cōfederates & abertours were vp in armes to subuert, and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in y^e realme of England: so by the like truth it may be estemed, that y^e same persons rose also to destroy their soueraigne Lord the king and his brethren. First thanks be to God, that neither the king, nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy his soueraigne Lord the king. Whereunto I aunswere, with this interrogatorie, whether his intent was priuily to haue destroyed him, or by op^e force of armes? If priuily, what needeth then such a great army of xx. thousand men to atcheue y^e secret feate? Rather I would think, that he needed more the help of such as were neare about the king: as some of the kinges priue chamber, or some of his secret counsaile: whereof, neither Chronicle nor record doth insinuate any mention.* If his intent was openly to inuade the kyng: You must vnderstand (M. Cope) that to withstand a king in his owne Realme, many thinges are required, long time, great preparation, many frendes, great assistance, and ayd of kindred, money, horse, men, armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

Earle Godwin of Westfaxe,* who had married Canutus daughter being a man both ambitious, and as false a traitour, for al his sixe sonnes, and great alliance, yet durst not set vpon king Edward to inuade him within his Realme, although he sought manye occasions so to do, yet neuer durst enterprise openly, that which his ambition so greedely presumed vnto, page 163.

In the time of King Henry the third,* Symon Montford Earle of Glocester, Gilbert Clare Earle of Leicester, Humfrey Rone Earle of Ferrence, with a great number of Lords and Barons, thought themselves to haue great right on their sides, yet durst not for all their power openly assaile the King in his Realme, before great debatemēt and talke first had betweene, page 330.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was in the realme against king Edward the second,* among the peres and nobles and also prelates (only Walter Bishop of Couentry except) first for Gaueston, then for the Spensers, at what time Thomas Earle of Lancaster, Guido Earle of Warwike, with the most part of al other Earles and Barons concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gaueston, then of the Spensers, yet neither rashly, nor without great feare durst stirre vp warre in the land, or disquiet or vexe the king, but first by all meanes of moderate counsaile, and humble petition, thought rather to perswade, then to inuade the king, page 308.

In like maner,* and with like grudging mindes, in the reigne of King Richard. 2. Thomas Wodstocke Duke of Glocester the kings vncle, with the Earles of Arundell, of Warwike, and Darby, with the power almost of the whole commons, stood vp in armes against the king: And

yet notwithstanding all their power ioined together, being so great, and their cause seming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy, straightwayes to flee vpon the king, but by way of Parliament thought to accomlishe that which their purpose had conceiued, and so did, without any warre striking against the king, page. 513.

After King Richard. 2. was deposed,* and was in prison yet liuing, diuers noble men were greatly inflamed against K. Henry the fourth, as Sir Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington, Thomas Spenser Earle of Glocester, y^e Earles likewise of Kent, and of Salisbury, with sir Iohn Cheney & other mo, wherof diuers had beene Dukes before, & now deposed by King Henry. 4. although they had conceiued in their harts great grudge and malice against the said King Henry: yet had they neither hart nor power openly with mans force to assaile the king, but secretly were cōpelled to atchieue their conceiued intēt, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish, Ex hist. D. Alban.

[Page 573](#) Thus, you see Maister Cope, or els maister Harpsfield, or whatsoeuer ye be,* to gainstand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his owne land, and in his owne chamber of London, where he is so sure and strong, what a matter of how great cheuance it is, wherin so many and so great difficulties do lye, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so vncertaine, the furniture of so manie things required, that feare in any kings daies heretofore, any peeres or nobles of the Realme, were they neuer so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsaile, yet either were able, or els well durst euer enterprise vpon the case so dangerous, notwithstanding were they neuer of themselues so far from all feare of God, and true obedience. And shal we then thinke, or cā we imagine (maister Cope) that Syr Iohn Oldcastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of Gods word, beyng but a poore Knight by his degree, hauing none of all the peeres and nobles in all the world to ioyne with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a litle before in the moneth of December, could now in the moneth of Ianuary, so sodenly, in such an hoat season of the yeare, start vp an army of xx. thousand fightyng men to inuade the kyng, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to adnulle Christen fayth, to destroy Gods law, and to subuert holy Church <◇> why doth not he adde moreouer, to set also all London on fire, and to turne all England into a fishe poole? Belieue these men which geue out these •igmentes of Syr Iohn Oldcastle, dyd thinke him to be one of Deucations stocke, who castyng of stones ouer his shoulder, could by and by make men at his pleasure, or els that he had Cadmus teeth to sowe, to make so many harnest men to start vp at once.

But let vs consider yet further of these xx. M. souldiours so sodenly without wages,* without vitall, or other prouision cōgregated together, what they were, frō whēce out of what quarter, cuntry, or cōtreys they came. In an other kyngs dayes, whensoever any rebelliō is against the king, moued by the commons, as when Iacke Straw and wat Tyler of Kent, & Essex rose in the tyme of kyng Richard 2. When William Mandeuill of Abingdon, Iack Cade of Kent, in the tyme of kyng Henry the 6. In the tyme of kyng Henry the 8. when the cōmotion was of rebels in Lyncolnshyre, then in Yorkeshyre. When in kyng Edward the 6. tyme Humfrey Arundell in Deuonshyre, Captaine Kyte in Northfolke made styre against y^e king,* the cōtreys & partes from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also diffaimed. In this so trayterous cōmotion therfore let vs now learne, what mē these were, and from what cōtreys or countreys in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chroniclers declare what countreys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Outopia, where

belike this pigment was first forged, and inuented. Wherefore seyng neither the countreys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these xx. M. doe appeare what they were either in Chronicle or in recorde, but remaine altogether vnknownen, I leaue it (gentle reader) to thy iudgement, to thinke thereupō, as thy wisdomē shall lead thee.

(D) It foloweth more in the foresaid preface: And to destroy all other maner of estates,* of the same Realme of England, as well spirituall as temporall, &c. By y^e course of this preamble it appeareth, that the sayd sir Iohn Oldcastle, was a wonderfull cruell tirant and murderer, who being not yet satisfied with the bloud of the king, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would also make hauoke and swepestake, of all maner of estates in the Realme of England. What, & leaue no maner of estate aliue? No, neither Lord spiritual nor temporall, but altogether should be destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserably to be destroyed? Although percase the moode of this mā might haue bene incensed & kindled against the king, and the Lords spiritual, by whom he had bene cōdemned, as is aforesaid: yet why should all other maner of other estates both spiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the estates in Englād, neither Duke, Earle, Baron, Lord, Knight or other gentleman had bene his frend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he hauing all the estates, peeres, nobles, and gentlemen of the Realme against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotiō against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman onely with sir Roger Acton, and maister Browne left alone? At least, good reasō yet would, that those hundreth Knightes should haue bin spared out of this bloody slaughter, whom he offred to produce vnto the king before, for his purgation, page. 159. And finally, if this was his purpose that all these estates both spiritual & temporall should haue bin cut down, what needed then that he should haue made himselfe a Regent, when hee might as well haue made himselfe a king, or what else he would, being left then Prince alone?

(E) The preamble as it began with vntruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one vntruth vpon another: so now endeth with another misreport as vntrue as the rest, shewing & declaring, the intent of sir Iohn Oldcastle was also to destroy all maner of policie, & finally the lawes of y^e land, &c. We read of William Cōquerer,* otherwise named William Bastard: who being a puisant Duke in his countrey, whē that the crown of Englād was allotted to him, and he cōming ouer with all his peres, nobles, & barons of his whole land, into this Realme, & had with great difficulty obtained victorie against king Harold: yet to alter and destroy the policy and the lawes of the land: it passed his power. Insomuch that it had not bin permitted vnto him to haue proceded so far as he did, vnlesse he had first sworne to the nobles of this lande, to retaine still the lawes of King Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forsware himselfe, breaking his othe in altering and changing many of the foresaid lawes, yet wild he, nild he, could not so destroy them all (for the which much war and great commotiōs endured long after in the Realme) but that he was constrained and also contented to allow and admit a great part of the said lawes of king Edward, page. 167. And if he being king and Conquerour with all his strength of Normands and Englishmen about him, was too weake and insufficient to destroy all maner of policie, and lawes of this land, which he had conquered: how much lesse then is it to be supposed, that Sir Iohn Oldcastle being put a priuate subiect, and a poore Knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of al Lords, Earles, and Barons, who to saue his owne life, had more to do, then he could well compasse, would either take in hand, or conceiue in his head anye such exployt, after the subuersion of Christian faith, and law of God, after the slaughter of the king, and of all maner

of estates, as well spirituall as temporall, in the Realme of England, after the desolation of holy Church, to destroy also all maner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seeme to M. Cope, or to some other late Chroniclers of the like credulitie, I can not tell: Certaine to me, and as I thinke to all indifferent readers it appeareth as true, as is the Uerse of the Satyre, wherewith it may well be compared.

Nil intra est oleam,* nil extra est in nuce duri.

But heere will be sayd again perhaps, that the matter of such preambles and prefaces being but pursuantes of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggreuate, and to geue a shew of a thing, which they would to seeme more odible to the people, is not so precisely to bee scande or exquisitely to be stand vpon, as for the ground of a necessary case of trouth.

This is it (M. Cope) that I saide before,* and now doo well grant & admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lyned with a non sequitur, containyng in them matter but of surmise, and wordes of course (and rather monsters out of course) and many tymes rising vpon false informatiō, are not alwayes in themselues materiall, or necessary probatiōs in all pointes to be followed: as appeareth both by this statute, & also by the statute of this kynges father. an. 2. Heur. 4. chap. 15. beginnyng Excellentissimo. &c.* And yet notwithstanding out of these same preambles, & forefrontes of statutes, & other inditementes, which cōmonly rising vpō matter of informatiō,* runne onely vpō wordes of course of office, and not vpō simple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do oftē take their matter, which they insert into their stories, hauyng no respect or examination of circumstaunces to be compared, but onely following bare rumours, or els such wordes as they see in such fablyng prefaces, or inditementes expressed. Whereby it commeth so to passe,* that the younger Chronicler followyng the elder, as the blind leadyng the blind, both together fall into the pit of errour. And you also (maister Cope) followyng the steppes of the same, do seeme likewise to erre together with them, for good felowshyp. And thus concernyng the face of this statute hetherto sufficiently.

Now let vs cōsider and discusse in like maner, first the coherence, then the particular contentes of the said statute. As touchyng the which coherence, if it be well examined, a mā shall finde almost a Chimera of it. In which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the braunches of the statute well agree with themselues. Wherein he that was the drawer,* or first informer thereof, seemeth to haue forgot his Uerse and art Poeticall.

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,

Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo.

[Page 574](#)For where as the preface of the statute standeth onely vpon matter of treason, conceiued by false suggestion and wrong information. The body of the sayd statute whiche should follow vpō the same, runneth onely vpō matter of heresie, pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by euery braūche therof may appeare.

(E)For first where he sayth, at the instaunce & request of the ordinaries or their cōmissaries,* &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treasō, nor felony. For that euery man of duety is

boūd, and by the lawes of the Realme may arrest & apprehend a traitour, or a felō, if he cā: where otherwise by this statute an officer is not bound to arrest him which offēdeth in case of this statute, without request made by the ordinaries or their commissaries, and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason, nor felonie.

(G) Secondly, where it foloweth that the same ordinaries and commissaries doe pay for their costes, &c. This allowance of the officers charges in this sort, proueth this offence neither treason nor felonie.

(H) Thirdly, where the statute willeth the king to bee answered of the yeare, day, & wast, &c. By this also is proued the offence not to be treason. Or els in cases of treason, the whole inheritance (I trow, maister Cope, speaking as no great skilfull lawyer) is forfait to the prince.

(I) The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, where as such lands and tenements which be holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholly to remaine to the king as forfait, &c. wherby it is manifest, that the Prelates (for their matter of Lollardie onely) were the occasioners and procurers of this statute: and therefore were barred of the benefite of anye forfeitising thereby, as good reason was, they should. And thus it is notorius, that the preface running specially and principally vpon treason, and the statute running altogether vpon points of heresie, do not well cohere nor ioine together.

(K) Fiftly, In that such persons indited, shal be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, &c. It can not bee denied, but that this offence concerneth no maner of treason. For so much as Ordinaries can not be iudges in cases of treason, or felonie, by the lawes of our Realme, Bracton, in fine. 1. Libri.

(L) Sixtly, by the inditements prouided not to be taken in euidence, but onely for information, before the Iudges spirituall, &c. it is likewise to be noted: to what end these inditements were taken, to wit, only to informe the ordinaries, which can not be in cases of treason.

(M) Lastly, where it foloweth toward the end of y^t statute, touching escape or breaking of prison, &c. by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all y^e purpose of this statute driueth, that is, to the speciall escape of the L. Cobham out of y^t Tower,* to this end to haue his lands & possessiōs forfait vnto the King. And yet the same escape of the Lord Cobham in this statute considered, is taken by Maister Iustice Stanford in Lib. primo of the plees of the crowne cap 33. to be an escape of one arrested for heresie, where he speaketh of the case of the Lord Cobham.

Moreouer as touching the partes of this foresaid statute, how will you ioine these two braunches together, where as in the former part is said, that the lands of such persons connict, shall be forfait to the king, not before they be dead: And afterward it foloweth, that their goodes and possessions shall be forfait at the day of their arrest, to that king. But heerein standeth no such great doubt nor matter to be weied. This is without all doubt, and notoriously, euidently, and most manifestly may appeare, by all the arguments and whole purport of the statute: that as well the preamble and preface thereof,* as the whole body of the said statute was made, framed, & procured onely by and through the instigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates, & the Popish Cleargie, not so much for any treason committed against the king: but only for feare and

hatred of Lollardy, tending against their law, which they more dreded & abhorred, then euer any treasō against the Prince. And then to set the king & all the states against them, whereby the more readily to worke their dispatch, they thought it best and none so compendious a policie,* as pretely to ioine treason together with their Lollardry. Wherein the poore men beeing once intangled, coude no wayes escape destruction. Papae concilium callidum.

This M. Cope, haue I said, and say againe, not as one absolutely determining vpon the matter. At the dooyng wherof as I was not present my selfe, so with your owne Halle, I may and do leaue it at large, but as one leadyng the reader by all coniectures and arguments of probabilitie and of due circumstances, to consider with themselves, what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practises and proceedings of these prelates. Protesting moreouer (M. Cope) in this matter to you, that those Chroniclers which you so much ground vpon, I take them in this matter, neither as witnesses sufficient, nor as Iudges competent. Who as they were not themselves present at the deed done, no more then I, but onely folowing vncertaine rumours, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certaine triall of that which they do affirme, may therein both be deceiued themselves, and also deceiue you, and other which depend vpon them.

And hetherto concerning this statute enough. Out of which statute you see (M. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great aduantage, to proue any treason in the Lord Cobham or in his felowes, as hath bene hetherto abundantly declared in the premisses.*

It remaineth further, that for asmuch as you in your fixt Dialogue with your author Edward Halle, do alledge the records Et publica iudicij Acta, to dissame these men for traytours (although what records they be, you bring forth neuer a word) I therefore in their defence do answere for them, whiche can not now aunswere for themselves. And because you, to accuse them do mention a certaine recorde, and yet do not shew vs what record it is, and peraduenture can not, if ye would: I haue taken the paines therfore, for the loue of them whom you so hate, to search out such Recordes, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first will declare the commission granted, then the inditement commensed against them.

The which commission, and inditement, albeit in countenance of words will seeme to minister much suspition against them, to the simple Reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtile dealings and practises of Prelates: yet trusting vpon the goodnesse of the cause, which I see here so falsely and sleightly to be handled, I nothing feare nor doubt, to produce the same out of the Records in Latine as they stand: to the intent that when the craftie handling of the aduersaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicitie of the innocent, to the true harted Reader, shall the more better appeare. The words first of the Commission, here folow vnder written: which when thou shalt heare, let thē not trouble thy minde, gentle reader, I besech thee, before thou vnderstand further, what packing and subtile conueyance lieth couered and hid vnder the same.

In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

R. Dilectis & fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlak,*Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croiomere maiori Ciuitatis suae London. Hugoni Huls, Iohanni Preston, & Ioanni Mertin salutem. Sciatis quòd cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeste dinoscatur, quòd quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alij mortem nostram contra ligeanciae suae debitum

proditorie imaginauerunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicae, quàm status dominorum & magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt, ac diuersas congregationes, & alia conuenticula illicita pro nephando proposito suo in hac parte per implend. secerunt in nostri exheredationem ac Regni nostri destructionem manifestam: Nos huiusmodi Lollardos ac alios praedictos, iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes: assignauimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres vestrum, quorum vos praefati maior & Hugo, duos esse volumus Iustic. nostros, ad inquirend. per sacrum proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate praedicta & suburbij eiusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infr. libertates, quam extr. per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus & singulis prodicionibus & insurrectionibus per huius modi Lollardos in ciuitate, suburbij, & com predictis factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnimodo prodicionibus insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonij in ciuitate, suburbij, & com. praedictis, per quosunque, & qualitercunque factis siue perpetratis, & ad easdem prodiciones insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni nostri. Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ad hoc prouideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones & premissa omnia & singula audiat & terminetis in forma praedicta facturi, &c. Saluis, &c. Mandauimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. eius seire fac. venire facietis coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot &c. de Balliua sua, tam infr. libertates, quam extra per quos &c. & inquire. In cuius &c. T.R. apud Westm. (B) x. die Ianuarij.*Peripsum Regem.

By these high and tragicall wordes in this commission sent downe against the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and their felowes: It may peradventure seeme to the ignorant and simple reader, some hainous crime of treason [Page 575](#) to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the Church, the kyng & their countrey. But what cannot the fetchyng practise o• the Romish Prelates bring about, where they haue once conceiued a malice? Wherefore maruel not (good trader) at this, nor iudge thou accordinge to the woordes which thou hearest. But suspēd thy iudgemēt a while, till the matter be more opened vnto thee. Exāples of like h•d̄ling be not so rare, but y^u maist soone iudge by other tymes the like also of these. George Egle, of whom mētion was made before, did but preach in time of Queene Mary, an• yet cōmissiō was directed against him, as in case of raising vp a cōmotion against y^e Queene. Adā Damlip in Cahce did but preach,* & y^e receiuing of one poore crowne 2. yeares before at Rome was inough to make him a traitor▪ In the time of K• Henry y^e 8• on• Singleton chaplein to Queene Anne, the Queenes maiesties mother that now is, did but preach 〈◇〉 Gospel, moued by zeale (as I haue credible witnes of his owne, scholer that heard him speake it being w^t him)▪ & ye•, by vertue of cōmission it was obiected to hym: for raysing vp commotion agaynst the kyng, yea and also for killing of Pakington, & suffered for the same as a traytor. So here, what matter or maruell is it, if the kyng •censed, or rather circumuented by the wrong information of the Prelates (whom he beleued) gaue out his cōmission, agaynst thynges neuer wrought nor thought.

Wherefore I exhort thee (Christian Reader) as I sayd before, iudge not by and by the truth, by the wordes of the Commissiō: but iudge the wordes rather of the Commission by the truth. Neither measure thou the lyne by the stone: But the stone rather by the line. At least yet differ thy sentence, till both the Commission and the Inditemēt beyng layd together, thou mayest afterward see and perceiue more, what is to be iudged in the case.

In the meane season marke well these wordes of the kyng in this Commission,^{*}(A) Cum nos plenius informe•ur &c. By the which wordes it is easie to be vnderstand, that the kyng himselfe had no certaine knowledge thereof, but onely by information of others, (of Byshops no doubt & Prelates) & thereupon gaue forth his Commission aforesayd. And then how will this stand with our Chroniclers & other Epitomes and Summaries whō Maister Cope doth alledge. For if it be certaine that Robert Fabiā sayth, that the kyng himselfe beyng in the field tooke certayne of them, as Syr Roger Acton, Maister Browne, and Iohn Beuerlay,^{*} & your owne Edw. Hall, also & your Epitome agreeth to the same, and sayth moreouer that they were brought before y^r kynges presence. Tho. Couper also whō you alledge, addeth further and sayth, that the kyng there by strength dyd take them.

I pray you (Maister Cope) what needed the kyng to write this by information, when as he both himselfe was present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witnesse of the deede? The which and if it be true, that the kyng heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your Chronicos and your Epitomas. But herein I will neither greatly sticke with you, nor contend with them: Desiring thee Reader this onely to beare in mynde the date of this present Commission when it was geuen,^(B) which soundeth to be the x. day of Ianuary, & afterward to compare the same with the date of Inditemēt here vnder followyng, whiche I will (the Lord willyng) also hereunto annexe, leauyng nothyng out: Yea rather ministryng to the aduersary all manner of helpes, whatsoeuer they can seeke or require for their most aduauntage in this matter, to be desired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men nor fearing whatsoeuer blind malice can cauill agaynst them.

The Inditement of the Lord Cobham, Syr Roger Acton and others, with notes followyng vpon the same.

PARliamēta coronae corā domino rege apud Westm. de termino sancti Hillarij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti, post cōque. primo Rot. vij. inter parliamēta regis. Alias corā Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Gulielmo Crowmere maiore ciuitatis London, Hugone Huls & socijs Iustic. domini regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborū & legal. hominū de ciuitate domini regis Lōdon, & suburbij eiusdē, ac de Com. Midd. tā infra libertates, quā extra de ōnibus et singulis prodicionibus & insurrectionibus, per quāplures subditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, et alios in ciuitate, suburbij, et com. predictis factis et perpetratis, nec non de ōnibus prodicionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, et felonij in ciuitate, suburbij, et com. pred. per quoscunque et qualitercun{que} factis, siue perpetratis, et ad easdē prodiciones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, et felonias audiend. et terminand. secundū legē et consuetudinē regni domini regis Angliae, per literas ipsius domini Regis patētes, assign. apud west. die Mercurij ^(A) proximo post festū Epiphaniae domini ano regni nī regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo,^(B) per sacram. xij. Iur. extitit presenta•ū: quod Ibbarnes Oldcastle de Coulyng in Com. Ran•ich•et alij Lollardi y•ulgar nuncupat. qui cōtra fidē catholicam diuersas opiniones hereticas, et alios errores manifestos legi catholicae repugnantes a di• temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones et errores praedictos manute•ere, at in facto minime perimplere valentes, quandiu regia potestas er tam st•us regal. dou•i•• nost•i regis, quā status et officiū prelaciae dignitatis infra regnū Angl•m prosperitare perseuerarēt falso et proditorie machi••ndo, tā statum regni▪ quā statum et officium praelatorū, nec•on ordines religiosorū infra dictū regnū Angl. peni•us adnullare. Ac dominum

nostrū regē, fra•res suos, prelatos, et alios magnat•s •iusde• regni interficere, necnō viros religiosos, relict. cult. 〈◇〉 et religiosus obseruancijs ad occupationes mūdanas pro••care, et ta ecclesias cathedrales, quam alias ecclesias et domos religio•as de rel•quis et alijs bonis ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliareacfūdus ad terrā prosternere, et dictum Iohānē Oldcastel, (C) Regente• esusdem regni constituere, et quā plura regimina secun 〈◇〉 eor••i voluntate infra regnum praedictum (D) quasi gens sine capite in finale destructionē, tamsidei catholicae et cleri quā status et maiestatis dignitatis regal, infra idē regnum ordinare, falso et proditorie ordinauerunt et proposuerunt, quod ipse insimul cū quāpluribus rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerum vigniti millium hominū de diuersis partibus regni Angl. modo guerrino ariuat. (F) priuatim insurgent. et die Mercurij proximo (G) post festū Epiphaniae domini anno regni regis predicti predicto apud villā et parochiam sancti Egigij (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodā magno campo ibidem. vna•imi•. conuenirent et insimul obuiarent pro nephando p•oposito suo in premissis perimplend quo quide die Mercurij apud villā et parochiā predictas predicti I Oldcastel et alij in hñodi proposito pro ditorio perseuerantes, predictum dominū nostrum regem, fratres suos, videlicet, (H) Thomam ducem Clarenciae, Iohannem de Lancastre, & Humfredum de Lancastre, necnon prelatos & magnates predictos interficere, necnon ipsum dominum nostrum Regem & heredes suos de regno suo predicto exheredare, & premissa omnia & singula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falso & proditorie proposu erunt & imaginauerunt (I) & ibidē versus campum predictū modo guerrino arriati. proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitauerunt ad debellandū dictū Dominum nostrū Regē, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti suissent. Quod quidē inditament Dominus Rex nunc, certis de causis coram eo ventre fecit terminandū. Per quod preceptum suit vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet prefatum Iohannem Oldcastle, si &c. Et saluo &c. Ita quod haberet corpus eius coram Domino Rege, apud Westmonasteriū ad hunc diē, scilicet die Mercurij proximo post octauas sancti Hillarij isto eodem termino ad respondendū Domino Regi de premissis &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram domino Rege vic. quod exigifaceret eum de com. in com. quousque vtlagetur si non &c. Et si &c. tunc eum caperet, & saluo &c. Ita quod haberent corpus eius coram Domino Rege in octauas Sancti Iohannis Baptiste ex tunc proximū sequē. vbicunque &c. ad respondendū domino Regi de prodicionibus, & felonijs superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octauas sancti Iohannis Baptiste, an. regni R. Henrici quinti post cōquestum secūdo, Iohanne Sutton, & Io. Michell vic. Mid. corā domino Rege returnauerūt quod ad com. Midd. centū apud Braynford die Iouis proximo ante festum S. Barnabae Apostoli, an. reg. R. Hen. quint. post cōquestū secundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes predictus Iohannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non cōparuit. Et quia ad nullū eorundē com. cōparuit. Ideo presentibus coronatoribus com. predicti vtlagat• fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis suis.

Notes or considerations vpon the Inditement and Commission aboue prefixed.

(A) Die Mercurij proximo post festū Epiphaniae. &c.* First here is to be noted & considered (good reader) the day and date of geuing out the Commission, & then of the Verdict presented by the Iurers, which was both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, in the first yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry 5. which was the x. day of the moneth of Ianuary (as the date of the Commission sayth) an. 1413. after the vse of Englād, or after the Romish vse. an. 1414. So that after the vse euer we count whether it be an. 1413. or els an. 1414. the Dominicall letter begynning at the first day of Ianuary to chaūge, must needes be G. for the yeare: & so

necessarily make Wednesday next after the Epyphanie, to be the x. day of the sayd moneth of Ianuary. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the moneth, being well noted and borne in minde, on the which day both the Commission was directed, & also the Verdict presented, let vs now proceede further [Page 576](#) in the foresayd Iuditement. It foloweth.

(B) Per Sacramētum xij. iuratorum extitit praesentatum. &c. If there had bin true dealing in this,* the Iurers should haue bene named. But it is not like, that there was euer any such Inditement found by any Iurers, and therefore they did best, not to name the Iurours, least they would haue denied this Iuditement to be their Acte: it foloweth more in proces of the Inditement.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcastel Regentem Eiusdem regni constituere.*&c. If there were no other argument, this were sufficient to disprove the manifest vntruth of this surmised Inditement. When as the king was not yet gone to Fraunce, nor determined to go, how could they conspire then to make a Regent? For the king went in Iuly folowing, vidz. the second yeare of his raigne, leauing behinde him the Queene his mother in law, for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was vntruly entred and stolen into the Records with an antedate, or els at the least, there appeareth manifest vntruth, that they should conspire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought vpon, vnlesse it were all ready run into the heads of the Cleargie, who shortly after fearing their temporalities (as Caxton saith) perswaded the King to make warres in Fraunce. This word Regent therefore proceedeth of the secret spirit of the Cleargy, and maketh the whole matter very suspicious, to be grounded altogether vpon the malice of the Cleargie, and their vntrue surmises. It foloweth moreouer.

(D) Quasi gens sine capite in finalem destructionem. &c. Now doth this stand with that goeth before,* that they conspired to make a Regent, except you will say that to make a Regent is to be a people without an head? It foloweth.

(E) Cum quam pluribus rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum.*&c. A straunge matter that they should knowe of the conspiracie of twentie thousand, and yet knowe of no moe names of the rebels, but the Lord Cobham onely, or one or two mo. And all the rest were ignoti.

(F) Priuatim insurgentes. &c. This smelleth of the Cleargies owne penning,* without any great aduise of learned counsaile: for otherwise such as had bene herein skilfull, would neuer haue put in priuatim insurgentes.

(G) Die Mercurij proximo post festum Epiphaniae D. anno R.R. praedicto,*&c. This Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, was the x. day of the moneth of Ianuary, and the same day when both the conspiracie was put in execution, and the same day when the commission was giuen out to enquire, also when the fact was by enquirie presented. Whereby it may seeme a strange thing that so great a conspiracy knowne beforehand, was not suppressed nor enquired of by any commission, but ouely by a commission bearing date of the same day, vpon which day by the purport of the Inditement, the conspiracie should haue bene put in execution, by open rebellion, as it is aforesayd.

(H)Praedictum D. nostrum Regem fratres suos videl. Thomam Ducem Clarentiae, *Ioannem de Lancastre, & Humfredum de Lancastre, &c. If the kings learned counsaile had dealt in this Inditement, as in case of treason they should haue done, if it had bene a matter of truth, they would neuer haue handled it so slenderly, and wrongly, as to name the Dukes of Bedford, and of Gloucester: Iohn of Lancaster, and Dumfrey of Lancaster, who were made Dukes in the 13. yeare of the raigne of King Henry the fourth their father, as appeareth by Caxtones Chronicle.

(I)Et ibidem versus campum praedictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie modo insurrectionis, *contra ligeantias suas equitaerunt ad rebellandum dictum D. nostrum regem, &c. This is falsified by plaine euidence of histories. And Cope hymselfe confesseth no lesse. For he so sayth and confesseth page line That Sir Iohn Oldcastle was not there in person, but onely, that his consent and good will was there.

*Againe, seeing this equitation or riding toward Saint Giles field was vpon the Wednesday next after the feast of Epiphany (as in this Inditement and processe of outlawry is aboue testified) which was the tenth daye of Ianuary, and commission also the same day was charged, and the Iewry moreouer impanelled the same daye, & yet no Iewrer named: Item, the verdict the same day presented, how all these can concurre together, and all in one day, let the reader after he haue well considered the matter, vse his iudgement therin, not only whether it be like, but also whether it be possible.

Ouer and beside all this it is to be noted, that if thys matter had bene truely and duly handled, * as touching the reason, then had it not bene needefull to haue brought sir Iohn Oldcastle into the Parliament house, * before the Lords to haue had his iudgement. For by the outlawrie (if it had bene true) he was <◇>, and without ame more adde should hau• had iudgement in the Kings Bench as a Traytor. But the chiefe Iustice knowing the handling of the matter, durst not belike enterprise so far. Wherefore i• was deuised, that he should certifie the record <◇> the <◇>, which he did together, with the Bishops <◇> filed to the •ecord, which was verie strange.

And thereupon the Lords gaue such a iudgement, as was not due for a Traytor. For that they gaue no iudgement, that he should be drawne, hanged, and set downe aliue, and then <◇> we•led and quar•ered, which is the iudgement of a Traytor. And albeit the Parliament might haue attainte• him without any more ado: And by the same Act of atteinder haue ordeined a speciall iudgement, as they should thinke good: yet when hee was before atteinted by the outlawrie, they could not lawfully varie from the common iudgemēt of •reason. At least how could or should the iudgement of Sir Roger Acton, Maister Browne, and Iohn Beuerley, who were iudged in the Buildhall before and without the Parliament, vary from the said common iudgement of Traytors, if they had truly committed, and bene conuicted of such high treason?

Adde this moreouer to the foresaid Notes: that if Sir Iohn Oldcastle after his escape out of prison, * had bene culpable and so atteinted of that high treason, wherby his lands had bene immediately forfait vnto the King by the processe of his outlawry: What needed the king then in the second yeare of his raigne, in the Parliament after holden at Leycester, haue made that prouiso to haue his lands forfaite to him by vertue of Parliament, vpon his escape on the day of his arest: when as the lands and cattaile of his had bene forfeite before, by the processe of the outlawry, as is before specified?

Thus you see (Maister Cope) how little aduantage you can wrast out of this Commission and inditement against the Lord Cobham and his fellowes to proue them traytors. And admit the said Lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the Acte, and that the King, the Lordes, and the Commons assented to the Act: yet it hindeth not in such sort (as if in deed he were no Traytour) that anye man may not by search of the truth vtter and set forth sincerely and iustly the very true cause whereby his death hapt and followed.

Thus then hauing sufficiently cleared the Lord Cobham and his parteners,* from all that you can object vnto them out of records and statutes: let vs now come to your English Chroniclers, wherwith you seeme to presse me, & to oppresse them whome ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Halle, Polydor Virgilius, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other briefe Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which authors, as I haue not to say, but to their commendation in this place: so if that you had auouched the same, to the commendation rather then to the reproofe of other, I would better haue commēded your nature, and beleued your cause. But now like a spidercatcher sucking out of euery one, what is the worst, to make vp your leystall, you heape vp a donghill of dirtie Dialogues containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent slanders, manifest vntruths, opprobrious contumelies, & stinking blasphemies, able almost to corrupt & infect y^e aire. Such is the maladie & cacoethes of your pen, y^e it beginneth to barke, before it hath learned well to write. Which pen of yours notwithstanding I do not heere reproch nor contemne, as neither do I greatly feare y^e same. God of his mercy keepe y^e sword out of the Papists hand, it is not the pen of the papists I greatly passe vpō, though xx. Copes, and so many surplusses, were set against the booke of Monuments, were I so disu^sed (Maister Cope) to dally, or as the Breckes do say 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , and to repay againe as I am prouoked. But in despightful railing, and in this Satyricall sort of barking I geue you ouer, and suffer you therin to passe not only your selfe, but also Cerberus himself if ye will,* the great bandog of Pluto. Mildnes and humanitie rather beseemeth and is the grace of the Latine phrase. If ye could hit vpon the vaine therof, it would win you much more honestie, with all honest men. But the Lord hereafter may cal you, which I beseech him to do, and to forgiue you that you haue done.

In the meaue time seeing this your prating pen must nedes be walking, yet this you might haue lerned of these your own authors whom you aledge, more ciuilly to haue rēpered your fume, in exclaiming against thē, whose cause is to you not perfectly known. And now briefly to answer [Page 577](#) to these your foresaide wryters, as witnesses produced against these men:* there be 2. things (as I take it) in these chronicle wryters to be cōsidered: First the groūds which they follow: secondly in what place they serue.

As touching the order and ground of wryting among these Chronicles, ye must consider, and cānot be ignorant that as none of all these by you forenamed,* was present at the deede, nor wnesse of the fact, so haue they nothyng of thēselues herein certainly to affirme, but either must follow publike rumor and hearesay for their autor, or els one of them must borrow of another. Whereof neither seemeth to me sufficient. For as publike rumor is neuer certain: so one author may soone deceiue an other.

By reason whereof it commeth oft to passe, that as these story wryters hit many times the truth, so againe al is not the gospell that they doe wryte.* Wherefore great respect is heere to be had,

either not to credite rashly euery one that wryteth stories, or els to see what groundes they haue whome we doe followe.

Now to demaund (M. Cope) of you, what authoritye or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, hathe Polydore Uirgil, Edward Hal, and other of your authors to prooue these men to be traytors? What authority do they auouch? what actes, what registers, what recordes, or out of what court do they shewe? or what demōstration do they make? And do you thinke it sufficient, because these men doe only affirme it, wythout any further probation, wyth youre 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, therfore we are boūd to beleue it? Take me not so (M. Cope) that I do here diminish any thing or derogate from the credit of those wryters you alledge, whose labors haue deserued well, and serue to great vtilitie: but cōming now to triall of a matter lying in cōtrouersie betwene vs, we are now forced to seeke out the fountaine and bottome of the truthe, where it is not enough to say, so it is, but the cause is to be shewed, why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Uirgile, and Edward Hall,* should all together (as they do not) agree in the treason of sir Iohn Oldcastle and of the rest, yet neither is this any sufficient surety to prooue them traitors. Considering that wryters of stories for most part folowing either blind reporte: or els one taking of an other, vse commonly all to sound together after one tune, tanquam Dodonaei lebetes, so that as one sayth, all say, and if one erre, all do erre. Wherefore you see M. Cope, howe it is not sufficient nor sure to sticke onely to the names and authorities of Chronographers, vnlesse the ground be found substantial wherupon they stand themselues. Which yet in none of these whome you haue produced, doth appeare.

Secondly, in alleaging and wryting of Chronicles is to be considered to what place and effect they serue.* If yee would shew out of them the order & course of times, what yeres were of dearth and of plēty, where kings kept their Christenmasse, what condites were made, what Maiors and shirifes were in London, what battails were fought, what triumphs and great feasts were holdē, when kings began their raigne, and when they ended. &c. In such vulgare and popular affairs, the narration of the Chronicler serueth to good purpose, & may haue his credite, wherein the matter forceth not much, whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to beleue them. But where as a thyng is denied, and in cases of iudgement, and in controuersies doubtfull, which are to be decided and bouted out by euidence of iust demonstration: I take them neither for Iudges of y^e bench, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselues sufficient necessarily to be sticked vnto. Albeit I deny not but hystories are takē many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquitie. &c. yet not such witnesses, as whose testimony beareth alwaies a necessary truth and bindeth beliefe.

The two witnesses whych came against Susanna, being seniours both of auncient yeares, bare a great countenance of a most euidēt testimony, wherby they almost both deceiued the people, & oppressed the innocent: had not yōg Daniel by the holy spirite of God, haue take thē aside, and seuerally examining them one from the other,* found them to be falsliers both, leauing to vs therby a lesson of wholsome circumspection, not rashly to beleue euery one that commeth: and also teaching vs, how to try thē out. Wherefore (M. Cope) following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your records whom ye inferre against these men we wil in like maner examine them, seuerally one frō an other,* and see how their testimonie agreeth: first beginning wyth your Robert Fabian. Which Robert Fabian being neither in the same age, nor at the deede doing, can of himselfe geue no credite herein, without due prooffe, and euidence conuenient.

Now thē doth Rob. Fabian proue this matter of treason true? what probation doeth he bring? what authoritie doth he alleage? And doth Rob. Fabian thinke, if he were not disposed to conceiue of the L. Cobham, and those men a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bounde to beleue him only at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they shuld so do, but only because he so saith and pleased him so to write? And if yee thinke (M. Cope) the word only of this witnes sufficient to make authority speaking against the Lord Cobham, and prouing nothing which followed so many yeres after him: * why may not I as well and much rather take the worde and testimonie of Richard Belward a Northfolke man, and of the towne of Crisam, who liuing both in his time, & possible knowing the party, & punished also for the like trueth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of the church of Norwich, * to geue this testimonie among other his articles, for the foresaid L. Cobham, that is, y^t sir Iohn Oldcastle was a true Catholike man and falsely condemned, and put to death wythout a reasonable cause. &c. Ex Regist. Noruic.

Agaynst this man if you take exception & say, that one hereticke will hold with an other: why may not I with y^e like exception reply to you agayne, & say as well, one Papist hold with an other, and both cōiure together, to make and say the worst agaynst a true Protestant.

Further, yet to examine this foresayd Fabian, witnes agaynst Sir Iohn Oldcastle, as Daniell examined y^t witnesses agaynst Susanna. I will not here aske vnder what tree these adherentes of sir I. Oldcastle conspired agaynst the king, & subuersion of y^t land, but in what time, in what yeare and moneth this conspiracie was wrought? Fabian witnesseth that it was in the moneth of Ianuary. * Cōtrary Edward Hall & other our Abridgementers followyng him, doe affirme that they were condemned in the Guild hall the xij. of December, and that their executiō vpon the same was in Ianuary followyng, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the moneth of Decēber, or els before, & so Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, vt cū Daniele dicam, or if it were in the moneth of Ianuary as Fabian sayth, then is Hall and his followers deceiued, testifying the fact to be done in the moneth of December.

And yet to object moreouer against the sayd Fabiā, * for so much as he is such a rash witnes agaynst these burned persons whom he calleth traytors: it would be demaūded further of him, or in his absence of Maister Cope, in what yeare this treason was conspired? If it were in the same yeare (as he cōfesseth himselfe) in which yeare Iohn Cleidon the Skinner, & Richard Turmine Baker were burned, then was it neither in the moneth of Ianuary, nor in the first yeare of kyng Henry the fift. For in the register of Cāterbury it appeareth playne, that Iohn Claydon was condemned neither in the tyme of Thom. Arundell Archbyshop nor yet in the first nor second yeare of kyng Henry the v. * but was cōdemned in the second yeare of the translation of Henry Chichesly, Archbyshop of Canterbury, the. 17. day of August, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1415. So that if this conspiracie was in the same yeare (after the witnesse of Fabiā) in which yeare I. Cleydon was burned, then doth the testimony of Fabian neither accord with other witnesses, nor w^t him selfe, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witnes of Rob. Fabian.

Let vs next proceede to Polidore Uirgill, whose partiall and vntrue handling of our history in other places of of his bookes, * doth offer vnto vs sufficient exception not to admit his credite in

this. And yet because we will rather examine him, then exclude him, let vs heare a little what he sayth, & how he fayleth, & in how many pointes, numbring the same vpon my fiue fingers.

First ending with the life of king Henry 4. hee sayeth,* that hee raigned 14. 14. yeares and 6. moneths and 2. dayes. Angl. hist. lib. 21. whyche is an vntruth, worthy to be punyshed wyth a whole yeares banishment (to speake after the maner of Apulenis) when as truth is, he raigned by the testimony of the story of S. Albones, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English Chronicle, and of Scala mundi, but 13. & 6. moneths,* lacking as some say 5. dayes, Hal saieth he raigned but 12. yeares.

The second vntruth of Polydore is this,* where as hee speaking of this sedition of sir Iohn Oldcastle and his adherents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, whych was sayeth he An. 1415. in which yere (sayth he) Thomas Arundell died. Hys wordes be these: In eodem concilio damnata est Ioh. Wicliffi haeresis, ac Ioan. Hus, & Hieronymus Pragensis in ea vrbe combusti sunt. Quod vbi reliquis consocijs, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furijs agitati primùm coniurationes in omnes sacerdotes, deinde in regē. &c. In which words he not onely erreth, falsly assigning the cause and occasion [Page 578](#) of this sedition to the death of Iohn Hus, and of Ierome, but also misseth as muche in the order and computation of the yeres. For neither was sir Roger Acton with his foresaid fellowes aliue at the time of the councell, neither doth hee agree therein with any of our English wryters, except onely with Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

For the third and fourth vntruth I note this, where he addeth and sayth, that after this rebelliō raised against the king, the sayd sir Iohn Oldcastel being there present himselfe, was taken and prisoned in the tower, and afterward escaped out of the saide tower by night, wherein is contained a double vntruth. For neither was Sir Iohn Oldcastle there present himselfe, if we beleue Fabian and Cope, Dial. 6. pag. 833 lin 11. nether yet did he euer escape out of the Tower after that conspiracie, if euer any such conspiracie was.

*His v. but not the last vntruth in Polydore is this, that he sayth, Tho. Arundel to haue died in the same yeare, noting the yere to be An. 1415. where as by the true registers he died. An. 1413.

*To this vntruthe an other also may be ioyned, where he erring in the computation of the yeres of the said Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, reporteth hym to sit 33. yeares. Who was there Archbishop but onely 18. yeres, as is to be sene in the recordes of Canterbury. The wordes of Polydore be these: Thomas Arundellius Cantuariensis antistes annum iam tunc sedēs tertium & trigesimum e vita excessit lib. 22. Ang. hist. All be it in thys I doe not greatly contend wyth Polydore, and peraduenture the aduersary will finde some easie shift for thys matter.

But let vs passe now from Polydore, not (as they say) out of the hal into the kitchine,* but out of the kitchine vnto the hall, examining and perpending what sayth Edward Hall an other witnes in this matter: vpon whom maister Cope bindeth so fast, that hee supposeth hys knot is neuer able to be losed. And moreouer so treadeth me downe vnder his feete in the dirt (as a man would thinke hym some dirtdaubers sonne) so that the spots thereof he sayeth, will neuer be gotten out while the world standeth, & a day longer. Notwythstanding I trust M. Cope that your dirtie penne with your cockish brags hath not so bedaubed and bespotted me, nor yet conuicted me to be such

a deprauer of histories, but I hope to sponge it out. At least way, with a little asperges of the Popes holy water, I trust to come to a dealbabor, well enough.

But certes, M. Cope, your maistership must first vnderstand, that if yee thinke so to depresse me, and disprooue me of vntruth in my history, you must go more groūdly to worke, and bring against me other authors then Edward Hal: You must consider (M. Cope) if you will be a cōtroller in storie matters, it is not enoughe for you to bryng a railing spirit, or a minde disposed to carpe and cauil where any matter may be picked, diligence is required, and great searching out of bookes and authors not only of our time, but of all ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church: it is not sufficient to see what Fabian, or what Hall sayth, but the records must be sought, the Registers must be turned ouer, letters also and ancient instruments ought to be perused, and authors wyth the same compared, finally the writers among them selues one to be conferred wyth another. And so wyth iudgement to be waied, wyth diligence to be labored, and wyth simplicitie pure from all addiction and partialitie to be vttered.

Thus did Auentinus, thus did Sleidanus wryte. These helpes also the eldest and best Historicians semed to haue, both Titus Liuius, Salustius, Quintus Curtius, and suche lyke, as by their letters and records inserted may wel appeare. The same helps likewise both in your Fabian and in your Edwarde Hall were to be required,* but especially in you (M. Cope) your selfe, whych take vppon you so cockishly (rather then wisely) to be a controller and maister moderatour of other mens matters. In which matters (to say the truth) you haue no great skil, and lesse experience, neyther haue you either suche plenty of authors meete for that purpose, nor yet euer trauailed to search out the origens & groundes of that whereof ye write. But onely contented with such as commeth next to hande, or peradventure receiuing such almose as some of your poore frends bestowe vpon you, think it sufficient if you can alledge Fabian and Hall for your purpose.

Now what purpose & affection herein doth lead you, rather doeth driue you to the carping and barking against the history of these good men, y^t be hence gone and had their punishment, all men may see it to be no simple sinceritie of a mind indifferent, but y^r zeale only of your sect of Popery, or rather of fury, which setteth your railing spirite on fire. But now out of the fiery kitchen, to come to the hal againe let vs see what matter lyeth in the testimony of Edward Hall, to proue these men to be traytors. And here for so much (Maister Cope) as you seeme neither sufficiently acquainted with this your owne maister and authour Master Hall,* nor yet well experienced in the searchyng out of histories, I wil take a litle paynes for you, in this behalfe, to certifie you concernyng the story of this author, wherof percase you your selfe are yet ignoraunt.

The truth whereof is this, that as the sayd Edwar• Hall, your great master & testis, was about the compiling of his story, certayne there were which resorted to hym of whom some were drawers of his petigree & vineat, some were grauers, the names of whom were Iohn Bets, and Tyrral, which be now both dead. And other there were of the same sodalitie, who ve yet aliue, & were then in y^e house of Richard Grafton, both the Printer of the sayd booke, & also (as is thought) a great helper of the pēning of y^e same. It so befell that as Hall was entring into the story of Syr Iohn Oldcastle, of Syr Roger Acton, & their felowes, the booke of Iohn Bale touching the story of the L. Cobham, was y^e same time newly come ouer. Which booke was priuely cōueied by one of his seruaūts into the study of Hall, so that in turnyng ouer his bookes, it must needes come to his handes. At the sight whereof, when he saw the groūd & reasons in that booke contained, he

turned to the authors in the foresayd booke alledged, whereupon within two nightes after, moued by what cause I know not, but so it was, that hee taking his pen, rased and cancelled all that he had written before,* agaynst Syr Iohn Oldcastle & his fellowes, & was now ready to go to the Print, containyng neare to the quantitie of three pages. And least (M. Cope) you, or any other should thinke me to speake beside my booke, be it therefore knowen both to you and to all other, by these presentes, that the very selfe same first copy of Hall rased and crossed with his owne penne, remaineth in my handes to be shewed & seene, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out came to this effect. Wherein he following the narratiō of Polidore, began with like wordes, to declare how the Sacramētaries here in England, after the death of Iohn Husse, and Hierome of Prage, beyng pricked as he sayth, with a demoniacall sting, first conspired agaynst the Priestes, and after against the king, hauing to their Captaines sir Iohn Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and Syr Roger Acton Knight, with many moe wordes to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore & other such like Chronicles doe write agaynst him. All which matter notwithstanding, the sayd Hall with his penne at the sight of Iohn Bales booke, did vtterly extinct and abolish. Addyng in the place thereof the wordes of M. Bales booke, touchyng the accusation and condemnation of the sayd Lord Cobham, before Thomas Arundell Archbyshop of Canterbury,* taken out of the letter of the sayd Archbyshop, as is in his owne story to be sene. In vita Henr. 5. pag. 2. lin. 30.

And thus Edward Hall your author, reuoking & calling backe all that he had deuised before agaynst the Lord Cobham (whereof I haue his owne hand to shew, & witnes substaūciall vpō the same) in his printed booke recordeth of him no more, but onely sheweth y^e proces betwene the Archbyshop of Cāterbury and him for matters of religion. And so ending with Sir Iohn Oldcastle, proceedeth further to the assemble of sir Roger Actō (whom he falsely calleth Robert Actō) Iohn Browne,* and Beuerley, the narration wherof he handleth in such sort, that he neither agreeth with y^e record of other writers, nor yet with truth it selfe. For where he excludeth the Lord Cobham out of that assemble, he discordeth therein from Polidore and other, And where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracie to be wrought before, or at the xij. day of December: that is manifestly false, if the recordes before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this assemble to be after the burnyng of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with truth. Moreouer, so doubtfull he is and ambiguous in declaration of this story, that no great certaintie can be gathered of him.

First, as touchyng the confession of them, he confesseth himselfe, that he saw it not, & therefore leaueth it at large▪ And as cōcernyng the causes of their death, he leaueth the matter in doubt,* not daring (as doth M. Cope) to define or pronōūce any thing therof, but onely reciteth the furmi|ses and myndes of diuers men diuersly, some thinkyng it was for cōueying the Lord Cobhā out of the tower, some that it was for treason and heresie, and here cōmeth in the mētiō onely of a record, but what record it is neither doth he vtter it, nor doth he examine it: other some againe a••irming (as he sayth) y^t it was for fayned causes surmised by [Page 579](#) the spiritualitye, more of displeasure then trueth. And thus your autor Hall,* hauing recited y^r varietie of mens opinions, determineth himselfe no certaine thing thereof, but as one indifferent, neither boūd to the coniectures of al men, nor to the wrytings of all men, referreth the whole iudgement of the matter free vnto the reader. And so concluding his narratiō forsomuch as he was neither a witnes of the fact, nor present at the dede, he ouerpassest the story therof.

And what witnes then wil you, or can you (M. Cope) take of Edwarde Halle, which denieth himselfe to be a witnesse? Will you compell him to say that he sawe not? and to witnesse that he can not? Wherefore like as Susanna, in the storye of Daniel was quite by right iudgement in the case of adultery, because her accusers and testes being examined a sonder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees: ^{*} So why may not in like case of treason, sir Roger Acton, sir Iohn Didcastle, Browne w^t the rest, claime the same priuiledge? seeing among the testes and witnesse produced agaynst them, such discorde is found, and such halting among them, that neyther do they agree in place, person, yeare, day, nor moneth.

1For first where Fabian and his fellowes say: that they were assembled together in a great company, in the fielde neare to S. Gyles, the forged inditement aboue alledged, sayth, they were but riding toward the fielde.

22. Secondly, where the foresaid inditement and Polydore, geue the Lorde Cobham to be present personally in that assemble, Halle, and Alanus Copus Anglus, doe exclude hys personal presence from thence: and so doth Fabian also seme to agree, speaking onely of the adherentes of Syr Iohn Oldcastle.

3Thirdly, where Halle and Polydorus report thys assemble to be after the burning of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome at the councel of Constance, which was An. 1415. that cannot be, but if there were any suche conspiracie in the first yeare of Henry 5. it must needes be An. 1413. And heere- by the way, why do certaine of your Epitome wryters speaking of the Lord Cobham committed first to the tower for heresie, referre the sayd his imprisonment to the yere 1412. where as, by their owne counte, reckoning the yeare from the Annunciation, it must nedes be an. 1413. being done in haruest time.

4Fourthly, where Halle with his followers affirme that syr Roger Acton, Brown and Beuerley were condemned the 12. day of December, the recorde is euident against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the 10. day of Ian.

5Fiftly, where as the foresayde record of the Inditement geueth the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, whyche was the 10. day of Ian. that present yeare, both the facte to be commytted, the same day, the Commission also to be graunted and deliuered to the Cōmissioners the same day, The saide Commissioners to sit in Commission the same day: The Shriffes of Midlesex to returne a iurie out of the body of Midlesex the same day: and the Iurers to find the inditement the same day, and yet no iurer in the inditemēt named the same day.

Item, the L. Cobham, the same day, to be founde conspiring to make him selfe Regent, when as the king, that day and yeare, was not yet passed into Fraunce: howe all these can concurre and hang together and all in one day: I suppose it wil cost you two dayes, before you, with al your learned counsel wil study it out. And whē you in your vnlawfull assembles haue conspired and conferred together, all ye can, yet wil ye make it (as I thinke) iij. dayes, before you honestly dispatch your handes of the matter.

And where ye thinke, y^t you haue impressed in me such a foul note of lying, neuer to be clawed of while the world standeth, yet shal the posterity to come iudge betwene you & me, whether

shall appeare more honest and true, my defence for that worthy lord, then your vncourteous and viperuns wrangling against him, mooued w^t no other cause, but onely with the peuish spirite of Poperie, whych can abide nothing, but that sauereth of your owne secte. For els how many loud lying legends,* yea what legion of lies are daily vsed and receiued in the popish church? What doltish dreames? what fained myracles? what blasphemous tales and frierly fables, and idle inuētions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine and crosse of Christ? And could you holde your penne from al these, and finde nothing els to set your idlenesse on worke, but onely to wryte agaynst the Lorde Cobham, Syr Roger Acton, Browne, Onley, Cowbrige, with a fewe other whome wyth much a doe, at length you haue sought out, not so much for any true zeale to rebuke iniquitye, as craftely seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the booke of Actes and Monumentes. Which seemeth belike to make you scratche there, where it itcheth not. And if I shoulde after the like dealing take in hand your Popish portues, and with like diligence excusse euery Popish martyr and Saint there canonised: thinke you maister Cope, I could not make you out halfe dosen as ranke traitours and rebels to their kings and princes, as euer were any of these of your picking out? What pope almost hath there bene these last 500. yeares, whych hathe not bene a traitour to his Emperour and Prince, and to his countrey?* either openly rebelling against them, or priuely conspiring their destruction, or proudly setting theyr feete vpon their necks, or spurning their crownes of from their heads, or making the sonne to fight against y^e father? How many haue they deposed, and set vp other in theyr seates? how many Emperours and kings haue they wrongfully cursed? What Consulles of Rome haue they resisted, deposed, and put to death? What warres haue they raised vp against theyr owne countrey of Rome? Yea the continuall holding of the City of Rome, from hys lawfull Emperour, what is it but a continuall poynt of treason?

What will you answer me (M. Cope) to the Pope, which conspired to let fall downe a stone vpon the Emperours head, kneeling at his prayers, pag. 177.

And though this treachery being as big as a milstone, seemed but a smal mote in your eye, that it could not be espied: yet what will you say by the Monke of Swinstede, that poysoned king Iohn,* who was both absolved by his abbot before his treason committed, and after hys treason had a perpetuall Masse songe for him, to helpe hym out of Purgatorie?

And what thinke ye in your conscience is to be sayde of Thomas Becket, who did inough, and more then became him, to set the French king, and the king of Englande together by the eares? Of Anselme likewise, and of Stephen Langhton, who departed both out of the Realme to complaine of their princes & soueraines? The like may be said also of Iohn Peckham. Iohn Stradford Archbyshop of the same sea notoriously resisted the Kinges commaundement, being sent for by king Edward 3. to come to the parliament at Yorke, through the default of whose comming, the present oportunitie of getting Scotland was the same time lost,

Richard Scrope Archb. of Yorke,* was opely in armes to rebell & fight against K. Henry 4. for the which he was condemned & put to death. And yet notw^tstanding Commission was sent downe from the pope shortly after, to excōmunicate them which put him to death, his treason notw^tstanding. Read y^t story sincerely of pope Benedict 12. and of pope Clement 6. And see howe the traiterous rebellion of these two popes against Ludouicus their rightful Emperour can be

defended: [*](#) Which Emperour at last was also empoysoned, & that not without the practise of Pope Clement, as doth Hieronimus Marius credibly witnesse.

In the raigne of K. Edward the 2. mention was made before of Thomas Earle of Lancaster. Who with a great number of other nobles and Barons of the realme, [*](#) rose in armour against their prince, and therefore at length were put to death as traitours. And yet notwithstanding this treason committed (M. Cope) if you be so ignorant in our stories, that you know it not, set your setters on to search, and you shall finde it true, that certaine Noble men went vp to Rome, for the canonising of the sayde Thomas of Lancaster to be made a Saint, and obtained the same. In so much that in a certayne olde Calendre, the name of the sayd S. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seene.

In the former booke of these Actes and Monumentes aboue, [*](#) about the pag. 353. or 354. mention was made of Edmund of Abbeney Archb. of Cant. whom although I do not disproue, but rather commend in my history, for his bold and sage counsaile geuen vnto K. Henry the 3. and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the king in so necessary a cause: yet notwithstanding the same Edmund, afterward about his latter end, went vp wyth a rebelling minde to complaine of his king vnto the Pope, and in his iourney died, before his return: who afterward for the same, was canonised by the Pope, and now shineth among the Saints in the popes Calender.

Let vs come more neare to these dayes and times, and consider the doings of Tho. Arundell Archb. of Canterb. [*](#) Who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king, and afterward comming in, wyth Henry Bolynbroke Duke of Hereford, in open armes and with main force rose against his natural and lawful king: thinke you (M. Cope) this is not as greates a poynte of treason, as that which was done in Thetford fields? And though he be not placed among the portuous Saints, yet I thinke nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly sticke to say, Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.

All these thinges well considered, tell me (M. Cope) I [Page 580](#) pray you, is treason suche a straunge and vnketh thyng in your pope catholike church, that your burning zeale of obedience to kings and princes, can not read the story of the L. Cobham & sir Roger Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to wryte against them, and yet so many traytors in your owne Calenders neither seene, nor once spoken of? And if the traitorous conspiracy and rebellion of so many your Calender Saintes committed against Emperours, Kings, and Princes, can not stirre your zeale, nor moue your pen: Nor if the treason of pope Gregory 9. raising warre against his owne city of Rome, and causing 30. thousande citizens in one battaile to be slaine, pag. 281. deserueth not to be espied, and accused as much as this treason of the Lorde Cobham: yet what will you or can you answer to me (M. Cope) as touching the horrible treason of pope Gregory the 7. committed not against Emperour nor king, nor any mortall man, but against the Lord hymselfe, euen against your God of your owne making, being therein as you say no substance of bread, but the very personall body, flesh, bloud, and bone of Christ himself, which body notwithstanding the foresayd Pope Gregory the 7. [*](#) tooke and cast with his owne hands into the burning fire, because he would not aunswere him to a certaine doubt or demaund Benn. Card. pag. 172. Southly, if sir Iohn Oldcastle had taken the body of king Henry the 5. and throwne him into the fire, the facte being so notoriously certaine as this is, I would neuer haue bestowed any worde in

hys defence. And could thys, and so many other hainous treasons passe throughe your fingers (M. Cope) and no other to sticke in your pen but the Lord Cobham.

Finally and simply to conclude wyth you (M. Cope) and not to flatter you, what is y^e whole working, the proceedings, actions, & practises of your religion, or hath bene almost these 500. yeares, but a certaine perpetuall kinde of treason, to thrust downe your princes and magistrates, to derogate from their right and iurisdiction, and to aduance your owne maiesties and dominations: as hath bene sufficiently aboue proued and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in Fraunce by the Lord Peter de Cugnerijs. vide pag. 383.* Wherefore if the assemble of these forenamed persons, either within or wythout S. Giles field be such a great mote of treason in your eies, first loke vpō the great blocks and milstones of your owne traytors at home, and whē you haue well discussed the same, then after poure out your wallet of your trifeling Dialogues or Trialogues if ye lift against vs and spare vs not. Not that I so thincke thys to be a sufficient excuse to purge the treason of these men, if your popish Calenders and legeands be found ful of traytours. Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrociniū: But thys I thincke,* that the same cause whyche made them to suffer as traitors, hath made you also to rail against them for traitors, that is, mere hatred only against their Relygion, rather then any true affection you haue to your princes and gouernors. Who if they had bene as feruent in your Popery, and had suffred so much for the holy father of Rome, or for y^e liberties of the holy mother church of Rome, I doubt not, but they as holy children of Rome had bene rong into your Romish Calendare with a festum duplex, or at least with a festum simplex of 9. lessons, also w^t a vigil peraduenture before them.

Nowe because they were on the contrary profession, & enemies to your Magna Diana Ephesiorum, you playe wyth them as the Ephesian caruers dyd wyth Saint Paule and worse. Ye thrust them out as seditious rebels, not only out of life and body, but also can not abide them to haue any poore harbour in theyr owne friendes houses, among our Actes and Monuments to be remembred. In the whyche Actes and Monuments, and if gentle maister Ireneus, with hys fellow Critobulus in your clerkely Dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbred for martyrs: yet speake a good word for them (M. Cope) they may stande for testes or witnesse bearers of the trueth. And thus muche for defence of them.

Now to the other part of his accusation, wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus in hys 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉,* or sixfolde Dialogues contēdeth and chaseth against my former edition, to proue me in my history to be a lier, forger, impudent, a misreporter of trueth, a deprauer of stories, a seducer of the worlde, and what els not? Whose virulent words and contumelious termes, howe wel they become his popish persone, I knowe not. Certes for my part I neuer deserued thys at his handes wittingly, that I do know. Maister Cope is a man whome yet I neuer sawe, and lesse offended, nor euer heard of him before. And if hee had not in the fronte of hys booke intituled himself to be an English man, by his wryting I would haue iudged hym rather some wilde Irishman, lately crept out of S. Patrikes Purgatory, so wildely he wryteth, so fumishly he fareth.

But I cease here, and temper my selfe considering not what M. Cope deserueth to be sayd vnto, nor howe far the pen here could run if it had his scope, but cōsidering what the tractatiō rather of suche a serious cause requireth. And therefore seriously to say vnto you (M. Cope) in thys matter,

wher you charge my history of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of vntruthes, false lies, impudent forgeries, dep rauations, fraudulent corruptions, and fayned tables, briefly and in one woord to answere you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of their aduersary, wyth si, but with osi. would God (M. Cope) that in al the whole booke of Actes and Monumentes,* from the beginning to the latter end of the same, were neuer a true storie, but that all were false, all were lies, & all were fables. Would God the cruelty of your Catholikes had suffred all them to liue, of whose death ye say now that I doe lie. Although I deny not but in that booke of actes and monumentes containing such diuersity of matter, some thing might ouerscape me: yet haue I bestowed my poore diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

If you (maister Cope) or any other can better my rude doings, and finde things out more finely or truly, with al my hart, I shall reioyce with you and the commō wealth, taking profit by you. In perfectiō of wryting, of wit, cunning, dexterity, finenes or other induments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you, nor any other. I graunt that in a laboured story, such as you seeme to require, conteyning suche infinite varietie of matter, as thys doth, much more time would be required: but such time as I had, y^t I did bestow, if not so laboriously as other could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I heare what you will say: I shoulde haue taken more leysure and done it better. I graunt and confesse my fault, such is my vice, I can not sitte all the day (M. Cope) fining and minsing my letters, and coming my head, and smoothing my selfe all the day at the glasse of Cicero. Yet notwythstanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinkes I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at maister Copes hand. Who if he be so pregnant in finding faulte with other mens labours (which is an easy thing to do) it were to be wished, that hee had enterprised himselfe vppon the matter, and so should haue proued what faults might haue bene found in him. Not that I herein doe vtterly excuse my selfe, yea rather am ready to accuse my selfe, but yet notwythstanding thynke my selfe vngently dealt with all at Maister Copes hande: Who being mine owne countreyman, an English man as he sayeth, also of the same vniuersitye, yea colledge and schoole that I was of: knowing that the first edition of these Acts and monuments was begon in the farre parts of Germany, where few frendes, no conference, small information coulde be had. And the same edition afterwarde translated out of Latin into English by others, while I in the meane time was occupied about other Registers. And now the sayde Cope hearing moreouer and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Actes and Monuments, at this present time, to be set foorth, for the amēding of diuers things therein to be reformed: if he had knowen any fault nedefull to be corrected, he might gently by letters admonished me therof. Gentlenes so would haue required it. Time would well haue suffred it. Neither was he so far off, but might sooner haue wrytten a letter to me, then a boke against me. Neither was I so ingratefull and inhumane, but wold haue thanked him for hys monition: neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, wold haue corrected willingly where any fault had bene committed.

But herein your nature (M. Cope) doth right wel appeare.* First in the sayde booke of Actes and Monuments, where many other good things be conteyned, not vnfrutefull nor vnprofitable peraduētūre for y^e instruction of your cōscience, and wherin my labors perhaps might haue deserued your thanks, all that you dissemble and passe ouer, only excerpting those matters whych make for cauillation.* Thus the blacke spider out of pleasant flowres sucketh his poison. And

what booke is so pleasant or frutefull, though it were the popes owne Portous, yea hys own decretals, yea hys owne very Masse booke, to the reading whereof if I brought the like minde so disposed to cauil, as you bring to the reading of my hystorie, but I coulde finde out twice as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos fabulas, fucos, as you haue done in these Actes and Monumentes. And yet you haue done pretely well.

Besides al this, yet better to marke the goodnes of your gentle nature: Be it so I had bene in some piece of my story deceiued, as I do not iustify my selfe in all poynts therin: yet you vnderstanding that I was about the correction [Page 581](#) of my booke againe, might eyther haue taken the best, and left the worst: or els gently take the paines to haue aduertised me of suche notes as you had, wythout further exclamation, or at least might haue deferred your dialogues for a time, till the comming out of my booke, to see first what would in the latter edition be altered. But be like your gal was full, your hast could not tary, your venim must •edes brust out.

Et si non al•qua nocuisses mortuus esses.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and disposition of your nature so farre from al humanity, dealing with me so extremely, if I thus prouoked wyth your extremity againe,* should now after thys your currish nature shape you a name accordingly, and in steade of Cope godfather you to be a perpetual sycophāt, could you much blame me? and doth not your sycophanticall booke wel deserue it? or thinke you I could not repay you againe wyth like extremitie as you bryng, and dresse your drousie or rather •ousie Dialogues in their right colours, if I were so disposed? But my purpose is wyth pacience to spare you, and rather to pray for you, God make you a good manne. Peraduenture he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, then to sting you. Leauing therefore the consideratian of your ingrateful doings, I will nowe consider onely the poyntes wherein you charge me in your booke, answering briefly vnto the same. Briefly I say, because the greatnesse of thys volume, and aboundance of other more frutefull matter, geueth me little laisure at thys present to stand about brawling wordes.

First he seemeth highly to be greued with mee, for my Calendare prefixed before the boke of monuments. Wherin hee hath no cause eyther to be offended w^t me, or to chafe with himself. As touching which Calendare I haue sufficiently and expressely declared before so muche, as myghte quickly satisfy this scruple of M. Cope if he eyther woulde haue taken the paines, or els had had y^e laisure to reade the wordes contained in the Latine preface before the Booke prefixed, whych are thus: Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad priuatum lectoris seruiet vsum &c. In whych woordes preuenting before the cauilling obiection of the aduersary, I forewarned the Reader afore hand, touching the Calendare, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed, for no other purpose, but to serue the vse only of the reader, in stead of a table, shewing the yere and moneth of euery Martyr, what time he suffered &c. What hurt I pray you is in this Calendar prefixed before the booke of Monumentes, more then in the Table of M. Copes booke, set after his Dialogues? But mayster Cope had no laisure to peruse thys place: it made not for hys humour.

*But this greeueth him in the Calendare, and that very sore. For that I place in this Calendar, sir Iohn Oldcastle sir Roger Acton, Browne, Beuerley and other for Martyrs, and displace for them,

other holy auncient Martyrs and Saints, as Antholius, Sother, Dorothe, Clarus, Lucianus, Seuerinus.*&c. Answer: If M. Cope can not abide the Lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Browne, and Beuerley, which were hanged (as he sayeth for treason) to haue the name of martyrs, then let them beare the name of witnes bearers, or testes of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimony of their faith. Seing there is no difference in the sayd names, all is one to me by which they are called.

And where hee chargeth me for thrusting & shouldring out the olde and auncient holy Saintes aforenamed out of this Calendare,* and placing other new come Sayntes in their rowmes: this is not the first vntruth that M. Cope hath made in his dialogues, nor yet the least, vnto whome I might therefore fitly answere againe with his owne familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which he doth so much affectate: Quod nimirum hic ipse Alanus Copus Anglus, vnde me mendacij coarguit,* inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac ineluibilem turpissimi mendacij, ac singularis impudentiae notam inurat. For why haue not Ias iust cause to say this to him, as he to me? For somuch as in the first beginning and preface of the sayde booke of Actes and Monuments, I so diligently and expressly do warne all men before, first that I make here no Calendare purposely of any Saintes, but a Table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to shew the day and moneth of their suffering.* My words be extant and euident, whyche are these: Neque vero ideo inter diuos a me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in Calendarium. &c. And declaring afterward how the sayde Calendare dothe stand but in stede of a table, my words do folow thus: Haud aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat zum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, Lectori ad vsum atque ad manum seruiat. &c.

Againe, neither did I receiue these men into that Kalendare, that holy Anathollus, Sother, Dorothea, wyth other ancient holy Saintes shoulde be remoued out, as you doe falsly & vntruly affirme, but because the course of that story reaching but 500. yeares, did not comprehend those former times of suche auncient Martyres, but onely of suche as suffered in these latter dayes: therefore requisite it was that in the table such should be placed chiefly, of whom y^e whole booke did then principally and onely entreat, to demōstrate thereby the time and day of their Martyrdome. Neither yet were the other excluded out of thys newe Kalendare, whyche were neuer inserted in the same before, but onely because both together coulde not there haue standing, necessity so required these in no case to be omitted, and yet no iniury meant to the other to be excluded out of theyr owne Kalēdars, wherto properly they did pertain. As for thys Kalendare or this table, because they were not pertinent vnto it, they could not therin, nether was it necessary, they should be included. And yet neither did I (M. Cope) w^tout due & solemne protestation omit the same in my foresayde Catalogue, to preuent and stop all cauilling mouthes: As by speciall words in the sayd proeme of my booke vnto the Reader doth appeare, folowing in this wise: Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui verè sanctus sit) causam laedo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis à me collocari, sed domesticae tantum lectioni praeparari. &c. And wher is now (M. Cope) thys your reiecting, expelling, remoouing, expulsing, exempting,* deturbating and thrusting out of Anatholius, Sanct. Dorothea and other holye Saintes out of Catalogues, fastes, and Calenders? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, Qui veros Christi Martyres è Coelo ad Tar tara deturbat? That is. Which tumbleth downe true Martyrs from heauen,* into hell? Which if ye meane by me: In one worde I aunswere, ye falsely belie me maister Copus, I had almost called you maister Capus, so lyke a Capon ye speake. Neyther haue you nor any other euer heard

me so say. Neither haue I euer heard of any so madde to play so the giants with their mountains to clime the heauens, to tumble downe Gods true & holy martyrs out of heauen, downe into hell, vnlesse it were your selfe (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and such other of your gilde and popish fraternity, which make of Gods true saintes,* stinking dunghils, (for so yee terme them in your bookes) and not onely thrust into heauen your Pseudosantos, saintes of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow: but also depulse downe from heauen, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloued seruants, his faithful people, and blessed martyrs, which haue died for the word of god. And what maruel then, if in your blasphemous bokes, ye cast down from heauen to hell, the poore Saintes of Christ, when in effecte you deiecte also the bloude and crosse of the sonne of God Christ Iesus himselfe, setting vp in his office and place, ttu per Thomae sanguinem,*quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quò Thomas ascendit. Say, master Cope, your conscience indifferently, set al Popish parcialitie a part, where as the Scripture teacheth vs simply. Quòd citra sanguinem nulla fit remissio .i. Wythout blud there is no remission: whether ye thinke, by this bloud of the new Testament is meant the bloud of Christ alone, or the bloud of other moe besides? If the bloud of one must stand alone, why doe yee then with the giants build vp your mountains, and make a ladder of Becketts popish bloud, for men to scale the heauens? Or in so doing,* howe can you, but eyther wyth the Protestauntes wipe out of your Kalendare, Thomae sanguinem, or els demolish from heauen Sāguinem Christi with the papists?

And heere by the way, I cannot but muse, why you are so deuout in setting vp the crosse of Christ in your church, which are such enemies to the true crosse of Christ to stand in heanen. Looke vpon thys (master Cope) and tel me, vtra pars verius veros Christi Martyres è coelo in tartara detrudat? And therfore as you falsely belie me in thys, for detruding and tombling out of heauen Anatholius,*Iulianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other, against whome I neuer yet spake any reproching woord, but rather in this my volume haue set forth their commendatiō: so is it vntrue like wise, where you affirm that in thys my Kalendar I make an 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, or Canonisation of false Martyrs. I tolde you before, when yee were in Englande, I tell you again, being nowe in your transmigration, in woordes as plaine as I coulede, Hane ego Apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsit, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Were not these woordes of my Protestation manifest ynough? were they not sufficient to satisfie a reasonable Momus? And to make the matter more playne, dyd I not adde moreouer as followeth: Porrò neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, vt [Page 582](#) nouam aliquam festorum dierum legem praescribam ecclesiae. &c. And not contented wyth thys foreseeyng before suche wrangling spirites to come, as now I see in you: I shewed also the cause why I needed not so to doe, my woordes were these:*Festorum dierum iam plus satis erat in mundo. &c. And yet further, because no cauiller should take holde here of any iniurie done to the holy Saintes, eyther old or new in the Church, therefore in expresse woordes I remoued away all suspition of any iniurie, preuenting the obiection of the aduersary in these wordes. Habeat & Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes, tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim ijdem ne adorentur, modo quàm sint vetusti, tam etiam verè sancti sint. &c.

These places of my booke, if ye did see: why do you dissemble them? If yee had not so much leisure to read them: howe had you so much laisure to wryte against any mans booke, not knowing what is in the booke contained? And howe stands it then wyth trueth, that so like a Mome yee cry out so in your booke, against these new made martyrs, qui non possunt nisi per

aliorum iniuriam crescere. &c. And again, where you exclaime against me, and say that I thrust out the auncient Martyrs out from their seat and possession, and place new in their rowmes. &c.

Also where you continuing yet still in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digresse) do charge me farther, that I do appoint out holy dayes and working daies by colours of red and blacke, in my foresayd Calendare to be obserued: these leude notes of yours, if they had bene picked out of my Calendare by you, wythout myne owne special declaration before made to the contrary, they might seeme to haue some blush of credite. Now what wil the reader say, or what may he iudge, cōsidering and conferring thys your cauilling, with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are al together set to play the perpetuall Syc. I had almost called you by your right name master Cope. But God make you (as I said) a good man. Reading further in your boke I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud lying Hyperbolismum: where as you cōparing my making of saints, with the Popes making, can finde (as ye say) in the Pope no such impudent arrogancie in presuming, as ye finde in me. &c. If the Pope had not abused hys arrogant iurisdiction in canonising and deifying his Saintes, more then I haue done: the yeare should not be combred wyth so many idle holy dayes, nor the Calendares wyth so many raskall Saintes, some of them as good, as euer were they that put Christ to death.

But where will you finde (M. Cope) any man to beleue thys your hyperbolical comparison to be true, whych seeth and knoweth the infinit and vnmeasurable excesse of the Popes arrogancie, not only in shrining such a rable of blind saintes of his owne creating: but also in prescribing the same to be receaued vniuersally in the whole worlde, and not to be receaued onely, but also to be inuocated for gifts and graces,* also to be worshipped for aduocates and mediatours. Wherin riseth a double abhomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saintes: the other for his blasphemous iniurie and derogation to Christe, in repulsing him out of his office of mediation, & placing other mediatours of his owne making. And nowe to consider what Saintes these were, or what were the causes of their sancting: what S. almost among all the Popes Saintes shall you finde (M. Cope) made within these 500. yeres,* but commonly he was eithe some Pope, or some rich Bishop and Prelate, or some fat abbat, or some blind Frier, some Monke, or Nunne, some superstitious regulare, or some builder of monasteries, or some geuer and benefactour to the popish clergy, or maintainer agonising for the dignities and liberties of the Popyshe church? What poore lay man or lay womā, were their liues neuer so Christian, their faith and confession neuer so pure, their death neuer so agonising for the witnes of Christ, and truth of his word, shall finde any place or fauour in all the Popes 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, that is in the Popes Calendar, either in red colour, or els in blacke.

But heere (M. Cope) if yee had the wit, somuch to defend,* as yee haue to ouerwhart, you myght take mee wyth the maner, and replie againe for the defence of your great Saintmaker, or rather Godmaker of Rome: that he maketh mo martyrs & Saints of these foresayd poore laymen, & laywomen, then euer he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hangeth them, hee drowneth them, imprisoneth & famisheth them, & so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, then any other of his new shrined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his Calendar. For the one he doth rubricate, only w^t his red letters, the other he doth rubricate w^t their owne bloud. And therefore to aunswere you (M. Cope) to your comparison made betwene the pope and me, for making of holy Martyrs and Saintes: Briefly I say, and report me to al the world, y^e herein is no comparison. For if ye speake of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if ye speake of fals martyrs, who

doth make them, but the pope▪ And farthermore, to compare together the causes of these Martyred Saintes in my Calendare, wyth them whyche shine shrined in the Popes Calendare (taking the same proportion of time as I do, wythin these last 500. yeares) why may not I haue as good cause to celebrate these in my Calendar, which lost their liues and were slain, principally for the cause of Christ and of hys word: as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted saintes in hys Calendar, who in their doinges, doctrine, and life, as they seemed rather to serue the Pope, then Christ the Lord: so in their death appeared no such cause, why they shuld be sanctified in the church beyond all other. Let not the Church of Christ (M. Cope) be deluded with hypocritical names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceiued your selfe, but let vs resort sincerely to the worde of God.* What was in S. Fraunces, looke vpon his superstitious life, & presumptuous testament, wrought no dout by Sathan, to diminish and obscure the Testament of Iesus Christ, why he should be made a Saint, and not an enemy rather of Christ?

What was likewise in Frier Dominicke, who before Fraunces x. yeares together persecuted the poore Waldenses to death and destruction, why should he stand a S. and a pillar of the church? * I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious libertyes of the popishe church? * What in Aldelmus, and in Anselmus, but only that they chased away married priests from the churches, and planted in idle Monkes in their steade? The like also did Dunstanus, who was rubricated wyth a duplex festum.* Elizabeth who was the wife of the Marquesse of Thuring, when shee had with much perswasions got out her husbände to fight against the Turkes, and was there slaine, she afterward encloystered her selfe, and was made a Nunne. And doe you thinke these causes to be sufficient, why they shuld be made saintes, worshipped in churches, and set in Calendares? * Long it were to make rehearsal of all this riraffe, and almost infinite. One example may suffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringhā, was the sonne of Iocelin a knight, who for his deformitie of his body was set to learning, & afterward made Chanon, and was author of the Gilbertines, in the time of king Iohn.

This Gilbert after he had erected 13. monasteries of hys order of Sempringham, was afterwarde labored for vnto the Pope to be made a Saint: Who hearing of hys myracles, wrote hys letters to Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, in the behalfe of the foresayd Gilbert, willing & commaundyng per Apostolica scripta,* that the feast of the sayde Gilbert shoulde be solemnised through all the prouince of Canterb. Vt meritis nimirum eius & precibus apud misericordissimum iudicem misericordiam consequamur. &c.

Whereuppon Hubert the Archb. directeth downe hys wrytings to all the bishops within hys prouince,* the contents of whych his wrytings do folow: Hubertus Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscop. totius Angliae primas, dilectis in Christo frat. Episco. per prouinciam Cant. Sal grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, sicut ex literis ipsius manifestè perpéditur, de conuersatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per testes & testimonia sufficienter instructus, de consilio fratrum Cardin. ipsum mag. Catalogo sanctorum decreuit ascribi, solemnitatem eius constituit & mandauit per Cant. prouinciam solemniter celebrari. Insuper & corpus eius cum requisiti fuerimus praecepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam eleuari. Vestra igitur vniuersitas huic mandato cum deuotione congaudeat, & secundum formam in ipso mandato praescriptam, praedicti confessoris Domini depositionem annuam faciatis cum reuerentia & solemniter obseruari: vt apud Dominum & ab illo vestra debeat &

possit deuotio commēdari, necnon & ipsius sancti supplex intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.

The summe of the whiche wryting of the Archb. tendeth to thys effecte. That forsomuch as the Pope hearyng of the life and myracles of Gilbert, Maister of the order of Sempringham, by sufficiēt witnes and testimonies, hath in his letters commanded him by the aduise of hys Cardinals, that the sayde Gilbert should be canonised & ascribed in the Cataloge of saintes, and that his solemnity shoulde be celebrate solemnely throughout al the prouince of Canterb. And also hys body to be taken vp and shrined to the honour and glory of God: He therefore at the Popes commaundement wryting vnto them, wylleth all the Suffraganes within his prouince of Canterb. yearely to solemnise, and cause to be solemnized reuerētly the deposition of the sayd Saint Gilbert Confessor: to the entent that theyr [Page 583](#) deuotion may be commended of the Lord,* and of him. And also, that the humble intercession of the sayd Saint may profite them to their saluation.

Furthermore, for the more full canonising (canuising I had almost sayd) of this new made saint, the saide Pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforesayd,* adioyneth withall a collect of his owne making, which is this: Plenam in nobis aeternae saluator tuae vertutis operare medelam, vt qui praeclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramur, ipsius adiuti suffragijs a cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur. Quiviuis & regnas. &c. That is: worke in vs O eternal sauior full remedy of thy vertue, that we which worship the worthy merites of blessed Gilbert thy confessor, being succoured by his suffrages, may be deliuered from all languors & diseases of our soules, who liuest and raignest. &c.

The cōsecration of this one Saint (who perhaps was not the worst) I thought here to cōmemorate,* to the intent that the reader measuring by this one the Canonisation of al the rest, may iudge the better vpō this cōparison of master Cope, whether of vs doth vendicate more impudent authoritie, the Pope in his Callender, or I in mine: or to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent the pope in his Callendar, or els maister Cope in his Dialogues more doltishe.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you to canonise or to authorise any saintes, for man it is presump'tuous: to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous: to set vp any mediatours but Christ onely, it is blasphemous. And whatsoever the pope doth or hath done in his Calendar, my purpose in my Calendare, was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnise any new. In my booke of Actes and Monuments entreating of matters passed in the church, these latter fiue hundreth yeares, I did regulate out a Callendar, not for any Canon to constitute Saintes, but onely for a table of them which within the same time did suffer for the testimony of the word, whom I did and doe take to be good and godly men. If any haue other iudgement of them, I binde no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come which shall iudge both them and you. In the meane season it shall be best for you (M. Cope) in my iudgement to keepe a good thing in your head, and to quiet your rayling mode.* A hard thinge it is to iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgement may faile and is vncertayne, the iudgement of God is alwayes sure. Best is therefore either to be sure by the word and iudgement of God before, what you do say, or els to say the best. Of such slaunderous, and intemperate rayling,* can come no good, neither to whome ye rayle vpon: nor to your selfe, whiche rayleth:

nor to the church of God that heareth you rayle. For them you can not hurt, they are gone. To your selfe, and though your matters be true, yet little honesty it will bring, to be counted a rayler, and if it be vncertayne, your state is daungerous, and if be false, most miserable: And as to the Church what great edification can proceede of suche contentions brawling and barking one against an other, I doe not greatly see. And if the zeale of the bishop of Romes church haue so much swallowed you vp, that ye cannot but stamp and stare at traytours when ye see them put in Calenders: (first M. Cope) be ye sure first that they be traytours, wisdom would, whome you call traytours. And if ye can so proue thē (as ye haue not yet) then let your Irenaeus or Critobulus tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeale of yours as hote as purgatory, burne out, and flame as wel against your owne traytors, hauing so many in your own Calendre and Church at home?

* And if there be such a Catholicke zeale in you, that hath set your gentle brest on such a pelting chase, why then is not this your Catholicke zeale equally indifferent? Why take ye on so fell on the one side agaynst sir Iohn Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, M. Browne &c? A man wold think you played Hercules furens in Orchestra. On the other syde agayne ye are Oleo tranquillior. What indiffirencie (maister Cope) call you this? Or what zeale make you this to be? Albeit your zeale, I iudge not, as I know it not. Swifte iudgement shall not become me, which go about to correct the same in you. But this I exhorte you, to beware (maister Cope) that by your owne fruites and doinges euident ye do not bewray this zeale in you to be Non secundum scientiam, nor such a zeale as fighteth Pro Domo Dei, sed pro demo Pontificis. As I sayde I iudge you not. You haue your iudge to whome ye stand or fall. My counsaile is, that ye do not so zeale the Byshop of Rome, that for his sake ye lose your owne soule. Ye remember the olde vulgar voice it is not good Ludere cum sanctis, worse it is Illudere: worse of all it is Debauchari in immerentes: Because that Deus ipse vltionum Dominus Many times taketh theyr cause in hand according as it is written: Opprobria opprobantium tibi cecidersit in me. i. The rebukes of thy rebukers fell vpon me. And seldome haue I seene any suche blasphemous raylers agaynst the ende or punishment of Gods saintes and seruantes, without great repentaunce, to come to anye good •nd themselues.

And admit this (as graunted vnto you M. Cope) that these mē had bene traitors, which ye are not able to proue. Well, they had their punishment therefore, the worlde can go no further: & what would you haue more? Who and if they repented, why may they not haue as good part in Christes kingdome as your selfe? Now forsomuch as the sayd persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of trueth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therfore brought to them death: that part of example, because I sawe, it pertayne to the profite of the church, why might I not insert it with other church storyes in my booke? Let the churche take that which belongeth to the churche. Let the worlde take that, which to the world pertaineth and go no further. And if ye thinke it much, that I would exemplifie these whome you call traytors in the booke of martyrs is: first ye •hust vnderstand,* that I wrote no suche booke bearing the title of the booke of Martyrs, I wrote a booke called the Actes and Monumentes, of thinges passed in the church. &c. Wherin many other matters be containd beside the martyrs of Christ. But this peradventure moueth your 〈◇〉, that in the Callendar I name them for martyrs.* And why may I not in my Calēdar cal them by the name of martyrs, which were faythfull witnesses of Christes truth and Testament for the which they were also chiefly brought vnto that cud? Or why may I not call them holy shyntes, whome Christ hath sanctified with hys blessed bloud? And what if I shold also call the theefe and murderer hanging

on the right side of the Lord, by the name of an holy saint, and confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord, what can master Cope say against it?

And as for colouring the names of certain Martirs in the sayd Calendre in red or scarlet letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me,* which was as pleased the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that so much breaketh patience,* why rather doth he not expostulate in his behalfe with the great saynt maker of rome, who hath readed them much more then euer did I. For he did red and dyed them with their owne bloude, where as I did but onely colour them with redde letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

Proceeding now out of the Calendar vnto the booke, where hee chargeth me with so many lyes, impudencies, vanities, deprauations, and vntruthes, it remaineth likewise I cleare my self, answering first to those lyes and vntruthes, which to the story of sir Roger Acton, & sir Iohn Oldcastle do appertain.* And after to other particulars, as in order of my booke doe follow. And first where he layeth against me whole heapes, and cartloads, I cannot tel how many of lyes and falsities: I here briefly answer maister Cope agayne (or what English Harpesseld els soeuer lieth couered vnder this English Cope) that if a lye be (after the definition of S. Augustine) whatsoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceaue an other: then I protest to you master Cope, and to all the world there is neuer a lie in all my booke. What the intent and custome is of the papistes to doe. I cannot tell: for mine owne, I will say, although many other vices I haue, yet frō this one I haue alwayes of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceaue any mā or childe, so neare as I could, much lesse the church of God whom I with all my hart do reuerence, and with feare obey. And therefore among diuers causes, that haue wythdrawne my minde from the Papistes faction, almost there is none greater then this, because I see them so little geuē to truth, so farre from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretended hipocrisie and dissimulation, so litle regarding the church of Christ in their inward hartes, which they so much haue in their mouthes: so, as vnder the title thereof they may hold vp their own estate▪ Otherwise so little reuerence they yeld to the true & honorable church of Iesus the sonne of God, that with vnworthy and rascall ministers they take into it they passe not, what fictions, what lyes and fables, what false miracles and absurde forgeries they inuent to delude it, they care not. I speake not of all.

Some there be of that sect vnfayned in cōsciēces, and more religious, and better disposed natures, onely of simple ignoraunce deceaued. But such commonly haue bene & be the chiefe guides and leaders of the Papistes Church, that little true care and small zeale hath appeared in them, [Page 584](#) toward the church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption encreased therein, so that there commodities might not decrease. Thus out of this fountayne haue gushed out so many prodigious lyes in Church Legendes, in Saintes liues,* in monkishe •ictions, in fabulous miracles, in false and forged Reliques, as in peeces of the holie crosse, in the blood of hailes, in our Ladies milke in y^e nails of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errors, corrupt doctrines, absurd inuentions repugnant to y^e truth of the worde. Item in their bastard bookes, forged Epistles, their Apocripha, and Pseudopigrapha. Here commeth in their forged Canons, their foysting and cogging in ancient counsels & decrees, as in 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 in Canons of the Apostles (if those Canons were the Apostles) Excepta Romana •ede, foysted into the decrees by Gratianus, also the cogging in a false Canon to

the councell of Nice for the mayntenaunce of the see of Rome, as appeareth in the 6. Synode of Carthage.

* Here commeth in also the Epistles of Clement, and other sondry epistles Decretall, which as they are no doubt falsly inserted b^o other, so are they the welhead of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the church of Christ.* To speake moreouer of the liturgies of S. Iames, of Chrisostome and other, of the first masse sayde by saint Peter at Rome, and that S. Peter •ate 25. yeares Byshop of Rome. To speake also of the works of Augustine, Ambrose,*ierome, and Gregorye, what doctour or famous writer hath there bene in the church, vnder whose name some counterfayted bookes haue not falsely bene fathered, and yet stand still authorised vnder their patronage, to the great detriment of the church?* What shoulde I speake of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionysius Areopagita. The Dialoges of Gregory, which falsely to this day haue ben ascribed to Gregory the first, where in deede they were first written in Greeke, by Gregory the 3. and afterward translated out of Greeke into Latine,* by pope Zachary. vide supra. pag. 130. Likewise that worthy and Imperiall sermon i^o•tu^oed Eu^osebij pamphili Sermo ad Conuentum Sanctorum, hath to thys day wrongfully borne the name of Eusebius. Where as in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Constantinus himselfe in his owne heroicall stile in latine, and afterward translated out of Latine into Greeke by Eusebius, as he himselfe confesseth in hys worke De vita Constant. lib. 4. But as touching this sermon although the name be chaunged, so godly and fruitful it is, that it •attereth not much, vnder whose name it be read, yet worthy to be read vnder y^e name of none so much, as of the Emperour Cōstan^tine himselfe, who was the true author and owner therof.

* Briefly except it be the bookes onely of the new Testament, and of the olde, what is almost in the popes church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered, or corrupted,* either by some additions interlased, or by some diminutiō mangled and gelded, or by some glose adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate. So that in theyr doctrine standeth little truth, in theyr Legendes, Portues, & massebookes lesse trueth, in their miracles and Reliques least truth of all.* Neyther yet doe theyr sacramentes remayne cleare and voyd of manifest lyes and corruption. And specially here commeth in the mayster bee, whiche bringeth in much sweet hony into Popes hiues, y^e maister lye, I mean of all lyes, where the P. leauing not one cromme of bread nor drop of wine in the reuerent communion, vntruly and idolatrously taketh away all substaunce of bread from it, turning the whole substaunce of bread into the substaunce of Christes owne body:* which substaunce of bread, if the Pope take from the sacrament, then muste he also take the breaking from it: for breaking and the body of Christ, can in no wise stand litterally together by the scripture. Thus then as this is proued by the word of God to be a manifest lye: so thinke not much (good Reader hereat, as though I passed the bondes of modestie in calling it the Archlye or maister lie of all lies. Because vppon this one, an infinite number of other lyes and erroures in the popes church, as handmaydes doe wayte and depend.

But forsomuch as I stand here not to charge other mē so muche, as to defende my selfe, ceasing therefore, or rather differing for a time to stir this stinking pudle of these wilfull and intended lyes and vntruthes whiche in the Popes Religion and in papistes bookes be innumerable I will now returne to those vntruthes and impudent lies which M. Cope hath hunted out in my history of Actes & Monuments, first beginning with those vntruthes which he carpeth in the storrye of the foresayde syr Iohn Oldcastle, and syr Roger Acton, Browne and the rest.

And first, where he layeth to my charge, that I cal them Martyrs, whiche were traytors and seditious rebels agaynst the king, and theyr Country: to this I haue aunswered before sufficiently.

Now here then must the reader needes stay a little at M. Copes request, to see my vanitie and impudencie yet more fully and amply repressed in refuting a certain place in my Latine story, concerning the kinges statute made at Leiceister, whiche place and wordes by him alledged, be these, pag. 1•7. Quocirca Rex indicto Lecestriae concilio (quòd fort•ssis Londini ob Cabhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto immanem denunciat poenam his, quicun{que} deinceps hoc doctrinae genus sectarentur, vs{que} •deo in eos seuerus, vt non modo haereticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, a• p•o inde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul & incēdio afficiendos statueri•. &c. E• mox▪ Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendebat omnes aduersus Wicklenianos. Wicleuiani ad temporis decebantur, quicun{que} Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectirarent &.

Vpon these wordes out of my foresayd Latine booke alledged, maister Cope perswadeth himselfe, to haue great aduauntage agaynst me, to proue me a notorious lyer, in three sondry pointes.* First, in that, whereas I say, that the king did hold his parliament at Leicester, adding thys by the way of Parenthesis (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum &c.) here he concludeth thereby simpliciter and precisely, that the Lord Cobham and syr Roger Acton with his fellowes, were traytors &c. Whereby a man may soone shape a cauiller,* by the shadowe of mayster Cope. For where as my Dialysis out of y^e texte speaketh doubtfully and vncertainely by this word (fortassis) meaning in deede, the king to be in feare of the Gospellers, that he durst not hold his Parliament at London, but went to Leiceister:* he argueth precisely therfore, that the Lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and his fellowes went about to kil the king. Secondly, where I affirme that the king in that Parliament made a grieuous law agaynst al such did hold the doctrine of Wickliffe, that they should be taken hereafter: not for heretiques, but also for fellons, or rebels, or traytors, and therefore should sustayne a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned &c. Here cōmeth in maister Momus, with his Cope on his backe, and prouing me to be a lyer, denyeth playnly y^t the king made any suche statute.*vid. pag. 835. line 6. where hys wordes be these: Atqui quod haeretici pro perduellionibus & deinceps geminatas poenas suspēdij & incendij luerent, vt nugarur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur. &c.

First here woulde bee asked of maister Cope,* what hee calleth patriae hostes, et proditores? if he call these traytours, then let vs see whether they that followed the sect of wycliffe, were made traytours & heretiques by the kings law, or not. And first let vs heare what sayth Polydore Virgil, his owne witnes in this behalfe, whose words in his xxii. booke, pag. 441. be these: Quare publice edixit, vt si vspiam deinceps reperirentur, qui eam sequerentur sectam, patriae hostes haberentur, quò sine omni lenitate seuerius ac ocyus de illis supplicium sumeretur &c. That is, wherefore it was by publique statute decreed, that whosoeuer were founde hereafter to follow the sect of Wyckliffe, should be accounted for traytors, whereby without all lenitie, they shoulde be punished more seuerely and quickly. &c.

Thus haue you (maister Cope) the playne testimonie of Polydore with mee. And because ye shall further see your selfe more impudent in carping, then I am in deprauing of histories, you shall vnderstand moreouer and heare, what Thomas Walden, one of your owne catholique brotherhode, & who was also himselfe aliue, & a doer in the same Parliament, being the

prouincial of the Carmelites, saith in this matter writing to Pope Martin, whose very wordes in Latine here follow,* written in his Prologue to the sayd Martine, in this wise: Nec mora longa processit, quin statutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanauit edicto, quod omnes Wicleuistae sicut dei proditores essent, sic proditores regis, proscriptis bonis censerentur et regni, duplici poenae dandi, incendio propter deum, suspendio propter regem &c. That is. And it was not long after, but a publicke law and statute came out, by the common assent of the general parliamēt of the whole Realme, that al Wiclenistes, as they were traytours to God, so also should be counted traytors to the king and to the realme, hauing their goods lost and confiscate vnto the king. And therefore should suffer double punishment, as to be burnt for God, and to bee hanged for y^e king &c. And thus haue you (Maister Cope) not onely my sentence, but also the very wordes of my story confirmed by this author: because ye shall not think me to speake so lightly or impudently without my booke. And moreouer to confirme the said sentence of Tho. Walden, it followeth also in an other place of the foresayde author. Tomo. 1. lib. 2.*[De doctrinali fidei Ecclesie Cathol. Cap. 46.](#) where he writeth in these wordes. Et tamen iam cum regnare coepisset Illustris rex Henricus 5. qui adhuc agit in sceptris, et de eorū [Page 585](#) perfidia per catholicos bin doctos, legem statui fecit vt vbi{que} per regnum Wickliuista probatus, vt reus puniretur de crimine lesae maiestatis &c. That is. And yet, when the noble king Henry the v. who as yet doth liue and raigne, began first to raigne, began to set forth a law, by his learned catholickes which were about him, against the falsenes of these men, so that whosoever was proued to be a Wickleuist, through the whole Realme, should be punished for a traytour. &c. What wordes can you haue M. Cope, more playne then these? or what authoritie can you require of more credite, which liued in the same tyme, and both did see and heare of the same thinges done? who also writing to Pope Martine, was by the sayd pope Martine allowed, approued, & solemnly commended, as appeareth by the popes Epistle to him, wherein y^e pope declareth: how he caused his books, Per solennes viros videri,*& examinari. That is, by sollemne persons to be seene and examined &c. So that you must needes graunt, either this to be true, that Walden writeth or els that the Pope (tanquam Papa) in allowing his writings may erre and be deceaued. Chuse ye (mayster Cope) of these two options whether you will take.

And if ye thinke this my assertion yet not sufficiently rescued with these authorities aboue sayd, I will also here vnto adioyne the testimony of an other writer named Roger Walle,* who writing De Gestis Henric 5. and speaking of the sayd statute of this parliament some thing more plainly then the rest, hath these wordes, In hoc etiam Parlamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere vniuersis, quòd ipse abs{que} cuiuscun{que} fluctuationis dubio, {quam} diu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Christianae fidei aemulator existeret: statuit & decreuit, vt quotquot Ipsius sectae, quae dicitur Lollordorum, inuenirentur aemuli & fautores eo facto rei proditorij criminis in maiestatem regiam haberétur &c. In English. Also in this parliament, the noble K. reputed Christes enemies, to be traytors to himselfe, to y^e intent that all men should know withall doubt, that so lōg as he liued, he woulde be a true and perfect follower of Christen faith: did enact & decree, that whosoever shoulde be found followers and mayntayners of this sect, whiche is called the Lollards sect, Ipso facto, should be counted and reputed giltie of treason against the kings maistie. &c.

By these hetherto alledged if M. Cope, will not be satisfied, yet let the reader indifferent iudge: V•rum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur. And yet moreouer to make the matter more certayne, marke the clamation of the sayd Roger Walle, added to y^e end of those

words aboue recited, whereby we haue to vnderstand more clearly, both what were the proceedings of the king in the said Parliament & also what was the blinde affection of mōks and Priestes at that time towarde their kinge and Prince (which was then called princeps sacerdotum) in condemning and destroying the poore Lollardes.* The wordes of the monke be these, O verus amicus, qui amico illa tam iniuriam sibi inferri cōsimiliter arbitratur,*praeiudicium illi intentū reputat esse suum, & ad eius onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros supponere non veretur. &c. That is: O true frend, who taketh and reckoneth that iniury no lesse done to him selfe which is done to his frend: and that preiudice whiche is intended against him, reputeth to bee as his owne. And to beare together the burdens of his friend, sticketh not to lay to his owne shoulders, for the easing and helping of him &c.

How can it now be denied (M. Cope) in reading these authors, and seeing theyr testimonies, but that Lollardery in this Parliament was made both treason. and heresie, & had therfore a double iudgement of punishment annexed, to be hanged for for the one, and to be burned for the other according as in my former Latin story I recorded, and yet I trust, I trifled not?

* But you will say agayne (as ye doe) that there is no mention made for heresie to be made treason, nor of anye double punishment to be inflicted for the same: In the body of the statute (I graunt) there is no expresse mention in wordes of heresie to be made treason,* expresly signified in rigour of wordes: but inclusiuely it is so inferred, that it can not be denied. For first where landes, goodes and cattell of the sayd Lollardes were lost and forfeit to the kyng,* what doth this importe els, but treason or felonie?

And where the Lorde Cobham (for whose cause specially this statute seemed to be made) did sustaine afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the same statute what is here contained: but a double penalty? Again wher'in the beginning of the statute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after vpon the same followeth the seruices of the king, whereunto the officers be first worne should first be preferred for libertie of holy Church, & punishment of hereticks, made before these dayes and not repealed, vt supra,* pag. 000. what meaneth this, but to make these congregations of the Lollardes, to be forcible entres riotes, great ridings, vnlawful assembles, affrayres of the people, armour, routes, & insurrections, & so sendeth them to the former statutes not repealed, that is, to the statute. an. 13. Henr. 4. chap. 7? Where the punishment is left to the discretion of the king? or els to the statute. an. 15. Richard chap. 2. Where the penalty is made fine and raunsome: Or els to the statute. an. 5. Richar. 2. chap. 6. where suche assembles be made playne treason, in fine statuti.

And as here is matter of treason sufficiently contained so for heresie likewise the same statute referreth them to y^e ordinaries,* and to the lawes, properly to heresie appertayning, and to the statute. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. where the penaltie is burning. Also to the statute. an. 5. Richard 2. chap.

5. So that in this present statute here mention is conteined, as ye see although not in expresse words, yet inclusiuely (by referring to other statutes not repealed) bothe Lollardery which is punished with burning, and forcible entrees which is punished at the kinges pleasure. And thus much concerning the secōd vntruth, which M. Cope vntruely noted in me.

3. The third vntruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter,* is this, wherein he reporteth mee, that I say, there was no other cause of deuising this sharp law & punishment against these mē,* but onely for hauing the scripture bookes. And therefore here is noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let M. Cope take heede, hee deceiue not himself and other. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latine story where I so say. Onely my wordes be these, added in the latter ende of the place aboue recited: Wicleuiani verò dicebantur quicun{que} id temporis Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent. &c. That is. They were called Wicleuistes, whosoeuer at that time read the Scripture in english or vulgare tongue. &c. I say not, that for the scriptures being read in y^e english tongue, therefore the law was enacted, but so is M. Cope disposed to construe it. What law & statuts were made against writing or reading of any booke in English or in any other tonge cōtrary to y^e Catholick (that is y^e Romish) sayth,* or to the determinatiō of the holy Church (that is of Rome) read I beseech thee the bloudy statute made. an. 2. Hen. 4. chap. 15. aboue specified pag. 523, Also read the constitution prouinciall of Thomas Arundell aboue mentioned, pag. 524. lin. 9. Where it was decreed, that the text of holy scripture should not be had or read in the vulgare tongue frō the time of M. Iohn Wickliffe, for euer after, vnlesse the sayd translation be approued first by the ordinary or by prouinciall councell, vnder pain and punishment of heresy. Now let the reader iudge whether y^e reading of scripture bookes in the english tongue, by the making or translating of Wickliffe, or from the tyme of Wicliffe downward, be couēted heresy or not. As for the approuing of the ordinary or of the prouincial councell added in the end of the sayd constitution, maketh more for a shew or pretence, then for any iust exception, or any true intention. For what man hauing those Scriptures translated in English, would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such bookes? or what ordinarie would or did euer yet since Arundels tyme approoue any such translation, presented vnto them? Or els why did the good Martyrs of Amersam suffer death, in the begynning of kyng Henry the viii. for hauing and reading certaine bookes of Scripture, which were (as is saide) onely foure Epistles of S. Paule, with certaine other prayers.* And the other which heard them but onely reade, did beare fagottes, and the same tyme, the children compelled to set fagots vnto their fathers, at which time Longlande being then Byshop of Lincolne, & preaching to them at y^e stake, sayde: that whatsoeuer they were, that did but moue hys lippes in reading those chapters, were damned foreuer: as when we come to that tyme,* by the grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amply and notoriously appear. And where thē is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined against me, for craftie dealing in my story?

Moreouer where M. Cope proceeding farther in this matter, asketh me: how was the Lorde Cobham obedient to the king,* whē as for the feare of him, the king durst not then keepe his parliament at London? To whom I aunswere agayne, asking likewise of M. Cope, howe was the king then afrayd to hold his parliament at London for the Lord Cobham, when the Lord Cobham at that time was in Wales: And here M. Cope, thinking to haue me at a narrow straight, and to holde me fast, biddeth me tell him, howe it coude be otherwise, but the Lorde Cobham must needes haue fautours. And who should these fautours be (sayth he) but syr Roger Acton, Browne & their fellowes. [Page 586](#) The which mighty question of M. Cope, I answer agayn howe can sir Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes be then fautors of the Lord Cobham, for whome the King durst not hold his parliament at Londō, when as the sayd Roger Acton, Browne, and the rest were put to death, a whole yeare almost before the Parliament at Leycester began?

And now as I haue hitherto briefly, and truely aunswered your askinges (M. Cope) let me be so bolde w^t you agayne, to propounde to you likewise an other question, For so much as you haue put me to the searching of y^e statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted: now out of the same statutes riseth a doubtfull scruple or questiō, worthy to be solued. The cause is this, y^t for asmuch as so many good martyrs and Saints of God hetherto in this realme of England, haue bene burned frō the time of king Henry 4. Hen. 5. Hen. 6. Hen. 8. to y^e time and in the time of Queene Mary, my question is that you w^t all your learned councell about you wil tel me, by what law or statute of the realme were these men brent? I know the auncient custome hath bene, that heretickes conuicted by a prouinciall councell were wont to be left to the secular power. But how wil ye proue me, these hereticks were either conuict by such prouinciall councell, or that these secular men ought to be your butchers in burning them, whō ye haue committed to them? If ye alledge the vi. Articles made in the reigne of king Henry the 8.* those articles neither did serue before the time of king Hēry the viii. neither yet were they reuiued after his time. If ye alledge to y^r statute made. an. 5. Richar. 2. cap. 5. In that statute (I aunswere) is contained no matter of burning, but onely of arrest to be done at the certificatiōs of the prelates, w^tout any further punishmēt there mentioned. To conclude, if ye alledge the statute made. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. and reuiued in the reigne of Queene Mary, mentioned before pag. 523 To that statute I answere, that although y^t pretended statute appeareth in forme of wordes in the Printed book to geue vnto the temporall officers authoritie to bring them to the stake, and to burne them, whom the Bishop deliuereth: Yet is it not to be proued, either by you, or any other, that statute to be law or warrant sufficient to burne anye person or persons committed to the secular power by the Clergy. And that I proue thus, for although the same statute of king Henry the fourth in the bookes printed, appeare to ba•e law and authority sufficient, by the ful assent both of the king, of the Lordes, and of the cōmons: yet being occasioned by M. Cope to search further in y^e statutes, I haue found that in the Rolles and first originals of that Parliament, there is no such mention either of any petitiō or els of any assent of the commons annexed or contained in that statute, according as in the printed bookes vsual in the Lawyers handes to craftely and falsely foysted in, as by the playne wordes thereof may well appeare.

For where the said statute. an. 2. Henry. 4. chap. 15. beyng thus intituled in the Rolles: *Petitio cleri contra haereticos*, and assented vnto in this forme: hath these wordes.

Statut. an. 2. Henri. 4. cap. 15. Intituled in the Rolle thus: *Petitio Cleri contra heteticos*, and assented vnto in this forme.

*

QVas quidem petitiones praelatorum & cleri superius expressatas do. noster Rex, de consensu magnatum & aliorum procerum regni sui, in praesenti Parlamento existentium concessit, & in omnibus & singulis iuxta formam & effectum eorundē ordinauit & statuit de caerero firmiter obseruari

, and so forth according to the petition: and moe wordes, are there not in y^e statute Rolle. Wherefore wher as the statute booke printed hath thus:

Super quibus quidem nouitatibus & excessibus supereus recitatis (videlicet in the petition of the Prelates & clergy) praelati & clerus supradicti ac etiam communitates dicti Regⁱ ni in eodem Parlamento existen.

dicto Domino Regi supplicarunt. &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex. &c. ex assensu magnatum & aliorum procerum eiusdem Regni &c. concessit ordinavit. &c.

These wordes

Ac etiam communitates dicti Regni. &c.

are put in further then the Rolle doth warrant, and seemeth to be the practise of the clergie, to make that as an Acte of Parliament, and to seeme to haue the force of a law, which was neuer assented vnto by the commons.

* And thus you see howe this foresayd statute, Printed both in English and in Latine among y^e Prouincial counsels of Oxford (by the vertue whereof so many good men haue bene burned so long in England) doth vtterly ouerthrow it selfe, for that it swerueth from the recorde bothe in forme and in matter, and lacketh the assent of the commons Which doubt I thought at this present to propound vnto you (mayster Cope) for that you haue so vrged me to the searching out of the statutes, by your declayming agaynst the Lord Cobham.

Moreouer vnto this statute aforesayd, ioyned also with all an other Memorandum of like practise done. an. 5. Rich. 2. In the which yeare,* where as a statute was concluded y^r parliament. an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. agaynst certayne preachers specified in y^e same statute, which going about in certayne habites from place to place, did drawe the people to sermons. And commissions were made and directed in the sayd parliament to the shrines, to arrest all such preachers and to imprison the same, at the certifications of the Prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the same statute an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. was reuoked by the king in the parliament. an. 6. Rich. 2 vpon the wordes of the commons being these videl. Forasmuch as the same statute was neuer assented, ne graunted by the commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their assent, and now ought to be vndone, for that it was neuer their meaning to be iustified and to bind themselues and their successors to the prelates no more,* then their auncetours had done before them. Ex Rotul. And yet thys foresayd reuocation notwithstanding in Queene Maryes tyme, they inquired vppon that statute.

In searching of these statutes,* as you haue accasioned me to find out these scruples: so being foūd out, I thought here not to dissemble them, for so muche as I see and heare many now a dayes so boldly to beare themselues vpō this statute, and thinking so to excuse themselues do say, y^t they haue done nothing but the law the law: to the intent that these men seeing now how inexcusable they be both before God and man hauing no law to beare them out, may y^e soner repent their bloudy and vnlawfull tyranny, exercised so long agaynst Gods true seruauntes, yet in time before that the iust law of God shall finde out their vniust dealinges, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will doe hereafter.

In the meane tyme this my petition I put vp to the Commous,* and to all other which shall hereafter put vp aⁿy petition to the Parliamēt: that they being admonished by this abuse, wil shew thēselues heare after more wise & circumspect: both what they agree vnto in Parliamētes, & also what commeth out in their name. And as these good Commons in this time of king Henry 4. would not consent nor agree to this bloudy statute, nor to anye other like For so we read that

the Commons in that bloody time of king Henry 4. when an other like cruell byll was put vp by the Prelates in an. 8. Hen. 4. against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also ouerthrow the other: so in like maner it is to be wished, that the commons in this our time, or such other that shall haue to do in parliaments hereafter following the steppes of these former times, will take vigilant heede to such cruell billes of the Popes prelacy, being put vp, that neither their consent do passe rashly: nor that their names in any condition be so abused, Cōsidering with themselues that a thing once being passed in the parliament, cannot afterward be called back: And a litle inconuenience once admitted, may grow afterward to mischiefes that cannot be stopped. And sometime it may so happen that through rashe consent of voices, the ende of thinges being not well aduised, such a thing being graunted in one day, that afterward many dayes may cause the whole realme to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with suche blacke parlamentes to beware of afterclaps. The Lord Iesus onely protector of his church, stop al crafty deuises of subtile enemies, and with his wisdom direct our Parliamentes, as may be most to the aduauntage of his word, and comfort of hys people. Amen. Amen.

And thus much hauing sayd for the defence of the Lord Cobbā, of syr Roger Acton knight, maister Iohn Browne Esquier, Iohn Beuerly preacher, and of other their fellowes agaynst Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an ende with this presēt Interim, till furthur leysure serue me here after (Christ willing) to pay him the whole Interest which I owe vnto him. Adding this in the meane time, and by the way: that if mayster Cope had bene a Momus anye thing reasonable, he had no great cause so to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord Cobham & that worthyly, for hys valiaūt standing by y^e truth, of his doctrine before Thomas Arundell the Archbishop so touching the matter of this conspiracie, I did not affirm or define any thing therof in my former historie so precisely that he could well take any vantage of agaynst me,* who in writing of this conspiracy layd agaynst syr Roger Acton, And syr Iohn Oldcastle, do but disiūctiue or doubtfully speake thereof, not concluding certainly this conspiracie eyther to be true or not true, but only prouing y^e same [Page 587](#) not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgill. and Edward▪ Hall in their histories doe affirme: which say that this conspiracie began after the burning of Iohn Husse and Hierome of Prage. Which could not be. And thereto tendeth my assertion.* My wordes are playne, and are these. pag. 174. col. 2. line. 13. Wherefore it is euident that there was eyther no conspiracie at all agaynst the king: or els that it was at some other tyme, or done by other Captaynes. &c.

These be my wordes with other moe, pag. col. and line aboue noted. In the which proposition disiunctiue, if eyther part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refell both, which he hath not done. But onely standing fast vpon the one part, dissimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that he shall come frō Rome (whether he is nowe gone as I heare say) I trust he will returne a better Logician home agayne in suam Angliam.

But to the truth of our matter, as I sayde before, so I say agayne, whatsoever this worthy, noble and vertuous knight syr Roger Acton was otherwise,* this is certaine y^t he was alwaies of contrary minde, and opinion to the bishop of Rome, & to that kind of people, for the which cause he had great enuy and hatred at their hands: and could as litle beare it: neither do I greatly dissent from them, which do suspect or iudge that the Lord Cobham, by his friendly helpe escaped out of the Tower, and that peradventure was the cause why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other causes also theyr might be, that these good men percase

did frequent among themselves, some cōuenticles (which conuenticles was made treason by the statute aforesayd) either in those Thickets or in some place els: for the hearing of Gods word, and for publike prayer, and therefore had they thys Beuerly theyr preacher with them.

But to conclude whatsoeuer this sir Roger Acton was this is y^e truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Actes and thinges done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned and put to death or martirdome. 3. yeares and more before the Lord Cobham died Likewise M. Iohn Browne, and Iohn Beuerly the preacher, suffered with him the same kinde of death (as some say) in the field of S. Giles with other moe, to the number of 36. if the storyes be true. Whiche was in the month of Ianuary. an. 1413. after the computation of our English stories,* counting the yeare from the annunciation, but after the Latine writers counting from Christes natiuitie. an. 1414. according as this picture is specified.

These men as is said, suffered before the Lord Cobham about 3. yeares, of whose death diuers do write diuersly. Some say they were hanged and burnt in S. Gyles field, of whom is Fabian,* with such as follow him. Other there be which say that some of them were hanged & burnt. Polydorus speaking onely of their burning maketh no mētiō of hanging.* An other certain english Chronicle I haue in my handes borrowed of one M. Bowyer, who somewhat differing frō the rest, recordeth thus of sir Roger Acton, that hys iudgement before the iustice was thus, to be drawne through London to Tyborne, and there to be hanged, and so he was naked saue certayne partes of him couered with a clothe. &c. And when certayn dayes were past (sayth the author) a Trumpeter of the kinges called Thomas Cliffe gat graunt of the king to take hym downe, and to burye hym, and so he did &c. And thus haue you the storye of syr Roger Acton, and hys fellow brethren. As touching theyr cause whether it were true or els by error mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops surmised, I referre it to the iudgement of him which shal iudge both the quick and dead,* & seculum per ignem. To whō also I commit you M. Cope, God speed your iorny well to Rome, whether I heare say you are going, and make you a good man.

After the decease or martyrdom of these aboue mentioned,* who are executed in the month of Ianuary an. 1414. in the next month following, and in the same yere, y^e 20. day of February, God tooke away y^e great enemy of his word, and rebell to his king Thom. Arundell Archb. of Cant. Whose death following after the execution of these good men aboue recited, by the merueilous stroke of God so sodenly, may seeme somewhat to declare their innocēcy, and that he was also some great procurer of theyr death, in that God woulde not suffer him longer to liue, striking hym with death incontinently vppon the same. But as I dyd the other before, so this also I do refer, to the secret iudgement of the Lord, who once shal iudge all secrets openly.

In the mean time this may seeme strange, that the same Tho. Arundell, who a litle before sitting vpon iudgement

[illustration]

The picture of the burning and hanging of diuers persons counted for Lollardes, in the first yeare of the raigne of king Henry the fift.

[Page 588](#) agaynst y^e Lord Cobham, and pronounced sentēce of death vpon him,* and did himselfe fele the stroke of death, & the sētece of God executed vpō him before the other. Who wold haue thought that the Lord Cobham being so cast and cōdemned diffinitiuely by the archbishops sentence, but y^t he should haue died long before the archbishop? But such be the works of gods almighty hand, who so turned y^r whele y^t this condēned Lord suruiued his condēner 3. or 4. yeres.

In the death of this Archb. first Polydor Virgil is deceiued, who in his 22. booke, pag. 441. affirmed hys death to be an. 1415. and in the second yeare of king Henr. 5. also after the beginning of the Councell of Constāce who in dede neuer reached the beginning therof, nor euer saw the secōd yeare of that king (vnles ye count the first day for a yeare) but dyed before, an. 1414. Feb. 20. Ex hist. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore concerning the death of this Arundell, and the maner therof, who had not bene so heauy a troubler of Christes saints in his time, because the thing semeth worthy of noting, to behold the punishment of God vpon hys enemies, this is to report, as I haue found it alledged out of Thomas Gascoin in Dictionario Theologico: Whose playne wordes be these: *Anno. 1414. Tho. Arundel Cant. Archiepiscop. sic lingua percussus erat: vt nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem suam potuerit, diuitis epulonis exemplo: & sic tantum obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligasset, ne suo tempore praedicaretur. &c.

That is, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Cant. was so strikē in his tongue that neither he could swallow, nor speake for a certayne space before hys death, much lyke after the example of the rich glotton,* and so dyed vpon the same. And thys was thought of many to come vpon him, for that he so bound the word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in hys dayes &c. whiche if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, these and such other horrible exāples of gods wrath, may be terrible spectacles for such as occupy theyr tongues and braynes so busily to stop y^e course of gods wrath, striuing but against y^e streame against the force whereof,* neither they are able to resiste, & many times in resisting are ouerturned thēselues & drowned therin. And thus much for the death of Tho. Arundel, who cōtinued archb. in y^r see of Cant. the space of 18. yeres.

* After this Arundel, succeeded next in the said see of Cāterb. Henry Chichelsly made archb. an. 1414. and sate xxv. yeares. This Henry following likewise the steps of hys predecessour, shewed himselfe no small aduersary against y^e fauourers of the truth. In whose time was much trouble and great afflictio in the church. For as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiply and spread abroad daily more and more, so on the contrary side, more vigilant care and straight inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason wherof diuers did suffer, & were burned, some for feare fled y^e country. Many were brought to examinatio, and by infirmitie constrained to abiure. Of whome hereafter (Christ willing) particularly in order of theyr times we will entreat.

As true pietie, and sincere preaching of Christes worde began at this time to decay: So idle mōkery and vaine superstitio in place therof begā to encrease.* For about y^e same yere the king began the foundation of 2. monasteries, one of the one side of Thames of Friers obseruaunt, y^e other on the other side Thames called Shene and Syon, dedicated to Charter house monkes, with certaine Brigit nonnes or recluses, to the nūber of 60. dwelling within the same precinct, so that the whole number of these with priestes, mōkes, deacons and nonnes shoulde equall the number of 13. Apostles and 72. disciples. The order of these was according to the discription of S. Paule

the Apostle, Col. 1. Eat not, tast not, touch not, &c. to eat no fleshe, to weare no linnen, to touch no mony. &c.

About Michaelmas, the same yeare the king began his Parliament at Leicester, aboue mentioned. In the whiche Parliament the commons put vp theyr bill agayn, which they had put vp before, an. 11. Henr. 4. the tēpporalties disorderly wasted by men of the church, might be conuerted & employed to the vse of the king, of his Earls and knights and to the reliefe of y^e poore people, as is before recited, pag. 557.* In feare of which bill least the king woulde geue therunto any comfortable audience (as testifieth Rob. Fabian and other writers) certayne of the Prelates & other headmen of the church put the king in mind to clayme his right in Fraunce.* Whereupon •en. Chichesly Archbish. of Caunterbury made a long and solemne oration before the king to perswade him to the same, offering to the king in the •ehalfe of the Clergie great and notable summes.* By reason wherof (sayth Fabian) the bill was agayne put of, and the king set his minde for the recouery of the same: so that soone after he sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and receiued from him againe answere of derision, w^t a pype of tennis balles (as some recorde) sent from the Dolphin, for him to playe with at home. Whereby the kinges minde was incensed y^r more toward that viage, who then furnishing hymselfe w^t strength and armour, with powder & shot, and gunstones to play with in Fraunce, and with other artillarye for that purpose conuenient, so set ouer into France, where he got Dareflew with diuers other townes and castles in Normandy and Picardy, and at Agyncourt had a great victory ouer the french army, they benig counted but 7. thousand. by pricking sharp stakes before them. &c. After that he wa• Cane, Towke, Kowan with other •ownes moe, as Meldune, or Melione, and maryed with Katherine the french kinges daughter. And yet notwithstanding the third time he made hys viage agayne into Fraunce, where at length at Bloys he fell sicke and dyed, Concerning all which viages, because they are sufficientlye discoursed in Fabian, •alle, and other Chronographers, referring therfore the reader vnto them, I will return my story to other matters of the Church more effectuall.

The entry of the story of the Bohemians.

I Declared a little before howe by the occasion of Queene Anne,* which was a Bohemian and married to king Richard 2. the Bohemians cōming therby to the knowledge of Wickliffes bookes here in England, began first to taste and sauor Christes gossell,* til at length by the preaching of Iohn Husse, they increased more and more in knowledge. In so much that pope Alexander the v. hearing thereof, began at last to styrre coales, and directeth his Bu• to y^r archbishop of Suinco, requiring hym to looke to the matter, & to prouide that no person in Churches, Schooles or other places should mayntayne that doctrine, citing also I. Hus to appeare before him.* To whom the sayd Iohn aunswering againe, declared that mandate or Bull of the pope vtterly to repugne agaynst the manifest examples & doinges both of Christ and of hys Apostles, and to be preiudiciall to the liberty of the Gossell, in binding y^e word of God not to haue free recourse. And therefore from this mandate of the P. he appealed to the same Pope better aduised. But while he was prosecuting hys appeale, Pope Alexander died, as is aforesayd, pag. •53. Ex Cochleo, in hist. Hussit.

After whome succeeded Pope Iohn the xxiii. who also playing hys part here in this matter like a Pope, sought by all meanes possible how to repress and keep vnder the Bohemians, first

beginning to worke his malice vpō the foresayd Iohn Husse theyr preacher. Who at the same tyme preaching at Prage in the temple of Bethleem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the Gospell of Christ, then the traditions of Bishops, was therefore accused of certayn to the forenamed P. Iohn the 23. for an heretick. The Bishop committed the whole matter vnto Cardinall de Collumna,* who when he had heard the accusation, he appoynted a day to Iohn Husse, that he shold appeare in the court of Rome: whiche thing once done, Wenceslaus king of the Romaines & of Boheme, at the request specially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Boheme, as also at the earnest sute and desire of the towne and vniuersitie of Prage: He sent his Embassadours to Rome, to desire the byshop to quit & clearely deliuer Iohn Husse from that sentence and iudgement, and that if the byshop did suspect the kingdome of Boheme to be infected with anye heretical or false doctrine, that he shold send his ambassadors the which might correct and amēd the same, if there be any error or fault in them. And that all this should be done at the onely costes and charges of the king of Boheme, and to promise in his name that he would ayde and assiste the Bishops Legates with all hys power and authoritie, to punishe all such as shoulde be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the meane season also Iohn Husse before his day appointed, sent his lawfull and meete procurators vnto the court of Rome, and with most firme and stronge reasons, dyd proue hys innocency, whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he shoulde haue easely obtayned that he should not haue bene compelled, by reason of the great dāger, to appeare the day appoynted. But when as the Cardinall de Collumna, (vnto whose will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would not admit no defēce or excuse:* Iohn Husse his procurators, appealed vnto the high Bishop: yet notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much preuaile with Cardinall de Collumna, but that he would opely excommunicate Iohn Husse as an obstinate hereticke, because he came not at hys day appoynted vnto Rome.

Nothwithstanding for so much as his procurators had [Page 589](#) appealed vnto the high bishop, they had other iudges appointed vnto them, as cardinal Aquileianus and cardinal •enetus with certayne others. The which iudges after they had prolonged and differred the matter by the space of one yere and a halfe, at the last they returned to the sentēce and iudgement of cardinall de Columna, and confirming y^e same, commaunded Iohn Hus his Procurators that they should leaue of to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Wherupon when his Procurators would not cease theyr instant sute, certayne of them were cast into prisō, and greuously punished, the other leauing theyr busines vndone, returned into Boheme.

* The Bohemians notwithstandinge little cared for all this, but continuing stil as they grew more in knowledge, so the lesse they regarded the Pope, complayning dayly agaynst him and the Archb. for stopping the word of God, and the gospel of Christ to be preached, saying that by their indulgences and other practises of the court of Rome, and of the bishops Consistory, they sought their owne profit, & not of Iesus Christ: that they pluckt from the sheepe of Christ the wool and milke, and did not feed them, neyther with the word of God nor with good examples. Teaching moreouer and affirming, that the commaūdements of the Pope and Prelates are not to be obeyed, but so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his Apostles, and that lay men ought to iudge the workes of the prelates as Paule iudged the workes of Peter in correcting him. Gal. 2. Furthermore, they had amongst thē certayne notes and obseruations, whereby they might discerne how far & wherein they might obey theyr prelates: they derided also

& scorned the Popes iurisdiction, because of the schisme that was then in the church, whē there were 3. popes together one striuing agaynst another for the papacy.

* Ouer and besides this, at the same time Iohn Hus did propoūd publickly, and by the Notaries caused to be written. 3. doubtfull questions, the tenor wherof foloweth here word for word & is this: Forasmuch sayth he as it is good for men being in doubt to aske counsell, whereby all dubitatiō remoued, they may be able the more firmly to adhere the truth. 3. doubtes here arise to be solued. The first doubt is whither we ought to beleue in the Pope. The second, whither it be possible for any man to be saued, which confesseth not with his mouth vnto a mortal priest. The third doute is, whither any of the doctors doe holde or say that some of Pharaos host being drowned in the red sea, and of the Sodomites being subuerted, besaued.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatiuely, alleading the saying of •ede vpon this place of the Apostle: To him that beleueeth vpon him which iustifieth the wicked, his fayth is imputed to righteousness.* Rom. 4. Vpon thys place sayth •ede: Aliud est credere in deum, aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum. &c. The second doubt sayth he, the maister of the sentence doth answere. lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11. in these wordes: What is then to be holden or sayd herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoyling of the outward payne, sinnes be forgeuen through contrition and humility of the hart. &c. For the third doubt he brought in the wordes of S. Ierome vpon the Prophet Nahum, speaking of the Egiptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyd with fire, & of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. Know you (sayth Ierome) that God therfore punished them for their sinnes here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, & therfore because they were here punished, they shall not be punished hereafter for els the scripture should lie, which is not to be graunted. These 3. questiōs belike Iohn Hus did bring in to declare howe the doctors doe not agree in all things neither with the church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all poyntes of all men.

* It foloweth moreouer after the death of the Archbish. Swinco aboue mentioned, that one named Cōradus was placed by y^e pope there to be chief general, which Cōradus conferring with the diuines and doctors of the vniuersity of Prage, required their aduises and counselles, what way they might best take to asswage the dissensions & discordes betwene the clergy and the people. Whereupon a certayne councell was deuised to be holden after this sort and maner as foloweth.

1. First, that all doctors and maisters of the vniuersity of Prage should be assēbled in the court of the Archb. and in his presence that euery doctor and maister shoulde sweare, not to holde or mayntayne any of the 45. articles of Iohn Wickliffe before condemned.

2. Item, concerning the 7. sacraments of the Church, the keyes & censures of the church, the maners, rites, ceremonies, customes, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of reliques and indulgēses, the orders & religions of the church, that euery one shall sweare that he doth hold, beleue & mayntayn, and will maintayn as doth the church of Rome and no otherwise, of the which church of Rome the Pope is the head, & the colledge of Cardinals is the body: who are the true and manifest successours of blessed S. Peter prince of the Apostles, and of the colledge of the other Apostles of Christ.

3. Item, that euery one shall sweare, that in euery catholicke matter belonging to the Church that he will stand to the determination of the Apostolicall sea, and that he wyll obey the prelates in all maner of thinges wheresoeuer,* the thing which is pure good is not forbidden: or that which is mere ill, is not commaunded: but is meane or indifferēt be'twene both. Which mean or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or euill.

4. Item, that euery one shall sweare & confesse by his oth, that the opinions of Wickliffe and others, touching the 7. sacraments of the church and other things aboue notified, being contrary to the sayd church of Rome be false.

5. Item, that an othe be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintaine any of the 45. articles of Iohn Wickliffe aforesayd; or in any other matter catholicke, and especially of the 7. Sacraments and other articles aboue specified, but only as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwise.

6. Item, that euery ordinary in his dioces shall cause the sayd premisses contained in the 1.2.3.4. articles aforesayde to be published in his Sinodes, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdome of Boheme.

7. Item, that if any Clerke, student, or lay man shal with stād any of the premisses, that the ordinary haue authority if he be conuicted therof to correct him, according to the old lawes and Canons, and that no man shal d••end such one by any meanes, for none but the ordinary hath power to correct such a man, because the Archbishop is chauncellour both of the kingdome and vniuersity of Prage.

8. Item, that the songes lately forbidden, being odious, •aūderous and offensiue to others fame, be not long neyther in streetes, tauernes, nor any other place.

9. Item, that maister Iohn Hus shall not preach so long as he shall haue no absolution of the court, neither shal hin'der the preaching in Prage by his presence, that by this, his obedience to the Apostolicall sea may be knowne.

10. Item, that this Councell doth appeare to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissentiō that is in the kingdome of Boheme.

11. Item, if maister Iohn Hus, with his complices will performe this, which is conteined in the 4. former Articles, then we will be ready to say as they woulde wishe vs and haue vs, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of fayth, otherwise if they wyll not so doe, we in geuing this testimony should lye greatly vnto our Lord the King & to the whole world. And moreouer, we will be content to write for them to the Court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honors saued. This counsell and deuise being considered amongst the head of the vniuersity of Prage, the foresayd administrator named Conradus, presented to the king and to the barons of the realme, and also to the Senate of Prage. Whereof as soone as word came to Iohn Hus and his adherents, they likewise drew out other Articles in maner and forme of a councell as foloweth.

For the honor of God & the true preaching of hys gospell, for the health of the people, and to auoyd the sinister & false infamy of the kingdome of Boheme, and of the Marquiship of Morauia, & of the city and vniuersity of Prage, and for the reforming of peace & vnity betweene the clergy and the scholers of the vniuersity.

1. First, let the right and iust decrement of the princes and of the kinges councell, be holden and stand in force, which betwene the L. Archbi. Suinco on the one party, and betwene the rector & maister Iohn Hus on the other party, was made, proclaimed, s[•]aled, and solemnly on both parts receiued and allowed in the court of our soueraigne Lord the king.

2. Item, that the kingdome of Boheme remain in his former rites, liberties & common customes, so as other kingdomes & landes do enioy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other actes concerning the holy mother vniuersall church.

3. Item, that maister I. Hus, agaynst whom the foresayd Lord Suinco, could obiect no crime before the coūcell, that the sayd Iohn Hus may be present in the congregation of the Clergy and there whosoever will obiect to him either heresy or error, let him obiect, binding himself to suffer the like payne, if he do not proue it.

[Page 590](#)4. Item, if no man will set himselfe on y^e contrary part against him, then let the cōmaundement be made by our soueraigne Lord the king through all his Cittyes; and likewise let it be ordeined and proclaimed through all villages and townes, that maister Iohn Hus, is ready to render ac^tcount of his fayth, and therefore if any will obiect vnto him any heresy or errour, let him write his name in the chauncery of the Lord Archbishop, and to bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5. Item, if no such shalbe founde to obiect, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be noised & rumored in the Popes Court, that in the kingdome of Boheme, in the City of Prage, and in the Marquesdome of Morauia, many there be whose harts be infe^cted with heresy and error, that they may proue who they be: and if they be not able to proue it, let them be punished.

6. Item, that commaundement be directed to Doctors of Diuinity and of the Canon law, and to the Chapter of Ca^thedrall churches, and that it be required of them all and of euery one particularly, that they wil bring forth his name, if they know any such to be an heretick or erroneous. And if they deny to know any such, then let them make recogni^tion therof, before the publike Notary, confirming y^e same with their seales.

7. Item, these things thus done & premised, then that our soueraigne Lord the king, & also that the Archb. will geue commaundement vnder payne that no man shall call one another hereticke or erroneous, vnles he will stand to the probation of that heresy or error, as it becommeth him.

8. Item, after these thinges obtained that our soueraigne lord the king, with the consent of his Barons, will thē leuy a subsidy, or collect of the clergy, & direct an honest ambassy to the Popes court, with the which ambassadors, let thē also go vpō theyr owne proper charges or expenses for

theyr purgation, which haue caused this kingdome falsly & greuously to be infamed in the Apostolicall court.

9. Item, in the meane season for the presence of master I. Hus no Interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holye mother church. &c.

As this matter was thus in altercatiō betwene y^e two parts, y^e one obiecting, y^e other answering in articles, as is aforsayd: In the meane time it happened by the occasiō of Ladislaus king of Naples, who had besieged the Popes townes and territories, that Pope Iohn raising vp warr agaynst the sayd Ladislaus, gaue ful remission of sinnes to all them which would warre of his side to defēd y^e church. When this Bul of y^e popes indulgēce was come to Prage,* and there published, the king Wenslaus, who thē fauored that pope, gaue cōmaundement that no man should attēpt any thing against the sayd Popes indulgēces. But Hus w^t his folowers, not able to abide y^e impiety of those pardōs. began manifestly to speake agaynst them, of the which cōpany were 3. certayn artificers, who hearing y^e priest preaching of these iudulgences, did opēly speak against them, & called the pope Antichrist, which would set vp the crosse to fight agaynst his euenchristened. Wherefore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to warde. But the people ioyning thēselues together in armes: came to y^e magistrates, requiring thē to be let loose. The magistrates with gētle wordes and fayre promises satisfied the people, so that euery man returning home to his own house, y^e tumult was asswaged. But the captiues being in prison, notwithstanding were there beheaded, whose names were Iohn,* Martin, and Stascon. The death and martirdome of these three being knowne vnto the people, they took the bodies of them that were slaine, and with great solemnitye brought them vnto the church of Bethlem. At whose funerall diuers priestes fauoring that side, did sing in this wise These be the Sayntes whiche for the testament of God gaue their bodies. &c. And so their bodyes were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlem, I. Hus preaching at the same funerall, much commending them for theyr constancye, and blessing God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, whyche had hidde the way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, and had reuealed it to the simple lay people and inferior priestes, which chose rather to please God then men.

Thus this City of Prage was deuided. The prelates with the greatest part of the clergy, & most of the Barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold w^t the pope, especially Steuen Paletz,* being the chieffest doer on that side. On the contrary part the commons, with part of the clergy & studentes of the vniuersity went with Iohn Hus. Wenslaus the king fearing least this would grow to a tumult,* being moued by the doctors and prelates and counsell of his barons thought best to remoue Iohn Husse out of the Citty, who had bene excommunicated before by the Pope: And further to cease this dissention risen in the church, committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergy. They cōsulting together among thēselues, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentēce of the king, contayning the summe of 18. articles for the maynteynance of the Pope and the see of Rome, agaynst the doctrine of Wickeliffe and Iohn Husse. The names of the Doctors of Diuinity were these: Steuen Paletz: Stanislaus de Znoyma: Petrus de Ikoyma: Ioannes Heliae: Andreas Broda: Iohannes Hildesen: Mattheus Monachus: Hermannus Heremita: Georgius Bota: Simon Wenda. &c. Iohn Hus thus departing out of Prage, went to his cōuntry, where he being protected by the Lord of the Soile, continued there preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people, neither yet was he so expelled out of Prage, but that sometimes he resorted to his church of Bethleem, and there also preached vnto the people.

Moreouer agaynst the sayde decree of the doctours, I. Hus with his companye replied agayne, and aunswered to their articles, with cōtrary articles agayn as foloweth.

The obiections of Iohn Hus and of his part, agaynst the decree of the Doctors.

First, the fōudatiō of the Doctors wherupon they fōūd all their writings and counsels, is false, which fōūdatiō is this, where as they say that part of the clergy in y^e kingdome of Boheme is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsely of the Sacramentes,

2. The Doctors hereby do defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do rayse vp new discordes.

3. Let them shew therefore those persons of the Clergye, whom they call pestilent, & so let them verify theyr report, binding themselues to suffer the like paine, if they be not able to proue it.

4. False it is y^t they say, the Pope & the cardinals to be the true & manifest successors of Peter & of the Apostles, neyther that any other successors of Peter or the Apostles, can be fōūd vpon earth besides thē. Whē as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of fauour. And all Byshops and priests be successors of Peter & of the Apostles.

5. Not the pope, but Christ onely is the head: and not the Cardinals, but all Christes faythfull people be the body of the Catholick church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testify and affirme.

6. And as touching y^e pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member also of y^e holy Church of God, but of the deuill, and of his sinagogue.

7. The clergy of the gospellers agreeing with the saying of S. Austen which they alledge, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirme laudably: that the condēnation and prohibition of the 45. articles is vnlawful, and vniust, and rashly done: for that not onely because the doctors, but also all Bishops and Archbishops, in suche great causes, namely, touching faith (as these articles doe) haue no authority at all, as appeareth. De baptismo et eius effectu cap. Maiores. Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. Hinc sedi. &c.

8. The second cause of the discord which they alledge, also is most false: seing the fayth of whole Christendome cōcerning the church of Rome, is deuided in 3. parts by the rea'son of 3. popes, which now together do raigne: And the 4. part is newtrall. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope, & of the cardinals, but so farr forth as they do agree with y^e holy scripture of the old and new Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers, did first spring as is euident. De accusationibus cap. qualiter. &c.

9. In the 4. Article they brast out into a certayne dotage, & are contrary to themselues. By reason that they doitishly haue reprehēded the gospellers, who in all their doings receiue the holy scripture (whith is the law of God, y^e way of trueth and life) for their iudge and measure: and afterward they themselues doe alleadge the scripture. Deut. 17. where all iudges both popes and Cardinals are taught to iudge & discern betwene leaper & leaper, & in euery ecclesiasticall

cause, only after y^e rule of gods law. And so are they cōtrary vnto their secōd article, wherin they say: y^t in euery catholicke matter we must runne to the pope: which is cōtrary to the foolish condemnation of the Articles aforesaid. 10 Consequently, like idiots they doe most fasly alledge for their purpose the Canon, vnder the name and authority of Ierome written 24. q. 1. Haec est fides papa. &c. where they do apply the wordes of Ierome most impertinentlye to the pope of Rome,* which he writeth to S. Austen, calling him a most blessed Pope.

11. By the whiche place of Ierome,* it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false. Forasmuch as by these [Page 591](#) wordes appeareth that other besides the bishop of Rome and his Cardinals, are called blessed Popes, holding the fayth and seat of Peter, and are successours of the Apostles as was Austen and other holy byshops moe.

12. Wherof it followeth moreouer, that y^e church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint y^e principall sea of his whole Church. For Christ, which was the head priest of all, did first sit in Ierusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes dyd sit some in Bonony, some at Perusium, some at Auinion.

13. Item, the foresayde Prelates are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and Canons, & therefore are worthy to be punished: Which affirme and say, that we must obey the pope in all thinges. For why it is knowne that many Popes haue erred, and one Pope was also a woman. To whome not onely it was not lawful to geue obediēce,* but also vnlawfull to communicate with them. As all Rubrices, and infinite Canons do declare.

14. Item, their 6.7.8.9.10.11. Articles doe stand and are grounded vpon vntrue and false persuasions. And therefore are to be reiected and detested like the other before: Seyng they doe induce not to peace and veritye, but to dissention and falsity.

15. It is manifest also to the laitye, that this dissention among the clergy riseth for no other cause, but onely for the preaching of the Gospell, which reprehendeth such Simoniacks. and such hereticks in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out theyr braunches abroad into all the world. Who deserue to be remoued & ex'tirpate not onely of the clergy gospellers, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to witte, Symonye, Luxury,* & Auarice (which is Idoll worship) be the causes of all this dissention amonge the Clergye in the kingdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falsely ascribe to the Gospellers of Prage. These three vices beyng remoued, peace and vnity woulde soone be reformed in the Clergy.

16. Moreouer, their last article is to much grosse, and not onely is without all law, but also w^tout all coulour of law: whereas they fondly and childishly doe argue thus: that the processes made agaynst M. Iohn Hus ought to be obeyed, because forsooth the common sort of the Clergye of Prage, hath receiued them: By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the deuil, for our first parēts Adam and Eue obeyed him. Also our fore auncetours before vs were Paganes, wherfore we must obey them, and also the Paganes.

17. But let this friuolous opiniō go, this is certain truth, that the said processes made against maister Iohn Hus, by law are none. Forsomuch as they were obteyned, drawne, wrought, and

executed contrary to the commission of the Pope, against the determinatiō of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom. and a thousand other lawes besides.

18. Finally, whosoever wittingly & obstinately do defend and execute (the sayd processes made) or consenteth vnto thē, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretickes, as hath bene afore written and exhibited to y^r Lord generall bishop Olomucense. And more shalbe declared and proued, if audience may be geuen openly before all the Doctors. Ex Aenea Sylui. & Chocleo.

Vnto these obiections of I. Hus & his part, the Catholique Doctors agayn did answer in a long tedious pro'ces: The scope wherof principally tended to defend y^e principallity of the Pope, & to mayntayne his obedience aboue all other potentates in y^e world: affirming & cōtēding, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in Purgatory, and whiche are labouring in the Church militant, and which are resting in heauen: yet this letteth not, but the Pope is heade of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithfull, which here in this world liue vnder his office. Like as Christ is kyng of all kings, and yet Charles may be the king of Fraunce: So say they,* Christ may be the vniuersall head, and yet the Pope may be head vnder him of the whole Church. And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the Colledge of Cardinals is the body of the Romish church, which church of Rome is placed in the ecclesiasticall office here ouer the earth, to know and define vpō euery ecclesiasticall and catholicke matter, to correct errors, and to purge them, and to haue care vpon all such vniuersall matters, & cure vpon all vniuersall churches, and vpon the vniuersal flocke of faythfull christians. Forasmuch as in the regimēt of the church through y^e vniuersal world, there must nedes remayne in such office alwayes some suche manifest & true successors of Peter, prince of the Apostles & of the colledge of the other Apostles of Christ: neither can there be found or geuen vpon earth any other successors,* but only y^e Pope which is the head, and the colledge of Cardinals, which is the body of the foresayd church of Rome. And although the whole vniuersall multitude of the faythfull do make y^e body of Christ, yet the same body of Christ is not placed here in office to exercise such authority vpon earth. Because that vniuersal multitude was neuer yet, nor euer can be cōgregate together.

And therefore necessary it is,* that some such true and manifest successors & iudges be appoynted, to whom recourse must be had, in all such catholick and ecclesiastical matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments, euery case of discord is brought before his iudge, & hath his place assigned where to be decided: So like reason would requyre, that in principall matters and controuersies of fayth, some such presidents & places be limited for the purpose to haue such doubtres resolued. And this being graunted, then the doctors proceed, & here must needes cōclude (say they) that there cannot be geuen in all the world any other place, but onely the church of Rome: the head wherof is the Pope, & the body is the colledge of Cardinals. For like as Christ departing out of this world in his corporal presēce, le•t his body here with vs, vnder the Sacramēt in another forme, whereby he remayneth with vs (according to his promise Mat. vlt.) vnto the consummation of the worlde: Euen so while Christ walked here on earth in his bodily presēce, he was Pope himselfe & chiefe bishop, & so head of the church here militant in earth, corporally cōioyned with the same, as y^e head is to his body. But after that he departed out of y^r world because his body which is the church militant,* vp on the earth, should not be headlesse, therefore he left Peter, & his successors to his church, for an head in his place, vnto the

consummation of the world, saying to him: Thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke I will build my church. &c. Mat. 16. And agayne he sayth, feede my sheepe. Ioan. vlt. That is to say, be thou Peter the head ouer thy brethren.

Tedious it were to recite all the bibblebabble of these doctors in this their long responsall.* Who so listh to see y^e bottome of their profounde writing & knowledge, may resort either to the history of Siluius, or els to M. Cochleus, in his first booke De hist Hussit.

Thus then M. Iohn Hus being driuen out of Prage (as is afore touched) by the motion of these Doctours, and moreouer being so excōmunicate, that no Masse nor other must be sayd there where he was present. The people begā mightily to grudge and to cry out agaynst the Prelates & other popish priests, which were the workers therof, accu|sing thē to be Simoniacks, couetous, whoremaisters, adulterers, proud, sparing not to lay opē their vices to their great ignominy and shame. And much crauing a reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king seing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickednes of the clergy, vnder pretence to reforme the church, began to require greater exactions vpon such Priestes and men of the Clergy, as were knowne and accused to be wicked liuers. Whereupon they on the other part, that fauored Iohn Hus, taking that occasion present, complayned of all, accused many, and spared none, Whomsoeuer they knew to be of the Catholicke faction, or enemies to Iohn Hus. By reason wherof y^e priests of the popish Clergy were brought,* such as were faultye, into great distresse, and such as were not faulty, into great feare. In so much that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the Protestantes, being afrayd to displease them. By this meanes maister Hus beganne to take some more liberty vnto him, & to preach in his church at Bethleem, & none to controll him: by the same meanes the people also receiued some comfort, and the king much gayne & mony by the reason.

And thus the popish Clergy, while they went about to persecute Iohn Hus, were in wrapped thēselues in great tribulation, and afflicted on euery side, as wel of lay mē, as of learned men of the clergy. In so much that womē also & children were agaynst thē. And by y^t same reasō, wherwith they thought to entangle him, they were ouerthrown thēselues. For the Doctors which before condemned this doctrine in Iohn Hus, for an intollerable heresy, & cried out so much agaynst him, for teaching y^e tēporall Lords might take away tēporall liuings frō y^e clergy sinning habitualiter that is, lying and continuing still in the custome of iniquity: now when the king and the Lords temporall began to mearse them and berieue them of their tēporalties for their transgressions,* the sayd Doctors did keepe silence & durst speake neuer a word. Agayne where the foresayd doctors, before could not abide in Iohn Hus, that tithes wer to be coūted for pure almes, now comming to y^e Guildhal, were faine to entreat for theyr temporall goodes, not to be taken [Page 592](#) from them, pleading the same temporalties to be mere almose and deuotion of good men, geuen vnto the church. Ex Cochleo.

And thus now did they themselues graunt the thing, which before they did condemne. The more that the popes clergy was pinched, the more grudge & hatred redounded to Iohn Hus, although he was in no cause therof, but onely their owne wicked deseruinges, for the which cause Stephen Paletz,* and Andraeas de Broda, being the chiefe champions of that faction, though they could not remedy the case, yet to ease theyr mindes, wrote sharpe and cruell letters to Maister Hus.

And to helpe the matter forward, the Pope also here must helpe at a pinche, who likewise writeth hys letters to Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, which was brother to Sigismund Emperour, for the suppressing of Iohn Hus & of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last yere of his Popedome. an. 1414. The tenour of whose letters to king Wenceslaus in this wise proceedeth.

The letter of Pope Iohn to K. Wenceslaus.

Iohn Bishoppe seruauant of Gods seruantes, to his welbeloued sonne in Christ Wenceslaus,^{*}King of Romaines and of Boheme, greeting and apostolicall benediction.

Among other desires and delightes of our hart: who although vnworthy to represent the roome of Christ here in earth: this doth chiefly redounde to our singular comfort fo often as we do heare of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms do encrease, as contrary by discorde they are deminished) which is betweene your honour, and our welbeloued in the Lord Sigismund your brother germane & cosin, for the noble king of the Romans &c. And furthermore it foloweth in these words. And as we haue cause to ioy at the premisses: so likewise agayne the heauy rumors which are here, do trouble and dampe our mindes. For we heare that in diuers places vnder your dominiō, there be certain which do folow and leane to the errors of that archhereticke Wickliffe, whose bookes haue bene long since condemned in the generall Romain councell to bee erroneous, hereticall, and swaruing from the catholicke fayth. And furthermore whiche is worst of all, the sayd persons cleauing to the opinions of the heretickes (least they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excès, to couer theyr naughtines and stubbernesse in despising the commaundements of the Apostolicall seat) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keies and ecclesiasticall censure, to the subuersion of the Apostolicall dignity, setting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers & canons. Wherefore we do exhort your

[illustration]

The description of the Popes councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monstrous Owle, to the vtter defacing of the Pope and all his Clergy.

worship for the mercy of our God, as hartely as we may or cā, that it would please you as we desire & hope you will (so effectuously) to shew forth your regall power, both for the glory of God, & defence of the catholicke fayth (which you go about to defend) and for the conseruation of your kingly name, state and honor, for the prosperous safe gouernement of your kingdome and dominions, as it becommeth a catholicke prince, whereby this blot of heresye (which doth so lamentably and miserablie spring and creepe in those partes and doth so infect the mindes of mortall men, to the destruction of their soules, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholick fayth and truth) may be rooted out. &c.

Geuen at Bononia in the Ides of Iune, in the v. yeare of our popedome. &c.

In this epistle of Pope Iohn aboue prefixed, forsomuch as mention is made of a certaine councell before holden at Rome (which was 4. yeares before) agaynst the articles & books of Iohn

Wickliffe: it shall not be impertinēt nor out of purpose to repeat a certayn mery history & worthy otherwise to be noted at, written by Nicholas Clemangis o• a certayne spirite, which ruled the Popish Councelles, hys worde are these.

The same pope called a Coūcell at Rome about foure yeares before,* at the earnest sute of diuers men. And a mas of the holy Ghost being sayd at the entraunce into the sayd Councell (according to the accustomed maner) the Councell being set, and the sayde Iohn sitting highest in a chayre prepared for him for that purpose: Behold a ougly & dread full Owle, or as the common prouerbe is, the euill signe of some mischaunce of death to followe, comming out of the backe halfe of him, flew to and fro, with her euill fauoured voyce, and standing vpon the middle beame of the church, cast her staring eyes vpon the Pope sitting, the whole cōpany began to maruell, to see the night Crowe, whiche is wont to abide no light, how she should in y^e midday come in the face of such a multitude, & iudged (not without cause) that it was an illfaured token. For beholde sayde they, (whispering one in on others eare) the spirite appereth in the shape of an Owle. And as the stode beholding one an other, and aduising the pope, scarcely could keep their coūtenaunce from laughter, Iohn himselfe, vpon whom the Owle stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, beganne to sweate and to fret and fume with himselfe, and not finding by what other meanes he might salue the matter, being so confused dissoluing the Councell, rose vp and departed. After that there followed an other session. In the whiche the Owle again, after the maner aforesayd, although, as I beleue, [Page 593](#) not called, was present looking s•edfastly vpon the bi'shop, whom he beholding to become agayne, was more ashamed then he was before (and iustly) saying he could no longer abide the sight of her, & commaūded that she should be driuen away with bates and shottinges: but she being a•rayde neither with their noyse, neither of any thing els, would not away, vntill that with the strokes of the sticks, which were throwne at her, she fell downe dead before thē all. This I learned of a faythfull frend, who at the same time came to Rome, the which thing I scarsely crediting for the rarenes of the matter, he affirmed by his othe, that it was most certayn & true: adding moreouer that all there present were much offēded, & did greatly deride that Coūcell called for such a purpose, and by little and litle the Coūcel was dissolued, nothing done ther as he saith. Although it hath not bene alwayes seene that such spirituall Doues haue bene present with Popes and their Councels, & gouerned thē: yet their euill doctrine declareth no lesse. Read gentle reader the booke of Clemangis, and thou shalt not thinke thy labor euill bestowed. For he hath both learnedly, truely, freely, and godly, bewayled the filthines of Antichrist, and his ministers, their wickednes, impiety and cruēlty, and the miserable state and face of the Church. &c. And thus much for Pope Iohn.

The Councell of Constance.

HEre by the way is to be noted and vnderstand, that duꝛing all this time of Pope Iohn, there were 3. Popes raigning together,* neither was yet the the schisme ceased, which so long time had continued, the space (as I sayde) of 29. yeares. By the reason wherof a generall Council was ordeined & holden at Constance in the same yeare. an. 1414. being called by Sigismund the Emperour, and Pope Iohn the 23. for the pacifiyng of the foresayd schisme, which was then betweene three Popes, striuing for the Popedome. The first whereof was Iohn, whom the Italians set vp. The second was Gregory,* whom the Frenchmen set vp. The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniardes placed. In this schismaticall ambitious conflict, euery one defended his Pope, to the great disturbans of christian nations. This councell endured foure yeares long, wherin all their

matters were decided most by foure natiōs, to say the English, Germaine, French, & Italian nation. Out of which •oure nations were apoynted & chosen foure Presidentes to iudge and determine the matters of the Councell. The names of which Presidentes were these, Iohn the Patriarke of Antioche for Fraunce, Anthony Archbishop of Rigen for Italy, Nicholas Archbishoppe of Genesuensis for Germany,* and Nicholas Bishop of Bathe for England by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publike profit, might haue bene concluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could haue bidden the salt of the Gospell, and if they had loued the truth: but as Gregogorius Nazienzenus writeth, there lightly come few generall Councels, but they end more with disturbance, then tranquility. So it happened in this councell, for wheras Iohn the 13. in the first Session exhorteth them by these wordes taken out of the 8. of Zachary. Viritatem diligite, that is to say: Lone the truth, further, monishing them, and specially the Deuines euery man to do his endeouour for the vnitye of the Church, and to speake their minde freely: but howe soone this his exhortation was forgottē, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the Prophetes, and persecuting of Christ in his mēbers, as by the grace of Christ shall appeare hereafter in the processe of this story. First this Iohn did resigne his Papacy, the Emperor geuing him thankes kissed his feet.

Afterward the sayd Iohn repenting him that he had so done, sought meanes to flee, whereunto Fredericke Duke of Austrich did assist him, for he chaunging his garments, fled by night with a small cōpany.* And when he was now come vnto Schaffe house to goe into Italy, the Emperour pursuing, tooke him, and proclaymed Fredericke traytour, & for that cause tooke away certayne Cittyes from him. At the last the matter was appeased vnder this cōdition, that Fredericke should require grace of the Emperour, and resigne all his possessions vnto him. Wherupō the Emperour receiued him againe into fauor, & restored him to his dukedome. This pope being thus deposed,* was committed vnto the County Pallatine, and by him caried to the Castle of Manheime, where he was kept prisoner by the space of 3. yeares. Afterward he was agayne by Pope Martine, admitted to the number of Cardinals.*

This Pope Iohn was deposed by the decree of y^e coūcell, more then 40. most greuous and haynous crimes being obiected and proued agaynst him: as that he had hyred Marculus Permensis a Ph•sition, to poyson Alexander his predecessour. Further, that he was an heretick, a simoniake, a lyer, an hipocrite, a murderer, an inchaūter, a diceplayer, an adulterer, and a sodomite, & finally what crime is it, that he was not infected withall?

And now to returne vnto the councell, first we wil declare the order of their Sessions, with things therin concluded, in generall: then we will (Christ willing) adioyne the speciall tractation of such matters, as perteyne to the story of the Bohemians, and Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, who in the same vngodlye councell were condemned and burned.

This councell therfore of Constance, which was summoned by the Emperour Sigismund, and Pope Iohn 23. about the natiuity of our Lord Iesus, an. 1414. began the same yeare to be assembled about the latter end of the yere. Which first beginning as the maner is,* with a Mas•e of the holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custōe the Himne, Veni sancte spiritus, there was at the same time a certayne Bill set vp in the Church by some well disposed man, as it seemed, wherein was conteyned these wordes folowing: Alijs rebus occupati nunc adesse vobis nō possumus. That is to say. We are otherwise occupied at this tyme, we can not intend to come

to you. Here is also to be remēbred the worthye saying of the Emperour Sigismund, when talke was ministred as touching the reformation of the spiritualtye, and some sayde quod oporteat incipere a minoritis, that is, that reformation ought first to beginne at the Minorites.* The Emperour aunswering againe: Non a minoritis, sed a maioritis, that is, not with the Minorites sayth he, but with the Maiorites. Meaning the reformation ought first to begin with the Pope, Cardinals, & Byshops and other superior states of the church, and so to discend after to the inferiors. This much by the way, & now to the purpose and order of the Sessions as we promised. The which counsell continued as is aforesayd by the space of iiij. yeares, and had in it 45. Sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were to long to be recited in this place: as the deposition of three seuerall Popes, whiche were before spoken of, the hearing of certaine Legates. Yet I minde to make some brieve recapitulation of the most principall matters there done in the sessions orderly ensuing. [unspec 1] 1.

In the first Session chiefly was cōcluded,* first that this Councell was lawfully congregate.

2. Item, that the going away of the pope should be no let or stay, but the Councell might proceed.

Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the generall Councell is aboue the Pope, contrary to their owne doctrine. [unspec 2]

3. Item, this Councell should not be dissolved before the Church were reformed, as well in the superiours, as inferiours. [unspec 3]

In the 4. Session amongst other things, this was first concluded: That a Synode congregate in the holy [unspec 4] Ghost, making a generall council, representing the whole Catholicke Church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power euery person, of what state or dignity so euer he be:* yea being the pope himselfe, ought to be obedient in all such things as concerne the generall reformation of the Church, aswell in the heades, as in the subiectes.

Item, the sayd Pope should not translate the Court of Rome, and the officers of the same from the Citty of Constance. And that all his censures, doinges and workinges after the time of his departure, whatsoever he shoulde enterprise to do to the preiudice of this Councell, should be of no effect. [unspec 5]

In the 5. Session the same Articles were repeated and concluded agayne. [unspec 6]

In the 6. Session procuration and citation was sent out agaynst the Pope.*

Item, commissioners were appointed out of the foure nations for the hearing of Iohn Hus, which shalbe hereafter mentioned in his story folowing.

Item, the memory of Iohn Wickliffe was condemned and the sentence geuen in the Councel holden at Rome vpon the condemnation and burning of Wickliffes bookes, was there confirmed.*

Item, in the same Session, Citation was sent out agaynst Ierome of Prage. The tenor whereof foloweth after in the story of the sayd Ierome.

Item, in this Session, was decreed agaynst libelles of infamy. [unspec 7]

In the 7. Session nothing was handled, but that the tenour of the citation agaynst Pope Iohn was recited. [unspec 8]

In the 8. Session, the sentence and condemnation of [Page 594](#) Iohn Wickliffe, and his 45. Articles was recited, and sentence geuē agaynst his memory & bones to be burned.* The tenor wherof is rehearsed in the history of Iohn Wickli•fes before passed. fol. 449.

[unspec 9] In the 9. Session, The matter & cause of Pope Iohn was agayn intreated, and commissioners appoynted to enquire vpon his cause, and iudges for the same.

[unspec 10] In the 10. Session, Suspension was geuen out & reade agaynst the sayd Pope.

In the 11. and 12. Sessions,* Notaries were assigned & definitiue sentence geuen agaynst the said Pope, where also was decreed that none of them that contended before for the Papacy, should be chosen Pope.

[unspec 13] In the 13. Session was decreed, Quod nullus praes biter sub pena excommunicationis comunicet populo sub vtraque spe'cie panis & vini.* This is, that no Priest vnder payne of excommunication shall communicate vnto the people vnder both kindes of bread and wine.

[unspec 14] In the 14. Session, came in y^t resignation of pope Gregory the 12. which was one of the 3. before mentioned, striuing for the Papacy, with certayne other Articles concerning the election of the Bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning, which gaue ouer the Papacy.

[unspec 15] Then ensueth the 15. Session, in the which silence was commanded on all partes vnder pain of excommunicatiō, and the great curse that no persō or persons high or low of what estate or degree so euer he were,* Emperour, Kyng, Cardinall, or other should disturbe the sayd Session wyth any maner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voyce. This being done, the sentence & condemnation against Iohn Hus was read and pulished, whiche after in the story of Iohn Hus, foloweth to be sene more at large.

[unspec 16] In the 16. Session, Ambassadors were assigned by the Councill to go into Arragon to Benedictus the 13. to entreat with him for the resignation of his Papacy, as the other two had done before.

Item, power was geuen to iudges, to cite vnder pain of depriuation, all such as priuily departed away from the Councill, in the whiche Session also the sentence agaynst Iohn Hus was confirmed and ratified.

[unspec 17] In the 17. Session, the Emperour tooke vpon him a iourney to the king of Arragon,* to entreat with pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced agaynst al such as should go about to empeche the Emperours iourney about that matter. &c.

Item, pray•rs and processions were determined to be made by the Councell, euery Sunday for the same cause, with an hundred dayes of pardon geuen to thē that would be present thereat, and that all Prelats should be present at euery of these sayd Masses and processions in theyr Pontificalibus. Graunting besides to euery Priest that sayd one Masse,* for the same a 100. dayes of pardon. And to all other that once a day should say one Pater noster, and one Aue, for the safety of the Emperour xl. dayes of pardon.

[unspec 18] In the 18. Session, certayne iudges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the Councell had no leasure to heare.

It was there also decreed that suche letters and Buls as were written in the name of that councell, should be receiued with no lesse credite and authority, then the Bulles proceeding from the Sea Apostolicall, and that the falsifyers of the same should incurre no lesse penalty then the falsifyers of the other. Legates also and Ambassadors were sent into Italy.

[unspec 19] In the 19. Session which was y^t same yeare in the moneth of September, Ierome of Prage who was cited as is before sayd, was accused of heresy & cast in prison by the sayd councell, & constrayned to abiure. The which his abiuration hereafter foloweth to be seene in his history.

Item, it was decreed: Quod non obstantibus saluis cōductibus Imperatoris Regum. &c. possit per iudicem competentem de haeretica prauitate inquiri. &c. That is, notwithstanding y^e safe conduct geuen by the Emperour and kinges.* &c. Inquiry may be made agaynst a man for heresy by a sufficient iudge and processe, to be made according to the law.

The causes of heresies were committed to certain iudges and deputyes.

*Item, the Chart called Carolina, and diuers other Chartes and constitutions concerning the libertyes of the Church of Rome, being brought forth were approued and confirmed,

In the 20. Session, letters & instrumentes were made [unspec 20] and set vpon Church dores to require and admonish duke Fredericke to restore agayne vnto George Bishop of Austriche,* such landes, rentes, and reuenues as he deteyned & withheld, vnder payne of interditement, suspending and excommunication.

During the time of this Session, the Ambassadors returned out of Arragon from the Pope Benedict and were heard with great audience, whereas certayne Articles and conditions betwene the Pope & the councell were brought forth and agreed vpon to the number of 12.

In the yeare of our Lord 1416. was the 21. Session beginning [unspec 21] after theyr maner with a Masse of the holy ghost with processions and such other rites, in the time of which Masse,* James Bishop of Londy made a Sermon, taking for his Theame these wordes. Ex probrauit Deus

incredulitatem eorum & duritiam: That is, the Lord rebuked theyr misbeliefe and hardnes. &c. This sermon being ended, Ierome of Prage which had abiured,* as is sayd the yeare before, being present thereat, stode vp vpon a certayne bench or fourme. Replying agaynst the foresayd Iames and hys Sermon, alleading and preaching diuers and sundrye thinges, whereupon the Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners proceeded agaynst him, pronouncing the sentence definitiue, which he had in writing agaynst the sayd Ierome, which sentence being red and approued by the councell (the tenor whereof insueth in his historye) the sayd Ierome was deliuered vnto the secular power, & burned.

The 22. and 23. Sessions contayne no worthy matter, but* onely the placing of the Ambassadors of Alphansus K. of Arragon, & graunting them voyces in the Councell.

In the 24. Session, citatiō was geuen out agaynst Benedict, [unspec 24] keeping with Alphonsus, king of Arragon.

The 25. [unspec 25] Session conteineth nothing but a certayne Comendam geuen to the Church of Olemucensis.*

The 26. Sessiō,* there was nothing els handled, but the vniting and incorporating of the Ambassadors of the king of Nauarre into the Councell, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voyces.

After this folowed the 27. and 28. sessions,* which were in the yeare 1417. Wherein was intreated the relation and declaratiō,* concerning the cause betwixt Duke Frederick, and the bishop of Trident, and processe geuen out agaynst the sayd Duke, accusing him of sacriledge, and also excommunicating him, for not obeying the admonitiō of the coūcell concerning the vsurpation and deteyning of the city of Tridēt and other possessions from Bishop George, as is afore specified.

In the 29. and 30. Sessions,* Proctors and Notaryes were geuen out in the cause agaynst Pope Benedict, and order decreed vpon his obstinacye, wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the same Pope, was recited and approued by the Councell.

In the 31. Session, certayne instrumentes, and speciall [unspec 31] letters monitory were directed from the Councell to a certaine Earle of Italy named Comes virtutum, for laying violent handes vpon Albert, Bishop of Asce, and for bringing him to prison, requiring the sayd Earle vnder paine of interdiction, and excommunication to set the sayd Byshop at liberty. Also an other decree was set forth for the restoring agayne the liberties of the Church of Baron.

In the 32. and 33. Sessions,* the accusation of pope Benedict was renued,* and his obstinacy accused, and witnes brought in, at which thing doing, the Emperour Sigismund was present.

In the 34. Session, the cause of the foresayd Pope was [unspec 34] heard, and processe geuen out agaynst him.

In the 35. Session,* the Ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and vnted to the Councel, and instruments thereof made and read. Also that notwithstanding the othes made to the foresayd Pope, mē might lawfully forsake his obedience.

In the 36. Session, a certayne citation was made and [unspec 36] read against the Pope,* conteyning his depriuation and the sentence agaynst him, & instruments made vpon the same. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his curses, depriuations and excommunicatiōs agaynst them: The sayd Sinode did adnihilate all his doinges.

The 37. Session did renue agayne the accusation of the [unspec 37] foresaid pope, and the sentence definitiue agaynst him was published.

In the 38. Sessiō certaine decrees were made touching [unspec 38] the adnihilating of the penalties of the Ambassadors of king Henry sonne of Alphonsus king of Arragon.* Also an other decree was made touching the reuocatiō of y^e voyces graunted to the Ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

Thus Pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated [unspec 39] as is aforesayd,[39](#) in the next Sessions following, they addressed themselues to the election of a new Pope, beginning first in the Session to geue out decrees concerning generall Councils, & prouision, for the auoyding of suche like schismes hereafter.* Decreeing euery x. yeare to haue a [Page 595](#) generall Councell, after the two Councils that should folow immediatly after this, of the which the one should be kept within fiue yeares, then next folowing, and the second within seauen yeares after that.

Item, in the same Session was drawn out a forme touching such thing as the Pope should professe and bind himselfe, to obserue at time of his election, of the which forme the order and tenour is this.

I N. elected for Pope, professe with hart and mouth vnto almighty God,* whose Church I take vpon me to gouerne, by his helpe, and to blessed S. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, so long as I shall endure in this fraile and brittle life, firmly to beleue and hold the holy Catholick faith after the traditions of the Apostles, of generall Councils, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight generall Councils. Nicene the first, the second of Constantinople, Ephesine the third, Calcedone y^e fourth, the fift and sixe of them in Constantinople, the seauenth of Nice, the eight of Constantinople. And also of the generall Councils of Laterane, Lyons, and Uienne, willing to obserue the same faith vnuiolate euen to the vttermost, and to preach and defend the same, euen to the spending of my life and bloud, and also by all meanes possible to prosecute and obserue the rite of the Sacraments canonically deliuered to the Catholike Church. And this my profession and confession by my commandement, being written out by the Notary of the Arches of the holy Church of Rome, I haue subscribed with mine owne hand, and sincerely with a pure mind and deuout conscience, I offer it vnto thee almighty God vpon such an aulter, &c. In the presence of such witnes. &c. Yeuen. &c.

It was also decided in this Session, that no Prelates should be translated against their wils.

The third of the same moneth, and the same yeare followed the [unspec 40] 40. Session,* wherein certaine decrees were constitute and read, as touching reformatiōs to be made thorough the whole church by the Pope, that next should be, with the Councell, before this Synode should breake vp.

Item, that they should so proceed to the election of the Byshop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those Cardinals which were wyth Pope Benedict in Spaine. This done, the order and maner was decreed for the election of the Pope.

After these things thus decreed, in the next Session, which was fourty one, the constitution of Clement the [unspec 41] sixt was read, concerning the order and diet of the Cardinals being in the Conclaue about y^e chusing of the Pope, and vpon the same othes were ministred vnto the Cardinals and other Electours, binding them to obserue and keepe all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election.

First, that they should enter into the Conclaue within ten daies after the fourty Session,* which was this present day after sunne set.

Secondly, that euery Cardinall should haue but two seruitours attending vpon him at the most, either of the Laity or Cleargie, as they would themselues.

Thirdly, that they should remaine together in the sayd Cōclaue, without any wal betwixt thē, or any other couer, saue only bare Curtains, if any were disposed to sleepe.

Fourthly, that the Conclaue should so be shut vp, and the entry to the priue chamber to be kept so straightly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any to haue recourse vnto them to talke with them priuely or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except by the consent of them all, certaine should be called about matters concerning the election.

Fifthly, that no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

Sixtly, that a competent windowe should be assigned vnto them to receiue in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

Seuenthly, that no day after their first ingresse into the Conclaue, beside bread, wine and water, they should haue any more dishes but one of one onely kinde, either of flesh or fish, egges, pottage, made of fish or flesh, not after the deintiest sort, besides salades, cheese, frute, and conserues, whereof there shall be no principall messe made but for sauce and taste.

Eightly, that not one should be compelled to go into the Conclaue: But if they did all refuse to go in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

Ninthly, that such as would go out, might, but if they would all go out before y^e Pope were elect, they should be compelled to go in againe, except such whome infirmitie did excuse, but without the excuse of infirmitie, if anye went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that such as went out by reason of infirmitie, for to be absent, and returne before the election be determined: may be admitted againe into the Conclaue in the same state wherein they shall finde the election to stand.

Further and besides the keepers of the Cōclaue, should also be sworne to see all these premises obserued and kept without fraude or guile, and that they should not streighten the Cardinals and other Electours about the order here taken.

And if the King be there himselfe sitting in his throne of estate, he should receiue the same othe of the Cardinale.

Upon this such as should be electours beside the Cardinals, were chosen.

Furthermore,* for as much as the goods and substance of such as were elect, were accustomed to be geuen & granted vnto such as could catch them: whereupon vnder the pretence of the same, many did inuade the goods of the Cardinals, and others which were in the Conclaue, falsely faining them to be elected which were not to be elected. To stop the greedy rauening of such, a decree also was published in the same Session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the Cardinals and other Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, Doctours, with other electours entring into the Conclaue vpō Monday, on Thursday after they had hatched out a Pope, being S. Martins euen, wherupon they named him Martin: This Martin thus being elected, was straight foorth brought in by the Emperour and the Councel, into the Church of Constance, and there inthronised for Pope,* not without great solemnitie & triumph. The xxi. day of the said moneth, this foresaid Martin according to their accustomed pompe was honourably brought in to bee crowned with sumptuous procession from the high Church of Constance vnto the Monasterie of S. Austen. The Emperour on foote, leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand: And the Marques of Bradenburge Prince Electour, likewise leading his horse on the left hand, the Pope himselfe riding in the midst vppon his palfrey.

And thus being brought into the Monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about againe from thence to the high Church of Constance, was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanitie of this Councell more great then wise, did not end thus, for in the next Session which was the xlii. came out [unspec 42] a decree in the name of the Pope and the Councell, discharging the bound of the Emperour and the County Palatine, touching the safe custody of Pope Iohn, who was by bond committed vnto them to be kept in safetie.

In the xliii. Session, certaine other decrees and statutes [unspec 43] were made by Pope Martin in the said Synod.* Annullying and reproouing all the actes and proceedings of the other Popes before during the time of the schisme from the time of Gregory the xi. As in matters concerning exemptions, vnions, frutes and profites of the Church, benefices, simonie, dispensations, tithes and other burdens of the Church. Also concerning the apparell of the Cleargy and such other things.

In the xliiij. Session, the sage fathers of this Councell [unspec 44] were occupied about the determining in what place the next Councell should be kept in, the xlv. Session brake vp and dissolued this Synode.

Now to finish our tedious rehearsall of this Synode. [unspec 45] The Cardinall Umbald by the cōmandement of the Pope and the Councell, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words Domini ite in pace, which is, Lords depart in peace, whereunto the standers by answered, Amen.

Thus the councell being dissolued, Frier Iohn Bishop of Cathan by the consent and commandement of the Pope and the Councell, went vp into the Pulpit to make a Sermon, taking for his theame: Vos autem tristitiam habetis: iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrū. You are now in sadnes: I will see you againe, and then your harts shall reioice. The which collation being ended, an other Cardinall named Anthony, was sent vp by the Pope and the Councell,* with this proclamation, first to dismisse the Synode, and to geue euery man leaue to depart home. Also to declare the Popes indulgence vnto them, who by the authoritie of God almighty, had granted to them all and euery one pre•ent at that Councell, full absolution once in their life, so that euery one within two moneths after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in forme of writing. Also another indulgence was graunted in like maner of plenary remission at the hour of death, [Page 596](#) and that was vnderstand as well of the houshold, as of the maisters themselues. But vnder this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole yeare euery Friday, for the absolution in their life time. And for the absolution at the houre of death, to fast the same Friday another yeare, except they had some lawfull impediment to the contrary, so that after the second yeare,* they should fast vnto their liues end, or else to do some other good worke. The which beeing in this maner proclaimed, the Synode brake vp, and euery man departed home.

*The number of the foriners resorting to this Counsell both spirituall and temporall, was 60500. whereof, the number of Archbishops and Bishops was 346.

Abbots and Doctours 564.

Secular men

- Princes.
- Dukes.
- Earles.
- Knightes.
- Esquiers.

16000.

Besides common women, belonging to the same Councell 450.*

Barbers 600. Minstrels, Cookes, and Iesters 320.

So that the whole multitude which were vewed to be in the Towne of Constance betweene Easter and Whitsontide, were numbred to be 60500. strangers and forreners at that Councell.

Here is to be noted that in this Councell of Constance, nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memorie,* but this only, that the Popes authoritie is vnder the Councell, and that the Councell ought to iudge the Pope.

*And as touching the Communion in both kindes, although the Councell did not denie, but that it was vsed by Christ and his Apostles, yet notwithstanding by the same Councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Hetherto wee haue comprehended the order and discourse of this Councell, with the actes and Sessions concerning the same: which Councell although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the schisme betweene the three Popes: yet notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for Iohn Hus: As appeared by their preparation before the Councell. For before the Councell began, the Emperour Sigismund aforesaid, sent certain Gentlemen Bohemians, which were of his owne houshold, giuing them in charge to bring Iohn Hus Bachelor of Diuinitie, vnto the saide Councell, and that vnder his safe conduct, the meaning and intent thereof was, that Iohn Hus should purge and cleare himselfe of the blame which they had laid against him: and for the more better assurance, the Emperour did not only promise him safe conduct that he might come freely vnto Constance: but also to returne againe into Boheme without fraud or interruption, he promised also to receiue him vnder his protection and vnder sauegard of the whole Empire. For the same onely cause the Emperour sent him afterwards the said safeconducts double written, both in Latine and Almaine, the forme whereof doth heereafter ensue.

Sigismund by the grace of God King of the Romaines, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia, &c. To all Princes as well Ecclesiasticall as Seculer, Dukes, Marqueses, and Earles, Barrons, Captaynes,* Borovvmaisters, Iudges, and Gouvernours, officers of townes, burgages and villages, and vnto all rulers of the comminalty, and generally to all the subiects of our Empire, to whome these letters shall come, grace and all goodnes.

Wee charge and commaund you all, that you haue respect vnto Iohn Hus, the which is departed out of Boheme, to come vnto the generall Councell, the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the towne of Constance. The which Iohn Hus we haue receiued vnder our protection and sauegard of the whole Empire, desiring you that you will chearefully receyue hym when he shall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle hym gently, shewing hym fauour and good will, and shew hym pleasure in all thyngs, as touchyng the forwardnes, ease, and assurance of hys iourney, as well by land as by water.

Moreouer, we will that he and all his company with hys carriage and necessities, shall passe throughout all places, passages, portes, bridges, lands, gouernances, Lordships, liberties, cities, townes, bourgages, castels and villages, and all other your dominions, wythout payeng of anye manner of imposition or dane money, peage, tribute, or anye other manner of tolle whatsoever it be: we will also that you suffer hym to passe, rest, tarie, and to sojourne at libertie, without dooing vnto hym anye maner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble, and that if neede shall so

require, you do prouide a faythfull company to conduct hym withall, for the honour and reuerence which you owe vnto our imperiall maiesty. Yeuen at Spire the xviiij. of October, in the yeare of our Lord GOD 1414.

By this it may appeare that this safe conduct was graunted not in the time of the Councell by the Bishops, but before the Councell by the Emperour: who was or ought to be the principall ordeiner and directer of the Councell vnder God. Now whether the Bishops in breaking and adnulling this promise of the Emperour, against the Emperours mind,* because the discussion therof belongeth Ad materiam iuris, non facti, being a matter rather or lawe then of story, I will differ to reason this case with maister Cope, to such time, as may be more conuenient to the full tractation thereof.

Notwithstanding,* briefly to touch and passe, let vs consider part of the reasons of the saide Cope, how friuolous and false they be, and easie to be refelled. What (saith he) if he preached by the way comming vp? First that is false, vide infra page. What (saith he) if he stood obstinate in his heresie? What if he sought to escape away after hys comming vp? To this the Lords of Boheme doo aunswere, that his safeconduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not onely before he attempted to escape, or before hee was condemned for an hereticke, but also before he was heard of the Councell what he was. Vide infr. page. Further, where Cope sayth that the generall Councell was aboue the Emperour, and hath power in case of heresie to breake publique leagues and graunts: to that I say, that this safeconduct stood not only vpon the Emperour, but also vpon the consent of the Pope himselfe, vide infr. page. And admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make this decree, to breake promise wyth hereticks: yet this can not be denied, but that Iohn Hus was condemned and iudged before that decree in the xix. Session was made. Finally, when Cope hath prooued by what scripture the councils haue power to defeat the authoritie of their Emperours in such secular causes touching safeconductes, and outward safetie: then will I answere him more fully heerein. But to the purpose againe of the story.

Iohn Hus seeing so many faire promises,* and the assurance which the Emperour had geuen vnto him, sent answere vnto the Emperour that he would come vnto the Councell: But before hee departed out of the Realme of Boheme, and specially out of the towne of Prage, he did write certaine billes long inough afore, as well in Latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almaine, and caused them to be set and fastened vpon the gates of the Cathedrall Churches and parish Churches, Cloysters and Abbayes, signifieng vnto them all, that he would go to the generall Councell at Constance, wherof if any man haue any suspition of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the Lord Conrade, or Bishop of Prage, or if he had rather, at the generall Councell, for there he would render and giue vp vnto euery one, and before them all, an accompt and reason of his fayth. The example of his letters and intimations set vp were these, the copie where of here followeth.

The Letters of Iohn Hus, set vp in common places of the Citie of Prage.

MAister Iohn Hus,* Bachelor of Diuinitie, will appeare before the most reuerend father the Lord Conrade, Archbyshop of Prage, and Legate of the Apostolicke seate in the next conuocation of

all the Prelates and Cleargy of the kyngdome of Boheme, being ready alwayes to satisfie all men which shall require him to giue a reason of hys fayth and hope that he holdeth. And to heare and see all such as will lay vnto his charge either any stubburnes of errour or heresie, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by Gods law and mans. And if so be that they could not lawfully prooue any stubburnes of errour or heresie against him, that then they should suffer the like punishmentes that he should haue had, vnto whome altogether he will aunswer at the next generall Councell at Constance, before the Archbyshop and the Prelates, and according to the decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, shew foorth his innocencie in the name of Christ.

Dated the Sonday next after the feast of Sainct Bartholomew.

The Intimations folowing, were drawne out of the Bohemian tongue.

I Maister Iohn Husnerz,* do signifie vnto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my Lorde the Archbishop, and to aunswere to all things whereof I am falsely accused in the next conuocation of Bachelers, [Page 597](#) and chefly to this point, that in many places they doo report me an hereticke, not hauing respect vnto iustice or to law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore since that you which do neuer cease to selaunder and backebite me with your words, doo vnderstand and knowe these things, come foorth openly before the face and presence of the Lord Archbyshop, and with an open mouth, declare and shew foorth what false doctrine or other things you haue heard me teach contrary to Catholicke fayth, and if that I shall be found faultie in neuer so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I do choose that or other things contrary to the faith of Christ,* then I will hold my peace, and suffer punishment as an hereticke. And if there be no man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once againe I say vnto you, that I am ready to appeare at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the Diuines, euen before the face of the Pope. Therefore whosoeuer knoweth any false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thether and shew it forth boldly, if he haue any thing to lay against me, and for my part I will not be slacke, if I may vnderstand or knowe it, to answere as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I haue receiued of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men therefore which loue the truth, say now whether by these my words I do thinke or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it knowne and manifest vnto all men, that it hapneth not thorough my fault the same day.

This Epistle which followeth, was set vpon the gates of the Kings Palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tongue.

* VNto the Kings maiestie, the Queene, and to all such as are of his Councell, and to all other Rulers and Magistrates, which now are in the Kings Court, I Iohn Hus, doo signifie and publish; that I haue vnderstand, not by any vayne rumor or tale, that there be letters brought from the Pope to the Kings Maiestie, the contents whereof, is this: That the Kyngs Maiestie shoulde bring

to passe, that the heretickes which were now lately sprong vp in hys kyngdome and dominions, should not take any firme or strong roote. For so much as without any desert, as I trust by Gods grace, the fame or noise is sproong and blowne abroad: it shall bee our part to foresee and take heed, that neyther the Kyngs Maiestie, neyther the noble Kyngdome of Boheme, should bee driuen to beare or suffer anye reproche on slaunder for mee. Wherefore now of late I haue sent my letters too and fro, whych I haue with great labour and diligence, caused to be openly set vp, to thys intent, that I myght thereby cause the Archbyshop to be carefull and diligent about the matter, signifyeng openly, that if there were any man in all Boheme, which did knowe mee to be a follower of anye false or corrupt doctrine, that he should professe hys name in the Archbyshop hys Court, and there to shew foorth and declare what he thought. And for asmuch as there would none be found or come foorth, which would accuse me, the Archbyshop commaunded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the Kings Maiestie, which is the defender of the truth, also the Queene and theyr Counsellers, and all other Rulers and Magistrates, that they woud geue me a faithfull testimoniall of this matter. For somuch as I haue oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath eyther accused mee or troubled mee. I doo it moreouer to bee knowne vnto all Boheme, and to all nations, that I wil bee present euen at the first time before the Councell of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the Pope, the Pope beeyng president. And finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place, and that whosoever hath any suspition of me, that I haue eyther taught or defended anye thyng contrarye vnto the fayth of Christ, let hym come thether also, let hym declare there before or in the presence of the Pope, and all the Doctors of Diuinitie, what erroneous or false doctrine I haue at any tyme followed or holden. More, if hee shall conuince me of any error, or prooue that I haue taught anye thing contrarie vnto the Christian fayth, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for an hereticke. But I hope and trust euen from the bottome of my hart, that God wyll not geue the victory to vnfaithfull and vnbeleueing men, the which do willingly kicke and spurne against the truth.

The same time Iohn Hus sente his procurers to the Lorde Byshop of Nazareth, ordeyned by the Apostolicke Sea Inquisitour of heresie of the Citie and Dioces of Prage, requiring hym, that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the sayd Bishop before the sayd procurour, and the publike Notary, wyth many other credible witnesses aunswered, that he had often talked with Iohn Hus, and that he neuer knew anye thing in him, but as becommeth a godly and faithful man, and this his testimonie of Iohn Hus, he approoued by his letters, the copie whereof is heere vnder written.

The Byshop of Nazareth hys testimoniall.

WE Nicholas by the grace of God Byshop of Nazareth,* and Inquisitor, specially deputed by the Apostolicke seate for heresies both of the Citie and Dioces of Prage, by these presents we do it to be knowne vnto all men, that wee in times past haue often communed and talked with that honorable man, mayster Iohn Hus, Bachelor of Diuinitie, of the famous vniuersitie of Prage, and haue had diuers and sondry conferences with hym, both of the Scriptures and diuers other matters, and in all hys sayings, doyngs, and behauour, we haue prooued and found him to be a faithfull and a Catholicke man, finding no maner of euill, sinister, or by any meanes, erroneous doings in him vnto thys present.* We doo witnesse and protest moreouer, how the sayd Iohn Hus, of late, in the Cathedrall Church of Prage, and in other both Collegiate and Parish Churches,

and in the Colledges of the Vniuersitie of Prage, and in the gates and porches of the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenceslaus King of Romaines and of Boheme. Also in the gates of the reuerend father the Lord Conrade Archbyshop of Prage, Legate of the Apostolicke Sea, and Chauncelour of the Vniuersitie of Prage, and of other Princes and Barons, then being in the Citie of Prage, hath set vp his letters written both in Latine, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the foresayd Mayster Iohn Hus, would appeare before the reuerend father the Lord Conrade, the foresayd Archbyshop of Prage, and all the Prelates and Cleargy of the kingdome of Boheme, that shall bee congregated and called together by the sayd Archbyshop, at the day appoynted in the sayd Citie of Prage, readie alwayes to satisfie euery man that shall desire and require him to shew a reason of his fayth and hope that he holdeth, and to see and heare all and euery one which could prooue any obstinacie of error or heresie, lawfully against him, vnder the payne to receyue the like punishment: vnto whome altogether he would by Gods helpe, aunswere in the Councell of Constance, which was now at hand, before the sayd Lord Archbyshop and vs, with all other Prelates, and there in Christes name, according to the decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, to declare and shew foorth his innocencie. After the which letters as is aforesayd by the sayd maister Iohn Hus openly set vp, there did no man appeare before vs, the which would accuse the sayd Maister Iohn Hus, of any error, eyther of any heresie. For the euident witnesse of all whyche things, we haue commaunded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting too of our seale.

Dated in Prage xxx of August, an. M. iiij. C. xiiij.

Vpon which matter also, a publicke instrument was drawne, testified with the hand and seale of the publicke Notary, named Michel Pruthatietz. The copie of whych instrument heere vnder followeth.

An Instrument of Recognition, or protestation of the Lord inquisitor of Heresies.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of hys natiuitie 1414. the thirtith of August, in the fift yeare of the Byshoprike of the most holy Father in Christ Iohn by the grace of GOD Pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the vppermost parlor of the house of the famous man the Lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Znirglits, maister of the mynte, of the most famous Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenceslaus, Kyng of Romaines and of Boheme, in the greater Citie of Prage, about the Abbey of Sainct Iames the Apostle, in the presence of me the publique Notary heere vnder written, and certayne witnesses heere within written, specially called for that purpose. There was personally present Mayster Iohn Iessenitz, mayster of Art, procuror in the name of the honourable man, Mayster Iohn Hus, Bachelor, formed in Diuinitie of the Vniuersitie of Prage. He most humblie and earnestly requyred the reuerende father in Christ and Lord, Nicholas Byshop of Nazareth, Inquisitour of Heresies for the Citie and diocese of Prage, specially appoynted by the Apostolike Sea, beeing there also present, sayeng: Reuerend father, doe you knowe any error or heresie in Mayster Iohn Husnetz, otherwise called Hus. The which sayd Lord Nicholas, not compelled or constrained but of his owne will and accord, freely and openly did there recognise, sayeng these or the like words in the Bohemian tongue.

I haue often and many times bene conuersant with Mayster Iohn Hus, and haue eaten and dronke with him: also I haue bene [Page 598](#) often present at his Sermons, and diuers of his collations which he hath made vpon diuers places of the scripture, and I neuer found or perceiued in him any error or heresie, but in all his words and deedes I haue found him alwaies a true and a Catholike man, neither haue I found any thing that doth sauour of any error or heresie.

Againe, the said maister Iohn his procurer, in the behalfe as aboue, required and asked the said Lord Nicholas Byshop and inquisitour, whether any man haue accused the said maister Iohn Hus of any heresie before him, being inquisitour for heresie, and hath conuicted him of heresie. He aunswered, that since the time he knew Iohn Hus, and that he was made inquisitour for heresie in the Citie and diocese of Prage (as is afore saide) neuer anie man accused, either conuincing the said maister Iohn Hus of any heresie before him vnto this present time. Adding moreouer, that he the said maister Iohn Hus did openly set vp his letters patents this present yeare afore said, in the said moneth of August, vpon the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Prage, and other Collegiate and parish Churches of the Citie of Prage, and vpon the gates of our saide Lord, our Lord the King, and the Archbyshop of Prage, containing in them this effect, how that he would appeare before Conrade Archbishop of Prage, and all the Prelates and Cleargy of the kingdome of Boheme, which should be congregated and called together at a certaine day of the moneth aforesaid, ready alwaies to satisfie all men as touching the faith and hope which he helde, and to see and heare all and singuler that woulde laye anye obstinacie of error or heresie vnto him, that they should determine themselues there, to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremitie both of Gods lawe and mans lawe, vnto whome altogether he would answere in his owne right before the saide Archbishop of Prage, and the sayd Lord Nicholas, Bishop and inquisitour aforesaide, and the Prelates, euen in the next generall Councell of Constance, and there according vnto the Canons and decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and shewe foorth his vprightness and innocencie, vpon all and singuler, which proceedings, maister Iohn de Iesenitz procurer, and in the procurours name or behalfe as afore, required and desired, that he might haue one or many publique instruments made vnto him by me the publique Notary heere vnder written. These things were done the yeare, indiction, day, monthe, houre, place, and byshopricke, as is afore saide, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the Lords William de Zwirgelitz, Baron of the Kingdome of Boheme, Peter his sonne, the Lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewise Barron, Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vnssone de Miekoniz, Burgrau of the Castell of Liechtenburg, Cztiborius de Bodanetz Esquier, and William de Dupore Knight of the saide diocese of Prage, with manye other woorthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required vnto the premisses. And I Michaell, sometimes the sonne of Nicholas de Prachatitz, of the diocese of Prage, and by the Imperiall authoritie, publique Notary, was present, with the witnesses afore named, at the affaires afore said, at the request, demaund, aunswere, and petition, and all and singuler the dooings within written, and did see and heare all these things to be done in foresayd maner and fourme. But being busied with other matters, I haue caused this to be faithfully drawne and written, and subscribing the same with mine owne hand, haue published and reduced it into this forme, and haue signed it with my seale and name, accustomed being called and required to beare witnes of all and singuler the premisses.

After this, as all the Barons of Boheme were assembled in the Abbay of Saint Iames, about the affayres of the Realme, where as the Archbyshop of Prage was also present: There the sayde Iohn Hus presented supplications: by the whiche he most humbly desired the Barons, that they

woulde shewe hym thys fauour towards the sayde Archbyshop, that if the sayd Archbyshop did suspect him of any errour or heresie, that he woulde declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at hys hands. And if that he had founde or perceiued no such thing in hym, that hee would then gyue hym a testimoniall thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, he might the more freely go vnto Constance. The sayde Archbishop confessed openly before all the assembly of Barons,* that he knew not that the sayd Iohn Hus was culpable or faulty in anye crime or offence, and thys was hys onely counsell, that the sayd Iohn Hus should purge himselfe of the excommunication he had incurred: this report, which the Archbishop had giuen of Iohn Hus, doth appeare by the letters which the Barons of Boheme sent vnto the Emperour Sigismund by the said Hus in the towne of Constance.

Finally, all the Prelates and Cleargie assembled together in the Towne of Prage, in the Archbishop hys Court, where as appeared personally the worshipfull maister Iohn Iesenitz, Doctour of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honourable man maister Iohn Hus, requiring that either the sayde mayster Iohn Hus,* or that hee in the name and behalfe of hym, might bee suffered to come into the sayde Archbishops Court, to the presence of the Archbishop, and the Prelates which were there congregated together, for so much as maister Iohn Hus is readye to satisfie all men which shall require hym to shew any reason of his faith or hope, which he holdeth, and to see and heare all and singular, whych were there gathered together, that is to saye, the Lord Archbyshop and Prelates, or any of them, whych would lay any maner of obstinacie, or errour, or heresie vnto hym, that they should there write in their names, and according both vnto Gods lawe and mans, and the Canon law, prepare themselues to suffer lyke punishment, if they could not lawfully prooue any obstinacie of errour or heresie against him: vnto whome altogether he would, by Gods helpe, aunswere before the sayd Archbyshop and the Prelates in the next generall Councell holden at Constance, and stand vnto the law, and according to the Canons and Decretals of the holy Fathers, shewe foorth and declare hys innocencie in the name of Christ: Vnto the which maister Iohn of Iessenetz Doctour, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabenitz, Marshall of the sayde Archbyshop, comming foorth of the sayd Court, did vtterly deny vnto the sayd maister Doctour and his partie all manner of ingresse and entrance into the Court, and to the presence of the Archbishop aforesayd, and of the Prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the Archbyshop, with the Prelates aforesayd, were occupied about the Kings affaires, requiring the sayde maister Doctour, that hee woulde tary in some place without the sayd Court, that when the Archbyshop and the Prelates had finished the Kings affaires, hee might then returne, and haue libertie to come into the Court there. The said maister Iohn Hus, and the Doctour of lawe tarried a while, intreating to bee admitted into the Archbishops Courte. But seeing hee coulde preuayle nothyng, he made there a solemne protestation of hys request, that both hee and also maister Iohn Hus and his part, could not be suffered to come into the Archbishops Court, to the presence of the Archbyshop and the Prelates. Requiring of the foresayde Notarie, publicke instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

And these were the things which were done, before Iohn Hus tooke hys iourney to the generall Councell of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rebarse, whereunto I will also annexe somewhat, as touching his iourney thetherwards.

About the Ides of October 14.14. Iohn Hus being accompanied with two noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, Wencelat of Duba, and Iohn of Clum, he parted from Prage,* and tooke hys iourney

towards Constance. And in euery place as hee passed, he notified hys presence by hys letters which he sent abroade, and especially in euery good towne or citie of name, the tenour whereof ensueth.

The copy of the letters which Iohn Hus set vp in the common places of the Cities which he passed thorough going to the Councill.

MAister Iohn Hus goeth now vnto Constance,*there to declare his fayth which he hath hitherto holden, and euen at this present doth hold, and by Gods helpe will defend and keepe euen vnto death. Therefore euen as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdome of Boheme by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to haue satisfied and giuen an accompt of his fayth vnto euery man which should object or lay anie thing against him in the generall conuocation holden in the Archbishop of Prages Court: So likewise he doth manifest and signifie, that if there be any man in this noble and Imperiall Citie, the which will impute or lay any error or heresie vnto him, that he should prepare himselfe to come vnto the Councill, for so much as the sayd maister Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie euery man at the sayd Councill, which shall lay any thing vnto hys charge as touching his faith.

In all Cities as he passed by,* and principally when he was parted out of Boheme, and entred into Almaine, a great number of people did come vnto him, and he was very gently receiued and entertained of hys hostes thorough all the townes of Germany, and specially of the Citizens and burgeses, and oftentimes of the Curates. [Page 599](#) Insomuch, as the sayd Hus did confesse in a certayne Epis•le, that hee founde in no place so great enimies as in Boheme. And if it happened that there were any brute or noise before of his comming, the streetes were alwayes full of people, which were desirous to see Iohn Husse and gratifie him:* and amongst all other specially at Nurremberge, where as certaine Merchaunts which went before, certified the Citizens of his comming. In the same Citie there were many Curates which came vnto hym, desiring that they might talke with him secretly aparte, vnto whome he aunswered, that he loued much rather to pronounce and shew foorth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in huggermugger, for he would kepe nothing close nor hidden. So after dinner vntill it was night,* he spake before the Priests and Senatours, and diuers other Citizens, insomuch that they all had hym in great estimation and reuerence one onely doctor except, which was a Charterhouse Monke, and the Curate of Sainct Sebaulde, which did improue all that he had said.

*The twentieth day after that, he parted out of the towne of Prage, which was the third day of Nouember, he came vnto Constance, and lodged at an honest matrons house being a widow named Faith, in saint Galles streete.

The morrow after, the Gentleman maister Iohn de Clum, and maister Henry Latzemboge, went to speake with the Pope, and certified him, that Iohn Husse was come,* whome they had brought to Constance to the generall Counsell, vnder the Emperour his safe conduct, desiring him also that he on his part would graunt the sayd Iohn Husse libertie to remaine in Constance, without a•ue trouble, vexation, or interruption: vnto whome, the Pope aunswered, that albeit that Iohn Husse

had killed his brother, yet would he go about as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done vnto him, during his abode in the towne of Constance.

In this meane time, the greatest aduersary that Iohn Husse had, named maister Steuen Palletz, the which was also a Bohemian,* was come vnto Constance. But hys companion maister Stanislaus Znoma, was not yet passed the borders of Boheme, when he was stricken with an impostume, whereof he died. As soone as the said Palletz was come to Constance, he did associate vnto him one Michael de Causis, the which had before falsly accused and blamed the saide Iohn Husse. And this may not be forgotten, that the said Palletz had bene familiarly conuersant and acquainted with the said Iohn Husse from hys youth vpward,* but after that there was a bull brought vnto Prage from Pope Iohn the 23. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the sayd Iohn Hus withstood it openly, for so much as he saw that it was wicked and nought.

And as touching the said Palletz, albeit that he had cōfessed at a certaine banquet in the presence of the said Iohn Hus that the said Gull was contrary to al equity & right:,* yet notwithstanding forsomuch as he was obliged & boūd vnto the Pope by meanes of certain benefices receiued at his hand, he mainteined and defended the said bull against Iohn Hus.* And this was the cause of the discord and falling out betwene thē. As for Michaell de Caulis the companion of maister Palletz, he was sometime the Curate of new Prage, but he not being content therewith, but seking after a further pray, dreamed and imagined out a new denise how to attayne vnto it, for he made a semblaunce that he had found out a new inuention or meane, whereby the mines of gold in Gilory, which were perished and lost, might be renued and set on worke againe. By this means he did so much with the king wenceslaus, that he did put a great summe of mony into his hands, to do that withall which he had promised.

This honest man after he had laboured and trauelled certaine daies about it,* and perceiuing that he brought nothing to passe, and that by that meanes he was vtterly in despaire of his purpose, hee conueied himselfe priuily out of the Realme of Boheme with the rest of the money, and withdrewe himselfe as a worthy bird for such a nest, into the court of Rome. Such a man of such conditions was easily corrupt with mony, and that by the aduersaries of the said Hus, & promised thē to do what he coulde for them, the which hee did shortly after. The two •olly roisters Steuen Palletz, & Michaell de Causis drew out certaine articles against y^e said Husse, sayeng that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and specially out of his treatise, which he had written of the Church. They troited vp & downe, hither & thither, taking great paines to shewe the saide articles vnto the Cardinals,* Bishops, Monks, and such others of that sort, doing them also to vnderstand, that there were other matters of greater importance which the said I. Hus had committed and done against the holy constitutions and other ordinances of the Pope and the Church: which if neede were, they said they would propound before y^e Councell. Through y^e kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the Cardinals & all the Priests, that all they with one mind and consent thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

The 26. day after the said Hus was come to Constāce, during all which tune, he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talke with his friends, the Cardinals which through the instigation and motion of Palletz and Michael de Causis, sent two Bishops, to wit, the Bishop of Augusta, and of Trident, and with them the Borowmaister of the towne of Constance, and a certaine knight, to the place where Iohn Hus lodged about dinner time, which should make report vnto

him, that they were sent by the Pope and his Cardinals, to aduertise him that hee should come to render some knowledge or witnes of hys doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were readie for to heare him.

Unto whome Iohn Husse aunswered, I am not come for no such intent,* as to defend my cause particularly before the Pope & his Cardinals: protesting y^t I neuer desired no such thing, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole assemble of the Councell, and there answer for my defence openly, without any feare or doubt, vnto all such things as should be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding said he, forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they euill entreate or handle me: yet neuertheles I trust in my Lord Iesus, that he wil so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for his glory sake, then to denie the veritie and truth which I haue learned by his holy scriptures. Wherefore it came to passe that the Bishops being instant vpon him, and not shewing any outward semblance, that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their harts, albeit they had priuily laid garrisons both in the house, where they were assembled, and also in other houses: Iohn Hus tooke his horse which he had at his lodging, and went vnto the Court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

When he was come thither and had saluted the Cardinals, they began to speake to him in this sorte:* we haue heard many reports of you, the which if they be true, are in no case to be suffered. For mē say that you haue taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true Church, and that you haue sowed your errors abroad through all the Realme of Boheme,* by a long space or time, wherefore we haue caused you to bee called hether before vs, that we might vnderstande and know how the matter standeth.

Unto whom Iohn Hus answered in few words: Reuerend fathers,* you shall vnderstand y^t I am thus minded and affectioned, that I would rather choose to die, then I should be found culpable of one only error, much lesse of many & great errors: for this cause I am the more willingly come vnto the generall Councell which is here appointed, to shewe my selfe ready euen with all my hart to receiue correctiō, if any man can proue any errors in me. The Cardinals aunswered him againe, that his sayengs pleased them very well, and vpon that they went theyr way, leauing the said Iohn Hus with maister Iohn de Clum, vnder the gard and keeping of the armed men.

In the meane season, they did suborne and furnish out a certaine diuine,* a Frier Franciscane, a subtile and craftie man, and a malicious hypocrite, for to question with the said Iohn Hus, which was compassed round about with armed men.* This man drawing neare, in his monkishe gesture, sayd: Reuerend maister, I a simple and rude ideot am come vnto you for to learne, for I haue hard many strange and contrary things against y^e catholike fayth, to be ascribed vnto you, the which doo diuersly mooue my mind, being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do desire you, euen for the loue which you heare vnto y^e truth, and to all good and godly men, that you woulde teache me most simple and miserable mā, some certaintie and truth. And first men say that you hold opinion after the cōsecration and pronuntiation of the words in the Sacrament of the altar,* there remaineth only materiall bread. I. Husse aunswered, that it was falsly attributed and imputed to him. Then said he: I pray you is not this your opinion? No verely said Iohn Hus, I do not so thinke of it. When the Monke asked this question the thirde time, Maister Iohn de Clum being somewhat mooued with him, sayde: why art thou so importunate vpon him? Uerely if anye

man had affirmed or denied any thing vnto me but once, I woulde haue beleueed him. And thou, albeit hee hath [Page 600](#) shewed thee his mind so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him. Then saide the Monke: gentle maister I pray you pardon me a poore idiot and simple Frier, surely I did it of a good mind & intēt, being willing & desirous to learne. This Frier put forth another question vnto him, protesting his simplicitie and ignorance, what maner of vntie of the Godhead & manhood was in the person of Christ? When I. Husse had heard this questiō, he turned himselfe vnto Maister Iohn de Clum in the Bohemian language said: [*](#) truly this Frier is not simple as he doth pretend, for he hath propoūded vnto me a very hard question. And afterward turning himselfe to y^c frier, he said vnto him: brother, you say that you are simple, but as I haue heard of you, I perceiue very well, that you are double and craftie, & not simple. It is not so verely said the frier. Well, sayde Iohn Hus, I will cause you well to vnderstand that it is so: For as touching the simplicitie of a man, it is required in things that concerne ciulitie & maners, that the spirite, the vnderstāding, the hart, the words, & the mouth should agree together, and I do not perceiue that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certaine semblance of simplicitie, the which would very well declare you to be an ideot and simple, but your deedes shew plainly and euidently a great subtiltie and craft in you, with a great quicknes and liuelines of wit, in that you haue proponed vnto me so hard and difficult a question.

Notwithstanding I will not feare to shew you my mind in this question. And when he had made an end, the Monke gaue him great thanks for his gentlenes and so departed. After that, the Popes garrison which were about the said Iohn Hus, told him, that this frier was called Maister Didace, [*](#) who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtile diuine in all Lumbardy. Oh said Hus that I had knowne that afore, I would haue handled him after another sort and fashion, [*](#) but I would to God they were all such, then through the help and aide of the holy Scriptures, I would feare none of them. In this maner the said Hus and maister Iohn de Clum, were left vnder the keeping of these men of Armes, vntill foure of the clocke at after noone. After which time the Cardinals assembled againe in the Popes Court, to deuise and take counsaile what they should do with Iohn Hus. Then Steuen Palletz & Michaell de Causis, with diuers other of their adherents, made earnest sute that he should not be let go at libertie againe, and hauing the fauor of the iudges on their part, they bragged vp and downe in a maner as they had bin mad men, [*](#) and mocked the said Iohn Husse: sayeng, now we will hold thee well enough, thou art vnder our power and iurisdiction, and shalt not depart, vntill such time as thou hast paid the vttermost farthing.

A little afore night, they sent f Prouost of the Romain court vnto M. Iohn de Clum, to shew him that he might returne to his lodging, for as for I. Hus, they had otherwise prouided for him, whē M. Iohn de Clum hard these newes, he was wonderfully displeased, forsomuch as through their crafts, subtilties & glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares, whereupon he went vnto t Pope, declaring vnto him all that was done, most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made vnto him and maister Henry Latzembog, [*](#) and that he would not so lightly falsifie and breake his faith and promise. The Pope aunswered that all these things were done without his cōsent or commandement, and saide further to maister Clum apart, what reason is it that you should impute this deede vnto mee, seeing that you knowe well inough that I my selfe am in the hands of these Cardinals and Bishops?

In mine opiniō, for so much as Pope Iohn feared that, which in deed did after follow, that he should be depriued of his dignitie, he thought to win the fauour of these Herodian Cardinals and Bishops,* by betraieng this good man vnto thē. So the said M. Clum returned very pensifull & sory: he complained very fore both priuely & openly, of the iniury and outrage that the Pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this, the saide I. Hus was led by the officers to the chapter house of the great Church of Constance, where hee was kept prisoner by the space of right daies, frō thence he was caried vnto the Iacobines, hard by the riuer of Rhine, and was shut vp in the prison of the Abbey, the which was hard by the Bogardes.

After he had bene inclosed there a certaine time, he fell sore sicke of an agew,* by meanes of the stench of the place, and became so weake, that they despaired of his life. And for feare least this good mā should die in prison, as others are wont to do, the Pope sente vnto him certaine of hys Phisitions for to cure and helpe him. In the midst of his sicknes his accusers made importunate sute to the principals of the Councell, that the sayde Iohn Hus might bee condemned, and presented vnto the Pope, these Articles heere vnderwritten.

Articles presented against Iohn Husse.

First he doth erre about the Sacraments of the church,* and specially about the Sacramet of the body of Christ, for so much as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministred openly vnto the people vnder both kinds, that is to say, the body and bloud. This article is euident, for somuch as his disciples at this instant in Prage, do minister the same in both kinds.* Moreouer, it is affirmed by diuers, that he hath taught both in the schooles and in the Church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced vpon the aulter, there remaineth still materiall bread in the Sacrament, this article shall be knowne by his examination.

Secondly, he doth erre, as touching the ministers of the church, forsomuch as he saith that they cannot cōsecrate or minister the Sacraments when they are in mortall sinne. This article shall likewise be known by his examination. Notwithstanding all that, which is here conteined, may be gathered by his writings De ecclesia, the which if he denie, let there then be some deuines and others appointed, to peruse and looke ouer his said writings of the Church. Moreouer he saith, that other men beside priests may minister the Sacraments, this article is euident, for so much as his disciples do the same at Prage, the which of themselues do violently take the Sacrament out of y^e treasurie, and communicate among themselues,* whē the holy communion is denied vnto them: by this and other things, also it is sufficiently euident, that he hath taught that euerie man being without mortall sinne, hath y^e power of orders or priesthood, for so much as such only as hath taken orders, ought to minister the sacraments vnto themselues. And because he proceedeth from small matters vnto great and waightier, it doth consequently appeare and followe, that those which be in state of grace, can binde and loose.

Thirdly he doth erre as touching the Church, and specially for that he doth not allow & admit that the Church signifieth the Pope,* Cardinals, Archbishops, and y^e Clergie vnderneath them, but saith that this signification was drawne out from the schoolemen. And in no case to be holden or allowed, this article is manifest by his said treatise vpon the Church.

Moreouer he doth erre concerning the Church, in that he saith,* that the Church ought not to haue any temporall possessions. And that the temporall Lords may take them away from the Church & the clergy without any offence: this errour is euident, forsomuch as through his doctrine and intisements many churches in y^e kingdom of Boheme & in the cite of Prage, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalities and goods. He saith also that Constantinus & other secular princes erred by enriching and enduing churches & monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

Fourthly,* he erreth as touching the Church, in that hee sayth, that all priests are of like power, and therfore affirmeth that the reseruations of the Popes casualties, the ordering of Bishops, and the consecration of the Priestes were inuented only for couetousnes. This Article doth somewhat appeare by those afore going, but by his examination shall be more euident.

Fiftly,* he erreth concerning the church, in that he sayth, that the church being in sinne, hath no power of the keies, when as the Pope, Cardinals, and all other of the priests and cleargie are in deadly sinne, the which he sayth is possible enough, this also doth appeare in his treatise vpon the Church, in his first errour as touching the ministers of the Church.

Sixtly he erreth touching the Church,* for as much as through contempt he doth not feare excommunication. This doth notoriously appeare by his owne doings, in that he did contemne and despise the Apostolike and ordinary censure, and in all the Apostolike excommunications & iniunctions he hath borne himselfe vpon the diuine commandements, and in contempt of the keyes to the setting out of his hypocrisie, he hath said masse all the wayes betweene this and the cite of Prage, and therby hath prophanate the processe and authoritie of the Church.

Seuenthly he erreth againe,* as touching the Church, because he kepeth not the institutions & inuestitures therof, but holdeth opinion that euery man hath authority to inuest & appoint any man to the cure of soules. This is euident by his owne doings. For so much as many in the kingdome of Boheme, by their defenders and fauourers. [Page 601](#) or rather by himselfe were appoynted and put into parish churches, the which they haue long ruled and kept, not being appoynted by the Apostolike sea, neither yet by the ordinarie of the cite of Prage.

*Eightly, he erreth as touching the Churche, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man being once ordained a Priest or a deacon cannot be forbidden or kept backe from the office of preaching, this is likewise manifest by his own doings, for somuch as he himselfe could neuer be letted from preaching, neither by the Apostolick sea, neither yet by the Archbishop of Prage.

And to the intent that the sayd Iohn Hus, who is dothed in sheepes clothing, & inwardly a rauing wolfe, may be the better knowen by his fruits, for the better information of you most reuerend fathers, I say, that from the first time y^t he tooke in hand or went about to sow hys errorrs and heresies, y^e which afterward he did in deede, he vnderstanding and perceiuing himself to be stande and gainsayde by the Germaines, which were in the vniuersitie of Prage, for somuch as he coulde conclude nothing, because they had 3. voyces, and he on hys parre, had but one onely voyce: he went about and brought to passe, and that by the secular power, that the Germaines shoulde haue but one voyce, and he and his partes 3. voyces, the which thing, when y^e Germanes once perceiued, rather then they wold loose or forsake any parte of their right,

whych they had in voyces, or be in danger in theyr persons, the which would then haue ensued vppon it, to saue themselues, they wholly with one consent agreed together to depart out of Prage, and by this meanes this solemne & famous vniuersitie of Prage was made desolate that had brought forth so many notable mē in diuers sciences.* Beholde this his first fruits which deuied that so famous vniuersitie, for so muche as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neyther figs of brambles.

*Moreouer, when there were questiōs moned amongst the deuines of the vniuersitie of Prage vppon the 45. articles of Iohn Wickliffe, and that they had called a conuocation, and all the deuines of Boheme, for the Germaines were all ready departed, they concluded that euery one of those Articles were either heretical, seditious, or els erroneous. He alone held the cōtrary opinion, y^e none of those articles were either hereticall, seditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, holde, and teache in the common schooles of Prage, where by it is euidētly inough foresene, that he doeth affirme those articles of Wickliffe, the whych are not onely condemned in England, but also by y^e whole church, because they were first inuented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

Moreouer, he being complained of to the Archbyshop of Prage, y^e he preached & set foorth certaine articles which were heretical, false and seditious, he was forbidden by the sayd Archbishop to preach any more, and proceded against him, according to the canonicall sanctions, the whych processe is confirmed by the Apostolike sea, and published as well in the courte of Rome, as wythout: the whych Iohn Hus and his adherents haue diuers and manifold wayes violate & prophanate.* And whosoever did speake against him, they were depriued of their benefices, and others placed in, which haue ruled, and yet do rule the said churches, & the flockes pertaining to the same, not hauing any cure or charge of the soules cōmitted vnto them, neyther by the Apostolike sea, neither yet by the ordinary of the place.

Also as many, as well priests as lay men in the citie of Prage & kingdom of Boheme, which haue spoken against the doctrine of Hus, and the prophanation of the processe aforesaid, or at the least not alowing the same, haue suffred most mortall hatred and persecutions, and yet to thys day do suffer. But that at this present it is dissimuled vntil the ende of the processe against Iohn Hus. Wherefore if he be nowe let goe againe, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goodes, and throughout all the realm of Boheme, house shalbe against house, and this mischief will creepe, yea sodeinly spring vp throughout al Germany, and innumerable soules shalbe infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the cleargie and faithfull, as hath not bene since the time of the Emperour Constantine to this present day,* for he ceaseth not to mooue and stir vp the laity, against the clergy and faithfull christians. And when any of the clergie would draw him away, or cal him from his heresie, & for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he doe not teach no heresies: Then sayeth he, and teacheth that the clergie doth that of enuie and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faultes: that is to say, their simonie and pride, and conetousnesse.

Moreouer, hee stirreth vp the seculare princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, & vniuersities, and generally against the whole clergy. Going about by thys meanes, he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to haue any temporal goodes or possessions, but only to liue vppon almes. And by thys meanes he hath done already very much

hurt, and annoyed diuers and many Prelates, clearkes and Churches in the kingdome of Boheme and cite of Prage. For so much as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, hee teacheth also that it is lawfull for the lay people wythout sinne, to wythholde and keepe backe the tithes and oblations, or to geue the Church goodes to any other minister: all the seculare princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but specially the laitie, who foloweth euery mā his owne will.

He hath generally to lay for himself all those heretikes which do but very finally regard the ecclesiastical censures and hate the authority of the Romaine church, yea doe vtterly detest & abhorre the same, the which thing will more and more encrease, except it be effectually and manfully w^tstand, and if he do by any meanes escape from the council, he and his fauourers will say that hys doctrine is iust and true,* and that it is allowed by the authority of the vniuersall sacred Councell, and that all hys aduersaries are wicked and noughty men, so that he would do more mischief, then euer any hereticke did since the tyme of Constantinus Magnus.

Wherefore most holy fathers prouide and take heede to your selues,* and to the whole flocke, amongst whome the holy Ghost hath placed you to rule the Church of Christ, the whych he hath purchased wyth his owne bloude, and whilest the disease is new and fresh, helpe and remedye it, as well touching him which doth so infect and trouble the Church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which he hath presumed, & might doe the same: because the Prelates do abuse the ecclesiasticall censures, & as well the Prelates as those that are vnder them dee not keepe and obserue the order of the church whych is appoynted them by God, whereby it commeth to passe, that whylest they themselues do walke the broken & vnknowne paths, their flocke falleth headlong into the ditch.

Wherefore let our soueraigne Lord the Pope, and this most sacred Council ordaine and depute Commissioners, the which may examine the sayd Iohn Hus vpon all afore wrytten, and other thyngs in the presence of them whych knowe the matter. Let there be also certayne Doctors and Maisters appoynted to reade ouer and peruse hys bookes which he hath written, whereof some are here present, that the church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.

Upon this hys accusation, they ordeined and appoynted 3. commissioners or iudges, that is to say, the patriark of Constantinople, and the byshop of Castle, & the byshop of Lybusse. The which prelates being thus deputed, hard the accusation & the witnes which was brought in by certayne babling priestes of Prage,* confirmed by theyr othes, & afterward recited the sayd accusation vnto the sayd Hus in the prisone, at suche time as hys ague was feruent and extremely vpō him.*

Uppon thys Iohn Hus required to haue an aduocate to answer for hym, the whych was plainly and vtterly denied him. And the reason that the masters Commissioners brought against it was this, that the plain canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of hys, which is suspect of any kind of heresy: The vanity and foly of the witnesses was suche, that if in case they had not bene both the accusers and iudges themselues, there shuld haue needed no distinct confutation. I would haue rehersed the testimonies in thys place but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader coulde not haue red without great tediousnes. Nowheit some of them shal be declared, when we come to the processe of hys iudgement.

Afterwarde, when Iohn Husse had recouered lyttle strength or health by the commandement of the three commissioners there was presented vnto hym certaine Articles, many in number, which they sayd they had gathered out of his booke which he made of the Churche: of whych articles some were forged and inuented by maister Palletz, & other some were gathered onely by halues, as shall be more plainly declared hereafter whē we come to speake of the iudgement pronounced and geuen against the sayde Hus.

Thus Iohn Hus remained in the prison of the couent of the Franciscanes,* vntill the Wednesday before Palme Sondag, and certaine appoynted to keepe hym, and in the meane season to employ and spende his time wythall, he wrote certaine bookes: That is to say, of the ten commandements, [Page 602](#) of the loue and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penance, of the three enemies of mankinde, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

*The same day Pope Iohn the 23, chaūged his apparell & conuoyed himselfe secretly out of Constance, fearing the iudgemēt by the which afterward he was depriued of his Papall dignitie, by meanes of most execrable & abhominable forfaites and doynge. This was the cause that Iohn Hus was trāsported and caried vnto an other prison: for the Popes seruantes which had the charge and keeping of Iohn Hus, vnderstanding that their Maister was fled & gone, deliuered vp the keyes of the prison vnto the Emperour Sigismund, and to the Cardinals, and followed their Maister the Pope. Then by the whole cōsent of the Councell, the sayd Iohn Hus was put into the handes of the Byshop of Constance, who sent him to a Castle on the other side of the Riuer of Rhine, not very farre from Cōstance, whereas he was shut vp in a Tower, with fetters on his legges, that he could scarce walke in the day tyme, and at night hee was fastened vp to a racke agaynst the wall hard by his bed.

*In the meane season certaine noble men and Gentlemen of Pole & Boheme, did al their indeuour to purchase his deliuerance, hauing respect to the good renowne of all the Realme, the which was wonderfully defamed and slaundered by certaine naughty persons. The matter was growne vnto this point, that all they which were in the towne of Constance, that seemed to beare any fauour vnto I. Hus, were made as mockyng stocks, and derided of all men, yea euen of the slaues and base people. Wherefore they tooke counsell and cōcluded together to present their request in writing vnto the whole Coūcell, or at the least vnto the foure nations of Almaine, Italie, Fraunce, and England: this request was presented the 14. day of May. an. 1415. The tenour here ensueth.

The first schedule or Bill, whiche the nobles of Boheme deliuered vp to the Councell for the deliuerance of Iohn Hus, the 14. day of May. Anno. 1415.

MOst reuerēd Fathers and Lordes. The Nobles and Lordes of Boheme and Pole here present, by this their present writynges doe shew and declare vnto your Fatherly reuerences how that the most noble Kyng and Lord, the Lord Sigismund kyng of Romaines, alwayes Augustus kyng of Hungary, Croatia, Dasmatia, &c. hearyng of the great dissention that was in the kyngdome of Boheme as heyre, Kyng and Lord successour, willyng & mynding to foresee and prouide for his owne honour, he sent these Noble men Maister Wenceslate de Duba and Iohn de Clum here

present,* that they would bryng and assure Maister Iohn Hus vnder the kyng his name and safe conduct. So that he would come to the sacred generall Councell of Constance, vnder the safe conduct of the sayd kyng, and the protection of the sacred Empire, openly geuen and graunted vnto the sayd Maister Iohn Hus, that hee might purge himselfe and the kyngdome of Boheme from the slaunder that was raysed vpon them, and there to make an open declaration of his Fayth to euery man that would lay any thyng to his charge. The which the sayd Nobles with the forenamed Maister Iohn Hus haue performed and done, accordyng to the kynges commaundement.

When as the sayd Maister Iohn Hus was freely of his owne accorde come vnto Constance, vnder the sayd safe conduct, & greuously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in tymes past at the Councell holden at Paysan. 1410. yeare of our Lord, the heretickes whiche were condemned, were suffered to remayne there at libertie, and to depart home freely: Notwithstandyng this Maister Iohn Husse, neither beyng conuicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, when as neither any kyng or any Prince Elector, either any Embassadour of any Uniuersitie was yet come or present. And albeit the Lord the Kyng, together with the Nobles and Lordes here present most instantly required and desired, that as touchyng his safe conduct they would foresee and haue respect vnto his honour. And that the sayd Maister Iohn Hus might be openly heard, for so much as he would render and shew a reason of his fayth, and if he were found or conuicted obstinately to affirme or maintayne any thyng agaynst the truth or holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the Councell: yet could hee neuer obtayne this. But the sayd Maister Iohn Husse,* notwithstandyng all this, is most greuously oppressed with fetters and yrons, and so weakened with thinne and slender diete, that it is to be feared least that his power and strength beyng hereby consumed and wasted, hee should be put in daunger of his witte or reason.

And although the Lordes of Boheme here present are greatly slaundered, because they seyng the sayd Maister Iohn Hus, so to be tormēted and troubled contrary to the kyngs safe conduct, haue not by their letters put the kyng in mynde of his sayd safe conduct, that the sayd Lord and kyng should not any more suffer any such matters, for so much as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdome of Boheme, which frō the first originall and begynnyng, since it receaued the Catholicke fayth, it neuer departed or went away frō the obedience of y^t holy Church of Rome: yet notwithstandyng they haue suffered & borne all these thynges patiently hetherto, least by any meanes occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred Councell might arise or spryng therof.

Wherefore most reuerend fathers & Lordes: The Nobles and Lordes before named do wholly & most earnestly desire & require your reuerences here present, that both for the honour of the safe conduct of our sayd Lord the kyng, & also for the preseruacion and encrease of the worthy fame and renowne both of the foresayd kyngdome of Boheme, & your own also, that you will make a short end about the affayres of M. Iohn Hus: for so much as by the meanes of his straite handling he is in great daunger by any lōger delay, cuē as they do most specially trust vpō the most vpright consciences & iudgementes of your fatherly reuerēces. But forasmuch as most reuerēd fathers and Lordes, it is now come to the knowledge and vnderstāding of the Nobles & Lordes of Boheme here present, how that certaine backbiters and slaūderers of the most famous kingdom

of Boheme aforesayd, haue declared & told vnto your reuerences how that the Sacrament of the most precious bloud of our Lord is caried vp & downe through Boheme in vessels not cōsecrated or halowed, and that Coblers do now heare confessions & minister the most blessed body of our Lord vnto others: The Nobles therfore of Boheme here present require and desire you that you will geue no credit vnto false promoters & tale tellers,* for that as most wicked and naughty slaundersers & backbiters of y^e kingdome aforesaid, they do report & tel vntruthes: requiring also your reuerences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdome aforesaid, may be named & knowne. And y^e lord the king together with your reuerēces, shal well perceiue and see that the Lordes of Boheme will go about in such maner to refell and put away the false & f•uolous slaunders of those naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appeare hereafter before the lord the kyng and your reuerences.

As soone as this their supplication was red, y^t byshop of Luthonis rising vp said.* Most reuerend fathers I well perceiue and vnderstand that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars & frends, as though y^e kingdom of Boheme were slaundersed by vs. Wherefore I desire to haue time & space of deliberation that I may purge my selfe from this crime that is laid against me. The principal of the counsel appointed him y^e 17. day of May, at y^e which day the lords of Boheme should be present again, to heare both the aunswer of the councell, and also the excuse of the bishop of Luthonis, y^t which thing in dede was afterward performed: for the 17. day of May, which was the 4. day before the whitsontide they met there againe, where first of all a certaine bishop in y^e name of the whole council answered by worde to the nobles of Boheme, the contentes of whose aunswer may easely be known by the secōd supplication, which the Bohemians put vp to y^e council. But first I haue here in these few wordes following, shewed how the bishop Luthonis defended himselfe agaynst that which is before written.

The aunswer of the Bishop of Luthonis, to the last part of the supplication, which the nobles of Boheme presented vnto the Councell.

MOst reuerend fathers and noble Lordes,* as Peter de Mladoneywitz bachelor of Arte: in y^e name of certain of the nobles of y^e kingdome of Boheme in his writings, amongst other thyngs did propounde how that certaine slaundersers and backbiters of the sayd kyngdome haue brought to the eares of your reuerēces, that the most precious bloud of Christ is caried vp and downe in Boheme in bottels, & that Coblers do heare confessions, and minister [Page 603](#) the body of Christ vnto others, wherupon most reuerend fathers and Lordes: Albeit that I together wyth the other prelates, doctors, maisters and other innumerable catholikes of the sayde kingdome, the whych doe desire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Christ, haue laboured for the extirpation & rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wickliffes, which now (alas for sorow) beginneth to spring and rise in the sayd kingdome, as it is well knowne. Notwythstanding, here in thys my oration, not for any shame or reproofe, but for the honour of the kingdome aforesayd, I haue propounded, and declared a certaine new sect, whych is now lately sprong vp in the sayd kingdome, the folowers whereof do minister & communicate the sacraments in many cities, townes, & places of the said kingdom, vnder both kindes both of breade and wine, and doe constantly teache the common people bothe men and women that it is so to be cōmunicated, obstinaty affirming the same, and that the clergy which do repugn or say

nay vnto it, are to be counted church robbers, as by the wrytings of their assertions being directed and presented hether, shall openly appeare.

Moreouer by the report and fame whych goeth here abroade, & by the wrytings which were sent ouer vnto me, I haue propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the bloud of Christ is caryed about in vess•ls. Is not consecrated, approuing the foresaide erroneous assertion of the Wicleuists, that affirme it necessary for saluation, that the people shuld communicate vnder both kindes of bread and wine, and that it is necessary, as the body of Christ is caryed in the pixe or boxe, so the bloude of Christ should be caryed in bottles, or other necessary vessels from place to place, and specially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of my selfe, but I hearde it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certaine woman a folower of that secte, the which taking by violence the body of Christe out of a priests handes, did communicate vnto her selfe, and affirmed that all men oughte to doe so, if the Priests would denye them the Communion. And the same woman amongst many other errors, of the whych shee was conuicted, did affirme that a good lay woman myght better consecrate and geue absolution, then an euill priest: affirming that an euill priest can neyther consecrate nor absolue. But I know that neyther I, neither any of my assistance in this matter haue broughte thys at any time into your cares, that coblers in the sayde kingdome doe heare confession, or minister the sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alleaged by the sayde Peter, in the behalfe of the sayde supplicantes. Notwythstanding, that we did feare if meanes were not founde to recounter or stoppe the offences before named, that thys would immediatly folow vpon it. Wherefore most reuerend fathers, least that the kingdome mighte hee defamed any more by such pestiferous sectes, and that the Christian faith myght happen to be indaungered: with all reuerence and charity I do desire you, euen by the bowels of mercy, of our Lord Iesus Christe, that thys most sacred Councel, would prouide some speedy remedy for this kingdome, as touchyng the premisses.

Moreouer, whether be they backbiters and slanderers or wicked and false enuiers of the kingdome of Boheme, the which do let the errors aforesaid, & many others more, which are sown by the Wicleuists in the sayd kingdome, and also els where, whych also both do labor and haue laboured for the extirpation and roting out of those errors out of the kingdome aforesayd, and as catholicke men, for the zeale of their faith haue manfully put forth themselves against the maintainers of the sayd errors or such as doe maintaine and defend the teachers of those errors. This answer I haue here presented before your reuerences alwaies, wholly submitting my self and assistance vnto your iudgement, and to the definition of this most sacred councill of Constance.

The answer of the nobles of Boheme.

*The day before whitsontide, the nobles of Boheme dyd confute this theyr aunswer made 2. dayes before in the Councel to their former wryting, as here foloweth: Most reuerend fathers and Lordes, for so much as vpon thursday it was answered in the behalfe of your reuerences to the requests of the nobles and Lords of Boheme, that the sayde Lordes were misinformed of diuers poynts contained in the declaration of their said vil: therfore the foresayd Lords haue now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large vnto your reuerences, not mineding hereby to argue or reprooue your fatherly wisdomes and

circumspections, but that youre reuerences (theyr desires being partly on thys behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuously & distinctly discerne and iudge as touching thys matter.

And first of all, where as the Lordes alleaged and sayd how that maister Iohn Hus was come hether vnto Constance, freely of his owne good will, vnder the safe conduct of the Lorde the king,* and the protection of the sacred Empire: It is aunswere on the behalfe of your reuerences, how that the said Lords are misinformed, as touching the safe conduict, and that you haue vnderstand by such as are worthy credit, that the frends and fauorers of the sayd M. Iohn Hus, did first procure and get his safe conduite 15. dayes after hys imprisonment.

The Lords of Boheme, and specially the Lorde Iohn de Clum heere present,* whome thys matter doeth chiefly touche, doeth aunswere, that not onely the 15. day after, but euen the very same day that Iohn Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reuerende father the Pope, in the presence of all his Cardinals, demaunded of M. Iohn de Clum, whether M. Iohn Hus had any safeconduict from the king hys sonne: he answered, most holy father & Cardinals, knowe ye that he hath a safe conduict, and when he was asked the question againe the second time, he answered in like maner.

Yet notwithstanding none of them required to haue the safeconduict shewed vnto them: and againe the thirde day following, the Lord Iohn de Clum complained vnto our Lord the Pope, how notwithstanding the safe conduict of oure soueraigne Lorde the king, he detained and kept M. Iohn Hus as prisoner, shewing the said safeconduict vnto many. And for a further truth herein, he referreth hymself vnto the testimonies and witnesses of diuers Earles, Byshops, knightes, gentlemen, and famous Citizens of the city of Constance, the whych altogether at this present did see the said safe conduict, and heard it read, whereupon the sayde Iohn de Clum is ready to binde hymselfe vnder what penalty shalbe required, euidently to proue and cōfirme that which hee hath promised, who soeuer say to the contrary.

Moreouer, the Lordes of Boheme referre themselues vnto the knowledge of certaine Princes electors & other Princes, Byshops, & many other noblemen, which were present before the kings maiestie, where and when as the said safe conduct was graunted and geuen out by the speciall commaundement of our sayd Lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reuerences may vnderstand and perceiue that the sayd Lordes of Boheme are not euill informed as touching the saide safe conduict: But rather they which by such reportes haue falsly and vntruely informed your reuerēces. And first of al they haue offended agaynst the Lord our king,* and hys chauncellours. Secundarely, against the Lords and nobles of Boheme, as though we had priuely & by stealth, purchased the sayde safe conduict. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid most humbly require & desire your reuerēces that you wil not so lightly beleue such as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and discusse that the trueth may the more euidently appeare.

Secondly,* where as the Lordes aforesayde, alleaging how M. Iohn Hus, cōming vnto Constance, of his owne free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reuerences haue made aunswer therunto, that he the sayd M. Iohn Hus in the time of Alexander 5. was infamed

and slandered vppon certaine heresies, and thereupon cited personally to apeare in the court of Rome, and there was heard by hys procurers.

And for somuch as he refused obstinatly to appeare, he was excommunicated, in the which excommunication he continued (as you affirme) by the space of fiue yeares, for the whych he was iudged, and counted not onely a simple and plaine hereticke, but an heresiarke, that is to say, an inuenter and sower of newe and straunge heresies, and that he comming towarde Constance, did preache by the way openly.* To this the Lordes aforesayd do aunswere, that as touching hys slaunder and citation, they can affirme nothing, but by report. But as touching that he dyd not personally appeare, they say they haue heard both him'selfe, and diuers other credible persones say: yea euen the most famous Prince Wenceslaus king of Boheme, and almost all the whole nobilitie is witnes, that he would willingly haue appeared at Rome, or els where, if he myghte safely haue commen thether,* and that deadly enmitie had not letted: and moreouer his procurers, which he sent vnto the court of Rome, alleaging reasonable causes for hys non apparance, some of them were cast into pryson, and others very euill intreated.

[Page 604](#)As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they haue heard him often say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacye, or stubbernesse, but vnder euidēt appellation, and therupon reterreth himself vnto the Actes of his causes, whyche were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherm all this is more largely contained, the which your reuerences may euidently perceiue and see in this our present publike transumpt, which wee haue offred vnto you vpon certaine poynts aforesayd.

As cōcerning his preaching, wherwithal his enemies do report and charge,* that M. Iohn Hus did preach openly in the Citie of Constance: The Lordes aforesaide, and specially the Lord Iohn de Clum here present do answere that hee hath continually lodged wyth the sayde M. Iohn Hus here in Constance, and that whosoouer they be, that haue bene so bolde, or dare be so bolde to say & affirme that M. Iohn Hus had preached (as is premised) or y^t whyche lesse is,* since the time of his comming vnto thys citie, euen vnto the very day & time of hys captiuitie and imprysonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said Lord Iohn de Clum, will and is contēt to binde himselfe with any suche, as shall affirme the same, vnder what penalty so euer it be, of money or otherwyse, that which hee hath falsly reported vnto your reuerences, he shal neuer be able iustly & truely to affirme and prooue.

Thirdly, whereas your reuerences do say, that you do not vnderstād or know, what the Lords do meane, by the heretickes condemned, at the councel holden at Pisa, whether the mocking or deriding y^e Pope, whose ambassadors came thither for vnitie or concorde, the which were suffered and gently entreated, as theyr Lordes were most enclined vnto vnitie and peace, or els that they did vnderstande or meane y^e perticuler heretickes, which were there condemned adioyning therunto: that the heretickes also comming vnto the councell, vnder the pretence of that vnitie, should be gently handled and entreated. &c. Reuerēd fathers and Lordes, whether they be counted the firste, or that they be thought the second or last, y^e Lordes aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said M. Iohn Hus may vse suche liberty as they vsed: forsomuch as he came willingly vnto this most sacred coūcel, not for any other purpose, but onely publikely to recognise his faith. And in what poynt soeuer he shall seeme to vary from the worde of God, and the vnion of the holy mother the church, that in that poynte he will willingly be vnited and

reconciled againe thereunto, and not only himself, but also his fauorers and adherents, he would moue and prouoke therunto: * of whom the greater number are in the kingdō of Boheme. Also he is come hether that he might purge and cleare the noble kingdome of Boheme, from the sinister and euil slaunder which was raised vpon it.

Last of all most reuerend fathers & Lordes, for so much as your reuerences haue most fauourably answered vnto the principal request made by the Lords aforesayd, that the processe of M. Iohn Hus through Gods helpe shoulde be determined and ended w^tal expedition and gentlenes: The Lordes aforesayd do render most hartly thanks vnto your reuerences, and when soeuer they desire by Gods helpe shall come to the ende or effecte long wished or looked for, they wil not onely here, but also before the whole kingdome of Boheme, and in all other places wheresoeuer they come render most immortall thanks vnto your reuerences for euer.

Thys declaration of the nobles of Boheme aboue prefixed, may serue not only to the cōfutation of the bishop Luthonius thys Bohemian, but also against the cauillacious of Alanus Copus Anglus. Dial. 6. pag. 929. touching the safe conduct of Iohn Hus, wherof sufficiently before hath ben sayd, vide supra, pag. 596.

When as the noble men of Boheme by lōg time could receiue no answer of those supplications, whych they had alredy put vp, they determined y^e last day of May following by an other supplication being put vp vnto the principals of the councell, to entreat that Iohn Hus myght be deliuered out of prison, and defend his owne cause openly: they also put the testimonial of the bishop of Nazareth, as touching Iohn Hus. * The copy wherof is expressed in the beginning of this hystorie, word by word.

Another supplication of the nobles of Boheme.

*MOst reuerend fathers and Lordes in Christ, of late there was a supplication put vp vnto your reuerences on the behalfe of the Lordes & nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherin they most humbly desired your reuerences to consider how the informations which were put vp vnto your reuerences, by the enemies of M. Iohn Hus, * were insufficient. And with reuerence be it spoken, in many poynts vntrue, as in the safeconduict graunted by the kings maiestie, and also in other articles, as more plainely appeareth in the Scedule, which was then offred vnto you: vppon the whych sayde Scedule and other things at that presence being put vppe, they coulde not as yet receiue no aunswere. Wherefore the Lordes aforesayde, moste humbly require your fatherly reuerences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to geue some answere to the Lordes aforesayd, therupon and specially hauing respect vnto the great iniuries and griefs which are done vnto the sayd M. Iohn Hus, the which may be vnderstād and knowen by the Scedule aforesayde, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefes and euils so farre different from all brotherly loue and charitie are done vnto hym by his enemies euen for very malice and hatred.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and ouerthrowne, and the plaine and euident truth appeare, it may please your fatherly reuerēces to vnderstand that it is notified and knowen vnto the Barones, Nobles, Citizens, Clergie and Laitie of the kingdome of Boheme, that M. Iohn Hus in all his actes and doings as well Scholasticall as Ecclesiasticall, and

specially in all his publike and open sermons, he hathe made and hathe accustomed to make these maner of protestations, the which without any thing to the contrary, hee hath alwaies endeouored to haue them strong and firme, as by this his protestation here folowing, which he made about the determination of a certaine question, it may most euidently and plainly appeare vnto euery man which would beholde and looke vpon the same: the forme and tenour wherof here followeth, and is such.

The protestation of Iohn Hus.

FOR so much as aboue all things I doe desire the honor of God,* the profite of the holy Church, and that I my selfe may be a faithfull member of our Lorde Iesu Christ, which is the heade and husband of the holy Church whych hee hath redemed: Therefore as heretofore oftentimes I haue done, euen so now againe I make this protestation, that I neuer obstinately sayd, or heereafter will say any thing that shall be contrary vnto the truth and verity: and moreouer that I haue alwayes holden, do hold, and firmly desire for to holde the very true and infallible trueth and veritie, so that before that I would defende and maintaine any erreure contrary therunto, I would rather chuse by the hope and help of the Lorde to suffer extreeme punishment, euen vnto death: yea, and thorowe the helpe of God I am ready, euen to offer this my miserable lyfe vnto death for the law of Christ,* the which I do beleue euery part and parcell thereof to be geuen and promulgate for the saluation of mankind, by the counsaile and determination of the most holy Trinitie, and the saintes of God. &c.

By the whiche his protestation, and also other protestations by the sayde M. Iohn Hus, being well obserued and noted, it may be easily gathered and known that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that hee neither would nor will haue spoken or written any thing in hys bookes, treatises, doctrines, or publike sermones, or els to haue affirmed any articles, the whyche willingly and wittingly he did vnderstand or know to be either erroneous, offenseiue, seditious, hereticall, or offending the godly eare. All beit that these and suche like things are falsely imputed vnto hym by hys enemies. But it hath alwayes bene his chiefe intent and purpose, and so is, that euery poynt, conclusion or article contained in his bookes or articles, to haue put and affirmed them to thys ende, according to the truth of the Gospell, the holy Doctors and wryters vpon the holy Scriptures, and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in any poynt, he shoulde be founde to varie or goe astray, or that he were not well vnderstanded of others by like information to be informed, vnderstanded, corrected and amended, and that he wil by no meanes sustaine or defend any maner of article against the holy Church of Rome, or the Catholicke faith.

Wherefore most reuerende fathers, the premisses notwithstanding, his ennemies,* through the extreeme hatred whych they beare vnto him, hath picked and taken out by piece meale certain articles out of the booke of M. Iohn Hus, reiecting and not looking vpon the allegations and reasons, neither hauing any relation vnto the distinction of their equiuocations, haue compounded and made thereof certaine false and fained articles againste him, to thys ende, that all charitie and loue being sette aparte, they might the better ouerthrow hym, and bryng hym vnto death contrary vnto the safe conducte vpon good and iust occasion openly assigned, and geuen vnto the sayde maister Iohn Hus, by the most noble Prince the Lorde Sigismund king of the Romanes and of Hungarie, for his iust defence, against all the friuolous accusations and assaults of the ennemies,

not onely of the sayd M. Iohn Hus, but also of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and for [Page 605](#) the quiete appeasing of all such tumultes and rumours, rising and springing in the sayde kingdome of Boheme, or else where: the auoiding of which most perillous vprours, the saide king of Romaines doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heire and successour of the sayd kingdome.

Whereuppon the Barons and Nobles aforesayde, most humbly desire and require, the premisses being considered, and respect had vnto the great infamie and slaunder which may happen by the premisses vnto the sayde kingdome and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your handes, and take some order & meane, that maister Iohn Hus may be distinctly hearde by some famous men, deuines already deputed, or otherwise to be appoynted vpon all and singulare such articles as shall be laide vnto him to declare his owne minde and intent, and also the minde of the doctours alleadged for his purpose, with the manifolde distinctions and equiuocations: in the which the drawers out of the most part of his articles haue also made equiuocations, that so according vnto the disposition of witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and haue a long time bene his mortall ennemies, that at the friuolous instigation of his enemies, when hee was miserably detained prisoner, that he should not be condemned vnheard. For so much as by the sayde declarations your fatherly reuerences might be the more better informed of the trueth, hee hymselfe is ready alwaies to submit himselfe vnder the determination of thys most sacred councell.* For your reuerences, by the craftie and fained perswasions of his ennemies, are thus informed, that M Iohn Hus hath bene vncurably obstinate by a long time in most perillous articles, the which your reuerences may nowe plainely perceiue to be vntrue, and for the more euidence heerein to be shewed, there is presented vnto your reuerences an instrumente of publike recognition of the moste reuerend father in Christe, the Lorde Nicholas Bishop of Nazareth and Inquisitour of heresies, specially appoynted by the Apostolike see in the dioces of Prage, the which by your reuerences is more diligently to be hearkened vnto.

Wherefore it may please your fatherly reuerences to commaund the sayd M Iohn Hus neither conuicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bondes and chaines, in the which he is nowe most greeuously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reuerend Lordes, Byshops, or commissioners appoynted or to be appoynted by this present councell. That the sayd M. Iohn Husse may somewhat be releued and recouer againe his health, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the Commissioners: and for the more assurance, the Barons and Nobles aforesayd of the kingdome of Boheme, will prouide most sure and good sureties, the which wil not breake their fidelity and faith for any thing in the worlde. Which also shall promise in his behalfe, that hee shall not flee or departe out of their handes, vntill suche time as the matter be fully determined by the sayd Commissioners. In the execution of the which promises wee haue determined to prouide and foresee vnto the fame and honour of the said kingdome of Boheme, and also to the safeconducte of the moste worthy Prince, the king of Romaines, least that the enemies and detractours of the honoure and fame of the kingdome aforesayd, might not a little slander and reprove the said Lordes, pretending and shewing forth hereafter, that they had made vnreasonable or vnlawfull requests: for the withstāding of which mischief, we require your fatherly reuerences, that you will decree, & most graciously consent that this our petition and supplication may be drawen out againe by your Notarie, and reduced into a publicke forme and order.

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the 4. nations, the Patriarche of Antioch answered in the name of them all vnto euery article of the sayd supplication, but it was done in few wordes.

*First, as touching the protestation of Iohn Hus, whether it be true or false, it shalbe made euident in the processe of his cause. Moreouer, wheras they say that the aduersaries of Iohn Hus hath peruersly drawen certaine thinges out of his bookes, that also the matter it selfe shall declare in the end. Where as if it shalbe found & decreed that Iohn Hus is vniustly & vntruly accused, that thē it shal come to passe, y^t his aduersaries shall incurre perpetuall ignominy and slaunder.*But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or boūd, yet can it not by any meanes be, that the deputies of the Councell with a safe conscience may receiue or take them in this mans cause, vnto whome there is no faith or credite to be geuē. Howbeit thus much they wil do, vpon the 5. day of Iune next, Iohn Hus shall be brought againe vnto Constance,*and there haue free libertie to speake his minde before the Councell, & that they wold louingly and gently heare him: but the matter in the ende fell out farre contrary to thys promise.

*The same day the saide Barons and Lordes presented a supplication of thys tenour vnto the Emperor:

Vnto the most highe and mighty Prince, the Lorde Sigismund king of the Romaines, alwaies Augustus king of Hungarie, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious Lord faithful & true seruice in al things, and at all times. Most noble Prince and gracious Lord, we signifie vnto your worthinesse, that we all together with one minde, consent and accord haue deliuered vp vnto the reuerend fathers and Lordes, the deputies of the 4 nations, and to the whole sacred Councell of Constance, this our supplication here vnder wrytten. as reasonable, iust, and worthy of consideration, the tenour wherof here followeth word by word, and is this.

The copie of the supplication, which was presented vnto the deputies of the councel, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

WHerefore we most humbly require and desire your princely maiestie,* that both for the loue of iustice, and also of the fame and renowme of that moste famous kingdome of Boheme, whereof wee acknowledge you vndoubtedly the true Lorde and heire successour, and also foreseeing vnto the liberty of your safeconduct, that you wil with your fauourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and iust supplications, which we haue put vp to the Lordes aforesayd, put to your helping hand toward the sayd most reuerend fathers and Lordes, that they will effectually heare vs, in this our most iust petition, which we haue offered vp to them, as is aforesaide: least that the enemye of the renowme and honour of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and such as oure slaundersers also hereafter may detracte and slaunder vs, that wee should make vnreasonable and vnlawfull requests vnto the sayde reuerend fathers and Lordes, and therefore we required and desired of them that it would please them to decre by setting to their publicke hand & seale to authorise our said supplication. Likewise we do most hartily require your highnes, that you would vouchsafe in like maner to geue vs your testimonie of the premises.

But what answer the Emperour made heereunto, we could neuer vnderstand or know, but by the processe of the matter a man may easily iudge,* that thys good Emperour was brought and lead euen vnto thys poynt, through the obstinate mischiefe of the cardinals and bishops, to breake and falsify his promise and faith, whych hee had made and promised, and this was their reason, whereby he was driuenthereunto: that no defence coulde or might be geuen either by safe conduct, or by any other meane vnto hym, whych was suspected or iudged to be an hereticke. But by the Epistles and letters of Iohn Hus, a man may easily iudge: what the kings minde was. Now we will procede in the historie.*

The 5. day of Iune, the Cardinals, Byshops, and the rest of the priests, al that were almost in Constance, assembled to a great number, at the Couent of the Franciscanes in Constance, and there it was commaunded, that before Iohn Hus shoulde be brought foorth, in hys absence they should rehearse the witnesses and articles, which they had slaunderously gathered out of his bookes: the whych articles with Iohn Husses answer we will hereafter repeate. By chance there was then present a certaine. Notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, the whych bare great loue and amity vnto the said Hus, who assoone as he perceiued that the Bishops and cardinals were already determined and appoynted to condemne the sayde articles in the absence of Iohn Hus, hee went withall speede vnto maister Wencelate de Duba, and Iohn of Clum, & tolde them al the matter: who incontinent made report therof to the Emperour. Who vnderstanding their intent, sent Lewes the Countie Palantine of Heydelberge, and the Lord Frederick, Burgraue of Nuremberge, to signify vnto them, whych ruled the councel, that nothing should be resolued or done in the case of Iohn Hus, before that it wer first heard with equity: and that they should send him all such articles as were said against the sayd Hus, which were either false or hereticall, & he would do so much,* that the said articles shoulde be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the Emperours will, the iudgement of the principals of the Councell was suspended, vntill suche time as Iohn Hus were present.

In the meane season these gentlemen, master of Dube and of Clum, did geue vnto the two Princes whych the Emperour had sent, certaine smal treatises which the sayde Hus had made, out of y^e which they had drawn certain articles to present vnto them which ruled the councel, vnder this condition, that they would render them againe, when they should demand them. The intent & meaning of these Barons was, y^t by thys meanes the aduersaries of Iohn Hus might y^e more easily be reproofed, y^e which of a naughty and corrupt conscience, had picked out corrupt sentēces out of the said bookes of Iohn Hus. The bookes were deliuered vnto the Cardinals and Byshops, and that done, [Page 606](#) Iohn Hus was brought forth, and the Princes whiche were sent by the Emperour, departed backe agayne. After they shewed the bookes vnto Iohn Hus, and he cōfessed openly before the whole assembly that hee had made them, & that he was ready, if there were any fault in thē, to amend the same.

Now harken a litle to the holy proceedynges of these reuerēd fathers, for here happened a straunge & shamefull matter. With much a do they had scarsly read one article, & brought forth a few witnesses vpō the same agaynst him, but as hee was about to apen his mouth to aunswere, all this mad heard or flocke begā so to cry out vpon him, that he had not leasure to speake one onely worde. The noyse & trouble was so great and so vehemēt, that a man might well haue called it a brute or noyse of wild beasts, and not of men, much lesse was it to be iudged a cōgregatiō of men gathered together, to iudge and determine so graue and waightie matters. And if it happened

that the noyse and cry did neuer so litle cease, that hee might aunswere any^thyng at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Ecclesiasticall Doctours, by and by he shoulde here these goodly replyes vpon him: That maketh nothyng to the purpose.

*Beside all this, some did outrage in wordes agaynst him, & other some spitefully mocked him: so y^t he seing him selfe ouerwhelmed with this rude and barbarous noyses & cryes, & that it profited nothing to speake, he determined finally with himselfe to hold his peace & keepe silence. Frō that tyme forward all the whole route of his aduersaries, thought that they had wonne y^e battaile of him, and cryed out altogether, now he is dūme, now he is dumme. This is a certaine signe and token, that he doth consent & agree vnto these his errorrs. Finally, the matter came to this poynt, that certaine of the most moderate & honest among thē, seing this disorder, determined to proceede no further, but that all should be deferred & put of vntil an other time. Through their aduise the Prelates & others departed frō the Councell for that present, & appointed to meet there agayne the morrow after to proceede in iudgement.

The next day, which was the vii. of Iune, on whiche day the sunne was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after about vii. of the clocke, this same flocke assembled agayne in the cloister of the Friers Minors, and by their appointment Iohn Hus was brought before them, accompanied w^t a great number of armed men. Thether went also the Emperor, whom the gentlemen, master of Dube, & Clum, and the Notarie named Peter, which were great friendes of the sayd Hus, did folow to see what the end woulde be. When they were come thether, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Causis, they reade these wordes folowing: Iohn Hus hath taught the people diuers and many errorrs both in the chapell of Bethleem,* and also in many other places of the Citie of Prage, of the which errorrs some of them he hath drawen out of Wicklefes bookes, and the rest he hath forged and inuented of his owne head, and doth maintaine the same very obstinately and stifly.

First, that after the consecration and pronuntiatiō of the words, in the supper of the Lord, there remaineth materiall bread, and this is prooued by the witnesse of Iohn Protiwate parishe Priest of s. Clements in Prage, Iohn Pecklow preacher at s. Giles in Prage, Benise preacher in the castle of Prage, Andrew Brod, Chanon of Prage, and diuers other Priestes.* Unto thys Iohn Hus takyng a solemne othe, answered that he neuer spake any such worde, but thus much he did graunt, that at what time the Archbishop of Prage forbad hym to vse any more that terme or word bread,* he could not allow the bishops commaundement: for so much as Christ in the 6. chapter of Iohn doth oftentimes name himselfe the bread of angels, which came downe from heauē, to geue life vnto the whole world. But as touching materiall bread, hee neuer spake any thing at all. Then the Cardinall of Cambray taking a certaine bill in hys hand, which he sayd he receiued the day before, sayd vnto Iohn Hus, will you put any vniversalities a parte rei.i.* as touching the thing? When Iohn Hus aunswered, that he wold, because S. Anselme, and diuers other had so done, the Cardinall did proceed to gather his argument in this maner.

It followeth then, sayde he, that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of materiall bread, & that I do thus proue: That the consecration being done, whiles the bread is chaunged & transubstanciatiō into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doeth remaine the common substaunce of materiall bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remaine, then is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then doth it folow, that by the decision of the singularitie, the

vniversall ceaseth any more to be, Iohn Hus answered, truely it ceaseth to be in this singular materiall bread, by meanes of this trāsubstantiatiō, whē as it is changed & transubstanciated into the body of Christ: but notwithstanding in other singularities, it is made subiect.

Then a certaine English man by y^t argument woulde proue out of the first positiō,* that there remained materiall bread. Then sayd Iohn Hus, that is a childish argument, which euery boy in the schooles knoweth, and thereuppon gaue a solution. Then an other English man wold proue, that there remained materiall bread in the sacrament, because the breade after the consecration was not anihilate. Unto whom Iohn Hus answered: Although, said he, that the breade be not anihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to be by meanes of the alteration of hys substance into the body of Christ.* Here an other English mā, stepping forth, sayd: Iohn Hus semeth vnto me, to vse the same kinde of crafty speach, which Wickleffe vsed, for hee graunted all these things, which this man hath done, & yet in very deede was fully perswaded that material bread remained in the sacrament after the cōsecration. The whych when Iohn Hus had denied, saying that he spake nothing but only sincerely & vprightly, according to his conscience, the English man proceeded to demaunde of hym againe, whether the body of Christe be totally and really in the sacrament of the altar.* Wherunto Iohn Hus answered: verely, I do thincke that the body of Christ is really and totally in the sacrament of the alter, the which was borne of the virgine Mary, suffered, died, & rose againe, and sitteth on the right hande of God the father almighty. When they had disputed a good while to and froe, as touching vniuersalities, the English man whych before would proue that material bread remained in the sacrament, because that the bread was not anihilate, interrupting and breaking theyr talke, sayd: to what purpose is this disputation vpon vniuersalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith: for as farre as I can perceiue or here, this man holdeth a good opinion, as touching the Sacrament of the aultare.

Then an other English man, named Sto•kes, sayd: I haue seene at Prage (sayd he) a certaine treatise, the whych was ascribed vnto thys man Iohn Hus,* wherein it was plainly set foorth, that after the consecration, there remained materiall bread in in the Sacramēt. Uerely said Iohn Hus, sauing your reuerence, that is not true.

Then they returned againe vnto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a litle before,* who euery mā for himselfe affirmed with an othe, that which he had said. Amongst whom Iohn Protyway parishe priest of S. Clemēt in Prage,* whē he should come to confirme his testimony, added more, that Iohn Hus should say, that S. Gregory was but a rimer, whē he did alleadge his athoritie against him. Unto whō Iohn Hus answered, that in this point they did him great iniury, for somuch as he alwaies esteemed and reputed S. Gregory for a most holy doctor of the Church.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased,* the Cardinall of Florence turned himselfe toward Iohn Hus, & said: Maister, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all witnes is firme and stable:* and heere you see nowe almost 20. witnesses against you, men of authority & worthy of credite, amongst the whych some haue hearde you teach these things themselues, the other by report & common brute or voice, do testify of your doctrine, and altogether generally bring firme reasons & proofes of theyr wnesse, vnto the which wee are forced & constrained to geue credite, and for my part I see not howe you can maintaine & defend your cause against so many notable & wel learned men. Unto whom

John Hus answered in this maner: I take God and my conscience to witnes, y^t I neuer taught any thing, neither was it euer in my minde or fantasie to teach in such sort or maner, as these men here haue not feared to witnesse against me, that which they neuer hearde. And albeit they were as many more in nūber as they are, for all that, I do much more esteme, yea and w^tout comparison regard the witnes of my Lord God,* before the wytnes and iudgement of al mine aduersaries, vpon whom I do in no poynt stay my selfe. Then sayde the Cardinall againe vnto him, it is not lawfull for vs to iudge according to your conscience, for we can not chuse, but that wee must nedes stay our selues vpon the firme & euident witnes of these men heere. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred that these men do witnes thys against you (as you doe alleadge) for they alleadge and bring foorth suche reasons of their witnesse, that there is no man that can perceyue any hatred in them, or that we can in any case be in dout thereof. And as touching M. Steuen Paletz, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftly & deceitfully drawen [Page 607](#) out certayne poyntes or articles out of your books for to betray them afterward: It semeth that in this point you do hym great wrong, for in myne aduise he hath vsed and shewed a great fidelitie and amitie towarde you, in y^t he hath alleuiated and moderated many of your articles much more then they are in your owne bookes. I vnderstand also that you haue like opinion of diuers other notable men, and specially you haue sayd, that you do suspect M. Chauncellour of Paris,* then whome there is no more excellent and Christian man in all the whole world.

Then was there read a certayne article of accusation in y^e which it was alledged that Iohn Hus had taught & obstinately defended certayne erroneous Articles of Wickliffes in Boheme. Whereunto Hus answered, that he neuer taught any erroures of Iohn Wickliffes, or of anye other mans. Wherefore if it be so that Wickliffe: haue sowed any erroours in England, let the English men look to y^e themselues. But to confirme theyr article, there was alleaged that Iohn Husse did withstande the condemnation of Wickliffes articles, the which was first condemned at Rome, & afterward also, whē the Archb. Swinco with other learned men, held a conuocation at Prague for y^e same matter, when as they should haue bene there condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholicke faith or doctrine, but were either hereticall, erroneous or offensiue: he aunswered that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending hys conscience, and specially for these Articles: that Silvester the pope and Cōstantine dyd erre in bestowing those gret gifts & rewards vpō y^e church Also that the pope or Priest being in mortall sinne, can not consecrate nor baptise. This article said he, I haue thus de'termined, as if I should say that he doth vnworthely consecrate or Baptise, when as he is in deadly sinne, and that he is an vnworthy minister of the Sacramentes of God. Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant, that the article of Wickliffe was written by the very same wordes in the treatise which Iohn Husse made agaynst Stephen Paletz.* Uerely said Iohn Husse I feare not to submit my selfe, euen vnder the daunger of death, if you shall not find it so, as I haue sayd. When the book was brought forth, they founde it written as Iohn Husse had sayd. He added also moreouer that he durst not agree vnto them which had condemned Wickliffes articles, for this Article: the tenthes were pure almes.

*Here the Cardinal of Florence objected vnto him this argument, as touching y^e almes: it is required that it shold be geuē freely without bond or duety. But tenthes are not geuen freely without bond or duety: therefore are they no almes. Iohn Hus denying the Maior of this Sillogismus brought this reason agaynst him. For somuch as rich men are bounden vnder the

payne of eternall damnation, vnto the fulfilling of y^e 6. workes of mercy, which Christ repeteth in the 25. chap. of Mathew: * and these workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is also geuen by bond & duety. Then an Archbishop of Englād stepping vp, sayd, if we all be boūd vnto those 6. workes of mercy, it doth followe that poore men, which haue nothing at al to geue, should be damned. I answere, sayd Husse, vnto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those which had where withall to doe those workes: they I say were bound to geue almes vnder payne of damnation.

He answered moreouer vnto the Minor of the first argument, that tenthes were at first geuen freely, and afterward made a bond and duetie. And when as he woulde haue declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. He declared also diuers other causes, why he coulde not with safe conscience, consent vnto the condemnatiō of Wickliffes articles. But how soeuer the matter went he did affirme & say, that he did neuer obstinately confirme any Articles of Wickleffes, but only that he did not alow and consent that Wickliffes Articles should be condemned before that sufficient reasons were alleadged out of the holy Scripture for theyr condemnation, * & of the same minde, saith Iohn Hus are a great many other Doctors and maysters of the Uniuersitie of Prage. For when as Swinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole City of Prage, and to be brought vnto him, I my self brought also certayn books of Wickliffes, which I gaue vnto y^t Archbishop desiring him y^t if he found any error or heresie in them that he would note and mark thē, and I myselfe would publish them openly. * But the archbishop, albeit that he shewed me no errour nor heresie in them, burned my bookes together with those that were brought vnto him, notw^tstanding that he had no such commaundement from Pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithstanding by a certaine pollicie he obtayned a Bull from the sayd Pope by meanes of Iaroslaus Bishop of Sarepte of the order of Franciscanes, that all Wickleff•s books for the manifold errours, contayned in them (wherof there was none named) should be taken out of all mens handes.

The archb. vsing the authoritie of this Bull, * thought he should bring to passe that the king of Boheme and the Nobles shold consent to the condemnation of Wickliffes bookes, but therein he was deceiued. Yet neuerthesse he calling together certayn deuines, gaue them in cōmissiō to sit vpon Wickliffes bookes and to proceede agaynst them by a diffinitive sentence in the Canon law. These men by a generall sentence iudged all those books worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctors, Maysters and Shollers of the vniuersitie heard report of, they altogether with one consent & accord (none excepted but onely they, which before were chosen by the Archbishop to sit in iudgement) determined to make supplication vnto the king to stay the matter. * The king graunting their request, sent by and by certain vnto the Archbishop to examine the matter. There he denyed that he woulde decree anye thing as touchinge Wickleffes bookes contrary vnto the kinges will & pleasure. Wherupon, albeit that he had determined to burn thē the next day after, yet for feare of the king, the matter was passed ouer.

In the meane tyme Pope Alexander the fifth beyng dead, * the Archbishop fearing least the Bull whiche he had receiued of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, priuily calling vnto him hys adherentes, and shutting the gates of hys Court round about him, being garded w^t a number of armed souldiors, he consumed and burned all Wickliffes bookes. Beside this great iniurie the Archbyshop by meanes of his Bull aforesayd, committed an other lesse tollerable. For he gaue out commaundement that no man after that time vnder payne of excōmunication shold

teach any more in Chappels.* Wherunto I did appeale vnto the Pope, who being dead, and the cause of my matter remayning vndetermined, I appealed likewise vnto his successor Iohn 23. Before whom when as by the space of 2. yeres, I could not be admitted by my aduocates to defend my cause, I appealed vnto the high Iudge Christ. When I. Hus had spoken these wordes, it was demaunded of hym whether he had receiued absolution of the pope or no he aunswered,* no. Then agayne whether it were lawfull for him to appeale vnto Christ or no. Whereunto Iohn Hus answered: Uerely I doe affirme here afore you all that there is no more iust or effectuall appeale, then that appeale which is made vnto Christ, for asmuch as the law doth determine that to appeale is no other thinge then in a cause of griefe or wrong done by an inferior iudge, to implore and require ayde and remedy at a higher Iudges hand. Who is then an higher Iudge then Christ? Who I say cā know or iudge the matter more iustly or with more equitie? when as in him there is found no deceit, neyther can he be deceiued:* or who can better helpe the miserable & oppressed thē he? While Iohn Hus with a deuout and sober countenance was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole councell.

Then was there rehearsed an other Article of his accusation in this maner: that Iohn Hus for to confirme the heresie which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wickleffes bookes, sayd openly these wordes, that at what time a great number of Monkes and Friars and other learned men, were gathered together in Englād in a certayne Church, to dispute agaynst Iohn Wickliffe, & could by no meanes vanquishe him or geue him the foyle, sodenly the church doore was broken open with lightning so that with much a doe Wickleffes enemies hardly scaped without hurt. He added moreouer that he wished his soule to be in the same place where Iohn Wickleffes soule was. Whereunto Iohn Hus answered:* that a douscine yeares before that any bookes of Diuinitie of Iohn Wickleffes were in Boheme, he did see certayne workes of Philosophie of hys, the which, he sayd, did merueilous delite and please hym. And when he vnderstoode the good and godly life of the sayd Wickleffe, he spake these wordes: I trust sayde he that Wickleffe is saued, and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish that my soule were in the same place where Iohn Wickleffes is. Then agayne did all the company iest and laugh at hym.

It is also in hys accusation that Iohn Hus did counsaile the people according to the example of Moyses,* to resist with the sword agaynst all such as did gaynsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly in diuers places certaine intimations that euery man being armed with hys sword about [Page 608](#) him, should stoutly proceede: and that brother shoulde not spare brother, neyther one neighbor an other. Iohn Husse aunswered that all these thinges were falsly layd vnto hys charge by his aduersaries, for he at all times when he prea'ched did dilligently admonishe, and warne the people, that they should all arme themselues to defend the truth of the Gospell, according to the saying of the Apostle, with the helmet and sworde of saluation, and that he neuer spake of any material sword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations or Moyses sword, he neuer had nothing to doe withall.

*It is moreouer affirmed in hys accusation and witnes that many offences are sprong vp by the doctrine of Hus. For first of all he sowed discord betweene the Ecclesiastical and the politick state: whereupon folowed the persecution, spoiling; and robbery of the Clergie & Bishops. And more ouer that he through his dissention, dissolved the vniuersitie of Prage. Hereunto Iohn Hus briefly aunswered that these thinges had not happened by hys meanes or default. For the first

dissention that was betweene the Ecclesiasticall and politicke state, sprang and grew vpon this cause, that pope Gregory the 12. of that name, promised at his election that at all times at the wil and pleasure of the Cardinals: he would depart from,* and geue ouer hys seate agayne: for vnder that condition he was electe and chosen. This man contrary and against Wincelate king of Boheme, who was then also king of the Romaynes, made Lewes Duke of Bauaria Emperour.

A few yeares after it happened that when as P. Gregory would not refuse and geue ouer his seate and office at the request of the Cardinalles, that the whole Colledge of Cardinalles sent letters to the king of Boheme requiring him, that together with them he would renounce & forsake his obedience vnto pope Gregory, and so it shoulde come to passe that by y^e authoritie of a new Byshop he should recouer againe his imperial dignity. For this cause the king cōsēted to the wil of y^t Cardinals as touching a neutrality that is to say, that he would neyther take part with Pope Gregory,* neyther yet with Benedict the xii. Byshop of Auinion, whiche was then named Pope as it doth appeare by Chronicles. In this cause then, for somuch as the archbishop Swinco with the Clergy, were agaynst the kyng, and abstayning from the deuine seruice many of them departed out of the Citty, and the archbishop hymselfe breaking down the tombe of the Lord Wincelate contrary and agaynst the kinges will, did also take Wickliffes bookes & burned them: therupon the king without any gaynsaying suffered that certayne goodes of theyrs, which of their own wils were fled away, should be spoyled, because they shold not consent or accord with the bishop. Wherupon it is easie to be vnderstanded and knowne, that Iohn Husse was falsely accused for that matter.* Howbeit a certayn man one Naso rising vp, sayd, the Clergy (sayd he) did not abstayne from the deuine seruice because they woulde not sweare to consent vnto the king, but because that they were spoyled and robbed of theyr goodes and substaunce. And the Cardinall of Cambray, who was one of the Iudges sayd: here I must say somewhat, which is come into my minde.

When as I came from Rome, the same yeare that these thinges were done, by chaunce I met on the way certayne Prelates of Boheme. Whome when I demaunded what newes they had brought out of Boheme, they aunswered that there was happened a wonderfull cruel and haynous fact, for all the Clergy were spoyled of all theyr substaunce and very ill intreated and handled.* Then Iohn Hus alledging the same cause which he did before, went forward vnto the secōd part of the Article which was objected against him, denying also that it happened thorough his fault, that the Germaynes departed from the Uniuersitie of Prage. But when as the king of Boheme, according to the foundation of Charles the fourth, his father granted three voices vnto the Bohemes, & the fourth vnto the Germaynes whereat the Germaynes grudging, that they shoulde be exemted from theyr voices,* of theyr owne accorde departed & went theyr wayes: binding themselues with a great oth and vnder a great penalty, both of their fame and also money, that none of them should returne agayne vnto Prage Notwithstanding: I am not ashamed to confesse that I did approue and allow the doinges of the king, vnto whom of only I ow obedience for the commoditie and profite of my country. And because you shal not thinke that I haue spoken any vntrueth, here is present Albert Warren Tranius, whiche was deacon of the faculties, who hadde sworne to depart with the rest of the Germaynes: he, if that he wil say the truth, shal easly clere me of this suspitiō.

But when as Albert would haue spoken, he could not be heard. But the foresayd Naso, of whome before is made mention, after he had asked leaue to speak, sayd, this matter do I vnderstand wel inough,* for I was in the Kinges court, when these thyngs were done in Boheme, when as I sawe

the maysters of the 3. nations of the Germaynes, Bauarians, Saxons, and Silesians, amongst whome the Pollonians were also numbred, most humbly come vnto the king, requiring y^t he would not suffer the right of their voyces to be takē from them. Then the kyng promised thē that he would forsee and prouide for theyr requestes. But Iohn Hus and Ierome of Prage with diuers others, per'swaded the king that he should not so do. Wherat the king at the first being not a little moued, gaue him a sore checke that he and Hierom of Prage did somuch intermedie them'selues, and moued such open controuersies, in somuch that he threatned them, that except they would forsee and take heede, hee would bring it to passe that the matter shoulde be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore most reuerēd fathers, you shall vnderstand that the king of Boheme did neuer fauour with his hart, these men whose vnshamefastnes is such,* that they feared not euen of late, to entreat me euill, being so much in the kinges fauour and credite. After hym stepped forth Paletz, saying: verely most reuerend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but also of Boheme it selfe: are through the Councell of Iohn Hus and his adherentes, banished out of Boheme, of the which number some remayne yet in exile in Morauia. Hereunto Iohn Hus answered, how can thys be true, sayd he, sithēs I was not at Prage at that tyme, when as these men you speake of, departed and went away from thence? These thynges were thus debated the day aforesayd as touching Iohn Hus.

This done, the sayd Iohn Hus was committed to the custody of the bishop of Rigen,* vnder whome Ierome of Prage was also prisoner. But before that he was led away y^e Cardinall of Cambray, calling him backe agayne in the presence of the Emperour, sayd Iohn Hus, I haue heard you say, that if you had not ben willing of your own mind to come vnto Constance, neyther the Emperour himselfe, neither the king of Boheme coulde haue compelled you to do it. Unto whom Iohn Hus answered, vnder your licēce most reuerend father, I neuer vsed any such kinde of talke or wordes. But this I did say, that there was in Boheme a great number of gentle mē and noble men, which did fauour and loue me, the whiche also might easely haue kepte me in some sure and secret place, that I shoulde not haue bene constrayned to come vnto thys towne of Constance neyther at the will of the Emperour,* neyther of the king of Boheme. With that the Cardinall of Cambray, euen for very anger began to chaunge hys colour, and despiteously said do you not see the vnshamefastnes of y^e man here? And as they were murmuring and whispering on all partes,* the L. Ioh. de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which Iohn Hus had spoken, sayd: that Iohn Hus had spoken very well, for on my part (sayd he) which in comparison of a great many others am but of small force in the realme of Boheme, yet alwayes if I would haue taken it in hand, I could haue defended hym easely by the space of one yeare, euen agaynst all the force & power of both these great and mighty kinges. How much better might they haue done it which are of more force or puissance then I am? and haue stronger castles and places then I haue? After that the L. de Clum had spoken, the Cardinal of Cambray sayd, let vs leaue thys talke. And I tell you Iohn Hus, and counsaile you, that you submit your selfe vnto the sentence and mind of the Councel, as you did promise in the prison, and if that you wyll do so, it shall be greatly both for your profite and honour.

And the Emperour hymselfe began to tell hym y^e same tale,* saying: Albeit that there be some which say that the 15 day after you were committed to prison, you obtayned of vs our letters of safe conducte, notwithstanding I can well proue by the witnes of many Princes and noble men, that the sayd sase conducte was obtayned and gotten of vs by my Lord de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prage, vnder whose garde we haue sent for you, to to the end that

none shold do you any outrage or hurt, but y^t you shold haue full liberty to speake freely before all the Councell, and to answere as touching your fayth and doctrine, and as you see my Lords the Cardinales and Byshops, haue so dealt with you, that we doe very well perceauē theyr good will towardes you, for y^e whych we haue great cause to thanke thē. And for somuche as diuers haue told vs, y^t we may not or ought not of right, to defend anye man which is an hereticke or suspecte of heresie: therefore now we geue you euen the same Councell, which the Cardinal of Cambray hath geuen you already, that you be not obstinate to mayntayne any opinion, but y^t you do submit•[Page 609](#) your selfe vnder such obedience as you owe vnto the authoritie of the holy Councell in all thinges, that shall be laid against you and confirmed by credible witnesses. The which thing if you do according to our Counsaile, we will geue order that for the loue of vs and of our brother y^e whol realme of Boheme, the Councell shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easie and tollerable penance & satisfactiō. The which thing if you do contrariwise refuse to do, y^e presidentes of y^e Councell, shall haue sufficient wherewithal to proceede agaynst you. And for our part be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire w^t our own handes to burne you withall, then we wil endure or suffer any longer that you shal maintayn or vse this stifnes of opinions, which you haue hitherto mayntayned and vsed. Wherefore our aduise and councell is, that you submit your self wholly vnto y^e iudgement of the coucell. Vnto whome I.* Hus answered in this sort: O most noble Emperour, I render vnto your highnes most immortall thanks for your letters of safeconduct. Uppon this L. Iohn de Clum did break him of his purpose, and admonished him, that he did in no poynt excuse himselfe of the blame of obstinacie.

Then said I. Hus, O most gentle lord, I do take God to my witnes, that I was neuer minded to mayntain any opinion euer obstinately, and that for this same intent and purpose, I did come hether of myne owne good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine then mine, that then I would chaunge myne opinion without anye further doubt. After he had spoken and sayde these thinges, he was sent awaye with the Sergeantes.

The morow after, which was the viii. day of Iune, the uery same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now againe at the Couent of the Franciscaues. And in this assembly were also I. Husse, hys friends Lord de Dube, and Lord de Clum, and Peter the Notary. Thether was Iohn Hus also brought: & in his presence there were reade about 39. Articles, the which they sayde, were drawne out of his bookes. Hus acknowledged all those that were faythfully and truly collected and gathered to be his, of the which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfayted and forged by his aduersaryes: & specially by Stephen Palletz, the principall authour of this mischief for they could finde no such thinge in the bookes out of the which they sayde they had drawne and gathered them, or at the least, if they were: they were corrupted by flanders, as a man may easely perceiue by the number of Articles.

These be the same Articles in a matter whiche were shewed before in the prison to Iohn Hus, and are rehearsed here in an other order. Howbeit, there were more Articles added vnto thē and other some corrected & enlarged. But now we will shew them one with an other, and declare what the sayde Hus did aunswere both openly before them all, as also in the prison, for he left his aunsweres in the prison briefly written with hys owne hand in these wordes.

I Iohn Hus, unworthy minister of Iesus Christ, master of Arte and Bachelour of Diuinitie do confesse that I haue written a certayne small treatise intituled of y^e church,* the copy whereof was shewed me by the Notaryes of the three Presidentes of the Councell, that is to saye, the Patriarche of Constantinople, the Byshop of Castle, and the Byshop of Libusse: the whiche deputies or presidentes in repose of the sayd treatise, deliuered vnto me certayne articles, saying, that they were drawne out of the sayd treatise, and were written in the same.

The first Article. There is but one holy uniuersall or Catholicke Church, which is the vniversall company of al the predestinate. I doe confesse that thys proposition is mine and is confirmed by the saying of S. Augustin vpon S. Iohn.

The second article. S. Paule was neuer any member of the deuill:* albeit that he committed, and did certayne actes like vnto the actes of the malignant Church. And likewise S. Peter which fell into an horrible sinne of periurie and deniall of his mayster, it was by the permission of God that he might the more firmly and stedfastly rise a gayne and be confirmed. I aunswere, according to Saint Augustine, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sinne and offend.

Hereby it appeareth, that there is two maner of seperations from the holy church.* The first is, not to perdition as all the elect are deuided from the Church. The second is to perdition, by the which certayne heretickes are through theyr deadly sinne, deuided from the Church. Yet notwithstanding, by the grace of God they may returne agayne vnto the flocke and be of the sold of our Lord Iesus Christ of whome he speaketh himselfe saying, I haue other sheep which are not of thys fold. Iohn. xx.

The third article. No part or member of the Church doth depart or fall away at any time from the bodye, for so much as the charitie of predestination,* whiche is the bond and chayne of the same, doth neuer fall. Thys proposition is thus placed in my booke: As the reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, & yet are not as partes or mēbers of the same, for so much as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away, because that the charitie of predestination, which is the bond and chayne of the same, doth neuer fall away. This is proued by the 13. chapter of the first to the Corinthians and to the Romaines the 8. chapter: All thinges turne to good to them whiche loue God. Also I am certayne that neyther death nor life can separte vs from the charitie and loue of God, as it is more at large in the booke.

The fourth Article.* The predestinate although he be not in the state of grace according to present iustice, yet is he alwayes a member of the vniuersall Church. Thys is an errour, if it be vnderstand of all such as be predestinate, for thus it is in the booke about the beginning of the fift chapter where it is declared that there be diuers maners and fortes of being in the Church, for there are some in the Church according to a misshappen fayth, and other some according to predestination, as Christians predestinate now in sinne, but shall returne agayne vnto grace.

The fift article: There is no degree of honor or dignitie neyther any humain election,* or any sensible signe, that can make any man a member of the vniuersall Church. I aunswere this article is after this maner in my book. And such subtilties are vnderstanded & knowne by considering what it is to be in the Church, and what it is to be a part or member of the Church,* & that predestination doth make a man a member of the vniuersall Church, the whiche is a preparation

of grace, for the present, and of glory to come: & not degree of dignitie, neyther election of man, neyther any sensible signe. For the acuser Iudas Iscarioth notw^tstanding Christes election, & the temporall graces which were geuen him for his office of Apostleship, and y^t he was reputed and counted of men a true Apostle of Iesus Christ yet was he no true Disciple but a wolf couered in a sheps skinne,* as sainet Augustine sayth.

The vi. Article: A reprobate man is neuer no member of the holy Church. I answere, it is in my booke with sufficient long probation out of the 26. Psalme, and out of the v. chapter to the Ephesians, & also by S. Barnarde saying the Church of Iesus Christ is more playnly and euidently his body, then the body which he deliuered for vnto death I haue also written in the v. chap. of my booke, that the holy church is the barne of the Lord, in the whiche are bothe good and euill, predestinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corne or grayne, and the ciuill as the chaffe, & thereunto is added the exposition of S. Augustine.

The seuenth article: Iudas was neuer no true Disciple of Iesus Christ. I answere and I do confesse the same. This appeareth by the fift article, which is passed afore, & by S. Augustine in his booke of penance, where he doth expound the meaning of S. Iohn in hys first Epistle and second chapter, where he sayd: They come out frō amōgst vs, but they were none of vs. He knewe from the beginning all them whiche should beleue, and him also whiche should betray him and sayd: And therefore I say vnto you that none commeth vnto me, except it be geuen hym of my father. From that tune many of the Disciples parted from him, and were not those also called Disciples accordyng the wordes of the Gospell? And yet notwithstanding they were no true Disciples, because they did not remayne and continue in the word of the sonne of God, according as it is said: If you remayne in my word, you be my Disciples. For so much then as they did not continue with Christ as hys true Disciples, so likewise are they not the true sonns of God: although they seeme so, vnto him they are not so, vnto whom it is known what they shall be: That is to say of good, euill. Thus much writeth S. Augustine. It is also euident that Iudas could not be the true Disciple of Christ, by meanes of hys couetousnesse for Christ himselfe sayd in the presence of Iudas, as I suppose, except a man forsake all that he hath, he can not be my Disciple. For somuch then as Iudas did not forsake all thinges, according to the Lordes will, and follow him he was a theefe as it is sayd, Iohn the 12. and a deuill, Iohn the 6. whereby it is euident by the worde of the Lord, that Iudas was not hys true, but sayned Disciple. Whereupon S. Augustine writing vpon Iohn, declaring how the sheepe heare the voice of Christ, sayth, what maner of hearers, thinke we, hys sheepe were? Truely Iudas heard him and was a wolfe, [Page 610](#) yet followed he the shepherd, but being clothed in a sheeps skinne he lay in wayt for the shepheard.

The eight article: The congregatiō of the predestinate whether they be in the state of grace or no, according vnto present iustice, is the holy vniuersall Church, and therefore it is an article of fayth, and it is the same Churche, whiche hath neither wrinkle neyther spot in it, but is holy & vndefiled,* the which the sonne of God doth cal his own. The answere. The wordes of the booke out of the which thys Article was drawne are these: Thirdly, the Church is vnderstand and taken for the congregation and assembly of y^e faythfull, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present iustice or not. And in this sort it is an Article of our fayth, of the whiche S. Paule maketh mention in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians: Christ so loued his Church that he deliuered and offered himself for the same &c. I pray you then, is there any faythful man, the

which doth doubt that the Church doth not signifie all the elect and predestinate the which we ought to beleue to be the vniuersall Church the glorious spouse of Iesus christ holy and without spot? wherefore this Article is an article of fayth, the whiche we ought firmly to beleue according to our Creede. I beleue the holy Catholicke Church, and of this Church doth S. Augustine, S. Gregory, S. Ierome, and diuers other make mention.

The ix. article: Peter neuer was, neither is the head of the holy vniuersall Church. The aunswere. This Article was drawne out of these wordes of my booke: All men do agree in this poynt, that Peter had receiued of the rocke of the church (which is Christ) humilitie, pouertie, stedfastnes of fayth, and consequently blessednes. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Iesus Christ was, when he said vpon this rocke I will build my Church, that he woulde build euery Militant Church vppon the person of Peter, for Christ should buyld hys Church vpon the rocke which is Christ himselfe, from whence Peter receiued hys steadfastnes of fayth, for somuche as Iesus Christ is the onely head and foundation of euery Church, and not Peter.

[unspec 10] The tenth Article: If he that is called the vicar of Iesus Christ, do followe Christ in his life, then he is his true vicare.* But if so be it, he do walke in contrary pathes and wayes, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, & the enemy and aduersary of S. Peter, & of our Lorde Iesus Christe, and also the vicare of Iudas Iscarioth. I aunswere the wordes of my book are these: If he which is called the vicare of S. Peter walke in the wayes of Christian vertues aforesayd, we do beleue verely that he is the true vicar and true Byshop of the Church whiche ruleth: but if he walke in contrary pathes and wayes, then is he the messenger of Antechrist cōtrary both to S. Peter,* and our Lord Iesus Christ. And therfore S. Bernard in hys 4. book did write in this sort vnto pope Eugenie: Thou delitest & walkest in great pride and arrogancie, being gorgeously and sump'tuously arayd, what fruit or profite do thy flocke or sheepe receiue by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedinges of deuils, then of sheepe. S. Peter & S. Paul did not so, wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succede Constantine, & not S. Peter. These be the very wordes of S. Bernard. It followeth after in my booke that if the maner and fashion of his life and liuing, be contrary to that which S. Peter vsed, or that he be geuen to auarice and couetousnes, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iscarioth, which loued and chose the reward of iniquitie, & dyd set out to sale the Lord Iesus Christ. As soone as they had read the same, those which ruled and gouerned the cou|cell, beheld one an other, making mockes and moes, they nodded theyr heades at hym.

[unspec 11] The xi. article: Al such as doe vse Symmony, & priests liuing dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an vntrue opinion of y^e 7. Sacramentes, as vnbeleuing bastardes, and not as Children, not knowing what is the office & duety of the keyes or censures, rites, and ceremonies, neither of the diuine seruice of the Church, or of veneration or worshipping of reliques, neither of y^r orders constituted and ordeined in the Church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I answere, y^t it is placed in this maner in my book. Thys abuse of authoritie or power is committed by such as doe sell & make marchandise of holy orders,* and get and gather together riches by Symonie, making fayres and markets of the holy Sacramentes, and liuing in all kynd of voluptuousnes and dissolute maners, or in any other filthy or vi|lanous kind of liuing. They do polute and defile the holye ecclesiasticall state. And albeit that they professe in wordes that they do know God, yet doe they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently beleue not in God: But as vnbeleueing bastardes they holde a contrarye and vntrue opinion of the 7. Sacramentes of the

Church. And this appeareth most euidently, for somuch as all suche doe vtterly contemne and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachy, the first chapter: Unto you O Priestes be it spoken, which doe despise and contemne my name.

The xii. Article: The papall dignitie hath hys original [unspec 12] from the Emperours of Rome.* I answere, and mark wel what my wordes are. The preeminence and institution of the Pope is sprong and come of the Emperours power & authoritie. And this is proued by the 96. distinction, for Constantine graunted thys priuiledge vnto the Bishop of Rome, and other after hym confirmed the same: That like as Augustus for the outward and temporal goodes bestowed vpon the Church, is counted alwayes the most high king aboue al others: so the bysh. of Rome shold be called y^e principal father aboue all other bishops. This notwithstanding the papall dignitie hath hys original immediately from Christ, as touching hys spirituall administration and office, to rule the Church. Then the Cardinall of Cabray sayd: in the tyme of Constantine there was a generall Councell holden at Nice, in the whiche, albeit the highest rowme and place in the Church was geuen to the Bishop of Rome, for honours cause, it is ascribed vnto the Emperour: wherefore then do you not aswell affirme and saye y^t the Papall dignitie tooke hys originall rather from that councel, then by the Emperours authoritie and power?

The 13. article: No man would reasonably affirme (w^out [unspec 13] reuelation) neyther of hymselfe nor of any other,* that hee is the heade of any particular Church. I aunswere I confesse it to be written in my booke, and it followeth straight after: Albeit that through hys good liuing he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy vniuersal Church, the spouse of Iesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and haue deserued grace and fauour, or hatred. And Luke the 17. when ye haue done all that ye can, say that you are vnprofitable seruantes.

The 14. Article: It ought not to be beleueed that the [unspec 14] pope, whatsoeuer he be, may be the head of any particular Church, vnles he be predestinate or ordayned of God. I aunswere, that I doe acknowledge thys preposition to be myne, and thys is easie to proue, forsomuche as it is necessary that the Christian faith shuld be depraued, for somuch as the Church was deceiued by N. as it appeareth by S. Augustine.

The 15. article. The popes power as Uicare, is but [unspec 15] vayne and nothing worth,* if he do not confirme & addresse hys lyfe accordyng to Iesus Christ, and not followe the maners of S. Peter. I answere that it is thus in my book that it is meet and expedient that he which is ordayned vicar should addresse and frame himselfe in maners and conditions, to y^e authoritie of hym,* which did put him in place. And Iohn Hus sayd. Moreouer before the whole councell I vnderstand that the power and authoritie in such a pope as doth not represent the maners of Christ, is frustrate and voyd as touching the merite and rewarde, which he shold obtayne and get therby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning hys office. Then certayne others standing by asked of hym saying, where is that glose in your book? I. Hus answered, you shall finde it in my treatise agaynst M. Palletz, wherat all the assistaunce (looking one vpon an other) began for to smile and laugh.

The 16. Article. The pope is most holy, not because hee [unspec 16] doth supply and hold the rowme and place of S. Peter,* but because he hath great reuenues. I answere that my words are

mutilate, for thus it is written: He is not most holy because he is called the vicar of S. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions: But if he be the follower of Ie|sus Christ in humilitie, gentlenes, paciēce, labour and trauayle, [unspec 17] and in perfect loue and charitie.

The 17. Article.* The Cardinals are not the manifest and true successours of the other Apostles of Iesus Christ if they liue not according to the fashion of the Apostles keping the commaundementes and ordinaunces of the Lord Iesus, I answere, that it is thus written in my booke, and it proueth it selfe sufficiently. For if they enter in by an other way then by the dore whiche is the Lord Iesus, they be murtheres and theeues.

Then sayde the Cardinall of Cambray, beholde both this and all other articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable thinges in his booke, then is presented in hys articles. Truely Iohn Hus yⁿ hast kept no order in thy sermons and writings. Had it not ben your part to haue applyed your sermons according to your audiēce? For to what purpose was it, or what did it profite you before the people to preach agaynst the Cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had bene meeter for you to haue told them theyr faults before them all, then before the [Page 611](#) laity. Then aunswered Iohn Hus, reuerend father, for so much as I did see many prieste & other learned men present at my sermons, for their sakes I spake those wordes. Then sayd the Cardinal thou hast done very ill, for by such kinde of talke thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the Church.

The 18. Article.* An hereticke ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient onely that he abide and suffer the ecclesiasticall censure. These are my wordes.* That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and iudgement, specially for somuch as Iesus Christ byshop both of the old and newe Testament would not iudge such as were disobedient by ciuill iudgement, neither condemne them to bodily death. As touching the first poynt. It may be euidently seene in the 12. Chapter of S. Luke. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of who it is spoken in the 8. chapter of Sainct Iohn. And it is sayde in the 18. Chapter of Sainct Mathew: If thy brother haue offended thee. &c. Marke therfore what I do say: That an hereticke whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian loue, and gentlenes by the holy scriptures and by the reasons dra•ne and taken out of the same, as S. Augustine and others haue done, disputing agaynst the heretickes. But if there were any which after al these gentle and louing admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leaue of their stiffnes of opinions, but obstinately resist agaynst the truth, suche I say ought to suffer corporall or bodily punishment.

As soone as Iohn Hus had spoken those thinges, the iudges red in hys booke a certayne clause, wherein he seeined greeuously to enuey agaynst them which deliuered an hereticke vnto the secular power, not being confuted or constricted of heresie, and compared thē vnto the high priestes, Scribes, and Phariseis, which sayd vnto Pilate, it is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death, and deliuered Christ vnto him:.* And yet notwithstanding according vnto Christes owne witnesse, they were greater murtherers then Pilate: for he, said Christ: which hath deliuered me vn'to thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then y^e Cardinals and Bishops,* made a great noyse and demaunded of I. Hus, saying, who are they y^t thou dost compare or assimule vnto the Phariseis? Then he sayd, all those whiche deliuered vp anye innocent vnto the ciuill sworde, as the Scribes and Phariseis deliuered Iesus Christ vnto Pilate. No, no, sayd they agayne, for all

that, you spake here of doctors. And the Cardinall of Cambray, according to his accustomed maner sayd: Truly, they which haue made and gathered these articles, haue vsed great lenitie and getlenes, for his writings are much more detestable & horrible

The 19. article.* The Nobles of the world ought to cōstrayne and compel the ministers of the Church to obserue and keepe the law of Iesus Christ. I answere, that it standeth thus word for word in my booke.* Those which be on our part do preach and affirme that the church militant, according to the partes, which the Lord hath ordayned, is de'uided and consisteth in these partes. That is to say: Ministers of the Church, which should keepe purely and sincely the ordinaunces and commaundementes of the sonne of God, and the Nobles of the world that should compel and driue them to keepe the commaundementes of Iesus Christ, and of the common people, seruing to both these partes and endes according to the institution and ordinaunce of Iesus Christ.

The 20. Article.* The ecclesiasticall obedience, is a kynd of obedience, which the priestes and monks haue inuented w^tout any expresse authority of y^e holy scriptures. I answer and confes, that those words are thus written in my book. I say,* that there be three kindes of obedience, spirituall, secular and ecclesiasticall. The spirituall obedience is that which is onely due according to the lawe and ordinance of God, vnder the whiche the Apostles of Iesus Christ dyd lyue, and all Christians ought for to liue. The secular obedience, is that which is due according to the Ciuill lawes and ordinances. The ecclesiastical obedience is such as the Priestes haue inuented without any expresse authoritie of Scripture. The first kinde of obedience doth vtterly exclude from it all euill, as well on his part which geueth the commandement, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in the 24.* chap. of Deut. Thou shalt do all that which the priestes of the kindred of Leuy shall teach and instruct thee, according as I haue cōmaunded them.

The 21. Article.* He that is excōmunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the iudgement of the Pope, and the generall Councell, and appealeth vnto Iesus Christ, after he hath made hys appellation all the excommunications and curses of the Pope cannot annoy or hurt hym. I aunswere, that I do not acknowledge this proposition, but in deede I did make my complaynt in my booke, that they had both done me and such as fauoured me great wrong, & that they refuse to heare me in the popes court. For alter the death of one pope I dyd appeale to hys successor, and all that did profite me nothing. And to appeale from the P. to the Councell,* it were to long, & that were euen as much as if a man in trouble should seeke an vncertayne remedy. And therfore last of all I haue appealed to the head of the Church my Lord Iesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better, then any pope to discusse and determine matters and causes, for somuch as he cannot erre, neyther yet deny iustice to him that doth aske or require it in a iust cause, neither can he condemne the innocent. Then spake y^e Cardinall of Cambray vnto hym and sayd:* wilt thou presume aboue S. Paule, who appealed vnto the Emperour and not vnto Iesus Christ? Iohn Hus answered: for somuch then as I am the first y^e do it, am I therfore to be reputed & counted an hereticke? And yet notwithstanding S. Paule did not appeale vnto the Emperoure of hys owne motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake vnto hym by reuelation and sayd: be firme and constant for y^u must go vnto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his appeale agayne, they mocked hym.

For so much as mention here is made of the appeale of the sayd Hus, it seemeth good here to shewe the manner and forme therof.

The copy and tenour of the appeale of Iohn Hus.

FORasmuch as the most mighty Lorde one in essence. 3. in person, is both the chiefe and first,* &c also the last and vttermost refuge of al those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verety and truth throughout all generations, doyng iustice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to al those whiche call vpon him in veritie and truth, and bindyng those that are bond: and fulfilleth the desires of all those which honour and feare hym: defending and keeping al those that loue him, and vtterly destroyeth and bringeth to ruine the stiffnecked and vnpenitent sinner,* and that the Lorde Iesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish compassed in with the priestes, Scribes and Phariseis, wicked iudges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeme the chosen children of God, before the foundation of the world, from euerlasting damnation, hath left behinde him this godly example for a memory vnto them which should come after hym, to the intent they should commit al their causes into the handes of God, who can doe all thinges, and knoweth and seeth all thinges, saying in this maner: O Lorde, beholde my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared hymselfe against me, and thou art my protector and defendor. O Lorde thou hast geuē me vnderstanding and I haue acknowledged thee: thou hast opened vnto me all their enterprises, and for mine owne parte I haue bene as a meeke lambe, which is led vnto sacrifice, and haue not resisted agaynst them. They haue wrought their enterprises vpon me, saying: Let vs put wood in hys bread, and let vs banysh him out of the land of the liuing that hys name be no more spokē of, nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hostes whiche iudgeth lustly and seest the deuises and imaginations of theyr hartes, hasten thee to take vengeance vpon them, for I haue manifested my cause vnto thee, for so much as the number of those which trouble me is great, and haue counsayled together, saying: the Lorde hath forsaken hym, pursue hym and catch hym. O Lord my God, behold their doinges, for thou art my pacience, deliuer me from myne enemies, for thou art my God: doe not separte thy selfe fan from me: for so much as tribulation is at hand, and there is no mā which will succour me. My God my God looke downe vpon me wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many doggs haue compassed me in,* and the company of the wicked haue besieged me round about, for they haue spoken agaynst me with the deceitfull tonges, and haue compassed me in with wordes, full of despite, and haue inforced me without cause. In stead of loue towards me, they haue slandered me and haue recompensed me wyth euill for good, and in place of charitie, they haue conceaued hatred agaynst me.

Wherefore behold I staying my selfe vpon this most holy and fruitfull example of my sauour and redeemer,* do appeale before God for this my grief and hard oppressiō from thys most wicked sentence, and iudgement, and the excommunication determined by the Byshop,* Scribes, Phariseis, and Iudges, which sit in Moyses seate, and resigne my cause wholly vnto hym, so as the holy Patriarke of Constantinople Iohn Chrisostome appealed twice from the Councell of the Byshops and Clergy. And Andrew Byshop of Prage, and Robert Byshop of Lincolne, appealed vnto the soueraign and most iust iudge, the which is not defiled with crueltye, neyther canne he be corrupted with gifres and rewardes, neyther yet be deceiued, by false wnesse. Also I desire greatly [Page 612](#) that all the faythfull seruauntes of Iesus Christ,* and especially the Princes, Barons, Knightes, Esquires and all other whiche inhabite our Country of Boheme, should

vnderstand & know these things and haue compassion vpon me which am so greeuously oppressed by the excommunication whiche is out agaynst me, the whiche was obtayned and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michaell de Causis my great enemy,* and by the consent and furtheraunce of the Canons of the Cathedrall Church of Prage, and geuen and graunted out by Peter of Saint Angelles Deane of the Church of Rome, and Cardinall and also ordayned iudge by Pope Iohn the xxiiij. who hath continued almost these two yeares and would geue no audience vnto my Aduocates and Procurators (which they ought not to deny: no not to a Iew or Pagan, or to any hereticke, whatsoeuer he were) neyther yet woulde he receiue any reasonable excuse for that I did not appeare personally neyther would he accept the testimonials of the whole Vniuersity of Prage with the seale hāging at it, or the witnes of the sworn Notaries, and such as were called vnto witnesse. By thys all men may euidently perceiue that I haue not incurred any fault or crym of contumacie or disobedience, for somuche as that I did not appeare in the Court of Rome, was not for any contempte, but for reasonable causes.

And moreouer, for somuch as they had layd embushmentes for me on euery side by wayes where I shoulde passe, and also because the perils & dangers of others, haue made me the more circumspect and aduised, and for somuche as my procurours were willing and contented to bind themselves euen to abide the punishment of the fire,* to answeare to all such as would appose or lay any thing agaynst me in the Court of Rome, as also because they dyd imprison my lawfull procuratour in the sayd Court, without any cause, demerite or faulte as I suppose. For somuch then as the order and disposition of all auncient lawes, as well deuine of the old and new testament, as also of the Canon lawes is this, that the Iudges should resorte vnto the place where the crime or faulte is committed or done, and there to enquire of al such crimes as shal be objected and layd agaynst hym which is accused, or slandered and that of such men as by conuersation haue some knowledge or vnderstanding of the party so accused (the whiche may not be the euill willers or enemies of hym which is so accused or slaundered but must be men of an honest conuersation,* no common quarrell pickers or accusers, but feruent louers of the law of God) and finally that there shold be a fit and meete place appoynted whether as the accused party might without daunger or perill, resorte or come, and that the Iudge and witnesses should not be enemies vn to hym that is accused. And also forsomuche as it is manifest that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearaunce for the safegard of my life, I am excused before God from the friuolous pretended obstinacie and excommunication. Whereupon I I. Hus do present, & offer this my appeale vnto my Lord Iesu Christ, my iust iudge, who knoweth defendeth, and iustly iudgeth euery mans iust and true cause.

The 22. Article.* A vicious and naughty man liueth viciously and naughtly:* but a vertuous and godly man lyueth vertuously and godly. I answer: my words are these That the deuision of all humaine works is in two parties that is, that they be eyther vertuous or vicious: For somuch as it doth appeare that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuously and godly. And contrariwise if a man be vicious & naught that whiche hee doth is vicious and naught. For as vice which is called crime or offence, and thereby vnderstande deadly sinne, doth vniuersally infect or depraue all the acts and doinges of the subiect, that is of the man whiche doth them: so likewise vertue and godlines doth quicken all the actes and doyngs of the vertuous & godly man: in somuch that he being in the state of grace, is layd to praye and doe good works euen sleping, as it were by a certayn meanes working.* As S. Augustine, S. Gregory and diuers other affirme. And it appeareth in the sixt chapter of Luke: If thine eye that is to say,

the minde or intention be simple, not depraued with the peruersenes of any sinne or offence all the whole body, that is to say, all the actes and doinges shall be cleare and shyning, that is, acceptable and grateful vnto God. But if thine eye be euil, the whole body is dark'ned And in the second to the Corin.* x. Chapter. All thinges that you do, do them to the glory of God. And lykewise in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and last chapter it is sayd:* Let all your doinges be done with charitie. Wherefore all kinde of lyfe and liuing according vnto charitie, is vertuous and godly: and if it be without charitie, it is vicious and euill. This saying may well be prooued out of the 23. chapter of Deuteronomy, where God speaketh vnto y^e people that hee that keepeth hys commaundementes, is blessed in the house and in the field, out goyng and in comming, sleeping and waking:* but he that doth not keepe his commaundementes is accursed in the house and in y^e fields in goyng out and comming in, sleeping, and waking &c. The same also is euident by S. Augustine vpon the Psal. where he writeth, that a good man in all hys doinges doth prayse the Lord. And Gregory saith that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lack their merite. How much more then hys doinges which proceede of good zeale, be not w^eout reward and consequently be vertuous and good? And contrariwise it is vnderstanded of hym, which is in deadly sinne, of whome it is spoken in the law, that whatsoever the vncleane man doth touch, is made vncleane.

To this end doth that also appertayne which is before repeated out of the first of Malachie. And Gregorie in the first booke and first question, sayth: we doe defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when as we come vnworthely to the table, and when we being defiled, doe drinke hys bloud. And S. Augustine vpon the 146. Psalme, sayth: if thou doest exceed the due measure of nature, & doest not ab'stayne from glottony, but gorge thy selfe vp w[•] dronkennes whatsoever laude or prayse thy tongue doth speake, of the grace and fauour of God,* thy life doth blaspheme the same when he had made an end of this article, the Cardinall of Cambray sayd: The scripture sayth that we be all sinners. And agayne, if we say we haue nosinne, we deceiue our selues, and so we should alwayes liue in deadly sinne.* Iohn Hus aunswered, the Scripture, speaketh in that place of veniall sinnes, the whiche doe not rtterly expell or put away the habite of vertue from a man, but do associate thēselues together. And a certayne English man whose name was w. sayd: but those sinnes do nor associate themselues with anye acte morally good. Iohn Hus alledged agayne S. Augustines place vpon 146. Psalme the whiche when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth sayd, what makes this to the purpose?

The 13. article. The minister of Christ liuing according [unspec 23] to his law, and hauing the knowledge and vnderstanding of the scriptures,* and an earnest desire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreouer if the pope or anye other ruler, doe forbid any priestes or minister so disposed, not to preach, that he ought not to obey him. I aunswere, that these were my wordes. That albeit the excommunication were eyther threatned or come out agaynst hym, in such sort that a Christian ought not to doe the commandementes of Christ, it appeareth by the wordes of S. Peter, and the other Apostles, that we ought rather to obey God, then man. whereupon it followeth that the minister of Christ lyuing according vnto this lawe. &c. ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended excommunication For it is euident that it is commanded vnto the ministers of the Church to preach the word of God.* Actes 5. GOD hath commaunded vs to preach and testifie vnto the people, as by diuers other places of the scripture, and the holy fathers, rehearsed in my treatise it doth appeare more at large. The second part of this article foloweth in my treatise in this maner.

By this it appeareth that for a minister to preache,* and a rich man to geue almes, are not indifferent workes, but duties and commaundementes. Wherby it is further euident, y^t if the pope or any other ruler of the Church do commaund any minister disposed for to preach, not to preach, or a rich man disposed for to geue almes, not to geue, that they ought not to obey hym. And he added moreouer, to the intent that you may vnderstand me the better. I call that a pretended excommunication, the whiche is vniustly disordered and geuen forth contrary to the order of the law and Gods commaundements. For the which the meere Minister appointed therunto ought not to cease from preaching neyther yet to feare damnation.

Then they objected vnto him, that he had sayd y^t suche kinde of excommunications were rather blessinges. Uerely said Hus, euē so do I now say again, that euery excommunication, by the whiche a man is vniustly excommunicate: is vnto him a blessing afore God, according to y^t saying of the Prophet: I will curse where as you blesse: and contrariwise, they shal curse, but thou O Lord shalt blesse. Then the Cardinal of florence,* which had alwayes a Notary ready at his hand to write such thinges as he cōmanded him, said: The law is, that euery excommunication, be it neuer so vniust, ought to be feared. It is true sayd Iohn Hus, for I do remember eight causes, for the whiche excōmunication ought to be feared. Then sayd the Cardinall, is there no more but eight? It may be, said Iohn Hus, that there be more.

The xxiiii. Article.* Euery man which is admitted vnto [unspec 24] y^e ministry of the Church, receiueth also by speciall cōmaundement, the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that commaundement, notwithstanding any excommunication [Page 613](#) pretendeth to the contrary. The aunswere. My wordes are these: For so muche as it doth appeare by that which is aforesayd, that whosoeuer commeth, or is admitted vnto the ministry, receiueth also by especiall commaundement, the office of preaching he ought to fulfill that commaundement, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also no Christian ought to doubt but that a man sufficientlye instructed in learning,* is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignoraunt, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are vnruely, and to remitte and forgeue those that do him iniury, then for to to any other works of mercy. For so much then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bounden vnder the payne of damnation to minister and geue comporall and bodely almes, as appeareth in the 25. chapter of Mathew: how much more is he bound to doe spirituall almes?

[unspec 25] The 25. Article. The Ecclesiasticall censures are Antichristian, such as the clergy hath inuented for theyr owne preferment, and for the bondage and seuitude of the common people. whereby if the Laity be not obedient vnto the Clergy at theyr will and pleasure, it doth multiplye theyr couetousnesse, defendeth theyr malice, and prepareth a way for Antichrist.* whereby it is an euident signe and token, that such censures proceede from Antichrist, the which censures in theyr processes they do call Fulminations or lightnings, whereby the Clergy doth chiefly proceede agaynst such as doe manifest and open the wickednesse of Antichrist, which thrust themselues into the office of the Clergye. These thinges are contained in the last chapter of his treatise of the Church. I aunswere, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter thereof is large'ly handled in the 23. chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they haue gathered certayne clauses most contrary thereunto. The which when they had reade, the Cardinall of Cambray renewed his old song, saying: truly these are much more greeuous and offensiue, then the Articles which are gathered.

[unspec 26] The 26. Article. There ought no interditement to be appoynted vnto the people, for so much as Christ the high Byshoppe, neither for Iohn Baptist, neither for any iniury that was done vnto him did make any interditement. My wordes are these: when as I complayned, that for one Ministers sake, an Interditement was geuen out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laude and prayse of God. And Christ the high Byshoppe, notwithstanding that the Prophette was taken and kept in prison,* then whome there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not geue out any curse or interditement, no not when as Decode beheaded him, neither when he himselfe was spoyled, beaten, and blasphemed of the Souldiours, Scribes and Pharisies, he did not then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his Disciples to doe the same, as it appeareth in the fift chapter of Saynt Mathew. And Christes first Uicare following the same doctrine and learning, sayth in his first Epistie of Saynt Peter and the second chapter:* Hereunto are ye called: For Christ hath suffered for vs, leauing vs an example that we should follow his footsteppes, who when he was cursed and euill spoken of did not curse agayne.* And Saynt Paule following the same order and way in the xij. chapter of the Romaines, sayth: blesse them that persecute you. There were besides these many other places of scripture recited in that booke, but they being omitted, these were onely rehearsed, whiche did helpe or preuayle to styrrer vppe or, mooue the iudges mindes.

And these are the Articles which were alledged out of I. Hus his booke intituled Of the Church.

Other Articles moreouer out of other his bookes were collected, & forced agaynst him, first out of his treatise written agaynst Steuen Paletz, to the number of 7. Articles. Also 6. other Articles strayned out of his treatise agaynst Stanislaus Znoyma. whereunto his aunsweres likewise be adioyned, not vnfruitfull to be read.

Here followeth seuen Articles, which are sayde to be drawn out of hys Treatise which he wrote agaynst Stephen Pallets.

The first Article.* If the Pope, Byshop, or Prelate, be in deadly sinne,. he is then no Pope, Byshoppe, nor Prelate. The aunswere, I graunt thereunto, and I send you vnto Saynt Augustine, Ierome, Chrisostome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernarde, the which doe say, moreouer that whosoeuer is in deadly sinne, is no true Christian, howe much lesse then is he Pope, or Byshop, of whom it is spoken by the Prophet Amos in his 8. chapter. They haue raigned and ruled and not through me, they became Princes, and I knew them not. &c. But afterward I doe graūt that a wicked Pope, Byshop, or Priest, is an vnworthye minister of the Sacrament, by whom God doth baptise, consecrate, or otherwise worke to the profit of his Church, and this is largely handled in the text of the booke by the authorities of the holy Doctours, for euen he which is in deadly sinne is not worthely a kyng before God, as it appeareth in the first booke of kynges 15. chapter. where as God sayth vnto Saule by the Prophet Samuel, sayinge: for so muche as thou hast refused and cast of my worde, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more King.* whiles these thinges were thus intrating, the Emperour looking out at a certayne window of the cloyster, accompanied with the Countye Palentine, and the Burgraue of Norenberg, conferring and talking much of Iohn Hus. At lēgth he sayd, that there was neuer a worse or more pernicious hereticke then he. In the meane while when Iohn Hus had spoken these wordes,* as touchinge the vnworthy king, by and by the Emperour was called, and he was commaunded to

repeat those wordes agayne, which after that he had done, his duety therein being considered, the Emperour aunswered, no man sayth he, doth liue without faulte, then the Cardinall of Cambray, being in a great fury sayd, is it not enough for thee that thou doest contemne and despise the Ecclesiastical state, and goest about by the writings and doctrine to perturbe and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempte to throw kinges out of theyr state and dignity? Thē Paletz began to alleadge the lawes whereby he would proue that Saule was king, euen when those words were spoken by Samuel, and therefore that Daudid did forbidde that Saul should not be slayne, not for the holynesse of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holynesse of hys annoynting. And when as Iohn Hus repeated out of S. Cyprian, that he did take vpon him the name of Christianity in vayne which did not followe Christ in his liuing, Paletz aunswered, beholde and see what a folly is in thys man which alleadgeth those thinges which make nothing for the purpose, for albeit anyman be not a true Christian, is he not therefore true Pope, Byshop, or Kyng? when as these are names of office and to be a Christian is a name of merite and desert, and so may any man be a true Pope, Byshoppe, or King, although he be no true Christian. Then sayd Iohn Hus, if Pope Iohn the xxiiij. were a true Pope, wherefore haue ye depriued him of hys office? The Emperour aunswered, the Lordes of the Councell haue now lately agreed thereupon that he was true Pope, but for his notorious and manifest euill doinges wherewithall, he did offend and trouble the Church of God, and dyd spoyle and bring to ruine the power thereof, he is reiected and cast out of his office.

[unspec 2] The second Article. The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the Church and euery parte and member thereof is firmly knitte and ioyned vnto the head. The aunswere. I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and it is proued in the text out of the eight chapiter to the Romaynes, who shall separte vs from the charity and loue of Christ. &c. And in the tenth chapter of Iohn, My sheepe heare my voyce, and I know them, and they followe me, and I geue them eternall life, neyther shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shal take them out of my handes. This is the knotte of the body of the Church, and of our spirituall head Christ, vnderstanding the Church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

[unspec 3] The third Article. If the Pope be a wicked man, and specially a reprobate, then euen as Iudas the Apostle, he is a Deuill, a Theefe, and the Sonne of perdition, and not the head of the holy mylytant Church, for so muche as he is no parte or member thereof. The aunswere. My wordes are thus, if the Pope be an euill or wicked man, and specially if he be a Reprobate, then euen as Iudas, so is he a Deuill, a Theefe, and the Sonne of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant Church? where as he is not truely no member or part thereof, for if he were a member of the holy Church, then shoulde he be also a member of Christ, and if he were a member of Christ, then shoulde he cleaue and sticke vnto Chryste by the grace of Predestination and present iustice, and shoulde be one spirite with God, as the Apostle sayth in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the sixt Chapter: knowe ye not that your bodyes are the members of Christ?

[Page 614](#) [unspec 4] The 4. Article. An euill Pope or Prelate, or reprobate is no true pastour, but a theefe and a robber. The answeare. The text of my booke is thus. If he be euill or wicked, thē is he an hireling, of whom Christ speaketh, he is no sheepe heard, neither are the sheepe his owne. Therefore when he seeth the wolfe comming he runneth away, and forsaketh the sheepe, and so finally doth euery wicked and reprobate man. Therefore euery such reprobate or wicked Pope or Prelate is no true Pastour. But a very theefe and a robber, as is more at large proued in my booke.

Thē sayd Iohn Hus, I doe so limitte all thinges, that such as touching theyr desert, are not truely and worthely Popes and shepheardes before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are Popes, Pastors, and Priestes.

Then a certayne man rising vp behinde Iohn Husse clothed all in silke, sayd: my Lordes take heede least that Iohn Hus deceiue both you, and himselfe with these hys gloses, and looke whether these thinges be in his booke or not, for of late I had disputation with him, vpon these Articles, in the which I sayd, that a wicked Pope, &c. was no Pope, as touching merite and desert, but as touchyng his office, he was truely Pope. Whereupon he vsed these gloses which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his booke. Then Iohn Hus turning himselfe vnto him, sayd: did you not heare that it was so readde out of my booke, and this did easily appeare in Iohn xxiiij. Whether he were true Pope or a very theefe and robber. Then the Bishoppes and Cardinals looking one vpon another, sayd: that he was true Pope, and laughed Iohn Hus to scorne.

[unspec 5] The 5. The Pope is not, neither ought to be called according vnto his office most holy. For then the king ought also to be called most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors and deuilles, ought also to bee called holy. The aunswere: My wordes are otherwise placed in this maner, so ought a fayner say, that if any man be a most holy Father, then he doth most holyly obserue and keepe hys Fatherlynesse. And if he be a naughty and wicked Father, then doth he most wickedly keepe the same. Likewise if the Byshoppe be most holiest, then is he also most good, and when as he sayth that he is Pope, it is the name of his office.

Wherupon it foloweth that the man which is Pope be'ing an euill and reprobate man, is a most holy man. And consequently by that hys office, he is most good. And for so much as no man can be good by hys office, except he do exercise & vse the same, his office very well, it followeth that if the Pope be an euill & reprobate man, he cannot exercise or vse his office wel. Forsomuch as he cannot vse the office wel, except he be morally good. Mat. 12. How cā you speak good things, when you your selues are euil, & immediatly af•er it foloweth. If y^e Pope by reasō of his office be called most holy, wherefore should not the King of Romaines be called most holy by reason of his office and dignity? When as the Kyng, according vnto Saynt Augustines minde, representeth the Deitye and Godhead of Christ, and the Priest representeth onely hys humanity. Wherefore also should not iudges: yea, euen tormentours be called holy, forsomnth as they haue theyr office by ministring vnto the Church of Christ. These thinges are more at large discoursed in my booke, but I cannot finde or knowe sayth Iohn Husse any foundation whereby I shoulde call the Pope most holy, when as thys is onely spoken of Christ. Thou onely art most holy. Thou onely art the Lord. &c. Shoulde I then truely call the Pope moste holy?

[unspec 6] The 6. Article. If the Pope liue contrary vnto Christ. Albeit he be lawfully and Canonically elect and chosen, according to humayne election, yet doth he ascende and come in another way then by Christ. The aunswere. The text is thus, if the Pope liue contrary vnto Christ in pride and auarice, how then doth he not ascend and come another way into the sheepe folde, then by the lowlye and meeke doore our Lord Iesus Christ? But admitte as you say, that he dyd ascend by lawfull election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according vnto the common and vulgare constitution and ordinaunce of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proued that he shoulde ascende and come in another way, for Iudas Iscariot was

truely and lawfully chosen of the Lorde Iesus Christ vnto his Bishopricke, as Christe sayth in the sixt of Iohn, and yet he came in an other way into the sheepe folde, and was a thefe and a Deuill, and the sonne of perdition. Did he not come in another way? when as our Sauour spake thus of him, he that eateth breade with me, shall lift vp his heele agaynst me.

The same also is proued by Saynte Bernarde vnto Pope Eugenius. Then sayde Paletz: beholde the error and maddenesse of this man, for what more furious or madde thing canne there be then to say, Iudas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascende an other way, and not by Christ. Iohn Husse aunswered, verely both partes are true, that he was electe and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascende, and come in another way, for he was a Theefe, a Deuill, and the sonne of perdition. Then sayde Palettez, cannot a manne be truely and lawefully chosen Pope or Byshoppe, and afterwarde liue contrarye vnto Christe? and that notwithstanding he doth not ascende any other wayes. But I, sayde Iohn Husse doe saye that whosoouer doth enter into anye Byshoppricke or like office by Simonye, not to the intent to labour and trauell in the Church of God, but rather to liue delicately, voluptuouslye and vnrighteously, and to the intent to aduaunce hymselfe with all kinde of pride, euery suche man ascendeth and commeth vppe by an other way, and according vnto the Gospell, he is a theefe and a robber.

[unspec 7] The 7. Article. The condemnation of the forty fyue Articles of Wickliffe made by the Doctours is vnreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alleadged is fayned and vntrue: That is to say, that none of those Articles are Catholicke, but that euery of them be either hereticall, erronious or offenciue. The aunswere: I haue wrytten it thus in my treatise. the forty fyue Articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those forty fyue, is a Catholicke Article, but eache of them is either hereticall, erronious or offenciue.*

O Mayster Doctour, where is your prooffe, you fayne a cause which you doe not poue, &c. As it appeareth more at large in my Treatise. Then sayd the Cardinall of Cambraye, Iohn Husse, thou diddest saye that thou wouldest not defend any error of Iohn Wickliffes. And now it appeareth in your bookes, that you haue openly defended his Articles. Iohn Hus aunswered. Reuerend Father, euen as I sayde before, so doe I now say agayne, that I will not defende any errors of Iohn Wickliffes, neyther of anye other mannes, but for so muche as it seemed vnto me to be agaynst conscience, simply to consent vnto the condemnation of them, no Scripture beyng alleadged or brought contrary and agaynst them, thereupon I woulde not consent or agree vnto the condemnation of them, And for so much as the reason whiche is copulatiue can not be verified in euery poynt, according to euery part thereof.*

Nowe there remayneth sixe Articles of 39. These are sayd to be drawen out of an other treatise which he wrote agaynst Stanislaus de Znoyma.

The first Article. No man is lawfully elect or chosen, [unspec 1] in that the Electours or the greater part of them haue consented with a liuely voyce according to the custome of men to elect and choose any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true Successour of Christ, or Uicare of Peter in the Ecclesiasticall office, but in that that any man doth most abundantlye worke meritoriouslye to the profite of the Church, he hath thereby more abundant power geuen him of God thereunto. The answere. These things which follow are also written in my booke. It standeth in the power and handes of wicked Electours to choose a woman into the Ecclesiasticall

office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, whiche was called Iohn, who held and occupied the Popes place & dignitie by the space of two yeares and more.

It may also be that they doe choose a Theefe, a Murderer, or a Deuil, and consequently they may also elect and choose Antichrist.

It may also be, that for loue, couetousnesse, or hatred, they doe choose some person whom God doth not allowe. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen: In so much as the Electours or the greater part of them haue consented and agreed together, according to the custome of men vpon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest Successour or Uicare of Peter, the Apostle or any other in the Ecclesiasticall office.

Therefore they which most accordingly vnto the scripture doe elect and choose, reuelation being sette a parte, doe onelye pronounce and determine by some probable reason vppon hym they doe electe and choose, wherevppon whether the Electours doe so choose good or euill, we ought to geue creditte vnto the workes of hym that is chosen, for in that poynt that any manne doth moste [Page 615](#) aboundantly worke meritoriously to the profite of the Church, he hath thereby more aboundant power geuen [unspec 2] him of God thereunto. And hereupon sayth Christ in the 10. of Iohn, geue credit vnto workes.

The 2. Article. The Pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy Church of God. The aunswere. I wrote it thus in my Treatise, that I woulde willinglye receiue a probable and effectuall reason of the Doctour, howe thys question is contrary vnto the fayth, to say, that if the Pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church. Beholde the trueth cannot decay or fayle in disputation, for did Christ dispute agaynst the fayth, when he demaunded of the Scribes and Pharisyes. Math. 12. Ye stocke and ofspring of Uypers, how can ye speake good thinges, when you your selues are wicked and euill? and beholde I demaunde of the Scribes if the Pope be a reprobate, and the stocke of Uipers, how is he the head of the holy Church of GOD, that the Scribes and Pharisyes which were in the Councell house of Prage make aunswere hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man shoulde speake good thinges, for so much as he may be in state of grace according vnto present iustice, then to be the head of the holy Church of God.

Also in the 5. of Iohn, our Sauour complayneth vppon the Iewes, saying. How can you beleue which doe seeke for glory amongst your selues, and doe not seeke for the glory that commeth onely of God. And I likewise doe complayne how that if the Pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the Church of God, which receiueth hys glory of the world, and seketh not for the glory of GOD? For it is more possible that the Pope being a Reprobate should beleue, then that he should be the head of the Church [unspec 3] of God. For so much as he taketh his glory of the world.

The 3. Article. There is no sparke of apparance, that there ought to be one head in the spiritualtye, to rule the Church, the which shoulde be alwayes conuersant with the militant Church. The aunswere. I do graunt it. For what consequent is this. The king of Boheme is head of the kingdome of Boheme. Ergo, the Pope is head of the whole militant Church. Christ is the head of the spiritualtye, ruling and gouerning the militant Church by much more and greater necessity then Cesar ought to rule the tēporalty. For so much as Christ which sitteth on the ryght

hand of God the Father doth necessarily rule the militant Church as head. And there is no sparke of apparance that there should be one head in y^e spiritualty ruling the church, that should alwaies be conuersant with the militant church, except some infidell would heretically affirme, that the militant Church should haue here a permanent and continuall Citty or dwelling place, and not to enquire and seeke after that which is to come. It is also further euident in my booke, how vnconsequent the proportion of the similitude is for a reprobate Pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of y^e kingdome of Boheme.

The 4. Article.* Christ would better rule his Church by his true Apostles dispersed through out the whole world without such monstrous heades: I aunswere, that it is in my booke, as here foloweth, that albeit that y^e doctor doth say, that the body of the militant Church, is oftentimes without a head: yet notwithstanding we do verely beleue that Christ Iesus is the head ouer euery Church, ruling the same without lacke or default, pouring vpō the same a continuall motion and sence, euen vnto the latter day, neither can the doctor geue a reason why the Church in the time of Agnes, by the space of 2. yeares and 5. monethes, liuing according to many members of christ in grace and fauour, but that by the same reason the Church might be without a head, by y^e space of many yeares. For so much as Christ should better rule his Church by his true disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without suche monstrous heads. Then sayd they all together: Beholde now he prophecieth, and Iohn Hus prosecuting his former talke sayd, but I say that the Church in the time of the Apostles was farre better ruled and gouerned then now is. And what doth let or hinder that christ should not now also rule the same better by his true Disciples without such monstrous heades, as haue bene now a late? For beholde euen at this present we haue no such head. And yet Christ [unspec 5] ceaseth not to rule his Church, when he had spoken these wordes, he was derided and mocked.

The 5. Article. Peter was no vniuersall Pastour or shepheard of the sheepe of Christ, much lesse is the Byshop of Rome. The answere. These words are not in my book, but those which do follow. Secondly it appeareth by the wordes of Christ, y^f he did not limit vnto Peter for his iurisdiction, the whole world, no not one onely prouince. So likewise neither vnto any other of the Apostles. Notwithstanding certayne of them walked through many regions and other some fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdome of God, as Paule which laboured & trauelled more then all the rest did corporally visite and conuert most prouinces, whereby it is lawfull for any Apostle or his vicar to conuert and confirme as much people, or as many prouinces in the fayth of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraynt of their liberty or iurisdiction. But only by disability or insufficiency.

The 6. Article. The Apostles and other faythfull priestes [unspec 6] of the Lord haue stoutly ruled the Church in al things necessary vnto saluation before the office of the Pope was brought in to the Church, and so would they very possibly doe still, if there were no Pope euen vnto y^e latter day. Then they all cryed out agayne and sayd: Behold the prophet, but Iohn Hus sayde verely it is true that the Apostles did rule the Church stoutly, before the office of the Pope was brought into the Church. And certaynely a great deale better then it is now ruled. And likewise may other faythfull men which doe follow their steppes doe the same, for as now we haue no Pope, and so peraduenture it may continue and endure a yeare or more. Besides this were brought agaynst him other 19. articles objected vnto him being in prison which with his answeres to the same here likewise follow. Of the whiche Articles, the first is thys.

The first Article.* Paule according vnto present iustice was a blasphemer and none of the Church, and therewithall was in grace, according vnto predestination of life euer lasting. The aunswere. This proposition is not in the booke, but this which foloweth: whereby it doth seme probable, that as Paule was both a blasphemer accordyng to present iustice, and therewithall also was a faythfull childe of our holy mother the Church, and in grace accordyng to predestination of life euerlasting. So Iscariot was both in grace according vnto present iustice, and was neuer of our holy mother the Church, according to the predestination of life euerlasting, for so much as he lacked that predestination. And so Iscariot albeit he was an Apostle, and a Byshop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was he neuer no part of the vniuersall Church.

The 2. Article.* Christ doth more loue a predestinate man being sinnefull, then any reprobate in what grace possible soeuer he be. The aunswere. My wordes are in the 4. chapter of my booke intituled of the Church, and it is euident that God doth more loue any predestinate beyng sinnefull, then any reprobate, in what grace so euer he be for the time: for so much as he will, that the predestinate shall haue perpetuall blessednesse, and the reprobate to haue eternall fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely louing them both as his creatures, yet he doth more loue the predestinate because he geueth him greater grace, or a greater gift: that is to say, life euerlasting, which is greater & more excellent then onely grace, according vnto present iustice. And the third Article of those Articles before, soundeth much neare vnto this, that the predestinate cannot fall frō grace, for they haue a certayne radicall grace rooted in thē, although they be depriued of the abundant grace for a time. These thinges are true in the compound sence.

The 3. Article.* All the sinnefull according vnto present iniustice, are not faythfull, but doe swerue from the true Catholicke fayth, for so much as it is impossible that any man can committe any deadly sinne but in that point,* that he doe swerue from the fayth. The aunswere. I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did thinke vpon the punishment which is to be laid vpon sinners, and did fully beleue, and had the fayth of the diuine knowledge and vnderstanding. &c. then vndoubtedly they would not so offend and sinne. This proposition is verified by the sayinge of the Prophette Esay. Thy rulers are vnfayth•ll, misbeleuers, fellowes and companions of theeues, they all loue bribes, and followe after rewardes. Beholde the Prophet calieth the rulers of the Church infidels for their offences, for all such as do not keep theyr fayth inuiolate vnto theyr principall Lorde, are vnfaythfull seruauntes, and they also are vnfaythfull children wich keepe not theyr obedience, feare, and loue vnto God their father.

Item, this proposition is verified, by the saying of the Apostle,* the 1. chap. to Titus: They doe confesse that they know God, but by their works they do deny him. And for so much as they which are sinnefull, do swerue away from y^r meritorious work of blessednes, therfore they do swerue from the true fayth grounded vpon charity, for so much as [Page 616](#) fayth without workes is dead. To this end doth also pertaine, that which the Lord speaketh Math. 23. of the faythfull and vnfaythfull seruaunt.

The 4. Article.* These wordes of Iohn in his 22. chap. Receiue the holy Ghost: And whatsoever you sholl binde vpon earth. &c. And Mathew 16. and 18. chapter for lack of vnderstanding shall terrifye many Christians, and they shalbe wonderfully afayrd, and others shalbe deceiued by them, presuming vpon the fulnes of theyr power and authority. The answere. This sentence I do

approue and allow, and therefore I say in the same place,* that it is first of all to be supposed that the saying of our Sauour is necessary, as touching the vertue of the word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a Priest to binde and loose, except that binding and loosing be in heauen. But for the lacke of the true vnderstanding of those wordes, many simple Christians shalbe made arrayd, thinking with themselues that whether they be iust or vniust, the Priestes may at their pleasures, whensoever they will, binde them. And the ignorant Priestes do also presume and do take vpon thē to haue power to binde and loose whensoever they wil. For many foo'lish and ignorant priestes do say that they haue power and authority to absolue euery man confessing himself, of what sinne or offence soeuer it be, not knowing that in many sin'nes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hy'pocrite do confesse himselfe, or such one as is not cōtrite for his sinne, wherof prooffe hath oftentimes bene founde and it is euident for so much as the letter doth kill, but the spirite doth quicken.

The v. Article,* The binding and loosing of God, is sim'ply & playnly the chiefe and principal.* The answer. This is euident, forsomuch as it were blasphemous presumption to affirme, that a man may remit and forgeue an euill fact or offence done agaynst such a Lord, the Lord himselfe not approuing or allowing the same. For by the vniuersall power of the Lord, it is necessary that he doe first absolue and forgeue, before that his vicare doe the same, neyther is there one Article of our fayth, which ought to be more cōmon or knowne vnto vs, then that it should be impossible for any man of the militant Church to absolue or binde, except in suche case as it be conformable vnto the head of the Church Iesu Christ. Wherefore euery faythfull Christian ought to take heed of that saying: if the Pope or any other pretend by any maner of signe to binde or loose, that he is thereby bound or loosed, for he that doth graunt or confesse that, must also consequently graunt and confesse that the Pope is without sinne, and so that he is a God, for otherwise he must needes erre, and doe contrary vnto the keyes of Christ. This saying proueth the fact of the Pope, who alwayes in his absolution presupposeth contrition and cōfession. Yea moreouer, if any letter of absolution be geuen vnto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is sayd that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby euident, that many Priestes do not absolue those which are cōfessed, because that either through shamfastnes they do cloke or hide greater offences, or els y^t they haue not due contrition or repentance,* for vnto true absolu'tion there is first required contritiō. Secondly a purpose & intent to sinne no more. Thirdly, true cōfessiō. And fourthly stedfast hope of forgeuenes, The j. appeareth by Ezech. if the wicked do repent him. &c. The ij. in the v. & 8. of Iohn do thou not sinne any more. The third party by this place of Luke: shew your selues vnto the Priestes. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ: My sonne beleue, and thy sinnes are forgeuen thee. I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Ierome, and the maister of the sentences.

The 6. Article.* The Priestes do gather and heape vppe out of the Scriptures those things which serue for the belly but such as pertayne to the true imitation and folowing of Christ, that they reiect and refuse as impertinent vnto saluation. The aunswere. This Saynt Gregory doth sufficiently proue in his 17.* Homely, alledging the sayinge of Christ:* The haruest is great, the workemen are few, speaking also that which we cannot say without grieve or sorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly heare good things, yet there lacketh such as should declare the same vnto them, for behold the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcitey of workemen in the haruest of the Lord. We take vpon vs willingly priesthood, but we

do not fulfil & do the workes & office of priesthood. And immediately after he sayth, we are fallen vnto outward affayres & busines, for we take vpō vs one office for honour sake, and we do exhibite & geue an other to ease our selues of labour. We leaue preaching and as farre as I can perceiue we are called Bishops to our paine, which do retayne the name of honour, but not the verity.

And immediatly after he sayth, we take no care for our flocke, we dayly call vpon for our stipend & wages, we couet and desire earthly thinges with a gredy mind, we gape after worldly glory, we leaue the cause of God vndone, and make haste about our worldly affayres & busines, we take vpō vs the place of sanctity and holines, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares & troubles. &c. This writeth saynt Gregory with many other thinges more in the same place. Also in his Pastorall, in his Morals, in his register. Also Saynt Bernard with many other places. Likewise in his xxxiiij. Sermon vpon the Canonicales, he sayth, all frendes, and all enemies: all kinsfolkes and aduersaryes, all of one householde, and no peace makers: they are the Ministers of Christ, and serue Antichrist: they goe honourably honoured with the goodes of the Lord, and yet they do honour. &c.

The 7. Article.* The power of the pope, which doth not folow Christ, is not to be feared. The answeare. It is not so in my treatise, but contrariwise, that the subiects are boūd willingly & gladly to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and also those which are wicked and euill.* But notwithstāding, if the pope do abuse his power, it is not thē to be feared as by bondage. And so the Lordes the Cardinals as I suppose, did not feare the power of Gregory the xij. before his deposition, whē as they resisted him, saying that he did abuse his power contrary vnto his owne othe.

The 8. Article.* An euill and a wicked Pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Iudas. The aunswere. I wrote thus in my treatise: If the pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honors and lucre of the world: if he be a shepheard taking his name by the feeding of y^e flock of God (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh,* sayinge: feede my sheepe) if he feede the sheepe with the worde, and with vertuous example, and that he become euen lyke hys flocke with his whole hart and minde: if he doe diligently and carefully labour and trauell for the Church, then is he without doubt the true Uicare of Christ. But if he walke contrary vnto these vertues, for so much as there is no society betwene Christ and Belial, and Christ himselfe saith: he that is not with me, is agaynst me: how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the Uicare of Antichrist? Christ called Peter himselfe Sathanas, when he did cōtrary him but onely in one word, and that wyth a good affection, euen him whom he had chosen his Uicare, and specially appoynted ouer his church. Why should not any other then, being more contrary vnto Christ be truely called Sathanas, and consequently Antichrist, or at lest the chiefe and principall minister or vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonyes of this matter in S. Augustine, S. Ierome, Ciprian, Chrisostom, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambrose. &c.

The 9. Article.* The Pope is the same beast of whome it is spoken in the Apot.* power is geuen vnto him to make warre vpon the sayntes. The answeare. I deny this Article to be in my booke.

The 10. Article.* It is lawful to preach, notwithstāding the Popes inhibition. The answeare. The Article is euidēt forsomuch as the Apostles did preach contrary to the commaundement of the

bishops at Ierusalem.* And S. Hillary did the like, contrary to the cōmaūdement of y^e pope which was an Arrian. It is also manifest by the example of Cardinals, which contrary vnto the cōmaundement of Pope Gregory the xij. sēt throughout all realmes such as should preach agaynst him. It is also lawfull to preach vnder appeale, contrary vnto the Popes commaundement. And finally he may preach which hath the commaundement of God, wherunto he ought chiefly to obey.

The 11. Article.* If the Popes commaundement be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the Gospell or the Apostles, it is not to be obeyed. The answer. I haue thus written in my booke:* The faythfull disciple of Christ ought to wey and consider whether the popes commaundement be expressly & plainly the cōmaūdement of Christ or any of his Apostles, or whether it haue any foundatiō or groūd in their doctrine or no: and that being once knowne or vnderstand, he ought reuerētly and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certaynly know that the popes cōmaūdement is contrary and agaynst the holy Scripture, and hurtful vnto the Church: then he ought boldly to resist agaynst it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offēce by cōsenting thereunto. This I haue handled at large in my treatise, and haue confirmed it by the authorities of Saint Austine, Hierome, Gregory, Chrisostome, Bernard and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and Canons, the which for breuities cause I do here passe ouer.* I will onely rehearse the saying of Saint Isydore, who writeth thus: He [Page 617](#) which doth rule, and doth say or commaund any thing cōtrary and besides the will of God, or that which is euidētly commaunded in the Scriptures, he is honoured as a false wisse of God, and a Church robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no Prelate, but in such case as he do commaund or take counsell of the Councels and commaundements of Christ.

Likewise S. Augustine vpon this saying: vpon the chayre of Moyses. &c. sayth: Secondly, they teach in the chayre of Moyses the law of God: Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of theyr owne inuentions, do not geue eare vnto them, neither doe as they cōmaund you. Also in the saying of Christ, he that heareth you heareth me, all lawfull and honest thinges be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christes saying: it is not you which doe speake, but the spirite of my father whiche speaketh in you. Let therfore my aduersaries and slaundersers learne that there be not onely 12.* Counsels in the Gospell, in the which subiectes ought to obey Christ and his appoynted ministers, but that there are so many Counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawfull and honest thinges ioyned with preceptes and commaundementes of God, bindinge vs thereunto, vnder the payne of deadly sinne: for euery such thing doth the Lord commaund vs to fulfill in tyme and place, with other circumstaunces at the will and pleasure of their minister.

The 12. Article.* It is lawfull for the clergy and laytye by their power and iurisdiction to iudge and determine of all things pertayning vnto saluation,* and also of the workes of the Prelates. The aunswere. I haue thus written it in my booke, that it is lawfull for the clergy and laity to iudge and determine of the works of their heades and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the secret counselles of God, in the court of conscience is one thyng, & the iudgement of the authority and power in the church is an other. Wherefore subiectes first ought principally to iudge and examine themselues 1. Corinthians. 11. chapter. Secondly they ought to examine all thinges whiche pertayneth vnto their saluation, for a spirituall man iudgeth and examineth all thinges. And this is alleadged, as touching the first iudgement, and not the second,

as the enemy doth impute it vnto me.* Whereupon in the same place I doe say that the lay man ought to iudge and examine the workes of his Prelate, like as Paule doth iudge the doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly to auoyd them according to this saying: Beware of false Prophets. &c. Thirdly to rule ouer the ministry: For the subiect ought by reason to iudge and examine the works of the Prelats. And if they be good, to prayse God therefore and reioyce: But if they be euill, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, least they be damned with them: according to this saying: If the blinde lead the blinde, both fall into the ditch.

The 13. Article.* God doth suspend of himselfe, euery wicked Prelate from his ministry, while he is actually in sinne. for by that meanes that he is in deadly sinne, he doth offend and sinne whatsoeuer he do: and consequēly is forbiddē so to do: therefore also is he suspended from his ministry. The aunswere. This is proued as touching suspension from dignitie, by Osee the iiij. chapter, and Esay, and Malachy the first. And Paule in the 1. Corinthians. 11. chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinnefull or in any greuous crime or offence, from the eating of the bodye of the Lord, and the drinking of his bloud, and consequently suspendeth all sinnefull Prelates from the ministration of the reuerent Sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinnefull from the declaration of his righteousness. Psalme. 49. For so much then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibite the ministry or any other good thing for the offence sake, or as the new lawes do terme or cal it, to interdict or forbidde: It is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibite the sinnefull, being in sinne to exercise or vse theyr ministrye or office, whiche by Gods commaundement ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he sayth by Esay the Prophet: ye that cary the vessels of the Lord, be ye clensed and made cleane. And to the Corinthians it is sayd: Let all thinges be done with loue and charity. &c. The same thing also is cōmaunded by diuers and sundry Canons, the which I haue alleged in my treatise.

The 14. Article.* The aunswere which he made to the 25. Article in prison suffiseth for this,* that is to say, that the Clergye for theyr owne preferment and exaltation, doth supplant and vndermine the lay people, doth increase and multiply theyr couetousnes, cloaketh and defendeth theyr malice and wickednes, and prepareth away for Antichrist.

The first part he proueth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himselfe Benedict: by the example of Angelus Coriarius, which named himselfe Gregory the 12. and also by the example of Iohn 23. Likewise by the xij. and xxiiij. of Ezechiel, and out of Gregory, which sayth, what shalbe come of the flock, when the shepheardes themselues, are become wolues. &c. Also out of Osee, Miche, and other of the Prophets, and many places of S. Barnard.

The second part is proued by the 8. chapter of Ieremy, Gregory in his 17. Homely, and S. Barnard vpon the Canonicals.

The third part of this Article is also proued by experience: for who defendeth the wickednes of any schisme but onely the Clergy alledging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therfore? Who excuseth Simony, but onely the Clergy? likewise couetousnes in heaping together many benefices, luxuriousnes and fornication? For how many of the Clergy is there now a dayes which do say it is no deadly sinne alledging (albeit disorderly) the saying of Genesis, increase and multiply.

Hereby also is the 4. part of the Article easily verified. For the way of Antichrist is wickednesse and sinne: of the which the Apostle speaketh to the Thessalonians: Gregory in his register Pastorall and moralls: Also S. Barnard vpon the Canonicales playnely sayth: wicked and euyl Priestes prepare the way for Antichrist.

The 15. Article.* Iohn Hus doth openly teach and affirme that these conclusions aforesayd are true.* The aunswere is manifest by that which I haue afore written. For some of these propositions I did write and publishe, other some my enemy did fayne, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole proposition vnto me: the which thing the commissioners themselues did confesse before me. Whome I desired for the false iuention and fayning of those Articles, that they would punish those, whom they thēselues knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

The 16. Article.* Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they haue affirmed in the article followyng: that is to say, that all the aforesayd conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as do weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the Church, inuented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Church. But if there be any such, I am ready most humbly to reuoke and recant the same.

The 17. Article.* There was also an obiection made agaynst me as touching the Treatises whiche I wrote agaynst Paletz and Stanislaus de Znoyma. The which I desired for Gods sake, they might be openly read in the audience of the whole Councell, and sayd that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit my selfe to the iudgement of the whole Councell.

The 18. article.* There was also an other article objected agaynst me in this forme. Item, Iohn Husse sayd and preached that he shoulde goe to Constance, and if so be that for any maner of cause he shoulde be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithstanding he neuer purposed to doe it with his minde: for so much as what so euer he had before taught, was pure and true, and the sounde doctrine of Christ. The aunswere. This article is full of lyes: to the inuenter whereof I suppose the Lord sayth thus: All the day long thou hast imagined mischief and wickednesse, and with thy tounge as with a sharpe rasour, thou hast wrought decypte. Thou hast delighted and loued rather to talke of wickednesse and mischief then of equity and iustice. Uerely I do graunt that I left behinde me a certayne epistle to be read vnto the people, the which did containe that all such as did wey and consider my carefull labors and trauelles, should pray for me, and stedfastly perseuere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Iesu Christ, knowing for a certaintie that I neuer taught them any such errors as mine enemies do impute or ascribe vnto me, and if it should hap|pen that I were ouercome by false witness, they shoulde not be vexed or troubled in their mindes, but stedfastly continue in the truth.

The 19. Article.* Last it was objected agaynst me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write vnto the Kingdome of Boheme, that the Pope and the Emperour receiued me honourablye and sent vnto me two Byshoppes to make agreement betweene me and them, and that thys seemeth to be wrytten by me to thys ende and purpose, that they shoulde confirme and establishe me and my hearers in the errors, whiche I had preached and taught in Boheme. Thys Article is falsely alledged euen from the beginning. For how manifestly [Page 618](#) false should I haue written y^t the pope & the Emperour did honour me, when as otherwise I had written before, that

as yet we knew not where y^e Emperour was? and before the Emperour himselfe came vnto Constance, I was by the space of 3. weekes in pryson. And to wryte that I was honoured by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdome of Boheme would repute the honour as no great renowne and glory vnto me. Howbeit my enemies may in derision say vnto me, that according to their willes & pleasures, I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this article is wholly throughout false and vntrue.

Unto these articles aboue prefixed, were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawne out agaynst M. Iohn Hus, to the number of 19. The chiefe author wherof, was Iohn Gerson Chauncellour of the vniuersity of Paris, a great setter on of the Pope against good men. Of these articles Iohn Hus doth often complayne in his Epistles that he had no time nor space to make answeere vnto them. Which articles being falsly collected and wrongfully depraued although Iohn Hus had no time to aunswere vnto, yet I thought not vnfit here to set downe for the reader to see and iudge.

Articles formally contayned or picked out of the Treatise of Iohn Hus of Prage, which he intituled of the Church folowing in this part or behalfe the errours they terme them of Iohn Wickelyffe

The first article.* No reprobate is true Pope, Lorde or Prelate. The errour is in the fayth and behaiour and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well agaynst the poore men of Lions, as also agaynst the Waldenses and Pikardes. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offenseue and pernicious, and tending to the subuersion of all humaine policy and gouernance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred, for that all men doe offend in many poyntes, and therby shoulde all rule and dominion be made vncertaine and vnstable, if it shoulde be founded vpon predestination and charity: neither shoulde the commaundement of Peter haue bene good, which willeth all seruauntes to be obedient vnto their maisters and Lordes although they be wicked.

The 2. article.* That no man being in deadly sinne, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the Deuill, is true Pope, Prelate or Lord. The error of this is like vnto the first.

The 3. article.* No reprobate or otherwise being in deadlly sinne, sitteth in the Apostolicke seate of Peter, neither hath any Apostolical power ouer y^e christian people This error is also like vnto the first.

The 4. Article.* No reprobate are of the Church neither likewise any which doe not followe the life of Christ. This error is agaynst the common vnderstanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

The 5. Article.* They onely are of the church, and sit in Peters seat, and haue Apostolicke power whiche followe Christ and his Apostles in their life and liuing. The error hereof is in fayth and maners, as in the first article, but contayning more arrogancy and rashnes.

The 6. article.* That euery man which liueth vprightly according to the rule of Christ may and ought openlye to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea although he be forbidden or excommunicate by any Prelate or Bishop euen as he might and ought to geue almes: for his good life in liuing together with his learning doth sufficiently send him.

This is a rash and temerarious error offensive and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The 7. article.* That the Pope of Rome being contrary vnto Christ, is not the vniuersall Bishop, neither hath the church of Rome any supremacy ouer other Churches, except peradventure it be geuen him of Cesar, and not of Christ. An error lately and playnely reprobued.

The 8. article.* That the Pope ought not to be called most holy, neither that his feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed. This error is temerarius vnreuerently and offensively published.

The 9. article.* That according vnto the doctrine of Christ, heretickes, be they neuer so obstinate or stubburne, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated. This is the error of the Donatistes, temerariouly, and not without great offence affirmed agaynst the lawes of the ecclesiasticall discipline as S. Augustine doth proue.

The 10. Article.* That subiectes and the common people may and ought publickly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their superiours and rulers, as hauing power geuen them of Christ, and example of Saynt Paul so to doe: this error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Cham.

The 11. article.* That Christ onely is head of the church and not the Pope. It is an error accordyng vnto the cōmon vnderstanding of the Doctors, if all the reason of the supremacy, and of being head be secluded and taken away from the Pope.

The 12. article.* That the onely church which comprehendeth the predestinate and good liuers, is the vniuersall Church, whereunto subiectes do owe obedience. And this is consequent vnto the former article. The error is contained as in the former articles.

The 13. article.* That tithes and oblations geuen vnto the Church are publicke and common almes. This error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the Apostle. 1. Cor. 9. chapter.

The 14. article.* That the clergy liuing wickedly, ought to be reprobued and corrected by the lay people by the taking away of theyr tithes and other temporall profites. A most pernicious error and offensive, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacriledge subuerting the ecclesiasticall liberty.

The 15. article.* That the blessinges of such as are reprobate or euill liuers of the clergy are maledictions and cursinges before God according to the saying. I will curse your blessinges. This error was lately reprobued of Saynt Augustine, agaynst Saynt Cyprian and his followers, neither

is the maister of the sentences allowed of the maysters in that poynt that he semeth to fauor this article.

The 16. article.* That in these dayes and in long tyme before, there hath bene no true Pope, no true Church, or fayth, which is called the Romishe Church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the sinagogue of Antichrist and Sathan. The error in this article is in this poynt that it is deriued, and taketh his foundation vpon the former articles.

The 17. article.* That all gift of money geuen vnto the ministers of the Church, for the ministration of any spirituall matter, it doth make such ministers in that case vsers of Simony. This error is seditious and temerarius, for so much as some thing may be geuen vnto the clergy, vnder the title of sustentation or mayntaynyng the minister, without the selling or buying of any spirituall thing.

The 18. article.* That whosoeuer is excommunicate of the pope if he appeale vnto Christ, he is preserued that he need not feare the excommunication, but vtterlye to contemne and despise the same. This error is temerarious and full of arrogancy.

The 19. article.* That euery deed done with out charity is sinne. This error was reprobud and reuoked before this time at Paris, specially if it be vnderstand of deadlye sinne, for it is not necessarye that he whiche lacketh grace should continually sinne and offend a new Albeit he be cōtinually in sinne.

This following, the Maisters of Paris by theyr whole voyce and consent did adde and adioyne vnto these ninetene articles, for theyr reason and determination.

WE affirme that these articles aforesayd are notoriously hereticall, and that they are iudicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with theyr most seditious doctrines, least they do infect other. For albeit they seeme to haue a zeale against the vices of the Prelates and the clergy, the which (the more is the pittye and grieve) do but to much abound, yet is it not according vnto learning, for a sober and discrete zeale, suffereth and lamenteth those sinnes and offences, whiche he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away, for vices cannot be rooted out, and taken away by other vices and errors, for so much as Deuilles are not cast out thorowe Belsabub, but by the power of God whiche is the holy Ghost, who willeth that in correction the measure and meane of prudence be alwayes kept, according to the saying. Marke, who, what, where and why, by what meanes and when, Prelates and Byshoppes are bound vnder greuous and expresse penalties of the lawe diligently and vigilantly to beare themselves agaynst the foresayd errors and such other like, and the mayntayners of them, for let it alwayes be well vnderstand [Page 619](#) and noted that the error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of prime affinitie or societie of him, which slack•• to withstand a manifest mischiefe.

These things are entermedled by the way vnder correction, as by way of doctrine.

Iohn Gerson Chauncellour of Paris, vnwoorthie.

These things thus declared, a man may easily vnderstand, that Iohn Husse was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our faith, but because hee did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdome of Antichrist for the glorye of Christ, and the restoring of the Church.

Now to returne vnto the story: when as the first 39. articles,* which I haue before rehearsed, were all read ouer together with their testimonies, the Cardinal of Cambray cailing vnto Iohn Hus, said: thou hast heard what greuous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them there are: and now it is thy part to deuise with thy selfe what thou wilt do. Two waies are proponed and set before thee of the Councell, whereof the one of them, thou must of force and necessitie enter into.

First, that thou do humbly and meekely sub•nit thy selfe vnto the iudgement & sentence of the Councel,* that whatsoeuer shall be there determined by their cōmon voice and iudgement, thou wilt patiently beare and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt doe, we of our part both for the honour of the most gentle Emperour here present, and also for the honour of his brother the King of Boheme, & for thy owne sauegard and preservation, will intreate and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue, and gentlenes, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defende any of those Articles which wee haue propounded vnto thee, and doest desire or require to be further heard therevpon, we will not denie thee power and licence thereunto: but this thou shalt well vnderstand that heere are such mance of men, so cleare in vnderstāding and knowledge, and hauing so firme and strong reasons and argumentes against thy articles: that I feare it will be to thy greate hurt, detriment, and perill, if thou shouldest any longer will or desire to defend the same.

This do I speake and say vnto thee to counsaile and admonish thee, and not as in maner of a iudge.

This Oration of the Cardinals many other prosecuting, euery man for himselfe,* did exhort and persuade Iohn Hus to the like: vnto whom with a lowly countenance he answered: Most reuerend fathers, I haue often said that I came hither of mine owne free wil, not to the intent obstinately to defende any thing, but if that in any thing I should seeme to haue conceiued a peruerse or euill opiniō, that I would meekely and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may haue yet further libertie to declare my minde. Wherof except I shall alledge most firme & strong reasons, I wil willingly submit my selfe (as you require) vnto your informatiō.

Then there start vp one, which with a loud voice sayd: Behold how craftely this man speaketh. Determeth it information and not correction or determination. Verely sayd Iohn Hus, euen as you will tearme it, information, correction, or determination: for I take God to my witnes, that I speake nothing but with my hart and mind.

Then sayde the Cardinall of Cambray, forsomuch then as thou doest submit thy selfe vnto the information and grace of this Councell,* this is decreed almost by threescore Doctours, wherof

some of them are now departed hence, in whole roome and place the Parisians are succeeded: and also it is approued by the whole Councell, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto.

First of all, that thou shalt humbly and meekely confesse thy selfe to haue erred in these Articles, which are alledged and brought against thee.

Moreouer, that thou shalt promise by an othe, that frō hencefoorth thou shalt not reach, holde, or maintayne anie of these Articles. And last of all that thou shalt openly recant all these Articles.

Upon the which sentence, when as many others had spoken their minds,* at the length Iohn Hus said: I once againe do say, that I am redy to submit my selfe to the informatiō of the Councell: but this I most humbly require and desire you all, euen for his sake, which is y^r God of vs all, that I be not cōpelled or forced to do the thing, which my conscience doth repugne or striue against, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternall damnation: that is, that I should make reuocation by othe to all y^e Articles which are alledged against me. For I remēber y^t I haue red in the booke of vniuersalities, that to abiure is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And for so much as many of these Articles are sayde to bee myne, which were neuer in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how shoulde I then renounce them by an othe? But as touching those articles which are mine in deed, if there be any man which can teach me contrarywise vnto them, I will willingly performe that which you desire.

Then said the Emperour,* why mayest not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou saiest are falsly alledged against thee by the witnesses? For I verily would nothing at al doubt to abiure all errors, neither doth it follow that therfore by and by I haue professed any error. To whom Iohn Hus answered: Most noble Emperour, this word to abiure, doth signifie much otherwise then your maiesty doth heere vse it. Then sayde the Cardinall of Florence: Iohn Hus, you shall haue a forme of abiuration, which shal be gentle and tollerable inough, written and deliuered vnto you, and then you will easily & sone determine w^t your selfe, whither you will do it or no.

Then the Emperour repeating againe the wordes of the Cardinall of Cambray,* said: thou hast heard that there are two waies layd before thee. First, that thou shouldest opēly renounce those thy errors, which are now cōdēned, and subscribe vnto the iudgement of the Councel, wherby thou shouldest try and find their grace and fauour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opiniōs, the Councell shal haue sufficient, wherby according to their lawes & ordinances, they may decree and determine vpō thee. To whom Iohn Hus answered: I refuse nothing (most noble Emperour) whatsoever y^e Councell shall decree or determine vpō me. This only one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my cōscience, or say that I haue professed those errors which was neuer in my mind or thought, for to professe. But I desire you al, if it may be possible, y^t you will grant me further libertie to declare my mind and opiniō, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are obiected against me, and speciallie cōcerning ecclesiasticall offices, and the state of the ministerie.

But when as other men began to speake,* the Emperor himselfe began to sing the same song which he had song before. Thou art of lawfull age said y^e Emperor, thou mightest haue easily vnderstand what I saide vnto thee yesterday and this daye:* for wee are forced to giue credit vnto

these witnesses which are worthy of credit: for so much as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all truth is tried: How much more then by so manie witnesses of such worthy men.

Wherefore if thou be wise, receiue penance at the handes of the Councell, with a contrite hart, and renounce the manifest errors, and promise by an othe that from henceforth thou wilt neuermore teach or preach againste them. The which if thou refusest to do, there are lawes and ordinances, whereby thou shalt be iudged of the Councell.

Heere a certain very old Bishop of Pole put to his verdict.* He saide the lawes are euident as touching hereticks, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But Iohn Hus constantly answered as before: in somuch that they saide he was obstinate and stubborne. Then a certaine well fed priest and gaily apparelled,* cried out vnto the presidents of the Councell, sayeng: he ought by no meanes to be admitted to recantation: for he hath written vnto his frends, that although hee do sweare with hys tong, yet he will keepe his mind vnsworne without othe: wherefore he is not to be trusted. Unto this slander Iohn Hus answered as is said in the last Article, affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

Then said Palletz,* to what end is this protestation, for so much as thou saiest that thou wilt defend no error, neyther yet Wickliffe, and yet doest defend him? When he had spoken these words, he brought forth for witnes 9. Articles of Iohn Wickliffes, and red thē openly: & afterward he saide: When as I and M. Stanislaus in the presence of Ernestus of Austrich duke of Prage, preached against thē, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermōs, but also by his bookes which he set forth. The which except you do here exhibite, we will cause them to be exhibited. So said the Emperor also.* Unto whome Iohn Hus answered, I am very well contented that not onely those, but also all other my bookes be brought forth and shewed.

In the meane time there was exhibited vnto the Coūcell a certaine Article, wherein Iohn was accused, that he had slaunderously interpreted a certaine sentence of the Popes: the which he denied that he did, saieng, that he neuer sawe it, but in prison, when as the Article was shewed him by the Commissioners. And when he was demaunded who was the authour thereof, he aunswered that hee knew not, but that he hard say that maister Iessenitz was [Page 620](#) the author thereof.

What (sayd they) then do you thinke or iudge of the interpretation thereof? Then aunswered Iohn Hus, what should I say therunto, when as I said I neuer saw it, but as I haue heard it of you. Thus they were all so greuous and troublesome vnto him,* that he waxed faint & wearie, for he had passed all y' night before without sleepe, through the paine of his teeth.

*Then was there another Article read, in the which was contained that three men were beheaded at Prage, because that through Wickleffes doctrine and teaching, they were contuineliuous and slanderous against the Popes letters: and that they were by the same Hus, with the whole pompe of the Scholers, and with a publike conuocation or congregation caryed out to be buried, & by a publicke Sermon placed amongst the number of Saints. And the same Doctour Naso, of whome you haue heard certaine testimonies already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he

himselfe was present, when as the king of Boheme commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

*Then said Iohn Hus: both those partes are false, that the King did command any such punishment to be done, and that the coarses were by me conueyed with any such pompe vnto their sepulture or buriall: wherefore you do both iniury vnto me and the King. Then Palletz confirmed the affirmation of Doctour Naso, his fellow, with this argumēt (for they both laboured to one end and purpose:) That it was prouided by the Kings commaundement, that no man should once speake against the Popes Bulles: And these three spake against y^e Popes Bulles: Ergo, by vertue of the kings commaundement they were beheaded. And what Iohn Husse his opinion and mind was as touching these men, it is euident inough by hys booke intituled Of the Church, wherein he writeth thus: I beleeeue they haue read Daniell the Prophet, where as is said: And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captiuitie, and many shall fraudulently & craftely associate themselues vnto thē. And afterward he saith: how is this fulfilled in these two lay men, who not cōsenting, but speaking against the fained lies of Antichrist, haue offred their liues therfore, and many other were ready to do the same, and many were fraudulently associate vnto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichrist, are fled, and haue turned their backes, &c.

When these things were read, one looking vpon another, as though they had bene all in a maruellous strange study, they held their peace for a certaine space. For this Palletz, & the foresaide Doctour Naso had also added that Iohn Hus in an open Sermon had inflamed & stirred vp the people against y^e Magistrates, in so much that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselues against y^e magistrates: and by y^t meanes was it, that he said those in. were ready to suffer death for the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefite, or help that the king could do.* Then the Englishmē exhibited the copy of a certaine Epistle, which they saide was falsely conueyed vnto Prage, vnder y^t title of the Uniuersitie of Oxford, & that Iohn Hus did reade the same out of y^e Pulpit vnto y^e people, that he might cōmend and praise Iohn Wickleffe vnto the Citizens of Prage. When they had read the same before the Councell,* the Englishmen demaunded of Iohn Hus, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which whē he had confessed, because it was brought thether by two scholers vnder the seale of the Uniuersitie: they also inquired of him what scholers they were. He aunswered: this my frend (meaning Stephen Palletz) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Then they first enquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. Iohn Hus aunswered: I heard say (said he) that in his returne into England, he died by the way. As touching the first, Palletz said, that he was a Bohemian, and no Englishman, and that he brought out of England a certaine small peece of the stone of Wickleffes sepulchre,* which they that are y^e followers of his doctrine at this present, do reuerence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that Iohn Hus was the author of thē all.

Then the Englishmen exhibited another Epistle, contrary to the first, vnder the seale of the Uniuersitie, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the vniuersitie, not without great sorrow and grieffe hath experimented & found that the errorrs of Wickleffe are scattered & spread out of y^e Uniuersitie throughout all England. And to the intent that through their helpe & labour, meanes may be found to remedy this mischiefe, they haue appointed for that purpose

twelue Doctours, men of singuler learning, and other maisters, which should sit in iudgement vpon the bookes of Wicklesse.

These men haue noted out aboute th••um••er of CC. articles, the which the whole universitie haue iudged worthy to be burnt: but for the reuerence of the said sacred Councell, the said Uniuersitie hath sent them vnto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authoritie of the iudgement vnto this Councell.

Heere was great silence kept for a while.* Then Palletz rising vp, as though he had finished now his accusation, said: I take God to my witnes before the Emperours maiestie here present, & the most reuerend fathers, Cardinals and Bishops, that in this accusation of Iohn Hus, I haue not vsed any hatred or euill will: but that I might satisfie the othe which I tooke, when I was made Doctour, that I would be a most cruell and sharpe enemie of all maner of errors, for the profite and commoditie of the holy Catholike Church.* Michaell de Causis did also the like. And I, said Iohn Hus, do commit all these things vnto the heauenly Iudge, which shall iustly iudge y^e cause or quarell of both parties.* Then saide the Cardinall of Cambray, I cannot a little commend and praise the humanitie and gentlenes of Maister Palletz, which he hath vsed in drawing out the articles against maister Iohn Hus. For as we haue heard, there are many things contened in his booke, much worse and detestable.

When he had spoken these words, the Byshop of Rygen vnto whom Iohn Hus was committed, commanded that the said Iohn Hus, should be carried againe safely vnto prison. Then Iohn de Clum folowing him, did not a little incourage and comfort him.* No tounge can expresse what a courage and stomacke he receiued by the shorte talke which he had with him: when as in so great a broile and greuous hatred, he saw himselfe in a maner forsaken of all men. After that Iohn Hus was caried away, the Emperour began to exhort the presidents of the Councell in this maner, saieng:

YOu haue heard the manifold and greuous crimes which are layd against Iohn Hus,* which are not onely prooued by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him: of the which euery one of them by my iudgement and aduise haue deserued, and are worthy of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I iudge and thinke meete that he be punished with fire: and albeit he doo that which hee is willed and commanded to do: notwithstanding I do counsell you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he returne no more into the kingdome of Boheme. For if he bee admitted againe to teach and preach, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, hee will not obserue and keepe that which he is commaunded, but hoping vpon the fauour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautours there, he will returne againe vnto his former purpose and intent, and then besides these errors, he will also sow new errors amongst the people, so the last error shall be worse than the first.

Moreouer, I iudge and thinke it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent vnto my brother the king of Boheme, and afterward into Pole and other prouinces, whereas mens minds are replenished with his doctrine, with this commandement, that whosoever do proceed to hold or keepe the same,* they should by the common ayde both of the Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill power, be punished. So at the length shall remedy bee founde for this mischief, if the boughes together with the roote, be vtterly rooted and pulled vp: and if the Byshops and other Prelates,

which heere in this place haue laboured and trauelled for the extirpating of this heresie, be commended by the whole voices of the Councell vnto the Kings and Princes, vnder whose dominion they are.* Last of all, if there be any founde heere at Constance, which are familiars vnto Iohn Hus, they also ought to be punished with such seueritie and punishment as is due vnto them, and specially his scholer Hierome of Prage. Then saide the rest, when the maister is once punished, we hope wee shall finde the Scholer much more tractable and gentle.

After they had spoken these wordes, they departed out of the Cloystev, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the sixt of Iuly,* the Emperour Sigismond sent vnto him foure Bishops, accompanied with maister Wencelate de Duba, and Iohn de Clum, that they should learne and vnderstand of him what he did intend to do. When as hee was brought out of prison vnto them, Iohn de Clum began first to speake vnto him, saieng.

MAister Iohn Hus,* I am a man vnlearned, neither am I able to counsell or aduertise you, being a man of learning and vnderstanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know your selfe giltye of any of those errors, which are objected and laid against [Page 621](#) you before the Councell, that you will not be ashamed to alter & change your mind to the will and pleasure of the Councell: if cōtrary wise, 〈◇〉 will be no author vnto you, that you should do any thing contrary or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kinde of punishment, than to denie that which you haue knowne to be the truth. Vnto whome, Iohn Hus turning himselfe,* with lamentable teares, sayd: verely as before I haue often times done, I do take the most high God for my witnes, that I am ready with my whole hart and minde, if the Councell can instruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture: I will be ready with all my hart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the Byshops which sate by,* sayde vnto him, that hee would neuer be so arrogant or proude, that he would prefer his owne mind or opinion before the iudgemēt of the whole Councell. To whome Iohn Hus aunswered, neither doo I otherwise minde or intend. For if he which is the meanest or least in all this Councell, can conuict me of error, I will with an humble hart and mind performe and do whatsoever the Councell shall require of me. Marke said the Bishops, how obstinately he doth perseuer in his errors. And when they had thus talked, they commaunded the keepers to cary him againe vnto prison, and so they returned againe vnto the Emperour with their commission.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixte day of Iuly, there was a generall Session holden of the Princes and Lords, both of the Ecclesiastiall and Temporall estates in y^e head Church of the Citie of Constance, the Emperour Sigismund being President in his Imperiall robes and habite: in the middest whereof, there was made a certaine high place being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a deske of wood, vpon the which the garments and vestiments pertaining vnto Priesthode were laide, for this cause, that before Iohn Husse should be deliuered ouer vnto the Ciuill power, he should be openly depriued and spoiled of his Priestly ornaments. When Iohn Husse was brought thether, he fell downe vpon his knees before that same high place, and praied a long time. In the meane while y^e Bishop of Londy went vp into the Pulpit, and made this Sermon following.

The Sermon of the Byshop of Londy, before the sentence was giuen vpon Iohn Husse.

*IN the name of the Father, the Sunne, and of the holy Ghost. Trusting by humble inuocation vpon the diuine helpe and ayde, most noble Prince, and most Christian Emperour, and you most excellent Fathers, and reuerend Lords, Byshops, and Prelates, also most excellent Doctours and Maisters, most famous and noble Dukes and high Countes, honourable Nobles, and Barons, and all other men woorthie of remembraunce: that the intent and purpose of my minde may the more plainelie and euidently appeare vnto this most sacred congregation, * I am first of all determined to intreate or speake of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, * in the sixt Chapter to the Romaines. That is to say: Let the bodie of sinne be destroyed, &c.

It appeareth by the authoritie of Aristotle, in his booke intituled De coelo & mundo, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand peruerse and wicked beginnings. For he saith, that a small error in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to haue erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy Doctour S. Hierome, in his booke vpon the exposition of the Catholicke faith, teacheth vs how necessarie a thing it is, that heretickes and heresies should be suppressed, euen at the first beginning of them, saieng thus: the rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, least that the whole body doo perish and putrifie. For a scabbed sheepe is to be put out of the fold, least the whole flocke be infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, least the whole house be consumed and burned. Arrius was first a sparke in Alexandria, who because hee was not at the first quenched, he presumed and went about with his wicked and peruerse imaginations, and phantasticall inuentions, to spot and defile the Catholicke faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphes of so manie Martirs, and illuminate and set foorth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so manie men. Such therefore must be resisted: such heretickes of necessitie must be suppressed and condemned.

Wherefore I haue truely propounded, as touching the punishment of euery such obstinate hereticke, that the body of sin, is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered according vnto the holy traditions of the fathers, that some sins are aduerse and contrarie vnto another. Othersome are annexed or conioyned together: othersome are, as it were, branches and members of others. And some are as it were the rootes and head of others. Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detestable, out of the which the most and worst, haue their originall and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sinnes and offences are to be abhorred of vs: yet those are specially to be eschewed, which are the head and roote of the rest. For by how much the peruersenes of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speede and circumspection, ought they to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preseruatiues and remedies. For so much then as amongst all sinnes none doth more appeare to be inueterate, then the mischief of this most execrable Schisme, therefore haue I right well propounded, that the bodie of sinne should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this Schisme, great and most cruell destruction is sproong vp amongst the faithfull, and hath long continued, abhominable diuisions of heresies are growne: threatnings are increased and multiplied: the confusion of the whole Cleargie is growne thereupon, and the opprobries and sclaunders of the Christian people are abundantlie sproong vp and increased. And truely it is no maruell, for so much as that most

detestable and execrable Schisme, is as it were, a bodie and heape of dissolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holie in that place, where as such a pestiferous Schisme hath rained so long a time? For as Sainct Bernard sayth, like as in the vnitie and concord of the faithfull, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, so likewise in the Schisme and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the Diuell. Is not Schisme and deuision the originall of all subuersion, the denne of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of vnitie and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Couetousnes is vttered in othes for lukers sake,* lust and will is set at libertie, and all meanes opened vnto slaughter. All right and equitie is banished, the Ecclesiasticall power is iniured, and the calamitie of this Schisme bringeth in all kinde of bondage, swords and violence doth rule, the laitie haue the dominion, concord and vnitie are banished, and all prescript rules of Religion vtterly contemned and set at naught.

Consider most gentle Lords,* how that during this most pestiferous Schisme, how manie heresies haue appeared and shewed themselues, how manie heretickes haue scaped vnpunished, how manie Churches haue beene spoiled and pulled downe, how manie Cities haue beene oppressed, and regions brought to ruine,* what confusion hath there happened in the Cleargie? What and how great destruction hath bene amongst the Christian people? I pray you marke how the Church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithfull, is contemned and despised. For who doth reuerence the keies of the Church, who feareth the censures or lawes, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it, that doth not offend the same, or who doth not inuade it, or else what is he that dare not violentlie lay hands vpon the patrimonie or heritage of Iesus Christ? The goods of the Cleargie, and of the poore, and the reliefe of Pilgrimes and straungers, gotten together by the blood of our Sauour, and of manie Martyres, are spoyled and taken awaie, behold the abomination of the desolation brought vpon the Church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruine of the Lordes flocke or folde, and all the whole companie of our most holy Sauour and redeemer. This losse is more great or greeuous then anie which could happen vnto the Martires of Christ, and thys persecution much more cruell then the persecution of anie tyrants, for they did but only punish the bodies, but in this schisme, and diuision the soules are tormented. There the blood of men was only shed, but in this case the true faith is subuerted and ouerthrowne. That persecution was saluation vnto many: but this Schisme is destruction vnto all men. When the tirants raged, then the faith did increase: but by this diuision it is vtterly decaied. During their crueltie and madnes, the primatiue Church increased, but through this schisme it is confounded and ouerthrowne. Tiraunts did ignorantly offende: but in this schisme many do wittingly and willingly euen of obstinacie offend. There came in heretikes, vsers of Symonie, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the Church: vnder those tirants the merites of the iust were increased.

But during this Schisme, mischief and wickednes are augmented, for in this most cursed and execrable diuision, truth was made an enimie vnto all Christians, faith is not regarded, loue and charitie hated, hope is lost, iustice ouerthrowne, no kinde of courage or valiantnes, but onely vnto mischief: modestie and temperance cloked, wisdom turned into deceit, humilitie fained, equitie and truth falsified, pacience vtterly fled, conscience small, all wickednes intended, deuotion counted folly, gentlenes abiect and cast away,* religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all maner of life reprochfull and abhominable. With how great and greeuous sorowes is the Church of God replenished & filled, whiles that tirants do oppresse it, heretikes

inuade it, vsers of Symonie do spoile and rob it, and schismatikes go about vtterly to subuert it? O most miserable and wretched christian people, whome now by the space of forty yeares, with such indurate and continuall schisme, they haue tormented and almost brought to ruine. O the little barke and ship of Christ, whiche [Page 622](#) hath so long time wandred and straied now in the midst of the whorlepooles, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed too and fro with most greuous and tempestuous stormes. O miserable and wretched boate of Peter, if the most holy father would suffer thee to sinke or drowne, into what dangers and perils haue the wicked pirates brought thee? amongst what rockes haue they placed thee? O most godly and louing Christians, what faithfull deuout man is there, which beholding and seeing the great ruine and decay of the Church, would not be prouoked vnto teares? what good conscience is there that can refraine weeping? because that contention and strife is powred vpon the ecclesiasticall rulers, which haue made vs to erre in the way: because they haue not founde,* or rather, would not finde the way of vnitie and concord: Whereupon so many heresies: and so great confusion is sproong vp, and growne in the flocke of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

Many Princes, Kings and Prelates, haue greatly laboured and trauelled for the rooting out heereof, but yet could they neuer bring to passe, or finish that most holesome and necessary worke. Wherefore most Christian King, this most glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crowne and glorie therof shal be thine for euer, and this most happy victory shall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored againe the Church which was so spoiled, thou hast remoued and put away all inueterate and ouergrowne Schismes and diuisions, thou hast troden downe vsers of Symony, & rooted out all hereticks. Doest thou not behold & see how great perpetuall and famous renowne & glory it wil be vnto thee? For what can be more iust, what more holy, what more better, what more to be desired, or finally, what can be more acceptable, than to roote out this wicked and abhominable Schisme, to restore the Church againe vnto hir auncient libertie, to extinguish and put away all Simony, and to condemne and destroy all errours and heresies from amongst the flocke of the faithfull? Nothing truely can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole worlde, and finally, nothing more acceptable vnto God. For the performance of which most holy and godly worke, thou wast elect and chosen of God, thou wast first deputed and chosen in heauen, before thou wast elect and chosen vpon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestiall and heauenly Prince, before the electours of the Empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the Imperiall force and power, thou shouldest condemne and destroy those errours and heresies, which wee haue presently in hand to be condemned and subuerted. To the performance of this most holy worke, God hath giuen vnto thee the knowledge & vnderstanding of his diuine truth and veritie, power of princely maiestie, and the iust iudgement of equitie and righteousness, as the most highest himselfe doth say: I haue geuen thee vnderstāding and wisdom, to speake and vtter my words, and haue set thee to rule ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou shouldest helpe the people, plucke down and destroy iniquitie, & by exercising of iustice, thou shouldest, I say, destroy all errours and heresies, and specially this obstinate heretike heere present, through whose wickednes & mischiefe, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and hereticall poison,* and by his meanes and occasion, almost vtterly subuerted & destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble Prince, was reserued only for thee, vpon thee it doth only lye, vnto whome the whole rule and ministration of iustice is giuen.* Wherefore thou hast established thy praise & renowne, euen by the mouthes of infants & sucking babes, for thy praises shall be celebrate for euermore that thou hast destroied & ouerthrowne such and so great

enimies of the faith. The which that thou maist prosperously & happely perfourme & bring to passe, our Lord Iesu Christ may vouchsafe to grant thee his grace & help, who is blessed for euer & euer, Amen.

*When this Sermon was thus ended, the Procurer of the Councell rising vp, named Henricus de Piro, required that the processe of the cause against Iohn Hus might be continued, and proceed vnto the difinitive sentence. Then a certaine Byshop, whych was appointed one of the Iudges, declared the processe of the cause, which was pleaded long since in the Court of Rome and elsewhere, betweene Iohn Hus, and the Prelates of Prage.

At the last he repeated those articles which we haue before remembred, amongst the which he rehearsed also one article, that I. Hus shoulde teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhead to be one Christ. Iohn Hus went about briefly with a word or two to aunswere vnto euerie one of them, but as often as he was about to speake, the Cardinall of Cambray cōmanded him to hold his peace, *saieng: heereafter you shall answere to all together, if you will. Then said Iohn Hus, how can I at once aunswere vnto all those things which are alledged against me, whē as I cannot remember them all? Then sayde the Cardinall of Florence, we haue heard thee sufficiently. But whē as I. Hus for all that, would not hold his peace, they sent the officers which should force him therunto. Then began he to intreate, *pray, and beseech ther••hat they woulde heare him, that such as were present, might not credite or beleue those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing preuaile, he kneeling downe vpon his knees, committed the whole matter vnto God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, for at their handes he beleueed easely to obtaine that which he desired.

When the articles abouesaid were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, *which they all imputed vnto Iohn Hus. That is, that he saide there shoulde be a fourth person in diuinitie, and that a certaine Doctour did heare him speake of the same. When Iohn Hus desired that the Doctour might be named, the Bishop which had alledged the article, said, that it was not needefull to name him. *Then said Iohn Hus, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare such blasphemy and slaunder.

Afterward the Article was repeated, *how he appealed vnto Christ, and that by name, was called hereticall, whereunto Iohn Hus answered: O Lord Iesu Christ, whose word is openly condemned heere in this Councell, vnto thee againe I do appeale: which when thou wast euill intreated of thine enimies, diddest appeale vnto God thy father, committing thy cause vnto a most iust Iudge, that by thy example we also being oppressed with manifest wrongs and iniuries, *should flee vnto thee. Last of all, the Article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by Iohn Hus. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was excused by his aduocates in y^e court of Rome, wherefore he did not appeare when he was cited: and also that it may be proued by the actes, that the excommunication was not ratified: and finally, to the intent he might cleare himselfe of obstinacie, he was for that cause come vnto Constance, vnder the Emperours safeconduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them which was appointed Iudge, reade the definitiue sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

The sentence or iudgement of the Councell of Constance geuen against Iohn Husse.

THE most holy and sacred generall Councell of Constance, being congregate and gathered together, representing the Catholike Church for a perpetuall memory of the thing,* as the veritie & truth doth witnes, an euill tree bringeth forth euill seuite: hereupon it commeth, that the man of most damnable memory Iohn Wickleffe, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Iesu Christ by the Gospell, as y^e holy Fathers in times past, haue gottē faithfull children, but cōtrary vnto the wholesome faith of Iesus Christ, as a most venemous roote, hath begotten many pestilent & wicked children, whome he hath left behind him, successours and folowers of his peruerse and wicked doctrine, against whome this sacred Synode of Constance is forced to rise vp, as against bastards and vnlawfull children, and with diligent care, with the sharpe knife of the Ecclesiasticall authoritie, to cut vp their errours out of the Lords field, as most hurtfull brambles and briers, least they should growe to the hurt and detriment of others.

For somuch then as in the holy generall Councell lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed that the doctrine of I. Wickleffe of most damnable memory should be condemned, & that his bookes which cōteined the same doctrine, should be burned as hereticall, & this decree was approued & confirmed by the sacred authoritie of y^t whole Coūcell: neuertheles one Iohn Hus here personally present in this sacred Councell, not y^c Disciple of Christ, but of Iohn Wickliffe, an Archheretike, after, and contrary or against the cōdemnation and decree, hath taught, preached & affirmed the Articles of Wickleffe, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times past by certaine most reuerend fathers in Christ, Lords, Archbishops, and Byshops, of diuers kingdomes & Realmes, Maisters of diuinitie of diuers Uniuersities: especially resisting in his open Sermons, and also with his adherents and complices in the scholes, the condemnation of the said Articles of Wickleffes, oftentimes published in the said Uniuersitie of Prage, and hath declared him the said Wickleffe, for the fauour and commendation of his doctrine, before y^e whole multitude of the Cleargy and people, to be a Catholicke man, and a true Euangelical Doctour. He hath also published and affirmed, certaine & many of his Articles worthely condemned to be Catholicke, the which are notoriously contained in the bookes of the said Iohn Hus.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation & full information first had vpon the premisses by the reuerend fathers and [Page 623](#) Lords in Christ of the holy Church of Rome,* Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, & Doctours of •••nitie and of both lawes in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred & holie Councell of Constance declareth & determineth y^e articles aboue said (the which after due conference had, are found in his bookes written with his owne hand, the which also y^e said Iohn Hus in opē audience, before this holy Councell, hath confessed to be in his bookes) not to be Catholicke, neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are erroneous, some of them to be wicked, othersome to be offensiue vnto godly eares, many of thē to be temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them to be notoriously hereticall, and euē now of late by y^e holy fathers and generall Councils, reprobued & condēned. And for so much as y^e said Articles are expresly contained in the bookes of the said Iohn Hus, therefore this said * sacred Councell, doth cōdemne & reprove all those bookes which he wrote, in what forme or phrase soeuer they be, or whether they be trāslated by

others & doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnely & openly burned in the presence of y^e clergy & people of y^e city of Constance, & elsewhere: adding moreouer for the premisses, that all his doctrine is worthy to be despised & eschewed of all faithfull Christians. And to the intent this most pernicious & wicked doctrine, may be vtterly excluded & shut out of the Church, this sacred Synode doth straightly cōmand, that diligent inquisition be made by y^e ordinaries of the places by the Ecclesiasticall censure, for such treatises and works, and that such as are found, be consumed & burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemne or depise this sentence or decree, this sacred Synode ordeineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitours of heresies, shal proceed against euery such person as suspect of heresy.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the sayd Iohn Husse, and full information had by the Commissaries and Doctours of both lawes, and also by the saiengs of the witnesses which were worthy of credite, and many other things opēly read before the said Iohn Hus, and before y^e fathers and prelates of this sacred Councell (by the which allegatiōs of the witnesses it appeareth that y^e sayd Iohn Hus hath taught many euill & offense, * seditious, and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time) this most sacred & holy Synode lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, the name of Christ being inuocate & called vpon, by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, & decreeth, that Iohn Hus was and is a true and manifest hereticke, and that he hath preached openly errors & heresies lately condemned by the church of God, and many other seditious, temerarious, & offense things to no small offence of the Diuine maiestie, and of the vniuersall Church, and detriment of the Catholicke faith & Church, neglecting and despising the keyes of the Church, & Ecclesiasticall censures. In the which his errors he continued with a minde altogether indurate and hardned by the space of many yeares, much offending the faithfull Christians by his obstinacie & stubbornnes, when as he made his appeale vnto the Lord Iesu Christ, * as the most high iudge, omitting and leauing all Ecclesiasticall meanes. In the which his appeale he alledged many false, iniurious, and offense matters, in contempt of the Apostolicke sea, and the Ecclesiasticall censures and keyes.

Wherupon both for the premisses & many other things, the said Synode pronounceth I. Hus to be an hereticke, * & iudgeth him by these presents to be condemned & iudged as an heretike, & reprobeth y^e said appeal as iniurious, offense, & done in derisiō vnto y^e ecclesiastical iurisdictiō, & iudgeth the said Hus, not only to haue seduced the christian people by his writings & preachings, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, neither to haue bene a true preacher of the Gospell of Christ vnto y^e said people, according to the exposition of y^e holy Doctours: but also to haue bene a seducer of them, & also an obstinate and stifnecked person, yea and such a one as doth not desire to returne againe to the lappe of our holy mother the Church, neither to abiure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred Councell decreeth and declareth that the said Iohn Husse, shall be famously deposed and disgraced from his Priestly orders and dignitie, &c.

Whilest these things were thus read, Iohn Husse, albeit he were forbidden to speake, notwithstanding he did often interrupt them, * and specially whē he was reproved of obstinacie, he said with a loude voice: I was neuer obstinate, but as alwaies heretofore, euē so now againe I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I do professe my selfe to be so desirous of y^t truth,

that if I might by one only word subuert the errorres of all heretickes, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or bāger soeuer it were.* When his bookes were condēned, he said: wherefore haue you cōdemned those books, when as you haue not proued by any one Article, that they are cōtrary to the scriptures or Articles of faith? And moreouer, what iniury is this y^t you do to me, that you haue cōdēned these bookes written in the Bohemian tounge, which you neuer saw, neither yet read? And oftētimes looking vp vnto heauē, he prayed.

Whē the sentence and iudgement was ended,* kneeling downe vpon his knees, he said: Lord Iesu Christ, forgeue mine enimies, by whome thou knowest that I am falsely accused, and that they haue vsed false witnes and slanders against me: forgeue them I say, for thy great mercies sake. This his praier and oration the greater part, and specially the chiefe of the Priests did deride and mocke.

At the last,* the seuen Bishops which were chosen out to disgrace him of his priesthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining vnto priesthood, which thyng when he had done, vntill he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembraunce the white vesture which Herode put vpon Iesus Christ to mock him withall. So likewise in al other things he did comfort himselfe by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the Bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his minde and purpose, and prouide for his honour and safegard. Then he (according as y^e maner of the ceremony is) going vp to the top of the scaffold, being full of teares, hee spake vnto the people in this sort.

These Lords and Bishops do exhort and counsell mee, that I should heere confesse before you all that I haue erred, the which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproch of anye man, they might peraduenture easily perswade me therunto: but now truly I am in the sight of the lord my God, without whose great ignominy, and grudge of mine owne conscience, I can by no meanes do that which they require of mee. For I doo well knowe,* that I neuer taught any of those thinges which they haue falsly alledged against mee, but I haue alwayes preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heauens? with what face should I looke vpon them, whome I haue taught, where of there is a great number, if thorough me it should come to passe that those things which they haue hetherto knowne to bee most certaine and sure, should now be made vncertaine? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so manye soules, so manye consciences, endewed with the most firme and certaine knowledge of the Scriptures, and Gospell of our Lord Iesu Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will neuer do it, neither commit any such kinde of offence, that I shoulde seeme more to esteeme this vile carcas appoynted vnto death, then their health and saluation. At this most godly worde he was forced againe to heare by the consent of the Bishops, that hee did obstinately and maliciously perseuere in his pernicious and wicked errorres.

Then he was commanded to come downe to the execution of his iudgement, and in his comming downe, one of the seauen Bishops afore rehearsed, firste tooke awaye the chalice from him which he helde in his hand,* saieng: O cursed Iudas, why hast thou forsakē the counsell & waies of peace, and hast counsailed with the Iewes? we take away frō thee this chalice of thy saluation. But Iohn Hus receiued this curse in this maner: but I trust vnto God the father omnipotent, and my Lorde Iesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that hee will not take away the

chalice of his redemption, but haue a stedfast and firme hope that this day I shall drinke thereof in his kingdome. Then followed the other Bishops in order, which euery one of them tooke away the vestiments from him, which they had put on, eche one of them geuing hym their curse. Whereunto Iohn Hus answered, that hee did willingly embrace and beare those blasphemies for the name of the Lord Iesus Christ. At the last they came to the rasing of his shauen crowne. But before the Bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention betweene them, with what instrument it should be done, with a rasour, or with a paire of sheares.

In the meane season,* Iohn Hus turning himselfe toward the Emperour, saide: I maruell that forsomuch as they be all of like cruell minde and stomacke, yet they can not agree vpon their kinde of crueltie. Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut off the skinne of the crowne of his head with a paire of sheares. And when they had done that, they added these words: now hath the Church [Page 624](#) taken away all her ornaments and priuilegies from hym. Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be deliuered ouer vnto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knacke of reproch. For they caused to be made a certaine crowne of paper,* almost a cubite deepe, in the which were painted three deuils of wonderfull ougly shape, and this title set ouer their heads, Heresiarcha. The which when he saw, he sayde: My Lord Iesus Christ for my sake did weare a crowne of thorne: why should not I then for his sake againe weare thys light crowne, be it neuer so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly. When it was set vpon his head, the Bishops saide: now we commit thy soule vnto the deuill.* But I, sayde Iohn Husse (lifting his eies vp towards the heauens) doo commit my spirite into thy handes: O Lord Iesu Christ, vnto thee I commend my spirit which thou hast redeemed. These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the Bishops turning themselues towards the Emperour, said: This most sacred Synode of Constance, leaueth now Iohn Husse, which hath no more any office, or to do in the Church of God, vnto the ciuill iudgement and power. Then the Emperour commaunded Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, which stode before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the crosse in his hande, that he should receiue Iohn Husse of the Byshops, and deliuer him vnto them which should do the execution. By whome, as hee was led to the place of execution, before the Church doores hee sawe his bookes burning, whereat hee smiled and laughed. And all men that he passed by,* he exhorted, not to thinke that he should dye for any error or heresie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his aduersaries, which had charged him wyth most false and vniust crime. All the whole Citie in a maner being in armour, followed him.

The place appointed for the execution, was before the gate Gorlebian, betweene the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When as Iohn Husse was come thether, kneeling downe vpon his knees, and lifting his •ies vp vnto heauen, he praied, and saide certaine Psalmes, and specially the 50. and 31. Psalmes. And they which stode by, heard him oftentimes in his praier, with a merrie and chearefull countenance repeate this vers• Into thy hands, O Lord,* I commend my spirit, &c. Which th•g when the lay people beheld which stood next vnto him, they said: what he hath done afore, wee knowe not, but now wee see and heare that hee doth speake and pray very deuoutely and godly. Othersome wished that he had a Confessor. There was a certaine Priest by, sitting on horsebacke in a greene gowne drawne about with red silke, which said, he ought not to be heard,* because he is an hereticke. Yet notwithstanding whilest he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certaine Doctour, a Monke, as Hus himselfe doth witnes in a certaine Epistle which he wrote vnto his frendes out of prison.* Thus Christ raigneth vnknowne vnto the world, euen in y^e middest of his enimies. In the meane time whilest he praied, as he

bowed his necke backward to looke vppward vnto heauen, the crowne of paper fell off from his head vpon the ground. Then one of the souldiours taking it vp againe, said: let vs put it againe vpon his head, that he may bee burned with his maisters the diuels whome he hath serued.

When as by the commandement of the tormentours, he was risen vp frō the place of his praier, with a loud voice he saide: Lord Iesu Christ assist and help me, that with a constant and pacient mind, by thy most gracious helpe, I may beare & suffer this cruel & ignominious death, wherunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holie Gospel and word. Then as before, he declared the cause of his death vnto the people. In y^e meane season the hangmā stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behinde his backe, tied him fast vnto the stake with ropes that were made wet.* And where as by chance he was turned towards the East, certain cried out that he should not looke towards the East, for he was an heretick: so he was turned towards the West. Then was his necke tied with a chaine vnto the stake, the which chaine when he beheld, smiling he said, that he woulde willingly receiue the same chaine for Iesu Christes sake, whom he knew was bound with a farre worse chaine. Under his feete they set two fagots, admixing straw withall, and so likewise frō the feete

[illustration]

The description of the burning of Iohn Hus, contrary to the safeconduict graunted vnto hym.

vp to the chin, he was inclosed in rounde aboute with wood.* But before the wood was set on fire, Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, with another Gentleman with hym, whiche was the sonne of Clement, came and exhorted Iohn Hus, that he would yet be mindfull of his safegard, and renounce his errours. To whome he saide, what errour should I renounce, when as I knowe my selfe giltye of none? For, as for those things which are falsly alledged agaynst mee, I knowe that I neuer did so much as once thinke them, much lesse preach them. For thys [Page 625](#) was the principall ende and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penaunce and remission of sinnes,* according to the verity of the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy Doctours: wherefore wyth a chearefull minde and courage I am heere ready to suffer death. When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together they departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and Iohn Hus began to sing with a loud voice, Iesu Christ the sonne of the liuing God haue mercy vpon me. And when he began to say the same the third time, the winde droue the flame so vpon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he mooued a while after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lordes prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the vpper parte of the body was left hanging in the chaine, the which they throwe downe stake and all, and making a newe fire burned it, the heade being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed vnto ashes. The heart, which was founde amongst the bowels,* being well beaten with stauies and clubbes, was at last pricked vppon a sharpe sticke, and roasted at a fire a parte vntill it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the riuer of Rhene, that the least remnaunt of the ashes of that man shoulde not be left vppon the earth, whose memorie notwythstanding can not be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by anye kinde of torment.

I know very well that these things are very ••lenderly wrytten of me as touching the labours of thys most holy Martyr Iohn Hus,* with whome the labors of Hercules are not to be compared. For that auncient Hercules slew a few monsters: but this our Hercules with a moste stout and valiant courage hath subdued euen the worlde it selfe, the mother of all monsters and cruell beastes. Thys story were worthy some other kind of more curious handling, but for so muche as I cannot otherwise perfourme it my selfe, I haue endeouored according to the ve•y truth, as the thing was in deede, to commend tho same vnto al godly mindes: neither haue I heard it reported by others, but I my selfe was present at the doing of all these things, and as I was able I haue put them in wryting, that by thys my labour, and indeuor howsoeuer it were. I might preserue the memory of this holy man and excellent Doctour of the Euangelicall truth.

*What was the name of this author which wrote thys story, it is not here expressed. Cochleus in his 2. boke contra Hussitas, supposeth his name to be Ioannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of I. Hus at Prage, at last is thought to relent to the Papists.

This godly seruaunt and Martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruel councel, and burned at Constance an. 1415. about the moneth of Iuly.

Howe grieuously this death of Iohn Hus was taken among the nobles of Boheme and of Morauia, heereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare by their letters which they sent vnto the councell, & by the letters of Sigismund the king of Romaines, wrytten vnto them. Wherin he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuse himselfe, of Husses death. All be it he was not altogether free from that cruell fact, and innocent frō that bloud: yet notwithstanding hee pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from hym, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest vpon the bloody prelates of that councel,* as the wordes of the king do purport in forme as followeth.

INterea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, peruenit ad Constantiam &c i.*In the meane time as we were about the coastes of Rhene, Iohn Hus went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you vnknown. Who if he had first resorted vnto vs, & had gone with vs vp to the Coūcel, perhaps it had bene otherwise with him. And God knoweth, what grieffe and sorrowe it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no wordes can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can beare vs witnesse, seeing and beholding howe carefull and sollicitous we were in labouring for him: In so much that wee many times with anger and furie departed out of the Councell: and not onely out of the Councell, but also went out of the City of Cōstance taking his part, vnto such time as the rulers of the Councell sending vnto vs, sayde: That if wee woulde not permit them to prosecute that, which right required in the Councell, what should they then do in the place. Whereupon thus we thought with our selues, that here was nothing els for vs more to doe, nor yet to speake in this case, for asmuche as the whole Councell otherwise had ben dissolued. Where is to be noted moreouer, that in Constance the same time there was not one clearke, or two, but there were Ambassadors for all kinges and princes in Christendome, especially since the time that (Petrus de Luna geuing ouer) all those kinges and princes which tooke his part, came to vs: so that whatsoeuer good was to be done, it was nowe to be passed in this present Councell. &c. Ex Epist. Imper. Sigismundi. ad Nobiles. &c.

By this it may appeare that the Emperour as partly ashamed and sory of that which was done, wold gladly haue cleared himselfe therof, and haue washed hys handes with Pilate: yet he coule not so cleare himselfe, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension: as may both appeare by his last words spoken in the Councel to I. Hus, whereof Iohn Hus in his Epistles complaineth,* wryting to certaine of his friendes in Bohemia in his 33. Epistle, as by hys wordes may appeare here following.

I Desire you yet againe for the loue of God,*that the Lordes of Boheme ioyning together, will desire the king for finall audience to be geuen me. For so muche as he alone saide to me in the Councell, that they shoulde geue me audience shortly, and that I shoulde aunswer for my selfe briefly in wryting: it will be to hys great confusion, if he shall not perfourme that which he hath spoken. But I feare that worde of his will be as firme and sure, as the other was concerning my safeconducte graunted by him. Certaine there were in Bohemia, which willed mee to beware of hys safeconducte. And other sayde: he will sure geue you to your ennemies. And the Lord Mikest Dweky told me before M. Iessenitz, saying: Maister, know it for certaine you shalbe condemned. And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intētion of the king. I hoped well that hee had bene well affected toward the lawe of God and trueth, and had therein good intelligence: nowe I conceiue that he is not greatly skilfull nor so prudently circumspecte in himselfe.*He condemned me before mine ennemies did. Who, if it had pleased him, might haue kept the moderation of Pilat the Gentile, which sayde: I finde no cause in this man: or at least if hee had sayde but thus: beholde I haue geuen him his safeconducte safely to returne And if hee will not abide the decision of the councell, I will send him home to the king of Boheme, with youre sentence & attestations, that he with his cleargie may iudge him. But nowe I heare by the relation of Henry Leffl, and of other, that he will ordaine for me sufficient audience: And if I will not submit my selfe to the iudgement of the councel, he wil send me safe, the contrary way. &c.

This Iohn Hus being in prison, wrote diuers treatises, as of the commaundements, of the Lordes prayer, of mortal sinne, of matrimony, of the knowledge and loue of God, of 3. ennemies of mankinde, the world, the flesh, and the deuill, of penance, of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord: of the sufficiencie of the lawe of God to rule the church. &c. He wrote also diuers Epistles and letters to the Lordes and to his friendes of Boheme: And in hys wrytings did foreshewe many things before to come, touching y^r reformation of the Church: and seemeth in the prison to haue had diuers propheticall reuelations shewed to him of God. Certaine of which his letters, and predictions, I thought here vnderneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will ouercharge the volume too much: nor yet in reciting of none, I will be so brief, but that the reader may haue some taste, and take some profit of the Christian wrytings and doings of this blessed man: Firste beginning, with the letter of the Lorde Clum, concerning the safeconduct of Iohn Hus.

A letter of the Lorde Iohn de Clum concerning the safeconduict of Iohn Hus.

TO all and singulare that shall see and heare these presentes, I Iohn de Clum doe it to vnderstande, howe maister Iohn Hus Bacheler of diuinitie, vnder the safeconduicte and protection of the renowned prince and Lorde Sigismund of Romaines semper Augustus, and king

of Hungarie. &c. My gracious Lorde, and vnder the protection, defence, and safegarde of the holy Empire of Rome, hauing the letters patent of the said my Lorde king of Romaines. &c. came vnto Constance to render a full counte of hys faith in publicke audience to al that would require the same. This the saide M. Iohn Hus, in this Imperiall Citie of Constance, vnder the safeconduct of the said my Lord king of Romaines, hath bene and yet is deteined. And although the Pope with the Cardinales haue bene seriously required, by solemne Ambassadors of the sayd my Lord king of Romaines. &c. in the kings name & behalfe, that the said maister Iohn Hus should be set at libertye, and be restored vnto me, yet notwithstanding, they haue and yet do refuse [Page 626](#) hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great cōtempt & derogation of the safeconduct of the king, & of the safegard and protection of the Empire or Emperial maiestie. Wherefore I Iohn aforesaide in the name of the king, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending and deteining of the sayde M. Iohn Hus, was done wholly against the wil of the fornamed king of Romaines my Lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safeconduite of hys subiects, and of the protection of the Empire, because that the sayde my Lord was then absent farre from Constance, and if he had ben there present, woulde neuer haue permitted the same. And when hee shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that hee for this great iniury, and contempt of this safeconduite done to him & to the Empire, wil greuously be molested for the same.

Geuen at Cōstance in the day of the natiuitie of the Lord 1414.

In this instrument aboue prefixed note (gentle reader) 3. things.

First, the goodnes of this gentle Lord Iohn de Clum, being so feruent and zelous in the cause of Iohn Husse, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, the safeconduct graunted vnto the sayde I. Hus, vnder the faith and protection of the Emperor, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, here is to be sene the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates in disobeying the authority of their high Magistrate, who contrary to his safeconduct geuen, and the mind of the Emperor, did arest and imprison this good man, before the comming of the sayd Emperor, & before that Iohn Hus was heard. Let vs nowe, as we haue promised, adioyne some of the epistles of this godly man.

An Epistle of Iohn Hus, vnto the people of Prage in his owne vulgare speeche.

[*G](#)Race and peace from our Lorde Iesus Christ, that you being deliuered from sinne, may walke in his grace, and may growe in all modesty and vertue, and after this may enioy eternall life.

Derely beloued, I beseeche you which walke after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the saluatiō of your soules, whē as you hearing the word of God, are premonished wisely to vnderstand that you be not deceiued by fals apostles: which do not reprehend the sinnes of men, but rather doe extenuate and diminish them: which flatter the priests, and doe not shewe to

the people their offences which magnify themselves boast their own workes, and maruelously extol their owne worthines: but follow not Christ in his humility, in pouerty, in the crosse and other manifold afflictions. Of whome our merciful sauour did premonish vs before, saying: false Christes and fals Prophets shal rise, and shall deceiue many. And when he had forewarned his welbeloued disciples he said vnto them: beware and take hede of false Prophets, which come to you in shepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening wolues: ye shal know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ haue much neede diligently to beware, and take hede vnto themselves. For as our sauour himselfe doth say: the elect also, if it were possible, shalbe brought into error. Wherefore my welbeloued, be circumspect and watchful, that ye be not circumuented with the crafty trains of the deuil. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last iudgement is nere at hande death shal swallow vp many, but to the electe children of God, the kingdome of God draweth nere, because for them he gaue his own body Feare not death, loue together one an other, perseuere in vnderstanding the good wil of God without ceasing. Let the terrible & horrible day of iudgement, be alwaies before your eies, that you sinne not: and also the ioy of eternal life, wherunto you must endeuer. Furthermore, let the passion of our sauoure be neuer out of youre minds: that you may bear with him & for him gladly, whatsoever shalbe laid vpon you. For if you shal consider well in your mindes his crosse & afflictions, nothing shalbe greuous vnto you, & patiently you shal geue place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and prisonment, and shal not dout to geue your liues moreouer for his holy truth, if nede require. Knowe ye welbeloued that antichrist being stirred vp against you, deuisset diuers persecutions. And many he hath not hurte, no not the least heire of their heads, as by mine owne example I can testify, although hee hath ben vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your praiers to make intercessiō for me to the lord, to geue me intelligence, sufferance, pat•ence and constancie, that I neuer swarue from his diuine verity. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my iourney openly and manifestly, I haue not feared to vtter my name as becommeth the seruant of God. In no place I kept my selfe secrete, nor vsed any dissimulation. But neuer did I finde in any place more pestilent and manifest ennemies then at Constance. Which enemies neither should I haue had there, had it not ben for certain of our owne Bohemians, hypocrites & deceiuers, who for benefits receiued and stirred vp with couetousnes, with boasting and bragging haue perswaded the people that I wēt about to seduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers I shall persiste strongly in the immutable veritie of God, vnto the last breath. Finally, I wold not haue you ignorāt, that wheras euery one here is put in his office, I only as an outcast am neglected. &c. I cōmend you to the merciful Lord Iesu Christ, our true God, and the sonne of the immaculate virgin Mary, which hath redeemed vs by his moste bitter death, without all our merites, from eternall paines, from the thraldome of the Deuill, and from sinne.

From Constance, the yere of our Lord. 1415.

An other letter of Iohn Hus to his benefactours.

MY gracious benefactours and defendours of the truthe,* I exhort you by the bowels of Iesus Christ, that now ye setting aside the vanities of this present world, will giue your seruice to the eternall king, Christ the Lord. Trust not in Princes nor in the sonnes of men, in whome there is no health. For the sonnes of men are dissemblers and disceitfull. To day they erre, to morrowe they

pearish, but God remaineth for euer. Who hath his seruants, not for any neede he hath of them, but for their owne profite: vnto whō he performeth that, which he promiseth, & fulfilleth that which he purposeth to geue. He casteth of no faithful seruant from him, for he sayth: where I am there also shal my seruāt be. And that Lorde maketh euery seruaunt of his to be the Lorde of all his possession, geuing himselfe vnto him, and with himselfe, all thinges: that without all tediousnesse, feare, and without al defect, he may possesse all thinges, reioycing with all Saintes in ioy infinite. O happie is that seruaunt, whome, when the Lorde shall come, hee shall finde watching. Happy is the seruaunt which shall receiue that king of glory with ioy. Wherefore, well beloued Lordes, and benefactours, serue you that king in feare: which shall bring you, as I trust, nowe to Boheme at this present, by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare ye wel: For I think that this is the last letter that I shall write to you: who to morrowe, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Iesu Christ, throughe bitter death, from my sinnes. The things that happened to me this night, I am not able to wryte. Sigismund hath done all things wyth mee disceitfully, God forgeue him and onely for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you haue no suspicion of faithfull Vitus.

An other letter to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

MOste gracious benefactour in Christe Iesu,* dearely beloued, yet I reioyce not a little, that by the grace of God I maye wryte vnto your honour. By your letter, which I receaued yesterday, I vnderstand, first how the iniquitie of the great strompet, that is, of the malignaunt congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalips) is detected and shall be more detected. Wyth the which strumpet the kinges of the earth doe commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christe, and as is there sayde, sliding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of antichrist, thoroughe his seduction and thoroughe feare, or thoroughe hope of confederacie, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly I perceaued by your letter, how the enemies of the truth, begin nowe to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceiued the feruent constancie of your charitie; wherewith you professe the truth boldly. Fourthly, with ioy I perceiued that you minde now to geue ouer the vanity and the painefull service of this present world, and to serue the Lorde Iesus Christ quietly at home. Whome to serue, is to raign, as Gregory sayeth. Whome he that serueth faithfully, hath Christe Iesus himselfe in the kingdome of heauen to minister vnto him, as hee himselfe sayeth▪ Blessed is that seruaunt, whome when the Lorde shall come, he shall finde waking, and so doing. Verely I say vnto you that hee rising, shall girde himselfe, and shall minister to him. This do not •he kinges of this worlde to their seruauntes: whome onely they doe loue so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities &c.

Another Epistle of Iohn Hus, wherein he declareth why God suffreth not his to perish, bringing diuers examples, wherwith he doth comfort and confirme both himselfe and other.

THE Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, welbeloued in God my deare frends, which moued me to thinke that those letters were the last, which before I sent vnto you, lookinge that same time for instāt death. But now vnderstanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great

cōfort vnto me, that I haue some le•ser more to talke with you by letters: & therefore I write again to you, to declare & testify at least, my gratitude & mindfull duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doeth defer it both to me and to my welbeloued brother M. Hier. who I trust will die holily and without blame: and do know also that he doth, and suffereth now more valiauntly, then I my selfe a wretched sinner. God hath geuen vs a long time, that we myghte call to memorie our sinnes the better, and repent for the same more feruently. Hee hath graunted vs time, that our longe and greate temptation shuld put away our greuous sinnes, & bring the more [Page 627](#) consolation. He hath geuen vs time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our mercifull king and Lorde Iesus, and shoulde ponder his cruell death, and so more patiently myght learne to beare our afflictions.* And moreouer that we might kepe in remembraunce, how that the ioyes of the life to come, are not geuen after the ioyes of this world immediatly, but through many tribula•ions the Saints haue entred into the kingdō of heauen. For some of them haue bene cutte and chopt all to peeces, some their eies bored through, some sodde: some rosted, some slaine aliue, some buried quicke, stoned, crucified, grineded betwixt mill stones, drawne & hailed hither and thither vnto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torne in pieces, vexed wyth rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, & afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite all the tormentes and suffringes of the holy Saintes, which they suffered vnder the olde and newe Testament for the verity of God: namely those which haue at any time rebuked the malice of the priestes, or haue preached against their wickednesse. And it will be a meruaile if any man now also shall escape vnpunished, who so euer dare boldly resist the wickednesse and peruersity, especially of those priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to reade my bookes, in the which, their malice is somewhat described: and I know they haue reade the same more exactly and diligently, then the holy Gospell, seeking therein to finde out errours.

Geuen at Constance vppon Thursday, the 28. day of Iune. An. 1415.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he rehearseth what iniuries he receiued of the Councel, and of the deputies.

*IF my letter be not sent yet to Boheme, keepe it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

Item, if the king doe aske who ought to be my iudge, since that the Councel neither did call me, nor did cite me, neither was I euer accused before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath imprisoned me, and hath appoynted their proctor against me.

Item, I desire you right noble and gracious Lord Iohn, if audience shall be geuen me, that the king will be there present himselfe, and that I may haue a place appoynted neare vnto him, that he may heare me well and vnderstand what I say: and that you also with the Lord Henry, and with Lord Wenselaus and other mo, if you may, will be present, and heare what the Lorde Iesus Christ my procuratour and aduocate, and most gracious iudge, will put in my mouth to speake, that whether I liue or die, you may be true and vpright witnesses with me, least lying lips shall say heereafter that I swarued away from the truth which I haue preached.

Item, know you that before witnesses and notaries in the prison, I desired the commissioners that they would depute vnto me a proctor and an aduocate, who promised so to do, and afterward would not performe it. Wherefore I haue committed my selfe to the Lorde Iesus Christ that he will be my procuratour and aduocate and iudge of my cause.

Item, know you, that they haue as I suppose no other quarell against mee, but onely this, that I stooode against the Popes Bull, which Pope Iohn sent downe to Boheme,* to sanctifie warre wyth the signe of the crosse & full remission of sinnes, to all them which would take the holy crosse to fight for the patrimonie of the Romish church against Ladislaus king of Naples, and they haue mine owne wryting which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, they haue also against me, that I haue cōtinued so long in excommunication, and yet did take vppon mee to minister in the church and say Masse Thirdly they haue against me, because I did appeale from the Pope to Christ. For they reade my appeale before me, in the which with a willing minde, smiling I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certaine letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethleem, the which letter my aduersaries haue very euill fauouredly translated and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did wryte that I went out without a safeconducte. Whereunto you your selues can say and beare me recorde, that I in my going out, had no safe conducte of the Pope, neither yet did knowe whether you should goe out with me when I wrote that letter.

Item, if audience may be geuen to me, and that after the same audience the king would suffer me not to be returned againe into prison, but that I may haue your counsels & others my frends: and if it may please God that I may say some thing to my soueraigne Lord the king, for the behalfe of Christianitie, and for hys owne profite. &c.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickednesse of that Counsell.*

Iohn Husse in hope the seruaunt of GOD, to all faythfull in Boheme, which loue the Lord, greetying thorough the grace of GOD.

It commeth in my mynde, wherein I must needes admonish you, that be the faythfull and beloued of the Lord, how that the Councell of Constance beyng full of pride,* auarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my bookes written in the Boheme tounge, for hereticall, whiche bookes they neuer saw, nor neuer heard them read: And if they had heard them, yet they could not vnderstād the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britaines, some Spanyardes, Germanes, with other people of other nations moe: vnlesse peraduenture Iohn Bishop of Litomishe vnderstoode them, whiche was present in that Councell, and certaine other Bohemians, and Priestes whiche are agaynst me, and labour all they may how to deprauie both the veritie of God,* and the honesty of our cuntry of Boheme: Which I iudge in the hope of GOD, to be a Godly land, right well geuen to the true knowledge of the Fayth, for that it doth so greatly desire the word of GOD, and honest maners. And if you were here at Constance, ye should see the greeuous abomination of this Councell, which they call so holy, and such as can not erre. Of the which Councell I haue heard it by the Swechers reported, that the Citie of

Constance is not able in 30. yeares to be purged of those wicked abhominations in that Coucell committed. And all be offended almost with that Councell, beyng sore greeued to behold such execrable thynges perpetrate in the same.

When I stode first to aunswere before myne aduersaries, seyng all thynges there done with no order, and hearyng them also outrageously crying out, I sayd playnely vnto them, that I looked for more honest behauour, and better order and discipline, in that Councell. Then the chief Cardinall aunswered, sayest thou so? but in the tower thou spakest more modestly. To whome, sayd I: * in the Tower no man cryed out agaynst me, where as now all doe rage agaynst me. My faythfull and beloued in Christ, be not afrayde with their sentence in condemnyng my bookes. They shall bee scattered hether and thether abroad, like light Butterfleis, and their Statutes, shall endure as Spiderwebbes. They went about to shake my constancie from the veritie of Christ: but they could not ouercome the vertue of God in me. They would not reason with the scriptures against me, as diuers honourable Lordes can wnesse with me, which being ready to suffer contumely for the trueth of God, tooke my part stoutly; namely Lorde Wenceslaus de Duba, and Lorde Iohn de Clum: for they were let in by king Sigismund into the Councell. * And when I sayde, that I was desirous to be instructed, if I did in any thing erre, then they heard the chiefe Cardinall aunswere againe: because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedy, but that thou must first reuoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of 50. Bachelers of Diuinitie appoynted. O high instruction.

After like maner S. Katherine also shoulde haue denied and reuoked the veritie of God and faith in Christ, because the 50. maisters likewise did withstand her: which notwithstanding, that good virgine would neuer doe, * standing in her faith vnto death: But shee did winne those her maisters vnto Christ, when as I can not win these my maisters by any meanes. These things I thought good to wryte vnto you, that you might knowe howe they haue ouercome me, with no grounded Scripture nor with any reason: but onely did assay with terrours and disceits to perswade me to reuoke and to abiure. But our mercifull God, whose lawe I haue magnified, was and is with me, and I trust, so will continue, and will kepe me in his grace vnto death. Wrytten at Constance after the feast of Iohn Baptist, in prison and in bandes, daily looking for death, although for the secrete iudgements of God, I dare not say whether this be my last Epistle: for nowe also almighty God is able to deliuer me.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherin he comforteth his frendes and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemnyng of his bookes: and also declareth the wickednesse of the Clergy.

MAister Iohn Husse, in hope the seruaunt of God, to all the faythfull which loue him and his statutes, wisheth the truth and grace of God.

Beloued, I thought it needefull to warne you that you should not feare or bee discouraged because the aduersaries haue decreed that my bookes shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachynges of the Prophet Ieremy and yet they could not auoyde the thynges that were Prophecied of in them. * For after they were burnt, the Lord commaunded to write the same Prophecie agayne, and that larger: which was also done. For Ieremie sittying in

prison spake, and Baruch which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the 35. or 45. chapter of the Vision of Ieremie. It is also written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked did burne the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Agayne, vnder the new Testament, they burned the Saintes,* with the bookes of the law of God. The Cardinals condemned and committed to fire certaine of S. Gregories bookes, & had burnt thē all if they had not ben preserued of God by the meanes of Peter, Gregories minister. Hauing these things before your eyes, take heede least through feare, you omit [Page 628](#) to read my bookes, and deliuer them to the aduersaries to bee brent. Remember the sayings of our mercifull sauour, by whych he forewarneth vs. Math. 24. There shall be (sayeth he) before the day of iudgement, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning, vntill this day, neither shall be afterwarde: So that euen the elect of God shoulde be deceiued if it were possible. But for their sakes, those dayes shal be shortened. Whē you remēber these things (beloued) be not afraid, for I trust in God that that schoole of Antichrist shall be afraide of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither shall the Councell of Constance extende to Bohemia For I thinke,* that many of them, which are of the Councell, shall die before they shall get from you my bookes And they shall departe from the Councel and be scattred abroad, throughout the partes of the world, like storkes, and then they shall knowe when winter commeth, what they did in sommer. Consider that they haue adiudged their heade the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible factes that he hath done.* Go to now: Aunswer to this you preachers which preach that the Pope is the God of the earth, that he may as the Lawyers say, make sale of the holy things: that he is the head of the whole holy Church in verity wel gouerning the same: that he is the heart of the Church in quickening the same spiritually: that hee is the well spring from the which floweth all vertue and goodnesse: that he is the sonne of the holy church: that hee is the safe refuge to which euery Christian mā ought to flie for succour. Beholde now that head is cutte off with the sworde, now the God of the earth is bound, now his sinnes are declared openly, now that well spring is dried vppe, that sunne darkened, that heart is plucked out and throwne away, least that any man should seeke succour thereat. The Councell hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, because hee tooke money for indulgences, Bishoppricks and other such like. But they condemned hym by order of iudgement, which were themselues the buiers and sellers of the same marchandise. There was present Iohn Byshop of Lytomissia, who went twise about to buy the bishoprike of Prage, but others preuented him.* O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beame out of their owne eyes? These men haue accursed and cōdemned the seller, but they themselues which were the buiers and consenters to the bargaine, are without daunger. What shall I say that they doe vse in this maner of buying and selling at home in their owne countreis? For at Constance there is one Bishop that bought,* & another which sold, and the Pope for allowing of both their factes, tooke bribes of both sides. It came so to passe in Bohemia also as you knowe. I woulde that in that Councell God had sayde, he that amongst you is without sinne, let him geue the sentence against Pope Iohn: Then surely they had gone all out of the Councel house, one after another. Why did they bowe the knee to him alwaies, before this his fall, kisse hys feete, and call him the most holy father, seeing they saw apparantly before, that he was an hereticke, that hee was a mankiller, that he was a wicked sinner? all which things now they haue found in him.* Why did the Cardinals chuse him to be Pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy Father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy thinges, in bearing the office of the Popedome? for to this ende they are his counsailours, that they shoulde admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselues as guiltie of these faults as he? seeing that they accōuted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselues? why durst no man lay ought to his charge,

before he had fledde from Constance, but assone as the secular power, by the sufferaunce of God, laide holde vpon him, then, and neuer afore, they conspired altogether that he shoulde not liue any longer. Surely, euen as at this day is the malice, the abhominatiō and filthinesse of Antichrist reuealed in the Pope and others of this Councell.

*Nowe the faithfull seruaunts of God may vnderstande what our sauour Christ meant by this saying: when you shal see the abhominatiō of desolation, which is spoken of Daniel. &c. who so can vnderstand it, &c. Surely these be great abhominatiōs, pride, couetousnesse, symonie, sitting in a solitarie place, that is to say, in a dignitie voide of goodnesse, of humilitie, and other vertues: as we do now clearely see in those that are constituted in any office and dignitie. O howe acceptable a thing should it be (if time would suffer me) to disclose their wicked actes, which are nowe apparant, *that the faithfull seruaunts of God might knowe them? I trust in God that he wil send after me, those that shall be more valiant: and there are aliue at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of Antichrist. and shall geue their liues to the death, for the truth of our Lord Iesus Christ: who shall geue both to you and me the ioyes of life euerlasting. This Epistle was written vppon S. Iohn Baptistes day in prison and in colde yrons, I hauing thys meditation with my selfe, that Iohn was beheaded in his prisone and bondes, for the worde of God.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

Iohn Husse in hope the seruant of God to all the faithfull at Boheme, which loue the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attaine to eternall life. Amen.

Ye that beare rule ouer other and be rich, and ye also that be poore, well be loued and faithfull in God, I beseeche you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient vnto God, make muche of his worde, and gladly hearing the same, will humbly perfourme that which yee heare. I beseeche you sticke fast to the veritie of Gods worde, which I haue written and preached vnto you out of his lawe, and the Sermons of his Saintes. Also I desire you if any man either in publicke Sermon or in priuate talke heard of me any thing, or haue read any thing written by me which is againste the verity of God, that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not finde my conscience guiltie that I euer haue spoken or wrytten any such thing amongst you.

I desire you moreouer if any man at any time haue noted any leuitie either in my talke or in my conditions, that he doe not follow the same: but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sinne of lightnes. I pray you that ye wil loue your priests and ministers which be of honest behauiour, to prefer and honor them before others: namely such priests as trauaile in the worde of God. I pray you take hede to your selues and beware of malitious and deceitful men, and especially of these wicked priests, of whom our Sauour doth speake that they are vnder shepes clothing, & inwardly are rauening wolues. I pray suche as be rulers & superiors, to behaue them selues gently towards their poore inferiours, and to rule them iustly. I beseeche the citizens that they will walke euery man in his degree, and vocation with an vpright conscience. The Artificers also I beseeche, that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and vse them with the feare of God. I beseeche the seruauntes, that they wil serue their maisters faithfully. And likewise the scholemaisters I beseeche, that they liuing honestly, will bryng vp their Scholers vertuously, and to teach them faythfully: First to learne to feare GOD: then for the glory of GOD and the

publicke vtilitie of the common wealth, and their owne health, and not for auarice or for worldly honor, to employ their myndes to honest Artes. I beseech the Studentes of the Vniuersitie and all Scholes, in all honest thynges to obey their Maisters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence, they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glory of God, and to the soules health as well of themselues, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yeld most hartly thanks to the right honorable Lordes,* the Lord Wencelaus de Duba, Lord Iohn de Clum, Lord Henry Lumlouio, Lord Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicholas and other Lordes of Boheme, of Morauia and Polony: that their diligence towards me, may bee gratefull to all good men: because that they like valiaunt champions of Gods trueth, haue oftentimes set themselues agaynst the whole Councell for my deliuerance, contendyng and standyng agaynst the same to the vttermost of their power: but especially Lord Wencelaus de Duba, and Lord Iohn de Clum. What so euer they shall report vnto you, geue credite vnto them: for they were in the Councell when I there aunswered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slaunderous thynges they brought in agaynst me, and that Councell cryed out agaynst me, and how I also aunswered to all thynges wherof I was demaunded. I beseech you also that ye will pray for the kyng of Romaines, and for your kyng, and for his wife your Queene, that God of his mercy would abide with thē and with you, both now and henceforth in euerlastyng life. Amen.

This Epistle I haue writtē to you out of prison and in bandes, lookyng the next day after the writyng hereof, for the sentence of the Councell vpon my death, hauyng a full trust that he will not leaue me, neither suffer me to deny his truth and to reuoke the errours, whiche false witnesses maliciously haue deuised agaynst me. How mercyfully the Lord GOD hath dealt with me, and was with me in maruailous temptations, ye shall know, when as hereafter by the helpe of Christ, we shall all meete together in the ioye of the world to come. As concernyng M. Hierome my dearly beloued brother and fellow, I heare no other but that he is remayning in straight bandes, lookyng for death as I doe: and that for the fayth which he valiauntly mainteyned amongst the Bohemians, our cruell enemies of Boheme, haue geuen vs into the power and handes of other enemies, and into bandes. I beseech you pray to God for them.

Moreouer I beseech you, namely you of Prage, that we will loue the temple of Bethleem, and prouide so long as God shall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the same For, because of that place, the Deuill is angry, and agaynst the same place he hath stirred vp Priestes and Canons, perceiuyng that in that place his kyngdome should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in GOD that he will keepe that holy Church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall geue greater encrease of his worde by other, then he hath done by me a weake vessell. I beseech you also that ye will loue together, and withholdyng no man from the hearyng of Gods word, ye will prouide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence.

Written at Constance, the yeare of our Lord. 1415.

An other right godly letter of Iohn Hus, to a certaine priest admonishing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithfull: worthy to be red of all Ministers.

THe peace of our Lorde Iesus Christ. &c. My deare brother be diligent in preaching the Gospel, and do the worke of a good Euangelist: neglect not your vocation: labour like a blessed souldiour of Christ. First liue godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truely. Thirdly, be an example to other in well doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings: correct vice and set forth vertue. To euill liuers threaten eternall punishmēt: but to those that be faithfull and godly, set forth the comforts of eternall ioy. Preach cōtinually, but be short and fruitfull, prudētly vnderstanding, & discretly dispēsing the holy Scriptures. Neuer affirme or maintaine those things that be vncertaine and doubtfull, least that your aduersaries take holde vpon you, which reioyce in deprauing their brethren, whereby they may bring the ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kindes, both of the body & bloud of Christ, wherby such as do repent earnestly of their sinnes, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warne you that you enter into no tauernes with ghestes, & be not a cōmon cōpany keper. For the more a preacher keepeth him frō the company of men, the more he is regarded. All be it, deny not yet your helpe and diligence, where soeuer you may profite other. Against fleshlye lust preache continuallye all that euer you can: For that is the raging beast, which deuoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore my heartily beloued, I beseech you to flie fornication: for where as a man woulde most profite and doe good, there this vice vseth most to lurke. In any case flie the company of yong women, and beleue not their deuotion: For S. Austen sayth, the more deuout she is, the more proclieue to wantonnesse, and vnder the pretence of religion, the snare and venome of fornication lurketh. And this knowe my welbeloued, that the conuersation with them, subuerteth many, whome the conuersation of this worlde coulde neuer blemish nor beguile. Admit no womē into your house, for what cause, so euer it be, and haue not much talke with them otherwise, for auoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, feare God and keepe his precepts: so shall you walke wisely, and shall not pearish: so shall you subdue the flesh, contemne the world, and ouercome the deuill: so shall you put on God, finde life, and confirme other, and shall crowne your selfe wyth the crowne of glory, the which the iust iudge shall geue you. Amen.

This letter of Iohn Hus conteineth a confession of the infirmitie of mans flesh: Howe weake it is, and repugnant against the spirite. Wherein he also exhorteth to perseuere constantly in the truth.

HHealth be to you from Iesus Christ. &c. My deare frend, knowe that Palletz came to me to perswade me that I shuld not feare the shame of abiuration, but to consider the good which thereof will come. To whome I sayd, that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater then to abiure and why shuld I feare then that shame? But I pray you tel me plainly your minde. Presuppose that such articles were laid to you, which you knewe your selfe not to be true: what would you do in that case? Would you abiure? Who aunswered. The case is sore, & began to

weepe. Many other things wee spake which I did reprehende Michael de Causis, was some times before the prison with the deputies. And when I was wyth the deputies, thus I heard him speake vnto the keepers: Wee by the grace of God wil burne this hereticke shortly: for whose cause I haue spent many Florenes. But yet vnderstand that I wryte not this to the intent to reuenge mee of him, for that I haue committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our letters: for Michael hath taken suche order that none shall be suffered to come into the prisone: * no not yet the keepers wrues are permitted to come to me. O holy God, howe largely doth Antichrist extend his power and crueltie? But I trust that hys power shall be shortned, and his iniquitie shalbe detected more & more amongst the faithfull people.

Almighty God shal confirme the hearts of his faithful, whom he hath chosen before the costitution of the world, that they may receiue the eminall crowne of glory. And let Antichrist rage as much as he wil, yet he shal not preuaile against Christ, which shal destroy him with the spirite of his mouth, as the Apostle sayeth: And $\langle \diamond \rangle$ shall the creature be deliuered out of seruitude or corruptions into the libertie of the glorye of the sonnes of God, as sayeth the Apostle in the wordes following: we also wythin oure selues doe grone, waiting for the adoption of the sonnes of God, the redemption of our body.

I am greatly comforted in those wordes of our Sauour• happy be you when men shall hate you and shall separte you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the sonne of man. Reioyce and be glad, for beholde, great is your rewarde in heauen, Luke 6. O worthy, yea O most worthy consolation, which not to vnderstande, but to practise in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson.

This rule saint Iames with the other Apostles, did well vnderstand, which saieth: count it exceeding ioy my brethren, when yee shall fall into diuers tentations, knowing that the probation of your faith woorketh patience: let patience haue her perfecte worke. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to reioyce in trouble, and to take it for ioy to be in diuers temptations. A light matter it is to speake it and to expounde it: but a great matter to fulfill it: For why, our most patient and most valiaunt champion him selfe, * knowing that hee shoulde rise againe the thirde day, ouercomming his ennemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his electe after his last Supper was troubled in spirite and sayde: My soule is heauie vnto death. Of whom also the Gospell sayeth, that hee began to feare, to be sadde and heauie. Who being then in an agonie, was confirmed of the Aungell, and his sweat was like the droppes of bloud falling vpon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, sayde to his disciples: let not your hearts be troubled, neither feare the crueltie of them that persecute you: for you shall haue me with you alwaies, that you may ouercome the tyranny of your persecutours. Whereupon those his souldiours, looking vppon the Prince and king of glory, sustained great conflictcs. They passed throughe fire and water and were saued, and receiued the crowne of the Lord God, of the which S. Iames in his canonicall Epistle, sayeth. Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proued, he shall receaue the crowne of life, which God hathe promised to them that loue him. Of this crowne I trust stedfastly the Lord wil make mee partaker also with you, which be the feruent sealers of the trueth, and with all them which stedfastly and constantly doe loue the Lord Iesus Christ, which suffred for vs, leauing to vs example that we should follow his

steppes. It behooued him to suffer, as hee sayeth: and vs also it behooued to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the head. For he sayeth: If any man will come after mee, let him denie himselfe and take vp hys crosse and followe me.

O most mercyfull Christ,* draw vs weake creatures after thee, for except thou shouldst draw vs, we are not able to follow thee. Geue vs a strong spirite, that it may be ready, and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace goe before vs, goe with vs, and follow vs: for without thee we can do nothyng, and much lesse enter into the cruell death for thy sake. Geue vs that prompt and ready spirite, a bold hart, an vpright fayth, a firme hope and perfect charitie, that we may geue our lyues paciently and ioyfully for thy names sake. Amen. Written in prison and in bondes in the Vigill of holy S. Iohn the Baptist, who beyng in prison and in bondes for the rebuking of wickednesse, was beheaded.

Among diuers other letters of Iohn Hus, which he wrote to the great consolation of others: I thought also here to intermixt an other certaine godly letter writtē out of England, by a faythfull Scholler of Wickleffe, as appeareth, vnto Iohn Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affectiō therein cōteined, seemeth not vnworthy to be read.

A letter to Iohn Hus, and to the Bohemians from London.

GReetyng, and whatsoeuer can be deuised more sweete, in the bowels of Christ Iesu.*_

My dearly beloued in the Lord, whom I loue in the trueth, and not I onely, but also all they that haue the knowledge of the trueth, whiche abyde in you, and shall be with you through the grace of GOD for euermore: I reioysed aboue measure, when our beloued brethren came and gaue testimony vnto vs of your trueth, and how you walke in the trueth. I haue heard brethren, how sharply Antichrist persecuteth you, in vexyng the faithfull seruauntes of Christ with diuers and straunge kyndes of afflictions. And surely no maruaile, if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world ouer) the law of Christ be too too greuously impugned, and that redde Dragon hauyng so many heades (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalyps) haue now vomited out of his mouth that great floud, by whiche he goeth about to swallow vp the woman: but the most gracious God will deliuer for euer his onely and most faythfull spouse Let vs therefore cofort our selues in the Lord our God, and in his vnmeasurable goodnes, hopyng strongly in him which will not suffer those that loue him, to be vnmercifully defrauded of any their purpose, if we according to our duety, shall loue him with all our hart: for aduersitie should by no meanes preuaile ouer vs, if there were no iniquitie raignyng in vs. Let therefore no tribulation or sorrow for Christs cause, discourage vs, knowing this for a surety, that whosoever the Lord vouchsafeth to receaue to be his childrē, those he scourgeth: For so the mercifull father will haue them [Page 630](#) tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwarde hee may spare them. For the golde that this high artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwarde lay it vp in his pure treasurie. For we see that the time which we shall abide here, is short and transitory: the life which we hope for after this, is blessed and euerlasting. Therefore whilst we haue time, let vs take paine, that we may enter into that rest. What other thyng do we see in this brickle life, then sorow, heauinesse and sadnesse, and that which is most greuous of all to the faithfull, too much abusing and contempt of the lawe of the Lord. Let vs therefore endeuoure our selues as much as we may, to lay holde of the things that are eternall and abiding, despising in our mindes

all transitory and fraile things. Let vs consider the holy fellowship of our fathers that haue gone before vs. Let vs consider the Saints of the olde and newe Testament.* Did they not passe through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in peces, other some stoned, & others of them killed with the sword? Some others of them went about in pelts and goates skinnes, as the Apostle to the Hebrues witnesseth. Surely they all walked straight wayes, following the steppes of Christ, which sayde, he that ministreth vnto me, let him follow me, whether so euer I go. &c. Therefore let vs also, which haue so noble examples geuen vs of the Saintes that went before vs, laying away as much as in vs lyeth, the heauy burden, and the yoke of sinne which compasseth vs about, runne forward through patience, to the battaile that is set before vs, fixing our eyes vpon the author of faith, and Iesus the finisher of the same: who seeing the ioy that was set before hym, suffred the paines of the crosse, despising death. Let vs call vpon him, which suffred suche reproche against himselfe of sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartely pray for helpe of the Lorde, and may fight against his aduersary Antichrist: that we may loue his law, and not be deceitfull labourers, but that we may deale faithfully in all things, according to that, that God hath vouchsafed to geue vs, and that wee may labour diligently in the Lordes cause vnder hope of an euerlasting reward. Behold therefore brother Hus, most dea•ly beloued in Christe, although in face vnknownen to me, yet not in faith and loue (for distance of places cannot separate those whom the loue of Christ doth effectually knit together) be comforted in the grace which is geuen vnto thee, labour like a good souldiour of Christ Iesus, preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst, to the way of truth: for the truth of the gospel is not to be kept in silence because of friuolous censures and thunderboltes of Antichrist. And therefore to the vttermost of thy power strengthen thou and confirme the members of Christ, whych are weakened by the deuil: and if the Lord wil vouchsafe it, Antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly reioyce, that in your realm and in other places, God hath stirred vp the harts of some men that they can gladly suffer for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment and death.

Further, beloued I knowe not what to wryte vnto you, but I confesse that I could wish to powre out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the lawe of the Lorde. Also I salute from the bottome of my heart, all the faithfull louers of the law of the Lord, and specially Iacobellus your coadiutor in the gospell, requiring that he will pray vnto the Lorde for me in the Vniuersall church of Iesus Christ. And the God of peace which hath raised from the dead the shepheard of the sheepe, the mighty Lorde Iesus Christ, make you apt in all goodnesse to doe his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your friendes salute you which haue heard of your constancie. I would desire also to see your letters wrytten backe to vs, for knowe yee that they shall greatly comfort vs.

At London

by your seruaunt, desiring to be fellow with you in your labors Ricus Wiceewitze, priest vnworthy.

An other letter of Iohn Hus to his friendes of Boheme.

THE Lord God be with you. I loue the counsaile of the Lorde, aboue gold and precious stone. Wherefore I trust in the mercy of Iesus Christ, that he wil geue me his spirit to stand in his truth.

Pray to the Lord, for the spirit is ready and the flesh is weake The Lord almighty be the eternal reward vnto my Lords, which constantly, firmly and faithfully do stand for righteousnes: to whom the Lorde God shall geue in the kingdome of Boheme, to knowe the truth. For the following of which truth, necessary it is that they returne againe into Boheme, setting apart all vaine glory, & following not a mortall and miserable king, but the king of glory which geueth eternall life.

O howe comfortable was the geuing of the hande of Lorde Iohn de Clum vnto me, which was not ashamed to reache foorth his hand to me a wretche, and such an abiecte hereticke, lying in fetters of yron, and cried out vpon all men. Nowe peradventure I shall not speake much hereafter with you: Therefore salute in time as you shall see them, all the faithfull of Boheme.

Palletz came to me into prisone.* His salutation in my vehement infirmitye, was this before the Commissaries, that there hath not risen a more perillous hereticke since Christ was borne, then was Wickliffe and I. Also he sayd that al such as came to heare my talke, were infected with this heresie, to thinke that the substance of bread remained in the sacrament of the altare. To whome I answered and sayd: O maister, what a grievous salutation haue you geuen me? and how greatly do you sinne? Behold I shal die, or peradventure to morow shall be burnt. And what rewarde shall be recompenced to you in Boheme for your labour?

This thing peradventure I shoulde not haue wrytten, least I might seeme to hate him. I haue alwayes had this in my heart, trust not in princes. &c. And againe, cursed be the man whiche trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arme. For Gods sake be you circumspecte how you stand and how you returne Carie no letters with you. Directe your bookes not all by one, but diuersly by diuers frendes.

Knowe this for certaine,* that I haue had great conflictes by dreames, in such sort as I had much a doe to refraine from crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes escape before he went. And after the Lord Iohn had told me therof, immediately in the night it was told me that the Pope shuld returne to you again. And afterward also I dreamed of the apprehēding of maister Hierome, although not in ful maner as it was done. Al the prisonments, whether and howe I am caryed, were opened to mee before, although not fully after the same fourme and circumstance. Many serpents oftentimes appeared vnto me hauing heads also in their taile: but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

These thinges I wryte, not esteeming my selfe as a prophet, or that I extoll my selfe, but onely to signifie vnto you what temptations I had in body and also in mind, and what great feare I had,* least I shoulde transgresse the commaundement of the Lord Iesus Christ. Nowe I remember with my selfe the wordes of maister Hierome which sayde, that if I shoulde come to the Councell, hee thoughte I shoulde neuer returne home againe. In like maner there was a good and godly man, a tailor,* which taking his leaue of me at Prage, spake to me in these words: God be wyth you (said he) for I thinke verely, my deare and good maister Iohn, that you shall not returne again to vs with your life. The king, not of Hungarie, but of heauen, rewarde you with all goodnes, for the faithfull doctrine which I at your hands haue receiued. &c.

And shortly after the writing hereof, he sendeth also vnto them an other propheticall vision of his to be expounded, touching the reformation of the church, written in his 44. Epistle: the contentes whereof be these.

An other letter of Iohn Hus, sent to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

I Pray you expound to me the dreame of thys nyght. I sawe how that in my churche of Bethleem; they came to rase and put out all the images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after I arose and sawe many painters, which painted and made more fairer Images & many more then I had done before: which Images I was very glad and ioyfull to behold. And the painters wyth much people about them, sayde, let the bishops and priestes come now, *& put vs out these pictures. Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethleem to reioyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith, felt my selfe to laugh. &c.

This vision Lorde Iohn de Clum, and Iohn Hus himselfe in his booke of Epistles in the 45. Epist. semeth to expounde, and applyeth these Images of Christ vnto the preaching of Christ and of his lyfe. The which preachyng and doctrine of Christ, though the Pope and his Cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he foresee & declare, that the time should come, wherin the same doctrine shuld be reuyned againe by others, so plenteously, that the pope with al his power, shuld not be able to preuaile against it. Thus much as cōcerning this visiō of Iohn Hus. Wherunto doth wel accord the Prophetie of Hierome of Prage, printed in the coyne called Moneta Hussi: of the which coyn I haue my selfe one of the plates hauing this superscriptiō folowing printed about it: Centum reuolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi. That is. After a hundreth yeres come and gone, you shal geue a count to God and to me. Wherof (God willyng) more shalbe sayd hereafter.

Furthermore in 48. Epist. the sayd I. Hus seemyng to speake with the like spirit of Prophecy, hath these wordes folowing: *Sed spero, quod quae dixi sub tecto, praedicabuntur super tecta: That is: but I trust that those thinges which I haue spoken within the house, hereafter shalbe preached vpon the top of the house.

And because we are here in hand with the Propheties of Iohn Hus, it shall serue well in place, here moreouer to [Page 631](#) recorde his wordes in a certayne treatise by hym written, De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium Abhominacione, wherein the sayd Iohn Hus speaking prophetically of the reformation of the Church, hath these wordes folowing. Ex istis vltorius aduerte incidentaliter, quod Dei ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci. &c. That is in english.

*Moreouer, hereupon note and marke by the way, that the church of God, cannot be reduced to his former dignitie, or be reformed, before all thinges first be made new. The truth whereof is playne by the Temple of Salomon Like as the Clergie and Priests, so also the people and laity: Or els vnless all such as now be addict to auarice, from the least to the most, be first conuerted and reclaymed, as wel y^e people as the clergy and Priests. Albeit as my mind now geueth me, I beleue rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, whiche is created after God. Of the which people new Clerkes & Priestes shall come, and be taken: whiche all shall hate couetousnes, and glory of this life, hasting to an heauenly cōuersation.

Notwithstanding all these thinges shall come to passe and be brought by little and little in order of times dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will do for his owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and pacience, geuing time and space of repētaunce to them y^t haue lōg line in theyr sins to amend, and flye from the face of the Lordes fury, whyle that in like manner the carnall people, and carnal priestes successiuey and in time, shall fall awaye and be consumed as with the moth. &c.

An other letter of Iohn Husse.

MAister Martin my deare brother in Christ,

I exhorte you in the Lord, that you feare God, keepe hys commaundementes and flee the company of women,* and beware of hearing their confessions, least by the hipocrisie of women, Sathan deceiue you, trust not their deuotion. You know how I haue detested the auarice and the inordinate life of the Clergy, wherefore through the grace of God I suffer now persecution, which shortly shalbe consummate in me, neither doe I feare to haue my hart powred out for the name of Christ Iesus. I desire you hartely be not greedy in seeking after benefices. And yet if you shalbe called to anye cure in the country, let the honour of God, the saluation of soules, and the trauaile therof moue you therunto, and not the hauing of the lining or the commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such benefice, beware you haue no yong womā for your cook or seruant, least you edifie and encrease more your house, then your soule. See that you be a builder of your spirituall house, being gentle to the poore, and humble of mind, and waste not your goodes in great fare. I feare also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous apparell, least you shalbe greuously chastised, as I also wretched mā shalbe punished, which haue vsed the like,* being seduced by custome of euill men and wordly glory, wherby I haue bene wounded agaynst God wyth the spirite of pride. And because you haue notably knowne both my preaching and outward conuersation euen from my youth, I haue no neede to write many thinges vnto you, but to desire you for the mercy of Iesus Christ, that you do not followe me in anye such leuitie and lightnes,* whiche you haue in seene in me. You knew how before my priesthoode, whiche greueth me now, I haue delighted to playe oftentimes at chesse, and haue neglected my time, and thereby haue vnhappily prouoked both my self and other to anger many times by that play. Wherefore, besides other my innumerable faultes, for thys also I desire you to inuocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and so directe my life, that hauing ouercome the wickednes of this present life, the flesh the world and the deuill, I may finde place in the heauenly country, at the least in the day of iudgement. Fare ye well in Christ Iesus, with all them which keepe hys law. My gray coate if you will keepe to your selfe for my remembraunce, but I thinke you are ashamed to wear that gray colour: therefore you may geue it to whō you shall thinke good.* My white coate you shall geue the minister. N. my scholer. To George or els to Zuzikon. 60. groates, or els my gray coate: for he hath faythfully serued me.

The superscription

I pray you that you doe not open this letter, before you be sure and certayne of my death.

The consolation of Mayster Hierome to Mayster Hus.

MY maister, in those thinges which you haue both written hetherto and also preached after the law of God agaynst the pride, auarice, an other inordinate vices of the Priestes, goe forward, be constant and strong And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if neede shal so require, of myne own accorde, I will folow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

BY the lyfe, actes and letters of Iohn Hus hetherto rehearsed, it is euident and playne, that he was condemned, not for any error of doctrine, which they coulde well proue in hym, who neyther denied their popishe transubstantiation, neither spake against the authoritie of y^e church of Rome,* if it were well gouerned, nor yet the 7. Sacraments, & also sayd masse himself, and almost in al their popish opinions was a papist w^t them: but onely of euil wil was accused of his malicious aduersaries, because he spake agaynst the pompe, pride, and auarice, & other wicked enormities of the pope, Cardinals, & Prelates of y^t Church, and because he could not abide the high dignities & liuings of the Church, and thought the doinges of the pope to be Antichristlike. For this cause he procured so many enemies & false witnesses agaynst him. Who straying and picking matter out of hys bookes and writings, hauing no one iust article of doctrine to lay vnto him, yet they made hym an hereticke, whether he would or no, and brought him to hys condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charitie of Christ hath no place. Whiche being so, as thy charitie (good reader) may easely vnderstand, in perusing the whol course of hys story: I beseech thee thē, what cause had Iohn Cochleus to write his 12. bookes agaynst Iohn Hus and Hussites? In which bookes how bitterly & intēperately he misuseth hys penne, by these few words in hys second booke thou mayst take a little tast: which wordes I thought here briefly to place in English to the ende that all English men may iudge thereby, with what spirite and truth these Catholickes he caryed. Hys wordes be these. Lib. 2. Hist. Dico igitur Ioan Huss neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse,*sed impium potius. &c. That is, I say therfore Iohn Husse is neither to be counted holy nor blessed: but rather wicked and eternally wretched: insomuche that in y^e day of iudgement, it shalbe more easie, not onely with the infidell Pagans, Turks, Tartarians, and Iewes, but also w^t the most sinfull Sodomites, & the abhominable Persians, which most filthily doe lye with their daughters, sisters or mothers,, yea & also with most impious Cain killer of hys owne brother, with Thyestes killer of hys own mother, and y^e Lestrygones & other Andropophagi, which deuour mans flesh, yea more easie w^t those infamous murderers of infants, Pharao, & Herode, then w^t him &c. These be the words of Cochleus. Whose rayling books although they deserue neyther to be read, nor aunswered, yet if it pleased God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir vp some towardly yong man, that hath so much leasure, to defend the simplicitie of thys Iohn Hus, whiche cannot now aunswere for himselfe. In the meane tyme, something to satisfie or stay the readers mynde agaynst thys immoderate, hyperbole of Cochleus, in like fewe wordes I wyll bryng out Iohn Hus to speake and to cleare hymselfe agaynst this slaunder: whose wordes in hys booke De sacerdotum & Monachorum abhominacione desolationis. pag. 84. &c. I beseech the reader to note. Nam & ista scribens fateor, {quod} nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. Nostri Iesu crucifixi. &c. That is. For in writing these things, I confesse nothinge els to haue moued me hereunto, but onely the loue of our Lorde Iesus crucified, whose printes and stripes, (according to the measure of my weakenes and vilenes) I couet to beare in my selfe, beseeching hym so to geue me grace, that I neuer seek to glory in my selfe or in any thing els, but onely in his crosse, and in the inestimable ignominy of his passion which he suffered for me. And therefore I write and speake

these thinges, which I do not doubt will like all such as vnsaynedly do loue the Lord Christ crucified: and contrary will mislike not a litle all suche as be of Antichrist. Also agayne, I confesse before the most merciful Lord Iesus Christ crucified, that these thinges which I do now write, and those that I haue written before, neither I could haue writtē, nor knew how, nor durst so haue written, vnlesse he by hys inward vnction had so commaunded me. Neither yet do I write these thinges as of authority, to get me fame and name: For as S. Augustine & Hierome do say, that is onely to be geuen to the scriptures and writings of the Apostles, Euangelistes and Prophetes, and to the Canonickall Scriptures, which doe abounde in the fulnes of the spirite of Iesus. And whatsoeuer is there sayd, is full of veritie and wholesome vtilitie. &c. And here place also would require something to say to Aeneas Siluius to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falsly impute articles to him, whiche he neuer mayntayned. But because tyme suffereth not, I wil proceed to the story of maister Hierom of Prage.

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The Tragickall and lamentable history of the famous learned man and godly Martyr of Christ, maister Hierome of Prage, burned at Constance for like cause and quarrell as Maister Iohn Hus was. 1416.

* These thinges hetherto being discoursed touching the lyfe, Actes and Constant martyrdom of M. Iohn Hus with part also of his letters adioyned to the same, whose death was on the 6. of Iuly. an. 1416. now remayneth cōsequently to describe the like Tragedy and cruell handeling of his Christian companion and fellow in bandes M. Hierome of Prage: Who grievously sorrowing the slaunderous reproch and diffamation of his coūtry of Boheme, and also hearing tell of y^e manifest iniuries done vnto that man of worthy memory M. Iohn Hus: freely and of hys own accord came vnto Constance,* the 4. day of Iprill. an, 1415. Who there perceiuing that Iohn Hus was denyed to be heard, and that watche and wayte was layd for hym on euery side, he departed to Iberling a Citty of the Empire, vntill the next day: the which Citty was a myle of frō Constance,* and from thence he wrote hys letters by me vnto Sigismund kyng of Hungry and hys Barons, and also vnto the Councell, most earnestly requiring that the kyng and the Councell would geue him a safe conduct frely to come and go, and that he woulde then come in open audience to aunswere vnto euery man, if there were any of the Councell that would lay any cryme vnto hym, as by the tenour of his intimation, shall more at large appeare.

When as the sayd king of Hungary was required therunto, as is aforesayd, being in the house of the Lord Cardinall of Cambray, he denyed to geue M. Hierome anye safe conducte excusing himselfe for the euil speede he had w^t the safe conduct of Iohn Hus before, and alleading also certayne other causes. The deputies also of the foure nations of y^e Councell, being moued thereunto by y^e Lords of y^e kingdome of Boheme, answered: wee (say they) will geue hym a safeconduct to come, but not to depart. Whose aunsweres, when they were reported vnto maister Hierome, he the next day after wrote certaine intimations according to the tenour here vnder written, which he sent vn̄to Constance to be set vpon the gates of the Citty, and vpon the gates of the Churches and Monasteries, and of the houses of the Cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenour wherof here followeth word for word in thys maner.

*Unto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romanes, alwaies Augustus, and of Hungary &c. I Hierome of Prage maister of Arte of the generall vniuersities of Paris, Colleyn, Heldeberg & Prage, by these my present letters do notifie vnto the king together with the whole reuerend Councell and as much as in me lyeth, do all men to vnderstand and know, that because of the crafty slaunders, backbiters & accusers, I am ready freely & of myne owne will, to come vnto Cōstance, there to declare openly before the Councell the puritie and sinceritie of my true fayth and myne innocencie, and not secretly in corners before any priuate or par|ticulate person. Wherefore if there be any of my slaūderers, of what natiō or estate soeuer they be, which will object agaynst me anye crime of error or heresie: let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole Councell, and in theyr owne names object agaynst me, and I will be ready, as I haue written, to aunswere openly and publikely before the whole Councell of myne innocencie, and to declare the puretie and sinceritie of my true fayth. And if so be that I shalbe fōūd culpable in error or heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meete and worthy for an erroneous person, or an hereticke.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech my Lord the King and the whole sacred Coūcell, that I may haue to this end and purpose aforesayd, safe and sure accesse. And if it happē that I offering suche equitie and right as I do, before any fault be proued agaynst me, be arested imprisoned, or haue any violence done vnto me, that thē it may be manifest vnto the whole worlde that this generall Councell doth not proceede according to equitie and iustice, if they woulde by any meanes put me backe from this profoūd and straight iustice, being come hether freely and of myne owne minde and accorde. The whiche thing I suppose to be farre from so sacred and holy Councell of wise men.

When as yet he through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and Germaine tongue, being set vp as is aforesayd, could not get any safeconduct thē the Nobles, Lords, and Knightes specially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gaue vnto maister Hierome their letters patentes, cōfirmed with their seales for a testimony and wnesse of the premisses. With the which letters the sayd M. Hierome returned agayne vnto Boheme, but by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies was taken in Hirsaw by the officers of Duke Iohn, and in Zultzbach was brought backe agayne to the presence of the Duke. In the meane time such as were the setters forward of the Councell agaynst M. Iohn Hus, and M. Ierome, that is to say Michael de Causis and M. Palletz and other their accomplices, required that the sayde mayster Hierome should be cited by reason of hys intimations: & certayne dayes after the citation hereunder written, was set vpon the gates and porches of the citty, and Churches, which followeth here in this maner.

This most sacred and holy Synode and general councell of Constance,* faithfully congregated and gathered together in the holy Ghost, representing the vniuersall militant Church, vnto Hierome of Prage, which writeth himselfe to be a mayster of Arte of so many Uniuersities, and pretendeth those things which are onely pertayning vnto sobriety and modesty, and that he knoweth no more then he ought. &c. Know thou that there is a certayne writinge come vnto our vnderstanding and knowledge, the whiche was set vp as it were by thine owne person vpon y^t gates of the Churches and Citty of Constance, vppon the Sonday, when there was song in the Church of God: Quasi mo do geniti. Wherein thou doest affirme, that thou wilt openly answere

vnto thy accusers and slaunders which shall object any crime, error or heresie agaynst thee, whereof y^u art meruailously infamed and accused before vs, and specially touching the doctrine of Wickleff, and other doctrines contrary vnto the catholicke fayth, so that thou mightest haue graunted vnto thee a safe conduct to come. But for so much as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and looke vnto these crafty Foxes which goe about to destroy the vyneyarde of the Lord of hostes, therefore we do cite & and call forth by the tenour of these presentes, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errores, so that within the term of 15. dayes to be accompted from the date of these presentes, wherof 5. dayes are appoynted for the first term fiue for the second, and other fiue for the third, we do ordein and appoynt by Canonically admonition and warning, that thou do appeare in the publique Session of the sacred Councell, if there be any holden the same day, or els y^r first day immediately following, when as any Session shalbe, according to the tenour of thy sayd writing, to answere to those thinges, which any person or persons shall object or lay agaynst thee in any cause of thy fayth, and to receiue & haue, as iustice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in vs lyeth, & as catholike faith shall require, we offer & assigne to thee by the tenour hereof, our safe cōduct frō all violence (iustice alwayes being sauēd) certifying thee y^t whether y^u doest appeare or not, the sayd terme or tyme appoynted notwithstanding, processe shall goe forward agaynst thee by the sayd sacred Councell, or by their Cōmissary or Cōmissaries, for the time aforesayd not obserued and kept, thy continuacie or stubbornes in any thing notwithstanding Geuen in the 6. Session of the generall Councell, the 17. day of Aprill, vnder the seale of the presidentes of the foure nations.

Grumpert Faber Notary of the Germaines.

After that Sigismund king of Hungary with the rest of the Councell,* vnderstood by the foresaid Duke Ioh. that M. Hierome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that M. Hierome should be brought before them vnto the Councell. The whiche Duke Iohn, after hee had receiued letters of the kyng and the Councell, brought M. Hierom bound vnto Constance, whom his brother Duke Ludouicus lead through the Cittie to the Cloyster of the Friars Minors in Constance, whereas the chiefe Priestes and Elders of the people, Scribes & Phariseis, were gathered together attending and wayting for hys comming.* He the sayd mayster Hierome caryed a great handbolte of iron with a long chayne in hys hand, and as he passed the chayne made a great ratlyng and noyse, and for the more confusion and despite towards hym, they led him by the same chayne after Duke Ludouicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the chayne a great way from him: with the whiche chayne, they also kept him bounde in the Cloyster. When he was brought into the Cloyster, they reade before hym the letter of Duke Iohn, which was sent with y^t sayd mayster Hierome vnto the Councell, contayning in effect how that the sayd Duke Iohn had sent mayster Hierome [Page 633](#) vnto the councell, who by chance was fallen into his handes, because he heard an euill report of hym, y^t he was suspected of the heresies of Wickleffe: that the Councell might take order for him, whose part it was to correct & punish such as did erre and stray from the truth, besides many other flattering tales which were written in the sayd letter for the prayse of the Councell. After this they read the citation which was geuen out by the councell agaynst maister Hierome,* wherof we haue spoken before. Then certayne of the Byshops sayd vnto hym: Hierom why diddest thou flye & runne awaye, and diddest not appeare when y^u wast cited? He answered, because I could not haue any safecōduict, neither from you, neither from the

king, as it appea^reth by these letters patentes of the Barons, whiche you haue, neither by my open intimations could I obtain any safe conduict.

Wherefore I perceauing many of my greuous & heauy frendes to be here present in the Councell, would not my selfe be the occasion of my perils and daungers, but if I had known or had any vnderstanding of this citation, w^tout al doubt, albeit I had bene in Boheme, I would haue returned agayne. Then all the whole rabble rising vp, alledged diuers and sondry accusations and testimonies agaynst him with a great noyse and tumulte. When the rest held their peace,* then spake maister Gerson the Chauncellour of Paris: Hierome when thou wast at Paris, thou thoughtest thy selfe by meanes of thy eloquence to be an Angell, & diddest trouble the whole Uniuersitie, alledging openly in the schooles many erroneous conclusions with their correlaria, and specially in the question de vniuersalibus & de Idaeis, with many other very offenseiue questiōs. Unto whom Mayster Hierome sayd: I answere to you mayster Gerson:* Those matters which I did put forth there in the Schooles at Paris, in the whiche also I aunswered to the argumentes of the Maysters, I did put them forth Philosophically and as a Philosopher, and mayster of the Uniuersitie: and if I haue put forth anye questions whiche I ought not to haue put forth, teache me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same.

* Whiles he was yet speaking, an other (as I suppose, the mayster of the Uniuersity of Colleyne vpon the Riuer of Rheine) rising vp sayd: when thou wast also at Coleyn in thy position whiche thou diddest there determine, thou diddest propound many erroneous matters. Then sayd M. Hierome vnto hym, shew me first one errour whiche I propounded. Wherewithall he being in a maner astonished, sayd, I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shalbe obiected agaynst you.

* And by and by the thirde man rising vp, sayde: when y^t you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinitie, and there pain^ted out a certayne shield or scutchine, comparing the Trinitie of persons in diuinitie vnto water, snow, and yse, and such like. Unto whō M. Hierome answered: Those thinges that I wrote or paynted there, the same will I also speake, write and paynt here, and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly reuoke and recant the same.

*Then certayne cryed out, let hym be burned, let him be burned. Unto whom he answered: if my death doe delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so.

Then sayd the archbishop of Salisburg, not so mayster Hierome, forsomuch as it is written: I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. When these and many other tumultes and cryes were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outrageously witnes agaynst them, they deliuered the sayd mayster Hierome being bound, vnto y^e officers of the Citty of Constance, to be caryed to prison for that night: and so euery one of them returned to their lodgings.

*In the meane tyme, one of the friendes of M. I. Hus, looking out at a window of the Cloyster, sayd vnto hym, M. Hierome. Then sayd hee, you are welcome my deare brother. Then s^yyd Peter vnto hym: Be constant & feare not to suffer death for the truth sake, of the whiche whē you were

in tymes past at libertie, you dyd preache so muche goodnes. Vnto whome Hierome aunswered, truely brother I do not feare death, and forsomuch as we know that we haue spoken much therof in tymes past: let vs now see what may be knowne or done in effect. By and by hys keepers comming to the window, threatning hym wyth strokes, dyd put away the sayd Peter from the window of the Cloyster.

Then came there one Uitus vnto M. Hierome & sayd mayster how doe you? Unto whom he aunswered: truely brother, I do very well. Then hys keepers comming about him, layd hold of the sayd Uitus, saying, this is also one of the number, and kept hym. When it drew towards euening, the archb. of Rigen, sent certayne o• hys seruants which lead away M. Hierome, being strögly bound with chaynes, both by the handes and by the neck, and kept him so for certayne houres.* When night drew on, they caryed hym vnto a certayn tower of the Cittie in Saint Pauls Churchyarde, where as they tying him fast vnto a great blocke, and his f•ete in the stockes: hys handes also being made fast vppon them, they left hym: where as the blocke was so high, that he could by no meanes sit therupon, but that his head must hang downward.* They caryed also the sayd Uitus vnto the archbishop of Rygen, who demaunded of him, why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man being a reprobate of all men, and an hereticke: and when as he could finde no cause of imprisonment in hym, and y^t he sayd he was maister Iohn de Clums friend (taking an othe and promise of him that he should not go about to endamage the Councell,* by reason of that imprisonment and captiuitie) so dismissed hym and sent him away.

Maister Hierom, vnknown vnto vs whether he was caryed,* lay in the sayd tower two dayes & two nightes relieued onely with bread and water. Then one of hys keepers comming vnto M. Peter, declared vnto him howe y^t M. Hierome lay hard by in bondes and chaines, and how he was fed. Then M. Peter desired that hee might haue leaue geuen hym to geue him meat,* because he would procure the same vnto hym. The keeper of the prison graunting hys request, caryed meate vnto hym. Within •leuen dayes after, so hanging by the heeles: he vsed so small repast, that he fell sore sicke euen vnto the death.* When as he lying then in that captiuitie and prison, desired to haue a Confessor, they of the Councell, denyed that he shold haue any, vntill such time as by great importunitie he obtayned to haue one: hys friends being then there present in y^e same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one yeaer lacking but seuen dayes.

After they had put Iohn Hus to death, then about the feast of the natiuitie of Mary the Uirgine, they brought forth M. Hierome, whom they had kept so long in chains, vnto the Church of S. Paule: and threatning hym with death, being instant vpon him, they forced him to abiure & recant, and cōsent vnto the death of M. Iohn Hus, that he was iustly and truely condemned and put to death by thē. He, what for feare of death and hopyng thereby to escape out of their handes, according to their will and pleasure: & according to the tenour whiche was exhibited vnto hym: did make abiuration, and that in the Cathedrall Church and open Session, the draught whereof penned to hym by the Papistes, here ensueth.

The abiuration of M Hierome of Prage.

I Hierome of Prage,* Mayster of Arte, acknowledging the Catholicke Church and the Apostolicke fayth: do accurse and renounce all heresies, & specially that, whereof I haue hetherto bene infamed, and that which in tymes past Iohn Hus and Iohn Wickleffe haue bolden

and taught in theyr workes, treatises and sermons, made vnto the people and Clergy: for the whiche cause the sayde Wickliffe and Hus, together with the sayde doctrines & errours, are condēned by this Sinode of Constance, as heretickes and all the said doctrine sentencially condemned, and especially in certayne articles expressed in the sentences and iudgementes geuen agaynst them by this sacred Councell.

Also I do accorde and agree vnto the holy Church of Rome, the Apostolick seate in this sacred Councel, & with my mouth and hart do professe in al thinges, and touching all thinges, and specially as touching the keyes, Sacramentes, orders and offices and ecclesiasticall censures, of pardons, reliques of Saintes. Ecclesiasticall libertie, also ceremonies and all other thinges pertayning vnto Christian Religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apostolick sea and this sacred Councel do professe: and specially that many of the sayd Articles are notoriously hereticall and lately reprobued by the holy fathers, some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous: some offensive vnto godly cares, & many of them temerarious and sedicious. And suche also were counted the Articles lately condemned by the sacred councell, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular Catholicke men hereafter to preach, teach or presume to hold or mayntayne any of the sayd Articles, vnder payn of being accursed.

And I the sayd Hierome, forsomuch as I haue laboured by Scholasticall Artes, to perswade the opinion, De Vniuersalibus realibus, and that one substance of the common kinde should signifie many thinges subiect vnder the same [Page 634](#) and euery one of them as S. Ambrose, Hierom, Augustin do affirme, and likewise others. For the teaching hereof by a playne example I described as it were a certayne triangle, forme or figure, the which I cald the shield of fayth.

Therefore vtterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked vnderstanding therof, the which peraduenture some men may gather thereby: I do say, affirme: & declare, that I neuer made the sayd figure, neither named it the shield of faith to y^t intent or purpose, y^t I would extoll or preferre the opinion of vniuersalities aboue or before y^e contrary opinion, in such sort as though that were y^e shield of faith, & y^t without the affirmation therof, the Catholicke faith coulde not be defended or maintained, when as I my selfe would not obstinately sticke thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of the Triangle or form, that one diuine essence consisted in three subiectes or persons in themselues distinct: that is to saye, the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost. The article of the which Trinitie, is the chiefe shield of fayth, and foundation of the Catholicke truth.

Furthermore that it may be euident vnto all mē what the causes were for y^e whiche I was reputed & thought to stick to, and fauour some time I. Hus. I signifie vnto all men by these presentes, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his sermons and also in the schooles: I beleueed that he was a very good man, neither that he dyd in any poynt gaynsay the traditions of our holy mother the Church or holy doctors: in somuch as when I was lately in this Citty, and the articles, which I affirmed were shewed vnto me, whiche were also condemned by the sacred Councell, at the first sight of them I did not beleuee that they were hys, at the least not in that forme. But when as I had further vnderstood by certayn famous Doctours & maysters of Diuinitie, that they were hys articles: required for my further information and satisfaction, to haue y^e bookes of hys own hand writing shewed vnto me,* wherin it was sayd, those articles were contayned. The which books, when they were shewed vnto me written with his owne hand, which I did know as

well as mine owne, I found all, and euery one of those articles therein written in like forme as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthely iudge and thinke him and his doctrine with his adherents to be condemned and reprobud by this sacred coūcell, as hereticall and without reason. Al which y^e premisses with a pure minde and conscience I do heare pronounce & speake, being now fully and sufficiently informed of y^e foresaid sentences and iudgementes geuen by the sacred councell agaynst the doctrines of the sayd Iohn Wickleffe and Iohn Hus, and agaynst their own persons: vnto y^e which iudgement, as a deuout Catholike in all thinges, I doe most humbly consent and agree.

Also I the foresayd Hierom, which before the reuerend fathers the Lordes Cardinals, and reuerend Lordes Prelates and Doctours, and other worshipful persons of this sacred Councell in this same place, did heretofore frely and willingly declare and expound myne intent, and purpose amongst other thinges speaking of the Church, did deuide the same into three partes. And as I did perceauē afterward, it was vnderstanded by some y^e I would affirme that in the triumphant Church, there was fayth. Whereas I do firmly beleue that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all darke vnderstanding & knowledge: And now also I do say, affirm & declare, that it was neuer my intent and purpose, to proue that there sholde be fayth, speaking of fayth as fayth is commonly defined, but knowledge farre exceeding fayth. And generally whatsoever I sayd, eyther there, or at any time before, I do referre and most humbly submit my selfe vnto the determination of this sacred Councell of Constance.

Moreouer, I do sweare both by the holy Trinitie, and also by the most holy Gospell, that I will for euermore remayne and perseuere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholicke Church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching, shall impugne this fayth, I iudge them worthy together with their doctrines, of eternall curse. And if I my selfe at any time (which God forbid I should) doe presume to preach or teach, contrary thereunto, I will submit my self vnto the seueritie of the Canons, and be bound vnto eternall payn and punishment. Wherupon I do deliuer vp this my cōfession and tenour of my profession willingly before this sacred generall councell, and haue subscribed and written all these thinges with myne owne hand.

After all this, they caused hym to be caryed agayn vnto the same prison, but not so straightly chayned & bound as he was before: notwithstanding kept euery day wyth souldiors and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemies which were appoynted agaynst him, as Michaell de causis, & wicked Palletz, with other their companions in these affayres, vnderstood & knew by the words & talke of M. Hierome and by other certayn tokens, that he made the same abiuration & recantation, not of a sincere & pure minde, but onely to the intent thereby to scape their hands they together with certayne Friars of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then comming in, put vp new accusations agaynst the sayd M. Hierome, and drew the same into Articles, being very instant and earnest that he shoulde answere thereunto. And forsomuch as his iudges & certayne Cardinals,* as the Cardinall of Cambray, the Cardinal de Vrsinis, the Cardinall of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of M. Hierome, dyd see the great iniurie that was done vnto him, they laboured before the whole Councell for hys deliury.

It happened vpon a certayn day, as they were labouring in the Councell for the deliury of the sayd M. Hierome: that the Germaines and Bohemians his enemies, with al force and power resisted against it, crying out, that he should in no case be dismissed. Then start vp one called

Doctor Naso, which said vnto the Cardinales, we maruaile much of you most reuerend fathers, that your reuerences will make intercession for such a wicked hereticke, for whose sake we in Boheme with the whole clergy,* haue suffered much trouble & mischief, and peradventure your fatherhoodes shall suffer: and I greatly feare least that you haue receiued some rewardes, eyther of y^e king of Boheme or of these heretickes. When as the Cardinales were thus rebuked, they discharged themselues of mayster Hieromes cause and matter.

Then his enemies aforesaid,* obtayned to haue other iudges appointed, as the Patriarcke of Constantinople, & a Germaine doctour, forsomuch as they did knowe that the Patriarch was a greuous enemy vnto M. Hierome, because he being before appoynted iudge by the Councell, had condemned Iohn Hus vnto death.

But M. Hierome would not aunswere them in prison requiring to haue open audience, because he woulde there finally declare vnto them hys minde, neyther would he by any meanes consent vnto those priuate iudges. Whereupon the Presidents of y^e Councell thinking y^t the sayd M. Hierome woulde renue hys recantation, before the sayd audieuce and confirme the same: did graunt him open audiēce.

In the yeare of our Lord,* 1416. the 25. day of May, which was the Saterdag before the Ascen•ion of our Lord the sayd M. Hierom was brought vnto open audience before the whole Councell,* to the great Cathedrall church of Constance, whereas by the Commissioners of the Councell, in the behalfe of hys foresayd enemies, there was laid agaynst him of new. C. and vii. Articles, to the intent that he should not scape the snare of death, which they prouided and layd for him: in so much as the iudges had before declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesayd, from morning vntill noone, he aunswered vnto more then 40. Articles, most subtiltie objected agaynst him: denying that he held or mayntayned any such articles as were either hurtfull or false,* & affirming y^e those witnesses had deposed thē agaynst him falsly and slaunderously as his most cruel and mortall enemies. In the same Session they had not yet proceeded vnto death, because that the noone time drew so fast on, that he could not answere vnto the Articles. Wherefore for lacke of time sufficient to aunswere vnto the residue of the Articles, there was an other time appoynted, which was the third day after the foresaid Saterdag, before the Ascension of our Lord, at whiche time againe early in the morning, hee was brought vnto the sayde Cathedrall Church to answere vnto all the residue the Articles.

In all which articles, as well those which he had aunswered vnto the Saterdag before: as in the residue, he clea'ed himselfe very learnedly,* refelling his aduersaries (who had no cause) but onely of malice & displeasure were set agaynst him, & did him great wrong) in suche sort that they were themselues astonyed at his oration, and refutation of their testimonies brought agaynst him, and with shame enough were put to silence: As when one of them had demanded of him, what he thought by y^e sacrament of the aul'tar: He answered, before consecration (sayd he) it is bread & wine: after the consecration it is the true body and bloud of Christ, adding withall moe wordes according to theyr catholicke fayth. Then an other rising vp, Hierome, sayde he: there goeth a great rumor of thee, that thou shouldest hold, bread to remain vpon the aultar. To whom he pleasantly answered, saying: that he beleued bread to be at the Bakers. At which wordes being spoken, one of the Dominicke Friers fumishly tooke on and sayd, what? doest y^e [Page 635](#) deny,

that no man doubteth of? Whose peuishe sausines, Hierome w^t these words did well repress: holde thy peace (said he) thou hipocrite And thus the monke being nipped in the head, sate downe dumme. After whom started vp an other, who with a loude voyce cryed out: I sweare (sayd he) by my conscience, that to be true, that thou doest deny. To whom sayd Hierome agayne, speaking in latine: Heus inquit, sic iurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est. That is, thus to sweare by your conscience, is the next way to deceiue. An other there was, a spitefull and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name then dogge, or asse. After he had thus refuted them: one after an other, that they could finde no crime against him, neyther in this matter nor in anye other, they were all driuen to keepe silence.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who cōming in presence, gaue testimony vnto the Articles before produced. By reason wherof, y^e innocent cause of Hierome was oppressed, and began in the councell to be concluded. Then Hierome rising vp begā to speak, forsomuch (sayth he) as you haue heard mine aduersaries so diligētly hether to, conuenient it is, that you should also nowe heare me to speake for my selfe. Whereupon w^t much difficultie, at last audience was geuē in y^e Councell for hym to say his mind Which being granted, he from morning to noon continuyng, entreated of diuers and sondry matters, with great learning and eloquēce. Who first beginning with his praier to God, be sought him to geue him spirite, habilitie and vtterance, which might most tend to the profite & saluation of his own soule. And so entring into hys Oration.

I Know sayth he, reuerend Lords, y^t there haue bene many excellēt men, which haue suffered much otherwise thē they haue deserued, being oppressed with false witnesses, & condemned with wrong iudgementes. And so beginning with Socrates he declared howe hee was vniustly condemned of hys countrimen,* neither woulde he escape when hee might: taking from vs the feare of two thinges, whiche seeme most bitter to men, to wit, of prisonment and death. Then he inferred the captiuitie of Plato,* the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the tormentes of Zeno. Moreouer he brought in the wrongfull condemnation of many gentiles as the banishment of Rupilius: reciting also the vnworthy death of Boetius and of others, whom Boetius himselfe doth write of.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrues, and first began with Moyses the deliuerer of the people, & the law geuer,* how he was oftentimes slaundered of hys people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. Io|seph also, sayth he, for enuy, was sold of hys brethren, and for false suspicion of whoredome,* was cast into bandes. Be|sides these, he reciteth Esayas, Daniell, and almost all the Prophetes, who as contemnners of god, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongfull condemnation. Frō thence he proceeded to the iudgement of Susanna, and of diuers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they vniustly cast away with wrongfull sentence. At the length he came to Iohn Baptist,* and so in long processe he descended vnto our sauour, declaring how it was euident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and Iohn Baptist, were condemned. Moreouer how Stephen was slayne by the Colledge of the priestes,* and how all the Apostles were condemned to death, not as good men but as seditious styrrers vp of the people, and contemnners of the Gods, and euil doers. It is vniust sayth he, vniustly to be condemned one priest of an other, and yet he proued that y^e same hath so happened most vniustly in that Councell of Priestes. These thinges did he discourse at large, w^t marueilous eloquēce, and with singuler admiration of all that heard hym.

*And forasmuch as all the whol summe of the cause dyd rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proued that no credite was to be geuen vnto them, especially seing they spake all thinges of no truth, but onely of hatred malice, & enuy. And so prosecuting the matter, so liuely and expressely he opened vnto them the causes of their hatred, that hee had almost perswaded them. So liuely and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was geuen to their testimonies, saue onely for the cause and quarrell wherein they stood touching the popes doctrine. All mens mindes here were moued and bending to mercye towards hym. For he told them how that he of hys owne accord came vp to the Councell, and to purge hymselfe he did open vnto them all hys life and doinges, being full of vertue & godlines. This was (sayth he) the old maner of auncient and learned mē and most holy Elders, that in matters of fayth they did differ many times in argumentes, not to destroy the fayth, but to finde out the veritie. So did Augustine and Hierome dissent, not onely being diuers, but also contrary one from the other & yet w^tout al suspicion of heresy.

All this while the popes holy Councell did wayt still, when he would beginne to excuse himselfe, and to retracte those thinges, whiche were objected agaynst him, and to craue pardon of the Councell. But he persisting still in hys constant oration, did acknowledge no error, nor gaue any signification of retraction.

At last entring into the prayse & commendation of M. Iohn Hus,* he affirmed that he was a good, iust, and holy man, and much vnworthy that death, whiche he did suffer. Whom he did know from his youth vpward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any euill or vicious person: but a chaste & sober man, & a iust and true preacher of y^e holy Gospell: and whatsoever things mayster Iohn Hus and Wicklyff had holden or written specially agaynst the abuse and pompe of the clergie, he would affirme euen vnto the death, that they were holy and blessed men, and that in all pointes of the Catholicke fayth, he doth beleue as the holy Catholicke Church doth hold or beleue. And finally he did conclude that al such articles, as Iohn Wickleffe & Iohn Hus had written & put forth agaynst y^e enormities, pompe and disorder of the Prelates, he would firmly & steadfastly, without recantation, hold & defend euē vnto the death, And last of all, he added y^t al the sinnes that euer he had cōmitted, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did y^t onely sinne, whiche he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when as in his recantation, he had vniust^ly spoken against that good and holy man & his doctrine, & specially in cōsenting vnto his wicked cōdēnation concluding y^t he did vtterly reuoke & deny that wicked recantatiō which he had made in that most cursed place,* & that he dyd it through weakenes of hart and feare of death: And moreuer that whatsoever thing he hath spokē against that blessed man, he hath altogether lyed vpō him, and that he doth repent him with his whole hart, that euer he did it.

And at the hearing hereof, the hartes of y^e hearers were not a little sory. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man shold be saued if otherwise their blind superstition would haue suffered it.* But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death then lyfe. And persisting in the prayse of Iohn Husse, he added moreouer, that he neuer mayntayned any doctrine agaynst the state of the Church, but onely spake agaynst the abuses of the clergie, against the pride, pompe and excesse of the Prelates. For somuch as y^e patrimonies of the churches were first geuen for the poore, then for hospitality and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches: it was a grieve to that good man (sayd he) to see the same misspent and cast

away vpon harlots, great feastings, and keping of horses and dogges, vpō gorgeous apparell and such other things vnseming Christian Religion. And herein he sheweth him selfe marueilous eloquent: yea neuer more.*

And when his oration was interrupted many tymes by diuers of them, carping his sentences as he was in spea'king: yet was there none of all those that interrupted hym which scaped vnblanckt, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he cea'sed to speake, & after began againe, proceeding in his Oration and desiring them to geue him leaue a while to speak whō they hereafter should heare no more.* neither yet was his mind euer dashed at all these noyses and tumults.

And thys was marueilous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison, 340. dayes, hauing neither booke, nor almost light to read by: yet how admirably his memory serued him: Declaring howe all those paynes of his strait handling, did not somuch greeue him, as he did wonder rather to see their vnkind humanitie towardes him.

When he had spoken these and many other thinges as touching the prayse of Iohn Wickleffe, & Iohn Hus, they which sat in the Councell, whispered together, saying: by these his wordes it appeareth that he is at a poynt w^t hym selfe. Then was he agayne caried into prison, & greeuously settered by the hands,* armes and feete with great chaines and fetters of yron.

The Saterdag next before the Ascension day, early in the morning he was brought with a great number of armed men vnto the Cathedral Church before the open congregation, to haue his iudgement geuen hym. There they exhorted him, that those thinges which he had before spokē in the open audience, as is aforesayde touching: he prayse and commendation of M. Iohn Wickleffe, and M. Iohn Hus, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would y^t recant the same: but he merueilous stoutly without all feare, spake agaynst them, & amōgst other thinges said vnto them: I take God to my witnes, and I protest here before [Page 636](#) you all, that I do beleue and holde the articles of the fayth,* as the holy Catholicke Church doth hold and beleue the same: but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you vnto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesayd, whome you haue most wickedly condemned for certaine articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abhominable life. Then he confessed there before them all his beliefe, and vt'tered many thinges very profoundly and eloquently, in so much that all men there present, could not sufficiently cōmend & prayse hys great eloquēce & excellent learning and by no means could they induce or perswade him to recant.

Then a certayne bishop named the Bishop of Landy made a certayne sermon exhortatiue agaynst M. Hierome perswading to his condemnation.

After the Byshop had ended the sayd sermon, M. Hierome sayd agayn vnto them: You shall condemne me wickedly and vniustly.* But I after my death will leaue a remorse in your conscience, and a nayle in your hartes, ET CITO VOS OMNES, VT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET IVSTISSIMO IVDICE POST CENTVM ANNOS: that is. And here I cite you to aunswere vnto me before the most high and iust Iudge, within a C. yeares.

No penne can sufficiently write or note those thinges which he most eloquently, profoundly, & Philosophically had spoken in the sayd audience, neither can anye tongue sufficiently declare y^e same, wheerfore I haue but onely touched here the superficiall matter of his talke, partly, & not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no meanes he might be perswaded to recant the premisses, immediately euen in his presence, the sentence & iudgement of hys concondemnation was geuen against him, & read before him.

*IN the name of God Amen. Christ our God and our Sauour being the true vyne, whose father is the husbandman, taught hys Disciples and all other faythful men, saying: If anymā dwel not in me, let him be cast out as a bow or braunch, & let him wither and dry. &c. The doctrine and preceptes of which most excellent doctor and mayster, this most sacred Synode of Constance, executing & following in the cause of inquisition agaynst hereticks, being moued by this said sacred Sinode, through report, publicke same, and open infamation: proceedeth agaynst Hierome of Prage, Mayster of Arte, lay man. By the Actes & processes of whose cause it appeareth that the sayd mayster Hierome hath holdē, mayntayned, and taught diuers Articles hereticall and erroneous, lately reproued and condemned by the holy fathers, some being very blasphemous, other some offēding godly cares, & many temerarious & seditious which haue bene affirmed, mayntayned, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory I. Wickleffe & Iohn Hus, the which are also written in diuers of their workes & books. Which articles of doctrine and books of the sayd Iohn Hus and Wickleffe together with their memory, and the person of the sayd Iohn Hus, were by the sayd sacred Synode condemned of heresie. The which sentence of condemnation this Hierome afterward during y^t time of inquisition, acknowledged in the sayd sacred Synode, & approued the true Catholicke & Apostolicke faith, thereunto consenting, accursing all heresie, specially that whereof he was enfamed, & confessed himself to be infamed & that which in times past I. Hus & I. Wickleffe maintained & taught in their works, sermōs & books: for y^e which the sayd Wickleffe & Hus together with theyr doctrine and errors, were by the sayd sacred Synode as hereticall, condemned. The condemnatiōs of all which the premisses, he did openly professe and allow, and did sweare that he wold perseuere and continue in the veritie of that fayth. And if that he shold presume at any time to hold opiniō or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submitte himselfe to the triall and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession writtē with his own hand, he deliuered vp into the holy Councell. Many daies after hys sayd profession and abiuration, as a dogge returning vnto hys vomitie, to y^e intent he might openly vomit vp the most pestilent poyson whiche had long lurked and laien hid in his brest, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Councell. The whiche being graunted vnto him, he affirmed, sayd and professed before the whole Synode, being publickely gathered together, y^t he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence & iudgement of the condemnation of the said Wickleffe and Hus, and that he had most shamefully lyed in approuing and allowing the sayd sentēce, neyther was he ashamed to confesse that he had lyed: yea he did also reuoke and recant his confession, approbation and protestation, which he had made vpon their condemnation, affirming that he neuer at any tyme had read any errours or heresie in the bookes & treatises of the said Wickleffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is euidently proued that he did dilligently study, read and preache their bookes, wherein it is manifest that theyr are containyd many erroures and heresies. Also the sayd Mayster Hierome did professe as touching

[illustration]

The burning of maister Hierome of Prage.

[Page 637](#) the Sacrament of the aulter, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he doth hold & beleue as the church doth hold & beleue, saying also that he doth geue more credit vnto S. Augustine, and the other Doctors of the Church, then vnto Wickliffe and Hus. It appereth moreouer by the premisses, that the sayd Ierom is an adherent & maintainer of the said Wickliffe & Hus, & theyr errors, and both is and hath bene a fauourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synode determineth the sayd M. Hierome as a rotten and withered braunch not growing vpon the vine, to be cut of and cast out. The sayd Synode also pronounceth, declareth & condemneth him as an heretick, and drowned in all kinde of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leauing him vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the secular iudge,* to receiue iust and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence: The sayd sacred Synode notwithstanding intreating that the sayd iudge would moderate his sentence of iudgemēt with out perill of death.

*The which sentence so geuen before his face, & ended. A great & lōg miter of paper was brought vnto him, pain'ted about with red deuils: the whiche when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood vpon the ground amongst the Prelates, he tooke the miter, and put it vpon his head: saying, Our Lorde Iesu Christ, when as he shoulde suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did weare a crowne of thorne vpon his head: and I for his sake in stede of that crowne, will willingly weare this miter and cappe. Afterward he was layd hold of by the secular power.

After that he was ledde out of the sayde Church to the place of execution, when he was going out of the Churche with a cherefull coūtenance & a loud voyce lifting his eyes vp into heauen,* he began to sing Credo in vnum Deum, as it is accustomed to be song in y^e church. Afterward as he passed a long, he did sing some Canticles of the Church. The which being ended, in the entring out of the gate of the city, as men go vnto Gotthlehem, he did sing this himne, faelix namque.* And that respond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where as Maister Iohn Hus before had suffred death innocently, kneeling downe before an image which was like vnto the picture of M. Iohn Hus, which was there prepared to burne M. Hierom, he made a certayne deuout prayer.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors tooke him vp and lifting him vp from the ground,* spoyled him of all his garmentes, and left him naked, and afterward girded him about the loynes with a linnen cloth, and bound him fast with cordes and chaynes of Iron to the sayde Image, whiche was made fast vnto the earth: and so standinge vpon the ground, when as they beganne to lay the woode about him,* he songe Salue festa dies. And when the himne was ended, he songe agayne with a loude voyce, Credo in vnum Deum, vnto the end. That being ended, he sayde vnto the people in the Germaine tounge in effect as foloweth. Dearely beloued children,* euen as I haue now song, so do I beleue and none otherwise. And this Creede is my whole fayth: notwithstanding nowe I dye for this cause, because I would not consent, and agree to the council, and with them affirme and hold that maister Iohn Hus,* was by thē holily and iustly condemned: For I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the Gospell of Iesu Christ.

After that he was compassed in with the wood vp to the crowne of the head, they cast all his garments vpō y^e wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voyce: In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum when that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burne, he sayd in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: * O Lord God father almighty, haue mercy vpon me and be mercifull vnto mine offēces, for thou knowest how y^e sincerely I haue loued thy trueth. Then his voyce by the vehemency of the fire, was choked & stopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moued continually his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himselfe.

When as in a maner his whole body w^t his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning vpon his body certayne great bladders, as big as an egge, yet he continually very strongly & stoutlye moued, & shook his head & mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an houre. So burning in the fire, he liued w^t great paine & Martyrdome, whiles one might easily haue gone from S. Clementes ouer the bridge, vnto our Lady Church: he was of suche a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus deade in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his strawbed, his bootes, his hood, & all other thinges that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and cary thē in a cart, and cast them into the riuer of Rheine, which ran hard by the City.

That man whiche was the true reporter hereof,* and which testified vnto vs the actes and doinges about the condemnation Maister Hierome, and sent the same vnto vs to Prage in writinge, doth thus conclude: All these thinges (sayth he) I did beholde, see and heare to be done in this forme & maner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credite him, for al those things which happened vnto him, when he came toward Constance, and also at his first comming vnto Constance of his own free well, and afterward when he was brought bounde vnto Constance, as is aforesay, I my selfe did see and perfectly beholde: and for a perpetuall memory thereof to be had for euer, I haue directed the same vnto you, not lying or falsifying any poynte thereof,* as he which is the searcher of all mennes hartes can beare me witnesse: willing rather to sustaine the note of ignoraunce & rudenesse of stile, to beare witnesse vnto the trueth, then I would by any meanes bee compelled by tickling or flattring the cares of the hearers, with fayned and cloked speach to swerue or goe aside from the truth,

Thus end the tragicall histories of M. Iohn Hus, and M. Hierom of Prage, faythfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a present witnes and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latine, & so sene by the said Bohemian into his country of Boheme: and agayne translated out of the Latine with like fidelitye, into our English tounge.

In the meane time while Maister Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Councell, the nobles and Lordes of Boheme and of Morauia (but not a little agreed thereat) directed theyr letters vnto this barbarous Councell of popishe murderers, in tenour and forme of wordes as followeth.

The letter of the 54. Nobles of Morauia written vnto the Councell of Constaunce in the defence of Mayster Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

☞ To the right reuerend Fathers and Lordes in Christ, the Lordes, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ambassadors, Doctors, & Maysters, and to the whole Councell Constaunce. We the Nobles, Lordes, Knightes and Esquyres, of the famous Marquesdome of Morauia, wishe the desyre of al goodnes, and the obseruation of the commaundementes of our Lord Iesu Christ.

Forso much as euery man both by the law of nature, and also by Gods law, is commaunded to doe that vnto an other man, which he woulde haue done vnto himselfe, and is forbidden to do that thing vnto an other, which he would not haue done vnto himselfe, as our Sauour sayth: all things whatsoever you wyll that men should do vnto you,* the same doe you vnto thē, for this is the law and the Prophetes, yea the lawe is fulfilled in this one poynt: thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy self:.* We therefore (God being our author) hauing respect as much as in vs lieth vnto the said law of God: & the loue of our neighbor, before did send our letters vnto Constaunce for our dearelye beloued frende of good memorye Mayster Iohn Husse Bachelor of Diuinitye and Preacher of the Gospell. Whome of late in the Councell of Constaunce (wee knowe not with what spirite beeing ledde) you haue condemned as an obstinate hereticke: neither hauing confessed any thing, neither being lawfully conuict as were expediēt: hauing no errors or heresies declared or layde agaynst him, but onely at the sinister, false and importune accusations, suggestiōs and instigations of his mortall enemies, and the traytours of our kingdome and Marquesdome of Morauia. And being thus vnmercifully condemned, you haue slayne him with most shamefull and cruell death: to the perpetuall shame and infamy of our most christian kingdome of Boheme, and the famous Marquesdome of Morauia (as we haue written vnto Constance, vnto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund king of Romaynes, and of Hungary, the Heyre and Successor of our kingdom) the which was also read and published in your congregations,* whiche wee will here also haue enrolled: and haue burned him, as it is reported, in the reproch and contempt of vs.

Wherefore we haue thought good, euen now to direct our letters patentes to your reuerences now present, in the behalfe of Maister Iohn Hus, openly professing and protesting both wyth [Page 638](#) hart and mouth, that he the sayd Mayster Iohn Hus, was a iust, good and Catholicke man, and a long season worthely commended and allowed in our kingdome, for his life and conuersation. He also preached and taught vs and our subiectes the law of the Gospell, and of the holy Prophets, and the bookes of the olde and new Testament, according to the exposition of the holy Doctors approued by the church, & left many Monumēts in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and and heresy, continually admonishing both vs and all faithfull christians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men as muche as in him lay by hys words, writings and trauel, vnto quietnesse and concord: so that vsing all the diligence that we might, we neuer heard or coulde vnderstand, that Mayster Iohn Hus had preached, taught or by any meanes affirmed any error or heresy in his Sermons, or that by any maner of meanes he had offended vs or our subiectes, either by word of deed,* but that he alwayes led a quiet and a godly life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and workes, as much as he might, to obserue and keepe the law of the Gospel, and the institutiōs of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, & to the edifying of mens soules. Neither did these premisses, which you had so perpetrated to the reproch both of vs and our kingdom and Marquesdom, suffice & content you, but that also without all mercy and piety, you haue apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned, and euen now peradventure, like as you did Mayster Iohn Hus, you haue most cruelly murdered the worshipfull man, Mayster Ierome of Prage, a man

abounding in eloquence,* Mayster of the seuen liberall artes, and a famous Philosopher, not being seene, heard, examined, neither conuict: but onely at the sinister and false accusation of hys and our accusers and betrayers.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and vnderstanding (which we do not without great grieffe rehearse) as we may also euidently gather by your writings, how that certayne detractors, odible both to God and men, priuy enuyers and betrayers, haue wickedly and greuously, albeit falsly and trayterously, accused vs, our kingdome, and Marquesdome aforesayde, before you in your councell, that in the sayde kingdome of Boheme and Marquescome of Morauia, diuers errors are sprong vp, which haue greuously and manifoldely infected both our hartes, and also the hartes of many faythfull men: in so much, that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the sayd kingdome and Marquesdome together with the faythfull Christians therein, should incurre an irrecuperable losse and ruine of theyr soules.

These cruell and pernicious iniuries which are layd vnto vs, and to our sayd kingdome and Marquesdome,* albeit most falsly & slaunderously, howe may we suffer? for so much as through the grace of God (when in a maner all other kingdomes of the world haue oftentimes wauered, making Schismes and Antipapes) our most Christian kingdome of Boheme, and most noble Marquesdome of Morauia, since the time they did receiue the Catholicke fayth of our Lord Iesus Christ, as a most perfecte * quadrant haue alwayes without reproofe sticke vnto the Church of Rome, and haue sincerely done theyr true obedience. Also with how greate costes and charges and great trauell, with what worship and due reuerence they haue reuerenced the holy mother the church and her pastors, by theyr princes and faythfully subiects, it is more manifest then the day light vnto the whole world: and your selues, if you will confesse the truth, can witnes the same also.

Wherefore that we, according to the mind of the Apostle, may procure honest and good thinges, not onely before God but before men also, and least by neglecting the famous renowne of the kingdom and Marquesdom, we be fouñd cruel towards our neighbours: hauing a stedfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certayne true fayth in Christ Iesu our Lord, by the tenour of these we signify and declare vnto your fatherhoods, & to all faythfull Christians, openly professing both with hart and mouth, that whatsoever man, of what estate, preheminance, dignity, condition, degree, or religion so euer he be, which hath sayd or affirmed, eyther doth say or affirme, that in the sayd kingdome of Boheme and Marquesdome of Morauia, heresydes haue sprong vp which haue infected vs and other faythfull Christians, as is aforesayd (the onely person of our most noble prince and Lord, Sigismund king of Romaines and of Hungary. &c. our Lord and heire successor, being set apart, whom we trust and beleue, not to be guilty in the premisses) all and euery such man (as is aforesaid) doth lye fasly vpon his head, as a wicked and naughty traytour & betrayer of the sayd kingdome and Marquesdome, and most traiterous vnto vs,* & most pernicious hereticke, the sonne of all malice and wickednesse, yea and of the deuill himselfe, who is a lyar and the father of all lyes.

Notwithstanding, we for this present committing the foresayd iniuries vnto God, vnto whom vengeance perteyneth, who will also abundantly reward workers of iniquity, will prosecute them more amply before him whom God shall appoynt in the Apostolicke sea, to gouerne his holy Church as the onely and vndoubted Pastour. Vnto whom God willing, we exhibiting our

due reuerence & obedience as faythfull children, in those things which are lawfull,* honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, wil make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be prouided for vs, our sayde kingdome and Marquesdome, vpon the premises, according to the law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premises notwithstanding we setting apart all feare and mens ordinances prouided to the contrary, will maynetayne and defend the law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the deuout, humble and constant preachers thereof, euen to the shedding of our bloud.

Dated at Sternberg, in the yeare of our Lord. 1415. vpon S. Wēceslaus day, Martyr of our Lord Iesu Christ.

Round about the sayd letters there were 54. Seales, hanging and their names subscribed, whose Seales they were. The names of which noble men, I thought it good here to annex with all, partly for the more credite of that hath bene sayd, partly also for examples sake, to the intent that our noble men and gentlemen in this our Realme of England, now liuing in this cleare light of the Gospell, may by their example vnderstand, that if they ioyne themselues with the Gospell of Iesus, zealouslye and as they should do, yet are they neither the first, nor the most that so haue done before them: if not, yet the trueth may here remayne in the story to theyr shame, or els to theyr instruction, seing so many noble and worthy gentlemen, within the small kingdome of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so darcke dayes and among so many enemyes 200. yeares agoe, to take part with Christ: And yet our Gentlemē here in such long cōtinuance of time, being so diligētly taught, are neyther in number nor in zeale to thē to be compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these nobles whose names they may see & read here folowing.

1 Alssokabat de Wiscowitz.

2 Vlrucus de Lhota.

2 Ioan, de Ksimicz.

4 lossko de sczitowicz

5 Paerdus Zwiranowicz.

6 Ioan. de Ziwlā.

7 Ioā. de Reychēberg.

8 Wildo Skitzyny.

9 Drliko de Biela.

10 Kos de Doloylatz.

- 11 Ioan de Simusin.
- 12 Dobessim' de Tissa.
- 13 Drazko de Aradeck
- 14 Steph. de Hmodorkat.
- 15 Ioan Dern de Gabonecx.
- 16 Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.
- 17 Ioan Hmrsdorfar.
- 18 Psateska de Wilklek
- 19 Petrus Mg de Sczitowicy.
- 20 N. Studenica.
- 21 N. Brischell.
- 22 N. de Cromassona
- 23 Arannisick Donant de Poloniae.
- 24 Ioan. Donant de Poloniae.
- 25 Ioan. de Cziczow.
- 26 Wenceslaus de N.
- 27 N. de N.
- 28 N.N.
- 29 Iosseck de N.
- 30 Henricus de N.
- 31 Waczlals de kuck.

This noble man did accompanye Hus, and with certain horsemen conducte him to Constance.

32 Henr. de. Zrenowicz

33 Baczko de Cōuald.

34 Petr. dictus Nienick de zaltoroldeck.

35 Czēko de Mossnow.

36 N.

37 Zibilutz de Clezā.

38 Ioan. de Peterswald.

39 Parsifal de Namyecz.

40 Zodoni de Zwietzick.

41 Raczeck Zawskalp.

42 Ion de Tossawicz.

43 Diwa de Spissnia

44 Steffko de Draczdw.

45 Issko de Draczdw,

46 Odich de Hlud.

47 Wosfart de Paulowicz.

48 Pirebbor de Tire zenicz.

49 Rynard de Tyrczewicz.

50 Bohunko de Wratisdow.

51 Vlracus de Racdraw

52 Deslaw de Nali.

53 Bonesb de Frabenicz.

After these things thus declared and discoursed cōcerning the history of Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, the order of place and countrye next woulde require, consequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles & perturbations, which happened after & vpō the death of these men in the coūtry of Boheme: but the order of time calleth me backe, first to other matters here of our owne country, which passed in y^e meane time with vs in England. Which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (christ [Page 639](#) willing) afterward returne to the tractation hereof, to pro|secute the troubles and conflictes of the Bohemians, with other things beside perteyning to the latter end of the coūcell of constance, and chosing of Pope Martin, as the order of yeares and time shall require.

*Ye heard before pag. 588. how after the death of Thomas Arundell Archb. of Caunt. succeeded Henry Chichesley. an. 1414. and sate 25. yeres. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good mē here in England: of whom many were compelled to abiure, some we burned, diuers were driuē to exile. Wherof partly now to entreat, as we finde them in registers & historyes recorded, we will first begin with Iohn Claydon Currier of Londō, & Richard Turming, whom Rob. Fabian, doth falsly affirm to be burned in the yeare where in Syr Roger Acton and M. Browne suffered: who in deed suffered not before the secōd yeare of Henry Chichesley being Archb. of Caunt. whiche was an. 1413. The history of which Iohn Claydon, in the Registers is thus declared.

The story of Iohn Claydon Currier, and of R. Turming Baker.

THE 17. of August 1415. did personally appeare I. Claydon Currier of London (arrested by the Mayor of the sayd City for the suspition of heresy) before Henry Archbishop of Caunterbury, in Saynt Paules Church: whiche Iohn (being obiected to him by the Archbishop, that in y^e City of London & other places of the prouince of Canterbury,* he was suspected by diuers godly and learned mē for heresy, and to be contrary to the catholick fayth, and determinatiō of the church) did openly confesse and denyed not, but that he had bene for the space of xx. yeres, suspected both about the City of London, & also in the prouince of Caunt. and specially of the common sort for Lollardy and heresy,* & to be contrary to the catholick fayth and determination of the church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the tyme aforesayd.

In so much that in the time of M. Robert Braybrooke B. of London deceased, he was for the space of two yeares commaunded to the prison of Conwey, for the foresayd defamation and suspition, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the fleete for 3. yeares. Out of which prison he (in the raigne of King Henry the 4.) was brought before Lord Iohn Scarle then Chauncellor to the king,* & there did abiure all heresy and errour. And the sayd Iohn Claydon being asked of the sayd Archbishop whither he did abiure the heresye of which he was suspect before any other: did confesse that in a Conuocation at London in Paules Church before Thomas Arundell late Archbishop deceased, he did abiure all such doctrine which they called heresy and error contrary to the Catholick fayth and determination of the Church, and that he had not onely

left such articles and opiniōs, wherin he was defamed, but also did abstaine from all company that were suspected of such opinions so that he should neither geue ayd, helpe, counsell, nor fauor vnto them.

And moreouer, the sayd Iohn was asked by the sayde Archbishop,* whether he euer had in his house since his abiuration, in his keeping, any bookes written in Englishe. Wherunto he confessed that he would not deny, but that he had in his house, and in his keeping many english bookes: for he was arested by the Mayor of the city of London, for such bookes as he had, which bookes (as he thought) were in the Mayors keping.* Upon the which, the Mayor did openly confesse that he had such bookes in his keping, which in his iudgement were the worst and the moste peruerse that euer he did read or see, and one booke that was well bound in red leather of parchment, written in a good english hand: and among the other bookes found with the said Iohn Claydon, the Mayor gaue vp the sayd booke afore the Archbishop. Whereupon the sayde Iohn Claydon being asked of the Archbishop if he knewe that booke,* dyd openly confesse that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written of his owne costes and charges, for he spēt muche money thereupon since his abiuration. Then was he asked who wrote it. He did aunswere, one called Iohn Grime.

And further being required what the said Iohn Grime was, he aunswered, he coulde not tell. Agayne, being demaunded whether he did euer read the same booke, he dyd confesse that he could not read,* but he had heard the fourth part therof red of one Iohn Fullar. And being asked whether he thought the contentes of that booke to be Catholicke, profitable, good and true, he aunswered that many thinges which he had hearde in the same booke, were both profitable, good and healthful to his soule: and as he sayde, he had great affection to the sayd book, for a Sermon preached at Horsaldowne, that was written in the sayd booke. And being futher asked, whether, since the tyme of hys sayd abiuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the City aforesayd, he did answere yea: for the sayde Richard Baker did come often vnto his house to haue cōmunication with him.* And being asked, whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of heresy: he did aunswere agayne that he knew well that the sayd Richard was suspected & defamed of many men and women in the City of Londō,* as one whom they thought to be an hereticke.

Which confession being made, did cause the sayd bookes to be deliuered to maister Robert Gilbert,* Doctour of diuinity: to William Lindewood Doctor of both lawes, and other Clerkes, to be examined, and in the meane time Dauid Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthasar Mero, were taken for witnesses agaynst him, and were committed to be examined, to Maister Iohn Escourt generall examiner of Canterbury. This done, the Archbishop continued hys Session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the xx. of the sayd moneth, the sayd Maister Escourt openly and publickely exhibited the witnesses, being openly read before the Archbishop and other Bishops: which being read, then after that were read diuers tractations, founde in the house of the sayde Iohn Claydon: out of the which, being examined, diuers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors,* and specially out of the booke aforesaid: which booke the said Iohn Claydon confessed by his owne costes to be written and bound, which booke was intituled, the Lanterne of light. In the which and in the other examined, were these Articles vnder written conteyned.

1. First, vpon the text of the Gospell, how the enemy dyd sowe the tares, there is sayd thus: that wicked Antichrist y^e Pope hath sowed among the lawes of Christ, his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authoritye, strength, nor valure.

2. That the Archbishops and Bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seates of the beast Antichrist, when he sitteth in thē and raigeth aboue other people in the darck caues of errors and heresy.

3. That the Bishops licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true caracter of the beast.
i. Antichrist, & therfore simple and faythfull Priestes may preache when they will agaynst the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without licence.

4. That the court of Rome is the chiefe head of Antichrist and the Bishops be the body: * & the new sectes, that is, the monks, canons, and friers, brought in not by Christ, but damnably by the pope, be the venimous & pestiferous tail of Antichrist.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church but only such as be elected and predestinate to saluation: * seing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faythfull soules, which doe and will keepe their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Chryst did neuer plante priuate religions in the church, but whilest he liued in this world he did root them out. By which it appeareth that priuate religiōs be vnprofitable branches in the church and to be rooted out.

7. That the materiall churches should not be decked with golde siluer & precious stone sumptuously, but the folowers of the humility of Iesus Christ, ought to worship their Lord God humbly in mean & simple houses, & not in great buildings, as the churches be now a dayes.

8. That there be ij. chiefe causes of the persecution of the christians: * one is the priestes vnlawfull keeping of tēporal and superfluous goods, the other is y^e vnsatiable begging of the friers with their hye buildings.

9. That almes is not geuen vertuously nor lawfully except it be geuen with these 4. conditions: * first vnlesse it be geuen to the honor of God. 2. vnlesse it be geuen of goodes iustly gotten. 3. vnlesse it be geuē to such a person as the geuer therof knoweth to be in charity. And 4. vnles it be geuē to such as haue need and do not dissemble.

10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the scripture, and therefore it is not lawfull for priestes to occupy thēselues with singing in the Church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

11. That Iudas did receiue the body of Christ in breade, * & his bloud in wine In the which it doth playnly appeare that after consecration of breade and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before, doth truely remayne on the aultar.

12. That all ecclesiasticall suffrages do profit all vertuous and godly persons indifferently.

[Page 640](#)13. That the Popes and the Bishops indulgences be vnprofitable, neither can they profite them, to whom they be geuen by any meanes.

14. That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates what so euer they commaūd, vnles the prelats do watch to geue God a iust account of the soules of them.

15. That Images are not to be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawfull for Christians, to bow theyr knees to them, neither to kisse them, nor to geue them any maner of reuerence. For the which Articles the Archbishoppe with other Bishops, and diuers learned commoning together, first condemned the bookes as hereticall and burned them in fire: [*](#) and then because they thought the said Iohn Claydon to be forsworne and fallen into heresy, the Archbishop did proceed to his definitiue sentence against the said Iohn personally appearing before him in iudgement (his cōfessions being read and deposed against him) after this maner.

[*](#)IN the name of God. Amen. We Henry by the grace of GOD Archbishop of Caunterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolicke sea, in a certayne cause of hereticall prauity & of relapse into the same, wherupon I. Claidon lay man of the prouince of Caunterbury, was detected, accused and denounced, & in the sayd our prouince of Caunterbury publickely defamed (as by publick fame and common report notoriously to vs hath bene known) first, sitting in iudgement seat & obseruing all things lawfully required in this behalfe, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitiue in forme as followeth. The name of Christ being inuocated & onely set before our eies, forasmuch as by the actes and thinges enacted, producted, exhibited and confessed before vs, also by diuers signes & euidences we haue found the said Iohn Claydon to haue bene and to be publickly and notoriously relapsed agayne into his former heresye, heretofore by him abiured: according to the merites and desertes of the sayd cause, being of vs diligently searched, weyed and pondered before, to the intēt that the sayd I. Claidon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reuerend brethrē Richard Bishop of Lōdon, Iohn Bishop of Couentry and Liechfield, [*](#) & Steuen Bishop of S. Davids, and of other Doctors as well of diuinity as of both lawes, and also of other discret and learned men assisting vs in this behalfe, do iudge, pronounce, and declare the sayd I. Claydon, to be relapsed agayne into his heresy, which he before did abiure, finally and definitiue appoynting him to be left vnto the secular iudgement, and so do leaue him by these presentes.

Thus Iohn Claidon receiuing his iudgement & condemnation of the Archbishop, [*](#) was committed to the secular power, and by them vniustly & vnlawfully was cōmitted to the fire, for that the tēporall magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burne any suche man for religion condēned of the prelats, as is aboue sufficiently proued & declared pag. 523. But to be short, [*](#) Quo iurè quaque iniuria, Iohn Cleydon notwithstanding by the temporall magystrats, not lōg a•ter, was had to smithfield, where meekely he was made a burnt offering vnto the Lord. an. 1415.

[illustration]

The burning of Iohn Claydon, and Richard Turming.

Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which folow him,* adde also that Richard Turming Baker, of whome mention is made before in the examination of Iohn Claydon, was likewise y^e same time burned with him in smithfield. Albeit in the Register I finde no sentence of condemnation geuen against the sayd Turming, neither yet in the story of S. Albons is there any such metiō of his burning made, but only of the burning of Iohn Claydon aforesaid: wherfore the iudgement hereof I leaue free to the reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the sayd Turming thys is certaine that he was accused vnto the bishops, & no doubt was in their handes, & bands. What afterward was done with him, I refer it vnto the authors.

The next yeare after the burning of these two aforesaid and also of Iohn Hus being burnt at Constaunce, whiche was an. 1416. the Prelates of England seing the dayly increase of the Gospell,* and fearing the ruine of theyr papall kingdome, were busily occupied with all theyr counsel and diligence, to mayntayne the same. Wherefore to make their state and kingdome sure, by statutes, lawes, constitutions, and terrour of punishment, as Thomas Arundell and other Prelates had done before, so the forenamed Henrye Chichesley Archbishop of Canterbury, in his conuocation holden at London, maketh another constitutiō (as though there had not enough bene made before) agaynst the poore Lollardes: the copy and tenor wherof he sendeth abroad, to the bishop of London, and to other his Suffraganes by them to be put in straight execution, conteyning in words as foloweth.

HENry by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury,* Primate of all England, and Legate of the chiefest seat: to our reuerēd brother in the Lord Richard, by the grace of God bishop of London, health, & brotherly loue, with con'tinuall increase. Lately in our last conuocation in Sayncte Paules Church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our prouince, we do remember to haue made this order vnderwritten by your consentes, When as among many other our cares this ought to be chiefe, y^t by some meanes we take those heretickes, whiche like foxes lurke & hide thēselues in the Lordes vineyard;* & that the dust of negligēce may be vtterly shakē from our feete and from the feete of our fellow brethren: In thys the sayd conuocation of the Prelats and clergy, we haue ordeined, and that our fellowe brethren, our Suffraganes and Archdeacons of our prouince of Canterbury by thēselues, their Officials or Commissaryes in all their iurisdiction, & euery of their charges in theyr country, twise euery yere at the least, do diligētly enquire of such persons as are suspect of heresy: And that in euery suche their Archdeaconries in euery parish, wherein is reported any hereticks to inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest mē and best reported of,* to take their othe vpon the holy Euangelist, that if they shall knowe or vnderstand any frequenting either in priuy conuētibles, or els deferring in life or maners frō the common conuersation of other Catholick men, or els that holde any, either heresy or errors, or els that haue any suspected bookes in the English tong, or that do receiue any such persons suspect of heresy and errours into theyr houses, or that be fauorers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conuersant with them, or els haue any re'course vnto them: they make certificats of those persons in writing: with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspect, vnto the said our Suffraganes or Archdeacons, or to theyr Commissaryes, so soone, & with as much speede as possibly they can: And that the sayd Archdeacon and euery of their Commissaryes aforesayd: do declare the names of all such persons denounced together with all the circūstāces of thē, the dioces, & places, & secretly vnder theyr seales do send ouer vnto vs the same: And y^t the same diocessans effectually direct forth

lawfull proces agaynst them, as the quality of the cause requireth, & that with all diligence they discerne, define and execute the same.

And if perhaps they leaue not such persons cōuict vnto the secular court, yet notwithstanding let them commit thē vnto the perpetuall or temporall prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, vntil the next conuocation of y^r prelates and Clergy of our prouince of Canterbury, there personally to remaine: and that in the same prisons they cause thē to be kept according as the lawe requireth: And that of all and singular the things aforesayd, that is, what inquisition they haue made, and what they haue found, and how in the processe they haue behaued themselves, and what persons so conuict they haue caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commissaryes aforesayd, with all and all maner of other circumstances premised, and therunto in any wise apperteyning, and [Page 641](#) specially of the abiurations, if in the meane time they shall chaunce to abiure any heresy: that then in the next cōuocation of the Prelates and Clergy vnder the forme aforesayd, they cause the same distinctly and apertly to be certified to vs and our successours: And that they deliuer effectually to the Officiall of our Court, the same processe to remain with them, or els in the register of one court of Canterbury, so that euery one, to whom ••th things appertaineth for the further execution of the same proces, may haue recourse vnto the same officiall, with all effect.

We therefore commaund, that as touching the constitution brought vnto your City & Diocesan, you cause the same in conueniēt place and time to be published, and that in all pointes you both obserue the same your selues and cause it also of others to be diligently obserued: Commaūding furthermore, all and singular our felow brethren and Suffraganes, that they in likewise cause the same to be published throughout all their Cities and Dioces, & both diligently obserue the same themselves, and also cause al others to do the same: and what thing soeuer you shall do in the premisses, that you certify vs betwixt this and the feast of S. Peter ad vincula, next comming, that you duely certify vs of these thinges, by your letters patentes, contayning the same effect, sealed with your seales. Dated at our house in London, the first day of Iuly. an. 1416.

*During the time of this conuocatiō, in the yere aboue sayd, two priestes were presented & brought before the bishops, noted and defamed for hereticks: one named Iohn Barton, vnto whom it was objected by Philip Bishop of Lincolne, that he had bene excommunicated about 6. or 7. yeares before, vpon Articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appeare being cited, nor woulde seeke to be reconciled agayne vnto the Church. Which thinges being so prooued agaynst him, he was committed to the custody of the foresayd Philip Bishoppe of Lincolne, and so to be holden in prison, till he should heare further what should be done.

The other was Robert Chapel, otherwise named Holbech, Chaplain sometime to the Lord Cobham: vnto whō likewise it was objected, that he being vnder the sentence of excommunication about three or foure yeares, yet notwithstanding to the contempt of the keyes, did continue saying Masse, and preaching, & sought not to be recōciled, Chapel denying that he did know any such excommunication geuen out agaynst him. Then was the copy of his excommunicatiō first made by the bishop of Roff. afterward denoūced by y^e Bishop of Lōdon at Paules crosse brought and read before him: & so that done, that Session brake vp for that time, which was about the latter ende of May. an. 1416.

The xij. day of the moneth of Iuly next following, the sayd Chappell appeared agayn before the Archbishop and the Prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the Bishops licence, in dyuers places,* as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne, at length he confessing and submitting himself, desired pardō. Which although it was not at the first graunted vnto him, yet at the last the Bishop of Roff. putting in his hands the decree of the canon law. 1. q. 7. cap. Quoties. &c. and causing him to read the same, made him to avoure all his former articles & opinions as hereticall and schismaticall, neuer to holde the same agayne, according to the contentes of the foresayd Canon. Whereupon the sayd Robert being absolved by the authority of the Archb. (saue only that he should not intermeddle with saying Masse, before he had bene dispensed from the Pope himselfe for his irregularity) was enioyned by the Archb. himselfe for his penance, standing at Paules to publish these articles folowing vnto the people, in stead of his confession geuen him to be read.

*In primis, I confesse that Bishops, Priestes, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, hauing no other profession to the contrary, may lawfully haue, receiue, and reteyne landes and possessions temporall, to dispense and dispose the same and the rentes thereof, to the behoofe of themselues or of theyr Church where they dwell, according as semeth good to them.

2. Item, I confesse that it were very vnlawfull, yea rather vniust, that temporal men vpon any occasion, whatsoeuer it be, should take away temporall landes and possessions from the church either vniuersal or particular, to whō they are geuen, the consideration of the abuse of mortall prelates, priest, or other ministers in the Church conuersant (which are mixt together good with bad) abusing the same to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. Item, I confesse that peregrinations to the reliques of saintes and to holy places,* are not prohibited, nor to be cōtemned of any Catholicke, but are auayleable to remission of sinnes, and approued of holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

4. Item, I confesse that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saynts being set vp in the church, or in any other place is not forbiddē: neither is any cause inductiue of Idolatry, being so vsed as the holy fathers do will them to be worshipped: But rather such images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put vs in remēbraūce of the merits of those sayntes, whom they represent and the sight of them doth moone and stirre vp the people to prayers and deuotion.

5. Item,* I confesse that auricular confession vsed in the Church is necessarye for a sinner to the saluation of hys soule, and necessary to be done of such a priest, as is ordeyned by the Church, to heare the confession of the sinner, & to enioyne him penance for the same: without which confession (if it may be had) there is no remission of sinnes to him that is in sinne mortall.

6. Item, I confesse and firmly do hold, that although the Priest be in mortall sinne, yet may he make the bodye of Christ, and minister other Sacramentes and Sacramentals: which neuerthesse are profitable to all the faythfull, whosoeuer receiueth them in fayth and in deuotion of the Church.

7. Item, I confesse that bishops in their own dioces, may forbid, decree, & ordayn vpō reasonable causes, that priests should not preach without theyr speciall licēce, the word of God, and that those that do agaynst the same, should suffer the ecclesiasticall censurs.

8. Item,* I confesse that priuate religiōs as wel of monks canons and other, as also of the begging Friers, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the vniuer'sall church, and in no meanes contrary to Gods law, but rather founded and authorised thereon.

9. Item, I promise and sweare vpon these holy Euangelies, which I hold here in my hands, that I will hēceforth neuer hold, affirme, nor by any meanes teach any thing cōtrary vnto the premisses either openly or priuately.

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid in the dayes of the aboue named Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Caunterbury great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men whose harts began to be won to the Gospell, were brought to much vexation and caused outwardly to abiure.

Thus,* while Christ had the inward hartes of men: yet the Catholicke Antichrist would needes possesse their outward bodyes, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abiure, besides the o'ther aforesayd was also I. Taylor of the parishe of Saynt Michaels at Duerne. William Iames maister of Art and Phisition, who had long remained in prison, and at length after abiuration, was licēced with his keper, to practise his Phisicke.

Also Ioh. Dwerf, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the Duke of Bedford to the foresayd Chichesley and other bishops to be examined before them in the cōuocation: there he at length reuolting from his doctrine re'canted and did penance.

In like maner Iohn Iourdelay of Lincolnshire,* well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by y^e priestes of Lincoln for a certayn book, which he contrary to the former decree of the bishops did conceale & dyd not exhibite vnto thē,* was therfore enforced to abiure. After whō was brought likewise before the Byshops, one Katharin Dertford a Spinster, who being accused and examined vpon these 3. articles concerning the Sacrament of the popes altar, adoration of Images, and of pilgrimage, answered that she was not able, being vnlearned, to answere to such high matters, neither had she any further skil, but only her Creed and x. commaundements: and so was she committed to the vicar general of the B. of Wint. (for that she was of the same dioces) to be kept and further to be examined of the same. Ex Regist. Hen. Chichesley.

At the same sitting was also brought before the sayde Archb.* and his fellow bishops, by the liuetenant of y^e Tower, the person of Heggely in Lincolneshyre, named M. Robert, who being long kept in the tower, at lēgth by the kinges writte was brought and examined the same tyme vpon the like articles, to witte: touching the sacrament of their aultar, peregrinatiō, adoration of images, & whether it was lawfull for spirituall men to enioy temporall Lordships. &c. To the which articles he answered (saith the Register) doublely and mockingly, saue onely in the sacramēt he semed something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contētation.

Wherefore being committed to the custody [Page 642](#) and examination of Richard Bishopp of Lincolne, where in the end he was also induced to submit himselfe.

[*](#)The same likewise did W. Henry of Tenterden being suspected and arested for company keping with thē, whom the Bishops called Lollardes, and for hauing suspected bookes.

[*](#)Besides these, diuers other there were also which in the same conuocation were conuented, and reuoked theyr opinions, as Iohn Galle a Priest of London, for hauing a booke in English intituled: A booke of the new law. Item, Richard Monke, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshyre, who submitted himselfe likewise. In this race and number followed moreouer, Bartholomew Cormnonger, Nic, Hoper seruauant to the Lord Cobham. Tho. Granter, with other mo, mentioned in the foresayd register.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for theyr fayth, was one Radulph Mungin priest, who for the same doctrine was arested and sent vp by the L. Chancellor of England, to the foresayd Arch. and by him committed to Dauid Price, Uicar generall to the B. of London: Where after he had endured 4. moneths in prison, he was by the sayd Dauid presented to the conuocation, agaynst whom diuers articles were obiected.

But for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that during the time of this conuocation prouinciall, Pope Martine had sent downe to the Clergye of Englande, [*](#) for a subsidye to be gathered of the Church, to mayntayne the Popes warre agaynst the Lolards (so the Papistes did terme them) of Bohemia. Also an other subsidy was demaunded to persecute one Peter Clerke mayster of art of Oxford, who flying out of England, was at y^e councell of Basill, disputing on the Bohemians side. And thirdly, an other subsidy was also required to persecute W. Russell, Warden of the Gray Friers in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to mayntayne his opinion before the Pope, and there escaped out of prison. &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreat. [*](#) In the meane time marke here the preey shiftes of the Pope to hooke in the English mony by all maner of pretences possible.

Thus Rafe Mungyn, the foresayd examine appearing before the bishops in the conuocation, it was articulated agaynst him, [*](#) first that he should affirme and hold, not to be lawfull for any Christian to fight and make warre agaynst the heretickes of Bohemia.

Item, it was to him obiected, that he did holde & say, not to be lawfull for any man to haue propriety of goodes, but the same to be cōmon, which he expressly denyed that euer he so sayd or affirmed. Whereby we haue to obserue, how the crafty malice of these aduersaries vseth falsely to collect and surmise of men, what they neuer spake, wherby to oppresse them wrongfully, whom by playne trueth they cannot expugne.

Moreouer, they obiected agaynst him, that he shoulde keepe company with Mayster Clarke aforesayde, and also that he dispersed in the City of London, certayn bookes of Iohn Wickliffe and of Peter Clarke, namely, the booke Trialogus and the Gospels of Iohn Wickleffe. [*](#) &c. He was charged moreouer to haue spoken agaynst the Popes indulgences, for that the Pope had no more power to geue indulgences, then he had.

Upon these and other such Articles objected, the sayde Mungyn being asked if he would reuoke, aunswered that it seemed to him not iust or meet so to doe, whiche dyd not know himself guilty of any heresy. Thus he being respited for that time, was cōmitted to prison till the next sitting, who then being called diuers and sundry times afterward before the Bishops, after long inquisition and straight examination made,* also depositions brought in agaynst him so much as they could search out, he notwithstanding styll denyed as before, to recant. Wherefore the foresayd Henry the Archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitiue, condemned him to perpetuall prison.

After whose condemnation, the sonday next folowing, the recantation of Tho. Granter,* and of Richard Monke Priestes aboue mentioned, were openly read at Paules crosse, the Byshop of Rochester the same time preached at the sayd crosse. The tenour of whose recantation, with his Articles in the same expressed, here vnder foloweth.

IN the name of God. Before you my Lord of Canterbury, and all you my Lords here being present, & afore you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter priest vnworthy, dwelling in this City of Londō, feeling & vnderstanding, that afore this time I affirmed open errours and heresies, saying, beleuing, and affirming within thys City, that he that Christian men callen Pope, is not verye Pope, ner Gods vicary in earth, but I sayd he was Antichrist. Also I sayd, beleued, and affirmed, that after the sacramentall wordes sayd by a Priest in the Masse, there remayneth materiall bread and wine, and is not turned into Christes body and his bloud. Also I said and affirmed that it was not for to doe in no wise, to goe on pilgrimage, but it was better I sayd to abide at home and beate the stooles with theyr heeles, for it was, I sayde, but tree & stone that they soughten. Also I sayde and affirmed that I held no Scripture catholicke ner holy, but onely that is conteyned in the Bible. For the Legendes and liues of Sayntes, I held hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I helde vntrue. Because of which errours and heresies I was tofore M. Dauby Price, Uicar generall of my Lord of London, and since tofore you my Lord of Caunterbury & your brethren in your councell prouinciall, & by you fully informed, which so sayd, mine affirming, beleuing & teaching, bene open errors and heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the chirch of Rome. Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the doctrine of holy chirch, and depart fro all maner errors and heresy, and turne with good will & hart to y^e onehead of the chirch, cōsidering that holye chirch shitteth ner closeth not her bosome to him that will turne agayne, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather he ben turned & liue: With a pure hart I confesse, detest, & despise my sayd errours and heresies, and the sayd opinions I confesse as heresies and errours, to the fayth of the Chirch of Rome, & to all vniuersally holy Chirch repugnaunt. And therfore these sayd opinions in speciall, and all other errours and heresies, doctrines and opiniōs, •yen y^e fayth of the Church and the determination of the Church of Rome, I abiure and forswear, here tofore you all, and sweare by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall neuer hold teach, ne preach errorr errours, heresie, ne heresies, nor false doctrine agaynst the faith of holy chirch,* & determination of the chirch of Rome ner none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such maner thinges by me or an other person, openly or priuily I shal defend. I shall neuer after thys tyme be receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defendor of hereticks, or of any person suspect of heresie, ner I shal trow to him: ner wittingly fellaship with him, ner yeue him counseil, fauour, yiftes, ne cōfort. And if I know any heretickes, or of heresie, or of such false opinions, anye person suspect, or anye man or woman making or holding priuy conuenticles, or

assemblies, or any diuers or singular opinions from the common doctrine of the Church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, councelours, or defenders, or any that haue suspect bookes or quiers of such erroures and heresies: I shall let you my Lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your absence, or the Diocesans and Ordinaries of such men, haue soone and ready knowing, so help me God and holydeme, and these holy Euangelies by me bodely touched.

After this recantation at the Crosse thus published, and his submission made, 'the sayd Granter then was by the aduise of the Prelates, put to 7. yeares prisonment, vnder the custody and charge of the bishop of London.

After this, followed in like maner the recantation of Richard Monke. Also of Edmund Frith, which was before Butler so sir Iohn Oldcastle.

Beside these aboue remembred,* many and diners there be in the sayd register recorded, who likewise for their faith and religion were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the Dioces of Kent, in the townes of Romney, Tenterden, Wodcherche, Cranbroke, Staphelherst, Beninden, Halden, Roluenyden and others, where as whole housholdes, both man and wife, were driuen to forsake theyr houses and townes for daunger of persecution: as sufficiently appeareth in the processe of the Archb. Chichesley agaynst the sayd persons, and in the certificat of Burbath his officiall,* wherein are named these persons following.

- 1. W. White Priest.
- 2. Tho. Grenested. Priest.
- 3. Bartho. Cronmonger.
- 4. Iohn Wadnon.
- 5. Ioan his wife.
- 6. Tho. Euerden.
- 7. William Euerden.
- 8. Steuen Robin.
- 9. W. Chiueling.
- 10. Iohn Tame.
- 11. Iohn Fowlin.
- 12. Will. Somer.
- 13. Marion his wife.
- 14. Iohn Abraham.
- 15. Rob. Munden
- 16. Laurence Coke.

These being cited vp together by the bishop would not appere. Wherupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to flie their houses & townes, & shift for themselves as couertly as they might. When Burbath and other officers had sent worde to the [Page 643](#) Archbishop that they coulde not be founde, then he directed downe order that Citations should be set vp for them on euery Church dore through all townes where they did inhabite: appointing them a day & terme whē to appeare. But not withstanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appeare, the Archbishop sitting in hys tribunall seate, proceedeth to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them, in the register doth not appeare: but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

Concerning sir Iohn Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension,* with his whole story & life, sufficiently hath bene expressed before, pag. 575. how he being committed to the Tower, and condēned falsely of heresie, escaped afterward out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the space of four yeares. In the which meane time, a great summe of money was proclaimed by the King, to hym that could take the sayde sir Iohn Oldcastle, eyther quicke or dead. About the ende of which foure yeares beeing expired,* the Lord Powes, whether for loue and greedines of the money, or whether for hatred of true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seking all maner of wayes how to play the parte of Iudas, at length obtained his bloudie purpose, and brought the Lorde Cobham bound vp, to London: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1417. and about the moneth of December. At which time, there was a Parliament assembled at London, for the reliefe of money the same time to be sente to the King, whome the Byshops had sente out (as yee heard before) to fight in Fraunce. The records of which Parliament do thus say: that on Twesday the xiiij. day of December, and the xxix. day of the sayd Parliament, Sir Iohn Oldcastle of Cowling, in the Countie of Kent, Knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the Kings bench, and excommunicated before by the Archbishop of Canterbury for heresie, was brought before the Lords, and hauing heard his said conuictions, aunswered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and processe, it was adiudged, that he should be taken as a traytour to the King and the Realme: that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence drawne thorough London vnto the new gallowes in S. Gyles without Temple barre, and there to bee hanged, and burned hanging.

[illustration]

The description of the cruell Martyrdome of Sir Iohn Oldcastle, Lorde Cobham.

As touching the pretenced treason of this Lord Cobham falsely ascribed vnto him in his inditement, rising vpon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggrauated by rigour of words, rather then vpon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath bene discoursed before in my defence of the saide Lorde Cobham, against Alanus Copus, page. 575. where againe is to be noted, as I saide before, how by this appeareth, that the Lorde Cobham was neuer executed by force of the inditement or outlawry, because, if he had, he should then haue bene brought to the barre in the Kings bench, and there the Iudges shoulde haue demaunded of him, what he could haue said, why hee shoulde not haue died: and then not shewing sufficiente cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the Iudges should haue awarded and geuen the iudgemente of treason: which being not so, it is cleare he was not executed vpon the Inditement. Besides, to proue that he was not executed vpon the Inditement, and the outlawry, the maner of the execution proueth it, because it was neither the execution of a Traitour, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the Iudge, as by due order of lawe was requisite.

Finally, as I said before, heere I repeate againe, that albeit the sayd Lord Cobham was attained of treason by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the commons assented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in such sorte (as if in deede he were no traytour) that any man may not by search of the truth, vtter and set forth sincerely and iustly, the very true and certaine cause, whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth by all circumstances and firme arguments, to rise principally of his Religion, which first brought him in hatred of the Bishops: the Bishops brought

him in hatred of the King: the hatred of the King brought him to his death and Martirdome. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy seruaunt of Christ Lord Cobham.

Moreouer, in the records aboue mentioned it followeth, how in the sayd Parliament, after the Martirdome of this valiant Knight,* motion then was made, that the Lord Powes might be thanked and rewarded, according to the Proclamation made, for his great trauaile taken in the apprehension of Sir Iohn Oldcastle Knight, hereticke. Thus stand the wordes of the recorde. Where two things are to be noted: First, how Sir Iohn heere in the record is called not traitour, but hereticke only. Secondly, marke how this brother of Iudas heere craueth hys [Page 644](#) reward for betraienge the innocent bloud. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and quid vultis mihi dare in this world, will haue an heauie reward hereafter in the world to come, vnlesse he repented. &c.

*Furthermore, in the sayde Parliament, Act. 17. it was enacted, that the Church and all estates should enioy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the common lawe: meaning belike, the excluding of the iurisdiction of the Popes foreine power, which hath alwaies by the common lawe bene excluded out of thys Realme.

In the same Parliament also a greeuous complainte was made (by the Bishops no doubt) against insurrections. In the ende, they suspected that they were the Lollards, hereticks, and traitours, with a request that commissions might at all times be graunted to inquire of them. Whereunto aunswere was made, that the statutes therefore made, should be executed, &c. Thus the Cleargy Tanquam leones rugientes, ceased not to roare after Christian bloud: And whosoever was else in fault, still the Clergy cried: crucifie Christ, and deliuer vs Barrabas: For then all horrible facts and mischieues, if anye were done, were imputed to the poore Lollards.

And now from our English matters, to returne againe to the story of the Bohemians, from whence wee haue a little digressed, when as the newes of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against Iohn Hus, & Hierome of Prage, were noised in Boheme, the nobles and gentlemen of Morauia and Boheme, such as faouored the cause of Iohn Hus, gathering themselues together in the zeale of Christ: first sent their letter vnto the Councell, expostulating with them, for the iniurie done to those godly men, as is before expressed, page. 602. for the which letter they were all cited vp to the Councell. Unto this letter Sigismund the Emperour maketh aunswere againe in y^e name of the whole Councell: first, excusing himselfe of Husses death, which he saide was against his safeconduict, and against his will: Insomuch that he rose in anger from the Councell, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conforme themselues peaceably vnto the order of the Catholicke Church of Rome, &c.

Also the Councell hearing or fearing some stirre to rise among the Bohemians, did make lawes and Articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of xxiiij.

*First, that the King of Bohemia shall be sworne to giue obedience, and to defend the liberties of the Church of Rome.

That all Maisters, Doctours and Priestes, shall bee sworne to abiure the doctrine of Wickleffe, and Husse, in that Councell condemned.

That all they which being cited, would not appeare, should also be sworne to abiure: and they whiche would not appeare, contemning the censure of the keyes, should haue processe against them, and be punished.

That all such lay men as had defended the causes of Iohn Wickleffe and Iohn Husse, should sweare to defend them no more, and to approoue the doings of that Councell, and the condemnation of Iohn Husse.

That all such seculare men as had spoiled the Cleargie, should be sworne to restitution.

That Priestes being expelled from their benefices, should be restored againe.

That all prophaners of Churches should bee punished after the Canonically sanctions.

That such as had bene promoters in the Councell against Iohn Husse, should be permitted safely to returne into Boheme againe, and to enioy their benefices.

That the reliques and treasure taken out of the Church of Prage, should be restored fully againe.

That the vniuersitie of Prage should be restored againe and reformed, and that they which had bene the disturbers thereof, should be really punished.

That the principall heretickes and doctors of that secte, should be sente vp to the sea Apostolique, namely, Iohn Iessenetz, *Iacobellus de Misna, Symon de Tysna, Symon de Rochinzano, Christiannus de Brachatitz, Ioannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de loben, The prouost of Alhalowes, Zaislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

That all secular men which communicated vnder both kinds, should abiure that heresie, and sweare to stoppe the same heereafter.

*That they which were ordeined Priestes by the suffragane of the Archbishop of Prage, taken by y^e Lord Zenko, should not be dispensed with, but sent vp to the Sea Apostolicke.

That the treatises of Iohn Wickliffe, * translated into the Bohemian tongue by Iohn Husse, and Iacobellus, should be brought to the Ordinary.

That the treatises of Iohn Husse condemned in the Councell, should also be brought to the Ordinarie.

That all the tractations of Iacobellus De vtraque specie, de Antichristo (wherein he ralleth the Pope Antichrist) Et de remanentia panis post consecrationem, should likewise be brought and burned.

That all songs and balates made to the preiudice of the Councell, and of the Catholike persons of both states, should be forbid to be soong in Cities, townes and villages, vnder great and extreame punishment.

That none should preach the word without the licence of the Ordinarie, or of the parson of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, hauing iurisdiction, should not be stopped in their iurisdiction, by the secular power, vnder paine of excommunication.

That all and singular parsons shall be commaunded to obedience, vnder paine of excōmunication: and that whosoeuer knoweth any person to fauour any Wicleuistes or their doctrine, or that keepeth company with suspect persons, he shall present the same to his Diocesans or his officials.

That the confederacie of the seculars made betweene themselues, or any of the spiritualitye, to the preiudice of the foresaid Councell, and of the Apostolicke sea & Church of Rome, in the fauour of Iohn Hus, Hierome of Prage, and other in the said Councell cōdemned, shalbe dissolved.

That the rites and ceremonies of Christian Religion, touching Gods seruice,* Images, and worshipping of reliques, shall be obserued, and transgressours of the same be punished.

That all and singular, either spirituall or secular that shall preach, teach, holde, or maintaine the opinions and Articles of Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome, in this Councell condemned, and conuict of the same, shall be holden for heretickes, and falling in relapse, shall bee burned.

That all secular persons being monished and charged by the Ordinaries, shall be bound to geue their aide and furtherance vnto them, touching the premisses.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruell Articles, contemning the vaine deuises of these Prelates and fathers of the Councell, ceased not to proceede in their league and purpose begon, ioyning themselues more strongly together.

In this meane time it hapned, that during this Councell of Constance,* after the deposing of Pope Iohn, and spoiling of his goodes, which came to 75. thousand poūds of golde and siluer, as is reported in the story of Saint Albans,* Pope Martin vpon the day of S. Martin, was elected. Concerning whose election, great preparation was made before of the Councell, so that beside the Cardinals, fiue other Bishops of euery nation should enter into the conclaue, who there together should be kept wyth thin diet, till they had founded a Pope. At last, when they were together,* they agreed vpon this man, and not tarieng for opening of the dore, like mad men, for hast, brast open an hole in the wall, crieng out, habemus papam, Martinum, we haue a Martine Pope. The Emperour hearing thereof, with the like hast, came apace, and falling downe, kissed the new Popes feete. Then went they all to the Church together, and sang, Te Deum.

The next day following,* this Martine was made priest (which before was but a Cardinall Deacon) and the next day after was consecrate Bishop, and sang his first masse, whereat was present 140. mitted Bishops. After thys, the next morow, the new holy Pope ordeined a generall procession, where a certaine Clarke was appointed to stand with flaxe and fire, who setting the flaxe on fire, thus said: Ecce pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi. i. behold holye father, thus vadeth the transitorie glory of this worlde. Which done,* the same day the holy father was

brought vp vnto an high scaffold (saith the story) I will not say to an high mountaine, where was offered to him all the glory of the world, &c. there to be crowned for a triple Kyng. This done, the same day, after dinner, the new crowned Pope was with great triumph brought through y^e midst of the Citie of Constance, where all the Bishops and Abbots followed with their miters.* The Popes horsse was all trapt with red skarlet downe to the ground. The Cardinals horses were all in white silke, the Emperour on the right side, and prince Electour on the left, playeng both the Popes footemen, went on foote, leading the Popes horse by the bridle.

Page 645*As this Pageant thus with the great gyant proceeded, and came to the market place, there the Iewes (according to the maner) offered to him their lawe and ceremonies. Which the Pope receiuing, cast behind him, saieng: Recedant vetera, noua sunt omnia. i. Let olde thinges passe, all things be made new, &c. Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Vrsperg. This was an. 1417.

Thus the Pope being now cōfirmed in his kingdome, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherein partly he moueth them to Catholicke obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, faining, that if it were not for the Emperours request, he woulde enter processe against them. Thirdly and finally he threatneth to attempt the vttermost against them, and with all force to inuade them, as well with the Apostolicall, as also with the secular arme, if they did still persist, as they begōn.

Albeit these new threatres of the new Bishop, did nothing moue the constant harts of the Bohemians, whome the inward zeale of Christes word had before inflamed.

Although it had bene to be wished, such bloudshead and warres not to haue followed: yet to say the truth, how could these Rabines greatly blame them heerein, whome their bloudy tirannie had before prouoked so iniustly, if nowe with their glosing letters they could not so easely appease them againe.

Wherefore these foresaid Bohemians, partly for the loue of Iohn Hus and Hierome their countrey men,* partly for the hatred of their malignant Papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemne memoriall of the death of Iohn Husse and Hierome, decreeing the same to be holden & celebrate yearely. And afterward, by meanes of their frends, they obtained certaine Churches of the King, wherein they might freely preach and minister the Sacraments vnto the congregation. This done, they suppressed diuers monasteries, pharisaicall temples, and idolatrous phanes, beginning first with the great monasterie of the blacke Friars, eight miles from Prage, and driuing away the wicked and vicious Priests & Monkes out of them, or compelling them vnto a better order. And thus their number more and more encreasing vnder the conduct of a certaine noble man named Nicholas, they went againe vnto the King, requiring to haue more and ampler Churches graunted vnto them. The King seemed at the first willingly and gently to giue care vnto the said Nicholas intreating for the people, and commaunded them to come againe the next day.

When the people were departed, the kyng turning himselfe to y^e noble man Nicholas,* which taried still behynde, said: Thou hast begun a webbe to put me out of my kingdome, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithall I will hang thee. Whereupon he immediatly departed out of the Kings presence, and the King himselfe went into the Castle of Uissegrad: within a while after,

into a new Castle, which he himselfe had builded fīue stones cast frō thence, sending Ambassadors to his brother to require aide.

These Protestants beeing assembled in the Towne of Pra•e, holding their conuentions: the king sent forth his Chamberlaine with CCC. horsemē, to runne vpō them: but he hauing respect vnto his life, fled. Whē newes thereof was brought vnto y^e king,* all that were about him being amased, vtterly detested the fact: but the Kings cupbearer stāding by, said: I knew before that these thynges would thus come to passe.* Whom y^e king in a rage taking hold of, threw him downe before his feete, and with hys dagger would haue slaine him: but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado, he pardoned him his life. Immediatly the king being taken with a palsey, fell sicke, and within 18. daies after, whē he had marked the names of such, whom he had appointed to put to death, incessantly calling for aide of his brother, and other his frends, he departed this life before the Princes which he had sente vnto, were come with aide, whē he had raigned 55. yeares, and was about the age of 57. yeares.

The story of Zisca.

IMmediatly after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certaine noble man named Zisca, borne at Trosnouia, which from his youth vpwarde, was brought vp in the kyngs court, and had lost one of his eies in a battel, where as he had valiantly borne himselfe. This man beeing sore greeued for the death of I. Hus, and Hierome of Prage, minding to reuenge the iniuries which the Councell had done, greatly to the dishonour of y^e kingdom of Boheme, vpon their complices and adherēts: he gathered together a number of mē of warre, and subuerted the Monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling downe, and breaking in peeces the images and idols, driuing away the Priestes and Monkes, which he saide were kept vp in their Cloysters, like swine in their styes to be fatted. After this, hys army beeing increased, hauing gathered together aboute fortie thousande men, hee attempted to take the Castle of Uissegrade, which was but slenderly warded. Frō thence the said Zisca vnder the conduit of Coranda, wente speedely vnto Pelzina, whereas he knew he had many frends of his faction, and tooke the towne into his power, fortifieng the same very strongly, and those which tarried behinde, tooke the Castle of Uissegrade.

Then the Queene Sophia beeing very carefull,* sente letters and messengers vnto the Emperour Sigismund, and other nobles adioining vnto her, requiring aide and helpe: but the Emperour made preparation against the Turke, which had then lately wonne certaine Castels of him. Whereupon the Queene seeing all ayde so farre off, together with Zenko Warrenberge, gathered an host with the kings treasure, and fortified the Castle of Prage, and the lesser Citie which ioineth vnto the Castle, making gates and Towers of wood vpon the bridge, ouer the Riuer Multane, to stoppe that the Protestants shoulde haue no passage that way. Then it hapned that at the Ile of S. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equall or indifferent battaile with them.

In the meane time the number of the Protestantes beeing increased in Prage, they fought for y^e bridge. In which battaile many were slaine on both parts, but at the length the Hussites wanne the bridge, and the neather part of lesser Prage, the Queenes part fleeing into the vpper parte thereof: whereas they turning againe fiersly, renued the battaile, and fought continually day and night by y^e space of fīue daies. Many were slaine on both parts, goodly buildings were rased, and the councell house, which was in a low place, was vtterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate,* the Ambassadors of the Emperour Sigismund were come: whyche taking vpon them the rule and gouernāce of the Realme, made a truce or league with the Citie of Prage vnder this condition, that the Castle of Uissegrad beeing rendred, it should be lawful for thē to send Ambassadors to y^e Emperour Sigismund to intreat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render Pelzina & Piesta, with the other forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed vpon and receiued, all the forreine Protestants departed out of the Citie, and the Senate of the Citie began to gouerne againe according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, y^e Papists which were gone out of y^e Towne, durst not returne againe: but still looked for the Emperour, by whose presence they thought they should haue bene safe. But this their hope was frustrate by meanes of certaine letters which were sent from the Emperour, wherein it was written that he woulde shortly come and rule y^e kingdome, euen after the same order and maner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereby the Protestants vnderstoode that their sect and Religion should be vtterly banished, which was not begon during the raigne of the sayd Charles.

About Christmasse, the Emperour Sigismund came to Brunna a Citie of Morauia, and there he pardoned the Citizens of Prage, vnder condition that they woulde let downe the chaines and barres of the City, and receiue his rulers and magistrates. Wherunto the whole city obeied, and the Magistrates thereof lifting vp their handes vnto heauen, reioiced at the comming of the new king. But the Emperour turned another way, and wēt vnto Uratislauia, the head city of Slesia, where as a little before, the cōmunalty of the City had slaine in an insurrection, the magistrates, which his brother Wēceslaus had set in authority: the principals wherof he beheaded.* The newes wherof when they were reported at Prage, the Citizēs being seared by the example of the Vratislauians, distrusting their pardō, rebelled out of hand, and hauing obtained Cencho on their part, which had the gouernaunce of the Castle of Prage, they sent letters into all the Realme, that no man should suffer y^e Emperour to enter, which was an enemie vnto Boheme, and sought nothing else, but to destroy the kingdome:* which also bound the aunciēt citie of the Prutenitants, vnto order by pledges, and put the Marques of Brandenburge from the Bohemian crowne: and had not onely suffered Iohn Hus & Hierome of Prage to be burned at y^e Council of Constance, but also procured the same, & with all his endeouour did impugne the doctrine & faith which they taught and folowed. Whilest these things wee thus done. Zisca hauing giuen ouer Pelzina by cōpositiō, was twise assaulted by his enemies, but through policy he was alwaies victor. The places where they sought, were [Page 646](#) rough and vnknowne, his enimies were on horsebacke, and all his souldiours on foote, neither could there be any battaile fought, but on foote. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted from their horses. Zisca commaunded the women which customably followed the host,* to cast their kerchieffes vpon the ground, wherein the horsemen being entangled by their spurres, were slaine before they could vnlose their feete.

After this, he went vnto Ausca, a towne situate vpon the Riuier Lusinitius, out of which towne Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren Papists, had castout many Protestants. This Towne Zisca tooke by force of armes the first night of Lent, rased it, and set it on fire. He also tooke the Castle of Litius, which was a mile off, whether as Ulricius was fled, and put Ulricius and all his familie to the sword, sauing one only.

Then, forsomuch as he had no walled or fensed towne to inhabite, he chose out a certaine place vpon the same riuier, which was fensed by nature, about eight miles from the Citie of Ausca.*

This place he cōpassed in with walles, and commaunded euery man to build them houses, where they had pitched their tents, and named this City Thabor, and the inhabitants his companions Thaborites, bicause their Citie, by all like, was builded vpon the top of some hill or mount. This Citie, albeit that it was sensed with high rockes and cleaues, yet was it compassed with a wall and vainnure, and the riuier Lusinitius fenseth a great part of the towne, the rest is compassed in wyth a great brooke, the which running straight into the riuier Lusinitius, is stopped by a great rocke, and driuen backe towards the right hand, all the length of the Citie, and at the further end it ioineth with the great riuier. The way vnto it by land is scarce thirtie foote broade, for it is almost an Iland. In this place there was a deepe ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thicknes, y^t it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers & sorts set in their cōuenient & meete places. Zisca was the firste that builded the Castle, and those that came after him, fortified it, euery man according to his owne deuise. At that time the Thaborites had no horsemen amongst them, vntill such time as Nicholas, maister of y^e mint (whom the Emperour had sent into Bohemia with a M. horsemen to set things in order, & to withstand the Thaborites lodging all night in a village named Uogize) was surprised by Zisca comming vpon him sodenly in y^e night, taking away all his horse and armour, & setting fire vpon the village. Then Zisca taught his souldiours to mount on horseback, to leape, to runne, to turne, to cast in a ring, so that after this heuener led army without his wings of horsemen.

* In this meane time Sigismundus the Emperour gathering together, y^e nobles of Slesia, entred into Boheme, and went vnto Grecium, and frō thence with a great army vnto Cuthna, alluring Cencho with many great and large promises, to render vp y^e Castle of Prage vnto him, and there placed himselfe to annoy the towne. Thus Cencho infamed with double treason, returned home. The Citizens of Prage sent for Zisca, who speding himselfe thether with the Thaborites, receiued the citie vnder his gouernance.* In the Bohemiās host there was but only two Barons, Hilco Crussina of Liturburge, and Hilco of Waldestene, with a few other nobles. All the residue were of y^e common people. They went about first to subdue the Castell, which was by nature very strongly fensed, and could not be won by no other meanes then with famine: wherupon all y^e passages were stopped, that no vittailles should be carried in. But the Emperour opened the passages by dint of sword, & when he had geuen vnto them which were besieged, all things necessary, hauing sente for ayde out of the Empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the Citie. There was in the Emperours campe the Dukes of Saxon,* the Marqueses of Brandenburge, and hys sonne in law Albert of Austrich. The Citie was assaulted by the space of vi. weekes. The Emperor Sigismūd was crowned in the Metropolitane house in the Castle, Conradus the Archbishop solemnising the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straightly besieged. In the meane time the Captaines Rosenses & Chragery, which had takē the tentes of the Thaborites, being ouercome in battaile by Nicholas Husse, whome Zisca had sent with parte of hys power for that purpose, were driuen out of their tentes, and Gretium the Queenes Citie was also taken.

There is also about the Towne of Prage a high hill, which is called Uidechon.* On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possesse it, with whome the Marques of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his souldiours. For when as the Misnians had gotten the top of the hill, being driuen back into a corner, which was broken & steepe, and fiersly set vpon, whē as they could no longer withstād the violent force of their enimies, some of them were slaine, and some falling headlong from the hill,* were destroied. Whereupon the Emperour Sigismund raising his seege, departed vnto Cuthua and Zisca with his company departed vnto

Thabor, and subdued many places: amōgst which he subuerted a town pertaining to the captaine of Uisgrade. During this tyme the Castell of Uisgrade was strongly besieged, whereas, when other vittailles wāted, they were compelled to eate horse flesh. Last of all, except the Emperour did aide them by a certaine daye, they promised to yeld it vp, but vnder this condition, that if the Emperour did come, they within the Castle should be no more molested.

The Emperour was present before the day,* but beeyng ignorant of the truce taken, entring into a straight vnderneath the Castle, was sodenly set vpon by the souldiours of Prage, where he had a great ouerthrow, and so leauing his purpose vnperformed, returned backe againe. There were slaine in that conflict xiiij. noble men of the Morauians, and of the Hungarians, & other a great number. The Castle was deliuered vp vnto them. Whilest these things were in doing, Zisca toke Boslaus a captaine, which was surnamed Cigneus, by force, in a very strōg towne of his, and brought him vnto his religion. Who a few yeares after, leading the protestants host in Austria, was wounded before Rhetium, and died.* Ther were in the territorie of Pelsina many monasteries, of y^e which Zisca subuerted and burned fiue. And forsomuch as y^e monastery of Saint Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himselfe.

Thether also came the Emperour with his army:* but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled, and not lōg after, he departed and left Boheme. Then Zisca went with his army vnto Pelzina: but forsomuch as hee sawe the Citie so fenced, that hee was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Commitauia a famous Citie, the which he tooke by force, burning all the Priests therein.

Afterward,* when as he lay before the towne of Raby, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken wyth a shaft in the eye, hauing but that one before to see withall. From thence, hee was carried to Prage to Phisicians, whereas he being cured of his wound, and his life saued, yet he lost his sight, and for all that, he woulde not forsake his army, but still tooke the charge of them.

After this, the garrisons of Prage went vnto Uarona, where as there was a great garison of the Emperours, & tooke it by force, many being slaine of eyther parte. They also tooke the towne of Broda in Germany, and slue the garrison, and afterward tooke Cuthna and many other cities by composition. Further, when as they ledde theyr army vnto a town called Pons,* which is inhabited by the Misnians, the Saxons meeting thē by the way, because they durst not ioine battaile, they returned backe. After all this, y^e Emperour appointed the Princes electours a day,* that at Bartilmewtide, they should with their armie inuade the Weast part of Boheme, and he with an host of Hungarians would enter on the East part. There came vnto his ayde the Archbishop of Mentz, the countie Pallatine of Rheine, the Dukes of Saxon, the Marques of Brandenburge, & many other Bishops out of Almaine: all the rest sente their aydes. They encamped before the towne of Sozius, a strong & well fenced place, which they could by no meanes subdue. The cuntry was spoiled & wasted round about, and the siege continued vntill y^e feast of S. Galle. Then it was broken vp because the Emperour was not come at his day appointed, but he hauyng gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and West Morauians, about Christmas entred into Boheme, and tooke certaine townes by force, and Cuthna was yelded vnto him.* But when Zisca (although he was blinde) came towards him)and set vpon him, he being afcard, & many of his nobles slaine, fled. But first he burned Cuthna, which the Thaborites, by meanes of the siluer mines, called the powch of Antichrist.* Zisca pursuing the Emperour a dayes iourney, got great

& rich spoyle, and taking the towne of Broda by force, set it on fire: the which afterward almost by the space of xiiij. yeares, remained disinhabited. The Emperour passed by a bridge ouer the riuer of Iglaria.* And Piso a Florentine, which had brought xv. M. horsemen out of Hungary to these warres, passed ouer the Ise, the which by the multitude & number of his horsemen being broke, deuoured & destroied a great number. Zisca hauing obtained this victory,* would not suffer any image or idoll to be in the Churches, neither thought it to be borne withall, that Priests shoulde minister wyth copes or vestiments: for the which cause he was much the [Page 647](#) more enuied amongst the states of Boheme.* And the Cōsuls of Prage beeing agreeued at the insolencie of Iohn Premonstratensis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whome they supposed to be the principals of thys faction, into the Councell house, as though they woulde conferre with them as touching the common wealth:* and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterwarde departed home euery man to his owne house, thinking the Citie had bene quiet, as though nothing had bin done: But their seruaunts beeing not circumspect inough, washing downe the court or yarde, washed out also the bloud of those that were slaine, through the sinkes or canels: the which being once seene, the people vnderstood what was done. By and by there was a great tumult: the Councell house was straightway ouerthrowne, and eleuen of the principall Citizens, whiche were thought to be the authours thereof, were slaine, and diuers houses spoiled.

About the same time, the Castell of Purgell, wherein the Emperour had left a small garrison (whether as also many Papistes with their wiues and children were fled) was thorough negligēce burned, and those which escaped out of the fire, went vnto Pelsina. After this, diuers of the Bohemian Captaines, and y^e Senate of Prage, sent Ambassadors to Uitolde Duke of Lituania, and made hym their king. This did Zisca and his adherentes gainesay. This Untold sent Sigismūd Coributus, with two thousand horsemen into Boheme, who was honourably receiued of the inhabitants of Prage. At his comming they determined to lay siege vnto a Castle situate vpon a hill, which was called Charles stone.

Heere Sigismundus had left for a garrison foure Centurions of souldiours. The tentes were pitched in ii. places. The siege continued vi. moneths, and y^e assault neuer ceased day and night. Fiue great flyngs threw continually great stones ouer y^e walles, and about two thousand vessels, tubbs, or baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in amongst those which were besieged: whiche thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out or were all lose.* Notwithstāding they bare it out with stout courage, & continued their fight vntill the Winter, hauing priuily receiued medicine out of Prage, to fasten their teeth againe.

In the meane time Fridericke the elder, prince of Brādenburge entring into Boheme with a great power, caused them of Prage to raise the siege. And Uitoldus at the request of Uladislaus king of Pole, which had talked with the Emperour in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his vnclē with his whole army out of Boheme. Wherupon y^e Emperour supposed y^t the Protestāts being destitute of foreine aid, would y^e sooner do his commandement: but he was farre deceiued therein, for they leading their armies out of Boheme, subdued y^e borderers thereupon adioining. It is also reported y^t Zisca went into Austrich, and whē as the husbandinē of the countrey had caried away a great number of their cattell by water into an Isly of the riuer called Danubius, and by chaunce had left certaine values and swine in their Uillages behind them: Zisca draue them vnto the riuer side,* and kept thē there so long, beating them, and causing thē to roare out and

cry, vntill that the cattell feeding in the lland, hearing y^e lowing and grunting of the cattell on the otherside the water, for the desire of their like, did swimme ouer the riuer: by the meanes where of, he got and draue away a great booty.

About the same time the Emperour Sigismūdus gaue vnto his sonne in law Albert Duke of Austrich, the countrey of Morauia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time also Ericius king of Denmarke, & Peter Instant, brother to y^e king of Portingal and father of Iames, Cardinall of S. Eustachius, came vnto y^e Emperour, being both very expert men in the affaires of warre: which did augment y^e Emperours host with their aid and power. Wherupon, they straightway pitched their camp before Lutemperge, a towne of Morauia, and continued the siege by the space of ii. moneths. There was at that time a certaine Knight at Prage surnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authority. This mā, forsomuch as he had no child of his owne, adopted vnto him his sisters sonne, named Procopius: whom when he was of meane stature and age, he caried with him into France, Spayne, and Italy, and vnto Ierusalem, and at his returne caused hym to be made Priest. This man when the Gospell began to flourish in Boheme, tooke part with Zisca, and for somuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painefull, he was greatly esteemed.

This Procopius for his valiaunt actes, was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed vnto him the whole charge of the prouince of Morauia, and the defence of the Lutemperges: who receiuing a great power by force (maugre all the whole power which lay in the siege) carried vittales into the towne which was besieged, and so did frustrate the Emperours siege. The Emperour before this had deliuered vnto the Marqueses of Misnia the bridge and towne of Ausca, vpon the riuer of Albis, that they should fortifie them with their garrisons. Wherupon Zisca besieged Ausca, and Fridericke the Marquesse of Misnia, with his brother the Lantzgraue of Turyng, gathering together a greate army out of Saxonia, Turing, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, determined to rescue and ayde those which were besieged.

There was a great battaile fought before the Citie, and the victory depēded long vncertaine, but at last it fel on the Protestantes part.* There were slaine in that battaile, the Burgraues of Misnia or Chyrpogenses, the Barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, beside ix. thousand cōmon souldiours, and the Towne of Ausca was taken and vtterly rased.

At the last, dissention rising betweene Zisca and them of Prage, they of Prage prepared an army against him, wher with he perceiuing himselfe ouermatched, fled vnto y^e Riuer of Albis and was almost takē, but that he had passage through the town of Poggiebras, but they of Prage pursuing the taile of y^e battaile, slue many of his Thaborites. At the length they came vnto certaine hils^{*} whereas Zisca going into the valley, knowing the straights of the place, that his enimies could not spread their army, he commanded his standerd to stand still, and exhorting and encouraging his souldiours, he gaue them battaile.

This battaile was very fierce and cruell: but Zisca hauing the vpper hande, slue 3000. of them of Prage,* and put the rest to flight, and straightwaies tooke the Citie of Cuthna by force (which they of Prage had repaired) and set it on fire: then withall speed he went with his army to besiege Prage, and incamped within a bowe shoote of the towne.* There wer many both in the City, and also in his host which grudged sore at y^e siege: some accusing Zisca, othersome them of Prage.

There was great tumultes in the campe, y^e souldiours saieng that it was not reasonable, that the City should be suppressed, which was both the head of the kingdome, and did not dissent frō them in opinion: saieng that y^e Bohemians power would soone decay, if their enimies should know y^t they were deuided within themselues: also that they had sufficient warres agaynst the Emperour, and that it was but a foolish deuise to moue warres amongst themselues. This talke came vnto the eare of Zisca, who calling together his armie, standyng vpon a place to be heard, spake these words.

BRethren be yee not agreed against me,*neither accuse hym which hath sought your health and sauegard. The victories which ye haue obtained vnder my conduct, are yet fresh in memorie, neither haue I broughte you at any time vnto any place, from whence you haue not come victours. You are become famous and rich, and I for your sake haue lost my sight, and dwell in darkenesse Nothing haue I gotten by all these fortunate batailles, but only a vaine name. For you haue I fought, and for you haue I vanquished, neither do I repente me of my trauailes, neyther is my blindnesse greuous vnto me, but onely that I can not prouide for you, according to my accustomed manner: Neither do I persecute them of Prage for mine owne cause, for it is your bloud that they thirst and seeke for, and not mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me being now an old man and blind: it is your valiantnesse and stoute stomackes which they feare. Either must you or they perish: who whilest they seeme to lye in wait for me, do seeke after your liues. You must rather feare ciuill warres then foreine, and ciuill sedition ought first to be auoided. We will subdue Prage, and banish the seditious Citizens, before the Emperour shall haue any newes of this sedition. And then hauing but a few of his faction left, we may wyth the lesse feare looke for it: better then if these doubtfull Citizens of Prage were still in our campe. But because ye shall accuse me no more, I geue you free libertie to do what you will. If it please you to suffer them of prage to liue in quietnesse, I will not be against it, so that there be no treason wrought. If you determine to haue warre, I am also readie. Looke which part you will decline vnto, Zisca will be your ayde and helper.

When he had spoken these words,* the souldiours minds were changed, and wholly determined to make wars, so that they ran by and by to take vp their armour and weapon, to run vnto the walles to prouoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the citie. Zisca in the meane time prepared all things ready for the assault. There is a little from Pelsina acertain vilage named Rochezana. In this place, there was a child borne of poore and base parētage, whose [Page 648](#) name was Iohn: he came vnto Prage, and got his liuing there by begging, and learned Grammer & Logick. When he came to mās state, he became y^r Scholemaster of a noble mans child, and for so much as he was of an excellent wit and ready tounge, he was receiued into the Colledge of the poore, and last of all being made Priest, he began to preach the word of God to the Citizēs of Prage, and was named Iohannes de Rochezana,* by the name of the Towne where he was borne. This mā grew to be of great name and authoritie in the towne of Prage. Wherupon when as Zisca besieged Prage, he by the consent of the Citizēs went out into the camp, and reconciled Zisca againe vnto the Citie.

When as the Emperour perceiued that all things came to passe according vnto Zisca his will and minde, and that vpon him alone the whole state of Boheme did depend, he sought priuie meanes to recōcile and get Zisca into his fauour, promising him y^e gouernance of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hostes & armies,* and great yearly reuenues, if he would proclaime him King,

and cause the Cities to be sworne vnto him. Upō which cōditions, whē as Zisca for the performance of the couenants went vnto the Emperour being on his iourney at the Castle of Priscouia, he was stricken with sicknesse and died.

It is reported, that when he was demaunded beyng sicke,* in what place he would be buried, he commaunded the skinne to be pulled off from his dead carkase, and the flesh to bee cast vnto the foules and beastes, and that a drumme should be made of his skinne, which they should vse in their battailes, affirming, that as soone as their enimies should heare the sound of that drumme, they would not abide,* but take their flight. The Thaborites despising all other Images, yet set vp the Picture of Zisca ouer the gates of the Citie.

The Epitaphe of Iohn Zisca, the valiant Captaine of the Bohemians.

I Iohn Zisca, not inferiour to any Emperour or Captain in warlike policie,* a seueare punisher of the pride and auarice of the Clergy, and a defender of my countrey, do lie heere. That which Appius Claudius by geuing good counsell, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantnesse did for the Romaines: the same I being blinde, haue done for my Bohemians. I neuer slacked oportunitie of battaile, neither did fortune at any time faile me. I being blinde, did foresee all oportunitie of well ordering or doing my businesse. Eleuen times in ioining battaile,* I went victour out of the field. I seemed to haue worthely defended the cause of the miserable and hungry, against the delicate, fatte, and glotonous Priests, and for that cause to haue receiued help at the hande of God. If their enuy had not let it, without doubt I had deserued to be numbred amongst the most famous men. Notwithstanding my bones lye heere in this halowed place, euen in despite of the Pope.

〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Iohn Zisca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and couetous Priestes, but with a godly zeale.

And thus haue you the actes and doings of this worthy Zisca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credite we haue drawne out of Aeneas Syluius, onely his rayling tearmes excepted, which we haue heere suppressed.

All this while the Emperour with the whole power of the Germanes, were not so busie on y^e one side, but Martin the Pope was as much occupied on the other side: who about the same time directed downe a terrible Bull, full of all poison to all Byshops and Archbishops, agaynst all such as tooke any part or side with Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, Hierome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copie of which Bull, which I found in an olde written monument, I wish the reader throughly to peruse, wherein he shall see the Pope to poure out at once all his poison.

The Bull of Pope Martine directed foorth against the followers of Iohn Wickliffe of England, of Iohn Husse of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage.

*Martine Bishop, the seruante of Gods seruants, to our reuerend brethren the Archbishops of Salzeburgen, Gueznen, and Pragē, & to the Bishops of Dlumcen, Luthomuslen, Bambergen, Misnen, Patauiē, Uratislauien, Ratisponen. Cra. ouien, Poznamen, and Nitrien, & also to our beloued children the Inquisitours appointed of the Prelates aboue recited, or where else soeuer, vnto whome these present letters shall come, greeting, and Apostolicall benediction. Amongst all other pastorall cares where with we are oppressed, this chefly and specially doth inforce vs, that heretikes with their false doctrine and errours, being vtterly expelled from amōgst the cōpany of Christen mē, and rooted out (so farre forth as God will make vs able to do) the right and Catholike faith may remaine sound and vndefiled: and that all Christian people, immoueable and iuiolate, may stande and abide in the sinceritie of the same fayth, the whole vayle of obscuritie being remoued. But lately in diuers places of y^e world, but especially in Bohemia, and the Dukedome of Morauia, and in the straights adioining thereunto, certaine Archheretickes haue risen and sprong vp, not against one only, but against diuers & sundry documēts of the Catholike faith, being landlopers schismatikes, and seditious persons, fraught with diuelish pride & Woluish madnes,*deceiued by the subtlety of Sathan, and frō one euill vanity brought to a worse. Who although they rose vp & sprang in diuers parts of y^e world, yet agreed they all in one, hauing their tailes as it were knit together: to wit, Iohn Wickliffe of England, I. Hus of Bohemia, & Hierome of Prage of damnable memorie, who drew with thē no small nūber to miserable ruine and infidelitie. For when as those & such like pestiferous persons did in y^e beginning of their poisoned doctrine, obstinately sow and spread abroad peruerse & false opinions, y^e prelates who had the regiment & execution of the iudiciall power, like dumme dogs, not able to barke, neither yet reuenging speedely with the Apostle, all such disobediēce, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the lords house (as they were enioined by y^e canons) those subtile and pestilēt Archheretickes, and their Woluish fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but suffering their false and pernicious doctrine negligētly, by their ouerlong delaies, to growe and waxe strōg: a great multitude of people in stead of true doctrine receiued those things, which they did lōg falsly, perniciously and damnably sow among them, and geuing credite vnto them, fell from the right faith, and are intangled (the more pitie) in the foule errors of Paganisme.

In so much, that those Archheretickes, and suche as spring of them,*haue infected the Catholicke flock of Christ in diuers climates of the world and parts bordering vpon the same, and haue caused them to putrifie in the filthie dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the generall Synode of Constance, was compelled with Sainct Augustine to exclaime against so great and ruinous a plague of faythfull men, and of the sound and true faith it selfe, saieng: what shall the Soueraigne medicine of the Church do, wyth motherly loue seeking the health of hir sheepe, chasing as it were, amongst a companie of men franticke, and hauing the disease of the Lethargie? What? shall she desist and leaue off hir good purpose? No not so. But rather let hir, if there be no remedie, be sharpe to both these sorts, which are the greenous enemies of her wombe. For the Phisition is sharpe vnto the man bestraught and raging in his frensie,*and yet is he a father to his owne rude and vnmanerly sonne, in binding the one, in beating the other, by shewing therein his great loue vnto them both. But if they be negligent, and suffer them to perish (sayth Augustine) this mansuetude is rather to be supposed false crueltie.

And therefore the foresaide Synode, to the glory of almighty God, and preservation of his catholicke faith, and augmenting of Christian religion, and for the saluation of mens soules: hath corporally reiected and cast forth of the houshold of God, the foresaid I. Wicklieffe, I. Hus, and

Ierome: who amongst other things, did beleue, preach, teach, and maintaine of the Sacrament of the aultar, and other sacramēts of the church & articles of the faith, cōtrary to that y^e holy Church of Rome beleueth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, & haue presumed obstinately to preach, teach, hold, and beleue many other moe, to the damnation of themselues and of others: and the sayde Synode hath separated the same, as obstinate and malipert heretickes from the Communion of the faithfull people, and haue declared them to be spiritually throwne forth: and many other things both wholesome & profitable hath the same Councell as touching the premisses, stablished and decreed, whereby they, which by the meanes of those Archheretikes, and by their false doctrine, haue spiritually departed from the Lords house, may by the canonicall rules be reduced to the straight path of truth and veritie.

And moreouer (as we to our great grieve do heare) not only in y^e kingdome of Bohemia, and Dukedome of Morauia and other places aboue recited, but also in certaine parts and prouinces neere adioining and bordering vpon [Page 649](#) the same, there be many other of y^e secretaries and followers of the foresayd Archheritickes and hereticall opinions casting behind their backs as well the feare of God, as y^e shame of the world, neither receiuing fruit of conuersion & repentaunce by the miserable destruction of the foresayde Iohn Hus and Hierome, but as men drowned in the dun'geon of their sinnes,* cease not to blaspheme the Lord God taking his name in vayne (whose minds the father of lies hath damnably blinded) and do read and study the foresaid bookes or workes, contayning heresies & erroures, being lately by the foresayd Synode condēned to be burned: also to the perill of themselues and many other simple men, & against the statutes, decrees, and ordinaunces in the Synode aforesayd, and the Canonicall sanctions, do presume to preach & teach the same, to the great perill of soules, the derogation of the Catholicke fayth, and sclaunder of many other besides. We therfore considering that error, when it is not relisted, seemeth to be allowed and liked, and hauing a desire to resist such euill and pernicious errours, and vtterly roote them out from amongst the companie of faythfull christians, especially frō the afore recited places of Bohemia, Morauia, and other straights and llands ioyning and bordering vpon the same, least they shold stretch out & enlarge their ••ites: we will and commaund your discretions by our letters Apostolicall, the holy Councell of Cōstance approuing and allowing the same, that you that are Archbishops, Bishops, and other of the clergy, and euery one of you by himself or by an other or others, being graue and fit persons to haue spirituall iurisdiction: do see that al and singuler persons, of what dignitie, office, preeminence state, or conditiō so euer they be, and by what name soeuer they are knowne,* which shall presume otherwise to teache preach, or obserue, touching the most high and excelent, the most wholesome and superadmirable Sacrament of the bloud of our Lorde Iesus Christe, or els of the Sacrament of Baptisme, confession of sinnes, penaunce for sins and extreme vnction, or els of any other Sacramentes of the Church, & articles of the faith, then that, which y^e right holy & vniuersall church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, & obserue: or els y^t shall presume obstinately by any wayes or meanes, priuily, or apertly, to hold, beleue, and teach the Articles, bookes, or doctrine of the foresayd Archhereticks Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, & Hieronimus of Prage, being by the foresayd Synode of Constance with theyr authours (as is sayd) damned and condemned, or dare presume publikly or priuily to allow or commend in any wise y^e death and end of y^e said archheretiks, or of any other their receiuers, ayders and fauourers, in the fauour or supportation of the foresayd errors, as also their beleuers and adherentes: that then as before, you see and cause them and e'very of them to be most seuerly punished, & that you iudge and geue sentence vpon them as hereticks, and that as arrant

hereticks you leaue them to the secular court or power. Let the receiuers also,* and fauourers and defenders of such most pestiferous persons, notw^tstanding they neyther beleue, fauour, nor haue deuotion, towards their errors but happely shal receaue or entertain such pestiferous persons, because of carnall affection,* or friendly loue, besides y^e punishmene due vnto thē by both lawes, ouer and aboue the same punishment, by competent iudges be so afflicted, & for so haynous actes of theirs, with so seure payn & punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other in like case offending, an example of terrour: that at the least, those whome the feare of God by no meanes may reuoke from such euill doing, yet the seueritie of this our discipline may force and constraينه.

As touching the third sort, which shalbe any maner of wayes infected with this damnable sect, and shall after cōpetent admonition repēt and amend themselues of such errors and sectes aforesayd, and will returne agayn into the lap and vnitie of our holy mother the Church, & fully acknowledge and confesse the Catholike fayth: towards them let the seueritie of iustice, as the quallitie of the acte shall require, be somewhat tempered with a tast of mercy.

* And furthermore, we will and command, that by thys our authoritie Apostolicall, ye exhort and admonish al the professours of the catholicke fayth, as Emperours, kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Knights and other Magistrates, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls, Shires, Countries and Uniuersities of the kingdomes, Prouinces, Cities, otwnes, Castles, villages, their lands & other places, & al other executing tēporal iurisdiction according to the form & exigence of the law, y^t they expell out of their kingdoms, prouincies, Cities, towns, castles, villages & lands, & other places, al & all maner of suche heretickes, according to the effect and tenour of the Councell of Laterane, beginning, Sicut ait ecclesia. &c. y^t those whom publicly and manifestly by the euidence of their deedes,* shall be knowne to be such as like sicke and scabed sheepe infect the Lords flock, they expell and banish till such tyme as from vs or you or els other ecclesiasticall iudges or Inquisitours holding the fayth and communion of the holye church of Rome, they shall receiue other order and countermaund: and that they suffer no such within theyr shyres and circuites, to preach or to keepe either house or familye either yet to vse any handicrafte or occupations or other trades of merchaundise, or els to solace themselues anye wayes, or frequent the company of Christen men.

And furthermore if suche publike and knowne heretiques shall chaunce to dye (although not so denounced by the Church) yet in this so great a crime, let hym and them want Christian buriall, and let no offeringes or oblations be made for them nor receiued. Hys goodes and substance also frō y^e time of his death, according to y^e Canonical sanctions being confiscate, let no such enioy them to whō they appertayne, till that by the ecclesiasticall iudges hauing po^wer and authoritie in this behalfe, sentence vpon that his or their crime of heresie, be declared, and promulgate, & let such owners as be found suspect or noted with anye suche suspicion of heresie, before a competent and ecclesiasticall iudge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and according to the quallitie of the person, by y^e arbitrement of such a iudge: shew and declare hys proper & own innocēcy with deuotion as beseemeth in that behalf, And if in hys purgation, being Canonically interdicted, he do fayle, or be not able Canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take hys othe by damnable obstinacie, to make suche purgation: then let him be condemned as an hereticke. But such as thorough negligence or thorough slothfulnes, shall omit to shew their sayd inno^ccencie and to make such purgation, let them be

excommunicate, and so long put out from the company of Christen men, til y^t they shall make condigne satisfactiō: so that if by the space of one whole yeare they shall remayne in such excommunication, then let them as heretickes be condēned.*

And further, if any shalbe found culpable in any point of the foresayd pestiferous doctrine of the Archheretickes aforesayd, or in any Article thereof, whether it be by the reporte of the seditious, or els well disposed: let them yet be punished, according to the Canons. If onely through infa'my and suspition of the foresaid Articles or any of them, any man shalbe found suspect, & in his purgation Canonically for this thing being interdicted, shall fayle: let hym be accompted as a man conuict, & as a conuict person by the Canons let him be punished.

And furthermore we innouating and putting in execution the Canon of our predecessour of happy memory pope Boniface the 8. which beginneth thus: *Vt inquisitionis negocium. &c. In exhorting wise require and also commaund all temporall potentates, Lordes & Iudges afore recited, by whatsoever dignities, offices, and names they are knowen: that as they desire to be had, esteemed, & counted for the faythfull members and children of the Church, and do reioyce in the name of Christ: so in likewise for the defēce of the same faith, they wil obey, intēd, giue their ayd, and fauorable help, to you that are Archbishops, Bishops, and Ecclesiastical men, inquisitours of al hereticall prauitie, and other Iudges and Ecclesiasticall persons by you hereunto, as aforesayd, appoynted (holdyng the fayth and communiō of our holy mother the church) for the searching out, taking, & safe custody, of all the foresayde heretickes, their beleuers, their fauorers, their receiuers, and their defenders, when so euer they shalbe therunto of them required.

And that they bring and cause to be brought (al delay set aparte) the foresayde pestiferous persons so seeking to destroy others with them, into suche safe keeping and prysons, as by you the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergie, and Inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed, or els vnto such other place or places, as eyther you or they shal commaūd within any of their dominions, gouernements, and rectories, where they by catholicke men, that is, by you the Archbishops, bishops, the Clergy, and inquisitours, or any other that shalbe by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe keeping, putting them in fetters,* shackles, boltes, and manacles of yrō vnder most straight custody for escaping away, tyll suche tyme as all that busines which belongeth vnto them, be by the iudgement of the church finished and determined, and that of suche heresie, by a competent ecclesiasticall iudge (which firmly holdeth the faith and communiō of the said holy church of Rome) they be cōdemned.

The residue, let the foresayde temporall Lordes, Rectours, Iudges, or other their officers and Pursinauntes, [Page 650](#) take amongst them, with condigne deathes without anye delay to punish. But fearing least to the preiudice & sclander of the foresayd catholicke fayth and religion, thorough the pretext of ignorance, any man herein shoulde be circumvented, or that any subtile and craftie men should vnder the vayle of friuolous excuse, cloke and dissēble in thys matter, and that as touching the cōuincing or apprehending of the foresaid hereticks, their receiours & defēdors, fauourers, beleuers and adherentes, and also of suche as are suspect of heresie, and with suche like peruerse doctrine many wise spotted, we might geue more perfect instruction: Therefore as well to the kingdom of Bohemia & parts neare adioining to the same as all other where this superstitious doctrine first began to spread, we haue thought it good to send

the articles here vnder written concerning y^e secte of those Archheretickes, for the better direction of the foresayd Catholicke fayth.

Touching which articles, by vertue of holy obedience we charge and commaund you and all other Archbishops and Bishops, all maner of commissaries and inquisitours that euery of them within the Dioces and limites of theyr iurisdiction, & also in y^e foresaid kingdom & dukedome and places neare adioyning, although the same places be beyond the same their iurisdiction: in the fauour of the catholicke faith, do geue most dilligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those erroures, archheresies, and most pestiferous sect aforesayd: and also that they compell all diffamed persons and suspecte of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it be vnder the penaltie of the crime confessed, •• of excommunication, suspension or interdicte, or any other formidable payne canonicall or legall, when and wheresoeuer it shall seeme good to them, and as the quallitie of the acte requireth, by an othe corporally taken either vpon y^e holy Euangelistes, or vpon the reliques of Saintes,* or vpon the image of the crucifixe, according to the obseruauntes of certayne places, and accordyng to the interrogatories, to make conuenient answere to euery article within written. For we intend agaynst all and singular archbishops, Byshops, Ecclesiasticall persons, or inquisitours, which shall shew themselues negligent and re|misse in the extirpation of the leauen of this hereticall prauitie, and purging their territories, dioces, and places to them appoynted, of such euill and wicked men: to proceed and to cause to be proceeded, vnto the deprauation and deposition of their pontificall dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to cō|found the sayd hereticall prauitie, and proceede to further paynes agaynst such by the lawe limited, and vnto other yet more grievous (if neede require) we our selues will proceede and cause to be proceeded, according as the party his fact, and filthines of his crime committed, shall deserue The tenour of those articles wherof we haue made mention in this our owne writing are in wordes as follow.

The articles of Iohn Hus to be inquired vpon.

- 1, THere is one onely vniuersall Church, whiche is the vniuersitie of the predestinate, as shall after be declared.
3. The vniuersall Church is onely one: as there is one vniuersitie of those that are predestinate.
3. Paule was neuer a member of the Deuill, although he did certayne actes like vnto the actes of the Church malignant.
4. The reprobate are not partes of the Church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her,* because that the charitie of predestination, which bindeth the same Church together, neuer fayleth.
5. The two natures (that is) the Diuinitie, and the huma|nitie, bee one Christ.
6. The reprobate, although he be sometime in grace, according to present iustice, yet is he neuer a part of the holy Church:* and the predestination is euer a member of the Church, although sometime he fall from grace aduentitia, but not from grace of predestinatiō: euer taking the

church for the conuocation of the predestinate whether they be in grace or not according to present iustice. And after this sort the church is an article of our beliefe.

7. Peter is not, nor neuer was the head of the holy catholicke Church.

8. Priestes, liuing viciously, doe defile the authoritie of priesthood, and so, as vnfaithfull Children do vnfaithfully beleue of the seuen sacraments, of the keyes of y^e Church of offices, of Censures, of ceremonies, of the worshipping of reliques: indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the Church.

9. The papill dignitie came and grew from the Emperour and hys gouernement and institution,* sprang from the em^perours gouernment.

10. No man can reasonably affirme eyther of himselfe or other that he is the head of any particular Church, or that the bishop of Rome, is the head of the Church of Rome.

11. A man ought not to beleue, that he which is byshop of Rome is the head of euery particular Church, vnles god haue predestinate hym.

12. None is the vicare of Christ, or els of Peter, vnlesse he follow him in maners and conditions, seing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apte to receiue of God this power procuratory. For vnto y^e office of a vicegerent of Christ is required, the conformitie of maⁿers and the authoritie of the institutor.

13. The pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter the Prince of the Apostles, if he liue in maners contrary to Peter: and if he hunt after auarice, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iscarioth. And likewise the Cardinales be not the true and manifest successors of the Colledge of the other Apostles of Christ, vnles they lyue according to the maner of the Apostles, keeping the commaundementes & counsels of our Lord Iesus Christ.

14. The Doctors alledging, that if a man, which will not be amended by the Ecclesiasticall censures, is to be deliuered to the secular powers: do follow in this poynt, the byshops, Scribes and Phariseis, that deliuered Christ to the secular power (saying it is not lawfull for vs to kill anye man) because he would not obey them in all thinges, and that such be greater homicides then Pilate.

15. The ecclesiasticall obedience is such an obedience as y^e Priestes of the church haue found out, besides the expresse authoritie of the scripture. The immediate deuision of humane works, is y^t they be either vertuous or vicious, & if a man be vicious, and doth any thyng, then doth he it vitiously, & if he be vertuous, and doth any thinge, thē doth he it vertuously. For like as vice which is called a great offere or mortall sin, doth stayne all y^e doyngs of a vicious man: so vertue doth quicken all the doinges of a vertuous man.

16. A priest of God liuing after hys lawe, and hauing the knowledge of the scripture, and a desire to edify the people ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication, pretended of the pope, And further, if the pope, or anye other magistrate doeth forbid a priest so disposed to

preache, he ought not to be obedient vnto hi•. For euery one that taketh vpō him the order of priesthood, receiueh in charge the office of a preacher: and of that burden ought he well to discharge himselfe, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

17. By the Censures ecclesiasticall, as of excommunication, suspending, and interdicte, the clergy to their owne aduauncement cause the lay people to ayd them: they multiply their auarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to Antichrist. And it is an euident signe that such censures proceede from Antichrist, which in their process they call Fulminationes, that is, their thunderboltes where with the clergy principally proceedeth agaynst those that declare the wickednes of Antichrist, who so greatly for hys owne commoditie hath abused them.

18. If the pope be euill, especially if he be a reprob•••, thē is he with Iudas a very deuill, a theefe and the sonne of perdition, and is not the head of the holy Church militant nor any member of the same.

19. The grace of predestination is the band, wherwith the body of the church and euery member of the same is indissolubly ioyned to their head Christ.

20. The pope or Prelate that is euill and a reprobate, is a Pastor in name, and not in deede, yea he is a theefe and a robber in very deede.

21. The P. ought not to be called the most holy one for his office sake,* for then ought a king to be called by hys office y^e most holy one: and hangmen with other such officers also were to be called holye, yea the deuill hymselfe ought to be called holy, for asmuch as he is Gods officer.

22. If the pope liue contrary vnto Christ, although he clime vp by the right and lawfull election according to the common custome of men:* yet notwithstanding shoulde be otherwise clime then by Christ, yea though wee admitte that he shoulde enter by the election principally made by God. For Iudas Iscarioth was lawfully elect of GOD Christ Iesus to hys byshopricke, and yet came not he the same way he ought to do vnto the shepefold.

23 The condemnation of 45. articles of Iohn Wickleffe by the doctors made, is vnreasonable, wicked and naught, & the cause by them alledged is sayned that is, that none of them are Catholicke, but euery on of them hereticall, erroneous, or slaunderous.

14. Not for that the electours, or the most part of thē haue [Page 655](#) consented together with liuely voyce according to the custome of men vpon the person of any, therfore, that person is lawfully elect,* or therfore is the true and manifest succes'sors & vicar of Peter the Apostle, or of any other y^e Apostles in y^r ecclesiastical office. Wherefore, whether y^e electors haue either wel or euil made their election, it behoueth vs to beleue the same, by the workes of him that is elected. For in that that euery one that worketh more meritoriously to the profite of the Church, he hath so much the more greater authoritie from God.

25.*There is not so much as one sparke of appearaunce that there ought to be one head, ruling and gouerning the church in spirituall causes, which should alwayes be conuersant in the church

millita•• For Christ without anye such monstrous heds, by his ••ue disciples sparsed through the whole world could better a great deale rule his church.

26. The Apostles and faythfull priests of God, haue right worthily in al thinges necessary to saluation gouerned the church before the popes office tooke place, and so might they doe agayne, by like possibilitie vntill Christ came to iudgement, if the popes office should fayle.

Let euery one that is suspected in the foresayd articles, or els otherwise found with assertion of them, Be examined in maner and forme as followeth.

*IN primis, whether he knew Iohn Wicleffe of Englande, Iohn Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, or anye of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them, whither that during the liues of them or any of them, they had eyther bene conuersant with them, or found any frendship at their handes.

2. Item, whether he knowing them or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them: esteeming & affirming the same their participaciō to be no sin.

3. *Item, whither that after their deathes, he euer prayed for them or any of them, openly or priuily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either saintes, or els to be saued.

4. Item, whether he thought them or anye of them to be Saintes, or whether that euer he spake such wordes, and whether euer he did exhibite any worshippe vnto them as vnto saintes.

5. Item, whether he beleue, hold, and affirme, that euery generall councill, as also the Councell of Constance, doth represent the vniuersall Church.

6. Item, * whether he doth beleue that that which the holy Councell of Constance: representing the vniuersall church hath and doth alow in the fauour of the fayth, and saluatiō of soules, is to be approued and allowed of all the faythfull Christians: and that whatsoeuer the same Councell hath condemned, and doth condemne to be contrary both to the fayth and to all good men, is to beleued, holden, and affirmed for condemned or not.

7. Item, whether he beleueth that the condemnations of Iohn Hus, Iohn Wickleffe, and Hierome of Prage, made as well vpon their persons, as their bookes and doctrine by the holy generall Councell of Constance, be rightly & iustly made, and of euery good Catholicke man, are so to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8. Item, whether he beleue, hold, and affirme, that Iohn Wickleffe of England, Iohn Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, were heretickes or not, and for heretickes to be nominated & preached, yea or not, and whether theyr bookes and doctrines were and be peruerse or not, for the which together with their pertinacie, they wre condemned by the holye sacred Councell of Constance for heretiques.

9. Itē, whether he haue in his custody any treatises, smal workes, Epistles, or other writings in what language or tongue soeuer, set forth and translated by any of these heretickes Iohn

Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome or any o^ther of their false Disciples and followers, that he may deliuer them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commissary, or to the inquisitours, vpon hys othe. And if he say that he hath no such writing about him, but y^f they are in some other place: that then you sweare him to bring the same before his Ordinary or other aforenamed, within a certayne time to him prefixed.

10. Item, whether he knoweth any that hath y^e treatises, works, Epistles, or anye other writinges of the aforesayd Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome, in whatsouer tong they are made or translated, and that he detect & manifest the same, for the purgation of their fayth and execution of iustice.

11. Item, especially let the learned be examined, whether he beleueth that the sentence of the holy Councell of Constance vpon the 45. articles of Iohn Wickleffe, and the 30. Articles of Iohn Hus be not Catholicke: which sayth that some of them are notorious hereticall, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slaunderous, some rash and seditious, some offensiuie to godly eares.

12. Item, whether he beleueueth and affirmeth, that in no case it is lawfull for a man to sweare.

13. Item, whether he beleueth, that at the commaundement of a iudge or any other, it is lawfull to take an oth to tell the truth in anye conuenient cause, although it be but purging of an infamy or not.

14. Item, whether he beleueth that periury wittingly cōmitted, vppon what cause soeuer, whether it be for y^e safegard of hys owne life, or of any other mans lyfe, (yea, although it be in the cause and defence of the fayth) be a sinne or not.

14. Item, whether a man contemning purposedly the rites of the Church, and the ceremonies of exorcisme of Cathechisme, and the consecration of the water of Baptisme, be deadly sinne or not.

16. Item, whether he beleue, that after the consecration of the priest in the sacrament of the aultar vnder the figure of bread and wyne, be no materiall bread and wyne: but in al poyntes, the same very Christ which was crucified vppon the Crosse, and sitteth vpon the right hand of the father.

17. Item, whether he beleue, that after the consecration made by the priest vnder the onely forme of bread and besides the forme of wyne, be the very flesh of Christ and hys bloud, hys soule and hys deitie, and so whole Christ as he is, and in likewise, vnder the forme of wine without the forme of bread, bee the very fleshe of Christ and hys very bloud, his soule, and deitie, and so whole Christ, & the same body absolutely vnder euery one of those kinds singularly.

18. Item, whether he doth beleue, that the custome of houseling of the lay people vnder the forme of bread only,* obserued of the vniuersall Church, and allowed by the onely Councell of Constance, be to be vsed, and not without the authoritie of the Church, at mens pleasures to be

altered, and that they that obstinately affirme the contrary to this, are to be punished as heretickes, or not.

19. Item, whether he beleue that those whiche contemne the receiuing of the sacramentes of confirmation, or extreme vnction, or els the solemnisation of matrimony, cōmit deadly sinne or not.

20. Item, whether he beleue, that a Christian man, ouer and besides the contrition of hart, being licensed of a conuenient priest, is bound to confesse himselfe only to a priest and not to any lay man, be he neuer so deuout or good, vpon the necessitie of saluation.

21. Item, whether he beleue, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolue a sinner confessing himself, and being contrite, from all sinnes and enioyne him penance for the same.

22. Item, whether he beleueth, that an euill Priest, with due maner and forme, and with the intentiō of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolue, doth verily baptise and doth verily dispose all other sacramentes euen as the Church doth.

23. Item, whether he beleue that Saint Peter was the Uicar of Christ, hauing power to bynde and to lose vpon the earth.

24. Item, whether he beleue that the Pope being canonically elect, whiche for the tyme shall be, by that name expresly be the successor of Peter or not, hauing supreme authoritie in the Church of God.

25. Item, whether he beleue that the authoritie of iurisdiction of the Pope, an archbishop or a Bishop in binding & loosing, be more then the authoritie of a simple priest or not although he haue charge of soules.

26. Item, whether he beleue, that the pope may vpon a iust and good cause, geue indulgēces and remission of sins to all Christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that go on pilgrimage to holy places and good deedes.

27. Item,* whether he beleue, that by such graunt the pilgrimes that visite those Churches, and geue thē any thing may obtayne remission of sinnes or not.

28. Item, whether he beleue that all Bishops may graūt vnto their subiectes according as the holy Canons doe limit, such indulgences or not.

29. Item, whether he beleue and affirme, that it is lawfull for faythfull Christians to worship Images and the reliques of sayntes or not.

30. Item,* whether, he beleue that those religions, whiche the Churche hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy fathers or not.

[Page 652](#)31. Item, whether he beleueth that the pope or any other Prelate for the time being, or their vicars may excommunicate their subiect Ecclesiasticall or secular for disobediēce or contumacie, so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate or not.

32. Item, whether ye beleue that for the disobediēce and contumacie of persons excommunicate, increasing: the prelates or their vicars in spirituall thinges haue power to agrauate and to reagruate, to put vpon men the interdict and to call for the secular arme: and that the same secular arme or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiors called for.

33. Item, whether he beleue that the pope and other prelates or els their vicars, haue power in spirituall things to excommunicate priestes and lay men that are stubberne and disobedient, from theyr office, benefice or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the Church, also to suspend them.

34. Item, whether he beleue, that it is lawfull for ecclesiasticall persons without committing sinne, to haue anye possessions & temporall goodes: and whether he beleue, y^t it is not lawfull for lay men to take away the same from thē by their authoritie: [*](#) but rather that such takers away & inrochers vpō ecclesiasticall goods, are to be punished as committers of sacriledge, yea although such Ecclesiasticall persons liue naughtely that haue such goodes.

35. [*](#)Item, whether any such taking away or inrochyng vpō any priest rashly or violently made, although y^e priest be an euill liuer, be sacriledge or not.

36. Item, whether he beleue that it is lawfull for lay mē of whether sexe soeuer: that is men and women, to preache the word of God or not.

37. [*](#)Item, whether he beleue that it is lawfull to al priestes freely to preach the word of God whersoever, whensoever, and to whom soeuer it shal please them, although they be not sent at all.

38. Item, whether he beleue that all mortall sinnes, and especiall such as be manifest and publike, are to be corrected and to be extirpate or not.

Furthermore, wee will commaunde, and decree, that if any by secrete information by you or any other to be receiued, shall be founde either enfamed or suspected of anye kind of y^e pestiferous sect, heresie & doctrine of the most pestilence men I. Wickleffe, I. Hus and Hierome of Prage the archheretickes aforesaid, or of fauoring, receiuing or defendeing the foresayd damned men whilst they liued on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that beleue their errorrs, or any that after their death pray for thē or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholick men, or y^t defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of y^r saintes, either by their preaching worshipping, or otherwaies wherein they deserue to be suspected: y^r then they by you or some of you, may be cited personally to appeare before you or some of you, w^tout either Proctor or Doctor to answere for them, an oth being opēly taken by them as is aforesayd, to speak the plain & mere veritie of the articles aboue written and euery of them, or other oportune, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you or anye of you shall see expediēt to proceed against them, or any of them according to these presentes or otherwise canonically, as you shall thinke good.

Also that you do publish solemnly & cause to be published, these present letters, omitting the articles & interrogatories herein containyd, in the citties & other places of your dioces, where conueniently you may, vnder our authoritie, & there to denounce and cause to be denounced all & singular such hereticks, with their abbetters & fauorers of their heresies & erroures, of what sexe or kinde soeuer, that do hold, & defend the sayd erroures, or doe participate any maner of way with heretickes, priuely or apertly, of what state, dignitie, or condition soeuer he or they be, Patriarche, Archbishop, king, Queene, Duke or of what other dignitie either Ecclesiasticall or seculare he be: also with their aduocates and procurators whosoever, whiche are beleuers, followers, fauourers defenders, or receiuers of such heretickes,* or suspected to be beleuers, followers, fautors, defenders or receiuers of them, to be excommunicate, euery sonday and festiuall day, in the presence of the people.

Furthermore, that you dilligently do to be inquired by the sayd our authoritie, vpon all and singular such persons both men and women, that mayntayne, approue, defend, & teach such erroures, or that be fauourers, receauers and de'fenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignitie, state, preeminence, degree, order, or condition soeuer. And such as you shall finde in the sayd your inquisition, either by their own confession, or by any other meane to be diffamed, or otherwise infected with the spot of suche heresie or error, you, through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and priuation of their dignities, personages, offices, or other benefices of the Church, and fees, which they hold of any church, monastery and other Ecclesiastical places, also of honours and secular dignities and degrees of sciences or other faculties, as also by other paynes and censures of the Church, or by wayes and meanes whatsoever els shall seeme to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning of their bodies, and other corporall punishmentes wherwith heretickes are punished, or are wont, and are commaunded by canonical sanctions to be vsed: and if they be clerkes, by degradation, doe correcte and punishe, and cause them to be corrected and punyshed with all dilligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise vp stoutly and couragiously agaynst such heretickes,* and the goodes as well of them, as of the lay men, according to the canonicall sanctiō made agaynst heretickes, and their followers, vnder the which we will and commaunde them and their partakers to be subiect. And also such persons, as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesayd, or any of y^e premisses, shall be bounde to purge themselues, at your arbitrement: but the other which either be witnesses, or by their owne confessions, or other allegations or probations, shalbe conuic'ted of the foresaid heresies, or articles, or of any the premisses, they shalbe compelled to reuoke and abiure publikely and solemnly the sayd articles and erroures, and to suffer condigne penance and punishment, yea euen to perpetuall imprisonment, (if need be) for the same.

And to the intent y^t they shall not nourish any kinde of heresies hereafter, either in word, deede, or gesture, or shall induce other, either in worde or deede, priuely or apertly, directly or indirectly to beleue y^e same, they shalbe forced to put in sufficient suretie. Who, if it so chaunce that they wil not publikely and solemnly renounce and abiure their articles and errors, and take at your handes condigne penance, though it be to perpetual, or tēporal punishment, according to your discretion, neither wil be cōtented to put in sufficient suretie that they will not hereafter holde nor nourish those erroures and heresies, neither wil induce other by word or deed, priuely or apertly, directly or indirecly, or by any other maner of colour, to beleue the same: that then

you shall proceede agaynst them, according to y^e qualty of their errores and demerites, yea and if you see it so expedient, as against heretickes, & as infected with heresie by our authoritie, according to the canonical sanctions su^mmarily and simply and plainly, sine strepitu & figura iudicij, & of office, all appellatiō or appellations whatsoever ceasing and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions & traditions canonicall, yea if neede be, in leauing and committing them to the secular power: and agaynst such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesi^asticall excōmunication, al appellation set aside, also innocating, if neede shall require, ayd of the secular arme: The constitution as wel of our predecessor P. Boniface 8. of bles^sed memory, wherein is decreed that no man without hys City or dioces (except in certayne cases) or in places being one daies iornye distant from thence where he inhabiteth,* shalbe called into iudgement, & that no man do presume to depute iudges frō y^e sea Apostolicke, w^tout the city & dioces where they are deputed, to proceede agaynst any: or do pre^ssume to cōmit their authority to any other person or persōs or to fetch & remoue any man beyond one dayes iorny frō out his Dioces where he dwelleth, or at most two dayes iourney, if it be in a generall councill:* as also all other constitutions of any byshop of Rome, touching as well, Iudges delegate, as persons not to be called to iudgement beyond a certaine number: or els any other edict indulce, priuelege, or exemption generall or special graunted from the Apostolike sea, for anye person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited vp to iudgement without the compasse of certaine limites: or els what soeuer thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeache your iurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by anye meanes to the contrary notwithstanding. Dat Constant. the first yeare of our popedome.

This bloody and abhominable commission of pope Martine, which I haue copied out of a certaine olde monument remaining in the handes of Maister Hackluyt, student in the Temple, seemeth to be directed and geuen out to the publike destruction of all faithful Christen men, about the latter end & breaking vp of the councel of Constance, an. 1418. By the which the prudent reader hath this [Page 655](#) to note and consider, what labour, what pollicie, what coū^ssaile, & what lawes haue bene set,* what wayes haue bene takē, what seueritie hath bene shewed, how mens power, wit, and authoritie of the whole world haue conspired together from time to time, cōtinually by all maner meanes to subuert and supplant the worde, and way of the Lorde: And yet notwithstanding man hath not preuayled, but all his force & deuised pollicies haue bene ouerthrown, dispat^hched and w^t the councill of Achitophell and Ammon, haue bene brought to nought, and contrary to the furye of the world, the gospell of Christ hathe still increased. Neither yet for all this, will the Pope cease to spurne and rebell still against the kingdome of Christe,* and of hys Gospell agaynst which, neyther he, nor yet y^e gates of hell shall euer preuayle. The Lord of hostes be mercifull to hys poore persecuted flocke. Amen.

Agaynst this pestilent Bull and Inquisition of Pope Martine the great antechrist, I thought good here to adioyne and annexe an other contrarye writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conradus, and other Captaynes of y^e Bohemians, which seemeth not long after the death of Zisca, to be written agaynst the pestiferous sea of Rome, the tenour whereof here followrth.

A fruitfull and Christian exhortation of the Bohemianes to kinges and princes, to stir them vp to the zeale of the Gospell.

The almighty God the father, by hys welbeloued sonne Iesus Christ, may in hys holy spirite open the vnderstanding both of you and of all Christians, & lighten your hartes with the light of hys doctrin of righteousnes, and may make you to continue therein, surely established to the end. This we desire of you for your saluation, all ye honou^rable, wise, & honest noble men, & al the Comminaltie, ye rich and poore, heare and consider with dilligent heede, the wordes of this present letter, which is sent vnto you from the Country of the Bohemianes. It is manifest and well knowne to you and many other citties, Kynges, princes, and Lordes, that now a certayne number of yeares, there hath ben great discord betwixt vs and you, and there haue bene some which haue moued you by letters, and prouoked you to make warre against vs, and to destroy vs. And as well on your part as on ours: many men, as wel noble as vnnoble, haue foolishly lost their lyues. Yet neuer hetherto haue ye in any parte vnderstoode our fayth by our owne confession, neither whether we be able to proue the same out of the scriptures, yea or no: and yet in the meane time, kinges, Princes, Lordes, and Citties, haue sustayned great dammage. And hereof we greatly meruaile, that ye do so much trust and beleue the pope and hys priestes, which geue you drinke full of poyson, and such comfort as no man can vnderstand,* in that they say that they wil geue you forgeuenes of all your sinnes, and great grace & pardon, to this end, that you should warre vpon vs & destroy vs: wheras their graces and pardons are none other then great lies, and a great seducing of the body and soule of all them that beleue them: and put their trust in them. Thys we would proue vnto them,* & ouercome them by the holy scripture, and we wold suffer: that whosoeuer is desirous to heare the same, shoulde heare it. For the Pope and all hys priestes, herein deale with you as the deuill woulde haue done wyth our Lorde Iesus Christ. Of whome Luke writeth in hys 4. chap. that he brought him vpon an high hill, & shewed vnto hym in the twynckling of an eye, al the kyngdomes that are in the compasse of the earth, & said vnto him: I wil geue thee &c. So the deuill deceiueth the pope, and all the priestes with the riches of the worlde, and worldly power: And they thinke they can geue grace and pardon when they wyll, and they themselues shall neuer finde fauour before almighty God, except they repent and make amendes, because of theyr great deceauing of Christedom. And how can they geue that to others, which they themselues haue not? So dyd the Deuill, who was rich in promising, and poore in geuing. And like as the Deuill is not ashamed to tell a lye,* so all they are not ashamed to speake that which shall neuer be found true, nor be proued by the holy scriptures, because for no cause, they stirre vp kinges, Princes, Lordes, and Citties, to make warre agaynst vs, not to the end that the Christian fayth shoulde therby be defended, but because they feare y^t theyr secret vices and heresies shalbe disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, & a godly loue to the Christiā fayth they would then take the books of the holy scripture, and would come vnto vs, and ouercome vs with the weapōs of Gods word, and that is our chiefe desire. For so dyd the apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ, who came to y^e Paganes and Iewes, and brought them from their infidelitie to the true fayth of our Lorde Iesus Christ, and this they dyd in the spirite of mekenes, as the Apostle Paule writeth in the 6. chap. to the Galat.* Brethren if anye man be agreeued. &c. So ought they also to doe, if they perceiued that they were iust, and we vniust. And if we woulde not abide instruction: then they might take to them kinges, Princes,* Lordes, and imperiall citties, and resist vs accor^ding to the commaundementes of the holy scripture. But this is the subtile

defence of all the Byshops and Priestes that they say that mayster Hus and Hierome which were burnt at Constance, were ouercome of the holy father the Pope,* and of the whole Councell: For ye must vnderstand that they were not ouercome by the holy Ghost, but vniustly, with wrongfull violence, which God may yet hereafter greuously punishe in all them that gaue their counsel and ayd thereto: and they saye it ought not to be suffered, tha we should be heard in confessing our fayth. How may that be proued by the holy scripture, since christ heard the deuilt as it is written in the fourth chap. of Mathewe? And they are not better then Christ,* nor we worse then the Deuill. If they be iust and haue the truth with them (as they saye they haue) and we be vnrighteous, why do they feare, sinc the truth ought not to be afeard of falshod, as Esdras writeth in hys second booke, the third chapter. Zorobabell declared that truth is of all thinges the most mightye, and ouercommeth all thinges. For Christ is the trueth. Iohn 14. I am the way, the trueth. &c. And the deuill is the father of lies. Iohn. 8. He is a lyer from the beginning, and neuer abode in the truth, & there is no truth in him. Therfore if the pope and hys priestes haue the truth, let them ouercome vs with the word of God. But if they haue lyes, then they cannot long abide in al their presumptiō. Wherefore, we exhort and beseech al the imperiall Cities, al kings Princes, noble men, rich and poore, for Gods sake, and for hys righteousness, that one of them write hereof to an other, and that there may be some meanes made howe we may cōmune w^t you safely and friendly, at some such place as shal be fit both for you and vs, and bring with you your Byshops and teachers,* and let them & our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let vs heare them, and let not one ouercome the other by violence or false sub^tiltie, but onely by the word of God. And if your Bishops and teachers haue better proofes of theyr fayth out of the holy scripture, then we, and our fayth be found vntrue, we will receiue penance and satisfaction: according to Gospell. But if your Byshops and teachers be ouercome of ours by the holy Scripture, then doe ye repent and harken to vs, and hold with vs. And if your Byshops & teachers will cease from their spirituall pride, and repent and make satisfaction: then wil we helpe you according to our power, and will compell them, eyther to ioyne with vs, or els we will expell them out of Christendome. And if your Byshops and teachers will say, that it is not lawfull for lay men to heare such reasoning, or to be presēt at it: that may you vnderstand to tend to no other end, but that they feare they should be ouercome and put to shame in the sight of you: For if they knew that they should ouercome therein, out of doubt, they would desire that euery mā should heare it, & thereby, their glory should become the greater, & their fame and prayses should be encreased vpon the earth. And if your Bishops and teachers couंसell you to come to no hearing with vs, thē do it whether they will or no, & suffer not your selues at any time to be so folishly seduced with their folish pardons, but tary at home in your houses w^t your wiues and children. And let y^e pope of Rome come to vs with all his Cardinals and byshops, and with all hys priestes, with his owne person & power to warre with vs, & let themselves deserue the absolution of sinnes, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they haue great nede of forgeuenes of sinnes, grace, & pardō) & by the grace of god we will geue them pardō enough as they shall neede. But their subtile excuse is this: they say that it belōgeth not to priestes to fight w^t bodily weapons & true it is that belongeth not to them:* but it belongeth as little to them to stirre vp, to counsaile, & to fortifie others thereto: For Paule saith in the y^e 1. to the Rom. & in y^e fift to y^e Galath. that all that do such thinges are worthy of euerlasting death.*

And if yewill not determine to do any other thing then to fight against vs, then will we take the Lord to our helpe and his trueth, & we will defend it to the death, & we will not be afraid for the excommunicatiō or curse of the Pope, or his cardinals, or of y^e bishops, because we know that y^e

Pope is not god as he maketh himselfe, that he can curse and excommunicate when he will, or blesse when he will: [Page 654](#) who hath now these many yeares cursed and excōmunitd vs,* & yet notwithstanding, God and his gracious blessing hath bene our helpe. But peraduenture ye wil say, that though we see that bishops and priests be euill & wicked, yet we cānot lacke them: for who should baptise our children, who should heare confessions, & minister the holy sacraments? and then also we should be w^tin the excommunication of the pope & of his bishops.* Welbeloued, ye nede to take no care for these matters. The excōmunicating of the Pope hurteth you nothing. Feare ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lorde wil prouide for those things wel enough. If ye would banish euil bishops and priests, ye shuld haue good priestes which shuld baptise your children, heare cōfessions, and minister the holy mysteries, bicause when y^e deuill is banished, then place is made for the holy ghost: So when yll bishops and priestes shall be banished, then place shal be made for good priestes & bishops Also, your bishops and priests say, that we are miscreants and hereticks, & that we beleue not on purgatory, vpō the virgine Mary, nor vpon the sayntes: wherein they say ill for we will proue by the holy scripture, that we know better by Gods grace how we ought to beleue vpon Purgatory, & vpon Mary the mother of our Lord, & vpon hys welbeloued saints, thē they can tell vs. Also they say, y^t we wil not be obediēt vnto the P. Truly when he shalbe come holy and iust, then we know well that we ought to be obe^dient to him in al things and not before. They say also that we destroy Gods holy seruice, in that we destroy monaste^ries, banishing thence the wicked Monkes and Nunnes.* Truely we dyd it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reuerend seruice of god, but after that we well perceiued and considered their lyfe & works, then we perceiued that they were false lowly hipocrites, and wicked builders on high, and sellers of pardōs and masses for the dead, and such as deuoured in themselues the sinnes of the people. And where as they sayd that they rise at midnight when other men slepe, and pray for the sins of the people: forasmuch as their selling of their praiers and masses for y^e dead for gifts, is no better then hipocrisie and heresie: ther^fore if we do speake agaynst them and destroy their monasteries, we do not therin destroy the seruice of God, but rather the seruice of the deuill, and the schooles of heretickes. And if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently destroy them as we do. For Christ our Lord did not ordayne anysuch order, & therfore it must needs come to pas that shortly it shal be destroyd as our lord saith in the Gospel of S. Mathew the 15. chapter.* Euery plant whiche my father hath not planted, shalbe rooted vp. We desire you also that ye woulde dilligently consider the article• here written, wherein your bishops and priestes are guilty.

The 1. article is, that when your bishops will ordaine priests,* they do it not, except he y^r is to be made priest haue sufficient liuing, eyther inheritance left him of hys parents or of benefices: wheras notwithstanding, Christ wold that priestes should be poore, forasmuch as it is enough for the scholar to be as his maister is, and for the seruaunt to be as his Lord is: and the bishops wil that they should be rich v vpon earth, which is vniust before the Lord.

The 2. article is, that bishops take mony of such as are to be ordained,* but S. Peter did therfore sharply rebuke Si^mon Magus, when he would haue geuen him mony, as it is written in the 8. of the actes.

The 3. article is, that they that come to be priestes enter into priesthoode, not for gods seruice sake, because they mean to preach and encrease it among the Christiā people, so as the people may be edified and made better:* but rather for an idle life, and that they may eate well and

drinke wel and that they may be honoured and reuerēced vpon earth For euery one wayteth vpon hys priest as a theefe and a robber, as Iohn writeth in his x. thap.

The 4. article is of excommunication, which the Pope and all his priestes take to themselues, and therwith fetter & bind all Christian people as they will, and they thinke y^t whosoever they excommunicate or curse,* hee is accursed and excommunicate before God: And we wil proue by the holy Scripture, that they themselues are excommunicate & accursed before God, because they kepe not the commaundement of the loue of God,* wherof the Apostle writeth in y^t 1. to the Cor. the 16. chap. If any man loueth not our Lorde Iesus Christ, he is excommunicate in the day of the comming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are already bound and excommunicate before God & hys saintes: and therefore why feare ye their excommunication?

The 5. Article is, that they take gifts for to pray for the dead, and to say masse for theyr soules. This is a wickednes and heresie before the Lord, & all they that contribute to them to this end,* do wickedly, for that hereby priests be|come merchantes of prayers and of masses: and herewyth is all the church of Rome poysoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead and say masse for their soules, yet no man ought to hire thē thereto, forasmuch as they ought to take no giftes, neither little nor great. And euery one that taketh rewardes to this end, to redeeme soules out of purgatory, do therwithal cast their own soules down into hel. And they y^t geue any thing to that end, doe altogether lose y^e which they geue. And with such deuilishe sub•lety, y^e Pope with all his priestes hath deceiued, spoyled and disherited kinges, princes, Lordes and knights, & good hous|holders and many other, of their lawful inheritaunces, be|cause their ancestors & progenitours gaue it to Colledges, monasteries & churches, y^t they might make memorialls of thē & to sing or say prayers or masses for their soules,* that they might be redeemed out of Purgatorye. And wyth such goodes, Byshops, Canons, and Monasteries haue made themselues so riche, that now they fall at variaunce with cities, & princes: & wheras they should procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the first that begin warre: and as long as they haue such goodes, they wil ne|uer cease to be at strife with Lordes and cities,* neither wil they begin to teach you the true foundation of y^e truth: For they do as a dogge, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and knaweth it: so long he holdeth his peace & cannot barcke. Euen so, as long as they haue this bone of pleasaunt riches, it wyl neuer be well in the world. Wherefore all kinges, princes and imperiall Citties should doe a great worke of godlines and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the dog is when the boane is takē from hym.

And therefore ye noble men, Kinges, princes, Lordes, imperiall Citties,* and all the communalitie, both riche and poore, if ye haue bene a sleep yet now awake and opē your eyes and behold the subtiltie of the deuill, how he hath blin|ded the Church of Rome, and take agayne that is youres, and not theirs. And if you wil make a good memoriall for your soules, then do as the wyse man saith, Eccle. 19: Lay vp almes. &c.

The 6. article is, that they are full of pride and of high mynde,* which is manifestly knowne by their long, costlye and superfluous garmentes, wherein they walke very vn|like to Christ our Lord, who had a garmēt without a seam and to the welbeloued Iohn Baptist, who had a garment of Camels heare, and they wyl be honoured and worshyp|ed, and they preach and say that Priesthood ought to be ho|noured, and so it ought in deede to be, but there is none y^t do so much sclander and abase it, as they themselues, with their euill works, gay apparell, and with their euil

words wherein they passe all other men.* Paul sayth the i. to Tim. the 3. chapter. Let the Elders that gouerne wel, be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labour in y^e word and doctrine of the Lord. Consider, that he sayth they that gouerne well.

The 7. article is, that they are couetous from y^e highest to the lowest,* and for couetousnes they preach many folish deedes & manifest lies, & sell the holy sacramentes, whiche is a great heresie: for God commaunded that they shoulde geue freely. Paule writeth in the first to Timothy: Couetousnesse is the roote of all mischief, wherunto many haue ben geuen, and therefore they are separated from the fayth and haue denyed the truth.*

The viii. article is, that they commonly are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifestly seene in theyr concubines and children, which walke openly in all mens sight, and make many mens wiues whoores, or corrupte their daughters being virgins, and make thē priests harlots and rybauldes.*

The ix. Article is, that they are ful of deuilish enuy, and especially in al Monasteries they haue great enuy and hatred amongst themselues, because when any thing is geuen or disposed to one Monastery or Colledge, then there are others, that hate it, and enuy at it, and woulde more gladly haue it themselues: Like as among dogs when any thing is geuen to the one and not to the other, which the other seing, enuyeth hys fellow, & the other likewise wil rather deuour all himselfe then geue any part to his fellowe. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sin of enuy in geuing nothing vnto thē: And it were better that their possessions were takē from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to hys disciples saying: Go ye and preach the Gospell to all men.

The x. article is, that they are idle, and chiefly the Byshops, Chanons, and other Prelates, which wil not labor dilligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of Christendome, wherto they haue boūd [Page 655](#) thēselues,* and they eate the bread therof in idlenes, because when other men watch and labour to mayntaine themselues and their little ones, thē are they with their lemmons or els they walke in some Cittie, carying hawkes on their fistes, or els they sit at the good wyne w^t their Concubines. and there they sing and play the Lucians, & eat of the best and therefore al that willingly bring and geue to them, shal be made partners of that curse whiche is geuen them of God, because they eate their bread vniustly, whereof Paul writeth in the 2. to the Thess. the 3. chapter: He that laboureth not, let him not eate.

*The 11. article is, that they are notorious liers, beca••e to the end that they may please men, they tel many tales & lies, which in the holy Scripture haue no foundation nor prooffe. Of such wryteth Iohn in the Apoca. 21.

The 12. article is, that they doe not rightly giue or minister to the people the body of our Lord Iesus Christ,* and they geue it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great & a deuilish sinne and to great malapertnesse. Heerein we woulde ouercome them, wyth the testimonies of the Euangelistes: I say we woulde ouercome the Pope, and all his Priestes, with the authorities of Marke, Luke and Paule. Rom. 13. and we woulde suffer, that Kings, Princes, Lordes and all that are willing to heare, should heare it.

The 13. Article is, that they sit in spiritual iudgement, and then many times they iudge according to fauour,* and not according to the righteousnesse of God, and they take bribes giuing sentence for hym, which in Gods sight hath the wrongfull cause. Wo be to such sentēces, as it is wrytten in Isay 5. Wo be to ye that. &c.

The 14. Article is, that they sit hearing cōfessions, and when there come to them vsurers, raueners, and theeues, they take bribes of them of their ill gotten goodes, to spare them: and they willingly suffer them in cities and towns. And likewise of adulterers, and other notorious whoremongers and whores, and they neuer let or stay them in their great sinnes, to the end that the scripture may be fulfilled in them, which sayeth: Giftes and the loue of money do draw to hell, and do blinde the eyes of iudges.

*The 15. Article is, that they receiue tithes of men, and will of right haue them, and preache and say that men are bound to giue them tithes, and therin they say falsly: For they can not proue by the new Testament, that our Lorde Iesus Christ commanded it, and his disciples warned no man to do so, neither did themselues receiue them. But although in the old Testament, it were commanded to geue tithes, yet it can not thereby be prooued, that christian men are bound thereto: For this precept of the olde Testament had an end in the first yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ, like as the precept of Circūcision. Wherefore welbeloued, consider and see, how your bishops seduce you and shut youre eyes with things that haue no prooffe. Christ sayeth in the 11. of Luke. Geue almes of those thinges that remaine, but he said not, geue the tenth of the goodes, which yee possesse, but geue almes. But when they heare the word, they may say as the lawyer said to Christ: Maister when thou sayest so, thou geuest offence. Luke 11.

*The 16. Article is, that they in many places lende money or goodes to haue treasure or vsurie, and they haue in cities and townes, yearly paiments and perpetual reuenues, as great Princes and Lordes. Wherein they doe against the Gospel, which sayth, do not ye possesse gold nor siluer. And wheras they lend for gaine and vsury, againste that speaketh the Lord, Deu. 24. Lend not to vsury to thy brother. &c. Ye honest discrete and well beloued Lords, all the foresaide Articles we wil prooue against the Pope, and all his priests, with many testimonies of the holy Scripture, which for breuities sake, we haue not here mētioned. But note ye chiefly these 4. Articles, for which wee striue, and desire to defend them to the death.

The first Article is, that all publicke, and customably mortall sinnes ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all Priests and lay men, according to the commaundement of the holy Scripture.

*The seconde Article is, that richesse ought to be taken from the Pope and all hys Priestes, from the hyghest to the lowest, and they ought to bee made poore, as the Disciples of our Lord Iesus Christ were: who had nothyng of their own, neither possessiōs in this world, neither worldly power.

*The third Article is, that the word of God ought to be free for euery mā appointed and ordained therto, to preach and read in al places, whether they shal come, without resistance of any man or without any inhibitiō of either spirituall or earthly power openly or manifestly.

The fourth article is, that the body of our Lord Iesus Christ ought to be deliuered to euery christian as our lord hath ordained it,* and as the holy Euangelists haue wrytten. We haue also vnderstood that there shalbe a Councell in Basile: Wherefore let no mā be exalted, but let them diligētly kepe their wiues, their daughters and their virgins from Byshops, Priests, and Monkes. And do not thinke y^t there is made any holy assembly of Bishops and Priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendom, but onely to thys end that they may hide their secret vices and heresies, with the cloke of hypocrisie, and let and hinder y^e righteousnesse of God, which is muche contrary to them: and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy assembly, but the congregation of Sathan. And take ye heede that it be not done as some did at Constance, who tooke money of Bishops and Prelates, & suffered them to sleepe with their wiues. Ye welbeloued and honest Lordes, if ye finde any thing in these aforesaide Articles or wordes wrytten somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or contemne you, but to the ende that ye shoulde diligently consider and deuise howe Christendome is so ill kept and led by the Priests of this present age. Our Lorde Iesu Christ keepe you both in body and soule. Amen. In the yeare of our Lord.* 1430.

Preropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samssmolich, Capitaines of Bohemia.

Nowe to prosecute the warres of the Bohemians againe, after Zisca was dead,* wherof we did intreat before, there was great feare, sorrow, and lamentation in the army, the soldiers accusing fortune which gaue ouer such an inuincible captaine to be ouercome with death. Immediatly there was a diuision in the host, the one parte chusing Procopius Magnus to be their captaine, the other parte saying, that there was none could be found worthy to succede Zisca: whereuppon they chusing out certaine to serue the warres,* named themselues Orphanes.

Thus the Thaborites being deuided into two armies, the one part retained their olde and accustomed name, and the other by meanes of the death of their captayne, named themselues Orphanes. And all be it, that oftentimes there was dissension betwene them, yet when soeuer any forein power came towards them, they ioyned their powers together in one campe, and defended themselues. They seldome went vnto any fensed townes except it were to buy necessities, but liued with their wiues and childrē in theyr campe & tents. They had amongst them many cartes, the which they vsed as a Bulwarke: For when so euer they went vnto battell, they made two wings of them, whyche closed in the footemen. The winges of the horse men were on the out side, and when as they sawe their time for to ioyne battell, the wagon men which led the wings, going forth vnto the Emperors standerd, and compassing in such part of their enemies as they woulde, did close themselues in together, whereby the ennemies being inclosed, so that they could not be rescued, they were partly by the footemē, & partly by the men that were in the carres w^t their darts slaine.* The horsemen fought without the fortification: and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the carres opening themselues, receiued them as it were into a fensed Citie: and by this meanes they got many victories, for so much as their enemies were ignorant of their pollicies.

These 2. armies went foorth, the one into Slesia, and the other into Morauia, and returned againe wyth great pray, before their enemies knewe of their comming. After this they besieged y^e towne of Swetley in Austrich, where as the Thaborites and the Orphanes, two nightes continually assaulted the walles wythout ceasing, but Albert Duke of Austrich comming with his hoste to

aide the Citizens, they fought by the space almost of foure houres, the valiauntest warriors being slaine on both partes. At the length the battaile was broken of, and the Thaborits lost their carres, and Albert was put out of his camp & tents. Within a while after, [*Procopius Magnus](#) came agayne and inclosed the citie of Rhetium in Austria w^t a notable siege. They of Prage were in his army, and Boslaus Cygneus, of whome we spake before, was slaine there with a dart, & the city of Rhetium was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The Burgrau of Malderburge Lord of the towne, was also taken and caried vnto Prage, where also hee dyed in prison.

These thinges thus done, the Emperour sent for the nobles of Boheme, which went vnto him vnto a town of Hungary, called Posenium in the borders of Austria, vpō the bāks of the riuer of Danubius: but they wold not enter into the towne, but remained w^tout the towne in their tents, whether as the Emperoure going out vnto them, [Page 654](#) communing muche w^t them as touching his right & title, [*](#) and the recouering of his fathers kingdome, promising if there were any cause, which did alienate the Bohemians minds from him, that he would take away al the occasion therof. They made answer, that he had made warre vpon them without cause, and that he had suffred their countrey men cōtrary to his promise, to be burnt at Constance not being heard, and the kingdom to be contumeliously interdicted, and the Nobles of Boheme to be condemned by the church of Rome as heretickes: [*](#) and that he should thincke the force and power of the Bohemians not to be so small, but that they would prouide for their owne honor. Wherunto the Emperor answered very gently, & offered them a general councel, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they woulde submit themselues to the iudgement of the vniuersal Church: but the Bohemians which were now become valiant victors in armes, would not now be ouercome with wordes, and so nothing being finally concluded, the Emperor returned home.

[*](#)Then pope Martin perceiuing the Gospell to increase daily more and more, sent the Cardinall of Winchester an Englishman, borne of a noble house, into Germanie to mooue them vnto warre against the Bohemians. Wherevnto the Emperor also did assiste him.

There were three armies prouided. In the first armie were the Dukes of Saxonie, and the lower cities.

The 2. armye, which was gathered of y^e Franconians, was vnder y^e conduct of the Marques of Brandenburge. [*](#)

The 3. army was led by Otho the archbishop of Treuers, whom the Rhenenses, the Bauarians, and the Imperiall cities of Sweuia followed. These armies entring into Boheme, in 3. seuerall partes, after they were passed the woode, [*](#) they ioyned together & pitched before Misna. This towne a certaine learned and eloquent protestāt, named Prichicho, the night before, had won frō the Papists: wherfore the army was determined first to recouer y^t citie, before they woulde goe any further. But when as newes came vnto the host, how the Protestants had gathered an army, [*](#) and came w^tall spede towards them: they fled before they saw their enemies, and went vnto Thaconia, leauing behind them their warlike engins with a great pray. The Cardinall was not yet come into the campe, but meeting them in their flight at Thacouia, [*](#) he maruailed at the cowardly flight of so many Noble and valiaunt men, desiring them that they woulde turne againe vnto their ennemies, which he sayde, were farre weaker then they. Which thing when he had long trauailed

about in vaine, hee was faine to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarcely entred the woode, when as the Bohemians comming vpon thē, set vpon their rereward. Then was theyr flight much more disordered and fearfull then before, neither did they leaue flying before the Bohemiās left folowing. Then all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquished Thacouia: and hauing obtained great store of warlike engines, they destroyed Misna. And when they would haue returned home by Franconia, they had great summes of mony sent vnto them y^t they shuld not wast or destroy the Countreis of Bramberge and Noremburge: wherby the host of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

Sigismundus the Emperour hauing newes of these things,* went straighte vnto Noremburge, and gathered there new aide and helpe. Also Pope Martin sent Iulian the cardinall of S. Angel into Germany with his ambassade, to make warre against the Bohemians,* and that hee should in the Counsell of Basill, which doth now shortly draw on, be president in the popes name. He entring into Germany, went straight to Noremburge to the Emperor, wheras many of the nobles of Germany were assembled.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians, against the 8. Kalendes of Iuly,* and Fredericke Marques of Brandenburge appoynted generall of that warre, which should follow the Cardinal. He entred into Boheme by the way that leadeth vnto Thopa, and Albertus prince of Austrich was appoynted to bring hys armie thorough Morauia.

In this expedition was Albert & Christopher of Banaria, and Friderike Dukes of Saxony, Iohn and Albert princes of Brandenburge, wyth their father, which was generall of those warres. Also the bishops of Hyperbolis, Bamberge, and Eisten. Also the company of the Sweuians, which they called the company of S. George, and the Magistrates of the imperial cities, the bishops of Mentz, Treuers and Colen sent their aides, and wyth them the chieftaines of their prouinces.* It is sayd that the number of their horsemen were about 40000. But their footemen were not full so many, for the Germans for the most part do vse to fight their battels on horsebacke.

Also Rhenatus prince of Loraine promised to come to these warres, but being letted by his ciuill warres, for somuch as hee went about to vanquish the Earle of Uandome, wherby he could not keepe his promise, neyther the County Pallatine of Rheine, which did aide and succour the Earle of Uandome, coulde not goe against the Bohemians. The Cardinal staying for them, deferred his iourney vntill the Kalends of August. In the meane time, Albert leading his armie out of Austria, vnderstanding that the Cardinall was not present at the day appoynted, and seeing himselfe vnable to encounter wyth the Bohemian power, he returned backe againe. After this the Cardinall entred into Boheme with an huge army,* & destroyed many of the protestantes townes, killing men, women, and children, sparing neither olde nor yong: notwithstanding, this his tyranny was exercised in the vttermost borders of Boheme, for his captaines feared to enter farre into the land. The Bohemians assone as they that heard tel y^t their enemy was come, made ready, & gathered their host with all speede, and laid siege to a towre called Stiltiuerge, and brought it vnder subiection.

In the meane season there fel such a maruelous sodein feare amongs al y^t papists throughout the whole campe,* y^t they begā most shamefully to run away before any enemy appearing in sight. The cardinal Iulianus maruelling at this most sodein feare, and what should mooue so great an

army to flie, went about vnto y^e captains, exhorting them to put on armor, to order their battels, & coragiously to abide their enemies, saying: they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possessiō of lands, but for their liues, and the honor & * religion of Christ, and for the saluation of soules. How ignominious a thing is it (saith he) for the Germans to flie in battell, whose courage and valiantnes all the world doth extoll? It were much better for to die, then to geue place to any enemies, before they were seene: for they can by no meanes liue in safetie wythin the walles, which geue place vnto their enemy in the field, for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walles, and except they would euen presently defend their libertie with the sworde, they should shortly be in greater bōdage, more miserable then any death. But this exhortation was all in vaine, for feare had put away all boldnes: for the ensignes were snatched vp, and as though there had bene no captaine in the hoste, euery man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandement, neither once tooke his leaue of his captaine, but casting away their armour with speedy flight they ranne away, as though their enemy had bene at their backs. * The Cardinall also, although it were against his will, was forced to doe the like.

Thus the protestants by y^e feare of their enemies made the more bolde and couragious, pursued them thorow the woodes, and had a great pray & spoile of them. Notwithstanding, Albertus, when he heard tell that the Cardinall was entered into Boheme, with all speede came agayne out of Austrich with his army, & besieged the strong town of Prezorabia: but when he vnderstoode howe the Cardinall was fled, * he left of his purpose, and returned through Morauia, which was not yet subiecte vnto him, and destroyed aboue 50. townes wyth fire and sword, toke many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murther and slaughter, and so afflicted them, that they toke vpon them his yoke, and promised to be subiecte and obedient to him vnder this condition, that as touching religion he would be bounde to doe that whych the Councel of Basil should determine.

Then was there an ambassade sent out of Boheme vnto Basil, * where as Sigismund held the Councel, who during the time of warres, * had kept himself at Noremberge. When as hee shoulde take his iourney vnto Rome to bee crowned Emperour, hee wrote letters vnto the nobles of Boheme, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian borne, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation, then to his own, and that he went to Rome for none other cause, but to be crowned, the which his honor shoulde also be a renowne to the Bohemians, whome to aduaunce it hath bene alwaies his speciall care.

Also, how that through his endeuor the Councel was begon at Basill, exhorting all suche as were desirous to be heard as touching religion, that they shuld come thether, and that they woulde not maintaine any quarell contrary to the holy mother church, that the Councel wold louingly and gently heare their reasons: that they should onely endeuour themselues to agree wyth the Synode as touching religion, and reserue and kepe a quiet and peaceable kingdome for hym, against his returne: Neyther shoulde the Bohemians thinke to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and vncl, had raigned ouer them, and that hee [Page 655](#) would reigne ouer them after no other meane or sort, then other Christian kings vsed to doe.

The councel of Basil also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their Ambassadors which should shew a reason of their faith, * promising safeconducte to go & come, and free liberty to speake what they woulde. The Bohemians in this point were of 2. opinions, for

the Protestants & almost all the common people, sayd, it was not good to go, alledging the examples of Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage, which going vnto Constance vnder the safeconduct of the Emperour, were there openly burned. But the nobility folowing the minde of Maynardus, prince of the new house, sayde, that they ought to goe vnto the Councell, and that they are not to be suffred which had inuented those new and strange opinions of faith, & newe kinde of religion, except they would render accōpt of theyr doings and sayings before the vniuersall church, & defend those things, which they had openly taught, before learned men. This opinion tooke place, and an ambassade of 300. horse was sent vnto Basil. The chiefe wherof were William Cosca a valiant knight, & Procopius surnamed Magnus, a mā of worthy fame for his manifold victories. Ioh. Rochezana preacher of Prage. Nicolas Galecus, minister of the Thaborites, and one Peter an Englishman, of excellent prōpt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the towne, and many out of the synode and councell, attending before the gates to see the comming of this valiāt and famous people: other some gathered together in great nōber into the streetes where as they should passe through. The matrones, maids and children, filled y^e windowes and houses to behold and se•, and to maruel at their strange kinde of apparel, and stoute couragious coūtenāces, saying that it was not vntrue which was reported of them: notwithstanding all men behelde Procopius, saying, this is he which hath ouerthrowne the papistes in so many battels, which hathe subuerted so many townes, and slaine so many men, whom both his enemies and also his owne souldiours, do feare and reuerence: also, that hee was a bold, valiant and inuincible capitaine, which coulde not be ouercome with no terrour, labour or trauaile.

These Bohemian Ambassadors were gently receyued. The next day after,* Cardinall Iulianus sending for them vnto the councell house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent Oration vnto them, exhorting them to vnitie and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our sauior Christ, and the mother of all faithful, that it hath the keyes of binding and losing, and also that it is white and fair, without spot or wrinkle, and cā not erre in those poynts which are necessary to saluation, and that he which doeth contemne the same church, is to be coūted as a prophane, Ethnike, & publicane, neither can this church be represented better by any meanes then in this council. Hee exhorteth them also to receiue the decrees of the councell, and to geue no lesse credite vnto the councell then vnto the Gospell, by whose authority, the scriptures themselues are receiued & allowed. Also y^t the Bohemians which call them selues, the children of the church, ought to heare y^e voice of their mother, which is neuer vnmindful of her children, how that nowe of late they haue liued apart from their mother, albeit (said hee) that is no newe or straunge thing, for there haue bene many in times past, which haue forsakē their mother, and yet seeking after saluation haue returned to her againe: That in the time of Noes floud, as many as were wythout the arke perished: That the Lordes passeouer was to be eaten in one house: that there is no saluation to be sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden & famous fountaine of water, wherof whosoever shal drinke, shall not thirst euerlastingly: That the Bohemians haue done as they ought, in that they haue sought the foūtains of this water at the council, and haue determined nowe at length to geue care vnto their mother. Nowe all hatred ought to cease, all armor and weapon is to be laid apart, & all occasion of warre vtterly to be reiected: For the fathers would louingly and gently heare whatsoeuer there they would say in their owne cause or quarell, requiring onely that they woulde willingly receiue and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred synode: whereunto not onely the Bohemians, but also all other faithfull Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they wil be partakers of eternall life.

This Oration of the Cardinal, was heard & very wel allowed of the fathers. Wherunto the Bohemians answered in fewe woordes,* that they neither had contemned the Church nor the councils: that the sentence geuen at Constance against those which were vnheard, doeth diminishe nothing of the Christian religion: that the authoritie of the fathers hath alwaies remained amongst them inuiolate, and whatsoeuer thing the Bohemians had taught, to bee confirmed by the scriptures and Gospell, and that they are nowe come to manifest their innocencie before the whole Church, and to require open audience, where as the laitie may also be present. The request was graunted them: and being further demanded in what poynts they did disagree from the church of Rome, they propounded 4. Articles.

First, they affirmed, that all suche as woulde be saued, ought of necessitie to receiue the Communion of the laste supper vnder both kindes of bread and wine.

The second Article,* they affirmed a•l ciuil rule and dominion to be forbidden vnto y• Clergy by the law of God.

The thirde Article, that the preaching of the worde of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth Article, as touching open crimes and offences which are in no wise to be suffered for the •oiding of greater euill.

These were the onely propositions whyche they propounded before the Councell in the name of the whole realme. Then another ambassador affirmed that he had hard of the Bohemians diuers and sundry thinges offensiue to Christian eares, amongst the which this was one poynte, that they should preach that the inuention of the order of begging Friers was diabolically.

Then Procopius rising vppe, sayde, neither is it vntrue, for if neyther Moises, neyther before hym the Patriarkes, neither after him the Prophets, neyther in the new lawe Christe and hys Apostles did institute the order of begging friers, who doth dout but that it was an inuention of the deuill, and a worke of darkenesse?

This answere of Procopius was derided of them all: And Cardinall Iulianus went about to prooue that not onely the decrees of the Patriarkes and Prophetes,* and those things which Christ and his Apostles had instituted to be onely of God, but also all such decrees as the church shuld ordaine, being guided through the holy ghost, be the workes of God. All be it as he sayde, the order of begging Friers, might seeme to be taken out of some parte of the gospel. The Bohemians chose out 4. diuines which shuld declare their Articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part there was 4. appoynted by the councell. This disputation continued 50. dayes, where many thinges were alledged on either parte, whereof, as place shal serue, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shal be sayd, when we come to the time of that Councell.

In the meane season, while y• Bohemians were thus in long conflicts wyth Sigismund the Emperour and the Pope, fighting for their religion, vnto whome, notw^tstanding all the fulnesse of the Popes power was bent against them,* God of his goodnesse had geuē such noble victories, as is aboue expressed, and euer did prosper them so lōg as they could agree among thēselues: as these things (I say) were doing in Boheme: King Henry the 5. fighting likewise in Fraunce, albeit

for no like matters of religion, fell sicke at Boys, and died after he had raigne 9. yeres 5. moneths 3. wekes and odde daies from his coronation. This king in his life and in all hys doings was so deuout & seruiceable to the Pope and his chapleins, that he was called of many the Prince of priests: who left behind him a sonne being yet an infant 9. monthes and 15. dayes of age, whom he had by Quene Katherine daughter to the French king, married to him about 2. or 3. yeares before. The name of which Prince succeeding after his father, was Henry 6. left vnder the gouernement and protection of his vncle named Humfrey Duke of Gloucester.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this fift Booke contained.

54 Simon Islepe. 17

56 Simon Langham. 2

57 William Witlesey. 5

58 Simon Sudbery. 6

59 William Courtney. 15

60 Thomas Arundel. 18

61 Henry Chichesly. 29

THE SIXT PART OR SECTION, pertaining to the last 300. yeares.

A preface to the reader.

ACcording to the fiue sondry diuersities and alterations of the Churche, so haue I deuided hetherto the order of thys presente Church story into fiue principall partes, euery part containing 300. yeares. So that nowe comming to the laste 300. yeares, that is, to the last times of the Church, counting from the time of Wickleffe: For as muche as in the compasse of the sayd last 300 yeres, are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the meruailous reformation of the same through the wonderous operation of the almighty, all which things cannot be comprehended in one booke, I haue therefore disposed the sayd latter 30. yeares, into diuers bookes, beginning nowe with the sixt booke, at the raigne of king Henry the vj. In which booke, beside the greuous and sundry persecutions raised vp by Antichrist, to be noted, here in is also to be obserued, that where as it hath of long time bene receyued and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally vsed, hath sprong vp and risen but of late, euen by the space (as many do thinke) of 20. or 30. yeares, it may now manifestly appeare, not onely by the Acts and Monuments heretofore passed, but also by the hystories here after following, howe this profession of Christes religion hath bene spread abroad in Englande of olde and auncient time, not onely from the space of these 200. late yeares, from the time of Wyckleffe, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof haue neuer so perfectly burst out, as they haue done within these hundred yeares and more: As by these hystories here collected & gathered out of Registers, especially of the Diocesse of Norwich, shall manifestly appeare: wherein may be seene what men, and how many both men and women within the sayde Diocesse of Norwich, haue bene, which haue defended the same cause of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the Church. Which persones althoughe then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarel, as of late yeres they haue bene, yet were they warriours in Christes churche, and fought for their power, in the same cause. And although they gaue backe through tyrannie, yet iudge thou the best good Reader, and referre the cause therof to God, who reuealeth all things according to his determined will and appoynted time.

This yong prince being vnder the age of one yeare, after the death of his father, succeeded in his reigne and kingdom of England, Anno 1422. and in the 8. yeare was crowned at Westminster: and the 2. yeare after was crowned also at Paris, Henry bishop of Winchester, Cardinall being present at them both,* & rained 38. yeres, and then was deposed by Edward the 4. as heere after (Christ willing) shall be declared in his time.* In the firste yeare of his raigne was burned the constant witnesse bearer and testis of Christes doctrine, William Tailour, a Priest vnder Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this William Tailour I read,* that in the dayes of Thomas Arundell, hee was first apprehended, and abiured. Afterwarde in the daies of Henry Chichesley, aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1421. which was a yeare before hys burning, the said William Tailour appeared again in the conuocation before the Archbishop being brought by the Bishop of Worcestre, being complained of to haue taught at Bristow these Articles folowing.

*First, that whosoeuer, hangeth any scripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due onely to God, & geueth it to the Deuill.

Secondly, that no humaine persone is to be worshipped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the Saints are not to be worshipped nor inuocated.

Upon these Articles the sayde William Tailour being examined, denied that he did preache or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talke vpon the same, especially vpon the second and third article, only in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to iustify his opiniō to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosome a paper or libell wrytten, wherein were contained certaine Articles, wyth the testimonies of the Doctours alleaged, and exhibited the same vnto the archbishop. Who then being bidde to stande aside, the Archbyshop consulting together with the byshops and other prelates, what was to be done in the matter, deliuered the wrytinges vnto M. Iohn Castle, and Iohn Rikinghale, the two vicechauncelors of Oxforde and Cambridge, and to Iohn Langdon monke of Canterbury. Who aduising with themselues, and with other deuines, about the Articles and allegations, on the monday following, presented the sayde Articles of William Tailour, to the Archbishop and Prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. Wherevppon William Tailour being called before them, in conclusion was contented to reuoke the same, and for hys penaunce was by them condemned to perpetuall prison.

Notwithstanding, through fauour they were contented, that he should be released from his carceral indurance, in case hee woulde putte in sufficient surety in the kinges Chancerye, and sweare that he shall neuer holde or fauour any such opinions hereafter. And thus the sayde William Tailor apoynted to appeare the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the Archbishoppe, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during y^e time from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him, where he laying a side his Arunlousa, that is: his cloke, his cap, and stripped vnto hys doublet, kneeled at the feete of the Archbyshop. Who then standing vp, and hauing a rodde in hys hande, began the Psalme Misere. &c. hys chaplaines aunswering the second verse.* After that was sayde, the Collect, Deus cui proprium. &c. with certaine other prayers. And so taking an oth of him, the Archbishop committed him to the custodie of the Byshop of Worcester, to whome power and authority was permitted to release him, vpon the conditions aforesaide. And thus was William Tailour, for that time absolved, being enioyned notwythstanding to appeare at the next conuocation whēsoeuer it shuld be, before the said Archbishop or his successour that should follow him.

In the meane time, while William Tailour was thus in the custody of the Bishop of Worcester, there passed certaine wrytings betweene hym, and one Thomas Smith priest at Bristowe, in the which wrytings William Tailour replied against y^e sayd Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping Saints. Upon the occasion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the byshop of Worcester, William Tailour began a newe to be troubled, & was broughte againe before the publicke conuocation of the cleargy, by the said bishop of Worcester, to aunswere vnto his wrytings. This was an. 1422. the 11. day of Februarie. Unto the which conuocation the sayd William being presented, his wrytings were read to him, which he woulde not, nor could not deny to be of his owne hand wryting.

The tenour and effect of whose wryting onely tended to prooue,* that euery petition and prayer for any supernaturall gift, ought to be directed to God alone, & to no creature. All be it in this his

wryting he did not vtterly deny, that it was not lawfull in no respecte to pray to Saintes, (and bringeth for the same Thomas Aquine) but onely in respect of that worship, whych is called Cultus latriæ: And further so prosecuteth his minde herein,* that he semeth little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists: as most plainely appeareth by his owne wordes, saying: Nunquam tamen negaui, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum, quam viantium, tam viuus, quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere, quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex consona ratione. &c. And moreouer hee inferreth the example of Moses, who prayed vnto God, alleading the merites of [Page 659](#) Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, which were deade. &c. And furthermore passing from the testimony of Hierome, and alledging the example of Steuen, sayeth: Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus.* And at length he commeth to this cōclusion, proouing by S. Austen, in this maner:

Ne igitur cum impijs & idolatris in veteri testamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deueniendo ad centrum, sanū est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis: Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius, vt misericordiam consequamur & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio oportuno. &c.

That is. And therefore least we runne about in circles with the wicked, and wyth the idolaters of the old Testament, and neuer come to the center, therefore it is wholesome & good counsaile,* that we followe the minde of the Apostle, saying: Let vs resorte wyth boldnes vnto the throne of his grace, that we may obtaine mercy, and finde grace in time or oportune helpe. &c.

Thus much out of the foresayde wryting of W. Tailor I haue excerped, to the intent that the indifferent reader, vsing his iudgement herein, may see how litle matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the Papists. And yet notwythstanding the same wryting being deliuered by the archbishop, to the four orders of Friers of London to be examined, was founde erroneous and hereticall in these poyntes.

- 1. First, that euery prayer, which is a petition of some supernaturall gift or free gift, is to be directed onely to God.
- 2. Item, that prayer is to be directed to God alone.
- 3. Item, to pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.
- 4. Also, an other opiniō there was much like to the other, to make vp the fourth, so that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet to make vp a number euery order of the foure sortes of Friers, thought to finde out some matter to offer vp to the Archb. against him, least one order shoulde seeme more cunning or pregnant in finding out more, then could an other: or els perchaunce least any of them should seeme to fauor the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

[illustration]

The burning of William Tailour, Priest.

When the Saterdag was come, which was the 20. day of February, vppon the which day the 4. orders were appoynted to declare theyr censure vppon the Articles in the chapter houses of

Paules, first appeareth Frier Tylle, for the Blacke Friers, then Frier Winchelsey: then Frier Low: After Frier Ashwel, eche Frier for his order seuerally bringing his heresy, as is aboue specified.

Thus the verdict of these 4. orders being geuen vp to the Archb. and seuerally, eche order comming in with hys heresy, which was the 20. day of February. Hereuppon commeth downe a wryt from the king, directed to the lord Maior and Sheriffes of London. De heretico comburendo, dated the 1. day of March. Anno 1. of his raigne. The copie whereof remaineth in the recordes of the Tower, beginning thus, Rex Maiori & vicecomitibus. Whereupon the sayd William Tailour condemned as a relapse,* first was disgraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the seculare power, who their being had to Smithfield, the 1. day of Marche, with Christian constancie, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his Martyrdom. 1422.

The maner of his disgrading was all one with the disgrading of Iohn Hus before: for the Papistes vse but one forme for all men. First disgrading them from Priesthode, by taking from them the chalice and patine. From deaconship, by taking from them the gospell booke and tunicle. From Subdeaconship, by taking from them the Epistle booke and Tunicle.* From Accoluteship, by taking from them the Cruet and Candlesticke. From an Exorcisie, by taking away the booke of Exorcismes or Graduall. From the Sextonship, by taking away the churchdoore key and surplis. And likewise from Benet, in taking away the surplis, and first tonsure. &c. Al which they orderly accomplished vpon this godly Martyr, before his burning.

John Florence a Turner.

IDon Florence a Turner,* dwelling in Shelton, in the Diocesse of Norwich, was attached for that he helde and taught these heresies heere vnder wrytten (as they called them) cōtrary to y^e determination of the Church of Rome.

In primis, that the pope and Cardinals haue no power to make or constitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to be kept holy, but onely the Sunday which God hath halowed.

Item, that men ought to fast no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

Item, that Images are not to be worshipped, neyther that the people ought to set vp any lightes before them in the Churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item,* that Curates should not take the tithes of theyr parishioners, but that such tithes shuld be deuided amōgst the poore parishioners.

Item, that al such as sweare by their life or power, shal be damned, except they repent.

[illustration]

The displing of Iohn Florence.

Upon wensday, being the second day of August in the yeare of our Lorde 1424. the sayde Iohn Florence personally appeared before William Bernam,* Chauncellour to William byshoppe of Norwich, whereas he proceding against him, objected the first article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals: to which Article the sayde Iohn Florence answered in thys manner. If the pope liued vprightly as Peter liued, he hath power to make lawes: otherwise, I beleue hee hathe no power. But being afterward threatned by the iudge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himselfe to the correction of y^e church, and was abiured, taking an othe that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend [Page 658](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 660](#) any error or heresie contrary to the determination of the church of Rome, neither maintaine, helpe, or aide any that shal teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either priuely or apertly, and for his offence in thys behalfe done, hee was enioyned thys penance following.

Three Sondaies in a solemne procession in the cathedral Church of Norwich,* he should be displod before al the people. The like also shuld be don about his parish church of Shelton, three other seuerall Sondaies, hee being bare headed, bare footed & bare n•cked, after the maner of a publicke penitentiarie, his body being couered wyth a canues shirt, and canues breches, carying in his hande a taper of a pounce waight, and that done he was dismissed.

Richard Belward of Erisam in the Dioces of Norwich.

Richard Belward of Erisam, in the Diocesse of Norwiche, was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions heere vnder wrytten, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

*In primis, that Ecclesiasticall ministers and Ordinaries haue no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate: And all be it that a Bishop doe excommunicate any man, God doth absolue him.

Item, that he held the erroneous opinions and conclusions, that Syr Iohn Oldcastle helde when he was in prison, & affirmed that Syr Iohn Oldcastle was a true Catholicke man, and falsly condemned and put to death without any reasonable cause.

Item, that such as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of woode and stone, are excommunicate because they ought to offer to the quicke, and not to the dead: and that the Ecclesiasticall Ministers, that is to say the curates do sell God vppon Easter day, when as they receiue offerings of such as should communicate before they do minister the Sacrament vnto them.

Item, that he counselled diuers women, y^e they should not offer in the Church for the dead, neither wyth women that were purified.

Item, that he blamed diuers of his neighbors that refused his doctrine,* saying vnto thē: truly ye are sooles that deny to learne the doctrine of my sect, for your neighbours which are of my sect, are able to confound and vauquish al other that are of your sect.

Item, that the Saintes whych are in heauen, ought in no case to be prayed vnto, but onely God.

Item, that the sayd Richard keepeth schooles of lolardy in the English tong, in the towne of Dychingham, and a certaine Parchment maker bryngeth hym all the bookes containing that doctrine from London.

The 5. day of July 1424. the sayde Richarde Belward was brought before Iohn, Byshop of Norwich sitting in place of iudgement, wheras the foresaid Articles were obiected against the sayde Richarde, whych he there denied: whereupō the bishop appoynted him an other day to purge himselfe, the monday next after the feast of S. Marget: vpon which day being the 24. of Iuly, in the yeare aforesayd, he appeared againe before the Bishop, and brought wyth him 9. of his neighbors to purge hym vpon those articles, and there did solemnely purge himselfe. And afterwarde, for somuch as the said Bishop suspected the sayd Richarde Belward greatly of lolardie, hee commaunded him there presently to sweare vpon the Euangelistes, that from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or heresy, contrary to the church of Rome, neither aide, assist, fauour or maintaine, priuely or apertly, any maner of person or persons, that should hold or maintaine the sayde errorrs or heresies. In the presence of M. William Bernam, Iohn Wadden, Robert Serle & Iohn Berne Esquire, and other of his neighbours which came vnto his purgation.

In like maner Iohn Goddesel of Dychingham parchmentmaker, was detected and accused vpon the same articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop: * whereas he denying them, purged himselfe by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworne also in lyke maner, as he was, and so was dismissed and set at libertie, vntill the yeare of our Lord 1428. When as he was againe apprehended, accused and abiured, as shalbe more at large declared in the hystorie when we come to that yeare. Syr Hugh Pie also, chaplaine of Ludney in the dioces of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the byshop of Norwich y^e 5. day of Iuly. * An. 1424. for holding of these opinions following.

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, that y^e people ought not to geue almes, but only vnto suche as begge at theyr dores.

Item, * that the image of the crosse and other images are not to be worshipped. And that the said Hugh, had cast the crosse of Bromeholde into the fire to be burned, which hee tooke from one Iohn welgate of Ludney. Which articles as is aforesayde, being obiected against him, he vtterly denied: Whereupon he had a day appoynted to purge himselfe by the witnes of 3. lay men and 3. priests. That so done, he was sworne as the other before, and so dismissed.

After this, in the yeare of our Lorde 1428. king Henry the 6. sent downe most cruel letters of commission vnto I. Exetor and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White Priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor wherof, hereafter ensueth.

The copie of the kings letters directed to Iohn Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White priest and other, (as they called them) lollards.

HEnry by the grace of God king of Englande and of Fraunce,*Lord of Ireland, to his well beloued Iohn Exetor, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester health.

Ye shall vnderstand that we fully trusting vnto your fidelitie and circumspections, haue appoynted you ioyntly and seuerally to take and arrest William White priest, and Thomas, late chaplaine of Setling, in the countie of Norfolke, and William Northampton priest, and al other whatsoeuer they be that are suspect of heresy or lollardy, wheresoeuer they may be founde within the liberties or without, and straight way being so taken, to send the vnto our next gaile or prison, vnto such time, as we shall haue taken other order for their deliury: And therefore wee straightly commaunde you, that ye diligently attende about the premisses, and fulfill the same in forme aforesayde. Also we charge and command all and singuler Iustices of peace, Maiors, Shriues, Bailiffes, Cunstable, and all other our faithfull officers, by the tenoure of these presents, that they do assist, aide, and counsaile you & euery of you, in the execution of the premisses, as it shall be comely for them. In witnes whereof, we haue caused these our letters patentes to be made.

Witnes my selfe at Westminster, the 6. of Iuly, the 6. yeare of our raigne

.

By vertue of which commission we finde in olde Monuments, that wythin shorte space after. Iohn Exeter, which was appointed one of the commissioners, attached 6. persons in the towne of Bungay in the diocesse of Norwich, and committed them to William Day, and William Roe, Constables of the towne of Bungay, to be sent within 10. dayes folowing vnder safe custodie, vnto the castle of Norwich. Whose names, through the antiquity of the monument were so defaced that we coulde not attaine to the perfecte knowledge of them all: onely 3. names partlye remained in the booke to be read, which were these.

Iohn Waddon of Tenterdon, in the countie of kent, Bartlemewe, Monke of Ersham, in the countie of Norfolke, Corneleader, a martyed man. William Skuts.

These 3. were in the custodie of the Duke of Northfolk, at hys castle of Fremingham.

Besides these, we also finde in the said old monuments within the diocesse of Norffolke and Suffolke, specially in the townes of Beckels, Ersham, and Ludney, a great nūber both of men and women to haue bene vexed and ca••e in prison, & after their abiuration, brought to open shame in churches and markets by the bishop of the sayd diocesse called William, and hys Chancellour William Bernham, Iohn Exceter being the Register therein, so that wythin the space of 3. or 4. yeares,* that is from the yeare 1428. vnto the yeare 1431. about the number of 120. menne and

women are examined and sustained great vexatiō for the profession of the Christian faithe: of whome some were onely taken vpon suspition onely for eating of meates prohibited vpon vigil dayes, who of their purgation made, escaped more easily away and wyth lesse punishment, whose names here follow subscribed.

The names of them that were taken and examined vpon suspition of heresy.

- *RObert Skiruing of Harlstone.
- Wiliam Skiruing.
- Iohn Terry of Ersham.
- Iohn Abtre of Ersham.
- Iohn Middleton of Haluergate.
- Iohn Wayde of Ersham.
- Rich. Clarke of Sething.
- Tho. White of Bedingham.
- M. Rob. Beete of Berry.
- Rich. Page of Clipsly.

[Page 661](#) The other were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned, of whō we do specially finde mention made of these three.

- Father Abraham of Colchester.
- William white Priest.
- Iohn Waddon priest.

The residue, for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abiure, sustayning such cruell penaunce as pleased then the sayd Bishop and his Chauncellor to lay vpon them. The names of which both men and wonnē here folow together in this briefe Catalogue to be seene.

- IOhn Beuerley.
- Iohn Wardon.
- Iohn Baker. Iohn Midleton.
- Iohn Kynget.
- Margery Backster.
- Iohn Skilley.
- Iohn Godhold.
- Thomas Albecke. Iohn Pierce.
- Nicholas Canon of Eye.
- Thomas Pye.
- Iohn Mendham.
- Iohn Middleton.
- Thomas Chatris.
- Thomas Wade.
- William Taylor.
- Iohn Cupper, vicar of Tunstall.
- Sir Hugh Pye Priest.
- Bartholomew Tatcher.

- Thomas Iames.
- Iohn Fouling.
- Bertram Cornmonger.
- Thomas Swerdin.
- Alanus Andrew.
- William Wright.
- William Euerden.
- William Taylor.
- Auis the wi•e of Thomas Moone and her daughter.
- Richard Fletcher of Beckles.
- Nicholas Belward.
- Thomas Grenemere.
- Iohn Clarke. William Bate.
- William Scherming.
- William Osburne.
- Iohn Rene of Beckles.
- Baldwine Cooper of Beckles.
- Iohn Pert. M Mones seruant.
- Rob. Briggs, Iohn Finch.
- Iohn Wropham. Thomas Mone.
- Isabell Chaplaine of Martham.
- William Masse of Ersham.
- Iohn Goodwine of Ersham.
- Henry Latchcold of Ersham.
- Henry Boode of Ersham.
- Rich Horne of Ersham.
- Iohn Belward senior of Ersham.
- Iohn Belward iunior of Ersham.
- Iohn Spire of Bungay.
- Rob. Colle of Turning.
- The heard of Shepemedow
- Isabell Dauby of Costes.
- Sibill wife of Iohn Godefell of Dicham.
- Iohn Pyry of Bartham.
- Iohn Baker. Margery Wright.
- Thomas Burrell and his wife.
- Iohn Pert. Edm. Archer.
- The Clarke of Ludney.
- Rich Clarke of Sething.
- Katherine the wife of William Wright, William Colin of Southcreke.
- Rich King of Windeham.
- Tho Plowman. Iohn Fellis.
- Tho. Loue of Rokeland.
- Rich Knobbing of Beckles.
- Rich. Grace of Beckles.
- Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
- William Hardy, Wil. Bate.
- Iohn Weston.

- Katherine Hobs.
- Iohn Daw.
- Rob. Grigs of Martham.
- Wil. Calis Priest.
- Tho. Pert. Priest.
- Katherine Dauy.
- Iacob Bodhome, & Margaret his wife.
- Iohn Manning of Marton.
- Iohn Culling of Beemster.
- Rich Fletcher of Beckles and Matild his wife.
- Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
- Rob. Canel Priest.
- Nich. Drey.
- Wil. Hardy of Mundham.
- Iohn Poleyne.

These forenamed persons and souldiors of Christ, being much beatē with the cares and troubles of those dayes although they were constrayned to relent and abiure, that is to protest otherwise with their tongues, then theyr harts did thinke, partly through correction and partly through infirmity (being as yet but new trayned Souldiours in Gods field) yet for theyr good will they bare vnto y^e trueth, although with theyr tongues they durst not expresse it, we haue thought good that theyr names should not be suppressed, as well for other sondry causes, as especially for this: either to stop the mouthes of malignant aduersaryes, or to aunswere to theyr ignorance: Who folowing rather blinde affection thē the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the worde of God, for newelty and carping, the teachers therof for new broched brethrē. Who, if they did as well foresee times passed, as they be vnwilling to follow times now present, they should vnderstand as well by these storyes as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath preuayled, although in most places through tyrāny and the malice of men, Christes procedinges haue bene suppressed and kept vnder from rising, so muche as mans power and strength ioyned with craft and subtilty, coulde labor to keepe downe the same: as here by these good men of Northfolke and Southfolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the good towardnesse of those good mē, had had the like liberty of time, with the helpe of like authority as we haue nowe,* and had not ben restrayned thorough the iniquity of time and tyranny of Prelates: it had well appeared how olde this doctrine woulde haue bene, which now they contemne and reiect for the newnes therof: neither needed Boner to haue asked of Tho. Hawkes, and such other, where their Church was for xl. yeares ago, in as much as for xl. yeares ago, and more, within the coutry of Norfolke and Suffolke, was then soūd such plenty of y^e same professiō & like doctrine which we now professe. And thus much for the nūber of the names of thesepersōs.

Now touching theyr Articles whiche they did mayneteine and defend: first this is to be considered, as I finde it in the registers, such society and agrement of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in theyr assertions and articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other, what theyr articles were, partly it is shewed in the lease before: and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these Articles that many of them either were falsly objected agaynst thē, or not truely reported of the notaryes, according as the cōmon maner is of these aduersaryes, where the matter is good, there to make heresy, and of a litle occasion, to styre vp great matter of slaunder, as they did before by the articles of Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Hus, and others mo: So in like maner it semeth they did in the Articles of these mē, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they ment, especially in these two articles concerning baptisme and paying of tithes. For where as they speaking agaynst the ceremonicall and superfluous traditions then vsed in baptisme, as salt, oile, spittle, taper, light crisomes, exorcising of the water, with such other, accoūted them as no materiall thing in the holy institution of Baptisme, the notaryes slaunderously deprauing this theyr assertion, to make it more odious to the eares of the people,* so gaue out the article as though they should holde that the sacrament of Baptisme vsed in the church by water, is but a light matter and of small effect.

Agayne, in speaking agaynst the Christening the midwiues vse in priuate houses, agaynst the opinion of suche as thinke suche children to be damned, which depart before they come to theyr Baptisme, they are falsely reported as though they shoulde say, that Christen people be sustiently baptised in the bloud of Christ, and nedeth no water, and that infants be sufficiently baptised, if their parents be baptised before them. Whiche thing is so contrary to the manifest worde, that it is not to bee thoughte anye to bee [Page 662](#) so ignoraunt of the gospell, that euer would or did affirme the same.

Moreouer, they thought or sayd peradventure that in certayne cases, tithes might be withholden from wicked priestes sometime, and be conferred to better vses, to the be hoofe of the poore: Therfore they are falsly slaundered, as saying and affirming that no tithes were to be geuē to the ministers and curates of the churches.

*And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirme as though it consisted onely in the mutuall consent betwixt the man & woman, neding no other solemnizing in the publicke church and all because (as it is like) they denied it to be a Sacramēt. Other articles were objected agaynst them as these which hereafter folow.

*That auricular confessiō is not to be made vnto a priest but vnto God onely, because no priest hath any power to absolue a sinner from his sinne.

Item, that no Priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the aultar, but that after the sacramentall words, there remayneth pure materiall breade as before.

Item that euery true christian man is a priest to God.

Item, that no man is bound vnder paine of damnatiō vnto Lent or any other dayes prohibited by the Church of Rome.

Item, that the Pope is Antichrist, and his Prelats the Disciples of Antichrist, and the Pope hath no power to binde and loose vpon earth.

* Item, that it is lawfull for euery Christian to doe any bodely worke (sinne onely except) vpon holy dayes.

Item that it is lawfull for priestes to haue wiues.

Item, that the excommunications and ecclesiastical cēsure geuen out by the Prelates are not to be regarded.

Item, it is not lawfull to sweare in priuate cases.

Item, that men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item that there is no honor to be geuē to the Images of the crucifixe, of our Lady, or any other saynt.

Item, that the holy water halowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more vertue then other running or well water, because the Lord blessed all waters in theyr first creation.

*Item, that the death of Thomas Becket, was neyther holy neither meritorious.

Item, that reliques as dead mens bones, ought not to be worshipped or digged out of theyr graues, or set vp in Shrynes.

Item, that prayers made in all places are acceptable vnto God.

Item, that men ought not to pray to any saynt but only to God.

Item that the vels and ringing in the church was ordeyned for no other purpose then to fill the pristess purses.

Item, that it is no sinne to withstand the ecclesiasticall preceptes.

Item, that the catholick church is onely the congregation of the elect.

*These were the Articles, which were generally obiected agaynst them all, wherein they did so agree in one vniforme sayth, that whatsoever one did hold, all the other did mayntayne & hold the same. By the which theyr consent & doctrine it appeareth that they all receiued it of some one instructor, who was William White: which being a scholer and folower of I. Wickliffe, resorted afterward into thys country of Norfolke and there instructed these men in the light of the gospell. And now as we haue declared the names and Articles of these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speake of theyr troubles how they were handled, beginning first with William White.

William White Priest.

*THIS William White being a folower of Iohn Wickliff and a priest not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them, of whom the wise man speaketh: He was as the morning starre in the midst of a cloud, &c. This man was well learned, vpright & a well spoken priest. He gaue ouer his priesthood & benefice, & took vnto him a godly yong woman to his wife named Ioane: notwithstanding he did not therefore cease or leaue frō his former office & duty, but continually labored to the glory and prayse of his spouse Christ, by reading, writing & preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury.

That men should seeke for the forgeuenes of their sins onely at the handes of God.

That the wicked liuing of the Pope and his holynesse, is nothing els but a deuilish estate and heauy yoke of Anti'christ, and therefore he is an enemy vnto Christes trueth.

That men ought not to worship Images or other Idolatrous payntings.

That mē ought not to worship the holy men which are dead.

That the Romish church is the fig tree which the Lord Christ hath accused,* because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true beliefe.

That such as weare coules, or be annointed or shorne are the lanceknightes and souldiors of Lucifer: & that they all, because theyr lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when as the Lord Christ shall come.

Upon which articles he being attached at Cant. vnder the Archb. Henry Chichesley in the yeare of our Lord 1424. there for a certayne space stoutly and manly witnessed the truth whiche he had preached: but like as there he lost hys courage and strength, so afterward he became again much more stouter and stronger in Iesu Christ and confessed his own error & offence. For after this he going into Norfolk with his said wife Ioane, & there occupying himself busily in teaching & conuerting the people vnto the true doctrine of Christ, at the last by meanes of y^e kings letters sēt down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended & taken & brought before Wil. bishop of Norwich, by whom he was conuict & condemned of 30. articles & there was burned in Norwich, in the moneth of September. an. 1424.

[illustration]

The burning of William White.

This William White and his wife had his most abode with one Tho. Moone of Ludney. This mā was of so deuout and holy life, that all y^e people had him in great reuerence, and desired him to pray for them: in so much that one Margaret Wright confessed, that if any sayntes were to be prayd to, she would rather pray to him then to any other. When he was come vnto the stake thinking to open hys mouth to speak vnto the people,* to exhort & confirme them in the verity,

one of the bishops seruants stroke hym on y^e mouth, therby to force him to keepe silence. And thus thys good man receiuing the crowne of martyrdome, ended this mortall life to the great dolor & grieve of all the good men of Norfolke. Whose sayd wife Ioane, folowing her husbāds footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in Gods truth: wherefore the suffered much trouble and punishmēt the same yeare at the handes of the sayd bishop.

About the same time also was burned father Abraham of Colchester,* and Iob. Waddō priest, for the like articles.

Concerning them, which abiured, how & by whom they were examined, What depositions came in agaynst them, and what was the order & maner of the penance inioyned them, here it might be set out at large: but for auoyding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certaine of the principals, wherby the better vnderstanding may be geuē [Page 663](#) to the Reader, after what maner & order al the other were intreated.

First amongst them which were arested and caused to abiure in this yeare afore specified. 1428. was Thom. Pye, and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough, who being conuict vpon diuers of the Articles before mentioned, were enioined penance to be done in theyr own parish Church, as by the bishops letter directed to the Deane of Rhodenhall, & y^t parish priest of Aldborough, doth more at large appeare, the tenour wherof here ensueth.

The copy of the Bishop of Norwich his letter.

*William by the sufferance of God Bishop of Norwich to our welbeloued sonnes in Christ the Deane of Rodéhal of our Dioces, and to the parishe priest of the parish Church of Aldborough of the same our dioces, health, grace and benediction.

For so much as we, according to our office lawefully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the soules of Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough of the dioces aforesayd, because they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and many errours and heresydes, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of Rome, and the vniuersall church and catholicke fayth, haue enioyned the sayd Thomas and Iohn appearing before vs personally and confessing before vs iudicially that they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and heresydes, this penaunce hereunder written for theyr offences to be done and fulfilled in maner, forme and time hereunder written, according as iustice doth require, that is to say, sixe fustigations or displinges about the parish church of Alborough aforesayd, before a solemn procession, sixe seuerall sondayes and three displinges about the market place of Herelston of our sayde Dioces, three principall market dayes, bare necked, head legs and feet, theyr bodyes being couered onely with theyr shyrtes and breeches either of them carying a taper in his hand of a pound waight, as well rounde about the Church, as about the market place, in euery of the foresayd appoynted dayes,* which tapers the last sonday after theyr penance finished, we will that the sayde Iohn & Thomas do humbly and deuoutly offer vnto the high aultar of the parish church of Alborough at the tyme of the offertory of the high Masse the

[illustration]

The description of the penance of Tho. Pye, and Iohn Mendham.

same day, and that either of them going about the market place aforesayd: shall make foure seuerall pauses or staves, and at euery of those same pauses, humbly and deuoutly receiue at your handes three displings: Therefore we straightly charge and commaunde you and either of you, ioyntly and seuerally by vertue of your obedience, that euery sonday and market day, after the recept of our present commaundement, you do effectually admonishe and bring forth the sayde Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendam to begin and accomlishe theyr sayde penance, and so successiue to finish the same in maner and forme afore appoynted But if they wil not obey your monitions or rather our commaundementes in this behalfe, and begin and finish their sayd penance effectuallye, you or one of you shall cite them peremptoryly that they or eyther of them appeare before vs or our Commissary, in the chappell of our palace at Norwich, the 12. day after the citatiō so made if it be a court day, or els the next court day folowing, to declare if they or any of them haue any cause why they should not be excommunicate for theyr manifest offence in this behalfe committed, according to the forme and order of lawe, and further to receiue such punishmēt, as iustice shall prouide in that behalfe. And what you haue done in the premisses, whether the sayde Thomas and Iohn haue obeyed your admonitions, and performed the said penance or no: we will that you or one of you which haue receiued our sayd commaundement, for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify vs betwene this & the last day of Nouember next comming.

Dated at our palace of Norwich vnder our Commissaryes seale, the 8. day of October. an. 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the most part, the order of theyr whole penaunce: howbeit, some were oftentimes more cruelly handled, & after theyr penance they were banished out of the dioces, and other some more straightly vsed by longer imprisomēt, wherof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

Iohn Beuerley alias Battild,

IOhn Beuerley alias Battild a labourer was attached by the Vicar of Sowthereke,* the parish priest of Waterden and a lawyer, and so deliuered vnto Mayster Wil. Bernā the Byshops Commissary, who sent him to the Castle of Norwich there to be kept in irons: wheras afterward he being brought before the commissary, and hauing nothing proued agaynst him, he took an othe, that euery yeare afterward he should confesse his sinnes once a yere to his curat and receiue the Sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did: and for his offence was enioyned that the Friday and Saterdag next after he should fast bread and water, and vpon the Saterdag to be * whipped from the pallace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, & by S. Michaels Church by Cottle rew, and about the market, hauyng in his hand a waxe candle of two pēce, to offer to y^e image of the Trinity after he had done his penaunce. And for so much as he confessed that he had eatē flesh vpō Easter day and was not shriuen in all lent, nor receiued vpon Easter day, the iudge enioyned him that he shoulde fast Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday in Whitsonweke, hauing but one mealt a day of fish and other whitte meates, and after hys penāce so done, he should depart out of the dioces, & neuer come there any more.

John Skille of Flixton Miller.

IOhn Skille of Flixton Miller being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich y^e 14 day of March 1428.* for holding & mayntayning the Articles aboue written, was therupon conuict and forced to abiure: and after his abiuration solemnly made (which here to anoyd tediousnes we omit) he had a most sharpe sentence of penance pronouced agaynst him, the effect wherof being briefly collected, was this: That forsomuch as the said Skille was conuict by his owne confession, for holding and mayntayning the Articles before written, and for receiuing certain good and godly mē into his house, as sir Wil. White priest, and Iohn Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretickes, and had now abiured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by meanes of his opinions, he was enioyned for penance 7. yeares imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, in the dioces of Norwiche. And forsomuch as in times past, he vsed vpon the Fridayes to eate flesh, he was enioyned to fast bread & water euery Friday, by the space of that 7. yeares to come, and that by the space of 2. yeares next immediately after the 7. yeares expired, euery wednesday in the beginning of Lēt, & euery Maundy thursday, he should appeare before the bishop or his successor, or cōmissary for the time being, in the cathedrall church of Norwich together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Besides these there were diuers other of y^e same cōpany which y^e same yeare were forced to like abiuratiō & penāce, And so to proceed to the next yeare following, which was 1429. there ensueth a great nūber in y^e same register, which were examined and did penance in like sorte to the number of 16. or 17. In the number of whom was Iohn Baker [Page 664](#) otherwise called Usher Tunstall, who for hauing a booke with the Pater noster, the •ue and Creed in English, and for certayn other articles of fasting, confession and inuocation contrary to the determination of the Romish Church after much vexation for the same, was caused to abiure and sustayne such penance, as the other before him had done.

The story of Margery Backster.

*ANother was Margery Backster, wife of Wil. Backster Wright in Marthā, the same yere accused: against whom one Ioane wife of Cliffelande was brought in by the bishop, and cōpelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in forme following.

*First, that the sayde Margerye Backster did informe this deponent, that she should in no case sweare, saying to her in english, dame beware of the Bee, for euery Bee will sting, and therefore take heede you sweare not, neyther by God, neither by our Lady, neither by none other saynt: & if ye do contrary, the Bee will sting your tongue and venome your soule.

Itē, this deponēt being demaūded by y^e said Margery, what she did euery day at church, she answered y^t the kneled down & said 5. Pater nosters, in worship of the crucifixe, & as many Aue Maries in worship of our Lady, whō Mar'gery rebuked saying: you do euill to kneele or pray to such Images in y^e churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall come downe out of heauen, & will geue you no more reward for such prayer, then a candle lighted & let vnder the couer of the font,* wil geue light by night to those which are in the church: saying moreouer in english, lewd wrightes, of stockes hew and forme such crosses and Images, and after that, lewd

paynters glere thē with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true crosse of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your owne house. Which this deponent being desirous to see, the sayd Margery stretching out her armes abroad, sayd to this deponēt this is the true crosse of Christ, & this crosse thou oughtest and mayst euery day beholde and worship in thine owne house, and therefore it is but vayne to run to the Church to worship dead crosses and Images.

Itē this deponent being demaunded by the said Margery how she beleued touching the sacramēt of the aulter, sayd that she beleued the Sacrament of the aulter after the consecratiō, to be the very body of Christ in forme of bread. To whom Margery sayd: your beliefe is nought. For if euery such Sacrament were God, & the very body of christ there should be an infinite number of Gods, because that a thousand priests and more doe euery day make a thousand such Gods, and afterward eat them, and voyd them out again by theyr hinder partes filthily stincking vnder y^e hedges, whereas you may find a great many such Gods, if you will seek for them.* And therefore know for a certaynty, that by the grace of God it shall neuer be my God, because it is falsly and deceitfully ordeyned by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry, for it is onely mate^riall bread.

Moreouer the sayd Margery said to this deponēt, that Thomas of Canterbury,* whom the people called S. Tho^mas, was a false traytor and damned in hell, because he iniuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised vp many heresy^es in the church,* which seduce the simple people, and therefore if God be blessed, the sayd Thomas is accursed, and those false priests that say that he suffered his death patiently before the aulter, do lye: For as a false cowardly traytor he was slayne in the church dore as he was flying away.

Moreouer, this deponent sayth, that the sayd Margery told her that the cursed Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, and bishops, & specially the bishop of Norwich & others that support and mayntayne heresies and Idolatry, raigning & ruling ouer the people, shall shortly haue the very same or worse mischiefe fall vpon them, thē that cursed mā Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falsly and cursedly deceiue the people with theyr false mammetries & lawes, to extort mony of the simple folke to sustayn theyr pride, riot and idlenes: And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedely come vpō them, which haue most cruelly slayne the children of God,* Father Abraham, & William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and Iohn Wadden, with many other godly men: which vengeance had come vpon the sayd Cayphas, the Bishop of Norwich & his ministers, which are members of the deuill, before this time, if the Pope had not sent ouer those false pardons vnto these parties, which the sayd Cayphas had falsly obteyned to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church. Which pardōs brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

Item the sayd Margery sayd to this deponent, that euery faythful man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other dayes appoynted for fasting by the church, & that euery man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meates vpon the sayd dayes and times:* and that it were better to eat the fragments left vpō Thursday at night on y^e fasting dayes, thē to go to the market to bring themselues in debt to buy fish: and that Pope Siluester made the Lent.

Item, the sayd Margery sayd to this deponēt, that W. White was falsly condēned for an hereticke, & that he was a good and holy mā, and that he willed her to folow him to the place of

execution,* Whereas she saw that whē he would haue opened his mouth to speak vnto y^e people to instruct them, a deuill one of bishop Cayphas seruants strake him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Item, this deponent sayth y^t the sayd Margery taught her that she should not goe on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Walsingame, nor to any other saynt or place.

Also this deponent sayth, that the sayd Margery desired her that she & Ioane her mayde would come secretly in the night to her chamber, & there she should heare her husband read the law of Christ vnto them, which law is written in a booke that her husbände was wont to reade to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Ione West, and that the sayde woman is in a good way of saluation.

Also that the said Margery said to this deponēt: Ione, it appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I haue sayde vnto you: and this deponent sware that she woulde neuer disclose it, without the sayde Margery gaue her occasion. Then sayde Margery vnto this deponent if thou do accuse me vnto the Bishop, I wil do vnto thee, as I did once vnto a certayne Frier a Carmelite of Varmouth which was the best learned Frier in all the country. Then this deponēt desired to know what she had done to the frier. Unto whom Margery answered that she had talked with the sayd Frier, rebuking him because he did beg, saying that it was no almes to geue hym any good thing, except he would leaue his habite, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more, then folowing the life of some of those Friers. Then the Frier requyred of the sayd Margery whether she could teach him or tel him any thing els. Thē the sayd Margery (as she affirmed to this deponent) declared to this Frier the gospels in enlish, and then the Frier departed from her. After this the same Frier accused the sayd Margery of heresy, and she vn|derstanding that the Frier had accused her: accused the Frier agayne, that he would haue knowne her carrally, and because she would not consent vnto him, the Frier had accused her of heresy. And moreouer she sayd that her husbād would haue killed the Frier therefore: and so the Frier for feare held his peace, and went his way for shame.

This Margery also sayd that she had oftentimes bene faynedly confessed to the Deane of the fieldes,* because he should thinke her to be a woman of good life, and therefore he gaue the sayd Margery oftentimes money. Then thys deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sinnes to a priest or not. And she answered that she had neuer offended any priest, & therefore she would neuer confesse her selfe to any priest, neyther obey him because they haue no power to absolue any man from theyr sinnes, for that they offēd dayly more greeuously then other men, and therefore that men ought to confesse themselues onely vnto God and to no priest.

Item, the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship deuils which fell frō heauen with Lucifer, which deuils in theyr fall to the earth, entred into the Images which stand in the Churches,* and haue long lurked & dwelled in thē, so that the people worshipping those Images, commit Idolatry.

Item, she sayd more to this deponent that holy bread & holy water were but tri•es of no effect or force, & that the belles are to be cast out of the Church, and that they are excommunicate which first ordeined them.

Moreouer that she should not be burned, although she were conuict of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salua^{ti}on in her body.

Also the sayd deponent sayth, y^t Agnes Bethem her ser^uant being sent to the house of the sayd Margery the Saterdag after Ashwēsdag, the said Margery not being wⁱn, [Page 665](#) found a brasse pot standing ouer the fire with a piece of baken and Otemeate sething in it, as it is said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also besides this deponent, diuers other (worne and examined vpon the sayde Margery, as Iohn Brunley and Agnes Berthē, seruauntes to William Clistand, which altogether confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we haue thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we haue gathered out of the old monumentes and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we finde no mention made in the sayd registers, we are not able to declare.

The same yeare also, were the like depositions made by one William Wright agaynst diuers good men, as here foloweth.

*First, this deponent sayth that William Taylor, tolde Iohn Piry of Ludney, in the house of Iohn Bungay of Beghton, in the presence of I. Bungay, Robert Brigges wright of Martham, and Iohn Usher, that all the good men of Martham which were fauorers & helpers to that good man William White are euill troubled now a dayes, and that the sayd William White, was a good & holy doctor: and that the best doctor after him was William Euerden, whiche wrought with the sayde William Taylour, * of Ludney by the space of one moneth, and that the first Sonday of the same moneth, the sayd William Euerden did sit all day vpon the table at worke, saying to the sayd William Taylor, that he would not go to Church to shew hymselfe a Scribe or Pharisy: and the second sonday he put on Gentle mans apparell, and went to Norwiche to harken how the Byshop and his ministers vsed the poore Christians there in prison.

*Also the sayd William Wright, deposed that Willyam Taylour of Ludney was one of the secte, & went to London with Syr Hue Pye, and had conuersation oftētimes with Syr William White, hauing often conference vpon the Lollardes doctrine.

Item, that Auise, wife of Thomas Moone, is of the same sect and fauored them, * and receiueth them often, and also the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of the same sect, and can read English.

*Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckils, is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, & hath a booke of the new law in English, which was Syr Hughe Pyes first.

Itē, that Nicolas Belward, sonne of Iohn Belward dwelling in the parishe of Southelham, is one of the same sect, and hath a new Testament which he bought at London for 4. markes and 40. pence, and taught the sayd William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought wyth them continually by the space of one yere, and studied diligently vpon the sayd new Testament.

Itē, that Thomas Bremner Turner of Dychingame is perfect in that sect and law.

*Iohn Clarke the younger of Bergh, had the beddinge and apparell of William Euerden in his custody, after the returne of William White from Bergh, and is of the same secte.

*Item, William Bate, Taylour of Sething, and hys wife and his sonne, whiche can reade Englishe very well, are of the same sect.

*Item, William Skiruing of Sething, receiued Ioane the wife of W. White into his house, being brought thither by William Euerden, after theyr departure from Martham.

*Item, William Osborne of Sething, I. Reue glouer, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckels are of the same sect.

Item, Iohn Pert late seruaunt of Thomas Moone, is of the same secte, and can read well, & did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought Sir Hugh Pye into the company of the Lollardes, which assembled oftentimes together, at the house of the sayd Tho. Moone, and there conferred vpon theyr doctrine.

*Item, Syr Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, seruaunt to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the booke of the new law, & was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

*Iohn Perker Mercer of a village by Ipswitch, is a famous Doctour of that secte. Also he sayd that father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

Item, the sayd William Wright deposeth that it is read in the Prophetes amonges the Lollardes, that the sect of Lollardes shalbe in a maner destroyed:* Notwithstanding at the length the Lollards shall preuayle and haue the victory agaynst all theyr enemyes.

Also, he sayd that Tucke knoweth all of that Sect in Suffolke, Norfolke and Essex.

Besides these, there were many other •he same yere troubled,* whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolke men, here for breuityes sake we omit further to untreat of, passing ouer to the next yere folowing, which was 1430. Ex Regist. Norw.

IOhn Burrell seruaunt to Thomas Moone of Ludney, in the Dioces of Norwiche,* was apprehended and arrested for heresy, the 9. day of December, in this yere of our Lord 1430. and examined by Mayster William Bernam the Bishops commissary, vpon the articles before mentioned, and diuers others hereafter following, obiected agaynst him.

In primis, that the Catholicke Church is the soule of euery good Christen man.

Item,* that no man is bounde to fast the Lent or other fasting dayes appoynted by the Church, for they were not appoynted by God, but ordeyned by the priestes: and that euery man may eat flesh or fish vpon the same dayes indifferently, according to his own will, & euery friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Item,* that pilgrimage ought not to be made but onely vnto the poore.

Item, that it is not lawefull to sweare, but in case of life and death.

Item,* that Masses and prayers for the deade, are but vayne, for the soules of the dead are eyther in heauē or hell: and there is none other place of purgatory but this world. Upō the which Articles he being cōuict, was forced to obiure and suffred like penance as the other before had done.

THomas Moone of Ludney,* was apprehended and atta'ched for suspition of heresy, agaynst whom were objected by the Bishop, the articles before written, but specially this article, that he had familiarity & communication with diuers heretickes, and had receiued, comforted, supported, and mayntayned diuers of them,* as sir William White, syr Hugh Pye, Thomas Pert, and William Callis Priestes, with many other more: vpon the which articles, he being cōuict before the bishop, was forced to abiure, and receiued the like penance, in like maner as before.

In like maner Robert Brigges of Martham was brought before the Bishop the 17.* day of February, in the yeare aforesayd, for holding and affirming the foresayd articles, but especially these hereafter folowing.

That the sacrament of confirmation ministred by the Byshop,* did auayle nothing to saluation.

That it was no sinne to withstand the ordinaunces of the Church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worse for the conturacions & characters which the priestes made ouer them.

Upon which Articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure, and receiued penance in maner and forme as the other had done before him.

The like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened vnto Iohn Finch of Colchester,* the 20. day of September, who albeit he was of the dioces of London, being suspecte of heresy, was attached in Ipswich in the dioces of Norwich, & brought before the bishop there, before whom he being conuict of the like articles: as all the other before him, was enioyned penance, three displings in solemne procession about the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, three seuerall Sondayes, & three displinges about the market place of Norwich three principall market dayes, his head, necke and feet being bare, & his body couered onely with a short shirt or vesture, hauing in his handes a taper of waxe of a pound waight,* which the next Sunday after his penance, he shoulde offer to the Trinity: and that for the space of 3. yeres after, euery Ashwednesday & Maundy Thursday he should appeare in the Cathedrall Church of Norwich,

before the Bishop or his Vicegerent, to do open penance amongst the other penitentiaries, for his offences.

There were besides these men which we haue here rehearsed, diuers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that theyr Articles & punishmēts were all one, we haue thought good at this time to passe ouer, especially forsomuch as their names be before recited in the Catalogue.

ABout the same time, euen the same yeare. 1430. shortlye after the solemne Coronation of Kyng Henrye the sixt a certayne manne named Richard Houeden a woll winder,* and Citizen of Londō, receiued also the crown of [Page 666](#)

[illustration]

The burning of Rich, Houeden.

Martyrdome. Which man when as he coulde by no perswasions be withdrawne or plucked backe from the opinions of wickliffe, he was by the Rulers of the church condemned for heresy, and as Fabian writeth, buried hard by the tower of London.

Nicholas Canon of Eye.

*NOw to proceed in our story of Norfolke and Suffolk in folowing the order of yeres, we finde that in y^e yere of our Lord. 1431. One Nich. Canon of Eye was brought before the Bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with certayne witnesses sworne to depose against him touching his maners and conuersatiō, which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed in maner and forme folowing.

First that on Easter day when all the parishners wēt about the church of Eye solemnely in processiō as y^e maner was, the sayd Nicholas Canon as it were mocking & deciding the other parishioners, went about the Church the contrary way, and met the procession.

*This article he confessed and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, the sayd Nicholas asked of maister Iohn Colman of Eye, this question. Maister Colman, what think you of the Sacrament of the aulter? To whome the sayde Colman aunswered: Nicholas, I thinke that the Sacramēt of the aulter is very God and very man, the very flesh and very bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ vnder forme of bread and wine. Vnto whom Nicholas in decision sayde: Truly if the Sacrament of the aulter be very God & very man, and the very body & bloud of our Lord Iesu Christ: then may very God and very man be put in a small roome: as when it is in the priests mouth, that receiueth it at mas. And why may not we simple men, as well eate flesh vpon Fridayes and al other prohibited dayes,* as the priest to eat the flesh and the bloud of our Lord euery day indifferētly: The which article, the sayd Nicholas denied that he spake vnto Maister Colman, but vnto a Monke of Hockesney, And furthermore, he thought he had spoken well in that behalfe.

Item that on Corpus Christi day at the eleuation of high masse, when all the parishioners & other straungers kneeled downe holding vp their handes, and doing reuerence vnto the sacrament, the sayd Nicholas went behinde a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high aulter, mocked them that did reuerence vnto the sacrament.

This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he beleued himselfe to do well in so doing.

Item, when his mother would haue the said Nicholas to lift vp his right hand, and to crosse himselfe frō y^e craftes and assaults of the deuill, forsomuch as he deferred the doing therof, his mother tooke vp his right hād & crossed him saying: In nomine patris filij, & spiritus sacti. Amen. Which so ended, the sayde Nicholas immediately deciding hys mothers blessing, tooke vp his right hand of his owne accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his aduersaryes reporte of him. This Article the sayde Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Item, that vpon Alhallowen day in the time of eleuati'on of high masse, when as many of the parishioners of E•e lighted many torches and caried thē vp to the high aulter kneling down there in reuerence and honor of the Sacrament, the sayd Nicholas carying a torche, went vp hard to the high aulter, and standing behind the priestes backe saying masse,* at the time of the eleuation he stood vpriht vpō his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would do no reuerence vnto y^e sacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in y^t behalfe. All which Articles the Byshops cōmissary caused to be copied out word for worde, & to be sēt vnto M. William Worsted, Prior of the cathedrall church of Norwich, and to other doctors of diuinity of the order of begging Friers, that they might deliberate vpon them, and shew their mindes betwene that and Thursday next folowing. Vpon whiche Thursdays being the last of Nouember, the yeare aforesayd, the sayd Nicholas was agayne examined before M. Barnam and diuers other vpō two other articles which he had confessed vnto I. Exetor notary,* & Tho. Bernsten bachelor of diuinity and others. Whereof the first Article was this: that the sayd Nicholas Canon being of perfect minde and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the Sacrament of the aulter, were the very body of Christ or no. This article he confessed before the Commissary to be true.

Item,* that he beyng of perfecte minde and remembraunce, beleued that a man ought not to cōfesse his sinnes to a Priest. This Article he also confessed that he doubted vpon.

Now remayneth to declare what these doctors aforesayd concluded vpon the articles: whose aunswere vnto the same was this.

First of all as touching the first article,* they sayde that the article in the same termes as it was propounded, is not simply an heresy but an error.

Item, as touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, as touching the third Article, they affirme that it is an heresy.

Vnto the fourth Article they aunswered as vnto the first and second.

Item,* the doctors affirme the 5. article to be an heresy.

Item, as touching the 6. Article, the doctors conclude that if the sayd Nicholas being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the aulter were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then that Article is simply an heresy.

Wherupon the sayd Commissary declared & pronounced the sayd Nicholas Canon vpo the determinatiō of the foresaid doctors, to be an heretick: and therupon forced the sayd Nicholas to abiure all the sayd Articles. That done, he enioined the sayd Nicholas penance for his offēces, thre displinges about the cloyster of the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, before a solemne procession, bare headed & barefoote, carying a Taper of halfe a pound in his hand, going after the maner aforesayd,* like a mere penitētiary: y^e which his penance, the iudge commaunded should be respited vn'till the comming of the Bishop into his dioces, and that in the meane time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venune and poyson of errors and heresyes.

Thus haue we briefly discoursed vnto you, the greate troubles and afflictions, which happened in Norfolke and Suffolke by the space of those 4. yeares before mentioned, hauing drawn out briefly for euery yere, certayne notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, for so much as their opinions being nothing different, theyr penaunce and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise then by those particuler examples may be playnely seene.

Thomas Bagley Priest.

ANd now to proceede as we haue begon,* w^t our former storyes generally, we find in Fabians Chronicles that in the same yere of our Lord. 1431. Thomas Bagley a priest Vicar of Monenden beside Malden, being a valiant disciple and adherent of wickliffe, was condemned by the Byshops of heresy at London about the midst of Lent, was disgraded and burned in Smithfield.

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Paule Crow a Bohemian.

*The same yeare also was Paule Crowe a Bohemian taken at S. Andrewes by the Bishop Henry, and deliuered ouer to the secular power to be burnt, for holding contrary opinions vnto y^e Church of Rome touching the sacramēt of y^e Lords supper, the worshipping of Sainets. auricular confession, with other of Wicklesses opinions.

The story of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in Italy for the profession of Christ.

*WE haue declared before, how this cruell storme of persecution which first began with vs in England, after it had long raged heere against many good and godly men, it brake out & passed into Boheme, and after within a short time, the fire of this persecution increasing by little and little, inuaded Scotland, and from thence now wyth greater force and violence, this furious deuouring flame hath entred Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the

murther and slaughter of most good & godly men. It hapned about this time, that one Thomas Rhedon,* a Frier of that sect, which taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chance came with the Venetiā Ausbassadours into Italy. This mā, although he was of that fort and secte, which in stead of Christians, are called Carmelites, yet was he of a farre other religion, & vnderstood the word of God, iudging that God ought not to be worshipped, neither in that mount, nor at Ierusalem onely, but in spirit & truth. This man being a true Carmelite, • fauoring with his whole hart that new sweet must of Iesu Christ, with earnest study & desire seeking after a Christiā integritie of life, prepared himselfe first to go into •ly, trusting y^t he should find there, or else in no place, sonne by whole good life and liuing he might be editied and instructed. For where ought more aboundance of verme & good liuing to be, then in that place, which is counted to be the forte and fountaine of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that wheras so great holines is professed wherupon all mens cies are bent, as vpon a stage, vnderas S. Peters seate is, and is thought to be the ruler & gouernour of all the Church, all things should florish and abesid worthy of so great expectatiō in that place? This holy man hauing these things before his eies, and considering the same with himselfe, forsooke his owne countrey & Citie, & went vnto Rome, conceiuing a firme & sure hope that by the example of so many notable and worthy me, he should greatly profile in godlines & learning: but the successe of the matter did vtterly frustrate his hope, for all things were cleane cōtrary. Whatsoeuer he saw, was nothing else but meere dissimulatiō and hypocrisie.* In stead of gold, he found nothing but coales: and for to say y^e truth, he found nothing else there but gold and siluer. In stead of heauenly gifts, there raigned amongst them the pompe and pride of the world. In place of godlines, riot. In stead of learning and study,* douthfulnes and superstition. Tyrannie and hautinesse of mind had possessed the place of Apostolicke simplicitie: that now there remained no more any place or libertie for a man to learne that whiche hee knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly vnderstoode.

Finally, all things were turned artic versie, all things hapned vnto him contrary to his expectation wheresoeuer he went. But nothing so much offended this good mas mind,* as the intolerable ambition, and pompous pride in them, whome example of humilitie should especially commend and praise to the whole worlde. And albeit that hee saw here nothing, which did accord & agree with the rule of the Apostles: yet these things did so much passe all measure and pacience, that he could by no meanes resraine his long in so great abuse and corruption of the Church, seing such ambitions pride in their buildings, apparell, in their places, in their daintie fare, in their great traynes of seruants, in their horse and armour, & finally in all things pertaining vnto them. Which things, how much they did vary from the prescript rule of the Gospel, so much y^e more was this good mā forced to speake. Albeit he did well vnderstand how litle he shoulde preuaile by speaking: for if admonition would profite any thing at all, the bookes of Wicklesse and diuers other were not wanting. The famous testimonies of Iohn Hus, & of Dierome of Prage, and their bloud shed for the same, was yet present before their eies:* at whose most effectual exhortations, they were so little correct and amended, that they seemed twise more cruell than they were before. Yet all this could not feare this good man, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office, he would spend his life if need should be. So by this meanes, he which came to be a scholer vnto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens liues and maners, had now contratrywise set before them his life to be marked and followed. For he liued so amongst them, that his life might be a rule vnto them all, and so taught, as he might also be theyr schoolemaister. For euen as Paule had foreshewed vnto such as desired to liue godly in Christ, that they shoulde suffer persecution: such like reward hapned vnto this

mā. He gaue vnto them the fruite of godlinesse,* whiche they should follow: they againe set vpon his head the diademe of Martirdome. He sheweth them the way to saluation, and they for the benefite of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had bene worthy for his greate labours and trauailes, they with most extreame ignominie persecuted him euen vnto the fire. For when as by continuall preaching he had gotten great enuie and hatred, the rulers began to consist together, by what meanes they might circumvent this mans life. Heere they had reconcle to their accustomed remedies: for it is a peculiar and continuall custome amongst the prelates of the Church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talke be not according to their minde, or by any meanes hurtfull, or a hinderance to their lucre and gaine, by and by they frame out Articles of some heresie, which they charge him withall. And like as euery liuing thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himselfe from harme,* as nature hath armed the Bore with his tuskes, the Hedgebogge with his prickles, the Lyon is feared for his clawes, the Dogge for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his hornes, neither doth the A•e lacke his houes to strike withall: euen so this is the only armour of the Bishops,* to strangle a man with heresie, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition: which thing may be easily perceiued and seene in this most holy man, beside a greate number of other. Who, when as now he began to waxe greuous vnto them, and could no longer be suffred: what did they? straightwayes flee vnto their old policies, and as they had done with Hus, and Hicrome of Prage, euen so went they about to practise against this man. They ouerwhelme him with suspicion, they seeke to intangle him with questions, they examine him in iudgement, they compile Articles against him, and lay heresie vnto hys charge, they condemne him as an hereticke, and beeing so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was theyr godlines: this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites. Whose religion was to weare no sword nor shield, notwithstanding they did beare in their hearts, malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft and deceit, sharper then any sword. With how great care and policie is it provided by law, that none of these Cleargy men should fight wyth sword in the streates? When as in iudgement and accusations (where as it is not lawfull for a man to oppresse his brother) there is no murtherer which hath more readie vengeance, or that both more vily esteeme his brothers soule then they. They shead no bloud themselues, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliuer them ouer vnto others to be slaine. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authours, and the other are but the ministers of the cruell fact? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another meane.

The Articles which they falsly gathered against thys man,* are affirmed by some to be these.

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, Iewes, Turkes, and Moores shall bee conuerted vnto Christ in the later dayes.

That abominations are vsed at Rome.

That the uniust excommunication of the Pope, is not to be feared: and those which do not obserue the same, do not sinne or offend.

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles:* albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, euen mens soules. For this office and ministry, there was no man thought more meete, then William of Rowne, Cardinall of Saicet Martines in the Mount,

Uicechancelour of the Court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was Pope, who had a little before succeded Pope Martin aboue mentioned. Before the whyche Eugenius, this godly Rhedonensis the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence sent vnto prison. And againe after his imprisonment, and diuers and sondry greeueus torments, he was brought before the Iudges. The Wolfe S•ate in iudgement: the Lambe was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring. But heere neede not manie [Page 668](#) malice of these mighty potentates, had offended inough, and was easely conuict and condemned to be burned: but in such sort, as first of all he should be depriued of all such degrees as he had taken to Priesthode: For it is counted an vnlawfull thing, that a Priest should be punished with prophane punishment, when as notwithstanding it is lawfull inough for Priests to put any lay man to death, be he neuer so giltles.

*How religiously and earnestly do they foresee, that the maiesty of Priestly dignitie should not in any case be hurt? But how little care haue they, that their consciences bee not hurt with false iudgements, and oppressing the giltles? Wherefore, before that he should come vnto punishment, this good man must be disgraded. The order and maner of this Popish degrading is partly before touched in the story of William Taylor, fol. 517.

*After that it had pleased the Bishops to disgrace thys man frō the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficiēt, by and by after they depriued him of his life also, & burned him four yeres after that he came to Rome. In the yeare of our Lord. 1436.

[illustration]

The burning of Tho. Rhedonensis.

And thus through the crueltie of these most tyrannous Prelates, this blessed Martyr dyed. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a losse of this bodie, for a greater gaine of saluation, before the iust iudgement of God: Neither is it to be doubted, but that he liueth eternally vnder the aultar, with them whose bloud the Lorde will reuenge, peradventure too soone sor some of them, whome the earth hath heere so long holden vnpunished.

As this Thomas abouesayd suffered at Rome: so were diuers other in other places about Germany executed neare about the same time,* after the burning of Iohn Hus: as Hēry Grunfelder, Priest of Ratispone, an. 1420. also Henry Radtgeber Priest, in the same Citie, an. 1423. Iohn Draendorfe of noble birth, and a Priest, was burned at Wormes. an. 1424. Peter Thoraw, at Spyre, an. 1426. Math. Hager, also suffered at Berline in Germany, not long after. Ex Balei Centur. sept.

After the death of Pope Martine, who reigned foureteene yeares,* succeeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the yeare of our Lord 1431. Of whome Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much geuen to wars, as may well declare his conflictes and fighting with the Romaines: also the batailles betweene the Venetians and the Florentians.

This Pope began first to celebrate the Councell of Basill, which Councell Martin his predecessour had before intended, according to the institution of the Councell of Constance. Notwithstanding the said Eugenius perceauing afterward this Councell of Basill not to fauour

him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward laboured by all subtil practises to dissolve and interrupt the saide Councell, and from Basill to translate it first to Ferrara, then to Florentia, more neere to his owne sea of Rome. Concerning the which Councell of Basill, forsomuch as we haue begon heere to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way, to discourse something thereof (the Lorde so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principall matters thereof shall seeme sufficient or necessary to be knowne.

Heere foloweth the order and maner of the Councell of Basill, touching the principall matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged heere in this present booke: The rest whereof we haue referred vnto our former edition, wherein the full discourse of the whole disputation is to be seene more at large, for suche as haue list and leisure to see more thereof.

IN the 39. session of the Councell of Constance (as is before mentioned,* page. 594.) it was decreed and prouided concerning the order and tunes of such generall Councils as should heereafter followe: The first that shoulde next ensue,* to be kept the fift yeare after the said Councell of Constance: the second to be holden the seauenth yeare after that, and so orderly all other to follow successiuelly from ten yeare to ten yeare. Wherefore, according to this decree, followed a generall Councell, fiue yeares after the Councell of Constance, celebrate and holden at Sene, vnder Pope Martine, an. 1424. but it soone broke vp. After the which Councell, the tearme of seauen yeares being expired, another Councell was holden at Basill, in the yere of our Lord 1431. The which Councell is noted to haue bene the most troublesome, and to haue endured longer then any other Councell beforetime celebrate and holden in the Church. This Councell continued almost the space of seauenteene yeares: wherein it was concluded, as before in the Council of Constance, that the generall Councils were about the Pope, and both of these two Councils did attribute the chiefe authoritie in decreeing and determining vnto the generall Councell: which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authoritie of this present Councell.

When as Pope Martine the first had appointed Iulian, Cardinall and Deacon of S. Angell, his Legate, to celebrate and holde a generall Councell at Basill for the reformation of the Church, and rooting out of heresies, within short space after Pope Martin died, in whose seate Eugenius the fourth succeeded,* who confirmed vnto the said Cardinall Iulian, the same authoritie which his predecessor before had giuen him.* Vnto this Councell of Basill beeing begon, came the Emperour Sigismund, who during his life time, with his presence and authoritie, did protect and defend the said Synode. After the Emperours death, Pope Eugenius altering his former minde & purpose, would transport the Councell vnto Bononie, and thereby hindred the successe of the Councell of Basill. And first he helde a contrary Councell at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence: For after the death of the Emperour Sigismund, there was no Princes or noble men, that had any care or regard of the Councell. Eugenius the Pope pretended causes, as touching the Greekes, which should come vnto the Councell,* and the vniting of their Church vnto the West Church, the which Greekes woulde in no wise passe the Alpes: Also as touching his owne incommoditie, that he could not come vnto Basill being so long a iourney, and that all his men might haue easie accesse vnto Bononia, and that amongst the Germaines (which in their owne countrey are so intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinall Iulian

and the fathers of the Councell vnto Bononia, vnder great penaltie.* vnder great penaltie. They againe cited the Pope, that either he should come himselfe vnto the Councell, or send Ambassadors vnder the like penaltie. For this cause the Ambassadors of Albert King of the Romaines, and of the other Princes of Germany, assembled together first at Norenberge, and when as they could determine nothing there, they assembled againe at Frankford, to appease the dissention betweene the Councell and the Pope: for it was thought, that the Electors of the Empire might best assemble and meete in that place. In the meane time, the Emperours Ambassadors, and the Ambassadors of the Electors, went vnto Basill, and hauing conference with the Ambassadors of the other Princes which were there, they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the Councell, that they would embrace and receiue the vnitie, which [Page 669](#) they would offer.* The request of the Princes was, that the fathers would transport the Councell, and go vnto another place: the which onely thing Pope Eugenius seemed alwaies to seeke and desire, that therby he might either diuide the fathers of y^e Councell, or take away their libertie.

Notwithstanding this sacred Synode thought good neither to deny the princes request, nor to graunt that, which Pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the Emperours Ambassadors, the Bishops of Pataua and Augusta (being much required and stirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant Baron called Conrad Weinsperge, by the Kings commandement, to be Protector and defender of the Councell, and the fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceiued the Emperours minde to be alienate from the Pope, so the Fathers of the Councell vnderstood his good will towards them: forsomuch as he would not haue sent them a protector, if he had not iudged it a lawfull Councell: neither againe would he haue iudged it a Coūcell in Basill, if he had geuen credit to Pope Eugenius. But by meanes of a great pestilēce which began to grow, the assembly that should haue bene holden at Frankford, was transported vnto Mentz. The Ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thether, if they might find any meanes of vnity, whereby they might vnite and knit the Pope againe vnto the Councell.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the Archbishops of Mentz,* Colen & Treuers, Electours of the sacred Empire, and all the Ambassadors of the other Electours. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop of Colen was the chiefe fauourer of y^e Coūcell in this assembly, who with all his labour and diligēce went about to bring the matter vnto a good ende. Rabanus the Archbishop of Treuers shewed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred Synode also thought good to send thether their Ambassadors, and appointed out the Patriarke of Aquileia, the Bishop of Uicene, and the Bishop of Argen diuines, Iohn Segouius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with diuers others. Ther was no mā ther present which would name himselfe the Ambassadors of Eugenius: Albeit there were many of his fauourers and frends come thether, both frō the Coūcell, and also out of Florēce, the which, albeit they had sworne to the contrary, yet fauoured they more Eugenius then the Councell. But the chiefe Hercules of all the Eugenians, was Nicholas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned, and of great experience. After diuers cōsultations had, the Electours of the Empire, and the Ambassadors of the other Princes of Germany, thought good to geue out commandement throughout their whole nation and countrey, that the Decrees of the Councell of Basill should be receiued and obserued.

Whilest these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certaine very doubtfull question amongst the Diuines, which remained at Basill, whether Eugenius might be called an heretike, which had so rebelliously contemned the commaundements of the Church. Hereupon they

gathered theſelues together, diſputing long amongst themſelues, ſome affirming, and othersome holding the negatiue part.* Vpon this their diſputation, there aroſe three ſeuerall opinions, ſome affirming that he was an hereticke, othersome, not onely an Hereticke, but alſo a relapſe. The third ſort would neither grant him to be an hereticke nor a relapſe. Amongſt theſe diuines, the chiefe and principal both in learning and authority, was the Biſhop of Ebriun, Ambaſſadour of the king of Caſtell, and a certaine Scottiſh Abbot: which, as two moſt valiant Champions, ſubdued all their enemies, ſo that all the reſt did either conſent vnto their argumēts, or gaue place vnto thē, and ſo their determinatiō tooke place, and Eugenius was pronounced both an heretike and relapſe. Eight conſolutions were there determined and allowed amongſt the Diuines, which they called verities: the copie whereof they did diuulgate throughout all Chriſtendome.

When the Ambaſſadours of the Councell were returned from Mentz,* and that certain report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of y^e Coūcel thought good to diſcuſſe the cōcluſiōs of the diuines more at large. Whereupon, by the commandement of the deputies, al the Maisters and Doctours & Cleargy,* were called together, with all the reſidue of the Prelates, into the Chapterhouſe of the greate Church, there openly to diſpute and diſcuſſe Eugenius heresie. The which thing ſore greeued the Byſhop of Millaine, fearing leaſt this diſputation would worke the deprivation of Eugenius,* the which, as he ſaid, he had alwaies letted for feare of ſchiſme: Wherefore he ceaſed not by all manner of waies to labour, to ſtop & trouble the matter, exhorting thē that were abſent by his letters, and encouraging thoſe that were preſent by his words, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the laſt, there was a great aſſembly in the Chapter houſe, ſome commyng thether to diſpute, and other ſome to heare. This diſputation continued ſixe dayes, both forenoone and afternoone, amongſt whō Cardinall Lodouicus Archbiſhop Arelatensis, was appointed as Iudge and Arbitrator of the whole diſputatiō: who beſide many other notable vertues, was both valiaunt & conſtaunt. Nicolas Amici, which was alſo a Proctor of the faith, a famous mā amongſt the Diuines of Paris demaunded of euery man what their opinion was. Iohn Deinlefiſt, publicke Notary, wrote euery mā's ſentence and iudgement.* The conſolutions of the Diuines, whiche were the ground and foundation of their diſputation, were theſe here following.

- 1. It is a veritie of the Catholicke fayth, that the ſacred generall Councell, hath power ouer the Pope, or any other Prelate.
- 2. The Pope cannot by his owne authoritie, either diſſolue transport or proroge, the generall Coūcell being law fully congregated, without the whole conſent of the Councell: and this is of like veritie.
- 3. He which doth obſtinately reſiſt theſe verities, is to be counted an hereticke.
- 4. Pope Eugenius the fourth hath reſiſted theſe verities, when as at the firſt, by the fulneſſe of his Apoſtolicke power, he attempted to diſſolue or to transport the Councell of Baſill.
- 5. Eugenius being admoniſhed by the ſacred Councell, did recant the errors repugnant to theſe verities.
- 6. The diſſolution or translation of the Councell attempted the ſecond tyme by Eugenius, is agaynſt the foresayd verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touchyng the fayth.
- 7. Eugenius in going about to diſſolue and transport the Coūcell agayne, is fallen into his before reuoked errors.
- 8. Eugenius beyng warned by the Synode, that hee ſhould reuoke the diſſolution or trāſlation the ſecond time attempted: after that his contumacie was declared, perſeuering in his rebellion and erecting a Councell at Ferrara, ſhewed himſelfe thereby obſtinate.

These were the cōclusiōs which were read in y^e Chapter house before the fathers of y^e Coūcell. Upon the which, when they were desired to speake their mindes, they all, in a maner, cōfirmed & allowed them. Notwithstāding Panormitane Archbishop, disputed much against them. Like wise did the Bishop of Burgen the king of Arrogons Almoner. Yet did they not gaynsay the 3. first cōclusions, but onely those wherein pope Eugenius was touched.* This Panormitane as he was subtile, so did he subtilly dispute agaynst the last cōclusiōs, endeououring himselfe to declare that Eugenius was not relapsed, & had great contention with the Bishop of Argens, Iohn Segouius, & Fraūces de Fuxe,* Deuines. He diuided the Articles of the faith into three sortes: straightly: as in the Creede: largely, as in the declarations made by y^e Church, most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premisses, affirming that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his fayth in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contayned in the Creede, neither yet in the determinations of the Church, that the Pope cannot dissolue the Councels: & that it seemeth not vnto him to rise of y^e determination before made, but rather of the decrees of the Councell of Constāce: And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserued for y^e Pope to be discussed, for somuch as in the chapter beginning Frequēs, it appeareth that the place where the Coūcell should be kept, ought to be chosen by the Pope, the Councell allowing the same, and nothing is therof at all spoken. And if peraduēture Eugenius had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstāding he ought to be holdē excused, because he did it by the Coūcell of the Cardinals,* representing the Church of Rome: whose authoritie he sayd to be such, that the iudgemēt therof should be preferred before all y^e world. Neither had there bene any sacred Coūcell found to haue proceeded agaynst Eugenius as an hereticke, & that is an euident signe, that the Councell hath not thought him to haue swarued from the faith, neither to haue any occasion, that he should be called hereticke for his errorrs reuoked, & that he himselfe hath read the whole text, that the Pope did not reuoke the dissolutiō as cōtrary vnto the faith, but as breiding offence: Also that y^e last dissolutiō hath no such cause in it: for somuch as likewise he had done it by y^e coūsell of the Cardinals,* and for the vniting of the Greekes, that he might not be compelled in a criminall cause, to aūswere by his procuratour, whē as he being letted by sicknes, could not come personally. So, for as much as in the first dissolutiō Eugenius hath fallē into no errorr of faith, he cannot be perswaded that he cā be called a relapse, for so [Page 670](#) much as he neither in the first, neither yet in the seconde dissolution did violate his faith.

This Oration of Panormitane was more praised then allowed of all men. Notwithstanding this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the cōclusions, & in stead therof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst Panormitane himselfe, altogether excuse Eugenius of heresie, but defended more the first dissolution, then the second: yet departed he not without answer: for Iohn Segouius an expert Diuine, rising vp, answered him reueretly as was comely for such a Prelate. He said he granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the diuision of the Articles of the faith into three points, for because it made for his purpose. For if those things are to be holden for Articles of faith, sayd he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifest that the conclusions whereupon we now cōtend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church: that is to say, of the Councell of Constance: for, if therein the Pope be made subiect vnto the generall Councell, who is it that will say that the Pope hath power ouer y^e Councell which is aboue him? or that Eugenius ought to remaine Pope, because he could not dissolue the Councell which is aboue him, without the consent thereof? The which Article vndoubtedly, he hath violate and broken. And if any mā will say that in the first dissolution this Article was not violate, because there was no declaration

made therof, let him which so thinketh, thus vnderstand: that the Byshop of Rome ought not only to knowe the plaine and manifest, but also the secret and hidden things of the fayth, for he being the vicare of Christ, and the head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he wil not, then hee shall be conuicted for being head, because he cōtinued long in y^e dissolutiō after the declaratiō of y^e councell, neither did cōsent vnto y^e determination of y^e church, & therefore, if peraduenture he did not erre in y^e faith,* as it manifestly appeareth by y^e saieng of Clemēt oftētimes alledged by Panormitan, wherin it is said, y^e he which liueth rebelliously & neglecteth to do good, is rather a mēber of the deuill thē of Christ, and rather an infidell then a true beleuer: so that Eugenius by disobeieng y^e Church, may worthely be called an infidell. Neither is it true that y^e Pope hath not offended in the fayth: For somuch, as well in that aunswere which beginneth Cogitanti, as also in the aunswere which beginneth Sperant, made vnto the Popes Ambassadors, these words are manifest: this Article cōcerneth faith, and we had rather die then through cowardlines to giue place. By the which saieng it is euident, the Synode to haue sufficiently admonished y^e Pope that he did against the faith, and therefore it seemed that afterward when as Eugenius reuoked the dissolution, he also reuoked the errour of faith cōteined in the same. There are also diuers offences sprōg and risen through the errour of faith: for some say that the Pope is vnder the Councell, othersome denie it, and this diuersitie of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressly against the authority of the Councell, that the Pope did reuoke the assertions made in their name.

And albeit in such reuocations, y^e stile & order of iudgements is not obserued, notwithstanding it doth suffice in such case, when as the Councell doth proceed against the Pope: in which case onely the truth is to be obserued, neither is the Councell subiect vnto any positieue law, that it ought to obserue any tearmes or iudiciall orders. Also he said that he vtterly cōtemned that singular glose which did prefer y^e Pope before all the world, so that it might well be called singular, which decreed so foolish and fonde things and vnworthy to be followed of any man: and that he did much maruaile of Panormitane, and other Doctours of those daies, which whilst they went about to extoll y^e authoritie of the gloses, do abase y^e same by adding a singularity therto: for that glose is singular whiche is alone. But who would not more esteme a glose constantly writtē and agreeable in all places, then that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may seeme to be an errour: and that as touching the veritie & truth. S. Hierome a graue and auncient Doctour is cōtrary to this glose, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authoritie, is aboue the Citie it selfe, that is to say, Rome.

Segonius, could fearsely finish this his Oration without interruption: for Panormitane oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this, and now that reason. Wherupon the Bishop of Argen rising vp, a man not onely eloquent, but also of a stoute courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and argumēts, and put him from his purpose: yet they proceeded so farre, that they passed the maner of disputation, and did not abstaine from opprobrious tauntes.

When the Bishop of Argen chaunced to say that the Bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the Church,* Panormitane could not suffer that: in so much that he so forgot himselfe that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) did so faile him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirme, that the Pope was Lorde ouer the Church. Whom Segonius answered: Marke (sayth he) O Panormitane, what thou sayest: for this is the most honourable title of the Bishop of Rome, wherin he calleth himselfe the seruaunt of the seruants of God. Which is gathered vpon this

point, when as Christ sayd vnto hys disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know he aunswered them: The Princes of the people haue rule and dominion ouer them,* but amongst you it is not so, &c. Wherein he doth vtterly prohibit Lordship and dominion. And Peter which was the first vicar of Christ, saith, feede the flocke of Christ which is committed vnto you, prouiding for them not by compulsion, but willingly. And immediatly alter he sayd, not as Lords ouer the Cleargie. For it Christ y^e sonne of God, came not to be ministred vnto, but to minister & to serue, how then can his vicar haue any dominion, or be called Lord, as you Panormitane will affirme: forsomuch as the disciple is not aboue his maister, nor the seruaunt aboue his Lord. And the Lord himselfe saith: be yee not called maisters, for so much as your only maister is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you, shal be your seruant. Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this aunswere, the councell brake vp and departed.

The next day,* there was a generall congregation, and they returned all againe vnto the chapter house after dinner, whereas the Archbishop of Lyons, the Kings Orator being required to speake his minde, after he had by diuers and sundry reasons proued Eugenius to be an hereticke, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignaue, of those that had proferred such a man vnto the papacie, and so moued all their harts which were present, that they altogether with him did bewaile the calamities of the vniuersall Church.

Then the Byshop of Burgen,* the Ambassadour of Spaine, diuided the conclusions into two parts, some he called generall, & othersome personall, disputing very excellently as touching the three first cōclusions, affirming y^e he did in no point doubt of them, but only that the additiō which made mention of y^e faith, seemed to be doubtfull vnto him. But vpon this point, he staid much, to proue that the Councell was aboue y^e Pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proued both by Gods law and mans lawe, he taught it also by Phisicall reason, alledging Aristotle for witnesse.* He said that in euery well ordered kingdome, it ought specially to be desired, that the whole realme should be of more authoritie then the King, which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdome, but a tirannie: so likewise doth he thinke of the Church, that it ought to be of more authoritie, then the Prince thereof, that is to say, the Pope. The which his Oration he vttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended vpon him, and desired rather to haue him continue his Oration, then to haue an end thereof.

But whē as he entred into y^e other cōclusions,* he semed to haue forgottē himself, & to be no more the same mā that he was: for neither was there y^e same eloquēce in his wordes, neither grauitie in Oration, or cherefulnes of countenance, so that if he could haue sene himselfe, he would peraduenture greatly haue marueiled at himselfe. Euery man might wel see & perceiue thē the power & force of the truth, which ministred copy of matter vnto him, so long as hee spake in y^e defēce therof. But whē as he begā once to speak against hir, she tooke away euē his naturall eloquence frō him. Notwithstanding Panormitane, and the Bishop of Burgen, shewed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confesse or grant the last cōclusions to be verities of faith: yet they would not that any mā should folow or leane vnto their opiniō, which wer but meane diuines, but rather vnto y^e opinions of the Diuines. But the king of Aragons Amner, being a subtile & crafty man, did not directly dispute vpō the conclusions: but picking out here and there certaine argumēts, sought to let and hinder the Councell. Against whome an Abbot of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit disputed very much: and Thomas de Corcellis a famous Diuine, alledged much against him out of y^e Decrees of y^e sacred Councell, and with a certaine

modest shamefastnes, alwaies beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the conclusions.

But now to auoide tediousnes, I will only proceed to declare arguments, wherby the conclusions were ratified [Page 671](#) and confirmed: [*](#) not minding to intreate of th v. last cōclusions, which cōcerne y^e person of Eugenius, but only vpō y^e three first, whereunto I wil adioine certaine probable argumēts gathered out of y^e disputation of the fathers. In y^e first cōclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed: touching the which, two things are to be required, & examined. The one whether the generall Council haue authoritie ouer the Pope. The other, whether the Catholike faith commaundeth it to be beleued. As touching that the Pope is subiect to the generall Councell, it is excellently well proued by y^e reason before alledged, by the Bishop of Burgen. For the Pope is in the Church, as a king in his kingdome: and for a king to be of more authority then his kingdome, it were too absurd: Ergo, neither ought the pope to be aboue the Church. [*](#) For like as oftentimes, Kings which do wickedly gouerne the cōmon wealth, & exercise cruelty, are depriued of their kingdome, euē so it is not to be doubted, but that the Bishops of Rome may be deposed by the Church, that is to say, by the generall Councils.

Neither do I heere in allow them, which attribute so ample and large authoritie vnto kings, that they will not haue them bound vnder any lawes: For such as so do say, be but flatterers, [*](#) which do talke otherwise thē they think. For albeit that they do say that the moderation of the law is alway in the Princes power: that do I thus vnderstād, that when as reason shall perswade, he ought to digresse from the rigour of the law: for hee is called a King, which careth and prouideth for the common wealth: taketh pleasure in the commoditie and profite of the subiectes, and in all his doings hath respect to the cōmoditie of those, ouer whom he ruleth: which, if he do not, he is not to be counted a King, [*](#) but a tyraunt, whose propertie it is onely to seeke his owne profit: for in this point a King differeth from a tyraunt, that the one seeketh the commoditie and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his owne. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alledged, wherefore Kings were ordeined.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices sayth) it is certaine, that there was a certaine time when as the people liued without kings. But afterward when lands and possessiōs began to be deuided according to the custome of euery natiō, then were kings ordeined for no other cause, but only to exercise iustice. [*](#) For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich & mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and vertuous man, which should defend y^e poore frō iniurie, & ordeine lawes, whereby the rich and poore might dwell together. But when as yet vnder the rule of Kings, the poore were oftentimes oppressed, lawes were ordeined and instituted, the which should iudge neither for hatred nor fauour, and geue lyke eare vnto the poore as vnto the riche: whereby we do vnderstand and know, not only the people, but also the King to be subiect to the lawes. For if we do see a King to contemne and despise the lawes, violently rob and spoile his subiects, defloure virgins, dishonest matrones, and do all things licentiously and temerariouly: do not the nobles of the kingdome assemble together, deposing him from his kingdome, set vp another in his place, which shall sweare to rule and gouerne vprightly, and be obedient vnto the lawes? Verely as reason doth perswade, euen so doth the vse thereof also teach vs. It seemeth also agreeable vnto reason, that the same should be done in the Church, that is to say, in the Councell, which is done in any kingdome. And so is this sufficiently apparant which we haue before sayd, that the Pope is subiect vnto the Councell.

*But now to passe vnto the argumentes of Diuinitie, the foundation of the matter which we do intreate vpon, are the wordes of our Sauour Iesu Christ in diuers places, but specially where as he speaketh vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portae inferi non praeualebunt aduersus eam. i. * Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. Vpon whyche words it seemeth good to begin this disputatiō, forsomuch as some were wont to alledge these words, to extoll y^e authority of the Bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by and by appeare) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning then diuers of them do thinke, for he saith: & the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. Verely this is a great promise,* and these wordes of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there haue bene spoken, then that the gates of hell should not preuaile against the church? These gates of hel, as S. Hierome saith, do signifie sins. Wherefore if sinnes can not preuaile against the Church, neither can any maligne spirites preuaile against the same, which haue no power at all ouer mankinde, but only through sinne. And for that cause, where as it is sayd in Iob, that there is no power vpon the earth that may be cōpared vnto the power of the maligne spirite, whereby it followeth that the power of the Church is aboue all other power.

We may also vpon the same saying,* reason after an other sort: for somuch as y^e gates of hel: that is to say, sinnes can not preuaile agaynst the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sinne: the which cā not be spoke of y^e pope which is a mortall mā, for somuch as it is written, seuen tymes in the day the iust mā doth offend: If the Church be without spot because it can not be defiled with sinne, who is it that will preferre a sinnefull mā: before an vndefiled Church? Neither let vs geue eare vnto those whiche will not referre these woordes of Christ vnto the Church,* where as he sayth: Oraui pro te Petre, vt non deficiat fides tua. That is to say, Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth should not fayle thee. For as S. Augustine sayth in the exposition of the Psalmes, certaine thyngs are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertaine vnto the Apostle Peter, notwithstanding, they haue no euident sense but when they are referred vnto the Church, the person wherof he is vnderstāded figuratiuely to represent. Wherupō in an other place in the questiōs of y^e new & old Testa^ment, vpon the wordes: Rogauī pro te Petre, I haue prayed for thee Peter: What is doubted? Did he pray for Peter, & did he not pray for Iames and Iohn, beside the rest? It is manifest that vnder the name of Peter, all other are conteyned. For in an other place of S. Iohn he sayth: I pray for them, whom thou hast geuen me, & I will that wheresoeuer I am, they shall be also with me. Wherupon we do oftentimes by the name of Peter vnderstand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place: otherwise the truth could not consist, for somuch as within a while after, the fayth of Peter, fayled for a tyme by the deniall of Christ, but the fayth of the Church, whose person Peter did represent, did alwayes perseuere inuiolate.

As touching the Bishops of Rome,* if time would suffer vs, we could rehearse many crāples, how that they either haue ben heretickes, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignoraunt how that Marcellinus at the Emperours commaundement,* did sacrifice vnto Idols, & that an other (whiche is more horrible) did attaine vnto the Papacy by a deuilish fraude & deceite. Notwithstanding the testimony of Paule vnto the Hebrues shall suffice vs at this tyme, who sayth euery Bishop to be compassed in with infirmitie: that is to say, with wickednesse and sinne. Also the testimonies of Christ him selfe do approue, that y^e Church remaineth alwayes without sinne: for in Mathew he saith,* I am with you euen vnto the end of the world. The which

wordes were not onely spoken vnto the Apostles (for they continued not vnto the end of the world) but also vnto their successours: neither would Christ then signifie that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceiued to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace, through his assistaūce, whereby he would preserue y^e holy Church consisting amongst his Apostles and their successours, alwayes immaculate and vndefiled.

And agayne in an other place I (sayth he) will pray, & he shal geue you an other cōforter, that he may remaine w^e you for euer, euē the spirite of truth whō the world cānot receaue, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remayne w^t you. The which wordes being spoken vnto the Disciples of Iesus, are also vnderstāded to be spokē vnto their successours, & so cōsequently vnto the Church. And if the spirite of truth be cōtinually in the Church, no man cā deny, but that the Church ought to continue vndefiled. By the same authoritie also that Christ is called the spouse of the Church, who seeth not, but that the Church is vndefiled? For the husband & the wise (as the Apostle sayth) are two in one flesh,* & (as he doth also adde) no mā hateth his own flesh: thereby it commeth to passe, that Christ can not hate the Church, for somuch as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, & no mā cā hate himselfe: Ergo, the Church doth not sinne: for if it did sinne, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate.* The which authorities being gathered together we ought with the Apostle to confesse that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he writyng vnto Timothe affirmeth the Church to be the pillar & foundation of the truth: whereupō in this song of the spouse it is sayd: My frend thou art altogether fayre & beawtifull neither is there any spot in thee.

These wordes peradventure may abash some, that I do go about to proue the Church to be without sinne. For when as the Church doth containe all men which are called Christiās, which also do agree & come together in one [Page 672](#) beliefe of faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I do feare least some men will thinke, that I do affirme all mē to be without sinne: which is so far frō my meaning, that I do verely thinke the cōtrary to be most true. For I suppose, that there is no man in the Church being clothed in this mortall flesh,* without sinne. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselues: For the Church hath this gift, that albeit euery part and mēber therof may sin, yet the whole body can not sinne. For there bee alwayes good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subiect vnto humaine fragilitie, notwithstanding they haue so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnall desires and affectiōs, they keep themselues a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice vnto God. Neither do I consent or agree vnto the opiniō of diuers, which affirme that the Virgin Mary onely perseuered in faith at the Lordes passion.* Whereupon diuers haue not bene ashamed to say that the faith might be so debilitate and weakened, that it should returne to one only old woman. Whose opinion or rather madnes, Saint Paule seemeth opēly to reiect, writing thus vnto the Romaines: do ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture writeth of Helias, how incessantly he called vpon God against the childrē of Israell (saieng) O Lord, they haue slayne thy Prophets, and digged downe thine aultars, and I alone am left, and they seeke after my soule? But what answere receiued he of God? I haue left vnto my self yet vij. M. men, which haue not bowed their knees vnto Baal. What other thing doth this answere of God declare, then that it is a foolish opiniō of them which thinke the Church of God to be brought vnto so small & number? We ought to beleue the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnāt vnto those mē who affirme y^e the

Virgine onely did perseuere in faith. For Iesus sayd vnto his Father, O holy father saue thē in thy name, whome thou hast geuen me, that they may be one as we are one. Whē I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I haue kept them that thou gauest vnto me, and none of them perished, but onely the sonne of perdition. And I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserue them from euill.

Beholde, Christ praieth that his disciples shoulde not fall, but should be preserued from euill, and he so praieng, without doubt is heard: for he saith in another place, I know y^e thou hearest me. But how is he heard, if all those for whome he praieth, swarned at the time of his passion? As for example: By what meanes did Christ hanging vpō the Crosse, commende his dearly beloued mother vnto Iohn, if so be he were either then swarued, or should by and by after haue swarued from the faith: Moreouer, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and say: truly this is the sonne of God? The Iewes also which at that time were farre distant from Ierusalem, might both be called faithfull, and also saued by their faith: seeing that (as the Apostle sayth) men are bound vnto the Gospell, after it is once knowne and reuealed vnto them. But let vs leaue these men, and speake of that which is more likely, and let vs iudge that there hath bin and is a great number of good mē in the Church, and by thē as by the more worthy part, let vs name the Church holy and immaculate,* the whyche doth comprehend as well the euill as the good. For the Church is compared vnto a net, which is cast into the sea, and gathereth together all kinde of fishes.

And agayne it is compared vnto a King, which made a marriage for his sonne,* and sent forth his seruantes to call those which were bidden, vnto the wedding, and they gathered together good & euill, as many as they could finde. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneus, which affirme, that only good men be comprehēded in the Church: the which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we vnderstand or know where the Church were.* But for so much as the Scripture saith: no man knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred, their opiniō is more to be alowed & truer, which include all y^e faithfull in y^e Church: of whom, although a great part be geuen to voluptuousnes and auarice, yet some notwithstāding are cleane frō deadly sinne. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it geueth the name vnto y^e church, to be called most holy: which is so often done, that we are commaunded to sing in our Creede, vnam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, that is to say, one holy Catholicke & Apostolicke Church: the which Article the Synode of Constantinople, added vnto the rest: Wherefore if the Church be holy, it is also without sinne. But to returne to our former purpose, this word Sanctum, which signifieth holy (as Macrobius alledging Trebatius, affirmeth) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for cleane and vncorrupt. And after the same maner, we call the Church holy, as the Apostle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epistle of Clement.

To this end also tendeth that whiche is spoken by S. Paule, that Christ is the head of the Church: For if the Church should wholly sinne, she should not agree with her head Christ, who is in no pointe defiled. This also Christ himselfe would signifie vnto vs in Mathew, when he cōmendeth the house which wās builded vpō the strōg rocke,* against the whiche, neither the windes, neither the stormes could preuaile. In the house of God (sayth the Apostle) which is the Church builded vpō the strong rocke, which rocke (as the sayd Apostle declareth) is Christ. Who then is so vnshamefast that hee will affirme the Church, which is founded vpō Christ, to be subiect to sinne? & will not rather cry out with the Prophet and say: Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae. That is to say. O Lord, I haue loued the beawtie of thy house. Hereupon wrote Iohn Chrisostome

this golden sentence: The Church neuer ceaseth to be assaulted, neuer ceaseth to be layne in wayte for: but in the name of Christ it hath alwayes the vpper hād & ouercome. And albeit that other do lye in wait for it, or that the floudes do beate agaynst it: yet the fōdatiō which is layd vpon the rocke, is not shaken. S. Hillary also sayth, that it is the propertie of the Church to vanquish, when it is hurt, to vnderstānd when it is reprocured, to be in safetie whē it is forsaken, & to obtaine victory, when as it seemeth almost ouercome. Thus by many reasons & testimonies, it is proued that the Church doth not erre: which is not spoken or affirmed of the Bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the Pope subiect vnto the Church, for it is conuenient, that the lesse perfect be subiect vnto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies & reasons, wherof we will now somewhat more entreate.

If authoritie be sought for,* sayth S. Hierome (for I willingly occupie my selfe in his sentēces, as in a most fertile field) the world is greater then a Citie. What then I pray you Hierome? Is y^e Pope mighty because he is head of the Church of Rome? His authoritie is great, notwithstanding the vniuersall Church is greater, which doth not onely cōprehēd one Citie, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Church be the mother of all faithfull, then she hath the Bishop of Rome for her sonne. Otherwise as S. Augustine saith,* he can neuer haue God for his father, which will not acknowledge the Church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus vnderstandyng, called the vniuersal Church his mother, as the writers of the Canons do know. And Calixtus sayth: as a sonne he came to doe the will of his father, so we do the will of our mother, which is the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the sonne is inferiour to the mother: so much y^e Church is superiour or aboue the Bishop of Rome.

Also we haue sayd before,* that the Church was the spouse of Christ, & the Pope we know to be a Vicare: but no mā doth so ordaine a Vicar, that he maketh his spouse subiect vnto him, but that the spouse is alwayes thought to be of more authoritie, then the Vicar, for somuch as she is one body with her husbād, but the Vicar is not so. Neither will I here passe ouer the wordes of S. Paule vnto the Romaines: Let euery soule (sayth he) be subiect vnto the higher powers: Neither doth he herein except y^e pope: For albeit that he be aboue all other mē, yet it seemeth necessary y^e he should be subiect to y^e Church. Neither let him thinke himselfe hereby exēpt, because it was said vnto Peter by Christ, whatsoever thou bindest. &c. In this place, as we wil hereafter declare, he represēted the person of the Church,* for we finde it spoken afterward vnto thē: Quaecunque ligaueritis super terrā, ligata erūt in coelis. i. Whatsoever ye shal binde vpō earth, shall be also bounde in heauē. And furthermore, if all power be geuē of Christ, as the Apostle writeth vnto the Corinthiās, it is geuen for the edifyng of the Church, & not for the destruction therof: why then may not the Church correct the Pope, if he abuse the keyes, and bring all thinges vnto ruine?

Adde hereunto also an other argument. A man in this life is lesser then the aungels, for we read in Mathew of Iohn Baptist, that he whiche is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. Notwithstanding Christ sayth in an other place, that amongst the children of women there was not a greater then Iohn Baptist. But to proceede: mē are forced by the exāp•e of Zacharias to geue credite vnto aūgels, least through their misbelief they be stricken blind as he was. What more? The Bishop of Rome is a mā: Ergo, he is lesse then the aungels, and is bound to geue credite to the aungels. But the aungels learne of the Church, and do reuerētly accorde vnto her doctrine, as the Apostle writeth vnto the Ephesiās: Ergo, the pope is boūd to do the same, who is

lesse then the aungels, and lesse then [Page 673](#) the Church,* whose authoritye is suche, that worthely it is compared by S. Augustine vnto the Sunne: that lyke as the Sunne by his light doth surmount all other lightes, so the church is aboue all other authority and power. Whereupon S. Augustine writeth thus: I would not beleue the Gospel saith he, if the authority of the church did not more me thereunto: the which is not in any place soūd to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who representing the Church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equall to hys Lorde and maister. Notwythstanding, the wordes of our Sauour Christ do specially proue the Byshop of Rome to be subiect to the church, as we will hereafter declare: For he sending Peter to preach vnto y^e church sayd, go, and say vnto the Church. To the confirmation of whole authoritye, these wordes do also pertaine: hee that heareth you heareth me. The which wordes are not onely spoken vnto the Apostles, but also vnto their succesaurs and vnto the whole Church.

Whereupon it foloweth,* that if the Pope do not harken & geue eare vnto the Church, he doeth not geue eare vnto Christ, & consequently he is to be counted as an Ethnicke & Publicane. For as S. Augustine affirmeth, when as the Church doth excommunicate, he which is so excommunicate is bounde in heauen, and when the Church looseth, he is loosed. Likewise if he be an heretike, which taketh away the supremacie of the Church of Rome, as the Decrees of the council of Coustance doth determine, how much more is he to be counted an hereticke, which taketh away y^e authoritye from the uniuersall Church, wherein the Church of Rome and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now euident, that it is the opinion of al men before our daies (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by graue authors) y^e the Pope is subiecte vnto the vniuersall church. But this is called into question,* whether he ought also to be iudged of y^e general Council. For there are some, which (whether it be for desire of vaine glory, or that thorough their flattery they looke for some great reward) haue begon to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the byshop of Rome from the iurisdiction of the generall Council. Ambitiō hath blinded them, wherof not only this present Schisme, but also all other Schismes euen vnto thys day haue had their originall. For as in times past the greedy desire & ambition of the papacy,* brought in that pesriferous beast, which through Arrius then first crept into the church: euen so they do specially norish and mainteine this present heresie, whych are not ashamed to begge. Of the which number, some cry out & say, the workes of the subiects ought to be iudged by the Pope, but the Pope to be reserued only vnto the iudgemēt of God. Others said that no man ought to iudge the high and principall Seate,* and that it can not be iudged either by the Emperour, either by the Clergy, either by any king or people. Other affirme, that the Lord hath reserued vnto himselfe the depositions of the chiefe Bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirme, that the Byshop of Rome although hee cary soules in neuer so great number vnto hell, yet hee is not subiect vnto any correction or rebuke.

And because these their words are easily resolved, they runne straight waies vnto the Gospell, and interprete the wordes of Christ, not according to the sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, but according to their owne wil and disposition. They doe greatly esteeme and regard this which was spoken vnto Peter: Tu vocaberis Cephas i. Thou shalt be called Cephas: by the which worde, they make hym the head of the Church. Also I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoever thou shalt bind vpon earth, &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy Faith would not faile.* And againe, feede my sheepe: Last thy net into the depe: Be not afrajd, for from thēceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men: Also that Christ commaunded Peter as the Prince of the Apostles, to pay tolle for them bothe: and that Peter drew the net vnto the land, full

of great fishes: & that onely Peter drew his sword for the defence of Christ. Al which places these mē do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers: the which if (as reason were) they would consider, they shuld manifestly perceine by the authorities aforesayde, that the Pope is not about them when they are gathered together in Councell, but when they are separate and deuided.

But these things being passed ouer, for somuch as answere shall appeare by that which heereafter shall followe we will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men vppon thys question. But first wee woulde haue it known, y^e all men which are of any name or estimation, do agree, that the Pope is subiect to the Councell, and for the prooffe therof they repeat (in a maner) al those things which were before spoken of the church: for they suppose all that, which is spoken of the Church, to serue for the generall Councell: And first of all, they alledge this saying of the Gospel, Dic Ecclesiae, tell it vnto the Church. In the whych place it is conuenient to vnderstand, that Christ spake vnto Peter,* instructing him what he should doe as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, if thy brother offend or sinne against thee, rebuke him betwene thee and him alone. If hee geue eare vnto thee, thou hast wonne thy brother: but if he doe not geue eare vnto thee, take in thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or thee witnesses all truth may stand: if thē he wil not geue eare vnto thee, Dic Ecclesiae, tell it vnto the Church.

What shal we vnderstand by the church in that place? shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithfull dispersed throughout the whole worlde? My yoke is pleasaunt sayth the Lord, & my burden is light. But howe is it light, if Christ commaunde vs to doe that which is impossible to be done? For howe coulde Peter speake vnto the Church which was dispersed, or to seeke out euery Christian scattered in euery Towne or Citie? But the meaning of these words, is farre otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted: for which cause it is necessary that we remember the double person,* which Peter represented, as the person of the high byshop, and a priuate man. The sense and meaning of his words are euident and plaine inough of themselues, y^t they neede no supplement or alteration. We must first marke and see,* what thys worde Ecclesia signifieth, the which we do find but only to be twise spoken of by Christ: once in this place, and againe when as he said vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, That is: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rock wil I build my Church.* Wherefore the Church signifieth the conuocation or congregation of the multitude. Dic Ecclesiae, tell it vnto the church. That is to say, tel it vnto the Congregation of the faithful: the which forsomuch as they are not accustomed to come together,* but in a generall Councell, this interpretation shall seeme very good, Dic Ecclesiae, tel it vnto the Church, that is to say, Dic generali Concilio, tel it vnto the generall Councell.

In this case I would gladly heare if there be any man, which doth thinke these words to be more properly expressed in any Prelate, then in the councell, when as they must put one man for the multitude: whych if it be admitted in the scriptures, we shall from hencefoorth finde no firme or stable thing therein. But if any man doe maruaile at thys interpretation, let him search the old wryters, and he shall finde that thys is no newe or straunge interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and olde Doctours, whyche haue first geuen lyght vnto the Church, as Pope Gregorie witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holines of his life, and his singular learning) whose wordes are these, wrytten in his Register vnto the bishop of Constantinople: And wee (sayde hee) against whome so great an offence is committed through

temerarious boldnesse, do obserue and keepe that which the truth doth commaunde vs, saying, Si peccauerit in te frater, that is: If thy brother do offend against thee, &c. And afterward he addeth more, if my rebukes and corrections be despysed, it remaineth that I do seeke helpe of the church.* The which words doe manifestly declare the Church heere to be taken for the generall Councell. Neither did Gregory say, that he wold seeke helpe of the Church that is dispersed abroad in euery place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the generall Councell, for that whych is dispersed abroad, cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Also Pope Nicholas reproouing Lotharius the king for adultery, sayd: if thou doest not amend the same, take heede that we tell it not vnto the holy Church.

In the which saying, Pope Nicholas did not say, that he wold go throughout y^e world to certifie euery one, man by man: but that hee would call the Church together, that is to say the general councell, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, y^e he which, had contemned the Popes commaundements, shoulde feare the reuerence of the general councell. I could recite an infinite nūber of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tende vnto one ende: but this one testimony of the Councell of Constance shall suffice for them all, wherein it is sayde that not onely the Pope in the correction of his brother is remitted vnto the Councell,* when as he can not correct him of hym|selfe: but also when as any thing is done as touchyng the correction of the Pope himselfe, the matter ought to be referred to the council. Wherby it appeareth our interpretation to be most true, which doth expound the Church to be in the generall Councell. Hereupon the Actes of the Apostles, the Congregacions whych were then holden, were called the Church. Also in the councell of Nice and in other [Page 674](#) Councils, whē as any man shuld be excommunicated, alwayes, in a maner, thys sentence was adioyned: Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia. The Catholicke and Apostolicke Church doth excommunicate thys man. And heereuppon that title is geuen vnto the Councelles,* whereby we do say, that the generall Councell doth represent the vniuersall Church. Wherefore the lawes and decrees of the Councell are called the lawes of the Church, for that the Church doth not set foorth any lawes in any other place,* then in the general councell: except we will call the Popes cōstitutions the lawes of the church, which can not be properly said but of the Council: whereas, albeit all those which are of the church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those whiche come, the whole power of the Church doth consist: Wherupon we read in the Acts of the Apostles: It pleased the Apostles and Elders with all the Church. For albeit that al the faithfull were not there present (because a great nūber of them remained at Antioche) yet notwithstanding it was called the whole Church, because the whole power of the Church consisted in the coūcell. Thus for this present it is sufficient that we vnderstand by the Church the generall Councell.

And nowe to returne vnto our purpose,* lette vs heare what our Sauour sayeth vnto Peter: If thy brother doe offend against thee, vnto this text folowing, tell it vnto the church: and let vs vnderstand the Council by the Church. Who is greater in thys place, hee whych is sent vnto the Council, or the Council whereunto Peter was sent? The uevity doth remit the Byshop of Rome vnto the generall Coūcell. And why so? verely because the bishops of Rome should not disdaine to acknowledge some power in earth, to be aboue them, the which they should consult withall in matters of importaunce, and agree vnto the determinations thereof.* Whereupon Peter is also called by an other name Symon, the which, as Rabanus in hys Homilies wryteth, is interpreted in

the Hebrew tounge, obedience, that all men might vnderstande obedience to be necessary, euen in the Bishop of Rome.

The authority of the Councel of Constance might suffice vs in this poynte,* but we thinke it good to stay a little vpon thys matter, & to leaue no place open for our aduersaries: which, whilst they goe about to maintaine the vnsatiable wilfulnes of oue man, preferring a priuate wealth before a commō commodity, is it incredible how great errors they doe stirre vp. Against the which, besides many other, Zacharias bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strine: who in the great and sacred Synode of Chaleedon, when as the sentence of the B. of Rome was objected vnto him, that the Canon of Pope Nicholas and other Patriarkes was aboute the Councell, he replied against it. And Zosimus the Pope sayth thus as touching the decrees of the general Councel: the authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth he heare speake of the decrees of the fathers, which are dispersed abroad in cities or wildernesses, for they do not binde the Pope: but of them which are made and published by the fathers in the generall Councell. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of pope Leo the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote vnto Anatholius, that the decrees of the Councel of Nice are in no part to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding himselfe and the high Patriarke.

The authoritie also of Damasus vpon thys sentence, is more manifest, wryting vnto Aurelius the Archbish. as Isidorus declareth in the booke of Councels, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the synode is thys: That they which are not cōpelled of necessity, but of theyr owne wil either frowardly do any thing, either presume to do any thing, or willingly consent vnto those which wold do any thing contrary and against the sacred Canons, they are worthely thought and iudged to blaspheme the holy ghost.* Of the which blasphemy, whether Gabriel whyche calleth himselfe Eugenius, be presently partaker, let them iudge which haue heard him say, that it is so farre from his office and duety to obey the general Councels, that he saith he doeth then best merite and deserue, when as he contemneth the decrees of the Coūcel. Damasus addeth yet moreouer. For this purpose, sayeth he, the rules of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the spirite of God and the reuerence of the whole world, are faithfully to be knowne and vnderstand of vs, and diligently looked vpon, that by no meanes, wythout a necessitye which cannot be eschued (which God forbid) we do transgresse of the decrees of the holy fathers.* Notwithstanding, we daily see in al the Popes Bulles and letters, these woordes Non obstante, that is to say: notwithstanding: which no other necessitie hath brought in, then onely vnsatiable desire of gathering of mony. But let them take heede to these things whych be the authours thereof.

But now to returne againe vnto Damasus,* mention is made in the Epistles of Ambrose bishop of Millaine of a certaine Epistle which is laid to be writtē by Damasus, vnto the iudges deputed by the Councel of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office, to meddle w^t any matter which hath ben before the Councell. By the which saying he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirme and say the Byshop of Rome to be aboute the Councell. The which if it were true, Damasus might haue taken into his handes the cause of Bonosius the Byshop to determine, which was before begon by the Councell: but for somuche as the Councell is aboute the Pope, Damasus knewe hymself to be prohibited. Wherupon Hilarius also acknowledging the Sinode to be aboute him, would haue his decrees confirmed by the Councell. Also the famous Doctour S.

Augustine in his Epistle whych hee did wryte vnto Glorius & Eleusius, and Felix the Gramarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus the Byshoppe, was accused by Donatus, wyth others. Melchiades the pope with certaine other bishops absolved Cecilian and confirmed him in hys bishopricke. They being mooued wyth those doinges, made a schisme in the partes of Africa. S. Augustine reprooueth them, which hauing an other remedy against the sentence of y^e Pope, did raise a schisme, and doth mucy against them in this maner. Behold, let vs thinke those Bishops which gaue iudgemēt at Rome, not to haue ben good iudges: ther remained yet the iudgemēt of the uniuersall church, where as the cause might haue ben pleaded euen with the iudges themselues, so that if they were conuict not to haue geuen iust iudgement, their sentence might be broken.

Wherby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the Pope alone, but also the Pope wyth hys Byshops ioyned with him,* might be made frustrate by the Councell: for the full iudgement of the uniuersall Church is not founde elswhere, then in the generall Councell. Let not any manne doubt, in that S. Augustine seemeth here onely to speake of Byshops: for if the text of hys Epistle be read ouer, hee shall finde the Byshoppe of Rome to be comprehended amongst the other Bishops. It was also prohibited by the counsels of Africa,* that the Bishops of Rome shoulde not receiue or heare the appeales of any which did appeale frō the Councell: whych altogether declare the superioritie of the Coūcell. And this appeareth more plainly in the Actes of the Apostles, where as Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apostles,* because he went in to Cornelius a Heathen man, as if it had not bene lawfull for him to attempt any great matter w^eout the knowledge of the congregation: and yet it was said vnto him as wel as others. Ite & Baptizate &c. Go & baptise.* But this seemeth to make more vnto the purpose, which S. Paule wryteth vnto the Galathians, whereas he sayth, he reststed Peter euen vnto his face, because he did not walke according to the verity of the Gospell. Which words if they be wel vnderstand, signifie none other thing by the veritie of the Gospel,* then the Canon of the Councel decreed amongst the Apostles: for the Disciples being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon S. Paule doth shew, that Peter ought to haue obeyed the generall Councell.

But nowe to finish thys disputation,* we will here adioyne the determination of the Councell of Constance, the which Councell aforesayd, willing to cut off al ambiguitie and doubts, and to prouide a certain order of liuing, declared by a solemne decree that all men, of what estate or condition so euer they were,* yea although y^t they were Popes themselues, be bound vnder the obedience and ordinances of the sacred generall Councils. And although there be a certaine restraint, where as it is sayde, in suche thinges as pertaine vnto the faith, the extirpation of schisme, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the heade as in the members: notwithstanding thys amplificatiue clause whych is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus ad ea, that is to say, withall the appertenautes. The which addition is so large, that it containeth all thinges in it, whych may be imagined or thought.* For the Lord said thus vnto hys Apostles, goe ye forth and teach all people. He did not say in three poynts onely, but teach them to obserue and keepe al thinges what soeuer I haue commaunded you. And in an other place he sayeth, not thys or that, but whatsoever yee shal binde, &c. which altogether are alledged for the authority of the Church and generall Councils. For the preserment wherof, these things also come in place. He that heareth you, heareth me. And againe: It is geuen vnto you to knowe the mysteries of God. Also where 2. or 3. bee gathered [Page 675](#) in my name. &c. Againe, whatsoever yee shall aske. &c. O holy father, saue them whom thou hast geuen me. &c. And I wil be with them euen vnto the ende of the worlde. Also out of S. Paul these places are gathered. We are helpers of

God. &c. Which hath made vs apt ministers of the new Testament. &c. And he appoynted some Apostles and some Prophetes. &c. In all which places both Christ and the Apostles spake of the authority of many, which altogether are alledged for the authority of y^t vniuersall Church.

But for somuche as that Church being dispersed and scattered abroad, can not decree or ordaine any thing: therefore of necessity it is to be said, that the chiefe and principall authority of the church, doth consist in the generall Councils, where as they assemble together. And therefore it was obserued in the primatiue Church, that hard and waightie matters were not intreated vpon,* but onely in the general councils & congregations. The same is also founde to be obserued afterward. For when as the churches were deuided, general councils were holden. And in the Council of Nice, we do finde the heresie of Arrius condemned. In the Council of Constantinople the heresy of Macedonius. In the Councell of Ephesus, the heresye of Hestorius. In the Councell of Chalcedon,* the heresies of Eutichius were also condemned: for somuch as they thought the iudgement of the bishop of Rome, not to suffice to so great, & waighty matter, and also they thought, the sentence of the Councell to be of greater force, then the sentence of the Pope, for somuch as he might erre as a man, but the Councell, wherein so many mē were gathered together, being guided with the holy ghost, could not erre. Also it is a very excellēt saying of Martianus the Emperour, which serueth for that purpose, whose words are these: Truly he is to be couēted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men, wil sticke to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a poynt of meere madnesse, at the noone time & faire day light, to seeke for a fained lighte: for he which hauing found the truth, seketh to discusse any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.

Now I thinke it is euident inough vnto all men, that the bishop of Rome is vnder the Councell. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the Council or not: For albeit it be proued that he is vnder the Councell, yet for all that, will they not graunt, that hee may be also deposed by the Councell. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say vpō that matter: and first of all, to speake of these railers, which are yet so earnest for the defence of the Byshop of Rome: which being vanquished in one battaile, still renew an other, and cōtend rather of obstinacie then of ignoraunce. They would haue here recited againe, that whych we haue before spoken, as touching the preeminence of the Bishop of Rome, or the Patriarcke. And as there are many of thē more ful of words then eloquent, they stay much of this poynt, where as Christ sayd vnto Peter: Tibi d•bo clauēs regni coelorum. I wil geue thee the keies of the kingdom of heauen, & what soeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth shalbe bounde in heauen: as though by those wordes, hee should be made head ouer y^e other. And againe they do amplify it by this: Pasce oues meas: Feede my sheepe, whyche they do not finde to be spoken to any other of the apostles. And because it is sayde that Peter was the chiefe and the mouth of the Apostles, therefore they iudge it well spoken, that no man shall iudge the chiefe and principall sea: being all of thys opinion with Boniface, which sayde y^e the Pope ought to be iudged for no cause except he bee perceyued or knowen to swarne from the farth, although he do cary innumerable people with him,* headlong into hel, there to be perpetually tormented: as though hee coulde not open the kingdome of heauen to others, if any other could shut it against him, neither that he could feede other, if hee himselfe lacked pasture.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty, For S. Augustine in the Sermon of the natiuity of Peter and Paule, sayeth in this wise: Our Lorde Iesus Christe before hys Passion,

chose hys disciples (as yet doe knowe) whom he called brethren. Amongest those, Peter alone almost in euery place represented the person of the Church,* & therefore it was sayde vnto him, Tibi dabo claues regni coelorum That is to say. Unto thee will I geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. These keies did he not receiue as one man, but as one he receiued them for the Church. And in an other place, Where hee wryteth of the Christian agony, he sayth: the keyes of the kingdome of heauen were geuen vnto the churche: when as they were geuen vnto Peter: And when as it was spoken vnto him: Amas me? Pasce oues meas. That is to say. Louest thou me? feede my sheepe: it was spoken vnto them all. And S. Ambrose in y^e beginning of his pastorall, sayth which sheepe and which flocke, the blessed Apostle S. Peter tooke not charge of alone, but together with vs, and we alltogether with him. By which wordes the foundation and principall arguments of those flatterers, are vtterly subuerted and ouerthrowen. For if Peter represented the person of the Church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words vnto Peter, but vnto the Church.* Neither do I see how that can stand, whych Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre distant from the truth, except it be vnderstand otherwise then it is spoken.

But it may peradventure seeme a great thyng vnto some, that it is sayd, the Byshop of Rome to be the head of the Militant Churche. For, as in the body of man, Philitions do neuer geue counsell to cut of the head for any maner of sicknes & disease, although it be neuer co•ul of vicers or infected: so in this mysticall body of the church, the head ought alwayes to be kept: and albeit it be neuer so wicked yet is it to be suffered and horne withall. But now conuert this argument.* If it were possible in y^e body of man, when one hed is taken away, to find an other to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the Church, should not heade then be oftentimes chaunged for diuers diseases? Moreouer, if we wil thus reason, that the head of the church shuld be in respecte of his body, as the head of man in respecte of the body of man: then doeth it necessarily followe that the head being dead the body must also die, as is manifest in y^e body of man: So should it grow into an absurditie to confesse that the Pope being dead, the Church also shoulde bee dead: the which how farre it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore what soeuer other men say, I am not of opinion wyth them, whych affirme the Bishoppe of Rome to be head of the Church, except peradventure they doe make hym the ministeriall head: for we doe reade that Christ is the heade of the Churche and not the Pope: and that he is the true head immutable, perpetuall, and euerlasting, and the Church is his body, wherof the Pope hymselfe is also a member and the vicare of Christe, not to the destruction but to the maintenaunce & edifying of the same body of Christ.* Wherefore, if he be founde a damnable destroyer of the Churche, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not y^t he was ordeined to doe: and we ought, as Pope Leo sayeth, to be mindeful of the commandement geuen vs in the Gospell: that if our eye, our foote, or oure right hand, do offend vs, it should be cut of from the body. For the Lorde sayeth in an other place: Euery tree whych bringeth not foorth fruite, shall be cut downe and caste into the fire. And in an other place also it is sayde vnto vs: take away all euill and wickednesse from among you. It is very iust and true, whiche is wrytten in the Epistle of Clement vnto Iames the brother of our Lorde, that he whych will be saued, ought to be separate from them whych will not be saued.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must haue recourse to that which is spoken by the Lorde, in the Gospell of Iohn: I am the true vine sayth the Lorde, and my father is the husbandman, and ye are the braunches: euery braunch therefore that bryngeth not forth fruite in me, my father wil cut off.* These wordes were spoken vnto the Apostles, amongst whom also

Peter was present, whome y^e Lord wold haue cut off, if he brought not foorth his fruit. Also S. Hierome vpon these wordes of Mathewe: Vnsauery salte is profitable for nothing,* but to be cast foorth and troden of swine. Whereuppon in the persone of Peter and Paule, he sayth thus: It is no easie matter to stande in the place of Peter and Paule, and to keepe the chaire of them which raigne with Christ. This vnsauery salte, that is to say a foolish Prelate, vnsauery in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing, but to be cast foorth, that is to say deposed, and to be troden of swine, that is of wicked spirits, which haue dominion ouer the wicked and naughty Prelates, as their owne flocke and herde. Beholde, thys testimonie of Hierome is plaine and euident. Let hym be cast out sayth he.

Hee expoundeth and speaketh it of the Prelate, whych vsurpeth the place of Peter,* and so consequently of the byshop of Rome, who being vnsauery in preaching, and foolysh in offending, oughte to be deposed (as Hierome affirmeth) from hys degree and dignitie. Neyther as some doe dreame, is he to be deposed for heresie only. Isidorus in the booke of Councils,* rehearseth a certain epistle of Clement the successour of Peter wrytten vnto Iames the Apostle, wheras the said Clement referring y^e wordes of Peter vnto himselfe, sayeth thus: If thou be occupied wyth worldly cares, thou shalt both deceiue thyselfe, & those which shall geue eare vnto thee: for thou canst not fully distribute vnto euery man, those thinges which pertaine vnto saluation: [Page 676](#) whereby it shall come to passe, that thou as a man for not teaching those thinges which pertaine vnto saluation, shalt be deposed, & thy disciples shall perish through ignorance. Notw^lstanding in an other place, in stead of this word deposed, it is found thou shalt be punished: which 2. wordes, if they be wel vnderstoode, do not much differ, for deposition is oftētimes vsed in the place of punishment. But peraduenture some wil here object, that this Epistle is not to be iudged Clements, because it is sayd to be wrytten vnto Iames, who as the Ecclesiasticall hystory affirmeth, was deade before that Peter was put to death.* But Clement might thinke that Iames was aliue when as hee wrote: whych were farre distant a sunder, and messengers of the christians, came not often vnto Rome. Moreouer, there is mētion made of thys Epistle in diuers places of the decrerals, as most true, and therfore it shalbe nothing from the purpose, to rehearse other sayings out of the same Epistle, where he sayth, that he which liueth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learne and to doe good, is rather a member of the deuill, then of Christ, and doth shew himselfe rather to be an infidel, then a faithful Christian. Vpō which words, the glose which Panormitane calleth singular,* & is mucche allowed, sayeth, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, wherby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused therof. If then he may be accused, Ergo also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault deposed: Otherwise he should be accused in vaine.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our aduersaries, but that the Pope may be deposed: Notwithstanding it is not yet euident whether hee may be deposed by y^t council or no, which we now take in hād to discours. And first of all, the aduersaries will graunt thys vnto vs, that the Bishop of Rome may be deposed by the Church, for somuch as the Pope being the vicare of the Church, no man doubteth, but that a Lorde may put out his vicare at his wil & pleasure, neither is to be doutd but that y^e Pope is more truly called the vicare of the church, then of christ. But if the church may depose the pope: Ergo the coūcel also may do the same. Also the glose which Panormitane in his wryting doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence: that the general coūcel is iudge ouer the pope in al cases. Likewise the most sacred Synode of

Constantinople, whych is allowed of all men, doth appoynt the bishops of Rome to be vnder the iudgement of the councel: and the councell to iudge and determine of euery doutfull matter or question that doeth arise, concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let any mā doubt hereof, because this worde deposition is not mentioned: for it is sayde, of euery doutfull matter or question: For if the Synode do iudge of euery doubt: Ergo it shall also iudge, whether the pope shalbe deposed or no: for that may also come in doute. And because we will not seeke examples farre of, Iohn 23. Whom all the world dyd reuerence, was deposed of his Papacie by the Councell of Constance. Neither yet was he cōdemned for any heresy: but because he did offend the Church by his manifolde crimes, the sacred Synode thought good to depose him:*, and euer since continually, the church hath proceded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirme that the Pope cannot be deposed but onely for heresy.

But heere is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certaine men do affirme the general Councils to be of no effect, except the Pope do cal and appoynt them, and his authoritie remaine with them. Whereupon they said that Dioscorus did rebuke Paschasius the bishop of Cicili, and legate of Pope Leo, because that hee did enterprise wythout the authoritie of the Apostolicke Sea, to call a Councell at Ephesus. They also alledge an other testimony of the Sinode of Chalcedone: wheras, when mention was made of the Council of Ephesus, al the Bishops cried out, saying: we ought not to call it a Councell,* because it was neyther gathered by the apostolike authority, neither rightly kept. By the which authorities, they which say that the Councils cannot be holden without the consent of the Pope, do thinke themselues marueilously armed. Whose sentence & opinion, if it take place and preuaile as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the Church. For what remedy shall we finde,* if that a wicked Pope doe disturbe the whole Church, destroy soules, seduce the people by his euil examples, if finally he preach contrary vnto the faith and fill the people full of heresies, shal we prouide no stay or stoppe for him? Shall we suffer all things to runne to ruine and decay with him? Who woulde thinke that the bishop of Rome would cōgregate a councell for hys owne correction or deposition? for as men are prone vnto sinne, so would they also sinne wythout punishment. But when as I do peruse ancient hystories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I do not finde this order, that councils should be gathered only at the will of the Pope:* for the first Council of all, after that Mathias was substitute in the place of Iudas, was not congregate at the commandement of Peter, but at the commandement of Christ, who commanded the Apostles that they should not depart from Ierusalem, but looke for the promise of the father.

The seconde Councell as touching the election of the deacons,* Peter alone did not congregate, but the 12. Apostles: for it is wrytten. The 12. Apostles calling together the multitude. &c.

The thirde Councell,* whych was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision & other ceremonies of the lawe, was gathered together by a generall inspiration: for it is written: The Apostles and Elders came together. &c.

The fourth Councell,* whereas certaine thyngs contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by Iames, & so discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be founde in the primatiue Church, whereby it should appeare y^t the authority of congregating of Councils should pertaine onely vnto Bishoppes of Rome. Neither alterwards in the time of Constantinus Magnus, and other Emperours, was the consent of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of

Councils, and therefore it is wrytten thus of the Synode of Chalcedon: The sacred and vniuersall Synode gathered together at Chalcedone the chiefe Citie of the prouince of Berthunia,* according vnto the grace of God, & the sanctions of the most godly and Christian Emperours Valentinian and Martian, doeth not make any mention of the Byshop of Rome, although hys consent were there.

Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would haue no Councell congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church do iudge it necessary to haue a Councell, the Councell may be congregate whether the Pope wil or no. The Councell holden at Pisa, was not congregate by the authoritie and consent of any Pope, when as Gregorie did condemne it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be sayde of the Coūcel of Constance, whych was assembled by the authority of Pope Iohn, who in respect of the Spaniardes was no true Pope. And if the Councell of Pisa were no true Councell, Pope Iohn was no true Pope: wherupon his consent to the congregating of the Councell of Constance, was of no effect. Moreouer it is more then folly to affirme, that when the pope hath once geuen his consent, if it shuld be called backe, that the Councell should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to reuoke his cōsent: And of necessity he must be obedient vnto the Councell, wherof he is a member,* and geue place vnto the greater part: and if hee separate himselfe from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the vnity of the Church, he maketh himselfe a Schismaticke.

Now, to come vnto the second conclusion, if it be true, as it is in deede, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, how can the Pope then dissolue, alter and transporte the Councell, against the will of the same? For wyth what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power ouer the superior? How can the Synode correct the Pope,* if the Pope may dissolue the Synode contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, couetous, a sower of war and discorde, and a most mortall enemie vnto the Church, and the name of Christ, how can the Councell reprove, him, if he haue authority to dissolue the Councell? For assoone as euer that the bishop of Rome shall vnderstande that in the Councell they doe intreat or talke of his correction or punishment, straightwaies he wil seke remedy by dissoluing the Councell. For as Macrobius sayth: he that hath liberty to do more then is fit or necessary,* wil oftentimes do more then is lawfull. If so be that the Bishop of Rome may exempt himself from correction by dissoluing or transporting the Councell, it followeth that the Councell is not aboue him. Therefore we must either deny that which is aforesaid, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, or els deny that the Pope hath power to dissolue the Councell, contrary to the will and determination of the Councell.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are al other conclusiōs false, which seeme to impugne the same. Wherefore the seconde conclusion of the diuines is also manifest: albeit that some doe admit it in certaine cases, and in other some exclude it againe.* For if we do admit, that for certain causes the Pope may dissolue the Councell contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the Pope iudge of the Councell, it were cleane contrary vnto the first conclusion.

Now it is proued that y^e Councell is aboue the Pope, & can not be dissolved by the Pope wythout consent thereof. Nowe we must further see, whether it be an Article of [Page 677](#) our faith to beleue it: Which matter hath respect vnto the third conclusion. For there haue bene many, which all beit they did confesse these two conclusions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a

veritie of the Catholicke fayth or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed. And we must see whether it be an article of faith that the Pope be vnder the councel. Which being proued, it shall also appeare to be an article of faith, that the pope can not dissolue the councell without the consent therof. Which consequent none of the contrary part hath refused. First of al therefore we must inquire what faith is, that wee may thereby the better vnderstand, what pertaineth thereunto.

*Faith, as the Diuines do define it, is a firme and stedfast cleauing vnto things, beleued by the authority of hym that speaketh. If then we beleuee as is aforesayde, that the Pope of Rome is vnder the councell, some authority doth moue vs therunto: so is it the faith of him which beleueeth it: but the question is not whether it be an Article of faith onely, but whether it be an Article of the Catholike faith. Wherefore we must againe enquire what the Catholicke faith is. This word catholike is a Greke word, and signifieth vniuersal. *The catholike faith, that is to say y^e vniuersal faith, is not so called because that euery man holdeth it, but because euery man ought to beleuee it. For all men doe not beleue that God is incarnate, but euery man ought so to beleue. And albeit y^e many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be vniuersall. For what wryteth the Apostle vnto the Romans? *If some of them hath not beleued, doth their misbeliefe make the faith of God vaine? God forbid. Verely God is true, but euery man is a lyer. Therefore to beleue that the pope is vnder the councell, *is a poynt of the Catholike faith, although some thincke the contrary: for we are bound to beleuee it, for somuch as it is taken out of the Gospell. For we are not bounde onely to beleuee those things which are noted to vs in y^e Crede, but also all those things which are cōtained in the holy Scriptures, wherof we may not deny one iote. And those things whych we alledge for the superiority of the general Council, are gathered out of the sayings of our Sauour Iesu Christ, and the Epistles of S. Paule: Ergo, we are all bound to beleuee it. And to proue that these things are taken out of the gospel, the councell of Constance doth witnesse, the which groundeth his authority vpon these wordes: Dic Ecclesiae, that is to say, tel it vnto the Church. And, where 2. or 3. are gathered together in my name. &c. And, whatsoever ye shal bind &c. with other such like texts.

*Whereuppon Pope Martine the 4. being yet at Constance, vnder the licence of y^e Councell, sent out his bulles, which do reckon vp the Articles, wherupon they ought to be examined, which had fallē into any heresy, amongst the which articles he putteth this article: Whether hee doe beleue the sacred generall Council to haue power immediatly from God, and that the ordinances therof are to be receiued of all faithfull Christians, which if any man would deny, he should be counted an hereticke. Wherefore, when as the sacred Synode of Constance, doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiority of the general Councell, what should let but that we also shoulde confesse the same to be a verity of the Catholike faith? For the catholike church being congregated at Constance, receiued that faith, that is to say, beleued it by the authority of hym whych spake it, that is Christ and his Saintes.

*To this purpose also serueth very well the wordes of the synode of Chalcedon written in this maner: It is not lawfull for hym that is condemned by the whole Synode to nominate any Byshop. The determination pleaseth all men. Thys is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary vnto this, is an hereticke. And againe it is a rule, that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and chosen Synode.

Marke the manifest wnesse of this moste sacred Synode, which said that he is an hereticke, which holdeth any opinion contrary vnto the Councell: But hee is no hereticke, except hee refuse the Catholike faith: Ergo, it was the Catholike faith to beleue that it was not lawfull to appeale from the sacred Councel. But howe was the same any poynt of the Catholike faith? Verely for somuch as the sacred Synode perusing ouer the holy Scriptures, hath receiued thys conclusion out of the woordes of Christ and other holy fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon tooke their conclusion out of the holy scriptures, so did the Councell of Constance, this which we now reason vpon. And like as the one is an Article of the Catholike faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion cōtrary to either of both, is an hereticke.

Furthermore, they seeme vnto me to dreame and dote, which confessing them to be vexities, will not confesse them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you wherof are they verities?*_ Truly not of Grammer, much lesse of Logike, and from Astronomy and Phisicke they are farre distant. Neither is there any other man but a diuine, that will graunt this veritie, whome Scripture doth force vnto it of necessity, if he do beleue Christ or his Apostles. Therefore this is a veritie of the Catholike faith which all men ought to embrace, and he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be iudged an hereticke, as the thirde conclusion doth affirm. Neither let any man thinke it hard or cruell, that he should be called an hereticke which goeth about to derogate any thing frō the power of the geuerall Councel, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities. Also Panormitan alledged S. Hierome, saying: He which vnderstandeth the scripture otherwise then the consent of the holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the Church, may be called an hereticke.

Wherupon it foloweth that he which vpon the wordes of Christ saying vnto Peter, *_Dic Ecclesiae. i. Tel it vnto the Church, doeth not vnderstand by the Church the generall Councell, vnderstandeth it otherwise then the sense of the holy Ghost doth require, and there by may be noted as an hereticke. And to proue that the sense of the holy Ghost is otherwise then he doth iudge it, the councell of Constance, doth declare: The which interpreting those words, Dic Ecclesiae. i. Tel it vnto the churche, spoken by the holy Ghoste, vnderstandeth them to be spoken of the generall councell. By these and many other waightier reasons, the 3. aforesaid conclusions, seemed true vnto the Diuines, & thorough them they also allowed the residue.

Now haue we suffiētly sayd, as touching that which was before promised: neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of these 3. first conclusions. Now to returne againe vnto our storie, it is our purpose to declare those thinges which happened after the conclusions of the Diuines: for there are many thinges worthy of remēbraunce, which also may happely be profitable vnto the posteritie.

When the disputation was ended and a final conclusion of these matters euen at hand, the Archbish. of Millaine and Panormitane with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon, and duke of Willam, armed themselues with all their power to lette the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomackes.

And first of all, *_ assoone as the congregation was assembled together, the byshop of Burgen exhorted them to deferre the conclusion, & to tary for the Ambassadors of other Princes, which would returne from Mentz.

After him Panormitane with a graue and Rhetoricall Oration,* spake (in a maner) as followeth.

I haue (saide he) had a cōmaundement by the prophet, to cry without ceasing: Which prophet sayd: Cry out, cease not, lift vp thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before, hee ought to haue cried, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when as the state of the vniuersal church is intreated vpon, either to be preserued, or vtterly ouerthrown: and that he hath cried so much in thys matter, that he doubted not, but the saying of Dauid was fulfilled in hym, where hee sayeth: Laborauī clamans, raucae sunt factae fauces meae. I haue laboured, crying out, that my iawes are become horse.

Notwithstanding that he would both now,* and as often as neede should require, wythout ceasing still crie out, and specially now in this most difficult and waighty matter: where in hee required the sacred Councell gently to heare both hym, and the Ambassadors of other Princes: adding moreouer foure thinges to be considered in all requestes made of any man. The which he also required the fathers now presently, to marke & consider. Who it is that maketh the request. What is required. Why it shuld be required, and what effect woulde come by the request eyther graunted, or denyed. As touching the first poynt he sayde: The most noble kynges and excellent Princes wyth their prelates to be of great power: and then reconed vp y^t kyng of Castill, the king of Aragon, the Duke of Millaine, and the Byshops of the same Princes, rehearsing also the merites & good deedes of the sayde kings, & also of the duke of Millaine. But when as hee came to make mention of the prelates, he coulde not restraine himself, but began to wax somewhat hoate, saying that the greatest number of Prelates were on his parte. For if the Byshops and Abbotes were counted, it were not to be doubted, but the greatest part of them would haue this present matter deferred: and forsomuch as the whole power of the councell doth consist in the Bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contēned, that should be concluded whych pleased [Page 678](#) the greater part of the inferiours: For the keyes (sayde he) were geuen to the Apostles, & to their successors which are the Byshops: also, that there are three kindes of Synodes, Episcopall, Prouinciall, and Generall, and none of all these without Bishops.

Wherefore the maner and order of the present Councell seemed vndecent, wheras thinges were not weyed according as men excell in dignitie,* but by moste voyces: Notwithstanding according to y^e most famous Epistle of Clement, the Byshops were the pillars and keyes of heauen, and the inferiours had no determining voyce, but onely a consultatiue voyce with them: wherefore there would be a great offence in thys behalfe, if a matter of faith shoulde be determined without the bishops: in which matter not only the bishoppes, but also the secular Princes ought to bee admitted. And for so much as they, in y^e name of their princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of thys present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, hee cōplained greatly how vnworthy a thing it was that they should be contemned or despised.

After many things spoken to this ende & effect, he passed ouer to the second part of his Oration, declaring what it was y^t he required: not gold, nor siluer, neither precious stones,* neither prouinces nor kingdomes, neither a thing hard to be done: but that only the delay of the sacred councell was required, & that the fathers would stay in the processe against the Pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither shuld the delay be long, but only vntil the returne of the Ambassadors from Mentz, whome he knew well would returne

very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and to be small intreatie, because there was no danger in it. And also it shuld seme iniurious, not to tary for the Ambassadors of the Princes which were then at Mentz, when as they were not absent for their owne priuate commoditie, but about the affaires of the common wealth, and the commodity of peace: neither had he forgotten, y^t at their departure they had desired, that during their absence, there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugenius.

Then immediatly adioyning the third part of his Oration, wherefore this delay was required,* he concluded, that it was not required for the priuate commoditie of any one man, but for a common wealth: not to cause any trouble or vnquietnesse, but for the better examination of the matter, y^t all things might passe with peace and quietnes, that the matter might be somuch the more firme and stable, by how much it is ratified & allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceded to y^e last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider and wey in their mindes the effect that would follow, if they should graunt or deny thys request. For (sayth he) if ye shall deny this small petition of the Princes, they al wil be agreeued therewith, and take this repulse in ill parte. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient vnto you, or receiue your decrees. In vaine shall ye make lawes except the Princes do execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vaine:* yet woulde I thinke this to be borne w^tall, if I did not feare greater matters to ensue. What if they shuld ioyn themselves with Eugenius, who not onely desireth to spoyle you of your liuings, but also of your liues. Alas, what slaughter and murther doe the eyes of my minde behold and see? Would God my opinion were but vain. But if you do graunt and consent vnto their petitions, they wil thincke themselves bounde vnto you: they wil receiue and embrace your decrees, and whatsoever you shal require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your aduersary, they will speake euil of him and abhorre him: but you they wil commend and praise, you they will reuerēce: vnto you they wil wholly submit themselves, and then shall followe that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the church. And thus he required the matter to be respited on all partes. At the last he sayde, that except the Ambassadors of y^e Princes were heard, he had a protestation, wrytten, which he would commaund to be read before them all.

When Panormitan had made an ende of his Oration, Lodouicus the Prothonotary of Rome rose vp,* a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior vnto any of the famous men afore time. In so much that he had alwaies in memory whatsoever hee had heard or red, and neuer forgate any thyng that he had sene. This man first commending Panormitane, sayde that he came but the day before from the haths, & that it semed vnto him a strange thing which was now brought in question: wherein he desired to heare other mens minds, and also to be heard of others, and that those prelates which were at Mentz shuld be taried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalfe of their Princes, which prelates were men of great estimation, and the Orators of most mighty Princes.

He allowed also the saying of Panormitane touching the voices of the inferiors,* that it seemeth not to be against the truth, that only Bishops should haue a deciding or determing voice in Councils. And all be it that some in thys disputation doe thinke that, which is writtē in the 15. chapter of the Actes, to be their force or defence: notwithstanding he was nothing moued therewith, nor tooke it to be of any effect, albeit it was sayd: It seemed good vnto the holy Ghost and to vs, where as both the Apostles and the elders were gathered together: whereby it

appeared: that y^e others had a deciding voice w^t the Apostles. For he sayde, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be meruailed at, then to be folowed: and that it doth not appeare there, y^t the Apostles called the Elders of duety, but that it is onely declared that they were there present: whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it semed vnto him, that the inferiours in the Councell of Basill, were admitted to determine with the Bishops but of grace and fauour onely, because the Bishops may communicate their authority vnto others. He alledged for testimony, the bishop of Cancen, a man of great authority, who woulde not suffer any incorporation or felowship of the meaner sort, and therefore, neither any inferiour, neither himselfe, which as yet was not made Byshop, to haue any deciding voyce in the councel. Wherefore, for somuch as the matter was waighty, which was nowe in hand, and that the Byshops spake against it, he required the Councell that they would of necessitie stay and tary for the Ambassadors of the Princes comming from Mentz.

His Oration was so much the more greeuous,* in that many were touched with his wordes, and specially in that poynt, that he said, the apostles were not to be folowed: for that al men did impugne as a blasphemy. But here a man may meruel, that a mā of such excellency, alledged no more or better matter. But in this poynt the memory of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speake in thys matter, and desired nothing somuch, as not to obtaine that which he intreated for. After him many other spake theyr minds, but al to this end that they might protract the time and deferre the conclusion of these matters.

Then Lodouicus the Cardinall Arelatensis, a man of marueilous constancy, & borne for the gouernaunce of general councels, gathering together the wordes of all the orators, spake in this wise: Most reuerend fathers, this is no new or strange busines, nor begon to day or yesterday. For it is now many wekes ago, since the conclusiōs were disputed vppon amongst the diuines, & sent vnto Mentz, and to all other partes of the world. After thys, they were disputed vpon 6. daies continually, and fully discussed, and after that not without great delay approued by the deputies, and as the truth seketh no corners,* so all things were done publikely and openly. Neyther can any man pretend ignoraunce, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned: For wee called all that were present at Basill, and exhorted al y^r rest for to be present. And for somuch as mention is made of the most noble King of Castell: who is it that is ignoraunt, that the kings Orators were there present? The bishop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of singulare learning and eloquence, and you also Panormitane youre selfe, which heere represent the person of the moste famous king of Arragon, were twice present your self in the chapter house, and disputed twice most subtilly, and twice declared your minde, what you thought in that matter. What do you desire any more? Also out of the territory of y^t Duke of Millaine, there was present the Archbish. of Millaine, who albeit, he be no Ambassador, yet howe famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignorant. When he had spoken these words, the Archbishop being somewhat mooued, sayd vnto him.* My Lord Cardinal, you supply the rounge of a president no better, then I doe the place of a Dukes Oratour, and began to taunt him wyth many words. But the Cardinall, (as he was a man moste pacient: and woulde not be prouoked to anger by no meanes) sayd: this is it y^t I euen now desired. For if the Archb. be an Ambassador, then hath the Duke no cause to complaine, which had his Oratour present at the discussing of those matters.

I passe ouer other Princes, because they doe not complaine. Notwythstanding the most Christian Kynge of Fraunce, had there the Byshop of Lyons, a graue and sober man, his Ambassadour at

the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they shuld be taried for, which knowing the counsell to be congregate for such matters as pertaine vnto faith, do not thinke it absurd, that the doutfull [Page 679](#) matters of fayth shoulde be declared in the Councell: Whereunto, if they had bene willing to come, they would haue bene present or this.

Why this matter should neede so much discussing, as some will haue, I doe not vnderstand. For if I be wel remembred, Panormitane and also Ludouicus, haue oftentimes affirmed in this place, euē y^e very same thing which the conclusions signifie. And if any of them now will go about to gaynsay it, it will happen vnto them, as it did vnto Didimus. To whom, when as on a time, hee repugned agaynst a certayne historye,* as vayne and friuolous, hys own book was deliuered vnto him, wherein the same was written: So likewise these two men (meaning Panormitane & Ludouicus the Prothonotary) Although they be excellently learned, & eloquent: yet may they be confuted by their owne writings. Besides this: there are Synodall Epistles and decrees of this Councell,* whiche are full of such cōclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficultie can be raysed? What is it that may be impugned? Shal we now bring that againe in doubt, whiche hath so often bene declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (say they) the princes & Ambassadors are absent whiche are byshops by whose presence the decrees should be of more authority. Wel, they are not onely absent which are gone to Mentz: but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout y^e whol world: whō if we should tary to looke for, nothing at any tyme should be decreed. They are al called vnto the counsell: they might haue come if they would. To those that are present power is geuen, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, y^t they which are absent, are about the affayres of the common wealth: truely we sent them not thither, but they went rather agaynst the will of the Councell, then with the consent therof.

And admit that they had bene sent by the Councell: yet were not our power so much restrayned, but y^t we might reforme the Church, for otherwise there should neuer any thing be done in y^e Councell: for somuch as alwayes some are sent out by the Councell, and some are alwayes to be looked and taryed for, and therefore we must eyther do nothing at all, or sende out no Prelates from the Councell. Where as he sayd that Prelates and specially Bishops are cōtemned, that is most far from the truth, for they haue the chiefe and first places. They speake first, and geue their voi|ces first of all vnto all thinges: and if so be they do speake learnedly and truely, all the inferiors without any gaynesaying, did soone follow their mynde.

Neither peraduenture shall it be founde vntrue, that there was neuer any Synode: which dyd more amplifie y^e power & authoritie of Byshops then this. For what haue the Byshoppes bene in our dayes, but onely shadowes? Might they not well haue bene called shepheardes w^tout y^e sheep? What had they more thē their miter and their staffe, when as they could determine nothing ouer their subiects Uerely in the primitiue Church, the Byshops had y^e greatest power & authoritie: but now was it come to y^t poynt that they exceeded the cōmon sort of priestes onely in theyr habite and reuenues? But we haue restored them agayn to their old state,* we haue reduced the colation of benefices agayn vnto thē: we haue restored vnto thē y^e confirmation of elections: we haue brought agayn the causes of the subiectes to be heard, into their handes: & haue made them bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, y^t the Byshops should say, they are contemned of the Councell? Or what iniurious thing haue we at anye time done vnto them? But Parnormitan sayth, y^t forsomuch as most bishops are on hys parte, and few agaynst hym, the

conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiours, but let Panormitan remember himself, that this is no new kinde of proceeding.

This order of proceeding, the Councell ordeined from the beginning, neither hath it bene chaunged at any tyme since. And this order Panormitan, in times past hath plea'sed you well enough, when as the multitude did followe your minde. But now, because they do not followe your mynd,* they do displease you. But the decrees of the Councels are not so mutable, as the wils of mē. Know ye moreouer, y^t the very same bishops which doe consent with you in word and do not consent w^t you in minde, neither spake the same secretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their country, that ex'cept they would follow your minde, they shoulde displease the king. They feare the power of the Prince, & to be spoyled of theyr temporalities: neither haue they free libertye to speak as is requisite in Councels. Albeit if they were true Bishops, & true pastors of soules, they woulde not doubt to put their liues in venture for their sheepe, neither be afeard to shed their blood for their mother the Church.

But at this present (the more is the pittie) it is to rare to finde a Prelate in this world,* whiche doth not preferre hys temporalities before hys spiritualities: w^t the loue wher'of, they are so withdrawne, that they study rather to please Princes then God, and confesse God in corners, but Princes they will opēly confesse. Of whome the Lord speaketh in hys Gospell. Euery one sayth he, that confesseth me before men. I will confesse him before my father which is in heauen.* And contrariwise the Lord will not confesse him before his father which is afeard to confesse the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitan sayth, most bishops to be on hys part, for here are many byshops proctors whō he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignities of the fathers, to be respected in the Councell, as he sayth, but onely reason, nor anye'thyng more to be looked for then the truth: neyther will I for my part, preferre a lye of any byshop, be he neuer so rich before a veritie or truth of a poore priest. Neither ought a byshop to disdayne, if he be rude or vnlearned, y^t the multitude doth not follow hym, or that y^e voyce of a poore learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftner vnder a bare and ragged cloke, then in rich ornamentes and apparell.

Wherefore I pray you my Lord byshops, do not so much contēne your inferiours, for the first which dyed for Christ the which also opened vnto all other the way of Martyrdome, was no byshop but onely a Leuite. As for y^t whiche Ludouicus and Panormitane do allege touchyng y^e voyces of Bishops, I know not where they haue it. Wherefore I desire them y^t they would tell me,* where they haue foūd it. But if we repeat the examples of old councels, we shall finde that the inferiours were alwayes present with y^e Bishops. And albeit that Ludouicus do forbid vs the examples of the apostles, I stay my self most vpon their doings For what is more comely for vs to followe, then the doctrine & customes of the primitiue Church? It is sayd therfore in the 15. chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, it seemed good vnto the holy ghost and to vs. The whiche word (to vs) is referred vnto them which are before named, the Apostles and the Elders. Neither this word, (it semed good) signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and deter'mination, whereby it appeareth, y^t other beside y^t byshops had determining voyces. In an other place also of the sayd Actes, when as the apostles shoulde intreate vppon anye wayghty matter, they durst not determine by themselues, but the xii. called together the multitude.

Here Ludouicus sayth, y^t it doeth not appeare y^t the Apostles called other of necessitie: but I say vnto hym, how knowest thou y^t they did not call thē of necessitie? But for so much as both partes are vncertayne: nothing doth prohibite vs to follow the Apostles. For seeing that all thinges were written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apostles wold geue vs exāple, y^t in wayghty matters we shold admit our inferiours. And therefore in all Councels which were celebrate & holden afterwards,* we find that Priestes were also present: as in the Councell of Nice, whiche of all other was most famous, Athanasius being then but onely a priest, withstood the Arrians, and infringed their argumentes: Albeit there were also other priestes. And albeit mention be made of 322. byshops, yet is not denyed, but y^t the inferiours were there, whome I thinke to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part, is taken of the most worthy.

In the Synode of Calcedon (which was counted one of the foure principall Synodes) it is sayd that there were present 600. priestes:* the which name is common both vnto byshops and Priestes. In other Councels the name both of Bishops and Priestes is omitted, & mention made onely of Fathers, which hath the same signification y^e thys worde Elders had in the actes of the Apostles. Wee haue also a testimony of the ecclesiasticall history,* how that ther was a Councell gathered of Rome of lx. Byshops, and as many Priestes & Deacons agaynst the Nouations which called themselues Cathari. Also, when Paule the Byshop of Antioche, in the tyme of Galiene the Emperoure, preached y^t Christ was a man of common nature, the Councell assembled agaynst hym in Antioche: wherunto there came Byshops out of Cesaria, Capadotia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Ierusalem, and many other Byshops, Priestes and Deacons: and it is said that for that cause the Council was often holden.

And at the last, in the same place, vnder Aurelius the Emperour Paule was condemned of al Christian Churches which were vnder heauē: neyther was there any mā, which did more confound the sayd Paul, then Malchiona Priest of Antioche, which taught Rhetorike in Antioche. [Page 680](#) But to make no long digression from the matter, we haue most euident testimonies,* for the defence of the inferiours. For the chiefe and principall amongst all the Diuines S. Austen vpō the wordes of Mathew, where as Christ saith vnto Peter: I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauē, sayth that by those words, the iudiciall power was geuen, not only vnto Peter, but also to the other Apostles and to the whole Church the byshops and Priestes. If then Priestes haue a iudiciall power in the church, what shold iet y^t they haue not also a determining voyce in y^e coūcels? The famous Doctour S. Hierome doth also agree with S. Austen, whose wordes are these vpon the Epistle of Paule vnto Titus. Before that difference was made in Religion by the instigation of the deuill, or that it was spo'ken amongst the people, I holde of Paule, I of Apollo, & I of Cephas, the Churches were gouerned by y^e common consent and Councell of the Priestes: for a priest is the very same that a byshop is. Wherefore all Byshops ought to vnderstand,* that they are of greater power then Priestes, rather by custome then by y^e dispensation of y^e truth of God and y^t they ought to rule the church together. And this we do also gather out of Paule vnto Titus, which maketh so much concordance betweene bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priestes Byshops, whereby it doth euidently appeare, that priestes are not to be excluded from the conuentions of byshops, and determinations of matters. And albeit as S. Hierom writeth, that byshops onely by custome are preferred before Priestes, it may be, that a contrary custome may take away that custome.* For if priestes ought to rule the

church together with the byshops, it is euident that it also pertayneth vnto them to decide and determine the doubtfull matters of the Church.

Wherefore the testimony of S. Paule is euident: for (as he writing vnto the Ephesians sayth:) If Christe instituted hys Apostles, Prophetes, Pastours, and Teachers to the worke of the ministry, for the edifying of hys Church vntill such tyme as we should meete hym, for this purpose that there should be no doubt in the diuersitie of doctrine, who doubteth then, but that y^e gouernaunce of the Church is committed vnto others together with the Apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seeme to be no wiser then they ought to be. The memoriall of the coūcell of Constance, is yet fresh in memory, wheras diuers of vs were present, and I my selfe also whiche was neither Cardinall nor byshop, but onely a Doctour, where I dyd see,* without any maner of doubt of difficultie, the inferiors to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard & doubtfull matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great Councell which also followeth the examples of the Councell of Pisa and the great Councell at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Priestes did ioynly iudge together with the byshops.

*Moreouer, if Abbotes, as we do see it obserued in all Councils, haue a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ: why should not priests haue the same, whose order Christ ordayned by hys Apostles? Hereupon also, if one byshops shoulde haue a determining voice, nothing should be done, but what pleased y^t Italian nation, the whith alone doth exceed all other nations, or at the least is equall w^t them, in number of byshops And howsoever it be, I iudge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the inferiours shold be admitted to the determinations: for God hath nowe reuealed that vnto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

Behold you do see the zeale, constancy, vprightnes, and magnanimitie of these inferiours. Where should the councell now be, if onely bishops and Cardinals shoulde haue their voice? Where should the authoritie of the Councils be? Where should the Catholicke fayth be? Where shoulde the decrees and reformation be? For all things haue now a long time bene vnder the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained hys wicked & naughty purpose, except these inferiours, whome you now contemne, had withstād him. These are they which haue contemned the priuation made by Eugenius.* These I say, are they which haue not regar'ded hys threatninges, spoyle and persecution. These are they which being takē, imprisoned, & tormented: haue not fered to defend the trueth of the Councell, yea euen these are they, who albeit they were by Eugenius deliuered ouer for a pray, yet would they still continue in y^e sacred coūcell, and feared not to suffer warre, famine, & most cruel pestilence: and finally what thing is it, that these men haue not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the council? you might haue heard this inferior sort euen in y^e midst of their tribulations, with a loud voyce cry out and say, albeit that all men become obedient vnto that subuerter of y^e Church Eugenius, and that euery man do depart from y^e veritie of the fayth and constitutions of the fathers, consēting vnto the commaundementes of Eugeneus, yet we & our brethren will be constant,* and doubt not to dye for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers, the which in deed they haue done. Neither could they be feared with threatnings or discouraged with any spoyles, neither could any feare or hope, turne them from their most blessed purpose: and (to speake somewhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals haue done the like or no, that iudge you.

As for Byshops, whō Panormitane alone wold haue to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, & euen they which are here present, are not able, by vertue to ouercome iniquitie, they feare the terrene power, and com'mit offence with their hast.* Haue ye not heard how they al sayd: they would consent vnto the kinges will and pleasure? But y^e inferiours are they which haue had truth,* righte'ousnes, & god himselfe, before their eyes, & they are greatly to be commended for shewing themselues such men vnto y^e Church of God. But why do I defend y^t cause of these inferiours? When as some will also exclude those byshops which are but byshops by name and title, and haue no pos'session of the Church, from our company, not vnderstanding that whilest they go about to put backe those mē, they do condemne Peter, and the other Apostles, who (as it is euident) were long without any great flocke, neither was Rome vnto Peter, nor Ierusalem vnto Iames, at anye tyme wholly obedient: for at that tyme no great number of people, but a small flocke beleued in Christ.

For I pray you, what is that we shold require of these byshops? They haue no flocke, but that is not their fault. They haue no reuenues, but money maketh not a byshop, and as the Lord sayth Beati pauperes spiritu. i.* Blessed are y^r poore in spirite. Neither was there anye rich Byshops in the primitiue Church, neither did the auncient Church reiect Dionysius Byshop of Millayne, Eusebius Bishop of Uercelles, or Hillary Byshop of Pictauiā, although they were neuer so poore, and banished without a flocke. But if we will graunt the truth, the poore are more apte to geue iudgement then the rich, because that riches bringeth feare and their pouertie causeth libertie. For the poore men doe not feare tyranny as our rich men do, whiche being geuen ouer vnto all kinde of vanities, idlenes and sloth, will rather deny Christ, then lacke theyr accustomed pleasures: * whom not theyr flock, but theyr reuenues make bishops deliting so muche in riches, that they iudge all poore men vnhappy. But, as Cicero sayth: nothing can happen better vnto a wise man, then mediocritie of substaunce. Wherupon it is written in the Gospel: It is easiar for a Cammel to passe through a needle eye, then for a riche man to enter into the kingdome of heauen.

But now to returne to a more full declaration of Panormitans words, I determine to passe ouer two poynts which he pronounced in the beginning of hys Oratiō, that is: Qui petant, & cur petant, i. who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We graunt y^e they are great men, & men of power, and (as he doth affirme) y^e they haue deserued good of y^e church, neither do I doubt but that they are moued thereunto, with a sincere affectiō. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effectes would ryse thereupon, which he spake of: it is now to be enquired. A delay (sayth he) is required: a delay for a few dayes. A small matter: a matter of no impor'taunce: a matter easy to be graunted.* Notwithstanding let Panormitane here marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared: they be already discussed and determined. If now there shoulde be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftē times y^e delay of one momēt, is y^e losse of a whole yere, here of we haue many examples. Hanniball whē he had obtained his victory at Cannas, if he had gone strayght vnto Rome, by all mens iudgementes, he had takē the city. But for so much as he did deferre it vntill the next day, the Romaines hauing recouered theyr force agayne: he was shutt out, and deserued to heare this opprobry.

Vincere scis Hannibal, vti victoria nescis.

Hannibal thou knowest victory to get,

But how to vse it thou knowest not yet.

Likewise the French men, after they had taken Rome and besieged the Capitoll, whiles that they gredely sought to haue great summes of mony, & delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus cōming vpon them, did most shamefully driue them out againe. But what need I to rehearse old histories, when as our own examples are sufficient [Page 681](#) for vs? Ye know your selues how often these delayes haue bene hurtfull vnto you, & how oftē the delay of a few dayes hath growne to a long tracte of tyme. For now this is the 8. yeare that you haue spent in delayes: & you haue seene, that alwayes of one delay an other hath sprong and risen. Wherefore I do require that Panormitan shuld con'sider, that y^e conclusion being this day disturbed,* we know not whether it will be brought to passe hereafter againe or no. Many impedimentes or lets may rise. Neither doth Panormitan say, that this delay being obtayned, he wold afterward consent with his fellowes vnto the conclusiōs: for he denyeth that he hath any commaundement therunto & (which is more to be considered) he sayth that the Ambas'sadours at their returne from Mentz, may bring such newes, wherby these conclusions may be omitted: as though any thyng were more excellent then the truth.

The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seeke delayes for the better examination of the matter but for to impugne the conclusions the more strongly. Nei'ther do I agree with Panormitan, as touching the effects which he sayd should ryse eyther of the denyall, or graunting of y^e requests: For I see no cause why y^e Princes should so greatly require any delay. There are no letters of anye Prince come vnto vs as touching such request, neyther is there any man lately come from them, neyther is it greatly materiall vnto them, but that the matters of faith shoulde be determined. But this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the handes of those most godly princes, wheras he saith if we do please them, they will take our part. If contrariwise, they will decline vnto Eugenius, and wholly resist & rebell agaynst vs. This is a meruailous word, & a wonderfull conclusion, altogether vnworthye to be spoken of such a man.* The decrees of the Councell of Constance are, y^t all maner of men, of what state or condition soeuer they be, are bound to the ordinaunces and decrees of the generall Councils. But Panormitanes wordes do not tend to that effect, for he would not haue the Princes obedient vn'to y^e Councel, but y^t councell to be obedient vnto y^t princes.

Alas most reuerend Fathers alas, what times & daies what maners and conditiōs are these? * Into what misery are we now brought? How shall we at anye time bring to passe, that the Pope being Christes Uicare (and as they say) an other Christ in earth, should be subiect vnto y^e coucell of Christians, if the Councell it selfe ought to obey wordly Princes? But I pray you look for no such things at the Princes handes. Do not beleue that they will forsake theyr mother the Church. Do not thinke them so farr alienate frō the truth, y^t they would haue iustice suppressed.

The conclusions whereupon the controuersie is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they do not resist agaynst vs, but against the holy Scriptures, yea and agaynst Christ himselfe: which you ought neither to beleue, neither was it comely for Panormitane so to say. Panormitan (by your licēce be it spoken) you haue vttered most cruell words, neyther do you seeme to go about any other matter, then to inculcate terrour and feare

into the mindes of the Fathers: for you haue rehearsed great perils and daungers, except we submitt our selues vnto the princes.

But you most reuerend fathers, shall not be afearde of them which kill the body, the soule they cannot kill: neyshal ye forsake the truth,* although you should shedde your bloud for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slacke in the quarrell of our mother the church and the Catholicke fayth, then those most holy Martyrs, whiche haue established the Church with theyr bloud. For why should it be anye greuous matter vnto vs to suffer for Christ, which for our sakes hath suffered so cruel & greuous death? Who when he was an immortall God, voyd of all passiōs toke vpō him y^e shape of a mortal man, & feared not for our redemption to suffer tormentes vpon the crosse. Set before your eyes the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, Paule, Andrew, Iames, and Barthelmew, and not to speake onely of Bishops) Marke what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian & Fabian did. Some were hanged, some headed, some stoned to death, other some burned, and others tormented w^t most cruell and grieuous tormentes suffered for Christes sake. I pray you for Gods sake let vs follow the example of these men. If we will be byshops and succeed in honour let vs not feare Martyrdome. Alas what effeminate harts haue we? Alas what faynt harted people are we? They in tymes past by the contempt of death, conuerted the whole world, which was full of gentilitie and idolatrye: and we through our sluggishnes & desire of life, do bring the Christian Religion out of the whole world into one corner, & I feare greatly, least y^t little also which is left, we shall lose through our cowardlines: if that by following Panormitanes minde, we do commit the whole gouernaunce & defence of the Church vnto the princes. But nowe play the stout and valiaunt men in this time of tribulation, & feare not to suffer death for the Church, whiche Curtius feared not to doe for the cittie of Rome: which Menchotheus for Thebes, & Codrus for Athens, willingly took vpon them.

Not onely the martyrs,* but also the Gentiles might moue and stirre vs to cast of all the feare of death. What is to be sayd of Theremens the Athemen? With how ioyfull hart and minde, and pleasaunt countenaunce, did he drink the poyson? What say you vnto the Socrates that most excellent Philosopher? did he eyther weepe or sigh, when he supped vp the poyson? They hoped for that whiche we are most certayne of. Not by dying to dye, but to chaunge this present life for a better.

Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the precious bloud of Christ, so greatly to feare death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legi|ons, which haue chearfully & courageously gone vnto those places, frō whence they knew they shuld not return. Wyth like courage did y^e Lacedemoniās geue thēselues to death at Thermopilis, of whom Simonides writeth thus.

Dic hospes Spartanos te hic vidisse iacentes,

Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

Report thou straunger, the Spartaines here to lye,

Whiles that their cōtry lawes they obeyed willingly.

Neither iudge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went euen of purpose vnto death: vnto whome theyr Captayne Leonidas sayd: O ye Lacedemonians, goe forward couragiously, for this day we shal sup together with y^e infernall Gods,* but I most reuerend fathers, do not inuite you vnto the infernals as he did his Lacedemonians, but vnto the celestiall and euerlasting ioyes of Paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truthes sake, and patiently abide the threatnings of these princes, if there be any threatninges at all. I call you vnto that eternal glory: where as there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth: where all good and perpetuall things do abound: wheras no man wanteth, no man enuyeth an other, no man stealeth frō an other, no man violently taketh frō an other, no man banisheth,* no man murdereth, and finally no man dyeth. Where as all men are blessed and happy, all are of one minde & one accord, all are immortall, all are of lyke estate, & that all men haue, euery man hath, & that euery mā hath all men haue. Which thinges if we will consider, we shall truely answere Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyrensis is said to haue answered Lismachus the king, whē he threatned to hang hym: who sayd, I pray you threaten these horrible thinges vnto your Courtiers, as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rotte aboue the grounde or vnder the ground.* So likewise let vs aunswere vnto the princes, if there be anye that do threaten vs, and let vs not feare their tormentes.

What doth a longer life preuayle to help vs? No man hath liued to short a tyme, which hath obtained the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrell of his country, seemeth not onely to be glorious amongst the Rhetoricians, but also happy & blessed, what shall we say for these deaths whiche are sustayned for the country of all countryes, the Church? Truely most reuerend fathers, it is to muche that our aduersaries doe perswade themselues of you, for they iudge you feareful, sluggish and faynt harted:* and therefore they do object Princes vnto you, because they thinke that you wil not suffer hunger, thyrst, exile in the quarrell & detence of the church. But I thinke you will esteeme it no hard matter, for the obteyning of euerlasting lyfe, to do the same which shipmen do for the obteyning of transitory riches, to put themselues in danger of the sea & wind, and suffer most cruell stormes.

The hunters lye abroad in the nightes in the snowe in the hilles and woodes, & are tormented with cold: yet haue they none other reward, but some wilde beast of no value or prise.* I pray you what ought you then to doe, whose reward shalbe Paradise? I am ashamed of our ignaue, whē as I read that women, yea euen yong maydens haue violently obtayned heauen through their Martyrdome, and we are made afrayd onely with the name of death. Thys riuer of Rhein which runneth along by the cittie in tymes past hath caryed 11. thousand virgines vnto Martyrdome. In India (as Cicero writeth) whē any mā was dead, hys wiues (for there they had many wiues) came not into contention who shuld be burned with him:* and she whom he loued best, hauing vanquished the other, all y^e rest ioyfully [Page 682](#) folowing her, was cast into the fire with the dead Carcase of her husband and burnt. The other whiche were ouercome, departed full of heauines and sorow, wishing rather to haue dyed then liue.

The which courage we now taking vpon vs for Chri'stes sake, will aunswere Panormitan euen as the Lacedemonians aunswered Phillip, who when as by his letters he threatned them, that he would stop all that whiche they went about, they asked him whether he would also let thē to dye. Therefore as you are excellent men, so vse your vertue, which is alway free, and remayneth alwayes inuincible. For you do know that power is geuē you of y^e Lord and strength from y^e most highest: who will take accompt of your workes and examine your thoughtes: vnto whom ye

should be carefull to render a good accompt, iudgyng rightly and keeping the lawe of righteousness, and in all thinges walking according to the will of God. And not according to the will of men.

And whereas the Embassadours of Eugenius, doe openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the byshop of Rome aboue the vniuersall church: to the end that ignorant soules be not snared, ye shall not cease or leaue to publish the three first conclusions, following the example of y^e Apostle Paul, which would in no point geue place vn'to Peter when he walked not according to the Gospel. As for the other matters, which doe respect the only person of Eugenius (because Panormitan and the other Ambassadours of the princes, shall not say that we doe passe our bonds) ye shall deferre them for this present.

When as Cardinall Arelatensis had made an ende of his Oration, there was a great noyse crying, out & brawling euery where. The Presidents cōmaundements were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order obserued: for sometimes they spake vnto Panormitan, sometime vnto Lodouicus: no man was suffered to speake but in haste the bishops brawled with byshops, and the inferiours w^t theyr fellows.* All was full of contention & debate: which when as Lodouicus the Patriarck of Aquileia perceiued a man of no lesse courage and stomacke, then of nobillitie and byrth, being also a Duke, for the zeale whiche he bare vnto the vniuersall church, turning himselfe vnto Panormita & Lodouicus the Prothonotary, sayd: Do not think the matter shall so passe, you know not yet the maners of y^e Germaines, for if you go forward on this fashion, it wil not be lawfull for you to depart out of this country wyth whole heades: With which wordes Panormitan, Lodouicus, and the Archbishop of Millaine, being stricken (as it were with lightning from heauen, rose vp, & sayd: Is our libertie thus taken from vs? What meaneth it that the patriarcke doth threaten vs,* that our heades shoulde be broken? And turning themselues vnto Iohn Earle of Dierstene, which then supplied the protectors place, they demāded of him whether he would defend the Councel and preserue al men in their libertie,* or no.

The Citizens also and Senators were present to prouide and foresee that no offence shoulde rise, for the Cittizens obserued alwayes this order, that they would be present in all affayres, which they supposed would breede dissension, foreseeing specially that no tumultes shold ryse, otherwise then with wordes. They vsed alwayes suche a marueilous foresight & prouidence, that no man vnto this day, could haue any cause agaynst them, to complayne for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time, any citizens haue deserued wel at the hands of the churche, surely this prayse is to be geuen vnto y^e Basilians. These men to'gether with Iohn Earle of Dierstene, being present in the assembly of y^e fathers, gaue a signe of preseruatiō of their libertie. The Earle (albeit he was moued at the strangenes of y^e matter, for he would not haue thought so great contētions could haue risen amongst wise mē) answered by his interpreter, y^e they all should be of good cheare. For y^e Emperours safe conduit should be obserued and kept euē to the vttermost, neither should the Patriarck, nor any other once violate the libertie, or take away the assurance granted by the Emperour. Notwithstanding he desired the pa'triarcke y^t he would call backe hys wordes agayne, & not to speake any more in such sort. But that famous father, be'ing nothing at all moued, or troubled, cōmitted his whole minde vnto Iohn de Bacheistein, auditor of the chamber, a man both graue and eloquent, to be declared. Who affirmed that the patriarches minde was not to threaten anye man, or disturbe the libertie of the councell, but to moue y^e fathers vnto Constancie, that they should be mindefull of the reformation, which they had

promised vnto the whole world, and not so say one thing to day, & an other to morrow: for if they would so do, it were to be feared, least y^e lay tie seeing themselues deluded, and dispayring of reformation should rise agaynst the Clergy.

Therefore he monisheth the fathers to foresee and prouide for the perill, that they shoulde not depart from the Councell, nothing being determined or done: and finally he desired pardon, if in his wordes he had offended eyther agaynst the Councel, Panormitā, or any other mā. Wherby he declared it to be true which is commonly sayd,* that Humilitie is the sister of nobilitie: both which did very excellently appeare in this man. Yet for al this, could not the humilitie of the patriarch stop or staye their noyse or cryes: For as often as mention was made of reading the Concor datum, great noyse and rumours were stil made, for to stop the same.* Then Amodeus archbishop of Lyons, and primate of al Fraunce, a man of great reuerence and authoritie, being touched with the zeale of fayth, whiche he sawe there to be stopped and suppressed, sayd: Most reuerend fathers, I haue nowe a great occasion for to speake: for it is now 7. yeares or more, that I haue bene amongst you, yet haue I neuer seene the matter at that poynt whiche it is now at, most like vnto a miracle, for euen presently I doe behold most wōderfull signes of miracles, for it is no smal matter that the lame do walke, the dumme do speake, and that poore men preach the Gospel. Wherupon I pray you commeth this sodayne chaunge?* Howe happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now sodenly start vp, Who hath geuen hearing to the deafe, and speache to the dumme? Who hath taught the poore men to preach y^e gospell? I do see here a new sorte of prelates come in, whiche vnto this presēt haue kept silence, and now begin to speak. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugne iustice.

But this is more to be marueiled at then any miracle, that I doe see the best learned men of all,* impugne our cōclusions which are most certayn and true: And they which now reprove them, in times past allowed them. You are not ignoraunt howe that Lodouicus the Prothonotarye preached these verities at Louain and at Collē, & brought them from thence, confirmed with the authoritie of the Uniuersities. Wherefore, albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no poynt altered. And therefore I desire you & beseech you all, that ye will not geue eare vnto these men, which albeit they are most excellētly learned, yet haue they no constancy in them: which doth adorn all other vertues.

When he had ended his Oration, Lodouicus the Prothonotary rising vp, sayde: It is most true that I brought those verities, but you do cal them verities of fayth, which addition semeth very doubtful vnto me. When he had spoken these wordes, Cardinall Arelatensis required that the Concordatum of the twelue men should be read, and many whispered him in the care, that he should go forward, and not aulter his purpose.

Then Panormitan,* as soone as the Concordatum began to be read, rising vp with his companions and other Arragons, cryed out w^t a loud voyce, saying: You fathers do contemne our requestes, you contemne kinges & Princes, and despise Prelates, but take heede least whilest that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greater part of Prelates, we make the Councell, & it is our part to conclude, and I in y^e name of all other prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred & delayed. With this worde, there sprang suche a noyse and rumour in the Councell as is accustomed to be in battaile

with the sound of Trumpets and noyse of horsemē, when as two armies ioyne. Some cursing that which Panormitan went about other some allowing the same: So that diuersitie of minds made diuers contentions.

Then Nicholas Amici,* a Diuine of Paris, according vnto his office, sayd. Panormitan I appeale frō this your conclusion, to the iudgement of the councell here present, neither do I affirme any thinge to be ratified whiche you haue done, as I am ready to proue, if it shall seeme good. The contrary part seemed nowe to bee in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither cōcluded, neither was it seene how they could conclude amongst so great cryes and vprores. Notwithstanding amongst al this troublous noyse, Iohn Segouius, a singu'lar Diuine of y^e vniuersitie of Salamantine lacked not audiēce: for y^e whol cōūcel was desirous for to hear him: wherfore al mē as soon as he rose vp kept silence, & he perceiuing y^t they were desirous to heare him speake, begā in this sort.

Most reuerend fathers,* the zeale and loue of the house of God forceth me nowe to speake: and I woulde to God that I had ben either blind this day, not to haue sene those thinges whiche haue happened, or that I had bene deafe, y^t I should not haue heard those words, which haue bene spoken. Who is it that is so stony or hard harted, which cā [Page 683](#) abstayne from teares, when as the authoritie of the church is so spoyled, libertie taken away both from vs and y^e coun'cell, & that there is no place geue vnto the veritie. O sweet Iesu, why hast thou forsaken thy spouse? Behold and look vpon thy people, and helpe vs if our requestes are iust. We come hether to prouide for the necessitie of the Church we require nothing for our selues, •our desire is only that truth might appeare. We trusted now to haue concluded vpon y^e verities which were sometimes allowed in y^e sacred deputations. The Oratours of the Princes are present, & require the conclusions to be deferred.* But we be not vnmindful of those thinges which Ambrose wrote vnto Ualentinian the Emperour in this maner: if we shall intreate vpon the order of the holy. Scripture and auncient times past: who is it that will deny but that in case of faith (I say in case of faith) the bishops ought to iudge vpon Christian Emperours,* and not Emperours vpon Bishops. Neyther doe we admit their petition but vpō most vrgent causes: Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whiles that they did speake euen so long as they would.

But now if any of our part would speake, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honesty is this? What modesty or grauitie? is it lawful so to do in the councell• Where is the decree of y^e Council of Tholose now become (where are our decrees, which do not only prohibitie tumultes,* but also all small bablinges & talk) They say, it is because we contemne them: but they are they, which not onely conteme the Councell: but also resist the same. The patriarke spake but one small worde agaynst them, & that of no euill intent or purpose, and by and by they complayned y^e their liberty was broken, but they, when as they do inforce the councell, when as they forbid the President to speake, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, doe not iudge that they doe any thing contrary to the liberty of the Councell. They say, they are the Councell themselues and yet they intreat the Councell. These thinges doe not I vnderstande: for if they be the Councell, why doe they intreat thēselues? If they be not the Councell, why do they not suffer the Council for to speake? Why do they not look for an answere of him to whom they make their petitiōs?

Truely this is to much violence, and certes our paence is also to much, to suffer such excesse euen in the face of the Church. But this doth most of all greeue me, and thys do I most maruell at,* But this doth most of all greeue me, and thys do I most maruell at, that Panormitan a man of singular wit and doctrine did cōclude without any discussing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the 12. men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eies had behold & seene, I would scarsly beleue, if any other mā should report it vnto me, of him: Neither do I yet know, whether I may sufficiently credite my selfe, the matter seemeth so horrible: for I do not see by what authoritie his cō|clusion doth stande, except it be by the authoritie of hys king whom he sayth will haue it to. But you most reuerēd fathers take heed that ye bring in no such custome: for so it shall come to passe, that in all matters, a few froward prelates shall haue me to conclude for them.

And albeit Parnormitan hath proued (as he thinketh) by strong reasons that the veritie ought to be deferred, yet notwithstanding I do require you most reuerend fathers to follow the example of the Apostle,* who (as Arelatensis hath very wel declared) would not geue one houres respite vnto Peter, when he swarued frō the truth of the Gospel. The sayth is speedely to be relieued & holpen, neither doth any thing sustaine more danger by delayes, thē faith doth. For heresies, except they be rooted out at the first, whē they are once growne, are hardly taken away. Wherefore I desire you speedily to helpe and ayd. Hoyse vp your sayles, & launch out your ores. What should we tary looking for either the Prelats or the princes? You are now in conflict: I ouely desire that you would hasten vnto the victory. Regard not the threatnings of those Princes, neyther the opprobries of those contumelious persons, for you are blessed sayth the Lord, whē as men curse you & persecute you, speaking all euill agaynst you, making lyes and slaunders vpon you for my sake: reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. What is it I pray you that the princes do so much obiect agaynst vs? Is not our Lord God able to take vs out of the furnace of hote burning fire, and deliuer vs out of y^e hands of those princes? I beseech you most reuerend fathers and louing brethren, haue no lesse hope in Iesus Christ, thē Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago had, which feared not that old king Nabuchodouosor:* and let y^e princes know, y^t the most high ruleth ouer y^e kingdomes of men, and geueth them vnto whom he pleaseth. God beholdeth all thinges from aboue (he is I say) in the midst amongst vs, wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and shew yourselues as a strong wall for the church of God: suffer not the sayth to perish vnder your handes. The almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you.* Feare not them which seeke onely to kill the body. Do iustice and equitie, and be assured that he wil not deliuer you ouer into the handes of the bachiter and slaunderer. Againe I say vnto you, show yourselues valiant and stout: Defend your mother the Church. And vnto thee, O thou president I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God then man, for if thou depart thence without a finall conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render accompt in the straight iudgment of God,* and thus without any more wordes, he sate downe in his place.

In the meane tyme, many graue and ancient men had exhorted Panormitan that he shuld geue ouer his conclusion. The bishop of Burgen was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make vanitie and concord amōgst the fathers, and went about to make an vuitie with al mē. But neither the fathers of the Councell were determined to depart without a conclusion, neither Panormitan was minded to aulter his intent and purpose. All thinges were disturbed, neither did the prelates sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as euerye mans affection led hym. Some went to the Cardinall Arelateusis, some vnto Panormitan and exhorted them, as if they had

bene princes or rulers of armies. Then Arelatensis knowing y^e matter to be in danger, and that there was no ready way to make a cōclusiō, thought to vse some policie, to appease y^e tumult.

Most reuerend fathers said he,* we haue receiued nowe letters out of Fraūce, which declare vnto me marueilous thinges: that there are incredible newes syrong vp there which if you will geue me willing audience, I wil declare vnto you.* By this meanes there was a sodayne silence throughout the whole Councel, & by this marueilous policie he made al men attentue to heare. When as he saw he had free liberty to speake, without either fable or history of any letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, & as it is requisite in an Orator, came by little and little to y^e principal poynt, saying, y^t Eugenius his messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling y^e, authoritie of the bishop of Rome, aboue the generall Councils: agaynst whom, except speedy remedy were founde, it would come to passe, y^e man woulde geue credite vnto thē, and therfore the sacred Councell ought of necessitie, to prouide remedy,* and of necessitie to conclude vpō the vereties which were examined, that therby the temeritie of the Eugeniās might be repressed, which verities, albeit they were 8. in number, yet was it not the Fathers intēt to conclude vpon them al, but onely the three first: euen as I also (saith he) here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost.

When he had finished his Oration, with a cheerful and mery countenaunce rising vp, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirtes of his garmentes. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that being a Frenche man borne, had that day vanquished the Italians, which were men of great pollicy. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy Ghost, then by y^e Cardinals owne power.* The other of y^e contrary faction, as men bereft of their mindes, hanging downe theyr heades, departed euery man to his lodging. They wē not together, neither saluted one an other: so that their countenaunces declared vnto euery man y^t they were ouercome. Something more also is reported of Panormitane,* that when he came to his lodging, & was gone vnto his chamber, he complained with himself vpon his king, which had compelled him to striue agaynst the truth, and put both his soule and good name in daunger of loosing, and that in the midst of his teares and complayntes he fell a sleepe, and did eate not meate, vntill late in y^e euening for very sorow for that he had neither ignorauntly, neither vnwillingly impugned the truth.

After this, there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians,* what were best to be done in this matter, Some thought good to depart and leaue y^e Councel, other some thought it meeter to tary, and w^t at endeuour to resist y^t nothing should further be done agaynst the Eugenians: & this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being y^e 15. day of Aprill, the Archbishop of Lyons and the bishop of Burgen, calling together the prelates into y^e Chapter house of the great church began many thinges as touching peace.* The Bishop of Burgen perswaded that there shuld be deputations appoynted that day, vnto whō the Archbishop of Lyons shoulde geue power to make an agrement. Unto whome aunswere was made, as they thought, very roughly, but as other iudged, gētly, but not [Page 684](#) withstanding iustly and truely: For, they sayd there could be no vnitie or concorde made, before the aduersaries confessed their fault and asked pardon therefore.

The day following, the sayd Byshop of Burgen, with the other Lombards and Cathelans, went vnto the Germaines, and from thence vnto the Senate of the citie, speaking much as touching the

prohibiting of Schismes. The Germaines referred themselues to those thinges which y^e deputation should determine.* The Senate of the Citie (as they were great mē of wisdom, which would do nothing without dilligent aduise and deliberation) answered, that the matter pertayned not vnto them, but vnto y^e Coun•or, The fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignoraunt what pertayned vnto the Christen fayth, and if there were any daunger toward, it shuld be declared vnto the Councell and not to the Senate: For they beleue that the Elders of the Councell, if they were premonished, would foresee y^t there should no hurt happen: as for y^e Senate of the Cittie, it was there duety onely to defend the fathers and to preserue the promise of the citie, with this answere the byshop of Burgen departed.

*In the meane time the fathers of the councell had drawen out a forme of a decree vpon the former conclusions, and had approned the same in the sacred deputations. By this time the Princes Orators were returned from the assembly at Mentz, & holding a Councell among themselues they had determined to let the decree: The 9. day of May there was a generall conuocation holdē, wherunto all mē resorted, either part putting forth himselfe vnto the cōflict.

The Princes Ambassadors were called by the bishop of Lubecke and Conrade de Winsperg the protectour into the quier, and there kept: whereas they intreated of a vnity and by what meanes it might be had, and there they taryed longer then some thought to doe: the whiche matter gaue occasion to bring thinges well to passe, beyond al expectation.* The onely forme of the decree was appoynted to be concluded that day, whereupon, as soon as Cardinall Arelatensis perceiued the congregation to be full, and that the twelue men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation, with sileuce, he thought good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commanded, by and by the publick cōcordaunces to be read, wherein this was also contayned, that the Cardinall Arelatensis might appoynt a Session when soeuer he would. Which being read, he being desired by the promotors, concluded according as the maner of custome is. The Ambassadors of princes being yet it in the Duier, as soone as they vnderstoode how the matter passed, being very much troubled & vexed, they brake of theyr talke, imputing all thinges to y^e bishop of Lubecke, which of purpose had kept them in the Duier and protracted the time. Wherupon they entring into the congregation, filled the church full of complayntes.

First of all, the Oratour of Lubecke complayned both in his owne name and the name of the protectour, as touching the conclusion,* & required y^t the councell woulde reuoke the same. If that might be graunted, he promised to intreate a peace, and to be a protector betweene the Councell and the Ambassadors of the Princes. But the Archbyshop of Turnon said, that it seemed vnto him euery mā to haue free libertie to speake against that law which shold be promulgate, vntill the Session, whē the Canons shuld be consecrated and receiue their force: whē as the bishops in their pōtificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the Session, should aunswere that it pleased them: otherwise the demaund which was made by the promoters in the Session, to be but vayne, and for that the cōclousions were not yet allowed in the Session, and therefore he sayd that he might without rebuke, speake somewhat as touching the same, and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit vp in such a short time, and that he had the know|ledge thereof but euen now: notwithstāding that he being an Archbishop ought to haue knowne the matter, that at hys return home, he might informe the king & also instruct those which were vnder him. And that he and his fellowes before any Session should be: would both heare & be heard of others. Neither doth it seeme good vnto him that the Session should be

holdē, before report were made of those things, which the Ambassadors of the Princes had done at Mentz which would, peradventure be such as might alter and chaunge the mindes of the fathers.* Then the Byshop of Concen Ambassadour of the king of Castell, which was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great vnderstanding, but lacking vtteraunce, greeuously complayned that the prelates were contemned. Neither had it bene (sayd he) any great matter if they had ben taryed for, which notwithstanding great daunger and expences, went to Mentz, not for theyr pleasure, but of necessitie. And afterward as it were smiling, he sayd; how mad am I y^e would haue the Prelates, to be taryed for, vntil they returne from Mentz when as they are not taryed for whilest they came out or the Duier of the Church: doe therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischief her •upon, neyther are we the Ambassadors of Castell to or blamed, neither can anye man of right inpute any thing to one most noble king.*

Here were it long is replete, with what rebukes and taimtes they inuyed agaynst the Cardinall Arelatensis: but especially the byshop of Milane rayled most: teuellye vpon him, saying y^e he fostred & mayntained a table of Sopistes and Scholemaisters, & that he had concluded in mat^rters of faith with them: calling him also another Cataline vnto whom al desperate and noughty persons had refuge that he was thew Prince, & ruled the Church with them: and that he would not geue care vnto the Ambassadors of the most noble princes, or to the most famous Prelates in this most wayghty matter. Albagenis & a man of great nobilitie, descended of the Emperours bloud, albeit he had neuer alienate hys minde before from the Councell: yet least he should seeme to dissent from other Ambassadors of y^e princes, made the like complaynt as touching the attēpt of the prelates. After this it came vnto Panormitā to speake, who as he had a greater vehemency in speaking: so also he did declare a more angry stomacke and mind: for in the beginning of hys Oration, he seemeth not to go about accordyng to the precept at Oratours, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather theyr hatred: for he sayd that our sauour sheweth foure signes in the Gospell, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate: for he whiche is of God (sayth he) heareth y^e wordes of God, but you heare not the wordes of God, because yee are not of God. And agayne, he that doth euill hateth the light. And in an other place also, by their fruites you shal know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth euill fruit.

All which sayinges he wrested agaynst the fathers of y^e Councel, because they would not heare the words of God that is to say, the wordes of peace which the Ambassadors had spoken, because they fled from the light in the absence of the Ambassadors, priuilye concluding, and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holye day but had cōcluded thereupon,* also because they had the vpper hand in the foresayd cōclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he sayd that the fathers them selues shuld meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselues were not good: & that he did see an other Councell at hand, where as he feared least these conclusions should be reuoked, as the fruit of an euill tree: and therefore, they ought not so sodaynly to proceede in so wayghty matters: and y^t he would be yet more fully heard before the Session, as well in hys owne name because he was an archbishop, as in the name of his prince which raygned not ouer one kingdome alone but ouer maⁿy: Also he said that he heretofore by his words,* deeds and writings, hath extolled the authoritie of the Councel: and that he feared, least by these meanes, the authoritie thereof shuld be subuerted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the Councell, for so muche as very sorrow and grieve forced hym to speake so.

The Abbot Uergiliacensis would haue made answeare to those thinges whiche Panormitan had touched concerning hyis deputation: * but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrary part should speake first, amongst whome, last of all, * Ludouicus the Prothonotary, the Homere of Lawyers, rose vp. And albeit that he spake vnwillingly, yet when he had begon, he could not refrayne his wordes. And whiles he went about to seeme learned and eloquent he vtterly forgot to be good. He sayd y^t the Councell ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of fayth, against the Prelates, least any offence should follow, for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose 12. Apostles and 70. Disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the Creede, onely the Apostles were present, thereby (as it were) geuing example, y^t the matters of fayth did pertayne onely vnto the Apostles & so consequently vnto bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceede in matters of fayth, whiche ought to be clearely distinct, for somuche as Peter affirmeth the triall of fayth to be much more precious then golde, which is tryed by the fire. And if the Bishops be contemned, which are called the pillars and keyes of heauen, the fayth cannot seeme to be well proued or examined. But at length he confessed, y^t the inferiours might determine with the Bishops but denied that the least part of the Bishops with the most part of the inferiours might determine any thing. From thence he passing to the matter of fayth, sayd, that those verities whereupon question was nowe had, are Articles of [Page 685](#) fayth, if they were verities of fayth. And forsomuch as euery man should be bounde for to beleue those, therefore he would be better instructed & taught in that matter whiche he shoulde beleue as an Article or fayth. Neither should it be comely for the Councell to deny him his request, which according to the rule of the Apostle, ought to be ready, to geue account vnto euery man whiche shall require it, touching the fayth, which it holdeth.

After euery man had made an end of speaking, the Car'dinall Arelatēsis calling his spirites together, * made an Oration wherein he answered now the one, & now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the Imperiall Ambassadors, which offered to intreat a peace and vnity, but neither necessity, nor honesty (he sayde) would suffer those thinges whiche are concluded to be reuoked. He aunswere also that the petition of the Ambassadors of Fraūce is most iust, * in that they required to be instructed touching the fayth: and that the coucell would graunt their request, and send vnto them certayn diuines, which should instruct them at home at theyr lodgings: but the matter was already concluded & could no more be brought in question: that the Session was onely holden, rather to beautify the matter, * then to confirme the same. And as touching that which the bishop of Concen so greatly cōplayneth of, he doth not much maruell: for he could not know the processe of y^e matter, when he was absent, who being better instructed, he supposed would speak nomore any such words, forsomuch as a iust man would require no vniust thing. Also that his protestatiō had no euill sense or meaning, in that he would not haue it imputed, neither vnto him, neither vnto hys king, if any offence should rise vpon the conclusions. Notwithstanding it is not to be feared, that any euill shoulde spring of good workes. But vnto the Bishop of Millayne he would aunswere nothing, because he saw him so moued and troubled, for feare of multiplying of more greuous and hainous words. As for Panormitane he reserued vnto the last. * But vnto Ludouicus the Prothonotary, whiche desired to be instructed, he sayd: he willed him to be satisfied w^t y^e wordes which were spokē vnto the Bishop of Turnon.

Notwithstanding, he left not this vntouched which ludouicus had spoken concerning the Apostles Creede. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creede, the Apostles be onely named, yet it doth not follow (sayth he) that they onely were present at the setting forth therof. For it happeneth of

tentimes that Princes are commended and praysed as chiefe authors and doers of thinges, when as notwithstanding they haue other helpers, as it appeareth in battayles, which although they are foughte with the force of all the souldiors, yet the victory thereof is imputed but vnto a fewe. As in these our dayes, they do ascribe all thinges which the army doth either fortunately or wisely, vnto Ni|colas Picenius,* that most valiaunt Captayne which hath obtained so many famous victories: albeit that oftentimes other haue bene the inuentors of the pollicy, and workers of the feate.* And therefore Ludouicus ought to knowe and vnderstand, that they are not onely articles of fayth which are conteyned in the Creede, but all other determinations made by the Councels, as touching the fayth. Neyther is he ignorant, that there be some articles of the Creed which we now vse in the Church, that were not put too by the Apostles, but afterward by generall Councels: as that part wherein mention is made of the holy Ghoste, whiche the Councell of Lyous did adde, in whiche Councell also it is not bee doubted, but that the inferiours dyd iudge together with the Byshoppes. But for so much as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But comming vnto Panormitan, he rehearsed his wordes: Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit, He that is of God, heareth Gods word, which is very well takē out of the Gospell, but not well applyed vnto the councell (sayd he:)* for he firmly beleued, that his predecessors haue iudged holy Ghost to be in the midst of the Councels, and therefore the wordes of the Councels to be the wordes of the holy Ghost: which if any man do reiect, he denieth himselfe to be of God. Neither doth the councell hate the light, which doth all things publickly and openly, whose congregatiōs are cuidēt vnto all men, neither doth it as the conuenticles of the aduersaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreouer, the thing which is now in hand, was begon to be intreated of for two monethes agoe, & first the conclusions were largely disputed vpon in the diuinity scholes, and afterward sēt vnto Mentz and other places of the world.

After all this, the fathers were called into the Chapter house of the great Church, to the number of 120. amongst whom Panormitan which now cōplaineth, was also present, and according to his maner, did learnedly and subtilly dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise in the deputations, euery man spake his mind freely, & in that deputation where Panormitan was, the matter was 3. dayes discussed. After this the 12. men did agree vpon it, and the general congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there bene at any time any thing more ripelye or exactlye handled both openly, & also without any fraud or deceite. And whereas the deputatiō did sit vpō a holy 〈◇〉 •here is no hurt in y^t, neither is it any new or straunge thing, forasmuch as they haue oftē holden their Session vpon testinall dayes, when as the matter hath had haste, and specially for that the matter of fayth hath no holy dayes.* And further he said that he did not conclude craftely and deceitfully in the congregatiō; as Panormitane hath reported, but publickly & opēly at the request of the Promoto^s. Neither hath any mā any iust cause to cōplayne vpō him, forsomuch as, whē he was made President, he was sworne that alwaies whē 4. or 3.* of the deputations did agree, he should conclude therupō. And forsomuch as he had already concluded, in di|uers causes touchinge the Pope, he sawe no cause why hee should not conclude in the matter of fayth, for that he was a Cardinall; & did weare his red hat for this purpose, that he should shed his bloud in the defēce of the fayth. Neither hath he done any thing now agaynst the Pope, for that omitting the fine conclusions touching Eugenius, he had concluded but onely the generall conclusions: which except he had done, the fathers should haue had iust cause to complayne agaynst him (in that they trusting in his fidelitie & faythfulnes, had chose him Presidēt) if by him they shoulde now be forsaken in this most necessary cause of fayth. And

turning himselfe vnto the people; he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, forsomuche as he woulde neuer forsake them, yea although he should suffer death: for he had geuen his fayth and fidelity vnto the Councell, which he would be obserue and keepe: neither should any manues flattery in threatninges put him from his purpose: that he would be alwayes ready to do whatsoeuer the Councell should commaund him, and neuer leaue the commaundements of the deputies by any meanes vnperformed.

As touching that Panormitan had extolled the authority of the Councell, he sayd that he was greatly to be thāked. But yet he ought to vnderstand and know the authority of the Councell to be such, as cannot be augmented or increased by any mans prayse or cōmendation, or be diminished by any opprobry or slaūder. These things thus premised he cōmaunded the forme of y^e decree to be read. Thē Panormitane & those which tooke his part, would needes haue a certayn protestatiō to be first read. There was great contention on euery side. Notwithstanding at the last. Arelatensis preuayled, and the forme of the decree was read vnto this word, Decernimus, that is to say, we decree. Thē Panormitan rising vp, would not sucter it to be heard any further: And the Bishop of Catauia cryed out saying, that it was vncomely that Arelatensis,* with a few other Byshops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did al|so all those which fauoured Panormitane. The Cardinall of Terraconia also (which vntill that time had holden hys peace) did greuously rebuke his partakers, that as men be|ing a sleep or in a dreame, they did not read the protestatiō, and commaūded by and by one of his familiars to read it. But like as the aduersaries before did perturb the reading of the concordances,* so would not the Fathers of the Councell now geue place to the reading of the protestatiō. Which when Albiganensis did consider he cōmaunded the writing to be brought vnto him, and as he began to speak, sodenly Arelatensis rose vp, with a great number of the fa|thers to depart: which thing pleased y^e cardinall of Terraconia and Panormitan very well, for that they hoped that they alone with theyr adherentes, shoulde remayne in the Church. They exhorted Arelatēsis to reuoke the conclusiō, and to make another.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Prothonotarye of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his vnclē, the Cardinall of Terraconia, a man but yong of age, but graue in wisdomē, and noble in humanity: who as soone as he sawe the Cardinall Arelatensis rise, he determined also to depart, and when as his Uncle called him, commaunding him to tary, he sayd: God forbid father that I should tary in your congregatiō,* or do any thing cōtrary to the othe which I haue takē. By which words he declared his excellent vertue and nobility, & admonished our men which remained, of those things which they had to do. His voyce was the voyce of the holy ghost, and words more necessary, then could be thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the Councell had peradventure departed, and gone theyr way, and the other remaining in the church, had made another cōclusiō which [Page 686](#) they would haue affirmed to haue ben of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be receiued. But many being warned by the wordes of the Prothonotary, and calling to remembraunce the like chaunce of other Councels before, called backe agayne the multitude which were departing, and cried vpon the Cardinall and the Patriark to sit downe agayne, & that they should not leaue y^e church voyd and quiet for theyr aduersaryes. Whereupon, sodenly all the whole multitude sate downe, and the gates were shut agayne.* In the meane time Matheus Albiganensis a bishop, read the protestation to none els but to himselfe alone, for it could not be heard for noyse: which being ended the Lombardes and the Cathelanes confirmed the protestation. When the Cardinal of Terraconia sayd that he did agree to that dissension, they maruelled at that saying. And whē some

smiled & laughed at him: what sayd he, ye tooles, do ye mocke me? do not the Ambassadors of my king dissent from you? What do you maruell then if I do say I cōsent vnto theyr dissention? And with these wordes, he and almost all the Arrgonēs,* Lombardes and Cathelanes departed, all the other taryed still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past ij. at after noone) Arelatensis seeing the congregation quiet, commaunded the affayres of priuate persons to be read, as the maner is: which beyng ended, he commaūded also the publicke affayres to be read, & willed the conclusions & the forme of the decree to be red agayne. There remayned in the congregation, the Ambassadors of the Empyre and of Fraunce, talking together of theyr affayres. Notw^tstanding the bishop of Turuō heard mention made of the cōclusions, & turning himselfe to the Bishop of Lubecke, sayd: lo, the matters of fayth are now in hand again, let vs go hēce I pray you that we be not an offence vnto others,* or that we be not sayd to dissent from the other Ambassadors. To whom the Bishop of Lubecke aunswered: tary father, tary here, are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afayrd to be here for y^e truth? these wordes were not heard of many, for they spake them sottely betwene themselues. Notwithstanding I heard it, for I sitting at theyr feet, did diligētly obserue what they said. Arelatensis, after all thinges were read, which he thought necessary, at the request of the deputies concluded, and so making an end dismissed the congregation. Twise it is declared, with how great difficulty Arelatēsis concluded forso much as neither the matter nor the forme could be cōcluded without dissension:,* and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all mens hope, but were obtained by the industry of Arelatensis, or rather by the speciall gift of the holy Ghost.

After this, it was determined betwene the Lōbardes and Aragon to absteyne frō the deputations for a certaine time, whiche they did not long obserue, notwithstanding y^e deputations were holdē very quietly for a certein space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembraūce vntill the 15. day of May, during whiche time, all meanes possible were sought to set a concorde betwene the fathers, but it would not be. Then Nicolas Amici promoter of the faith, was called into the congregation, & briefly rehearsed those things which were done the dayes before, and declared how that Arelatensis might poynt a Session. Wherefore, forsomuch as delay in matters of fayth was daungerous, he required that a sessiō should be appoynted against the morow after, requiring the Cardinall for his dignities sake, in that he was called the principall of the church, and the other bishops, that (as they had promised in theyr consecration) they would not now shrink from the church in these wayghty affayres, and suffer the faith to be oppressed: but the other inferiors he required vpon theyr othe which they had taken, to shew themselues faythfull and constant herein. Then againe there fell a great contention vpō these wordes: for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoynt a Session, and exhorted all men to be there present in theyr Robes.* The Bishop of Lubecke rising vp, made a protestation in his owne name, and also in the name of his protector, that he would not consent, that there shoulde be any Session, if it shoulde in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Georgius Miles also, his fellow Ambassadour consented to this protestation. When as the protector of the Councel appoynted by the Emperour, vnderstood himselfe for to be named by the bishop of Lubecke,* he maruelled a while what the matter shoulde be. But being certified by an enterpreter, he aunswered that he would in no case consent vnto the protestation of the Bishop of Lubecke, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz: also that he was sent by the Emperour to the sacred Councell, and hath his charge whiche he doth well remember, and would be obedient therunto. After whom the Bishop of Concense, according to his accustomed maner, made his protestatiō & after him also folowed Panormitane. Whose wordes before I will repeat, I desire that no man

woulde maruell that I make mention so often of Panormitane: for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

It happened in these matters euen as it doth in warlike affayres: For as there, suche as are most valiaunt and strong,* and doe most worthy feates, obteine most fame, as in the battell of Troy, Achilles and Hector: so in these spirituall warres and contentions, those which most excell in learning and eloquence, and do more then other, should be most renowned & named: for on y^t one part Panormitane was prince and Captayne, on the other, Arelatensis: but his owne will made not the one Captain, but onely necescity, for it behoued him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding he was not ignoraunt of the truth and verity, neither did he resist willingly against it: for I haue sene him oftentimes in his library complayne of his prince, that he followed other mens Coucell. When as his time came to speak he sayd that he did not a little maruell why the protector of the fayth, shoulde require the Prelates to haue a Session, whiche was nothing pertaining to his office, and that he ought not to vsurpe the Presidentes place. And agayne he complayned touching the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did presently touch the state of the Apostolicke sea, & for that cause the sea ought to be heard before any Session beholdē. Neither it is to be regarded (said he) that the coucell of constance semeth to haue decreed, that it should now be spoken of, for so much as Pope Iohn was not heard at Constaunce, neither any man els, to speake for the sea, by which words he seemed both to contēnc and bring in dout all the decrees of that most great and sacred synode of Cōstance: therefore there was a great tumult,* and all men cried out with one voyce, saying: that the Synod of Cōstance is holy and the authority thereof ought to be inuiolate. But he being still instant, with a stoute and hauty courage, affirmed that the matter coulde not be finished without the Ambassadors of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of fayth. And agayne that the Ambassadors themselues cannot consent, for so much as in the Colloqui holden at Mentz they had promised during the treaty of peace by them begunne, they woulde receiue & allow nothing that the Pope shoulde either doe agaynst the councell, or the councell agaynst the Pope: & that he doubted not, but that the th•ee first conclusions declared Eugenius an hereticke, in so much that it was euident, that Eugenius did vehemently resist the two first. And therefore for so much as the Session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for euery man before y^t Session to speak what he will, he desired and required them most instauntly, that there might be no Session as yet holden. Unto whom Arelatensis answered,* that it was not to be doubted but that the promoter of the fayth, by his office might call the prelates to determine a matter of fayth, & specially for so much as the deputation of the fayth and the whole councell, had so geuen him in commaundement.

As touching the prelates, he sayth, that albeit without all doubt bishops haue chiefe authority: yet notwithstanding it is accustomed in Councels, not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of y^e whole councell: and the vniuersall Church hath decreed certayne lawes in this Councell, which shoulde remayne inuiolate. Neither let the bishops thinke the presence of the inferiors greuous vnto them, when as oftētimes vnder a bare and torne coate, wisdomē lyeth hid, and vnder rich vestures & ornaments,* folly lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindfull of the saying of Domitius (whiche as S. Hierome reporteth) sayd: why should I esteeme thee as a prince, if thou doest not regard me as a Senator? For the byshops ought to esteeme Priestes as Priestes, if they will haue reuerence done vnto them as Bishops. Neither ought the Princes to be looked for,* to the deciding of this matter, for so much as the Church is not congregated in the name of the princes: but in the name of Christ, which hath not receiued hys

power from princes: but immediatly from God: to the defence wherof, he should perceiue the inferiors to be no lesse encouraged thē the bishops, for that he did wel vnderstand and know, that they would not onely spend theyr tēporall good, but also theyr liues for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather thē they will lose any part of their tēporalties, they wil sel the liberty of y^e church vnto y^e princes & make them iudges and Lords ouer the Councel. As touching the actes at Mentz, he doth not regard them, for so muche as (as it is sayde) they accompted without theyr hoste: for he sayth, he doth not vnderstand how this can be that they had decreed neither to obey the pope, nor the coūcell. The one or the other they must needs be obedient vnto: [Page 687](#) for there is no third tribunall, whereunto any obediēce is due in these matters which concern the fayth and the saluation of soules: And finally that the Church woulde not suffer that theyr affayres & matters of fayth shoulde be determined by the iudgement of princes: for the holy ghost is not subiect vnto princes, but princes vnto him: and vpon this conclusion he would not feare, neither the losse of hys goods, neither any death or martirdome. And wheras Panormitane doth now shew himselfe so great a defender of Eugenius,* he sayth that he doth not a litle maruell at it, for that in times past no man hath more published Eugenius his errors then he: by whose special labor & councel, both a decree monitory, & also y^e suspēcion was admitted & set out against Eugenius: And now, whereupō this sodein chaūge should come, he saith y^t he was vtterly ignorant, forsomuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the church continue in such a schisme. Wherefore he desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: for (sayth he) the conclusions which now shall be decreed, are most generall: neither is there any mention in them of the Pope, and moreouer the verity of fayth is contayned in them: agaynst the whiche if Eugenius did contend, it were more meete that the Pope should be corrected, then the veritye omitted. And thus he making an end all were warned to come the next day vnto the Session.* The protector also desired the sacred Councel, that none should be suffred to bring any weapon to the session. For so much as he was ready to obserue the safe conduct of the Emperour, and together with the Senate of y^e city, to prohibite all quarrellers for doing of miury.

When the 16. day of May was come, all they whom the Session contēted and pleased, assembled at the houre. The Ambassadors also of the princes were come together into the quier of the church, to attempt further what they could do, and sending the bishops of Lubeck and Concense, and the Deane of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themselues to be present at the Session, if that the depo'sition of Eugenius might yet be deferred foure monethes. Who, when they had receiued a gentle answere of Arelatēsis, and the other principals, returning agayn vnto y^e Embassadors, they would only haue the first conclusion decreed, and therupon sent agayne vnto Arelatensis: vnto whō answere was made, that the chief force did consist in y^e two other conclusions, and that the Coūcel would specially determine vpon them. If the Ambassadors would not be pre'sent, they should vnderstand that the concord was broken by them, which would not obserue y^t which they had offered. With which auswere they departed, & the Sessiō begā to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of the Aragons present at it,* neither out of Spayn: and our of Italy, onely the bishop of Grosserane, and the Abbot of Dona, whiche for theyr constancy & steadfast good will toward the vniuersall church, could not be chaūged from their purpose, but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Aragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spayne and Italy (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the Bishoppes did) and then the worthy stoutnes of the Aragones & Cathelanes appeared in the inferiour sort, which woulde not shrink away in the necessity of the church. Of the two other nations there were only

present 20. bishops. The resi|due lurked in theyr lodgings, professing the fayth in theyr hartes but not in theyr mouthes. Arelatensis considering afore what would come to passe, caused praiers to be made, & after their praiers made vnto almighty god, with teares and lamētation, that he would send them his holy spirit to ayde and assist them, they were greatlye comforted and encouraged. This congregatiō was famous, and albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet al the seats were filled with the Bishoppes, Proctors, Archdeacons, Presidents, Priors,* Priestes and Doctors of both lawes, which I iudged to be about the number of 400. or more: amongst whō there was no noyce, no chiding, no opprobrious wor|des or contētion, but one exhorted another to the profession of the fayth, and there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the church. The bishop of Massilia a noble mau read the decree, which was attentiuely harkened vnto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended: Te Deum laudamus was song with great ioy and gladnes,* & so the Session dissolued, whiche was in number the xxxiii. Session, and amongst all the rest the most quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the xxii. of May, the Princes Embassadors without all mens expectation,* came vnto the general congregatiō, by that theyr doing at the least, geuing their assent vnto the Session before passed. In celebrating wherof, if y^e fathers had erred, it had not bene lawfull for the Princes and Embassadors, to haue holden the councell with those fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and euen now to detest and abhorre that which they had done: as it was not hidden to the Embassadors of the Empyre and Fraūce. For the bishop of Lubecke sayde, that the cause of his absence was, for that he was appointed by the Emperors cōmaūdement, to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any businesse, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whome the peace should be intreated. Notwithstanding he did much commend the session before holdē, and beleued the decree therein promulgate to be most good and holy, and the verities therin contemed to be vndoubted, & sayd that he would sticke therunto both now, and euen vnto the death. But the bishop of Turnō a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and hys felowes, sayd that he heard how that they were euill spokē of amongst some, in that they had not honored theyr king in that most sacred Sessiō, whom it becommed specially to exalt and defend the fayth: which also for that cause aboue all other kings was named most christen: notwithstāding he sayd that they had a lawfull excuse, in that it was cōuenient that they, which were sēt to intreat peace, should doe nothing whereby theyr Ambassade shold be stopped or letted. Also there are two kindes of iniustice (sayd he) wherby either thinges are done that should not be done,* or thinges y^t should be done are not done. The first doth not alwayes bind, because it is conuenient to haue respect of time, place, and persō. But the last doth alwayes bind, wherin he sayd they were not culpable. But as touching the first poynt, they might seme vnto some to haue erred, because they wer not present at the Session: but yet in this poynt they had sufficient to answeere, forsomuch as if they had bene present at that Session, they should haue bene vnmeete to haue intreated any peace with Eugenius: And therefore albeit they were wanting at so holy a businesse, in that point they followed the example of Paule, which albeit he desired to be dissolued & to be which Christ, yet for the further profit and aduauncement of the church, it was deferred. So likewise he sayd, that they had now done, for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions (whiche they iudged to be most true and holy, & whereunto they would sticke euen vnto the death) but because they woulde not be vnmeet for the treaty of peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in theyr owne persō, they had fulfilled (sayd he) by theyr seruaunts and household, whom altogether they commaunded to reuerence that Session. I

would that I had bene then in the place of some great prelate: surely they should not haue gone vnpunished, whiche thought to haue playd bo peepe.* For what doth the declaration of the trueth hinder the treatye of peace? Or if it doe hurt, why is he not counted as great an offender, which cō|senteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth de|clare it? What shal we need any further testimony? for now the Embassadors of the Princes haue declared Eugenius to be an enemy vnto the truth. But to passe ouer these thinges, it is sufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward vnto the king of Fraunce, that he did vnderstand the Bishop of Tournon to be become his enemy.

After that the Bishop of Tournon had made an ende, Cardinall Arelatensis gaue thanks vnto God, which had so defended his Church,* & after great stormes and cloudes, had sent fayre & cleare weather: & cōmending y^e good wyll of the Emperour and the King of Fraunce toward the Church, he also prayd the bishop of Lubecke and Tournon, for that oftentimes in the Councell, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the coūcell. But specially he commēded this theyr present doings,* that they had opely confessed the trueth, and had not sequestred them selues from the fayth of the Church.

Afterward, he entring into the declaration of the matter, sayd that he was at Pysis and at Constance, and neuer saw a more quiet or deuout Session then this, affirming y^e this decree was most necessary, to repress the ambition of the Bishops of Rome, whiche exalting themselues aboue the vniuersall church, thought it lawfull for them to doe all things after their owne pleasure, and that no one man frō henceforth should transport the councell from one place to another, as Eugenius attēpted to doe, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, thē agayne to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that agayne to Florentia, and that hereafter the Bishops should withdraw theyr minds from the carefulnes of temporall goodes, whiche (as he himselfe did see) had no mind at all on spiritual matters: & therefore by how much this Sessiō was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the Ambassadors was most laudable & acceptable to all the fathers. These wordes thus spoken, he rose vp, and the congregation was dissolved.

[Page 688](#) Now after that Gabriel Condulmarius was deposed from the bishopricke of Rome, the principall fathers of the Councell being called together in the Chapter house of the great Church consulted together, whether it were expedēt that a new bishop should be created out of hād, or de•erred for a time.* Such as thought good that the election shoulde be done w^t speed, shewed how daungerous a thing it was for such a cōgregatiō to be without a head: also what a pestiferous sicknes was in al the City, which not onely consumed young men and children: but also men of middle age, and old men in like maner, and that this plague came first by straungers vnto the poore of the Citty, and so infected the rich, & now was come vnto the fathers of the councel: amplifiyng moreouer, and encreasing the terror therof, and making the thing worse then it was, as the maner is.* Neither doth the decree (sayd they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is prouided that there should be delay of lx. dayes after the sea is voyde: for that is to be vnderstand, when as the sea is voyd at such time as there is no Councell holden, neyther ought we to tary or make any delay, least the Princes being perswaded by Gabriel, should resist: Unto whom the deposition of Gabriell, and the election of some other, is to be certified all vnder one message. The other which thought good that there should be a delay sayde:* that the Councell did lacke no head, for so muche as Christ was the head thereof: neither did lacke a ruler, for so much as it was gouerned by the Presidents & other officers: and that no mention shoulde be

made of any pestilence in such case, seing that, vnto stout & strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or feare thē which contend for the Christian fayth. As for that pestilēce which doth now encrease and grow in the City, forasmuch as iudgement is now geuen, it is to be hoped that it wyll asswage, which was thought to haue come for the neglecting of iustice. Also that in so doubtful a matter, they ought rather to vse the princes agaynst theyr will, then to neglect them: and that it is not be feared, but that in this case, God will helpe those that are stoute & valiaunt. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there was as many mindes, as there was men) yet it seemed vnto them all, that it was most profitable to choose the Byshop by and by, but most honest to deferre it.

Hereupon Iohn Segouius,* a man of excellent learning sayd: Most reuerend fathers, I am diuersly drawne by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But as I way the matter more deeply in my minde, this is my opinion, that to come to a speedy election, it seemeth good, to speake after mans iudgement: but to delay it for two moneths, to speak after Gods iudgement, it seemeth much better. I do iudge that not onely the wordes,* but also the meaning of our decree, ought to be obserued. Wherefore, if ye will geue any credite vnto me, folow rather daungerous honesty, thē secure vtility: albeit that in deede, vtility cannot be discerned from honesty. This opinion of delay took place among the Fathers, and they determined to staye for the space of two monethes.

In the meane time, messegers were sent vnto the princes to declare the deposition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publish it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt ayre was nothing at all purged, but the mortality dayly encreasing, many died and were sicke. Whereupon a sodayne feare came vpon the fathers. Neyther were they sufficiently aduised what they might do: for they thought it not to be without daunger, either to depart or to tary. Notwithstanding they thought it good to tary, & also they caused other to tary: that since they had ouercome famine, and the assaults of theyr enemies on earth, they would not seeme to shrink for the persecutiō of any plague or sicknes. But forsomuch as the could not all be kept there, it was politickly prouided, that the councell should not seme to be dissolued for any mās departure. And for the more establishmēt of the matter, there were certaine thinges read before the fathers, which they called De stabilimento, whose authority continued long time after.* When as the Dogge dayes were come, and that all herbes withe red with heat, the pestilence dayly increased more & more, that it is incredible how many dyed. It was to horrible to see the corses hourelly caryed through the streetes, when on euery side there was weeping, wayling, & sighing. There was no house voyd of mourning: no myrth or laughter in no place, but matrones bewayling their husbandes, & the husbandes theyr wiues. Men & women went through the streetes, and durst not speake one vnto another. Some taryed at home, and other some that went abroad, had perfumes to smell vnto to preserue them agaynst the plague.

The common people dyed without nūber: and like as in the cold Autumne, the leaues of the trees do fall, euen so did the youth of the City consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should haue met a mā mery in the street now, and within x. houres heard that he had bene buried. The number of the dead corses was such also that they lacked place to bury them in: in so much that all the Churchyards were digged vp, and filled with dead corses, & great holes made in the Parish Churches, wheras a great number of corses being thrust in together, they couered them ouer with earth. For which cause the fathers were so afraid, that there appeared no

bloud in their faces: and specially the sodayne death of Lodouicus the Prothonotary did make all men afrayd,* who was a strong man & flourishing in age, & singularly learned in both lawes: whō the same enuious and raging sicknes tooke away in a few houres. By and by after dyed Lodouicus the Patriarke of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought vp alwayes in troubles and aduersity, neither coulede he see the day of the Popes election which he had long wished for: Notw^tstanding he tooke partly a consolation in that he had seene Gabriel deposed before his death. This mans death was greuous vnto all the fathers, for now they sayde that two pillars of the Councel were decayed & ouerthrowne, meaning the Prothonotary and the Patriarke, whereof the one by the law: and the other with his deedes defended the verity of the Councell.

About the same time also dyed the king of Arragones Amner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Ebron. The Abbot of Uergilia dyed at Spyre & Iohn the bishop of Lubecke, betwene Uienna and Buda.

These two last rehearsed, euen at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembraunce. Whē as they perceiued the houre of theyr death approche,* calling vnto them certayne graue and wise mē, sayd: All you that be here present, pray to God, that he will conuert such as knowledge Gabriell for high Bishoppe, for in that state they cannot be saued: and professing themselues that they would die in the fayth of the Councell of Basill, they departed in the Lord. In Boheme also departed the bishop of Constance,* which was Ambassador for the Councell. There was great feare and trembling throughout all the Coūcel. There had bene also in the Councell, by a long time, the Abbot of Dona, of the Dioces of Cumana,* a man poore vnto the worlde, but rich vnto God, whom neither flatterings nor threatnings could turne away from his good purpose & intent, chusing rather to begge in the truth of the fathers, then to abounde in riches with the false flattering aduersaries.

Wherupō, after the Lords were departed, which gaue him his liuing, he remayning still, was stricken with the plague and died. Likewise a great number of the registers and Doctors dyed: and such as fell into that disease, few or none escaped.* One amongst all the rest, Aeneas Syluius, byting strickē with this disease, by Gods helpe escaped. This man lay 3, dayes euen at the poynt of death, all men being in despayre of him: notwithstanding it pleased God to graūt him longer life. When as the pestilence was most feruent & hote, & that daily there dyed about one hundred, there was great intreatye made vnto Cardinall Arelatensis, that he would goe to some other towne or village neare hand: for these were the words of all his frendes & household: What do you most reuerend father? At the least void this wane of the Moone, and saue your selfe: who being safe, all we shall also be safe: if you dye, we all perish. If the plague oppresse you, vnto whom shall we flye? Who shall rule vs? or who shall be the guide of this most faythfull flocke? The infectiō hath already inuaded your chamber. Your Secretarye and chamberlayne are already dead, Consider the great daūger and saue both your selfe and vs. But neither the intreatye of his household,* neither y^t corse of those which were dead coulede moue him, willing rather to preserue the Councell with perill of his life, then to saue his life with perill of the coūcel: for he did know that if he should depart, few would haue taryed behinde, and that deceite shoulde haue beene wrought in his absence.

Wherefore, like as in wars the souldiors feare no daunger, when as they see theyr Captayne in the midst of theyr enemies: so the fathers of the Councell were ashamed to flye from this pestilence,

seing theyr President to remayne with them in the middest of all daungers. Which theyr doinges did vtterly subuert the opinion of thē, which babled abroad, that the fathers taryed in Basill to seeke their own profite and commodity, and not the verity of the fayth: for there is no commodity vpon the earth, which men would chaunge for theyr liues: for that all suche as doe serue the world, do prefer before all other thinges. But these our fathers shewing themselues an inuincible strōg wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the craftye deceites whiche Gabriell vsed, and ouercōming all difficultyes, which this [Page 689](#) most cruell and pestiferous yeare brought vpon thē, at the length all desire of li•e also being set a part, they haue ouercome all daungers, and haue not doubted with most constant mindes to de•end the verety of the councell, euen vnto this present.

The time of the decree being passed, after y^e deposition of Gabriel, it semed good vnto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another Bishop. And first of all they nominated those that together w^t the Cardinals, should elect y^e Pope. The first & principall of the Electours was the Cardinall Arelatēsis a man of inuincible constancy,* and incomparable wisdom: vnto whose vertue I may iustly ascribe whatsoeuer was done in the coūcell: for without him, the prelats had not perseuered in theyr purpose, neither could the shadow of any Prince haue so defended thē. This man came not to the election by any fauor or denomination, but by his owne proper right. The rest of the Electours were chosen out of y^e Italian, French, Germayne and Spanish nations, & their Sels & chambers appoynted to them by lots, without respect of dignity or person, & as the lots fel, so they were placed: Wherby it chaunced a Doctor to haue the highest place, and a Bishop the last. Wherein the distribution of lots was very straunge, or rather a Diuine dispensation, reprouing the deuises of man, wheras the prelates had determined to haue the best Chambers appoynted for themselues, & had earnestly contēded before to haue theyr chambers appoynted according to theyr dignity.

*The next day after, there was a Session holdē, where in Marcus a famous Diuine, made an Oration vnto the Electors, wherein he reckoned vp the manifolde crimes of Gabriel, whiche was deposed. He endeouored to perswade the Electours to choose such a man, which shoulde in all pointes, be contrary vnto Gabriel, & eschew all his vices: that as he, through his manifolde reproches, was hurtfull vnto al men: so he which should be chosē, should shew him self• acceptable vnto all men, through iustice: and as Gabriell was couetous and full of rapine, so this man should shew himselfe continent.

There was so great a nūber of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, neyther in the stretes, any man could passe. Th•re was presēt Iohn Earle of Diestein, who supplied the place of the Emperours Protector: also the Senatours of the Citty, with many other noble men, to beholde the same, whereof you shall heare (Christ willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in armour to prohibite that there should be no vproare made. The Electours receiued the Communion together, and afterwarde, they receiued theyr oth: & the Cardinall Arelatensis opening the book of Decrees, read the forme of the othe in y^e audiēce of all mē, & first of all, he taking the othe himself, began in this maner.

*Most reuerend Fathers, I promise, sweare and vowe before my Lord Iesus Christ (whose most blessed body I vnworthy sinner haue receiued: vnto whom in the last iudgement I shall geue accompt of all my deedes) that in this busines of election, wherunto now by the will of the

Coūcell we are sent: I wil seeke nothing els, then the onely saluation of the Christen people, and the profit of the vniuersall Church. This shall be my whole care and studye, that the authority of the generall Councils be not contemned: that the Catholick fayth be not impugned, and that the fathers which remayne in the coūcell, be not oppressed. This will I seek for: this shall be my care: vnto this, withall my whole force and power, will I bend my selfe: neyther will I respect any thing in this poynt, eyther for mine owne cause, or for any frend, but onely God and the profite of the Church. With this minde and intent, and with this hart will I take mine othe before the Councell.

His wordes were liuely and fearefull. After him al the other Electours in theyr order, did sweare and take theyr othe. Then they went with great solemnity vnto the Cōclauē: where they remayned 7. dayes.* The maner of their election was in this sort. Before the Cardinals seate was set a Deske, wherupon there stood a basen of siluer: into the which basen all the Electors did cast their scheduls: which the Cardinall receiuing, read one by one, and foure other of the Electors wrote as he read them.

The tenour of the Schedules was in this maner. I George Bishop of Uicene doe chuse such a man, or suche a man, for bishop of Rome, and peraduenture named one or two: euery one of the electors subscribed his name vnto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his owne, and say nay, if it were cōtrary to that which was spokē: wherby all deceit was vtterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to y^e papacy. Yet none had sufficiēt voices, for that day there were xvii. of diuers natiōs nominate. Notwithstanding Amedeus duke of Sauoy, a man of singuler vertue, surmoūted them all: for in the first scrutiny he had the voyce of xvi. Electors which iudged him worthy to gouerne the church.

After this, there was diligent inquisition had in the Councell, touching those whiche were named of the Electors, and as euery mans opinion serued him, he did either prayse or discommēd those which were nominate. Notw^lstanding there was suche reporte made of Amedeus, that in the next Scrutiny, which was holden in the Nonas of Nouember, the sayd Amedeus had 21. voices, and likewise in the 3. and 4. Scrutinye 21. voyces. And for so muche as there was none found in all the scrutiny to haue 2. partes all y^e other schedules were burnt. And forsomuch as there lacked but onely one voyce to the elecion of y^e high bishop, they fell vnto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct theyr mindes to an vnity and concorde,* worthely to elect and chuse him which shoulde take the charge ouer the flocke of God. Forsomuch as Amedeus seemed to be nearer vnto the papacy then all other, there was greate cōmunication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a lay man ought not so sodenly to be chosen: for it would seeme a straunge thing for a secular prince to be called vnto the Byshopricke of Rome: which would also to much derogate frō the ecclesiasticall state, as though there were none therein meete or worthy for that dignity. Other some sayde that a man which was maryed and had children, was vnmeete for such a charge. Other some agayn affirmed that the bishop of Rome ought to be a Doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

When these words were spoken, other some rising vp, spake farre otherwise, that albeit Amedeus was no Doctour, yet was he learned and wise, for so muche as all his whole youth, he had bestowed in learning & studye, & had sought not the name, but euen the grōūd of learning. Thē sayd another, if ye be desirous to be instructed further of this princes life, I pray you geue eare

vnto me, which doe know him throwly. Truely this man from his youth vpward, and euen from his yong and tender yeares, hath lyued more religiously then secularly, being alwaies obediēt to his parentes and maysters,* and being alwayes indued with the feare of God, neuer geuen to any vanity or wantōnes: neither hath there at any time bene any childe of the house of Sauoy, in whom hath appeared greater wytte to towardnes, whereby al those which did behold and know this man, iudged and foresaw some great matter in him: neyther were they deceiued. For if ye desire to know his rule & gouernance, what and how noble it hath bene: First know ye this, that this man hath raigned since his fathers decease, about xl. yeares.

During whose time, iustice, the Lady and Queene of all other vertues, hath alwayes florished: For he hearing his subiectes himselfe, woulde neuer suffer the poore to be oppressed, or the weake to be deceiued. He was the defender of the fatherles, the aduocate of the widowes, and protector of the poore. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poore and rich liued all vnder one lawe, neither was he burthenous vnto his subiectes, or importune against straungers throughout all his country: there was no greuous exactions of mony, throughout all his do|minion. He thought himselfe rich enough, if the inhabitāts of his dominions did aboūd and were rich, knowing that it was the poynt of a good shepheard to sheare his sheepe, and not to deuour them. In this also was his chiefe study and care, that his subiectes might liue in peace, and suche as bordered vpon him, might haue no occasion of grudge.

By which pollicies he did not onely quietly gouern his Fathers dominion, but also augmēted the same by others, which willingly submitted themselues vnto him. He neuer made warre vpon any, but resisting agaynst such as made war vpon him, he studied rather to make peace then to seeke any reuenge, desiring rather to ouercome his enemies with benefites, then with the sword. He married onely one wife, which was a noble virgin, & of singuler beauty and chastity. He would haue all his family to keep their handes and eyes chaste, and continent, and throughout all his house, honesty and integrity of maners was obserued. When as his wife had chaūged her life, and that he perceiued his Duchy to be established, & that it should come with out any controuersye vnto his posteritye, he declared hys mind which was alwayes religious, & dedicate vnto god, & shewed what will and affectiō he had long borne in hys hart. For he contēning the pompe and state of this world, calling vnto him his deare frends, departed and went into a wildernes: where as building a goodly Abbey he addicted himselfe wholly to the seruice of God,* and taking his crosse vpon him, folowed Christ. In which place he being cōuersant by the space of many yeares, shewed forth great [Page 690](#) examples of holynesse, wearing no other garmentes then such as could withstand the cold, neither vsing any kind of daynty fare,* but onely to resist hunger, watching and praing the most part of the night. Wherefore this Prince is not newly come vnto the Church (as some do suppose) but being a Christian borne of progenitours, a thousand yeares and more being Christians, doth now serue God in a monastery.

But as touching that, also which is spokē concerning a wife, I do not regarde it: when as not onely he whiche hath had a wife, but he also which hath a wife may be elect & chosen pope. For why do the doctors dispute, whether a married man chosen pope, ought to performe his duety toward his wife, but onely because a maryed man might bee receiued and chosen? For as you know well enough, there were many Popes that had wiues: and Peter also was not without a wife. But what doe we stande about this? for peraduenture it had bene better that more priestes had bene married, for many shoulde be saued through maryage, which are now dāned through theyr

single life. But hereof we will (sayth he) speak in another place. But this semeth vnto me, rather to be laughed at, then worthy any answer which is obiected touching his children, for what can children (specially being of great age) be impediment or let vnto the father, * being a Bishop? Doth not the Scripture say wo be vnto him that is a lone, for if he fall, he hath none to helpe him vp agayne? This can not be imputed vnto the prince, for he hath 2. sonnes, both comely and wise. Whereof the one is prince of Piemont, the other Earle of the Gebennians: these men will rule the country of Sauoy in the absence of theyr father, & will helpe him, if he haue need, for they haue already learned to rule ouer that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a Byshop of Rome, to haue valiant childrē, which may helpe theyr father agaynst tyrants? O most reuerent fathers, the more I do beholde the storme of this most peruerse and froward time, the more I do cōsider the vexations and troubles which the church is now tormented withall: I do so much the more thinke it profitable, yea & necessary, that this man should be chosen prince and head: I will thinke that God hath shewed his mercye vpon vs, if I may see him haue the gouernance ouer thys boate, I pray you cōsider into what straights we are now driuen, with what perils we are now vexed & tossed. What prince is it that is obedient vnto this coūcel? For some wil not confesse that the Coūcel is here, neither receiue our decrees: other some confesse it in theyr wordes, but by theyr deedes they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that by theyr wordes & letters, * they do not denye that the church is here, yet do they procure promotiōs at the hands of Ga|briell, which is deposed. This is the state of the Church: with these stormes and tempestes the shippe is shaken and brused: Wicked children haue risen vppe agaynst theyr mother, which being vnmindefull of theyr mothers labours & kindnesse towards them, despise her, contēn her & beat her. What is to be done here in? Shall we chuse a bare manne, which shall rather be derided of our princes, thē had in reuerēce? The dayes are not now, that mē haue respect onely vnto vertue: for (as the Satyricall Poet writeth) vertue is praysed, but is coldly folowed. A poore man speaketh & they aske what he is? Truly vertue is good: but for our purpose, it must be marked and looked vpon, whether it be in a riche man or a poore man, you must chuse a gouernour which may rule the ship not onely by Councell, but by power also. The winde is great: Wherefore except the Councell be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be broken, & all put in daunger. The memorial is yet fresh before our eyes: that the princes doe neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantnesse shewed in this poynt, in that you fearing no perill or daunger, eyther of life or goods, haue so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the moste mighty & high God looketh downe from on high, and will resist this theyr pride. I haue often consented vnto theyr opinion, * which sayde it was expedient, that y^e tēporall dominions should be deuied from y^e Ecclesiasticall state: for I did think that the priests should therby be made more apt to the diuine ministry, & the secu|lar princes more obedient to the clergy: but for so much as at this presēt, y^e churches of the world are possessed, partlye by Eugenius & partly by other tyraunts, we must prouide that we chuse such a one, which may recouer agayn the patrimony of the Church, and in whom the office of Christes vicar may not be contemned: through the shielde of whose power, theyr contumacy may be suppressed, which contēne both verity & reason. Whereunto no man seemeth vnto me more apt or meet, thē Amadeus duke of Sauoy, which holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italy, and the other in Fraunce: Unto whom all christen princes are allied eyther by consanguinity, or ioyned by amity and frēdship, & whose vertue, how famous it is, I haue already declared. Why doe we then stay or doubte to chuse him? then whome Gabriell feareth no mā more. Let him therfore perish with the sword where withall he hath stricken. There is no man which can more pac••y the church then he. Do you require deuotion in a bishop? there is no man more deuout thē he. Do you require prudēce?

Now ye vnderstād by his former life, what maner of man he is. If ye seek for iustice, his people are a witnes thereof: so y^t whether you seeke for vertue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye stay? Go to I pray you: chuse this man. He will augment the fayth: he will reforme maners, and preserue the authority of the Church. Haue ye not heard these troubles of the church to haue bene afore spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of al troubles? Haue ye not heard that about this time, there should a Pope be chosen, which should comfort Syō, and set all things in peace? And who I pray you should he be that could fulfill these thinges, except we chuse this man? Beleue me, these sayinges must be fulfilled, & I trust that God will moue your minds thereunto. Notwithstāding, do whatsoeuer ye shall think most good and holy.

When he had spoken these wordes, the greatest nūber of the electors semed to consent vnto him, and his wordes tooke such effect, that in the next Scrutiny, the matter was finished and ended, and when the Scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amedius,* the most deuout duke of Sauoy according to the decree of the Councell, was chosen Pope. Wherefore sodenly there was great ioy & gladnes amongst them, and all men highly commended theyr doings. Then the Cardinall Arelatensis, published vnto thē the name of the elect bishop. After this, al the prelates in their robes, pōtificalibus, and miters, and all the clergy of the city cōming vnto the conclaue, the electours being likewise adourned, they brought thē vnto y^e great church, where as after great thanks geuen vnto God, and the electiō agayne declared vnto the people, a Hymne being song for ioy, the cōgregation was dissolved.

This Amedeus aforesayd, was a man of reuerent age, of comely stature,* of graue and discreet behaiour: also before married. Who thus being elect for Pope about Nouem'ber, was called Felix the v. and was crowned in the city of Basill, in the month of Iuly. There were present at his coronation Lewes Duke of Sauoy: Philip Earle Gebenēs. Lewes Marques of Salutze: The Marques of Rotelen: Cōrade of Winsperghey,* Chāberlain of the Empire: The Earle of Dierstein: The Ambassadors of the Cittyes of Strasbrough, Berne, Friburge, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beside, to the vew of 50000. persons. At this coronatiou, the Popes two sonnes did serue and minister to theyr father. Lewes Cardinal of Hostia did set on his head, the pontificall Diademe, which was esteemed at 30. thousand crownes. It were long here to recite y^e whole order and solemnity of the procession, or the Popes ryding about the City. First proceeded the Pope vnder his Canaby of cloth of gold, hauing on his head a triple crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him wēt the Marques of Rotelen, and Conrade of Winsperge, leading his horse by the bridle.* The procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted foure full houres, being excessiue sumptuous: where the Popes two sonnes were butlers to his cup. The Marques of Salutze was the stuard, &c.

Of this Foelix,* thus writeth Uolaterane in his 3. booke, that he being desired of certayne of the Ambassadors, if he had any dogges or houndes to shew them:* he willed them the next day to repayre to him, and he woulde shew vnto them such as he had. When the Ambassadors, according to the appoyntment, were come, he sheweth vnto them, a great number of poore people and beggers sitting at his tables at meat, declaring, that those were hys hoūdes, which he euery day vsed to feede: hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of heauen to come.

And thus you haue heard the state of this Councell hetherto, which Councell endured a long season, the space of 17. yeares.*

About the 6. yeare of the Coucell, Sigismund the Emperour dyed, leauing but one daughter to succede hym in his kingdome: whom he had maryed to Albert 2. Duke of Austricke, which first succeeded in the kingdome of Hūgary and Boheme, being a sore aduersary to the Bohemians: and afterward was made Emperour. an. 1438. and raigned Emperour but 2. yeares, leauing his wyfe, which was Sigismūd his daughter, great w^t childe. After which Albert, succeeded his brother Frederick the third Duke of Austrich, in the Empire, &c. wherof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

[Page 691](#)In the meane time, Eugenius hearing of the death of Sigismund aboue recited, began to worke the dissolutiō of the Councel of Basill, and to transferre it to Ferraria, pretending the comming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding the Councel of Basill, through the disposition of God, and the worthines of Cardinall Arelatensis, constantly endured. Albeit in the said Councell were many stops and practises to impeach the same,* beside the sore plague of pestilence, which fell in the Citie, during the sayd Councell. In the which plague time, besides the death of many worthy men, Aeneas Syluius also himselfe, the writer & compiler of the whole history of that Councell sitting at the feete of the Bishops of Tournon,* and of Lubecke, lay sicke iij. dayes of the same sore, as is aboue touched, and neuer thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring mē to pray to God, that he would conuert the harts of them that stooke to Eugenius as Pope, against that Councell, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated againe for the better marking.* Arelatensis being most instantly exhorted by his frends to flie that danger, could by no meanes be intreated to auoide, fearing more the daunger of the Church, then of his owne life.

Beside these so great difficulties & obstacles to stay and hinder this Councell, strange it was to behold the mutation of mens minds. Of whom, such as first seemed to fauour y^e Councell, after did impugne it: and such as before were against it, in the end shewed themselues most frends vnto the same. The chiefe Cardinals & prelates, the more they had to loose, the sooner they slipt away, or els lurked in houses or townes neare, and absented thēselues for feare: so that the stay of the Councell most rested vpō their Proctours, Doctours,* Archdeacōs, Deanes, Prouostes, Priours, and such other of y^e inferiour sort. Wherof Aeneas Syluius in his 183. Epistle, maketh this relation, where one Caspar Schlicke the Emperours Chauncelour writeth to the Cardinal Iulian in these words: Those Cardinals (saith he) which so long time magnified so highly the authoritie of the Church, and of generall Councils, seeming, as though they were ready to spend their liues for y^e same, now at the sight of one letter from their king (wherin yet no death was threatned, but onely losse of their promotions) slipt away frō Basil.* And in y^e same Epistle deridingly commendeth thē, as wise men, that had rather lose their faith, then their flocke. Albeit (saith he) they departed not farre away, but remained about Solotorne, waiting for other commandements from their Prince. Wherby it may appeare, how they did shrink away not willingly, but the Burse (quoth he) bindeth faster, then true honour.

Quid enim saluis infamia nummis? That is to say: what matter maketh the name of a man, so his money be safe? Haec Aeneas.

Moreouer in one of the Sessions of the said Councell, the worthy Cardinall Arelatensis is sayde thus to haue reported, that Christ was sold for xxx. pence: but I (saide he) was solde much more deare. For Gabriell, otherwise called Eugenius, Pope, offered 60. thousand crownes, who so would take me,* & present me vnto him. And they that tooke the said Cardinall, afterward excused their fact by another coulour, pretending the cause, for that the Cardinals brother, what time the Armiakes wasted Alsatia, had wrought great dammage to the inhabitants there, and therfore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay handes vpon a Frenchman, wheresoeuer they might take him. At length by the Bishop of Strasbrough, Rupert,* and the said City, the matter was taken vp, and he rescued. Wherein, no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the Pope his aduersary. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrsper.

And thus farre hauing proceeded in the matters of this foresayd Councell, vntill the election of Amadeus, called Pope Foelix v. before we prosecute the rest, that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermixt withall the residue pertaining to the matters concluded betweene this Councell, and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of the Ambassade, their Articles, disputations, and answeres, which they had first in the said Councell, then in their own cuntry with the Councels Ambassadors: also with their petitions and answeres vnto the same.

*Touching the story of the Bohemians, how they being sent for, came vp to the Councell of Basill, & how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath bin expressed, pag. 675. Now, as leisure serueth frō other matters, to returne againe vnto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so farre as both breuitie may be obserued, and yet the reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthy in the same to be noted and knowne.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) hauing alwaies the vpper hād, albeit they were accused by y^e new Bishop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they should be called vnto Basill, where as the Councell was appointed. Wherupon Cardinall Iulian sent thether before, Iohn Pullumair Doctour of y^e law, & Iohn de Ragulio, a Diuine. Who cōming vnto Basill in the moneth of August, anno. 1431. called by their letters vnto y^e Councell, Iohn, Abbot of Mulbrun, and Iohn Belhusius, Monke of the same cloister: which men for the dexteritie of their wit, and experience and knowledge of countreis, were very meete and necessary for Ambassades.

Within a few daies after, Iulianus also came thether, as he had promised, and immediatly sent out Iohn Belhusius, and Hammon Offenbourg, a Senatour of Basill, first vnto the Emperour Sigismund being at Felokirch, and afterward vnto Friderike Duke of Austrich, for the appealing of the wars betweene him & Phillip, Duke of Burgony. This done, to the intent that peace being had, not onely the Ecclesiasticall Prelates, but also the Marchants might haue safe accesse vnto Basill, and so bring in all things necessary for sustentation.

They going on this Ambassade,* receiued letters from the Sinode to be deliuered vnto y^e Emperour Sigismūd, whereby the Bohemians and Morauians, were called vnto the Councell. These letters he by and by, caused to be carried vnto Boheme. But for so much as he hymselfe went into Italy, to receiue the Imperiall Crowne of the Bishop, he left William Duke of Bauaria, as his Deputy, to be protectour vnto y^t Councell. Furthermore, when as y^e Synode vnderstood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shamefull flighte, they sent

Iohn Niderius a Diuine, & Iohn Belhusius, to comfort the people which ioined vpon Boheme, and earnestly to moue the Morauians & Bohemians, which were before called, to come vnto the Councell.

They departing from Basill about the end of October, tooke their iourney toward Monacum, a towne of Bauaria: Where, after they had saluted Williā Duke of Bauaria and his brother Ernestus, and Albert the sonne of Ernestus, and had declared y^e Cōmission of their Ambassade, and had shewed vnto Duke Williā, how that as soone as he should come vnto Basill, the protection of the Councel should be committed vnto him by the Emperour: they exhorted Fridericke, Marques of Brandenburg, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, the Senate of Noremberg, and other Princes and Lords, partly by letters from y^e Councell, and partly by wordes of mouth, that they should by no meanes, take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtfull vnto the Church, and said they should haue ayd out of hand. They desired them also in the name of the Councell, that if the Bohemians would sende their Ambassadors vnto Basill, they would guide them, euery man through his countrey in safety: which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men reioiced, that the Bohemians was sent for.

After this, when as they counselled with the Senate of Noremberg, touching the sending of the Councels letters vnto Boheme, it seemed best, first of al to inquire of y^e rulers of Egra, whether y^e Bohemiās had made any answer to the former letters of y^e coucell which they had sent. The rulers of Egra being aduertised by these letters, sent him, which caried y^e Councels letters into Boheme, vnto Noremberg. He reported how reuerētly the Councel of y^e greater city of Prage receiued y^r letters, and how he was rewarded.

Wherupon they conceiued great hope of the good successe of the Ambassade. Therefore the Ambassadors vsing the Councel of y^e Senate of Noremberg,* and diuers others, sent the messenger backe agayne vnto Egra, wyth theyr owne priuate letters, and with letters of the Councell: for there was no better meane to send the letters vnto Boheme. Much trauaile was taken by them of Egra, Friderike Marques of Brandenburg, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, in this matter, for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongst all Christians. The copy of those letters, whereby the Synode did call the Bohemians vnto the Councell, and other letters exhortatorie of the Ambassadors, and the Bohemians answere vnto the same: for breuities cause we haue heere pretermitted. The Bohemians not in all points trusting vnto the Ambassadors, required by their letters, that the Councels Ambassadors with the other Princes, would come vnto Egra, whereas their Ambassadors shoulde also be present, to intreate vpon the safe conduct and other matters.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the Sondag [Page 692](#) after Easter, which was y^e xxvij. day of Aprill. Then came the Ambassadors of the Councell vnto Egra,* with y^e noble Princes, Friderike Marques of Brandenburg, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, with other nobles, almost to the number of 252. horsse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsana, and the Lord Swambergius had not sent their safe conduct. When they vnderstood this by their letters, they brought to passe that the Ambassadors of the Bohemiās, Nicolaus Hunpeltzius, secretary of the greater Citie of Prage, and Mathew Clumpezane, President of Piesta, should be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Elenbogenses, and so they came vnto Egra with xix. horse, the viij. day of May. The next day after, Henry Tocgye, receaued y^e

Bohemian Ambassadors before y^e Marques, with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Gospell for his Theame, Pax vobis. i. Peace be with you. Then they propounded what great iniuries they had hether to receiued at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either partie, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was some hope that they should be heard.

After this, they conferred as touching the safeconduict. The Bohemiās required pledges,* and that not of y^e common sort, but Princes & nobles. Which thing, for so much as it did not content the Ambassadors, and that the matter should so be put of, the common people of Egra began to cry out that it was long of the Ecclesiasticall Princes, that a concord was not made with y^e Bohemians. Then Friderike Marques of Brandēberge,* and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, bound themselues of their owne good will. The like also did William Duke of Bauaria, at the request of the Councell. Likewise also did the Councell and the Emperour Sigismūd. Furthermore promise was made, that all the Princes and Cities, shoulde do the like, thorough whose dominion they should come,* and the Citie of Basill also. The copie of which safeconduict was afterward sent vnto Prage. This also was required by the Bohemians, that if it were possible, the Emperour should be present at the Councell.

This conuention at Egra continued xxj. daies. But the Bohemiās, albeit they heard the Coūcels Ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully giue credit vnto them. Whereupon they chose out two Ambassadors, Nicholas Humgolizius,* & Iohn Zaczenses, which should go to Basill, & diligently enquire out all thinges. These men, Conrade Bishop of Ratisbone, and Conrade Seglauer Deane of Esteine, brought vnto Cattelspurg, where as the Marques dwelt, being sente out by the Synode a little before, to enquire whether the Bohemian Ambassadors woulde come or not. When they were come vnto Biberacke, one being ouercurious, enquired of one of the Bohemian Ambassadors, of what Countrey he was. He aunswered that he was a Zaczen. There (said he) are most execrable heretickes and noughty men, &c. Who for that slaundersous word, as a breaker of y^e truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there shoulde haue suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian Ambassadors, and the Abbot of Ebera, had not intreated for him. When they came vnto Basill,* they were honourably receiued wyth wine and fish. They tarried there fiue daies and a halfe. The tenth day of October, they came vnto the Synode, which was assembled at the Friers Augustines.

These Ambassadors, when as they were returned home with the Chartour of y^e Synode, and declared those things which they had seene, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or disceipt: there were Ambassadors chosen to be sent vnto the Councell, both for the kingdome of Boheme, and the Marquesdome of Morauia, which comming vnto Tusca, were brought from thence,* with xxxij. horse, & diuers noble men, vnto Chambia. From thēce they came to Swenkendorph, and so vnto Noremburg, where as beside their entertainment of wine & fish, xxij. horsemen accompanied thē vnto Ulmes: from thence, they of Ulmes brought thē vnto Biberacke, and Sulgotia: there Iames Tunches a Knight receiuing them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the hands of the Duke of Bauaria brought thē vnto Schafhuse. There they taking ship the fourth day of Ianuary, came vnto Basill the ix. day of the same moneth. What were the names of these Ambassadors of the Bohemians, which were brought vp with 300. horse, and how they were receiued at Basill, mention is made before, pag. 675. When as they came vnto the Synode, Cardinall Iulian made an Oration, that whatsoever was in any place

in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the Councell, for somuch as all men are bounde to submit themselues to the iudgement of y^e holy Church, which the Generall Councell doth represent. Which Oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

Then Rochezanus made an Oration, requiring to haue a day appointed whē they should be heard,* which was appointed the xvj. day of the same moneth. Upō which day, Iohn Rochezanus hauing made his preface, begā to propound y^e first Article touching the Communion to be ministred vnder both kindes, and disputed vpon the same by the space of three daies alwaies before noone. Then Uenceslaus the Thaborite disputed vpō the second article, touching the correctiō and punishing of sin, by the space of ij. daies. After whome Uldaricus priest of y^e Orphanes propounded & disputed vpon the third Article by y^e space of ij. dayes, touching the free preaching of the worde of God.

Last of all, Peter Paine, an English man, disputed iij daies vpō y^e fourth article touching y^e ciuill dominion of y^e Clergy, and afterward gaue copies of their disputations in writing vnto y^e Councell, with hartie thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inuey against the Councell, Commending Iohn Hus & Iohn Wickliffe for their doctrine. Whereupon Iohn de Ragusio a Diuine, rising vp, desired that he might haue leaue to aunswere in his owne name, to the first article of the Bohemians. The Councell consented thereunto: so that by the space of viij. daies in the fore noone, he disputed therupō. But before he began to answer, Iohn the abbot of Sistertia made an oration vnto y^e Bohemians, that they should submit themselues to the determination of the holy church, which this councell doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians, Iohn Ragusinus a diuine, after Scholers fashion: in his answere spake often of heresies and of heretickes. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising vp with an angry stomacke complained openly to the councel of this iniury. This our countreymā (saith he) doth vs great iniury, calling vs oftētimes heretickes. Whereunto Ragusinus answered: for somuch as I am your coūtrymā both by tounge and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you againe vnto y^e Church.* He was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that y^e Dalmatians going into Boheme, tooke their name by their coūtrei which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence, y^e Bohemians woulde depart from Basill, and could scarsly be appeased. Certaine of the Bohemians would not heare Ragusinus finish his disputation.

After him,* a famous Diuine, one Egidius Carlerius, Deane of y^e Church of Cambrey, answered vnto the second article, by the space of iiij. dayes. To the third article answered one Henricus, surnamed Frigidum ferrū iij. daies together. Last of all, one Iohannes Polomarius, maister of the requests of the pallace, aunswere vnto the fourth article likewise by the space of three daies, so that the long time which they vsed in disputations, seemed tedious vnto y^e Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answere, the Bohemians still defended their articles, & specially the first, insomuch as I. Rochezanus did strōgly impugne Ragusinus answer by the space of vi. daies. But forsomuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceiued how that by this meanes any concord could be made: the prince William Duke of Bauaria, Protector of the Councell, attempted another remedie, that all disputations being set apart, the matter should be friendly debated.

There were certain appointed on either part to intreate vpō the concord:* who comming together the eleuenth day of March, those which were appointed for the Councell, were demanded to say

their mindes. It seemeth good, said they, if these men would be vnited vnto vs, & be made one body with vs, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all maner of diuersities of opinions and sects, what is to be beleueed or done in them.

The Bohemians, when they had a while paused, sayd: this way seemed not apt enough, except first of all, the four articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with vs, for otherwise it woulde be but a friuolous matter, if they now being vnited againe, disagree in the deciding of the articles. Here aunswere was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly vnited, and the ayde of the holy Ghost called for, they should not erre in the deciding of the matter, for somuch as euery Christian ought to beleuee that determination: which if they woulde do, it would breede a most firme & strong concord and amity on either part. But this answer satisfied them not, in so much the other three rose vp, and disputed against the answers which were geuen. At that time Cardinall Iulian President of the Councell, made this oration vnto the Bohemian Ambassadors.

This sacred Synode, sayth he, hath now by the space of ten daies, patiently heard y^e propositions of your foure [Page 693](#) articles,* and afterward he annexed: you haue propounded saith he, four articles, but we vnderstand that beside these foure, you haue many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from vs. Wherefore it is necessary, if that a perfect vnity and fraternity shall follow betweene vs, that al these things be declared in the councell, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghost, which is the author of peace and truth, due prouision may be made therein. For wee haue not gathered these things of light coniectures, but haue heard them of credible persons, and partly heere are some present, which haue seene them with their owne eies in Boheme, and partly we do gather it by our owne report: for maister Nicholas, which was the second that did propound,* amongst other things alledged, that Iohn Wickliffe was an Euangelicall Doctor. If ye beleuee him to be a true Doctor, it followeth that you must repute his works as authentike: If ye do not so thinke, it is reason that it should be opened vnto vs.

Wherefore we desire you, that you will certifie vs vpon these and certaine other pointes, what you do beleue, or what credite you do giue vnto them. But we do not require that you should now declare your reasons, but it shall satisfie vs, if you will answer vnto euery article by this word. Credimus aut non credimus: that is, we beleuee or beleuee not. Which if you will do (as we trust you will) then we shall manifestly perceiue that you desire that wee should conceiue a good estimation of you. If there be any thing, whereof you would be certified by vs, aske it boldly, and we will giue you an answer out of hand: For we are ready according to the doctrine of S. Peter, to render accompt vnto euery man which shall require it,* touching the faith which we hold. Heereunto the Bohemian Ambassadors answered in few words, that they came only to propound those four articles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kingdome of Boheme, and speake no more. Whereupon, William the noble protectour of the councell, calling vnto him four men on either part, intreated touching the pacifieng of the matter,* by whose aduice, the Coūcell decreed to send a famous Ambassade, with y^e Bohemian Ambassadors vnto Prage, wheras the people should assemble vpō Sondag. But they would not receiue these conditions of peace, which were offred, but made hast to depart. Whereupon, the foureteene day of Aprill, there was ten chosen out of the councell, to go with the Bohemian Ambassadors vnto Prage.

It were to long here to declare what honour was done vnto these Ambassadors, all the way in theyr iourney, and specially when they came vnto Boheme by the Citizens of Prage, when as a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prage at the day appointed, both of the Cleargy, Nobility and common people.

After the comming of those Ambassadors, much contention begā to rise betwene the parties.* First begā Ioh. Rochezanus: who speaking in the publike person of the commutaltie, laboured to commend and prefer the iiij. verities of the Bohemians before propounded: charging also the Prelates and Priests for their slanderous obtrextations, and vnderesued contumelies, wherwith they did infame y^e noble kingdome of Boheme, complaining also that they would not receiue those christian verities, left & allowed by their king Wenceslaus, now departed. Wherefore he required thē in the behalfe of y^e whole nation,* that they would leaue off hereafter to oppresse thē in such sort, that they would restore to thē againe their Iosephes vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enimies had spoyled them, &c.

To this Polomar maketh aunswere againe, wyth a long and curious oration,* exhorting them to peace and vnitie of the Church, which if they woulde embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) shoulde be soone remoued, promising also that this their vesture of honor and fame, should be amply restored again: and afterward, if there were any doubtfull matters, they might & shoulde be the better discussed.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, vnlesse they might first haue a declaration of their four articles,* which if they might obtaine, they promised then to embrace peace and concord, Which peace (said they) began first to be broken by themselues, in that the Councell of Constance by their vniust condemnation, burned Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, and also by their cruel Buls and censures, raised vp first excommunication, then warre against the whole kingdome of Boheme.

Heereunto Polomar reclaiming againe, began to aduance and magnifie the honor and dignity of general coūcels. To conclude, as much as the sayde Polomar did extoll y^e authoritie of the Councels, so much did the answere of the Bohemians extenuate the same: saying that the latter Councels whiche are not expressed in the law of God, haue erred,* & might erre, not onely in faith, but also in ma'ners. For that which hath chaunced to the greene wood, may also chaūce vnto the dry. But of other, the most strōg pillers of the militant Church,* the Apostles I meane: seeme all to haue erred, and the Catholicke faith to haue remained three dayes sound & incorrupt onely in the virgin Mary. No Christian man therefore ought to be compelled to stād to the determination of the Pope or the Coū|cell, except it be in that, whiche is plainly expressed in the law of God. For it is euident, that all the generall Councels whiche haue bene of long tyme, haue reformed very few thinges as touching the faith, peace, and maners of the Church: but haue alwayes both in their life and decrees, notoriously swarued, and haue not established them'selues vpon the foundatiō, which is Christ. Wherefore the sayd Bohemians protested that they would not simply & plainly (God being their good Lord) yeld themselues to their doctrine, nor to such rash and hasty decrees: least thorough that their hasty and vncircumspect submission, they should binde their faith and life, cōtrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Iesus. In summe, in no case they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their foure Articles, which they counted for Euangelicall verities, were first accepted and approued. Which being

obtained (sayd they) if they would condescend with them in the veritie of the Gospell, so would they ioyne together, & be made one with them in the Lord.* &c. Ex Cochleo Hist. Lib. 7.

Whē the Ambassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to passe,* they required to haue those Articles deliuered vnto them in a certaine forme, whiche they sent vnto the Councell by three Bohemian Ambassadors.

Afterward the Councell sent a declaration into Boheme, to be published vnto the people, in the commō assemblies of the kingdome, by the Ambassadors, which were commaunded to report vnto the Bohemians, in the name of the Councell, that if they would receiue the declaration of those three Articles, and the vnitie of the Church, there should be a meane founde whereby the matter touching the fourth Article, of the Communiō vnder both kindes, should be passed with peace and quietnesse.

They propounded in Prage, in an open assembly of the Nobles and commons, the declarations of the three Articles in forme folowing.

For somuch as touching the doctrine of the veritie,* we ought so to proceede soberly & warely, that the truth may be declared, with wordes being so orderly conceiued & vttered, that there be no offence geuē to any mā, whereby he should fall or take occasion of errour, & (to vse the wordes of Isidore) that nothing by obscuritie bee left doubtfull: whereas you haue propounded touching the inhibition & correction of sinnes,* in these wordes: all mortall sinnes, & specially open offences, ought to be rooted out, punished, & inhibited, by them whose dutie it is so to do, reasonably & according to the law of God: here is to be marked and vnderstand, that this word (whose duty it is) is too generall, and may be an offence: & according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stombling stocke before the blinde, and the diches are to be closed vp, that our neighbours Oxe do not fall therein: all occasion of offence is to be takē away.* Therefore we say that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, it is thus vniuersally to be holden: that all mortall sinnes, specially publicke offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reasonably as may be, according to the law of God, & the institutiōs of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders, doth not pertainē vnto any priuate person, but onely vnto them which haue iurisdiction of the law ouer them, the distinction of law & iustice, being orderly obserued.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which Article you haue alledged in this forme,* that the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord: least by this word (freely) occasion may be taken of disordred libertie, which (as you haue often said ye do not meane) the circumstance therof is to be vnderstand and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy Fathers) it is thus vniuersally to be beleued:* that the word of God ought freely, but not euery where, but faithfully & orderly, to be preached by the Priests and Leuites of the Lord, beyng allowed and sent by their superiours, vnto whom that office apperteineth, the authoritie of the Byshop alwayes reserued, who is the prouider of all thynges accordyng [Page 694](#) to the institution of the holy fathers.

*As concerning the last Article expressed vnder these words: it is not lawfull for the Christian Cleargy, in the time of y^e law of grace, to haue dominion ouer temporall goods: we remēber that

in the solemne disputation holden in y^e sacred Councell, he which was appointed by y^t Coūcell to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sorte.

First, that such of the Cleargy as were not religious, and had not bound thēselues thereunto by a vow,* might lawfully haue and possesse any temporall goods, as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left vnto him, or any other goodes iustly gotten by meanes of any gift or other lawfull contract, or else some lawfull arte.

*The second conclusion: The church may lawfully haue and possesse temporall goods, moueable and vnmoueable, houses, landes, townes, and villages, castles and Cities, and in thē haue a priuate and ciuill dominion. Your Ambassadors which disputed against him, graunted those cōclusions, saieng that they did not impugne the sence of his Article, being well vnderstand, for somuch as he vnderstandeth his Article, of ciuill dominion formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be vnderstand, that those wordes, to haue secular dominion expressed in the foresaid Article, seemeth to be referred to some speciall maner or kind of dominiō. But for somuch as the doctrine of the Church is not to be intreated vpon by any ambiguous or doubtfull words, but fully and plainely: therefore we haue thought good more plainly to expresse that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, is vniuersally to be beleueed: that is to say, the two aforesayde conclusions to be true. And also, that the Cleargy ought faithfully to distribute the goodes of the Church, whose administratours they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers: and that the vsurpation of the administration of the Church goodes, done by any other then by them, vnto whome the administration is Canonically committed, can not be without guilt of sacrilege.

Thus the sacred Councell (sayd they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Gospell, all ambiguitie set apart, to expounde the true sence of the three foresayd Articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remaine any doubt: according to the information which we haue receiued in the sacred Councell, we are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall veritie) to declare the truth vnto you: If ye do receiue and embrace the declaration of the sayd three Articles, which is grounded vpon the veritie of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually haue a pure, simple, and perfect vnitie, touching the libertie of the communion vnder both kindes, which you desire and require, which also you can not lawfully haue, without the licence of holy Church: we haue authoritie from the generall Councell, by certaine meanes, to intreate and conclude with you, trusting that you will shew your selues as you will continue.

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation,* they said that they would giue no answeere vnto the premisses, before they vnderstoode what should be offered them as touching the Communion. Wherefore, it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in forme following.

In the name of God and our sauour Iesus Christ, vpon the Sacrament of whose most blessed last supper we shall intreate,* that he which hath instituted this most blessed Sacrament of vnitie & peace, will vouchsafe to worke this effect in vs, to make vs that we may be one in the saide Lord Iesu our head, and that he will subuert all the subtilties of the deuill, which through his enuious craftines, hath made the Sacrament of peace and vnitie, an occasion of warre and discorde, that whilst Christians do contend touching the maner of communicating, they bee not deprived of

the fruite of the communion. Whereupon S. Augustin in his Sermon vpon infants, in the decrees De cons. distinct. 2. Quia passus, saith thus: So the Lord Iesu Christ certified vs and willed,* that we shoulde appertaine vnto him, and consecrated the mistery of our peace and vnitie vpon the table. He that receiue the mistery of vnity, and doth not keepe the bond of peace, doth not receiue a mistery for himselfe, but a testimonie against himselfe. This we thought good aboute all things to be premised, that the generall custome of the Church, which your fathers and you also in times past haue obserued, hath a long time had and still vseth, that they which do not consecrate, communicate only vnder the kind of bread. Which custome beeing lawfully brought in by the Church and holy fathers,* and now a long time obserued, it is not lawfull to reiect, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the Church. Therefore to change the custome of the Church, and to take in hand to communicate vnto the people vnder both kindes, without the authority of holy Church, is altogether vnlawfull. For holy Church vpon reasonable occasions, may graunt libertie to communicate vnto the people vnder both kindes. And euery communion which, beeing attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, should be vnlawfull when it is done with the authority of holy Church, shall be lawfull, if other things let it not: because (as the Apostle saith) he that eateth and drinketh vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation.

Whereupon Sainct Isidore in the second distinct. vpon the consecration,* writeth thus: They which liue wickedly and cease not dayly to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learne that it doth nothing at all profite them to the cleansing of their sins. And S. Augustine in the same distinctiō saith, holy things may hurt the euil, for vnto the good they are saluation, but vnto the euill damnation. There are besides this, many other authorities.* The Apostle Iudas was amongst thē which did first communicate, but for somuch as he receiued vnworthely, hauing that sinne of treason in his hart, it did profit him nothing, but the deuill by and by exercised more the power and authority ouer him. This is declared by a great reason:* which of you is it, that if you shoulde receiue your Lorde into your house, woulde not with all diligence and care, study to make cleane and adorne his house, that he may receiue the Lord honestly? much more he that shall receiue his Lorde and Sauour into the house of his soule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his soule, to cleanse it by the Sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of hart, humbly, purely, and truely confessing his sinnes, and receiuing due satisfaction and penance, to adorne and decke the same with the purple or rich aray of deuotion, that the hart being so purged and adorned with feruent desire, he may come to that most holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world vnto him.

Wherefore, the most sacred Synode admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all Priests shoulde diligently exhort & admonish the people, and that they should vse all their care & indeuor, that no man come to that most blessed sacramēt, except he be duely prepared with great reuerence & deuotion, least that which is receiued for the saluation of the soule, redounde to the condemnation, through the vnworthy receiuing thereof.

Moreouer, Doctours do say, that the custome of communicating vnto the people, only vnder y^e kinde of bread, was reasonably introduced by y^e Church & holy fathers, for reasonable causes, specially for y^e auoiding of ij. perils: of error and vnreuerēce. Of error, as to think y^t the one part of Christes body were in y^e bread,* & the other parte in the cup, which were a great error. Of vnreuerence, for so much as many things may happen, as wel on the part of y^e minister, as on

the part of the receiuer: As it is said that it happened whē as a certaine Priest, carieng the Sacrament of the cup vnto a sicke man, whē he should haue ministred, he found nothing in the cup, beeing all spilt by the way, with many other such like chaunces. We haue heard moreouer that it hath often hapned, that the Sacrament consecrate in the cup, hath not bin sufficiēt for the number of communicants,* whereby a new consecration must bee made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and also y^t oftentimes they do minister wine vncōsecrate for consecrate wine, which is a great perill. By this meanes then it shall be brought to passe, that if you will effectually receiue the vnity & peace of the Church, in all other things besides the vse of the Communion vnder both kindes, cōforming your selues to the faith & order of the vniuersall Church, you y^t haue that vse and custome, shall cōmunicate stil by the authority of the Church vnder both kindes,* and this Article shall be discussed fully in the sacred Councell, where you shall see what, as touchyng this Article, is to be holden as an vniuersall veritie, and is to be done for the profite and saluation of the Christian people, & all things being thus thoroughly handled, then if you perseuere in your desire, & that your Ambassadors do require it, the sacred Councell will grant licence in the Lorde,* vnto your ministers, to cōmunicate vnto y^e people vnder both kindes: that is to say, to such as be of lawfull yeares & discretiō, and shall reuerently & deuoutly require the same, this alwaies obserued, that the ministers shall say vnto those which shall communicate, that they ought firmly to beleue not the flesh only to be contained vnder the forme of bread, and the bloud only vnder the wine, but vnder each kinde to be whole and perfect Christ.

Thus hetherto we haue declared the decree of y^e Councell. [Page 695](#) As touching the other doubts & questiōs which were afterward moued by the maisters & Prelates of Boheme,* the Ambassadors of the Councell answered thus.

First they sayd, that it was not the meaning of the sacred Councell, to suffer y^e Communion vnder both kindes by toleration, or as the libell of diuorsemēt was permitted to the Iewes: for so much as the Councell intending euen to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity, vnto the Bohemians and Morauians, doth not meane to suffer it with such kinde of sufferance, which shoulde not exclude sinne, but so to grant it, that by the authoritie of our Lord Iesus Christ, and of his true spouse the Church, it may be lawfull, profitable & healthfull vnto those which worthely receiue the same.* Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians of the punishing of offences, that it is in Scriptures, how that God oftētimes stirreth vp the harts of priuate persons, to the correction & punishing of sinnes, and so it should seeme lawfull vnto the inferiours to correct and punish their superiours: they answered, alledging the text of S. Augustin in the xxiiij. decree: He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, & hath cause of death against them,* is the minister of God: but he which without any publike administratiō or office murdereth or maimeth any wicked theefe, sacrilegious, adulterous or periured person, or any other offender, shall be iudged as an homicide, and so much y^e more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse & vsurpe the power not graunted him of God: and truly, this City woulde take it much more greuously, if any priuate man should attempt to punish an offēder, & set vp a gallows in y^e streate, and there hang him, then if one man should kill another in brawle or quarell. They alledged also other textes of S. Ambrose & S. Hierome agreeable to y^e same. They said that no mā doubteth y^t the law of God is duly & holily appointed,* and therein is simply writtē, thou shalt not steale. And notw^tstanding by the commandement of God the childrē of Israell caried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of thē. Also in y^e same

law it is plainely writtē, thou shalt do no murther. Whereupon S. Austen in his first booke De Ciuitate Dei, proueth that it is not lawful for any mā to kill himselfe: and whē as he maketh example of Sampson, he answereth with these words: when as God commandeth & doth affirme himselfe to command wythout any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sinne? or who will accuse the obedience to God?

Here in this proposition, you haue the words of S. Austen for an answer. But let euery man well foresee, if God do commaund, or that he do intimate the commandemēt without any circumstances, and let him proue the spirites whether they be of God. But in suche cases there are no lawes to be geuen,* neither are they much to be talked of, for therby there should easely occasiō rise to make seditiō, & for y^e inferiours to rise against the superiours. For whē any man had stollen any thing, or killed any mā: he would say that he was moued thereunto by the spirite of God: but without manifest prooffe therof, he should be punished.

*Againe they sayd that there were certaine cases wherein the Laity had power ouer the Clergy. It was answered, that there were certaine cases in the law, wherein the Laity hath power ouer the Cleargy, and oftentimes ouer Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals would not enter y^t Cōclaue to elect a new Pope, the king, prince, or other Lord or secular power may compel them: but in these cases he is now no priuate person, but vseth his iurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be vnderstand of all other cases expressed in the law.

They said further, that no common law hath any right or iustice, except Gods law do allow the same.

*It was answered that no common law hath right or iustice, if it be against the law of God, for because y^e law of God is the rule of all other lawes. But there is great cūning and knowledge in applieng the rule to that which is made by the rule, for oftentimes, it seemeth that there is diuersitie in the thing made by the rule, when there is none in deede: but the default is in the applieng, because the rule is not duely applied to the thing made by it.

*As touching the Article of preaching the word of God, it was moued that oftentimes some Prelates, thorough their owne enuie and malice, without any reasonable cause, do inhibite a good and meete Preacher that preacheth Catholickely and well.

*Aunswer was made, how that they vnderstood well enough that the abuse of certaine Prelates, which did inordinately behaue themselues, gaue a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they neuer heard of any such cōplaints in those parties, but that y^e Prelates do fauour good preachers, and stirre them vp to preach, by intreaty, fauour, & promotiō. In al such cases, there are remedies already pro|uided by the law: for when any mā is so prohibited to vse his right, he hath remedy to appeale: and if he do trust his appeale to be iust, he may vse his right, all violēce both of the spirituall and secular power set apart, for the end of the matter shall declare if he had iust cause to appeale. Then shalbe declared that the superiour hath done euill in prohibiting, & the pleantue iustly in doying, and the superiour for his vniust prohibition shalbe punished. But if he be iustly prohibited, and that through his temeritie, he do cōtemne the iust cōmaundement of his superiour, he is worthy to be punished with condigne punishment.

Where it was moued cōcerning the third Article,* whether it were lawfull for the Ecclesiasticall Prelates to exercise in their proper person, the actes of secular dominiō, hereunto it was aunswered, that if by this word actes of secular dominion are vnderstand actes whiche a secular Lord may do or exercise,* then is it to be sayd, that a Prelate may lawfully exercise some such actes in his proper person, as to sell,* to paune or pledge, to infeofe by maner and forme ordeined by law: but there are some actes, which it is not lawfull for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to haue afterward, a Uicegerent or Proctor, to doe the same: whereupon there is prohiotion made in the law in the Rubrike, Ne clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotijs se immisceat, & in alijs rebus.

It was also moued,* whether that coactiue power, whiche ought to be exercised by a Steward. &c. be in the handes of an Ecclesiasticall Prelate.

Whereunto Iohn Polomair aūswered,* that this question presupposeth an other: wherof there are diuers opinions amōgest the Doctours,* in whose power the dominion of the Church should be: and furthermore, whether the actiōs be in the person of the tutor or proctor, or if they be not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitutiō of any actor or proctor (whose exercising of those actions do geue authoritie vnto the actor or proctor) they be: with other difficulties, whereof it is not needefull to speake at this present. But for somuch as he was vrged to say his opinion: he sayd, that to such as had either leysure or pleasure in disputation, & would argue agaynst him, he would be cōtēted to geue the choise to take which part he would, but his opinion was rather that the dominion of Church matters should bee in the power of Christ: and the Prelates, with the other Clergy, are but Canonically administratours in maner of tutors: but they haue more power & administration then tutors, and by constitutyng a Steward or Uicegerent. &c. Their constitution beyng duely made, the Steward or Uicegerent hath the same coactiue power and exercise of iurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth Article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it is agreed that these wordes, Iuste requisita. i. iustly gotten, alledged, therein, determine all thynges conteined in the same.*

Also as touchyng the second conclusion, where as the sacred Canons and holy Doctours speake thus: the goods of the Church, the substaunce of the Church, and the possessions of the Church, and diuers other opinions there be amongst the Doctours, in whose power the rule thereof should be, as it is noted in the Glose. Cap. expedit xij. quaest. i. they do not intend to constraine any man to any of those opinions, neither to exclude any of them, but that euery man should haue libertie, probably to mainteine which of them he thinketh best.

Moreouer,* the Bohemians sayd, that they did beleue that the Clergy are but administrators of the tēporalties of the Church, and not Lordes thereof, accordyng to the maner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy Doctours, and Canons. Also the Bohemians sayd, that in all occasions which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the iudge, agreed vpon in Egra, with one consent. In this maner did the Ambassadors make aunswere vnto the Bohemians. At the last, after much communication had to and fro,* a concorde and vnitie was concluded and confirmed by setting to their handes. The Bohemians promised to receiue the peace and vnitie of the Church, and the declaratiō of the three Articles. This was done in the

yeare of our Lord. 1438. About the feast of S. Martin, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambassadors of that Councel, and of Boheme, that whatsoever remayned, should be determined & agreed vpon: first at Ratisbona: afterward at Bruna in the Dioces of Olymutes: then at Alba in Hungary, before the Emperour Sigismūd, but the matter could not be ended in no place.

At the last the concorde was confirmed by writyng with their seales at Inglandia, a Citie of Moravia, the fift day of Iuly in the presence of the Emperour.

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Certaine petitions, which the Bohemians put vp last of all in the sacred Councell of Basill. An. 1438. in the moneth of Nouemb.

VNto the most reuerēd fathers in Christ, and our most gracious Lords. We the Ambassadors of the kingdom of Boheme, do most humbly and hartely require you that for the perpetuall preseruacion of the peace & concord, and for the firme preseruacion of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemencie, to giue and graunt vnto vs all and singular our requests, heere vnder written, with effectuall execution of the same.

First and aboue all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of diuers dissensions and cōtrouersies, which will vndoubtedly folow amongst our people vpon y^e diuersitie of the communion, & for the abolishing of infinite euils, which we are not able to expresse as we haue conceiued them, that you will gently vouchsafe of your goodnes & liberality, to giue, grant & command, vnto our kingdome of Boheme, & Marquesdome of Moravia, one vniforme order of the cōmunion vnto all mē,u vnder both kindes: that is to say, vnto y^e Archb. of Prage, the Byshop of Luthonus, Olimutz, & other prelates of the kingdome and Marquesdome, hauing charge of soules, & to their vicars, & also to their flocks & subiects, & that according to those things which are cōteined in y^e Bull of the Ambassadors, & in the cōpositions made in the name of the whole Councel, written in the chap. Pro firmitate, where it is thus said, and all other things shall be done, which shall be meete and necessary for the preseruacion of the peace and vnitie. For thys done by your benefite, the whole kingdome shall be comforted aboue measure, and established in brotherly loue: whereby an vniforme subiection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed vnto the holy Church.

Item, we require and desire (as before) that for the auoiding of all false suspition and doubtfulnes of manie, which suppose that the sacred Councell hath graunted the saide Communion vnder both kindes vnto vs but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libell of diuorcement: that you will vouchsafe, according to this chapter alledged in the compositions: First they sayde, that it was not the entent of the sacred Councell, &c. wholesomely and speedely to prouide for our safety and your graunt in this behalfe, and with the Bulls of your letters, to confirme that chapter together with the other, pertaining to the office of your Ambassadors.

Item, we beseech you (as afore) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the Cleargy, and for the small defence and obseruation of all things determined and agreed vpon, and for y^e good order in spiritualties, ye will vouchsafe effectually to prouide for vs a good & lawfull pastor,* Archbishops and Bishops, which shall seeme vnto vs most meete and acceptable for our kingdome, to execute those offices and dueties.

Item, we require you (as aforesaid) that your fatherly reuerēces will vouchsafe, for y^e defence of the worthy fame of the kingdome and Marquesdome, to declare and shew our innocencie,* in that they haue cōmunicated, do, & hereafter shall communicate vnder both kindes: to giue out, ordaine, and direct the letters of the sacred Councell, in maner and forme most apt and meete for such declaration, vnto all Princes, as well secular as spirituall, Cities and communalities, according to the compositions, and as the Lords the Ambassadors are bound vnto vs for to do.

Item, we desire you, that in the discussing of the matter for the Communion vnder both kindes, and of the commandement thereof giuen vnto all faithfull, yee will not proceed otherwise then according to the concordatum agreed vpon in Egra: that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ, and his Apostles, the generall Councils, and the mindes of the holy Doctours, truly grounded vpon the law of God.

Item, we desire that your fatherly reuerences, considering the great affectiō of our people, will giue vs the desired libertie to communicate vnto the yonger sort, the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this vse of communicating should be taken away, which our kingdome being godly moued by the writings of most great and holy Doctours, and brought in by examples, hath receiued as Catholicke, and exercised now a long time: verely it shoulde raise vp an intollerable offence amongst y^e people,* and their minds would be greeuously vexed and troubled.

Item we require you (as before) that for like causes your fatherly reuerēces, would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the Gospels, Epistles, and Creede to be song & read in the Church in our vulgare tong, before y^e people, to moue thē vnto deuotion: for in our Slauon language it hath bene vsed of old in the Church, and likewise in our kingdome.

Item, we require you in y^e name of the saide kingdome, and of y^e famous Vniuersitie of Prage, that your fatherly reuerences would vouchsafe to shew such diligence and care towards the desired reformation of that Vniuersitie,* that according to the maner and forme of other Vniuersities reformed by the Church, Prebends and collations of certaine benefices of Cathedrall and Parish Churches, may be annexed and incorporate vnto the said Vniuersitie, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

Item, we desire you (as before) as hartily as we may, & also (sauing alwaies your fatherly reuerēce) require you, and by the former cōpositions we most instātly admonish you,* that with your whole minds and endeouours, & with all care & study, your reuerēces will watch & seeke for that long desired & most necessary reformation of the Church & Christian Religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publike euils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you haue often promised to do in our kingdome, in the cōpositions, & as our fourth Article touching the auoiding of all publicke euils, doth exact and require.

There were certaine answeres prouided by the Councel, to these petitions of y^e Bohemiās, which were not deliuered vnto thē, but kept backe, for what purpose or intent we knowe not. Wherefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, & also to auoid prolixitie, we haue iudged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus haue ye heard compendiously the chief & principal matters intreated & done in this famous Councell of Basill. And here (to cōclude withall) we haue thought good to declare vnto you, for y^e aid & helpe of the ignorant people (whych iudge many things to be of lōger time & continuāce, then in deed they be, & thereupon haue established a great parte of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of thys Coūcell, that is to say, in the xxxvi. Session of y^e same, holdē the xvij. day of September, in y^e yeare of our Lord 1439. the feast of y^e Conception of our Lady,* was ordeined to be holden and celebrate yearely. In like case also in the xliiij. Session of the same Councell, holden the first day of Iuly, an. 1441. was ordeined the feast of the Uisitation of our Lady, to be celebrate and holden yearely in the moneth of Iuly. We haue also thought it good, before we do end this story, to annexe hereunto certaine decrees, profitably and wholesomely ordeined in y^e said Coūcell, against y^e inordinate geuing of the Ecclesiasticall benefices and liuings by the Pope, with certaine other constitutions also, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the Church.

During the time that the generall Councell at Basill, was so diligent and carefull about the reformation of the Church, this one thing seemed good vnto them to be prosecuted & folowed with an earnest care and diligence, that through euery Church,* apt and meete ministers might be appointed, which might shine in vertue & knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthfull edifieng of y^e Christian people: whereunto the multitude of expectatiue graces hath bene a great impedimēt and let, in that they haue bin foūd to haue brought greuous troubles, diuers disorders, and many dangers vpon the ecclesiasticall state. For hereby oftentimes, scarcely apt or meete ministers haue bene appointed for the churches, which are neither known nor examined: and this expectation of void benefices (as y^e old lawes do witnesse) doth geue occasion to desire another mans death, which is greatly preiudiciall vnto saluation: besides that, innumerable quarels & contentions are moued amongst the seruants of God: rancour and malice nourished: the ambition and gredy desire of pluralities, of benefices mainteined: and y^e riches and substance of kingdomes and prouinces marueilously consumed. Poore men suffer innumerable vexations, by running vnto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way: troubled & afflicted with diuers plagues, and hauing spent their patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are cōstrained to liue in extreme pouerty. Many do chalenge benefices, which without any iust title (yea such in deed as ought not to haue thē) obtaine and get the same: such I say as haue most craft and subiltie to deceiue their neighbour, or haue greatest substance to contend in y^e law. It happeneth oftentimes that vnder the intricacion of these prerogatiues, antelations, and such other as do associate these expectatiue graces, much craft and disceit is found. Also, oftentimes the ministry is taken away from yong men, by their ordinary geuers, whiles that by the trouble of those contentions, & diuers discourses, running to & fro by meanes of those graces, they are vexed & troubled, the Ecclesiasticall order is cōfounded, whiles that euery mans authority and iurisdiction is not preserued: & the Bishops of Rome also, by chalenging and taking vpō [Page 697](#) them too much the office of the inferiours, are wythdrawen from more waighty and fruteful matters, neither doe they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the publike vtility doth require. Al which things do bring a great

confusion vnto the clergy, and Ecclesiasticall state, to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of Gods true worship, and publicke saluation.

In the same Councell also diuers other constitutions were made, not vnprofitable for reformation, & for remouing of certaine abuses & disorders brought in,* especially by the B. of Rome, as touching causes not to be brought vp and trāslated to the court of Rome: Wherin it was decreed, that no actions nor controuersies shuld be brought from other countries, to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyonde 4. dayes iourney distant from the sayde Courte of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted. Also, that no friuolous appeales should be made to the pope hereafter. It was moreouer in the same councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, y^e they shuld not excede the number of 24. besides them that were alredy, and that they should be frely taken out of al countries: and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the Cardinals, nor yet be blemished wyth any spot or crime. Also for Annates or first frutes, or halfe frutes, it was there prouided, that no such Annates or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, should be paide or reserued any more to the pope, for the first yeres voidance. All which thinges there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward cōfirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles 7. with the full consent of all his Prelates, in his high court of Parliament in Bitures, & there called Pragmatica Sanctio. An. 1438.* whereupon great vtility ensued afterward to the kingdome of Fraunce. All beit in processe of time, diuers Friers there were, whych wrote agaynste the same. Ex lib. Pragin. Sanctionis.

Amongst many decrees of the saide Councell of Basil, in the 19. Session there was also a decree made touchyng the conuerting of Iewes and yong nouesses in Religion, vnto the Christian faith.

*Also that all Ordinaries should yearly at appoynted times, prouide certaine men wel learned in the holy scriptures, in such places where Iewes and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholicke faith, that they acknowledging their errour, might forsake the same: vnto the which preaching, the said ministers should compell them to resort, and to heare, vnder paine of excluding them from occupying any more in y^t place: prouided that the said Diocesanes and preachers should behaue thēselues towards thē, mercifully & with all charitie, wherby they might winne them to Christ, not onely by the declaring of the veritie, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanitie.

And to the intēt their preaching might be y^t more fruitfull, & that the preachers might be the better instructed in the tongues,* it was also in the same Councell prouided & commaūded, that the constitutiō made before in the councell of Uienna for learning the Hebrew, Chaldey, Araby, & Greeke tongue, should by all meanes be obserued & kept, and ordinary stipendes prouided for thē that should teache the same tongues.

An other decree morouer in the 20. Session was enacted, y^t whosoeuer was knowē or publicly noted to be a keper of Concubines,* should be sequestred from all frutes of his benefices, for the space of 3. monethes, which frutes should be conuerted by the ordinary, to the reparations, or some other vtilitie of the Church, & if he did not so amend, it was by the Sinode decreed that he should be clearely deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore, y^e said Sinode did greatly inuey against them, which hauing the iurisdiction of the Church, did not shame to suffer such whore maisters for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthines, &c.

By these decrees of the Councell aboue specified, it is to be seene,* what corruptiō had bene thē frequented in the Church of God, through the Byshop and courte of Rome. For the more expresse declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to inferre the wordes of one Martin Meyre, writing to Aeneas Syluius, touching and noting the saide corruptions: the tenour of whose epistle here ensueth.

Vnto the reuerend father, the Lord Aeneas Cardinal of Sene, Martin Meyr, Chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health

I Haue vnderstand by certaine of my frends letters, that you are created Cardinall. I am glad for your part, that you haue receiued so worthy rewardes for your vertues. I reioyce also for my owne part, that my frend hath attained vnto such a dignity, wherein he may in time to come, both helpe me and my frends: But this is a grieve vnto me, that you haue hapned vpon those dayes, which seme to be troublesom vnto the Apostolike sea. For there are many complaintes made vnto my Lorde the Archb vpon the Pope, that he wil neither kepe the decrees of the council of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himselfe bounde to the couenants of his predecessours, and seemeth vtterly to contemne our nation, and to seeke the vtter ruine thereof. For it is euident that the election of Prelates, is euery where reiected: benefices & dignities, of what sorte soeuer they be, are reserued for the Cardinals and chiefe notaries: and you your self haue obtained the reseruatiō of 3. Prouinces of Germany, vnder suche a forme as hath not ben accustomed, or heard of. Vowsons or giftes of benefices are graunted without number: yerely stipends and half the reuenues are exacted without delay, and it is euident that there is more extorted then is due. The regiment of churches are not committed vnto such as best deserue them, but vnto such as offer most mony for them, and new pardons are graunted out daily to scrape and gather together monye. Tithes are commaunded to be exacted without the consent of our Prelates, for the Turkish warre, and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determind at home, are now caried vnto the Apostolike sea of Rome. A thousand waies are inuented and deuised, how the sea of Rome may by subtlety and by craft,* extort and gette golde and treasure from vs, euen as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians; whereby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and bloud, conquered the Romaine Empire, and was once the Lady and Queene of all the world, nowe being brought vnto pouerty, is made a handmaid, & become tributary, & being nowe in extreme misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruell fortune and pouerty. But now our nobles being (as it were) wakened out of their slepe, haue begon to consider and deuise with themselues, by what meanes they might withstand this calamity, and vtterly shake of this yoke and bondage, and haue determind with them'selues to challenge againe their former liberty. This wil be no smal losse vnto the court of Rome, if the Princes of Germany bring to passe that which they haue deuised. Wherefore as much as I do reioyce of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I mooued & greued that these things happen in your daies. But peraduenture Gods determination is otherwise, & his wil shal surely take place. You in the meane time be of good chere, and deuise according to your wisdom, by what meanes the vehemencie of these floudes may be staied. Thus fare ye well.

From Hasthaffenberge, the last day of August.

Concerning the authoritie of this generall councell of Basill, what is to be esteemed by the Actes & fruites therof may be vnderstand of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the Pope agreed and consented vnto it, But after the Pope began to draw backe, many other followed, especially of the richer sort of Prelates, which had any thing to lose: whereof sufficiently hath bene sayde by Arelatensis the Cardinall before. In the number of those vnconstant Prelates, besides many other, was firste Cardinall Iulian, the firste collector of this councell, and Uicegerent of the Pope, as by hys feruent and vehement letter written to pope Eugenius in defence of this council, may well appeare: Wherin he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaide Pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolue the Councell, and declareth in the same many causes, why he shoulde rather reioyce, and geue God thanks, for the godly proceedings, and ioyfull agrement betwene the councell and the Bohemians, and so exhorteth him w^t manifolde persuasions, to resort to the council him selfe, & not to seeke the dissolution of the same. The copie & tenor of whose Epistle to the Pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, we thought heere good to sette downe to be seene.

The copie of an Epistle, which Iulian Cardinall of S. Angen, and the Popes ambassadour into Germanie, wrote marueilous boldly and frely vnto Eugenius B. of Rome, for that he went about to dissolue the coūcel of Basil.

Most blessed father, after the deuout kisses of your blessed fete.

NOw shall the whole worlde vnderstande and know, whether that your holines haue in you the bowels of fatherly loue & charity, and the zeale of the house of God, whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse, or whether you be that good shepheard, which geueth hys life for his sheepe. Beholde the doore beginneth now to be opened, whereby the lost sheepe may returne againe vnto their owne folde, nowe is there good hope euen at hand, of the reconciliation of the Bohemians. If that your holinesse as it is your duety do helpe and further the same, you shall obtaine greate glory, bothe in heauen and earthe. But if peraduenture, you goe about to lette the same (whiche is not to be hoped for at your handes) all menne will reprocue you of impietie. Heauen and earth will conspire againste you, [Page 698](#) all men will forsake you. For how is he to be folowed, wich wyth one worde may restore peace and quietnes to the church, and refuseth to do it? But I cōceiue a better hope in you, how that your holines without any excuse, wil with your whole hart & mind, fauor this most sacred coūcel, & giue thanks vnto almighty God, this great goodnesse that this congregatiou hath not departed. Behold the ambassadors of this sacred councell are returned with great ioy and gladnes from Egra, reporting how that thorow the grace of the holy Ghost, they haue firmly concluded with the ambassadors of the Bohemians, that is to say of the Prages, Orphants and Thaborites, amongs whome was also present the captaines of their ennemies, and specially Procopius. That a solempne ambassade of all the states of the realme should come vnto the councell of Basill. After that a safe conduite is sent vnto them by the sayde council in fourme conditioned, which shall be done with speede, This sacred congregation is marue•lously exhilerate and ioyfull. For those our

ambassadors affirme, that all things were handled with such charitie at Egra, & that they did see such things amōgs the Bohemians, that not without cause, they doe conceiue great hope of their reconciliation.

And at the last gently imbrasing one another, euē with teares of gladnesse, they departed from Egra. The Bohemians requiring our ambassadors, that the matter might be ended wyth all expedition. They reporte also that manie thinges happened in that Treatie, whyche if any manne hearde, and didde not weepe for ioy, he might well thinke him self to be but smally affectioned vnto Christ. As for 3 of the 4. articles, they seeme not to make any great difficulty vpon. As touching the 4. that is of the communion vnder both kindes, there is good hope that they wil followe the iudgement of the councel. Who is it then that dare counsell your holines to perseuere any lōger in the purpose of dissolution, for if the councell had not ben appoynted at all, for so great hope and necessity: it ought to haue ben appoynted in this place How worthy prase and commendation should your holines doe, if that you woulde leaue Italy and all other affaires, and come hether in your owne person. Although you shoulde neede to be caried in a wagon or litter. The keping & defence of the temporal patrimony of the church, may well be disposed and done by legates and vicares. This is the true patrimonie of the church to winne soules.* For the church is not a heap of stones and walles. Christ hath not made you a keeper of castles & fortes, but a pastor of soules. Therefore you shuld do that in your owne person, which is most necessary and acceptable vnto Christ, and al other things be your substitutes. For so did the Apostles, which to the intēt they might the more frely intend to the preaching of the word of God, did institute 7. to serue the tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I heare that by the grace of God, your holinesse doth daily recouer and amend, &• if •o be, as it is said, you do visit some churches on fore, ye may also come hether on horsebacke, for you can not go vnto any thing more profitable or cōcordant to your office, then to go vnto that place, whereas innumerable benefits and goodnes may spring. Let your holines vnderstand and consider wherein Christ whose vicar you are, and S. Peter whose successor you are, and the apostles and holy bishops, did exercise & occupy themselues, and as you do succede them in office, so succede them in maners. But if per aduenture your holines can not come hither, I doe counsell you that for so great a benefite, you would send the more part of the reuerend Lords Cardinals of the court of Rome, and command al other prelates to come hether, doe not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

Your holines may beleue me, that only charity mooueth me to counsell you in this sort, be ye not separte from your members, nourish your children as the henne doeth her chickens vnder her wings. And if so be, that you will doe nothing els, yet speake this only word, Placet. That is to say, that it pleaseth you, that the coūcel of Basil shuld go forward. For a few daies past, there came newes hither, for the which your holines ought alltogether to cease from your dissolution. The reuerend father the Archb. of Lyons, hath wrytten vnto the councell,* and vnto me also, howe that the Prelates of France, haue assembled together in the city of Beturia, and there after long and exacte examination haue concluded that the council is lawfully cōgregate in this place. And that it is necessary, that it shuld be holden and celebrate here at this present, and how the Prelates of France shuld come vnto it, he also directed hither the cause which moued them so to conclude, the cōpye whereof I suppose is sent vnto your holinesse by some other. Wherupon then doth your holines stay? You haue gone about as much as in you lay, by your messengers, letters & diners meanes to draw backe the Prelates, and haue laboured with al your endeuer to

dissolue the councell, yet notwithstanding as you do see, it is increased day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more is all mens minds inflamed to the contrary, is not this then to resist the wil of God? Why do ye prouoke the church to anger? Why do ye stirre vp the Christian people? vouch safe I pray you so to doe, that ye may g^t the loue and fauor of the people & not the hatred for all nations are greatly offended when they heare: these your doings. Suffer not your holines to be seduced by any man, whych peradventure shall inculcate feare vnto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted, or that doe perswade you this to be no lawful council I know I shuld offend your holines if I shuld go about to proue the contrary, but it is better that I do offend you a litle in words, and profit you in my deedes, for a Phisition layeth a burning corrisiue vnto the disease, and healeth the sore. For the medicine can not profit, except it be sharpe and bitter in tast. Vnder this hope and confidence I will not feare to declare the truth. That it being knowen, your holines may the better prouide both for your selfe and the church it dependeth vppon the councell of Constance whether this councell be lawfull or not. If that were a true council, so is this also. No man semeth to dout whether that council were lawfull, and likewise whatsoeuer was there decreed to be lawful, for if any man will say, that the decrees of that council are not of force, he must nedes graunt, that the depriuation of Pope Iohn which was done by the force of those decrees to be of no effect. If that depriuation were not of effecte. Neither was the election of Pope Martine of any force, which was done he being yet aliue. If Martin were no true Pope, neither is your holinesse, which was chosen by the Cardinales that hee made,* wherefore, it standeth no man more vpon to defend the decrees of that coucel, then your holines, for if any decree of that council be called into doubt: By like meanes may all the rest of the decrees be reuoked. And by like meanes, shall the decrees of any other councell be of no force and effect, for by like reason, as the faith of one councell is weakened, all the rest shal also be weakned, according to S. Augustins saying in the 9. distinction capitulo. Si ad scripturas, Then sayeth he, both the faithe and all other sacraments shall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt made, of the force and power of any councell lawfully cōgregate. There was a decree made in the council of Constance, intituled frequens. Whereby it was ordained, that the first council after that, should be holden within 5. yeres, and another within 7. yeres after that again. The council of Constance being ended, and the 5. yeres passed, the council of Papia or Sene was holden, after which 7. yeares being also run ouer, this councell is begon to be celebrate. To what ende then is it expressed in the Bull of the dissolution, amongst other causes, that the 7. yeare is already past. When as of necessitye it ought to be passed before the councell can be celebrate. For these wordes, from 7. yere or 5. yere, signify according to the law, that all partes of time should be passed, and the last day looked for. Wherefore it behoued that 7. yeres to be fully complete, before this council of Basil should begin.

Like as 5. yeares was fully expired, before that the councell of Papia did begin, but peraduenture some man will say, that it ought to haue begun the first day after the 7. yere was expired. For otherwise the terme of the councell is passed. But heereunto we may answer that it is not contained in the chapter Frequens, that except it were holden the first day, it should not be holden at al, neither can it be gathered either by the wordes or meaning. For it is only required that it should be holden after 7. yeares expired, but whether it be the 2. or 3. day, or the 3. or 4. moneth after the 7. yere it doth satisfy the chapter Frequens. For whē the first day is come then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the councell, but not afore, but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after, neither doth this word, In quinquennium. That is to say against 5. yeare, next following, which is alleaged in the chapter Frequens, and semeth to be repeated. Also for the 7.

yere, for it is not vnderstād that it is necessary to be holden the first day precisely after the 7. yere, but because it should not be vnderstand of other 7 yeares to come. For in speaking simply of 7. yere, it is vnderstand of 7. yeare next ensuing. Admit also that in the chapter Frequēs, any of these wordes had bene ioyned with immediatly following, as by & by, out of hād, immediatly, or straightwaies after, or such other words yet ought they to be vnderstand with a certaine moderation, and distance of time, that assone as might be cōuenient, as these wordes are expounded by the lawes and the doctors, for they are enlarged and restrained according, to the subiect and diuers circūstaunces of the matters and affaires. For it is not by any meanes likely that it was the mindes of those which made the decree, that considering the long iourneis and harde preparation of suche affaires, and also the manifolde impedimentes which may happen, that they woulde restraine so precise a time, euen at the first daye, that if it were not then celebrated, it should not be holden at all, for by such subtyll meanes, it shuld also be holden euen in the first moment and very instant after the same yere.

But forsomuch as wordes are ciuilly to be vnderstand, this fence or vnderstanding is to farre disagreeable. For if any man will say, then it is commaunded to be proroged, that is also forbidden in the chapter frequēs. He that doth so argue, doth not vnderstād himselfe, nor the force of the woordes. It is not proroged if it be begon, the 2. or 3. month, but rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For if it were a prorogation, then for so muche as a proration doth sauour of the nature of the firste delay, it could not be begon in the first month, but in the 2. and 3. it is not therby concluded that it could not be begon in the first, [Page 699](#) but if there had ben any prorogation made til the secōd month, then it coulde not haue bene begon in the first, as for example I promise to geue a hundred after Easter, afore Easter it can not be required, but by and by after Easter it may be required, and all be it that I be not vrged for it notwithstanding I doe not cease to be bounde, and if so be I bedemanded it in the 2. or 3. month after, it is not therby vnderstand that ther is any prorogation made: Neither doth it followe, but that it might haue bene demaunded in the beginning which could not haue ben done, that there had ben any prorogation made. Also it is nature of prorogation to bee made before the first terme or day be passed. For otherwise it is no prorogation, but anew appoyntment. And albeit it may be saide, that then it may be long delaide, it is aunswered that in thys poynt, we must stande vnto the iudgement of the Church, which considering diuers circumstances wold think the time mete. For the liberty of celebrating of councels was institute for the profit and fauor of the church. What if it shuld happen that whē the time commeth, in the place where a councell should be kept, there be a great plague, or some siege, which shuld continue by the space of 3. or 4. moneths, and the Pope in the mean time doth not chaunge the place according to the forme of the Chapter frequens, & that thorow such impediments, the prelates did not come the first day vnto the place, or if any were comming & were taken by the way which if they had not ben taken, had ben prese•t at the first day in the place appoynted. Is it to be said that the power of the coucel is past? or that the impediment ceasing, & the prelates cōming thither, the councell can not be holden? that truely were greatly absurd & to much preiudiciall to the church of God, but in this our case, the cause is probable why that the prelats did defer to come at the beginning of the time appoynted.* For so much as when the time drew neare, Pope Martin died the 20. of February. For which cause, the prelates might wel dout vpon some impediment of the councell. Also they taried loking that some shuld come thether in the name of the Pope, because they wold not tary in that place in vaine without a president.* As for the legate which was appoynted for the council, whose presence al men taried for, before he wold prepare him selfe to that iourney, he

came not at the time apoynted vnto the councell, but went vnto Norrenberge, to persecute the Bohemians according to the cōmandement of Pope Martin, which had enioyned him to go first thither before he wēt to Basil.

And the same Legate, being oftētimes required at Norenberg, that he shuld go to Basil to hold the councell, he answered, that he wold not go before he had the cōsent of the new bishop. This was the cause of the prelates delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed vnto the prelates, which suspected that Pope Martin woulde not haue holden the councell, & feared to bring thēselues in trouble, and good cause had they so to feare, thorowe those things which hapned in the council of Sene. For there were many things spoken which caused great suspition. It was reported vnto me that many had said, I came vnto Germany to disturbe the councell.

Also this was Pope Martins minde and intent, that all beit the council was not begon at the beginning of March, notwithstanding the authority of holding the council should not be void. For he, when as the time of the councell approached, willed me that I shuld first go vnto Boheme, before I went vnto the coūcel, wherof also mention is made in the Bull of the consistorie dissolution.

But what nede we any other profe, then by your holinesse letters, which by your letters dated the 2 Kalendes of Iune, and were deliuered vnto me lōg after the time, by the space of 3. moneths, you do commaund me that my businesse being done in Boheme, I shuld take my way vnto Basil to hold the council, & there to forsee vnto all things as it was enioyned me, & ordained in the coūcel of Constance. The same also ye repeat in the Bul of the dissolution brought vnto me by the Lord Parentine, the wordes wherof are these. Vnto you circūspection. Since your going into Germany no Prelates haue assembled in Basill for the celebrating of the council, we gaue you in cōmandement that in the meantime you shuld be diligent, about the expedition against the Bohemian heretickes which is committed to your charge, & afterward you should come vnto Basil the place appoynted for the councell, and there to rule in our place in the name of the church. What is more euident then this? If any thing were doutful by the tenure of these letters it were euidently takē away, if any man wold say that neither Pope Martine nor Eugenius could confirme the council by wryting of suche letters, because there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter frequens it is answered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is not necessary to hold the council precisely euē at the beginning. Also it is no prorogation. For a prorogation is made before the terme is expired and not after, for after, it is rather called an new indiction or appoyntment. And if any mā will say that there cā be no new indiction made, then may this be obiected. Howe could the council of Bononia be newly appoynted? If they wil answer, that the appoyntment of the coūcell of Bononia was of force, because the councell of Basill was dissolued by your holines, then I haue my intent. For if it were dissolued. Ergo, it was a coūcel before, bicause it presupposeth the habit. If it were a councell before, then, as hereafter shalbe proued, it could not be dissolued without the consent of the councell, what can be more answered heereunto? for the greater declaration and euidence of this matter, the Abbot of Virgilia euen vpon the same day of the time appoynted or afore, gathering together the Prelates of the great church and many other prelates and notable men, made a solemne protestation, howe the time was come to celebrate and hold the council, & that he was come vnto Basil for the same purpose, requiring them that they wold

confer and in treat together, vpon matters touching the councel, and hereupon there is a publike instrument or testimoniall.

Within a month after the ambassadors of the vniuersity of Paris came thither, & began to intreat of maters touching the coūcel, wryting also vnto the Emperour, and to the other Princes of Germany, that they should send vnto the councel, which letters I my self did see, neither doth the smal number of men let, for wher as aucthority is, a great number is not required, according to the saying of Christ, wheras 2. or 3. are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them. Vpon the which aucturity, the coūcels are grounded. Now therefore your holines doth manifestly see, the said obiection to be but friuolous. For to what end shuld any dissolution be made if it had not ben a councel: wherfore it is not to be doubted, but that it was a lawful councel, & canonically congregate. And peraduenture it is scarsly• found where any councel hath ben confirmed by so many authorities as this, that is to say, by the two councels before passed, of Constance and of Sene, and confirmed by two Bishops of Rome.

Besides this, I haue heard that some doe report at Rome that I could not call the Prelates vnto the councell, because that clause was not added in the Bul of Pope Martine. I greatly meruaile why this shuld be objected, specially seeing that, not I alone, haue called them, but I to gether with the rest, which are here assembled in the coucel. It is a maruelous matter, Pope Martin gaue me authority by the aduice of the councel to rote out heresies, to pacifie kingdoms, to reforme the maners of euery state of christendome, & yet they wil say that I can not cite them. Power is geuen me to iudge & to condemne, and haue I not also power to cite? The law doth say, vnto whom any power or iurisdiction is committed, all things seme to be committed vnto him, without the which he cā not exercise his iurisdiction, for howe coulde all the premisses be done, if the Prelates or others shuld not come hither? Also why is it said in the chapter, Ego enim de iure iurando? I will come vnto the Sinode if I be called, if he can not be called: By whome then is it presupposed that he shuld be called but only by the councel, or by him which ruleth the councell? Also the whole 18. distinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the bishops being called vnto the councel, if they come not, that they may be excommunicate and suspended. Let these men read the boke of councils of S. Isidore, and they shall finde howe that in many councelles the Prelates haue bene called by the Sinode. Nowe it remaineth, that we shuld declare, whether the dissolutiō be of force or no. Wherin I do againe feare to moue your holines vnto anger. But charity forceth me therunto, for peraduenture, your holines doth thinke the dissolution to be effectual, & therefore do perseuer in it, wherby, for somuche as many offences may rise, my conscience doeth moue me, not to hold my peace. First of all the chapter: Frequens, declareth that it is not of force, for if prorogation be forbidden & prohibited, which is a smal mater, much more is dissolutiō, which is a greater matter, for it is a greater matter to take away then to defer, for by proroging, a thing is but deferred, & by dissoluing it is vtterly taken away. Also these men say, that the said cōstitution in the chapter Frequens, may be made void, for somuch, assone as the councel is begon, it may be dissolved without any thing don, as it is said that it was done at Senes, and nowe they say also that your holines hath ben peruersly informed touching the dissolution. They say also that the sayd dissolution doth manifestly tend to the subuersion of faith, the ruine of the church, and the trouble of the christian people. Therefore it can not be done, neither obeid.

They say moreouer that the said dissolutiō could not be made, by meanes of a certen decree of the council of Constance in that behalfe prouided. That in such matters as pertaine vnto faith, the extirpation of sinne, and reformation of the church in the head & in the members, that all men of what estate or condition so euer they be, yea the Pope himself shuld be bound to obey the statutes, precepts, and ordināces of euery general councell, & except they did obey to punish them. Marke how that these things to haue power to determine vpon any man, to commaund him and punish him, if he be not obedient, are signes of superioritye, in those matters which he doth decree, command or punish, and to be bound to obedience, to be subiect and obey the same, are signes of inferiority in the said cases. Ergo, in the foresaid cases, seeing that the Pope as they say, is vnder the coūcel, which also hath ben. In that for one of the said 3. cases the council did depriue Iohn, & for the other Benedict, neither could the Pope dissolue the councell, in that he is inferior vnto the council, cannot bind or cōpel the superior. As in the chapter Cum inferior, otherwise it shoulde containe in it a contradiction, that hee is bounde to obey, and is not [Page 700](#) bound to obey, because he may dissolue, for howe should he be obedient vnto the ordinance and decree of the councell, if he may anihilate and take away the same ordinaunce and decree. Thys councell is cōgregate for the rooting out of heresies, for the making of peace and reformation of maners, and in the first Session it did ordeine, that their whole intent and respect should be thereunto, and that he which should procure to let the coūcel, to proroge or alter it, should be punished and haue processe against him as against a common disturber of the peace. &c. If it may be dissolved it is euident that they doe not obey the saide ordinaunce, whereby this also must of necessity be graunted, that if it may be dissolved, the decree of the councell of Constance is of no force.

This is also proued by an other reason. No man doubteth but if any controuersie of heresie shoulde be mooued against any Bishop of Rome, that he could not dissolue the Councell: For if he might dissolue the councell he could not be iudged, whych were cōtrary to the cha. Si Pa. dist. 40. Ergo, like as it is inheresy, so is it in the two other cases. For these three were pacified by the coūcel of Cōstance, for thus speaketh the council. As it is in the Chapter, Si Papa in illo vno. And as I haue before saide, the Councell of Constance, allowed this decree, thorow the which they depriued Peter de Luna, for making of a Schisme, and Pope Iohn for the deformitie of his life.

And all be it there be certaine lawes that say, the principall seat can not be iudged of any man, and againe, no man iudgeth the chiefe seate. And no man sayth vnto him selfe why doest thou so. There are to be vnderstande in these three cases, first that there was prouiso made for the faith in the chapter Si Papa, and in the other two poynts by the decree of Constance. Otherwise it shuld be vnderstande, without any exception, that the first seate. &c. and then the chapter Si Papa. 40. Distinct. and the sayd decree of Constance shoulde be false. If the chapter Si Papa had added causes of heresies, no man would haue doubted vpon these two cases, touching the sayd sentence, so likewise no man ought to doubt of the decree of the councell, that it was made by the authoritie of the Pope, and representeth the vniuersal church, and if any man wold say, that in all councils the authoritye of the Pope is excepted, I aunswere that it is true, when as the persone of the Pope is not specially included. But if hee be specially included, he can not be excepted, because it should sauour of contradiction. Most blessed father, God is my witnesse, that I haue spoken these thinges wyth great anguish and sorowe of minde, but I am forced so to speake, that your holinesse may cease from the saide dissolution, lest there might happen infinite euels in the

church of God. If your holines did see my pure mind, my vpright conscience, and entier affection towards you, whereby I am mooued to wryte those thinges, euen for very loue you would embrace and kisse me, and wythout doubt loue me as your owne sonne, I haue often sayde and nowe doe say and protest before God and mā, that you wil be the cause of Schisme and infinite mischieues▪ if you doe not alter & change your minde and purpose. Almighty God preserue your holinesse in the prosperity of a vertuous man. Vnto whose feete, I do moste humbly recommend me.

From Basil the 5. day of Iune.

Thus endeth the Epistle of Cardinal Iulian wrytten vnto Pope Eugenius. Wherein for so much as mention is made, howe that the Bohemians had promised to sende their Ambassadors vnto the Councell, and as before is partly touched in the Bohemian storie, their commyng into Basill, and propounding of certaine articles, wherein they dissented frō the Pope, we doe not thinke it any thing differing from our purpose, to annexe a brieft Epitome, declaring the whole circumstance of their Ambassade, their articles, disputations and answeres, which they had at the sayd councell of Basil, with their petitions and answeres vnto the same. Faithfully translated out of Latin by F.W.

In like maner Aeneas Syluius also with his owne hand and wryting, not onely gaue testimony to the authoritie of thys councell, but also bestowed his labour and trauaile in setting forth the whole storie thereof. Notwythstanding, the same Syluius afterward being made Pope, wyth hys new honour, did alter and change his olde sentence, the Epistle of which Aeneas, touching the commendation of the sayde Councel, because it is but short, and will occupy but litle rume, I thought heere vnder, for the more satisfying of the readers minde, to inserte.

An Epistle of Aeneas Syluius, to the Rector of the Vniuersitie of Colen.

*TO a Christian man, whiche will be a true Christian in deede, nothing ought to be more desired, then that the sinceritie and purenes of faith, geuen to vs of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and if at any time, any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the Gospell, the people ought with one consent, to prouide lawfull remedy, & euery man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire: Neither must we feare how we be hated or enuied, so we bring the truth. Wee must resist euery mā to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walke not directly to the truth of the Gospell, which thing I am gladde, and so are we all, to heare that your Vniuersitie hath done in this Councell of Basill. For a certaine treatise of yours is brought hether vnto vs, wherein you reprehend the rudenesse, or rather the rashnesse of such, which do deny the Bishop of Rome, and the Consistorie of his iudgement, to be subiecte vnto the generall Councell,*and that the supream tribunall seate of iudgement, standeth in the Church, and in no one Bishop. Such men as deny this, you so confound with liuely reasons and trueth of the Scriptures, that neither they are able to slide away like the slippery Eeles, neither to cauill or bring any obiection againste you. These be the wordes of Siluius.

Furthermore,* as touching the authority and approbation of the foresayd Councell, this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigismund the Emperour, no man resisted this Councell. Also continuing the time of Charles the 7. the French king, the said Councell of Basill was fully & wholly receiued through all France. But after the death of Sigismund, when Eugenius was deposed, and Felix Duke of Sauoy, was elected Pope, greate discordes arose, and much practise was wrought. But especially on Eugenius part, who being nowe excommunicate by the Councell of Basill, to make his part more strong, made 18. new Cardinals. Thē he sent his Orators vnto y^e Germanes, labouring by all perswasions to dissolue the councell of Basill, the Germanes at that time were so deuided, that some of them did hold with Felix, and the Councell of Basill: other some,* with Eugenius and the Councell of Ferrara: and some were neuters. After this the French king being dead, which was Charles the 7. about the yeare of oure Lorde 1444. the Pope beginneth a newe practise, after the olde guise of Rome,* to excite (as is supposed) the Dolphine of Fraunce, by force of armes, to dissipate that Councell collected against him. Who leading an army of xb. M. men in to Alsatia, did cruelty waste and spoyle the countrey: after that, laide siege vnto Basill to expel & driue out the prelates of the Councell. But the Heluetians most stoutly meeting their enemies w^t a small power, did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight: like as the Lacedemonians onely with C C C. did suppress, and scattered all the mighty army of Xerxes, at Thermopylae.

Although Basill thus by the valiantnes of the Heluetians was defended, yet notwithstanding the Councell thorough these tumultes,* could not continue by reason of the princes Ambassadors, which shronke away, and would not tary: So that at length Eugenius brought to passe, partly through the help of Fredericke (being not yet Emperour, but laboring for the Empire, partly by his Orators) in the number of whome was Eneas Syluius, aboue mentioned (amongst the Germans) y^t they were content to geue ouer both the councell of Basill and their neutrality.

This Fridericke of Austrich being not yet Emperour,* but towards the Empire, brought also to passe, that Felix, which was chosen of the Councell of Basill, to be Pope, was contented to renoūce and resigne his Papacie to Nicolaus, the fift, successour to Eugenius, of the which Nicolaus, the sayde Fredericke was confirmed at Rome to be Emperour, and there crowned. An. 1451.

As these things were doing at Basill, in the meane season, pope Eugenius brought to passe in his conuocation at Florence,* that the Emperour, and the Patriarke of Constantinople, wyth the rest of the Grecians there present, were perswaded to receiue the sentence of the Church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost: also to receiue the communion in vnleavened bread, to admitte Purgatorie, and to yeelde them selues to the authoritye of the Romish Bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding, the other Churches of Grecia would in no wise assent,* at theyr comming home: In so much, that with a publike execration they did condemn afterward al those Legates, which had consented to these Articles, that none of them shoulde be buried in Christen buriall: whych was Anno. 1439. Ex• Casp. Peucer.

And thus endeth the storie, both of the Councell of Basill, and of the councell of Florence,* also of the Emperour Sigismund, and of the schisme betwene pope Eugenius, and Pope Felix, and also of y^e Bohemians. The which Bohemians notwythstanding all these troubles and tumultes, aboue said, did rightwel, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length, through

discord, partly betwene the 2. preachers of the old and newe cite of Prage, partly also through y^e discord of the messengers & captains, taking sides one against the other, they made their eunemies [Page 701](#) strong and enfebled themselues. Albeit afterward, in processe of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sworde, but by argument and disputation, that the Bishop of Rome could neuer yet to this day, remooue the Thaborites, and Citie of Prage, from the communion of both the kindes, nor could euer cause them to keepe the conditions, which in the beginning of the Councell, was enioyned their priests to obserue, as testifieth Cochleus. lib. 8. hist. Huss.* With whom also recordeth Antoninus, who in 3 part. hist. saith, that the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take so deepe roote wyth them, and grewe so fast, that afterwarde, neyther by fire nor sword,* it could be extinct. An. 3. part. hist. tit. 22. cap. 10

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly & in a generall summe, to recapitulate their whole actes & doings, here is to be noted, that they in their owne defence, & in the quarel of Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, prouoked by their catholike aduersaries to warre, fighting vnder Zisca their Captaine, had eleuen batailles with the Popes side, and euer went away victours.*Ex paral. Abb. Vrsp. in Epitaphio, Ioan. Zisc. Moreouer, in the history of Peucer it is testified that pope Martin 5. sending for the B. of Wint. then Cardinal, had leuiued 3. maine armies, intending to ouerrunne al the Bohemians: one army of the Saxons, vnder the prince Elector, the seconde of the Francones, vnder the Marques of Brandeburge, the thirde of Renates, Bauarians and Suechers, vnder Octo archb. of Treuers. With these, Sigismund also the Emperor, and Cardinal Iulian the popes Legate (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) ioyned al their force. Who ioyning together 5. times (sayth the story) which 5. sondry batailles,* assailed and inuaded the Bohemians: at euery which battail, 5. times the sayd aduersaries stroken and daunted with a sodain feare, ranne away out of the field, leauing their tents w^e all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was geuen. Ex Casp. Peuc. lib. 5.* Whereby it may appeare, the holy aungels of God to fight for them which embraced the syncere doctrine of Christes gossell.

Thus the Bohemians through the mighty protection of almighty God, cōtinued a long time inuincible, during all y^e life of Zisca, & also of Procopius, til at length through discord growing betwene them & theyr captains Procopius & Mainardus, they were subdued vnto their enemies.

*And heere by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel facte of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realme of Boheme of those chiefe and principal soldiours, which had bene long expert and trained vp in warres, found meanes by a proclamation made, as though he woulde warre against other countreis of their eunemies bordering about them, craftily to traine all them which were disposed to take wages, into certaine barnes or houels, prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the dores vppon them, the wicked dissembler set fire vpon them, & brent of them diuers thousands, and so brought the rest by that meanes, vnder subiECTION to the Emperor during his lyfe time, which after that continued not long.*Ex Aene. Syl. The which soldiours, if they had fought so much for the catholike liberties of the Pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (sayeth Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruell deceit of Mainardus, is worthy of all men to be detested.

During this businesse among the bishops beyonde the sea in the meane time our bishops here also in Englande, were not vnoccupied. Whether it be y^e nature of the countrey that so geueth: or whether y^e great liuings and welthy promotions of the clergy, do draw w^e them a more insensible vnto wardnesse in Gods religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all them which will read and marke our stories from time to time, that in Englande is more burning and slaying for Religion and for all other matters: more bloudshed among vs then in any other lande or nation in Christendome besides. After the burning of Rich. Houeden, of Nicho. Canon, and of Thom. Bagley priest, aboue recorded, pag. 666. Whom the bishops condemned to death An. 1431. not long after, about the yere of our Lorde 1439. which was the 18. of the raign of king Henr 6. they had an'other poore man by the backe,* named Riche Wicke Priest, mentioned both in Rob. Fabian and also in another olde english chronicle borrowed of one Perminger.* What his opinions were, they do not expresse, This they recorde, that this Rich, wich first was degraded then burned at the tower hil for heresy. Some do a arm that he before his death reuolted, but that seemeth by his burning, not to be !!!.

It is also testified of him, that before his death, he spake (as prophesying) that the posterne of the tower shuld sink,

[illustration]

which also afterward came as he said to passe, wherfore of many of the people he was counted for an holy man:* In so much that (as it is affirmed) they came to y^e place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and areired a great heap of stones, and set vp a crosse there by night: so that by this meanes a great clamor ran vppon the Churchmen, and especially vppon suche as put hym to death. Then to cease the rumor, the king gaue commandement to punish such, as went thether on pilgrimage. The copy wherof is here to be sene as foloweth.

Rex vicecomitibus London. & Midd. salutem. Albeit Richard Wyche late clearke, who heretofore long sithence heretically did hold, teach, & publikely preache certaine heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realme of England. And for the same many yeares nowe past being iudicially conuicted, did before a iudge in that behalfe sufficient abiure all heresy generally, and afterward as a dogge returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, & publikely preach his former errors and heresies, so that hee was worthely adiudged a Relapse. And againe being impeached for the same before the reuerend father in God Robert B of London his lawfull Ordinarie was called foorth to iudgement, and being before him, did iudicially confesse hys errors and heresies. For the which cause the saide reuerende father, vppon mature deliberation by hym the sayde Reuerende father first had with the aduise of the learned in the lawe, his assistantes lawfully proceeding against the saide Richard did by his sentēce defintie pronounce and adiudge him to bee a Relapse, and did disgrace him from the order and dignitie of Priesthooode, & tooke from him all priestly ornaments, and deprived him of all priestly function and Priuiledge (according to iustice) and last of all turned him ouer to the secular power as the manner is: And afterwards you, by our Princely commandement and warrant did according to the lawe of oure realme for his last punishment consume the body of the sayd Richard to ashes, being a Relapse conuict, and disgraced as a notorious traitour, not only against God, but also against vs and our crowne and dignity. All which notwithstanding certaine our subiects (as we haue ben sundry times enformed) being pricked foreward with a Diabolical spirite, practising

of all likelihode not only sedition, but also Idolatry within our Realme are not afraide publicly to affirme that the sayde Richard was altogether innocent of heretical prauity Nay rather they do moste shaine fully with their vaine deuises, and wickedly conceiued imaginatiōs blase abroad that he was, & died a good, iust and an holy man, and that he doeth many myracles (whereas in deede no suche myracles be done by him.) Which disordinate persones we may well and vpon probable causes repute & deme culpable, not only of heretical prauitie, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our persone, Maiestie, and violatours of the peace and dignity of our Realme, as with all breakers and trespassours against the sacred Canons of the Church, who dare so presumptuously aduenture to worship the said Richard as a Saint, whereas it is not lawfull to worship any manner of person be he neuer so holy before he be canonised by the authority of the B. of Rome. We therefore being very carefull for the good preseruatiō of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out al the coastes of the same al maner Idolatry, do charge & command you that in certain places within your liberties wher you shal think most cōuenient, you cause forthwith proclamatiōs to be made on our behalf, straightly [Page 702](#) charging, that no person from hencefoorth presume to resort to the place where the saide Richarde was executed vnder colour of Pilgrime, or for any other cause of deuotion what so euer, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, nor adiudge, esteme, repute, name or talke of him as otherwise iustified or innocent, then such as the said reuerend father by his former definitiue sentence hath pronounced him to be vpon paine and penaltie to be taken and reputed for an hereticke or a fauourer of hereticks, and to receiue condigne punishment prouided for hereticks. And that you arrest all & euery person whom you shall finde to do any thing cōtrary to this our Proclamation, and the same so arested, commit to our prisone, there to remaine vntil we shal thinke good to send countermaund for their deliuerance. Witnes the king at his Manor of Estampstede, the 15. day of Iuly in the 18. yere of his reigne.

Per ipsum Regem.

Like writtes, and to the same effect were directed to al the shrines through all the realme bearing all one and the same Date. By the vertue of which letter, the Maior and sheriffes did such diligence, that shortly after, that cōcourse and seking of the people was left of.

*After the burning of thys man, which was about the moneth of Iune, in the same yere about Nouember, a connocation was called by Henry Archbish. of Cant. wherein was propounded among the clergie, to consult with them selues, what way were best to be taken, for the remoouing a way the law of Premuniri facias, for so were the harts then of the temporalty set against the ecclesiasticall sort, y^t where any vantage might be geuen them by the law, they did nothing spare, by reason whereof, the churchmen at that time were greatly molested by the sayd law of Premuniri, and by the kings writtes, and other inditements, to their no smal anoyance, By long consultation and good aduisement, at last this way was taken, y^t a petition or supplicatiō should be drawn and presented to the king, * for the abolishing of the foresaid lawe of Premuniri facias, and also for the restraining of other briefes, wryts, and inditements, which seemed then to lie heauy vppon the Clergy. This bill or supplication being contriued and exhibited by the Archbish. of Canter, and of Yorke, vnto the king standing in neede the same time, of a subsidie to be collected of the cleargie: thys aunswer was geuen to their supplication on the kings behalfe: that for somuche as the time of Christenmaste then drewe neare, whereby he had as yet no sufficient leisure to aduise vppon the matter, * he woulde take therein a farther pause. In the

meane time, as one tendering theyr quiet, he would send to al his officers and ministers w^hin his realm, that no such briefe of Premuniri, shoulde passe against them or any of them, from the saide time of Christenmas, till the next Parliament. An. 1439. Ex Regist. Cant.

In my former edition of Acts & monuments, so hastily rashed vp at that present, in such shortnesse of time, as in the sayde booke thou mayst see (gentle reader) declared and signified: * among many other matters therein contained, there is a shorte note made of one Eleanor Cobham Duchesse of Gloucester, & of Syr Roger Onley knight (priest it should haue ben printed,) which two persons, about the yeare of our Lord. 1440. or the next yeare following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetual prison. Of this litle short matter, maister Cope the Popes Scout, lying in priuie wait to spie faults in al mēs works, wherso euer any may appeare, taketh pepper in the nose, & falleth againe vnto his olde barking against mee, for placing these foresayd persons in my booke of Martyrs, but especially he thinketh to haue great vantage against me, for that in the same story, I do ioyne withal, one Margaret Iourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned also wyth them the same time, and burned for practising the kings death by an image of waxe, &c. To answeere hereunto, first I say (as I before sayde) that I professe no such title to wryte of Martyrs: but in generall to wryte of rites and Monuments passed in the church and realme of England. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walke of a story wryter, more then other that haue gone before me?

Secondly, touching my commendation of Sir Roger Onley, and the Lady Eleanor, if maister Alane be therewith offended, I aunswer that I commended them for sauoring and fauoring of the truth of Christes doctrine: For the fact, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it w^e any long tarying vppon it, nor yet all together vpon mine owne head, without some sufficient warrant of authoritie. For why may not I as well beleue Iohn Bale, as M. Alane beleue M. Fabian? especially seeing I do knowe, and was priuie, that the saide Iohn in recognising his Centuries, followed altogether the history of Leland. De Catalogo virorum illustrium, which booke being borrowed of master Cheke, I my selfe did see in the hands of the foresayd Iohn Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble Lady Duches of Richmond. Wherefore if he thinke me so leud to speake without mine authors, he is deceiued. And if he thinke mine authors not to be beleueed, then let thys Nomothetes, or iolly Dictator, come foorth and prescribe vs a law, what authors he would haue vs to take, and what to refuse. For els why is it not as free for me to credite Iohn Bale, and Leland, as for him to credite Robert Fabian, and Edw. Hall, especially seeing they had seene hys bookes and workes left behinde him, wherupon they might better iudge, and so did neuer these?

Thirdly, * for the name of Roger Onley, if Cope denie that there was any such name in stories mētioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke. &c. heereby it may appeare that either his prompter out of England deceiued him, or els that hee going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good wil in him, but only a litle matter to make a perfect sycophant. And admit the sayde name of Onley could not be founde in those wryters, yet it were not vnpossible for a man to haue two names, especially if he were a religious man, to beare the name of the towne where he was born, beside his own proper surname. But nowe what if I (M. Cope) can auouch and bring foorth to you the name of Roger Onley out of sufficient recorde, which you seeme not to haue yet read? Haue yee not then done well and properly (thinke you) so bitterly to flee in my face, and to barke so egerly all this while at moneshine in the water, hauing no more

cause almoste against me, thē against the man in the Moone? And now least you shoulde thinke me so much vnprovidd of iust authority for my defence, as I see you vnprovidd of modestie and patience, wryte you to your prompter or suborner (where so euer he lurketh here in England) to sende you ouer vnto Louane the booke of Iohn Harding a Chronicler, more auncient then either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of Richard Grafton, Anno 1543. where turne to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there shall you finde and reade these wordes.

Againe the Church and the king cursedly:

By helpe of one maister Roger Onley. &c.

By the whyche woordes yee must necessarily confesse Roger Onley to be the name of the man, either els must ye needes deny the author. For otherwise that master Roger Bolingbroke was the onely helper to the Duchesse in that fact, by no wise it can stande with the story of these authors which say, that 4. other besides hym were cōdemned for the same erune.* &c. And moreouer thought the sayd Sir R. Onley was no knight (as I haue saide in my former edition) yet this yee cannot deny, by the testimonie of them that haue sene his workes, but that he was a Priest, which you wil graunt to be a knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of M. Roger Onley.

Fourthly,* as concerning Margaret Iourdeman, whō ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say that I make her a martyr, which was a wytche: when as I here professe, confesse, and ascertain both you, and all English men, both present & al posterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Iourdeman I neuer spake of, neuer thought of, neuer dreamed of, nor did euer heare of, before you named her in your booke your selfe. So farre is it of, that I eyther with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her.

Furthermore,* I professe and denounce in like manner, y^e neither haue you any iust or congrue occasion in my booke so to iudge, much lesse to raile of me. For where, in expresse words I do speake of the mōther of the Lady Yong, what occasion haue you therby to slander me and my booke with Margarete Iourdeman? which Margarete whether shee was a witche or not, I leaue her to the Lorde. As for me, neither did I knowe of her then, nor did I meane of her now. But because I couple her in the same story, you say. To this I say, because shee was the mother of a Ladie, I thought to ioine her w^e an other Lady in the same story, as in one pue together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet notw^tstanding I doe so couple the saide mother w^e the Duchesse, in such distinet difference of yeares, that you M. Cope might casily haue vnderstande, or beside you, no man els would haue thought the contrary, but that Margaret Iouedeman was neither heere in my booke, nor yet many memento. For the wooordes of my storie are playne, whereas the condemnation of the Lady Eleanor, & of the mother of Lady Young being referred to the yeare of our Lord 1441. I doe also in the same story (through the occasion of that Ladie) inforte mention of the mother of the Ladie Yong declaring in expresse woordes,* that shee folowed [Page 703](#) certayne yeares after, & in the end of that chapter, do name also the yeare of her burning to be. 1490. whiche was 50. yeares after the death of Onely, and Margaret Iourdeman: by the computatiō of which yeares it is playne, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady Younges mother.

But M, Cope continuing still in his wrangling mood objecteth agayne, for that in my Callendar, the sayd Ladye Younges mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, whiche day pertayneth properly to Margaret Iourdeman which was burned the same day in Smithfield, & not to the Ladyes mother, &c.

What order was taken in placing the names & dayes, what is that to me? If he whiche had the disposing of the Catalogue, did place them so in monthes, as he sawe them ioyned in chapters, not perusing peradventure nor abusing the chapters, that doth nothing preiudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth clare it selfe in distincting thē rightly in names & also in yeares, as is afore declared.

*Fiftly and lastly, hauing thus sufficiently aunswered to your circumstanunces of persons, names, and times (M. Cope) I will nowe enter to encounter with you concerning the fact: * and crime objected to the Lady Duches, and to the rest: with this protestation before premised vnto the reader, that if the fact be true and so done is reported in y^e histories of Fabian, Halle and harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I do not here deale withall, nor speake of the matter, but vtterly to haue pretermitted, and dispuncted the same. But for somuch as the deed and offence layd and geuen forth agaynst these parties, may be a matter made, * & of euil wil compacted, rather then true in deede: therefore I doe but onely moue a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but onely mouing the question, whether it is to be iudged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged, and so hauing briefly, propounded certayne coniectural suspicious or supposals concerning that matter, to passe it ouer, neither medling on the one side nor on the other.

*The first cōiecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason layd to the charge of the Duches, & Roger Oneley, agaynst the king, may be vntrue is this: that the sayde Oneley (otherwise named Bolingbroke) tooke it vppon hys death, that they neuer intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

*The second coniecture: for that the Lady Eleanor, and Onely seemed then to fauour and fauour of that religion set forth by wicklesse, and therefore like enough, that they were ha•d of the clergy. Furthermore what hatred & practise of Papistes can do, it is not vnknowne.

*The third coniecture: for that the sayd mayster Roger Onely falsly noted and accused of Nicromancie, wrote a booke in purgation of himselfe, intituled: de Innocentia sua. Also an other booke intituled. Contra vulgi superstitiones, recorded in Centu 8. Bale. cap. 4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly agaynst the superstitions of the people, was ouertaken with that filth of Nicro'mancie himselfe.

*The fourth coniecture: because this accusation against the Duches of Glocester, Duke Humfries wife began not before, but after the grudge kindled betweene the Cardinall of Wint. and Duke Humfrey, her Husband.

*An other coniecture may be hereof, for that, if the Duches had entended any suche haynous treason against the kings life, as by burning of a waxe candle to consume him it is not like (neyther was there anye such neede) that she would haue made so many priuy to such a

pernicious coucell, as the Witch of Eye, M. Rog. Bolingbroke, M. Tho. Southwest and Iohn Hume.

*Sixtly, it is not to be supposed, if anye such hie treason had bene wrought or pretended agaynst the kinges person by these that eyther the Duches should so escape with bearing a taper and banishment, or that Iohn Hume shoulde be pardoned hys life, the fact being so haynous, that neyther any durst aske hys pardon, nor if it had bene asked, it had not bene like to be graunted.

*To these we may also adde an other supposall, rising vpon the wordes and forme of theyr accusation, as it standeth in Harding: Polychronicon, and other moe, wherein they were accused for working sorcery, and inchantmentes agaynst the church and the king. Now what sorcery can be wrought agaynst the church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the reader iudge, and by the truth of this consider also the truth of the other, which was agaynst the king. Furthermore, if by this Church is ment the Cardinall of Wint, as like it is: then it may be coniecturall, that all this matter rose of that Cardinall, who was then a mortall enemy to the house of Gloucester. &c.

Eightly:* And that all this was done and wrought by the sayd Cardinall of Wint. the witch concerning Eye maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that towne of Eye as Fabian witnesseth, was neare beside Wintchester, and sea of that Byshop.

Moreouer,* for so much as Polydore Virgill, among other story authors, being a mā as may be supposed, rather fauouring the Cardinalls parte then the Dukes, made no mention at all touching this treason, hys licence therof may minister matter not also to muse, but onely to coniecture, that he had found something whiche made hym to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is vnlike that he wold haue so mewed vp the matter, and passed it ouer without some mention.

Finally and briefly:* The frequent practises and examples of other times, may make this also more doubtfull, cōsidering howe many subtile pretences, after like forte haue bene sought, and wrongfull accusations brought agaynst many innocent persons For (not to repeate the like forgeries agaynst the Lord Cobham and syr Roger Acron. &c.) why may not this accusation of the Duches and Onley, be as false as that in the time of king Edward the 5. whiche was layd to the charge of the Queene, and Shores wife by the Protectours, for inchaunting & bewitching of his withered arme? which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarell made, only to oppresse the life of the L. Hastings & y^e L. standley. &c. And thus mayest thou see, gentle reader, according to y^e wise mans saying: Nihil nouū es•e sub sole• Nihil que dictum, quod non sit dictum prius. xc.

Althoughe these w^t many mo coniectures, may be alledged in some part of Defence of this Duches, and of her Chaplaines and Priestes: yet because it may be not vnpossible againe, the matter laide against them, to be true, I leaue it therfore at large as I finde it: saying as I saide before, that if it be true which the stories say in this matter, thinke I beseech thee gentle Reader, that I haue saide nothing hereof. Onely, because the matter may bedisputable, and not vnpossible to be false, I haue but moued thereof a questiō,* and brought my coniectures, leauing the determi, natiō, and iudgement hereof, to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope, be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Actes and Monumentes I durst name

y^e Lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Onely: let him take this for a short aūswer, because my leisure serueth not to make long braules w^t him: y^t if I had thought no imperfectiōs to haue passed in my former editiō before, I would neuer haue taken in hand the recognition thereof now y^t secōd time, wherby to sponge away such motes, as I thought would seeme great stombling blockes in suche mens walkes, which walke with no charitie to edefie: but with malice to carpe and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amisse in others, neither tarying while other men reforme themselues, & finally finding quarels where no great cause is iustly geuen. And here an end with M. Cope for this time.

Forsomuch as in the processe before,* mentiō was touched concerning the grudge betweene y^e Cardinall, cal•ed the rich Cardinal of Wintchester, and the good duke Humfrey duke of Glocester, the kings vncle, and protector of y^t realme: order of story now requireth to open some parte of y^t matter more at large. Wherein this first is to be vnderstand, that long before,* great flames of grudge and discorde did burst out betweene these two. For as the noble hart of the Duke could not abide the proud doinges of the Cardinall: so much againe the Cardinall in like maner sore enuied & disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Glocester. Notwithstanding by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, the brasting out betweene them was before appealed & cured: yet not so, but that vnder imperfect amitie, priuy hatred, as sparckes vnder the imbers, did still remaine: So that the Cardinal, ioyning with the Archbishop of Yorke, attempted many thinges of their owne presumption, contrary to the consent, not onely of the king (being then vnder age) but also of the protectour & gouernor of the realme. Wherwith the Duke (like a true harted prince) being not without iust cause offended, declared in writing to the king certaine complaintes contained in 21. Articles, wherein the Cardinall and Archbishop had transgressed,* both against the king & his lawes. The tenour whereof, more at large is in other stories expressed, y^e briefe abstract therof followeth in a short summarie here to be seene.

Certaine pointes or articles objected by the Duke Humfrey, against the Cardinall of Winchester.

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*First complayned to his soueraigne Prince his right redoubted Lord duke Humfrey, his vncle and protector of the realm, that the bishop of Winchester, in the dayes of his father king Henry the 5. took vpon him the state of a cardinall, being denied by the king, saying that he had as lief set his owne crowne beside hym, as to see him weare a cardinals hatte, and that in Parliamentes, he not beyng contented with the place of a bishop among the spirituall persons presumed aboue hys order, whiche the sayd Duke desired to be redressed.

*2. Item, whereas he being made Cardinal, was voyded of his bishopricke of Winchester, he procured from Rome the Popes Bull, vnknowing to the king, whereby he took agayne his bishopricke, contrary to the common lawe of this realme, incurring therby the case of prouision, and fore'feiting all his goodes to the king, by the law of premuniri facias.

*3. Item, he complayned that the said Cardinall, with the Archbishop of Yorke, intruded themselues to haue the gouernaunce of the king, and the doing vnder the king, of tēporall

matters, excluding the kings vnclē, and other temporall Lordes of the kinges kinde, from hauing knowledge of any great matter.

4. Item, whereas the king had borrowed of the Cardinall 4000. pounds,* vpon certayne Iewels, and afterward had his mony ready at the day to quite his iewels: the Cardinall caused the treasurer to conuert that mony, to the payment of an other armye, to keepe the Iewels still to hys owne vse and gayne.

*5. Item, he being then bishop of Winchester, and Chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scottes, vpon his own authoritie, contrary to the act of parliament, wed'ding his nece afterward to the sayd king. Also where the said king of Scottes shoulde haue payd to the king forty thousand pounds, y^e cardinall procured x. thousand marks therof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly payd.

*6. Item, the sayd cardinall, for lending notable sommes to the king, had the profite of the port of Hampton: where he, setting his seruantes to be the Customers, wolle and other marchaundise was, vnder that clok, exported not somuch to his singular vauntage, being the chiefe marchant, as to the greate preiudice of the king, and detriment to his subiectes.

7. Item, the cardinall, in lending out great summes to y^t king, yet so differed and delayed the loane thereof, y^t comming out of season, the same did the king litle pleasure, but rather hinderaunce.

8. Item, where iewels & plate were prised at a 11. thousand poundes in weight,* of the sayd Cardinall forfeited to the king: the cardinall for loane of a little peere, gat him a a restorement thereof, to the Kings great dammage, who better might haue spared the commons if the somme had remayned to him cleare.

9. Item, where the kinges father had geuen Elizabeth Bewchampe. CCC. markes of liuelode, with this condition if the wedded with in a yeare, the Cardinall, notwithstanding she was maryed two or three yeares after, yet gaue her the same, to the kinges great hurt, and diminishing of hys inheritaunce.

10. Item, the Cardinall hauing no authoritie nor interest to the crown,* presumed notwithstanding to cal before him, like a King, to the kinges high derogation.

11 Item, that the Cardinall sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all dismes, due to the Kyng by the church of Winchester, geuing thereby example to the Clergye, to withdraw their disines likewise, and lay all the charge only vpon the temporalitie, and poore commons.

12. 13. Item, by the procuring of the sayd Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, great goodes of the kings were lost and dispended vpon needles Ambassades, first to Arras, then to Calice.

14. Item it was layd to the charge of the sayd Cardinall and archbishop, that by their meanes, goyng to Calice, the ii. enemies of the king, the Duke of Orleance, and Duke of Burgoyne, were reduced together in accorde & alliaunce, who being at warre before betwene themselues, and

now cōfederate together, ioyned both together agaynst y^e kings townes and countryes ouer the sea, to the great daunger of Normandy, and destruction of the kinges people.

*15. Item, by the archbishop of Yorke, and the Cardinall perswasiōs were moued opely in the kings presence, with allurementes and inducementes, that the king shoulde leaue hys right, his title and honour of his crowne, in nominating him king of Fraunce, during certayne yeeres, & that he shoulde vtterly absteyne, and be content onely in writing, with Rex Angliae, to the great note and infamy of the king and of all his progenitours.

16. 17. Item, through the sleight and subtlety of the sayde Cardinall and his mate, a new conuention was intended betweene the king and certayne aduersaryes of Fraunce. Also y^e deliuerance of the Duke of Orleance was appointed in such sort, as therby great disworship & inconueniēce was like to fall, rather of the kinges side then of the other.

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchased great landes and liuelodes of the king, the Duke being on the other side the sea occupied in warres, whiche redounded little to the worship and profite of y^e king: * and moreouer had the kinge bound, to make him as sure estate of all those landes by Easter next, as could be deuised by any learned councel, or els y^e said cardinal to haue and enioy to him and his heyres for euer, the landes of the Duchie of Lancaster in Northfolke to the value of 7. or 8. hundred markes by the yeare.

19. Item, * where the Duke the kinges vncle, had oftenoffered his seruice for the defence of the Realme of France, and the duchie of Normandy, the Cardinall euer laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after this singular affection: whereby a great part of Normandy hath bene lost.

20. Itē, * seeing y^t Cardinall was risen to such riches & treasure, which could grow to him, neyther by his Church, nor by enheritāce (which he then had) it was of necessitie to be thought, that it came by his great deceites, in deceiuinge both the king, and hys subiects, in selling offices, prefermentes, liuelodes, captaynships both here and in y^t realm of Fraunce and in Normandy, so that what hath beu there lost, he hath bene the greatest causer thereof.

21. Furthermore, when the sayd Cardinal had forfeited al hys goods by the statute of prouision, * he hauing the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realme: purchased frō the pope a charter of pardon, not onely to the defeating of the lawes of the Realme, but also to the defrauding of the king, who otherwise might and should haue had where w^t to susteine his warres, without any tallage of his poore people. &c.

When the king heard these accusations, he committed y^t hearing therof to his counsaile: whereof y^t most part were spirituall persons. * So, what for feare, and what for fauour the matter was wincked at, & delied out, and nothing said thereunto, and a fayre countenaunce was made to y^t Duke as though no displeasure had bene taken, nor malice borne in these spirituall stomaches. But shortly after, the smoke hereof, not able to keepe in any longer within the spiritual brestes of these charitable churchmen, brast out in flames of mischief. For vpon the necke of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian Polychronicon, and Hall whiche followeth Polych, first ensued the condemnation of L. Elianour the Duches and her Chapleynes, * as ye haue heard before. Whereby it may appeare the sayd Duches more of malice, then any iust cause, this to haue bene

troubled. Also within vi. yeares after, followed the lamentable destruction of the Duke himselfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

About which time,* or not long after, an. 1443. the steeple of Paules was set on fire by lightening, and at last by dilligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

And after the condemnation of lady Elianour the Duches, aforesayd,* within few yeares. an. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Cant. by whom she was condemned in S. Stephens chappell at Westin.* for penaunce to beare a taper through cheapside three sondry times, and afterward outlawed to the Ile of Manne, vnder the custody of syr Iohn Standly knight. This Hēry Chichesley builded in hys time, 2. Colledges in the vniuersitie of Oxford, the one called Alsolne Colledge, the other named Barnard Colledge.

Proceeding now to the yeare, wherein suffered Humfrey y^t good Duke of Gloucester, which was the yeare of y^t Lord. 1447. first we will begin in few words to intreat of his life & conuersation: then of the maner and cause of hys death. As touching the ofspring and dissent of this Duke, first he was the sonne of Henry the fourth, brother to kyng Henry the fift,* and vncle to kyng Henry the sixt, assigned to be the gouernour and protector of his person. Of manners he seemed meeke and gentle, louing the common wealth, a supporter of the poore commons, of wit & wisdom discrete and studious, well affected to religion, and a frend to veritie, & no les enemy to pride & ambitio, especial|ly in hauty prelates, which was his vndoing in this presēt euil world: And, which is seldome & rare in such princes of y^t calling, he was both learned himselfe: & no lesse geuen to study, as also a singular fauourer & patron to them which were studious & learned. And that my commendation of him may haue the more credite, I wil produce the testimony of learned writers, who liuing in hys time, not only do cōmend his famous knowledge, and ripenes of learning in him: but also commit & submit their works to his iudge|ment to be examined. Of whiche writers one is Petrus de [Page 705](#) Monte,* writing De virtutū & vitiorum differentia: who in his Epistle dedicatory beginning with the singuler commendation of this Duke, and afterward speaking De optimarum artium, liberaliumque scientiarum peritia, sayeth thus: Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque studio incumbis: adeo vt nihil tibi sine librorum lectione, iocundum gratum, aut certe delectabile videatur. &c. And in further processe of his worke, thus he further declareth, saying: Delectaris autem non vna tantum arte, aut scientia, quanquam & id quidem esset satis: verum fere omnibus, earum{que} codices magna quadam auiditate legisti. &c. Besides this Petrus de Mōte, let vs heare also the iudgement of an other writer of the same age,* named Lapiscastellius, who likewise dedicating to the sayd Duke Humfry, his booke intituled Comparatio studiorum & rei militaris, amongst diuers other words cōmēdatory, hath these as follow: Ad te potissimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, & sapientissimum iudicem fore existimo, qui vt ex integerrimo pat. domino, Zenone Baiocensi episcopo, homine tuae laudis cupidissimo, accepi: ita in his humanitatis studiis inuigilares, vt nullus toto terrarū orbe princeps, nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus sit. &c. Many other argumentes and places may be brought, to declare what is to be esteemed of the learning and studious wit of this noble Prince.

Furthermore, as the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, so was the discrete wisdom and singular prudence in him no lesse to be considered: as for y^e more manifest prooffe thereof, I thought here good amongst many other his godly doings, to recite one example,

reported as well by the penne of syr Thomas More, as also by M. William Tindall, the true Apostle of these our latter dayes, to the intent to see and note, not only the craftye working of false miracles in the clergie, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty prince, the fore sayd Duke Humfrey, may geue vs better to vnderstand what man he was. The story lyeth thus.

In the yong dayes of this king Henry the sixt, beyng yet vnder the gouernance of this Duke Humfrey his protector, there came to S. Albones a certayne begger wyth his wife,* and there was walking about y^r towne, begging fiue or sixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, saying y^t he was borne blind and neuer saw in his lyfe, & was warned in hys dreame, that he shuld come out of Barwik, where he sayd he had euer dwelled, to seek S. Albon, and that he had bene at his shrine, and had not bene holpē, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place: for he had heard some say, since he came, that S. Albones body shoulde be at Colon, and in deede suche a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am surely informed, he lyeth here at S. Albones, sauing some Reliques of him, whiche they there shew shryned. But to tell you foorth, when the king was comen, and the towne full, sodainly this blynde man at S. Albones shrine had hys sight agayne, and a miracle solemnly ronge, and Te Deum song, so that nothing was talked of in al the towne, but this miracle. So happened it thē, that Duke Humfrey of Glocester, a man no les wife, then also well learned, hauing great ioye to see suche a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and first shewing himselfe ioyous of Gods glory, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekenes, and to no ascribing of any part of y^t worship to himself, nor to be proud of the peoples prayse, which would call him a good & godly man therby, at last he looked well vpon his eyne, and asked whether he could see nothing at al, in al his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly no, then hee looked aduisedly vpon his eyen againe, and sayd: I beleue you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet. Yes syr, quod he, I thanke God and hys holy martyr, I can see now as well as any mā. (Yea can (quod y^e duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anon the begger tolde him. What colour (quoth he) is this mans gowne? He told him also, and so forth without any sticking, he told him the names of all y^t colours that could be shewed him. And when the Duke saw that, he had him walke traytour, and made him to be set openly in the stockes: For though he could haue seene sodenly by miracle the difference betwene diuers colours,* yet could he not by the sight so sodeinly tell the names of al these coulours, except he had known them before, no more then the names of all the men, that he shuld sodaynly see.

By this may it be seene howe Duke Humfrey had not onely an head to disserue and disseruer trueth from forged and fayned hipocrisie, but study also and dilligence lykewise was in him,* to reforme that which was amisse.

And thus much hetherto for the noble prowesse & vertues, ioyned with y^e like ornamentes of knowledge, & literature shining in this Princely duke. For the which, as he was both loued of the poore commons, and wel spoken of all men, & no les deseruing the same, being called the good Duke of Glocester, so neither yet wanted hee his enemies and priuy enuiers,* whether it was through the fatall and vnfortunate lucke of the name of that house which is but a vayn & friuolous obseruation of Polydore, & Halle which followeth hym, bringing in the examples of Hugh Speser of Thomas of Woodstock, sonne of •. Edward the thyrd of this Duke Humfry,* and after o• king Richard the thyrd Duke likewise of Gloucester: or whether it was that y^r nature of

true vertue cōmonly is suche, that as the flame euer beareth his smoke, and the body his shadow: fo• the brightnes of vertue neuer blaseth, but hath some disdayne or enuy wayting vpon it: or els whether it was rather for some diuorcement from his wife, or for some other vice or trespasse done (as seemeth most like truth) which God as well in dukes houses correcteth, as in other inferiour parsons, especially where he loueth: But howsoeuer the cause is to vs vnknowne, this good Duke of Glocester, albeit beyng both y^t kinges sole vncle, & hauing so many well willers thorough y^r whol realme, yet lacked not hys Sathan: lacked not his secret maligners. Of whom specially was Hēry Beuford Cardinal, Bish. of Wintchester and Chaunceller of England: * who of long time disdayning and enuying the rule and authoritie of this Duke: first had disposed and appoynted himselfe, to remoue the kings person from Eltham vnto Winsor out of the Dukes handes, and there to put in such gouernours, * as him listed. After that, entēding the Dukes death, he set men of armes and Archers at the end of London bridge, and for barring the hie waye wyth a draw chain, set men in chambers, sellers and windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the purposed destructiō both of the duke & his retinue, if God had not so disposed, to turne his iourney another way. Beside other manifold iniuries and molestations, the Ambitious Cardinall, seeking by all meanes to be Pope, procured such trouble agaynst him, that great deuision was thereby in the whole Realme: in somuch that all the shops within y^r city of London, were shut in, for feare of the fauourers of these two great personages, for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof y^t archbishop of Caunterbury, and the Duke of Dumber, called the prince of Portingall, rode 7. tymes in one day betwene those two aduersaryes. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diuision within the realme, and al by the excitation of this vnquiet Cardinall.

Ouer and beside, * this Cardinall afore mentioned, an o'ther Capitall enemy to the said Duke, was William de la Pole, first Earle, then Marques, at last Duke of Suffolke a man very ill reported of in storyes, to be not only y^t orgā & instrument of this good mans death, but also to be the noyance of the common wealth, & ruine of the realme. For by him and hys onely deuise, was first concluded the vnprofitable and vnhonourable mariage betweene the kyng & Lady Margaret daughter of y^e Duke of Angeow: * where as the king had concluded & contracted a mariage before w^t the daughter of the Earle of Armi•k, vpon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more conuenient it is for a Prince to mary a wise with riches & frends then to take a mayd w^t nothing, & disherite himselfe, & hys realme of old rightes, & ancient inheritance, which so came to passe. And all this the good Duke did well foresee, & declared no lesse: but hys counsel would not be taken. Wherupon followed first the geuing away the Duchy of Angeow: & the Citie of Mayne, with the who•e Country of Mayne, to Reyner Duke of Angeow & father of the Damo•ell, called then K. of Sicile & of Hierusalē, hauing ther'of no peny profite, but onely a vayne name to play withal.

An other sore enemy and mortall plague to this Duke was the Queene her selfe, * lately before married to the king. Who being of haute stomack, and all set vpon glory of wit and wilynes lacking nothing, and perceiuing her husband to be simple of wit, and easy to be ruled, tooke vpon her to rule and gouerne both the king & kingdome. And because the aduise & counsaile of Humfrey duke of Glocester, was somewhat a stay that her authoritie and regimēt could not so fully proceede, and partly because the sayd Duke before dyd disagree from that mariage, this manly women and couragious Queene ceased not by all imaginations and practises possible, * to set forwarde his destruction, hauing also for her helper herein the Duke of Buckingham. &c.

These being his principall enemies and mortall foes,* fearing least some commotion might arise, if such a Prince so uere the kinges blood, and so beare to the people, & of all men so beloued, shold be openly executed & put to death, deuised how to trap him, and circumuēt him vnknowing and vnprouided. For the more speedy furtherance wherof, [Page 706](#) a Parliament was sūmoned to be kept at Bery,* an. 1447. sacre •rom the citizens of London, as William Lindall in his booke of practise,* writeth. Where resorted all the peres of the realme, and amongst them the Duke of Gloucester, thinking no harme to any man, & lesse to himselfe. Who on the second day of the Ses•on, was by the Lord Beamonde high Constable then of Englande, accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and vpon the same all his seruants discharged and put from him, of whome 32. of the principall being also vnder arrest, were dispersed into diuers prisōs to the great murmuring and greuaunce of the people. After this arrest thus done, and the Duke put in to Warde, the night after (saith Halle) 6. nightes after (sayth Fabian and Polychron,* he was found dead in hys bed the 24. of Febru^r ary and his body shewed to the Lordes and Commons, as though he had bene taken naturally with some sodayne disease. And although no woūd in his body could be seene: yet to al indifferent persons it might wel be iudged, that he dyed of no naturall pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled, some that a whole spytt was priuily forced into his body, some affirme y^t he, was styfeled betweene to fether beds. After the death of this Duke, and hys body being enterred at S. Albons, after he had po^litically by the space of 25. yeares gouerned this realme, 5. of his housholde to wit, one knight, 3. Esquiers, and a Yeoman, were arreigned, & conuict to be hanged, drawn & quartered. Who being hanged and cut downe halfe aliue, y^e Marques of Suffolke, there present shewed the charter of the kinges pardon, and so they were deliuered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying that the sauing of the seruantes, was no amends for the murdering of the mayster.

In this cruell facte of these persons, which did so conspire and consent to the death of this noble man,* & whiche thought thereby to worke their owne safety, the meruailous work of gods iudgement, appeareth herein to be noted: who as in all other like cruell pollices of mā, so in this also turned al theyr pollices clean contrary. So that where y^e Queene thought most to preserue her husband in honor, and her selfe in state, thereby both she lost her husband, her husband lost his realm, the realm lost Angeow, Normādy the Duchy of Aquitane, with all her partes beyond y^t sea, Calice only except, as in sequele of the matter, who so will read the storyes, shall right well vnderstand.

The next yeare following, it followed also, that y^t Cardinall, who was the principall artificer and ringleader of all this mischief,* was suffered of God no lōger to liue.* Of whose wicked conditions being more largely set foorth in Edward Halle, I omitte here to speake. What he himselfe spake in his deathbed for example to other, I thought not best to pretermitt. Who hearing that he shuld dy, & that ther was no remedy, murmured & grudged, wherfore he shuld dye,* hauing so much riches, saying: that if the whole realm would saue hys life, he was able either by pollicy to get it, or by riches to buy it: adding & saying moreouer, fit (quod he) will not death be hyred? nor will money doe nothing? whē my nephew of Bedford dyed, I thought my selfe halfe vp the wheele, but whē I saw mine other nephew of Glocester deceased, then I thought my selfe able to be equal w^t kinges, and so ought to encrease my treasure, in hope to haue worne the triple crown. &t. Ex Edou Hallo. And thus is the rich byshop of Winchester, with all his pompe and riches gone, with the which riches, he was able not onely to build scholes, colledges and

Uniuersities, but also was able to susteine the kinges armies in warre (as is specified in storyes) without any taxing of the commons.

In whose seate next succeeded William Wanflet, prefer'd to the byshopricke of Winchester who though he had lesse substaunce, yet hauing a minde more godly disposed, did found and erecte the Colledge of Mary Magdalen in Oxford. For the which foundation, as there haue ben, and be yet many studentes bound to yeld gratefull thanks vnto God, so I must needes confesse my selfe to be one, except I will be vnkinde.

Among y^t other mischieuous aduersaries which sought and wrought the death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, next to the Cardinall of Winchester (who,* as is sayd, dyed y^t next yere following) was William de la Pole, Marques of Suffolk, who also liued not long after, nor long escaped vnpunished. For although he was highly exalted, by the meanes of y^e Queene (whose maryage he onely procured) vnto y^e fauour of y^e king, & was made Duke of Suffolke, & magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the re'alme, whose actes and facts his vayne glorious head caused also by the assent of the commons, to be recorded, & substantially to be registred in the rolles of the Parliament, for a perpetuall renowne to him,* and all his posteritie for euer: yet notw^tstanding the hand of Gods iudgement still hanging ouer hym, he enioyed not long this his triūphant victory. For within 3. yeares after the death and ruine of y^e Cardinall, the voyces of the whole commons of England were vtterly turned against him, accusing him in the Parliament at the blacke Fryers, for deliury of the Duchye of Angeow, and Barledome of Maine: also for the death of y^r noble Prince Humfry Duke of Glocester. They unputed moreouer to hym the losse of all Normandye, saying vnto him that he was a swallower vp and consumer of y^r kings treasure,* the exp[•]iler of al good and vertuous counsaylers from the king, and aduancer of vicious persons, apparant aduersaryes to the publicke wealth: so that he was called in euery mouth a traytour, a murderer, and a robber of the kinges treasure.

The Queene, albeit she tenderly loued the Duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to committe hym to the tower, where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remayned for a month whiche being expired, he was deliuered and restored agayne into his old place, & former fauour with the kyng: where at the people more grudged then before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that the parliament, was for that tyme, adiourned to Leycester, thinking to the Queene, by force and rigour of lawe to rep[•]esse there the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke. But at that place few of y^r nobilitie would appeare, Wherefore it was againe reiourned vnto Londō, & kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, & a full appearance with the king and Queene, & with them the duke of Suffolke, as chiefe counsailour. The commons not forgetting their old grudge, renewed agayn their former articles and accusations agaynst the sayde duke, agaynst the byshop of Salisb.* & syr Iames Fynics, Lord Say, and other. When the kyng perceaued y^r no glosing nor dissimulation would serue to appease the continual clamour of the importunate cōmons, to make some quiet pacificatiō, first he sequestred from hym the Lord say, treasurer of Englande, & other the Dukes adherentes from theyr offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of 5. yeares, supposing by that space the furious rage of y^r people would asswage.

But the hand of God woulde not suffer y^t giltles bloud of Humfrey Duke of Glocester,* to be vnreuenged, or that flagitious person further to continue. For whē he shipped in Suffolke, intending to be transported into Fraunce: he was encountred with a shippe of warre belonging to the tower: whereby he was taken, and brought into Douer rode, and there on the side of a ship boat, one strake of his head: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1450.

And thus haue ye heard the full storye, and discourse of Duke Humfrey, and of all hys aduersaries, also of Gods condigne punishment vpon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remoue from the sayde story of the foresayde Duke, and of the proud Cardinall his enemy, I will hers by the way, annexe a certaine instrument by the kyng and aduise of his counsayle, made agaynst the sayde Cardinall, taking vpon him to enter into this realme, as Legate frō the Pope, contrary to the old lawes and customes of thys realme, as by the wordes of the sayd instrument here in Latine may well appeare.

In Dei nomine Amen, Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter quod an. Dom. 1428.* Indictione septima pontificatus Sanct. in Christo pat. & D. nostri D. Martini &c.

Ego Richardus Candray, procurator & nomine procuratorio Christianissimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliae & Franciae, & Domini Hiberniae, Domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter & aduisamento Illustris & potentis Principis Hum'fridi Ducis Gloucestriae, Comitum Penbrochia, protectoris & defensoris regni Angliae, & Ecclesiae Anglicanae, & caeterorum dominorum meorum de consilio suae Regiae celsitudinis, ac consiliū eiusdem facientiū & hac vice representantiū, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod dictus Christianissimus, princepsdominus meus supremus, sui{que} inclytissimi progenitores dicti regni Angliae Reges, fuerunt & sunt, tam speciali priuilegio: quam consuetudine laudabili legitime{que} praescripta, nec non a tēpore & per tēpus (cuius contrarij memoria hominum non existat) pacifice & inconcusse obseruata, sufficienter, dotati legitime{que} muniti, quod nullus Apostolicae se dis Legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Angliae, aut alias suas terras & dominia, nisi ad Regis Angliae pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, inuitationem, seu rogatum: Fuerunt{que} & sunt dicti Christianissimus princeps dominus meus supremus ac sui inclyti progenitores huiusmodi Reges Angliae, in possessione quasi iuris & [Page 707](#) facti priuilegij, & consuetudinis praedictorum, abs{que} interruptione quacun{que}, toto & omni tempore supradicto, pacificè & quiete Romanis pontificibus per totum tempus supradictum, praemissa omnia & singula, scientibus, tolerantibus, & iisdem consentiētibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem & omnimodam possessionem, quasi iuris & facti, Legatū huiusmodi (vtpraefertur) in regnum Angliae aut alias suas terras et dominia mittendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem: & Rogatum Regis Angliae, pro tempore existentis. Et quia reuerendis. in Chri. pat. & D. D. Henricus Dei gratia &c. sancti Eusebij praesbyter, Cardinalis sanctaesis Romanae, Legatum se affirmans, more Legati, insignijs Apostolicae dignitatis vtens, abs{que} vocatione, petitione, requisitione, inuitatione, aut rogatu Christianissimi domini nostri Regis praedicti, inclytum regnum Angliae de facto est ingressus, protestor igitur palam, & publico in his scriptis nomine & vice quibus supra, ac omnium ipsius domini nostri Regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis, praefati Christianiss principis, domimini supremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de cōsilio in derogationem legum, iurium, consuetudinum, libertatum & priuilegiorum dicti D. nostri Regis ac regni, ingressum huiusmodi dicti reuerendiss. patris, vt Legati in Angliam, autoritate ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum vt Legatum sedis

Apostolicae in Angliam, contra leges, iura, consuetudines, libertates & priuilegia praedicta quouismodo admittere seu recognoscere: aut exercitio legationis suae huiusmodi, aliquibusue per ipsum, vt Legatum sedis Apost. actis, seu agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis, aduersus praemissa, leges, iura, consuetudines, libertates, & priuilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire: sic{que} dissentit dictus domin• noster Rex, at{que} dissentiunt dicti domini mei de consilio, per presentes &c,

The summe and effecte whereof in Englishe is this, that in the yeare of our Lord. 1428. as the King with Duke Humfrey Lord protectour,* & the rest of the counsaile, were in the Dukes house in the Parish of S. Bennets by Paules warfe, one Richard Candray procuratour, in the kinges name and behalfe did protest and denounce by thys publicke instrument, that where as the kyng and all hys progenitours, kinges before him of thys realme of Englād haue bene heretofore possessed tyme out of mynde, with speciall priuiledge and custome vsed and obserued in thys Realme from tyme to time, that no Legate from the Apostolicke sea should enter into thys land or anye of the kynges dominions, without the calling, petition, request, inuitement or desire of the kyng, and for so much as Henry byshop of Wint. and Cardinall of S. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as Legat from the Pope, beyng neyther called, sent for, required, or desired by the kyng: therfore the sayd Richard Candray in the kynges name doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the kinges minde or intent, by the aduise of hys counsaile, to admit, approue, or ratifie the cōming of the sayd Legate in anye wise, in derogation of the rightes, customes and lawes of this hys realme: or to recognise, or assent to any exercise of this hys authoritie Legantine, or to anye actes, attempted, or hereafter by hym to be attempted in this respect cōtrary to the foresayd lawes, rightes, customes, and liberties of this Realme, by these presentes. &c.

And thus much as an Appendix, annexed to the story of Duke Humfrey, and the Cardinal of Wint. extracte out of an olde written volume, remaining in the handes of maister William Bowyer.

The benefite and inuention of Printing.

IN following the course and order of yeares, we find this foresayd yeare of our Lord. 1450.* to be famous and memorable, for the diuine and miraculous inuention of printing. Naucerus,* and Wymselingus folowing him, referre the inuention thereof to the yeare 1440. In paralipom. Abbatis Vrsp. it is recorded this facultie to be found. an. 1446. Auentinus and Zieglerus do say, an. 1450. The first inuētour thereof (as moste agree) is thought to bee a Germaine dwelling first in Argentine, afterward Cittizen of Mentz, named Iohn Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasiō of this inuention first was by engrauing y^e letters of y^e Alpha^bet in mettall: who then laying blacke incke vpon the mettall, gaue the forme of letters in paper. The man being industruous, and actiue, perceiuing that, thought to proceed further, and to proue whether it woulde frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceaued to come well to passe, he made certayne other of his counsaile, one Iohn Guttemberge & Peter Schafferd, binding them by their othe, to keepe silence, for a season. After x. yeares, Iohn Guttemberge compartner w^t Faustus, began then first to broch the matter at Strausbrough. The Arte beyng yet but rude, in processe of tyme, was set forward by inuentiue wittes, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whome, Iohn Mentell, Iohn Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers, Ulrirus •an• in latine called Gallus, first brought it to Rome. Whereof y^e Epigram was made.

Anser Tarpeij custos, vigilando quòd alis

Constreperes,* Gallus decidit vltor adest

Vlricus Gallus, nequem poscantur in vsum,

Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Notwithstanding, what man soeuer was the instrument, without all doubt God himselfe was the ordayer and disposer thereof,* no otherwise, then he was of the gifte of congues, and that for a singuler purpose. And well may this gift o^r printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues,* and yet all y^t would not turne the Iewes, so now, when the holy ghost speaketh to y^e aduersaries in innumerable sorts of bookes, yet they will not be conuerted: nor turne to the Gospell.

Now to consider to what ende and purpose the Lorde hath geuen this gift of Printing to the earth, and to what great vtility and necessity it serueth, it is not hard to iudge who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, & the sequele which therof ensueth.

And first,* touching the time of this faculty geuen to the vse of man, this is to be marked: that when as the Byshop of Rome, with all the whole & ful consent of the Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbishops, byshops, Abbots, Priours, Lawyers, Doctors, Prouostes, Deanes, Archdeacons, assembled together in the councell of Constance, had condemned poore Iohn Hus, & Hierom of Prage to death for heresie, notwithstanding they were no heretickes, and after they had subdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world vnder the supreme authority of the Romish sea: and had made all Christē people abedienciaries & vassals vnto the same, hauing (as one would say) all the worlde at theyr will, so that the matter now was past not only the power of al men, but the hope also of any man to be recouered. In this very time so daungerous and desperate, where mans power could do no more, there the blessed wisdomē & omⁿipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church not with sword and tergate to subdue his exalted aduersary, but with Printing, writing, and reading to conuince darkenes by light,* errour by truth, ignorance by learning So that by this meanes of printing, the secret operatiō of God hath heaped vpon that proud kingdome a double cō^fusion. For where as the byshop of Rome, had burned I. Hus before, and Hierome of Prage, who neither denyed his transubstantiation, nor hys supremacie, nor yet hys Popishe Masse, but sayd Masse, and heard masse themselues, neither spake agaynst his purgatory, nor anye other great matter of his popishe doctrine, but onely exclaymed agaynst his excessiue and pompous pride, hys vnchristian or rather Antichristian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickednes onely of life to be touched, but made it heresie, or at least matter of death, what soeuer was spoken agaynst hys detestable conuersation, and maners, God of hys secret iudgement, seing tyme to helpe his Church, hath found a way by this facultie of Printing, not onely to confound his life, and conuersation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast downe the foundatiō of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, laws, and institutions most detestable in such sort, that though his life were neuer so pure: yet his doctrine standing, as it doth, no man is so blinde, but may see, that eyther the pope is Antichrist, or els that Antichrist is neare cosine to the pope: And al this doth, and wil hereafter more and more appeare by Printing.

The reason whereof is this: for y^t hereby tongues are knowne,* knowledge groweth, iudgemēt increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seene, the Doctours be read stories be opened, times compared, truth decerned, falshod detected, and with finger poynted, and all (as I sayd) thorough the benefite of printing. Wherefore I suppose that ey^rther the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to raygne ouer: for els, as this world standeth, prin^ting doubtles will abolish hym. But the pope, and all hys Colledge of Cardinals, must this vnderstād, that through the light of printing, the worlde beginneth nowe to haue eyes to see, and heades to iudge. He cannot walke so inuisible in a net, but he will be spyed. And although thorough might he stopped the mouth of Iohn Hus before, and of Hierome, that they might not preache, thinking to make his kingdome sure: yet in stede of Iohn Hus & other God hath opened the presse to preach, whose voyce the Pope is neuer able to stop with all y^e puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organe of the holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospell soundeth to all nations and cuntryes vnder heauen: and what God reuealeth to one man, is dispersed to many [Page 708](#) and what is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

*The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefite of printing, to learne and know the trueth. If he will not, let him well vnderstand that printing is not set vp for naught. To striue against the streame, it auayleth not. What the pope hath lost, since printing and the presse began to preach, let hym cast hys counters. First when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius Printed, what a blow ther by was geuen to all Fryers and monks in the world? And who seeth not, that the penne of Luther following after Erasmus and set forward by writing, hath set the triple crown so awry on the popes head, that it is like neuer to be set streight agayne.

Brieflye, if there were no demonstration to leade, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might vnderstand the counsayl and purpose of the Lord to worke agaynst him, hauing provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in y^e world so many blockhouses there be agaynst the high castle of S. Angell.* So that eyther the pope must abolishe knowledge and Printing, or printing at length will roote him out. For if a man wisely consider the holde and standing of the pope, thus he may repute with himselfe, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lacke of knowledge and ignoraunce of simple Christians: so contrariwise now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his Papacie so much as reading, preaching, knowledge & iudgement, that is to say, the fruit of printing: Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (the Lord before) to follow. For although, through outward force and violēt cruelty, tonges dare not spake, yet the hartes of men dayly (no doubt) be instructed through this benefite of printing. And though the pope both nowe by cruelty, and in tymes past by ignoraunce, had all vnder hys possession: yet neyther must he thinke, that violence will alwayes continue, neyther must he hope for that now, which he had then: for so much as in those former dayes, bookes then were scarce & also of such excessiue price, that few coulde attayne to the buying, fewer to y^e reading & studying therof: which bookes now by y^e meanes of this arte, are made easie vnto al men. Ye heard before, pag. 665, how Nicholas Belward, bought a new testament in those dayes for foure markes and 40. pence, where as now the same price will serue well 40. per^sons with so many bookes.

Moreouer in the pag. 411. col. 1. it was noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authors, both vniuersities were decaied and good wits kept in ignoraunce, while begging Fryers scaping all the wealth from other priestes, heaped vp all

bookes that could be gotten, into theyr owne Libraryes: where eyther they dyd not diligently applye them, or els did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would haue perused them.

In this then so great raritie, and also dearth of good books, when neither they which could haue books, would well vse them, nor they y^r would, could haue them to vse, what maruell if the greedines of a few prelates did abuse the blindnes of those daies, to the aduauncement of themselues? Wherefore, almighty God of hys mercifull prouidence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same, for y^t aduauncement of his glory, gaue the vnderstanding of this excellent arte or science of printing, whereby three singular cōmodities at one time came to the world. * First, the price of all bookes diminished. Secondly toe speedy helpe of reading, more furthered. And thirdly the plenty of all good authours enlarged: according as Aprutinus, doth truely report.

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno. 1.

The presse in one day will do in printing,

That none in one yeare can do in writing.

By reason whereof, as printing of bookes ministred matter of readyng: * so readyng brought learning: learning shewed light, by y^r brightnes wherof blind ignorance was suppressed error detected, & finally Gods glory, w^t trueth of hys worde, aduaunced. This facultie of Printing was after the inuention of Gunnes, the space of 130. yeares: which inuention was also found in Germany, an. 1380. And thus much for y^e worthy commendation of printing.

The lamentable losing of Constantinople.

*ANno. 1453. Constantinus Paloelogus, beyng Emperour of Constatinople, the 29. day of the month of May, the great Cittye of Constantinople was taken by the Turke Mahometes, * after the siege of 54. dayes, which siege began in the beginning of Aprill. Within the city, beside the Citizens were but onely 6000. rescuers of the Greekes. And 3000. of the Uenetians & Gennues. Against these, Mahometes brought an army of 400. thousand, collected out of the cōuntries and places adioyning nere about, as out of Grecia, Illirico, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulga'nis, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cecilia, and suche other: which places had the name yet of Christians. Thus one neighbour for lucre sake, helped to destroy all other.

The Cittie was compassed of the Turkes, both by the sea & land. Mahometes the Turke deuided his armye in 3. sondry partes, which in 3. partes of the citty, so bette the walles and brake them downe, that they attempted by the breaches therof to enter the citty. But the valiauntnes of the Christians there in wanne much cōmendation, whose Duke was called Iohn Iustinianus, of Genua. But for so much as the assaultes were great, and the number of the Christian souldiours daily decreased, fighting both at the walles and at the Hauen, agaynst such a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long to hold out. Beside the armyes which lay battering at the walles, the Turke had vpon the sea his nauy of 200. and 50. sayle, lying vpon the hauen of the City, reaching from the one side of the hauens mouth vnto the other, as if a bridge should be made frō

the one banke to the other. Which hauen by the cittizens was barred with yron chaines, whereby the Turks were kept out a certayne space. Agaynst whiche nauy 7. ships there were of Genua, within the hauen, and 3. of Creta, and certayne of Chio, which stoode agaynst them. Also the souldiours issuing out of the Cittie, as occasion would serue, did manfully gaynstand them, and w^t wild fire, set their ships on fire, that a certayn space they could serue to no vse. At length the cheynes being brast, & a way made, the Turkes nauy entred the hauen, and assaulted the Cittie, whereby y^e Turke began to conceiue great hope,* and was in forwardnes to obtain the Citie. The assault and skirmish thē waxing more hoate, Mahometes the tyraunt stode by vppon an hill, with hys warriours about him, crying & houling out vnto them to skale the walles and enter the towne, otherwise, if any reculed, he threatned to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his souldiours in theyr repulse and retire, were slaine by the turkes men, being sēt by his commandement to slay them: and so they were iustly serued, and well payd theyr hyer.

Although this was some comfort, to the Christians, to see and behold out of the Cittie, the Turkes retinue so con'sumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after by rage of warre, it happened Iustinian the Duke aboue named, to be hurt, who notwithstanding that he was earnestly de'sired by Paloelogus the Emperour,* not to leaue his Tower which he had to keepe, seeing hys wound was not deadly daungerous, yet could he not be intreated to tary, but lefte his standing, and his fort disfurnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this donghty Duke, hurte more with hys false hart, then with force of weapon, gaue ouer and fled to Chius, where shortly after for sorrow, rather then for sorennes of wound, he died. Many of his souldiours seeing their captayne flee, followed after, leauing their fort vtterly destitute without defence. The Turkes vnderstanding y^r vantage, soone brast into the cittie. The Emperour Paloelogus seeing no other way but to flee,* making toward the gate, eyther was slayne, or els troden down w^t the multitude. In the which gate 800. dead mēs bodies were found and taken vp.

The Cittie of Constantinople thus being gotte, the Turkes sacking and raunging about the streetes houses,* and corners, did put to the sword most vnmercifully, whō soeuer they found, both aged and young: matrones, virgins, children, and infants: sparing none, the noble matrones and virgins were horriblye rauished, the goods of y^e cittie, the treasurers in houses, the ornaments in chur'ches were all sackt and spoyled, the pictures of Christ approbriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoyle and hauocke of the citie lasted three dayes together, while y^e bar'barous souldiours murdered and rifeled what them listed.

These thinges thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three dayes, Mahometes the Turke, entreth into the Citie, and first calling for the heades and auncientes of thē Citie:* such as he found to be left aliue, he commaunded the to be mangled and •ut in peeces. It is also (sayth my author) reported, that in the feastes of the Turks, honest matrones and virgins, and such as were of the kinges stocke, after other co•umeties, were he 〈◇〉 and cut in peeces for their disport.

And this was the end of that princely and famous 〈◇〉 of Constantinople, beginning first by Constantinus, and [Page 709](#) ending also with Constātinus:* which for the princely royalty therof, was named and euer honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the City of Rome, & called also by the name thereof new Rome, & so continued the space of 1120. yeares. I pray God that olde Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heed and beware by tyme.

This terrible destruction of the Citty of Constantinople, the Queene of Cittyes,* I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth y^e barbarous cruelty of these filthy rake hels and mercilesse murtherers: as specially for this, that we being admonished by the dolefull ruine and misery of these our euen christened, may call to minde the plagues & miseryes deserued, whiche seeme to hang no lesse ouer our owne heades, and thereby may learne betime to inuocate and call more earnestly vpon the name of our terrible and mercifull God, that he for his sonnes sake, will keepe vs, & preserue his church among vs, and mitigate those plagues and sorrowes, whiche we no lesse haue deserued, then these aboue minded, before vs. Christ graunt it. Amen. Ex hist. Wittenbergica Peucer.

The history of Reynold Peeocke Byshop of Chichester, afflicted and imprisoned for the Gospell of Christ.

*After the death of Henry Chichisley before mentioned, pag. 657. next succeeded Iohn Stafford. an. 1445. who continued 8. yeares. After hym came Iohn Kempe. ann. 1453. who sate but three yeares. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which Archbishop, fell the trouble of Reynold Pecoocke, Bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the Popes Prelates for hys fayth and profession of the Gospell. Of this Byshoppe, Halle also in his Chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an ouerthwart iudgement (as he termeth it) was geuen by the Fathers of the spirituality agaynst him. Thys man (sayth he) beganne to moue questions not priuatly, but openly in the Uniuersityes, concerning the Annates, Peter pence, and other iurisdictions and authorities pertheyning to the sea of Rome, and not onely put forth the questiōs, but declared his mind and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for thys cause absured at Paules Crosse. Thus muche of hym wryteth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronycon, but in few wordes. This bishop, first of S. Assaphe, then of Chichester, so long as Duke Humfrey lyued (by whome he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and safe, and also bolde to dispute and to write hys mynde, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) diuers bookes and treatises. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye haue heard) made away, this good man lacking his backstay, was open to his enemies, and matter soone found agaynst hym. Wherupon he being complayned of, and accused by priuy and malignant promoters vnto the Archbishop, letters first were directed downe from the Archbishop, to cite al men to appeare that could say any thing agaynst hym. The forme of which citation here ensueth.

The copy of the Citation sent by the Archbyshoppe.

*Thomas by the permission of God, Archb. of Canterbury, primate of all England and Legate of the Apostolicke Sea, to all and singuler Parsons, Vicars, Chaplaynes, Curates, & not Curates, Clerkes and learned men, whatsoever they be, constitute & ordeined in any place throughout our prouince of Caunterbury, health, grace and benediction.

We haue receiued a greeuous complaint of our reuerend felow brother, Reynold Pecoocke Byshop of Chichester, conteyning in it, that albeit our sayd reuerend felow brother, the Byshop, deliuered vnto vs certayne bookes written by him in the English tongue, by vs and our authority to be examined, corrected reformed and allowed: notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the sayde bookes depending and remayning before vs vndiscussed) haue openly preached and taught at Paules crosse in London, and in diuers other places of our prouince of

Canterbury, that our sayd felow brother the Byshop, hath propounded, made and written, or caused to be written in the sayde bookes, certayne conclusions repugnaunt to the true fayth, and that he doth obstynately hold and defend the same.

By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state & good name and fame of the sayd Lord Reynolde the Byshoppe; are greuously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion maruellously burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and seuerally apart do commaund you, firmly enioyning you, that openly and generally you doe warne or cause to bee warned, all and singular such persons, whiche will object any thing contrary and agaynst the conclusions of our sayd reuerēd felow brother the Bishop, had or conteyned in his bookes or writings: that the 20. day after such monition or warning had, they do freely of theyr own accord appeare before vs and our Commissaryes in this behalfe appoynted wheresoeuer we shall then be in our Citty, Dioces, or prouince of Canterbury, to speake, propound, alledge, and affirme fully & sufficiently in writinge, whatsoeuer hereticall or erroneous matter they wil speak, propound, or object agaynst the sayde conclusions conteyned in his sayde bookes: and both to satisfye and receiue, whatsoeuer shall seeme meete and right in this behalfe by the holy institutions and ordinaunces.

And for so muche as this matter depending yet vndetermined and vndiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed: we charge you that by this our authority, you inhibite and forbid all and euery one so to preach and teach hereafter. Vnto whom also we by the the tenour of these presents, do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the conclusions and bookes aforesayde, depending before vs and our Commissaryes vndiscussed, they do not presume by any meanes, without good aduise and iudgemēt, to preach, iudge, and affirme any thing to the preiudice or offēce of the sayd Lord Reynold the Byshop and if so be, you do finde any in this behalfe gayne saying or not obeying this our inhibitiō, that you do cite or cause thē peremptorily to be cited, to appeare before vs or our Commissaryes, in this behalfe appoynted, the 10 day after theyr citation, if it be a courte day or els the next courte day following, wheresoeuer we shall then be, in our City, Dioces, or prouince of Canterbury, to make further declaration by form of law of the cause of their disobediēce & to receiue such punishment as iustice and equity shall determine in that behalfe: & that by your leters you do duely certify vs or our Commissaries, what you haue done in the premisses at the day and place aforesayd: or that he which hath so executed our commaundement, do so certifie vs by his letters. Dated at our Manour of Lambeth the xxij. day of October. an. 1457 and in the 4. yeare of our translation.

This citation being directed, the Byshop vpon the sūmon thereof,*was brought, or rather came before y^e iudges and Bishops, vnto Lambeth, where the foresaid Thomas the Archbishop, with his doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbishops Court. In which conuention also the Duke of Buckingham was present, accōpanied with the Bishop of Rochester, and of Lyncolne. What were the opiniōs and articles agaynst him objected, after in his reuocatiou shall be specified. In his answering for himselfe in such a company of the Popes frendes, albeit he coulde not preuayle, notwithstanding he stoutly defending himselfe declared many thinges worthye great commendation of learning, if learning agaynste power coulde haue preuayled.

But they on the contrary part,*with all labor and trauel, extended themselues, either to reduce him, or els to cōfound him. As here lacked no blustering wordes of terrour and threatning: so also many fayre flattering wordes and gentle persuasions, were admixt with al. Briefely, to make a

short narration of a long and busy trauers, here was no stone left vnturned, no wayes vnprooued, eyther by fayre meanes to entreat him, or by terrible manasses to terrifye his mind, till at the length, he being vanquished and ouercome by the bishops, began to faynt and gaue ouer. Wherupon, by & by a recantation was put vnto him by the Byshops, which he should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here foloweth.

The forme and maner of the retractation of Reynold Pecocke.

IN the name of God Amen.* Before you, the most reuered Father in Christ and Lorde, the Lorde Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, priuate of England and Legate of the Apostolicke sea, I Reynolde Pecock, vnworthy Bishop of Chichester, do purely, willyngly, simply, and absolutely, cōfesse and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these 20. yeares last past and more, haue otherwise conceiued, holdē, taught and written, as touching the Sacramentes and the Articles of y^e fayth, then the holy Church of Rome and vniuersall Church:* and also that I haue made, written, published and set forth many & diuers pernicious doctrines, bookes, workes, writings, heresy'es, contrary and agaynst the true Catholicke, and Apostolicke fayth, contayning in them, errorrs cōtrary to the Catholicke fayth, & especially these errorrs and heresies here vnder written.

- 1. First of all,* that we are not bounde by the necessitie of fayth, to beleue that our Lord Iesus Christ after his death descended into hell.
- 2. Item, that it is not necessarye to saluation to beleue in the holy Catholicke Church.
- 3. Item, that it is not necessary to saluation, to beleue the [Page 710](#) communion of Sayntes.
- 4. Item, that it is not necessary to saluation, to affirme the body materially in the Sacrament.
- 5. Item that the vniuersall Church may erre in matters which pertain vnto fayth.
- 6. Item, that it is not necessary vnto saluation, to beleue, that that, which euery generall Councell doth vniuersally ordeine, approue, or determine, should necessarily, for the helpe of our fayth, and the saluation of soules, be approued and holden of all faythfull Christians.

Wherefore I Reynold Pecocke wretched sinner, which haue long walked in darcknesse, and now by the merciful disposition and ordinaunce of God, am reduced & brought agayne vnto the light and way of truth, and restored vnto the vnity of our holy mother the Church: renoūce and forsake all errors and heresy'es aforesayd.

Notwithstanding (godly reader) it is not to be beleued that Pecocke did so geue ouer these opinions, howsoeuer the wordes of the recantation pretend. For it is a pollicy & play of the bishops that when they do subdue or ouercome any mā, they cary him whither they list, as it were a yōūg Stere by the nose, and frame out his words for him before hand, as it were for a Parate, what he should speake vnto the people: not according to his owne will, but after theyr lust and fantasy. Neither is it to be doubted, but that thys Bishop repented him afterward of his recantation: which may easely be iudged hereby, because he was committed agayn into prison, & deteined captiue, where as it is vncertaine, whether he was oppressed with priuy and secret tyranny, and there obtained the crown of Martyrdom, or no.

The Dictionary of Thomas Gascoigne, I haue not in my handes present. But if credite be to be geuen to such as haue to vs alledged the booke,* this we may finde in the 8. Century of Iohn Bale. chapter 19. that the sayd Thomas Gascoigne in his third part of his sayd dictionary, writing of Reinold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles cōteining in them matter of sore heresy. First (saith he) Reynold Pecock, at Paules crosse preached openly, that the office of a Christen Prelate, chiefly aboue all other things is, to preach the word of God. That mans reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the old and new Testament. That the vse of Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse, then the vse of the lawe of nature. That Byshops which buy theyr admissions of the Bishop of Rome do sinne. That no man is bound to beleue and obey the determination of the Church of Rome. Also that the riches of Bishops, by inheritance, are the goods of the poore. Item that the Apostles themselues personally were not the makers of the Creed, & that in the same Creede, once was not the Article he went downe to hell. Item, that of the foure senses of the Scripture, none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gaue litle estimation in some poyntes, to the authority of the olde Doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilfull begging of the Friars, as a thing idle and needles. This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also adding this moreouer, sayth: that he, not contented to folow the Catholicke sentence of the Church in interpreting of the Scripture, did not thinke soundly (as he iudged it) of the holy Eucharist.

At length, for these and suche other Articles, the sayde Reynold Pecocke was condemned for an hereticke by the Archbishops, and Bishops of Rosse. Lyncolne and Win|chester, with other diuines moe. Wherupon he being driuē to his recantation,* was notwithstanding deteyned still in prison. Where some say, that he was priuily made away by death.

Halle addeth that some say, his opinions to bee, that spirituall persons by Gods lawe, ought to haue no temporall possessions. Other write that he sayde, that personall tithes were not due by Gods lawe. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Paules Crosse to abiure, and all his bookes brent, and he himselfe kepte in his owne house, during his naturall life. I maruell that Polydore, of this extremity of the Bishops handling, and of his Articles,* in his history, maketh no memoriall. Belike it made but little for the honestye of his great maister the Pope.

From persecution & burning in England, now out of the way, to digresse a little, to speake of forraine matters of the church of Rome: you remēber before, in y^e latter end of the Councell of Basill,* howe Eugenius was deposed. Of whose conditiōs and martiall affayres, how he made war agaynst Sfortia a famous Captaine of Italy, and what other warres he raised beside, not onely in Italy, but also in Germany, agaynst the City and Councell of Basill, I shal not need to make any long rehearsall. After his depositiō, ye heard also how Foelix duke of Sauoy was elected pope. Wherupō another great schisme folowed in the church during all the life of Eugenius.*

After his death,* his next successor was pope Nicholas the fift, who (as you before haue heard) brought so to passe with the Emperour Fredericke the third that Foelix was contented to renounce and resigne his papacy to Nicolas, and was therfore of him afterward receiued to the rowme of a Cardinall, for his submission: & Friderick for his working, was confirmed at Rome to be full Emperour,* & there crowned. an. 1451. For Emperors before they be cōfirmed & crowned by the pope, are no Emperors, but onely called kinges of Romaynes.

This Pope Nicholas here mentioned, for to get & gather great sūmes of mony, appoynted a Iubile in the yeare of our Lorde 1450. at whiche time there resorted a greater number of people vnto Rome, thē hath at any time before bene seene.* At which time, we reade in the story of Platina to haue happened, that I thought here not vnworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people resorting vp to the mount Uaticane to behold the Image of our Sauior, which there they had to shew to Pilgrimes,* the people being thicke going to & fro betwene the mount & the City, by chaunce a certayn Mule of the Cardinals of saynt Marke came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to auoyde the way, one or two falling vpon the Mule, there was such a prease and throng vpon that occasion on the bridge, that to the nū|der of two hundred bodyes of men, and three horses, were there strangled,* and on each side of the bridge many besides fell ouer into the water and were drowned.

By meanes of which occasiō, the Pope afterward caused the smal houses to be plucked downe, to make the way broder. And this is the fruite that commeth by Idolatrye. Ex Platin.

In the time of this Pope,* one Mat. Palmerius wrote a booke De Angelis, in defending whereof, he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at Corna. an. 1448 Ex Tritemio.

After him succeeded Calixtus the thyrd, who amongst diuers other things ordeined both at noone and at euening the bell to tole the Aues,* as it was vsed in the popish time, to helpe the souldiours that fought agaynst the Turkes: for which cause also he ordeined the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnising it with like pardons and indulges, as was Corpus Christi day.

Also this Pope proceding contrary to the Councels of Constance and Basill,* decreed that no man should appeale from the Pope to any Councell. By whome also Sayncte Edmunde of Caunterbury with diuers other, were made Sayntes.

Next after this Calixtus,* succeeded Pius secundus, otherwise called Aeneas Syluius, who wrote the two bookes of Commentaries vpon the Councell of Basill before mētioned. This Aeneas, at the time of the writing of those hys bookes, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tollerable iudgement and doctrine,* from the which he afterward being Pope, seemed to decline and swarue, seeking by all meanes possible, how to deface & abolish the bookes which heretofore he had written.

Sentences attributed vnto this Pius.

THE diuine nature of God may rather be comprehended by fayth,* then by disputation.

Christian fayth is to be considered, not by what reason it is proued, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neyther can a couetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poore men, in stead of siluer, to noble men in stead of golde, and to Princes in stead of precious stones.

An artificiall oratiō moueth fooles, but not wise men.

Suters in the Lawe, bee as Byrdes, the Courte is the bayte, the Iudges be the nettes, and the Lawyers be the Foulers.

Men are to bee geuen to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a Byshoppe is heauy, but it is blessed to him that doth wel beare it.

A Bishop without learning may be likened to an Asse.

An euill Phisition destroyth bodies, but an vnlearned Priest destroyeth soules.

Mariage was taken from Priestes,* not without great reason, but with much greater reason it ought to be restored agayne.

[Page 711](#)The like sentence to this he vttereth in his second book of the Councell of Basil before specified, saying, peradventure it were not the worst, that the most part of priestes had theyr wiues: for many shoulde be saued in Priestly mariage, whiche nowe in vnmaryed Priesthoode are damned. The same Pius also, as Celius reporteth, dissolued certayne orders of Nunnes, of the order of S. Briget and S. Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burne no more, nor couer a Harlotte vnder the vesture of Religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godlinesse, as he brought learning vnto his Popedome, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Eneas called Pius, the Pope, writeth touchinge the peace of the church, vnto Gaspee Schlick, the Emperors Chaūcellor, in his 54. Epistle.

All men do abhorre and detest schisme. The way to remedye this euill Charles the French king hath shewed vs both safe and briefe,* which is, that princes or their Oratours should conuent &c assemble together in some cōmon place, where they may cōclude vpon matters amongst themselues. To bring this to passe, it were needfull, writinges to be sent agayne to all Kynges and Princes, to send theyr Oratours to Strawes borow, or to Constance, with theyr full authority: there to entreate of matters appertayning to the peace of the Church.* Neyther woulde it require so great expenses: Forasmuch as we see the yere before 300. gildernes to be sufficient. Constantine the Emperour bestowed not much more in the congregation of the Councell of Nice. And this way could not be stopped: neyther could the Pope or the Councell withstād it, or make excuse: as though this might not easily be done without them. For why? the secular princes may conuent and assemble together, will they, nill they: and yet notwithstanding, vnity may there be concluded.* For he should be an vndoubted Pope, whom all Princes would obey. Neyther do I see any of the clergy so constant to death, which wil suffer Martirdom either for the one part or the other. Al we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold, which if they would worship Idols, we would also do the same, & not onely deny the Pope, but God also, if the secular power strayn vs thereunto, for charitye is waxed colde, and all fayth is gone. Howsoever it be, let vs all desire

and seeke for peace, the whiche peace, whether it come by a councell, or by assemblye of Princes, call it what you will, I care not: for we stand not vpon the terme, but vpon the matter. Call breade if you will, a stone, so you geue me to asswage my hunger. Whether you call it a Councell or a conuenticle, or an assembly or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schisme may be excluded and peace established.

Thus much out of the Epistle of Pius.

*By this may it appeare, of what sentence and minde this Pius was in y^e time of the Councell of Basill, before he was made Pope. But as our common prouerbe sayth, honors chaungeth maners, so it happeneth with this Pius, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from that he was before. For where as before he preferred generall Councils before the Pope, nowe being Pope, he did decree that no man should appeale from the high Byshop of Rome: to any generall Councell.

And likewise for priestes mariage, where as before he thought it best to haue theyr wiues restored,* yet afterward he altered his mind otherwise: In so much that in his book intreating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of August, by occasion he inueyed agaynst a certayne Epistle of Hulderike once bishop of the sayd City, written agaynst the constitution of the single life of priests. Wherby it appeareth how the minde of this Pius was altered frō that it was before. This Epistle of Hulderick is before expressed at large in the pag. 137.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Aeneas Syluius and Diotherus, Archbish. of Mentz, and what discorde was styrrd vp in Germany vpon the same betwene Frederick the Palatine, and duke of Wittenberge, with others, by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the City of Mentz, which was free before, lost theyr freedome, and became seruile.

The causes of the discord betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus, were these.

First, because that Diotherus would not consent vnto him in the imposition of certaine tallages and taxes, within his country.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not be boūd vnto him, requiring that the said Diotherus being prince Electour, should not call the other Electors together, wythout hys licence that is, without the licence of the Bishop of Rome.

And thirdly, because Diotherus would not permit to the Popes Legates, to conuocate his Clergy together after theyr owne lust.* This Pope Pius began his lea, about the yere of our Lord. 1458.

After this Pius secundus, succeded Paulus secūdus, a pope wholly set vpon his belly and ambition, and not so muche voyd of all learning,* as the hater of all learned men. Thys Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, which because he sawe her to be had in reproch, for that she was got ten in fornication, began (as the storyes reporte) to repent him of the law of the single life of priestes, and went aboute to reforme the same, had not death preuented him. Ex Stanislao Rutheno.

After this Paulus, came Sixtus the fourth, whiche builded vp in Rome a stewes of both kindes, getting therby no small reuenues and rents vnto the church of Rome. This Pope amongst his other actes,* reduced the yeare of Iubely from the 50. vnto the 25. He also instituted the feast of the Conception, and of the presentation of Mary & of Anna her mother, and Ioseph. Also he canonised Bonauenture, and S. Fraunces for Sayntes.

By this Sixtus also, beades were brought in, and instituted to make our Ladyes Psalter, thorowe the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whome Baptista maketh mention of in thys verse. Hi filo insertis numerant sua murmura baccis. That is, these menne putting theyr beades vpon a string number theyr prayers. This Sixtus the Pope made xxxij. Cardinals in his time, whom Petrus Ruerius, was the first,* who for that time that he was Cardinall, which was but two yeares, spent in luxurious ryot, wasted and consumed, 2, hundred thousand Floreines and was left 60000. in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certayne Treatise of his, de Indulgentijs papalibus, writing of thys Pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the requeste of the foresayde Peter Cardinall, and of Ierome his brother the sayd Pope Sixtus permitted and graunted vnto the whole family of the Cardinall of S. Lucy, in the iij. hoate monethes of sommer, Iune, Iuly, and August (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leaue and liberty to vse Sodomitry, with this clause, Fiat vt petitur: That is, be it as it is asked.

Next after this Sixtus,* came Innocentius the eight as rude and as farre from all learning, as his predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble factes of this Pope, this was one,* that in the towne of Polus apud Aequicolos, he caused 8. men and 6. women, with the Lord of the place to be apprehended and taken, and iudged for hereticks, because they sayd that none of them was the vicare of Christ which came after Peter, but they which folowed onely the pouerty of Christ.* Also he condemned of heresy, George the king of Boheme, and depriued him of his dignity, and also of his kingdome, and procured his whole stocke to be vtterly reiected and put downe, geuing his kyngdome to Mathias king of Panonia.

Now from the Popes to descend to other estates, it remayneth likewise somewhat to write of the Emperours incident to this time, with matters and greuaunces of the Germaines, as also of other princes, first beginning with our troubles & mutations here at home, perteing to the ouerthrow of this King Henry and of his seate nowe following, to be shewed. And briefly to cōtract long proces of much tumult and busines,* into a short narration, here is it to be remēbred, which partly before was signified, how af'ter y^e death of the Duke of Glocester, mischiefes came in by heapes vpon the king and his realm. For after the geuing away of Angeow,* and Mayne to the Frenchmen, by y^e vnfortunate mariage of Queen Margaret aboue mentioned, the sayd frenchmen perceiuing now by the death of y^e duke of Glocester, the stay and pillar of this common wealth to be decayed, and seing moreouer the harts of the nobility, amōg themselues to be deuided, foreslacked no time, hauing such an open way into Normandy, that in short time they recouered the same, & also gate Gascoigne, so that no more now remayned to Englād, of al the parts beyond y^e sea but onely Calice. Neither yet did all the calamity of y^e realme onely rest in this: For the king now hauing lost his frendly vncle,* as the stay & staffe of his age, whiche had brought him vp so faythfully from his youth, was now therby the more open to his enemies, & they more emboldened, so set vpon him: As appeared first by Iacke Cade, the Kentishe Captayne, who encamping first in Blackheath, afterward aspired to Londō, and had the spoyle therof, the king being driuen into Warwickshyre. After the suppressing of Cade, ensued not long

after the duke of York, who being accompanied with 3. Erles, set vpon the king next to S. Albons where the king was taken in the field captiue, & the Duke of York was by Parliamēt declared protector, which was [Page 712](#) in the yeare of our Lord 1453. After this folowed long diuision and mortal warre betwene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke, continuing many yeares. At length about the yeare of our Lord 1459,* the Duke of Yorke was slayne in battell by the Queene, neare to the towne of Wakefield, and with him also his sonne Earle of Rutlande. By the which Queene also shortly after, in y^e same yeare, were discomfited the Earle of Warwicke and Duke of Northfolk, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the Duke of Yorke, and so the Queene agayne deliuered her husband.

After this victory obtained, the Northren men aduaūced not a litle in pride and courage, began to take vpon thē great attemptes, not onely to spoyle and robbe Churches, and religious houses, & villages, but also were fully entēded partly by themselues, partly by the inducemēt of theyr Lords and Captaynes, to sacke, waste, and vtterly to subuert the City of London, and to take the spoyle therof: and no doubt (•ayth my history) woulde haue proceeded in thyr cōceiued gredy intēt, had not y^e oportune fauor of God prouided a speedy remedy. For as these mischiefes were in bruljng, sodenly commeth the noble Prince Edward vnto Lōdon, w^t a mighty army,* the 27. day of February, who was the sonne and heire to duke of Yorke aboue mentioned, accompanied with the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers moe. King Henry in the meane time, with his victory, went vp to York: when as Edward being at London, caused there to be proclaymed certayn articles concerning his title to y^e crowne of England, which was the 2. day of March.

Wherupon, the next day following, the Lords both tēporall & spirituall being assēbled together, the sayd articles were propounded, and also well approued. The fourth day of the sayd moneth of March, after a solemne generall procession (according to the blinde superstition of those dayes) the Bishop of Exceter made a Sermon at Paules Crosse, wherin he commended and proued by manifold euidēces, the title of Prince Edward to be iust and lawfull, aunswering in the same, to all obiections whiche might be to the contrary.

*This matter being thus discussed, Prince Edward accompanied with the Lordes spirituall & temporall, & with much concourse of people, rode y^e same day to Westminster Hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the Lordes, as also by the voyce of all the Commons, tooke his possession of the Crowne, & was called K. Edward the fourth.

These thinges thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter apperteined, and preparation of money sufficiently being ministred of the people and commons, wyth most ready and willing mindes, for the necessary furniture of his warres: he with the Duke of Northfolke, and Earle of Warwicke; and Lord Fauconbrige, in all speedy wise, tooke his iourney toward king Henry: who being now at Yorke, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge onely reposed in the Northren men.

When king Edward with his army had past ouer the Riuer of Trent and was commē nere to Ferebrig: where also the host of king Henry was not far of,* vpō Palm sonday, betwene Ferebrig and Tadcaster, both the armyes of the Southren and Northren men, ioyned together battell. And althoughe at the first beginning, diuers horsemen of king Edwardes side, turned theyr backes, and spoyled the king of cariage & victuals, yet the courageous prince, with his Captaynes little

discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on theyr aduersaryes. The whiche battell on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slayne to y^e nūber, as is reported, beside men of name, of 30000. of the poore commons. Notwithstanding, the cōquest fell on king Edwardes part,* so that king Henry hauing lost all, was forced to flye into Scotland, where also he gaue vp to the Scottes, the towne of Barwicke after he had raigned 38. yeares and a halfe.

The clayme and title of the Duke of Yorke, and after him,* of Edward his sonne, put vp to the Lords & cōmons, wherby they chalenged the crowne to the house of York, is thus in the story of Scala mundi, word for word, as hereunder is conteyned.

The title of the house of Yorke to the crowne of England.

EDward the 3. right king of Englande, had issue first prince Edward the 2. W. Hatfield. 3. Lionell, 4. Iohn of Gaunt. &c. Prince Edward had Richard the 2. which dyed without issue,*W. Hatfelde dyed without issue. Lionel duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot, Phillip his onely daughter and heyre, the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, Earle of March, and had issue law fully begotte, Roger Mortimer Eare of March and heyre: Whych Roger had issue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor, Edmund and Alienor died without issue, and the sayd Anne by lawfull matrimonye was coupled vnto Richard Earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Lāgley,*who had issue & lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet now Duke of Yorke, Iohn of Gaunte gate Henry, which vnrightfully entreated king Richard: then being alieue Edmund Mortimer Earle of Marche, sonne of the sayde Philip, daughter to Lionell To the which Richard duke of Yorke, and sonne to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer Earle of March, sonne and heyre to the sayde Philip daughter and heyre to the sayd Lionel, the 3. sonne of king Edward the 3. the right & dignity of the crowne apperteyned & belonged, afore any issue of the sayd Iohn of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the sayd title of dignity of the sayde Richard of Yorke, the sayd Richard desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that king Henry 6. should be had and taken for king of England, during his naturall life from thys time without hurt of his title.

Wherefore the king vnderstanding the sayd title of the sayde duke to be iust, lawfull, true and sufficient, by the aduise and assent of the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and the commons in the Parliament, and by the authoritye of the same Parliament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the sayde title for iust, good, lawfull and true, and there unto geueth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And ouer that, by the sayde aduise and authority, declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth and reputeth the sayd Richard of Yorke very true and rightfull heyre to the crowne of England and Fraunce: and that all other statutes and acts made by any of the Henryes late, contrary to this aduise, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, voyd, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented, that the sayd Duke and hys heyres shall after his naturall life enioy the crowne. &c. Also, that all sayinges and doinges agaynst the duke of Yorke shall be hygh treason, and all actes of Parliamentes contrary to this principall act, be voyd and of none effect. &c.

And thus much for the reign of king Henry the 6.* Who now lacked his vncle and protector, Duke of Glocester, about him. But commonly the lacke of such frendes, is neuer felt before they be missed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in Lōdon called Leadē hall,* fōūded by one Simon Eyre, Maior once of the sayd City of London. an. 1445.

Also the standard in cheape builded by Iohn Wels, an. 1442. the Conduite in Fleetstreet by William Castfield. an 1438. Item, Newgate builded by goods of Rich. Whittington, an. 1422.

Moreouer the sayde Henry 6. founded the Colledge of Eton, and another house hauing then the title of S. Nicolas in Cambridge, now called the kinges Colege. Ex Scal. mundi.

In the reigne of this Henry 6. it is not be passed ouer in silence which we finde noted in the Parliament rolles how that Lewes Archbishop of Rhoen, after the death of the late Bishop of Eley, had graūted vnto him by y^e popes Bulles, during his life, all y^e profites of the sayd bishopricke by the name of the administratour of the said Bishopricke, Lewes the foresayde Archbishop sheweth his Buls to the king, who vtterly reiected his Bulles. Notwithstanding for his seruice done in Fraunce, the king graunted to hym the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents at the petition of the sayd Lewes, should be affirmed to bee of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties and hability.

Neither agayn is here to be ouerpast a certayn tra gicall Acte done betweene Easter and Whitsontide of a false Britone,* an. 1427. Which murdered a good widdow in her bed (who had brought him vp of almes, without Algate in the suburbes of London) and bare away all that she had, & afterward he tooke succor of holy church at S. Georges in Southwarke: but at the last he tooke the crosse & forswore the kings land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed, and women of the same parish, came out with stones and cannell dong, and there made an end of him in the hye streete, so that he went no further, notwithstandinge the Constables and other men also which had hym vnder gouernaunce to conduct him forward: for there was a great company of them,* so that they were not able to withstande them.

Kyng Edward the fourth.

KIng Edward,* after his conquest and victorie achieued agaynst king Henry, returned again to London, where, vpon the Uigil of S. Peter and Paul, being on Sonday, he was crowned [Page 713](#) king of England, & raigned 22. yeares, albeit not without great disquitnes, and much perturbation in his reigne.

Queene Margaret hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also fayne to flye the land, and went to her father Duke of Angeow: From whence the next yeare following she returned again to renue warre against king Edward, with small succor and lesse lucke: For being encountred by the Earle of Warwicke, about Nouember she was driuen to the seas agayne, and by tempest of weather, was driuen into Scotland.

*In this yere we read that king Edward in the cause of a certayne widow for rape, sate his owne person in Westminster hall vpon his owne Bench, discussing her cause. Ex Scal. mundi.

The yeare folowing, king Henry issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scottes and Frenchmen came into the Northcuntry to recouer the crowne,* vnto whom the Lord Radulph Percy, & Lord Radulph Grey flying from king Edward,* did adioyn, themselues: but the Lord so disposing, king Henry with his power was repulsed in the battaile of Exham by the Lord Mountacute, having then the rule of the North: where the Duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, Lord Rosse with certayne other were taken. The Lord Radulph Percy was slayne, the residue fled. Albeit the history of Scal. mūdi, referreth this battel to the yeare 1464. the 15. day of May. In the which moneth of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerset, Lorde Hungerford, Lord Rosse, L. Philip Wentworth, L. Tho. Husly, L. Tho. Findern, beside 21. other belonging to the retinue and household of king Hēry 6. Queene Margaret finding no resting place here in England, took her progres agayne from whence she came, learning in her own country to drinke that drinke, which she her selfe had brued here in England.

And not long after, the next yeare, an. 1465. on the day of S. Peter and Paule, king Henry being founde & knowne in a wood by one Cantlow (as they say) was arested by the Earle of Warwicke, and at last of a king made prisoner in the tower of London.

In this meane time, king Edward (after the motion of mariage for him being made, and first the Lady Margaret sister to Iames the 4. K. of Scottes thought vpon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady Elizabeth sister to Henry king of Castelle, being intended, but she being vnder age, the Earle of Warwick turning then his legation and voiage to the French king Lewes the II. to obteyne Lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Sauoy, and sister to Carlot the French Queen, and obtaining the same) had cast fauour vnto one Elizabeth Grey,* widow of Syr Iohn Grey knight, slain before in the battell of S. Albōs, daughter to the Duches of Bedford, and Lord Riuers, and first went about to haue her to his concubine: But she, as being vnworthy (as she sayde) to be the wife of such a high personage, so thinking her selfe to bee to good to be his concubine, in such sort wanne the kings hart, that incontinent, before the returne of the Earle of Warwicke, he married her:* at the which mariage were no moe then onely the Duches of Bedford, two gentle women, the priest & clark. Upō this so hasty & vn lucky mariage, ensued no litle trouble to the king, much bloudshed to the realme, vndoing almost to all her kyndred, and finally confusion to the K. Edwardes 2. sonnes, which both were declared afterward to be bastards and also depriued of theyr liues: For the Earle of Warwicke, who had bene the faythfull frend, and chiefe mayntainer before of the king, at the hearing of this maryage, was therwith so greuously moued and chaffed in hys mind, that he neuer after sought any thing more, then how to worke displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cussion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathfull mood, till he might spye a time conuenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat seruing to his mind,* he breaketh his hart to his two brethren: to witte, the Marques Mountacute, & the Archbishop of Yorke, conspiring with them how to bring hys purpose about. Then thought he also to proue a farre of, the mind of the duke of Clarence, king Edwards brother, & likewise obtained him, geuing also to him his daughter in Mariage.

This matter being thus prepared agaynst the kyng, the first flame of this cōspiracy began to appeare in y^e north country. Where the Northrenmen in short space gathering theselues in an open rebellion, & finding certaines of their wicked purpose, came down from Yorke toward London. Against whom was appoynted by the king. W. lord Harbert Earle of Penbroke, with the

Lord Stafford, and certayne other Captaynes, to encounter. The Yorkeshyre mē geuing the ouerthrow first to the lord Stafford, thē to the Earle of Penbrok and his company of Welch mē, at Banbery field, at last ioyning together with the army of the Earle of Warwicke, and Duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night, secretly stealing one the kinges field at Wolney by Warwick,* killed the watch, and tooke the king prisoner, who first being in the castle of Warwicke, then was conueyed by night to Middleham Castle in Yorkeshyre, vnder the custody of the Archbishop of Yorke, where he hauinge loose keeping and liberty to go on hunting, meeting wyth syr William Standley, syr Thomas of Brough, and other his frendes, was to good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to York, where he was well receiued: from thēce to Lankester, where he met with the Lord Hastings his Chamberlayne, well accompanied, by whose helpe he came safe to London.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to a perfect peace & vnity,* although much labor was made by y^e nobility, the Earle of Warwick raiseth vp a new war in Lincolnshyre, the captaine wherof was Sir Rob. wels knight, who shortly after being taken in battell wyth hys father, and sir Thomas Dunocke were beheaded, the residue casting away their coates, ran away and fled, geuing y^e name of the field,* called Losecoat field. The erle of Warwicke after this put out of comfort and hope to preuayle at home, fled out of England. An. 1470. first to Calice, then to Lewes the French king, accompanied with the Duke of Clarence. The fame of y^e Earle of Warwicke and of his famous actes, was at that time in great admiration aboue measure, and so highly fauoured, that both in England & Fraunce all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the comming of this Earle & of the Duke of Clarence, was not a litle gratefull to the French king, and no lesse oportune to Queene Margaret, King Henryes wife, and Prince Edward her sonne, who also came to the Frenche Courte to meete and conferre together, touching their affayres: where a league betwene thē was cōcluded, & moreouer a mariage betwene Edward prince of Wales, & Anne the secōd daughter of the Erle of Warwick was wrought. Thus all things fasting luckely vpō the Erles part beside the large offers, and great promises made by the Frenche king, on the best maner, to set forwarde their purpose, the Earle hauing also intelligence by letters that the harts almost of all men went with him,* and lōged sore for his presence, so that there lacked now but onely hast with al speed possible to returne: he with the duke of Clarence wel fortified with the French nauy, set forward toward England: For so was it betwene them before decreed, that they two should proue the first venture, and then Queen Margaret with Prince Edward her sonne,* should folow after. The ariuell of y^e Earle was not so soone heard of at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, but great cōcourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receiue & welcome hym, who immediatly made proclamation in the name of kyng Henry the sixt, charging all men able to beare armour, to prepare themselues to fight agaynst Edward Duke of Yorke vsurper of the Crowne.* Here lacked no frendes, strength of men, furniture, nor pollicy conuenient for such a matter.

When king Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seking how, either to haue stopped his iāding, or els straight wayes to haue encountred with him before the gathering of his frendes, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hauking, in all pleasure & daliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly repaired more and more dayly about the Erle and the Duke began now to prouide for remedy, when it was to late. Who trusting to much to his friendes and fortune before,* dyd nowe right well perceiue what a variable and inconstant thyng the people is, & especially here of Englād, whose nature is neuer to be contēt long with the

present state, but alwayes delighting in newes, seketh new variety of chaunges, eyther enuying that which stādeth, or els pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, chaunging with the winde, and wauering with the reede, did well appeare in the course of this kinges story. For he, through the people when he was down, was exalted: now being exalted of the same, was forsaken. Wherby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firme and stable: so is there no trust nor assurance to be made, but onely in the fauor of God and in the promises of his word, onely in Christ his sonne, whose only kingdome shall neuer haue ende, nor is subiecte to anye mutation.

These thinges thus passing in England on the Earles side agaynst king Edward,* he accompanied with y^e Duke of Glocester his brother, and the Lord Hastings, who had married the erle of Warwicks sister, and yet was neuer vntrue [Page 714](#) to the king his maister: and the Lord Seales brother to the Queene, sent abroad to all his trusty frendes for furniture of able souldiors for defence of his person to w^tstand his enemies.* Whē litle rescue & few in effect would come, the king himselfe so destitute, departed to Lincolneshyre, where he perceiuing his enemyes dayly to encrease vpon him, & all the countryes about to be in a tore, making fiers & singing songs,* crying king Henry, king Henry, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, and hearing moreouer his enemyes y^e Lancastrians to be within halfe a dayes iourney of him, was aduised by his frendes to flie ouer the Sea to y^e Duke of Burgoyne, which not long before had maryed king Edwardes sister.

* Here might be thought, by the common iudgement and pollicy of man, peraduētnre that king Edward, as he had in his handes the life of king Henry of his Queene and Prince: so if hee had dispatched them out of the way, when as he might, he had not fallen into this misery: but because he tooke not the vantage, whiche time rather then godly reason gaue him, therefore that sparing pittty of hys turned now to his confusion and ruine. And certes, I suppose no lesse, but if the same case had fallen in these our pittlesse dayes, in which charity now waxeth vtterly colde, and humanitye is almost forgotten, the occason of suche a tyme should not be so neglected. But let vs here note and learn, how godly simplicity alwayes in the end of thinges gayneth more then mans pollicy, forsomuche as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

And so farre is it of, that the euēt and successe of thinges be gouerned by mans aduised pollicy, or vnaduised affection in this world,* that that is iudged to be weaker that florisheth in man, then that which is cast downe in the Lord: as in the double case of both these kings may wel appeare. And first let vs consider the case of king Edward who being so beset and compassed with euils and distresses on euery side,* first was compelled to take the washes betwene Lincolneshyre and Lynne (which was no lesse daungerous to his life then it was vnsemely for his estate.) Being come to Linne, in what perill was he there, through the doubtfull mutabilitye of the townes men, if he had beene known to his enemyes? And how could he be but known, if he had taried any space? But though men and frends forsook him, yet the mercy of God not forsaking the life of him which shewed mercy vnto other, so prouided, that at y^e same present there was an Englishe shippe, and two hulkes of Holland ready to theyr iourney. Thus king Edward w^tout prouision, without bag or baggage, without clothsacke or male, without store of money, without rayment, saue onely apparell for warre, also without all frendes, excepte onely his brother Duke of Glocester,* the Lord Seales, & Lord Hastings, with a fewe other trustye frendes, to the number of 7. or 8. hūdreth persons tooke shipping toward Holland: at which time he was in no lesse ieoperdy almost on the sea, then he was on the land. For certayne Esterlinges hauing many

shippes of warre, which lay rouing the same tune on the sea, and had done much damage the yeare before, as well to the Englishe Marchauntes, as to the French nation, spying the kinges ship, with seuen or eight gallaunt shippes made sayle after the king and hys company. The kinges shippe was good of sayle, and gate some ground,* albeit not much of the Esterlinges, that she came to the coast of Halland, before Alquemare, and there cast anker: for otherwise, being an ebbing water, they coulde not enter the hauen. The Esterlings with theyr great shippes approched as nere as they could possible come for the low water, purposing at y^e flond to obtain their pray, & so were like to do, if the Lord had not there also prouided Mounsiour de Groun ture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the towne of Alquemare, who hearing of the ieopardy of the king,* being there at anker, prohibited the Esterlings on payne of death, not to meddle with any English men, which were the Dukes frendes and alies.

*Thus K. Edward well chastised of God for his wantonnes both by sea and land, but not vtterly geuē ouer frō his protection, escaping so many hard chaūces, was set on land with his company, who there well refreshed, & newly apparelled, were conducted to Hage.

Duke Charles at the hearing of the vnprosperous case and condition of king Edward his brother in lawe,* was greatly amased and perplexed in himself, much casting and doubting what he should do: For, being then in war with the French king, he could not well prouoke the Englishe nation agaynst him, without his manifest greuaunce and decay: neither yet could he without great shame and obloquy, leaue the king his brother in that necessity. Notwithstanding, so he demannured himselfe through fayre speach, pretending to the English men to ioyne part with y^e house of Lancaster, being himselfe partly descended of the same family by his Graundmothers side: that he both was his owne frend openly, and the kinges friend couertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

Whē tidings was spred in England of king Edwards flying, innumerable people of al hands resorted to y^e Earle of Warwicke,* to take his part, agaynst K. Edward a fewe onely except of his constant friends which tooke sanctuary. Among whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who desperat almost of all comfort, tooke also sanctuaries at Westminster, where she in great penury forsakē,* was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edw. which without all pompe was baptysed like another poore womans childe, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, the Godmother was Lady Scroope.

To make the story short, the Earle of Warwick hauing now brought all things to his appetite,* vpon the 12. day of October, rode to the Tower, which was then deliuered to him, and there tooke king Henry out of the ward, & placed him in the kinges lodging. The 25. day of the sayd moneth, the Duke of Clarence accōpanyed with the Erles of Warwick,* Shrewsbury, and the Lord Standley, with a great company, brought him in a long gown of blew veluet thorow the hye streetes of London, first to Paules Church, to offer, then to the bishops palace of London, and there he re'sumed agayne the crowne royall, an. 1471. which he did not long enioy.

After this followed a Parliament, in the whiche king Edward with all his partakers were iudged traytours,* Queene Margarete with her sonne Prince Edward, all this while was tarying for a fayre winde, thinking long belike, till she came to an euill bargayne, as it proued after. For king

Edwarde within sixe monethes after his departure out of Englande vnto the Duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his frendes sollicitate, or whether by his aduēturous courage incited, made instant sure to duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such power, as he would bestow vpon him, for he was fully resolved to defer the matter and to protract the time no longer.

The Duke damped in double feare, in such a daungerous case, notwithstanding ouercome by nature and affini'ty, secretly caused to be deliuered to him 50000. Florence, & further caused foure great shippes to be appoynted for him in a haven in Zeland where it was free for al men to come. Also the same Duke had for him hired 14. shippes of the Esterlinges well appoynted, taking band of them to serue him truely, till he were landed in England, and 15. dayes after.

Thus king Edwarde being furnished but onely with 2000.* men of warre, with more lucke then hope to speede, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Rauenspur in the coast of Yorkeshyre. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of souldiors to do any good, yet to vse pollicy, where strength did lack, first he sent forth certayne light horsemen, to proue the countrey on euery side, with persuasions, to see whether the vplandyshe people would be styrred to take king Edwards part. Perceiuing that it woulde not be, king Edwarde flyeth to hys shiftes, dissembling his purpose to be, not to clayme the crowne and kingdome, but onely to clayme the Duchy of Yorke, whiche was his owne title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more, but onely his iust patrimony and lineall inheritaunce, they began to be moued with mercy and compassion toward him, either to fauour him or not to resiste him, and so iourning toward Yorke, he came to Beuerly. The Marques Mountacute,* brother to the Earle of Warwicke, was then at Pomfret, to whom the Earle had sent strayght charge, with all expedition to set vpon him, or els to stop his passage: and likewise to the Citizens of Yorke and all Yorkeshyre,* to shut theyr gates and take armour agaynst him, King Edward being in the streetes, proceeded notwithstanding nere to Yorke, without resistaunce: where he required of the Citizens, to be admitted into theyr Citty. But so stode the case then, that they durst not graunt vnto him,* but contrary sent him word to approach no nearer, as beloued his owne safegarde. The desolate king was here driuen to a narow strait, who neyther could retyre backe, for the opinion of the countrey and losse of his cause: neither could goe further, for the present daunger of the City.* Wherefore vsing the same pollicy as before, with louely words, and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare vnto the Citizens, that his comming was not to demaund the realme of England, or the title of the same but onely the Duchye of Yorke, his olde inheritaunce, and [Page 715](#) therefore determined to set forward, neither w^t armie, nor weapō. The messēgers were not so soone within y^e gates, but he was at the gates in a manner, as soone as they. The Citizens hearing his courteous answere, and that he intended nothing to the preiudice of the king, nor of the realme, were something mitigated toward him, and began to common with him from the walles, willing him to withdrawe his power to some other place, and they would be the more ready to ayde him, at least he shoulde haue no damage by them.

Notwithstanding, he again vsed such lowly language, and deliuered so faire speach vnto them, entreating them so curteously, and saluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at their hāds no more, but only his own towne whereof he had the name and title, that at length the Citizens, after long talke, and debating vpon the matter, partly also intised with faire and large promises,*

fell to this cōuention, that if he would sweare to be true to king Henry, & gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receiue him into the Citie.

This being concluded, the next morning, at the entring of the gate, a priest was ready to say Masse, in y^e which, after receiuing of the sacrament, the king receiued a solemne othe, to obserue the ii. articles afore agreed. By reason of which othe so rashly made, & as shortly brokē, and not lōg after punished (as it may wel be thought) in his posterity, he obtained y^e city of Yorke. Where he, in short time forgetting his oth to make al sure, set in garrisons of armed soldiours. Furthermore, perceiuing all things to be quiet, and no stirre to be made against him, he thought to foreslacke no oportunitie of time, and so made forward toward Lōdon, leauing by y^e way the Marques Mountacute, which lay then with his army at Pomfrete, on the right hande, not fully foure miles distant from his campe:* and so returning to the hye waye againe, wente forwarde without anye stirring to the towne of Notingham: where came to him, sir W. Parre, sir Thomas of Borough, sir Tho. Montgomery, & diuers else of his assured frends, with their aydes, which caused him by proclamation, to stand to his own title of king Edward the fourth, sayeng that they would serue no man, but a king. At the fame here of being blowne abroad, as y^e Citizēs of Yorke were not a little offended (& that worthely) so frō other townes and cities, Lords and noble men began to fall vnto him, thinking with thēselues, that the Marques Mountagew either fauoured his cause, or was afraide to encounter w^t the mā.* Howsoeuer it was, K. Edward being now more fully furnished at al points, came to y^e towne of Leicester, and there hearing that y^e earle of Warwicke accompanied with y^e earle of Oxford, were together at Warwicke, with a great power, minding to set on the Earle, he remooued from thence his army, hoping to geue him battaile. The Duke of Clarence in the meane time, about London had leuied a great hoste cōming toward y^e earle of Warwicke, as he was by the Earle appointed. But when the Earle sawe the Duke to linger the time, he began to suspecte (as it fell out in deede) that he was altered to his brethrenes part.* The king auansing forward his host, came to Warwicke, where he found all the people departed. Frō thence he moued toward Couentry, where the Earle was: vnto whome the next day after, he boldly offered battaile. But the Earle expecting y^e Duke of Clarence his cōming, kept him within the walles. All this made for the king. For he hearing that his brother, Duke of Clarence was not farre off, comming toward him with a great army, rayased hys campe, and made toward him, either to entreate, or else to encounter with his brother. When ech hoste was in sight of the other, Richard Duke of Gloucester, brother to thē both, as arbitour betweene thē, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made,* it is vncertaine. But hereby both the brethren, leaning all army and weapon aside, first louingly and familiarly commoned: after that, brotherly and naturally ioined together. And that fraternall amitie, by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspition.

Then was it agreed betwene y^e iij. brethren to attempt the earle of Warwicke, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he crieng out shame vpō the Duke of Clarence, stode at vtter defiance. From thence king Edward so strongly furnished, & daily encreasing, taketh his way to Lōdon. Where, after it was knowne y^t the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much feare fell vpō the Londoners, casting with thēselues what was best to do. The sodaynues of time permitted no long cōsultation. There was at London the same time, the Archbishop of Yorke, brother to y^e Earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Somerset, wyth other of K. Henries counsaile to whom the earle had sent in cōmaundement a litle before, knowing the weaknes of the Citie, that they should keepe the Citie from their enemies ij. or iij. dayes, and he would follow with all possible speede,

with a puissaunt army. Who, accordyng to their cōmaundement, defended the Citie with all their power, but yet to litle purpose:.* For the Citizens consulting with thēselues for their owne most indēnitie, hauing no walles to defend thē, thought best to take that way, which seemed to thē most sure & safe, & therfore concluded to take part with kyng Edward. This was not so soone knowne abroad, but the cōminaltie rāue out by heapes to meete kyng Edward, & to salute him as their king. Wheupon the Duke of Somerset,.* with other of kyng Henries Coūsaile, hearing therof, & wonderyng at the sodayne chaunge of the world, to shift for themselues, fled away & left there kyng Henry alone: who the same day beyng caused by the Archbyshop of Yorke,.* to ryde about London like a kyng, was before night made captiue, and reduced agayne to the Tower.

It was not long after these thyngs thus done at London, but the cōming of the Earle of Warwicke was heard of, who thinking to preuēt mischiefes with making speede came a litle to late & missed of his purpose. In the Earles army were Iohn Duke of Exceter, Edmūd Earle of So'merset, Iohn Earle of Oxford, and Marques Moūtacute the Earles brother. The Earle had now passed a great part of his iourney, whē he hearing newes of the world so chaūged, & of the captiuitie of king Henry, was not a litle thereat appalled in his mynde: wherfore he stayd with his army at S. Albons,.* to see what way further to take. And for somuch as there was no other remedy, but either he must yeld, or one conflict must finish the matter: he remoued to Barnet x. myles from S. Albons.

Against him set forth K. Edward, well appointed with a strong army of piked & able persons, with artillerie, engines & instrumētes meete for the purpose: bringing with him also kyng Hēry. On Easter euē he came to Barnet, & there he embattelled himselfe.* In the mornyng vpon Easter day the battaile begā, and fiercely cōtinued almost till noone, with murder on ech side much doubtfull, till both partes were almost wery with fightyng and murderying. King Edward thē desirous to see an end, of or on, with a great crew of new fresh souldiours, set vpon his weries enemies. Wherby the Earles mē, although encouraged w^t wordes of their captaine, stoutly fought, but they sore woū'ded & weries, could not lōg hold out. The Earle rushing into the midst of his enemies, ventured so farre, that he could not be rescued: where he was strikē downe & slayne, and there lay he.* Marques Mountacute thinkyng to succour his brother whō he saw to be in great ieopardy, was likewise ouerthrowne and slaine. After that Richard Neuell, Earle of Warwike, & his brother were gone, the rest fled, & many were takē. The number of them which were in this field slayne, are iudged about x. thousand, as Polydore Virgill reciteth. Fabian numbred of them that were slayne, but xv. hundreth. The Duke of Somerset & Earle of Oxford thinkyng to flye to Scotland, turned to Iasper Earle of Pēbroke in Wales. The Duke of Exceter hardly escaped to Westminster, & there tooke sanctuary. For the death of the Earle of Warwike the K. was not so glad, as he was sory for the Marques Mountacute, whō he tooke to be his frend. The corpes of these two were brought to the Church of Paules, where they lay open in two coffins two dayes, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

In the narration of this Hystory,.*Polydore Virgill, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deale differ from Rob. Fabian. Neither doe I doubt, but both these had their authors, by whō they were directed. Notwithstādyng this I maruaile, that Polydore writyng of so many thynges which he neuer saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite vnto vs those writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I meruaile or rather lamēt, if it be true that I haue heard, that he not onely

nameth no author vnto vs, but also burned an heape of our English stories vnknownen, after the finishyng of his, in the dayes of kyng Henry the 8. But now to our text agayne.

All this while yet Queene Margaret with yoūg prince Edward her sonne,* was scarce come ouer, beyng long let with contrary windes, who at length in the moneth of Aprill arriuyng at Waymouth in Dorsetshire, & hearing the sorrowfull tidings of these thinges lately happened to her husbād, and to the Earle of Warwike and his brother, and of the prosperous successe of K. Edward: was so dismayd diquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seyng all things contrary to her expectatiō, so to frame agaynst her, that she fared and tooke on with her selfe, lamenting her husbād, bewayling [Page 716](#) hir sonne, cursing her comming, and crieng out of Fortune, as though blinde Fortune were she that gouerneth times and tides,* rewarding iust punishments to vniust deseruings of men, and not the secret power and terrible iustice of almighty God. Such was then the impacieny of that Queene, being not able to beare the vehemency of her passion (who rather should haue sorrowed the dolorous death of Duke Humfrey, whome before she neglected,* but now she lacked) that her senses failed, her spirites were taken, her speach decayed, and life almost gone, she fell to the ground as one that would rather dye, then liue. In this desolate case, Queene Margaret learning now to know her friends frō her foes, when it was too late,* fraught ful of heauines, without solace, or hope of remedy, she with her son & her company departed for her next refuge, to a Monastery of Monkes called Beaulie in Hainshire, there to take sanctuary, & priuiledge of y^e house.

Yet all harts were not sound nor subdued in England, especially Edmond Duke of Somerset, with Lord Iohn his brother, Thomas Courtney, Earle of Deuonshire, Iasper earle of Pembroke,* Lord Wenlocke, Iohn Longscrother, being Prior of the Knights of Rhodes in Saint Iohns. These hearing of y^e Queenes returne, with speede resorted to her, by whome she being somewhat quickened in her spirits, and animated to warre, began to take some hart, and to follow their counsaile: which was, in all the whote hast, to renew warre against King Edward, being now vnprouided, by reason his army was now dispersed, and chieftest of his souldiours wasted. Heere great hope of victory was shewed, great promises made. Although the Queenes mind was, beeing more carefull for the yong Prince, then for her selfe, to sende him ouer into France, before some prooffe of triall made: yet following the contrary counsaile of them, and partly cut off by shortnesse of time, which required haste, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Iasper Earle of Pembroke posted into Wales to do the same.

King Edward hauing intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light horsemē, to espy abroad thorough the West parts, what waies his enemies did take. In the meane time, he vsing al celeritie to meete them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as hee could make about Lōdon, and first cōmeth to Abyngdon: from thence to Marlebridge, hearing that y^e Queene was at Bathe, thinking to encounter with them, before they diuerted into Wales to the Earle of Pembroke, whether he thought (as they in deede intended) that they woulde take. But y^e Queene vnderstanding the king to be so nie, remoueth from Bathe to Bristow, sending word in the meane while to y^e citizens of Gloucester, that they would graunt her leaue safely to passe by their Citie. Which whē it could not be obtained, with her army she departeth frō Bristow to Teukesbery: where the D. of Somerset knowing king Edward to be at hand at his very backe, willed the Queene there to stay, & in no wise to flie backward for certaine doubts that might be cast. Although this coūsaile was against the consent of many other captaines, who thought it best

rather to draw aside while the Earle of Pembroke with his army were with them associate: yet the mind of the Duke preuailed.* The place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battaile came, the King was loked for: who being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry & policy, as his enemies had done, disposed his army likewise in their aray. This celeritie of the King taking the time,* was to him great aduantage: who otherwise, if he had differed, till they had conioined with the Earle of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Of this battayle Hall this reporteth, adding more then Polidore, y^t the D. of Somerset, although he was strögly intrenched, yet through y^e occasion or policie of the Duke of Glouc•ster, which had the fore ward of the kings part, a little reculing back, followed the chase, supposing that y^e Lord Wenlock, who had y^e middle ward, would haue followed hard at his backe. The duke of Gloucester, whether for shame, rather then of policie, espieng his aduātage, sodenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the cōtrary part was estsoones discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separate frō their company. Tho Duke of Somerset not a litle aggyeued at this so vnfortunate case, returneth to y^e middle ward, where he seeing the L. Wenlocke abiding still, reuileth him, and calleth him traytour; and with his are striketh the braine out of his head. Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydor, but sheweth not his author where he had it. Polydore writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that y^e Queenes army being ouerset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and she hauing no fresh souldiours to furnish y^e field was at last ouermatched, and for y^t most part slaine or taken. In which battaile were named to be slaine, y^t Earle or Deuonshire,* the Lord Wenlocke, Lord Iohn Duke of Somerset his brother, beside other. Among thē that were taken, was Queene Margaret foūd in her chariot almost dead for sorow, Prince Edward, Edmund D. of Somerset, Iohn Prior of S. Iohns, with xx. other knights: all which were beheaded within ij. dayes after, the Queene only and the yong prince excepted. Which prince Edward being then brought to the Kings presence, was demaunded of him, how he durst be so bold to stand in battaile against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith: that after the field was finished, the King made Proclamation, that whosoever would bring Prince Edward to him,* should haue annuitie of an C. li. during his life, and the Princes life to be saued. Whereupon sir Rich. Croftes not mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the Prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuously enter this Realme with his banner displayed against him, he answered, sayeng: that he came to recouer his fathers kingdome and inheritance from his grandfather and father, to him descending: whereat (said Polydor) the King with his hande disdainingly thrust him from him. Other say that the king stroake him on the face with his gauntlet.

At the speaking of these words was present George Duke of Clarence,* Richarde Duke of Gloucester, and the Earle Lord William Hastings. Who vpon the same, vncourteously falling vpon the Prince, did slaye hym. Queene Margaret being brought prisoner to London, was afterwarde raunsomed of hir father Duke of Angeow, for a great summe of money which he borrowed of the French King, and for the paiment therof, was faine to yeeld vnto him the title of the kingdome of Sicile, and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous warres, rendred to God his hartie thanks,* and caused publicly through his realme, solemne processions to be kepte three daies together. And thus much, and too much, touchyng the warres of King Edward the fourth, which was done anno.* 1471. Ex Polid. & alijs.

The same yeare, and about the same tyme, vppon the Ascension euen,* king Henry being prisoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all xxxviij. yeares, and vi. moneths. Polydore and Hall folowing him, affirme that he was slaine with a dagger by Rich. Duke of Glocester, the Kings brother, for the more quiet and sauegard of the King his brother. In the history intituled Scala mundi,* I finde these words, Quod in turri, in vigilia Ascensionis Dominicae ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam nauicula vsque ad Abbathiam de Chertesey deductus, ibi sepultus est. That is, that king Henry being in the Tower vpon the Ascension euen,* there happely or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boate, to the Abbey of Chertesey, and there buried.

Polydore, after he hath described the vertues of thys king,* recordeth that king Henry y^e seuenth did afterwarde translate the corps of him frō Chertesey to Windsore, and addeth moreouer, that by him certayne myracles were wrought. For the which cause the sayde King Henry the seauenth (sayth he) laboured with Pope Iulius, to haue him canonised for a Saint, but the death of the king was the let, why y^t matter proceeded not. Edward Hall writing of this matter,* addeth more, declaring the cause, why king Henries sancting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees of canonising of a King, were of so great a quantitie at Rome (more then of another Bishop or prela•e) that the said king thought it better to keepe the money in his chestes, then with y^e empouering of y^e realme to buy so deare, & pay so much for a new holy day of saint Henry in the Calender,* &c. Ex Hallo. which if it be true, it might be replied then to the Pope Iulius, that if Popes be higher then kings in the earth, and especially in heauē, why then is a Pope Saint so cheape in y^e market place of Rome, and a King Saint so deare? Againe, if the valuation of things in all markets and buries, be according to the price & dignity of the thing that is bought, what reason is it, seing the sancting of a king beareth a bigger sale then the sancting of any Pope in heauen, but that Kings should be aboue Popes also vpon the earth? *Sed extra iocunt• as I do not doubt, but that K. Henry was a good & a quiet prince, if he had not otherwise bin abused by some: so touching the ruine of his house, I thinke not contrary, but it came not without the iust appointmēt of the Lord, either for that Henry of Lancasters house were such enemies to Gods people, & for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other: or else for the vniust displacing of [Page 717](#) King Richard 2. or else thirdly for the cruell slaughter of Humfrey the good Duke of Gloucester his vncle: whereof sufficiently hath bene said before.

During the time of these doings, being about y^e yeare of our Lord 1465. There was here in England a certaine Frier Carmelite,* who about the tearme of Michaell the Archangel preached at Paules in London, that our Lord Iesus Christ, being heere in this present worlde, was in pouertie,* and did beg. To whose opiniō and doctrine, the prouinciall of that order semed also to incline, defending y^e same both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctours moe and brethren of y^e same order: vnto whom also adioined certaine of the Iacobites, and stifly did take their partes. On y^e cōtrary side, many doctours & also lawyers, both in their publicke lectures & preaching, to the vttermost of their cunning, did withstād their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the Church to be heard. Such a bitter cōtention was among them, that the defendent part was driuen for a while to keepe silence.* Much like to those times I might well resemble these our dayes now present, with our tumultuous contention of formes and fashions of garments. But I put my selfe here in Pythagoras schoole, and keepe silence with these Friars. In the story moreouer it foloweth, that this beggerly questiō of the begging Friars, whether Christ did begge, or no, went so far, y^t at length it came to y^e Popes eares, Paulus 2. who was no beggar ye may be

sure. After that, the fame of this doctrine, mounting ouer the Alpes, came flieng to the court of Rome, which was about y^e Assumption of the virgin Mary, y^t yeare next folowing, an. 1465. it brought with it such an euill sinell to y^e fine noses there, that it was no neede to bid them to stirre: for begging to them was worse thē hie heresie. Wherefore the holy father pope Paulus the 2. to repress the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might haue set his whole kitchin on fire,* taketh y^e matter in hand, & estsoones directeth downe his Bull into England, insinuating to the Prelates here, Haeresim illam pestiferè asserentem,* quod Christus publice mendicauit, esse antiquitus a Romanis pontificibus, cum suis Concilijs damnatam, & eam pro damnata, vndique declarandam, & conculcandam, &c. That is, that this heresie, which pestiferously doth affirme that Christ did openly begge, was condemned of old time by the Bishops of Rome, and his Councels, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be troden downe vnder all mens feete, &c. This was in the same yeare when Prince Edward, King Edwards sonne was borne in the Sanctuary at Westminster an. 1465.*

As touching the rest of the doings and affaires of thys king (which had vāquished hetherto ix. battailes, himselfe being present) how afterward he, through the incitemēt of Charles duke of Burgoine his brother in law, vētrede into France with a puissant army, & how the Duke fayled him in his promise, also how peace betwene y^e two kings was at length cōcluded in a solēne meeting of both y^e sayd kings together (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white doue sitting the same day of meeting, vpō the top of king Edwards tent) also of y^e mariage promised betwene y^e yong Dolphin & Elizabeth K. Edwards eldest daughter, but afterward broken of the French kings part: moreouer as touching the death of the duke of Burgoine slaine in war, & of his daughter Mary, neece to King Edward, spoiled of her lands & possessions wrōgfully, by Lewes y^e French king, & married after to Maximilian: furthermore, as touching the expeditiō of king Edward into Scotlād, by reason of King Iames, breaking promise in marieng with Cecilie the ij. daughter of king Edward, & of driuing out his brother, & how y^e matter was composed there, & of the recouery againe of Barwicke: of these (I say) & such other things mo, partly because they are described sufficētly in our cōmon english stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the Church, I omit to speake, making of thē a supersedeas. Two things I finde here among many other, specially to be remembred.

The first is concerning a godly and constant seruant of Christ, named Iohn Goose, which in the time of this king was vniustly condemned and burnt at the tower hill. an. 1473.* in the moneth of August. Thus had England also his Iohn Hus, as well as Boheme. Wherein moreouer this is to be noted, that since the time of King Richard 2. there is no reigne of any King to be assigned hetherto, wherein some good mā or other hath not suffred the paines of fire, for y^e Religion & true testimonie of Christ Iesus. Of this said Iohn Goose, or Iohn Hus, this moreouer I find in another English monumēt recorded, that the sayd Iohn being deliuered to Robert Belisdone, one of y^e Shiriffes, to see him burnt the after noone: the Shiriffe like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (sayth the story) his errors.* But the godly man after long exhortation heard, desired the Shiriffe to bee content, for he was satisfied in his conference. Notwithstādyng this he desired of the Shiriffe, for Gods sake to geue him some meate, saying that he was very sore hungered. Then the Shiriffe commaunded him meate: whereof he tooke and did eate, as he had bene toward no maner of daunger: and sayd to such as stode about him: I eate now a good and a competent dinner: for I shall passe a litle sharpe shower, ere I goe to

supper. And when hee had dyned, he gaue thanks, and required that he might shortly be lead to the place, where hee should yeld vp his spirite vnto God. Ex Polychron.

[illustration]

The burnyng of Iohn Goose.

The second thyng herein to be noted,* is the death of George Duke of Clarence, the kynges second brother: Of whom relation was made before, how he assisted K. Edward, his brother, agaynst the Earle of Warwicke at Bar'net field, and helped him to the crowne, and now after all these benefites,* was at lēgth thus requited, that (for what cause it is vncertaine) he was apprehended and cast into the Tower, where he beyng adiudged for a traytor, was priuely drowned in a but of Malmesey. What y^e true cause was of his death, it can not certainly be affirmed. Diuers coniectures and imaginations there be diuersly put forth. Some partly impute it to the Queenes displeasure.* Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his seruauant, which was accused and cōdemned for poysonyng, sorcery, or inchantmēt. An other fame there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise vpō the vayne feare of a foolish Prophecie,* commyng no doubt (if it were true) by the craftie operation of Sathan, as it doth many tymes elles happen among infidels and gentiles, where Christ is not knowen: where among high Princes and in noble houses, much mischief groweth, first murther and parricide, & thereby ruine of auncient families, and alteration of kingdomes. The effect of this Prophecie (as the fame goeth) was this, that after kyng Edward, should one reigne, whose name should begyn with G.* And because the name of the Duke of Clarence, beyng George, began with a G. therfore he began to be feared, and afterward priuely (as is aforesayd) was made away.

By these experimentes and mischieuous endes of such Prophecies,* and also by the nature of them, it is soone to be seene, from what fountaine or author they proceede: that is (no doubt) from Sathā, the auncient enemy of mākynd, and Prince of this world: agaynst whose deceitfull delusions. Christen men must be well instructed, neither to maruell greatly at them, though they seeme straunge, nor yet to beleue them,* though they happen true. For Sathā being the Prince of this world, in such thyngs worldly can foresee what will follow, and cā say truth for a mischieuous [Page 718](#) end,* and yet for all that is but a Sathan. So the dreame of Astiages, seeing a vine to growe out of his daughter, which should couer all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdome, proued true in the sequeale thereof, and yet notwithstanding of Sathan it came, and caused cruell murther to folow, first of the shepheards child, then of the sonne of Harpagus,* whome he set before his owne father to eate. Ex Iust. lib. 1. Likewise Cyrus was Prophetically admonished by his dreame, to take him for his guide, whome he first met the next morow. In that also his dreame fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blind Oracles of the Idolatrous Gentiles, which although they proceede of a lieng spirit,* yet sometime they hit the truth, to a mischieuous purpose. The like iudgement also is to be giuen of Merlynes Prophecies. The Sorceresse, mentioned 1. Reg. 28. raising up Samuell, told Saule the truth, yet was it not of God. In the 16. chap. of the Actes, there was a Damosell hauing the spirit of* Pytho, who said truth of Paule and Syllas, calling them the messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The vncleane spirits in geuing testimonie of Christ, saide the truth, yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Panlus Diaconus recordeth of Ualence the Emperour that he also had a blinde Prophecie, not much vnlike to this of king Edward,* which was, that one should succeed him in the Empire, whose name should begin with 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 and 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . whereupon one Theodorus, trusting vpon the prophecie, began rebelliously to hope for the crowne, & for his labour felt the paines of a traitour.* Notwithstanding the effect of the prophecy folowed: For after Ualence succeded Theodosius. Wherefore Christen Princes, and noble men, & all Christes faithfull people must beware & learne.

- 1. First, that no man be inquisitiue or curious in searching to knowe what things be to come, or what shall happen, beside those things only which are promised, and expressed in the word.
- 2. Secondly, to vnderstand what differēce there is, and how to discerne y^e voice of God, frō the voice of Sathan.
- 3. Thirdly, how to resist and auoide the daunger of false and diuelish prophecies.

Many there be, which being not cōtented with things present, curiously occupy their wittes to search what is to come, and not geuing thanks to God for their life whiche they haue, will also know, what shall be chance them, how & when their end wil come, how lōg Princes shal reigne, and who after shall succede them, and for y^e same, get vnto thē southsaiers, astrologers, sorcerers, coniuers, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitiue to search or aske, but the deuill is as ready to aunswere them: who either falsly doubleth with thē, to delude thē: or else telleth them truth, to worke them perpetuall care & sorow. Thus was Pope Siluester the sorcerer,* circumuented by the diuell, who told him that he should be at Hierusalem, before he died, and so it fell. For as he was saieng his Masse, at a chappell in Rome, called Hierusalem, there he fell sicke, and within three daies after died, vide sup. pag. 167. To King Henry the fourth also it seemeth it was prophecied, that he should not die, before he went to Hierusalem, who being brought to the Abbots chamber of Westminster,* and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Hierusalem, knew his time to be come, and dyed, pag. 557.

By such deceitfull prophecies, it can not be lamented enough to see what inconuenience both publikely and priuately groweth to the life of men,* either causing thē falsly to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate that they woulde not: as may appeare both by this king, and also diuers moe. So was Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar (as writeth Cicero) deceiued by the false Chaldeis, in declaring to them, that they should not but die in their beds, and with worship, and in their olde age. Of such false trust, rising vpon false prophecies, S. Ambrose in his booke of Exameron, writeth, speaking of rayne, which being in those parties greatly desired, was promised and prophecied of one certainly to fall vpō such a day, which was at the changing of the new Moone: but (sayth S. Ambrose) there fell no such raine at all,* till at the praiers of the Church, the same was obtained: geuing vs to vnderstand, that raine commeth not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the Moone, but by the prouidēce and mercie of our creatour.*Ex Ambros. in Examer.

Ioan. Picus Earle of Mirandula, in his excellent bookes written against these vaine startellers and Astrologers, Lib. 2. writeth of one Ordelaphus a prince, to whom it was prognosticate by a famous cunning man in that science,* called Hieronimus Manfredus, y^t he should enioy long continuance of health, and prosperous life, who notwithstanding, the selvesame yeare, and in the first yeare of his mariage, deceased: and after diuers other examples added moreouer vpon the

same, he inferreth also mention, and the name of a certaine rich matrone in Rome, named Constantia, who in like maner departed the same yeare, in which she receiued great promises by these Southsayers and Astrologers, of a long and happy life, saieng to her husband these words: behold (saith she) how true be the prognostications of these southtellers? If it were not for noting of thē, which now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot, otherwise I could recite the names of certaine, especially one, which taking his iourney, in a certaine place, after diligent calculation, and forecasting of the successe and good speede of his iourney,* was notwithstanding in the same iourney, apprehended and brought where he would not, after that neuer enioieng good day, in short time he departed. In Basill this I my selfe heard of one, which knew and was conuersant with the partie, who hauing a curious delight in these speculations of chances and euent to come, by his calculation noted a certaine day, which he mistrusted should be fatall vnto him,* by something, which at that day should fall vpon him. Whereupon he determined with himselfe, all that day to keepe him sure and safe within his chamber, where he reaching vp his hand to take downe a booke, the booke falling downe vpon his head, gaue him his deathes wounde, and shortly after he died vpon the same. Of these and such like examples, the world is full, and yet the curiosnes of mans head will not refraine, still to plucke the apple of this vnluckie and forbidden tree.

Beside all this, what murther and parricide commeth by the feare of these prophecies, in great blouds and noble houses. I referre it vnto them, which reade and well aduise the stories, as well of our Kings heere in England, as in other kingdomes moe, both Christened, and Turkish, whereof another place shall serue as well (Christ willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertaineth also the great inconuenience & hinderance that groweth by the feare of such Prophecies. in the vocation of mē, forsomuch as many there be, which fearing some one danger, some another, leaue their vocations vndone, and follow vnordinate waies. As if one hauing a blinde prophecie, that his destruction should be on the day, would wake and do all his busines by night and candle light: and so forth in other seuerall cases of mē and women, as euery one in his owne conscience knoweth his owne case best.

The second thing to be considered in these prophecies,* is rightly to discerne and vnderstand, as neare as we cā, the differēce betwene the prophecies proceeding frō God, and the false prophecies counterfeited by Sathan. For Sathan sometime plaieth Gods Ape, and transformeth himselfe into an Angell of light, bearing such a resemblaunce and colour of truth and Religion, that vnneth a wise man is able to discerne the one from the other, and the most part is begiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be obserued.

- 1. First,* whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous: wherof the one seemeth to taste of Gods spirit, such as be the Prophecies of the scripture: the other to come otherwise hauing a double or doubtfull interpretation. Although y^e time of Gods prophecies, as also of miracles is commonly, and ordinarily expired: yet if the Lord in these daies, now extraordinarily do shew any prophecie, by the simplenes & plainenes thereof, partly it may be discerned.
- 2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they bee priuate,* tending to this familie, or that family, or publike. For as the Scriptures, so commonly the Prophecies of God haue no priuate interpretation, but generall: for so much as the care of Gods holy spirit is not restrayned partially to one person, more then to another, but generally and indifferently respecteth the

whole Church of his elect in Christ Iesus his sonne. Wherefore such Prophecies as priuately are touching the armes of houses, or names of men, rising or falling of priuate and particular families, are worthely to be suspected.

- 3. The third note & speciall argument to discry the true prophecies of God,* from the false prophecies of Sathan, and his false Prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spirituall, or whether they tende to any glory or state of this present world, or whether they tend to the spirituall instruction, admonition, or comfort of the publicke [Page 719](#) Church.

Now remayneth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next, how to eschew the feare and perill of all diuelish Prophecies, which make against vs. Wherein two speciall remedies are to be marked of euery Christen man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all daunger of the enemye. The first is, that we set y^r name of Christ Iesus the sonne of God against them, through a true faith in him: knowing this, that the sonne of God hath appeared, to dissolue the works of the Diuell. And againe, this is the victory (saith the Scripture) that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith. Whatsoeuer then Sathan worketh or cā worke against vs, be it neuer so forceable, faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a maiestie is in our faith, beleeuing in the name of the Sonne of God.

*The other remedy is faythfull prayer, which obtineth in the name of Christ, all things with the Lord. So that wicked feende, which had killed before seuen husbands of Tobias wife, could not hurt him, entring his matrimony with earnest praier: so no more shall any sinister prophecie preuaile, where praier out of a faithful hart, doth striue against it. Neither am I ignoraunt, that against such temporall euils and punishments to this life inflicted, a great remedy also lieth in this, when Sathan findeth nothing, wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be founde, the next refuge is to flie to repentaunce, with amendment of life. For many times where sinne doth reigne in our mortall bodies, there also the operation of Sathan is strong against vs, to afflict our outwarde bodyes heere, but as touching our eternall saluation, neyther worke nor merite hath any place, but onely our fayth in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two speciall remedies, whereby the operation of all diuelishe Prophecies may be auoyded and defeated.

Now, many there be, which leauing these remedies aforesayd, and the safe protection which the Lorde hath set vp in Christ,* take other wayes of their owne, seeking by their owne policie, how to withstande and escape suche Prophecies, either in eschuing the place and time subtilly, or else cruelly by killing the partie whome they feare: whereof commeth iniury, murther, and parricide, with other mischiefes in cōmon weales vnspeakable. To whom commonly it cōmeth so to passe, that whereby they thinke most to saue themselues, by the same meanes they fal most into the snare,* being subuerted and confounded in theyr owne policie, for that they trusting to their owne deuise, and not vnto the Lord, which only can dissolue the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their deuise into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they thinke most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not onely in Astyages King of the Medes aforesaid, and Cyrus: but in infinite other like euent, which the trade of the world doth dayly offer to our eies. So Queene Margaret thought her then cockesure, when Duke Humfrey was made away: when nothing else was her confusion so much, as the losse and lacke of that man.

So if King Richard the second had not exercised suche crueltie vpon his vnckle Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, he had not receiued such wrong by King Henry the fourth as he did, pag. 594. Likewise this King Edward the fourth, if he had suffered his brother George, Duke of Clarence to haue liued, his house had not so gone to wracke by Richard, his other brother, as it did. What befell vpon the Student of Astrology in the Uniuersitie of Basill, ye heard before, who if he had not mewed himselfe in hys chamber for feare of his diuination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now, in auoiding such Propheticall euentues, which he should not haue searched, he fell into that which he did feare. These few examples for instruction sake, I thought by occasion to inferre, not as though these were alone: but by these few to admonish the Reader of infinite other which dayly come in practise of life, to the great daunger & decay, as well in priuate houses, as in weales publicke.

Wherefore briefly to repete, what before simply hath bin said touching this matter,* seeing that Sathan thorough such subtile Prophecies, hath & yet doth dayly practise so manifold mischiefes in the world, setting brother against brother, nephew against y^e vnckle, house against house, and realme against realme, gēdring hatred, where loue was, & subuerting priuely y^r simplicity of our christian faith, therefore y^r first thing & best is, for godly men not to busie there braines about such phātasies, neither in delighting in thē, nor in harkening to thē, nor in searching for thē, either by southsaier, or by cōiuratiō, or by familiar, or by astrologer: knowing and considering this, that whosoever shalbe desirous or ready to search for them, the Deuill is as ready to aunswere his curiositie therein.* For as once in the old tyme of Gentilitie, hee gaue his Oracles by Idols, and Priestes of that tyme: so the same deuill, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftely can geue now aunswere by Astrologers, and coniurers in these our dayes, & in so doyng, both to say truth, and yet to deceaue men whē he hath sayd. Wherefore, leauyng of such curiositie, let euery Christen man walke simple in his present vocation, referrying hid thynges not in the word expressed, vnto him which sayth in his word:*Non est vestrum scire tēpora & momenta temporum. &c. It is not for you to know the tymes, and seasons of tymes, which the Father hath kept in his owne power. &c.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requisite it is (as is sayd) for euery Christen man to learne, how to discerne and distinct the true Prophecies, which proceede of God, and the false Prophecies, whiche come of Sathan. The difference wherof, as it is not hard to be discerned: so necessary it is, that euery good man do rightly vnderstand the same, to the entent that he knowing & flying the daunger of the one, may be the more certaine and cōstant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, because it is not sufficient that the deceitfull Prophecies of the deuill be knowen, but also that they be resisted, I haue also declared, by what meanes the operation of Sathans workes and Prophecies are to be ouercome: that is, not with strength and policie of mā, for that there is nothyng in man, able to counteruayle the power of that enemy. Under heauen there is nothyng elles that can preuayle agaynst his workes, but onely the name of the Lord Iesus the sonne of God, not outwardly pronou|ced onely with our lippes, or signed in our foreheads with the outward crosse, but inwardly apprehended and dwellyng in our hartes by a silent fayth, firmly and earnestly trustyng vpon the promises of God, geuen and sealed vnto vs in his name: For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisdom, to set him vp,* to be both our righteousnesse before himselfe, and also to be our fortitude agaynst the enemy, acceptyng our fayth in his sonne, in no

lesse price, then he accepteth the workes & worthynesse of the same his sonne, in whom we do beleue.

Such is the strength and effect of faith both in heauen, in earth, & also in hell: In heauen to iustifie, in earth to pre|serue, in hell to cōquere. And therefore when any such Prophecie, or any other thing is to vs objected, which seemeth to tend agaynst vs, let vs first consider whether it sauour of Sathan, or not. If it doe, then let vs seeke our succour, not in our selues, where it doth not dwell, neither let vs kill, nor slay, nor chaunge our vocation therefore, folowing vnordinate wayes: [*](#) but let vs runne to our Castle of refuge, whiche is to the power of the Lord Iesus, remembring the true promise of the Psalme: Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione Del coeli commorabitur. That is. who so putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall haue the God of heauen to his protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalme. Ipse liberabit te a laqueo venantium, & a verbo aspeto. That is. And he shall deliuer him from the snare of the hunter, and from all euill wordes, and Prophecies, be they neuer so sharpe, or bitter agaynst him, &c. And thus much by the occasion of kyng Edward, of Prophecies.

Now hauing lōg taried at home in describyng the tumultes and troubles within our owne land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbatiōs of other parties and places also of Christes Church, as wel here in Europe vnder the Pope, as in the East partes vnder the Turke, first deducyng our story frō the tyme of Sigismund, [*](#) where before we left: Which Sigismund, as is aboue recorded, was a great oder in the Councell of Constance agaynst Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage. [*](#) This Emperour had euer euill lucke, fightyng agaynst the Turkes. Twise he warred agaynst them, and in both the battailes was discomfited and put to flight: once about the Citie of Mysia, fightyng agaynst Baiazetes the great Turke. [*](#) an. 1395. the second tyme fightyng against Celebinus the sonne of Baiazetes, about the towne called Columbacium. But specially, after the Councell of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned those two godly Martyrs, more vnprosperous successe did then folow him [*](#) fightyng agaynst the Bohemians, his owne subiectes. an. 1420. by whom he was repulsed in so many battailes, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca, & of Procopius, as is afore more at lēgth expressed: who was so beaten both of the Turkes, & at home of his owne people, that he neuer did encounter with the Turkes after. [Page 720](#) Then followed the Councell of Basill, after the beginnyng wherof, within vi. yeares, this Sigismūdus, which was Emperour, king of Hungary, and kyng of Boheme, dyed, in Morauia. an. 1437.

Albertus Emperour.

[*](#)THis Sigismund left behinde him one only daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, Duke of Austrich: by reason whereof, he was aduanced to the Empire, and so was both Duke of Austrich, Emperour, king of Hungary, and king also of Boheme. But this Albert (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Thabor, as he was preparing and setting foorth against the Turkes, [*](#) in the meane time died, in the second yeare of his Empire, an. 1439. leauing his wife great with child, who lieng then in Hungary, and thinking to be great with a daughter, called to her the Princes and chiefetaines of the Realme, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and vnsufficient to the gouernāce of such a state: and moreouer how she thought her selfe to be but with childe of a daughter, and therefore required them to prouide among them, such a Prince and gouernour, (reseruing the

right of the Kingdome to hir selfe) as were fit and able vnder her, to haue the regiment of the land committed.* The Turke in the meane while being eleuated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismundus aforesaide, began then more fiercely to inuade Hungary and those parties of Christendome. Wherefore the Hungarians making the more haste, consulted among themselues, to make Duke Uladislaus, brother to Casimi•us King of Polony, their King.

But while this was in working betwene the Hungarians and Uladislaus the Duke, in the meane space Elizabeth brought forth a sonne called Ladislaus, who being the lawfull heire of the kingdome, the Queene calleth backe againe her former word, minding to reserue the kingdome for her sonne, being the true heire thereof, and therefore refuseth marriage with the saide Uladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Uladislaus ioyning with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting stil in the condition before graunted, would not geue ouer: by reason whereof, great contention and diuision kindling amōg the people of Hungary, Amurathes y^r great Turke, taking his aduantage of their discord, and partly surpressed with pride of his former succeſse against Sigismund aforesaid, with his whole maine & force, inuaded the realme of Hūgary: where Huniades surnamed Uaiuoda, Prince of Transiluania, ioining with the new King Uladislaus, did both together set against the Turke, anno. 1444. and there Uladislaus the new King of Hungary, the fourth yeare of his kingdome was slaine. Elizabeth with her sonne, was fled in y^r meane while, to Fridericke the Emperour. Of Huniades Uaiuoda the noble Captaine, and of his Actes and also of Ladislaus (Christ willing) more shall be sayd heereafter, in his time and place.

Fridericus the third Emperour.

After the deceasse of Albert, succeeded in the Empyre Fridericus the third,* Duke of Austria, an. 1440. By whome it was procured (as we haue before signified) that Pope Foelix elected by the Councell of Basill, did resigne his Popedome, to Pope Nicholas the fift, vpon this condition, that the said Pope Nicholas should ratife the acts decreed in the said Councell of Basil. In the daies of this Emperour, much warre and dissention raged almost thorough all Christian Realmes, in Austria, Hungaria, Polonia, in France, in Burgoine, and also heere in Englād, betwene King Henry the sixt, and King Edward the fourth, as ye haue already heard: whereby it had bene easie for the Turke, with little maistry, to haue ouerrunne all the Christian Realmes in Europe, had not the prouidence of our mercifull Lord otherwise provided to keepe Amurathes the Turke, occupied in other ciuill warres at home in the meane while. Unto this Fridericke came Elizabeth (as is aforesaide) with Ladislaus her sonne: by whome he was nourished & entertained a certaine space,* till at length, after the death of Uladislaus aforesaid, king of Ungarie (which was slaine in battaile by the Turkes) the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulricus Eizingerus, and of Ulricus Earle of Cilicia rising vp in armour, required of Fridericke the Emperour, either to giue thē their yong king, or els to stād to his own defence.

When Fridericke heard this, neither would he render to them a sodaine answere, neither would they abide any longer delay: and so the matter growing to warre, the new Citie was besieged, where many were slaine, and much harme done. At length the Emperours part beyng y^r weaker,* the Emperour through the interuētion of certaine Nobles of Germany, restored Ladislaus vnto their hands, who being yet vnder age, committed his in. kingdomes to three gouernours. Whereof

Iohn Huniades the worthy Captaine aboue mentioned, had the ruling of Ungarie: George Pogiebracius had Boheme: and Ulricus the Earle of Cilicia, had Austria. Which Ulrice, hauing the chiefe custody of the King, bare the greatest authority aboue the rest, a man as much full of ambitiō and tirannie, as he was hated almost of all the Austrians, and shortly after by the meanes of Eizingerus, was excluded also from the King and the Court, but afterwarde restored againe, and Eizingerus thrust out. Such is the vnstable condition of them which be next in place aboute Princes. But this contention betwene them I ouerpasse.

Not long after,* Ladislaus the yong King went to Boheme, there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius (as is said) had the gouernaunce. But Ladislaus during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor heare the seruice of them, which did draw after the doctrine of Hus.* In somuch that when a certaine Priest in the hygh tower of Prage, was appointed and addressed, after the maner of Priests, to say seruice before the King, beeyng knowne to hold with Iohn Hus and Rochezaua, the King disdainig at him, commaunded him to giue place and depart, or else he woulde sende him downe headlong from the rocke of the Tower: and so the good minister repulsed by the King, departed. Also another time the sayde Ladislaus, seeing the Sacrament carried by a Minister of that side, whome they called then Huslites, woulde doo thereunto no reuerence. Ex Aene. Syluiο.

At length the long abode of the King, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly disposed to be lōger then they wished: and that was not to y^e king vnknownen, which made him to make the more hast away. But before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble Citie Uratislauia in Schlesia. In the which Citie, the foresaid King Ladislaus being there in the high Church, at seruice many great Princes were about him: Among whome was also George Pogiebracius, who then stode nearest to the King,* vnto whome one Chilianus, plaieng the Parasite about the King (as the fashion is of such as faine themselues fooles, to make other men as very fooles as they) spake in this wise as foloweth: with what countenance you do behold this our seruice, I see right well, but your hart I do not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion seeme vnto you decent and comely? Do you not see how many and how great princes, yea the king himselfe, do follow one order and vniformitie? And why do you then follow rather your Preacher Rochezana then these? Do you thinke a few Bohemians to be more wise then all the Church of Christ besides? Why then do you not forsake that rude and rusticall people, and ioine to these Nobles, as you are a noble man your selfe.

Unto whome,* thus Pogiebracius sagely againe doth aunswere. If you speake these words of your selfe, sayth be, you are not the man whome you faine your selfe to be: and so to you I aunswere, as not to a foole. But if you speake this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfie them. Heare therefore. As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, euery man hath a conscience of his owne to follow. As for vs, we vse such Ceremonies, as we trust do please God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to beleue what we will our selues. The mind of man being perswaded with great reasons, is captiuated, wil he, nill he: and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawne, in some one way, and in some another. As for my selfe, I am fully perswaded in the Religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy Religion, I might perchance deceiue men, going contrary to mine owne conscience, but I can not deceiue God, who seeth the harts of all: Neither shall it become mee to frame my selfe lyke to thy disposition. That which is meete for a Iester, is not likewise conuenient for a noble man. And these wordes eyther take to thy selfe, as spoken to

thee, if thou bee a wise man, or else I referre them to those which set thee a worke. Ex Aen. Sylu. in Hist. Bohem.

After the King was returded from the Bohemians againe to Austria, y^e Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come vnto thē. The gouernour of Hūgarie (as ye before haue heard) was Ioannes Huniades,* whose victorious acts against y^e Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulricus Earle of Cilicia, did all he could with the King, to bring him to destructiō, and therfore caused the king to send for him vp to Uienna, and there priuely to woorke hys death. But Huniades hauing thereof intelligence, offereth hymselfe wythin Hungary to serue hys Prince, to all affaires: Out of the lande where he was, it was neyther best (sayde hee) for the Kynge, nor safest for hym selfe, to come. The Earle being so disappoynted, came downe wyth certaine Nobles of the Courte, to the borders of Hungarie, thynking eyther to apprehend him and bryng hym to Uienna, or there to dispatch hym. Huniades, without in the fieldes, sayde hee would common wyth hym, wythin the Towne he would not be brought. After that, an other trayne also was laide for hym, that vnder pretence of the kings safeconduct, he shoulde meete the king in the broade fieldes of Uienna. But Huniades suspecting deceit, came in dede to the place appoynted,* where hee neither seeing the Kyng to come, nor the Earle to haue any safe conduct for hym, was mooued (and not without cause) against the Earle, declaring howe it was in hys power there to slay him, which went about to seeke hys bloud, but for the reuerence of the king, he would spare him and let him goe.

Not long after this, the Turke wyth a great power of fighting men,* to the number of an hundreth and fyfteene thousande, arriued in Hungarie, where he laid siege to the Citie Alba. But through the mercifull hand of God, Iohn Huniades,* and Capistranus a certaine Minorite, wyth a small garrison of Christian souldiours, gaue him the repusse and put him to flight, wyth all hys mighty hoste: Whereof more (Christ willing) heereafter. Ex hist Bohemie. Aen. Syluij. Huniadés shortly after this victorie, deceased. Of whose death when the king and the Earle did vnderstande, they came the more boldly into Hungarie, where hee being receiued by Ladislaus Huniades tonne, into the Towne of Alba, there vewed the places where the Turkes before had pitched theyr tentes. When thys Ladislaus heard that the king was comming first toward the towne, obediently he opened to hym the gates. Foure thousand only of armed souldiours he debarred from entring the Citie.

In the meane time while the King was there resident in the Citie, the Earle with other nobles did sitte in counsaile, requiring also Ladislaus to resorte vnto them: who first doubting with hymselfe what he might doe, at length putteth on a priuie coate of maile, and commeth to them. Whether the Earle first beganne wyth him, or he wyth the Earle, it is not knowen. The opinion is of some, that Ulricus first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the kings soldiours. Howsoever the occasion began, thys is vndoubted, that Ulricus taking his sworde from hys page, let flie at his head. To breake the blowe, some putting vp their hands, had their fingers cut of. The Hungarians hearing a noise & tumult wythin the chamber, brake it vpon them, & there incontinent slewe Ulrike the Earle, wounding and cutting him almost alto peeces: The King hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his minde: yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissembled his grieve for a time,

Frō thence the king tooke his iourney againe to Buda, accompanied wyth the foresayde Ladislaus,* who passyng by y^e towne, where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed w^t many faire wordes to comfort her: and after he had there sufficiently repasted hym selfe, wyth such pretence of dissembled loue, and fained fauour,* that they were without all suspition & feare: from thence he set forward in hys iourney, taking wyth him the two sonnes of Huniades, Ladislaus and Mathias, who were right ready to wait vpon him. The king being come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by sinister counsell set on) when hee had them at a vauntage, caused bothe the sonnes of Huniades: to witte, Ladislaus and Mathias, to be apprehended. And first was brought foorth Ladislaus the elder sonne, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded: where meekely he suffered, being charged wyth no other crime, but thys, published by the voyce of the cryer, saying: Thus are they to be chastened, which are rebelles against their Lord.* Peucerus wryting of his death, addeth thys moreouer, that after the hangman had 3. blowes at his necke, yet notwithstanding the sayd Ladislaus hauing his hands bound behinde hym, after the thirde stroke, rose vpriight vppon hys feete, and looking vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf: and so laying downe his necke againe,* at the fourth blowe was dispatched. Mathias the other brother was led captiue with the king vnto Austria. The rest of the captiues brake the prison and escaped.

It was not long after thys cruelty was wrought vppon Ladislaus, the king being about the age of twentye & two yeares, that talke was made of the kings marryage, wyth Magdalene daughter to the French king. The place of the marryage was appoynted at Prage, where greate preparation was for the matter.* At the first entraunce of the King into the Citie of Prage, Rochezana wyth a company of Ministers, such as were fauourers of Iohn Hus, and of sincere Religion, came with all solemnity to receiue the king, making there hys oration to gratulate the kings most ioyful and prosperous accesse into the same his owne Realme and countrey of Boheme. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended hys Oration,* scarce the king woulde open hys mouth to geue thanks to him, nor any cheareful countenaunce vnto hys companye, but fiercely seemed to frowne vppon them. In the next Pagen after these, came foorth the Priestes of the high Minster, after the most Popish maner, meeting him wyth Procession, and wyth the Sacrament of the aultare: For as Panacea among Phisitions serueth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the popes aultare serueth for all pompes and Pagens. First it must lie vppon the aultare, then it must be holden vp in hands, then it must hang in the pixe, it must serue for the quicke, it must also helpe the dead, it must moreouer visite the sick, it must walk about y^t churchyard, it must go about the streets, it must bee caried about the fieldes to make the grasse to growe, it must be had to the battaile, it must ride on horsebacke before the Pope. And finally, it must welcome kings into Cities. Wherein these Catholicke fathers doe seeme somewhat to forget themselues. For if the Pope, being inferiour to the Sacrament of the aultar, at the commying of kings, doe vse to sitte still while the kings come and kisse hys feete, what reason is it that the Sacrament of the aultare, whyche is (I trowe) aboue the Pope, shoulde meete kings by the way, and welcome them to the towne? But thys by the way of parenthesis: Let vs nowe continue the text.

When Ladislaus thys Catholicke king, who had shewed hymselfe before so stoute and sterne against Rochezana and his company,* had seene these Catholique priests with theyr Procession, and especially wyth their blessed Sacrament, to come: wyth all reuerence and much deuotion, hee lyghted downe from his horse, hee embraced the crosse and kyssed it, and wyth chearefull countenaunce saluted the Priestes in order. All thys while his young wife was not yet come out of

Fraunce, but Legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise, to conduct her. Other Legates also were sent the same time, to the Emperour Fredericke, for conconclusion of peace. The thirde Legacie was directed likewise to Pope Calixtus about Religion, howe to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The authour of thys story (which was Pope Pius hymselfe) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that king Ladislaus y^e same time had entended, to make a finall ende and destruction of all that secte in Bohemia, whych helde with the doctrine of Iohn Hus,* and Hierome, by the assemble and cōcourse of the Catholique Princes, and popish Prelates, whyche were appoynted there to meete together at that marriage in Prage. For there shoulde be first the Emperour Fredericke, Elizabeth the kings mother, and hys sisters Elizabeth, and Anna, the Princes of Saxonie. Baioria, Slesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other Princes of Rhene: many also of the Lordes of Fraunce, besides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates and other potestates of the Popes Church. Who if they had all together conuented in Boheme, no doubt but some great mischiefe hadde beene wrought there against the Hussires:* against whome thys Ladislaus, following the steppes of Sigismundus hys graundfather, and Albertus hys father, was euer an vtter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth hym,

And therefore,* truely it is wrytten of Aeneas Syluius in the same place, saying: De regimine Ciuitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est, quod homines possint (tum vero De religionis constitutione multo minus) magna magnus dispoit Deus.* That is. In regiment of Cities, in alteration of kingdomes, in ruling and gouerning the world, it is lesse then nothing that man can do: it is the hygh God that ruleth high things. Whereunto then I may wel adde thys moreouer, and say: that if the gouernance of worldly kingdomes standeth not in mans power, but in the disposition of God, muche lesse is it then, that mans power can doe in the regiment and gouerning of Religion. Example whereof in this purposed deuise of Princes,* doth euidently appeare. For as thys great preparation and solemnitie of mariage was in doing, and the Princes ready to set foorth, with a litle turne of Gods holy hand, al these great purposes were sodeinly turned and dashed. For in the middest of this busines, about the 21. day of Nouember. An. 1461. this great aduersarie of Christes people, king Ladislaus, king of Boheme, of Hungarie, and Prince of Austria sickened, [Page 722](#) and wythin 36. houres died, some say of a Pestilent fore in hys grine,* some say of poyson. But howe so euer it was, as it came not wythout the iust iudgement of God, reuenging the innocent bloude of Ladislaus Huniades sonne, wrongfully put to death before: so by the oportune deathe of thys King, the poore Churches of Boheme were gratusly deliuered. And thys ende made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest Princes at that time in all Europe:* in whome three mighty kingdomes were conioyned and combined together, Austria, Hungaria, and Bohemia: which countreys doe lie Southeast from Englande, in the farthest partes of all Germanie, towarde Constantinople, and the dominion of the Turks, & contain these principal townes in them.

- *AVstria, called once Panonia superior.
- Vienna, whyche was besieged of the Turke. Anno 1533.
- Melck.
- Neustat noua Ciuitas.
- Gretz.
- S. Hypolit.
- Lintz.
- Stein.
- Haynberg.

- Kremsz.
- Karolsburg.
- Teben.
- Kotzo.
- Raba.
- Lindenburg.

To Austria bee adioining also certaine Prouinces & Earldomes, as

- Stiria. Prouinces.
- Carinthia. Prouinces.
- Croaia. Prouinces.
- Cilicia. Earldomes.
- Tyrolëtz. Earldomes.
- HVngaria, which once called Pannonia inferior.
- Buda. Ofen.
- Strigonium.
- Kalachia.
- Varadinum.
- Nitria. Noua. Vetus.
- Nicopolis. Noua. Vetus.
- Agria. Noua. Vetus.
- Agria.
- Orszaw•
- Bossen.
- Sabaria.

Thys Vngaria, was first called Pannonia, or Poeonia. After y^e comming of y^e Hunes it was called Hungaria. Of which came Attila, which destroied Italy, about the yeare of the Lorde 440. Thorough Ungaria, rüneth Danubius, hauing on the west side, Austria, and Bohemia, on the East, Seruia, on the Southside, Polonia. &c. The most of this Hūgary, is nowe vnder the Turk: which Turks first came into Europe. An. 1211.

- BOhemia.
- Praga.
- Pilzen.
- Thabor.
- Buduuis.
- Kolin, or Koelu.
- Egra.
- Kuttenberg.
- Leimiritz.
- Laun.
- Rakonicke.
- Glataw.
- Bern. or Beraun.

- Bruck. Most.
- Gretz. Hradetz.
- Aust.
- Maut. Myto.
- Hof.
- Jaromir.
- Dub. Biela.
- Lantzhut.
- Gilowy.
- Krupka.
- Krumaw.
- Pardubitz.
- Chumitaun.
- Loket. Teplitz.
- Hantzburg. Zbraslau.
- Labe. Vltawa.

After the deathe of Ladislaus, the kingdome of Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboue mentioned,* whō Pope Innocent the eight, did excommunicate and depose for hys religion, as is afore declared.

Furthermore, the kingdome of Hungary, was geuen to Mathias sonne of Huniades,* who was in captiuity (as is sayd) with king Ladislaus, and should haue bene put to death after his brother, had not the king before bene preuented wyth death, as is aboue recorded. Moreouer, heere is to be noted that the sayde king Ladislaus, thus dying wythout wife and issue, left behinde hym two sisters aliue: to witte, Elizabeth, which was married to Casimirus king of Polonia: and Anna, married to William, duke of Saxonie, Elizabeth by her husbande Casimirus, king of Polonia, had Uladislaus, who at length was king both of Boheme and Hungarie. This Casimirus, first was maryed to Beatrix, wife before to Mathias. Then being diuorced from her by the dispensation of Pope Alexander, maryed a newe wife a Countesse of Fraunce, by whome he had two children, Lewes, and Anna, Lewes which was heire of both kingdomes of Boheme, and Hungarie, was slayne fighting against the Turkes, Anna was married to Ferdinandus, by whome he was Archduke of Austria, kyng of Boheme. &c.

- Sigismundus left onely ouedaugh | ter.
- Elizabeth, wife to Albertus Emperour. Who had 3. children.
 - Ladislaus, king of Hungarie, Boheme, and Austria.
 - Elizabeth, wyth of Casimirus, kyng of Polonie: who had
 - Anna, wyfe to William Duke of Saxon.
- Vladislaus, kyng of Baheme and Hungary, who by hys seconde wife, Countesse of Fraunce, had
 - Ludouicus, King of Boheme & Hungarie.
 - Anne, wife to Ferdinandus, Father to thys Maximilian nowe Emperour.

Ye heard before, howe after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians by their election preferred Mathias surnamed Coruinus,* which was sonne of Huniades, to y^e kingdome of Hungary. For which cause dissention fel betwene Friderick the Emperour and him, for that the said Friderick was both nominated himselfe by diuers vnto that kyngdom, & also because he had the crown of

Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth mother to K. Ladislaus, had brought to the Emperor, as was before declared. But this warre betweene them, was ceased by the intercessiō of the Princes of Germany, so that Mathias ransomed that crowne of Fridericke for 8000. Florences.

Not long after, Pope Innocent being displeased with George Pogiebracius (or Boiebracius) king of Bohemia,* for fauouring of Iohn Hus, & his Religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly Prince, dyd excommunicate & depose him, conferring his kingdome to Mathias. But for somuch as Fridericke the Emperour would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the foresayde George, when the Emperour and the Bohemians, leauing out Mathias, did nominate Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, to be kyng of Boheme, therefore great warre and trouble kindled betweene him and Fridericke the Emperour: wherein the Emperour had vtterly gone to ruine,* had not Albertus Duke of Saxonie rescued the Emperour, and repressed the vehemencie of Mathias.

The noble actes of Iohn Huniades,* and of this Mathias hys sonne, were not onely great staves to Hungary, but almost to al Christendom, in repelling backe y^e Turke. For beside the other victories of Iohn Huniades the father, afore mentioned, thys Mathias also his sonne succeeding no lesse in the valiantnes, then in the name of hys father, did so recouer Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turks, & so vanquished their power, that both Mahometes, and also Baiazetes hys sonne, were enforced to seeke for truce.

Ouer and besides, the same Mathias, conducting hys army into Bosna (which lyeth South from Hungary) recouered againe Iaitza, the principall towne of that kyngdome, from the Turkes possession. Who, if other Christen Princes had ioyned their helpes withal,* would haue proceded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malicious subtilty of Sathan, working by the Pope. For while Mathias was thus occupied in hys expedition agaynst the Turkes, wherein he should haue bene set forward and aoded by Christen Princes, and Byshoppes: the Byshop of Rome, wickedly and sinfully ministreth mater of ciuil discord betwene him & Pogiebracius aforesayd, in remouing him from the right of hys kingdome, and transferryng the same to Mathias. Whereupon, not only the course of victory against the Turkes was stopped, but also great warre [Page 723](#) and bloudshed followed in Christen realmes, as well betweene thys Mathias, and Pogiebracius, wyth hys two sonnes Uictorinus and Henricus, as also betweene Casimirus, Uladislaus, and Mathias warring about Uratislauia, till at length the matter was taken vp by the Princes of Germanie.

*Albeit, for al the execrable excōmunication of the Pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Boheme would not be remooued from the obedience of their King, whome the Pope had cursed, and deposed: yet Mathias toke from him Morauia, and a great portion of Slesia, and adioyned it to his kingdome of Hungarie. An. 1474.

Where this by the way is to be noted, that the Religion in Bohemia, planted by I. Hus, could not be extinct or suppressed withall the power of foure mightie Princes, Uenceslaus, Sigismundus, Albertus, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they wyth the Popes, did therein what they possibly coulde: but still the Lorde maintained the same, as ye see by thys Pogiebracius king of Boheme, whome the Pope coulde not vtterly remooue out of the kingdome of Bohemia.

This forementioned Mathias, beside his other memorable actes of chivalry, is no lesse also commended for hys singulare knowledge and loue of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends, procured into Pannonia: where by the meanes of good letters, and furniture of learned mē, he reduced in short space the barbarous rudenesse of that countrey, into a flourishing common wealth. Moreouer, such a Library he did there erect, and replenish with all kinde of authors, sciences, and hystories, which he caused to be translated out of Greeke into Latine, as the like is not thought to be foūd, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which Librarye we haue receaued diuers fragments of wryters, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus which were not extant before. Ex Peucer.

The constante fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius king of Boheme, is not vnworthy of commendation: of whom also Pope Pius himselfe, in Descriptione Europae, doth honestly report (as a Pope may speake of a protestāt) in these words wryting: *Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus. &c. Who although Pope Innocent did execrate w^t hys children, yet hee lett not of the profession of the veritie & knowledge which he had receyued. Moreouer, the Lord so prospered hys sonnes, Uictorinus, and Henricus, that they subdued their ennemies, and kept their estate: In so much, that when Fredericke the Emperor at Uienna was in custody enclosed by the Citizens. Uictorinus did restore and deliuer him out of their hands: wherefore the Emperour afterward aduaunced them to be Dukes. Also God gaue them sometimes prosperous victory against Mathias, as at the City of Glogonia. &c.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebracius, King of Boheme, *Friderike the Emperor assigned that kingdom, not to Mathias, vpon whome the Pope had bestowed it before, but vpon Uladislaus sonne of Casunirus, king of Polonye, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Albert, and sister to Ladislaus. For the which, Mathias being discontented, and for that the Emperor had denied him his daughter Runegunda, went about to exclude Uladislaus out of Boheme, and also proclaimed warre agaynst Fridericke. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death preuented him, who wythout issue departed. Anno 1490.

*After the death of Mathias, departing wythout issue, Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and sister to K. Ladislaus married his wife Beatrix, whom Mathias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made betwene him and Friderike the Emperour, that if he died without lawfull issue, then the kingdomes of Hungary and of Boheme, *shoulde retourne to Maximilian, sonne to Fridericus. But Uladislaus not long after, did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriuing her of her kingdome, caused the said Beatrix to swear and to consent to the marying of an other woman, whych was the daughter of the French king, *named Anne, procuryng from Pope Alexander, a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this Anne, Uladislaus had Lewys, & Anne, which Anne afterwarde was married to Ferdinandus.

Lewys succeeding after hys father, had both the sayde kingdomes of Boheme and Hungarie. An. 1492. and married Mary sister to Charles the 5. Emperour. Anne, as is sayd, was coupled to Ferdinandus. &c.

Of Charles Duke of Burgoine, somewhat was before touched, who had maryed king Edwardes sister: and what troubles by him were stirred vp in Fraunce, partly was before notified. Thys

Charles after hee had besieged the Citie Nussia,* or Nouasium, the space of a whole yere, went about to alienate the territorie of Colen, from the Empire to hys owne dominion: wherefore warre began to be mooued betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appoynted betweene Mary the only daughter of Charles,* and Maximilian the Emperours sonne. Anno 1475. Then from Nouasium, Charls leadeth hys armie towarde Heluetia, against Renatus or Reinhardus Duke of Lotharing: then against the Heluetians. Where hee being thrise ouercome, first at Granson, then at Moratum or Murta, in the hier parte of Heluetia, at last at the towne of Nanse, was ouerthrowne and slain. Anno 1477. The procurer of which warres: was chiefly Lewys the 11. the French king, to the entent hee might compasse the dominion of Burgundie vnder hys subiection: whych afterwarde by open wrong and priuie fraude,* hee brought about, defrauding Mary the daughter of Charles, of her rightfull inheritance: For the whych cause the Burgundians were the more willing to ioine her in marriage wyth Maximilian, sonne of Friderike the Emperour: by reason whereof the title of Burgundie, was firste ioyned to the house of Austria.

And thus haue you the miserable vexations and contentions among our Christian Princes heere in Europe described, vnder the raigne of thys Fredericke the thyrde Emperour, so that almost no angle nor portion of al Christendome (whether we consider the state of the Church,* or ciuill gouvernement) was free from discorde, tumults, and dissentions. Thys cankerde worme of ambition so myghtely creepeth, and euey where preuaileth in these latter endes of the worlde, that it suffereth neither rest in common weales, nor peace in the Church, nor any sparckle of charitie almost to remaine in the life of men. And what maruaile then, if the Lorde seeing vs so farre to degenerate, not onely from hys preceptes and counsailes, but almoste from the sense and bounde of nature, that brother wyth brother, vnclie wyth nephewe, bloude wyth bloude cannot agree in striuing,* killing, and fighting for worldly dominions, do send therfore these cruell Turkes vpon vs so to scourge and deuoure vs? Of whose bloudy tyranny & daily spilling of Christian bloude, heereafter (by the grace of Christ) we will discourse more at large, when wee come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkishe storyes. In the meane time, thys shalbe for vs to note and obserue, not so much the scourge howe greeuous it is: but rather to beholde the causes which being the whippe vpon vs, whych is our owne miserable ambition and wretched warres among our selues.

And yet if this Christian peace and loue,* left and commended so heartely vnto vs by the mouth of the sonne of God being nowe banished out of Christian realmes and ciuile gouernaunce, myght at least finde some refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuarie among menne professing nothyng but Religion, lesse cause we had to mourne. Nowe so it is, that as we see little peace and amitie amonge ciuil Potentates: so lesse we finde in the spiritual sorte of them, which chiefly take vpon them the administration of Christes Church. So that it may well be doubted, whether the scourge of the Turke, or the ciuill sworde of Prynces haue slaine moe in the fieldes, or the Popes keyes haue burnt moe in Townes and Cities. And all be it such as be professed to the Church, do not fight wyth sword and targate for dominions and reuenues,* as warlike Princes doe: yet thys ambition, pride, and auarice, appeareth in them nothyng inferiour to other worldly potestates: especially if wee beholde and aduise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great argument and prooffe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor farre to be soughte. What realme almost through all christendom hath not only seene with their eyes, but haue felt in their purses the ambitiō intollerable, and auarice insatiable of that deuouring church, and also

haue complained vpon the greuance thereof, but neuer coulde be redressed? What exactions and extortions haue bene here in England out of bishopricks, monasteries, benefices, deanries, Archdeaconries, and all other offices of the Church, to fill the Popes coffers: and when they had all done, yet euery yeare brought almoste some newe inuention from Rome, to fetch in our English money: and if all the floudes in Englande (yea in all Europe) did runne into the sea of Rome, yet were that Ocean neuer able to be satisfied.

In Fraunce lykewise, what floudes of money were swallowed vp in this sea of Rome, it was openly complained [Page 724](#) of in the councel of Basil as is testified by Henry Token, Canon and Ambassadour of the Archbishop of Maidenburge,* written in his booke intituled Rapularium, where as hee wryteth that in the Councell of Basill. An. 1536. the Archbyshop of Lions did declare, that in the time of Pope Martine, there came out of France to the court of Rome, 9. millions of golde, which was gathered of the Byshops and Prelates, besides those whych could not be counted of the poore clergy, which daily without number, runne vnto the court of Rome,* carying with them all their whole substance, The archbishop of Turonne sayde also at Basil, in y^e yeare of our Lord 1439. that three millions of gold came vnto Rome in his time, within the space of 14. yeres, from the prelates & prelacies, wherof no accompt could be made beside the poore cleargy, which daily run to that court. Let the man which feareth God, iudge what a deuouring gulf this is.* A million containeth x.C.M.

And what made Pope Pius the 2. to labor so earnestly to Lewes the 11. the French Kinge (who as is aforesayde was a great enemy to the house of Burgoin) that he wold (according to his former promise) abolishe & vtterly extinct the constitution established before at the Counsell of Bitures, by king Charles the 7. his predecessour, called Pragmatica Sanctio, but onely the ambition of that sea, which had no measure, and their auarice which had no ende, the storie is this. King Charles 7. the French king, willing to obey and folow the councel of Basil, did sommon a Parliament at Bitures. Where by the full consent of all the states in Fraunce,* both spiritual and temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called Pragmatica Sanctio. wherein was comprehended, briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and decrees cōcluded in the councel of Basil. The which constitution the saide king Charles willed and commaunded through all his realme,* inuiolably to be obserued and ratified for the honor and increase of Christian religion for euer. This was An. 1438.

It followed, that after the decease of thys foresayde Charles the 7. succeded king Lewys 11. who had promised before,* being Dolphine to Pope Pius, that if he euer came to the crowne, the foresayd Sanctio Pragmatica should be abolished. Wherupon Pope Pius hearing him to be crowned, did send vnto him Iohn Balueus a Cardinall, wyth hys great letterg patent, willing him to be mindful of hys promise made. The king eyther willing, or els pretending a will to performe, and accomplish what he had promised, directed the Popes letters patēt, wyth the sayd Cardinal, to the counsaile of Paris, requiring them to consult vpon the cause.

Thus the matter beyng brought and proposed in the Parliament house, the kings Atturney named Ioannes Romanus, a man wel spoken, singularly witted, and wel reasoned, stepping foorth, with great eloquence, and no les boldnes, prooued the sayd Sanction to be profitable, holy, and necessary for the wealth of the realme, and in no case to be abolished.* Unto whose sentence the Uniuersity of Paris adioyning their consent, did appeal from the attempts of the Pope, to the next

generall Councell. The Cardinall vnderstanding this, toke no litle indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatning many terrible things against them: but al his minatory words notwithstanding, he returned againe to the king, hys purpose not obtained, An. 1438. Ex Ioan. Mario.

Thus the Popes purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germanie had come to the like effect, if Fredericke the Emperor had there done his part lykewise toward the Germaines: Who at the same time bewailing their miserable estate,* wēt about wyth humble sute to perswade the Emperor that he should no longer be vnder the subiection of the Popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certaine things of them as touching the Charter of Appeales, declaring their estate to be far worse (although vnderdeserued) then the Frenchmen or Italians: whose seruants (and especially of the Italians) they are worthely to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles & comminalty of Germanie, did instantly intreate w^t most waighty reasons & examples, both for the vtilitie and profite of the Empire, to haue the Emperours aide and helpe therin, for that which he was bound vnto them by an oth: alledging also the great dishonor & ignominie in that they alone had not the vse of their owne lawes, declaring how y^e French natiō had not made their sute vnto their king in vaine against the exactions of Popes: by whom they were defended, whych also prouided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, & caused the same to be obserued: the which thing the Emperor ought to foresee within hys Empire, & to prouide for hys people and states of his empire, as well as other Kings doe. For what shall come to passe therby, if that forreine nations hauing recourse vnto their kings, being relieued and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germains, & states of the Empyre flying vnto theyr Emperour, be by him forsaken or rather betraied & depriued of their owne lawes and decrees? The Emperor being moued, & partly ouercome by theyr perswasions, promised that he wold prouide no lesse for them, then the king of Fraunce had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalfe: but the graue authoritie of Aeneas Syluius, as Platina wryteth in the history of Pius the second, brake of the matter, who by his subtile and pestiserous perswasions did so bewitch the Emperour, that hee contemning the equall, iust, and necessary requestes of hys subiects, chose the sayd Aeneas to be hys Ambassadour vnto Calixtus then newly chosen Pope, to sweare vnto hym in his name, & to promise the absolute obedience of al Germany, as the only cōtry (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances & decrees of their country, as before he had done vnto Eugenius the 4. being Ambassadour for the sayd Fredcrike, promising that he & all the Germaines would be obedient vnto him from hēceforth in al matters, as well spirituall as temporall.

Thus twise Friderike of Austrich contemned and derided the Germaines, & frustrating them of their natiue decrees and ordinances, brought them vnder subiection and bondage of the Pope: whych partly was the cause that 7. yeres before his death, he caused his sonne Maximiliā, not only to be chosen, but also crowned king of Romaines, and did associate hym to y^e ministration of the Empire, least after hys death (as it came to passe) the Empire shoulde bee transported into an other family,* suspecting y^e Germains, whom he had twise cōtrary to his lawes made subiect and in bondage vnto the Popes exactions: first be fore he was crowned in the time of Eugenius the 4. and again the second time after hys coronation, and death of Pope Nicholas the 5. denying their requests. Wherupon Germany being in this miserable pouerty and greuous subiection vnder the Popes tyranny and polling, with teares and sighs lamenting their estate, continued so almost vnto Luthers time, as the hystories hereafter following do testify.

And here ceasing with the story of Fredericke,* we will now procede to the raigne of Maximilian his sonne, omitting diuers things els incident in the time of this Emperour: as first touching the vnbrotherly contention & conflicts betwene this Fredericke and Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus his vnckle, for the dukedome of Austria, after the death of Mathias afore mentioned: Omitting also to speake of the long and cruel war betwene the Prussians, and Polonians, with the religious sect of them, which were called Tentones fratres sanctae Mariae, in the time of Uladislaus: Omitting also the strife and variaunce for the dukedome of Millain,* betwene Fredericus the Emperour, Alfonsus, Carolus duke of Orleance, & Franciscus Sfortia: And howe the sayde Princedome being after geuen to Sfortia, great warres were kindled & long continued betwene Sfortia and the Milleners, then betwene the Milleners and Uenetians, and after betwene the Frenchmen and the Milleners. All which tumultes and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I referre to other wryters, where they are to be founde more amply discoursed.

Thys as more properly belonging to the storye of the Church, I thought good not to passe ouer touching such as were condemned, & suffered the paines of fire for testimony of Christ and his truth: Of whom one was Iohn a pastor or a neteheard, which was a keeper of cattel: The other was Ioannes de Wesalia, although not burned, yet persecuted neere to death vnder the raigne of thys Emperour Fredericus the 3.

And first touching thys Iohn the Netehearde,* Thus wryteth Sebast. Munsterus. That the Bishop of Herbypolis, condemned and burned for an hereticke one Iohn, whych was a keeper of cattel at a towne called Niclas Hausen in Franconia,* because hee taught and helde that the lyfe of the cleargy was ignominious and abhominable before God. An. 1476. Ex Munstero.

The other was Doctour Ioannes de Wessalia,* who was complained vpon vnto Dietherus the Archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, vpon certaine articles and opinions, gathered out of hys bookes. Wherefore the sayde Dietherus, fearing else to be deposed againe from his Bishopricke, directeth forth commission to the vniuersities of Heidelberg and Colen, to haue the mater in examination, who conuenting together the yere aboue mentioned, called thys Doctour de Wessalia before them, making hym to sweare that he shuld present and geue vp all his treatises, workes and wrytings, what so euer hee had made or preached: [Page 725](#) that being done, they deuided hys bookes amongst themselues, seuerally euery man to find out what heresies and errors they could. His articles & opinions were these.

That all men be saued freely, and through meere grace by faith in Christ.*Free will to be nothing. Onely that we shoulde beleue the word of God, and not the glose of any mā, or fathers. That the worde of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with an other. That Prelates haue no authoritie to make lawes, or to expounde the scriptures by any peculiere right, geuen them more then to an other. That mennes traditions, as fastings, pardones, feasts, long prayers, peregrinations and such like, are to be reiected. Extreme vnction and confirmation to be reprooued: confession and satisfaction to be reprehended. The primacie of the Pope also he affirmed to be nothing.

Certaine other articles also were gathered out of hym by his aduersaries, but in such sort, that they may seme rather to followe their owne malicious gathering, then any true intelligence of his minde: whereof more is to be vnderstanded in this processe hereafter.

Thus when Wesalianus was commanded to appear, there conuented together, first the Archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Colen, and the doctors of Heidelberge, with the masters of the same, and the Rector of the vniuersity of Mentz, the Deane of faculties, Bachelers of diuinity, and many other maisters of the same vniuersitie, Canons, doctors, with the bishops Chancellor, and his counsellors, besides many religious prelates, schollers, wyth a doctor of Franckforte, the sumner & bedels, which all met together in the great hall of the Minorites, for the examination of this Ioannes de Wesalia.

Frier Elton the Inquisitor, first sitteth in the hyghest place, then after him others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, first the Inquisitor beginneth with these wordes: Most reuerent father and honorable doctors.* &c. Our reuerent father and prince Elector hath caused this present cōuocation to be called, to hear the examination of M. Iohn de Wesalia, in certaine suspected articles concerning the catholique faith. But something I will say before, that may doe hym good, and desire that two or three of them that fauoure hym, or some other, will rise vppe and geue him counsaile, to forsake and leaue his errours, to recognise himselfe, & to aske pardon, which if he wil do, he shal haue pardon: if he wil not, we wil procede against him without pardone. And thus Wesalianus being cited and brought in the midst betwixt 2. minorites, being very aged, and hauing a staffe in his hand, was sette before the Inquisitor. Who beginning to answer for hym self with a long protestation,* could not be suffred to prosecute his Oration, but was cutre off and required briefly, to make an end, and to tell them in fewe woordes whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he aunswered, y^t he neuer spake any thing against the determination of the Church,* but sayde that he had written diuers and sondry treatises, in the which if hee had erred, or were found to say otherwise then wel, he was content to reuoke and cal backe the same, and do al things that was requisite. Then said the Inquisitor, do you aske then pardon? The other answered, why shuld I aske pardon, when I know no crime or error committed? The inquisitour sayd: well we will call you to the remembraunce thereof, and procede to the examination.

In the meane time, others called vppon him instantly to aske pardone. Then sayd Wesalianus. I aske pardone. Notwithstanding the Inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two instruments,* declaring that hee had authority from the Apostolicke sea: after this cited the said Iohn to appear to hys examination. Thirdly he commaunded him vnder paine of disobedience, in the vertue of the holy Ghost, and vnder paine of excōmunication of the greater curse,* (from the which no man coulde absolue him, but onely the Pope or the Inquisitour, except onely at the poynt of death) to tell plainly the truth vppon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and sophistication of wordes. And so being demanded first, whether he did beleue vpon his oth taken, that hee was bounde to tell the trueth, although it were against himselfe or any other: to this he answered, Scio, that is:* I know: Thē the Inquisitour biddeth him say, Credo, that is, I beleue. To the which hee aunswered agayne, what nede I say that I beleue that thing I know. There the Inquisitor something stirred wyth the matter, as hote as a toste (as they say) cried out with a loude voice, maister Ioannes, maister Ioannes, maister Ioannes, say Credo, say Credo. Then he answered Credo.

After thys, being demaunded whether he had wrytten any treatise, concerning the binding of humaine lawes, to one Nicolas of Boheme, and whether he had written any treatise of the Ecclesiasticall power of indulgences & pardons, and of fasting and other treatises: he beleued that he had so wrytten, and had conferred w^t diuers learned men: Also that he had sent to the Bishops of Wormes, a certaine treatise of fasting.

Many other interrogatories were ministred vnto him, whereof some were vaine, some false. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leauing out superfluiti•s.

Being demaunded whether hee was a fautour of the Bohemians,* he sayde he was not. Also being demaunded concerning the Sacrament of the holy body and bloude of our Lorde, whether he thought Christe there to be contained really, or only diuinely, and whether he dyd beleue in the sayde Sacrament the substaunce of breade there to remaine, or onely the fourme thereof: to thys he aunswered, not denying but the body of Christe was there really contained, and also wyth the body of Christe, the substaunce of bread to remaine.

After this he was demaunded his opinion concerning religious men,* as Monkes, Nunnes, or begwines, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chastitie, or to the keping of any other vow, and whether he said to the Friars Minorites any such worde in effecte: I can not saue you in this your state and order. Thys he confessed, that he had sayde, howe that not your religion saueth you, but the grace of God, &c. not denying but they might be saued.

Item,* being required whether he beleued or had wrytten, that there is no mortall sinne, but whyche is exprest to be mortal in the canon of the holy Bible: to this he answered, that he did so beleue as he hath written, til he was better informed. Likewise being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ in earth, he aunswered, that he beleued that Christe left no vicare in earth: For the confirmation whereof he alledged and sayde,* that Christ ascending vp to heauen, said: Ecce ego vobiscum sum. &c. Behold I am with you. &c. In the which wordes he plainly declared, that hee would substitute vnder him no vicare in earth, and sayde moreouer, if a vicare signified any man, which in y^e absence of the principal hath to do the works of the principall, then Christ hath no vicar here in earth.

In like maner,* concerning indulgences and pardons, such as the church doth vse to geue, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, & what he thought thereof: who answered againe that he had written a certaine treatise of that matter, & what hee had wrytten in that treatise, he would persist therein,* which was thus: that he beleued, that the treasure boxe of the merits of Saints could not be distributed of the Pope to others, because that treasure is not left here in earth: For so it is wryttē in the Apocalips: Opera enim illo•um, sequuntur illos, &c. that is: their workes follow them.

Item, that theyr merites could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of theyr paine due vnto them, and therefore that the Pope and other Prelates cannot distribute that treasure to men.

It was objected to him moreouer,* that in the sayde his treatise, he called pardons & indulgences, Pias fraudes fidelium, that is, holy fraudes and deceits of the faithful.

Also, being demaunded what he thought of the halowing and blessings of altars, chalices, vestiments, wax cande•s, palmes, herbes, holy water and other diuine things, &c. Hee aunswered that they had no spirituall vertue and power in them to driue away deuils, and that holye water hath no more efficacie then other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of veniall sinnes, and driuing away deuils and other effectes, which the schoole doctours do attribute to it.

Item, for degrees of mariage forbidden in the Scryptures, he beleueth that all Christian men vnder deadly sin, are bound vnto the same.

Item, that he beleueeth that God may geue grace to a man hauing the vse of reason, without all motion of Free wil. Also he thinketh that S. Paule in his conuersion, dyd nothing of his owne free wil for his conuersion. He beleueeth moreouer, that God may geue such grace to a manne hauing the vse of reason, not doing that which in hym is.

*Item, he affirmed that nothing is to be beleued, which is not conteined in the Canon of the Bible.

Also, that the elect are saued onely by the grace of God.

Besides al these moreouer, he was charged with y^e old opinion of the Grecians, which they dyd holde contrary to the Romaine church, vnto the time of the councell of Ferrara aboue mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, 3, Doctours, the suffragane, Herwicus & Iacobus Sprenger, were sent vnto [Page 726](#) him with perswasions to exhort him, and when he would not stand to their Canons, * wherby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would beleue rather the 4. Euangelists, then the Gospel o• Nicodemns. To whō he answerd, because he wold. Being asked againe why he beleued the 4. Euangelists, he said: because he so receiued of his parents. Then being demaunded, why he would not beleue the Doctours, because (said he) their doctrine is not canonical scripture. Againe, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himself, when he preached, seing he would not beleue the holy doctors? To whome hee answered in this wise, saying, that he did preach as his duety was, but whether they gaue credit to his words, he did not care.

*Thys examination being ended, after these Articles were condemned by the Inquisitour & his assistance, then said he after this maner: As you do with me, if Christ himselfe were here, he might be condemned as an heretike. After this they sent diuers to him to haue communication w^t him, and to perswade him, sending also to him w^t his Articles a forme of asking pardone: at length within 3. or 4. daies after, hee was content to condescend vnto them, and to submit himselfe to their holy mother Church, and the information of the Doctors. * In the boke of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralypomena, adioyned to Abbas Vrspergensis, we reade these woordes wrytten of this Ioannes de Wesalia: *Dempto solo articulo de processione spiritus sancti, in alijs videtur non ita graui censura &c. That is: except onely the Article of the proceeding of the holy Ghost, in other Articles it semeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharpe censure, if respit and space had ben geuen him, if good counsellours had bene aboute him, * if all they which did accuse and molest him, had not bene de via realium, as Thomistes, that is, of the

sect of Thomas: which Thomists were set at that time, against the other sect of the seculars, which were called Nominales, and therefore, they so spited this Doctour because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whome otherwise (had it not ben for that cause) they would neuer haue ben so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witnesse, which knoweth all things, y^t this processe, which was made against him for his reuoking & burning of his bookes, did greatly displease M. Engeline of Brunswick, a great diuine, and also M. Iohn Reisersberge, being both learned, and famous men, but namely M. Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashnesse was shewed in handling of that same man, and did not feare to say, that many of his articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well inough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantasticall dissention of the Thomists,* seeking by all maner of wayes, how to get the triumph ouer the seculare deuines, &c. Haec ille.

*Although thys aged and feble old man, by weakenesse was constrained to geue ouer vnto the Romish clergy, by outward profession of his mouth: yet notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what iudgement he was, if feare of death present had not otherwise enforced him to say, then hee did thinke. Agayne, although he had reuoked after their minds, yet we reade no such fourme of recantation to be prescribed to hym to read opely vnto the people, as the vse is here in England. The story of this man is more fully to be found in the bokes of Orth. Gratius. &c.

As touching the raigne of this Fredericke Emperour, seeing we haue comprehēded hetherto sufficiently the most principal matters in his time incurrent, we wil now passe forwarde (the Lorde guiding vs) to Maximilian, after I haue first geuen a brieue memorandum of 3. valiant Princes and Captaines,* flourishing in the same time of thys Fredericke, in Germaine: Of the whych, was one Albert Duke of Saxonie, who for his renowned and famous acts, was called by publike voyce, Dextera manus Imperij. The ryght hande of the Empire. The other was Albert, Marques of Brandenburge, to whome also the name was attribute, named of Pope Pius to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Fredericke Earle Palatine, surnamed Victoriosus, who manfully defended the fredome and maiesty of y^e Empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the popes tirāny.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1484. in this Emperours time dyed Pope Sixtus the 4. a little before touched, a monster rather of nature,* then a prelate of the Church. Of him writeth Platina, that vniustly he vexed al Italy with warre and dissension. Agrippa writing of hym, sayeth that among all the bawdes of these other latter dayes, whych were builders of brothelhouses, this Pope Sixtus 4. surmounted all other: who at Rome erected a stewes of double abomination, not onely of women, but also. &c. wherupon no small gaine redounded to his coffers: For euery suche common harlot in Rome paide to him a Iuly peece, the summe wherof grew in the yere, some while to 20000. at length to xl. M. duckets. Wherunto accordeth right wel the Epitaphe of Iohn Sapidus, which in the ende heere of we will annexe.

Iohn Carion,* also speaking of this Bishop, witnesseth him to be a man rather borne to warre, then to Religion: For hee warred against Uitellius Tiphernates, agaynst the Florentines, the Uenecians, whome he excommunicated, and did not absolue till hee died:* also against Columnenses, against Ferdinandus king of Apulia, and Duke of Calabria: also against other nations and Princes moe. Ex Ioan. Laziardo.

Of the sayde Pope it is recorded, that he was a speciall patron and tutor to al begging Friers, graunting them to haue and enioy reuenues in this worlde, & in the world to come euerlasting life. Among the which Friers there was one named Alanus de rupe, a Blacke Frier, which made the Rosary of our Ladies Psalter (so they terme it) and erected a certaine new fraternitie vpon the same, called Fraternitas Coronariorum, pertaining to the order of the Dominickes, of the which order Iacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Ioannes de Wesalia aboue mentioned, was a great aduācer, and especially this Pope Sixtus 4. who gaue to the sayd fraternities large graces and priuilegies.

Concerning the institution of this Rosary, there was a booke set forth about the yere of our Lord 1480. in the beginning wherof is declared, that the blessed virgin entred into the celle of this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that not onely she did espouse him to her husband, but also kissed him with her heauenly mouth,* and also for more familiaritie, opened to hym her pappes, and powred great plentie of her owne milke into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the sayde Alanus, this holy babe (sayth the storie) did sweare deeply, curssing himselfe, if it were not thus, as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment, when I read in the centuries of Iohn Bale, I began with my selfe to mistrust the credite therof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with suche incredible forgeries. But as the prouidence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in thys, that the very same booke came to my hands at the wryting hereof, wherein this selfe same narration is contained, wherein I found not onely this to be true, which in Ihon Bale is expressed, but also found in like manner, an other wonder as prodigious as this: where in an other place not farre off, is storied in the same booke, howe that about the time of S. Dominicke, there was a certaine matrone in Spaine, named Lucia, which being taken captiue by the Saracenes, hauing her husband killed, was caried great with childe into the Turkish land.

When the time of her labour came, shee being left desolate among beastes and hogs, and remembring thys twise holy Rosary, (first instituted sayth the booke by S. Dominicke, and afterwarde renued by Alanus) eftsoones the holy virgin was ready and stode by her,* & receiued the childe at her trauaile, supplying all the partes of a diligent midwife: and moreouer causing a Priest sodenly to appeare, gaue the childe to be Christened, calling it after her owne name, Marianus: and so was shee wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and Godmother to Marianus. Which story if it be true, then is the Popes Canon, by thys example, to be controlled, whiche permitteth midwiues in time of necessity,* to baptise, seeing the blessed Uirgine, playing the parte her selfe of a midwife, durst not Baptise thys childe without a priest.

It followeth more in the storye, that by the helpe of the sayd blessed virgin, this Lucia our Ladies gossip, after her Purification, was restored w^t her childe safe to her country againe.* Thys booke being in Latine and Printed, beareth thys title: Rosacea Augustissimae Christiferae Mariae Corona: and in the front it sheweth the name of Iodocus Bisselaius a noble manne of Aquine. And this by the occasion of Pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind superstition hee was, partly by that aforespoken, partly by the ende following it may be seene. For we reade in certaine wryters, y^e after thys Pope had vnderstanding that Hercules Estensis,* Duke of Ferraria, had ioyned peace wyth the Uenetians against hys will, he was so greeued therewith, that for rancour of minde, wythin 5. dayes after, hee died: whereunto hys Epitaph following geueth

sufficient record. About whose time also died Platina, a man not vnlearned, but yet a shamefull flatterer and bearer wyth the wicked liues of the Popes.

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The Epitaph of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit saenum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum

Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

An other Epitaphe of the same Pope.

Sixte iaces tandem, nostri discordia secli,

Saeuisti in superos, nunc Acheronta moue.

Sixte iaces tandem, deflent tua busta cinaedi,

Scorta{que} lenones, alea, vina, venus.

An other.

Gaude prisce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,

Hic scelus omne simul clauditur, & vitium.

But leauing here pope Sixtus with hys verses, & vices, let vs nowe proccede,* as we before promised, to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping notwithstanding the order of our kinges here in England: For a little before the reigne of Maximilian, king Edward the fourth ceased his life. an. 1483. after he had raigned 22. yeares. In the tyme of which K. Edward, this also is not to be forgotten, y^t one Burdet, a marchant dwelling in Cheapside, at the signe of the crowne, whiche is the signe nowe of the flower de luce merely speaking to his sonne, sayd that he wold make him inheritour of the crown, meaning in deed his own house. For the which words, when K. Edward caused to be misconstred, & interpreted, as though he had ment the crowne of the Realme, w^tin lesse space then 4. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawne, and quartered in Chepeside.

King Edward the 5.

THis king Edward left behinde hym by hys wife Elizabeth 2. sonnes, Edward, & Richard & 2. daughters, Elizabeth and Cicilie. Which 2. sonnes Edward & Richard, for somuche as they were vnder age and not ripe to gouern, a consultation was called among y^e pieres, to debate whether y^e foresayd yong prince & king, shold be vnder the gouernment of his mother, or els y^t Rich. Duke of Glocester brother to K. Edward the 4. & vnclie to the child, should be gouernor of the K. and protector of the realme, there hath bene and is an old adage, the wordes whereof rather then the true meaning, is wrasted out of Salomon: Vae regno cuius Rex est puer. &. 1. Wo to y^e kingdom, the king whereof is a child. &c. But if I may finde leaue herein to thrust in a glose, I would this adde and say: Vae illi puero, qui fui regni Rex non est. 1.* Wo to that childe, whiche

is a king in a kingdome vnruely and ambitious. There was the same season among other noble peeres of y^e realm, the Duke of Buckingham, a man of great authoritie, who had maryed King Edwards wifes sister. Because the duke being so neare alⁱliaunt to the K. had bene vnkindely (as he thought) of the king entreated, hauing by him no anauncement nor anye great frendship shewed, according to his expectation, took part therfore w^t Richard Duke of Glocester, both against the Queene & her children,* to make the foresayd Duke, the chiefe gouernour and protector. The whiche thinge being broughe to passe, by the ayde, assistaunce, and workinge of the Duke of Buckingham, the Queene tooke sanctuarye with her yōger sonne: the elder brother, which was y^e king remayned in the custody of the Duke of Glocester his vnclē. Who being now in a good towardnes to obtayne that which he lōg loked for, sought all the means, & soone compassed the matter, by false collour of dissembled words, by periurie, and labour of friendes, namely of the Duke of Buckingham, and the Cardinall Archbishop of Caunterburye, that the other brother also shoulde bee committed to his credite. Thus the ambitious protector and vnnaturall vnclē, hauing the possession of his two nephewes, and and innocent babes, thought himselfe almost vp the whele where he woulde clime•: Although he could not walke in such mistes and cloudes, but his deuised purposes began to be espyed: which caused him more couertly to goe about to remoue from him all suspicion and to blinde the peoples eyes. But before, he could accomplish hys execrable enterprise, some there were, whom he thought first must be ridd out of his way, as namely the Lorde Hastings, and the Lord Stanley, who as they were sitting together in counsaile within the tower, the protectour (the matter beyng so appoynted before) sodainly rushed in among them, and after a few words there commoned, he sodainly hasted out agayne: his minde belike, being full of mischiefe and furye was not quiet. Who within the space of an houre, returned agayn into y^e chamber with a sterne countenance and a frowning look, and so there set him downe in hys place. When the Lordes were in great meruell and muse at the meaning hereof: then he out of a cankered hart, thus begā to bray, asking them what are they worthy to haue, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so neare to y^e kings bloud, and protectour of the Realme? At the which question,* as the other Lords sate musing, the Lord Hastings, because he had bene more familiare wyth him, thus aunswered, that they were worthy of punishment, whatsoeuer they were. Which when the other Lordes also had affirmed,* that is (quoth the protectour) yonder sorceresse, my brothers wife, meaning the Queene and other with her, adding moreouer, and saying: that sorcere•• & other of her counsaile, as Shores wife, with her affinitie, haue by their witchcraft, thus wasted my body: and therewith shewed forth his left arme a wearish withered thing as it was neuer otherwise, as was well knowne.

This Shores wife had bene before a Concubine to K. Edward,* & afterward was kept by the same Lorde Hastings. Moreouer here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said Lord Hastings, the cruell protectour had deuised about the same time,* the kindred of the Queene, innocently to be headed at Pomfret, of mere despite and hatred. Wher^fore, this punishment not vnderuedly, by the iust hand of God, fell vpon the said Lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the storye, that when the L. Hastings had heard these false accusations of the tyraunt which he knew to be vntrue: certaynly (my Lord) sayd he, if they haue so done, they be worthy of haynous punishment. Why quoth the protector, doest thou serue me with if and with and? I tel thee, they haue so done, and that I wil make good on thy body traytour: and therewith geuing a great rap on the boord (for a token or watchword) one cry^ded treason without,

and forthwith the chamber was full of harneysed men, The protector then approchyng to the L. Hastings,* arrested him as a traytour. An other let flye at the Lord Standley: who to auoyd the blowe shronke vnder y^e table, or els his head had bene cleft a sonder: notwithstanding he receaued such a wounde, that the bloud ranne about hys eares. There were in that counsaile y^e same time the Archbishop of Yorke,* and Doctour Morton Byshop of Ely (by whose procurement afterward king Henry the vii. was sent for into England, and he made archbishop af^ter that of Canterbury) these with the Lord Standley diuersly were bestowed in diuers chambers. The Lorde Hastings was commaunded to speede and shriue hym a pace,* for before dinner the protector sware by S. Paule, y^t he should dye: and so incontinently, without farther iudge^{ment}, his head was stricken of,* by whose counsaile the Queenes kindred were at the same time and daye, beheaded at Pomfret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischienous protectour aspiring still to the crowne, to set his deuises forward, first through giftes and fayre promises, dyd subordinate Doctor Shaw a famous preacher then in Lō^don, at Paules Crosse to insinuate to the people, that neyther king Edward with his sonnes,* nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the Duke of York, but begotten vnlawfully by other persons in adultery on y^e Duches their mother, and y^t he alone was y^e true and onely lawfull heyre of the Duke of York: More^{ouer} to declare and to signifie to the audience, that K. Edward was neuer lawfully married to the Queene, but hys wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the 2. childrē of king Edward to be base and bastardes, and therfore the title of y^e crown most rightly to pertain to y^e Lord protector. That this false flatterer, and loud lying preacher, to serue y^e protectors humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reuerent auditorye, the sacred word of God,* taking for hys theame: Adulterae plantationes nō dabūt radices altas &c which he most impiously did apply against the innocent children & right heyres of this realm.* Whereupon such grudge and disdayne of the people wyth worldly wonder followed him, that for shame of the people crying out of him, in few dayes after he pynd way.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people the protector vnmercifully drowned in ambitioⁿ, rested not thus,* but wⁱn few dayes after, excited y^e Duke of Buckingham, first to breake the matter in couert talke, to the Mayor and certayne of the heades of the Cittie, picked out for the purpose: that done, to come to y^e Guildhall, to moue the people by all flattering and lying perswasions to the same which shameles Shaw before had preached before at Paules Crosse. Whiche the Duke with all dilligence and helpes of eloquence, being a man both learned and well [Page 728](#) spoken,* endeouored to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificiall Oration, supposing no lesse, but that y^e people allured by his crafty iusinations would cry, king Rich. K. Ric. But there was no king Rich, in their mouthes lesse in their hartes. Wherupon the Duke looking to the Lord Mayor, and asking what the silence ment, contrary to the promise of the one, & the expectation of y^t other It was then answered of the Mayor, that the people peraduenture wel vnderstood him not: wherfore the Duke rei^{ter}ating his narration in other wordes, declared agayne y^t he had done before.* Likewise the thyrd time he repeted hys Oration againe and agayn. Then the commons which be fore stood mute, being now in a mase, seeing this importuⁿitie, began to mutter softly among themselues, but yet no king Richard could sound in their lips, saue onely that in the nether end of the Hall,* certayn of the Dukes seruantes with one Nashfield, and other belonging to the protector, thrusting into the Hall among the prease, began

sodaynly at mens backes to cry king Richard k. Rich, throwing vp theyr cappes, whereat the cittyzens turning back theyr heades, marueiled not a little, but sayd nothing.

The Duke and the Lord Mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came blowing for hast to the protector, then lying at Baynardes Castle. Where the matter being made before,* was now so contriued, that forsooth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with 3 sundry sutes, to y^e humble and simpel protector, that he, although it was vt^rterly against his will to take it: yet would of his humilitey stoupe so low, as to receane the heauy kingdome of England vpon his shoulders. At this their tender request and sute of the Lords and commōs made (ye must know how) y^e milde Duke seing no other remedy,* was contented at length to yeld, although fore against his will (ye must so imagine) and to submit himselfe so low, as of a protector to be made king: not much herein vnlike to our prelates in y^t Popish church, who when they haue before well compounded for the popes Bulls, yet must they for maner sake make curtesy, and thrise deny that for whiche they so long before haue gaped, and so sweetly haue payed for.

King Richard the third vsurper.

*AND thus Richard Duke of Gloucester tooke vpon to be made & proclaymed king of England, the yeare aforesayd. an. 1483. in the mōth of Iune. Who then comming to the Tower by water, first made his sonne a childe of x. yeare old, prince of Wales, & Iohn Haward (a man of great industry & seruice) he aduaūced to be Duke of Northfolke, & Sir Tho. Haward his sonne, he ordained Erle of Surry. Also William Lord Barkeley was appoynted Earle of Notingham. Frances L. Louell, was made Uicunt Louell. L. Stanley for feare of his sonne, was deliuered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the kings houshold. Likewise the Archbishop of Yorke was set free: but Morton Bishop of Ely was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, by whome was wrought the first deuise to bring in Henry Erle of Richmond into England, and to cōioin mariage betweene Elizabeth king Edwardes daughter, and him, whereby the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster were vnited together.

*After the kingdome of England was thus allotted to king Rich. the vsurper, as in maner aboue remembred, he taried not long for hys coronation, which was solemnised the month next ensuing, the 6. day of Iuly.

The triumph and solemnitie of this vsurped coronation, being finished, & al thinges to the same appertayning, this vnquiet tyraunt yet coulde not thinke himselfe safe, so long as yong Edward the right king & hys brother, were aliue: Wherefore the next enterprise which he did set vpon was this, how to rid these innocent babes out of the way, that he might reigne king alone.

In the meane time while al this ruffling was in hand what bread & sorow the tender harts of these fatherles and friendles children were in, what little ioy of them selues what smal ioy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender harts to vnderstand. As the yonger brother lingered in thought and heauines, so the prince which was a 11. yeare old, was so out of hart and so fraught with feare that he neuer tyed his poyntes, nor ioyed good day, till the trayterous impictie of their cruell vnclē had deliuered thē of their wretchednes, whiche was not long in dispatching For after king Richard their vnclē, first attempting to cōpasse his diuelishe deuise by Robert Brakenbury

Constable of the tower,* and could not winne him to suche a cruell fact (to die therefore) then he got one Iames Tyrell, ioyning with him Iohn Dighton, and Miles Forrest, to per'petrate this heinous murder. Which Dyghon and Forest about midnight entring into their chamber, so be wrapped and entangled them amongst the clothes, keeping downe the fetherbed and pilowes hard vnto their mournes, that within a while: they smothered and stifeled them pitiously in their bed.

And thus ended these two yong princes their liues, tho'rough the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors who for their detestable and bloody murder committed, es'caped not long vnpunished by the iust hand of God. For first Miles Forest, at S. Martines le grand, by peecemeale miserably rotted away, Iohn Dighton liued at Callis lōg after so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery. Sir Iames Tyrell was beheaded at Tower hill for treason. Also King Richard himselfe within a yeare and a halfe after, was stayne in the field hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, torne and tugged like a curre dogge.

Furthermore, the said iustice of gods hand left not the Duke of Buckingham escape free: Whiche was a greate maintainer and setter vp of this butcherly vsurper: for les then within a yeare after so God wrought, that hee was himselfe beheaded for treason by the sayd king, whom he so vniustly before had aduanced and set vp.

In the same catologue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we haue also to comprehende two other, as well worthy of memoriall, as the best or rather as y^t worst. The name of the one was doctour Shawe,* aboue rehearsed: The other doctor Pinkie, prouincial of the Austen Fri'ers: both famous preachers, and both Doctors in diuinitie both of more learning then vertue (sayth the story) of more same thē learning, & yet of more learning thē truth. Shaw made a Sermon in the prayse of the Protector, before hys coronation. Pinkie preached after thys coronation. Both were so full of tedious flatterye, that no good cares coulde abide them.* Pinkie in his sermon so lost his voyce, that he was sayne to leaue of & came downe in in the midst. Doctour Shaw by his sermon lost his honenesty, and soone after, his life for very shame of the world, so that he neuer durst after that, shew his face againe. But as for the Fryer, he was so farre past shame, that the losse therof did little touch him.

Mention was made a little before,* of Doctor Morton Bishop at Ely, by whose meanes the deuise was first broched, for the conioyning the two houses of Yorke & Lanca'ster together. This deuise was first broken to the Duke of Buckingham, which soone after cost hym his life. But y^t bishop more crafty to saue hymselfe, incontinent fled into Brittain. Notwithstanding, the deuise once being broched was so plausible, and tooke such effect, that message was sent ouer the sea to Henry Earle of Richmond, by his mo'ther and by the Queene, mother to the Ladye Elizabeth, that if he would make hys returne, and promise to marry with the sayd Lady Elizabeth King Edwards daughter, he should be receaued. To make a longer discourse of thys matter, which is sufficiently set forth by S. Tho. More so ornatly, it needeth not.

Briefely (to contract that in a small compasse of wordes, which was not so small a thing in doing) after that the Earle Henry, with such other banished mē, as fled out of Englād at the taking of the Duke of Buckingham,* had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the Queene and other frends moe out of England, how the case of y^t realm stode, and how it was here purposed by his frendes, that is, that he should with all conuenient speede, hast hys returne ouer into

England, promising to mary with Ladye Elizabeth: he with all diligence as tyme and preparation would serue, aduaūced forward his iourney, being wel helped and furnished by Fraunces Duke of Britayne, and so shipped his mē. Albeit his first voyage sped not, for that the winds turning contrary: by force of weather his ships were disparced, and he repulsed backe into Fraūce agayn. His second viage was more prosperous. Who taking the seas at Harslet,* in the moneth of August. an. 1485. accompanied onely with two thousand men, and a smal number of shippes, aryued at Milford Hauen in Wales, and fyrste came to Dale, then to Harford West, where he was ioyfully receiued, and also by the cōming in of Arnolde Butler and the Pēbroke men, was in power encreased. Frō thēce he remoued by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, & then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Liechfield, his army still more and more augmented. Lyke as a great floud by comming in of many small riuers, gathereth more aboundaunce of water: so to this Earle diuers noble Captaynes [Page 729](#) and men of power adioyned themselues as Richard Griffith, Iohn Morgan. Rice ap Thomas, thē sir Georg Talbot, with the yong Erle of Shrewesbery his warde, Sir William Stanley, Sir Tho. Burchier, and Sir Wal'ter Hungerford, knightes. At last the said Erle hearing of the kinges comming, conducted his whole army to Tam worth.

King Richard first hearing of the arriual of the Erle Henry in the partes of Wales after such a slender sort, did giue little or no regard vnto it. But after, vnderstanding that he was come to Lichfield, without resistance or incombraunce, he was sore moued, and exceedingly tooke on cursing and crying out against them which had so deceaued him, & in all post speed, sent for Iohn Duke of Northfolke, Hen. Erle of Northumberlād. Tho. Erle of Surrey with other his frendes of special trust. Robert Brakenbury also liesetenaunt of the tower was sent for, with Sir Tho. Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerforde, with certaine other knightes and Esquiers, of whome he partlye misdoubted, or had some suspicious gelousy. Thus K. Richard, after most forceable maner well fortified and accompanied, leauing nothing vndone y^t dilligence could require set forward toward his enemies. The Earle by this time was come to Tamworth, to whō secretly in the Euening resorted sir Iohn Sauage, sir Bryan Sanford, sir Simon Digby, and many other, forsaking the part of K. Richard, whome all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserued. The king hauing perfect knowledge the Earle to be encamped at Tamworth, embatled himselfe in a place neare to a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his aduersaries. Here y^t matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning y^t Lord Stanley (which was y^e Erles father in law & had maryed his mother) to what part he would encline. For although his hart went (no doubt) with the Earle, & had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his sonne and heyre George Lord Straunge, being then in the hāds of king Richard, least the king should attempt any preiudiciall thing against him, durst not be seene openly to goe that way, where in hart he fauoured, and therefore closely kept himselfe betweene both, till the push came that hys helpe might serue at a pinch.

The number of the Erles part exceeded not to the one halfe of the side of king Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battailes should encounter and ioine together, fore stripes and great blowes were geuen on both sides, and many slayne. If number & multitude might gouerne the successe of battaile,* king Richard had double to the erle. But God is he, not man, that geueth victorie, by what meanes it seemeth to his diuine prouidence best.* In what order and by what occasion this field was wonne and lost, the certain intelligence we haue not certainly expressed, but onely by the historye of Polydore Vergile, whom sir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which history it doth appeare, y^t as these 2. armies were coupling

together, king Richard vnderstanding by his espials where the earle of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approch more neare vnto him, he rather caryed with courage, then ruled with reason, set spurres to the horse and raunging out of the compasse of hys ranckes, pressed toward the Erle, setting vppon him so sharply, that first he killed sir William Brandon,* the Erles standard bearer, fa|ther to y^e Lord Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke,* thē af|ter ouerthrew sir Iohn Cheny, thinking likewise to oppresse the Erle. But as the Lorde by his secret prouidence disposeth the euent of all thinges, as the earle with his mē about him being ouermatched, began to dispayre of victory, sodeinly & oportunely came syr William Stanley with 3.* thousand well appointed able men, whereby king Richardes men were driuen backe & he himselfe cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slaue, & brought to his confusion and death, which he worthely deserued.

In the meane time the Earle of Oxford, who had the guiding of the forewarde, discomfited the forefrunt of king Richards hoast,* and put them to flight, in which chase ma|ny were slayne, of noble men especially aboue other, Iohn Duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, sir Richard Radcliffe and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower. &c. Lord Thomas Haward Earle of Surrey, there submitted himselfe, and although he was not receaued at first to grace, but long remayned in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelitie, was deliuered and aduanced to his recouered honour and dignitie againe.

This king Richard had but one sonne, who shortly after the cruell murder of king Edwardes sonnes, was taken with sicknes and died. The wife of the sayd king Richard (whether by poyson or by sickenes) dyed also a little before the field of Bosworth:.* After whose decease, the storie of Polydore & of sir Tho. More affirmeth: that he inten|ded himself to mary the Lady Elizabeth his own brothers daughter, and so to preuent the Earle of Richmond.

Moreouer as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story,* that king Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the Lord Stanley by a purseuaunt, to auauce forward with his company, and come to hys presence: otherwise he sware by Christes passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before dinner. The L. Stanley sent word agayne, that if he did, he had more sonnes aliue. Wherupō the kyng immediately commaunded the Lord Strange to be beheaded:.* which was the very time whē both y^e armies were within fight, & were ready to ioyne together. Wherefore the kinges counsailers pondering the tyme and y^e case perswaded the king, that it was now time to sight, & not to doe execution, aduising him to delay the matter tyll the battail were ended. And so (as God would) king Richard breaking hys othe, or rather keeping hys othe, for he hymselfe was slayne before dyner, the Lord Straunge was cōmitted to be kept prisoner within the kinges tente: who then after the victory gotten, was sought out and brought to his ioyfull father. And thus haue ye the tragicall life and end of this wretched king Richard.

Henry the Erle of Richmond, after harty thanks geuen to almighty God, for hys glorious victorie obtained, proceeded to the towne of Leicester, where was brought to him by the Lord Straunge, the Crowne and put on the Earles head.

In the meane time the dead corpes of king Richarde was shamefully caried to the towne of Leicester,* being na|ked and despoyled to the skinne, & being trussed behinde a purseuaunt of armes, was caryed like a hog or a dog, hauing his head & armes hanging on the one side of y^t

horse, and the legges on the other side, all sprinkled with myre & bloud.* And thus ended the vsurped reign of king Richard who reigned two yeares, and two monthes. Ex Polydo. & Thom. Moro.

King Henry the vij.

When king Henry,* by the prouidence of God had obtayned this triumphant victory, & Diademe of the realme, first sending for Edward Plantaginet Earle of Warwicke, sonne to George Duke of Clarence,* & committing him to safe custody w^e in the tower, frō Leicester remoued to Lō'don, & not long after, according to his oth & promise made before, espoused to him the yong Ladye Elizabeth, heyre of y^e house of Yorke:* whereby both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster were conioyned together, to the no little reioysing of all English hartes, & no lesse quyet vnto the realme which was. an. 1485. This king reigned 23. yeares, and 8. monthes, and being a Prince of great pollicie, iustice and temperance, kept his realm in good tollerable rule & order. And here interrupting a little the course of our Englishe matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story aboue promised, of Maximilian the Emperour, & matters of the Empire, especially such as pertayneth to y^t Church.

Maximilian Emperour.

IN the yeare of our Lord.* 1486. Fridericus waxing aged and partly also mistrusting the hartes of the Germayns who had complained before of theyr greuances,* and could not be heard, and therefore misdoubting that hys house after his decease,* should haue the lesse fauour amonge them, for that cause in hys life tyme did associate hys sonne Maximilian to be ioyned Emperour with him: with whom he reigned the space of 7. yeares till the death of the sayd Fridericke hys father, who departed. an. 1494. after he had reigned ouer the Empire. 53. yeares, lacking onely but iii yeares of the reigne of Augustus Caesar, vnder whome was the byrth of our Lord and Sauour Christ.

This Maximilian, as he was a valiaunt Emperoure, prudent and singularly learned:* so was hys reigne intangled in many vnquiet and difficile warres: first in the lower Countrys of Flaunders and Brabant, where the saide Maximilian was taken captiue, but shortly after, reschued & deliuered agayne by hys father.* 1487. It was signified before how this Maximilian by the aduise of y^t Bur'gundians, had to wife Mary y^e onely daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy afore mentioned, by whome he had 2. children, Phillip and Margarete. an. 1477. Whiche Mary not long after, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1481. by a fall [Page 730](#) from her horse, fell into an agew, and departed. Other warres many mo, the same Maximilian also achieued, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary and diuers besides.

So happy was y^t education of this Emperour in good letters:* so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexteritie and Promptnes in the latin stile, that he imitating the exāple of Iulius Caesar, did write and comprehend in Latine historyes, his owne actes and seates done, and that in such sort, that when he had geuen a certayne tast of his history, to one Pircamerus a learned man, asking his iudgemēt how his warlike stile of Latine did like him, the sayd Pircamerus did affirme and reporte of him to Iohn Caron (the witnes and writer of this story) that he did neuer see nor read any Germane storye,* a thing more exactly (and that in such

hast) done as this was of Maimilian. Moreouer, as he was learned himselfe, so was he a singular patrone and aduancer of learned studentes, as may well appeare by the erecting and setting vp the vniuersitie of Wittenberge.* By this Emperour many in those dayes were excited to the embrasing as wel of other liberall artes, as also namely to the searching out of old antiquities of historyes, whereby diuers were then by him first occasioned in Germany, to set their mindes & to exercise their dilligence, in collecting & explicating matters pertayning to the knowledge of history, as well of an'cient as also of latter times, as namely Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

*Here now it began right well to appeare, what great benefite was broched to the world, by the Arte and facultie of Printing, as is before mentioned. Through the meanes of which printing, the church and common wealth of christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as bothe may appeare by this Emperour being so induced himselfe with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by diuers others famous and worthy wittes, whiche began now in this age exceedingly to encrease and multiplie, as Baptista Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciscus his cousin, Rodol. Agricola, Pōtanus, Philippus, Bero aldus, Marsilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Among whom is also to be numbred Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius,* who was not longe after Ioan de Wesalia aboue recited, both muche about one tyme, and both great friendes together. This Weselus dyed the yeare of our Lord. 1490. After that Ioannes Doctor De Wesalia aforesayd was condemned this Weselus being familiar with him,* thought that the Inquisitour woulde come and examine hym also, as he himselfe in a certaine Epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthye a man that of the people he was called Lux Mundi. That is: The light of the worlde.

*Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papistes, as touching repentaunce, which they deuided in three partes, of the which three partes, satisfaction and confession he did disallow. Likewise Purgatorye and supererogation of workes & pardons he did disproue, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake agaynst the popes indulgences, by the occasion whereof diuers of the Popes court, perswaded by him, began to speake more freely agaynst the same matter, then he himselfe had done.

The abuses of Masses and praying for the dead he disallowed: and likewise the supremacy of the Pope, he vtterterly reiected (as appeareth in a booke of his De Sacramento poenitentiae) denying vtterly that any supreme head or gouernour ought to be in the world ouer all other:* affirming also & saying many times, y^t the pope had no authoritie to do any thing by commaundement but by truth: that is,* so farre as trueth goeth with hym, so farre hys sentence to stand: neither y^t he ought to preuayle by commaunding but onely by teaching, so as euery true christian Bish. may preuayle ouer an other. Also in some place in his writings he denyeth not, but that popes and their spirituall Prelates, proceeding agaynst Christes doctrine, be playne An'tichristes: such as were infirm and not able to perform the bond of chastitie taken vpon them, he sayd they might wel breake their vow.

Also the sayd Weselus witnesseth, that the forefathers which were before Albert and Thomas, did resiste and w^estand the popes indulgences, calling them in theyr wrytinges playne Idolatry,

mere fraude and erreure: adding moreouer that vnles the seueritie of some good Diuines, had not withstand these pardons and indulgences of the Pope: innumerable erreures had ouerflowne the church.

Amongest these workes of Weselus, there is a certaine Epistle of one written to hym, •in which the authour of the Epistle confesseth, that in hys time there was a certayne learned man at Paris called maister Thomas de Curselis a Deane: who being in the councell of Basill, whereas diuers began to aduaunce the power of the pope to farre,* de'clared and affirmed, to be sayd to him of Christ: Quicquid ligaueris super terram erit ligatum & in coelo: &c. Et non, quicquid dixeris esse ligatum. That is. What soeuer thou shalt bynde vpon earth shall be bound in heauen, but not, what soeuer thou sayst to be bound. As who should say the pope cannot nor doth not binde therefore, because he so sayth, except truth and righteousnes go also with him: then he doth so bynde in deed. There is a certayne booke of this man amongst diuers others, which he intituleth, De subditis & superioribus, in y^t which he disputeth greatly against y^t pope & his Prelates: affirming that the pope vnlesse hys faith & doctrine be found, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may erre, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of meanes to resist him. Item, that great & superfluous riches in the clergy do not profite, but hurt y^t church. That the pope doth wickedly distribute the rentes of the Church, and the Church it selfe, to vnworthy Ministers by Simony for hys owne profite and gayne, wherby it may appeare that he neyther careth for GOD, nor the health of the Church. Item, that the preceptes and commaundementes of the pope and prelates be no otherwise but as the Councels and preceptes of Phisitions, binding no further then they are founde to be wholesome and standing with the trueth of the word. Item, that the Pope can commaunde no man vnder payne of deadly sinne, except God commaund him before. He sayth that the keyes of the Pope and of the prelates be not such, wherwith they open the kingdome of heauen, but rather shut it, as the Phariseis did. Concerning vowes, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossibile, ought to be brokē: that the hearers ought to discern and iudge of the doctrine of their Prelates, and not to receiue euery thing that they say, without due examination.

He sheweth moreouer that the sentence or excommuni'cation is of more force, proceeding from a true godly honest, simple and learned men, then from the Pope, as in y^e Councell of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed then Eugenius. Also if the pope with hys prelates, gouern and rule naughtely, that the inferiours, be they neuer so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreouer of two Popes, Pius the second and Sixtus the fourth, he sayth, that Pius the second dyd vsurpe vnto hymselfe all the kingdomes of the whole world & that Sixtus the pope did dispense with al maner of othes in causes temporall, not onely with suche othes, as haue bene already, but also with all suche, as shalbe made hereafter: which was nothing els but to geue libertie and licence for men to forswear themselves and deceiue one an other.

This Weselus beyng a Phrisian borne,* and now aged in yeares, vpon a certayne time, when a yong man called mayster Ioannes Oftendorpius, came to hym, sayd these wordes: Well my childe, thou shalt lyue to that day, when thou shalt see the doctrine of these new and contentious di'uiues, as Thomas and Bonauenture, with others of the same sort, shalbe vtterly reiected and exploded from al true Christen deuines: And thys which Oftendorpius then being young, heard

Weselus to speake, he reported himselfe to Nouiomagus, which wrote this story. an. 1520. & heard it of the mouth of the sayd Weselus, an. 1490. Martij. 18.

Philippus Melanchton writing of the lyfe, of Rodolphus Agricola, sayth: that Iosquinus Groningonsis, an auncient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes present at the Sermons of Rodolphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darckenes of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the Masse: and of the single life of priestes. Item, that they disputed oftentimes of the righteousnes of sayth, why S. Paule so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be iustified by faith and not by workes,* the same Iosquine also reported, that they did openly reiecte and disproue the opinion of monks, which say that men be iustified by their works. Item, concerning mens traditiōs their opinion was, that all suche were deceiued, whatsoever attributed vnto those traditions any opinion of Gods worship, or y^t they could not be broken. And thus much for the story of doctour Wesellianus and Wesilus.

By this it may be seene and noted, how by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning: by lear'ning came light to iudge and discerne the errors of y^e pope from the truth of Gods word, as partly by these abouesaid may appeare partly by other that followe after by y^e grace of Christ) shall better be seene.

About the very same tyme and season, when as y^e Gospell began thus to braunch & spring in Germanie: the host [Page 731](#) of Christes church began also to muster & to multiply likewise here in Englād, as by these historyes here consequent may appeare. For not long after the death of this Weselus in the yeare of our Lorde 1494.* and in the 9. yeare of the reigne of K. Henry 7. the 28. of Aprill, was burned a very old woman named Ioane Boughton widow, and mother to the Lady Young, which Ladye was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of foure score yeares of age or more, & held 8. of Wickleffes opinions (which opiniōs my author doth not shew) for the which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abouesayd. My author sayth, she was a Disciple of Wickleffe, whome she accompted for a Saint, and helde so fast and firmly viij. of his x. opinions, that all the Doctours of Lōdon coulde not turne her from one of them, and when it was told her that she shoulde be brent for her obstinacie & false beliefe, shee set nothing by theyr manacing wordes, but defied them, for the sayde she was so beloued of God, and hys holy aungels, that she passed not for the fire, & in the midst therof she cryed to God to take her soule into his holy handes. The night following that she was burnt, the most parte of her ashes were had awaye of suche as had a loue vnto the doctrine that she dyed for.

Shortly after the martyrdome of this godly aged mother in the yeare of our Lord, 1497. and the 17. of Ianuary, being Sondag, two men, the one called Richard Milderale, and the other Iames Sturdy, bare Fagots before the procession of Paules, and after stode before the preacher in the time of hys Sermon. And vpon the sondag following, stood other two men at Paules crosse all the sermon tyme:* the one garnished with paynted & written papers, the other hauing a Fagot on hys necke. After that in Lent season vppon Passion Sondag, one Hugh Glouer bare a Fagot before the procession of Paules,* & after wyth the Fagot stode before the preacher all the sermon while at Paules crosse. And on the sondag next following foure men stode, and did there open penance at Paules as is aforesayd, in the sermon time many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Crosse.

*Furthermore the next yeare following, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1498. in the beginning of Maye, the king then being at Canterbury, was a priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the clerkes & doctors then there beyng, coulde not remoue him from his sayth: whereof the king beyng enformed, caused the sayd priest to be brought before hys presence, who by hys perswasions caused him to reuoke, and so he was burnt immediately.

*IN the same yeare aboue mentioned, which was the yere of our Lord. 1499. after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwicke, and sonne to the Duke of Cla|rence, the king and Queene being remooued to Calys, a

[illustration]

*The burning of Babram.

certaine godly man and a constant Martyr of Christ, named Babram in Northfolke', was brent in the moneth of Iuly, as is in Fabian recorded after y^t copy, whiche I haue written. Albeit in the book of Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next yeare following, which is, an. 1500. Ex Fabiano, & alio scripto codice.

ABout which yere likewise or in the yere next folowing y^t xx. day of Iuly,* was an old mā burnt in Smithfield

IN the same yeare also,* which was of the Lord. 1499. fell the martyrdome and burning of Hieronimus Sauonarola, a man no lesse godly in hart, then constant in his profession. Who being a Monke in Italy, & singularly well learned,* preached fore agaynst the euill lyfe & liuing of the spiritualty and specially of hys own order, compsayning fore vpō thē, as the springes and authors of all mischieues & wickednes. Wherupō by y^e helpe of certeine learned men he begā to seek reformatiō in hys own order. Which thyng the pope perceauing, and fearing that the sayde Hierome, which was now in great reputation amōgst al men, shold diminish or ouerthrow his authoritie, he ordained his vicar or prouinciall to see reformatiō of these matters: which vicare w^t great superstition began to reforme thinges, but the sayd Hierome did alwayes withstand hym, wherupon he was complayned of to the Pope, and because that contrary vnto y^e popes commaundement, he did w^tstand hys vicare,* he was accursed. But for all that Hieronimus lefte not of preaching, but threatned Italy with y^e wrath and in dignation of God, and prophecied before vnto them, that the land should be ouerthrowne for the pride and wickednes of y^e people, and for the vntruth, hipocrisie and falshood of y^t clergy, which God would not leaue vncenēged, as of^tterward it came to passe,* when as king Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straitly beset the pope Alexander, y^t he was forced to make composition with the king.

Now for somuch as the said Hierom would not leaue of preaching, he was commaunded to appeare before the pope,* to geue accompt of his new learning, (for so thē they called the truth of the Gospell,) but by meanes of the manifold perilles, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he againe forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false and sedicious.

This Hieronimus, as a man wordly wise, foreseeing the great perils and daungers that might come vnto him, for feare, left of preaching. But when as the people, which fore hungred and longed for Gods word, were instant vpon him that he would preach agayne, he began agayne to preach in the yeare of our Lord.* 1496. in the Cittie of Florence, and albeit y^t many counsailed him that he should not so do without the Popes commaundement, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his owne good will. When as the Pope and his shauelinges heard newes of this, they were greuously incensed and inflamed agaynst him, and now againe cursed him, as an obstinate and stifnecked hereticke. But for all that, Hieronimus proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying that men ought not to regard such curses, whiche are agaynst y^e true doctrine and the cōmon profite, whereby the people shold be learned and amended, Christ kingdome enlarged, and the kindome of the deuill vtterly ouerthrowne.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing then the onely pure and simple word of God, making often protestation that al men should certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach anye thing contrary thereunto, for vpon his owne conscience he knew not y^t he had taught anye thing but the pure word of God.* What his doctrine was all mē may easely iudge by his books y^t he had writtē.

After this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1498. he was takē and brought out of S. Markes cloyster, & two other Fryers with hym, named Dominicke and Siluester, whiche fauoured hys learning, and was caried into prison, wheras he wrote a godly meditation vpon that most comfortable 31. psalme In te Domine speraui non confundar in aeternū|sed in iusticia tua libera me. Wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth,* the continuall strife betweene the flesh and the spirite.

After this the Popes Legates came to Florence, & called forth these three good men, threatning thē marueilously but they continued still constant. Then came the chief coūsailers of the citty, with the popes commissioners, whiche had gathered out certain Articles against these men, wher|upon they were condemned to death: the tenour of which Articles hereafter ensue.

- 1. The first article was as touching our free iustification through fayth in Christ.
- 2. That y^e communion ought to be ministred vnder both kyndes.
- [Page 732](#)3. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope, were of no effect.
- 4. For preaching against the filthy and wicked liuing of the Cardinals and spiritualitye.
- 5. For denying the popes supremacie.
- 6. Also that he had affirmed, that the keyes were not geuen vnto Peter alone, but vnto the vniuersal Church.
- 7. Also, that the pope did neither follow the life nor doc|trine of Christ, for that he did attribute more to his owne pardons and traditions, then to Christes merits, and ther|for he was Antichrist.
- 8. Also, that the popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flye them, is excommunicate of God.
- 9. Item, that auricular confession, is not necessary.
- 10. Item, that he had moued the Cittizens to vpror and sedition.
- 11. Item, that he had neglected and contemned the popes Citation.
- 12. Item, that he had shamefully spoken agaynst, & slandered the pope.
- 13. Itē, that he had taken Christ to witnes of his naughtines and heresie.

- 14. Also, y^t Italy must be clesned through Gods scourge, for the manifold wickednes of the princes and clergy.

These & such other like Articles, were layd vnto them & read before them. Then they demaunded of the said Hierome and his companions, whether they would recant & geue ouer their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through Gods help, they would stedfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they disgraded one after an other,* by the byshop of Uasion and so deliuered ouer to the secular rulers of Florence, w^t straight commaundement, to cary them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stifnecked heretickes,

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Hierome and his two companions.

Thus, was the worthy witsse of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged vp openly in the market place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered vp, & cast into the Riuer of Arum, the 24. day of May in the yeare of our Lord 1499. Ex Catal. testium. Illyrici.

This man foreshewed many thinges to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the reuening of the Church: which three things, haue happened in these times within our remembraunce. Also he foreshewed that the Turkes and Mores in the latter dayes, should be conuerted vnto Christ. He also declared that one should passe the Alpes into Italy, like vnto Cirus, which should subuert and destroy all Italy. Whereupon Iohannes Franciscus Picus, Erle of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings against the pope. Many other learned men also, defend the innocencie of the saide Sauonarola. Marsilius Ficinus also in a certayne Epistle doth attribute vnto him the spirit of prophecie, greatly commending and praying him. In the like maner Philippus Comineas a French historiographer,* which had conference with him witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of y^e spirit of prophecie, for so much as he had foreshewed vnto hym so many thinges, which in euent had proued true.

There were besides these, many other, not to be passed ouer or forgotten: as Phillip Norice an Irishman, profes|sour at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned (yet as it is sayd) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious route. But would to God, that such as haue occupied themselues in writing of histories, and haue so dilligently committed vnto memory all other thinges done in foreign common wealthes, had bestowed the lyke dilligence & labour, in noting and writing those thinges, which pertayn vnto the affayres of the Church: whereby the posteritie might haue had fuller and more perfecte vnderstanding & knowledge of them.

This Sauonarola aboue mencioned, suffered vnder pope Alexander the 6. of which pope, more leysure & oportunitie shall serue hereafter (Christ willing) to entreat, after that we shall first make a little digression to entreate of certayn cases and complayntes of the Germainrs, incidēt in the meane time, which as they are not to be ouerpast in silence, so can they haue no place nor tyme more conueniēt to be inferred. What complayntes of the Germaines were made and moued vnto the Emperour Fredericke agaynst the popes suppressions and exactions, mencion was made before pag.* 724. where also was declared, howe the sayde Germaines at that time, were wise

put backe and forsakē of the Emperour: whereby they continued in y^e same yoke and bondage, vntill the time of Luther. Wherefore it commeth now to hand, and we thinke it also good, here briefly to declare, how the sayd Germaines, in the tyme of Maximilian the Emperour: renewing their complayntes agayn, deliuered vnto the Emperour, x. principall greuaunces. whereby the Germaines haue bene long time oppressed: shewing also the remedies agaynst the same, with certayne aduisements vnto the Emperours maiesty, how he might withstand and resist the popes subtleties and craftes: The order and tenour whereof here ensueth.

The x. greuaunces of the Germaines.

1. THat the Bishops of Rome,* successors one vnto an other, do not thinke themselues bound to obserue & keepe the bulles, couenauntes, priuiledges, and letters, graunted by theyr predecessours, without all derogation: but by often dispensation, suspension and reuocation, euen at the instance of euery vile person, they doe gaynsaye and withstand the same.
2. That the elections of prelates are oftētimes put back.
3. That the elections of Presidentships are withstande, which the chapterhouses of many churches haue obtained with great cost and expence, as the Church of Spyre and Hasell do well know: whose bull, touchyng the election of theyr president, is made frustrate, he being yet alieue which graunted the same.
4. That benefices and the greatest ecclesiasticall dignities, are reserued for Cardinalles and head notaries.
5. That expectatiue graces, called vowsans, are granted without number, and many oftentimes vnto one man: Whereupon continuall contentions do ryse, and much mo|ney is spent, both that whiche is layd out for the Bulles of those vowsōs which neuer take effet, and also that whiche is consumed in goyng to lawe. Whereupon this prouerbe is risen, whosoeuer will get a vowson from Rome, must haue C. or CC. peeces of golde layde vp in his chest, for the obtayning of the same, which he shall haue neede of, to presecute the law withall.
6. That Annates or yearly reuenewes, are exacted w^tout delay or mercy, euen of the bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted then ought to be, through new offices and new seruauntes, as by the examples of the churches of Mentz and Strausburgh, may be seene.
7. That the rule of the churches are geuen at Rome vnto those that are not worthy, which were more fitt to keep and feede Mules, then to haue the rule and gouernance of men.
8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspen'sion and reuocation of the old, are graunted to gather and scrape money together.
9. That tenthes are exacted vnder the pretēce of making warre agaynst the Turke: when as no expedition doth fol'low thereupon.

10. That the cause whiche might be determined in Germany, wheras there are both learned and iust iudges, are [Page 733](#) indistinctly caryed vnto the Court of Rome, which thing S. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, seemeth wōderfully to reprove.

Here ensueth the remedy agaynst the sayd greuaunces.

IF it shal seeme good vnto the Emperors maiesty, let it be declared vnto the bishop of Rome, how greuous and intollerable a thing it is vnto the Germaynes, to suffer continually so great charge & greuances, to pay so great Annates for the confirmation of the Bishops & Archbishops, and especially in such Bishoprickes, whereas the Annates by successe of time, are enhaunced, & in many (as it is sayd) doubled. For the Archbishops sea of Mentz (as it is sayde) sometime payd onely 10000. floreines: which summe, whē as one which was chosen there, refused to geue, and so cōtinued euen vnto his death, he which was afterward elect, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstande the Apostolicke sea: offered the old summe of 10000. floreines: But notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay y^r other 10000. which his predecessour before him had not payd.

By this meanes he was compelled to pay 20000. floreines. which being enrolled in the register of the chamber hath bene exacted of euery archbishop since, vntil these our dayes: and not onely 20000. but also 25000. for theyr newe offices, & new seruants. At last the summe drew to 27000. floreines, which Iames the Archbishop of Mentz was cōpelled to paye, as his Commissary did report. So by this meanes, in a litle time, there was 7. tymes 25000. floreines payd out of the Archbishopricke of Mentz, vnto Rome for the confirmation of the Archbishop. And when this Archbishop Iames had kept the Archbishopricke scarce foure yeares, the Lord Uriel was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24000. or 25000. foreines. whereof a part he borrowed of Marchauntes:* but to satisfy and pay them agayne, he was forced to exact a subsidye of his poore subiectes and husband men, whereof some haue not yet satisfied and payd the tribute for the Bishops Palle, to that by this meanes, our people are not onelye tormented and brought to extreme pouertye, but also are moued vnto rebellion to seeke theyr liberty by what meanes soeuer they may, greuously murmuring agaynste the crueltye of the Clergy.

The pope also should be admonished, how that, through diuers and sundry wars and battels, the lands of Germany lye desolate & waste, and through many mortalityes the number of mē is diminished, so that for y^r scarcenes of husbandmen, the fieldes, for the most part, lye vntild, the roles are by diuers meanes diminished, the mines consumed, & the profites dayly decay, whereby the Archbishops & Byshops should pay theyr annates vnto the Apostolicke sea: besides their other necessary and honest charges: insomuch that not without iuste cause, Iames the Archbishoppe of Mentz being euen at the poynt of death, sayde that he dyd not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poore subiectes should be agayne forced, to pay a greuous exaction for the Palle, wherfore let the high Bishop as a godly father and loue of his children,* and a faythfull and prudēt pastor, deale more fauourably with his children the Germaynes, least that persecution happen to rise agaynst the Priestes of Christ, and that men folowing the example of the Bohemians, do swarue from the Church of Rome.

At the least, let him be more fauorable, as often as any Archbishop or bishop happeneth to rule his Church but a few yeares: as it happened to the Bishops of Bamberge, wherof 3. dyed within

few yeares. The like also might hap'pen by other bishoprickes, whereof (as Aeneas Syluius witnessed) there are in Germany to the number of 50.* besides Abboes, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

And admitt that in Germany there were greater profite and reuenewes rising of the ground, mines and toles: notwithstanding the Emperour and the other Princes, should lacke treasure and munition of warre agaynst their enemies, and specially the infidels, and to preserue Germa'ny in peace and quietnesse, & to minister iustice vnto euery man: for which purpose, the Councell of the chamber being most holyly instructed and furnished with great cost & char'ges, doth chiefly serue. Besides that the Emperour hath need of treasure, to suppress the rebelles in the Empyre, to banish and driue away theeues and murtherers, whe rofa great nūber are not ashamed to spoyle churches onely, and to robbe them of theyr goods, but also to assaile the Clergy themselues. Finally our nation and country of Germany, hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repaying of Churches & monasteries, but also for hospitals, for children thar are layd out in the streetes, for widowes, for women with childe, for Orphanes, for the mariage of y^e daughters of poore men, that they be not destoured, for such as haue neede and necessity, for the olde and weake, for the sicke and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled.

Aduertisementes vnto the Emperours Maiesty.

LEt the Emperours maiesty foresee and prouide,* that the begging friers do not preach against his maiesty which are wont to complayn gladly vnto the Apostolick sea, fearing to lose their priuiledges, which I would to god, were aswel grounded vpon Christ, as they are vpon profite. Let the Emperours maiesty also beware that the Pope do not geue cōmaundement vnto the Electours, to proceed to the electiō of a new king of Romaines, as he did agaynst Frederick the second, when as the Lantgraue of Churm, and William Earle of Holland, were elect by the commaundement of the Pope. Let the Emperours maiesty also feare and take heed of all the Prelates of the Churches, and especially of the Presedentes, which by theyr oth are bounde to aduertise the Pope. Let the Emperours Maiesty also feare and beware that the Pope do not take away from his subiectes, their obedience, & prouoke the people bordering vpon him, to make inuasiō into y^e Emperours dominiōs and Archduchy of Austrich: which those men, vnder colour of shewing obedience vnto the Popes commaundemēt, be ready to do.

Let the Emperours Maiesty also take heede of the Apostolicke censures, frō which the pope will in no case refraine. Finally let y^e Emperours maiesty diligently foresee & take heede, that the pope do not perswade the people w^t most subtile argumētes, contrary to the pragmaticall sanction, excusing himselfe,* and getting the good will of y^e simple, alledging y^t w^e great costes & charges, he will repayre y^e Church of S. Peter in Rome, & build in certaine places, against the Turkes, and recouer againe the landes & patrimony pertaining vnto the Church of S. Peter, as he is boūd by his office. Therefore, let your maiesty diligētly forsee and deliberate, how through your most wise & discrete counsaile, if neede shall require, you will answere to those subtilties of the Pope.

A certaine godly exhortation vnto the Emperours Maiestie.

YOur maiesty cā do nothing better,* nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembrāce, thē to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the Germanes: to take away all occasion frō the laitie, to persecute the Clergy: also to take away y^e benefices out of the handes of courtisans, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counsaile any man (of which benefises, as Aeneas Syluius writeth some are equall to the Byshoprickes of Italye) to encrease Gods honour and worship: and so to bridle the auarice & vngodlines of those courtisans, wherby your maiesty may the better prouide for the children of many noble & famous men and Cityzens in Germanie, which being brought vp from their youth in the vniuersities, learning both the Scriptures and other humaine letters, may without vnquiet vexations, and most sumptuous charges & contentions, aspire to the Ecclesiasticall promotions: who by their cōsaile & prayers, may be helpes vnto the whole Church: For there is no small occasion, why the realme of Fraunce should so flourish, hauing so many notable learned mē in it. If the Emperour would abolish this un•iety, and restore Germany vnto their auncient liberty, which is now oppressed with greuous tributes, and would make way for learned & honest mē vnto Ecclesiasticall promotions: then might he truely & perpetually be called of all men, & in all places, y^e restorer of Germany to his aūciēt libertie, & y^e father of his countrey, & should obtayne no lesse glory thereby vnto himselfe, and profite vnto Germany, then if he had by force of armes, subdued any prouince vnto th ē: And so shall Germany render no lesse thanks vnto y^e saide Maximilian, then vnto all the rest, which hauing translated the Empire from the Grecians vnto Germany, haue raigued many yeares before.

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certaine letter of y^e Emperour Maximiliā, geuen out in maner of a decree or cōmaundemēt, against certaine abuses of the Clergy. Wherunto we haue also annexed the aunswere of Iacobus Selestadiensis, vnto the Emperours letters, wherein he seemeth also to haue sought aduise for the remedy of the like abuses▪ which we thought good here not to be omitted.

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An Edict of Maximilian Emperour.

WE according to the example of our dearly beloued father Fredericke Emperour of Rome, reuerensing the chiefe Pastour of the Church, and all the Clergy, haue suffered no small reuenewes of the Ecclesiasticall dignities, to be caryed out of our dominion by the Prelats and Clergy that are absent, whose faultes committed by humayne frailty, with Constantine our predecessor, we haue not disdeyned to hide and couer. But for so much as thorough our liberality, the decay of Gods honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect vnto the Empyre without any desert) that amongst all other affayres of peace and warre the Churches do not decay, Religion quayle not, or Gods true worship be not diminished: which we haue manifestly experimented and dayly doe perceiue by the insatiable couetousnesse of some, which are neuer satisfied in getting of benefices: through whose absence (being but resident onely vpon one) Gods honour and worship is diminished, houses decay, Churches decrease, the Ecclesiasticall liberty is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroyed, hospitality and almes diminished, and by their vnsatiable greedinesse, such of the Clergy as for theyr learning and vertue were worthy of Benefices, and theyr wisdom, profitable in common wealthes, are hindered and put backe. Wherefore according to the office and duety of our estate, for the loue of the encrease of

Gods honour,* we exhort and require that no man from henceforth, hauing any Canonship or Vicarage in one City of our Empyre, shall occupy or possesse a prebend in an other Church of the same City, except he geue ouer the first, within a yeares space, vnto some person fitte and profitable for the Church: neither that he doe by vniust quarelles, vexe or trouble any man in getting of benefices, neither that any man doe falsely fayne himselfe to haue bene of the Emperors houshold, which hath not ben comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any lay man, or aggrauate the small prebendes of Curates of Churches, with pensions, neyther that they doe vse in getting of benefices and Bulles, any fraude, deceite, false instrumentes, corrupte witnesses and cloaked Simonye, neyther that any man presume to obteyne any regresfe, or other thing contrarye to the sacred Canons, right, honesty, equity and reason, vpon payne of the most greuous offence of treason: the whiche we will that, not onelye they, going so contrary to God and all honesty: but also all theyr fauourers, which doe helpe, counsell, harbour or geue them any thing, all theyr messengers and writers, proctours, suretyes and other theyr friendes, shall incurre, and receiue condigne punyshment for so great offence and contempt of our commaudemēt. From Oenopont. &c.

Here ensueth the cotype of a letter written vnto the Emperour Maximilian,

To our most victorious Lord Maximilian the Emperour, Iacobus Selestadiensis, most humble commendations.

MOst victorious Emperour,

when I had read your maiestyes Epistle, and receiued instructions of your Secretary, I prepared my selfe with all my whole endeouour, to satisfye your maiestyes desire: For euen from my youth hitherto, I haue applyed all my care and study, fyrst for the honour of your maiesty, and consequently for the amplifying of the Germayne nation, and sacred Romaine Empire. Albeit I knowe my selfe farre vnable to satisfye your desire and purpose, and there are many which can fulfill thys matter much better, which haue greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other Princes, and in the Senates of common wealthes, many excellent learned men, which can exonerate and beautify Germany, and perswade to reduce all the Clergy vnto a Christian discipline, and to an vnity & peace of the vniuersall Church. Wherein not onely your Maiesty, but also your predecessours, as Charles the great, and his sonne Ludouicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Frederickes, and Henrikes, and last of all, Sigismundus, haue with all labour and diligence trauelled, being stirred thereunto, vndoubtedly throughe the zeale & charity which they bare vnto almighty God, & thakfulnes vnto Christ, for his benefites which he hath bestowed vpon mankinde, and specially for the benefite of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poore for vs, that we should liue in all riote and wantonnes vpon his patrimony, and shew sorth our ambition and couetousnesse: neither did he suffer hunger that wee should glut vp our selues: or suffered labors, chastity, and greuious torments, that we shuld liue in idlenesse, wantōnes, and al kind of voluptuousnesse. Neither they which were contributors, and benefactours to Churches, induing the ministers thereof with theyr temporall riches, had any suche respecte herein, that the Clergye shoulde liue onely in idlenesse, hauing all thinges at theyr wyll, without labour Surely there was another cause why that they in times past did empouerish

themselves and theirs to endow the Church: verily that they might the better attend vnto diuine seruice, without care of want of liuing (which they might easily get and gather out of the fieldes, woodes, medowes, and waters) and to the intent that they should liberally geue almes vnto the poore Christians, Widdowes, Orphanes, aged and sicke persons. For in the institutions of the canonicall profession, whiche we suppose waa written by the commaundement of Ludouicus Pius the emperour, and allowed by the counsell of the Byshoppes, thus it is read: The goodes of the Church (as it is alledged by the fathers, and conteyned in the chapters before) are the vowes of the faythfull, and patrimony of the poore. For the faythfull, thorow the seruentyes of theyr fayth, and loue of Christ being inflamed, hauing an earnest desire of that heauenly kingdome, haue enriched the holy Church with theyr owne goodes, that thereby the souldiors of Christ might be nourished, the Church adourned, the poore refreshed, and captiues according to the oportunitie of time, redemed Wherefore such as haue the administration of those goods, ought diligently to bee looked vpon, that they doe not conuert them vnto theyr owne proper vse, but rather, according to theyr substaunce and possibility, they doe not neglecte them in whome Christ is fed and clothed. Prosper is also of the same minde, affirmyng that holy men did not challenge the Church goods to their owne vse, as their owne proper goodes, but as thinges commended vnto the poore, to be deuided amongst them: For that is to contemne that which a man possesseth, not to possesse a thing for himselfe, but for others, neyther to couet the Church goods with couetousnesse, to haue them himselfe, but to take them with a godly zeale to helpe other. That which the church hath, is commō to all them which haue nothing, neyther ought they to geue any thing of that vnto them, (sayth he) which haue of theyr owne: for to geue vnto them whiche haue enough, is but to cast thinges away.

Ex Illyrico.

To returne now to the order of Popes where we left before speaking of Innocentius the eight,* after the sayde Innocentius, next succeeded Pope Alexander the 6. In which Alexander, among other horrible thinges, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus named him Demes) brother to Balazetes the great Turke, was committed by the Rhodians, to the sate custodie, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the 6. for whose keeping the Pope receiued euery yeare 40000.* crownes: yet notwithstanding, whē pope Alexander afterward was cōpelied to send the sayd Gemes to Charles the eight the French king for a pledge: because the Frēch king should not procure the great Turkes fauour, by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slayne, he being hyred by the Turke, caused the sayde Gemes to be poysoned, who in his iourney goinge toward the French king, dyed at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

Moreouer in the sayd Dicronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander taking displeasure with the foresayd Charles the French king, about the winning of Naples, sent to Baiazetes the Turke, to fight against the foresayd Charles. Ex eodem.

Munsterus lib. 4. Cosmog Declaring the foresayd hystorye of Gemes, something otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and sayth, that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the french king. And when as Ioannes Huniades afore mentioned, did labor to the French king to haue him, thinking by that meanes to obtain a noble victory against the Turke, as it was not vnlike: this Alexander the pope, thorow his fraudulent flatterye, gotte him of the Frenche King, into his owne

handes: by whose meanes the sayd Gemes afterwarde was poysoned, as is in maner before expressed.

Unto these poysoned actes of the Pope,* let vs also adioin his malicious wickednes, with like fury exercised vpō Antonius Mancinellus, which Mancinellus being a mā of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquēt oratiō against his wicked maners & filthy life, with other vices, he therfore commaunded both his hands & his tong to be cut of, playing much like with him, as Antonius y^e tirant once did with M. Cicero, for writing agaynst his horrible life. At length,* as one poyson requireth another, this poysoned Pope, as he was sitting with his Cardinals, & other ryck Senatours of Rome at dinner, his seruantes vuwares brought to him a wrong bottell, wherewith he was poysoned, and his Cardinals about him.

In the time of this Pope Alexander,* also it happened (whiche is not to bee pretermitted) how that the Aungell whiche stood in the high toppe of the Popes Church, was beaten downe with a terrible thunder: which thing semed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedome. After this Pope next succeded Pius the 3. about the yeare of our Lord 1503. After whome came next Iulius the second a man so farre passing all other in iniquity, that Wicelius, & [Page 735](#) such other of his owne friendes writing of him, are compelled to say of him, Marti illum quam Christo deditorem fuisse: that is, that he was more geuen to warre and battayle, then to Christ. Concerning the madnesse of this man thys is most certaynely knowne, that at what time he was going to warre, he cast the keyes of S. Peter into the riuer of Tybris, sayinge, that for as much as the keyes of Peter would not serue him to his purpose, he woulde take himselfe to the sword of Paule. Wherupon Philip Melancthō, amongst many other writing vpon the same, maketh this Epigrame.

Cum contra Gaellos bellum papa Iulius esset

Gesturus▪ sicūt fama •etusta docet:

Ingentes martis turmas contraxit, & •rbem

Eg•essus saeuas edidit ore minas.

Iratus'{que} sacras claues in flumina iecit

Tibridis, hic •rbi pons •bi iungit aquas.

Inde manu strictum Gagina diripit ensem,

Exclamans'{que} truci talia •ocere fert:

Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,

Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat ista Petri.

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigrame.

In Gallum •• fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,

Armatum educit Iulius •rbe manum:

Accinctus gladio, clauus in Tibridis amnem

Proicit, & soeuus talia •erba faecit:

Quum Petrinihil efficiant ad praelia clauus,

Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.

The sense of these Epigrammes in English is this.

When Iulius Pope agaynst the French determined to make warre:

As fame reportes, he gathered vp great troupes of men from farre.

And to the bridge of Tybur then, marching as he were wood:

His holy keyes he tooke, and cast them downe into the floud.

And afterward into his hand, he tooke a naked sword:

And shaking it, brake forth into this fierce and warlike word.

This sword of Paule (quoth he) shall now defend vs from our foe:

Since that this key of Peter doth nothing auay le thereto.

Of this Iulius it is certaynely reported, that partly w^t his warres, partly with his cursinges, within the space of 7, yeares, as good as 200000. Christians were destroyed. Fyrst he besieged Rauenna agaynste the Uenetians, then Seruia, Imola, Fauentia, Foroliuium, Bononia and other cities,^{} which he gate out of Princes handes, not with out much bloudshed. The Chronicles of Iohn Steban ma^keth mention, that when this Iulius was made Pope he tooke an oathe, promising to haue a Councell within two yeares: but when he had no leysure thereunto, being occupied with his warres in Italy amōg the Uenetians, and with the French king, and in Ferraria, and in other countryes: 9. of his Cardinales departing from him, came to Millayne, and there appoynted a Councell at the Citty of Pise, amongst whome the chiefe, were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Prenestinus, Franciscus Cōstantinus, with diuers others: amongst whome also were adioyned the Procuratours of Maximilian the Emperour, and of Charles▪ the French king. So the Councell was appoynted the yeare of our Lord 1511.^{*} to begin in the Kalendes of September. The cause why they did so call this Councell was thus alledged, because the Pope had so brokē his oth, and all this while he gaue no hope to haue any councell, & also because there were diuers other crimes, whereupō they had to accuse him. Theyr purpose was to remoue him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Iulius hearing this, geueth out contrary commaundement vnder great payne, no man to obey them, & calleth himselfe another councell agaynst the next yeare, to be begon the 19. day of Aprill. The French king vnderstading Pope Iulius to ioyne with the Uenetians, and so to take theyr part agaynst him, couented a councell at Thurin in the month of September, in the which council these questions were proposed.

Whether it was lawfull for the Pope to moue warre agaynst any prince without cause.

Whether any Prince in defending himselfe, might inuade his aduersary: and deny his obedience.

Unto the which questions it was answered,* that neither the bishop ought to inuade, and also that it was lawfull for the king to defende himselfe. Moreouer that the Pragmaticall sanction was to bee obserued thorowe the realme of Fraunce: Neyther that any vniust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were founde to be vniust. After this the king sent vnto Iulius, the aunswere of his counsell, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoynt a generalll Councell some other where, where thys matter myght bee more fully decided. Iulius woulde neyther of both these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdome. At the lenth, at Rauenna in a great war, he was ouercome by the frēch king, and at last, after much slaughter and great bloudshed, and mortall warre, this Pope dyed in the yeare of our Lorde 1513. the 21. day of February.

If it were not that I feare to ouerlay this our volume w^t heapes of foreigne historyes,* which haue professed chiefly to entreat of Actes and Monuments here done at home: I woulde adioine after these popes aboue rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turkes story: of theyr rising, and cruell persecution of the say•tes of God, to the great anioance and perill of Christendome: yet notwithstanding certayne causes there be which necessarily require the knowledge of theyr order and doinges, and of theyr wicked procedings, theyr cruell tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruine & subuersion of so many Christen Churches, with the horrycle murders and captiui•ye of infinite Christians to bee made playne and manifest, as well to this our countrey of England, as also to other nations:

First for the better explayning of the Prophecies of the new Testament,* as in S. Paules Epistle ad Chessall, and also in the reuelation of S. Iohn. Which Scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these historyes, can not so perfectly bee vnderstand. Ofthe whiche Scriptures we mynde hereafter (Christ graunting) orderly, as the course of matter shall lead vs, to make rehearsall.

An other cause is,* that we may learne thereby eyther with the publique Church, to lament with our brethren such a great defection and decay of christian fayth, through these wicked Turkes: or els may feare thereby our owne daunger.

The thyrd cause,* that we may pōder more deeply with our selues, the scourge of God for our sinnes, and corrupte doctrine, which in the sequele hereof, more euidently may appeare to our eyes, for our better admonition.

Fourthly,* the consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turkes, rising chiefly by our discord and dissention among our selues, may reduce vs agayn from our domesticall wars, in killing and burning one of an other, to ioyne together in Christian patience and concorde.

U.* but chiefly these great victoryes of the Turkes and vnprosperous speed of our men fighting agaynst thē, may admonish & teach vs, folowing the example of the olde Israelites, how to seek for greater strēgth to encounter with these enemyes of Christ, then hitherto we haue done. First

we must cōsider, that the whole power of Sathan y^e prince of this world, goeth with the Turkes. Whiche to resist, no strēgth of mans arme, is sufficient, but onely the name, spirite, and power of our Lord Iesus the sonne of god, going with vs in our battels,* as among the olde Israelites, the Arcke of Gods couenaunt and promise wente with them also, fighting agaynst the enemies of God. For so are wee taught in Scripture, that we christen mē haue no strength, but in Christ onely. Whether we warre agaynst the deuilt, or agaynst the Turke it is true that the Scripture sayeth: Sine me nihil potestis facere. i. without me you ea do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissaunce to stand agaynst y^e deuill or to conquere the world, Nisi fides nostra: that is, our fayth onely all the promises of God (touching saluation) be annexed, beyonde which promises we muste not goe, for the worde must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the pro|misses in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth, hee can not tell whether. Neither must we appoynt God, how to saue the worlde, but must take that way whiche he hath appointed. Let vs not set our God to schoole, nor cōprehēd his holy spirite within our sculles.* He that made vs w^tout our counsell, did also redeeme vs as pleased hym. If he be mercifull, let vs be thankfull. And if his mercyes surmoūt our capacity, let vs therefore not resist, but search his word, and thereunto apply our will: which if we will doe, all but [Page 741](#) contentious wil soone be at a poynt. Let vs therefore search the will of our God in his word, and if he will his saluation to stand free to all nations,* why do we make marchandise thereof? If he haue graciously offred his waters to vs, without mony or mony worth, let vs not hedge in the plētuous springes of his grace geuen vs.

And finally, if God haue determined his owne sonne onely to stand alone, let not vs presume to admixt with his maiesty any of our trumpery. He y^t bringeth S. George or S. Deuise as patrons, to y^e field to fight against y^e turk, leaueth Christ (no doubt) at home. Now how we haue fought these many yeres agaynst the Turke: though storyes keep silence, yet y^e successe declareth. We fight agaynst a persecutour, being no lesse persecutours our selues. We wrastle against a bloody tyraunt, and our handes be as full of bloud as his. He killeth Christes people with the sword: and we burne them with fire. He obseruing the works of the law, seeketh his iustice by the same: the like also do we. But neither hee nor we seeke our iustification as we shoulde, that is, by fayth onely in the sonne of God.

And what maruell then, if our doctrine being as corrupt almost, as his: and our conuersation worse, if Christe fight not with vs, fighting agaynst y^e Turke? The Turke hath preuayled so mightely, not because Christ is weake, but because that Christians be wicked, and theyr doctryne impure. Our temples with Images, our hartes with idolatry are poluted: Our priestes stinck before God for adultery, being restrayned from lawfull matrimony. The name of god is in our mouthes,* but his fear is not in our harts. We warre agaynst the Turke with our workes, Masses, traditions and ceremonies: but we fight not agaynst hym with Christ and with the power of his glory, whith if we did, the field were wonne.

Wherefore briefly to conclude,* saying my iudgement in this behalfe, what I suppose: this hope I haue, & do beleue that when the Church of Christ with the Sacramentes therof, shalbe so reformed, that Christ alone shall be receaued to be our iustifier, all other religions, merites, tradition, images, patrons and aduocates set a part: the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soone vanquish the Turkes pride and fury. But of this more largely in the processe of this story.

The sixte and last cause,* why I thinke the knowledge of the Turkes history, requisite to be considered, is this: be cause that many there be, which for y^e they be farther frō the Turkes, and thinke therfore themselues to be out of daūger, take little care and studye, what happeneth to theyr other brethren. Wherefore to the intent to excite theyr zeale and prayer to almighty God, in this so lamentable ruin of Christes church: I thought it requisite by order of history, to geue this our natiō also something to vnderstand, what hath bene done in other nations by these cruell Turkes, and what detriment hath bene and is like more to happen by them, to the Church of Christ, except we make our earnest inuocatiō to almighty God,* in the name of hys sonne, to stop the course of the deuill by these Turkes, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daylye vnto them, and to reduce them agayn to his fayth which are fallen frō him. Which the Lorde Iesus of his grace, graunt wyth speede. Amen.

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and Saracens, first let vs call to remembraunce the Prophecy and forewarning of S. Paule writing to the Thess. in his 2. Epistle, in these words:* Be not moued nor troubled in your myndes, eyther by preaching, or by writing, or by letter frō vs, as though the day of the Lorde were at hande: for the Lord will not come except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be reuealed. &c. Of this defection sundry mindes there be,* of sundry expositours: some thinking this defection to meane a falling away from the Empyre of Rome: some from the obedience of the Pope. But as S. Paul little passed vpon the outward glory of the Romain Empyre: so lesse he passed vpon the proud obedience of the Pope. What Saynt Paule ment by this defection, the reading of these Turkishe storyes, and the miserable falling away of these Churches by him before planted, will soone declare.

Another mistery there is in the Re•lations, Apoc. 13. where the number of the beast is counted 666. Whereby may seeme by all evidences, to be signified the first origene and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by sequele hereof may appeare by the first rising of this deuilish sect of Mahumet.

*Moreouer, an other place there is, cap. 16. Apoca. where we read that by powring out of the Phial of Gods wrath. of the sixt Aungell, the great flood Euphrates was dried vp, to let in the kinges of the East: the openyng of which Prophecy, may also more euidently appeare, in cōsidering the order and maner of the comming in of these Turks into Europe.

Some also apply to the Turkes certayne Prophecyes of Daniell, Ezechiell, and other places of the old Testamēt moe, which here I omit, for so much as the Prophecyes of the old Testament, if they be taken in their proper & natiue sence, after my iudgement, do extend no further, then to the death of our Sauior, and the end of the Iewes kingdome. Albeit herein I do not preiudicate to any mans opiniō, but that euery man may abound in his owne sense.

As touching the yeare and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahumet first began,* histories do not fully consent: Some affirming that it began, an. 621. and in the 10. yeare of Heraclius Emperour of Constantinople: in whyche minde is Ioannes Lucidus. As Munsterus counteth, it was in the yeare of our Lord 622. Martin Luther, & Iohn Carion referreth it to the 18. yeare of the raigne of Heraclius, which is the yere of our Lord 630. Unto the which nūber the computation of the Beast signified in the Apocali,* doth not farre disagree, whiche numbrell the name of the

Beast, with three Greeke letters 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 whiche Greeke letters after the supputation of the Greciās, make the number of 666.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahumet was borne in the country of Arabia, bordering on the East part of Iewry.* His father was a Syrian, or a Persian, his Mother was an Ismalite, which Ismalites being a people of Arabia, were called then Agarens: which term Mahumet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahumete mention was made before. pag. 124. where we shewed, how he making himselfe the highest Prophet of all other, yet denyeth not Christ to be an holy Prophet and next to him, and Moses also to be an other. Moreouer he denieth not Mary the mother of Christ to be a uirgin, and to haue conceived Christ by the holy ghost, affirming further that Christ in his owne person was not crucified, but another called Iudas for him. He greatly cōmendeth also Iohn the sonne of Zachary for a virgin: * whē he himselfe permitteth a man to haue 4. wiues, and as many concubines as he is able to finde: & sayth that where as Christ & other Prophets had the gift geuen them to worke myracles, he was sent by force of sword, to compell men to his religiō. The prodigious vanities, lyes, & blasphemies conteyned in his lawe called Alchoran, are rather to be laught at, then recited.

It is thought that Sergius a Nestorian, was a great doer with Māhumet, in cōtriuing of this lying Alchorā & so it doth well appeare by the scope and pretence thereof which especially tēdeth to this end, to take the diuinity frō the person of Christ, whom he graunteth notwithstanding to be a most holy man, & also that he is receiued vp to God and shall come agayne to kill Antichrist. &c.

Moreouer this ridiculous Alchoran is so blaunched & poudered with so diuers mixtures of y^e Christians,* Iewes and the Gentiles lawes, geuing suche liberty to all wantonnesse of flesh, setting vp circumcision, absteining from swines flesh and Iudaicall lotions, and so much standeth vpon Father Abraham, that it is supposed of some, this filthy Alchorā, not to be set out in the dayes of Mahumet, but that certayne Iewes had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death: and so semeth first to take his force about the number of yeres limited in the Apocal. as is aforesayd,* where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the beast: For it is the number of a man, and his number is sixe hundred, sixe score and sixe.

After this deuilish Mahumet had thus seduced y^e people, teaching thē that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword, to geue his law, & that they which wil not obey it must either be put to death or els pay tribute (for so be the wordes of the Alchoran) and after that hee had gathered strength about him, of the Arabians, which Arabians thē had occasion to rebell agaynst the Emperor, because theyr stipendes were not paid them of Heraclius the Emperors officers: he began to raunge with force and violence in the partes of Syria bordering nere vnto him,* and first subdued Mecha, then Damascus: and further encreasing in pow^rer, entred into Egypt, and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power agaynste the Persians, with whome Cosroes the king of Parsia, encountring with a puissaunt army,* ouerthrew the Saracens, & put Mahumet to fight. Of these Persians came the Turkes, which afterward ioining with the Saracens, maynteyned them agaynst the Christians. Ex Munster.

After the death of this beast, which as some say, was poisoned in his house succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer his [Page 737](#) father in law, or as Bibliander affirmeth, his sonne in law who tooke

vpon him the gouernmēt of the Saracens, and gotte the Cittye Gaza,* and besieged also Hierusalem two yeares. He raigned two yeares, hauing for his chiefe City, Damaicus.

After him folowed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

*The 4. king of the Saracens after Mahumet, was Odmē, then folowed Haly, & after him Muhantias: which after the siege of 7. yeares, obtained & got the christian Cittie of Cesaria: also ouercame the Persians, with theyr king Orunasda, and subdued that country to his law.

Thus the wicked Saracens in the space of 30. yeares subdued Arabia, got Palestina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia: whiche came directly to the 666. yeares, prophesied of in the Reuelations of S. Iohn, as is aforesayd. And not long after they proceded further, and got Affrike, and then Asia, as in the processe of theyr story shal appeare, the Lord willing.

Not long after, Heraclius Emperour of Constantinople, succeeded Constans his nephew, who in the 13. yere of his Empyre, fighting vnluckely agaynst the Saraceus in Licia, was ouerthrown of Muhamas aforesayd in y^e yere of our Lord 655. Which Constans if he were not prospered by the Lord in his warres, it was no great maruell, considering that he had slaine his brother Theodosius before at home: moreouer liued in incestious matrimony: also being inclined to certayne new sects, could not abide the cōtrary teachers, but slew thē which admonished him thereof. The sayd Constans going afterward to Italy, was also ouercome of the Lumbardes, &c. the Saracens after this victory spoyled also Rhodes.

Although these cursed Saracens, in these theyr greate victories & conquests, were not without domesticall seditions and deuisions among themselues,* yet the princes of y^e Saracens, being called then Sultans, had in theyr possession, the gouernment of Syria, Egypt, Affrike, & of a great part of Asia, about the terme of 400. yeares: till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Persia, fighting agaynst the Saracene of Babilon,* sought ayde of the Turkes, to fight with him agaynst y^e Sultane of Babilon. The which Turkes by litle and litle surprised vpō y^e Sultan of Persia, & not long after putting him out of place, vsurped the kingdome of Persia: which afterward went further, as ye shall heare the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turkes dominion.

These Turkes after they had thus ouercome great cōūtries and prouinces: and made their power large & mighty both in Asia and Europa, begā to deuide theyr kingdōes & countryes amongst themselues. But when they coulde not agree, but with deadly war contended for the boundes of those kingdomes and dominions: in the meane tyme 4. of the principall families conquering and subduing all the rest,* parted the whole Empyre amongst thēselues. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruell hatred, contētion, warre, and slaughter (no doubt by the iust iudgement of God against his blasphemous enemies) that there was no end thereof, vntill the remnant of the auncient Turkes was vtterly rooted out.

For it is euident, that there are fewe nowe remayning which are Turkes in deed by birth and bloud, and that the state of that great empyre is not upholdē, but by y^e strength an• power of souldyors, which haue bene Christians, and now are turned to Mahumetes Religion: so that euen

theyr owne naturall language is now out of vse amongst them, sauing in certayne families of theyr nobility and gētlemen.

These foure families aboue mentioned, with theyr Captaynes and armyes, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1330, went raging throughout all Asia and Europa, and euery one of them conquered some parte of the countreyes where they passed.

The causes of these great inuasiōs and victoryes were the dissention and discorde, falsehoode, idlenesse, vnconstancy, greedy auarice, lacke of trueth and fidelity among Christian men of al states and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilfull defection and backesliding of the Christians, the Turkish power did exceedingly encrease, in that many •rsiring the licentious life & liberty of war, & allured with the prosperous successe of thynges, forsooke the Church of God, and made themselues bond slaues to Mahumet and his deuilish sect: b•th because that fleshly liberty is delighting to all men, and partly also because, as fortune fauoreth, so commonly the willes of men enclyne: And agayne suche as be prophane and without the feare of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all ages, are wont commonlye to iudge of Religion, according to the successe of realmes and kingdomes. For if any, not onelye for the variety of opinions, but also for the diuersitye of euentes and fortune amongst men, haue inquired and doe inquire, whether there be any Church of God distyncte from other nations: what it is, and where it is: especially, for so muche as the greatest part of men, bothe in the olde time, when as the foure Monarchyes flourished in order, was ignoraunt of this doctrine, whiche is peculier to the Church alone, and nowe also the barbarity of Mahumet preuayleth & raigneth in the moste part of the worlde. And how standeth this with mans reason, that a small number both miserable and also feebled and broken with manye battayles, shoulde be regarded and loued of God, and the other flourishing in all wealth, prosperity, victoryes, authority and power, should be reiected and despised of God, seing there is no power and authoritye, but by the ordynaunce of God? Albeit therefore, the power of the Turkes hath bene, for these two hundreth yeares, of greater force, then any other Monarchy of the world besides: yet is there no Imperiall dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyrāny: but amongst those nations onely, where the heauenly doctrine of the Gospell is preached, & other disciplines necessary for the Church of God, & the common life of man mayntayned and regarded: where the lawes of God, & other honest and ciuil ordinaunces agreable to the same, doe flourish and reigne: where lawful iudgement is exercised: where vertue is honoured and rewarded: where sinne and wickednes is punished: where honest families are mayntayned and defended.

These thinges are not regarded amongst the Turkes,* the enemies of the sonne of God, and all lawfull Empyres: because they dissolue and reiect all godly focietyes, honest discipline, good lawes, policyes, righteous iudgemēts, the ordynaunce of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the Empyre of the Turkes bene hetherto, but moste deadly, cruell, and perpetuall warre, to worke all mischief, destruction and desolation? to subuert good lawes, Cityes, kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge theyr cruell power & dominion? The stay and strength whereof, is not loue and fauour proceeding of vertue and iustice, as in lawefull and well gouerned Empyres: but feare, violence, oppression, swarmes and infinite thousandes of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satans malice & fury. Whiche kinde of dominion and tyranny hath bene condēned by the voyce of God,* many yeares agoe: the

•stimonyes wherof the Lord would haue to remayne in the Church, least the godly being moued with y^e power & successe therof, should fall away and forsake the sonne of God.

Wherefore, let vs not se•ke for any Imperiall state in that barbarity: but let vs be thankefull, & acknowledge the great benefite of God, for that he hath reserued to vs certayne remnaunts of the Romain Empyre: And let vs call vpon him dayly with hartly petitions and grones & wyth zeale and loue to the house of God, that this Turkish power ioined with the malice of Sathan, against the sonne of God, preuayle not agaynst the poore congregations & litle remnant of his Church, as it hath hitherto done agaynst those strong and noble christian kingdoms and churches, were now we see the Turkish tyranny to raigne & Sathā to haue taken full possession.* Whose state was once farre better then ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible ouerthrowes and desolation Oh that we might foresee a litle the great daunger that hangeth ouer our heades. For though the Turke semeth to be farre of, yet doe we nourishe within our brestes at home, that maye soone cause vs to feele his cruell hand and worse, if worse may be, to ouerrunne vs: to lay our land waste: to scatter vs amongst the Infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the sonne of God.

Nowe,* although these 4. families aboue mentioned, long continued together in bloudy warres and deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all crueltye and tyranny, and subduing the other 3. familyes, tooke vpon him the gouernement alone,* and so became the first Monarch, or Emperour that reigned amōg thē, called Ottomannus, of whome all that raigned after him, were called Ottomanni. Who succeeding orderly of his lyne, haue occupied the same dominion and seate of the Turkes, from the yeare of our Lord 1300. vnto this present time, which haue bene to the number of 12. Of the which 12. in suche order as they liued and raygned, I intend (Christ so permitting) scuerally and compendiously something to entreat, briefly abstracting out of prolix and •edious writers, such specialties, as for vs Christians, shall be chiefly requisite to be knowne.

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Ottomannus the first great Emperour or Tyraunt of the Turkes.

THis Ottomannus was at the first, of poore estate and obscure amongst the common sort of men, comming of a base progeny and of rusticall parentes: but through hys valiantnes and actiuity in warre, he got him a great name amongst the Turkes. For he being a man of fearece courage, refusing no labour and delighting in warre, and gathering together by great subtlety and multitude of common souldiours, began to make warre, and by conquestes and victories, to aduaunce himselfe and his family. Fyrst he began to robbe and spoyle with a great band of rousers and afterward he attempted to set vpon all men. Neither did he vexe and destroy the Christians onely, but set vpon his owne nation also, and sought al occasion to subdue thē wholly vnto him. For now the Princes and Captaynes of the Turkes, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselues, in so much that they fell to domesticall and inward warre, with all the power they could.

*Ottomannus hauing this occasion very fitte & meete to accomlishe that whiche he long had sought for, gathering vnto him all such as he thought to be geuē to robbing and spoyling, and

sette all vpon mischiefe, in short time began to grow in authority, & first set vpon certayn townes, as he saw oportunitie to serue him: Of which townes, some he tooke by force, some by yielding, other some he spoyle & ouerthrew, to terrify the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the meane time, the discorde whiche was among the Christians, was no small aduantage to this Ottomannus,* by occasion whereof, he within x. yeres space, subdued Bethinia, and al the prouinces about Pontus: Also Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Greekes within Asia: Ancyra a City in Phrigia: Sinope a Cittye in Galatia: and Sabastia a Cittye in Capadocia: and thus still preuayling, he encreased in short time, to a mightye power, either through the secret iudgemente of God agaynst that nation, or els because God woulde haue them so farre & so cruelly to preuayle, for the punishmen of the sinnes of other nations, like as it was prophesyed before,* that such a kingdome there shoulde be of Gog and Magog.

This Ottomannus, after he had raigned 28. yeares in the yeare of our Lord 1527. dyed, and departed to his Mahumet, leauing behind him three sonnes, of whom Orchanes being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilest they were at variaunce betwene themselues.

Orchanes the second Emperour after Ottomannus.

ORchanes, the youngest of the sonnes of Ottomannus, after he had slayne his two brethren, tooke the regimēt of the turkes after his father. Who after he had drawne to him the hartes of the multitude, such as had theyr dispositions set vpon the licētious life of warre, cōuerted his power, further to enlarge his fathers dominion: winning & subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria: All whiche countreyes, being within the compasse of Asia, vnto the sea side of Hellespontus, and the sea Euxinus, he added to the Turkishe Empyre. Also he wanne Prusia: which was the metropolitane City of Bithynia, which thē he made the chiefe seate of the Turkes Empyre. Besides these moreouer, he conquered Nicea, & got Nicomedia: all which were before Christian Cities & regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian Princes in Grecia, to cease theyr ciuill warres, & to ioine & accord among themselues: Such debate and variaunce was thē betwene Cātacuzenus, on the Greeks part, & Paleologus y^e Emperour of Constantinople. By reason whereof, y^e turkes ayd was sent for out of Asia, to helpe our Christians one to kil an other, and at length to get all those partes of Europe from them both. Who if they had according to theyr profession, so well ioined in brotherly vnity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had Orchanes so preuayled in gettynge Prusia from the Grecians, neither had the turkes so soone presumed into Europe as afterward they did. Orchanes after these victories, when he had raigned 22. yeares was strokē, as some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusia. The opiniō of others is, that he fighting against the Tartariās, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slayne himselfe. an. 1349.

Amurathes the 3. after Ottamannus.

The Greeke writers doe holde that Orchanes had two sonnes, Solimannus, and Amurathes. Of which two, first Solimannus raigned albeit not long.* After him folowed Amurathes, who after that Asia nowe was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all meanes and wayes how to proceede further & to inuade Europe. To whose ambitious purpose the domestical warres of the Christians gaue vnprosperous occasion:* which occasion is thus declared. Certaine discord fell

betwene the princes of Greece (whose captayne was Cantaguzenus) and Paleologus Emperour of Constantinople. Wherupō Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his party good with the Grecians, moste vnwisely sent for Amurathes, to helpe him. Who beinge glad to haue such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to ayde him 12000. Turkes into Thracia: but first vsed all delayes he could, of crafty pollicy to the entent that the Greekes first shoulde waste theyr strength and power vpon themselues, whereby he might be more able afterward to set vpō them, and to accomplish his conceiued desire.

The Turkes thus being called into Europe, by the Christians, whether they tasting the sweetnesse of the soyle incensed Amurathes theyr Emperour to make inuasion,* or whether Amurathes of his owne head thought good to vse the time, in the yeare of our Lord 1363. he came himselfe ouer into Europe with 60000. Turkes, falling vpon the Grecians, being wasted and spent with their long warres and battelles before.* The pretence of the deuilishe Turke was to ayd and to assist the Emperour Peleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian shippes of the Ligurians for money were hyred to conduct them ouer, taking for euery souldiour a peece of gold. Ex Pucer. & alijs.

Thus the Turkes armye being conueyed ouer by the Grecianssea called Hellespōtus, first got Callipolis wyth other townes and Cityes bordering about the sea, & there planting themselues, and preparing shippes of theyr own for transporting theyr munitions out of Asia, aduaunced their power further into Thrasia, and there wanne Philip polis, then gotte Adrianopolis, which was not farre from Constantinople, & there Amurathes made his chiefe seat. Then beganne Paleologus the Emperour at lenth to bewayle his offer & couenaunt made with Amurathes.* Whē the Turkes had expugned thus a greate part of Thrasia, they extended forth theyr armye vnto Mysia, whiche they soone subdued: from thence proceding and conquering the Bessos and Triballos, they entred into Seruia, and Bulgaria: where they ioyning battell with Lazarus Despota prince of Seruia, and with other Dukes of Dalmatia, and Epirus, wanne of them the field, & put them to the worse: where Lazarus Despota being taken,* and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certayne faythfull client or seruauant, who to reuenge his maisters death, with a bolde courage, although seing death before his eies, yet ventred his life so far, that he came to the tyraūt & thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurathes reigned. 23. yeares, and was slayne in the yeare of our Lord 1372.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.*

The power of the Turkes began to encrease in Europe, what time Baiazetes, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entred the possession of the turkes kingdome. This Baiazetes had 2. brethrē, Solimānus & Saucos. Whiche Saucos had his eyes put out by his father for striuing for the kingdome. Solimānus was slayne of hys brother. Thus Baiazetes beginning his kingdome wyth the murther of his brother, reduced his Imperiall seat frō Prusia a city of Bithynia, vnto Adrianople, entēding with himself to subdue both Asia & Europe to his own power.* First he set vpon the Seruians and Bulgarians, thinking to reuenge his fathers death, where he gaue the ouerthrow to Marcus Despota, with all the nobility of the Seruians and Bulgarians, and put all those partyes vnder his subiection vnto the fines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreouer hee brought likewise vnder his yoke, onely Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he inuaded the residue of Grecia, preuaylyng agaynste the countryes

of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocides, and Attica, spoyling and burning as he passed, without anye resistance: and so returning with innumerable spoyle of the Christians, vnto Adrianople, layd siege to Constantinople the space of viij. yeares, and had expugned the same, but that Paleologus beyng brought to extremitye, was driuen to craue ayde of the frenchmen, and of Sigismund the Emperour. Who being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen & Germaines, came downe to Hūgaria & toward Seruia agaynst the Turk. Baiazetes hearing of theyr comming, raised his siege frō Cōstantinople, [Page 739](#) and with 60000. horsemen,* came to Nicopolis, where he encountring with them, ouerthrew all the Christian army, tooke Iohn the Captaine of the French power prisoner: Sigismundus, which before in the Councell of Constance, had burned Iohn Hus & Hierome of Prage, hardly escaped by flieng. Baiazetes after the victory got, carried away Duke Iohn, with fiue other in hands, into Prusia, where before his face he caused all the other christian prisoners to be cut in peeces.

Afterwarde the sayde Iohn beeing raunsomed wyth 200000. crownes, was deliuered. Some authors referre this story to the time of Calepinus, as followeth heereafter to be seene.

Baiazetes the cruell tirant after this victory wonne, & tirannie shewed vpon the Christians, returned againe to his siege of Constantinople, fully bending himselfe to cōquere and subdue the same, whiche thyng no doubt he had accomplished,* but that the prouidence of God had founde such a meanes that Tamerlanes King of Parthia, wyth an 100. thousand horsemen, and swarmes of footemen, like a violent floud, ouerrunning Asia, and pressing vpon Siria and Sebastia, had taken Orthobules the sonne of Baiazetes, prisoner, and afterward slue him, exercising the like crueltie vpō his prisoners, as Baiazetes had done before vpon the Christians: insomuch that he spared neither sexe nor age of the Turkish multitude: of whome he caused xij. thousand at one time, to be ouerriden and troden downe vnder his horses feete. By reason whereof, Baiazets the tirant was enforced to raise his siege from Constantinople, & to returne his power into Asia: where he, neere the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlanes.

The fight betweene these ij. was long & great on both sides, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1397. and the second yeare after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Ponnonia: but the victorie of this battaile fell to Tamerlanes at lēgth.* In the which battaile as Munsterus writeth, were slaine 2000000. Turkes. Among whome, Baiazetes the tirant, hauing his horse slaine vnder him, was takē prisoner, and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, was bounde in golden fetters, and so beeing enclosed in an iron grate (whome before all Grecia could not holde) was ledde about and shewed through all Asia, to be skorned & laught at: and moreouer was vsed in stead of a footestool to Tamerlanes,* or a blocke, as often as he mounted vpon his horse. Some adde also, that he was made like a dogge to feede vnder Tamerlanes table. The tirannie of which Baiazetes against the Christians, as it was not much vnlike to the crueltie of Ualerianus y^e Romaine Emperour aboue mentioned, pag. 73. so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant, for as Sapoires King of the Persians did then with Ualerianus in time of the eight persecution of the primatiue Church: so likewise was Baiazetes this persecutor worthely handled by Tamerlanes king of the Parthians, as in maner abouesayd.

Tamerlanes after thys conquest, passed wyth hys army into Mesopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriously subduing the Cities and munitions of the Turkes, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his maner was, the first day to go all in white attire, the

seconde daye in red, the third day in blacke: signifieng thereby mercie the first daye to them that yeelded, the seconde day the sword, the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victories, and spoiles gotten of the Turkes, he returned into his Countrey againe, and there dyed, anno 1402.

Seb. Munsterus writing of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his army 200. thousand men: * and that hee ouercame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia: and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing ouer the riuer Euphrates with sixe hundred thousande footemen, * and 4000000. horsemen, he inuaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the floud Tanais vnto Nilus in Egipt, and was called terror orbis, the terror of the world. He lefte behinde hym two sonnes, who falling in discorde for theyr possessions, lost all agayne that their father gotte.

In the meane time Baiazetes in the second yeare of his captiuitie, died, leauing behind him diuers sonnes, Iesus or Iosua the eldest, * Mulsumanes, Moses, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Iesus the yonger, Mustaphas, and Hali, of whome first Iesus the eldest was ouercome and slaine of Mulsumanes: which Mulsumanes afterwarde was deliuered to Moses his brother, and by him was slaine likewise, which Moses had also the like ende by his brother Calepinus, hauing his necke broken with a bowe string, which was then the vsuall maner among the Turkes in killing their brethren. The same Calepinus sparing onely the life of Mustaphas his other brother, condemned him to perpetuall prison. Iesus the yonger was Baptised, & shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such disorders and diuisions among the Turkes, what occasions were geuen to the Christias to haue recouered agayne of the Turkes that they had lost, if they had not bene either negligent, or in their own priuate warres otherwise occupied with themselues.

Calepinus the 5. after Ottomannus.

Calepinus, * or Celebinus was the sonne of Baiazetes, and of foure brethren, the eldest: who beyng all taken captiues of the Parthians, he onely escaped and obtained his fathers kyngdome. This Calepinus encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the Princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Grecians amongst them selues and other nations neare about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Seruiās, and Macedonians, euen to the tyme of Sigismundus. Which Sigismundus seyng now Baiazetes to be ouercome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turkes weakened in Europe, & hauing such occasion offered him, as it were from heauen, to destroy and vtterly to roote out, not onely out of Asia but also all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruell enemies to the name and Religiō of Christ: and also to reuenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army fighting before with Baiazetes at Nicopolis a Citie in Mysia: with great power made warre agaynst Calepinus at Columbatium a Towne in Seruia, * as is also before mentioned. pag. 719. but as vnluckely and with as little successe as he did before agaynst Baiazetes his father: For in that battaile were slayne of the Christiās to the nūber of xx. thousand, and the rest vtterly discomfited, the kyng himselve escaping so hardly, that he entred not agayne into his kingdome for the space of 18. monethes after. Some write that this was done vnder Baiazetes, other some referre this battaile to Amurathes, but howsoeuer it was, most pernicious was it to the Christiās. He raigned but vi. yeares and dyed very young. an. 1404.

Orchanes and Moses his vnclē, the sixt after Ottomanus.

AFTER the captiuitie of Baiazetes aboue mentioned,* histories diuersly doe dissent. The Greeke writers making no mention at al of Calepinus, onely make mētion of the sonnes of Baiazetes, & of the contention among them. vntill the time of Muhumetes. The Latin stories writing of the children of Baiezetes and of their succession, doe not therein agree, some affirmyng that Baiazetes had two sonnes, Orchanes surnamed Calepinus, & Mahumetes his brother, which within two yeares slew the sayd Calepinus, and entred his dominion. Other attribute to Baiazetes moe sonnes, as is aboue rehearsed. Some agayne doe geue to Baiazetes onely these two sonnes Celebinus and Mustaphas: and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had two sonnes,* to wit, Orchanes and Mahumetes, and adde moreouer that the sayd Orchanes beyng somewhat yōg, was slayne of his vnclē Moses, who gouerned but ij. yeares. For Mahumetes to reuenge his brothers death slew Moses, and inuaded his dominion. The Greeke stories make no mention at all of Orchanes.

Mahumetes the 7. after Ottomannus.

THIS Mahumetes,* whether he was the sonne of Baiazetes, or els of Calepinus, conuerted to himselfe alone the kingdome, or tyrāny rather, of the murdering Turks. Who afflicted the Christiāns with sore warres within Europe, especially the countrey called Wallachia, lying not farre frō the floud Danubius, betwene Hungary & Thracia. From thence he remoued into Asia, where he recouered diuers partes in Galatia, Pontus, Capadocia, Cilicia, whiche before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turkes.* This Mahumetes planted his chief Imperiall seate in Adrianople not farre from Constātinople, within the countrey of Thracia. In some writers the conflict betwene Sigismund & the great Turke, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahumetes, then to Calepinus: of which conflict mention is aboue made in the story of Sigismundus. pag. 719. This Mahumetes reigned,* as some say 14. yeares, & dyed in the yeare of our Lord. 1419. Other affirme 17. yeares.

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Amurathes the second, 8. after Ottmannus.

AMurathes, as Philelphus sayth, was the son of Celebinus, as Laonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Mahumetes: whose son soeuer he was, a wretched traunt he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct y^e sins of the Christians. In the story of Baiazetes, mentiō was made before of Mustaphas his sonne, who was cōdemned to perpetual prison by Calepinus his brother. This Mustaphas escaping out of his brothers prison, was conueied to the Grecians, where he remained long in custody, til at length they vnderstanding the purpose of Amurathes, set him vp with sufficient habiliments and furniture of war, to fight against the sayde Amurathes his nephew. But in cōclusion, he being not able to make his partie good, came into y^e hands of his enemie, and had his necke broke with a bowstring, after the maner of the Turkish execution.

The Grecians then terrified with this sinister aduersity required truce of the Turke, but when that would not be graunted, they procured vnto them Mustaphas, the other brother to Amurathes, being of the age of xiiij. yeares: who likewise being armed of y^e Grecians, got the City of Nice in

Bithynia, from Amurathes his brother: Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same Citie,* and brought to Amurathes: who caused him likewise to taste of the same whip, as the other Mustaphas had done before. Amurathes being now out of all feare and doubt of brethren & kinsfolke to rise against him, conuerted all his power against the Grecians: and first raunging through out Thracia, where diuers Cities yelded vnto him, which before belonged to the Emperour of Constantinople, frō thence he set forward to the noble and famous City Thessalonica, being then vnder the league and protectiō of the Uenetians. This Thessalonica is a Citie in Greece, bordering vpon Macedonia, to y^e Citizens wherof, S. Paule writeth, foreshewing vnto them in his 2. Epistle, of a defection to come before the comming of the day of the Lord 2. Thess. 2. By the which apostacie or defection, what the holy Apostle doth meane, this story of the Turkes maye easely declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the countrey about Athens, Beocia likewise, Aetolia, Acarnauia, with all the region beyond Peloponesus, vnto the coast of Corinth, to whome S. Paule also wrote other two epistles, were brought in bondage and slauery vnto the Turke.

In Epirus, and in that quarter that adioyneth to Macedonia, named Albania, reigned then one Ioannes Castriotus, who perceiuing himselfe too weake to matche with the Turkes power, made with the Turke this cōuention, that he should haue Croia, a famous Citie in Grecia, and also gaue to him his three sonnes for hostages, to wit, Constantinus, Reposius, and Georgius.

In this George, such towardnes of noble courage, such vigour of minde, and strength of body singularly did appeare, that the Turke caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and maner in his owne court: where he being traded vp, did so shoote vp as well in feates of actiuitie, as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals: in so much that he was named Scanderbeins, which soundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

After this Alexander was grown vp to mature ripenes of age, and was well trained vp in feates of war, he was sent out by the Turke,* to warre against Caramannus of Cilicia, The Turkes enemy. In which expedition he sped himselfe most manfully, fighting hand to hande, first with a footeman of Scythia, then with an horseman of Persia, being chalenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with y^e other: whom he so valiantly ouerthrew, y^e he wan great renoun with y^e Turk: In so much that he trusting to y^e Turks fauour, whē he heard of the decease of his father, durst aske of y^e Turke the graunt of his fathers dominion to be giuen vnto him. Which request, although Amurathes y^e Turke did not denie him: yet notwithstanding he perceiuing the matter to be dalied out with fayre wordes, by subtill meanes and policie * slipt out of the Turks court, and came to Epirus his owne inheritance: where first by forged letters he recouered Croia. The other Cities of their voluntary minde, yeelded themselues vnto him, who then gathering vnto him the people of Epirus & Macedonia (which were not so many in nūber, as with good willing minds they stucke vnto him) so māfully and valiantly behaued himselfe, that against all the puissance both of Amurathes, and also of Mahumete, he maintained his owne, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies, many yeres together. But to returne againe to the course of Amurathes victories, after he had thus preuailed (as is before signified) agaynst the East parts of Europa and Grecia,* and had conuented thus for the dommion of Epirus, he inuaded Iliricum, (otherwise called now Sclauonia) conteining in it Dalmatia, Croacia, Isiria, and Liburnia: which Countreys after he had spoiled and wasted, he continued his course to Albania, and Bosna. In which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away an

innumerable multitude of captiues, he moued further to Walachia and Seruia, vpon hope to conquere all Pannonia.

There reigned at the same time in Seruia a certayne prince named Georgius Despota,* who made great sute to the Turke for truce & peace, promising to giue his daughter to mariage: for by y^r Turkes lawe they may marry as many wiues as they lust. It was not long after Amurathes had married the daughter of Despota, but he contrary to his league and promise, made warre vpon Despota his father in law, and expelled him out of his kingdome, taking from him diuers Cities, as Scopia, Nouomonte, Sophia, and all Misia. Georgius himselfe fled into Hungary, leauing behind him his son to defend y^e town of Sinderonia. Amurathes vnderstāding of the flight of Despota his father in law, compassed the Citie of Sinderonia with a strōg siege, which whē he in few daies had expugned, he tooke his wiues brother, sonne of Despota, and without regard of all mercy and affinitie, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turkes, put out his eies, with a basen red hoat set before his eies, and after that led him about with him, in derision and despite of his cowardly father. Ex Christof. Rhicherio Gallo. & Gasp. Peuc & alijs.

Seruia beeing thus wonne and gotten, Amurathes thinking to go further into Hungary, besieged the Citie called Belgradum, and no doubt, had also suppressed the same, had not the prouidence of God found a meanes, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lacke of victuall and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

In the meane time Ioannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before,* pag. 720.) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recouered parte of Seruia, and all Muldauia: against whome, Amurathes the Turke, with a mighty army, moued into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power and ayde of Ladislaus King of Polonia (but specially by the power of the Lord) did soone infringe the puissance of the Turke, and gaue him the ouerthrow, recouering vnto the Christians the greatest part of Seruia and Bulgaria.

In this battaile Huniades had fiue sundry conflictes with the Turks vpō one day,* and with fiue victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and ouerthrow the great captaine of Amurathes, called Bassa, the Duke of Anatolia (which is otherwise named Asia Minor) that he slue of the Turks that day, to the number of 30. thousand. Amurathes, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his feare, with stout countenance sent for Carambeius his principal stay & captaine, with a new power brought out of Asia, to assist him in his warres. Then Carambeius, in y^e downes of Trasiluania, Ladislaus the foresaid king of Polonie (the Lord so working) through the industrie of Ioannes Huniades,* so receiued & with such celerity oppressed him vnprovidēd, that all his stout & sturdy army either was slaine downe right, or else put to flight & disparcled, Carambeius the Captaine being himselfe taken prisoner in the same field.

These victories of Huniades strooke no little terror to Amurathes, in somuch y^t for distresse of minde he was ready to destroy himselfe (as some do write) but being cōfirmed by Helibeus Bassa his cōsailer, he kept himselfe wⁱn y^e streites of y^e moūt Rhodope. Who then hearing that Caramannus inuaded the same time the countrey of Bithinia and Pontus in Asia:* was glad to take truce wyth Ladislaus and Huniades vpon such conditions as they listed to make themselues: which conditions were these, that Amurathes should depart clearely from all the region of

Sernia,* and should remoue from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the Castles and forts of the same: Also he should restore George Despota (which is to say) Prince of Seruia vnto his possession, and set his children free, whome he had in captiuitie, and restore them to their inheritance. Item, that he shoulde make no more claime nor title to the countrey of Moldonia aboue mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgrauia which he had lost:* and that he should desist heereafter from all wrongs and iniuries against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turke being agreed, so was truce concluded on both parts for tenne yeares, and with solemne othe betweene them confirmed.

[Page 736](#)*This done, Amurathes the tyraunt addresseth himselfe toward Asia, to resist the inuasion of Caramannus aforesaid. At what time Pope Eugenius so soone as he heard the Turke to be returned into Asia, sendeth Iulianus Caesarianus his Cardinall (whose story is before touched, page. 683.) vnto Ladislaus the foresaid king, with full dispensation and absolution, to breake his othe and league wyth the Turke, promising moreouer great hope of aide, if he would go in armes stoutly against the tirant.

Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilēt sea of Rome,* neither was there euer any war prospered, which was taken in hande by the Popes counsaile: so was there neuer any counsaile of the Pope, that brought with it more detriment to Christianitie, then this. But the Pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully breake promise with Iohn Hus, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to obserue anye league or truce taken with the Turke: but it turned much otherwise then the Popes blinde braines imagined, as by the sequele is to be seene. For Ladislaus being thus excited by the vnadvised and sinister instigation of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce stablished a little before, set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Walachia and Burgaria, came to Uarna, a towne of Bulgary, where he fell sicke.

It was not long but the Turke hauing thereof intelligence, left his warres begon with Caramannus in Asia, and with great iourneis made haste into Europe, passing ouer by y^e straites neare to Calipolis, where all y^e Italian navy still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardlines, would not stirre one ore to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thrasia, vsing such celeritie as no mā looked for, within viij. daies he was in Burgaria, & there encamped himselfe against Ladislaus. The day of battaile being set, the armies ioined on both sides. Huniades was himself there present, but all the matter was ruled by Iulianus the Cardinall, and y^e Popes Clergy. The fight cōtinued three daies and three nightes together, with great courage & much bloudshed on each side: insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of bloud. They semed at the first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first ranks of the Turkes. But the Priests and Prelates which were at the field (which had bene more fitte to haue bene in the Church) seeing the Turkes to begin to flie, vnskilfully left their array to pursue the enemy, so that they leauing the other standings of the Christians naked, gaue great aduantage to the Turks, with their darts & shot to disturbe the Christian rankes. By the which occasion, Amurathes inclosing y^e Christiās with his army roūd about, obtained the victory. In the which field, Ladislaus the yong king of Polony, hauing his horse first killed vnder him, was strooken downe,* & slaine. The Popes Bishops flieng to saue themselues, fell into the marishes, and there were destroied, susteining a durtey death condigne to their filthy falshode and vntruth. Iulianus y^e Cardinall, which with the Pope was the chiefe doer in breaking the league, in the way

was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skinne. Of the rest of y^e army that escaped by flieng, part was drowned in y^e marishes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold, watching & wādering in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the mercifull prouidence of God, being reserued to the further profite and commoditie of Christendome.

This Iohn Huniades the worthy warriour was borne in Walachia, being Earle of Bistrice, of all Captaines y^t euer went against the Turkes, most famous & singular, prudent in wit, discret in counsaile, expert and politike in warre, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whom wāted almost no good propertie requisite in a warlike Captaine. Against two most mighty and fierce tirants, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lords might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terroure of the Turkes. Like as Achilles was vnto y^e Grecians, so was he set vp of God to be as a wal or bulwarke of al Europe against the cruell Turkes and enemies of Christ, and of his Christians. Neither was there any King or Prince that euer achieved such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for y^e publike vtilitie of all Europe, as did he, and that not onely in the daies of this Amurathes, but also of Mahumetes his successour, as heereafter remaineth further to be seene. This battaile of Amurathes against the Christians at Uarna in Bulgaria, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1404.

Amurathes by reason of this victorious ouerthrow againste the Christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his iourney incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was,* otherwise called Scanderbecius. And first commyng to Peloponesus, and breaking downe the wall about the straits of Corinthe, encoūtered with the brother of the Emperour of Constantinople, whom with his sodeine commyng he oppressed, with all the Greekes army, ere they were prouided. Paleologus the Emperour after that, did build vp the wall againe: but at the Turkes bidding he was cōpelled to vndoe it agayne: which wall afterward the Uenetians did repayre. After the demolitiō of the wall, Amurathes entring into * Peloponesus, tooke diuers townes and Cities, as Sycione, and Patris, and moreouer made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries vnto him.

The next yeare after this battaile of Amurathes fought agaynst the Christians at Uarna, the Turke beyng now about the partes of Grecia, purposed to bend all his force and mayne agaynst the cuntry of Epyrus belongyng to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mētion was made before, how he was brought vp in the Turkes Court, from whence we declared also how subillie he conueyed him selfe, and came to the possession of his owne patrimony of Epyrus.* Which Epirus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord also had raysed vp the same tyme with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turkes) valiaūtly defended agaynst all the power of Amurathes: In so much that he discomfited and vanquished vij. of the most expert Bassas or Dukes of the Ottomā Emperour, one after an other, with all their armies of most piked and chosen souldiours, dislodged them of their tentes, and expelled them vtterly out of all Epyrus. Also when Amurathes himselfe with his whole puissance, had enuironed about the Citie of Croia, with cruell siege and ordinaunce out of measure, yet notwithstanding the sayd Scāderbeius (through the power and blessing of the Lord) beate him out of the field, & repulsed him from his siege.

After this discomfiture,* the saying is that Amurathes, to keepe his vow made before, after his victory at Uarna, gaue himselfe into a religious order, liuyng a contemplatiue life with certaine other Priestes ioyned vnto him, in the forest of Bithynia, renouncing the gouernement of his realme to the handes of Haly one of his Princes (for thou must vnderstād, good Reader, that the Turkes also be not without their sondry sectes of Religion, no more then we Christians are without our Friers and Monkes.)

In the meane tyme while Amurathes this Turkishe tyrāne was cloystered vp in his Monkish Religion,* Ioannes Huniades in the kyngdome of Hungary, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great sty•re against the Turkes. By reason wherof Amurathes was takē againe from his Monkish vow and profession, & brought agayne into the field: For first Huniades had rescued the whole coūtrei of Hungary: and had propulsed moreouer all the might of the Turkes farre frō Seruia.* And although the peuishe practise of Grgins Prince of Serbia had oft tymes disclosed his counsailes vnto the Turkes, whereby twise he was brought in daunger, yet notwithstanding (through the Lordes gracious protection) he was preserued, and deliuered by the sayd George vnto the Hungarians agayne, & after that manfully vāquished the Turkes, so that they had no resting place about those parts of Seruia and Bulgaria, so long as he liued.

On the other side in Grecia,* Castriotus Scāderbeius so foyled the Turke in defence of his coūtrei Epirus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes so short, that not ouely he was not able to wyne any great Towne in all Epyrus: but also commyng from Epyrus in the straites, was so intāgled by Castriotus, that he was forced to geue bataille: In the which bataille he was so vanquished, & most part of his army slayne,* that for grief and sorrow conceaued, he fallyng into a rauyng sicknesse, was trāsported out of his pauillon vnto Adrianople, and there in fury & madnesse dyed, after he had reigned 34. yeares, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1450.

This Amurathes first ordained the order of Ianizarites. Which were the men children of such Christians as he conquered & tooke captiue: whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ, wherein they were Baptized & brought them vp in Mahumetes law, & exercised them in the same feates of warre as he did his owne people:* and after that they came to mens estate, he named them Ianizari (that is to say) souldiours of a straunge countrey, and made them to garde his person. They weare on their head is stead of an helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of woll, and in so manifolde aboute their head, that it can not bee pierced with a sword. It hāgeth downe on the backe with [Page 742](#) a taile, and before on the forehead it is garnished with golde and siluer. They were woont to vse bowes and launces in the fielde, but nowe they vse dagges as oure horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but 8000. in theyr garrison, but now they be twise so many. This of all bondage and seruitude that the Christians suffer vnder the Turke is most intollerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly mindes behold more to their grieffe, then to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptised, and by whose bloud they should eternally be saued, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and to be professed enemies of Christ and hys Church,* to make warre against heauen, and to perish euerlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and beholde our owne children borne of our owne bodies, to become our mortall and cruell enemies, and to cut our throtes with their owne hands? This seruitude of minde is farre

greater then death it selfe, which if oure Princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bende their whole force and power against this cruell enemy.

Mahumetes second, the ix. after Ottomanus.

AMurathes left behind him three sonnes, Mahumete borne of the daughter of Despota, Prince of Seruia, being twentie yeares of age, the second sonne called Turcines, the third named Calepinus. This Turcines being an infant, and but eighteene moneths old, was strangled at the commandement of the Turke, by his seruant Moses, himselfe being there present, and beholding the horrible murther. And when Moses the executour of y^e murther had desired him not to pollute his handes with the bloud of his brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turkes, that all the other breethren being destroyed, none should be lefte alieue but one to gonerue the Empire. Wherefore Moses was commaunded by the tirant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the childe vnderstoode, she crieng out, and almost mad for sorrowe, cursed the tirant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her request being desirous to be reuenged vpon the executour of her sonnes death, deliuered the said Moses bound into her hands, who then in the presence of the tirant, thrust him to the hart with a knife, and opening his side, tooke out his liuer, and threw it to the dogges to be deuoured.

The third sonne called Calepinus, which was but sixe moneths old, the foresaid Amurathes his father commended to the custody of Halibassa one of his Nobles,* who to gratifie and please y^e tirant, betrayed the infant, & brought him vnto him, and thereupon he at the tirants commandement was strangled. Some affirme, that in the stead of Calepinus, another child was offered vnto the tirant, and that Calepinus was conueied to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople, was caried to Uenice, and then to Rome to Pope Calixt, where he was baptised, and afterward came into Germany to Fridericke the Emperour,* and there was honorably entertained, & kept in Austrich during his life. Where note how the mercifull prouidence of God, whom he list to saue, can fetch out of y^e diuels mouth. And note moreouer touching the foresayde Halibassa the betraier of y^e infant, how he escaped not vnreuēged: For Mahumet vnderstanding him to be a man of great substance and riches, thorough forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to haue his riches: for this tirant was geuen to insatiable auarice. Thus this bloody Mahumete began his regiment with horrible murther, after y^e example of other cursed tirants his predecessours.

Although this Mahumete, notwithstanding that hee came of a Christen mother, being the daughter of Despota prince of Seruia, and by her was brought vp and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of Christian religiō and maners, yet he soone forgetting all, gaue himselfe to Mahumetes religion, and yet so, that he being addicted to neyther Religion, became an Atheist, beleeuing and worshipping no God at all, but onely the Goddess of good Fortune, irriding and mocking y^e mindes and iudgemēts of men, which beleue that God by his prouidence, gouerneth and regardeth the state of humaine things on earth.

After that this Mahumete heard of the victories and conquests of other his predecessours, and had vnderstanding how Baiazetes lay eight yeares about Constantinople, and could not winne it: he dispraising Baiazetes, and disdaining that so long time should be spent aboute the siege thereof,* and yet no victory gotten, bent all hys studie and deuce how to subdue the same. But first hauing

a priuie hatred against the Citie of Athens, and hauing his hands lately embrued with the bloud of his brethren, this murdering Mahumete first of all taketh his v•age to subuert and destroy the Citie aforesaid, being a famous Schoole of all good learning and discipline. Against the which Citie he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good letters,* that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stand, because that Citie was a good nurse and fosterer of good Artes and Sciences: wherefore, he commaunded the Citie to be rased, and vtterly subuerted: and wheresoeuer any monuments or bookes could be found, he caused them to be cast into durty sinkes, and the filthiest places of the Citie, or put to the most vile vses that could be deuised,* for extirping and abolishing of all good literature, and if he vnderstood any to lament the case and ruine of that noble place, those he greeuously punished and put to death.

Thus the famous and auncient Schoole of Athens being destroied and ouerthrowne, he returned his army & power into Thracia, where in all haste he gathering hys power together both by sea & by lād,* with a mighty multitude compassed the Citie of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. and in the 54. day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperour Cōstantinus slaine. As touching the cruelty and fearcenes of the Turkes in getting of this City, and what slaughter there was of men, women, and children, what calamitie and misery was there to be sene, for somuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof,* hath bene made before, pag. 708. it shall be superfluous now to repeate the same. This only is not to be omitted touching three principall causes of the ouerthrow of this City: whereof was the first the filthy auarice of those Citizens, which hiding their treasures in the groūd, would not imploy the same to y^e necessary defence of their City. For so I finde it in story expressed, that when the Turke, after the taking of y^e City, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himselfe (as the truth was) the treasures and riches to be hidden vnder the ground, commaunded the earth to be digged vp, and the foundations of the houses to be searched: where when he had found treasures incredible,* what (quothe he) how could it be that this place could euer lacke inuention and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great riches as heere is, and plenty of all things? The second cause was the absence of the Nauy of the Uenetiās, which if they had bene ready in time, might haue bene a safegard against the inuasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered vpon occasion incident in stories, either for that the City of Constantinople fifteene yeares before did yeeld to the Bishop of Rome,* as is before to be seene, pag. 76. or else because (as in some writers it is euident) that Images were there receaued & maintained in their Churches, and by the Turkes the same time destroyed.

Ioannes Ramus writing of the destructiō of this Citie,* amongst other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifixe,* being there in y^e high temple of Sophia: which Image the Turke tooke, and writing this superscription vpon the head of it Hic est Christianorum Deus. 1. This is the God of the Christians, gaue it to his souldiours to be scorned, and commaunding the sayde Image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made euery man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast (good Reader) by the way to note,* what occasion of selaunder and offence we Christians geue vnto the barbarous Infidels by this our vngodly superstition, in hauing Images in our temples, contrary vnto the expresse commandement of God in his word. For if Saint Paule writing to the Corinthians, faith: we knowe Christ now no more after the flesh: how much lesse then is Christ to be knowne of vs in blind stockes and Images set vp in our Temples, seruing for none other purpose, but for the Infidels to laugh both vs & our

God to scorne,* and to prouoke Gods vengeance? which by y^e like example (I feare) may also fall vpon other Cities, where such Images and Idolatrous superstition is maintained, whereof God graunt Uienna to take heede betime, which hath bene so long, and yet is in such great danger of the Turke, and polluted with so many Images, and plaine Idolatric.

In summa,* to make the story short, such was the cruelty of these Turkes in winning the Citie, that when Mahumete had geuen licence to the souldiours three dayes together, to spoile, to kill and to do whatsoeuer they listed, [Page 743](#) there was no corner in all Constantinople, which did not either flow with Christian blood, or else was polluted w^t abhominable abusing of maids, wiues & matrones, without al reuerēce of nature. Of the which Citizēs, some they murthered, some they rosted vpon spits, of some they fleyed off their skin, hanging thē vp to consume with famine, of othersome they put salt into their woūds, the more terribly to torment them, insomuch, that one of them contended with another who could deuise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments,* exercising such crueltie vpon them, that the place where the Citie was before, seemed now to be no citie, but a slaughter house or shambles of Christian mens bodies. Amōg the dead bodies, the body also of Constantine the Emperour was found: whose head being brought to Mahun 〈◇〉, he commaunded to be caried vpon a speare through the whole City for a publike spectacle & decision to all the Turkish army. And because he would diminish the number of the captiues, which seemed to him to be very great, he neuer rose from his table, but he put euery day some of the nobles to death, no lesse to fill his cruell minde with blood,* then his body was filled with wine: which he vsed so long to do as any of the nobles of that Citie was left aliue: And of the other sorte also, as the stories do credibly report, there passed no day, in the which he did not orderly slay more then three hundreth persons, the residue he gaue to his rascal souldiours to kill, and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Constantinus the sonne of Helena, was the first Emperour of Constantinople, so Constantinus the sonne also of Helena, was the last Emperour thereof.

Not farre from the said Citie of Constantinople, there was another little City called Pera, & once called Gallatia, situated by the Sea side: who hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seing the City flaming with fire, sent certain of their chiesmē with speed to Mahumete, declaring vnto him that they neither had sent any helpe to the City of Constantinople, neither yet wrought any detrimēt to any of his army: wherefore they desired & praied him, that as they would gladly yeeld vnto him, so he would be fauourable vnto thē and spare them, & not to punish the giltles with the guilty. Mahumete, although he was not ignoraunt that for feare, rather then of any good will, they submitted themselues, and that they would rather resist him if they had ben able, yet he receiued for that time, the submission of the messengers: but sending wyth them his Embassadour into the Citie, he commanded also his army to follow withall, and to enter with him into the City, which, although it was greatly suspected & m•slied of y^e Citizens, yet they durst no otherwise do, but suffer them to enter: which beeing done, the Embassadour gaue a signe to y^e souldiours, euery man to do whatsoeuer he was bidden, of whom, some ranne to the walles, some to the temples and Churches, some to y^e streetes & houses of the City, plucking all things downe to y^e grounde, sacking and raūging with no lesse fury and abhominable filthines, then they had done at Cōstantinople before, sauing only that they abstained frō murther:* but the same day letters came from Mahumete to the Embassadour, that he should spare none, but destroy and murther all that euer were in the Citie: which message, because it seemed to the Embassadour to be too cruell, forsomuch as they had yeelded thēselues, he staid his hand a little

vntill night came. In the meane time drunken Mahumete comming something to himselfe (whome drunkennes had before ouercome) sent his second letters to reuoke the first. Where againe is to be noted the mercifull prouidence of God towards his people in their deserued plagues, by staieng the handes, and brideling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

Mahumete thus beeing in himselfe not a little aduanced and eleuated by the winning of Cōstantinople,* where he had now made the Imperiall seat of the Turkish dominion, the third yeare next folowing, to aduēture more masteries, he set out to y^e siege of Belgradum, a City of Hungary, lieng neare to the bankes of Danubius, thinking to haue the like successe there, as he had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit through the Lords disposing, it sel out much otherwise. Within the Citie of Belgradum the same time of the siege thereof, was Ioannes Huniades the valiant Captaine, of whom in diuers places mentiō hath bene made before, who with a sufficient strength of piked souldiours, albeit in number nothing equal to the Turkes army, valiātly defended the City with great courage, and no lesse successe. In the which siege great diligēce was bestowed, and many of the Turkes slaine. Amōg whom also Mahumete himselfe, being stricken with a pellet vnder the left arme, was faine to be caried out of y^e field for halfe dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turkes the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much vnder the number of 40. thousād,* besides the losse of all their ordinaunce, which the Turkes in hast of their flight, were forced to leaue behinde them.

Hieronymus Zieglerus writyng of the siege of this Belgradum,* addeth moreouer, that whē Mahumete was at the siege therof, seyng the towne to be so small & w^ake of it selfe, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he staryng and faryng like a mad man, commaunded all his brasen peeces to be layd, to battare downe the walles and Towers of the Towne: So that the Christians within the walles were vehemently distressed, for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Amōg y^e rest of the Christians which defended the towne,* Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mentiō of a certaine Bohemian, much worthy of his condigne cōmendation: Who beyng vpon the walles, and seyng a Turke with a bāner or ensigne of the Turkes to be gottē vp, by the sight wher of the whole Towne was in daunger to be cōquered and taken, runneth vnto the Turke, and claspyng him about the middle, speakyng to Iohn Capistranus standyng by low, asking him, whether it were any daunger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mynde, did cast himselfe with that dogge (so he termed him) downe headlong from the wall, to be slayne with him: what should become of his soule, and whether he might be saued or not. To whō when the other had aunswered that hee should be saued without doubt, hee estsoones tombleth him selfe with the Turke, downe of the wall, where by his death he saued the same tyme, the lyfe of all the Citie: Mahumete beyng so wounded and in dispayre of wynnyng the Citie, was caried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length commyng agayne to himselfe,* partly for feare and partly for shame, was ready to kill himselfe. And thus was y^e towne of Belgradum at that tyme rescued through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of Ioannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

This siege of Belgradū begā in the yeare of the Lord. 1456. and endured.* 46. dayes. At the which siege were nūbred of the Turkes. 200. thousand. Of whom more then 40. thousand (as is aforesayd) were slayne: where the victory fell to the Christians through the prosperous successe geuen of God to Ioannes Huniades, & Capistranus. Which Huniades not long after the sayd

victory,* through the importune labour and trauaile in defendyng the sayd towne, was taken with a sore sicknesse and thereof departed, to whose valiaunt prowes and singular courage, stories doe geue great land and commendation.

Mahumetes the Turke after this done in Europe,* returned into Asia to warre, with Vsumcassanes a Persian, one of the Turkes stocke with whō he had three battailes. The first was about the Riuer Euphrates, where the Turke lost 10. thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field likewise he was discomsited. The third battaile was at Arsēga, where through the terrible noyse of the brasen peece, the Persian horses disturbed the cāpe, and so was Vsumcassanes ouercome.*

From thence the Turke reduced agayne his power against the Christians, and first subdued vnto him Synope and all Paphlagonia: Also the kingdome of Trapezunce, which he besiegyng both by land and water, wanne from the Christians, and sent Dauid the kyng of the same with his two sonnes and Calus his vnle, vnto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, & all the stocke of the Conneni, which were of the kynges stocke, by the Turke were destroyed. Whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1459. at which tyme this mischieuous Mahumete was first saluted Emperour.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians Corinthus and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of Christen men: in somuch that the whole Citie of Mitylene was vtterly to the ground almost destroyed. The Isles also of Lemnus & Lesbos he wanne from the Venetians: In the which Ilād of Lesbos is the Citie of Mitylene aforesayd.

Not farre frō this Ile of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a countrey in Asia toward the sea side bordering next to Europe,* called Mysia, or of some called Moesia, wherein stode the Citie of Troye. This countrey Mahumete coueting to wyne rather by policie & falshode, then by doubtfull daunger of warre, secretly sent for the Prince therof to come to speake with him for certaine causes (as he pretended) which should concerne the profite and commoditie of thē both. Which when the king of Mysia, either for shame would not, or for feare durst not denye, he came to him as to conferre vpon necessary affaires in commō to them appertaining. Mahumete when he had brought that to passe [Page 744](#) which he would, he caused the king to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slaine, or rather torne in peece: and so inuading the land of Misia, exercised the like tyrannie vpō all his kindred and affinitie.

This Misia by fraude being taken and lost, Mahumete flieth agayne toward Europe, where he assailed the Iland Euboia, otherwise called Nigroponte, making a bridge of a marueilous frame ouer the sea Euripus, to conuey ouer his army out of Grecia, and there laide his siege to the Citie Chalcis,* which at length in thirty dayes he ouercame, not without a great slaughter of his army: who in y^e siege thereof is said to haue lost 40. thousand of y^e Turkes. But y^e slaughter of the Christians was greater: for when the City was won,* the tirant commanded most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole citie, but to be put to the sword, whosoever was aboute the age of twenty yeares. This cruelty was shewed of y^e barbarous Tirant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turkes were slaine at the siege therof,* being reckned (as is said) to 40. thousand. In the fierce siege of this Citie, it is memorable that is in stories recorded, how that the women of that Citie,* seeing the men to begin to faint, and the Citie to lie in present danger, tooke the

matter themselves in hand, and plaieng the men, went to the walles, and there defended the Citie with no lesse trouble to the enemie, then the men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any mans strength and diligence could do anie good. A great cause of the losse of this Citie and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians nauy: who being there present, and hauing prosperous winde, yet durst not, or would not aduenture vpon the Turkes bridge, which if they had done, the Iland of Euboia and Chalcis, had not so soone bin ouermatched of the Turks.

Thus all the East partes of Grecia being subdued to y^e Turkish tiraunt, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, & Euboia,* shortly after folowed also Peloponesus, brought in like subiection to the Turke. Within this Peloponesus were these prouinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Archadia, &c. The Venetiās in this Peloponesus had great possessions, and had made vp the wall againe toward the Sea side, neare to the streites of Corinth before mentioned, where for the more speede of the worke, they had 30. thousand workemen to the building thereof, which when it came to the knowledge of the Turke, he brast into the countrey of Peloponesus wyth an army of 80. thousand, and first wasting the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and making a greate slaughter of the Venetians, in short time he brought the whole dominiō of Peloponesus vnder his yoke & tribute.

Long it is and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahumete gotten against the Christiās both by land & sea: who after he had ouercome the Ile Lesbos aboue mentioned, and had cruelly slaine Nicolaus Catalusius the Prince thereof, turning his army towarde the sea of Pontus Euxinus,* got the countrey of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was taken betweene Georgius Scanderbeius, and the Turke for ten yeares: which truce being expired, Mahumete leaueth no time vnspēt, no diligence vnsought, but maketh all his power to Epyrus & Albania, which he after long fatigation of siege, at length ouercame and subdued. In y^e which tract also he wanne from the Venetians, Scodra, Lysson and Dinastrum. Notwithstanding, when Scanderbeius the valiant Captaine had done against the Turke what in mans strength did lie, yet being ouermatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibilitie to make his partie good,* was forced to depart his countrey as an exile, and went to Italy, & there being sent for by y^e Popes letters, openly declared not to be possible otherwise to resist y^e furious rage of the barbarous Turkes by the strength of any one king or prince, vnlesse all Europe, with one cōsent shuld ioine their power & force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius, a man of puissant courage, being driuen out of his countrey, continued his age in exile. Whose courage & vehemency is reported to haue bin such, that in fighting against y^e barbarous enemie, for very egernes of spirit,* his blood was seene to burst out of his lippes. It is testified also of him, that being prouoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, neuer turned his backe, neyther yet was euer wounded, but onely once with a lyght shaft in his foote, neither euer set against the Turke wyth moe then 6000. horsemen,* and 3000. footemen: who is said with his owne hand to haue slaine aboue 2000. Turkes, whome with such violence he did strike, that many of thē he did cleane asunder from the head to the middle.

Neither yet was the vnsatiable greedines of thys Turkish helbound with all this satisfied, but still he conceiued greater things in his minde, thynking to conquere the whole world, and so passing forward towards Europe, subdued all Illiria, slaieng Stephanus the King of Bosna,* about the yeare of our Lord 1463. But afterwarde Mathias Coruinus, the sonne of Huniades afore

mentioned, recouered againe the said kingdome of Bosna, with many other Cities neare vnto Croacia and Dalmatia, and moreouer repulsed Mahumete the Turke in his second siege of Iaiza, taking his tents and munitions lefte behinde him.

Moreouer, the sayd Mahumete passing vnto Walachia, set vpon Dracula the Prince thereof, by which Dracula, although he had no great power of souldiours, yet he so inclosed & enuironed y^e Turke, that he had almost lost his whole army, of whom a great part notwithstanding was destroyed, and many of his ensignes taken. Into Dalmatia was sent two Captaines of the Turke, who fighting against the prouinces of y^e Venetians,* made great spoyle and waste about y^e regions of Stiria & Carinthia: where also the Venetian power was discomfited, & Hieronimus Nouell their Captaine slaine. At length truce was taken betweene y^e Turke & the Venetians, vpon this conditiō, that Scodra, Tenarus, & Lemnus should be yeilded vnto him, and that they shoulde pay to him yearly 8. thousand duckets for the free passage of their Marchants.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahumete himselfe saileth ouer into Asia, sending two of his great captaines abroad to sundry places: of whom, Mesithes was sent against y^e Rhodes w^t a mighty nauie. The other called Acomates Bassa was sent into Italy to take Rome and all the West Empire.* Concerning the viage of which two Captaines, this was the euent, that Mesithes after his great trauaile and bloudy siege against y^e Rhodians, was faine to retire at length with great shame and losse. The other Captaine Acomates (as is said) was sent into Italy, with a nauie of a hundreth Ships, and fifteene thousand men,* who by the way in his sailing got Leucadia (which now they call S. Maure) Cephalenia, and Zacynthus, and sayling by Faelona, arriued in Apulia, and so passing along by the sea side, spoiled and wasted diuers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hidruntum, a City of Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he ouercame and subdued, and brought such a terroure into all Italy, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindfull of himselfe, with all haste fled out of Rome. After the Citie of Hydruntum was taken, and the Turkes placed in the same, which was the yeare of our Lord 1481. Mathias Coruinus Huniades son was sent for by the Italians, to set vpon the said Citie: vnto the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his returne with 25. thousand Turkes, in the meane time newes came y^t Mahumete the great Turke was dead, by reason wherof the siege brake vp, and y^e Citie was deliuered to the Italians againe,* and so was Italy deliuered at that time out of that present perill and daūger. This Mahumete wanne from the Christians 200. Cities, and twelue kingdomes, and two Empires, which he ioined both together. He died in the yeare abouesayd, anno. 1481.

Baiazetes second, the 10. after Ottomannus.

MAhumetes aforesaid had three sonnes, of the which, Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousnes & carnall iust, died before his father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. Aboute whom, great cōtrouersie arose amongst the Turks which of them should succede in their fathers kingdome: For neither of them was present at Constantinople whē Mahumetes died, Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, & Demes in Lycaonia, wherfore when great disscution was amōg the nobles for the succession, and great strife & bloudshead for the matter, the Ianizarites, which were the Turkes garde, did proclaime Baiazetes Emperour: others in the absence of Baiazetes the father, did choose Corcuthus his sonne. Baiazetes the father cōming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yelding, partly by

corrupting w^t money,* got y^e wils of the Ianizarites, & was made Emperour. Demes the other brother being in Lycaonia more neare, although he made no lesse speede in his cōming, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Cōstantinople. Wherefore he being put backe from all hope of his kingdome, incited by some of his frends, moued warre against his brother,* who being ouercome in three batailles by Acomates Baiazetes Captain, who had got Hydruntum before, did flie to the greate Maister of the Rhodes, leauing in a place called Carrae, his mother, and two yong children, whom Baiazetes slue.

This Demes being wyth the maister of the Rhodes, was desired first of Pope Innocent the 4. then of Ludouicus the 2. Frenche king, but especially of Mathias Coruinus, king of Hungarie, entending by him to obtaine great victory against Baiazetes. But in conclusion the Knights of the Rhodes sent him to the B. of Rome,* where he being kept, and afterwarde sent to Charles the 8. French king, for an hostage of Pope Alexander the 6. was poysoned by the way of Terracina, by the sayde Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death Baiazetes, to require the foresayde Acomates for his good seruice,* put hym to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to haue his treasure: Whose death redounded to the great profit of the christians, for somuch as he was euer an vtter enemy to the religion and name of Christ.

Baiazetes thus being confirmed in his tyrannie, made hys first expedition against Walachia,* where hee subdued two great fortes, one called Lithostomus, the other called Moncastrum. From thence he remooued hys power, taking his voiage into Asia, thinking to be reuenged of the Sultane of Egypt, which had succoured and entertayned before hys brother Demes against hym, wh•re he lost two great batailles, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus: but specially at the fielde at Tarsus the armye of the Turke tooke such a wound, that of a 100. M. brought into the fielde, scarce the thirde part remained vnslayne. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesayde, yet Baiazetes (whether for feare, or for subtilty) abstained to prouoke them with warre, but rather entred with them the league of peace, requiring the master of the Rhodes to kepe hys brother safe vnder his custody, promising for his yerely salary, to be paid vnto him euery yere in the moneth of August. 45000. duckets,

Thus Baiezetes being ouerthrown and terrified with euill lucke fighting against the Sultane of Egypt, remooued from Asia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium neare vnto Velona,* & had a great victory ouer the Christian armye in the countrey of Croatia, wher the Illyrians, Pannonians and Croatians ioyning their power together, encountred with the Turke and lost the field, about the yeare of our Lord. 1493.

From thence the Turke leading his armye against the Venetians, had with them diuers and doubtfull conflicts, where the Turke sometimes was put to the woorse, and sometimes againe preuailing, out of Iadra and diuers other cities about Dalmatia, caried away great multitudes of Christians into captiuitie, whych was about the yere of our Lord. 1498.

Two yeares after thys, whych was the yeare of oure Lorde,* 1500. Baiazetes with 150. M. armed men, entred into Peloponesus, whych although Mahumete had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. Which Methone the Turke besieged wyth three armies, hauing about the wals 500. great brasen Canons, wherof 22. were most violent and hurtfull, wherewith he battered the City both day and

night: but the Citizens, which were wythin the Citie, committing themselues to God, defended their Citie as well as they could, rather chusing to dye then to yeelde vnto the Turkes tyrannie. But the Turcke preuailing, and they not able to wythstande the siege, the Christians conuented together into a certaine house prepared for the purpose, bothe menne, women, and children, where they setting the house on fire, gaue themselues rather to be burned, then to come into the tyrauntes handes, Certaine women also wyth their children, cast themselues headlong into the sea, by that meanes to auoid the turkishe captiuitie.* Some wryters there be which affirme that the Methonians, seeing 5. great shyps of the Venetians comming with men and vitailles towarde them, issued downe from the walles to the sea side to receiue them, which were all taken captiues, being aboue the number of a thousand: which al being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyraunt, and in his sight were cruelly slaine, except certaine Nobles whom Cherseugles, sonne in lawe to Baiazetes, got to be pardoned, amongst whome was Andreas Britto.* The Citie of Coron, & also Pilus Cities in Grece being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yeelded themselues to the power of the turks. Crisseum otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherscogles, by force of gunnes.

These thynges thus atchieues, although Baiazetes went away victor vnto Constantinople, yet notwithstanding the Venetians, through the helpe of the kynges of Fraunce and Spayne, had wonne from the Turke Chephalania an Ilande very commodious for theyr trafficke: Also had gotten other two Ilandes,* Leucas and Nericus otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying al the garrison of the Turkes. But afterwarde peace being taken betweene the Venetians and the Turckes, by the counsaile of Andreas Gitto aforesayde, the Turkes so agreed, that Leucas and Nericus the Ilandes abouesayde, should be rendred vnto the Turke, and the Venetians should keepe stil the possession of Chephalania.

Vnto this league the Turke did the rather condescend,* for that hee had to maintaine warre agaynst Ismaell Sophus in Asia, king of Persia: Which Sophus was stirred vp by Gods prouidence to warre w^t thys Baiazetes, wher by the Christian Churches in Europe myght haue some breathing time, and freedome from the Turkes cruell tyranny & bloudshed.* This Sophus was a valiant Turke, who with great power & victories had ouerrunne a great compasse of the East partes of Asia: then passing from Assiria into Media, and returning againe into Arinenia, hee made warre against the Albanians, Hiberians, and Scythians, and from thence comming vnto Asia Minor, encountred with Corcuthus Baiazetes sonne,* and afterward cōming to Bithynia, sought with Caragius Bassa, Baiazetes Captaine, whome he ouercame and put to flight, and afterward tooke him aliue and his wise prisonners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibassa an other captaine of the Turkes, whome Techelles one of the sayd Sophus captaines meeting in the plaine of Galatia did withstand, and so by the way slue Caragius the Captain,* and hanged hym vppon a poale in the sight of Halibassa, which Halibassa shortly after was slaine in warre, and hys army scattered and put to flight.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods iustice and prouidence, were these turks kept occupied, & so came it to passe, y^t these Barbarians being blasphemous against the sonne of God, shoulde thus horribly run one to the destruction of an other,* being worthely punished w^t mutuall slaughter and bloudshed for theyr impiety and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, wherby in the meane time some rest was geuen to the Christians.

Baiazetes partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the goute, and partly also broken with age, finding himselfe vnweldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdome, began to haue talke with his nobles about the chusing of one to succede him. The occasion whereof ministred much matter of inward warres amongst the Turkes. This Baiazetes had in all 6. sonnes, wherof three died before him, and three yet were left aliuie, to witte, Acomates, Corcuthus and Zilymus, Baiazetes himselfe had moste minde to Acomates, but the chieftest of his nobles did fauor rather Zelymus: who through theyr traiterous incitation prouoked him to stirre warre against hys father: and notwythstanding that he was ouercome in war, yet through intercession he was reconciled agayne to his father,* and afterwarde proclaimed againe Emperor against his fathers will, through the helpe & fauour of the souldiours, entring the first beginning of hys kingdome, in the murdering of hys owne father. The storye whereof in some authors is thus declared.

After that the Ianizarites had perswaded wyth Baiazetes for that he himselfe was vnweldy,* therefore he should do well to constitute some successour, and that he had assigned Acomates to succede him, y^e Ianizarites being offended with the sayd Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends and bribe them, compassing about the kings pallace wyth their priuy swordes whych they hadde vnder theyr garments, wyth a mighty crie, required Zelymus to be appointed for their Emperor. Vnto whom when Baiazetes had answered that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him because he was fatte, grosse, and vnable thereunto: but needes would haue Zelymus, which was stoute and warlike, to be made Emperour: and withall drew out their swords, crying Zelymus, Zelymus. Thē Baiazetes geuing place to their fury,* shewed himselfe content to geue them Zelymus: whom the Iaitizarites receiuing, brought him into the pallace: vnto whom Baiazetes his father geuing place, willed him not to be so hasty & furious in hys doings, but to be modest and take heede what hee dyd, and not to follow hys fury, but to geue place vnto time, whych reuealeth all thinges, and thinke hymselfe to be a man subiect to dangers and icoperdies as other men are: and thus speaking, he resigned hys Imperiall throne and seate vnto him, & went away all heauy, entring into a certaine order of their religion. Wherupon folowed great exclamatiōs of the people saluting Zelymus as Emperor. Who then taking the rule vpō him, begā w^t great cruelty to gouern, destroying many of his nobles, such as had stood against him [Page 746](#) some with poyson, some by other cruel meanes, & aduauncing his owne side with great honors and promotions.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus settled in hys kingdome, Baiazetes his father entending to see & prooue howe he behaued himselfe in his gouernment, first entred into the treasure house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterwarde he came into hys armorie, where all the spoyles gotten by warre were likewise wasted: then entring into the Iewel house, where al his plate and gifts sent from Kings and Princes were kept, whych likewise were dispersed & geuen away. At length he came into the stable, where also he seeing his principall horses to be lacking,* sighing wyth himselfe, and crying vengeance vpon him, he prepared himself with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to saile ouer into Natolia vnto his eldest sonne, and passing by an Orchard neare to the sea side, where he had appoynted to take ship, in the meane time whilst the shippes were in furnishing he sate downe vnder a tree, & began to curse his sonne, and to axe vengeance vpon him, for that he had so despised his father & was become so impious a wretch.

Zelymus vnderstāding of his fathers departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very heauy, and much lamēting that hys father would so priuely depart and goe away,* seeing that hee desired not the gouernement of the Empire, but was contented onely wyth the title thereof. O father (sayd he) do not thus priuely depart away: doe not procure this shame to your sonne, who so tēderly loueth you. Let me haue but the name only: and be you the Emperor in dede. The ende of your natural life most paciently I shal expect, which I pray God may long cōtinue. And thus vsing many faire & flattering words to his father, he cōmanded a banket w^t many deinty iunkets, to be brought vnto him, but tempered and infected w^t poyson. Which,* as soone as Baiazetes had begon to tast of, and felt the strēgth of the poyson working in his body, he toke his last farewell of his sonne, and going out of the citie accompanied with a great retinue of mē, yelling and crying out in the streetes, in the middle of his iourney fell downe and miserably died, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1512. Heere mayest thou see, good Reader, a cursed broode of thys Turkish generation, where y^t father dieth in cursing the sonne, and the sonne raigneth by poysoning his father.

Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus.

After y^t thys wretched Zelymus had exercised hys barbarous cruelty vpon hys father, w^t like impietie he seeketh the destruction of hys brethren and their children, first beginning his murther wyth the fiue children hys Nephewes, which were the sonnes of hys 3. brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other 2. brethren yet aliue, Acomates and Corchutus wyth theyr chyldren likewise to be destroyed. Of whome the one had 3. sonnes, whom the father sent to Zelymus his brother & their vnclē, with faire and gentle wordes to entreat him to be good vnto their father, offering to him their duety and seruice in all things, honoring him also as Emperor. But cruel Zelymus commaunded forthwith his saide Nephewes to be strangled.* The father hearing of the cruell murther of hys sonnes, leauing house and home, went and hid hymselfe in mountaines, where he liued for a space with hearbes and wilde honie, but being bewrayed by one of hys men, was brought to Zelymus, and so was strangled.

Christophorus Richerius, wryting of these matters, seemeth some thing to differ from other storyes, and sayeth that Zelymus, after the death of hys brother Corchutus, came to Bursia, where hee, vnder the colour of making a great triumph,* ordeined a feast for his frends and kinsfolk, Wherunto were called especially his nephewes: who then at the end of the feast calling his nephewes aside (as vnder the pretēce of conferring with them secretly about hys necessary affaires) committed them to hys seruantes to be strangled and put to death. All this while Acomates hys brother, through the help & instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrants hands, till at length, after great labor and search made how to get him, certain forged letters were cast abroad, wherin was cōteined that Acomates, to reuenge the great impiety & subdue the tirāny of Zelimus his brother, should shew himself abroad. Which if he wold do, he should find frends enough to take his part. Acomates circumuented with these subtill traines, partly for hope of reuengement,* partly for desire of y^t Empire, shewed him selfe abroad with such power and strength as he had: who being set vpon incontinent by Zelymus hys brother, was ouercome in battaile, and falling from hys horse, beyng a man corpulent and grosse, and his horse falling vpon him, was so ouerpressed and slaine.

Touching the death of thys Acomates, Munsterus somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreouer, and sayeth, that hee was not killed with the fall from hys horse, but sitting all dismayed vpon a stone, and seeing no other remeady but death, desired the Captaine, taking hys rings from his fingers, to deliuer the same to his brother, desiring hym that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that hee gently would suffer him to be let bloud in the hath,* and so to die. But Zelymus being not ignoraunt of thys, suborneth priuy tormenters, who binding his hands behinde him, w^t their feete cast hym downe vpon the ground, and so twixing his necke with a coarde, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sonnes, who hearing of the death of their father, did flie for succour, the one to Sophus in Persia, and the other to the Sultane in Egypt.

By the meanes whereof, new occasion of warre grew vnto Zelymus, whereby hee was kept in Asia at home, to fight againste the Persians & Egyptians: so that throughe the Lordes prouidence, Christendom by that meanes was deliuered from great daunger and perill of the Turkes tirannie: For otherwise, the Turke was wholly mineded, wyth all his force and puissance, to inuade the Christians, being in doubt whether first to beginne wyth Rhodes,* or whether to assault Pannoma, or els to set vpon Italy, being then at great discorde within it selfe: but thys cause occupied the Turks mind otherwise, and kept him at home. Suche was then the prouidence of the Lorde for the safegard of hys people.

Wherefore, for somuch as the affaires and doings of this Turke were spent for the most part in the Turkish & heathenish countreys: it shal not be greatly necessary to trouble our christian stories therw^t, but onely shal suffice to contracte them in a brieft summe, declaring superficially what vnquietnes was amongst them there, which coulde neuer be quiet, but euer working some mischief either abroade, or at home.* Amurathes the Turkes nephewe aforesaide, after he had obtained aide of Sophus the king of the Persians, first inuaded Cappadocia: not long after whome folowed Ismael, Sophus the Persian king.

By reason whereof a great battell was fought betwixt the Persians and Zelymus in the fieldes of Armenia maior. In the which battaile Ismael Sophus the Persian Kyng was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being caryed out of the field, left the victory to Zelymus: who all be it had an army of 150. M. men, yet he in the same fielde lost about 30000. of hys Turkes. Which field was fought in the yere of our Lorde. 1514. Zelymus after thys victorie went to Tauricia the imperiall Citie of the Persians, whiche he by yelding subdued.

In thys meane time it happened that one Aladulus a king in Armenia the greater,* was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk, wherupon Zelymus the Turke taking great indignation, the next yere folowing, leauing y^e Persians, fought against the sayd Aladulus, & in the end ouercame him, and afterward being found in a caue in a woode, was taken out and brought to Zelymus and so beheaded: whose hed being first caried about Asia for a triumph, was afterward sent to the Senate of Uenice for a terrour vnto them. The eldest sonne of Aladulus scaping the handes of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battaile thus fought and ended, Zelymus after he had deuided the kingdome of Aladulus into three prouinces, went to Lycaonia, & from thence to Europe, there to defend the Citie of Samandria, against the Christians in Hungary.* But the Hungarians being sone repressed by Iuno Bassa the Turkes captaine, great preparation began to be made by the Turks against the confines of Seruia bordering vpō Hungary: The terrour whereof stirred vp Maximilian the Emperour, and Ladislaus king of Hungarie, and Sigismundus Kyng of Polonie,*

to consult together, and conioyne their power for defence of Christendome. But through new incumberances incident, the turke leauing Europe, made haste againe into Asia, to renue againe his warres against the Persians, who had made a vow not to geue ouer that warre before Ismael was ouerthrowne.

But before he entred that warre, first he sent hys messengers to the Sultane of Egypte, requiring hym not to entermedle in that warre, for this sultane before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turke.* The name of the Sultane which reigned then in Egypt, was Campson, set vp by the Mamaluci. These Mamaluci were a certain order amongst the Egyptians, much like to the Ianizarites about the Turke, being the childrē of christen men, and after denyeng Christ, were the chefest doers in y^e Sultanes court, and being growne into a great multitude, did [Page 747](#) degenerat into a turkish barbarity, or rather became wors then Turkes. This Campson vnto the messengers of the Turke gaue this aunswere againe, that vnlesse he would leaue of his warre against Ismael, and restore the sonne of Aladulus, otherwise he would not lay downe his armor.

Zelymus being incensed not a little wyth this insolent aunswere of the Sultane, leauing all other warres aside, with great celeritie aduanced hys power against the Sultane. Which Sultan partly through the falshode of his cap'taine Caierbeius,* partly by the sodeinnesse of the Turkes comming, not farre from the cite of Damascus encoūtrede with the turke, and there ouerthrowne from his horse, being a fatte and grose body, and falling vnder his horse, and his horse also falling vpon him,* was quashed in peces and so died, which was the yere of our Lord. 1516.

Mamalucie, of whome more then a M. in thys battaile were slaine, flyeng from thence to Memphis, set vp Tomoumbeius in stede of Campson:* whose captaine Gazelles was ouercome at the City of Gaza, & he afterward himselfe driuen out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamaluci were destroyed. Then Tomoumbeius flying ouer the floud Nilus, renued his army agayne: but in the ende was discomfited and chased into a marish, where hee was found standing in the water vp to the chinne, and so being brought to Zelymus, was put to the rack and great tormentes, to make him confesse where Campsons treasures were. But when he would not declare, he was caryed about the Towne with a halter about his necke, & hanged vp vpō a hie gibber for a spectacle to all Egypt:* which was the yere of our Lorde. 1517. And thus were the two Sultanes in Egypt destroyed with the Mamaluci, whych there had borne the rule in Egypt the space of 243. yeares. The progenie of the whych Mamaluci remaining of the warres,* the Turke commaunded in pryson gates of Alexandria to be cut in peces. Zelymus frō thence, triumphing departed to Constantinople, entending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians: But in that meane space he was stroken with a cankerd sore rotting inward, and died after hee had reigned 7. yeares like a beast, in the yere of our Lord. 1520.

The raigne of this Turke was but short in number of yeres: but in number of his murthers and cruel bloudshed it might seme exceeding long: which liued more like a beast then a mā, for he neuer spared any of hys frends or kinred. His father first he poysoned, his brethren and al his cosins he quelled, leauing none of all his kinred aliue. Moreouer his chief and principal captaines for smal occasions he put to death,* as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostāg hys sonne in law, and Iunobassa.

It is said moreouer that he entended the poysoning of his owne sonne Solyman, sending vnto him a shirt infected w^t poison, because he seemed something freely to speake against y^e cruel demeanor of his father: But by the meanes of hys mother, the gifte being suspected, was geuen to an other which was his Chamberlaine, who putting on the shirt, was stricken with the poyson therof, and therewith all died.

As touching thys Turke Zelymus, by the way heere may be noted how y^e secret prouidēce of the Lord kept hym occupied w^t hys Turkish warres at home, while that the reformation of christian religion here in Europe the same time begō by Martin Luther,* might the more quietly take some roring without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the dayes of this Zelymus, Martin Luther first began to write against the Popes indulgences, which was in the yeare of oure Lord. 1516.

Solymannus the 12. after Ottomannus.

Solymannus the onely sonne of Zelymus succeded after hys fathers death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and shepish, and not mete for the turkish gouernmēt. Wherefore certain of his nobles cōsulting how to depose him, entended to set vp an other Emperour. In which conspiracy, especially are named Caierbeius & Gazelles. This Caierbeius was he y^t betraied before Campson the Sultane of Egypt to Zelymus, as is aforesayde: who nowe also being in consultation w^t Gazelles & other about this matter, detected thē also vnto Solyman. Wherefore the sayd Gazelles and his fellowes being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was not so shepish as he was thought of them to be, & as also by his acts afterward did more appeare.

Solymannus after thys execution done vpon the conspiratours, taking his voiage into Europe,* first besieged Belgradum: which being a Citye in Hungarie, was the strongest forte of all the Romaine Empire, and the chiefe defence at that time, of al christendom, which also being assaulted before time by Amurathes the 2. was valiantly defended by Ioannes Huniades as is aboue specified.* But here nowe lacked suche a one as Huniades was: For the kingdome of Hungary at that time, was vnder y^r gouernment of Ludouicus a yong king, vnexpert and of a simple wit. Whom other Princes, & specially the couetous church men did so pil and pol, that they left hym nothing but only the bare name and title of his kingdom: Whereby he being vnfurnished both of men and mony, was vnable to match with such an enemye.

An other vauntage also the Turkes had in besieging of Belgrade:* For the Christian princes at that time were in ciuill dissention and variance amongst themselues: and the Pope with his Churchmen also were so busye in suppressing of Luther, and of the Gospell then newly springing, that they minded nothing els, except it were to maintaine the welth of their own bellies. Which pope if he had set his care (as his duety was) so mucche in stirring vp Princes against the common enemy, as he was bent to deface y^r gospel, & to persecute the true professors therof: soone might he haue brought to passe, not only that Belgrade might haue bene defended against the Turk, but also y^r to be recouered againe which was lost before: and moreouer myght haue stopped the great dangers and perils which nowe are like to fall vpon the religion and church of Christ: whyche the Lord of his great mercy auert and turne away.

Certes what so euer the Pope then did,* this had bene his duty, setting al other things apart, to haue had an earnest compassiō of so many miserable & lost captiues, which were fallen from their faith & religion, vnto the misery and slauery of the Turke, & thraldome of the deuil, and to haue sought all means possible to haue reduced thē, as lost shepe into the fold againe: which then might sone haue ben done if prelates & princes ioyning together in christian concord, had loued so well the publike glory of Christ and soules of Christians, as they tendered their owne priuate, worldly, & friuolous quarels.* And admit that the Pope had conceiued neuer so much malice against Luther, hys quarell also being good: yet the publike church standing in such danger, as it then did by the inuasion of the Turke, reason woulde nature led, religion taught, time required that a good Prelate forgetting lighter matters, shuld rather haue laid hys shoulder to the excluding of so great a dāger, as then was imminent both to himselfe, and the vniuersall Church of Christ: But now his quarell being vniust, and the cause of Luther being moste iust and godly, what is to be sayde or thought of suche a Prelate, who for bearyng the Turke, whome in a time so daungerous, hee ought chiefly to haue resisted, persecuted the trueth, whych hee shoulde specially haue mainteined? But Christ for his mercy stande for hys Church, and stirre vp zealous Princes and Prelates, if not to recouer that is lost, yet at least to retaine that little which is left.

Solyman therefore taking hys occasion, and vsing the commoditie of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselues, wythout any resistance or interruption, brought his army vnto Belgrade, in y^e yere of our Lorde.* 1521. Which Citye being but slenderly defenced, the Turke through his vnderminers, guns and other engins of warre, without great difficultie, & with little losse of hys souldiours, soone subdued and ouercame.

After thys victorie, Solyman resting himselfe a whole yere, and casting in his mynde howe to make all sure behinde him, for feare of ennemies to come vppon his backe, thought it expedient for his purpose if he might obtain the Ilande of Rhodes: for that onely remained yet Christian betwixt him and Asia: wherfore the next yere following, he brought hys army of 450. ships, and 300. M. men to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and strong Iland,* w^tin the sea called Mare mediterraneum. The inhabitants wherof at y^e first did manfully resist y^e turke, sparyng no labor nor paines for the defence of thēselues & of al christendome: But afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched w^t penury, seing also no aid to come from y^e christians: somewhat began to languish in thēselues. The turkes in the meane time casting vp two great mountaines wyth strength of hand, 2. miles of frō the citye, like rolling trenches caried them before thē neare vnto the city, in the tops wherof they plāted their ordinance & artillery, to batter the city. The maister of the knightes of the Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus a Frenchman, in whome no diligence was lacking y^t appertained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians likewise so valiantly behaued themselues vpon the walles, that w^t their shot all the ditches about the city, were filled w^t the carcasses of dead Turkes.

Besides thys, suche a disease of the bloody flixe rained [Page 748](#) in the Turkes campe, that 30. M. of them died thereof: and yet for all thys, Solyman woulde not cease from hys siege begonne: who at length by vnderminers casting downe the vamares and vttermost partes of the citie, wan groūd still more and more vpon the Rhodians, and with mortary pieces so battered the houses, y^t there was no free place almost standing in all the Citie. And thus continued the siege for the space of fiue or sixe monethes, and yet all thys while came no help vnto them from the

christians. Wherefore they being out of all hope, thorough the aduise of Ualladamus, yelded themselues vnto the Turke vppon condition that hee woulde spare them wyth life and goodes, which conuention the Turke keppe wyth them faithfully and truely.

Thus Solyman with his great glory and vtter shame to all christian princes,* and also ruine of all Christendome, got the noble Ile of Rhodes, although not wythout great losse and detriment of hys army: in so much that at one assault 20. thousande Turkes about the walles, were slayne with fire, sword, stones, and other engines. Whereby it may be coniectured what these Rhodians might or would haue done,* if succor had come to them from other christian princes as they looked for. This city was wonne vpon Christmas day. An. 1522.

Thys conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solyman the 4. yeare after, bringeth backe his army againe into Hungary, where he founde none to resist him but onely Ludouike the yong king: who being accompanied with a smal army, and nothing able to matche wyth the Turke, yet of a hasty rashnes and vaine hope of victory, would needes set vpon him: who if he had staide but a little, had prospered the better. For Ioannes Uainoda being a Capitaine well exercised in Turkish warres before, was not farre off, comming with a sufficient power of able souldiors.* But Paulus the Archbishop Coloss. a Franciscane Frier, a man more bold then wise, with his temerity and rashnes troubled al their doings: For the whole summe of the army of the Hungarians, contained in all but only 24. M. horsmen and footemen, who at length comming vnto the battaile, and being compassed about wyth a great multitude of the Turkes army, were brought into great distres. The Turks twise shorte of their pieces against the Christian army: yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke therof: whych was thought to be done of purpose, bicause they were christians whych had the ordering of the gunnes, for then the speciall gunners of the Turkes were Christians,* whome for the same cause they spared. Then the Turkes horsmen comming vpon the backe of the christian armie, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude, ouercharged their horsemen. Amongst whom was slaine the same tyme the Archb. Frier aforesayd, wyth the Bishops of Strigone and Uaradine & many other nobles besides.* Also the kyng himselfe being destitute of hys necessary aide and succour, was compelled to flie into a marish, where he falling from his horse, being heauy loden with his harneis, was not able to rise againe,* but there miserably perished.

Solyman the Turke marueiled at the foolyshnesse of Ludouike the King, who wyth so small an armye woulde presume to encounter wyth such a great hoste of two hundreth thousande. This battaile in Hungarie was fought, Anno. 1526.

After the deceasse of Ludouicke, Ferdinandus succeded in the kingdome,* being Duke of Austria and king of Hungarie. Then Solyman setting contention betwixt Ioannes Uaiuoda and Ferdinandus for the kingdom of Hungarie, spedde his viage to the Citie of Buda, whych also in short time he made to be yelded vnto hym vpon condition that they should escape with their liues and goodes: whych cōdition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda diuers places and munitiōs the sayd Turk,* contrary to his league made before, did spoile and waste, as Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesias, and other fortes and munitions moe, bordering about the coastes of Hungary.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1529. Ferdinandus king of Hungarie aforesaid, recouered diuers holdes gotten of the Turke before, and also warring againste Ioannes Uaiuoda his enemy,* with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expulsed him out of his kingdom. Wherupon Uaiuoda flying to the Turke, desired his ayde. The Turke glad to take that occasion, wyth great preparatiō addressed himselfe to returne into Hungary, where he recouering againe the Citie of Buda, which Ferdinandus had gotten from him a little before, remooued his armye into Austria, spoyling and destroying by the way all that came to hys handes, shewing many examples of great cruelty & tyranny most lamentable to here and vnderstand. For of some he put out their eies, of some he cutte of their handes, of some their eares and noses,* and of their children he cut of theyr priuy members. The maidens he corrupted, the matroues had their brestes cut of, and such as were with childe, were ript and their childrē cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny, thys wretched Turke perpetrated by the way comming toward Uienna a noble City in Austria, besides the captiues which he tooke by the way, and led into seruitude moste miserable, mounting to the number of 30. thousand.

Among other holdes by the waye as the Turke came, there was a castle called Altenburch strongly by nature situated, and by art defenced,* which castle the Turke entending not to ouerpasse because he woulde make all thynges sure behinde him, began to make hys assault, and lay hys ordinance against it. The warders and kepers of the Castle, so soone as the Turks began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardnes sent their messengers to the Turke to yelde themselves,* ready to doe his commaundement, and further him with their vitaille. Amongest whome were three hundreth Bohemians, who were commaunded to followe the hoste, that the Turke by them might learne what strength was in the city of Uienna: also where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning therof.

Of whom when the Turke had vnderstanding howe all things stooode, and how that there was but 20. thousand men in Uienna able to beare armour, and that other cities of Austria would soone yeelde if that were gotten, and that Uienna was vitailed but for 2. monthes, and that the king was of late in Boheme, thus the Turk of all things being certified, hauing no doubt in hys minde of victorie, made speede toward Uienna: and first comming to Neapolis a city but 8. miles distant from Uienna, he required them to yelde themselves:* who notwithstanding withstoode them, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the Turkes assigned a place for the pitching of their tents, whych because it semed some thing too litle for such a great multitude, they tooke in more ground to the compasse of 7. miles circuit. The multitude of his armye, which hee there planted, is accompted of some to extend to 250. M. souldiours. The Turke thus being planted, made daily excourses ouer all the countrey of Austria, specially about the citie of Uienna, wasting and spoyling with great crueltye & murther amongst the poore Christians.

Moreouer, to make al things more sure toward y^e preparation of the siege, scoutes were sent abroade, and bushments were laid about the riuer side of Danubius, to prouide that no aid nor victual should be brought to Uienna.* So it pleased the prouidence of the Lord (who disposeth all things) that 3. daies before the comming of the Turk, Fridericus the Earle Palatine, which was then assigned by y^e Empire to take the charge of Uienna, was come downe by the riuer of Danubius with 14. M. and with a certaine troupe of horsemen well apoynted and picked for the purpose.* After the comming of thys Fridericke, prouision also of victuall was apoynted to followe shortly after, by the sayd riuer of Danubius.

In the meane time, they which had the cariage & trāsporting therof, hearing how the waies were laid, & all the passages 10. miles about Uienna, stopped by the Turkes although they knew y^e city to stand in great nede of vitail, yet seing there was no other remedy, rather then it should come to the ennemies hande, thought it best to sincke theyr boats w^t their cariage, and so they did. Wherby, all be it the christians wanted their reliefe, yet were the Turks disappoynted of their pray & purpose.* The captains whych had the keeping of the City, which were chiefly Fridericus the Earle Palatine, Gulielmus Rogendorffius, and Nicolaus erle of Salme, seing themselues so straightned contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage vnto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken: and seing that the little city Neapolis (aboue mentioned) being 8. miles distaunt from them, so valiauntly withstoode the Turkes, that in one day they sustained 7. greuous assaultes against all the maine force of the Turkish armye: by their example and manfull stāding, being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the vttermoste before they woulde geue ouer, and first plucking downe all the suburbs, and buildings wythout the walles, wherby the enemy myght haue any succor,* they willed all the farmers & inhabitantes about the Citye to saue themselues, and to bryng in theyr goods w^tin the walles. Such places as were weake wythin the walles, they made strong. About the towers & munition of the walles, they prouided rampires & bulwarks distant 80. foote one from another, to kepe of the shot: and euery man hadde hys place and standing awarded to hym [Page 749](#) vpon the wal, and his office appoynted what to do: but especially that side of the City which lyeth to the riuier of Danubius, they fortified after the best wise: for that way only now remained for vitail to be transported from the Bohemians vnto them. Wherefore 8. en•ignes were assigned to the keping of the bridge,* and in the plaine, which was lyke an Iland inclosed wythin the riuier, a sufficient garrison of horsmen were placed, lying within the gunshot of the city, to the entent that if any graine or vitail were sent from the Bohemians, they myght prouide y^e same safely to be brought into the Citie.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, L. William Rogendorffe, to assay the strength of the Turks, made diuers rodes out wyth his horsemen, albeit much against y^e mindes of the Austrians: who knowing the maner of the Turkes, thought it better to suffer them, while either wyth time they myght be ouerweried, or for lacke of victuals consumed.* Among many and sondry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turkes, one especially was to our men vnprosperous: in whych certaine of the horsemen espying a small troupe of the Turkes scattering abroad from theyr company, made out after them, who sodenly & guilefully were inclosed and circumuented by the Turks, before they could recouer the gates of the citie, and so were all taken aliue:* Of whome 3. were sent from the Turkes into the Citye, to declare to the Uiennians what strength they had seene in the campe of their aduersaries, and to sollicite them to yelde their city for feare of punishment which would followe: The residue they reserued to torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians (whych should tell the same to the Citizens) they caused euery man to be drawne with 4. horses a piece, and so to be dismēbred and pluckt a sonder.

After thys done, the barbarous Turk immediatly sent his Herold to talke wyth the Captaines of the City, whether they would yelde the City vpon honest conditions,* or els would abide the arbitrement of warre. If they would gently submit them selues, they should haue all gentlenes to them shewed: If they would be stubburne, and stand to their defence, he wold also stand to hys siege begon, so that he neither woulde spare man, woman nor childe. To thys the captaines

aunswered againe, that they were contented Solyman to stand to his siege begon,* and to do his vttermost, what he would, or what he coulde. As for them, they were at a poynte to defende them selues and their Citie so long as they might: the euent & fall of victory to be doubtfull, and many times so to happen, that they whych begin the warre, are wearied sooner then they which be prouoked: neither againe that they were so vnmindfull eyther of themselues, or of their country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germanes: who vse alwayes first to assay the aduersary, what he is able to doe, and not rashly to committe themselues into their enemies handes.

Solymannus not a little disdaining at thys aunswer, first burning and consuming all the villages,* houses, and places round about the city, infecting also the springs and fountaines whych gaue water into the Citie, and so stopping al passages, that no reliefe should haue way vnto thē, began w^t angry moode to approche more neare to the Citie, with 3. great campes, sending them worde in skorne and contumely, by one of his captiues, that if they stood in nede of helpe of soldiours, he would send vnto them the 300. Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aid them in theyr defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer again, that they had moe soldiours in the City then they neded. As for the Bohemians which had yelded themselues, he might do wyth them, what he would, for Uienna stooode in no great neede of them.

In the meane time a messenger comming from Ferdinandus, was priuily let in by night into the Citie,* which brought word that they should play the men in keping out the enemy a while: for it would not be long but both Ferdinandus and Carolus his brother, with the strēgth of all Germanie, would be ready to rescue them. At whych message the hearts of the soldiours began somewhat to be cheared, and to contemne the huge multitude of the aduersaries, being so great as they neuer did beholde, nor did euer almoste heare of before. The largenesse of whose army, extended to no lesse in compasse (as is aboue sayde) then of 7. miles round about the Citie walles.

Long it were to recite the whole order of thys terrible siege, with all the partes and circumstances therof. Briefly to touch so much as shal suffice for this history, with fewer words then were stripes geuen at the siege thereof: thys is to be iudged and confessed: whosoouer beholdeth the nōber and fiercenesse of the Turkes, the absence of the king Ferdinandus, the lacke of prouision and vitaille within the city, the noise of the gunnes, the violence of the shot, the terror of the sight, and yet no succour sent vnto them: that the custody of that city was no mans doing, but the arme only of the Lord God of hostes, according to the true saying of the Psalme: Unlesse the Lorde doe keepe the Citie, the watchmen watch in vaine, which watch to saue it: Unles the Lord doe build the house, the builder striueth in vayne, whych taketh vpon hym to builde it. Experience whereof in keping thys citie may well appeare.

First Solymannus bending hys shotte and ordinance against the City, beate downe to the ground the vāmures with all the vttermost suburbs of the city, and that in suche a short moment of time, that the hearts of the Uiennians a little before refreshed, were now as much appaled agayne with feare, misdoubting wyth themselues, least the Turke with the same celerity and violence woulde haue preuailed against the inwarde walles, as he did in beating down the outward vāmures. And no doubt the same time the Turk had put the city in great hazard, had not night commynge on, broken of the siege for that day.

In the meane time the Citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the wals, to make all things sure against the next assault.* The next day early in y^e morning, the Turks approching the city againe with a new assault, thinking to scale the walles, were so repulsed & manfully resisted by the Germaines, that vnneth any ditches aboute the walles could be sene for the bodies of the dead Turkes, wherwith they were replenished: so that the Turks were faine to fight standing vpon the bodies of them which wer slaine. By the which calamitie the force of the enemye was not a little abated,*

It happened the same time, that a companie of the Turkes being spied oute of the Citie wandering oute of order, the Captaine Rogendorffius wyth two legions of horsemenne issuing out of the Citie gate called Salmaria, and so passing closely vnder the hilles side, did so set vpon them, that they slew a great number of them: the rest being driuen to take the riuier, whome with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired backe into the Citie againe. By thys victorie the Captaine Rogendorffius began to be terrible to the Turkes. For in the same skirmish (as after was knowen) was slayne of them so many, that of 5000. and 300. horsemen and footemen, scarce 140. escaped aliue.

Solyman disdayning at this repulse,* thought to proue an other way, & so bringing his power toward y^e gate called y^e kings gate, there making his trenches & bulwarkes, plāted his ordināce, w^t the violence wherof y^e walles were so battered & shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turke seeing 2. great breaches made in the wal cōmaunded his souldiors couertly in the darck smoke of gunnepowder to prease into the City. The like also was done at y^e scottish to wer, whereby y^e city was inuaded in 2. sundry places at one time. The Uiēnians at y^e first, freshly began to withstand thē, new souldiors still cōming in the place of them that were slaine and hurt: and so this assault continuing more thē 6. houres together, our mē beganne at length to languish & faint, not onely in strength but also in courage: wherby the Citie had bene in great daunger of loosing, had not y^e two foresaid Capitaines Rogendorffius in the one place, and the Earle of Salme in the other place, manfully encouraged the souldiors to abide y^e brunt, and to beare out a while the violence of the Turkes, promising that immediately they should haue ayde from Ferdinandus.

In the meane time the Turkes came so thicke for gredines of the victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting vpō the walles, that had it not bene for the prease and throng of the great multitude of the Turkes comming so thicke that one of them could not fight for an other,* Uienna that same day had bene taken and vtterly lost: But by the pollicy of y^e cap^ttaines geuing a signe within the city, as though new souldiors were called for, our men began to be encouraged, & the Turkes hartes to be discomfited.

When Solymannus saw his army the second time, repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by vndermining to ouerthrow the city: in the which work specially he vsed the helpe of the Illyrians, of whome he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kinde of feare. These Illyrians beginning to breake the earth at the gate Carinthia and comming neare to the foundations of the Tower,* which they by strength of hand attēpted to break, could not worke so closely vnder the groūd, but they were perceiued by certayne men aboue, which were skilfull & expert in y^t kind of matter: who cōtrariwise vndermining against thē, & filling their trēches as they wēt, w^t gūpowder, [Page 750](#) conueyed their traine, that when fire should be set vnto it, the

violence thereof should brast out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, sodenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower did cleane asunder, and all the vnderminers of the Turks woorking in their trēches, were smothered and destroyed, which came to the number (as it was supposed afterwarde) of 8000. persones: in so much that yet till thys day a great number of deade mens skuls are found in the ground.

*When Solyman saw y^t this way also would not serue and had priuy intelligence that the walles about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that hee might haue there more easy entrance: secretly he conueyeth about 10. garrisons of fresh soldiours, in such sort as the townes men should not perceiue them: who came so sodenly vpon them, that they had filled the ditches, and were vpon y^e top of the fortresses and munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or coude make themselues ready to resist them. For although there was no lacke of soldiours wythin the Citie, yet for somuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lye, specially at the 2. gates aforesaide, from whence the soldiours which were there warding, could not be wel remooued, for a shifte the rescuers (which wythin the Citie were ready for all sodaine aduentures) were sent to the walles: by whose comming, those fewe whych kept the enemies of before, * being sore hurted and woūded, were succoured and sent to surgery: and thus the sayed assault continued terrible and doubtfull vntill (the darcke night commyng vpon them) they could not wel know the one from the other. In thys vickering were counted of the Turkes to be slayne, more then 5000.

Then the Captaine Rogendorffius commendynge the valiant standing of his souldiours, misdoubting with him selfe (as it happened in dede) that the Turks would not so geue ouer, but would set vpon him the next day w^t a fresh assault, prouiding wyth all diligence for the purpose, made vp the breaches of the walles, & prepared all things necessary for resistance: The next morning following, whych was some thing darke and mistie, * the Turkes thinking to preuent our men with their sodain comming, began again busily to bicker vpon the toppe of the walles.

It would require a longe tractation heere to describe the great distres and danger that the city, those 3. daies following, was in. During all the whych time, there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligēce lacking, either in the enemies, fighting against the City, either in our men in defending the same. For the Turkes besides the multitude of the great ordinance, wherwith (as wyth a great tempest of gunshot) they neuer ceased, still battering the walles and beating the munitions of the Citie, sent also such heapes & multitudes of the Turkes, to the scaling and climing the walles, that vnneth wyth all the ordinance and shot of the city, either y^e violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished: til at last the soldiours of y^e Turkes perceiuing themselues able by no meanes to preuaile, but onely to runne in daunger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselues, * grudging and repining against their dukes and captaines, imputing y^e whole cause onely to them: that the City was yet vntaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking: and so ceased the siege for that time.

After this, when Solymannus had purposed in hym selfe, with his last and strongest siege, to try against the city the vttermost that he was able to doe, and had encouraged hys soldiers to prepare thēselues in most forcible wise therunto: the soldyers shewed thē selues much vnwilling to retorne againe from whence they were so often repulsed before: * by reason wherof great commotion begā to rise in the Turkes campe. The rumour wherof when it came to Solymans eares, he sendeth his grand captaine to kepe all the souldiers in order and obedience, or if they

would be stubborne,* to compell them whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandement. Who comming to the soldiers, shewed to them the great Turkes message, and to animate & encourage them, declared that the oportunitie of the time presēt was not to be neglected, neither could they now w^tout great shame geue ouer, after so many assaultes attempted: Who if they would sustein but one brunt more, y^e victory were in their owne handes. The townesmen, he saide, were wasted and their victualles spent: and the more to enflame their mindes, he promised them not onely great thanks and reward of their Emperour, but also the whole spoyle of the Citie, in recompence of their trauaile.

But when all thys could not stir vp y^e sturdy stomachs of the tired Turkes, vsing compulsion where perswasion would not serue, he appoynted a number of horsmen to be set at their backs, wherby to enforce them, either to go forwarde, or if they denied, w^t gunnes and speares to destroy them. The Turkes seeing themselues in such a strait, that whether they went or taried,* it was to them like perill, yet woulde they not set forwarde, except the Captaine woulde take the vēture before them. Who warding forward in his array, thus spake vnto his felows, saying: Do you forsake your faith & allegiance, and betray the Emperour of Constantinople vnto the Christians, if you wil: but I will discharge my duety towards the commune wealth and my Emperour, and with that worde auauanced his ensigne, making toward the city walles. Whō when other folowed & stil mo and mo pressed after,* so it came to pas that whole routs of them were ouerthrowen & slain of our men vpon the wals, before it was knowne what they meant. Other terrified by their example, gaue backe and left their array, and wineding them selues by bie wayes and vnder couert of hilles, retourned againe into their tentes, and so came it to passe that the strength of the ennemies daily more and more decreasing, they had lesse hope euery day more then other of obtaining the Citie. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turkes vpon the walles, the townesmen also watching the forragers and purueyers of the Turkes, as they raunged about for victual for the campe, euer as occasion serued them, did compasse them about, and so encountered with them by the way, that of a whole Legion, scarly the tenth part returned again to their felowes aliue, by meanes wherof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Wherby such a maruelous alteration hapned, that as our mē began to receiue more hope and courage,* so the Turkes began still more to droupe and to languish wyth dispaire, so that at length skarce durst they appeare wythout the bounds, where they were entrenched, but onely in light skirmishes, when they were prouoked by our men to come out, and to shew them selues.

Solymannus perceiuing his soldiers thus daily to go to wracke,* of whome he had lost already more then 80. W. and that wyth long tarying he could do no good, being also in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about hym was wasted: beginneth to consult with hys captaines & counsailors, what remained best to be done. Of whom the most parte aduised hym to raise his siege, and betime to prouide for hymselfe. Which to doe, many causes there were that mooued hym.

First the losse of his men, which daily were cut frō him by great numbers, besides them which lay in hys campe wounded, or sicke, or famished. Secondly, lacke of perueyance. Thirdly, y^e approaching nere of winter. But y^e chieftest cause was, for that he heard Friderike Palatine aboue mētioned cōming with a great army at Ratisbone towards Uienna, and there had done great molestation to a greate number of the Turks forragers, whom by the way he preuented and so enclosed in the woods, y^t he slew them. Wherof when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not

best to abide the comming of the Palatine,* made hast wyth bagge and baggage to remooue hys campe and to retire: and first sending away his cariage before him, made speede hymself with his army, to follow shortly after.

The Uiennians, when they heard of the remoouing away of the Turkes, although at the first they scarsly beleueed it to be true, being afterwarde certified out of doubt, both of their remouing, and also of the order therof, how it was in a maner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the City after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine wyth his armie, if hee had bene there present, might haue stand them in great stead, yet notwithstanding they tooke the oportunitie of the time present, and issuing out of the Citie, in moste speedy wise, set after them w^t their horsemen: and first ouerpassing the tentes (where y^e Turkes had pitched their stations or pauillions) for hast of the way,* they made such pursute after them, that wythin litle time, they ouertooke the rereward or latter end of the armie, whereof they made suche hauocke and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was neuer a shotte of the pursuers, nor weapon drawn, nor stroke stricken, which light in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to doe: For as the Turkes in their flight went scattered out of order & aray, neither woulde they in the fore rancke (being so farre off from ieopardy) retourne backe to helpe their felowes, it was easie for our men, without resistance, to come vpon their backes as they would.

Yet notwythstanding in long pursute, when our men could not see the cariage of the Turkes, which was woont in armies to come away behinde after the hoast,* and suspecting (as trueth was) some ambush to be left in priuie wayte behinde them, to come betwixt them and home: called themselues to retraite, and consulted vpon the matter, thinking good, first to sende out certaine scoures, to espie [Page 751](#) and bring them word, where the enemies lay, & what was the number of them. Wherof when intelligence was geuē them, that the remnaunt of the Turkes army was remayning in the tentes behind, word was sent to their fellowes in Uienna, to issue out, and to ioyne also with them against the tayle of the turkes, whiche had entrenched themselues within the campe. Other were appoynted to followe the chase, least peraduenture y^e turks seeing our men to recule backe might retorne again vpon thē, & help their felowes. Which thinges being thus ordered and appoynted, in the meane time, while part of the Uienians were houering af'ter the mayne armye, the rest encountered with them that were left in the campe. Who seeing themselues ouermatched, first defenced theyr campe with a deepe ditch & Bulwarke, to delay the time, vntill some helpe might come to them from the army. Secondly they directed messengers to the Christians, to entreate for peace. Thirdly they conueied their priuy letters vnto Solymā for speedy ayde and rescue. But all the wayes and passages being stopped by the Christians, there letters were intercepted, and so the miserable Turkes being destitute of all hope & sucour, seing no other remedy, made out of theyr campe, to hassarde and proue the vttermost for theyr defence:* but in conclusiō, in their desperate venture they were enclosed about by our men on euery side, and there put to the sword and slayne, a few only excepted, who escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellowes, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture lefte behind them in their tentes, was distributed amongst y^e souldiers onely such thinges reserued as might serue for the publike vse and commoditie of the Cittie.

Thus through the mercifull protection and benefite of almighty God, Austria was deliuered from the fierce and barbarous hostilitie of the cruell Turkes: notwithstanding that neither Ferdinandus

the king,* nor the Emperour his brother were there present, but only y^e power of God, thorough the valiauntnes of the worthy Germanes, defended that cittie, in defence wherof consisted y^e safety & deliuerāce, (no doubt) of all these west partes of Christendome. For the which immortall prayse and thankes be vnto our immortall God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of vs most graciously and worthely deserued.* Wherin by the way take this for a note (gentle reader) how & after what maner Gods blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion, and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turkes in so many battailes & sieges heretofore, were ne'uer so repulsed & foyled, as at this present time in incountring w^t the protestantes & defenders of sincere Religion. This cittie of Uienna was besieged & deliuered y^e yeare of our Lord. 1529. The assaultes of the Turke against y^r City are numbred to be 20. and his repulses as many. The nūber of his army which he first brought, was 25000. Wherof were reckened to be slayne 80. thousand and aboue. During the time of his siege, he led away out of the country about many captiues; virgins and Matrones he quelled & cast them out naked: the children hee stucke vpon stakes.

Solymannus thus put from y^e hope of victorie of Uienna after he had breathed himselfe a while at home, the second yere after, which was an. 1531. repaying his host, returned agayne into Hungarye, with no lesse multitude, then before: where first he got the towne called Gunza being but slenderly kept with a small garrison. By reason whereof the townsmen and souldiours yelding thēselues vnto the Turke, were constrained to agree vpon vnreasonable conditions. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

Melchior Soiterus in his second booke writing De bello Pannonico, touching the foresaid Towne of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Ramus, declaring how this Gunza being a small town in Hungary and hauing in it but onely a 100. souldiours (or as Wolfegangus Drechslerus in his chronicle reporteth, at the most but 200. souldiours) vnder the valiaunt captayne Nicholas Iureschitz, defended themselues so manfully and won'derfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of 200. thousand Turkes, that they beyng notwithstanding distressed with lacke and penury of purueiance and sodenly of the Turkes inuaded, yet with pure courage and promptnes of hart, sustained the vttermost force and violence of xiiij. assaultes of that great multitude, for the space of 25. dayes together.

Although the narration of the authour may seeme to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what tyme the great ordinance and battering peeces of the Turkes were planted vpon two mountaynes much higher then y^t town whereby they within the towne were oppressed both before and behinde, in so much that 8 ensignes of the Turks were already within the towne, yet by the reason of women and children and other impotent persons,* who in the middle of the towne were congregate in an house together such a noyse and clamour went vp to heauen praying and crying to God for helpe, that the turkes within the walles supposing a new army of fresh souldiours to be sent into y^e towne for sodayn feare, voyded the towne, & leaped down from the walles agayn (which before they had got) whom no man eyther pursued or resisted: for neuer a souldiour al'most was left on the walles, which was not eyther slayne or els wounded with the Turks ordinance. At what time through the Lordes prouidence it so happened, that one Ibrahimus Bassa,* neare about the Turke, seeing bothe the town to be small, and the great destruction of the Turkes in the siege thereof, and that the captayn in no case woulde yeld, perswaded so the Turke, declaring howe the Towne being so little was not worth the losse of so

many men, in y^e winning wherof there was no glory, & if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow: wherby the Turke being perswaded, did follow hys counsaile, which was thys y^t Nicholaus the Christen captaine beyng called vnto him vnder pledges and safe conduit, should receaue the town as of his hand and gift, with condition, that he shold do no violence to hys souldiours left behinde and wounded, but should procure such meanes as he could, for the recuring of them: and so he raysing his siege departed. An other cause might be also, whiche moued him so sodaynly to rayse hys siege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far of in pursuing after him, and therfore taking his flight by y^t mountaines of the Noricians, he returned with much spoyle of Christian mens goods into Constantinople. Ex Melchior Soit. lib: 2. de bello Panno.

For so it was prouided the same time in Germany,* after the counsaile or August and of Ratilboon (at what time the controuersie of Religion betweene the Protestantes & the papistes, was differred and set of, to the next generall Councel) that Charles the 5. and Ferdinandus his brother hauing vnderstanding of the Turke thus raunging in Hungary, should collect of the Germanynes, Hungarians, and Spanyards and others, an able army of 80. thousand footmen, and 30000. horsemen, to repulse the inuasious of the Turke. But Solymanus hauing intelligence of thys preparation of the Christian power comming toward him whether for feare,* or whether to espy further oportunitie of tyme, for hys more aduantage and our detriment, refused at that time to tary theyr comming, and so speeding hys re'turne vnto Constantinople, retired with much spoyle and pray sent before him, as is aboue premised: Whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1532.

Not long after,* being the yeare of our saluation, 1534. Solymanus intending ij. warres at once, first sent Corradinus Barbarossa the admiral of his nauies into Afrike to war against the kyng of Tunece: Whō the Barbarossa also dispossessed & depriued of his kingdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next yeare following, an. 1535. restored the said king agayne into hys kingdome, and deliuered in the same viage 20. thousand captiues out of seruitude.

The same tyme the Turke also sent an other captayne into Hungary,* to warre agaynst Uaiuoda while he hym selfe taking hys course to Persia, planted his siege agaynst the Citty Taurus, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enioied not the same: for Tahames king of the Persians, sodaynly comming vpon the Turks vnprepared,* slue of them 20. thousand, and tooke hys concubines to the great foyle and reproch of the Turke.

Two yeare after this, which was the yere of our Lord 1537. Solymanus, who coule not be quyete at home nor rest in peace,* returning agayne out of Asia into Europe w^t 270. ships, great and little, set vppon Corcyra, an other Iland belonging to y^e Uenetians, which he besieged x. daies wasting and burning the Townes and fieldes as he went beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slue, partly led away captiues. From thence he sayled to Zacynthus and Cythara,* an other Ilande not farre off from Corcyra, bordering neare to the coastes of Epyrus and Grecia. Where he sodaynly by night inuading the husband men in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harme, drew them out of theyr houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of ix. hūdreth whom he made hys bondslaues: burning moreouer theyr houses, and carying away all the goodes and cattell beyng without the sayd Citties of Zazynthus and Cythara. Ex. Ioan. Crispo.

From thence these helhoundes turned theyr course to y^t siege and spoyle of Egina,* a rich and populous Iland, lying betweene Grecia and Asia. Where first the Egenians did manfully in bataille resist them, and were like to haue preuayled: but being weryed at length and oppressed with [Page 752](#) innumerable thousandes of fresh Turkes, which stil were sent in,* to rescue the other whiche were ouercome before, were compelled to flye into the Cittie of Egina. Which city the cruell Turkes (or rather Deuils on earth) w^t much labour, & violence of their great ordinaunce fet out of their shippes, subdued and cast downe to the ground: the Cittizens and inhabitauntes whereof, the Turke after he had burned their houses, and ransackt theyr goodes commanded to be slayne and killed euery one.* The weomen both noble and vnnoble, with their infantes, were geuen to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped vn^{to} Constantinople, were led away to perpetuall misery & slauery, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1537.

In the same iourney Solyman also tooke the Ile in the sayd sea of Eugeum,* called Parum: also the Ile adioyning to the same named Naxos, and made them to him tributaries. The duke wherof was he which wrote the story both of these Ilandes aforesayd, and also of the other Ilandes called Cyclades, and other Dukes. Ex Ioan Crispo, Duce Naxi. &c.

*Thys done, Solymanus directed his Nauy vnto Apulia, where he set on land. x. thousand footmen, & 2000. horsemen, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parties while the Emperour, the pope and y^e Uenetians were together in warre and dissension. Furthermore the next yere folowing. an. 1538. great attemptes began in Stiria, but by the resistance of the inhabitantes, the force of the barbarous turks was repulsed: notwithstanding great spoyles of men & cattell were caryed from thence, and the country miserable spoiled. In the which yeare also the Turk turning into Hungary, gaue bataille vnto the Christians in Sauia: where through the fraudulent falshood of the Cap'tayne Cassianerus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus beyng (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse. an. 1538.

*After that the Turkes had inuaded the Ilande of Corcyra abouesayd, the Uenetians with Solyman the Turke had ioyned truce for a certayne time, for y^e which they gaue the turke 300. thousand crownes, with the city of Neapolis, and Ma^uasia in the borders of Macedonia. But with in 4. or 5. yeares, the Turke to get a newe stipend of the Uenetians, brake hys league, and inuaded theyr dominions: whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions agayn with him.

*In the yeare of our Lord, 1540. the restles Turke making hys return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the towne called Newcastle, beyng defended by the Spanyardes. In the which town because they refused to yeld themselues all the inhabitauntes and souldiours were put to the sword & slain euery one. This Nouum Castellum or Newcastle was a strong fort of y^t Christians, whiche being nowe in the Turkes power, he had great aduantage ouer all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his power against the City of Buda.

This Buda was a principall city in Hungary, about which great contention had bene (as ye heard before) betweene Ioannes Uaiuoda,* and Ferdinandus. By reason wherof the Turke occasioned by Uaiuoda, came into Hūgary and deliuered the City to Uaiuoda. This Uaiuoda liuing not long after, left behinde him a sonne, whome being an infant he committed to the gouernance of one

Georgius Monachus: who being left tutour vnto the infant, reduced all Transilvania, Buda, Pesta, with other parties of Hungary, which belonged to Uaiuoda before, to the sub^jiection of the child. Ferdinandus hearing therof, in a great hast and anger: leuyed an armye to recouer his landes in Hungarie, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus seing his part weake, first sent his legate to Ferdinandus, desiring him to talke and conferre with him vppon matter, as he pretended,* pertaynign to the behoofe of them both. Wherupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their conuention was appoynted, and also the day and tyme assigned. Thus the parties (according to the agreement) conuenting together with their armyes, with drawing a little aside, as they were entred in communication, sodenly among Ferdinandus men, happened a dagg to be heard, which by the heate of the day (as is thought) loosing of hys own accord,* gaue a cracke. The sound wherof comming to the eares of Monachus, he supposing the same to haue bene discharged, agaynst him, in great anger drewe out his sworde, bidding Ferdinandus auant w^t his doubling dissimulation, saying that he would neuer any more trust the promises of Christians, and immediatlye vppe on the same sent to Solymannus the Turke, for ayde agaynst the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungary,* if he would come and vanquish the army of Ferdinandus lying about the siege of Buda. The Turke maketh no long tarying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mighty power, flieth into Hungary, and eftsoones discharging the host of Ferdinandus, and putting them of from the siege of Buda, getteth the Citty into his own handes, commaunding the sonne of Uaiuoda with his mother, to follow after his camp.

In the history of Ioannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turk had thus preuayled against the Cittie of Buda aforesayd, & agaynst other parties more of Hūgary, by the asset of the Empyre, one Ioachimus duke of Brandeberg, prince Electour was assigned with a puissant army of chosen souldiours of all nations collected, to recouer the City of Buda from the Turke, and to deliuer the other parties of Christendome from the feare of the Turke. an. 1542. Whiche Ioachimus at his first setting foorth, appeared so couragious and valiaunt, as though he would haue conquered the whole world: but this great heate was so slaked in short time by the Turke, that before any great ieoperdy was offered vnto him, he was glad to to be discharged of the viage, and with shame enough, returned home againe. And would God he had left behynde him in the field, no more but his owne shame. For the enemies hauing intelligēce before of his cowardly departure, thinking to worke some poynt of maistry or victory before his goyng, did set vpon the right wing of his army (which chiefly consisted of Dutchmen of low Germany) out of the which they tooke away with them aboue 500. strong and valiaunt souldiours,* not killing them, but carying them a^way aliue. For whome it had bene muche better to haue stand to their weapon and to haue dyed manfully vppon the turkes, then by yealding themselues to be disgarnished of weapon and armoure, and so to be lefte to the cursed curtesie of the foule Turkes. To whome what curtesie was shewe^d,* by the sequele did appeare. For after y^e Turkes had led them out of Hungary into their own dominiō, after a most horrible & beastly sort they disfigured & mangled them, & so sent them abroad through all Grecia to be witnessrs of the Turkes victory. Their kind of punishment was thus: First they had their right arme thrust through with an iron red hot, whereby they should be vnable and vnmeet to all labour & warefare. Secondly, theyr heades were shauen to the very sculles, after the maner of our Friers & monks, when they are newly shauen. Third^ly, they had all their priuy members cut of frō their bodies to the intent to make thē vnfruitful for propagation which wound was so grieuous vnto them, that the greatest part of them died therupon, the few that recouered the torment therof, led a life more bitter & more miserable

then death it selfe. And this kinde of cruelty was executed in order vpon them all. In much like sort did cruell Pharao exercise hys tyranny agaynst the people of God in Egypt: who to destroy the generation of them, caused all the male children to be drowned in the riuer. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seing the tiranny of this turkish Pharao is come to such an extremetie,* the mercifull goodnesse of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other vnto vs for our speedy deliuerance. This was by the cruell Turkes done. an. 1542. witnessed by Ioannes Ramus, which not onely writeth the story, but by the testimony also of hys owne eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his eies one of the same number in the city of Uienna, who hauing wife and children in Bruxelles, eyther for shame or sorrow had no minde to returne home to his own house.*Ex Ioan Ramo.

But to returne agayne to the city of Buda, from whēre we haue digressed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falshood and what cruelty the turkes vsed toward the Christians there, after theyr victory. For after that Solyman y^e Turke vpon the yelding and submission of the men of Buda, had geuen to them his promise of safety and life, within short time, the sayd turke picking a quarrell with them for selling Oxen vnto the Christians, and for barganing with them, slue all the Magistrates of the sayde Citty of Buda: like as in all other Citties, where so euer the Christians yelded vnto him, he neuer, or very rarely kept his promise with them, neyther did euer any christians speed better w^t the turke,* then they which most constantly did resist him.

And as hys promise with the Magistrates of Buda was false and wretched: so hys cruelty with the souldiors therof was more much notorious & abhominable. For in y^e expugnation of Buda among y^t rest whiche were slayne ij. cohortes or bands of Christian souldiors came alyue to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to graūt pardon of life, he commaunded to put on their armour agayn, and to dispose themselues in order and battayle array [Page 753](#) after y^e warlike maner of the christians, whiche when they had accomplished readily, according to his commaun'dement, & he riding about the ranckes of them, had dilligently vewed and be holden them a certain space, at length he commaunded thē to put of their armour againe, which done, certaine of the tallest and strongest of them he pyked out, the residue he commanded by his souldiors comming behinde them, with swordes to be cut in peeces and slayne. Of the other, whome he had elected and chosen, some he set for markes and buttes to be shot at: some he appointed to his two sonnes, for them to slash with their swordes, & try theyr strength, which of them could geue y^e deper woūd and (as they termed it) the fayrer blowe,* whereby moste bloud might follow out of their Christian bodies. Ex Mart. Stella. De successibus Turcarum.

After the winning of Buda, the Turke purposing not so to cease before he had subdued and brought vnder his obedience all Hungary, proceeding further with his armye first brought vnder a strong hold of christians named Pestum or Pesta, where a great number of Christian souldiours partly were slayne, partly were ledde awaye to more cruell affliction.

*Then he came to an other Castle called Walpo situate in the confines of Bosna, Croatia, and Hungary. Whiche forte or castle he besieged three mōthes, while no rescue nor ayd was sent vnto them, neyther from Ferdinandus king of Hungary, nor from any other christian Prince or Princes. Whereupon at length the forte was geuen vp to the Turke, but more through the false treachery or cowardly hart of the souldiours, then of the Captaine. Wherein is to be noted an example not vnworthy of memory. For when the cowardly souldiours, eyther for feare or flattery, wold needs

surrender themselves & the peece vnto the Turke, contrarye to the minde of the Captaine, whiche in no case would agree to theyr yelding: they thinking to find fauour with the turke, apprehended theyr captaine, and gaue him to Solyman.* But see howe the iustice of God sometymes by y^e hands of the enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of vertue, & punishing of vice. For where they thought to saue themselves by the daunger of the faithfull Captain, the euent turned cleane contrary, so that y^e Turk was to the captayne bountifull and very liberalll: and the souldiours, notwithstanding that they had all yelded thēselues, yet were all put to death and commaunded pitiously to be slayne, Ex Ioan. Martino Stella De Turcarum in Hungaria successibus. &c.

There is in Hungary an other towne bearing y^e name of fiue Churches,* called Quiquecclesiensis, partly spoyled before, as is aboue mentioned, pag. 751. but nowe thorough the losse of Walpo, & by the hugenes of the Turkes armye (containing in it. 220. thousand fighting men) was so discouraged and put out of hope and hart,* that the b. •h. and chiefe nobles of y^e town fled before y^e ieoperdy: the rest of the cōmons, which were partly preuented by the sodein comming of the turkes, partly for pouerty could not auoid sent theyr messengers to the Turke, to yealde and surrender the towne, vppon promise of life, vnto his handes. Whose promise how firme it stood, the story leaueth it vncertaine. This is affirmed, that three dayes after the yelding of this Quinquecclesiensis, neuer a Turke durst enter the Cittie. an. 1543. Ex Ioan. Mart. Stella. & alijs.

The next fort or holde gotten by the Turkes in Hungary, was Soclosia. The towne at the first inuasion of the Turkes, was wonne, sackte, and fiered. The castle within the towne, did something hold out a tyme, and first requiring truce for 14. dayes, to see what ayd should be sent vnto them, and to deliberate vpon the conditions that should be proposed vnto thē, after the 14. daies expired, they (trusting to the situation and munitiō of the place, which was very strong) began for a certayne space stoutly to put back the enemy: But afterward seeing their walles to be battered, theyr foundations to shake (for the Turke had set xij. thousand vnderminers vnder the diches of y^e castle) & their strength to diminishe, and misdoubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like maner to yeld them selues, vpon condition to escape with life & goods. Which condition of sauing theyr goodes, was the loosing of theyr lyues, especially of the richer sort. For the Turkes perceauing by that condition, that they were of wealth and substaunce, omitting the inferiour or baser sorte,* fell vpon the wealthy men for their riches, and slue them euery one, an. 1543. Ibid.

In the which his history this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Soclosia was besieged, the villages & pages round about the same, came of theyr own accord, submitting and yelding themselves vnto the Turke, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kynd of victuall and forage,* into the Turkes campe. Which done, Solyman the Turke commaunded all the head men of the pages to appeare before hym, whiche humbly obeyed and came. Then the turke warned them to returne agayne the next day after, euery one bringing with him his inferiour retinue, and houshold seruantes. Whiche when they had with like dilligence also, according to his commaudemēt accomplished, the turke immediately commaunded them euery one, in the face of hys whole army, to be slayn and so was this theyr reward. Which reward the more that it declareth the bloody crueltie of the turke: the more encourage it may minister to our men, the more constantly to w^tstand him. Ex Martino Stella.

An other strong town there is in Hūgary named Stri'gonium, distant from Buda aboue sayde,* the space of fiue Dutch miles, agaynst the whiche the Turkes made great preparation of ordinaunce, and all other instruments of ar'tillary necessary for the siege therof. Which cittie in like ma'ner began also to be compassed and inclosed by y^e turks, before it could be sufficiently prepared & garnished of our mē but that the archbishop onely of Strigon priuely conueyed vnto them 200. Oxen.* Such was then the negligence of Ferdinandus king of Hungary, which so slenderly looked vnto the necessary defence of his townes and cities. More ouer such was the discorde then of christen kinges & Princes, which in their ciuile dissension and warres were so oc'cupied and hoate in needeles quarrels, that they had neyther leasure nor remēbraunce, to help in tyme there, where true neede required. Which slender care, and cold zeale of y^e Christian rulers, not in tendering y^e publicke cause, while they contend in priuate trifles, hath caused the Turke to come so farre as hee hath, and yet farther is like, vnlesse the mercy of the Lord doe helpe more, then our dilligence. One of the chiefe captaynes within the Cittye, was Martinus Lascanus, a Spanyard.

The Turkes in the beginning of the siege began first to attempt the Cittizens with fayre wordes, and accustomed promises, to yelde and gently to submit themselues. But they not ignoraunt of the Turks promises wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they coulde to the defence of their citty, now and then skirmishing with them in out corners, and killing certayne numbers of them: sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, & breaking the wheelles of their gunnes. &c.

Three speciall meanes the Turkes vse in winning great fortes and cities:* great multitude of souldiors: great ordinaunce and mortarie peeces: the third is by vndermyning. All which here in the siege of this Cittie, lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certaine space: in whiche the Strigonians had borne out foure strong assaultes, and slue many thousandes of y^e turkes, till at length the turkes eyther departing away, or els seeming to depart vnto Buda, the people at last being so perswaded and made to beleue of some chiefe rulers of the citty (peraduenture not the truest men) the citizens being erected with hope and comforte, and singing Te Deum,* as though the city had bene free from all daunger, sodenly (by whose counsaile it is vnknownen) conueyed themselues all out of the Cittie. 300. horsemen also passed ouer the riuier and departed. The Italiā which were vnder Frāciscus Salamanca a Spanish captayne hardly coulde be perswaded by him to abide, whiche were in all scarce. 600.

Within 3. daies after 300. Germaine souldiours, with 2. ships laden with shot, poudre, & artillery, were priuily let into y^e town: So that of our men al there were scarce 1300. souldiors.* Who seing the small quantitie of their number, burning and casting downe the towne & suburbes, tooke thē to y^e castle: from whence they beate of the turkes valiantly with theyr ordinaunce, a good space, and with wyld fire destroyed great companies of thē, till at last they seyng theyr walles to fayle them, and the whole castle to shake by vndermyning, but especially by the working of a certayne Italian surnamed Presbyter, they gaue ouer. Thys Italian whether for feare or falshood, secretly vnknowing to the rest of the souldiours, accompanied with two other conueyed himselfe down from the walles, & being brought into the tentes of the next captayne or Bassa of the turkes, there in the name of all hys fellowes, conuented with the turkes,* to geue vp to them the Castle: wherupon y^e turkes were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after with two other turkes was sent backe to Salamanca hys Captayne, with the Turkes message. The

goyng out of this Italian being priuy to the residue of hys fellowes, cō|trary to the lawes and discipline of warre, although it seemed to come of hys own head: yet for so much as the other souldiours were not sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians his countrey men had beene in some parte of [Page 754](#) consent therein, and would take his part: neither durst offer him any harne for that his doing, nor yet could wel ad|uise with themselues what was best to do, for feare of priuy confederacie within themselues.

Thus while Lascanus the chiefe captaine of the Christians aforesayd, w^t his fellowe souldiours, were in a mase what to doe or not to do: in the meane time came one running, who geuing a signe both to the Christians and the Turkes, to hold theyr hands and weapons, for that it was against all lawe of warre to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as they were commaunded, went into y^e inward tower. The turkes in the meane time, had got into the Castle, and occupied all the vtter parties. Then was Salamanca by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turk, who there being stayde that night, the next morrowe the Turkes bull or warrant was sent into the Castle, permitting free libertie to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage. Who now beyng ready to depart, first were cōmaunded by the turkes compassing them round about, to cast from them theyr dagges, launces, and battaile axes, in|to the trench. Then comming to the gate to go out, theyr swordes were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last whē they were come a little further, other were sent to them to discharge them of theyr helmettes, their ter|gattes, currettes, and what soeuer peece of harnes, was about them. Whereupon great feare came vpon them, least some great cruelty should be shewed vpon them.* Solymā after he had long deliberated w^t himself, whether to kil thē or not, at last contrary to all expectatiō, granted theyr liues but before they should be dismissed, he first caused them, in derision of Christianitie, to be bayted with scornes and mockes throughout all the Turkish army, and so the next day commaunded them being stript out of theyr coats and apparell, to be reduced againe into the castle by companies setting ouer them certayne turkes with cudgels, & battes to lay vpon their backes and sides, causing them to bury y^e dead carcasses, and to gather vp the rubbish broken downe from y^e castlewalles, and to scoure the ditches. Which done the next day following he demaunded of them by an inter|preter, whether they would enter wages with hym, & take horse and armour to serue hym in his.* Warres, which condition diuers for feare were contented to take, seying no other remedy to auoyd present death. Some neyther by ma|nasing wordes, nor for any feare of death, coude be compelled thereunto, of whom certayn which stooode stoughtly in refusing thereof, were presently slayne, whome I may worthely recite in the number and catalogue of holy martyrs.

Of the foresayde christians, part were caryed ouer the riuer of Danubius, not without great vilany, & contumely most despitemfull, For some had theyr wiues taken from them and caryed away, some had theyr wyues rauished be|fore theyr face: and such as made or shewed any resistance therat, had their wiues before them cast into the riuer and drowned: also theyr infantes and yong children, beyng appoynted by the turkes to the abhominable order of the Ia|nizarites, mentioned before pag. 736. theyr parentes not consenting thereunto, were precipitate and throwne into the riuer and drowned. All whiche thinges are testified by Iohn Martinus Stella,* in hys Epistles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William, & Michaell, &c. Whiche Mart Stella moreouer this addeth & affirmeth, that he hymselfe being the same time at Uienna, did see one of the foresaid wiues, who being holden fast by the heare of the head yet notwithstanding

hauing her heare pluckt off, cast her selfe into the riuer Danubius, for the singuler loue to her husband, and so swamme to the shippe where he was. And thus this miserable company of Germaines, Spanyards and Italiās mixt together, macerate with labours, with hunger pyned, with watchinges, dolours, and sorow consumed came at length to Schinda.

When the tidings therof was noysed at Uienna, partly with feare and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hartes were moued & vexed diuersly. Some thought them not worthy to be receiued into their citty,* shewing themselues so dastardly and cowardly. Other thought agayne that mercy was to be shewed vnto them, and commended their fact for that they being so few, & vnfurnished of ayde neither able to match by any meanes with suche an innumerable multitude of the turkes, kept themselues till better time might serue thē. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the captaines brought the poore remnant of that ruffull company, vnto possidonium, where the sayd Captayns were layd fast, and their kept in durance, to ren'der accompt of the whole matter, howe it was wrought and handled. And thus haue ye, the lamentable story of Strigonium.

The Turke proceeding in his victories, conducted his army next vnto Tath,* and to the parties lying nere about Comaron. This Tath was also a strong hold in Hungary wherein were placed certayne garrisons, partly of the Germaines, partly of the Italians. The chieftayne of the Italians was one Anniball Tosso, constitute by Philipus Torneilius. This Tasso was a man well experte in prowes of warre,* but of a filthy corrupt life, & also a foule swearer: and horrible blasphemour of God and his saintes. To make the story shorte, this forte of Tathe, before anye siege was layde vnto it, was yelded and geuen vp to the Turkes: vpon what conditions, or by whose meanes, the author sheweth not: Thus much he sheweth, that the sayd Anniball shortly vpō the same, returning into Italy, was commaunded by Tornellius aforesaid: to be apprehended and beheaded.

After the turkes had subuerted and destroyed the forte of Tathe,* they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kinges of Hūgary haue bene always wont there to be crowned, and buried. This Alba is a litle well compacted citie in Hungary, hauing on y^e one side a marishe somewhat foggishe or fenny, whiche made the town lesse assaultable.* But nere to the same was a woode from y^e which y^e turkes euery day with vi. C. cartes, brought such matter of wood and trees felled for the same purpose, into the marish, that within lesse then 12. dayes they made it apte, and harde to their feete, whiche the townes men thought neuer could be gone vppon, but onely in the hard frostes of wynter. At the first beginning of the siege, there stode a litle without the munitions in the front of the citie, a certayne church or Monastery, whiche the Cittizens pretending to mayntayne and keepe agaynst the turkes, had priuily cōueyed light matter easely to take flame,* with powder, in secret places therof, and had hid also fire withal. Whiche done, they (as agaynst theyr willes being driuen backe, withdrew themselues within the munitions, wayting the occasions, when this fire woulde take. Thus the turkes hauing the possession of the churche, sodenly the fire comming to the powder, raysed vp the Churche, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous turkes This was not so soone espyed of them within the towne, but they issued out vpon them in this disturbance, and slue of them a great number: Among whom diuers of theyr nobles also the same time were slayne, and one Bassa an Eunuch, which was of great estimation with y^e turkes.* Moreouer, in the same skirmish was taken one of those gunners which the french king is sayd to haue sent to the Turke a litle before. Whiche if it be true, let the Christian Reader iudge what is to be thought of those Christen

princes, which not onely forsaking the common cause of Christes Church ioyned league with the turke,* but also sent hym gunners to set forward hys warres to the destruction of Christes people, and to the shedding of theyr blond, for whom they know the blond of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I shew myne authour: If it be, then let the Pope see and marke well howe hys title of Christianissimus, can well agree with such doinges.

But to let this matter sleape, although the turkes (as ye heard) had wonne the fenne, with theyr pollicie and industry, against the Cittie of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothing inferiour to theyr enemies, through y^e valiant help & couragious indeuour of Octavianus Scru'zatus, a captayne of Millane. By whose prudent counsaile and constant standing, the busy enterprises of the turkes did little preuayle a long time, till at length, sodainly arose a thick fog or miste vpon the cittie, where as rounde about besides, the sunne did shine bright. Some sayde it came by Arte Magicall, but rather it may appeare to ryse out of the fenne or marish, beyng so pressed downe with mens feete and other matter layd vpon it.

The turkes vsing the occasion of this misty darckenes in secret wise approching the walles,* had got vp to a certayne fortresse, where the Germaines were, before our men coulde well perceane them: where they pressed in so thicke, & in such number, that albeit the christian souldiors standing strongly to the defence of theyr lyues, dyd what valiaunt men in cases of such extremetie were able to doe: yet beyng ouermatched with the multitude of the Turks, & the sodennes of their comming, gaue backe, seeking to retyre into the inward walles. Which when theyr other felowes did see to recule, then was theyr flyeng of all hands euery man striuing to get into the Cittie. There was betweene the outward Wales or vamures,* and inward gate of the citty, a straite or narrow passage, cast vp in maner of a bancke or causey, ditched on both sides: which passage or ingresse happened y^e same timeto be barred & stopped. By [Page 755](#) reason wherof the poore souldiors were forced to cast them selues into the ditch, thinking to swimme as well as they could, into the citty: where many of them sticking in the mudde, were drowned: one pressing vpon an other: many were slayne of their enemies comming behinde them, they hauing neither hart, nor power to resist. A fewe whiche could swimme out, were receiued into the Citty: but the chiefe Captaines and warders of the towne were there slayne.

The cittizens being destitute of theyr principall captaines and warriors, were in great perplexitie and doubt among thēselues, what to do, some thinking good to yeld, some counsayling the contrary. This while the mindes of the cittizens were distract in diuers & doubtfull sentences, the Magistrates minding to stand to y^e turkes gentlenes, sent out one of theyr heads vnto the turke, who in y^e name of them all, should surrender to him the citty, and become vnto him tributaries, vpō cōdition they might enioy liber|ty of life & goods, which being to thē granted, after the turkish faith & assurance, first y^e souldiors which were left w^tin y^e citty, putting of theyr armour, were discharged & sent away. Who being but onely 300. left of 4. ensignes of Italians, & of a thousand Germaines,* by the way were layd for by the Tartarians, for hope of theyr spoyle: so that they scattering a sunder one one way, an other an other to saue themselues as well as they could: fled euery one what way he thought best. Of whome some wandering in woodes & marishes faynted for famine: some were taken and slayne by the Hungarians, a few with bare and empty, and wythered bodies, more like ghostes then men, escaped & came to Uienna. And this befell vpon the souldiors.

Now vnderstand what happened to the yelding Citizens. So in story it followeth, that when the turke had entred the towne, and had visited the sepulchre of the kynges for three or 4. dayes he pretended much clemency toward the cittizens, as though he came not to oppresse them, but to be reuēged of Ferdinādus their king, & to deliuer them from the seruitude of the Germaines. On the fourth day, al y^e chiefe & head men of the citty were cōmaunded to appeare before y^e turke in a playne, not far frō the citty where the condemned persons before, were wont to be executed, as though they should come to sweare vnto the turke.* At this commaundement of the turke, when the cittizens in great number, & in their best attyre were assembled, y^e turk contrary to his fayth and promise, commaunded sodenly a generall slaughter to be made of them all. And this was y^e end of the citizens of Alba.

In the meane time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians meeting sometimes with the horsemen of y^e Tartarians, which were sent out to stop their vitayles from y^e citie,* slue of them at one bickering. 3000. Turks. In which story is also reported & mentioned of mine author, an horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certayne captiue (a Christian belike) who comming into Uienna, was found to haue in his scrip or satchel the halfe of a yong childe of two yeares old, which remayned yet vneaten, the other halfe beyng eaten before. an. 1543. Ibid.

Next after this was expugned the castle of Pappa, by y^e Turkes. Let the castle now of Papa take heede, least one day it follow after.

The like fidelitie the turkes also kept, with the fort of Wizigradum and the souldiours therof. This Wizigradū is situate in the mid way betweene Buda and Strigoniū. Of the which fort or Castle, the highest tower so mounteth vpon the hil, that vnlesse it be for famine and lack of water they haue not to dread any enemy. Notwithstanding so it happened, that the lower peece being wonne, they in the higher tower abiding foure dayes without drink were cōpelled wyth liberty graunted of life and goodes, to yelde themselues. But the deuilish turkes keeping no fayth nor promise, slue them euerye one, onely Petrus Amandus the captaine of the peece, excepted: who priuely was conueyed by the Captayne of the Turkes, out of the slaughter. an. 1544.

To these moreouer may be added the winning of Nouum Castellum in Dalmatia, where he slue all that were wⁱn both soldiours & other,* for that they did not yeld themselues in time. Thus the turke, whether they yelded to hym or not, neuer spared the people and flocke of Christ.

As the false & cruell Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pitie of the Christians, and easely might then haue preuayled and gone whether he would for that Charles the Emperour and Franciscus the french king were the same tyme in warre and hostilitie, and also other Christen Princes, as Henry Duke of Brunswike, against Iohn Fredericke Duke of Saxonie, also Princes and rulers were contending among themselues: beholde the gracious prouidence of our Lord and God toward vs, who seeing the misery & hauing pittie of hys poore Christians, sodeinly as with a snafle reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Eu^rope into his owne country againe, by occasion of the Per'sians, who were then in great preparation of war agaynst the turkes,* & had inuaded hys dominion. By reason wher^of the turkes was kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Whiche warres at length being atchiued and finished, (wherein the sayd Turke lost great victoryes, with slaughter of many thousandes of his Turkes) he was not onely prouoked by the

instigation of certaine euil disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian Princes, to returne agayn into Eu'rope, in hope to subdue all the partes thereof vnto his dominion. Whereunto,* when he had leuyed an armye incredible of such a multitude of turks, as y^e like hath not lightly bene heard of, see agayne the mercifull prouidence & pro'tection of our God toward his people. And as the Turke was thus intending to set forward with this innumerable multitude against y^e Christians, the hand of the Lorde sent such a pestilence through all the turkes army and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thracia, to Mace'donia and also to Hungary, that all the turkes possessions almost seemed nothing els, but as a heape of dead corses, whereby his viage for that time was stopped, and he almost compelled to seeke a new army.

Beside this plague of the Turkes aforesayde, whiche was worse to them then any warre, other lets also and domesticall calamities through Gods prouidence happened vnto Solymanus, the great rouer and robber of y^e world which stayd him at home from vexing the christians, especially touching hys eldest sonne Mustapha.

This Mustapha being hated and partly feared of Rustanus the chiefe counsailour about the Turke, and of Rosa y^e turkes concubine & after his wife, was diuers times complayned of to his father, accused, & at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the turke, by them aforesayd: that in conclusion hys father caused him to be sent for to hys paultion,* where 6. Turkes with visours were appoynted to put hym to death: Who comming vppon hym, put (after theyr manner) a small corde or bowstring full of knottes about hys necke, & so throwing him downe vpon y^e ground, not suffering hym to speake one word to hys father, w^t the switch therof throtled & strangled him to death his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Whiche facte being perpetrate, afterward when the Turke would haue geuen to an other sonne of hys and of Rosa called Bianger, the treasures, horse, armour, ornamentes and the prouince of Mustapha his brother: Bianger crying out for sorow of his brothers death: phy of thee, sayth he to hys father, y^u impious and wretched dog, traytour, murderer, I cannot cal thee father, take the treasures the horse and armour of Mustapha to thy selfe: and wyth that taking out hys dagger, thrust it through hys own body. And thus was Solyman murderer & parricide of hys owne sonnes: which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1552.

Wherein notwithstanding is to be noted the singular prouidence and loue of the Lord toward his afflicted christians. For this Mustapha as he was couragious & great'ly expert and exercised in all practise of warre:* so had he a cruell hart, maliciously set to shed the bloud of christians: Wherefore great cause haue we to congratulate,* & to geue thanks to god, for y^e happy taking away of this Mustapha And no lesse hope also and good comfort we may conceaue of our louing Lord, hereby ministred vnto vs, to thinke y^e our mercifull God after these sore afflictions of his Christians vnder these 12. Turks afore recited: now after this Solyman intendeth some gracious good worke to Christendom, to reduce & release vs out of this so long & misera'ble turkish captiuitie: as may be hoped now by takyng away these yong impes of this impious generation, before they should come to worke theyr conceaued malice against vs: the Lord therefore be glorified and praysed. Amen.

Moreouer as I was in writing hereof, oportunely came to my handes a certayne writing out of Germanye,* certifiyng vs of suche newes & victory of late atchieued against the turke, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort vs, touching the decay and ruine of the Turks power &

tyranny against vs. Which newes are these: y^t after y^r turkish tyrant had besieged with an army of 30000. men, the famous & strong town and castle of Iula in Hungary lyeng 40. dutch myles beyond the riuer Danubius, which cittye had, by the space of 6. weekes susteined many grieuous assaultes: God through hys great mercy & goodnes so comforted the sayd towne of Iula and the poore Christians therein, at theyr earnest prayers, that the Turke with [Page 756](#) all hys hoste was driuen backe, by the handes of the generall, called Karetshim Laslaw and his valiaunt company, who not onely defended the said town, but also constrayned the Turks to retyre, to the great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the turkish rable: For the whiche the euerlasting God be prayed for euer.

The maner of the ouerthrow was this. As the foresaid generall did see his aduauntage w^t Captayne George, and other horsemen of the Sclesians and Hungarians, they set on y^e rereward of the Turkes and killed about 8000. of thē,* and tooke also some of their artillery and followed them so fast, y^r the Turkes were constrayned to flye into a marishe ground, and to breake the wheelles of the rest of theyr artil'lary, to saue themselues, and therwith they got a very rich booty, rescuing besides and taking from the Turks a great number of christian prisoners. Like thanks also are to be geuen to God,* for the prosperous successe geuen to Magot'schie the valiaunt Captaine of Erla, who making toward the Turkes, and recountring with the Tartarians, slue of them about 8. hundreth.

Not long after this, it happened through the like prouidence of our God, a turkish Captayne called Begen, accompanied w^t a thousand freshe horsemen came newly out of Turkey,* to go toward the citty named Quinque Ecclesiae, or Finffenkyrchen: with whome the Erle of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the right setting vpon hym, kil'led the captayne and tooke 8. Cammels, and 8. Moyles laden with treasure, and also got two red Guidons, wyth a whole great peece of rich cloth of gold, and with an other fayre and straunge Iewell. The horse of this foresayd turkish captayn, was betrayed and decked most richly. The saddle wherof had the pommell and the backe part couered ouer with plate of fine Arabicke golde, and the rest of the sadle, beside the sitting place, was plated with siluer very fayre gilded. The seate of the sadle was couered with purple veluet: the trappers and bridle beset with little Turkeys, and Rubies: Which horse was sent to Uienna vnto the Emperour Maximilian for a present.

Although the Earle would very fayne haue saued the Captayn, not knowing what he was, yet the Ianizarites labouring to carry away their captayne, so stiffly defended thēselues, that the Earle with his company, was constray'ned to kill both them and theyr Captayne. From whome the said Erle of Serin y^e same time got, xv. thousand Turkish and Hungarish Ducates: which mony was brought for the payment of the Turkishe souldiours in the towne aforesayd of Finffenkyrchen. &c. All which be good begynninges of greater goodnes to be hoped for hereafter, thorough the grace of Christ our Lord, especially if our Christian rulers and potentates, first the churchmen & prelates for theyr partes: then the ciuile powers & princes for their partes, with holding theyr affections a little, will turne their brawles & variance, into brotherly concord and agre'ment, which the Lord of peace put in theyr mindes to doe. Amen. Or otherwise if it will so please the Lorde, that the turke come further vpon vs, so as he hath begonne, for our punishment & castigation, his grace then geue to the flock of his poore Christians, constancie of fayth, pacience in suffering, and amendmēt of life: For so I vnderstand by publicke fame, although vncertainly rumored by the voyce of some,* that the Turkes power of late, this present yeare of our Lord

1566. hath perced the parties of Apulia within Italy, wasting and burning the space of an. 100. myles toward Naples. Which if it be certaine, it is to be feared, that the Turke hauing thus set in his foote, & feeling the sweetnes of Italy, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so farre into Italy, that he will display hys banners within the walles of Rome, & do with old Rome the like as Mahumete his great granfather did with newe Rome, the city of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

The causes why we haue so to iudge, he diuers: first y^e the sea of Rome hath bene defended hetherto and mayntayned with much blood,* and therefore it may seeme not vncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost wth blood agayne, according to the verdict of the Gospell: He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with y^e sword. &c. An other cause is, the fulfilling of the 18. chapter of the Apocalips: where is written that great Babilon shall fall & be made an habitation of deuils, and a denne of vnclane spirite, and a cage of filthye and vnclane byrdes: the fall wherof shal be like a milstone in the sea, that is, which shal not rise agayne. And this to come before the day of iudgement, the text of y^e sayd chapter doth apertly declare: where the wordes do follow, shewing that the kynges of y^e earth, and the marchantes which had to doe with the whoorishe City, standing a farre off for feare of the heate, and beholding the smoke of the sayd Cittie flaming and burning wth fire, shall be wayle and rue her destruction and desolacion &c. What citty is this, called great Babilon, whiche like a mylstone shall fall and burne, and be made an habitation of vnclane spirites, and beastes, let the reader construe. This is certayn and playne by these her kinges and marchantes standing a far off for feare, and beholding her burⁿing, that the destruction of this city (what cittye soeuer it be) shall be seene here in earth before the comming of the Lordes iudgement,* as may easely be gathered by these iij. circumstances, that is, by the stāding, the beholding, and be wayling of her marchauntes. By the which marchauntes and kynges of the earth, peraduenture may be signified, y^e Pope, the rich Cardinales, the great prelates and fat doctours, and other obedienciaries of the Romish sea: who at the comming of the Turkes, will not auenture theyr liues for theyr Church, but will flee the citty (no doubt) and stād a farre off from daunger: and when they shal see with their eyes, and heare with theyr cares the city of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruell Turks, the sight thereof shall seeme to them piteous and lamentable, to behold the great and fayre city of Rome, the tall castle of S. Angell, y^e Popes mighty sea (where they were wont to fishe out such riches dignities, treasures, and pleasures) so to burne before theyr eyes, and to come to such vtter desolacion, which shal neuer be reedefied agayne, but shall be made an habitation of deuils and vnclane spirites, that is, Turkes and heathen Sultans, and barbarous Saracens. &c. This (I say) peraduenture may be the meaning of that propheticall place of the Apoc. not that I haue here anye thing to pronounce, but onely geue my gesse, what may probably be coniectured. But the end at length will make this and all other thinges more playne and manifest. For mistical prophesies lightly are neuer so well vnderstand, as when the euent of them is past and accomplished.

An other cause concurring with the causes aforesayde may be collected,* out of Paulus Iouius, who writing of y^e subuersion of Rhodes, which was as ye heard. an. 1522. vpon Christmas day, sayth that it chaunced sodenly the same day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the vi. was entring into the church to his seruice, sodeinly ouer hys head the vpper frontier or toppe of the chappel dore, which was of marble immediately as the pope was entring, fel downe and slue certayne of hys garde wayting vpon hym. Whereby peraduenture may be ment, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to folow the losse of Rhodes.

The fourth cause I borowe out of Ioannes Auentinus,* who in his thyrd booke alledging the names, but not the wordes of Hildegardis, Brigitte, and other propheticall men hath these wordes: Si vera sint carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegardae, & Brigittae. Sybillanum Germaniae, & Bardorum fatidicorū, qui ea quae nostro aeuo completa vidimus, longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt: A grippinensis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarū caput erit,*&c. That is, if the sayings and prophesies of Hildegarde, of Brigitte, & of other propheticall persōs be true, which beyng foretold long before, we haue seene now in these our dayes accōplished: y^e town of Colen wil we, nil we, must needes be the head city of y^e turks. &c.

And this I write not as one pronouncing agaynst the City of Rome, what wil happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to passe (as I pray God it do not) then shall the Pope well vnderstand, whether hys wrong vnderstanding of the Scriptures, & his false flattering glo'sers vpon the same, haue brought hym.

Wherefore my counsaile is to the Pope,* & all hys Popish mayntayners and vpholders to humble themselues, & to agree with theyr brethren by tyme, letting all contention fall: lest that while the Byshop of Rome shal striue to be the highest of all other Byshops, it so fall out shortly, y^t the byshop of Rome shalbe found the lowest of all other Byshops, or peraduenture no byshop at all.

Wherevpon also an other cause may be added, taken out of Hieronunns Sauonarola, who prophecieth that one shall come ouer the Alpes lyke vnto Cyrus, & destroy Italy. Wherof see more, pag. 737.

Thys Solimanus, if he be yet aliue, hath now reigned 46. yeares,* who began the same yeare, in the which y^e Emperour Charles the v, was crowned, which was an. 1520. and so hath continued by Gods permission, for a scourge to the Christians, vnto this yere now present. 1566. This Solyman by one of hys Concubines, had hys eldest sonne called Mustapha. By an other Concubine called Rosa, he had foure sonnes, Mahumete, Baiazates, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of the whiche sonnes, Mustapha and Gianger were slayn (as ye heard before) by the meanes of their own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turkes out of the authors here vnder written.

[Page 757](#)**The Authors of the Turkes storyes.**

- *Laonicus Chalcondila.
- Nicolaus Eboicus Episo. Saguntinus.
- Ioan. Ramus.
- Andraeas a Lacuna.
- Wolfgangus Drechslerus.
- Ioan. Crispus.
- Ioan Faber.
- Ludouicus Viues.
- Bernardus de Breydenbach.
- Mityleneus Archiepise. Sabellicus.
- Isiodorus Rutherford.
- Marinus Barlerus.
- Henrious Penia de bello Rhodio.

- Melchior Soiterus.
- Paulus Iouius.
- Ioan Martinus Stella.
- Gaspar Peucerus. &c.
- Nicolaus a Moffen Burgundus.
- Sebast Munsterus.
- Baptista Egnatius.
- Barthol Peregrinus.

A Notice touching the miserable persecution, slaughter and captiuity of the Christians vnder the Turkes.

HEtherto thou hast heard (Christian Reader) the lamētable persecutions of these latter dayes, wrought by y^e Turkes agaynst the people and seruauntes of Christ. In the reading wherof, such as sitte quietly at home, & be farre frō ieopardy, may see what misery there is abroad, y^e know^rledge and reading wherof, shall not be vnprofitable for all christians earnestly to wey & consider, for that many there be, which falsely deceauing themselues, imagin that Christianity is a quiet and restrull state of life, full of pleasure & solace in this present worlde, when in deede it is nothing lesse, testified by the mouth of our Sauour himselfe, who rightly defining his kingdome, teacheth vs that his kingdome is not of this world, premonishing vs also before, y^t in this worlde we must looke for affliction, but in hym wee shall haue peace. Examples hereof in all partes of thys hystory through all ages are plenteous and euidēt to be sene, whether we turne our eyes to the first x. persecutiōs in the primitiue Church during the first 3. hundreth yeares after Christ: or whether we consider the latter 3. hūdreth yeares in this last age of the Churche, wherein the poore flocke of Christ hath bene so afflicted, oppressed & deuoured, y^e it is hard to say whether haue bene more cruell agaynst y^e Christians, the infidel Emperors of Rome in the primitiue age of the Church, or els those barbarous Turkes in these our latter times of the Church now present.

Thus from time to time the Churche of Christ almost hath had litle or no rest in this earth, what for the Heathen Emperours on the one side, what for the proude Pope on the other side, and on the third side what for the barbarous Turke: for these are and haue bene from the beginning the three principall & capital enemies of the Church of Christ, signified in the Apocalips by the beast, the false Lamb, and the false Prophet, from whom wēt out three foule spirites like frogges, to gather together all the kinges of the earth to the battell of the day of the Lord God almighty.* Apocal. 16. The cruelty and malice of these 3. enemyes agaynst Christes people hath bene such, that to iudge which of thē did most excede in cruelty of persecution, it is hard to say: but y^e it may be thought that the bloody & beastly tyrannye of the Turkes especially aboute the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruell slaughters that euer were seene in any age, or read of in any story: In so much y^e there is neither history so perfect, nor writer so diligēt, who writing of the miserable tyranny of the Turkes, is able to expresse or comprehend the horrible examples of theyr vnspeakable cruelty and slaughter exercised by these 12. Turkish tyrants,* vpon poore Christē mens bodies, within the compasse of these latter 3. hūdreth yeares, wherof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor nūber expressed: yet to geue to the Reader some generall gesse or view thereof: let vs first perpend and consider what dominions & Empyres, how many countries, kingdomes, prouinces, cities townes, strong holdes and fortes,

these Turkes haue surprised and wonne from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place, which the turkes euer came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all y^e inhabitants therof, or led away the most part therof into such captiuitie and slauery, that they continued not long after aliue: or els so li'ued, that death almost had bene to them more tollerable.

Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Romaine Emperors, the saying was, that no man could step with his foote in all Rome, but should tread vpon a Martyr: so here may be sayd, that almost there is not a towne, city, or village in all Asia, Grecia, also in a great part of Europa, and Aphrica, whose streetes haue not flowed with bloud of the Christians, whom the cruell turks haue murthered. Of whom are to be sene in histories, heapes of soul'diours slaine, of mē & womē cut in pieces, of childrē sticked vpō poles & stakes, whō these detestable turks most spitefull (& y^e in the sight of theyr parentes) vse to gore to death: some they drag at theyr horse taites & famish to death: some they teare in pieces, tying theyr armes and legges to foure horses: other some they make marks to shoot at: vpō some they trye theyr swords, how deep they can cut and slash, as ye before haue read, pag. 777, The aged & feeble they tread vnder theyr horses: womē w^t child they spare not, but ripp theyr bodyes, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them▪* Whether the Christians yeld to them, or yeld not, all is a matter As in theyr promises there is no truth: so in theyr victoryes there is no sense of manhood or mercy in them, but they make hauocke of all.

So the Citizens of Croia, after they had yelded & were all promised theyr liues, were all destroyd and that horribly. In Mysia, after the king had geuen himselfe to the turkes hand, hauing promise of life, Mahumet the Turke slew him with his owne hands. The Princes of Rasia had both theyr eies put out with •asens redde hoate set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrēdered to the Turke, hauing the like assuraunce of life and safety: & yet contrary to the league, the Citizens were put to the sword and slaine. At the winning and yelding of Le•bos, what a number of young men and children were put vpon sharpe stakes and poles, and so thrust thorough? At the winning of the Citty of Buda,* what tyrannye was shewed and exercised agaynst the poore Christians, whiche had yelded themselues, and agaynst the two Dukes Christopher Bisserer and Ioannes Tranbinger, cōtrary to the promise and handwriting of the Turke, is to be sene in the story of Melchior Soiterus, de Bello Pannonico.

The like also is to be read in the story of Bernardus de Breydenbach,* who writing of the taking of Hydrimum, a City in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter, of the young men there slayne, of old men troden vnder the horse feet, of matrons & virgines rauished, of women with child cut & rent a pieces, of the Priestes in the Churches slayne, & of the Archbishop of that Citty,* who being an aged man and holding the crosse in his hands, was cut a sonder with a wooden saw. &c. The same Bernerdus also wryting of the ouerthrow of Nigropontus, otherwise called Chalcides, an. 1471. describeth the like terrible slaughter: whiche there was exercised: where the Turke, after hys promise geuē before to the cōtrary,* most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be pricked vpon sharp stakes: some to be dashed against the hard stones,* other some to be cut in sonder in y^e midst, and other mo with other kinds of forments to be put to death: in so much that all the streetes and wayes of Chalcides did flowe with the bloud of them, whiche were there slayn. In which history the foresayd writer recordeth one memorable example of maydely chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended.* The story is tolde of the

Pretors daughter of that City, who being the onely daughter of her father, & noted to be of an exceeding singuler beuty, was saued out of the slaughter, & brought to Maḥumet the turke, to be his concubine: But she denying to consent to his turkishe appetite and filthynes, was commaunded therewith to be slayne and murthered, and so died she a Martyr, keping both her fayth and her body vndefiled vnto Christ Iesus her spouse. Ibid.

The like cruelty also was shewed vpon them whiche kept the Castle, & afterward yielding themselues vpō hope of the turkes promise, were slayne euery one. What should I speake of the miserable slaughter of Methone, & the Citizēs therof dwelling in Peloponesus: who seing no other remedy but needes to come into the Turkes hands, set the barne on fire where they were gathered together, mē, women, and children: [*](#) some women also with child volūtarily cast themselues into the Sea, rather then they would sustayne the Turkes captiuiti. Vide pag. 734.

Miserable it is to beholde, [*](#) long to recite, incredible to beleue all the cruel parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreantes, agaynste the Christians, through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europa. Who is able to recite the innumerable societys and companyes of the Grecians Martyred by the Turkes sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponesus? besides y^e Iland of Rhodes and other Ilandes, and Cyclades adiacēt in the sea about, numbred to 52. of the which also Pathmos was one, wher S. Iohn being banished, wrote his reuelations. Where did euer the Turkes sette any foote, but the bloud of Christians there, without pittie or measure, went to wracke? & what place or prouince is there almost thorow y^e world, wher y^e turks either haue not perced, or are not like shortly [Page 755](#) to enter? [*](#) In Thracia, & through all the coastes of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Seruia, Transilvania, Bosna, in Himgaria, also in Austria, what hauocke hath bene made by them, of Christen mens bodies, it will rue any Christen hart to remember. At the siege of Moldaui, at the winning of Buda, of Pesta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Sociosia, Tathe, Wizigradum, Nouum, Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Uaradinum, Quinque ecclesie: also at the battel of Uerna, where Ladislaus king of Polonie with all his army almost, through the rashnes of the Popes Cardinall were slayne: at the winning moreouer of Xabiacchus, Lyssus, Dinastrum: at the siege of Guntza, and of the faythfull towne Scorad, where the nūber of the shotte agaynst theyr walles, [*](#) at the siege thereof, were reckoned to 2539. likewise at the siege of Uienna where all the Christian captiues were brought before the whole army and slayne, and diuers drawne in pieces with horses: but especially at the winning of Constantinople aboue mentioned, pag. 706. also at Croia & Methone, what beastly cruelty was shewed, it is vnspeakeable. For as in Constantinople, Mahumer the dronken Turk neuer rose from diner, but he caused euery daye, for his disport. 300. Christiā captiues of the nobles of that City to be slayn before his face: [*](#) So in Methone, after that his captayn Omares had sent vnto him at Constantinople 500. prisoners of the Christians, the cruell tyrant commaunded them all to be cut and deuided in sonder by the middle, & so being slain to be throwne out into the fieldes.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the same story, addeth moreouer a prodigious narratiō (if it be true) of a brute Oxe, whiche being in the fieldes, and seing the carcasses of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature: & afterward comming to the quarters of one of the dead bodyes lying in the field, first tooke vp the one halfe, [*](#) & then comming agayne, tooke vp likewise the other halfe, and so (as he could) ioyned thē both together. Which being espyed of them which saw the doing of the brute Oxe, and maruelling

thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahumet, he commaunded the quarters agayne to be brought, where they were before, to proue whether the beast would come agayne: who fayled not (as the author recordeth) but in like sort as before, taking the fragmentes of the dead corps, layde them agayne together. It foloweth more in the author, howe that Mahumet being astonied at the straunge wonder of the Oxe,* commaunded the quarters of the christiā mans body to be interred, and the Oxe to be brought to his house, and was much made of. Some sayd it to be the body of a Uenetian: some affirmed, that he was an Illyrian: but whatsoeuer he was certayne it is, that the Turk himselfe was much more beastiall then was the very brute Oxe: which being a beast shewed more sence of humanity to a dead man, thē one mā did to an other Ex Leonie. Chalcondyla.

*To this crueltye adde moreouer, that beside these 500. Methonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said City of Methone, all the townes men also were slayne by the forsaid Captayn Omares, and among them theyr Bishop likewise was put to death. Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & ex Wolfgango & alijs.

Iohn Faber in his Oration made before king Henrye the 8. at the appointment of king Ferdinandus, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turkes toward al christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the church, testifieth how that in Mitilene, in Constantinople, and Trapezunda, what Byshops & Archbishops, or other ecclesiasticall and religious persons the Turks could find they brought them out of the cityes into the fieldes, there to be slaine like Oxen and Calues. The same Faber also writing of the battell of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludouicus the king of Hūgary was ouerthrown, declareth that 8. Byshops in the same field were slayne. And moreouer, when the Archbishop of Strigon,* and Paulus the Archbishop Colossensis were found dead, Solyman caused thē to be taken vp, & to be beheaded and chopt in small pieces. an. 1526.

What christian hart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turkes in Euboia, where as the sayd Faber testifieth that innumerable people were sticked & gored vpon stakes, diuers were thrust through with a hoat iron, childrē and infants not yet wayned from the mother were dashed agaynst the stones, & many cut a sūder in the midst. Ex Iohan Fabro & alijs.

But neuer did country taste and feele more the bitter & deadly tyranny of the Turkes, then did Rasia, called Mysia inferior, & now Seruia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreschlerus) the prince of the sayde countrey being sent for, vnder fayre pretence of words & promises, to come & speak with the Turke, after he was come of his own gentlenes, thinking no harme, was apprehended & wretchedly & fasly put to death, & his skin flain of, his brother & sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country (as Faber addeth) had theyr eyes put out. &c.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed cayrifes, it may seme that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath styred them vp to be the butchers of all christen people, inflaming theyr beastly hartes with suche malice & cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that they degenerating frō the nature of men to deuils,* neither by reason wil be ruled, nor by any bloud or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitine age of the Church, and in the time of Dioclesian and Maximiliā, whē the deuil saw that he could not preuaile against the person of Christ which was risen agayne, he turned all his fury vpon his sely seruants, thinking by the Romayn Emperours, vtterly to extinct the name and profession of

Christ, out from the earth: So in this latter age of y^e world Satan being let lose agayne rageth by the Turkes, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he haue brought (as he entendeth) the whole church of Christ, with all the professors therof, vnder foot. But the Lord (I trust) will once send a Constantinus to vanquish proud Maxētius: Moyses to drowne indurate Pharaο: Cyrus to subdue the stout Babilonian.

And thus much hitherto touching our christian brethrē,* which were slain & destroyed by these blasphemous turks. Now forsomuche as besides these aforesayde, many other were pluckt away violently from theyr country, from their wiues & children from liberty, & from all their possessions, into wretched captiuitie and extreme pouerty, it remaineth likewise to entreat somewhat also cōcerning the cruel maner of the Turkes handling of the sayd christian captiues. And first here is to be noted that y^t turke neuer cōmeth into Europe to war against the christiās,* but there foloweth after his army, a great number of brokers & marchaunts, such as buy men & children to sell again, bringing with thē long cheines in hope of great cheates: In y^e which cheynes they linke thē by 50. & 60. together, such as remayne vndestroyd with the sword, whō they buy of the spoiles of thē y^t rob & spoyle the Christian countryes: Which is lawfull for any of the Turkes armye to doe, so that the tenth of their spoyle or pray (whatsoeuer it be) be reserued to the head Turke, that is, to the great mayster theefe.

Of such as remayne for tithe,* if they be aged (of whom very fewe be reserued aliue, because little protite commeth of that age) they be solde to the vse of husbandry or keeping of beastes. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certein places, there to be instructed in theyr language and Artes, as shall be most profitable for theyr aduauntage, & such are called in theyr tongue Sarai: and the first care of the Turkes is this, to make them deny the Christian religion, and to be circumcised: and after that they are appointed euery one as he semeth most apte, either to the learning of their lawes, or els to learn the feates of war. Their first rudimēt of war is to handle the bow, first beginning with a weake bow, and so as they growe in strength, comming to a stronger bow, & if they misse the marke, they are sharply beaten:*& theyr allowance is two pence or three pence a day till they come & take wages to serue in war. Some are brought vp for the purpose to be placed in the number of y^e wicked Ianizarites, that is, the order of the Turks champions, which is the most abhominable cōdition of al other. Of these Ianizaraites,* see before pag. 736. And if any of the foresayd yong men or children shal appeare to excell in any beuty, him they so cutte, that no part of that whiche nature geueth to man, remayneth to be seene in all his body, wherby while the freshnes of age continueth, he is compelled to serue theyr abhominable abomination: and when age cōmeth, then they serue in stead of Eunuches to wayte vpon Matrones, or to keepe horses and Mules, or els to be scullians and drudges in theyr kitchins.

Such as be young maydens & beautifull, are deputed for concubines.* The whiche be of meane beautye serue for matrones to theyr drudgery worke in theyr houses & chābers, or els are put to spinning and such other labors, but so that it is not lawful for them either to professe their christian religiō, or euer to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the Turke by tithe.

The other which are bought and sold amongst priuate subiects, first are allured with faire words and promises to take circumcision. Which if they will doe, they are more fauourably entreated, but all hope is taken from them of returning agayne into theyr country, which if they attempt the

payne therof is burning. And if such comming at lēgth to liberty, will mary, they may: but then theyr children remayne [Page 759](#) boud to the Lord, for him to sell at his pleasure: and therefore such as are wise amongst thē wil not mary. They which refuse to be circumcised, are miserably handled: for example wherof, the author (which geueth testimony hereof) doth inferre his owne experience.

Such captiues as be expert in any manuall art or occupation can better shift for thēselues: but contrariwise, they whiche haue no handycraft to liue vpon, are in worse case. And therefore such as haue bene brought vp in learning, or be priests or noble men,* & such other, whose tēder educatiō can abide no hardnes, are the least reputed, & most of all other neglected of him that hath y^e sale or keping of thē, for y^t he seeth lesse profit to rise of them, then of the other: & therefore no cost of raymēt is bestowed vpon them, but they are caried about bare head, & barefoote, both sommer & winter in frost and snow. And if any faynt and be sicke in the way, there is no resting in any Inn, but first he is driuē forward with whips, and it that will not serue, he is let peradventure vpon some horse: or if his weakenesse be such, that hee cannot sit, then is he layde ouerthwart the horse vpon hys belly, like a Calfe, and if he chaunce to dye, they take of hys garment such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

In the way moreouer, beside the cōmon chayne, which doth inclose thē all the hads also of euery one are maniced which is because they shoulde not harme theyr leaders, for many times it happened y^t x. persons had the leading of 50. captiues: & whē night came, theyr feet also were fettered, so y^t they lodged in no house, but lay vpon the groūd al night.

*The yong women had a litle more gentlenes shewed, being caried in paniers on the day time. But when nyght came, pity it was to heare the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed wthin by reason of the filthy iniuries which they suffred by their cariers, in so much that the yong tēder age of 7. or 8. yeres, as wel of y^e one sexe as of y^e other could not saue thē frō y^e most filthy villany of the bestiall turkes.

When the morning cometh, they are brought foorth to the market, to sale, where the buyer if he be disposed plucking of theyr garments, vieweth all the bones & ioyns of theyr body: and if he like them, he geueth his price, and carieth thē away into miserable seruitude, either to tilling of their groūd, or to pasture their cattel, or some other straūge kind of misery incredible to speake of: In so much that the author reporteth, that he hath sene himselfe, certeine of such Christen captiues yoked together like horse and oxen,* and to draw the plough. The maid seruaunts likewise are kept in perpetuall toile and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to haue any talke with theyr fellowe seruauntes. &c. Such as are committed to keep beastes, lye abroad day and night in the wilde fieldes, without house and harbor, and so chaunging their pastour, goe from mountayne to mountayne: of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beastes, other handy labour is exacted at spare houres, such as pleaseth theyr maysters to put vnto them.

*Out of this misery there is no way for them to flye, especially for them that are caryed into Asia beyond the seas: Or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about haruest, when he may hide himselfe all the day time in the corne, or in woodes, or marishes, and finde foode: and in the night onely, hee flyeth and had rather bee de••outed of wolues and other wild beastes, then

to returne agayne to his maister.* In theyr flying they vse to take with them an hatchet and coardes, that when they come to the sea side, they may cut downe trees, and binde together the endes of them, and so, where the sea of Helle•pontus is narrowest, about the Sestos and Abidos, they take the sea, sitting vpon trees, where, if they wurde & tide do serue luckely, they may cut ouer in foure or fiue houres: But the most part either perish in the floudes,* or are driuen backe agayne vpon the coastes of Asia, or els be deuoured of wilde bestes in woodes, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape ouer the seas aliue into Europe, by the way they enter into no towne, but wairder vpon the moūtaynes, following onely the Northfarre for theyr guide.

As touching such townes & prouinces, which are won by the Turke, and wherein the Christians are suffered to liue vnder tribute: first all the nobility there they kill and make away, the churchmen and Clergy hardly they spare The Churches with the belles & all the furniture thereof, either they cast down, or els they com•ert to the vse of their owne blasphemous Religion, leauing to the Christians, certayn olde and blinde chappels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our me to repayre the agayne, for a great somme of mony geuen to the Turke: Neither be they permitted to vse any open preaching or ministration. But only in silence and by stealth, to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Christian to beare office within the city or prouince, nor to beare weapon, nor to weare any garment like to the Turkes. And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it neuer so great, be spoken agaynst the, or agaynst Christ, yet muste thou beare it, and holde thy peace. Or if thou speake one word agaynst theyr religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumcised: And then if thou speake one word agaynst Mahumet, thy punishment is fire and burning. And if it chaunce a Christian being on horsebacke, to meet or passe by a Musulman, that is a Turkish priest, he must light from his horse, & with a lowly looke, deuoutly reuerēce & adore y^e Musulman: Or if he do not, he is beatē down frō his horie w^t clubs & slaues.

Furthermore, for theyr tribute they pay the fourth part of theyr substance and gayne to the Turke: beside the ordinary tribute of the Christians, whiche is to paye for euery polle within his family, a ducket vnto the Turke: which if the parentes cannot doe, they are compelled to sell theyr children into bondage. Other being not able to pay go chei'ned in fetters from dore to dore begging, to make vp theyr payment, or els must lye in perpetuall prison.

And yet notwithstanding, whē the christians haue discharged all duties:* it remaineth free for the turkes to take vp among the christians children, whom the best like, and thē to circumcise and to take them away being yong, from the sight of theyr parēts, to far places, to be brought vp for the Turkes wars, so that they may not returne to them agayne: but first are taught to forget Christ, & then theyr parents: so that if they come agayne amongst thē, yet are they not able to know theyr kinsfolkes and parents.

This misery passing all other miseries, no man is able w^e tounge to vtter,* or with words to expresse. What weping & teares, what sorow and lamentatiō, what groning, sighes, and deep dolor doth teare & rent a sonder the woefull harts of the sely parents, at the plucking away of their babes and children? to see theyr sonnes & theyr own childrē, whō they haue borne and bred vp to the seruice of Christ Iesus the sonne of God, now to be drawn away violētly frō thē to y^e warfare of Satan, and to fight agaynst Christ? to see theyr babes borne of christiā blood, of christiās to be made turks and so to be pluckt out of their armes and out of their sight without

hope euer to returne to them agayne: * to liue perpetually with aliens, barbarous & blasphemous Turkes, and so to become of the number of them which are called fatherles and motherles.

Albeit the same childrē afterward do greatly degenerate from the fayth of Christ, yet very many of them haue priuily about them the gospell written of S. Iohn, *In principiō erat verbum. &c. Which for a token of remembraunce of theyr christian fayth, they cary vnder theyr arme hole, written in greek and araby. Who greatly desire, and long looke for the reuenging sword of y^e Christians to come & deliuer them out of theyr dolorous thraldome and captiuitie according as the Turkes themselues haue a prophecy, * & greatly stand in feare of the same. Wherof more shalbe said (Christ willing) in the chapter following.

And thus haue ye heard y^e lamētable afflictions of our christian brethren vnder the cruell tyranny & captiuitie of y^e turks, passing all other captiuities that euer haue bene to Gods people, either vnder Pharaō in Egypt, or vnder Nabuchodonosor in Babilō, or vnder Antiochus in y^e tyme of the Machabees. Vnder the which captiuitie, if it so please the Lord to haue his spouse the church to be nurtered, hys good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence & discorde of one christian guides & leaders, then haue we to pray and cry to our Lord God, •yther to geue better harts to out guiders and rulers, or els better guides and rulers to his flocke.

And these reoubles and afflictions of our Christen brethren suffered by the Turkes, I thought good and profitable for our countrey people here of Englande to knowe, for so much as by the ignoraunce of these, and such like hystories worthy of consideration, I see much inconnenēce doth folow. Whereby it commeth to passe, that because we English men being far of from these countreies, * and little knowing what misery is a broad, are the lesse moued with zeale & compassion to tender theyr greuaunces, and to pray for them, whose troubles we know not. Whereupō also foloweth, that we not cōsidering the miserable state of other are the les gratefull to God, when any tranquility by hym to vs is graunted. And if any-title cloud of perturbation arise vpon vs, be it neuer so •ile, as pouerty, lesse of liuing, or a litle banishment out of our countrey for the Lodes cause, we make a great matter the reat, and all because wee going no further then on• own country, and onely feeling our own crosse, do not compare that which we f•ele, with the great crosses, where unto the Churches of Christ commonly in other places abroad are subiect. Which if we dyd [Page 760](#) rightly vnderstand, & earnestly consider, and pōder in our mindes, neither would we so excessiuey forgette our selues in time of our prosperity geuen vs of God: nor yet so impatiētly be troubled, as we are in time of our aduersity, and all because either we heare not, or els we pōder not the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth vpon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appeare.

*NOw consequently remayneth, as I haue shewed hitherto what tyranny hath bene vsed of the Turkes agaynst Christes people, so to declare likewise, how far this tyranny of the Turkes hath extended and spread it selfe, de'scribing as in a table, to the Christē Reader, what landes, countreies and kingdomes the Turkes haue wonne, and got from Christendome, to the intent that when Christen princes shal behold the greatnes of the Turks dominions spread almost through al the world, and how litle a part of Christianity remayneth behinde, they may thereby vnderstand the better, howe it is time now for them to bestyre them, if euer they thinke to do any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a cōpendious draught as in a briefe table, of such countreies, kingdomes, and dominions, gott from vs by the Turkes, we will first beginne with

Asia, describing what tractes, countryes, cityes and Churches, the Turke hath surprised, and violently pluckt away from the society of Christian dominions, taking onely suche, as be most principall, and chiefly them that be in Scripture conteyned, for that it were to long to discourse all and singular such places by name, as the Turke hath vnder hys subiection.

The world being deuided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europa, Asia is counted to be the greatest in compas, conteining as much as both the other, and is deuided into 2. portions, the one called Asia Maior: the other called Asia minor. And although the Empery of the Turke extendeth vnto them both: yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coastes of Europa, vnto Armenia Maior, beyond the riuer Euphrates, and comprehendeth these regions and Cityes vnder written.

The deuision of Asia Minor, called Cheronesus, with the particular Countryes and Cityes belonging to the same.

Countryes.	Cityes.
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Pontus. Act. 2.	Nicea.
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Chalcedon.	
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Heraclea.	
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Prursa or Bursa.	
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Bithinia. Act. 16.	Nicomedia.
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Apamea.*	
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Natolia, or Anatolia, conteyneth diuers countryes, with theyr Cities, as foloweth.

Countryes.	Cityes.
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Mysia Minor. Act. 16	Cyzicus.
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Parium.	
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Lampsacus.	
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Dardanum.	
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Callipolis.	
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*Phrygia Minor. Act. 2	Abydus.
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Alexandria, or Troias Act. 16

Toras. Act. 20 Ilium.

Assus. Act. 20

Mysia Maior. Act. 16 Scepsis.

Adramitium. Act. 27

Phrygia Maior. Act. 2 Hierapolis. Col. 4

Pitane.

Apollonia.

Myrina.

Lydia. Esay. 66 Phocoea.

Smyrna. Apoc. 2

Erythrae.

Aeolis. Laodicea. Apoc. 3

[*Carura.](#)

Thatyra. Apoc, 2

Ionia. Philadelphia. Apoc. 3

Pergamus. Apoc. 2

Cuma.

Caria. 1. Mac. 15 Ephesus. Apoc. 2

Sardis. Apoc. 3.

Halicarnassus. Mach. 15

Doris. Miletus. Act. 20

Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Natolia.

Countryses.

Cityes.

Lycia. Act 27

Colossae. Col. 1

Patara. Act. 21

Pinara.

Zanthus.

Andriaco.

Myra. Act. 13

Galactavel Gellogr•cia. Act. 16

Ancyra

Gordium.

Tharma.

Pessenus.

Paphlagonia.

Amisus.

Sinope.

Corambis.

Pamphilia. Act 2

Perga. Act. 13

Artalia. Act. 14

Aspendus.

Phaselis. Mach. 15

Pisidia. Act

Trapesus.

Temiscyra.

Comana Po•tica.

Cappadocia.

Amasia vel Eupa toria.*
[_](#)

Masa, vel Caesarea.

Naziantium. Here Gregorius Nazianzenus. was Bishop.

Comana Cappadocia.

Miletana.

Armenia Minor.

Nicopolis.

Leandis.

Claudiopolis.

Iuliopolis.

Tharsus. Act. 22*

*Coricus.

Cilicia.

Solimuntis, vel Traianopolis.

Issus, vel Iaiassa.

Augusta. Act. 27

Iconium. Act. 14

Lystra. Act. 16

Laconia.

Derbe. Act. 14

Antiochia, Pisidiae. Act. 11

Siria comprehendeth in it diuers particular prouinces, with theyr cityes, as followeth.

Countrys.

Cityes.

Syria. Act. 15

Ierosolyma. Act. 1

Caesarea Stratonis Act. 8

Bethleem. Math. 2

Emaus. Mar. 1

Ierico. Math, 20

Ioppe or Ios. 15

Palestina Iudea. Iapheth. Act. 9

Tyberias. Iohn. 6

Accaron. Iosua. 13

Azotus. Act. 8

Chanaan. Ascalon. Iudi. 2

Gaza. Act. 8. [*](#)

Bersabee. Iosu. 19.

Antipatris. Act 23

Assaron. Act. 9

Samari. Act. Bethania. Mar. 11

Lydda. Act. 9.

Galilea. Mat. •. Nazareth. Math. 4.

Capernaum. Math. 4

Cana. Ioan. 2

Phoenicea. Act. 11 Tyrus. Luc. 6

Sydo vel Sichem. Luc. 6

Ptolomias

[Page 761](#) Ptolomais. Act. 21

Caesarea phillipi. Math. 16.

Damascene.	Damascus. Gal. 1
Philadelphia. Apoc. 1	
Coelesyria.	Buthis vel pella.
Cassiotis.	*Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theopholis Act. 11
Comagena.	Samosata.
Antiochia. sub. Tauro.	
Alexandria apud Issum.	
*Nicopolis.	
Seleucis.	Gephyra.
Gindarus.	
*Seleucia. Act. 13	
Imma.	
Laodice.	*Laodicea. Coloss. 2
Paradisus.	
Iabruda.	
Apamene.	Nazamma.
Apamia.	
Idumea. Marc. 3.	Besamma. vel Bersabee.
Euleusa.	
Massa.	

Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Syria.

Countrys.	Cities.
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Arabia. Gal. 1.4

Petrea, or Nabataeae.

Felix.

- Panchaia.
- Sabaea.

Deserta.

Mesopotamia. Psalme. 59.

Carra. or Charan, where Abraham dwelt. Act. 7

Seleucia.

Edessa, which is now called. Orpha. and in the story of Tobias, called Rages.

Babilonia Dan. 3 In the country of Babilonia, is also a certayne region appoynted for Philosophers and Astronomers called Chaldea. Iere. 50 Bible.

Babylon, vel Baldach. Act. 7

Orchoe, vel Vrchoa. vel Hurchaldeoram, where Abraham was borne. Gen. 11.15.

Sarmatia.

Patarue.

Azara.

Gerusa. S. Georgius.

Sinda.

Cholchis.

Dioscuria, vel Sabastia, which is now called Suias.

Phasis.

Iberia.

Lubium.

Artanissa.

Armachica.

Albania.

Getara, vel Gangara.

Chabala.

Armenia. Gen. 8

Armenia maior is deuided from Armenia minor,
by the Riuer Euphrates. This Armenia maior and
minor, this day be both vnder the Turkes.

And thus farre reacheth the compasse of Asia Minor, with the Countryes, and prouinces to the same
perteyning, which being once brought to the fayth of Christ, are nowe in a maner, all subdued to the
Turkes. The Ilandes belonging to the Regions of Asia Minor aforesayd, gotten by the Turkes.

Countryes. Cities.

*Thinias. to Bythinio.

Tenedos. to Troas.

Chios. Act. 20 to Lydia.

Pathmos. Apoc. 1

Possidium. to Aeolis.

Samos. Act. 20 to Ionia.

Trogolium. Act. 20

Cnidus. Act. 27 to Doris.

Coos Coū. Act. 21 to Doris.

Carpathus. to Doris.

Rhodus. Act. 21 to Lycia.

Cyprus. Act. 11*

Aeneas Syluius, otherwise Pope Pius. 2. in describing of Asia Minor, cap. 74. reciteth a certayne
facte of a worthy Uirgine: who at what time the Turkes were besieging a certayne towne in
Lesbos, and had cast downe a greate part of the walles, so that all y^e Townesmen had geuen ouer,
putting on mans harnesse, stepped forth into the breach, where not onely she kept the Turkes
from entring in, h^t also slewe of them a great sor[•]. The Citizens seeing the rare courage,*and
good successe of the Mayden, tooke to them agayne theyr hartes and harnes, and so lustely layd

about them, that an incredible number of the Turkes were slayne. The rest being repulsed from the land, reculed into theyr ships: who being then pursued by a Nauy of Calisa, were worthelye dis•omfited likewise vpon the sea. And thus was the Ile of Lesbos at that time, by a poore Uirgine, that is, by the stronge hand of the Lord working in a weake Creature preserued from the Turkes. Ex Aene.sil. Et SebMunst. Lib. 5.

Beside these Regions and Countryes of Asia minor,*aboue described, Seb. Munster in the fift booke of his Cosinography, declareth moreouer, that the Turkes and Sultannes haue vnder theyr subiection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior wherein is Calecute. The which Persia, although it be vnder the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turke, yet it is to be thought that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkyshe and Mahometish Religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christes Gospell, as may appeare by the primitiue Church, pag. 98. And thus haue you the partes of Asia described,*which in times past being almost Christened, do now serue vnder the Turke.

After the description of Asia, let vs nexte consider the partes and countryes of Aphrike: Where although the greatest parte either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed with Prester Iohn, which professeth Christ and his gospell: yet the Turke hath there also no litle portion vnder his dominion, as

Countrys.

Cities.

Aegyptus. Math. 2

Alexandria.

Memphis.

Arsinoe.

Regnum Tunece.

Africa Minor.

Charlago.

Aphrodisum.

Hippon. Here Saynt Augustine was Byshop.

Cyrene. Act. 2

Mauritania.

A description of countryes and Cityes in Europe, which were before christened, & now are subdued and subiect to the Turke.Europa

Countrys.

Cities.

Thracia. Constantinopolis, or Bizantium.

Pera.

Adrianopolis.

Samothracia. Act. 16 Traianopolis.

Caliopis.

Sestus,

Appollonia.

[Page 762](#) Graecia. Act. 20 Thessalonica. Act. 17

Philippi. Act. 16

Demetrias.

Neapolis. Act. 16

Macedonia. Rom. 15 Amphipolis. Act. 17

Apollonia mygdoniae. Act. 17

Berrhaea. Act. 17

Thessalia.

Epirus. Ambracia.

Actium

Chaonia. Torona.

Azelia.

Thresprotia. Acarnanon.

[*](#)Amphilochia. Argos.

Astacus.

Ambrachia.	Omphallum.
Achaia. Rom. 15	Athenae.
Attica.	Megaris.
Boeotia.	Thebae.
Phocis.	Delphos.
Egris.	
Aetholia.	Chalidon.
Locris.	
Naupactus.	
Peloponesus.	
Corinthia.* _	Corinthus. Act. 17
Mesena.	
Tegea.	
Argos.	
Argia.	Lacedemon, or Sparta 2. Mach. 5.
Epidaurus.	
Helice.	
Laconia.	Lerna.
Leuctrum.	
Messenia.	Methone.
Mycenae.	
Elis.	Megalipolis.

Nemea.

Sicyona.

Nauplea.

Olympia.

Arcadia.

Sicyon.

Aegira.

*Illandes bordering about Grecia, wonne likewise by the Turke, from the Christians.

Euboea, *or Nigropontus. Chalcis.

Charistus.

Cerinthus.

Gerestus.

*Creta. Act. 17

Pulchri portus. Act. 27

Lasaea. Act 27.

Phoenice. Act. 17

Salmone. Act. 27.

Clauda. Act. 27

Cyclades, Insulae. 53

Salamis.

Delus. 1. Mach. 15

Cephalenia.

Zacynthus, or Zanthus. Vide supra. pag. 727

Lemnos.

Ithaca.

Samos. Act. 20.

Corcyra. Vide supra. pag. 727

Corcica.*[_](#)

After the Turke had subdued Thracia and Grecia, proceeding further into Europe, he invaded other regions, and cities, which also he added to his dition, as

Countrys. Cityes.

Mysia Superior.*[_](#) Rhaetiaria.

Nessus.

Vlpianum.

Scupi.

Sigindunum, or Siget.

Mysia. Inferior. Triballorum. Oescus.

Tirista.

Axium, or Chilia.

Dalmatia. 2. Tim. 4. Labacus, Metropolis.

Carinthia. Epidaurus, or Ragusium.*[_](#)

Milea, or Meleda.

Coruatia. Senia, or Segna.*[_](#)

Enona, or Hona.

Croatia. Iadra, or Zara.

Sebenica.

Istria. Stridon, where S. Hierome was borne.

Bosna. Quinquecclesiae.

Iaitza, Metropolis.

Bulgaria.	Bulgaria was wonne of Baiazetes. the Turk from the crowne of Hungarye,* through the vnprosperous warre of Sigismundus, at the fielde of Nicopolis. an. 1395. This Sigismund, was the burner of Iohn Hus, and the persecutor of his doctrine.
Wallachia.	Tergouistus, or Teruis.
Huniad: where Ioannes Huniades was borne.	
Transyluania or Septē castra.	Hermenstat.
Cronestat.	
Saltzburg.	
Alba Iulia, or Weissenburg.	
Seruia.	Gyula.
Samandria.*	
Columbetz.	
Rascia.	Walpo. Vid. sup. pag. 740
Nouigradum.	
Varna.	
Moldauia.	
Hungaria.	Buda or Osen.
Alba regalis.	
Belgradum or Taurinum.	
Strigonium.	
Varadinum.	

Neapolis.

- Maior.
- Minor.

Austria.

Pestum.

As I was writing hereof, a certayne sōūd of lamentable newes was brought vnto vs howe the Turke, whome wee had hoped before to haue bene repulsed by the Emperour Maximilian out of Christendome, hath now of late this present yeare. 1566. got the towne of Gyula about Transyluania, after they had susteined 16 of his most forceable assaultes, destroying in the same most cruelly, many thousand of our chisten brethren, men, women, and children: but because we haue no full certaynty, we will referre y^e story therof, to further information,

The Prophecyes of the holy Scriptures considered touching the comming vp and finall ruine and destruction of this wicked kingdome of the Turkes, with the Reuelations and foreshewinges also of other authours concerning the same

FOR so muche as you haue hitherto sufficiently heard, to what quantity & largenes the dominon of the Turkes hath encreased,* & doe vnderstand what cruell tyranny these wretched miscreants haue and do dayly practise most haynously wheresoeuer they come, agaynst the seruants and professors of Christ: it shall not be vnprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to cōsider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophesyes the holy spirit of the Lord hath premonished and forewarned vs before, of these heauy persecutions to come vpon his people by thys horrible Antichrist. For as the gouernment and constitution of times and states of monarchies & pollicies fall not to [Page 763](#) vs by blind chaūce, but be administred and allotted vnto vs from aboue: so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of kingdomes, such a terrible & generall persecutiō of Gods people, almost through all Chri|stēdome, and such a terrou of the whole earth, as is now moued and gendred by these Turkes, cōmeth without the knowledge, sufferauce and determination of the Lord before, for such endes and purposes, as his deuine wisdom doth best know. For the better euidēce & testimony wherof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficiēt instructiō, & declaration, whereby we may plainly see to our great cōfort, how these greeuous afflictions & troubles of the Church, though they be sharpe & heauy vnto vs, yet they come not by chaūce or by mā's working onely, but euen as the Lord himselfe hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

*And first to begin with the tyme of the old Testament let vs seriously aduise & ponder, not onely the Scriptures & Prophecies therein conteined, but also let vs cōsider the whole state, order, and regimēt of that people: the Church I meane of the Israelites. For although the Scriptures and Prophetes of the old Testament, were properly sent to that people, & haue their relatiō properly to things done or thāt should be done, in that cōmōwealth, of which prophetes, Iohn Baptist was the last & made an end, as our Sauour himselfe witnesseth, saying: The law and Prophetes be vnto y^e tyme of Iohn. &c. Yet notwithstāding the sayd people of that old Testamēt, beareth a liuely Image & resemblaunce of the vniuersall Church which should folow, plāted by the sonne of God through the whole earth: So that as the Prophetes of God speaking to

them from the mouth & word of God, prophesied what should come to passe in that people: so likewise the whole course & Hystory of those Israelites, exemplifieth & beareth a Prophetical image to vs, declaring what is to be looked for in y^e vniuersall Church of God dispersed through the world, plā^ted in Christ Iesus his sonne,* according as Phil. Melan[•]thon grauely gathering vpon the same, testifieth in diuers places, in his Commentary vpon the Prophete Daniell.

*As first the History of godly Abell slayne by wicked Cain, what doth it importe, or Prophecie, but the conditiō of the people and seruantes of God, which commonly go to wracke in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

The like may be said also of Isaac, and Ismaell: of Iacob and Esau. Of whō, those two which were the children of promise, and belonged to the election of God, were persecuted in this world, of the other, whiche were reiected. Where moreouer is to be noted cōcerning Ismaell, that of his stocke after the fleshe,* came the Saracens: whose sect the Turkes do now professe & mainteine. And as Ismaell had but xii. sonnes: so it were to be wished of God, that this Solyman which is the twelue of the Turkish generation, may be the last. But of this, better occasion shall folow (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

Furthermore, of the xii. tribes of Israel, the sacrate history so reporteth, that after they had a long season cōtinued together, by the space of. 8. or. 9. C. yeares, at length, for their idolatrie, & transgression of their forefathers. x. tribes of them were cut of, and dispersed amōg the Gentiles. 130. yeares before the captiuitie of Babilon: so that but ij. tribes onely remayned free, and they also at last, after a. 130. yeares, were captiued vnder the Babylonians, for a certaine time.* No otherwise hath it happened with y^e Church of Christ almost in the vniuersall world, of which Church the greatest part both in Asia, in Africa, & almost in Europe (where the holy Apostles so laboured and trauailed) we see now to be disparced among the Turkes, and their cādlestickes remoued (the Lord of his great grace, reduce them agayne. Amen:) So that of xij. partes of Christendome, which was once planted in Christ, scarce ij, partes remayne cleare, and they how long they shall so continue, the Lord knoweth: And albeit thorough the mercy of the Lord, they escape the daūger of the Turkes, yet haue they bene so beaten with the Pope, that they had bene better almost to haue bene in the Turkes handes.

Agayne, after the sayd Israelites returned, being resto^red of Cyrus, let vs consider well their story, the continuance of tyme, the maner of their regimentes, and what afflictions they sustained in the tyme of the Machabees: and we shall see a liuely representation of these our dayes expressed in that Propheticall people,* accordyng as S. Paul writyng of them, sheweth how all thynges happened to them in figures: that is the actiōs and doynge of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater matters, what shall happen in the latter times of the whole Church vniuersally in Christ collected.

So the transmigration & deliuerance agayne of those two tribes,* declareth to vs y^e affliction of Christes Church for sinne: and yet y^t God will not vtterly reiect his people for his sonnes sake, as by manifold examples of y^e Church hetherto may well appeare.

Againe, the continuance of the law first geuen by Moses, vnto the destruction of the sayde people by Titus, amounteth to 1564. yeares:.* So we counting the age of the new Testament, and

reckening from the day of our redemption vnto this present, be come now to the yeare 1534. lacking but only 33. yeares of the full number.

Likewise in counting the yeares from their deliuerāce out of captiuitie,* to the ende of their dissolution, we finde 564. yeares, during which yeares, as the Churche of the Iewes was not gouerned vnder the authoritie of kings, but the high Priests tooke all the power and authoritie to themselues: so we Christians for the space especially of these later 564. yeares,* what haue we seene and felt, but only the iurisdiction and domination of the Pope and his high Priests, plaieng the Rex in all countreys, and ruling the whole: whereby, by the count of these yeares, it is to be thought the daye of the Lordes comming not to bee farre off.

Furthermore, in those latter yeares of the Iewes kingdome, what troubles and afflictions that people susteined three hundreth yeares together, but chiefly, the last 166. yeares before the comming of Christ, by Antiochus and his felowes,* the history of y^e Machabees cā report. Wherin we haue also notoriously to vnderstād y^e miserable vexations and persecutions of Christian Churches in these latter ends of the world by Antichrist: For by Antiochus Antichrist (no doubt) is figured and represented.* Thys Antiochus surnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes his sonne, came of the stocke of Seleucus Nicanor, much like as the Mahumetes the Turke, and Solymanus, came of the stocke of Ottomannus. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that like as of the sayd Seleucus issued xij. Syrian Kings one after another of that generation, which reigned ouer y^e Israelites with much seueritie and tyranny:* so of this diuelish generatiō of Ottomannus, haue come xij. Turkish tyraunts, whereof thys Solyman is now the twelfe, God grant he may be y^e last. And as the ij. last Antiochi, being sonnes of the ij. brethrē, did fight together for the kingdome, and in fighting were both slaine, and shortly after the kingdome fell to the Romaines: so the Lorde graunt for Christes sake, that the bloody broode of this old Solyman, (which had reigned now 46. yeares, may so fight together, and perish in their owne bloud, that the bloody tyranny of theirs may come to a finall end for euer, Amen.

And that the truth heereof may the better appeare to such as be disposed to meditate more vpon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to set before his eies, in tablewise, the catalogue of both these Antichristian families, with the names and succession of the persons, first of the twelue Syrian Kings, then of the twelue Ottomans, in like number and order.

A comparison betweene the Syrians and the Turkes.

The Syrians.

1 Seleucus.

32

2 Antiochus Soter.

19

3 Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice his mother in law, and his yong brother.

15

4 Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his brother, which two breethren warred one against the other.

20

5 Antiochus Magnus.

36

[Page 764](#)6 Seleuchus Philopator.

12

7 Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes.

8 Antiochus Eupator.

2

9 Demetrius brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupator his cosin.

10 Demetrius Nicanor, whome Antiochus Sedetes his brother repulsed from his kingdome.

11 Antiochus sedetes. These two last being brethren, had two sonnes.

12 Antiochus Grypus, & Antiochus Cyriconus. These two striuing together for the kingdome, were both slaine: and so not lōg after, the kingdome of Syria came to the hands of Cigranes King of Armenia, and so being taken from him, came to the Romaines in the time of Pompeius.

The Turkes.

1 Ottomannus.

[28*](#)

2 Orchanes. He slue his two brethren.

22

3 Amurathes. He put out the eyes of Saucos his owne sonne.

23

4 Baiazetes. He slew Solymanus his brother.

5 Calepinus. The Greeke stories make no mention of this Calepinus, the Latin stories say that Calepinus and Orchanes were both one, and that hee was slayne by Mahumetes hys brother.

6

6 Orchanes. whome Moses his vnclē did slay.

7 Mahumetes. 1. He slue Mustaphas his brother.

14

8 Amurathes. 2. Hee siue Mustaphas his brother.

34

9 Mahumetes. 2. He slue his two brethren Turcinus an infant, and Calepinus.

73

10 Baiazetes. 2. He warred against his brother Demes, which Demes was afterward poisoned by Pope Alexander. 6.

33

11 Zelymus. He poisoned Baiazetes his father, & his two brethren, Acomates and Corcutus, wyth all their children his owne cosines.

7

12 Solymannus. He slue Mustaphas his owne sonne, and was the death or Gianger his seconde sonne.

46

*These two pestilent families and generations, rising out (doubtles) from the bottomles pit, to plague y^e people of God, as in number of succession they do not much differ: so in maner of their doings and wicked abhominations, they be as neere agreeing, being both enemies alyke to the people and Church of Christ, both murtherers and paricides of their owne breethren and kindred, both blasphemers of God, and troublers of the whole worlde. Wherein we haue all to learne and note by the way, the terrible anger of almighty God against sinne, and wickednes of men.

Furthermore, who so is desposed to consider and cast the course of times, and to marke how things be disposed by the maruelous operation of Gods prouidēce, shal finde the times also of these two aduersaries, in much like sorte to concurre and agree. For in considering with our selues both the Testaments and Churches of God, the first of the Iewes, the second of the Christians, looke what time had the Syrian Kings to rage then in Hierusalem,* the same proportion of time hath now the tyranny of y^e Turks to murther the Christians: so that the one Antichrist may well represent and prefigure the other. For as by the booke of Machabees may appeare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the 191. yeares before the passion of our Sauour, and day of our redemption: so now casting the same number from this present yeare backward, we shall finde it to be about the same yeare and time, when Baiazetes the fourth Turke after

Ottoman, began to remoue his Imperiall seate from Bursa in Bithynia, to Adrianople in Europe, which is a City of Thracia. In which yeare & time began all the mischiefe in Europe, as is to be seene before, pag. 738. and this was the yeare of our Lord 1375. Unto y^e which yeare, if we adde 691. it maketh 1566. according to the prophesie of the Apocal. chap. 20. where it is prophesied of Gog and Magog,* that they shall compasse about the tents of the Saints, and the well beloued Citie, by the which welbeloued Citie, is meant (no doubt) Europa: and this was in the yeare abouesaid 1375. Although touching the precise points of yeares and times, it is not for vs greatly to be exquisite therein, but yet where diligence and studious meditation may helpe to knowledge, I would not wish negligence to be a pretence to ignorāce.

And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his felowes. Now what cruelty this Antiochus exercised against the people of God, it is manifest in the history of the Machabees: where we reade, that this Antiochus in the eight yeare of his reigne, in his second comming to Hierusalem, first gaue forth in commaundement, that all the Iewes should relinquish the law of Moses, and worship the Idole of Iupiter Olimpius, which he set vp in y^e temple of Hierusalem. The bookes of Moses and of the Prophetes he burned. He set garrisons of souldiours to warde the Idole. In the Citie of Hierusalem he caused the feastes and reuels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filthe and wickednes. Olde men, women, and virgines, such as woulde not leaue the lawe of Moses, with cruell tormentes he murdered. The mothers that would not circumcise theyr children, he slue. The children that were circumcised, hee hanged vp by the neckes. The temple he spoiled & wasted. The aultar of God, and candlesticke of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, partly he cast out, partly be caried away. Contrary to the lawe of God, he caused them to offer, and to eate Swines fleshe. Great murder and slaughter he made of the people, causing thē either to leaue their lawe, or to lose their liues. Among whome, besides many other, with cruell tormentes he put to death a godly mother with her vij. sonnes, sending hys cruell proclamations through all the land, that whosoever kept the obseruauuncies of the Sabboth, and other rites of the lawe, and refused to cōdescend to his abominations, should be executed. By reason whereof the Citie of Hierusalem was left voide and desolate of all good mē, but there was a great nūber, that were contented to follow & obey his Idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the king, became enemies vnto ther brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of miserie could be shewed in any place, which was not there sene. Of y^e tyranny of this Antiochus, it is historied at large in y^e book of Machabees: And Daniell prophesieng before of y^e same, declareth y^t the people of y^e Iewes deserued no lesse for their sins and transgressions.

By consent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichrist,* which was to folow in the lat^ter end of the world, and is already come, & worketh what he can agaynst vs: Although as S. Iohn sayth, there haue bene, and be many Antichristes, as parts and members of the body of Antichrist,* which are forerūners: yet to speake of y^e head & principall Antichrist, & great enemy of Christs Church, he is to come in y^e latter end of the world, at what tyme shall be such tribulation, as neuer was sene before: Whereby is ment (no doubt) the Turke,* prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichrist, I do also meane all such, which followyng the same doctrine of the Turkes, thinke to be saued by their workes and demerites, & not by their fayth onely in the sonne of God, of what title and professiō els soeuer they be: especially if they vse the like force & violence for the same, as he doth. &c.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforesayd, and of the tribulations of the Church in the latter tymes both of the Iewes Church, and also of the Christian Church to come, let vs beare & consider the words of Daniell in xj. chap. & also in his vij. chap. Prophecyng of y^e same as foloweth.

He shall returne and freat agaynst the holy couenaunt: *so shall he do, he shall euen returne and haue intelligence with them that forsake the holy couenaunt. And armes shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the Sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the dayly sacrifice, and they shall set vp the abhominable desolation. And such as wickedly breake the couenaunt, shall flatter with him deceitfully: but the people that doe know their God, shall preuayle and prosper. And they that vnderstand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by sword and by flame, by captiuitie, and by spoyle many dayes.

Now when they shall fall, they shal be holpen with a little helpe: but many shall cleane vnto them faynedly. And some of them of vnderstandyng shall fall to be tryed, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the tyme be out: for there is a tyme appointed. And the kyng shall doe what him lyst: he shall exalte himselfe, and magnifie himselfe agaynst all that is God, and shall speake marueilous thynges agaynst the God of Gods, and shall prospere, till the wrath be accomplished: for the determination is made. Neither shall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the desires of womē, nor care for any God: for he shall magnifie himselfe aboue all. But in his place shall he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold and with siluer, and with precious stones, and pleasaunt thynges.

Thus shall he doe in the holdes of Mauzzim with a straunge God, whom he shall acknowledge: he shall increase his glory, and shall cause them to rule ouer many, and shall diuide the land for gayne. And at the end of tyme, shall the kyng of the South push at him, and the kyng of the North shall come agaynst hym lyke a whirle wynde, with charets, and with horsemen, and with many shyppes, and he shall enter into the countreys, and shall ouerflow and passe thorough. He shall enter also into the pleasaunt land, and many countreys shal be ouerthrowen: but these shall escape out of his hand, euen Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch for his handes also vppon the countreys, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shal haue power ouer the treasures of gold and of siluer, & ouer al the precious thynges of Egypt, and of the Libians, and of the blacke Mores where he shall passe. But the tydynges out of the East and the North, shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great wrath to destroy and roote out many: And he shall plant the tabernacles [Page 765](#) of his palace betweene the Seas, in the glorious & holy mountaine, yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

To this place of Daniell aboue prefixed, might also be added the Prophetie of the said Daniell written in the vij. chapter, and much tending to the like effect: where he intreating of his vision of foure beastes (whiche signifie the foure Monarchies) and speaking now of the fourth Monarchie, hath these words.

*After this, I saw in the visions by night, and behold, the fourth beast was grimme and horrible, and maruelous strong. It had great yron teeth: it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and stamped the residue vnder his feete: and it was vnlike the other beastes that were before it, for it had ten hornes. As I considered the hornes, behold, there came vp among them another little horne,

before whome, there were three of the first hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne, were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things, and seemed more stoute then the other. Which horne also (whē I looked on) made battaile with the saints, & preuailed against thē: vntill the old aged came, & iudgement was giuen to the Saintes of the highest, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints shuld haue the kingdōe.

Thus haue ye heard the plaine words of Daniell. In the which, as he doth manifestly describe the comming of Antiochus the great aduersary, toward the latter end of the Iewes: so by the same Antiochus is figured also to vs the great aduersary of Christ, which is the Turke.

*Although some there be notwithstanding, which wyth great learning & iudgement, do apply this place of Daniel aboue recited, not to the Turke, but rather to the Pope, & that for vj. or vij. speciall causes herein touched and noted.

*The first is this, that the wicked transgressours of the couenaut shall ioine with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which shall pollute the tabernacle of strength, & take away the perpetuall sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

*The second note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among y^e people shall reach many, & that they shall fall into the sword, into fire, and captiuitie, and shall be banished, whereby they shall be tried, chosen, & made bright and pure, &c. All which (say they) is not amōg the Turkes to be seene, but only in the Popes Church: where y^e faithfull preachers & teachers of the people are slaine and burned, and go to wracke, &c. Where likewise it foloweth, that they shall be holpen against Antichrist, and that many false brethren shall ioine vnto them dissemblingly, &c. To thys they alledge that the Christians haue no such help against the Turke, whereunto such false brethrē should ioine thēse•ues, as is and hath bene commonly seene amōg y^e Christians against the Pope, * from time to time, almost in all Countreys: as in Germany by the Protestants & free Cities: In Englād in King Henries time by y^e Lord Cromwell, and afterward by King Edward, & now by Queene Elizabeth: In Scotland by y^e godly nobilitie: In France, by the Queene of Nauarre and her sonne: and also by the Prince of Condy and the worthy Admirall, and his two breethren, and many others: In Flaunders, by thē whom the Regent calleth Beggars: So as was in the time of the Machabees, against Antiochus.

*Thirdly, that the King shall exalt himselfe aboue all that hath the name of God, and shal lift vp his mouth to speake presumptuously against God.

*Fourthly, that he careth not for the desires of women: which may seeme to note how the Popes doctrine shall forbid the honest and lawfull mariage in Churchmen.

*The fift specialtie which they apply to the Pope, is that foloweth in the Prophet, saieng: Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any God: but in steade of him, shall set vp his God Mauzzim, & shall worship him with siluer, * & gold, & pretious stone, &c. which they do apply to y^e Pope, setting vp his God of bread, & worshipping him with glistering golden ornamēts & most solemne seruice.

Sixtly, it foloweth: & he shall encrease them with much glory and riches, and shall diuide vnto them, lands & possessions, &c. meaning that the Pope hauing dominiō ouer treasures of gold and siluer, and all precious things of the land, shall indue his Cardinals, Prelats, his flating doctours, with Friers and Monkes & Priestes, and all such as shal take his part, w^t great priuilegies, liberties, reuenues & possessions. And thus, I say, some there be, which apply this prophesie of the xij. and xi. chapter of Daniell, vnto y^e Bishop of Rome. whom although I take to be an extreme persecutour of Christs Church: yet I iudge rather those two chapters of Daniel concerning y^e litle horne in the middle of the x. hornes, and the great destroier of the pleasant land and glorious holy mountaine, to meane first Antiochus, and by him secondly to meane the great Antichrist, the Turke: who hath now set already y^e tabernacles of his palace betwene the Seas, accordyng to the Prophecies of Daniell, as is abouesayd.

Ouer & besides these Prophecies aboue alledged,* may be added also the Prophecie of Ezechiel chap. 39. speakyng of Gog & Magog:* which as it may be applied to the oppressiō of the Iewes vnder the Heathen multitude, which stopped the buildyng of the Citie, and vnder the Syrian kynges: &c. yet in the same also is expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christes Church in these latter tymes, vnder the Saracens and the Turkes. &c.

Proceeding further in this matter,* let vs come now to the Prophecies of y^e new Testament & marke the wordes of S. Paule wrytyng to the * Thessalonians, which then were Christened, & now either are Turkish, or vnder the Turke, which wordes be these:

Be ye not sodenly moued in your mynde, nor troubled, neither by spirite, not by word nor by letter as sent frō vs, as though the day of Christ were at hand let no mā deceaue you by any meanes, for the Lord will not come, before there come a defection, or a departing first, and that wicked mā be reueled, the sonne of perdition, which is an aduersary and is extolled aboue all power, and that which is called God: so that he shall sit in the tēple of God, boasting himselfe to be God. &c.

Although this defection & departing may haue a double vnderstandyng,* as well of the popes sect (which is gone & departed frō the free iustificatiō by fayth onely in Christ, through y^e promise of grace) as of the Turkes: yet learning a while to speake of the Pope because it appeareth more notoriously in y^e Turke, we will chiefly apply it to him: in whō so aptly it doth agree, that vnles this great defection frō faith in so many Churches, had hapned by the Turke, it had bene hard to vnderstād the Apostles mynde, which now by the history of these Turkes is easie and euident to be knowen, cōsidering what a ruine hath happened to the Church of Christ by these miserable Turks, what Emperies, nations, kyngdomes, countreys, townes and Cities be remoued from the name & professiō of Christ, how many thousands & infinite multitudes of Christen men and children, in Asia, in Afrike, & in Europe, are caried away from Christes Church to Mahumetes Religion, some to serue for the Turkes gard among y^e Ianizarites, some for souldiours, some for miners, some for gunners, to fight & warre agaynst the Christians: so that the most part of all the Churches plāted once by y^e Apostles, are now degenerated into Turks, onely a small hādful of Christiās reserued yet in these West partes of Europe, of the which small residue, what shall also become shortly, except Christ himselfe do helpe. Christ onely himself doth know. How great this defection hath bene spokē of by S. Paule, thou mayest soe (gentle Reader) in the table aboue described.

pag. 741.

Notwithstanding this text of the holy Apostle (as I a'fore said) may be verified also with no lesse reason,* vpō the Byshop of Rome, thē vpon the Turke, both for that he is a man of sinne, that is, his seate & Citie is a great maintainer of wickednesse,* & also for that he is an aduersary, that is, contrary in all his doynge and proceedyngs to Christ.

Thirdly, for that he sitteth in the temple of God, and so did not Mahumet.

Fourthly, because he is an exalter of himselfe, & sitteth more like a God then a man in Rome, wherof see more in the booke set forth in English, called the CONTESTATIONS of the Popes.

Fiftly, for that he seduceth and hath seduced by his apostasie, the most part of all Christendome from the doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and straūge way of saluation, which is, not to be iustified freely before God onely by our fayth in Christ his welbeloued sonne (vnto the whiche fayth the promise of God freely and graciously hath annexed all our saluation onely, & to no other thyng) but hath taught vs to worke our saluation by an infinite number of other thynges: In so much that he bindeth the necessitie of our saluation also to this,* that we must beleue (if we will be saued) and receaue him to be the Uicare of Christ in earth. &c.

But to returne agayne vnto the Turkes, among all the prophecies both of the old Testamēt & of the new, there is none that paynteth out the Antichristian kyngdome of the Turkes, better then doth the reuelation of S. Iohn, whose wordes let vs weigh and cōsider. Who in the Apocalipse 9. where he speaketh of openyng the seuenth & last seale, (which signifieth the last age of the world) and there writyng of the vij. trumpets of the vij. Angels at the soundyng of the vi. Aungell saith,

Loose the iiij. Aungels, which are bound in the great riuer Euphrates.* And the foure Aungels were losed, which were ready both day and houre, and moneth, and yeare, to slay the third part of men. And the number of horsemen were 20. thousand tymes ten thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I sawe in a vision, horses, and them that [Page 766](#) sate on them, hauing fiery habbergions, and of lacinth stone, and of brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of Lyons, and out of their mouthes went forth fire, and smoake, and brimstone, of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoake, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouthes, &c.

By the seauenth seale is meant the seauenth and last age of the world,* which last age of the world, is from Christ, to the iudgement and resurrection of the dead.

By the seauen Angels with their seauen Trumpets, is signified the seauen plagues that come in this seauenth and last age of the world.

*By the sixt trumpet of the sixt Angell, is meant the sixte plague comming last and next before the plague of the great iudgement day, which sixt plague is heere described to come by the East Kings, that is, by the Turkes, as foloweth to be seene.

*By losing the Angels which had rule of the great riuer Euphrates, is signified the letting out of the East Kings, that is, the Turkes, out of Scithia, Tartaria, Persia, and Arabia, by whome the third part of Christendome shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to passe.

It followeth in the prophesie, Their power shall be in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles be like Serpents hauing heads, and with them they hurt, &c. Meaning that these Turkes with the words of their mouthes, shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword, to them that will not yeald vnto them, and in the end, when the Christians shall yeald vnto them, trusting to their promises, they like Serpents shall deceaue thē in y^e end, & kill them, as appeareth by the story of the Turkes aboute past, * pag. 752. 753. 757.

The like prophesy also after the like words and sence, is to be seene and read in the 16. chap. of the Apoc. where S. Iohn entreating of seauen cuppes, * filled with the wrath of the liuing God, geuē to the hands of 7. Angels, by one of the foure beasts (that is in the time of one of the four Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of Rome) speaketh likewise of the sixt Angell, which poured his viole of Gods wrath vpon the great riuer Euphrates, & the waters thereof dried vp, that the way of the kings of the East should be prepared, &c.

By the sixt Angell with the sixte viole, is meant as before, the last plague saue one that shall come vpon y^e Christians. By y^e Kings of the East are meant the Saracens, and 12. Ottoman Turks. By drieng vp the riuer of Euphrates, is signified the way of these Turkes to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the East to the West parts of the world, to molest and afflict the Christians. It foloweth more in the text. And I saw three vnclene spirits like frogs, * come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false Prophet, for they are the spirits of deuils, * doing wonders, to go vnto the Kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together, to the battayle, against the daye of the great God omnipotent, &c. And it foloweth shortly after, And he assembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrue Armagedon, that is, a trap or trayne of destruction. And immediatly it followeth in the same place, And the seauenth Angell poured out his viole in the ayre, and a mighty voice came from heauen, out of the Throane, saieng, factum est, It is done, or finished, &c. Whereby it is to be vnderstoode, that toward the last consummation of the world, great force shall be seene, and a mighty army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the people, and Saints of the highest, and then commeth the consummation, with factum est, &c.

Wherefore it is not for naught that the holy Spirite of God in the same place, a little before the sixt Angell doe poure out his viole, doth exhort all the faithfull, sayeng: Behold, * I come like a theefe in the night, Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, least he walke naked, and men see his fylthynes, &c.

Nicol. de Lyra, and Paulus Bishop of Burdens, and Mathias Dorinke writing vpon the 13. chap. of the Apoc. & expounding the mistery of the second beast, * rising out of the earth, hauing the hornes of a lambe, &c. doo apply the same to Mahumet and the Turkes, with a solemne declaration made vpon y^e same. * Which interpretatiō of theirs, although in some pointes it may seeme to haue some appearance of probabilitie, neither can it be denied but that Mahumet & the Turke be pestilent and wicked enemies of Christ our Lord, & most bitter persecutors of his

Church, yet as touching the proper & naturall meaning of y^e Apostle in that place, speaking of the false lambe, &c. if we consider well all the circumstances of that beast, and marke the consequence of the text,* both of that which goeth before, and followeth after, we must needs graunt that Nicol. de Lyra, with hys fellowes, & with al such like of y^e Popes schoole, that folow that schoole be deceaued, and that the description and interpretation of that falshorned lambe, must necessarily be applyed only to the Bishop of Rome, and none other, which is to be proued by sixe principall causes or arguments.

The first is, for that this beast is described to beare the hornes of a lambe.* By the which lambe, no doubt, is ment Christ. By y^e hornes of the lambe is signified the outward shew or resemblance of Christ our sauour: which shew or resemblance can haue no relation to Mahumet, for that he taketh himselfe to be aboue Christ, & Christ as an excellent Prophet of God, sitting at his feete. Wherefore seeing Mahumet commeth neither as equall to Christ, nor as vicar vnder Christ, this prophesy can not agree in him, but only in him which openly in plaine words protesteth,* that all Christes lambes and sheepe not singularly, but vniuersally through the whole world, are committed to him, as Uicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, and that all men must confesse the same of necessitie, or else they are noue of Christes sheepe, &c. wherein it is easy to see where the pretended hornes of the lambe do growe.

The second argument, And he spake like the Dragon, &c. A Lambes hornes and the mouth of a Dragon,* do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any one person, either Turke, or other (if we will iudge truely) so liuely, as in the Bishop of Rome. When thou hearest him call himselfe the Apostolicall Bishop, the Uicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the seruant of Gods seruants, &c. thou seest in him the two hornes of a lambe, and would thinke him to be a lambe in deede, and such a one as would wash your feete for humilitie: but heare him speake, and you shall find him a dragon.* See and reade the Epistle of Pope Martine the fift aboue mentioned, pag. 649. charging, commaunding, and threatning Emperoures, Kinges, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Knightes, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls, with their Shires, Counties, and Uniuersities of their kingdoms, Prouinces, Cities, Townes, Castles, Uillages, and other places. See the answeere of Pope Urban. 2. and his message to King William Rufus, pag. 192. Behold the workes and doings of Pope Innocent against King Iohn.

Note also the answeere of another Pope to the King of England,* which for the price of the kings head, would not graunt vnto him y^e inuesting of his Bishops. Marke well the wordes and doings of Pope Hildebrande against the Emperor Henry the fourth, pag. 175. Also of Pope Alexāder the 2. treading vpon y^e neck of Fredericus Barbarossa, not like a lambe treading vpō a dragon, but like a drago• treading vpon a lambe: so that his owne verse might •ac turned vpon himselfe: *tanquam aspis & basiliscus super ouiculam ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco conculcans agnum.* Cōsider moreouer the behauior, maner, cōdition, and property, almost, of all the Popes which haue bene these 600. yeares, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous then their owne doings and words can speake, and giue testimony against themselues.

It followeth moreouer in the same prophecy of the Apocalipse for the third argument,* And he doth all the power of the first beast, presently before his face, and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein to honour the first beast, the stripe of whose deadly wound was cured, &c.

In this prophesy ij. things are to be noted: first, what the first beast is,* whose power y^e second beast doth execute. Secondly, what this second beast is, which so doth exercise his power in his sight. The first of these beastes here in the Apoc. described, hauing 7. heads & 10. hornes, must needes signifie the city of Rome, which may easely be proued by two demonstrations. First by the exposition of y^e 17. chap. of the same Apocalips, where is declared and described the sayd beast to stād of 7. hils, & to containe 10. kings, hauing the whole power of the dragon geuen:*, and also the same citie to be named the whore of Babylon, drunkē wyth the bloud of saints. All which properties ioined together, can agree in no wise but only to the heathē Empire of Rome, which Citie at the time of writing these prophesies, had the gouernment of the whole world. The second demonstration or euidence, may be deduced out of the number of the monethes assigned to this beast, Apoc. 13. For so it is written, that this beast had power to make, that is, to worke his malice against Christes people 42. monethes, which monethes counted by sabbates of yeares (that is, euery moneth for seuen yeares) maketh vp the iust number of those yeares, in which the primitiue Church was vnder the terrible persecutions of the heathen Emperors of Rome, as is afore specified, pag. 397.

Which thing thus standing, proued and confessed, that the first beast must needes signifie the Empire and City of Rome, then must it necessarily follow that the second beast [Page 767](#) with the lambs hornes,* must signifie the Bishop & Pope of the same City of Rome. The reason whereof is euidēt, and apparant by that which followeth in the prophecye, where it is declared, that the seconde beast hauing two hornes of a lambe, receaued and exercised all the power of the first beast, before or in the sight of the said beast, which can not be veriefied neither in the Turke nor in any other, but only in the Pope of Rome, who (as you see) receiueth, vsurpeth, and deriueth to himselfe all the power of that Citie and Monarchy of Rome:*. In so much that he saith, that when Constantine or Ludouicus yeelded vnto him the rule & kingdome of that Citie, he gaue him but his owne, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

And this authority or power ouer all the Empire of Rome, he worketh not in Asia, or in Constantinople as the Turke doth, but in the sight of the beast which gaue him the power, that is, in the City of Rome it selfe, which is the first beast heere in this prophesy of the Apocalypse described.

*Fourthly, it foloweth more, And he causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worship and honour the first beast, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c. The interpretation of this part, as also of all the other parts of the same chapter, standeth vpon the definition of the first beast, for being graunted, as it can not be denied, that the first beast signifieth the Citie and Empire of Rome, it must consequently follow, that the Bishop (whome we call the Pope) of the same Citie of Rome, must be vnderstoode by the second beast, for somuch as neither Turke nor any other, but only the Bishop of Rome, hath holden vp the estimation and dignity of that Citie, which began to be in ruine and decay by the Uandalians, Gothes, Herulians, and Lombards, about the yeare of our Lord 456. but afterward by the Bishop of Rome, the pristine state and honor of that Citie reuiued againe, and flourished in as great veneration, as euer it did before. And that is it which y^e holy Ghost seemeth heere to meane of the first beast, saieng: That he had a wound of the sword, and was cured. For so it followeth.

*Fiftly, And he caused all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beast, which had the stripe of the sword and liued. And it was geuen to him to giue life to the image of the beast, and to make the image thereof to speake, and to cause all them that worshipped not the image of the beast, to be killed: forcing all persons both little and great, rich and poore, bond and free, to take the marke of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheades, and that none might buy or sell but they which had the marke, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name, &c.

*By geuing life to the image of the beast, and making it to speake, is to be presupposed, that y^e beast was at a neare point of death, and lay speechles before, insomuch that the Citie of Rome began to lose and change his name, & was called a while Odacrie, of Odacer King of the Herulians: which by dent of sword surprised the Romans: and yet notwithstanding, *by the meanes of this Romane Prelate, the said Citie of Rome, which was then ready to geue the Ghost, so recouered his maiestie and strength againe, that it is hard to say, whether Rome did euer ruffle and rage in his tirannie before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian and other Emperors, more tragically then it hath done vnder y^e Pope: or whether that Rome had al Kings, Queenes, Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all subiects more vnder obedience and subiection, whē the Emperors raigned, or now in the raigne of the Pope. And therefore it is said not without cause of the holy Ghost: That it is geuen to him, *to geue life and speach to the image of the beast, causing all them to be slaine which will not worship the image of the beast, &c. As for example heereof, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of Christian men, women, and children, in all Countreys, haue bene put to the fire and sword? Stories of all times will declare, what hauocke hath bene made of Christen bloud, about the preheminance and maioritie of the Sea of Rome: what Churches and Countreys both Greekes and Latin, haue bene excommunicated: what Kings haue bene deposed, *and Emperors stripped from their Imperiall seate, and all because they would not stoupe and bend to the Image of the beast, that is, to the maiesty and title of Rome, aduanced vp so highly now by the Bishop thereof, as it was neuer higher before in the raigne of Nero or Dyoclesian. Wherefore taking the first beast to signifie the Empyre of Rome, which can not be denied, it is playne, that the second beast must necessarily be applied to the Pope, and not to the Turke, for as much as the Turke seeketh nothing lesse then the aduancement of that Empire, but rather striueth against it, to plucke it downe.

The sixt and last argument is grounded vpon the number of the name of the beast, *expressed by the holy Ghost in the same Prophecie, by the letters 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . In which letters a though there lyeth great darcknesse and difficultie to be vnderstoode, yet certaine auncient Fathers whiche were Disciples and hearers of them which heard S. Iohn him|selfe, as Irenaeus and other do expound the sayd letters coniecturally to containe the name of the beast, and to be the name of a man, vnder this word 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 : Where as els no other name lightly of any person either in Greeke or Latine, *will agree to the same, *saue onely the foresayd name 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . Although some latter writers geuing their coniectures vpon the same, doe finde the name of Lateranus in Hebrew Letters, to aunswere to the same number. Some fayne other names, as 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , or 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , made wordes, which signifie nothyng, as Diclux, or Luduic, by Romane letters &c. But of all names properly signifying any mā, none commeth so neare to the number of this mistery (if it go by order of letters) as doth the word 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , aforesayd. And this much by the way, and occasion of Nicolaus de Lyra, *Paulus Burgen, Matthias Dorinkus, the author of Fortalilium fidei, and other Cōmentaries moe o• the same faction: who writyng

vpon this xiiij. Chapter of the Apocalipse, and not considering the circumstaunces thereof, both are deceaued themselues, and deceaue many other, applying that to the Turke, which can not otherwise be verified but onely vpon the Pope, as may appeare sufficiently by the premisses: Not that I write this of any incode or malice either to the Citie of Rome, or to the person of the Byshop, as beyng Gods creature: but beyng occasioned here to entreate of the Prophecies agaynst the Turkes, would wishe the Readers not to be deceaued, but rightly to vnderstand the simple Scriptures according as they lye, to the entent that the true meanyng therof beyng bootled out, it may be the better knowen what Prophecies directly make agaynst these Turkes, what otherwise.

In the which Prophecies agaynst the Turkes, now to proceede, let vs come to the 20. Chapter of the Apocalipse, wherein the holy Scripture seemeth playnly and directly to notifie the said Turkes. The wordes of the Prophecie be these.

And I saw an Angell descendyng from heauen,*hauyng the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chayne in his hand: and he tooke the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the deuill and Satanas, and bound him vp for a thousand yeares, and cast him in the pit, and sealed him vp, that he should not seduce the people any more, til the thousand yeares were expired: and after that he must be let loose for a litle while. &c.

And it followeth after: And when the thousand yeares shal be complete, Satanas shal be let out of his doungeon, and shall go abroad to seduce the people, which are on the foure corners of the lād of Gog and Magog, to assemble them to battaile: whose number is like to the sandes of the Sea. And they went vp vpon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the tentes of the Saintes, and the welbeloued Cities. &c.

To the perfect vnderstandyng of this Prophecie,*hree thynges are necessary to be knowen. First what is ment by byndyng vp, and loosing out of Satanas the old Dragon. Secondly, at what tyme and yeare first he was chayned vp and sealed for a thousand yeares. Thirdly, at what yeare and tyme these thousand yeares did end, when as he should be loosed out agayne for a litle season. Which three poyntes beyng well examined and marked, the Prophecie may easely bee vnderstand directly to be ment of the Turke. Albeit Anagogically some part thereof may also be referred not vnproperly vnto the Pope, as is aboue notified.

First,*hy byndyng and loosing of Satanas, seemeth to be ment the ceasing and staying of the cruell and horrible persecution of the Heathen Emperours of Rome, against the true Christians, as is to be sene in the x. first persecutions in the primitiue Church aboue described in the former part of these Actes and Monumentes: in the whiche most bloody persecutions, Satanas the deuill then raged without all measure, till tyme it pleased almightie God to stoppe this old Serpent, and to tye him shorter. And thus haue you to vnderstād what is ment by the bindyng vp of Sathan for a thousand yeares: whereby is signified that the persecution agaynst the Christians styrrd vp by y^e beast (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the instigation of Sathan) shall not alwayes continue, but shall breake vp, after certaine tyme, and shall cease for a thousand yeares. &c.

Now,*h at what tyme and yeare this persecution, that is, the fury and rage of Sathan should cease, is also declared in the Apocalipse before: where in the chapter. 11. &. 13. wee reade that the

beast afore mētioned, shall haue power [Page 768](#) to worke his malice and mischief, the space of 42. moneths and no more,* and then that Sathan should be locked vp for a thousand yeares. The computation of which moneths being counted by Sabbates of yeares (after the example of the 69. weekes of Daniell. cap. 11,) it doth bring vs to the iust yeare and time, when that terrible persecution in the primitiue Church should end, and so it did. For giue to euery moneth a Sabbat of yeares,* that is, reckon euery moneth for seauen yeares, and that maketh 294. yeares, which was the full time betweene the 18. yeare of Tiberius, (vnder whome Christ suffered) and the death of Maxentius the last persecutour of the primitiue Church in Europe, subdued by Constantinus, as may appeare by calculating the yeares, moneths and dayes, betweene the said yeare of the reigne of Tiberius, and the latter end of Maxentius: and so haue ye the supputation of the yeare and time, when Satan was first bound vp, after he had raged in the primitiue Church 42. monethes. Which moneths, as is said, being counted by Sabbates of yeares, after the vsuall manner of the Scripture, mounteth to 294, yeares: and so much was the full time betweene the passion of our Lorde,* which was in the 18. yeare of Tiberius, vnto the last yeare of Maxentius.

And heere by the way commeth a note to be obserued, that forasmuch as by the number of these 42. monethes,* specified in the Apocalips, the Empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast: therefore it must by like necessitie follow, the Bishop of Rome to be the second beast, with the two hornes of the Lambe, for that he only hath and doth cause the sayd Empyre of Rome to reuiue and to be magnified, and so doth not the Turke, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherefore let euery Christian man be wise and beware betime, how he taketh the marke of the beast,* least peraduenture it follow vpon him, that he drinke of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned Apocal. chap. 14.

Thirdly, it remayneth to be discussed touching the third point in this foresaid prophesie,* that as we haue found out (through the helpe of Christ) the yeare and time of Satās binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his loosing out, which by the testimonie of Scripture, was appointed to be a thousand yeares after his binding vp, and so rightly according to the time appointed it came to passe. For if we number well by the Scripture the yeare of his binding vp, which was from the passion of our Lorde 294. yeares, and adde thereto a thousand yeares, it mounteth to 1294. Which was the very yeare when Ottomannus the first Turke began his reigne:* which was the first spring and welhead of all these wofull calamities that the Church of Christ hath felt both in Asia, Affrica, and Europe, almost these three hundreth yeares past. For so wee finde in Chronicles, that the kingdome of the Turkes being first deuided into four families, an. 1280. at length the familie of Ottomanus preuailed, and thereupon came these, whome now we call Turkes: which was about the same time, when Pope Boniface the eight was Byshop of Rome.

Where by the way this is againe to be noted, that after the decree of Transubstantiation was enacted in y^e Councell of Laterane by Pope Innocent the iij. the yeare of our Lord 1215. not long after, about the yeare of our Lord 1260. was stirred vp the power and armes of the Oguzians, and of the Orthogules father of Ottomannus: who about the yeare of our Lord 1294. began first to vex the Christians about Pontus & Bithinia, & so beginning his kingdome anno. 1300. reigned 28. yeares, as is afore mētioned.

Mention was made before of Ezechiell prophesieng against Gog, whose words diuers expositours do apply against the Turke, and are these: Thou shalt come from thy place, out of the North partes, thou and much people with thee, all riding vpon horse, a great and a mighty army, and thou shalt come vp against my people of Israell as a cloude, to couer the land: Thou shalt be in the latter dayes, and I will bring thee vpon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes. Thus sayth the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whome I haue spoken in the old time, by the hand of my seruants, the Prophets of Israell, that prophesied in those dayes and yeares, that I woulde bring thee vpon them? At the same time also, when Gog shall come against the lande of Israell, sayth the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger. For in my indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I spoken it: Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israell, so that the fishes of the Sea, the foules of the heauen, the beastes of the field, and all that mooue and creepe vpon the earth, and all the men that are vpon the earth, shall tremble at my presence: the mountaines shall be ouerthrowne: the starres shall fall, and euery wall shall fall to the ground, &c.

The Prophesies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other, concerning the reygne and ruyne of the Turkes.

VNto these testimonies aboue excerp'd out of the holy Scriptures,* let vs adde also the propheticall reuelations of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sybilla, and others. This Methodius is thought of some to be the same Methodius, of whome Hierome, and Suidas make mention: which was Bishop first of Olympus in Lycia, then of Tyrus, and suffred martyrdom in the last persecution of the primitiue Church, vnder Diocletian. Unto whome also Trithemius attributeth the booke intituled:*De Quatuor nouissimis temporibus. But that can not be, forasmuch as the said Methodius doth cite and alleadge the Maister of Sentence, namely, in his second booke, and sixe distinct. Which Maister of Sentence, followed more then a thousand yeare after Christ: besides certaine other fabulous matter contained in the same booke. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things cōcerning the state of y^e Church vnder Antichrist, and the reformation of Religion, as secmeth rightly to come to passe, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraude the Reader thereof, leauing the credite of the Authour to his arbitrement, to esteeme and iudge of him as he seeth cause. Among diuers other places of Methodius, prophesieng of the latter time, these words do follow: After that the children of Ismaell haue had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the desert aforesayd,*they came out of the wilderness of Arabie, and entred into the habitable land, and fought with the Kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promise, and the •••d was filled with them. And after 70. weekes, and halfe of their power, wherewith they haue subdued all the kingdome of the Gentiles, their hart was exalted, seeing themselues so to haue preuailed, and to haue conquered all things, &c. And afterward it followeth of the same matter in this sort.

It shall come to passe that the sayde seede of Ismaell, shall issue out and obtaine the whole world, with the regions thereof, in the entring of peace, from the land of Aegypt, vnto Ethiopia: & from the floud Euphrates, vnto India: and from the riuer Tigris, to the entring of Nabaot, the kingdome of Ionithus, the sonne of Noe: and from the North, vnto Rome and Illyricum, Aegypt, and Thessalonica, and Albania,*and so foorth to the sea Ponticum, whych deuideth the sayd kingdomes from Germanie and Fraunce: and their yoke shall be double vpon the neckes of all

nations, and Gentiles: neither shall there be nation or kingdome vnder heauen, which shall be able to stand against them in battaile, vntill the number of eyght weekes of yeares, &c.

Briefly, as in a grosse somme, this shall suffice, to admonish the reader, touching y^e meaning and methode of Methodius Prophetesies, which Methodius first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christes Church, maketh mention of the seede of Ismaell, which comming out of the partes and deserts of Arabie,* shall destroy (saith he) and vanquish the whole earth, So that the Christians shall be giuē of God, to the hands of the filthy Barbarians, to be slain, polluted, and captiued: Persia, Armenia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Aegypt, the East partes, Asia, Spaine, all Grecia, Fraunce, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia, The Romanes also shall be slaine and put to flight: also the Ilands of the Seas shall be brought to desolation, and to captiuitie,* and put to the sword. The which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure: the raunsome of gold and siluer and other exactions, intolerable, but especially the dwellers of Aegypt and Syria shall be most in the affliction of those times: And Hierusalem shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thether in captiuitie, from the foure windes which are vnder heauen. So that beastes also, and foules, and fish in the water, and the waters of the Sea shall be to them obedient. Cities and Townes, which were before full of people, shall be layde waste. Women with child shall be ript: their children sticked: infantes taken from the mothers, and cast in the streates, and none shall burie them. The rulers and sage of the people shall be slaine, and throwne out to the beastes. Churches shall be spoiled: the Priests destroyed: virgines defloured, and men cōpelled to sell their children, and the comming of them shall bee chastisement without mercy, and with them shall go these foure plagues: captiuitie, destruction, perdition, and desolation, wyth much more, which for breuitie I ouerpasse. And this affliction, sayeth hee, shall last eight weekes, or Sabbates of yeares, which I take to signifie eight hundreth yeares, &c.

Secondly,* after these terrible plagues thus described by Methodius vpon the Christians, which he sayth shall fall vpon them for their wicked abominations recited in the first and second chapter of S. Paule to the Romaines: the saide Methodius afterwarde, in this great distresse of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of reliefe, declareth and speaketh of a certaine King of the Greekes or [Page 769](#) Romains which shall restore peace againe to y^e Christiās.* In which peace they shal reedify their cities & mansions againe: the Priests shalbe deliuered from their greuances, & men at that time shall rest from their tribulations, and then shall the King of the Romaines dwell in the Citie of Hierusalem a weeke or sabbate, and a halfe of times. &c.

Thirdly, during y^e time of this peace, the said Methodius saith, y^e men shal fal into licentious securitie, & carelesse life:* and then according to the word of the Apostle, saying: Whē they shal say, peace, peace, sodeine destruction shal fall vpon them: then (sayth he) shalbe opened the gates of the North, & the beastly people shal breake in, which King Alexander the great, did close vp within 2. mountaines, making his prayer vnto the Lorde God, that he would bind vp that bestial & execrable people, least with their filthy & detestable pollutions, they shuld come out and pollute the holy land. Whose intercession being heard the Lord cōmanded them to be inclosed within 2. mountains in the North parts, to the depenes of 12. cubits (which signifieth peradventure 12. C. yeres) so that neither by witchcraft,* nor by any means they could get out, or any might come vnto them, vntill the time of the Lord apointed, which are (saith he) the latter times: & then, according to the prophecie of Ezechiel in the latter time of the cōsummation of the world, Gog & Magog out frō the north, shal come forth into the land of Israel, & shal work al

this mischiefe against the christiās, aboue recited. And then (saith Method. proceeding in his Propheties), shall the K. of Romanes, after he hath reigned in Ierusalē a sabbate of times, & a half, that is, saith Mer. x. yeres & a halfe, take the crown frō his hed and yeld it vp to the Crosse in Golgotha where Christ was crucified,*and shall die. And the Crosse with the crowne shalbe taken into heauen, which shal not appeare againe before the comming of the Lord.

Fourthly, it foloweth then moreouer in the Propheties of Method. Whych declareth, that when the weeke or sabbate & half weke of times shal end, and whē the K. of Romanes shall geue vp his crowne in Ierusalem, & die. Then immediatly shal Antichrist the son of perdition begin to appeare, & be borne in Iewry, of the tribe of Dan, wherof also came Iudas Iscarioth, & he shalbe borne (saith Methodius) in Chorosaim, & shalbe bred in Bethsaida, & shal raigin in Capernaū: to y^e which 3. cities, Christ the Lord gaue his 3. Vae. And whē great tribulatiō shal increase & multiply in the daies of this Antichrist, & al lordship & dominion shalbe destroyed, the Lord shall sende his 2. faithful & deare seruants, Enoch and Hely, to reprove and detect the false seducing, & lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all mē: so that the people seing thēselues falsly beguiled, & seduced by this son of perditio, cōming out of the tēple disēblingly, to the destructiō of many, shal leaue & flie frō him, & ioyn thē selues to the said 2. holy prophets. Which son of perdition & Antichrist seing his proceedings so to be reprovued, & brought into cō|tēpt, in his fury & anger shal kil the 2. Prophets of God And then shal appeare (saith Methodius) the signe of the comming of the sonne of man, and he shall come in the clouds of heauenly glory, and shall destroy the enemie with the spirite of his mouth. &c.

Interpretation.

TO these propheties & testimonies of Methodius, what credite it is to be geuen, I leaue it to the Reader. But if the meaning of his Propheties goe by such order of times, as is set & disposed in his booke: he semeth to describe vnto vs 4. principall states and alterations of times to come.

The first state and alteration is by Mahumete and the Saracens, which be the ofsprings and sonnes of Ismael comming out of Arabie in the time of Heraclius Emperour of Constantinople.* An. 630. which rebelling against Heraclius, increased & preuailed still more & more against the Christians, both in Asia, and Africa, and also in many places in Europe, especially in Spayne, and Italy.

The seconde state & alteration he Prophecieth to come by the Turke, which first comming out of the farre partes of Seythia,* y^e is, out of the North, first ouercame the Saracenes, subdued the Persians, and afterward ioynning together w^e the Saracens, conquered the kingdome of Hierusalem about the yeare of our Lorde 1187: then subdued Syria and moste part of Asia. &c. And these be they, whych Methodius seemeth to meane of, speaking of the vile and miserable people closed vp of y^e Lord God, at the intercession of Alexander the great captaine in the North, betwene 2. mountaines the deep•nosse of 12. cubites, wast that filthy corrupt nation shuld pollute the early with their wickednes. Wherby are ment those Turkes, which comming out frō the vttermost partes of the North, that is, out of Scythia and the mountaines of Caucasus or els Ismaels,* were withholden & kept backe of Almighty God, for Christes cause, that they myght not harme his Church alongspace, during the time of xii. C. yeares: yea, and then, the sinnes of the Christians so deseruing, they were permitted of almighty God to breake out, and to inuade the

church: who nowe ioyning together w^t the Saracens, haue wrought, and daily do woorke, all these greuances against our Christian brethren: as we se this day is come to passe, and more is like to folow, except the hād of the Lord, which let them out, do plucke them in againe.

Moreouer,* in y^e meane space, betwene the reigne of the Saracens and the Turks, where Methodius speaketh of the R. of Romaines, which should restore quietnes to the church, & should raigne in Hierusalem, a sabbate of tunes and halfe a sabbate: thereby seemeth to be vnderstand the viage of Christian Princes out of the west partes of Europe, vnder Gotfridus Duke of Lotharing & his 2. brethren and many other christen Princes, with 300. M. footmen, and 100. M. horsemen: who fighting against the Saracens, recouered againe from them, the Citie of Hierusalem, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1099. Which citie before had bene in their possession, y^e terme of 490. yerres. After which victory got, first Gotfridus, then Baldwinus his brother, and other after them, to the number of 9. Christen kings, reigned in Hierusalem the space of 88. yerres: and after that through the discord of the Christians not agreeing amōgst themselues, both Hierusalem and Syria, with other parts of Asia besides, were subdued and wonne of the Turkes, whych to this day they keepe yet still. And this was in the yeare of our Lord. 1187.

About which yeare and time (as foloweth in Methodius) when the Citie of Hierusalem shall be wonne of the Turkes,* then shall Antichrist begin to be borne of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Iudas Iscarioth, and shalbe borne in Chorosaim and bredde in Bethsaida, and reigne in Capernaum: Meaning that this Antichrist or sonne of perdition, shalbe full of Gods malediction, noted by Iudas Iscariothe, and these 3. Cities, against whome were spoken thrise Vae of the Lord.

And heere is moreouer to be noted, that Methodius sayth, not that Antichrist shall be borne among the Saracens or Turkes, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Israel. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichriste shal not come of the Saracēs, nor Turks, but shall spring vs among the Christians, and (sayeth Methodius) shall seeme to come out of the Temple, to deceiue many. &c. whereby the Pope may seeme rather then the Saracene or the Turk, to be described, for so much as the Pope, being elected norished, and raigning in the midst of Gods people, at Rome, sitteth in the temple, and very place of Christ: and (no doubt) deceiue many. &c.

And nowe to come to the time assigned of Methodius, here is to be added also,* that which we read in Antoninus, Par. 3. that about this said present time, a certaine Bishop of Florence preached that Antichriste was then comming. But the pope commanded him to keepe silence & to speake no more therof. Now why the pope so did, & why he could not abide the preaching of Antichriste, I referre it to them which list to muse more vpon the matter. This is certain, that about this time, heere assigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lombardus Gratianus, and Pope Innocent y^e thirde, the first authors & patrons of trāsubstantiation.* At which time also began the first persecution by y^e church of Rome, againste y^e Albingenses or waldenses, about Tolous, Bitures, and Auinion. Of whome 17. M. the same time were slaine, by the Popes crossed souldiors. Among whom frier Dominicke was then the chieftest doer. About whyche time also was Frier Frances, of which two came the two orders of begging Friers: al which began much about one time together. An. 1215. which were nere, within 20. yerres. after the kingdome of the Christians was taken of the Turkes, according to the Prophetie aboue sayd.*

It followeth moreouer in Methodius, That in hys time al Lordship & domination shal cease and geue ouer. &c. The verity whereof we see no•e accomplished in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double sword, and triple crown doeth come, there all seculare power must geue place, both Emperors, Kings, and Princes must stoupe.

So king Iohn yeelded vp his crowne to Pandulus the popes Legate, and was in his hand 5. daies. An. 12•7.

Childerike the French K. had hys crowne taken from him,* and geuen to Pipine. An. 747.

Henricus 4. Emperor was forced to submit hymselfe and his scepter to Pope Hildebrand. An. 1077.

Fridoricus Barbarossa Emperour, in Saint Markes Church in Uenice, was faine to lay downe hys necke vnder the Pope Alexanders feete. Anno 1277. Which Fridericke also before, was faine to holde the stirroppe to Pope Adrian, &c.

What should I speake of the Ambassadour of Uenice, named Franciscus Dandulus? who being sent to Pope [Page 770](#) Clement the 5. was made to lie vnder the Popes cable like a dog, & gather vp the crows, mēcioned in Sabel. Enn. 9. li. 7.

Henry the 3. being Emperor, had hys diademe first set on with the feete of the Pope, and afterwarde strocken off from his head with the Popes foote againe.

And what shall I speake more hereof? when as Carolus Magnus submitted himselfe so lowe to kisse the feete of Pope Leo. An. 800.*

It foloweth then in the prophesie of Methodius: That in the tribulation of those dayes, shall be sent from God two speciall Prophettes, Enoch and Hely, to reprooue and disclose the fraudulent falsehode of Antichrist, and that many seeing his delusion, shall forsake him and followe them: Wherat Antichrist being greeued shall kill them. &c.

We neuer read yet in any story,* of any suche two Prophets to be sent either to the Saracens, or to the Turkes: Wheras against the Pope, we read Iohn Husse and Hierome of Prage, two learned Martyrs & Prophets of God to haue bene sent, & to haue reproued and described the Anatomie of Antichrist, and at last to haue bene burned for their labor. And what Prophet can speake more plainly, either Enoch or Hely,* then did Hierom of Prage, prophesying of the comming of Martin Luther, an C. yeres after him? when the Pope and his fellowes should answeere to God and to him. The time we see came iust. Nowe let the Pope see with his fellowes, what answer they can make.

[illustration]

The true plate of Hus and Hierome, among the Bohemians.

*It followeth further in Methodius concludynge hys prophecie. And then (sayth he) shall appeare the comming of the sonne of man in the clouds of heauen, with celestial glory. &c.

Wherefore after the burning of these two notable Prophets, with many other thousands burned also since their time, by the B. of Rome it is to be thought, that the comming of Christes iudgement in the clouds, is not farre of. Veni cito Domine. Amen.

And thus muche touching Methodius, of whose prophecies how much or how little is to be esteemed, I leaue it indifferent vnto the reader. For me it shal suffice simply to haue recited his wordes, as I finde them in his booke contained: noting this by y^t way, that of this booke of Methodius, De nouissimis temporibus, neither Hierome in his Cataloge, nor Suidas, nor yet Auentinus in the place where hee entreateth purposely of such prophecies, *maketh any mention. As touching Hildegardus & Brigit, & other whome the French cal Bardi for their songs & propheticall verses, sufficient hath ben alleaged before out of Anentinus: who in his 3. booke of Chronicles wryting of the testimonies of Hildegard, Brigit and Bardi, seemeth to grounde vppon them, *that the Turkes, whether we wil or not, shal haue their Imperiall seate at Colen: And I pray God, that it come not to passe, that the Turke do geue some attempt against England by the seas, before that he come to Colen by land. &c.

Greuity causeth me to cut of many testimonies and reuelations of these abouesaide, *or els I could here rehearse the propheticall wordes of Brigit, lib. 4. cap. 57. concerning the City and Church of Rome, which as she sayth, must be purged and scoured with 3. things: *to wit, with sharpe sword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God wil doe with that Citie, as one that remoueth plants out of one place vnto an other: and finally, that the Citie of Rome shall susteine the sentence, as if a Iudge should commaund the skin to be flaine off, the bloude to be drawne from the flesh, and the flesh to be cut in small peces, & the bones therof to be broken, so that all the mary may be quised out from the same &c. *But for breuitie I let Brigit passe, & some thing wil declare out of Erythrea Sybilla, in her booke of prophecies found in S. Georges church in Uenice: where she prophesying many things of the birth of Christ vnder Augustus, and of the birth of Iohn Baptist, & of baptisme, of the Apostles, of the conuersion of the Gentiles, and of Constantinus, &c. hath these words: *After that the peaceable Bull shall conclude all the climes of the world vnder tribute, in those daies a heauenly lambe shal come: and the dayes shal come, whē the power of the flowing streame shalbe magnified in water, & the Lyon the Monarche shalbe conuerted to the Lambe, which shall shine to all men, and subuert kingdomes.

Moreouer sayeth Sybilla, In the latter age God shall bee hūbled, *and the diuine ofspring shalbe abased, & Deitie shalbe ioyned with humanity, the Lambe shal lie in hay, and God & mā shall be bred vp vnder a maidens attendance, signes and wōdershal go before amōgest the circumcised. &c. Also, an aged womā shal cōceiue a childe hauing knowledge of things to come. *The Worlde shall maruell at Bowtes (the starre) which shall be a leader to his birth. He hauing 32. feete and 6. thumbes shal chuse to himself out of ••sners and abiectes, the number of 12. and one deuill, not wyth ••orde nor with battel. &c. And afterwarde thus followeth moreouer, in Sybilla, saying: *The health of the lambe lying shalbe clothed with a fewe spoiles of the Lyon. Blacke shalbe turned into red. He shall subdue the citie of Aeneas, and kings, but in the booke of the fisher, In deiectiō and pouertie he shall cōquere riches, and shall treade downe pride with his owne death, In the night he shall rise vp, and be changed, he shall liue and raigne, and all these

things shall be consummated, and regeneration (or newe things) be made: at last hee shall iudge both good and euill. &c. And thus much briefly collected out of Sybilia Erythrea concerning Christ our Lord.

Furthermore, touching the state and course of the Church and of Antichrist. it foloweth in the sayde Sybille, saying: *Then shall 4 Winged beastes rise vp in testimonie, they shal soūd out with trumpets the name of the lambe, sowing righteousnes, & the law irreprehensible. Against which law, the beast shal gainstand, & the abomination & froth of the dragon. But a maruelous star shal rise, hauing the image of the 4. beastes, & shalbe in a maruelous multitude, he shal bring light to the Greekes, and shal illustrate the world. The lake of the fisher shall bring the name of the lambe with power, into the Citie of Eneas, vnto the end of the worlde, (or time). Then in the city of Eneas, the starre ioyned, shall loose such as were bound of the deuill, and thereof hee shall reioyce and glory, and glorious shalbe his end &c.

After this, Sybilia wryting (as it semeth) of Antichrist, importeth these words. And it shall come to passe, that an horrible beast shal come out of the East, whose roaring shall be heard to Aphrike, to the people of Carthage, Which hath 7. heades and scepters innumerable, feete 663. He shall gainstande the lambe, to blaspheme his Testamēt, encreasing the waters of the dragon. The kings & princes of the world he shall burne in intolerable sweat, & they shal not diminish his feete. And then two starres like to the first starre, shall rise against the beast, and shal not preuaile, till the abomination shall be come, and the wil of the Lord shall be consummate. And again, speaking of the same matter, he inferreth these words of the foresaid 2. starres aboue mētioned. *And toward the latter dayes, two bright starres shall arise, raising vp men lying dead in their sinnes, being like to the first starre, hauing the face of the 4. beastes which shall resist the beast, & the waters of the dragon, testifying (or preaching) the name and lawe of the lambe, the destruction of abomination and iudgement, and shal diminish his waters, but they shalbe weakened in the bread of affliction, and they shall rise againe in stronger force. &c.

And it foloweth moreouer. After the abomination, then shal truth be reuealed, & the lambe shalbe known, to whom regions and countreis shal submit their necks, & all earthly men shal agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled vnder one discipline, and after this shalbe but a small time. &c.

And shortly after, the saide Sybilia speaking of the latter iudgement to come, declareth how all the abominations of sinnes shall come before the lambe: and that terrible fire shall fall frō heauen, which shall consume al carthly things created vnto the top of heauen. &c.

And thus mucche out of Sybilla, touching her propheties of Christ & Antichrist, according a• I founde them alleaged of a certaine catholike Romish wryter, * in his booke entituled Onus ecclesiae, excerpded, as he sayeth, out of the library of S. George in the citie of Uenice.

Philip Melancthon in his preface vpon Bartholomaeus Georgienitz Peregrinus, wryting of the Origene and manners of the Turks, alledgeth a certaine prophesy of Hikenus, mentioned hereafter, which foresaid that the Turkes should beare rule in Italy and in Germany. An. 1600.

Now it remaineth in conclusion of these prophesies of the Turks, something to say of the Turks owne prophesies, concerning the enduring & ending of their own kingdom, whose prophetically prognostication, being taken out of their owne language, and their own bookes, I thought here to insert, as I finde it alleaged in the booke of the forsayd Bartholomaeus Georgienitz, as followeth.

A Turkish prophecie in the Persian tounge of the raigne and ruine of the Turkes.

PAtissahomoz ghelu, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler, iedi y ladegh Gyaure kelecı csikmasse, on ikiyladegh onlaron begblig eder: eusi iapar, baghi dıker bahesai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldensora Hristianon Kelecı csıchar, ol Turchi gerestine tus chure.

The Latine of the same.

*IMperator noster veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrū quoque pomum capiet, in suam potestatem rediget: quod si septimum vsque annum Christianorum gladius non insurrexit, vsque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos aedificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos sepibus munit, liberos procreabit, & post duodecimum annum, apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaque versum in fugam aget.

The same in English.

Our Emperour shall come: he shall get the kingdome of the Gentiles prince: also he shall take the red apple and shall bring it vnder his subiection: and if the sworde of the Christians shall not rise vnto the vij. yeare, hee shall haue dominion ouer them vnto the xii. yere. He shall build houses, plant vineyardes, shall hedge about his orchards, shall procreate children: and after the xij. yeare shall appeare the sworde of the Christians, which shall putte the Turke to flight euery where.

They which make declaration of this Turkische prophesie do expound this xij. yeare to signify the xij. yeare after the winning of Constantinople: * which Constantinople, they say, is ment by the redde apple: And after that xij. yeare, say they, shall rise the sworde of the Christians. &c. and this prophesie being wrytten and translated out of the Persian tounge, with this exposition vpon the same, is to be found in the booke of Bartholomeus Georgienitz. Albeit, concerning the exposition therof, * it semeth not to be true which is there spoken of the xij. yeare, after the wyning of Constantinople, being nowe 100. yeares since the wyning thereof.

Wherefore it may rather seme probable that by the vij. yeare and xii. yeare of the Turkes, * this to be the meaning, that if the vij. of the Ottoman Turks do scape the sworde of the Christians, they shall continue, builde and plant. &c. vntill the xij. Turke, which is this Solymannus, & then after that shall rise the Christians sworde, which shall put them to flight, and vanquish them in all quarters. And this exposition may seeme to accord with the place of Genesis, * wherein is wrytten of Ismael, that he had xij. sonnes, & no mo: So that this Solymannus being the xij. Turke after Ottomannus, may (by the grace of Christ) be the last, whō we heard credibly to be reported at the printing heereof, to be dead. But howsoever this prophecy is to be takē, it appeareth by their owne Oracles, that at length they shall be ouercome by the Christians.

A Table describing the times and yeares of the Saracens, Turkes, and Tartarlans, for the better explaining of the storie aboue prefixed.

AN. 632. Began the kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of mahumet the fi•ft ringleader of y^e mischief which Savacens reigning in Babylon ouer Persia and Asia, continued about

*198. yeres

An 667. Ierusalem was taken of the Saracens. These Saracēs after they had subdued Ormisda K. of Persia, set vp to them selues a new kingdom, calling their chiefe prince Calipha, which signifieth a general Lord: and vnder him Seriphes, that is, an vnder prince: And againe vnder him their Soldan: whych is a ruler or captaine vnder the which Soldanes, all the prouinces were deuided. And thus ruled obey y^e space abouesayd of

198. yeres

An. 703. The Egyptians being weary of their subiection vnder the Romaines, called for helpe of the Saracene Calipha: and so casting of the Romaines, submitted themselues to the law of the Saraces, and had also their Calipha and theyr Babylon called Cairus, where their Calipha continued vnto Saraco or Syracinus.

*447. yeres

An. 810. Mauginetus or Muchumetus y^e chiefe Sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbrael y^e Sultan of •abi•on, feut for the aid of the turkes, out of S•ychia: •• whō, when he had got the victorye against the Babilonians, the sayd Turkes shortly after, conquered the Persians, and subdued their countrey within the space of.

20•. yeres

An. 830. The Saracēs being •• pushed •• of Asia by the turkes, wandered aboue Afrike, Spayne, and Italy, and were 〈◇〉 uers places dispersed, and 〈◇〉

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An. 830. The Turke after they had expulsed the Sara•••our of Asia, began to reigne in Asia, in Persia, & in Arabia, and there reigned without interruption, til the comming of the Tartarians, the space of

*192. yeres

An. 1009. The Turkes wanne the city of Herusalem frō the Sara•ens: which citie the Sultan of Egipt want againe 〈◇〉 the Turkes shortly after, & possessed the same till the comming of Gotfeldus.

An. 1051. Began the first king of y^e turkes called •aduke, to raign in Asia, and ioyned league with Calipha of Egypt, and there raigned till the conquest of Gotfridus and the Christians, the space of

46. yeres

An. 1078. Solymānus nephue to Aspasalem y^e turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Turquinia, subdued Capadocia, which hath continued now since, the space of

500. yeres

An. 1099. Gotfridus Bulion duke of Lotharing a christē prince, taking his voiage into Asia, with 700000. Christen soldiours first got the city of Nicea against the Sultane of the Turkes: then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Syria, afterwarde Mesopotamia, and Comagena, then Autiochia. An. 1098. and the next yere recouered Hierusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, whych they a little before had wonne from the Turkes, as is aforesayde. After this Gorfridus succeded viij. christian kings, which kept the kingdome of Hierusalem and Asia, both from the Turkes and Saracens, the space of

88. yeres

An. 1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greatye, vāquishe●● the Turks out of the kingdom of Persia, af●●● they had cutte their king in pieces. wherby the Turks flying to Cappadoria, there remained vnder Solynian & ioyned them selues to the Solban of Egypt and waxed the strong in Asia minor, couted now Turquinia.

An. 1170. When Americus the vii. king of Hierusalem after Goufridus, had ouercome the Calipha or Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan being ouercome, called for the help of Saracon the Sultane of Syria. Thys Saracon after he had expulsed y^e christians out of Egypt, ●●oned his power against y^e Sultane of Egypt, and vanquishing him, tooke to him selfe the kingdome of Egypt: Which kingdom he with his posteritie did holde till the comming of the Tartarians and the Mamaluches about the space of

88. yeres

An. 1187. Saladinus the nephew of Saracon the Sultane of Egypt, perceauing the dissention among the Christian states of Palestina, got Antioche, where he slewe Raymundus the Prince with hys owne hands: Then got Tiberias: From thence went to Accō, where he tooke Guido king [Page 772](#) of Hierusalem and Master of the Templares, prisonners: for whose raunsome, the Turke had Ascalon yelded vp to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued Hierusalem. whych had bene in the handes of the Christians before, the space of.

An. 1189. Friderike Emp. Philip French king, Rich, king of Englande made their viage into Asia, where Friderike washing in a riuer at Lilicia, died. In this voiage at the siege of Accon, Saladinus wanne the fielde of our men, of whome 2000. were slaine in the chase. Accon at length was got of the Christians. King Richarde got Cyprus. The two kings tell at strife. Phillip retired home without any good doing, king Richarde laide siege to Hierusalem, but in vaine, and so returning homewarde, was taken neare to Uienna in Austria, after hee had taken truce before wyth the Soldane, vppon such condition as pleased hym. And thys good speede had the Popes, sending out against the Turkes.

An. 1215. There was an other Councell holden at Rome by pope Innocēt 3. where was enacted a newe article of our faith for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and bloud of our sauour. In this Councell also great excitation was made by the Pope, & great preparation was through al

Christendom, to set forward for recouery of the holy lād. A mighty army was collected of Dukes, Lordes, knights, bishops & Prelates, that if Gods blessing had gone wyth them, they myght haue gone throughout all Asia and India.

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Anno 1219. The Christians after 18. monethes siege, gotte a certaine towne in Egypte, called Damiata or Elipolis, wyth much a do, but not much to y^e purpose. For afterward as the christian army of y^e popes sending, went aboute to besiege the Citie Cairus or Babylon, the Sultane throughe his subtile traine so intrapped and inclosed them wythin the daunger of Nylus, that they were constrained to render agayne the Citie Damiata, with their prysonners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Souldanes hande, and glad so wyth their liues to passe forward to Tyrus, An. 1221.

In the meane time the Egyptian Turke caused the Citie of Hierusalem to be rased, that it should serue to no vse to the Christians. What great thing els was done in that viage, it doth not greatly appere in stories. All be it Fridericus the 2. Emperour was not vnfrutefully there occupied, and mucche more myght haue done, had it not bene for the violence and persecution of the Bishop of Rome against him: whereby he was enforced to take truce wyth the Sultan for 10. yeres, and so returned. After which things done, not many yeares after, at lengthe the last citie of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais or A●●●s, was also taken from them by the Sultane, so that now the christians had not one foote left in all Asia.

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An. 1203. Thus the Christians being driuen out of Asia by the Sultans & Turkes, yet the sayd Turkes and Sultanes did not long enioy their victorie: For estsoones the Lord stirred vp against them the Tartarians, who breaking into Asia by the portes of Caspius subdued diuers partes of Asia, namely, about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania. &c. These Tartarians as they had got many captiues in their warres: so for gaine vsed to shippe them ouer customably to Alexandria in Egypt to be solde: whych seruantes and captiues Melechsala the great Sultane was gladde to buy, to serue him in his warres. Which captiues & seruaunts after they had continued a certaine space in Egypte, and through their valiant seruice grew in fauour and estimation with the sayd Melechsala, and began more to increase in number and strength: at lengthe they slue him, and tooke to themselues the name and kingdome of the Sultane. And thus ceased the stocke of Saracon & Saladinus afore mentioned, which continued in Egypt, about the space as is sayd of

*100 yeres

An. 1240. After the death of Melechsala, the army of these foresaide rascals and captiues, set vp to themselues a king of theyr owne cōpany, whome they called Turquemenius. Who to fill vp the number of theyr company that it should not diminish, deuised this order, to get or to buy christē mens children, taken yong frō their parents, and y^e mothers lap: whom they vsed so to bryng vp to make them to denye Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in Mahumetes law, & afterward to be trained in the feates of warre, and these were called Malaluchi. Among whome this was their order, that none might be

aduaunced to be king, but out of their own number, or els chosen by them: neither that any shoulde be made knights or horsemen, but only the children of christians which should deny Christ before, called Mamaluchi. Also it was among them prouided, that to thys dignity neither Saracens nor lewes, should be admitted. Item, that the succession therof shoulde not descend to the children and offpring of these Mamaluchi. Also, that the succession of the crowne should not descend to the childrē of the foresayd Sultanes, but shoulde goe by voyce and election. The Tartarians wyth Turquemenius their king, aboute thys time obtained Turquia, that is, Asia minor, from the Turkes, and wythin 2. yeres after, preuailing againste the Turkes, expelled them from theyr, kingdome, and so continued these Mamaluchi reigning ouer Egypt, & a great part of Asia, till the time of Tomumbeius theyr last Kyng, whych was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Zelymus the Turke, father to this Solymannus, as in hys historye is declared, Those Mamaluchi continued the space of

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An. 1245. These Tartarians rāging thorough the countreis of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconiū, which was then the imperiall city of the Turkes.

An. 1289. The Soldane of Egypt & Babilon got from the christiās Tripolis, Tyrus, Sydon, and Gerithus in Syria.

An. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomaïs, which also is called Akers, was surprised by y^e sayd Soldan, rased and cast downe to the ground, & all the Christians therein (whych were not many left) were slaine. And this was the last citye which the Christians had in Asia. So that nowe the Christians haue not one foot (as is sayd before) left in al Asia. Thus the Egyptian Soldanes, and the Tartarians reigned and ranged ouer the most part of Asia aboute the Turkes, till the raigne of Ottomannus the great Turke, aboute the space of

80 yeres

And thus haue ye the whole discourse of the Turkish story, with theyr names, countryes, townes, dominions al'so with theyr times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order described and in yeares distincted: which otherwise in most authors and writers be so confused, that it is heard to know distinctly, what difference is betwene the Saracens, Turkes, Tartarians, y^e Sultans or Soldans, Mamuluches, or Ianizarites: What is theyr Calipha, [Page 773](#) their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Bassa, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of yeres they reigned. Al which in thys present table manifestly to thine eye may appeare.

* Wherein this thou hast moreouer (gentle Reader) to cōsider, which is worthy the noting, how the B. of Rome all this season, frō the first beginning of the Turks reigne, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling vpon Christen princes and subiectes, to take the crosse and to warre against the Turkes: wherupon so many great viages haue bene made to the holy lande, & so many battailes sought against the Turke and Soldan for winning y^e holy crosse: and yet no luckie successe hath followed thereof hetherto, nor euer came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that Bishop, hath beene attempted against that great enemy of the Lorde: In somuch that the Christians haue lost not onely all that they had in Asia, but also vnneth are able to defende that little they haue in Europe, against his violence. What the cause is

of thys harde lucke of the Byshops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their minde leadeth, and as the Gospell sayth, he that hath eyes to see let him see. This is certaine, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the B. of Rome, to stirre men vp to that business: so on the Princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or abilement of warre: onely the blessing of God semeth to haue lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would were to easy to be reformed, as it may be quickly construed. For what man beholding the life of vs Christians, wil greatly maruell, why y^e Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turks? And if my verdit might here haue place, for me to adde my censure, there appeareth to me an other cause in this matter, yet greater then thys aforesaid: which to make plaine and cuidet in ful discourse of wordes, laisure no we doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceiue, my opiniō is thys: that if the sincere doctrine of Christen faith deliuered & left vnto vs in the word of God, had not hen so corrupted in the church of Rome, or if the B. of Rome would yet reclame his impure idolatry, and prophanations, and admit Christe the Lambe of God to stande alone, without our unpure additions, to be our onely Iustification, according to the free promise of Gods grace: I nothing doubt but the power of this faith grounding onely vpon Christ the sonne of God, had both framed our liues into a better disposition: and also soone would, or yet wil bring downe the pride of that proude Dolofernes. But otherwise,* if the Bish. of Rome will not gently geue place to the milde voyce of Gods word, I thinke not contrary, but he shalbe compelled at last to giue place & rume to the Turke, whether he will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the Turk & the Pope shal do against it what they can, the trueth and grace of Gods Testament shall fructify & increase, by such meanes as the Lorde shall worke, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come graciously and luckely forward in most places.

A Prayer against the Turkes.

O Eternall Lorde God, father of our Lord Iesus Christ, creator and disposer of all things, iust, gracious, & wise only, in the name and reuerence of thy sonne Iesus, wee prostrate our selues, desiring thine omnipotent maiestie, to looke downe vppon these afflicted times of thy poore creatures and seruaunts: relieue thy Church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast geuen thine onely begotten sonne vnto vs, promising with hym life to all that shall beleue vpon his name: so encline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be farre of from all other sinnefull additions and prophane inuentions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded vpon thy will and promise. And graunt (we beseeche thee) to thy Church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set vp any other meanes or helpe of saluation, but onely in him, whome thou only hast sent and sealed. Reforme thy Church with perfecte doctrine and faithfull teachers, that we seeing our owne weakenesse, may put off our selues, and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in vs, but thy sonne alone, in whome thou art onely pleased. Renew in this thy Church againe, the decaied faith of thy sonne Iesus, which may plentifully bring foorth in vs, not leaues onely, but frutes of Christian life: And forgeue our wretched Idolatry and blinde phantasies past, wherwith we haue prouoked manifold waies thy deserued indignation against vs: For our hearts haue bene full of Idoles, our temples full of Images, our wayes full of hypocrisie: thy Sacraments prophaned, and thy religion turned to superstition, because the lanterne of thy worde went not before vs, therfore we haue stumbled. Miserably we haue walked hetherto, like sonnes not of Sara, but of Agar, and therefore these Turkish Agarens haue risen vp against vs.

Many hard and straight wayes we haue passed, but the wayes of the Lorde we haue not founde. Much cost we haue bestowed on bread that swageth no hunger,* but that bread which onely feedeth and commeth freely, we haue not tasted. We haue sailed farre and nere in barkes of our owne building, but haue not kept within the Arke onely of thy promise, and therefore these floudes haue taken vs. We haue prayed much, but not in thine appoynted temple, and therefore haue not bene heard. Wee haue plowed and tilled, but without thy haiffer, and therefore this vntidie ground of ours, bringeth foorth so many weedes We do fish apace and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boate, in our fishing we catche neuer a sinne. Our buildings be full of good intentions & great devotiōs, but because the ground worke is not surely laid vpon the rocke of thy promise, the East winde riseth and shaketh them all to shiuers. We walke and haue walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, hauing a shew of wisdom, but not as holding the heade, where lieth all our strength, and therefore these Philistian Turkes haue hetherto so preuailed against vs. Briefly, all the partes and bones of the body be shaken out of place, Wherefore we beseeche thee (O Lorde) put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right ioynt againe. And finally, reduce this same thy mysticall body againe, to his perfect and naturall head, whych is thine onely sonne Iesus Christ, and none other. For him onely hast thou annoynted and appoynted. Neither is there any other head, that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone: for asmuch as all other heades be sinnefull, and are not able to stande in thy sight, but make thys body rather worse then better. Onely this thy welbeloued and perfecte sonne is he, in whome onely dwelleth all our strength and fulnesse: him onely we confesse and knowledge. For whome, and with whome, wee beseeche thee (O Lorde God of hostes) graunt to thy Church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turkes, Saracens, Tartarians, againste Gog and Magog, and all the malignaunt rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy sonne Iesus our Lord and Sauior. Preuent their deuises, ouerthrow their power, and dissolue their kingdome, that the kingdome of thy sonne so long oppressed, may recouer and flourish ouer all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happely be reduced againe into the folde of thy saluation, throughe Iesus Christe our only mediatour and most mercifull aduocate. Amen.

IN this long digression; wherein sufficiently hath bene described the grieuous and tedious persecution of the Saracens, & Turkes against the Christians, thou hast to vnderstand (good reader) and beholde the image of a terrible Antichrist euidently appearing both by his own doings, & also by the scriptures, prophesied & declared to vs before. Now in comparing the Turke with the pope, if a question be asked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easy to see and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manifest enemye agaynst Christe and hys Church. But if it be asked, whether of them two hath bene the more bloudy and pernicious aduersary to Christe and his members: or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian bloud, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discerne, neither is it my part here to discusse, which do onely write the history, and the Actes of them both, wherefore after the story of the Turkes thus finished, nowe to teenter agayne there, whereas we left, in describing the domesticall troubles and persecutions here at home vnder the Byshop of Rome:* after the burning of Babram in Northfolke aboue declared, pag 737. I signified also of an other certaine aged man mētioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in y^t tower, instituted Polychron. (although I finde not his name in the saide Chronicle expressed) which suffered the paines of burning in Smithfield, about the same time which was the yere of our Lord. 1500. Ex Polychron.

This aged father, I suppose, be hee of whome I finde mention made in certaine olde papers and recordes of W. Larye Citizen (all be it the day of the moneth doth a little differ) wherin is thus testified, that on the 20. day of Iuly. An. 100. vpon the day of S. Margaret, there was an olde man burned in smithfield for an hereticke, & the same person vpon the 10. day before he was burned, wold haue stolen out of the Lolardes tower, and so falling out of the tower did fowly hurt him selfe: wherupon he was caried in a car• to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foresaid papers of auncient recorde, is furthermore declared, how in the yere about prefixed, which was An. 1499. In the time of one Perseuell, many were taken [Page 774](#) for hereticke in Kent,* and at Paules crosse they bare faggottes and were abiured, and shortly after the same yere, there went 13. lolardes afore the procession in Paules, and there were of them 8. weemen and a yong lad, and the lads mother was one of the 8. and all the 13. bare faggottes on their neckes afore the procession.

William Tilsworth Martyr.

FOR somuch as the world is come now to such a morosity and peuish insensibilitie in these contentious and canilling daies of ours, that nothyng can be so circumspectly wrytten and storyed, but shall lie in daunger of one Sycophant or an other, whyche neuer will credite there, where they lift not to like: neither will they euer lyke that, which seemeth preiudiciall to their faction, or not to serue the humor wherewith their phantasies bee infected: therefore to stop the mouthes of such carping cauillers with as muche possibilitie as I may, be it knowne to al and singular such persons,* who by euidence of truth and witnes wil be satisfied, that in the towne of Amerisham, be yet aliue both men and women, which can and do beare witnes of this that I shal declare. Also there is of the sayd company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet aliue, witnes to the same. Also an other named Agnes Wetherley widdowe, being about the age of an hundreth yeares, yet lyuing and witnes heereof: That in the dayes of king Henry 7. Anno 1506. in the dioces of Lyncolne in Bukingham shire (William Lylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Standley about 60. yeares agoe. At which time one Ioane Clearke, being a marryed woman, whych was the onely daughter of the sayde W. Tylseworth and a faythfull woman,* was compelled with her owne handes to set fyre to her deare father: and at the same time her husbād Iohn Clearke did penaunce at her fathers burning, and bare a fagot, as did also.

- Robert Bartlet.
- Richard Barlet.
- Iohn Barlet.
- Thomas Harding, and his wife.
- Henry Harding.
- Richard Harding.
- Robert Harding.
- Iohn Milsent and hys wi•e.
- William Whyte.
- Iohn Mumbe and hys wife.
- Richard Bennet.
- Rog Bennet. Iohn Fip.
- William Grinder.

- Thomas Homes.
- Yomaud Dorman.
- William Scriuener.
- Ihon Scriuener.
- Thomas Chase.
- Iohn Cracher.

*Al these bare fagots, and afterward were compelled to weare certaine badges, & went abroad to certaine townes to doe penaunce, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other townes mo: And also diuers of these men were afterward burned in the cheeke, as William Page, which at this present

[illustration]

***The burning of Thomas Barnard, and Iames Mordon.**

is alieue, and likewise did beare a fagot with the aforesaid. Furthermore the foresaid Agnes wetherley testifie•h that at the burning of thys William Lylfworth, were lx. and aboue that were put to beare fagots for their penance, of whom diuers were enioyned to beare and weare fagots at Lyncolne, the space of 7. yeres, some at one time, some at another. &c. In which nūber was also one Robert Bartlet a riche man, who for his profession sake was put out of his ferme and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashryge, where he ware on his right sleeue a square peece of cloth, the space of 7. yeres together.

It foloweth moreouer in y^t testimonie of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Lilsworth (as the Amersham men do say) or the next day after,* as recordeth the foresayd Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Missenden: and at hys burning were there aboue 20. persons that were compelled to beare fagots, and to do suche penaunce as the wicked Pharises did compell them. After that by the space of 2. or 3. yeeres, was burned at Amershā, Thomas Barnard a husbandman, and Iames Mordon a labourer, they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Litlepage (who is yet alieue) compelled to be burned in the right cheeke,* and father Rogers, and father Reuer alias Reiue, whych after was burned. Thys Father Rogers was in the byshops prisone 14. weekes together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and yrones, that after his comming out of the said pryson, he was so lame in his backe that he could neuer go vpriight as long as hee liued,* as can testifie diuers honest men that be now liuing. Also there was 30. mo burned in the right cheke, and bare fagottes the same time. The cause was that they would talke against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear & read the holy Scriptures. The maner of their burning in the cheeke was this: theyr neckes were tied fast to a poaste or stay, wyth towels, and theyr handes holden that they might not stirre, and so the iron being hotte, was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Iesus about them.

The cruell handling of Thomas Chase of Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in the bishops prison at Wooburne, vnder W. Smith Bishop of Lincolne.

AMong these aforesayd,* which were so cruelly persecuted for the Gospell and worde of Christe, one Thomas Chase of Amersham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled, which

Thomas Chase by the report of suche as did knowe him, was a man of a godly, sober and honest behavior (whose vertuous doings doe yet remaine in memorie) and could not abide Idolatrie and superstition, but many times woulde speake against it: Wherefore the vngodly and wicked did the more hate & despise him,* and toke hym, and brought him before the blinde Byshop, beyng at that time at Wooburne, in the Countie of Buckingham, and as it is wrytten. Act. 12. that wicked Herode dyd vexe certaine of the congregation, and killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased y^e Iewes. &c. he proceded farther, and had thys same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, to many tauntes, checkes, and rebukes, but what answere this godly man Thom. Chase made them, it is vnknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that hys aunswere was most zealous and godly in professing Christes true religion and Gospel,* and to the extirpation of idolatry and superstition and hypocrisie, for that the sayde Thomas Chase was commaunded to be put in the bishops prison called litleease, in the bishops house at woo burne, which prison had not bene ministred vnto him, had not his answeres bene sound and vpriight. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chaines, gyues, manicles and yrons oft times fore pined with hunger, where the Bishopes almes was daily brought vnto hym by hys chapleines:.* Whych almes was nothing els put checkes, tauntes, rebukes and threatninges, floutinges, and mockings. Al which cruelty the godly Martyr tooke most quietly & paciently,* remembering and hauing respect to Christes promises. Math. 5. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen, and as foloweth: Blessed are yee <◇> reuile you and persecure you, &c. when the Bishop wyth his bonde of shauelings, perceiued that by their daily practises of crueltie they coulde not preuaile against him, but rather y^t he was the more feruent & earnest in professing Christes true Religion: and that he did tolerate and beare most paciēty at their wickednes and truely ministred vnto hym: [Page 775](#) they imagined how and which way they might put hym to death, least there should be a tumulte or an vprose amōg the people. And as Richard Hun shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lolardes tower, about the yeare of our Lord 1514. euen so these bloudsuppers most cruelly strangled and prest to death this said Thomas Chase in prison,* which most hartely called vpon God to receiue his spirit: as witnesseth a certaine woman, that kept him in prison.

After that these stinging vipers being of the wicked broode of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impioulsye murdered this faithfull Christian, they were at their wits ende, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke theyr shamefull murther withall, at last to blinde the ignoraunt sely people, these bloody butchers most slaunderously caused by their ministers to be bruted abroade, that the foresaid Thomas Chase had hanged himselfe in prison:.* which was a most shamefull and abhominable lit, for the prison was such, that a man coulde not stand vpriight, nor lye at ease but stooping, as they do report that did knowe it. And besides that, this man had so many manacles & yrons vpon him, that he could not wel moue neither hand nor foote, as the women did declare that sawe him dead, in so much that they cōfessed that his bloudbolke was broken by reason they had so vily beaten him and brused him: And yet these holy catholikes had not made an end of their wicked acte in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr, but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norlandwood, in the hie way betwixt Wooburne and little Marlow, to the entent he should not be takē vp againe to be seene: And thus commonly are innocent men layd vp by these clerkly clergye men.* But he that is effectually true of himselfe, hath promised at one time or at another, to cleare his true seruauntes, not with lyes and fables, but by his owne true word. No secret faith he, is so close,

but once shall be opened, neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be knowne clearly. Such a sweete Lord is God alwaies to those that are his true seruants. Blessed be his holy name therefore, for euer and euer, Amen.

Thomas Harding being one of this company, thus molested and troubled as is aforesaide, in the towne of Amersham, for the truth of the Gospell, after hys abiuration and penance done, was againe sought for, and brought to the fire, in the dayes of King Henry viii. and vnder D. Langlond then Bishop of Lincolne, succeeding after Cardinall wolfe. Of whose death and martirdome, we shall likewise record (Christ willing and graunting) in order when we shall come to the time and yeare of this suffering.

*After the martirdome of these two, I read also of one Thomas Norice, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christes Gospell, was condemned by the Bishop and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, an. 1507.

*In the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1508. In the consistory of London, was connected Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanberic vpon certain Articles, and specially for speaking against pilgrimage & adoration of Images, as y^t Image of our Lady at Wisdome, at Stanings, at Crome, at Walsingham, and the Image of saint Sauour, of Barmondsey, and against the Sacrament of the aultar, and for that she had spoken these or like words: that our Lady of wisdom was but a burnt arse esie, and a burnt arse stocke, and if she might haue holpen men & women which go to her on pilgrimage, she woulde not haue suffred her taile to haue bene burnt: and what should folke worship our Lady of wisdom, or our Lady of Crome, for the one is but a burnt arse stocke, and the other is but a puppet: and better it were for the people to geue theyr almes at home to poore people, then to go on pilgrimage. Also that she called the Image of Saint Sauour, Sun Sauour with kit lips, and that she said she could make as good bread as that which the priest occupied, and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heauen and earth at one time. For these and certaine other articles, she was compelled to abiure, before Maister William Horsey, Chancellour the day and yeare aboue written. Ex Regist. Lond.

Laurence Ghest.

*LAmentable it is to remember, & a thing almost infinite to comprehend the names, times, and persons of al thē which haue bene slaine by the rigour of the Popes Cleargie, for the true mainteining of Christes cause and of hys Sacraments. Whose memory being registred in the booke of life, albeit it neede not the cōmemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not unprofitable, the suffering and Martyrdome of them to be notified, which innocently haue geuen their blood to be shed in Christes quarell.

In the Cathalogue of whom next in order cōmeth the memoriall of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for matter of the Sacrament, in the dayes of K. Den'ry the 7. he was of a comely & tall personage, & otherwise (as appeareth) not vnfronded, for the which the Byshop & the close were the more lothe to burne him: * but kept him in prison the space of ij. yeares. This Laurence had a wife and vij. children. Wherefore they thinkyng to expugne and perswade his mynde by y^e stirring his fatherly affectiō toward his childrē, when the time came which they

appointed for his burning,* as he was at y^e stake, they brought before him his wife and his foresayd vij. children. At the sight wherof, although nature is cōmonly wont to worke in other, yet in him religiō ouercōming nature, made his constancie to remaine vnmoueable: in such forte as when his wife began to exhort & desire him to fauour himselfe, he agayn desired her to be cōtēt, & not to be a block to his way, for he was in a good course, runnyng toward the marke of his saluatiō:* & so fire beyng put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not onely wife & children, but also him selfe to follow Christ. As he was in burning, one of the Byshops men threw a firebrand at his face: Whereat the brother of Laurence standing by, ranne at him with his dagger, and would haue slayne him, had he not bene otherwise stayd.

Testified & witnessed by the credible report of one Williā Russell an aged mā dwelling of late in Colmanstreet,* who was there present the same tyme at the burnyng of Laurence, & was also himselfe burned in the cheke, & one of the persecuted flocke in those dayes, whose daughter is yet liuing: The same is confirmed also with the testimony of one Richard Web seruaunt sometime to M. Latymer, who soiourning in the house of the sayd William Russell, heard him many tymes declare the same.

A faythfull woman burned.

BUT amongst all the examples of them,* wherof so many haue suffered from tyme to tyme for Christ & his truth, I can not tell if euer were any Martyrdome more notable & admirable, wherein the playne demonstration of Gods mighty power and iudgement hath at any time bene more euident agaynst the persecutours of his flocke, then at the burnyng of a certaine godly woman, put to death in Chepingsadbery, about the same tyme, vnder the raigne of K. Henry the seuenth.

The cōstācie of which blessed womā, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold: so agayne the exāple of the Byshops Chaūcellour, which cruelly cōdemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectable to the eyes of all Papisticall persecutours to consider, and to take example: which the liuing God graunt they may. Amen. The name of the Towne where she was martyred, was as is sayd, Chepyngsadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chauncellour, who condēned her,* was called D. Whittington. The time of her burnyng was in the raigne & tyme of K. Henry 7. orderly therfore in this place & time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreouer the oportunitie of this present history brought to my hands, & that in such cōuenient season, as I was drawyng toward the ende of the foresayd kynges raigne: so that it may appeare to them, which behold the oportunitie of things, not to be without Gods ho^lly wil & prouidence, that this foresayd example should not lye hid & vnremembred, but should come to light & knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hetherto kept, requireth.

After this godly woman and manly Martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched Chaūcellour aboue named D. Whittington, for the faithfull profession of y^r truth, which the Papistes then called heresie, and the tyme now come whē she should be brought to the place and paynes of her martyrdome,* a great concourse of all the multitude both in the towne and cuntry about (as the maner is in such tymes) was gathered to behold her end. Among whō was also the foresayd Doct. Whittington the Chauncellour, there present to see the execution done.

Thus this faythfull woman, and true seruaunt of God cōstantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gaue ouer her life to y^e fire, refusing no paynes nor tormentes to keepe her conscience cleare & vnreproueable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice beyng ended, the people began to returne homeward, commyng from the burning of this blessed Martyr. It happened in the meane tyme that as the Catholicke executioners were busie in [Page 776](#) slaieng this sely lambe at the townes side, a certayne Butcher within the towne was as busie in slaieng of a Bull, which Bull he had fast bounde in ropes, ready to knocke him on the head.* But the butcher (belike not so skilfull in his arte of killing beastes, as the Papistes be in murthering Christians) as he was lifting his axe to strike the Bull, failed in hys stroke, and smit a little too low, or else how he smit, I knowe not. This was certayne, that the Bull although somewhat greued at the stroke, but yet not strooken downe, put his strength to the ropes, and brake lose from the butcher into the streete, the very same tyme as the people were comming in great prease from the burning. Who seeing the Bull comming towardes them, and supposing him to be wilde (as was no other lyke) gaue way for the beast, euery man shifting for himselfe, as well as he might. Thus the people geuing backe, and making a lane for the Bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor childe,* till he came where as the Chauncelour was. Against whome the Bull, as pricked with a sodeine vehemēcie, ranne full but with his hornes, and taking him vpon the paunch, gored him through and through, and so killed him immediately, carieng his guts, and trailing them with his hornes all the streete ouer,* to the great admiration and wonder of all them that sawe it.

Although the carnall sence of man be blinde in considering the workes of the Lorde, imputing many tymes to blinde chaunce the thyngs which properly pertayne to Gods only praise and prouidence: yet in this so straunge and so euident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not heerein a plaine miracle of Gods mighty power and iudgement both in the punishing of this wretched Chauncelour, and also in admonishing all other like persecutours, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abstaine from the like crueltie▪

*Now for the credite of this story, least I be sayde vpon mine owne head to commit to story, things rashly which I can not iustifie, therefore to stop such cauelling mouths, I will discharge my selfe with authority I trust sufficient: that is, with the witnesse of him which both was a Papist, and also present the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webbe: which Rowland dwelling then in Chippingsadbery, had a sonne named Richard Webbe, seruant sometime to Maister Latymer, who also enduring with him in time of his trouble sixe yeares together, was himselfe emprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Vnto the which Richard Webbe being now aged, then yong, the foresaid Rowland his father, to the entent to exhort him from this sect of heresie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the story of the Bull aforesayd, which he himselfe did see & testifie. This Richard Webbe is yet liuing, a witnes of his owne fathers wordes and testimonie, which I trust may satisfie all indifferent Readers, except onely such as thinke no truth to be beleueed, but that only which is in their Portues.

Verses touching the same. Tho. Hatcherus.

Mira legis, quicun{que} legis, portenta nefandi

Exitus, vt poenas addita poena luat.

Vera legis, Domini cuicun{que} potentia nota est,

Vt delinquentes ira seuera premat.

Saepè fit vt fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,

Saepè fit vt poenis obruatira nouis.

Omnia sunt Domini dextrae subiecta potenti,

Qui ciet arbitrio bruta, homines{que} suo.

Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus

Euitans, sracto fune repent{que} fugit.

Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat antè,

Faeminea vt cernat membra perire rogo,

Taurus ijt, fertur quâ confertissima turba,

Laesus at ex tanta solus & vnus erat:

Solus & vnus erat, rapidos qui misit in ignes,

Et miserè paruum sparsit ouile Dei.

Et quasi consultò ferretur; praeterit omnes,

Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,

Ille iacet, madido foedatur sanguine corpus,

Eruta per{que} vias viscera sparsa iacent.

Quis non à Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,

Cogitet haec fieri? non repetendo tremat?

Vitio terribiles comitatur iusta procellas,

Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit.

And thus much concerning the state of the Church. Wherein is to be vnderstand, what stormes and persecutions haue bene raised vp in all quarters against the flocke and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turkes, but also at home within our selues, by the Byshop of Rome, and his retinue. Where also is to be noted in the daies and reigne of this king Henry the vij. how mightely the working of Gods Gospell hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of

men and women haue suffered for the same, with vs in England, as by these stories abone past, may be apparent.

Now these things declared,* which to the Church matters be appertaining, cōsequently it remaineth something to entreate of the state likewise of the cōmon wealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the Church. Where the Church is quietly and moderately gouerned, and the flock of Christ defended by godly Princes in peace & safety, frō deuouring and violence of bloody wolues: the successe of ciuile estate, for the most part, there doth florish, and the Princes long cōtinue through Gods preseruatiō, in prosperous rest & trāquillitie. Contrariwise where the church of Christ either through the negligence of Princes, or thorough their setting on, the poore members of Christ be persecuted and deuoured: shortly after ensueth some iust recompence of the Lord vpon those Princes, that eyther their liues do not long continue, or else they finde not that quiet in the common wealth,* which they looke for. Examples heereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countreys farre off, or else of our owne countrey neare at home.

And heere not to wander in our story, farther then to Fraunce onely, let vs a little behold the example of Kyng Charles the viij. who liuing in this Kings time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Cominaeus, to be a moderate, valiant, and victorious Prince, adorned with many speciall vertues to a Prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was flack and remisse in defence of Christes Church, neither did vse his authority, nor tooke his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and refourme the state of the Bishop and Cleargy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himselfe punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appeare. For so it is of him recorded, that being maruelously excited and prouoked, of his owne minde (cōtrary to the counsaile of most of his Nobles) he tooke hys viage into Italy, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the yeare being cōuenient therunto. And that this may appeare the better to proceede of y^e Lords doing, to the entent he woulde haue the Church and Cleargy of Rome reformed by the Princes sword,* which so vexed all Christendome at that time, we shall heare what is testified in the Commentaries of the foresaid Philip. Cominaeus Lib. 3. De bello Neapolit. writing in this wise.

There was (saith he) in the City of Florence the same time a Dominicke Frier,*Dominicke Frier, named Hieronimus Sauonarola (of whom mētion was made before, pag. 731.) a man of a right godly and approoued life: who in the said City of Florence preached and prophecied long before, that the French King should come with an army into Italy, being stirred vp of God to suppress the tiraunts of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the Citie of Pisae, and the state of Florence should be altered: all which hapned true. He affirmed moreouer to be signified to him of the Lord, that the Ecclesiasticall state of the Church must bee redressed Per vim a•morum••. by the sword, or force of armes. Many things also he prophesied of the Venetians, & of the French King, saing that the King with some danger & difficultie, should passe that iourney, yet notwithstanding shoulde ouercome it and escape, albeit his strength were neuer so slender: for God woulde safely conduct him in that iourney, and safely bring him home againe. But because he had not done his office,* in amending the state of the Church, and in defending his people from iniurie, and from deuouring, therefore it shoulde come to passe (said hee) and that shortly, that some incommoditie or detriment shoulde happen to the King: or

if hee shoulde escape that danger of hys sicknesse, and recouer health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poore and miserable, God would shew merc●•nto him, &c.

And this the saide Hieronymus declared before to Cominaeus one of the Kings counsaylours, whych was the writer of the story, and required him to signifie the same vnto the King, which so did, and he moreouer himselfe comming to the presence of the king, declared no lesse.

All which things, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the King being but easely accompanied wyth a small power, entred into Italy, where first he came to As•a, then to Gemia• and to Pisae, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Petrus Medices the Duke, who had vsed great tyrannie vpon the [Page 776](#) subiects.* From thence he remoued toward Rome, where a great part of the Citie wall at the comming of the french King, fell downe.

Afterward when the King was entred into the Citie, and the Pope (who then tooke part with Alphonsus King of Neaples against the French King) had immured himselfe within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the Castell fell downe of it selfe: whereby, when the King was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his Captaines to inuade y^e Pope, and to depose him, & to reforme y^e Church of Rome, (which he might then easely haue done, as it had pleased him) yet all these occasions offered so opportunely of God, moued not y^e king to do his duty, & to help the poore church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Neapolis, either y^e same yeare or y^e next yeare folowing he was strooken with a sodeine sicknes at Amboise, as he was looking on thē that played at tennes, and that in the stinkingest place in all the Castle, where he fell downe & died within twelue houres, according to y^e forewarning of Hieronimus, who wrote vnto him a little before, both of his sonnes death and of his owne, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1498.*[Ex Philip. Cominaeo. Lib. 5.](#)

Like examples we haue many heere also in this our realme of England. So long as king Iohn kept out of the realme, the Popes authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles: but so soone as he brought the realme vnder tribute and subiectiō to that foreine Bishop, God stirred vp his Nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble and soone thereupon decayed.

Of all the Kings of England, from William Conquerour, to this king Henry vij. were none which either longer continued,* or more prosperously flourished, then King Henry the second, King Henry the third, King Edward the first, King Edward the third, of whome the first, how stout he was in withstāding Tho. Becket and Pope Alexander the iij. is sufficiently before comprehended, pag. 206.

The second, which was sonne of King Iohn, albeit through the wretchednes of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the Popes usurped iurisdiction out of the Realme: yet his will was good: at least he so defended & prouided for his subiects, that they tooke no great wrong at the Popes handes: who reigned one yeare longer then Augustus Caesar, which hath not commonly bene seene in any Prince.

The third, which was King Edward the first, so vigilantly behaued himselfe for the publique cōmoditie & safetie of his people, that he defended thē frō all foraine power and hostilitie both of the Scottes (then our enemies, now our frendes) and also from the Bishop of Rome, takyng part with them against vs, as may appeare aboue, page 340.* Furthermore of the same King, and of his woorthy Nobles and house of Parliament, how valiantly they stooode in deniall of the Popes subsidies, and also how the sayd King secluded out of his protection the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop Peecham for standing wyth the Pope,* reade pag. 352.

Now as touching King Edward the third, how little he regarded, how princely he with his Nobles likewise resisted the Popes reseruations and prouisions, how hee brided the Archbishop Iohn S•ratford,* and reiected the •a••e authority of the Bishop of Rome, both in •efe•ise of his subiects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the Realme of France, reade pag. 383.

Not that I do heere affirme or define, as in a generall rule, that worldly succeſse and prosperitie of life alwayes followeth the godly, which we see rather to be geuen more often to the wicked sort: but speaking of the duty of Princes, I note and obserue by examples of histories,* that such Princes as haue most defended the Church of Christ committed to their gouernance, from iniurie and violence of the Bishop of Rome, haue not lacked at Gods hand great blessing and felicitie: whereas contrarywise, they whiche either themselues haue bene persecutours of Christes mēbers, or haue not shielded thē by their protection from foreine tyranny and iniuries, haue lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appeare by King Edward the second, Richard the third, King Henry the fourth, King Henry the v. king Henry the vj. &c. who because either negligētly they haue suffered, or cruelly caused such persecuting lawes to be made, & so much Christē blood iniuriously to be deuoured: therefore haue they bene y^e lesse prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or if they florished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not halfe the time of the other kings before named.

And therefore, as the state of the common wealth doth commonly folow the state of y^e Church, as ye hard before: so it had bene to be wished, that this King Henry the vij. beyng otherwise a prudent & temperaunt Prince, had not permitted the vntemperaūt rage of the Popes Clergy so much to haue their willes ouer the poore flocke of Christ, as then they had: accordyng as by these persecutiōs aboue mētioned may appeare. The which king Henry vij. albeit he had a sufficiēt continuance, who had now raigned 24. yeares, yet notwithstanding here commeth the same thyng to be noted, wherof I speake before: that whē the Church of Christ begynneth to be iniuried with violēce, & to go to wracke through misorder & negligēce, the state of the common wealth can not there long endure without some alteration, & stroke of Gods correction. But howsoever this marke is to be takē, thus lyeth the story: that after the burnyng & vexyng of these poore seruauntes of Christ aboue recited,* when the persecution begā now in the Church to be hoate, God called away the kyng, the same yeare aboue mentioned, which was. 1509. after he had raigned y^e terme of yeares. 24. Who if he had adioyned a litle more pitifull respect, in protectyng Christes poore mēbers, from the fire of the Popes tyrāny, to his other great vertues of singular wisdom, excellent tēperaunce, & moderate frugalitic: somuch had he bene cōparable with the best of those Princes aboue comprehended, as hee had bene interiour but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was supplyed most luckely (blessed be y^e Lord) by his posteritie succeeding after him.* Of whom in the next volume folowing (Christ thereunto assisting vs) we haue to specifie more at large.

Among many other thynges incident in the raigne of this kyng Henry vij. I haue ouerpassed the history of certayne godly persons persecuted in the Diocesse of Couentry and Lichfield, as we finde them in the Registers of the Diocesse recorded, here folowyng.

The yeare of our Lord. 1485. March 9. amongst diuers and sundry other good men in Couētry, these ix. here vnder named were examined before Iohn Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, in S. Michaels Church, vpon these Articles, folowyng in order.

First,* Iohn Blomston was openly and publikely, infamed, accused reported & appeached that he was a very hereticke, because he had preached, taught, holden & affirmed, that the power attributed to S. Peter in the Church of God,* by our Sauour Iesus Christ: immediatly did not flit, or passe frō him, to remaine with his successours.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe as in the Image of the Uirgine Mary.

Item;* that prayer and almes auayle not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heauen 〈◇〉 held, whereupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

Item, that it was foolishnesse to go on Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Dancaster, Walsingham or of the Tower of the Citie of Couentry: for a man might as well worship the blessed Uirgin by the fire 〈◇〉 in the •itchin, as in the foresayd places,* and as well might a man worship the blessed Uirgin, when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visityng the Images, because they be no more but dead stockes and stones.

Item, that he sayd in English with a frowning countenaunce, as it appeared: a vengeaūce on all such horson Priestes, for they haue great enuy that a poore man should get his liuyng among them.

RIchard Hegham of the same Citie was accused. &c. to be a very hereticke,* because he did hold that a Christen man beyng at the point of death, should 〈◇〉 all his owne workes good and ••l, and submitte him to the mercy of God.*

Item, that it was fondnesse to worship the Images of our Lady of Tower in the foresayd Citie, or of other Saintes,* for they are but stockes and stones.

Item, that if the Image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire it would make a good fire.

Item, that it were better to deale money vnto poore folkes then to offer to the Images of Christ and other Saintes, which are but dead stockes and stones.

RObert Crowther of the same Citie was accused,* that he was an hereticke, because he did hold, that who so receiueth the Sacramēt of the altar in deadly sinne, or out of charitie, receiueth nothyng but bread and wine.

Item, that neither Byshop, nor Priestes or Curates of Churches, haue power in the market of penaunce to bynde and loose.

Item,* that Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Tower is foolishnesse, for it is but a stocke or a stone.

IOhn Smith was accused to be a very hereticke,* because he did hold that euery man is bonnde to know y^e Lordes [Page 778](#) Prayer,* and the Creede in English, if he might for these false Priestes.

Item, that who so beleueed as the Church then did beleuee, beleueed ill: and that a man had neede to frequent the schooles a good while, ece that he can attaine to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

Item, that no Priest hath power to assoile a man in the market of penance, from his sinnes.

ROger Browne of the same Citie, was also accused to be an hereticke, bicause he did hold that no man ought to worship the Image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the bloud of Christ at Hailes, but rather God almighty, who would geue him whatsoeuer he would aske.

Item, that he held not vp his hands, nor looked vp, at the eleuation of the Eucharist.

Item, that he promised one to shew him certaine bookes of heresie, if he woulde sweare that he woulde not vtter them, and if he would credite them.

*Item, that he did eate flesh in Lent, and was taken with the maner.

Item, if any man were not shriuen his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confessed, and could not, if he had no more but cōtrition only, he should passe to ioy without Purgatory:* And if he were confessed of any sinne, & were enioined only to say for penance one Pater noster, if he thought he should haue any punishmēt in Purgatory for that sinne, he would neuer be confessed for any sinne.

*Item, because he said all is lost that is geuen to Priests.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, that God woulde pardon all sinnes without confession and satisfaction.

*THomas Butler of y^e same Citie, was likewise opēly accused to be a very hereticke, because he did hold y^t there were but two wayes, that is to say, to heauen, and to hell.

*Item, that no faithfull man should abide any paine after the death of Christ, for any sinne, because Christ died for our sinnes.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, for euery man immediatly after death passeth either to heauen, or hell.

*Item, that whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the Church, howsoever he hath liued, shall be saued.

Item, that praiers & pilgrimages are nothing worth, and aua*** not to purchase heauen.

IOhn Falkes was accused to be a very hereticke, because he did <◇> that it was a foolish thing to offer to the Image of our Lady; sayeng, her dead shall be hoare or I offer to her, what is it but a blocke? If it could speake to me, I would noue it an halsepeny worth of ale.

Item, that when the Priest carieth to the sicke the body of Christ, who carieth he not also the bloud of Christ?

Item, that he did eate cowe milke vpon the first Sunday of Lent.

Item, that as concerning the Sacrament of penance & absolution, no Priest hath power to assoile any man frō his sinnes,* whē as he can not make one heare of his head.

Item, that the Image of our Lady was but a stone or a blocke.

*Richard Hilmin was accused that he was a very hereticke, because he did say and mainteine that it was better to depart with money to the poore, then to giue tithes to Priests, or to offer to the Images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, then to the Images of God painted.

Item, that he had the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angell and the Creede in English,* and another booke did he see and had, which contained the Epistles and Gospels in English, and according to them woulde hee liue, and thereby beleued to be saued.

Item, that no Priest speaketh better in the Pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the Sacrament of the aultare is but bread, and that the Priests make it to blinde the people.

Item, that a Priest whiles he is at Masse, is a Priest, and after one Masse done, till the beginning of another Masse, he is no more then a lay man, and hath no more power then a meere lay man.

After they were enforced to recant, they were assoyled and put to penance.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1488.* the iij. of Aprill, Margery Goyt, wife of Iames Goyt of Asburne, was brought before the foresayde Iohn Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, who was there accused that she said, that that which y^e Priests lift ouer their heads at Masse, was not the true and very body of Christ.* For if it were so, the Priestes could not breake it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do: for the Lordes body hath flesh and bones, so hath not that which the Priests receiue.

Item, that Priests buieng xl. cakes for a halfepeny, and shewing them to the people and saieng, that of euery of them they make the body of Christ, do nothing but deceiue the people and enrich themselues.

Item, seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

This woman also, was constrained to recant, and so was she assoyled and did penance.

Thus much I thought heere good to inserte, touchyng these foresaid men of Couentry, especially for this purpose, because our cauilling aduersaries be wont to object against vs the newnes of Christes old and auntient Religion. To the intent therefore they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they woulde consider both the time and Articles heere objected agaynste these foresayd persons, as is aboue premised.

I should also in the same reigne of King Hēry vij. haue induced that history of Ioannes Picus Earle of Mirandula,* the mention of whose naine partly is touched before, page. 704. This Picus Earle of Mirandula being but a yong man, was so excellently witted, & so singularly learned in all sciences, and in all touns, both Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, Chaldey, and Araby, that cōming to Rome booted and spurred, he set vp 90. conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in al Christēdome, whosoeuer would come against him. Of which conclusions diuers were touching the matter of y^e Sacramēt, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute w^t him, priuely and in corners certaine of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers, & Friers, by the Pope appointed, cōsulted together to inquire vpon his cōclusions, wherupon they did articulate against him for suspicion of heresie. And thus the vnlearned Clergy of Rome priuely circumuēted and intangled this learned Earle in their snares of heresy, against whome they neuer durst openly dispute. He dyed being of the age of 32. of such witte and towardnes, as is hard to say whether euer Italy bredde vp a better. In his sickenes Charles viij. the French King, moued with the fame of his learning, came to visite him. The furniture of his bookes cost him 7000. florens. A little before his death his mind was to giue all away, and to take a coule, to go about & preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His story requireth a long tractatiō, which if place do serue, we will not peraduētūre forget. With ij. Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, & Alexander vj. he had much vexation.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this sixt booke conteyned.

62 Iohn Stratford. viij.

63 Iohn Kempe. iij.

64 Thomas Burchier. xxxiij.

65 Iohn Morton. xiiij.

66 Thomas Langhton.*

67 Henry Dene. ij.

Guliel. Warham. xxviiij.

Heere endeth the sixt Booke, and the first Tome.

THE seconde Volume OF THE ECCLESiasticall Historie, conteining the ACTS AND MONVMENTS of
Martyrs, with a Generall discourse of these latter Persecutions, horrible troubles and tumultes stirred vp
by Romish Prelates in the Church, with diuers other things incident, especially to this Realme of
Englande and Scotland, is partly also to all other forreine nations appertaining, from the time of K^{ing}
HENRY the VIII. to Queene ELIZABETH our gracious Ladie nowe raiging

Newly 〈◇◇◇〉 by 〈...〉 IOHN FOXE 15●●

AT LONDON Printed by Iohn Day dwelling ouer Aldergate.

Cum 〈...〉

☛ Here folovveth the second Volume AND THE VII. BOOKE, BEGINNING WITH THE REIGNE OF KING HENRYE THE EIGHT.

[illustration]

AS touching the ciuil state and administration of the Common wealth, and likewise of the state of the Church, vnder the raig of king Henry 7. how he entred first in possession of y^e crowne: how the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster were in hym conioyned through marriage with Elizabeth the eldest daughter to King Edward 4. by the prudent counsaile of Iohn Morton then Bishop of Ely, after Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinall: howe long the sayd King reigned, and what persecution was in his time for lacke of searche and knowledge of Gods word, both in the diocesse of Lincolne vnder bishop Smith (who was erecter of the house of Brasen nose in Oxforde) as also in the diocesse of Couentrie, and other places moe: and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth vpon cities and realmes publike for neglecting the safety of his flocke, sufficiently in the former booke hath bene alrede specified: Wherin many things more amply might haue ben added, incidēt in the raig of this Prince, which we haue for breuitie pretermitted. For hee that studieth to comprehend in story all things, which the common course & vse of life may offer to the wryter, may sooner finde matter to occupie himselfe, then to profite other. Otherwise I myght haue inferred mention of the seditions tumult of Perkin Werbecke, wyth his retinue, Anno 1494. also of Blackheath field by the Blacke smith, An. 1496.* I myght also haue recited the glorious commendation of Georgius Lilius in his Latine Chronicle testifying of King Henrie 7. howe hee sent three solemne Oratours to Pope Iulius 2. to yeelde his obedience to the sea of Rome. An. 1506. and likewise howe Pope Alexander 9. Pius 3. and Iulius 2. sent to the sayde king Henry 7. three sundrie famous Ambassadors [Page 800](#) which tree swordes, and three cappes of maintenance,* electing and admitting hym to be the chiefe defendor of the faith. The commendation of which facte, howe glorious it is in the eyes of Georgius Lilius, and Fabian, that I leaue to them. This I suppose, that when Kyng Henry sent to Pope Iulius three Orators, wyth obedience, if he had sent him thre thousand harquebuziers to furnish his fielde against the French king fighting at Rauenna, hee had pleased pope Iulius much better. If Georgius Lilius had bene disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had bene more worthy the noting,* howe Ludouike 12. French king calling his Parliament, moued this question against Pope Iulius: whether a Pope might inuade any Prince by warlike force, wythout cause, and whether the prince might withdraw hys obedience from that Pope, or not? And it was concluded in the same Parliament wyth the king, against the Pope. Also it was concluded the same time (which was in the raig of this king Henry 7). that the *Pragmatical sanction should be receiued in ful force and effect, through all the realme of Fraunce.

And for so muche as wee are fallen into the mention of Georgius Lilius, this in hym is to be found not vnworthy noting, howe after the burning of Thomas Norice, aboue mentioned, pag. 775. at the citie of Norwich, that the same yere followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole

Citie, well neare, was therewith consumed. Ex Geor. Lilio. Like as also after the burning of the foresayde good aged father in Smithfield,* the same yeare (which was 1500.) we reade in the Chronicle of Fabian a great plague to fall vppon the Citie of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitantes therof. Wherein agayne is to be noted (as is aforesayd) that according to the state of the church, the disposition of the common wealth commonly is guided, eyther to be wyth aduersitie afflicted, or els in prosperitie to flourish. But after these notes of King Henry 7. nowe to the storie of king Henry 8.

This king Henry 7. finishing his course in the yeare abouesayd, which was 1509. had by Elizabeth hys wife aboue named,* foure men children, and of women children as many. Of whome 3. onely suruiued: to wit, prince Henry, Lady Margarete, and Lady Mary. Of whome King Henry the eight after hys father succeeded. Lady Margaret was married to Iames the fourth king of Scottes.* Ladie Mary was affied to Charles king of Castile.

Not long before the death of king Henry, prince Arthur his elder sonne had espoused Lady Katherine daughter to Ferdinandus, being of the age of 15. yeares, and shee about the age of 17. and shortly after hys mariage, wythin 5. monethes, departed at Ludlowe, and was buried at Worcester. After whose decease the succession of the Crowne fell next to king Henry the 8. being of the age of 18. yeres, who entred hys raigne the yeare of our Lorde 1509. and shortly after married with the foresayde Katherine, his late brother Prince Arthurs wife, to the end, that her dowry being great, shoulde not be transported out of the lande. In the which his marriage being more politique, then Scripture like, he was dispensed wyth by pope Iulius, at the request of Ferdinandus her father. The raigne of this king continued with great noblenes and fame,* the space of 38. yeres. During whose time and raigne was greate alteration of things, as well to the ciuile state of the Realme, as especially to the state Ecclesiasticall, and matters of the Church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolyshed out of the Realme, the vsurped power of the Byshop of Rome, Idolatrye and superstition somewhat repressed, Images and pilgrimages defared, Abbeyes and monasteries pulled downe, Sectes of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgarr tongue, and the state of the Church and religion redressed. Concerning all whyche things, in the processe of thys volume heere folowing, wee will endeuour (Christe willing) particularly and in order to discourse: after that first we shall comprehend a fewe matters, which within the beginning of hys raigne are to be noted and collected. Where, leauing of to write of Empson and Dudley, who in the time of king Henry 7. being great doers in executing the penall lawes ouer the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malyce then lands, with that whych they had gotten, were shortly after the entring of this king beheaded, the one a Knight, the other an Esquier: leauing also to intermeddle w^t hys wars, triumphes, and other temporal affaires, we meane in this volume principally to bestowe our trauaile in declaration of matters concerning moste chiefly the state of the Church and of religion, as well in this Church of England, as also of the whole Church of Rome.

Wherein first commeth to our handes a turbulent tragedie, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the Churche, and nowe thys present yeare 1509. was renewed afresh betweene two certaine orders of begging friers, to wit, the Dominike friers, and the Franciscanes, about the Conception of the virgine Marye, the mother of Christe.

The Franciscanes were they, which did holde of S. Fraunces,* & followed the rule of his testament commonly called Gray friers, or Minorites. Their opiniō was this: that the virgine Mary preuented by the grace of the holy Ghost was so sanctified,* that shee was neuer subiecte one moment in her conception, to Original sinne. The Dominike Friers were they, which holding of Dominike, were commonly called Blacke friers, or preaching friers. Theyr opinion was, that the virgine Mary was conceiued, as all other children of Adam be: so that thys priuiledge onely belongeth to Christe, to be conceiued wythout Originall sinne: notwithstanding the sayd blessed virgin was sanctified in her mothers wombe, and purged from her Original sinne, so as was Iohn Baptist, Ieremie, or any other priuiledged person. This friuolous questiō kindling and gendring betweene these two sectes of friers, brast out in suche a flame of partes and sides taking, that it occupied the heades and wits, scholes, and vniuersities almost through the whole Church, some holding one parte wyth Scotus,* some the other parte with Thom. Aquine. The Minorites holding with Scotus their maister, disputed and concluded, that she was conceiued without al spot or note of Original sinne, and therupon caused the feast and seruice of the conception of S. Mary the virgine to be celebrate and solemnised in the Church. Contrary, the Dominike Friers taking side wyth Aquinas,* preached that it was heresie to affirme that the blessed virgine was conceiued without the guilte of Originall sinne: and that they which did celebrate the feast of her Conception, or sayd any Masses thereof, did sinne greeuously and mortally.

In the meane time as thys fantasie waxed hote in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came pope Sixtus 4. Anno 1476. who ioyning side wyth the Minorites or Franciscanes, first sent forth his decree by authoritie Apostolique, willing, ordaining, and commaunding all men to solemnise thys new found feast of the conception in holy Church for euermore: offering to al men and women,* which deuoutly frequenting the church, wold heare masse and seruice from the first euensong of the sayde feast, to the Octaues of the same, as many dayes of pardone, as Pope Urbane the 4. and Pope Mactin the 5. did graunt for hearing the seruice of Corpus Christi day. &c. and thys Decree was geuen and dated at Rome. An. 1476.

Moreouer the same Pope, to the entent that the deuotion of the people myght bee the more encouraged to the celebration of thys Conception, hee added a clause more to the Aue Maria,* graunting great indulgence and release of sinnes to all such as woulde inuocate the blessed Uirgine, wyth the same addition, saying thus: Aue Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Iesus Christus, & benedicta sit Anna mater tua de qua sine macula, tua processit caro virginea. Amen. That is, Haile Marie full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women, & blessed is the fruite of thy wombe, Iesus Christ:*,and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whome thy virgines flesh hath proceeded wythout blot of originall sinne. Amen.

Wherin thou maist note (gentle reader) for thy learning three things: First how the Pope turneth that vnproperly into a prayer, whiche properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, howe the Pope addeth to the wordes of the Scripture,* contrary to the expresse precept of the Lorde. Thirdly, howe the Pope exempteth Marye the blessed virgine, not onely from the seede of Abraham and Adam, but also frō the condition of a mortall creature. For if there be in her no originall sinne, then she beareth not the Image of Adam, neither doth shee descende of that seede, of whose sede euil proceedeth vpon al men and women to cōdemnation, as S. Paul doth teach. Rom. 5. Wherefore if she descende of that seede,* then the infection of Originall euill

must necessarily proceede vnto her. If she descend not therof, then commeth she not of the seede of Abraham, nor of the seede of Dauid. &c. Againe, seeing that death is the effect and stipende of sinne, by the doctrine of S. Paule. Roma. 6. then had her flesh iniurye by the lawe (as Christe hym selfe had) to suffer the malediction and punishment of death,* and so should neuer haue died, if originall sinne had no place in her. &c. But to returne vnto our storie: Thys constitution of the Pope being set foorth for the conception of the blessed virgin, which was the yere of our Lorde 1476. it was not long after, but the sayde Pope Sixtus perceiuing that the Dominike friers with their complices wold not conforme [Page 801](#) themselues hereunto,* directed foorth by the authority Apostolicall, a Bul, in effect as foloweth.

Sane cum sancta Romana ecclesia de intemeratae semperque virginis. &c In English. Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a speciall and proper seruice for the publike solemnising of the feast of the conception of the blessed virgin Mary: certaine orders of the Blacke friers in their publike sermons to the people in diuers places, haue not cessed hitherto to preach and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirme the sayd glorious virgine to haue bene conceiued without originall sinne, be heretiques: and they which celebrate the seruice of the sayde her conception, or do heare the sermons of them which do so affirme, doe sinne grieuously: also not contented herewith, doe wryte and set foorth bookes moreouer, mainteining their assertions, to the great offence and ruine of godly mindes: We therfore to preuent and wythstand such presumptuous and peruers assertions, which haue risen, and more heereafter may arise by suche opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the mindes of the faithfull: by the authority Apostolical, do condemne, and reproue the same, and by the motion, knowledge and authority aforesayd, decree and ordeyne, that the preachers of Gods word, and all other persones of what state, degree, order, or condition soeuer they be, which shall presume to dare affirme or preach to the people these foresayde opinions and assertions to be true, or shall reade, holde, or maintaine any suche bookes for true, hauing before intelligence hereof, shal incurre thereby the sentence of excommunication: from whyche they shall not be absolved otherwise then by the bishop of Rome, except onely in the time of death. Thys Bull being dated the yere of our Lord. 1483. gaue no litle heart and encouragement to the gray Friers Franciscanes, which defended the pure conception of the holy virgin, against the blacke Dominicke friers, with theyr confederates, holding the contrary side. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray order had got such a conquest of the Blacke garde of the Dominikes, that the sayd Dominikes were compelled at length for a perpetuall memoriall of the triumph, both to geue to the glorious virgine euery night an Antheme in praise of her Conception, and also to subscribe vnto their doctrine: In which doctrine these, wyth diuers other poyntes bee contained.

1 That blessed Mary the virgine suffered the griefes and aduersities of this life,* not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of Originall sinne: but onely because she would conforme her selfe to the imitation of Christ.

2 That the sayde virgin, as she was not obliged to anye punishmente due for sinne,* as neither was Christe her sonne: so she had no neede of remission of sinnes, but in steed thereof had the diuine preservation of Gods helpe, keeping her from all sinne: which grace only she needed, and also had it.

3 Item, that where the body of the virgin Mary was subiect to death, and died: this is to be vnderstand to come not for any penaltie due for sinne, but either for imitation and cōformitie vnto Christ,* or els for the natural constitution of her body being elemental, as were y^e bodies of our first parents: who if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should haue bene preserued from death, not by nature, but by grace & strength of other fruits and meates in Paradise. Which meates, because Mary had not, but did eate our cōmon meates, therfore she died, and not for any necessitie of Originall sinne. Clitouaeus lib. . cap. 2.

4 The vniuersall proposition of S. Paule, which sayth that the Scripture hath concluded all men vnder sinne, is to be vnderstand thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the speciall priuiledge of God, as is the blessed virgin Mary.

5 If iustification be taken for reconciliation of him that was vnrighteous before, and now is made righteous: thē the blessed virgin is to be taken, not for iustified by Christ, but iust from her beginning by preservation.

6 If a sauour be taken for him, which saueth men fallen into perdition & condemnation, so is not Christ sauior of Mary, but is her saueour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

7 Neither did the virgine Mary geue thanks to God, nor ought so to doe, for expiation of her sinnes, but for her conseruation from case of sinning.

*8 Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sinnes, but onely for remission of other mens sinnes she praied many times, and counted their sinnes for hers.

9 If the blessed virgine had decessed before the Passion of her sonne, God would haue reposed her soule not in the place among the Patriarkes, or among the iust, but in the same most pleasaunt place of Paradise, where Adam and Eue was, before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreames and phantasies of the Franciscans & of other papists, commonly then holden in the schooles, wrytten in their bookes, preached in theyr sermons, taught in churches, * and set foorth in pictures. So that the people was taught nothing els almost in the pulpits all this while, but how the virgine Mary was cōc•iued immaculate, and holy wythout Originall sinne, and how they ought to call to her for helpe, whome they wyth special termes do cal the way of mercy: the mother of grace: the loue of pietie: the comforter of mankind: the continuall intercessour for the saluation of the faithfull: and an aduocate to the king her sonne, which neuer ceaseth. &c. Verba Papae Sixti in Decret. And althoughe the greatest number of the scholedoctours were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombardus, Thom. Aquine, Bernandus, Bonauentura, and other: yet these new papists shifted of their obiections with friuolous distinctiōs and blinde euasions, as thus: Petrus Lombardus,* they sayd, is not receiued nor holdē in the schooles, as touching thys article, but is reiected: Clitoueus lib. 2. cap. 15.

Bernardus in Epist ad Lugdunens. although hee seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed virgin to be voyd of Originall sinne,* saying that she could not be holy when shee was not, and liued not: to this they answere, that all be it she was yet in essence, not yet shee was holy in her

conception, and before her conception in the diuine presence of God, which had chosen & preelected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord.

Againe where Bernard doeth argue, that she was not without original sinne conceiued, because she was not cōceiued by the holy Ghost, to this they aunswere: That the holy Ghost may worke two wayes in conception: eyther without company of man, and so was Christ only conceiued: or els with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed virgin conceiued. Clit. lib. 2. cap. 14.

Bonauentura (say they) was an holy father, but hee spake then after the custome and maner of his time, when as the solemnitie and puritie of this conception was not yet decreed nor receiued by the publike cōsent and authority of the church,* now seing the authority of the church of Rome hath established the same, it oughte not to be contraried, nor can, wythout daungerous disobedience. In all mens actions, diligent respect of time must be had. That whych bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may binde at an other. Ibid.

Finally for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves,* as we nowe in these our daies likewise in defence of the truth may wel answere against the Pope and all his popish Friers, turning their owne weapons against them selues: Multitude, say they, ought not to mooue vs. Uictorie consisteth not in number and heapes, but in fortitude and hearts of souldiours: yea rather fortitude and stomacke commeth from heauen, and not of man. Iudas Machabeus wyth a little handfull, ouerthrewe the great armye of Antiochus. Strong Sampson wyth a poore Asses bone slew a thousand Philistines. Daudid had no more but a seely sling, & a few stones, and with these stroke downe terrible Goliath the Gyaunt. &c. Lib. eod. cap. 13.

With these and such other like reasons, the gray Franciscans voided their aduersaries, defending the cōception of the virgine Mary to be vnblemished, and pure from all contagion of Originall sinne. Contrariwyse the Blacke gard of the Dominike friers, for theyr partes were not all mute, but laide lustily from them agayne, hauyng greate authorities, and also the Scripture on theyr side. But yet the other hauing the sea Apostolicall w^t them, had the better hande,* and in fine gate the victorie triumphantly ouer the other, to the high exaltation of theyr order. For Pope Sixtus (as I sayd) by the authoritie Apostolicall, after hee had decreed the cōception day of the virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible Bull had condēned for heretiques al them which withstoode the same: the Dominicke Friers wyth authoritie oppressed, were dryuen to two incōueniences, the one was, to kepe silence, the other was, to geue place to their aduersaries the Franciscanes. All be it where the mouthe durste not speake, yet the heart would worke: and though the tongue were tied, yet theyr good will was ready by all meanes possible to maintaine their quarel, and their estimation.

Whereupon it happened the same yeare of our Lorde 1509. after this dissention betwene the Dominike Friers,* & the Franciscanes, that certaine of the Dominickes thinking by subtile sleight to worke in the peoples heades,* that which they durst not atchieue with opē preaching, deuised a certaine Image of the Uirgine, so artificially wroughte, that the Friers by priuie gins made it to stirre, & to make gestures, to lament, to complaine, to weepe, to grone, & to geue answers to them that asked: in somuch that the people [Page 798](#) therwith were brought in a maruelous perswasion, til at length the fraude being espied,* the Friers were taken, condemned, and burned

at Berne, the yere aboue mentioned. 1509. Ex Peucer. Sebast. Munstero, Carione, & alijs. In the Centuries of Iohn Bale, I finde their names to be Ioannes Vetter, Franciscus Vliscus, Stephanus Bolizhorst, and Henricus Steinegger.

In the storie of Ioh. Stumfius, this story aforesayde doth partly appeare: but in the Registers and Recordes of the Citie of Berne, the order and circumstance therof is more fully expressed and set foorth both in meter and prose, and is thus declared.

*In the Citie of Berne there were certaine Dominike friers, to the nūber chiefly of 4. principall doers, and chieftaines of that Order, who had inueigled a certaine simple poore frier, who had newly planted himselfe in the cloister: whome the foresayd Friers had so infatuated wyth sundry superstitions, & fained apparitions of S. Maria, S. Barbara, and S. Catherina, and w^t their inchauntments, and imprinting moreouer in hym the woundes of S. Fraunces, that he beleueed plainely, that the Uirgine Mary had appeared to hym, and had offered to hym a red hoost consecrated, with the bloud also of Christ myraculous: whych blessed virgin also had sent him to the senatours of Berne, with instructions, declaring vnto them, from the mouth of the virgine, y^t she was conceiued in sinne, & that the Franciscane friers were not to be credited nor suffered in the city, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreouer that they shuld resort to a certaine image there of y^e virgine Mary (whych image the Friers by engines had made to sweat) & should do their worship, & make their oblations to the same. &c.

This fained deuise was not so soone forged by the Friers, but it was assone beleued of the people: so that a great while the red coloured host was takē vndoubtedly for the true body and bloud of Christ, and certain coloured drops therof sent abroad to diuers noble personages and estates for a great relieue, and that not wythout great recōpence. Thus the deceiued people in great number came flocking to the image, and to the red host, and coloured bloud, with manifolde giftes and oblations. In briefe, the Dominike friers so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fatte to their owne beardes, from the order of the Franciscanes, that all the almes came to their boxe. The Franciscanes seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to waxe colde, and their panches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, & being not ignorant or vnacquainted with suche counterfaieted doings (for as the Prouerbe sayeth. It is il halting before a creeple) eftsoones espied theyr craftye iuggling, and detected theyr fraudulent myracles. Whereupon the 4. chiefe captaines aboue named were apprehended, and put to the fire: of whom the Prouinciall of that order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning & ende of this tumultuous and popish tragedy: wherein euidently it may appeare to the Reader, howe neither these turbulent friers could agree among themselues,* and yet in what friuolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friers passe, w^t their trifling phantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men: in the meane time this is to be lamented, to beholde the miserable times of the Church, in which the deuill kept the minds of Christes people so attētiue and occupied in such frierly toyes, that nothing els almost was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the virgin Mary.* But of our iustification by faith, of grace and the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horreur of sinne, of difference betwene the lawe and the Gospel, of the true liberty of conscience. &c. no mētion or very litle was heard. Wherefore in this so blinde time

of darknes, it was muche needefull and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy shoulde looke vpon his church, & send downe hys gracious reformation, which also he did. For shortly vpon the same, thorowe the gracious excitation of God, came Martine Luther, of whome the order of story nowe requireth that we should and will intreat (Christ willingly) after the storie of Richard Hunne, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the storie to folowe.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Iulius,* and of hys warlike affaires, for the whych he was condemned, and not vniustly in the coucell of Turone in Fraunce,* Anno 1510. and yet all thys coulde not asswage the furious affection of this pope, but the same yere he inuaded the Citie of Mutina and Mirandula in Italie,* and tooke them by force of warre. Which Pope Iulius not long after,* in the yere of our Lorde 1512. refusing peace offered by Maximilian the Emperour, was encountered by Lewes the French king, about Rauenna, vpon Easter day, where he was vanquished, and had of his army slaine to the number of xvj. thousande. Ex Chron. Carion. And the yere next folowing. Anno 1513. this Apostolical warriour,* which had resigned his keyes vnto the riuer of Tybris before, made an end together both of fighting, and liuing,* after he had raigned and fought x. yeeres. Atter whome succeded next in the sea of Rome, Pope Leo the 10. About the compasse of which time,* great mutatiōs and stirres began to worke, as well in states temporall, as especially in the state of the Church.

Pope Leo 10. in Rome. An. 1513. reigned.

9.*

Charles 5. Emperour in Germanie. An. 1519. reigned.

39.

Fraunces K. of France. An. 1515. reigned.

32.

Henry 8. K. of England. An. 1509. reigned.

38.

Iames 5. K. of Scotland. An. 1514. reigned.

In the time of which Pope, Emperour, and kinges of England, and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turnes of religion were wrought into the Church, by the mighty operation of Gods hand in Italy, Fraunce, Germanie, Englande, and all Europe, suche as haue not bene seene (although muche groned for) many hundreth yeares before: as in further discourse of this historie (Christe willing) more manifestly shall appeare.

But before wee come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before vs, wee will first speake of Richarde Hunne, and certaine other godly minded persons heere in Englande afflicted for the woorde of Christes Gospell in great multitude, as they be found and taken out of the

Registers of Fitziamas Bishop of London, by the faithfull helpe and industry of R. Carket citizen of London.

The historie of diuers good men and women, persecuted for religion in the Citie and Dioces of the Bishop of London, briefly extracted out of the Registers of Richard Fitziamas.

AMongest and besides the great number of the faithful martyrs and professours of Christe, that constantly in the strength of the holy Ghost, gaue their liues for the testimonie of his trueth,* I finde recorded in the Register of London, betwene the yeares of our Lorde. 1509. and 1527. the names of diuers other persons both men and women: who in the fulnes of that darke and mystie times of ignoraunce, had also some portion of Gods good spirite whiche induced them to the knowledge of his trueth and Gospel, and were diuersly troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same: notwithstanding by the proud, cruell and bloody rage of the Catholique seat, and through the weaknes and frailtie of their owne nature (not then fully strengthned in God) it was againe in them, for the time,* suppressed and kept vnder, as appeareth by their seuerall abiuratiōs made before Richard Fitziamas then bishop of London (in hys time a most cruell persecutor of Christes church) or els before his vicar general deputed for y^e same. And for asmuch as many of the aduersaries of Gods trueth, haue of late dayes disdainefully and braggingly cried out, and made demaunds in their publike assemblies and yet do, asking where this our church and religion was wythin these 50. or 60. yeares: I haue thought it not altogether vaine, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning theyr names, and likewyse opening some of the chiefe and principal matters, for which they wer so vnmercifully afflicted and molested, thereby to geue to vnderstand, as wel the continuauce and consent of the true church of Christe in that age, touching the chiefe poynts of our faith, though not in like perfection of knowledge and cōstancie in all: as also by the way, something to touch what fond and friuolous matters the ignoraunt Prelates shamed not in that time of blindnesse to obiect against the poore & simple people, accounting them as heynous and great offences, yea, such as deserued death both of body and soule. But least I should seeme too prolix and tedious heerein, I will nowe briefly proceede wyth the storie, and first begin wyth theyr names, whych are these.

Anno. 1510.

- Ioanne Baker.
- William Pottyer.
- Iohn Forge.
- Thomas Goodred.
- Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.
- Thomas Forge.
- Alyce Forge.
- Iohn Forge, theyr son.
- William Couper.
- Lewes Iohn.
- Ioanne Iohn.
- Ihon Webbe, alias Baker.*
- Iohn Houshold.
- Robert Rascal.*
- Elizabeth Stanford.

- George Browne.*
- Iohn Wykes.
- Richard Butler.

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- Iohn Caluerton.
- *Iohn Woodrofe.
- Richard Woolman.
- Roger Hylliar.
- *Alyce Couper.
- *Thomas Austye.
- Ioanne Austye.
- Thomas Graunt.
- Iohn Garter.
- *Christofer Rauins.
- Dionise Rauins.
- *Thomas Vincent.
- Richard Butler.
- Iohn Samme.
- William Kyng.
- Robert Durdant.
- Henry Woolman.
- Edmond Spilman.
- Iohn Higges, aliâs Noke, aliâs Iohnsonne.
- Henry Chambers.
- Iohn Hynggyns.
- Thomas Egleston.

Here foloweth the particular examination of all these heere aboue named.

To these were diuers and sundry particular Articles, (besides the common and generall sort accustomedly vsed in such cases) priuately objected, euen such as they were then accused of either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And because I thinke it somewhat superfluous to make any large recitall of all and euery part of their seuerall processe: I minde therefore briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian Reader to iudge the sooner of the rest: being (I assure you) of no greater importance, then these that folow: Except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous lies, against the maiestie and truth of God, which as they vtterly denied, so doo I now for this present keepe secret in silence,* as well for breuities sake, as also somewhat to colour & hide the shameles practises of that lieng generation. But to our purpose.

THE chiefest obiection against Ioanne Baker, was, that she would not only her selfe not reuerence y^e Crucifixe:* but had also perswaded a frend of hers lieng at the point of death, not to put any trust or cōfidēce in the Crucifixe, but in God which is in heauen, who only worketh all the myracles that be done, and not the dead Images, that be but stockes and stones:* and therefore she was sory, that euer she had gone so often on Pilgrimage to S. Sauour and other

Idols. Also, that she did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to geue pardons, & that Lady Yong (who was not long before that time burned, died a true martyr of God, and therefore she wished of God, that she her selfe might do no worse then the said Lady Yong had done.

VNto William Pottyer, besides diuers other false and slanderous articles (as that he should denie the benefite and effect of Christes passion) it was also alleged that he should affirme,* that there were sixe Gods. The first three was the holy Trinitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost. The fourth was a priests concubine beeing kept in his chamber. The fift was the Deuill. And the sixt that thing that a man setteth his mind most vpon.

The first part of this Article he vtterly denied, confessing most firmly and truely the blessed Trinitie to be only one God in one vnitie of Deitie.*as to the other three he answered, that a Priest delighting in his concubine, made her as his God Likewise a wicked person persisting in his sinne without repentaunce, made the Deuill his God. And lastly he graunted, that hee once hearing of certaine men, whiche by the singing and chattering of birdes, would seeke to knowe what things were to come, eyther to themselues or others, sayd that those men esteemed their birds as Gods: and otherwise he spake not.

AMongst the manifold and seuerall articles objected against Thomas Goodred,* Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alyce Forge his wife, Iohn Forge their sonne, Iohn Caluerton, Iohn Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar (As that they should speake against Pilgrimages, praieng vnto Saints, and such like, this principally was propounded, that they all denied the carnall and corporall presence of Christes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the altar:* and further, had concealed, and consented vnto their teachers and instructors of that doctrine, and had not according vnto y^e lawes of the Church, accused and presented them vnto the Bishop or Ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceiued against Richard Wolman, for that he tearmed the Church of Paules, a house of theeues: affirming that Priests, and other Ecclesiasticall persons there, were not liberall geuers vnto the poore (as they ought) but rather takers away from them, what they could get.

Likewise, as Thomas Austye, Ioanne Austye hys wife,* Thomas Graunt, Iohn Garters, Christofer Rauins, Dionise Rauins his sister, Thomas Uinent, Lewes Iohn, Ioan Iohn his wife, & Iohn Webbe, were of one felowship and profession of faith, with diuers of y^e last before recited: so were they also almost all apprehended about one time, & chiefly burdened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declareth euidently,* that notwithstanding the darke ignoraunce of those corrupted tymes, yet God did euer in mercy opē the eyes of some, to behold the manifest truth, euen in those thinges, wherof the Papistes make now greatest vaunt and bragge of longest continuaunce. Furthermore many of them were charged to haue spoken agaynst Pilgrimages: & to haue read and vse certaine English bookes, repugnyng the fayth of the Romish Church: as the foure Euangelistes, Wickleffes Wicket, a booke of the x. commaundementes of almightie God, the Reuelation of S. Iohn, the Epistles of Paule & Iames, with other like, which those holy ones could neuer abide, & good cause why: for as darkenes could neuer agree with light, no more cā ignoraunce, the maintainer of that kingdome, with the true knowledge of Christ and his Gospel.

It was further particularly objected agaynst Ioanne Iohn, the wife of Lewes Iohn,* that (besides the premisses) she learned and mainteined, that God commaunded no holy dayes to bee kept, but

onely the Sabbath day, and therefore she would keepe none but it, nor no fastyng dayes affirmyng, that to fast from sinne was the true fast. Moreouer, that she had despised the Pope, his Pardons,* and Pilgrimages: In somuch that when any poore body asked his almes of her in the worship of the Lady of Walsingham, she would straight aunswere in contempt of the Pilgrimage: the Lady of Walsingham helpe thee. And if she gaue any thyng vnto him, she would then say: Take this in the worshyp of our Lady in heauen, and let the other goe. Which declareth that for lacke of better instructiō and knowledge, she yet ignorauntly attributed too much honour to the true Saintes of God departed: though otherwise she did abhorre the idolatrous worshipping of the dead Images. By which example, as also by many others (for shortnesse sake, at this present omitted) I haue iust occasion to cōdemne the wilfull subiltie of those, that in this bright shynyng light of Gods truth, would yet vnder colour of godly remembraunce, still mainteyne the hauyng of Images in the Church, craftely excusing their idolatrous kneelyng and praying vnto them, by affirming that they neuer worshypped the dead Images, but the thynges that the Images did represent. But if that were their onely doctrine and cause of hauyng of them, why thē would their predecessours so cruelly compell these poore simple people thus openly in their recantations to abiure and renoke their speakyng agaynst the grosse adoration of the outward Images onely, and not against the thing represented? which many of them, (as appeareth partly by this exāple) in their ignoraunt implicitie, confessed might be worshipped. Howbeit, God be thanked (who euer in his mercy continue it) their coulourable and hypocriticall excuses can not now take such place in the hartes of the elect of God, as they haue done heretofore, especially seying the word of God doth so manifestly forbid as wel the worshyppyng of them, as also the makyng or hauing of them, for order of Religion.

IT was alledged against Williā Couper and Alice Couper his wife, that they had spoken against Pilgrimages,* & worshyppyng of Images: but chiefly the woman, who hauyng her childe on a tyme hurt by fallyng into a pyt or ditche, and earnestly perswaded by some of her ignoraunt neighbours, to go on Pilgrimage to S. Laurēce for helpe for her child, sayd that neither S. Laurence,* nor any other S. could helpe her child, & therefore none ought to goe on Pilgrimage to any Image made with mās hād, but oneto vnto almightie God: for Pilgrimages were nothyng worth, sauing to make the Priestes rich. Vid. plura inferius.

VNto Iohn Houshold, Robert Rascall,* and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the Article against the Sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken agaynst praying to Saintes, & had despised the authoritie of the Byshop of Rome, and others of his Clergy.* But especially Iohn Houshold was charged to haue called thē Antichristes and whooremongers, and the Pope him selfe a strong strumpet, and a common bande vnto the world, who with his Pardōs had drowned in blindnes all Christian Realmes, and that for money.

ALso among diuers other ordinary Articles propounded agaynst George Browne,* these were couēted very heynous & hereticall: First, that he had sayd, that he knew no cause why the Crosse should be worshipped,* seying that the same was an hurt & payne vnto our Sauour Christ in the tyme of his Passion, and not any ease or pleasure, alledging for example, that if he had had a frend hanged or drowned, he would euer after haue loued that gallowes, or water, (by the which his frend dyed) rather worse for that, thē better. An other obiection was, that he had erroneously, [Page 804](#) obstinately, and maliciously said (for so are theyr words) that the Church was too rich.* This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quicke, and therefore no maruell though

they counted it erroneous and malicious: for take away their gaine, and farewell their religion. They also charged him to haue refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to haue spoken against priests, with other vaine matters.

*The greatest matter wherewith they burdened Iohn Wikes, was that he had often and of long time kept company with diuers persons suspected of heresie (as they termed them) and had receiued them into his house, and there did suffer and heare them sundry times reade erroneous and hereticall bookes, cōtrary to the faith of the Romish Church, and did also himselfe consent vnto their doctrine: and had many times secretly conueyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

*Like as the greatest number of those before mentioned: so were also Iohn Southake, Richard Butler, Iohn Samme, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henrye Woolmā, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christes body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and also against Images, and the rest of the seauen Sacraments. Howbeit, they burdened the last v. persons with the reading of certaine English hereticall bookes, accounting most blasphemously the Gospel of Iesus Christ, writtē by the 4. Euangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth euidently by the 8. article objected by Tho. Benet Doctour of lawe, and Chancelour and vicare general vnto Rich. Fitziamas then Bish. of London, against the sayd Rich. Butler. The very words of which article (for a more declaration of truth) I haue thought good heere to infert: which are these.*Also we object to you, that diuers times, and especially vpon a certaine night, about the space of three yeares last past, in Robert Durdantes house of Yuercourt neare vnto Stanes, you erroneously and damnably read in a great booke of heresie of the sayd Robert Durdants, all that same night, certaine chapters of the Euangelists in English, conteining in them diuers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresie, in the presence of the sayde Robert Durdant, Iohn Butler, Robert Carder, Ienkin Butler, William King, and diuers other suspect persons of heresie then being present, and hearing your sayd erroneous lectours and opinions.* To the same effect and purpose tended the tenour of some of the Articles propounded against the other foure. Whereby (as also by others like before specified) we may easily iudge what reuerence they which yet will be counted the true and onely Church of Christ, did beare to the word and Gospell of Christ: who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions, and conclusions of heresie. But why should we maruel thereat, seeing the holy Ghost in sundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter daies there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shal speake lies through hypocrisy, and haue their consciences marked with an hot yron? Let vs therefore now thanke our heauenly father for reuealing them vnto vs, and let vs also pray him, that of his free mercies in his sonne Christ Iesus, he would (if it be to his glory) eyther turne and mollifie all such harts, or else (for the peace and quietnes of his Church) he woulde in his righteous iudgement take them from vs.

About this time Richard Fitziamas ended his life. After whose death,* Cutbert Tunstall (afterwards Byshop of Durham) succeeded in the Sea and Bishoprike of London: who soone vpon his first entrie into the roome, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessour, caused Edmund Spilman priest, Henry Chambers, Iohn Higgins, and Thomas Eglestone, to be apprehended, and so to be examined vpon sundry like Articles, as before are expressed, and in the end, either for feare of his crueltie, and the rigour of death,* or else through hope of his

flattering promises (such was their weakenesse) he compelled them to abiure and renounce their true professed faith touching the holy Sacrament of Christes body and bloud: which was, that Christes corpall body was not in the sacrament, but in heauen, and that the Sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body it selfe.

MOREouer, about the same time there were certaine articles objected against Iohn Hig, aliās Noke, aliās Iohnson, by the saide Bishops vicar generall. Amongst which were these: * First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawfull for a tēporall mā to haue two wiues at once, as for a priest to haue two benefices. Also that he had in hys custody a booke of the foure Euangelistes in English, and did often reade therein: and that he fauoured the doctrines & opinions of Martin Luther, * openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his litle finger, then all y^e doctours in England in their whole bodies: and that all the Priestes in the Church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alledged agaynst him, that he had denied Purgatory, and had sayd, that while he were alyue he would do as much for him selfe as he could, for after his death he thought that prayer & almes deedes could little helpe him.

These and such like matters were they, wherewith these poore and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heynous heretickes excommunicated, emprisoned, and at last compelled to recant: and some of them in vtter shame and reproch (besides the ordinary bearyng of fagots before the Crosse in processiō, * or els at a Sermon) were enioyned for penaunce (as they termed it) as well to appeare once euery yeare before their ordinary, as also to weare the signe of a fagot painted vpon their sleeues or other part of their outward garment; and that during their liues, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. By which long rigorous and open punishing of them, they ment (as it should seeme) vtterly to terrifie and keepe backe all others from the true knowledge of Iesus Christ and his Gospell. But the Lord be euermore praysed, what effect their wicked purposes therein haue takē, * these our most lightsome dayes of Gods glorious Gospel do most ioyfully declare.

There were also troubled beside these, certaine others more simple and ignoraunt: who hauyng but a very smal smake or tast of the truth, did yet at the first (as it may seeme) gladly consent vnto the same: but beyng apprehended, they quickly agayne yelded, and therfore had onely assigned them for their penaunce, the bearyng of a litle cādle before the Crosse, without any further opē abiuryng or recantyng. Amongest which I finde two especially: the one, a woman called Elene Heyer, to whom it was objected that she had neither confessed her selfe vnto the Priest, nor yet receiued the Sacrament of the altar by the space of 4. yeares, and notwithstanding had yearely eaten fleshe at Easter, and after, as well as others that had receiued the same, contrary to the vsuall maner and conuersation of all other Christian people.

The other was a mā named Robert Berkeway who (besides most wicked blasphemies agaynst God, whiche he vtterly denyed) was charged to haue spoken heynous wordes against the Popes holy and blessed Martyr Thomas Becket, callyng him micher and theefe, for that hee wrought by craftes and imaginations.

Thus haue I (as briefly as I could) summarely collected the principall Articles objected agaynst these weake, infirme, and earthy vessels. Not minding hereby to excuse or condēne them in these their fearefull falles and daungerous defectiōs: but leauyng them vnto the vnmeasurable rich

mercies of the Lord, I thought onely to make manifest the vnsaciabie bloody crueltie of y^e Popes kingdome, agaynst the Gospell and true Church of Christ, nothyng mitigatyng their enuious rage, no not agaynst the very simple idiots, and that sometye in most friuolous and irreligious cases. But now leauyng to say any further herein, I will (by Gods grace) go forthward with other somewhat serious matters.

¶The death and Martyrdome of William Swetyng, and Iohn Brewster.

IN searchyng and perusing of the Register,* for the collection of the names & Articles before recited, I finde that within the compasse of the same yeares, there were also some others, who after they had once shewed themselues as frayle & vnconstaūt as the rest (beyng either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zelously ouercome with the manifest truth of Gods most sacred word) became yet agayn as earnest professours of Christ, as euer they were before, and for the same profession were the secōd tyme apprehēded, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of the which number were, Williā Swetyng, and Iohn Brewster, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the xvij. day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1511. the chieftest case of religion alledged agaynst them in their Articles, was their fayth cōcernyng the Sacrament of Christes body and bloud. Which because it differed from the absurde, grosse, and Caparniticall opiniō of the new Scholemē, was coūted as most heynous heresie.* There were other thyngs besides obiected agaynst them: as the reading of certaine forbidden bookes, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresie. But one great and heynous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting & leauing of the paintyng fagots, which they were at their first abiuryng, enioyned to weare, as [Page 805](#) badges, during theyr lyues, or so long as it should please their Ordinary to appoynt, and not to leaue them off, vpō paine of relaps, vntill they were dispensed withall for the same.* The breach of this iniunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet the matter well & thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their cōfessions, they were both therunto by necessitie enforced. For the one, named Sweting, being for feare of the Bishops cruelty cōstrained to wander the countreys to get his poore liuing, came at length vnto Colchester, where by the parson of the parish of Mary Magdalen, he was prouoked to be y^e holy water clarke, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (which was Brewster) leaft off his, at the commandement of the Controller of the Earle of Oxfordes house: who hiring the poore man to labour in the Earles houshold busines, woulde not suffer him, working there, to weare that counterfait cognisaunce any longer: so that (as I said) necessity of liuing seemeth to compell both of them at the first to breake that iniunction: and therefore if charitie had borne as great sway in y^e harts of the Popes Clergy, as did crueltie, this trifle would not haue bene so heinously taken, as to be brought against thē for an article and cause of condemnation to death. But where tirannie once taketh place, as well all godly loue, as also all humane reason & duties are quite forgotten. Well, to be short, what for y^e causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abiured, and yet (as they terme it) fel againe into relaps, they were both (as you haue hearde) in the ende burned together in Smithfielde: althoughe the same parties (as the Register recordeth) did againe before their death, fearefully forsake their former reuiued cōstancie, and submitting themselues vnto the discipline of the Romish Church, craued absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the Registers notes & records in such cases may rightly be doubted of,* and so called into questiō, I refer the certaine knowledge hereof vnto the Lord (who is the trier of all trutthes) and the external iudgemēt vnto the godly and discrete reader: Not forgetting yet by the

way (if that the report shoulde be true) vpon so iust an occasion to charge that catholique clergy & their wicked lawes, with a more shameles tirannie & vncharitable cruelty thē before. For if they nothing stay theyr bloudy malice towards such as so willingly submit themselues vnto their mercies: what fauour may the faithfull and constant professours of Christ looke for at their hāds? I might here also aske of them how they folow the pitiful and louing admonitiō, (or rather precept) of our Sauour Christ (whose true and only Church they so stoutly bragge to be) who in the 17. chapt. of S. Luke, sayth: Though thy brother sinne against thee seuen times in a day,*and seuen times in a day turne to thee, saieng, It repenteth me: thou shalt forgiue him. But what go I about to allure them vnto the folowing of the rule and counsaile of him, vnto whose worde and Gospell they seeme most open and vtter enemies? Wherefore, not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, I will leaue thē vnto the righteous reuengemēt of the Lord, whereunto let vs now heere adioine the story of one Iohn Browne, a good Martir of the Lord burnt at Ashford, about this fourth yeare of King Henry the eight, whose story heereunder foloweth.

¶Iohn Browne father to Richard Browne, which Richard was in prison in Canterbury, and should haue bene burned with two more besides himselfe, the next day after the death of Queene Mary, but by the proclaiming of Queene Elizabeth, they escaped.

The occasion of the first trouble of this Iohn Browne, was by a priest sitting in Grauesend barge. I. Brown being y^e same time in the barge, came & sate hard by hym, wherupon after certain cōmunicatiō, the Priest asked him, doest thou know (said he) who I am, thou sitst too neere me, thou sitst on my clothes. No sir (said he) I know not what you are. I tell thee I am a Priest. What sir, are yee a Person or Uicar, or a Ladies Chaplen. No (quoth he) againe, I am a soule priest, I sing for a soule, saith he. Do ye so sir quoth the other, that is well done. I pray you sir, (quoth he) where find you y^e soule when you go to Masse. I can not tel thee, said the Priest. I pray you where do you leaue it sir whē the Masse is done. I can not tell thee sayde the Priest. Neither can you tell where you finde it when you go to Masse, nor where you leaue it when the Masse is done, how can you then haue the soule said he. Go thy waies said y^e Priest, thou art an heretike, and I will be euen with thee. So at the landing, the Priest taking w^t hym Water More, and William More, two Gentlemen breethren, rode straightwaies to the Archb. Warham, wheruppon the said Iohn Browne within three daies after, his wife being churched the same day, & he bringing in a messe of pottage to the boord to his guests, was sent for, and hys feete bound vnder his own horse, & so brought vp to Cant. neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whether he went, nor whether he should. And there continuing frō Lowsonday to y^e friday before Whitsonday, not knowing to his wife all this while where he was. He was set in the stockes ouer night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, an. 1517. The same night as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he & his w^{••}e dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came & sate by him al y^e night before he should be burned, to whom he declaring y^e whole story how he was handled, shewed & told how y^t he coulde not set his feete to the ground, for they were burned to the bones, and told her how by the two Bishops, Warham, & Fisher, his feet were heat vpon the whote coales, & burnt to the bones, to make me said he to deny my Lord, which I will neuer do, for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter denie me. I pray thee, said he, therefore good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begon, and bring vp thy childrē vertuously & in the feare of God, & so y^e next day on Whitsonday euē, this godly Martir was burned. Stāding at y^e stake this praier he made holding vp his hands,

O Lord I yeeld me to thy grace,

Graunt me mercy for my trespasse,

Let neuer the feend my soule chase,

Lord I will bow, and thou shalt beate,

Let neuer my soule come in hell heate.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed me O Lord of truth, and so he ended.

Ex testimonio Aliciae Browne eius filiae, cuius mariti nomen dicebatur strat. in pa•rochia S. Pulchri.

At the fire, the said Chilten the Bayly Arrant, bade cast in his children also, for they would spring (sayd he) of hys ashes.

This blessed Martyr Iohn Browne had borne a fagot seauen yeares before in the daies of King Henry the 7.

As it is the propertie of Sathā euer to malice the prosperous estate of the Saintes of God, & true professours of Christ: so ceaseth he not continually to styrrer vp his wicked mēbers to the effectuall accomplishyng of that which his enuious nature so greedily desireth: if not alwayes openly by colour of tyrannicall lawes, yet (at the leastwise) by some subtyll practise of secret murther. Which thing doth most playnly appeare not onely in a great number of the blessed Martyrs of Christes Church, mentioned in this booke, but also, and especially in the discourse of this lamētable history that now I haue in hand, concernyng the secrete & cruell murderynge of Richard Hunne, whose story here consequently ensueth, decerped and collected partly out of the Registers of London, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced in the Parliament house.

¶The story of Richard Hunne.

There was in the yeare of our Lord.* 1514. one Richard Hunne marchaūt Taylour, dwelling within the Citie of London, & freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his lyfe, & worthely reputed and taken, not onely for a man of true dealyng, and good substaunce, but also for a good Catholicke mā. This Richard Hunne had a child at nourse in Middlesex in the Parish of S. Mary Matsilon, which dyed: * by the occasion wherof one Thomas Driffield Clerke, beyng Parson of the sayd Parish, sued y^e sayd Richard Hunne in the spirituall Court for a bearyng sheete, which the sayd Thom. Driffield claymed vniustly to haue of the sayd Hunne for a mortuary for Steuē Hunne, sonne of the sayd Richard Hunne: which Steuē beyng at nourse in the sayd Parish, dyed being of the age of .v. weekes and not aboue. Hunne aūswered him agayne, that for asmuch as the child had no proprietie in the sheete, he therfore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to haue it. Whereupō the Priest moued with a couetous desire, & loth to lose his pretēded right, ascited him to appeare in the spirituall Court, there to aūswere the matter. Whereupon the sayd Rich. Hunne beyng troubled in the spirituall Court, was forced to seeke couſsell of the learned in the law of this lād, & pursued a writ of Premunire agaynst the sayd

Thomas Driffield, and other his ayders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the proces therof is yet to be sene. Which whē the rest of the Priestly order heard of, greatly disdaynyng that any lay man should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of thē, & fearing also, that if they should now suffer this Priest to be cōdēned at the sute of Hunne, there would be therby euer after, a libertie opened vnto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the Clergy in such like cases: they straightwayes, both to stop this matter, and also to be reuenged of him, for that he had already done, sought all meanes they possibly could, how to [Page 806](#) entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruell lawes:*, and therupon making secret and diligent inquisition, & seeking al corners they could against him, at lēgth they found a means how to accuse him of heresie vnto Richard Fitziamas then Bishop of London, and so did: Who (desirious to satisfie the reuenging and bloudy affection of his chaplaynes) caused thereupon him to be apprehended, and cōmitted vnto prison within the Lolards Tower at Paules,*, so that none of his freendes might be suffered to come to hym. Thus Richard Hunne being clapt in the Lolards Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of one Doctour Horsey the Bishops Chauncelour (a man more ready to prefer the Clergies cruell tyrannie, then the truth of Christes Gospel) was brought before the Bishop at his manour of Fulham, the second day of December, in the yeare before mentioned: where within his Chappell he examined him vpon these Articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his complices.

First, that he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended,*, against the lawes of almighty God: that tythes, or payeng of tythes was neuer ordeined to be due, sauing onely by the couetousnesse of priestes.

2 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended: that Bishops and Priestes be the Scribes and Pharisees that did crucifie Christ, and damned him to death.

3 Item, that he had read, taught, preached, &c. that Byshops and Priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neyther fulfillers of the law of God, but catching, rauening, and all things taking, and nothing ministring, neither geuing.

4 Item, where and when one Ioanne Baker was detected and abiured of many great heresies (as it appeareth by her abiuration) the sayd Richard Hunne sayd, published, taught, preached, and obstinately tooke vpon him, sayeng, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him fyue hundred markes.

5 Item, afterwards (where and when the sayd Ioanne Baker after her abiuration, was enioyned open penance according to her demerites) the sayd Richard Hunne saide, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, sayeng: the Byshop of London and his officers haue done open wrong to the sayde Ioanne Baker, in punishing her for heresie: for her sayengs and opinions be according to the lawes of God: Wherefore the Byshop and hys officers are more woorthie to bee punished for heresie, then she is.

6 Item, that the sayd Richard Hunne hath in his keeping diuers English bookes, prohibited and damned by the law: as the Apocalyps in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliffes damnable workes, and other bookes conteining infinite errours, in the which he hath bene long time accustomed to reade, teach, and study dayly.

Particular answeare vnto these seuerall obiections, in the Register I finde none, sauynge that next vnder them, there is written in his name with a contrarye hande, these words folowing: As touching these Articles, I haue not spoken them as they be heere layd: Howbeit; vnadvisedly I haue spoken wordes somewhat sounding to the same: for the which I am sory, and aske God mercy, and submit me vnto my Lords charitable and fauourable correction. Which they affirme to be written with Hunnes owne hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discrete wisdom of the reader indifferently iudge by the whole sequele of this proces. And further, if it were his owne act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himselfe vnto the charitable and fauourable correction of the Bishop (for the which euen by their owne lawe, in cases of most heynous heresie, he ought to be againe receiued and pardoned, (except perhaps they will account horrible murder, to be but the Bishops fauourable correction. Again it seemeth they had very few credible witnesses to proue certainly that this was his answeare and handwriting: for the Register, or some other for him (appointed to record the same) hath certified it, as of hearesay from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margent of the booke, adioining to the foresaid answeare, plainely do declare, which are these: Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, vt dicitur. Now if he had had any sure ground to stablish this certificate, I doubt not, but he would (in steede of, vt dicitur) haue registered the names of the assistants at the time of his examination, (which he confesseth to be many) as generally they do in all their actes, especially in cases of heresie, as they teame it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelesly to murder him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let (as I said) the indifferent iudgement of the godly wise discern.

This examination ended, the Bishop sent him backe againe the same day, vnto the Lolardes tower: and then by the appointment of Doctour Horsey his Chauncelour, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Ioseph the Sumner, vnto Iohn Spalding the belringer, a man, by whose simplenes in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtill Chauncelour thought to bring his diuelish pretended homicide the easlier to passe: which most cruelly he did by his ministers suborned, within two nights then next folowing accomplish: as is plainely proued hereafter by the diligent inquirie and finall verdict of y^e Crowner of

[illustration]

¶ A description of the Lolards tower, where M. Rich. Hunne was first murdered, then by the sayd parties hanged, afterward condemned of heresie, and at last burned in Smythfield.

[Page 807](#) London, and his inquest, made by order of the lawes in that behalfe limited. But when this vsuall practise of the Papistes was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shiftes, nor worldly wyles for the crafty colouring of this mischief: and therefore the next morning after they had in the night committed this murder, Iohn Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsaile of his maister Chauncelour) gat himselfe out of the way, into the Citie, and leauing the keyes of the prison with one of his felowes, willed him to deliuer them vnto the Sumners boy, which accustomedly did vse to cary Hunne his meate, and other necessities that he needed: thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might (by his relation) be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. For the boy the same morning (being the fourth day of December) hauing the keyes deliuered him, accompanied with

two other of the Byshops Sumners, went about x. of the clocke into the prison, to serue the prisoner, as he was woont to do, and when they came vp, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Wherupon they (astonished at this sight) gaue knowledge thereof immediately vnto the Chauncelour,* being then in the Church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose, for such newes: who forthwith gat vnto him certaine of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his owne wicked cōscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proued, although then he made a faire face to the contrary, blasing abroad among the people, by their officers and seruants, that Hunne had desperately hanged himselfe. Howbeit, the people hauing good experience as well of the honest life and godly conuersation of the man,* as also of the diuelish malice of his aduersaries the Priestes, iudged rather that by their procurement he was secretly murthered. Wherof arose great contention: for the Bishop of London on the one side, taking his clergies part, affirmed stoutely that Hunne had hanged himselfe. The Citizens againe on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murther, caused the Crowner of London (according to law) to choose an inquest,* and to take good viewe of the dead body, and so to trie out the truth of the matter. Wherby the Bishop and his chapleines were then driuē to y^e extremitie of shifts: & therfore minding by some subtil shew of iustice, to stop the mouthes of the people, they determined that in the meane while as the inquest was occupied about their charge, the Bishop should for his part, proceede Ex officio, in case of heresie,* against the dead person: supposing (most like) that if the partie were once condemned of heresie, the inquest durst not then but finde him gilty of his owne death, and so clearely acquite them from all the former suspition of priue murther. This determinatiō of theirs they did immediately put in practise in order as foloweth.

First, besides the Articles before mentioned (whyche they affirme were objected against him in his life tyme) D. Hed did now also after his death,* collect certain others out of the prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the Bishops handes: which he diligently perused, not to learne any good thing therein, but to get thereout suche matter,* as he thought might best serue their cursed purpose: as appeareth by the tenure of the Articles, whyche are these.

1 First the said booke damneth all holy Canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinfull men and vncunning,* and calleth the Pope Sathanas and Antichrist.

2 Item, it damneth the Popes Pardons, saieng, they be but leasings.

3 Item, the sayd booke of Hunne saith, that Kings and Lords called Christen in name, and heathen in conditions, defoyle the Sanctuarie of God, bringing clarkes full of couetise, heresie, and malice, to stop Gods law that it can not be knowne, kept, and freely preached.

4 Item, the saide booke saith, that Lordes and Prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the lawe of God: and cherish them that preach sinful mens traditions and statutes, by the which he meaneth the holy Canons of Christes Church.

5 Item, that poore men and idiots haue the truth of the holy Scriptures, more then a thousand Prelates and religious men, and clarkes of the schole.

6 Item, that Christen Kings and Lordes set Idols in Gods house, and excite the people to Idolatrie.

7 Item, that Princes, Lords, and Prelates so doyng, be worse then Herode that pursued Christ, and worse then Iewes and heathen men that crucified Christ.

8 Item, that euery man swearing by our Lady, or any other Saint or creature, geueth more honour to the saints, then to the holy Trinitie, and so he sayth they be idolaters.

9. Item, he sayth that Saintes ought not to be honored.

10. Item, he damnethe adoration, prayer, kneelyng, & offeryng to Images, which he calleth stockes and stones.

11. Item, he sayth, that the very body of the Lord is not conteyned in the Sacramēt of the aultar, but that men receiuing it, shall thereby keepe in mynde that Christes flesh was wounded and crucified for vs.

12. Item, he dāneth the Uniuersitie of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Ciuile, Canō, and Diuinitie, saying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the lawes of God, and holy Scripture.

13. Item, he defendeth the translation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the English tongue,* which is prohibited by the lawes of our mother holy Church.

These Articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused for a more shew of their pretēded iustice and innocencie, to be opēly read the next Sunday folowing by the Preacher at Paules Crosse, with this Protestation made before.

☞ Maisters and frendes, for certaine causes and considerations, I haue in commaundemēt to rehearse, shew, & publish here vnto you, the Articles of heresie, vpō which Richard Hunne was detected and examined:*, and also other great Articles and damnable poyntes and opinions of heresie contained in some of his bookes be cōmen to light and knowledge, here ready to be shewed.

And therewith he read the Articles openly vnto the people, concludyng with these wordes:

And maisters, if there be any man desirous to see the specialtie of these Articles, or doubt whether they be cōteined in this booke or not, for satisfying of his minde, let him come to my Lord of London, and he shall see it with good will. Moreouer, here I counsaile and admonishe, that if there be any persons, that of their simplenes haue bene familiar and acquainted with the sayd Richard Hunne in these Articles, or haue heard him read vpon this booke, or any other soūdyng to heresie, or haue any like bookes their selues, let them come vnto my Lord of London betwixt this and Candlemasse next, and knowledge their fault, & they shalbe charitably intreated and dealt withall, so that both their goodes and honestie shalbe saued: & if they will not come of

their owne offer, but abyde the processe of the law, then at their owne perill be it, if the rigour of the law be executed agaynst them.

After which open publication & admonition, the Byshop at sundry tymes examined diuers of his Priests, and other lay persons vpon the contentes of both these Articles. Among which examinares, there was a man seruaūt and a mayde of the sayd Hunnes, who although they had of long dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehēsiō: no, not in such points as the Byshop chiefly obiected, agaynst him. But yet the Priestes (through whose procurement this mischief was first begon) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him: some in the contentes of the first Articles, & some in the second. Wherefore hauyng now (as they thought) sufficient matter agaynst him, they purposed speedely to proceede to his condemnation.* And because they would seeme to doe all thynges formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certaine short and summary rules, by the which the Byshop should be directed in this solemne Session: which are these.

1. First, let the Byshop sit in his tribunall seate, in our Ladyes Chappell.
2. Secondly, let him recite the cause of his commyng,* and take Notaryes to him, to enact that shalbe there done.
3. Thirdly, let him declare, how vppon Sondag last, at Paules Crosse, he caused to be published a generall monition, or denunciation, that all fautours and mainteyners of Richard Hunne, should come in, as by this day, & submit themselues: and let him signifie withall, how certaine haue come in, and haue appeared already.
4. Fourthly, let him protest & say, that if there remayne any yet behynd which haue not appeared accordyng to the former monition and denunciation: yet if they will come, and appeare, and submit themselues, they shalbe heard & receiued with grace and fauour.
5. Fiftly, let the Byshop or some other at his appointmēt, recite the Articles obiected agaynst Richard Hunne, in the tyme of his life: and thē the other Articles likewise, which were out of his great booke of the Bible extracted.
6. Sixtly, let the aunsweres and confessions of the sayd Richard Hunne, summarely be recited, with the Attestatiōs made to the same Articles. Also let his bookes be exhibited, and thē Thomas Brooke his seruaunt be called for.
7. Seuently, let it be openly cryed at the Quere doore, [Page 808](#) that if there be any which will defend the articles, opinions, bookes, or the memory of the said Richard Hunne, let them come and appeare, and they shall be heard, as the lawe in that behalfe shall require.
- 8 Eightly, let it be openly cryed, as in maner before, for such as be receiuers, fauourers, defenders, or beleeuers of the sayd Richard Hunne, that all such do appear and submit themselues to the Bishop, or else he intendeth to proceede to the excommunication of them in generall, according to the exigence of the law in that behalfe.

9 Ninthly, then the Byshop speaking to the standers by, and to them which sate with him vpon the bench, of the Clergie, demaunding of them, what their iudgement and opinion is, touching y^e premisses, and whether they thinke it conuenient and agreeable for him to proceede to the sentence against the sayd Richard Hunne, in this parte to be awarded.

10 Tenthly, after their consent and counsaile geuen, let the Bishop reade out the sentence.

11 Finally, after the sentence read, let the Byshop appoint the publication and denuntiation of the foresaid sentence, to be read at Paules Crosse or elsewhere, as to hym shall seeme expedient, with a Citation likewise generally against all them that be receiuers, fauourers, and beleeuers of the sayde Hunne, to geue to vnderstand why he ought not farther to proceed against them, &c.

Now according to the tenure of these prescriptes and rules, the Bishop of London accompanied with the Bishops of Durham and Lincolne,* sate in iudgemēt the xvj. day of December, then next folowing, within the place by the same appointed: adioining also vnto them as witnesses of their proceedings, sixe publique Notaries, his owne Register, and about xxv. Doctours, Abbots, Priours and Priests of name, with a great rabble of other common annoynted Catholiques. Where after a solemne proclamatiō made, that if there were any that would defend the opinion• and bookes of Rich. Hunne, they should presently appeare, and be heard according to law, he commaunded all the Articles and obiections against Hunne, openly to be read before the assembly: and then perceyuing that none durst appeare in his defence, by the aduise of his assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitiue against the dead carkase, cōdemning it of heresie, and therewith committed the same vnto the secular power,* to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous decree was as fondly accomplished in Smithfield the xx. day of the same moneth of December (being full xvj. daies after they had thus horribly murdered him) to the great grieve and disdaine of all the people. And because the Bishop in his sentence definitiue vseth a more formall and ample order of words, then accustomedly is vsed in others: and also pretendeth full hypocritically in the beginning (as it were by way of induction) diuers causes that moued him to proceed against the dead carkase: I thought therefore good, heere to insert the same, as a finall conclusion of their craftie coloured tragedie: the tenure whereof is this.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente sacra synodo & generali prelatorum & cleri prouinciae Cantuariensis conuocatione,* in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali sancti Pauli London, per prelatos & clerum prouinciae Cantuariensis actualitèr ibidem exercita) contigisset quod quidam Richardus Hune de parochia sanctae Margaretae in Brigestrete Lond. de & super crimine hereticae prauitatis notatus & diffamatus extitisset: Reuerendiss. in Christo pater & dominus dominus Willielmus miseratione diuina Cantuariensis Arciepiscopus, totius Angliae primas, & Apostolicae sedis Legatus, ipsius venerabilis caetus & conuocationis caput & praesidens, ex vehemētibus & violentis (quas cōtra eundem Richardum Hune super heretica prauitate tūc habebat) presumptionibus cōtra eundē Richardum, debitam facere inquisitionem cupiens, vt (si ratione heresis huiusmodi mēbrum fuisset a corpore Christi mistico precisum) ipsum ad caput & corpus (id est Christum, sanctae{que} matris ecclesie vnitatē) per salutaria monita & condignam poenitentiam reuocaret & reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter simplices & deuotas Christi fidelium & catholicorum animas coerrando, & zizania heretica seminando, fidelium mentes macularet & inficeret, & sinistris ac peruersis assertionibus & opinionibus, a veritatis semita & vera fide Christiana aberrare faceret: ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto

reuerendissimo patre & domino Archiepiscopo, suis{que} coepiscopis & suffraganeis ceteris{que} illius concionis siue sacrae Synodi praelatis super praemissis responsurum perquiri fecit & mandauit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Vnde dictus reuerendissimus pater suum tam pium, tam sanctum & laudabile propositum ad effectum perducere nō potuit. Quod cum nos Richardus permissione diuina Londinensis Episcopus, dicti Richardi ordinarius (cui etiam tanquam de heresi suspectus idē Richardus a multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus extiterat) intellexerimus, non volentes nec audentes praedicta facinora silentio & conniuentibus oculis pertransire & pretermittere, ne ob nostram negligentiam & torporem sanguis eius in districto examine, siue Dei iudicio, de manibus nostris requiratur) volentes cerciorari & informari an ea quae de ipso & cōtra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcitentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, ne fortasse ouis morbida existens, innocuas animas gregis dominici pestifera heresi corrumperet & inficeret, ad informandum animum nostrum, ipsum coram nobis vocandū, & super praemissis diligentè interrogandum & examinandum, omnia{que} faciendū quae secundū canonicas sanctiones erant facienda (eius animā pio & paterno zelantes affectu) descendimus & properauimus: cōtra quem, obiectis iudicialitèr, & propositis publice in iudicio articulis, de & super quibus nobis (vt praefertur) delatus, detectus & notatus fuerat. Quos per venerabilem virum magistrū Iohannem Downam hic publicè iam lectos, pro hic lectis & insertis habemus & habeti volumus: habitis{que} & receptis ad eosdē articulos responsionibus & cōfessionibus suis. Deinde testes fide dignos de & super eisdem articulis & alijs contra dictum Richardū in debita iuris forma recepimus, admisimus, & diligenter examinari fecimus: proposito{que} nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucē diui pauli, eius detestabiles hereses & errores, in articulis & libris suis, quibus vsus est, comprehensas, in eius & ipsorū detestationē & damnationē publicantes, atque publicè recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidē tunc congregato, notificauimus & intimauius. Quod isto die cōtra eundē Richardum, tanquam contra haereticum, ad ipsius{que} condemnationē & excōmunicationē in specie, ad alia{que} in hac parte requisita, necnon ad excōmunicationem receptatō•ū, defensorū, fautorum, & credentiū ipsius in genere, iuxta canonicas sanctiones, sanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem iuris vigorem & dispositionē, deo duce, procedere intendebamus monitionem{que} siue denuntiationem quandam generalē dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videl. quod si qui fuerint eius receptatores, defensores, fautores, & credentes, quod citra hunc diem ad nos & sanctae matris ecclesiae gremium redirent, & se submitterent: quod si facerent (de misericordia omnipotentis Dei confisi) polliciti sumus quod ipsos de erroribus & reatibus suis huiusmodi poenitentes cum gratia, benignitate, misericordia, & fauore, ad animarum suarum solatiū & salutem reciperimus, quodque honestatem eorum pro posse seruaremus in hac parte. Alioquin si sic sponte venire non curarent, sed iuris ordinarium processum expectarent: scirent nos hoc admissum aduersus eos seuerius executuros, in quantū iura permetterent. Adueniente ita{que} iam die isto, ad premissa & infra scripta facienda (sic vt prefertur) per nos prefixo, nos Richardus episcopus antedictus, in negotio inquisitionis haereticae prauitatis predictae legitimè procedentes, volentes{que} huiusmodi negotiū sine debito terminare, solenne consiliū tam in sacra theologica facultate, quam iure canonico & ciuili doctorum, & hunc venerabilem coetum cleri & populi coram nobis fecimus congregari: & visis, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligētèr & matura deliberatione discussis meritis & circumstantijs negotij memorati, actis{que} & actitatis in eodem productis & deductis praedictorū, digesto & maturo cōsilio (cum nullus appareat contradictor seu defensor, qui dicti Richardi opiniones, articulos, & memoriam defendere velit) solū Deū oculis nostris proponentes, ad sententiam nostram contra eum, eius opiniones & libros, receptatores{que}, fautores, defensores, & credētes, se nobis iuxta tenorem & formam

monitionis & denuntiationis nostrarū praedictarū minime submittentes, nec ad gremium sanctae matris ecclesiae redire curantes, licet quidam saluationis pij filij citra monitionem & denuntiationem nostras predictas ad nos venerunt, & se submiserunt, quos cum gratia & fauore recepimus, in hac parte ferendam, sic duximus procedendū & procedimus in hūc qui sequitur modum. Quia per acta actitata, inquisita, deducta, confes•ata & probata, necnon per vehementes & vrgentes praesumptiones, & iudicia perspicua conperimus luculenter, & inuenimus dictū Richardum Hune crimine haereticae prauitatis multipliciter irretitum, at{que} haeticum fuisse & esse, nonnullas{que} opiniones & assertiones detestabiles & haereses damnatas, dum in humanis agebat & vitales caperet auras, affirmasse, proposuisse & recitasse, libris{que} suspectis & de iure damnatis, & nonnullas haereses pestiferas in se continentibus vsum fuisse, receptis{que}, admissis & examinatis testibus per commissarios ad hoc deputatos de & super impoenitentia finali, pertinacia, & obitu dicti Richardi Hune: Idcirco nos Richardus Episcopus antedictus, seruatis seruandis (prout in tali negotio postulat ordo iuris) dicti Richardi Hune impoenitentia ac finali*obstinatia & pertinacia, per euidencia signa testibus legitimis vehemētissimis & violentis praesumptionibus cōprobatis, prout iam corā nobis legitime extitit facta fides, edicto apud crucem diui Pauli, die dominico vltimo praeterito, ad audiendū & per nos ferendū sentētiā, ad hunc diem per nos publice facto & proposito. paopterea de huius venerabilis coetus (videlicet reuerendorum patrū, dominorū Thomae Dunelmensis, & Willihelmi Lincolniensis, ac Iohannis Calipolensis Episcoporū, necnon in sacra theologia, decretorū, & legum doctorū, & cleri, at{que} proborum & venerabilium virorū dodomini [Page 809](#) Maioris, Aldermanorū, & Vicecomitum ciuitatis London. & populi hic congregato•um, & nobis in hac parte assidentium & assistentium, consensu, assensu, & consilio, eundem Richardum Hunne diuersarum haeresium libris dum vixit vsum fuisse, ac notorium & pertinacem impoenitentem haeticum fuisse, ac in haeresi decessisse, atque consciencia criminis & metu futurae sētentiae animo pertinaci & impoenitenti, corde indurato obijisse & decessisse, praemissorum{que} praetextu de iure excommunicatum fuisse & esse, at{que} in excommunicatione huiusmodi decessisse, ipsius{que} rec•ptatores, fautores, defensores, & credentes etiam in genere de iure excommunicatos, at{que} sententia maioris excommunicationis innodatos & inuolutos fuisse & esse pronuntiamus decernimus, & declaramus: ipsum Richardum Hunne & libros suos haeticos de iure damnatos, suam{que} ac librorum ipsorum memoriā in detestationem & damnationem sceleris & criminis huiusmodi condemnamus: dictum{que} Richardum Hunne (ob premissa) ecclesiastica carere debere sepultura sententiamus, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, & in foro ecclesiastico tanquam membrum putridum proijcimus, corpus{que} suum & ossa brachio & potestati seculari relinquimus & committimus: iuxta & secundum canonicas & legitimas sanctiones, consuetudines{que} laudabiles in regno Angliae ab antiquo vsitatas & obseruatas, in opprobrium sempiternum & detestationem criminis nephandissimi predicti, ad eternam{que} huius rei memoriam, caeterorum{que} Christi fidelium metum at{que} terrorem, per hanc nostram sententiam siue finale decretum, quam siue quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical & cruell handling of the dead body, with their •aire and colourable shew of iustice, yet the inquest no whit stayed theyr diligent searching out of the true cause and meanes of his death. In so much that when they had bene diuers times called both be'fore the kinges priuy counsell (his maiesty himselfe being sometime present) & also before the chiefe Iudges and Iustices of this realm, & that the matter being by thē thoroughly examined & perceiued to much bolstered & borne withall by the clergy, was again wholly remitted vnto theyr

determination and ending: they founde by good prooffe and sufficient evidence,* that Doctour Horsey the Chauncellour, Charles Ioseph the Sumner, and Iohn Spalding the Belringer had priuily & maliciously committed this murther, and therefore indicted them all three as wilfull murtherers. Howbeit, through the earnest sute of the Byshop of London, vnto Cardinall Woolsey (as appeareth by hys letters hereafter mentioned) meanes was founde, that at the next Sessions of Gayle deliuery, the kinges Attorney pronounced the indicement agaynst D. Horsey to be false & vntrue: and him not to be guilty of the murther. Who being then thereby deliuered in body, hauing yet in himselfe a guilty conscience, gat him vnto Exeter, and durst neuer after for shame come agayne vnto London. But now that 〈◇〉 trueth of all this matter may seeme more manifest and playn vnto all mens eyes, here shall folow word by word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them vnto the Crouner of Londō, so geuen vp and signed with his owne hand.

¶The Verdict of the inquest.

*The fift and the sixte day of December, in the sixte yeare of the raigne of our soueraigne Lord king Henry the eight, William Barnewel Crouner of London, the day and yeare abouesaid, with in the ward of Castelbaynard of London assembled a quest, whose names afterward do appeare, and hath sworne them truely to inquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, which lately was found deade in the Lollardes Tower within Paules Church of London: whereupon all we of the inquest together went vp into the sayde Tower, where we found the body of the sayd Hunne hanging vppon a staple of iron in a gyrdle of silke, with fayre countenaunce, his head fayre kemmed, and his bonet right sitting vpon his head, with his eyne and mouth fayre closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any driueling or spurning in any place of his body, whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take downe the deade bodye of the sayd Hunne, and as soone as we beganne to heaue the body, it was loose, whereby by good aduisement we perceiued that the gyrdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the linckes of an iron chayne which did hang on the same staple, were layde vpon the same gyrdle whereby he did hang: Also the knot of the gyrdle that went about his necke, stood vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane towardes his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrels two small streames of bloud, to the quantitie of foure droppes. Saue onelye these foure droppes of bloud, the face, lippes, chinne, doublet, coller, and shyrt of the sayd Hunne, was cleane from any bloud. Also we fynde that the skinne both of his necke and throte beneath the gyrdle of silke, was frette and faled away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his necke withall. Also the handes of the sayd Hunne were wrong in the wristes, wherby we perceiued that his handes had bene bo•d. Moreouer we find that within the sayd prison was no mean wherby a man might hang himselfe, but onely a stoole, which stoole stode vpon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any manne or beaste might not touch it so litle, but it was ready to fall. Whereby wee perceiued that it was not possible that Hunne might hang himselfe, the stoole so standing. Also all the gyrdle from the staple to his necke, as wel as the part which went about his necke, was too litle for his head to come out therat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken gyrdle shoulde breake his necke or skinne beneath the gyrdle. Also we finde in a corner somewhat beyond the place where he did hange, a great parcell of bloud. Also we finde vpon the left side of Hunnes Iacket frō the brest downward, two great streames of bloud. Also within the flap of the left side of his Iacket, we finde a great cluster of bloud, and the Iacket folden down thereupon: which thing the sayd Hunne could neuer fold nor doe after he was hanged. Whereby

it appeareth playnely to vs all, that the necke of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of bloud was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we finde by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also wee acquite the sayd Richard Hunne of his owne death.

Also there was an end of a waxe candle, whiche as Iohn Belringer sayth, he left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hunne was murdered, which waxe candle we founde sucking vpon the stockes fayre put out, about seuen or eight foote from the place where Hunne was hanged, which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by him, for many likelyhoods which we haue perceiued. Also at the going vp of mayster Chauncellor into the Lollardes tower: we haue good prooffe that there lay on the stockes a gowne either of Murrey or Crimosin in grayne furred with shankes. Whose gowne it was we could neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we finde that Mayster William Horsey Chauncellour to my Lord of London, hath had at his commaundement both the rule and guiding of the sayd prisoner. Moreouer, all we finde that the sayde maister Horsey Chauncellor hath put Charles Ioseph out of his office, as the sayd Charles hath confessed, because he woulde not deale and vse the sayde prisoner so cruelly, and doe to him as the Chauncellour woulde haue had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliuerance of the keies to the Chauncellour by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the towne on that sonday in the morning ensuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the Chauncellour for to colour the murther. For the same sonday that Charles rode forth, he came agayne to the town at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Iulian Littel, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simondes, and Peter Turner do appeare.

After colouring of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chauncellour conspired, the Chauncellour called to him one Iohn Spalding Belringer of Paules, and deliuered to the same Belringer the keyes of the Lollardes tower, geuing to the sayde Belringer a great charge, saying: I charge thee to keepe Hunne more straitely then he hath bene kept, and let him haue but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without my licence, neyther to bring him shirt, cappe, kirchiefe, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was caryed to Fulham, the Chauncellour commaunded to be put vpon Hunnes necke a great collar of iron with a greate chayne, which is too heauy for any man or beast to weare, & long to endure.

Moreouer, it is well proued, that before Hunnes death,* the sayd Chauncellour came vppe into the sayd Lollardes tower, and kneeled downe before Hunne, holding vp his hands to him, praying him of forgeuenesse of all that he had done to him, and muste do to him. And on sonday folowing the Chauncellour commaūded the Penitensary of Paules to go vp to him, and say a Gospell, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and geue it to hym, which so did: and also the Chauncellor commaunded that Hunne should haue his dinner. And the same dinner time Charles boye was shut in prison with Hunne, which was neuer so before: and af^ter dynner when the Belringer fet out the boy, the Belringer sayd to the same boy, come no more hither with meat for him, vntill to^morow at noone, for my maister Chauncellour hath commaunded that he shall haue but one meale a day: and the same night folowing Richard Hunne was murdered: which murther could not haue bene done without consent and licence of the Chauncellor, and also by the writing and knowledge of Iohn Spalding Belringer: for there could no man come into the prison, but by the keies being in Iohn Belringers keeping. Also as by my Lord of Londōs booke doth appeare, Iohn Belringer is a poore innocent manne. Wherefore all we doe perceiue that this

murther coulde not bee done, but by the commaundement of the Chauncellour, and by the witting and knowing of Iohn Belringer.

Charles Ioseph within the tower of Lond. of his owne free will & vnconstrayned said, that maister Chauncellor deuised & wrote [Page 810](#) with his owne hand, all such heresyas as were layde to Hunnes charge,* recorde Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Pasmere, Richarde Gibson, with many other. Also Charles Ioseph sayth, that when Richard Hunne was slayne, Iohn Belringer bare vp the steyre into Lollardes tower a waxe candle, hauing the keyes of the doore hanging on his arme, and I Charles went next to him, and maister Chauncellour came vppe last: and when all wee came vppe, wee found Hunne lying on his bed: and then maister Chauncellour sayd, lay handes on the theefe, and so all we murdered Hunne: & then I Charles put the gyrdle about Hunnes neck, and then Iohn Belringer and I Charles did heue vp Hunne, and Mayster Chauncellour pulled the gyrdle ouer the staple and so Hunne was hanged.

¶The Deposition of Iulian Littel late seruaunt to Charles Ioseph by her free will vnconstrayned, the 6. yere of our soueraigne Lord king Henry the eight, within the Chappel of our Lady of Bethlem, shewed to the Inquest.

*FFirst Iulian sayth, that the wednesday at night after the death of Richard Hunne, Charles Ioseph her Mayster came home to his supper: then Iulian sayd to him, Mayster, it was tolde me that ye were in prison. Charles aunswered. It is mery to turne the penny: and after supper Charles trussed vp a parcel of his goodes, and with helpe of Iulian bare them into Maister Porters house to keepe: and that done, Charles sayd to Iulian: Iulian, if thou wilt be sworne to keepe my counsell, I wyll shew thee my mind. Iulian aunswered, yea, if it be neyther felony nor treason: Then Charles tooke a booke out of his purse, and Iulian sware to him therupon: then sayd Charles to Iulian, I haue destroyed Richard Hunne. Alas mayster, said Iulian, how? he was called an honest man. Charles aunswered, I put a wyer in his nose. Alas sayd Iulian, nowe be ye cast away and vndone. Then sayd Charles, Iulian, I trust in thee that thou wilt keepe my counsell: and Iulian aunswered, yea, but for Gods sake Mayster shyft for your selfe: and then Charles sayde, I had leuer then a hundred pound it were not done: but that is done, can not be vndone. Moreouer, Charles sayd then to Iulian. Upon Sonday when I rode to my cosin Baringtons house, I taryed there and made good cheare all day til it was night, and yet before it was midnight, I was in London, and had killed Hunne, and vpon the next day I rode thyther aagayne, and was there at dinner, and sent for neighbors, and made good cheare. Then Iulian asked Charles, where set you your horse that night you came to towne, and wherefore came ye not home? Charles aunswered, I came not home for feare of bewraying: and then Iulian asked Charles, who was with you at the killing of Hunne? Charles aunswered, I will not tell thee: and Iulian saith, that vpon the Thursday folowing, Charles taried all day, in his house with great feare: and vpon Friday folowing early in the morning before day, Charles went forth (as he sayd) to Paules, and at his comming in agayne he was in a great feare saying hastely, get me my horse & with greate feare and haste made him ready to ride, and bade May••er Porters lad leade hys horse into the field by the backside: and then Charles put into his sleeue hys Mase or Masor, with other plate borrowed of mayster Porter, both golde & siluer, but howe much I am not sure: and Charles went into the field after his horse, and Iulian brought hys bouget after hym. Also vpon friday in Christmas weeke folowing, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him three Bakers and a Smyth of Stratforde, and

the same night they carryed out of Charles house all hys goodes by the fieldes side to the Bell in Shordich, and early in the morning conueyed it with Cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Iulian sayth, that the Saterdag at night before the death of Hunne, Charles came home, and brought with him a gurnard, saying, it was for Hunne, & Charles boy called to Iulian, that there was also ordeyned a piece of fresh Salmon, which Iohn Belringer had.

Also Charles said to the said Iulian, were not this vngracious trouble, I could bring my Lord of Londō to the doores of heretiques in London both of men and women, that bene worth a thousand pound: But I am afrayd that the vngracious midwife shall bewray vs all.

Also Charles sayd vnto maistres Porter in likewise & more larger, saying, of the best in London, whereto maistres Porter aunswered, the best in London is my Lorde Maior: then Charles sayde, I will not scuse him quite, for that he taketh this matter hoate.

Whereas Charles Ioseph sayth, he laye at Neckehyll with a harlot a mans wife in Baringtons house the same night, and there abode vntill the morrowe at eleuen of the clock, that Richard Hunne was murthered, wherupon he brought before the kinges Counsell for his purgation the foresayd Baude Baringtons wyfe, and also the foresayde Harlot: which purgation we haue proued all vntrue, as right largely may appeare, aswel by the deposition of Iulian Littel, Thomas Chichesley Taylor, Tho. Symondes Stationer, of Rober Iohnsonne and his wife, of Iohn Spalding Belringer: Also of Peter Turner sonne in lawe of the foresayde Charles Ioseph: who sayde before to an honest woman, a waxe chaundeler Wyfe,* that before this day seuenth night Hunne should haue a mischieuous death. &c. Also of Iohn Enderbye Baker, to whome Iohn Spalding himselfe declared these wordes: That there was ordeined for Hunne so grieuous penaunce, that when men heare of it, they shal haue great maruel therof. &c. Besides the deposition moreouer of Alen Creswel wax chaūdelor,* and Richard Horsenayle Bayliffe of the Sanctuary towne called Godsture in Essex. Which testimonyes & depositions hereafter folow.

***The Deposition of Alen Creswell waxechaundeler.**

THE sayde Alen sayeth, that Iohn Graunger seruaunt with my Lord of London in my L. of Londons kitchin at such time as the said Alen was seruing of Hunnes coffē, that Graūdger told to him, that he was present with Ioh. belringer the same sonday at night that Rich. Hunne was found dead in the morow when the keepers set him in the stocks. in so much the sayd Hunne desired to borow the keepers knife, & the keper asked him, what he would do with his knife, & he answered I had leuer kil my selfe, then to be thus entreated. This deposition the sayd Alen will prooue as far forth as any christian man may, saying that Graūdger shewed to him these wordes of his owne free will and minde without any question or Inquyry to him made by the sayd Alen: Moreouer the sayde Alen sayth, that all that euening Graundger was in great feare.

¶The Deposition of Richard Horsenayle. Bayliffe of the Sanctuary Towne called Goodesture in Essex.

THE sayd Richard sayeth, that friday before Christmas day last past that one Charles Ioseph Somner to my Lord of London, became a Sanctuary man, and the aforesayd Friday he registred

his name, the sayde Charles saying, it was for the sauegard of his body, for there be certein men in London so extreame agaynste him for the death of Richard Hunne, that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the sayd Charles sayth he knowledgeth himselfe guiltlesse of Hunnes death, for he deliuered the keyes to the Chauncellour by Hunnes life, also the sayd Bayliffe sayth, that Charles payd the duty of the sayd Regestring both to him and syr Iohn Studley Uicar.

¶The Copy of Richard Fitziamess Letter then Bishop of London, sent to Cardinall Woolsey.

I Beseeche your good Lordshippe to stand so good Lord vnto my poore Chauncellour now in Warde, and indighted by an vntrue quest, for the death of Richard Hunne,* vpon the onely accusation of Charles Ioseph, made by payne and duraunce, that by your intercession, it may please the kinges grace to haue the matter duely and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of hys discreete counsell, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause: and that vpon the innocency of my sayde Chauncellour, declared, it may further please the kinges grace to award a Plackard vnto his Attorney to confesse the sayde Enditement to be vntrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my Chauncellour be tryed by any twelue men in London, they be so maliciously set, In fauorem hereticae prauitatis, that they will cast and condemne any Clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. Quare si potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates nostras & tibi imperpetuum deuincti erimus. Ouer this in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may haue the kinges gracious fauour, whom I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speake with his grace and you, and I with all mine, shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour. R.L.

Lastly nowe remayneth to inferre the sentence of the [Page 811](#) questmen, which foloweth in like sort to be seene and expēded, after I haue first declared the wordes of the Byshop spoken in the Parliament house.

¶The wordes that the B. of London spake before the Lordes in the Parliament house.

MEMorandum, that the bishop of London said in the parliament house, that there was a bil brought to the parliament, to make the Iury that was charged vpon y^e death of Hunne, true men: and sayde, and tooke vpon his conscience, that they were false periured Caytiffes: and sayd furthermore to all the Lordes there then being: For the loue of God, look vpon this matter, for if you do not, I dare not keepe mine owne house for heretiques: And sayde that the sayd Richard Hunne hanged himselfe, and that it was his owne deed, and no mans els. And furthermore sayde, that there came a man to his house (whose wife was appeached of heresy) to speake with him, & he sayd that he had no mind to speake with the same man, which man spake and reported to the seruauntes of the same Bishoppe, that if his wife would not hold still here opinion, he would cut her throat with his owne handes, with other wordes.

¶The sentence of the Inquest subscribed by the Crowner.

The inquisition intended and taken at the city of Londō in the Parish of S. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle in London, the sixt day of December, in the 6. yeare of the raigne of K. Henry

the 8. before Thomas Barnewel Crouner of our souereigne Lord the king, within the city of London aforesayd: Also before Iames Yarford, and Iohn Munday Sheriffes of the sayde City,* vpon the sight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London Taylour, which was found hanged in the Lollardes tower, and by the oth and prooffe of lawfull men of the same warde, and of other three wardes next adioyning, as it ought to be, after the custome of the city aforesayd, to inquire how, & in what maner wise the sayd Richard Hunne came vnto his death, and vpon the oth of Iohn Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, Iohn Aborow, Ioh. Turner, Robert Alen, William Marler, Ioh. Burton, Iames Page, Thomas Pickehill, William Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Busted, Gylbert Howel, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, Iohn Eod, Richard Holt, Iohn Pasmere, Edmund Hudson, Iohn Arunsel, Richard Couper, Iohn Tyme: the which saide vpon theyr othes, that where the sayd Richard Hunne by the commaūdemēt of Richard Bishop of London, was emprisoned and brought to holde in a prison of the sayd Bishops called Lollardes Tower, lying in the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London, in the parish of S. Gregory in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesayd, William Horsey of London Clerke,* otherwise called William Heresy, Chauncellor to Richard Bishop of London, and one Charles Ioseph, late of London Sumner, and Iohn Spalding of London otherwise called Iohn Belringer, feloniously as felons to our Lord the king, with force and armes agaynst the peace of our soueraigne Lord the king, & dignity of his crowne, the fourth day of December, the sixt yeare of the raygne of our soueraigne Lord aforesayd, of theyr great malice, at the parish of S. Gregory aforesayde, vpon the sayde Richard Hunne made a fray, and the same Richard Hunne felonously strangled and smodered, and also the necke they did breake of the sayde Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slue him, and murdered him: and also the body of the sayde Richard Hunne afterward the same fourth day, yere, place parish, and ward aforesayd, with the proper gyrdle of the same Richard Hunne of silke, blacke of coulour, of the value of 12. d. after his death, vpon a hooke driuen into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesayd, made fast, and so hanged him agaynst the peace of our Soueraigne Lord the king, and the dignity of his crowne: and so the sayd Iurye hath sworne vpon the holy Euangelistes that the sayd W. Horsey, Clerke, Charles Ioseph, and Iohn Spalding, of theyr set malice then, and there felonously killed and murdered the sayd Richard Hunne, in maner and forme aboue sayd, agaynst the peace of our soueraign Lord the king, his crowne and dignity.

Subscribed in this maner, Thomas Barnewel, Crouner of the City of London.

After that the 24. had geuen vp theyr verdict sealed and signed with the Crowners seale,* y^e cause was thē brought into the Parliament house, where the truth was layde so playne before al mens faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certaine of the bloudy murderers were committed to prison, and shoulde no doubt haue suffered that they deserued, had not the Cardinall by his authority practised for his Catholique Children,* at the suite o^r the Byshop of London. Wherupon the Chauncellor by the kings pardon, and secret shifting, rather then by Gods pardon, and his deseruing escaped, and went, as is sayd, to Exeter. &c. Neuerthelesse though iustice tooke no place, where fauour did saue, yet because the innocent cause of Hunne should take no wrong, the Parliament became suters vnto the kinges maiesty, that whereas the goodes of the sayd Hunne were cōfiscate into the kinges hands that it would please his grace to make restitution of all the sayde goodes vnto the children of the sayd Hunne: vpon which motion the king of his gracious disposition did not onely geue all the foresayde goodes vnto the foresayde children vnder his broade seale yet to be seene, but also did sende out his warrantes (which

hereafter shall folow) to those that were the cruell murderers, commaunding them vpon his high displeasure, to redeliuer all the sayd goodes, and make restitution for the death of the sayde Richard Hunne: all whyche goodes came to the summe of 1500. poundes sterling, beside his plate and other Iewels.

¶The tenour of the kinges letter in the behalfe of Richard Hunne.

TRustye and well beloued we greete you well: * whereas by the complaynt to vs made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalfe and partye of Roger Whapplot of our city of London Draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hunne. And wheras you were indicted by our lawes, of and for the death of the said Richard Hunne, the sayd murder cruelly cōmitted by you, like as by our recordes more at large plainly it doth appeare, about the 5. day of December in the sixt yeare of our raigne, the same we abhorre, neuerthelesse we of our espeall grace, certayne science, and mere motion pardoned you vpon certayne considerations vs mouing, for the intent that the goods of the sayd Richard Hunne, the administration of them were committed to the said Roger Whapplot, we then supposed and intended your amendement, and restitution to be made by you to the infantes the children of the sayde Richard Hunne, as well for hys death, as for his goodes, embeseled, wasted, and consumed by your tyranny, and cruell acte so committed, the same being of no little value, and as hitherto ye haue made no recompence, accordinge to our lawes, as might stand with equity, iustice, right, and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our lawes: Wherefore we will and exhort, & otherwise charge and commaund you, by the tenoure of this our especiall letters, that ye satisfy and recompence the sayde Roger Whapplot, & the sayd Margaret his wife, according to our lawes in this cause, as it may stand with right and good conscience, els otherwise at your further perill, so that they shall haue no cause to returne vnto vs, for theyr further remedy eftsoones in this behalfe, as ye in the same tender to auoyd our high displeasure: otherwise that ye vpon the sight hereof, to set all excuses apart, and to repayre vnto our presence, at which your hither comming, you shalbe further aduertised of our minde.

From our Manor.

&c.

Defence of Richard Hunne agaynst Syr Thomas Moore and Alen Cope.

I Doubte not but by these premisses thou hast (Christyan reader) sufficiently to vnderstand the whol discourse and storye of Richard Hunne frō top to toe. * First how he came in trouble for denying the bearing sheete of his young infant departed: then how he was forced, for succour of hymselfe, to sue a Premunire: And thereupon what conspiracy of the Clergy was wrought agaynst him, what snares were layd, what fetches were practised, and Articles deuised to snarle him in the trap of heresy, & so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murdered, after his murder, hanged, after his hanging condemned, af'ter his condemnation, burned: and after his burning, lastly how his death was required by the Crowner, and cleared by acquittall of the Inquest. Moreouer, how the case was brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament the kings precept obtained for restitutiō of his goods. The debating of whiche tragicall and tumultuous story, with all the braunches, & particular euidences of the

same, takē out aswell of the publique actes, as of the Bishops registers, & speciall recordes, remayning in the custodie of Dunstan Whapplot,* the sonne of the daughter of the sayde Richarde Hunne, there to be seene, I thought here to vnwrap and discouer so much the more, for three speciall purposes.

First, as is requisite, for testimony & wnesse of truth [Page 812](#) falsly slandered, of innocency wrongfully condemned, & of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moueth me, for sir Thomas Moores Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to iest poore simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the Dialogues of Alanus Copus, which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, rayling and barking agaynst Rich. Hunne do doublewise charge him, both to be an herericke, and also a desperate homicide of himselfe: Which as it is false in the one, so is it to be foūd as vntrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few frendes, and many times commeth in crafty handling, might freely come in indifferent hearing. Wherefore as I haue hitherto described the order and maner of his handling with the circumstaunces thereof,* in plaine and naked narration of story, simply layd out before all mēs faces: so something here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppressed cause, as also in discharge of my selfe, I will now compendeously aunswere to both these foresayde aduersaries, stopping as it were, with one bush two gappes, and the mouthes also, if I can, of them both together.* And first agaynst sir Thomas Moore, albeit in degree worshipfull, in place superiour, in wit and learning singular (if his iudgement in Christes matters had bene corespondent to the same) otherwise being a man with many worthy ornamentes beautified, yet being but a man, & one man, I lay and obiect agaynst the person of him, the persons and censures of 24. questmen,* the deposition of so many Iurates, the iudgement of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliamēt, and lastly the kings Bylassigned for restitution of his goodes, with his owne broade Seale confirmed. &c. And thus much to the person and credite of Syr Thomas Moore.

*Now as touching his reasons, whereas he comming in with a flimme flamme of a horse mylne, or a mylne horse (in his owne termes I speake) thinketh it probation good enough, because he coulde not see him taken by the sleeue, which murdered Hunne: agaynst these reasons vnreasonable of his, I alledge all the euidences and demonstratiōs of the history aboue prefixed, to be cōsidered, and of al indifferent men to be peased.

First, how he was founde hanging, with his countenance fayre, with his bearde and head fayre kemmed, hys bonet right set on his head, with his eyne and mouth fayre closed, without any driueling or spurging. His body being taken downe,* was found loose, (whiche by hanging coulde not be) his necke broken, and the skinne thereof beneath the throate where the gyrdle went, frette and faced away, his gyrdle notwithstanding being of silke, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the gyrdle betweene the staple and his necke, with the residue also which went about his neck, was not sufficiēt for his head to come out. His handes moreouer wroung in the wristes, his face, lyppes, chinne, doublet, and shyrt coller vnstayed with any bloud: when as notwithstanding in a maner somewhat beyond the place, where he did hang, a great quantitie of bloud was found. Also whereas the staple wheron he hanged, was so, that he could not climbe thereto without some meane, there was a stoole set vp vpon the bolster of a bed,

so tickle, that with the least touch in the world, it was ready to fal. And how was it possible that Hunne might hang himselfe vpon that staple, the stoole so standing? Besides the confession moreouer of Charles Iosephs owne mouth to Iulian Littell, of Robert Iohnson, Iohn Spalding the Belringer, Peter Turner, and others. All whiche testimonyes and declarations being so cleare and vndeniable, may suffice (I trust) any indifferent man to see where the truth of this case doth stand: vnlesse maister Moore being a gētleman of Utopia,* peraduēture after some straūge guise of that country, vseth to cary his eyes not in his head but in his affection, not seing but where he liketh, nor beleuing but what him listeth.

Finally where Sir Thomas Moore speaking of himselfe so concludeth, that he hearing the matter, what well might be sayde, yet could not finde contrary, but Hunne to be guilty of his owne death: so in as many wordes to answeere him agayne, I perusing and searching in the storye of Richard Hunne, what may wel be searched, cannot but maruell with my selfe, either with what darcknes the eyes of maister Moore be dared, not to see that is so playne, or els with what conscience he would dissemble, that shame can not deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Syr Thomas Moore.

Thirdly touching the Dialogues of Alen Cope, which had rather the Bishops Chauncellor and officers to be recounted among theues and murderers,* then Hunne to be numbred among the martyrs, I haue herein not much to say, because himselfe sayth but litle: and if he had sayd lesse, vnlesse his groūd were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he saying not much, sendeth vs to seeke more in Moore: so with like breuity agayne I maye sende him to William Tindall, to shape him an aunswere. Yet notwithstanding, least Cope in saying something, shoulde thinke Hunnes innocent cause to lack some frends, which will not, or dare not aduenture in defence of truth, somewhat I will answeere in this behalfe.

And first touching this murder of Hunne, not to be his owne wilfull acte, but the deede of others:* besides the demonstrations aboue premised to sir Thomas Moore, now to M. Cope, if I had no other euidences, but onely these two, I would require no more: That is, his cap founde so streight standing vpon his head, and the stoole so tottering vnder his feet. For how is it, I will not say, like, but how is it possible, for a man to hang himselfe in a silken gyrdle double cast about a staple, in suche shortnesse,* that neyther the space of the knot coulde well compasse his head about, and yet hauing his cap so streight set vpon his head, as his was?

Again, how is it possible, or can it be imagined, for him to hang himselfe, climbing vp by a stoole which had no stay for him to stand vpon, but stood so tickle, that if he had touched the same neuer so litle, it must needes haue fallen?

But Cope being something more prouidēt in this matter, seemeth to excede not altogether so farre as doth M. Moore. For he vnderstanding the case to be ambiguous, & doubtfull, so leaueth it, in suspēse, neither determining that Hunne did hange himselfe, and yet not admitting that hee died a martyr,* no more then they which are quelled by theues & murderers in high way sides. Well, be it so as Cope doth argue, that they which dye by the handes of felōs and murderers in theeuish waies, be no martyrs, yet notwithstanding this his owne similitude, cōparing the Bishops Chauncellour & officers to theeues and murderers, doth graunt at least that Hunne dyed a true man, although no Martyr. Now if the cause be it, and not the paine, that maketh a Mar•yr, in

pondering the cause why Hunne was slayne, we shall finde it not altogether like to the cause of them whiche perishe by Theeues and Robbers.* For such commonly because of theyr goodes, and for some worldlye gayne to be sought by theyr death, are made away, & beyng true men, may peraduenture haue y^e reward, although not the name of Martyrs: Whereas this mannes death being wrought neyther for money, nor any such temporall lucre to redounde to his oppressors, as it hath an other cause, so may it haue an other name, and deserue to be called by the name of Martyrdome. Like as Abel being slayne by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulate agaynst him,* but of spite onely and of malice was made away, yet notwithstanding is iustly numbred among the Martyres: so what let to the contrary, but that Hunne also with him may be reckoned in the same societie, seeing the cause wherefore they both did suffer, proceedeth together out of one fountayne? And what moreouer if a man should cal Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was slayne) a Martyr, what great iniury should he do eyther to the name or cause of the persō, worthy to be carped? Agaynst Thomas Becket yet know M. Cope no speciall article of fayth was layd, wherefore he dyed. And why thē do you bestow vpon him so deuoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king, which by law of God, and of the realme did belong vnto him: and cannot suffer Hunne to be titled for a Martyr.,* dying in his owne right by the handes of spirituall theeues and homicides, as you your selfe do terme them? But what do I strayne my trauell any further, to proue Hunne a martyr, whē as Copes own confessiō doth import no lesse, though I said nothing? For if I should take no more but his owne very wordes & say,* that he was knowne to be an heretique as Cope doth affirme? what could I say more, seing he dyed for theyr heresy, to proue him to dye a Martyr? For to dye an hereticke with the Papistes, what is it els (to say trueth) but to dye with God a Martyr?

But howsoever it pleaseth either Syr Tho. Moore to iest, or Alen Cope to skowld out the matter, & to stile Richard Hunne for a knowne and desperate heretique: yet to all true godly disposed mē, Hunne may well be known to be a godly and vertuous person: no heretique, but faythful and sound, saue that onely he semed rather half a papist: at least no full Protestant, for that he resorted dayly to masse, and also had his Beades in prison with him,* after the Catholique maner: albeit he was somewhat inclining (as may appeare) toward the Gospell. And if the name of a martyr be thought to good for him, yet I trust maister Cope wyll stand so good maister to him, to let him at least to be a martirs [Page 813](#) fellow. But what now if I goe further with Mayster Cope, & name Richard Hunne not onely •or a martyr, but also commend him for a double martyr? Certes as I suppose, in so saying I should affirme nothing lesse thē trueth, nor any thing more then truly may be sayd, and iustly proued. But to geue and graunt this confession vnto the aduersary, which notwithstanding might be easily proued: let vs see now the proofes of maister Cope, how he argueth that Rich. Hunne is no martyr: because saith he, true men being killed in hie wayes by theeues & murderers, are not therfore to be counted martyrs. &c. And was there nothing els in the cause of Hunne, but as is in true men killed by theeues & murderers? They that are killed by theeues and murderers, are killed for some pray, or money about them. And what pray or profit was in the death of Hunne, let vs see, to redound to them whiche oppressed him? If it were the mortuary, or the bearing cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the Premunire, the daunger therof pertained to the Priest, and not to them. If they feared least the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the preiudice of the whole church, thē was the cause of his death not priuate, but publick, tēding to the whole Church and Clergy of Rome: and so is hys death not altogether like to the death of thē, which for priuate respectes are killed of theeues and murderers.

But he was an heretique, sayth Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for an heretique, I take hym the more to be accepted for a martyr. For by that waye, which they call heresy, the liuing God is serued, by no way better. And if he were an heretique, why then did they not proceed agaynst him as an heretique while he was alyue? when they had him at Fulham before them, if they had ben sure to entrappe him in that snare, why did they not take theyr aduauntage,* when they might with least ieoperdye? why did they not proceede and condemne hym for an heretique? why made they suche haste to preuent his death before? why did they not tary the sentence of the law, hauing the law in theyr owne handes? But belike they perceiued that he coulde not be prooued an heretique while he liued: and therfore thought it best to make him away priuily, and to stop the Premunire, and afterward to stop the pursuite of his death, by making him an heretique: And therfore were articles deuised by the Chauncellour (as is proued by witnesse of Charles Ioseph and other pag. 785.) agaynst hym, and he condemned for an heretique,* and all his fauourers also, who so euer durst styrr to take his part, and so therevpon was committed to the secular power, and burned. Wherin they did him double wrong, first in that they burned him for an heretique, hauing before submitted himselfe to theyr fauourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Bishops Registers by his owne hand, as it is there pretēded: whiche was agaynst theyr owne lawes. Agayne, if he had not submitted himselfe at that time, yet did they hym wronge to burne him, before they knewe and hearde hym speake (as Tindall sayth) whether he woulde recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for an heretique,* yet to be killed and burned of them, for an heretique, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather geueth him to be a double martir. But Cope yet pro|ceeding in his hoat coler agaynst Rich. Hunne, after he hath made him first no martyr, and then an heretique, thirdly he now maketh him also a murtherer of himselfe, and sayeth, that no other man was any part of his death,* but only his owne handes, and that either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause, he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogus to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but namelesse, who in Queene Maries time in like sort went about to hang himself, had he not bene taken in the maner, and rescued. Furthermore, as touching the Chauncellour, he argueth that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence agaynst him, both for his age, and for his dignitye, for his learning, and for the greatnesse of his owne perill, which might ensue thereof. Who if he had maligned the man, and had bene so disposed to worke his destruction, had meanes otherwise without daunger, to bring that about, hauing him within his daūger conuict and fast tyed for heresy. Wherunto I aunswere that to all this matter,* sufficient hath bene aunswered by the story it selfe of his death, aboue specified. Whereby the maner of his death, by circumstaunces of his handling, and hanging,* by his necke broke, by his bodye loose, by his skinne fretted, by his wristes wroung, by his gyrdle in such shortnesse double cast about the staple, by his cap right vpon his head, by his heare kemmed, by his eyes closed, by the cake of bloud founde in the floore, by his Shyrt coller, Doublet, Iacket, and other outwarde partes of his garmentes without drop of bloud vnspotted, by the stoole so standing vpon the bolster, by the Chauncellours Murrey gowne round the day after vpon the stockes, the waxe candle fayre put out: furthermore by the verdict of the inquest, by the attestatiō of the witnesses sworne, by the Crowners iudgement, by the assent of the Parliament, by the kynges Letters assigned, and broade Seale of restitution of hys goodes: and finally by the confession of the parties themselues whiche murthered him. &c. and yet thinketh Cope to make men such fooles, hauing theyr true wits to weene yet that Hunne did hange himselfe, after so many demonstrations and euidences to the contrary, as in euery parte of this storye may appeare. And though it were, as it was vnlike, and hard for a man to beleue, that D. Horsey a man of such

age, dignity, and learning, woulde so much forgette himselfe, to attempt such a villany, yet so great is the deuill sometimes with man (where GOD permitteth) that he worketh greater thinges then this, and more vncredible. For who would haue thought it like, that Cain woulde euer haue killed Abell his owne naturall Brother? whiche was more then a Byshoppes Chauncellour to kyll a Citizen: yet so he did.* And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger, and desperation whereby Hunne did hang hymselfe: how is it like, or who did euer heare,* a man beinge in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himselfe, and kemming hys head, before he goe to hang himselfe? No lesse credite is also to be geuen to that whiche followeth in the same Cope, where he sayth, that Richard Hunne being in prison, was conuict of heresy. By the which word conuict, if he meane that Hunne was proued an heretique, that is false, for that he being at Fulham examined vpon cert•yne Articles, both denyed the Articles to be true, as they were obiected, and also if they were true, yet he submitted himselfe to theyr fauourable correction, and therefore not standing obstinately in the same, coulde not be proued an heretique. And if by this terme conuict, he meane that he was by sentence cast, so was Hunne neuer cast by any sentence for an heretique, so long as he lyued, but after his death, when hee coulde nothing aunswere for himselfe.* And because this vntrueth should not goe wythout his felow, see howe he hudleth vp one false narration in the necke of another: affirming moreouer, that Hunne was cast in prison,* before he entred his suite of Premunire agaynst the Priest. Which is vtterly false and vntrue, both disagreeing to other storyes, and also refuted by the words of Syr Thomas Moore his owne authour, who reporteth that Hunne (insuing his Premunire agaynst the Priest) being set vpon a glory of victorie, made his boasting among his frendes, that he trusted to haue the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hunnes case. Haec Morus. Whereby it appeareth,* that Hunne was not then in prison clapt vp for heresy: but was abroad seeking counsell among the Lawyers, and boasting among his friendes, as writeth More Lib. 3. Dial.

After this heape of vntruthes aboue passed,* adde yet further an other copy of Copes false dealing: who seeking all corners, and euery where how to picke matter agaynst my former history, chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I tooke so highly vpon me to vndoe & derogate the kinges acts and iudgements in the acquittall of D. Horsey. If it so pleased the king to acquite D. Horsey, by his gracious pardon, I am not agaynst it, neither do I deny but the king so did, neyther do I say, nor euer did, but the king of his supereminent prerogatiue may so do: & wherein then do I vnrippe or loose the kinges actes here done & concluded? But if the question be this, whether D. Horsey with his coniurates did kill Richard Hunne or no: then do I say, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the veritye of the crime cōmitted, but remoueth away the penalty of the law deserued: and so if the life of them was sauēd by way of pardon (as M. Moore himselfe seemeth not to deny) thē was it not through theyr innocency clayming iustice, that they escaped, but through petition standing neede of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where iustice absolueth? yea, who sueth pardon, but in so doing must yeld himselfe guilty? for pardon neuer commeth lightly eyther with God or man, except the crime first be confessed. Wherefore, if they escaped by iustice, as Cope pretendeth,* how then doth M. Moore say, they were sauēd by pardon? And if they escaped by pardon, how then doth Cope say, they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the sentence of the kinges Attorney, in the kinges name did absolue them as vnguiltie, according as the king was then informed by the Cardinall and suite of frendes: yet afterwarde the king being better informed by the Parliament, and the truth better knowne, detested and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon vnto thē, as by the kings owne actes and his broad seale appeared, yet remayning in recordes to be seene.

[Page 814](#) And as touching my former historyes set soth in latine and in English, which speake first of the foremanne of the quest, then of the kinges Attorney to be labored with some giftes or mony: as Cope hath yet proued no vntruth in my saying, so lesse can he finde any repugnaunce or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterward of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary (I thinke) to himselfe, but rather doth comprehend that in the one booke, whiche he before leaueth out in the other, and yet no great repugnāce either in the one or in the other, seing y^t which is sayd, may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For how is it otherwise like or possible, but that there must nedes be found some priuy packing in this matter, seeing after such euidence found and brought in by the Crowners inquest and Iury of 24. chosen persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so cleare and demonstrable, and layd forth so playne to the eies of all the world, that no manne coulde deny, or not see the same? yet through the handling of the foresayde Attorney, and of the foreman of the quest, the murderers were borne out, & confessed to be no murderers. If such bolstring out of matters and parciality were then suche a rare case in the Realme of England in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, who then vnder the king, and in the kinges name did what he list: then let it seeme vntrue in my former stories, that I haue writtē. And yet the words of my story which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine,* but the words of Ed. Hall his owne author. Wherefore if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censor of other mens writinges, let him expostulate wyth Hall, and not with me.

But I trouble the reader too much in this matter of Richard Hunne, being of it selfe so cleare, that no indifferent iudge can doubt therof. As for wranglers and quarrellers they will neuer be satisfied. Wherefore to returne agayn to the purpose of our story intermitted, in the table aboue, cōteining the names of them whiche about this time of Richard Hunne,* were forced to deny and abiure their professed opinions, pag. 774. mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, Iohn Houshold, and other mo, abiuring about the yeare of our Lord. 1517. Whose vexation and weaknesse although it be pitifull to behold, yet to consider the confession of theyr doctrine in those aūcient dayes, it is not vnprofitable. Wherein we haue to see the same fourme of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the harts of our foreelders,* which is now publicquely receiued, as well touching the Lordes Sacrament of his body, as also other specialties of sincerity. And although they lacked thē publique authority to maynteyne the open preaching and teaching of the Gospell, which the Lords merciful grace hath geuē vs now, yet in secret knowledge and vnderstanding they seemed then little or nothing inferiour to these our times of publicke reformation: as may appeare by this cōfession of Elizabeth Stamford here vnder written, whiche only may suffice for exāple to vnderstand what ripe knowledge of Gods worde was then abroad,* although not in churches publickely preached, for daunger of the bishops, yet in secret wise taught and receiued of diuers.

In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who being brought and examined before Fitziames Bishop of London ann. 1517 confessed that she was taught by one Thomas Beele, sometime dwelling at Henley, these wordes, 11. yeares before: That Christ feedeth, and fast nourisheth his Church with his owne precious body, that is, the breade of life comming downe from heauen: this is the worthy worde that is worthely receiued, and ioyned vnto man for to be in one body with him. Soth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the holy Sacrament Christes owne body: this is not receiued by chewing of teeth, but by hearing of eares and vnderstanding with your soule, and wisely working thereafter.

Therefore saith S. Paule, I feare me amongst vs, brethren, that many of vs be feeble and sicke, therefore I counsell vs brethren to rise & watch, that the great day of dome come not sodēly vpon vs, as the theefe doth vpon the Marchaunt. Also the sayd Thomas taught and shewed her, that the Sacrament of the aultar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread: and that the Sacrament was the very bodye of Christ put vppon the Crosse, after a diuine or mistical maner. And moreouer that y^e said Thomas Beele did many times and ofte teache her thys foresayd lesson, that she should confesse her sinnes to God, and that the Popes pardons and indulgence were nought worth and profited not, and that worshipping of Images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

To this Elizabeth Stamford, may also be annexed the doctrine and confession of Ioane Sampson,* wife of Iohn Sampson Carpenter of Aldermanbury in London: Against whom being cited, and examined before the Bishop of London, certaine witnesses were producted: who vpon theyr othe being sworne, did detect and denounce the sayde Ioane Sampson in these articles and opinions folowing.

1. First, that she being in her labour what time Ioane Sampson her predecessor then being aliue, was with her,* and after the maner then of women, called much vpon the helpe of the virgin Mary, she spitting thereat, was in such sort agreeued, that the other party was compelled to forsake the house.
2. Also, that she spake against pilgrimage, and the worshipping of the blessed virgine, and of all saints, affirming that there is none holy but one.
3. Item, an other time in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when shee and other women were inuocating the blessed Uirgine to helpe in womens labour, shee stode agaynst them, and contumeliously spake agaynst the inuocators.
4. Item, that shee speaking agaynst the Pilgrimage of our Lady of Wilsedon, (as she was then called) and of S. Sauour at Barmsey, called the sayd Saynt Sauour, S. Sawyer.
5. Item, for hauing two certayne bookes in Englishe, one bigger, and an other lesser, whiche shee committed to one Iohn Austed a Cooke, which bookes in the Register be not named.
- 6 Item, that the sayde Ioane Sampson at a Supper in the hearing of certayne men,* and of a certayne widdow named Ioane White, spake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the aultar, saying that the Priestres were Idolaters which did lift vp the breade ouer theyr heades, making the people to worship it & making the people to beleue that it was the Lords body, and that it was better to eat the aultar cloth, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Here followeth moreouer the names of diuers other which in the Registers be specified to abiure, as

- William Iacum Carpēter.
- Iohn Stradlyng.
- Iohn Newman Sherman.

- Robert Boshel.
- Tho. Edward Dyar.
- Richard Dewar.
- Rich. Appulby.
- Iohn Osborne.
- Robert Roger.
- Iohn Eton.
- Iohn Chapman.
- William Chakon.
- Richard Myldnale.
- Iohn Hatchot.
- Iacob Sturdey.
- Tho. Puruall Taylor.
- Iohn Bytam.
- Rob. Hutton Pynner.
- Robert Pope.
- Iohn Geeste of Stratford.*
- Iohn Bryan of the Parish of S. Steuen.
- Iohn Bol.
- Richard Wescotte.
- William Crosse.
- George Lawnd Prior of S. Sithe.
- Henry Colle.
- William Manne.
- William Sweting.
- Iacob Bruster.
- Sabine Manne.
- Iohn Spencer.
- Patricke Dowdal alias Capper.
- Robert Aleyn.
- Iohn Finch Cooke.
- Iohn Southwyke.

Agaynst this Iohn Southwike last named, was layde & obiected,* that whē one Riuelay cōming frō the church of the Gray friers in London, had sayde to his wife (asking where he had bene) that he had heard Masse, & had sene his Lord God in forme of bread & wine ouer y^e priests head. &c. the foresayd Iohn Southwike there present aunswered agayn & sayd: nay, William, thou sawest not thy Lord God: thou sawest but bread, wine, & the Chalice. And when the sayd William answered agayn in y^e same words, as before, saying: I trust verily that I saw my Lord God in forme of bread & wine, & this I doubt not: the other replying again answered & sayd, as before: nay, I tel thee, thou sawest but onely a figure or sacramēt of him, y^t which is in substance, bread and wine &c. This was in the yere of our Lord. 1520 In which he was compelled to abiure.

All these aboue named in one key of doctrine & religion did hold & concord together, agaynst whō were obiected 5. or 6. especiall matters: to witte,* for speaking agaynst worshipping of saynts, agaynst pilgrimage, agaynst inuocatiō of the blessed virgin, agaynst the sacramēt of the

Lords body, & for hauing scripture bookes in English: which bookes especially I finde to be named, as these: the booke of the 4. Euangelistes, a booke of the Epistles of Paule and Peter, the Epistle of S. Iames, a booke of the Apocalips, and of Antichrist, of the 10. Commaundementes, and Wickeliffes wicker, with such other like.

¶Iohn Stilman. Martyr.

IT would aske a long tractation & tedious, to recite in or^der the greate multitude and number of good men & women,*[Page 815](#) beside these aboue rehearsed, which in those dayes recanted and abiured about the beginning of king Henryes raigne and before:,* among whō yet notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord reduced againe, & made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant vnto death: of which number, one was Iohn Stilman by name, who about the xxiiij. day of Sept, in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitziamas then B. of Lond. at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his for^mer recantation, oth, and abiuration made about xi. yeres then past, before Edmund Byshop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against y^e worshipping, praying, and offering vnto Images, as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in y^e sacrament of Christes memoriall: yet sithens that time he had fallen into the same opinions againe, and so into the daunger of relapse, and further he had highly commended and praysed Iohn Wickliffe, affirming that he was a saint in heauen, and that hys booke called y^e Wicket,* was good and holy. Soone after hys examination he was sent from thence vnto the Lollardes tower at London, and the xxij. day of October then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory at Paules, and was there iudicially examined by Thom. Hed the byshops vicare generall, vpon the contentes of these articles followyng.

1. First I object vnto you, that you haue confessed before my Lord of London, and me D. Hed his vicar generall, that about xx. yeares past one Steuen Moone of the Dioces of Winchest.* (With whom you abode 6. or 7. yeares after) did teach you to beleue that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images (as the Lady of Walsingham and others) were not to be vsed.* And also that afterwards one Richard Smart who was burned at Salisbury about 14. or 15. yeares past, did read vnto you Wickliffes Wicket, and likewise instructed you to beleue that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ: all whiche thinges you haue erroneously beleued.

2. Item, you haue diuers times read the said book called Wickleffes Wicket, and one other booke of the x. Commaundementes, which the sayd Richard Smart did geue you, and at the tyme of your first apprehensiō, you did hide thē in an old oke, and did not reuele them vnto the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abiured of heresie about xi. yeares since: where you promised by oth vpon the Euangelistes, euer after to beleue and hold as the Christē fayth taught and preached, and neuer to offend agayne in the sayd heresies, or any other, vpon payne of relapse. And further you there promised to performe all such penaunce as the sayd Bishop of Salisbury did enioyne you: who thē enioyned you, vpon the like payne, not to depart his Dioces, without hys speciall licence.

3. Item, it is euident that you be relapsed aswel by your own confession, as also by your deedes in that about two yeares after your abiuration you went into the sayd place where you had hidden your books, and then taking them away with you: you departed the foresayd dioces, without the

licence of the Bishop and brought them with you to London, where nowe being tached and taken with them vpon great suspicion of heresie, you are brought vnto the Bishop of London. By reason of whiche your demeanor, you haue shewed by your impenitent and dissembled conuersation from your errors, and also your vnfaithful abiuration and disobedience vnto the authoritie of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance, in whiche behalfe you be voluntarily periured and also relapsed, in that you departed the sayd dioces wythout licence.

4. Item you be not onely (as afore is sayd) impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily periured, & relapsed by this your foresayd hereticall demeanor, but also sithens your last attachment vpon suspicion of heresie, you haue maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable wordes, affirming before my Lord of London your Ordinary and me, iudicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorye y^t euer you did abiure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them: for they were and be good and true, and therefore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore you haue spoken against our holy father the pope and hys authoritie, damnably saying that he is Antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christes vicar on earth: and that his pardons and indulgences which he graunteth in y^e sacrament of penaunce, are nought, and that you will none of thē: And likewise y^t the colledge of Cardinals be limmes of the sayd Antichrist: and that all other inferiour prelates and Priestes are the sinagogue of Sathan.* And moreouer you sayd, that the doctors of the Churche haue subuerted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own mindes, and therefore theyr workes be nought, and they in hell: but that wickleffe is a Saint in heauen, and that the booke called his Wicket, is good, for therein he sheweth the truth. Also you did wish that there were xx. thousand of your opinion against vs Scribes and Pharisies, to see what you would doe for the defēce of your fayth. Al which heresies you did afterwarde erroneously affirme before y^e Archbishop of Caunterbury, and then said that you would abide by thē to dye for it: notwithstanding his earnest perswasions to the contrary: and therefore for these premisses you be evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed vnto the secular power.

All these articles thus propounded, and his constant perseuering in the truth perceiued, Doctour Hed vicar generall

[illustration]

¶The burning of Iohn Stilman.

the xxv. day of October by his sentence definitiue, did condemne him as a relapsed hereticke, and so deliuered him the same present day, vnto the Sheriffes of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

¶Thomas Man Martyr.

NEXT to Iohn Stilman aboue mentioned, followeth in this blessed order of Martyrs, the persecution and cōdemnation of Thomas Man.* Who the 29. day of Marche in the yeare of our Lord. 1518. was burned in Smithfield. This Tho. Man had likewise bene apprehended for y^e profession of Christes Gospell, about 6. yeares before, the 14. day of August. an. 1511. and being at that time brought before D. Smith B. of Lincolne, was by him examined vpon dyuers and sundry articles: the effect wherof are these.

1. First, that he had spoken against auricular confession, and denyed the corporall presence of Christes body in the sacrament of the altar.
2. Item, that he beleued that al holy men of his sect were onely priestes.
3. Item, that he had affirmed that the father of heauen was the altar, and the second person the sacrament,* & that vppon the Ascension day the sacrament ascended vnto the altar, and there abideth still.
4. Item, that he beleued not aright in the sacrament of extreme vnction.
5. Item that he had called certaine priestes meanelly arrayed, pyld knaues.
6. Item, that he had sayd that pulpits were priestes lying stooles.
7. Item, that he had beleued that images ought not to be worshipped: and that he neyther beleueed in the Crucifixe, nor yet would worship it.
8. Item, that he had affirmed that he heard say, the word of God and God to be al one, and that he worthily receiueth the word of God, receiueth God.
9. Item, that he had sayd, that the popish Church was [Page 816](#) not the church of God, but a sinagoue: and that holy men of his sect, where the true church of God.

For these and suche like matters was he a long time, emprisoned, and at last through frailtie and feare of death, was contented to abiure & yeld himselfe vnto the iudgement of the Romish Church, and thereupon was enioyned, not only to make hys open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remayne as prisoner within the monastery of Osney besides Oxford,* and so to beare a fagot before the first crosse at the next generall Procession within the Uniuersitie. Howbeit not long after, the Bishop hauing neede of the poore mans helpe in hys housholde busines, tooke him out of the said Monastery, and placed him with in his owne house, vntill his busines was ended, and then (hys turne once serued) hee appoynted D. Wilcockes his vicar generall, that in hys next iudicial Session within the sayd Priorie of Frideswide at Oxforde,* he shoulde assigne him to remayne within the sayd Priorie, and not to depart thence without licence of the Prior for the tyme being, vpon payne o• relapse: and vpon lyke payne he also enioyned him to weare the signe of a Fagot vnder his vppermost garment, vntill he were dispensed withall for the same. Al which notwithstanding, he (beyng belike both sory for hys offence in denying the trueth, and also weary of his seruile and prisonlike bondage) bethought hymself how he might best escape their cruell handes, and therefore after a while, seying good opportunitie offered him,* he fled the dioces and iurisdiction of Lincolne: and seeking abroad in other coūtries for worke (thereby to susteine his poore lyfe) he most commonly abode, sometime in Essex, sometime in Suffolke: where also he associated and ioyned himselfe vnto such godly professors of Christes Gospel, as he there could heare of. But within fewe yeares after (such is the cruell rage of Sathan and hys wicked members, whiche neuer suffer the godly long to continue vntroubled) he was againe accursed of relapse,* by the inquest of the inquisition of London, and therupon was apprehended & brought vn'to Rich. Fitziames then Bish. of Lond. &

the 9. day of February. an. 1518. he was examined by D. Hed the Bishops vicar generall within his pallace at Lond. where the sayde Hed iudicially assisted with diuers of his complices, declared first vnto man, that for as much as he was since hys first abiuring againe detected and accused by certayne credible and honest persons, of the same heresies which he had once before recanted: and further (contrary to the order of pennaunce enioyned hym by the late Byshop of Lincolne) he had departed the Priorie of Saint Frideswide, and the Dioces of Lincolne without leaue,* eyther of the Byshop or Prior: and was now also found within y^e dioces of Lōdon; and that without hys badge assigned hym by y^e sayde bishops vicar generall: he therefore as Chauncellour and vicar generall vnto the bish. of Lond. deputed for that pur|pose, did then meane to proceede agaynst hym as a relapse by order of Ecclesiasticall lawes in that behalfe prouided: Wherefore he appoynted hym to appeare agayne in the cōsistory of Pauls, the 12. day of February next after, there to answere vnto such articles as then should be propounded agaynst him. At which day and place the Chauncellor (first reciting the causes before mentioned, why he did then proceede against him) objected vnto him these articles folowing.

*1. First, that he was of the Dioces of London.

2. Itē, that he was a Christen man & professed Christes Fayth, and the determinatiōs of holy Church concernyng the seuen Sacramentes, and other articles of the Catholicke fayth.

3. Item, that it was not lawfull for any man (especially a lay man) erroneously and obstinately to hold, teach, or defend any opinion contrary vnto the determinations of the sayd church, and that the person so doing is an hereticke.

4. Item, that within one of the 12. monthes of the yeare of our Lord. 1511. he had bene detected before the Bishop of Lincolne that then was,* of diuers poyntes of heresie: as that he had affirmed that the very body and bloud of christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, but materiall bread and wine, and that he had receiued it at Easter as holye bread, and likewise had affirmed that the crucifixe & other Images in the Church were not to be worshipped, and also that confession made vnto a priest, was of none effect, with diuers other like opinions and heresies.

5. Item, that for these and such like poyntes of heresie he had bene abiured in S. Mary church at Oxford before D. Wilcockes Chauncellour vnto the sayde Byshop of Lincolne, in the month of October, in the yeare last abouesayd and there dyd renounce them and all other, promising no more to fal into the like.

6. Item, that there also he had taken a solemne oth, to do such pennaunce as should be enioyned him by the authoritie of the sayd Bishop.

7. Item, that then he was enioyned to abide within the monastery of Osney by Oxforde: and also there to beare a fagot before the first Crosse in the generall Procession.

8. Item, that after a certayn tyme that he had bene within the monastery of Osney the Byshop of Lincolne (for certayne causes) tooke him into his owne house and seruice, respiting his pennaunce for a time.

9. Item, that afterwarde, which was the 9. day of October. anno, 1512. the sayd Bishops Chauncellour iudicially sitting in the Chapter house of the Priorie of S. Frideswide in Oxford, did enioyne him that he should tary wⁱn the sayd Priory, and not to goe out of the gates thereof without licence of the Prior for the tyme beyng, vntill he had other commaundement from the Byshop, vpon payn of relapse: and further that he should from thenceforth (vp on the lyke payne) weare a signe of a Fagot vnder his vppermost garment.

10. Item, y^t after hys abiuration, and sithens the promises thus done, he was yet agayne detected to the B. of Lōdon by open fame, and denounced by worshipfull and credible persons, y^t he had vsed like false errorrs and heresies & had spoken and taught certaine conclusions of heresie against the Christen fayth,* and determinations of holye Church: and that he had fallen into the like heresies, as before his abiuration, both against the sacrament of the altar agaynst pilgrimages and worshipping of Images: and had blasphemed our blessed Lady, calling her Mably.

11. Item that when he wrought with one Iohn Bates in Stratford Langthorne in Rogation weeke, then 3. yeares past, and beyng bidden by the sayd Bates wife to goe and heare the gospell, he aunswered, and sayd vnto her, I wyll not come there, go you if ye list, ye shal haue as much meed for it as to put your finger in the fire, and to burne it.

12. Item, that in times past for feare of abiuration, he had fled from Colchester to Newbery, and after that vnto Hamersham, and had there damnably accompanied with hetiques and had taught heresies among them: & also since y^e tyme of hys abiuration he had sayd, that he and hys wyfe had turned sixe or seuen hundreth people vnto those opinions which he was abiured of, and others also, contrary to Christes fayth, and determinations of holy Church.

Hys aunswere vnto these Articles was, that as touching the first nine, hee graunted in part to be true, confessing to the seconde, that hee was a true Christian, and did professe the true Christian faith: but the contentes of the last thrée he vtterly denied to be true, affirming for certaine aunswere vnto the 11. article, that at the time mentioned in the same, he did not worke in the towne of Stratford. Upon which answere the Chauncelour called foorth two witnesses to be sworne and examined against hym,* willyng hym that if he had any iust matter against any of them, hee should refuse them. But to what purpose this his faire offer and trim shewe of vpright iustice serued, I can not see. For notw^tstanding that hee charged the one of the witnesses with theft and adulterie (for that hauing a wife of hys owne, he did yet runne away wyth an other mannes wife and goodes) and also alleged that the other was too young to be a sworne witnesse in case of life and death: yet were they both still retained & allowed by the Chauncelour, and sworn not to depart away or hide themselues,* but to be alwaies ready to iustifye that which they had to say against the sayde Thomas Man: and so for that time as well they, as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the prisoner sent againe to hys prison.

And here in the order of the othe ministred vnto these witnesses, I finde one note (me thinketh) worthy present remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in this proces, and also because it somewhat openeth y^e foolish, ridiculous, and fained figuratiue Ceremonies of the Papists, who do attribute a spirituall signification almost vnto all their doinges.* The Register discoursing at large the manner of their othe hath these wordes: Ad sancta Dei Euangelia iurari feelt, tribus medris digitis erectis, & super librum positis in signum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholicae: & duobus

(videl. police & auriculari) suppositis & suppressis, & sub libro positis, in signum damnationis corporis & animae, si non deposuerint veritatem in hac parte. That is to say, he caused them to sweare vpon the holy Euangelistes, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and laide vpon the booke in signe of y^e Trinitie and Catholique faith: and the other two (to wyt, the thombe and the litle finger) put downewardes vnder the booke, in token of damnation of body and soule, if they did not depose the truth in the matter. This Ceremoniall order and exposition of theirs as it is of their owne fonde inuention, without any ground or example of the scriptures [Page 817](#) of God so minde I to leaue it still vnto thēselues, w^t other their apish toies & ridicles, as things worthy to be laught at, and will now further proceed with the rest of this processe, which I haue in hand.

The xv. day of February, D. Hed the Chauncellour, againe iudicially sitting in the consistory at Paules,* commaunded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the articles objected against him by the Byshop of Lincolne with his order of abiuration & penance and also his owne articles last propounded to be first read he called forth a third witnes to be sworne and examined vpon the same. But because he would seeme to do all thinges by order of iustice, and nothing against law, he therefore appoynted vnto the sayd Thomas Man, certain Doctours and aduocates of the Arches, as his counsellors, to plead in his behalfe: Which was euen like as if the lambe should be committed to the defence and protection of the wolfe,* or the hare to the hounde. For what good helpe could he looke for at their handes, whiche were both most wicked haters and abhorers of his Christian profession, and also stout vpholders and maintainers of that Antichristian law, by the which he was for the same cōdemned? And that full well appeared by the good aduice and profitable counsell which they gaue him against his next examinations. For aswell vppon the 20. and also the 23. dayes of the same month of February, in theyr seuerall Sessions he seing his owne negations to their obiections, to take no place against their sworne witnesses, had no other thinge to allege for himselfe, but that through his xx. weekes of hard imprisonment vnder the byshop of Lincolne, he was forced to recant and abiure: whiche was a poore shifte of counsell, God knoweth: And yet D. Raynes beyng one of his chiefe assigned aduocates (in steede of aduice) coulde by his subtile questioning,* then make him to confesse, that certaine talke, whereof one of the witnesses had accused hym, was spoken about fiue yeares before past: which because it was since his recantatiō, was rather an accusation of hym selfe, then an excusing: and therefore it is easie to iudge to how fauourable and vpightfull hartes they tooke vppon them to be his aduocates and defenders. The Chauncellour likewise charged him vpon the same xxij. daye y^t since his last imprisonment he had said vnto Robert Cluny the Bishops Sumner, and his keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceiue for his parte in this his matter, the lawes of the Church were grounded vpon Pilate & Cayphas.* Which obiection he graunting to be true, the Chaūcellour did for that time dismisse the Courte, vntill the first daye of Marche nexte following. Uppon whiche daye (minding to make quicke dispatche) he in fewe wordes asked Man, what matter he had to alledge for himselfe, why he shoulde not then (considering the premisses) bee pronounced a relapsed heretique, and receiue suche punishment by the seculare power, as to suche was due by order of lawe. But he hauing no other allegations then before whiche might take place with them, was finally condemned as an heretique. And notwithstanding that, as the register noteth (but howe truely, God onely knoweth) he did agayne forsake his former renewed profession of Christes Gospell, and yelded himselfe vnto the Bish. of Rome requiring to be absolved from his curse of excommunication, and contented to doe such penance, as they should enioyne him, he was yet the xxix. day of Marche deliuered by Doctour

Hed vnto the Sheriffe of London,* to be then presently burned, with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the Sheriffe that he woulde receiue this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punishe him otherwise then by rigorous rigour. The wordes to be marked in their sentence be these Rogamus attentè in visceribus Iesu Christi, vt huiusmodi dignae seueritatis vltio & executio de te & contra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, vt non sit rigor rigidus, ne{que} mansuetudo dissoluta, sed as salutē & sanitatem animae tuae &c. That is, We desire in the bowels of our lord Iesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due seueritie of thee, & against thee in this part, may so be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soule. &c. Wherein these Catholique Churchmen doe well declare, accordyng to the wordes of Thomas Man before expressed, that the lawes of their church be grounded vpō Pilate & Caiphās. For like as Caiphās with his court of Phariseis, cried against Christ vnto Pilate: It is not lawfull for vs to put anye man to death: But if thou let hym go, thou art not Caesars friend. Euen so they, first condemning the saints of God to death and then deliuering them vnto the secular Magistrate, to be thereupon executed, woulde yet couer their malignant hartes with the cloke of hipocriticall holines, and vnwillingnes to shedde bloude. But God be thanked, whiche bringeth all thinges to light in his due time, & vncouereth her hipocrisie, at last that she may be seene and knowne in right colours.

[illustration]

***The burning of Thomas Man.**

Thus Thomas man, the manly martyr of Iesu christ, being condemned by the vniust sentence of Hed the Chaūcellour, was deliuered to the Sheriffe of London sitting on horsebacke, in Pater noster rowe, before the Byshops doore, an. 1518. protesting to the sayde Sheriffe, that he had no power to put him to deathe, and therefore desired the Sheriffe to take him as a relapse and cōdemned to see him punished, Et tamen citra Mortem, that is, without death, as the wordes stand in the Register. The Sheriffe receiuing neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any Indentures of that his deliuerye,* immediately caryed him to Smithfielde, and there in the same day in the foorenoone caused him to be put into Gods Aungell, according to the wordes of the sayd Thomas Man before, saying that if he were taken againe of the pilled knaue priestes, as he called them, he wist well he should goe to the holy Aungell, and then be an angell in heauen.

In the deposition of one Thomas Risby, weauer of Stratford Langthorn, against y^e forenamed Martyr Tho. Man, it appeareth by the Registers, that he had bene in diuers places and countryes in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, at London at Billerica, Chemsford, at Stratford Langford, at Oxbrige, at Burnham, at Henley vpon Thamīs, in Suffolke, and Northfolke, at Newbery, and diuers places moe: where he himselfe testifieth, that as he went Westward, he found a great company of well disposed persons, being of the same iudge'ment touching the sacrament of the Lordes supper, that he was of, and especially at Newbery, where was (as he confessed) a glorious and sweete societie of faythfull fauourers, who had continued the space of xv. yeares together,* till at last by a certaine lewd person, whome they trusted and made of their counsell, they were bewrayed, and then many of them, to the number of sixe or seuen score were abiured, and three or foure of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confessed) to the forest of Windsore, where he hearing of the brethren which were at

Hamersham, remoued thither, where he found a godly and a great compaⁿy, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching 23. yeares: whiche was from this present time 70. yeares agoⁿe.* And this congregation of Buckingham shyre men remayned till the time of Iohn Longham Bishop of Lincolne, whereof we shal (Christ willing) heare more anone. Against these faythfull Christiā^s of Amersham, was great troble and persecution in the time of W. Smyth Byshop of Lincolne, about the yeare of our Lord 1057. at whiche time diuers and many were abiured, and it was called [Page 818](#)Abiuratio Magna, the great abiuration, and they whiche were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of knowne men or iust fast men. &c. In this congregatiō of the faithful brethren, were 4. principall readers or instructors. Wherof one was Tilesworth called thē D. Tilesworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilseley: whō I suppose rather to be called Tilseworth, pag. 774. An other was Thomas Chase,* called amongst them, Doctour Chase, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the Bishop of Lincolnes prison at Woborne, called Little ease, pag. 774. The third was this Tho. Man, called Doctor Man, burned as is here mentioned in Smithfield, an. 1518. who, as by his owne confession, and no lesse also by his trauaile appeareth, was Gods champion and suffered muche trouble by the priestes, for the cause and lawe of God. Hee confesseth himselfe in the same Register, that he had turned seuen hundreth people to his Religion and doctrine,* for the which he thanked God. He conueyed also fīue couples of men and women from Amershā, Oxbrige, Burnham, and Henley vppon Thamis, where they dwelt vnto Suffolke and Northfolke, that they mought be brought (as he then termed it) out of the deuils mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin, named likewise among them, Doctor Cosin.

¶Robert Cosin Martyr.

THIS Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same, which in the former part of our history is forementioned, being called by the name of father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham, pag. 749. Of this Robert Cosine, I finde in the Registers of Lincolne: that he with Thomas Man had in^structed and perswaded one Ioane Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any Images of Saints. Also when she had bowed a peece of siluer to a saint for the health of her childe they dissuaded her from the same, and that she needed not to confesse her vnto a Priest, but to be sufficient to lift vp her hands to heauen. Moreouer they were charged by the bishop for teaching y^e sayd Ioan that she might aswell drinke vppon the sonday before Masse:* as any other day. &c. Ex. Regist. Ioan. Longland. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for the which they were in those daies abiured, and condemned to death.

¶William Sweting, alias Clerke martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the Ladye Percy at Dalington in the County of Northampton for a certayne space, and from thence went to Boxsted in the County of Essex, where he was the holy water Clerke, the space of seuen yeares: after that was baliffe and fermer to maystres Margerye Wood, the terme of 13. yeares. From Boxted he departed and came to the towne of saint Osithe, where he serued the Prior of saint Sythes named George Launde, the space of 16. yeares and more.* Where he had so turned the Prior by his perswasions, that the sayd Prior of saynt Osithe was afterward compelled to abiure. This William Sweting comming vp to London with the foresayd Prior, for suspicion of heresie was committed to the

Lollardes Tower, vnder the custody of Charles Ioseph, and there being abiured in the Church of saint Paule, was constrayned to beare a fagot at Paules crosse, and at Colchester. And afterward to weare a fagot vpon his coat all his life. Which he did two yeares together vpon hys left sleeue, till at length the person of Colchester required hym to helpe in the seruice of the Church, and so pluckt the badge from hys sleeue: and there he remayned two yeares, being the holye water Clerke. From thence afterward departed, and traauailing abroad, came to Rederith in the dioces of Winchester, where he was holye water Clerke the space of a yeare: then went to Chelsith, where he was theyr neat heard, and kept the towne beastes. In the which towne vpon Saint Annes day in the morning, as he went forth with his beastes to the field, the good man was apprehended & brought before the Bishop: and hys chamber searched for bookes. This was anno. 5511.

*The crimes whereupon he was examined be these.

First, for hauing mucche conference with one William Man of Boxsted,* in a booke which was called Mathew.

Item, that he had familiaritie, and frequented much the company of Iames Brewster, who had bene before abiured.

Item, that when his wife should go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she should receiue by her going on pilgrimage, adding moreouer, that as he supposed, it was to no purpose, nor profite, but rather it were better for her to keepe at home, and to attend to her busines.

Item, that he had learned:* and receiued of William Man, that the Sacrament of the Priestes altar was not the present very body, but bread in substaunce, receiued in memoriall of Christ.

Item, that he propounded, and affirmed the same doctrine to Iames Brewsteer.

Item,* because he had reprehended his wife for worship'ping the Images in the church, and for setting vp candles before them.

And thus haue you all the causes and crimes layde against this William Sweting, wherfore he was condemned. Who then beeing asked what cause he had, why hee should not be iudged for relapse, sayd he had nothing els, but onely that he committed himselfe to the mercye of almighty God.

¶Iames Brewster Martyr.

With William Sweting also the same time was examined and condemed Iames Brewster,* of the Parish of saint Nicholas in Colchester. This Iames Brewster was a Carpenter, dwelling ten yeares in the town of Colchester, who being vnlettered, could neyther reade nor write, and was apprehended vpon the daye of S. Iames, in one Walkers house in S. Clementes parish.

About sixe yeares before, whiche was ann. 1505. he had bene abiured by William Warham Archbishop of Caunterbury, the see of London being then vacant. And after other penance done at Colchester, was enioyned to weare a Fagot vpon his vpper garment during his life. Whiche

badge he did beare vpon his left shoulder neare the space of two yeares, till the Controller of the Earle of Oxforde pluckt it away, because he was labouring in the workes of the Earle.

The crimes whereupon he was examined,* and which he confessed were these: first that he had bene fiue tymes

[illustration]

***The burning of William Sweting and Iames Brewster.**

with William Sweting in the fields keeping beastes, hea^ring hym read many good thinges out of a certayne booke. At which reading also were present at one time, Wodroffe or Woodbynde, a Nette maker, with his wife: also a brother in law of William Sweting: and an other time Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the sayde Thomas Sweting read.

Item, because he vsed the company and conference of [Page 819](#) Henry Hert Carpenter, of Westminster, and wrought with him in his science at Westminster,

Item for hauing a certaine litle booke of Scripture in English, of an old writing, almost worne for age, whose name is not there expressed.

*Item, because he hearing vppon a time, one mayster Bardfield of Colchester thus say, that he will not worship the Maozim in hart and thought, shall dye in sight, he asked afterwarde of William Man, what that worde Maozim should meane: who told him that it signified as much as the masing God, to wit the sacrament of the altar.

Itē, that he had much conference, with Henry Hert a^gainst ablations & Images, & that it was better bestowed money which was geuen to the poore, then that that was offered in pilgrimage.

Item, for that he had communication and conference w^t Roger Heliar and one Walker a Thicker of S. Clements concerning diuers such matters of Pilgrimage, offering to Images, worshipping of Saintes, and the sacrament of the altar.

*Item, when Thomas Goodred, William Sweting, and he in the fieldes keeping beastes, were talking together of the sacramente of the Lordes bodye, and like matters, this Iames Brewster shoulde thus say: Nowe the sonne of the liuing God helpe vs. Unto whome William Sweting agayne shoulde aunswere, Nowe almighty God so doe.

And thus haue you the causes likewise and crymes layd against Iames Brewster, vpon which he with William Sweting was together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romishe maner is, whether he had any cause why he shuld not be adiudged for relapse, he trusting to finde fauoure and grace in submitting himselfe, sayd, that he submitted him to the mercy of almighty God, and to the fauourable goodnes of him his iudge. And likewise did William Sweting submit himselfe, trusting belike that they should finde some fauour and reliefe in thys humble subiecting themselues vnto their goodnes.

But note here the vnmerciful and vnchristian dealing of these Catholique fathers,* who vpon their submission were contented to geue out a solemne commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of the excommunication, whereinto they had incurred: But immediately after vpon the same, the Byshop all this notwithstanding, pronounced vpon them the sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both deliuered to the secular power,* and both together brent in Smithfield at one fire, the 18. day of October. an. 1511.

¶Christopher Shoomaker Martyr.

TO these blessed saintes before past, we will also adioyne Christopher Shoomaker: of whom this I finde briefly in the Register of syr Iohn Longland: and that the sayde Christopher Shoomaker,* a parishioner of great Missendē came to the house of one Iohn Say, and after other matters of talke, read to him out of a little booke, the woordes which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus comming to his house about foure times: at euery time read something out of the same booke vnto him: teaching him not to be deceiued in the priestes celebration at Masse, and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ as the priestes did phantasie: but in substance bread, bearing the remembraunce of Christ. And taught him moreouer, that the Pilgrimage, worshipping and setting vp can'dles to saintes were all vnprofitable. And thus the sayde Ioh. Say beyng taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by Iohn Okendē, and Robert pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that Register concerning Christopher Shoomaker, declaring further that he was burned at Newbery about this time, which was an. 1518. And thus much out of Registers of London.

IN turning ouer the Registers and Recordes of Lincoln likewise, and comming to the yere of our Lord. 1520. and 1521. I finde that as the light of the Gospell began more to appeare, and the number of the professors to growe, so the vehemencie of persecution, and stirre of the bishops began also to encrease. Whereupon ensued great perturbatiō & greeuous affliction in diuers & sondry quarters of thys realm, especially about Buckingham shyre, and Amershā, Uxbrige, Henley, Newbery, in the dioces of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolke and Northfolke, and other partes moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these cuntryes among the people. Wherefor for they are much begyled and misse informed, whiche condemne this kinde of doctrine now receaued, of noueltie, asking where was this church and religion xl. yeares agoe, before Luthers time?* To whome it may be aunswered, that this Religion and forme of doctrine was planted by the Apostles, and taught by true Byshops, afterward decayd, and nowe reformed againe, although it was not receiued nor admitted to the Popes Clergye before Luthers time, neyther yet is, yet it was receiued of other, in whose heartes it pleased the Lorde secretly to worke, and that of a great number, whiche both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may ap'peare. And if they thinke this doctrine be so newe, that it was not heard of before Luthers time how thē came such great persecution before Luthers time here in Englande? If these were of the same profession, whiche they were of, thē was their crueltie vnreasonable, so to persecute theyr

[illustration]

The burning of Christopher Shoomaker.

* owne Catholicke fraternitie. And if they were otherwise how then is this doctrine of the Gospell so new, or the professors thereof so late start vp, as they pretend them to be? * But this commeth onely of ignoraunce, & for not knowing nor considering well the times & antiquities of the church which hath bene before vs. Which if they did, they shold see and say, that the church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which tasted & folowed the sweetnes of Gods holy worde, almost in as ample maner, for the number of well disposed hartes as now. Although publique authoritie then lacked to mayntayne the open preaching of the gospel, yet y^e secret multitude of true professors, * was not much vnequall: certes the feruent zeale of those Christian dayes seemed much superior to these our dayes and times: as manifestly may appeare by their sitting vp all night in reading and hearing, also by their expenses and charges in buying of bookes in Englishe: of whome some gaue fiue markes, some more, some lesse for a booke. Some gaue a lode of hay for a few chapters of S. Iames or of S. Paule in English. In whiche raritie of bookes, and want of teachers this one thing I greatly maruel and muse at, to note in the Registers & to consider howe the worde of trueth notwithstanding did multiply so exceedingly as it dyd amongst them. Wherein is to be seene no doubt y^e meruellous working of Gods mighty power. For so I finde and obserue in considering the Registers, howe one neighbour resorting and conferring with an other, eftsoones with a few wordes of the first or second talke, did win and turne their mindes to that wherein they desired to perswade them, touching the trueth of Gods worde and hys sacramentes. To see their trauailes, * theyr earnest seeking their burning zeales, their readings, their watchinges, their sweete assemblies, theyr loue and concord, their godly liuing, their faythfull meaning with the faythfull, may make vs now in these our dayes of free profession to blush for shame.

Page 820 Foure principall pointes they stood in against the Church of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of saintes, in reading scripture bookes in English, and in the carnall presence of Christes body in the sacrament.

* After the great abiuration aforesayd, which was vnder William Smith Bishop of Lincolne: they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of knowne men, or iust fast men: * as now they are called by the name of Protestantes.

As they were simple, & yet not vncircumspect in theyr doings, so the crafty serpent being more wily then they, by fraudulent subtletie did so circumuent thē, that they caused the wife to detect the husband: * the husband the wife, the father the daughter, the daughter the father, the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbour the neighbor. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both y^e persons and also the bookes were knowne: * Neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtilly and sleightly these Catholicke prelates did vse their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or sayd among these Knowne men, xv. or xx. yeares before so couertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspicions they had, suche espyals and priue scoutes they sent abroad, such authoritie and credite they had with the king, and in the kinges name: such dilligence they shewed in that behalfe, so violently and impudently they abused the booke, of y^e peaceable Euangelistes, wresting mens consciences vppon their othe, swearing them vpon the same to detect thēselues, their fathers & mothers, & other of their kinred, with their friends & neighbours, and that to death. All whiche thinges in the further

processe of the table ensuing (Christ willing) whiche we haue collected out of some part of the Registers of Lincolne, shall appeare.

For the better declaration wherof, first here is to be premonished by the way, touching the see of Lincoln, that after William Smith, succeeded Iohn Longland. This William Smith,* although he was somewhat eger & sharpe against the poore simple flocke of Christes seruautes vnder whome some were burned, many abiured, a great nūber molested, as partly hath bene afore declared: yet was he nothing so bloudy or cruell,* as was the sayd Longland, which afterward succeeded in that Dioces. For so I fynde of him, that in the time of the great abiuratiō and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshyre men, wherein many were abiured, & certaine burned, yet diuers he sent quietly home without punishment: and pennaunce, bidding them go home, and liue as good Christen men should doe. And many which were enioyned penaunce before, he did release This Smith dyed about the yeare of our Lord. 1515. by whome was builded, as is aforesaid, the Colledge of Brasen nose in Oxford.*

Not long after him folowed Iohn Longland, a fierce & cruell vexer of y^e faythfull poore seruautes of Christ: who to renue again the old sparkles of persecutiō, whiche were not yet vtterly quenched first began w^t one or two of them which had bene abiured, whom he thought to be most notorious, causing them by force of their othe, to detect & bewray not onely their owne opinions touching poyntes of religiō: but also to discouer al other of their affinitie, which were either suspected or abiured before. And them likewise he put to their othe, most violently constraining them to vtter and confesse both themselues, and whom els so euer they knew. By reason whereof, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maydens were brought forth to examination, and straightly handled. And such as were found in relapse, were burned.

The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous penaunce and iniunctions, that eyther through grieve of conscience they shortly dyed:,* or els with shame they liued. All which tragicall doyngs and proceedings of the byshop against these Knowen and Iuste faste men, in these tables here vnder following (Christ graunting) shall appeare, both with with the accusers, and with the parties them selues accused, and also the crimes obiected.

But before we enter into the table, it shalbe requisite first to heare the order and copy of his captious and crafty interrogatoryes, whereby he constrayned the simple poore men to accuse and appeach one an other: which interrogatoryes were these in order as followeth.

***Interrogatories ministred commonly by the Bishop of Lincolne agaynst these examinares here following.**

The interrogatories or articles: which Longland Bish. of Lincolne vsed most commonly to minister to these examinares or known men,* in number were 9. and are these as followeth.

1 First, whether they or any of them did know, that certayne of the parish of Amersham, had bene conuented before William Smyth late Bishop of Lincolne, for heresie.

2 Item, whether they knew, that they so conuented before the sayd Bishop, did erre in the sacrament of the altar, or in any other sacrament of the Church. And if they did in what

Sacramentes, or in whiche of them: Also whether they knew that the sayd parties so conuented, did confesse their erroures, and receiued penance for the same.

3 Item, whether they, or any of them, were of the society of them so conuented for heresie: and if they were what fellowship they had with them and with whom?

4 Item, whether they or any of them, were euer conuersant with such a one (naming the person whome they knew suspected) as with Thustan Littlepage. And if they were, what conuersation they had with him, how long, & when: And whether they knewe the sayde person to haue bene suspect of heresie?

5 Item, whether they, or any of them were euer conuersaunt with him, or him (naming some other person whom they suspected) as Alexand. Mastal. And if they were, how and how long? and whether they knew the sayd person to be suspected of heresie?

6 Item, whether they, or any of them had bene before time detected of heresie to the office of the foresayd William Bishop of Lincolne: And if the were, by what person or persōs they were detected? Or els whether they were onely called by the foresayd William Bishop, for heresie?

7 Item, whether he or they be noted and holden for heretickes, or be reputed and diffamed to be of the sect of thē which were conuented for heresie: And whether he or they be named for a Knowen man amongst them?

8 Item, whether he, or they haue bene euer at any readings of such as haue bene so conuented for heresie?

9 Item, whether he, or they were euer in any secret cōmunication or conuenticle with them: Whom, or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a Knowen man, or holding against the sacrament of the altar, or other Sacramentes and articles of faith? And if they knew any such to declare where, and when, and what they were, and who were present the same time?

These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be shewed, a certayne briefe summe compendiously collected out of the Registers of Iohn Longland bishop of Lincolne, declaring in order of a table the names first of them which by othe were constrayned against theyr willes to detect and and accuse other. Secondly the persōs that were accused. Thirdly, the crimes to them objected, as in the proces of this table shall follow to be seene.

And first, for asmuch as the Bishop perceiued that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with such other were mē especially noted to be of that side, therefore to work his purpose the better, he began with them producing the same as witnesses, to ditect first Robert Bartlet of Amersham, & Richard his brother: vnderstanding that these forenamed witnesses, because they had bene abiured before, durst now doe no other, vpon payne of relapse, but needes confesse what soeuer was put vnto them. And therefore because Rob. Bartlet & Richard hys brother being called before y^e bishop and sworn vpon their othe, would confesse nothing against themselues, the Bishop to conuict them by witnesses, went first to William Chedwell, lying sore sicke in his bed, causing him vpō the Euangelists to sweare,

whether he knewe the foresayde Robert and Richard Bartlet to be knowen men. Which being done, the Bishop then called before him Robert Andrew Roger Bennet, Iohn Hill, Edmund Dormer. Iohn Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, Iohn Dosset, all Amersham men: who being abiured before, as is sayd, durst no otherwise do, but confesse vpon their othe, that Robert and Richard Bartlet were knowen men. And yet the Bishop not contented w^t this, caused also theyr two wiues to wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, & Isabel y^e wife of Richard Bartlet, to depose & geue witnessse againste their owne naturall husbandes. Albeit Isabel Bartlet being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused vtterly to confesse any thing of her husband, & denied her husbands words to be true, til at last she being conuict of periury, was constrained to vtter the truth, as in the proces of this table folowing more particularly foloweth to be seene.

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☛ A Table describing the greeuous afflictions of good men and women, in the Diocesse of Lincolne, vnder Iohn Longland there Bishop, with the names both of the Accusers, and of them that were accused: also wyth the crimes to them objected: out of the Registers of the sayde Diocesse. Anno 1521. [Page 822](#)[Page 823](#)[Page 825](#)[Page 826](#)[Page 827](#)[Page 828](#)[Page 831](#)[Page 832](#)[Page 833](#)[Page 834](#)[Page 835](#)[Page 836](#)

<u>*Accusers.</u>	Parties accused.	Crimes objected.
W. Chedwel sicke in his bedde. - Robert Andrewe. - Rob. Bēnet. - Iohn Hill. - Edmūd Dor^lmer. - Iohn Milsent. - Thomas Bernard. - Tho. Litlepage. - Iohn Dosset. - Margarete Bartlet. - Isabel Bertlet: these being before abiured, were nowe compelled by othe to detect	- Rob. Bartlet. - Rich. Bartlet his brother.	THis Robert Bartlet, and Rich. his brother were Detected by these foresayde accusers, to be knowne men, that is, to be of the same company and affinitie wyth these Iurates, and other that had ben abiured before in the time of William Smith, Byshop of Lincolne, about the yere of our lord 1508. and that in y^e house of Thomas Hardyng, they were so noted by the woordes of Hardinges wife: who speakyng to Roberte Bartlet, sayde, that she was glad that he was conuerted to grace, and chosen to almyghtie God, requiring hym neuer to forsake y^t he was called to, for if he did, ther was no Sacrifice left for him. Also the sayde Hardinges wife

speaking to Richarde Bartlet
comminge into her House, sayde,
Heere commeth a good man,
and I hope he wil be a good man,
but he hathe so muche minde of
buying and selling, and taking of
farmes, that it putteth hys minde
from all goodnesse. By whych
wordes it appeared, sayd they,
that hee was a Knownen man.
Item, that Robert Bartlet
speaking to Hardings wife, sayd,
he had thought to haue called
William Tilseworth false
heretique: but now hee was better
aduised. Item, that they vsed the
lectures and readings of that
companie.

¶Thys Ro. Bartlet, & Richarde his
brother first being sworne, and yet
confessing nothing before the
Byshop, at last were conuicted by
witnes, (as aboue appeareth) and
noted therefore of periurie.
Wherefore incurring into greater
daunger, they were constrained at
their nexte examination to vtter
them selues, and confesse what
they had both done and sayde:
that is,* that the sayde Robert had
red vnto Richarde hys brother, a
parcel of scripture beginning thus:
Iames the seruaunt of God, to the
xij. kindes. &c. Item, for that he
hard Williā Tilseworth say, that
Images of saintes were but stocks
and stones and dead things: and
that he taught the same to his
brother Richarde, and concealed
the wordes of William
Tilsewoorthe. Item, for that he

partly beleueed Thomas Mastall,
teaching him that the true
presence of Christ was not in the
Sacrament: and likewise of Images
and Pilgrimage. Item, for receyuing
the Communion at Easter without
shrift. &c.

Robert Bart|let was brought to
examinatiō, & caused by his othe Rich. Bartlet his brother.
to detect

Isabel Bartlet, his wife.

The foresaid Ro Bartlet was broght Agnes Wel|lis, his sister.
to examination, & caused by hys

The crime wherein Roberte
Bartlet appeached hys brother
Rich. was this, because he said,
hys brother Rich. had beene
much conuersant wyth
Thurstane Litlepage,* & had
learned of hym the counsailes
and secretes of those men.
Also, that hee had learned of
hym, some of the Epistle of S.
Iames thus beginning: Iames the
seruaunte of God, to the twelue
kindes. &c.

The cause wherein Roberte
Bartlet did detecte his wife,
was thys,* that when the
Byshops seruaunte was come
for her husband, she vttered
these wordes, saying: Alas, he
was now an vndone man, and
she but a dead woman.*

Furthermore, y^e said R. being
demanded of y^e Bishop,
whether he knewe Isabell hys
wyfe to bee of the secte of
heretiques before hee married
her, sayde yea. Beeing asked
again, if shee hadde not ben
of that sect, whether then he
would haue married her, he
graunted the same likewise.
Furthermore, y^e said R. Bart.
detected his owne sister, in that

othe to detect

hee hadde twice instructed her not to worshyppe Images, and also hadde taughte her in the Epistle of S. Iames.

- Elizabeth Deane, wife of Richarde Deane, of Westwicam.
 - Emme Tilseworth, wife of Wil-Tilseworth.
 - William Grinder, & his wife.
 - Iohn Scriuener.
 - Alexandra▪ Mastal.
 - w. Tilsworth
 - Thurstane Litlepage.
 - Iohn Bartlet his brother.
- The sayde Roberte Bart. detected also these to bee of the number of Knowen men: for that they resorted many times together, reading and conferringe amonge themselues, & talkinge againste worshippinge of Images, & Pilgrimage: And if any came in amongste them, whiche was not of theyr side, thē they wold saye no more, but keepe all silence. &c.

This Agnes was detected of her brother in 3. poyntes.*

Firste, for learning the Epistle of Saint Iames in English, of Thurstan Litlepage.

Rich. Bartlet by hys oth was cōstrained to detect

Agnes wellys, wife of Iohn Wellys, his sister.

Secondly, for not beleeuing the bodily presence in the Sacrament.

Thirdly, for speakyng against worshippinge of Images, and goyng on Pilgrimages.

This Richarde Bertlet also in hys confessyon, sayde of his Father, that he was a better manne, then hee was taken for. For the other daye there came a manne to him, as hee was threashing, and sayde, God speede father Bertlet, yee worke sore, yea sayde hee,* I threshe God almighty out of the strawe.

Olde father Bartlet, his father.

brought and examined before the Bishop, were ministred these interrogatories, which for certaine causes I thought here to inserte, for our posteritie to note and consider, and they are these, as foloweth.

***Articles ministred to
Agnes Wellys.**

- 1 WHether shee knewe that certaine of the Paryshe of Amersham were conuented before William Smith, late Byshoppe of Lincolne for heresie?
- *2 Item, whether she knew that certaine of them so conuented before the Bishop for heresie, did erre in the Sacrament of the altar, or in other Sacraments, and what errorrs they were, and wherein?
- 3 Item, whether she knewe anye other to be susspect of the same heresie or sect, beside them of Amersham so conuented, who they were, and how many?
- 4 Item, whether shee had bene of the same company, or sect, or opinion with them, which were conuented before the Bishop for heresie: and if she were, what company she vsed, and whose?
- 5 Whether she was at any time conuersant with Thurstane Litlepage: and if shee were, how ofte she

had bene in his company:
howe, what time, in what
place, who else were
present, for what causes,
and whether she knew him
to be suspected for
heresie?

- 6 Item, whether shee
knewe and had beene
conuersant wyth Alexander
Mastall, and if shee were,
howe, when, in what
place, who were present,
for what causes, and
whether shee knewe him
suspected for heresie?
- 7 Item, whether she was
euer detected to the office
of Willi. Smith late Bishop
of Lincolne: at what time,
or since the time that
Litlepage and Mastall were
conuented before the
Byshop for heresie: and
whether shee was then
called and conuented
before the Bishop for
heresie, or not?
- 8. Item, whether she had
bene present, or is now
noted, had, holden, or
reputed, or diffamed to be
of the same sect with
Thurstan Litlepage, or
other conuicted of heresie,
and whether she be or hath
bene nominated for a
Knownen woman among
them?
- 9 Item, whether she hath
ben present at any time at
the readings or conferrings
betweene Thurstane
Litlepage, and other
conuicts?
- 10 Item, whether
Thurstane Litlepage did
euer teache her the Epistle

of Sainte Iames,* or the
Epistles of Saint Peter or
Paule in English, and
whether shee hath
repeated oft times the
sayde Epistle of saint
Iames, vnto the sayde
Thurstane, in the presence
of Richard Bartlet her
brother?

- 11 Item, whether Richarde Bartlet her brother dyd teache her at any time the Epistle of S. Iames, and if he did, howe oft, and in what place?
- 12 Item, whether shee hadde beene instructed by Thurstane Litlepage, or by any other, in the foresayde secte, that in the Sacrament of the aultare was not the true body of Christe, but onely the substaunce of bread?
- 13 Item, whether shee hadde bene instructed by Thurstane Litlepage, or any other, that Pilgrimage was not to be vsed, nor the Images of Saintes to be adored?
- 14 Item, whether shee did credite the sayd Thurstane Litlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premisses, and whether she did beleue or expresly cōsent with them in the foresayd articles?
- 15 Item, whether that Roberte Bartlet her brother did euer teach her the Epistle of S. Iames, and if he did, howe often, and where?
- 16 Whether the sayd Robert Bartlet had taught

her that Pilgrimage was
not to be vsed, and that
Images were not to be
adored?

- 17 Item, whether she
knew suche a lawe and
custome among them, that
suche as were of that
sorte, did contract
matrimonie only with
them selues, and not with
other Christians?
- 18 Item, whether she did
euer heare Thurstane, or
any other say, that they
onely whych were of theyr
doctrine, were true
Christians?
- 19 Item, when she came to
receiue, and was
confessed, whether she did
vtter and confesse her
heresies to the priest?

¶ Unto these captions and cruell
Interrogatorie Articles ministred
agaynst Agnes Wellys, shee
answered negatiuely, almost to
them all, refusing to vtter any
person vnto the Byshop: But soone
after, being otherwise schooled, I
can not tell howe, by the
Catholiques, shee was compelled
to detect both her selfe, her
brother Roberte Bartlet, Thurstane
Litlepage, and also Isabel Morwyn,
wife of Iohn Morwyn. &c.

Isabel Bartlet was then brought, &
examined before the Bishoppe:
where shee

beinge asked whether shee
spake these woordes followyng
to her husbände, at the
commynge of the Byshoppes
manne: Alasse, nowe are you an
vndone manne, and I but a

deade womanne.

Firste, shee stoode in long
deniall of the same, and
althoughe her husbände gaue
witnessse againste her, yet
stoode shee that her husband
sayd not trueth. At last, shee
was compelled to graunte those
woordes to bee spoken: and
then being asked what shee
meant by them,* thus she
excused her selfe, that her
husbände hadde beene vnkinde
vnto her a long time, and
therefore shee desired to depart
from him.

Whereuppon now for sorrowe
she spake those woordes. &c.
The whyche woordes her
husband did excuse somethynge
otherwyse, sayinge, that hys
wyfe spake those woordes
betweene the thresholde and the
Hall doore, because of a
vehemente feare for the losse of
her goodes.

- Richarde Hobbes of
Hichenden.
- Henry Hobbes of
Hichenden.
- Hernes wife.
- Herne widowe of
Amersham.
- Thomas Couper of
Amersham, husbandman.

Wil. Chedwel, of Amersham.

Iohn Stāpe wheeler of Amersham.
Alice Hard. wife of Tho. Harding.

The crime layde to Alice
Hardynge, was thys, because,
when the Prieste was commynge
to Rycharde Bennette, to geue
hym howsell, shee wente before,
and instructed hym what he

		shoulde doe.
	• W. Rogers • Tiler. • W. Harding. • Roger Harding.	These were detected by Roger Bennet, for that they being admonyshed to appeare before y ^e Bishops Chaunceloure at Amersham, neglected so to do.
Roger Bennet, by like compulsion of hys othe,* was caused to detecte these persons	• I. Iennings seruaunt to Iames Morden. • George, seruaut of Tho. Tochel. • Tho. Gray, seruaunt of Roger Bennet.	These were detected for caryng about certen bookes in English.
	• Wil. Smith Wheeler. • The wife of Io. Milsent. • The wife of W. Rogers. • Ro Stampe, & his wife. • The wife of Rob. Bartlet.	These good womenne here named, were detected to the Byshoppe by Roger Bennet, for that vppon the holye dayes, when they goe and come from the Churche, they vse to resorte vnto one I. Colingworths house, and there to keepe theyr conuenticle.
	The wife of Dauid Lews & her father▪	Thys womanne was charged for speking these wordes: that the churchmen in the olde time dyd leade the people, as the Henn• dothe leade her chickens: but our priests now do leade the people to the deuil.
	• Agnes Frāk, wife of Wil. Franke. • I. Gardiner▪ • I. Samme. • I. George. • Iam. Mordē.	Because shee tourned awaye her face from the Crosse, as it was caryed about on Easter daye in the morning, at the resurrection. Fol. 10.
Tho. Rowland put likewise to his othe, did detect	Iohn Scriuener the elder.	For carrying aboute Bookes from one to an other.

Thomas Rowland.

For these woordes following: If I
lie, curse, storme, sweare,
chide, fight, or threat: then am I
woorthye for to be beate, I pray
you good maister mine, if I
offende in any of these nine,
Amend me with a good scouring.

Iames Morden compelled in like
manner by his oth, did detect

Thomas Chase.

In the like also was charged
Thomas Chase because hee
hearde hym twise recite the
Epystle of Sainte Iames.
Begynnyng: Iames the
seruaunt of GOD, and of our
lord Iesus Christ, to the twelue
kinds. &c.

Also for these woordes: It was
by the dayes of Herode king of
Iewes, that there was a Prieste,
Zacharie by name, and hee
came of the sorte of Abias,
and hys wyfe of the Daughter
of Aaron: bothe they were iust
before GOD, goynge in al the
commandements. &c.

The cause layde to this Agnes,
was for teaching this Iames the
woordes following:

- W. Norton.
- Agnes Ashforde of
Chesham.

Wee bee the salt of the earth, if
it be putrified and vanished
away, it is nothing worth. A
citie set vpon an hill may not be
hyd. Teend ye not a candle and
put it vnder a bushell, but sette it
on a candlesticke, that it may
geue a light to all in the house.
So shine your light before
menne,* as they may see your
workes, and glorifie the father
that is in heauen. No title nor
letter of the lawe shal passe
ouer, till all things be done. And
fiue times went hee to the

foresaid Agnes to learn• this lesson. Item, that the sayde Agnes did teach him to say thys Lesson: Iesus seeing his people, as hee went vp to a hill, was set, and his disciples came to him: hee opened his mouth and taught them, saying: Blessed be the poore men in spirite, for the kingdome of heauen is theirs. Blessed be milde men: for they shall welde the earth: And twise hee came to her to learne thys lesson. Ex Regist. Longl. fol. 11.

And these lessons the sayde Agnes was bidde to recite before 6. bishops: who straightly inioyned and commaunded her, that she should teache those lessons no more to any man, and especially to her children. Ex Regist. fol. 11▪

Rich. Ashford Smith.

- Agnes Ashford.
- Tho. Chase.

Because these two dyd exhort him thryse, that he should kepe the thynges they spake of, as secreate in his stomack, as a man woulde keepe a theefe in pryson.

Tho• Tredway of Chesham.

- Rob. Pope.
- Iohn Morden and his wife.

Because they were heard in the presence of thys Iames Mordenne theyr nephew, to recite the ten Commaundementes in theyr house in Englishe, Fol. 15.

The foresayde Iames Morden

Alice Atkins.

Because of him she learned the

detected

Pater noster, Aue Maria and Creede in English, and the v. meruailes of Saint Austen. Also an other peece of an Englishe Booke beginning: heere sueth fowre things, by whych a man may knowe whether hee shall be saued. &c.

Marian Mor|den his own sister.

Also that shee dyd not worship Images. And after these little thynges he intended to teache her of the Sacrament.

- W. Afrike, or Littlepage.
- Iohn Afrike, or Litlepage.
- Emme Harding, or Afrike.
- Iohn Fip Phisition.

¶To thys Iames Morden with other moe abiurers, it was enioyned by Bishoppe Smith, for seuen yeares, to visite the church of Lincolne twice a yeare from Amersham. And when diuers had gotte licence of the Bishoppe for length of the iourney, to visite the Image of our Ladie of Missenden, for the space of v. yeares, thys Iames Morden, when hee coulde not obtaine licence so to doe, yet notwithstanding for the tediousnesse of the way, went with them to the same Image, and thereuppon was charged for violatyng the Bishops iniunction.

Also because, to get his liuing, hee wrought halfe a yeare out of the dioces, when he had bene inioyned by the Bishop not to goe out of the diocesse of

Buckingham. Fol. 11.

This Iam. Morden confessed y^t he vsed his Pater noster and Creede so much in English, that he had forgot many words therof in Latin, and therefore was [Page 824](#) inioyned by bishop Smith to say it no more in English, but only in Latine, and because he kept not this iniunction, he fell therefore in relaps.

Roger Benet by like compulsion of his othe, was caused to detect these following to be knowne persons.

- W. Rogers Tyler and his wife.
- W. Harding.
- Rog. Harding.
- Ioane Ienynges.
- George, seruaunt to Tho. Tochel.
- Th. Gray seruant of Roger Benet.
- Agnes Franke.
- Ioane Colyngworth.
- W. Smith.
- The wife of Iohn Milsent.
- Rob. Stampe and his wife.
- The wife of Rob. Bartlet.
- The wife of Dauid Lewys of Henley.
- Ioh. Frier, seruant to M. Penne.
- Iohn Tracher.
- Ioh. Mordens wife.
- Rich. Ashford.
- Wil. Litlpage, prentise sometime of Iohn Scriuener.
- Emme his wife.
- Ioh. Scriuener.
- Isabel Morwyn. For teaching Coplands wyfe her errors.

Thom Halfaker sworne vpon his

- Ioh. Milsent & his wife. Because these comming to the

othe, did detect these names here following.

- Rog. Harding and his wife. Church, and especiall ye at the
- Th. Bernard. eleuatiō time would say no
- Th. Afrike & his wife. prayers, but did sitte mumme (as
- W. Rogers. hee tearmed it) lyke beastes.
- W. Harding and his wife. Because Katherine Bartlette
- Kat. Bartlet, the mother of Rob. and Ric. Barlet. beyng of good health, came but
- Th. Harding & his wife. seldome to the Church, but
- W. Franke, and Agnes his wife.*_ fained her selfe sicke: and because William Franke married Agnes hys wife, shee beyng before abiured.

Rob. Pope.

Because hee fled away when the great abiuration was at Amersham. Also for hauing certaine English bokes. fol. 16.

- Emme Affrike alias, Emme Harding.
- I. Affricke, Henry Milner.
- Hernes wife, now the wife of Waiuer.
- William Tilseworth.
- Emme Tilseworth, of London.
- Thomas Tilseworth, and his wife.
- The wife of Robert Tilseworth.
- William Glasbroke.
- Christopher Glasbroke, Milner.
- Thomas Groue, and loane his wife.
- Thomas Man, by Bristow.

Tho. Holms detected

Hen. Miller Counted for a great heretike, and learned in the Scripture.

- Iohn Schepard.
- The wife of Iohn Schepard of Dorney.
- The elder daughter of Rog Harding of Amersham.

- Nich. Stokely Couper and his wife of Henley.
- Iohn Clerke.
- Tho. Wilbey of Henley.
- W. Stokeley.
- Hobs with his sonnes of Hychenden.
- The wife of Iohn Scriuener, Smith of Owborne.
- Thomas Clerke the elder.
- Thomas Clerke the younger.
- Wigmer fermer of Hychenden.
- Robert Carder weiuer.
- Iohn-Frier, seruant to M. Pen.
- Iohn Morwen and Isabel his wife.
- Elizabeth Houer, wife of Henry Houer of little Missenden.
- Rich. White, Fuller of Beckinsfield.

Andr. Randal and his wife of Ricmansworth.

Because they receyued into theyr House, Thomas Manne, flying for persecution, and for reading Wickleffs Wicket.

- The father of Andrew Randall.
- Benet Ward Fuller.

Thys Benet Warde was also denounced by Iohn Merstonne, for saying that it booteth no manne to pray to oure Ladie, nor to no Sainte, nor aungell in Heauen, but to God only, for they haue no power of mans soule.

The wife of Benet Ward, and her daughter.

For saying that Thomas Pope was the deuoutest manne that euer came in their house, for he woulde sitte readyng in his

booke to midnight many times.

The foresayd Tho. Holmes
detected

- Tho. Tailour and his wife of Vxbridge.
- Rob. Quicke.
- Rob. Cosine.
- Tho. Clarke and his wife of Ware.
- One G•ldener about Herford.
- Iohn Bay, and Wil. Say his sonne, of little Missenden.
- The wife of Iohn Wellys of Amersham.
- Ioane Glasbroke, sister to Wil. Glasbroke of Harow on the Hill.
- Tho. Susan, Wheler.
- Iohn• Lee, Smith.
- Iohn Austy, Sherman.
- Iohn Frier.
- Edmund Harding.
- Ioh. Heron, Carpenter of Hambeldon.
- Henry Miller.

Iohn Phips. Hee was very ripe in
Scriptures.

Emme wife of Rich. Tilsworth.

Iohn Phip. He was a reader or
rehearser to the other.

Iohn Say of Missenden. William
Stokeley.

Rog. Squire.

For saying to Holmes. Thys is one
of them that maketh all this
businesse in oure Towne wyth
the Byshoppe. I pray GOD teare
al the bones of him.

- Roger Herne.
- A certaine Tanner.

• Ioh. Butler, Carpenter. • Rich. Butler. • W. King of Vxbridge.		These three sate vp all the night in the house of Durdant of luencourte by Stanes,* readinge all the nighte of a Booke of Scripture.
Iohn Muklyf, Weauer.		For speaking againste holy bread and holy water.
Tho. Man.		For saying that Christ was not substantially in the Sacrament.
Thomas 〈...〉 Butler.		For receiuing an English booke geuen hym by Carder his father, who after his abiuration don before bishop Smith, fel sieke and died.
• Rich Vulford of Riselip. • Hackar. • Thomas King		
	• Ione Cocks. • The wife of Rob. Wywood, husbandman.	For desiring of Durdant her maister, that he being a knowen a man, woulde teache her some knowledge of gods law and desiring the same al^lso of the Butlers.
Rob. Carder of Iuer, weuer, detected these	• Nic. Durdāt of Stanes. • Dauy Durdant of Ankerwike. • The wife of old Durdāt. • The wife of Nich. Durdant.	These were detected for that olde Durdant of Euyncourte, at dinner sitting with his children & their wiues, bidding a boy there stāding, to departe out of y^e house, that he should not heare and tel, did recite certain places vnto them, out of the Epistles of S. Paule, & of the Gospels.
Ric. White, Father in law to Benet Ward of Bekinsfield.		He was detected to be a knowen man, because, after the death of bishop Smith, he was heard to say these words: my L. that dead

is, was a good man, and diuers known men were called before him, & he sēt them home againe, bidding them y^t they should liue among their neighbors as good Christen men should do. And now (saide he) there is a new Byshop which is called a blessed man, and if he bee as he is named, hee wil not trouble the seruants of God, but wil let them be in quiet.

Mariā Morden was forced vpon eer
othe to vtter

Iames Morden her owne brother,
which taught her y^e Pater noster,
Aue and Creede in English, and
that shee shuld not go on
pilgrimage, nor shuld worship
saincts or images, whych she had
not done by the space of 6. yeares
past, folowing & beleuing her
brother.

Iames Morden was forⁱced vpon his
othe to vtter

- Iohn Littlepage.
- Henry Littlepage.
- William Littlepage.
- Ione Littlepage.
- Ric. Morden his brother of Chesham.
- Emme his wife.
- Alice Browne of Chesham.
- Rad. Morden his brother of Chesham.
- His wife.
- Iohn Phips.
- Elizabeth Hamon.

Tho. Coupland forced by his othe,
detected

- A Chanon of Missenden.
- Tho. Groue, of London.
- Isabel Morwyn.
- The wife of Norman of Amersham.

- Th. Couper of Wodrow. Because these two could not saye

- Rog. Harding. their Creede in Latin.
- W. Grinder.

The wife of Rob. Stampe of Woodrowe.

Th. Roulād. T. Couplād. Ric. Steuēs.
Rog. Bene• forced by their othe to accuse.

- Thom. Harding of Amersham.
- Alice Harding his wife.

Because, after theyr abiuration in Byshop Smithes tyme, diuers known men (as they thē termed them) which wer abiured before, had much resort to their house.

For speaking these wordes: Men do say I was abiured for heresy, it may well be a napkin for my nose, but I wil neuer be ashamed of it.

Agnes Squi•e•

- The vicar of little Missenden.
- Tho. Groue & his wife.

He was detected for y^t hee did geue to D. Wilcocks 20. li. to excuse him y^t he might not be brought to open penance.

Iohn Sawcote vpon his othe did appech

Thomas Holmes.

For that he was heard to say these wordes after the greate abiuration, when hee had abiured: that the greatest cobbes were yet behinde.

Rich Saunders of Amersham

Because he euer defended them whyche were suspected to bee knowen mē. Also because he bought out his penance, and caryed hys badge in hys purse.

¶ Bishop Longland seeking howe to conuicte Iohn Phip of periu•te, who being charged with an oth did not answer affirmatiuely to such suspitions as were laide vnto him by Thom• Holmes and other seuerall accusers, did examine Sibill

Affrike his owne sister, vpon her oth to detect I. Phip her brother of relapse,* but she so answered, that the bishop could take by her no great hold of relapse against him. Wherin is to be noted the singular iniquitie and abuse in the Church of Rome, which by vertue of othe, setteth the sister to procure the brothers blud. The like also was sought by Thomas Affrik, his sisters husband, but they had by him no vauntage.

Iohn Butler hys owne brother.

For reading to hym in a certayne Booke of the Scripture, and perswading him to harken to the same.

Ienkin Butler did appeach

- Robert Carder.
- Richard Butler his brother.
- Henry Vulman of Vxbridge.
- Rich. Ashforde of Walton, otherwise called Rich. Nash, or R^a Tredway.
- W. King of Vxbridge.

Because she came not to the Churche offer on the woorke dayes, being admonished bothe by the church wardens, by the graduates of the church, and by Doctour Cockes commissary, but folowed her busines at home. Also because shee purposed to set her daughter to Alice Harding, saying that shee coulde better instruct her then many other. Also because she cur'sed y^e priest after he was gone, which had geuen to her the Eucharist, saying, that he had

- Isabel Tracher, wife of Ioh. Tracher
- Thom. Clement of Chersham.

W. Ameryden did detect

Alice Holting.

geuen to her bitter gall.

For y^t she being great w^t childe,
did dine before she wēt to
church to take her rites, saying,
that Isabel Tracher did so tell
her, y^t she might dine before she
receiued the sacrament.

W. Trecher of Amersham.

For keping Thomas Broue in hys
house on Easter and Christmasse
day, because hee woulde not
come to the Church.

Ioane Norman did appeach

- Rob. Cosin.
- Tho. Man.
- Alice Harding.

For disswading from pilgrimage,
from worshipping of Images, &
from bowing her mony to
Saintes for health of her childe.
Also, for saying, that shee needed
not to confesse to a priest: but
to be enoughe to lifte vp her
handes to Heauen. Also for
saying, that shee myghte as well
drincke vpon the Sonday before
masse, as any other day. &c.

Henry Miller Wyerdrawer, whych
from Amersham fledde to
Chēpsford.

That hee abiured and did
penance in Kent before, and
afterwarde cōming to
Amersham, taught them (as hee
sayde) many heresies.

- Iohn Barret goldsmith of
London.
- Ioan Barret his wife.
- Iode his seruaunt.

Because he was heard in his own
house before his wife and mayd
there present, to recite the
Epistle of s. Iames: which epistle
wyth many other things, hee had
perfectly wythout booke.

Iohn Merywether, his wife & his
sonne.

Also because Ioanne his wife had
lent to thys Ih. Scriuener, the
Gospell of Mathewe and Marke,

		which booke hee gaue to bishop Smith.
Ioh. Scriuener forced by his othe to accuse	• Durdant by Stanes. • Olde Durdant. • Isabel wife of Thomas Harding. • Hartop of Wyndsore. • Ione Barret wife of Iohn Barret of London. H. Miller. • Stilman Tailour.	All these were accused because at the marriage of Durdantes daughter, they assembled together in a Barne, and heard a certain Epistle of Saint Paule read, which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same.
	Tho. Rowland of Amersham.	It was objected to Thomas Roulande for speaking these woordes: Ah good Lorde where is all oure good communication which was wont to bee among vs, when your maister was aliue?
	• Tho. Groue of London butcher. • W. Glasbroke of Harowe on the hill. • Christopher Glasbroke of London.	These were appeached because they vsed to resorte and conferre together of matters of Religion, in the house of Thomas Man of Amer ^l sham, before the greate abiuration.
William Tilsworth of London goldsmith, prentise sometimes to Iohn Barret.		
	Iohn Newman.	He was appeached because hee was present in the house of I. Barret, at the reading of Scripture.
	• Iohn Wood of Henley. • Wil. Wood. • Lewys of Henley, seruing man.	
Wylie and his sonne.		This wily was appeached because he taught the gospell of Math. to I. Wood and William

Wood after the great abiuration,
& father Rob. did teach them s.
Paules Epistle,* whiche olde
father was after that burned at
Buckingham.

Turstan Litlepage. Emme his wife. This Thurstan had taught him the
saying of Salomon: that wrathe
raiseth chiding: had taught him
also the Pater noster, and Aue in
English. His Crede in english he
learned of his grādmother. The
said Thurstan also taught him,
Christe not to bee corporallye in
the sacrament.

- Iohn Litlepage his brother.
- Alice, wife of Thurstan Littlepage.

Because he was sayde to haue
learned the ten
commaundementes in English.
of Alice Thurstans wife in his
fathers house.

Iohn Frier.

Because this I. Frier had taught
the said W. y^e x.
commaundements in English.

Wil. Litlepage forced by his othe
did accuse.

- Thomas Groue.
- Hernes wife.
- The wife of Iohn Morwyn.
- Richard Bartlet.
- Robert Bartlet.

Thomas Bernard.

Iohn Clerke of little Missenden.

For saying shee neuer did
beleuee in the sacrament of the
aultare, or euer would beleue in
it.

Iohn Gardiner did appeache.

Iohn Horne of Ambylden.

- His sister Agnes Warde.
- Wardes wife of Marlow.

Because, that when this Gardiner
sayde, God helpe vs and our Ladie,

- Nicholas Stokeley.

and all the saints of heauen, then
she sayd: what neede is it to goe to
the feete, when we may goe to
the head?

- William Stokeley.
- The wife of William Deane.
- Will. Ramsey of Newbery.
- Iohn Symon og Marlow.
- Hys wife. of Marlow.
- Iohn Gray of Marlow.
- Dauy Schyrwood,
- William Schyrwood.
- Raynold Schyrwood.

Iohn Say did detect

- Christopher Shomaker.
- Ih. Okinden
- Rob. Pope.

Thys Chrystopher Shomaker
hadde beene burned a little
before at Newbery.*

¶Byshop Longland seeking matter
against Isabell Morwyn, of whome
hee coulde take no greate
aduauntage by examination, called
and caused Elizabeth Copland her
own sister, to testifie against her in
maner as followeth.

Elizabeth Coplande witnesseth
against

Isabel Morwyn, her owne sister.

Firste because in talke together
comming from their father,
being at the poynte of death,
Isabell sayde to her sister
Elizabeth, that all whych dye,
either passe to hel or heauen.
Nay sayde the other, there is
betweene them purgatorie.

Agayne, when Elizabeth came from
the roode of rest sayd Isabell, that
if she knew so much as shee hath
heard, shee would go no more on
pilgrimage while she liued: for all
Saints, said she, be in heauen.

Then asked Elizabeth wherefore pilgrimage was ordeined of Doctours and Priestes. Said the other, for gaine & profit. Who hath taught you this quoth Elizabeth? man or womā? Your Curate, I dare say, neuer learned you so. My Curate sayd she, will neuer knowe so much: and moreouer sayd to Elizabeth her sister, that if she woulde keepe counsaile, & not tell her husband, she would say more. And when Elizabeth answered, that she would not tell: but sayth the other, I will haue you to sweare: and because she woulde not sweare, the other would not proceed any further.

Alice Browne. forced by her othe too detect.

Iohn Tracher of Chessham.

The cause why this Iohn Tracher was denounced, was thys, for that hee taught her in the Gospell this sayeng of Iesus: Blessed bee they that heare the word of GOD and keepe it. Also, because hee taughte her the eyghte beatitudes in English.

¶Emme Tilseword because she refused to detect other by vertue of her othe, and denied such matter as by witnes and by the Bishops actes were prooued against her, in paine of relaps the Bishop enioyned her to make certaine fagots of cloth, and to weare the same, both before her vpper garment, and behinde, so long as she liued. Ex Regist. Longland.

Thomas Afrike.

For asking howe hys cousin Widmore clerke, the elder, and

Iohn Fip did at Hichenden:
whether they kepte the lawes of
GOD as they were wont.

W. Phippes forced by his othe to
detect.

Roger Parker deceased.

Ioh. Phip.

For sayeng that Images are not to
bee worshipped, because they
are made and carued wyth mans
hande, and that such ought not to
be worshipped.

Iohn Gardiner.

For that to the sayde Wil. this
Gardiner sayd, that all which are
burned for thys secte, are true
Martyrs.

Iohn Stilman.

Iohn Butler by his othe was forced
to detect.

Thomas Geffray firste of Vxbridge
then of Ipswich Taylor.

For reading and teaching him
in the acts and preachings of
the Apostles. Item, for hauing
a Scripture Booke in English:
whyche Booke, the sayde
Geffray gaue to the
Byshoppe of London when
hee was accused.

Item, that the sayde Geffray
sayde, that true Pilgrimage
was barefoote to go and visite
the poore, weake, and sicke,
for they are the true Images of
God.

Richard Vulford.

This Uulforde, and Thomas
Geffray tolde the sayde Iohn
Butler, that the hoste
consecrated, was not the verye
true bodye of Christe. In prooffe
whereof, they sayde, that let a
Mouse bee put in the pixe wyth
the hoste,* and the Mouse

woulde eate it vp. And for more
prooffe, they declared vnto the
sayde Iohn Butler, that there
were two Priests in Essex, which
put a mouse in the pixe to a
consecrated hoste, and the
mouse did eate it. Afterwarde
the facte of these Priestes beyng
knowne and brought to the
Byshop, one of the Priestes was
burned for the same.

Also the same Uulford and
Geffrey told him and Iohn
Clerke, that holy bread, and
holy water were but a vayne
glorye of the world: for God
neuer made them, but were
mennes inuentions: and that
GOD neither made Priestes,
for in Christes time there were
no priests

Moreouer, that Thomas
Geffrey caused this Iohn
Butler diuers Sōdayes to goe
to London to heare Doctour
Colet.*

Because this Iohn Butler had
an olde booke of Richard
Uulford.

Ioh. Clerke of Dēham.

Andrew Fuller of Vxbridge.

Also an other greate booke of
Andrewe Fuller for whiche
hee payde sixe shillyngs and
foure pence and an other litle
booke of Thomas Man, which
he brought to the Byshop.

Moreouer, this Thomas Man,
was appeached, because hee
read to this deponent ten
yeares agoe: howe Adam and
Eue were expelled out of
Paradise: and for speakyng
agaynste Pilgrimage and

The foresayd Iohn Butler did
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Thomas Man.

worshyppynge of Images, and
agaynst the singynge seruice
used then in Churches.

This Thomas Man, was burnt
and dyed a Martyr, of whō
mention is made before. pag.
817.

William Kyng.

This William Kyng was
appeached because he lodged
Thomas Man in his house vpon
a certayne holy day at diuine
seruice: vnto whom resorted
Richard Uulford, and Ioh.
Clerke, & this Ioh. Butler: to
whom the sayd Tho. Man
declared, that pilgrimage was
naught, & that Images were not
to be worshypped.

Rob. Carder.

Durdant. Rich. Butler his own
brother. Wil. Kyng

To these was layd that Thom.
Ca•der brought this Ioh. Butler
to Durdantes house at Iuēcourt
by Stanis, where was Rich. Butler
his brother, and William Kyng
readyng in a certayne Engglishe
booke: At whiche tyme Durdant
desired thē not to tell, that he
had any such English booke in his
house, least hee should be
burned for the same.

Rich. Nash or Ashford.

Also an other tyme, that Iohn
Butler with Richard Butler his
brother, and Robert Carder wēt
to the house of Rich. Ashford or
Nashe, to heare the same
Ashford read in a certayne little
booke, but which cōteined many
good things.

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the roode of rest sayd Isabell, that

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Saints, said she, be in heauen.
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And when Elizabeth answered, that
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other, I will haue you to sweare:
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This Uulforde, and Thomas
Gefferay tolde the sayde Iohn
Butler, that the hoste
consecrated, was not the verye
true bodye of Christe. In prooffe

whereof, they sayde, that let a Mouse bee put in the pixe wyth the hoste,* and the Mouse woulde eate it vp. And for more prooffe, they declared vnto the sayde Iohn Butler, that there were two Priests in Essex, which put a mouse in the pixe to a consecrated hoste, and the mouse did eate it. Afterwarde the facte of these Priestes beyng knowne and brought to the Byshop, one of the Priestes was burned for the same.

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Also the same Uulford and Geffrey told him and Iohn Clerke, that holy bread, and holy water were but a vayne glorye of the world: for God neuer made them, but were mennes inuentions: and that GOD neither made Priestes, for in Christes time there were no priests

Moreouer, that Thomas Geffrey caused this Iohn Butler diuers Sōdayes to goe to London to heare Doctour Colet.*

Because this Iohn Butler had an olde booke of Richard Uulford.

Andrew Fuller of Vxbridge.

Also an other greate booke of Andrewe Fuller for whiche hee payde sixe shillyngs and foure pence and an other litle booke of Thomas Man, which he brought to the Byshop.

The foresayd Iohn Butler did detect.

Thomas Man.

Moreouer, this Thomas Man, was appeached, because hee read to this deponent ten

yeares agoe: howe Adam and Eue were expelled out of Paradise: and for speakyng agaynste Pilgrimage and worshyppynge of Images, and agaynst the singyng seruice vsed then in Churches.

This Thomas Man, was burnt and dyed a Martyr, of whō mention is made before. pag. 817.

William Kyng.

This William Kyng was appeached because he lodged Thomas Man in his house vppon a certaine holy day at diuine seruice: vnto whom resorted Richard Uulford, and Ioh. Clerke, & this Ioh. Butler: to whom the sayd Tho. Man declared, that pilgrimage was naught, & that Images were not to be worshypped.

- Rob. Carder.
- Durdant.
- Rich. Butler his own brother.
- Wil. Kyng

To these was layd that Thom. Carder brought this Ioh. Butler to Durdantes house at Iuēcourt by Stanis, where was Rich. Butler his brother, and William Kyng readyng in a certaine Engglishe booke: At whiche tyme Durdant desired thē not to tell, that he had any such English booke in his house, least hee should be burned for the same.

Rich. Nash or Ashford.

Also an other tyme, that Iohn Butler with Richard Butler his brother, and Robert Carder wēt to the house of Rich. Ashford or Nashe, to heare the same Ashford read in a certaine little booke, but which cōteined many

good things.

Richard Vulman of London.

This Uulman was detected vpon this, for that he would haue red to this Iohn Butler a certaine english booke, and spake against pilgrimage and images.

Henr. Vlman & his wife of Uxbridge.

This Rafe Carpenter was detected, for hauing certaine bookes of the Apocal. in English. Also for that thys Carpēter and his wife did bring him and the wife of Henry Uulman to a cornerhouse of Fridaystreete, where the goodman of y^e house hauing a stumpe foote, had diuers such bookes, to the intēt they should heare them read.

- Radulph Carpenter of London.
- A daughter of Iohn Phip.
- A daughter of William Phip.

These were detected partly for holdyng against the Sacrament of the alter, partly also, because they were reading two houres together in a certayne booke of the actes of the Apostles in English at Chersham in Ashfords house.

- R. Butler.
- Ienkin Butler his owne breethren.
- The mother of Richard Ashford.
- I. Butler his other brother.

Iohn Phip compelled by his othe to detect.

The wife of Robert Pope.

For hauing certaine bookes in English,* one bound in bourds, and three with parchment couerings, with foure other sheetes of paper written in english, conteining matter agaynst the Romish Religion. Also another booke of the seruice of the virgin Mary in

English.

Thomas Stilman.

Tho. Stilman was therefore detected, for y^t he told Wil. Fip how that he being in lolards tower, did climbe vp the steeple where y^e bels were, and there cutting y^e belropes, did tye two of them together, and so by them slipped downe into Paules Churchyard, & escaped.

Tho. Tredway compelled by his othe to detect.

- Iohn Mordē of Ashly greene.
- Rich. Asheford his brother.
- Agnes Ashford his owne mother.

These were accused & detected, because Iohn Morden had in hys house a booke of y^e Gospels, and other chapters in english, & read three or foure times in the same: In whiche booke his brother Ashford also did rede once. Item, because I. Morden spake against Images, and spake these words: our Lorde Iesus Christ saith in hys Gospell: Blessed bee they that heare y^e word of God, & kepeth it, &c. Tredway also detected his mother for teaching him y^t he shuld not worship y^e images of saints.*

¶Likewise Ioane Bernard being accused by Robert Copland, was sworne by her othe to detecte Thomas Bernarde hir owne naturall father, for speaking against pilgrimage, against worshipping of Saints, and against diriges and praieng for the dead, and for warning his daughter not to vtter any of all this to her Ghostly father.*

¶The like othe also was forced to Richard Bernard that he

should in like maner detect
Thom. Bernard his owne
naturall father, for teaching him
not to worship images, nor to
beleeue in the Sacramente of the
aulter, but in God onely which
is in heauen: and that he should
not vtter the same to the Priest.

The vicar of Iuer, and Richard
Taylor witnes, accused.

Richard Carder.

Agnes Carder, wife of Richard
Carder detected.

Richard Carder her husband.

For defending the cause of
Ienkin Butler, and for saieng
that the Bishop dyd hym
iniurie.

Item, for sayeng that if he had
knowne the Byshops man
woulde haue set hym so to the
Bishop, hee woulde haue
giuen hym warning thereof
before.

Item, for sayeng, that if hee
shoulde call him, hee woulde
confesse nothing although he
burned him.

For sayeng that hee suspected
that shee was too much familiare
with the Uicar of Iuer. And when
shee aunswered againe: howe
coude hee bee euill with her,
seeing he sayeth Masse euery
day, and doth not confesse
hymselfe before: then her
husbande sayde, that hee coude
confesse himselfe to a post or to
the alter.

¶Where note that the Bishop then
examining her of that offence,
whether she was culpable, and
whether she was commonly in the
voyce of the people diffamed with
him or no: she confessed so to be.
Whereupon no other penaltie nor
penance for that crime of adultery

was enioined her of the Bishop,
but only this, that she should
frequent the Uicares house no
more.

Ioh. Clerke of Denham forced by
his othe to detecte.

- Richard Vulford of Riselyp.
- Iohn Butler.

Iohn Mastall detected.

The daugh|ter of Iohn Fippe of
Hinchenden.

- Rob. Rowland.
- William Franke.
- Thomas Houre.
- Tho. Rowland.
- Ioane Franke.
- Ioh. Baker, all these
detected.

Alice Sanders, wife of Richard
Saunders of Amersham.

For speaking agaynste Images,
Pilgrimages,* oblations, and
agaynste the Sacramente of
the alter.

Item, when this Iohn Clerke
had made a weeie for fish,
Richard Uulford commyng by,
asked hym when hee had
made hys weeie, whether the
weeie now coulde turne againe
and make hym: and hee sayd
no. Euen so (quoth hee) God
hath made all Priests as thou
hast made the weeie, and how
can they turne againe & make
God?

For sayeng that she was as well
learned, as was the parishe
Priest in all things, except only in
sayeng of Masse.

For geuing twelue pence to
Thomas Holmes to buy a
certayne Booke in Englishe
for her daughter. To whome
Tomas Holmes answered
agayne, that a noble woulde
not suffice to buy it.

Another tyme, for geuing syxe
pence to the buieng of a
certaine booke in english,
which cost fiue markes.

Another time, Thomas Houre
commyng from Owburne,
shee asked what newes, and
hee sayde, that manye were
there condemned of heresie:

and therefore hee would
leane to that [Page 829](#) waye
no more. Then saide she, if he
did so, he would gaine
nothyng thereby. Whereby hee
had no more worke with her
husband, and after was put
from his holy water
Clerkeship in that towne.

Another time, for saieng to
Thomas Rowland these
wordes: yee may see how
Thomas Houre and other
which laboured to haue
heretikes detected before B.
Smith▪ are broughte now to
beggery: you may take exāple
by thē.

For sayeng to one Ioan
Timberlake, and to Alice
Tredway ten yeares ago▪ that
shee could neuer beleue
pilgrimages to be profitable, nor
that Saints were to be
worshipped: and desired them
not to tell their Curate. Which
Alice immediately caused her to
be called before the Bishop.

For that shee beeyng not sicke,
but in good health, and beeing
rebuked dyuers tymes of her
husband for the same, yet woulde
not go to the Church, but taried
at home and kept her worke as
well holyday as worke daye, the
space of three yeares together.

For speaking against
Pilgrimages, in the companie
of Iohn and Elizabeth
Gardiner, as he was going to
our Lady of Lincolne for hys

- Ioane Franke, William Franke the elder, William Frāke the yonger. Ioane Colingborne.
- Alice Tredway detected.

William Carder vpon his othe was forced to detect. Isabel Tracher, wife of William Tracher his maistres.

- Isabel Gardiner.
- Iohn Gardiner forced by their othe to detect the Vicare of Wicombe. Thomas Raue of great Merlow.

penance enioyned by
Byshoppe Smyth. Also the
same tyme, as hee met
certayne commyng from
Sainte Iohn Shorne, for
sayeng they were fooles, and
calling it Idolatry.

Also in the same voyage,
when he saw a certaine
chappell in decay and ruine,
he sayde: lo, yonder is a faire
milkehouse downe.

Item, when he came to Lincolne,
he made water in the Chappell at
masse time, excusing afterward
that he did it of necessitie. Item,
the same time speakyng against
the Sacrament of the aulter, he
sayde, that Christ sitteth in heauen
at the right hand of the father
almighty, and brought forth this
parable, sayeng, that Christ our
Lord sayd these wordes, when he
went from his disciples, and
ascended to heauen: That once he
was in sinners hands, & woulde
come there no more. Also when
hee came to Wicomb there to do
his penaunce, he bound his fagot
with a silken lace. Also, being
demanded of D. London, whether
he had done his penaunce in
comming to our Lady of Lincolne,
he aunswered, that Bishop Smith
had released him, to come to our
Lady of Messenden for sixe yeares.
And three yeares he came, but
whether he came any more,
because he did not there register
his name, therefore he sayd he
could not prooue it.

	The wife of Tho. Potter of Hychenden.	
Roger Benet forced by hys othe to detect.	The wife of Wil. Tilseworth now of Haukewel.	For not thinking catholikely, that is, after the tradition of Rome, of the Sacrament of the alter.
	- The wife of Robert Stampe. - Marian Randall.	For not accomplishyng her penaūce inioyned by Byshop Smith.
	Iohn Butler.	For hauyng of him a certaine booke in English conteinyng a lewe and a Christian.
	His owne wife deceassed.	
	Iohn Clerke of Denham.	For communing with hym, agaynst Images,* Pilgrimage, and the Sacrament of the aultar.
	Thom. Gef frey, of Vxbrige, & his wife departed.	For communyng agaynst the Sacrament of the aultar, worshyppyng of Saintes, Pilgrimage. &c.
Richard Vulford, de tected.	Henry Vul man of Vxbrige.	For speakyng and teaching agayng the Sacrament of the aultar eleuen yeares agoe, and saying it was but a trifle.
	- The mother of William Kyng of Vxbrige. - William Kyng. - Robert Carder, the elder. - Iohn Baker of Vxbrige.	
Iohn Scriuener the elder, detected.	- Geldener the elder. - His two daughters.	For beyng present and harkenyng vnto Richard Benet readyng the Epistle of Saint Iames in English.*
	Emme, sister of W. Tilseworth mart.	

- Iohn Lee Carpenter of Henly.

¶ Here is to be noted, that in the towne of Chesham were two men: One named Robert Hutton. The other Iohn Sparke. Of whiche two, the one called the other hereticke: * The other called hym agayne theefe. Sparke whiche called Hutton theefe, was condemned to pay for his slaūder x. shillynges. But Hutton which called the other hereticke, payed nothyng. It happened that the wife of this Sparke not long after, had certeine money stolne. For the whiche the sayd Sparke her husband sent for the counsaile of two Friers, who gaue him counsaile to make two balles of clay, and to put them in the water and in the same balles to inclose the names of thē whom he suspected, * and so doying the sayd Sparke came to his money agayne. And this was detected to Byshop Longland the same tyme by Thomas Clement. But of all this matter there was no inquisition made, nor interrogatories ministred, nor witnesse producted, nor any sentence geuen. Ex Regist. Longlang. fol. 50.

Iohn Grosar, beyng put to his oth, detected.

- Thomas Tykill.
- Thomas Spēser and his wife.
- Iohn Knight.

This Iohn Grosar was examined whether he had a booke of the Gospels in Englishe, who confessed that he receaued such a booke of Thomas Tykill morrowe. Masse Prieste in Milkestreete, and afterwarde

Lente the same booke to
Thomas Spenser: Whiche
Thomas Spenser with hys wife
vsed to read vppon the same.*
After that it was lent to Ioh.
Knight who at length deliuered
the booke to the Uicare of
Rikemansworth.

Fraunces Funge was examined
for speakyng these wordes to
his brother I. which wordes he
had learned of Thomas Clarke:
If the Sacramēt [Page 830](#) of
the alter be very God & man,
flesh & bloud, in forme of
bred, as priests say that it is:
then haue we many Gods, and
in heauen there is but one
God. And if there were an
hūdreth houseled in one
parish,* and as manye in
another, then there must
needes bee more then one
God. I will not denie, but it is
a holy thing: but it is not the
body of the Lord that suffered
Passion for vs: for hee was
once in mans hands heere, and
ill entreated, and therefore he
will neuer come in sinfull
mens handes againe.

Also for speaking these
wordes: the Pope hath no
authority to geue pardon, and
to release any mans soule
from sinne, and so from
payne: it is nothyng but
blinding of the people, to haue
their money.

Also for these wordes, or
suche like: If a man do sowe
twentie quarters of corne, as

Iohn Fūge forced by his othe to
detect.

- Fraunces Funge and his
brother
- Thomas Clerke.

	Thomas Clerke.	wheate or barley, or other corne, he ought to deduct his seede, and of the residue to tithe, or else he hath wrong, &c. For speaking against the reall presence of Christe in the Sacramente vnto Fraunces Funge, as before, &c. For sayeng these wordes: That the Sacrament of the aulter is not the body whiche was borne of the blessed virgine Mary. Item, for speakyng such wordes foureteene yeares paste: That folkes were ill occupied that woorshipped any thynges grauen with mans hande: for that is grauen wyth mans hand, is neither God, nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of Saints. Nor we ought to worship any thing, but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saints, whiche are but stockes and stones. For hauing and reading vpon a suspected booke: whyche booke when hee perceaued to be seene in his hand, he closed it, and caried it to his chamber.
Fraunces Funge and Alyce his wife were put to their othe to detect.	Robert Raue of Dorney.	
Henry D•yn forced by his othe to detect.	• Edmund Hill of Penne. • Robert Freeman, parishe priest of Orton by Colobroke • Thomas Groue and his wife, of Amersham. • Matild Philby, wife of Edward Philby of Chaldwey.	
Iohn Hill forced by his othe, did detect.	Ioanne Gunne of Chessham.	Because she instructed and taught the sayd Hill before his abiuration, in the Epistle of Saint

Iames, and other opinions.

- William Atkyns of great Missenden.
- Richard Murden, of Chesham.
- Emme Murden, his wife.

William Gudgame forced by his othe to detect.

Ioanne Gudgame his owne wife.

For being in the same opinion of the Sacrament that hee was of: who notwithstanding did swear the same Matild not to bee true, that her husband sayd.

Alyce Nashe, or Chapman, of Missenden.

Matilde Symonides, and Iohn Symonides her husband, put to their othe detected.

One Haggar of London.

For speaking in theyr house, an. 1520. these wordes: That there shoulde be a battayle of Priests,* and all the Priests shoulde be slayne, and that the Priests shoulde a while rule: but they shoulde all be destroyed, because they holde agaynste the law of holy Church, and for making of false Gods, and after that they should be ouerthrowne.

Item, another time he sayd, that men of the Churche shoulde be put downe, and the false Gods that they make: and after that he sayde they should know more, and then should be a mery world.

Thomas Clerke forced by his othe did detect.

Christopher Tin^lker of Wicombe.

The cause of thys Tinkers trouble was, for that he comming to this mans house, and complaining to him of y^e pouerty of the world, hadde these wordes: That there was neuer so misgouerned people, and that they bare thēselues so

bolde vppon pardons and
pilgrimages, that they cared
not whatsoeuer they did, and
so he departed.

And after that seauen dayes,
thys Tinker comming againe,
asked hym how his
communication with hym last
did please him, and he said
well.

Then the Tinker sayd he
knewe more, and that hee
coule tell hym more, and bad
him that he should beleue in
God in heauen: for heere be
many Gods in earth, and there
is but one God: and that he
was once heere, and was ill
dealt with, and woulde no
more come heere till the daye
of doome: and that the
Sacrament of the aulter was a
holy thing, but not the flesh
and bloud of Christ that was
borne of the virgine, and
charged hym not to tell this to
hys wife, and especially to his
wiues brother a Priest.

Afterward as the Priest was
dryeng singing bread being
wet, which his sister had
bought, the foresayde Thomas
Clerke sayde, that if euery one
of these were a God, then
were there many Gods. To
whome the Priest aunswered,
that till the holy wordes were
spoken ouer it, it was of no
power, and then it was very
God, flesh and bloud, sayeng
moreouer, that it was not
meete for anye lay man to

speake of such thyngs.

These wordes of the Priest beeyng after recited to the Tinker, by the sayd Clerke: then sayd he, let euery man say what they will: but you shall finde it as I shew you: and if you will take labour to come to my house, I will shewe you a farther prooffe of it, if you will take heede, &c.

To these was objected for that they hadde communicatiō and cōference with thys Roberte Pope in the Gospell of S. Mathew, before the great abiuratiō, in y^e towne of Amersham.

Robert Pope first of Amersham, after of Westādred, caused by his oth, did detect these folowing.

- Thomas Afrike, aliās Litle page, and hys wife.
- Thomas Scriuener father to Thomas Holmes wife.

Thys Scriuener was detected, for that the sayde Pope had of him a booke of the Epistles in English.

To Ward, this was layd, that the foresayde Pope had receaued a Booke of the ten Commaundementes.

Benet Ward of Bekennesfield, and his father. Edmund Dormer.

He had also the Gospels of Mathewe and Marke.

Of the same Warde he learned hys Christe Crosse rowe: Fyue partes of the eight beatitudes.

Thomas Hardyng, and his wife. Iohn Scriuener, and his wife.

- Tho Man, and his wife.
- Another Tho. Man and his wife.
- Thomas Bernard.

These were detected for this, because they hadde communed and talked with the sayde Robert Pope oftymes in Bookes of Scripture and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the

Sacramente of the Lords body.

- Thomas Groue.
- Thomas Holmes.
- Robert Raue.
- William Gudgame, and his wife.
- Nashe the elder, and his wife.
- W. Gray of Easthenred, Milner.
- Edward Gray, and hys wyfe, of Easthenred.
- Margery yong, widow, of Easthenred.
- Isabell Moer, sister to the sayde Margery of Easthenred.
- Richard Nobys Fouler, and his wife of Easthenred.

Richard Colyns of Gynge, and his wife.

Thys Colyns was among them a great reader, and hadde a booke of Wickeleffes Wicket, and a booke of Luke, and one of Paul, and a Glose of the Apocalyps.

William Colyns his brother.

Roberte Pope of Westanred, being before adiuured now agayne put to his othe detected these as folow.

Thom. Colyns the father of Richard and William. He hadde a booke of Paule, and a booke of small Epistles.

- Iohn Colyns, of Betterton.
- Robert Lyuord, of Steuenton.
- William Lyuord, of Steuenton.
- Father Amershaw, of Steuenton.
- Smarte, of Steuenton, Milner.
- Thomas Halle, of Hungerford.
- Iohn Eden, of Hungerford.
- Iohn Ludlow, of

Hungerford.

- Thomas New, of Wantage, thatcher.
- Ioanne Taylor and her mother, of Bissam.
- Humfrey Shomaker, of Newbery.
- Iohn Semande, of Newbery, Fishmonger.
- Robert Geydon, and his wife, of Newbery, weauer.

Iohn Edmundes, of Burford.

This Iohn Edmūds was charged for hauing a Booke, named W. Thorpe. Also, for reading in an Englishe booke after a mariage.

- Robert Burges, and his wife of Burford.
- Iohn Colyns, of Burford.
- Iohn Colyns, and his wife of Asthall.

Ioh. Clerke of Claufield.

This Clerke was hearde saye that all the world was as well hallowed as in y^e Church or Churchyard. And that it was as good to be buried in the field, as in y^e Church or Churchyard.

- William Gunne, and his wife of Witney, Tanner.
- Iohn Baker, of Witney, Weauer.
- Iohn Brabant the elder, of Stanlake.
- Iohn Brabant the yonger of Stanlake.
- Iohn Kember, of Hennybarkes.
- Walter Kember, his brother, of Hēnybarkes.
- Iohn Rabettes, of Chawley.
- Thomas Widmore, of

Hychenden.

Ioh. Fyppe William Fyppe.

For readyng a certaine Treatise
vppon the Pater noster in
Englishe, whiche this Iohn Fippe
did read to hym, and to his
father.

¶This foresayd Robert Pope
moreouer detected Edward Pope
his owne father of litle
Missenden,* for hearyng the
Gospell of Mathew read vnto
him, and for communynge vpon
the same with this Robert Pope
his sonne, hee detected likewise
Edward Pope his brother.

¶Furthermore, he detected his
owne wife, who had before
abiured vnder Byshop Smith, to
continue still in her opinions.

- Thomas Clerke the elder,
of Hychenden.
- Laurence Herne, of
Hychenden.

W. Halyday of Easthenred.

This Halyday was detected,* for
hauyng in his custodie a booke
of the Actes of the Apostles in
English, whiche the sayd Robert
Pope brought vnto hym, at the
takyng of Roger Dodde.

- William Squire, and hys
brother of Schaw.
- Thomas Steuēton, &
Matilde his daughter, of
Cherney.

Rob. Pope before abiured, did
detect these here folowyng.

- Thomas Philippe, pointer.
- Laurence Tayler of
London.

For that these two beyng in the
house of Richard Colyns at
Gynge, there did read in an
English booke,* the Epistle of

Saint Paule to the Romaines, and Laurence did read the first Chapter of S. Lukes Gospell.

- Andrew Maysey, of Burton.
- The wife of Richard Colynes, of Gynge.

These beyng together at Upton in Iohn Harrys house, did talke of the Apocalips, and of the Actes of the Apostles, and therfore were suspected & thus detected. Ex Regist. Longl fol 71.

- Iohn Harrys▪ his wife.
- Alyce Colyns, wife of Richard Colyns.

Item, because Iohn Harrys spake against Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talke of seauen leane, and seauen fat Oxen.

Roberte Colyns of Hertford Wallis, Mason.

Tho. Grey, of Westhēdred.

For receiuing certeine bookes of this Roberte Pope.

Margarete House, wife of William House, of Estginge.

For keepyng companye, and receauyng y^e doctrine of Alyce Colins.

- Iohn Nashe, of little Missenden.
- Henry Etkyn, and hys mother, of little Missenden.
- Richard Dell, of Missenden.

Roberte Colyns beeyng sworne vpon the Euangelistes, did detecte these persons. Richarde Colyns of Gynge.

First, for that this Richard Colyns did reade vnto the sayde Roberte Colyns the ten Commaundements: [*](#) and after taught him the Epistles of

Iames, and another small
Epistle of Peter: and after that,
tooke hym the Gospell of
Saint Iohn in English, & bade
him reade therein hymselfe.

Also, for teaching him not to
worship Images, nor to set vp
candels, nor to go on
pilgrimage.

Another crime against Richard
Colyns: Because hee taughte
this Robert, that in all such
things wherein hee offended
God, he shoulde onely shrine
hymselfe to God: & in which
things he offēded mā, he
should shrine hym to man.

*Also for teaching him that
the Sacramente of the Altar is
not very God, but a certaine
figuratiue thing of Christ in
bread: and that the Priest hath
no power to consecrate the
body of Christ.

Also, for that the sayd Richard
did teach him in Wickliffes
Wicket: howe that a man
maye not make the bodye of
our Lorde, which made vs:
and how can wee then make
him againe? The father is
vnbegotten, and vnmade: the
Sonne is onely begotten and
not made: and how then can
mā make that which is
vnmade, said he.

And in the same booke of
Wickliffes Wicket, followe the
wordes of Christ thus
speaking: If my wordes be
heresie, then am I an

hereticke: And if my words be leasings, then am I a lyer, &c.

Also, another cryme against Richarde Colyns: For hauing certayne English Bookes, as Wickleffes Wicket, the Gospell of Sainct Iohn, the Epistles of Sainct Paule, Iames, and Peter in English, an exposition of the Apocalips, a booke of our Ladies mattens in english, a booke of Salomon in english, a booke called the pricke of conscience.

The crime againste Iohn Iohn Edmundes, of Burford Taylor. Edmundes, for hauing a certain english book of y^e cōmandemēts.

The foresayd Robert Colyns being sworne vpon the Euangelists, did detecte these persons.

Iohn Harrys.

The crime againste Iohn Harrys: For communing with hym of the first Chapter of Sainct Iohns Gospel: * In the beginning was the word, and the word was wyth God, and God, &c. Also for communing of a Chapter in Mathew of the viij. beatitudes.

Thomas Hall.

Item, for counsaylyng hym not to go on pilgrimage to Saints, because they were Idols.

- Rob. Lyuord.
- William Lyuord.
- Bruges, & Ioanne his wife.
- Harrys, & his wife.
- Rich. Colyns.

All these were detected, for that they beeing together in Bruges house at Burford, were reading together in the booke of the exposition of the Apocalyps, and communed concerning the matter of opening the booke with seauen claspes, &c.

- Iohn Ledisdall, or Edon of Hungerford.

- Iohn Colyns of Burford.
- Iohn Colyns, and his wife, of Asthall.
- Iohn Clerke, of Claufield.
- The wife of Richard Colyns, of Ginge.

Thom. Colyns, and his wife, of Gynge.

This Thomas was charged for hauyng a booke of Paul & Iames in English.

- William Colyns.
- Robert Pope, of Henred.
- Hakker, of Colmanstreete in London.

Stacy brickmaker of Colmōstreete.

For hauing the booke of the Apocalypse.

Tho Phillip. Laurence Wharfar of London.

For readyng the Epistle of Saint Peter in English in the house of Roberte Colyns at Asthall.

- Ioanne Colyns his owne sister, of Asthall.
- Thomas Colyns hys cousen, of Asthall.
- Maistres Bristow, of London.
- Iohn Colyns sonne of Richard Colyns, of Gynge.
- Ioanne Colyns daughter of Richard Colyns of Gynge.
- Henry Stacy sonne of Stacy of Colmanstreete.
- Thomas Steuenton of Charney in Barkeshyre.
- Iohn Brabant in Stanlake.
- Iohn Baker weauer, of Wytney.

Richard Colyns.

The wordes of Richarde Colyns were these: That the Sacramente was not the true bodye of Christ in flesh and blood: but yet it

ought to be reuerenced: albeit
not so as the true body of christ.

The crime agaynste Thomas
Colins: For that eight yeares
past, this Thomas Colins his
Father had taught this Iohn his
sonne in the presence of hys
Mother, the x.

Commaundementes, and
namely, that he should haue
but one GOD, and shoulde
worshyp nothing but GOD
alone: * and that to worship
Sayntes and to go on
pilgrimage was Idolatry.

Thom. Colins of Gynge, hys owne
naturall Father.

Also that he should not
worshippe the Sacrament of
the aulter as God, for that it
was but a token of the Lordes
bodye. Which thing so muche
discontented this Iohn Colyns,
that he sayd he would disclose
his Fathers errorrs, and make
him to be burned: but his
Mother entreated him not so to
doe.

The crime against Rob. Colyns:
That this Robert readde to him in
a certaine thicke booke of
Scripture in English.

Rob. Colins of Asthall.

The crime layd to loh.
Edmundes: For that hee readde
to this Iohn the x.
Commaūdementes, & tolde him
that Iohn Baptiste sayd, that one
shoulde come after him whose
buckle of his shoo, he was not
worthy to vndoe.

Iohn Colins of Burford, appeached
to the Byshop these persons her
named.

Iohn Edmundes and his wife.

Alice, wife of Gunne of Wytney.

Iohn Hakker, and his sonne of London.

This Iohn Hakker of London, comming to Burford, brought a book speaking of the x. plagues of Pharao, Also after that, an other booke, entreatyng of the seauen Sacramentes.

- Laurence Taylor of Shordich.
- Thomas Philip of London.
- Philip, seruaunt of Richard Colins.
- Waunsell fishmonger, of the Vise.
- Ioane Robert.
- Burges wife.
- Iohn Boyes, and his brother, a Monke of Burford.
- Thomas Baker, Father to Gunnes wife of Whatley.
- Agnes, daughter of Iohn Edmundes.
- The Mother of Iohn Boyes, of Sedbery.
- Edward Red Scholemayster of Burford.
- Robert Hichman of Lechelade.

Elynor Heggess of Burford.

This Elynor was charged that she shold burne the Sacrament in an Ouen.

- Iohn Through, of the Priory of Burford.
- The Mother of Robert Burges wife.

Roger Dods of Burford, by his othe was cōpelled to vtter these persons here named.

Syr Iohn Drury Vicare of Windrish in Worcetershyre.

The crime against this Syr Iohn Drury was, for that, when Roger Daddes came first to him to bee hys seruaunte, hee sware him vppon a booke to keepe his counsels in all thinges: and after that he

shewed hym a certayne
woman in his house whome
hee sayde to bee hys wife,
counselling moreouer the sayd
Roger Dods vpon an embring
day, to suppe with bread &
cheese, sayinge: that whiche
goeth into a mannes body
defileth not a mans soule, but
that whiche goeth out of the
body defileth both body and
soule.

Also that the sayde Uicare
taught him the A.B. C. to the
intent he shoulde haue
vnderstanding in the
Apocalips, wherein he sayde
that he shoulde perceiue all
the falsehood of the world,
and all the trueth. He said
farthermore vnto him, when
he had bene at the Ladye of
Worcester, at the bloud of
hayles, which had cost him
xviij. pence, that he had done
as an ill husbände, that had
ploughed his lande and sowed
it, but nothing to the purpose:
For he hadde worshipped
mans handye worke and cast
away his money, which had
bene better geuen to the poore:
for he should worship but one
God, and no handye worke of
man.

Item, when the people would
offer candles, where hee was
Uicare to Mary Magdalene, he
would take thē away & say
they were fooles, y^t brought
them thether.

- Elizabeth More, of Easthenred.
- Robert Pope, of

Westhenred.

Henry Miller or Tucke, by Ware. This Henrye dyd shew to Roger Dods a certain story of a woman in the Apocalips, riding vpō a red beast. The sayd Henry was twice abiured.

Iohn Fyppe of Hychenden. For reading vnto the said Roger Dods, a certayne Gospell in English.

W. Fyppe of Hychenden and Henry his sonne. This William had exhorted Roger Dods that he should worship no Images, nor commit no Idolatrye, but worship one God: and tolde the same Roger, that it was good for a man to be mery & wise meaning, that he shold keepe close that was tolde him for els strait punishment woulde folow.

Roger Parker of Hichenhen. This Parker sayd to Iohn Fyppe for burning of his bookes, that he was fowle to blame, for they were worth a hūdreth markes. To whom Iohn aunswared, that hee had rather burne his bookes, then that hys bookes shoulde burne hym.

The wife of Thomas Wydemore, daughter of Roger House, of Hychenden, Olde Wydmores wife, sister to Iohn Phip of Hychenden.

Iohn Ledisdall of Hungerford. [*](#)For reading of the bible, in Robert Burges ouse at Burforde vpon holy roode day, with Colyns Lyuord, Thomas Hall and other.

Rob. Colins & his wife. Iohn Colins, For buying a Bible of Stacy, for
and his wife. 20. s.

The father of Rob. Colins. This father Colins had beene of
his doctrine from the yeare of our
Lord. 1480.

The foresaid Roger Dods of
Burford, by his othe was compelled
to vtter these persons here annexed.

- Tho. Baker of Whatley.
- Robert Lyuord.
- Iohn Symson of Steuenton.
- Tho. Ryley, of Burford.
- Iohn Clemson, seruaunt to
the Prior of Burford.
- Iohn Edmundes, of
Burford.
- William Gunne of Wytney,

To these was layd, that they
beyng in the house of Iohn Harris
of Upton, at the mariage of Ioane
the wife of Roberte Burges, dyd
reade in a Booke called
Nicodemus gospell, that made
the cloth which our Lorde was
buried in (as the Register sayth)
and in that Booke is the story of
the destruction of Hierusalem.

- Iohn Baker, Weauer of
Wytney,
- The Bayliffe of Wytney.

- Iohn Hakker.
 - Iohn Brabant, and his wife.
 - Iohn Brabant his
sonne,*with his wife.
 - Iohn Brabant the younger
sonne, with his wife.
 - Reginald Brabant, of
Stanlake.
- For reading in a certayne English
book of Scripture, they being
together in Ioh. Brabantes house of
Stanlake.

Henry Fyppe.

The crime and detection against
this Hēry was, for that he being
asked of this D•ddes an. 1515.
Whether he would go to
Wycomb or not, aunswered
agayne, that hee was chosen
Rood man, that is, keeper of the
Roode loft, saying y^t he muste go
& tind a candle before his Blocke
almightye.*

Olyuer Smyth of Newlyne, and his Wyfe.

William Hobbis.

This William Hobbis was detected, first by Radulphe Hobbys his brother to Byshop Smyth, but was deliuered throughe the suite of the Curate of Westwycame.

Iohn Edmundes, otherwise called Iohn Ogins of Burford, did detect

Philp Brabant seruaunt of Rich. Colyns.

For saying, that the sacrament of the aultar was made in the remē|braūce of Christs own body, but it was not y^e body of Christ.

The shepheardes kalender was also accused & detected.

Because the same Edmundes sayde that hee was persuaded by this booke, readynge these woordes: o that the Sacrament was made in the remembrance of Christ.

The booke of William Thorpe likewise was muche complayned of both by thys Iohn Edmundes, and diuers other.

Richard Colyns of Gynges.

This Richard Colins, as he was a great doer among these good men: so was he muche complayned vppon by diuers, & also by thys Edmundes, for bringing with him a booke called the king of Beeme, o into theyr company, and did read thereof a greate parte vnto them, in this Edmundes house of Burford.

Iohn Edmundes, otherwise called Iohn Ogyns of Burford did detect

Alice Colins, wife of Rich. Colyns.

This Alice likewise was a famous womā among them, and had a good memory & could recite much of y^e scriptures, and other good bookes: And therefore

when any conuenticle of these men did meete at Burford, commonly she was sent for, to recite vnto them the declaration of the x. commaundementes, & the Epistles of Peter, and Iames.

Ioanne Colyns daughter of Rich. and of Alice Colyns.

This Ioanne also following her fathers and Mothers steppes was noted, for that she had learned with her father and mother, the x. Commaūdementes,* the seuē deadly sinnes, the seuen woorkes of mercy, the fiue wittes bodely and ghostly, the eight blessings, and v. chapters of S. Iames Epistle.

Agnes Edmundes his owne daughter.

This Agnes Edmundes was also detected by her Father, that he brought her to the house of Richarde Colyns, to seruice,* to the intent shee myght bee instructed there in Gods law, where she had learned likewise the x. Commaundementes, the fiue wits Bodely and Ghostly, and the 7. deadly sins.

- Alyce Gunne.
- W. Russell. of Colmanstreet.
- One mother Ioanne.
- Father Iohn Hungerford.
- Ioanne Taylor, seruaunt of Iohn Harrys, of Burford.
- Thomas Quicke, Weauer of Redyng.
- Philip Brabant, Weauer.
- Iohn Barbar, Clerke of Amersham.
- Iohn Eding, of Hungerford.
- One Brabant, brother to Philippe Brabant, of

Stanlake.

Robert Butterfield.

Thomas Whyte, and Thomas
Clerke did appeach.**

William Dorset.

The wordes of William
Dorsette were these: that
pilgrimage was of none effect,
and offering candles or other
things to saynts, stode in no
steede, and was but cost lost.

Iohn Baker being vrged vpon his
othe,*did disclose.

Iohn Edmundes.

Also when his Wyfe was
going on pilgrimage, and hee
asked whether? and she sayd
to our Ladye of Wilsedon: our
Lady, sayd he is in heauen.

This Iohn Edmūdes was detected
because that hee, talking with the
sayde Baker, of pilgrimage bad
hym goe offer his money to the
Image of GOD. when the other
asked, what that was, he said
that the Image of GOD was the
poore people, blinde, and lame:
and sayde that hee offended
almighty God in goinge on
pilgrimage.

William Phippe adiured by his othe
did accuse.*

Henry Phippe his owne sonne.

For communing with Roger Dods
agaynst pilgrimage and adoration
of Images.

*Henry Phip being examined, and
abiured by the Bishop was
compelled to disclose

his owne wordes spoken to Roger
Dods, saying to him, that he must
light a candle before his BLOCKE
ALMIGHTYE, being then roode
man.

Roger Parker. William Phip his
owne father.

For talking together agaynste
Pilgrimage and Idolatry.

Iohn Brabant, the elder sonne of
Iohn Brabant, did nominate

- Iohn Hakker.
- Robert Pope.

For reading the holy Scripture in
his fathers house, and for saying

these woordes: Christ made his
maūdy and sayd: take thys
breade, eate it, thys is my body:
Take this wine, drinke it, thys is
my bloude: And Priestes saye by
these woordes, that the
Sacrament of the aulter is the
body of Christ.

Iohn Brabant his Father, & his
Mother.

For being present when Hacker
was reading the Scripture in
theyr house.

Philip Brabant his Vncle.

The wordes of Philippe Brabant,
were these: that it was deadly sin
to goe on pilgrimage.

¶Concerning this Iohn Brabant,
here is to be noted the forme and
effect of the Byshoppes
examination, asking and
demaunding thus of the sayde
Brabant: *An vnquam audiuit
Ioannem Hakker legentem sacram
Scripturam contra
determinationem Ecclesiae. That
is, whether he euer heard Iohn
Hacker reade the which wordes, if
he meane, that it is agaynst the
determination of the church, to
read the holy Scripture, it may
therby appeare to be a blind
church. And if they meane that the
holy scripture conteineth anye
such thing in it whiche is agaynst
the determination of the church,
then it appeareth theyr church to
be cōtrary vnto God, seing it
determineth one thing, and Gods
word an other.

Iohn Baker did detect	• Robert Pope. • Richard Nobbis. • Iohn Edmundes.	For speaking againste going on pilgrimage, and Image worship.
Iohn a Lee denounced	Iohn a Weedon.	When this Iohn a Lee had tolde the sayd Weedon, how the B. had said in his sermon these woordes: That all whiche were of the sect of heretickes beleued that God was in heauen, but they beleued not that the bodye of Christ on the aulter was God: to this hee aunswearing agayne, sayd: ye be bold vpon that worde, deryding the B. in so saying.
	W. Dorset of kinges Langley.	For saying that images stooode for nothing: and that Pilgrimage serued to spend folkes mony, & nothing els.
Ioane Steuenton denounced	• Alice Colyns. • Iohn Harrys	For teaching the sayd Ioane Steuenton. in Lent, y^t x. Commaundements, thus beginning: I am thy Lord God that led thee out of the Land of Egypt and brought thee oute of y^e house of thraldom. Thou shalt not haue no alyen Gods before me, neither make to thee any image grauē w^t mans hādes, that is in heauen aboue, neyther in the earthe beneath. &c. Itē, for teaching her y^e first chapter of S. Iohns Gospell: In the beginning was the word. &c. For teaching her the 1. chapter of Peter.
Sir Iohn a Priest, and also Rob. Robinson detected	• M. Cotismore of Brightwell: • Also Maistres Cotismore, otherwise called Maistres	For speaking these woordes to one Iohn Baynton her seruant: that if shee went to her chamber & prayd there shee

Doly.

shoulde haue as much merit as
though she went to
Walsingham on pilgrimage,

Item, when the sayd Sir Iohn
came to her, after the death of
M. Cotismore hys Mayster,
requyryng her to sende one
Iohn Stayner her seruante to
our Lady of Walsingham for
Maister Cotismore which in
his lyfe time being sicke,
promised in his owne person
to visite that place, shee would
not consēt therto, nor let her
seruaunt go. Item for saying y^t
when women go to offer to
Images or saints they did it to
shewe theyr newe gay geare,
& that images were but
carpenters chips: * and that
folkes go on pilgrimage more
for the grene way then for
deuotion.

Iohn Hakker did detect.

Tho. Vincent of London.

To Tho. Uincent it was objected
for geuinge this Hakker a booke of
S. Mathew in English.

Maistres Cotismore, otherwise
Doly.

Rich. Colyns.

For receiuing of the said Hakker
a booke of the 10.
Commaundementes in English.

Goodwife Bristow of Woostreete
in London.

William Gunne.

For receiuing of Hakker a booke
of the x. plagues sent of God to
Pharao.

The foresayd Iohn Hakker did
detect

- The Wyfe of Tho.
Wydmore of Chychenden.
- Elizab. the daughter of this

Hakker, and Rob. her husband, other Wise called Fitton, of Newbery.

- William Stokeley of Henley.
- Iohn Symondes and his wife of great Marlow.
- Iohn Austy of Henley.
- Thomas Austy of Henley.
- Grinder of Cookham.

Iohn Heron.

For hauing a booke of the exposition of the Gospels fayre written in English.

Tho. Groue, end also Io. of Reding put to theyr othe, did detect.

Richard Grace.

For speaking these words falowing: that our blessed Lady was the Godmother to S. Katherine: & therefore the Legend is not true in saying, that Christe did mary with S. Katherine, and bad Adrian put on his vestmēt, and saye the seruice of Matrimonye: For so Christ should liue in adulterye, for mariyng wyth hys Godsyster: which thing if he shold do, he shold be thought not to do well.

Item, for saying by the picture of S. Nicholas being newly paynted, that he was not worthy to stand in y^e Roode loft, but that it better beseemed hym to stand in the Belfray. &c.

In this Table aboue prefixed, thou hast gentle reader, to se and vnderstand: First the number and names of these good men and women troubled and molested by the church of Rome, and all in one yeare: of whom few or none were learned, being simple laborers and artificers, but as it plea'sed the Lord to worke in them knowledge and vnderstanding, by reading a few English bookes, such as they could get in corners. Secōdly what were theyr opiniōs we haue also described. And thirdly herein is to be noted moreouer, the blind ignorance & vncourteous dealing of the bishops agaynst them, not onely in that they, by theyr violent othe, and captious interrogatoryes, constrayned the children to accuse theyr parentes and parents the childrē: the

husband the wife, & the wife the husband. &c. but especially in y^e most wrongfully they so afflicted them, without all good reason or cause, onely for the sincere verity of Gods worde, & reading of holy Scriptures.

Now it remaineth, that as you haue heard the opiniōs (which principally in number were 4.) so also we declare their reasons & scriptures wherupon they grounded,* & after that consequently the order & maner of penance to them inioyned by the Byshop. And first agaynst pilgrimage and agaynst worshipping of Images, they vsed this text of the Apoc. 9. I saw horses in a vision, and the heads of thē, as the heads of Lions: smoke, fire, and brimstone came out of theyr mouthes: with these 3. plagues, the third part of men were slayne of the smoke and of the fire, and of the brimstone that came out of the mouthes of them. They that were not slayn of these 3. plagues were such as worshipped not deuils, and images of gold and siluer of brasse, of tree, and of stone. &c. Ex Regist. Longland. Fol. 72. Also they vsed & alledged the first commaundement, that there is but one God, & y^t they ought not to worship mo Gods then one. &c

And as touching the Sacrament and the right doctrine therof,* they had theyr instruction partely out of Wickliffes wicket, partly out of the Shepheardes Calender: where they read: That the sacrament was made in remembraūce of Christ, and ought to be receiued in remembraunce of his body. &c. Moreouer they alledged and folowed the wordes of Christ spokē at the supper, at what time he sitting with his Disciples, and making with them his Maundy, tooke bread, and blessed, and brake, and gaue to his disciples: And sayd, eat ye: this (reaching forth his arme,* and shewing the bread in his hand, and then noting his owne naturall body and touching the same, and not the bread consecrate) is my body, which shall be betrayed for you: doe this in remembraunce of me: And likewise tooke the wine and had them drinke, saying: this is my bloud which is of the newe Testament. &c.

Item,* that Christ our Sauior sitteth on the right hand of the father, and there shalbe vnto the day of dome: Wherefore they beleued that in the Sacrament of the altiar was not the very body of Christ.

Item (sayd one of them) men speak much of the Sacrament of the altiar, but this will I bide by,* that vpō share-thursday Christ brake bread vnto his disciples, and bad thē eate it, saying, it was his flesh and bloud. And then he wēt from them, and suffered passion: and then he rose frō death to life, and ascended into heauen, and there sitteth on the right hande of the father, and there hee is to come vnto the day of dome, when he shal iudge both quick and dead: And therefore how he shoulde be here in the forme of breade, he sayd, they could not see.

Such reasons and allegations as these and other lyke, taken out of the scripture, and out of the Shepheardes Kalender, Wickliffes wicket, and out of other bookes they had amongst them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in theyr doctrine, yet they conferring and communing together among themselues, dyd conuert one another, the Lordes hand working with them maruellously: So that in short space,* the number of these Knowne or Iust fast men (as they were then termed) did exceedinly increase, in such sort, that the Byshop seying the matter almost past his power, was driuen to make his cōplaynt to the king, and required his ayde for suppression of these men. Wherupon king Henry being then young, & vn'expert in the bloudy practises and blind leadings of these apostolicall prelates, incensed with

his suggestions and cruell complayntes, directed down letters to his Shirifs, bailifs, officers, & subiectes for the ayd of the bishop in this behalfe: the tenor of which letters here ensueth.

¶The copy of the kinges letter for the ayde of Iohn Longland B. of Lincolne, agaynst the seruauntes of Christ, falsely then called heretickes.

HENry the 8. by the grace of God, king of England & of Fraūce Lord of Ireland, defender of the fayth: to all Mayors, Shyriffes, Bayliffes and Constables, and to all other our Officers, Ministers, and Subiectes, these our letters hearing or seeing, and to euery of them greeting. For as muche as the right reuerend father in God our trusty and right welbeloued Counsellour the Bishop of Lyncolne, hath now within his Dioces no small number of hereticks, as it is thought to his no little discomfort and heauines: We therfore being in will and minde safely to prouide for the sayde right reuerend father in God and his officers: that they ne none of thē, shall bodily be hurt or damaged hy any of the sayde heretickes or theyr fautours,* in the executing and ministring of Iustice vnto the sayd hereticks accordingly to the lawes of holy church: do straitly charge and commaund you and euery of you, as ye tender our hie displeasure, to be ayding, helping and assisting the sayd right reuerend Father in God, and his sayde officers in the executing of Iustice in the premisses, as they or any of them shal require you so to do, not fayling to accomplishe our commandement & pleasure in the premisses, as ye entend to please vs, and will aunswere to the contrary, at your vttermost perils. Yeuen vnder our signet at our castle of Wyndsour the 20. day of October the 13. yeare of our raigh.

The bishop thus being armed no lesse with the authority of the kinges letter then incited with his owne fierceness, forslacked no time, but eftsoones to accōplish his moody violence vpon the poore flock of Christ called before him sitting vpon his tribunall seat, both these aforementioned persons, and all other in his dioces which were neuer so little noted or suspected to incline toward those opiniōs: of whō to such as had but newly bene taken, and had not before abīured, [Page 837](#) he inioyned most strayght & rigorous penance. The other in whō he could find any relaps, yea albeit they submitted themselues neuer so humbly to his fauourable curtesy,* and though also at his request, and for hope of pardō, they had shewed thēselues great detectors of their brethrē being moreouer of him feed and flattered therunto, yet not withstanding, contrary to his fayre wordes, & their expectation, he spared not, but read sentēce of relaps against thē comitting them to the secular arme to be burned.

And first as touching them who being brought to abiuration, were put to theyr penaunce, long it were to recite the names of all. Certayne I thought to recite here in a catalogue, first reciting the persons, afterward the rigorous, penaunce to them enioyned.

The names of them which were abiured in the Dioces of Lincolne, the yeare of our Lord. 1521.

- William Colyns.
- Ioh Colyns.
- Ioane Colyns.
- Rob Colyns.
- Ioh. Hackar.
- Ioh. Brabant, the father.

- loh. Brabant his sonne.
- loh. Brabāt the yonger sonne
- Iohn Edmonds.
- Edward Pope.
- Henry Phip.
- loh. Steuenton.
- Ioane Steuenton.
- Rob Bartlet.
- Tho. Clerke.
- loh. Clerke.
- Rich. Bartlet.
- William Phip.
- loh. Phip.
- Tho. Couper.
- Wil. Littlepage.
- loh. Litlepage.
- Ione. Litlepage.
- loh. Say.
- loh. Frier.
- Rich. Vulford.
- Tho. Tredway.
- Wil. Gudgame.
- Roger Heron.
- Fraunces Funge.
- Rob. Pope.
- Roger Dods.
- Iohn Harris.
- Rob. Bruges.
- Iohn Stampe.
- Ione Stampe.
- Rich. White.
- Bennet Ward.
- Iohn Baker.
- Agnes Wellis.
- Marian Morden.
- Isabell Morwin.
- Io. Butler. Io. Butler y^e yōger
- R. Carder.
- Rich. Bernard.
- Ione Bernerd.
- Io. Grace. Io. French.
- loh. Edings.

The townes and villages and countryes, where these foresayd persons did inhabite, are named chiefly to be these.

- Amersham.

- [*Chesham.](#)
- Hychenden.
- Missenden the great.
- Missenden the lesse.
- Easthendred.
- Westhendred.
- Asthall.
- Bekensfield.
- Denham.
- Gyng.
- Betterton.
- Cherney.
- Stanlake.
- Claufield.
- Walton.
- Marlow.
- Dorney.
- Iuer.
- Burton.
- Vxbridge.
- Owburne.
- Henley.
- Wycame.
- Westwycame.
- Newbery.
- Burford.
- Wytney.
- Hungerford.
- Vpton.
- Wynyore.
- London.
- Colmonstreet in Lō.
- Chepeside in Londō.
- Shordich by London
- S. Gyles in London.
- Essex.
- Suffolke.
- Northfolke.
- Norwich.

The bookes & opiniōs, which these were charged with all, & for the which they were abiured, partly are before expressed, partly here folow in a briefe summary to be seene.

¶A briefe summe of theyr opinions.

[*T](#)he opinions of many of these persons were, that he or she neuer beleued in the Sacrament of the aluter, nor euer would, and that it was not as men did take it.

*For that he was knowne of his neghbor, to be a good felow, meaning that he was a knowne man.

*For saying that he would geue 40. pence, in cōditiō that such a one knew so much, as he did know.

*Some for saying, y^t they of Amershā, which had bene abiured before by Bishop Smyth, were good men, & perfect Christians, & simple folk which could not answere for thēselues, & therefore were oppressed by power of the bishop.

Some for hiding other in theyr barnes.

*Some for reading the Scriptures or treatises of Scripture in English: some for hearing the same read.

Some for defending: some for marying with thē whiche had bene abiured.

*Some for saying that matrimony was not a Sacramēt.

Some for saying, that worshippinge of Images was Mawmetrey: some for calling Images carpenters chips: some for calling them stockes and stones: some for calling them dead thinges.

*Some for saying that money spent vpon pilgrimage, serued but to mainteine theues and harlots.

Some for calling the Image in the Rood loft block almighty.

*Other for saying that nothing grauen with mans hand was to be worshipped.

*Some for calling them fooles which came from master Iohn Shorne in pilgrimage.

*An other for calling his vicar a poll shorne priest.

*An other for calling a certayne blinde chappell being in ruine, an old fayre milckhouse.

*An other for saying that he threshed God almighty out of the straw.

*An other for saying that almes shoulde not be geuen, before it did sweat in a mans hand.

*Some for saying, that they which dye, passe straight either to heauen or hell.

*Isabell Bartlet was brought before the Byshop, and abiured, for lamēting her husband when the Bishops man came for him, and saying, that he was an vndone man, and she a dead woman.

*For saying that Christ departing from his disciples into heauen, sayd: that once he was in sinners handes, & would come there no more.

Robert Raue hearing a certayne Bell in an vplandish steple, sayd: lo yonder is a fayre bell, and it were to hang about any cowes neck in this towne: and therfore, as for other such like matters moe he was brought coram nobis.

Item for receiuing the Sacrament at Easter, & doubting whether it was the very body, and did not cōfesse their doubt to theyr ghostly father.

Some for saying that the pope had no authority to geue pardon or to release mannes soule from sinne, and so from payn, and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get theyr money.

The penaunce to these partyes enioyned by this Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne,* was almost vniforme and all after one condition, saue onely that they were seuerally committed and deuoted into seuerall and diuers monasteryes, there to be kept and found of almes all theyr life, ex|cept they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop: as for example I haue here adioyned the Bishoppes letter for one of the sayd number, sent to the Abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetuall penaunce. By whiche one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, which were bestowed like wise sundrly into sundry Abbeyes, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Tame, to Bessetor, to Dorchester, to Notley, to Ashrige, and diuers moe. The copy of the bishops letter sent to the Abbot of Ensham, here followeth vnder written.

The Bishops letter to the Abbot of Ensham.

MY louing brother, I recommend me hartely vnto you: and where as I haue, according to the lawe,* put this bearer R.T. to perpetuall penaunce within your monastery of Ensham, there to liue as a penitent, and not otherwise, I pray you, and neuerthelesse, according vnto the law, cōmaund you to receiue him, & see ye order him there accordingly to his iniunctiōs which he wil shewe you, if ye require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him. And his meat and drinke, he may haue such as ye geue of your almes. And if he can so order himselfe by his labour within your house in your busines, whereby he may deserue his meate and drinke, so may you order him, as ye see conuenient to hys desertes, so that he passe not the presynct of your monastery. And thus fare you hartely well from my place &c.

As touching the residue of the penaunce and punishment inflicted to these men, they doe little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all. The maner and forme whereof in the sayd Bishops Register doth proceed in cōdition as foloweth.

Penaunce enioyned vnder paine of relapse by Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne, the 19. day of December. an. 1521.

Inprimis, that euery one of them shall vpon a market day, such as shall be limited vnto them in the market time,* go thrise about the market at Burford, and then to stande vp [Page 838](#) vpon the highest grece of the Crosse there a quarter of an houre with a fagotte of wood euery one of them vpon hys shoulder,* and euery one of them once to beare a fagotte of wood vpon theyr shoulders, before their procession vpon a Sondag, which shall be limited vnto them at Burford, frō the quyre doore going out, to the quyre doore going in, and all the high Masse time to holde

the same fagot vpon theyr shoulders, kneeling vpon the grece afore the high aultar there, and euery of them likewise to doe likewise in theyr owne parish Church, vpon such a Sondag as shalbe limited vnto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall procession at Oxbridge, when they shalbe assigned therto: and once to beare a fagot at the burning of an hereticke, when they shalbe monished therto.

Also euery one of them to fast bread and ale onely euery Friday during theyr life, and euery euen of Corpus Christi euery one of them to fast bread and water during theyr life vnles sicknes vnfayned let the same.

Also to say euery of them euery Sondag and euery friday during theyr life, once our Ladye Psalter, & if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

Also they nor none of them, shall not hide the marke vpon theyr cheeke, neyther with hat, cap, hood kerchiefe, napkin, or none otherwise, nor shall not suffer theyr beardes to grow past 14. dayes, nor neuer to haunt againe together with any suspect person or persons, vnles it be in the open market, fayre, church or common Inne or alehouse, where other people may see theyr conuersation.

And all these iniunctions they and euery of them, to fulfill with their penance, and euery part of the same, vnder payne of relaps.

And thus haue you the names, with the causes and the penance of them which were at this present time abiured. By the which word * abiured, is ment that they were constrayned by theyr othe, swearing vpon the Euangelists, & subscribing with theyr hand, and a crosse to the same, that they did vtterly and voluntarily renoūce, detest, & forsake, and neuer should hold hereafter these, or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome: and further, that they should detect vnto theyr ordinary, whome so euer they shoulde see, or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or mayntayne the same.

¶Here folow the names of them, which were condemned for relaps, and committed vnto the secular power.

AMong these aforenamed persons, which thus submitted themselues, and were put to penance, certeine there were which because they had bene abiured before, as is aboue mentioned, * pag. 814. vnder bishop Smith, were now condemned for relaps, and had sentence read agaynst them and so were committed to the secular arme, to be burned: Whose names here follow.

Martyrs.

- Thomas Bernard.
- *James Morden.
- Robert Raue.
- Iohn Scriuener.

Of these mention is made before, both touching theyr abiuration, and also their martirdome, pag. 814. vnto whō we may adioyne.

- Ioane Norman.
- Thomas Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his brethrē,* as in the table aboue is expressed, pag. 824. thinking thereby to please the Bishoppe & to saue himselfe, & was thought to be a feed man of the bishop for the same: yet notwithstanding in the sayd bishops register appeareth the sentence of relaps, & condemnation written & drawne out agaynst him: and most like that he was also adiudged and executed with the other.

¶As touching the burning of Ioh. Scriuener, here is to be noted,* that his children were compelled to set fire vnto their father, in like maner as Ioane Clerke also daughter of William Tilseworth, was cōstrayned to geue fire to the burning of her owne natural father, as is aboue specified, pag. 774. The example of whiche cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and nature, so hath it not bene seene nor heard of in the memory of the heathen.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that at the burning of this Iohn Scriuener,* one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, pag. 775. was present and bare a fagot at Amershā: Whose abiuration was afterwarde layde agaynst hym, at what time he should depose for recouery of certeyne lands from the schole of Barchamsted.* This Thomas Dorman (as I am credibly informed of certeyne about Amersham) was then vncle to this our Dorman, & found him to schole at Barchamsted vnder M. R•ue, which now so vncharitably abused his pen in writing agaynst the contrary doctrine, and rayleth so fiercely agaynst the bloud of Christes slayne seruauntes, miscalling them to be a donghill of stinkin Martyrs.

Well, how soeuer the sauour of these good Martyrs doe sent in the nose of M. Dorman. I doubt not but they geue a better odour and sweter smel in the presence of the Lord: Preciosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius. Precious is in the sight of the Lord the death of his Sayntes. And therefore howsoeuer it shall please M. Dorman wyth reprochfull language to misterme the good martirs of christes, or rather Christ in his Martyrs▪ his vnseemely vsage more cartlike then clerke like, is not greatly to be weyed. For as the daunger of his blasphemye hurteth not them which are gone: so the contumely an• reproch thereof, as well comprehendeth his owne kindred, frendes, and country, as any other els: and especially redoundeth to himselfe and woundeth his own soule and none els, vnto the great prouoking of Gods wrath agaynst him, vnlesse he be bles•sed with better grace by time to repent.

Doctour Colet.

MUch about this time, or not past 2. yeares before,* died D. Iohn Colet, of whom mention was made in the ta'ble about pag. 801. To whose sermons these knowen men about Buckinghamshyre, had a great minde to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first beganne to read the Epistles of S. Paule openly in Oxford,* in sted of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the kyng and made Deane of Paules: where he accustomed much to preach, not without great auditory, as well of the kinges court, as of the citizēs and other. His diet

was frugall: his life vpright: in discipline he was seuere: In so much that his Canons because of theyr strayer rule, complained that they were made like monkes. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he euer preferred before the vnchast sin'glenes of priests.* At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of S. Paule, or of Salomons Prouerbs. He neuer vsed to sup. And although the blindnesse of that time caryed him away after the common error of Popery: yet in ripenes of iudgemēt he seemed something to incline frō y^e vulgar trade of that age. The religious orders of monks and friers he fantised not. As neither he coulede greatly fauour the barbarous diuinity of the schole Doctours, as of Scotus, but least of all, of Thomas Aquine.* In so much that when Erasmus speaking in the prayse of Thom. Aquine, did commēd him that he had red many old authors, and had written many new workes as Catena aurea, & such like, to proue and to know his iudgement: Colet first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in iest, but after supposing that he ment good fayth, brusteth our in great vehemency, saying: what tell you me (quoth he) of the commēdation of that man, who except he had bene of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discusse all thinges so boldly & rashly: and also except he had bene rather wordly minded, then heauenly, would neuer haue so polluted christes whole doctrine with mans prophane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done.

The Bishop of London at that time was Fitziames,* of age no lesse then 80. Who bearing long grudge and displeasure agaynst Colet, with other 2. Bishops taking hys parte, like to himselfe entred action of complaynt agaynst Colet to the Archb. of Cant. being then W. Warham. The matter of his complaint was deuided into 3. Articles. The first was for speaking agaynst worshipping of Images. The second was about hospitalitey, for that he entreating vpō the place of the gospell, pasce, pasce, pasce, feed, feed, feed: when he had expounded the 2. first, for feeding with example of life and with doctrine: in the third, which the scholemen doe expounde for feeding with hospitalitey, hee left out the outwarde feeding of the belly, and applyed it an other way. The third crime wherewith they charged him,* was for speaking agaynst suche as vsed to preache onely by bosome Sermons, declaring nothing els to the people, but as they bring in theyr prayers with thē. Which because the Bishop of London vsed then much to do for his age,* he tooke it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The Archbishop more wisely weying the matter, and being well acquaynted with Colet, so tooke hys part agaynst his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

[Page 839](#) William Tyndall in hys booke aunswering that M. More addeth moreouer, and testifieth that the Byshop of London would haue made the said Colet Deane of Paules, an hereticke for translating the Pater noster in Englishe, had not the Byshop of Caunterbury holpen the Deane.

But yet the malice of Fitziames the Byshop so ceased not: who being thus repulsed by the Archbishop, practised by an other trayne how to accuse hym vnto the king. The occasion thus fel. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of warre agaynst Fraunce. Whereupon the Byshop with his coadiutors taking occasion vpon certaine wordes of Colet, wherein he seemed to preferre peace before any kinde of warre,* were it neuer so iust, accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the Kyng.

Furthermore it so befell the same time y^t vpon good friday D. Colet preaching before the king, entreated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight vnder y^e standard of Christ,

against the deuill, adding moreouer what an hard thing it was to fight vnder Christes banner, and that all they which vpon priuate hatred or ambition, tooke weapon against their enemy, one christian to slay an other suche did not fight vnder the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan, & therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in theyr warres would followe Christ their Prince, & captayn, in fighting against their enemies rather then the example of Iulius or Alexander &c. The king hearing Colet thus to speake, and fearing lest by hys words the hartes of his souldiours might be withdrawne from his warres which hee had then in hande,* tooke hym aside, and talked with him in secret conference in his garden walking. Bish. Fitziames, Bricot, and Stādish, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Collet must needs be committed to y^e Tower, & wayted for his comming out. But the king with great gentlenes intertayning D. Colet, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long curteous talk had with him in the garden much commended him for his learning & integritie of lyfe agreeing with him in all poyntes,* but that onely he required him (for that the rude souldiours shuld not rashly mistake that which he had said) more playnly to explaine hys words and minde in that behalfe, which after he dyd: and so after long communication and great promis•s, the king dismissed Colet with these wordes, saying: let euery man haue his Doctour as him liketh: this shall be my Doctour and so departed. Wherby none of his aduersaries durst euer trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable actes left behind him, he erected a worthy foundation of the schoole of Paules (I pray God the fruites of the schoole may answer y^e foun'dation) for the cherishing vp of youth in good letters, prouiding a sufficient stipende as well for the maister as for the Husher, whome he willed rather to be appoynted out of the number of maryed men, then of single priestes with their suspected chastitie. The first moderator of this schoole was Guliel. Lilius, a man no lesse notable for hys learnyng, then was Colet for his foundation. Ex. Epist. Eras. ad Iodoc. Ionam. This Colet died the yeare of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lyued Gulielmus Grocinus, and Gulielmus Latimerus, both English men also, and famously learned. This Grocinus as he began to read in his opē lecture in y^e church of S. Paul the booke of Dyonisius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchia Ecclesiastica (for the reading of the holy scriptures in Paules was not in vre) in the first entry of his preface, he cryed out with great vehemency agaynst them who soeuer they were, whiche eyther denied, or stooode in doubt of the authoritie of that booke: in the number of whome hee noted Laurence Valla & diuers other of like approued iudgement and learning. But afterward the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weekes in hys reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he vtterly altered, and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the forenamed booke to his iudgement, was neuer written by that authour whom we reade in the actes of the Apostles to be cal'led Dyonisius Areopagita. Ex. Eras. ad. Parisiens.

The tractation of these two couples aboue rehearsed, doe occasion me to adioyne also the remembraunce of an o'ther couple of like learned men: The names of whom not vnworthy to be remembred, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace: which two followed much vpon the tyme of Colet, and of Wil. Lily. But of Richard Pace, whiche was Deane next after the foresayd Iohn Colet, more conuenient place shall serue vs hereafter to speake, comming to the story of Cardinall Wolsey.

Moreouer to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geffrey Chaucer, and Iohn Gower.* Which although being much discrepant frō these in course of yeres, yet may seeme not vnworthy to be mat'ched with these forenamed persons in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certain'ty of the tyme and death of these two, we cannot find: yet it appeareth in the prologe of Gowers work, intituled confessio Amantis, that he finished it in the 16. yeare of K. Rich. the second. And in the end of the viij. booke of hys sayde treatise he declareth, that he was both sicke and old, when he wrote it, wherby it may appeare, that he liued not long after. Notwithstanding, by certayne verses of the sayde maister Gower placed in y^e latter end of Chaucers works both in Latine and Englishe, it may seeme that he was aliue at the beginning of the raigne of king Henry the iiij. and also by a booke which he wrote to the same K. Henry By his sepulture within a Chappell of the Church of S. Mary Oueries,* whiche was then a monastery where he & his wife lye buried, it appeareth by hys cheyn & his garlād of Laurell, that he was both a knight, and flourishing than in poetry. In the which place of his sepulture were made in hys grauestone 3. books, the first bearing the tytle, Speculum meditantis, The second, Vox Clamantis, The thyrd. Cōfessio amantis. Besides these, diuers Chronicles and other workes moe he compiled.

Likewise as touching the tyme of Chaucer, by hys owne works in the end of hys first booke of Troylus and Cr•scide it is manifest, that he and Gower were bothe of one tyme,* although it seemeth that Gower was a great deale his ancient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudenes of that tyme did geue, both great friends together and both in like kinde of study together occupied, so endeuoring themselues, and employing their tyme, that they excelling many other in study and exercise o• good letters did passe forth their liues here right worshipfully & godly to the worthy fame and commendation of theyr name. Chaucers workes be all printed in one volume, and therfore knowne to all men.

This I meruaile to see the idle lyfe of the priestes and clergie men of that tyme, seeing these lay persons shewed themselues in these kinde of liberall studyes so industrious & fruitfully occupied: but muche more I maruell to consider thys,* how y^t the bishops condemning and abolishing al maner of Englishe bookes and treatises whiche might bring y^e people to anye light of knowledge, did yet authorise the workes of Chaucer to remaine still & to be occupied:* Who (no doubt) saw in Religion as much almost as euen we do now, & vttereth in hys works no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wicleuian, or els was neuer any, and that all his workes almost, if they be thoroughly aduised will testifie (albeit it be done in mirth, & couertly) & especially y^e latter end of hys thyrd booke of y^e Testament of loue for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is the communion: Wherin, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full. Although in the same book (as in all other he vseth to do) vnder shadows couertly, as vnder a visour, he suborneth trueth, in suche sort,* as both priuilye she may profite the godly minded, and yet not be espyed of the crafty aduersary: And therefore the bishops belike, taking his woorkes but for iestes and toyes, in condemning other bookes, yet permitted his bookes to be read.

So it pleased God to blind then the eyes of them, for y^e more commoditie of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound ther'of to his Church, as no doubt it dyd to many: As also I am partly enformed of certayne whiche knew the parties, which to them reported, y^t by reading of Chaucers works,* they were brought to the true

knowledge of religion. And not vnlike to be true. For to omitte other partes of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous then other, what tale can be more playnly tolde then the tale of the ploughman? or what finger can poynt out more directly the Pope with his prelates to be Antichrist, then doth the poore Pellican reasoning agaynst the greedy Griffon? Under which Hypotyposis or Poesie, who is so blind that seeth not by the Pellican, the doctrine of Christ: and of the Lollardes to be defended against the Church of Rome? Or who is so impudent y^t can deny that to be true, which the Pellicā there affirmeth in describing the presumptuous pryde of that pretended Church? Agayne what egge can be more lyke, or fig vnto an other: then the wordes properties, and conditiōs of that rauening griphe resembleth the true Image, that s, the nature and quallities of that which we call y^e church of Rome, in euery poynt & degree? and therefore no great meruaile, if that narratiō was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes: whiche notwithstanding now is restored [Page 840](#) agayne, and is extant for euery man to reade that is disposed.

This Geffrey Chaucer being borne (as is thought) in Oxfordshyre, and dwelling in Woodstocke, lyeth buried in the Church of the minster of S. Peter at Westminster, in an Ile on the southside of the sayd Church, not far from the dore leading to the Cloister, and vpon his graue stone first were written these two old verses.

Galfridus Chaucer vates & fama poesis

Maternae, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the yeare of our Lord. 1556. one M. Brickham bestowing more cost vpon his tombe, did adde thereunto these verses following.

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,

Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.

Annum si quaeras Domini, si tempora mortis,

Ecee nota subsunt, quae tibi cuncta notent.

25. Octob. Anno. 1400.

***Here beginneth the reformation of the church of Christ, in the tyme of Martine Luther.**

ALthough it can not be sufficiently expressed with toūg or pen of man,* into what miserable ruine & desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter dayes: yet partly by the reading of these storyes aforepast, some intelligence may be geuen to them, whiche haue iudgement to marke or eyes to see: in what blindnes and darckenes the world was drowned during the space of these 400. yeares heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayst vnderstand (gentle reader) how the religion of Christ, which onely consisteth in spirit and veritie, was wholly turned into outward obseruations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many Sainctes we had, so many gods, so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages. As many churches, as many reliques forged & teyned we had. Agayne, so

many reliques, so many lyeng miracles wee beleued. In stede of the onely liuing Lorde▪ we worshipped dead stocks and stones. In place of Christ immortall, we adored mortall bread. In stead of his bloud we worshipped the bloud of duckes, How the people wer led, so that the priestes were fed, no care was taken. In stead of Gods word, mans worde was set vp. In stead of Christes testament, the Popes testament, that is the Canon lawe: in stead of Paule, the mayster of sentence tooke place, and almost full possession. The law of God was litle read: the vse and end therof was lesse knowne. And as the ende of the lawe was vnknowne, so the difference betweene the Gospell and the lawe, was not vnderstanded, y^e benefite of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended. Through the ignoraunce wherof, it cannot be told what infinite erroures, sectes and religious crept into the church ouerwhelming the world, as with a floud of ignoraunce and seduction. And no maruell, for where the foundation is not well layd, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christianitie is onely this: The promise of God,* in the bloud of Christ hys sonne, geuing and promising life vnto all that beleue in him: Geuing (sayth the Scripture) vnto vs, and not barganing or indenting with vs: And that freely (sayth the Scripture) for Christes sake,* and not condicionally for our merites sake.

Furthermore freely (sayth the scripture) by grace that the promise might be firme and sure, and not by the workes that we doe, which are alwaies doubtfull. By grace (sayth the scripture) through promise to all and vpon all y^t beleue, and not by the law vpon them that do deserue. For if it come by deseruing, thē is it not of grace: If it be not of grace,* thē is it not of promise. And contrariwise if it be of grace and promise, then is it not of works sayth S. Paul. Upon this foundatiō of Gods free promise and grace first builded the Patriarckes,* kinges and prophets. Upon the same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church. Upon the which foundation the Apostles likewise builded the Church Apostolicall or Catholicall.

This Apostolicall and Catholicke foundation, so long as the Church did retayn, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long seasō after the apostles time. But after, in proces of yeares, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, so soone as this foundation be'gan to be lost, came in newe builders, which would build vpon a new foundation, a new Church more glorious, which we call now the Church of Rome. Who beyng not contented with the olde foundation and the head corner stone, whiche the Lord by his word had layd, in place therof, they layde the ground worke vppon the condition and strength or the lawe and workes. Although it is not to be denyed, but that the doctrine of gods holy law, and of good workes according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned and followed of all men: yet is not that y^e foundation, wherupon our saluation consisteth, neither is that foundation able to beare vp the weight of the kingdome of heauen: but is rather the thing, which is builded vppon the foundatiō: which foundatiō is Iesus Christ, according as we are taught of Saint Paul, saying: * No man can lay any other foundation, beside that whiche is layde, Christ Iesus. &c.

But this auncient foundation with the olde auncient Church of Christ (as I sayd) hath bene now of long tyme forsaken, & in stead therof a new Church,* with a new foun'dation hath bene erected and framed, not vpon gods promise & his free grace in Christ Iesus, nor vpon free iustification by fayth, but vpon merits & desertes of mens working. And hereof haue they planted al these their new deuises, so infinite that they cannot wel be numbred as masses, trecenares, diriges, obsequies, mattens and houres singing seruice, vigiles, midnightrising, barefootgoing, fishtasting, lentfast, imberfast, stations, rogations, iubiles, aduocatiō of saints, praying to images,

pilgrimage walking, workes of supererogation, application of merites, orders rules, sectes of religion, vowes of chastitie, wilful pouerty, pardons, relations, indulgences, penance and satisfac'tion, with auricular confession, sounding of Abbaies, building of Chappels, geuing to Churches, And who is able to recite all their laborious buildinges: falsly framed vpon a wrong ground, and all for ignoraunce of the true founda'tion, whiche is the free iustification by fayth in Christ Iesus the sonne of God.

Moreouer to note,* that as this new founde Church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine: so no lesse was it corrupted in order of life & deepe hipocrisie, doing al thinges onely vnder pretenses and dissembled titles. So vnder y^e pretence of Peters chayre, they exercised a maiestie a'boue Emperours and kinges. Under the visour of their vowed chastitie, reigned adultery, vnder the cloke of professed pouerty, they possessed the goodes of the temporalty.* Under the tytle of being dead vnto the world, they not only reigned in y^e world, but also ruled the world: vnder the colour of y^e keyes of heauē to hang vnder theyr girdle, they brought all the states of the worldes vnder theyr girdle, & crept not onely into the purses of men, but also into theyr consciences: they heard theyr confessions: they knew their secrets: they dispensed as they were disposed, & loosed what them listed: And finally when they had brought the whole world vnder theyr subiection, yet dyd theyr pryde neyther cease to ascend, neyther could their auarice be euer satisfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolsey and other Cardinales and popes cannot satisfie thee, I beseech the (gentle Reader) turne ouer the foresayd booke of the ploughmans tale in Chaucer aboue mencioned, wher thou shalt vnderderstād much more of theyr demeanour, then I haue here described.

In these so blynd and miserable corrupt dayes of darck'nes and ignoraunce,* thou seest good Reader (I doubt not) howe necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the Church should come, which now most happily & graciously began to worke, through the mercifull and no lesse needfull prouidence of almighty God. Who although he suffered hys Church to wander and start aside through the seduction of pride and prosperitie a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodnes to respect hys people, and to reduce hys church into the prestine foundation and frame againe, from whence it was pitiously before decayed. Whereof I haue now consequently to intreat, intending by the grace of Christ: to declare how and by what meanes, first this re'formation of the church began, and howe it proceeded, increasing by little and little into this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

And herein we haue first to behold the admirable work of Gods wisdom.* For as the first decay and ruine of the church, before began of rude ignoraunce, & lacke of knowledge in teachers: so to restore y^e church agayne by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man y^e arte of printing, the time wherof was shortly after y^e burning of Hus and Hierome. Printing being opened, incontinent ministred to the Church, the instrumentes and tooles of learning & knowledge, which were good bookes and authors, which before lay hid and vnknowne.* The science of Printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God: whiche styrred vp good wittes aptly to conceiue the light of knowledge and of iudgement: by which light, darcknes [Page 841](#) began to be espied, and ignoraunce to be detected, trueth from errour, religion from superstition to be discerned as is aboue more largely discoursed, where was touched the inuventing of printing. pag. 707.*

Furthermore, after these wittes styrred vp of God, folowed other more, increasing dayly more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge: who now were able, not onely to discerne in matters of iudgement but also were so armed and furnished with y^e helpe of good letters that they did encounter also with the aduersary, su^tstayning the cause & defence of learning against barbaritie of veritie, against errour: of true religion, against superstition. In number of whom, amongst many other here vnnamed were, Picus, and Franciscus Mirandula, Laur. Valla, Franc. Perarcha. Doct. Wesalianus, Reuelinus, Grocinus, Coletus Rhenamus, Erasmus. &c. And here began the first pushe and assault to be geuen against the ignoraunt & barbarous faction of the popes pretended Church. Who after that by their learned writings and laborious trauaile, they had opened a window of light vnto the worlde, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for other to come after: Im^mmediately, according to Gods gracious appointment, folowed Martine Luther, with other after him, by whose ministry it pleased the Lorde to worke a more full reformation of his church, as by their actes and proceedinges hereafter shall followe (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

And now comming to the tyme and storye of Martine Luther, whom the Lord did ordayne and appoint to be the principall organe and minister vnder him, to reforme religion and to subuert the sea of the pope, first before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to y^e purpose, to inferre such prophecies and forewarnings, as were sent before of God, by diuers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, which foretold and prophe^cied of this reformation of the Church to come.

***Prophecies going before Martine Luther.**

*And first, to begin with the prophecie of Iohn Husse, and Hierom, it is both notable, and also before mentioned what the sayd Iohn Husse at the time of his burning, prophecie vnto his enemies, saying: that after an hundreth yeares come and gone, they should geue accounte to God and to to him.

¶Where is to be noted, that counting from the yeare 1415. (in the which yeare Iohn Hus was burned) or from the yeare 2416. when Hierome did suffer) vnto the yeare, 1516, (when Martine Luther began first to write) we shal finde the number of an hundereth yeares expyred.

Likewise, to this may be adioyned the propheticall vision or dreame,^{*} which chaunced to the sayd Iohn Hus lying in the dungeon of the friers in Constance, a litle before he was burned, His dreame as he himselfe reporteth it in his Epistles writing to M. Iohn Chlum, and as I haue also before recorded the same pag. 630. so will I nowe repeate the same agayne in like effect of wordes, as he wrote it himselfe in Latine: the effect of which latine is this.

I pray you expounde to me the dreame whiche I had this night. I sawe y^t in my church at Bethelme (whereof I was person) they desired and laboured to abolish all the images of Christ, and did abolish them. I the next day following, rose vp & saw many other paynters, which painted both the same and manye more images, and more fayrer, which I was glad to behold: wherupon the painters with the great multitude of people said: Now let the Byshops and priestes come, and put vs out these images if they cā. Which thing done, much people reioyced in Bethlem, and I with them: & rising vp I felt my selfe to laugh.

This dreame maister I. of Chlume first expounded.* Then he in the next Epistle after expounded it himselfe to this effect. Stante mandato Dei. &c. That is: the Commaudemēt of God standing, that we must obserue no dreames yet notwithstanding I trust that the life of Christ was painted in Bethlehem by me through his word in y^e harts of men, the which preaching they went about in Bethlehē to destroy, first in commaunding that no preaching should be neyther in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chappels therby: Secondly that the Church of Bethlehem shoulde be throwne downe to the ground. The same life of Christ shall be paynted vp agayne by mo preachers muche better then I, and after muche more better sorte, so that a greate number of people shall reioyce thereat: all such as loue the life of Christ: and also I shall reioyce my selfe: at what tyme I shall awake, that is, when I shal ryse agayn from the dead.

Also in hys 48. Epistle,* he seemeth to haue a like prophetical meaning, where he sayth: That he trusted that those thinges which he spake then within the house, should afterward be preached aboute the house top. &c.

And because we are here in hand w^t the prophecies of I. Hus, it is not to be omitted, what he writeth in a certayne treatise,*De sacerdotum & monachorum carnalium abominatione, thus prophesying of the reformation of the church, The Church, he sayth, cannot be reduced to hys former dignitie and reformed, before all thinges first be made new, (the trueth wherof appeareth by the temple of Salomon) as well the clergie and Priestes, as also the people and laitye. Or els, except all suche as now be addicted to auarice from the least to the most, be first cōuerted and renued, as well the people as the clerkes, and priestes thynges cannot be reformed. Albeit,*as my mynde nowe geueth me, I beleue rather the first that is, that then shal ryse a newe people, formed after the new man, whiche is created after God. Of the whiche people, new clerkes and priestes shall come forth and be taken, which al shal hate couetousnes, and glory of thys lyfe, labouring to an heauēly conuersation. Notwithstanding al these thynges shal be done and wrought in continuance and order of tyme dispensed of God for the same purpose. And thys God doth and wil doe of hys owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of hys pacience and sufferance, geuing tyme and space of repentaunce to them that haue long layne in their sinnes, to amend & flye from the face of the Lordes fury: vntill at length all shall suffer together, and vntill both the carnall people, and priestes, and Clerkes in processe and order of tyme, shall fall away and be consumed, as is cloth consumed and eaten of the moth. &c.*

With this prophesie of Iohn Hus aboue mentioned, speaking of the hundreth yeares, accordeth also the testimony of Hierome his fellow Martyr, in these words: And I recite you all (sayd he) to answere before the most high and iust iudge, after an hundreth yeares.

[illustration]

Iohn Hus.

Centum reuolutis annis Deo respondebitis.

[illustration]

Hieronymus.

Post centum annos vos omnes cito.

*This Hierome was burnt an. 1416. and Luther began to write an. 1516. which was the iust hundreth yeare after, according to the right accompt of Hieromes Prophecy.

Phillip Melancthon in his Apologie, cap. De votis Monast. testifieth of one Iohn Hilton a Monke in Thuring, who, for speaking against certayne abuses of the place and order where he liued, was cast in prison, At length beyng weake and feable through imprisōment, he sent for y^e Warden of the Couent, desiring and be•eching him, to haue some respect of his woefull state, & pittifull case. The Warden rebuking and accusing hym for that he had done & spoken: He aunswered againe and sayde that he had spoken nothyng [Page 842](#) whiche might be preiudiciall or hurtfull to their monkery, or against their Religion:*But there shoulde come one (and assigned the yeare, an. 1516.) Who should vtterly subuert all monkery. and they should neuer be able to resist him &c.

Long it were to induce here all Prophecies that be read in histories. Certeine I minde briefly to touch & passe ouer.* And first to omit the reuelations of Brigit (wherunto I doe not muche attribute) who prophesying of the destruction of Rome in her 4. booke, cap. 17. sayth: That Rome shalbe scoured and purged with three thinges, with sworde, fire, and the plough:*resembling moreouer the sayd Church of Rome to a plant remoued out of the old place into a new. Also to a body condemned by a iudge, to haue the skinne flayne off the bloud to be drawn from the fleshe, the flesh to be cut out in peeces, and the bones thereof to be broken, and all the marow to be squiesed out from the same, so that no part thereof remayne whole and perfect. &c. But to these speculations of Brigit, I geue no great respect, as neither I doe to the predictions of Katherine De Senis.

And yet notwithstanding, Antoninus writing of the same Katherine in hys 3. part.*Tit. 23. cap. 14. reciteth her wordes thus, prophesying of the reformation of the church to Fryer Reymund her ghostly father: By these tribulations (sayth she) God after a secret maner vnknowne to man, shall purge his holy Church, and after those thinges shall follow such a reformation of the holy Church of God,*and such a renouation of the holy pastours, that the onely cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirite to reioyce in the Lord: And, as I haue oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse which is now all deformed and ragged, shalbe adourned and decked with most ritch and precious ouches and brouches: and all the faythfull shalbe glad and reioyse to see themselues so bewtified with so holye pastours. Yea and also the infidels then allured by the sweete sauour of Christ, shall returne to the catholicke folde, and be conuerted to the true byshop and shepheard of theyr soules. Geue thanks therefore to GOD, for after this storme, hee will geue a great calme. &c.

Of the authoritie of this prophetisse, I haue not to affirme or iudge, but rather to heare what the Catholique iudge will say of this their owne saint and Prophet. For if they do not credite her spirite of prophesie, why then doe they authorise her, for a pure saint amōg y^e Sisters of deare S. Dominick? If they warrēt her prophesie, let them say then when was this glorious reformation of the Church, euer true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this maruellous alteration of the Church, in these our latter dayes? Or when was there any such conuersion of Christian peo'ple in all countries euer heard of, since the Apostles tyme, as hath bene since the preaching of Martine Luther.

*Of Hieronimus Sauonarola I wrote before, pag 000 shewing that he prophesied: That one shoulde passe ouer the Alpes like to Cyrus, who shoulde subuert and destroy all Italye. Which may well be applyed to Gods word, and the Gospell of Christ, spreading nowe in all places since Luthers time.

*Theodoricus Bishop of Croacia, liued neare about the time, when Hus and Hierome were martyred. Who in y^e ende of his propheticall verses, which are extant in print, declareth: That the sea of Rome whiche is so horriblie polluted with Simonie and auarice, shall fal, and no more shal oppresse men with tyranny, as it hath done, and that it shalbe subuerted by hys owne subiectes, and that the Church and true pietie shal flourish agayne more then euer it did before.

Nouiomagus testifieth, that he in the yeare of our Lord, 1520. heard Ostendorpius, * a Canon of Dauntreie, say: that when he was a young man Doctor Weselus a Phrysian, which was then an old man, told him, That he should liue to see this new schoole diuinitie of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonauen^ture to be vtterly forsaken and exployded of all true Christians.

In a booke of Carolus Bouillus, mention is made of a certaine vision, which one Nicholas: an heretique of Heluetia, had, in which vision he saw the popes head crowned with 3. swordes proceeding from hys face: and 3. swordes comming toward it. This vision is also imprinted in the bookes of Martine Luther, with hys preface before it.

Nicholas Medlerus, being of late superintendent of Brūswyke, * affirmed and testified: That he heard and knewe a certayne Priest in his country, which told the priests there, that they layd aside Paule vnder their desks and pues: but the time would come, when as Paule should come abroad, and driue them vnder the desks and darcke stalles, where they shoulde not appeare. &c.

Matthias Flaccius, in the ende of his booke intituled: De testibus veritatis, speaketh of one Michael Stifelius, which Michael being an old man, told him that he heard the Priestes and Monkes say many tymes, by old prophecies, that a violent reformation must needes come amongst them: and also that the sayd Michael heard Cōradus Stifelius his father, many tymes declare the same: who also for the great hatred he bare agaynst this filthy sect of Monkes and priestes, told to one Peter Pi•er a friend and neighbour of hys, that he should lyue and see the day, and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those Priestes which he should kill for himselfe, he woulde kill one priest more for hys sake Haec ex Flaccio.

This Stiteus thought belike, that this reformation shuld be wrought by outward violence, * and force of sword but he was thereing deceiued. Although the aduersarye vseth all forcible meanes, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the Gospell alwaies beginneth with peace, and quietnes.

In the table of Amersham men I signified a little before pag. 000. how one Haggard of Londō, speaking of this reformation to come: declared: That the Priestes should make battaile, and haue the vpper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished, and ouerthrowne for euer.

In the tyme of pope Alexander the 6. and about the yeare of our Lord. 1500. as is before specified, * pag. 000. the hygh angell which stode in the top of the popes church and castle of

S. Angell, was throwne downe with a terrible thunder, into the riuer of Tybris: whereby might seeme to be declared the ruine and fall of the popedome.

To this may be adioyned, whiche in certayne Chronicles, and in Iohn Bale is recorded: which sayth, that in y^e yeare of our Lord. 1516. whiche was the same yeare when Martine Luther began, Pope Leo the x. dyd create 31. Cardinals: In the which yeare and day of theyr creation, there fell a tēpest of thūder and lightning in Rome, which so strake the church where the Cardinals were made, that it remoued the little Childe Iesus out of the lappe of hys mother, and the keyes out of Saint Peters hand.* Whiche thing many then did interprete to signifie and foreshow the subuersion and alteration of the sea of Rome.

Hetherto pertayneth also a strange portente and a prodigious token from heauen, in the yeare of our Lord. 1505.* In the which yeare, vnder the reigne of Maximilian Emperour, there appeared in Germany, vpon the vestures of men as well of Priestes, as lay men, vpon womens garmentes also, and vpon theyr rockes as they were spynning, diuerse printes and tokens of the nayles, of the sponge, of the spayre, of the Lordes, coate, and of bloody Crosses. &c. All which were seene vpon theyr cappes and gownes, as is most certaynly testified and recorded by diuers, which both did see & also did write vpon the same. Of whom first was Maximilian the Emperour, who both had and shewed the same to Franciscus Mirandula, which wrote thereupon a booke in Latine meter called Staurostichon: wherein for the more credite, these verses be conteyned.

Non ignota cano, Caesar monstrauit, & ipsi

Vidimus: Innumeros prompsit Germania testes. &c.

Of this also writeth Iohn Carion, Functius,*Phil. Melanct. Flaccius, with diuers other moe. These markes and tokēs, as they were very straunge, so were they diuersly expounded of many, some thinking that they pretended affliction and persecution of the church to drawe neare: some, that God by that token did admonishe them or foreshewed vnto them, the true doctrine of their iustification, which onely is to be sought in the Crosse and passion of Christ, and no other thing. This I maruell, that Christianus Masseus, and other of that profession, doe leaue it out. Belike they sawe some thinge in it, that made not to theyr liking. For whether it signifieth persecution to come vpon the Germaines they cannot be euill that suffer and beare the Crosse wyth Christ: Or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ comming to the Germaines it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the Byshop of Rome must needes be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath styrrd vp in Germany.

By this and such like prophecies it is euident to vnderstand, the time not to be farre of, when God of his determinate prouidēce was disposed to reforme & to restore his Church. And not onely by these prophecies the same might well appeare but also, and much rather by y^e hartes of the people at that tyme, whose mindes were so insenced and inflamed with hatred agaynst the pompe and pryde of Rome, both through all nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easie to perceauē the tyme was neare at hand, whē the pride of popish prelacy would haue a fall. Such disdeyne there was, such contempte and derision began to ryse on euery side then agaynst the pope and the Courte of Rome, that it might soone appeare by the hartes of the people, that God was not disposed to haue [Page 841](#) it long to stand. For neither were their detestable

doinges of secret that men did not see them: neither did any man be hold them, hauing any sparckle of godlines, that could abide them. And thereupon grewe these prouerbes to their derision, in euery country: As in Germany it hath bene Prouerb amongst them.

*Was ist nu in der werlt fur ein wesen,

Wir moegen fur den pfaffen nicht genesen.

What is this, to see the world now round about,

That for these shaueling priestes no man that once maye route?

Quàm primum clericus suscipit rasuram, statim intrat in eum diabolus.

That is,

So soone as a Clerke is shorne into his order, by and by the deuill enterth into him.

In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

That is:

In the name of God beginneth all euill alluding to the Popes Bulles, which commonly so begin.

Item when Bulles come from Rome, bind well your purses.

The nearer Rome, the farther from Christ.

Item, he that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man.

He that goeth twice, learneth to know him.

He that goeth thrise, bringeth him home with him.

Item, the Courte of Rome neuer regardeth the sheepe without the woll.

Once were wodden chalices and golden priestes.

*Now we haue golden chalices, and wodden Priestes.

Once Christan men had blinde churches and light hartes,

Now they haue blinde hartes and light Churches.

Item, many are worshipped for Saintes in heauen, whose soules be burning in hell.

What should I speake of our English prouerbe which so vily esteemeth the filthy Friers, that it compareth them (sauing thy reuerence good Reader) to a fart?

In Fraunce, Gallus Senonensis writeth .400. yeares agoe, that amongst them it was an old saying: Romae solui Satanam in perniciem totius Ecclesiae. That is: That Sathan was let lose at Rome to destroy the whole Church.

Thomas Becket himselfe, in his time writing to the Colledge of Cardinals, denieth it not, but to be a common word both through town and city, Quod non sit iustitia Romae. That is, That there is no right at Rome.

To these may be adioyned also the A. B. C. Whiche we find in the margent of a certayne ould register, to be attributed to William Thorp, whose story we haue comprehended in the booke before.

¶A wake ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,

*B oth Priest, pope, Byshop and Cardinall.

C onsider wisely, what wayes that ye take,

D aungerously beyng like to haue a fall,

E uery where the mischief of you all,

F arre and neare, breaketh out very fast:

G od will needes be reuenged at the last.

¶H ow long haue ye the world captiued,

I n sore bondage: of mens traditions?

K inges and Emperours ye haue depriued,

L ewdly vsurping, theyr chiefe possessions:

M uch misery ye make in all regions.

N ow your fraudes be almost at their latter cast,

O f God sore to be reuenged at the last.

¶P oore people to oppresse, ye haue no shame,

Q uaking for feare of your double tyranny.

R ightfull iustice ye haue put out of frame,

S eeking the lust of your God, the belly.

T herefore I dare you boldly certifie,

V ery little though ye be thereof a gast,

Y et God will be reuenged at the last.

By these and such like sayinges, whiche may be collected innumerable, it may soone be seen what harts & iudge'ments the people had in those dayes of the Romish Clergy. Which thing, no doubt, was of God, as a secret prophe'cie, that shortly religion shoulde be restored: according as it came to passe, about thys present tyme whē Doct. Martin Luther first began to write,* after that Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Ualla, & last of all, Erasmus Roterodamus, had somewhat broken the way before & hadd shaken the monkes houses, But Luther gaue the stroke, & pluckt downe the foundation, & all by opening one wayne long hid before, wherein lyeth the touchstone of all trueth & doctrine, as the onely principall origine of our saluation which is our free iustifying by faith onely in christ y^e sonne of God. The laborious trauailes, and the whole processe & the constant preachings of this worthy mā, because they be sufficiētly declared in the history of Iohannes Sleidanus, I shall the lesse neede to stand long thereupon, but one'ly to runne ouer some principall matter of his life & actes as they are briefly collected by Phillip Melanthon.

¶The history of D. Martine Luther with his lyfe and doctrine described.

MArtine Luther, after he was growne in yeares,* being borne at Isleben in Saxonie, an. 1483. was set to the Uniuersity, first of Magdeburg, thē of Erford. In this Uniuersitie of Erforde, there was a certayne aged man, in the Couēt of the Agustines (who is thought to be Weselus aboue mentioned) wyth whom Luther beyng then of the same order a fryer Augustine, had conference vppon diuers thinges, especially touching the Article of remission of sinnes, the whiche Article the sayd aged father opened vnto Luther after this sorte, declaring that wee must not generally beleue onely forgeunes of sinnes to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paule, to Dauid, or suche good men alone: but that Gods expresse commaundements is, that euery man should beleue particularly hys sinnes to be forgeuen him in Christ: and further sayd, that thys interpretation was confirmed by the testimonies of S. Barnerd, and shewed him the place,* in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: But adde thou that thou beleuest this, that by him thy sinnes are forgiuen thee. This is the testimony that the holy Ghost giueth thee in thy heart, saying: Thy sinnes are forgiuen thee. For this is the opinion of the Apostle, that man is freely iustified by fayth.

By these wordes Luther was not onely strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of S. Paule, who repeateth so many tymes this sentence: We are iustified by fayth. And hauing read the expositions of many vppon this place, he then perceiued as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he receiued in his spirit, the vanitie of those interpretations, which he had read before, of the scholemen: And so reading by litle and litle, with cōferring the sayinges and examples of the Prophetes & Apostles, and continuall inuocation of God, and excitatiō of fayth by force of prayer, hee perceiued y^e doctrine more euidently. Then began he to read Saint Agustines bookes, where he founde many comfortable sentēces among other in the exposition of the Psalmes and specially in the booke of the Spirite and Letter,* which confirmed this doctrine of fayth and consolation in hys hart, not a little. And yet he layd not aside the Sentenciaries, as Gabriell and Cameracensis. Also he read the bookes of Occam, whose subtilty he preferred aboue Thomas Aquine, & Scotus. He read also and reuolued Gersō: but aboue al the

rest, he perused all ouer S. Augustines workes with attentiu cogitation. And thus continued he his study at Erford, y^e space of 4. yeares in the Couent of the Augustines.

About this tyme one Staupicius a famous mā,* who ministring his helpe to further the erection of an Uniuer|sitie in Wittenberg, and endeouoring to haue schooles of Diuinitie founded in this new Uniuersitie: when he had cōsidered the spirite & towardnes of Luther, he called him from Erford, to place him in Wittenberg, in y^e yeare .1508. and of his age xxvi. There his towardnes appeared in y^e ordinary exercise both of hys disputations in the schooles & preaching in churches, where as many wise and learned mē attentiuely heard Luther, namely D. Mellerstad.

This Mellerstad would oftentimes say, that Luther was of suche a marueilous spirit, and so ingenious,* that he gaue apparant signifcation, that he would introduce a more compendious, easie, and familier maner of teaching and altar and abolishe the order that then was vsed.

There first he expounded the Logick and Philosophy of Aristotle, & in the meane while,* intermitted no whit his study in Theology. Three yeares after, he went to Rome, about certayn contentions of the Monkes, and returning the same yeare, he was a graded Doctour:* at the expenses of Elector Fredericke, Duke of Saxonie, according to the solemn maner of scholes: for he had heard him preach: well vnderstanded the quickenes of his spirite: dilligently considered the vehemency of hys wordes, and had in singular admiration those profound matters, whiche in hys Sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Stanpicius, against his will enforced vpon him, saying merely vnto him, that God had many thinges to bring to passe in hys Church by him. And though these wordes were spoken merely, yet it came so to passe anone after, as many predictions or presages proue true before a chaunge.*

After this he began to expound the Epistle to the Romaines, & consequently the Psalmes: where he shewed the difference betwixt the lawe and the Gospell. He also confounded the errour that raigned then in schooles and Sermons, teaching that men may merite remission of sinnes [Page 844](#) by their proper works, and that they be iust before God by outward discipline, as the Phariseis taught. Luther dilligently reduced the mindes of men, to the sonne of God. As Iohn Baptist demonstrated the lambe of God that tooke away the sinns of the world: euen so Luther shining in the church of a bright starre after a long cloudy and obscure skye,* expresly shewed that sinnes are freely remitted for the loue of the sonne of God, and that we ought faythfully to embrace this bountifull gift.

These happy beginniges of so good matters, got him great authoritie, especially seeing his lyfe also was correspondent to his profession. The consideration whereof allured to him meruailously the hartes of his auditors, and also many notable personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonyes,* but precisely obserued his rule amōg his felowes he medled in no doubtfull opinions, but taught this onely doctrine, as most principall of al other to all men, opening & declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins of fayth, of true comfort in times of aduersitie. Euery man receaued good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceiued high pleasure to behold Iesus Christ, the Prophets & Apostles, to come forth into light out of darcknes, wherby they began to vnderstand the difference betwixt y^e law and the Gospell: betwixt the promises of the law, and the promise of

the Gospell: betwixt spiritual iustice, & ciuil things: which certainly could not haue bene foūd in Thomas Aquine, Scotus, nor such like schoole clerkes.

It happened moreouer about this time, that manye were prouoked by Erasmus learned workes, to study the Greek & Latine tongues, who perceiuing a more gentle & ready order of teaching then before, began to haue in contempt the Monkes barbarous and sophisticall doctrine: & specially such as were of liberall nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greeke and Hebrue tonge to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and proprietic of the tongues, and drawne the doctrine of the very fountaynes, he might geue more sound iudgement.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, whiche was the yeare of our Lord 1516.* Leo y^e x. of that name succeeding after Iulius. 2. was Pope of Rome. Who vnder pretence of warre against the Turke, sent a Iubile wyth his pardons, abroad through all Christen Realmes & dominions: whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure. The gatherers and collectors whereof perswaded the people, that whosoever would geue x. shillings, shuld at his pleasure, deliuer one soule from y^e payns of Purgatory. For this they held as a generall rule, that God would do,* whatsoeuer they would haue him, according to the saying: Quicquid solueritis super terram, erit solutum in coelis &c. Whatsoeuer you loose vpon earth, the same shal be loosed in heauen. But if it were but one iotte lesse then x. shillings, they preached that it would profite thē nothing. Ex Christia. Messeo lib. 20. Chro.

This filthy kind of the popes merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions,* so it came also to Germany, through the meanes of certayne Dominicke Fryers named Tecellius, who most impudently caused y^e Popes indulgences or pardons to be caryed & sold about the country. Whereupon, Luther muche moued with the blasphemous sermōs of this shameles Fryer, and hauing his hart earnestly bent with ardent desire to mayntayne true religion, published certayne propositions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the first Tome of hys works,* and set them openly on the temple that ioyneth to the Castle of Wittenberge, the morrow after the feastes of all Saintes, the yeare .1517.

This beggerly Fryer, hoping to obtaine y^e popes blessing,* assembled certayne Monkes & sophisticall diuines of his couent, & forthwith commanded thē to write something against Luther. And whilst he would not himselfe seeme to be dumme, he began not onely to enuey in his sermons but to thunder against Luther, crying: Luther is an hereticke,* and worthy to be persecuted with fire: and besides this, he burned openly Luthers propositions, and the sermon whiche he wrote of indulgences. This rage and fumish fury of this Frier, enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to mayntayne his matter.

And thus rose the beginniges of this controuersie, wherein Luther neyther suspecting ne dreaming of anye chaunge that might happen in the ceremonies, did not vtterly reiect the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, which blase that he began w^t plausible matter, wherby he might get prayse. to the end that in processe of time, he might change the state of the common weale, and purchase authoritie, eyther for himselfe or other.

And certes, he was not suborned or styrred vp by them of the courte (as the Duke of Brumwike wrote:*) in so much that the Duke Frederick was sore offended that such contention and controuersie should arise, hauing regarde to the sequele thereof.

And as this good Duke Frederick was one of al y^e princes of our time, that loued best quietnes and common tran^quilitie, neither was auaricious, but willingly bent to referre al his counsels to the common vtilitie of all the world (as it is easy to be coniectured diuers waies:) so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often represented semblaunce of heauines and sorrow, which he bare in hys hart, fearing greater dissensions: But being a wise prince and following the Counsaile of Gods rule, and well deliberating therupon, he thought with himselfe that the glory of God was to be preferred aboue all thinges. Neyther was he ignoraunt what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugne y^e truth. Wherefore he did as a godly Prince should do: he obeyed God, cōmitting himselfe to his holy grace, and omnipotent protectiō. And although Maximilianus the Emperour, Carolus K. of Spaine, & Pope Iulius had geuen commaundement to the sayd Duke Fridericke, that he should inhibite Luther from all place and libertie of preaching: yet the Duke considering with himselfe the preaching and & writing of Luther and weighing dilligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alledged, would not withstād the thing, which he iudged sincere. And yet neyther did he this, trusting to his own iudgemēt, but was very anxious & inquisitiue to heare y^e iudgements of other, whiche were both aged, & learned. In the number of whom was Erasmus, whō the Duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching y^e matter of Martine Luther, saying & protesting that he would rather the ground shuld open and swallow him, then he would beare w^t any opinions, which he knew to be cōtrary to manifest truth: & therefore he desired him to declare his iudgement in y^e matter, to him freely & frendly.

Erasmus thus being entreated of the Duke, began thus iestingly and merely to answeere the Dukes request,* saying: that in Luther were two great faultes: first, that he would touch the bellyes of monkes: the second, y^t he would touch the popes crown: which two matters in no case are to be dealt withall. Then opening his minde playnly to y^e Duke, thus he sayde,* that Luther did well in detecting errorrs, and that reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church: and added moreouer, that the effect of his doctrine was true, but onely that he wished in him, a more temperate moderation and maner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke Friderick shortly after wrote to Luther seriously,* exhorting him to temperate the vehemency of his style. This was at the City of Colen, shortly after the Coronation of the newe Emperour, where also Huttenus, Aloisius, Marlianus, Ludouicus, viues, Halonius, with other learned men, were assembled together wayting vpon the Emperour.

Furthermore the same Erasmus, the yeare next folowing that,* wrote vp to the Archbishop of Mentz a certayne Epistle touching the cause of Luther. In whiche Epistle thus he signifieth to the Byshop: That many thinges were in the books of Luther condemned of monkes and Diuines, for hereticall, whiche in the bookes of Bernarde and Austen are redde for sound and godly.

Also, that the world is burdened with mens institutions, with schole doctrines and opinions,*and with the tyrannye of begging Friers: which Fryers when they are but the Popes seruauents and vnderlinges: yet they haue so growne in power and multitude, that they are nowe terrible both to the pope himselfe, and to all princes. Who so long as the pope maketh with them, so long they

make him more thē a God. But if he make any thing agaynst their purpose or commoditie, then they wey his authoritie no more then a dreame or phantasie.

Once (sayd he) it was counted an heresie, when a man repugned agaynst the Gospell, or Articles of the fayth. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas of Aquine, is an hereticke, whatsoeuer doth not like them, whatsoeuer they vnderstand not, that is heresie. To speake Greeke, is heresie. Or to speake more finely then they do, that is with them heresie. And thus much by the way, concerning the iudgement of Erasmus.

Now to returne and to entreate something orderly of the actes and conflictes of Luther with hys aduersaries: after y^e Tecelius the foresayd Fryer, w^t his fellow monkes and Frierly fellowes, had cried out w^t open mouth against Luther, in mayntayning the popes indulgences, and that Luther agayn in defence of hys cause, had set vp propositions against the open abuses of the same, maruell it was to see how soone these propositions, were sparckled abroad in sundry and farre places, and howe greedely they were caught [Page 849](#) vp in the hands of diuers, both far & near. And thus y^e contentiō of this matter increasing betwene them,* Luther was cōpelled to write therof more largely & fully, thē other wise he thought: which was in y^e yeare of our Lorde. 1517.

Yet all this while, Luther neuer thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much lesse such a reforma'tion of doctrine and ceremonies, as afterward did follow. But onely hearing that he was accused to the Bishop of Rome, he did write humbly vnto him: in the beginning of which writing, he declareth y^e vnordinate outrage of those his pardonmongers, whiche so excessiue did pill & pole the simple people, to the great slaunder of the Church, and shame to his holines: and so proceeding in the ende of the sayd his writing, thus he submitteth himselfe.

Wherefore (sayth he) most holy father. I offer my selfe prostrate vnder the feete of your holines, with all that I am, and that I haue. Saue me, kill me, call me, recall me, approoue me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voyce, y^e voyce of Christ in you speaking, I wil acknowledge. If I haue deserued death, I shall be contented to dye: For the earth is the Lordes, and all the fulnes therof, who is to be blessed for euer. Amen. This was the yeare of our Lorde. 1518.

After that Martine Luther, prouoked thus by Tecelius, had declared hys minde in writing lowly and humbly and had set vp certayn propositions to be disputed: not lōg after,* among other monkes and Fryers, steppeth vp one Siluester de Priero a Dominicke Frier who fyrst began to publish abroad a certayne impudent and rayling Dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered agayn, first alledging the place of the Apostle. 1. Thes. v. That we must proue all thinges. Also the place. Gal. 2. That if an aungell from heauen do bryng an other Gospell, then that we haue receiued, he ought to be accursed.

*Item, he alledged the place of Austen vnto Hierome, where the sayd Austen sayth: That he is wont to geue thys honour onely to the book of Canonickall Scripture, that who soeuer were the writers thereof, he beleueth them verily not to haue erred. But as touching all other mens writings, were they neuer so holy men or learned, he doth not beleue them therefore, because they so say, but in that respect as they doe agree with the Canonickall Scripture, which cannot erre.

*Item, he alledged the place of the Canon law: Clem. de Poenit. & remis. C. Abusionibus. Wherein he proued, y^t these pardonsellers, in their setting forth of the popes indulgences, ought to go no further by the lawe, then is enioyned them within the letters of their commission.

And in the latter part of his aunswer, thus Luther writeth to the reader, Let opinions (sayth he) remayne opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. Let vs not make mens opinions equall with the articles of fayth, & to the decrees of Christ, and Paule. Moreouer I am ashamed (quod he) to heare the common saying of this Diuine schole doctours, who holding one thing in the schooles, and thinking otherwise in their own iudgement, thus are wont, secretly among thēselues,* and with their priuy friendes, talking together to say: Thus we do hold, and thus would I say, being in the schooles, but yet (be it spoken here amongst vs) it cannot be so proued by the holy Scriptures, &c. Ex. Paralip. Abb. Vrsperg.

*Next after this Siluester, stept forth Eckius, and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Agaynst whom encoun^tered D. Andraeas Bedenstein. Archdeacō of Wittenberg, makynge hys Apologie in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the 7. of August. by one Hieronimus B. of Ascalon, to appeare at Rome. About which tyme Thomas Caietanus Cardinall, y^e popes Legate, was then lieger at the Cittie of Augusta, who before had beene sent downe in commission, with certayne mandates from Pope Leo,* vnto that City: The vniuersitie of Wittenberg vnderstanding of Luthers citation, eftsoones directed vp their letters, with their publique seale to y^e pope, in Luthers behalfe. Also an other letter they sent to Carolus Militius the popes chamberlayne beyng a Germaine borne. Furthermore good Fridericke ceased not for his part, to sollicite the matter with his letters & earnest suit, with Cardinall Caietanus, that the cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and remooued to Augusta, in the hearing of the Cardinall. Caietanus at y^e suyt of the Duke, wrote vnto the Pope, from whome he receaued this answer again, the 23. of the foresayd month of August,* that he had cited Luther, to appeare personally before him at Rome, by Hieronimus Bishop of Ascalon, Auditour of the chamber: whiche byshop dilligently had done, that was commaunded hym, but Luther abusing and contemning the gentlenes offered, did refuse not onely to come, but also became more bold and stubborne, continuing or rather increasing in his former heresie, as by hys writing did appeare: Wherefore he wold that the Cardinal should cite and call vp the sayd Luther to appeare at the city of Augusta before him, adioyning withall, the ayd of the princes of Germany & of the Emperour, if neede required so that when the sayd Luther shoulde appeare, he shoulde lay hand vpon him, & commit him to sate custody, and after he should be brought vp to Rome: and if he perceaued him to come to any knowledge or amendment of hys faulte, he should release him, and restore hym to the church again, or els he shuld be interdict, with al other his adherents, abettors, & mayntainers, of what soeuer estate or cōdition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueses, Earles Ba^rons. &c. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed hym to extende the same curse and malediction (onely the person of the Emperour excepted) interdicting by the censure of the church, all such landes, Lordships, Townes, tenementes, villages, as should minister any harbour to the sayd Luther, & were not obedient vnto the sea of Rome. Contrariwise to all such as shewed themselues obedient, he should promise full remission of all theyr sinnes. Likewise the pope directeth other letters also the same tyme, to Duke Friderick, complayning with many grieuous wordes, agaynst Luther.

The Cardinall thus being charged with iniunctions from Rome; according to his commission, sendeth with all speede, for Luther to appeare at Augusta before hym.*

About the beginning of October Martin Luther yealding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Augu'sta, at the Cardinals sending (at the charges, of the noble Prince Electour) and also hys letters of commendation, where he remayned 3. dayes before he came to his speache: for so it was prouided by his frendes, that he shoulde not enter talke with the Cardinall, before a sufficient warrant or safe conduct was obtained of the Emperour Maximilian. Which being obteyned, eftsoones he entred,* offeringe himselfe to the speach of the Cardinal, and was there recey'ued of the cardinall very gently: who according to y^e popes commandement, propounded vnto Martin Luther three thinges, or as Sleaden sayth, but 2. to witte.

1. That he should repent and reuoke hys erroures.
2. That he shoulde promise from that tyme forward, to refrayne from the same.
3. That he shoulde refrayne from all thinges that myght by any meanes trouble the Church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherin he had erred,* the Legate brought forth the extrauagants of Clement, which beginneth: Vnigenitus &c. because that he contrary to that Canon had held & taught in his 58. proposition, that the merites of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the cardinall, contrary to the seuenth proposition of Luther, affirmed that fayth is not necessary to him that receaueth the sacrament.

Furthermore, an other day in the presence of 4. of the Emperours Counsaile, hauing there a Notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himselfe and personally in this maner following.

In primis, I Martine Luther, a Fryer Augustine, protest that I do reuerence and followe the Church of Rome in all my sayinges and doings, present, past, and to come:* And if any thing haue bene or shalbe said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as though it had neuer beene spoken. But because the Cardinall hath required at the commaundement of the Pope three thinges of me to be obserued:

- 1 That I should returne againe to the knowledge of my selfe.
- 2 That I should beware of falling into the same agayne here after.
- 3 That I shoulde promise to abstayne from all thinges which might disquiet the church of God:

I protest here this day, that whatsoeuer I haue sayde, seemeth vnto me to be sound, true and Catholicke: Yet for the further profe therof, I doe offer my selfe personally eyther here or elsewhere, publikely to geue a reason of my say'inges. And if this please not the Legate,* I am ready also in writing to aunswere hys obiections, if he haue anye agaynst me: And touching these thinges, to heare the sentence and iudgement of the Uniuersities of the Empyre. Basill, Friburge, and Louane. Hereof when they had receiued an answeere in writing, they departed.

After thys Luther by and by prepareth an aunswere to the Legate, teaching that the merites of Christ are not committed vnto men: that the popes voyce is to be heard when he speaketh agreably to the Scriptures: that y^e pope may erre: that he ought to be reprehended, Act. 15. Moreouer he shewed that in the matter of fayth. not onely y^e generall councell, but also euery faythfull christian is aboue the Pope, if he leaue to better authoritie and reason: that the [Page 846](#) Extrauagant containeth vntruthes: that it is an infallible veritie, that none is iust: that it is necessary for hym that commeth to the receiuing of the sacrament, to beleue: that fayth in the absolution and remission of sinnes, is necessary that he ought not nor might not decline from the veritie of the Scripture: that he sought nothing but the light of the truth.* &c.

But the Cardinall would heare no scriptures: he disputed without scriptures, deuised gloses and expositions of his owne head, and by distinctions (wherewith the Diuinitie of the Thomistes is full) like a very Proteus, he auoyded al thinges. After this, Luther being commaunded to come no more in the presence of the Legate, excepte he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still & would not depart. Then the Cardinall sent for Ioannes Stupitius, vicare of the Augustines, & moued him earnestly to bryng Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther taried the next day also, and nothing was sayd vnto him. The thyrd daye moreouer he taryed and deliuered vp his minde in writing in whiche,* first he thanked him for his curtesie and great kyndenes which he perceaued by the words of Stupitius toward him, and therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatsoeuer kinde of office he could do him seruice: confessing moreouer, that where he had bene somewhat sharpe and eger agaynst the popes dignitie, that was not so much of his own minde, as it was to be ascribed to the importunitie of certaine which gaue him occasion. Notw^tstanding, as he acknowledged his excesse therin, so he was ready to shew more moderation in that behalf hereafter, & also promised to make amendes for y^e same vnto the bish. & that in the pulpit, if he pleased. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promised also to proceede no further in any mention therof, so y^t his aduersaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But where as he was prest to retracte hys sentence before defended, forasmuch as he had said nothing but with a good conscience, and whiche was agreable to y^e firme testimonies of the scripture: therefore he humbly desired the determination therof, to be referred to the bishop of Rome, for nothing could be more gratefull to hym, then to heare the voyce of the Church speaking &c.

¶Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that, if the Bishop of Rome would haue bene answered with any reason, or contented wyth sufficient meane, he had neuer bene touched any further of Luther. But the secret purpose of GOD had a farther worke herein to do: for the tyme now was come, when God thought good that pride shoulde haue a fall. Thus while the vnmeasurable desire of that B. sought more then inough,* and like to Aesopes dogge, coueting both to haue y^e fleshe, and shadowe, not onely he missed that he gaped for, but also lost that which he had.

But to the purpose of our matter agayne: this writing Luther deliuered to the Cardinall the third daye after he was commanded out of his sight. Which letter or writing the Cardinall did little regard. When Luther sawe that he would geue no aunswere nor countenance to the letter, yet notw^tstanding he remayned after that, the fourth daye, and nothing was aunswere: the fift day likewise was pas'sed with like silence, and nothing done. At the length, by the counsell of hys frendes, and specially because the Cardinall had sayde before, that he had a commaundement to imprison Luther and Iohn Stupitius the vicare, after y^t he had made and set vp hys appeale where

it might be seen and read, he departed, thinking that he had shewed suche daungerous obedience long enough. Luther a beholder & a doer of these things, recordeth the same and sheweth the cause why he submitted himselfe to the church of Rome: de|claring also, that euen those thinges, which are most truely spoken, yet ought to be mayntayned and defended, with humilitie and feare. Some thinges he suppresseth and conceileth, whiche he supposeth the reader to vnderstand not without grieve and sorrow. At length he protesteth that he reuerenceth and followeth the church of Rome in al thinges,* and that he setteth himselfe onely agaynst those, which vnder the name of the church of Rome, goe about to set forth and commend Babylon vnto vs.

Thus you haue heard how that Luther being reiectcd from the speache and sight of Caietanvs the Cardinall, after sixe dayes wayting,* departed by the aduise of his friendes & returned vnto Wittēberg, leauing a letter in writing to be geuen to the Cardinall, wherein hee declared sufficiently, first his obedience in hys comming, the reasons of hys doctrine, his submission reasonable to the Sea of Rome, hys long wayting after he was repelled from the Cardinals speache, the charges of the Duke, and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the Cardinall, he left also an Appellation to the Byshop of Rome, from the Cardinall,* which he caused openly to be affixed be'fore his departure.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned agayn into hys country, Caietanvs writeth to Duke Fridericke, a sharpe and a byting letter, in which first he signifieth to him hys gentle intertaynment & good will shewed to reduce Luther from hys errour. Secondly, he complayneth of y^e sodayn departing of him, & of Stupicius. Thirdly, he declareth y^e pernicious daunger of Luthers doctrine against the Church of Rome. Fourthly, hee exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendereth hys own honour and safetie, & regardeth the fauour of the hye byshop, he will send him vp to Rome, or expell hym out of hys dominiō, forsomuch as such a pestilence breeding, as that was, coulde not, ney'ther ought by any meanes long so to be suffered.

To this letter of the Cardinall,* the Duke aunswereth agayne at large, purging both Luther, and himselfe: Luther, in that he following hys conscience grounded vpon y^e word of god, would not reuoke that for an errour, which could be proued no errour: & himselfe he excuseth thus, that where is required of hym to banish hym hys countrey, or to send him vp to Rome, it would be little honesty for him so to do, and lesse conscience, vnles he knew iust cause, why he should so do: Which if the Cardinall would or could declare vnto him, there should lacke nothing in hym, whiche were the part of a Christian Prince to doe, and therefore he desireth hym, to be a meanes vnto the Byshop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppressed, before y^e cryme or errour be lawfully conuicted.

This done, the Duke sendeth the letter of the Cardinall, vnto Martin Luther.* Who aunswered agayne to the Prince, shewing first how he came obediently vnto Caietanvs, with the Emperours warrant: & what talke there was betweene them: how Caietanvs pressed hym against his conscience and manifest truth, to reuoke these errours. First that the merites of Christes Passion, were not y^e trea'sure of the popes pardons. Secondly that fayth was necessary in receauing the Sacramentes. Albeit in the first he was content to yeeld to the Cardinall. In the second, because it touched a great part of our saluation, he coulde not with a safe conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture: at least that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germanye, where y^e truth might be discussed and iudged of learned men. The

Cardinall not pleased w^t this, in great anger cast out of ma'ny manacing words, neither would admit hym any more to hys presence or speache: whereas yet notwithstanding persisting in his obedience to the church of Rome, gaue attendaunce, wayting vpon the Cardinals pleasure a sufficient tyme.

At last, when no aunswere woulde come, after hee had wayted y^e space of v. or .vi. dayes, to his great detriment, & greater daunger, by the perswasion of hys friendes, he departed. Whereat if the Cardinall were displeased, he had most cause to blame hymselfe. And now whereas the Cardinall threatneth me (sayth he) not to let the action fall, but y^t the proces thereof shalbe pursued at Rome vnlesse I eyther come and present my selfe, or els be banished your dominions, I am not somuch greeued for myne owne cause, as y^t you should susteyne for my matter any daunger or perill. And therefore seeyng there is no place nor countrey,* which can keep me frō the malice of mine aduersaryes, I am willing to depart hence and to forsake my coūtry, whether soeuer it shall please the Lorde to leade me: thanking God which hath counted me worthy to suffer thus muche for the glory of Christes name.

Here (no doubt) was the cause of Luther in great dan'ger, beyng nowe brought to this straye,* that both Luther was ready to flye the countrey, and the Duke agayne was as much afayrd to keepe hym, had not the maruelous prouidence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here pro'uided a remedy, where the power of man did fayle,* by styrring vp the whole vniuersitie of Wittingberg, who seeyng the cause of truth thus to declyne,* with a full and a general consent, addressed theyr letters vnto y^e Prince, in defence of Luther & of his cause, making their hūble suit vnto hym, y^t he of hys princely honour, would not suffer innocency and the simplicity of trueth so cleare as is the Scripture, to be foyled and oppressed by mere violence of certayne malignant flatterers about the Pope: but that the errour first may be shewed and conuicted, before the partye be pronounced gylty.

By the occasion of these letters the Duke began more seriously in hys minde to consider the cause of Luther, and to read hys workes, and also to harken to hys Sermons. Wherby (through Gods holy working) he grew to know'ledge and strength, perceauing in Luthers quarrell more [Page 847](#) then he did before. This was about the beginning of December. an. 1518.

As this past on, Pope Leo playing the Lyon at Rome in the meane time in the month of Nouember, to stablishe his seate against this defection, whiche he •eared to come, had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, & al quarters abroad, w^t a new Edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholicke doctrine of the holy mother church of Rome Prince of al other churches, that Bishops of Rome which are successours of Peter, and vicares of Christ, haue thys power and authoritie geuen to release, and dispense, also to graunt indulgences auaylable both for the liuing and for the dead, lyeng in the paynes of purgatory. And thys dotrine he charged to be receiued of all faythfull Christen men, vnder payne of the great curse, and vtter separation from all holy Church.

This Popishe decree and indulgence, as a new Marchandise,* or Alestake to get money, being •et vp in al quarters of Christendome for y^e holy fathers aduantage, came also to be receiued in Germanye about the moneth of December. Luther in the meane time hearing how they were

about in Rome, to proceede and pronounce agaynst him, prouideth a certayne appeallation conceiued in due forme of law,* wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general Councell.

When Pope Leo perceaued that neyther his pardons would prosper to his minde, nor that Luther coulde be brought to Rome, to assay how to come to his purpose by crafty allurementes, he sent his Chamberlayne Carolus Miltitius, aboue mentioned, which was a Germaine, into Saxony to Duke Fridericke, with a golden rose, after y^e vsuall ceremony accustomed euery yeare to be presented to him, with secret letters also to certayne Noble men of the Dukes counsaile, to sollicite y^e popes cause, and to remoue the Dukes minde, if it might be from Luther.

But before Miltitius approched into Germany, Maximilian the Emperour deceased in the month of Ianuary an. 1519. At what tyme two there were which stooode for the election:* to wyt Fraunces the Frenche king, and Charles king of Spayne, which was also Duke of Austriche, and Duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through the meanes of Fredericke, Prince Elector, (who hauing the offer of the preferment, refused the same) the election fell to Carolus, called Carolus the v. surnamed Prudence: which was about the end of August.

In the month of Iune before, there was a publike disputation ordeined at Lypsia,* which is a Cittie in Misnia, vnder the dominion of George Duke of Saxonie, vncler to Duke Fredericke. This disputation first began thorough the occasion of Ioannes Eckius, a Fryer, and Andraeas Carolostadius, Doctour of Wittenberge. This Eckius had impugned certayne propositions or conclusions of Martine Luther, which he had written the yeare before, touching y^e popes pardons. Agaynst him Carolostadius wrote in defence of Luther.* Eckius agayne to aunswere Carolostadius, set forth an Apology. Whiche Apology Carolostadius agayn confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe conduct graunted by Duke George, to al & singular,* persons, that would resort to the same. To thys disputation came also Martine Luther, with Philip Melanctho, who not past a yeare before was newly come to Wittenberge, Luther not thinking then to dispute in anye matter, because of his appellacion aboue mentioned, but onely to heare what there was sayd and done.

First, before the entry into the disputation, it was agreed, that the Actes should be penned by Notaryes, and after to be diuulged abroad. But Eckius afterward went backe from that, pretending that the penning of the Notaries should be an hinderaunce & a stay vnto them, wherby the heate of them in their reasoning shuld the more languish and theyr vehemency rebayte. But Carolostadius without Notaryes woulde not dispute. The summe of their disputations was reduced to certain conclusions.* Among which first came in question to dispute of free wyll, which the Greekes call < in non-Latin alphabet > . That is, whether a man haue of himselfe, any election or purpose, to do that is good: or (to vse the termes of the schoole) whether a man of congruence, may deserue grace, doing y^t whiche in hym doth lye? Herein when y^e questiō was to be discussed, what y^e will of mā may do of it selfe, without grace: they through heat of contention (as the maner is) fell into other by matters and ambages, little or nothing appertayning to that which Carolostadius proposed.* Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to do good, is not in mans will, but is geuē of God to man to take interest & increase of man agayne, which first he seemed to deny. Then being asked of Carolostadius whether y^e whole & full good worke that is in mā proceedeth of god: to this he answered; y^e whole good work but not wholly: graunting that the will is moued of God:* but to cōsent, to be in mans power. Agaynst this reasones

Carolostadius, alledging certain places of Austen, & name'ly of S. Paule, whiche sayth,*that God worketh in vs both to will and to performe. And this sentence of Carolostadius seemed to ouercome. Eckius for his assertion, in erred certayne escriptes out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole weeke lost about this cōtentious and sophisticall alteration betweene Eckius, and Carolostadius.

Luther (as was sayd) came, not thinking at all to dispute, but hauing free libertie graunted by the Duke, & vnder the popes authoritie, was prouoked, & forced agaynst hys will to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controuersie was about y^e authoritie, of the Bishop of Rome.* Here is fyrst to be admonished, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: y^t they which do attribute y^e preheminance to the church of Rome, haue no foundation for them, but out of the Popes decrees,* set forth not much past 400. yeares heretofore: whiche decrees he affirmed to be contrary to all aunient historyes, aboue a thousande yeares past, contrary also to the holy scriptures, and vnto Nicene Councell.

Agaynst this assertion Eckius set vp a contrarye conclusion saying,* that they whiche holde that the supremacie and preheminance of the Church of Rome aboue all other Churches, was not before the time o^r Pope Siluester the first, do erre, for as much as they which succeeded in the see and fayth of Peter, were alwayes receiued for the successours of Peter, and vicars of Christ in earth.

This being the last of all the other Themes of Eckius yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the B. of Rome, wherein Luther himself much refused to dispute, alledging that matter to be more odious then necessary, for that present time, and that also for the B. of Romes sake, he had much rather keepe silence in the same. Wherunto if he must needes be vrged, he would the fault should be vnderstanded of all men to be where it was, namely in his aduersary which prouoked him thereunto, & not in himselfe. Eckius agayn clearing himselfe, translateth all the fault vnto Luther, which first in his treatise, De indulgentijs Papae, defended that before pope Siluesters tyme the church of Rome had no place of maioritie, or preheminance aboue other churches, & also before y^e Cardinall Caietanvs affirmed y^e Pope Pelagianus wrested many places of the Scripture out of their sense, vnto hys owne affection and purpose. Wherefore the fault hereof (sayd he) to him rather is to be imputed, which ministred the first occasion.

Thus Luther being egged and strayned to dispute, whether he would or no,* the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome: whiche supremacy Eckius did contend to be founded & grounded vpon Gods law. M. Luther on the other side, denyed not the supremacie of the Byshoppe of Rome aboue other churches, neither denyed the same moreouer to be vniuersall ouer all churches: but onely he affirmed it not to be instituted by Gods lawe. Upon this questiō the disputation did continue the space of 5. dayes. During al which season.* Eckius very vnholonstly & vnclerously demeaned himselfe, studying by all meanes how to bring his aduersary into y^e hatred of the auditors, & into danger of the P. The reasons of Eckius were these. For so much as y^e church beyng a ciuill body, cannot be without an head,* therefore as it standeth w^t Gods law, that other ciuill regimēts should not be destitute of theyr head▪ so is it by Gods law requisite that the pope should be the head of the vniuersall Church of Christ. To this M. Luther aunswered, that he confesseth & graunteth y^e Church not to be headles, so long as

Christ is aliue, who is the onely head of y^e Church, neither doth the Churche require any other head beside hym, for so much as it is a spirituall kingdome, not earthly: and he alledged for hym the place of Collos. 1.* Eckius agayne produced certayne places out of Hierome and Cyprian, whiche made very little to proue the primacie of the P. to hold by gods law.* As touchīg y^e testimony of Bernard neither was y^e authoritie of y^e author of any great force in thys case, neither was the place alledged so greatly to y^e purpose.*

Then came he to the place of S. Math. 16. Tues Petrus &c. Thou art Peter,*and vpon thys rock I will build my Church &c. To this was aunswared, that thys was a confession of faith, and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole vniuersall Church, as Austen doth expound it.* Also that Christe in that place meaneth himselfe to be the Rocke, as is manifest to collecte, both by hys wordes and order of the sentence, and many other coniectures. [Page 848](#) Likewise to the place of S. Iohn. Pasce oues meas: Feede my sheepe.* Which wordes Eckius alleged properly and peculiarly to be spoken to Peter alone. Martin aunswared, that after these wordes spoken, equall authoritie was geuen to all the Apostles, where Christ sayeth vnto them, Receiue ye the holy Ghost: whose sinnes soeuer yee remit, they are remitted. &c. By these wordes (sayeth hee) Christ assigning to them their office,* doeth teache what is to feede, and what he ought to be that feedeth. After thys Eckius came to the authoritie of the Councell of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles, De necessitate salutis est, credere Rom. pontificem Occumenicum esse, That is, that it standeth vpon necessitie of our saluation to beleue the Bishop of Rome to bee supreme heade of the Churche:* alleging moreouer, that in the same Councell was debated and discussed, that the general Councel could not erre. Whereunto Martin Luther againe did answere discreetly, saying that al the articles which Iohn Hus dyd holde in that Councell, were not condemned for hereticall: with much other matter more. Againe, of what authoritie that Councel of Constance is to be esteemed, that he leaft to other mens iudgemēts. This is most certain (said he) that no Councell hath such authoritie to make newe articles of faith. Here M. Luther began to be cryed out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing y^e authority of generall Councels. Although in deede he meane nothing lesse, but euer labored to confirme the authority of the same: yet was he called hereticke & schismaticke, and one of the Bohemes faction, with many other termes moe of reprochful contumely. Eckius then graunted the authoritie of the Apostles to be equal: & yet not to folow therby, the authoritie of all Byshops therefore to be equall: For betwene Apostleship and ministerie (sayd he) there is great difference.

To conclude, Eckius in no case coulde abide that anye creature shoulde decline from any worde or sentence of the Popes decrees, or the cōstitutions of the forefathers. To this againe Luther aunswared, grounding him selfe vpon the place ad Gal. 2. where S. Paule speaking of the principall Apostles,* sayeth: And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to mee, for God accepteth no mans person: neuerthelesse, they that were of some reputation, dyd auayle nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this said, that as touching the authoritie of the Apostles,* they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordeyned Bishops of Saint Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which sayeth, Ne Romanus pontifex vniuersalis Episcopus nominetur, &c. Yea let not the Bishop also of Rome bee called vniuersal Bishop, &c. To this Eckius aunswared on this sort, that the Bishop of Rome ought not to be called vniuersal Bishop: yet he may be called (sayd he) Byshop of the vniuersall church. And thus much touching the question of the Popes supremacie.

From this matter, they entred nexte to Purgatorie wherein Eckius kept no order.* For whē they should haue disputed, what power the Pope hath in Purgatorie, Eckius turneth the scope of the question, and proueth that there is Purgatorie, & allegeth for him the place of Machab. Luther leaning vpon the iudgement of Hierom, affirmeth the booke of Machabees not to be Canonical.* Eckius againe replyeth the booke of Machabees to be of no lesse authoritie then the Gospels. Also he alleged the place 1. Corinth. 3.*Hee shall bee saued▪ yet so as it were by fyre. Moreouer he inferred the place of Math. 5. Agree thou with thine aduersary while thou art in the way with him,*least he commit thee into prison, from whence thou shalt not escape, tyll thou hast payed the vttermost farthing.*&c. To this he added also the place of the Psalmes: We haue passed through the fire and water.*&c. Howe these places be wrasted to purgatory, let the reader discerne and iudge.

Then was inferred the question of indulgences, wherof Eckius seemed to make but a toy & a matter of nothing, and so passed it ouer.*

At last they came to the question of penance, touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to proue that there be some maner of paynes of satisfaction: whiche thing Luther dyd neuer deny. But that for euery particuler offence, such particuler penaunce is exacted of Gods iustice vpon the repētant sinner, as is in mans power to remitte or l•ease, as pleaseth him: such penance neither Luther, nor anye other true Christian did admit. And thus haue ye the chiefe effect of this disputation betweene Luther and Eckius at Lypsia.* Which was in the month of Iuly. an. 151•.

About the beginning of the same yeare .151•. Uldericke Zuinglius came first to Zuricke, and there began to teach. Who in the 16. article, in his booke of articles, recordeth, that Luther and both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of an other, began to write against the popes pardons and indulgences. Albeit if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall finde that Luther began a yeare or two before Zuinglius.* Notwithstanding this doth Sledan testifie, that in this present yeare, when Sampson a Franciscan, came with the popes pardons to Zurick, Uldericke Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared hys chaffer and pardons to be but a vayne seducing of the people, to inueagle away their money. Ex Sled Lib. 1.

The next yeare ensuing,* which was 1250. the Fryers and Doctours of Louane, and also of Colen, condemned y^e bookes of Luther as hereticall. Agaynst whom Luther agayne effectuously defended himselfe, and charged them with obstinate violence, and malicious impiety. After this within fewe dayes flasheth out from Rome the thunderbolt of pope Leo against the said Luther notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had reuerenced both the person of the pope, and agnised the authoritie of his see and also had dedicated vnto him,* and bookes intituled De Christiana libertate: that is, of Christian libertye: In which booke these two poyntes principally hee discusseth and proueth.

1 That a Christen man is free and Lorde of all thinges, and subiect to none.

2 That a Christen man is a dilligent vnderling and seruauant of all men, and to euery man subiect.

Moreouer, in the same yeare he set out a defence of all his articles, which the popes Bull had before condemned.

An other booke also he wrote to the nobilitie of Germanie,* in the which booke he impugneth and shaketh y^e three principall walles of the papistes: the first whereof is this.

1 Where as y^e papistes say, that no temporal or prophane magistrate hath any power vpon the spiritualtie: but they haue power ouer the other.

2 Where any place of Scripture being in controuersie is to be decided, they say, No man may expound y^e scripture, or be iudged thereof, but onely the Pope.

3 When any Councell is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authoritie to call a Councell, but onely the Pope.

Moreouer, in the foresayd booke diuers other matters he handleth and discourseth:* That y^e Pope can stop no free Councell. Also what things ought to be handled in Coūcels. That the pryde of the pope is not to be suffered. What money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, mounting to the summe of 3000000. Florences. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: Tu supplex ora: tu protege, tu{que} labora. Wherein the three estates with their offices and duties are described: to wyt, the minister the magistrate, & the subiectes. Furthermore in the sayd booke he prooueth and discusseth, that the Emperour is not vnder the Pope but contrariwise: that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: that priestes may haue wiues: that y^e voyces of the people ought not to be separte from the election of ecclesiasticall persons: that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certayne times, is brought in of auarice: what is the right vse of excommunicatiō: that there ought to be fewer holy daies: that liberty ought not to be restrained in meates: that wilfull pouerty and begging ought to be abolished, what damage and inconuenience haue growen by the Councell of Constance: and what misfortunes Sigismund the Emperour sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with Iohn Hus and Hierom: that hereticks should be conuincd, not by fire and fagot, but by euidence of Scripture and Gods word, how schooles and vniuersities ought to be reformed: what is to be sayd and iudged of the popes Decretals, that y^e first teaching of children ought to begin with the Gospell. Item, he writeth in the same booke agaynst excessiue apparell among the Germaines. Also against their excesse in spyces. &c.

In this yeare moreouer followed not long after,* the coronation of the new Emperour Carolus quintus: whiche was in the month of Octob. at Aquisgraue.

After whiche coronation being solemnised about the month of nouemb. Pope Leo sent againe to Duke Fridericke two Cardinals, hys Legates: of whom the one was Hieronymus Aleander, who after a few wordes of high cōmendation first premised to the Duke touching his noble progenie, and other his famous vertues, they made two requestes vnto him in the Popes name: First that he would cause all bookes of Luther to be burned. Secondly, [Page 849](#) that he would eyther see the said Luther there to be executed, or els would make him sure, and send him vp to Rome vnto the popes presence.

These two requestes seemed very strange vnto y^e duke who answering again to the Cardinals said, that he being long absent from thence,* about other publique affayres, could not tell what there was done, neither did hee communicate with the doinges of Luther. Notwithstanding this he heard y^e••kius was a great perturber not only of Luther, but of other diuers learned and good men of hys vniuersitie. As for himselfe he was alwayes ready to doe his duety, first in sending Luther to Ch••etanus the Cardinall, at the cittie of Auguste, and afterward at y^e Popes commaundement would haue sent him away out of hys dominion, had not Meltituis the popes owne Chamberlayne geuen contrary shewed ⟨◇⟩ him still in hys owne country, fearing least y^t in other countrys he might do more harme, where he was lesse knowne: and so nowe also was as ready to doe his duety, where soeuer ryght & ⟨◇⟩ did so require. But for so much a• ⟨◇⟩ this cause, he seeth muche hatred and violence ⟨...⟩ the one part▪ and no error yee conuicted on the other ⟨◇⟩, but that it had rather the approbation of diuers we• learned & found men of iudgement: and for so much as also the cause of Lu'ther was not yet heard before the Emperour therefore he desired the sayd Leg•tes to be a meane to the Popes holines, that certaine learned persons of grauitie and vpriht iudgement, might be assigned to haue the hearing and determination of this matter, & that his error first might be known, before he were made an heretique, or his books burned. Which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of scriptures re••ced, Luther should find no fauour at hys handes. Otherwise he trusted that y^e popes holines would exact no such thyng of him, which he might not with equitie and honour of his place and estate, reasonably performe. &c.

Then the cardinals, declaring to the duke agayn, that they could no otherwise do, but accordyng to the forme of theyr prescript commission,* they must proceede: tooke the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire vpon them, and openly burnt them. Luther hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of studentes and learned men in Wittenberge, and there taking the popes decrees, and the Bull lately sent downe agaynst him,* openly and solemnly accompanied with a great number of people followyng him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them, which was the tenth of December.

A little before these thinges thus passed betweene the Pope and M. Luther, the Emperour had commaunded & ordayned a sitting or assemble of the states of al y^e Empyre to be holden at the City of Wormes, agaynst the sixt day of Ianuary next ensuing. In the whiche assemble, through y^e meanes of Duke Fredericke, the Emperor gaue forth that he woulde haue the cause of Luther there brought before him, and so it was. For at what tyme the assemble was commenced in the city of Wormes, the daye and moneth aforesayd, which was the 6. of Ianuary, afterward vpon y^e sixt day of marche following, the Emperour through the instigation of Duke Fredericke,* directed hys letters vnto Luther, signifying, that for so muche as he had set abroad certayne bookes, he therfore by the aduise of his pieres & princes about him, had ordayned to haue y^e cause brought befor him in hys owne hearing, and therefore he graunted hym licence to come and returne home agayne. And that he might safely and quietly so doe, and be therof assured he promised vnto him by publicke fayth and credite, in the name of the whole Empyre, his Pasport and safeconduite as by the instrument whiche he sent vnto hym, he might more fully be ascertayned. Wherefore without all doubte or distrust, he willed him eftsoones to make hys repayre vnto him, and to be there present the 21. day after the receit thereof: and because he shoulde not misdoubt anye fraude or iniurye herein, he assured to him his warrant and promyse.*

M. Luther being thus prouided for his safeconduict by the Emperour, after he had bene first accursed at Rome vpon Maundy Thursday, by the popes censure, shortly af'ter Easter speedeth hys iourney toward the Emperour, at Wormes. Where the sayde Luther appearing before the Emperour and all the states of Germany, how constantly he stoocke to the truth, and defended hymselfe, and aunswered his aduersaryes, and what aduersaryes hee had, here followeth in ful history with the actes and doings as there happened, according as in our former edition partly was before described.

¶The actes and doynges of Martin Luther, before the Emperour, at the City of Wormes.

IN the yeare of our saluation .1521. about seuentene dayes after Easter,* Martin Luther entered into Wormes, being sent for by the Emperour Charles the 5. of y^e name, &c. who the first yeare of hys Empyre, made an assemble of princes in the foresayd Cittie. And whereas M. Luther had published three yeares before, certayne propositions to be disputed in the towne of Wittenberge in Saxonie, against the tyranny of the pope (which notwithstanding were torne in peeces, condemned and burned by y^e papistes, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason conuincen) the matter began to grow to a tumult & vprore, & yet Luther mayntayned all this while openly his cause against y^e clergy.* Wherupon it seemed good to certain y^t Luther shoulde be called, assigning vnto hym an Heralde of armes, with a letter of safe conduict, by the Emperour and Princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the Knightes of the Rhodes place, where he was lodged, well entertayned, and visited of many Erles Barons, knightes of the order, Gentlemen Priestes and the comminaltie, who frequented his lodging til night.

To conclude, he came contrary to the expectatiō of many, as wel aduersaries, as other. For albeit he was sēt for by the Emperours messenger, and had letters of safeconduct: yet for that a few dayes before his accesse, his bookes were cōdemned by publique proclamations, it was much doubted of by many y^t he would not come: and the rather, for that his frendes deliberated together in a village nye hand, called Oppenhime (where Luther was first aduertised of these occurrentes) & many perswaded him not to aduenture him selfe to suche a present danger, considering howe these begynnings answered not to the fayth of promise made▪ Who whē he had heard their whole perswasiō & aduise, he answered in this wise: As touchyng mee,* since I am sent for, I am resolued & certainly determined to en'ter Wormes, in the name of our Lorde Iesus Christe, yea although I knew there were so many deuils to resist me, as there are tyles to couer the houses in Wormes.

The fourth daye after his repayre, a Gentleman, named Ulicke of Pappenheim, Lieutenaunt generall of the men at armes of the empire, was commanded by the emperour before dynner, to repayre to Luther, and inioyne hym at foure of the clocke in the after noone, to appeare before the Imperial maiestie, the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other estates of the Empire, to vnderstande the cause of his sendyng for: Wherunto he willingly agreed, as hys duetie was.

And after iiij. a clocke Ulicke Pappenheim: and Casper Sturm the Emperors Heralde (who conducted M. Luther from Wittenberge to Wormes (came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knightes of the Rhodes place, to the Earle Palatines pallace: and least the people should molest him, that thrōged in, he was led by secrete stayres to the place where he was appointed to haue audience. Yet manye, who perceyued the pretence, violently rushed in,

and were resisted, albeit in vaint many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.*

Thus standing before the Emperour, the Electours, Dukes, Earles, and all the estates of the Empire, assembled there, he was first aduertised by Ulricke of Pappenhim, to keepe silence vntil such time as he was required to speake. Then Iohn Eckius aboue mentioned,* who then was the Bishop of Triers general officiall, with a loude and intelligible voyce, first in Latine, then in Dutche, according to the Emperours commaundement, saide & proponed this sentence in maner as ensueth, or like in effect.

Martyn Luther, the sacred and inuincible Emperiall maiestie hath enioyntd by the consent of all the estates of the holye Empyre, that thou shouldest be appealed before the throne of his maiestie, to the ende I might demaunde of thee these twoo poyntes.

First, whether thou confessest these bookes here (for hee shewed a heape of Luthers bookes written in the Latine and Dutch tongues) and which are in all places dispersed, intituled with thy name, be thine, and thou doest affirme them to be thine, or not Secondly, whether thou wylt recant and reuoke them, and al that is contayned in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?

Then before Luther, prepared to aunswere, Mayster Ierome Scurffus, a Lawyer of Wittenberge,* required that the tytles of the bookes should be read. Forthwith the foresaid Eckius named certayne of the bookes, and those principally whiche were imprinted at Basill, among the [Page 850](#) whiche he nominated his Comentaries vpon the Psaltar his booke of good works, his Commentary vpon y^e Lords prayer, and diuers other, which were not contentions.

*After this Luther answered thus in Latine & in dutch, Two things are proponed vnto me by the Emperial maiestie. First, whether I will auouche for mine, all those books y^t beare my name: Secondly, whether I will maintayne or reuoke any thing that hytherto I haue deuised & published. Whereunto I wil answere as breifly as I can,

In the first, I can do none other then recognise those bookes to be mine,* which lastly were named, & certaynely I will neuer recant any clause therof. In the second to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call backe any thing cōprised in them: forasmuch as there be questiōs of faith & y^e saluation of the soule (& this concerneth y^e word of God, which is the greatest & most excellent matter that can be in heauen or earth, & the which we ought duely euermore to reuerēce:) this might be accōuted in me a rashnes of iudgemēt, & euen a most dangerous attēpt, I• I wold pronōuce any thing before I wer better aduised, cōsidering I might recite something lesse then the matter importeth, and more then the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate y^e whiche I would speake. The which two thinges well considered doth set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Iesus Christ, wherein it is said: Whosoeuer shall deny me before mē, I will deny him before my father. I require then for this cause and humbly beseech the Emperiall maiestie, to graunt me liberty and leysure to deliberate,* so that I may satisfie the interrogatiō made vnto me, without preiudice of y^e worde of God, and perill of mine owne soule.

Wherupon the princes began to deliberate. This done Eckius the prolocutor pronounced what was their resolu'tion, saying: Albeit M. Luther, thou hast sufficiently vnderstanded by the Emperours commaundement, y^e cause of thy appearance here, & therfore doest not deserue to haue any further respite geuen thee to determine: yet the Empe'rous maiestie of his mere clemencie, graunteth thee one day to meditate for thine answere, so that to morow at this instant houre thou shalt repayre to exhibite thyne opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with liuely voyce.

This done, Luther was led to hys lodging by the herauld. But herein I may not be obliuious, that in the way going to the Emperour & when he was in the assemble of princes, he was exhorted of other to be couragious, & māly to demean himself,* and not to feare them that kil the body, but not the soule: but rather to dread him that is able to send both body and soule to euerlasting fire.

Furthermore he was encouraged with this sentence: When thou art before kinges, thinke not what thou shalt speake: for it shall be geuen thee in that houre.*

The next day after foure a clocke, the Herauld came & brought Luther from his lodging to the emperours courte, where he abode till sixe a clocke, for that the princes were occuppyed in graue consultations, abiding there and being enuironed with a great number of people, and almost smo'thered for the prease that was there. Then after when the Princes were set, and Luther entred, Eckius the Officiall began to speake in this maner.

Yesterday at this houre, the Emperours maiestie assigned thee to be here M. Luther,* for that thou didst affirm those books y^t we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to y^e interrogation by vs made, whether thou wouldest approue al y^t is contayned in thē, or abolish and make voyde any part therof, y^u didst require time of deliberation, which was graunted, & is now expyred. Albeit thou oughtest not to haue oportunitie graunted to deliberate, considering it was not vnknowne to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of fayth, euery man ought to be so prepared, that at all times when soeuer he shalbe required, he may geue certayne & constant reason therof, & thou especiall being counted a man of such learning, and so long tyme exercised in Theologie. Then goe to, aunswere euen now to the Emperours demaund, whose bountye y^u hast proued in geuing thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintayn all thy bookes which thou hast acknowledged, or reuoke any part of them, and submit thy selfe. The Officiall made this interrogation in Latine and in Dutche. Martine Luther answered in Latine and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutnes of stomacke and Christian constancie, so as his aduersaries woulde gladlye haue had hys courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation, wherof they were in some good hope, whē they heard him desire respite of time to make his answere.

His aunswere was this.

MOst magnificent Emperor, and you most noble princes and my most gentle Lordes,* I appeare before you here at the houre prescribed vnto me yesterday: yelding the obedience that I owe, humbly beseeching for Gods mercy, your most renowned maiesty, and your graces & honors, that ye will minister vnto me this curtesy, to attende this cause beningly, which is the cause (as I trust) of Iustice and verity. And if by Ignoraunce I haue not geuen vnto euery one of you your

iust titles, or if I haue not obserued the ceremonies and countenance of the Court, offending against them: it may please you to pardone me of your benignities, as one that onely hath frequented cloysters, and not courtly ciuylities. And first, as touching my self, I can affirme or promise no other thinge, but onely this, that I haue taught hitherto in symplycyye of minde, that which I haue thought to tende to Gods glory, & to the saluation of mens soules.

Now as concerninge the two articles objected by your most excellent maiestye,* whether I woulde acknowledge those bookes which were named, and be publyshed in my name, or whether I would mainteine & not reuoke thē: I haue geuē resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist & shall perseuer for euermore, y^t these bookes be myne, and publyshed by me in my name, vnlesse it hath syth happened that by some fraudulent misdealing of myne enemies there be any thyng foysted in them, or corruptly corrected? For I will acknowledge nothing, but that I haue wrytten, and that which I haue wrytten, I will not deny.

Now to answeare to the second article, I beseech your most excellent maiestye, and your graces,* to vouchsafe to geue eare. Al my bookes are not of one sort. There be some, in which I haue so simply and soundly declared & opened the religion of Christen faith and of good workes, that my very enemyes are compelled to confesse them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Chrystyans. And truely the Popes Bull (how cruell and tyrannous so euer it be) iudgeth certayne of my bookes inculpable, albeyt the same with seuer sentence, thundreth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condēneth my bookes, which books if I shuld reuoke. I might worthely be thought to neglect and transgresse the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone, that repugneth the publicke confession of all people. There is an other sort of my books, which containe inuectiues agaynst the Papacie, and other of the popes retinue, as haue with theyr pestiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianitie. Neyther can any deny or dissemble this, whereunto vniuersall experience, and common complaynt of all beare witnesses that the consciences of all faythfull men be most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Popes lawes and doctrines of men. Also that the goodes and substaunce of Christen people are deuoured, especially in this noble and famous cuntry of Germanye, and yet without order, and in most detestable maner, are suffered still to be deuoured, without all measure, by incredible tyranny: notwithstanding that they themselues haue ordayned to the contrary in theyr owne proper lawes,* as in the Distinct. 9. & .25. q. i. & .2. where they themselues haue decreed that all such lawes of popes which be repugnant to y^e doctrine of the Gospell, and the opinions of the auncient Fathers, are to be iudged erroneous, and reproued.

If then I shall reuoke these, I can do none other, but adde more force to theyr tyranny, and open not onely wyn'dowes, but wide gates to theyr impiety, whiche is like to extend more wide, and more licenciously then euer it durst heretofore: And by the testimonie of this my retraction, their insolent kingdome shalbe made more licencious, and lesse subiect to punishment, intollerable to the cōmon people, and also more confirmed and established, especially if this be bruited, that I. Luther haue done this by the authoritie of your most excellent maiestie, and the sacred Romaine empyre. Oh Lord, what a couer or shadow shall I be then to cloke theyr naughtines and tyranny?

The rest, or thyrd sort of my bookes are such as I haue written against certaine priuate and singular persons, to wyt, against such as with tooth and nayle labour to maintaine the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion, which I haue taught and professed. As touching these, I playnly confesse I haue bene more vehemēt, then my religion and professeion required. For I make my selfe no Saint, and I dispute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ.

And these I cannot without preiudice cal back. For by this recantacion it will come to passe, that tyrannie and impietie shall raigne, supported by my meanes, and so shal they exercise crueltie against people, more violently and ragyngly then before.

[Page 851](#) Neuertheles, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my bookes,* then did my verry Lorde Iesus Christ defende his doctrine. Who being examined of his learning before Annas, and hauing receiued a buffet of the minister, sayd, If I haue spoken euill, beare witnesse of the euill.

If the Lord (who was perfect, and could not erre) refused not to haue testimony geuē agaynst his doctrine,* yea of a most vile seruauant: howe much the more then I, that am but vile corruptiō, and can of my selfe doe nothing, but erre, ought earnestlye to see and require, if any will beare witnesse agaynst my doctrine?

Therefore I require, for Gods mercy, your most excellent maiesty, your graces and right honorable Lordshyps, or what so euer he bee of high or lowe degree, here to lay in his testimony, conuict my errorrs, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophetes or the Apostles, and I will be most ready (if I be so instructed) to reuoke any maner of errorr: yea and will be the first that shall cōsume mine owne bookes and burne them.

I suppose hereby it may appeare, that I haue perpended,* and well weyed before, the perils and daungers, the diuisions and dissentions which haue risē throughout the whole world, by reason of my doctrine, wherof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished. Concerning which diuisions of mens minds, what other mē do iudge, I know not, as touching my selfe, I conceiue no greater delectation in any thing, then when I behold discords and dissensions styrrd vp for the word of God, For such is the course and proceeding of the Gospell. Iesus Christ sayth: I came not to send peace but a sworde.* I came to set a man at varyance with his father.

And further, we must thinke, that our God is maruellous and terrible in his Coūcels, least perhaps that which we endeuour with earnest study to atchieue and brynge to passe (if we begynne first with condemning of hys worde) the same rebound agayne to an huge sea of euill: and least the newe raigne of this younge and bounteous Prince Charles (in whome next after GOD, we all conceaue singular hope) be lamentable, vnfortunate, and miserably begunne.

I could examplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually,* as by Pharaο, the King of Babylon, and the Kinges of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sunne of theyr glory, and procured theyr own ruine, when by sage counsels they attempted to pacify and establish theyr Gouvernementes and Realmes, and not by Gods Counselles: for it is he that

intrappeth the wilye in theyr wylynesse, and subuerteth mountaynes before they be ware. Wherefore it is good, and Gods worke, to dreade the Lord.

I speake not this, supposing that so politique and prudent heades haue need of my doctrine or admonition, but because I would not omit to profite my countrey, and offer my duty or seruice that may tend to the aduancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellēt maiesty, and your honorable Lordships, beseching you that I may not incurre your displeasures, neyther be contemned of you,* through the pursute of my aduersaryes. I haue spoken.

These wordes pronounced, then Eckius the Emperours Prolocutor, with a sterne countenance beganne, and sayd, that Luther had not aunswere to any purpose, neyther it behoued him to call in question, thinges in time past concluded and defined by generall Councils: and therefore they required of him a playne and direct aunswere, whether he would reuoke or no.

Then Luther: considering (sayde he) your soueraigne maiesty,* and your honors require a playne aunswere: thys I say and professe as resolutely as I may, without doubling or sophistication, that if I be not conuincd by testimonies of the Scriptures, & by probale reasons (for I beleeeue not the Pope, neither his generall Councils, which haue erred many times, and haue bene contrary to themselues) my conscience is so bound and captiued in these scriptures and word of God which I haue alledged, that I will not, nor may not reuoke any maner of thing, considering it is not godly or lawfull to do any thing against cōsciēce. Herevpon I stand and rest. I haue not what els to say. GOD haue mercy vpon me.

The princes consulted together vpon this answere geuen by Luther: and whē they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repell him thus.

Martin (sayd he) thou hast more immodestly aunswere,* then beseemed thy person, and also litle to the purpose. Thou deuident thy bookes into three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast sayd, maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore if thou haddest reuoked those, wherein the greatest parte of thine errours is contayned, the Emperours Maiesty, and the noble clemency of other would haue suffered the rest that be sound, to susteyn no iniury. But thou doest reuiue and bringest to light againe, all that the generall Councell of Constance hath condemned▪ the which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, & now doest require to be conuincd with scriptures, wherin thou errest greatly. For what auayleth it to renue disputation of thinges so long time past condemned by y^e church and Councils, vnlesse it should be necessary to geue a reason to euery man of euery thing that is concluded? Nowe were it so, that this should be permitted to euery one that gaynestandeth the determination of the Church and councils, that he may once get his aduantage,* to be conuincd by the Scriptures, we shall haue nothing certayne and established in Christendome.

And this is the cause wherefore the Emperours maiesty requireth of thee a simple aunswere, either negatiue or affirmitiue, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as Christian or no?

Then Luther turning to the Emperour, and the nobles, besought them, not to compell him to yeelde agaynst his conscience confirmed with the holy Scriptures, wythout manifest argumentes

alledged to the contrary by hys aduersaryes. I haue declared and rendred (sayd he) myne aunswere simply and directly: neyther haue I any more to saye, vnlesse mine aduersaryes with true and sufficient probations grounded vpon the Scripture, can reduce and resolue my minde, and refelle mine errorrs, which they lay to my charge. I am tyed (as I sayde) by the Scriptures, neither may I, or canne with a safe conscience assent vnto them. For as touching general Councels,* with whose authority onely they presse me, I am able to proue, that they haue both erred, and haue defined many times things contrary to themselues: and therefore the authority of them, he sayd not to be sufficient, for the which he should call back those thinges, the verity wherof standeth so firme and manifest in the holy Scripture: that neyther of him it ought to be required, neither could he so do without impiety.

Wherunto the Official agayne answered, denying that any man could proue the Coūcels to haue erred. But Luther alledged that he coulede, and promised to proue it, and now night approaching, the Lordes rose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leaue of the Emperour, diuers Spaniardes scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, halowing and whoping after him a long while.

Upon the friday folowing, when the Princes electors, Dukes, and other estates were assembled, the Emperour sent to the whole body of the councell, a certaine letter containing in effect as foloweth.

¶ The Emperours letter.

OVr predecessours, who truely were Christian princes,* were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore in as much as he is not determined to call backe his errors in any one poynt, we cannot without great infamy and stayn of honor, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will mayntayne the auncient fayth, and geue ayde to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherentes, by excommunications and by other meanes that may be deuised, to extinguish his doctrine. Neuerthelesse we will not violate our fayth, which we haue promised him, but meane to geue order for safe returne to the place whence he came.

THE Princes electors, Dukes,* and other estates of the Empire, sate and consulted vpon this sentence, on fryday al the after noone, and saterday the whole daye, so that Luther yet had no aunswere of the Emperour.

During this time, diuers Princes, Earles, Barons, Knightes of the Order, Gentlemen, Priestes, Monkes, with other the laitie and common sort, visited him. Al these were present at al houres in the Emperours Courte, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bylles set vp, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as wel conceiued the matter, that this was subtilly done by his enemies, that therby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe conduct giuen him, the which the Romane Ambassadors with all diligence endeououred to bring to passe.

The Monday following, before supper, the Archebyshoppe of Triers aduertised Luther,* that on Wednesdaye nexte hee shoulde appeare before hym, at nine of the clocke [Page 852](#) before

dynner, and assigned hym the place▪ On Sainte Georges daye a certaine Chapleine of the Archebishop of Triers, about supper tyme came to Luther, by the commaundement of the Byshop, signifying that at that houre and place prescribed, he must the morowe after haue accesse to his maister.

The morow after saynt Georges day, Luther obeying the Archbishops commaundement,* entred his palace, being accompanied thither with his sayd chaplayne and one of the Emperours Heraldes, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Wormes, with other his chiefe frendes: where as Doctour Voeus, the Marques of Bades chaplein began to declare and protest in the presence of the Archbishop of Triors,* Ioachime Marques of Brandeburge, George Duke of Saxonye, the bishops of Ausburge and Brandeburge, the Earle George, Iohn Bo•ke of Strasburge, Uerdcheymer and Peutinger Doctours, that Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but onely that the princes had procured licence of the Emperors maiesty, through Christian charity, to haue liberty graunted vnto them, to exhort Luther beningly & brotherly.

He sayd further, that albeit the Councels had ordeyned diuers thinges,* yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet theyr authority was not therefore abased or at the least, not so erred, that it was lawful for euery man to impugne theyr opinions: inferring moreouer many thinges of Zacheus and the Centurion: Also of the constitutions and traditions and, of Ceremonies ordeyned of men, affirming that all these were established to repressse vices, according to the qualite of tymes: and that the Church could not be destitute of human constitutions. It is true (sayde he) that by the fruites the tree may be known, yet of these lawes and decrees of men, many good fruites haue proceeded:* and saint Martin, saint Nicholas, and many other Sayntes haue bene present at the Councels.

Moreouer, that Luthers bookes would breede a great tumult and incredible troubles, and that he abused the cōmon sort wich his booke of Christian liberty, encouraging them to shake of theyr yoke, and to confirme in them a disobedience: that the world now was at another stay, then when the beleuers were all of one hart and soule, and therefore it was requisite and behouefull to haue lawes. It was to be considered (sayde he) albeit he had writtē many good thinges, and (no doubt) of a good mind, as De Triplice iustitia, and other matters, yet howe the deuill now by craftye meanes goeth about to bring to passe, that all his workes for euer should be condemned: for by these bookes which he wrote last, men (sayd he) would iudge and esteeme him, as the tree is knowen, not by the blosome, but by the fruit.

Here he added something of the noone deuill, and of the spirite comming in the darcke,* and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of Rhetoricall places of honesty, of vtility, of lawes, of the daungers of conscience, and of the common particular wealth, repeating ofre this sentence in the proheme, midle, and epilogue of his oratiō: that this admonition was geuen him of a singulare good will, and great clemency. In the shutting vp of his oration, he added manacinges, saying: that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the Emperour woulde proceede further, and banish him from the Empyre, perswading hym deliberately to ponder, and to aduise these and other thinges.

Martin Luther answered, Most noble Princes, and my most gracious Lordes,* I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singuler good wils, whence proceedeth this admonition:

For I knowe my selfe to be so base, as by no meanes I canne deserue to bee admonished of so mighty estates.

Then he franckely pronounced, that he had not reprooued all Councels, but onely the councel of Constance, and for this principall cause, for that the same had condemned the word of GOD, which appeared in the condemnation of this article proponed by Iohn Hus: The Church of Christ is the Communion of the predestinate. It is euident (sayde he) that the Councell of Constance abolished this Article, and consequently the Article of our fayth: I beleue the holy church vniuersall: and sayd that he was ready to spend life and bloud, so he were not cōpelled to reuoke the manifest word of God, for in defence therof we ought rather to obey God then men: And that in this he could not auoid the scandall, or offence of fayth, for there bee two maner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of fayth. The slaunder of charity consisteth in maners and in life. The offences of fayth or doctrine rest in the word of God: and as touching this last, he could escape it no maner of wayes, for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christes sheepe were fedde with pure pasture of the gospell, if the fayth of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good Ecclesiasticall magistrates who duely would execute theyr office: we shoulde not neede (sayth he) to charge the Church with mens traditions. Further, that he knew wel wee ought to obey the Magistrates and higher powers, how vniustly and peruersly so euer they liued. We oughte also to be obedient to theyr lawes and iudgementes: all which he had taught (sayd he) in all his works, adding further that he was ready to obey them in all poyntes, so that they enforced him not to deny the word of God.

These wordes finished, Luther was bid stand aside, & the Princes consulted what answere they might geue him.* This done, they called him into a parlor, whereas the foresaid Doctour Voeus repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the Emperour, & to the Princes iudgement.

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he coulde not, neither would permit that men shoulde say he woulde shunne the iudgement of the Emperour, Princes, and superiour powers of the Empyre. So farre was it off, that he woulde refuse to stand to theyr tryall, that he was contented to suffer his writings to be discussed, considered and iudged of the simplest, so that it were done with y^e authority of the worde of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the word of God made so much for him,* and was so manifest vnto him, that he could not geue place, vnlesse they coulde confounde his doctrine by the worde of God. This lesson (sayd he) he learned of S. Austē, who writeth, that he gaue his honour onely to those bookes which are called Canonicall, that he beleued the same onely to be true. As touching other Doctors, albeit in holynesse and excellēcy of learning the passed, yet he would not credit them further then they agreed with the touchstone of Gods word. Further (sayde he) S. Paule geueth vs a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians: Proue all thinges, folow that is good. And to the Galathians: Though an Aungell should descende from heauen,*if hee preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be beleued.

Finally he meekely besought them, not to vrge his cōscience captiued in the bands of the word of God and holy scripture, to denye the same excellent worde. And thus hee commended his cause and himselfe to them, and specially to y^e Emperours maiesty, requyring they fauour, y^t he might

not be compelled to doe anye thing, in this matter against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself with all kinde of obedience and due subiection.

As Luther had thus ended his talke, Ioachimus Elector, Marques of Brandeburge, demaūded if his meaning was thus, that he woulde not yelde, vnlesse he were conuincd by the Scripture? Yea truely right Noble Lorde (quoth Luther) or els by auncient and euident reasons. And so the assemble brake, and the Princes repayred to the Emperours Court.

After theyr departure, the Archbishoppe of Triers, accompanied with a fewe his familiars, namely Iohn Eckius his Officiall, and Cochleus, commaunded Luther to repayre into his parlour. With Luther was Hieronimus Scurffius, and Nicholas Ambsdorff, for his assistaunce. Then the Officiall beganne to frame an argument like a a Sophist and Canonist, defending the Popes cause: that for the most part at all times holy Scriptures haue engendred errors, as the error of Heluidius the heretique,* out of that place in the Gospell, where is expressed: Iosephe knewe not his wyfe tyll she was deliuered of her first childe. Further, he went about to ouerthrow this proposition, that the Catho^lique Church is the Communion of Sayntes.

Martin Luther and Hierome Scurffe reprooued (but modestly) these follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth as thinges not seruinge to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his fiue egges, and laboured to perswade Luther to desiste from his purpose, & vtterly to refraine thenceforth to write or teach, and so they departed.

About euening the Archbishopp of Triers aduertised Luther by Ambsdorff, that the Emperours promise made vnto him, was prolonged two daies, and in the mean season he would conferre with him the nexte day, and for that cause he would send Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade which was Voeus, the morow after to him, and he himselfe would also talke with him.

The friday after, whiche was S. Markes day, Peutinger, and the Doctour of Bade trauelled in the forenoone to perswade Luther simply and absolutely to submitte the iudgement of his writinges to the Emperor and Empire.* He aunswered he would doe it, and submit any thing they [Page 853](#) would haue hym, so they grounded with authority of holy Scripture: otherwise he would not consent to doe any thing. For God sayd by his Prophet (sayth he) Trust ye not in Princes, nor in the childrē of men, in whom there is no health. Also, Cursed be he that trusteth in man. And seeing that they did vrge him more vehemently, he answered: We ought to yeld no more to y^e iudgement of men, thē the word of God doth suffer. So they departed, and prayed him to aduise for better answeere, and sayd, they would returne after dinner.

After dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vayne.* They prayed him, that at the least he woulde submit his writing to the iudgement of the nexte generall Councell. Luther agreed therunto, but with this conditiō, that they themselues shoulde present the Articles collected out of his bookes to be submitted to the Councell in suche sort, as notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the coūcell, should be authorised by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonyes of the same.

They then leauing Luther, departed, and reported to the Archbishop of Triers,* that he had promised to submit his writinges in certayne articles to the next Councell, & in the meane space

he woulde keepe silence, which Luther neuer thought: who neither with admonitions, ne yet manaces could be induced to deny or submit his bookes to the iudgementes of menne (he had so fortified hys cause wyth cleare and manifest authorities of the Scripture) vnlesse they could proue by sacred scripture, and apparant reasōs to the contrary.

*It chaunced then by the speciall grace of God, that the Archbishop of Triers sent for Luther, thinking presently to heare him. And when he perceiued otherwise then Peutingen, and the Doctour of Bade had tolde him, he sayde, that he would for no good, but that he had heard himselfe speake: for els he was euen now going to the Emperour, to declare what the Doctors had reported.

Then the Archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, *first remouing such as were presēt, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the Archbishop, affirming that it was daūgerous to submit a matter of so great importaunce to them, who after they had called hym vnder safeconduct, attempting him with new commaundementes, had condemned his opinion, and approued the Popes Bull.

Moreouer, the Archbishop bidding a frend of his draw nigh required Luther to declare what remedy might bee ministred to helpe this. *Luther answered: there was no better remedy then suche as Gamaliel alledged in the fyfte chapter of the Apostles, as witnesseth S. Luke, saying: If this Councell or this woorke proceede of men, *it shall come to nought, but if it be of God, ye can not destroy it. And so he desired that the Emperour might be aduertised to write the same to the Pope, that he knewe certaynely if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two yeares.

The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if certayne articles were taken out of his bookes, to be submitted to the generall councell. *Luther aunswered, so that they be not those, which the counsell of Constance condemned. The Archbyshoppe sayd, I feare they will be the very same: but what then? Luther replied, I will not, nor I cannot holde my peace of such, for I am sure by theyr decrees the word of God was condemned: therefore I wyll rather loose head and life, then abandon the manifest word of my Lord God.

Then the Archbishop seing Luther would in no wise geue ouer the word of God, to the iudgement of men, gētly bade Luther farewell, who at that instaunt prayed the Archbishop to entreat the Emperours maiesty to graunt him gracious leaue to depart. He aunswered, he woulde take order for him, and speedely aduertise hym of the Emperours pleasure.

Within a small while after, Iohn Eckius the Archbysshops officiall, in the presence of the Emperours Secretary, who had bene Maximilians Chauncellour, sayde vnto Luther in his lodging, *by the commaundement of the Emperour: that since he had bene admonished diuersly of the Emperiall maiesty, the Electors, Princes and estates of the Empyre, and that notwithstanding he woulde not returne to vnity and concord, there remained that the Emperour as aduocate of the Catholique fayth should proceed further: and that it was the Emperours ordinaunce that he should within 21. dayes, returne boldly vnder safe conduct, and be safely garded to the place whence he came, so that in the meane while he styrred no commotion amonge the people in his iourney, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, & christianly: euen as it hath pleased God, so is it come to passe, the name of the Lord be blessed. He sayde further, he thanked most humbly the Emperours maiesty, and all the Princes and estates of the Empyre, that they had geuen to hym benigne and gracious audience, and graunted safe conduct to come and returne. Finally he sayd, he desired none other of them, then a reformation, according to the sacred word of God, and consonancy of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his hart he desired: Otherwise he was prest to suffer all chaūces for the Emperiall maiesty, as life and death, goodes, fame, and reproch, reseruing nothing to himselfe, but the onely word of God, which he would constantly confesse, to the latter end, humbly recommending hym to the Emperours maiesty, and to all the Princes and other estates of the sacred Empyre.

The morow after, which was the 26. day of Aprill,* after he had taken his leaue of such as supported him, and other his beneuolent frends, that often times visited hym, and had broken hys fast, at tenne of the clocke he departed from Wormes, accompanied with such as repayed thither with him, hauing space of time limited vnto him, (as is sayd) for 21. dayes, and no more. The Emperours Heralde Casper Sturine, folowed and ouertooke him at Oppenhime, being commaunded by the Emperour to cōduct him safely home.

¶The vsuall prayer of Martin Luther.

CONFIRME (O God) in vs that thou hast wrought, and perfect the worke that thou hast begunne in vs, to thy glory. So be it. Ex histor. Phil. Melanct. Ex Sledano. Ex Paral. Abb. Vrsperge. & ex Casp. Peucero.

MARTIN Luther thus being dismissed of the Emperour, according to the promise of his safeconduct made (as you haue heard) departed from Wormes toward his countrey the 26: of Aprill,* accompanied with the Emperours Heralde, and the rest of his company, hauing onely xxi. dayes to him graunted for his returne, and no more. In the which meane space of his returne, hee writeth to the Emperour, and to other nobles of the Empyre repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them, theyr lawfull good will and fauour, which as he hath alwayes stand neede of, so now he moste earnestly craueth, especially in this, that hys cause whiche is not his but the cause of the whole church vniuersall, may be hearde with indifferency and equitye, and may be decised by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreouer, that when so euer they shall please to send for him, he shall bee ready at theyr commaundement, at any time or place, vpon theyr promise of safety, to appeare. &c.

During the time of these doinges, the Doctours and Schoolmen of Paris, were not behinde with theyr partes,* but to shewe theyr cunning, condemned the bookes of Luther, extracting out of the same, especially out of hys booke De Captiuitate Babilonica, certayne Articles as touching the Sacramentes, lawes and decrees of the Church equalitye of workes, vowes, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, Purgatory, free will, priuiledges of holy Church, coūcelles, punishment of heretiques, Philosophie, Schole diuinity, with other more.* Unto whom Philip Melancton maketh aunswere, and also Luther himselfe, albeit pleasantly and iestingly.

It was not long after this, but Charles the new Emperour,* to purchase fauor with the Pope (because hee was not yet confirmed in his Empyre) prouideth and directeth out a solemne writ of

outlawry agaynst Luther, & all them that take his part, commaunding the said Luther, where so euer he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his bookes burned. By which decree proclaymed agaynst Luther, the Emperour procured no small thanke with the Pope: in so much that the Pope ceasing to take part with the French king, ioyned himselfe whollye to the Emperour. In the meane time Duke Fridericke, to geue some place for the time to the Emperors Proclamation,* conueyed Luther a litle out of sight secretly, by the helpe of certain noble men, whom he well know to be faythfull and trusty vnto him in that behalfe. There Luther being close and out of company, wrote diuers Epistles, and certayne bookes also vnto his frendes among which he dedicated one to his companie of Augustine Fryers, entituled, De abroganda Missa, Which Friers the same time being encouraged by him,* beganne first to lay downe theyr priuate Masses. Duke Fridericke fearing least that would breede some great styrre or tumult, caused the censure and iudgementes of the whole [Page 854](#) Uniuersity of Wittenberge, to be asked in the matter, committing the doing thereof to foure, Iustus, Ionas, Philip Melanctho. Nic. Ambsdorssius, Ioh. Dulcius.

The mindes of the whole Uniuersity being searched it was shewed to the Duke, that he shoulde doe well and Godly,* by the whole aduise of the learned there, to commaund the vse of Masse to be abrogate through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let, why the course of true doctrine should be stayed,* for the multitude, which commonly ouercommeth the better part. Neyther ought such disturbaunce to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the aduersaries, which willingly and wickedly kicke agaynst the trueth: wherof Christ also geueth vs forewarning before. For feare of such tumults therefore we ought not to surcease frō that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of Gods truth, how so euer the world doth esteeme vs, or rage against it. Thus shewed they their iudgemēt to Duke Fridericke.

*It happened moreouer about the same yeare and time, that king Henry also pretending an occasion to impugne the booke De Captiuitate Babylonica, wrote agaynst Luther. In which booke:

1. He reproueth Luthers opinion about the Popes pardons.
2. He defendeth the supremacy of the Byshop of Rome.
3. He laboreth to refell all his doctrine of the Sacramēts of the Church.

This booke, albeit it carryed the kinges name in the title,* yet it was an other that ministred the motion, an other that framed the stile. But who so euer had the labor of this booke, the king had the thanke, and also the rewarde. For consequently vpon the same, the bishop of Rome gaue to the sayd king Henry for the style agaynst Luther,* y^e style and title of Defender of the Christen fayth, and to his successors for euer.

Shortly after this, within the compasse of the same yere, Pope Leo after he had warred agaynst the Frenche men, and had gotten from them, through the Emperors ayd, the Citties of Parma, Placentia, and Millen. &c. he sitting at supper, & reioycing at three great giftes that God had bestowed vpō him. 1. That he being banished out of his cōtry, was restored to Florence agayn

with glory. 2. That he had deserued to be called Apostolique.* 3. That he had driuē the Frenchmen out of Italy: after he had spokē these wordes, he was stroken with a sodayne feuer, and dyed shortly after, being of the age of 47. yeares: albeit some suspect that he dyed of poyson. Successour to whom was Pope Adrian the vi. scholemayster sometime to Charles the Emperour:,* who liued not much aboue one yeare and a halfe, in his Papacy. During whose small time, these three especiall thinges were incident: A great pestilence in Rome, wherein aboue an hundreth thousande people were consumed.* The losse of Rhodes by the Turke. And thyrdly the capitall warre, which the sayd Pope Adrian, with the emperour, and the Uenetians, and the king of Englande, dyd hold agaynst Fraunces the French king.

This pope Adrian was a Germane borne, brought vp at Louane,* and as in learning he exceded the common sort of Popes: so in moderatiō of life and maners he semed not all together so intēperate as some other Popes haue bene, and yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from hys Sea,* he was a mortall enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the Councell of Wormes was broken vppe, an other meeting or assemble was appoynted by the Emperor at Norenberge of y^e princes, nobles and states of Germany. an. 1522.

Unto this assemble the sayde Adrian sent his letters in maner of a briefe,* with an instruction also vnto his Legate Cheregatus, to informe him how to procceede, and what causes to alledge agaynst Luther, before the Princes there assembled. His letter with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed ouer with a fayre shew and colour of paynted zeale and Religion,* and beareth resemblaunce of great trueth and care of the Church, able to deceaue the outward eares of them, which are not inwardly in true Religion instructed: I thought therefore to geue to the Reader a sight therof to the intent that by the experiēce of them, he may learne hereafter in cases like, to be prudent & circumspect in not beleuing ouer rashly the smoth talke, or pretensed persuasions of men, especially in Church matters, vnlesse they carry with them the simplicity of playne truth, goyng not vpon termes, but grouēded vpon y^e word and reueled wil of God, with particular demonstrations, prouing that by the Scripture, which they pretend to perswade. First the letter of this Pope conceiued & directed agaynst Luther, proceedeth in this effect.

***Adrian Pope vi. to the renowmed Princes of Germanye, and to the Piers of the Romaine Empyre, greeting, and Apostolique benediction.**

RIght honourable brethren, and deare children,* greeting and Apostolique benediction. After that we were first promoted (through Gods diuine prouidence) to the office of the see Apostolick, he which hath so aduanced vs, is our witness, how we both daye and night reuoluing in our mindes, did cogitate nothinge more, then how to satisfye the partes of a good Pastour, in attending the health and cure of the flock, both vniuersally & singularlye committed vnto vs:,* so that there is no one particular sheepe through the whole vniuersall flock, so infected, so sicke, or so farre gone astray, whome our desire is not to recouer, to seeke out, and to reduce into the Lordes folde agayne. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastorall function, our care hath alwayes bene, as well by our messengers, as our dayly letters, howe to reclayme the mindes of Christian Princes from the intestine wars and dissensions among themselues, to peace and concorde, or at

least, if they woulde needes fight, that they woulde conuert theyr strēgth and armour agaynst the cōmō enemyes of our fayth. And to declare this not onely in worde, but rather in deede, God doth knowe with what charges and expences wee haue burdened our selues, to extend our subsidy and reliefe, to the souldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselues and of the Christian fayth, agaynst the Turkish tyranny, by whom they were besieged.

And now to bend our care from these forreyne matters, and to consider our inwarde troubles at home, we heare, to the great grieve of our hart,* that M. Luther a newe rayser vppe of olde and damnable heresy: first after the fatherly aduertisemētes of the See Apostolique, then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded agaynst him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundy Vniuersities also: and lastly after the Emperiall decree of our well beloued sonne Charles, elect Emperour of the Romaines, and Catholique king of Spayne, beyng diuulged through the whole nation of Germany, yet hath neyther bene by order restrayned,* nor of himselfe hath refrayned from hys madnesse begunne, but daily more and more forgetting and contemning all Christian Charity and Godlynesse, ceaseth not to disturbe and replenish the worlde with new bookes, fraught full of errorrs, heresy, contumely, and sedition (whether vppon hys owne head, or by the healpe of other) and to infect the country of Germany, and other Regions about, with this pestilence,* and endeouureth still to corrupt simple soules, and maners of men, with the poyson of his pestiferous tongue: and (which is worst of all) hath for his fautours and supporters, not of the vulgare sort onely, but also diuers personages of the Nobility: in so much that they haue begunne also to inuade the goodes of priestes (whiche perhappes is the chiefe ground of this styrr begunne) contrarye to theyr obedience which they owe to ecclesiasticall and temporall persons, and nowe also at last haue growen vnto ciuill warre and dissention among themselues, which thing how vnfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst vs Christians, you may soone repute with your selues and consider. For although the Apostle hath tolde vs before,* that heresy must needes be, that they which be tried, may be made manifest. &c. yet was there neuer time, either so vnconuenient to rayse vp heresy, or so necessary for the repressing thereof, when any such are raysed, as now. For whereas the Deuill, the perpetuall enemy of mankinde, roaring in the shape of a Lyon, by the power of the Turkes, doth continually inuade the flocke of Christ, how can we then resist the violent inuasions of him, oppressing vs without, so long as we nourish at home the same Deuill,* vnder the coulour of a wyly Dragon, sowing such heresy, discorde, and seditions among our selues: And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these forreigne aduersaries, yet were that but labor lost, seruing to no profite, to subdue our enemyes without, and at home with heresy and schismes to be deuided.

We remember, before the time of our Papacy, when we were in Spayne, many thinges we heard then of Luther, and of his peruerse doctrine. Which rumours and tydings, although of thē selues they were grieuous to be hearde, yet more gireuous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that cuntry, where we our selfe, after the flesh, tooke our first beginning: but yet thys comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or els for the foolishnesse thereof being so manifest, this doctrine woulde not long holde: reputing thus with our selfe, that such pestiferous * plantes translated from other cuntries into Germany, would neuer grow vppe to any prooffe in that ground, which was euer woont to be a weeder out of all heresy and infidelity. But now, since this euill tree (whether by Gods iudgement correcting the sinnes of the people, or by the negligence of suche as first should haue resisted such beginniges) hath so enlarged and spread

his braunches so farre: you therefore, both Princes, and people of Germanye, must this consider and prouide, leaste you, which at the first springing vp of this euill, might peraduenture [Page 855](#) be excused as no doers therof, now through this your ouermuch sufferaunce, might be found vnexcusable, and seeme to consent to that which you do not resist.

Here we omitte and passe ouer, what enormity, and more the enormity, that is, that such a great, and so deuoute a nation, should by one fryer (who relinquishing the Catholique fayth and Christian religion, which he before professed playeth the Apostata, & hath lyed to God) be nowe seduced from that way, whiche first * Christ our redemer & his blessed apostles haue opened vnto vs, which so many Martyrs, so many holy Fathers, so many greate learned men, & also your owne foreelders and old auncitours haue alwayes hitherto walked in, as though onely Luther had all wit and cunning, as though he onely nowe first had receiued the holy ghost (as the heretick Montanus vsed to boast of himselfe) or as though the Church (frō which Christ our sauour promised himselfe neuer to depart) hath erred hitherto alwayes in darcke shadowes of ignorance and perdition, tyll now it should be illuminate with newe r'splendent beames of Luther. Al which thinges, there is no doubt, but to such as haue iudgement, will seeme ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignoraunt mindes: and to the other which being wery of all good order, do gape stil for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefes, as partly your selues haue experienced already. And therefore do you not consider (O princes and people of Germany) that these be but prefaces & preambles to those euils and mischiefes, which Luther with the secte of his Lutherianes, do intend & purpose here after? * Do you not see playnly & perceiue with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospell first begun by the Lutherians to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an inuentiō to spoile your goods which they haue long intēded? Or do you thinke that these sonnes of iniquity do tend to any other thing, then vnder the name of liberty, to supplant obedience, and so to open a generall * licence to euery man, to do what him listeth? And suppose you, that they will any thing regard your commaūdementes, or esteeme * your lawes, whiche so contemptuously vilipend the holy Canons, and decrees of the fathers, yea and the most holy Councels also (to whose autorite the Emperors lawes haue alwayes geuen roome and place) & not onely vilipēd them, but also with a diabolicall audacitye haue not feared to rent them in pices, and set them on a light fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to priestes, to byshops, yea to the high bishop of al, & which dayly before your owne faces make theyr bootyes of Church goodes, and of thinges consecrated to God: thinke ye that they will refrayne theyr sacrilegious handes frō the spoyle of lay mens goods? yea that they wil not plucke from you whatsoeuer they can rap or reauē? * Finally to conclude, how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold theyr murdering handes from your throates, which haue bene so bold to vexe, to kill, to slay the Lordes annoynted, which are not to be touched? Nay thinke you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound vpon you, your goodes, your houses, wiues, children, dominio's, possessions, & these your temples, which you hallow & reuerēce, except you prouide some speedy remedy agaynst the same.

Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, & deuotions of all and singuler in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian charity & religion (for which religion your forefathers oft times haue geuen their bloud, to vpholde and encrease the same) and notwithstanding require you also in vertue of that obedience, which all Christians owe to God & blessed S, Peter, * and to his Vicar here in earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissentions among our selues, you conferre

your helping handes euery man to quench this publique fire, and endeuour and study the best way ye can, howe to reduce the sayd M. Luther and all other fautours of these tumultes and errorrs, to better conformitye and trade both of lyfe and fayth. And if they which be infected, shal refuse to heare your admonitiōs, yet proued that the other part, which yet remayneth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He to whom all secretes of men are open, doth know how we both for our nature, and also for our pastorall office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit, then to reuenge. But when this pestiferous canker can not with supple and gentle medecines be cured, more sharper salues must be proued, and fiery searinges: the putrified members must be cut of from the body, least the sound partes also be infected. So God did cast downe into hell the schismaticall brethren * Dathan and Abiron. And him that would not obey the authority of the priest, God commaunded to bee punished with death. So Peter prince of the Apostles, denounced sodeine death to Ananias, and Saphira, which lyed vnto God. So the olde and godly Emperours commaunded * Iouinianus and Priscillianus, as heretiques, to be beheaded. So S^r Ierome wisheth Vigilantius as an heretick, to be geuen to the destructiō of the flesh, that the spirit might be sauēd in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessours in the Councell of * Cōstance condemne to death Iohn Hus & his felow Hierome, which now appeareth to reuiue agayne in Luther. The worthy* acts and examples of which forefathers, if you in this doinges (seeing otherwise ye can not) shall imitate: wee doe not doubt, but Gods mercifull clemency shall eftsoones releue his Church, which being now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eies chiefly and principally directed vpō you, as being the most puisaunt and most populous nation that wee haue in Christendome.

Wherefore vpon the blessing of almighty God and of blessed S. Peter, which here we send vnto you, take courage vnto you,* as well agaynst the false Dragon, as the strong Lion, that both these: that is, as well the inward heresy, as the forreigne enemyes by you being ouercome, you may purchase to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we geue you to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer the Lord hath geuen vs to aid you withall, either in money or authoritye, wee will not fayle to support you herein,* yea and to bestowe our life also in this holye quarrell, and for the health of our sheepe to vs committed. Other thinges as touching the matter of Luther, we haue committed to this Cheregatus our Legate, whom wee haue directed purposelye for the same, vnto your assemble, whom we wish you to Credite, as being our trusty Legate.

Datum Rom. apud S. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die .25. Nouemb. ann. 1522.

pontificatus nostri anno primo.

¶ By this letter aboue prefixed, thou hast (gentle reader) to note and vnderstand, what eyther wylly perswasions, or strength of authoritie could deuise against Luther, here not to haue lacked. If plausible termes or glosyng sentences, or outward facyng and bracyng could haue serued, where no ground of scripture is brought, this might seeme apparantly a pithie Epistle. But if a man should require the particulars or y^e specialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to bee examined and tryed by Gods word, there is no substaunce in it, but onely wordes of office, whiche may seeme well to serue for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibite the saide letter vnto thee, to the entent, that the more thou seest mans strength with all his policie bent against

Luther, the more thou mayst consider the almightie power of God, in defending the cause of this poore man, against so mightie enemies.

Nowe heare further what instructions the sayde Pope Adrian sent to his Legate Cheregatus, how and by what reasons to moue and inflame the princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther, and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to passe.

Instructions geuen by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legate, touching his proceedings in the diete of Norenberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the Princes agaynst Luther.

IN primis,* you shall declare to them the great grieve of our hart for the prospering of Luthers secte, to see the innumerable soules redemed with Christs bloud, and committed to our pastorall gouvernement, to be turned away from the true fayth and religion, into perdition by this occasion: & that especially in the nation of Germany, being our natieue country, which hath bene euer heretofore, til these few yeares past, most faythfull and deuour in religion: & therefore our desire to be the greater, that this pestilence should [Page 856](#) be stopped by time, least the same happen to that countrey of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part,* there shalbe no lacke to helpe forward what we may: As likewise we desire them, to •ndeouore them selues to the vttermost of theyr power, whom these causes ought to moue, which here we direct vnto you, to be declared vnto them.

*First the honor of God, which before all other things ought to be preferred: whose honor by these heresydes is greatly defaced and his worship not onely diminished, but rather whollye corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbor, by which charity euery man is bound to reduce his neighbor out of errour: otherwise God will requyre at theyr handes all such as by theyr negligence do perish.

The second cause to moue them agaynst Luther,* is the infamy of theyr nation, whiche being counted before time alwayes most Christian, now by these sectaries of Luther, is euill spoken of in all other quartes.

The third cause is the respecte of theyr owne honour, which notoriously will be disteined,* if they which most excell in nobility and authority among the Germaines, shall not bend all theyr power to expell these heresydes: First for that they shall appeare to degenerate from theyr progenitors, who being present at the condemnatiō of Iohn Hus, & of other heretickes, are sayd some of thē with theyr owne hands to haue led Iohn Hus to the fire: Secondly, for that they or the greater part of thē approuing with theyr autho^rity * the emperiall edict set forth of late in cōdemnatiō of M. Luther, now except they shall folow the execution of y^e same, shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to fauor the same, seing it is manifest that they may easily exterminate him, if they were disposed.

The fourth cause is the iniury wrought by Luther to them their parentes,* and progenitors, for as much as their fathers, progenitors, and themselues also haue alwayes holden the same fayth, which the catholick church of Rome hath appoynted: contrary to which fayth, Luther with his sectaries now doeth holde, saying that many thinges are not to be beleued, which they foresaid aunceters haue holden to be of fayth: it is manifest therefore that they be condēned of Luther for

infidels and hereticks, and so consequētlly by Luthers doctrine, all theyr foreelders & progenitors which haue deceased in this our fayth be in hell: for error in fayth importeth damnation.

The fift cause to moue them is, that they should wel aduise & consider the end,* whereunto all these Lutherians do tēd: * which is, that vnder the shadow of Euangelicall liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power▪ For although at the first beginning they pretended onely to adnule and repress our power ecclesiasticall, as being falsely & tyrannously vsurped agaynst the Gospell: yet for as much as liberty is all theyr foundation and pretence, by the which liberty the secular power and magistrates can not binde men by any commaundementes (be they neuer so iust, or so reasonable) * to obey thē vnder paine of mortall sinne: it is manifest that theyr scope is to enfeeble and infringe as much or more, the secular state also, although couertly they pretend to salue it: to the end, that when the secular Princes shall beleue this theyr working not to be directed against them, but onely agaynst the vsurped domination of the church and churchmē, then the laity (which commonly hath bene alwayes agaynst men of the Church) holding with them, shall suffer the Churchmen to be deuoured: Which done, no doubt, but * they will afterward practise the like vpon the secular Princes and potestates, which now they attempt agaynst our ecclesiasticall iurisdiction.

The sixte cause to mooue and perswade them agaynst Luther is this, for them to consider the fruites which folow of that sect:* as slaunders, offences, disturbaunce, robberyes, murders, * seditions, dissensions, which this sect hath and dayly doth styrrē vp through whole Germany: Also blasphemyes. * slaunderous wordes, scoffing iestes and bitter tauntes whiche are euer in theyr mouthes. Agaynst which, vnles that they shall finde a present remedy, it is to be feared, least the desolation of Gods wrath will fall vpon Germany, being so diuided: or rather vpō the Princes of Germany, who hauing the sword geuen of God into theyr hands for the suppression of malefactors, suffer such enormities amongst theyr subiectes.*Cursed is he (sayth the Prophet) which doth the worke of the Lorde negligently: and holdeth backe his sworde from the bloud of wicked doers.

The seuenth reason is,* that the princes should consider how Luther vseth the same way of seducing the people of Christ, as hath the venimous vyper *Mahumet practised in deceiuing so many thousands of soules, in permitting to them the libertye of those thinges which flesh desireth, and afterward in exempting them from such thinges as be more sharp in the law, but that Luther a litle more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceiue more effectually: For Mahumet geueth licence to haue many wiues, and to diuorce and mary other at their pleasure. This Luther, to drawe vnto him the fauor of nunnes, monks, and priests, such as be lasciuious in flesh, preacheth that vowes of perpetuall continencye be vnlawfull, much lesse to be obligatory: and therefore permitteth vnto thē that they may mary, forgetting by the way what the Apostle writeth of yōug widowes, saying:*That when they waxe wanton agaynst Christ then will they marrye, hauing condemnation, because they haue made voyd theyr first fayth.

These & other such like reasons, being opened & layd before thē, you shal thē in our name exhort y^e foresaid princes, prelats, & people to awake, and employ their diligēce how to gainestand: First the iniury of these Lutherians toward God, & toward his holy religiō: Secōdly theyr villany toward the whole nation of the Germanes & their princes, & especially the shamefull contumely toward theyr fathers & elders, whō in effect they condemne to hel. In

consideratiō wherof you shal cal vpō thē to remēber thēselues, & to proceed effectually to the executiō of y^e apostolicall sentēce, & of the Emperors edict, geuing pardon to thē that wil amend & acknowledge their fault: the other which obstinately persist in their error, punishing with the rod of district seuerity according to the decrees of the Canons and lawes of the Church, that by theyr example, such as stand, may remaine in fayth, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

And if any shall object again, y^e Luther was condēned by the apostolicke see before he was heard, & y^t his cause ought first to haue bene heard & iudged, before he was cōuinced: you shall aunswere, that those * thinges which pertaine to faith, are to be beleued for theyr owne authority, & not to be proued. Take away (sayth Ambrose) argumentes, where fayth is sought, there the fishers, not the Philosophers must bee trusted. Truth it is, & we graunt no lesse, but the lawfull defence & hearing ought not to bee denyed in such cases, where the question is of the fact, whether it were done or not, as whether he spake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of Gods law, or in cause of the sacramentes, there must we alwayes stand to the authority of holy fathers & of the Church. Now all thinges almost wherein Luther dissenteth from other, are reproved before by diuers Councils. Neither ought those things to be called into questiō, which haue bene defined before by general cōūcels, & y^e vniuersal-Church, but ought to be receiued by fayth: For els he doth iniury to the Synode of the church, who so bringeth again into controuersy thinges once rightly discussed & settled. Otherwise what certaynty can there be amongst mē, or what end shal there be of contēding & disputing, if it shalbe lawfull for euery lewd & presumtuous person, to decline from the thinges which haue bene receiued and ratified by the cōsent, not of one, nor of fewe, but of so many ages, so many wise heades, & of the Catholicke church, which God neuer permitteth to erre in matters vnto fayth apperteyning? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all muste bee ful of disturbance, offences, and confusion, vnlesse the thinges which haue bene once, yea many times by ripe iudgement cōstituted, be obserued of al mē as inuiolable? Wherefore, seing Luther and his felowes do cōdemne the Councils [Page 857](#) of holy fathers, do burne the holy canons, do cōfound al things at their pleasure, & do disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be reiected & exploded, as enemies and perturburs of publike peace?

Further this you shal say vnto them, y^t we confesse our selues, & deny not, but that God suffreth this persecutiō to be inflicted vpon his churche,* for the sinnes of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergie. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not shortned, that he cannot saue: but our sinnes haue diuided betwene God and vs: and therfore he hideth his face from vs, that he wil not heare vs. The scripture testifieth, that the sinnes of the people doe issue out from the sinnes of the priests. And therfore saith Chrysostom,) Christ going about to cure the sicke citie of Hierusalē, first entred into the temple, to correct the sinnes of the priestes, like a good phisitiō, which first beginneth to cure the disease from the very rote. We know that in this * holy see there haue bene many abhominable thinges of long time wrought & practised: as abuses in matters spirituall, and also excesses in life and maners, and all thinges turned cleane cōtrary. And no maruell if the * sicknesse first beginning at the heade, that is, at the high Bishops, haue descended afterward to inferior prelates. Al we (that is, prelates of the church) haue declined euery one after his owne waye. Neither hath there ben one that hath don good, no not one. Wherefore nede it is y^t al we geue glory to God, and that we humble our soules to him, considering euery one of vs, from whence hee hath fallen,* and that euery one doe iudge himself, before he be iudged of God in the rod of his furie. For the redresse wherof you shal insinuate

vnto them, and promise in our behalfe, that in vs shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning w^t our owne court, that like as this contagion first from thence descended into all the inferior partes: * so reformation & amendement of all that is amisse from the same place againe, shall take his beginning. Wherunto they shall finde vs so much the more ready, for that we see y^e whole worlde so desirous of the same. Wee our selues (as you knowe) neuer sought this dignity, but rather coueted, if we otherwise might, to lead a priuate life, and in a quiete state to serue God. And also would vtterly haue refused the same, had not the feare of God, and the maner of our election, and misdoubting of some schisme to follow after, haue vrged vs to take it. And thus tooke we the burden vpon vs, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our frends, and kinsfolks, but only to be obediēt to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholique church, and for reliefe of the pore, and especially for the aduancement of learning & learned men, with such other things moe, as apperteineth to the charge of a good Bishop & lawful heire of S. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses, be not straight wayes amended by vs, men ought not therat to maruell. The sore is great and farre growen, * and is not single, but of manifolde maladies together compacted, & therefore to the curing therof we must proceede by litle and litle, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, least while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. All sodaine mutations (sayth Aristotle) in a common wealth, are perilous. And he that wringeth too hard, straineth out bloud. Prou. 30

And whereas in your last letters you wryte, that the Princes complaine, howe this See hath bene and is preiudiciall to their ordinaunces and agreements: heereunto you shall thus aunswere: That suche excesses which haue bene done before our time, ought not to be imputed to vs, who alwayes haue misliked these derogations, and therefore bidde them so assure them selues, that though they had required no such matter, we of our owne accorde, woulde haue refrained the same, partly for that it is good, right, & reason, that euery one haue that which is due vnto hym: and partly also that the sayd noble natiō of Germany shal haue by vs no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in vs shall lie to do for them.

And as touching the processes, whyche they desire to haue remoued away a Rota, and to be referred down to the parties, * you shall signifie vnto them that we will gratifie them herein asmuch as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the citie by reason of the Plague, wee can not be infourmed as yet, touching the qualitie of those processes. Assoone as they shall returne (which we hope will be shortly) we shal do in the Princes fauour, what reasonably we may.

Further, wheras we vnderstande, that there be many fresh flourishing wits in Germanie, and many well learned men, which are not seene vnto, but be reiected and vnlooked to, while in the meane time, throughe the Apostolicall prouisions, dignities, * and promotions are bestowed vpon tapsters, and dauners, and vnfitte persons: we wil therefore that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any such vacation of benefices in Germany do fal, we of our voluntary motiō, may prouide for them accordingly. For why, we consider howe much it is against Gods glory, * and against the health and the edification of soules, that benefices and dignities of the church, haue now so long time bene bestowed vpon vnworthy and vnable persons.

As touching the subsidie for the Hungarians, we send no other information to you, but that which we gaue you at your departure, saue onely that we will you to extende your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italie, that euery one may helpe after his abilitie. Ex Orth. Gratio.

These popish suggestions and instructions of the Pope himselfe against Luther, I thought (Christen reader) to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou maiest see here (as in a paterne, and go no further) all the crimes, obiectiōs, exclamations, suspitions, accusations, slāders, offenses, contumelies, rebukes, vntruths, cauillations, railings,* what soeuer they haue deuised, or can deuise, inuent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise against Luth. and his teaching. They crie, heresy, heresy: but they prooue no heresy. They cry, Councils, Councils: and yet none trāsgresseth Councils more then themselues. If Councils go alwaies with Scripture, then Luther. goethe with them. If Councils doe iarre sometime from the Scripture, what heresie is in Luth. in standing with Scripture against those councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councils, saue onely the Councell of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luth▪ and yet they haue no iust cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching libertie.* If they meane the libertye of fleshe, they accuse him falsely: if they meane the liberty of spirit, they teach wickedly, which teach contrary: and yet when they haue all sayde, none liue so licentiously as themselues. They pretēde the zeale of the Church, but vnder that church lieth their owne priuate welfare, and belly cheare. They charge Luth. with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to Magistrates and ciuile lawes, as they. They lay to his charge, oppression and spoiling of lay mens goods: and who spoileth the lay mēs liuings, so much as the Pope? For probation whereof, let the Popes accountes be cast,* what hee raketh out of euery Christian realme. Briefly, turne only the names of the persons, and in steede of Luthers name, place the name of the Pope, and the effect of this letter aboue prefixed, shal agree vpon none more aptly, then vpon the Pope him selfe, and his owne sectaries. Now to proceede further in the proces of this foresaide matter, let vs see what the Princes againe for their partes answere to these foresaide suggestions and instructions of Pope Adrian, sent vnto them in their diete of Norenborg, in the cause of Luther: the answer of whom here foloweth vnder wrytten.

The answere of the noble and reuerend princes and states of the sacred Romane Empire, exhibited to the Popes ambassador.

THE noble & renowned Prince Lord Ferdinandus,* Lieutenant to the Emperors maiesty, with other reuerend pieres in Christ, and mighty princes Electors, and other states and orders of this present assemblie of the Romane Empire in Norenborge conuented, haue gratefully receiued, and diligently perused the letters sent in forme of a Brief, with the instructions also of that most holy father in Christ, and L.L. Adrian, the hie Bishop of the holy and vniuersall Church of Rome, presented vnto them in the cause of Luthers faction.

By the which foresaid letters and wrytings, first where as they vnderstande his holinesse to haue bene borne, and to haue had his natie origine and parentage out of this noble nation of Germanie, they doe not a little reioyce.* Of whose egregious vertues and ornaments both of minde and body, they haue heard great fame and commendation, euen from his tender yeares: by reason wherof they are so muche the more ioyous of his aduancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the hie tippe of the Apostolicall dignitie, and yeelede to God most hartie

thanks for the same: praying also from the bottome of their hearts, for his excellent clemencie, and perpetuall glory of his name, and for healthe of soules, and incolumitie of the vniuersall Church, that GOD wil geue his holines long continuance of felicity. Hauing no misdout, but that by such a ful & consenting election of such a pastor of the vniuersall catholike church, great profite and commoditie will ensue. Which thing to hope and looke for, his holinesse openeth to them an euident declaration in his owne letters, testifying [Page 858](#) and protesting what a care it is to him both day & night, how to discharge his pastorall function, in studying for the health of the flocke to him committed: and especially in conuertinge the minds of Christian princes, from warre to peace: declaring moreouer what subsidie and reliefe his holinesse hath sent to the souldiers of Rhodes. &c. All which things they perpēding with them selues, conceiue exceeding hope and comfort in their mindes, thus reputing and trusting that this cōcord of Christian princes, wil be a g•eat helpe and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame: without which neither the state of the cōmon welth, nor of Christian religion can be rightly redressed, and much lesse the tyrannie of the barbarous Turke repressed.

Wherfore, the excellent prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperors maiestie, with the other princes Electors, and orders of this present assemble, most hartily doe pray that his holines wil persist in this his purpose & diligence, as he hath vertuously begun, leauing no stone vnremoued, how the disagreeing hearts of Christē princes may be reduced to quiet and peace: [*](#) or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, wherby all Christians may ioine their power together, with the helpe of God, to go against the Turke, & to deliuer the people of Christ from his barbarous tyrannie and bondage: Whereunto both the noble prince Lord Lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, wil put to their helping hands, to the best of their abilitie.

And wheras by the letters of his holines, with his instruction also exhibited vnto them by his Legate, they vnderstand, that hys holines is afflicted with great sorow, for the prospering of Luthers sect, [*](#) wherby innumerable soules committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition, & therefore his holines vehemently desireth some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certaine necessary reasons & causes, wherby to moue the Germane princes therunto, and that they will tender the execution of the Apostolique sentence, and also of the Emperours edict, set forth touching the suppression of Luther: to these the L. Lieutenant and other princes and states doe answere, that it is to them no lesse grieffe and sorow, then to his holines, and also do lament as much for these impieties and perils of soules, and inconueniences which grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them, for the extirping of errors, & decay of soules health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to performe, considering how they stand bound & subiect, as wel to the Popes holines, as also to the Emperours maiestie.

But why the sentence of the Apostolike see, & the Emperours edict against Luther, hath not ben put in execution hetherto, ther haue bene (said they) causes great and vrgent, which haue led thē therto: [*](#) as first in weying and considering with them selues, that great euils & inconuenience wold therupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany haue alwaies had thys persuasion, & now by reading of Luthers bokes, are more therin cōfirmed, that great greeuances and inconueniences haue come to this nation of Germanie, by the courte of Rome: and therefore if they shuld haue proceded with any rigor in executing the Popes sentence, [*](#) & the emperors

edict, the multitude would conceiue & suspect in their minds, this to be done for subuerting the verity of the gossell, & for supporting & confirming the former abuses & greuances, wherupon great warres & tumults (no doubt) would haue ensued: which thing vnto the princes & states ther, hath ben wel perceiued by many arguments. For the auoiding wherof, they thought to vse more gentle remedies, seruing more oportunely for the time.

Againe, wheras the reuerend L. Legate (said they) in the name of the Popes holines hath ben instructed, to declare vnto thē, that God suffreth this persecution to rise in the Church for the sins of men,* & that his holines doth promise, therefore to begin the reformation with his owne court, that as the corruption first sprāg from thence to the inferior parts, so the redres of al againe should first begin with the same: Also, wheras his holines, of a good & fatherly heart, doth testify in his letters, that he himselfe did alwaies mislike that the Court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the cōcordates of the princes, and that his holines doeth fully purpose in that behalfe, during his papacie, neuer to practise the like, but so to endeuer, that euery one, and especially the nation of the Germanes may haue their proper due and right, graunting especially to the sayde nation, his peculiar fauour: who setteth not by these premisses, but that this moste holy B. omitteth nothing, which a good father or a deuout pastor may or ought to do to his sheepe? Or who wil not be moued hereby to a louing reuerence, and to amendement of his defaultes, namely seeing hys holinesse so intendeth to accomplish the same in deede, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begon.

And thus vndoubtedly both the noble L. Lieutenant, & all other princes & states of the empire, wel hope that he wil, and pray most hartily that he may doe, to the glory of our eternall God, to the health of soules, & to the tranquillitie of the publike state. For vnles such abuses and greuances, with certain other articles also, which the seculare princes (assigned purposely for the same) shall draw out in wryting, shall be faithfully reformed,* there is no true peace & cōcord betwene the ecclesiasticall & seculer estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult, & errors in Germanie that cā be hoped. For partly by lōg warres, partly by reason of other greuances & hinderances this nation of Germanie hath bene so wasted and consumed in money, that vnneth it is able to sustaine it selfe in priuate affaires, and necessary vpholding of iustice wythin it selfe: much lesse then to minister aid and succor to the kingdom of Hungary, & to the Croatians, against the Turke. And wheras al the states of the sacred Romane Empire doe not doubt, but the Popes holines doth right well vnderstād how the Germane princes did graunt & condescend for the money of Annates to be leaued to the see of Rome for terme of certen yeres,* vpon condition that the said mony shuld be conuerted to maintain warre against the turkish infidels, and for defence of the catholike faith: & wheras the terme of these yeres is now expired long since, when as the said Annates should be gathered, and yet that mony hath not ben so bestowed to that vse, whereto it was first graunted: therefore if any such necessitie should nowe come, that any publike helpes or contributions against the Turke, should be demanded of the Germane people, they would aunswer againe, why is not that money of Annates reserued many yeares before to that vse, nowe to bee bestowed and applied, and so woulde they refuse to receiue any more such burdens for that cause to be laid vpon them.

Wherefore the said Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes & degrees of the Empire make earnest petition, that the Popes holines wil with a fatherly consideration expend the premisses, and surcease hereafter to require such Annates,* which are accustomed after the death of bishops and

other prelates, or ecclesiasticall persons, to be payd to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remaine to the chamber of the Empire, whereby iustice & peace may be more cōmodiously administred, the tranquillitie of the publike state of Germanie mainteined, and also by the same, due helpe may be ordeined and disposed to other Christen potentates in Germanie, agaynst the Turke, which otherwise without the same, is not to be hoped for.

Item, wheras the Popes holines desireth to be informed what way were best to take, in resisting these errors of the Lutherians: to this the Lord Lieutenant, with other Princes add nobles do answere, that whatsoever helpe or counsell they can deuise, with willing harts they will be ready therevnto. Seeing therefore the state, aswell ecclesiasticall, as temporall, is farre out of frame, and haue so much corrupted their wayes, and seeing not onely of Luthers part, and of his sect, but also by diuers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, & corruptions, haue crept in: much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectuall remedie be prouided, as well for redresse of the church, as also for repressing of the Turks tyrannie. Now what more present or effectuall remedy can be had, the Lord Lieutenant, with other estates and princes do not see, then this, that the Popes holines,* by the consent of the Emperors maiestie, do summon a free Christen Councell in some conuenient place of Germanie, as at Strausburgh, or at Mentz, or at Colen, or at Metz, and that with as much speede as conueniently may be, so that the congregating of the said Councell be not deferred aboue one yere:* in the which Councell it may be lawfull for euery person that there shall haue interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speake & consult, to the glory of God, and health of soules, and the publike wealth of Christendome, without impeachment or restraynt, whatsoever oth, or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea and it shalbe euery good mans part there to speake, not onely freely, but to speake that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, & not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and vprightly to declare his iudgements, without all fraud or guile.

And as touching by what waies these errors & tumultes of the Germane people may best be staid and pacified in the meane time, vntil the councell be set: the foresaid L. Lieutenant,* with the other princes, therupon haue cōsulted & deliberated, that for as much as Luth. and certaine of his fellowes be within the territorye and dominion of the noble duke Friderike, the saide L. Lieutenant and other states of the Empire shall so labour the matter wyth the aforementioned Prince duke of Saxonie,* that Luther and his followers shall not wryte, sette foorth, or print any thing during the sayde meane space, neither doe they doubt but that the sayde noble prince of Saxonie, for his Christian pietie, and obedience to the Romane Empire, as becōmeth a Prince of such excellent vertue, will effectually condescend to the same.

Item, the said L. Lieutenant and princes shal labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermōs teach or blow into the peoples eares, such matters, whereby the multitude may be moued to rebelliō or vpror, or be induced into error: and that they shall preach & teach nothing, but the true, pure, sincere,* & holy gospell, & aproued scripture, godly, mildly, & christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture, being approued and receiued of Christes Church, abstaining from all suche thynges, whych are better vnknownen, then learned of the [Page 859](#) people, and which to be subtilly searched, or deeply discussed, it is not expedient. Also that they shall mooue no contention of disputation among the vulgare sorte, but what so euer hangeth in controuersie, the same they shall reserue to the determination of the Councell to come.

Item, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates wythin their diocesse shall assigne godly and learned men, hauing good iudgement in the scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attende vpon such preachers: * and if they shall perceiue the sayde preachers either to haue erred, or to haue vttered any thing vnconueniently, they shall godly, mildely, and modestly aduertise, and informe them thereof, in such sort as no man shall iustly complaine the trueth of the Gospell to be impeached. But if the preachers continuing still in their stubbornesse shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdnesse, then shall they be restrained and punished by the Ordinaries of the place, wyth punishment for the same conuenient.

Furthermore, the sayde Princes and nobles shall prouide and vndertake, so much as shall be possible, that from hencefoorth during the foresaide time, * no new booke shalbe imprinted, especially none of these famous libels, neither shall they priuily or apertly be sold. Also order shalbe taken amongst al potestates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any newe worke, it shall first be seene and perused of certaine godly learned, and discrete men appoynted for the same: * so that if it be not admitted and approoued by them, it shal not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abrode. Thus by these meanes, they hope wel, that the tumults, errorrs, and offenses among the people, shal cease, especially if the Popes holinesse himselfe shall begin with an orderly & due reformation, in the foresaid greuances aboue mentioned, and wil procure such a free and Christian Councel as hath bene sayde, and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed, as they desire, yet the greater parte thus will be quieted, for all such as be honest and good menne, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that generall Councell, so shortly and now ready at hand to come.

*Finally, as concerning priests which contract matrimonie, & religious men leauing their cloisters, wherof intimation was also made by the Apostolicall Legate, the foresaid princes do consider, that forsomuch as in the ciuile lawe there is no penaltie for them ordeined, they shalbe referred to the Canonick constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly: that is, by the losse of their benefices, and priuiledges, or other condigne censures: and that the said Ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the seculer powers, from the correction of such: but that they shal adde their helpe and fauour to the maintenance of ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and shal direct out their publike edicts and precepts, that none shal impeach or prohibite the said ordinaries in their ecclesiasticall castigation, vpon such transgressors to be administred.

To conclude, the redoubted prince L. Lieutenaunt and other princes, estates, & orders of the publike Empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the Popes holinesse, & the reuerend Lord his legate will accept and take all the premisses to be no otherwise spoken and meant, then of a good, free, sincere, & a Christian minde. Neither is there any thing, that al the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles do more wish and desire, then the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy Catholique church of Rome, and of his holinesse. To whose wishes, desires, & obedience they offer and commend themselues most ready, and obsequious, as faithfull children. Ex Orth. Grat.

Thus hast thou (louing reader) the full discourse both of the popes letter, and of his Legates instructions, with the aunswere also of the states of Germanie to the sayde letter and instructions, to them exhibited in the diete of Norenberge. In the which diet, what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the greeuances of Germanie, whych they

exhibited to the Pope, then concerning a general councell to be called in Germanie, also for printing and preaching, & for priests mariage, hath bene likewise declared.*&c.

The occasion of this matter mooued against priests mariage, came first by the ministers of Strausburgh, which about this time began to take wiues, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Strausburgh to appeare before him at a certaine day,* as violaters of the lawes of holy Church, the holy fathers, the Bishops of Rome, and of the Emperours maiestie, to the preiudice both of their owne order of priesthood, and maiestie of almighty God: But they referred theyr cause to the hearing of the magistrats of the same citie, who being suiters for them vnto the Bishops, labored to haue the matter either released, or at least to be delaied for a time.*

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following vpon this diete or assemble of Norenberge, howe their decree was receiued of some, of some neglected, of diuers diuersly wrasted and expounded. Luther wryting his letters vpon the same decree, to the Princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof, that where as the preachers were commanded to preach the pure Gospel, after the doctrine of the church receiued, he expounded the meaning therof to be, not after the doctrine of Tho. Aquine, or Scotus or suche other late schoole wryters, but after the doctrine of Hilarie, Cyprian, & Austen, and other ancient doctors, and yet the doctrine of the said aunciters no farther to be receiued, but as they should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, as concerning new bokes not to be sold nor prin•ed, he expounded the meaning therof to extend no farther, but y^e text of the Bible and bookes of the holy Scripture might be Printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

And as for the prohibition of Priestes mariage, he wryteth to the Princes, and desireth them to beare wyth the weakenes of men, declaring that braunch of their decree to be very hard, which though it stand with the Popes law, yet it accordeth not with the Gospell, neither conduceth to good maners, nor to honestie of life. &c.

Furthermore, where as in the same session of Norenberge, mētion was made before of certaine greuances collected to the number of an hundreth,*and exhibited to the Bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to inserte them all: yet to geue some tas• of a few, I iudge it not vnprofitable: to the entēt, that the world may see and iudge, not only what abuses and corruptions moste monstrous and incredible, lay hid vnder the glorious title of the holy church of Rome: but also may vnderstand, with what hipocrisie & impudēcie the pope taketh vpon him so greuously to complaine vpon M. Luther, and other: when in all the vniuersall Church of Christe, there is none so muche to be blamed all manner of wayes, as he himselfe, according as by these hainous complaints of the Germain princes, here folowing against the popes intolerable oppressions & greuances may right well appeare. Which greuances• being collected by the Princes of Germanie at Norenberge, to the number of an hundreth, I wish might be fully and at large setfoorth to the studious Reader, whereby might appeare the subtile sleightes and intolerable fraudes of that pretended Church. But for somuch as it were to long to comprehend the whole, I haue thought good to exhibite some part therof for example, as geuing only a certain tast, wherby thou mayest more easely conceiue, what to thinke and esteeme of all the residue, which both to me wold be tedious to write, and perhaps more greuous to thee, to heare.

***Certaine greuances or oppressions of Germanie, against the courte of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the councel of Norenberge, to the number of an C. wherof certaine specialties here folow.**

AMongest other burthens & greuances, this is not least to be regarded: y^t many things are prohibited by mens constitutions, & many things exacted, whiche are not prohibited or commāded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obstacles of matrimonie inuēted and brought in,* wherby mē were forbid to mary in cases of kindred, which stande vpon diuers degrees: as vpon affinitie, publike honesty, spiritual kindred, kindred by law, & kindred in blud. &c. and likewise in forbidding y^e vse of meates, which God hath created for mans necessitie, and taught by the Apostle indifferently to be receiued with thanks geuing.* By these and many other such humane cōstitutions, men are yoked in bondage, vntil by mony they obtained some dispēsation of those lawes, at theyr handes which made them: so y^t money shall make that lawfull for rich men, which is clearely prohibited vnto the poore. By these snares of mens lawes & constitutions, not onely great summes of money are gathered out of Germanie, & caried ouer the Alpes, but also great iniquitie is sprong vp amongst christians: many offences and priuie hatreds do rise, by reason that poore men do see themselues intangled with these snares, for no other cause, but for that they doe not possesse the thornes of the Gospel, for so Christ doth often call riches.

Times forbidden.

THE like practise also is to be sene in the times restrained from Mariage, by the heades of the Church of Rome,* from the Septuagesima Sunday, somewhat before Lent: when as notwithstanding bothe the Clergye and the seculars in the meane time wil liue licentiously, and that openly in the face of all the world. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a man shal presume so to do vpon his owne liberty, without compounding. But otherwise if there be any hope of money, then that which was before vnlawful, is now made lawful for euery man to do frely. And this is [Page 860](#) also an other drawing net, wherby great summes of mony are dragged out of the Germanes purses. Wherupon also hangeth an other greuance as great as thys, that in|suing out a dispēsation, the state of the poore and of the rich is not indifferently weyed: For where the rich escapeth many times for little or naught, & goeth cleare away, the poore man shalbe sure to pay for the shot.

A complaint for selling remission of sinnes for money.

BUT especially the burden and greuaunce of the Popes Indulgences and Pardons be most importable: when as the Bishops of Rome, vnder pretēse of building some church in Rome, or to warre against the Turke, do make out their indulgences with their bulles: perswading and promising to the simple people, straunge & wonderfull be•i•es of remission a Poena & culpa, that is, from all theyr sinnes, and punishment due for the same, and that not in this life onely, but also after this life, to them that be deade burning in the fire of purgatorie. Through the hope and occasion whereof, true pietie is almost extinct in all Germanie, while euery euill disposed person promiseth to him self for a litle money, licence and impunitie to do what him lusteth: Wherupon foloweth fornication, incest, adulterie, periurie, homicide, robbing and spoyling, rapine, vsurye, with a whole floud of all mischiefes. &c.

A complaint against the Immunities of Clergie men.

Item, whosoever hee be that hath receiued any Ecclesiastical orders, great or small, thereby he doth contende to be freed from al punishmēt of the secular magistrate, how great offēce soeuer he do: neither doth he vnaduisedly presume therupon, but is mainteined in that liberty to sinne, by the principal estates of the clergy. For it hath often ben seene, that whereas by the canonicall lawes, priestes are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chastitie of matrones, virgines, and of the wiues, daughters and sisters of the lay men: and through their continual instance and labour, partly with gifts and rewards, and flattering wordes, partly by their secrete confessions (as they cal thē) as it hath bene founde by experience, they brynge to passe that many virgins and matrones, which otherwise wold be honest, haue beene ouercome and mooued to sinne and wickednesse: and it happeneth oftentimes, that they do detaine and keepe away the wiues, and daughters frō theyr husbands and fathers, threatning them wyth fire & sword that do require them againe. Thus through theyr raging lust, they heap & gather together innumerable mischieues and offences. It is to be maruailed at, howe licentious wythout punishmente they daile offende in robberyes,* murther, accusing of innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfaiting of fals coyne, beside a thousand other kinds of mischieues, contrary and against al lawes both of God and manne, not wythout great offence of others, trusting onely vppon the fredome and liberty of sinne, whych they vsurpe vnto themselues by the priuiledge of their canons. For when as they once perceiue that it is lawfull for them to doe what they lust without controlment, then they doe not onely contemne the ciuill Magistrates, but also theyr Bishops and superiors, whatsoever they either cōmaund or forbid them to do.

And moreouer, to y^e intent they may be the more mayntained in their mischiefe & wickednes, contrary to all reason and equitie, it is partly forbidde the Archbishops and Bishops, to condemne these malefactours openly, except they be first disgraced, which must be done with sumptuousnes and pompe: wherby it hapneth very seldome, that those annoynted naughty packes, do receiue condigne punishment. Besides that, the bishops are so bound by theyr chapters, that they dare not punish any person which hath taken orders by the Canonicall lawes, be the punishment neuer so light or smal. By reason wherof the matter so falleth out, that through this vnequall partiality betwene the laitie and the Clergie, great hatred, discord, and dissention is sprong and risen. It is also not a litle to be feared, that if the Clergie which are the cause of this greuance, and of other mischiefes, (whych daily they doe proceede to perpetrate) haue not like lawes, equall iudges, and like punishment, their offensiue life will mooue & stirre vp some great tumults and sedition amongst the cōmon people, not only against the Clergie themselues, but also against the superiours and magistrates, for that they leaue so notorious offences vnpunished.

Wherefore necessity & iustice doth require, that the sayde preiudiciall priuiledges of the Clergie shoulde be abrogate and taken away, and in their place bee prouided, ordained and decreed, that the Clergy, of what order or degre soeuer they be, shal haue like lawes, like iudgement, and punishment as the laitie haue:* so that they shal pretend no prerogatiue or fredome in like offence, more then the lay mā, but that euery one of the Cleargie offending vnder the iudge, where the offence is committed, shall be punished for hys fact, according to the measure and equalitie of his offence, in such like maner as other malefactours are, with the punishment apoynted by the common lawes of the Empire: which thing (without doubt) wil please the true

ministers of the church, such as are honest and learned, that they will not thincke their power and authoritie thereby in any case diminished. By this meanes it shall be brought to passe, that suche as are of the Clergie onely by name, and otherwise, naughty wicked men, through the obedience due vnto their magistrates, shalbe compelled to liue more honestly: and al sedition and priuie hatred betwene them and the laitie shall be put away, and finally thereby the laitie shall be the more moued and stirred to loue and reuerence such of the Clergie as be of a sounde life.

¶Complaint of excommunication abused.

Item, at Rome and in other places many Christiāns are excōmunicate by the Archbishops, Bishops, or by their Ecclesiastical iudges, for prophane causes, through the desire and couetousnes of money, & lucre.* The cōsciences of men which are weake in fayth, thereby are burthened and brought vnto desperation: and finally, for money & luke, a matter of no importaūce is made to tend to the destruction both of body & soule, contrary both to the law of God and mā, for somuch as no mā ought to be excommunicate but onely for heresie, or for some haynous fact perpetrate, nor to be counted as separate frō the Christian Catholicke Church, as the Scriptures do witnes: Therefore the princes, nobles, states, & layty of the Sacred Empire, desire & require the Popes holynes, that as a faythful Christian & louyng father, he will remoue the sayd burthen of excommunication vsed both in the sea of Rome, & also in the seas of all other Archbishops and Ecclesiasticall iudges: and finally, decree that no man shall hereafter be excommunicate, but onely for a manifest conuict crime of heresie. For it is to wicked a thyng, that faythfull Christians for euery light offence, touchyng any temporall goodes or gayne, or for any other worldly matter, but onely for obstinacie of heresie or some great enormitie, should be excluded from almighty God, and the Catholicke congregation.

¶The Church burdened with number of holy dayes.

Moreouer, the common people are not a litle oppressed with the great nūber of holy dayes, for that there are now so many holy dayes, that the husbādmē haue scarcely tyme to gather y^e frutes of y^e earth which they haue brought forth with so great labour & trauayle,* beyng often in daūger of hayle, rayne, and other stormes: which fruites notwithstanding, if they were not letted with so many holy daies, they would gather & bring home without any losse. Besides that, vpon those holy daies, innumerable offences are committed & done, rather then God honoured or worshipped. Which thing is so manifest, that it nedeth no witnes. For that cause the estates of the sacred Empire thinke it best & most profitable for the Christian common wealth, that this great nūber of holy dayes, should be diminished, whych ought rather to be celebrate in spirite & veritie, then wyth the externall worship, and be better kept with abstinence from sinne.

Suspending and halowing of Churchyardes gainfull to the Pope, and chargeable to the people.

Furthermore, if it happē that 2. or more do fight without any weapon in a Churchyard, onely with their fists,* or by the heare, that there be neuer so litle bloud shed, by & by y^e clergy haue recourse to enterdiment, & doe not suffer any more Christen burials there to be done, before that all the citizens with great pomp & expenses do cause it to be consecrated & halowed againe with no lesse charge, then when at the first, of a prophane place, it was halowed for burial: all which

things do redound to the charges & costes of the laity. And though the churches or chapels be neuer so litle [Page 861](#) which are so hallowed: yet the suffraganes do burden and oppresse the simple poore housholdes, be they neuer so bare or nedy, with superfluous expenses, and require moreouer gifts of the people, which is not for theyr ease to geue.

Also the suffragans haue inuēted that no other, but only themselues may baptise belles for the lay people.* Wherby the simple people, vpō the affirmation of the suffragans do beleue, that such belles so baptised, wil driue away euill spirits and tempests: wherupon a great number of godfathers are appoynted, especially such as are riche: which at the time of the baptising, holding the rope wherwithal the bel is tied, the suffragan speaking before them, as is accustomed in the baptising of young children, they altogether do answer,* & geue the name to the bell. The bell hauing a new garment put vpon it, as is accustomed to be don vnto the Christians, after this they go vnto sumptuous bākets, wherunto also the gossips are biddē, that therby they might geue the * greater reward, and the suffraganes with their chaplaines and other ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet doth not this suffice, but that the suffragane also muste haue a rewarde which they doe call a small gifte or present: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that euen in small villages, a 100. florens are consumed and spent in such christnings: which is not onely superstitious, but also contrary vnto Christian religiō, a seducing of the simple people, and mere extortion. Notwithstanding the Bishops, for to enriche their Suffraganes, doe suffer these things and other farre worse: wherefore such wicked and vnlawfull things ought to be abolished.

Complaint against Officials and other Ecclesiasticall iudges.

THE Officials also of Archbishops for the most part, are vnlearned & vnable men,* besides that, men of euil conditions, taking thought for nothing but onely for money. Also, howe corruptly they liue and continue in notorious crimes & transgressions, it is daily sene. Wherby the laity, whom they ought to correct and punish for their offences, & instruct in Christian godlinesse, are not in any poynt, by them amēded, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their offences. Besides this, the laitie are miserably robbed & spoiled of their goodes, by these light & vile officials. In whose conscience there is no sparke of christian pity and godlines, but only a wicked desire, & couetousnesse. Which thing the archbishops and bishops, if they were in dede such as they are called, that is to say, the pastours and shepheards of Christ, without doubt, they would no lōger suffer, or commit Christes flocke, to such wicked and offensiue pastors to be fed and nourished.

Howe the Ecclesiasticall iudges do annexe certaine special causes, being lay matters vnto their owne iurisdiction, and will by no meanes, release the same.

WHensoeuer any causes are pleaded in iudgement before an Ecclesiasticall iudge,* either for rauishyng of virgins, or for children vnlawfully borne out of wedlocke, or for seruants wages, or any other matters touching widowes, the Ecclesiasticall iudges being called vpon by the superiors of the laitie which do contend, they will neyther deferre that iudgement, or by any meanes wil be intreated to remit them to theyr ordinarie iurisdiction.

The gaine that riseth to the Clergie, by false sclaunders and rumours.

*IT happeneth oftentimes, that men and women, through sinister and false reports & sclanders, are brought before the Official or Ecclesiasticall iudge, as men guilty, and shall not be declared innocēt, before they haue cleared thēselues by an othe. Whych purgation so made, they are restored again to their former estimation. And albeit that the damages & costes ought to be repaide againe, vnto such as be so falsly accused, yet notwithstanding the innocents thēselues, are forced to pay two gildernes and a quarter, for their letters of absolution. And this is the cause, why that the Officials & other Ecclesiasticall iudges, do so greedely folowe the action of such vnlawful, false, & slanderous accusatiōs, chalenging the hearinge thereof onelye vnto them selues: which thyng (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and most singular hurt and detriment of all men: For oftentimes it happeneth that women falling together in cōtention thorowe anger, hatred, or some other affection, do speake euill or slaunder one an other, and outrage somuch, that the one oftentimes accuseth the other, either of adoultry or witchery. Which thinge being brought before the Officiall, shee which throughe her anger had so slaundered the other, is forced by an othe to excuse and purge her selfe, that whatsoever iniurious or slanderous word she had spoken, came not of any deliberate purpose or intent, but through wrath and displeasure. In like maner the other whiche is accused either of adoultrie or sorcerie, is commaunded by an othe to declare her innocencie, that shee is not guiltie of those factes, so that it is euident vnto all men, that in such cases, whether they be guiltie or not guiltie, they must sweare, if they will keepe theyr good name and fame. Whereby not onely the vnlawfull luker of gaine and money is soughte, but also wilful periurie forced, and the seculare power and iudges letted from the punishment therof, so that contrary to all reason, offences do remaine vnpunished.

Complaint against spirituall iudges, taking Seculare causes from the Ciuile Magistrate.

ALL be it there be many causes so indifferent to both iurisdictions,* that they may be pleaded and punished as wel by the ciuill Magistrate, as ecclesiasticall iudge: notw^tstanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when as the ciuill Magistrates would exercise their office and iurisdiction in this behalfe, they are forbidden and letted by the Ecclesiasticall iudges vnder paine of excōmunication. Which thing if it should long continue, and be suffred, the Ecclesiasticall iudges would shortly take away all maner of causes from the ciuil Magistrate & his iurisdiction, which is vntolerable and derogatorie both vnto the Emperors maiesty, and other states of the Empire. And albeit that by the common lawes, manifest periuries, adulteries, withcrafts and such other like, may indifferently be punished by Ecclesiastical, or ciuil iudges for the time being, so that preuention in this behalfe taketh place: notw^tstanding the Ecclesiasticall iudges goe about to vsurpe vnto themselues and theyr iurisdiction, all suche maner of causes: which burthen and greuance the ciuill iurisdiction and power ought not to suffer.

A complaint against Ecclesiastical iudges, intermeddling with cases of the secular Court: but will not suffer their cases once to be touched of the other.

MOREouer, the Ecclesiasticall iudges saye,* that in suche case it is lawful for them to take prophane matters in to their hands, if the ciuil magistrate be found negligent in executing of iustice: but contrariwise they will not suffer y^t the like order shoulde be kept with them, neither will they permit that in Ecclesiasticall matters, any man may complaine vnto the ciuil Magistrate, for lack of iustice, and require the administration of iustice at his hand. Albeit, they do define all

lawes generally common, & determine howe the Canon lawes may help and assist the ciuil, and contrariwise the ciuil lawes, the Canon.

Complaint against certaine misorders of the Cathedral Churches, for vsing double punishment for one offence, against the lawe.

FOrsomuch as it is forbidden both by gods law & mans,* y^t no man shuld be beaten with 2. rods, that is to say, be punished with 2. kinds of torments: worthely therefore do all wise men detest & abhorre the odious statutes of diuers cathedral churches, wherby murtherers, both men & women, & other, as wel light as greuous offenders, haue ben hetherto vexed & tormented: for hetherto it hath bene accustomed y^t such as wer guilty of murther & such other crimes (which they cal cases reserued vnto the bishops) after they had made their auricular confession, were cōpelled (to their great ignominy & shame) to do penance in the sight of all the people: which penāce were not so much to be disallowed, hearing some semblance of the institution of the primatiue churche, if so be it these busie officials, being contente therew^t, wold not extort more, and greater summes of money, then were right and lawful, and so punish those offenders with double punishment: wherew^tall it is to be marueiled, how many be offended and greeued. Howe wicked a thyng thys is, and howe farre it differeth from Christes institution, we will referre it to euery good conscience to iudge.

Complaint of Officials for mainteining vnlawfull vsuries.*

FUrthermore, the Officials being allured thorough the greedy and vnsatiable desire of money, do not only not [Page 862](#) forbid vnlawful vsuries and gaines of mony, but also suffer and maintaine the same. Moreouer, they taking a yerely stipend and pension, do suffer the Clergy and other religious persons vnlawfully to dwel with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Bothe whych things, howe great pearil, offence and detriment they doe bring bothe vnto body and soule, euery man may plainely see (so that it neede not to be rehearsed) except he wil make himselfe as blinde as a mole.

Complaint of Officials permitting vnlawfull cohabitation with other, when the husband or wife are long absent.

FUrthermore, where it so happeneth (as it doeth oftentymes) that either the good manne or the good wife, by meanes of warre or some other vowe, hath taken in hande some long iourney, and so tarieth longer then serueth the appetite of the other, the Officiall taking a rewarde of the other, geueth licence to the party to dwell wyth any other person, not hauing first regard or making inquisitiō whether the husbād or wife being absent, be in health or dead: and because these their doings shoulde not be euill spoken of, they name it a tolleration or sufferance, not without greate offence vnto all men, and to the great contempte of holy matrimonie.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedrall Churches, which haue their B. sworne vnto them, before he be chosen.

*THis is also vnlawfull and plainly wicked, that tho Canons of Cathedrall Churches, in whose hand the principal part of Ecclesiastical iudgements, Sinodes, and censures do consist, and the

Canons of other collegiate churches, which haue power and authoritie to chuse theyr Superiour and Bishop, will chuse none to their Bishop, except he binde himself first with an oth, and plainly sweare, yet and oftentimes is bound by bond and instrumēt̄s sealed wyth their seales to them and their Ecclesiasticall iudges, y^t in no matter, be it neuer so greuous, intollerable, or dishonest, he shall not be against them: and if it happen at any time that they doe offend, they may do it also wythout punishment for him.

***Complaint against incorporations or impropertions and other pilling of the people, by Churchmen.**

MAny parish churches are subiect vnto monasteries, & to the persons of other churches, by meanes of incorporations (as they call them) or otherwise,* whych they are bound also, according to the canon lawes, to foresee & looke vnto, by themselues, when as they do put them foorth vnto others to be gouerned, reseruing for the moste parte vnto themselues, the whole stipende of the benefices and tithes: and moreouer, aggrauate & charge the same wyth so great pensions, that the hireling priestes and other ministers of the Church, can not haue thereupon a decent or competent liuing: whereby it commeth to passe, that these hirelynge priestes (for that they must needes haue wherupon to liue) doe with vnlawfull exactions, miserably spoil and deuour the poore sheepe committed vnto them, & consume all theyr substaunce. For when as the Sacramentes of the aultare and of Baptisme are to be administred, or when the firste, the seuenth, the thirtie, and yere day must be kept, when auricular confession cōmeth to be heard,* the dead to be buried, or any other ceremony whatsoever, about the funerall is to be done: they will not do it freely, but extort and exact so much mony, as the miserable communalty is scarce able to disburse, and daily they do encrease and augment these their exactions, driuing the simple pouerty to the payment therof, by threatning them with excommunication, or by other waies, cōpelling them to be at charge: which otherwise through pouerty, are not able to maintein obsequies, yere mindes, and suche other like ceremonies, as to the funerals of the dead be appertaining.

***Bying and selling of burials complained of.**

IT is ordained by the Popes Canons, that buriall in the Church should be denied onely vnto them,* whych being known to be manifest & notorious offenders, haue departed this life w^tout receiuing of the sacrament. But the clergie not regarding those decrees, will not suffer suche as by chaunce are drowned, killed, slaine with falles, or fire, or otherwise by chance haue ended their liues, (albeit it be not euident, that they were in deadly sinne) to be buryed in the churches, vntill such time, as the wiues, children or friends of those men so dead, do with great summes of money purchase and buy the burial of them in the Churchyard.

***Chaste and continent priestes compelled to pay tribute for concubines.**

ALso in many places, the bishops & their Officials do not only suffer Priestes to haue concubines,*so that they paye certayne summes of money, but also compell continent and chaste Priestes, which liue without concubines, to paye tribute for concubines, affirming that the B. hath neede of money, which being payde, it shalbe lawfull for them, either to liue chaste or keepe concubines. Howe wicked a thing this is, euery man doeth well vnderstande and knowe.

These with many other burthens and greuances mo to the number of an hundreth, the secular states of Germanie deliuered to the Popes legate, hauing (as they sayd) many mo, and more greuous greuances besides these, which had likewise much nede of redresse: but because they would not excede the limites of reasonable breuity, they wold cōtent themselues (said they) with these aforesaid hundreth, reseruing the rest to a more apt and more conuenient oportunitie, stedfastly trusting & hoping, that when those hundreth greuances, already by them declared, should be abolished, the other would also decay, & fall with them. Of the which foresaid greuances and complaints here is moreouer to be noted, that a great part was offered vp before, to y^e Emperour, at the coūcel of wormes: but because no redresse therof did folowe, therefore the secular states of Germanie thought good to exhibiie the same now againe, with diuers moe annexed therunto, to Cheregatus the Popes Legate, in this present assēble of Norenberge,* desiring him to present the same to Pope Adrian. This was about the yere of our Lord 1523. Which being done, the assemble of Norenberge brake vp for a time, and was proroged to the nexte yeare following.

In this meane time Pope Adrian died. After him succeded pope Clemēt 7. Who the next yere folowing, whych was An. 1524. sent downe his Legate Cardinall Campeius, vnto the Councel of the Germane Princes assembled againe at Norenberge, about the moneth of March, with letters also to duke Friderick, full of many faire petitions, and sharp complaints. &c.* But as touching the greuances aboue mentioned, no word nor message at al was sent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where anye thing was to be complained of againste Luther, eyther for suppression of the liberty of the Gospel, or for vpholding of the Popes dignity, the Pope was euer ready with al diligence, to cal vpō the Princes: but where any redresse was to be required, for the publicke wealth of Christen people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, herein the Pope neither geueth eare, nor answer.

And thus hauing discoursed such matters occurēt betwene the Pope & Princes of Germany, at the Synode of Norenberge, let vs now proceede, returning againe to the story of Luther: of whō ye heard before, howe he was kept secret & solitarie for a time, by the aduise and conueiance of certain nobles in Saxonie, because of the Emperours Edict, aboue mentioned. In the meane time, while Luther had thus absented hymselfe out of Wyttenberge,* Andraeas Carolostadius proceeding more roughly and egerly in causes of Religion, had stirred vp the people, to throw downe Images in the temples, beside other thinges moe. For the which cause, Luther returning again into the city, greatly misliked the order of their doings, and reprooued the rashnesse of Carolostadius, declaring,* that theyr proceedynges herein were not orderly: but that pictures & images ought first to be throwen out of the harts and consciences of men & that the people ought first to be taught: that we are sauēd before God, and please him onely by faith, and that Images serue to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in Images, but they would fall of their owne accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he saide) as though he would mainteine Images to stand or to be suffered: but that this ought to be done by the magistrate, and not by force, vppon euery priuate mannes head, without order and authority. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

Furthermore, Luther wryting of Carolostadius,* affirmeth that he also ioyned with the sentēce of them, which began then to spread about certaine parts of Saxony, saying that they were taught of

God, that al wickednes being vtterlye suppressed, and all the wicked doers slaine, a newe full perfection of all thyngs must be sette vp, and the innocent onely to enioy all things. &c.

[Page 863](#)The cause why Luther so stode against that violente throwing downe of Images, and against Carolostadius, seemeth partly to rise of this, by reason that Pope Adrian in his letters sent to the Princes and states of Germany, doth greuously complaine, and charge the sect of Luther, for sedition and tumultes, and rebellion against Magistrates, as subuerters and destroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the words of the Popes letter before expressed, pag. 854. therefore M. Luther, to stoppe the mouth of such slanderers, and to preuent such sinister suspitions, was enforced to take this way, as he did: that is, to proceede, as much as he might, by order and authoritie.

¶Wherein are to be noted by y^e way two speciall points, touching the doctrine and doings of M. Luther especially for all such who in these our dayes, now abusing the name & authoritie of Luther, thinke themselues to be good Lutherians,* if they suffer Images stil to remaine in temples, and admit such things in the Church▪ which themselues do wish to be away. The first is the maner how and after what sort Luther did suffer such Images to stand. For although he assented not that the vulgare and priuate multitude tumultuously by violēce should rap them downe: yet that is no argument now for the Magistrate, to let them stand. And though he allowed not the Ministers to stirre vp the people, by forceable meanes to promote Religion: yet that argueth not, those magistrates to be good Lutherians, which may and should remoue them, and will not.

The second point to be noted is, to consider the cause why that Luther did so stand with standing of Images, which cause was time, and not his owne iudgement. For albeit in iudgement he wished them away, yet time so serued not therunto then, as it serueth now. For then the doctrine of Luther first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet knowne whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow: but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience & sedition: and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of Carolostadius in Wittenberge, and of other like, tooke his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, vprores, and dissolute libertie of life. And this was the cause, why Luther cōpelled then by necessitie of time, to saue hys doctrine from sclaunder of sedition and tumulte, beyng layd to hym by the Pope (as ye haue heard) was so much offended with Carolostadius and other, for their violence vsed against Images. For otherwise, had it not bene for the Popes accusations, there is no doubt, but Luther would haue bin as well cōtented with abolishing of Images and other monuments of Popery, as he was at the same time,* contented to write to the Friars Augustines for abrogating of priuate Masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused,* the circumstances considered: so the like excuse perhaps will not serue the ouermuch curious imitation of certeine Lutherians in this present age now: which considering only the fact of Luther, do not marke the purpose of Luther, neyther do expend the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much vnlike to the ridiculous imitatours of King Alexander the great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his vertues, but they woulde also counterfeite him in his stouping and all other gestures besides:* but to these liuing now in the Church, in another age then Luther did, it may seeme (after my minde) sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walke with Luther, to the kingdome of Christ, though they iumpe not also in euery foote steppe of his, and keepe euen the same pase, and turnings in all points, as he did.

And contrarywise of the other sorte, much lesse are they to be commended,* which running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stouping of Luther in the Sacrament, therefore they giue cleane ouer the reading of Luther, and fall almost in vtter contempt of his bookes. Whereby is declared not so much the nicenes and curiousnes of these our daies,* as y^e hinderance that cōmeth thereby to the Church, is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not vnprouided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in matters of doctrine: yet in the chiefe points of our cōsolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion & strength of faith is to be opened to our conscience, & where the soule wrasteling for death and life, standeth in neede of serious consolation, the same may be sayd of Martin Luther, amongst all this other varietie of writers, that S. Cyprian was wont to say of Tertulian Da magistrum, geue me my maister. And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented frō Zuinglius in this one matter of the Sacrament: yet in all other states of doctrine they did accord, as appeared in the Synode holdē at Marpurg, by prince Philip Lautgrauē of Hesse, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1529. where both Luther, and Zuinglius were present, and conferryng together, agreed in these Articles:

1. On the vnitie, and Trinitie of God.* 2. In the Incarnation of the word. 3. In the passiō and resurrection of Christ. 4. In the Article of Originall sinne. 5. In the Article of Fayth in Christ Iesu. 6 That this fayth commeth not of merites, but by the gift of Cod 7. That this fayth is our righteousnesse. 8. Touchyng the extreme word. 9. Likewise they agreed in the Arricles of Baptisme. 10. Of good workes. 11. Of cōfession. 12 Of Magistrates. 13. Of mens traditiōs. 14. Of Baptisme of infantes▪ 15. Lastly concernyng the doctrine of the Lordes Supper, this they did beleue and hold, first that both the kyndes therof are to be ministred to the people accordyng to Christes institution and that the Masse is no such worke for the which a mā may obteine grace both for the quick, and the dead. Item, that the Sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord. Item, that the spirituall manducation of his body and bloud is necessary for euery Christen man. And furthermore, that the vse of the Sacrament tendeth to the same effect, as doth the word, geuē and ordeyned of the almightie God, that thereby infirme consciences may be stirred to belefe, by the holy Ghost. &c. Ex Paral. Abbat. Vrsp.

In all these summes of doctrine aboue recited. Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree. Neither were their opinions so differēt in the matter of the Lordes Supper, but that in the principall pointes they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, what is the materiall substaunce of the Sacrament, which our outward senses doe behold and feelee: they will both confesse bread, and not the accidents onely of bread. Further if the question be asked whether Christ be there present:* they will both confesse his true presence to be there, onely in the manner of presence they differre. Agayn, aske whether the materiall substaūce layd before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worshypped: they will both deny it, and iudge it Idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and for the sacrifice of the Masse, they both do abhorre, and do deny the same: As also the Communiō to be in both kyndes administred, they do both assent and graunt.

Onely their difference is in this, concernyng the sense and meanyng of the wordes of Christ:* Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body: &c. Which wordes Luther expoundeth to be

taken nakedly and simply, as the letter stādeth, without trope or figure, and therefore holdeth the body and bloud of Christ truely to be in the bread, and wine, and so also to be receaued with the mouth. Uldricus Zuinglius, with Ioannes Oecolampadius and other moe, do interprete these wordes otherwise, as to be taken not litterally, but to haue a spirituall meanyng, & to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these wordes: This is my body, is thus to be expōūded: this signifieth my body and bloud. Ex Ioan. Sled. Lib. 5. With Luther cōsented the Saxōs.* With the other side of Zuinglius, went the Heluetians. And as tyme did grow, so the diuision of these opinions increased in sides, & spread in farther Realmes and countreys: the one part beyng called of Luther Lutheriās,* the other hauyng y^e name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstādyng in this one vnitie of opinion, both the Lutherians, & Sacramentaries do accorde & agree,* that the bread & wine there present is not trāsubstantiate into the body & bloud of Christ (as is sayd) but is a true Sacrament of the body & bloud.

But hereof sufficient, touchyng this diuision betwene the Lutherans and Zuinglians. In which diuisiō, if there haue bene any defect in Martin Luther: yet is that no cause why either the Papistes may greatly triūph, or why the Protestantes should despise Luther. For neither is the doctrine of Luther touchyng the Sacramēt, so grosse that it maketh much with the Papistes: nor yet so discrepaunt frō vs, that therfore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cā not well be made (as some haue gone about to do) yet let vs geue to Luther a moderate interpretation, & if we will not make thinges better, yet let vs not make them worse thē they be,* & let vs beare, if not with the maner, yet at least with the tyme of his teachyng: and finally let it not be noted in vs, that we should seeme to differre in Charitie more (as Bucer sayd) then we do in doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Christ willyng) when we come to the history of Iohn Frith.

They which write the lyfe of Saintes, vse to describe and to extoll their holy lyfe & godly vertues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God: Wherof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather time lacketh to vs and oportunitie to tary vpon them, hauyng such hast to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seeme to be, for one man, & a poore Frier, creepyng out of a blynd cloyster, to be set vp agaynst the Pope, [Page 864](#) the vniuersall Bishop and Gods mighty Uicare in earth: to withstand all his Cardinals: yea and to susteine the malice and hatred almost of the whole worlde, being set against him: and to worke that against the said Pope, Cardinals and Church of Rome,* which no King nor Emperour could euer do, yea durst neuer attempt, nor all the learned men before him, could euer compasse. Which miraculous worke of God, I recount nothing inferiour to the miracle of Daud ouerthrowing great Goliath. Wherfore if miracles do make a Saint (after the Popes definition) what lacketh in Martin Luther but age and tyme only to make him a Saint? who standing openly against the Pope, Cardinals, and prelates of the Church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practise so craftie, hauing Emperours, and all the Kings of the earth against him, who teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty yeares, could without touch of all his enemies so quietly in his owne countrey, where he was borne, die and sleepe in peace.* In the which Martin Luther, first to stand against the Pope, was a great miracle: to preuaile against the Pope, a greater: so to die vntouched, may seme greatest of all, especially hauing so many enemies as he had. Againe, neither is it any thing lesse miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides, as when a certeine Iewe was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet

was it so the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Iewe sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and auoided the perill.

Another time as he was sitting in a certaine place vpon his stoole,* a great stone there was in the vault, ouer hys head where he did sit, which being stayd miraculously, so long as he was sitting, as soone as he was vp, immediatly fell vpon the place where he sate, able to haue crushed him all in peeces if it had light vpon him.

And what should I speake of his praiers, which were so ardent vnto Christ, that (as Melancthon writeth) they which stooode vnder his windowe, where he stood prayeng, might see his teares falling and dropping downe. Againe, with such power he prayed, that he (as himselfe confessest) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he liued, the Pope should not preuaile in his countrey: after his death (sayd he) let them pray who could.

And as touching the maruelous workes of the Lorde, wrought heere by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, then that whiche is declared of a yong man aboute Wittenberge, who being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by way of sorcery, to bargaine with the Diuell, or a familiare (as they call him) to yeeld hymselfe body and soule into the Diuels power, vpon condition to haue his wish satisfied with money: So that vpon the same, an obligation was made by the yong man, written with his owne bloud, and geuen to the Diuell. This case you see, how horrible it was, and how damnable: now heare what followed. Upon the sodeine wealth and alteration of this yong man, the matter first being noted, began afterward more & more, to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought vnto Martin Luther, to be examined. The yong man, whether for shame or feare, long denied to confesse, and woulde bee knowne of nothing. Yet God so wrought, being stronger then the Diuell, that he vttered vnto Luther the whole substance of the case, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther vnderstanding the matter, and pitiing the lamentable state of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray: and he himselfe ceased not with hys praiers to labour, so that the Diuell was compelled at the last to throw in his obligation at the window, and bade him take it againe vnto him. Which narration, if it be so true as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seeme comparable wyth the greatest miracle in Christes Church, that was since the Apostles time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers: so in his Sermons God gaue him such a grace, that when hee preached, they which heard him, thought euery one hys owne temptations seuerally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was geuen vnto him by hys frends, and he demaunded how that could be: mine owne manifold temptations (said he) and experiences are the cause thereof.* For this thou must vnderstand (good reader) that Luther, from his tender yeares, was much beaten and exercised with spirituall conflicts, as Melancthon in describing of his life, doth testifie. Also Hieronymus Wellerus, scholer and disciple of the sayd Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his maister thus reporte of himselfe: that he had bene assaulted and vexed with all kindes of temptations, sauing onely one,* which was, with couetousnes. With this vice he was neuer (said he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted. And hetherto concerning the life of Martin Luther: who liued to the yeare of his age 63. He continued writing and preachyng, about 29. yeares. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melancthon be these.

In the yeare of our Lord 1546. and the 17. of February, Doctour Martin Luther sickened a little before supper, of his accustomed maladie, to wyt, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of his stomacke, whereof I remember I haue seene him oft diseased in this place.* This sickenes tooke him after supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required secesse into a bye chamber, and there he rested on his bed two houres, all whych time his paynes encreased. And as Doctor Ionas was lieng in his chamber, Luther awaked, and praied him to rise, and to call vp Ambrose his childrens scholemaister, to make fire in another chamber. Into the which, when he was newly entred, Albert Earle of Mansfield,* with hys wife and diuers other (whose names in these letters for haste, were not expressed) at that instant came into hys chamber. Finally, feeling his fatall houre to approche, before nine of the clocke in y^e morning, the xviii. of February, he cōmended himselfe to God, with this deuour praier.

¶The Prayer of Luther at his death.

MY heauenly father, eternall and mercifull God, thou hast manifested vnto me thy deare sonne, our Lorde Iesus Christ.* I haue taught him, I haue knowne him, I loue him as my life, my health, and my redemption▪ whome the wicked haue persecuted, maligned, and with iniurie afflicted. Draw my soule to thee. After this, he sayd as ensueth, thryse.

I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth. GOD so loued the world, that he gaue his only sonne, that all those that beleue in him, shoulde haue life euerlasting. Iohn. iij▪

Hauiug repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, vnto whome so faithfully he commended his spirit, to enioy, no doubt, the blessed societie of the Patriarks, Prophets, and Apostles in the kingdome of God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. Let vs now loue the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught. Let vs learne to be modest and meeke. Let vs consider the wretched calamities, and marueilous chaunges that shall follow this mishap and dolefull chance. I beseech thee, O sonne of God, crucified for vs, and resuscitated Emanuell, gouerne, cōserue and defend thy Church. Haec Melancthon.

Fridericus Prince Electour died long before Luther, in the yeare of our Lord 1525. leauing no issue behind him,* for that he liued a single life, and was neuer married: wherfore after him succeeded Iohn Fridericke, D. of Saxony.

Mention was made a little before, page 859. of the Ministers of Strausburgh, which because of their Mariage,* were in trouble and cited by the Bishop, to appeare before him, and thereto be iudged without the precinct of the Citie of Strausburgh: wheras there had bene a contrary order taken before betweene the Bishop, and the Citie, that the Bishop should execute no iudgement vpon any, but vnder some of the Magistrates of the said City of Strausburgh. Whereupon the Senate and Citizens taking into their hands the cause of these married Ministers, in defence of their owne right and liberties, wrote (as is sayd) to their Byshop of Strausburgh, and caused the iudgement thereof a while to be stayed. By reason whereof the matter was brought at lēgh, before Cardinall Campeius Legate, sent by Pope Clemēt to the assemble of Norenberge, an. 1524.

The chiefe doer in this matter was one Thomas Murnerus, a Franciscane Frier, who had commenced a grieuous complaint against the Senate and Citie of Strausburgh, before the foresayde Cardinall Campeius.* Wherefore the Senate, to purge themselues, sent their Ambassadors, thus clearing their cause, and aunswering to theyr accusation: That they neither had bene, nor would be any let to the Byshop, but had signified to him before by theyr letters, that whatsoeuer he could lay against those married Priests, consonant to the lawe of God, they woulde be no stay, but rather a furtherance vnto him, to proceede in hys action. But the Senate heerein was not a little greeued, that the Bishop, contrary to the order and compact, which was taken betweene him and them, did call the sayde Ministers out of the liberties of their Citie: For so it was betweene them agreed, that no Ecclesiasticall person should [Page 865](#) be adiudged, but vnder some iudge of their owne Citie. But now contrary to the said agreement, the Bishop called those Ministers out of their liberties,* and so the Ministers claiming the right and priuiledge of the Citie, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor knowne. And now if the Senate should shew themselues any thing more sharpe or rigorous vnto those Ministers, in claiming the right of the Citie, the people; no doubt, woulde not take it well, but happely woulde rise vp in some commotion against them, in the quarell and defence of their fraunchises and liberties.

And where it is obiected, that they receaue Priests and men of the Clergy, into the fredome and protection of their Citie, to this they answered, that they did nothing herein, but which was correspondent to the auncient vsage and maner of the Citie before: and moreouer, that it was the Byshops owne request & desire, made vnto them so to do.

To this the Cardinall againe aduising well the letters of the Bishop,* & the whole order of the matter, which was sent vnto him, declared that he right wel vnderstood by the letters sent, that the Ministers in deede (as the Ambassadors sayd) were called out from the freedome, & liberties of the Citie, and yet no order of law was broken therein: for as much as the Bishop (said he) had there no lesse power and authoritie, then if he were his owne Uicare delegate, and therefore he desired them, that they woulde assist the Bishop in punishing the foresayd Ministers, &c.

After much other talke and reasoning on both partes, wherein the Ambassadors argued in defence of their freedome, that the iudgement should not be transferred out of the Citie: among other cōmunication, they inferred moreouer and declared, how in the Citie of Strausburgh were many, yea the most part of the Cleargy, which liued viciously and wickedly with their strumpets & harlots, whom they kept in their houses,* to the great offence of the people, shame to Christes Church, and pernitiuous example of other: and yet the Bishop would neuer once stirre to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore if the Senate (said the Ambassadors) should permit the Bishop to extend his crueltie and extremitie against these married Ministers, for not obseruing the Bishop of Roomes law, and leaue the other notorious whoremaisters, whiche brake the law of God, to escape vnpunished, doubtles it would redound to their great danger and perill, not onely before God, but also among the commons of their Citie, readie to rise vpon them.

To this Campeius aunswered, what composition or bargaine was betwixt the Bishop and thē,* he knew not: but surely the Acte of the one was manifest, and needed no great triall in law of prouing and confessing, and therefore they were sequestred and abandoned from the communion of the Church, ipso facto. As for the other sorte of them, which keepe harlots and concubines

although (said he) it be not well done: yet doth it not excuse the enormitie of their Mariage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the maner of the Bishops of Germany, for money to winke at Priests lemans, and the same also was euil done in deede: and farther, that the time should come, when they shall be called to an accompt for the same: but yet neuerthelesse it is not sufferable that Priestes therefore shoulde haue wiues. And if comparison should be made (sayd he) much greater offence it were, a Priest to haue a wife, then to haue and keepe at home many harlots. His reason was this: For they that keepe harlots (sayd he) as it is naught that they do, so do they acknowledge their sinne: the other perswade themselues to do well, and so continue stil without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men (said he) can not be chaste, as Iohn Baptist was: yet can it not be proued by any example, to be lawfull for Priests professing chastitie, to leaue their single life, and to marrie: no not the Greekes themselues, which in rites be differing from vs, do geue this libertie to their owne Priestes to marry: wherefore he prayed them to geue their ayde to the Bishop in this behalfe.

Whereunto the Ambassadors replied againe, sayeng, that if he would first punish the whoremasters, then might the Senate assist him the better in correcting the other. But the Cardinall was still instaunt vpon them, that first they shoulde assist their Bishop, and then if the Bishop woulde not punish whoredome, he woulde come thyther himselfe, and see them punished accordingly.

This Cardinall Campeius, how he was sent by Pope Clement the sixt, to the second assemble or diet of Norenberge, ann. 1524. and what was there done by the sayde Cardinall, is before signified, page 862. After this Councell of Norenberge, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbone, where were present Ferdinandus, Campeius, the Cardinall of Salisburge, the two Dukes of Bauaria, the Byshops of Trêt and Ratisbone: also the Legates of the Byshops, Bamberge, Spire, Strausburgh, Ausburgh, Constance, Basill, Frising, Passame, and Brixine. By whom in the sayd assemble was concluded: That for somuch as the Emperour, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned by his publicke Edict set forth at Wormes, the doctrine of Luther, for erroneous and wicked, and also it was agreed vpon in both the assembles of Noremberge, that the sayd Edict should be obeyed of all men: they likewise at the request of Cardinall Campeius, do will, and commaund the foresayd Edict to be obserued through all their fines and precinctes: That the Gospell, and all other holy Scriptures in Churches should be taught accordyng to the interpretation of the auncient forefathers: That all they which reuiue any old heresies before condēned, or teach any new thyng contumelious, either against Christ, his blessed mother, and holy Saintes, or which may breede any occasion of sedition, the same to be punished accordyng to the tenour of the Edict aboue sayd: That none be admitted to preach without the licence of his ordinary: That they which be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: that the lawes which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of maners, shalbe obserued: That in the Sacraments, in the Masse, and all other thynges, there shalbe no innouation, but all thynges to stand, as in foretyme they did: That all they which approach to the Lordes Supper without cōfession and absolution, or do eate flesh on dayes forbidden, or which do runne out of their order: also Priestes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, that be married, shal be punished: That nothyng shall be Printed without cōsent of the Magistrate: That no booke of Luther, or any Lutheran shall be Printed or sold: That they of their iurisdictiō which study in the Vniuersitie of Wittēberge, shall euery one repayre home within three monethes after the publishyng hereof, or els turne to some other place free frō the infectiō of Luther, vnder payne of cōfiscating all their

goodes, and loosing their inheritaunce: That no benefice, nor other office of teachyng, be geuē to any student of that Vniuersitie. Item, that certaine Inquisitours fit for the same, be appointed to inquire and examine the premisses: Item, least it may be sayd that this faction of Luther taketh his origine of the corrupt lyfe of Priestes, the sayd Campeius, with other his assisters in the sayd conuocation of Ratisbone, chargeth and commaundeth, that Priestes liue honestly, goe in decent apparell, play not the marchauntes, haunt not the tauernes, be not couetous, nor take money for their ministration: Such as keepe concubines to be remoued: The nūber also of holy dayes to be diminished. &c.

These thynges would Campeius haue had enacted in a full Councell & with the cōsentes of all the Empire: but when he could not bryng that to passe,* by reason that the myndes of diuers were gone frō the Pope, he was fayne therfore to get the same ratified in this particular conuenticle, with the assentes of these Byshops aboue rehearsed.

These thynges thus hetherto discoursed, whiche fully may be sene in the Cōmentaries of Ioh. Sledan, it remaineth next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adioyne likewise touchyng the history of Zuinglius & of the Heluetiās. But before I come to the explicatiō of this story it shal not be incōueniēt, first to geue some litle touch of the townes called pages, of these Heluetians, & of their league and confederation first begon amongst them.

¶The history of the Heluetians or Suitzers, how first they recouered their libertie, and after were ioyned in league together.

The Heluetiās, whom otherwise we call Suitzers,* are deuided principally into xiiij. pages. The names of whō are, Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Urani, Suicenses, Unterualdij, Tugiani, Glareanti, Basiliēses, Solodurij, Friburgij, Scafusiani, Apecellēses. Furthermore, to these be added vij. other Pages, albeit not with such a full bond, as the other, be together conioyned: whiche be these, Rheti, Lepontij, Seduni, Ueragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, Rotulenses. Of these xiiij. confederate Pages aboue recited, these three were the first, to witte, Urania, Suicenses, and Siluanij (or as some call them Unterualdij) which ioyned themselues together.

If credite should be geuen to old narrations, these iij. pages * or valleyes first suffered great seruitude & thraldome vnder cruell rulers or gouernours: In so much that the gouernour of Siluania * required of one of the inhabitaūtes, a yoke of his Oxen: which when the townes man denyed to geue him, the ruler sent his seruaunt by force to take his Oxen frō him. This whē the seruaūt was about to do, cōmeth the poore mans sonne, & cutteth of one of his fingers, & vpō the same auoyded. The gouernour hearing this, taketh the poore man, and putteth out his eyes.

[Page 866](#) Another time in the sayd Syluania, as the good man of the house was absent abroad,* the gouernour which had then the rule of the towne, entring into the house, cōmandeth the wife to prepare for him a bath, and to let him haue his pleasure of her. Wherunto she being vnwilling, differred the bathe as long as she might, till the returne of her husband.* To whome then she making her complaynt, so moued his mind, that he with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew vpō the adulterous ruler & slue him.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia,* and Siluania, who surprised with like pride and disdaine against the poore vnderlings, caused his cap to be hanged vp vpon a pole, charging and commanding by his seruant, all that passed by, to do obeysance to the cap. Which,* when one, named William Tell, refused to do, the tiraunt caused his sonne to be tied, with an apple set vpon his head, and the father with a crossebow, or a like instrument, to shoote at the apple. After long refusing, whē the wofull father could not otherwise choose, by force constrained, but must leauill at the apple, as God would, he mist the child, and stroke the marke. This Tell, being thus compelled by the tirant to shoote at his sonne, had brought with him two shaftes, thinking that if he had stroke the child with the one, the other he would haue let driue at the tyraunt. Which being vnderstand, he was apprehended, and led to the rulers house: but by the way escaping out of the boate, betweene Urania and Brun, and passing thorough the mountaines with as much speede as he might,* he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should passe, where he discharged his arow at the tyraunt, and slue him.

And thus were these cruell gouernours vtterly expelled out of these three valleyes or pages aforesayd, and after that, such order was taken by the Emperour Henricus 7. and also by the Emperours Ludouicus duke of Bauaria, that henceforth no iudge should be set ouer them, but only of their owne companie,* and towne dwellers. Ex Seb. Munst. Cosmog. lib. 3.

It folowed after this, in the yeare of our Lord 1315. that great contention and war fell betweene Fridericke Duke of Austria, and Ludouicke Duke of Bauaria, striuing and fighting the space of eight yeares together about the Empire. With Ludouicus held the three pages aforesayd: who had diuers conflicts with Lupoldus, brother to the forenamed Fridericke Duke of Austria, fighting in his brothers quarell. As Lupoldus had reared a mighty army of twenty thousand footemen and horsemen, and was come to Egree, so to passe ouer the mountaines to subdue the pages: he began to take aduise of his counsaile, by what way or passage best he might direct his iourney toward the Suitzers. Whereupon, as they were busy in consulting, there stode a foole by (named Kune de Stocken) which hearing their aduise,* thought also to shoote his bolt withall, and told them that their counsaile did not like him. For all you (quoth he) consult how we should enter into yonder countrey: but none of you geueth any counsaile how to come out againe, after we be entred. And in conclusion, as the foole said, so they found it true. For when Lupoldus, with his hoste had entred into the straites and valleys betweene the rockes and mountaines, the Suitzers wyth their neighbours of Urania, and Siluania, lieng in priuie waite, had thē at such aduantage, & with tumbling downe stones from the rockes, and sodeine comming vpon theyr backes in blinde lanes, did so encomber them, that neither they had conuenient standing to fight, nor roome almost to flie away. By reason whereof, a great part of Lupoldus army there being enclosed about y^e place called Morgartē, lost their liues, & many in the flight were slaine. Lupoldus with thē that remained, retired and escaped to Thurgoia. This battaile was fought, anno. 1315. Nouember 16.

After this, the burgers of these three villages, being continually vexed by Fridericke Duke of Austria,* for that they would not knowledge him for Emperour, assembled them selues in the towne of Urania, an. 1316. and there entred a mutuall league and bond of perpetuall societie and coniunction, ioining and swearing themselues, as in one bodie of a common wealth, and publike administration, together. After that came to them Lucernates, then Tugiani, after them the

Tigurines, next to them folowed Bernates, the last almost of all, were the Basilians, then followed after, the other seauen pages aboue recited.

And thus haue ye the names, the freedome, and confederatiō of these Suitz•rs, or Cantons or pages of Heluetia, with the occasions & circumstāces therof briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the successe of Christes Gospel and true Religion receaued amōg these Heluetians: also touching the life & doctrine of Zuinglius, & order of his death, as heere insueth.

¶The actes and life of Zuinglius, and of receauing the Gospell in Zuitzerland.

IN the tractation of Luthers story, mention was made before of Uldricus Zuinglius,* who first abiding at Glarona, in a place called then our Lords Ermitage, from thence remoued to Zuricke, about the yeare of our Lorde 1519. and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minster among the Canons or Priestes of that close, vsing with them, the same rites and ceremonies during the space of ij. or iij. yeares, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures vnto the people with great trauaile,* and no lesse dexteritie. And because Pope Leo, the same yeare, had renued his pardons againe through all countreys (as is aboue declared) Zuinglius zelously withstood the same, detecting the abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the Church, and so continued by the space of two yeares and more, till at length Hugo Bishop of Constance (to whose iurisdiction Zuricke then also did belong) hearing thereof,* wrote his letters to the Senate of the said Citie of Zuricke,* complayning greeuously of Zuinglius, who also wrote another letter to the colledge of Canons, where Zuinglius was the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new teachers, which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earnestly, to beware and to take diligent heede to themselues. And forsomuch as both the Pope and the Emperours Maiestie had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and Edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new innouations of doctrine, without the cōmon consent of them, to whome the same did appertayne. Zuinglius hearing therof, referreth his cause to the iudgemēt and hearing of the Senate, not refusing to render vnto them accompt of his faith. And forsomuch as the Byshops letter was read openly in the colledge, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the Bishop againe, declaring that the sayd letter proceeded not frō the Bishop, nor that he was ignoraunt who were the authors thereof, desiring him not to follow their sinister counsailes, for that truth (said he) is a thing inuincible, and can not be resisted. After the same tenour, certaine other of the Citie likewise wrote vnto the Bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing, that should be preiudiciall to the libertie and free course of the Gospell: requiring moreouer, that he would forbear no longer the filthie and infamous life of priests, but that he woulde permit them to haue theyr lawfull wiues, &c. This was in the yeare of our Lord 1522.

Besides this,* Zuinglius wrote also another letter to the whose nation of the Heluetians, monishing them, in no case to hinder the passage of sincere doctrine, nor to inferre any molestation to Priests that were married. For as for the vowe and coaction of their single life, it came (sayd he) of the diuell, and a diuelish thing it is. And therefore,* whereas the said Heluetians had such a rite and custome in their townes and pages, that when they receiued anie new Priest into their Churches,* they vsed to premonish him before to take his concubine, least he should attempt any misuse with their wiues and daughters: he exhorted them that they would

no lesse graunt vnto them to take their wiues in honest matrimonie, then to take concubines and harlots, against the precept of God.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certaine yeares,* labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to rise at thys new doctrine, and diuers stept vp, namely the Dominicke Friers on the contrary side, to preach & inuey against him. But he keping himselfe euer within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the word of God, that which he had taught. Upon this the Magistrates and Senate of Zuricke, sent forth their cōmandemēt to all priests and ministers within their dominion, to repaire to the citie of Zuricke,* against the xxix. day of Ianuary next ensuing (this was anno. 1523.) there euery one to speake freely, and to be heard quietly, touching these controuersies of religion, what could be said, directing also their letters to the Bishop of Cōstance, that he would either make his repaire thether himselfe, or else to send his deputie. When the day appointed came, and the Bishops vicegerent, which was Ioannes Faber, was also present:* the Consull first declaring the cause of this their frequencie and assemble (which was for the dissention newly risen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to object, or inferre against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly vtter and declare his minde.

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before,* and cōtriued al his doctrine in a certaine order of places, to y^e number of lxxvij. Articles: which articles he had published also abroad before, to the ende that they which were disposed, might [Page 867](#) resort thether better prepared to the disputation. Whē the Consull had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted other to begin: then Faber first entring the matter, begā to declare the cause of his sending thether, and afterward wold perswade, that this was no place conuenient, nor time fit for discussing of such matter by disputation,* but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a generall Councell, which he saide, was already appointed, and now neere at hand. Notwithstāding, Zuinglius still continued vrging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say, or to dispute, he would openly and freely vtter his minde. To this he aunswered againe, that he would cōfute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, whē no man would appeare,* there to offer any disputation, the assemble brake and was discharged. Whereupon the Senate of Zuricke incōtinēt caused to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territorie, that the traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the Gospell of Christ purely taught out of the old and new Testament an. 1523. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 3.

When the Gospell thus began to take place, and to florish in Zuricke and certaine other places of Heluetia, the yeare next following, ann. 1524. another assemble of the Heluetians was conuened at Lucerna, where this decree was made on the contrary part: That no man should deride or contemne the word of God, which had bene taught now aboue a thousand & four hūdreth yeares heretofore: nor the Masse to be scorned, wherein the body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the cōfort both of the quicke, & the dead.

That they which are able to receiue the Lords body at Easter, shall confesse their sinnes in Lent to the Priest, and do all other things, as the vse and maner of the Church requireth.

That the rites and customes of holy Church be kept.

That euery one obey his owne proper pastor and curate, and to receaue the Sacramēts of him, after the maner of holy Church, and to pay him his yearely duties.

That honour be geuen to Priests.

*Item, to absteine from flesheating on fasting dayes, and in Lent to absteine from egges and cheese.

That no opinion of Luther be taught priuely or apertly, contrary to the receaued determination of holy Church, and that in tauernes and at table, no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

That Images and pictures of Sainctes in euery place be kepte inuiolate.

That Priests and Ministers of the Church be not compelled to render accompt of their doctrine, but only to the Magistrate.

That due ayde and supportation be prouided for them, if anie commotion do happen.

That no person deride the reliques of the holy spirit, or of our Lady, or of Saint Anthony.

Finally, that all the lawes and decrees set foorth by the Byshop of Constance, be obserued.

These constitutions whosoever shall transgresse, let them be presented to the Magistrate, and ouerseers be set ouer them that shall so transgresse.

After these things concluded thus at Lucerna, the Cantons of Heluetia together direct their publicke letter to the Tygurines or men of Zuricke,* wherein they do much lament and complaine of this new broched doctrine whych hath set all men together by the eares, through the occasion of certaine rash and newfangled heads, which haue greatly disturbed both the state of the Church, and of the common wealth, and haue scattered the seedes of discorde: whereas before time, all things were well in quiet. And although this sore (sayd they) ought to haue bene looked to by time, so that they should not haue suffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Uirgine and other Saints so be dishonored, but rather should haue bestowed their goodes and liues to mainteine the same: yet notwithstanding they required them now to looke vpon the matter: which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soule: as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgare people now (sayde they) coulde not be holden in, but woulde burst foorth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofes alate: and like is to be feared also among themselues, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Iuda, which so take vpon them to expound the word of God,* after their owne interpretation, opening thereby whole doores and windowes to discord and dissention. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certaine what they did teach: yet what inconuenience folowed vpon their doctrine, they had to much experiēced. For now all fasting was layd downe, and all daies were alike to eate both flesh & egges, as well one as an other: Priests & religious persons both mē & women brake their vowes ranne out of their order, and fell to marying: Gods seruice was decayed, singing in the church left, and prayer ceased: Priests

grewe in contēpt: Religious men were thrust out of their cloisters: Confession, and penance was neglected: so that men woulde not sticke to presume to receaue at the holy aultar, without any confession made to the Priest before. The holy masse was dirided and scorned: Our blessed Lady, and other saintes blasphemed: Images pluckte downe & broken in peeces, neither was there any honour geuen to the Sacraments. To make short, men now were growen vnto such a licence and liberty that vnneth the holy host could be safe within the Priests hands. &c.

The disorder of all which thinges, as it is of no small importaunce, so it was (sayd they) to them so greuous and lamētable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no lōger. Neither was this the first time (they said) of thys their complaining, when in their former assemble they sent vnto them before, the like admonition wryting to them by certaine of the Clergye, and crauing their aide in the same. Which seing it is so, they did now againe earnestly cal vpō them touching the premisses, desiring them to surcease frō such doings, and to take a better way, cōtinuing in the religion of their old aunceters, which were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were greeued & offended against the Bishop of Rome, the Cardinals, Bishops, or other Prelates, either for their ambition, in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the Church, or for their oppressiō in pilling mens purses with their indulgences, or els for their vsurped iurisdiction, and power which they extend too farre, & corruptly apply it to matters externe & politicall, which onely ought to serue in such cases as be spirituall: if these and such other abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so greeuously offended, they promised that for the correction & reformation therof, they would also themselues ioyne their diligence and good will thereto, for somuch as themselues also did not a litle mislike therewith, & therefore would conferre their counsailes together with them, how & by which way, such greuaunces might best be remoued.

To this effect were the letters of the Heluetiās written to the Senate & Citizens of Zuricke. Whereunto the Tigurines made their aunswere agayne, the xxi. day of March, the same yeare, in maner as here foloweth.

¶An answere agayne of the Tygurines to the Letter aforesayd.

First, * declaring how their Ministers had laboured and trauailed amongst them, teachyng and preachyng the word of God vnto thē the space now of v. yeares. Whose doctrine at the first, seemed to them very straunge and nouelle, because they neuer heard the same before. But after that they vnderstoode and perceiued, the * scope of that doctrine onely to tende to this, to set forth Christ Iesus vnto vs to be the pillar and refuge of all our saluation, whiche gaue his life and bloud for our redemption and which onely deliuered vs also sinnefull misers from eternall death, and is the onely Aduocate of mankynde before God: they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receaue so wholesome and ioyfull message.

The holy Apostles, and faythfull Christiās, after they had receaued the Gospell of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variunce, but louyngly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (sayd they) that they should doe, if they would likewise receaue the worde of God, setting aside mens doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same.

Whatsoever Luther, or any other mā doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine whiche they teach should be either euill or well iudged vpon, but onely for that it agreeth or disagreeeth from the rule of Gods word: for that were but to goe by affection, and were preiudiciall to the authoritie of the word of God: which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man.

And if Christ onely be worshipped, and mē taught, soly to repose their confidence in him, yet neither doth the blessed Uirgine, nor any Saint elles receaue any iniurie thereby, who beyng here in earth receiued their saluation onely by the name of hym.

And where as they charge their Ministers with wrastyng the Scripture after their owne interpretation, God had styrred vp such light now in the hartes of mē, that the most part of their Citie, haue the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same: so that their Preachers cā not [Page 868](#) so winde the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceaured.* Wherefore there is no danger, why they should feare any sectes, or factions in them: but rather such sectes are to be objected to those, who for their gaine and dignitie, wrast the word of God after their owne affections and appetites.

And where as they and other haue accused them of errour,* yet was there neuer man, that could proue any errour in them: Although diuers Byshops of Constance, of Basill, of Curiake, with diuers Uniuersities besides: also they themselues, haue bene sundry times desired so to do, yet to this present day, neither they, nor euer any other so did, neither were they, nor any of all the foresayd Bishops, at their last assemble, being requested to come, so gentle to repaire vnto them, saue only the Schashusians, and Sangallians. In the which foresayd assemble of theirs, all such as were then present, considering throughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them.

And if the Byshops happely will object againe and say: that the worde of God ought not so to be handled of the vulgare people: they aunswered the same not to stand with equitie and reason. For albeit it did belong to the Bishops office, to prouide that the sheepe should not go astray, and most conuenient it were, that by them they should be reduced into the way againe:* yet because they will not see to theyr charge, but leaue it vndone, referring all things to the fathers, and to Councels, therefore right and reason it is, that they themselues should heare and learne, not what man doth determine, but what Christ himselfe doth commaund in his Scripture. Neither haue their Ministers geuen any occasion of this diuision, but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their owne priuate lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, do seduce the people into errour, and greuously offending God, do prouoke him to plague them with manifolde calamities. Who, if they would renounce the greedines of their owne gaine, and would folow the pure doctrine of his word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soone fall to agreement.

* As for the eating of flesh and egges, although it bee free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christe: yet they haue set forth a lawe, to restreine rash intemperance, and vncharitable offense of other.

And as touching matrimonie, God is himselfe the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Also Paule willeth a Minister of the Church to be the husband of one wife.

And seeing that Byshops for money permitte theyr Priestes to haue concubines, which is contrary both to Gods law, and to good example: why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawfull matrimony, which he hath ordeined, as they to resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of women vowing chastitie: of whome this they iudge and suppose, that such kind of vowes and coacted chastitie, are not auaylable nor allowed before God: and seeing that chastitie is not all mens gift, better it were to marrie (after their iudgemēts) then filthely to liue in single life.

As for Monasteries, and other houses of Canons, they were first geuen for reliefe onely of the poore and needie,* where as now they which inhabite them, are wealthy and able to liue of their owne patrimonie, in such sort, as manie times some one of them hath so much, as well might suffice a great number: Wherefore it seemeth to them, not vnconuenient that those goodes should be conuerted agayne to the vse of the poore: Yet neuerthelesse they haue vsed heerein such moderation,* that they haue permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enioy the possessions of their goodes, during the tearme of their naturall life, least any should haue cause of iust complaint.

Ornamentes of Churches serue nothing to Gods service: but this is well agreeing to the will and service of God,* that the poore should be succoured. So Christ commaunded the yong man in the Gospell, that was rich, not to hang vp his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

The order of priesthode they do not contemne. Suche priests as will truly discharge their dutie,* & teach soundly, they do magnifie. As for the other rable, which serue to no publike cōmoditie, but rather damnifie the cōmon wealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, & their liuings put to better vse, they doubted not, but it wer a seruice well done to God. Now whether the singing and praiers of such Priests be auaylable before God, it may be doubted, for as much as many of thē vnderstād not what they say or sing, but onely for hyre of wages do the same.

As for secrete confession, wherein men doo detect theyr sinnes in the Priests eare,* of what vertue this confession is to be esteemed, they leaue it in suspense. But that confession, whereby repenting sinners do flie to Christ our only intercessour, they recount not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which Priests do vse, they reckon it but a practise to get money, and the same to be not onely erroneous, but also full of impietie. True penance and satisfaction is for a man to amend his life.

The orders of Monkerie come only by the inuention of man, and not by the institution of God.*

And as touching the Sacramentes, such as be of the Lords institution,* thē they do not despise but receaue with all reuerence, neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise then becommeth: but to be vsed rightly according to the prescript rule of Gods

word. And so with the like reuerence, they vse the Sacrament of the Lords supper, according as the word prescribeth, not as many do abuse it, to make of it an oblation and a sacrifice.

And if the messengers sent to them of the Clergy in their letters mentioned,* can iustly charge them with any hinderance, or any error, they will be readie either to purge themselves, or to satisfie the offence. And if they can not, then reason would, that those messengers of the Cleargie should heereafter looke better to their owne doings, and to their doctrine, and to cease from such vntrue sclanders and contumelies.

Finally, where as they vnderstand by their letters how desirous they are to haue the Popes oppressions,* and exactions, and vsurped power abolished, they are right glad thereof and ioyfull, supposing that the same can by no meanes be brought to passe, except the word of God only and simply be receaued. For otherwise, so long as mens lawes and constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For by the preaching of Gods word their estimation and dignitie must needes decay: and that they well perceau,* and therefore by all meanes do prouide, how to stop the course of the word: and because they see themselves too weake to bring their purpose about, they flie to the ayde of Kings and Princes. For the necessary remedie whereof, if they shall thinke good to ioine their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalfe, what they are able eyther in counsaile or goodes, to do in the matter, declaring moreouer that this should haue bene seene too long before. Which being so, they praied and desired them to accept in good parte, and diligently to expend this that they did write. As for their owne parte, they required nothing else more then peace both betweene them, and all men. Neither was it euer their intent to stirre any thing that should be preiudiciall against their league and bande agreed vpon betweene them. But in this cause, which concerneth their eternall saluation, they can do no otherwise, but as they haue done, vnlesse their error by learning might be proued and declared vnto them.

Wherefore as they did before, so now they desire againe, that if they thinke this their doctrine to be repugnant to the holy Scripture,* they will gently shew and teach them their error, and that before the end of the moneth of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide wayting for an aunswere, as wel from them, as from the Bishop of Constance, and also from the Uniuersitie of Basill. And thus much containeth the aunswere of the Tigurines, vnto the letter of their other colleagues of Heluetia.

In the meane time, as this passed on, and the moneth of May aboue mentioned was now come,* the Byshop of Constance, with the aduise of his Councell about him, did aunswere the Tigurines as he was requested of them to do, in a certaine booke, first written, and afterward printed: wherein he declareth what Images and pictures those were, which the prophane Iewes and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what Images be these which the Church hath from time to time receaued and admitted, and what difference there is betweene those Idols of the Iewes & Gentiles, and these Images of the Christians.* The conclusion hereof was this, that where as the Scripture speaketh against Images, and willet them not to be suffered, that is to be vnderstand of such Images and Idols, as the Iewes and Idolatrous Gentiles did vse: yet neuerthelesse such Images & pictures, which the Church hath receaued, are to be vsed and reteined.

From this, he entreth next into the discourse of the Masse, where he proueth by diuers and sondry testimonies, both of the Popes Canons and Councels, the Masse to be a sacrifice and oblation.

[Page 869](#) This booke being thus compiled and wrytten, hee sent it vnto the senate of Zuricke, about the beginning of Iune, willing and exhorting them by no manner of meanes,* to suffer their images, or the masse to be abrogated, and shortly after, he published the said booke in Print, & sent it to the Priests and Canons of the Minster of Zuricke, requiring them to folow the custome of the Church receaued, and not to suffer themselues otherwise to be persuaded by any mā.

The Senate againe answering to the Bishops booke, about the middle of August did write vnto him: first declaring that they had read ouer & ouer againe his booke, with all diligence: The which booke for somuch as the Byshop had diuulged abroad in printe, they were therof right glad because the whole world thereby might iudge betwene thē the better. After thys they explaned vnto hym the iudgement and doctrine of their ministers and preachers: and finally by the authoritie & testimonies of the Scripture conuincd his opinion, and prooued the doctrine of his booke to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the 13. day of Iune, they commanded al the images as wel within the Citie, as throughe their dominion, to be taken downe and burned quietly and without any tumult.* A few monethes after, an order was taken in the sayde Citie of Zuricke, betweene the Canons of the church, and citie, for disposing the landes and possessions of the Colledge.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance,* that happened amōg the Heluetians vpō this new alteration of religion: but briefly to contract, and to runne ouer the chief specialties of the matter, heere is first to be noted, that of the Heluetians, which were confederate together in 13. Pages, chiefly sixe there were, which most disdained and maligned thys religion of the Tigurines: to witte, Lucernates, Urani, Suitenses, Unterualdij, Tugiani, Friburgenses: These in no case could be recōciled.* The rest shewed thēselues more fauourable. But the other, which were their ennemies, conceiued great grudge, & raised many sclaunderous reportes and false rumours against them, and laide diuers thinges to their charge, as first for refusing to ioyn theyr consent to the publique league of the other Pages, with Frances the french king: then for dissenting from them in religion: and thirdly for refusing to stand to the Popish decree made the yeare before at Ratisborne, by Ferdinandus and other bishops aboue mentioned, pag. 838. They layd moreouer to their accusation, for aiding the Uualsutenses theyr neyghbors, against Ferdinandus their Prince, which was false. Also for ioyning league secretly, with other Cities, wythout their knowledge, which was likewise false. Item, that they should intende some secrete conspiracie against them, and inuade them with warre, which was as vntrue as the rest.* Many other quarels besides, they pretended againste the Tigurines, which were all false and cauilling sclaunders: as that they should teach and preache that Mary the mother of Christ had mo sonnes, & that Iames the younger, the Apostle, did die for vs, and not Christe hymselfe. Against these and such other vntruthes, being meere matters of cauillation and sclaunder,* the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquite themselues by wryting, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not onely for these false and wrongfull suspitions of theyr partes vnderued, but also for other manifolde iniuries receiued and borne at theyr handes: among which other wrongs and iniuries, thys was one, that the Burghmaster of Turegia had apprehended a certaine preacher,* named Ioannes Oxlinus, and led him home as prisoner vnto

his house, beyng taken wythin the precinct and limites of the Citie of Zuricke, cōtrary to lawe and order.

Finally, after much discoursing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelitie at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the libertie and dignitie of their country, as touching the cause of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to heare, and more glad to amende, if anye could prooue any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise, if none so could or would proue, wherein they did erre by the worde of God: they coulde not (they sayd) alter any thing in the state of that Religion wherein their consciences were already staide by the worde of God, and settled what soeuer pearill or daunger should happen to them for the same,

Although here was no cause, why these Pages or Cantons, which were so confederate together in the league of peace,* should disagree among themselves: yet heerein may we see the course and trade of the worlde, that when difference of religiō beginneth a litle to breake the knot of amitie, by and by how friends be turned to foes, what suspitions do rise, what quarels and grudge do folow, howe nothing there liketh men, but euery thing is taken to y^e worst part, smal •otes are made mountaines, vertues made vices, and one vice made a thousand, and all for lacke only of a litle good wil betwixt party & party. For as loue & charity commonly among men either couereth or seeth not the faultes of their frendes: so hatred and disdaine taking all things to blame, can finde nothyng in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen betweene these good men of Zuricke, and these other Suitzers aboue named.

These letters of the Tigurines to the other Cantons, were written vpon the occasion of theyr apprehending the preacher Ioan. Oxlinus aboue named the 4. day of Ianuary Anno 1525. and in the moneth of Aprill next following,* the maiestrates and Senate of the sayd Citie of Zuricke commanded the Masse, with all his ceremonies and appurtenaunce therto belonging, to be put downe, as wel wythin the City, as without throughout all their iurisdiction: and in steade thereof was placed the Lordes Supper, the reading of the Prophets, prayer, and preaching.* Also a lawe was made against whoredome, and adulterie, and iudges ordained to heare the causes of matrimony. Anno. 1525. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 4.

All this while the Gospel was not as yet receiued in any other Page of Heluetia, but only in Zuricke.* Wherefore y^e other 12. pages or townes appoynted among themselves concerning a meting or a disputation to be had at Baden: Where were present amōg other diuines, Ioannes Faber Eckius, & Murnerus aboue mentioned. The bishops also of Lucerna, Basill, Curiake, & Lausanna sent thither theyr legates. The conclusions there propounded were these.

That the true body and bloud of Christ,* is in the Sacrament.

That the masse is a sacrifice for the quicke and deade.

That the blessed virgine and other saintes are to be inuocated, as mediatours and intercessours.

That Images ought not to be abolished.

That there is a purgatorie.

Which conclusions or assertions, Eckius tooke vpon him stoutly to defend.* Against him reasoned Oecolampadius (who was then chiefe preacher at Basill) wyth certaine other moe. Zuinglius at that time was not there present, but by wrytinge confuted the doctrine of Eckius,* declaring withall, the causes of hys absence: whych were, for that he durst not for feare of his lyfe, committe himselfe to the handes of the Lucernates, Urani, Suitij, Unterualdij, and Tugiani, his enemies, and that hee refused not to dispute, but the place onely of the disputation,* excusing moreouer y^t he was not permitted of the Senate to come, neuertheles: if they would assigne the place of disputation, either at Zuricke, or at Berna, or at Sangallum, thether he woulde not refuse to come. Briefly the conclusion of the disputation was this: that all should remaine in that Religion, which hetherto they had kept, and should follow the authoritie of the Councell, neither should admit any other newe doctrine within theyr dominions. &c, Thys was in the moneth of Iune, the sayd yeare aboue mentioned.

As the time proceded, and dissention about religion encreased, it folowed the next yere after,* An. 1527. in the mōth of December, that the Senate & people of Berne, (whose power amongst al the Suitzers chieflye excelleth) considering how neither they could haue the Actes of the disputation of Baden communicated vnto them, and that the variance about religion still more & more encreased:* assigned an other disputation within their owne Citie, and sending forth wrytings therof, called vnto the same, al the bishops bordering nere about them, as the Bishops of Constance, Basill, Sedune, Lausanna warning them bothe to come themselues, and to bring their diuines wyth them, or else to lose all such possessions, which they had lying within the boundes of theyr precinct. After this, they appoynted oute certeine Ecclesiasticall persons of their iurisdiction, to dispute, prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the old and new Testamēt.* To all that would come thether they graūted safeconduict. Also they appoynted that all things there should be done modestly, without iniurie and brauling woordes, and that euery one shoulde haue leaue to speake his minde freely, and with such deliberation, that euery mans saying might be receiued by the notarye & penned, with this prouiso made before, that what soeuer there shoulde be agreed vpon, the same should be ratified, and obserued through al their dominions: and to the intent mē might come thether better prepared before, they propounded in publike wryting 10. conclusions, in the sayde disputation to be defended of their ministers, by the scriptures, which ministers, wer Franciscus Colbus, and Bertholdus Hallerus. The theames or conclusions were these.

[Page 870](#)1. That the true Church, whereof Christ is the head, riseth out of gods word,* and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

2. That the same Church maketh no lawes without the worde of God.

3. That traditions ordeined in the name of the Church, doe not binde, but so farre foorth as they be consonante to Gods worde.

4. That Christ only hath made satisfactiō for the sinnes of the world: and therefore if any man say that there is any other way of saluation, or meane to putte away sinne, the same denieth Christ.

5. That the body & bloude of Christe can not be receaued really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.

6. That the vse of the masse, wherein Christ is presented and offered vp to hys heauenly Father for the quicke and the dead, is against the Scripture, and cōtumelious to the sacrifice which Christ made for vs.

7. That Christ onely is to be inuocated, as the mediator and aduocate of mankinde, to God the father.

8. That there is no place to be found by the holy Scripture, wherin soules are purged after thys life: and therefore all those praieres & ceremonies, Yerely Diriges & Obites, which are bestowed vpon the dead: also Lampes, Tapers and such other things, profite nothing at all.

9. That to sette vp any picture or Image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the holy scripture, and therefore if any such be erected in Churches for that entent, the same ought to be taken downe.

10. That Matrimonies prohibited to no state or order of men, but for eschewing of fornication, generally is cōmanded and permitted to all men by the word of God. And for as much as all fornicatours are excluded by the testimonie of Scripture, from the Communion of the Church, therefore this vnchaste and filthy single life of Priests, is most of all vnconuenient for the order of priesthode.

When the Senate and people of Bern, had sent abrode their letters with these theames and conclusions, to al the Heluetians, exhorting thē both to send their learned men, and to suffer al other to passe safely through their coūtries: the Lucernates, Uranites, Suitzians, Unternaldians, Tugians,* Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburg aunswered againe by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise: putting them in remembrance of theyr league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden aboue mencioned, of the which disputation they were them selues (they sayd) the first beginners and authors: saying moreouer, y^t it was not lawfull for any nation or prouince to alter the state of religion, but the same to belong to a general Councel: wherfore they desired them, that they wold not attempt any such wicked acte, but continue in the Religion, which theyr parents and elders had obserued: and in fine,* thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they wold neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet graunt safeconducte to any others to passe through their countrey. To this and such like effect tended the letters of these Suitzers aboue named.

All which notwithstanding, the Lordes of Berne proceding in their intended purpose, vppon the day prescribed (which was the 7. of Ianuarie) began their disputation. Of all the bishops before signified (which were assigned to come) there was not one present. Neuertheles the Citie of Basil, Zurike, and Schafuse, and Abbecelle, Sangallium, Mullusia, w^t the neighbors of Rhetia, also they of Strausburgh, Ulmes, Ausburge, Lindaue, Constance, and Isne, sent thether theyr Ambassadors.

The Doctours, aboue mētioned, of the City of Berne, began the disputation.* Where at the same time, were present Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucerus, Capito, Blaurerus, with other moe, all which defended the affirmatiue of the conclusions propounded.* On the contrary side of them whych were the opponentes, the Chieftayne was Conradus Tregerus a frier Augustin, who to prooue hys assertion, when he was driuen to shift out of the scripture, to seeke helpe of other Doctors, and the moderatours of the disputation would not permit the same (being contrary to the order before appoynted) hee departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

The disputation endured 19. daies, in the ende whereof it was agreed,* by the assent of the most parte, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to y^e truth of gods word, & should be ratified not onely in the Citie of Berne, but also proclaimed by the Magistrates in sundrie other Cities nere adioyning:* furthermore that masses, aultares, and Images in all places should be abolished.

At the Citie of Constance certaine things began to be altered a little before. Where also, among other things,* lawes were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or vn honest company, wherat the canons, (as they are called) of the Church, taking great grieve and displeasure, departed the Citie. In the sayde Citie was then teacher Ambrosius Blaurerus, a learned man, and borne of a noble stocke, who had bene a Monke a litle before, professed in the monastery of Alperspacke, in the Duchie of Wittenberge, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinandus. Which Blaurerus by reading of Luthers workes, & hauing a good wit, had chaunged a little before, his Religion and also his coat, returning againe home vnto his frends, and when his Abbot would haue had him againe, & wrote earnestly to the Senate of Constance for him: he declared the whole case of the matter in wryting, propounding w^tall, certaine conditions, wherupon he was content (as he sayde) to returne. But the conditions were suche that the Abbot was rather willing and contented, that hee shoulde remaine still at Constance, and so he did.

After this disputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath bene sayde) the Images and aultares,* wyth ceremonies, and Masses were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneua also for their parts, were not behind, folowing likewise the example of the Citie of Berne in extirping Images and ceremonies. By reason whereof the Bishop and Clergie there left and departed the Citie in no small anger.

The Bernates after they had redressed wyth them the state of Religion,* they renounced the league made before with the French king, refusing and forsaking hys warlye stipend, whereby they were bounde at his call to feede hys warres, following therin the example of the Tygurines, which before had done the like, and were contented onely with theyr yearely pension that the King payeth to euery page of the Heluetians, to keepe peace.

*The day and yere when thys reformation with them began, from Poperie to true Christianitie, they caused in a pillar to be engrauen wyth golden letters, for a perpetual memorie to all posteritie to come. This was An. 1528.

After that the rumour of this disputation,* and alteration of Berne, was noised in other cities & places abroad, firste the Ministers of Strausburgh encouraged by thys occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach that the masse was wicked, and a great blasphemie againste Gods holy name, and therfore was to be abrogated, and in stead therof, the right vse of the Lords supper to be restored agayne. Which vnlesse they could prooue by y^e manifest testimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuse no maner of punishment. On the contrary part, the Bishop of Romes clergie, did holde and maintaine that the Masse was good and holy, whereuppon kindled a great contention on both sides: which when the Senate and Magistrates of the city woulde haue brought to a disputation, and coulde not, because the Priests would not condescend to any reasoning, therfore seeing they so accused the other, & yet would come to no triall of their cause, the sayde Magistrates cōmanded them to silence.* The byshop in the meane while ceased not with his letters & messengers, daily to call vpō the senate, desiring the senate to perseuere in the auncient religion of their elders, & to geue no care to those newe teachers, declaring what daunger & pearil it would bring vpon them.

The Senate againe desired him,* as they had done oftentimes before, that such things, which appertained to the true honor and worship of God, might be set forward, and all other things which tended to the cōtrary, might be remoued and taken away: for that properly belonged to hys office to see to. But the Bishop still driuing them off with delaies, pretended to call an assemble for the same, appoynting also day and place for the hearing & discussing of those controuersies: where, in deede, nothing was performed at all:,* but with his letters he did often sollicitate them to surcease their enterprise, sometimes by waye of entreating, sometimes with manacing words terrifying them: and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way preuaile, he turned his sute to the assemble of the Empire, which was thē at Spires collected, entreating them to set in a foote, and to helpe what they could, with their authoritie.*

They ready to satisfie the Byshops request, sent a solemne Ambassie to the Senate and Citizens of Strausburgh, about Decemb. the yere about said, requiring them not to put downe the Masse: for neither it was (sayd they) in y^e power of the Emperor, nor of any other estate to alter the auncient Religion receiued from their forefathers, but eyther by a generall, or by a prouinciall Councell, whyche Councell if they supposed to be farre of, at leaste that they would take a pause till the next sitting of y^e Empire, whych [Page 871](#) should be with speede, where their requests being propoūded and heard, they should haue such reasonable aunswer, as should not miscontent them: for it was (sayde they) against all lawe and reason, for a priuate Magistrate to infringe and dissolue those thyngs, which by general consent of the whole world, haue bene agreed vpon: and therefore good reason required, that they shoulde obteine so much at theyr handes: For els if they should obstinately procede in this theyr attempt, so with force and violence to worke, as they began, it might fortune, the Emperour their supreme Magistrate vnder God, and also Ferdinandus, his deputie would not take it well, and so shoulde be compelled to seeke suche remedie therein, as they would be sorie to vse. Wherefore their request was, & aduise also, that they shuld wey the matter diligently with themselues, & folowe good counsaile: who in so doing, should not only glad the Emperor, but also worke that which should redound chiefly to theyr owne commendation and safetie.

*Besides the messengers thus sent from the Councell of Spires, the Byshop also of Hildesseme had bene wyth them a little before, exhorting them in the Emperours name, after like maner.

Neither did the bishop of Strausburgh also cease wyth his messengers and letters, daily to labour his frendes there, and especially such of the Senatours as he had to him bound by any feaulty, or otherwise by any gifts or friendship, that so much as in them did lye, they should vphold the Masse, and gainstand the contrary proceedings of the other.

The Senate of Strausburgh in the meane time, seing the matter did so long hang in controuersie, the space now of 2. yeares, and the preachers daily and instantly calling vpon them for a reformation, and sute also being made to them or the Citizens, assembled their great & full council to the number of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to doe) and there with themselues debated the case, declaring on the one side, if they abolished y^e masse what danger they should incur by the Emperor: * On the other side, if they did not, how much they shuld offend god and therefore geuing them respite to consulte, at the nexte meting required them to declare their aduise and sentence, in the matter. When the day came, that euey man shoulde say his mind, so it fell out, that the voices and iudgements of them, which went against the Masse preuailed. Whereupon immediatly a decree was made the 20. of Februarie. Anno. 1529. that the Masse should be suspended and layde downe, til the time that the aduersary part could prooue by good Scripture, * the Masse to be a seruice available & acceptable before God.

This decree being established by the cōsent of y^e whole Citie, the Senate eftsoones commaunded the same to be proclaimed and to take full place and effect as well within the Citie, as also without, so farre as their limites and dominion did extend, and afterward by letters certified their Byshop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing these newes, as heauy to his heart as leade, did signifie to them again, how he receiued their letters, & how he vnderstode by them, * the effect and summe of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with suche patience as hee coulde, though he wente sore againste his stomacke, seeing for the present time, he could no otherwise chu•e: heereafter would serue, he sayde he would see therunto, according as his charge and office should require.

* Thus howe the Masse was ouerthrowne in Zurike, in Berne, in Geneua, & in Strausburgh you haue hearde. Now what folowed in Basil, remaineth likewise to vnderstand. In this cite of Basill, was Oecolampadius preacher (as is aboue signified) by whose diligent labor & trauaile, * the Gospel began there to take such fruit, that great dissention there also arose among the citizē about religion, and especially about the Masse: Whereupon the Senate of Basill appoynted, that after an open disputation, it shoulde be determined by voices, what were to be done therin. This notwithstanding the Papists still continuing in their former purpose: began more stoutly to inuey against the other parte, and because they were so suffered by the Magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the cōmons, that they had some priuie maintainers amonge the Senators. Whereupon certaine of the Citizens were appoynted, in the name of the whole commons to sue to the Senators, and to put them in remembrance of theyr promise: Whose suite and request was thys, that those Senators, which were the aiders and supporters of the papists, might be displaced, for that it did as well tende to the contempt of the former decree made, as also to the publicke disturbance of the Citie. But when this coulde not be obtained of the Senate, the commons, vppon the 8. day of February, the yeare aboue sayde, assembled themselues in the gray Friers Churthe, and there considering wyth themselues vppon the matter, * repaired againe with theyr suite vnto the Senate, but not in suche humble wise as before: and therewithall gathered themselues in the publicke places of the Citie, to fortifie the same, all be it as yet

wythout armor. The same euening the Senate sent them woorde, that at theyr request they graunted, that those Senatours, although remaining still in office, yet shoulde not sitte in counsaile, what time any matter of Religion shoulde come in talke.

By thys aunswere the Commons gathering that the whole state was ruled by a few,* tooke thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly that they would take counsell by them selues heereafter what they had to doe, not onely in cases of Religion, but also in other matters of ciuile gouernment, and foorthwith tooke them to armour, keeping the towers and gates and other conuenient places of the Citie with watche and warde, in as forcible wise, as if the enemie had bene at hand.

The next day the Senate requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whome the commons before had sent as suters vnto them. Which offer the Citizens did not refuse, but wyth this condition that those Senatours, whych were guiltie, shoulde in the meane season followe their pleey as priuate persones, vpon theyr owne priuate costes and charges: the other which defended the publicke cause for the behoofe of the posterity, should be maintained by the publicke charges of the Citie. This the Senate was glad to graunt vnto, w^t some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease theyr rage.

It happened the very same day, that certaine of the citizens,* such as were appoynted to goe about the Citie for the vewing of things, came into the highe Church where one of them thrusting at a certaine image wyth his staffe, eftsoones it fell downe and brake. By the occasion whereof, other Images also in like sorte were serued after the same deuotion. But when the Priestes came runnyng to them, which seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they because they would not passe their Commission, staid their handes and departed.

It folowed vppon this, that when word heereof was brought to the Citizens which stode in the market place, and the matter being made worse to them then it was, they incontinent discharged out CCC. armed men, to rescue their felowes in the church, supposing them to be in daunger. Who comming to the Church,* and not finiding theyr felowes there, and all things quiet, saue onely a few Images broken downe, they likewise least they shuld haue lost all theyr labour, threwe downe all the other Idols and Images whyche they founde there standing, and so passing thorowe all other Churches in the citie, did there also the like: and when certaine of the Senate came foorth to appease the tumult, the Citizens sayde, that whiche you haue stande aboute these three yeares, consulting and aduising whether it were best to be done, or not, that shall wee dispatche in one houre, that from henceforth neuer more contention shall growe betweene vs for Images: and so the Senate permitted them free leaue, wythout any more resistance:* and 12. Senatours were displaced from theyr order, all be it wythout note of reproche or dishonestie. Also a decree the same time was made, that as well wythin the Citie of Basill, as wythout, through all theyr iurisdiction, the Masse with all Idols shoulde be abandoned:* and further, that in all suche matters and cases as concerned the glory of God, and the affaires of the publique wealth, besides the number of the other Senators two hundreth and three score of the Burgers or Citizens shoulde be appoynted out of euery warde in the Citie, to sit with them in coūsell. These decrees being established, after they had kepte watch and warde about the Citie 3. daies and 3. nightes, euery one retourned againe to his house, quiet and ioyfull, without any bloud or stroke geuen, or anger wrcked, but onely vpon the Images.

On the thirde day, which was Ash wednesday (as the Popes ceremoniall Church doth call it) all the wooden Images were distributed among the poore of the Citie,* to serue them for fire woode. But when they could not well agree in diuiding the pray, but •el to brawling among them selues, it was agreed that the saide images should be brent all together: so that in nine great heapes all the stocks and Idolles there, the same day were brent to ashes before the great Church doore. And thus by Gods ordinance it came to passe, that the same day, wherein the Popes priestes are wont to shew forth all their mourning, & do marke mens foreheades wyth ashes, in remembraunce that they be but ashes, was to the whole citie festiuall & ioyfull, for turning theyr Images to ashes, and to is obserued and celebrate [Page 872](#) euery yere stil vnto this present day, with al mirth, playes and pastimes,* in remembraunce of the same ashes, whych day may there be called a ryghte Ash wednesday of Gods owne making. The men of Zurike, of Berne, and of Solodure hearing what busines was at Basill, sent their ambassadors to be a meane betwene them, but before the ambassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

All this meane space, the Emperor & the French king were together occupied in warres and strife. Whych as it turned to the great dammage and detriment of the French king,* who in the sayde warres was taken prisoner by the Emperor, so it hapned commodious and oportune for the successe of the Gospell: for els it is to be thought that these Heluetians and other Germanes shuld not haue had that leisure & rest to reforme religion, and to linke them selues in league together, as they did. But thus almightie God of his secret wisdom disposeth times & occasions, to serue his wil & purpose in al things. All be it Ferdinandus the Emperours brother, & deputie in Germanie, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the protestants, as appeared, both by the decree set foorth at Ratis•one, and also at Spires. In the whych Council of Spires, Ferdinandus at the same time, whych was the yeare of our Lorde 1529. had decreed agaynste the protestants, in effect as followeth.

*First, that the edict of the Emperour made at Wormes, should stand in force through all Germanie, till the time of the general counsell, which should shortly folow. Also, that they whiche alredy had altered their religion, & now could not reuoke the same again, for feare of sedition, should stay themselues and attempt no more innouations heereafter, till time of the generall Councell.

Item, that the doctrine of them which hold the Lordes Supper otherwise then the Church doth teach, should not be receiued, nor the masse shuld be altered: and there where as the doctrine of religion was altered, shuld be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come to Masse, might safely therein vse their deuotion: against Anabaptists likewise: and that all ministers of the Church should be enioyned to vse no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but accordyng to the exposition of the Church doctors: other matters that were disputable, not to be touched. Moreouer, that all persons and states shuld keepe peace, so that for Religion neither the one part shuld inferre molestation to the other, nor receiue anye confederates vnder theyr protection and safegarde: All whych decrees, they which shoulde transgresse, to be outlawed and exiled.

Unto this sitting at Spires first the Ambassadors of Strausburgh, were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinandus, because they had reiected the masse: and therefore the sayd citie of Strausburgh denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they wyth other Germanes, might be

likewise admitted into their counsels. The other princes which were receiued and not repelled,* as the duke of Saxonie, George of Brandeburgh, Ernestus, & Franciscus Earles of Luneburgh, Lantgraue, Anhaltius, did vtterly gainstand the decre, & shewed their cause in a large protestation written, why they so did: which done, all such cities which subscribed and consented to the sayd protestation of the princes, eftsones conioyned them selues in a cōmon league with them, whereuppon they had their name, called thereof Protestants. The names of the Cities were these.*Argentina, or Strausburgh, Noriberge, Vlmes, Constance, Rutelinge, Winssemium, Meminge, Lindaui, Campodunum, Hailbrunum, Isna, Wisseburgum, Norlinge, Sangallum.

Furthermore, as touching the Heluetians (from whēce we haue somewhat digressed) howe the Citie of Berne and Zurick had consented and ioyned together in reformation of true religion, ye hard before. Wherefore the other Pages in Heluetia,* which were of contrary profession, in like maner confederated them selues in league with Ferdinādus: the number and names of which Pages, especially were 5. to witte, Lucernates, Vraui, Suitenses, Vnterualdij, and Tugiani, whych was in the yeare aboue sayd: to the intent, that they conioyning their power together, might ouerrunne the religion of Christ, and the professours of the same. Who also for hatred & despite, hanged vp the Armes of the foresaide cities of Zuricke and of Berne, vppon the gallowes, beside many other iniuries and greeuances, whych they wrought against them. For the which cause the said Cities of Berne and Zuricke raised their power, intending to set vpon the foresaid Suitzers, as vpō their capital enemies. But as they were in the field ready to encoūter, one army against y^e other, through the meanes of the citie of Strausburgh, and other intercessours, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

As touching the Councell of Auspurge,* which followed the next yeare after the assemblie of Spires, An. 1530. howe the Princes and Protestantes of Germanie, in the same Councell exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly Duke Fridericke persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatning woordes, and replications of the Emperour: also in what danger the said princes had ben in, had not the Lantgraue priuily by night slipt out of the citie, parteineth not to thys place presently to discourse.

To retorne therefore vnto Zuinglius and the Heluetians, of whome we haue heere presently to intreate, you heard before howe the tumulte and commotion betweene the two Cities of Zuricke and Berne, and the other v. Cities of the Cantons, was pacified by the meanes of intercession, which peace so continued the space of two yeares. After that the olde wound waxing rawe againe, began to burst out, & gather to an head: which was by reason of certaine iniuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had receiued of the other: wherefore the Tigurines and the Bernates stopping al passages and streits, would permit no come nor victual to passe vnto them. This was in the yeare of our Lord. 1531,

And when great trouble was like to kindle therby, the Frenche king with certaine other townships of Suitzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians,* and other comming betweene them, laboured to set them at agrement, drawing out certain cōditions of peace betwene them. Whyche conditions were these, that all contumelies & iniuries past should be forgotten. That hereafter neither parte shoulde molest the other. That they which were banished for religion, should againe be restored. That the v. Pages might remaine without disturbaunce in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the olde and new

Testament.* That no kind of disquietnesse should be procured against them of Berne and Zuricke: and that either part should conferre mutuall helpes together, one to succour the other, as in times past. But the fiue Pagemen wold not obserue those couenants made,* neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformitie. Wherefore the Bernates and Tigurines, shewing & declaring first theyr cause in publicke wryting, to purge and excuse the necessity of their warre, being pressed wyth so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hande, did as before, beset the hye wayes and passages, that no furniture of victuall or other forage could come to the other Pages. By reason whereof when they of the fiue towns began to be pinched with want and penurie. they armed themselues secretly, and set forewarde in warlike aray toward the borders of Zuricke, where as then was lying a garrison of the Zuricke menne, to the number of a thousande and more. Whereupon worde was sent incontinent to the Citie of Zuricke, to succoure theyr men with speede, but their enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them. For when they were come to the toppe of the hille, whereby they muste needes passe, they sawe their fellowes being in greate distresse in the valley vnder them: whereupon they encouraging themselues, made downe the hil with more hast then order, who might goe fastest:* but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once. By reason wherof, for as much as they could not keepe their rankes, to ioyned all together, it folowed that they being but few in number, were discomfited and ouermatched of the multitude, which was the 11. day of October, the yeare abouesayde. Among the number of them that were slayne, was also Uldricus Zuinglius the blessed seruaunt & S. of God.* Also the Abbotte of Capella, and Commendator Kunacensis, wyth 13. other learned and worthy men were slaine, being as is thought, falsly betrayed, and brought into the handes of theyr enemies.

As touching the cause which moued Zuinglius to goe out with his citizens to the warre, as is sufficiently declared and excused both by Iohn Sleidan,* and especially by Oecolampadius, in his Epistle (ad Mart. Frechtum, and Somium. Epist. Lib. 4. where first is to be vnderstande, that it is an old receiued maner among the Zuricke men,* that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of theyr church goeth with them. Zuinglius also of him selfe beyng a man (saith Sledanus) of a stoute and bolde courage, considering if he should remaine at home when warre should be attēpted against his citizens, and if he which in his sermons did so encourage other, should now faint so cowardly, and tarye behinde at home, when time of daunger came, what shame and disdaine might worthily rise to hym thereby, thoughte not to refuse to take suche parte as his brethren did.

[Page 873](#)Oecolampadius moreouer addeth, that hee went not out as a captaine of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens,* and as a good shepheard ready to die with his flocke. And which of them all (sayeth he) that most cry out against Zuinglius, can shew any such noble heart in him, to do the like? Againe, neither did he go out of his owne accorde, but rather desired not to goe, foreseeing belike, what daunger thereof woulde ensue. But the Senate being importune vpon him, would haue no nay, vrging and enforcing hym most instantly to goe: among whom were thought to haue bene some false betrayers, saying and obiecing to him that he was a dastarde, if he refused to accompany his brethren, as well in time of daunger, as in peace. Moreouer the said Zuinglius among other seculare artes, had also some skill in such matters of warfare. Haec Oecolampad. Whē he was slaine,* great crueltie was shewed vppon his deade corpes▪ such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, vnlesse also they shoulde burne hys bodie being dead. Ex comment. Ioan. Sled Lib. 8.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in 4. peeces,* and then consumed with fire, three daies after hys death, his frēds came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his hart in the ashes, whole and vnburned: in much like maner as was also the hart of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterburie, which in the ashes also was founde and taken vp vnconsumed, as by credible information is testified.

Furthermore, suche was then the rage of these 5. pages against the foresaid Abbot Capellensis, that they tooke him being slain, and putting out both his eies, they clothed him in a monkes coule, and so set him in the pulpite to preache, railing and iesting vpon him in most despiteful maner. Ez Epist. Oecolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitonem. lib. 4. Uldericke Zuinglius was when he died, of the age of 44. yeres, yonger then M. Luther by 4. yeares.

The Bernates, who were purposed the same time to atchieue warre against the Unterualdians bordering near vnto them, when they heard of this discōfiture of the Tigurines, to comfort them againe, desired thē to be of good cheare and courage, promising that they woulde not faile but come and reuenge their quarrell. Againe, when the Tigurines had assembled theyr power together, whyche was the 8. day after the battell, and had receiued aide from the Schaffusians, Mullusians, Sangalles, and frō Basil, (the Bernates at this time were nothing hastie) out of the whole number they chose out certaine ensignes, whyche setting foorth in the night, lay in the hil beside Mecinge, intending when the moone was vp, to take the town of Tugie lying neare at hand,* vpon the sodain. Which whē their ennemies had perceiued, which were encamped not farre from them, with all speede and moste secrete manner came vpō them being at rest, the 24. day of October, and putting them in more feare, made a wonderful clamorous outcrie: so it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slaine. And all be it the 5. pagemen had the vpper hand, yet would they of Zuricke nothing relent in theyr religion. At the laste throughe mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Basilians,* shoulde forsake the league which they had lately made wyth the Citie of Strausburgh, and the Lantgraue: likewise shoulde the 5. Page men geue ouer theyr league and composition made wyth Ferdinandus: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter ende of Nouember.

Oecolampadius the preacher of the citie of Strausburgh aboue recorded,* hearing of y^e death of Zuinglius his deare frend, tooke thereat inward griefe and sorrowe, in so much that it is thought to haue encreased his disease, and so hee also departed this life, the same yeare and moneth of Nouember aboue mentioned, being of the age of 49. yeres, elder then M. Luther by one yeare.* Although this Oecolampadius then died, yet his learned & famous Commentaries vpon the Prophets, with other worthy workes, which he left behinde him, liue still, and shall neuer die.

The next yere folowing, which was, anno. 1532. in the moneth of August, died also the woorthy and memorable prince Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxonie, who for testimonie of Christe and of his Gospel, sustained such trials, so many brutes,* and so vehement conflicts with the Emperour, and that especially at the Councell assembled at Auspurge, that vnlesse the almighty hand of the Lorde had sustained him, it had not bene possible for him or any prince to haue endured so constāt and vnremoueable, against so many perswasions, and assaults, as hee did to the ende. After him succeeded Iohn Fridericke his sonne. &c.

And thus haue ye the historie of Zuinglius, and of the church of Suitzerlande, with their proceedings and troubles, from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will adde one certaine Epistle of y^e said Zuinglius, taken out of his other Epistles, and so therewith close vp hys storie. Which Epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same among other maters, profitably is expounded y^e true meaning of the Apostle, wryting to the Corrinthians, concerning how to iudge the Lordes body, to the entent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, as folowe.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

GRatiam & pacem in Domino.

Accipe igitur chariss. frater. &c.

In English thus.

Vnto your questions propounded to me in your former letters (well be loued brother. ^{*}) I haue sent you heere mine aunswere. First I am also in the same minde with you, that the Lordes supper is a verye thanks geuing: for so the Apostle him selfe meaneth, saying: Yee shall shewe foorth the Lordes death. ^{*} Where the woorde of shewing foorth, signifieth as much as praising, or thanks geeuynge. Wherefore, seeinge it is an Euchariste, or a thanks geuing, in my iudgement no other thing ought to bee obtruded to mens consciences, but onely with due reuerence to geue thanks. Neuerthesse, yet this is not t^e be neglected, that euery man doe prooue and examine him selfe, for so wee oughte to search and aske our owne consciences, what faith wee haue in Christ Iesus, which if it be sounde and sincere, we may approche without stay, to this thanks geuing. For he that hath no faith, & yet faineth or pretendeth to haue, eateth his owne iudgement: for he lieth to the holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the table eating of meates offered to Idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paule a litle before wryteth vehemently against those arrogante persones which bragging vpon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eate of such meates offered to Idols, sitting and eating at the Lordes table: You can not (sayeth he) be partakers bothe of the Lordes table, and the table of deuils. &c. Wherefore Saint Pauls meaning is, that euery one should trie and examine hymselfe what faith he hath. Whereuppon it foloweth, that he which hath a right faith, must haue no parte nor fellowship wyth those things, which be geuen to Idols, for he is nowe a member of another body, that is, of Christe: ^{*} so that hee can not ioyn him selfe nowe to be one body with Idolaters. And therefore those be they which doe not iudge or discern the Lordes body, that make no difference betwene the Church of Christ, and the Church of Idolaters. For they which sit at the Lordes table eating of Idolmeates, do make no difference at all betweene the Lordes supper, ^{*} and the supper of the deuill, which be they whom Paul sayth, not to iudge the bodye of the Lorde, that is, which make no discrepance, nor geue any more regard to Christes Church, then to the church of deuils. Whereas if we would iudge our selues, that is, if we would thorowly search and examine our own consciences as we shuld, in comming to the table of the Lorde, we finding any faith in vs, would neuer goe to the table, or make therof the feast of deuilles. Wherefore your iudgement heerein is not amisse in expounding the word of iudging in S. Paule, to signifie as much, as, cōsidering, ^{*} perpending, and inquiring.

To your seconde question I aunswere, that Iesus tooke bread, and brake, &c. Also, he tooke the cuppe, &c. *Ista verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter inuitantis*: that is, these woordes declare the action of one which properly doeth a thing, and not the hospitalitie of one which inuiteth another to eate. Touching your third question out of the 6. chap. of Iohn: * Doeth this offende you? herein I doe full agree with you.

As for this word Ostren, which is your fourth question, I vnderstād therby, the time of the great feast or solemnitie, which we kepe in remembrance of the great deliuerance of Gods people, from the thraldome nowe of Satan, before from the thraldome of Pharao. Neither is it greatly materiall with what woorde we expresse the thing, so the thing it selfe be one, and the analogie and consonancie of the Scripture be kept: For the Scripture calleth Christ bothe the Lambe, and S. Paule calleth him our Easter or Passeouer. Now your worde wanderfest well pleaseth me, * for the Passeouer, or Paesah.

To your fifth interrogation, of Christ descending into Hell, I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creede, by the sentence of the Fathers, to declare how the fathers were redemed by the death of Christ, which died in the faith. For Christ ledde away captiuitie wherewith they were holden, with him vp into heauen: * so that hys going downe into Hell, non sic intelligatur, quasi circumscriptiuè, sed potentialiter: that is, be not so vnderstanded, as circumscriptiuely, which is, when a thyng is present by circumscription of any one place: but by power, which is, by the operation of his spirit, which is not cōprehēded in any certenty of place, but without prescription of certain place, is diffused euery [Page 874](#) so that the article of Christes descending into hell, importeth as much, as that his death redemed them, which were in hell. Wherunto S. Peter also seemeth to haue respect, where he sayeth: * The Gospell also was preached to them which were deade: that is, that they also did feelee the good tidings of the Gospell, their redemption by the sonne of God: and that they which rose againe wyth Christ in spirite, be nowe with him in heauen, who neuerthelesse in flesh shalbe iudged, what time the sonne of God and of man shal come to iudge both the quicke & dead. Returne to the places of Peter, the one in his first Epistle, the other in the latter: and so be you contented with this present answer rashed vp in haste. Fare ye hartily wel. And comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commende me to Iohn Eggenberge. From Zuricke the 1. day of September. An. 1527.

FRom the first beginning of this whole booke and historie hitherto (good reader) thou hast hearde of many and sundry troubles, & much businesse in the church of Christe, concerning the reformation of diuers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the Church of Rome, as appeareth by the doings of them, in diuers and sundry places, wherof mention hath bene made heretofore in this said historie. For what godly man hath there bene wythin the space of these 500. yeares, * either vertuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disprooued the misordred doings and corrupt examples of the See and Bishop of Rome, from time to time, vnto the cōming of this Luther? Wherin this appeareth to me, & may also appeare no lesse to al godly disposed mē, to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this foresaid Romish Bishop hath had great ennemies and gainsaiers continually from time to time, both speaking & working, preaching and wryting against him, yet notwithstanding neuer any could preuail before the comming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly knownen vnto God, and vnknownen vnto men: yet so farre as men by cōiectures may suppose, it may thus not vnlikely be thought: That whereas other men before him, speaking against the

pomp, pride, whoredom, and auarice of the Bishop of Rome, charged him only or most specially with examples and maners of life: Luther went further with hym, charging him not wyth life, but with his learning: not with doings, but with his doctrine: not picking at the rine, but plucking vp the roote: not seeking the man, but shaking his seate, yea & charging him with plaine heresie,*as preiudicial and resisting plainly against the bloud of Christ, cōtrary to the true sense and direct vnderstanding of the sacred testament of Gods holy woord. For whereas the foundation of our faith grounded vpon the holy scripture, teacheth & leadeth vs to be iustified onely by the worthines of Christ, & the onely price of his bloud:*the Pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth vs otherwyse to seeke our saluation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of mennes meriting and deseruing by works: Whereupon rose diuers sorts of orders & religious sects amongst men, some professing one thing, and some an other, & euery man seeking his owne vnrighteousnes, but few seking the righteousnes of him which is set vp of God to be our righteousnes, redemption, and iustification.

Martin Luther therefore vrging & reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture,*opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darknes. Whereupon it can not be expressed what ioy, comforte, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darknes and ignoraunce, some wallowing in sinne, some being in despaire, some macerating them selues by woorkes, and some presuming vppon their owne righteousnesse, to beholde that glorious benefite of the greate libertie and free iustification set vp in Christ Iesus. And briefly to speake, the more glorious the benefite of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignoraunce, the greater persecution followed vppon the same. And where the elect of God tooke most occasion of comfort and of saluation, thereof the aduersaries tooke moste matter of vexation & disturbance: As commonly we see the true woord of God to bring with it euer dissention and perturbation, and therefore truely it was sayde of Christ, That he came not to send peace on earth, but the swoorde.*And this was the cause, why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world:*wherby rose great disquietnesse among the Prelates, and many lawes and decrees were made, to ouerthrowe the same by cruell handling of many good and Christian men. Thus while authoritie armed wyth lawes and rigour, did striue againste simple veritie, lamentable it was to heare, howe many poore men were troubled and went to wracke, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the land for fear, some caused to abiure, some driuen to caues in woodes, some racked wyth torment, and some pursued to deathe wyth fagot and fire. Of whom we haue nowe (Christ willing) in this hystorie following to entreat, first begynning with certaine that suffered in Germanie, & then to returne to our owne stories, and Martyrs here in England.

Henry Voes and Iohn Esch, Friers Augustines.

IN the yeare of our Lorde. 1523. two young menne were burnt at Bruxelles, the one named Henry Uoes,* being of the age of 24. yeares, and the other Iohn Esch, whych before had bene of the order of the Augustine Friers. They were disgraded the first day of Iulie, and spoiled of theyr friers weede, at the suite of Egmondanus the Popes Inquisitour, and the diuines of Louaine,* for that they would not retracte and deny their doctrine of the Gospell, which the Papistes call Lutheranisme. Theyr examiners were Hochestratus and other, who demaunded of them, what they did beleue? They sayde, the bookes of the olde Testament, and the newe, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creede. Then were they asked whether they beleued the decrees of

the Councels and of the Fathers? They sayde, such as were agreeing to the Scripture,* they beleueed. After thys they proceeded further, asking whether they thought it any deadly sinne, to transgresse the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed onely to the precepts of God, to binde the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they cōstantly persisted, and would not turne, they were condemned and iudged to be burned. Then they beganne to geue thanks to God their heauenly father, which had deliuered them through his great goodnes, from the false and abhominable priesthoode, & had made of them priests of his holy order, receiuing thē vnto him as a sacrifice of sweete odor. Then there was a bill written, which was deliuered vnto them to read opēly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they helde.* The greatest error that they were accused of, was that men ought to trust only in God, for so much as men are liers and deceitful in all their words and deedes, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

As they were ledde vnto the place of execution, which was the first day of Iulie, they went ioyfully and merily, making continual protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gossell, as true Christians, beleuing & following the holy church of the sonne of God, saying also that it was y^e day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they shoulde bee burned, and were dispoyled of their garments, they taried a great space in their shirtes, & ioyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and ioyfully enduring what so euer was done vnto thē, praising God wyth Te Deum laudamus, and singing Psalmes, and rehearsing

[illustration]

The burning of Henry Voes and Iohn Esch, Friars Augustines.

[Page 875](#) the Creede, in testimonie of their faith. A certaine Doctour beholding their iolitie & mirth, said vnto Henry, y^t he shuld take heede so foolishly to glorifie himselfe. To whome he answered, God forbid that I shoulde glory in any thyng, but onely in the crosse of my Lord Iesus Christ. Another couſelled him to haue God before his eies: vnto whom he answered, I trust that I cary him truly in my hart. One of them seeing that fire was kindled at his feete, said: Me thinkes ye do straw roses vnder my feet.* Finally, y^e smoke and the flame mounting vp to their face, choked them.

Henry being demaunded amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: yea (said he) euen as Christ seduced his Apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to Gods law, that y^e Clergy should be exempted frō the power & iurisdiction of the magistrate ordeined of God, for such as were ordeined in office by the bishops, haue no power but onely to preach the worde of God, and to feede their flocke therewithall. After their death, their monasterie was dissolued at Antwarpe. The President wherof, by the Papistes called Iacobus Lutherianus, after diuers and many troubles & afflictions, was forced to recant at Bruxels, but afterward his mind being renued by y^e holy ghost, embracing that againe which before he had renounced, he fled vnto Luther. Ex 6. tomo M. Lutheri. fol. 397.

Henry Sutphen Monke put to death in Diethmar.

The next yere after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Bruxels aboue mentioned,* with like tyrannie also was martired & burned without all order of iudgment or iust condemnation, about the Citie of Diethmar, in y^e borders of Germany, one Henry of Sutphen monke, an. 1524. of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of Ioh. Sledan. Lib. 4. but his historie is more amply described of Luther,* of Paulus Eberus in his Calēdar, of Ludou. Rabus Crispinus, and other. This Sutphen had bene before with M. Luther, and afterward cōming to Antwarpe, was frō thence excluded for the Gospell, and so came to Breme, not to y^e intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberge, beeing driuen from Antwarpe, as is abouesaide. Who beeing at Breme, was there required by certaine godly Citizens of Breme, to make one or two briefe exhortations vpon the Gospell. Wherunto, through the earnest loue and zeale that was in him, he was easily allured & perswaded. He made his first Sermon vnto the people, the sonday before Saint Martins daye.* When the people heard him preache the word of God so sincerely, they desired him againe the second tyme, and were so in loue with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tary amōgst them to preach the Gospell: which thing, for feare of daunger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had vnderstanding hereof, specially the Canons, Monkes, and priests, they went about with al endeuour, to oppresse him, & thrust both him out of the citie, and also the Gospel of Christ (for that was their chiefe seeking:*) whereupon they went vnto the Senate, desiring that such an heretique might be banished the towne, which in his doctrine preached against y^e catholike Church. Upon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate sent for the wardens, and head men of the parish where Henry had preached, who being come together, the Senat declared vnto them the cōplaint of the Canons, and al the other religious men. Wherunto the citizens of Breme taking their preachers part,* answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man, to preach vnto thē, which should teach them sincerely & truly the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the Chapterhouse or any other man could bring testimoniall or witnes, that the Preacher had taught any thing, which either sauored of heresie, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they said) with the Chapterhouse to persecute him: for God forbid that they shoulde mainteine an heretique. But if contrarywise the Canons of the Chapterhouse, and the other Religious men will not declare and shew that the preacher whome they had hyred, had taught any error or heresie, but were set only of malice, by violence to driue him away, they might not (said they) by any meanes suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the Senate with all humble obedience, that they woulde not require it of them, but graunt them equitie and iustice, sayeng,* that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to pleade his cause.

This answer the Senate commanded to be declared to the Chapterhouse. When as the religious sort vnderstoode that they coulde preuaile little or nothyng wyth theyr words, bursting out in a furie, they began to threaten, and there withall went straight vnto the Archbyshop, to certifie him how y^e Citizens of Breme were become heretikes, & would no lōger obey their religious sort, with many other lyke thynges in their complaynt, so that it was to be feared, least the whole Citie shortly should be seduced.

When the Byshop heard tell of these thyngs,* straightwayes he sent ij. which were of his counsell, vnto Breme, requiryng that Hēry should be sent vnto him without delay. Whē they were demaūded why they would haue him sent, they aunswered, because he preached agaynst the holy Church. Being agayne demaūded, in what pointes or articles, they had nothyng to say. One of these counsellors was the Byshops Suffragan,* a naughty pernicious hypocrite, which sought all

meanes possible to cary away the sayd Henry captiue. Finally they receiued this aunswere of the Senators, that for somuch as the preacher being hyred by the Church wardens,* had not hetherto bene cōuict for an hereticke, & that no mā had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they sayd, they could by no meanes obteine of the Citizēs that he should be caryed away: Wherefore they earnestly desired the Byshop that he would speedely send his learned mē vnto Breme,* to dispute with him, & if he were cōuincēd, they promised, without any delay that he should be iustly punished, and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him departe. Whereunto the Suffragan aunswered with a great protestation, requiryng that he might bee deliuered into his handes, for the quietnesse of the whole countrey, takyng God to his witnesse, that in this behalfe, he sought for nothyng els, but onely the commoditie of his countrey. But for all this, they could preuayle nothyng, for the Senate continued still in their former mynde.* Wherupō the Suffragan beyng moued with anger, departed from Breme, and would not confirme their children.

When he came vnto the Byshop he declared the aunswere of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Priestes and Monkes there. Afterward whē dayly newes came,* that the preacher did still more & more preach & teach more heynous matter agaynst the religious rout, they attempted an other way, suborning great men to admonish the Citizens of Breme into what ieopardie their common wealth might fall by meanes of their Preacher, preachyng contrary to the decree of the Pope and Emperour. Besides that, they sayd, that he was the prisoner of the Lady Margaret, for which cause they had gotten Letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to haue her prisoner sent vnto her agayne.

All these craftes and subtilties did nothyng at all preuayle, for the Senate of Breme aunswered all thynges without blame. When as the Byshop saw this his enterprise also frustrate, he attempted an other way, whereby he had certaine hope, that both he, & also the word of God with him should be wholly oppressed. Whereupō they decreed a Prouinciall counsaile, not to be holden at Breme,* as it was accustomed, but at Bucstade, whiche place they thought most meete for their purpose.

To this Councell were called all the Prelates & learned men of the Dioces, to determine what was to be beleueed, and whereto to trust.

Also to the sayd Councell was Henry called, notwithstādyng that they had already decreed to proceede agaynst him, as agaynst a manifest hereticke,* albeit he was not yet conuict, nor had pleaded his cause before. Wherefore the rulers of the Citie, together with the commonaltie, deteyned him at home, foreseeyng and suspectyng the malice of the Councell.* Then the sayd Henry gathered a summe of his doctrine into a fewe Articles, and sent it with his letters, vnto the Archbyshop, excusing his innocēcie, offering him selfe to be ready, if he were conuict of any error by the testimony of y^e holy Scripture, he would be ready to recāt y^e same: notw^tstanding earnestly requiryng, that his errours might be cōuict by y^e holy Scriptures, by the testimony wherof he had hetherto approued his doctrine & doubted not hereafter to cōfirme the same: but this tooke no place amongst those annoynted prelates. What y^e determinatiō of their iudgemēt was, it may hereupon wel be gathered, in that shortly after they set vp vpō the Church porche the Bull of Pope Leo the x. & decree of the Emperour made at Wormes. Wherupon Henry contēnyng their madnes,* proceeded dayly in preaching the Gospel, adding alwayes this protestatiō, y^t he

was ready willingly to geue account touchyng his fayth & doctrine, to euery mā that would require the same. In the meane tyme the holy Catholickes could not be idle, but sent their chapleines vnto euery sermon, to trappe him in his wordes. But God,* whose foote pathes are in y^e midst of y^e floudes, would haue his marueilous power to be sene in thē, for he cōuerted many of [Page 876](#) them: in so much that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did opēly witnes his doctrine to be Gods truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their liues before they had not heard, perswading them likewise, that they forsaking all impietie, should folow the word of God, and beleue the same, if they would be saued. But the chiefe priests, canons and monkes, were so indurate and blinded with Pharao, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When as God saw the time conuenient that Henry should confirme the veritie that he had preached, he sente him among the cruell murtherers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth.

It happened in the yeare of our Lord 1524. that thys Henry was sent for by letters,* by Nicholas Boye parish priest, and other faithfull Christians of the parish of Meldorph, which is a towne in Diethmar, to preach the Gospel vnto them, and deliuer them out of the bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full dominion.

These letters being receiued vpon S. Catherines euen, calling together sixe breethren, honest Citizens, he opened the matter vnto thē, how y^t he was sent for by them of Diethmar, to preach y^e Gospel: adding moreouer that he was not only a debtour vnto thē, but to all other which required his ayde. Wherefore he thought good to go vnto Diethmar, to see what God would worke by him, requiring also that they woulde helpe him with their aduice, by what meanes he might best take his iourney, that no mā should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped: which thing without doubt had come to passe, if his purpose had bene knowne to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered,* desiring him that he would not depart for a time, for so much as y^e Gospell had not yet taken so deepe roote in y^e people, but was as yet weake, & specially in the villages therabout, & that the persecution was very great, willing him also to haue respect vnto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching, and if they of Diethmar desired a preacher, he shoulde send some other in hys place, for they had before perceiued the disposition and vntrustines of them of Diethmar: besides that, it was not in their power to geue him free liberty to depart, without the consente of the whole communaltie. Whereunto Henry made answeere in this manner,* that albeit he could not denie but that he was sent for by them: yet now there were many godly & learned men at Breme, whose labour they might vse in his absence, in preaching of the Gospell. Besides that, the Papistes were for the most parte vanquished and ouerthrowne, and their follie knowne, euen vnto women and children, adding thereunto, that he had nowe preached the Gospell by the space of two yeares at Breme, and that they of Diethmar liued without a pastour euen in the midst of the woolues, wherefore he could not with safe conscience denie theyr request. And whereas they alleged that they could not licence him without the consente of the whole congregation, that (said he) was but of small effect, for so much as he would not vtterly forsake them, but determined only to remaine with them of Diethmar, for a moneth or two, to lay a foundation, and then to returne againe, desiring them, that after his departure, they would declare vnto the cōgregation, how he was sent for by them of Diethmar, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sodeine departure, for that he was forced to departe secretly, because of his aduersaries priuily lyeng in waite in euery place for him, thinking that he should scarcely auoide them, which had alwayes gone about to

bring him to his death.* Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had perfourmed his enterprise, he woulde straight returne againe. They being perswaded with these words, cōsented vnto him, stedfastly hoping that they of Diethmar should be conuerted vnto the true faith: which people aboue all other, haue alwaies bene most geuen to Idolatrie.

Hauing prepared all things toward his setting foorth, the xxij. day of October, he tooke his iourney, and came to Meldorphe, whither he was sent for: wheras he was ioyfully receiued of the parish priest and other, as soone as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the Diuell with his members by and by began to freat and fume for anger. Aboue all other, one Augustine Torneborch, Prior of the Blacke friers, began to fume, who went out of hand vnto maister Iohn Swicken his companion, and Commissary to the Officiall of Hamburge, to take counsell what was to be done, least they should loose their kingdome.* Finally it was decreed by them, aboue all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not haue licence to preach: for if by any meanes it happened that he preached, and the people should heare him, it was to be feared that the wickednes and craft of the Priestes and Monkes should be opened, which being made manifest, they knew plainely that it would be but a folly to resist, remembring what had happened lately before in Breme. This determination had, the Prior the next day early in the morning, (for he had not slept well all night for cares) wente wyth great speede vnto Heyda to speake with the 48. Presidēts of the countrey: vnto whome with great complaintes he shewed, how that a seditious felow a Monke, was come from Breme, which would seduce all the people of Diethmar, as he had done the Bremers.* There was moreouer that did assist this Prior, maister Gunterus, Chauncelour of that countrey, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies vnto the Gospell. These two stoutly assisted the Prior, perswading the other 46. being simple and vnlearned men, that they should obtaine great fauour and good will of the Bishop of Breme, if they would put this hereticke monke to death. When these poore vnlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this Monke shoulde be put to death, neither heard, nor seene, much lesse conuict.

Furthermore, this Prior obtained letters from the 48. Presidents vnto the parish priest, commanding him vnder great penaltie, that he shoulde put the Monke out of his house, and commaunde him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily vnto Meldorphe,* and deliuered the letters ouernight vnto the parish Priest, trusting that by their threatnings and commandement, the sayd Henry should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

When as the parish priest had read ouer the letters, he marueyled not a little at that proud commaundement, for that it had not bene heard of before, that the xlvij. Presidents should meddle with Ecclesiasticall matters, and that it had bene of long time vsed, that the ruling therof should be in the hands of the parish priest: and long time before it was decreed by the whole prouince, and customably vsed, that in euery church y^e parish priest should haue free libertie to receiue or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest deliuered vnto Henry: which when he had diligently looked ouer, he answered, that for so muche as he was come, being sent for by y^e whole cōgregatiō to preach the Gospell of Christ, he would satisfie that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable vnto the whole cōgregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, then mā: Also y^t if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Diethmar, there was as neare a way to heauen,* as in any other place, for that he doubted nothing at all, y^t once he must suffer for y^e Gospels sake. Upon this courage and boldnes, the next day Henry went vp into the

Pulpit, and made a Sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is, Rom. 1. Testis est mihi Deus, &c. That is, God is my witnes: and the Gospell of the day. After the Sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the Prior deliuered the letters that were sent by the 48. Presidents, the tenor whereof was this: that they of Meldorph should be fined with a fine of a thousand gildrens, if they suffered the Monke to preach: and commaunded moreouer, that they should send ambassadours vnto Heida, with full power and authoritie. When they heard these letters read, they were much moued, because they were so charged contrary to the custome of the countrey, for so much as euery parish priest hath alwaies had authority, according to his discretion, to choose or put away the preacher. Briefly they all determined with one voice, to keepe Henry for their preacher, and to defend him: for when they had heard the Sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

After dinner Henry preached againe,* expounding y^e place of S. Paule Rom. 15. Debemus nos qui potentes sumus, &c. We ought which are strong, &c. The next day the Citizens of Meldorphe sent their messengers vnto Heyda, offering to aunsweare in all causes before all men, for their preacher, whome they had receiued. Besides that, the messengers declared what christian & godly Sermons they heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the said Legates vnto the 48. rulers, wherein he excused himselfe, that it was neuer his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry to moue sedition, but only sincerely to preach y^e word of God, and offred himselfe ready to answer for the said Henry to al mē, whensoever he should be called, most earnestly desiring them not to geue credite vnto y^e Monks, which being blinded with hatred & auarice, had fully determined to oppresse y^e truth: saieng moreouer, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned, before the truth be tried out, and his cause declared, and if after due inquisitiō had, he should be cōuict, then he should suffer cōdigne punishment. This submission with y^e publique testimoniall, was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answeare geuen therunto, but euery man repined & murmured [Page 877](#) thereat. Last of all, one Peter Dethleues, one of the Seniors answered:* that albeit there were diuers dissensions in euery place about the Christian faith; and that they as men ignorant, could not redresse the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified: which was, that the iudgement of determining this dissension, should be reserued to the next Councell, which by the report of maister Chauncelour, was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also vntill all discord and dissension should be appeased, whatsoever was receiued and beleueed by theyr neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receiue and beleue the same: So that if the word of God hath not hitherto bene clearely and sincerely preached (as they said) vnto y^e people, and that there be now some which can teache and preach the same more sincerely, it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the presidents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heede of, that there be no occasion geuen by any man to moue sedition, and in the meane time he commaunded all men quietly to geue ouer all matters vntill Easter nexte, and by that time it shoulde be made euident what shoulde be receiued, and what left vndone. With this answeare they were all very well contented, and the messengers returned againe to Meldorphe with great ioy and gladnes, declaring to the whole congregation what answeare was made, cōceiuing a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to passe.

Upon S. Nicholas daye, thys Henry preached twise, first vpon the Gospell Homo quidam nobilis, &c. A certaine noble man,*&c. Secondly vpon this text, Plures facti sunt sacerdotes, &c. There are many made Priestes, &c. with suche a spirit and grace,* that all men had him in admiration,

praieng God most earnestly that they might long haue such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our Lady, he also made two Sermons vpon the first chapter of Mathew, expounding the booke of the generation, wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God vnto oure forefathers, and vnder what faith our fathers that then were, had liued, adding also that all respect of works being set apart, we must be iustified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldnes of spirit, that al mē greatly maruelled at him, geuing thanks to God for his great mercy, that had sente them such a Preacher, desiring hym moreouer that he would tarrie with them al Christmas to preach, for they feared least he should be sent for to some other place.

In the meane space, the Priour and maister Iohn Schinke were not idle,* for when the Prior perceiued that his malicious enterprise tooke no good successe, he adioyned vnto him a companion, William, a Doctour of the Iacobines, and so went vp to Laudanum, to the Monks, Franciscanes, and Minors, for helpe and counsaile. For those kindes of Friers aboue all other, are best instruct by their hypocrisie, to deceiue the poore and simple people. These Friers streightwaies sent for certaine of the rulers, which had all the rule and authoritie, and specially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden, vnto whome they declared, after their accustomed maner, with great complaintes, what an heretique Monke had preached, and how he had obtained the fauour almost of all the simple people, which if they did not spedily prouide for and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretique to death, it would come to passe, that shortly the honour of our Lady and all Saints, together with the two Abbeys, shoulde vtterly come to ruine and decay.

When these simple & ignorant men heard these wordes, they were greatly moued. Whereunto Peter Swine aunswered thus, that they had before written vnto the parish priest & to Henry, what was best to be done, notwithstanding if they thought good, they would write againe. No, said y^e Prior, this matter must be attempted another way, for if you write vnto the heretike, he wil by and by answer you againe. And it is to be feared, least the contagion of his heresie do also infect you, being vnlearned men: for if you geue him leaue to speake, and to answere, there is no hope that you shall ouercome him.* Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burne him, before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answere. This deuise pleased all mē, but specially the Franciscane Friers. Petrus Hannus the Priors chiefe frend, willing to get the chiefe praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of maister Gunter, did associate vnto him certaine other rulers of the townes neere adioining, whose names are heere not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glorye.* The names of the Presidentes were these, Petrus Hannus, Peter Swines sonne, Hennicke Lūdane, Iohn Holneus, Laurence Hannemanus, Nicholas Weslingbourgus, Ambrose & Iohn Brenthusius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henstedanus Ludekus, Iohānes Weslingus, and Petrus Grossus, President of Himmigstate. All these Presidentes & all other that were of Councell to this pretēce, assembled together in the Parish of the new Church, in the house of maister Gunter, where also the Chauncelour was consultyng together with thē, how they might burne the sayd Henry, secretly comming vpon him without any iudgement or sentence. They concluded the next day after the conception of our Lady, to meete at Henning, which is v. myle frō Meldorphe, with a great band of husbādmē. This determination this made, they layd scoutes in euery place, that there should no newes of their pretēsed mischiefes come vnto Meldorphe, cōmaundyng that as soone as it began to waxe darke, they should all gather together. There assembled aboue v. C. mē of the

countrie, vnto whom was declared the cause of their assemble, & also they were instructed what was to be done, for before no mā knew the cause of the assemble, but onely the Presidentes. When the husbandmē vnderstood it, they would haue returned backe agayne, refusing to do such a detestable and horrible deede. The Presidentes with most bitter threates, kept them in obedience,* & to the intent they should be the more couragious, they gaue them three barrels of Hamborow beere to drinke.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorphe. The Iacobines and Monkes prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away sodēly in the darke. They had also with them a false betrayer, named Hennegus,* by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all thynges. With great violēce they burst into the house of the Parish Priest, breakyng & spoylyng all thynges, as the maner of that dronken people is. If they found either gold or siluer, they tooke it away. When they had spoyled all things, they violently fell vpon the Parish Priest, & with great noyse cried out, kill the theefe, kill the theefe.* Some of them tooke him by the heare of the head and pulled him out into the durt, forcyng him to go with them as prisoner: other some cried out, saying that y^e Parish Priest was not to be medled withall, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust vpon the Parishe Priest, with great rage and furie they ranne vpō Henry, and drawyng him naked out of his bed,* bound his handes hard behinde him: whō beyng so bounde, they drewe to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, which otherwise was vnmercyfull & a cruell persecuter of the word of God, willed thē that they should let him alone, for y^t without doubt, he would folow of his owne mynde. Then they committed the guidyng of him to Iohn Balco, who rather drew him by violence, thē led him. When he was brought to Hemmingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar. Unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his cōmyng: but they all in a rage cryed out. Away with him,* away with him, for if we heare him talke any longer, it is to be feared, that he will make vs also hereticke. Then he beyng marueilous weary and faynt, required to bee set a horsebacke, for his feete were all cut and hurt with the yse, because he was led all night barefoote. When they heard him say so, they mocked & laughed at him, say•ng, must we hyre a horse for an hereticke? He shall go a foote whether he will or no. Because it was night,* they caried him naked vnto Heyda. Afterward they brought him to a certaine mās house named Calden, & bound him there with chaynes in the stockes. The maister of the house seyng the cruell deede, takyng compassion vpon Henry, would not suffer it to bee done. Wherefore hee was caried away to the Priestes house, the Officials seruau^t of Hamburge, & shut vp in a cupbord, & was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked & scorned him. Amongest all other there came vnto him, Symon in Altenuord, & Christian Parish Priest of the new Church, both alike ignoraunt & wicked persecutors of the word of God, demaundyng of him why he had forsaken his holy habite. Unto whom he frendly aunswered by the Scriptures, but those ignoraūt persons vnderstood nothyng what he sayd. Maister Gunterus also came vnto him, enquiring whether hee had rather to bee sent to the Byshop of Breme, or receiue his punishmēt in Diethmar. Unto whom Henry aūswered, if I haue preached any thyng contrary to Gods word, or done any wicked act, it is in their handes to punish me therfore. Gunterus aunswered. Harke I pray you frendes, barke, he desireth to suffer in Diethmar. The common people all the night continued drinkyng and swillyng.

In the mornyng about viij. of the clocke, they gathered together in y^e market place to cōsult what they should do.* There the rusticall people boyling with drinke, cryed out, burne him, burne him, to the fire with the hereticke. Without [Page 878](#) doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtaine

great glorie and praise both of God and man, for the longer he liueth, the more he will seduce with his heresie. What neede many words? Sure he was to die, for they had condemned this good Henry without any iudgement, (his cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commaunded the Crier to proclaime, that euerye man that was at the taking of him, should be readie in armour to bring him forth to the fire.* Amongest all other, the Frier Franciscanes were present, encouraging the dronken rude people, sayeng, now ye go the right way to worke. Then they bound the saide Henry, hands, feete, and necke, and with great noyse brought him forth to the fire.* As he passed by, a certaine woman standing in her dore, beholding that pitifull sight, wept abundantly. Unto whome Henry turnyng himselfe, saide, I pray you weepe not for me. When he came to the fire, for very weakenes he sate downe vpon the ground. By and by there was present one of the Presidents named Maye, which was euidently knowne to be corrupted and bribed with money, to this purpose: he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing thys sentence vpon him.

*For so much as this theefe hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commaundement and sufferance of our reuerend father in Christ, the Bishop of Breme, and my Lord, I condemne him heere to be burned and consumed with fire. Unto whome Henry answered, I haue done no such thing: and lifting vp hys eies towards the heauen, he said, O Lord forgeue them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do. Thy name, O almighty God, is holy.

In the meane time, a certaine woman, the wife of one Iunger, sister of Peter Hannus, offered hir selfe to suffer a thousand stripes, and to geue them much money, so that they would pacifie the matter, and keepe him in prison, vntill that he might pleade his matter before the whole cōuocation of the countrey. When they heard these wordes, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman downe vnder feete, and trode vpō her, and beate the said Henry vnmercifully. One of the rusticall sort, strake him behinde on the head with a sharpe daggar. Iohn Holmes of the new Church strake him with a Mace. Othersome thrust hym in the backe, and in the armes. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speake. Maister Gunter cried out, encouraging them, sayeng: Go to boldly good felowes, truely God is with vs present.

After this he brought a Franciscane Frier vnto Henry, y^t he should be confessed. Whom Henry demaunded in this maner: Brother, when haue I done you iniurie, either by word or deed, or when did I euer prouoke you to anger? Neuer, saide the frier. What should I then confesse vnto you, said he, that you thinke you might forgeue me? The Frier being moued at these words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burne. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds vpon him, striking & pricking him with all kind of weapons. The saide Henry standing in the meane time in his shyrt before all this rude people, at the last they hauing gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And whē he began to pray, & to repeate his Creede, one strake him vpō the face with his fist, saieng, thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray & prate as much as thou wilt.* Then another treading vpon his brest, bounde his necke hard to a step of the ladder, that the bloud gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withall, for they saw, that for all his sore woundes, he would not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set vpright. Then one running vnto him, set his halbard for the ladder to leane against (for those countreyemen vse no commō hangman, but euery mā

exerciseth the office without difference) but the ladder slipping away from the point of the halbard, caused that the halbard strake him through the body. Then they cast this good man with ladder and all vpon the wood, which tumbling downe, light vpon the one side. Then Iohn Holmeus ranne vnto him, & strake him with a mace vpon the brest, till he was dead, and stirred no more. Afterward they rosted him vpon the coles, for the wood as aftē as it was set on fire, would not burne out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdome,* which was, ann. 1524. Ex Epist. Mart. Luth.

About the same time, many other godly persons, & such as feared God, for the testimonie of the Gospell, were throwne into the riuer of Rhene, and into other riuers, where their bodies afterward were found,* and taken vp. Also in the saide Towne of Diethmar, another faithfull Saint of God, named Iohn, suffered the like martirdome. Thus these two blessed and constant Martyrs, as two shining lights set vp of God, in testimonie of his truth, offered vp the sacrifice of their confession, sealed with their bloud, in a sweete odor vnto God.

At the Towne of Hala, likewise another preacher, named M. George, for ministring in both kindes,* was martired and slaine of a like sort of cutthrotes, set vp by monks and friers to murther him, neere to the towne called Haschemburge. Ex Crisp. & Pantal.

At Prage also in Bohemia, another for changing hys Monkerie into Matrimonie, did suffer in like maner. Ex Lud. Rab.

Furthermore, in the same yeare of our Lord aboue mentioned 1524. and 22. of Octob. the Towne of Miltenberge in Germany was taken and ransackt,* and diuers of the inhabitants there slaine, and many imprisoned for mainteining and keeping with them Carolostadius, to be theyr preacher. Ex Raba. & Pantal.

In the same catalogue of holy Martirs, likewise is to be placed Gaspar Tamber. Also another called Georgius,* a Scriuener, which both wer burned at Uienna in Austria.

¶The lamentable martyrdome of Iohn Clerke of Melden in Fraunce.

MElden is a citie in Fraunce x. miles distant from Paris, where Iohn Clerke first was apprehēded & takē,* ann. 1523. for setting vp vpon the Church dore, a certayne Bill against the Popes pardons lately sent thyther from Rome, in which Bill he named the Pope to be Antichrist. For the which his punishment was this,* that three seuerall days he should be whipped, & afterward haue a marke imprinted in his forehed, as a note of infamy. His mother being a christiā womā, although her husband was an aduersary, when she beheld her sonne thus pitiously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face,* cōstantly & boldly did encourage her sonne, crieng with a loude voice. Blessed be Christ, and welcome be his printes and markes.

After this execution and punishment susteined, the sayd Iohn departed that towne, and went to Roisie in Bry, & from thence remoued to Metz in Lotharing, where he remained a certaine space, applyng his vocation, beyng a Wollecarder by his occupation. Wheras he, the day before that the people of that city should go out to the suburbs to worship certaine blind idols neere by (after an old vse and custome amongst them receiued) being inflamed with the zeale of God, went out

of the Citie to the place where the Images were, and brast them all downe in peeces. The next morow after, when y^e Canons, Priestes, & Monkes, keping their old custome, had brought with them the people out of the Citie, to the place of Idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty, lye broken vpon the ground. At the sight whereof they being mightely offended in theyr mindes, set all the Citie on a gog to search out the author thereof. Who was not hard to be found: for so much as this foresayde Clerke, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seene somewhat late in the euening before, to come from the same place into the Citie. Wherefore he being suspected, and examined vpō the same, at first confessed the fact, rendring also the cause,* which moued him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kinde of doctrine, were moued marueilously against him, crieng out vpon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being infourmed to the Iudges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the sonne of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of executiō, where he susteined extreme tormēts.* For first his hand was cut off from his right arme: then his nose with sharp pinsons was violently pluckt from his face: after that both his armes, and his pappes were lykewise pluckt and drawne with the same instrument. To all them that stode looking vpon, it was an horroure to behold the greeuous and dolefull sight of his paines: againe to behold his pacience, or rather the grace of God geuing him the gift so to suffer,* it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing the verses of the 115. Psal. Simulacra eorum sunt argentum & aurum, &c. Their Images be syluer and golde, the woorke only of mans hand, &c. The residue of his life that remayned in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed: which was about the yeare of our Lord 1524. Ex Plant. & Crisp.

Iohn Castellane.

The yeare next ensuing,* which was 1525. mayster Iohn Castellane borne at Tournay, a Doctour of Diuinitie, [Page 879](#) after that he was called vnto y^e knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in Fraunce, in a place called Barleduc, also at Uittery in Partoise, at Chalon in Champaine, and in the towne of Uike, which is the Chamber and Episcopall Seate of the Bishop of Metz in Loraine, after he had laide some foundation of the doctrine of the Gospell in the towne of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken prisoner by the Cardinall of Lorainges seruants, by whome he was caryed from Gorze to the Castell of Nommeny:* wherupon the citizens of Merz tooke no little displeasure and greeuance, who being greeuously offended to haue their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after tooke certaine of the Cardinalles subiectes, and kept them prisoners so long, vntill the Abbot of S. Antonies in Uiennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar generall, as wel in causes spirituall, as tēporall, through the iurisdiction both of the Cardinall, and Bishopricke of Metz, Tollouse and Uerdune, being furnished with a letter & commission from the See of Rome, came to the saide towne of Metz, and after diuers declarations made to the Prouost, and the other Iustices and Counsellers of the Citie, he so wrought and brought to passe, that immediately the sayde subiectes of the Cardinall were set at libertie. But Iohn Castellane was kept still prisoner in the Castell of Nommeny,* and was most cruelly handled, from the time of the fourth day of May, vntill the twelfth day of Ianuary: during all which time he perseuered constant in y^e doctrine of the sonne of God. Wherupon he was carried from Nommeny,* to the towne and Castell of Uike, alwaies perseuering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine, so that they did proceed vnto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be deliuered ouer vnto the secular power,

according to the custome and manner. And for so much as the fourme and manner of the sentence and processe of disgrading is notable, and hath bene reported vnto vs word for word, we haue thought good heere to annexe the same, to declare the horrible blasphemies ioined with grosse and brutish subiltie, in those high misteries which the enemies of the truth do vse in their processe against the children of God, whereby euery man, euen the most ignoraunt, may euidently perceauē the horrible blindnes, that these vnshamefast Catholiques are blinded withall.

The sentence of the degradation.

*CConcerning the processe inquisitorie, fourmed and geuen in fourme of accusation against thee Iohn Castellane, priest and religious man of the fryer Eremites of the order of S. Austine: vnderstanding likewise thy confession which thou hast made of thine owne good will, mainteining false and erroneous doctrine: and marking also besides this, the godly admonitions, and charitable exhortations which we made vnto thee in the towne of Metz, which thou like vnto the serpent Aspis, hast refused, and geuen no eare vnto: also considering thine answeares made and reiterate vnto our interrogatories, by meanes of thine othe, in the which diuelishly thou hast hydden and kept backe, not onely the truth, but also following the example of Caine, hast denyed to confesse thy sinnes and mischeuous offence: and finally hearyng the great number of witnesses, sworne and examined agaynste thee, theyr persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things woorthy of consideration, beeing iustly examined: the reuerende mayster Nicholas Sauin, doctour of diuinitie, and inquisitour of the fayth, assistaunt vnto vs, hath entred processe agaynst thee, and geuen full information thereof: this our purpose and intent being also communicate vnto diuers Maysters and Doctours both of the Ciuile and Canon lawes heere present, which haue subscribed and signed heereunto, whereby it appeareth that thou Iohn Castellane hast oftentimes and in diuers places openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught manye erroneous propositions, full of the heresie of Luther, contrary and against the Catholique faith, and the veritie of the Gospell, and the holy Apostolique see, and so accursedly looked backe, & turned thy face, that thou art founde to be a lyer before Almighty God. It is ordeyned by the sacred rules of the Canon lawe, that such as through the sharpe dartes of their venomous tongue, doo peruert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the soules of the faithfull, should be punished and corrected with most sharpe correction, to the ende that others should be afrayde to attempt the like, and apply themselues the better to the study of Christian concorde, through the examples set before their eyes, as well of seuerity▪ as of clemency. For these causes and others rising vpon the saide processe, by the Apostolique authoritie, and also the authoritie of our sayde reuerende Lorde the Cardinall, whych we doo vse in this our sentence definitiue, whiche wee sitting in our iudgement seate, declare in these writinges, hauing God onely before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measure we do meat vnto other, the same shalbe measured to vs againe: *we pronouce and declare sentētially and diffinitiuely, thee Iohn Castellane, beyng here present before vs, and iudge thee because of thy desertes, to be excōmunicate with the most great excōmunication, and therewithall to be culpable of treason against the diuine maiesty, and a mortall enemy of the Catholicke fayth, and veritie of the Gospell: also to be a manifest hereticke, & a folower & partaker of the execrable *crueltie of Martin Luther, a stirrer vp of old heresies already cōdemned, and therefore, as thou oughtest to be deposed and depriued of all Priestly honor and dignitie, of all thy orders, of thy shauing, & religious habite: also of thy Ecclesiasticall benefices, if thou hast any, and from all priuilege of the Clergy: so we here presently do depose, depriue, and seperate thee as a rotten member, from the communion and companie of all the faythfull, and beyng so depriued,

we iudge that thou oughtest to be actually disgraded: that done, we leaue thee vnto the secular powers, committynge the degradation and actuall execution of this our sentence, vnto the reuerend Lord and Byshop here present, with the authoritie and commaundement aforesayd.

This sentēce beyng thus ended, with their Catholicke Sermon also, the sayd Byshop of Nicopolis sittynge in his pontificalibus, in the iudgement seate, beyng Suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles and people about him, proceeded to the disgradyng (as they call it) of the sayd maister Iohn Castellane. Thus the sayd maister Iohn Castellane being made ready to his degradation by the officers of the sayd Byshop, was apparelled in his Priestly attyre, and afterward brought forth of the Chappell by the Priestres, which were therunto appointed, with al his priestly ornamentes vpon him, and holdyng his handes together, he kneeled downe before the Bishop.* Then the officers gaue him the chalice in his handes with wyne & water, the patine, & the host: all which thinges the sayd bysh. which disgraded him, tooke frō him, saying, we take away frō thee, or cōmaund to be takē frō thee, all power to offer sacrifice vnto God, & to say Masse aswell for y^e quicke, as the dead.

Moreouer,* y^e Bysh. scraped y^e nayles of both his hands with a peece of glasse, saying: By this scrapyng we take away frō thee all power to sacrifice, to cōsecrate, & to blesse, which thou hast receiued by the annoyntyng of thy hāds. Then he tooke from him the Chesille, saying: by good right we do dispoyle thee of this priestly ornamēt,* which signifieth charitie: for certainly y^u hast forsakē the same, & all innocencie. Then taking away the stole, he sayd:* Thou hast vilanously reiected & despised the signe of our Lord, which is represented by this stole: wherefore we take it away frō thee, and make thee vnable to exercise and vse the office of Priesthood, & all other things apperteinyng to Priesthood. The degradation of y^e order of Priesthood beyng thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon.* Thē the ministers gaue him the booke of the Gospels, which the Bysh. tooke away, saying: we take away from thee all power to read y^e Gospels in the Church of God, for it apperteineth onely to such as are worthy. After this he spoyled him of the Dalmatike, which is the vesture that the Deacōs vse,* saying: we depriue thee of this Leuiticall order: for somuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministerie & office.* After this the bysh. tooke away the stole frō behind his backe, saying: we iustly take away from thee the white stole which thou haddest receiued vndefiledly,* which also thou oughtest to haue borne in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicate vnto the name of Christ, may take by thee example, we prohibite thee any more to exercise or vse the office of Deaconshyp.* Then they proceeded to the disgradyng of Subdeaconshyp, & taking away from him the booke of the Epistles, & his Subdeacons vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the Church of God:* & so orderly proceedyng vnto all the other orders, disgraded him from the order of Benet and Collet, from the order of Exorcist, from the Lectorshyp, and last of all, frō the office of Doorekeeper, taking frō him the keyes,* & cōmaundyng him hereafter not to opē or shut the Reuestry, nor to ring any more belles in the Church. That done,* the bysh. went forward to disgrace him from his first shauing, & takyng away his Surplice, sayd vnto him, by y^e authoritie of God almighty, the father, the sonne, & the holy ghost, & by our authoritie, we take from thee all Clerkely habite,* and dispoyle thee of all ornament of religion: Also we depose and disgrace thee of all order, benefite, & priuilege of the Clergy, & as one vnworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the seruitude & ignominie of the secular estate.* Thē the Byshop tooke the sheeres, and began to clyp his head, saying in this maner, we cast thee out as an vnthākfull child of the Lordes heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head, the crowne,

which is the royall signe of Priesthood, through thine owne wickednesse and [Page 880](#) malice. The Bishop also added these wordes, that whiche thou hast song with thy mouth, thou hast not beleueed with thy hart, nor accomplished in worke, wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the Church of God.

The disgrading thus ended, the procurator fiscall of the Court and citie of Metz,* required of the Notary an instrument or copie of the disgrading. Then the ministers of the Bishop turned him out of his clerkely habite, and put vpon him the apparell of a seculer man. That done, for so much as he which is disgraded,* according to the institution of Pope Innocent the third, ought to be deliuered vnto the seculer court, the Bishop that disgraded him, proceeded no further, but said in this manner, we pronounce that the seculer court shall receiue thee into their charge, being thus disgraded of all clerkly honour and priuilege.

This done, the Bishop, after a certaine maner, intreated the seculer Iudge for him,* sayeng: My Lord Iudge, we pray you as hartily as we can, for the loue of God, and the contemplatiō of tender pitie & mercie, and for y^e respect of our praier, that you will not in any point do any thing that shal be hurtful vnto this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body. These thinges thus done, the seculer Iudge of the towne of Uike, confirming the foresaid sentence, cōdemned the said maister Iohn Castellane, to be burned quicke: which death he suffred the xij. day of Ianuary 1525. with such a constancie, that not onely a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawne to the knowledge of the veritie, but also a great number which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

[illustration]

***The burning of Iohn Castellane.**

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It would fill another volume to comprehend the actes & stories of all them, which in other countreys at the rising of the Gospell, suffered for the same. But praised be y^e Lord, euery Region almost hath his owne history writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as euery one in matters of his owne countrey is best acquainted: wherfore I shall the lesse neede to ouerstraine my trauaile, or to ouercharge this volume therewith. Only it shall suffice me to collect iij. or iiij histories, recorded by Oecolampadius and the rest to bring into a briefe table, & so returning, to occupy my self w^t our own domestical matters, here done at home.

¶The history of a good pastour, murthered for the preaching of the Gospell: written by I. Oecolampadius.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1525. there was a certaine good and godly minister,* who had cōmitted something in the Commotion there rased by the rusticall clownes of the countrey, which they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with some word something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

After sentence was geuen, there was a Gentleman of a cruell hart, sent with a certaine troupe of men, to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him. Who comming into his house, saluted him frendly, pretending as though their comming had bene to make good cheare: for he was a good housekeeper, and the Gentlemen of the Countrey thereaboutes vsed oftentimes to resort vnto his house familiarly. This priest made ready for them in short space, a very sumptuous banket, whereof they did eate and drinke very cheerefully. After dinner was ended, and that the Priest was yet at the table thinking no hurt,* the Gentleman said to his seruants, take ye this priest our host, and hang him, and that without delay, for he hath wel deserued to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed agaynste hys Prince, the seruants were marueylously astonied wyth his words, and abhorring to do the deede, sayd vnto theyr maister, God forbid that we should cōmit any such crime, to hang a man that hath intreated vs so gently: for y^e meate which he hath geuen vs, is yet in our stomackes vndisgested. It wer• a wicked acte for a noble man to render so great an euill, for a good turne: but especially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the seruants sought no other occasion, but only to geue him way to flee, that they might also auoide the execution of that wicked purpose.

As the Gentleman and his seruants were thus contending, the priest said vnto them, I beseech you shewe no such crueltie vpon me, rather leade me away captiue vnto my prince, where I may purge my selfe. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacifie his anger which he hath conceiued against me. At least remember the hospitalitie which I haue euer shewed to you, and all Noble mē at al times, resorting to my house. But principally speaking to the Gentleman, he aduertised him of y^e perpetuall sting which would follow vpon an euill conscience: protesting that he had faithfully and truely taught them the doctrine of the Gospell, and that it was the principall cause why he had such euill will: whiche long time before he had foreseene would come to passe, for so much as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reprobued sharply and openly the horrible vices of the Gentlemen,* which mainteined their people in their vicious liuing, and they themselues were geuen vnto blasphemie and drunkennes, whereas they should shewe example of faith, true religion, and sobernes, but they had oftentimes resisted him, sayeng that it was not his part to reprove them, for so much as they were his Lordes, and might put him to death if they woulde: that all things which they did was allowable, and that no man ought to gaynesay it: also that he went about some things in hys Sermons, that would come to an ill ende.

This good man, whatsoeuer he coulde saye, coulde not make his matter seeme good, for the Gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his seruants still to accomplish their purpose, for it was resolved by the Prince, that he shoulde be put to death, and turning hymselfe vnto the Priest, he said, that he could gaine nothing by preaching in such sorte,* but that he shoulde fully determine himselfe to die, for the prince had geuen expresse commaundement to hang him, whose fauour he woulde not loose, for to saue his life.

At the last the seruants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their hoste, & hanged him vpon a beame in his owne house, the Gentleman standing by, & looking vpon.

This good man seeing no remedy, spake none other wordes, but onely, Iesus haue mercy vpon me. Iesus saue me. This is the truth of this most cruell acte, which a Turke would scarcely haue committed against his mortall enemy. Now let euery man iudge with himselfe, which of them haue the greatest aduantage, either they which commit the crueltie against the good, or the good

men which do suffer the same vniustly. The first sorte haue a continuall gnawing in their conscience, and the other obtaine an immortall crowne.

¶The like historie of the death of a certaine Minister, named M. Peter Spengler, which was drowned in the yeare of our Lord 1525. collected by Oecolampadius.

IN a certaine village named Schlat, in the countrey of Brisgois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very wel learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he liued a godly & a blamelesse life, hauing lōg time faithfully done his office and dutie, being also courteous and gentle,* and wel beloued of mē, but specially of the Bysh. of Constāce, with whom he was in great authority, peaceable and quiete with all men that he had to doo withall. He quieted discordes and contentions with a marueilous prudencie, exhorting [Page 881](#) all men to mutuall charity & loue. In al assembles wheresoeuer he came, he greatly commended honest lyfe & amendment of maners. When the purity of the gospell began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the holy Scriptures, which long tyme before he had read, but without any vnderstanding. When he had recouered a litle iudgement, and came to more vnderstanding by cōtinuall reading, being also further grown in age, he begā to consider with himselfe, in how great darckenes and errors the whole order of priests had bene a long time drowned. O good God (sayd he) who would haue thought it, that so many learned and holy men haue wandred out of the right way, and could haue so lōg time bene wrapped in so greate errors, or that the holy Scripture coulde haue bene so deformed with such horrible abuses, for he neuer wel vnderstood before (he sayde) that the Gospell was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, seeing it conteyned so much touching the Crosse, persecution, and ignominious death,* and yet the Priestes liued in great prosperity, and no man durste mayntayne any quarrell agaynst them, without great daunger? He also saw that the howre was come that the Gospell should be displayd, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth beganne now to rage, that the wicked and proud lyfted vppe theyr heades on high,* and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kynde of mischief and wickednesse agaynst the faythfull, that the Byshops which ought by theyr vertue and power to defend the word, were more barbarous and cruell then any tyrauntes had bene before. He thus considering the present estate of the world,* put all doubte from his hart, and sawe presently before hys eyes, that Iesus Christ had taught the trueth, seeing so many bodyes of the faythful were dayly so tormented, beaten, exiled, and banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great tormentes which the innocent haue endured these yeares passed, euen by those which cal themselues Christians, and for no other cause, but onely for the true confession of Iesus Christ? This good Pastour considering with him selfe the lawes and doctrine of the church of Rome to swarue from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining mariage: to the end that he would not defile himselfe wyth fornication, he maryed a mayd of his, such a one as feared God, by whom afterward he had many fayre children.

About this time the people of the countrey had raysed a great commotion,* who in theyr rage went vnto monaste|ries and priestes houses, as if they had taken in hand some pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they eyther cast vnderfeet, or caryed it away with them. One company of this rustical sort, lodged themselues in the house of this good Priest, for they made no difference betwene the good & the bad. These roysters tooke from him all that they could finde, leauyng nothing behinde them, in so much as they tooke away the very hose from his legges, for all that he could doe: albeit that he gently

entreated them, shewing that it was theft, & a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued styll in theyr madnes like beastes.

As they were departing out of the house, the good priest could not refrain himselfe from weeping, saying vnto thē, I tell you before, these your vnordinate dooynges will redound to some great mischiefe to your selfe. For what madnes is this, what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keepe no order or equity, neither haue any respect betwene frend and foe? Who thus styrreth you vp? what counsell do you folow, or to what end do you this? Like theues you spoyle what so euer you can lay handes vpon. And thinke you not but these thinges which you now rob, rauē, and steale, you shalbe compelled hereafter to restore agayn, to your great detrimēt? What sedition did euer come to good end? * You pretend the Gospell, and haue no peace of the Gospell either in your mouthes, or in your hartes. These excesses (sayd he) ye neuer learned of me, which euer haue taught you the true word of God. This your Gospel (sayth he) is rather the Gospell of the deuill, then of God, which vexeth al the world with violence and wrong, spoyling and robbing without regard. * The true Gospel of Iesus Christ, teacheth you to do good vnto all men, to auoide dissentiōs and periury. This I say vnto you, that in these your doinges you offend God, and prouoke his iust vengeance to plague you, which will neuer suffer these euilles to escape vnpunished. You finde written in the Gospell: That which thou wouldest not shoulde be done to thee, do not to other. You offend also all the nobilitye, and your lawfull magistrates, whom you are sworne and bound vnto. It is no small matter I tel you, to rayse vp sedition, to styrre vp other, and to disturbe the state of the common wealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your noble men do? shal they not rifle you as fast, & of your goodes make themselues rich? and then shall one of you betray an other. These with such other words he stood preaching vnto them, almost naked, but al this would not preuayle with those men, who after all these gentle admonitions and fayre wordes, departed out of his house geuing him foule language, and calling him olde Dotarde. Amongest all other, one more wicked then the residue, sayde vnto hym in this maner: O mayster Curate, we haue bene long deceyued by your selling of masses, by fearing vs with Purgatory, by your Diriges and Trentals, and so haue we bene spoyled: wherefore we do nothing now, but requyre agayn the mony which you robbed vs of, and so mocking & scorning him they departed.

After that this sedition of the Pesantes was partly appeased (theyr armour being layd away) and they taken vnto grace: after that also diuers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken here and there in the villagyes, and executed: this good pastor fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the Gospell, whereat many tooke great indignation, was taken in the night by certayn souldiers, which bound him hand and foote, with a great rope before his wife and children, and so set him vpon a horse, * and ledde him away to Friburge. What grieuous sighes, teares, sorrowe, and lamentation was there? It would haue mooued any hart (were it as hard as a Flynt) to a dolefull compassion, especially to see the barbarous and despightfull rebukes, tauntes, and extreme cruelty shewed by these proude Popishe Souldiours agaynst the innocent Priest. Such beastly Tyrauntes the world is neuer without. Such Godly ministers we haue had but a few.

The people hearing this pitifull noyse and lamentatiō in the night, came runing out, not the men, but onely the women, whom the souldiers willed to go home again, and that theyr men should come forth and keepe the towne, but theyr men durst not appear. Then from Friburge, shortly after they conueyed him to Ensisheim.

After they had long kept this man in prison, and that he had endured most terrible tormēts, as well by the priuy members, as in other partes, they iudged him to death. If you will know y^e cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was onely this, y^t he had maryed a wife secretly in hys owne house, with a few witnesses.* Other crimes they had none to obiect agaynst him, neither that he was a seditious and wicked man, or that he had cōmitted any other offence albeit they had gathered diuers wicked persons out of sūdry places, to picke out of hys Sermons, the order and maner of his behaiour. When he was led vnto the place of execution, he aunswered gentlye and quietly vnto all them that came to comfort hym. But there were diuers Monkes and Priestes which troubled hym very sore with theyr foolish babling, as he was striuing in hys spirite agaynst the horroure of death, and making hys prayer vnto almighty GOD, seeking nothing els but to turne him away from his harty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they woulde holde theyr peace, saying that he had already confessed his sinnes vnto the Lord Iesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had receiued absolution and forgeuenesse of them all. And I (sayd he) shall this day be an acceptable sacrifice vnto my Sauour Iesus Christ, for I haue done no suche thing wherefore I am now condemned, whiche might displease my Lorde God, who in this behalfe hath geuen me a good and quiet conscience. Nowe therefore let them which thyrst for innocent bloud, and shed the same, diligently aduise themselues what they do, and that they offend euen hym, vnto whom it pertaineth truely to iudge the hartes of men: for it is sayd: Vengeance is myne, and I will punish.* And for so much as he was a very leane man, he added thys moreouer, saying: It is all one, for shortly I must haue forsaken thys skin which already scarsely hangeth to my bones, I know well that I am a mortall, and a corruptible worme, and haue nothing in me but corruption. I haue long time desired my latter day, & haue made my request that I might be deliuered out of this mortall body, to be ioyned with my Sauour Christ.

I haue deserued through my manifold sinnes committed agaynst my Sauior Christ, my crosse: and my Sauour Christ hath borne the crosse, and hath died vpon the crosse: and for my part, I will not glory in any other thing, but onely in the crosse of Iesus Christ.

There were present by,* certayne naughtye persons which tould not endure to heare this godly exhortatiō, but made a signe vnto the hangman, to cast him down into the riuer. After he was throwne downe, he moued by a certayne space in the water, in such sort, that the riuer whereinto [Page 882](#) he was cast, was redde with bloud. This was a certayne signe and token, that innocent bloud was that daye shed. They which were there present, beholding that whiche had happened,* were greatly amazed and astonyed, cōsidering with themselues what the stayning of the water with the bloud should signify. Euery man returned home pēsiue and sad, maruelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding no man durst open his mouth to speake one word, because that all thinges were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the towne of Ensissheim. an. 1525.

These thinges I did vnderstand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be mercifull vnto vs, and forgeue vs our sinnes. Ex Oecolam.

Such was the wickednes then of those dayes, and yet is still, that who so euer was perceiued to fauour the Gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the popes church, he was hated and despited of the Rulers, Lawiers, and al other Papistes through the whole countrey about, but especially of priestes, monks and friers. And though the life of the Gospellers were neuer so

sound & vpright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the Popes frendes agaynste them, that they neuer ceased to seek all occasiōs, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a litle before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rusticall people of the country, rising in armour inordinately, agaynst theyr Rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, & no lesse to theyr owne destruction: of whom were slayn aboue 20000. At length when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the popes frēds, to worke theyr malice agaynst the Gospell, tooke occasion thereby not long after, to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be Gospellers & Protestantes. And although the sayd Gospellers were neuer so inculpable & cleare from al rebellion, yet that sufficed not, for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt Iudges suborned to condemne the innocent, & many were put to death, theyr cause neither being heard nor knowne. By reason whereof, a great nūber of good & innocent Christians were miserably brought to theyr end and martyrdom. In the number of whome was this poore man also, whose story by Oecolampadius is thus described.

¶ **An other history of a certayne man of the country wrongfully put to death, collected by the sayd Iohn Oecolampadius.**

There was (sayth he) a certayne manne of the countrey, which in my iudgement was a good man, and loue of iustice, and a mortall enemye of all the cruell exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppressed the poore people. Thys man, after the tumult and commotion of the countrey was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented, because he had cryed Alarme. when as a great number of horsemen raunged about the countrey to seeke out those which had bene the authours of that sedition. This poore man was taken by pollicy, & so vpholden with fayre promises, that they made him cōfesse whatsoever they requyred. He thinking that they would not haue put him to death, was cast in prison, wheras he was long time deteined, & well cherished, to take away all suspition from him: but after he had taried a long time in prison, they put him to the Pinbank, laying diuers and many grievous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the trusse of the corde, the space of sixe houres, hanging a great stone fastened at hys feete.

The sweat that dropped from his body for very payne and anguish, was almost bloud. In this distresse he cryed out pitifully, but all that could not once moue the tormenters hartes. When as all the power & strength in his body beganne to fayle him, with great violence they let him fall downe. There this poore man lay euen as a stocke, not mouing any part or member of his body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormenters were in great doubt what to do with the man, whom they sought by al meanes to destroy, in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

Amongest them there was one which brought vineger and rose water, and rubbing him therewithall, they dyd somewhat recouer him. After that they had caused hym to eate and drinke such as they had prouided for him, they let him downe into a deepe dungeon, where he could see neyther Sunne nor Moone. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recouered his strength agayne. There they let him continue xvij. dayes: after which time they brought him agayne to examination, propoūding certaine articles vnto him,

whiche he constantly denied. They deuised diuers and sundry kindes of tormentes, to the intent they might euen of force extorte something of this poore man, which might seeme woorthy of death: yet for all that they were fayne to depart without theyr purpose. The xx. day after, these tyrauntes hyred a hangman (a man sure worthy of his office) whiche lefte no kinde of cruelty vnpractised.* Yet did he misse of his purpose also, and was constrained to leaue his cruelty, and to pronounce euē with his own mouth, that the man was innocēt, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grieuous tormentes. Yet these tyrauntes came agayne the fourth time,* & suborned two witnesses agaynst him, thus cōcluding that he was worthy of death, because he had cried Alarme, after the truce was taken, & woulde haue moued a new sedition. The day was appointed whē he should suffer, and they brought vnto him the hangman, and a Frier into the prison.

In the meane time this poore man thought with hymselfe that they would haue shewed him the like crueltye as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeō where they had let him downe, certifying him that they had thinges to tell him for his profite. This they dyd because he should not dye in prison.

Then they let downe a cord and a staffe,* but they could not perswade him to sit thereupon, saying that he woulde rather chuse to dye there, then he woulde endure any more such cruell tormentes: Notwithstanding, if they woulde promise him, not to put him any more to the trusse of the Corde, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before iust Iudges: on that condition he would come out, although he had fully determined neuer to haue remooued from thence, but to haue ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certayne counsellors which promised to performe his request.* And thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soone as he sawe the Fryer, he cryed out with a loud voyce, saying: O miserable and wretched man that I am: now am I betrayed and deceiued, for my latter houre is at hand. I see well the dreame whiche I haue dreamed this night will come to effect,* for they doe handle me tyrannously & condemn me, not being heard. The frier brake him of from his purpose and pulling a woodē crosse out of his sleeue, presented it vnto hym, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already geuen sentence against him, & that he should gain nothing by so much talk. Poore man (sayd the Frier) thou hast had good and gentle Iudges, at the least thou shalt go to God, therfore confesse thy sinnes in my care, and after thou hast receiued absolution at my handes, doubt not but this day thou shalt goe straight to the kingdome of heauē. The poore man answered: Thou wicked frier, get thee away from me, for I haue long since bewayled my sinnes and offences, & that before the face of my Lord Iesus, who hath already forgeuen me all that which I haue cōmitted against his maiesty, wherfore I haue no need of thy absolution, which thou thy selfe doest not vnderstand. This is most certeine, that lōg time since, thou shouldest haue amēded thine own wicked & hipocriticall life. I know well enough what thou art, thou plaiest the Ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and craftye hart, whiche hath deceiued much simple people. If thou hast any comfort or consolation out of the Gospell to comfort me withall, let me haue it, if not, get thee away frō me, with thy Portesse. The frier was so confused and amazed with these woordes, that he knewe not what to doe or say. The hangman being wiser then the fryer,* bade him reade vnto the poore man something of the Passion, wherein the poore mā would take great pleasure. This foolish frier had no other consolatiō to comfort him withall, but to hold the Crucifixe of wood before him, saying: Beholde thy sauour which dyed for thee, looke vpon him, & thou shalt be comforted. Then sayd the poore man, I haue an other Sauour this is none of my Sauour, get thee away from me thou

naughty person: with thy marmoset of wood. My Sauior dwelleth in heauē in whom I trust that he wil not deliuer my soule to eternall death. The frier crossed himselfe, shewing the semblance of a man that were very sory & agreeued, thinking with himselfe, that this poore man was fallen into desperation. Then he was led forth into the market place, wheras according to the custome,* opēly before al the people, his confession was read with a loud voice whiche contened no other thing, but onely that y^e mā had bene a seditious person, and that in the time of truce he had cryed Alarme, euen in the night, when all men were at rest.

When he was come to the place where he shoulde suffer, being compassed in with Gleues & Halbardes, hyred [Page 883](#) for the purpose: after he had said the Lords prayer, y^e hangman bad him kneele downe, but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet some thing more to say before the people, thinking that he should not be denyed to speake in that place, as he was before the wicked Iudges. Those (sayde he) which know me, shalbe sufficient good witnesses on my behalfe, that from my youth vpward: I haue alwayes lyued in good name, fame, and honesty, being neuer before ac^tcused for any offence, sedition, or periury.

In an euil time haue I happened into these cursed daies, when as all waies both God and manne are turned topsy turuy. I was adherent to the tumult & sedition of the m[•]n of the countrey, as many other were which dwell there about, but what then? are there not also many Gentlemen which folowed the pesants army, and many strōg townes which went also with them? I was not the authour of any sedition,* which alwayes I haue mortally hated. I neuer gaue counsell vnto any man to moue any broile or tumult in any place. We asked counsell of our Gentlemen what we should doe, when the bandes of the pesants were assēbled in the fields: but they gaue vs neither counsell nor comfort. And to speake of my selfe, I did neuer vnderstand or know what the articles were that were published, neyther was there euer any man that told me wherefore they wer published, neither did I know wherfore the bands of the countrymen were risen, neither wherefore euery man moued his neighbor to put on armour. Wherfore thē haue ye taken me as a seditious man, and made me to endure so great torments. He continued a long time in declaring his innocency, but notwithstanding al his excuses & defences, the hangman drue his sword, & at the commaundement of the iudge, strake of his head, as he had made an end of hys prayers.* His tongue moued a long time afterward in hys head, by meanes of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good man of the countrey ended his dayes. Against whom the false Iudges could find no crime or offēce to obiect, albeit they had diligētly sought by witnesses to haue information of al his life & liuing. The Lord graūt his spirit to all those which suffer for his name. Ex Ioan. Oecolampad.

***Wolfgangus Schuch a Germane, in Lotharing, martyr.**

*WOfgangus Schuchus comming to a certayne towne in Lotharing, bearing the name of s. Hippolitus, & being receiued in the said towne to be theyr Pastor, labored by all meanes how to extirp out of the harts of the people Idolatry and Superstition. Whiche through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to passe, according to his desire: In so much that the obseruation of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abhominatiō also of the Masse, in the same towne was vtterly abolished: So reformable God made the hartes of the

people there, & such affection had they to theyr minister. It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of Duke Antony, prince of Loraine (vnder whose dominion they were) through the swift report of the aduersaries,* falsly belying these Hippolitans to y^e duke, as though they in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the Pope, went about to reiect and shake of all authority & power of princes, & all superior gouernors. By the meanes of which sinister report, they incensed the Prince to such displeasure and indignation,* that he threatned to subuert and vtterly to destroy the Towne with swoord and fire. Wolfgangus hauing word of this, wrote vnto the Duke his Epistle, in most humble & obedient wise, in defence both of his ministry, of his doctrine which he taught, & of the whole cause of the Gospell.

In which Epistle first he excused the people to be innocent & blamelesse,* & rather those slaundersous reporters to be both worthy to be blamed, and also punished for theyr false rumors & forged sclaunders raysed vp agaynst them. After that he opened and explained the cause and state of the Gospell, and of our saluation, cōsisting only in the free grace of God, through fayth in Christ his sonne, cōparing also the same doctrine of the Gospell, with the confused doctrine of the Church of Rome.

That done, thirdly he proceeded to our obedience, honor and worship which first we owe to God & to Christ: next vnder him, to Princes here and Potestates, whom God hath placed in his roome, and endued with authoritie here in earth, vnto whom they offered themselues now & at all times, prest and most ready to obey with all seruice & duety. &c.

But with this Epistle Wolfgangus did nothing preuayle, eyther for that it was intercepted by the way, or els for that the false accusations & wicked tongues of the aduersarye parte tooke more effect to winne credite wyth the Duke, then could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather then the towne should come in any daūger for his cause, y^e good man of his owne accord came to the city of Nancey (which is the head towne of Loraine) there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliuer the towne of S. Hippolite out of perill, deriuyng all the daunger vppon hymselfe.

As soone as he was come thither,* incontinent handes were layd vpon him, and he laid fast in a straight and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled, vnder the custody of the churlish and cruell keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus cōtinuing in that prisō the space of a whole yeare, yet would not be moued from hys cōstancy neither with the straitnes of the prison, nor wyth the hardnesse of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife & children, which he had about sixe or seuen.* Then was he had to the house of the Gray fryers to professe there his fayth: where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood agaynst him.

There was a fryer (named Bonauenture) prouinciall of that order, of face, body, and belly monstrous,* but muche more grosse in blinde ignoraunce, and a man vtterly rude, a contemner of all ciuility and honesty, who beyng long confessour to the Duke, and of great authority in Loraine, as he was an enemy to vertue and learning,* so was he euer persuaading the Duke to banish out of the Courte and Country of Loraine all learned men, neyther coulde he abide any person which seemed to know more then hys elders knewe before. The summe of all his Diuinitye was this, to be sufficient to saluation onely to know the Pater noster, and Aue Maria. And thus was the Duke brought vp and trayned, and in nothing els, as the Duke hymselfe oft

times in talke with hys familiars, woulde confesse. Thys Bonauenture beyng chiefe Iudge and Moderator where Wolfgangus disputed, or was examined,* had nothyng els in his mouth, but thou hereticke, Iudas, Belzebub. &c. Wolfgangus bearing patientlye those priuate iniuries, whiche perteyned to himselfe, proceeded mightely in hys disputation by the Scriptures confuting or rather cōfounding his aduersaries. Who being not otherwyse able to make theyr party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seeme to do nothing, tooke his Bible with hys notes in the margēt, into theyr monastery and burned it. At the last disputation Duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparrell, because he woulde not be knowne, who albeit he vnderstood not the speach of Wolfgangus, speaking in Latine, yet perceiuing him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gaue sentence, that he should be burned, because he denied

[illustration]

¶ The Martyrdome of Wolfgangus.

[Page 884](#) the Church, and Sacrament of the Masse. Wherupō it folowed shortly after that Wolfgangus was cōdemned to be burned,* who hearing the sentence of his condēnation began to sing the Psal. 122. Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus. &c.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the Gray Friars, Bonauenture the greate Cyclops sitting at the doore, cryed out to him: thou heretique do thy reuerence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy Sayntes, shewing to him the Idols standing at the Friars gate. To whom Wolfgangus aunswered agayne: thou hypocrite, thou paynted Wall, the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation vnto light. When they were come to the place of his Martyrdome, fyrst hys bookes before him were throwne in the fire. Then they asked him whether he woulde haue his payne mynished or shortned: to whom he sayd no, bidding thē to do theyr will: for (sayd he) as God hath bene with me hitherto, so I trust now he will not leaue me, when I shall haue most need of him, concluding his wordes thus: that they should put the sentence in execution,* & so beginning to sing the 51. Psalme he entred into the place heaped vp with fagots and wood, continuing in his Psalme and singing till the smoke & the flame tooke from hym both voyce and life.

The singuler vertue, constancye, and learning of thys blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the harts of many good men:* so it astonyed as much the mindes of hys aduersaries, and wrought to theyr confusion: For shortlye after his death the Commēdator of S. Antony of Uienna, who sate as spirituall iudge ouer him, and gaue sentence of his condemnation, fell sodenly down and dyed. Also his fellow, which was Abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the Bishop of Metz, sodenly at the comming of the Duches of Denmarke into the city of Nancy, strokē with soden feare, at the cracke of gunnes, fell downe and dyed, as they which were presēt and saw it, haue made faythfull relation of the same. an. 1525. Ex Ludou. Rabo, & Pantal.

¶Iohn Huglein Martyr.

OF Iohn Huglein Priest, mention is made in the Com'mentaryes of Iohn Sled. in Lib. 6. who the next yeare folowing.* an. 1526. was burned at Merspurge by the bishop of Constance, for that he did not holde with the Byshop of Romes doctrine in all poyntes.

Moreouer, besides other matters in this yeare occurrent,* here is also a Memorandum to be made to all posterity, that in this present yeare .1526. vnto Iohn Friderick sonne and heyre to the Prince and Electour of Saxony, was pro'mised the Lady Katherine the Emperours younger sister in Mariage, and writings made of the same. But when the alteration of religion was sent by Gods prouidence in to Saxony,* they swarued from theyr couenauntes, and Hawnard, which was then the Emperours Ambassadour in Germany, sayde playnely, that there was no promise to be kept with heretickes: wherein they seemed to folow well the footsteppes of the Councell of Constance, as before you haue partly heard in the story of Iohn Hus, & of the Emperour Sigismund, pag. 593.587.

¶George Carpenter of Emeryng Martyr, burned in the towne of Munchen in Bauaria.

The viij. day of February in the yeare of our saluation .1527. there happened a rare and maruellous example & spectacle in the town of Munchen in Barauia. which was this.* A certayne man named George Carpenter of Emeryng was there burnt. When he was fette out of the pryson called Falken Tower, and led before the Councell, diuers Friers and Monkes followed him, to instructe and teach him. Whom he willed to tary at home, & not to folow him. When he came before the Councel, his offences were read, conteyned in foure Articles.

First that he did not beleue that a Priest could forgeue a mans sinnes.*

Secondly that he did not beleue, that a man could call God out of heauen.

Thyrdly that he did not beleue, that God was in the bread, which the Priest hangeth ouer the aultar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, that he did not beleue, that the very element of the water it selfe in Baptisme, doth geue grace.

Which foure Articles, he vtterly refused to recant. Thē came vnto him a certayne Scholemaister of S. Peters in y^e towne of Munchen,* saying: my frend George, doest thou not feare the death and punishmēt which thou must suffer? If thou were let go, wouldest thou return to thy wife and children? Wherunto he aunswered: If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, then to my Wyfe and well beloued children? Then sayde the Schoolemayster, reuoke your former sentence and opinion,* and you shal be set at liberty. Wherunto George answered: my wife and my children are so dearely beloued vnto me, that they can not bee bought from me, for all the riches and possessions of the Duke of Bauaria: but for the loue of my Lord God I will willingly forsake them. When he was led vnto the place of execution, the scholemayster spake vnto him agayne, in the midst of the market place, saying: good George, beleue in the Sacrament of the aultar:* do not affirme it to be onely a signe. Wherunto he aunswered: I beleue this Sacrament to be a signe

of the body of Iesus Christ, offered vpon the Crosse for vs. Then sayde the Schoolemayster moreouer, what doest thou meane,* that thou doest so litle esteme Bap'tisme, knowing that Christ suffered himselfe to be Baptised in Iordane? Wherunto he answered, and shewed what was the true vse of Baptisme, and what was the end why Christ was Baptised in Iordane, & howe necessary it was that Christ should dye and suffer vpon the Crosse, wherin onely standeth our saluation. The same Christ (sayde he) will I confesse this daye before the whole world: for he is my Sauour, and in him do I beleue.

After this came vnto him one Mayster Conrade Scheitter, the Uicare of the cathedrall Church of our Lady in Munchen a preacher, saying: George, if thou wilt not beleue the Sacrament, yet put al thy trust in God, and say: I trust my cause to be good and true: * but if I should erre, truely I woulde be sory and repent. Whereunto George Carpenter aunswered: God suffer me not to erre I besech hym. Then sayd the Scholemayster vnto him, doe not put the matter in that hasarde, but chuse vnto you some good Christian brother, Mayster Conrade, or some other, vnto whom thou mayst reuele thy hart: not to confesse thy selfe, but to take some godly counsell of him. Wherunto he aunswered: Nay, not so, for it would be to long. Then maister Conrade began the Lordes Prayer, Our Father which art in heauen. Whereunto Carpenter aunswered, truely thou art our Father and no other: this day I trust to be with thee. Then Mayster Conrade went forward with the prayer, saying: Halowed be thy name. Carpenter aunswered: O my God, how little is thy name halowed in this world? Then sayde Mayster Conrade. Thy Kingdome come. Carpenter aunswered: let thy kingdome come this day vnto mee, that I also may come vnto thy kingdome. Then sayd Cōrade: Thy will be done in earth as it is heauen. Carpenter aunswered: For this cause O Father, am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine. Then sayd Mayster Conrade: Geue vs this day our dayly bread. Carpenter aunswared: the onely liuing breade Iesu Christ shall be my food. Then sayd Conrade: And forgeue vs our trespasses, as we forgeue them that trespassed agaynst vs. Carpenter aunswered: with a willing mind do I forgeue all men, both my frends and aduersaryes. Then sayd Mayster Conrade: And leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from all euill: Wherunto Carpenter aunswered: O my Lord, without doubt thou shalt deliuer me, for vpon thee onely haue I layde all my hope. Then he began to rehearse the beliefe, saying: I beleue in God the Father almightye. Carpenter aunswered: O my God, in thee alone doe I trust: in thee onely is all my confidence, and vpon no other creature, albeit they haue gone about to force me otherwise. In this maner he aunswered to euery word: which his aunsweres, if they shoulde be described at length, would be to long. This prayer ended, the Scholemayster sayd vnto him: doest thou beleue so truely and cōstantly in thy Lord and God with thy hart, as thou doest chearefullye seeme to confesse him with thy mouth? Hereunto he aunswered:* It were a very hard matter for me, if that I which am here ready to suffer death shoulde not beleue that with my hart, whiche I openlye professe with my mouth: For I knewe before, that I muste suffer persecutiō, if I would cleaue vnto Christ: who saith, where as thy hart is, there also is thy treasure, and whatsoever thing a man doth fixe in his hart to loue aboue God, that he maketh his Idoll. Thē sayd mayster Conrade vnto him, George doest thou thinke it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say Masse for thee? He aunswered: so lōg as the soule is ioyned to the body, pray God for me, that he wil geue me grace and pacience, with al humility, to suffer the paynes of death with a true Christian fayth: but when the soule is separate from the body, then haue I no more need of your prayers. When as the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much vnto the people. Then he was desired by certaine Christian brethren, [Page 885](#) that as soone as he was cast into the fire, he should geue some signe or token, what his

faith or beliefe was. To whom he answered: * this shall be my signe and token: that so long as I can opē my mouth, I wil not cease to call vpon the name of Iesus.

Behold (good reader) what an incredible cōstancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not bene sene in any man before. His face & countenaunce neuer chaūged colour, but chearefully he went vnto the fire. In the middest (sayth he) of the towne, this day will I cōfesse my God before the whole world. When he was layd vpon the ladder, and that hangman put a bagge of gunnepouder about his necke, he sayd, let it so be, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, * and of the holy Ghost. And when as the two hangmen lifted him vp vpon the ladder, smiling he bad a certayne Christian farewell, requiring forgeuenes of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He wyth a loud voyce cryed out Iesus, Iesus. Then the hangman turned him ouer: and he agayne for a certayne space, cryed Iesus, Iesus, and so ioyfully yelded vp his spirite.

¶Leonard Keyser.

HEre also is not to be passed ouer the maruellous cōstācy of M. Leonard Keyser of the countrey of Bauaria, * who was burned for the Gospel. This Keyser was of the towne of Rawbe .4. miles frō Passaw, of a famous house. This man being at his study in Wytteberge, was sent for by his brethren which certified him, that if euer he woulde see his father aliue, he should come with speed: which thing he did. He was scarsly come thither, when as by the commaundement of the Bishop of Passawe, he was taken by his mother & his brethren. The Articles which he was accused of, for y^e which also he was most cruelly put to death, & shed his bloud for the testimony of the truth were these.

That fayth onely iustifieth.

That workes are the fruites of fayth.

That the Masse is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, for confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastitye, Purgatory, differēce of daies, for affirming only two Sacramentes, and inuocation of Sayntes.

He also mayntayneth 3. kindes of confession.

The first to be of fayth, which is alwayes necessary.

*The second of charity, which serueth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himselfe agayne, as a man may see by that which is written in Math. 18.

The third which is not to be despised, is to aske counsel of the auncient Ministers of the Church.

And for so much as all this was contrary to the bull of Pope Leo, * and the Emperours decree made at Wormes, sentence was geuen agaynst him, that he should be disgraded and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecuters that sate in iudgement vppon him, * were the Byshop of Passaw: the Suffragans of Ratisbone, & of Passaw: also Doctour Eckius, being garded about

with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolkes made great intercession to haue his iudgement deferred and put of, that the matter might be more exactly knowne. Also Iohn Fridericke Duke of Saxony, and the Earles of Schauuēburge, and of Schunartzen, wrote to the Byshoppe for him, but could not preuayle. After the sentence was geuen, he was caryed by a company of harnessed men, out of the Citty agayne, to Schardingham .13. of August. Where Christopher Frenkinger the ciuile Iudge receiuing him,* had letters sent him from Duke William of Bauaria, that forthwith taryng for no other iudgement, he should be burned aliue. Whereupon the good and blessed Martyr early in the morning, being rounded and shauen and clothed in a short gowne, and a blacke cappe set vpon his head all cutte and iagged, so was deliuered to the officer. As he was led out of the town, to the place where as he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the Almayne tongue, turning his head, first on the one side, and then on the other, saying: O Lord Iesu remayne with me, sustayne and helpe me, and geue me force and power.

*Then the woode was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voyce: O Iesus, I am thine, haue mercy vpon me, and saue me, and therewithall he felt the fire begin sharply vnder his feet his hands, and about his head: and because the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the body halfe burnt, with a long hooke, from vnderneath the wood. Then he made a great hoale in the body, through the which he thrust a stake, and cast him agayne into the fire, and so made an end of burning, This was the blessed end of that good man, which suffered for the testimony of the truth, the 16. day of August, in the yeare of our Lord. 1526. Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.

Wendelmuta widow and Martyr.

IN Holland also the same yeare .1527. was Martyred and burned a good and vertuous widow,* named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchendam, Thys widow receiuing to her hart the brightnes of Gods grace, by the appearing of the Gospell, was therfore apprehēded and committed to custody in the Castle of Werden, & shortly after, from thence was brought to Hage the 15. day of Nouember there to appeare at the general sessions of that country: Where was present Hochstratus, Lord Presidēt of the sayd countye, who also sat vpon her the 17. day of the foresayd moneth. Diuers Monkes were appoynted there to talke with her, to the end they might conuince her, and wyn her to recant, but she constantly persisting in y^e truth, wherein she was planted, would not be remoued. Many al|so of her kindred & other honest womē were suffred to persuaade w^t her. Amōg whō there was a certain noble matrō, who loued and fauored dearely the sayd wydow beyng in prison. This matron comming, and commoning with her in her talke sayde: My Wendelmuta, why doest thou not keepe silence, & thinke secretly in thine hart,* these thynges which thou beleuest, that thou mayest prolonge here thy dayes and life? To whom she aunswered agayne: Ah (sayd she) you know not what ye say. It is written: With the hart we beleue to righteousness, with tounge we confesse, to saluation. &c. And thus she remayning firme & stedfast in her beliefe and confession, the 20. day of Nouember was condemned by sentence geuen, as agaynst an heretick, to be burned to ashes and her goodes to be confiscate, she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildely and quietly.

After she came to the place wher she should be executed,* and a Monke there had brought out a blinde Crosse, willing her many times to kisse and worship her God: I wor|ship (sayd she) no wooden God, but onely that God whiche is in heauen: and so with a merry and ioyfull

countenance, she went to the stake, desiring the executioner, to see the stake to be fast, that it fall not: then taking the powder and laying it to her brest, she gaue her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending her selfe to the hands of God. Whē the time came that she should be strāgled, modestly she closed her eyes, & bowed down her head as one that would take a sleepe: which done the fire then was put to the wood, and she being strangled, was burned afterward to ashes, in stead of this life to get the immortall crowne in heauen. an. 1527. Ex Pantal.

***Petrus Flistedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus put to death at Colen.**

IN the number of these Germane Martyrs,* are also to be comprehended Peter Flisteden and Adolphe Clarebach, two mē of singuler learning, & hauing rype knowledge of Gods holy word. Which two, in the yere of our Lord. 1529. for that they did dissent frō the papistes in diuers poyntes, & specially touching the supper of the Lord, and other the popes traditions & ceremonies, after they had endured imprisonment a yeare and a halfe, by the commaundement of the Archb. and Senate, were put to death and burned in Colen, not without the great grieve & lamentatiō of many good Christians,* all the fault being put vpon certayne Diuines, which at that time preached that the punishment & death of certayne wicked persons, should pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and straunge kinde of disease: For at that season, the sweating sicknes did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany. Ex Commenta. Ioan. Sled Lib. 6.

¶A Preface to the Table folowing.

IF thou well remember in reading this booke of storyes (louing reader) it was before mentioned & declared, pag. 842. how in the yeare of grace 1501. certayne prodigious markes and printes of the Lordes passion, as the crowne, crosse, nayles, scourges, & speare were sene in Germanye, vpon the garmēts of men & womē. Which miraculous ostent passing y^e ordinary course of natural causes, as it was sent of God, no doubt, to foreshew the great & terrible persecution, which afterward fell in the countrey of Germany and other regions besides, for the testimony of Christ: so if the number & names of all those good men & womē, which suffered in the same persecution, with theyr actes & doings should be gathered & cōpiled together, it would aske a long time, & a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the history which we haue in hand, partly also to auoyd tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to cōtract the discourse therof, drawing, as in a compendious Table, the names of [Page 886](#) the persecutors, & of the Martyrs which suffered, and the causes wherfore, in as much shortnes as I may, referring the full tractation of their liues & doyngs to those writers of theyr owne countrey, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the same Table, as much as in such a cōfused heape of matters I may, according to the order and distinctiō of the countreyes, in which these blessed Saintes of Christ did suffer: I haue so diuided the order of the Table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in Germany, then in Fraunce, also in Spayne, with other forrein countries mo,* shewing only the names with the principall matters of them, referring the rest to the further explication of theyr owne Storywriters, from whence they be collected. The which Table being finished, my pur'pose is (Christ willing) to returne to the full history of our owne matters, & Martirs which suffred here in England.

¶A Table of the names and causes of such Martyrs, which gaue theyr liues for the testimony of the Gospell in Germany, Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, and other forreigne Countryes, since Luthers tyme: In which Table first is contayned within the first space betweenne the lines, the Persecutours, next the Martyrs, and thyrldy the causes. ¶The Martyrs of Germany. ¶Of diuers which suffered in Germany for the witnesse of the Gospell, partly some rehearsall is made before, as of Voes, and Esch, of Sutphen, Iohn Castellanne, Pet, Spengler, with a certayne Godly Minister, and an other simple man of the countrey mentioned in Oecolampadius: Also of them in Diethmar and Prage, of M. George of Hala, Gaspar, Tambert, Georgius of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, Iohn Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmuta, P. Flistede, Adol. Clarebach, and other moe. The residue folow in order of this Table here to be shewed.[Page 892](#)[Page 893](#)

Persecutors.	Martyrs.	The causes.
- Charles the Emperour.* - Two seruauntes of a Butcher did apprehend.	One Nicholas of Antwerpe. At Antwarpe. An. 1254.	The Curate of Melza by Antwarpe, had vsed to preach to a great number of people without the towne. The Emperour hearynge thereof, gaue leaue to take the vppermost garment of all thē that came to heare, and offered 30. gilders who so would take the Prieste. Afterwarde, when the people were gathered, and the Curate not there, thys Nicholas stepped vp in place and preached. Wherefore hee beinge apprehended by these two seruauntes of a Butcher, was put in a sacke and drowned by the Crane at Antwerpe. 1524.
- Margarete daughter of Maximiliā,*Princes of Holland. M. Montane M. Rosemund. M. Anchusanus Inqui'sitours. M. Iodocus Loueryng, Vicare of Mechlin.	Ioan. Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kynne to Erasm Roterod. An. 1524.	The storye of Pistorius, is largely sette foorth by Gnapheus. First he was a Priest, then he maryed: after that he preached, commyng from Wyttenberge. Hee spake agaynst the Masse and pardons, and agaynst the subtile abuses of Priests. He was committed vnto prisō with 10. malefactors, whom he did cōfort, & to one being halfe naked and in daunger of colde, he

		gaue his gowne. Hys father visiting him in prison, did not dissuade him, but bad him bee cōstant. At last he was cōdemned, and disgraded, hauing a fooles coate put vppon him. His fellow prisoners at his death song Te Deum. Commyng to the stake he gaue hys necke willingly to the band wherwith he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death: O death, [*] where is thy victory?
Sabastian Braitestein, Abbot.	Mathias Weibell, Scholemaister. In Sueuia. An. 1525.	For sayinge somewhat agaynst the Abbots first Masse, and agaynst carying about the reliques, [*] through the procurement of the Abbotte, he was hanged by Campidonium in Sueuia.
Certayne noble men, after the cōmotion of the countrymen in Germany.	A certayne godly Priest. An. 1525.	This Priest beyng commaunded to come and geue good counsell to 16. countrymen that shoulde be beheaded, [*] afterwarde was byd, hym selfe to kneele down to haue his head cut off, no cause nor cōdemnation further beyng layd agaynst him, but onely of meere hatred agaynst the Gospell. Ex Ioan. Gastia.
The name of the Persecutor appeareth not in the story.	George Scherrer. At Rastat by Saltzeburge. An. 1528.	Ater that this George had instructed the people in knowledge of the Gospell in Rastat .x. miles distant frō Saltzeburge, [*] he was accused of his aduersaries and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith whiche Mathias Illiricus hath set out wyth his whole storye. [*] Hee was condemned to be burned a liue:

but mea|nes was made, that first
his head shoulde be cut of, and
his body afterward be cast into
the fire. Going toward his death
he sayd, crying aloude: That you
may knowe (sayde he) that I die a
true Christian,* I will geue you a
manifest signe, and so he did by
the power of the Lord: For when
his head was taken of frō his
shoulders, the body falling vpon
his belly, so cōtinued the space
while one might well eat an egge.
After that, softly it turned it selfe
vpon the backe, and crossed the
righte foote ouer the lefte, and
the right hand ouer the left. At
the sight wherof they which sawe
it were in a great maruell. The
Magistrates which before had
appoynted to haue burned the
body after his beheading, seeing
this myracle, would not burne it,
but buried it with other Christian
mens bodyes, and many by the
same examplr [Page 887](#)

[illustration]

were moued to beleue the
Gospell. Thus God is able to
manifest the truth of his Gospell,
in the midst of persecution, who
is to be blessed for euer. Amen.

This Henry a Fryer sometyme of
Flaunders, forsooke hys habite &
maryed a wyfe. Who beyng
offered lyfe of Balthasar, if he
woulde confesse hys wyfe to be
an harlot, denyed so to do, and so
was burnt at Dornic.

Balthasar, Officiall.

Henry Flemmyng.

At Dornick. 1225.

*There was a certaine wicked Priest, a notorious adulterer, a dyce, and a vile dronkard geuen to all wickednes and vngratiousnesse, without all feare, regarding nothing what mischiefe he did: moreouer a mā fit and readye to serue the affection of the papistes at all turnes. It chaunced y^t this Priest was receiued and lodged in the house of an other Priest dwellyng not farre from Basill, whiche was a good man and a sincere fauourer of the Gospell.

A good priest dwelling
A Popishe priest and a wicked mur'derer. not farre from Basill.
1539.

This dronken priest sitting at sup^rper, was so dronke that he coulde not tell what he did, or els feyned himselfe so dronke of purpose, the better to accomlishe hys intended mischiefe. So it followed that this wretch, after hys first sleep, rose out of his bed and brake all the glasse windowes in his chamber, threwe downe the stone, and rent all his hostes bookes that he founde. The host awaking wyth y^e noyse therof, came to hym, asking howe he dyd: whether there were any theeues or ene^mies that he was in feare of, desiring him to shew what he ayled. But assoon as the good host had opened his chamber doore, the wicked cutthroate, ranne at him with his sworde and slew hym. The host after the wounde receaued, fell downe and dyed. Upon this a clamour was made through all the street, and the neigh^bours came in, the murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the frendes and kinsfolkes that the

good priest had, could not make that miserable caitiffe that was the murderer, to be executed: the superiour pow^{er} did so take hys part, saying that he shoulde be sent to hys byshop. The townes men did grievously cry out and complayne, at the boulstering out of so mani^fest vilany. So did also the noble man that was the Lord of the Page, saying that so many good men and married priests were drowned and beheaded for such small trifles, without any regard had to the Byshop but a murtherer might escape vnpunished. It was aunswered to them agayne, that what the superiour powers wold do, thei had nothing to do withal. The tyme was otherwise now, then it was in the commo^tion of the rusticall people. The superiour power had authoritie to gouerne as they would, sayd they: it was their parts onely to obey: * And so was he sent bound to the byshop, and shortly after dismissed, hauing also a greater benefice geuen him for hys worthy acre: for he so auaunted him selfe, that he had slain a Lutheran Priest. Ex tom. 2. Conuiualium Sermonum Ioan. Gastij. & ex. Pantal.

When certayne of the Cittie of Louane were suspected of Lutheranisme, the Empe^rors Procurator came from Bruselles thether to make Inquisition. After which Inquisition made, certaine bandes of armed men came & beset their houses in the nighte where many were taken in theyr beddes, pluckt

- Charles the Emperours Procurator.
- Doctour Anchusanus, Inquisi^tour.
- Latomus.

At Louane. An. 1543.

- XXviiij. Christē men and weomen of Louane Paule a preist.
- Two aged women.
- Antonia.
- Two men.

At Louane.

1543.

frō their wiues and children,
and deui'ded into dyuers
prysons. Through the ter'rour
wherof, many citizens reuolted
from y^e doctrine of the gospel,
and returned agayne to
Idolatrye. But 28. there were
whiche remayned constant in y^e
persecutiō. Unto whō the
Doctors of Louan Anchusanus
especially the Inquisitour, &
Latomus sometymes, w^t other,
came and disputed, thinking no
lesse but either to confound
them or to conuert thē. But so
strongly y^e spirite of y^e Lord
wrought with hys Saints, that
the other went rather
confounded awaye thē selues.

When no disputation coulde
serue that whiche lacked in
cunning, they supplied w^t
tormentes, by enforcing and
afflicting thē seuerally, euery
one by him selfe. Among the
rest, there was one Paulus a
Priest, vpon the age of 60.
yeres, whom the Rectors of the
Uniuersitie, wyth theyr
Collegues, accompanied with a
great number of billes and
gleues, brought out of prison to
y^e Austen Friers, where after
many foule wordes of the
Rector, he was degraded. But at
length for feare of death he
began to stagger in some
poynts of his confession, and so
was had out of Louane, and
condemned to perpetuall [Page
888](#) prison whiche was a darke
and stincking dongeon, where
he was suffered neither to read
nor write, [*](#) or anye man to
come at him, commaunded

Then was there an old man, and 2. aged women brought forth: [*](#) of whom the one was called Antonia, borne of an auncient stocke in that Citie. These also were condēned, the man to be headed, the 2. women to be buried quicke, [*](#) which death they receiued lykewise very chearfully. Certain of the other prisoners, which were not codemned to death, were depriued of theyr goodes, commaunded in a white sheete to come to the church, [*](#) and there kneeling with a Taper in their hand, to aske forgeuenes: and they which refused so to doe, and to abiure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire, Ex Francis. Encenate.

The name of the persecutor appeareth not in the story. [*](#)

M. Perseuall.

At Louane.

An. 1544.

onely to be fed with bread and water. After that, other two there were, whiche because they had reuoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, [*](#) constantly taking their martyrdome.

Not long after this, was one M. Perseual in the same Uniuersitie of Louane, singularly well learned. Who for reprehending certayne popishe superstitions, and some thing speaking in com|mendation of the Gospell, was throwne into prison. Then beyng accused of Lutheranisme, because he stood to y^e same, and would not condesende to the popes erroneous faction, he was adiudged to perpetuall pryson, there to be fedde onely with bread and water, which punishment he tooke pacyentlye for Christes sake. Neuerthelesse certayne Cittizens taking compassiō of him sent him wyne

Dorsardus• a Potestate in that
coūtrey,*and a great persecutor.

Iustice Imbsberger.

At Brusels.

An. 1544.

and beare. But hys keepers beeing
charged vnder a great penaltie,
durst let nothing come vnto hym.
At last what became of him, no
man coulde learne nor
vnderstand. Some iudge that hee
was eyther famished for hunger,
or els that he was secretly
drowned. Et Franc. Encenate.

*Iustus: a skinner of Louane,
being suspected of Lutheranisme,
was foūd in his house to haue the
new testament and certayne
sermons of Luther: For the which
he was comⁱmitted, and hys
laylour commanded, that he
should speake wyth none. There
were the same tyme, in the lower
prison vnder them, Egidius, and
Francisⁱcus Encenas a Spanyard,
who secretly hauing the doores
left open, came to him and
confirmed hym in the cause of
righteousnes. Thus is the
prouidēce of the Lord neuer
lackⁱing to hys Saintes, in time of
necessity. Shortⁱly after came the
Doctours and maysters of Louane,
to examine hym of certayne
Articles touching religion as of y^e
popes supremaⁱcy, Sacrifice of y^e
masse Purgatory, and of the
sacrament.* Whereunto when hee
had aunswered playnely and
boldly, after the Scripⁱtures, and
woulde in no wise be remooued,
he was condemned to the fire:
but through y^e intercessiō made
to the Queene, his burnyng was
pardoned, and he onely

beheaded. Ex Franc. Encenate.

This Gyles was borne in Brusels,*
of honest parentes. By hys
occupatiō he was brought vpp
from hys youth to be a Cutler: In
the which occupation he was so
expert and cunning, that hee
waxed thereby riche & wealthy.
Comming to the yeares of 30. he
beganne to receaue the light of the
Gospell, thorough the readyng of
the holy Scripture, and encreased
therein exceedingly. And as in
zeale he was feruent, so was he of
nature hu'mane, milde, and
pitty'full, passing al other in
those partes. Whatsoeuer he had,
that necessitie coulde spare, he
gaue it awaye to the poore, and
onely liued by hys science. Some
he refreshed with hys meate,*
some with clothing to some he
gaue hys shoes: some he hel'ped
wyth housholde stuffe: to other
some he ministred holesome
exhortatiō of good doctrine. One
poore woman there was brought to
bed, and had no bed to lye in, to
whom he brought hys owne bed,
hymselfe contented to lye in the
straw.

The person of Brusels.

Giles of Brusels.

An. 1544.

The sayd Egidius being detected by a
Priest or person of Brusels, was taken
at Louane for that religion, whiche the
Pope doth call heresie. Where hys
aduersaryes extended great care and
dilligence to reduce hym to theyr
doctrine; and to make hym abiure. But
as he was a man well reasoned: and
singularly witted, they went away
many tymes wyth shame. Thus beyng

deteyned 8. monthes in prison, he was sent to Brusels to be iudged: [*](#) where he comforted dyuers whych were there in prison (amōg whom was also Fraunciscus Encenas) exhorting them to constancie of the truth vnto the crowne which was prepared for them. At the table he ministred to them al, beyng contented hymselfe wyth the fewe scrappes which they left. [*](#) In thys hys prayers he was so ardent, kneelyng by hymselfe, in some secret place, that he seemed to forget hym selfe. Beyng called many tymes to meate, he neyther heard: nor sawe them that stood by hym, till he was lift vp by the armes, & then gently he woulde speake vnto them, as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

Certayne of the Gray Friers sometymes were sent vnto hym by two and two, to reduce hym, but he would alwaies desire them to depart frō him, [*](#) for [Page 889](#) he was at a poynt, & when the Fryers at anye tyme did miscall hym, he euer helde his peace, at such pryuate iniuries: in somuche that those blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dum deuill in hym. But when they talked of any religion, there he spared not, but answered them fully by evidences of the Scripture in such sort, that diuers times they would depart maruelyng. At sundry times he might haue escaped, the doores being let open, but he woulde not for bringing his keeper in perill.

At length about the moneth of Ianuary, he was brought to an other prison, to be constrayned with tormentes to confesse Purgatory, and to vtter mo of hys fellowes. But no forcement would serue. Wherefore vppon the 22. of Ianuary he was condemned to the fire,

but priuily, contrary to the vse of y^e
Country, for openly they durst not
condemne hym for feare of the people:
so wel was he beloued. When tidinges
of the sentence came vnto him, he gaue
harty thanks to GOD, that the houre
was come, when he might glorifie the
Lord.

*

[illustration]

As he was brought to the place of
burning, where he saw a great heape of
wood pyled, hee required the greater
part therof to be taken awaye, and
geuen to y^e poore: a litle (sayd he) wold
suffice him. Also seying a poore man
comming by, as he wēt, that lacked
shoes he gaue hys shoes vnto him.
Better sayd he: so to do then to haue his
shoes burnt, and the poore to perish for
cold. Standing at the stake the hangman
was ready to strangle hym before, but
he woulde not saying, that there was no
such need that hys payn shuld be
mittigated, for I feare not (sayd he) the
fire, doe therfore as thou art
commanded. And thus the blessed
Martyr, lifting vp his eyes to heauen, in
the mid'dle of the flame, was extincted,
to the great lamentation of all that stood
by.* After that tyme, when the friers of
that Cittie would goe about for theyr
almes the people would say, it was not
meet for them to re'ceauē almes with
bloudy handes. This history you shall
finde more copiously described, in
Franc. Encenas. Ex Franc. Encen.

Friers and priestes of Flaunders.

Great persecution in
Gaunt & other partes of
Flaunders.

At Gaunt.

As Charles the Em^perour did
ly in Gaūt the Fryers and
Doctours there obtayned that
the Edicte made agaynst the
Lutherās might be read openlye
twise a yeaere. Whiche being

An. 1543. 1544.

obtaind, great persecution followed,* so that there was no Citty nor towne in all Flaunders, wherein some eyther were not expulsed, or headed, or condemned to perpetu'all prison,* or had not theyr goodes confiscate neither was there any respect of age or sexe. At Gaunt especially, many there wer of the head men, which for re'ligion sake were burned.

Afterward the Em'perour comming to Brusels, there was terrible slaughter, and persecution of Gods people, namely in Brabant, Hennegow and Artoys, the horror and cruelty wherof is almost incredible: In so much that at one time as good as ij. hundreth men and women together, were brought out of the countrey about, into the Citty, of whome some were drowned, some buried quicke, some pryuely made awaye, others sent to perpetuall prison: wherby all prisons and towers there about were replenished with prisoners and captiues, and the handes of the hangmen tyred with slaying and killing, to the great sorrowe of all them, which knew the Gospel, being now compelled eyther to deny the same, or to confirme it with theyr bloud. The storye hereof is at large set forth by Francis. Encenas, a no'table learned man, who also himselfe was prisoner y^e same time at Bruzels: whose booke written in Latine, I my selfe haue seene and read, remayning

Franciscan Fryers of Gaunt.

Martynus Hoeurbloc,
Fishmōger.

At Gaunt.

An. 1545.

in the handes of Iohn Oporine
at Basill.

This Martine euer almost to his
latter age,* was a man much
geuen to al wickednes and fleshly
lyfe so long as he continued a
follower of the popes superstitiō
and Idolatry. Afterwarde (as God
hath alwaies his calling) thorough
the occasion of a Sermō of his
parish priest beginning to tast
some working of grace, and
repentance of his former lyfe,
went out of Gaunt for the space of
iij. monethes, seeking the
company of godly Christians, such
as he heard to vse the readyng of
the scriptures: by whome he beyng
more groundly instruc|ted,
returned agayn to the Cittye of
Gaunt, where all his neighbours
first beganne to maruell at the
sodayne chaunge of this man. The
Franciscanes, which knewe hym
before so beneficiall vnto them,
nowe seing hym so alterrd from
theyr wayes and superstition, and
seeing hym to visite the captiues
in prison, to comforte thē in
persecution, and to confirme
them in the worde of God whiche
went to the fire, conspired
agaynst hym: whereby he was
detected and layd in bandes. After
that, with sharp and grieuous
tormentes they would haue
constrayned hym to vtter other of
the same Religion. To whome thus
he aunswered, that if they could
proue by the scripture, that hys
detecting and accusing of hys
brethren, whō [Page 890](#) they

would afflict with the like
tormentes, were not agaynst y^e
second Table of Gods law, then he
would not refuse to preferre the
honor of God before y^e safegard
of his brethren. Then the friers
examined hym in the sacrament,
asking him why he was so
earnest, to haue it in both kyndes,
seing (sayd they) it is but a naked
sacrament as you say, to whom
he aunswered that the elementes
thereof were naked, but the
Sacrament was not naked, for
somuch as the sayd elementes of
bread and wine, beeing receaued
after the institution of Christ, do
now make a Sacrament and a
mistical representation of the
Lordes body, cōmunicating him
selfe with our soules. And as
touching the receauyng in both
kyndes, because it is the institution
of the Lorde, who is he (sayd
Martyne) that dare alter the
same? Then was he brought
before the counsaile of Flanders.
The causes layd against him, were
the Sacrament, Purgatory, and
praying for the dead: for the
which he was condemned and
burned at Gaunt, in Uerle place, all
hys goodes being confiscate. As
he stoode at the stake, a
Franciscan Frier sayd to him
(Martine vnlesse thou doest
turne, thou shalt goe from this
fire, to euerlasting fire. It is not in
you, sayd Martine againe, to
iudge. For this the Friers after
were so hated, y^t many billes and
rimes were set forth in diuers

The counsayle of Flaunders.

- Nicholas Vanpole.*
- Iohn de Brucke & hys wyfe.

At Gaunt. An. 1545.

places a'gaynst them. Ex Pantal.

The next day after the burning of Martin aforesayd, whiche was the 9. of Maye, these three also were burned for the same causes likewise, for the which y^e other was cōdemned & burned the day before, but onely y^t the woman was burned aliue. All whiche tooke theyr Martyrdome ioyfully & wyth much cheerefulnes.

- Vrsula.
- Maria,* Uirgines of noble stocke.

At Delden.

An 1545.

Delden is a towne in lower Germany, 3. myles from Dauentry, where these two virgines of noble parentage were burned. Who after dilligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons be'ing instructed in the worde of the Lord, defended, that seeyng the benefite of our saluation commeth only by our fayth in Christ, all the other marchaundise of the pope, which he vseth to sel to y^e peole for mony, was need | les. First Mary beyng the yonger, was put to the fire, where she pray | ed ardently for her enemies, commēding her soule to God. At whose constancie the ludges did greatly maruell.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turne, or if shee would not, at least that she should require to be headed. To whom she sayd, that she was guiltie of no er | rour, nor defended any thing, but which was consonant to the scripture, in which she trusted to perseuer vnto the end. And as touching the kinde of punishment, she sayde, she feared not y^e fire, but rather

wold follow the example of her deare
 sister, that went before.* This was
 maruellous, that the executioners could in
 no wise consume their bodyes with fire,
 but left them whole lying vpō the ground
 whyte: which certayn good Christians
 priuily tooke vp in y^e night and buried.
 Thus God many times, sheweth hys power
 in the midst of tribulations. Ex. Lud.
 Rab. Pantal. &c.

- The person of S. Catherines.
- Doctour Tapertus.
- William Clericken ruler of Mechlin.

- Andreas Thiessen.
- Catherina, hys wife.
- Nicholas Thiessen.
- Fraunces Thiessen. brethren.

At Mechlin.

An. 1545.

Andrew Thiessen Citizen of
 Mechlin,* of his wyfe Catherine,
 had three sonnes and a daughter,
 whom he in^lstructed dilligently in
 the doctrine of the gospell, and
 despised the doynges of Poperye.
 Wherfore, being hated and
 persecuted of the Fryers and
 Priestes there, he wēt into
 England and there dyed. Fraunces
 and Nicholas hys two sonnes went
 to Germany to study. Returning
 agayne to theyr mother and sister
 and younger brother, by dilligent
 instruction, brought thē to the
 right know^ldge of Gods Gospel
 whiche being not vnknown to the
 Person there of S. Catherine he
 called to him Doctour Rupert,
 Tapert, & other Maisters and
 Fryers, who takyng counsaile
 together, with William Clericken
 the head Magistrate of the towne
 of Mechlen, agreed that the
 mother with her foure Children
 shoulde be sent to prison,
 separated one from an other:
 where great labour was employed
 to reclayme them home vnto
 theyr Church, that is, from light to

darcknes agayn. The ij. yonger, to wit, the daughter with the yonger brother, beyng yet not settled, neyther in yeares nor doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delyuered. The mother which woulde not consent, was condemned to perpetuall prison. The other 2. Frances and Nicholas,* standing firmly to theyr confession, defended that the Catholicke Church was not y^e Church of Rome: that the Sacrament was to be myⁿistred in both kynds: that auricular confession was to no purpose: that Inuocation of Sayntes was to be left: that there was no Purgatory. The Fryers they called hypocrites, and contemned theyr threatninges. The Magistrates after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was theyr mayster and what fellowes they had. Theyr mayster (they sayd) was Christ, which bare hys crosse before. Fellowes (they sayd) they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the ludges: their Articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Comming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gagges or balles of wood were thrust in their mouthes, whiche they through vehemencye of speaking thrust out agayne, desiring for y^e Lord sake, that they might haue leaue to speake. And so singing

with a loud voyce, Credo in vnum Deum. &c. they went, and were fastened to the stake, praying for theyr persecutors, and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire paciently. The one feeling the flame to come to hys beard: Ah (sayd he) what a small payn is this, to be compared to the glo'ry to come? Thus the pacient martyrs committynge theyr spirite to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy, atchieued the crowne of martyrdome. Ex. Phil Melanct.

In the same persecution agaynst Brulius and his companye in Dornic,* was apprehended also one Adrian and Marion hys wyfe. The cause of theyr trouble, as also of the others, was the Emperoures decree made in the Councell of Wormes agaynst y^e [Page 891](#) Lutherians, mentioned before, pag. 841.

Adrian not so strong as a man, for feare gaue backe from y^e truth and was but onely beheaded. The wife stronger thē a woman did withstand their threatens, and abide the vttermost, and beyng inclosed in an yron grate formed in shape of a pastie,* was layd in the earth and buried quicke, after the vsuall punishment of that countrey, for women. When the aduersaries fyrst tolde her, that her husband had relented, she beleueed them not: and therefore as shee went to her death,

The names of their accusers appeare not in the Authours.

Marion wyfe of Adrian Taylor.

At Dornic. An. 1545.

passing by the Tower where he was, shee called to hym to take her leaue, but he was gone before. Et Pant. lib. 4.

M. Peter Bruly was preacher in the Frenche Church at Strausburgh.* Who at the earnest request of faythful brethren came downe to visite the lower countryes about Artoys and Dor' nic in Flanders, wher he most dilligētly prea' ched the word of God vnto the people in hou' ses, the dores standing open.

Wherupon, whē y^e magistrates of Dornic had shut the gates of the towne, and had made searche for hym three dayes, he was priuelye let downe the wall in the night by a basket: and as he was let downe to the ditch ready to take his way one of them whiche let him downe leaning ouer the wall, to byd hym fare well, caused (vnawares) a stone to slip out of y^e wall, which falling vpon hym, brake hys legge, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchmen complayning of hys wounde, and so was taken, geuing thanks to God by whose prouidence he was there stayed, to serue the Lord in that place.* So long as he remayned in prison, hee ceased not to supply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching and confirming all them that came to hym in y^e word of grace. Beyng in prison he wrote hys owne confession and examination,

The Magistrates of Dornic. or Tornay.

M. Peter Bruly
Preacher.

At Dornic. An. 1545.

& sent it to the brethren. He wrote also an other Epistle to them that were in per'secution: an other also to all the faithfull: also an other letter to hys wife, the same day that he was burned. He remayned in prison 4. monethes. His sentence was geuen by the Emperours Commissioners at Bruxels, that he should be burneh to ashes, and hys ashes to be throwne into the riuer. Although the fry'ers and priestes made the fire but small,* to multiply hys payne, yet he the more cheerefully and constantly tooke hys martyrdome and suffered it. The letters of Duke Fredericke, and of the Lantgraue came to entreat for hym, but hee was burned a little before the letters came. Ex Lud. Rab. Lib. 6.

The comming of M. Peter Bruly into the countrey of Flaun'ders,* did exceeding much good among the brethren, as appeared by diuers other good men, and namely by thys Peter Mioce, which was by hys occupation a silke weauer. This Peter, before he was called to y^e Gospell, led a wicked lyfe, geuen to much vn'graciousnes, & almost to all kyndes of vyce. But after the taste of the Gospell began to worke in hym, so cleane it altered hym from that former man, that he excelled all other in godly zeale and vertue. In his first examination he was asked

- The Senate of Dornic.
- Doctour Hasardus, a Gray Fryer.

- Peter Miocius.
- Bergiban.

At Dornic. An. 1545.

whether he was one of the
scholars of Peter Bruly. He sayd
he was, and that hee had
receiued muche fruite by his
doctrine. Wilt thou then defend
hys doctrine, sayd they? Yea sayd
he, for that it is consonant bothe
to the old Testament and to the
new, and for thys he was let
downe vnto a deepe dongeon
vnder y^e castle ditch, ful of toades
and filthy vermine. Shortly after
the Senate with certayne Friers,
came agayne to ex^{amine} him, to
see whether they coulde conuert
hym. To whome he answered and
sayd that when he before had
liued such an vngodly lyfe, they
neuer spake word agaynst hym:
but now for sauouring and
fauo^{ring} the worde of God, they
were so infeste agaynst hym that
they sought hys bloud. Among
whō was one Doctour Hasardus,
whiche asked hym if he did not
seeme to hymselfe more wicked
nowe, then euer he was before:
but he setting the Fryer at light,
bad him auaunt Fryer, saying: that
he had to talke wyth the Senate,
and not with him. The Senate
then began to examine him of
certain Articles of Religion. To
whom as he was about to
aunswere boldly and expresly to
euery poynte, they interrupting
him bad hym say in two wordes,
eyther, yea or nay. Then sayde he,
if ye will not suffer me to
aunswere for my selfe in matters
of such importaunce, then send

me to my prison agayne among
my todes and frogs, whiche will
not interrupt mee, while I talke
with my Lord my God. The
boldnes of whose spirit and
cou^rage, as it made some to
gnash theyr teeth, so some it
made to wonder, and ministred to
some great confir^mation.

There was also one Bergiban the same
tyme in prison, who had bene a foreward
man, & a great doer in the Gospell, before
the comming downe of Brulius. Who being
also sought for at the takyng of Brulius,
and beyng then not found at home, eyther
by chaunce, not knowing, or els because
hee conueyed himselfe out of the way for
feare, conceaued thereof such sorrowe in
hys minde, y^e afterward neyther hys wife
nor children, nor any frend els, could staye
hym but he woulde needes offer hymselfe
to the Iudges, saying to the ruler, being
asked why he came? The Magistrates
came to seeke mee (sayd he) and now I
am come to know, what they would.
Wherupon the ruler beyng sory of hys
comming, yet notwithstanding committed
hym to prison, where he remayned
constant a certayne while. But after the
Commissioners had threatned hym with
cruell tormentes and horror of death, he
began by little and little to wauer &
shrinke from the truth. At the fayre
wordes of the false Friers and Priestes, to
haue hys punishment changed, and to be
beheaded, he was fayne to graunt vnto
theyr biddinges and requestes.
Whereupon the aduersaries taking theyr
aduauntage, came to Miocius, and told
hym of Bergibans retractation, wylling him
to doe the like. But he stoutly persisting in

the truth, endured to the fire, where he
 hauing powder put to hys brest was so put
 to death, and dispatched. The Fryers
 hearing the cracke of y^e powder vpon hys
 brest, told the people, that the deuill came
 out of him and caried away hys soule. Ex
 Rabo. & alijs.

A certayne Prince in Germany, about
 Hungary or the partes of Pannonia.

A priest of Germany.

- Alphonsus Diazius, a Spanyard.
- Petrus de Maluenda the popes
prolocutor at Ratisbone a
Spanyard.
- The Emperours confessor, a blacke
Fryer a Spanyard.
- Marquina.

Ioannes Diazius, a
 Spanyard martyr, killed of
 his own brother at
 Neoberg in Germany. An.
 1546.

Iohannes. Gastius Conuial. Serm.
 lib. 2. writeth of a certayne
 Prince,* but doth not name hym,
 which put out y^e eyes of a certayn
 Priest in Germanye, for no other
 cause, but for that he sayd y^e
 masse to be no sacrifice, in y^t
 sence, as many priestes do take it.
 Neither did the cruell prince
 imme|diatly put him to death but
 first kept hym in prison a long
 time, afflicting him with diuers
 tormentes. Then he was brought
 forth to be degraded, after a
 barbarous and tyrannous maner.
 First they shaued the crowne of
 hys head, then rubbed it hard
 with salt, that y^e bloud came
 running downe hys shoulders.
 After that they rased and pared
 the toppes of hys fingers wyth
 cruell payne, that no sauour of the
 holy oyle myght remayn. At last
 the patient and godly martyr, foure
 dayes after, yealded vp hys lyfe
 and spirite. Ex. Ioan. Gastio. lib. 2.

*Of this Iohn Diazius the full
 proces and historye is set foorth in
 Latine wherein the whole
 circustauce is debated at large,
 wher of briefe sūme is this. Iohn
 Diazius a Spanyarde borne, first
 being at Paris 13. yeares, from

thēce remoued to Geneua: then
to Basill, & after to Strausburgh:
from whence he was sent
Ambassadour with Bucer and
other, to the Councell of
Ratisbone: where he talking with
Peter Meluenda hys countreyman,
the Popes factour, so declared his
Relygyon vnto hym that
Maluenda wrote to the Fryer,
whiche was the Emperours
confessour touching the sayd Iohn
Diazus: * at the opening and
reading of whiche letters, one
Marquina an other Spanyarde was
present. Upon this it followed, *
whether by this confessor, or by
Marquina, that Alphonsus Diasius,
brother to Iohn Diazus: which
was one of the Popes Lawyers in
Rome, had knowledge geuen
hym, of hys brother Iohn.

When the communication of Ratisbone
was dis'solued & broken vp. Iohn
Diazus, from Ratisbone went to the
City of Neoberg, within the Dominion
of Otto Henry Pallatine, about the
expedition of Bucers booke there to be
printed. As Iohn Diazus was there
occupied, it was not long, but
Alphonsus hys brother was come frō
Rome to Ratisbōe, where Maluenda
was: bringing with him a pestilent
cutthroate, a notorious ruffian or
homicide belonging to y^e City of
Rome, Maluenda & Alphonsus
consul'ting together about y^e dispatch
of theyr deuilish purpose, first laboured
to hūt out by y^e frends of Diazus wher
Diazus was, Wherof Alphon. & the
homicide hauing knowledge by
certayne of hys secret friends,
pretending great matters of

importaunce, came to Neoberg, where Diazius was printing of Bucers booke: where after long debating of matters of religion betwene the two brethren.

Alphonsus seing the hart of his brother Iohn to be so constantly planted on the sure rocke of Gods truth, that by no wyse he could eyther be remooued from his opinion, or perswaded to ride in his company (being otherwise coūsailed by Bucer and hys friendes) feyned him selfe frendly to take his leaue of his brother and to depart but shortly after, secretly with his ruffenly murderer he returned agayne, and by the waye they bought a certain hatchet of a carpenter.

This done, Alphonsus sendeth his man beyng disguised, with letters vnto his brother, he himselfe following after. As Iohn Diazius in the mornyng was risen out of his bed,* to read the letters, y^e wretched hangman, wyth the hatchet cloue his head vnto the braynes, leauing the hatchet in his head, and so hee with Alphonsus tooke them to theyr horse, which stode without the Cittie gate, with as much speede as they might. They of Neoberge, hearing of the horrible acte, sent out certaine horsemen, making great iournyes after them. Who comming to Augusta, and hearing y^e murderers to be past before, were out of hope to ouertake them, and so returned. One in the cōpany more zelous then the rest,* woulde not returne, but pursued them still, and in the Cittie of Oeniponte, caused them to be stayed, and put in prison. Otto Palatine hearing of their taking writeth to the Magistrates of Oeniponte for iudgement. Which Magistrates at first semed very willing ther to: but in conclusion, through the practise of papists, and crafty lawyers, the

sentence iudiciall was so de|layed from
day to day, thē from houre to houre,
that the Emperours letters came in
posthaste requiring the matter to be
stayed, and reserued to his hearing.
And thus the terrible murder of Cain
and his fellow was bolstered out by the
Papistes. The like wherof from the
memorye of men was neuer hearde of,
since the first example of Cain,* which
for religion slue hys own brother Abell.
But although true iudgemēt in this
world be peruerted, yet such bloudy
Ca|ins w^t their wilfull murther, shall not
escape y^e hands of him, who shall
iudge truely both the committers, and
the bolsterers also of all mischieuous
wickednes. Ex Claudio Senarcleo.

¶An. 1546, Charles the Emperour helde
an armed Councell at Augusta after his
victory gotten in Germany. Where
Iulius Pflug, Michael Sidonius and
Iohn Islebius going about to concorde
together the Gospell of Christ, with the
traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a
hodgebotch of them both, drewe and
framed out a new forme of Religion
called Interim.* Whereupon began a
new matter of persecution in Germanie.
For the Emperour proceeded straight^ly
agaynst all them, which would not
receaue hys Interim, intending thereby
to haue wrought some great mastry
against the Gospellers, but the Lorde
disapoynted his purpose.

Among them whiche withstoode this
Spanishe Interim, besides other, were
also the Cittizens of Cōstantia. For the
which three thousande Spanyardes
priuilye by night came agaynst the
Towne of Constance,* where they
killed three of the watchmen of the
Town, which watching in the suburbes,
went forth to view the noyse whiche

they heard in the woodes. The deuise of the spanyardes was in the mornyng when the cittizens were at the Sermon, sodeinly to set vppon the Citty and take it, so (no doubt) intentēding to haue gone further. But as the Lord would something began to be suspected in the night by the watchmē in the suburbes, on the other side the water, whereby the Consul and Cittizens had intelligence to be in readines. When the morning came, y^e Spanyardes were ready at y^e gate to breake into the City. But beyng driuen from thence and theyr Captaine Alphonsus slayne, they went to the bridge which goeth ouer the Rhene. But being beaten also from thence, with shotte and great peeces from the walles, and a great number of them drowned in the riuer, the Spanyardes breaking downe the hynder part of the bridge, because the Cittizens shoulde not pursue them, they recoyled backe into the suburbes, and burned thē with the dead bodyes also that were slayne, so that the number of the Spanyardes that there were killed, could not be knowne: Onely a hūdreth of honest Cittizens of Constance were missing Ex. Ioan. Sled. lib. 21.

At the same tyme, many godly Ministers of the Churches in Germany were in great daunger, espe|cially such as refused to receaue the Interim: of whom some were cast into prison. In which number of prisoners was Mart. Frectius Superintendēt of Ulmes, with foure other preachers moe: also hys brother George, for cōming but to his house to comfort him. For the which cause Musculus the same tyme, wyth o^rther preachers moe, went from Ausburge, Brentius from Hala, Blaurerus from Constance, Bucer from Strausburgh.

A Bishop in Hungary

A godly priest in Hungary.

In Hungary a certayn godly priest preached,* that the eating of flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture: for the which the cruel bishop, after he had imprisoned him certayne weekes, caused hym to be brought out, & hys body to be tyed ouer with Hares, Geese, and Hennes, hanging round about hym: and so y^e beastly Bish. made dogges to be set vppō hym, which cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catche. And thus the good minister of Christ, beyng driuen about the Cittie with the barking of dogges dyed, and was martyred. The sighte whereof, as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few dayes after, the impious bishop by the stroke of Gods iust hand, fell sicke and became horne madde, and so rauing without sence or witte, miserably dyed.*Ex tomo. 2. Conuualium Sermo. Ioan Gastij.

Ioan Fridericke of Saxony Elector.*

An. 1547.

Among these godly and constant Sayntes of Christ, may well be recounted Ioan Fridericke Duke of Saxony. Who whē he had recouered agayne all his dominions (which Duke Maurice hadde taken from him before, being in Sueuia with his armye) and at last was taken prisoner of the Emperour at Albis, 24. of Aprill. ann. 1547. yet could neuer be induced to yelde to the Emperour in reuoking his fayth and doctrine of the Gospell wherein he stooode: For the which

he was detained from his wife and children, and bereaved of all his goods, and caryed about with the Emperour, the space of five yeares. This admirable constancye of that duke was a wonder to all his aduersaries. At last, in the yeare of our Lord. 1552. through the benefite of almighty God, he was set agayne at libertye & returning home to his wife & childrē cōtinued in his religion till the houre of his death. Ex Sled lib. 19.

Much like was the case also of Philip Lantgraue of Hesse,* who likewise being taken and spoyled of the Emperour, cōtinued the space of 5. yeares in the cruel custodye of the Spanyardes, and albeit he had fined vnto the Emperour, and was promised to be set free out of prison, the Emperour and his Counsell dalying with theyr promise, expounded his prisonment not to be perpetuall. And though great labour & intercession was made for him: yet al would not helpe. For when the Emperour sent him away, then Mary the Emperours sister tooke him by the way, finding cauillations agaynst him: whereby hee was agayne committed to the hands of Spanyardes, till at lēgth, through the disposing of Gods mercy first the Duke of Saxony, and then 6. dayes after the Lantgraue also, were both freed out of long captiuitie, & sent home. Ex Comment. Sled. lib. 19.24.

Charles. Emperour.

Hermannus Archbishop
of Colen.*

An. 1547.

Wyth these holy Martyrs aboue
recyted, may also be numbred
Hermannus arch'bysh. of Colen.
Who a litle before the Emperour

had war agaynst the Protestantes,
 had reformed his Church from
 certain papistical superstitions,
 vsyng therin the ayd and aduise of
 Martine Bucer. Wherefore Charles
 the Emperour sent word to Colen,
 that he should be deposed,
 whiche he paciētly did suffer. In
 his roome was set Adolphus Earle
 of Schaunenburge. Ex Sled. lib. 18.

M. Nicholas and Barbara hys
 Wyfe: also Augustinus a Barber,
 and Marion hys Wyfe borne about
 Hennegow, after they had bene at
 Geneua a space, came into
 Germanye, thinkyng that way to
 passe ouer into England. By the
 way comming to Hēnegow,
 Augustine desired M, Nicholas
 (be'cause he was learned) to
 come to Bergis to visite and
 comfort certeyne brethren there,
 which he willingly did. From
 thence passing by Dornic (or
 Tornay) they held on theyr
 iourney toward England. But in
 the way Austen and his wife being
 knowen, were detected to the
 Lieuetenaunt of Dornic, who in all
 speedy hast folowing after them,
 ouertooke them 4. myles beyond
 Donic, Augustine (how I can not
 tell) escaped that time out of
 theyr handes, and could not be
 found. The souldiours then laying
 handes vpon Nicholas and the 2.
 women, brought them backe
 agayne to Dornic. In returnge by
 the waye, when M. Nicholas at
 the table gaue thankes (as the
 maner is of the faythfull) the

The President or Maior of Dornic.

- M. Nicholas Frenchman.*
- Marion wife of Augustinus

An. 1549.

wicked Ruler scorning them, and swearing like a tyraunt, sayd: Now let vs see, thou lewd heretick, whether thy God can deliuer thee out of my hand. To whome Nicholas aunswering againe modestly, asked what had Christ euer offended him, that he with his blasphemous swearing did so teare him in pieces, desiring him,* that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreke his anger vpon his poore body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound, hands & feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the doungeon. Thē duke Ariscote, accompanied with a great number of priestes, and Franciscan Friers, and with a Doctor whiche was theyr warden, came to talke with them. Nicholas s•anding in the middest of them, being asked what he was, and whither he would: answered thē perfectly to all theyr questions, and moreouer so confounded the Friers, that they went away ashamed, saying that be had a deuil, and crying:* to the fire with him Lutherane.

As they continued looking still for the day of their execution, it came to the Riuers myndes to aske of Nicolas in what house he was lodged, whē he came to Bergis. Nicolas sayd he had neuer bene there before, and therefore being a straunger he could not tell the name of the house. When Nicolas would confesse nothing, Duke Ariscotus came to Barbara Nicholas hys Wyfe, to know where they were

lodged at Bergis, promising many fayre
 woordes of deliuary, if she would tell.*
 She being a weake and a timorous woman,
 vttered all. By the occasion whereof great
 persecution folowed, and many were
 apprehended. Where this is to be noted,
 that shortlye,* euen vpon the same, the
 sonne of the sayd Duke Ariscotus, was
 slayne and buried the same day, when
 Augustinus was burned. To be short,
 Nicolas shortly after was brought before
 the ludges and there condemned to be
 burned to ashes. At which sentence
 geuing,* Nicolas blessed the Lord, which
 had counted him worthy to be a witnesse
 in the cause of hys deare and welbeloued
 sonne. Going to the place of execution, he
 was commaunded to speake nothing to
 the people, or els he should haue a balle
 of wood thrust in his mouth. Being at the
 stake and seeyng a great multitude aboute
 him, forgetting his silence promised, he
 cryed with a loud voyce: O Charles,
 Charles, how long shall thy hart be
 hardened? And with y^t, one of y^e
 souldiours gaue him a blow. Then saide
 Nicholas again: Ah miserable people, thou
 art not woorthy to whom the word of God
 should be preached. And thus hee spake
 as they were binding him to the stake. The
 •riers came out with theyr olde song,
 crying that he had a deuill. To whom
 Nicholas spake the Uerse of the Psalme:
 Depart from me all ye wicked, for the Lord
 hath heard the voyce of my weepyng. And
 thus this holye Martyr paciently taking his
 death, commended vp his spirit vnto God
 in the midst of the fire. Ex Lud. Rab.
 Pantal. et alijs.

Marion Wife of Austen, After the Martyrdome of this M.
 Nicolas, Mariō the wife of Austen

aboue mentioned.

At Bergis in
Hennegow.

An. 1549.

was called for.* With whome they had much talke about the maner and state of Geneua, asking her how the Sacraments wer administred ther, and whether shee had celebrated there the Lordes Supper. To whom she aunswered that the Sacramentes there were celebrated after the Lordes institution, of the which she was no Celebrator but a Partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, that she should be interred quicke. When she was let downe to the graue,* kneeling vpon her [Page 894](#) knees, she desired the Lord to help her, and before she should be throwne downe, she desired her face might be couered with a napkin or some linnen cloth, who being so couered, and the earth thrown vpon her face and her body, the hangman stamped vpon her with hys feet, till her breath was past. Ibidem.

Augustine the husband
of Marion.

The watchmē or souldiours of Bellimont.

At Bellimont in
Hennegow.

An. 1549.

Ye heard before how Austen escaped before at the taking of Nicholas and the 2. women. After this he gaue himselfe to sell spices & other pedlary ware from place to place. Who at length cōming to the Towne of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was knowne & detected to the Magistrate. Whereof he hauing some intelligence before, left his ware & ran away. And seeing moreouer the house beset about with harnised men, where he was

hosted, he began to be more
afeard and hid himself in a bush:
for he was very timorous, and a
weake spirited man. But the
houre beyng come, which the
Lord hath appoynted for him, it
happened that certayne standing
vpon the towne walle which
might well see him go into the
thicket or bushe, gaue knowledge
therof to the souldiours,* which
folowed hym to the bushe and
tooke him. Beyng taken, he was
had to Bergis, the head towne of
Hennegow, where being
examined, valiauntly standyng to
the defence of his doctrine,
aunswered his aduersaryes with
great boldnes.

Wherein here is to be noted and
maruelled to see the worke of the Lord,*
how this man being before of nature so
timorous, now was so strengthened wyth
Gods grace, that he nothing feared the
force of al his enemies. Among other,
came to him the Warden of the Gray
Friers, with a long Oration, perswadyng
him to relent or els he shoulde be damned
in hell fyre perpetually. To whom Austen
aunsweryng agayn, sayd: proue that which
you say, by the authority of Gods woord,
that a man may beleue you, you saye
much, but you proue nothing, rather lyke
a Doctor of lyes, then of truth. &c. At last
he being there condemned to be burnt at
Bellimont, was brought to the Inne where
he shoulde take horse: where was a
certayne Gentleman a straunger, who
drinkyng to him in a cup of wine, desired
hym to haue pity vpon him selfe, and if he

would not fauour his life, yet that he would fauour his owne soule. To whome sayd Austen, after he had thanked hym for his good will, what care I haue (sayd he) of my soule, you may see by this, that I had rather geue my body to be burned, then to do that thing, that were agaynst my conscience. Whē he was come to the towne of Bellimont where he should be burned, the same day there was a great buriall of the Duke Ariscotus his sonne, which was slayne a litle before (as is before touched) by the occasion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there present,* which hearing of this Austen, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of hys martyrdome, the people being offended at his cōstancy, cryed out to haue him drawne at an horse tayle, to the place of burning: but the Lord would not suffer that. In fine, being tyed to the stake and fire set vnto him, hartely he prayed to the Lord & so in the fire paciently departed. Ex Crisp. & alijs.

The names of the perse|cutours be not expressed in the story.*

A certayne woman of Auspurge.

At Auspurge.

An. 1550.

Two Virgins.

At Auspurge, a certayne woman there dwelling, seeing a priest to cary the hoste to a sicke person wyth Taper lyght (as the maner is) asked hym what he meant so to goe with candle lyght at noone daye? For thys shee was apprehended, and in great daunger, had it not bene for the earnest sute and prayer of the women of that City, and at the intercession of Mary the Emperours sister. Ex Ioan Sled. lib. 22.

In the Dyoces of Bamberge 2. maydes were ledde out to

In the Dioces of
Bamberge.

An. 1551.

slaughter,* whych they susteyned
wyth patient hartes, and cheereful
coūtenāūces. They had garlands
of straw putte on theyr heades.
Whereupon one comforting the
other going to theyr martyrdome:
seing Christ (sayd she) for vs bare
a Crowne of thorne, why shoulde
wee sticke to beare a Crowne of
straw? No doubt but the lorde wil
render to vs agayne better then
Crownes of golde, some sayd, that
they were Anabaptistes. And it
might be (sayd Melanct) that they
had some fond opinion admixed
withal? yet they did hold (sayth
he) the foundation of the Articles
of our fayth, and they dyed
blessedly, in a good conscience
and knowledge of the sonne of
God: Fewe doe liue without
errors. Flatter not your selues,
thinking your selues so cleere that
you can not erre. Haec Philip.
Melancth.

The names of the persecutors appeare not
in the story.

The Christian City of
Magdeburge.

An. 1551.

When Charles the emperour had
almost gotte all his purpose in
Germany,* in obtruding hys
Religion of Interim into all places,
which was receiued of the most
part of all the chiefe Princes and
Cittyes, onely the City of
Magdeburge continuing in the
constancy of their doctrine
reformed, refused to admit the
same. Wherefore warre was
raysed agaynst them, theyr City
besieged, and great violence vsed:
so that many honest and religious
Citizens for the Gospels cause
susteyned great perils and

daunger of death. At last when they had manfully and constantly endured such great distresse and calamity, the space of a whole yere, thorow the blessed prouidēce of almighty God (who about the same time sent warre betwene the French king and the Emperour) honest reconciliation was made betwene them and the Emperor, whereby they were receiued into fauor, and suffered to enioy theyr former religion quietly. Ex Ioan. Sled. lib. 23.

This Hostius borne at Gaunt,* was cunning in grauing in armour, and in steele. He first was in the French Church here in England, during the reigne of King Edward. After the comminge of Queene Mary he wēt to Norden in Friseland, wyth hys Wyfe and Children. From thence, hauing businesse, hee came to Gaunt: where (after a certayne space that hee hadde there continued, instructing diuers of hys friendes) he heard that there was a blacke Fryer, which vsed to preach good doctrine to the people.

Wherefore he being desirous to heare, came to hys Sermon, where the Frier contrarye to his expectation preached in defence of transubstantiation. At the hearing whereof, his hart was so full, that he had mucche a doe to refrayne, while the Sermon was finished. [Page 895](#) As soone as the Frier was come downe, he braste out, and charged him with

Iames Hesselius Chāberlayne of Gaunt,
and the Friers there.

Hostius other wise
called George.

At Gaunt.

An. 1555.

false doctrine persuadyng the people, as well as he could be heard, by the scriptures, that the bread was but a Sacrament onely of the Lordes body. The Fryer not willing to heare him, made signes vnto him to depart. Also the thrōg of the people was such, that it caryed hym out of the dores. He had not gone far, but Hesselius the Chamberlaine ouertooke him & caried him to prison. Then were Doctours and other Friers, as Pistorius and Bunderius, brought to reason with him, of the Sacrament, of Inuocation of Saintes, and Purgatory. He euer stood to the triall onely of the scripture: whiche they refused. Then was it agreed that he shoulde declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote also to his wyfe at Emden: comforting her, and requiring her to take care, for Samuel, and Sara hys children. When he was condemned, he was cōmaūded not to speake to the people. Hesselius the Officer made great hast to haue him dispatched. Wherfore he myldely like a lambe, praying for his enemyes, gaue him selfe to bee bounde, paciently taking that they would doe agaynst him: whom first they strangled, & then consumed his body being dead, wyth fire. And this was the Martyrdome of Hostius. Ex Lud. Rabo. lib. 6.

[*Ioan. Frisius Abbot.](#)

Ioanne. Sled. Lib. 25. maketh recorde of one Ioan. Frisius

In Bauaria.

An. 1554.

- The Bayliffe of Hennegow,*gouvernour of the towne and Castle of Dornic.
- Peter De uentiere, Lieuetenaūt to the sayd Bayliffe.
- Philip de Cordis, chiefe coūsellour in criminall causes.
- Nic. Chambree.
- Pet. Rachelier.
- Iames de Clerke.
- Nicholas of Fernague.
- M. Hermes of Wingles, one of the counsell for the sayd Baliwicke.

Bertrand le Blas.

At Dornic.

An. 1555.

Abbotte of Newstat within the Dioces of the B. Herbipolensis in Bauaria: who being suspected of Lutheranisme was called to accompt of his fayth: and strōgly persisting in his assertions, and defēding the same by the scriptures, he was therefore displaced and remooued from all hys iurisdictions .25. of Iune. an. 1554. Ex Sled.

The Story of Bertrand is lamentable, his tormentes vncredible, the tyrannye shewed vnto him horrible, the constancye of the Martyr admyrable. This Bertrand beyng a Sylkeweauer, went to Wesell for the cause of religion. Who being desirous to drawe hys Wyfe and Chyldren from Dornic to Wesell, came thyrse from thence to perswade with her to goe with hym thither. When shee in no wise coulde be entreated, hee remaynyng a few dayes at home, set hys house in order, and desyred his Wife and his Brother to pray that God woulde stablishe him in hys enterprise, that he went aboute. That done, he went vpon Christenmas daye to the hygh Church of Dornic, where hee tooke the cake out of the Priestes handes, as he would haue lyft it ouer hys heade at Masse, and stampit it vnder his feet, saying that he did it to shew the glory of that God, and what litle power he hath: with other wordes moe to the people, to perswade them

that the cake or fragment of
breade was not Iesus theyr
Sauour.

At the sight hereof the people beyng
stroken with a maruelous damp stood all
amazed. At length such a styrre therupon
folowed, that Bertrand could hardely
escape with life. It was not long but the
noyse of this was caryed to the Baylife of
Henegow, and gouernour of the Castle of
Dornic, which lay sicke the same time, of
the gowte, at Biesy. Who like a madde
man cried out, that euer God would or
could be so pa'cient, to suffer that
contumely, so to be troden vnder the
foote of such a myser: adding moreouer,
that he would reuenge his cause in such
sorte, as it shoulde be an example for euer
to all posterity, and forthwith the furyous
tyraunt commaunded himselfe to be
caryed to y^e Castle of Dornic. Bertrand
being brought before him, was asked
whether hee repented of hys fact, or
whether he would so doe, if it were to be
done agayne. Who aunswered, that if he
were an hundreth tymes to be done, he
woulde doe it: and if he had an hundreth
liues, he would geue them in that quarrell.
Then was he thrise put to the pynebanke,*
tormented most miserably, to vtter his
setters on, whiche he would neuer do.
Then proceded they to the sentence, more
like tyrauntes then Christen men. By the
tenour of which sentence, this was his
punishment: First he was drawne from the
Castle of Dornic, to the market place,*
hauing a balle of yron put in hys mouth.
Then he was sette vpon a stage, where hys
right hand, wherwith he tooke the hoste,
was crushed and pressed betwene two

hoate yrons, with sharp yron edges fyry redde, till the forme & fashion of hys hand was misshaped.* In like manner they brought other like yrons for hys righte foote, made fyre hoat whereunto of his owne accorde, he put hys foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with maruellous constancy and firmenesse of minde. That done, they tooke the balle of yron out of his mouth, and cutte of hys tounge, who notwithstanding, with continuall crying, ceased not to call vpon GOD: whereby the hartes of the people were greatly moued: Wherupō the tormentours thrust in the yron balle into hys mouth agayne. From thence they brought him down to y^e lower stage, he goyng to the same no lesse chearfully and quietly,* then if no part of his body had bene hurt. There his legges and hys handes were bound behinde hym with an yron cheyne goyng aboute his body and so he was ledde downe flat vpon the fyre: whom the foresayd gouernour there standing by and looking vpon, caused to be let vp agayne, & so downe and vp agayne, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commaunded to be cast into the riuer, when this was done, the Chappell where thys Massegod was so entreated, was lockt vppe, and the bord whereupon the Priest stood, was burnt: y^e marble stone whereupon the hoste did light, was broken in peeces. And finally for so much as the sayde Bertrand had receiued his doctrine at wessell, commaundement was geuen, that no person, out of that countrey should go to Wesel, or there occupy vnder incurring the daunger of the Emperours Placard. Ex Crisp. Pantal. et Adriano.

Two hundredth Ministers
of Bohemia.

An. 1555.

The same yeare 2. hundredth
Ministers and Preachers of the
Gospell,* were banished out of
Bohemia, for preaching agaynst
the superstition of the Bishoppe of
Rome, and extolling the glorye of
Christ. Ex Cōment. Ioā Sled. lib.
25.

The preachers of Locrane.

Locarne is a place beyonde the
Alpes,* yet subiecte to the
Heluetians. When these also had
receiued the gospell, and the fiue
Pages of the Heluetians aboue
mentioned, [Page 896](#) were not
well pleased therewith, but
woulde haue them punished, and
great contention was among the
Heluetians about y^e same, it was
concluded at length, that the
Ministers should be exiled: Whom
the Tygurines did receiue. Ex.
Pantal.

- *Fraunces
Warlut.
- Alexander
Dayken.

At Dornic.

An. 1562.

After these two good mē being
borne in the lower partes of
Germany, had bene cōuersaunt
in diuers reformed churches in
other countryes, at last for
cōscience sake, they returned
home agayn to do good in theyr
owne countrey of Dornic, &
there about.

So vpon a time, as the people
there resorted to a backe field
or wood without the city, with a
certayne preacher to heare the
word of God and to pray, the
aduersaryes hauing thereof
some intelligence, so pursued
them, that they tooke of them
aboue 30. of whom these 2.
among the rest, were

apprehended, and thinking no lesse but that they should be burned, they began to sing psalmes. At lēgth being broght forth, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the iudges had intēded to quarter their bodies, and to set thē vp by the high wayes, yet was it so prouided, GOD working in the hartes of the people, that they were both committed to sepulture. Ex Lud. Rab.

These in the cause of the Gospell suffered at Ualence.

Earle of Lalain.

- [*Gillotus Viuer.](#)
- Iames Faber, his father in law.
- Michael Faber, sonne of Iames.
- Anna wife of Gillotus, and daughter of Iames Faber.

Iames Faber being an olde man, sayd: that although he could not aunswere or satisfye them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the Gospell.

Anna hys daughter being with childe, was respited, after she was deliuered, she folowed her husbād and father in the like Martyrdome.

Michella, wyfe of Iames Clerke which was before burned, when she was offered to be maryed, and to bee caryed out of the country to some reformed church, [*](#) refused so to doe, but woulde abide the aduenture of her vocation, [*](#) and so was condemned wyth Gillotus to be burned. Ex Crisp.

[*Michella Caignoucle](#)

At Vallence.

An. 1550.

Godfridus Hamelle.

At Dornic.

An. 1252.

Thys Godfryde a Taylor, was taken & condemned at Dornic or Tournay. When they had condemned him by the name of

an hereticke. Nay (sayd he) not an hereticke, but a seruaunt of Iesus Christ vnprofitable. When the hangmā went about to strangle him to diminish his pu^lnishment, he refused it, saying that he woulde abide the sentence that the Iudges had geuē. Ex eod.

☞ Besides these Germaines aboue specified, a great number there was both in the higher & lower countryes of Germanye, which were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in prison made away, whose names although they be not knowne to vs, yet they are registred in the booke of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch booke of Adrian, diuers other be numbred in the Catalogue of these Germane Martyrs, which likewise suffered in diuers places of the lower country: the names of certayn wherof be these. At Bergis or Berghen in Hennegow, were burnt

- Iohn Malo.
- Damian Witroke.
- Weldrewe Calier.
- Iohn Porceau.
- Iulian, van den Swerde.
- Adrian Lopphen.
- Bawdwyne.

in the yeare of our Lord. 1555. Iohn Malo,* Damian Witrocke, Weldrew Calier buried quicke, Iohn Porceau. At Aste suffered also one Iulian. an. 1541. and Adrian Lopphē. an. 1555.* At Bruxels. an. 1559. one Bawdwyne beheaded. An other called Gilleken Tielman buxnt. an. 1541. Adde moreouer to the same Catalogue of Duch Martyrs burnt and consumed, in the lower countryes vnder the Emperours dominion: the names of these folowing. W.

Swolle, burnt at Mechlin. an. 1529. Nico. Paul. at Gaunt beheaded. Robert Orguier, and Ioanne his wife, with Baudicon and Martin Orguier their children, which suffered at Lisle. an. 1556. M. Nicholas burnt at Mons. Iames Fosseau at Mons. Corniels Uolcart, at Brugis, an. 1553. Hubert the Printer, and Philippe Iopner, at Brugis. an. 1553. A woman buryed wyth thornes vnder her. Peter le Roux. at Brugis. an. 1552 At Mechlin suffered Frances, and Nicholas Thijs, ij. brethren. an. 1555. At Antwerpe were burnt Adrian a Painter and Henry a Taylor. an. 155. Also Cornelys Halewyne Locksmith, & Herman Ianson the same yeare. M. Iohn Champ. Scholemayster. an. 1557. with a number of other besides, whiche in the sayd booke are to be seene and read.

¶An. 1525. we read also in the French history of a certayne Monk, who because he forsooke his abhominable order and was maryed, was burnt at Prage.

The Priestes of Erford.

A Preacher poysoned at Erford.

In the Collections of Henry Pantalion, we reade also of a certayne godly preacher to be poysoned, for preaching the woorde of trueth, by the Priestes of Erford. Ex Elegia cuiusdam viri Docti. in Pantal.

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany,* we will now (Christ willing) proceed further to the Frenche Martyrs, comprehending in a lyke Table, the names and causes of such as in that kingdome suffered for the word of God, and cause of righteousnes, as in this briefe Summary consequentlye hereunder ensueth.

¶An other Table of them which suffered in Fraunce for the like witness of the Gospell.*The French Martyr•.[Page 899](#)[Page 903](#)[Page 904](#)[Page 908](#)

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	The Causes.
Doctour Martiall of Paris.	James Pauane scholemaister. At Paris. An. 1524.	THIS Iames fyrste being taken by the Byshop of Melden,* or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Doctor Martiall. Afterwarde returning agayne to his confession, he was burnt at Paris. 1525. Ex. Ioan. Crisp.
	Dionisius de Rieux. At Melda, or Meaux. An. 1528.	*This Denys was one of thē which were first burne at Melda, for sayinge, that the Masse is a playne denyall of the death and Passion of Christ. He was alwayes wont to haue in his mouth the woordes of Christ:*He that denyeth mee before men, hym wyll I denye before my Father, and to muse vpon the same earnestly•. He was burnt with a slow fire, and dyd abyde muche torment. Ex Crisp. & alijs.
	*Ioannes de Cadurco, Bachelor of the Ciuill law. An. 1533.	This Iohn, first for makyng a Sermon or exhortation to his cōtreyemen of Lunosin in Fraunce vpon Alhallow daye: and after,

sitting at a feast where it
was propounded, that
euerye one shoulde
bryng foorth some
sentence, for that he
brought forth thys:
Christe reygne in our
hartes, and dyd
prosecute the same by
the Scryptures in muche
length of words, was
thereupon accused,
taken, and disgraded and
after burned. At this
degradation one of the
black Friers of Paris
preached, taking for his
theame the wordes of S.
Paule. 1. Tim. 4. The
spirite speaketh, that in
the latter dayes menne
shall departe from fayth,
geuing heed to lying
spirites, and doctrine of
error. &c. And in
handling that place,
either he could not or
woulde not proceed
further in the text.
Cadurcus cryed out to
him to proceede, and
read further. The Frier
stood dombe, and
coule not speake a
word.

Then Cadurcus taking the
text, did prosecute the same,
as foloweth: Teaching false
doctrine in hypocrisy, hauing
theyr conscience marked
with a hoate yron, forbidding

to mary, and to eat meates
created of God, to bee eaten
with thankesgeuing &c. Ex
Ioan. Crispi.

Promo•••• of Paris.

*Batthelmew Mylē, a
lame creple.

Ioan Burges,
Marchaunt. The
receiuer of Names.
Henry Poille of
Co•beron. Cantella, a
Scholemistres. Stephen
de la Forge,
Marchaunt.

An. 1533.

These fine here
specified, for certayne
Billes cast abroad and
set vppe, soundyng
agaynst the
abhominacion of the
Masse, and other
superstitious absurdities
of the Pope, were
condemned and burned
in the City of Paris.
Henry of Couberon had
hys tongue bored
through, and wyth an
yron wyer, tyed fast to
one of hys cheekes: Who
lykewise with the other,
was burned, as is
aforesayde. Ex Ioanne
Crisp.

Alexander Canus
priest, otherwise called
Laurentius Crucens.

At Paris. An. 1534.

For the sincere doctrine
and confession of
Christes true religion,*
hee was burned in Paris,
hauing but small fire,
and abydde much
torment. Ex Henr.
Pantal.

- The Gray Friars in
Paris.
- Doctour Clerke, a
Sorbonist.

Ioan Poynter, a
Surgeon.

At Paris.

An. 1533.

Thys Surgeon beyng
detected and accused by
the Fryers,* and suche
as he had cured before
of the Frenche pockes,*
was first condemned to
be strangled, and then

burned: but afterwarde,
because he would not
do homage to a certayne
Idole at the
commaundemente of a
Fryer that came to
confesse hym, his
sentence was turned to
haue hys toung cutte of,
and so to bee burned. Ex
Crisp.

A certayne Knight of Rhodes,
Vncle to this Peter.

Peter Gaudet, Knight
sometimes of Rhodes.

An. 1533.

This Peter being at
Geneua with hys wyfe,
was trayned out from
thence by his vncle,*
and put in prison for
defence of the Gospel,
and after long tormentes
then sustained, was
burned. vide Crisp.

Quoquillard.

An. 1534.

At Bezanson, in the
countye of Burgundy,*
this Quoquillard was
burned for the
confession and
testimony of Christes
gospell. Ex Ioan Crisp.

- Nicolas a
Scriuener.
- Iohn de Phoix.
- Stephen Burlet.

An. 1534.

These three were
executed and burned for
the like cause of the
Gospel,* in the City of
Arras: namely, Nicholas a
Scriuener, Iohn de Poix,
Stephen Burlet. Ex Ionne
Crisp.

A Gray Frier in the City of
Rochell.

Mary Becandella.
At Fountaynes.

This Mary beyng
vertuouslye instructed of
her maister where she

An. 1534.

liued,* and being
afterward at a Sermon,
where a Frier preached,
after the Sermō, found
faulte with hys [Page 898](#)
doctrine, and refined the
same by Scryptures.
Whereat he disdayning,
procured her to be
burned at Fountaynes.
Ibidem.

Iohn Cornon.

An. 1535.

*Iohn Cornon a husband
man of Mas•ō, and
vnlottered, but to whom
God gaue such
wisedome, that hys
iudges were amazed,
when he was condēned
by theyr sentence, and
burned. Ex Crisp.

- George Borell.
 - Iaylor.
 - The Procurator of the
Citty of Grenoble in
Fraunce.
 - The Inquisitour.
- Martin Gonyng.
In Dolphyne.
An. 1236.

*This Martin being taken
for a spye in the borders
of Fraunce, towarde the
Alpes, was committed to
prison. In his going out,
hys Iaylour espyed about
hym, letters of Farellus
and of Peter Uiret.
Wherefore being
examined of the kinges
Procuratour, and of the
Inquisitor, touching his
fayth, after he had
rendered a sufficient
reason thereof, he was
cast into the riuer and
drowned. Ex Ioan Crisp.

- The kinsfolkes and
frendes of this
Claudius.
- Cladius Paynter a

*Claudius going aboute
to conuert hys frendes

- Mosinus, an Officer. Goldsmith.

At Paris.

An. 1540.

and kinsfolks to hys doctrine was by them committed to Morinus a chiefe captayn, who condemned him to be burned: but the hygh Parliament of Paris, correctyng that sentence, added moreouer y^t he shoulde haue hys tongue cut out before: and so to be burned. Ex Ioan Crisp.

Stephen Brune was persecuted of Augerius,* who after his confession geuen of hys fayth, was iudged to be burned. Which punishment, he tooke so constantly, that it was to them a wōder. Hys aduersaryes commaūded after his death, to bee cryed that none should make any more mention of him, vnder payne of heresy.

- Gasper Augerius the Bishops Renter.
- Domicellus, a Franciscane and Inquisitour.

Stephen Brune, a husbandman.

At Rutiers.

An. 1540.

Pantalion addeth moreouer, that at the place of hys burnyng called Planuol, the wynde rose and blewe the fyre so from hym, as he stoode exhortyng the people, that hee there continued about the space of an houre, in maner, not harmed or scarce touched with any flame: so that all y^e woode being wasted

away, they were
compelled to begin the
fire agayne with new
fagottes,* & vessels of
oyle, and such other
matter: and yet neither
could he wyth all this,
be turned, but stood
safe. Then the
hangman tooke a
staffe, and let driue at
his head. To whome
the holy Martyr being
yet aliue, sayde: When
I am iudged to the fire,
doe ye beate me with
staues like a dogge:
With that the hangman
with his pike, thrust
him through the belly
and the guttes, and so
threw him downe into
the fire & burned his
body to ashes,
throwing away his
ashes afterward with
the wind. Ex Ioan
Crisp.

Constantinus, a Citizen
of Rhone wyth three
other.

An. 1542.

These foure for defence
of the Gospell,* being
cōdemned to be burned,
were put in a douncart.
Who thereat reioysing,
sayd that they were
reputed here as
excrements of this
worlde, but yet theyr
death was a swet odour
vnto God. Ex Ioan Crisp.

Iohn du Beck, Priest.

An. 1543.

For the doctrine of the
Gospell he was
disgraded,* and
cōstantly abode the

torment of fire in the
chiefe Citty of
Champaigne. Ex Ioan
Crisp.

This Aymonde preached
the Gospell at S. Faythes
in Angeow,* where he
was accused by the
Parishe Priest there, and
by other Priestes moe, to
haue taught false
doctrine, to the great
decaye of theyr gaynes.
Whereupon, when the
Magistrates of Bordeaux
had geuen
commaundement, and
had sent out theyr
Apparitour to
apprehende hym, he
hauing intelligence
thereof, was willed by
his frendes, to flye and
shyfte for himselfe: but
he would not, saying
that he had rather neuer
to haue bene borne,
then so to doe.* It was
the office of a good
Shephearde (he sayd)
not to flye in tyme of
perill, but rather to abide
the daunger, least the
flocke be scattered: or
els least peraduenture,
in so doing, he should
leaue some scruple in
theyr mindes, thus to
thinke, that he had fedde
them with dreames and
fables, contrary to the

- The Parish Priest of
the towne of S.
Fayth in Angeow. Aymond de Lauoy.
- Also other Priestes
of the same country. Bordeaux.
- Riueracus and his
seruaunt. An. 1543.

word of GOD. Wherefore
beseeching them to
moue him no more
therein, he tolde them,*
that he feared not to
yelde vp both body and
soule in the quarrell of
that trueth, which he
had taught: saying with
S. Paule, that he was
ready not onely to be
bound for the testimony
of Christ, in the Citty of
Bordeaux, but also to
dye. To contract the long
storye hereof to a briefe
narration, the Sumner
came, and was in the
City three daies: during
which tyme Aymondus
preached three Sermons.
The people in defence of
theyr Preacher, s•ew
vppon the Sumner, to
delyuer hym out of hys
handes. But Aymond
desired them not to
stoppe hys Martyrdome:
seyng it was the will of
God that he should
suffer for him, he would
not (sayd he) resist.
Then the Consuls
suffered the Sumner,
and so Aymond was
caryed to Bordeaux.
Where many witnesses,
the most part being
Priestes, came in agaynst
him, with M. Riuerack
also, and his seruaunt:
Whiche Riueracke had

sayde oftentimes before,
that it should cost him a
thousand crownes, but
he woulde burne him.
Many exceptions he
made agaynst hys false
witnesses, but that
would not be taken. Al
their accusation was
onely for denying
Purgatory.

About ix. monethes he
remayned in prison wyth
great misery, bewayling
exceedingly his former life
albeit there was no man
that could charge him
outwardly with any crime.
Then came downe letters,
wherupon the iudges
began to proceede to his
condēnation, and he had
greater fetters put vpon
him, which he tooke for a
token of his death shortly
to follow. After y^t, he was
examined with tormēts.
One of y^e head presidents
came to him, & shaking
hym by the beard, bad him
tell what fellowes he had
of his Religion. To whō he
answered, saying: that he
had no other fellowes, but
suche as knew, and did the
will of God his father,
whether they were nobles,
marchantes, husbandmen,
or of what degree so euer
they were. In these
torments he endured ii. or
iij. houres beyng but of a
weake body, with these
wordes comforting

himselfe: This body (sayd
hee) once must dye but the
spirit shal liue: the
kingdom of God abideth
for euer.* In the time of
his tormenting he
swoūded. Afterward
comming to himselfe
agayne, he sayd, O Lord
Lord, why hast thou
forsaken me? To whome
the president: Nay wicked
Lutheran (said he) Thou
hast forsaken God. Then
sayd Aymondus: Alas
good maysters, why do
you thus miserably
torment me▪ O Lord I
beseech thee forgeue them,
they know not what they
do. See (sayd the
President) this Cay'tife,
how he prayeth for vs,
neuertheles so constant
washe in his paynes, y^t
they could not force hym
to vtter one mans name:
saying vnto thē, y^t he
thought to haue founde
more mercy with men:
Wherefore he praied God
that that he might find
mercy with him.

On the next Saterdag
following, sentence of
con|demnation was geuen
agaynst hym. Then
certayne Fryers were
appoynted to heare his
confession. Whō he
refused, chusing to him
one of his owne order, the
parish priest of S.
Christophers, bidding the
Friers depart from hym,

for he would confesse hys
sinnes to y^e Lord. Do you
not see (sayd he) how I am
troubled enough with
men? will ye yet trouble
me more? Other haue had
my body, will you also
take from me my soule?
Away from me I pray you.
At last when he could not
be suffered to haue the
parish priest, he then tooke
a certayne Carmelite,
bidding y^e rest to depart,
with whom he hauing long
talke, at last did conuert
him, vnto the truth. Shortly
after y^t came vnto him the
Iudges, Cassagnes, and
Longa with other
counsailers moe, vnto
whome the saide
Aymondus began to
preach and declare his
minde, touching the
Lordes supper: But Longa
interrupting him:
demaunded of him thus.

The Iudge.

*First declare vnto vs your
minde what you thinke of
Purgatory.

The Martyr,

In Scripture all these are
one, to purge, to clense, &
to wash. Whereof wee
reade in Esay, in the
Epistle of S. Paule,* and
of S. Peter. He hath
washed you in hys bloud.
Ye are redeemed not with
golde, but with the bloud

of Christ. &c. And how
often doe we read in the
Epistles of S. Paule, That
we are clensed by the
bloud of Christ from our
sinnes. &c.

The Iudge.

Those Epistles are knowne
to euery child.

The Martyr.

To euery child? Nay, I
feare you haue scarce read
them your selfe.

A Fryer.

M. Aymond, with one
word you may satisfie
them, if you will say, that
there is place where the
soules be purged after this
life.

The Martyr.

That I leaue for you to
saye, if you please. What?
would you haue me damne
mine owne soule, and to
say that which I know not?

The Iudge.

Doest not thou think, that
when thou art dead, thou
shalt go to purgatory? And
he that dyeth in veniall
sinne, that he shall passe
streight into Paradise.

The Martyr.

Such trust I haue in my
God, that the same daye,
when I shall dye, I shall
enter into Paradise?

An other Iudge.

Where is Paradise?

The Martyr.

There, where the maiestie
and glory of God is.

The Iudge.

The Canons doe make
mention of Purgatory, and
you in your sermons haue
vsed alwayes muche to
pray for the poore.*

The Martyr.

I haue preached the word
of God, & not the Canōs.

The Iudge.

Doest thou beleue in the
Churche?

The Martyr.

I beleue as the Church
regenerated by the bloud
of Christ, and founded in
hys word, hath
appoynted.*

The Iudge.

What Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Church is a Greeke word signifiyng as muche as a congregation or assemble: and so I say, y^t when so euer the faythfull doe congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Christian religion, the holy ghost is verily with them.

The Iudge.

By this it should follow, that there be many Churches. And where as any rusticall clownes do assemble together, there must be a Church.

The Martyr.

It is no absurde thinge to say that there be manye Churches or congregations among the Christians: And so speaketh S. Paule: To all the Churches whiche are in Gallatia. &c. And yet all these congregations make but one Churche.

The Iudge.

The Church wherein thou beleeuest, is it not the same Churche, whiche our Creede doth call the holy Church?

The Martyr.

I beleue the same.

The Iudge.

And who should be the
head of that Church^{*}

The Martyr.

Iesus Christ.

The Iudge.

And not the Pope?

The Martyr.

No.

The Iudge.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Minister if he be a good
man, as other Bishops be:
of whom S. Paule thus
writeth: 1. Cor. 4. Let a
man so esteeme of vs, as
Ministers, and dispensers
of the secrets of God. &c.

The Iudge.

What then, doest not thou
beleue the Pope?

The Martyr.

I know not what he is,^{*}

The Iudge.

Doest thou not beleue that
he is the successour of

Peter?

The Martyr.

If he be like to Peter, and
be groundd with Peter,
vpon the true rocke Christ
Iesus, so I beleue his
workes, and ordinaunces
to be good,

Then the Iudges leauing
hym with y^e Friers,
departed frō hym, coūting
as a daned creature.
Notw^tstanding, Aymundus
putting his trust in God,
was full of comfort, saying
with Saint Paule: Who
shall separate me from the
loue of God? Shall the
sword, hunger, or
nakednes? No, nothing
shall pluck me from hym.
But rather I haue pittie of
you (sayd he) and so they
departed. Not lōg after, he
was brought to the place of
execution, singing by the
waye, the Psalme. In exitu
Israell de Aegipto. &c.*
And as he passed by the
place, where he before had
bene imprisoned, he called
to hys prison fellowes,
exhorting them to put
theyr confidence in the
Lorde, and tolde them that
he had spoken for them,
and declared theyr
miseryes vnto the
President. He thanked
moreouer the keeper,* and
desired hym to be good to
hys pore prysoners. And
so taking his leaue of

them, and desiring them to
praye for hym, also
geuyng thanks to the
maistresse keeper, for her
gentlenes shewed to hym,
he proceeded forward
toward hys execution. As
he came agaynst the
Churche of Saint
Andrew, they willed hym
to aske mercy of God, and
of blessed S. Mary, and of
Saint Iustice. I aske
mercy, (sayth he) of God
and hys Iustice, but the
Uirgine, blessed S. Mary, I
neuer offended, nor did
that thinge, for the whiche
I should aske her mercy.
From thence he passed
forward to the Churche of
S. Legia, preaching [Page
900](#) still as he went. Then
spake one of the
souldiours to the driuer or
carter,* willyng him to
driue a pase, for here is
preaching, sayd he,
enough. To whō sayd
Aymond, He that is of
God, heareth the wordes of
God &c. In passing by a
certain Image of our Lady
great offence was taken
agaynst him, because he
alwayes called vpon Christ
Iesus onely, and made no
mention of her.
Whereupon hee lifted his
voyce to God, praying that
he woulde neuer suffer
him to inuocate any other,
sauing him alone.
Comming to the place
where he should suffer, he
was tumbled out of the

cart, vpon y^e groūd,
testifying to the
Magistrates & to the
people standing by, y^t he
dyed for the Gospell of
Iesus Christ & for his
word. More he would haue
spoken, but he coulde not
be suffered, by y^e
tumultuous vexing of the
officers, crying, dispatch,
dispatche him, let him not
speake. Thē he speaking a
few wordes softly in y^e
eare of the litle Carmelite,
whō he had conuerted: was
bid to stepp vp to y^e stage.
Where the people
beginning to geue a litle
audiēce, thus he said O
Lord make hast to helpe
me, tary not, do not
despise the woorke of thy
handes.* And you my
brethren, y^e be students, &
scholars, I exhort you to
study and learne the
Gospell, for the word of
God abideth for euer:
labour to knowe the will of
God, and feare not them
that kill the body, but haue
no power vpon your
soules. And after that, my
fleshe (sayde hee)
repugneth merueilously
against the spirit, but
shortly I shall cast it away.
My good maysters, I
beseech you pray for me.
O Lord my God, into thy
hands I commend my
soule.* As he was oft
repeting the same the
hangman tooke and haled
him vpon the steppes in

such sort, that he strangled
hym. And thus y^e blessed
Saint gaue vp his life.
Whose body afterwarde
was with fire consumed.

Fraunces Bribard.

An. 1144.

Fraunces Bribard was
sayde to be the
secretarye of the
Cardinal of Bellay.*
Who beⁱng also for the
Gospel condemned,
after hys tongue was
cutte off, did with like
constâcie susteyne the
sharpenes of burning.
Ibidem.

The high Court of Roan.

A widowe keeping a
vitailing house, in the
suburbs of Roan.

William Husson, an
Apothecary.

At Roan.

An. 1544.

William Hussan
Apoⁱthecary,* comming
frō Bloys to Roan, was
lodged with a certaine
widow in the suburbs of
the Cittye. Who asking
of her, at what tyme the
Counsayle or Parliament
did ryse, she sayd at x. of
y^e clock About whiche
tyme & houre hee went
to the Pallace, and there
scatⁱtered certayne
bookes concernyng
Christian doctrine, and
the abuse of mens
traditions. Whereat the
counsayle was so
mooued, that they
commaunded all the
gates of the Cittye to be
locked, and dilligent
search to be made in all
Innes and hostles, to
finde out the au^thour.

Then the widow told of
the partye which was
there, and asked of the
rising of the Counsaile &
shortly vpon the same
took hys horse and rode
away. Thē were postes
set out thorough all
quarters, so that the
sayd William was taken
by the waye riding to
Diepe, and brought
agayne to Roan. Who
there being examined,
declared hys fayth
boldly, and howe became
of purpose to disperse
those bookes in Roan,
and went to do the like
at Diepe.*

The weeke ensuing, hee
was condemned to be
burned aliue. After the
sentence geuen, he was
brought in a cart,
accompanied with a
Doctor a Carmelite Frier,
before the great church,
who puttyng a torche in
hys hand, required hym to
doe homage to the Image
of our Lady:* which
because he refused to do,
his tongue was cut out.
The Fryer then making a
Sermon, when he spake
any thing of the mer'cies
of God, the sayd William
harkened to hym: but
when he spake of the
merites of Sayntes, and
other dreames he turned
awaye his head. The Fryer

looking vppon the
 countenaunce of Husson,
 lifte vpp his hand to
 heauen: saying with great
 exclamation, that he way
 damned, and was
 possessed with a deuill
 When the Fryer had ceased
 hys Sermon, this godly
 Husson had his handes and
 feete bound behynde his
 backe, & with a pully was
 lifted vp into the ayre and
 when the fire was
 kindled,* he was let down
 into the flame, where the
 blessed Martyr, with a
 smyling and cheerefull
 countenaunce looked vp to
 heauen, neuer mouing nor
 styrring, till he let down
 his head, and gaue vp hys
 spirite. All the people
 there present were not a
 little astonyed thereat, and
 were in diuers opinions,
 some saying, that he had a
 deuill other mayntayned
 the contrary, saying, if hee
 had a deuill, he should
 haue fallen into dispayre.

This Carmelite Fryer
 abouesayde,* was called
 Delanda, which after was
 conuerted, and preached
 the Gospell. Ex. Gallie.
 hist. Ioan. Crisp. Lib. 2.

- Three popish priests.
- The Duke of Loraine.

Iames Cobard a
 Scholemaster, and
 many other taken the
 same time.

An. 1545.

This Iames,
 scholemaister in the
 Citty of Saint Michael
 in the Dukedom of
 Barens in Loraine,*
 disputed with three
 priests that the

sacrament of Baptisme,
and of the Supper dyd
not auayle, vn^llesse they
were receaued with
fayth: which was as
muche to saye, as that
the Masse dyd profite
neither y^e quick nor the
dead. For the which and
also for hys confession,
which he be^ling in
prison, sent of hys owne
accorde, by hys mother
vnto the Iudge, hee was
burned, and most quietly
suffered. Ex. Ioan. Crisp.

- The Francis^lcan
Friers.
- The Doctours of
Sorbone and others.

- Peter Clerke
brother to Iohn
Clerke, burnt
before.
- Stephanus
Manginus.
- Iames
Bouchbeck.
- Iohn Brisebar.
- Henr. Hutinote.
- Tho. Honorate.
- Iohn Baudouinus.
- Iohn Flesch.
- Iohn Picquere
- Peter Piquere.
- Io. Matheston.
- Philippe Little.
- Michael Caillow.
- Fraunces Clerke.
- Couberon, a
Weauer.

At Meaux.

An. 1546.

These xiiij. dwelt at
Melda,* a Cittye in
France x. myles from
Paris. Where William
Briconetus beyng there
Bysh. did muche
good,* brought to
them the light of the
Gospell, and reformed
the Church. Who
straight^ly beyng
examined for the same,
relented: but yet these
with many o^rther
remained constāt. Who
after the burning of
Iames Pauane before
mentioned, and seeing
superstition to grow
more and more,*
began to congregate in
Mangins house, & to
set vp a church to
themselues, after the
example of the French
Church in
Strausburgh.* For
theyr mini^lster, they

chose Peter [Page 901](#)
Clerke. First they
beginning with 20. or
30 did grow in short
time to 3. or 4.
hundreth. Wherupon
the matter being
knowne to the Senate
of Paris, the chamber
was besette, where
they were, and they
taken. Of whom 62.
men and weomen were
boūd & brought to
Paris, singing psalmes,
especially y^e psal. 79.
To these it was chiefly
obiected, that they
beeing laye men,
would minister the
sacrament of the body
& bloud of the Lord.

Of these 62.14. chiefly
did stand fast, which
were condemned, and
rackt, to confesse moe
of theyr fellowes, but
they vttered none: the
rest wer scourged and
banished the country.
These 14. were sent to
sondrye Monasteries to
be conuerted: but y^t
woulde not be. Then
they beyng sent in a
cart to Melda, or
Meaux, to be burned,
by the waye, three
myles from Paris, a
certayne Weauer,
called Couberon, by
chaunce meeting them,
cryed to them a loud,
bidding them be of
good cheare and to

cleane fast to the Lord:
Who also was taken,
and bounde with them
in the cart. Cōming to
the place of execution,
which was before
Mangins house, it was
told them, that they
which would be
confessed, shuld not
haue their tongues cut
out,* the other shuld.
Of whom vii. there
were, whiche to saue
theyr tongues,
confessed: other vii.
would not. Of the first
was Stephen Mangin,
who hauing his tongue
first cut,
notwithstanding spake
so that he might be
vnderstande, saying
thrise The Lordes
name be blessed. As
they were in burning,*
the people sunge
psalmes. The priests
seing that, would also
sing their songes: *O
Salutaris hostia and
Salue regina, while the
sacrifice of these holy
mar'tyrs were finished.
Their wiues being
compelled to see their
husbandes in
tormentes, were after
put in prison, from
whence they being
promised to be let go if
they would say that
theyr husbands were
damned refused so to
say.

- Iohn Andre
bookseller,
promotour.
 - Doctours Sorbonists
M. Nicolas Clerici,
Doctour of Diuinitie.
 - Doctour Iohn Picard
 - Doctour Nicolas
Maillaird.
- Peter Chapot.
At Paris.
An. 1546.

Peter Chapot first was a correcter to a Printer in Paris. After he had bene at Geneua, to do good to the Church of Christ, lyke a good man, he came with bookes of holye scripture into France and dispersed them abroad, vnto the faythfull. Which great zeale of his, caused hym to be apprehended of I. Andre, which was the common Promotor to Liset the President, & to the Sorbonistes. This good Chapot being taken and brought before the Commissaries, rendered prompt^{ly} accompt of hys faith vnto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing wherein hee learnedly informed y^e Iudges, to do their office vprightly. Then were iii. Doctours of Sorbone assigned, Nicholas Clerici. Iohn Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute w^t hym. Who when they could finde no aduantage, but rather shame at hys hands, they waxed angry with the Iudges, for letting them dispute with hereticks.

This done the Iudges

consulting together vpon hys
condemnation, could not
agree: so that Chapot (as it
seemed) might haue
escaped, had not a wic^tked
person, the reporter of the
proces, sought & wrou^tght
his condemnation, whiche
condemnation was at length
concluded thus: that he
shoulde be burned quicke,
onely the cuttyng of hys
tongue was pardoned. The
Doctour appoynted to be at
his execution, was Mallaird,
wyth whome he was greatly
encombred. For this Fryer
called vppon hym still, not to
speake to the people, but
hee desired hym that he
might pray. Then he bad
hym praye to oure Lady, &
confesse her to be his
Aduocate. He confessed, y^t
she was a blessed Uirgine, &
recited the Lords prayer and
the Creed, and was about to
speake of y^e Masse, but
Maillard woulde not let hym
making hast to hys
execution, & said vnles he
would say Aue Maria, he
should be burnt quicke. Then
Chapot pray^d: O Iesu,
sonne of Daud, haue mercy
vppon me. Maillard then bad
hym say Iesus, Maria, and so
hee should be strangled.
Chapot agayn excused that
he was so weake, he could
not speake. Say, sayd

Maillard, Iesus Maria, or els
thou shalt be burned quicke.
As Chapot was thus striuing
with the Fryer, sodeinly as it
happened, Iesus Maria,*
escaped out of hys mouth.
But he by and by repressing
hymselfe, O god sayde he,
what haue I done? Pardon
mee O Lorde, to thee onely
haue I sinned. Then Maillard
commaunded the corde to be
pluckt about hys necke to
strangle hym:
notwithstanding yet he felt
somthing the fire. After all
thynges done, Maillard all
full of anger went to the
counsayle house,* called La
chamber Ardante, declaring
what an vprore had there
almost happened amongst
the people, saying that he
would complayne vpon the
Iudges, for suffering those
heretickes to haue theyr
tongues. Whereupon
immediately a decree was
made that all which were to
be burned, vnles they
recanted at the fire: shoulde
haue theyr tongues cut of.
Whiche lawe dilligently
afterward was obserued.
Ex Ioan. Crisp. Lib. 6.

M. Peter Liset, Presidēt of the
counsayle of Paris.

Saintinus Niuet.

At Paris.

An. 1546.

After the burning of
those 14. whose names
bee described before,
this Saintinus (which
was a lame cri'ple) with
hys wife remoued out of

Meaux, to Moutbeliard,
wher when he had
continued a while in safe
liber'ty of religion, and
saw hymselfe there to
doe no good, but to bee
a burden to the Church
cast in his mind to
returne home to Meaux
agayn, & so did. Where
at last, as hee was
selling certayn small
wares in y^e fayre, hee
was there knowne and
apprehended. Whereof
whē information was
geuen, hee being
examined, at the first
confessed all, and more
thē they were willing to
heare. In the tyme of
this Inquisition, as they
were examining hym of
certayn points of
Religion, and asked him
whither he would stand
to that he sayd or not:
he gaue this aunswere
agayne, worthy to be
registred in all mens
hartes, saying: And I
aske you agayne Lorde
Iudges, dare you be so
bold to deny that is so
playn and manifest by
the open wordes of the
Scripture? So [Page 902](#)
little regard had he to
saue hys owne lyfe, that
he de'sired the Iudges,
both at Meaux, and at
Paris for Gods sake, that

they would rather take
care of their owne liues
and soules, and to
consider howe much
innocēt blood they
spilled dayly in fighting
against Christ Iesus, and
his Gospell.

At last, being brought to
Paris, through the meanes
of M. Peter Liset, a great
persecutour, for that they of
Meaux, shoulde take by hym
no encouragement, there he
was deteyned, and suffered
hys martyrdome: where no
kinde of crueltie was
sacking, which the innocent
Martyrs of Christ Iesus were
wont to be put vnto. Ex
Henr. Pantal. &. hist Gallic.

The names of his
persecutours in the story be
not expressed.*
[_](#)

Stephen Polliot.

At Paris.

An. 1546.

Stephen Polliot comming
out of Normandy (where
he was borne) vnto
Meaux, taryed not there
long, but was compelled
to flye, & went to a town
called Fera: where hee
was apprehēded, and
brought to Paris, and
there cast into a foule
and darcke prison. In
whiche prison he was
kept in bands and fetters
a lōg space, where he
saw almost no light. At
length being called for
before the Senate, and
his sentence geuen to
haue his tongue cut out,

and to be burned aliue,
 his satchell of bookes
 hangyng about his necke,
 O Lord (sayd he) is the
 world in blindnes and
 darckenes still? For he
 thought being in prison
 so long, that the world
 had ben altered from his
 olde darckenes, to
 better knowledge. At
 laste, the worthy
 Martyr of Iesus Christ
 hauyng his bookes about
 his necke, was put into
 the fire, where he with
 much pacience, ended
 this transitory lyfe. Ex
 Henr. Pantal.

The high Senate of Paris.

Iohn Englishe.

An. 1547.

He was executed &
 burned at Sens in
 Burgundy,* being
 con'demned by the
 hygh Courte of Paris, for
 confessing y^e true word
 of God. Ex Crisp. &
 Adrian.

Michaell Michelote, a
 Taylour.

An. 1547.

This Taylour be'yng
 apprehended for y^e
 gospels sake,* was
 iud'ged first if hee
 woulde turne, to be
 beheaded: and if hee
 woulde not turne, then
 to be burned aliue. Who
 beyng asked whether of
 these two he woulde
 chuse, aunswered, that
 hee trusted that hee
 which hath geuen him

Two false brethren.

Leonardus de Prato.

An. 1547.

grace not to denye the
truth woulde also geue
him pacience to abide
the fire. He was burned
at Werden by Turney.

This Leonard goyng from
Dyion, to Bar,* a towne
in Burgundy, with two
false brethren, and
talkyng with them about
religion, was bewrayed
of thē, and afterward
burned.

Al these 7. beyng of the
Cittie of Langres, for the
word and truth of Christ
Iesus, were committed
to the fire wherein they
dyed w^t much strength &
comfort. But especially
Io^hanne, which was
Simons wife, being
reserued to the last place
because she was y^e
yon^gest, confirmed her
hus^hband and al the
other, with words of
singular consolation,
declaring to her husband,
that they shoulde the
same daye, be maryed
to the Lorde Iesus, to
liue with him for euer.
Ex. Pantal. Crisp. & alijs.

- Iohn
Taffin^hgnon.*Io^hanne
his wife.
- Symon
Mareschall.
- Ioanne his wife.
- W. Michant.
- Iames Boulerau.
Iames Bretany.

An. 1547.

The Senate of paris.

- Mischaell.
- Ma^heschall.
- Ioh. Cam.
- Great Iohn
Camus.

These also, the same
yeare and about the
same tyme, for the lyke
confession of Christes
Gospell, wer condemned

- Iohn Serarphin. by the Senate of Paris, & in the same Cittye also with the like cruelty, were burned. Ex Pantal. Crisp.

An. 1547.

This Octouien, as he was a great occupy^{er} in al fayres & countryes of Fraunce,* and well knowne, both in Court, & els where: so was he a singular honest man, of great integritie, and also a fauourer of Gods word Who beyng at his hostes house in Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk and superstitious behauour, whiche there he heard & saw.

- The host of Octouien, at Lyons.
- Gabriell of Saconnex Presenteur.

Octonien Blondell, a Marchaunt of precious stones.

At paris.

An. 1548.

Wherefore the host bearing to him a grudge, chanced to haue certayne talke with Gabriell of Sacconex Presenteur concerning the riches, and a sumptuous coller set with riche iewels, of this Octouien.

Thus these two cōsulting together, dyd suborne a certayn person to borowe of hym a certayne summe of crownes Which because Octouien refused to lend, the other caused hym to be apprehended for heresie, thinking thereby to make atachment of hys

goodes. But such order
as was taken by
Blondels friendes, that
they were frustrate of
their purpose. Then
Blondell being
examined of hys fayth,
gaue a playne and ful
confession of that
doctrine, which he had
learned, for the whiche
he was committed to
prison: where he dyd
much good to the
prisoners there. For
some y^t were in debt,
he payd theyr creditors
and loosed them out.
To some he gaue
meate, to other
rayment.* At length
thorough the
importune perswasions
of his parents and
frendes, he gaue ouer
and chaunged hys
confession.
Notwithstanding the
Presenteur not leauyng
so, appealed hym vp to
y^e high court of Paris.
There Otouien beyng
asked agayne, touching
hys fayth, which of hys
two confessions he
woulde stick to, he
being before
admonished of his fal,
and of the offence
geuen thereby to the
faithfull, said he would
liue & dye in his first
confession, which he
defēded to be consonāt
to the verity of Gods
word. Which done, he

was cōdemned to be
burned, and so hast
was made to his
execution, least his
frendes in the court,
might come betweene
and saue his life. Ex
Ioan. Crisp. Lib. 6.

Hubert beyng a young
man of the age of xix.
yeares, was bur|ned for
the Gospell at Dyiō, who
neyther by any terroures
of death nor
allurementes of hys
parentes, coulde be
otherwyse perswaded,
but constantly to
remayne in the truth,
vnto death. Ibid.

*Hubert Cheriet, alias
Burre, a yong man a
Taylour.

At Dyion.

An. 1549.

This Florent remayned in
prison in Paris, 4. yeares
and 9 hours. During
which tyme, there was
no torment, which he
did not abide and
ouercome. Among al
other kindes of torments,
he was put in a narrowe
prisō or brake, so strait
that he coulde neyther
stand nor lye, whiche
they call the hoase or
boote, ad Nectar
Hippocratis, because it is
strait beneath, and
wyder aboue, like to the
instru|ment where with
Apocatheries are wont to
make their hipocras. In
this he remayneth 7.

M. Florent
peter Lisetus, president of the Venote,*priest.
Counsaille of paris, and other
Sorbo'nistes.

At paris.

An. 1549.

weekes, where the
tormentors affirme, that
no thiefe nor murderer
coulede euer endure xv.
dayes, but was in
daunger of lyfe, or
madnes.

At last, when there was a
great shew in Paris at the
kings comming into the Citty,
and diuers other Martyrs in
sondry places of the Citty
were put to death, he hauing
hys tongue cut off, was
brought to see the execution
of them all: and last of all, in
y^e place of Maulbert, was
put in the fire and burned
the ix. of Iuly at after noone.
Ex Ioan Crisp.

Anne Audebert, an
Apothecaryes wife and
wydow.

At Orleance.

An. 1549.

She going to Geneua was
taken & brought to
Paris,* and by the
Counsayle there, iudged
to bee burned at
Orleance. Whē y^e rope
was put about her, shee
called it her wedding
girdle, wherwith she
shoulde be maryed to
Christ. And as shee shuld
be burned vpō a
saterday, vpō
Michaelmas euen: vpon a
saterday, sayde shee, I
was first maryed, and
vpon a Saterday I shall
be maryed agayn. And
seing the dongcart
brought wherein she

should be caryed, she
 reioyced thereat,
 shewing suche
 constancye in her
 martyrdome, as made all
 the beholders to
 maruell. Ex. Ioan. Crisp.

Among many oother
 godly martyrs y^t suffered
 in France,* the story of
 this poore Tai^rlor is not
 the least nor worst to be
 remēbred. His name is
 not yet sought out in y^t
 french storyes for lack of
 dilligence in those
 writers, more is the
 pittie. The story is this.
 Not long after the
 coronation of Henry ii.
 the Frenche king, at
 whose cōming into Parris
 dyuers good Martyrs
 were there brought out,
 and burned for a
 spectacle: as is aboue
 said: a certayne poore
 Taylour, who then dwelt
 not farre from the
 kynges Pallace, in the
 streete bearing the
 name of S. Antony, was
 apprehended of a
 certayne officer in the
 kinges house, for that,
 vpon a certayne holy
 daye, he followed hys
 occupation, and did
 worke for his lyuing.
 Before he was had to

- Henry. 2. Frēch king. A poore Taylour of
 - An Officer of the paris, dwellynge in the
 - kings house. streete of S. Antony.
 - petrus Castellanus, At Paris.
 - Byshop
 - Machonensis.
- An. 1549.

prison, the officer asked hym, why he dyd labour and worke, geuing no obseruation of the holy day.

To whom he aunswered, that he was a poore man liuing onely vpon hys labour: and as for the day, he knew no other, but onely the Sondag, wherein hee might not lawfully worke, for the necessitie of his liuing.* Then the Officer began to aske of hym manye questions, whereunto the poore Taylour dyd so aunswere, y^e eftsoones hee was clapt in prison. After that, the Officer comming into the Court, to shewe what good seruice he had done for the holy Church declared to certayne estates, how he had taken a Lutherane, working vpon the holy day, shewing that he had suche answeres of hym, that he commaunded hym to prison. When the rumour hereof was noysed in y^e kings chamber, through the motiō of thē which were about the king, the poore man was sent for to appeare, that the king might haue y^e hearing of him.

Whereupon the kinges chamber being voyded, saue onely a fewe of the chiefe Pieres remayning about the king, the simple

Taylour was brought. The
king sitting in hys chayre,*
commaunded petrus
Castellanus Byshop of
Mascon (a man very fitte
for such Inquisitions) to
question wyth hym. The
Tay^lour being entred, and
nothyng appaulled at the
kynges maiestie, after hys
reuerence done vnto the
prince, gaue thanks to
God, that he had so greatly
dignified hym being such a
wretch, as to bring him,
where he might testifie his
truth before such a mighty
prince. Then Castellanus
entring talke, began to
reason with hym touching
the greatest and chiefest
matter of Religion.
Whereunto the Taylour
without feare or anye
haltyng in hys speache,*
with present audacitie,
witte and memory, so
aunswered for the sincere
doctrine and simple truth
of Gods Gospel, as was
both conuenient to the
purpose, and also to his
questions aptly and fitly
correspondent.

Notwithstandyng, the
nobles there present, with
cruell tauntes and rebukes,
did what they coulde to
dashe him out of
countenance. Yet all this
terrefied not hym, but with
boldnes of hart, and free
libertie of speach, he
defended his cause, or
rather the cause of Christ

the Lorde, neither
flattering with their
persons not fearing their
threates: which was to
them all, a singular
admiration to behold that
simple poore artificer to
stand so firme and bold,
aunsweryng before a kyng,
to those questions
propounded agaynst him.
Whereat, when the kyng
seemed to muse with him
selfe, as one somewhat
amased, and which might
soone haue bene induced
at that present, to further
knowledge: the egregious
Bishop,* & other
courteours, seeyng the
king in such a muse, sayd
he was an obstinate & a
stubburne person,
obfirmē in his own
opiniō, and therfore was
not to be maruelled at, but
to be sent to the iudges, &
to be punished: and
therefore lest he should
trouble the eares of the
sayd Henry the kynge, hee
was commaunded agayne
to the handes of the
officer, that his cause
myght be informed, and so
within few daies after, he
was condemned by the hye
Stuard of the kyngs house,
to be burned aliue. And
lest any deepe cōsideration
of that excellent fortitude
of the poore man might
further peradventure
pears• the kinges mynde,*
the Cardinals and Byshops
were euer in the kynges

eare, tellyng hym that
these Lutheranes were
nothyng els, but such as
caryed vaine smoke in
their mouthes, which being
put to y^e fire, would soone
vanish.* Wherfore the
king was appointed,
himself to be present at his
executiō, which was
sharpe & cruell, before the
Church of Mary the
Uirgin, where it pleased
God to geue such strength
and courage to his
seruaunte, in suffering his
martyrdome, that the
beholding thereof, did
more astonish the kyng,
then all the other did
before. Ex Ioan. Crisp. Ex
Henr. Pantall. Lib. 7.

Claudius Thierry.

At Orleance.

An. 1549.

The same yeare, & for
the same doctrine of the
Gospell, one Claudius
also was burned at the
sayde Towne of
Orleance,* being
apprehended by the
waye, commyng from
Geneua to hys Countrey,
Ex Ioan. Crisp.

Leonard Galimard.

At Paris-

An. 1549.

This Leonard, for the
confession lykwise of
Christ and his Gospel
was takē and brought to
Paris,* and there by the
sentence of the
coū^t sayle, was iudged to
be burnt the same time
as Florent Uenote, aboue
mentioned, did suffer at

Paris. Ex Ioā. Crisp.

Macaëus Moreou.

At Troyes. An. 1549.

He was burned in Troyes
in Campaine (a Towne in
France) remaining
constant to the end in
the Gospell,* for the
whiche he was
apprehended. Ex eodē.

These two were of the
Churche of Geneua.
Afterwarde for theyr
freindly admonishing a
certayn priest, which in
his sermon had abu|sed
the name of God,* they
were takē at
Chā|beriac. Godeau
standyng to his
confession was burned.
Gabiell thoughe he
beganne a litle to shrynk
for feare of the
tormentes, yet beyng
confirmed by y^e constant
death of Godeau,
recouered agayne, and
standing likewise to his
conclusion, first had his
tongue cut out. Who
notw^tstanding, through
Gods might did speake
so as hee might be
vnderstand: whereupon
the hangman being
accused for not cutting of
his tongue rightly, said
that he could not stoppe
him of hys speach. And
so these two, after they
had confirmed manye in

- Ioan Godeau.
- Gabiell
Berandinus.

An. 1550.

Gods truth, gaue their
lyfe for Christes Gospell.
Ibidem.

This Thomas a yong man
of the age of 18. yeares,
commynge from Geneua
to Paris, rebuked there a
mā for swearing. For the
which cause he being
suspected for a Lutheran,
was followed and
watched whether he
went, and was taken and
broughte before the
Counsaile of Paris, and
put in prisō, where he
was racked and
miserably tormented to
the intēt he should
eyther chaunge his
opinion, or confes other
of hys profession Hys
tormentes and rackinges
were so sore through
the setting on of
Maillard and other
Sorbonistes, that the
sight therof made
Aubertus one of the
counsayle, a cruell and
vehement enemy
against y^e Gospel, to
turne hys back and
weepe. The yoūg man
when he had made the
tormenters weary with
racking, and yet woulde
vtter none, at last was
had to Maulbert place in
Paris, to be burned.
Where he being in the

- Ioan. Andreas
Promoter. [*](#)
- Peter Liset,
President of the
Counsel of Paris.
- Mailardus, Doctor
Sorbonius.
- Aubertus,
Consiliarius.

Thomas Sanpaulinus.

At Paris.

An. 1551.

fire, was pluckt vp agayn
vpon y^e gybbet, and
asked whether he would
turne. To whome he
sayd, that he was in hys
way toward God, and
therfore desired them to
let him go. Thus this
glorious martir
remayning inexpugnable.
glorified the Lord with
constant confession of
his truth. Ibid.

He first hauing
interrogations put to hym
by the Lieuetenaunt of
that place,* made hys
aunsweres thereunto, so
as no great aduantage
could be taken thereof.
But he being greatly
compuncted and
troubled in hys
conscience for
dissembling with the
truth, and called
afterward before the
Lorde chiefe Iudge,
aunswered so directly,
that he was condemned
for y^e same, and burned
in Prouince. Ex eodē.

Mauricius Secenat.
In Prouince.
An. 1551.

A Cittizen of Vzez.
Ioannes Putte, or de
Puteo, surnamed
Medicus.
At Vzez in Prouince.
An. 1551.

This Medicus beyng a
Carpenter and
vnlettered,* had a
controuersie about a
certaine pitte withe a
Citizene of the towne of
Uzez, where he dwelled.
He to cast thys Medicus

in the lawe, from the
 pitte, accused him of
 he^lresie, bringing for his
 witnesses, those
 labou^lers whome
 Meddicus had hyred to
 work in his vineyard:
 wher^lfore he being
 examined of the
 Sacrament of y^e Lords
 Supper, was condemned
 and burned. At Uzez in
 Prouince, Ex eodem.

This man being well
 instructed in y^e
 knowledge of Gods
 worde, for the whiche he
 was also driuen from
 Auer^lnia, came to
 Lyons,* and there
 taught children. He
 hearing of y^e Lord
 Presidents comming to
 the citie, went to geue
 warning to a certain
 familiar friend of hys,
 and so conducted him
 out of y^t town. In
 returning agayne to
 comforte the mans wife
 and children, he was
 taken in hys house: and
 so he confessing that,
 which he knew to be
 true, and standing to
 that whiche he
 confessed, after mucche
 affliction in prison and
 doungeons, was
 condemned and burned
 at Lyons. He was noted

The gouernour of Lyons.	Claudius Monerius.
The Official of the Arch ^l deacon of Lyons.	At Lyons. An. 1551.

to be so gentle and
milde of conditions, and
constant withall, and
also learned, that
certayne of the Iudges
coule not forbear
weeping at his death.

The sayd Monerius being
in Prison, wrote cer'teine
letters, but one specially
very comfortable, to all the
faythful, which the Lorde
willing, in y^e ende of these
histories shalbe inserted.
He wrote also y^e questiōs
& interrogatories of y^e
Official, w^t his aunsweres
likewise to the same,
which summarily, we haue
here contracted as
followeth.

Officiall.

What beleue you of the
Sacrament? * is the bodye
of Christ in the bread or
no?

The Martyr.

I worship Iesus Christ in
heauen sitting at the right
hand of God the Father.

Officiall.

What say you by
purgatory?

The Martyr.

[Page 905](#) Forsomuch as
there is no place of mercy

after thys life therefore no
neede there is of any
purgation, but necessary it
is, that wee be purged
before wee passe hence.

Officiall.

*Of the Pope what thinke
you?

The Martyr.

I say, he is a Bishop, as
other Bishops are, if he be
a true folower of S. Peter.

Officiall.

*What say you of vowes?

The Martyr.

No man can vow to God
so much, but the lawe
requireth much more then
he can vow.

Officiall.

*Are not Sayntes to be
inuocated?

The Martyr.

They can not pray without
fayth, and therfore it is in
vayne to call vnto them.
And againe, God hath
appoynted his Aungels
about vs, to minister in our
necessities.

Officiall.

Is it not good to salute the
blessed virgine wyth Aue
Maria?

The Martyr.

When she was on this
earth, she had then need of
the Aungels greeting, for
then she had need of
saluation, as well as other:
but now she is so blessed,
that no more blessing can
be wished vnto her.

Officiall.

*Are not Images to be
had?

The Martyr.

For that the nature of man
is so prone to Idolatry,
euer occupyed and fixed in
those thinges, whych lye
before his eies, rather then
vpon those which are not
seene, Images therefore
are not to be sette before
Christians. You know,
nothing is to be adored,
but that which is not seene
with eies, that is God
alone, which is a spirit,
and him we must worship
onely in spirit and truth.

Officiall.

What say you by the
canonicall or ordinary
houres for prayer?

The Martyr.

To houres and times,
prayer ought not to be tied.
But when so euer Gods
spirit doth mooue vs, or
when any necessity driueth
vs, thē ought we to pray.

Then the Officiall asked
what he thought of holy
oyle, salt, with such other
like. To whome the Martyr
aunswered, that all these
thinges were a meere
[*Maranismus](#), that is,
sauoured of the law of
Maranorū and of the
superstition of the Iewes.

Renate Poyet.

At Salmure in Fraunce.
An. 1552.

Renate Poyet, the sonne
of William Poiet, which
was Chauncellour of
Fraunce, for the true and
syncere profession of the
word of GOD, constantly
suffered Martyrdome,
and was burned in the
Citty of Salmure. an.
1552. Ex Crisp.

Iohn Ioyer, and his
ser^uuant a young man.[*](#)

At Tholouse.

An. 1552.

These twoe comming
from Geneua to theyr
Countrey, with certayne
bookes were apprehēded
by y^e way, and at length
hadde to Thoulouse.
Where the mayster was
first condemned. The
seruaunt beyng young,
was not so prompt to
aunswere them, but sent
them to his mayster
saying, that he should
answer them. When
they were brought to

the stake, the yong man
first going vp, began to
weep. The mayster
fearyng least he would
geue ouer, ranne to him,
and he was comforted,
and they beganne to
sing. As they were in the
fire, the maister stādyng
vprihte to the stake,
shifted the fire frō him to
his seruaunt, being more
carefull for hym then for
himselpe: and when he
saw him dead he bowed
downe into the flame, &
so expired. Ex Crisp. &
alijs.

At Burge in Bresse, a
dayes iourney from
Lyons,* this Grauiet was
burned. He comming
from Geneua to
Newcastle, there was
elected to be Minister.
But first hee going to see
hys wyues frends at
Mascon, there as he was
commying away out of
the towne, was taken
vppon the Brydge, wyth
all hys company: and in
the ende, hee willing the
women and rest of the
companye to laye the
fault in him for bringing
them out, was sentēced
to be burnt,
notwithstanding y^e Lords
of Berne sent theyr
He'raldes to saue his

Hugonius Grauiet, a
Scholemayster and
minister after of
Cortillon, in the
County of Newcastle.

At Burge.

An. 1552.

life, & also that the
 Officiall declared him to
 bee an honest man, & to
 holde nothing, but
 agreeing to the
 scriptures. Ex Ioan Crisp.
 lib. 3.

These 5. Students,* after
 they head remayned in
 the Uniuersitye of
 Lausanna a certayn
 time,* consulted among
 themselues, being all
 French men to return
 home euery one to hys
 countrey, to the intent
 they mighte instructe
 theyr parentes & other
 theyr friendes in suche
 knowledge as y^e Lord
 had geuen them. So
 taⁱking theyr iourney frō
 Lausanna,* firste they
 came to Geneua, wher
 thei remained a while.
 Frō thence they wēt to
 Lyons. Where they
 sitⁱting at the table of
 one that mette them by
 the way, and desired
 them home to his house,
 were apprehended and
 led to prison: where
 they continued a whol
 yeare, that is, from the
 first day of May, to the
 16. of the sayd moneth
 agayne. As they were
 learned and well
 exercised in the
 scriptures: so euery one

- Tignacius the
gouernour or deputy
of Lyons.
- Buatherius, Officiall
to the Archb. of
Lyons.
- Clepierius
Chamberlayne.
- Thre orders of Friers.
- Iudge Melierus,
- Doct. Cunubanus, a
gray frier.
- Iudge Vilard.
- Primatius, Officiall.
- Cortrerius Iudge,

At Lyons.

An. 1553.

- Martiall Alba.
- Petrus Scriba.
- Bernard Seguine.
- Charles Faber
- Peter Nauihere.

of thē exhibited
seuerally a learned
confession of his fayth,
and with great dexterity,
through the power of the
Lordes spirite, they
confounded the Friers,
with whō they disputed:
especially Peter Scribe
or Scriuener, and
Seguine.

They were examined
sonderly of the Sacrament
of the Lordes body, of
Purgatory, of confession,
and Inuocation, of
freewill, and of the
supremacy. &c. Although
they approued their cause
by good scripture, and
refuted theyr aduersaryes
in reasoning, yet right
being ouercome by might,
sentence was geuen, and
they burned in y^e said
towne of Lions. Being set
vpon [Page 906](#) the cart,
they began to sing
psalmes. As they passed
by the market place, one of
thē with a loud voyce,
saluted the people with the
words of the last chap. to
the Heb. The God of peace
which brought again frō
death the great pastor of
the sheep, in the bloud of
the eternall Testament. &c.
Comming to the place,
first the 2. youngest one
after an other, went vp
vpon the heap of wood to
the stake, & there were
fastened, and so after them

the rest. Martiall Alba
being the eldest, was the
last, who likewise being
stripped of his clothes, and
brought to the stake,
desired this petitiō of the
gouernor, which was that
he might go about his
felowes tied at the stake
and kisse them. Which
being graunted, he went
and kissed euery one,
saying: farewel my
brother. Likewise the other
foure following the same
example, bad each one
farewel my brother. With
that fire was commaunded
to be put vnto thē. The
hangman had tyed a rope
about al theyr necks,
thinking first to strangle
them, but theyr faces being
smered with fat and
brimstone, the rope was
burnt before they were
strangled. So the blessed
Martyrs in the midst of the
fire, spake one to an other
to be of good cheare, and
so departed. Ex Crisp
Pantal. &c.

¶Theyr examinations
briefely touched.

The Frier.

Thou sayst frend in thy
confession that the Pope is
not supreme head of the
Church,* I will proue the
contrary.

The Pope is the successor

of S. Peter.

Ergo, he is supream head
of the Church.

The Martyr.

I deny first your
antecedent.

The Frier.

The Pope sitteth in the
place of S. Peter. Ergo, he
is the successor of S. Peter

The Martyr.

I will graunt neither of
both: First because that he
which succeedeth in the
roome of Peter, ought to
preach and teach, as Peter
did: Which thing the pope
doth not.* Secondly,
although he did so preach
as Pe'ter did, he might wel
folow the example of
Peter, yet should he not
therefore be the head of
the Church, but a member
onely of the same. The
head of menne and
Aungels, whom God hath
appoynted, is Christ
alone,* sayth S. Paule.

The Frier.

Although Christ be the
head of the whole church
militant and tryumphant,
yet his vicar here in earth
is left to supply his roome.

The Martyr.

Not so, for the power of
his Diuinitye being so
great to fill all things he
needeth no Uicar or deputy
to supply his absence.

The Frier.

I wil proue that although
Christ be king both of
heauen and earth: yet he
hath here in earth, many
vicars vnder him,* to
gouerne his people.

The Martyr.

It is one thing to rule in the
ciuill state, another thing
to rule spiritually. For in
ciuill regiment, we haue
kinges & princes ordeined
of God by the scriptures,
for the obseruation of
publicke society: In the
spirituall regiment and
kingdome of the Church it
is not so.

Then another Frier.

Thou sayest that S. Peter is
not the head of the church:
I will proue he is.

Our Lord sayd to Peter:
Thou shalt be called
Cephas: Which Cephas is
as much to say in latine as
head.*Ergo, Peter is head
of the Church.

The Martyr.

Where finde you that
interpretation? S. Iohn in
his first chap. doth expōd
it otherwise. Thou shalt be
called Cephas, y^t is as
much (saith he) as Petrus
or stone

Then the iudge Uilardus
calling for a new
testament, turned to the
place, and found it to be
so. Wher upon the Frier
was vtterly dashed and
stood mute.

The Frier.

Thou sayst in thy
confession, that a man
hath no free will. I wil
proue it. It is written in the
Gospel, how a man going
from Hierusalem to
Iericho,* fell among
theeues, & was spoyled,
maymed, & left halfe
dead. &c. Thomas of
Aquine expoundeth this
parable to meane free wil,
which he sayth is maymed:
yet not so, but y^e some
power remayneth in mā to
work.

The Martyr.

This interpretation I do
refuse and deny.

The Frier.

What? thinkest thou thy
selfe better learned then S.

Thomas.

The Martyr.

I do arrogate no such
learning vnto my self. But
this I say: this parable is
not so to be expounded, but
is set forth for example, of
the Lord, to cōmend to vs
charity toward our
neighbour, how one should
help an other.

The Frier.

Thou sayst in thy cōfessiō,
y^t we are iustified onely by
faith. I wil proue. y^t we are
iustified by works.

By our workes we do
merite.*

Ergo, by workes we are
iustified.

The Martyr.

I deny the antecedent.

The Frier.

S. Paule. Heb. the last,
sayth: Forget not to doe
good and to distribute vnto
others: Talibus enim
victimis promeretur Deus.
1. For by such oblatiōs
God is merited. We merite
God by our workes:

Ergo, we are iustified by
our workes.

The Martyr.

The wordes of S. Paule in
that place, be otherwise
and are thus to be
translated: Talibus enim
victimis delectatur Deus.
&c. 1. With such sacrifices
God is de'lighted or is well
pleased.

The Iudge Vilard.

Vilard the Iudge turned the
booke, and found the place
euen to be so, as the
prisoner sayd. Here the
friers were maruellously
appalled & troubled in
theyr mindes: of whom,
one asked then what he
thought of confession.

The Martyr.

To whom the martyr
answered, that confession
onely is to be made to
God, & that those places
whiche they alledge for
auricular confession,* out
of S. Iames and other, are
to be expounded of
brotherlye reconciliation
betwene one another, and
not of confession in the
Priestes eare. And here
agayne the friers stood,
hauing nothing to say
agaynst it.

A blacke Frier.

Doest thou not beleue y^e
body of Christ to be
locally and corporally in

the sacrament? I will
prooue the same. Iesus
Christ taking bread sayd: *
this is my body. Ergo, it is
truely his body.

The Martyr.

The verbe (est) is not to be
takē here substantiue in
his owne proper
signification, as shewing
the nature of a thing in
substance, as in
Philosophy it is wont to be
takē: but as noting y^e
property of a thing
signifiyng, after the maner
& phrase of the Scripture:
Where one thing is wont to
be called by the name of
an other, so as the signe is
called by the name of the
thing signified. &c. So is
Circumcision called by the
name of the Couenaunt,
and yet is not the
Couenaunt. So the Lambe
hath the name of the
Passeouer, yet is not the
same. In which 2.
Sacraments of the olde
law, ye see the verbe (est)
to be taken, not as shewing
the substaunce of being,
but the property of being,
in the thing that is spoken
of: And so likewise in the
Sacrament of the new law.

The Frier.

The Sacraments of the old
law, & of the new do
differ greatly: for these
geue grace, so did not y^e

other.

The Martyr.

Neither the sacramentes of
the olde,* nor of y^e new
law, do geue grace, but
sheweth him vnto vs
which geueth grace in
deed. The minister geueth
the sacramēts, but Iesus
Christ geueth grace, by the
operation of the holy
Ghost: of whom it is sayd,
This is hee which baptiseth
with the holy Ghost. &c.

The Frier.

The fathers of the old
Testament,* were they not
partakers of the same
grace and promises with
vs?

The Martyr.

Yes, for S. Paule sayth,
that the fathers of y^e old
Testament did eat the same
spirituall meat, and dyd
drinke of the same
spirituall drinke, with vs.

The Frier.

Iesus Christ sayth, Iohn. 6.
Your Fathers did eate
Manna in the desert, and
are dead.

Ergo, they were not
partakers of the same
grace with vs, in the new
Testament.

The Martyr.

Christ here speaketh of
them, which did not eate
[Page 907](#) that Manna with
fayth, which was a type
and figure of that bread of
life,* that came from
heauen: and not of them,
which did eate the same
with fayth, as Moses and
Aaron, Iosua Caleb, and
suche other, who vnder the
shadowes of the olde
Testament, did look for
Christ to come. For so it is
written of Abraham, that
hee sawe the day of Christ,
and reioysed, not seeing it
with his bodely eyes, but
with the eyes of his fayth.

Here the doltish Doctor
was at a stay, hauing no
thing to say, but heare
frend, be not so hoat nor
so hasty, tary a while, tary
a while. At length after his
tarying, this came out.

The Frier.

I will proue, that they of
the olde Testamēt were not
partakers of the same
grace with vs.*The lawe
(sayth S. Paule) worketh
anger: And they that are
vnder the law, are vnder
malediction. Ergo, they of
the olde law and
Testament, were not
partakers of the same
grace with vs.

The Martyr.

S. Paule here proueth that
no man by the lawe, can
be iustified, but that all
men are vnder the anger
and curse of God therby,
for so much as no man
performeth that which in
the law is comprehended,
and therfore we haue need
euery man to runne to
Christ, to be saued by
faith, seing no man can be
saued by the law. For who
so euer trusteth to the
lawe, hoping to finde
iustification therby, and
not by Christ onely, the
same remayneth still vnder
malediction: not because
the law is cursed, or the
times therof vnder curse:
but because of the
weakenes of our nature,
which are not able to
performe the law.

The Frier.

S. Paule. Rom. 7. declareth
in the olde Testamēt to be
nothing but anger, and
threatnings: and in the new
Testament, to be grace and
mercy, in these wordes
where he sayth: Wretched
man that I am, who shall
deliuer me from the body
of this death▪ The grace of
god by Iesus Christ.

The Martyr.

S. Paule in this place,
neither meaneth nor

speaketh of the difference
of times betwene the olde
and the new Testament:
but of the conflicte
betweene the flesh and the
spirite, so that, whereas the
flesh is euer rebelling
agaynst the spirit: yet the
spirituall manne
notwithstanding through
the faith of Christ, hath the
victory. Furthermore the
true translation of y^e place,
hath not, Gratia Dei: but
Gratias ago Deo, per Iesū
Christum. &c.

Primacius the Officiall.

The Officiall seeing the
Frier almoste here at a
poynt,* set in, & sayd:
Thou lewd hereticke, doest
thou deny the blessed
Sacrament?

The Martyr.

No Syr, but I embrace and
reuerēce the Sacrament, so
as it was instituted of the
Lord, and left by his
Apostles.

The Officiall.

Thou denyest the body of
Christ to be in the
Sacrament: and thou
callest the Sacrament
bread.

The Martyr.

The Scripture teacheth vs
to seeke the bodye of

Christ in heauen, and not
in earth: where we reade
Colos. 3. If ye be risen
with Christ, seeke not for
the thinges which are vpon
the earth: but for the
thinges which are in
heauen, where Christ is
sitting at the right hand of
God. &c.

And where as I affirme the
Sacrament, not to be the
body, but bread, speaking
of bread remayning in his
owne substaunce, herein I
do no other, but as S.
Paule doth, which Cor. 11.
doth call it bread likewise.
4. or 5. times together.

The Frier.

Iesus Christ sayd, that he
was the bread of life.

The Officiall.

Thou noughty hereticke,
Iesus Christ sayd, that he
was a vyne, & a dore. &c.
Where he is to be
expoūded to speak
figuratiuely. But the
wordes of the Sacrament
are not so to be
expounded.

The Martyr.

Those testimonyes which
you alledge, make more
for me, then for you.

The Officiall.

What sayst thou leud
hereticke? is the bread of
the Lordes Supper, and the
bread that we eate at
home, all one, and is there
no difference betwene
them?

The Martyr.

In nature and substance
there is no difference: in
quality and in vse there is
much difference. For the
bread of the Lordes table
though it be of the same
nature & substance, with
the bread that we eat at
home, yet when it is
applyed to be a sacrament,
it taketh an other quality,
and is set before vs to
seale the promise of our
spiritual and eternal life.
And this was the effect of
their examinations. Ex
Crisp.

Petrus Bergerius.
The name of his persecutour
appeareth not in his story. At Lyons.
An. 1553.

About the same time,*
when these 5. students
aboue specified, were
apprehended, this
Ber^gerius also was
taken at Lyons, & with
them examined, and
made also the like
confession with them
together, & shortly after
them, suffered the same
martyrdome. He had
bene before an occupier
or mar^hant of wines.
He had wife and children
at Geneua, to whom he
wrote sweet and

comfortable letters. In
the doungeon with him
was a certayne Theefe
and Malefactor, which
had lyen there the space
of seauen or eyght
monethes. This Theefe
for payne and torment,
cried out of God, and
cursed his parentes, that
begat him, being almost
eaten vp with lice,
miserably handled, and
fed with such bread, as
dogs, and horses had
refused to eat.* So it
pleased y^e goodnes of
almighty God, that
through the teaching and
praiers of this Bergerius,
he was brought to
repentaunce of
hymselfe, and
knowledge of God,
learning much comfort
and patience by the
word of the Gospel
preached vnto him.
Touching his conuersion
he wrote a sweete letter
to those 5. studentes
aboue mentioned,
wherein he praiseth God
for them, and especially
for this Bergerius,
declaring also in the
same letter, that the next
day after, that he had
taken holde of the
Gospell, and framed
himself to pacience

according to the same,
 his life (whith he could
 plucke out before no
 lesse then 12. at once
 betwixte his fingers)
 nowe were so gone from
 him, that he had not
 one. Furthermore, so the
 almes of good men was
 extended towardes him,
 that he was fed with
 white bread, and that
 which was ve^ry good.
 Such is the goodnes of
 the Lord toward thē that
 loue and seeke his
 trueth. The name of this
 conuert was Iohn
 Chambone. Ex Epist.
 Ioan. Cambon. Ex Crisp.
 Pantal. &c.

Steuē Peloquine,
 Brother to this
 Dionysius,* was taken
 about 2. or 3. yeares
 before, with Anne
 Audebert aboue
 mentioned, and also
 martyred for the
 testimonye of the
 Gospell, at the same
 time, with a smal fire.
 After whome followed
 Dyonise Peloquine, in
 the same steppes of
 Martyredome, which
 was his Brother. Thys
 Dionise had bene
 sometime a Monke, and
 chaungyng hys weede,
 tooke a Wyfe, with

- Stephanus
Peloquius.
- Dionysius
Peloquius.

At Ville Franche about
 Lyons.

An. 1553.

whom he liued a
 certayne space at
 Geneua, in Godly order
 and modesty of life.
 Comming afterward to
 Uille Franche sixe myles
 from Lyons, from thence
 he was had to Lyons,
 where he remayned in
 prison 10. monethes. Frō
 thence he was reuersed
 to Uille Franche, where
 he was condemned,
 degraded, and burned.
 The Articles wherupon he
 was condemned, were
 for the Masse, the
 Sacrament, auricular
 confession, Purgatory,
 the Uirgine Mary, and
 the Popes supremacy.
 He suffered in the yere
 of our Lord. 1553.
 Septemb. 11. In his
 martyrdome such
 pacience and fortitude
 God gaue, that whē he
 was halfe burned yet he
 neuer ceased holding vp
 his handes to heauen,
 and calling vpon the
 Lord, to the great
 admiration of thē that
 looked on. Ex Ioan Crisp.

- The kinges
Lieutenant at
Lyons.
- The Officiall.
- The Fryers.

- Lodouicus
Marsacus.
- Michael Gerard
his cosin.
- Steuen Granot,
Carpenter.

At Lyons the same yere
 these 3. also were
 apprehēded, and
 sacrificed.*Ludouicus
 hadde bene of the order
 of the Dimilances▪
 whiche serued the king

At Lyons.

An. 1553.

in hys warres.

Afterwarde comming to Geneua, he was trayned vppe in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lorde. Upon diuers Articles he was examined as inuocation to Saynts, and of the Uirgyne Mary, free wyll, merites, and good woorkes, auricular confession, fasting, the Lords supper. In his second examinatioⁿ they inquired of him, and also of the other 2. touching vowes, the Sacramentes, the Masse, and the Uicar of Christ. In all which articles, because his and their iudgement dissented from the doctrine of the Popes Church, they were condemned. The aunsweres of Marsac to the articles, are to be seene at large in the booke of the French martyrs, set out by Ioan. Crisp.

*The Lieuetenant among other blasphemies, had these woordes: Of the iiij. Euangelistes, but ij. were pure, Mathew and Iohn. The other two, Marke & Luke were but gatherers out of the other. The Epistles of S. Paule, but that the Doctors of the

church had authorised
them, he would otherwise
esteme thē no better then
the fables of Aesope.

Item, the sayde
Lieutenant sayd to M.
Copes mayd,* speaking
somewhat of the law:
Cursed be the God of that
law.

When the sentence of
condemnation was geuen
agaynst these three, they
were so glad thereof, that
they went out praysing
God, and singing Psalmes.
Which troubled the iudges
sore, to see them so litle to
esteme their death: in so
much that the
Lieutenaunt caused thē to
be made to hold theyr
peace, saying: shal these
vile abiectes so vaunt
themselves, agaynst the
whole state of the realme:
Thē as Marsac, was going
to a corner by, to pray, one
of y^e souldiors woulde not
suffer him. To whō he
sayd, that litle time which
we haue, wil you not geue
vs to pray? With that the
souldiour being
astonished, went his way.

As they should be brought
out of prison to y^e stake,
the hangman tyed a rope
about the neckes of the
other two. Marsac seing
himself to be spared
because of his order and
degree, called by the way

- *The Lieutenant of Lyons. Mattheus Dymonetus. marchant.
- Primacius Officiall.
- Buatherius, Officiall. At Lyons.
- Orus, Inquisitor. An. 1553.

His answers were, that he

beleued all that the holy
vniuersall Church of Christ
did truely beleue & all the
articles of the Creed. To the
article of the holy Catholicke
Churche, being bid to adde
also Romanam, that is the
Church of Rome: that he
refused. Aduocates he knew
none, but Christ alone.
Purgatory he knew none, but
the crosse and passion of the
lamb, which purgeth the
sinnes of all the world. The
true confession he sayd,
ought to be made, not to the
priest once a yeare, but
euery day to God, and to
such whō we haue offended.
The eating of the flesh &
bloud of Christ, he tooke to
be spirituall: and the
Sacrament of the flesh and
bloud of Christ, to be eaten
with the mouth, and that
sacrament to be bread and
wine vnder the name and
signification of the body and
bloud of Christ, the masse
not to be instituted of Christ,
being a thing contrary to his
word and will. For the head
of the Church he knew none,
but onely Christ. Being in
prison he had great
conflict with the infirmity
of his owne flesh, but
especially with the tēptation
of his parentes, brethren and
kinsfolkes, and the sorow of
his mother: neuerthelesse
the Lord so assisted him, that

he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the people, & was heard with great attention. He suffered the 15. of Iuly. an. 1553. Ex Cris.

- Legoux the Deane, Ilierensis. William Neel, an Austen Fryer.
 - M. Simon Vigor, the Penetentiary of Eureux. At Eureaux, in Fraunce.
- An. 1553.

The Bailiffe or steward of the Citye Dyion. Symon Laloe. At Dyion. An. 1553.

Hen. Pantal. lib. 9. & Crisp. & Adrian, maketh mention also of one William Neel a Fryer Augustine, who suffered in much like sorte the same yeare, & was burned at Eureux in Fraunce. The occasion of his trouble rose first,^{*} for the rebuking of the vitious demeanour of the Priestes there, and of the Deane named Legoux, for the which the Deane caused hym to be sent to Eureux to the prison of the Byshoppe. The storye of thys William Neel, with his aunsweres to theyr Articles objected, is to be read more at large in the 9. booke of Pantalion, and others.

Symon Laloe a spectacle maker, comming from Geneua in to Fraunce for certayn busines, was laid hand of by the Bayliffe of Dyion. Three thinges were demaunded of him. 1 Where he dwelt. 2. What was his faith. 3.

What fellowes hee knew
of his Religion. His
dwelling he sayd, was at
Geneua. Hys Religion
was such, as was then
vsed at Geneua. As for
his fellowes, he sayd, he
knew none, but onely
them of the same City of
Geneua, where his
dwelling was. When
they could gette of him
no other aunsweare but
thys, with all theyr
racking and tormēts,
they proceeded to hys
sentence, and pursued
the execution of the
same, which was the 21.
of Nouember. an. 1553.

The executioner who was
named Iames Siluester,*
seeing the great fayth and
constancye of that heuenlye
Martyr, was so compuncted
with repentaunce, & fell in
such despayre of himselfe,
that they had much [Page](#)
[909](#) adoe with all the
promises of the Gospell, to
recouer any cōfort in him.*
At last through the mercy of
christ, he was comforted,
and conuerted, and so he
with all his family, remoued
to the Church of Geneua. Ex
Ioan Crisp.

Nicholas Nayle.

This Nicolas, shoemaker
commynge to Paris with
certayne ferdles of

*At Paris.

An. 1553.

bookes, * was there apprehended. Who stoutly in persisting in confessing the trueth, was tried with sundry tormentes, to vtter what fellowes he had besides of his profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolued almost one ioint from an other: but so constant he was in his silence, that he would expresse none. As they brought him to the stake, fyrste they put a gag or peece of wood in his mouth, which they boūd with cords to the hinder part of his head, so hard, y^t his mouth on both sides gushed out wyth bloud, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an Hospitall, where they willed him to worship the picture of S. Mary standing at the gate. But he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For the which the blind people were so grieued, that they would haue fallē vpon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smered his body with fatte and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, &

the inward parts not
 touched. With that the
 cords brast which were
 about his mouth, wherby
 his voyce was heard in
 the middest of the flame,
 praying the Lord, and so
 y^e blessed Martyr
 departed. Ex Ioan Chrisp.

*Peter Serre fyrst was a
 Prieste, then chaunging
 his religiō, he went to
 Geneua, & learned the
 shomakers craft, and so
 liued. Afterward vpon a
 singuler loue he came to
 hys brother at Tolouse,
 to the intent to doe hym
 good. His brother had a
 wife, which was not well
 pleased with hys religiō,
 and comming. She in
 secret Counsell tolde an
 other woman one of her
 neighbors, of this. What
 doth she, but goeth to
 the Officiall, and maketh
 hym priuy of all. The
 Officiall thinking to
 foreslacke no time,
 taking counsell with his
 fellowes, laid hands
 vppon this Peter, and
 brought him before the
 Inquisitor. To whom he
 made such declaration
 of his fayth, that he
 seemed to reduce the
 Inquisitor to some feling
 of conscience, and began
 to instruct him in y^e

- A woman of Tolouse.
- The Officiall of the Bishop of Tolouse. Peter Serre.
- The Inquisitour and Chauncelour of the Bishop of Cozeran. About Tolouse. An. 1553.

principals of true religion. Notwithstāding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said Chauncellor, to be degraded, & cōmitted to the secular iudge. The Iudge inquiringe of what occupation hee was, he sayde, that of late he was a shoemaker. Wherby the Iudge vnderstanding that he had bene of some other faculty before, required what it was. He sayd,* that he had bene of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to vtter it, or to remember it, being the worst & most vilest science of all other in the whole world besides. The iudge and the people supposing that he had ben some thief or cutpurse, inquired to know what it was, but he for shame and sorow stopped his mouth, & would not declare it. At last through theyr importunate clamor, he was constrayned to declare the truth, & sayd, that he had bene a priest. The iudge therupon was so moued, y^t he cōdemned him,

first enioyning him in his
cōdemnation, to aske
the king forgeuenes,
then iudged him to haue
his tongue cut out, and so
to be burned. Frō this
sentence he appealed to
the parliament of
Tolouse: not for that he
thought therby to saue
his life, but because he
was enioined to aske the
king forgeuenes, whom
he had neuer offended.
Also because he was
iudged to haue his tounge
cut of, wherewith he
would prayse his God.
Notwithstanding by the
sentence of that
parliament, he was
likewise condēned to be
burnt, onely he was
pardoned for asking
forgeuenes of the king,
and the cutting of his
tongue, so that he would
say nothing agaynst
theyr religion.

As he went to burning, he
passed by the college of S.
Martial, where he was bid to
honor the picture of the
virgine standing at the gate.
Which because he refused,
the ludge commaunded his
tounge to be cut of, & so
being put to the fire, he
stood so quiet, looking vp to
heauen all the time of his
burning, as though he had

felt nothing, bringing such
admiration to the people,
that one of the Parliament
said,* that way not to be
best, to bring the Lutherans
to the fire, for that would do
more hurt then good. Ex
loan. Crisp.

The gouernor of Marches.

- Steuen king.
- Petrus
Denocheus.

At Chartres.

An. 1553.

Steuen king, after he had
bene at Strausburgh a
while, returned again
into his coutry,* dwelling
in atown bearyng the
name of S. George,* not
far frō Chaustors, where
hee serued in the place
of a notary, and had
vnder him, a Clearke
named Peter Denoche,
who also had bene at
Geneua, & was there
zelous in instructing the
igno^rant & rebuking
blasphemous swearers,
and other offenders.
These two were not long
together, but they were
suspected both of
Lutheranisme: and so
were apprehended by
the go^vernor of the
Marches, or Marshall,
and so were caried to
Chartres: where after the
constant confession vpon
theyr examination made,
they were enclosed in
prison, and there
sustained long & tedious
endurance. During the
which meane time,

Steuken king made many worthy songes and sonets in the prayse of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirite in that dolefull captiuitie. At length, when after long perswasions & fayre promises of the Bishop and of other, they could not be reuoked from the doctrine of theyr confession, they were condemned. From that condēnation, they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the Councell there confirming theyr former sentence, returned thē agayne to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruell punishment of fire. Ex hist. Gallic. per Ioan Crisp.

Antonius Magne, was sent by the fiue which were in prison, at Lyons, aboue mentioned, and by other also that were in captiuitie at Paris, vnto Geneua to commende them to theyr prayers vnto GOD, for them. Who after certayne busines there [Page 910](#) dispatched, returned agayne into Fraunce, & there within 3. houres of

Antonius Magnus, or
Magnaeus.

At Paris.

An. 1554.

Priestes of Burges.

his comming was
betrayed and taken by
certayne Priestes at
Burges and there
deliuered by the said
prie|stes vnto the
Officiall. After a few
dayes the kinges lustices
tooke him from the
Official, and sent him to
Paris, where after greate
rebukes and tormentes,
he suffered in the prisō,
and firmly persisting in
the profession of the
trueth, by theyr capital
sentence was adiudged
to haue his tongue cut
out, & so was burned at
Mulbert place in Paris.
Ex Ioan. Crisp.

This Alencon did
much good in the
prouinces of Fraunce,
by carying bookes.
Comming to
Montpellier he was
there circumvented by
false brethrē detected,
and layde in prison. In
his fayth he was firme
and constāt to the end
of his Martirdome,
being burned the 7. of
January. 1554.

There was the same
time at Montpellier a
certayne sherman or
clothworker, who had
bene long in duraunce
for religion, but at
length for feare, and

William Alēcon
bookeseller.*

*A certayne sherman.

At Montpellier. An.
1554.

False brethren.

infirmity, he reuolted.
To whom it was
enioyned by the Iudges
to make publicke
recantation, and to be
present also at the
burning of Alencō
aforesayd. At the
beholding of whose
death and cōstancy, it
pleased God to strike
into this man suche
boldenesse, that he
desired the Iudges, that
either he might burne
with this Alencon, or
els be brought againe
into prison, saying that
he would make no
other recantation, but
so. Wherefore within
three dayes after he
was likewise condēned
to the fire, and burned,
in the towne
aforesayde. Ex Ioan
Crisp.

*Paris Panier, a
Lawyer.

At Dola.

An. 1554.

At Dola was beheaded a
good & godlye Lawyer
named Paris Panier, for
constant standing to the
gospell of Christ. an.
1554. Ex Pantal.

*Peter du Val,
shoomaker.

At Nismes.

An. 1554.

At Newmans in
Delphinate, Peter du Val
sustained sore and
griuous rackinges &
tormentes: wherewyth
hys body being broken,
dissolued, and maymed,
yet he notwithstanding
manfully abiding all
theyr extremity, would

name and vtter none.
 Then was he had to the
 fire, & there consumed.
 ann. 1554. Ex Ioan. Crisp.

These two blessed and
 constant martyrs, as
 they were goyng
 toward Geneua, wyth
 one of their sonnes and
 a daughter were
 apprehended by Gilles
 le Pers, who in the way
 ouertaking them and
 most wickedly &
 Iudaslye pretendinge
 great fauour to them,
 and to theyr religion,
 which he (as he sayde)
 supposed them to be
 of, with these and
 manye other faire
 wordes circumuented
 and allured them to
 confesse what was
 theyr fayth, whither
 they wēt with theyr
 children, and also that
 theyr wiues were at
 Geneua. When they
 had declared this, the
 wretched Traytour
 gaue a signe to hys
 horsemen, and so were
 these simple sayntes of
 Christ intrapped, and
 brought to the Castle
 of Niuerne. Beyng in
 Prison, they were
 examined of many
 thin'ges: whereunto
 they aunswered
 vprightly, accordinge
 to theyr fayth.

- Gilles le Pers,
 Lieuetenaunt for the
 marshall of S.
 Andrew,*and
 Inquisitour for the
 prouince of Borbon.
 - loannes, Filieul,
 or Filiolus
 Carpenter.
 - Iulianus Leuille,
 poyntmaker.
- At Sanserre.
 An. 1554.

First touching the

sacrament,* they
affirmed the
transubstantiation of
the Bishop of Rome, to
be against y^e Article of
the Creede, which
saith, that Christ is
gone vp to heauen, &
there sitteth at the hand
of God: and therefore
the bread and wine
must nedes remayne in
theyr propertyes,
bearing
notwithstanding a
Sacrament,* or a holy
signe of the body &
bloud of the Lord. For
like as by bread and
wine the hart of man is
comforted, so the
bodye of Christ
crucified, & his bloud
shed, spirituallie hath
the like operation in
the soules of the
beleuers.

For the Masse, they sayd it
was a thing most
superstitious, and meere
Idolatry.* And if we put
any part of saluation
therein, they sayd, it was
vtterly a robbing of the
Passion of Christ the sonne
of God, & that it was not
once to be named out of a
Christen mouth. Also that
they whiche say that Peter
either was Pope, or Author
of the sayd Masse, are
farre deceiued. And as for
turning breade into the
bodye of Christ by the
woordes of consecration, it
was an error (they sayd)

more of mad men, then
any sad men: forasmuch as
God is neither subiect to
men, nor to y^e tongues or
exorcismes of men.
Purgatory they denied to
be any, saue onely the
bloud of Christ Iesu.

Furthermore as they would
not bereft the saints of
God of theyr due honor, *
so neither the Saynts thē
selues (sayd they) will be
contented to robbe God of
his honor onely due to
him.

As touching confession,
theyr opinion was, that the
woundes and causes of
conscience, belong to no
man, but onely to God.

After these aunsweres
geuen and written, they
were sent to the Monastery
of Sanpeter, there to be
disputed with. That done,
the matter came to be
debated amog the Iudges,
what was to be done with
them. Some would theyr
goodes to be taken by
Inuentory, and them to be
banished. But Bergeronius
at last caused to be
determined, that they
shoulde be burned, and
first to heare Masse. From
that Courte, they
appealed to the Courte of
Paris: but the matter there
was nothing amended.
Where beholde the
iudgement of God: In the

meane time, whyle they
were at Paris,* the
wretched Persecutour
Gilles le Pers, was sodenly
stroken mad, and dyed in a
frensy: which made many
men to wonder, and
especially the martyrs to
be more constant.

At last the decree of the
sentence was read against
them. First for speaking
against the Sacramēt:
whiche they denyed.

Secondly for speaking
agaynst Baptisme: whiche
also they denyed.

Thirdly, for speaking
contumely agaynste the
Sayntes: which they in like
maner denyed.

[Page 911](#)After this, the
officer to cause thē to
recant threatned them with
tormentes,* whiche they
susteyned very extreme,
the space from after
dinner, til three of the
clocke. When all that
would not turne them, hee
sent to them a Fryer
Dominicke, a man
captious & sophisticall, to
presse them in disputation.
But as he could do no hurt
vnto them, so could they
do no good vpon him.
When the tyme of theyr
execution did approch, the
officer aforesayd put into
their hands being tyed, a
wooden crosse, which they

took with their teeth, &
 flong it away: for the
 which the officer
 commaunded both their
 tongues to be cut of.
 Wherein appeared an other
 maruellous worke of the y^e
 Lord For neuertheles that
 their tongues were taken
 frō them, to the intent they
 shoulde not speake, yet
 God gaue them vtteraūce,
 their tongues beyng cut
 out, to speake at their
 death: saying, we bid
 sinne, y^e fleshe the worlde,
 and the deuill fare well for
 euer, wyth whome neuer
 we shall haue to do
 hereafter. Diuers other
 wordes they spake besides,
 whiche the people did
 heare and note. At last
 when the tormenter came
 to smiere them with
 brimstone and gunpowder:
 Go to, sayd Filiolus, salt
 on, salt on the rotten and
 stinking flesh. Finally as
 the flame came bursting vp
 to their faces, they
 persisting constant in the
 fire, gaue vp their liues,
 and finished their
 martyrdome. Ex Io. Crisp.
 & Henr. Pantal. & alijs.

- Will. Langloys, vnder Dionysius Vayre.
Sheriffe.*
- Ioh. Langloys, the At Rhoan.
kinges procurator.
ann. 1554.

In the same yeare
 suffered at Rhoan,
 De^l nis Uayre, who first
 leauing hys Popishe
 priesthode, went to
 Ge^l neua, where hee
 learned the art of
 bookbyn^lding, & brought
 many tymes bookes into

Fraunce. After that in
the reigne of K. Ed. 6.
hee came to Gerzey, &
there was minister, &
preached. After y^e death
of K. Ed. the time not
seruing hym to tarry,
thinking to returne
agayne to Geneua, hee
came into Normandy
with his bookes, into a
towne, called Fueillie:
Where as he going out to
hyre a cart. William
Langloys, with Iohn
Langloys his brother
came in and stayd his
bookes, and hym also
which had the custody of
thē. Denis, albeit hee
might haue escaped, yet
hearing y^e keeper of his
bookes to be in trouble,
came, & presēting
himself, was cōmitted, y^e
other was deliuered.
First after two monethes
and a halfe
imprisonment, he was
charged to be a spye,
because hee came out of
England. Then from that
prisō he was remoued to
the Byshops prison, and
then to Rhoan where
sentence was geuen,
that he should be
burned aliue, and thrise
lifted vp, and let downe
agayne into the fire.
After the sentence
geuen, they threatned

him with many terrible
tormentes, vnles he
would disclose such as
he knew of that side. To
whom he aunswered that
the sounder part of all
Fraunce, and of the
Senate, was of that
Religion:

notwithstandyng he
would vtter no mans
name vnto them. And as
for theyr tormentes, he
said he passed not, for if
he wer killed with
racking, then he should
not feele the burning of
the fire. When they sawe
him so little to passe for
theyr tormentes, they
left that, and proceeded
to hys burning: and first
they put a crosse in his
hands which he would
not hold. Thē because he
comming by the Image
of the virgine mary,
would not adore the
same, they cryed, cut
out hys tōgue: & so they
cast hym into the fire,
where he should be
thrise taken vp but the
flame went so hye, that
the hangman beyng not
able to come neare hym,
cried to the people
standing by, to help, and
so did the officers with
their sta'ues, lay vpon
the people, to helpe

theyr tormenters, but
neuer a man would
styrre. And this was the
end and martyrdome of
that blessed Denys. Ex
Henr. Pantal. lib. 10.

¶There was a riche
marchaunt of Paris, who
sayd in iest to the Friers of
S. Frances. You weare a
rope about your bodyes,
because S. Frances once
should haue bene hanged,
& the pope redeemed him
vpon this condition,* that
all hys life after he should
were a rope. Uppon this
the Franciscan Fryers of
Paris caused him to be
apprehēded & layd in
prison, and so iudgement
passed vpon hym, that he
shoulde be hanged: but he
to saue hys lyfe, was
contented to recant, and so
did. The Fryers hearing of
his recantation,
commended him, saying if
he continued so, he should
be saued, and so calling
vpon the officers, cau'sed
them to make haste to the
gallowes, to hang hym vp,
while he was yet in a good
way (said they) least he
fall again. And so was this
marchaunt,*
notwithstanding, hys
recantation, hanged for
iesting against the Fryers.
Ex. Pantal. lib. 7.

To this marchaunt may
also be adioyned y^e
brother of Tamer, who

when hee had before
professed the truth of the
gospell, and afterward by
the counsel and instruction
of hys brother, was
remooued from the same,
fell in desperation, and
such sorrow of mind that
he hanged himselfe. Ex
Ioan. Manlio in dictis Phil.
Melanct.

Tho. Galbergne, a
Couerlet maker.

At Tourney.

Ann. 1554.

This Tho. had copied out
certayn spiritual songes
out of a book in Geneua
whiche he brought wyth
hym to Tourna & lent y^e
same to one of hys
felowes This booke
beyng espied,* he was
called for of the lustice,
& examyⁿed of the
book, which he sayd,
contayned nothyng, but
y^t was agreⁱng to the
scripture, & that he
would stand by Then he
was had to y^e Castle, and
after xix. dayes was
brought to the towne
house, and there
adiudged to the fire.
Whereūto he went
chearfully singing
psalmes. As hee was in
y^e flame, the Warden of
the fryers stood crying:
Turne Thomas, Thomas,
yet it is tyme: remember
hym y^t came at the last
houre. To whom he
cryed out of the flame
with a loud voyce, and I

trust to be one of that
sort, and so calling vpon
the name of the Lord,
gaue vp hys spirite. Ex
Crisp. lib. 4.*

Adde also to this, one
Nicholas Paul beheaded at
Gaunt. These two should
haue bene placed amōg the
Dutch Martyrs in the table
before.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| • Latrunculator, or
vnder Marshal, or
examiner of
Dolphenie. | Rich. Feurus a
goldsmith. |
| • The Lieutenant. | At Lyons. |
| • His Attourney. | |
| • His Scribe. | An. 1554. |

Feurus a Goldesmith
borne at Rhoan first
being in Englād,* and in
London there receiued
the taste and knowledge
of Gods word, as in hys
owne Epistle hee
recordeth. Then he went
to Geneua, where he
remay'ned 9. or 10.
yeares. From thēce
returning to Lions, there
was apprehended, and
condemned. Then he
appealed to the hye court
of Paris, through the
motion of his friends.
Where in the waye as
hee was led to Paris, he
was met by certain
whome he knew not,
and by them taken frō
hys keepers, and so set
at libertie, which was
ann. 1551,

After the continuuing at
Geneua, about y^e space of
iii. yeares, he came vppon

busines to the prouince of
Dolphenie, and there as he
found faulte wyth the
grace sayd in Latine, he
wak detected and taken in
hys Inne in the night, by
the vndermarshall, or him
which had the examination
of malefactours. The [Page](#)
[912](#) next day he was sent
to the Iustice, from him to
the bishop, Who ridding
their handes of him, then
was he brought to the
Lieuetenaunt, who sent his
aduocate w^t a notary to
him in the prison, [*](#) to
examine hym of his fayth.
The whole processe of his
examinatiōs, w^t his
aduersaryes and the fryers,
in his story described, is
long, y^e principal contents
come to this effect.

Inquisitour.

[*](#)Doest thou beleue the
Church of Rome?

The Martyr.

No, I do beleue the
Catholicke and vniuersall
Church.

Inquisitour.

What Catholicke church is
that?

The Martyr.

The congregation, or
communion of Christans

Inquisitour.

*What congregation is
that, or of whom doth it
consist?

The Martyr.

It consisteth in the number
of Gods elect, whō God
hath chosen to be the
members of his sonne
Ie|sus Christ, of whome he
is also the head.

Inquisitour.

Where is the congregation,
or how is it knowē?

The Martyr.

It is dispersed through the
vniuersall world, in diuers
regions, and is knowne by
the spirituall direction,
wherwith it is gouerned
that is to say, both by thy
word of God, and by the
right institution of Christes
Sacramentes.

Inquisitor.

Do ye thinke the Church
that is at Geneua,
Lau'sanna, Berne, and
suche other places, to be a
more true Church then the
holy church of Rome?

The Martyr.

Yea verily, for these haue
the notes of the true

Church.

Inquisitor.

*What difference then
make you between those
Churches and the Church
of Rome?

The Martyr.

Muche, for the Church of
Rome is governed only
with traditions of men, but
those are ruled only by the
word of God.

Inquisitor.

Where learned you this
doctrine first?

The Martyr.

In England, at London.

Inquisitor.

How long have ye bene at
Geneva?

The Martyr.

About 9. or 10. yeares.

Inquisitor.

Doest thou not beleue the
virgine Mary to be a
mediatrix and aduocate to
God for sinners?*

The Martyr.

I beleue as in the worde of

God is testified, Iesus
Christ to be onely
mediator and aduocate for
all sinners. Albeit the
virgine Mary be a blessed
womā yet the office of an
aduocate belongeth not
vnto her.

Inquisitor.

The Sayntes that be in
Paradice, haue they no
power to pray for vs?*

The Martyr.

*No, but I iudge thē to be
blessed, & to be contēted
with y^e grace & glory
whiche they haue, that is,
that they be counted the
members of the sonne of
God.

Inquisitor.

And what then iudge you
of them which follow the
religion of the Church of
Rome, think you them to
be Christians?

The Martyr.

No, for that churche is not
gouerned with y^e spirite of
God, but rather fighteth
agaynst the same.

Inquisitor.

Do you then esteme all
them which seperate them
selues from the Churche of

Rome to be Christians?

The Martyr.

*I haue not to aunswere
for others, but onely for
my selfe, Euery man
(sayth S. Paule) shall beare
hys owne burden,

And thus the aduocate,
when he had asked hym
whether he would put his
hand to that he had sayd,
and had obtayned the
same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination
was brought vnto him a
Franciscan fryer, who first
entring with hym touthing
the wordes y^t he spake in
hys Inne, asked him why
that grace might not be
said in Latine? Because
(sayd he) by the worde of
God, Christians are
commaunded to pray with
hart and with spirite, and
with that tongue which is
most vnderstanded, and
serueth best to the
edification of the hearers.
Then the Fryer bringing
forth his Benedicite,
Agimus tibi gratias, &c.
Laus Deo, pax viuuis,
requies defunctis, &c.
began thus to reason.

The Fryer.

God vnderstandeth al
tongues: and the church of
Rome hath prescribed this
forme of praying, *

recei|uing the same from
the auncient church and
the fathers, which vsed
then to pray in Latine. And
if anye tongue be to be
obserued in prayer, one
more then an other, why is
it not as good to pray in
the Latyn tongue, as to
pray in the Frencch?

The Martyr.

My meaning is not to
exclude any kynd of
language from prayer,
whether it be in y^e Latine
Greek Hebrue, or any
other, so that the same be
vnderstanded, and may
edifie the hearers.

The Fryer.

When Christ entred the
Citty of Hierusalem, the
people cryed, lauding hym
with Osanna filio Dauid,
and yet vnderstood they
not what they sayd, as
Hierome writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be, that Hierome so
writeth, howe they
vnderstoode not the
propheticall meaning, or
the accomplishment of
these wordes vpon
Christes comming: but that
they vnderstood not the
phrase of that speache or
language whiche they
spake, speaking in theyr
owne language. Hierome

doth not deny.

Then the Fryer declaring
that he was no fit par^lson
to expound the Scriptures,
being in the Latine tongue,
inferred the authorities of
Counsels and doctors, &
testimonies of men, which
semed to moue the officer
not a little: who then
charging hym with many
thinges,* as with wordes
spoken in contempt of the
virgin Mary, and of the
Sayntes: also wyth
rebellion agaynst princes
and kinges, came at laste
to the matter of the
Sacrament, and
demaunded thus.

Inquisitour.

Doest thou beleue the holy
host whiche the priest doth
consecrate at the masse, or
no?

The Martyr.

I beleue neyther the host
nor any such consecration.

Inquisitour.

Why? doest thou not
beleue the holy Sacrament
of the aultar, ordayned of
Christ Iesus hymselfe?

The Martyr.

Touching the sacrament of
the Lordes supper, I
beleue, that when soeuer

we vse the same,
accordyng to the
presentation of S. Paule,
we are refreshed
spi'ritually with the body
and bloud of our Lord
Iesus Christ, who is the
true spirituall meate and
drinke of our soules.

The Fryer.

The Fryer then inferred the
wordes of S. Ioh. Gospell,
saying: My flesh is meate
in deede. &c. and sayd that
the Doctors of the church
had decided that matter
already, and had approued
the masse to be an holy
memory of the death, and
passion of our Lord Iesus
Christ.

The Martyr.

The sacrament of the
supper, I beleeeue to be
ordeined of the Lord, for a
memoriall of his death, &
for a styrryng vpp of our
thankes geuing to hym. In
whiche Sacrament we
haue nothing to offer vp to
hym, but doe receiue with
all thankesgeuing the
benefites offered of God to
vs most abundantly, in
Christ Iesus hys sonne.

And thus the Aduocate
with the Fryer, biddyng
the Notary to write the
wordes that he had spoken
departed. Who after eyght
dayes, beyng accompanied

with the sayd Franciscan,
and other fryers moe of the
Dominickes, sent for the
sayde Richard Feurus [Page](#)
[913](#) agayne to hys house,
and thus began to enquire

Inquisitour.

Doest thou beleue any
purgatory?

The Martyr.

[*](#)I beleue that Christ with
hys precious bloude hath
made an end of all
purgatory and purgation of
our sinnes.

Inquisitour.

And doest thou thinke then
there is no place after this
life, where soules of men
departed remayne so long
til they haue made
satisfaction for their sins?

The Martyr.

No: but I acknowledge one
satisfaction once made for
the sins of all men, by the
bloude & sacrifice of Iesus
Christ our Lord, which is
the propitiation and
purgation for the sinnes of
the whole world.

The Fryer.

[*](#)In the xviiij. chap. of S.
Math. Christ speaketh by
way o• a parable or
similitude, of a certayne

cruell seruaunt, who
because he would not
forgeue hys fellow
•eruaunt, was cast in
prison, and saith: That he
shall not come out from
thence before he hath
payde the vttermost
farthing. By the which
similitude is signified vnto
vs, a certayn middle place,
which is left for
satisfaction to be made
after this lyfe, for sinnes.

The Martyr.

First, the satisfaction for
our sinnes by the death of
Christ,* is playne and
euidēt in the scriptures:
as in these places: Come to
me all you that labour, and
be burdened, and I will
refresh you. Math. 11. I
am the doore, he that
entreth by me, shalbe
saued. Iohn 10. I am the
waye veritie, and lyfe.
Iohn 13. Blessed be they
that dye in the Lord, for
they rest from theyr
labours Apoc. 13. Also to
y^e thiefe which hanged
with the Lorde it was
sayde: This day thou shalt
be with mee in paradise,
&c. Secondly as touching
this similitude, it hath no
other demonstration, but to
admonishe vs of our
duetye in shewing charitie,
and forgeuing one an
other, which v••es we do,
there is no mercye to be
looked for at the handes of

God.

The Fryer.

If this be true that you say,
then it should folow that
there is neyther
purgatory,* nor anye
Limbus, whiche were
agaynst our Christian fayth
and oure Crede, which
sayth: He descended into
hell, &c..

The Deputy.

Doest thou not beleue
there is a Limbus?

The Martyr.

Neither doe I beleue to be
any suche place, ney-doth
the scripture therof make
any mention.

The Fryer.

Where were the old fathers
then before the death of
Christ?

The Martyr.

In lyfe (I say) eternall,
which they looked for,
be'yng promised before to
Adam, Abraham, and the
Pa'triarches, in the seede to
come.

The Deputy.

Then the Deputy, what
(saith he) doest thou

beleue that the pope hath
any power?

The Martyr.

Yea verily.

The Deputy.

*Doest thou beleeue that
the pope, as the vicar of
Iesu Christ can here bynde
and loose?

The Martyr.

That I doe not beleue.

The Deputy.

How then doest thou
vnderstand the power of
the pope?

The Martyr.

I vnderstand the power of
the pope so, as saint Paul
declareth .ij. Thess.
saying: That because the
worlde refused to receiue
the loue of the truth, vnto
saluation therefore God
hath geuen to Satan, and to
hys ministers, power of
illusions and erroures, that
men shoulde beleeue lyes,
and set vp to themselues
pastors and teachers, suche
as they deserue.

The Fryer.

*Christ gaue to S. Peter
power to bynde & loose,

whose successour and
vicar of Christ is the pope,
for the gouernment of the
church, that it might haue
one head in the world, as it
hath in heauen. And
though the Pastors doe not
liue according to y^e word
which they preach, yet
their doctrine is not
therefore to be refused, as
Christ teacheth. Math. 23.*

The Martyr.

If the pope and hys
adherents would preach
the word purely &
sincerely, admixing no
other inuentions of theyr
own, nor obtruding laws of
theyr own deuising, I
would then imbrace their
doctrine, how soeuer their
lyfe were to the contrary:
according as Christ doth
tell vs of the scribes &
phariseis, admoni'shing vs
to followe theyr doctrine,
& not their liues. Mat. 23.
but there is great
difference,* whether they
y^t take the gouernance of
the church, do sit in Moses
chayre, which is the seate
of truth, or els doe sit in
the chayre of
abhominaton, spoken of
by Daniell, & also by S.
Paule where he
sayth:*That the man of
perdition shal sit in the
temple of God, vaunting
hymselfe insolently aboue
all that is called God. 2.

Thes. 2.

And as touching the keyes
of binding & loosing,
geuen to Peter, Christ
therein assigned to Peter,*
& other apostles, the office
of preaching the word of
the gospell, whiche they
did also well obserue, in
preaching nothing els but
onely the word, in the
whiche word is al the
power conteyned of
binding & loosing Neither
is it to be granted, the
Church to haue two
heades, one in heauen, an
other in earth. The head
whereof is but one, whiche
is Iesus Christ, whome the
father hath appoynted to
be head alone, both in
heauen and earth,* as S.
Paul in many places of his
Epistles doth teach. Ephes.
1. Colos. 1 &c.

The Fryer.

You haue no
vnderstanding how to
expound the Scriptures.
But the olde doctors haue
expounded the scriptures
& holy Councels,* whose
iudgements are to be
followed. But what say
you to auricular
confession?

The Martyr.

I know no other
confession, but that which
is to be made to God, and

reconciliation towardes
our neighbour, which
Christ and his Apostles
haue com'mended to vs.

The Fryer.

Haue you not read in the
Gospell, howe Christ doth
bid vs to confesse to the
priest, where hee
commaunded the leper
being made whole to shew
hym selfe to the priest?

The Martyr.

The true church of the
Lord Iesus Christ neuer
observed this straunge
kinde of confession, to
carrye our sinnes to the
priestes eare. And though
the chur'che of Rome haue
intruded this maner of
confessing it followeth not
thereby, that is to be
receiued. And as touching
the leper, whome the
Lorde sent to the priest, he
was not sent therefore to
whisper his sins in the
Priestes care, but onely for
a testimony of hys health
receiued, according to the
law.

Of the other confession
whiche is to be made to
God, we haue both the
examples and testimonies
of the prophet Dauid full
in the psalmes. 32.51.106.
where he sayth: *That he
confessed his sinnes vnto
the Lord, and receiued

forgeuenes of the same.

The Fryer.

After this the fryer
proceeding further to make
comparison betweene the
churche of Rome,* and the
churche of Geneua, would
proue that the pope hath
power to set lawes in the
Church, without anye
expresse worde of God.
For so it is written, (sayd
hee) That there were many
other thinges besides,
which are not written in
this booke. Ioan. 21. Also
where Christ promiseth to
his Disciples, to send vnto
them the holye ghost,
which shuld induce them
into al truth. Moreouer
such decrees & ordinances
which are in y^e church
were decided (sayd he)
and appoynted by the
doctors of y^e church, & by
al the Councels directed
(no doubt) by the holy
Ghost. Furthermore he
inferred, that y^e church
also of Geneua, had theyr
ordinaunces and
constitutions made without
any word of God. And for
example he brought forth
the order of the psalms and
seruice publicquely
obserued and appoynted
vpon wednesday in the
churche of Geneua, as
though that day were
holyer then an other.

The Martyr.

To this the martyr
answered agayne declaring
that the ordinaunce of
those publicke prayers and
psalmes vppon
wednesday, in the churche
of Geneua, was not to
bynde conscience, or for
anye superstitious
obseruation, or for any
necessitie, whiche eythere
[Page 914](#) should bind
conscience, or could not
be altered at their
arbitrement: but onely for
an order or commoditie for
publike resort to heare the
word of god, according as
ancient kings & temporall
Magistrates haue vsed in
old time to doe, in
congregating the people
together, not to put any
holines in the daye or to
bind conscience to any
obseruation (as the pope
maketh his lawes) but
onely for orders sake,
seruing vnto commoditie.

And as touching that any
thing should be left for
doctors and counsels to be
decided, without the
expresse word of God, that
is not so, for that al things
be expressed and
prescribed by the word,
whatsoever is necessary
eyther for gouernment of
the Church, or for the
saluation of men, so that
there is no neede for
doctours of the Church or

Councels, to decide anye thing more then is decided already.

*Paule sayth, that he durst vtter nothing, but that the Lord had wrought by him. Rom. 15. S. Iohn speaking of the doctrine of Christ Iesu, willeth vs to receaue no man, vnles he bring with him the same doctrine. 2. Ioan. S. Paule warneth the Gallat. not to beleeeue an angell from heauen, *bringing an other doctrine thē that which they had already receiued Gal. 2. Christ callyng himselfe the good shepheard, noteth them to be his sheep which heare his voyce, and not the voyce of others. Ioh. 11 And S. Peter admonishing the pastors of y^e church forewarneth them to teache onely the woorde of God, without any seeking of Lordship or dominion ouer the flocke. From the which moderation how far y^e forme of the popes church doth differ, the tyranny whiche they vse doth well declare,

The Fryer.

In the old church, priestes and ministers of the church were wont to assemble together, for deciding of such thinges as pertained to the gouernment and direction of the church,

whereas in Geneua no
such thing is vsed, as I can
proue by this your owne
testament here in my
handes, that you the better
may vnderstand what was
then the true vse and
manner of the Church.

The Martyr.

*What was the true order
and manner that the
Apostles did institute the
church of Christ, I would
gladly heare, and also
would desire you to
consider the same, and
when you haue well
considered it, yet shall you
finde the institution and
regiment of the Church of
Geneua not to be without
the publicke counsell and
aduisement of the
magistrates, elders &
ministrs of that church,
with such care and
diligence as Paule, and
Silas took, in ordering the
church of Thessalonica,
Birrhea. &c. wherin
nothing was don without
the authoritie of Gods
word, as appeareth Act.
17. As likewise also in
stablishing the Church of
Antioch, when the
Apostles were together in
counsell for y^e same, there
was no other law nor
doctrine folowed, but
onely the word of God, as
may appere by the wordes
of the Councell: Quid
tentatis Deum, iugum

imponere, &c. And albeit
the ministers of the church
of Rome, and the pope
were not called to the
institution of the foresayd
churche of Geneua: yet it
followeth not therfore, that
there was no lawful order
obserued, eyther in
stablishing that Church,
or any other.

The Fryer.

*You were first baptised in
the Church of y^e Pope
were ye not?

The Martyr.

I graunt I was, but yet that
nothing hindereth the
grace of God, but hee may
renouate and call to further
knowledge whom he
pleaseth.

A Counseller.

I would wishe you not to
sticke to your owne
wisdom and opinion. Ye
see the Churches in
Ger^many, how they
dissent one from an other.
So that if you should not
submit your iudgement to
the authoritie of the
Generall Councils,* euery
day you should haue a new
Christianitie.

The Martyr.

To mine owne wisdom I
do not sticke, nor euer

will, but onely to that
wisedome whiche is in
Christ Iesu, although the
world doth accompt it
foolishnes. And where ye
say, that the churches of
Ger'manie dissent among
themselves one from an
other that is not so, for
they accorde in one
agreement, altogether,
touching the foundation
and principall groundes of
Christian fayth. Neyther is
there anye such feare, that
euery day should ryse vp a
new christianitie, vnles the
church be ballanced with
authoritie of the counsels,
as you pretend. For so we
read in the profite Dauid
psal. 33. and in other
places of scripture
moe: *that the Counsels of
the nations and people
shalbe ouerthrowne and
subuerted of the Lorde.
&c. Wherefore the best is,
that we follow the counsell
of God and hys word, and
preferre the authoritie
therof before all other
counsels and iudgementes
of mē, And thus doyng, * I
for my part had rather
dwel and settle my selfe in
this litle Christianitie, be it
neuer so small, then in that
populous Papalitie, be it
neuer so great in
multitude.

And thus was this godly
Feurus commaunded
agayne by the Deputye, to
the Bishops prison, and

from thence shortly after
remoued to Lions, not by
the open and beaten waye,
but by secret and priuy
iournyes, least perhaps he
should be taken from thē
agayne, as he was before.

After he was come to
Lyons, he was brought
be|fore Tignacius the
Iudge,* and a Doctour of
Sorbone called Fumosus,
who questioned with hym
touching sondry articles of
Religion. But in
conclu'sion, when they
neyther with argumentes
coulede conuict him, nor
with promises allure him,
nor with threatning
terroures styrre hym, eyther
to betray the truth which
he knew, or to bewray
them whome he knew not,
which tooke him away
before hys keepers they
proceeded at last to the
sentence, condemnyng
hym first to haue hys
tongue cut out, and then to
be

[illustration]

**The martyrdome of Richard
Feurus.**

* burned. All which he
receiued willingly and quietly
for righteousnes sake, thus
finishing his martyrdom Iul.
7. ann, 1554. Ex Crisp.
Pantal, & alijs.

An Inquisitour monk.

Nicholas du Chesne.

At Gry by Bezanson.

Ann. 1554,

The cause and occasion
why this Nicolas came in
trouble,* was for that he
goyng from Lausāna
(where he abode for hys
conscience) to fette hys
sister & her husband, &
certayne other of hys
friendes, as hee went
from Bezanson, toward
the towne of Gry, [Page](#)
[915](#) did not homage to a
certayne crosse in the
way where a certayne
monke which was an
inquisitour,* ouertook
him, and therby
suspec^ted him. He was
guyded by the same
monk craftily dissēbling
hys religion, to a lodgyng
in Gry: where the
luⁱstice of the place
comming in, incontinent
took him. Nicholas seing
how hee was by y^e
monke his conductor
betrayed: O false
traytor, (sayd he) hast
thou thus be^trayed
me? Then after
examination, he was
condēned. Being caryed
to the place of
martyrdome, by y^e way
he was promised, that if
he would knele down
and heare a masse, he
should be let go as a
passenger. But Nicolas
armed with

perseuerance, sayde hee
would rather dye then
commit such an act.
Who calling vpon the
name of the Lord, tooke
his death paciently. Ex
Crisp. Lib^a 6.

*For the religion &
gospell of Christ, thys
Iohn was apprehended
by these persecuters
here specified, and led
bounde to Bloys: where
he was examined by
Denys y^e counsellor, of
diuers points as whether
he had spo^kē at any time
against God, agaynst y^e
church & the he sayntes,
& the she saynts of
Paradise Wherunto he
sayd no. Item, whether
at any time hee had
called the masse
abhominable, whiche
hee graunted, for that
hee finding no masse in
all the Stripture, was
commanded by S. Paule,
That if an angell from
heauē would bring anye
other gospell beside that
whiche was already
receiued, he shuld
account it accursed.
After his condemnation,
they woulde haue hym
to be confessed, and
presented to him a crosse
to kisse. But he bad the
Fryers with theyr crosse

- The seniors or Lords
of Estnay and of
Ciguongnes,
dwelling by the
towne of Machenoir.
Iohn Bertrand a fo^oer
or kee^per of the forest
of Marcheⁿoir.
- Denys Barbes,
Counsellour of
Bloys.
At Bloys.
Ann. 1556.

depart. That is not the
 crosse (sayd he) that I
 must cary. Entring into y^e
 cart before the
 multitude he gaue
 thanks to God, that he
 was not there for
 murther, theft, or
 blasphemye, but onely
 for the quarrell of our
 sauour. Being tyed to
 the post, he sang the 25.
 psalme. Of age he was
 yong his countenance
 was exceeding chearfull
 & amiable, his eyes
 looking vp to heauen. O
 the happy iourⁿy, sayd
 he (seeing the place
 where he should suffer)
 & the fayre place that is
 prepared for me. When
 the fire was kindled
 about them, O Lord
 cryed he, geue thy hand
 to thy seruaunt: I
 recommend my soule
 vnto thee, and so
 meekly yelded vp his
 spirite. Whose pacient
 and ioyfull constancye
 so astonyed the people,
 that of long tyme before,
 nothing did seeme to
 them so admirable. Ex
 Gallic. hist. per. Crisp.
 Lib. 6.

A brother in lawe of this
 Peter.

Peter Rousseau.
 An. 1556.

*Peter Rousseau
 comming from Geneua
 and Lausanna to hys
 countrey, partlye to

communicate wyth
 certayne of hys
 acquayntaunce in the
 word of God, partlye for
 other certayn affay^lres,
 because hee required
 hys inheritaunce of hys
 brother in law, was by
 him betrayed. Then
 being constant in his
 confession, which he
 offered vp, he was put to
 the racke three tymes,
 which he suffered
 constantly with great
 tormentes. Afterward he
 had hys tongue cut of,
 and a balle of yron put in
 hys mouth. He was
 drawē vpon a hurdle,^{*} al
 broken and maymed, to
 the fire, where he was
 lifted vp into the ayre,
 and let downe three
 tymes: And when he was
 halfe burned, the balle
 fell from hys mouth, and
 he with a loud voyce
 called on the name of
 GOD, saying, Iesus Christ
 assiste me. And so thys
 blessed Martyr gaue vp
 hys life to God. Ex Ioan.
 Crisp.

Antony de Lescure, the
 kinges attourney.

- Arnauld
 Moniere.
- Iohn de Cazes.

At Bordeaux.

An. 1556.

After that Arnald
 Moniere was taken and
 examined of the lustice,
 and so was layde in
 prison, Iohn de Cazes
 resorting to the same
 town of Bur^ldeaux,^{*}

and hearing of hym, and
beyng admo^unished
moreouer, that if he
went to him, hee
shoulde be appeached
of heresie,
notwithstan^ding went
to comforte him, and so
was also imprisoned.

After many
examinations, sentence
was geuen vpon them to
be burned. When the
tyme came of theyr
Martyrdome they were
drawne tho^urough the
durt vppon an hurdle, to
the place accompanied
with a number of bylles,
and glayues, and gūners,
and trūpeters.

Moreouer, albeit there
was no such cause (they
being two simple poore
men) yet the Magistrates
commaunded (vpon what
occasion I know not) all
the gates of y^e Citty to
be shut, and garded with
keepers.* Whē the
blessed martyrs were
brought and bound to
the post which was
before the Pallace, they
much reioysing that they
were made worthy to
suffer for Christe, made
confession of their fayth,
and many earnest
exhortations vnto the
people. But to stop the
hearing of these saints,

the trumpeters were
commaunded to sound,
which during all the time
of their suffering neuer
ceased. The hangman
preparing hymself • first
to strangle Cazes,
chaunced to fall downe
from the top of the post,
to the pauement and
brake hys head in such
sorte, as the bloud
followed in great
quantitie.

Notwithstanding he
recouering hymselfe,
went to Monier, and
hym he strangled, who
patientlye rendered vp
his lyfe. Cazes which was
the stronger of them
both, being set on fire
before the hangman
came, suffered the
extremitie of the fire
with great paynes, but
greater patience: for as
hys legges wer almost
halfe burnt, yet he
endured, crying: My God
my father, and so gaue
vp hys lyfe.

And further, to note the
worke of God that folowed
when these two myld &
martyred sayntes were
almost cōsumed in the fire
to ashes sodenly without
matter or cause, such a feare
fell vpon them, at y^e
execution, that the iustices

and the people,*
notwithstan^ding that they
had the gates locked to
them, & were defended with
all manner of weapons
about them, not knowing
wherfore, took thē to their
legs, in such hast fleeing
away, y^t they ouerran one an
other. The prior of S.
Antonies fel down, so y^t a
great number went ouer
hym. The iudge Pontacke on
hys mule, w^t his red robe,
fleeing as the other dyd, was
ouerthrowne with the presse
in the street called Poet•uin
in suche sorte,* that he was
fayne to be caryed to
Pichons house a widow, and
there cryed within, Hide me,
saue my lyfe, I am dead: I
see euen the lyke mat^ter,
as at the last commotion. My
friendes hyde my [Page 916](#)
mule, that no man se her nor
know her. Briefly such was
the feare which came from
them, that euery mā shut vp
their houses. After the feare
was past, euery man asked
what the matter was, but
none could tel neither could
the enemies of Gods truth
perceaue, who was he that
put them so to flight and
feare, w^tout any semblaunce
of anye aduersary about
them. This story is testified,
and to be founde both in the
volume of the Frenche

martyrs, printed by Iohn
Crispine, lib. 6. also in the
booke of Dutch martyrs,
written by Adrianus.

- [*A gentlemā](#) called
Perriere. Bartlemew Hector.
- M. Bartlemew Eme,
President. At Thurin.
- M. Augustine de
Eglise, Counseller. Ann. 1556.

First this Hector was a
trauailer, about the
country, and a seller of
bookes, hauyng his wife
and children at geneua.
As he came into the vale
of Angroigne, in
Piedmont to get his
liuing wyth sellyng of
bookes, hee was taken
by a certen gentleman,
and there arested & sent
to Thurin: then
examined, at last
condēned. Beyng
condemned, hee was
threatned, y^t if he spake
any thing to the people,
his tongue should be cut
of. Neuerthlesse he
ceased nothing to
speake. After his praiers
made, wherein he
prayed for the Iudges,
that God would forgeue
them, and opē theyr
eies, he was offered his
pardon at the stake, if he
would conuert, which he
re^lused. Then he
prepared himselfe to his
death, which he tooke
patiently. Wherat many
of the people wept,
saying, why doth this
man dye, whiche
speaketh of nothing, but

of God? Ex hist. Gal. per
Crisp. lib. 6.

This Phillip Cene was an
Apothecarie at Geneua.
He was ta^lken at Dyion,
& there imprisoned, and
in the same town of
Dyion, he with one
Iames hys companion,
was burned. As this
Phillip went to his death
singing psalmes, the
Fryer standyng by,
stopped hys mouthe
with his hande. The most
part of the people wept
bitterly, saying, be of
good courage brethren,
be not afrayd of this
death. Which when one
of the aduersary part
heard, he sayde to one of
the magistrates. Do you
not see how almost
halfe part of the people
is of their side, and doth
comfort them? Ex Ioan
Crisp. lib. 6.

The accusers appeare not in
the story.

*
—

- Phillip Cene.
- Iames his fellow.

At Dyion.

An. 1557.

These two were in
prison together w^t
Phillip,* and Iames
a^lbouesaid, at Dyion
Ar^lchambant goyng
about with a packet of
pedlerye ware, to get
hys liuing and comming
towards hys wyfe,
heard of certayn
prisoners at Dyion, to
whome he wrote to

- Archambant
Seraphon.
- M. Nicolas du
Rousseau.

At Dyion.

Ann. 1557.

comfort them with his letters. The next daye after hee was searched at Aussone, and letters of certayne schollers of Paris founde about him: then he was brou^ght to Dyion, where hee with the other called M. du Rousseau, constantly suffered.

The same Archambant had bene also condemned three yeares before at Tule, and as he was ledde to Bordeaux, he escaped. Ex eius Epist. ad vxorem, apud Crisp. lib. 6.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest, then hee went to Geneua, wher he exercised prin^ting,^{*} and sent bookes a^bbroad. After that hee was made a minister at the towne of Allenart in Saintonge: In which and in other places moe, hee did much good in edifying the people. At last hee was apprehended at Saintes Uille, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had in^structed in the gospell, and after confession made of hys fayth, hee with the sayde prieste was caryed to Burde^eux before the President. As hee was in

The kinges Attourney of
Saintes Ville.

Philbert Ham^lin.

At Burdeaux.

Ann. 1557.

prison on a sondaye, a
priest came in with all
his furniture, to saye
masse in the prison:
whom Philbert seing to
be reuested, came &
pluckt his garmentes
from his backe wyth
suche zeale and
vehemency, that the
masse garmentes, with
the chalice &
candlestickes fell downe,
and were broken, saying:
Is it not enough for you
to blaspheme God in
churches, but you must
also pollute the prison w^t
youre Idolatry? The
iaylour hearing of this,^{*}
in his furye layd vpon
him w^t his flaffe, and
also complayned of him:
whereby he was
remoued to the common
pryson, and layd in a low
pitte, laden wyth great
yrons so that hys legges
were swolne withall, and
there continued viij.
dayes. A little before hee
perceiuing the priest his
host to decline from the
truth, did what he could
to confirme hym in the
same: but when hee
knew that he had flatly
renounced Christ and
hys worde, he sayde
vnto hym. O vnhappy
and more then

miserable,* is it possible
for you to be so folish as
for sauing of a few
dayes, which you haue
to liue by the course of
nature, so to start
awaye, and to denye y^e
truth? Know you
therfore, that although
you haue by your
foolishnes auoyded y^e
corporall fire, yet your
life shalbe neuer the
longer, for you shall dye
before me, and God shal
not geue you the grace,
that it shal be for hys
cause, and you shalbe an
example to al
Apostates.* He had no
sooner ended hys talke
but the priest goyng out
of prison, was slayne by
two gentle^l men which
had a quarrell to him.
Wherof when M.
Philbert had heard, he
affirmed that he knewe
of no such thing before,
but spake as pleased
God to guyd hys tongue.
Wherupon immediately
he made an exhortation
of the prouidence of
God, which by the
occason hereof, moued
the hartes of many, and
conuer^lted them vnto
God.

At last the foresayd Philbert,
after hys condemnation, was

had to the place of his
 martyrdome before the
 palace, and as he was
 exhorting the people, to the
 intent hys wordes shoulde
 not be heard, the trumpets
 blew without ceasing.* And
 so being fastened to y^e post,
 this holy martyr praying &
 exhortyng the people, was
 strangled, and hys bodye
 wyth fire consumed, on
 palme sunday euen. Ex Gal.
 hist. Crisp. lib. 6.

- Ripet, a Secretary.
- Anthony Eschaux
Baily.

The kinges Procurator.

Micholas Startorius.
 At Ost by Piedmont.
 An. 1557.

Nicolaus Startorius of
 the age of 26. yeres,
 borne in Piedmont,
 came to the partes of
 Chamberye in Lent,*
 where a certayn warden
 of the Fryers in the
 towne of Oste had
 preched on good friday
[Page 917](#) vpon the
 passion. The reporte of
 which Sermon being
 recited to this Sartorius,
 by one that heard him,
 Sartorius reprehended
 the errour and
 blasphemyes thereof,
 whiche were agaynst the
 holye scriptures. Shortly
 after, the party that told
 hym, went to a
 Secretarye named Ripet,
 who couertly came to
 entrap Nicholas,
 demaunding him of the
 Friers Sermon: And did
 not our Preacher (sayd

he) preach well? No,
sayde Nicholas, but he
lyed falsely. Ripet entring
further w^t him,
demaunded: And do not
you beleue the body of
the Lord to be in the
hoste? to whom
Nicholas then aunswered
agayne, that to be
agaynst our Creed,
which sayth, that he
ascended vp and sitteth.
&c. Incontinent Ripet
went to the Frier and his
companions, to cause
him to be apprehended.
The frendes of Nicolas
perceiuing the daunger,
willed him to auoyde
and saue himselfe, and
also accompanied him
out of the town, about
the space of three
leagues. Then was great
pursute made after him
to al quarters, who at
length was taken at the
towne of S. Remy, at the
foot of the mountaine of
great S. Bernard, where
he was examined before
Anthony Eschaux Bailife
of the town, and other
iustices, before whom
he aunswered with great
boldnesse, for hys fayth.
Then they brought him
to the racke, & when the
Sergeant refused to
draw the corde, the

Bayliffe himselfe & the Receiuer, with a Canon did rack him with theyr owne handes. Notwithstanding that the Lordes of Berne wrote for him to the towne of Ost, requiring to haue theyr owne subiect deliuered vnto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence, that he should be burned. Which sentence he receiued with such constancy, that neither the kinges receiuer, nor all the other enemies coulde diuert him from the truth of the Gospell, which he manfully mainteined while any spirit remayned in his bodye. Ex Ioan. Crisp lib. 6.

The accusers be not named in the story.*[_](#)

- George Tardif,*[_](#)with one of Tours, a Broderer.
- Nicholas, a Shomaker of Ienuile.

At Tours.

An. 1558.

At Ienuile.

An. 1558.

The Printer of the story of the french martyrs named Crispine, among othermoe, maketh also memoriall of George Tardif, a Broderer of Tours, and Nicholas of Ienuile, declaring that all these three together were in prison, and afterward were disseuered, to suffer in sundry places, one from the other: of whome first George Tardife was executed

in Sens.

The Broderer of Tours,
as hee was comming
with 5. or 6. other out
of a woode, beyng at
prayer, was taken, and
thereupon examined.
Before hee shoulde bee
examined, he desired
the Iudges, that hee
myght praye. Which
being graunted after
his prayer made,
wherein he prayed for
the Iudges, for the
king, and all estates, &
for the necessity of all
Christes Sayntes, he
aunswered for
himselpe, with such
grace and modestye,
that the hartes of many
were broken vnto the
sheddying of teares,
seeking (as it seemed)
nothing els but hys
deliuerance.
Notwithstanding he at
last was sent vnto
Tours, and there was
crowned with
martyrdome.

The third which was Nicolas,
being but young of yeares,
and newly come from
Geneua,* to his coũtre, for
certayne money: by meanes
of a Lady there dwelling, was
caused to be apprehended.
When he was condemned
and set in the cart, his Father
comming with a staffe,
would haue beaten him, but
the officers not suffering it,

would haue stroken the olde
man. The sonne crying to the
Officers, desired them to let
his father alone, saying, that
his father had power ouer
him, to doe with him what
he would: and so going to
the place where he should
suffer, hauyng a balle of yron
put in his mouth, he was
brought at length to the fire,
in the towne of Ienuile,
where he patiently tooke his
death and Martyrdome. an.
1558. Ex Typogra. Crisp. Lib.
6.

- The Priestes of the
College of plessis.
- The doctors of
Sorbone
- Doctor Democrates.
- Cenalis, Bishop of
Auranches.
- Martine the kinges
Attorney. The
Cardinall of Lorrane.
- Maillardus.
- Henry the secōd
frēch king.

The congregation of
Paris persecuted, to the
number of three or
foure hundreth.

At Paris.

An. 1558.

AN. 1558. Sept. 4. a
company of the
faythfull, to the nūber of
3. or 4. hundred, wer
together conuented at
Paris in a certē house,
hauing before it, y^e
college of Plessis in the
strete of S. Iames, &
behinde it,* the college
of Sorbone. Who ther
assembled in the
beginⁱning of the night
to the intent to
communicate togeather
the Lordes supper: but
incontinēt that was
discouered by certeyne
Priestes of Plessis: who
gathering together suche
as were of that faction,
came to beset the house
and made an outcrys,
that the watch mighte

come and take them, so that in short time almost all the city of Paris was vp in armor, thinking some conspiracy to haue bene in y^e city. Who then following the noyse, & perceiuing that they were Lutheranes, a greate part of thē were in extreme rage, furiouslye seeking to haue theyr bloud, and therefore stopped the streetes and lanes with cartes, and made fires to see that none shoulde escape.* The faythfull albeit God hath geuē them leisure to finysh their administration & prayers, with such quetnes, as they neuer had better, seeing the sodennesse of the thyng, were stroken in great feare. Who then being exhorted by the gouernors of the congregation, fel to praier. That done, through the counsell of some whyche knew the cowardly hartes of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men whiche had weapon, should aduenture through the prese: onely the womē and children remayned in the house, and a few men with them, which were lesse

bolde then the other, to
the number of sixe or
seauen score. Where
appeared the admirable
power of God in them
that went out with
weapon,* which
notwithstanding that y^e
lanes and passages were
stopped, and the fires
made, dyd all escape
saue onely one, who was
beatē down with stones,
and so destroyed.
Certayne that remayned
in the house with the
womē, afterward leaped
into gardens, where they
were stayed, till the
Magistrates came. The
women (which were all
Gentlewomen, or of
great wealth, onely sixe
or seuen excepted) seing
no other hope, and
perceiuing the fury of
the people, [Page 927](#)
went vp to the
windowes, crying *
mercy and shewing theyr
innocent intent, required
iustice ordinary. Thus as
they were inclosed
about 6. or 7. houres, at
last came Martin the
kinges Attorney, with
force of Commissaries
and Sergeantes. Who
with much adoe
appeasing the courage of
the people, entred into
the house, where he

viewing the women &
children, and the other
furniture there being
prepared for that
congregatiō, perceiued
testimonies sufficient of
their innocency, in so
much, that in
considering therof, for
pity of hart, his eyes
could not refraine from
teares. Notwithstanding
proceeding in his office,
hee had them all to
prison within the litle
Castle. I omit here the
furious vsage of the
people by the way, how
despightfully they
plucked and haled the
women, tare their
garmēts, thrust of theyr
hoods frō their heades,
& disfigured theyr faces
with dust and durt.
Neither were they better
entreated in the Prison,
then they were in the
streetes: for all the
villaines and theeues
there, were let out of
theyr holes and stinking
caues, and the poore
Christians placed in
theyr roomes.

Besides these manifolde
wronges & oppressions
done to these poore
innocēts, folowed thē
(which was worst of all)
the cruell & slaunderous

reportes of the friers and
priestes,* who in theyr
rayling sermons & other
talke, cryed out to the
Lutherans, perswading the
people most falsly, that
they assembled together to
make a banket in the night,
and there putting out y^e
candles, they went
together, Iacke with Iille
(as the sayde) after a filthy
and beastly maner. Adding
moreouer (to make the lye
more likely) that certayne
Nunnes also & Monkes
were with them. Also that
they should conspyre
against the king, and other
like heynous crimes,
whatsoeuer theyr malice
could inuent, for defacing
of the Gospell. With such
like malicious misreportes
& sclaunders, Sathan went
about to extinguish the
auncient church of Christ
in the primitiue time,
accusing the innocent
Christians then of incest,
conspiracy, killing of
infantes, putting out of
candles,* & filthy
whoredome. &c. Vide
supra. pag. 36. These
sinister rumors, & cursed
defamations were no
sooner geuē out, but they
were as soone receiued,
and spread farre, not onely
to thē of the vulgar sort,
but also among the states
of the Court, and euen to
the kinges •ares. The
Cardinall of Lorraine y^e
same time bare a great

sway in the court, who
then procured a certayne
Iudge of the Castle, to
come in declaring to the
king that he found there
lying in y^e floore of the
foresayd house, diuers
couches & pallets, vpon
which they intended to
cōmit theyr whoredome:
also much other furniture
and preparation appointed
for a sumptuous feast or
banquet: wherewith the
kyng was mightely
inflamed agaynst them,
neyther was there any one
person that durst contrary
it.

Here the enemies began
highly to triumph, thinking
verily that the gspell,
with all the frēdes therof,
were ouerthrowne for euer.
On the other side, no lesse
perplexity and lamentation
was among y^e brethren,
sorowing not so muche for
themselues, as for the
imprisonment of theyr
fellowes. Albeit they loste
not theyr courage so
altogether, but as well as
they could, they exhorted
one another, considering
y^e great fauour and
prouidence of God, in
deliuering them so
wonderfully out of the
daunger. Some comfort
they tooke vnto them,
consulting together in this
order, that first they should
humble themselues to God
in theyr owne priuate

familyes. Secondly to
stoppe the running brutes
of theyr holy assembles,
they should write
Apologies, one to the
kyng, an other to the
people. Thirdly, that letters
of consolatiō should be
written and sent to theyr
brethren in prison.

The first Apology was
written to the king, and
conueyed so secretly into
his Chamber,* that it was
found, and read opely in
the hearing of the king and
of all his nobles. Wherin
the Christians learnedly &
discreetly both cleared
themselves of those
reportes, and shewed the
malice of theyr enemies,
especially of Satan, which
euer frō the beginning of
the Church, hath and still
doeth goe about to
ouerturne the right wayes
of the Lord, declaring
further by manyfolde
examples and cōtinuall
experience, euē from the
primitiue time, how the
nature of the Church hath
euer bene to suffer
vexations and
sclaunderous reports and
infamation by the
malignant aduersaries &c.
And lastly comming to the
king, they craued that
theyr cause might not be
condemned before it had
indifferent hearing. &c.
Neuerthelesse,* this
Apology to the king,

serued to litle purpose,
forsomuch as the
aduersaries incontinent
denied all that was written
to the king, making him to
beleue that all were but
excuses pretended, neither
was there any person that
durst replye agayne.

But the other Apology to
the people, did inestimable
good, in satisfying the
rumors, and defending the
true cause of the gospell.
Wherupon certayne
doctors of Sorbō began to
write both agaynst y^e
Apology and the persons,*
of whom one was called
Demochares, who taking
for his foundation, without
any prooffe, that they were
all heretiques, cryed out
for iustice, with billes,
glaues, fire, and sword.

An other Sorbonist more
bloudy then the first, not
only exclaimed against thē,
for putting out y^e candles
in theyr detestable
concourses & assembles,
but also accused thē, as
men which maintained that
there was no God, and
denied the diuinity &
humanity of Christ, the
immortallity of the soule,
the resurrection of flesh,
and briefly al the articles
of true religiō.* And thus
he charged them without
any prooffe, moouyng both
the king and people,
without any forme of law

to destroy and cut them in pieces. &c.

The third that wrote against thē, was Cenalis,*
bishop of Auranches,
which debated the same matter, but w^t lesse vehemency then the other, defending impudently, that theyr assemblies were to mainteine whoredome, cōplayning of the Iudges, because they were no sharper with thē, saying that theyr softnesse was y^e cause why the nūber of thē so much encreased.

Among other pointes of his booke, this one thing he disputeth maruelous pleasauntly, touching y^e signes & marques of the true Church: first presupposing this one thing which is true,* that y^e true Church hath hys signes, by y^e which it may be knowne frō y^e false churche: and therupō (making no mention at all, either of preaching or ministratiō of sacramēts) thus he inferreth, y^t theyr church which was the catholick church, had belles, by the which theyr assemblies be ordinarily called together: & the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath clappes of harquebuses & pisteleets for signes, wherby they (as it is cōmonly bruted) are wont to cōgregate together.

Upon this supposall, as
vpon a sure foundation, he
grounding his matter,
vaunted & triumphed as
one hauing gotten a greate
conquest, and made a long
Antithesis, or comparison,
by the which he would
proue that bels were y^e
markes of the true church.
The belles (said he) do
sound,* the harquebuses
do cracke or thunder. The
belles do geue a sweete
tune and melodious, the
signes of the Lutheranes
make a foule noyse and
terrible. The belles do
open heauen, the other do
open hell. Bels chase away
cloudes and thunder,* the
other gender cloudes and
counterfeite thunder: with
many other propertyes
moe, which he brought
out, to proue that the
Church of Rome is the true
Church, because it hath
those belles. Marke, good
Reader, the profound
reasons and argumentes
which these great doctors
had, either to defēd theyr
own church, or to impugne
the Apologies of the
Christians.

Briefly, to finish the
residue of this story: as the
faythfull Christians were
thus occupied in writing
theyr Apologyes, and in
comforting theyr brethrē in
prison with theyr letters,
the aduersaryes agayne w^t
theyr faction were not idle,

but sought all meanes
possible to hasten forward
the execution, geuing
diligent attendance about
the prison and other open
pla'ces, to satisfy theyr
vncharitable desire with y^e
death of them, whose
religion they hated.

Finally, the 17. day of
September, commission
was directed out by the
king, and certayne
Presidentes and
counsellors appoynted to
ouersee the expedition of
the matter. Wherupō
diuers of the poore
afflicted Gospellers were
brought forth to theyr
iudgement and
martyrdome, as anon
(Christ willing) you shall
heare.

Henricus Pant. lib. 11.
partly touching this
persecution of the
Parisians, referreth the
tyme thereof to the yeare
of our Sauour .1557.
whyche the Frenche
Chronicles doe assigne to
the yeare .1558. and
addeth moreouer, that the
Germanes beyng the same
time in a certayne colloquy
at wormes, diuers learned
men resorted thither frō
Geneua, and other [Page](#)
[919](#) quarters, desiring of
the princes & protestants
there, that they by theyr
Ambassadors sent by the
French king, would

become suters vnto him
for the innocēt prisoners,
which for the cause
abouesayd, were detained
in handes at Paris: by the
meanes of whose
intercession (sayth he) and
especially for that the
french king was then in
warre (as GOD prouided)
with Philip king of
Spayne,* a great part of
the captiues were rescued
and deliuered: albeit
certayn of the sayd number
were executed before the
comming of the Germaine
Ambassadors: the names
and Martyrdome of whom
here vnder do ensue. Ex
Crisp. & Pantal. Lib. 11.

- Priestes of the College of Plessis. Nicholas Clinet.
 - Doctour Maillard.*Sorbonist. At Paris.
- An. 1558.

Of this godly company
thus brought to iudgemēt
and to martyrdome,* the
first was Nicolas Clinet,
of the age of 80. yeares,
who first being a
scholemaister to youth at
Sain•onge (where he
was borne) was there
pursued, & had his
Image burned. From
thence hee came to
Paris, where for his
godlye conuersation hee
was made one of the
Elders, or Gouvernours of
the Church. For his age
he was suspected of the
Iudges to be a minister,
& therefore was set to
dispute agaynst the
chiefest of y^e

Sorbonistes, & namely Maillard, whom he did so confute both in the Scriptures, and also in theyr owne Sorbonicall Diuinity (wherein he had bene well exercised & expert) in the presence of the Lieutenant ciuile, that the sayd Lieutenant confessed, that he neuer heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Taurin Grauelle first was a student of the lawe at Toulouse: after that, hee was made an aduocate in the Court of Paris: lastly for his godlines hee was ordeyned an Elder to the sayd congregation, with Clinet aboue mentioned. This Taurin hauyng in his handes the keeping of a certayn house of one M. Barthomier his kinsman, and seing the congregation destitute of a roome, receiued them into the house. And when he perceiued the house to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might haue escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abyde the aduenture, to the intent he woulde aunswere for the fact, in receiuing the

Taurin Grauelle, a Lawyer.

Doctour Maillard,*Sorbonist.

At Paris.

An. 1558.

sayd assemble into the
house. The constancy of
this man was inuincible,
in sustaining his
conflictes with the
Sorbonistes. With
Doctour Maillarde
especially he was of olde
acquayntaunce, whom he
did knowe so well, euen
from hys youth vwarde,
that whensoever the
sayd Doctour would
open his mouth to
speake agaynst the
Saintes for theyr nightlye
assembles, he agayne
did approch him with so
filthy actes of buggerye
and infamous Sodomitry,
that neyther they which
hearde, could abide it,
neyther yet coulde hee
deny it, being so
notorious, that almost
all the children in the
streetes did know it: and
yet that Sorbonicall
Doctour shamed not to
empeach good men of
whoredome, for theyr
Godly assembles in the
night. Whose lyfe was so
farre from all chastity, as
were there holy
assembles cleare from all
impurity,* in •ine these
twoe Godly Elders in
cruell paynes of the fire,
finished theyr
martyrdome.

- The Lieutenant
ciuile.
- Doctour Maillard,
Sorbonist. Philip de Luns,
- Mosnior, Lieutenant. Gentlewoman.
- Euil neighbours.
- Bertrand, Lord At Paris.
keeper of the seale,
and Cardinal of Sens. An. 1558.
- The Marques of
Tran.

Next vnto these
abouesaid, was brought
out maistres Philip,
Gentlewoman of the age
of 23. she came first
from the partes of
gascoigne with her
husband (who was Lord
of Graurō) vnto Paris,*
there to ioyne her selfe
to the Church of God.
Where her Husband also
hadde bene a Senior or
Elder: who in the
moneth of May before,
was takē with an ag•e,
and deceased, leauing
this Philip a Widow,
which neuerthesse
ceased not to serue the
Lord in hys Church, and
also in the house was
taken with the sayde
compapany. Many
conflictcs she had with
the Iudges, and the
Sorbonistes, namely
Maillard. But she
alwayes sent him awaye
with the same reproch, as
the other did before, &
bad him auaunt
Sodomyte, saying, she
would not aunsweare
one woorde to suche a
villaine. To the Iudges
her answer was this,
that she had learned the
fayth whyche shee
confessed, in the woord
of God, and in the same
shee would liue and

die. And being
demaunded, whether
the body of Christ was in
the Sacrament.* How is
that possible (sayde she)
to be the bodye of
Christ, to whom all
power is geuen, & which
is exalted aboue all
heauens, when as we
see the mice & rattes,
apes, and Munkies playe
with it, and teare it in
pieces? He• petition to
them was, that seing
they had taken her sister
from her, yet they would
let her haue a Byble o•
Testament to comfort
her selfe. Her wicked
neighbors, although they
could touche her
conuersation with no
part of dishonestye, yet
many thinges they layde
to her charge, as that
there was muche
singyng of Psalmes in
her house, and that
twise or thrise, an
infinite number of
persons were seene to
come out of her house.
Also when her husband
was in dying, no Priest
was called for, neyther
was it knowne where he
was buried: Neyther dyd
they euer heare any
word of their infant to
be baptised, for it was

baptised in the Churche
of the Lord. Among
other her neighbours
that came agaynst her,
twoe there were
dwelling at S. Germain,
in y^e suburbes,*
betwene whō
incontinent rose a strife,
wherin one of thē
sticked the other with a
knife. The death of thys
gentlewomā was the
more hastened of the
Lord keper of the Seale,
Bertrand, Cardinall of
Sens, and his sonne in
law the Marques of
Tran, for to haue the
confiscation of her
goodes.

These 3. holy martyrs
aboue recited,* were
condēned the 27. of Sep.
by the proces of the
cōmissioners and the
Lieuetenaunt ciuile: and
then being put in a
Chappell together,
certayne Doctours were
sent to them, but theyr
valiaunt constancye
remayned vnmooueable.
After that they were had
out of Prison, and sent
euery one in a dounge cart
to the place of punishment,
Clinet euer cryed by the
way, protestyng that he
sayd or mayntayned
nothing, but the veritye
[Page 920](#) of God. And
being asked of a Doctour,

whether he would beleue
S. Austen, touching
certayne matters, he sayd:
yea, and that he had sayd
nothing, but which he
would proue by his
authority.

The Gentlewoman seeing
a Priest come to confesse
her, sayd, that she had
confessed vnto God, and
had receiued of him
remission: other absolution
she found none in
Scripture. And when
certayne Coūsellors did
vrge her to take in her
handes the woden Crosse,*
according to the custome
of them that go to theyr
death, alledging how
Christ commaunded euery
one to beare his crosse:
she answerred, my Lordes
(sayde she) you make me
in very deede to beare my
Crosse, condemning me
vniustly, and putting me to
death in the quarell of my
Lord Iesus Christ. Who
willeth vs to beare our
Crosse, but no suth Crosse
as you speake of.

Grauelle looked with a
smiling countenaunce, &
shewed a chearefull
colour, declaring how little
hee passed for his
condemnation: and being
asked of hys frends to
what death he was
condemned, I see well
(sayd he) that I am
condemned to death, but to

what death or torment I
regard not. And comming
from the chappell, when
he perceiued they went
about to cut out his tounge,
vnles he would returne, he
sayd, that was not so
conteined in the arrest, and
therefore he was vnwilling
to graunt vnto it: but
afterward perceiuing the
same so to be agreed by
the Court, he offered his
tounge willingly to be cut,
and incontīnēt spake
playnely these words: I
pray you pray to God for
me.

The Gentlewoman also
being required to geue her
tounge: did likewise, with
these wordes: Seing I do
not sticke to geue my
body, shall I sticke to geue
my tongue? No, no. And
so these three hauing theyr
tongues cutte out,* were
brought to Malbert place.
The constancy of Grauelle
was admirable, castyng vp
his sighes and gronings
vnto heauen, declaring
therby his ardent affectiō
in praying to God. Clinet
was somewhat more sad
then the other, by reason
of the feeblenes of nature
and his age. But the
Gentlewoman yet
sermoūted al the rest in
constancy, which neither
chaunged countenance,
nor colour, being of an
excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, shee vsed to go in mourning weed, after the maner of the country. But the same day,* going to her burning, shee put on her French hood, and decked her selfe in her best aray, as going to a new Mariage, the same day to be ioyned to her spouse Iesus Christ. And thus these three with singuler constancy, were burned, Grauelle and Clinet were burned aliue. Philippe the Gentlewoman was strangled, after she had a litle tasted the flame with her feet, and visage, and so she ended her Martyrdome. Ex Ioan Crisp. lib. 6.

- The Lieuetenant.
- Doctour Maillard.
- Counsellors.
- Friers.

At Paris.

An. 1558.

Of the same company was also Nicholas Cene a Phisition, Brother to Phillippe Cene aboue mētioned and martyred of Dyion, & Peter Gabart: which two about fiue or sixe dayes after the other three before,* were brought foorth to theyr death. Octob. 2.

Nicholas Cene was but newe come to Paris the same day, when he was aduertised of y^e assēble which thē was cōgregate in the street of S. Iames? & (as he desired nothing more then to heare the word of God) came thither

euen as he was,
booted, & was also
with them
apprehended,
susteyning y^e causee of
Gods holye Gospell
vnto death.

The other was Peter
Gabart a Sollicitor of
processes, about the
age of 30. yeares,
whose constancye dyd
muche comfort to the
prisoners He was put
amonge a great
number of Scholers in
the little Castle.
Whome when he heard
to passe the time in
talking of Philosophy.
No, no, (sayde he) let
vs forget these worldly
matters,* and learne
how to sustein y^e
heauenly cause of our
God, which lie here in
defēce of the
kingdome of Christ
Iesus our sauour: and
so he began to instruct
them how to aunswere
to euery poynt of
christian doctrine, so
well, as if he had done
no other thing in all his
life, but onely studyed
diuinity: and yet was
he but very simply
learned. Then was he
sent from them apart
vnto an other Prison,
full of filthy stinche
and vermine: where
notwithstāding, he
ceased not to sing

Psalmes that the other
might well heare him.
He had a young
nephew in an other
prison by, being but a
childe, of whom he
asked what he had
sayd to the Iudges. He
sayde that he was
constrayned to do
reuerence to a
crucifixe painted. O
thou noughty boy (said
he) haue not I taught
thee y^e
commandements of
God? * Knowest thou
not how it is written.
Thou shalt not make to
thy selfe no grauen
Image. &c. and so
beganne to expound to
hym the
Commaundementes:
whereunto hee gaue
good attention.

In their examinations,
many questiōs were
propounded by the
Doctors and Friers,
touching matters both of
religion, and also to know
of them what Gentlemen
and Gentlewomen were
there present at the
ministracion of the
Sacrament. Whereunto
they aunswered in such
sort, as was both sufficient
for defence of theyr owne
cause, and also to saue
theyr other brethren from
blame, saying that they
woulde liue and dye in that
they had sayd and

maynteyned.

When the time of theyr
execution was come, they
perceiued that the Iudges
had intended, that if they
would relent, they shoulde
be strangled: if not, they
should burne aliue, and
theyr tongues be cutte
from them. Which
tormentes they being
content to suffer for our
Sauour Iesus Christ,
offered their tongues
willingly to the hangman
to be cut. Gabart began a
little to sigh,* for that he
might no more prayse the
Lord with his tongue.
Whome then Cene did
comfort. Then were they
drawne out of prison in the
dōg cart, to the suburbes of
S. Germane. Whom the
people in rage and
madnes, folowed with
cruell iniuries and
blasphemies, as though
they would haue done the
execution themselues vpon
them, Maugre the
hangman. The cruelty of
theyr death was suche as
hath not lightly bene
sene:* for they were
holden long in the ayre,
ouer a small fire, and theyr
lower partes burnt of,
before that the higher
partes were much harmed
with the fire.
Neuerthesse these
blessed sayntes ceased not
in all these tormentes, to
turne vp theyr eyes to

heauen, and to shewe forth
infinite testimonyes of
theyr fayth & constancy.
In the same fire many
Testamentes and Bibles
the same time, also were
burnt.

Upon the sight of this
cruelty,* the frendes of the
other prisoners, which
remayned behinde,
fearyng the tyranny of
these iudges, presented
certaine causes of refusall
agaynst the sayd iudges,
requiring other
Commissioners to be
placed. But the king beyng
hereof aduertised by his
Sollicitour, sent out hys
letters patentes,
commaunding the sayd
causes of refusall to be
frustrate, and willed the
former iudges to proceed,
all other letters and
obstacles to the contrary
notwithstanding: and that
the Presidentes should
haue power to chuse to
them other counsellors,
according to theyr owne
arbitrement, to supply the
place of such as were
absent: amongst whome
also the sayd Sollicitour
was receyued, in stead of
the kinges Procurator, to
pursue the proces. By the
which letters patents it was
decreed that these
stubberne Sacramentaries
(as they were called)
should be iudged
accordingly, saue only that

they should not proceed to
the executiō, before the
king were aduertised.
These letters aforesaid,
stirred vp the fire of this
[Page 921](#) persecution not
a litle, for that the Iudges
at this refusall tooke great
indignation, and were
mightily offended for that
reproch. Notwithstanding
so it pleased God,* that a
yong man a Germane,
called Albert Hartung,
borne in the country of
Brandeburge, and
godsonne to Albert,
Marques of Brandeburge,
by the kinges
commaundement was
deliuered through the
importune sute of the
sayde Marques. Ex Ioan.
Crisp lib. 6.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| • 2. Presidentes. | |
| • 25. Counsellors. | • Fridericke |
| • The Lieuetenant ciuil | Danuile. |
| • Doctors. | • Frances |
| • Friers. | Rebezies. |
| • Sorbonistes | |
| • Benedictus Iacobin. | At Paris. |
| • Demochares. | |
| Maillard. | An. 1558. |

Mentiō was made
about of certaine yong
scholars and studentes
which were in the litle
castle with Peter
Gabart. Of the which
nūber of Scholers were
these two, Fridericke
Danuile, and Frances
Rebezies, neyther of
them being past twēty
yeres of age.* How
valiauntly they
behaued thēselues in
those tender yeares,
sustaining the quarel of
our Lord Iesus Christ,
what cōfession they
made what conflictes
they had, disputing
with the Doctors of
Sorbone, theyr own

letters left in writing
do make record: y^e
effect wherof briefly to
touch is this: And first
touchinge Fridericke
Danuile.

The Lieuetenant
criminall, who before
was halfe suspected,
but nowe thinking to
proue himselfe a right
catholick, and to
recouer his estimation
agayne, came to him
beginninge with these
wordes of Scripture:
Who so euer denyeth
me before men him
will I denye before my
father &c: * That done
hee asked him, what he
thought of the
Sacrament. To whom
Friderick aunswered,
that if he should thinke
Christ Iesus to be
betweene the Priestes
handes after the
Sacramentall wordes
(as they call them)
then should he beleue
a thing contrary to the
holy Scripture, and to
the Creed, which
saith, * that he sitteth on
the right hād of the
Father. Also to the
testimonye of the
Aungelles, whiche
speake both of the
ascending of Christ,
and of his commying
downe agayn. Act. 1.
After these questions
with him touching

Inuocation of Sayntes,
Purgatorye. &c.
Wherunto he
aunswered so that he
rather did astonish the
enemies, then satisfy
them.

Furthermore, the 12. of
September, the sayd
Fridericke agayne was
brought before Benedictus
Iacobin, and his
companion a Sorbonist,
called Noster Magister.
who thus began to argue
with him.

The Doctor.

Which thinke you to bee
the true Church: the
Church of the
Protestantes, or the
Church of Paris?

The Martyr.

I recognise that to be the
true Church, where the
Gospell is truely preached,
and the Sacramentes
rightly administred, so as
they bee lefte by Iesus
Christ, and his Apostles.

The Doctor.

And is the Church (thinke
you) of Geneua such a one
as you speake of?

The Martyr.

I so iudge it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I doe prooue
the contrary, will you
beleue me?

The Martyr.

Yea, it you shall proue it
by the Scripture.

The Doctor.

Or will you beleue S.
Austen and other holy
doctors innumerable?

The Martyr.

Yea so they dissent not
from the scripture and the
word of God.

The Doctor.

By the authority of S.
Austen,* the Church is
there, where is the
succession of Byshops:
whereupon I frame this
argument.

There is the Church, where
is the perpetuall
succession of Bishops.

In the Church of Paris, is
such succession of
byshops.

Ergo, the Church of Paris
is the true Church.

The Martyr.

To your Maior I answere,
that if S. Austē mean the
succession of such as are
true Byshops in deede,
which truely preach the
Gospell, and rightly
administer the
Sacramentes, such
Byshops I suppose to be at
Geneua, where the Gospell
is truely preached, and
Sacramentes duely
ministred, and not in y^e
Church of Paris. But
otherwise, if S. Austē
mean the succession of
false Bishops, such as
neither preach nor minster
according to Gods word,
so is the same in no wise
to be graunted.

The Doctor.

Caluin is there by his
owne thrusting in, & onely
by the chusing of the
people.

The Martyr.

And that soundeth more
for him to bee of Gods
diuine election, for so
much as by him the
Gospell of God is
preached truely: and from
this no man shall bring me.

After this disceptation, the
9. of the same month came
agaynst him an other
Doctour with two
Sorbonistes, who bringing
forth a scrole out of his
bosome, pretended that a

certayne scholer comming
from Geneua, made his
confession, wherein was
contayned, that in
receiuing of the bread and
wine, the body and bloud
of Christ is receiued really.
Whereupon they
demaunded of him
whether hee would receiue
the same confession.

The Martyr.

Whatsoever I haue sayd
vnto you,^{*} that will I hold.
And as touching this word
really, I know right well
that they of Geneua do not
take it for any carnall
presence, as you do: but
theyr meaning is, to
exclude therby onely a
vayne imagination.

The Doctor.

I maruell much that you so
refuse the word really, and
vse onely spiritually, seing
that Caluin himselfe doth
vse the same word really.

The Martyr.

Caluin meaneth therby no
other thing but as we doe.

The Doctor.

What say you by
confession auricular?^{*}

The Martyr.

The same that I sayd

before to monseur
Lieuetenaunt, that is, that I
take it for a plantation not
planted by God in his
word.

The Doctor.

The Almanes in theyr
confession which they sent
to our king to be approued,
haue these wordes:

Confessionem auricularem
non improbamus, est enim
Euangelium secretū: That
is, we do not reiect
auricular cōfession, for it
is a Gospell secret and
priuy.* And also
Melancthon in his booke
of common places doth
call it Euangelium
secretum.

An other time the sayde
Fridericke was called
agayne before the Lodes,
the 20. of the sayde
moneth, where they did
nothing but demaund of
him certayne questions
where he was borne, and
whether he had heard in
his coutry at Oleron, that
M. Gerard the Byshop
there, did singe Masse.
Yea sayd he. And why do
not you also (sayd they)
receiue the same? He
aunswered, because he did
it to reteyne and keepe his
Bishopricke. The Martir
for lacke of paper, could
proceed herein no further.

¶The examination of

Fraunces Rebezies.

Rebezies had iij. sundry examinations: The first [Page 922](#) with the Lieuテナント ciuill: the second with the Presidents and the Counsellors: [*](#) the third with the Friers. First the Lieuテナント inquiring of his name Countrey, and Parentes, asked whether he was at the communion, whether he receiued with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a seruiture to M. Nicolas Cene senieur of the Congregation. Whereunto he sayd, yea. Also whether he was a distributer of the tokens, wherby they were let in, that came. [*](#) That he denied. Then he was brought into the Counsell Chamber, before two Presidentes, and xxv. Counsellors, who after other questions about his country and Parentes, demaunded whether he was taken with them in the house. He aunswered: Yea. What he had to do there? To heare the woorde of God, and to receiue with them. Who brought him thether? Himselfe. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst or woulde enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was (sayd he) that he knewe there 2. or 3. Who were they? M. Grauelle, Clinet, and Iohn

Sansot, feyning that name
of himselfe. Whether he
knew the preacher? That
he denied. Whether he
allowed the act there done
to be good? Yea. Whether
he did not better like to
resort vnto theyr beautified
tēples,* to heare Masse: or
whether he did not take the
Masse to be an holy thing,
and ordeined of God? He
aunswered agayne
contrary, beleuing that it
was a great blasphemy
agaynst God, and a seruice
set vp of the deuill.*
Whether he did not
acknowledge Purgatory?
Yes, that Purgatory which
is the death and Passion of
Christ, which taketh away
the sinnes of the whole
world. The death of Christ
is the principal (sayd they)
but thou must also beleue
an other. Alas (sayde he)
can we neuer content our
selues with the simplicity
of the Gospell, but men
alwayes wyll be putting to
something of his owne
braine? In so many places
of the Scripture we see the
bloud of Iesus Christ to be
sufficient, as Iohn. 1.
Apocal. 5. Hebre. 9.
Esay,* 43. Where the Lord
himselfe sayth. That it is
he, who for his owne sake
putteth awaye our
iniquities. &c. As S. Paule
also sayth: that God was in
Christ, reconciling the
world vnto himselfe. &c.
And contrary, when they

objected the wordes of the
parable. Mat. 5. Thou shalt
not come out till thou hast
paied the last farthing: To
this he aunswered that the
woordes of that parable
had no such relation, but to
matters ciuile: and thys
word (vntill) meaneth
there, as much as neuer.
After that, he was charged
there by one, for reading
the bokes of Caluin,
Bucer, and Bullinger. The
President asked, if he were
not afrayde to be burned,
as were the other before,
and to bring his parentes
into such dishonor. He
aunswered that he knew
well, that all which woulde
liue godly in Christ
Jesus,*shoulde suffer
persecution: and that to
him either to liue or to
dye, were aduauntage in
the Lord. And as touching
hys parentes Christ (sayd
he) doth premonish
himselue, That who so euer
loueth Father or mother
more then him,*is not
worthy to be hys. &c.
Iesus Maria, sayde the
President, what youth is
this now a dayes, whiche
cast themselues so
headlong into the fire? and
so was he commaunded
away.

Thirdly, he was brought
before Benet, mayster of
the Doctors of Sorbo••,*
and an other called
Iacobine, the 14. of

October, where as he
chauncing to speake of the
Lord, the Doctor began
thus to object, as foloweth.

The Doctor.

*See how you and all such
as are of your company,
simply name the Lord,
without putting to y^e
pronoun our. So may the
deuils well call the Lord,
and tremble before his
face.

The Martyr.

The deuils call the Lord in
such sort as the phariseis
did, when they brought the
adoulteresse before him,
and called him Mayster:
yet neither attended they to
his doctrine, nor intended
to be his disciples: Whose
case I trust is nothing like
to ours, whiche know and
confesse (as we speake)
him to be the true Lord
with all our hart, so as true
Christians ought to do.

The Doctor.

I know you hold well the
church to be, where y^e
word is truely preached,*
and the Sacramentes
syncerely ministred,
according as they are lefte
of Christ and his Apostles.

The Martyr.

That do I beleue, and in

that will I liue and dye.

The Doctor.

Doe not you beleue that
whosoeuer is wythout that
church, cannot obtaine
remission of his sinnes?

The Martyr.

Who soeuer doth separate
himself frō that church to
make either sect, part, or
deuision, cannot obteyne
as you say.

The Doctor.

Now let vs cōsider two
churches, the one wherein
the word is rightly
preached and Sacraments
administred accordingly as
they be left vnto vs: vs* The
other wherein the word &
Sacramentes be vsed
contraryly. Which of these
two ought we to beleue?

The Martyr.

The first,

The Doctor.

Well sayd. Next is now to
speake of the gifts geuen
to the sayd Church: as the
power of the keyes,
confession for remission
of sinnes, after we be
confessed to a Priest. Also
we must beleue the vij.
Sacramentes in the same
Church, truely

administred, as they be
here in the Churches of
Paris, where the Sacrament
of the aultar is ministred,
and the Gospell truely
preached.

The Martyr.

Syr, now you begin to halt.
As for my part, I do not
receiue in the Church, moe
then 2. Sacramentes which
be instituted in the same,
for the whole cōmunalty of
Christians.* And as
concerning the power of
the keyes and your
confessiō. I beleue, that for
remission of our sinnes,
we ought to go to none
other, but onely to God▪ as
we read. 1. Iohn. 1.*If we
confesse our sinnes, God
is faythfull and iust: to
pardon our offences, and
he will purge vs from all
our iniquities. &c. Also in
the Prophet Dauid, Psal.
19. and 32. I haue opened
my sinne vnto thee. &c.

The Doctor.

Should I not beleue that
Christ in the time of his
Apostles, gaue to them
power to remit sinnes?

The Martyr.

The power that Christ gaue
to his Apostles, if it be
well considered, is nothing
disagreyng to my saying:
And therefore I beganne to

say (whiche here I
confesse) that the Lord
gaue to his Apostles to
preach the woord, and so
to remitte sinnes by the
same woord.

The Doctor.

Do you then deny
auricular confession?

The Martyr.

Yea verily I do.

The Doctor.

Ought we to pray to
Sayntes.

The Martyr.

I beleue no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I shall aske:
Iesus Christ beinge here
vpon the earth, was he not
then as well sufficient to
heare the whole world, &
to be intercessour for all,
as he is now?

The Martyr.

Yes.

The Doctor.

But we finde, that when he
was here on earth,* his
Apostles made
intercession for the people,

& why may they not do
the same as well now also?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the
world, they exercised theyr
ministry; and prayed one
for an other, as needing
humayne succours
together: but now they
beyng in Paradise, all
theyr prayer that they
make, is this: that they
wish that they which be
yet on earth, may attayne
to theyr felicitie: but to
obtein any thing at the
fathers hand, we must
haue our recourse onely to
his sonne.

The Doctor.

If one man haue such
charge to pray for another
may not he then be called
an intercessor.?

The Martyr.

I graunt.

The Doctor.

Well then, you say there is
but one intercessour,
Wherupon I inferre, that I
being bound to pray for
[Page 923](#) an other, neede
not nowe to goe to Iesus
Christe, to haue him an
intercessor, but to God
alone, setting Iesus Christ
apart: and so ought we

verily to beleue.

The Martyr.

You vnderstand not sir,
that if God doe not behold
vs in the face of his owne
welbeloued sonne, then
shall we neuer be able to
stand in his sight. For if he
shall looke vpon vs, he can
see nothing but sin. And if
the heauē be not pure in
his eyes, what shal be
thought then of man so
abominable and
vnprofitable, which
drinketh iniquitie like
water, as Iob doth say?

Then the other Fryer
seeing hys fellowe to haue
nothing to aunswere to
this, inferred as followeth.

The Doctor.

Nay (my friend) as
touching the great mercy
of God,* let that stand, and
now to speake of our
selues this we know, that
god is not displeased with
them which haue their
recourse vnto hys sayntes.

The Martyr.

Syr, we must do not a••er
our owne willes, but
according to that which
God willeth and
commandeth. For this is
the trust that we haue in
him, that if wee demaund
any thing after his will, he

will heare vs. 1. Ioh. 5.

The Doctor.

As no man commeth to the
presence of an earthly king
or prince, without meanes
made by some about him:
so, or rather much more, to
the heauenly king aboue.
&c.

The Martyr.

To this earthly example I
will aunswere wyth an
other heauenly example of
the prodigall son: who
sought no other meanes to
obtain his fathers grace
but came to the father
himselke.

Then they came to speake
of adoration, which the
sayd Rebezies disproued
by the scriptures.*Act.
10.13.14. Apoc. 19 22.
Heb. 10.14.12. Where is to
be noted, that where the
martyr alledged the 12. to
the Heb. the Doctors
aunswere, that it was the
11. chap. when the place
in deed is neither in the 11.
nor in the 12. But in the
14. chap. of of the Actes.
So well seene were these
Doctors in their diuinitie.

The Doctor.

Touching the masse, what
say you? Beleeue you not
that when the priest hath
consecrated the hoste,* our

Lord is there as well, and
in as ample sorte as he was
hanging vpon the crosse?

The Martyr.

No verily. But I beleeeue
that Iesus Christ is sitting
at the right hand of his
father, as appeareth Heb.
10.1. Cor. 15. Colos. 3.
and therefore (to make
short with you) I holde
your masse for none
other,* but for a false and
a counterfeyted seruice set
vp by sathan, and retayned
by his ministers, by the
which you do anhilate the
precious bloud of Christ,
& hys oblation once made,
of his owne body: & you
know right well, that the
same is sufficient, and
ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

You deceiue your selues in
the word reiteration: for
we do not reiterate it so as
you thinke, as by example
I will shew. You see me
now in this religious
garment, but if I shuld put
vpō me a souldiors weede,
then should I be disguised,
and yet for al that I should
remayne the same still,
within my doublet that I
was before in my friers
weede. So is it with the
sacrifice,* we confesse
and graunt that Naturaliter,
that is naturally he was
once offered in sacrifice

and also is sitting
Naturaliter,* that is,
naturally, at the right
hande of his Father: but
Supernaturaliter, &
subscriptiue, that is
supernaturallie, wee
sacrifice the same, without
reiteration.

Supernaturaliter wee
sacrifice him: but that
sacrifice is but onelye
disguised, to vnderstand
that hee is containd
vnder that curtayne and
whitenes,* which you see.

The Martyr.

Sir this I say, that such a
disguised Sacrifice is a
diabolicall sacrifice, and
this you may take for a
resolution.

The Doctor.

And how is your belief
touching the holy supper?

The Martyr.

That if it be ministred vnto
me by the minister, in such
vsage, as it hath bene left
of Christ, and hys
Apostles, preaching also
the word purely withall,* I
beleue that in receauing
the materiall bread & wine
I receiue with liuely fayth,
the body and bloude of
Iesus Christ spiritually.

The Doctor.

Say corporally?

The Martyr.

No sir for his wordes be
spirite and life, and let this
content you.

The Doctor.

What say you? is it lawfull
for a priest to mary?

The Martyr.

I beleue it to be lawfull for
hym in such sorte,* as the
Apostle sayth: Whosoeuer
hath not the gifte of
continencie, let hym
marye: For it is better to
marye then to burne. And
if this doe not content you,
further you may read what
he writeth of bishops and
Elders. 1. T. 3. and Tit. 1.

And thus these Doctors
affirming, that he denyed
priesthood, gaue hym
leau to depart, saying,
god haue mercy on you.
So be it, sayd hee.

After this, about 22. of
October, the sayd Rebezies
and Fridericke Danuile
were brought vpp to a
chamber in the Castle, to
be racked, to the intent
they should vtter the rest
of the congregation. In y^e
which chamber they
founded three Counsellors,
who thus began with them:

Lift vpp thy hand, Thou
shalte sweare by the
passion of Iesus Christ,
whose image here thou
seest, shewing him a great
marmouset ther paynted in
a paper. &c. Whereunto
Rebezies aunswered,
Mounsieur I sweare to you
by the passion of Christ,
which is written in my
hart. Why doest y^u not
sweare to vs, sayd the
Counsellers, as wee saye
vnto thee? Because (sayd
he) it is a great blasphemy
agaynst the Lorde. Then
the counsellers read theyr
depositions, and first
beginning with Rebezies
said will thou not tell vs
the trueth, what
companions thou knowest
to be of this assemble?
Rebezies named, as hee
did before, Grauelle Clinet
(whiche were already
burnt) and Iohn Sansot. To
whome they sayd, that the
court had ordained, that if
he wold geue no other
aunswere but so, he
shoulde be put to the
torture or racke: and so he
was commaunded to be
stripped to hys shyrt,* &
hauing a Crosse put in his
hand, and being bid to
commend himselfe to
GOD and y^e virgine Mary:
but he neither wold receiue
the Crosse, nor commend
himself to y^e virgin Mary,
saying, y^t God was able
enough to gard hym & to
saue him out of the Lyōs

mouth, & so: being
drawne and stretched in
the ayre, began to cry,
Come Lorde, and shewe
thy strength that man doe
not preuayle &c. But they
cried, Tell trueth,
Fraunces & thou shalte be
let down. Neuertheles hee
continued still in hys
Inuocation and prayer to y^e
Lord, so that they could
haue no other word, but
that. And after thei had
thus long tormented him,
the Counsellors sayd, wilt
thou say nothing els? I
haue nothing els, sayd he
to say.* And so they
commaunded hym to be
loosed, and be put by the
fire side. Who being
loosed, sayde to them: Do
you handle thus the poore
seruauntes of God? And
the like was done to
Fredericke Danuille also,
hys companion, of whome
they could haue no other
aunsweare (who at the same
tyme was also very sick)
but as of the other. So
myghtely did God assiste
and strengthen hys
seruauntes, as euer he did
any els by theyr owne
letters and confession as
doth appeare. Ex litteris
Francis. Rebez. in Crisp.
Lib. 6.

These constant and true
martyrs of Christ, after
they had returned from the
torture, vnto theyr fellow
prisoners, ceased not to

thanke and prayse the
Lorde for hys assistaunce.
Fridericke did sigh
oftentimes, & being asked
of hys fellowes why he so
did, he sayde it was not for
the euill that he had
suffered,* but for y^e euils
y^t he knew they should
suffer afterward.

Notwithstanding (sayd he)
be strong brethren, and be
not afrayd, assuring your
selues of the ayd of god
which hath succoured vs,
and also will comfort you.
Rebezies with the rack was
so drawne and stretched,
that one of hys shoulders
was higher then the other,
and hys necke drawne on
the one side, so that hee
coule not moue hymselfe:
and therefore desiring his
brethren to lay hym vppon
hys bed, there he wrote
hys confession which
hitherto we haue followed.

When [Page 924](#) the night
came, they reioysed
together, and comforted
themselves with
meditation of the life to
come, and contempt of this
worlde, singing psalmes
together,* till it was day.
Rebezies cryed twise or
thrise together, away from
me Satan. Fredericke
beyng in bed with him,
asked why he cryed, and
whether Satan would stop
him of his course?
Rebezies sayd that Satan
set before him, his
parentes, but by the grace

of God, (sayd he) he shall
doe nothing agaynst mee.

The day next following,
they wer brought once or
twise before the
Councillers, & required to
shew, what fellowes they
had moe, of the sayde
assemble. Which when
they would not declare, the
sentence was read against
them, that they should be
brought in a dounge carte,
to Maulbert place, and
there hauing a balle in
their mouthes, to be tyed,
eche one to hys poste, and
afterward to be strangled,
and so to be turned into
ashes.

Afterward came the Fryers
and Doctors, Democaries,
Maillard and other, to
confesse them, and
offering to them a Crosse
to kisse, which they
refused, Then Democares
by force made Rebezies to
kisse it, whether he would
or no: crying to them
moreouer, that they should
beleue in the sacrament.
What sayd Fredericke, will
you haue vs to plucke
Christe Iesus out from the
right hand of his father?
Democares sayd, that so
many of their opinion had
suffered death before, and
yet none of them al, euer
did any miracles as the
Apostles and other holy
Martirs did. Fridericke
asked them, if they

required anye miracle. No
sayd they, and so stooode
mute, saue onelye that
Democares prayed them to
consider wel what they
had sayd vnto them.*
Maillard also added, that
he woulde gage his soule
to be damned, but it was
true. Fridericke
aunswered, that he knewe
it was contrary.

At last being brought to
the place of execution, a
Crosse agayne was offered
them, which they refused
Then a Priest standing by,
bad them beleue in the
virgine Mary. Let God
sayd they, reigne alone.
The people standing by ah
mischieuous Lutherane
sayd they. Nay a true
Christian I am, said he.
When they were tyed to
theyr stakes, after theyr
prayers made, when they
were bid to be dispatched:
one of them comforting
the other, sayde, be strong
my brother, be strong:
Satan away from vs. As
they were thus exhorting,
one standing by, sayd:
These Luthe'ranes do call
vpon Satan.* One Iohn
Morell (whiche afterward
dyed a martyr) then
standing by at liberty,
aunswered: I pray you let
vs heare (sayd hee) what
they say, and we shall
heare them inuocate the
name of God. Whereupon
the people listened better

vnto them to harkē, as wel
as they could, what they
said: they crying stil as
much as much as their
mouthes being stopped
could vtter,* Assiste vs O
Lorde: and so they
rendring vp their spirites to
the handes of the Lord, did
consummate their valiant
Martyrdome. Ex Crisp.
Lib. 6.

¶After the martyrdome of
these two abouesayd the
intention of the Iudges was
to dispatch y^e rest, one
after an other, in like sorte,
and had procured already
proces agaynst xij. or xiiij.
ready to be iudged. But a
certayne gentlewoman
then prisoner amōgst them,
had presented causes of
exceptions or refusals
agaynst them, wherby the
cruel rage of the enemies
was stayed, to the month
of Iuly following. In the
which meane time, as this
persecution was spread
into other countryes,* first
the faythfull Cantons of
Suitsiers, perceiuing these
good men to be afflicted
for the same doctrine
which they preached in
theyr Churches, sent their
Ambassadors to the kinge
to make supplication for
them.

The same time also, came
letters from the county
Palatine Elector, tendyng
to the same end, to

sollicite the king for
 them,* the king standing
 the same tyme, in great
 neede of the Germaines,
 for his warres, was
 contented at least, that
 they should proceed more
 gently with them, and so
 the fire for the same tyme,
 ceased. Most of them were
 sent to Abbayes, where
 they were kept at the
 charge of the Priours to
 bee constrainned to bee
 present at the seruice of
 Idolatry, especially the
 young schollers: of whome
 some shronke backe, other
 being more loosly kept,
 escaped away. The most
 part were brought before
 the Officiall, to make their
 confession, and to receiue
 absolution ordinary.
 Diuers made their
 confession ambiguous and
 doubtful. &c. Ex. Ioan.
 Crisp. lib. 6. Ex Patal. lib.
 xi.

- René Seau.
- Iohn Almaricke.

At Paris.

An. 1552.

These two young men
 were also of the
 company aboue
 specified,* and were in
 prison where they
 sustayned such cruelty
 beyng almost racked to
 death that Almericke
 coulde not go when hee
 was called to the courte
 to be iudged: and beyng
 vpon the racke, he
 rebuked their crueltye,
 and spake so freely, as
 though he had felt no

grief (and as they sayd
whiche came to visite
hym) he testified vnto
them, that hee felte no
dolour so long as hee
was vppon it. Both these
dyed in prison,
continuing still firme and
constant in y^e pure
confession of Christes
church. Ibidem.

Mention is made in the
French storye of one
Uillegaignon,*
Lieutenaut for the
Frenche kinge, who
made a vyage into the
land of Bresill, wyth
certaine French ships
and tooke an llande nere
to the same adioyⁿing,
and made therein a
fortresse. After they had
bene there a while
Uillegaignon, for lack of
victuals (as he
pretended) sent certayn
of them away in a shippe
to y^e riuer of Plate
toward the Pole
Antarticke,* a thousand
miles of: in the whiche
shipp were these foure
here mentioned: Who
forsaⁿking their shyp by
occasion of tempest,
were caryed backe
agayne, and so came to
the lāde of Bresill, and
afterward to theyr owne

Villegagnō a Frenche
captayne.

- Iohn Bordel.
Math· Vermeil.
- Peter Bourdon.
- Andrew de Fou.

At the countrey of
Bresill.

Ann. 1558.

countreyman.

Uillegaignon being much agreeued thereat, first charged them with departing without his leaue. Moreouer, being terrified in hys minde with false suspicion and vayne dreames, fearing and dreaming least they had bene sent as priuye spyes, by the Bresilians, because they came from them, and had bene friendly intertained of them: he began to deuise howe he might put them to death vnder some colour of treason: but the cause was religion: For albeit some tyme he had ben a professour of the Gospell, yet afterward growing in some dignitie, he fell to be an Apostata, and cruell persecutor of hys fellowes. But when no prooffe or coniecture probable could be found to serue his cruell purpose, he knowing them to be earnest protestantes, drew out certayn articles of religion for thē to aunswere: and so intrapping them vpon theyr confession, he layd them in irons and in prison, and secretly with

one executor, and his
page, he took one after
an other, beginning with
Iohn Bordell, & first
brought hym to the topp
of a rocke, and there
being halfe strangled,
without any iudgement
threw hym into the sea,
and after the like maner,
ordered also the rest. Of
whō 3. were thus cruelly
murdered & drow^lned:
to wit Iohn Bordel, Mat.
Uermeil, and Peter
Burdon. The 4. which
was Andrew de Fou, he
cau^lsed by manifold
allurementes, somewhat
to inclyne to hys
sayinges, and so he
escaped the daunger,
not [Page 925](#) without
great offence taken of a
great part of the
Frenchmen in that
country. Ex Crisp. lib. 6.
& Ex Cōment. Gallic. de
statu Religionis &
Reipub.

In the same yeare 1558.
suffered also Gefreye
Uaragle preacher in the
Ualley of Angroigne, at
y^e town of Thurin in
Piedmont, who first was
a monk• and sayd masse
the space of xxvii.
yeares. Afterward
returning from Busque,
to^lward Angroigne, to

Geffrey Varagle.*[_](#)

The kynges Lieuetenaut.

At Thurin in Piedmont

Ann. 1558.

preach, as he had vsed
before to doe, sent by
the ministers of
Gene'neua, and other
faythfull brethren: was
apprehended in the town
of Barges, & brought
before the kings
Lieutenant: Where he
was questioned with,
touching diuers Articles
of religion: as of
iustification, workes of
supererogation, freewill,
predestination,
confession, satisfaction,
indulgences, images,
purgatory, the pope. &c.
Whereunto he
aunswered agayne in
wryting, w^t such learning
and reason, alleaging
agaynst the popes owne
distinctions, namely,
Distinct 19. cap.
Dominus. Distinct. 21.
cap. In nono. Dist. 21.
cap. omnes. & cap.
Sacrosancta, that as the
story reporteth, the
court of Thurin
marueling at his learning
condem'ned him more
for reproch of shame,
then vppon true opinion
grounded of iudgement.
When hee was brought
to the place of
execution, the people
whiche stode by, and
heard hym speake,

declared openly that they saw no cause, why he should dye. A certayn olde companion of hys, a priest, calling him by hys name M, Geffrey, desired him to conuert from his opinions. To whome hee paciently aunswered a^l gayne, desiring him, that he would conuert from his condition. And thus after he had made hys prayer vnto God, and had forgeuen hys Executioner, and all his enemies, he was first strangled, and then bur^lned.* In the foresayd story, relation is made moreouer, concerning the sayd Geffrey, that at the tyme of his burning, a doue was seene (as was crediblye reported of many) flying & fluttering diuers times about the fire, testifying (as was thought) the innocency of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the storye addeth, that vpon suche thinges, we must not stay and so concludeth he the Martyrdome of this blessed man. Ex. Crisp. lib. 6. Pag. 897.

- [*Lanteaume Blanc.](#) Benet Romain a
- De Lauris, Counsalor

The lamentable storye of

and sonne in lawe, to Minors lord of Opede, the cruel persecutor.	Mercer or Haberdasher. Benet Romain is described at large, amonge other french martyrs, by I. Crispine printer: the briefe recitall wherof, here followeth. Thys Benet hauing wyfe & children at Geneua, to get hys liuing vsed to go about the countrey with certayne Mercery ware, hauyng cunning also amōg other thinges, how to dresse Corals, As he was cō'ming towarde Marscile & passed by y ^e town Draguignan, hee happened vpon one of the lyke facultie, named Lanteaume Blanc. Who beyng desirous to haue of his Corals and could not agre for the price, also knowing that he was one of Geneua, went to a coū'sailor of the courte of Aix, being then at Draguignan, whose name was de Lauris sonne in lawe to miners, Lorde of Opede,* the great persecutour agaynst Merindoll &c. Thus Lauris consulting together with the foresayd Blanc, & pretending to buy certain of his Corall which he sawe to be very fayre, and knowing also that he had to the worth of 300.
• Anthony Reuest, the Lieutenant. • Barbosi iudge, Ordi'nary of Draguignā. • Ioachim Partauier, the kinges Aduocate. • Causal, and Causalieri, Consuls. • The Official • Gasper Signiere Officer in Dra'guignan. • A Frier obseruaunt.	At Draguinan in Prouince. An. 1558.

crounes incontinent after
hys departing from him,
he sent to the officer of
y^e town to attache the
sayd Benet, as one being
the greatest Lutherane in
the world. Thus whē he
was arested, for the
kings prisoner Blanc and
hys fellowes, whi^lche
sought nothng but onely
the praye, were ready to
cease vppon hys goodes,
and likewise of the other
two men whō hee hyred
to bear hys merchandise.
Then were these three
poore men seperated a
sonder and Romaine
examined before the
Consuls, and y^e kings
Aduocate and other
Counsellors, where hee
kept hys Easter, whether
he receaued at the same
Easter whether he was
cōfessed before, &
fasted the Lent: also he
was bid to say his Pater
noster, * the Creede &
Aue Maria, which two
first he did, but denyed
to say Aue Maria. Then
was he asked for
worshipping of saintes,
women saints, and men
saints, and when hee
heard Masse: He sayd he
would worshipp none
but God alone. Masse he
heard none these 4.
yeres, nor euer would.

Wherupon he was
committed to a stin^{king}
house of easment, with
yron cheynes vpon his
legges. Lauris thus
hauing hys will vpon the
poore man, sent for the
Lieuetenaunt, named
Antony Reuest, told hym
what he had done, and
willed hym to see the
prisoner. The
Lieutenant being angry
that he did so vsurpe
vpon hys office, denyed
to goe with hym to the
prisoner, excusing the
filthy sauour of the
place. Notwithstanding
the same day, the
Lieuetenaunt with an
other went to the prison,
and caused the sayd
Romaine to come before
hym: of whom he
enquired many things, of
his dwelling, of his name
and age, hys wife and
children of hys facultie,
and cause of hys
comming, also of hys
religion, and all such
poyntes therto
belonging. Unto whom
he answered agayne
simply and truely in all
respectes, as lay in hys
conscience,* and
thereunto beyng
required (because he
could write) he put to
hys marke. After hys

confession, beyng thrise
made, and hys aunswer
taken, certayn faythfull
brethren of that place,
found meanes to come
to hym,* & counselled
hym y^t seing he had
sufficiently already made
confession of his fayth
he would seeke meanes
to escape out from his
enemies, which sought
nothing but hys death, &
shewed vnto hym what
he should say to the
Lieutenant but he
refused so to doe, willing
there to render accompt
of hys fayth, and
contented to dye for y^e
same.*

The fame of hys constancy
being knowne in the
towne, Iudge Barbosi, a
man blind and ignorant,
and no lesse deformed,
came to see hym, and
asked:* what? do they
beleue (sayd he) in any
God, in Gene'ua? Romaine
looking vpon him, what art
thou said he) that so
wretchedly doest
blaspheme? I am (sayde
hee) y^e Ordinary Iudge of
this place. And who hath
put thee (sayd Romaine)
suche a grosse and
deformed [Page 926](#) persō,
in such an office? Thinkest
thou that we be in'fidels,
and no christians? And if
y^e deuils themselues do

confesse a God, suppose
you, that they of Geneua
do deny their God? * No
no, we beleue in God, wee
inuocate his name, and
repose all our trust in hym.
&c. Barbosi tooke such
griefe with this, departinge
from Romiane, that hee
ceased not to pursue him
to death.

The Lieuetenaunt then
being vrged and much
called vpon, and also
threatned by this Barbosi,
and other prepared to
proceed in iudgement
against him taking to him
such Iudges and
Aduocates, as y^e order
there required. There was
the same time, an
obseruant Frier, which had
there preached all y^e Lent.
He being very eger and
dilligent to haue the poore
christian burned: & seing
the iudges intentiue about
the busines, to set the
matter forward, sayde that
hee would go & say masse
of the holy Ghost, * to
illuminate their intentes to
haue the sayde Romian
condemned, and burned
aliue at a little fire.
Moreouer he procured
Cauall and Cauallieri the
Consuls, to threaten the
Lieuetenaunt, that they
woulde complayne of him
to the high Court of
parliament, if hee would
not after that sort,
cōdemne hym to be burnt.

In the meane time, the faythfull Christians of y^t sayd towne, fearing least by his racking, daunger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romian again in the prison, certayne instructions, and meanes howe hee might be ayded, such as should not be against God. But when the Lieuetenaunt came,* the poore man forgot his instructions: so simple he was, and ignoraunt of the subtleties of this world.

When the time came that the Iudges were set, and the proces should be read, Barbosi, with other whō the Frier had procured, had agreed before y^t he shuld be fired aliue, and put to the racke, to disclose his fellowes, & also gagged that he might not speake & infect the residue. On the other parte, one there was of the aduocates (albeit a man wholly superstitious) se'ing the rage of the other,* gaue contrarye aduise, saying that he should be sent home agayne, for that hee was a town dweller of Geneua, neither had •ught there any kinde of doctrine, nor brought any bookes, neyther had they any informations agaynst him: & that which he had spoken, was as a thing cōstrayned by hys othe forced by the Iustice. And

as touchinge his opinion, it
was no other, but as other
younge men did follow,
which were eyther of the
one parte, or of the other:
and therefore that here
remayned no more but
onely the lieuetenaunt to
geue his verdict &c. Thus
much being spoken, and
also because the
Lieuetenaunt was before
suspected, and the tyme of
dinner drewe neare, they
arose for that tyme,
differring the matter to an
other season.* The Fryer
obseruaunt, in this meane
while was not idle,
incityng still the Consuls
and the people: who at the
ringing of a bell, being
assembled together, with
the Officiall and the
priestes, in a great route,
came crying to the
Lieutenaunt, to burne y^e
hereticke or els they would
fire him and all his family:
and in semblable wyse, did
the same to the other
Iudges and Aduocates:
The Officiall moreouer
added that if it were not
bet^ter seen to, then so, the
Lutheranes would take
such courage, and so shut
vp theyr Church doores,
that no man shold enter in.
Then, because the
Liuetenant would not take
to him other Iudges after
their min^ddes, in all
posthast, the people
contributed together, that
at their owne charge, the

matter should be pursued
at the parliament of Aix,
and so compelled the
Liuetenāt to bring the
proces vnto iudgemēt,
euery man crying to y^e fire
to the fire, that he may be
burned

The Lieuテナunt being
not able otherwise to
appease the people,*
promised to bring the
matter to y^e high court of
Aix, and so he did. They
hearing the information of
the cause, commaunded
the Lieuテナunt, and the
other Iudges to deal no
further therⁱn, but to sende
vp the proces and the
prisoner to thē. This went
greatly agaynst the mindes
of them of Draguignan,
which would fayne haue
him condem'ned there.
Wherupon Barbosi was
sent out to the parliament
of Aix, where he so
practised and labored the
matter, that the cause was
sent downe agayn to
Lieuテナunt, and hee
enioyned to take vnto hym
such auncient Aduocates,
as their olde order
requyred and to certifie
them agayne within 8.
dayes. And so Romiane by
the sentence of thoso olde
Iudges, was condemned to
be burned aliue,* if he
turned not if he did, then
to be strangled, and before
the executiō to be put vpon
the racke to the intent he

should disclose the rest of
his company. From the
whiche sentence Romian
then appealed, saying that
he was no hereticke.
Wherupon he was caryed
vnto Aix, singing the
Commaundementes,* as
he passed by y^e town of
Draguignā. Which when
the kings aduocate did see,
looking out of hys
window, he sayde vnto
hym, that hee was one of
them that concluded hys
death:* but desired God to
forgeue hym. Romiane
aunswered agayne and
sayd: God will iudge vs all
in y^e last day of Iudgemēt.
After he was come to Aix,
he was brought before the
Counsellors, before
whome he re|mayned no
lesse constant and firme,
then afore. Thē was a
fumishe Fryer sent, who
beeing three houres with
him, and could not remoue
him, came out to the
Lords, and sayd that he
was damned: By reason
whereof the sentence
geuen before his
condemnatō was
confirmed, and he sent
backe agayn frō whence he
came.

At his returne agayne from
Aix, the Consuls of
Draguignan sent abroad by
Parishes,* vnto the
Curates, that they should
signifie to theyr
Parishners, the day of his

death, to y^e end that they
should come: also caused
to be cryed through the
town, by y^e sound of a
trompe, that all good
Christians shoulde bring
wood to the great market
place, to burne the
Luthe'rane. The day being
come which was saterday,
the 16. day of May, the
poore seruaunt of God,
first was brought to the
racke or torture, where, at
his first en'tre, were
brought before hym. The
cordes, yrons, & waightes
to terrifie him. Then sayde
they, hee must vtter his
complices & renounce his
religion, or els he should
be burned aliue. He
answered wyth a constant
hart, that he had no other
complices, nor cōpanions,
neyther would he hold any
other fayth, but that which
Iesus Christ did preach by
his apostles. Then was he
demaunded of hys
fellowes taken w^t him,
whether they did hold y^e
fayth of Rome, or whe'ther
he did euer communicate
with thē, or did know them
in the towne, or in
prouince to be of his fayth.
He sayd no. Item, what he
had to doe in that towne.
He sayd, to sell hys Corall.
Item, who gaue hym
coū'sell to appeale. God,
he sayd, by his spirite.

Upon this he was put vpon
the gynne or racke where

he being torne most
outrageously,* ceased not
still to cry vnto God, that
he woulde haue pittie on
him, for the loue of Iesus
Christ his sonne. Then was
he commanded to call to
the virgin Mary: but that
he would not. Wherupon
his torture was renu'ed a
fresh, in such cruell sort,
that they thought they had
left hym for dead. For the
which they sent him to the
Barbers, and finding that
hee coulde endure no
longer, were afraid least he
had bene past,* and
hastened to bring him to
the fire. So after they had
assayd hym by priestes
and Fryers, as much as
they could to make him
reuolte, they helped the
hangman to beare him, all
broken and dismembred,
as hee was vnto the heape
of wood: where they tyed
him to a chayne of yron,
which was let downe
vppon the fagottes.
Romian seing himself to
be alone, lying vpon the
wood, began to pray to
God. Whereat y^e fryers
being moued, ranne to him
agayne to cause hym to
say, Aue Maria. Which
when he would not do,*
they were so furious, that
they plucked & tare hys
beard. In all these
anguishes, the meeke saynt
of God, had recourse still
to God in hys prayers,
beseeching him to geue

him paciēce. Thē left they
him lying as dead. But so
soone as they descended
down from the wood he
began to pray to God
agayne, in such sort, as
one would haue thought,
that he had felt no hurt.
Then an other greate
Fryer, supposing to doe
more wyth hym then the
rest, came vp to the wood
vnto hym, to admonish
him. Romian thought at
first that he had bene a
faythfull Christian, by his
gentle speach, but
afterward, when he vrged
him to pray to the virgyn
Mary, he desred him to
depart and let him alone in
peace. As soone as he was
departed. Romiane lifted
vp hys head and hys eyes
on hye, praying God to
assyste him in his great
temptation. Then a certayn
father, a Warden, to bring
the people in more hatred
cryed out and sayd: he
blasphemeth,* hee
blasphemeth he speaketh
agaynst the blessed virgin
Mary. Wherat Barbosi
cryed, stop hys mouth, let
hym be gagged [Page 918](#)
The people cryed to the fire
let him be burned. Then
the hangman set fire to the
straw,* and little stickes
that were about, which
incontinent were set on
fire. Romian still
remayned hanging in the
ayre, till he dyed and was
burned, all his nether

partes well neare, when he
was seene to lift vp his
head to heauen, mouing
his lips without any cry:
and so thys blessed saint
rendred his spirite to God.

Of this assemble there
were diuers iudgements &
sondry bruities. Some
sayde that if good men had
bene about him, it had
gone better with him, &
that those priests &
monks, which were about
him, were whoremaisters
& infamous. Other sayd
that he had wrong: and
that an hundreth of that
company there were,
which more deserued
death then he, especially
among thē which
condēned him. Other went
away marueling, &
disputing of his death and
doctrine. And thus was the
course finished of this
valiaunt & thrise blessed
martyr and seruaunt of the
Lord Iesus the sonne of
God. Ex Crisp. lib. 6, pag.
902.

- The Conuent of the Iacobin Friars at Dyion.
 - A Priest of Dyion.
- Fraunces Ciuaux.
At Dyion.
Ann. 1558.

*Thys Fraunces Ciuaux
was Secretarye to the
Frenche Ambassadour
here in England, in
Queene Maries time.
Who afterward beeing
desirous to heare y^e
worde of God, went to
Geneua. Also he was
placed to be Secretary to
the Senate or counsayle
of Geneua: wher he

continued about the
space of a yeare. Hauing
then certaine busines,
hee came to Dyion.

There was the same tyme,
a priest that preached at
Dyion such doctrine,
where at the sayd Fraunces
being worthely offended,
came friendly vnto the
priest and reasoned with
him, touching his doctrine,
shewing by the Scriptures
how and where he had
erred. The priest excused
himselpe, that he was not
so well instructed to
dispute, but he would
bring hym y^e next day, to a
certayne learned man,
whom he knew there in the
towne, and desired the
sayd Fraunces to go with
him to breakfast, where he
would be glad to heare
them two in conference
together: Whereunto when
Fraunces had consented,
the priest incontīnēt went
to the Iacobine Friers,
where the matter was thus
contriued,* that at the
breakefast time, Frances
there vnawares, should be
apprehended.

When the next day came,
y^e priest brought Fraūces,
according to his
appoyntmēt, to a Iacobine
frier, who pretending
much fayre friendship vnto
him, as one glad &
desirous of his cōpany,
besought hym to take a

breakfast with him the
next morowe, and there
they woulde enter
conference together. Wyth
this also Fraunces was
content, & to prepare
hymselfe the better to that
conflict, sat vp almost all
the night writing, with his
fellow, The next morow,
as Fraunces with his
fellowe were preparing
themselves toward the
breakfast, the Iacobin in y^e
meane time, went to the
Iustice of the towne to
admonishe him to be ready
at the time and place
appoynted. Thus, as the
Iacobin was standing at the
Iustices doore, the
companion of Fraunces
seeing the Fryer there
stand, began to mistrust
with himselfe, & tolde
Fraunces,* willing him to
beware the Fryer.
Moreouer, the same night
Fraunces had in his
dreame, y^t the sayde Fryer
shoulde commit him to the
Iustice. But hee, either not
caring for his dreames, or
els not much passing for
the daunger, committed
hymselfe to the handes of
God, and went. As they
were together disputing in
the Couent of the
Iacobines, Fraunces thus
betrayed of the priest, was
apprehen'ded, by the
Officers, caried to Prison,
and within seuen dayes
after, being Saterdag
before the Natiuity of the

Lord, was brought to the
place of execu'tion, where
first he was strangled, and
then burned. Ex scripto
testimonio Senatus
Geneuesis.

And as touching the fellow
& companion of this
Fraunces aboue
mentioned, he was also
apprehended with hym and
put in prison, but because
he was but a young nouice,
and yet not fully
confirmed, he recanted and
was deliuered.

- Priestes of Rochelle.
- Manroy, a priest.
- The Lieuetenaunt of Rochelle. Peter Arondeau.
- The Cardinall of Lorraine. At Paris.
- Magistri. Ann. 1559.
- S. Andre.

The town of Rochelle,*
as it is a place of great
commoditie because of
the Sea: so was it not
inferiour to other good
Townes in Fraunce, for
nourishing and suporting
the holy assembles of
the Lorde. Unto the
whiche towne, about the
yeare of our Lorde 1559.
resorted one Peter
Arondeau, a mā of base
condition, with a little
packet of mercery ware,
there to sel, who there
being knowen, to
adioyne hymselfe to the
church and congregatiō
of y^e faith, full, was
demaunded of certayne
Ministers of Antichrist,
whether he would goe
to heare Masse, or no.*
He sayd that he had
bene there to oste, to

hys great grief: and that
since the tyme that the
Lorde had taken the
vayle from hys eyes, he
knewe the Masse to be
abhorrible, forged in
the shop of the enemy of
all mankinde. They to
whome hee thus
answered, were
Priestes amongst whom
was one named Monroy,
who taking the other
there present, for
witnesses, brought hym
straight to the
Lieutenantaunt. The
depositiō being taken,
and information made, it
was decreed incontinent,
y^t his body shuld be
attached, And although by
one of hys friendes hee
was admonished to saue
himself, & to auoyd their
danger yet he ceased
not to put himself in his
enemies hands, & so was
led priso^r. As he was
in prison, many of the
faythful came to comfort
him: but rather he was
able to cōfort not onely
them, which came to
comfort him, but also
the other, which were
there prisoners with
hym. The Priests left no
diligence vnsought, to
stirre vppe the
Lieutenantaunt, which was
of himselfe, to much

inflamed in such matters.

Arondeau, after many interrogations & threatening wordes, and also fayre promises of his pardon still continued one man. Then the Lieuetenaunt seing his constancy condēned him to death. Arondeau praysing God for his grace geuen,* did not a litle reioyce y^t he might suffer in that quarrell, & in token of reioysing, did sing a Psalme, being fully resolved to accept y^t said condemnation, w^tout any appeale. But his frendes not pleased with his resolution, came to him, & so perswaded with hym, not to geue his lyfe so good cheape, ouer to his enemies handes, that hee was turned from that, & made his appeale. The appeale beyng entred, y^e Lieuetenaunt, seeking to grati^fie the aduersaries of y^e gospell, and especially y^e Cardinall of Lorraine, secretly,* by y^t backside of the town & out of the high way, conueyed y^e poore prisoner vnto Paris. Who being brought vnto Paris, by priuy iournies (as is sayd) was put into prison, committed to y^e custody of two Presidentes: to witte, Magistri, & S. Andre. By the meanes of whom, the sentence of the Lieuetenant was confirmed, & also put in

execution, the 15. day of
Nouember in they yeare
abouesayd: on the which
day, the sayd Arondeau
was bur'ned quick at y^e
place called S. Iohn in
Greue, at Pa'ris. The
constancy heroicall which
God gaue hym, & wherin
he indureed victorious
vnto death, was a mirrour
or glasse of paciēce to M.
Anne du Bourge
Counciller in the
Parliament of Paris, & to
diuers other then prisoners,
& was to them a
preparation toward y^e like
death, which shortly after
they suffred.

Not long after the happy
end of this blessed ma•tyr,
the forenamed Monroy,
whiche was the principall
accuser, & party agaynst
him, was stricken with a
disease called *Apoplexia
and thereupon sodeinly
dyed.

By this and many other
such like examples, the
[Page 928](#) mighty
iudgement of God most
evidently may appeare:
who albeit commōly he
doth vse to begin hys
iudgement with his owne
houshold in this worlde:
yet neither doth hys
aduersaries alwayes escape
thē selues the terrible hand
of his iustice.*

Also the Liuetenaunt,

which was his condemner,
 taryed not long after the
 priest, but he was arested
 personally to appeare
 before the kinges
 counsaile, through the
 procurement of a certaine
 Gentleman of Polonie,
 called Anthony de Leglise,
 agaynst whome the sayd
 Lieuetenaunt had geuen
 false and wrong iudgement
 before. By reason whereof
 the foresayd Gentleman so
 instantly did pursue hym,
 be'fore the Lordes of the
 counsaile, that all the
 extorsions & polinges of
 the Lieuetenant were there
 openly discouered, and so
 he condemned to pay to
 the gen'tleman a thousand
 French crownes of the
 sunne,* w^tin xiiii. dayes
 vpon payne of double as
 muche. Also he was
 deposed of his office, and
 there declared vnworthy to
 exercise any roial office
 hereafter for euer, with
 infamy and shame
 perpetuall. Ex Crisp. Lib.
 6. pag. 907.

	Thomas Moutarde.
A priest of Valencienes.	At Valenciennes.
	Ann. 1559.

In the towne of
 Ualenciennes, not far frō
 France,* the same yere
 which was 1559. in the
 month of October
 suffered Tho. Moutard.
 Who first being
 conuerted from a
 disordered life, to the
 knowledge of the
 Gospell, is to vs a
 spectacle of Gods great

☞ This Dutch story
 should haue gone
 before, w^t the Dutch
 Martyrs. But seeing
 Uallenciēnes is not
 far distant from
 Fraunce it is not
 much out of order,
 to adioyne the same
 with the French
 martyrs: who
 altogether at length,
 shalbe ioyned in the

gracious mercy toward his elected Christians. This Moutarde was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus, that his god of y^e host was nothing but abhominacion, which abuseth y^e people of God. These words were takē first as spoken in hys dronkennes.* But the next day after, whē the same words were repeted to him agayne, to knowe whether hee would abyde by the wordes there vttered, or no, hee sayd, yea. For it is an abuse (sayd hee) to seeke Iesus Christ any other where, then in heauen, sitting at the glory & right hand of God hys father: and in thys, he was ready to liue & dye. His proces being made, he was condemned to be burned quicke. But as he was caryed from the town house, to the place of punishment,* it was neuer seene a man with such constancie to be so assured in hart, & so to reioyce at that great honor, which God had called hym vnto. The hangman hasted as much, as was possible,	kingdome of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. Amen. ¶ Thus haue we (through the assistaunce of the Lord) deduced the Table of the French and also of y^e Dutch martyrs, vnto the tyme and reign of Queene Elizabeth, that is, to the yeare .1560. Since the which tyme, diuers also haue suffered, both in Fraunce, & in the lower countrey of Germany, whose story shal be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the tyme of Queene Elizabeth. In the meane season it shall suffice for this present to insert their names onely, which here do follow. The residue of the French Martyrs. ANne du Burge, Counsailer of Paris. Andrew Coiffier, Iohn Isabeau, Iohn Indet, Martyrs of Paris,* Geoffrey Guerien, Iohn Morell, Iohn Barbeuille, Peter
---	---

to binde him, & dispatch	Cheuet, Marin
him. The martir in the	Marie, Margarite
midst of y ^e flaming fire,	Riche, Adrian
lifting vp his eies vnto	Daussi, Gilles le
heauē, cried to the Lord,	Court Phillip
that he would haue	Parmentier, Marin
mercy on his soule: and	Rosseau, Peter
so in great integritie of	Milot, Iohn Ber ^t foy:
fayth and	Besides the tumult
perseueraunce, hee gaue	of Amboise, the
vp his life to God. Ex	persecution of
Ioan. Crisp. Lib. 6.	Vassi, Austin
	Marlorat, Master
	Mutonis.

The residue of the
Dutch Martyrs.

IAMES de Lo, of the
Ile of Flaunders,
Iohn de Buissons at
Antwerpe, Peter
Petit, Iohn Denys,
Gymon
Guilmin, Simeon
Herme of the Ile of
Flanders, Iohn de
Lannoy at Tournay.
Andrew Michell, a
blind man, at
Tournay, Frances
Varlut, at Tournay,
Alexander Dayken
of Bramchastle
William Cornu, in
Henault, Antony
Caron of Cambray,
Renaudine de
Francuile, Certayne
suffered at Tournay,
Michell Robilert of
Aras, Nicaise de le
Tombe at Tournay,
Roger du Mont.

¶To the Catalogue

of French Martyrs
 aboue rehearsed, the
 story of Merindoll
 and Cabriers,* wyth
 the lamentable
 handling of them,
 were also to be
 annexed. But
 because the
 tractation thereof is
 prolix, and cannot
 well be contracted
 into a short
 discourse therefore
 we haue deferred the
 same to a more
 conuenient roome,
 after the Table here
 following next of
 the Spanishe and
 Italian Martyrs.
 Where better
 oportunitie shalbe
 geuen, to prosecute
 more at full that
 Tragicall
 persecution, the
 Lord so permittyng.

¶A Table of such Martyrs, as for the cause of Religion, suffered in Spayne. The Spanishe Martyrs.[Page 933](#)[Page 934](#)

- Spanishe marchantes in Antwerp
- The Fryers of Antwerpe.

Franciscus San
 Romanus.

At Burges in
 Spayne.

AN. 1540. Thys Frances was sent by
 certayne Spanishe Marchantes of
 Antwerpe,* to Breme, to take vp
 money due to be payde of certayne
 Marchantes there. Where hee being at
 a Sermon, hearing M. Iacobus, priour
 sometimes of the Austen fri|ers of
 Antwerp, preache, was so touched &
 drawne (thorough the maruelous
 woorking of Gods spirite) at the
 hearyng thereof, albeit hauing no
 perfect vnderstanding of the Dutche
 tongue, that not onely hee

vnderstoode all that there was sayde,
but also comming to the preacher,* &
accompanying him home (all his other
worldly busines set apart) there
recited the whole contentes of hys
Sermon, euery thing, (as they sayd,
which heard the sayd mini|ster of
Breme preach) in perfect forme and
order, as he had preached. After this
little taste, and happy beginning, he
proceeded further, searching and
conferring with learned men, that in
shorte space, hee was growne in great
towardnes, & ripe knowledge in y^e
word of lyfe. The Minister marueling
at the sodayn mutation of the man,
and also seeyng the vehemency of hys
zeale ioyned withall, began to exhort
hym, howe to temper hymselfe with
circumspection, and discretion, still
more and more instructyng hym in the
worde and knowledge of the Gospell,
whiche he so gredely dyd receaue, as
one that coulde neuer be satisfied: &
so remayned hee with the minister 3.
dayes together, committyng hys
worldly busines and message that he
was sent for, vnto hys fellowe which
came wyth hym. Thus being inflamed
[Page 929](#) with an other desire, he
ceased to seeke for temporall trifles,
seking rather for such french or dutch
bookes, which he could get, to read:
and agayne, read y^e same so diligently,
that partly by the reading therof,
partly by M. Iacobus, and also by M.
Machabeus (which was there the same
time) he was able in short time, to
iudge in the chiefe Articles of our
religion: In so much, that he took vpō
him to write letters vnto his coutrymen

the Marchaunts of Antwerpe, in y^t
whiche letters, first he gaue thanks to
God for y^e knowledge of his holy
word,* which he had receiued.
Secondly he bewayled the great
cruelty, & grosse blindnes of his
countrymen, desiring God to open
theyr eyes and eares, to see &
vnderstand the word of their saluation.
Thirdly he promised shortly to come to
thē at Antwerp, to confer with them
touching the grace of God, which he
had receiued. Fourthly declareth to
them his purpose in going also to
Spaine, intēding there likewise to
impart to his parentes, and other frēds
at Burges, the wholesom Doctrine,
which the Lord hath bestowed vpon
him.

Beside this he addressed other letters
also to charles the Emperour,* opening to
him the calamities and miserable state
of Christes Church, desiring hym to
tender the quietnes thereof, especially
that he would reforme the miserable
corruption of the Church of Spaine.
&c. Ouer and besides al this, he wrote
there a Catechisme, & diuers other
treatises in the spanish tounge. And all
this he did in one monethes space,

In the meane time the Spanish
Marchaunts of Antwerpe, vnderstanding
by his letters, both hys chaunge of
religiō, & also his purpose of comming
to Antwerpe, sent him letters agayne,
pretending outwardly a fayre
countenance of much good will, but
secretly practising his destruction. For at
the day appointed of his cōming,
certaine Friers were set ready to receiue
him,* which tooke him comming downe
from his horse, rifled his books, had him

into a marchaūts house neare hād, where they examined hym: with whom he agayne disputed mightely, and when they found him not agreing to theyr fayth they boūd him hand and foote, crying out vpon him, and calling him Lutherane, & burnt his bookes before hys face, threatning to burne himselfe also. At this disputatiō within the house, diuers Spaniardes were present, which made the Friers more bold. Being demaūded to shew,* of what fayth and religiō he was: my fayth (sayd he) is to cōfesse and preach Christ Iesus onely and him crucified, which is the true fayth of the vniuersall Church of Christ through the whole world. But this fayth and doctrine you haue corrupted, taking an other abhominable kinde of life, and by your impiety haue brought the most part of the world, into blindnes most miserable: and to explaine his fayth to thē more expressely, he recited al the Articles of the Creed.

Which done, thē the Friers asked whether he beleued the Bishop of Rome to be Christes Uicar, and head of the Church, hauing all the treasures of the Church in his owne power, being able to binde and loose:* also to make new articles, & abolish the olde, at his owne will & arbitrement. Hereunto Fraunces aūswered agayne, that he beleued none of al this, but contrary did affirme, that the Pope was Antichrist, borne of the deuill, being the enemy of Iesus Christ, transferring to himselfe Gods honor: & which more ouer being incited by the deuill, turned all things vp side downe, & corrupted the sinceritye of Christes religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying the poore flocke of Christ.* &c. With the like boldnes he vttred his mind likewise agaynst the Masse &

Purgatory. The Fryers could suffer him meanely well to speake, till hee came to the pope, & began to speak against his dignity, & theyr profite: then could they abide no lōger, but thundred agaynst him woordes full of cruelty & terror. As they were burning of his bookes, and began also to cast the new testament into the fire. Fraunces seyng that, began to thūder out against them again. The Spaniardes thē supposing him not to be in his right senses, conueied him into a Tower 6. miles distant from Antwarpe,* where he was deteined in a deep caue or dungeon, with much misery, the space of 8. monethes. In which time of his imprisonment, many graue, and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would chaunge his opinion, & to speake more modestly. Fraūces answered againe, that he mainteined no opinion erroneous or hereticall: & if he semed to be somewhat vehement with the Friers, that was to be ascribed not to him so muche, as to theyr owne importunity: hereafter he woulde •rame himself more tempora••y. Wherupon the spaniards thinking him better come to himself,* discharged him out of prison. Which was about y^e time whē y^e Emperor was in his coūsel at Ratisbone. an. 1541.

San Romane thus beyng freede out of Prison, came to Antwerpe, where he remayned aboue twēty dayes. From thence he went to Louane, vnto a certaine frend of his, named Frāciscus Driander,* (who also afterward dyed a Martyr) with whom he had much conference, about diuers matters of Religion: who gaue him counsell not to alter the state or hys vocation, being called to be a marchaūt, which state he might exercise with a good conscience, & doe much good. And as touching

Religion, his counsell was that he should say or do nothing, for fauour of men, wherby the glory of God should be diminished: but so, that he required notwithstanding in the same, a sound and right iudgement, conformed to the rule of Gods word, lest it might chaūce to him, as it doth to many, who being caried with an inconfederate zeale, leaue their vocations, & while they think to do good, and to edifye, they destroy, & do harm, and cast themselues needles into daūger. It is God (sayd he) that hath the care of his Church, and will stirre vp faythfull Ministers for the same: neither doth hee care for such, which rashly intrude themselues, into that function without any calling.

This aduertisement of Dryander, Fraunces did willinglye accept, promising hereafter to moderate himselfe more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall heare. For passing from Dryander, he went to Ratisbone, and there hauyng tyme and oportunitie conuenient to speake to y^e Emperour, he stepped boldly vnto him,* beseeching hym to deliuer his country and subiectes of Spayne, frō false religion, and to restore agayne the sinceritie of Christes doctrine, declaring and protesting that the Princes and Protestantes of Germany, were in the truer part, and that the Religion of Spayne beyng drowned in ignoraunce and blindenes, was greatly dissonant from the true & perfect word of God, with many other words perteyning to y^e same effect. The Emperour all this while, gaue him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider vpon the matter, & so do, therin, as he trusted should be for the best.* This quiet answer of the Emperour, ministred to him no litle

incouragement of better hope, albeit he mighte perceiue there in the City, many examples to the cōtrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he wēt the second, & also the third time, vnto the Emperor: Who quietly agayne so aunswered him as before. And yet this our Fraunces not satisfied in his minde, sought with a greater ardency the fourth time, to speake to the Emperour, but he was repulsed by certayne of the Spanyardes about the Emperor, who incontinent with out al further hearing or aduising y^e cause, would haue throwne him headlong into the riuer of Danubius, had not the Emperor stayd them, & wylled him to be iudged by the lawes of the Empyre. By which commaundement of the Emperor, he was reserued & deteined with other malefactors, in bandes, till the Emperor tooke his voiage into Aphrike.* Thē Fraunces, with other captiues folowing the Court, after that the Emperor was come into Spayn, was there deliuered to the Inquisitours: by whō he was layd in a darcke prison vnder the ground. Oft & many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great iniuries and contumelies, but euer remayned in his conscience firme and vnmooueable. The Articles wherupon he stoode, and for which hee was condemned were these.*

That life and saluation in the sight of God, cōmeth to no mā by his own strength, workes, or rites: but only by the free mercy of God, in the bloud and Sacrifice of his sonne our mediator.

That the Sacrifice of the Masse, which
〈◇〉 Papistes do recount auayleable,
Ex opere operato, for remission of sinne, both to the quick and dead, is

horrible blasphemy.

[Page 930](#) That auricular confession,
with the numbring vp of sinnes, that
Satisfactiō, Purgatory, Pardons,
inuocation of Sayntes, worshipping of
Images, bee mere blasphemy agaynst
the liuing God.

Item, that the bloud of Christ is
prophaned and iniuried in the same
aforesayd.

After the Inquisitours perceaued, that by
no meanes he could be reclaimed from
his assertiōs, they proceded at last, to
the sentence, condemning him to be
burned for an hereticke. Many other
malefactors were brought also with him
to the place of executiō, but all they
were pardoned & dismissed: [*](#) he onely
for the Gospell, being odious to the
whole world, was taken & burned. As
he was led to the place of suffering, they
put vpon him a Miter of paper, paynted
full of deuils, after the spanish guise.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of
the Citty gate to be burned, there stood a
woodden crosse by the way, wherunto
Frances was required to do homage.
Which he refused, aunswering that the
maner of Christians is not to worship
wood, [*](#) and he was (sayd he) a
Christian. Hereupon arose great clamor
among the vulgare people, for that he
denied to wor|ship the wooden crosse.
But this was turned incōtinent into a
miracle. Such was the blind rudenesse
of that people, that they did impute this
to the diuine vertue, as geuen that
Crosse from heauen, for that it would
not suffer it selfe to be worshipped of an
hereticke: [*](#) and immediatly, for the
opinion of that great miracle, the
multitude with theyr swordes, did hew it

in pieces, euery man thinking himselfe happy, that might cary away some chip or fragment of the sayde Crosse.

When he was come to the place, where he should suffer,* the Friers were busye about him, to haue him recant: but he continued euer firme. As he was layd vpon the heape of woode, and the fire kindled aboute him, he began a litle, at the feeling of the fire, to lyfte vp his head toward heauē: Which when the Inquisitours perceiued,* hoping that he would recant hys doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fyre. But when they perceiued nothing lesse in hym, the aduersaryes being frustrate of theyr expectation, wil led him to be throwne in agayne, and so was he immediatly dispatched.

After that the Martyrdome of this blessed man was thus consummate, the Inquisitors proclaimed opēly that he was damned in hel, & that none should pray for him: yea and that all were heretickes, whosoeuer doubted of his damnatiō.* Neuerthelesse certayne of the Emperors Souldiors gathered of hys ashes. Also the English Ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought vnto him knowyng right well that he dyed a Martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the eares of the Inquisitors & of the Emperor. Wherefore the souldiers going in great daunger of life, were committed to prison, Neither did the Ambassadour himselfe escape cleare frō the daunger of the Popes scourge: For he was vpō the same sequestred frō the court & cōmaūded to be absēt for a space.* And thus much cōcerning the notable Martyrdome of this blessed San Romane▪ Ex Franc. Encena. Hispano, teste oculato.

An Inquisitour in Spayne.

Rochus.

At San Lucar in
Spayne.

An. 1545.

Rochus was borne in Brabant, his father dwellynge in Antwerpe. By his science hee was a Caruer or Grauer of Images.* Who as soone as he began, first to taste the Gospell, he fell frō making such Images as vse to serue for Idolatrye in Temples, & occupied himselfe in making seales: saue onely that he kept stāding on his stalle an Image of the virgin Mary artificially grauen, for a signe of his occupatiō. It happened vnhappe'ly, that a certayne Inquisitor passing by in the streete, & beholding the carued Image, asked of Rochus what was the price therof. Which when Rochus did set (not willing belike to sell it) the Inquisitour •ad him scarce halfe the mony. The other answered againe that he could not so liue of that bargayn. But stil the Inquisitor vrged him to take his offer. To whome Rochus agayne, it shalbe yours (sayd he) if you geue me that, which my labor and charges stand me in, but of that price I can not afforde it: yet had I rather break it in pieces. Yea sayth the Inquisitour? breake it, let me see thee. Rochus with that took vp a Chisell,* and dashed it vpon the face of the Image, wherewith the nose or some other part of the face was blemished. The Inquisitor seing that, cried out as he were mad, and commaunded Rochus forthwith into prison. To whom Rochus cried again, that he might do in his owne workes, what he listed. And if the workemanship of the Image were not after his fantasy, what was that to them? But all this could not helpe Rochus, but with in 3. dayes after,

sentence was geuen vpon him that he should be burned, and so was he committed to the executers. As Rochus was entring the place, there to be burned, he cryed with a loud voyce, askyng among the multitude, which there stoode by, if anye man of Flaunders, were there. It was aunswered, yea: and also that there were 2. ships already fraught and appoynted to sayle to Flaunders. Then sayd he,* I would desire some of them to signify to my Father dwelling in Antwerpe, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cause which you all haue heard. And thus after his prayers made to God, this good man being wrongfully condemned, after his godlye life, made this blessed end. an. 1545.

And leaste this so rare and straunge example of cruelty shall seeme to lacke credite, in the fifte booke of the history of Pantaleon, there is recorded that a certayne Spanyard comming to Antwerpe, made diligent inquisitiō there among the Image makers to finde out the parentes of this Rochus, & signified to them what had happened toward theyr sonne, as hath bene by his sayd parentes and frends, declared: In so much that it is also testified, that hys Father, at the hearing of the sayde message, for sorrow thereof, dyed shortly after. Ex Pantal. lib. 5.

☞ Furthermore besides these aboue recited,* and also before theyr time, I heare and vnderstand by faythfull relation, that diuers other haue bene in the sayd countrey of Spayne, whose hartes God had maruellously illuminate and stirred vp, both before, and also

since the comming in of the Inquisition,
to stand in defence of his Gospell, and
which were also persecuted for the
same, and are sayde to haue dyed in
prison: Albeit theyr names as yet are
vnknowne, for that the storyes of that
countray bee not yet come to light, but I
trust shortly shall, as partly some
intelligence I haue thereof. In the meane
tyme we wyll come now to the
Inquisition of Spayne, speakyng
something of the ceremoniall pompe,
and also of the barbarous abuse and
cruelty of the same.

¶The execrable Inquisition of Spayne.

THE cruell and barbarous Inquisition of
spayne,* first began by king
Ferdinandus and Elizabeth his wife, and
was instituted agaynste the Iewes which
after theyr baptisme, mainteined agayne
theyr owne ceremonies. But now it is
practised agaynste thē that be neuer so
litle suspected to fauor the verity of the
Lorde. The Spanyardes,* and especially
the great diuines there do holde, that this
holy & sacrate Inquisition cannot erre,
and that the holy Fathers the
Inquisitours cannot be deceiued.

Three sortes of men most principally be
in daunger of these Inquisitors. They
that be greatly rich,* for the spoyle of
theyr goodes. They that be learned,
because they will not haue theyr
misdealings and secret abuses to be
espyed and detected. They that begin to
encrease in honour and dignity, least
they being in authority, should worke
them some shame, or dishonor. The
abuse of this Inquisition is most
execrable. If any woord shall passe out
of the mouth of any, which may be
taken in euill part: yea, & though no
word be spoken, yet if they beare any

grudge or euill will agaynst the party,
incontinent they commaund [Page 931](#)
him to be taken, and put in an horrible
pryson,* and thē finde out crimes
agaynst him at leysure, and in the meane
time no mā liuing so hardy once to open
his mouth for him. If the Father speake
one word for his childe, he is also taken
and cast into prison, as a fauourer of
heretickes. Neyther is it permitted to
any person, to enter to the prisoner: but
there he is alone, in such a place, where
he cannot see so much as the ground,
where he is, and is not suffered either to
read or write, but ther endureth in
darknes palpable, in horrors infinite, in
feare miserable, wrastling with the
assaultes of death.

By this it may be esteemed, what
trouble and sorrow, what pensiue sighes
& cogitatiōs, they susteyne which are
not throughly instructed in holy
doctrine.* Adde moreouer to these
distresses and horrors of the prison, the
iniuries, threates, whippings and
scourginges, yrons, tortures, and rackes,
which they endure. Somtimes also they
are brough out, & shewed forth in some
higher place, to the people, as a
spectacle, of rebuke and infamy. And
thus are they deteyned there, some
many yeares, and murdered by long
tormentes, & whole dayes together,
entreated much more cruelly (out of al
comparison) then if they were in the
hangmās handes to be slayne at once.
During all this time, what is done in the
proces, no person knoweth, but onely
the holy fathers and the tormentors,
which are sworne to execute the
tormentes. All is done in secret, & (as
great misteries) passe not the handes of
those holy ones. And after all these
tormentes so many yeares endured in
the prison, if any man shall be saued, it

must be by gessing: For all the
procedinges of the Court of that
execrable Inquisition is opē to no mā,
but all is done in hugger mugger, & in
close corners, by ambages, by couert
waies, and secret counselles. The
accuser secret, the crime secret, the
witnes secret: whatsoeuer is done, is
secret, neither is the poore Prisoner euer
aduertised of any thing. If he can gesse
who accused hym, whereof & wherfore,
he may be pardoned peraduenture of hys
life: but this is very seldome: and yet he
shall not incontīnēt, be set at liberty,
before he hath endured lōg time, infinite
tormentes (and this is called theyr
penitence) and so is he let go: and yet
not so, but that he is enioyned, before he
passe the Inquisitors handes, that he
shall weare a garment with yellow
colours, for a note of publicke infamy,
to him, and his whole race. And if he
can not gesse right, shewing to y^e
Inquisitours by whom he was accused,
whereof, and wherfore (as is afore
touched) incontinent the horrible
sentence of condemnation is
pronounced against him, that he shall be
burned for an obstinate hereticke: and so
yet the sentence is not executed by and
by, but after that he hath endured
imprisonment in some haynous prison.

¶ And thus haue ye heard the forme of
the Spanish Inquisition.* By the vigour
and rigour of thys Inquisition, many
good true seruauntes of Iesus Christ
haue bene brought to death, especially
in these latter yeares, since the royall
and peaceable reign of this our Queene
Elizabeth. The names and storyes of
whom, partly we wil here recite,
according as we haue faythfull recordes
of suche as are come to our hands by
writing. The other which be not yet
come to our knowledge, we will deferre,

till further intelligence and oportunity,
by the Lords ayd and leaue, shall serue
hereafter.

An. 1559. Maij 21. In the towne of
Ualedolid, where commonly the
counsell of the Inquisition is wont to be
kept,* the Inquisitors had brought
together many prisoners, both of high
and low estate, to the number of xxx.
also the coffin of a certayne noble
womā, with her picture lying vpō it,
which had bene dead long before, there
to receiue iudgement and sentence. To
the hearing of which sentence, they had
ordeined in the sayd town, 3. mighty
Theatres or stages. Upon the first was
placed Dame Iane, sister to king Philip,*
and chiefe Regimēt of his realmes: also
Prince Charles, king Philippes sonne,
with other Princes and States of Spayne.
Upon the other scaffold mounted the
Archbishop de Seuille,* Prince of the
Synagoge of the Inquisitors, with the
Coūsell of the Inquisition: also other
Byshops of the landes, and the kinges
counsell with them.

After that the Princes, and other
spirituall iudges, & coūsellors were thus
set in theyr places, wyth a great garde of
Archers, and Halberdiers, and harnessed
souldiours: with 4. Herauldes also of
armes, geuing theyr attēdance to the
same, and the Earle of Buendia bearing
the naked sword, all the markette place
where the stages were, being inuironed
wyth an infinite multitude of all sortes
of the world there standing, and gasing
out of windowes, & houses to heare &
see the sentences & iudgementes of this
Inquisition: then after all, were brought
forth (as a spectacle and triumph) the
poore seruauntes and witnesses of Iesus
Christ, to the number (as is aforesayd)
of thirty, clothed with theyr Sanbenito,*

as the Spaniards do call it, which is a maner of vesture, of yellow cloth cōming both before them & behind thē, spangled with read Crosses, & hauing burning Cierges in theyr handes: also before them was borne a Crucifixe couered with blacke lynen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreouer, they which were to receiue the sentence of death, had Miters of paper vpō theyr heads, which y^e Spaniardes call Coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in theyr order, one vnder an other, according as they were esteemed culpable: So y^e first of all, stood vp Doctor Cacalla, an Austē Frier, a mā notable & singular in knowledge of diuinity, preacher sometime, to Charles the 5. Emperor, both in higher and lower Germany.

These thinges thus disposed, thē folowed a Sermon, made by a Dominicke Frier,* which endured about an houre. After the Sermon finished, the Procurator generall, with the Archbishop, went to the stage, where the Princes and Nobles stood, to minister a solēne othe vnto them vpō the Crucifixe painted in the Massebooke: the tenour of which othe was this. Your Maiestyes shall sweare, that you will fauor the holy Inquisitiō, & also geue your consēt vnto the same: and not onely that you shal,* by no maner of way, hinder and impeach the same, but also you shall employ the vttermost of your helpe & endeouour hereafter, to see all them to be executed, whiche shall swerue from the Church of Rome, & adioyne themselues to the sect of the Lutheran hereticks, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soeuer they be.

¶And thus much for the first Article of the othe. The second was this, as foloweth.

Item, your Maiesties shall sweare, that you shal constrayne all your subiectes, to submitt themselues to the Church of Rome, and to haue in reuerence all the lawes and commaundementes of the same: and also to geue your ayde agaynst all them, whosoeuer shal hold of the heresy of the Lutheranes, or take any part with them.

In this sort and maner, when all the Princes & states euery one in theyr degree, had receyued theyr othe, then the Archbishop lifting vp his hand, gaue them his benediction, saying: God blesse your highnesses, and geue you lōg life. This solemne Pagon thus finished, at last the poore captiues and prisoners were called out, the Procurator fiscall, or the Popes great Collectour, first beginning with Doctor Cacalla, and so proceding to the other in order, as here vnder in this Table followeth with theyr names, & theyr iudgementes described.

- The Inquisitours of Spayne.
- The Popes great Collector, or Procurator fiscall.
- The Archbishop of Senille.
- The bishop of Valence.
- The bishop of Orense.

1. Doctour Cacalla, a
Frier Augustine.

Before the Popes great Proctor or Collector fiscall, first was called forth Doct. Austen Cacalla. Thys Doctour was a Frier of Austens order,* and Priest of the towne of Ualledollid, and preacher sometimes to the Emperour Charles the 5. a man wel accoūted of for his learning. Who for that hee was thought to be as the standert bearer to the Gospellers (whō they called Lutherās) and preacher and Doctour vnto thē, therfore they [Page 932](#) being first called for, was brought from his stage, nearer to y^e proctor fiscal, there to heare the sentence of his

condēnation: which was, that he should be degra^lded, and presently burned, and all his goods confiscate, to the profit & auauncement of iustice.

2. Fraunces de Biuero, ^{*}priest of Valledolid, and brother to the foresayd Cacalla.

The second prisoner & next to Doctor Cacalla, y^t was called, was Fraunces de Biuero his brother, Priest also of Ualledolid, who receiued likewise y^e same sentence of condemnation. And to the intent he should not speake a^{ny} thing to the preiudice, or agaynst the abuse of the sacrate Inquisition, as he before had done both within and without the prisō, with much boldnes, & also because hee was much fauored of y^e people: to y^e end therfore, y^t no cōmotiō shold come by his speaking, hys mouth was so stopped & shut vp, that he could not speake one word.

3. Dame Blāche de Biuero.

The 3. was Dame Blanche, ^{*}Sister to the other two, aforesayd, a^gaynst whō also was pronounced the like sētence, as vpon her bre^thren before.

4. Iohn de Biuero. ^{*}

The fourth, was Iohn de Biuero, brother to the same kinred, who was also iud^ged an hereticke, and cōdemned to perpetuall prison, and to beare his Sanbenito all bys life long: whiche is an habillemēt of dishonor.

5. Dame Constance de Biuero, ^{*}sister to the same aforesayd.

Dame Constance de Biuero was the fifte, Sister to the other before specified, Widowe of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling sometime, at Ualledolid: who was also condēned with the like sentence with her brethren, to be burned.

The Inquisitours of Spayne.

*6. The coffin with the dead corpses of Dame Leonore de Biuro, the mother of these aforesayd.

The sixt thunderbolt of condemnation, was thundered out agaynst a poore coffine, with the dead corps of dame Leonore de Biuro, mother to these about named, beyng her selfe the sixt, & being already dead long before at Ualledolid. About her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corpses to be burned for an hereticke: And yet I neuer heerd of any opinion that this picture did holde, eyther with, or agaynst the Church of Rome. This good Mother while shee liued, was a woorthye mayntainer of christes gospell, with great integritye of life: and reteyned diuers assemblies of the sayntes in her house, for the preaching of the woorde of god. In fine, her corps and Image also being brought before y^e Fiscall, was condemned lykewise (as the Mother with her 7. chyldrē in the book of Machabees) to be burned for a Lutherane heretick, * and all her goodes to be seased to the behoofe of the Superiour powers, and also her house vtterly to be rased & cast down to the grouūd: & for memoriall of y^e same, a marible stone was appointed there to be set vp in y^e house, wherein the sayd cause of her burning should be ingraued.

7. Maister Aflonse Perez Priest of Valence.

In the seuēth place was condemned mayster Aflonse Perez priest of Valence: * first to be degraded, & after to be burned as an heretick, & all his goodes likewise confiscate and seased, to the behoofe of the superiority.

☞ When these 7. aforesayd had receiued theyr sentence, then the Bishop of

Ualence,* in his pontificalibus, caused Doctour Cacalla, Fraunces his brother, and Aflonse Perez, to be apparelled and reuested in priestly vesture. Which done, he tooke from them, first the chalice out of theyr handes, and so all theyr other trinckets, in order, according to theyr accustomed solemnity. And thus they being degraded, and all their priestly vnctions taken from their fingers, also their lippes and theyr crownes rased, so were theyr yellow habites of Sanbenito put ouer theyr shoulders agayne, with theyr Miters also of paper vpon theyr heades. This done, Doctor Cacalla began to speak, praying the Princes and the Lords,* to geue him audience: but that being not graunted to him, he was rudely repulsed, & returned agayne to his standing. Onely thus much he protested clearely and openlye, that his fayth, for which he was so handled, was not hereticall, but consonant to the pure and cleare word of God. For the which also he was prest and ready to suffer death, as a true Christian, and not as an hereticke: Besides many other worthy sentences of great consolation, which he there vttered in y^e meane space, while the Iudges were busy in theyr sentences, agaynst the residue of the Martyrs.

The Inquisitours of Spayne.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento Knight of the order of Alcantara.

The viij. that was brought before y^e foresayd Fiscall, was Don Peter Sarmiento knight of the order of Alcantara, dwelling at Ualence, and sonne of Marques de Poza, who was pronounced an hereticke,* & iudged to beare the marke & habite of dishonor all his life, and condēned to perpetuall prison, w^t the losse of his order & of all his goodes: To whome

moreouer it was enioyned neuer to weare any more gold, siluer, pearles or any precious stone about him.

9. Dame Mencia
wife of the sayd Don
Peter.*

Ninthly after hym was called dame Mēcia de Figueroa, Wyfe of the foresaid Don Pe|ter Sarmiento. Who likewise being proclaimed for an Heretique, was condemned to the same punishmēt as her husband was.

10. Don Louys de
Roxas, sonne and
heyre of the
Marques de Poza.

Next after her was called & brought out, Don Louys de Roxas,* sonne & heire of the Marques de Poza, who beyng also declared an hereticke, for y^e great sute and labour which was made for him, was condemned only to beare his Sābenito, vnto the town house, and his goodes to be confiscate.

11. Dame Anne
Henriques.*

After whom in the xi. place, folowed dame anne Hēriques, daugh|ter of the marques Alcanszes, and mother to the forenamed Marques de Poza, & Wife to Lord Alfonsus de Fonseca: Who in lyke sorte was declared an hereticke and condemned to beare her Sābenito, to the towne house, and her goodes to be confiscate.

The Inquisitors of Spayne.

12. Christopher
Dell.*

Christopher Dell, citizē of Samora was the xij. who after hee was declared an hereticke, was iudged to be burned, and his goods to be seased.

13. Christopher de
Padilla.*

The lyke sentence was also geuen vpon Christofer de Padilla citizen of Samora.

*14. Antony de
Huezuello.

The 14. was Antony de Huezuello bachelor of diuinity dwel|ling at Toro. Who after he was proclaimed heretick,

& his goodes confiscate, was condēned to be burned, and moreouer hadde hys mouth stopped, for y^t he should not speake, & make confession of his fayth vnto the people.

15. Katherine Romain.*
Romain.*

Then folowed Katherine Romain, dwelling in Pedrosa, called from her stāding who receiuing the like sentence was condemned to be burned, & all her goods confiscate.

16. Fraunces Errem.*
Errem.*

The 16. was Fraūces Errem, borne in Pegnaranda, whom they condemned to be burned aliue, and all her goodes likewise confiscate.

17. Katherine Ortega.
Ortega.

After her succeeded in the next sentence of Martyrdome,* Katherine Ortega dwellyng in Ualledolid, daughter of Hernando Piazio Fiscall, & widow of captaine Louys, pronouced with the other to be an heretick: and forsomuch as she was reckoned to be a Schoolemaistres to the rest, she was iudged to be burned, and her goodes confiscate.

- 18. Isabell Strada.
- 19. lane Valesques.

In the 18. and 19. place,* stoode Isabell de Strara, and lane Ualesques, both dwelling in Pedrosa, which likewise were condemned to be burned & all theyr goods confiscate.

20. A Smith.

A certayne workmā of white yron, or smith for interteining assembles in his house,* and for watching with thē receiued also with thē the like sentence, to lose both life & goodes for the Gospels sake.

21. A lew.

With these also was ioyned a

The Inquisitors of Spayne

22. Dame Iane de Sylua.

Portugale, named Goncalo Uaes of Lisbonne, whyche was borne a lewe, afterward Baptised, & then returned agayne to his Iudaisme: Who for more shame to the other, was put also in the same tale and number,* as the 2. theeues were ioyned w^t Christ and was also with thē condemned to be burned, & his goods seased.

After these, was called dame Iane de Silua, wife to Iohn de Biuero, Brother to Doctour Cacalla:* to whome it was enioyned to beare a mantle all her life, for penance & token of her trespas, & al her goods cōfiscate.

- 23. Leonore de Lisueros, wife of Huezuelo.
- 24. Marina de Saiauedra.
- 25. Daniell Quadra.

In like maner was called for,* Leonore de Lisueros, wife of the foresayd Antony Huezuelo, Batcheler of diuinity.

Item, Marina de Saiauedra, wife of Cy'sueras de Sareglío.

Itē, Daniell Quadra borne at Pedrosa: All which 3. persons were pronōūced heretickes and condemned to do penaunce in perpetuall Prison, with theyr mantles & cōfiscatiō of al their goods.

26. Dame Mary de Royas.

Dame Marye de Royas,* sister of Marques of Royas, because she was in a cloister, & was come of a good house, was therfore iudged to beare her mantle to y^e towne house, and al her goods confiscate.

27. Antony Dominike.

Antony Dominicke de Pedrosa beyng thē brought out,* was iudged and condemned to iij. yeares penaunce in prison, for his heresy, clothed with

the mantle of yelow, and al his goods
confiscate.

Last of all was produced Antony Basor,
who for that he was an Englishe man,
he was iudged to beare his mātle of
yellow to the towne house in penance
for his crime, & incontīnēt was thrust
into a cloyster for one yeare, to the
intent he might there be instructed in
y^e catholick ordinances of the church of
Rome as thei be called

28. Anthony
Basor, *an
Englishman.

After these sentences being thus
pronounced, they which were
condemned to be burned with the coffin
of the dead Lady, & her picture vpon
the same, were committed to the secular
magistrate, and theyr executioners,
which were commaunded to doe theyr
endeuour. Then were they all
incontinent takē, and euery one set vpon
an Asse, theyr faces turned backward,
with a great garison of armed souldiors,
vnto the place of punishment, which
was without the gate of the towne called
Del Campo.

When they were come to the place,
there were 14 stakes set vp of equall
distaunce one from an other, *
whereunto euery one seuerally being
fastened according to the fashion of
Spayne, they were all firste strangled,
and then burned and turned to ashes,
saue onely Antony Huezuelo. Who for
so much as he had both within and
without the prison, vehemently detested
the popes spirituality, therfore he was
burned aliue, and his mouth stopped frō
speaking. And thus these faythfull
Christians, for the verity & pure word of
God, were led to death, as sheep to the
shambles: who not onely most
christianly did comfort one an other, but

also did so exhort all them there present, that all men marvelled greatly, both to heare theyr singular constancy, and to see theyr quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that besides these aforesayd, there remayned yet behinde 37. other prisoners, at y^e sayd towne of Valledolid, reserued to an other Tragedy & spectacle of that bloudy Inquisition. Ex quinta parte Martir. Gallic Impresse pag. 474.

¶Furthermore, whereas the story of the sayde Inquisition being set out in the Frenche tongue doth reckon the number of the martyrs aboue mentioned, to be thirty: and yet in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but xxviij. here is therefore to be noted, that eyther this number lacked two of thirty: or els that 2. of the sayde company were returned backe without iudgement, into the prison agayne.

¶And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the church of Spayne, in theyr Inquisition agaynst the Lutheranes, that is, agaynst the true and faythfull seruauntes of Iesus Christ. Albeit there be other cuntryes also besides Spayne, subiect vnto the same Inquisition, as Neaples, and Sicily: in which kingdome of Sicilie, I heare it credibly reported that euery thyrde yeare are brought forth to iudgement and execution, a certeine number after the like sort of christian martyrs, some times 12. some times 6. some times more, and some times lesse. Amongest whome there was one, much about y^e same yere aboue mentioned. an. 1559. who comming from Geneua, vnto Sicilie, vpon zeale to do good, was at last layd hand of, and being condēned the same time, to the fire, as he should

take his death,* was offered there of the hangman to be strāgled, hauing the cord ready about his necke: but he notwithstanding, refused the same, and sayde that he would feele the fire: and so endured he, singing with all his might vnto the Lord, till he was beriued both of speach and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant souldiour of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, whiche beeing there present the same tyme, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify that he then saw.

¶Now it remayneth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious table, to cōprehend also such Martyrs, as suffered for the verity and true testimony of the Gospell, in the places and countryes of Italy: which Table consequently here next ensueth to be declared.

¶A Table of such Martyrs as suffered for the testimony of the Gospell in Italy. * The Italian Martyrs.[Page 939](#)

Persecutors.	Martyrs.	The causes.
Certayne popish Spaniardes. at Rome.	N. Encenas otherwise called Dryander. At Rome. An. 1546.	THis Encenas, or Dryander, a spaniard borne at Burges, was brother to Franciscus Encenas y ^e learned man,* so oft before mentioned, & was also y ^e teacher or instructor in knowledge of religi on, to Diazius the god ly martyr aboue recorded. He was sēt of his superstitious parents, beinge younge vnto rome. Who there after long cōtinuance grow ing vp in age & knowledge but especially be ing instructed by the lord in the truth of his woord, after hee was knowne to mislike the Popes doctrine, & the impure doinges at Rome, was apprehended and

taken of certayne of his owne country men, and some of his owne householde frends at Rome at the same time, when he was preparing to take his iourney to his brother Fraūces Encenas in Germany. Thus he being betrayed and taken by his coūtrymen, was brought before the Cardinals, and there committed straight to prison. Afterward he was brought forth to geue testimonye of his doctrine, whiche he in the presence of the Cardinalles, and in the face of all the Popes retinue, boldly and constantly defended. So that not onely the Cardinals, but especially the spaniardes, being therewith offended, cryed out vppon him that he should be burned. The Cardinalles, first before the sentence of death should be geuen, came to him, offering if he would take it (after the maner of the Spaniardes) the badge of reconciliation, whiche hath the name of Sanbenites cloth, made in forme of a mantle, going both before him and behinde hym, with signes of the redde Crosse. But Encenas styll constant in the profession of trueth, denyed to receiue any other condition or badge, but onely the badge of the Lord: which was to seale the doctrine of his religion, with the testimony of his bloud. At last, the matter was brought to that issue, that the faythfull seruaunt and witnes of Christ was iudged and condemned to the fire, where he in the sight of the Cardinals, and in the face of the Apostolicall sea pretended, gaue vp his life for testimony of the Gospell. Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Crisp. & alijs.

☞ And for so much as mention hath bene

made both in this story,* and many other before of Franciscus Encenas his brother: here is not to be pretermitted, how the sayd Franciscus being a man of notable learning as euer was any in Spayne being in the Emperors Court at Bruxels, offered vnto the Emperour Charles the fift the newe Testament of Christ translated into Spanishe. For the whyche he was cast into Prison, where he remayned in sorrowfull captiuity and calamitye, the space of fifteene [Page 935](#) monethes, looking for nothing more, then present death. At last through the merueilous prouidence of almighty God, the first day of February. ann. 1545. at viij. of the clocke after supper, he found the doores of the prison standing open, and he secretly was answered in his minde, to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himselfe: and so he issuing out of the prison without any hasty pase, but goyng as leisurely as he could, escaped from thence and went straight to Germany.

Pope Iulius the thyrd.

[*Faninus.](#)

At Ferraria.

An. 1550.

Faninus, borne in Fauentia, a towne in Italy through the reading of godly bookes translated into the Italian tongue (hauyng no perfect skill in the Latin) was conuerted frō great blindnes to the wholesome knowledge of Christ, and of his word: Wherein he tooke such a sweetnes and so grewe vp in the meditation of the same that hee was able in short time to instruct other. Neither was there anye dilligence lacking in him to communicate, that abroad which he had receyued of the Lord: being so in his mind perswaded, that a man receiuing by the spirite of God the knowledge and illumination of his veritie, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle vnder a bushell: And therefore being occupied

dilligently in that behalfe, albeit he vsed not publickely to preache, but by pryuate conference to teache, hee was at length by the popes clientes espied, apprehended and committed to prison. Albeit he remayned not long in the prison: For by the earnest perswasions and prayers of hys wife,* his children, and other frendes, he was so ouer come, that he gaue ouer, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison. After this, it was not long, but he fel into horrible perturbation of mind: In somuch that vnles the great mercy of God had kept him vp, hee had fallen in vtter desperation, for slipping from the trueth, and preferring the loue of his friendes and kinred, before the seruice of Iesus Christ, whome he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so deepe into his hart, that he could in no case be quieted before he had fully fixed and determined in hys mind to aduenture his life more faithfully in the seruice of the Lord.

Wherupon he being thus inflamed with zeale of spirite, went about all the countrey of Romaigna, publikely preaching the pure doctrine of the Gospell not w^tout great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring it so fell out, that he was apprehended againe,* an. 1547. in a place called Bagnacuallo, where also he was condemned to be burned, but he said his houre was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine, and so it was, for shortly after he was remoued vnto Ferrara, where he was deteined ij. yeares. At last y^e Inquisitours of the popes heresies condemned hym to death, an. 1549. and yet his tyme beyng not come, he remayned after that to the moneth of

September, an. 1550. In the meane time many faythfull and good men came to visite him: for the which the pope commanded him to be inclosed in straiter custody: wherin he suffered great tormentes y^e space of 18. monthes and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominick Friars might haue got him into their house, as they went about. Thus Faninus remoued from prison to prisō, many times chaunged his place, but neuer altered hys constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where were diuers great Lordes, Captaynes and noble personages there committed, for stirring vp commotions and factions (as the country of Italy is ful of such) who at first, hearing him speake, beganne to set him at light, and to deride him: supposing that it was but a melancholy humor that trobled his brain, wherupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them began to exhort him to leaue hys opinion, & to lyue with men as other men do, and not to vexe his mind but to suspend hys iudgement, till the matter were decided in a generall Councell To whome Faninus agayne, first geuing them thanks for their friendly good willes: wherwith they seemed to respecte hys well doying, modestly and quietly declared vnto thē how the doctrine which he professed was no humore nor opinion of mans brayne, but the pure veritie of God, founded in hys worde, and reuealed to men in the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and especially nowe in these dayes, restored: whiche veritie he had fully determined in his minde neuer to renye to beleeeue the lying phantasies of men. And as in his soule,*u whiche was redeemed by the bloud of the sonne of God, hee was free from all bondage: so likewise as touchyng Counsels, he looked for no other sentence nor autho^rity (he sayd) but that onely whiche hee knewe to be declared to vs by Christ Iesus, in hys Gospel, whiche

both he preached wyth hys word, and confirmed with hys bloud &c. With these and such other words he so moued theyr myndes, that they were cleane altered vnto a new kynde of lyfe, hauing hym nowe in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and recounted hym for an holye person. To whome hee proceeded still to preach the word of grace declaring and confessing hymselfe to be a miserable sinner, but by the fayth of the Lorde Iesus, & through the grace onely of hym, he was fully perswaded and well assured hys sinnes to be forgeuen: like as al theyr sinnes also shalbe remitted to thē through their fayth onely in Christ, beleuing hys Gospell.

There were other also besides these, who hauing vsed before, a more delicate kinde of lyfe, coulde not well away w^t the sharpenes and hardnes of y^e prison These also receaued such comfort by the sayde Faninus, that not onely they were quietly contented,* but also reioysed in this theyr captiuitie, by the occasion wherof they had receaued and learned a better libertie, then euer they knew before.

When the prisonment of thys Faninus was knowne to hys parentes and kinsfolke, hys wyfe & sister came to hym with weeping perswasions, to moue hym to consider and care for hys poore family, To whom he aunswered agayn, that hys Lord and mayster had cōmanded him not to deny hym for lookyng to his family, and that it was enough for them that he had once for theyr sakes fallen into y^e cowardlines, whiche they knew: Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and sollicite hym no more therein for hys end (he sayd) he knew to drawe neare, and so he commended them vnto the Lord.

About the same tyme dyed Pope Paulus

the 3. and after hym succeeded Iulius the 3. whiche then sent letters and commaundement,* that Faninus shuld be executed. Wherof, whē one of y^e magistrates officers brought hym word the next day, he reioysed therat, and gaue the messenger thanks, and began to preache a long sermon to them that were aboute hym, of the felicitie and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messēger exhorted hym, y^t in case he would change hys opinion, he should saue both thys lyfe, & enioy that to come. An other asked hym in what case he should leaue his little children and hys wyfe, or what stay should they be at, he so leauing thē: wherfore he desired hym to haue respect both to hymselfe, and to them. Faninus aunswered, y^t he had left them with an ouerseer, which woulde see vnto them sufficiently. And being asked who he was, the Lorde Iesus Christ (sayd he) a faythfull keeper and a conseruer of all y^t is committed to hym.* After that the messenger was thus departed from Faninus all full of teares and sorrow: the next daye following he was remoued into the common prison, and deliuered to the secular magistrate. Who in all his wayes, hys wordes, hys gestures and countenaunce, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, and tranquillitie of mynde, that they which before were extreme agaynst hym, thinking hym rather to haue a deuill, began nowe fauourably to harken to hym, and to commend hym. With such grace and sweetenes he cal•ed, euer speaking of the worde of God, [Page 936](#) that diuers of the Magistrates wyues in hearyng him, could not abstayne from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the publicke Scribes then came to hym and sayd, that if he woulde relent from his opinion, the Popes pleasure was, that he should be saued: but that he refused. This

was marueilous,* that he hauing but small skill in the Latine yet recited so many and sondry places of the Scripture without booke, and that so truely and promptly, as though he had studyed nothing els. One seying him so iocound and mery goyng to hys death, asked why he was so mery at his death, seing Christ himselfe sweat bloud and water before his passion? Christ (sayd he) sustayned in hys body,* all y^e sorowes and conflictes with hell and death, due vnto vs: by whose suffering we are deliuered from sorrowe and feare of them all. Finally, early in the morning hee was brought forth where he should suffer. Who after his prayers moste earnestlye made vnto the Lorde, meekly & patiently gaue himselfe to the stake, where with a corde drawne about his neck, he was secretly strangled of the hangman, in the Cittie of Ferraria, three houres before day, to the intent y^e people shuld not see him, nor heare him speake: and after, about dinner time, his body in the same place was burned. At the burning whereof, such a fragrant and odoriferous sent came to all them there present,* and so stroke theyr senses, that the sweetenes therof semed to refresh them no lesse, then hys words would haue done, if they had heard him speake.

The custome is of that cittie, that the bones and ashes which be lefte,* should be caryed out of the city but neyther the magistrate, nor the Byshop, nor hys great Uicar or Chauncellor, nor anye Diuine els, would take any charge thereof, euery man transferring that burden from themselues, to him whiche was the cause of hys death. Wherby it may appeare, what secret iudgement and estimation, all they had of that good blessed man. At last the people tooke his burned bones, with the cinders, and caried them out of the streete of the Citie. Ex Henri. Pantal, lib. 7. Ex Ioan

The name of the persecutor in the story
appea'reth not.

Dominicus de
Basana.*

At Placentia.

Ann. 1550.

The same yeare y^t the foresayd Faninus suffered in Ferraria, Dominicus also suffered in the Citie of Placentia. This Dominicus was Cittizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the Emperour in Ger^y many: where he receiued the first taste of Christes gospel. Wher^y in he encreased more & more by conferring & reasoning with learned men, so y^t in shorte tyme hee was able to instruct manye, and so did, working and traueling in the Church till at length in y^e yeare 1550. he comming to y^e City of Naples, there preached the worde, & from thence proceding to Placencia, preached there likewise vnto y^e people, of true confession, of Purgatorye, & of Pardons. Furthermore, the next day entreated of true fayth & of good workes, howe farre they are necessary to saluation, promising moreouer y^e nexte daye to speake of Antichrist and to paynt him out in his colours.* When the houre came that he should begin hys sermon, the magistrate of the cittye commaunded hym to come downe from the chayre in the market place, & deliuered him to the officers. Dominicus was willing & ready to obey the commaundement, saying that hee did much maruayle, that the deuill could suffer hym so long in that kind of exercise. From thence he was led to the bishops Chauncellour, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function. He answered that he was no priest o• the pope but of Iesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then

was he demaunded whether he would renounce hys doctrine. He answered, that he mayntayned no doctrine of hys owne, but onely the doctrine of Christ, whiche also he was readye to seale with hys bloud: and also gaue harty thanks to God, whiche so accepted hym as worthy to glorifie hys name with his martyrdome. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison. Where after he had remayned a few monthes, he was exhorted diuers tymes to reuoke: otherwise he should suffer: but still he remayned constaunt in hys doctrine.* Wherupon when the tyme came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market place, wher he preached, and there was hanged. Who most hartely praying •or his enemies, so finished his dayes in this miserable wretched world. Ex Pantal. lib. 7.

Santangelo is a certayne fortresse or castle in Italy, within Lom'bardy,* not farre from the Cittye called Laus Pompeia, belongyng also to the same dioces In this sort of Santangelo was an house of Augustine Friers vnto whome vsed muche to resorte, a certayne fryer of the same order dwelling at Pauia, na'med Maianardus, a man well expert in the study of scripture, and of a godly conuersation. By this Maianardus, diuers not onely of the Fryers, but also of other townesmen, were reduced to the loue & knowledge of Gods worde, & to the detestatiō of the popes abuses. Amōg whom was also this Galeazius, a gentle man of a good calling, & welthy in worldly substaunce and very

Galeazius
Trecius.

At the Cittye
called Laus
Pompeia, in
Italy.

Ann. 1551.

The byshop of Santangelo, & hys priestes.

beneficiall to the p^oore. Who first by conference with y^e fryers, and also with hys brother in law, began to conceaue some light in Gods truth, and afterwarde was confirmed more thoroughly by Caelius Secundus Cu^lrio, who then being driuen by persecution, came from Pauia, to the sayd place of Santangelo. In proces of tyme, as this Galeazius encreased in iudgement and zeale, in setting forward the wholesome word of Gods grace: as a light shining in darkenes, coulde not so lye hyd, but at last, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1551. certayne were sent from the forenamed Cittie of Laus Pompeia, to lay handes vppon hym,* and brought hym to the bishops Pallace, where he was kept in handes, hauing vnder hym but onely a pad o^o straw. Although his wife sent vnto him a good fetherbed, with shetes to lye in, yet the Byshops chaplaynes and officers kept it frō him, deuiding the pray among thēselues.

When the tyme came that he should be examined he was thrise brought before the Commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of hys fayth, answering to theyr interrogatories, w^t such euidence of Scriptures, & constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that that heard hym. Albeit not long after, through the importunate perswasions of hys kinsfolkes & frendes, and other colde Gospellers, laying many considerations before hys eyes:[*Page 937](#) he was brought at length, to assent to certain points of the popes doctrine. But yet the mercye of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him againe to suche repentance, & bewayling of his facte, that he became afterward, according to the example of Peter,* and S. Cyprian, and other,

doublewise more valiaunt in defence of
Christes quarrell: neither did he euer desire
any thing more, then occasion to be
offered, to recouer agayne by confession,
that he had lost before by denyall:
affirming that hee neuer felt more ioy of
hart, then at the tyme of his ex'aminations,
where hee stode thrise to the constant
confession of the truth: and contrary that
he neuer tasted more sorrow in al his life,
then when he slipt afterward from the
same, by dissimulation: Declaryng
moreouer to hys brethren,* that death was
much more sweete vnto him, with
testimony of the veritie then life with the
least denyall of truth, and loose of a good
conscience. Thus Galeazius mourning for
his fall in prison, after he heard of his
friendes, that nothing was yet so farre past,
but that he might recouer hymselfe
agayne, and that his infirmitie was not
preiudiciall, but rather a furtheraunce to
Gods glory, and admonition to himselfe to
stande more strongly hereafter, tooke
thereby exceeding comfort: And when
they would haue left with him a booke of
the new testament, for his comfort: he
refused it, saying y^t hee had it in hys hart,
whatsoever Christ there spake to hys
Disciples: Also what happened both to
Christ himselfe and to his Apostles, for
confessing y^e word of trueth.

Furthermore, so comfortable was hee after
that, that they which talked wyth him,
continued all the day without meate or
drinke, and woulde also haue taried all
the night following, if they might haue ben
suffered. As Galeazius thus continued in
the prison looking for some occasion to
recouer hymselfe agayn from his fall, it
followed in short time, that the Inquisitors
and priestes repayred to him againe in the
prison, supposing that he would confirme
now that whiche before he had graunted to
them, and required him so to do. Galeazius

renying all that hee had graunted to them before, returned agayne to the defence of hys former doctrine: with much more boldnes of spirite, confessing Christ as he did before: and detested Images, affirming and prouing y^e god onely is to be worshipped, and that in spirite and ve^ritie: Also to be no mo mediators but Christ alone, and that hee onely and sufficiently by his suffering,* hath taken away the sinnes of the whole worlde: & that all they which depart hence in this fayth, are ascertained of euerlasting life: they whiche doe not, are vnder euerlasting damnation: with suche other lyke matter, which was repugnant vtterly to the popes proceedinges. With this confession made, as hys minde was greatly refreshed, so the aduersaries wēt away as much apauled.* Who at last perceiuing that he in no case could be reuoked, caused hym to be cōmitted to the secular iudge to be burned.

Thus Galeazius early in the morning, beyng brought out of prisō to the market place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noone, as a gazing stocke for all men to looke vpon. In the whiche meane tyme, many came about hym, exhorting hym to recant, & not so to cast away his life, where as w^t x. wordes speaking he might saue it. And if he passed not for hys lyfe nor for hys country where he should lyue nor for his goodes and possessions, whiche shuld be confiscate, yet he shuld somewhat respect his wife whom he loued so well, and hys young children: at least he should consider hys owne soule. This counsayle gaue they whiche more esteemed the commodities of this present lyfe, thē any true soules health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing coulde stir the setlet minde of this valiaunt Martyr.* Wherefore fire was commaunded at last, to be put to the drye wood about him, wherwith he was shortly extincted

w^tout any noyse or crying, sauing onely these words heard in the middle of the flame: Lord Iesu. Thys was an. 1551. Nouemb. 24.

Touching the story of this blessed Martyr, thys by the way is to be geuen for a Memorandum. That a litle before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controuersie betweene the Mayor of the citty and the byshops clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should goe to his burning. He hearing thereof, sent word to both the parties, to agree, for hee hym selfe of his owne goodes woulde see the coste of that matter discharged.

An other note moreouer here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captiuitie, certayne of the Papists perceauing that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, vnder color to release her husband, y^t she should lay out a summe of mony to be sent to the wife of the chiefe Lorde of Millain (called Ferrarus Gonzaga) to the end y^t she should intreat both with her husband, and with the Senate for Galeazius life. Which money when they had thus iugled into theyr handes, so was the seely woman robbed and defeated both of her husband, and also of her money. Ex Caelio.

- Cornelius, professor of Bononie.
- Campeius Cardinall.
- Cardinall de Capo.
- Bonauentura Generall.
- Vi. Cardinals.
- Pope Iulius the thyrd.

- D. loannes Mollius Montilcinus,* beyng but 12. yeares olde, with hys brother Augustinus, was set of hys parents in the house of y^e graye Fryers, where hee in shorte tyme hauyng a fresh wit, far excelled his fellowes in al tongues and liberall scien'ces. So growing vp to the age of 18. he was ordeyned priest, & sang hys first Masse. After that hee was sent to Ferraria to studye, where hee so profited in the space of 6. yeres, that hee was assigned by Uigerius, General
- A certayn Weauer of Perusium.

At Rome.

Ann. 1553. of y^e order, to be Doctor and then reader in Diuinitie: who then w^t his sophistry opposed hymself as an vtter enemy against the gospell. From thence hee went to Brixia, & the next yeare following to Millayn, where he read or professed openly. Againe, from hence hee was taken by Franciscus, Sfortia, and brought to the Uniuersitie of Papia, there openly to confesse Philosophy. Where hee remayned foure yeares.*
After that he was called to the Uniuersitie of Bononie by Laurentius Spatha, Generall of that order, whereas he was occupied in readyng the bookes of Aristotle De Anima. In the meane tyme God wrought in hys soule suche lyght of hys word, and of true Religion, that hee waxing weary of professing Philosophy, began secretly to ex^l pound the Epistle of S. Paule to the Rom. to a few which beyng knowne, hys auditors increased so fast that he was compelled to read openly in the Tēple, Whereas the number of his audience dayly augmēted, so the eger feruency of theyr mindes so mightely encreased withall, that euery man almost: came with hys penne and inke to write, and great dilligence was bestowed how to come betyme, to take vp the first places, where they might best heare, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1538. There was y^e same tyme at Bononie,* one Cornelius an arrogant babler, who enueying the doynges of this Ioannes, tooke vppon hym, at the request of Cardinall Campeius, to expound the sayd Epistle of Sainct Paule confuting and disprouing the explanation of y^e sayde Iohn, and extolling the pope

withal his traditions. Contrary, Iohn extolled and commended onely Christ, and hys merites to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect. For the auditors whiche first came to him, beganne by little to fall from hym and the concourse of the other mans auditors, more and more encreased.

Which when Cornelius perceaued, hee perswaded Campeius, that vnlesse hee provided that man to be dispatched, the estimation of the Church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bryng theyr purpose about, secretly thys way was deuised, that Cornelius & Ioannes shuld come to opē disputatiō: which disputatiō endured til 3. of the clocke after midnight. At length, when neyther [Page 938](#) part coulde agree, Ioannes was bid to returne home to his house. Who as he was come downe to the lower steps, where the place was most straitest so that his frendes could not come to rescue him (although by drawing theyr swords they declared their good willes) was theyr taken and layd fast in prison. When the day came,* suche tumulte and stirre was in the whole Cittie, that Cornelius was driuen to hide himselfe. Also Campeius the Cardinall, with the bishop there, were both contemned of the studentes. The next day, y^e Bishop of Bononie sent his Chaūcelour to Iohn in the prison, to signifie vnto him, y^t either he must recant, or els burne. But he beyng of a bold & cheerefull spirite, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing greeued him, that hee should be condemned, his cause being not heard.

In the meane season, Laurentius Spatha aboue mentioned, being generall of that order, in most spedy wise posted vp to

Rome, & there so practised with the
Cardinall S. Crucis, the Proctor in the
court of Rome, for the gray Fryers, that the
Pope wrote downe his letters to Campeius,
that he shoulde deliuer the sayd Iohn out
of prison: so that he notwithstanding,
within 3. monthes after, should personally
appeare at Rome.* Thus the 30. daye of
hys imprysonment he was deliuered: who
but for comming of the popes letters, had
bene burned within 3. daies af'ter.
Moreouer, with the sayde Mollius,
Cornelius also was cited, to make hys
appearance likewyse at Rome, and there
was detained in prison by the Car'dinall S.
Crucis, till hys cause shoulde be decided.
The frendes of Mollius gaue hym
counsayle not to go to Rome, & offred
hym mony to go to Germany: but he
would not, saying that the Gospell must
also be preached at Rome. After he was
come to Rome, & appeared before Pope
Paule 3. humbly hee desired,* that the
cause being so weighty, might come in
publicke hearyng, but that could not be
obtayned. Then was he cōmaunded to
write his minde in Articles, and to bring
his proofes: which he dilligētly performed,
entreating of Originall sinne, Iustification
by sayth, Free will, Purgatory and other
such like: prouing the sayd articles by the
authoritie of the Scripture, and of auncient
fathers, and so exhibited the same to the
bysh. of Rome. Upon this, certain
Cardinals and Bishops were assigned to
haue the cause in hearing, who disputed
with him 3. dayes, & could not refell that
which he had prooued. At last, answere
was made vnto him thus, that it was trueth
which he affirmed, neuerthelesse the same
was not meet for this present tyme, for that
it coulde not be taught or published,
without the detriment of the Apostolicke
sea: wherefore he should absteyne
hereafter from the * Epistles of S. Paule,
and so returne agayne safe to Bononie, &

there professe * Philosophy. Thus, as he was returned to Bononie, and al men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all thinges in order as they were done, and gaue God thanks.

Herewith Campeius beyng more offended then before, obteyned of the Pope, that the generall of the order should remoue the sayd Iohn Mollius from Bononie, and place him some other where. So Mollius from thence was sent to Neaples,* & there was appoynted reader and preacher in the Monastery of S. Laurence. But Petrus the Uiceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so neerely sought his death that he had much adoe to escape with lyfe, and so departing frō thence, he went wandring into Italy from place to place, preaching Christ, whersoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinall Cāpeius was dead he was called againe vnto Bononie by a good Abbot named De Grassis. an. 1543. where hee renued again y^e reading of S. Paules Epistle, after a secret sort,* as he did before, but y^t could not be long vndisco'uered. Whereupon by y^e meanes of Cardinall de Capo, and by Bonauentura the generall, he was apprehended the second tyme, and brought to Fauentia, & layd there in a filthy & stincking prison, where he continued foure yeres, no man hauing leaue once to come to him. During which tyme of his indurāce he wrote a Commentary vpon the bookes of Moses but that labour by the malignitie of the aduersaryes was suppressed.* At length through the intercession of the Earle Petilianus, and of the foresaid good Abbot De Grassis, he was agayn deliuered, and sent to Rauenna, where he made hys abode a few months with the Abbot ad S. Vitalem, & there agayne taught the Gospell of Christ, as before: * and whensoever hee spake of the name of Iesu,

hys eyes dropt teares, for he was fraught
with a mighty feruency of gods holy
spirite.

In proces of tyme, when this Abbot was
dead, his sureties began to be weary of
theyr bond, and so was he agayne now the
thyrd tyme, reduced into pri'son by the
popes Legates. There were then 4. men of
great authoritie, who beyng styrrd vp of
GOD, had pittie vpon hym, and bayled
hym out of prison. Of whom, one of the
sayd sureties tooke y^e sayd Mol'lius home,
to instruct hys children in the doctrine of
religion, and good letters. Furthermore, at
the fame of this man, suche a concourse of
people came to see him, that the
aduersaryes beganne to consult wyth
themselues, to kill hym, least hys doctrine
shuld disperse farther abroad, to the
detriment of the Church of Rome.

Wherupon commaundement was sent to
the popes Legates, to lay handes vpon hym
and to send hym vp fast bound to Rome.

Where agayne,* now the fourth tyme, he
was imprisoned in the Castle of Nome, and
there continued 18. monthes, being greatly
assaulted, sometimes with flattering
promises, sometyme with terrible threatens,
to geue ouer hys opinion, but hys building
could not be shaken, for it was grounded
vpon a sure rocke. Thus Doct. Mollius
beyng constant in the defence of Christes
Gospell, was brought,* w^t certayn other
men (which were also apprehēded for
religion) into the Temple of S. Mary
(called De Minerua) the 5. daye of
Septemb. an. 1553. either there to reuoke,
or to be burned There sate vpon them 6.
Cardinals in high seates, beside the Iudge:
before whome preached a Dominicke
Fryer, which cruelly inueighing agaynst
the poore prisoners, incensed the
Cardinals, with al the vehemency he
might, to theyr condemnation. The poore
men stode holding a burning taper in

theyr handes: Of whome some for feare of death reuolted. But this Doctor Mollius, with a Weauer of Perusium, remayned constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, where^{••} hee confirmed the Articles of the fayth, by y^e sacrete scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successour of Peter, but Antichrist: and his sectaryes do figure the whore of Babilon.* Moreouer he cited thē vp to the Tribunall seate of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from hym. Wherupon they being replenished with anger, condemned hym with the Weauer to the fire, and commaunded them to be had away. So were they caried incontinent to the camp or fielde called Florianum. Where they remayned cheerefull and constant. First the Weauer was hanged.* Mollius then willing the hangman to execute hys office lykewise vpon hym, began to exhorte the people to beware of Idolatry, & to haue no other sauours but Christ alone: for he onely is the mediator betweene God and man. And so was he also hanged commending hys soule to God, and afterward layd in the fire and burned. The people hauing diuers iudgementes vpon hym, some sayd he dyed an hereticke, some sayd he was a good man. Ex Henr. Pantal. lib. 19. an. 1543.

Two monkes
of the house of
S. Austen in
Rome.

At Rome.

Ann. 1554.

Furthermore, in the same Cittye of Rome,* and about the same time, in the Monastery of Saint Austen, were found two Monkes in their Celles with theyr tonges and theyr heades cut of, onely for rebukying the immoderate & out[!]ragious excesse of the Cardinals, as witnesseth Manlius. Suche was the cruelty then of the malignant aduersaryes. Ex Ioan. Manl. in dictis Phil. Melanct.

The Senate of Millain.

Franciscus
Gamba.*

At the City of
Comū in the
dioces of
Millian.

Ann. 1554.

Fraunces Gamba borne in the Cittye of Brixia in Lobardie, after he had receaued the knowledge of the gospell, went to Geneua, to conferre about certain necessary affayres with them that were wise & learned in that Church which was about the time, whē the Lordes Supper there was administred at Penticoste: Who there also at the same tyme, did communicate with them. Afterwarde in hys returning home, as he was passing ouer the Lake of Come, hee was taken & brought to Come, and and there cōmitted to ward. During the tyme of which imprisonment, diuers and sondry as well nobles, as others with Doctors also, especially priestes and monkes, resorted vnto hym, laboring by all maner of meanes,* & most fayre promises to reduce him frō his opinions: which semed to some but phantasies, comming of some humors, to some they semed vncatholicke or hereticall. But hee constantly disputing w^t them by the manifest scriptures declared the opinions whiche he defended, not to be any vayn speculations or imaginary phantasies of mans doting brayne, but y^e pure verity of God, and y^e euident doctrine of Christ Iesus expressed in hys word, necessary for all men to beleue, & also to maintayn vnto death: and therefore, for hys part, rather then he would be found false to Christ, & his word he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to Christs Gospel, to the effusion of hys bloud. Thus when he coulde in no wise be reclaymed frō y^e doctrine of trueth, letters came from the Senate of Millain, that he should be executed w^t death.

Which execution, as they of Comum were about to prepare, in y^e mean while came other letters from Geneua, writtē by the Emperours Ambassadour, and other nobles of Millain by y^e which letters his death was delayed for a tyme till at length, other letters were sent from the Senate againe of Millain, requiring execution of y^e sen^tence. Neuertheles, through intercession of his friendes, one weekes respite more was graunted hym, to proue whether he might be wonne agayne to the popes Church, that is to say, lost from God. Thus he being mightely & long assayled both by friendes, & by enemies terrified,^{*,} yet by no perswasions would be expugned, but gaue thanks to God, y^t hee was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this world, and cruell death, for the testimonye of hys sonne, and so went he chearfully vnto hys death. Then came certayn Franciscan Fryers to hym, to heare his confession, whiche he refused. Also they brought in theyr handes, a crosse for him to behold, to keep hym from desperation, at the feeling of the fire. But hys mynde (he sayd) was so replenished with ioy and comforte in Christ, that he needed neither their Crosse, nor thē After this, as he was declaring manye comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of those heauenly ioyes aboue, whiche God hath prepared for hys, because he should speake no more to the people, hys tongue was bored thorough, and so immediately be^yng tyed to the stake, there was strāgled till he was dead, euery man there geuing testimony,^{*,} which saw hys constancie, that he dyed

a good man. Ex Epistola cuiusdam
Nobilis Comensis apud Henr. Pantal. Lib.
10. & Celium.

Pomponius Algerius borne in Capua,* a
young man of great learning, was
student in the Uniuersitie of Padua,
where hee not beyng able to conceale
and keepe close the veritie of Christes
Gospell, whiche he learned by the
heauenlye teaching of Gods grace,
ceased not both by doctrine and
example of lyfe, to informe as many as
he could, in the same doctrine, and to
bring them to Christ. For the whiche he
was accused of heresie, to Pope Paulus
the fourth. Who sending immediately to
the Magistrates of Uenice, caused hym
to be apprehended at Puada, & caryed
to Uenice, where hee was long
deteyned in prison & bandes, till at last
the Pope commaunded y^e Magistrates
there to send hym vp boūd vnto Rome:
which the Uenetians eftsoones
accomplished. After he was broughe to
Rome, manifolde perswasions and
allurementes were assayed to remoue
the vertuous and blessed younge man,
from hys sentence. But when no
worldly perswasions could preuayle
against the operation of Gods spirit in
hym, then was hee adiudged to be
burned aliue, which death most
constātly he susteyned to the great
admiration of all that beheld hym.

- Pope Paulus the 4.
- The Magistrates of Venice.

Pomponius
Algerius.

At Rome.

Ann. 1555.

Being in prison at Uenice, he wrote an Epistle
to the afflicted Saintes, whiche for the
notable sweetnes & most wonderfull
consolation contained in the same, in shewing
forth the mighty operatiō of gods holy power
working in hys afflicted Sayntes, that suffer

for hys sake: I haue thought good and expedient, to communicate, as a principall monument amōgst al other Martyrs letters, not onely with y^e other letters, which shalbe inserted hereafter (y^e Lord willing) in the end of the booke, but also in this present place to be read, to y^e entent that both they which be, or shalbe hereafter in affliction, may take consolation also, and also that they whiche yet followe the trade of this present world, in comparing the ioyes & cōmodities therof, with these ioyes here expressed, may learne and consider with themselues, what difference there is, betwene them both, and therby may learne to dispose themselues, in such sort, as maye be to theyr edification, and perpetuall felicitie of theyr soules. The copy of the letter, first written in Latine we haue translated into English: the tenour wherof here vnder ensueth.

¶A comfortable letter of Pomponius Algerius an Italian Martyr.

¶To his most dearly beloued brethren, and fellow seruantes in Christ, which are departed out of Babylon, into Mount Sion: Crace, peace, and health, from GOD our Father, by Iesus Christ our Lord and Sauour.

TO mitigate your sorrowe, whiche you take for me, I cannot but impart vnto you some portion of my delectations and ioyes, which I feele and finde, to the intent you with me, may reioyce, and sing before the Lord, geuing thanks vnto him. I shal vtter that, which no man will beleue when I shall declare it. I haue found, a nest of hony and hony combe in the entrals of a Lyon. Who will euer beleue that I shall say? or what man wil euer think in the deepe darcke doungeon, to finde a Paradise of pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquillitie and hope of lyfe, in a caue infernall, to be found ioy of soule? and where other men doe weepe, there to be reioysing? where other do shake and tremble, theyr strength and boldnesse to be plenty? Who will euer thinke, or who will beleue thys? in suche a woefull state, suche delectation? in a place so desolate, such societie of good men? in strait bands and cold yrons? such rest to be had? Al these thinges, the sweete hand of the Lorde (my sweet brethren) doth minister vnto me. Behold, he that was once farre from me, now is present with me. Whome once scarce I could feele, now I see more apparantly: whome once I saw a farre of, now I beholde neare at hand: whome once I hungered for, the same nowe approacheth [Page 940](#) and reacheth his hand vnto me He doth

comfort mee, and heapeth me vp with gladnes, he driueth away all bitternes, hee ministreth strength and courage, he healeth me, refresheth aduanceth, and comforteth me. O how good is the Lord, whiche suffereth not his seruantes to be tempted aboue theyr strength? O how easie and sweete is his yoke? Is there any like vnto the hiest, who receaueth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like vnto hym? Learne ye welbeloued, howe amiable the Lord is, how meeke and mercifull he is, whiche visiteth his seruantes in tentations, neither disdayneth he to keepe company with vs in such vile and stincking caues. Will the blynd and incredulous worlde (thinke you) beleue this? or rather will it not say thus? No thou wilt neuer be able to abide long, the burning heate, the cold snow, and the pinching hardnes of that place the manifold miseries, and other greuaunces innumerable: the rebukes, and frowning faces of men howe wilt thou suffer? Doest thou not consider and reuolue in thy minde thy pleasaunt Country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolke the dellicate pleasures, and honours of this lyfe? Doest thou forget the sollace of thy sciences, and fruite of all thy laboures? Wilt thou thus loose all thy labours, which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nightes watched thy paynfull trauailes, and all thy laudable enterprises, wher'in thou hast ben exercised continually, euen from thy childhood Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth ouer thee, and that for no crime committed? O what a foole art thou, which for one word speaking, mayest salue all this, and wilt not? What a rude & vnmanerly thing is this, not to be intreated at the instant petitions and desires of suche, so many and so mighty, so iust, so vertuous, so prudent, and gracious Senatoures, and suche noble personages? &c.

But now to aunswere, let this blinde world harken to this againe: What heate can there be more burning, then that fire, whiche is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewise what snowe can be more colde, then thy hart whiche is in darckenes, and hath no light? What thyng is more hard and sharpe, or crooked, then thys present lyfe, which heare we leade? What thing more odious and hatefull, then this world here present? And let these wordly men here aunswere me: what country can we haue more sweete, then the heauenly countrey aboue? what treasures more riche or precious, then euerlasting lyfe? And who be our kinsmen, but they which heare the word of God? where be greater riches, or dignities more honorable, then in heauen? And as touching the sciences, let this foolish world consider, be they not ordayned to learn to know God? whom vnles we do know, all our laboures, oure night watchinges, our studyes, and all our enterprises serue to no vse or purpose, all is but labour lost. Furthermore let the miserable worldly man answere me, what remedy or safe refuge cā there be vnto him, if he lacke God, who is the life and medicine of all men? And howe can he be sayd to flye from death, when he hymselfe is already dead in sinne? If Christ be the way, veritie and lyfe, how can there be any lyfe then, without Christ? The sooly heate of the prison, to me is coldnes: the colde winter to me is a freshe spring time in the Lorde. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he feare the heate of weather? or what careth hee for the pinching frost, which burneth with the loue of the Lord? the place is sharpe and tedious to them that be giltye, but to the innocent and giltles, it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dewe, here floweth the pleasaunt Nectar, here runneth the sweete milke, here is plenty of al good thinges. And although the place it selfe be deserte and barren, yet to mee it seemeth a large walke, and a valley of pleasure: here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confesse, if there be anye plot pastor, or medowe so delightfull to the mind of man, as here? Here I see kinges, princes, Citties, and people, here I see warres, where some be ouerthrown, some be victors some thrust downe, some lifted vp. Here is the mount Sion: here I am already in heauen it selfe. Here standeth first Christ

Jesus in the fronte. About him stande the olde fathers, Prophetes and Euangelistes, Apostles, and al the seruauntes of God. Of whō some do embrace & cherish me, some exhort me, some open the Sacramentes vnto me, some comfort me, other some singing about me And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, & such as these be? The beholding of whome, to me is both solace, and example For here I see some crucified, some slayne, some stoned, some cut a sonder and quartared, some rosted, some broyled, some put in hoat caulderns, some hauing theyr eyes bored thorough, some their tongues cut out, some their skinne plucked ouer theyr heades, some theyr handes and feete chopt off, some put in kilnes and furnaces, some cast downe headlong, and geuen to the beastes, and foules of the ayre, to feed vpon, It woulde aske a long time if I should recite all.

To be short diuers I see, with diuers and sundrye tormentes excruciate: yet notwithstanding, all liuing and all safe. One playster, one salue cureth al their woundes: which also geueth to them strength & life, so that I susteyne all these transitory anguishes, & smal afflictions, with a quiet mind, hauing a greater hope layd vp in heauen. Neither do I feare mine aduersaries which here persecute me and oppresse me: For he that dwelleth in heauē shal laugh them to scorne, and the Lord shall deride them I feare not thousands of people, which compasse me about. The Lord my God shal deliuer me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth vp my head. He shall smite al thē that stand vp against me without cause, & shal dash the teeth & iawes of sinners a sunder: for he only is all blessednes and maiestie. The rebukes for Christes cause make vs iocant: for so it is writtē, If ye be rebuked & scorned for the name of Christ, happy be you, for the glory and spirite of God resteth vpon you. 1. Pet. 4. Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes which are layd vpon vs, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firme to me, and therfore I trauaile vp to the new Ierusalem, which is in heauen, & which offereth it selfe vnto me, without paying anye fine or Income. Behold I haue entred already in my iourney, wher my house standeth for me prepared, and where I shall haue riches, kinsfolks delites, honours neuer fayling. As for these earthly thinges here present, they are transitory shadowes, vanishing vapours, and ruinous walles, Briefly all is but very vanitie of vanities, where as hope, and the substance of eternitie to come, are wanting, Which the mercifull goodnes of the Lord hath geuen, as companions, to accompany me, and to comfort me, and now doe the same begin to worke and to bring forth fruites in me. I haue trauayled hetherto, laboured and swette early and late, watching day and night, & and now my trauailes begin to come to effect. Dayes and houres haue I bestowed vpon my studyes. Behold the true countenance of God is sealed vpon me, the Lord hath geuen myrth in my hart. And therefore in the same will I lay me downe in peace and rest. Psal 4. And who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our yeares be cut off? What man can nowe cauill, that these our labours are lost, which haue followed & founde out the Lord and maker of this worlde, and whiche haue chaunged death with lyfe? My portiō is the Lord (sayth my soule) & therfore I will seek & wayt for him Now then, if to dye in the Lord, be not to die but to lyue most ioyfully: where is this wretched wordly rebell, which blameth vs of folly, for geuing away our liues to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lords cup, whiche is an assured pledge of true saluation? for so hath the Lord himself forewarned vs, saying: The same that they haue done to mee, they will also do vnto you. Wherfore let the doltish worlde, with hys blynd worldlings (who in the bright sun shine, yet goe stumblyng in darcknes, being as blinde as betels) cease thus vnwisely to carp against vs, for our rash suffering, as they count it. To whome thus we aunswere agayne with the holy Apostle: That neyther tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakednes,

nor ieoperdy, nor persecution, nor sworde, shalbe able euer to seperate vs from the loue of Christ. We are slain al the day long, we are made like sheep ordayned to the shābles. Rom. 8. Thus do we resemble Christ our head which said. That the Disciple cannot be aboue his master nor the seruant aboue his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that euey one shall take vp his crosse, and followe him Luc. 9. Reioyse, reioise (my deare brethrē, & fellow seruants) & be of good cōfort, when ye fal into sondry tentations. Let your pacience be perfect on all parts. For so is it foreshewed vs before, & is writtē: That they which shall kill you, shal think to do God good seruice. Therefore afflictions, & death be as tokens & sacraments of our election, & life to come. Let vs then be glad, & sing to the Lord, whē as we being cleare frō al iust accusation, are persecuted & geuen to death. For better it is, that we in doyng well, do suffer, if it so be the will of the Lord, then doing euil. 1. Pet. 3. We haue for our example, Christ and the prophets, whiche spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquitie did quell and murder: and now we blesse and magnifie them, that then suffred, Let vs be glad and ioyous in our innocencie, and vprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute vs: let vs referre all reuēgement to him.

I am accused of foolishnes, for that I do not shrink frō the true doctrine & knowledge of God, & do not rid me selfe out of these trobles, whē with one word, I may. O the blindnes of man, which seeth not the sunne shyning, neither remēbreth the Lords words. Consider therfore what he sayth. You are the light of the world: A city builded on the hil cannot be hid: Neither do men light a candle, & put it vnder a bushell, but vppon a candlesticke, that it may shyne, and geue light to them in the house. And in an other place he sayth: you shalbe led before kinges & rulers, feare ye not them, which kill the body, but hym whiche killeth both body and soule, Who soeuer shall confesse me before men, him will I also cōfesse before my father whiche is in heauen: And hee that denyeth me before men, him will I also deny before my heauenly father. Wherefore, seing the words of the Lord be so playne, how or by what authoritie will this wise counsellor thē approue this hys counsayle, which he doth geue? God forbid that I shuld relinquish [Page 941](#) the commaundements of God, and folowe the counsailes of men. For it is wrytten: Blessed is the manne that hath not gone in the wayes of sinners, and hath not stande in the counsailes of the vngodly, and hath not sit in the chaire of pestilence. Psal. 1. God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confesse him. I wil not set more by my life, then by my soule: neither will I exchange the life to come, for this worlde heere present. O howe foolishly speaketh he, which heere argueth me of foolishnesse?

Neither doe I take it to be a thing so vncomely or vnseeming for me not to obey in this matter, the requests of those so honourable, iust, prudent, vertuous and noble Senatours, whose desires (he sayeth) were inough to commaunde me. For so are we taught of the Apostles: That we ought to obey God before men. After that we haue serued and done our duetie first vnto God▪ then are we bounde next to obey the Potestates of this worlde: whome I wish to be perfecte before the Lord. They are honourable, but yet are they to be made more perfecte in the Lord They are iust, but yet Christ the seat of iustice is lacking in them. They are wise, but where is in them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the feare of the Lorde? They are called vertuous, but yet I wish them more absolute in Christian charitie. They are good and gracious: but yet I misse in them the fōudation of goodnes, which is the Lord God, in whome dwelleth all goodnes and grace. They are honourable, yet haue they not receiued the Lord of glory, which is our Sauour most honourable and glorious. Vnderstande you kings, and learne you that iudge the earth. Serue the Lord in feare, and reioyce in him with trembling Hearken to doctrine, and get knowsledge, least

you fall into Gods displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness. What fret you, what fume, you O Gentils? O you people, what cast you in your braines the cogitations of vanity? you kings of the earth, and you princes, why conspire you so together against Christ, and against his holy one? Psal. 2. Howe longe will you seeke after lies, and hate the trueth? Turne you to the Lorde, and harden not your hearts. For this you must needs confesse, that they which persecute the Lordes seruants, do persecute the Lorde him selfe. For so he sayeth himselfe: Whatsoeuer men shall doe to you, I will count it to be done, not as vnto you, but to my selfe.

And nowe let this carnal politticke counsellor and disputer of thys worlde, tell, wherein haue they to blame me, if in mine examinations I haue not answered so after their minde and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not our selues that speake, but the Lord that speaketh in vs, as he himselfe doth fore witnesse saying: When ye shall be brought before rulers and Magistrates, it is not you your selues that speake, but the spirit of my father, that shall be in you▪ M. 10 Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithfull of his word, as it is most certain, then is there no blame in me: for he gaue the wordes that I did speake, and who was I, that coulde resist his will? If any shall reprehende the things that I sayde, let hym then quarell wyth the Lorde, whome it pleased to worke so in me. And if the Lorde be not to be blamed, neither am I heerein to be accused, which did that I purposed not, and that I forethoughte not of. The thinges whiche there I did vtter and expresse, if they were otherwise then well, lette them shewe it, and then will I say, that they were my wordes, and not the Lordes? But if they were good, and approoued, and such as can not iustly be accused, then must it needes be graūted, spite of their teethe, that they proceded of the Lorde: and then who be they, that shall accuse me? A people of prudence. Or who shall condemne me? Iust iudges. And though they so doe, yet neuerthelesse, the worde shall not be frustrate, neither shall the Gospel be foolish, or therefore decay: but rather the kingdome of God shall the more prosper and flourish vnto the Israelites, and shall passe the sooner vnto the electe of Christe Iesu: And they which shall so doe, shall proue the greuous iudgement of God, neither shal they escape without punishment, that be persecuters and murderers of the iust. My well be loued, lift vp your eyes, and consider the counsailes of God. Hee shewed vnto vs a late, an Image of his plague, which was to our correction. And if we shall not receiue him, he will drawe out his sworde, and strike with sworde, pestilence, and famine▪ the nation that shall ryse against Christe. These haue I wrytten to your comforte, deare brethren. Pray for me, I kisse in my heart, with an holy kisse, my good maisters, Siluius, Pergula, Iustus, also Fidel Rocke, and hym that beareth the name of Lelia, whō I know, although being absent. Itē, the gouernor of the Vniuersitie, Syndicus, & all other, whose names be writtē in the booke of life. Farewel all my fellow seruants of God: fare ye wel in the Lord, & pray for me continually. From the delectable horchyard of Leonine prison. 12. cal. Aug. An. 1555.

¶ It is wrytten of one Thebrotus, that when he hadde read y^e booke of Plato, De immortalitate animae, hee was so moued and perswaded therewith, that he caste hym selfe downe headlong from an high wall, to be rid out of thys present life. If those heathen Philosophers, hauing no worde of God, nor promise of any resurrection and life to come, coulde so soone be perswaded by reading the wordes of Plato, to cōtemne this world and life here present: how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many evidences and promises of Gods most perfect word, that they shoulde learne to cast of the carnall desires and affections of this miserable peregrination, and that for a double respect, not onely in seeing, reading, and vnderstanding so many examples of the miseries of thys wretched worlde: but also much more

in considering, and pondring the heauenly ioyes and consolations of the other world, remaining for vs hereafter to come. For a more full euidence wherof, I thought good to geue out this present letter of Algerius aboue prefixed, for the taste of the same, and a liuely testimony for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let vs proceede further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Persecutours.	Martyrs.	The causes.
	Ioannes Aloisius. At Rome. An. 1559.	Of Ioannes Aloisius we finde mention made in a letter of Symonne Florillus: whiche Aloisius was sente downe frō Geneua, to the parties of Calabria, there to be their minister, who afterwarde was sent for vp to Rome, and there suffered. Ex Epist. D. Simonis Florilli.
	Iacobus Bouellus. At Messina. An. 1559.	Iacobus Bouellus was likewise sent frō Geneua to the sayde parties of Calabria, with Aloisius, who also being sent for, vp to Rome, was sente downe to the Citye Messina, and there was martired. Ibidē.
Pope Pius the fourth.	Diuers that suffered in the kingdome of Naples. At Neaples An. 1560.	After Pope Iulius the third, came Marcellus the second. After him succeeded pope Paul the fourth. This Paule being dead, folowed Pope Pius the fourth. Who being aduaunced to y ^e rowme, began hoate persecution in all the territories of the Church of Rome, agaynste them whyche were suspected for Lutheranes. Whereuppon ensued great trouble and persecution in the kingdome of Neaples, in such cruell sorte, that many noble men with their wiues, & others are reported there to be slaine. Vide Pantali. lib. 11.
Pope Pius the fourth.	Lxxxviij. Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, slaine like sheepe. 1600. other, also condemned. At Calabria. An. 1560.	In Calabria likewise the same tyme, suffered a blessed nūber of Christes welbeloued saintes, both old and yong, put together in one house, to the number of 88. persōs, al which, one after an other, were Page 942 taken out of the house, and so being layd vpon the butchers stall, like the shepe in the Shambles, wyth one bloody knife, were all killed in order. A Spectacle most tragicall, for all posteritie to remember, and almost incredible to beleeeue. Wherefore for the more credite of the matter, least we shall seeme eyther light of creadite, to beleeeue that is not true, or rashly to committe to penne, thynges wythout due prooffe and authoritie, wee haue heere annexed a peece of an Epistle, wrytten by mayster Symon Florillus preacher of Goddes woorde at the Citie Clauenna, among the Rhetians, vnto a certaine

friende of his, named Guliel. Gratalorus an Italian, and Doctoure of Phisicke, in the Uniuersitie of Basill, whyche Gratalorus translated the same into the Latine tounge, and it is to be founde in the 11. booke of Pantal. pa. 337. the English wherof is thys as followeth.

***The ende of a certayne letter of master Symon Florellus, wrytten in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of 88. Christian Saintes, in the parties of Calabria.**

AS concerning newes, I haue nothing to wryte, but onely, that I sende you a Copie of certayne letters imprinted eyther at Rome,* or at Venice, concerning the Martyrdome or persecution in two seuerall Townes of Calabria, eyghte Italian myles from the borders of Consentia: the one called Sainte Sixtus wythin two miles of Montalte, vnder the Seignorie of the Duke of Montalte: the other called Guardia, situate vppon the Sea coaste, and 12. miles from S. Sixtus: the which two Townes are vtterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitantes there (or as some wryte from the Citie of Rome) no lesse then a full thousande. Hee that wrote the letter, was seruaunt to Ascanius Caracciolus. The countrey and people there I well knew, to take the first Original of their good doctrine, & honest life, frō the Val|dēs. For before my departure frō Geneua at their request, I sent them two Schoolemaisters,* and two preachers. The last yeare the two preachers were Martyred: the one at Rome, named Ioannes Aloisus Paschalis, a Citizen of Cunium: he other at Messina, named Iames Bouel, both of Piedmont: This yeare the residue of that godly fellowship were Martyred, in the same place. I trust thys good seede sowen in Italie, will bringe foorth the good and plentiful fruite.

Now foloweth the copie of the letters sent from Montalt, a towne in Calabria 8. miles distant from Consentia, bearing Date the 11. of Iune. 1560. The wryter of the which letters, as ye may perceiue, was one of them which call themselues Catholickes, and followers of the Pope. The woordes of the letter bee these, as heere vnder followeth.

***Heere foloweth the Copie of a letter sent from Montalte in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certayne frend of his in Rome, containing newes of the persecution of Christes people in Calabria, by the newe Pope Pius the fourth.**

HEtherto, most noble Lord, haue I certified you, what here daily hath bene done about these hereticks Now commeth next to signifie vnto your Lordshippe,* the horrible iudgement begon thys present day, being the eleuenth of Iune, to bee executed very earely in the mornyng againste the Lutheranes. Whyche when I thynke vppon, I verely quake and tremble. And truely, the manner of theyr putting to deathe, was to be compared to the slaughter of calues and sheepe. For they being al thrust vp in one house together as in a sheepefolde, the executioner commeth in,

and amongst them taketh one and blindfeldeth him wyth a muffler about his eyes, & so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adioyning, where he commaundeth him to kneele downe, whych being so done, he cutteth his throte, & leauing him half dead, and taking his butchers knife and muffler all of gore bloud (which the Italians call Benda) commeth againe to the rest,* & so leading one after an other, he dispatcheth them all, which were to the number of 88. This spectacle, to behold howe doleful and horrible it was, I leaue to your Lordshippes iudgement: for to wryte of it, I my selfe cannot but weepe. Neither was there any of the beholders there present, whiche seeing one to die, coulde abide to beholde the death of an other. But certesse so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost vncreadible to beleeeue. Some of them as they were in dyinge,* affirmed that they beleeeued euen as wee doe. Notwithstanding, as the most part of them died in the same theyr obstinate opinions. All the aged persones wente to deathe more cheerfully, the younger were more timerous. I tremble and shake euen to remember how the executioner held his bloudie knife betweene his teethe, with the bloody muffler in his hande, and his armes all in goare bloude vp to the elbowes, going to the folde, and taking euery one of them, one after an other, by the hande, and so dispatching them all, no otherwise then doeth a butcher kill his calues and sheepe.

It is moreouer appoynted (and the cartes be come all readie) that all those so put to death, shoulde be quartered, and so to bee conueied in the cartes to the hethermost parts of Calabria, where they shalbe hanged vppon poles in the high waies, and other places, euen to the confines of the same country. Vnlesse the Popes holines & the Lord Viceroy of Neaples shall geue in commandement to the Lord Marques of Buccianus, gouernour of the sayde prouince, to stay his hand, and go no further, he wil procede, with the racke and torture, examining al other, and so encrease the nūber in such sorte, that he will nie dispatch them all.

This day it is also determined that an hūdreth of the more ancient women, should appeare to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many menne, so manye women. And thus haue you that I can say of this iustice. Nowe it is aboute two of the clocke in the afternoone: Shortly we shall heare what some of them sayde, when they went to execution. There be certaine of them so obstinate, that they will not looke vppon the crucifixe, nor be confessed to the priest, and they shall be burned aliue.

The heretickes that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600· but as yet no more but these foresayd 88. are already executed. This people haue theyr originall of the valley named Angronia, neare to Subaudia, and in Calabria, are called Vltramontani. In the kingdome of Neaples there are 4. other places of the same people, of whome whether they liue well or no, as yet wee knowe not: For they are but simple people, ignoraunt, wythout learning, woode gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I heare, much deuout and religious, geuing themselues to die for religions sake. From Montalto, the 11. of Iune. And thus much wryteth this Romanist.

☞ Here moreouer is to be noted, that the foresaid Marques Buccianus aboue specified, hadde a sonne or brother, vnto whome the sayde new Pope (Pius the fourth belike) is reported to haue promised a Cardinalshippe at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirped and roted out in that prouince. And like inough that the same was the cause of thys butcherly persecution and effusion of Christen bloud, in the said countrey of Calabria, beyond Neaples in Italy.

Besides these godly Italian Martyrs, in thys Table aboue contained, many other also haue suffred in the same countrey of Italie, of whome some before haue bene specified: some peradventure omitted. But many moe there be, whose names we know not, wherof assoone as knowledge may be geuē vnto vs, we purpose God willing, to impart the same (louing reader) vnto thee.

☞ Now in the meane time it foloweth (according to my promise made before) next after this lamētable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragical persecution & horrible murder of the faithfull flocke of Christe inhabiting in Merindole in Fraunce, and in other townes adiacēt neere vnto the same, in the time of Franciscus .1. the french king. The furious crueltie of whiche miserable persecution, although it can not be set foorth too muth at large, yet because we wil not weary too much the reader, with the ful length therof, we haue so contracted the same, especially the principal effect therof we haue comprehended in such sorte, that as we on the one part haue auoided prolixitie: so on the other we haue omitted nothing, which might seme vnworthy to be forgotten. The story here foloweth.

A notable historie of the persecution and destruction of the people of Merindol and Cabriers, the countrey of Prouince: where, not a few persons, but whole Villages and Townships with the most part of all the foresayde countrey, both men, women, and children, were put to all kind of cruelty, & suffered martyrdom, for the profession of the gospell.

They that write of the beginning of this people, say that about CC. yeres ago,* they came out of the Country of Piedmont, to inhabite in Prouince, in certaine Uillages, [Page 943](#) destroyed by warres, and other desert places: Wherin they vsed such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corne, wine, oyles, hony, almons, with other fruits & commodities of the earth, and much cattell. Before they came thether,* Merindol was a barren desert and not inhabited. But these good people (in whome God alwaies had reserued some litle seede of pietie) being dispersed, and separated from the societie of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts, in that waste and wilde desert, which notwithstanding, through the blessing of God, and their great laboure and trauel, became exceeding frutefull. Notwithstanding, the world in the meane time, so detested & abhorred them, and with all shamefull rebukes and contumelies, railed against them in such despiteful maner, y^t it semed they were not worthy that the earth should beare them. For they, of a long continuance and custome, had refused the Byshop of Romes authoritie, and obserued euer a more perfect kinde of doctrine, then others, deliuered to them from the father to the sonne, euer since the yere of our Lord. 1200.

For this cause they were often accused & complained of to the king, as contemners & despisers of the magistrates and rebels. Wherefore they were called by diuers names according to the countreis and places where they dwelte. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the pore people of Lyons:* In the borders of Sarmatia & Liuania, and other countreis towards the North, they were called Lolards: In Flanders, and Artoys, Turrelupius, of a desert where wolues did haunte: In Dolphine, with great despite, they were named Chagnardes, because they liued in places open to the Sunne, and without house or harborough. But most commonly they were called Waldos, of Waldo,* who first instructed them in y^e word of God: which name continued vntill the name of Lutheranes came vp, which aboue all other, was most hated, and abhorred.

Notwithstanding, in all these most spitefull contumelies ond sclaunders, the people dwelling at the foote of the Alpes, and also in Merindol & Cabriers, and the quarters thereabout, alwaies liued so godly, so vprightly and iustly y^t in al their life & conuersation, there appeared to be in thē a great feare of God. That little light of true knowledge whiche God had giuen them, they laboured by al meanes to kindle & encrease daily more & more, sparing no charges whether it were to procure bookes of the holy Scripture, or to instructe such as were of the best and moste towardly wits, in learning & godlinesse: or els to send thē into other countreis, yea euen to y^e farthest partes of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the yere 1530. vnderstanding that the gospel was preached in certaine townes of Germany & Switzerland, they sent thether 2. learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus borne in Dolphine, a godly preacher of their owne, and whome they had of their owne charges brought vp in learning, & Petrus Latomus a Burgundian, to conferre with the wise & learned ministers of the Churches there, in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole forme and manner which those Churches vsed in the seruice and worshipping of God: and particularly to haue their aduise also, vppon certaine poynts, which they were not resolued in. These 2. after great conference had w^t the chieftest in the Church of God, namely with Oecolampadius at Basill: at Strausburgh, with Bucer and Capito: and at Berne, w^t Bartholdus Hallerus: as they were returning thorow Burgundie, homewarde, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dyion, and caste into prison, Maurellus escaped & returned alone to Merindol, with the bookes and letters whych he brought with him, from the churches of Germanie, and declared to his brethren all the poynts of hys commission, and opened vnto them, how many and great errors they were in: into the which their olde Ministers, whome they called * Barbes, that is to say, Uncles, had broughte them, leading them from the right way of true Religion.

When the people heard this, they were moued with such a zeale to haue their Churches reformed, that they sent for the moste ancient brethren, & the chieftest in knowledge and experience, of all Calabria & Apulia, to consult wyth them, touching the reformation of y^e Church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred vp the bishops, priests & monkes in all Prouince,* with greate rage against them. Amongest other, there was one cruel wretch called Iohn de Roma, a monke, who obtaining a commissiō to examine those that were suspected to be of y^e Waldois or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kinde of cruelty, y^t he could deuise or imagine. Amongest other most horrible torments,* this was one, which he most delighted in, and most commōly practised: He filled bootes with boiling grece, & put them vpon their legs, tying them backward to a forme, with their legges hanging downe ouer a small fire, and so he examined them. Thus he tormēted very many, and in the ende, most cruelly put them to deathe.* The first whome hee thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra, and W. Melius, with a number moe.

Wherefore Fraunces the French king being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monke: sent letters to the high Courte or Parliament of Prouince, y^e foorthwith he should be apprehended, & by forme of proces and order of law, he should be condemned, & aduertisement sent vnto him w^t all speede, or his condemnation. The monke being aduertised heereof by his frendes, conueyed himselfe to Auinion, where hee thought to enioy the spoylings, which he, like a notorious thefe, had gotten by fraud & extortion, from the pore Christians. But shortly after, he which had so shamefully spoiled other, was spoiled of altogether, by his owne

houshold seruants: Wherupon, shortly after, he fell sicke of a most horrible disease, straunge and vnknownen to any Phisition.* So extreme were the paines & torments, wherwith he was continually vexed in al his body, that no oyntment, no fomētation, nor any thing els, could ease him one minute of an houre. Neither was there any man that could tary neare about him: ne yet wold any of his owne frendes come neare to him: so greate was the stinch that came from him. For the which cause he was caried from the Iacobines, to an hospitall, there to be kepte. But the stinche & infection, so encreased, that no man durst there come neare him: no nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stinch that ishued from his body, full of vlcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones, by peecemeale.

Whiles he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftētimes in great rage: Oh who wil deliuer me? who will kill and rid me out of these vntolerable paines, which I know, I suffer for the euils and oppressions that I haue done to the poore men? And he himselfe went about diuers times, to destroy hymselfe, but hee had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearfull dispaire,* this blasphemer and most cruel homicide, moste miserably ended his vnhappye daies and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiuing a iust reward of his crueltie by y^e iust iudgement of God. When he was dead, there was no man y^t would come nere him to bury him: but a yong nouice newly come to his order, in steade of a more honorable sepulture, caught hold w^t a hooke vpon his stinking carian & drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for hym.

After the death of this cruell monster, the bishop of Aix,* by his Officiall Perionet, continued the persecution & put a great multitude of them in prison: of whom some by force of torments, reuolted from the truth: the others which cōtinued constant after he had condemned thē of heresy, were put into the hands of the ordinary iudge, which at y^e time, was one Meiranus, a notable cruel persecutor: who with out any forme of proces or order of law, such as the Official had pronouced to be heretikes, he put to death, with most cruell tormēts: But shortly after, he receiued a iust reward of his crueltie, in like maner.

After the deathe of the good President Cusinetus,* the Lord of Reuest being chief President of the Parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death. Who afterwarde being put out of his office, returned to his house of Reuest, where he was stricken with such an horrible sicknesse, that for the fury and madnes which he was in, hys wife or any that were about him, durst not come neare him, and so hee dying in this fury and rage, was iustly plagued for his vnmercifull and cruell dealing.

After him succeded Barthol. Cassaneus, likewise a pestilent persecutor,* whom God at length stroke with a fearful & sodeine death. In the time of this tyran, those of Merindol, in the persone often, were cited personally to appeare before y^e kings atturny. But they hearing that y^e court had determined to burn them w^tout any further processe or order of law, durst not appeare at y^e day apointed. For which cause the court awarded a cruel sentēce against Merindol,* & condemned al the inhabitants, to be burned both men & women, sparing none, no not the litle children & infantes: the towne to be rased, & their houses beaten downe to the groūd: also the trees to be cut down, as wel oliue trees, as al other, and nothing to be left, to the entent it shuld neuer be inhabited again, but remaine as a desert or wilderness.

This bloudye arrest or Decree seemed so straunge and wonderfull, that in euery place throughout all Prouince, there was great reasoning and disputation cōcerning the same, especially among the aduocates, and men of lerning & vnderstanding: in so much that many durst boldly & openly say, that they greatly marueiled, how that Court of parlamēt could be so mad, or so bewitched, to giue out such an arrest, so manifestly iniucious & vniust, and contrary to [Page 944](#) all right and reason, yea to all sense of humanitie: also contrary to the solemne othe, which all such as are receiued to office in Courtes of Parliament, are accustomed to make, that is to say, to iudge iustly & vprightly, according to the law of God, and the iust ordinances & lawes of the realm, so that God therby might be honoured, and euery mannes right regarded without respect of persons.

Some of the aduocates or lawyers, defending the said Arrest to be iust and right, sayd: that in case of Lutheranisme, the iudges are not bound to obserue either right or reason,* law either ordinance, and that the iudges can not faile or do amisse, whatsoever iudgement they do geue, so that it tend to the ruine and extirpation of all suche as are suspected to be Lutheranes.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, that vpon theyr sayings it woulde insue, that the Iudges should now altogether folowe the same maner and forme, in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutheranes, which the gospell witnesseth that the Priests, Scribes, and Pharises followed, in pursuing and persecutyng, and finally condemning our Lord Iesus Christ.

By these & such other like talkes y^e said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assemble or banket where it was not disputed or talked of: & namely within 12. dayes after the Arrest was geuen oute, there was a great banket in the towne of Aix,* at the which banket was present M. Barthelmew Chassanee, President, & many other Councillers and other noble personages and men of authority. There was also the Archb. of Aries and the bishop of Aix, with diuers ladies and gentlewomen, amongst whom was one which was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix his concubine. They wer scarce wel set at the table, but she began thus to talke. My Lord President,* will you not execute the arrest, which is geuen out of late, against the Lutheranes of Merindoll? The President aunswered nothing, faining that hee hearde her not. Then a certaine gentleman asked of her what Arrest that was. Shee recited it in maner and forme, as it was geuen out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time, studied to commit the same vnto memorye: Whereunto they whyche were at the banket gaue diligent eare without any woorde speaking, vntill she had ended her tale.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great vnderstanding,* said vnto her: gentlewomā, you haue learned this tale, either of some that wold haue it so, or els it is geuen out by some parliament of women. Then the lord of Senas an ancient counsailor, said vnto him, no, no, my L. of Alenc, it is no tale which you haue hard this gentlewoman tell: for it is an arrest geuen out by a whole Senate, & you ought not thus to speake, except you woulde call the court of Prouince a parliament of women. Then the L. of Alenc began to excuse hymselfe, wyth protestation, that hee wold not speake any thing to blemish the authority of that soueraigne court, notwithstanding he could not beleue all that which the sayd gentlewoman had tolde, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindoll were condemned to die by y^e Arrest of the said court of parliament of Prouince, and specially the women & little children and infants: and the town to be rased, for the fault of 10. or 12. persons which did not appere before the saide court at the day

appoynted. And the Lord Beauieu also answered, that he beleued not the sayde courte to haue geuen out any such Arrest,* for that (said he) were a thing most vnreasonable, and suche as the very Turkes and the most tyrannes of the worlde would iudge to be a thing most detestable: and sayde further, that he had knowen a long time many of Merindol, which seemed vnto him to be men of great honesty: and my L. President (said he) can certify vs wel what is done in this mater, for we oughte not to geue credite vnto womens tales. Then the gentlewoman which had rehersed y^e arrest, staied not to heare the Presidents answer, but sodenly loking vpon the B. of Aix, said: I should greatly haue marueiled, if there had bene none in all this company whyche would defend these wicked men, and lifting her eyes to heauen in a great womanly chafe and fume, sayd: would to God that all the Lutheranes which are in Prouince, yea, and in all Fraunce,* had hornes growing on theyr forheads, then we should see a goodly many of hornes. To whome the Lorde Beauieu sodenly answered, saying, would to God that all priests harlots should chatter like Pies. Then said the gētlewoman: ha my L. Beauieu, you ought not so to speake against our holy mother the church, for that there was neuer dogge y^t barked against the crucifixe, but that he waxed madde. Whereat the Bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the gentlewoman on the shoulder, sayd, by my holy orders my minion, wel said, I conne you thanke, She hath talked wel vnto you, my Lord Beauieu, remember wel the lesson that shee hath geuen you. Heere the Lorde Beauieu being wholly moued w^t anger, sayde, I care neyther for her schole nor yours, for it would be long before a man should learne of either of you both, any honesty or honour: For if I shuld say that the most part of the bishops and priests are abhominable adulterers, blind idolaters, deceiuers, theeues, seducers, I should not speake against the holy church, but against a heape and flocke of wolues, dogs, and filthy swine in speaking these thinges, I would thinke a man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth.

Then the Archbishop in a great iurie answered, my L. Beauieu, you speake very euil, and you must geue account when time and place serueth, of this your talke, which you haue here vttered against the Church men. I would, sayde the Lord Beauieu that it were to do euen this present day, and I wold binde my selfe to prooue more abuses & naughtinesse in Priestes then I haue yet spoken. Then sayde the President Chassinee, my Lorde Beauieu, lette vs leaue of this talke and liue as our fathers haue done, and maintain theyr honour. Then sayde hee in a greate anger, I am no Priestes sonne to maintaine their wickednes•e and abuse. And afterward he sayde, I am well content to honour all true pastors of the church, and will not blame them which shew good example in their doctrine and liuing: but I demaund of you my Lord of Arles, and you my Lord of Aix, when as our Lord Iesus Christ called the Priestes deceiuing hypocrites, blind seducers, robbers and theeues, did he them any outrage or wrong? and they answered no, for the most part of them were such men.* Then sayd the Lord Beauieu, euen so is it with the bishops and priests which I haue spoken of, for they are suche kinde of men, or rather worse: and I so abhorre their filthy and abhominable life, that I dare not speake the one halfe of that which I know, and therefore in speaking the truth, to coole the babling of a harlot, I do them no iniurie.

Then monsieur de Senas an auncient counsailor, sayd, let vs leaue of this contentious talke, for we are here assēbled & come together to make good chere. And afterwarde he said, monsieur de Beauieu, for the loue and amity which I beare vnto you, I will aduertise you of 3. things, which if you will do, you shall finde great ease therein.

The first is, that you neither by worde nor deede, aide or assist those which you heare to be Lutheranes.

Secondly, y^t you do not entermeddle, openly to reprove ladies and gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasures.

Thirdly, that you doe neuer speake against the life and liuing of * Priests, howe wicked so euer it be, according to this saying: Do not touch mine annoynted.

To whom monsieur Beauieu answered, as touching y^e first poynt, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranisme, except you do call them Lutherans, which professe the doctrine of the gospel. Neither yet will I euer allowe any Arrest which shall be geuen out to death against men whose cause hath not bene heard, especially, against women and yong infantes: and I am assured that there is no Court of parliament in all Fraunce which will approoue or allowe any such arrest. And where as you say that I shuld not meddle to reprove ladies or gētlewomen, if I knewe any kinswoman of mine, which would abandone her selfe vnto a priest or clerke,* yea albeit he were a cardinal or bishop, I would not do her so much honor as to rebuke her therfore, but at the least I would cutte of her nose. And as touching priestes, as I am contented not to meddle with their busines, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine heereafter, or come from henceforth wⁱn my house: For as many as I shall finde or take there, I wil set their crownes so nere their sholders, that they shal nede no more to weare any hoodes about their necks. The like also said the President Chassanee.

Then the byshop of Aix his sweete heart,* which had begon the quarell, said, I shal not be in quiet, except I speake yet one word more vnto monsieur Beauieu. Do you think sayd she vnto hym, that all the Cardinals, Byshops, Abbots, Priestes, and all those holy religious men which goe oftentimes to gentlemens houses, and haunte the Castels and palaces of Princes and noblemen, that they go thither to commit wickednesse? Also you must not thinke euil of al those ladies and gentlewomen, that go to Bishops houses of deuotion, and for to reueale those whome they know to be Lutherans, as it was commaunded in the pulpitte vppon payne of Excommunication: If so be you will maintaine those wordes, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of Treason both to God and to man: for heere be those in this companie, which shall make you geue an accompt thereof. Shee had not so soone ended her talke, but Monsieur Beauieu sayde vnto her, auaunte O Herodias,* thou filthy and impudent harlot: is it thy part to open thy [Page 945](#) mouth to talke in this cōpany? Doest thou well vnderstād and knowe what treason to God and man meaneth? * Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou arte, but thou must sollicite other to shed innocent bloude? With these words the Gentlewoman was somewhat amased. All men thought that this talke had bene at an end, and euery man began to inuent some mery communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

At the last, the gentlewoman aduising her self, and thinking that she was to much iniured, to be sayd, that she wēt about to shed the innocent bloud, she brake of al their talk, and with a loud voice sayde, Monsieur Beauieu, if I were a man,* as I am a woman, I would offer you the combate, to prooue that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent bloud. Do you call the bloude of these wicked men of Merindoll, innocent bloud? True it is that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packes of Merindol, & such

like as they are, shoulde be slaine and destroyed, from the greatest euen vnto the least.* And for to see the beginning of thys worke, I haue emploied all my credite, and all my frends, and do not spare, neither body nor goods, to worke the ruine & destruction of these people, and to rase out, and to deface their memorie from amongst men. Doe you then Monsieur Beauieu, call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent bloude? And say you what you will, I wil not refraine for no man liuing, to goe either by day eyther by night, vnto the houses of Bishops, in all * honesty and honor, for the deuotion which I beare vnto our holy * mother the church, and also I wil receiue into my house, all religious men, to cōsult and deuise the meanes how to put these Lutherans to death. But as Monsieur Beauieu tooke no more regarde vnto her talke, so likewise al that were at the table, dispraised her and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certaine younge gentleman, whych merely iesting, said vnto her: Gentlewomā, it must nedes be that these poore people, vnto whome you doe wish thys cruell death,* haue done you some great displeasure. Then sayd she, I may well take an othe, that I neuer knewe one of those wretched people, neither (that I wot of) euer sawe any of them. And I had rather to meete 10. deuils, then one of those naughty knaues: for theyr opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they, which neuer heard tell of them. And I was not then wrll aduised, at what time. by curiositie I seeing the Bishop of Aix so muche troubled and angry, that he could not eate nor drinke, did desire him and constraine him to tell me the cause thereof. Then hee perceiuing that I would not be wel contented if he should not tel me,* declared vnto me some part of the cause: that is to say, that there was certaine heretickes, whyche spake against our holy mother the church, and amonge other errours, they maintained, yea to death, that all Bishoppes, Priests, & pastors ought to be maried, or els to be gelded: and hearing this, I was maruellously offended, and euer since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enioyned vnto me by penance, that I should endeuour with al my power, to putte these heretickes to death. After these friuolous talkes, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatnings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the President Chassance, and the Coūcellers parted aside, and the Gentlemen went on the other part. The Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop Aix, and diuers Abbots, Priors, and others, assembled them selues together, to cōsult how this Arrest might be executed with all speede, entending to raise a newe persecution, greater then that of Iohn the Iacobine Monke of Rome: For otherwise (sayd they) our state and honour is like to decay. We shall be reprooued, contemned, and derided of all menne. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselues against vs, but these pesantes, and such lyke, it were but a smal matter: but many Doctours of Diuinitie, and men of the religious order, diuers Senatours and Aduocates, many wise and well learned men: also a great parte of the nobilitie (if we may so say) and that of great renoume, yea euen of the cheefest Peeres in all Europe, begyn to contemne and despise vs, counting vs to be no true pastours of the church: so that except we see to this mischiefe, and prouide for remedie betime, it is greatly to be feared, least not onely wee shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessiōs and liuings, which we now wealthely enioy, but also the church being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to a miserable ruine and vtter desolation. Thys matter therefore now requireth great diligēce and circumspection, and that withall celeritie.

Then the Archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtilties and pollicies, gaue his aduise, as foloweth. Against the nobilitie we must (sayde he) take heede that we attempt nothing rashly:

but rather, we must seeke all the meanes we cā, how to please them, for they are our shield, our fortresse and defence. And albeit we knowe that many of them doe both speake & thinke euill of vs, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprooue them to exasperate them in any case: but seeing they are too much bent against vs already, we must rather seeke how to win them, and to make them our frendes againe, by giftes and presents: and by this pollicie, we shall liue in safetie vnder their protection. But if wee enterprise any thing againste them, sure we are to gaine nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

It is well sayd, sayth the Byshop of Aix: but I canne shew you a good remedy for this disease.* We must go about withall our endeuer, power, and policie, and al the frends we canne make, sparing no charges, but spending goodes, wealth and treasure, to make suche a slaughter of the Merindolians, and rustically pesantes, that none shalbe so bold hereafter, what soeuer they be, yea although they be of the bloud royal, once to open their mouthes against vs, or the Ecclesiasticall state. And to bring this matter to passe, wee haue no better way, then to withdrawe our selues to Auinion, in the which Citie we shal finde many Bishops, Abbots, and other famous men, which will with vs,* employ their whole endeuer, to maintaine and vphold the maiestie of our holy mother the Church. This counsaile was well liked of them all. Wherupon the sayd Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop of Aix, went withall speede, to Auinion, there to assemble, out of hand, the Bishops and other men of authoritie and credite, to entreate this matter. In thys pestilent conspiracie the Bishop of Aix, a stoute champion and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking vppon hym to be the chiefe Oratour, beganne in manner as followeth.

O Yee fathers and brethren,* yee are not ignoraunt that a great tempest is raised vp against the little barke of Christe Iesus, nowe in great danger and ready to pearish. The storme commeth from the North, whereof all these troubles proceede. The seas rage, the waters rushe in on euery side, the windes blowe & beate vpon our house, and wee, without speedy remedy, are like to sustaine shippewracke, and losse of alltogether. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and deuotion waxeth colde, charitie is cleane gone, our estimation and authoritie is abased, our iurisdiction decayed, and the ordinaunces of the church despised. And wherefore are we sette and ordained ouer nations and kingdomes, but to roote out and destroy, to subuert and ouerthrow, whatsoeuer is against our holy mother the Church? Wherefore let vs now awake lette vs stande stoutly in the right of our owne possession, that we may roote out from the memorie of men for euer the whole route of the wicked Lutheranes: those Foxes (I say) whiche destroye the vineyard of the Lorde: those great Whales, which goe aboute to drowne the little barke of the sonne of God. We haue already wel begonne, and haue procured a terrible Arrest against these cursed heretickes of Merindoll: nowe then resteth no more but onelye the same to be put in execution. Let vs therefore employe oure whole endeuour, that nothyng happen whych may lette or hinder that we haue so happely begon, and lette vs take good heede, that our gold and siluer do not witnesse agaynst vs at the day of iudgement, if we refuse to bestowe the same,* that we may make so good a sacrifice vnto God. And for my parte, I offer to wage & furnishe of mine owne costes and charges, a 100. men well horsed, with al other furniture to them belonging, and that so long, vntill the vtter destruction and subuersion of these wretched and cursed caitiffes, be fully performed and finished.

This Oration pleased the whole multitude, sauing one doctor of diuinitie, a frier Iacobine, named Bassinet, who then answered againe with this Oration.

This is a weyghty matter (sayd he) and of great importaunce: *We muste therefore proceede wisely and in the feare of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seeke the deathe and destruction of these poore and miserable people wrongfully, whē the King and the Nobilitie shall heare of suche an horrible slaughter, we shall be in great daunger, least they doe to vs as we reade in the Scriptures, was done to the priestes of Baal. For my parte, I must say and vnfainedly confesse, that I haue too rashly and lightly signed many processes against those, which haue bene accused of hereticall doctrine: but nowe I do protest before God, whyche seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine assignments, I haue had no quietnesse in my conscience, considering that the secular iudges, at the reporte of the iudgement and sentence, geuen by mee, and other Doctours my companions, haue condemned all those vnto most cruel death whome wee haue iudged to bee heretickes. *And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, is this, that now of late since I haue geuē my self more diligently to the reading & cōtēplatiō [Page 946](#) of the holy scriptures: I haue perceiued that the most part of those Articles which they that are called Lutheranes doe maintayne, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, *that for my part, I can no longer gainesay them, except I should euen wilfully and maliciously resist and striue against the holy ordinances of God. Al be it hetherto, to maintaine the honour of our holy mother the Church, and of our holy father the Pope, and of our order, I haue consented to the opinions, & doings of the other Doctours, as well through ignorance, as also because I woulde not seeme to attempt any thing against the will and pleasure of the Prelates and Vicars generall: But now it seemeth vnto mee that wee ought not any more to proceede in this matter, as wee haue done in time past. It shall be sufficient to punish them, with fines or to banish them, which shall speake too intemperately, or rashly against the constitutions of the Church, and of the Pope: and such as shall be manifestly conuicted by the holy Scriptures, to be blasphemers or obstinate heretickes, to be condemned to deathe according to the enormity of the crimes or errors, or els to perpetuall prisone. And this my aduise and counsaile I desire you to take in good part.

With this counsaile of Bassinet, al the company was offended, but especially the Bish. of Aix, who lifting vp his voyce aboue all the rest, sayd thus vnto hym: O thou man of litle faith, *whereof art thou in doubt? Doest thou repent thee of that thou haste well done? Thou haste tolde heere a tale that smelleth of fagottes and brimstone. Is there any differēce (thinkest thou) betwene herisies and blasphemies spoken and mainteined againste the holy Scriptures: and opinions holden against our holy mother the Church, and contrary to our holy father the Pope, a most vndouted and true God in earth? *Art thou a maister in Israel, and knowest not these things? Then said the Bishop of Arles, could any man entreat better of the little Barke of Christ Iesus, then my Lorde of Aix hath done? Then stoode vp Bassinet agayne, and made thys Oration.

It is true, that my Lorde the Bishop of Aix hathe very well set out the manners and state of the Clergie, *and hath aptly reprooued the vices and heresies of this present time: and therefore so soone as mention was made of the shippe of Christ Iesus, it came in my minde first of all, of the high Bishop of Hierusalem, the Priestes, the Doctours of the lawe, the Scribes and Phariseys, whyche sometime had the gouernaunce of this shippe, being ordeined pastours in the Church of God. But when they forsooke the lawe of God, and serued him with mennes inuentions and traditions, he destroyed those Hypocrites in his great indignation: and hauing compassion and pitie vppon the people, which were lyke sheepe without a shepheard, hee sent diligent fishers to fishe for menne: faithfull workemen into his haruest, and labourers into hys vineyard, which

shall all bring forth true fruites in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and entent of the reuerent Lord Bishop of Aix, I called to minde the saying of the Apostle in his[•]. Epistle and 4. chapter vnto Timothe: That in the latter daies, some shall fall away from the faith, following after deceitfull spirites, and the doctrine of deuils. And the Apostle geueth a marke whereby a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Iesus Christ, in the 7. chapter of Mathew, sayeth, That the false Prophetes shall come, clothed in sheepes skinnes, but inwardly they are rauening Wolues: and by their fruites they shall be knowen. By these two and diuers such other places, it is easy to vnderstand, who are they that goe about to drowne this little barke of Christ.*Are they not these which fill the same wyth filthy and vncleane thinges? With mire and dirt? with puddle and stinking water? Are they not those which haue forsaken Iesus Christe, the fountaine of liuing water, and haue digged vnto them selues pittes or cesterne whych will holde no water? Truly euen those they are, which vaunt themselues to be the salte of the earth, and yet haue no sauour at all: which cal them selues pastours, & yet are nothing lesse then true pastours, for they minister not vnto the shepe the true pasture and feeding, neither deuide and distribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be bolde to speake it) would it not be at this present, as a great wonder to heare a Bishop preache, as to see an Asse flie? Are not they cursed of God whych glorie and vaunte them selues to haue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and neither enter in them selues,*nor suffer them that wold enter, to come in? They may be knowen right well by their fruites: for they haue forsaken faith, iudgement and mercy, & there is no honest, cleane, or vndefiled thing in them, but their habite, theyr rochet, & theyr surplesse and such other: Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trimme, but wythin they are full of al abomination, rauine, gluttonie,*filthy luste, and all manner of vncleannesse. They are like painted sepulchers, which outwardly appeare beautifull & faire, but wythin they are full of filth and corruption. A man shal know (I say) these rauening Wolues, by their fruites, which deuour the quicke and the dead, vnder the pretence of long prayer: and for so much as I am enforced to geue place to the trueth, and that you call me a Maister in Israel, I will not be afraide to prooue by the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and patrone the Pope,*and the Bishops the mariners, and such others, which haue impudently forsaken the shippe of Christ Iesus, to embarke them selfe in Pinises and Brigandines, are pyrates and robbers of the Sea, false Prophetes, deceiuers and not true pastours of the Church of Iesus Christ.

Whē Doctor Bassinet had thus frely and boldly vttered hys minde: the whole multitude beganne to gather about him, and spitefully railed at hym. But the bishoppe of Aix aboue other, raging and crying out, as hee had bene mad: get thee out saide he, from amongst vs, thou wicked Apostata: thou art not worthy to be in this company. We haue burned daily a great manye, which haue not so well deserued it, as thou hast. We may now perceiue y^t there is none more stedfast and feruent in the faith, then the doctors of y^e canon law. And therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next generall councell,*that none should haue to doe in matters of religion, but they alone: For these knaues and beggerly Monkes and Friers will bring all to nought. Then the other doctors of the same order, boldly reprobued the bish. of Aix, for the iniurie that he had done vnto them: After this, there rose a great dissention amongst them: in so muche that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all these reuerent prelates assembled together againe, but they suffered neither Frier nor Monke to be amongst them except he were an Abbot. In thys assemble they made a generall composition, confirmed with an oth, that euery man shoulde endeuour hym selfe, that the sayde Arrest of Merindol should be executed withall expedition, euery man offring to furnish out men of warre, according to his habilitie.* The

charge wherof was geuen to the Bishop of Aix and to the President of the Canons, to sollicite the matter, and to perswade by al meanes possible, the presidents and Counsellors of the said Court of Parliament, without feare or doubte, to execute the sayde Arrest, wyth drummes, ensignes, displaide, artillerie, and all kinde of furniture of warre.

This conspiracie being concluded and determined, the Bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Auinion, to goe vnto Aix, to performe y^e charge, which was geuen to hym. Notwithstanding they desired him to be the next day after the Counsell was holden, at a bankette whych shoulde be made at the house of the Bishop of Rieux. To thys banket such as were knowen to be the fairest and most beautifull women in all Auinion, were called to refreshe and solace these good Prelates, after the greate paines and trauayle which they had taken for our holy mother the Church. After they had dined, they fell to dauncing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the bankets and feastes of these holy Prelates. After this, they walked abroad to solace them selues, and to passe the time till supper.

As they passed thorowe the streetes, euery one leadyng his Minion vpon his arme, they sawe a man whych solde baudie Images and pictures,* with filthie rimes and Ballets annexed to the same, to moue and sturre vp the people to whoredome, and knauerie. All these goodly Pictures were bought vp by the Bishops: which were as many as a Mule coulde well carie. And if there were anye obscure sentence, or hard to vnderstand, in those rimes or ballets, the same these learned Prelates did readely expounde, and laughed presently thereat. In the same place, as they walked alōg, there was a bookeseller which had set out to sale, certaine Bibles in Frenche and Latine, with diuers other Bookes, whyche when the Prelates behelde,* they were greatly moued thereat, and said vnto him: Darest thou be so hardy to set out such marchādise to sel here in this town? Doest thou not know that such bookes are forbidden? The bookeseller answered, is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you haue bought for these Gentlewomen? He had skarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix sayd, I renounce my part of Paradise if this fellowe be not a Lutherane. Let him be taken (sayd he) and examined what he is, and incontinently the bookeseller was taken and caried vnto prison, and spitefully handled: For a company of knaues and ruffians, which waited vpon the Prelates, began to crye out, a Lutherane, a Lutherane, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gaue hym a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hear, & other by the beard, in such sorte, that the poore man was all embrued with bloud, before that he came vnto prison.

The morow after he was brought before the iudges, in y^e presence of the bishops, wheras he was examined in this forme as followeth. Hast not thou set forth to sale the Bible and the new Testament in French? The prisoner aunswered, [Page 947](#) that he had so done. And being demanded whether he vnderstood or knew not that it was forbidden throughout all Christendome, to print or sel the Bible in any other language, then in Latin: he aunswered, that he knewe the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tong,* with y^e Emperors priuledge, and many other printed at Lions: also new testaments, imprinted by the kings priuledge. Furthermore he sayde, that he knew no nation throughout all Christendome, which had not the holy scriptures in their vulgare tounge: and afterward with a bold courage thus he spake vnto them. O you inhabitants of Auinion, are you alone in all Christendome? those men which do despise and abhorre the Testament of the heauēly father: Wil you forbid and hide that which Iesus Christ hath commaunded to be reuealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Iesus Christ gaue

power vnto his Apostles, to speake all maner of touns, to this ende, that his holy Gospell should be taught vnto all creatures, in euery language? And why do you not forbid those bookes and pictures, which are full of filthines and abhomination, to moue & stirre vp the people to whoredome, and to vncleannes, and to prouoke Gods vengeance and great indignation vpon you all? what greater blasphemy can there be, then to forbid Gods most holy bookes which he ordeined to instruct the ignoraunt, and to reduce and bring againe into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poore sely soules their nourishment and sustenance? But my Lordes, you shall geue an heauie accompt, which call sweete sower, and sower sweete, whiche mainteine abhominable and detestable bookes and pictures, and reiect that which is holy.

Then the Bishop of Aix and the other Bishops, began to rage, and gnashed their teeth against this poore prisoner. What neede you (said they) any more examination? let him be sent straight vnto y^e fire, without any more words. But the Iudge Laberius and certaine others were not of that mind, neither founde they sufficient cause, why to put him to death, but went about to haue him put vnto hys fine, and to make him confesse & acknowledge the Byshop of Aix and other his companions, to be the true pastors of the Church. But the bookeseller aunswered, that he could not do it with a good conscience, forsomuch as he did see before his eies, y^t these Byshops mainteined filthy bookes and abhominable pictures, reiecting and refusing the holy bookes of God, and therefore he iudged them rather to be the Priests of Bacchus and Uenus, then the true pastors of the Church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed y^e very same day:*. And for a signe or token of the cause of hys condemnation, he caried two Bibles hanging about hys necke, the one before, & the other behind him: but this pore man had also the word of God in his hart & in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, vntill that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and monish the people to reade the holy Scriptures: in so much that diuers were thereby mooued to seeke after the truth. The Prelates seeing a great dissention amongst the people of Auinion, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done vnto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in a feare, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamatiō by the sound of a Trumpet,*, throughout the whole towne and Countie of Uenice, that all such as had any bookes in the French tongue intreating vpon the holy Scriptures, should bring them foorth, and deliuer them into the hands of the Commissioners, appointed for that purpose: contrarywise, they which had any suche bookes found about them, should be put to death.

Then after that these Prelates had taken aduise to raise great persecution in Uenice, the Bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the executiō of the arrest against Merindol, traouelling earnestly with the President Cassaneus, to that effect:*, declaring vnto him the good will of the Prelates of Auinion and Prouince, & the great affectiō they bare both to him and his, with many faire promises, if he would put the Arrest in execution. The President aunswered hym, that it was no small matter to put the Arrest of Merindoll in execution. Also that the said Arrest was geuen out more to keepe y^e Lutheranes in feare, which were a great number in Prouince, then to execute it in effect, as it was contened in the sayd Arrest. Moreouer, he said that the arrest of Merindoll was not definitiue, and that the lawes and statutes of the realme, did not permit y^e executiō thereof, without further processe. Then said the Bishop, if there he either lawe or statute which doth hinder or let you, we cary in our sleeues to dispence therewithall. The President answered, it

were a great sinne to shed the innocent blood. Then sayd the Byshop, the blood of them of Merindoll be vpon vs and vpon our successours. Then said the President.* I am very well assured that if the Arrest of Merindoll be put in execution, the kyng will not be well pleased to haue such destruction made of his subiectes. Then sayd the Bishop, although the kyng at the first, do thinke it euil done, we will so bring it to passe, that within a short space, he shall thinke it well done: For we haue y^e Cardinals on our side, & specially the most reuerent Cardinall of Tournon, the which will take vpō him the defence of our cause,* and we can doe him no greater pleasure, then vtterly to roote out these Lutheranes: so that if we haue any neede of his cōsaile or ayde, we shall be wel assured of him: And is not he the principall, the most excellent & prudēt aduersary of these Lutheranes, which is in all Christendome?

By this & such other like talke, the Byshop of Aix persuaded the Presidēt & Counsellours of the Court of Parliament, to put the sayd Arrest in execution, and by this meanes through the authoritie of the sayd Court, the drum was sounded throughout all Prouince, y^t Captaines were prepared with their Ensignes displayd,* and a great number of footemē and horsemen, began to set forward & marched out of the towne of Aix, in order of battell, well horsed and furnished agaynst Merindoll, to execute the Arrest. The inhabitauntes of Merindoll beyng aduertised hereof, and seyng nothyng but present death to be at hād, with great lamentation, commended themselues & their cause vnto God by prayer, makyng thēselues ready to be murdered and slayne as sheepe led vnto the butchery.

Whiles they were at this greuous distresse pitiously mournyng and lamentyng together,* the father with the sonne, the daughter with y^e mother, the wife with the husband, sodenly there was newes brought vnto them, that the army was retired, and no mā knew at that tyme, how or by what meanes: notwithstanding afterward it was knowen, that the Lord of Alenc, a wise man & learned in the Scriptures & in Ciuill law, beyng moued with great zeale and loue of iustice, declared vnto the Presidēt Chassanee, that he ought not so to proceede agaynst the inhabitantes of Merindoll by way of force of armes, contrary to all forme and order of iustice, without iudgement or condemnation, or without making any differēce betwene the guilty & the vngilty. And furthermore he sayd, I desire you my Lord Presidēt, call to remēbraunce the counsell which you haue written in your booke,* entituled Catalogus glorie mundi, in the which booke you haue intreated and brought forth the processes whiche were holden agaynst the Rats, by the officers of the Court and iurisdiction of the Byshop of Authun. For as it happened, there was almost through out all the Bailiwyke of Laussois, such a great number of Rats, that they destroyed and deuoured all the corne of the cōtrei. Whereupon they tooke counsell to send vnto y^e Byshop of Authuns Official, for to haue the Rats excommunicate. Whereupon it was ordeined & decreed by the sayd Officiall, after he had heard the plaintife of the Procurator fiscall, that before he would proceede to excommunication, they should haue admonition, and warning, accordyng to the order of iustice. For this cause it was ordeined, that by the sound of a trūpet, & open proclamation made throughout all y^e streetes of the towne of Authun, the Rats should be cited to appeare within three dayes: and if they did not appeare: then to proceede agaynst them.

The three dayes were passed, & the Procurator came into the Court agaynst the rats, & for lacke of apperaūce, obteyned default: by vertue whereof he required that they would proceede to the excōmunication. Whereupon it was iudicially acknowledged, that the said Rats beyng absent, should haue their Aduocate appointed them to heare their defence, for somuch as y^e question was

for y^e whole destructiō & banishyng of the sayd Rats.* And you my Lord Presidēt beyng at that tyme the kynges Aduocate at Authun, were then chosen to be the Aduocate to defend the Rattes. And hauyng takē the charge vpō you in pleadyng y^e matter, it was by you there declared that the citatiō was of no effect, for certaine causes & reasons by you there alledged. Then was it decreed that the sayd Rats should be once againe cited, throughout the Parishes whereas they were. Then after the citatiōs were duely serued, the Procurator came agayne into the Court as before, & there it was alledged by you my Lord President, how that y^e terme of appearaunce geuen vnto the Rats was to short, & that there were so many Cats in euery Towne and Uillage as they should passe through, that they had iust cause to be absent.*

Wherefore my Lord Presidēt, you ought not so lightly to proceede agaynst these poore mē, but you ought to looke vpon the holy Scriptures, and there you shall finde how you ought to proceede in this matter: and you my Lord, [Page 948](#) haue alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your sayd booke, and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of small importance, you haue obtained great fame and honour, for the vpright declaration of the maner & forme, how iudges ought grauely to proceede in criminall causes. Then my Lord President, you which haue taught others, will you not also learne by your owne bookes? the which will manifestly condemne you, if you proceede any further, to the destruction of these poore men of Merindoll. For are not they Christian men? and ought you not as well to minister right and iustice vnto them, as you haue done vnto the Rattes? By these and such like demonstrations, the President was persuaded, and immediately called backe his commission which he had geuen out, and caused the army to retire, the which was already come neere vnto Merindoll, euen within one mile and a halfe.

Then the Merindolians vnderstanding that the army was retired, gaue thanks vnto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation, alwaies to haue y^e feare of God before their eies, to be obediēt vnto his holy commandements,* subiect to his most holy wil, and euery man to submit himselfe vnto his prouidence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life and the euerlasting riches, hauing alwaies before their eies for example our Lord Iesu Christ the very sonne of God, who hath entred into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselues to endure and abide all the afflictions, that it should please God to lay vpon them: and such was their answeere to all those that either pitied or else sought their destructiō. Whereupon the brute and noise was so great, as well of the Arrest,* as of the enterprise of the execution, and also of the pacience and constancie of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kepte secrete, from King Fraunces, a Kyng of noble courage, and great iudgement: Who gaue cōmandement vnto the noble and vertuous Lorde, Mounsieur de Langeay, which then was his Lieutenant in Thurin, a Citie in Piemont, that he should diligently enquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the sayd Mounsieur de Langeay, sent vnto Prouince two men of fame and estimation, geuing them in charge, to bring vnto him the copie of the Arrest, and diligently to enquire out all that followed and ensued thereupon: and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and maners of the said Merindolians, and others, which were persecuted in the countrey of Prouince.

These deputies brought the copie of the Arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, vnto the sayd Mounsieur de Langeay, declaring vnto him the great iniuries, polings, extorcions, exactions, tirannies, & cruelties, which y^e Iudges,* as well secular as Ecclesiasticall, vsed agaynst them of

Merindoll and others. As touching the behauiour and disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported that the most part of the men of Prouince affirmed them to be men geuen to great labour and trauaile, and that about 200. yeares passed (as it is reported) they came out of the countrey of Piemont to dwell in Prouince, and tooke to tillage and to inhabite, many hamlets & villages destroyed by the warres, and other desert and waste places: which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wyne,* oyles, hony, and cattell, wherewith straungers were greatly relieued and holpē. Besides that, before they came into the countrey to dwell, the place of Merindoll, was taxed but at foure crownes, which before the last destruction, payed yearely vnto the Lord for taxes and tallages, about 350. crownes, beside other charges.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and diuers other places of Prouince, whereas there was nothyng but robberie before they came to inhabite there, so that none coulde passe that way, but in great daunger. Moreouer, they of the countrey of Prouince, affirmed that the inhabitants of Merindoll and the other that were persecuted: were peaceable & quiet people, beloued of all their neighbours, men of good behauiour, cōstant in keeping of their promise, and paieng of their debtes, without trauersing or pleading of the law. That they were also charitable men, geuing of almes, releueing the poore, and suffered none amongst them to lacke or be in necessitie. Also they gaue almes to strangers, and to y^e poore passengers, harbouring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreouer, that they were knowne by this, throughout all y^e countrey of Prouince, that they would not sweare, or name the diuell, or easily be brought to take an othe, except it were in iudgemente, or makyng some solemne couenant. They were also knowne by thys, that they could neuer be moued nor prouoked to talke of any dishonest matters, but in what company soeuer they came, where they heard any wanton talke, swearing of blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straight way departed out of that company. Also they sayd that they neuer sawe them go vnto their busines, but first they made theyr prayers. The sayd people of Prouince furthermore affirmed, that whē they came to any fayres or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they neuer in a maner were seene in their Churches: and if they were, whē they praied they turned away their faces frō the images, and neyther offred candels to thē, nor kissed their feete. Neither would they worship the reliques of Saints, nor once looke vpon them. And moreouer,* if they passed by any crosse or Image of the crucifixe or any other Sainct, by the way as they went, they would do no reuerence vnto them. Also the Priestes did testifie, that they neuer caused them to say any Masses, neyther diriges, neither yet De profundis: neyther woulde they take any holy water, and if it were carryed home vnto their houses, they woulde not saye once God a mercy, yea they semed vtterly to abhorre it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vowes to Saints, to buy pardons or remission of sinnes with money, yea though it might be gotten for a halfepeny, they thought it not lawfull. Likewise whē it thundered or lightened, they would not crosse themselues, but casting vp their eies to heauen, fetch deepe sighes. Some of thē would kneele downe & pray, without blessing themselues with y^e signe of the crosse, or taking of holy water. Also they were neuer seene to offer,* or cast into the bason, any thing for y^e maintenance of lightes, brotherhoods, churches, or to geue any offering either for y^e quicke or the dead. But if any were in affliction or pouertie, those they releued gladly, and thought nothing too much.

This was y^e whole tenor of the report made vnto Moūsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behauiour of y^e inhabitants of Merindoll, and the other which were persecuted: also as touching the Arrest and that which ensued therupon. Of all those things, the sayd Monsieur de Langeay,

according to the charge that was geuen him, aduertised the king: who vnderstanding these things, as a good prince moued with mercy and pity, sent letters of grace & pardon,* not only for those which were cōdemned for lacke of appearance, but also for all the rest of y^e countrey of Prouince, which were accused and suspected in like case: expresly charging and commanding the said parliamēt that they shoulde not heereafter proceede so rigorously as they had done before, against this people, but if there were anye that could be found or proued by sufficient information, to haue swarned from y^e christian religion, that then he should haue good demonstration made vnto him by the word of God, both out of the old and of the new Testament: and so as well by the gentlenes as by the rigour of the same, he should be reduced againe vnto the Church of Christ: declaring also y^t the kings pleasure was, that all such as should be conuict of heresie in maner aforesaid, should abiure: forbidding also all maner of persons, of what estate or condition soeuer they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindoll or other that were persecuted, by any other maner of meanes, or to molest or trouble them in person or goodes: reuoking and disanulling all maner of sentences and condemnations, of what iudges soeuer they were, and commaunding to set at libertie all prisoners which either were accused or suspected of Lutheranisme.

By vertue of these letters, they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they coulde, in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a confession of their fayth: the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the story. This * confession was presented first to the Court of Parliament, and afterward being declared more at large, wyth Articles also annexed thereunto, it was deliuered to the Bishop of Cauaillon, who required y^e same. Also to Cardinall Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, with the lyke Articles, and also a supplication to this effect: That the inhabitants of Cabriers in the Countie of Uenice, most humbly desired him that he would vouchsafe to receiue & reade the confession and declaration of their fayth and doctrine, in the which they, and also their fathers before them, had bene of a lōg time, instructed and taught, which they were persuaded to be agreable to the doctrine contained in y^e old and new Testament. And because he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they desired hym that he woulde marke such articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures: and if he should make it to appeare vnto them, y^t ther was any thing cōtrary to the same, they would not only submit themselues vnto abiuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adiudged vnto them, euen to the losse, not only of all that they had, but also their liues. And more ouer, if there were any Iudge in all the countie of Uenice, [Page 949](#) which by good and sufficiēt information, should be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine,* or mainteined any other religion then was cōteined in the articles of their confession, they desired him that he would cōmunicate the same vnto them, and with all obedience, they offered themselues to whatsoeuer should be thought iust and reasonable. Upon this request Cardinal Sadolet answered by his letters writtē by his Secretary, and signed with his owne hand, the tenor whereof heere ensueth.

I haue seene your request, and haue red the Articles of youre confession,* wherein there is much matter contained, and do not vnderstand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same, which you haue confessed. It is most true, that many haue reported diuers things of you, worthy of reproofe, which after diligent enquiry made, we haue found to be nothing else but false reports and slaunders. As touching the rest of youre Articles, it seemeth vnto me, that there are many wordes therein, which might well be chaunged without preiudice vnto your confession. And likewise it seemeth to me that it is not necessary that you should speake so manifestly

against the Pastours of the Church. For my parte, I desire youre welfare, and would be sory that you should be so spoyled or destroyed, as they do pretende. And to the ende you shall the better vnderstande my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will be at my house by Cabriers, whether ye may resort vnto me eyther in greater or smaller number, as you will, and returne safely without any hurt or damage, and there I will aduertise you of all things that I thinke meete for your profite and health.

About this time, which was the yeare of our Lord 1542. the Uicelegate of Auinion assembled a great number of men of warre at the sure of the B. of Cauaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the Cardinall Sadolet went with speede vnto the Uicelegate, and shewed him the request of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the Articles of their confession, and the offers that they made: so that for that present, the army retired without any damage or hurt done vnto y^e inhabitāts of Cabriers. After this the Cardinall Sadolet went vnto Rome: but before his departure he sent for diuers of Cabriers, and certaine farmers of his owne, whom he knew to be of y^e number of those which were called Lutheranes, and told thē that he would haue them in remembrance, as soone as he came vnto Rome, and cōmunicate their Articles and confession vnto the Cardinals,* trusting to finde a meane to haue some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, & all Christendome brought to an vnitie and concord: at the least, nothing at all doubting, but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amēded, aduertising them in the meane time to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray for that they had many enemies. Wyth this Oration of Cardinall Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at y^e sute of Cardinal! Sadolet they should haue aunswer of their confession. But at his returne, they vnderstoode that he founde all thinges so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortall warre agaynst all such as would not liue according to the ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewise sayde the Treasurer of Carpentras,* who albeit he payed out money to furnish souldiours that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did ayde them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate: whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himselfe.

On the other parte, the Byshop of Aix and Cauaillon pursued still the execution of the arest of Merindoll. Then it was ordeyned by the court of parliament, that according to the kings letters Iohn Durand cōsailer of the Court of parliament, with a Secretarie: and the Bishop of Cauaillon with a doctor of diuinitie, should go vnto Merindoll, and there declare vnto y^e inhabitants the errours and heresies which they knew to be cōteined in their cōfession, and make them apparant by good and sufficient information, and hauing so conuicted them by the worde of God, they should make them to renounce & abiure the sayde heresies. And if the Merindolians did refuse to abiure, then they should make relatiō therof, that the Court might appoint how they should further proceede. After this decree was made, the Bishop of Cauaillon would not tary vntil the time which was appointed by the Court, for the execution of this matter: but he hymselfe with a Doctour of Diuinitie,* came vnto Merindoll to make them to abiure. Unto whom the Merindolians aunswered that he enterprised against the authoritie of the Parliament, and that it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstāding, he was very earnest with thē that they should abiure, & promised them, if they would so doe, to take them vnder his wynges & protection, euen as the hen doth her chickens, & that they should be no more robbed or spoyled. Thē they required that he would declare vnto thē what they should abiure.* The Bysh. aūswered

that y^e matter needed no disputation, & that he required but onely a generall abiuratiō of all errors, which would be no damage or preiudice to them: For he himselfe would not sticke to make the lyke abiuration. The Merindolians aunswered him agayne, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree & ordinaunce of the Court, or the kyngs letters, wherein he cōmaunded that first the errors should bee declared vnto thē, wherof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to vnderstād what those errors & heresies were, that being enformed therof by the word of God, they might satisfie the kyngs letters: otherwise it were but hypocrisie & dissimulation, to doe as he required them. And if he could make it to appeare vnto them by good & sufficiēt information, that they had holdē any errors & heresies,* or should be conuict therupon by the word of God, they would willingly abiure: or if in their confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would reuoke the same. Contrarywise, if it were not made manifest vnto them, that they had holden any heresies, but that they had alwayes liued accordyng to the doctrine of the Gospell, and that their confession was grounded vpon the same: they ought by no meanes, to moue or constrayne them, to abiure any errors which they held not, & that it were plain^{ly} agaynst all equitie and iustice so to do.

Then the Byshyp of Cauaillon was maruelously angry & would heare no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God,* but in a furie cursed and gaue him to the deuill that first inuented that meane. Thē the Doctour of Diuinitie whom the Bishop brought thether, demaunded what Articles they were, that were presented by the inhabitaunts of Merindoll, for the Byshop of Cauaillō had not yet shewed thē vnto him. Thē the bishop of Cauaillon deliuered the Doctour the confession. Whiche after he had read, the Byshop of Cauaillon sayd, what? will you any more witnesse or declaration? this is full of heresie. Thē they of Merindoll demaūded in what point. Whereunto the Byshop knew not what to aunswere. Then y^e Doctour demaunded to haue tyme to looke vpon the Articles of the cōfession, and to consider whether they were agaynst the Scriptures or no. Thus the Byshop departed, beyng very sore agreeued that he could not bryng his purpose to passe.

After viij. dayes the Byshop sent for this Doctour, to vnderstand how he might order himself to make those heresies appeare, which were in the sayd confession.* Whereunto the Doctour aunswered, that he was neuer so much abashed: for when he had beholden the Articles of the confessiō, and the authorities of the Scripture that there were alledged for the confirmation thereof, hee had founde that those Articles were wholly agreeable and accordyng to the holy Scriptures, and that hee had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the dayes of his lyfe, as he had in those viij. dayes, in lookyng vpon those Articles and the authorities therein alledged.

Shortly after, the Bysh. of Cauaillon came vnto Merindoll, & callyng before him the childrē both great & smal, gaue them money, & commaunded thē with fayre wordes, to learne the Pater noster & the Creede in Latin.* The most part of them aunswered that they knew the Pater noster, & the Creede already in Latin, but they could make no reasō of that which they spake, but onely in the vulgare tongue. The Bysh. aunswered, y^t it was not necessary they should be so cunnyng, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin, & that it was not requisite for their saluation, to vnderstād or to expoūd the Articles of their fayth: for there were many Byshops, Curates, yea & Doctours of Diuinitie, whom it would trouble to expoūd the Pater noster,* & the Creede. Here y^e Bailiffe of Merindoll, named Andrew Mainard, asked to what purpose it would serue, to say the Pater noster and the Creede, & not to vnderstand the same: for in so doying, they should but

mocke & deride God. Thē sayd the Byshop vnto him, do you vnderstād what it signified by these wordes, I beleue in God? * The Bailiffe aunswered, I should thinke my selfe very miserable, if I dyd not vnderstand it, & then he began orderly to geue account of his fayth. Then sayd the Byshop. I would not haue thought there had bene so great Doctours in Merindoll. The Bailiffe aunswered: * the least of the inhabitauntes of Merindoll, can do it, yet more readely then I: but I pray you, question with one or two of these young childrē, that you may vnderstand whether they be well taught or no. [Page 950](#) But the Bishop either knew not how to question wyth them, or at the least, would not.

Then one named Pieron Roy sayde, Sir, one of these children may questiō with another, if you thinke it so good: and the Bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his felowes, with such grace and grautie, as if he had bene a Scholemaister, and the childrē one after another, aunswered so vnto the purpose, y^t it was maruelous to heare: For it was done in the presence of many, amōg whom there were four religious men y^t came lately out of Paris, * of whom, one said vnto the Bishop, I must needs confesse that I haue often bene at the common schooles of Sorbone in Paris, where I haue hearde y^e disputations of the Diuines: but yet I neuer learned so much as I haue done by hearing these yong children. Then sayd William Armant: did ye neuer reade that which is written in xj. Chapter of S. Mathew, where it is sayde: O father, * Lord of heauen and earth, I render thanks vnto thee, that thou hast hidden these thyngs from the sage and wise men of the worlde, and hast reuealed them vnto yong infants. But beholde O father, such was thy good will and pleasure. Then euery mā marueiled at the ready and witty aunsweres of the children of Merindoll.

When the Bishop saw that he could not thus preuaile, he tried another way, and went about by faire & flattering wordes, to bring his purpose to passe. Wherefore, causing the straungers to go apart, he sayd that he now perceaued they were not so euill as many thought them to be: Notwithstanding, for the cōtentatiō of them, which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abiuration, which onely the Bailife, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any Notary to record the same in writing, * and in so doing they should be loued and fauoured of all men, and euē of those which now persecuted them: and that they should susteine no infamy therby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the Pope, and to the high Court of Parliament of Prouince: And also if any man in time to come, woulde turne the same to their reproch, or alledge it against them to their hurt or damage, they might vtterly denie it, and say they made no abiuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to proue the same. For this purpose he desired them to talke together, to the ende there might be an ende made in this matter, without any further busines.

The Bailife and the two officers, with dyuers other Auncients of the towne, aunswered, that they were fully resolued, not to cōsent to any abiuratiō, howsoeuer it were to be done, except that (which was alwaies their exceptiō) they could make it appeare vnto thē by the word of God, that they had holden or mainteined any heresie: marueling much that he woulde go about to perswade them to lye to God and the world. And albeit that all men by nature are lyars, yet they had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed of lying in any matter, were it neuer so small. Also that they ought diligently to take heede, * that their children did not accustome or vse themselues to lie, and therefore punished them very sharply, when as they

tooke them with any lye, euen as if they had committed any robbery: for the Diuell is a lyer and the father of lyes. Heere the Byshop rose vp in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

Within a while after, the Bishop of Aix solicited maister Iohn Durandus Councellour of the Court of the Parlament of Prouince, to execute the commission which was geuen him, that is, to go vnto y^e place of Merindoll, together with the Secretarie of the sayd Court,* and there, in y^e presence of the Byshop of Cauaillon, accompanied with a Doctour of Diuinitie, to declare the errours and heresies which the Bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindoll to be infected and intangled withall, and according to their dutie, to make it appeare by the word of God, and so being conuict, to make them abiure and renounce the sayd heresies. Whereupon the said Counceller Durandus, certified the day that he would be present at Merindoll, to the end & purpose that none of the inhabitaunts should be absent. At the day appointed, the said Counseller Durandus, the Byshop of Cauaillon,* a Doctour of Diuinitie, & a Secretary, came vnto Merindoll, where as was also present, diuers Gentlemen and men of vnderstanding, of all sorts, to see this commission executed. Then they of Merindoll were aduertised, that they should not appeare all at once, but y^t they should keepe themselues apart, and appeare as they should be called, in such order & number, as should be appointed vnto them. After that Durandus, the Byshop of Cauaillon, the Doctour of Diuinitie, and the Secretary were set in place where iustice was accustomed to be kept, there was called forth Andrew Maynard, the baylife of Merindoll, Ienon Romane, and Michelin Maynard * Syndiques, Iohn Cabrie, and Iohn Palene, auncients of Merindoll, and Iohn Bruneroll vnderbaylife. After they had presented themselues with all due reuerence, the Counseller Durandus spake thus vnto them.

You are not ignoraunt that by the Arrest geuen out by the high Court of Prouince, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children: your houses also to be beaten downe, and your towne to be rased and made desolate, &c. as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the King our most gracious Prince, to send his letters vnto the said Court, commanding that the sayd arrest should not so rigorously proceede against you: but if it could, by sufficient information be proued, that you or any of you had swarued frō the true Religion, demonstratiō should be made thereof vnto you by the word of God, wherby you might be reduced againe to the flocke of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the saide Court of Parlament, that the Bishop of Cauaillon, with a Doctour of Diuinitie, should in my presence, declare vnto you the errours and heresies wherewith they say, you are infected: and after good demonstration made by the word of God, you should publikely and solemnly renounce and abiure the sayde heresies, and in so doynge, shoulde obtaine the grace and pardon contained in the Kings letters: Wherefore shew your selues this day, that you be obedient vnto God, the King, and y^e Magistrates. When he had thus spoken, what aunswere you (sayd he) to that which I haue propounded?

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife, desired that they would graunt them an Aduocate to answere according to the instructiōs, which they would giue him,* for so much as they were men vnlearned, and knew not how to answere, as in such a case was requisite. The Counseller aunswere that he would heare their aunswere neither by Aduocate nor by writing, but woulde heare them aunswere in their owne persons: Notwithstanding he woulde giue them leaue to go apart and talke together, but not to aske any counsell, but onely amongst themselues: and then to aunswere one after another. Upon this determination, the Bayliffe and the two Syndiques, with

other two ancient men, talked together a while, and determined that the two Syndiques should speake first, and after them the Baylife, then the two auncient men, euery man accordyng as God should geue them grace, and by and by, presented themselues. Whereat the Counseller Durandus was greatly abashed,* to see that they had agreed and determined so speedely. Then Michelin Maynard began to aunswere, desiring the Counseller and the Byshop, with the other assistance, to pardon him if that he aunswered ouerrudely, hauing regard that they were poore, rude, and ignoraunt men. His aunswere heere followeth.

We are greatly bound (sayth he) to geue God thanks, that besides other his benefites bestowed vpō vs,* he hath now deliuered vs frō these great assaultes, and that it hath pleased him to touch the hart of our noble King, that our cause might be intreated with iustice, and not by violence. In like maner are we also bounde to pray for our noble King, which following y^e example of Samuell & Daniell, hath not disdeined to looke vpon the cause of his poore subiects. Also we render thanks vnto the Lords of the Parlament, in that it hath pleased them to minister iustice according to the Kings commandemēt. Finally, we thanke you my Lord Durandus, Commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you in so few wordes, to declare vnto vs the maner and order how we ought to proceede. And for my part, I greatly desire to vnderstand and know the heresies and errours, wherof I am accused, and where as they shall make it appeare vnto me, that I haue holden any errours or heresies, I am contented to amende the same, as it shall be ordeined and prouided by you.

After him aunswered Ienon Romane the other Syndique, a very auncient father, approuing all that which his fellow before had sayde, geuing God thanks that in hys time, euen in his latter daies, he had seene and heard so good newes, that the cause of Religion shoulde be decided and debated by the holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard auncient men say, that they could neuer obteine of the Iudges in all their persecution, to haue their cause debated in such sort.

Then Andrew Maynard the Baylife aunswered sayeng: that God had geuē to those two Syndiques the grace to answere so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or adde any more thereunto. Notwithstanding it seemed good that their answeres were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothing else, but [Page 951](#) mocke and gyre at all that had bin sayd: wherfore he required the Commissioner to looke vnto the matter. Then the Commissioner was very angry and sharpely rebuked his Secretary, commaunding him to sit nearer and to write their answeres word for word, and he himselfe with a singular memory, repeated their answeres, and oftētimes asked if it were not so. The sayd aunsweres being thus put in writing, the Cōmissioner asked the baylife if he had any more to answere, sayeng that he had done him great pleasure to shewe him his Secretaries faulte, willing him to speake boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the Baylife said, for somuch as it hath pleased you to geue me audience & liberty to speake my mind freely: I say moreouer, that it semeth vnto me, that there is no due forme of processe in this iudgemēt: for there is no partie heere that doth accuse vs.* If we had an accuser present, which according to the rule of the Scripture, either should proue by good demonstration out of the olde and new Testament, that wherof we are accused, or if he were not able, should suffer punishment due vnto such as are heretickes: I thinke he would be as greatly troubled to mainteine his accusations, as we to aunswere vnto the same.

After that the Baylife had made this answer, Iohn Palenc,* one of the auncients of Merindol, saide that he approued all that had bene sayd by the Syndiques, and that he was able to say no more then had bene said by them before. The Commissioner sayd vnto him: you are (I see) a very auncient man, and you haue not liued so long, but that you haue some thing to aunswere for your part, in defence of your cause. And the sayde Palenc aunswered: seeing it is your pleasure that I sh•uld say something, it seemeth vnto me vnpossible that (say what we can) we shoulde haue either victory or vantage: for our iudges be our enemies.

Then Iohn Bruneroll vnderbaylife at Merindoll, answered, that he would very faine know the authority of y^e Counseller Durandus, Commissioner in this cause, for as much as the said Counseller had geuē them to vnderstād, that he had authority of the high Court, to make them abiure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to geue them so doing, the pardon contained in the Kings letters, and quite them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said Commissioner did not geue them to vnderstand, that if they could not be found, by good and sufficient information, that they were in error, he had any power or authoritie to quite and absolue them of the sayd sentence and condemnation: Wherefore it seemed that it should be more vauntage for the sayd Merindolians, if it shoulde appeare that they were heretickes, then to be found to liue according to the doctrine of the Gospell. For this cause he required, that it woulde please the sayd Commissioner to make declaration therof: concluding that if it did not appeare by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swarued from the faith, or if there were no accuser that woulde come foorth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled eyther in body or goodes.

These things were thus in debating from seauen of the clocke in the morning, vntill xj. Then the Commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one of the clocke at after noone, they were called for agayne, and demaunded whether they woulde say any thyng else,* touchyng that which was propounded in the morning, by the said Commissioner. They aunswered, no. Then sayd the Commissioner, what do you conlude for your defence? The two Syndiques aunswered: we conlude that it would please you to declare vnto vs the errors and heresies, whereof we are accused. Then the Commissioner asked the Byshop of Cauaillon, what informations he had agaynst them. The Byshop spake vnto him in his eare, and would not aunswere aloud. This talke in the eare continued almost halfe an houre, that the Commissioner and all other that stode thereby, were weary thereof. In the ende, the Commissioner sayd vnto them, that the Byshop of Cauaillon had told him, that it was not needefull to make it apparant by information, for such was the cōmon report. Herevnto they aunswered: that they required the causes and reasons alledged by the Byshop of Cauaillon, against them, should be put in writing. The Byshop was earnest to the contrary,* and woulde haue nothyng that eyther he sayd or alledged, to be put in writing.

Then Iohn Bruneroll required the Commissioner, that at the least, he would put in writing, that the Byshop would speake nothing agaynst them, that they could vnderstand, and that he would not speake before the Commissioner but only in his eare. The Byshop on the cōtrarie part, defended that he would not be named in processe. There was great disputation vpon this matter, and cōtinued long. Thē the Cōmissioner asked the Merindolians if they had the Articles of their confession, which they had presented to the high Court of Parliament. Then they required that their confession might be read, and by the readyng thereof they might vnderstand whether it were

the doctrine, which they held, & the confession which they had presented, or no. Then the confession was read publickely before thē,* which they did allow and acknowledged to be theirs. This done the Commissioner asked the Doctour if he did finde in the sayd confessiōs, any hereticall opinions, wherof he could make demōstration by the word of God, either out of the old or the new Testamēt. Then spake the Doctour in Latin a good while. After he had made an end: Andrew Mainard the Bayliffe desired the Commissioner, accordyng as he had propoūded, to make the errours and heresies that they were accused of,* apparaūt vnto them by good information, or at the least, to marke those Articles of their confession, which the Byshop & the Doctours pretēded to be hereticall, requiryng him also to put in Register, their refusall, aswell of the Byshop as of the Doct. of whō the one spake in his eare, and the other in Latine, so that they of Merindoll could not vnderstand one word. Then the Commissioner promised thē to put in wrytyng all that should make for their cause. And moreouer he sayd that it was not needefull to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be sayd to them, then had bene sayd to those, which were already called. And this is y^e summe of all that was done at the after noone.

Many which came thether to heare these disputations: supposing that they should haue heard some goodly demōstrations, were greatly abashed to see the Byshop and the Doctour so confoūded: which thyng afterward turned to the great benefite of many: for hereby they were moued to require the cōpyes of y^e confession of their fayth: by meanes wherof they were conuerted and embraced the truth, and namely iij. Doctours, who wēt about diuers tymes to diswade the Merindoliās from their fayth: whose ministry God afterwarde vsed in the preachyng of his Gospel.* Of whom one was Doctour Combaudi Prior of S. Maximin, afterwarde a Preacher in the territory of the Lords of Berne. An other was Doctour Somati, who was also a Preacher in the Bailiwycke of Tonon. The other was Doctour Heraudi, pastour and Minister in the Countie of Newcastle.

After this the inhabitaunts of Merindoll were in rest and quietnes for a space, in so much that euery man feared to goe about to trouble them, seyng those which persecuted them, did receaue nothyng but shame and confusion: as it dyd manifestly appeare,* not onely by the suddeyne death of the President Chassanee, but also many other of the chiefest Counsellors of the Parliament of Prouince, whose horrible end terrified many, but specially y^e straūge and fearefull exāple of that bloody tyran Iohn de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutours whereof we haue spoken before.

Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the aduersaries for a tyme, stayd the violence and execution of that cruell sentence or Arrest geuen out by the Parliament of Prouince, agaynst the Merindoliās, vntill Iohn Miniers, an exceedyng bloody tyran, began a new persecution. This Miniers beyng Lord of Opede neare to Merindoll,* first began to vexe the poore Christians by pillyng and polyng, by oppression & extortion, getting frō them what he could, to enlarge his Segnorie or Lordshyp, whiche before was very base. For this cause he put v. or vi. of his owne Tenautes into a Cisterne vnder the ground,* and closing it vp, there he kept them, till they dyed for hunger, pretēding that they were Lutheranes, and Uadoys, to haue their goodes and possessions. By this and such other practises, this wretche was aduaūced in short space, to great wealth and dignitie, & so at lēgth became not onely the chief Presidēt of the high Court of Parliament, but also the kynges Lieutenaunt generall in the countrey of Prouince,* in the absence of the Lord Grignan, then beyng at the Councell of Wormes in Germany. Now therfore seyng no

oportunitie to be lacking •o accomplish his deuilish enterprise, he employed all his p•wer, richesse, & authoritie not onely to confirme and to reu•ue that cruell Arrest geuen out before by the Court of Par•iament: but also (as a right minister of Sathan) hee exceedyngly encreased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothyng more be added thereunto. And to bryng this mischief to passe, he forged a most impudentlye,* geuyng the kyng to vnderstād that they of Merindoll & all the countrey neare about, to the nūber of twelue or fiueten thousand, were in the field in armour with theyr Ensigne displayed, entendyng to take the Towne of Marseille, and [Page 952](#) make it one of the Cantons of the Switzers: And to stay this enterprise,* he sayd it was necessary to execute the Arrest manu militari, and by this meanes he obteyned the Kings letters patents, thorough the helpe of the Cardinall of Tournon, commaunding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding that the King had before reuoked the sayde sentence, and geuen straight commaundement that it should in no wise be executed, as before is mentioned.

After this he gathered all the Kynges armye, whyche was then in Prouince ready to go agaynst the Englishmen, and tooke vp all besides, that were able to beare armour, in the chieftest Townes of Prouince, and ioyned them with the armye which the Popes Legate had leuied for that purpose, in Auinion and all the countrey of Uenice, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindoll, Cabriers, and other Townes and Uillages, to the number of xxij. geuyng commission to his souldiours to spoile, ransacke, burne, and to destroy altogether, and to kill man, woman and child, without all mercy, sparing none: no otherwise then the Infidels and cruell Turkes haue dealt with the Christians, as before in the story of the Turkes, you may reade.

For as the Papistes and Turkes are like in their Religion, so are the sayd Papistes like, or rather exceede them, in all kindes of cruelty that can be deuised. But this Arch-tyrant before he came to Merindoll, ransackt and burnt certaine townes, namely La Roche, S. Stephens, Uillelaure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabrierettes, S. Martin, Pipin,* and other places mo, notwithstanding that the Arrest extended but only to Merindol. Where the most of the poore inhabitants were slaine and murthered without any resistance: womē and maydens rauished: women with child and little infants borne and to be borne, were also most cruelly murthered:* the pappes of many women cut off, which gaue sucke to their children, which looking for sucke at their mothers brest being dead before, died also for hunger. There was neuer such crueltie and tirannie seene before.

The Merindolians seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houses and fled into the woods, and remained that night at the Uillage Sanfales and thereabouts, in wonderfull feare and perplexitie: for the Bishop of Cauaillon, deputie to the Bishop of Romes Legate, had appointed certaine Captaines to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding thēselues in woods, for there was daunger on euery side, and Miniers had commaunded vnder paine of death, that no mā should ayde them by any meanes, but that they should be slaine without pitie or mercy, wheresoeuer they were found. The same Proclamation was of force also, in the Bishop of Romes dominions thereby: and it was sayde that the Bishops of that countrey did finde a great part of the army. Wherefore they went a tedious and a paynefull iourney, carieng their children vpon their shoulders, and in their armes, and in their swadling clothes, and many of them also being great with child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thether was already resorted a great number which had lost their goodes, and saued themselues by flight.

Not long after, it was shewed them how that Miniers was comming with all his power, to giue the charge vpon them. This was in y^e euening, and because they should go thorough rough and combersome places, and hard to passe by, they all thought it most expedient for their safegard to leaue behinde them, all the women and children, with a few other, and among them also, certeine Ministers of the Church: the residue were appointed to go to the towne of Mussie. And this did they vpon hope that the enemie would shew mercy to the multitude of women and children,* being destitute of all succour. No tounge can expresse, what sorrow, what teares, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that wofull departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated asūder, the husband from his deare wife, the father from his sweete babes and tender infants, the one neuer like to see the other againe aliue. Notwithstanding, after the Ministers had ended their ordinary Sermons, with euening Prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to auoyde a greater inconuenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed ouer y^e great hill of Libron, they might see many villages and farmes set on fire. Miniers in the meane time, had deuised his army into two partes, marching himselfe with the one, towards the Towne of Merindoll, and hauing knowledge by espiall whether the Merindolians were fled, he sendeth the other parte to set vpon them, and to shewe theyr accustomed crueltie vpon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of Miniers armye, eyther of good will, or mooued with pitie, priuily conueyed themselues awaye, and came vnto them, to geue thē warning that their enemies were comming: and one from the top of an high rocke, where he thought that the Merindolians were vnderneath, casteth downe two stones, and afterward, although he could not see them, he calleth vnto them; that they should immediately flye from thence. But the enemies suddenly came vpon them,* finding them all assembled together at praiers, and spoyled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backes: some they rauished: some they whipped and scourged: some they sold away like cattell, practising what cruelty and villanie soeuer they could devise against them. The women were in number about fiue hundreth.

In the meane time Miniers came to Merindoll, where he founde none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yelded himselfe to a souldiour, promising him for his raunsome, two French crownes. Miniers woulde haue had him away by force, but it was answered that the souldiour ought not to lose his prisoner. Miniers therefore paying the two crownes himselfe, tooke the young man, and caused him to be tyed to an Oliue tree, and shot thorough with harquebushes, and most cruelly martired.* Many Gentlemen which accompanied Miniers against their willes, seeyng thys cruell spectacle, were mooued wyth greate compassion, and could not forbear teares. For albeit this yong man was not yet very well instructed, neyther had before dwelt at Merindoll, yet in all hys tormentes hauyng alwayes hys eyes lyfted vp to heauen, wyth a loude voyce, he ceased not still to call vpon God: and the last words that he spake, were these: Lord God, these men take away my life full of miserie, but thou wilt giue vnto me life euerlasting, by thy sonne Iesus Christ: to whome be glory. So was Merindoll without any resistance, valiantly taken, ransackt, burnt, rased,* and layed euen with the ground. And albeit there was no man to resist, yet this valiant Captaine of Opede armed from toppe to toe, trembled for feare, and was seene to chaunge his colour very much.

When he had destroyed Merindoll, he layed seege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordinaunce,* but when hee coulde not winne it by force, he with the Lorde of the Towne, and

Poulin his chiefe Captaine, persuaded wyth the inhabitauntes, to open their gates, solemnely promising, that if they would so do, they would lay downe theyr armour, and also that their cause should be heard in iudgement with all equitie and Iustice, and no violence or iniurie should be shewed against them. Upon this,* they opened their gates, and let in Miniers with his Captaynes and all his army. But the Tyraunt when he was once entred, falsified his promise, and raged like a beast. For first of all he picked out about thirtie men,* causing them to be bound and caried into a medowe neare to the Towne, and there to be miserably cut and hewen in peeces of hys souldiours.

Then, because he would leaue no kinde of crueltie vnattempted,* hee also exercised outrage and fury vppon the poore selly women, and caused fortie of them to be taken, of whome diuers were great with child, and put them into a barne full of strawe and hey, and caused it to be set on fire at foure corners. And when the sely women running to the great window, where the hey is wont to be cast into the barne, woulde haue leaped out, they were kepte in with pikes and halberdes. Then there was a souldyore which moued with pitie at the crieng out and lamentation of the women, opened a dore to let them out, but as they were comming out, the Tyraunt caused them to be slaine and cut in peeces, opening their belyes, that theyr children fell out, whome they trode vnder their feete. Many were fled into the wineseller of the Castell,* and many hid themselues in caues, whereof some were caried into the medowe, and there stripped naked, were slaine: othersome were bound two and two together, and caried into the hall of the Castell, where they were slaine by the Captaynes, reioysing in theyr bloody butcherie and horrible slaughter.

That done, this Tyraunt, more cruell then euer was Herode, commaunded Captayne Iohn de Gay wyth a bande of ruffians, to go into the Church (where was a great number of women, children and yong infantes) to kill all that he founde there. Which the Captayne refused at the first, to do, sayeng: that were a crueltie vnused among men of warre. Whereat Miniers being displeased, charged him vpon payne of rebellion, and disobedience to the King, to do as he had commaunded hym. The Captaine [Page 953](#) fearing that myght ensue, entred with hys men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor olde.

In this meane while certaine souldiours went to ransacke, the houses for the spoyle: where they founde many poore men that had there hidden themselues in sellers and other priuy places, flying vpon them and crying out: kill, kill. The other souldiours that were without the town, killed all that they could meete with. The nōber of those that were so vnmercifully murdered,* were about M. persons of men, women, and children. The infantes that escaped their furie, were baptised againe of their enemies.

In token of this ioly victory, the Popes Officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, in the whych was engrauen the yeare and the day of the taking and sacking of this Towne, by Iohn Miniers Lorde of Opede, & chiefe President of the Parlament of Prouince, for a memoriall for euer, of the barbarous crueltie, the like whereof was yet neuer heard of. Whereupon we withall our posterity, haue to vnderstand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the Antichrist of Rome, is wont to vphold the impious seate of his abomination: Who now is come to such excesse and profunditie of all kindes of iniquitie,* that all iustice, equitie and veritie being set a side, he seeketh the defence of his cause, by no other thyng, then only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and sheding of blood.

In this meane while the inhabitauntes of Merindoll and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rockes, in great necessitie of viccualles, and much affliction: who had procured certaine men, whiche were in some fauour and authority with Miniers, to make request for them vnto him, that they might depart safely, whether it shoulde please God to leade them, with their wines and children, although they had no more but their shirts to couer their nakednesse.* Whereunto Miniers made this aunswere: I know what I haue to doe: not one of them shall escape my handes. I will send them to dwel in hel among the deuils.

After this there was a power sent vnto Costa, which likewise they ouercame, & committed there great slaughter.* Many of the inhabitantes fledde away and ranne into an orcharde, where the souldiours rauished the women and maidens, and when they had kept them there inclosed a day and a night, they handled them so beastly, that those which had great bellies, and the younger maidens dyed shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowfull examples of this cruell persecution against the Merindolians and their fellows:.* In so much that no kinde of cruell Tyrannie was vnpractised. For they whych escaped by woodes, and went wandering by mountaines, were taken and set in galleis, or else were slaine outright.

Many which did hide themselues in rockes and darke caues, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire, and smoke put vnto them. All which may more fully be vnderstand by the recordes of the Court, and by the pleas betweene them and their aduersaries in the highe Consistorie of the Courte of Paris: Where all the doores being set open, and in the publicke hearing of all the people, the case of this trouble and persecution was shortly after, solemnly debated betweene two great lawyers: the one called Aubrius, which accused Minerius the president committed to prison, and the other called Robertus, who was the defendant against him.* The cause why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and iudgement to be decided by the law, was this:

Henry the second French king, which newly succeeded Fraunces his father aboue mentioned, considering howe this cruell and infamous persecution againste hys owne subiectes and people, was greatly misliked of other Princes, and also objected both against him and his father, as a note of shamefull Tyrannie, by the Emperour hym selfe, Charles the fift,* and that in the publicke Councel of all the states of Germany, for so murdering & spoyling his own naturall subiects, without all reason and mercy: he therefore to the entent to purge and cleare himselfe thereof, caused the sayd matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Iustice.

Whiche cause, after it was pleaded to and froe, in publicke audience, no lesse then fiftie times, and yet in the ende, coulde not be determined, so it brake of and was passed ouer, and at length Minerius being loosed out of prisone, was restored to his libertie and possessions agayne, vpon this cōdition and promise made vnto the Cardinal, Charles of Lorraine, that he should banish and expell these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the Gospell) out of all Prouince.

Thus Minerius being restored, returned againe into Prouince, where hee began againe to attempt greater tyrannie, then before.* Neither did his raging furye cease to proceede, before the iust iudgement of God lighting vpon him, brought him by a horrible disease, vnto the torments of death, which he most iustly had deserued. For he being strocken with a strange kinde of bleding at the lower partes, in maner of a bloody flixe, and not being able to voyde any vrine, thus by

little and little his guttes wythin hym rotted: and when no remedy could be founde for this terrible disease, and his entrals now began to be eaten of wormes, a certaine famous surgeon named La Motte, whych dwelt at Arles, a man no lesse godly then expert in hys science: was called for, who after he had cured him of this difficultye of making water, and therefore was in great estimation with him, before he would procede further to searche the other partes of his putrified bodye, and to searche out the inward cause of his malady, he desired y^t they which were present in the chamber with Minerius,* wold depart a little a side. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest wordes, saying howe the time nowe required that he should aske forgeuenes of God by Christe, for his enormous crimes and cruelty in sheding so muche innocent blud, and declared the same to be the cause of this so straunge profusion of bloud comming from him.*

These woordes being hearde, so pearsed the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled then with the agonie of his disease: in so much that hee cryed out to lay hande vppon the Surgeon, as an hereticke. La Motte hearing thys, eftsoones conueyed him selfe out of sight, and returned againe to Arles. Notwythstanding it was not long, but he was sent for againe, being intreated by his frendes,* and promised most firmly, that his comming should be without any perill or danger: and so with much ado, he returned againe to Minerius, what time all nowe was past remedy: and so Minerius raging and casting out moste horrible and blaspheming wordes, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the nauill vpward, with extreme stinck of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we haue notoriously to vnderstand that God through his mighty arme, at length confoundeth such persecuters of his innocent and faithful seruants, & bringeth them to nought: to whome be praise and glory for euer.

Moreouer, besides this Iustice of God shewed vpon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten which folowed likewise vpon certaine of the other, which were the chiefe doers in this persecution vnder Minerius aforesaid, name'ly Lewes de Uaine, brother in lawe to the saide President, and also the brother, and the sonne in law to Peter Durāt,* maister butcher of the Towne of Aix: the which three dyd slay one an other vpon a certaine strife that fel amōg them. And vppon the same day the Iudge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in y^e same persecutiō, as he returned homewarde, going ouer the Riuer of Durance, was drowned. Ex Hist. Gallica. Henr. Pantal, & alijs.

Notes vppon the storie of Merindoll aboue recited.

THus hast thou heard (louing Reader) the terrible troubles, & slaughters committed by the Bishops and Cardinals againste these faithfull men of Merindol, whiche for the hainous tirannie and example of the acte moste vnmercifull, maye be comparable with any of the first persecutions in the primitiue Church, done either by Decius, or Dioclesianus.

Nowe, touching the sayd storie and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted,* that this was not the firste time that these men of this countrey, were vexed, neither was it of late yeres, that the doctrine and profession of them began. For (as by the course of time, and by auncient Recordes it maye appeare) these inhabitaunts of Prouince, and other coastes bordering about the confines of Fraunce, and Piemont, had their continuance of auncient time, and receiued their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, which were (as some say) about the yeare

of oure Lord 1170. or (as other doe reckon) about the yeare of our Lorde 1216. whereof thou haste (gentle reader) sufficiently to vnderstād,* reading before, pag. 230. Item, pag. 260 Item, pag. 267. &c.

These Waldenses, otherwise called Pauperes, de Lugduno, beginning of one Petrus Waldus, Citizen of Lyons, as is before shewed,* pag. 231. by violence of persecution being driuen oute of Lions, were disparclcd abroad in diuers countreis, of whom some fled to Massilia, some to Germanie, some to Sarmatia, Liuania, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia, diuers strayed to the Countreis of France, especially about Prouince, and Piemont, of whōe came these Merindolians, aboue mentioned, and the Angrognians [Page 954](#) with others, of whom now it foloweth likewise (God willing) to discourse.* They which were in the countrey of Tolouse, of the place where they frequented, were called Albij, or Albigenses. Against the which Albigenses, Frier Dominicus was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them 10. yeres together, and caused many of them to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted, and rewarded in the Apostolicall Court, and at lengthe by Pope Honorius the 3. was made Patriarch of the blacke gard of the Dominicke Friers.* Ex Antonino part. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

These Albigenses, against the Pope of Rome, had set vppe to them selues a Bishop of their owne, named Bartholomaeus, remaining about the coastes of Croatia, and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the Popes Cardinals, aboue specified, pag. 261. For the which cause the Sea of Rome tooke great indignation against the sayde Albygenses,* and caused all their faithfull Catholickes and obedienciaries to their Church to rise vp in armour, and to take the signe of the holy crosse vpon them, to fight against them. An. 1206 by reason wherof great multitudes of them were pitifully murdered, not onely of them about Tolouse, & Auinion in France (as is afore to be seene, pag. 273.) but also in al quarters, miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the raigne of Fridericke 2. Emperour, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Romane Popes.

Paulus Aemylius the French Chronicler in his 6. booke, wryting of these Pauperes de Lugduno,* and Humiliati, and deuiding these two orders from Albigenses, reporteth that the two former orders were reiectcd of Pope Lucius 3. And in their place, other two orders were approued, to witte, the order of the Dominicke Friers, and of the Franciscanes. Which seemeth not to be true, for somuch as this Pope Lucius was 20. yeres, before Innocent 3. and yet neither in the time of Pope Innocent, the order of the Dominicke Friers was approued, but in the time of Pope Honorius the 3. who was 40. yeres after Pope Lucius. Again, Bernardus Lutzenbergensis, in Catal. haeret affirmeth, that these Pauperes de Lugduno,* or Waldenses began first. an. 1218. Which if it be true, then must the other report of Aemylius be fals, wryting of the sect of Pauperes Lugdunenses, to be refused by Pope Lucius the 3. who was long before this in the yeare of our Lord. 1181.

Among other authours which wryte of these Waldenses, Ioan. Sleidan. Lib. 16. intreating of their continuance and doctrine,* thus wryteth of them. There be (sayeth he) in the French Prouince a people called Waldoys. These of an auncient trade and custome among them, doe not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome, and euer haue vsed a manner of doctrine somewhat more pure, then the rest, but especially since the comming of Luther, they haue encresed in more knowledge and perfection of iudgement. Wherefore they haue beene oftentimes complained

vppon to the kinge, as though they contemned the Magistrate, and would moue rebellion, with other suche matter falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, then of any iust cause of truthe. There be of them certaine Townes and Villages, among which Merindoll is one. Against these Merindolians sentence was geuen, fiue yeares past, at Aix, being the high tribunall seate or iudgement place of Prouince, that all should be destroyed without respecte of age or persone, in such sort, as that the houses being pluckt downe, the Village shoulde be made plaine, euen with the grounde, the trees also should be cut downe, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. All beit, though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the meanes of certaine that perswaded the king to the cōtrary, namely one William Bellay, who was at the same time, the kings Lieutenaunt in Piedmont. But at the last, the 12. day of April. an. 1545. Iohn Minerius President of the Counsell of Aix, calling the Senate, reade the kings letters, commaunding them to execute the sentence giuen &c.

*Moreouer, concerning the confession, and the doctrine of the sayde Merindolians receiued of auncient time from their forefathers the Waldenses, thus it followeth in the sayd boke and place of Iohn Sleidan.

At last (sayeth Sleidan, after he had described what great crueltie was shewed against them) when the reporte hereof was bruted in Germanie, it offended the mindes of many: and in deede, the Suitzers, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, entreated the King, that he woulde shewe mercy to suche as were fled. Whereunto the saide king Fraunces, made aunswere in thys wise: pretending that he had iust cause to doe, as he did, inferring moreouer, that they ought not to be carefull, what he did within his dominions, or how he punished his offendours, more then he was about their affaires.* &c, Thus hard was the king against them notwithstanding (sayeth Sleydan) that he, the yere before, had receaued from the sayde his subiectes of Merindoll, a confession of their faith and doctrine. The Articles whereof, were, that they, according to Christian faith, confessed, first God the father, creator of all things: The sonne, the onely Mediatour and Aduocate of mankinde The holy spirite, the comfortour, and instructour of all truth. They confessed also the Church, which they acknowledged to be the felowship of Gods elect, wherof Iesus Christ is the head. The ministers also of the Churche they did allowe, wishing that such which did not their duety, should be remoued.

And as touching Magistrates, they graūted likewise the same to be ordeined of God, to defend the good,* & to punish the transgressours. And how they owe to him, not loue onely, but also tribute, and custome, and no man herein to be excepted, euen by the example of Christ, who paied tribute himselfe. &c.

Likewise of Baptisme, they confessed the same to be a visible, and an outwarde signe, that representeth to vs the renuing of the spirite, and mortification of the members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lordes Supper, they sayde and confessed the same to be a thanksgeuing, and a memoriall of the benefite receaued through Christ.

Matrimonie they affirmed to be holy and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

That good workes are to be obserued & exercised of all men, as holy Scripture teacheth.

That false doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

Briefly, and finally, the order and rule of their faith, they confessed to be the olde and newe Testament, protesting that they beleueed all such things as are contained in the Apostolike Crede: Desiring moreouer, the King to geue credite to this their declaratiō of their faith, so that whatsoeuer was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prooue, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confession of the Merindolians out of Sleidan: and also concerning their descent and ofspring from the Waldenses.

***The Historie of the persecutions and warres against the people called Waldenses or Waldois in the valleis of Angrongne, Luserne, S. Martin, Perouse, and others, in the countrey of Piemont, from the yere 1555. to the yere of our Lord. 1561.**

Persecutours.

Martyrs. The
Causes.

- The Parliament of Thurin.
 - The President of S Iulian.
 - Iacomell Monke, an Inquisitour.
 - Monsieur de la Trinitie.
 - The Gentlemen of the Valleyes.
 - Charles Truchet.
 - Boniface Truchet.
 - The Collaterall of Corbis
 - The Collateral de Ecclesia.
 - The Duke of Sauoy.
 - Monkes of Pigneroll, and many other moe, enemies of God, and ministers of Sathan.
-
- The Martirs of the valley of Angrogne.
 - The Martyrs of the valley of Luserne.
 - The Martyrs of S. Martin.
 - The Martyrs of Perouse, and others.

In the cōutrey of Piemont.

From the yeare 1555. vnto 1561.

TO procede now further in the persecution of these Waldois,* or Waldenses, you haue herd hitherto, first how they deuiding themselues into diuers Countreis, some fled to Prouince, and to Tolouse, of whom sufficient hath bene sayd. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it foloweth now to entreat God willing. Thus these good men by long persecution, being driuen from place to place, were grieuouslye in all places afflicted, but yet could neuer be vtterly destroyed, nor yet

compelled to yeelde to the superstitious and false religion of y^e church of Rome: but euer abstained from theyr corruption and Idolatrie, as much as was possible, & gaue themselues to the worde of God, as a rule both truely to serue him, and to directe their liues accordingly. They had many bookes of the old and new Testament translated into their language. Theyr Minysters instructed them secretly, to auoyd the furye of theyr ennemies, whyche could not abide the light: all be it they did not instruct thē wyth suche puritie as was requisite. They liued in great simplicity, and with the sweate of theyr browes. They were quiete and peaceable [Page 955](#) among theyr neighbors, abstaining from blasphemy, and prophaning of y^e name of God, by othes, and such other impietie: from lewde games, dauncing, filthy songes and other vices and dissolute life, and cōformed their life wholly to the rule of Gods word. Their principal care was alwaies that God might be rightly serued, and his woorde truely preached: In so much, that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they neuer spared any thing, to establish the true and pure ministry of the worde of God and his Sacraments. Which was the cause that Sathan with his ministers, did so persecute them of late more cruelly then euer he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody & horrible persecutions which haue bene, not onely in Prouince, against those of Merindol & Cabriers: also against them of Prage and Calabria (as the histories afore written doe sufficiently declare) but also against them in the Countrey of Piedmont, remaining in the Ualley of Angrongne, and of Lucerne, and also in the Ualley of S. Martine, and Perouse, in the sayd countrey of Piedmont. Whych people of a long time, were persecuted by the Papists, and especially within these fewe yeares, they haue bene vexed in such sort, and so diuersly, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God alwayes miraculously deliuered them, as heereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the people of Angrongne had before this time, certaine to preach the word of God, and minister the sacramentes vnto them priuately: yet in the yeare of our Lorde 1555. in the beginning of the moneth of August, the Gospel was openly preached in Angrongne. The ministers and the people entended at the first, to kepe themselues still, as secrete as they mighte: but there was suche concourse of people from al parties, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a Church in the mids of Angrongne, where assembles were made, and Sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one Iohn Martin of Briqueras, a mile frō Angrongne, which vaunted euery where,* that he wold slit the ministers nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a Wolfe, which bitte of hys nose, so that he died thereof madde. Thys was commonly knowen to all the townes thereabout.

At this season the French king helde these foresaid valleis, & they were vnder the iurisdiction of the Parliament of Thurin. In the ende of Decēber folowing, newes was brought, that it was ordeined by the sayd Parliament, that certaine horsemen and footemen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrongne. Whereuppon some whych pretended great frēdship to this people, counselled thē not to goe forward with their enterprise: but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better

oportunitie. But they notwithstanding, calling vpon God, determined with one accord, constantly to persist in theyr religion, and in hope and silence, to abide the good pleasure of god: so that this enterprise against Angrongne, was soone dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Luserne.

In the moneth of March, An. 1556. the Ministers of the Ualley of S. Martine, preached openly. At that time certaine Gentlemen of the Ualley of S. Martine, tooke a good man,* named Barthelmew a booke binder, prisonner, as he passed by the said Ualley, the which was sent by and by, to Thurin, and there with a maruellous constancie, after he had made a good confession of his Faith, hee suffered death: In so much that diuers of the parlament were astonished and appalled at his constancie. Yet they of the sayde Parlament, being sore incensed against the Uandois, sent one named the President of S. Iulian,* associating vnto him, one called de Ecclesia, and others, for to hinder theyr enterprise. These comming first to the Ualley of Perouse, wher as yet no preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the Sermons at Angrongne, very much troubled and feared the poore people there.

From thence they went to the Ualley of S. Martine, and remained there a good while, tormentinge the poore people, and threatning their vtter ruine and destruction. After that they came to Luserne, troubling and vexing the people there, in like maner. From thence they went to Angrongne, accompanied wyth many Gentlemen, and a great rable of Priestes, of the sayde Countrey: but by the way, the President enquired for one dwelling at S. Iohns neare to Angrongne, and examined him whether hee had not baptised his childe at Angrongne, and wherfore he had so done.* The poore simple man aunswared, that hee hadde baptised his childe at Angrongne, because Baptisme was there ministred according to the institution of Christ. Thē the President in a great rage, commāded him in the kings name, to Baptise his childe again, or els he shuld be burnt. The poore man desired the President that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before hee shoulde make aunswaere thereunto. Which, after,* he had done in the hall before all the companie there present: he required the President that he woulde wryte and signe the same wyth hys owne hand, that he would discharge him before God of the danger of that offence, if he should baptise his childe again, and that he would take the pearill vpon him and hys. The President hearing this, was so confounded, that hee spake not one worde a good while after.* Then sayde he in a great furie, away thou vilaine, out of my sight: and after that he was neuer called againe any more.

After they were come to Angrogne, the President hauing visited the two Temples, caused a Monke to preache in the one, the people being there assembled, who pretēded nothing els, but only to exhort them to returne to the obedience of the Sea of Rome. The Monke with the President & all his retinue, kneeled downe twise, and called vpon the virgin Mary:* but the ministers and all the people stode still, and would not knele, making no signe or token of reuerence. Assoone as the Monke had ended hys Sermon, the people requested instantly, that their Minister might also be suffered to preache, affirming that the sayde Monke had spoken many thinges, which were not according to the woorde of God. But the President woulde not graunt their request. After that, the sayde President admonished them in the name of the king, and the Parlament of Thurin,* that they shoulde returne to the obedience of the Pope, vpon paine of losse of goodes and life, and vtter destruction of their towne: and withal he recited vnto them, the pitious discomfiture of their brethrē and frends, which had bene done before in Merindoll and

Cabriers, & other places in the country of Prouince. The ministers and the people answered that they were determined to liue according to the word of God, and that they wold obey the king and all their superiors in all things,* so that God were not thereby displeased: And furthermore, if it were shewed vnto them by the word of God, that they erred in any poynte of Religion, they were ready to receaue correction, and to be reformed. Thys talke endured about sixe houres together, euen vntil night. In the end, the President sayd there should be a disputation apoynted for those matters. Wherunto the people gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

Heere he remained 14. daies, daily practising newe deuises, to vexe and torment them,* wyth newe Proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head officers, now seuerally and nowe altogether, y^t so for fear he mighte make thē to relente: causing also assemblies to be made in euery Parish, by suche as hee apoynted, thinking thereby to deuide the people. Notwithstanding he nothing preuailed with all that he coulde doe: but still they continued constant. In somuch that they with one accorde, presented a briefe confession of their Faith, with an aunswere to certaine interrogatories made by the President, in the whych they confessed:

That the Religion wherein both they and theyr Elders had ben long instructed & brought vp, was the same,* which is conteined both in the olde and newe Testament, the which is also briefly comprised in the 12. Articles of the Christian belief.

Also, that they acknowledged the Sacraments instituted by Christe, whereby he distributeth abundauntly hys graces and great benefites, his heauenly riches and treasures, to all those which receiue the same, with a true and a liuely faith.

Furthermore, that they receaued the Creedes of the foure generall Councils, that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Calcedon, and also the Creede of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

Item, the ten Commaundementes expressed in the 20. chapt. of Exod. and in the 5. of Deut. in the which the rule of a godly & holy life, and also the true seruice whiche God requireth of vs, is briefly comprised: and therefore folowing this article, they suffered not by any meanes (sayd they) any grosse iniquities to raigne among them, as vnlawfull swearing, periury, blasphemy, cursing, sclandering, dissention, deceit, wrong dealing, vsury, gluttony, dronkenness, whoredom, theft, murther, sorcery, witchcraft, or such like: but wholly endeouored them selues to liue in the feare of God, and according to his holy will.

Moreouer, they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordeined of God, & that who so euer resisteth the same, resisteth the ordinaunce of God: and therefore humbly submitted themselues to theyr superiours, with all obedience, so that they cōmanded nothing against God.

[Page 956](#) Finally, they protested, that they woulde in no poynte be stubborne, but if that their forefathers or they had erred many one iote concerning true religion, the same beyng proued by the woord of God, they would willingly yeelde, and be reformed.

*The interrogatories, were concerning the Masse, auricular confession, baptisme, mariage, and burials, according to the institution of the Church of Rome.

*To the first they aunswared, that they receyued the Lordes supper, as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his Apostles: but as touching the masse, except the same might be prooued by the word of God, they would not receiue it.

To the second touching auricular confession, they said, that for their parte, they confessed them selues daily vnto God, acknowledging them selues before him, to be miserable sinners, desiring him of pardone and forgeuenesse of their sinnes, as Christe instructed his, in the prayer which he taught them: *Lord, forgeue vs our sinnes. And as S. Iohn sayeth: If we confesse our sinnes to God, hee is faithfull and iust to forgeue vs our sinnes, and to cleanse vs from all vnrighteousnesse. And according to that which God him selfe sayeth by his Prophet: O Israel, if thou returne, returne vnto me. And againe, O Israel, it is I, it is I, which forgeueth thee thy sinnes. So that, *seeing they ought to returne to God alone, and it is he only that forgeueth sinnes, therfore they were bound to confesse them selues to God onely,* and to no other. Also it appeareth, that Dauid in his Psalmes, and y^e Prophets, and other faithfull seruants of God haue confessed themselues, both generally and particularly vnto God alone: Yet if the contrary might be prooued by the woord of God, they woulde (say they) wyth all humblenesse receiue the same.

Thirdly, as touching Baptisme, they acknowledged and receiued that holy Institution of Christe, and administred the same with all simplicitie, as hee ordeined it in his holy Gospell, without any chaunging, adding, or diminishing in any poynt, & that all this they did in their mother tongue, according to the rule of S. Paul, who willeth that in the church euery thing to be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbor. But as for their coniurations, oyling, and salting, except the same might be proued by the sacred Scripture, they would not receiue them.

Fourthly, as touching burialles, they aunswered, that they knewe there is a difference betwene the bodies of the true Christians, * and the Infidels, for asmuch as the firste are the mēbers of Iesus Christ, temples of the holy ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrectiō of the dead, and therefore they accustomed to folow their dead to the graue reuerently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the woorde of God, as well to comfort the parentes and frendes of the dead, as also to admonish all men, diligently to prepare them selues to die. But as for the vsing of candles or lightes, praiers for the dead, ringing of belles, except y^e same might be proued to be necessary, by the word of God, and that God is not offended therwith, they wold not receiue them.

Fifthly, as touching obedience to mennes traditions, they receiued and allowed all those ordinances, * which (as S. Paule sayth) serue for order, decencie, & reuerence of the Ministerie. But as for other Ceremonies, which haue bin brought into the Church of God, either as a parte of his diuine seruice, either to merite remission of sinnes, or els to binde mens consciences, because they are mere repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receiue them.

And whereas the Commissioners affirmed the sayde traditions to haue ben ordeined by councils: * first they answeared, that the greatest part of them were not ordeined by councils. Secondly, that Councils were not to be preferred aboue the woorde of God, which saith: If any

man, yea or Angell from heauen, shoulde preache vnto you, otherwise then that which hath bene receiued of the Lorde Iesus,*let him be accursed. And therefore (said they) if Councels haue ordained any thing dissenting from the woorde of God, they would not receiue it.

Finally, they said, that the Councels had made diuers notable decrees concerning the election of Bishoppes, and Ministers of the Church: concerning Ecclesiasticall discipline, as wel of the Cleargie, as of the people: also concerning the distribution of the goodes and possessions of the Church.* And further, that all pastours which were eyther whoremongers, drunkardes, or offensiue in any case, shuld be put from their office. Moreouer, that whosoeuer should be present at the masse of a priest which was a whoremonger, should be excōmunicate. And many such other things, which wer not in any point obserued. And that they omitted to speake of many other thinges, whith were ordained by diuers Councels, very superstitious, and cōtrary to the holy Commaundements of God, as they would be ready to prooue (said they) if they should haue occasion and oportunitie thereunto.

Wherefore they required the Commissioners,* that a disputation might be had (as by the sayde President was pretended) publiquely and in their presence, and then if it might be prooued by the woorde of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or conuersation and maner of liuing, they were content, with all humblenesse to be corrected, and reformed, as they had before sayde: beseeching them to consider also that their religion had ben obserued & kept from their auncitours, vntill their time,* many hundred yeares together: and yet for their partes, being conuicted by the infallible woord of God, they would not obstinately stande to the defence therof: Saying moreouer, that they, together with the said Lordes Deputies, confessed all one God, one Sauour, one Holy Ghost, one Lawe, one Baptisme, one hope in Heauen: and in Summe, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmly founded and grouēd vpon the pure woord of God, wherefore it is sayd, That blessed are they which heare the same, and keepe it.

To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turkes,* Sarazens, & Iewes (which are mortall ennemies to our Sauour Christe) to dwell peaceablye in the fairest Cities of Christendome, by good reason they should be suffred to liue in the desolate mountaines & valleis, hauing their whole religion •ounded vpon the holy Gospel, and worshipping the Lord Iesus: and therefore they most humbly besought them, to haue pitie and compassion vpon them, and to suffer them to liue quietly in their deserts, protesting that they and theirs would liue in al feare & reuerence of God, with all due subiection and obedience to their Lord and prince, and to his Lieutenants and officers.

The President and the rest of the Commissioners perceiuing that they laboured in vaine, returned to Thurin, with the notes of their proceedings, the which immediatly were sent vnto the kings court, & there the matter remained one yeare,* before there was any answeare made thereunto: during which time, the Waldoyes liued in great quietnes, as God of his infinit goodnes is wont to geue some comfort & refreshing to his poore seruants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithfull so augmented, that throughout the valleis, Gods woorde was purely preached, & his sacraments duely administred, and no mas•e was song in Angrōgne, nor in diuers other places. The yere after, the President of S. Iulian with his associates, returned to Pigneroll, & sent for thither, the chiefe Rulers of Angrongne, & of the valley of Luserne, that is, for sixe of Angrongne, and for two of euery parish besides, and shewed vnto them, how that the

last yere they had presented their confession, the which by a decree made by the parliament of Thurin, was sent to the kings court,* & ther diligently examined by learned men, & condemned as hereticall. Therfore the king willed and commaunded them, to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome, vpon paine of losse both of goods and life: enioyning them moreouer, to geue him a direct aunswere within 3. daies. From thence he went to Luserne, & caused the housholders, with great threatnings to assemble them selues before certaine by him appoynted:* but they with one assent persisted in their former confession. And least they should seeme stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the Uniuersities of Christendom, and if the same in any part, by the word of God were disproued, it should be immediately amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to be no more disquieted.

The President not contēted with this, the next morning sent for sixe of Angrongne by him named, & for two out of euery other parish, the which he and the Gentlemen of the country threatned very sore,* and warned twelue of the chiefe of Angrongne, and certaine of the other parishes, to appeare personally at the Parliament of Thurine, and to bring before the Iudges of the said Parliament, their ministers and scholemaisters, thinking if they were once banished the countrey, that then their enterprise might soone be brought to an ende. To the which it was aunswared, that they could not, nor ought not to obey such a commandement.

A litle while after, Proclamation was made in euery place,* that no man shoulde receiue any preacher comming from Geneua, but onely suche as were appoynted by the Archbishop of Thurin, and other his officers, vpon paine of confiscation of their goodes, and losse of their liues, and [Page 957](#) that euery one should obserue the ceremonies, rites, & religion vsed in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the foresaid preachers of Geneua came into those quarters, that they should immediately be apprehended, and by no meanes their aboade there by any one to be concealed, vpon the paine aforesayde. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them, should be kept secrete, and also for their accusation, they shoulde haue the third part of the goodes confiscated, with a full pardone, if that the saide accusers were any of those which priuily did keepe or maintaine the said ministers: and that they and al other, which would returne to their mother the Church, mighte freely and safely come and recante before the sayde Commissioners.

At the same season the Princes of Germanie, and certaine of the Suitzers sent vnto the French king,* desiring him to haue pitie on the foresaide Churches, and from that time vntil thre yeeres after, the people of the foresaide valleyes were not molested by any of the kings officers: but yet they were sore vexed by the monkes of Pigneroll, and the Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin.

About that time a minister of Angrongne named Geffrey Uarialla, borne in Piemont, a vertuous and learned man,* and fearing God, went to visite certaine churches in those quarters where he was borne, and comming homeward, was taken at Berge, and from thence led to Thurin where he after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and the terrour of the aduersaries, most constantly suffred.

A fewe daies after, a minister of the valley of Luserne, returning to Geneua, was taken prisoner at Suse, & soone after sent to Thurin, and with an inuincible constancie made his confession

before those of the Parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman at the time of execution fained himselfe to be sicke,* and so conueied hym selfe away. And so likewise an other serued them, being appointed by the foresaid Court, to execute the poore minister. It is credibly reported, that the hangman which executed certain Germanes a litle afore, would by no meanes do this execution. Whereupon the minister was sent to prison againe, where after long & painful endurance, seing the prison doore open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

Nowe foure yeares being past, in such manner as we haue hitherto touched in this storie, in the yeare folowing, which was 1559. there was a peace concluded betweene the French king, and the king of Spaine. Whereupon the countrey of Piemont, (certaine townes excepted) was restored to the Duke of Sauoy: vnder whose regiment the foresaide Churches, and all other faithfull people in Piemont, continued in great quietnes, and wer not molested: and the Duke him selfe was content to suffer them to liue in their religion, knowing that he had no subiectes more faithfull and obedient then they were. But Sathan hating al quietnesse, by his ministers stirred the Duke against the sayde Churches of Piemont,* his owne naturall subiects. For the Pope and the Cardinales seeing the good inclination of the Duke towards this people, incensed him to doe that, which otherwise he would not. The Popes Legate also which then followed the Court, and other that fauoured the Church of Rome, laboured by all meanes to perswade the Duke, that hee ought to vanishe the sayde Waldoys, which mainteined not the Popes religion: alleging that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without preiudice and dishonour to the Apostolique Sec. Also that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinaunces and decrees of their holy mother the Church. And briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient & stubborn against the holy father, if he would in dede shew him selfe a louing and obedient sonne.

Such deuilishe instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith this poore people of the valleys and the Countrey of Piemont was so long vexed. And because they foresawe the great calamities which they were like to suffer: to find some remedy for the same (if it were possible) al the saide Churches of Piemont, with one common consent wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the onely cause why they were so hated, and for the which he was by their enemies so sore incensed against them, was their religion: which was no newe or light opinion, but that wherein they and their auncitours had long cōtinued, being wholly grounded vpon the infallible worde of God, contained in the olde and new Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be prooued by the same worde, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit them selues to be reformed, with all obedience. But it is not certaine whether thys aduertisemente was deliuered vnto the Duke, or no: for it was sayde, that he would not heare of that Religion. But howe so euer it was, in the moneth of March following, there was great persecution raised against the poore Christians, which wer at Carignan. Amongest whom there were certaine godly persones taken, & burnt within foure daies after, that is to saye, one named Mathurine, and his wife,* and Iohn de Carquignan, dwelling in the valley of Luserne, taken prisoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. The woman died with great constancie. The good man, Iohn de Carquignan had ben in prison diuers times before for religion and was alwaies deliuered by Gods singulare grace and prouidence. But seeing him selfe taken this last time, incōtinēt he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he shewed an inuincible cōstancie, and maruelous vertue, aswel by the pure confession which hee made touching the doctrine of saluation, as also in suffering

with patience the horrible torments which he endured both in prison, & also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great crueltie, and fearing man also more then God, looking rather to the earth, then vnto heauē, consented to returne to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Within fewe daies after,* these Churches of the sayde Waldoys, that is to say, Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suse were woonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, crueltie, and villany that was there cōmitted, it were too long: for breuities sake we will recite onely certaine of the principal and best knowen. The Churches of Meane & Suse suffered great afflictions. Their minister was taken amongst other. Many fled away, and their houses and goodes were ransackt and spoiled.* The Minister was a good & a faithfull seruaunt of God, and endued with excellent giftes and graces, who in the ende was put to moste shamefull and cruell death. The great pacience which hee shewed in the middes of the fire, greatly astonished the aduersaries. Likewise the Churches of Larche and Meronne were marueilouslye tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the galleis, other some consented & yelded to the aduersaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly knowen,* that those which yeelded to the aduersaries, were more cruelly hādled then the others which cōtinued constant in the truth. Wherby God declareth howe greatly he detesteth all such as play the Apostataes, and shrinke from the truth.

But for the better vnderstanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldoys, heere note, that first of all proclamations were made in euery place, that none should resort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but should liue after the custome of the Churche of Rome, vpon paine of forfeiture of their goods, and to be condemned to the Galleyes for euer, or loose their liues. Three of the most cruel persons that could be founde,* were appoynted to execute this cōmission. The first was one Thomas Iacomel, a Monke, and Inquisitour of the Romish faith, a man worthy for suche an office, for hee was an Apostata, and had renounced the knownen truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciouslye the poore Christians, againste his owne conscience, and of set purpose, as his bookes do sufficiently witnesse. He was also a whoremonger, and geuen ouer to al other villanies and filthy liuing, and in the horrible sinne of Sodomitrie, which he cōmonly vsed, he passed all his fellowes. Briefly,* he was nothing els but a misshapen monster both against God and nature. Moreouer, he so afflicted and tormented the poore captiues of the sayd Waldoys, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deser'ued not only to be hanged, but to be broken vpon y^e whele a hundred times, and to suffer so many cruell deathes, if it were possible: so great, so many, and so horrible were the crimes that he had committed.

The seconde was the Collaterall Corbis, who in the examination of the prisoners, was very rigorous & cruell, for he only demaunded of them whether they would go to the masse, or be burnt within three dayes, and in very dede executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported,* that hee seeing the constancie, and hearing the confession of the pore Martyrs, feeling a remorse, and tormented in conscience, protested that he would neuer meddle any more.

The thirde was the Prouost de la Iustice, a cruell and crafty wretch, accustomed to apprehende the poore Christians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the high way going to the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Luserne, or there aboutes. Thus the poore

people were alwayes as the seely sheepe in the Woolues iawes, or as the shepe which are ledde vnto the slaughter house.

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the [Page 958](#) valley of Luserne, and one of the Lordes of Angrongne, wrote to the sayde Commissioners, to vse some leuitie towards them of the valley of Lusern. By reason whereof, they were a while more gently entreated then the rest. At that season the monks of Pignerol, & theyr associates tormented greuously the churches neare about them.* They tooke the poore Christians as they passed by the waye, and kept them prisoners within their abbey. And hauing assembled a company of Ruffians, they sent them to spoyle those of the said churches, and to take prisoners, men, women & children, and some they so tormented, that they wer cōpelled to sweare, to returne to the masse, other some also they sent to the galleis, and other some they burnt cruelly. They whyche escaped, were afterwards so sicke, that they seemed to haue bene poysoned.* The same yeare there were two great earthquakes in Piemonte, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

The Gentlemen of the valley of S. Martin, intreated theyr tennauntes very cruelly, threatening them, and commaunding them to returne vnto the Masse, also spoyling them of th•yr goodes, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the meanes they could.* But aboue all the other, two especially, y^t is to say, Charles Truchet and Boniface hys brother, the whiche the 2. day of Aprill before day, wyth a company of Ruffians, spoyled a village of their owne subiectes, named Renclaret, the whiche assoone as the inhabitants of the said village perceiued, they fled into the mountaine couered with snow,* naked and without victuall, and there remayned vntill the thirde night after. In the morning certaine of his retinue toke a minister of the said valley prisoner, which was come out of Calabria, & was going to visite the poore people of Renclaret, and ledde hym prisoner to the Abbey, where soone after hee was burnt, with one other of the valley of S. Martin.

The third night after, they of Pragela hauing pity vpon the poore people of Renclaret,* sente aboute iiij. C. to discomfite the company of the Truchets, and to restore those which were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who notwithstanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the foure hundred hurt.

About a yeare before, the said Truchet being accōpanied with a company of ruffians, arrested prisoner the minister of Renclaret, as he was at his Sermon. But the people was so moued by this outrageous dealing, & specially the women, that they had almost strangled the saide Truchet, and the rest of them were so canuased, that they had no liste to come there agayne any more. By reason whereof hee so vexed them by processe, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him xvi.C. crownes.

Soone after the lordes of the sayde valley tooke another minister of the same valley,* as he was going to preach in a parish, a mile frō his house: but the people perceiuing that, speedily pursued him, and tooke him. The enemies seeyng that they were not able to leade hym away, wounded hym so sore, that they left him for dead. Whereupon they so persecuted the poore people, that they were almost destroyed.

Heere is not to be forgotten, that the same nyght in the whiche the companie of Truchet was discomfited, was so stormie and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that Countrey were so terrified, that they thought they should haue bene al destroied. Wherefore they vsed more gentlenes towards the people then before, except Charles Truchet, & hys brother,* the whych wente to the Duke, and made greeuous complaintes against the Waldoys, not only for that which was done and past, but also perswaded the duke, that they went about to builde three Fortresses in the mountaines, and also intended to maintaine certaine garrisons of strāgers: charging them further with diuers other crimes, of the whych they were in no poynt guiltie. The Duke being mooued by these false surmises, gaue in charge to the sayde accusers, and the Fortresse of the valley of S. Martine, the whych about twentie yere before was rased by the French men, shoulde be builde againe, and that therein shoulde be placed a perpetuall garrison, and that the people shoulde make so plaine and wide the rugged wayes, that horsemen myght easely passe, with diuers such other thyngs: and all this to be done at the costes & charges of those that woulde not submit them selues to the abedience of the Romaine Church.*

This commission being sealed, the Gentlemen caused the Fortresse to be built againe, and put therin a garrison, and proclaimed the commission. The poore people being thereat amased, withstoode the Commissioners, and sente certaine to the Duke: and immediatly after the Commissioners retourned to the Dukes Courte, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soone preuented this mischiefe: For the Truchets being at Nice, went to the Sea, with diuers noble men, and immediately they were taken prisoners by the Turkes, put into the Galleys, sore beaten wyth ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were deade: and lōg time after denying their nobilitie, were sent home,* hauing paid 400. crownes for their ransome. Some say, that the Duke himselfe was almost taken, but it is sure that hee fell sicke soone after.

In the moneth of April next folowing, the Lorde of Raconis was present at a Sermon, in a place neare vnto Angrongne. The sermon being ended, he talked with the ministers, and hauing discoursed as well of the Dukes sicknesse, as also of his clemencie and gentlenes, he declared to them, that the persecution proceded not of him, and that he meant not that the cōmission shuld haue bene so rigorously executed. After that he demaunded of them, what way they thought best to appease the Dukes wrath. They answered, that the people ought not to be mooued to seeke by any meanes, howe to please & appease the Duke, which mighte displease God. But y^e best way they knewe, was the same, wherwith the auncient seruaunts of God, vsed to appease the Pagane Princes and Emperours,* in the time of the great persecutions of the church, that is to say, to geue out and present vnto them in wryting, the confession of theyr faith, and defence of the religion which they professed: trusting that for as muche as the fury of diuers prophane and Ethnike Emperours and princes haue bene heretofore appeased by such meanes, the Duke being endued wyth such singular vertues, as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like meanes: And for that cause the poore people had before sent a supplication, wyth a Confession of theyr faith vnto the Duke, but they were not certaine whether he had receiued it, or no. Wherefore they desired him to present the same vnto the sayd Duke him selfe. Whereunto he agreed & promised so to do. Whereupon they sent three supplications: one to the Duke, the second to the Duches,* and the third to y^e dukes counsell, wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the poyntes thereof, whych they and their aunciters had of a long time obserued, being wholly grounded vpon the pure word of God: and if by the same worde it should

be proued, that they were in errour, they would not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the trueth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat asswaged for a litle while.

In the ende of Iune next following, the Lorde of Raconis, and the Lorde of Trinitie came to Angrogne, there to quellifie (as they sayde) the sore persecution. and caused the chiefe rulers and ministers to assemble together, propoundinge diuers poyntes of Religion concernyng Doctrine, the callyng of Ministers, the Masse, and obedience towards Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared vnto them that their confession was sent to Rome by the Duke, and daily they looked for aunswere.* To all these poynts the Ministers answered. After this they demaunded of the chiefe rulers, if that the Duke would cause Masse to be song in their parishes, whether they woulde withstand the same, or no. They answered simply that they would not. Then they demanded of them if that the Duke would appoynt them Preachers, whether they would receiue them. They answered,* that if they preached the word of God purely, they would heare them. Thirdly, if y^t they were content, that in the meane time their ministers shuld cease, and if they whiche shoulde be sent, preached not the worde of God sincerely, then theyr ministers to preache againe. If they would agree to thys, they were promysed that the persecution should cease, and the prisoners should be •estored againe. To thys question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered, that they could by no meanes suffer that theyr Ministers shoulde forbear preaching.

The two Lordes not contented with thys aunswere, commaunded in the Dukes name, that all the Minysters whiche were straungers, shoulde oute of hande be banished the countrey: saying, that the Duke woulde not suffer them to dwell wythin his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demaunding also whether they would foster and maintaine the Princes ennemies wythin hys owne lande againste his owne decree and expresse commaundement? To the whyche, answere was made by the chiefe Rulers, that they coulde by no meanes banish them, vnlesse they were afore conuicted of some heresie, or other crime: for their part,* they had alwaies founde them to be men of pure and sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conuersation.

Thus done, immediatly Proclamations were made, [Page 959](#) and the persecution began on euery syde to be more furious then it was afore. Amongest others, the Monkes of Pignerol at that tyme were most cruell: for they sent out a company of hyred Ruffians,* which dayly spoyled and ransackt houses, and all that they could lay hands of, tooke men, women, and children, and led them captiues to the Abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they sent also a band of the sayde ruffians by night, to the Ministers house of S. Germain, in the valley of Perouse,* being led thither by a traytour which knew the house, and had vsed to haunt thether secretly: who knocking at the dore, the Minister knowing his voyce, came foorth immediatly, and perceiuing hymselfe to be betrayed, fledde: but he was soone taken and sore wounded, and yet notwithstanding they pricked him behynde wyth theyr halbards, to make hym hasten hys pace. At that tyme also many they slue, many they hurt, and many also they brought to the Abbey, and there kepte them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good Minister endured sore imprisonment,* and after that a most terrible kind of death, with a wonderfull constancie: For they rosted him by a small fire: and when halfe his body was burnt, he confessed and called vpon the Lorde Iesus, with a loude voice.

The Inquisitour Iacomel, with his Monkes, and the Collaterall Corbis, amongst other, shewed one practise of most barbarous crueltie against thys poore man. Who when he should be burnt,* caused two poore women of S. Germain (which they kept in prison) to cary fagots to the fire, and to speake these wordes to their Pastour: take thys, thou wicked hereticke, in recompence of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught vs. To whome the good Minister aunswered: Ah good women, I haue taught you well, but you haue learned ill. To be briefe, they so afflicted and tormented those poore people of Saint Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoyled of their goodes, and driuen from theyr houses, they were cōpelled to flie into y^e mountaine to saue their liues. So great was the spoyle of this poore people, that many which before had bene men of much w[•]alth, and with their riches had ministred great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such miserie, that they were compelled to craue succour and reliefe of other.

Now, for as much as the sayde Monkes, with theyr troupes of ruffians (which were counted to be in number about three hundred) made such spoyle and hauocke in all the countrey,* that no man could there liue in safetie: it was demaunded of the Ministers, whether it was lawfull to defend themselues, against the insolencie and furious rage of the sayde Ruffians. The Ministers aunswered, that it was lawfull, warning them in any case, to take heede of bloudshed. This question being once dissolued, they of the valley of Luserne and of Angrongne, sent certayne men to them of S. Germain, to ayde them against the supporters of these Monkes.

In the moneth of Iune, the haruest being then in Piemont, diuers of the Waldoys were gone into y^e countrey, to reape and make prouision for corne, for very litle groweth vpon their mountaines: the which were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another:* but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a myracle: Whereat the aduersaries were maruelously astonished. At the same time, there were certayne other also, which had susteyned long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death: and yet they after a wonderfull sort, by Gods mercifull prouidence were likewise deliuered.

In the moneth of Iuly, they of Angrongne, beeyng in a morning at haruest, vpon the hill syde of S. Germain, perceyued a company of souldiours spoylyng them of S. Germaine: & doubting least they would go to Angrōgne, made an outcry. Then the people of Angrongne assembled together vpon the mountayne,* and some ranne to S. Germain ouer the hill, & some by the valley. They which went by the valley, mette with the spoylers commyng from S. Germain, loden with spoyle, which they had gotten, and being but 50. set vpon the other, amounting to the number of 120. men well appoynted, and gaue them soone the ouerthrow. The passage ouer the bridge beyng stopped, the enemies were fayne to take the riuier of Cluzon, where diuers were sore hurt, many were drowned, & some escaped very hardly: and such a slaughter was made o[•] them, that the riuier was dyed with the bloud of them, which were wounded and slaine, but none of the Angrōgmans were once hurt. If the sayd riuier had bene as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one mā escaped alyue. The noyse of the harquebushes was great, and within lesse then one houres space, there was three or foure hundreth of the Waldoys, gathered together vppon the riuier: and at the same tyme, they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners, which were in the Abbey, but they would not do it without the counsaile of their Ministers, and so differred the matter vntill the next day: But their Ministers cōsailed thē, not to entreprise any such thyng: but to refrayne themselues, and so they dyd. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had

gone incontinent, after that discomfiture, vnto the Abbey: they might haue founde all open, and easily haue entred: For the Monkes were so sore afrayde, that they fled sodēly to Pignerol, to saue their reliques and Images, which they caryed thether. The rest of the countrey about, were wonderfully afrayde, & range the Belles euery where. The greater part of them fledde, doubtyng least the poore Waldoys would haue reuenged the wronges and outrages done vnto them.

The next day folowyng,* the Commaunder of Saint Anthony de Fossan came to Angrongne, accōpanied with diuers Gentlemen, saying that he was sent by the Duke: and hauyng assembled the chief Rulers and Ministers of Angrongne, and of the Ualley of Luserne, after he had declared vnto them the cause of his commyng, he read their Supplication directed to the Duke, which cōteined their confession, demaūdyng of them, if it were the same, which they had sent to the Duke. They aunswered, yea. Then he began to dispute, beyng sent (as he sayd) to informe them of their errours, not doubtyng, but they would amēde, accordyng to their promise. Then he entred into a disputation of the Masse, in a great heat, deriuyng the same frō the Hebrue word Massa,* which signified (as he supposed) consecration, and shewed that this word Missa, might be fōūd in auncient writers. The Ministers aunswered that he ill applyed the Hebrue word: and further, that they disputed not of the word Missa, but of that which is signified by the same, the which he ought first to proue by y^e word of God. Briefly that he could not proue either by the word of God, or the auncient fathers, their priuate Masse, their sacrifice expiatorie or propiciatorie, their transubstantiation,* their adoration, their application of the same for the quicke and the dead, & such other matters, which are principal partes of the sayd Masse. The Cōmaunder hauing here nothyng to reply, fell into a marueilous color, rayling and ragyng as if he had bene starke mad, and told thē that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their Ministers, & to place others in their rowmes, by the Dukes commaūdemēt, which he could not, vnlesse their Ministers were first driuen out of the countrey.

From thēce he went to the Abbey of Pigneroll,* where he & Iacomell caused a number of the poore inhabitaunts of Campillō, and of Feuill, which be of the Ualley of Luserne, to be taken prisoners, spoylyng them of their goods, driuyng away their cattell, and forcing them to sweare & forswear, & in the end raūsomed them, for great summes of money. About that tyme, a Gentlemā of Campillon agreed with those whiche were fled, for xxx. crownes to be payde vnto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remayned quiet at home. But when he had receaued the money, he caused the Commaunder of Fossan with his men, by night to come to his house, and then sent for the poore men thinking traiterously to haue deliuered thē into the hādes of their mortall enemy, folowing therein the Decree of the Councell of Constance: which is,* that no promise is to be kept with heretickes. But God knowyng how to succour his, in their necessitie, preuented this daunger: for one of them had intelligence of the Commaunders commyng, & so they all fled. Thereupon they writ to the Lorde of Rāconis, declaryng vnto him y^e proceedyngs of the Cōmaūder, and that he neither would nor could shewe or proue any thyng by the word of God, as hee had promised:* but threatned them great wronges & iniuries, and would not suffer their Ministers to reply, or say any thyng for the defence of their cause: & therefore they desired him to signifie the same vnto the Dukes grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their religiō, seyng it was not proued vnto them, by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

After this, there were many commaundementes and iniunctions geuen out thorough all the cuntry, to banish these poore Waldoys, with the doctrine of the Gospell (if it were possible) out of the mountaynes and Ualleyes of Piemont: But the poore people still desired that, accordyng to that, which they had so often before protested by word & writyng, they might be suffered to serue God purely, accordyng to the rule prescribed in his word: simply obeying their Lord & Prince alwayes & in all thyngs. [Page 960](#) Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the crueltie that could be deuised, as partly it is already declared: but much more you shall perceiue by that which followeth.

In the end of October next folowing, the rumor went that an army was leuying to destroy them, and in verye deede there were certeine bands leuyed, ready to march at an houres warning. Furthermore, those malefactours which heretofore were fled, or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home agayne, and pardoned of altogether, so that they would take them to theyr weapons, and go to destroy the Waldoys. The Ministers and chiefe Rulers of the valleyes of Luserne and Angrongne, therupō assembled together oftētimes to take aduise what in such an extremitie, were best to do. In the ende they determined, that for certeine daies folowing, there should be kept a generall fast, and y^e Sondag after, a cōmunion. Also that they should not defend themselues by force of armes, but that euery one should withdraw himselfe into the high mountaines, and euery one to cary away such goods as he was able to beare: and if their enemies pursued them thether, then to take such aduise and counsel as it pleased God to geue them. This Article of not defendyng themselues, seemed very strange to the people, being driuen to such an extremity, and y^e cause being so iust. But yet euery one begā to cary their goods and vitales into the mountaynes, and for the space of eight dayes, all the wayes were filled wyth commers and goers to the mountaines, like vnto Ants in Sommer, which prouide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexitie & danger, with a wonderful courage and cherefulnes, praising of God and singing of Psalmes, and euery one cōforting an other. Briefly, they went with such ioy and alacritie, that you should not haue seene any, which grudged to leaue their houses and faire possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to dye if he had so appoynted.

A few dayes after, certeyne other Ministers hearyng what they of Angrongne & Luserne had concluded, wrote vnto them, that this resolution seemed very straunge to some, that they ought not to defend themselues against the violence of their enemies, alleadging many reasons, that in such an extremitie and necessitie, it was lawful for them so to do: especially, the quarell being so iust, that is, for the defence of true Religion, and for the preseruacion of theyr owne liues, and the liues of theyr wiues and children: knowing that it was the Pope and hys Ministers which were the cause of all these troubles and cruell warres, and not the Duke. Who was stirred vp thereunto onely by their instigations: Wherefore they might well and wyth good conscience, withstand such furious and outrageous violence. For the prooffe heereof, they also alleadged certeine examples.

During this season, the Lorde of Angrongne, named Charles de Comptes of Luserne, laboured earnestly by al meanes possible, to cause them of Angrongne, to cōdescend to the Dukes pleasure, & sollicited them to send away their Ministers, promising that he woulde cause a Masse to be song at Angrongne, and that the people should not be cōpelled to be present thereat, hoping that by that means, the Dukes wrath would be appeased. The chief of Angrōgne

thereupon were assembled and made this answer, that if the Duke would permit them to choose other Ministers, they were content to send away their forreine ministers & straungers. But as touching the Masse, hys hyghnes might well cause it to be song in their parishes, but they for their part, could not with safe consciences, be present at the same, nor yet geue their consent vnto it.

The xxij. of October, the sayde Lord of Angrongne, went from Luserne, to Mondeuis (where he was then gouernour for the Duke) and sent for the chiefe Rulers of Angrongne, at seuerall times, declaryng vnto them the great perils and daungers wherewith they were enuironed, the army beyng alreadie at hande: yet promising them if they woulde submitte themselues vnto hym, he would send immediately to stay the armye. They of Angrongne aunswered, that they all determined to stande to that, which they, two dayes before in theyr assemble, had put in writing. With thys aunswer he seemed at that present, to be content. The next day the rumor was, that they of Angrongne had submitted themselues to the Duke. On the morrow, whiche was Sondag, you should haue seene nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrongne. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the ministers and the people,* the whiche affirmed, that they wholly cleaued vnto their former writing, and they sent secretly to the Notary, for the copie of that which was passed in the counsaile house, at their last assemble before the Lord de Comptes: in the whiche was comprised, that Angrongne had wholly submitted hirsselfe to the good pleasure of the Duke. The people hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to dye, then obey the same, and therevpon it was agreed, that at that very instant, (albeit it were very late) certayne should be sent to the Lorde of Angrongne, to signifie vnto him, that the determination of the Councell was falsified, and that it might please him, the next morning to come to Angrongne, to heare the voyces of the people, not onely of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himselfe went not thither, (hauing intelligence of the vprore) but sente thither the Iudge of that place. Then that which had bene falsified, was duly corrected, the Iudge laying all the blame vpon the Notary.

During this time, the aduersaries cryed out through all the Countrey of Piemont, To the fire wyth them,* to the fire with them. The Thursday after, Angrongne, by proclamations and writings set vp in euery place, was exposed to the fire and sworde. On Friday after, being the seconde of Nouember, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Luserne, and certayne horsemen came to a place called S. Iohn, a little beneath Angrongne. Then the people retired into y^e mountaines. Certaine of S. Iohn perceiuing that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also tooke their felowes prisoners, set vpon them. It is not certayne what number of the enemies were there slayne: but sodenly they retired to Bubiane, where theyr campe then was, and not one of them of S. Iohn was slayne or hurt. It happened at the same tyme, that two of the foresaide horsemen beeing sore amased, galoped before the rest, towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrongne, crying, they come, they come. At whose cry, the whole armye was so astonished,* that euery man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the Captaines that day were not able to bring them in order againe, and yet no creature folowed them.

On the Saterdag in the morning, the army mustered in the medowe grounde of S. Iohn, neare to Angrongne. They of Angrongne had sent certaine to keepe y^e passages, and stoppe the armye, that they shoulde not enter, if it were possible. In the meane season, the people retyred into the medowe of Tower, and little thought of the comming of the army so soone, or that they would

haue made such a sodeine assault, for they were yet carying of victuals and other stuffe: so that few of them kept the passages. Now they which kept the straites, perceiuing that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down vpon their knees, and made their praiers vnto God, that it woulde please hym to take pitie vpon them,* and not to looke vpon their sinnes, but to the cause which they mainteyned: to turne the harts of their enemies, and so to worke, that there might be no effusion of blood: and if it were his wyll to take them, with their wiues & infantes, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receiue them into his kingdome. In this sort most feruent prayers were made of all those that kept the passages, with exhortation that they should altogether cry vnto God, and craue hys succour and assistance in thys great distresse. All this the Lord of Trinitie and the army did well perceiue.

Their prayers thus ended, sodenly they perceyued their enemies comming towards them, through the vines, to wynne the top of the mountayne of Angrongne. In the meane tyme the Prior of Saint Iohn, and Iacomel, were within the temple of Angrongne, and communed wyth the Rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the Lord of Trinitie, to keepe the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in diuers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrongne. The poore Waldoys (being but few in number, and some of them hauing but slings and crossebowes) were sore pressed with the multitude of their enemies.* At length they retired to the toppe of the mountaine, where they defended themselves vntill night.

When they had found a place where they might wythstande their enemies still pursuing them, they turned themselves, and slue diuers of them, and hurt many. When the euening came, the enemies rested, and were about to encampe themselves, there to suppe and lodge all night. Which thing, when the Angrongnians perceiued, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them: but the enemies flouted them, and laughed them to scorne. Then y^e poore people deuised to send a drumme into a litle valley hard by. And as they were makyng their prayers vnto God, & the drumme sounded in y^e valley, the Lord of Trinitie caused his souldiers whiche were about,* to encampe themselves, to remoue thence: which was a great vantage [Page 961](#) to the poore people, whiche now were sore weered with trauaile, al wet with sweating, and very thyrstie, and in great perill, if God had not geuen them some litle breathing time. Many of the enemies that day were slayne, and many hurt,* of the which very few escaped. In so much that they reported that the shot was poysoned, which this poore simple people neuer vsed to do in all these warres. Of the Angrongnians, that daye there were but three slayne, and one hurt, which afterwarde was well healed agayne. This combate gaue greate courage to the Waldoys, and sore astonished the aduersaries. The same tyme the army retyring, burnt many houses, and made greate spoyle as they went, destroyeng also the wines which were in the presses.

The sayd Lord of Trinitie, with his army, camped in a village beyond Tour, in the valley of Luserne, at the foote of the hill, betweene Angrongne and y^e other townes of y^e valley of Luserne,* which professed y^e Gospell. They of the sayd village were alwayes sore against y^e Waldoys, & haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against the professours therof: but they had their iust plague, for they were all destroyed. After this the sayde Lorde of Trinitie caused the Fortresse to be built agayne, which the Frenchmen had rased, and placed there a garrison, and after sent another to the Forte of Uillars, which is of the valley of Luserne, and an other he sente to the Fortresse of Perouse, and a fourth garrison he placed in the Castle of S. Martin. They of Angrongne (seeying themselves to be now as it were in a sea of

troubles) after they had recommended themselves vnto God by prayer, and committed their cause vnto him: sent to them of Perouse, of S. Martin, and of Pragela, for ayde and succour: which sent them all the helpe that they were able.

The nexte daye folowing, there came letters to Angrongne, from the Lord of Trinitie: The effect whereof was this,* that he was sorye for that whiche was done the day before, and that he came not thyther to make warre against them, but onely to view if it were a place conuenient, to build a Fort therein to serue the Duke. Furthermore, that his souldiers seeing the people assembled, as it were, to defie them, vpon that occasion onely were stirred vp to geue assault and to set vpon them. Also that he was sory that suche spoyle was made of their goodes and suche hurt done by fire. But if they would shew themselves obedient to y^e Duke, he had good hope that al should be wel, and trusted that some good agreement shoulde be made. The Angrongnians answered, that they were marueylously agreeued to be so assaulted,* spoyled, and tormented by the subiectes of their liege and naturall prince: and as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be more faythful and obedient to their soueraigne prince the Duke, then any of all his subiects besides: so yet still they offered the same obedience. Also they most humbly besought hym, not to thinke it strange, if they being constrayned by such extreame necessitie, defended themselves. Finally, as touching their Religion, they affirmed that it was the pure word of God, euen as it was preached by the Prophetes and Apostles: and the same which their predecessours had obserued for certayne hundreth yeares past. Moreouer, that the cause was not cōcerning the goodes of the world, but the honour and glory of God, the saluation, or destruction of the soules both of them and theirs, and therefore it were much better for them to dye all together, then to forsake their religion: and yet if it might be proued vnto them by good demonstration out of the word of God, that they were in errour, not by force of armes, by bloud and fire: they would then yeeld themselves with all obedience, most humbly beseeching him and all other the Lordes of the Countrey of Piemont, to be their intercessours and aduocates to the Duke in this behalfe.

Upon Monday being the fourth day of Nouember, the Lord of Trinitie sent his army to Uillars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended toward Uillers. The people seeing their enemies aproching, after they had called vppon God with feruent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slue many: many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other companie ascended towardes Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that parte of the army the greater, yet making theyr prayers vnto God, and cōmending their cause vnto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

In the meane season they of Uillars being emboldened by their late victorie, came to assist their neighbours, and beyng assembled together, they couragiously pursued their enemies, and put them to •light. In this pursute it chaunced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poore people,* by an ambush of their enemies, which came an other way, were sodēly enclosed on euery side, and like to be destroyed: but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slayne, onely iij. were hurt, which were soone cured agayn. On the enemies side, there were so many slayne, that they were layd together by whole cart loades. This was the reward of those which were so desirous to shed innocent bloud.* The same day the inhabitauntes of Sanson neare to Roccapiata, assembled in great number together, and went to a riche mans house of Roccapiata, and spoyled all that hee had. Certaine of Roccapiata (in number not past xvij.) vnderstanding

this, set vpon them, & soone put them to flight, tooke away their drumme, & forced them to leaue their bootie behynde them.

After that the Lord of Trinitie had receiued the letters of the Angrongnians, he sent vnto them his Secretary,* named Christopher Gastaut, (which said him selfe, that he fauoured the veritie of the Gospell) accompanied with a Gentleman of the sayd valley. Whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certaine to common with the sayd Lord of Trinitie,* saying that he had good tydings to declare vnto them, & moreouer, that he would deliuer them a safe conduct to come and go. Wherupon they sent foure vnto him, whom he entreated very courteously, & rehearsed vnto them, how the Duke at his departure from the Court, told him, that although the Pope, the Princes, and Cities of Italie, yea his own counsell were fully resolved that of necessitie they of the sayd Religion should bee destroyed, yet notw^tstādyng God otherwise put in his mind, and that he had taken counsell of God, what he should do in this matter: that is, that he would vse them gētly. Furthermore, he declared vnto them, that the Duches bare them good affection, and fauoured them very much,* & that she had commended their cause vnto the Duke, perswadyng with him, to haue regard to that poore people, & that their Religion was auncient & old, with many such other thynges. Moreouer they had (sayd he) great frendes in the Dukes Court, not doubtyng but if they would send certaine to the Court with a Supplication, they should obtaine more, then they themselues would require, and he for his part would employ himselfe in their affaires, to the vttermost of his power: and so hee promised that he would retire him selfe with his army. This hee seemed to speake vnfaynedly. The people desiring but to liue peaceably in their Religion, and vnder the obedience of their Prince, were content to folow his counsell.

About this season, they of Angrongne perceiued that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret (which is the halfe way betwene Angrongne, and those of the valley of Luserne) & the other part had already gotten a way, whiche led to the Medow of Tour, by the whiche they of Angrōgne might easily haue bene enclosed. Therfore they sent certaine immediately to keepe the way, who soone after encountered with their enemies, and obtained the victorie, pursuyng and chasing them to their camp, not without great losse of their men. The number of their enemies slayne, was not knowen: for their custome was,* immediately to carry away those which were slayne. Not one of Angrongne perished that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this combate would haue hyndred the agreement. But the Lord of Trinitie could well dissemble this matter, and excused that dayes iourney,* puttyng the fault vpon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to haue slayne certaine of his men in the hygh way, but amongst other, his Barber.

On Saterdag folowyng, beyng the ix. of Nouember, the said Lord of Trinitie sent agayne for them of Angrongne, to consult with him touchyng the agreement, vsing the like communication, as before: and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience, they should cary their armour into two of the houses of the chief Rulers, not fearyng but it should be safe: for it should remayne in their owne keeping, and if neede were, they should receyue it agayne. Also that he vpon Sunday (which was the next day) would cause a Masse to be song within the temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, accōpanyed with a very few, and thereby the Dukes wrath would be asswaged. The next mornyng he went in the temple, (whereat they were sore agreed, albeit they could not withstād him) his army marchyng afore him: and hauyng caused a Masse to be song, he desired to see the Medow of Tour, so much spokē of, that therof he might make a true report vnto the Duke: and thether the Rulers, with a great troupe of his owne men, went: the

residue of his company remayne behynde, the which spoyled certayne houses, and seased the armour which they had deliuered vp before: but they foūd no great store, for the people had taken away the greatest part therof. The sayd Lord being entred into the Medow of Tour, [Page 962](#) the people began to make a commotion. Whereof he hauing intelligence, returned immediately. All that daye he shewed himselfe very courteous to all whome he met.

The people in this meane time, perceiued themselues to be in great daunger, and were sore moued at the sight of the army, the spoyle of the souldiours, the taking away of their armour, but especially because the sayd Lord of Trinitie had viewed the Medow of Tour, foreseeing his trayterous meaning and purpose. A few dayes after, the sayde Lord of Trinitie sent his Secretary Gastaut to Angrongne,* to talke with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution thereof: which was read in the assemble, by the Secretarie, the summe whereof, was this: That the people of Angrongne submitted themselues to render all honour and reuerence to God, according to his holy word, and all due obedience to the Duke their soueraigne Prince: to whome they shoulde send certayne men to demaund pardon of him, concerning theyr bearing of armour in their extreme necessitie, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to liue peaceably in their religion, whiche was according to the worde of God, not compelling them to do any thyng agaynste their conscience: as it appeareth more amply in the supplication, which after this the Angrongnians made, and caused to be read before the Secretary, in the open assemble, the which heere ensueth.

¶To the most excellent and worthy prince, The Duke of Sauoy, &c. our soueraigne Lord, and naturall Prince.

*MOst noble and renowmed prince, we haue sente certayne of our men vnto your highnes, to geue testimonie of our humble, hartie, and vnfayned obedience vnto the same, and with all submission, desire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certayne of our people in their extreme necessitie, and for all other our trespasses, for the which your soueraigne grace might conceiue any offence against vs.

Secondly, to desire in most humble wise, your sayd hyghnes, in the name of our Lord Iesus,* that it would please the same, to suffer vs to liue with freedome of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our auncitours, obserued for certayne hundreth yeares past. And we are perswaded that it is the pure Gospell of our Lord Iesus, the only veritie, the word of life and saluation, which we professe. Also that it may please your most gracious clemencie, not to take in yll part, if we, fearing to offende and displease God, can not consent vnto certayne traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome: and heerein to haue pitie vpon our poore soules, and the soules of our children: to the end that your highnes be not in any wise charged in the iust iudgement of God for the same, where all men must appeare to answeere for their doyngs.

On our part, we protest that we will seeke nothing but to be the true seruants of God, to serue hym according to hys holy word: and also to be true and loyall subiectes to your highnes, and more obedient then any other: being alwayes ready to geue our goodes, our bodies, our lyues, and the liues of our children, for your noble grace, as also our religion teacheth vs to do: only we desire that our soules may be left at libertie, to serue God accordyng to hys holy word.

And we your poore humble subiectes, shall most hartily pray our God and father, for the good and long prosperitie of youre hyghnes: for the most vertuous Lady your wife, and for the noble house of Sauoy.

To this supplication, they of S. Iohn, of Roccapiata, of S. Bartholomewe, and of Perouse, with those of the valley of Luserne, did agree: For it was concluded, that the agreement made,* should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. Whiles they were treating of this agreement, the Lorde of Trinitie vexed cruelly them of Tailleret, vnder this pretence, because they had not presented themselues, to treate of this agreemēt. He tormented them after this sort. First he commanded that all theyr armour shoulde be brought before hym, and then they, on their knees, should aske him pardon, because they came not to treate of the agreement with the rest: whiche notwithstanding the most parte of them did. Then he commaunded them, to attend vpon hym, to enrolle all the names of those, which woulde be of the foresayde agreement. Wherupon the next morning, the chiefe of the housholders went to the village named Bouuets, the place apointed thereunto, and when they had heard the Sermon, and called vpon God, they beganne to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the souldiers had gotten the top of the mountayne, and taken all the passages, whereat they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ranne with all speede to defende their wiues and children. Some they saued: the most part, with their goodes, were in their enemies hands already. At this time, wich sacking, spoiling, and burning, they did much mischiefe.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie sent word to them which were fledde, that if they would returne,* he woulde receiue them to mercy. The poore people (for the most parte) trusting on his promise, returned to Bouuets, and yet the next morning the souldiers came thyther, to apprehende them and their ministers, and beset y^e place one euery side. Suche as were swift of foote, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly. The rest were all hurte or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marueilous meanes: For it hapned that there was an old man, which could not runne fast, to whome one of the souldiers came with a naked sword in hys hand to haue slayne him.* The olde man seeing the imminent daunger, caught the souldier by the legs, ouerthrewe hym, and drew hym by the heeles downe the hyll. The souldier cryed out, helpe, helpe, this villaine wyll kill me. His felowes hearing him cry, made hast to rescue him: but in the meane time the old man escaped. The rest seing what the olde man had done, tooke hart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with stones and slings, they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that at that time they caryed no prisoners awaye. The day folowing y^e souldiers returning to the sayd Tailleret, robbed, spoyled, and caried away all that they coulde finde, and so continued three dayes together: which was very easie for them to do, because the poore men fearyng least they shoulde be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retyred toward Uillars.

The fourth day, the sayde Lord of Trinitie, to torment the poore Taillerets yet more cruelly, sente his armye againe before day, to y^e mountaine, and into the same place. And because the people of the sayde village were retyred towards Uillars, and scattered about the borders therof, in the hygh mountaynes, the souldyers not yet satisfied with spoyling and sacking the rest that they founde in the sayd Tailleret, rauning about the confines thereof, rauened, and made hauocke on euery side,* of what soeuer they could laye handes on, taking prisoners both men and women, which were loden with carriage. The poore prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongest other there

was one, whose care a souldier of Montdeuis, in a raging fury,* bit cleaue off, with these wordes: I wyll carry (sayde he) y^e flesh of these wretched heretikes with me, into my countrey. They of Uillars also complayned of the great cruelty that was shewed vnto them, during the time of the agreement. The which when the Lord of Trinitie vnderstoode, to make a shewe that he was offended therewith, he came to his souldiers (whiche were so weary, that they coulde scantly goe, not with fighting, but because they were so heauily loden with the spoyle, that they were not able to cary it) and pretēding to be in a great choler, some he beat, and some things also of a smal value, he caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept backe, and caryed away.* The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter were found in a caue in the mountaine, wounded to death by the souldiers, and died immediatly after. So likewise a blinde man, a hundreth yeares of age, which was fled into a caue, with his sonnes daughter, being eighteene yeares olde, whych fed him, was slaine by the enemies,* and as they would haue forced the mayden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountaine, and dyed.

At that tyme also a great company of women of Tailleret & Uillars, were taken as they fled, with their goodes, and brought to the campe, and sent away emptye. There was at the same tyme a certaine souldier whiche promised the Lord of Trinitie, to find out the minister of Tailleret, and to deliuer him into his owne hands. And to bring his purpose to passe, he neuer ceased vntill he had founde him, and after that he pursued hym a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him,* certaine at vnwares comming out of the mountaine, rescued the poore minister, and killed the souldier with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that duryng these troubles, diuers of the Papistes had sent their daughters into the mountaines vnto the Waldoyes to be kept, fearing least they should haue ben rauished by the souldiers, being wholly geuen ouer, as to all crueltie and rauine, so to all villany and abomination, by whome they were before threatned to be so abused.

All this being done, the sayd Lord of Trinitie caused the head officers and chieftest of y^e people, to assemble together, and declared vnto them, that the mainteining of the army was a greate charge vnto the Duke: and that it was [Page 963](#) meete that they should beare the one halfe of the charges. For this cause he demaunded of them twentie thousande crownes. But by the meanes of his Secretarie Gastaut, who was promised a hundreth crownes for hys wyne, (that is to say, for a bribe) foure thousand of those twenty, were abated,* so that they graunted vnto him xvj. thousand: of the which summe the Duke released the one halfe. Then the Lord of Trinitie pressed this poore people to deliuer the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the souldyers their wages (as he sayde) and so to withdraw his armye. The yeare before corne was exceeding deare, for a sacke was commonly sold for sixe crownes, yea and some for eight crownes, and also they had very litle corne growing vpon their mountaines: wherefore they were now verye bare of money. But they being in this perplexitie, and desiring nothing more then to liue in peace and quietnes, went about to sell their cattell, to pay this money. But the Lord of Trinitie had geuen out a commandement, y^t none should buy any cattell of the Waldoyes,* without his licēce. Then licence was geuen out to certaine, to buy great store of cattell, and that for a small price: and the common brute was, that he had part of the gaine. When this money was payd, yet the army notwithstanding retyred not.

After this, the Lord of Trinitie commaunded the Waldoys, to surrender vp al their armour, to furnish y^e Dukes fortes: otherwise he threatned to sende his souldyers amongst them, and in deede he constrained many so to do. Then he demanded moreouer the eight thousand crownes whiche the Duke had remitted, and constrayned them to promise the payment thereof. After that he commaunded that the ministers should be sent away, vntill the matter were determined before the Duke: otherwise he woulde send his souldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereuppon with one common assent and accord, they determined that their ministers shoulde withdrawe themselues for a space, vntill the army were retired: which was not done without marueilous sighes, lamentation, and teares. At that season there fell such abundance of snowe, that the like had not bene seene of a long time before: so that the people were constrained to make a way with great trauaile and paine, through the top of the mountayne of S. Martin, for their ministers to passe. Now thought the Lord of Trinitie so to haue enclosed them, he keeping the plaine, and the mountaynes beyng couered so thicke with snowe, that by no meanes they shoulde haue escaped his handes. But the people caused thē to passe the top of the mountayne, and at their departure,* there flocked out of euery quarter greate multitudes, to the village of Bobby, and came together into a secrete place there, called le Puis, not withoute greate grieve and sorowe: For they found thē altogether in teares and mourning, that their ministers should so be taken frō them, and they now leaft as lambes amongst wolues.

The armye was aduertised that the ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a greate troupe of harquebushes were at hand, whiche sought them euen to the very top of the mountaine, in so much that if they had remained there but one houre longer, they had bene all taken. From that time, for certaine dayes after, they dyd nothing but raunge about in all places,* seeking for the ministers, and there was no house, chamber, caue, nor secrete corner, into the whiche they dyd not enter, vnder pretence to seeke the Ministers. There was neither chest, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying, that the ministers were hidden therein, and by that meanes they tooke, spoyled, and caried away whatsoever they would.

The Lorde of Trinitie promised often tymes, that although it were forbidden to all the Ministers to preache, yet the Minister of Angrongne, shoulde be excepted: and furthermore sent the sayd Minister word, that if he would demaunde any thyng of the Duke, it shoulde be graunted hym. Whereupon the sayde Minister made thys request, that the poore people might liue peaceably in their religiō. A while after he sent for the saide Minister to confer wyth him priuately, vpō certaine points of religion. The minister went vnto him, hauing therto the cōsent of the people. The Lord of Trinitie propounded vnto him three points.* The first concerning the supremacie of the Pope: the other concerned transubstantiation. Of the whyche two points, the minister then immediatly declared his opiniō, and he seemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to perswade the minister to go to the Dukes Court, and there to defend the cause of the people, alleging certain reasons to perswade him so to do. Whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed conuenient to the ministers and people, that he should go, he would be content to do the same, and therof he promised to send him aunswere immediately, with the which aunswere he seemed to be contented.

Shortly after the foresayd Lord, not tarying for an aūswere, sent his army to the temple of S. Laurence in Angrongne, pretending to sing a Masse there, & sodenly the souldiours besieged the

Ministers house. The Minister beyng warned therof, assayed to escape. The souldiers attempted nothyng by force, but vsed gētle perswasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the Minister pushed on further, & the souldiers folowed him halfe a myle, but fearyng the people, durst go no further. The Minister withdrew himselfe into the rockes vpō the moūtaine, accompanied with v. other. The army was by & by at his heeles,* & sought a good while in the houses and cotages on euery side, cruelly handlyng the people whom they tooke, to make thē cōfesse where their Minister was, spoylyng their houses, takyng some prisoners, & beatyng other some: but yet they could not learne of them where their Minister was. At the lēgth they espyed him amōgest the rockes, where they thought to haue enclosed him, & so they pursued him in y^e rockes, all couered with snow, vntill it was night, & could not take him. Then they returned & spoyled his house, and diligently searched out all his bookes & wrytynges,* and caried them to the Lord of Trinitie, in a sacke, who caused them al to be burnt in his presence, supposing (as it well appeared) that y^e letters which he had sent to Angrongne, touchyng the agreemēt, should be with the rest burnt: for he did not the lyke in the other Ministers houses.* That day they spoyled fourtie houses in Angrōgne, broke their mylles, and caried away all the corne and meale that they found.

About midnight the souldiours returned with torchlight, to the Ministers house, to seeke him, & searched euery corner. The next mornyng, commaundement was geuen to the rulers of Angrongne, that within xxiiij. houres they should deliuer their Minister, or els Angrōgne to be put to the fire & sword. The Rulers aunswered, that they could not so do, for they knew not where he was, and the souldiours had chased him ouer the mountaine. After certaine dayes, whē the souldiours had burned houses, spoyled the people, broken their mylles, & done what mischief they could, the army retired. Notwithstandyng the Lord of Trinitie left garrisons in the forenamed Fortresses, but all at y^e costes and charges of the Waldoys: the which garrisons not contented with their wages, spoyled continually. Upon a night v. souldiers went with torches to a rich mans house of Angrongne, & spoyled the same. The good man of the house hardly escaped with life,* by the top of the house, for there were xij. pellets shot of at him. Whereof one touched his face, & stroke his hat from his head, without any further hurt.

The Rulers of Angrongne whiche were gone to the Fortresse to cary thether victuals and money,* were by the souldiours receiued, & in despite of them & the people, caused a Masse to be song before them, and forced them to be present at it: and because they would not kneele downe to it, they were beatē almost to death. The one of them was sent agayne for more money, the other with great perill of his lyfe, lept ouer the walles, and beyng pursued to Angrongne escaped.

Certaine dayes after, a certaine cōpany of souldiours came vnto the midst of Angrōgne, as though they would haue passed through, and called for meate and drinke. The poore men brought that they had vnto thē, in a close court. Whē they had eaten and drunken,* they caused the women to auoyde, & then bounde xiiij. of those which had brought thē victuals by ij. and ij. together, & led them away. Their wiues & children perceiuyng this,* so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fayne to let go x. of their prisoners for hast, & had much ado to saue them selues. The other iiij. they led away to the Fortresse: of the which two were ransomed, the other two were hāged vp by the feete & the handes, & hauyng tormented them almost to death; they released them for a great summe of money.* The one of the which dyed the next night: the other lay sicke without hope of lyfe, long tyme after, and his flesh fell from his handes and his feete, and therof

he became lame, and after that his fingers fell of also. In like manner did the other garrisons entreate the villages adioyning vnto them.

The garrison of Tour & of Uillars beyng assembled together in a night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouuets, & breakyng in at the windowes and toppes of the houses, breakyng open the doores, sackyng & spoylyng all that they could lay handes of, tooke also xiiij. prisoners; and bound them two & two together by the armes, and so led them to the Fortresse of Tour. But two which were [Page 964](#) escaped, whiles the souldiers were taking other, set vpon them which led the prisoners,* and so valiantly assaulted & beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go xij. of the prisoners: the which tumbling and rolling themselues downe the mountaine, hauing their hands bound behinde their backes, and fastened two and two together by the armes, were contented rather so to dye, then to be caried to the Fortresse, and yet in the ende they escaped. The other two which were led to the Fortresse, were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captayne strangled with his owne handes, who was very young and but a child: the other which was about threescore yeares of age, whose name was Odull Gemet, suffered a strange & cruel death: For when they had bound him, they toke a kynde of beastes which liue in horsedoung, called in French Escarbotz, and put them vnto his nauell, couering them with a dishe, the which within short space pearced into his belly, and killed him. These and the like, more then barbarous cruelties, haue bin reuealed by the souldiours themselues.

The poore Waldoys were yet in great captiuitie and distresse, but especially because they had not the preaching of Gods word amongst them, as they were wont to haue, and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching againe, albeit secretly, for two principall causes:* The one, for feare of mouing the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their messengers, hauing yet some hope of good successe. The other, that no occasion might be geuen to the souldiers of further trouble and outrage, for that was it which they especially desired. Also they of Angrongne were fully determined, as soone as their messengers were returned from the Duke, to preach openly, what newes soeuer they brought, were they good or euill: and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into Angrongne.

The messengers which were sent to the Duke, being at Uerceil, were there deteined vj. weekes, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popish Doctours, and were constrayned by force and violence to promise to returne to the Masse. Furthermore, they would haue constrayned them to promise the same in the behalfe of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the Duke, the Secretary Gastaut tooke the supplication of the Waldoys out of the messengers hands, and deliuered another. After they had presented themselues to the Duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrayned also to craue pardon of the Popes Legate: which at the bginning they would in no case do. Now when these messengers were returned, bringing these wofull newes, and the people vnderstood that there was a new commaundement geuen out, that they shoulde returne to the Masse: also that the Popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come vnto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them, and entertaine them accordingly: there was wonderfull lamentation, weeping, and mourning for this great calamitie.

Heereupon they of the valley of Luserne and of Bobby, being assembled together, by one assent, sente two Ministers, wyth certaine other of the people, to the Churches of Pragela (which be in

the countrey of Dolphine) to signifie vnto them, the piteous estate of the poore Churches of the valleyes of Piemont, to haue their counsell and aduise, howe to preuent the greate daungers at hande, if it were possible. For this cause they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called vpon GOD, desiring hys grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsell, well to consider of those waightie and vrgent affayres wherewyth they were oppressed: in the ende it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the sayde valley and mountaynes of Piemont, and those of Dolphine, should ioyne in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by Gods grace and assistance,* to mainteyne the pure preaching of the Gospell, and administration of the holy Sacraments: the one to ayde and assist the other, and to render all obedience to theyr superiours, so farre as they were commaunded by the worde of God. Moreouer, that it should be lawfull for none of the same valleyes to promise or conclude any thyng touching the estate of religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleyes: and for more sure confirmation of the sayde league, certayne of the Ministers and Elders of the Churches of Dolphine, were sente to the valley of Luserne, to vnderstand if they would geue theyr consente heereunto, and ratifye the same.

These messengers, the Ministers and others of Dolphine, being arriued in the euening, at the village of Bobby, & the people being there assembled, word was brought that the next day euery housholder should appeare in the Counsel house, to knowe whethey they would returne to the Masse, or no,* and that they whiche would receiue the Masse, should quietly enioy their houses, and they whiche would not, shoulde be deliuered to the Iustices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the Galleyes. Wherefore the people was brought to thys extremitie, eyther to dye, or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee, it seemed them best, if the great snowe had not let them. Wherefore seeing themselues in such distresse, they most gladly consented to the league. After this, they exhorted one another, sayeng: For as much as we shall be all called for to morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and reuolt agayne to Idolatrie, let vs now make solemne protestation, that we will vtterly forsake the false religion of the Pope, and that we will liue and dye in the maintenance and confession of Gods holy word. Let vs all go to morrow into the Temple, to heare the word of God, and after, let vs cast downe to the ground all the Idoles and aultars. To this euery man agreed, sayeng, Let vs so do: yea, and that the very same houre, in the which they haue appointed vs to be at the Counsell house.

The nexte day after,* they assembled themselues in the Church of Bobby, and as soone as they came into the Temple, without anye further delaye, they beate downe the Images, and caste downe the aultars. After the Sermon, they went to Uillars to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a bande of souldyers, whyche were goyng to spoyle a village, named Le val Guichard, and to take the poore inhabitâts prisoners. The souldiers seeyng them so yll appointed, mocked them, and discharged theyr handgunnes vppon them, thynking at the first brunt, to haue put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselues,* and with stones chased them euen to the Fortresse. When they came to Uillars, they beate downe theyr Images and aultars, and afterwarde besieged the fortresse, and demaunded the prisoners whiche were there deteyned.

The same daye the Iudge of Luserne, called Podesta, went to the Counsell house, to enrolle the names of those whiche would returne to the Masse, but seeyng what was done, hee was sore afrayde, and desired the people to suffer hym to returne quietly: which they wyllingly graunted vnto hym. Diuers Gentlemen also of the valley came thyther with the Iudge, to make theyr poore tenauntes to forsake God: but seeyng the tumult, they were fayne to flee into the Castle, where

they and the Garrison were besieged tenne dayes together, not without great daunger of theyr lyues. The seconde daye of the sege, the Captayne of Toure wente with a companye of souldyers, thinking to raise the siege,* but they were, by those that kept the passages, eyther slaine or discomfited. As much was done the third daye. The fourth day, he returned with three bandes,* and with the Garrison of Tour, which caused a furious combat: wherein many of the enemies were slayne, but a greate number hurt, and yet of those that besieged the Fort, there was not one man hurt.

In the tyme of thys siege, they attempted dyuers meanes to take the sayde Fortresse, but without ordinaunce, it was impossible so to doo: wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreouer, the Lorde of Trinitie returning with his armie, was come to the valley of Luserne, and the next day after, myght easily haue raised the siege. Wherefore, when the Garrison (not knowing that the Lord of Trinitie was so neare) desired that they might depart with bagge and baggage, they graūted theyr request.* In thys siege halfe of the souldyers were slayne, and many were hurt, as well with harquebushes, as with stones. During thys siege, the souldyers for lacke of water, were constrained to bake their bread with wine, which tormented their stomackes, and caused great diseases. Here is not to be forgotten, that the souldiours which a while before dyd so cruelly persecute the poore Ministers, seeking by all meanes possible to destroy them, were now faine to pray them to saue their liues, and to promise them that they should haue no hurt, and also to safeconduct them into a sure place: neyther woulde they depart, vntill they had promised them so to do. Which the Ministers dyd promise, and also perfourme verye willingly. Then the souldiours seeyng themselues much beholden to the Ministers so gently dealing with them, gaue them greate thankes, and promised them, in recompence thereof, all the pleasure that they could shew them. The same night the Fortresse was rased.

The 2. day of February, the Lorde of Trinitie camped at Luserne,* and placed a Garison in the Priory of S. Iohn a village of the Waldoys, betwene Luserne & Angrōgne. [Page 965](#) The next day in the morning, the sayde Lorde of Trinitie sent word vnto them of Angrongne, that if they wold not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the weeke before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they woulde geue no aunswere. The same day, they of Angrongne, and the rest of the Ualleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religiō by force, and that the one shoulde aide the other,* and no agreement to be made, by any one, without the consent of the rest. About noone, the Lorde of Trinitie marched wyth hys armie, by S. Iohn, to enter into the borders of Angrongne, by a place called La Sonnellette, where they had foughte before. The people had made certaine bulwarkes of earth and stone, not past three foote hie: where they defended themselues valiauntly against their ennemies, whyche assailed them diuers wayes.* When the ennemies were so wearye that they coulde fighte no longer, they put fresh Souldiers into their places: so that the combate endured vntill nighte, and all that day, the armie coulde not enter into the borders of Angrongne. Many of the ennemies were slaine, and a great number hurt: and but two of Angrongne slaine, of whome the one was slaine by his owne folly, because he was too greedy vpon the spoile. The army being nowe well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselues stronger for a further mischiefe.

The Friday following, which was the seuenth of Februarye, at the breake of the day, the armie marched towardes Angrongne, by fiue seuerall places. The people of Angrongne were not yet assembled, and none there were to resiste, but onely a fewe, whyche kepte the watche: the which

seeing their ennemies comming vpon them in so many places,* and perceiuing that they went about to inclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, they reculed by little and little, to a highe place called La Casse, where the combate was renued wyth a greater fiercenesse, then before. But the Lord of Trinitie, seing the losse of his men, and aboue all, that one of great creditie and authority in the Dukes Courte, was wounded to death, blewe a retreite, and descended to Angrongne (the people being fled to the Medowe of Toure) and there spoyled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goodes that he could finde: so that in a short space, he had burned about a 1000. houses of Angrongne.

And heere is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes, set fire vpon the two Temples of Angrongne, where the worde of God was preached,* but they coulde neuer burne them. So did they also to the Ministers house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses rounde about, being all consumed with fire. That day none of Angrongne was slaine or hurt, sauing onely one that was hurte in his thighe.

There were in all Angrongne, but two that were enemies to the woorde of God, whiche that same daye, were slaine by the souldiers, not in the Combate: but for their riches,* whych they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very couetous wretche, and had great store of golde and siluer, and woulde spende nothing, either to helpe himselfe, or succour others: no not his poore parentes. All this was spoiled by the soldiours, with a hundreth or two hundreth crownes besides which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrongne slaine that day. All the rest of the people retired to the Medowe of Toure: The situation whereof, we will heere declare, for the better vnderstandyng of that which followeth.

Tour is a little Ualley vpon the borders of Angrongne,* enuironed aboute wyth Mountaines: two miles in length, but very narrowe. On both sides, and in the mids thereof, there be about two hundreth small houses and cotages: also medowes, pastures for cattell, grounde for tillage, trees and goodly fountaines. On the South side and the North, the mountaines be so high, that no man cā that way approche vnto the sayd Ualley. On the other coastes a man may enter by seuen or eight wayes. This place is not past two miles from Angrongne. The way thether is very narrow, and il to passe by, because of the hilles, which be on both sides. There is also a Riuer harde by, but very small, but the bankes thereof be very high in many places. The people had caryed thether very fewe victuals, partly because the way was so yll, and also through the sodaine returne of the armie.

In the meane time the Lorde of Trinitie after he had nowe twice assaulted Angrongne, sent certaine to burne Rosa, and to discouer the wayes, whiche ledde to the valley of Luserne: but the Souldiours were driuen backe foure dayes together by those whyche kepte the passages.* Whereuppon hee sent hys whole armie, whome they valiauntly withstoode from the morning till night. Then they of Luserne sent newe aide. During thys combate, an ambushment of souldiours descended from the toppe of the mountaine, by a place so harde to passe by, that no manne would haue suspected it.* The poore people seeing themselues so enuironed of their enemies, saued them selues, some running through the middes of their ennemies, and other some into the rockes.

The ennemies being entred into Rosa, consumed all with fire and swoorde.* The residue of the people fledde by a secrete way, leading to the Ualley of Luserne, and wandred al that night vpon the mountaines full of snowe, loden with their stuffe, carrying their litle infantes in theyr armes, and leadinge the other by the handes, wyth greate paine and trauail. When they of the valley saw them, they ranne vnto them, praising God for their deliuerance, for they thought they had beene all slaine. All be it thys poore people were heere in suche great extremitie, yet they were ioyfull, and comforted them selues, wythout any lamentation or mourning, excepte the little poore infantes, whych cried out for colde.

A fewe dayes after, the Lorde of Trinitie entred into the Ualley of Luserne, by three seuerall wayes: that is to say, by Rosa, by the plaine, and by the sides of Tailleret. They which kept the passages, at the first resisted their ennemies valiauntly: but perceiuing that they were assailed on euery side, they retired to Uillars,* and there defended them selues a while. But because they sawe that their enemies hadde already passed the Plaine, and gotten aboute Uillars, towardes Bobby: they gaue ouer, and leafte Uillars, and fled into the mountaines. The souldiours beyng entred, burned houses, and slew all that they coulde finde. The poore people which were fled to the mountaines, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gaue him thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his name, and for his cause: and also they were glad to see the village on fire, least that their enemies should encampe there themselues. Then the souldiours in great rage mounted the hilles on euery side, pursuing this poore people in great furie: but a few of them, after they had ardently called vpon God, toke courage, and beate backe theyr ennemies to Uillars. This done, the armie retired.

Fewe dayes after the medowe of Tour was assaulted by three seuerall wayes on the East side. The combate dured a long season, where diuers of the enemies were hurt, and many slaine: but none of this poore people were slaine that day, onely two were hurt, which were soone healed againe. But to declare the conflictcs, assaultes, skirmishes, and alarmes which were at Angrongne, and other places therabout, it were too long: for breuities sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principall, & those which are most worthy of memorie.

On Saterdag, which was the fourteenth day of Februarye, the people which were in the vppermost parte of the Medowe of Toure, perceiued that a company of souldiours were ascended vp the hill to Angrongne, and burning y^e rest of the houses there. They doubted that it was a pollicie of theyr ennemies, to drawe them thether, and in the meane time to sette on them behynde, and so to winne the Medowe of Tour from them. Therefore they sent onely sixe harquebushes against those souldiours, the whych hauing the higher grounde, and not espied of theyr ennemies, discharged their gunnes altogether. Whereuppon incontinent the souldiers fledde,* albeit no man pursued them. Whether they fledde of pollicie, or for feare, it was not knowen.

Shortly after, they of the warde of the Medowe of Tour, whiche were in the watche on the top of the mountaine (because euery morning there was a sermone made, whereunto the people resorted, and they mighte see a farre of rounde about them) espied a troupe of souldiours marching on that side of the hill, which is betweene the Easte and the Northe, and soone after that, discouered an other companye, whyche marched on the North side, towardes the sayde troupe. The firste were ascended an houre before the other, and fought on the toppe of the

mountayne called Melese, but they were soone discomfited: * and because they coulde not runne faste, by meanes of the deepe snowe, and difficulty of the waies: in fleeing they fell often downe vpon the grounde. Whiles they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them theyr drumme: beholde, there came certaine vnto them, cryinge out, that the other troupe was entred into the medowe of Toure, by meanes wherof they gaue ouer the chase, or els not one of their enemies had escaped, * as they whych were there, reported for a trueth. Not one of Angrongne were slayne or hurt.

Page 966 The other troupe which came by the North side, tooke a high hil in the top of the mountaine, the whych seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the snow and ice which was there. The chiefest of this company were Lodouicke of Monteil (which had bene before master of the campe in the kings warres) and Charles Truchet. When they wer come to the toppe of the hill, they caused seuen souldiours to goe downe the hill, and to viewe the waye, and to see whether the troupe might descende that way, or no. These 7. went downe almost to the houses. They sent also other to occupie the rest of the high places, which were neare to the foote of the hill and the rockes. In the meane time the ministers and the people which were in the middes of the valley of the medowe, sawe al this, and were much discouraged therwith: wherfore they fell to prayer, & called vpon God ardently, not without great sighes, lamentation and teares, euen vntill night.

The seuen spies whiche came downe to discouer the wayes, cried vnto their captaine Truchet, Come downe, come downe Seignior Charles, this day Angrongne shal be taken. The other cried to them againe, ascend, ascend, & returne, or els ye shall be slaine euey one of you. Immediately issued out fiue against these spies, and tooke certaine, and chased the rest. The first of the fiue which set vpō them, cast two of them downe vppon the grounde with a forke of fire. Soone after, eight of Angrongne issued out agaynst the whole troupe, which was wonderfull to see them goe with suche courage and boldnesse, to assaile suche a multitude, and it seemed that they should haue ben all destroyed and hewen in pieces. The firste of the eight went a good way before the other, to discouer the enemies, and caryed a great staffe, * which they call a Rancon, and is somewhat bigger then a halbarde. The other folowed by two & two together, with harquebushes. These eight went frō rocke to rocke, from hill to hill about the mountaine, and chased their ennemies valiauntly. Then came twelue other, the which ioyning wyth the rest, foughte with a woonderfull courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Sone after, there came from the valley of Luserne, an hundreth harquebushes, with one of their Ministers, according to their maner, which are wont to sende out a minister withall, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to kepe the people in order, that they exceede not measure, as it came to passe that day.

*At the length they sawe them also commyng, whyche returned from the discomfiture of the former troupe, making a great noyse, and hauing a drumme sounding afore them, whyche they had taken from their ennemies: which ioyned with them of the valley of Luserne, and hauing made their earnest praier vnto god, immediatly they came to succour the other that nowe were encountring valiantly wyth their ennemies. Then the ennemies seeinge suche a company marching against them, with suche courage and boldnesse: after the other had once called vpon God, theyr hearts were so taken from them, that sodenly they fledde, and as soone as the other began to

pray, they beganne also to flee. But because they could not well saue them selues by running away, they turned backe twise, and foughte, and some in the meane time fled.

He that caried the Rancon, and discovered the enemies, was but a very young and a simple man, and was esteemed to be one that coulde doe nothing, but (as they say in their language) handle La Sappe, that is to say, a Hatchet, and kept cattell:*, and yet he with those that folowed, so discomfited the ennemies, that it was woonderfull to beholde. He brake his great Rancon with laying load vpon them, and after that, he brake also foure of their own swordes in pursuing of them. There was a boy of 18. yeares of age, and of smal stature,*, which alone slue the Lord of Monteil, master of the campe (as is said) to the king: wherwith the enemies were maruellously astonished and discouraged. An other simple man, who a man wold haue thought, durst not once haue looked Charles Truchet in the face (because hee was a very bigge man, strong & puissant, and one of the chieftest captaines of the whole army) threw downe the saide Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then a young man leapt vpon him, and slue him with his owne sworde, which was foure fingers broad, and cleaft his head in peeces.

*This Truchet was one of the principall authours of this warre, and one of the cheftest enemies of true religion, and of the poore Waldoys, that could then be foūd. It was sayd also, that he vaunted and promised before, to the sayde Lord of Trinitie, that he would deliuer into his hands the medow of Tour. But God soone brought his proude brag to nought. And for his spoyling, pilling, and polling of the poore people, hee lay spoyled and naked like a beast, in the wilde mountaine of Angrongne. Two of the chieftest among them offered to paye a great summe of crownes for their ransome, but they coulde not be hearde. They were pursued more then a mile, & were so discomfited, that they fled w^tout any resistance, and if the nighte had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The minister when he saw the great effusion of bloud, and the enemies to flee, he cried to the people, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to geue thankes vnto God. They which heard him, obeied, and fel to prayer: but they which were further of, and heard him not, chased their ennemies till darke night. In so much, that if the rest had done the like, very few of their enemies had escaped. That day they spoiled their ennemies of a great part of theyr armour and munition. So God restored in this combat and in others, to the poore Waldoys,*, the armor which the Lord of Trinitie had taken from them before. Thankes were geuen vnto God in euery place, and euery man cried, who is he which seeth not, that God fighteth for vs? This victorie gaue great courage to the poore Waldoys, and greatly astonished the enemies.

The eighteenth of February, the Lorde of Trinitie, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest parte of Uillars returned to burne all the little villages rounde about, which pertaine to the same, and especially,*, to pursue the poore people, which were fled vp into the mountaines, and diuiding his armye into 3. partes, he entered, by the 3. seuerall wayes aboue mentioned. The two first companies ioyned together betwene Uillars and Bobby, hauing a great company of horsemen. From thence they went to seeke the people which were in the mountaine of Combe, by suche a way, as they did not suspecte, and where there were no warders to defende the place: Notwithstanding, the warders which were nexte, seeing their ennemies ascending that way, speedely ranne before them, and callyng vpon God for his aide and succour, they set themselves against their ennemies: and albeit they were but thirtie in number, yet they valiauntly beate them

backe twise, comming out of their bulwarkes, that is to say,* certaine houses, which at that time serued them for that purpose, albeit they were not made to that vse. Many of y^e enemies were slaine at those two combates, and not one of the other side. The Lorde of Trinitie seeing his men so fiercely driuen backe, sent out the greatest parte of his armie: whych were esteemed to be aboue xv. hundreth men. There came also about a 100. to succour the warders. The combate was very cruell and fierce. At lengthe, the poore people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were faine to forsake their bulwarkes, loosing two of their men. Then the ennemyes thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpettes, triumphing that they had put the people to flight: But the people retiring not past a stones cast, toke courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for succour, they turned themselues to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power, they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this, the enemies rested themselues a while, and by and by after, they gaue a furious assaulte, but yet they were againe mightely resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested, and in the meane time, the people fell to praier, calling vpon God altogether, with their faces lifted vppe towards heauen: which frayed the enemies more then any thing els. After this they gaue yet an other great assaulte, but God by the handes of a fewe, droue them backe. Yea God here shewed his great power euē in the litle children also, which feruently called vpō God, threw stones at their enemies, and gaue courage also vnto the men. So did also the wemen, and the vulgare sort, that is to say,* those which were meete for no feates of warre, remaining vppon the mountaine: and beholding these furious combates, kneeling vpon the ground, and hauing their faces lifted vp towards heauen, with teares and gronings, they cried: Lord helpe vs. Who heard their praier.

After that these three assaults were geuen, there came one vnto them, crying, Be of good courage, God hath sent those of Angrongne to succour vs: hee meant, that they of Angrongne were fighting for them in an other place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the thirde parte of the army was. The people perceiuing y^t they of Angrongne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, blessed be God, who hathe sent vs succour: they of Angrongne be here, they of Angrongne be here to succour vs.* The ennemies hearing thys, were astonished, and sodenly blew a reitret, and retired into the plaine.

That troupe which was gone towards Tailleret, deuided themselues into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountaine, burning many houses,* & ioyned with the maine armie. The seconde companie whyche was of seuen score, marched hygher, thinking to take the [Page 967](#) people at vnwares. But they were by seuen men strongly resisted and driuen backe. The third company attained the toppe of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people, but as God woulde, they of Angrongne, which came to succor them, encountred with them, & wyth great force put them to flight.

They of Uillars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed them selues with a little breade and wine (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chased their enemies til it was almost night: so fiersly that the maister of the campe was faine to send to the Lord of Trinitie (whiche was at Toure) for succoure, or else all would haue bene lost. Which he did: and immediately hee roade with all speede to Luserne, to saue him selfe, hearing the alarme which was geuen at S. Iohn, by those of Angrongne, & fearing least the way should haue ben stopped. The armye retired with great difficultie (notwithstanding the newe aide which was sent

them) and wyth great losse of their men.* One of their captaines confessed since, that if they had bene pursued any further, they had fledde all that night longe. Since that time, they neuer returned againe into the valley of Luserne.

On Monday, being the 17. day of Marche next folowing, the Lorde of Trinitie, to be reuenged of those of the medow of Tour, assembled al the force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Countrey. In so much, that whereas before his army was commonly but foure thousand, it was nowe betweene sixe and seuen thousande: and secretly in the night season he encamped with parte of hys army in the midst of Angrongne, from whence the poore inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the Sermon and praier were ended, they perceiued the other parte of the army to be encamped at the foote of the mountaine of Angrongne, on the East side. Sone after they perceiued how both partes of the army coasted the hilles side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harnesse, & marching in such araye, that the pore people at the first, were astonished therat. Notwithstanding the assemble fell downe vpon their knees 3. or 4. times, crying, Help vs, O Lord, beseeching him to haue regarde to the glory of his holy name,* to staye the effusion of bloud, if it were his good pleasure, & to turne the hearts of their enemies to the trueth of his holy Gospell. These two partes of the army ioyned together, nere to the bulwarks of the medow of Toure, & gaue the assault in three seuerall places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rockes, thinking to haue enclosed the people in their Bulwarkes. But assoone as they which kept the bulwarke be lowe, had espied them, they forsooke their place, and marched straight towards them, & as they marched, they met with the aide which was sent vnto them, from the vally of Luserne, very luckily, and comming (as it were) from heauen: whych ioyning together, sone discomfited their enemies w^t stones and harquebushes. They pursued them fiersly in y^e rockes, and vexed them woonderfully, because the rockes are so steepe, that no man can ascende or descende, without great paine and difficultie. The Captaine of this band was named Bastian of Uergil, a man very expert in the affaires of warre.* Hee at his going out of his lodging, threatned y^t he would do great & terrible things that day. His hostesse hearing that, said vnto him, Monsieur, if our religiō be better then theirs, you shall haue the victorie: but if theyrs be better then ours, you shall not preuaile. Shortly after, the captaine was brought againe into his Inne, so wounded and so feeble, that he was not like to liue. Then sayde hys hostesse vnto him, Monsieur, it is nowe wel seene, that their religion is better then oures.

There was also an other bande that kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarkes, from thence. The middlemost bulwarke was then assaulted, in the which were very fewe to defend the same: the which seeing the number of their enemies, retired backe, leauing therein but 5. onely to defend it. There was a huge cocke not farre from the foresayd bulwarke, behinde the same, a great number of the enemies were hid. And anone there issued out two ensignes, assuring them selues to winne the bulwarke: but immediately one of their ensigne bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many reculed backe. The other set vp his ensigne vpon the bulwarke. They which were wythin, had neither halbard, nor any other long weapon, but only one Pike,* and the same without an yron: the which one of the 5. tooke, and threw downe the ensigne, and manfully beate backe the sealers, and threwe them downe to the ground. Diuers of the enemies were entred into the bulwarke, by a doore belowe, and slue one of the fiue, which kept y^e middle parte of the bulwarke. The other foure looked to be destroyed out of hande. Then one of the foure chased away those which had entred belowe, with stones: and the other three leauing their

handguns, defended themselves likewise with great stones: and perceiuing the bande which was on the rockes to flee, they tooke courage, and w^tstoode their enemies valiantly, til their companions were returned from the chase.

In the meane time, the Bulwarke which was vppon the side of the mountaine, was furiously assailed by the one halfe of the armie. Those that were within suffered theyr enemies to approche neare to the Bulwarke, without any gunshot or other defence: whereat the enemies much marueiled. But when they were euen at hand, they fell vppon them, some with throwing of stones, some wyth rollynge downe mighty stones, & some with harquebushes.* There was a huge stone rolled downe, which passed throughout y^e whole army, and slue diuers. The souldiers at that time had wonne a litle cotage, neare to the said bulwark, which did much hurt to the poore men. But among them, one deuised to roll downe a great huge stone against the cottage, which so shooke it, and amased the soldiours, that they thought they had bene all destroyed, and incontinent they fled, and neuer would enter into it againe.

Then the souldiours made certaine fences of woode, fiue foote long, three foote broade, and of the thickest of three boardes, but they were so sore vexed w^t the shot of the harquebushes, that they were faine to lay al those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the souldiours. But al these policies of the enemies auailed them nothing: for the slaughter was so great, that in diuers places you might haue sene three ly[•]ng dead one vpon an other. God so wrought wyth the poore Christians, that the shot of two harquebushes slewe foure men. It was sayd for a certaintie, that the shot of an harquebush came so neare the Lorde of Trinities heade, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire six score pases backward,* and seeing his soldiours in suche great numbers murdered & wounded on euery side, he wept bitterly. Then hee retired the rest of his army. That day he thought assuredly to haue entred into the medowe of Tour. Moreouer he was determined, if that dayes iourney had not succeeded, to encampe therby, and the next morning very early, to renewe the assault. Many gentlemē and others came thither, to see the discomfiture of the pore Waldois: and likewise those of the Plaine looked for nothing, but to heare y^e piteous ruine and desolation of thys poore people. But God disposed it otherwise: For the Lorde of Trinitie had muche adoe to saue himselfe and his: and seeing the mischief which they intended to do vnto others, was fallen nowe vppon their owne heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of y^e plaine also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies, & the wounded to be so great (for from noone vntil the euening,* they ceased not to cary them away) were likewise exceedingly dismaied. Albeit they caried not away al, for ther were many that lay nere to the bulwarks, whiche the people couered with winding sheetes, the next morning. The souldiers them selues confessed to them of the medowe of Tour, that if they had pursued them, they had ben al slain, they were so tired and cleane out of heart.

Many marueiled why the people did not followe the army, but especially the souldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten suche vantage of them already. But this was done for two causes. The one was, because they had alredy determined not to folow the army being once retired,* to auoid the effusion of bloud, meaning onely to defend them selues. The other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spēt all theyr munition: For many of them had shot of, about 30. times, and none of them, vnder twēty, spending great store bothe

of pellets and haileshot. The rest of the army retired, crying with a loude voyce, God fighteth for them, and we doe them wrong.

The next day, one of the principal captaines of the army, surrendred his charge to the L. of Trinitie, saying vnto him, that he would neuer fight against this people anye more, and vpon that he departed. It is a maruelous thing and worthy of perpetual memorie, that in y^e combate there were but two of the Waldoys slaine, and two hurt. Thorow y^e whole countrey of Piemont, euery man sayde, God fighteth for them. One of the Captaines confessed, that hee had bene at many fierce assaultes and combates, and sundry battailes wel fought, but yet he neuer sawe souldiers so faint hearted and amased: yea the souldiours themselues told him, they wer so astonished,* that they could not stryke. Moreouer, they sayde, that thys people neuer shotte, but they hurte or killed some of the Souldiours. Some other sayd that the ministers by their prayers, coniured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and in [Page 968](#) dede wonderful is it, and maruellous are the iudgements of God, that notwithstanding so many combates and conflicts, so great assaults and aduentures, so much & so terrible shot, continually made against this poore people, yet all in a maner came to no effecte: So mightily Gods holy power wrought for his people: In so much, that for al y^e sayd combates, skirmishes, and so many conflicts: of all the Angrongnians, there were but 9. only that miscaried, and the whole number of those that were slaine, were but only 14. persons.* Where also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poore sely shepherds and neatherds, to encounter w^t such a mighty power, of so strong and braue souldiours comming against them with weapon and armor, being so well furnished and appoynted with munition as they were, in all poynts accordingly, and the other on the contrary side being vnarmed, and vnprouided of all habiliment of warre, hauing for their defence for the most parte, nothing els but slings and stones, and a fewe harquebushes.

The 9. day of Marche, there was a hotte skirmishe at Angrongne. For 3. companies of souldiours went to Angrongne, to burn and spoile all that remained, & to destroy the wines, which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongst themselues, they mocked & flouted the poore people, saying: these Lutherane Waldoys, are valiant felowes behinde their bulwarkes: but if they had bene in the plain field, they had bene wel canuased. After this it chanced that 30. of the Waldoys wēt and assailed these foresayd companies in the plain field.* They fought a long season, and that so neere, that some of them fought hande to hande. In this conflict, one of those of Angrongne, wrestled w^t a captaine of the enemies, strong and mighty, and cast him downe vpon the ground. Many of the souldiours were slayne, and many hurt. But of y^e Angronians there was but one slaine and an other hurt a little, which notwithstanding gaue not ouer to fight manfully. Then the souldiours seing the losse of their men, retired sodenly.

After that, the Lorde of Trinitie sent 2. Gentlemen of the Ualley of Luserne, to them of Angrongne, to fele them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answere was made, y^t they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very often, to entreate of the agreement: but what his meaning was, it myght well appeare. For when the pore people hoped for some agrement,* they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this there was a day assigned in the valley of Luserne to confer touching the agreement, w^t certaine men pertaining to the Lord of Raconis, and the safe conduct was promised and graunted.

The night afore the ministers & rulers of Angrongne should take their iourny, they perceiued a company of soldioures going vp a hill,* by the which they of Angrongne should passe, & hid them in houses on the wayes side, thinking to take at vnwares them of Angrongne, which were sent to treat of the agreement. But they hauing intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easie matter as diuers thought, that night to haue taken the L. of Trinity, and haue spoiled his whole campe. But they of Angrongne, and Luserne, woulde not execute thys enterprise,* least thereby they shoulde offende God, and passe the boundes of their vocation, taking vpon them no more but to defend themselues.

At that time a pitifull case happened in the Medowe of Tour. The Lorde of Raconis seeming to be sorie for thys warre, sent into y^e medow of Tour, an honest man of Briqueras, named Fraunces of Billes, to take aduise, what meanes were best, to further the agreement. Who hauing consulted with the ministers and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his maisters commandement, and hauing sent backe one whiche conducted hym, was murdered soone after at the foote of Angrongne, by two of Angrongne, which otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soone after, one of the two which had cōmitted this facte, entred into the Medowe of Toure, and was immediately apprehended and boūd. He confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The Waldoys were maruelously troubled & agreeued with this fact, and wrote to y^e Lorde of Raconis, declaring vnto him the whole circumstance of the facte, and that they had the offenders in warde, and that, if it would please him to send certaine to examine the matter, they for theyr part, wold so execute iustice in y^e punishment of them, that theyr innocency to all men shuld appeare. The lord of Raconis, wrote vnto them, y^t they should deliuer vnto hym y^e offenders, and that he would do such iustice vppon them, as the cause required. To the which they of Angrongne aunswered, that vpon three conditions, they shoulde be deliuered, according to his request. First▪ that the prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their consciences,* and as touching religion, nothing shuld be spokē vnto them, but out of the word of God. Secondly, that speedy and sharpe iustice should be executed vpon them: and y^t heereafter this should be no preiudice to y^e liberties and priuiledges of the people of Angrongne. The third, that the execution of thē should be vpon the borders of Angrongne, for an example to all other. This being accorded with one assent (yea w^tout contradiction of their parents) they sent them prisonners accompanied with 60. gunners, to the cōfines of Luserne, and there deliuered them into the hands of the Lord of Raconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrongne.

After this the lord of Trinitie hauing left certaine garrisons about Angrongne, and the valley of Luserne: went to Perouse nere to the valley of S. Martine, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a moneth. During which time, they of Angrongne, and of the valley of Luserne, liued in more quietnesse then afore: but yet they were so afflicted, by reason of the scarcitie of vitailles, which sore pressed them, and namely those of the medowe of Toure, for they were spoyled of theyr vitailles.* This poore people liued with milke and with herbes, hauing very litle breade. But afterwardes, when they were euen like to be famished, God of his goodnesse, sent them better succour, both of corne & breade, then they had before. The enemies thought to haue taken the medow of Toure by famine: for they toke away the vitailles that were to be had in all places round about▪ Euery houshold was suffered to haue no more then should

sustain them that day, and that also was very litle: to the ende that they shuld not succour this poore people.

After that, the Lorde of Trinitie being returned from Perouse to Luserne,* sent certaine to entreate of an agreement, and required to common with some of the people. Then they began to consulte and devise by al meanes, how they might come to some good agreement. But one Monday being the 17. day of Aprill, by breake of day, he sent certaine bandes of Spaniardes, which he had there, with the Garrison of Toure, to the mountaine of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the medow of Tour, on the Southside. They murdered men, wemen and children of Tailleret, whome they founde in their beddes. Then they marched on along vpon the mountaine, towardes the medow of Tour. Anone after the people perceiued 2. other companies of souldiours marching by Angrongne, by 2. seuerall wayes, to assault the Medow of Toure. In the morning, assoone as they rose, they blewe their hornes, for they sawe the Spaniards already entred. When they had made theyr prayers, euery man ranne to meete the enemyes, some on the East side and the other on the Southe. They whyche firste resisted the Spaniardes (who were already paste the bulwarkes) were in the beginning but 12. Gunners, and a few other whom they caused to go vp to the hil, and rolle downe great stones. These 12. hauing founde a fitte place for their purpose to stay the Spaniardes, began to shoote of their harquebushes at them. The Spaniardes seeing themselves so sore assailed both aboue and beneathe,* & the place so narrow and so straight, reculed backe, and retyred as fast as they coude, by the same way, by the whiche they came. If they had taried a little longer, they had ben enclosed betweene the two mountaines: whyche place was so strait that they coude not haue escaped. The people chased them vnto their campe, which was at Toure.* As they fled they founde often, some Fortes, where they did resiste for a litle while: but they were alway beaten out. In this combate God gaue victorie to the poore Waldoys, wyth great slaughter of the Spaniards: where also very many of the were sore hurt and wounded.

The sayd L. of Trinitie sent vnto the Spaniards, that they should not faint and giue ouer, but sticke to it like mē, and he woulde shortly send them succour: but they would not. Those of the Ualley of Luserne, hearing of thys conflict, came in the meane time, to helpe their neighbours. Amongest other, there was one slaine in that battaile, for whom the Lord of Trinity much lamented, saying that he would rather haue lost a whole band, then that man. The other 2. companies, whiche marched by Angrongne, perceiuing the Spaniards to be so beaten and put to flyght, & seing also those of y^e medow of Tour cōming to encounter w^t them, retired in hast. Upon that, the lord of Trinitie went to Cauors thre miles from Luserne, being in a great perplexitie: and as he was about to sende succoure to the Spaniards, he heard the sounde of a drumme aboue Luserne, & suspected that there was an army of the Waldoys comming against him. Upon this diuers of the souldiours [Page 969](#) fled away by the plaine, crying that all was lost. It was certainly reported,* that if the Waldoys had pursued the armye, as they mighte easily haue done, the campe had that day ben chased out of Luserne. The poore people lacked no courage so to do: for albeit they had neither eaten nor dronken all that day before,* & had sore trauelled and fought: yet they sayde, that if they had but a little refreshed themselves with a morsel of bread, and a glasse of wine, they durst take vpon them to enter into the campe of their enemies.

Within a few daies after, they of Angrongne were aduertised by the L. of Trinities letters, that hee fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corne being on the ground. And furthermore, that 2. fortes should be builded at Angrongne. The day was assigned,

& horsemen appoynted, with all spede to execute this mischeuous enterprise. The poore people thought y^t they shuld be assailed as sore as euer they were, and fight as harde as euer they did before.* But God preuented this cruell attēpt. For the night afore that this should be executed, the lord of Trinitie receiued certaine letters from the Duke, which staid this enterprise. They of the medowe of Tour, being aduertised that the lord of Trinitie did now entend to send ordinance to beat downe the bulwarks which were made of stones: they made a bulwarke of earth, whyche was in compasse about 500. paces: which they might easily see frō Luserne. They of the medow of Tour told the lord of Trinities men, that if they brought any artillery, they shoulde not so soone cary it away againe, and shortly the ordinance was sent backe againe.

About this season, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldoyes requested earnestly the Lord of Raconis, to present a supplication which they had made to the Duchesse of Sauoy.* For they had intelligence that she was sore offended y^t her subiects were so cruelly handled. In the whych supplication they declared the equitie of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke their soueraigne Lord: and if it mighte be prooued by the pure worde of God that they held any error,* they would with all humble submission, receiue correction and be reformed, humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the Duke had cōceiued against them, by the vntrue surmises of theyr aduersaries: and if there were any thing wherin they had offended him, they most humbly craued his gracious pardō.

About this time the lord of Trinitye, by sicknes, was in great daunger of his life.* Soone after the supplication was deliuered: the Duchesse sent an aunswer to the Waldoyes, by the sayd Lorde of Raconis. The effect thereof was, that she had obtained of the Dukes grace all that they demaunded in their supplication, vpon such conditions as the said lord Raconis would propound vnto them. But whē they vnderstoode that the sayd conditions were very rigorous, they sent an other supplication vnto the Duches,* wherein they humbly besought her grace to be a meane that the said conditions and Articles might be moderated: which Articles here follow.

First, that they should banish their Ministers.

Secondly, that they shoulde receiue the Masse and other ceremonies of the Romish church.

Thirdly, that they should pay a raunsome to the souldiours for certaine of their men which they had taken.

Fourthly, that they shoulde assemble and preache no more as they were wont to do.

Fifthly, that the Duke woulde make fortresses at his pleasure, in all that countrey, with other like things.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication,* that it would please the sayd Duches to geue the Duke her husband to vnderstand, how y^t these conditions were straunge and rigorous. And as for their partes, although they had good triall of their ministers, y^t they were good men and fearing God, of sounde doctrine, of good life & honest conuersation, yet neuerthelesse they were contented so to do, if he woulde geue leaue to some of them to remaine:

requesting this, that it might be permitted vnto thē to chuse some other good Ministers in their places, before they departed, least that their Churches shoulde remaine without Pastors.

*Concerning the Masse, and other Ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the duke should cause them to be ministred in their parishes, they neither wold, nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no iniurie or violence to those that should minister them or be present therat: notw^tstanding they besought him, that they myght not be constrained to be present thēselues, at the ministratiō thereof, or to pay any thing to the maintenaunce of the same, or els to yelde either fauour or consent thereunto.

As touching the raunsome which was demaunded of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme pouertie that they were in, and the great calamities and damages whiche they had suffred, it was to them a thing vnpossible. Yea if his highnes wer truly informed what losse they had susteined, by burning, spoiling and sacking of their houses and goods, without all mercy or pity, he wold not only require of them no suche thing, but as a gracious and mercifull Prince, he would succour and supporte them, that they might be able to maintaine their poore families, whome they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the seruice of God, and their said Lord and Prince: and therfore they desired that it mighte please him that their poore brethren remaining in captiuitie and prisone, and such as were sent to the galleis for the profession of their religion, might spedely be deliuered and set at libertie.

As for their assembles and preachings, they were contēted that they should be kept only amongst themselues, in their accustomed places and in other Ualleys aforesayde, where any assemble of the faithfull shoulde be, which were desirous to heare the preaching of the Gospell.

Touching y^e Fortresses, for as much as by those which were already made, they had suffered great molestations and troubles as well concerning their goods, as also their religion: they were assured that if he should build vp newe Fortes, they shoulde neuer be able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calamities, that would folow therupon, and therfore they most humbly desired the sayde Duchesse to be so good and gracious vnto them, as to obteine of the Duke that he would accept their persons in the steade of Fortes: and that, seeing those places were by nature and of themselues strong and wel fortified, it mighte please theyr sayde lord the duke, to receiue them into his protection and sauegarde: and by the grace and assistance of God, they would serue him them selues for suche Walles, and Forts, that he should not neede to builde any other. And because many of those which dwelt neare about them, had robbed & spoiled them, not onely of their housholde goodes and such other thinges, but also driuen away their cattell: that it myghte please him to geue them leaue to recouer the sayde goodes, by the way of Iustice, and to buy againe that whyche the souldiers had sold, and that for the same price, for the which it was solde.

Briefly, they also besought their said Lorde, y^t it myght please him to be so gracious vnto them, as to graunt them a confirmation of al their franchises, immunities, and priuileges, as well generall, as particular, geuen vnto them as well by him, as by his predecessours: and likewise of those which, as well they, as their anciters had bought of their Lordes, and to receiue them as hys most humble and obedient subiects, into his protection and safegarde.

And because in time past, in the stede of good and spedie Iustice, all iniquitie was committed by those that had the administration of iustice in their Ualleis: and for as much as their purses were emptied & punished rather then the malefactours: that it might please him to geue order that such iustice might be done amongst them, wherby the wicked might be punished with all seueritie, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Finally, forasmuch as diuers of this poore people (being astonished at the comming of the army, & fearing least they should not onely be spoyled of all theyr goods, but also they with their wiues and children, be vtterly destroyed) made promise against their consciences, to liue accordynge to the traditions of the church of Rome: * they were maruelously troubled and tormēted in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distresse. Wherefore they humbly besought the sayde Duches to take pity vpon them, & to obtaine that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their conscience: and moreouer, that it might please the Duke to permit them, to liue in libertie and freedome of conscience: also, that all theyr poore brethren, banished for the cause of Religion, might returne home to their houses: and that al confiscations and penalties made against them, myghte be abolished. And for their part they promised to geue all due reuerence and honour to God and his holy worde, and to be true and faithfull subiects to theyr Lorde & Prince. Yea more then any other. Underneath the sayde supplication, there was wrytten:

Your faithfull and humble subiects, the poore afflicted of the Ualleys of Luserne, Angrongne, S. Martin, and Perouse, and generally all the people of the Waldois, which inhabite the countrey of Primont.

After that this supplication was viewed & read of the sayd Duchesse, she so persuaded with the Duke, that aunswer was made with these conditions declared in these articles following.

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Conclusions and Articles, lastly agreed vpon betweene the right honourable Lorde of Raconis on the part of the Dukes highnesse, and them of the Valleys of Piemont, called the Waldoyes.

THat there shal shortly be made letters Patentes by the Dukes highnesse, * by the which it may appeare that he hath forgeuen and pardoned them of the Ualleys of Angrongne. Bobby, Uillers, Ualquichard, Rora, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet bordering vppon Tour. S. Martine, Perouse, Roccapiata, S. Bartlemew, and al suche as haue aided them: of all such faultes as they haue committed, as well in bearing armour againste his highnesse, as against the Lordes and certaine other gentlemen whom he reteined and kept in his protection and safegard. *

That it shalbe lawful for them of Angrongne, Bobby, Uillard, Ualquichard, Rora, (members of the Ualley of Luserne) & for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneillan, and Salsa (members of the Ualley of S. Martine) to haue their congregations, * sermons & other ministeries of theyr religion, in places accustomed.

That it shalbe lawfull for them of Uillars (members of the Ualley of Luserne) to haue the same, * but that onely vntill the time that his highnes doth builde a Forte in the same place. But whilst the sayd fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to haue their preaching and assemblies with in the said precinct of the place, but it shalbe lawful for them to build a place for that purpose, neere

at hand, where they shall thinke good, on that side towards Bobby. Neuertheles it shall be permitted to their ministers to come wythin the precinct aforesayd, to visite the sicke, and exercise other things necessary to theyr Religion, so that they preach not nor make any assemble there.

*It shalbe also permitted to them of Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet bordering vpon Tour, to haue their Sermones and assembles in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Tour.

*That it shal not be lawful for the saide members of the Ualleys of Luserne and S. Martine, to come to the rest of their borderers, nor any other of his highnesse dominion: nor to haue their preachings, assembles or disputations, out of theyr owne borders, hauing libertie to haue them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawfull for them to answer without danger of punishmēt in body or goodes.

The like shall be lawfull for them of the parishe of Perouse,* which at this present are fled because of the said religion, & were wont to haue their assembles and preachings & other ministeries according to their religion, at the place called le Puis: so that they come not to other places & borders of the said parish.

It shal be permitted to them of y^e parish of Pinachia, of the Ualley of Perouse,* which at this present be fled because of the said religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and assemblies and other ministeries of that religion, to haue the like onely at the place called le Grandoubiou.

*It shall be permitted to them of the parishe of S. Germain of the Ualley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, which at this present are fled because of the said religion and cōtinue in the same, to haue one onely minister, which may the one day preache at S. Germaine, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Uandini only.

It shalbe permitted to al them of the townes and Uillages of the said Ualleis,* which at this present are fled, and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abiuration made before this warre against the said religion, to repaire & returne to their houses with their houtholdes, and to liue according to the same, going and comming to the Sermons and assembles which shall be made by their ministers in the places aboue specified, so that they obey that which is abouesayd.

And because that many of the sayde townes and villages dwel out of the precinct of the preaching, hauing neede to be visited▪ and of other things according to their said religion, their ministers which dwel within the precinct, shal be suffred without preiudice, to visite and duely aide them of such ministeries as shall be necessary for thē, so that they make no sermons or assembles.

By especial grace it shall be permitted to al them of the Ualley of Meane,* and them of S. Bartlemew, neyghbors to Roccapiata, and are fled and continue in the sayd religion, peaceably to enioy the grace and liberties graunted in the next article before, so that they obserue all which they before promise to obserue.*

The goodes alre dy seased as forfait, shalbe restored to all the inhabitants of the saide Ualleis, and to all that are fled and continue in the said religion, as wel of them of the said Ualleis, as of Roccapiata, S. Bartlemew, and of Meane, so y^t they be not seased for any other cause then for the sayde religion, and for the warre present and lately past.

It shalbe lawfull for them aforesayd, to recouer by way of Iustice, of their neighbours, their moueable goodes and cattell, so it be not of Souldiours: and that whyche hathe bene sold, they shall also recouer by way of Iustice, so that they restore the price for which it hath beene solde. Theyr neighbours shall haue the like against them.

All their franchises, fredomes, and priuiledges,* as wel generall, as particular, graunted as well by his highnesse predecessours, as by him selfe, and obtained of other inferiour Lordes, whereof they shall make prooue by publicke wrytings, shalbe confirmed vnto them.

The said Ualleis shalbe prouided for to haue good Iustice ministred vnto them, whereby they may knowe they are kept in sauegard by his highnesse, as wel as all hys other subiects.

The inhabitants of the sayd Ualleis shall make a rolle of all the names & surnames of al them of the said valleys, which are fled for religion, as wel such as haue abiured, as other, to the ende they may be restored, and maintained in their goodes and houtholdes, and enioy such grace and benefites as their Prince and Lord hath bestowed on them.

And in so much as it is knowen to euery man, that the Prince may builde fortresses in his country, where it shall please hym without contradiction, neuerthelesse, to take all suspicion out of the mindes of the aforesaide Waldoyes, it is declared that if, at any time hereafter, his highnesse will make a Forte at Uillars, the inhabitants of the sayde place shall not be constrained to beare the charges, but onely as they shal thinke good, louingly to aide their Prince. Which Forte beinge builded (by Gods aide) A Gouvernoure and Captaine shall therein be appoynted, which shall attempt nothing but the seruice of his highnesse, wythout offence of the inhabitants either in their goods or consciences.

It shalbe lawful for them, before y^e discharging of theyr Ministers, such as it shall please his highnesse to haue discharged, to chuse and cal other in their steades:* so that they chuse not M. Martin de Pragela, nor chaunge not from one place to another, of the said valleis, any of them which be discharged.

The Masse and other seruice after the vsage of Rome, shalbe kept in all the parishes of the sayde Ualleis, where the Sermons assembles,* and other ministers of their religion are made, but none shall be compelled to be presente thereat, nor to minister aide or fauour to suche as shall vse that seruice.

All the expenses and charges borne by his highnesse in this warre, shalbe forgeuen and released to them for euer. Also the eight thousand crownes wherin the inhabitants of the saide Valleys were behinde, as parte of sixteene M. crowns, which they had promised in the warre passed: and his highnesse will commaunde that the wrytings, for that cause made, shalbe adnulled and cancelled.

All the prisoners shalbe rendred & restored which shall be found to be in the hands of the souldiours,* paying ransome reasonable, according to theyr goodes, as they shalbe seased: and those which shall be adiudged to be wrongfully taken, shalbe released without raunsome.

Likewise, all they of the sayd Ualleis, whych for religion, & not for other causes, are deteined in the Galleis,* shall be released without raunsome.

Finally, it shalbe lawfull for all them of the said valleis, them of Meane, Roccapitata, and s. Bartlemewe, of what degree, estate, or cōdition so euer they be (except ministers) to accompany and dwel, and to be in daily conuersation w^t the rest of his highnes subiects, and to tary, goe & come, in all places of his highnes country, to sel and buy, and vse al trades of marchandise, in all places in his highnes country, as before is said, so that they preach not, nor make any assembles, or disputatiōs, as we haue before sayd: and that they whiche be of the limites, dwell not oute of them: and they which be of the townes & villages of the said valleis, dwel not out of them, nor of their borders:* and in so doing they shall not be molested by any meanes, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods: but shall remaine vnder the protection and sauegarde of his highnesse.

Furthermore, his highnes shal set order to stay al troubles, inconueniences, secret cōspiracies of wicked persons after such sort,* that they shall remaine quietly in theyr religion. For obseruation whereof, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrongne, Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the Elders of Uillars, Pirrone Arduino, sent frō the comminaltie of Bobby, Michael Ramondet, sent from the comminaltie of Tailleret and of [Page 971](#) la Rua de Bonet bordering vpon Tour, Iohn Malenote, sent from certaine persons of S. Iohn, Peter Paschal sent from the comminaltie of the valley of S. Martin, Thom. Roman of S. Germain, sent from the comminaltie of the same place, and of all the Ualley of Perouse, promise for thē and their comminalties seuerally, that the cōtents of these conclusions aforesayd, shall be inuiolately kepte, and for breach thereof do submit themselues to such punishment as shall please his highnes: promising likewise to cause the chiefe of the families of the comminalties, to allow and confirme the sayd promise.

The honourable Lorde of Raconis doth promise that the Dukes highnes shall confirme and allow the foresayde conclusions to them both generally and peticularly,* at the intercession and especiall fauour of the noble Lady the Princesse.*

In testimonie whereof, the foresayde Lord of Raconis hath confirmed these present conclusions, wyth hys owne hand, and the Ministers haue lykewise subscribed in the name of all the sayd Ualleys, and they which can write, in the name of all theyr comminalties.

At Cauor, the v. of Iune. 1561.

- Phillip of Sauoy.
- Fraunces Valla, Minister of Villars.
- Claudius Bergius, Minister of Taillaret.
- Georgius Monasterius.
- Michael Raymundet.

THis accord being thus made and passed, by the meanes of the Duchesse of Sauoy, the poore Waldoys haue ben in quiet vntill this present: and God of his infinite goodnes hauyng deliuered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at libertie, to serue him purely and with quietnes of conscience.

Wherfore there is none at this present (except he be altogether blind or senceles) but he seeth and well perceiueth that God would make it knowen by experience, to these poore Waldoys,* and al other faithful people, that al things turne to the best to them, which loue and feare hym. For by all these afflictions which they suffered (as is before rehearsed) this good heauenly father hath brought them to repentance and amendement of life. He hath effectuously taught them to haue recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Iesus Christ, for their onely Sauour and redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the desires and lustes of the flesh, to withdrawe their harts from the world, and lift them vp to heauen, and to be alwayes in a readines to come to him, as vnto their most louing and pitifull father. To be short, hee hath set them to the schoole of hys children, to the end they should profite in patience and hope: to make them to mourne, weepe, and cry vnto hym. And aboue all, he hath made them so oft to proue his succours at time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feele and touch them with their handes (as a man would say) after such sort, that they haue had good occasion and all the faithfull with them, neuer to distrust so good a father, and so carefull for the health of his children: but to assure themselues neuer to be confounded, what thing soeuer happen.

And yet to see thys more manifestly, and that euery man may take profite therof, it shal be good to vnderstand what this poore people did, whiles they were in these combates and conflictcs.* So soone as they sawe the armye of theyr enemies approach, they cryed altogether for ayde and succour to the Lord, and before they begā to defend thēselues they fell to prayer, and in fighting, lifted vp their hartes, and sighed to the Lorde. As long as the enemyes were at rest, euery one of these poore people, on their knees, called vpon God. When the combate was ended, they gaue him thanks for the comfort and succour, which they had felte. In the meane time, the rest of the people with the Ministers, made their harty prayer vnto God with sighes and teares, and that, from the morning vntill the euening. When night was come, they assembled agayne together. They which had fought, rehearsed the woonderfull ayde and succour which God had sent them, and so altogether rendred thanks vnto hym for hys fatherly goodnes. Alwayes he chaunged their sorrow into ioye. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, wyth great terrour on all sides: but by the euening, they were deliuered, and had great cause of reioysing and comfort.

*This poore people had two terrible enemies: warre and famine, which kepte them vnder, in such sort that a man would haue thought they had bene vtterly lost & destroyed. But God of his endles mercy, deliuered thē from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietnes, & al they which had declared themselues to be their open enemyes, were brought to confusion, as well those whiche fought to get their goodes, as those whiche onely desired to shedde their bloud. For prooffe wherof, the onely exāple of two Gentlemen of the Ualley of Luserne shall suffice. These not onely moued cruell warre agaynst

their poore tenauntes and others, but most shamefully spoyled them, and tooke vntollerable fines of all those that disobeyed their Edictes, to keepe a good conscience.

Besides this,* they went about to sease all their goodes as forfait: waytyng to haue the whole forfayture thereof themselues. And for this cause they did not onely incense the Duke with false reportes and with greuous complayntes and accusations, agaynst these poore Waldoys: but also pursued the same so long and with such charges, that they were fayne to sell their inheritaunce, in hope to bring their purpose to passe, and to enioy that goodly pray, which they thought could not escape their handes. But in the ende, for their rewarde, they got nothyng but shame and confusion.

And as for the Monkes and Priestes whiche by such meanes thought to aduaunce themselues, & to bryng their trumpery to estimation, they haue lost the litle rule which they had ouer that people, and are confounded, and their Religion brought in disdayne. Thus God beateth down those which exalte themselues aboue measure, and maketh his aduersaries to fall into the pits whiche they themselues haue made.

Let vs pray vnto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissaunt arme at this day, to maintayne his poore Church now afflicted, and to confound all the deuises of Sathan and his members, to the aduaancement of his glory and kyngdome.

¶The conclusion of the story.

And thus hast thou (Christiā reader) for thy erudition and comfort, the story and doyngs,* discoursed concernyng these two countreys, both of Prouince & also of Piemont, the one beyng subiect vnder the dominion of Fraunce, the other belōgyng to the Duke of Sauoy. In the which two foresayd regions and countreys, how long the Gospell of Christ hath continued (euē from the tyme of the first Waldenses) the history it selfe declareth.

Furthermore, what iniuries and wronges haue bene done agaynst them for the Gospels sake,* what rigour and cruelty hath bene shewed of the aduersary part: agayn, for their part, what pacience in their sufferynge, what constancie in their doctrine, what truth in their wordes, and simplicitie in their deedes, what obedience toward their Magistrates, and fayth toward God they haue vsed, & finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemyes, the sayd history may geue thee full knowledge and experience.

Wherein this thou hast moreouer for thy more learnyng, to note and to consider with thy selfe, besides many other memorable thinges in this story contained how vnwillyng this people were at first, & what remorse of conscience they had, for their obedience toward their Magistrates, to lift vp any hād or finger, for their owne defence. And therefore many of them beyng slayne & cruelly murthered as willingly offerynge their throates without any resistance, to the cruell handes of their enemyes, the rest were cōpelled to flye into the mountaines, beyng spoyled of house, vittaile, & weapon, onely to saue their poore liues with flying,* whiche otherwise they would not with resisting, in rockes & caues, thinking there rather to perish by famine, then to vse that defence for thēselues, which nature geueth to euery brute beast to helpe it selfe as it may, agaynst violēce & iniury. Yet these poore Waldoys refusing all resistance, & laying downe their own

weapon (for obedience sake) yea not lifyng vp their own handes, to defend their owne heades, onely vsed the poore shift of flying frō their enemies, till at lēgth the rage of those bloudy persecutours, satisfied with no bloud, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously, to infest them, yea to take also the mountaines frō them, which had taken from them their houses before, neither yet permittyng them to liue with the wild beastes in the desert, whiche could not liue in their townes at home: till at length, by extreme necessitie, the prouidēce of God so workyng with them,* they were cōpelled to turne their faces, & to take those weapōs, which the grounde gaue to their handes. And with those stones, so marueilously the God of hostes wrought for his people, that they beat, vāquished & ouerthrew their aduersaries, they cōfoūded their pride, they abated their malice, & at last, stayd the intollerable rage of their persecutiō. So [Page 972](#) mercyfully and victoriously the Lorde God omnipotent fought with his people,* or rather for his people, they but turning almost their faces vnto their enemies, no otherwise then he fought in times before, with Iosue agaynst the heathen, with the Israelites against the Phelistians, with the Macabees, against Antiochus and the Sirians.

This hystorie caryeng with it a true narration of things done in the sayd country of Piemont, and written (as it semeth) by certayne of the Ministers, whiche were at the doying thereof, with the like faith and simplicitie we haue collected partly out of the Italian, partly out of the French tongue: for in both the languages it is written, although in the French tongue,* it is much more largely discoursed, which booke most principally heerein we haue followed. The title whereof thus beginneth, Histoire des persecutions & Guerres faites contre le peuple appelé Vaudois, &c.

Now that we haue finished these forreine Histories, concerning suche matters as haue bene passed in other Realmes and nations of Germanie, Italie, Spaine, Fraunce, and Sauoy: consequently it remayneth after this degresse, to returne and reduce our story againe, to our owne countrey matters, heere done and passed at home, after that first we shall haue added one forreine storie more, concerning y^e Martyrdome of a Christian Iewe, which suffered about these yeares in Constantinople, among the Turkes, in this wise as foloweth.

¶The story of a christian Iew in Constantinople martyred by the Turkes.

*Persecutors.

The
Martyrs. causes.

The Turkes of Constātinople.

A Iew christened and Martyred. At Constantinople.

An. 1528.

TO these forreyne Martyrs aforesayd we wil also adioine the Hystorie of a certayne Iew, who in the yeare of oure Lorde 1528. dwelling in the Citie of Constātinople, and there receyuing the sacrament of Baptisme, was conuerted, and became a good Christian. When the Turkes vnderstoode heereof,* they were vehemently exasperated agaynst hym, that he forsaking his Iewishnes, should bee regenerate to the faith of Christ: and fearing least his conuersion shoulde be a detrimente to theyr Mahometicall lawe, they sought meanes howe to put hym to deathe, whiche in shorte tyme after

they accomplished. And for the greater infamie to be done vnto the man, they cast his dead corps into the streetes, commanding that no man should be so hardy as to bury the same.*_

[illustration]

Wherein the maruelous glorie and power of Christ appeared. For the dead corpse lyeng so by the space of nyne dayes in the midst of the streetes, reteined so hys natiue colour, and was so fresh, without any kynde of filthines or corruption, and also not without a certeine pleasaunt and delectable sent or odour, as if it had bene lately slayne, or rather not slayne at all: which when the Turkes beheld, they were thereat maruelously astonied, and beeyng greatly afrayde, they themselues tooke it vp, and caried it to a place neere without the towne, and buried it.

HAuing thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly Saintes, and blessed Martyrs, which haue suffered in other foreine nations aboue mentioned, heere now endyng with them, and beginning the eyght booke, we haue (God willing) to returne agayne to our owne matters,*_ and to prosecute such Actes and recordes, as to our owne countrey of England do appertayne. In the proees whereof among many other thyngs, may appeare the maruelous worke of Gods power and mercy in suppressing and banishing out of thys Realme, the long vsurped supremacie of the Pope: also in subuerting and ouerthrowing the houses of Monkes, and Friers, with diuers other matters perteyning to the reformation of Christes true Church and Religion. All which things as they haue bene long wished, and greatly groned for in tymes past of many godly learned men: so much more ought wee nowe to reioyce and geue God thanks, seeyng these dayes of reformation, which God hath geuen vs. If Iohn Husse, or good Hierome of Prage, or Iohn Wickliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swynderby, or the Lord Cobham, if Zisca, with all the company of the Bohemians, if the Earle Raymundus, with all the Tholossians, if the Waldoyes or the Albingensis, with infinite other, had bene eyther in these our times now, or else had seene then thys ruine of the Pope, and reuealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed vnto vs, what ioye and triumph would they haue made? Wherefore now beholding that thyng which they so long tyme haue wished for, let vs not thinke the benefite to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lorde our God: Who by his mightie power and brightnes of his word,*_ hath reuealed this great enemie of his so manifestly to the eyes of all men, who before was hid in the Church so coulourably, that almost few Christians could espye him. For who would euer haue iudged or suspected in hys mynde, the Byshop of Rome (commonly receyued and beleueed almost of all men, to be the Vicare and Vicegerent of Christ heere in earth) to be Antichrist, and the great aduersary God, whome S. Paule so expresly prophesieth of in these latter dayes to be reuealed by the brightnes of the Lords commyng, as all men now for the most part may see is come to passe. Wherefore to the Lord and Father of lightes, who reuealeth all things in hys due tyme, be prayse and glory for euer. Amen.

The ende of the seauenth Booke.

The eyght Booke, continuing the hystorie of English matters appertayning to both states, as well Ecclesiasticall, as Ciuill and Temporall.

*Persecuters.

Martyrs.

The Causes.

- Symon Mourton the bishops Somner.
- The bishop of Couentry.
- Frier Stafford Warden.

- *Maistres Smyth widow.
- Rob. Hatchets a shomaker.
- Archer a shomaker.
- Hawkins a shomaker.
- Tho Bond a shomaker.
- Wrigsham a Glouer.
- Landsdale an Hosier.

At Couentry.

An. 1519.

THE principall cause of the apprehēſion of those persons, was for teaching their children and familie, the Lordes prayer, and tenne Commaundementes in English: for which they were vpon Ashwednesday taken and put in prison, some in places vnder the grounde, some in chambers and other places about, till Friday following. Then they were sent to a Monasterye called Mackestocke Abbey, sixe miles from Couentry. During which time, their children were sente for to the Gray friers in Couentry, before y^e Warden of the sayd friers, called Frier Stafford: Who straitly examining them of their beliefe, and what heresie their fathers had taught them, charged thē vpon payne of suffering suche deathe as their fathers should, in no wyse to meddle any more with the Lords prayer, * the Creede, and Commaundements in English.

Which done, vpon Palmesonday, the fathers of these children were broughte backe agayne to Couentry, and there, the weeke next before Easter, were condemned for relapse (because most of them had borne fagots in the same Citie before) to be burned.

*

[illustration]

Onely Maistres Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the euenyng beyng somewhat darke, as she should go home, the foresayd Symon Mourton the Somner offered him selfe to goe home with her. Now as he was leadyng her by the arme, and heard the rattelyng of a scrole within her sleeue: yea (sayth he.) What haue ye here? And so tooke it from her, & espyed that it was the Lordes prayer, the Articles of the fayth,* & the x. Commaundementes in Englishe. Which when the wretched Somner vnderstood, ah serrha (sayd he) come, as good now as an other tyme, & so brought her backe agayne to the Byshop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the vj. men before named, the fourth of Aprill in a place thereby called the litle parke. An. 1519.

Robert Silkeb.

At Couentry.

An. 1521.

IN y^e same nūber of these Couētry men aboue rehearsed, was also Robert Silkeb,* who at the apprehension of these, as is aboue recited, fled away,* and for that tyme escaped: But about two yeares after, he was taken agayne, & brought to the sayd Citie of Couentry, where he was also burned the morowe after hee came thether, whiche was about the xiiij. day of Ianuary. An. 1521.

Thus, when these were dispatched immediatly the Sheriffes went to theyr houses, and tooke all their goodes and cattell to theyr owne vse, not leauyng their wiues and children any parcell therof to helpe

themselves with all. And for
 somuch as the people began to
 grudge somewhat, at the crueltie
 shewed, and at the vniust death of
 these innocent Martyrs, the Byshop,
 with his Officers and Priestes,
 caused it to bee noysed abroad by
 their Tenautes, seruantes, and
 fermers, y^t they were not burned for
 hauyng the Lordes prayer and
 commaundementes in English, but
 because they did eate fleshe on
 Fridayes and other fastyng dayes:
 Which neither could he proued,
 either before their death, or after,
 nor yet was any such matter greatly
 objected to them in their
 examinations.* The witnesses of
 this history bee yet alieue, whiche
 both saw them and knew them. Of
 whom one is by name mother Halle,
 dwelling now in Bagington two
 myles from Couentry. By whom
 also this is testified of them,* that
 they aboue all other in Couentry
 pretended most shew of worshyp
 and deuotion, at the holdyng vp of
 the Sacrament, whether to colour
 the matter, or no, it is not knowen.
 This is certain that in godlinesse of
 life they differed from al the rest of
 the Citie: Neither in their occupying
 they would vse any oth: nor could
 abyde it in them that occupied with
 them.

PATricke Hamelton a Scottish man
 borne, of an hygh and noble stocke,
 and of the kynges bloud,* young
 and of flourishyng age, and excellēt
 towardnesse, of xxij. yeares called
 Abbot of Ferme first commyng out
 of his countrey with 3. companiōs,
 to seek godly learnyng,* went to the
 Uniuersitie of Marpurg in
 Germany, which vniuersitie was thē
 newly [Page 974](#) erected by Phillip

- Iames Betō Archb. of S. Andrew
- M. Hew Spēs, dean of diuinity in
the vniuersitie of S. Andrew
- M. Iohn Weddell Rector of the
vniuersitie.
- Iames Symson, Officiall.
- Tho. Ramsay, Chanon, and
Deane of the Abbey of S.
Andrewes.
- Allane Meldrum Chanon.
- Iohn Greson, Principall of the

Patricke Halmentō.

At Saint Andrewes in
Scotlād.

An. 1527.

Blacke Friers.

- Iohn Dillidaffe, Warden of the Gray Friers.
- Martin Balbur, Lawyer.
- Iohn Spēs, Lawyer.
- Alexander Yong, bacheler of Diuinitie, Chanon.
- Iohn Annand, Chanon.
- Frier Alex. Chambell, Priour of the Blacke Friers, &c.

Lātgrauē of Hesse:ba where he vsing conference and familiaritie w^t learned men, namely with Franciscus Lambertus, so profited in knowledge, and mature iudgement in matters of Religion,ba that he through the incitation of the sayde Lambert, was the first in all y^e Uniuersitie of Marpurg, which publickely did set vp cōclusions there to be disputed of, concerning fayth and workes: arguing also no lesse learnedly then feruently vpon the same. What these propositions and conclusions were, partly in his treatise heereafter following, called Patrike places, may appeare.

Thus the ingenious witte of this learned Patricke increasing daylye more and more in knowledge, and inflamed wyth godlinesse, at length began to reuolue with himselfe, touching his returne into his countrey, being desirous to import vnto hys countreyemen, some fruite of the vnderstāding, which he had receaued abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he tooke one of the three whome he brought out of Scotland, & so returned home without anye longer delaye. Where he, not susteyning the miserable ignoraunce and blindnes of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of heresie, and afterwarde, constantly and stoutly susteyning y^e quarel of Gods Gospell, against the hygh Priest and Archbishop of Saint Andrewe, named Iames Beton, was cited to appeare before him, and his Colledge of Priestes, the firste daye of March, 1527. But he beeing not

onely forward in knowledge, but also ardente in spirit, not tarieng for the houre appoynted, preuented the time, and came very early in the morning, before he was looked for, and there mightely disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures be conuicted,* by force he was oppressed: and so, the sentence of cōdemnation being geuen against him, the same daye after dinner, in all the hoate haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned, the King being yet but a childe, whych thing made the Byshops more bold. And thus was thys noble Hamelton, the blessed seruaunt of God, without all iust cause, made away by cruell aduersaries, yet not without great fruite to the Church of Christ, for the graue testimonie of his bloud, left the veritie and truth of God, more fixed and confirmed in the harts of many, then euer could after be pluckt away: in so much that diuers afterwarde standing in his quarell, susteined also the lyke Martyrdome, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare, as place and time shall require.

In the meane season we thinke good to expresse here his Articles, and order of his processe, as we receaued them from Scotland, out of the registers.

¶The Articles and opinions obiected against Maister Patrike Hamelton, by Iames Beton, Archbyshop of S. Andrewes.

THat man hath no free will.

That there is no Purgatory.

That the holy Patriarkes were in heauen,* before Christes passion.

That the Pope hath no power to loose and binde: neyther any Pope had that power, after S. Peter.

That the Pope is Antichrist, and that euery Priest hath the power that the Pope hath.

That Mayster Patrike Hamelton was a Byshop.

That it is not necessary to obteyne any Bulles from any Byshop.

That the vow of the Popes religion, is a vow of wickednes.

That the Popes lawes be of no strength.

That all Christians worthy to be called Christians, doo know that they be in the state of grace.

That none be saued, but they are before predestinate.

Whosoeuer is in deadly sinne, is vnfaithfull.

That God is the cause of sinne, in this sence, that is, that he withdraweth hys grace from men, whereby they sinne.

That it is diuelish doctrine, to enioyne to any sinner, actuall penance for sinne.

That the sayde M. Patrike himselfe doubteth whether all children departing incontinent after their Baptisme, are saued or condemned.

That auricular confession is not necessary to saluation.

These Articles aboue written, were geuen in, and laid agaynst M. Hamelton, and inserted in their registers, for the which also he was cōdemned, by thē whiche hated him to death. But other learned men, which commoned & reasoned with him, do testifie, that these Articles followyng were the very Articles, for the which he suffered.

1. Man hath no free will.

2. A man is onely iustified by fayth in Christ.*

3. A man, so long as he liueth, is not without sinne.

4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, which beleeueth not that he is in grace.

5. A good man doth good workes: good workes doo not make a good man.

6. An euill man bringeth forth euill works: euill works, being faithfully repented, do not make an euill man.

7. Faith, hope, and charitie be so linked together, that one of thē can not be without an other, in one mā, in this life.

¶And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctours gaue their iudgements, as diuers do report, he was not accused of them before the Byshop. Albeit in priuate disputation, he affirmed and defended the most of thē.

Heere followeth the sentence pronounced agaynst hym.

CHristi nomine Inuocato: We Iames, by the mercy of God, Archbyshop of Saint Andrew, primate of Scotland,* with the counsayle, decree, and authoritie of the most reuerend fathers in God, and Lordes, Abbots, Doctours of Theologie, professors of the holy Scripture, and maysters of the Vniuersitie, assisting vs for the time, sitting in iudgement within oure Metropolitane Church of S. Andrew, in the cause of hereticall prauitie, agaynste Mayster Patrike Hamelton, Abbot or pensionarie of Ferme, being summoned to appeare before vs, to aunswere to certeine Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before vs, and accused, the merites of the cause being ripely weyed, discussed, and vnderstanded by faithfull inquisition made in Lent last passed: we haue found the same M. Patrike, many wayes infamed with heresie, disputing, holding, and mayntayning diuers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already * condemned by generall Councils, and most famous Vniuersities. And he being vnder the same infamie, wee decerning before, him to be summoned and accused vpon the premisses, he of euill mind (as may be presumed) passed to other partes foorth of the Realme, suspected and noted of heresie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his owne head, without licence or priuiledge, hath presumed to preache wicked heresie.*

We haue found also, that he hath affirmed, published, & taught, diuers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appeare before vs and our Councell: That man hath no free will: That man is in sinne so long as he liueth: That childrē incontinent after their baptisme, are sinners: All Christians that bee woorthie to bee called Christians, doo knowe that they are in grace: No man is iustified by workes, but by fayth onely: [Page 975](#) Good workes make not a good man, but a good man doth make good workes: That fayth, hope, and charitie, are so knit, that hee that hath the one, hath the rest, and hee that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c. with diuers other heresies and detestable opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsayle nor perswasion, he may be drawne therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

All these premisses being considered, we hauing God and the integritie of our fayth before our eyes,* and following the counsayle and aduise of the professours of the holy Scripture, men of law, and others assisting vs, for the tyme: do pronounce, determine, and declare, the said M Patrike Hamelton, for his affirming, confessing, and mayntayning of the foresayd heresies, and his pertinacie (they being condemned already by the Church, generall Councils, and most famous Vniuersities) to be an hereticke, and to haue an euill opinion of the fayth, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemne, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitiue, depriuing and sentencing him, to be depriued of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church:* and therefore do iudge and pronounce him to be deliuered ouer to the secular power, to be punished, and his goodes to be confiscate.

This our sentence definitiue, was geuen and read at our Metropolitane Church of S. Andrewes, the last day of the moneth of February, an. 1527. being present, the most reuerend fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawand Byshop of Glasgow, George Byshop of Dunkelden, Iohn, Byshop of Brecham, William, Byshop of Dunblane, Patrike, Prior of S. Andrew. Daudid, Abbot of Abirbrothoke, George, Abbot of Dunfermeling, Alexander, Abbot of Caunbuskyneth, Henry, Abbot of Lendors, Iohn Prior of Pittyrweme, the Deane, and Subdeane of Glasgow, M. Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrun, &c. In the presence of the Cleargy and the people.

After the condemnation and Martyrdome of this true Saint of God was dispatched by the Byshops and Doctours of Scotland, the rulers and Doctours of the Uniuersitie of Louane hearing therof, receaued such ioy & consolation, at the shedding of that innocent bloud, that for the aboundance of hart, they could not stay their penne, to vtter condigne thanks, applauding and triumphing in their letters, sent to the foresaid Bishop of S. Andrewes, & Doctours of Scotland, at the worthy & famous deseruings of their a•chieued enterprise, in that behalfe: as by the tenour of their sayd letter may appeare, which heere foloweth.

¶The copie of a letter congratatorie, sente from the Doctours of Louane, to the Archbysh. of S. Andrewes and Doctours of Scotland, commending them for the death of mayster Patrike Hamelton.

*YOur excellent vertue (most honourable Bishop) hath so deserued, that albeit we be farre distant, both by sea and land, without coniunction of familiaritie, yet we desire with all oure harts, to thanke you for your woorthy deede, by whose workes, that true faith which not long ago, was taynted wyth heresie, not only remayneth vnhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as oure deare friend M. Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberdon, hath shewed vs, the presumption of the wicked hereticke Patrike Hamelton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you haue cut him off, when there was no hope of amendement, &c.

The which thing, as it is thought commendable to vs, so the maner of the proceeding was no lesse pleasaunt,* that the matter was perfourmed by so great consent of so many estates, as of the Cleargy, nobilitie, and vulgare people, not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all poyntes obserued. We haue seene the sentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approue the same, not doubting but that the Articles which be inserted, are erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth, any one of the same, with pertinacitie, shoulde be esteemed an enemie to the fayth, and an aduersary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeare to be without error,* to them that wyll consider onely the bare words: as (for example) good woorkes make not a good man, but a good man worketh good workes, yet there is no doubt, but they conteyne a Lutherane sense, which in a maner, they signifie: to wit, that workes done after fayth, and iustification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any rewarde before God. Beleeue not, that this example shall haue place onely among you, for there shall be among externe nations, which shall imitate the same, &c.

Certainly, ye haue geuen vs great courage, so that now we acknowledge your Vniuersitie, which was founded according to the example of our Vniuersitie of Louane, to be equall to ours, or else aboue: and would God occasion were offered of testifying our mindes toward you. In the meane time, let vs labour wyth one consent, that the rauening Wolues may be expelled from the

sheepfold of Christ, while we haue tyme. Let vs study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter,* and more wisely Let vs haue Inquisitours, & espyers of bookes, cōtaining that doctrine, especially that is brought in from farre countreys, whether by a postatiue Monkes, or by Marchauntes, the most suspected kynde of mē in these dayes. It is sayd, that since Scotland first embraced the Christiā fayth, it was neuer defiled with any heresie Perseuere therfore, being moued thereunto by the exāple of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous tyme, is not chaūged, partly by the working of the Bishops, amōg the which * Roffensis hath sheweth himselfe an Euangelicall Phoenix, and partly of the kyng, declaring himselfe to be an other Mathias of the new law: pretermittynge nothing that may defēd the law of his realme. The which, if your most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shal purchase to himselfe eternal glory. Further, as touchyng the condigne cōmendation, due for your part (most reuerēd Byshop) in this behalfe, it shall not be the least part of your prayse, that these heresies haue bene extinct sometimes in Scotlād, you being Primate of Scotlād and principal authour therof: Albeit that they also which haue assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserued prayse, as the reuerēd Byshop of Glasgow, of whose erudition, we haue here geuē vs partly to vnderstand, and also the Reuerend Byshop of Aberden, a stoute defender of the fayth, together with the rest of the Prelates, Abbottes, Priours, and professors of holy Scripture. Let your Reuerend Fatherhood take this little testificate of our duety toward you, in good part, whom we wishe long and happely well to fare in Christ. From Louane. An. 1528. Aprill. 21.

By the Maisters, and professours, of Theologie in the Vniuersitie of Louane, yours to commaunde

¶In this Epistle of the Louanian Doctours, I shall not neede (gētle Reader) to note vnto thee, what a pernitiuous thyng in a cōmon wealth, is blynd ignoraunce, whē it •alleth into cruell hartes. Which may well be compared to a sword put in the handes of one, that is both blynd and mad. For as the blynd man, hauyng no sense to see & iudge knoweth not whom he striketh: so the madde man, beyng cruell & furious, hath no cōpassion in sparyng any. Whereupon it happeneth many tymes with these men, as it dyd with the blynd furious Phariseis, that as they hauing the sword of authoritie in their hādes, in stede of malefactours and false Prophetes, slue the true Prophetes of God, and at last crucified the kyng of glory: so these Catholicke Louanians and folowers of their Messias of Rome, take in their handes the sworde of iurisdiction, who neither seyng what to spare, nor caring whom they smite, vnder the stile and pretense of heretickes, murther and blaspheme without mercy, the true Preachers of the Gospell, and the holy annoynted of the Lord.

But to returne to the matter agayne of M. Hameltō, here is moreouer to be obserued, as a note worthy of memory, that in the yeare of the Lord. 1564. in y^t which yeare this present history was collected in Scotland, there were certaine faythfull men of credite thē aliue, who beyng present the same tyme, when M. Patrike Hamelton was in the fire,* heard him to cite & appeale the blacke Frier called Cāpbel, that accused him, to appeare before the high God, as general iudge of all mē, to aunswere to the innocēcy of his death, and whether his accusation was iust or not, betwene that, & a certaine day of the next moneth▪ which he there named. Moreouer by the same witnes it is testified, that y^e sayd Frier died immediately before y^e sayd day came, without remorse of conscience, that he had persecuted the Innocēt. By the example wherof diuers of the

people the same tyme, much mused, and firmly beleued the doctrine of the foresayd M. Hamelton, to be good and iust.

Hereunto I thought good to adioyne a certaine godly and profitable treatise of the sayd M. Patrike Hamelton,* written first by him in Latine, and afterward trāslated by Iohn Frith into English, which he names Patriks Places, not vnprofitable in my mynde, to be sene and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine conteyned in the same, as not onely by the Treatise it selfe may appeare, but also by the Preface of the sayd Iohn Frith, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconuenient to insert with the same, as here foloweth.

¶A brief treatise of M. Patrike Hamelton, called Patrikes Places, translated into Englishe by Iohn Frith, with the Epistle of the sayd Frith prefixed before the same, as followeth.

*Iohn Frith vnto the Christian Reader.

Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, whiche in these last dayes and perillous tymes, hath stirred vp in all cōtreys, [Page 976](#) witnesses vnto his sonne, to testifye the truth vnto the vnfaithfull,* to saue, at the least some from the snares of Antichrist, which leade to perdition, as ye may heere perceauē by that excellent, and well learned yong man, Patrike Hamelton, borne in Scotland of a noble progeny: who to testifye the truth, sought all meanes, and tooke vpon him Priesthode, (euen as Paule circumcised Timothy, to winne the weake Iewes) that he might be admitted to preache the pure worde of God. Notwithstanding, as soone as the Chamberleyne and other Byshops of Scotlande had perceaued that the light began to shine, whiche disclosed theyr falsehood that they conueyed in darkenes, they layd handes on him, and because he would not deny his Sauour Christ at theyr instance, they burnt him to ashes. Neuerthelesse, God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole worlde what a man these monsters haue murdered) hath reserued a little treatise, made by this Patrike,* which, if ye list, ye may call Patrickes Places: For it treateth exactly of certayne common places, which known, yee haue the pith of all Diuinitie. This treatise haue I turned into the English tong, to the profit of my nation: to whome I beseech God to geue light, that they may espye the deceitfull pathes of perdition, and returne to the right way which leadeth to life euerlasting. Amen.

¶The doctrine of the Lawe.

*THE Lawe is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth euill, as the Commaundements do specifie, heere following.

The ten Commaundements of God.

- *1. Thou shalt worship but one God.
- 2. Thou shalt make thee no Image to worship it.
- 3. Thou shalt not sweare by his name in vayne.
- 4. Hold the Sabboth day holy.
- 5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
- 6. Thou shalt not kill.
- 7. Thou shalt not commit aduoutry.
- 8. Thou shalt not steale.

- 9. Thou shalt not beare false witnes.
- 10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

All these Commaundements are briefly comprised in these two heere vnder ensuing.

Loue thy Lord God with all thine hart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mynde.* This is the first, and great commaundement. The second is like vnto this, that is, loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. On these two commaundements hangeth all the Lawe and the Prophetes.

Certayne generall propositions prooued by the Scripture.

¶**The first proposition.**

*¶He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour.

This proposition is proued 1. Iohn. 4. If a man say, I loue God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a lyer. He that loueth not hys brother whome he hath seene, how can he loue God, whome he hath not seene?

¶**The 2. proposition.**

¶He that loueth his neighbour as himselfe, keepeth all the Commaundements of God.*

This proposition is proued Mat. 7. Rom. 13. Whatsoeuer ye would that men should do to you, euen so do to them. For this is the Law and the Prophets. Math. 7.

He that loueth his neighbour, fulfilleth the Law. Thou shalt not commit aduoutry. Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steale: Thou shalt not beare false wytnes: Thou shalt not desire, &c. and if there be any other Commaundement, all are comprehended in this sayeng:* Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Rom. xiiij.

All the Law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Gal. v.

Galat. 5.¶Argument.

- Bar. He that loueth his neighbour, keepeth all the Commaundements of God.* Rom. 13.
- *ba. He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour. 1. Iohn. 4.
- *ra. Ergo, he that loueth God, keepeth all the Commaundements of God.

¶**The 3. proposition.**

*¶He that hath fayth loueth God.

My father loueth you, because you loue me, and beleue that I come of God. Iohn. 16.

¶**Argument.**

- Bar. He that keepeth the Commaundements of God, hath the loue of God.*
- ba. He that hath fayth,* keepeth the Commaundementes of God.
- ra. Ergo, he that hath fayth, loueth God.*

¶The 4. proposition.

¶He that keepeth one Commaundement of God,*keepeth them all.

This proposition is confirmed. Heb. 11. It is vnpossible for a man, without fayth to please God, that is, to keepe any one of Gods Commaundements, as he should do. Then whosoeuer keepeth any one Commaundement, hath fayth.

¶Argument.

- Bar. He that hath fayth, keepeth all the Commaundementes of God.*
- ba. He that keepeth any one Commaundement of God, hath fayth.*
- ra. Ergo, he that keepeth one Commaundement,* keepeth them all.

The 5. proposition.

¶He that keepeth not all the Commandements of God, keepeth not one of them.*

¶Argument.

- He that keepeth one Commaundement of God, keepeth all.
- Ergo, he that keepeth not all the Commaundements of God, keepeth not one of them.

¶The 6. proposition.

¶It is not in our power to keepe any one of the Commaundements of God.

¶Argument.

- Ba. It is vnpossible to keepe any of the Commaundements of God, without grace.*
- ro. It is not in our power to haue grace.
- co. Ergo it is not in our power,* to keepe any of the Commandements of God.*

And euen so may you reason cōcerning the holy Ghost, and fayth, for so much as neyther without them we are able to keepe any of the Commaundements of God: neyther yet be they in our power to haue. Non est volentis ne{que} currentis, &c. Rom. 9.

¶The 7. proposition.

¶The Law was geuen vs to shew our sinne.*

By the Law commeth the knowledge of sinne. Rom. 3. I knew not what sinne meant, but thorow the law. For I had not knowne what lust had meant, except the Lawe had sayde: Thou shalt not

lust. Without the Law sinne was dead, that is, it moued me not, neyther wüst I that it was sinne, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the Law, Rom. 7.*

The 8. proposition.

¶The Law biddeth vs do that thing, which is vnpossible for vs.*

¶Argument.

- Da.* The keeping of the Commaundementes is to vs vnpossible.
- •i.* The Law commaundeth to vs the keeping of the Commaundements.
- j. Ergo, the Law commaundeth vnto vs, that is vnpossible.*

¶Obiection.

But thou wilt say, wherefore doth God bid vs do, that is impossible for vs.*

☞Aunswere.

I aunswere, to make thee know, that thou art but euill,* & that there is no remedy to saue thee, in thine owne hand: and that thou mayst seeke remedy at some other, for the Law doth nothing else but commaund thee.

¶The doctrine of the Gospell.

The Gospell is as much to say in our tounge,* as good tidings: like as these be, heere vnder folowing, and such other.

Christ is the Sauour of the world.*

Christ is the Sauour.

Christ dyed for vs.

Christ dyed for our sinnes.

Christ bought vs with his bloud.

Christ washt vs with his bloud.

Christ offred himselfe for vs.

Christ bare our sinnes on his backe.

Christ came into this world to saue sinners.

Christ came into this world to take away our sinnes.

Christ was the price that was geuen for vs & our sinnes.

Christ was made debtour for vs.

Christ hath payd our debt, for he dyed for vs.

Christ made satisfaction for vs and our sinnes.

Christ is our righteousnes.

Christ is our sanctification.

Christ is our redemption.

Christ is our peace.

[Page 977](#) Christ hath pacified the father of heauen for vs.

Christ is our and all his.

[*](#) Christ hath deliuered vs from the lawe, from the deuill, and from hell.

The father of heauen hath forgeuen vs our sinnes, for Christes sake. [*](#) Or any suche other, like to the same, whyche declare vnto vs the mercy of God.

The nature and office of the lawe, and of the Gospell.

The lawe sheweth vs our sinne.

The Gospell sheweth vs remedy for it.

[*](#) The lawe sheweth vs our condemnation.

The Gospel sheweth vs our redemption.

The lawe is the word of Ire.

The Gospel is the word of grace.

The lawe is the word of dispaire.

The Gospell is the worde of comfort.

The lawe is the word of vnrest.

The Gospell is the word of peace.

***A disputation betweene the lawe and the Gospell, where is shewed the difference or contrarietie betweene them both.**

The lawe sayth, pay thy dette.

*The Gospell sayth, Christ hath paid it.

The law saith, thou art a sinner, despaire and thou shalt be damned.

The Gospell sayeth, thy sinnes are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved.

The lawe sayth, make amends for thy sinnes.

The Gospell sayth, Christ hath made it for thee.

The lawe saith, the father of heaven is angry with thee.

The Gospell sayeth, Christ hath pacified hym with his blood.

The lawe sayth, where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction.

The Gospell sayeth, Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, and satisfaction.

The lawe sayeth, thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.

The Gospell sayth, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

The doctrine of Faith.

Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.*

To believe God, is to believe his word and to recount it true that he sayeth.

He that belieueth not Gods word, belieueth not God himselfe.

He that belieueth not Gods word, he counteth hym false and a liar, and belieueth not that he may and will fulfill his word, and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himselfe.

The 9. proposition.

*¶Faith is the gift of God.

Argument.

- Da- Euery good thing is the gift of God.
- *ri- Faith is good.
- j. Ergo, faith is the gift of God.

***The 10 proposition.**

¶Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

- *Da- The gift of God is not in our power.
- ri. Faith is the gift of God.
- j. Ergo, faith is not in our power.

The 11. proposition.

*¶He that lacketh faith, can not please God.

Without faith, it is impossible to please God. Rom 14. All that commeth not of faith, is sinne, for without faith can no man please God. Heb. 11.

Induction. An argument called Inductio.

- Hee that lacketh faith, trusteth not God: hee that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word: he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a lier: he that holdeth him false and a lier, beleueeth not that he may doe that he promiseth, and so denieth he, that he is God.
- Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, he that lacketh faith, can not please God.
- If it were possible for any man to do all the good deedes that euer were done, either of men or aungels: yet being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God.

***The 12. proposition.**

¶All that is done in faith, pleaseth God.

Right is the word of God, and all his workes in faith. Psal. 33.

Lorde thine eies looke to faith: that is as much to say, as Lorde thou delightest in faith. Ier 5.

The 13. proposition. *

¶He that hath faith, is iust and good.

Argument.

- Da. He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, * is iust and good.
- ri. He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruite.
- j. Ergo, he that hath faith, is iust and good. *

The 14 proposition.

¶He that hath faith, and beleueth God,* can not displease him.

Induction.

- He that hath faith, beleueth God: he that beleueth God,* beleueth his word, he that beleueth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithfull, and may not lie, knowing that he both may and will fulfill his word:
- Ergo, a primo ad vltimum, hee that hath faith, can not displease God: neither can any man doe a greater honour to God, then to count him true.

Obiection.

Thou wilt then say, that thefte, murther, aduoutry, and all vices, please God.*

Answer.

Nay verely, for they can not be done in faith: for a good tree beareth good fruit. Mat. 7.12.*

The 15. proposition.

¶Faith is a certainty or assurednesse.*

Faith is a sure confidence of thinges which are hoped for, and certaintie of thinges which are not seene. Heb. 11.

The same spirite certifieth oure spirite, that we are the children of God. Rom. 8. Moreouer, he that hathe faithe, wotteth well that God will fulfill his word. Whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certaintie or assurednesse.

A man is iustified by faith.

ABraham beleued God, and it was imputed vnto hym for righteousnesse. Rom. 4.*

We suppose therfore that a man is iustified by faith without the deedes of the law. Rom. 3. Gal. 2.

He that worketh not but beleueth on him that iustifieth the wicked, his fayth is counted to him for righteousnes. Rom. 4.

The iust man liueth by his fayth. Abac. 2. Rom. 1.

We wotte that a man is not iustified by the deedes of the law: but by the fayth of Iesus Christ: and we beleue in Iesu Christ, that we may be iustified by the faith of Christ and not by the deedes of the law. Gal. 2.

What is the fayth of Christ.

The fayth of Christ is to beleue in him, that is, to beleue his word,* and beleue that he will helpe thee in all thy neede, and deliuer thee from all euill.

Thou wilt aske me, what word? I aunswere, the Gospell.

He that beleueth in Christ, shalbe saued. Marke 16.

He that beleueth y^e sonne, hath euerlasting life. Iohn 3.

Uerely I say vnto you, he that beleueth in me hath euerlasting life. Iohn 6.

This I write vnto you, that you beleue on the sonne of GOD, that ye may know how y^t ye haue eternall life. 1. Iohn. 5.

Thomas, because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou beleued. Happy are they which haue not sene, and yet haue beleued in me. Iohn. 22.

All the Prophetes to him beare witnes, that whosoeuuer beleueeth in him, shall haue remission of their sinnes. Actes. 10.

What must I doe that I may be saued? The Apostles aunswered: Beleue in the Lorde Iesus Christ, and thou shalt be saued. Act. 16.

If thou knowledge with thy mouth that Iesus is the Lord, and beleueest with thine hart that God raysed hym from death, thou shalt be safe Rom. 10.

He that beleueth not in Christ, shall be condemned.

He that beleueth not the sonne, shall neuer see lyfe, but the ire of God, bydeth vpon him. Iohn. 3.

The holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sinne, because they beleue not in me. Iohn. 16.

They that beleue Iesu Christ, are the sonnes of God.

Ye are all the sonnes of God, because ye beleue in Iesu Christ. 1. Iohn. 3.

He that beleueth that Christ is the sonne of God, is safe. Iohn. 1.

[Page 978](#) Peter sayd, thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God, Iesus answered and sayde vnto him, happy art thou Symon the sonne of Ionas, for flesh and bloud haue not opened to thee that: but my father that is in heauen. Mat. 16.

We haue beleued, and knowe that thou art Christe, the sonne of the liuing God.

I beleue that thou art Christ the sonne of God, whyche should come into the world. Iohn 11.

These things are written that yee might beleue, that Iesus is Christ the sonne of God, and that ye in beleuing, might haue life. Iohn 20.

I beleue that Iesus is the sonne of God. Act. 8.

The 16. proposition.

*He that beleueth the Gospel, beleueth God.

Argument.

- Da. He that beleueth Gods word, beleueth God.
- *ri. The Gospel is Gods word.
- j. Ergo, he that beleueth the Gospel, beleueth God.

To beleue the Gospel is this:

- That Christ is the Sauour of the world. Iohn 4.
- Christ is our Sauour. Luke 2.
- Christ bought vs with his bloud. Heb. 13. 1. Pet. 1. Apo. 5
- Christ washed vs with his bloud. Apoc. 1.
- Christ offered himselfe for vs. Heb. 9.
- Christ bare our sinnes on his owne backe, &c. 1. Pet. 2.

***The 17. proposition.**

He that beleueth not the Gospel, beleueth not God.

Argument.

- Fe. He that beleueth not Gods word beleueth not God himselfe.
- *ri. The Gospel is Gods worde.
- o. Ergo, he that beleueth not the Gospel, beleueth not God him selfe, * and consequently he that beebeueth not those things aboue wrytten and such other, beleueth not God.

The 18. proposition.

*He that beleueth the Gospel, shalbe safe.

Go ye into all the worlde and preache the Gospell, vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is baptised, shalbe saued, but he that beleueth not, shalbe condemned. Mark. 16.

A comparison betwene faith, and incredulitie.

*FAith is the roote of all good.

Incredulitie is the roote of all euill.

Faith maketh God and man good frendes.

Incredulitie maketh them foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together.

Incredulitie sundereth them.

All that faith doth, pleaseth God.

All that Incredulitie doth, displeaseth God.

Faith onely maketh a man good and rightuous.

Incredulitie onely maketh him vniust and euill.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ.

Incredulitie maketh him a member of the deuill.

Faith maketh a man the inheritour of heauen.

Incredulitie maketh him inheritour of hell.

Faith maketh a man the seruaunt of God.

Incredulitie maketh him the seruaunt of the deuill.

Faith sheweth vs God to be a swete father.

Incredulitie sheweth him a terrible iudge.

Faith holdeth stiffe by the word of God.

Incredulitie wauereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.

Incredulitie holdeth him false and a lier.

Faith knoweth God.

Incredulitie knoweth him not.

Faith loueth both God and his neighbour.

Incredulitie loueth neither of them.

Faith onely saueth vs.

Incredulitie onely condemneth vs.

Faith extolleth God and his deedes.

Incredulitie extolleth her selfe and her owne deedes.

Of hope.

HOpe is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised vs to come: as we hope after the euerlasting ioy, which Christ hath promised vnto all that beleue in him.

We should put our hope and trust in God a lonely, and in no other thing.

*IT is good to trust in God and not in man. Psal. 118.

He that trusteth in his owne heart, is a foole. Prou. 28.

It is good to trust in God and not in princes. Psal. 118.

They shall be like vnto the Images whych they make, and all that trust in them. Psal. 115.

He that trusteth in his owne thoughtes doth vngodly. Prou. 12.

Cursed be he that trusteth in man. Ier. 17.

Bid y^e rich men of thys world that they trust not in their vnstable riches, but that they trust in the liuyng God. 1. Tim. 6.

It is hard for them that trust in mony, to enter into the kingdome of heauen. Luke 18.

Moreouer, we should trust in him onely that may helpe vs, God onely may helpe vs, therefore we should trust in him onely.

Well are they that trust in God: and woe to them that trust not in him. Psal. 2. Ier. 17.

Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust. Psal. 14. Eccles. 34.

He y^f trusteth in him, shal vnderstand the verity. Sap. 3.

They shall all reioyce that trust in thee: they shall euer be glad, and thou wilt defend them. Psal. 5.

Of Charitie.

CHaritie is the loue of thy neighbor. The rule of charity is this: Doe as thou wouldest be done to: * for Christe holdeth al alike, the rich, the poore, the frend and the foe, the thankfull and vnthankfull, the kinseman and stranger.

A comparison betwene Faith, Hope, and Charitie.

FAith commeth of the worde of God: * Hope commeth of faith: and Charitie springeth of them both.

Faith beleueth the word: Hope trusteth after it that is promised by the word: Charity doth good vnto her neyghbor, thorow the loue that it hath to God, and gladnes that is wythin her selfe.

Faith looketh to God and hys worde: Hope looketh vnto his gift and reward: Charity looketh on her neighbours profite.

Faith receaueth God: Hope receaueth hys rewarde: Charitie loueth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God onely: Hope to hys rewarde: and Charitie to her neighbour.

The doctrine of workes. No maner of workes make vs rightwise.

WE beleue that a man shalbe iustified without workes. * Rom. 3.

No man is iustified by the deedes of the lawe, but by the faith of Iesus Christe, and we beleue in Iesu Christe that we may be iustified by the faith of Christe, and not by the deedes of the lawe: For if righteousness come by the lawe, then died Christ in vaine. Gal. 2.

That no man is iustified by the lawe, is manifest, for a rightwise man liueth by his faith, but y^e law is not of faith.

Moreouer, sith Christ the maker of heauen & earth, * and al that is therein, behoued to die for vs, we are compelled to graunt that we were so farre drowned & sunken in sin, * that neither our deedes nor al the treasures that euer God made or myght make, coulde haue holpen vs out of them: therefore no dedes, no Workes may make vs rightwise.

No workes make vs vnrightwise.

IF any euell workes make vs vnrighteous, then the contrary workes should make vs rightwise. * But it is prooued that no woorkes can make vs rightwise: therefore no workes maketh vs vnrightwise.

Workes maketh vs neither good nor euill.

IT is proued that woorkes neither maketh vs rightwise nor vnrightwise: * therefore no works make vs either good or euill: For rightwise and good are one thing, & vnrightwise and euil likewise one.

Good workes make not a good man, nor euill workes an euill man: but a good man bringeth forth good workes, and an euill man euill workes.

Good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill fruite the tree euill: but a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euill tree, euil fruite.

A good man can not doe euill workes, nor an euill man good workes: for a good tree can not beare euill fruite, * nor an euill tree, good fruite.

A man is good ere he do good workes, and euill ere hee do euil works: for the tree is good ere it beare good fruite, and euil ere it beare euil fruite.

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Euery man, and the workes of man, are eyther good or euill.

EUery tree, and the fruites therof, are either good or euil, Either make yee the tree good, * and the fruite good also, or els make the tree euill, and the fruite of it likewise euill. Math. 12.

A good man is knowen by his workes, for a good man doth good workes, and an euil man, euil workes. Ye shall know thē by their fruit, for a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euil tree, euill fruit. A mā is likened to the tree, and his workes to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the false Prophetes which come to you in shepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues: ye shall know them by theyr fruits. Luke. 7.

None of our workes either saue vs, or condemne vs.

*IF woorkes make vs neither rightuous nor vnrightuous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we doe. I answer, if thou do euill, it is a sure argument, that thou art euill, * and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, & haste faith, for a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euill tree euill fruite. Yet good fruite maketh not the tree good, nor euill fruite the tree euill: so that man is good ere he do good dedes, and euill, ere he do euil dedes,

The man is the tree, his workes are the fruite.

*FAith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the euill tree: such a tree, such fruite, such a man, such workes: For all thynges that are done in faith, please God, and are good workes: and all that are done without faith, displease God and are euill workes.

Who so euer beleueth, or thinketh to be saued by hys workes, denieth that Christe is his Sauour, that Christe dyed for him, and all things that pertaineth to Christe. For howe is hee thy Sauour, if thou mightest saue thy selfe by thy works, or wherto should he die for thee, if any workes might haue saued thee?

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Uerely that thou shouldest haue died perpetually, and Christ to deliuer thee from death, died for thee, and chaunged thy perpetual death, into hys owne death: For thou madest the fault, and he suffered the payne, and that for the loue he had to thee, before thou wast borne, when thou haddest done neyther good nor euill.

Nowe seeing he hath payed thy dette, thou needest not, neyther canst thou pay it, but shouldest be damned, if hys bloud were not. But sithe hee was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

Finally, he hath deliuered thee from thy cōdemnation and all euil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wylt acknowledge what hee hath done for thee, and beare it in minde: and that thou wouldest helpe other for hys sake, both in woorde and deede, euen as he hath holpen thee for nought, and wythout reward.

O how ready would we be to helpe other, if we knewe his goodnes and gentlenes towards vs? He is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let vs I beseeche you therefore, folow his footestepes, whom all the worlde ought to praise and worship. Amen.

He that thinketh to be saued by his workes, calleth himselfe Christ.

*For he calleth himselfe the Sauour, which pertaineth to Christ onely.

What is a Sauour, but he that saueth? and he sayeth, I saued my selfe, which is as much to say, as I am Christ, for Christ onely is the Sauour of the worlde.

We should do no good workes for the intent to get the inheritance of heauen, or remission of sinne.

*For whosoeuer beleueth to get the inheritāce of heauen, or remission of sinne through works, he beleueth not to get the same for Christes sake. And they that beleue not that theyr sinnes are forgeuen them, and that they shall be saued for Christes sake, they beleue not the Gospell: For the Gospell sayth, you shall be saued for Christes sake, your sinnes are forgeuen for Christes sake.

He that beleueth not the Gospell, beleueth not God. So it foloweth, that they which beleue to be saued by their woorkes, or to get remission of their sinnes by their owne dedes, beleue not God, but recoūt him as a lier, and so vtterly deny him to be God.

Obiection.

Thou wilt say, shall we then do no good deedes?

Answer.

I say not so, but I say we should doe no good workes,* for the intent to get the inheritance of heauen, or remission of sinne. For if we beleue to get the inheritaunce of heauen through good workes, then we beleue not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get remission of our sinnes by our dedes, then we beleue not that they are forgeuen vs, and so we count God a lier. For God sayth thou shalt haue the inheritaunce of heauen for my sonnes sake, thy sinnes are forgeuen thee for my sonnes sake: and you say it is not so, but I wil win it through my works. Thus you see I cōdemne not good dedes,* but I condēne the false trust in any workes, for all the workes wherin a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poysoned & become euil,

Wherefore, thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserue any good thorough them, for if thou doe, thou receiuest the good, not as the giftes of God, but as dette to thee, and makest thy selfe fellow with God, because y^u wilt take nothing of hym for nought. And what needeth hee any thing of thine, which geueth all thyng and is not the poorer?

Therefore do nothing to him, but take of hym, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will geueth vs al that we neede, then we can take it of hym: if then we want ought, let vs wite our selues.

Presse not therefore to the inheritaunce of heauen thorough presumption of thy good works, for if thou do, thou countest thy selfe holy and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of hym for noughte, and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

FINIS.

Certaine briefe Notes or declarations vpon the foresayd places of M. Patrike.

THis litle treatise of M. Patricks places,* albeit in quantitie it be but short, yet in effecte it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to vs the true doctrine of the lawe, of the Gospel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties, & also the difference of the same.* Which difference is thus to be vnderstanded, that in the cause of saluation, and in the office of iustifying, these are to be remooued and separated a sonder, the lawe from the Gospel, and faith from workes: Otherwise in the person that is iustified, and also in order of doctrine, they ought cōmonly to goe necessarily together.

Therefore, where soeuer any question or doubt riseth of saluation, or our iustifying before God, there the law, & al good works must be vtterly excluded, and stand apart,* that grace may appeare free, the promise simple, and that faith may stād alone. Which faith alone, without law or workes, worketh to euery man particularly his saluation, through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This worde (particularly) I adde,* for the particulare certifying of euery mans hart priuately and peculiarly, that beleueth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in generall: so is faith the instrumentall cause,* by which euery man applieth the sayde body of Christ particularly to his owne saluation. So that in the action and office of iustification, both law & workes here be vtterly secluded and exempted, as things hauing nothing to doe in this behalfe. The reason is this: for seing that all our redemption

vniuersally springeth only frō the body of the sonne of God crucified, then is there nothing, that can stande vs in steade, but that onely, wherewith thys bodye of Christ is apprehended. Now, for somuch as neither the law nor works, but faith onely is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ,* therefore faith onely is that matter which iustifieth euery soule before God, thorough the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object onely of our faith, is the body of Christ, like as the brasen Serpent was the objecte onely of the Israelites looking, and not of their handes working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediatly proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ being the objecte of our faith, striketh righteousness to our soules, not through working, but beleuing onely.

Thus you see, howe faith being the onely eye of our soule,* standeth alone with her objecte, in case of iustifying: but yet neuertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there be also handes to worke, feete to walke, eares to heare, and other members moe, euery one conuenient for the seruyce of the body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but onely the eye. So in a christian mans life, and in order of doctrine, ther is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charitie, and dedes of charitie: all which in life, and in doctrine, are ioyned, & necessarily do concurre together, and yet in the action of iustifying, there is nothing els in man, that hath any parte or place, but onely Fayth apprehending the object which is the body of Christ Iesus for vs [Page 980](#) crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthines and fulnes of our saluation, by faith, that is, by our apprehending and receauyng of him, according as it is wrytten. Iohn 1. Whosoever receiued him, he gaue them power to be made the sonnes of God, euen all such as beleued in his name, &c. Also Esay. 53. And this iust seruaunt of mine, in the knowledge of him shall iustifie many. &c.

Argument.

- Da. Apprehending and receauing of Christ onely, maketh vs iustified before God,* Iohn 1.
- ti- Christ onely is apprehended and receaued, by Faith.
- si. Ergo, faith onely maketh vs iustified before God.

Argument.

- Ba Iustification commeth onely by apprehending and receiuing of Christ. Esay. 53.
- ro The lawe, and workes do nothing pertaine to the apprehending of Christ.
- co. Ergo, the law and workes pertaine nothing to Iustification.

Argument.

- Ce- Nothing which is vniust of it selfe, can iustifie vs before God, or helpe any thing to our iustifying.
- *sa- Euery worke we do, is vniust before God. Esay 54.
- re. Ergo, no worke that we do, can iustifie vs before God, nor helpe any thing to our iustifying.

Argument.

- Ca- If workes could any thing further our iustification, thē should our works some thing profit vs before God?*
- me No workes (doe the best we can) doe profite vs before God. Luke 17.
- stres. Ergo, no workes that we doe, can any thynge further our iustification.

Argument.

- Ba- All that we can do w^t God, is only by Christ. Ihon. 15.
- ro Our workes and merites be not Christe, neyther anye part of him.
- co. Ergo, our workes & merites can do nothing with God.

Argument.

- Da- That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of iustification.
- *ri- The law is the cause of condemnation. Rom. 4.
- j. Ergo, it is not the cause of iustification.

A consequent.

We are quit and deliuered from the law. Rom. 7.

*Ergo, we are not qu^t and deliuered by the law.

Forsomuch therfore as the truth of the Scripture in expresse words, hath thus included our saluation in faith onely, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and meanes in our Iustification, and to make this difference betwene the lawe & the Gospel, betwene faith and works, affirming with the Scripture & word of God, that the lawe condemneth vs, our works do not auaille vs, and that faith in Christ onely iustifieth vs. And thys difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all christians, especially in conflict of conscience betwene the law and the gospel: faith and works: grace and merites: promise & condition: Gods free election, and mans freewil: So that the lyght of the free grace of God, in our saluation may appeare to all consciences, to the immortal glory of Gods holy name, Amen.

The order and differences of places.

- The Gospel
- *The law.
- Faith
- Works.
- Grace
- Merites.
- Promise
- cōditiō.
- Gods fre election.
- mās fre wil.

The difference and repugnance of these foresayde places being wel noted and ex•ended, it shall geue no smal light to euerye faithfull christian, both to vnderstande the Scripture, to iudge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the olde and newe Testament, as els may seeme to repugne, according to the rule of Augustine, saying, Distingue tempora, & conciliabis scripturas &c. Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures.* &c.

Contrariwise, where men be not perfectly in these places instructed, to discerne betwene the lawe and the Gospell, betweene faith and woorkes. &c. so long they can neuer ryghtly establie their minds in the free promises of Gods grace: but walke confusedly, without order in al matters of religion. Exāple wherof we haue to much in the Romish church,* who confoūding these places together without distinction, following no methode, haue peruered the true order of christian doctrine, and haue obscured the swete comfort & benefit of the Gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true vse of the law, nor of the Gospel meaneth.

In the doctrine of the law, iij. things to be noted.

In the law therfore 3 things are to be considered: First, what is the true rigour and strength of the lawe, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restraine his outward actions, but also his inward motions, and inclinatiōs of wil and affection, from the appetite of sinne: And therfore saith S. Paul: The law is spiritual, but I am carnal &c. Rom. 7 Whereupon riseth this proposition: That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Item, The law commandeth that which is to vs vnpossible &c. 2 The second thing to be noted in the doctrin of the law, is to consider the time and place of the lawe, what they be, & how far they extend. For as the surging seas haue their banks and barres to keepe them in: so the law hath his times & limites which it ought not to passe. If Christ had not come & suffred, the time & dominion of the law had ben euerlasting. But now seeing Christ hath come and hath died in his righteous flesh,* the power of the law against our sinfull flesh doth cease. For the ende of the lawe is Christ. Rom. 10. that is, the death of Christes body is the death of the law to al that beleue in him: so that who so euer repēteth their sinnes, & flie to the death and passion of Christ the condemnation & time of the lawe to them is expired. Wherefore this is to be vnderstand as a perpetual rule in the scripture, that the law withal his sentences and iudgements whersoever they are writtē, either in the old Testament or in the new, do euer include a priuy exception of repentaunce and beliefe in Christ, to the which alwayes it geueth place, hauing there his end, and can proceede no further, according as S. Paul doth say: The lawe is our Scholemaister vntil Christ, that we might be iustified by faith. Gal. 3.

Moreouer, as the law hath his time how long to reigne, so also it hath his proper place, where to raigne. By the raigne of the law here is ment the cōdemnation of the law: for as the time of the law ceaseth, when the faith of Christ, in a true repenting heart, beginneth so hath the law no place in such, as be good and faithful, that is, in sinners repenting and amending,* but only in them which be euill and wicked. Euill men heere I call all such, which walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driuē by earnest repentāce, to flie to Christ for succour. And therefore sayth S. Paule: To the iust man there is no law set, but to the vniust and disobedient, &c. 1. Tim. 1. By the iust man here is ment, nor he which neuer had disease, but he, who knowing his disease, seeketh out the Physition, and being cured, kepeth himselfe in health as much as he may, from any mo surfets: notwithstanding, he shall neuer so keepe him self but that his health (that is, his new obedience) shal alwaies remaine fraile & vnperfect, and shall continually nede the Physition. Where, by the

way, these iij. things are to be noted. 1. the sicknes it self. 2 the knowing of the sicknes. 3. the Physitian. The sicknes is sinne. The knowing of the sicknes, is repentance, which the lawe worketh. The Physitian is Christ. And therefore, although in remission of our sinnes, repētaunce is ioyned with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthines of repētāce, that causeth remission of sinnes, but only the worthines of Christ whom faith onely apprehēdeth: * no more then the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the Phisition. For els when man is cast and condemned by the lawe, it is not repentance that can serue or deserue life, but i• his pardō come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that saueth.

The third poynt to be considered in the doctrine of the lawe, is this: That we marke well the ende and purpose why the lawe is geuen, which is, not to bring vs to saluation, not to worke Gods fauoure, nor to make vs good: but rather to declare and conuicte our wickednesse, and to make vs feeble the daunger therof to thys ende and purpose, that we seeing our condemnation, and beyng in our selues confounded, may be driuen thereby to haue our refuge in Christ the sonne of God, and to submit our selues to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this ende of the lawe discretely ought to be pondered of all Christians. Otherwise, they that consider not this •nd and purpose of the law, fall into manifold errorrs and inconueniences. * First they peruert all order of doctrine. 2. They seeke that in the lawe which the law cannot geue. 3. They are not able to comfort themselues, nor other. 4. They keepe mens soules in an vncertayne doubt and dubitation of their saluation. 5. They obscure the light of Gods grace. 6. They are vnkind to Gods benefites. 7 They are iniurious to Christes passion, and enemies to his crosse. 8. They stop christian liberty. 9▪ They berieue the church the spouse of Christe, of her due comfort, as taking away the sonne out of the world. 10 In all their doings they shoote to a wrong marke For where Christ only is set vp to be apprehēded by our faith, & so freely to iustify vs: they leauing this Iustification by faith, set vp other markes, partly of the lawe, partly of their owne deuising for men to shoote at. And here commeth in the manifest and manifolde absurdities of the B. of Romes doctrine, which here (the Lorde willing) we will rehearse, as in Catalogue here following.

Errorrs and absurdities of the Papists touching the doctrine of the Law, and of the Gospel.

1. They erroneously conceiue opinion of saluation in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith of Christ, * and in no other.

2. They erroneously do seke Gods fauor by works of the law, not knowing that the law in thys our corrupt nature worketh only the anger of God. Rom. 3.

[Page 981](#)3. They erre also in this, that where the office of the lawe is diuers and contrary from the Gospel, they without any difference, * cōfound the one with the other, making the gospel to be a law, and Christ to be a Moses.

4. They erre in deuiding the law vnskilfully in 3. partes into the law naturall, the law morall, and the lawe Euangelicall.

5. They erre againe in deuiding the lawe Euangelicall into precepts and counsailes, making the precepts to serue for all men, the counsailes onely to serue for them that be perfect.

6. The chiefe substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth vpon the works of the law, as may appear by theyr religion, which wholly consisteth in mens merites, traditions, lawes, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.

7. In the doctrine of saluation, of remission, and iustification, either they admixt the lawe equally with the Gospel, or els cleane secluding the Gospel, they teache and preache the law, so that litle mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.

8. They erre in thinking, that the lawe of God requireth nothing in vs vnder paine of damnation, but onely our obedience in externe actions: as for the inwarde affections and concupiscence, they esteeme but light matters.

9. They not knowing the true nature and strength of the lawe, do erroneously imagine that it is in mannes power to fulfill it.

10. They erre in thinking, not onely to be in mans power to keepe the law of God, but also to performe more perfect workes, then be in Gods law commanded, and these they call the workes of perfection. And heereof rise the workes of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruitie, and cōdignitye, to store vp the treasurehouse of the Popes Church, to be solde out to the people for money.

11. They erre, in saying that the state monasticall is more perfect, for keeping the Counsailes of the Gospell, then other states be, in keping the law of the Gospell.

12. The counsailes of the Gospell they call the vowes of theyr religious men, as profound humilitie, perfect chastitie, and wilfull pouertie.

13. They erre abhominably, in equaling their laws & constitutions, with Gods law, and in saying: that mans lawe bindeth vnder paine of dānation, no lesse then Gods law.

14. They erre sinnefully, in punyshing the transgressours of their lawes more sharply then the transgressours of the law of God, as appeareth by their Inquisitions and theyr Canon lawe. &c.

15. Finally, they erre most horribly in this, that where the free promyse of God ascribeth our saluation, onely to oure faith in Christ, excluding woorkes: they contrary ascribe saluation, onely or principally, to workes and merites, excluding faith. Wherupon riseth the applicatiō of the sacrifice of the Masse, Ex opere operato, for the quicke and deade application of the merites of Christes passion, in Bulles, application of the merites of all religious orders, and such other moe aboue specified more at large, in the former part of this history, about the pag. 21.22. &c.

¶Here follow three cautions to be obserued and auoided in the true vnderstanding of the Law.

The first caution.

First, that we through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the Gospel,*nor the Gospel for the law: but skilfully discern and distincte the voyce of the one, from the voyce of the other. Many there be, which reading the booke of the new Testament, doe take and vnderstand whatsoever they see contained in the sayd booke, to be only and meere the voyce of the gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the cōpasse of the old Testament, that is, within the law, stories, Psalmes and Prophets, to be only and merely the worde and voyce of the law: wherein many are deceiued. For the preaching of the law & of the Gospel, are mixed together in both the Testaments, as wel the old as the new. Neither is the order of these two doctrines to be distincted by bookes and leaues, but by the diuersitie of Gods spirite speaking vnto vs.*For sometimes in the olde Testament, God doth comfort as he comforted Adam with the voyce of the Gospell. Sometimes also in the newe Testament he doth threaten and terrifie, as when Christ threatned the Phariseis. In some places againe, Moses and the Prophets play the Euangelists: In so much that Hierome doubteth whether he should call Esay a Prophet or an Euangelist. In some places likewise Christe and the Apostles supply the part of Moses:*And as Christ himselfe vntill hys death was vnder the law (which law he came not to breake but to fulfill) so his Sermons made to the Iewes, for the most part runne all vpon the perfect doctrine and workes of the law, shewing and teaching what we ought to doe by the righte lawe of Iustice, and what danger insueth in not performing the same. Al which places though they be contained in the booke of the new Testament,*yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the lawe, euer hauyng in them included a priuie exception of repentāce and faith in Christ Iesus. As in example, where Christ thus preacheth, Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shal see God. &c. Mat. 5. Againe, except ye be made like these children, ye shall not enter. &c. Mat. 18. Itē, But he that doth the will of my father, shal enter into the kingdom of heauen &c. Mat. 7. Item,*the parable of the vnkind seruant iustly cast into prison for not forgetting his fellowe, &c. Mat. 18. The casting of the rich glutton into hell. &c. Luk 16 Item,*he that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my father. &c. Luk. 12 With such other places of like condition. All these (I say) pertaining to the doctrine of the lawe, doe euer include in them a secrete exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christes precious blood. For els, Peter denied and yet repented. Many Publicanes and sinners were vnkinde, vnmerciful, and hard hearted to theyr fellow seruaunts, and yet many of them repented, & by faith were sauēd. &c. The grace of Christe Iesus worke in vs earnest repentance, and faith in him vnfaigned. Amen.

Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when the Gospel speaketh, and to discern the voyce of the one, from the voyce of the other, this may serue for a note: That when there is any morall worke commaunded to be done, either for eschewing of punyshment or vpon promise of any reward temporall, or eternal, either els when any promise is made with condition of any worke commaunded in the law, there is to be vnderstanded the voyce of the lawe. Contrary, where the promise of life and saluation is offered vnto vs freely without all our merites,*& simply without any condition annexed, of any law either naturall, ceremonial, or morall, all those places, whether they be read in the olde Testament, or in the new, are to be referred to the voyce and doctrine of the Gospell.*And this promise of God freely made to vs by the merites of Iesus Christ, so long before prophesied to vs in the old Testament and afterward exhibited in the new Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the sonne of God is called properly the voyce of the Gospel, and differeth from the voyce of the lawe in this, that it hath no condition adioyned of our meritvng, but onely respecteth the merits of Christ the sonne of God, by whose

faith only we are promised of God to be saued & iustified, according as we read Rom. 3.*The righteousness of God commeth by faith of Iesu Christ, in all and vpon all, that do beleue. &c.

The second Caution or danger to be auoyded is, that we nowe knowing how to discerne rightly betweene the lawe and the Gospel, and hauing intelligence not to mistake the one for the other,*must take hede againe, that we breake not the order betweene these two, taking and applying the lawe, where the Gospel is to be applied, either to our selues, or toward other. For albeit the law and the Gospel, many times are to be ioyned together in order of doctrine: yet case may fall sometimes, that the lawe must be vtterly sequestred from the Gospell. As when any person or persones doe feeble them selues, with the maiestie of the lawe,*and iudgement of God so terrified and oppressed, and with the burdenne of theyr sinnes ouerweyed and throwen downe into vtter discomfort, and almost euen to the pitte of hell, as hapneth many times, to soft and timorous consciences of Gods good seruaunts: when such mortified hearts do heare either in preaching, or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture, whiche pertaineth to the lawe,*let them thinke the same nothing to belōg to them, no more then a mourning weede belongeth to a mariage feaste: and therefore, remouing vtterly out of their minds all cogitation of the lawe, of feare, of iudgemente, and condemnation, let them onely set before their eyes the Gospel, the sweete comfortes of Gods promise, free forgeuenes of sinnes in Christe, grace, redemption, liberty, reioycing, Psalmes, thanks, singing, and a Paradise of spiritual iocundity, and nothing els: thinking thus with them selues,*that the lawe hath done his office in them already, and nowe must needes geue place to his better, that is, must nedes geue rōume to Christe the sonne of God, who is the Lorde and maister, the fulfiller, and also the finisher of the law: for the end of the law, is Christ. Rom. 10.

The thirde daunger to be auoyded, is, that we doe not vse or apply, on the contrary side, the Gospell, in stead of the lawe.*For as the other before was euen as much as to put on a mourning gowne, in the feast of a Mariage: so is this but euen to cast pearles before swine. Wherin is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is sene that these worldly Epicures and secure Mammonistes, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receiue and apply to themselues most principally, the sweete promises of the Gospel: and contrariwise, the other contrite and brused harts: to whome belongeth onely the ioyfull tidings of the Gospel, and not the lawe, for the most part, receiue and reteine to thēselues the terrible voice and sentences of the law▪ Whereby it commeth to passe: that many do reioyce, where they shuld mourne: and on the other side, many doe feare and mourne, where they neede not. Wherefore to conclude, in priuate vse of life, let euery person discretly discerne betweene the lawe and the Gospell, and aptly apply to him selfe that which he seeth conuenient.

[Page 982](#) And againe in publike order of doctrine, let euery discrete preacher put a difference betweene the broken heart of the mourning sinner,*and the vnrepentant wordling, and so conioyne bothe the law, with the Gospel, and the Gospel, with the law, that in throwing downe the wicked, euer hee spare the weake hearted: and agayne so spare the weake, that he doe not encourage the vngodly. And thus muche concerning the coniunction and difference betweene the lawe and the Gospell, vpon the occasion of M. Patrikes places.

Persecutors.

Martyrs.

The causes.

- *James Beton Archb. of S. Andrewes. Henry Forest.
- Frier Walter Laing, be wraier of the confession of thys Henry Forest. At S. Andrewes in Scotland.

Wythin fewe yeares after the martyrdome of master Patrike Hamelton, one Henry Forrest, a yonge manne borne in Lithquow, who a lyttle before, had receiued the orders of Bennette and Collette (as they tearme them) affirmed and said, that master Patrike Hamelton died a Martyr, and that hys Articles were true: for the whych hee was apprehended, and put in prysonne by Iames Beton Archbyshop of Saint Andrews. Who shortlye after, caused a certaine Fryer named Walter Laing, to heare hys confession. To whom when Henry Forest in secrete confession had declared hys conscience howe hee thoughte maister Patrike to bee a good man, and wrongfully to be put to deathe, & that his articles were true and not hereticall: the Frier came and vttered to the Byshoppe, the confession that hee hadde heard,* which before was not thoroughly knowne. Whereupon it followed, that his confession being brought as sufficiēt probation againste hym, hee was therfore conuented before the Councel of the clergy and Doctors, and there concluded to be an heretick, equal in iniquitie with maister Patrick Hameltō, & there decreed to be geuen to the seculare Iudges to suffer death.

When the daye came of his death, and that hee should first be degraded, and was brought before the Cleargye in a greene place, being betwene the castle of S. Andrewes, and another place called Monymaill, assoone as he entred in at the doore, and sawe the face of the clergy, perceiuing wherunto

they tended, he cryed wyth a loude voyce, saying: Fie, on falshoode: Fie on false Friers,* reuealers of confession: after this day, let no man euer trust any false Friers, contemners of Gods woorde, and deceiuers of men. And so they proceeding to degrade him of hys small orders of Benet and Collet, he sayd wyth a loud voyce, take from me not onely your owne orders, but also youre owne baptisme, meaning thereby, whatsoeuer is besides that which Christ himselfe instituted, whereof there is a great rablement in Baptisme. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an heretike equall wyth M. Patrike aforesayd: and so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ, and of his Gospell at the Northchurche stile of the Abbey Church of S. Andrewe, to the entent that all y^e people of Anguishe might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrin, whych they terme by the name of heresie, Ex Scripto testimonio Scotorum. Wythin a yeere after the martyrdome of Henry Forest, or there about,* was

- James Hay bishop of Rose and commissioner of James Beton Arch^bishop of S. Andrews.
 - M. Iohn Spens Lawyer.
 - James Hamelton, called James Hamelton of bro^ther to M. Patrike.
 - Katherine Hamelton. A wife of Lieth.
 - Daudid Straton.
 - M Norman Gurlay.
- called James Hamelton of Kynclitgow, his sister Katherine Hamelton, the spouse of the captaine of Dunbar, also an other honest woman of Lieth, Daudid Straton of the house of Lawristonne, and M. Norman Gurlay. These were called to the Abbey Church of Halyrowdhouse in Edenburghe, by James Hay, Bishoppe of Rose, commissioner to James Beton Archbyshoppe, in presence of King

James the fift of that name: who
vppon the daye of theyr accusation,
was altogether clad in red apparell.
James Hamelton, was accused as one
that main^tained the opynions of M.
Patrick hys brother. To whome the
Kynge gaue counsaile to depart, and
not to appeare: for in case hee
appeared, hee coulde not helpe him,
because the Byshops hadde
perswaded hym, that the cause of
heresie dyd in no wise appertain vnto
him and so James fledde and was
condemned as an heretike, & all hys
goodes and lands confiscate, and
disposed vnto others.

Catherine Hamelton his Sister,
appeared vpon the scaffold, and
being accused of an horrible heresie,
to witte, that her owne woorkes
coulde not saue her, shee graunted
the same, and after long reasoning
betweene her and M. Iohn Spens the
Lawyer, shee concluded in this
manner: worke here, worke there:
what kinde of working is all this? * I
knowe perfectly that no kinde of
workes can saue me, but only the
workes of Christ my Lord and
Sauour. The kyng hearing these
words, turned hym about and laught,
and called her vnto him and caused
her to recant, because shee was his
aunt, and shee escaped.

The woman of Leith was detected
heereof, that when the midwife in
time of her labour, bad her saye our
Ladye helpe mee: Shee cried,
Christe helpe mee, Christe helpe
mee, in whose helpe I trust. * Shee
also was caused to recant, and so
escaped, without confiscation of her

goods, because she was married.

Maister Norman Gurley, for that he
fayde there was no such thing as
Purgatory, and that the Pope was not
a Byshop, but Antichriste,* and had
no iurisdiction in Scotland.

Also Daud Straton, for that hee
sayde, there was no Purgatorie, but
the Passion of Christe, and the
tribulations of thys worlde, and
because that, when M. Robert
Lowson Uicare of Eglesgrig asked
hys tieth fishe of hym, hee did caste
them to him out of the boate, so that
some of them fel into the Sea:
therefore he accused hym, as one
that shoulde haue sayde, that no
tithes should be payed. These two,
because after great sollicitation
made by the kynge, they refused to
abiure and recant, were therefore
condemned by the Byshop of Rose
as heretickes, and were burned vpon
[Page 983](#) the greene side, betweene
Leith and Edenburgh, to the entent
that the inhabitants of Fiffe, seeing
the fire, might be stricken with
terroure and feare, not to fall into the
lyke. Ex eodem Scripto.

¶ And thus muche touching those
Martyrs of Scotland, which suffered
vnder Iames Beton, Archbishop of
S. Andrewes. After whom
succeeded Daud Beton in the same
Archbyshoprike, vnder whom diuers
other were also martyred as hereafter
(God willing) in their order shall
appeare.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| • Iohn Lōgland Byshop of
Lincolne. | Thomas Harding an
aged father, dwelling
at Chesham in
Buckinghamshire. | Thom. Harding dwelling at
Chesham, in the Countie of
Buckingham, with Alice his wife,
was firste abiured by William
Smith, Byshop of Lincolne, an. |
| • Rowland Vicare of great
Wickam, the Byshops Chaplen. | | |

At Chessham in
Buckingham.

An. 1532.

1506. with dyuers other moe,
which the same time for speaking
agaynst Idolatrie and superstition,
were taken and compelled, some to
beare fagots, some were burned in
the cheeke with hote irons, some
condemned to perpetuall prison,
some thrust into Monasteries, and
spoyled cleane of all theyr goodes,
some compelled to make
pilgrimage to the great blocke,
otherwise called, our Lady of
Lincolne, some to Walsingham,
some to Saint Romuld of
Buckingham, some to the roode of
Wendouer, some to S. Iohn Shorne,
&c. of whōe mention is made in the
Table before, beginning pag 821.

Of this Thomas Harding much
rehearsall hath bene made before,
as in the pages 821.822.823.

First this Thomas Harding with
Alice his wife, being abiured, and
enioyned penance, with diuers other
moe, by William Smith Bishop of
Lincolne, afterward by the sayd
Byshop was released againe in the
yeare of our Lorde 1515. of all such
penaunce as was enioyned him and
his wife at their abiuration, except
these three Articles following, and
were discharged of their badges or
signes of their fagots, &c. Only this
penaunce folowing, the Byshop
continued, Sub poena relapsus.

First, that neyther of them during
their life, should dwell out of the
parish of Amersham.

*Item, that eyther of them during
their life, shoulde fast bread and ale
euery Corpus Christi euen.

Item, that eyther of them should,

during theyr liues vppon Corpus Christi day, euery yeare, go in pilgrimage to Asherige, and there make theyr offerings, as other people did, but not to do open penance. Also they were licenced by the sayd Byshop to do theyr pilgrimage at Asherige, vpon Corpus Christi euen, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, vpon any cause reasonable.

This penance being to them enioyned ann. 1515. they obserued to the yeare 1522. saue only in the last yere, the foresayd Alice his wife omitted her pilgrimage going to Asherige vpon Corpus Christi daye. Also the sayd Tho. Harding, being put to his othe, to detect other, because he contrary to his othe dissembled, and did not disclose them, was therefore enioyned in penance, for his periury, to beare vpō his right sleue, both before and behinde, a badge or patch of greene cloth or silke embrodered like a fagot, during his whole life, vnlesse he shoulde otherwise be dispensed withall. And thus continued he from the yeare 1522. till the yeare 1532.

At last the said Harding in the yeare abouesayd 1532. about Easter holydayes, when the other people wēt to the church, to commit their wonted idolatry, toke his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true liuing God, in spirit and truth. Where, as he was occupied in a booke of English prayers,* leaning or sitting vppon a stile by the woods side, it chanced that one did espie hym where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the towne, declaryng that

he had sene Harding in the woodes
lookyng on a booke. Wherupō
immediatly a rude rable of them,
like mad mē, ranne desperatly to his
house, to search for bookes, & in
searching went so nigh, that vnder
the bordes of his flore, they foūd
certain English bookes of holy
Scripture. Whereupō this godly
father with his bookes, was brought
before Iohn Longlād, Bish. of
Lincolne, thē lying at Wooburne.
Who with his Chapleins, calling
father Harding to examination, begā
to reason with him, proceedyng
rather with checkes & rebukes, then
with any sound arguments. Thom.
Hardyng seyng their folly, and rude
behauour, gaue thē but few wordes,
but fixing his trust and care in the
Lord, did let them say what they
would. Thus at last they sent him to
the Bysh. prison called litle ease,*
where he did lye with hūger &
payne enough, for a certaine space:
till at lēgth the Bish. sitting in his
tribunall seat like a potestate,
cōdēned him for relapse, to be
burned to ashes, cōmittynge the
charge & ouersight of his
Martyrdome to Roulād Messenger,
vicare of great Wickhā.* Which
Roulād the day appointed, with a
rable of other like to himselfe,
brought father Hardyng to Chesham
agayne. Where the next day after his
returne, the sayd Roulād made a
Sermō in Cheshā Church, causing
Tho. Hardyng to stād before him all
the preachyng tyme: which Sermō
was nothing els but the mainteinyng
of y^e iurisdiction of the Bysh. of
Rome, & the state of his
Apostolicall sea, w^t the idolatry,
fantasies & traditions belōgyng to
the same. Whē the Sermō was

ended, Roulād tooke him vp to the high aulter, & asked whether he beleued that in y^e bread after the consecratiō there remained any other substaūce then the substaunce of Christes naturall body borne of the virgin Mary. To this Tho. Harding aūswered: * the Articles of our belief do teach vs, that our Sauour Christ was borne of the virgin Mary, & that he suffred death vnder Pilate, and rose frō death the thyrd day: that he then ascended into heauen and sitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his father.

Then was he brought into a mans house in the towne, where he remained all night in prayer, and godly meditations. So the next mornyng came the foresayd Roulād agayne, about x. of the clocke, with a company of bils and staues, to lead this godly father to his burnyng. Whom a great number both of men and womē did folow. Of whom many bewayled his death: & cōtrary the wicked reioyced thereat. He was brought forth, hauyng thrust in his handes a little crosse of wood, but no idoll vpon it. Then he was cheyned to the stake, * desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiuyng all his enemyes and persecuters, he commended his spirite to God, and tooke his death most patiently & quietly, lifyng vp his hands to heauen, saying: Iesus receaue my spirite.

Whē they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a byllet at him, & dashed out his braynes. Of what purpose he so did, it is not knowen, but as it was supposed, that he might haue xl. dayes of pardō as the

proclamatīō was made at y^e burnyng
of Williā Tilseworth aboue
mentioned pag. 774. whereas
proclamation was made the same
tyme,* that whosoever did bring a
fagot or a stake to the burnyng of an
hereticke, should haue xl. dayes of
pardon. Whereby many ignoraūt
people caused their children to beare
byllets and fagottes to their burnyng.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt
offeryng of this godly Martyr was
finished, and he brent to ashes, in
the Dell, goyng to Botley, at the
North end of the Towne of
Chesham, Rouland their Ruler of the
rost, commaundyng silence and
thinking to send the people away,
with an *Ite missa est*, with aloude
voyce sayd to the people these
wordes, not aduising belyke what
his tongue dyd speake: Good people,
whē ye come home, do not say that
you haue bene at the burnyng of an
hereticke, but of a good true
Christian man, and so they departed
to dyner. Rouland with y^e rable of
other Priestes much reioysing at the
burnyng of this good man. After
dyner they went to Church to
Euensong, because it was Corpus
Christi euen, where they fell to
singyng & chauntyng, with ryngyng,
and pypyng of the Organes. Well
was he that could reache the hiest
note: So much dyd they reioyce at
this good mans burnyng. He should
haue bene burned on the Ascension
euen, but the matter [Page 984](#) was
referred vnto the euen of Corpus
Christi, because they would honour
their bready Messias with a bloudy
sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was
consumed to ashes, he being of the
age of lx. yeares and aboue. Ex

testimonio scripto ciuium
Amershamensium.

¶I finde in the recordes of Lincolne,
about the same time, and in the same
Countrey of Buckynghamshyre, in
the which the foresayd Thomas
Hardyng did suffer, that diuers other
for the lyke doctrine, were molested
and troubled, whose names with
there causes, here vnder folow.

- Elizabeth Wighthill.
- Doctour London.

Mistres Alice Doly.

Elizabeth Wighthill being brought
before Doctor London, in the
personage at Staunton Harecourt,
and there put to her othe, deposed
against Maistres Alice Doly, her
maistres, that the sayde Maistres
Doly speaking of Iohn Hacker of
Colmanstreete in London
Waterbearer,* saide that he was
very expert in the Gospels, and all
other things belōging to diuine
seruice, and could expresse and
declare it, and the Pater noster in
English, as well as any Priest, and
it woulde doo one good to heare
him: sayeng moreouer, that she
woulde in no case, y^t this were
knowne, for hurting the poore man,
commaunding moreouer the said
Elizabeth, that she should tell no
man hereof, affirming at y^e same
time, that the foresayde Hacker
coulede tell of diuers propheties;
what should happen in the Realme.

Ouer and besides, the forenamed
Elizabeth deposed, that the sayde
Mistresse Doly her Mistresse,
shewed vnto her, that she had a
booke, which held against
Pilgrimages: and after that, she
caused Sir Iohn Boothe, Parson of
Britwell, to reade vpon a booke,
which she called Legenda aurea, &
one Saints life he read, whiche did

speake against Pilgrimages.* And after that was read, her Mistresse sayde vnto her: Loe daughter, now yee may heare as I tolde you, that this booke speaketh against Pilgrimages.

Furthermore, it was deposed against Maistres Doly by the sayde Elizabeth, that she beeing at Syr William Barentens place, and seeing there in y^e closet, Images new gilded, sayd to the sayd Elizabeth, looke,* heere be my Lady Barentens Gods. To whome the saide Elizabeth aunswered againe, that they were set for remembraunce of good Saintes. Then sayd she, if I were in an house where no Images were, I could remēber to pray vnto Saints as well as if I did see the Images. Nay sayd the other, Images do prouoke deuotion. Then sayd her Maistresse, ye shoulde not worship that thyng that hath cares, and can not heare, and hath eyes and can not see, and hath mouth, and can not speake, and hath hands, and can not feele.

Item, the sayd M. Doly was reported by the sayd partie, to haue a booke conteining the xij. Articles of the Creede, couered with boordes, and red couering. Also another blacke booke, whiche she set most price by, which booke she kept euer in her chamber, or in her coffer, with diuers other bookes. And this was about y^e yeare of our Lord 1520. Ex Registro Lincolne. ¶Note heere, good reader, in this tyme, which was aboue 46. yeares ago, what good matter heere was to accuse and molest good women for.

- William Smith of Northstoke in Oxfordshire.

Roger Hachman.

At Northstoke in

Agaynste thys Roger Hachman it was layd by depositions brought in,* that

Thomas Ferrar.	Oxfordshire. An. 1525.	he sitting at the church Ale, at Northstoke, sayde these words: I will neuer looke to be saued, for no good deede that euer I did, neither for any that euer I will doo, without I may haue my saluation by petition, as an outlawe shall haue his pardon of the King, and said, that if hee might not haue his saluation so, he thought he shuld be lost. Ex Regist. Lin.
Doctour Wharton Chauncellor to Tonstall Bishop of London.	Roberte West, priest of Saint Andrew vndershaft. At London. An. 1529.	Agaynste this Roberte West Priest it was obiected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things,* as in hauing wife and children, &c. Item, for sayeng, that where as the Doctors of the Church haue commanded Priestes to saye Mattens and Euensong, they had no authoritie so to do: for the whiche he was abiured, and was enioyned penance. Ex Regist. Lincol.
Doctor Morgan.	Iohn Ryburne. At Roshborough. An. 1530.	It was testified against Iohn Ryburne, by his sister Elisabeth Ryburne, being put to her othe, that she comming to him vpon the Assumption euen, foūd him at Supper with butter and egges,* and beeyng bid to sit downe and eate with him, she aunswered that it was no conuenient time thē to eate. To whom he saide agayne, that God neuer made suche fasting dayes, but you (quoth he) are so farre in Limbo patrum, that you can neuer turne agayne. And in further communication, whē she sayd that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy crosse, at Wendouer, he said again, that she did nought: For there is neuer a step (saide hee) that you set in going on Pilgrimage, but

you go to the Diuell: and you go to the Churche to woorship that the Prieste doth hold aboue his head, which is but bread, and if you cast it to the Mouse, he will eate it: and sayd, that hee woulde neuer beleeeue that the Priest hath power to make his Lord.

Item, it was testified by another sister named Alice Ryburne, that she beyng with her brother in a close called Brimmers close, heard him say these wordes: That a time shall come that no eleuation shall be made.* Whereunto she answering againe, asked: and what seruice shall wee haue then? He sayd: that seruice that we haue now. Furthermore, the sayd Iohn Ryburne was accused vpon these wordes, saying: that the seruice of the Church was nought, because it was not in English: Forsayde hee, if wee had our Pater noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now, &c. Ex Regist. Lincol. fol. 300.

¶Note heere out of the records of the register, that in this examination of Iohn Ryburne, first his two sisters, then his owne wife, and at last hys owne father [Page 985](#) were called before Iohn Longland Byshop of Lincolne, and compelled by his othe to depose against him.

- Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne
- Richard Ryburne.

- Iohn Eaton
- Cicilie his wyfe.

At Rosheborough.

An. 1530.

Iohn Eaton, and Cicilie hys wife, of the parish of Spine,* were detected by Richarde Ryburne, that they were marked of certayne in the parish on the sonday then last past, in the sacring tyme, to holde downe their heads, and would not looke

vpon the Sacrament.

Item, in the feast of exaltation of the holy crosse, when the bells did ring solemnely, betweene Mattens and high Masse, for saieng in a butchers house, what a clampering of bells is heere?

Item, the sayde Iohn Ryburne was detected of Richard his father, for saieng these wordes: The priests do naught, for they shoulde say their seruice in Englishe, that euery man may knowe it.

Item, for these wordes speaking to one of hys sisters: [*](#) The sacrament of the aultar, is not as they take it to be. But if it be, as I trust, we shall see none of thē holden vp, one of these dayes, ouer the priests head, &c.

Item, for saieng, that the bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deedes that were done, or should be done, and therefore it was no neede, to go on pilgrimage. It was also layde to his charge, and confessed by himselfe, that he had Iesus Gospels in English, and that he was present in the house of Iohn Taylor, when one Iohn Symonds read to them a lecture out of the Gospell, of the Passion of Christ, the space of two houres.

Item, for sayeng that Images were but Idoles, and it was Idolatrie to pray to them.

For sayeng moreouer, that at sacring time, hee kneeled downe, but he had no deuotion, nor beleeued in the Sacrament. Item, that the Popes authoritie and pardon can not helpe

mans soule, and it was but cast away money, that is giuen for pardon: For if we aske pardon of our Lord Iesus Christ, he will geue vs pardon euery day.

Thomas Lound Priest, who had bene with Luther ij. yeares, being afterward cast in the Fleete at London, was a great instructor of this I. Ryburne.

*It was layde agaynste Iohn Symondes, for sayeng, that men doo walke all daye in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this worlde, there is but two wayes, eyther to hell or to heauen.

Iohn Lōgland Byshop of Lincolne.*

Iohn Symondes.

Item, he sayd that priests should haue wiues.

It was reported by the confession of the said Iohn Symondes, that hee conuerted to his doctrine viij. Priestes, and had holpen two or three Friers out of their orders.

These persons with other,* were examined, excommunicated, and abiured, for beeyng together in Iohn Taylors house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Fielde of London to reade a parcell of scripture in english to them, who there expoūded to them many things: that they whiche went on Pilgrimage: were accursed: That it booted not to pray to Images,* for they were but stockes made of wood and could not helpe a man: That GOD almighty biddeth vs worke as well one day as an other, sauynge the Sonday: for vj. dayes he wrought, and the seuenth day he rested: That they needed not to fast so many fasting dayes, except the Imbryng dayes: for hee was beyond

- William Wingraue.
- Thomas Hawkes of Hichēden.*
- Robert Hawes of Westwicome.
- Iohn Taylor.
- Iohn Hawkes.
- Tho. Herne of Cobshil.
- Nicholas Field.
- Richard Deane.
- Thomas Clerke the yonger.
- William Hawkes of Chesham.

Ioh. Longland B. of Lincolne.

An. 1530.

the Sea in Almany, and there they vsed not so to fast, nor to make such holy dayes.

Item, that offerynges do no good, for they haue them, that haue no neede therof. And when it was aunswered agayne by one y^t they mainteyned Gods seruice: nay, sayd Nicolas, it mainteyneth great houses as Abbeyes and other.

Item, that men should say their Pater noster, and Aue Maria, in Englishe, with the Creede, and declared the same in Englishe.

Item, that the Sacramēt of the aultar was not as it was pretended, the fleshe, bloud, and bone of Christ: but a Sacrament, that is, a Typicall signification of his holy body.

To Williā Wingraue moreouer, it was obiected y^t he should say, that there was no Purgatory: and if there were any Purgatory, and euery Masse, that is sayd should deliuer a soule out of Purgatory, there should be neuer a soule there: for there be moe Masses sayd in a day, then there be bodies buried in a moneth.

Symon Wisedome of Burford was charged in Iudgement, for hauyng three bookes in English: one was the Gospels in English, an other was y^e Psalter, y^e thyrd was the Sūme of the holy Scripture in English.

Iohn Lōgland Byshoppe of Lincolne.

Symon Wisedome of Burford

Doctour Prinne, Commissary to the Byshop of Lyncolne.

James Algar, or Ayger.
An. 1530.

It was articulated & obiected to James Ayger,* first that he speakyng to a certaine Doctour of Diuinitie, named Aglonby, sayd that euery true Christen man

lyuyng after the lawes of God, and obseruyng his Cōmaundementes, is a Priest as well as he. &c.

Itē, that he sayd, that hee would not his executours to deale any penny for his soule, after his death, for hee would doe it with his owne handes while he was aliue: & that his conscience gaue him, that the soule, so soone as it departeth out of the body, goeth streight either to heauen, or to hell.

Itē, when Doct. Aglonby aforesayd had alledged to him the place of S. Mat. 16. Thou art Peter. &c.[Page 986](#) He answered him againe with that which followeth in the Gospell after: Get thee after me Sathan, &c.

Item, the sayde Iames hearing of a certayne Church to be robbed, sayd openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.

John Frēch of Longwitam.

At Longwitam.

An. 1530.

Against Iohn French lykewise these three Articles were obiected.[*](#)

1. That he beleueed not the body of Christ, flesh, bloud, and bone to be in the Sacrament.

2. That hee was not confessed to anye Priest of long tyme.

3. That Priestes had not power to absolue from sins, &c.

For the which he likewise with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneele downe, and to aske his holy Catholicke fathers and mothers blessing of Rome.

But what stand I heere numbering the sand? For if all the Register bookes were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them, which through all the other Diocesses of the Realme in

these dayes, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such like matters. But these I thought for example sake, heere to specifie, that it might appeare what doctrine it is, and long hath bene in the Church, for the whiche the Prelates and Cleargie of Rome haue iudged men heretickes, and so wrongfully haue molested poore simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abiurations of those poore men, we will something speake (God willing) of the life & doings of the contrary part, who were their persecutours, and chiefe Rulers then of the Church, to the entent that by those Rulers, it may better be discerned and iudged, what maner of Church that was, which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and members of hys Church.

***A briefe discourse, concerning the storie and life of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinall of Yorke, by way of digression, wherein is to be seene and noted the expresse image of the proud vayneglorious Church of Rome, how farre it differeth from the true Church of Christ Iesus.**

ALthough it be not greatly pertinent vnto this our hystorie,* nor greatly requisite in these so weightie matters entreating of Christes holy Martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke: notwithstanding, forsomuch as there be many, whiche being caryed awaye with a wrong opinion, and estimation of that false glittering Church of Rome, doe thinke that holynes to be in it, which in deede is not: to the entent therefore, that the vayne pompe and pride of that ambitious Church, so farre differing from all pure Christianitie, and godlynes, more notoriously may appeare to all men, and partly also to refresh the Reader with some varietie of matter, I thought compendiously to expresse the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeaner of this foresayd Thomas Wolsey, Cardinall and Legate of Rome, in whome alone, the Image and life of all other suche like followers and professors of the same Church, may be seene and obserued. For like as the Lacedemonians in times past, were accustomed to shewe and demonstrate droncken men vnto theyr children,* to behold and looke vpon, that through the foulenes of that vice, they might inflame them the more to the studie and desire of sobrietie: euen so it shall not be hurtfull sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more vpriht dealing.

Wherefore thou shalt note heere (good Reader) in thys hystorie, wyth all iudgement, the great difference of lyfe and Christian conuersation, betwene this Church, and the other true humble Martyrs and seruants of God, whome they haue, and doe yet persecute. And first to beginne, with the first meeting and comming in of this Cardinall, and his fellow Cardinall Campeius into England:* it was about the tyme, when Pope Leo intending to make war agaynst the Turkes, sente three Legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germanie, an other into Fraunce, Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Callis, and that the Cardinall of Yorke had vnderstanding therof, he sent certayne Byshops and Doctors, with as much speede as he coulde, to meete the Legate, and to shewe hym that if hee would haue hys Ambassade take effect, he should sende in poste to Rome, to haue the sayd Cardinall of Yorke made Legate, and to be ioyned wyth hym in commission. Which thing he much affected, misdoubtyng least hys authoritie thereby might perhaps be diminished through the comming of the Legate, and therefore required to be ioyned with hym in like degree of the Ambassade.* Campeius being a man light of beliefe, and suspecting no such matter, gaue credite vnto hys wordes, and sent vnto Rome with suche speede, that within xxx. dayes after, the Bull was

brought to Callis, wherein they were both equally ioined in Commission: during whiche time, the Cardinall of Yorke, sent to the Legate at Callis, red cloth to clothe hys seruants withall, which at their comming to Callis,* were but meanelly apparelled.

When all things were ready, Campeius passed y^e Seas & landed at Douer, and so kept forth his iourney toward London. At euery good towne as they passed, he was receaued with procession, accompanied with all the Lords & Gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to blacke Heath,* there met him the Duke of Northfolke, with a great number of Prelates, Knightes, and Gentlemen, all richly apparelled, & in y^e way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted hymselfe into a Cardinals robe, furred with Ermines, and so tooke his Mule ryding toward Lōdō. Now marke y^e great humilitie in this Church of the Pope, and cōpare the same with the other Church of the Martyrs, and see which of them is more Gospell like.

Thys Campeius had eight Mules of hys owne, laden with diuers farthelles and other preparation.* The Cardinal of Yorke, thinking them not sufficient for his estate, the night before he came to London, sent him xij. mules more, with empty cofers couered with red, to furnish his cariage withal. The next day, these xx. mules were led through the Citie, as though they had bene loden with treasures, apparell, and other necessities, to the great admiration of all men, that they shoulde receiue a Legate as it were a God, with such and so great treasure, and riches. For so the common people doth alwayes iudge and esteeme, the maiestie of the Cleargie, by no other thing then by theyr outward shewes and pompe: but in the middest of thys great admiration, there hapned a ridiculous spectacle, to y^e great derision of their pride & ambition. For as the Mules passed through Cheape side, and y^e people were pressing about them, to behold and gaze (as the maner is) it hapned that one of the Mules breaking his coller that he was led in, ranne vpon the other Mules, whereby it hapned,* that they so running together, and their girthes being losed, ouerthrew diuers of their burthens, and so there appeared the Cardinals gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorne of many, and specially of boyes and gerles, whereof some gathered vp peeces of meate,* othersome peeces of bread and rosted egges, some found horse shoes, and old bootes, with such other baggage: crieng out, beholde, heere is my Lord Cardinals treasure. The Muliters being therewithall greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure agayne as well as they could, and went forward.

About three of the clocke at after noone, the xxix. day of Iuly, the Cardinall himselfe was brought through the Citie, with great pompe and solemnity, vnto Paules church whereas, when he had blessed all men with the Byshops blessing (as the maner is) he was guided forth vnto y^e Cardinall of Yorkes house, where as he was receaued by the said Cardinal, and by him, on the next day being Sondag, was conducted vnto the King, to fulfill his Ambassade agaynst the Turke, which might haue destroyed all Hungarie,* in the meane time whiles they were studieng with what solemnitie to furnish out their Ambassade.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Legate, hee set vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, and proued testaments, and heard causes, to the great hynderance of all the Byshops of the Realme. He visited Byshops & all the Clergy, exempt and not exempt: and vnder colour of reformatiō, he got much treasure, & nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief: for by example of his pride, Priests and all spirituall persons waxed so proude, that they weare veluet, and silke, both in gownes, iackets, dublets, and shoes, kept open lechery, & so hyghly bare thē

selues, by reason of his authorities & faculties, that no mā durst once reprove any thing in them, for feare to be called hereticke, and then they would make him smoke or beare a Fagot. And the Cardinall himselfe was so elated, that he thought himselfe equall with the King: and when he had sayd Masse, he made Dukes & Earles to serue him of wine with a say taken, and to hold the bason at the Lauatories.

[Page 987](#) Furthermore, as he was Ambassadour sent to the Emperour at Bruxels, he had ouer with him the great Seale of England,* and was serued with his seruitours kneeling on their knees, and many noble men of England wayting vpon him, to the great admiration of all the Germaines that beheld it: such was his monstrous pompe and pride, Ex Par•lip. Abb. Vrspur.

This glorious Cardinall in his tragicall doyngs, dyd exceede so farre all measure of a good subiect, that he became more like a Prince then a Priest:* for although y^e King bare the sword, yet he bare the stroke, makyng (in a maner) the whole Realme to bend at his becke, & to daunce after hys pipe. Such practises and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own cofers, first he fetched the greatest part of the Kings treasure, out of the realme, in xij. great barels ful of gold & siluer, to serue the Popes warres. And as his auaritious mind was neuer satisfied in getting, so his restles head was so busie, ruffling in publicke matters, that he neuer ceased, before he had let both England, Fraunce, Flaunders,* Spayne, and Italy, together by the cares.

Thus this Legate well following the steppes of hys maister the Pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, vnder the pretence of y^e Church, practised great hipocrisie, and vnder the authoritie of y^e King, he vsed great extortion, with excessiue taxes and lones, and valuation of euery mans substance,* so pilling the commōs and Marchaunts, that euery man complayned, but no redresse was had. Neither yet were the Churchmen altogether free from the pillax and pollax, from the pilling & polling (I meane) of this Cardinall, who vnder his power Legantine, gaue by preuētions, all benefices belonging to spirituall persons: by which hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himselfe, more riches then hatred, of the spirituality. So farre his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress diuers Abbeyes, Priories, and Monasteries, and so did: taking from them all their goodes, moueables, and not moueables, except it were a little pension, left onely to the heads of certayne houses. By the saide power Legantine, he kept also generall visitations through y^e Realme, sending Doctor Iohn Alein his Chaplein, riding in hys gowne of veluet,* & with a great traine, to visit all religious houses: whereat the Friers obseruants much grudged, & would in no wise cōdescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly accursed at Paules crosse, by frier Forest, one of the same order: so that the Cardinall at length preuayled both against them,* and all other. Against whom great disdayne arose among the people, perceauing how he by visitatiōs, making of Abbots, probates of testaments, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollings in his courtes Legantine, had made his treasure equall with the Kings, and yet euery yeare he sent great summes to Rome. And thys was their dayly talke against the Cardinall.

Beside many other matters and greeuances which stirred the harts of the commons against the Cardinall, thys was one, which much pinched them, for that the sayd Cardinall had sent out certain strait commissions in the Kings name, that euery man should pay the vj. part of his goods. Wherupon there folowed great muttering amongst y^e cōmons,* in such sort, y^t it had almost

growen to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the partes of Suffolke, had not the Dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, with wisdom and gentlenes stept in and appeased the same.

Another thing that rubbed the stomackes of many, or rather which moued them to laugh at the Cardinall, was this, to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take vpon him, as the Kings chiefe counsailer, to set a reformation in the order of the Kings houshold, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers, in y^e house of the Duke of Richmond, which was then newly begon. In like maner he ordeined a Counsell, & established another houshold for y^e Lady Mary, then being princes: so that all thing was done by his cōsent, & by none other. All this, with much more, tooke he vpō him, making the King beleue, y^t all should be to his honour, and y^t he needed not to take any paine, insomuch that the charge of all things was committed vnto him: whereat many men smiled to see his great folly and presumption.

At this tyme the Cardinall gaue the King the lease of the Manour of Hampton Court,* which he had of the Lord of S. Iohns, and on which he had done great coste. Therfore y^e King again of his gētle nature, licenced him to lie in his Manour of Richmond, & so he lay there certain times. But when the common people, and specially such as were King Henry the vij. seruantes, sawe the Cardinall keepe house in the royall Manour of Richmond, which K. Henry the vij. so much esteemed, it was a maruaile to here, how they grudged, saieng: See a butchers dogge lie in the Manour of Richmond. These with many other opprobrious wordes, were spoken agaynst the Cardinall, whose pride was so hygh, that he regarded nothyng: yet was he hated of all men.

And now to expresse some part of the 〈◇〉 practises and busie intermedlynges of this Cardinall in Princes warres, first here is to be noted,* that after lōg warres betwene England & Fraunce. 1524. (in the which warres, kyng Henry takyng the Emperours part agaynst Fraūces the French kyng, had waged with his money, y^e Duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the Emperours army, to inuade and disturbe certaine partes of Fraunce) it happened that the French kyng commyng with his armye toward Millan, at the siege of Pauia, was there takē by the Duke of Bourbon, & Uiceroy of Neaples,* and so led prisoner into Spayne.

Here note by the way, that all this while, the Cardinall held with the Emperour, hopyng by hym to be made Pope: but when that would not be, he went cleane from the Emperour, to the French kyng, as (the Lord willyng) ye shall heare.

After this victory gotten, and the French kyng beyng taken prisoner, who remayned in custody about a yeare & halfe: at lēghth through great labour & solicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinall, and kyng Henry, an order was taken,* and conditions propoūded betwene the French kyng and the Emperour, among which other diuers conditions, it was agreed, that they should resist the Turkes, & oppresse the Lutheranes: and so was the kyng set at libertie, leauyng behynd him, his ij. eldest sonnes, for pledges: But shortly after he reuoked his othe, beyng absolued by y^e Byshop of Rome, & sayd,* that he was forced to sweare, or els he should neuer haue bene deliuered. Which was. an. 1526. Pope Clement vij. seyng the French kyng restored to libertie, & misdoubting the puissance and domination of the Emperour in Italy so neare vnder his nose, absolueth the French king frō his othe: also ioyneth together a confederacie of Uenetians & other Princes agaynst the Emperour, bearyng great hatred agaynst all thē, that any thyng fauored

the Emperours part, especially the familie of Columna in Rome, which familie was then Imperiall, & therfore to shew his hatred against them, he sayd to Pompey Cardinall of the same familie, in threatnyng words, that he would take away his Cardinals hatte. To whō it was aunswered agayne of the Cardinall, that if he so did, he would put on a helmet,* to ouerthrow the Popes triple crowne. Whereby it may appeare, here by the way, what holynesse and vertue lyeth in the Pope and Cardinals in that Catholicke sea of Rome.

Thus the false Pope, vnder the lying title of holynes, was the father of much mischief & of great warres, which after ensued.* For the Duke of Bourbon and other of the Emperours Captaines, hauyng intelligēce of the Popes purpose & confederacie, gathered their army together, and after much bloudshed and fightyng, about Millā, Hawde and Cremona, at length they approched & bent their siege agaynst Rome, & after three sharpe assaultes obtained the Citie with the whole spoyle therof: where also they besieged the foresayd Pope, with his Cardinals, in the mount of Adriā and tooke him prisoner. an. 1527. As touchyng the cause of the besiegyng of Rome, now ye haue heard: for the maner of taking of Rome, and of the Pope, the order therof is thus described in Hall, and other.

¶The sackyng of Rome, and takyng of Pope Clement.

The Emperours army departyng from Florēce, to the Citie of Seynes, where they lost their ordinaūce,* tooke counsaile there to go to Rome, and so much they trauailed by night and day, commōly passing xl. myle day and night (their good will was such) that the vi. day of May with bāners displayed,* they came before the Citie of Rome beyng Saterdag, the same day: and on Sondag the Romaines made Bulwarkes, Rampires, and other defences; and layd ordinance on the walles, and shot at them without fiercely.

The Duke of Bourbō determined that it was not best to lye still without, and be slayne with ordinance,* cōsideryng, that they were all naked people, & without great ordinance: wherfore he determined to take the chaunce & to geue the assault, and so māfully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo Nouo & old Rome. But the Romaines valiauntly defēded them with hādgunnes, pykes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemyes were fayne to retreit. Then the Romaines were glad, and set many fayre banners on their towers and bulwarkes, and made great [Page 988](#) shoutes: whiche seyng the Duke of Bourbon, cryed to a new assault.* Then the drums•ades blew, and euery man with a ladder mounted: and at first encounter, againe the Romaines put them a little backe: Which the Duke of Bourbon p 〈...〉 uing, cryed: God and the Emperour. Then euery man manfully set on. There was a sore fight, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled, but at last the Emperours men got the wall, and betweene euery assault fell a mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assayle, which was profitable to the Emperours partie. At the three assaultes were slaine three C. Switzers of the Popes gard. In this last assault was the Duke of Bourbon stricken in the thigh with a handgonne,* of the which he shortly dyed in a chappell of S. Sist, whether his souldiors had brought him: and this chance notwithstanding, the army entred into Rome, and tooke the Popes palace and set vp the Emperours armes.

The same daye that these three assaultes were made, Pope Clement passed little on the Emperours army:* for he had accursed them on the Saterdag before, and in hys curse he called

the Almaynes Lutheranes, and the Spanyards Murreines or Moeres: and when he was hearing of Masse, sodeinly the Almaines entred into the Church, and slue his Barde and diuers other. He seeing that, fledde in all haste by a priuie way,* to the Castle of S. Angell: and all they that folowed him that way and could not enter, were slayne, and if he in that fury had bene taken, he had bene slayne. The Cardinals and other Prelates fled to y^e Castle of S. Angell, ouer the bridge, where many of the common people were ouerpressed and trodden downe, as they gaue way to the Cardinals and other estates, that passed toward the Castle for succour.

The Cardinall of Senes, of Sesarine, of Tudertine, of Iacobace and of the Ualle taried so long, that they could not get to the Castle for the multitude of people: wherfore they were compelled to take an other house, called the Palace of S. George, where they kept themselues for a while as secretly as they might. You must vnderstand, through the Citie of Rome, runneth a famous Riuer, called Tiber: and on the one side of the Riuer standeth the Castle of S. Angell, or the Borough of S. Angell: and the other side is called Burgo Nouo, or, the New Borough. Thys Bridge is called, the Bridge of Sixte, which lyeth directly before the Castle. At the ende of this Bridge was a woonderfull strong Bulwarke, well ordinanced and well manned. The Emperours men saw that they could do nothing to the Pope, nor to that porte of y^e City, but by the bridge, determined to assault the Bulwarke, and so, as men without feare, came on the bridge, and the Romaynes so well defended them, that they fue almost iiiiij.M. men. That seeing the Prince of Orenge, and the Marques of Gnasto, with all speede gaue assault, and notwithstanding that the Romaynes shot great ordinances, handgunnes, quarels, and all that might be shot: yet the Imperiall persons neuer shranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke and slue & threw downe, out of the loupes, all the Romaynes that they found, and after rased the Bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Castle of S. Angell, and beheld this fight, and with him were xxij. Cardinals, of whiche one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche, was slayne, and with him were a M. Prelates and Priests, fue hundred Gentlemen, fue hundred Souldiers: wherfore immediately the Captaines determined to lay siege to the Castle of S. Angell, least they within might issue out, and turne them to damage: wherfore sodeinly a siege was planted round about the Castle.*

In the meane season the souldiers fell to spoyle. Neuer was Rome so pilled, either of the Gothes or Uandales, for the Souldiers were not content with the spoyle of the Citizens,* but they robbed y^e Churches, brake vp the houses of close religious persons, and ouerthrew the Cloisters, and spoyled virgines, and rauished married women. Men were tormented if they had not to geue euery new asker or demaunder: some were strangled, some were punished by the priuie members, to cause them to confesse their treasure. This woodnes continued a great while, & some man might thinke that whē they had gotten so much, then they would cease & be quiet, but that was not so, for they plaied continually at dyce, some v.C. some a M. Ducates at a cast: and he that came to play ladē with plate, went againe almost naked, and then fell to rifeling againe. Many of the Citizens which could not patiently suffer that vexation, drowned themselues in Tyber.* The Souldiers daily that lay at the siege, made Iestes of the Pope. Sometime they had one riding like the Pope with a whore behinde hym, sometime he blessed, and sometime he cursed, & sometyme they would with one voyce call him Antichrist: and they went about to vndermine the Castle, and to haue throwne it downe on his head, but the water that enuironeth the Castle, disappointed their purpose.

In this season the Duke of Urbine, with xv. M. men, came to ayde the Pope: but hearing that Rome was takē, he taried xl. myle from Rome, till he heard other worde. The Marques of Saluce, and Sir Frederico de Bodso, with xv. M. footemen and a M. horsemē, were at 〈◇〉 be the tenth day of May: where they hearing that the Citie of Rome was taken, also taried. The Cardinall of Colume, came with an army of Neapolitans to helpe the Emperours men: but when he saw the cruelty of the Souldiers, he did little to helpe them, but he hated them much.

The Byshop of Rome was thus besieged till the eight Ides of Iuly,* at which day he yelded himselfe for necessitie and penury of all things in the Castle, and thē he was restored to geue Graces and graunt Bulles as he did before: but he taried still in the Castle of S. Angell, and had a great number of Almaines & Spanyards to keepe him: but the Spanyards bare most rule in the Castle, for no mā entred nor came out of the Castle but by them. When the moneth of Iuly came, corne began to fayle in Rome, and the pestilence began to waxe strong: wherfore the great army remoued to a place called Narma, xl. mile from Rome,* leauing behind them such as kept the Byshop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyards neuer were contented till they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Castle of S. Angell, and so they had the whole custody of the Pope. And thus much for the sacking of Rome. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrsper.

When the Cardinall heere in England, heard how hys father of Rome was taken prisoner,* hee began to styrre coales, and hearyng of his captiuitie, he laboured with the King all that he might, to stirre hym vp, to fight with the sayd Pope against the Emperour, and to be a defendour of the Church: whiche if hee would do, the Cardinall perswaded him that hee shoulde receiue great rewarde at Gods hand. To whome the King aunswered againe, and sayd in this maner: My Lord, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tong can tell, but where you say I am y^e defendour of the faith, I assure you that this war betwene the Emperour & the Pope, is not for the faith,* but for tēporall possessions and dominiōs, and now sith Pope Clemēt is taken by men of warre, what should I do? My person nor my people can not rescue him, but if my treasure may helpe him, take that which seemeth to you most cōuenient.

Thus the Cardinall, when he could not obteine at the Kings hands what he would, in stirring him vp to mortall warre,* he made out of y^e Kings treasure xij. score thousand poundes, which he caried ouer the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinall sent his commission as Legate, to all the Bishops, commaunding fastings and solemne processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Letany after this sort, Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa, and so forth, all the Letanie.

This Cardinall passing the Seas with the foresayde summes of money, departed out of Callis, accompanied with Cuthbert Tunstall Byshop of London, the Lorde Sandes the Kings Chamberlaine, the Earle of Darby, Syr Henry Guilford, and Syr Thomas Moore, wyth many other Knightes and Squiers, to the number of xij. hundred horse, hauing in his cariage lxxx. waggons, and threescore Moyles and sumpter horses.

It were long to discourse in this place, the manifold abuses and treasons, which he practised whē he came to the French Court at Amias, conuerting the greate summes of money,* whiche before

you heard he had obtained of the King, for the reliefe & raunsome of Pope Clement, which at that time was prisoner in the Emperours armye, and bestowed the same in the hyring of souldiers, & furnishing out the French Kings armye, appoynting also certayne English Captaynes in the King of Englandes name, to go against the Emperour, to rescue the Pope: all whiche army was payd with the King of Englands money.

Besides that, he priuely by his letters caused Clarentius king of the armes, to ioyne with the French Herauld, and openly to defie the Emperour: whereby there began great displeasure to rise between y^e Emperour & the King, but that the Emperour of his politike nature would take no occasion of displeasure agaynst the Kyng of England.

Now agayne he vttered another of his practises, for vpon the sayd defiaunce, the Cardinall surmising & whispering in the Kings eare, that y^e Emperour had euill intreated and imprisoned the Kings Ambassadors in Spaine,* caused Hugo de Mendosa the Emperours Ambassadors in England, to be attached & put in safe keeping, and hys house, with all his goodes to be seased. Which so remained, [Page 989](#) vntill y^e manifest letters came of the gentle intreatye of the kings ambassadors in Spaine, & there was again set at liberty. When as the ambassador cōplained hereof to y^e Cardinal, he laid al the fault vpon Clarentius, laying also that Clarentius had defied y^e Emperour, w^tout the kings knowledge, at the request of the Herald of Frāce: wherfore at his returne,* he should lose his head at Callis. Wherof Clarentius being aduertised by the captaine of Bayon, in hys returne tooke shipping at Bullen, & so priuely came into England, and by meanes of certaine of his frends of y^e kings priuy chamber, hee was brought vnto the kings presence, before the Cardinal knewe of it, where as he shewed vnto y^e king, the Cardinals letters of Commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of theyr gentle intreaty. When the king heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he sayde: O Lord Iesus, he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well Clarentius, I wil no more be so light of credēce hereafter: for now I •ee wel that I haue bene made beleue the thing, that was neuer done, and from that time forwarde, y^e king neuer put any more confidence or trust in the Cardinall.

The cause why the Cardinal should beare the Emperour all this malice & grudge, after some wryters, it appeareth to be thus. At what time as Pope Clement was takē prisoner (as is before sayd) the Cardinal wrote vnto the Emperour, that he shuld make him Pope. But when he had receiued an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious madde,* and sought al meanes to displease the Emperour, wryting very sharpely vnto him, many manacing letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make such a ruffling betwene christian Princes, as was not this 100. yeares before, to make the Emperour repent, yea though it should cost the whole Realme of England.

Wherunto the Emperour made answer in a little booke, Imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answering vnto many manacings of the Cardinal, and diuers of his Articles: but specially to that his ruffling threate, wherein he manaced him, that if he wold not make him Pope: he wold set such a ruffling betwixte Christian Princes, as was not this 100. yeare, though it should cost the whole Realme of England. Wherunto the Emperour answering again, biddeth him looke wel about him,* lest through his doings and attempts, he might bring▪ the matter in that case, y^t it shuld cost him the Realme of England in deede.

You haue heard before, howe that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the Emperors army, the Cardinal required the king, because he did beare the title of defendor of the faith, y^t he would rescue the Pope: also what the kings answere was thereunto, and what summes of money he had obtained of the king. Nowe, because you shall not also be ignorant by what meanes and vppon what occasion this title of the defender of the faith was geuen vnto the King,* we thinke it good somewhat to say in this place. When as Martin Luther had vttered the abhomination of the Pope and his clergy, & diuers bookes were come into England, our Cardinal here thinking to finde a remedy for that, sent immediately vnto Rome, for this title of defendour of the faith, which afterward the vicare of Croydē preached, that the kings grace would not lose it, for al London & 20. mile about it. Neither is it maruel, for it cost more then London & 40. mile about it, considering the great summes whyche you haue heard the Cardinal obtained of the King, for the Popes relief, beside the effusion of much innocent blood.

When thys gloryous title was come from Rome, the Cardinall brought it vnto the kings grace at Grenewich, and though that the king had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning, were all the Lords and Gentlemen that could in so shorte space be gathered, sent for, to come & receaue it with honour. In the morning, the cardinall gate him through the backe side, into the Frier obseruants, and parte of the Gentlemen went round about and welcomed him from Rome, parte met him halfe way, and some at the Court gate. The king himselfe, mette hym in the hall, and brought him vp into a great chamber,* whereas was a seat prepared on high, for the king and the Cardinall to sit on, whiles the Bull was read. Which pompe all men of wisdomes and vnderstanding, laughed to scorne.

Thys done, the kyng went to hys Chappell to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme, and Ambassadors of sundry Princes. The Cardinall being requested to sing masse, the earle of Essex brought the basen of water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the assay, & the Duke of Norfolke held the towel, & so he proceded to masse. Whē masse was done, the bull was againe published, the trompets blew, the shawmes and suckbuts played, in honor of the kings newe stile. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst wherof, the king of Herauldes and his company beganne the largesse, crying:**Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliae & Francia, defensor fidei & Dominus Hiberniae.* Thus was all things ended with great solemnitie.

Not much vnlyke to thys, was the receyuing of the Cardinales hatte, which when a ruffian had brought vnto him to Westminster, vnder his cloke, he clothed the messenger in riche aray, and sent him backe againe to Douer: appoynting the Bishop of Canterbury to meete hym,* and then an other compaignie of the Lordes and Gentlemen, I wote not how often, before it came to Westminster, where it was set vpon a cupbourd, and tapers rounde about it, so y^t the greatest Duke in the lande must make curtesie thereunto, and to his emptie seate, he being away.

And for somuch as we are in hande with the actes and doings of Cardinall Wolsey, among many other thyngs,* whych of purpose we ouerpasse, this is not to be exempted out of memorie, touching hys vncourtuous or rather currish handling of Richard Pacie, Deane of Paules. Thys Pacie being the kings Secretarie for the Latine tounge, was of such ripenes of wit, of learning & eloquence, also in forein lāguages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meete to succeede after Iohn Colet in the Deanery of Paules: beside which he was also preferred to the Deanry of Excetour. For the other he was sent in the kings affayres, Ambassadour to Uenice.

Which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation, or admiration amōg the Uenetians, both for dexteritie of hys witte, and especially for the singulare promptnesse in the Italian tounge, wherein hee seemed nothing inferior, neither to Peter Uanne here in Englande, the kings Secretary for the Italian tounge, nor yet to any other, which were the best in that tounge in all Uenice. For opinion & fame of lerning, he was so notoriously accepted, not onely here in England w^t Linacre, Grecinus, More, & other, but also knownen & reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus Epistles, he wrote almost to none, so many, as he wrote to thys Richard Pacie.

As the sayde Pacie was resident Ambassadour at Uenice, the king hauing warre the same time,* with Fraunces the French king (as is afore rehersed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then waged w^t hys expenses, sent commandement to Pacie to geue attēdance to the duke of Bourbon,* concerning the receite of that money, and other necessities & exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the meane while, as the French king wyth his army, and the Duke of Bourbon were approchyng in battel together, neare about the citie of Pauia, it so hapned (some thinke through the craftie packing of the Cardinall) that the kings money was not so ready,* as it was looked for. By reason wherof, y^e duke of Bourbon perceiuing his soldiors about to shrink from him to the French king for lacke of paiment, called to him the Ambassador, cōplaining vnto him how the king of England had deceiued him, and broke promise with him, to hys great dishonor & vtter vndoing. &c. Pacie then being sure of the kings wil, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the Cardinall, desired y^e duke not to take discomfort, nor any diffidence of the Kings assured promise, excusing the delay of y^e money, as wel as he could, by intercipation, or other causes by the way incident, rather then for any lacke of fidelitie on the kings behalfe: adding moreouer, that if it would please him happely to proceede, as he had couragiously begon,* he should not stay for the kings mony: so sure he was of the kings mind therin, that he would supply the lacke of that paiment vppon hys owne credite, amongst his frendes at Uenice, and so did. Wherupon the soldiors being sufficiētly satisfied with paiment of theyr wages, proceeded foorth wyth the Duke, vnto the battaile. In the which battaile, the foresayde French king, the same time, before the Citie of Pauie,* was taken prisoner, as is afore declared. Which being eftsoones knownen to the king of Englande, Pacie had bothe condigne thanks for his faithfull seruice, and also his money repaid againe with the vttermost, as he wel deserued. But as the laude, and the renowned praise of men, for theyr woorthy prowesses, commonly in this world neuer go vnaccompanied without some priuie canker of enuie and disdaine following after, so the singulare industrie of Pacie, as it wan much commendation with many, so it could not auoyd the secrete sting of some Serpents.* For the conceiued hatred of this Cardinal so kindled against him, that he neuer ceased, till first he brought hym out of the kings fauour, and at last also, out of his perfect wittes.

The occasion howe hee fell beside hymselfe, was thys: for that the Cardinall after the death of Pope Adrian, hoping no lesse, but that he should haue bene aduaunced vnto the Papacie, and yet missing thereof, hee supposed wyth him selfe, the faulte chiefly to rest in Pacies negligence, by [Page 990](#) whose great witte and learning, and earnest meanes and sute, he thought easily he might haue acheued and compassed the triple crowne. Wherefore he seing it otherwise come to passe, and inflamed against Pacie for the same, wrought such wayes and meanes, that by the space almoste of two yeares,* Pacie continuing at Uenice, had neither wrytinge from the king, nor his counsaile, what he shuld do, nor yet any maner of allowaunce for his diet (although he

wrote, and sent letters for the same to England very often) for the Cardinall had altogether incensed the king against hym. Whereupon the sayd Pacie tooke such an inward thoughte and conceite, that his wittes began to faile hym, he beyng notwithstanding in such fauour among the Senatours of Uenice,* that neyther for gold nor siluer he could there haue lacked. By some it is reported, that the Uenitian Legate heere in Englande, comming to the Cardinall, required if he would commaunde any thyng to the Englishe Ambassadour at Uenice.* To whome he should aunswer agayne in high woordes, sayinge: Paceus deceptit Regem. Whyche wordes comming to Pacies eares, so deeply pearced hys stomacke, that he fel quite besides himself. I hard it moreouer of an other thus testified, who had a brother the same time dwelling wyth Pacie: that the Cardinall, aboute the returning of Pacie from Uenice, sent him a letter so powdered (wyth what spices I can not tell) that at the reading therof, Pacie then being in the fieldes, fell sodenly in such a mighty running, for the space of 2, miles, that his seruants had much a do, to take him, and bring him home.

This pitious case of Pacie was not a litle lamented by the whole Senate, and chiefe learned men in Uenice, in so much that the king was not onely certified therof by Thomas Lupset (who then was chiefe man about Pacie,* and his Secretarye, for that Ambassage) but also the sayde Senate of Uenice wrote in such sharpe & vehement wise, vnto their Ambassador then being in England, that he should signifie to the king, touching Pacies case, that thereby the king knowing the trueth, and the whole circumstaunce of the matter, was not a litle sorowful therefore. Whereupon Pacie was forthwith sent for home, and when hee came to England, he was commanded by the king, to be specially well tended, & to lacke no keeping: In so much that within a small processe of time, he was pretely well come agayne to his wittes, & began to studie the Hebrew tongue, wyth Wakefield,* so that (the Cardinall then being absent) suche waies was founde by his frendes, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the kynge secretly communed together, by the space of 2. houres and more,* not wythout greate reioycing to the king, as it was perceiued, to see him so well amended, & returned to hymselfe againe, geuing likewise strait charge and commaundement, that he should lacke nothing.

The Cardinall, being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing least he had disclosed somewhat to the king, which he woulde not haue knowen, and doubting that the king should cast his fauour agayne vnto Pacie, beganne wythin a while after, to quarrell, and pike matters, and to lay certaine things to Pacies charge, whereas hee rather shoulde haue cleared himselfe of those things, whyche Pacie layd vnto him before the King, which was contrary to all good forme and order of iustice.* For where the king had willed the Cardinall to try hymselfe of those things, which Pacie had rightly charged him wythall, hee sittinge in iudgement with the Duke of Northfolke, and other states of the Realme, not as a defendent, but as a Iudge in hys owne cause, so bare out himselfe, and weied downe Pacie, that Pacie was commaunded to the tower of London, as prisoner: where he continued by the space of two yeares, or thereabout, and afterwarde by the kynges commaundement, was discharged. But he being there prisonner, was therewyth so deadly wounded, and strocken, that hee fell woorse from his wittes then euer he was before, beyng in such a phreuesie, or lunasie, that to hys dying day, he neuer came perfectly to hymselfe againe. Notwythstanding, thys in hym was no perpetuall frensie, but came by fittes, and when the fitte was past, he coulde looke on his Booke, and reason and talke handsomely, but that nowe and then hee shewed his disease. And thus muche betweene the Cardinall and Pacie.

By this storie of Pacie, and also by other places aboue mentioned, ye may partly conceiue, how greedy this Cardinal was, to be made pope. Touching which matter, here by the way somthing to entreat,* first is to be vnderstāded, that forsomuche as Pacie either woulde not, or coulde not serue the Cardinals purpose herein, he thought to accomplysh hys desire, by other names, and namely by Steuen Gardiner, who was then shortly after, sent Ambassadour to Rome by the king and the Cardinal, in the time of pope Clement the 7. and that for two special causes: one was about the diuorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinall to be Pope. As touchinge the diuorcement, we will speake (the Lorde willing) heereafter. In the meane tyme, as concerning the aduauncement of the Cardinall, greate labour was made, as in letters may appeare sent from the Cardinall to the sayd Steuen Gardinar, in whych letters he did sollicite the sayd Gardinar, by all meanes, to pursue the sute, willing hym to sticke for no coste,* so farre as sixe or seuen thousand poundes woulde stretch: for more hee sayd he would not geue for the triple crowne. Marke here (Christian Reader) what an holye Catholycke Churche thys is, whych rather may be called a Burse or Marte of Marchauntes (ne quid dicam durius) then any true fourme of a Church.

Manye, both of hys, and also of the kinges letters, I coulde heere inserte, but for growing of the volume, I let them passe. One for example sake, sent by the Cardinall to Gardiner, an other also from the king to the sayde Gardinar, shall at this time suffice, concerning this matter. And first the Copie of the Cardinales ambitious letter here, in forme foloweth.

¶The copie of an ambitious letter, wrytten by Thom. Wolsey, Cardinall of Yorke, vnto Stephen Gardiner, one of king Henries Oratours in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papall dignitie to the sayd Cardinall.

MAister Stephen, all be it ye shalbe sufficiently with your Colleages, by suche instructions as be geuen to Monsieur Vincent, informed of the kings minde and mine, concerning my aduauncement vnto the dignitie Papall, not doubting but that for the singular deuotion,* whych you beare towards the kynge and hys affaires, both generall and particular, and perfect loue, which ye haue towards me, ye wyll omit nothyng that may be excogitate to serue and conduce to that purpose, yet I thought conuenient for the more feruent expression of my mind in that behalf, to wryte vnto you, (as to the person whome I most entierlye doe trust, and by whom thys thyng shalbe most pithely sette forth) these fewe wordes folowing, of my owne hande. I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider, as well the state, wherein the Church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this Realme, and of the kings secrete matter, which if it should be broughte to passe,* by any other meanes then by the authoritie of the Churche, I accompt this Prince and Realme vtterlye vndone. Wherefore it is expedient to haue such a one to be Pope and common father of all Princes, as maye, can, and will geue remedye to the premisses. And albeit I accompt my selfe muche vnhabable, and that it shalbe now incommodious in thys myne old age, to be the sayde common father, yet when all thyngs be well pondered, and the qualities of all the Cardinales well considered (Absit verbum iactantiae) there shalbe none found that can and will set remedye in the foresayde thynges, but onely the Cardinall of Yorke,* whose good will and zeale is not to you of all men, vnknown. And were it not for the reintegration of

the state of the Church, and sea Apostolicke to the pristine dignitie, and for the conducting of peace amongst Christian princes, and specially to relieue this Prince & realme from the calamities that the same be nowe in, all the riches or honour of the worlde shoulde not cause me, Ne dum aspirare, sed ne consentire, to accept the sayd dignitie, althoughe the same with all commodities were offered vnto me.

Neuerthesse conformyng my selfe to the necessitie of the tyme, and the wiil and pleasure of these two Princes, I am cōtent to appone all my witte and study, and to set forth all meanes and wayes, Vt bene faciam rebus Christianitatis, for the atteyning of the sayd dignitie. For the atchieuyng and atteyning wherof, for as much as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not onely of these two Princes and their Realmes, but of all Christendome, nothyng is to be omitted that may conduce to the sayd ende and purpose. Wherefore M. Stephen, since you be so playnly aduertised of my mynde and intent, I shall pray you to extend, Omnes neruos ingenij tui, vt ista res ad effectū produci possit, nullis parcendo sumptibus, pollicitationibus, siue laboribus: ita vt hominū videris ingenia & affectiones, siue ad priuata, siue ad publica, sic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deest tibi & collegis tuis amplissima potestas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata seu restricta, & quicquid feceris, scito omnia apud hunc regem & me esse grata & tuta. Nam omnia (vt paucis absoluam) in tuo ingenio & fide reposuimus. Nihil super est aliud scribendū, nisi quod supplex orem, vt omnes actiones tuas secundet Deus opt. maximus{que}, & ex corde vale▪

Ex edibus meis Westmonest. vij. Febr.

Tuae salutis & amplitudinis cupidissimus. T. Ebor.

After this letter of the Cardinall,* consequently heere ensueth an other letter of the kynge, to the foresayde Stephen Gardiner, and other his Oratours at Rome, conteining suche instructions and documentes, as they shoulde practise with the Cardinales of Rome, in canuesynge for [Page 991](#) the sayde Thomas Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke, to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead. Or if he were not dead, yet at least, to instructe them, what to doe, when hee should die.

The contents of the letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly necessary for our story, yet for the ridiculous maner of the handling, and the curious secretariship therof, ful of glorious affectation, I thought it not heere vnmeete for the studies and appetites of some, to exemplify the same, or at least, to make the reader some pastime by the way, in beholding the glorious stile of this vaine glorious Cardinal, being sute like to his glorious life. The copie of the letter, bearing the name of the king, but in deede sauouring altogether of the Cardinals deuise and swelling vaine, doth thus procede in forme and stile, as followeth.

¶Instructions sent by the kings highnesse, to his trustie Counsailours and seruants,* M. Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both lawes, Syr Fraunces Bryan, Syr Gregory de Cassalis Knights, and M. Peter Vanne the kings Secretarie for the Italian tounge, his ambassadours in the Court of Rome, for

the election of the Cardinal of Yorke, to the Papacie, if Pope Clement were dead.

First, where as a good season since the depeache of M. Stephen Gardiner, an Ambassiate towards the Courte of Rome, the kings highnes by sondry wayes, hath bene aduertised of the death of our holy father the Pope Clement of that name the 7. whose soule Iesu pardon,* by meane wherof, the charge heretofore committed by his grace vnto his Orators, to haue ben now executed with the sayd late Pope, can not at his hands take effect, his highnesse pondering and profoundly considering, the present state of Christendom, miserably and piteously afflicted wyth the intestine warres, dissensions, and discords, reigning amongst the Princes of the same, and how the dignity of the sea Apostolicke, by such troble and persecution, as hath bene inferred therunto, these yeares passed, is not a little diminished and empaired, like to come to total ruine, if by the helpe & assistance of good and vertuous Princes,* the ambition of those, which studye the exterminion thereof, be not in time repressed: considering furthermore, that as well to conduce rest and tranquillitie in Christendome, as to restore, repaire, and reintegrate the state, authoritye, and reputation of the sayd sea Apostolicke, nothing is more requisite & necessary, then that such a head and common father, be now at this time of vacation of the dignitie Papal, provided and elected to succede in the same, as both may, can, and will puruey to the restauration of the said Sea, and that hath, and may haue the assistance of such vertuous and puissant Princes, as tēder the defence, maintenance, and encrease of the dignitie aforesayde, and that may meete with the inordinate ambition of the Emperour, who nothing more studyeth, then for his owne exaltation, to suppress the Church & Sea Apostolicke: remembring also the high importance of the kinges great and weighty cause of matrimony, committed to the charge of his sayd Orators,* and how manifolde dangers and irreparable damages depend vpon the tracte, delay, or disappoyntment thereof, which by no way or meane can be conduced to the kinges purpose, and desire by the authority of the Church, but onely by speciall, assured, and perfect fauour of the head of the same Churche, his highnes also being as loth as any liuing Prince or person may be, to recurre vnto other refuge, succour or remedy in his sayde cause, then to the authoritie of the Sea Apostolicke, if his grace may there finde the fauour and benignitie, that to his merites towards the same be correspondent, of which fauour his highnesse shoulde be clearely depriued and frustrate, in case the election of the future Pope, should passe vpon any person, of whom his grace were not perfectly assured: his highnes for the respects and considerations before specified, perceiuing his good brother and perpetuall alye the Frenche king, in the sayde intention to be vnite, knitte, and in all actions and doings of importaunce, assuredly combined vnto his grace, proceeding together in one wil, minde, purpose, and conformitie, hath by good and mature deliberation, studied deuised, and excogitate with himselfe, who were & might be the most able, meete, and conuenient person, hauing the qualities before specified, to be aduaunced at this time, vnto the sayde dignitie Papall. And finally, when his grace hath well reuolued with himselfe, all the respects and considerations aforesayde, noting also al things meete to be regarded in euery of the Cardinals of the Church of Rome, both present now in the Court there, and absent from the same, it can not be found that there is any person sufficiently furnis•ed, with the requisites before specified, but only the most reu•rend father in God, and his most trusty Counsellour, the Lord Legate Cardinall, Archbishop of Yorke, Primate & Chauncellour of this Realme: Who being well knowen to haue as feruent zeale, studie, minde, and desire, to the vniuersall weale, repose, and tranquillitie of Christendome, to the reintegracion

& restauration of the dignity, authority, reputation,* & rightes of the Church and sea Apostolicke, to the surety, weale, and exaltation of the kings highnes, the French king, & other their confederates, and finally to the perfection of the kings sayde great and waightie cause, whereupon dependeth the surety of his royall persone, successiō, Realme, people, & dominions, as any person liuing can or may haue, & that the sayd most reuerēd father hath the fast assured fauor herein of the sayd Frēch king (who of his owne mere motion hath frankly and liberally, offred vnto hym all that by himself, his frendes, his power, his agentes, or otherwise hee may, or can possible doe for his auancement to the sayd dignitie Papal) is the person, who for his singular vertue, his entire deuotion to peace, and restauration of the saide Sea, the excellency of his wisdomes, learning and experience,* the magnanimitie in his actions and doings, the dignitie wherin he is already constitute, the promotions whych he hath attained, the substance that he is of, his reputation, his conduite, his diligence, hys dexteritie, his discretion, his pollicie, and finally the notable and high fauor that the kings highnes and the sayde French king beare vnto him, is onely, that he called to the sayd dignity Papall, may, can, and will meete with the inordinate ambition of the sayd Emperour, and consequently with establishment of tranquillitie amongst Christen Princes*,* is by the assistance of his frendes, meete, conuenient, and able to succour, relieue, and clerely to repaire the piteous iacture and decay, that the Church & Sea Apostolicke hath so long suffered, & to defend the same from the imminent danger now apparant to ensue, if the sayde Emperour (who as the kings highnes is ascertained) determined in the beginning of Ianuary now passed, to take his iourney towards Rome, should vpon this vacation of the said Sea, chaunced (as it vpon many euident presumptiōs to be thought, by some detestable acte committed, for the sayde late Popes destruction) now by force, violence, cautele, blandishing, promises, or otherwise, haue the election to proceede at hys wil, fauor, & deuotion: wherby, hauing a Pope at his * arbitre, either he should not faile to vsurpe & take from him the rights, prouents, & patrimony of the Church, vsing him as hys chaplaine and vassal, or els by litle and litle vtterly to exclude and extinct him and hie authoritie.

For this cause, if euer it were expedient that good Christen Princes looke to the tuition, maintenance, defence, and continuance of Christes Church, faith and religion, nowe is it the time aboue all other, to prouide and beware by all wayes possible, least the same neglected, forgotten and not in time relieued, be brought vnto extreme * ruine. And therefore the kings highnesse hauing singular & special trust and confidence in the wisdomes, discretions, fidelities, diligences and circumspections of his sayd Orators, (to whom no part of the premisses is vnknown, ne how necessary, & in any wise expediēt it shalbe for perfectiō of the kings sayd great and *weighty matter to them committed, to haue the sayde Lord Legate of Yorke, & none other, aduanced to the sayd dignitie Papall) willeth, desireth, ordaineth, & expresly chargeth and commaundeth hys sayd Oratours, and euery of them, no lesse to employ, endeuour, and determine themselues, to sollicite, set forth, further, promote, labour and conduce the aduancement of the sayd Lord Legate of Yorke, to that dignitie, then they would that thing, which the kings highnes most highly, next God & hys soule, with all earnestnes and feruent minde, doth aboue all other things, couete and desire, and also no lesse then they would the speedy obtaining and perfection of all such thinges, touching the kings sayde weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring wherof, being now the sayde late Pope deceased, consisteth onely in the aduauncement of the sayde Lord Legate of Yorke, to the dignitie Papall.

For (as the kings sayd Ambassadors may by their wisdomes well thinke and consider the same must of necessitie come, & fortune either to one that is an assured frende to his grace and the French king, or to one that is a manifest ennemye to them, fauouring the Emperours part, or to one indifferent & meane betwene both. And if it should chaunce vpon a manifest ennemy, it is euident that the kings desire at hys hand were merely impossible to be had, and neuer were to be accepted that way If it should come to one being indifferent & meane betweene both, it is more then notorious, that his grace at the least, shoulde be contained wyth faire wordes and promises, and yet such respect should be had to the Emperour, that finally vnder hope of obtaining some thyng, there shoulde be no more but tracte, delay, and finally no manner fruite nor effecte: whereof experience hath already bene seene in one that had cause to be more frendly to the king, then indifferēt or meane betwene both, & yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the kings said Ambassadors wel knowē. So that of necessity this thing must be conduced to one that is an assured frende. Then noting substantially the things necessary to concur in suche a frend, both for the weale of christendō, the reliefe of the Church, the firm adhering to the kings highnes & the French K. with other their confederates, & the perfit cōducing of the kings great mater which suffreth no tract, delay, or negatiue: it shalbe fōūd that ther is none other for thys purpose, but only the said L. legate of York.

[Page 992](#)The kyngs sayd Ambassadors shal therefore plant the foundation of all their studie, labour, & solicitation, onely to that purpose. And for the better introduction of the wayes and meanes, howe this thing shall be sollicitied, they shall receiue heerewyth a scedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many & what Cardinalles of likelihoode, shall be present at the election, and how many and which of the other, shalbe absent. Semblably, howe many of them that be like to be present, may be thought to be frends to the kings highnes and the French king, whose names in the sayd scedule be noted with A. and howe many are thought to be Imperiall,* whose names be noted with B. In the same scedule be also set out the number, and names of those that be thought to be neutrall or indifferent, marked with N. And furthermore, they be first mentioned therein, which be thought most like to aspire vnto that dignity.

Herein be many things well to be regarded. First the number of the Cardinals that are like to be present, whiche (as is thought here) shall not excede 39. Secondly, that to haue election to the kings purpose, shall be requisite to haue 2. partes of the 3. of the sayd number, which 2. partes must be 26. Then is it to be noted, that they which be thought to be frendes to the kings highnesse and the Frēch king, be in number 20. So that if they may be made sure to the kings deuotion, there shall lacke but 6. of the number which shall suffice to make the election: which number the kings sayd Ambassadors shall moue, winne and attaine, either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or some other.

In the conducing whereof, two wayes be specially to be remembred.* One is, if the Cardinals present, hauing God & the holy Ghost before them, shalbe mined (as to their duetie appertaineth) to haue respect vnto the present calamitie of the Churche, and all Christendome, intending the reliefe, succour, and restauration of the same, and to preserue themselues, and the dignitie of the sea Apostolicke, then looking profoūdly vpon the state of the things, they can not faile * facily of themselues, to finde and perceiue, that to conduce their purpose, there is onely the said Lord Legate of Yorke. And in this case, it is verely to be thought, that very reason it selfe, and their owne conscience shal lead them like vertuous fathers, to haue their principall

respecte heereunto, and (particular affections set a parte) to accomde and agree wythout difficultie, to that, which so manifestly is knowen to be the thyng, aboue all other, expedient. Neuertheles, because percase humaine fragilitie suffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate, and weyed in iust balance, but that (as we be men) errorrs may runne, vnlesse then remedy be provided: it appe•taineth in matter of so high importaunce, to the comfort and releue of all Christendom, to succour the infirmitie, that may chaunce, not for corruption or to any peruerse, vnlefull, or euill entent, but rather to helpe to the lackes and defaultes, which by suche fragilitie might else take place: and therefore expedient shall it be, that the kings sayde Oratours,* to so notable a purpose, where they shall perceiue the cōsideration and respect whereunto reason leadeth, to be in any part to be aided or supplied, doe the same with pollicitations of promotions, spirituall offices, dignities, rewardes of money, or other things, such as to them shal seeme meete to the purpose: inculking into the mindes of such persones as shall be requisite, firste what things the sayd Lorde Legate of Yorke shall leaue, if he shoulde be aduaunced to the sayde dignitie, which be suche as the establishment of his state considered, be farre more to his commoditie (if he should regarde his priuate weale) then to enter into thys dangerous storme, and troublous tempest, for the relief of the church and al Christendom, whereunto (his said priuate weale set a part) he is totally deuoued and dedicate, to the exposition of his body, bloud, and life, glad and ready with the sacrifice thereof, to do seruice to God, his church, his faith and religion: which sayde promotions, the kings highnesse finding cause geuen vnto him, by the gratitude and conformity of his frendes, will not faile to bestowe to their benefite, besides large rewardes, to haue thys so vertuous an acte brought to perfection. For policitation wherof, the kings sayd Ambassadors be furnished at this time, with ample Commission, as by the same they shall perceiue: the effect wherof they shall execute without exception, as by their wisdomes shall be thought conuenient, so alwayes as it be done wyth such circumspection, as may be apparaunce of good fruite to ensue. And semblably they be furnished with letters, as well to the Colledge of Cardinals in generall, as to them all that be like to be present in particular: which they shall now deliver to the best furtheraunce and auancement of their purpose, not sparing to declare vnto them the liberalitie of the said Lord Legate of Yorke, the substance that he is of, the assured assistāce that he shall haue of these Princes & their confederates, whereby he shall be able aboue any other that they can deuise, to rewarde, promote, aduaunce, and recompence his frendes to the vttermost, assuring them that these two Princes will not faile also highly and in the best sort, to consider their gratitudes, with any thing that they may excogitate to their profites and promotions,* or any of their frends. So that by this meane, and with such good pollicitations, grounded vpon a leful, honorable, and iust cause, and not vpon any corrupt or indue intent, to conduce things to sinister purpose, the kings sayd Oratours by theyr good pollicies shall attaine the perfite and sure good will of a great many of them,* and by that way shall with good dexteritie combine and knit those which will adhere hereunto, in a perfite fastnesse, and in an indissoluble knot, firmly to sticke and holde together, without variation or declining from their purpose, for any perswasion, practise, or meane, that can be made to the contrary. Which thing surely to be provided, and suche a knot of 20.18. or at the least if it may be, of 16. Cardinals to be had, is in any wise expedient. For they persisting in their determination, shall not faile to impeach, that no aduerse part can haue a full nūber to make a due and lawfull election. And yet they being founde in a constantnesse to this good purpose, shall by little and little allure and bring other vnto them, so as the residue perceiuing so greate a towardnesse, and fearing a sufficient number *to accede without them, and thereby the election to passe against their wils, shal percase be the more prone and ready to come vnto that party: wherunto nothing shoulde of

reason sooner moue them, then the very respect to the infinite goodnes, that therby to themselves in particular, and the vniuersall church and religion in general, is apparant to ensue.

Neuerthesse, if leauing the directe way, they will be abused with any other incantations,* or for priuate ambition persiste in contending for themselves, then is it euident, they search nothing more then the ruine of the See apostolicke. In whiche case other wayes be to be deuised, and their * indue demeanour to be remedied & resisted. For this cause, and to be sure in all euēts, the kings sayd Oratours shall by their wisdomes finde the meanes to haue some fast and sure persons in the Conclaue, such as may not only practise and set foorth things there to the purpose, but also geue such knowledge outwarde, as the kings sayd Oratours may therby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst other it is thought that Monsieur de Vault, one of the Frenche Ambassadors, (whom the French king hath commanded expresly to further this matter, by all the meanes to him possible) shoulde be one to enter the sayde Conclaue, not as an ambassadour, but as the minister of some Cardinal, frend of the French king. And semblably sir Gregory de Cassalis, who for his wisdom, conduite, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalfe.

And in this matter it is to be considered,* that since this election in the person of the sayd Lord Legate of Yorke, by one way or other suffereth no negatiue, all be it the kings highnesse trusteth that the same shall haue his course directly: yet if for lacke of grace or entendement, there should be any dispaire thereof, other wayes be to be prouided. And for that cause to shewe the sayde Orators secretly, there is a protestation passed by the Cardinals being in England and in France, according to a copie whych the sayd Oratours shall receiue herewith, which is and shall be kept secrete, vnles then by the indue proceeding vsed in the election, the same shall neede to be published. So that the kings sayd Oratours now aduertised thereof, shall note for a speciall ground, that if it shall appeare that the election can not be had in the person of the sayd Lord Legate of Yorke, the bande and number vnite and knitte together to the kings deuotion, in finding none other remedy, must be instructed before hande in that case, to persist in their determination, and when time shalbe, by reason of such dispaire, to protest, grounding the same their protestation vpon such respects, as can not lacke to be introduced for the auoiding of the extreme daun, gers by the pertinacitie & wilfulnes of the aduerse Cardinals, imminent to the ruine of the Church, and of all Christendom: which protestation may before hand be couched and deuised by the said M. Steuen Gardiner,* and by the pollicie of the sayde Monsieur de Vault, and sir Gregory, be set forth in time conuenient: and therupon the Cardinals of the kings and the French kings adherents, to departe the Conclaue, whereby, repairing to other sure place, they with the residue of the cardinals absent, may procede to such an election, as may be to Gods pleasure, the weale of his Church, and faith, and of all Christendome, any election that thus by pertinacitie may ensue at Rome, notwithstanding.

And to the entent the Cardinals may be the better animated to finish the said election to the kings desire,* the kings sayde Oratours shall as they see good, offer them a presidie of ij or iij.M. men to be in the Citie of Rome, for the time of the same election, which if they will accept, the said Oratours shall see furnished, taking money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money or any other that they shal take for conducting this the kinges purpose, shall bee truely repayde, with * inpesse and all requisites as they shall assigne. And semblably, least terrours or dread of the Imperials in Naples, shoulde induce the Cardinales to

any errorr, the Frenche king hathe ordeyned that Seignior Renzio shall lie in a presidye, betweene the armye of Naples and the Citie of Rome, like as the Vicecounte of Tureine is also commaunded to lye on the other side, and semblably, the Venetians. So that by those meanes not onely they shall be out of all feare of the Imperialles, but also in the more deuotion of these two Princes, whiche shall muche conferre to the [Page 993](#) kings purpose, and embolden the Cardinals fauouring the desire of these two princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also in time of extreme dispaire, to protest and depart, as is aforesayd.

And because nothing shoulde withdrawe the mindes of the Cardinals from this purpose, who percease might thinke that the sayde L. Legate of Yorke being elected, woulde not repaire to the court of Rome, but * demore in Auinion or some other place, out of Italie, the kings sayde Ambassadors shall remoue all such suspitions, by two euident arguments and reasons One is, that the sayde Cardinall of Yorke aduanced to that dignitie, * must thereby leaue all other his promotions, and consequently shoulde be dispurueyed of any habitation, place, or conuenient liuing, if remaining in an other strange countrey, he should deferre to come vnto Rome, where should be the place of his See, and entire liuinge. Wherefore it were farre from reason, to thinke that he whych hytherto for his estate hath liued in such aboundance, shoulde be so * pusillanime for this promotion, to bring himselfe into condigne penury and pouerty, or to liue in place priuate, to the hinderance of his honour, profite, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moouing him to be contented at these princes requestes, * to chaunge his state present, is the feruent zeale hee hath to expone his study, trauaile, labour, substance, witte, body, bloud, and life in the quarell of Gods Church, faith, and of Christendome, which is too high an exception and a ground to be taken, to remaine and lie in a corner or priuate place: but that rather then he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expone all that he might do, who hauing the assistance of these two Princes should not faile (God willing) to passe directly to his See, wyth honour and comfort vnto al Italie, * and the discourage of the party that would be aduerse thereunto: And therefore the Cardinals shoulde not neede to feare of any such thing, but might be well assured to haue his presence there to their comforte, in all celeritie and diligence posible.

Furthermore, to the entent the kynges sayde Ambassadors may haue all the frendes that may be, * to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they with the Venetians, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrare, and all other whome they shall thincke good to winne vnto their partie, vse the waies that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst other, forasmuch as they which depended vpon the Cardinall de Medices, shall doubt in this case to be reiecte, the kings sayde Oratours shal inculke vnto them the singulare deuotion and speciall fauour that the sayd Lord Legate of Yorke hathe alwayes borne vnto their family, assuring them that hee will take them in no further distaunce of entire loue, * then they were wyth Pope Leo, Clement, or any other And semblably, they shall put the Florentines in comfort of the exclusion of the gouernance of the sayd familie de Medices in Florence, and of their enioying of their libertie: Likewise putting the Cardinals in perfecte hope of recouery of the patrimones of the Church: to containe the Venetians in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for Saruia, and Rauenna, to their contentment: and also to shewe the Duke of Ferrare, howe the sayd L. Legate was the meane of the coniunction of him in league with the Frenche king, with assured promise of his continuance, in as much loue and fauour as hee maye beare vnto him, in all his causes & affaires. And thus hauing those folkes to their frendes, whose Oratours shall haue the vttermoste custodie of the Conclau, and the kings

Ambassadors, and the French Ambassadors being in the interiour partes thereof, they being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not faile (God willing) by one or other of the sayde two wayes, and specially by the direct election at Rome, if it be possible, or at the least by the way of the sayde protestation and departure of the Cardinall, to conduce the kings purpose in the sayd election, to the desired ende. In the doinge whereof, albeit there is no doubt, but that the Frenche Oratours will ioyn with them sincerely,* to the perfection of the premisses, in omnem euentum, it shall be well done that the kyngs sayd Oratours haue a substantiall and politike regard to the proceeding of the same Frenche Oratours, least that if percase they shoulde finde any dispaire in the election to passe in the person of the sayd Lord Legate of Yorke, they making some other Cardinals to their side, for the aduancement of any of them to the sayde dignity, should be the more, straunge, aliene, or peradventure refuse to come vnto the sayde protestation and departure oute of the Conclauē, which is the onely remedy and refuge (the Cardinales persisting in their wilfulnesse) to interrupt, disappoynte, infringe, and make voide their election.

One other thing there is to be wel noted by the sayde ambassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the mindes of the Cardinals, that if any maner of difficulty shall be made by the Imperials to condescend vnto this election vpon the sayd L. Legate of York, and that they of the Emperours part, wold refuse alwaies of good order and reason, proceeding to any election without the consent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure that vnto their sinister and indue way they should haue no Prince or Potentate adherente, but onely the Emperour and his brother, and that the other part should haue the rest of all Christendome, that is to say, the kings highnes, the French king, the king of Hungarie, Polonie, Scotland, and Denmarke, with the Venetians, the Dukes of Ferrare, Millan, the Florentines, and the rest of all Italye, besides the marchants of the Almaine or Hanse, and other leagues beyng in the dominion of the sayde king of Polonie: and ouer that the king of Portugale, who is loth and sory to see the Emperour come vnto so great hyght as he aspireth vnto. So that hauing these mightie and noble puissances to their assistaunce, and the corroboration of their acte, it is facile to thinke the other could be of no validitie, ne haue or take any manner of place: whiche is no small grounde whereuppon the sayde Cardinals may be the better animate to the kings and the French kings sayde deuotion, and therefore it is to be imprinted in their mindes accordingly.

Finally, if the kings sayde Orators endeuoring them selues to the conducting of the sayd election in the person of the sayd L. Legate of Yorke, should at the last finde out that there were none other difficulty, but only that the electiō in his person being totally desperate,* the same were conducible to the Cardinall Campegius: then, rather thē al should faile, if the other could by no meanes be brought to passe, the kings pleasure is, that being assured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the same Cardinall Campegius, they take such waye as in that case the protestation be suborne, and for the last refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the least to passe in the person of the said Cardinal Campegius: whereof there is no apparance, considering that the respectes for the which the said lord Legate of Yorke, shoulde by the kings and the French kings meanes be brought heereunto, do for the greatest part faile and cease by the election of any other then himself, which is in thys case to be remembred accordingly.

Thus be the kings sayd Oratours instructed as farre as mans reason can here deuise, what is to be done for cōducing the kings purpose to effect, knowing wel of what importaunce the thing is, and what consequences depende vpon it, namely for the perfection of the kings high and waightye

matter, which otherwise then by election of the sayde Lorde Legate of Yorke, hath no manner way to be conduced by authoritie of the See Apostolike. There resteth no more but they, who well knowe the same great matter, to suffer no nay ne repulse, but by the election in the persone of the sayd L. Legate doe imploy the vttermost that in their heartes, powers, wittes, bodies, and mindes that may be, to the perfection thereof, whereby they shall doe the greatest seruice that can be, for this time excogitate to doe vnto their Prince, deserue immortall laude, thanks, and praise, and be sure to consecute thereby such rewarde, as shall be to their comforts, reioyce, and honoure, besides manifolde other notable goodnesses, whereof they shalbe the procurers and solliciters, to their merite perpetual. All whych they may be sure shalbe considered accordingly.

Out of the Original, subscribed by king Henry the eight his owne hand.*

In these so great labors, pursuits, & trauailes of y^e king & of the Cardinall, as in these their instructions aboue inserted, may appeare, thou hast for thine instruction (louing reader) to note & learne howe man purposeth one thyng, & howe God disposeth another. For the kings purpose was to haue the Cardinal & Legate of Yorke placed in the See Papal,* thinking by that meanes if thys Cardinal had ben pope, y^e cause of his diuorce more easily might be compassed which otherwise he thought vnpossible to contriue. But God omnipotent, which only is directour of all affaires, brought it otherwise to passe, not as the king deuised, but after his owne wisdom, so that both the diuorcemēt was concluded, and yet neither Cardinall Wolsey made Pope, nor yet Pope Clement was dead. Yea, so he ruled the mater, that notw^tstanding Pope Clement was aliue, yet both the diuorce proceeded, and also the Popes authoritie was therby vtterly extinct and abolished out of this Realme of England, to the singular admiration of Gods wondrous workes, and perpetuall praise to his mercifull goodnes. Of which diuorcement, and suppressing of the Popes authority, we haue likewise to make declaration. But first, as we haue begun with the Cardinall of Yorke, so we will make an ende of him. That done, we will (God willing) addresse our selfe to other matters of more importance.

As the ambassadours were thus trauailing in Rome to promote the Cardinall to be Pope, althoughe the Pope was not yet dead, in the meane time the Cardinall played the Popish persecuter here at home.* For first hee sitting in his Pontificalibus, in the Cathedrall Church of Paules, vnder his cloth of estate of rich cloth of golde caused Frier Barnes, an Augustine Frier, to beare a fagot, for certayne poyntes, which he called heresie. Also hee caused the same two marchants of the stilliarde likewise to beare fagottes, for eating fleshe on a friday. At the which time the Byshop of Rochester made a sermon in reproofe of M. Luther, who had before wrytten agaynst the power of the B. of Rome. This bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honoure [Page 994](#) of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignitie and preeminence, that he forgate to speake of the Gospel which he tooke in hande to declare, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1526.

*After this the said Cardinall likewise. An. 1528. and in the moneth of Nouemb. sitting at Westminster, as legate, called before him the whole Cleargie, and there promysed that all abusions of the church shuld be amended, but there nothing els was done, saue onely he caused to be abiured, Arthur Bilney, Geoffrey Lome, and Garret, for speakinge against the Popes authoritie, and his pompous pride. Of whome more shalbe sayd (the Lord assisting vs) hereafter. And this was, An. 1528.

The yere next following, which was An. 1529. began the question of the kings mariage to be reuiued. Wherupon Cardinal Campegius was sent againe into Englande from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who then with Cardinall Wolsey consulting with y^e king, although at first he seemed with his felow Cardinal, to incline to the kings disposition, yet afterward perceiuing the sequele of the case, whether it tended so farre, as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the court of Rome,* and might shake perhaps the chaire of the Popes omnipotent authoritie, as wel in other cases like, if this one case were thoroughly decided by learning, and trueth of Gods word: he therefore slipping his necke out of the collar, craftily shifted him selfe out of the Realme, before the day came appoynted for determination, leauing his suttle felowe behinde him, to wey with the king in the meane time, while the matter might be brought vp to the court of Rome. The king thus seeing himselfe disappoynted, foded wyth false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the Cardinales, and at last after so many delaies and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was sore agreeued in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinall Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many greate dignities, as to the Archbishoprike of York, the bishoprike of Winchester,* of Duresme, the abby of S. Albons, besides the Chancelorship of England, and many other high rouses & preferments in the realme, which caused him clearly to cast him out of his fauour, so that after that time he neuer came more to the kings presence. Ex Hallo.

Then folowed first a counsaile of the nobles, called the first of Octob.* During the which counsaile, all the Lordes and other the kings Counsaile agreeing together, resorted to Windsore to the king, and there informed the king, that all things which he had done almost, by his power Legatine, were in the case of the Premunire, and prouision: and that the Cardinall had forfeited all his lands,* tenements, goods, and cattels to the king: wherefore the king willing order to him, according to the order of his lawes, caused his attourney Christopher Hales to sue out a Wryt of Premunire against him, in the which he licenced hym to make an Attourney.

And further, the 17. day of Nouember hee sent the two Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke,* to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of England, whyche he was lothe to deliuer, if there had bene any remedie, but in conclusion he deliuered it to the two Dukes, which deliuered the same to Doctor Tailour, Maister of the Rolles, to carie it to the king, which so did the next day.

Besides this, the king sent Syr William Fitzwilliams Knight of the Garter, and Treasurer of his house, and doctor Steuen Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to see that no goodes should be embesiled oute of his house:* and further, ordeined y^t the Cardinal should remoue to Asher, beside Kingston, there to tary the kings pleasure, and to haue all things deliuered to hym, which were necessary for him, but not after his olde pompous and superfluous fashyon, for all hys goodes were seased to the kinges vse. When the Seale was thus taken from the Cardinall,* the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, wyth many Earles, Byshops, and Barons came into the Starre chamber, the xix. day of October, where the Duke of Norffolke declared that the kings highnesse, for diuers and sundry offences: had taken from hym his great Seale, and deposed him of all offices, and lest men might complaine for lacke of iustice, he had apointed him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the assent of the other Lordes, to sitte in the Starre chamber, to heare and determine causes indifferently, and that of all thyngs the kings pleasure and commaundement

was, that they should keepe their hands close from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and so that weeke they sate in the Starre chamber, and determined causes.

*A fewe dayes after in the same moneth, the Cardinall remooued out of hys house, called Yorke place, wyth •ne Crosse, saying, that he woulde he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his crosse, that which he bare as Legate, which degree taking, was hys confusion, as you see openly: and so hee tooke his barge, and went to Pueney by water, and there tooke his horse and roade to Asher, where he remained till Lent after.

During which time, hee being called on for an aunswere in the kings Bench, to the Premunire, for geuing benefices by preuention, in disturbance of mens inheritance, and diuers other open causes in the Premunire, accordynge to the kings licence, constituted Iohn Scute & Edmonde Ienny, Apprentises of the lawe, his attourneys, whych by his owne warrant signed w^t his hand, confessed all thyngs concerning the said suit, for they were too open to be cloked or hidden, and so iudgement was geuen, that hee shoulde forfeite all his landes, tenements, goodes, and cattels, and shoulde be put oute of the kings protection: but for al that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and of hys gentlenes left to him the bishoyprikes of Yorke and Winchester, and gaue to hym plate and stuffe conuenient for hys degree,* and the Bishoprike of Duresme he gaue to Doctour Tonstall Bishop of London, and the Abbey of S. Albones he gaue to the Priour of Norwich, and to London he promoted Doctour Iohn Stokesley, then Ambassadoure to the vniuersities, for the marriage, as you hearde before. For all this kindnesse shewed to the Cardinall, yet still hee maligned against the king, as you shal hereafter perceiue, but first we will proceede in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

The next yeare following, whych was,* Anno 1530. in the moneth of Nouemb. was summoned a generall parlament, to be holden at Westminster. In the which yeare, about the 23. day of October,* the king came to his manor of Grenwich, and there much consulted wyth his Counsaile, for a meete man to be his Chauncelour, so that in no wise he were no man of the Spiritualltie, and so after longe debate, the king resoluted him selfe vpon sir Thomas Moore knight, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaster,* a man wel learned in the tonges, and also in the common law: whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations, by reason whereof hee was a litle too muche geuen to mocking, more then became the person of M. More: and then on the Sunday, the 24. day of the same moneth, the king made him his Chauncelor, and deliuered him the great seale, which Lord Chancelor the next morow after, was ledde into the Chancerye, by the two Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before him.

Of this fall of the Cardinall, and of the placing of Syr Thomas More in the Chauncelorschip, Erasmus in an Epistle to Iohn Uergera thus wryteth: The Cardinall of Yorke hath so offended the kings minde,* that he being turned out of his goodes and all his dignities, is cōmitted not into prison, but into a certaine Lordshippe of his, with 30. seruaunts or kepers, to geue attendance vpon him. Many and sundry complaintes are cōmenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the daliaunce of fortune, of a scholemaister to be made a king. For so hee raigned more like a king, then the king him selfe. Hee was dreaded of all men: he was loued but of a fewe, almoste of none. A litle before he was apprehēded, he caused Richard Pacie to be cast in the towre. Also he threatned my Archbishop of Canterburie: Salomon sayeth,* That before the fall of man, his spirite shall be eleuated. The Archb. of Caunterbury was called or

restored to be chosen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that realme, but he excused himselfe by his age, as being not able to weld such a function. Wherefore the sayde office was bestowed vpon Tho. More, no les to the reioycing of many, then the other was displaced from it. These newes my seruauant brought me out of England. &c. Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Ioan Vergeram.

You heard before,* how a counsaile of the Nobles was appoynted by the king in the moneth of October, to assemble in the Starre chamber, aboute the Cardinals matter: and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the moneth of Nouember in the yeare following, An. 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that M. Moore the newe Chauncelour had finished hys oration, the commons were commaunded to chuse them a Speaker,* who was Thomas Audeley Esquire, and attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster. Thus the Parlament being begun the 6. day of the foresaid month of Nouember at Westminster, where the king with all the Lordes were set in the Parlament chamber, the commōs, after they had presented their speaker, assembling in the nether house, began to common of their grieues, wherwith the spirituality had before time greeuously oppressed them, contrary both to all righte, and to the lawe of the realme, and especially were sore moued with these 6. great causes.

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¶Greeuances against the Cleargie of Englande.

1. The first for the excessiue fines, which the Ordinaries tooke for probate of Testaments,* in so much that Sir Henry Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptrollour of the Kings house, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelitie, that he and other being executours to Syr William Compton Knight, payed for the probate of hys will, to the Cardinall and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marke sterling. After this declaration, were shewed so many extortions done by Ordinaries for probates of willes,* that it were too much to rehearse.
2. The second cause was, the great poling & extreame exaction which y^e spirituall men vsed, in taking of corps, presents, or Mortuaries: for the childrē of the dead should all die for hūger and go a begging, rather then they would of charitie geue to thē the sely cow which the dead mā ought, if he had but onely one: such was the charitie of them.
3. The third cause was, that Priestes being Surueyers, Stuards,* and officers to Byshops, Abbots, and other spirituall heads, had and occupied Farmes, Graunges, and grasing in euery Countrey, so that the poore husbandmen could haue nothing but of them, and yet for that they shuld pay dearely.
4. The fourth cause was, that Abbots, Priors, and spirituall men kept Tannehouses,* and bought and sold wooll, cloth, and all maner of Marchaundise, as other temporall Marchaunts did.
5. The fift cause was, because the spirituall persons promoted to great benefices,* and hauing their liuing of theyr flocke, were lying in the Court of Lords houses, and tooke all of their parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all, so that for lacke of residence, both the poore of

the parishe lacked refreshing, and vniuersally all the parishioners lacked preaching, and true instruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their soules.

6. The sixt cause was, because one Priest being litle learned,* had tenne or twelue benefices, and was resident on none, and many well learned scholers in the Uniuersitie, which were able to preach and teach, had neyther benefice nor exhibition.

These thinges before this time, mighte in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he woulde be made an hereticke, or lose all that he had: for the Byshops were Chauncellours, and had all the rule about the King, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thyng contrary to their profite, or commoditie.

But now whē God had illuminated the eyes of y^e king, and the time so serued,* that men more boldly durst expresse with voyce such grudges, as they had long conceaued in their harts against the Clergy: the Burgesses of the Parliament appoynted certayne of the common house, men learned in the Lawe, to drawe one bill of the probates of testaments, another for Mortuaries, & the third for none residence, pluralities, and taking fermes by spiritual men.

*And first to y^e bill of Mortuaries being drawen, and being also passed the commō house, and sent vp to the higher, the Spirituall Lords shewed a faire face, sayeng, that assuredly Priestes and Curates tooke more then they shoulde, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

After this, within two dayes, was sent vp the secōd bill, concerning probates of testaments, which bill, because it touched their profite somewhat neare, both the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all other Bishops in generall, began to frowne and grunt, in so much as Doctor Iohn Fisher Bishop of Rochester, stāding vp in the Parlament chamber, openly protested, that such billes were sent vp frō the cōmon house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of y^e Church: which Church being downe, the glory then of y^e whole kingdome (said he) must needes fall, desiring therfore the Lords, for Gods sake, to take example by the kingdome of Boheme: For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the cōmons here, but down with y^e Church. And all this (said he) seemeth only to be for lacke of faith. When these words were reported to the cōmons of the lower house, what the Bishop had sayde, in noting all their doings to be for lacke of faith, they tooke the matter greeuously, so to be esteemed of the Bishop for no better then heretikes, vnderstanding moreouer, how that he by those slāderous words, went about to perswade the Lords temporall against them, and so to ouerthrowe the two billes by them passed before, as ye haue heard.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said commons, that Thomas Audeley their speaker with xxx. of the chief of that house, should be sent to the kyng, beyng then in his palace at Westminster, before called Yorke place: where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the kyng and the realme it was, to say, that they which were elected for the wisest mē of all y^e Shyres, Cities, and Boroughtes within the Realme of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lacke fayth, which was equialent to say, that they were Infidels, and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Sarasins: so that what payne or study soeuer they tooke for the commō wealth, or what actes or lawes soeuer they made or stablished, should be taken as

lawes made by Paynims and Heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the kynges hyghnesse, to call the sayd Byshop before him, and to cause him to speake more discretly of such a number as was in the common house.

The kyng not beyng well contented with the saying of the Byshop, yet gently aunswered the speaker,* and sent them away. Who immediately sent for the Archbyshop of Canterbury, & vi. other Byshops, and Rochester also, signifying vnto them the grudge of the commons. The Byshop of Rochester excusing himselfe, aunswered, that he in so saying, meant onely the doyngs of the Bohemiās to be for lacke of fayth,* & not the doynges of them that were in the cōmon house, which saying was confirmed by the Byshops there present, which had him in great reputation, & so by that onely saying, the kyng accepted his excuse, and therfore sent word to the cōmons by Syr Williā Fitzwilliams Knight, Treasurer of his houshold: which blynde excuse pleased the commons nothyng at all.

After this,* diuers assemblies were kept betwene certaine of the Lordes, and certaine of the Commons for the Billes of the probates of Testamentes, and Mortuaries. The temporaltie layd to the spiritualtie, their own lawes & Constitutions, and the Spiritualtie sore defended them by prescription & vsage. To whom it was thus aunswered by a Gentlemā of Greyes Inne: The vsage hath euer bene of theeues, to rob on Shoters hill Ergo, is it lawfull? With this aunswere the spirituall men were sore offended,* because their doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men stood still by their sayinges, in somuch that the sayd Gentlemā sayd to the Archb, of Cāterbury, that both the exaction of probates of Testamentes,* and the takyng of Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robbery and theft. After long disputation, the temporall Lordes began to leane to the commōs, but for all that, the Bylles remayned vnconcluded a while.

It folowed shortly after in the Parliamēt, that a Byll was assented to, by the Lords of the higher house, and sent downe to the commons in the lower house, and by them also, with much labour agreed vnto, of whō the most part were the kynges seruauantes: in the which Bill it was required, and concluded, that the kyng should be released of all such loane of money, which he had borrowed of his subiectes, in the xv. yeare of his reigne. The passing of which Byll went sore agaynst the stomackes of the poore Commons, for many rested vpon it, countyng and passing it ouer one to an other for good debt, as if it had bene ready money in their purses. Wherefore the king to regratifie thē agayne, graunted to them a generall pardō of all offences, onely certaine great offences & debts excepted: also he ayded them for the redresse of their grieues agaynst the spiritualtie, & caused two new Bylles to be made indifferently, both for the probates of Testamentes, & Mortuaries, which Bylles were so reasonable,* that the spirituall Lordes assēted to them all, though they were sore agaynst their myndes, and in especiall the probate of Testamentes sore displeased the Byshops, and the Mortuaries sore displeased the Parsons and Uicars.

After these Actes thus agreed, the commons made an other Act for pluralities of benefices, none residence, buying and sellyng, and takyng of fermes by spirituall Parsons, which Act so displeased the spiritualtie, that y^e priests rayled on the commōs of the lower house, and called them heretickes and schismatikes, for the which diuers Priestes were punished.

This Act was sore debated aboue in the Parliament chamber, and the Lordes spirituall would in no wise consent.* Wherefore the kyng perceiuyng the grudge of his cōmons, caused viij. Lordes & viij. of his Commons to mete in the starre chamber at an afternoone, and there was sore debatynge of the cause, in so much that the tēporall Lordes of the vpper house, which were there, tooke part with the Commons, agaynst the spirituall Lordes, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the Bill with a litle qualifiyng, which Bill the next day was wholly agreed to, in the [Page 996](#) Lords house to the great reioysing of the lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons.

And thus much concerning these Bylles agaynst the Cleargy, by the way. Now, to returne to the Cardinall agayne: during the time of the said Parliament, there was brought downe to the Commons, the booke of Articles which the Lords had put vp to the King, against the Cardinall. The chiefe Articles were these.

1 First, that he without the Kings assent had procured to be Legate,* by reason whereof he tooke away the right of all Byshops and spirituall persons.

2 In al writings that he wrote to Rome, or to any other Prince, he wrote: Ego & rex meus, I and my King, as who would say, that the King were his seruauant.

3 That he slaundered the Church of England to y^e court of Rome: for his suggestion to be Legate, was to reforme the Church of England, which (as he wrote) was Facta in reprobum sensum.

4 He without the Kings assent caried the Kings great Seale with him into Flaunders, when he was sente Ambassadour to the Emperour.

5 Without the Kings consent, he sent commission to Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Knight, to conclude a league betweene the King and the Duke of Ferrarie.

6 That he hauing the French pockes, presumed to come and breathe on the King.

7 That he caused the Cardinales Hat to be put on the Kings coyne.

8 That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impouerishmēt of the Realme, with many other things, which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

These articles with many moe, being read in the cōmon house, were confessed by the Cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was shewed an other writing sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the Kyng all his moueables and vnmoueables.

You haue heard hytherto declared how y^e Cardinall was attainted in the Premunire, & how he was put out of the office of the Chauncelour, & lay at Asher: which was in the yeare of our Lord 1530.* The next yeare after in the Lent season, the king by the aduice of his counsaile, licenced him to go into his dioces of Yorke, and gaue hym commandemēt to keepe him in his dioces, and not to returne Southward, without the Kings speciall licence in writing.

So he made great prouision to go Northward, & apparelled his seruants newly, and bought many costly things for his houshold, but diuers of his seruants at this tyme departed from him, to the Kings seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell, one of his chiefe counsaile, and chiefe doer for him in the suppression of Abbeyes. After that all things necessary for his iourney were prepared, he tooke his iourney Northward, til he came to Southwell, which was in his dioces, and there he continued that yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you shall heare heereafter: but the sands which he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainder in the Premunire, and yet the King of his gentlenes, and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the Colledge in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinales Colledge, he called it the Kings Colledge, and endued it with faire possessions, and ordeined newe statutes and ordinances,* and for because the Colledge of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he leaft that dissolved.

Notwithstāding that the Cardinall of Yorke was thus attainted in the Premunire, (as is aboue mentioned) yet the King being good vnto him, had graunted him the Bishopricks of Yorke and Winchester, with great plentie of substance, & had licenced him to lye in his dioces of Yorke, where he so continued the space of a yeare. But after, in the yeare folowing,* which was 1531. he being in his dioces, wrote to the Court of Rome, and to diuers other Princes, letters in reproch of the King, and in as much as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause against the King and his Realme, in so much, that diuers opprobrious words against the King, were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the Kings Oratour at Rome, and it was sayd to him, that for the Cardinales sake, the King should haue the woorse speede in the suite of his matrimonie. The Cardinall also would speake faire to the people to winne their harts, and declared euer, that he was vniustly and vntruely ordered, which faire speaking, made many men beleue that he sayd true: and to Gentlemen he gaue great giftes, to allure them vnto him: and to be had in more reputation among the people,* he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke, with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in such an height and fashion, as was neuer seene, and sent to all the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Knights, Esquiers and Gentlemen of his dioces, to be at his Manor of Cawood the sixt day of Nouember, and so to bring hym to Yorke, with all maner of pompe and solemnitie.

The King which knew his doings and priuie conueyance, all this yeare dissembled the matter, to see what hee would do at length, till that he saw his proud hart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphātly installed, without making the king priuie, yea and in manner, in disdaine of the King, thought it not meete nor conuenient to suffer him any longer, to cōtinue in his malicious & proud purposes and attemptes: wherefore he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence, to arrest the Cardinall, & to deliuer him to the Earle of Shrewsbury, great Steward of the Kings housholde. When the Earle had sene the letters, he with a conuenient number came to the Manor of Cawood the fourth daye of Nouemb. and whē he was brought to the Cardinal in his chāber, he said to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience,* for here I arrest you. Arrest me, said y^e Cardinal? Yea, sayd the Earle, I haue a commaundement so to do. You haue no such power, said the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinall and a Legate De Latere, and a Peere of the College of Rome, & ought not to be arrested by any tēporall power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it. Well, saide the Earle, heere is the Kings commission (which he shewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinall somewhat remembred himselfe, and sayd, Well my Lord, I am contente to obey,

but although y^t I by negligence fell into the punishment of the Premunire, and lost by the lawe all my lands & goodes, yet my person was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruell why I nowe should be arrested, & specially cōsidering that I am a member of the Sea Apostolique, on whome no temporall man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the King lacketh good counsayle. Well, sayd the Earle, when I was sworne Warden of y^e Marches, you your self told me, that I might with my staffe arrest all mē, vnder the degree of a King, & nowe I am more stronger, for I haue a commission so to do, which you haue seene. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a priuie chamber, and his goodes seased, and his officers discharged, and his Phisitiō called Doctor Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welsh, one of the Kings chamber. The sixt day of Nouember he was conueyed from Cawood, to Sheffield Castle, and there deliuered to the Earle of Shrewsburies keeping, till the Kings pleasure were knowne. Of this attachement was much communing amongst the common people, wherefore many were glad, for he was not in the fauour of the commonaltie.

When the Cardinall was thus arrested, the King sente sir William Kingston Knight, Captaine of the Gard,* and Constable of the Tower of Lōdon, with certeine yeomen of the gard, to Sheffield, to fetch y^e Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinall sawe the Captaine of the Garde, he was sore astonished, and shortly became sicke, for then he perceiued some great trouble toward him, & for that cause mē said, that he willingly toke so much quātitie of a strong purgatiō, that his nature was not able to beare it. Also the matter that came frō him was so blacke, that the stayning therof could not be gottē out of his blākets by any means.* But sir William Kingston cōforted him, and by easie iorneyes he brought him to the Abbey of Leycester, the xxvij. daye of Nouember, where for very feeblenes of nature, caused by purgations and vomites, he dyed the seconde night folowing, and in the same Abbey lyeth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being aliue, in whose armes the sayde Cardinall dyed, that hys body being dead, was blacke as pitch, also was so heauie, that sixe coulde scarce beare it. Furthermore, it did so stinke aboue the grounde, that they were constrayned to hasten the buriall thereof in the night season, before it was daye. At the which buriall, such a tempest, with such a stinch there arose, that all the torches went out, and so he was throwne into the tombe, and there was layde.

By the ambitious pride and excessiue worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, al mē may easily vnderstand & iudge what the state and condition of al the rest of the same order (whom we cal spiritual men) were in those dayes,* as well in all other places of Christendome, as especially heere in England, where as the princely possessions & great pride [Page 997](#) of the Clergie, did not only farre passe and exceed the common measure and order of subiectes, but also surmounted ouer Kings and Princes, and all other estates, as may well appeare by his doings and order of his storie aboue described.

Amongst other actes of the foresayd Cardinall, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new College in Oxford, for the furniture wherof, he had gathered together all the best learned he could heare of, amongst which number were these: Clarke, Tindall, Sommer, Frith, and Tauerner, with other mo: which holding in assemble together in the College, were accōuted to be heretiques (as they called them) and thereupon were cast into a prison of the college, where saltfish lay, through the stinke wherof the most part of them were infected,* and the sayde Clarke

beyng a tender yong man, and the most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the said prison, and other in other places in the towne, also of the same infection deceased.

And thus hauing deteined the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vaine glorious Cardinal, now we wil reduce our storie again to more other fruiteful matter, and as the order of time requireth, first beginning wyth M. Humfrey Mummuth, a vertuous and a good Alderman of London, who in the time of the said Cardinal was troubled, as in the storie heere foloweth.

¶The trouble of Humfrey Mummuth, Alderman of London.

MAister Humfrey Mummuth was a right godly and sincere Alderman of London,* who in the dayes of Cardinall Woolsey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Gospell of Christ, and for mainteyning them that fauoured the same.

Stokesley then Bishop of London, ministred Articles vnto him, to the nūber of xxiiij. as for adhering to Luther and his opinions:* for hauing and reading heretical bookes and treatises, for geuing exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other, for helping them ouer the sea to Luther, for ministring priuie helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English, for eating flesh in Lent, for affirming faith only to iustifie, for derogating from mens constitutions, for not prayeng to Saintes, not allowing Pilgrimage, auricular confession, the Popes pardons: briefly, for being an aduauncer of all Martin Luthers opinions, &c.

He being of these articles examined, and cast in the Tower, at last was compelled to make his sute or purgation, writing to the foresaid Cardinall, then Lord Chauncelor, and the whole Counsaile out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certayne bookes, receyued from beyond the sea: Also for his acquaintance wyth M. Tindall. Whereunto he sayde, that he denied not, but that foure yeares then past,* he had heard the said Tindal preach two or three sermons at S. Dunstons in the West, and afterward meeting with the said Tindall, had certaine communication with hym cōcerning his liuing, who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the Bishop of London his seruice: for then he laboured to be his chaplayne. But being refused of the Bishop, so came agayne to the sayd Mummuth this examine, and besought him to helpe hym. Who the same tyme tooke hym into hys house for halfe a yeare,* where the said Tindall liued (as he sayd) like a good priest, studieng both night & day. He would eat but soddē meate, by his good will, nor drink but small single beere. He was neuer seene in that house to weare linnen about him, al the space of his beyng there. Whereupon the sayd Mummuth had the better liking of hym, so that he promised him ten pound (as he then sayd) for his father and mothers soules,* and all Christen soules, which money afterward he sent him ouer to Hamborow, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gaue this exhibition, but to diuers other moe likewise which were no heretikes: as to D. Royston, the Bishop of Londons Chaplayne, he exhibited fortie or fiftie pounds: to D. Wodiall, Prouinciall of the Frier Austens, as much, or more: to D. Watson the Kings Chaplayne: also to other scholars, and diuers Priests, besides other charges bestowed vpon Religious houses, as vpon the Nunry of Dendey, aboue fiftie poundes sterling bestowed, &c.

And as touching his bookes, as Enchiridion, the Pater noster, De libertate Christiana, an Englishe Testamente, of whome, some W. Tindall left with him, some he sent vnto hym, some were

brought into hys house, by whome he could not tell, these bookes he said, did lye opē in his house, the space of two yeares together, he suspecting no harme to be in them. And moreouer, the same bookes beyng desired of sondry persons, as of the Abbesse of Denney, a Frier of Grenewich, the Father Confessour of Syon, he let them haue them, and yet he neuer heard Frier, Priest, or lay mā, finde any fault with the sayd bookes. Likewise to D. Watson, to D. Stockehouse, Maister Martin, Parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the bookes of Pater no^rster, and De libertate Christiana, which found no great fault in them, but onely in the booke De libertate Christiana, they sayd there were thynges somewhat hard, except the Reader were wise.

Thus he excusing himselfe, and moreouer cōplainyng of y^e losse of his credite, by his imprisonment in the Tower and of the detrimentes of his occupying, who was wont yearly to shyp, ouer v. hundreth clothes to straungers, & set many Clothiars a worke, in Suffolke and in other pla^{ces}; of whō he bought all their clothes, which almost were now all vndone: by this reason at length was set at libertie, beyng forced to abiure, and after was made Knight by the kyng, and Shriffe of London.

Of this Humfrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Christian patience,* in the Sermons of M. Latimer, which the sayd Latimer heard in Cambridge of M. George Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie Lecture in that Uniuersitie. Who expoundyng the place S. Paule to the Romaines, that we shall ouercome our enemy, with well doynge, & so heape whote coales vpon his head. &c. brought in an exāple, saying, that he knew in London a great rich Marchaunt (meanyng this Humfrey Mummuth) which had a very poore neighbour: yet for all his pouertie, he loued him very well, and lent him money at his neede, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was euen at that tyme, when D. Colet was in trouble, and should haue bene burnt, if God had not turned the kyngs hart to the contrary. Now the richman began to bee a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospell. The poore man was a Papist still.

It chaunced on a tyme, when the rich mā talked of the Gospell sittynge at his table, where he reproued Popery, and such kynde of thynges. The poore man beyng there present, tooke a great displeasure agaynst the rich man: in somuch, that hee would come no more to his house: he would borow no more money of him, as he was wont to doe before tymes: yea and conceiued such hatred and malice agaynst him, that he went and accused him before the Byshops. Now the riche man not knowyng of any such displeasure, offered many tymes to talke with him, and to set him at quyet. It would not be.* The poore man had such a stomacke, that hee would not vouchsafe to speake with him. If he mete the rich man in the streate he would goe out of his way. One tyme it happened that hee mete him so in a narrow streate, that he could not auoyde, but come neare him: yet for all that this poore man (I say) had such a stomacke agaynst the riche man, that he was mynded to goe foreward, and not to speake with hym. The riche man perceiuyng that, caught hym by the hand, and asked him, saying: Neighbour,* what is come into your hart, to take such displeasure with me? What haue I done agaynst you? tell me, and I will be ready at all tymes to make you amendes.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so louyngly, and frendly, that it wrought so in the poore mans hart, that by and by he fell downe vppon his knees, and asked him forgeuenesse. The

riche man forgaue him, and so tooke him agayne to his fauour, and they loued as well as euer they dyd afore.

¶The history of Thomas Hitten.

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	The Causes.
• Wil. Warham Archbyshop of Canterbury. • Fisher, Byshop of Rochester.	Thomas Hytten. At Maydstone. An. 1530.	TOuchyng the memoriall of Thomas Hytten, remayneth nothyng in writtyng,* but onely his name, saue that William Tyndall in his Apologie agaynste More: and also in another booke, entituled: The Practise of Prelates, doth once or twice make mētion of him by way of digression. He was (sayth he) a Preacher at Maydstone, whom the Byshoppe of Canterbury William Warhā, and Fisher Byshoppe of Rochester, Page 998 after they had longe kepte and tormented him in prison with sundry torments, and that notwithstanding, he continued constant, at the last they burned him at Maydstone, for the constant and manifest testimonie of lesu Christ, and of his free grace and saluation. In the yeare of our Lord 1530.

[illustration]

¶The burnyng of Thomas Hytten.

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	The Causes.
• Cardinall Wolsey. • Nixe, Byshoppe of Norwich. • Fryers of Ipswich.* • Fryer Byrd. • Fryer Hokekins. • Doctour Stokes. • Sir Thom. Moore. • Fryer Brusyerd. • Fryer Iohn Huggen, Prouinciall of the Dominikes. • Fryer Geoffrey Iulles. • Fryer Iugworth. • M. William Iecket,	• Thomas Bilney. • Arthure, which abiured. At Norwiche. Ann. 1531.	In the story aboue passed of Cardinall Wolsey,* mention was made of certayne,* whome the sayde Cardinal caused to abiure, as Bilney, Geffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and such other, of whome we haue nowe (the Lorde directing vs) specially to entreate. This Thom. Bilney was brought vp in the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, euen from a child, profiting in al kind of liberal science, euen vnto the profession of both lawes. But at the last, hauing gottē a better schoolemaister, euen the holy spirit of Christ, who enduing his hart by priuie inspiration with y^e knowledge of better & more wholesome things, he came at the last vnto this point, that forsaking y^e knowledge of mā's lawes, he cōuerted his studye to those things, which tended more vnto godlynes then gaynefulnes. Finally, as he hymselfe was greatly inflamed with the loue of true religion & godlines, euen so agayne was in hys hart an incredible desire to allure many

- gentleman.
- William Nelson.
- Thomas Williams.

vnto the same, desiring nothing more, then that hee might stir vp & incourage any to the loue of Christ, & sincere Religion. Neyther was his labors vayne, for he conuerted many of hys felowes vnto the knowledge of the Gospell, amōgst which number was Thomas Arthur, and M. Hugh Latimer, which Latimer at that time was crossekeeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth vpon procession dayes. At the last,* Bilney forsaking the Uniuersitie, went into many places, teaching & preaching, being associate with Arthur, whiche accompanied him from the Uniuersitie. The authoritie of Thom. Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke, of whome ye heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pompe & pride much greater, which did euidently declare vnto all wise men, the manifest vanitie, not only of his life, but also of all the Byshops and Cleargie. Whereupon Bilney,* with other good men maruelling at the incredible insolencie of the Cleargie, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, beganne to shake and reprocue this excessiue pompe of the Cleargie, and also to plucke at the authoritie of the Byshop of Rome.

Then it was time for the Cardinall to awake, and speedily to looke about hys busines. Neyther lacked he in this poynt any craft or subtiltie of a serpent, for he vnderstood well enough vpon how slender a foundation theyr ambitious dignitie was grounded, neyther was he ignoraunt that theyr Luciferous and proude kingdome could not long cōtinue against the manifest word of God, especially if the light of the Gospell should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly feare the power and displeasure of Kings and Princes. Only thys he feared, the voyce of Christ in his Gospell, least it should disclose and detect their hypocrisie and deceites, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good, speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. Whereupon he caused the sayd Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast in prison, as before yee haue heard.

After this, the xxvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord 1527. the sayde Cardinall accompanied wyth a great number of Byshops,* as the Archbyshop of Caunterbury, Cuthbert of London, Iohn of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, Iohn of Exeter, Iohn of Lincolne, Iohn of Bathe and Welles, Harry of Saint Asse, with many other both Diuines and Lawyers, came into the Chapterhouse of Westminster, where the sayd Maister Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the sayd Cardinall there enquired of M. Bilney, whether he had priuately or publiquely preached or taught to the people, the opinions of Luther or any other, condemned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luthers opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholique Church. Then the Cardinall asked him, whether he had not once

made an othe before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defende any of Luthers opiniōs, but should impugne the same euerywhere? He answered, that he had made such an othe, but not lawfully, which interrogatories so ministred, and answeares made, the Cardinall caused hym to sweare, to aunsweare playnely to the articles and errors preached and set foorth by him, as well in the Citie and dioces of London, as in the dioces of Norwich and other places, and that he shuld do it without any craft, qualifying or leauing out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworne and examined, the sayd Cardinal proceded to the examination of M. Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like othe,* that M. Bilney did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told sir Tho. More knight, y^t in the Sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatory he denied. Then the Cardinal gaue him time to deliberate til noone, and to bring in his answeare in writing▪ After noone the same daye, what tyme the examination of the foresayde Thomas Arthur was ended, the Cardinall and Byshops by theyr authoritie, Ex officio, did call in for witnesses before Mayster Bilney, certayne men, namely, Iohn Huggen, chiefe Prouinciall of the Friers preachers throughout all England, Geffrey Iulles, and Richard Iugworth, professours of Diuinitie of the same order▪ Also William Iecket Gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas Williams, which were sworne, that all fauour, hate, loue, or rewarde set aparte, they shoulde without concealing of any falsehoode, or omitting anye truth, speake theyr myndes vpon the Articles layde agaynst them, or preached by hym, as well within the Dioces of London, as the Dioces of Norwich: and because he was otherwise occuppyed aboute the affayres of the Realme, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Byshop of London, and to other Byshops there present▪ or to three of them, to proceede agaynst all men, as well spirituall as temporall, as also against schedules, writings, [Page 999](#) and bookes, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the tenth, and by all maner of probable meanes, to enquire and roote out their errors and opinions, and all such as were found culpable, to compell them to abiuration, according to the lawe, or if the matter so required, to deliuer them vnto the secular power, and to geue them full power and authoritie to determine vpon them.

The xxvij. of Nouember, in the yeare aforesayde, the Byshop of London,* with the Byshop of Ely and Rochester, came vnto the Byshop of Norwiches house, whereas likewise Ex officio, they did sweare certayne witnesses against mayster Thomas Arthur, in lyke sorte as they had done before agaynst mayster Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of mayster Arthur: whiche being ended vpon certayne interrogatories, the Byshop of London warned hym by vertue of hys othe,* that he should not reueale his examinations, nor his answeres, nor any parte or parcell thereof.

The seconde day of December, the Bishops assembled agayne in the same place, and sware more wnesse agaynst Mayster Bilney. That done, they called for Mayster Arthur, vnto whose charge they layde these Articles folowing.

¶Articles agaynst Thomas Arthur.

*1 IN primis, that he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those that now be in prison, which Article he denied.

2 That he sayde, though men be restrayned to preache now adayes (which is agaynst Gods lawes) yet I may preache: First by the authoritie of my Lord Cardinall, for I haue his licence. Secondly, by the authoritie of the Uniuersitie. Thirdly, by the Pope. Fourthly, by the authoritie of God, where he sayeth: Euntes in mundum, praedicate Euangelium omni creaturae. By whyche authoritie, euerye man may preach,* and there is neyther Byshop nor Ordinary, nor yet the Pope, that may make any lawe to let any man to preach the Gospell. This Article he confessed that he spake.

3 When he spake of Lawes, he brought a similitude of Crosses, set vp againste the walles of London, that men should not pisse there. When there was but one Crosse or a fewe more, men did reuerence them, and pissed not there: but when there was in euery corner a Crosse set, then men of necessitie were compelled to pisse vpon the Crosses: So in lyke manner, when there was but a fewe holy and deuoute lawes in the Churche, then men were afrayde to offend them. Afterwarde, they made many lawes for their aduantage,* and such as were pecuniall, those they do obserue, and such as are not pecuniall, those they call Palea, and regard them not: and so now adayes there are so many lawes, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the lawe. He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.*

4 He said, Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the Gospel of God, yet there is 7000. more that would preach y^e Gospell of God, as I do now. Therfore good people, good people (whiche wordes be often rehearsed as it were lamenting) thinke not that if these tyrants and persecuters put a man to death, the preaching of the Gospell therefore is to be forsaken. This Article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, sauing that he made no mention of tyrants.

5 That euery man, yea euery lay man is a priest. He confessed that he spake such wordes, declaring in hys Sermon, that euery Christian man is a Priest, offering vp the sacrifice of prayer: and if they dyd murmure agaynste the order of Priesthoode, they dyd murmure agaynst themselves.

6 That men should praye to no Saintes in heauen, but onely to God, and they should vse no other Mediatour for them, but Christ Iesu our redeemer only. This Article he denied.

7 He preached that they shoulde worship no Images of Saintes,* whiche were nothing but stockes and stones. This he also denied.

8 He did preache vpon Whitsonday last within the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, such or like wordes and sentences: That a Bachelor of Diuinitie admitted of the Uniuersitie, or any other person hauing or knowing the Gospell of God, shoulde go forth and preache in euery place, and let for no man, of what estate or degree soeuer he were: and if any Byshop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turne to the harme of themselves. He confessed this.

Which aunsweres thus made and acknowledged, the sayd M. Arthur did reuoke and condemne the sayd Articles agaynst him ministred,* and submitted him selfe to the punishment and iudgement of the Church.

The thyrd day of December, the Byshop of London, with the other Byshops, assemblyng in the place aforesayd, after that Bilney had denyed vtterly to returne to the Church of Rome, the Byshop of London in discharge of his cōscience (as he sayd) least he should hide any thyng that had come to his hands, he did really exhibite vnto the Notaries, in the presence of the sayd Maister Bilney,* certaine letters, to witte, fiue letters or Epistles, with one Schedule in one of the Epistles, conteyning his Articles and aunsweres folded therein, and an other Epistle folded in maner of a booke, with sixe leaues, which all and euery one he commaunded to be written out and registred, and the originals to be deliuered to him agayne.

This was done in the presence of Maister Bilney, desiring a Copie of them, and he bounde the Notaries with an othe, for the safe keepyng of the Copies, and true Registryng of the same. Whiche Articles and aunsweres, with three of the same Epistles, with certaine depositions depozed by the foresayd witnesse,* here followe truely drawn out partly of his owne hand wrytyng, and partly out of the Register.

***Interrogatories whereupon Maister Thomas Arthur, and Maister Bilney were accused and examined.**

1 WHether they did beleue with their hartes, that the Assertions of Luther,* which are impugned by the Byshop of Rochester, were iustly and godly condemned, and that Luther with his adherentes, was a wicked and detestable hereticke.

2. Whether they did beleue that the generall Coūcels and Ecclesiasticall Constitutions once receiued and not abrogat agayn, ought to be obserued of all men,* euen for conscience sake, and not onely for feare.

3. Whether they did beleue that the Popes lawes were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godlynnesse, not repugnaunt to the holy Scriptures, neither by any meanes to be abrogate, but to be reuerenced of all men.

4. Whether they did beleue that the Catholicke Church may erre in the fayth or no,* and whether they thinke that Catholicke Church to be a sensible Church, which may be demonstrate and poynted out as it were with a finger, or that it is onely a spirituall Church, intelligible, & knowne onely vnto God.

5. Whether they thinke that the Images of Saintes are Christenly set in the Churches,* and ought to be worshypped of all true Christians.

6. Whether that a man may beleue without hurt to his fayth, or note of heresie, the soules of Peter and Paule,* and of our Ladye, either to bee, or not to bee in heauen, and that there is yet no iudgement geuen vpon the soules departed.

7. Whether that a man may beleue without spot of heresie, that our Lady remayned not alwayes a virgin.

8. Whether holy dayes & fastyng dayes ordeined and receiued by the Church, may be broken by any priuate man,* at his will and pleasure, without sinne or obstinacie.

9. Whether we are bound to be obedient vnto Prelates, Byshops, and Kynges, by Gods commaūdement, as we are vnto our parentes.

10. Whether they beleue that the Church doth well and godly in praying to the Saintes.

11. Whether they thinke that Christ onely should be prayd vnto, and that it is no heresie,* if any man affirme that Saintes should not be prayed vnto.

12. Whether they doe thinke all true Christians to be by like right Priestes, and all those to haue receiued the keyes of bindyng and loosing, at the hands of Christ, which haue obtained the spirite of God, and onely such, whether they be lay men or Priestes.

13. Whether they beleue with their hart, that fayth may be without workes and charitie.

14. Whether they beleue that it is more agreable to the fayth, that the people should pray in their owne tongue,* thē in a learned vnknownen tongue, & whether they commend the prayer in a straunge tongue or no.

15. Whether they would haue the Masses and Gospels openly to be read in Churches in the vulgare tongue, rather then in the Latin tongue.

16. Whether they commend that children should onely be taught the Lordes prayer, and not the Salutation of the virgine, or Creede.

[Page 1000](#)17 Whether they do thinke the wooden beades which the common people doth vse,* worthy to be denyed, or not.

18 Whether they do thinke the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English, or that it should be more profitable for the people, then as it is now read.

19 Whether they would haue the Orgaines and all maner of songs to be put out of the Church of God.*

20 Whether they do thinke that it perteyneth to the Byshops to punishe any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they haue any temporall power and authoritie.

21 Whether they thinke that cōstitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another mā's dioces, w^tout letters of commendation, and licence obteyned of the Byshop.

22 Whether they thinke the vowes of religious men and priuate religion,* to be constitute and ordeined by the spirit of God, neyther by any meanes to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life.

23 Whether they beleue that we should pray for the dead, or beleue that there is a Purgatorie, or that we are bound by necessitie of faith, to beleue neyther of them: but that it is free without sinne, either to beleue it, or not to beleue it.

24 Whether they beleue that moral Philosophy and natural,* to preuaile any thing for the better vnderstanding of the scriptures, & for the exposition and defence of the truth.

25 Whether they thinke that the Popes indulgences and pardons are rather to be reiected then receiued.

26 Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, that Christians shoulde by any meanes contend in the law, to seeke any maner of restitution.

27 Whether they beleue all things pertaining to saluation and damnation to come of necessitie, and nothing to be in our owne willes.

28 Whether they beleue God to be the authour of euill, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

29 Whether they thinke Masse onely to be profitable to him which saith it,* & whether euery mā may alter or leaue out the rite and order of the Masse, without hurt of fayth.

30 Whether they beleue that there can be any morall vertues without the grace of Christian liuing, or that the vertues which Aristotle hath set out, or rather fayned.

31 Whether they thinke it heresie, to teache the people, that it is free to geue tythes vnto Priestes, or to any other poore man.

*32 Whether they do thinke it more Christianlike to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permit them to adorne them and honour them.

33 Whether they thinke it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of reliques.

34 Whether that thou Thomas Bilney, being cited vpō heresie to appeare before my Lord Cardinall, and before y^e day of thy apparance,* not hauing made thy purgatiō vpon those poyntes that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in diuers Churches of the City and dioces of London, without sufficient licence from the Byshop, or any other.

Concerning the answeares vnto these Articles, (gentle Reader) for so muche as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and maner of qualifying) yet because he did not expressly denie them, it shall not be needefull heere to recite them all, saue onely suche wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

To the first and second Articles he answered affirmatiuely.*

To the third he sayd, I beleue that many of the Popes Lawes are profitable and necessary, and doo preuayle vnto godlynesse, neyther in anye poynte are repugnant vnto the Scriptures, nor by anye meanes are to be abrogate, but of all men to bee obserued and reuerenced. But touching all those Lawes I can not determine: for, as for such as I haue not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also: and as for those that I haue read, I did neuer reade them to the ende and purpose to reprove them, but according to my power, to learne and vnderstande them. And as touching the multitude of Lawes, S. Augustine in his time did much complayne,* and Gerson also, who marueiled that we could by any meanes lyue in safetie amongst so many snares of constitutions, when as our forefathers being pure before their fall, could not obserue one onely precept.

To the fourth Article he sayde, that the Catholique Church can by no meanes erre in fayth,* for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so knowen only vnto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise no man shoulde be ascertyned of an other mans saluation, or of his owne, but onely through fayth and hope. For it is written: No man knoweth whether he be woorthy of hatred or loue.* It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so farre forth as it is sufficient to establish vs in all thyngs, that are to be beleued and done: For I maye truely saye of the generall Councell being congregated in the holy Ghost, Beholde heere the Catholique Church, denominating the whole by the most woorthy part.

To the fift Article, he aunswered affirmatiuely in these words: Cum sint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non imaginem, sed prototypum.

To the sixt Article he answered, that he did not beleue that they are in heauen, being so taught by the scriptures, and holy Fathers of the Church.

To the seuenth Article he said, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eight Article, whether a man may not obserue the Feastes and Fastes of the Church prescribed, hee thought that there is no man, but he ought to obserue them.

To the ninth Article he said, that we are likewise bound as vnto parents.

To the xiiij. Article he answered thus, the fourteenth Chapter of Saint Paule, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians moueth mee to beleue, that it is best, that the people shoulde haue the Lordes Prayer, and the Apostles Creede in English, so that their deuotion might the more be furthered by the vnderstanding thereof, and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the Articles of their fayth: of the whiche it is to be feared, a great number are ignoraunt. Surely I haue heard many say, that they neuer heard speake of the resurrection of the body: and being certified thereof, but they became much more apte and ready vnto goodnes, and more fearefull to doo euill.

To the fifteenth Article he sayde, he woulde wishe that the Gospelles and Epistles should be read in Englishe.* For I woulde (sayth Paule) rather haue fiue wordes, &c. That the Church might be edified, &c. And Chrisostome exhorteth his hearers to looke vpon bookes,* that they might the better commit vnto memory those thynges which they had heard.* And S. Bede did translate S. Iohns Gospell into English.

Touching the eighteenth Article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, concerning the whole, he dyd partly doubt. Notwithstanding he wished that the Gospels & Epistles of that day might be read in Englishe, that the people might be made y^e more apt to heare Sermons. But here some wil say, there might also be daunger for error. Wherunto he answered, But good & vigilant pastors might easily helpe that matter, by adding the plaine interpretation of the fathers in the margents, in English, vpon the darke and obscure places, which woulde put awaye all doubts. O how great profite of soules should the vigilant pastors get thereby, whiche contrarywise through theyr slothfulnes bring great rayne and decay.

To the xxv. Article, as touching pardons, he sayd, that as they be vsed, and haue too long ben,* it were better that they should be restrained, then y^t they should be any longer vsed as they haue bene, to the iniurie of Christes passion.

Touching the xxvj. Article, he said, that it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, to contende in the Lawe, so it be done with charitie. If Saint Austen, and the reuerēd father Marcus Marulus did not erre, which graunted that libertie to the weake Christians: albeit that true Christians ought to geue eare vnto S. Pauls sayeng. Why doo yee not rather suffer iniurie?* And to Christ hymselfe, which saith: He that woulde contende with thee in the lawe, and take away thy coate, geue him thy cloke also.

Touching the xxviiij. he answered, that God is the authour of that punishment onely, but not of the offence, as Basilius Magnus teacheth in his Sermon vpon these wordes of the Prophete: Non est malum in ciuitate quod non fecit dominus.* And S. Augustine in another place (as I remember) prayeth: That he be not ledde into that temptation, that he shoulde beleue God to be the authour of sinne and wickednes.

¶Heere ensueth a brieue summarie or collection of certaine depositions, deposed by the seuerall witnesses aforenamed, vpon certaine interrogatories mi|nistred vnto them, for the inquirie of Maister Bilneyes doctrine and preaching.

First it was deposed,* that in his sermō in Christs church in Ipswich, he shuld preach and say, our sauour Christ is our mediatour betwene vs and the father: what should [Page 1001](#) we neede then to seeke any Saynt for remedy? Wherefore it is great iniury to the bloud of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth out Sauour.

That man is so vnperfect of himselfe, that he can in no wise merite by his owne deedes.*

Also that the cōming of Christ was long prophesied be|fore, & desired by the Prophetes: But Iohn Baptist being more thē a prophet, did not only prophecy, but with his fin|ger shewed him saying: Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mūdi. Then if this were the very Lambe which Iohn did demonstrate, that taketh away the sinnes of the world, what iniury is it to our Sauour Christ, that to be buryed in S. Frances cowle should remit four partes of penance, what is then left to our Sauour Christ, which taketh away the sinnes of the world? This I will iustify to be a great blasphemy to the bloud of Christ.

Also that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past haue bene Antichristes,* and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falshood and errors.

Also that the myracles done at Walsingham, at Caunterbury, & there in Ipswich were done by the deuill,* thorow the sufferaunce of God, to blinde the poore people: and that the Pope hath not the keyes that Peter had, except he folow Peter in his liuing.

Moreouer, it was deposed agaynst him, that hee was notoriously suspected as an hereticke, and twise pulled out of the pulpit in the dioces of Norwich.

[illustration]

Also it was deposed agaynst him, that he should in the parish church of Willesdon, exhort the people to put away theyr Gods of siluer & gold, and leaue their offerings vnto thē, for that such things as they offred, haue bene knowne oftentimes afterward to haue bene geuē to whores of the slewes. Also that Iewes and Sarasens would haue become christē men long ago, had it not bene for the idolatry of Christen men in offring of candles, waxe, and money to stockes and stones.

*Ouer and besides these cauelling matters, articulated & deposed agaynst him, here follow certeine other Articles, whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his sermon, which he preached in the parish Church of S. Magnus, in Whitson weeke, in the yeare of our Lord. 1527.

***Certayne other Articles producted agaynst maister Thomas Bilney.**

*First he sayd, pray you only to God, and to no saints rehearsing the Letany, and when he came to Sancta Maria ora pro nobis, he sayd, stay there.

He sayd that Christen men ought to worship God only and no Sayntes.

He sayd that Christian people should set vp no lightes before the Images of saynts, for sayntes in heauen need no light, and the Images haue no eyes to see.

He sayd, as Ezechias destroyd the brasen Serpent that Moses made by the cōmaudemēt of God, euen so should kinges and princes now a dayes destroy and burne the Images of Sayntes set vp in Churches.

These fiue hundred yeares there hath bene no good Pope,* nor in all the time past, we can finde but fiftye, for they haue neither preached, ne liued well, or conformablye to theyr dignity: Wherefore till now they haue borne the keyes of Symony. Agaynst whom, good people, we must preache and teache vnto you. For we canne not come to them, it is great pitty, they haue sore sclandered the bloud of Christ.

The people hath vsed foolishly of late, Pilgrimages, which for them had bene better to haue bene at home.

Many haue made certayne vowes, which be not possible for them to fulfill, and those nothing meritorious.

The preachers before this haue bene Antichristes and now it hath pleased our Sauour Christ, to shew their false errors, and to teach an other way and maner of the holy Gospell of Christ, to the comfort of your soules.

I trust that there shall and will come others besides me,* which shall shew and preach to you the same fayth and maner of liuing, that I do shew and preach to you, whych is the very true Gospell of our Sauour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, wherby you shalbe brought from theyr errors, wherein you haue bene long seduced: for before this, there haue bene many that haue sclaundered you, and the Gospell of our Sauour Christ, of whom spake our Sauour. Math. xviij. Qui scandalizauerit vnum de pusillis istis, qui in me credit. &c.

These & many other such like depositions were deposed agaynste him by the deponentes and witnesses before sworne, which wholly to recite, would be too long and tedious: wherfore these shall suffice at this time, being the prin'cipall matters, and in maner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we will returne agayne to the order of hys examination, we thinke it good here to inferre a certaine Dialogue conteyning a communication betweene a Fryer named Iohn Brusierd, and Mayster Thomas Bilney,* which we haue thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the Copy whereof we haue, written with the friers owne hand in Latine, the Copy whereof in English here ensueth.

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¶A Dialogue betwene Fryer Iohn Brusierd, and Mayster Thomas Bilney, in Ipswich, concerning worshipping of Images.

Brusierd.

*ALthough you haue blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flocke of Christ, with certayne blasphemyes of yours: yet being moued partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your case & towardly dispositiō, I am come hither to talke with you secretly, before the rumor be disclosed, vpon the consideration of the threefolde errors which I see in you.

First for that, when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error more vehemently thē you ought, agaynst the brest of the ignorant multitude, you seeme to poure vpō the ground, the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miserable vessel of your hart. Wheras you sayd,* that none of the sayntes do make intercession for vs, nor obtaine for vs any thing, you haue perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, cōsecrated with the precious blood of Christ. Which thing you are not able to deny, especially seing y^e same so incessantly doth knocke at the gates of heauē, through the continuall intercession of the sayntes, according as in the seuenfolde Letany manifestly appeareth to be seene.

Bilney.

I maruell at you, and doubtles cannot maruell enough, but that the strong & vayn custome of superstitious mē, thinking themselues not to be heard but in much babling, doth put an end of my admiration. For our heauenly father knoweth what we haue need of before we aske. Also it is written: There is one mediatour of God and men, the man Christ Iesus.* If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Iesus, where is our blessed Ladye? where is then S. Peter and other Saintes?

Brusierd.

I suppose that no man is ignorāt, but that the diuines of y^e primitiue church haue all affirmed to be one mediator betweene God and man. Neither could any at that time prayse or pray to the sayntes, whē as yet they liuing in the calamities of this body, and wrastling with the cōtrary windes of this world,* were not yet come to the port of rest wherunto they were traueilling. Paul (I graūt) did rightly affirme to be but one mediator of God & men, what time as yet there was no saint canonised or put into y^e kalender. But now seing the church doth know, & doth certainly beleue, through y^e vndoubted reuelations of God, that y^e blessed virgin & other saints are placed in the bosome of Abraham, she therfore like a good mother hath taught, and that most diligently, vs her children, to prayse the omnipotent Iesus in his sayntes: & also to offer vp by the same sayntes, our petitiōs vnto God.* Therof it is that the Psal. sayth: Prayse ye the Lord in his sayntes. Rightly also do we say and affirme, that sayntes may pray for vs. One man may pray for another. Ergo, much more may sayntes that do enioy the fruitiō of his high maiesty. For so it is writtē: God is my witnes whome I serue in my spirite, in the Gospell of his sonne, that without ceasing I remēber you in my praier alwaies for you. &c.

Bilney.

I maruell doubtlesse, that you a man learned are not yet deliuered out of the confuse dungeon of heresie, through the helpe of the holy Gospell: especially seing y^t in the same Gospell it is written: Verely, verely, I say vnto you, what so euer you aske the father in my name,* he will geue it vnto you. He sayth not, whatsoeuer ye aske the Father in the name of S. Peter,* S. Paule, or other sayntes, but in my name. Let vs, aske therfore helpe in the name of him, which is able to obteine for vs of his father, whatsoeuer we aske, least peraduenture hereafter in the end of the world, at the strait iudgemēt we shall heare: Hitherto in my name ye haue asked nothing.

Brusierd.

Where ye maruell (with what minde, I can not tel) that I being a learned man (as you say) am not deliuered yet frō the cōfuse dungeon of heresy, through the helpe of the gospel: much more do you that are far better learned then I, cause me to maruel at your foolish admiratiō. Neither can I chuse but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heauen of such high misteries, and yet see not those thinges which be done here in the lower partes of terrene Philosophy, for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to looke so long vpon the Sunne, that he can see nothing els but the Sunne, nor canne not tell whyther to turne him? Moreouer,* what student is there in all Cambridge, be he neuer so young, that knoweth not, that the argumēt of authority brought out nagatiuely, hath no force?

Bilney.

So as the Phariseis tooke Christ, you take my wordes much otherwise then I meant.

Brusierd.

Your words which wander farre from the scope of Scripture, I doe not like. What is in your meaning, and lyeth inwardly in your minde, I can not tell.

Bilney.

Such as inuocate the helpe either of Christ or of any other Saynt, for any corporal inurmity,* to be deliuered frō the same, may be well resēbled to delicate pac••ts, who being vnder the hand of phisitiōs, & hauing medicines ministred agaynst theyr diseases: not abiding the payn therof, rap all a sūder: wherfore I say, no man ought to implore y^e helpe of God or of any saynt, *for corporall infirmity.

Brusierd.

O moste pernicious & perilous heresy of all that euer I heard. Thus you fleeing the smoke, fal into the •ire, & auoiding the daunger of Scylla, you run vpō Caribois. O hart of man wrapped in palpable darcknes. I wish M. Bilney, that you would but once search & set out the fyrste origine of these rogatiō dayes: For so we read in y^e churche story, that they were first ordeyned by pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, & holy processions agaynst the pestilēce, by the infection of the ayre thē raining among the people. At what time y^e people thē going in y^e procession, a certeine Image like to our blessed Lady, painted w^t the handes of S. Luke y^e Euāgelist, did go before thē, about y^e which image, in y^e honor of the virgin, angels did sing this Antheme: Regina coeli laetare. &c. O Queene of heauen be glad. To the which Antheme the pope also adioyned this: Ora pro nobis dominū. &c. Pray to the Lord for vs. Wherefore seeing the angels did worship the image of the glorious virgin Mary, in the honor of her: & seing moreouer y^e holy father pope Gregory, with al y^e clergy, did pray for corporall infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship y^e saints, & also to geue honor in a maner to theyr Images: further also to pray to almighty God & al saints, for corporal infir'mity, that we may be deliuered from the same, so that they may say the like for vs, which is said in the Gospell: Sende them away, because they cry after vs. And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleaged out of the holy scripture, wherwith we might easily resist this your error:* yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we wil procede now to your secōd pestiferous error, wherin you, like an ingrate child go about to teare out y^e bowels of your mother. For in y^t you say & affirme blasphemously the bish. of Rome to be the very Antichrist,* & that his pryuileges haue no force against the gates of hel: in so saying, what do you but like a most vnkinde and vnnatural child, spoile your louing mother of all her treasures, & woūd her being spoiled, & being woūded, plucke out her bowels most miserably vpō y^e earth. But forsomuch as there is nothing so absurd or so heretical but shalbe receiued of some itching eares: I would therfore now heare you declare, how he sit|teth in the tēple of god, as god, being exalted & worshipped aboue all y^t is named god, or how that he sheweth himselfe as Lord in power and signes, and wonders deceitfull.

Bilney.

Although incredulitye doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to vnderstand these thinges, yet I will goe about something to helpe your incredulity herein, through the helpe of the Lorde, beseeching you, y^t setting all superstition aparte, you will vnderstande those thinges that are aboue, Do ye know the table of the tenne Commaundementes?

Brusierd.

According as the Catholique Doctours do expound them, I know them meanelly. But how you do expound them, I cannot tell.

Bilney.

And doe you knowe also the constitutions of men, which are deuised onely by the dreames of men, whereunto men are so straightly bound, that vnder paine of death they are compelled to obserue them?

Brusierd.

I knowe certaine sanctions of the holy fathers, but such as you speake of to be deuised by mens dreames, I knowe none.

Bilney.

Now then let vs set and compare these two together, & so shall you easily vnderstand the Bishop of Rome whom they call the Pope, to sitte in the temple of God,* as God, and to be extolled aboue all that is named God. It is written, The temple of the Lorde is holy, which is you.* Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the holy Ghost: in whiche temple I will proue the Pope to sit as God,* and to be exalted aboue all that is called God. For who so contemneth the decalogue or the table of the commaundementes of God, there is but a small punyshment for him, neither is that punishment to death: but contrarywise he that shall contemne or violate the constitutions which you call the sanctions of men, is couēted by all mens iudgement guilty of death. What is this, but y^e high bishop of Rome to sit & to raigne in the temple of God, that is, in mans conscience, as God?

Brusierd.

Although this exposition seemeth vnworthy for christē eares, yet I would heare you further how he sheweth himselfe in signes and wonders deceitfull.*

Bilney.

These wonders (whiche they call miracles) be wrought daily in the Church, not by the power of God, as [Page 1003](#) many thinke, but by the illusion of Satan rather, who (as the Scripture

witnesseth) hath bene lose now abroad. 500 yeres,* according as it is written in the booke of the Apocalips: After a thousand yeaes, Satan shalbe let loose. &c. Neyther are they to be called miracles of true christen men, but illusions rather, wherby to delude mens mindes, to make them put theyr fayth in our Lady, and in other saynts, and not in God alone, to whom be honor and glory for euer.

Brusierd.

But that I beleue and knowe that God and all his Sayntes will take euerlasting reuengement vppon thee, I woulde surely with these nayles of myne, be thy death, for this horrible and enorme iniury agaynst the precious bloud of Christ. God sayth, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay priuy snares of death for vs secretly, that we shoulde not espye them. Whiche if it were true, we might well say then with Hugh de saynt Uictore in this maner: If it be an error, it is of thee (O God) that we be deceiued, for these be confirmed with such signes and wonders, which can not be done but by thee. But I am assured, it is vntrue, and hereticall: and therfore I will leaue this matter, and will talke with you concerning the merites of Sayntes. For once I remember, in a certayne Sermon of yours, you said; that no Saint though his suffering were neuer so great, and his life most pure, deserued anye thing for vs with God, either by his death or life, which is contrary to S. Austen.

Bilney.

Christ sayth one thing, Saynt Augusten another. whether of these two shoulde we beleue? For Christ willing to deliuer vs out of this darck dungeon of ignorance, gaue forth a certayne parable of ten virgins, of which, fiue were fooles, and fiue were wise. By the fiue foolish virgins wanting the oyle of good workes, he meant vs all sinners. By the wise Uirgins he meant the companie of all holy Sayntes.* Now let vs heare what the fiue wise Uirgynes aunswered to the fiue foolish, crauing oyle of them: No (say they) least peraduenture wee haue not sufficient for vs and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buye of them to serue your turne. Wherefore, if they had not oyle sufficient for them selues, and also for the other, where then be the merites of Sayntes, wherewith they can deserue both for themselues and for vs? Certes I cannot see.

Brusierd.

You wrast the Scripture from the right vnderstanding, to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine eyes frō teares, hearing with mine eares these wordes of you. Fare ye well.

¶The Submission of M. Thomas Bilney.

The fourth day of Decēber, the bishop of London with the other bishops his assistauntes,* assembled againe in the chapter house of Westminster, whether also M. Bilney was brought, and was exhorted & admonished to abiure and recant: who aunswered that he would stand to his cōscience. Then the Bishop of London with the other Byshops, Ex officio, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his Articles and aunsweres, commaunding that they should be read. That done, the Byshop exhorted hym agayne to deliberate with himselfe, whether he woulde returne to the Church, and renoūce his opinions or no, and badde him to depart into a

voyd place, and there to deliberate with himselfe. Which done, the Bishoppe asked him agayne if he would returne. Who answered: Fiat iusticia & iudicium in nomine domini,* and being diuers times admonished to abiure, he would make no other answere, but Fiat iustitia. &c. And haec est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & laetemur in ea. Then the Byshop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, sayd: In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti. Amen. Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici eius: and making a crosse on his forehead and his brest, by the counsell of the other Bishops, he gaue sentence against M. Bilney, being there present in this maner.

I by the consent and counsell of my brethren here present do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney who hast bene accused of diuers Articles to be conuict of heresy, and for the rest of the sentence, we take deliberation till to morow.

The 5. day of December the Byshops assembled there agayne, before whom Bilney was brought, whom the byshop asked if he would returne to the vnity of the Church, and reuoke his heresies which he had preached. Wherunto Bilney answered, that he would not be a slaunder to the Gospell,* trusting that he was not separte frō the Churh, and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might haue 30. men of honest life on his part, agaynst one to the contrary brought in agaynst him: which wytnesses, the Byshoppe sayd came to late, for after publication, they could not be receiued by the law. Then Bilney alleadging the story of Susan and Daniel, the Bishop of London still exhorted him to returne to the vnity of the Church and to abiure his heresies,* and permitted him to goe into some secret place, there to consult with his frendes, till one of the clocke at after noone, of the same day.

At afternoone, the bishop of London agayne asked him whether he would returne to the church and acknowledge his heresies.* Bilney answered that he trusted he was not separte from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses, which was refused. Then the Byshop once agayne required of him whether he woulde turne to the Catholicke Church. Whereunto he answered,* that if they could teach and proue sufficiently that he was cōuict, he would yelde and submit himselfe, and desired agayne to haue time and space to bring in agayne his refused witnesses, and other answere he would geue none.

Then the Byshop put M. Bilney aside, and tooke cōusel with his felowes, and afterward calling in M. Bilney, asked him agayne whether he would abiure: but he would make no other answere then before. Then the Byshoppe with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine that it was not lawfull to heare a petition which was agaynst the law and enquiring agayne whether he would abiure, he answered plainely no, and desired to haue time to consult with his frendes in whom his trust was:* and beyng once agayne asked whether he would returne and instantly desired thereunto, or els the sentence must be read: he required the Bishop to geue him licence to deliberate wyth himselfe vntill the next morow, whether he might abiure the heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The Bishop graunted him, that he should haue a litle time to deliberate with M. Dancaster: but Bilney required space till the next morow, to consult with M. Farmar and Mayster Dancaster. But the Bishop would not graunt him his request,* for feare least he should appeale. But at the last, the Bishop enclining vnto him, graunted him two nightes respite to deliberate: that is to say, till Saterday at 9. of the clocke afore noone, and then to geue a playn determinate answere, what he would do in the premisses.

The 7. day of December, in the yeare and place aforesayd, the Byshop of London, with the other Byshops being assembled, Bilney also personally appered. Whom the Bishop of London asked, whether he would now returne to the vnity of the Church, and reuoke the errors and heresies wherof he stood accused, detected, and conuicted. Who answered that now he was perswaded by Maister Dancaster and other his frendes, he would submitte hymselfe, trusting that they woulde deale gently with him, both in his abiuration, & penaunce.* Then he desired that he might read his abiuration: which the Byshop graunted. When he had read the same secretly by hymselfe, and was returned, being demaunded what he would doe in the premisses he answered that he would abiure and submitte hymselfe, and there openly read his abiuration,* and subscribed it and deliuered it to the Bishoppe, which then did absolue him: and for his penaunce enioyned him,* that he should abide in prison, appoynted by the Cardinall, till he were by him released: and moreouer, the next day he shoulde go before the procession, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule, bare headed, with a Fagot on his shoulder, & should stand before the Preacher at Paules Crosse, all the Sermō time. Ex Regist. Lond.

Here for so much as mention is made before, of v. letters or Epistles, whiche this good man wrote to Cutbert Tonsall Bishop of London, and by the sayd Byshop deliuered vnto the Registers, we thought good to insert certayne thereof, such as could come to our handes. The Copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former Edition to be seene and read in the same Latine, wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this booke to expresse the same onely in Englishe. Concerning the first Epistle, which conteyneth the whole story of his conuersion, and seemeth more effectual in the Latine, then in the Englishe, we haue exhibited it in the second Edition, pag. 1141. and therefore haue here onely made mention of the same briefly. The copy whereof beginneth thus.

¶Reuerendo in Christo patri D. Cutb. Tonsallo, Lond. Episcopo, T. Bilnaeus Salutem in Christo, cum omni subiectione tanto presulidebitam.

HOc nomine, pater in Christo obseruāde, longe beatiorem me puto, quòd ad tuae Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione es, ea vitae integritate (quod omnes [Page 1004](#) fatentur) vt ipsemet non possis (alioqui diuinarum in te dotium estimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi succurrit, quanta tibi gratis fecerit Deus, in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare: Fecit mihi magna qui potens est, & sanctum nomen eius. In talem nunc me iudicem incidisse gratulor, ac Deo qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo.* Et quanquam (testis est mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus, erroris mihi conscius sum, nedum haereseos aut factionis (quod calumniantur quidam, quaestus sui quàm animarum lucri audiores) tamen supra modum laetor, diuina (haud dubiè) benignitate prouisum est, vt ob veritatis testimonium, ad Tunstalli tribunal sisterer: qui, si quis alius, optimè nouit, nunquam defuturos Iannes ac Iambres, qui veritatem resistent: nunquam defuturos * Elymates, qui conentur subuertere vias domini rectas: denique nunquam defuturos Demetrios * Pythonissas, Balaamos, * Nicolaitas, Caynos, Ismaeles, qui omnes, cum quae sua sunt, non quae Iesu Christi, audissimè sectentur & quaerant, qui fieri potest vt Christum sincerè ac simpliciter annunciatum perferant. Nam si populus semel in Christum pro se passum, solidè ac purè confidere occeperit, ruent mox in verè fidelium pectoribus, quaecunque hactenus pro Christo amplexi sunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Christum esse, sed regnum Dei in semetipsis esse. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samariae, neque Hierosolymis adorandum esse, sed

in omni loco, in spiritu & veritate. Quod si fit, actum de lucris suis putabunt bestiae agri, quorum interest impleri illud Ezechielis 34. Dispersae sunt oues meae,* eo quòd non esset pastor, & factae sunt in deuorationem omnium bestiarum agri, & dispersae sunt. Errauerunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in vniuerso colle excelso & super omnem faciem terrae: dispersi sunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo si quis requirere velit, ac in caulas Christi, vnitatem dico fidei, errabundos reduc•re, mox insurgunt nomine Pastores, sed reuera lupi, qui non aliud de grege, quàm lac, lanam, pellem, quaerunt, animas cum suas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo, Insurgunt inquam,* ac Demetrij instar exclamant: Hic hereticus vbique suadet auertit{que} multam turbam, dicens, quod non sunt dij qui manibus fiunt.

Hi sunt, hi (pater colende) sunt, qui sub pretextu persequendi Hereticos, ventris sui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Christi. Qui quiduis potius ferre possunt, quàm purā Christi pro peccatis nostris crucifixi, annunciationem. Hi sunt quibus Christus aeternam minatur damnationē, cum ait: Vae vobis Scribae & Pharisei,* Hypocritae, qui clauditis regnum coelorum ante homines: vos enim nō intratis, nec introeuntes sinitis intrate. Hi sunt qui, cum ipse aliunde ascenderunt, alios intrare non sinunt. Quod patet, quia si quis per me, inquit Christus, introierit, saluabitur, & ingredietur & egredietur, & pascua inueniet, & hi non inueniunt pascua (nunquam enim docēt) & alios post se trahunt, vt non per Christum, qui solus est ostium per quod ad patrem peruenitur, sed aliunde per opuscula, quae ouibus, tacito nonnunquam Christo,* suadent, proponunt & iniungunt, ad suum potius quaestum, quàm animarum salutem spectantes: hoc deteriores, quàm illi qui super Christum fundamentum edificant, lignum, foenum, stipulam. Isti fatētur se Christum scire, sed factis negant. Denique hi sunt medici illi,* in quos mulier illa annis duodecim sanguinis profluuiū vexata, omnia sua consumpserat, nec adiumenti quicquam senserat, sed deterius se habebat, donec vix tandem ad Christi stum venerat: quae simulat{que} fimbriam vestimenti eius in fide tetigerat,* sic sanabatur, vt statim in corpore idipsum sentiret. O mutationem dexterarum excelsi: quam & ego miser peccator non semel sensu, qui tamen antea quàm ad Christum venire potui, sic omnia mea insumpseram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confessionum auditores, vt parum mihi virium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniae, ingenij item parum. Indicebāt enim mihi ieiunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum, ac missarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (vt nunc intelligo) sua potius quaerebant, quàm salutem animae meae languentis.

Sed tandem de Iesu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum nouum Testamentum primum ab Erasmo aederetur. Quod cum ab eo latinius redditum accepi, latinitate potius quàm verbo Dei (quod tunc quidnam esset prorsus nesciebam) allectus, emebam, prouidentia (sine dubio) diuina, vt nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (vt memini) lectione,* in hanc (o mihi suauissimam Pauli sententiam) 1. ad Timo. 1. Certus sermo & dignus quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quòd Christus Iesus venit in mundum vt peccatores saluos faceret, quorum primus sum ego. Haec vna sententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente sic exhilerauit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conscientia saucium ac pene desperandum, vt mox visus sum mihi, nescio quantam intus tranquillitatem sentire, adeò quòd exultauerunt ossa humiliata.* Postea Scriptura coepit mihi dulcior esse melle ac fauo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia ieiunia, omnes vigilias, omnes missarum & indulgentiarum redemptiones, quae sine fiducia in Iesum (qui solus saluum facit populum suum a peccatis suis) fierent: didici inquam, haec omnia nihil aliud fuisse, quàm (quod ait Augustinus) celerem cursum extra viam: quàm perizomata illa ficulnea, quibus Adam & Eua verenda olim sua frustra tegere conati sunt: nunquam prius

trāquillati, quàm promissioni Dei de Serpentis capite, per mulieris semen Christum, conterendo, credidissent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morsibus sanari potui, quàm à Deo doctus essem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Christus, Iohan. 3. Sicut Moyses exaltauit Serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, vt omnis qui credit in illum, non pereat,* sed habeat vitam eternam.

Hanc tandem sublimem lectionem, quam nullus docere potest nisi Deus, qui hanc Petro reuelauit, vbi pro modulo gratiae Dei mihi datae, gustare cepi, rogavi dominum vt auget mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optaui, quàm vt sic reddita mihi laetitia salutaris sui, spiritu me suo vtcunque confirmaret, vt virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias eius, quae sunt misericordia & veritas, vt impij ad ipsum per me olim impium,* conuerterentur. Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blasphematur in me (haec est vnica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Christus, quem pro virili doceo, factum nobis a Deo patre, sapientiam,* iusticiam sanctificationem, redemptionem denique & satisfactionem. Qui factus est pro nobis peccatum. Id est, Hostia pro peccato,* vt nos efficeremur iusticia Dei per illum. 2. Cor. 5. Qui factus est pro nobis maledictum, vt nos a maledicto legis redimeret.* Et qui non venit ad vocandum iustos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam: iustos inquam,* qui se sanos putant & falsò putant (Omnes enim peccauerunt & egent gloria Dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quae est in Christo Iesu▪ Rom 3.) quia omne genus humanum sauciatum grauissime fuerat in eo, qui inter Hierusalem & Hierico incidit in latrones.* Ideo pro virili doceo, vt omnes primum peccata sua agnoscant ac damnent, deinde esuriant ac sitiunt iustitiam illam,* de qua Paulus loquitur. Rom. 3. Iustitia Dei per fidem Iesu Christi in omnes & super omnes qui credunt in eum. Non est enim distinctio: omnes enim peccauerunt & egent gloria Dei, iustificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipsius, per redemptionē que est in Christo Iesu. Quā qui esuriunt ac sitiunt, haud dubie sic aliquando saturabuntur, quòd neque esurient neque sitient in eternum.

Sed quoniam hanc esuriem ac sitim extinguere solet humanae iusticiae saturitas, quam parat potissimum opusculorum nostrorum electiciorum fiducia, (qualia sunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa à nobis ieiunia, & interdum supersticiosè, denique qualescunque (vt vocant) voluntariae deuotiones, cōtra quae loquitur Scriptura Dei. Deut. 4.12. non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, sed quod ego praecipio tibi,* hoc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam huiusmodi opusculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio: non ea (Deum testor) vnquam damnans, sed eorum abusum reprehendens, legitimumque vsum paruulis manifestum faciens, hortans, ne sic his adhereant, vt his saturati (quod plaeri{que} faciunt) Christum fastidiant. In quo feliciter valeat Paternitas tua. Et haec omnium summa. Si indixeris mihi vt singula dilatem, non recusabo, modo tempus mihi concesseris. Nam statim hoc facere non est harum, quoad corpus, virium: paratus semper, sicubi lapsus fuero, meliora doceri.

Totus tuus T. Bilnaeus.

The same in English.

*To the reuerent father in Christ, Cuthbert Bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due vnto suche a Prelate.

IN this behalfe (most reuerent Father in Christ) I think my selfe most happy, that it is my chaunce to bee called to examination before your Reuerence, for that you are of suche wisdom and learninge, of suche integritie of lyfe (which all men doe confesse to bee in you) that euen your selfe can not chuse (if ye doe not to lightly esteeme Gods giftes in you) as often as you shall remember the greate thinges whiche God hath done vnto you, but strayght wayes secretlye in your harte, to hys hyghe prayse, say: he that is mighty hath done greate thinges vnto me, & holy is his name. I reioyce, that I haue now happened vppon such a iudge, & withall my harte giue thanks vnto God, whiche ruleth all thinges.

And albeit (God is my witnes) I knowe not my selfe giltye of any errour in my Sermons, neyther of any heresie or sedition, which diuers do sclāuder me of, seeking rather their owne luker and aduauntage, then the healthe of soules: notwithstanding I do exceedingly reioyce: that it is so foreseene by Gods diuine prouidence, that I shoulde be brought before the tribunall seate of Tonstall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will neuer be wanting Iannes and Iambres, whiche will resiste the truthe: that [Page 1005](#) there shall neuer be lacking some * Elemates, which will go about to subuert the strayght wayes of the Lord: and finally, that some Demetrius, * Pithonesse, Balaams, Nicolaites, Cayns, and Ismaels, will be alwayes at hande which will greedely hunt and seeke after that which pertaineth vnto themselues, and not that whiche perteyneth to Iesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached (For if the people begin once wholly in euery place, to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straight wayes that which they haue hetherto embraced in stead of Christ shall vtterly decay in the hartes of the faythfull. Then they shall vnderstand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdome of God to be in themselues. Then shall they playnly see that the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, neither at Hierusalem, but in all places, in spirit and trueth. Which thing if it come once to passe, the beastes of the felde will thinke all theyr gayne and lucre lost.* In whom the saying of Ezechiel is fulfilled: My sheepe are dispersed because they had no shepherd,* & are deuoured of the beastes of the field, & strayd abroad: my flocke hath erred and wandred in euery mountaine, and vpon euery high hill,* and is dispersed throughout all the earth, & there is no man which hath sought to gather thē together: no, there was no man which once sought after them. But if any man would seeke to reduce those which were gone astray into the folde of Christ, that is, the vnity of fayth: by and by, there rise vp certein agaynst him, which are named Pastors, but in deed are wolues, which seeke no other thing of theyr flocke, but the milke, wooll, and fell, leauing both theyr owne soules, and the soules of theyr flocke, vnto the deuill.

These men (I say) rise vp like vnto Demetrius, crying out, this hereticke disswadeth and seduceth much people euery wher,* saying: that they are not gods, which are made with hands. These are they, these I say (most reuerent father) are they, which vnder the pretence of persecuting heretikes, folow theyr owne licentious life: enemies vnto the crosse of Christ, which can suffer and beare any thing rather, thē the sincere preachinge of Christ crucified for our sinnes. These are they vnto whō Christ threatneth eternall dānation, where he sayth: Wo be vnto you Scribes, Phariseis, & hipocrites, which shut vp the kingdome of heauen before men, and you your selues enter not in, neither suffer those which would ēter, to come in. These are they which haue come in another way, to the charge of soules, as it appeareth. For if any man (sayth Christ) come in by me, he shall be sauēd, and shal come in and go out, and finde pasture. These men do not finde pasture (for they neuer teach) & draw others after them, that they should not enter by Christ,

which alone is the dore, wherby we must come vnto the father: but set before the people an other way, perswading them to come vnto God thorow good workes, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, therby seeking rather theyr owne gayne and lucre: then the saluation of soules: in this poynt beyng worse thē they which vpon Christ being the foundation, doe builde wood, hey and straw. These men confesse that they knowe Christ,* but by theyr deedes they deny him.

These are those Phisitions, vpon whom that woman which was 12. yeares vexed with the bloody flixe, had consumed all that she had, and felt no helpe, but was stil worse and worse, vntill suche time as at the last, shee came vnto Christ, and after she had once touched the hemme of his vesture through fayth, she was so healed that by and by, shee felte the same in her bodye. O mighty power of the moste h•ghest: whiche I also miserable sinner, haue often tasted and felt. Which before that I coulde come vnto Christ, had euen likewise spent all that I had vppon those ignoraunt Phisitions, that is to say, vnlearned hearers of confession so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weake) small store of mony, and very litle witte or vnderstanding: for they appoynted me fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and Masses: in all which thinges (as I now vnderstand) they sought rather theyr owne g•yne,* then the saluation of my sicke and languishing soule.

But at the last I heard speake of Iesus, euen then when the new Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which, when I vnderstood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine, then for the woorde of God (for at that time,* I knew not what it ment) I bought it euen by the prouidece of God, as I do now well vnderstand and perceiue: And at the first reading, as I remēber I chaunced vpon this sentence of S. Paule (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soule) in hys firste Epistle to Timothy and first chapiter: It is a true saying and worthy of all mē to be embraced, that Christ Iesus came into the world to saue sinners, of whom I am the chiefe and principall. This our sentence, through Gods instruction and inward working, which I dyd not then perceiue, did so exhilerate my hart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sinnes and being almost in despayre, that immediately, I felt a maruellous comfort and quietnesse, in so much,* that my brused bones leapt for ioy.

After this, the Scripture began to bee more pleasaunt vnto me thē the hony or the hony comb: wherin I learned that all my trauelles, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of Masses and pardons, being done wythout trust in Christe, which onely saueth his people from theyr sinnes: these (I say) I learned to be nothing else but euen (as S. Augustin saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way,* or els much like to the vesture made of fig leaues, wherwithall Adam and Eue went about in vayne, to couer theyr priuities, and could neuer before obteyne quietnes and rest, vntill they beleued in the promise of God, that Christ the seede of the woman, should tread vpon the serpentes head: Neither could I be releued or eased of the sharpe stings and bitings of my sinnes, before that I was taught of God that lesson, which Christ speaketh of,* in the third chapiter of Iohn: Euen as Moyses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the sonne of man be exalted, that all which beleue on him should not perish, but haue life euerlasting.

As soone as (according to the mesure of grace geuen vnto me of God) I began to tast & sauour of this heavenly lesson, whiche no man can teache but onely God, which reueled the same vnto Peter: I desired y^e Lord to encrease my faith: and at last, I desired nothing more, then that I being so comforted by him, mighte bee strengthened by his holy spirit and grace from aboue,* that I

mighte teache the wicked his wayes, which are mercy and truth, and that y^e wicked might be conuerted vnto him by me, which sometime was also wicked, whiche thing, whilest that with all my power, I did endeouour before my Lord Cardinall and your fatherhoode, Christ was blasphemed in me (and this is my onely comforte in these my afflictions) whome with my whole power I do teach and set forth.*being made for vs by God his father, our wisdom, righteousnes, sanctification, & redemption, and finally, our satisfaction.*Who was made sinne for vs (that is to say a sacrifice for sinne) that we through him, should be made the righteousnes of God.*Who became accursed for vs, to redeeme vs from the curse of the law: Who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentaunce. The righteous (I saye) which falsely iudge and thinke themselues soe to bee (for all men haue sinned and lacke the glorye of God,*wherby he freely forgeueth sinnes vnro all beleuers, through redemption which is in Christ Iesu) because that all mankinde was greuoulsly wounded in hym whiche fell amongst theeues betweene Ierusalem and Ierico.

And therefore with all my whole power I teach that all men should first acknowledge theyr sinnes and condemne them,* and afterward hunger and thirst for that righteousnesse, wherof Saint Paul speaketh: The righteousnes of God by faith in Iesus Christ, is vpon all them which Beleue in him,*for there is no difference all haue sinned, and lacke the glory of God, and are iustified freely thorough his grace, by the redemption which is in Iesus Christ. The which, who so euer dothe hūger or thirst for, without doubte, they shall at the lengthe so be satisfied, that they shall not hunger & thirst for euer

But forsomuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to be quenched with the fulnes of mans righteousnes,* which is wrought through the faith of our owne electe and chosen workes, as pilgrimages, buying of pardōs, offring of candles, electe and chosen fastes, and oftentimes superstitious, & finally all kinde of volūtary deuotions (as they call thē) against the which gods word speaketh plainely in y^e fourth of Deut. and in the 12. saying: Thou shalte not doe that which seemeth good vnto thy selfe, but that whiche I commaunde thee for to doe, that do thou neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it: therefore I say oftentimes I haue spoken of those woorkes, not condemning them (as God I take to my witnesse) but reprobuing theyr abuse, making the law full vse of them manifest, euen vnto children, exhorting all men not so to cleaue vnto them, that they being satisfied therewith, should loath or waxe weary of Christ, as many do. In whom I bidde your Fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

And this is the whole somme, If you will appoynt me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to do it, so that you will graunt me time: For to doe it out of hand, I am not able for the weakenes of my body, being redy alwayes if I haue erred in any thing, to be better instructed.

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**An other letter or epistle of M. Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonsall
B of London.**

Albeit I do not remēber, reuerēt father in Christ, whether I haue either spoken or written,* that the Gospell hath not bene sincerely preached now of long time, which your Lordshippe seemeth to haue gathered eyther by some Momes and sinister hearers of my Sermons, who lyke Malchus hauing theyr right eare cut off, onely bring theyr left eare to Sermons,* or els by some wordes or writings of mine, which haue rashly passed me, rather then vppon any euill intent: yet for so much as in this behalfe, your reuerence doth commaund me, and that of a good minde. I trust (for how can I thinke in Tonsal any craft or doublenes to dwell:) I wil briefly declare vnto you, what I haue learned of God through Christ, in the Scriptures, & howe that the Doctors euen of great name & renowme, haue not taught the same of late in theyr sermōs, referring or rather submitting all things vnto your fatherly iudgemēt,* which is more quicke and sharpe, then that it can by any meanes be blinded, and so sincere, that it will not in any point seek slaunder or discord. Therefore I do confesse that I haue oftē ben afraid, that Christ hath not bene purely preached now a long time. For who hath bene now a long season offēded through him? Who hath now this many yeares suffered any persecution for the Gospels sake? Where is the sword which he came to send vpon the earth? And finally where are the rest of the sincere and vncorrupt fruites of the Gospell? which, because we haue not a long time seene, is it not to be feared that the tree which bringeth forth those fruites hath now a long time bene wanting in our region or coūtre? much lesse is it to be beleued, that it hath bene nourished amongst vs. Haue we not seene all thinges quiet and peaceable a long time? But what sayth the church? My grief most bitter, is turned to peace &c. But the malignant church sayth: Peace, peace, and there is no peace: but onely that wherof it is written: When the mighty armed man kepeth his gates, he possesseth all thinges in quiet. But when he seeth, that he shal be vanquished of a stronger then he him selfe is, he spoyleth and destroyeth all thinges. What now a dayes beginneth agayne to be attempted? I dare not say. God graunt vs grace that we doe not refuse and reiect (if it bee Christ) him that commeth vnto vs,* least that we doe feele that terrible iudgement agaynst vs: because (sayth he) they haue not receiued the loue of trueth, that they might be saued: therefore God will send vpon them the blindness of errour, that they shall geue credite vnto lyes: O terrible sentence▪ (whiche God knoweth whether a great number haue not alreadye incurred) that all they might bee iudged which haue not geuen credite vnto the trueth,*but consented vnto iniquity. The tyme shall come (sayth he) when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to be preached. And what shall we the say of that learning, which hath now so lōg time raigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth agaynst it? Shall we think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did neuer more abound, nor charity was neuer so cold. And what should we say to be the cause therof? hath the cause bene for lacke of preaching agaynst the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and greates Clearkes sufficiently can witnesse to the contrary. And yet all these notwithstanding, we see the life and maners of mē do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seme to cry out in deede, that it is fulfilled in vs, which God in times past threatned by his Prophet Amos,* saying: Beholde, the day shall come (sayth the Lord) that I will send hunger vpon the earth, not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people shall be moued from sea to sea, and from the West vnto East, and shall runne about seekinge for the word of God, but shall not finde it. In those dayes the fayre Virgines and young men shall perish for thirst. &c. But now to passe ouer many thinges,* whereby I am moued to feare, that the word of God hath not bene purely preached, thys is not the leaste argument, that they whiche come and are sent, and endeuour themselues to preach Christ truly, are euill spoken of for his name, which is the rocke of offence, and stumbling blocke vnto them which stumble vpon hys woordes, and doe not beleue on hym, on whome they are builded.

But you will aske who are those men, & what is theyr doctrine? Truely I say, whosoeuer entreth in by the doore Christ, into the sheepfolde: which thing all such shall do as seeke nothing els but the glory of God, and saluation of soules. Of all such it may be truely said, that whom y^e Lord sendth, he speaketh the woord of God. And why so? Because he representeth the Aungel of the church of Philadelphia, vnto whom Saynt Iohn writeth, saying: This sayth he, which is holy and true, which hath the keyes of Dauid, whiche openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth behold, saith he speaking in the name of Christ (which is the dore and dorekeeper) I haue set before thee an open dore, that is to say, of the Scriptures opening thy senses, that thou shouldest vnderstand the Scriptures, and that, because thou hast entred in by me which am the dore: For whosoeuer, entreth in by me which am the dore shalbe sauēd, he shall goe in and come out and find pasture, for the dorekeeper openeth the dore vnto him, and the sheepe heare his voyce. But contrariwise, they whiche haue not entred in by the doore, but haue clymed in some other way, by ambition, auarice or desire of rule, they shall, euen in a moment goe downe into hell, except they repent. And of them is the saying of Ieremy veriefied: All beautye is gone away from the daughter of Syon, because her princes are become lyke rammes, not finding pasture. And why so? Because like theeues & robbers they haue clymed an other way, not being called nor sent. And what meruaile is it, if they doe not preach, when as they are not sent, but runne for lucre, seeking theyr owne glory, and not the glory of God and saluation of soules? And this is y^e roote of all mischeife in the Church, that they are not sent inwardly of God. For without this inward calling, it helpeth nothing before God to be a hundreth times electe and consecrate, by a thousande Bulles, eyther by Pope, King, or Emperour. God beholdeth the harte, whose iudgementes are according to truth, howsoeuer we deceyue the iudgement of men for a tyme: which also at the last, shall see theyr abomination. This (I say) is the originall of all mischief in the Church, that we thrust in our selues into the charge of soules, whose saluation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the doore) we doe not thirst nor seeke for, but altogether our owne lucre & profit.

Hereupon it commeth, that wee knowe not howe to preach Christ purely: For how should they preach Christ (saith the Apostle) except they be sent? for otherwise many theeues and robbers do preach him, but with theyr lippes onely, for theyr hart is farre from him. Neither yet do we suffer those which do know how to preach, but persecute them, and go about to oppresse the Scriptures now springing, vnder the pretence of godlinesse, fearing (as I suppose) least the Romaines should come & take our place. Ah thou wicked enemy Herode, why art thou afraide that Christe shoulde come? he taketh not away mortall and earthly kingdomes, which geueth heauenly kingdomes. O blindnesse, O our great blindnesse, yea more then that of Egypt? of the which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by sayth Pharaos: Moyses and Aaron, why do ye cause the people to cease from theyr labours? and truely called theyr labours. Get you to your burdens: Lay more worke vpon them, and cause them to do it, that they harken not vnto lyes. Thus the people was dispersed throughout all y^e land of Egypt, to gather vp chaffe: I say to gather vp chaffe. Who shall graunt vnto vs the God shall say: I haue looked downe, and beholden the affliction of my people, which is in Aegypt, and haue heard theyr sighes, and am come downe to deliuer them. But whether hath thys zeale caryed me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it perteyneth to you, reuerent father, to iudge thervpon.

Now you do looke y^t I should shewe vnto you at large (as you write) how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edefying hereafter, of your flocke. Here I cōfesse I was afraide,

that you had spokē in some derision, vntill that I well perceiued, that you had written it with your owne hand. Then agayne, I beganne to doubte for what intent Tonsall should require that of Bilney: an old soldiour, of a young beginner: the cheife Pastor of London, of a poore silly sheepe. But for what intente so euer you did it, I trust it was of a good minde. And albeit that I am weake of bodie, yet through the grace of Christ geuen vnto me, I will attempt this matter, although it doe farre passe my power: vnder the which burden, if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceiue you, for that I haue promised nothing, but a prompte and readye will to do that which you haue commaunded.

As touching that pertayneth to y^e preaching of the Gospell, I would to God you would geue me leaue priuately to talke w^t you, that I mighte speake freely, that which I haue learned in the holy Scriptures for the consolation of my consciēce: which if you will so do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shalbe submitted vnto your iudgement: *who (except I be vtterly deceaued) will not breake the reede that is bruised, and put out the flaxe that is smoking, but rather, if I shalbe found in any error (as in deed I am a man) you as spirituall, shal restore me thorough y^e spirite of gentlenesse, considering your selfe, least that you also be tempted: For euery Byshop which is taken from among men, *is ordayned for menne, not violentlye to assaulte those [Page 1007](#) which are ignoraunt and do erre, for he hymselfe is compassed in with infirmitie, that he beyng not voyde of euils, should learn to haue compassion vpon other miserable people.

I desire you that you will remember me to morrowe that by your ayde, I may be brought before the tribunall seate of my Lorde Cardinall, before whome I had rather ••and, then before any of his deputies.

Yours Thomas Bilney.

A letter of M. Bilney fruitfull and necessary for all Ministers to read.

M^Ost reuerent father, salutations in Christ. You haue required me to write vnto you at large, * wherein men not preached as they ought, & how they should haue preached better. This is a burdē too heauy for my strength: vnder y^t which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you which haue layd this burden vpon my shoulders, to ease me therof. As touching the first part, they haue not preached as they ought, which leauing the word of God, haue taught theyr own traditiōs, of y^e whiche sort there are not a few, as it is very euidēt, in y^t they do report those which preach y^e worde of God sincerely to teach newe doctrine. This is also no smal testimony therof, y^t in al England you shal scarce find one or two that are mightye in the Scriptures, and what meruaile is it if al godly things do seeme newe vnto them vnto whom the Gospell is new and straunge, being noused in mens traditions now a long tyme? Would to God these thinges were not true, whiche I vtter vnto you, but alas they are to true.

They haue also preached euill, which either haue wrasted the scriptures themselues, or haue rashly gathered thē out of olde rotten papers, being wrasted by others. And howe shoulde it bee but that they shoulde wrast them, or els howe shuld they iudge them being falsly interpreted by others, when as they haue not once read ouer the bible orderly? Of this sort there is truely a very

great number, frō which number many great Rabines or maisters shal hard^ly excuse themselues, whom the people haue hitherto reuerenced in stead of Gods. And these are they whiche nowe serue theyr bellies,* seeking theyr owne glorye, and not the true glory of God, which might be set forth euen by Balaams Asse: muche lesse then ought we to contemne such abiectes which preach the worde of God. We haue (sayth S. Paule) •his treasure in brickle vesselles, that the glorye of the power might be of God and not of vs. God hath chosen the foolish thinges of the worlde, to confounde the wise: and the weake thinges God hath chosen to confound the mighty: and vile thinges of the world and despised, hath he chosen, and things that are not to bring to nought thinges that are, that no flesh shoulde glory in his sight. But now all men in a maner will be wise, & therfore they are ashamed of the simple Gospel, they are ashamed truely to say with Paule: and to performe it in deede: I brethren whē I came vnto you,* did not come with excellency of wordes, or of wisdomē preaching the testimony of Christ, for I esteemed not my selfe to know any thing amongst you, but onely Iesus Christ and him crucified. O voyce of a true Euangelist? But now we are ashamed of thys foolish preachyng, by the which it hath pleased God, to saue all those which beleue in him & being puffed vp w^t our own fleshly minde, chuse rather, proudly to walke in those thinges whiche we haue not seene, preaching fables and lyes, and not the lawe of God,* which is vndefiled, conuerting soules.

But how should they teach the law of God, which they haue not once read in the bookes, much lesse learned at the mouth of God? But in a Pastor and a Byshop this is required:* Thou sonne of man (sayth God) lay vp in thy hart al my wordes which I do speake vnto thee. &c. And shortly after hee sayth: Thou sonne of man, I haue ordayned and geuen thee a watchman vnto the house of Israel. I haue geuen thee sayth hee, not comming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thy selfe, nor clyming in another way, but I gaue thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldest attend thereupon and geue warning from the toppe of the watch Tower, if any enemies shoulde approche. I haue geuen thee vnto the house of Israell, and not the house of Israell vnto thee,* that thou shouldest acknowledge thy selfe to be the seruaunt of the sheepe, and not theyr Lorde, for I haue not geuen the sheepe for the shepheard, but the shepheard for the sheepe. He that sitteth downe is greater then he that doth minister and serue vnto hym. Whiche thinge was well knownen of hym which truely sayde: Wee are your seruauntes for Christes cause.

But for what purpose haue I geuen thee vnto y^e house of Israell? That thou shouldest onely minister the Sacramentes, consecrate wood, stoones, & churchyardes? (this I take God to witnesse with great sighes and grones I write vnto you,* pouring out before you the grieve of my hart. No truely. What then? First followeth the office of the byshop. Thou shalt heare the word of God out of my mouth. This is but a short lesson, but suche as all the world cannot comprehend, without they bee inwardly taught of GOD.

And what els meaneth this,* Out of my mouth thou shalt heare the word, but that thou shalt be taught of God. Therefore as many as are not taught of God, althoughe they be neuer so well exercised in the Scriptures by manns helpe yet are they not watchmen geuen by God, and muche ••ue they which do not vnderstand and know the Scriptures. And therfore such as these be, least they should keep silence and say nothing, are alwayes harping vpon the traditiōs and doctrines of men, that is, lyes: for hee that speaketh of himselfe, speaketh lyes. Of this it is written:* They would be doctours of the lawe, not vnderstandyng what they speake neyther of whome they speake, Such of necessitie they must all be, who speake that with theyr mouth which they doe

not beleue, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perswaded in their harts, that it is true: and therefore they are to be accompted as sheepe, although they boaste themselves to be shepherdes. But contrariwise touchyng the true and learned Pastors geuen by God, it may be truly said: we speake that which we know,*and that whiche we haue seene (euen with the infallible eyes of our fayth) we doe witnesse: and these are neyther deceyued, neither do deceiue. Moreouer, the deceiuers proceede to worse and worse, erring themselves, and bringing others also to errour, and because they are of the worlde, the worlde doth willingly heare them.*They are of the worlde (saith S. Iohn) and therefore they speake those thinges whiche are of the worlde, and the world geueth eare vnto them.

Behold reuerent father, this is the touchstone of oure daily preaching. Hath not the world geuen eare vnto thē now a long tyme with great pleasure and delite? But the flesh could neuer suffer y^e preaching of the crosse, nor yet the wisdom of the flesh, which is enemy vnto God, neyther is subiect vnto hys law, nor cannot be. And why then are they accused to be heretickes and Schismatickes,* whiche will not seek to please men, but onely to theyr edifying? be'lyng mindfull of that place of Scripture: God hath dispersed the bones of them whiche please men, saying vnto them, speake vnto vs pleasaunt thinges. But now setting these matters passe, wee will come vnto the second poynt,* wherein you aske how a man should preach better: Forsooth, if wee had heard of him whō the father spake saying: This is my dearly beloued sonne in whome I am well pleased, heare hym.*Who also speaking of hymself, said it was meete that Christ should suffer and rise agayne the third daye from death and that in his name repentaunce and remission of sinnes should be preached vnto all people. What other thing is that, thē the same which the other Euangelists do write: Goe ye into the whole world & preach the Gospell vnto euery creature: he that beleueth and is Baptised,*shalbe sauēd. What can be more pleasaunt, sweete, or acceptable vnto afflicted consciences being almost in despayre, then this most ioyfull tidings?

But here, whether Christ haue bene a long time heard I know not, for that I haue not heard all the preachers of England, and if I heard them, yet till it was within thys yeare or two, I could not sufficiently iudge of them, But this I dare be bolde to affirme, that as manye as I haue heard of late preach (I speake euē of the most famous) they haue preached suche repentaunce, that if I had heard suche preachers of repentaunce in tymes past, I shoulde vtterly haue bene in despayre.* And to speak of one of these famous men (not vttering hys name) after he had sharply inueyed against vyce, (wherein he pleased euery godly man, for so much as it could not be sufficiently cryed out vpon) hee concluded: behold (sayd he) thou hast lyen rotten in thyne own lustes, by the space of these 60. yeares, euen as a beast in hys own dounge, and wilt thou presume in one yeare, to go forward toward beauen, and that in thyne age, asmuch as thou wentest backwardes from heauen towardes hell 60. yeares? Is not this thinke you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentaunce in the name of Iesus?*, or rather to tread downe Christ with Antichristes doctrine? for what other thing did he speake in effect, thē that Christ dyed in vayne for thee? He will not be thy Iesus or sauior, thou must make satisfaction for thy selfe, or els thou shalt perish eternally. Then doth S. Iohn lye which sayth: Beholde the Lambe of God whiche taketh away the sinnes of the worlde. And in other place:*,His blood hath cleansed vs from all our sins And agayne: He is the propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world. Besides an infinit nūber of other places. What other thing is this, then that which was spoken by [Page 1008](#) the holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying: There shall be false teachers that shall deny the Lord Iesus, which hath redemed them. And what followeth vpon such doctrine of Deuils speaking lyes thorough hipocrisie? a

conscience dispayring and without all hope, and so geuē ouer vnto al wicked lustes,* according to the saying o• S. Paule: After that they be come to this poynt that they sorow no more, they geue thēselues ouer vnto wantonnes, to commit all kinde of filthines, euen with a greedy desire: For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to GOD, either they murmure agaynst God or els they doe not beleue hym to be so cruell as they do preach and declare him to be. The want of paper wyll not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in priuate talke vnto your selfe. Wherunto if you would admit me, I trust you should not repent you thereof: and vnto me (Christ I take to my witnes) it would be a great comfort: in whom I wish you with all your flocke hartily well to feare.

Your prisoner and humble beadman vnto God for you. Tho. Bilney.

Thus haue you the letters, the abiuration and articles of Thomas Bilney.* After which abiuration made about y^t yeare of our Lord. 1529. the sayd Bilney tooke such repentaunce & sorrow, that he was neare the poynt of vtter dispayre: as by y^e wordes of M. Latimer, is credibly testified whose wordes for my better discharge, I thought here to annex,* written in his seuenth Sermon preached before K. Edward, which be these: I knew a man my selfe, Bilney, litle Bilney y^t blessed Martyr of God, who what time he had borne his fagot, & was come again to Cambridge, had such conflictes within himselfe (beholding this Image of death) that his friendes were afayde to let him be alone. They were▪ fayne to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comfortes would serue. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bringe thē vnto him, it was as though a man should runne him thorough the hart with a sword. Yet for all this, he was reuiued and tooke his death patiently, and dyed well agaynst the tyrannicall sea of Rome. Haec Latim Sermon. 7.

Agayn, the sayd M. Latimer speaking of Bilney in an other of his sermons preached in Lincolnshyre, hath these wordes following: That same M. Bilney, whiche was burnt here in England for gods words sake, was induced and perswaded by his frendes to beare a fagot at the tyme, when the Cardinall was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole yeare after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neyther eating nor drinking, nor anye other communication of Gods worde: for he thought that al the whole Scriptures were agaynst him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time commoned w^t him (or I was familiarly acquaynted with him) but all thinges whatsoever any man could allege to his comforte seemed vnto him to make agaynst him. Yet for all that, afterward he came againe: God indued him with such strength and perfectnes of fayth: that he not onely confessed hys faith in y^e Gospell of our Sauour Iesu Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same Gospels sake, which we now preach in England. &c. Haec ille, Ser. 8. fol. 132

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said M. Latimer before the Dutches of Suffolk, fol. 5. he yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth: Here I haue (sayth hee) occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge M. Bilney or rather S. Bilney, y^t suffered death for gods words sake,* the same Bilney was the instrument wherby God called me to knowledge. For I may thanke him next to God, for that knowledge that I haue in y^e word of god. For I was an obstinate papist as any was in Englande: insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of Diuini^tie, my whole Oration went against Phillip Melancthon and agaynst his opinions. Bilney

heard me at that tyme, and perceaued that I was zelous without knowlege, and came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for gods sake to heare his confession. I dyd so: and (to say y^e trueth) by his confession I learned more then afore in many yeres So from that tyme forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the Schoole doctors and such fooleries. &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the lyfe of M Latimer.

By this it appeareth howe vehemently this good man was pearced with sorow and remorse for his abiuration, y^e space almost of 2. yeares,* that is, from the yeare 1529. to the yeare 1531. It followed then that he by Gods grace & good counsayle, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to geue ouer his life for the confession of that truth, which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in hys minde, and setting hys time he tooke his leaue in Trinitie hall at ten of the clocke at nyght, of certayne of hys frendes, and sayd that he would go to Ierusalem, alluding belike to the words & examples of christ in the Gospel going vp to Ierusalem,* what time he was appoynted to suffer his passion. And so Bilney meanyng to geue ouer hys life for the testimony of Christes Gospell told his frends y^t he woulde goe vp to Ierusalem, and so would see thē no more, & immediately departed to Northfolk, & there preached first priuely in housholdes to cōfirm the brethren and sisterne, and also to confirme the anchres whom he had conuerted to Christ. Then preached he opely in y^e fieldes, confessing his fact, and preaching publickely y^t doctrine, which he before had abiured, to be the very trueth, & willed all men to beware by hym, and neuer to trust to theyr fleshly frends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his iourney toward the celestially Ierusalem, hee departed from thence to the Anchres in Norwiche, & there gaue her a new testament of Tindals translation, and the obedience of a Christian man, whereupon hee was apprehended and caryed to prison there to remayne, till y^t blynde bishop Nixe sent vp for a writte to burne hym.

In the meane season, the Fryers and religious men, with the residue of theyr Doctours, Ciuill and Canon resorted to him,* busily labouring to perswade hym not to die in those opinions, saying he shoulde be damned body and soule, if he so continued. Among whome, first were sent to him of the byshop. Doct. Call minister: (as they call him) or Prouinciall of the graye Fryers: and Doct. Stokes an Augustine Fryer,* who lay with hym in prison in disputation, till the writte came that he should be burned. Doctor Call by the word of God, through the meanes of Bilneys doctrine, & good life, wherof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaymed to the Gospelles side. Doct. Stokes remayned obdurate, and doth yet to this day, whose heart also the Lorde, if it be hys will, reforme & open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blyndnes of his youth. An other great doer agaynst him, was one Fryer Byrd, with one eye, Prouinciall of the white Friars. This Byrde was a Suffragane in Couentry, and after,* Bishop of Chester, & was he that brought, apples to Boner, mentioned in the story of Haukes. An other was a blacke Fryer, called Hodgekins, who after, being vnder the Archbyshop of Caunterbury, maryed,* and afterward in Queene Maryes tyme, put away hys wyfe. These 4, orders of Fryers were sent (as is sayd) to bayte Bilney: who notwithstanding, as hee had planted hymselfe vppon the fyrme rock of Gods word, was at a poynt, and so continued vnto the end.

But here nowe commeth in sir Thomas More trumping in our way, with hys paynted carde, & would needs take vp this Tho. Bilney from vs, and make hym a conuert after his secte. Thus these coated cardes, though they could not by playn scriptures conuince hym beyng alieue, yet now after hys death, by false play they will make hym theirs whither he will or no. This syr

Thom. More in hys rayling preface before hys booke agaynst Tindall doth challenge Bilney to hys catholicke Church, and sayth that, not onely at the fyre, but many dayes before both in wordes and writing, reuoked, abhorred,* and detested hys heresies before holden. And how is this proued? by 3. or 4. mighty argumentes, as big as milpostes, fet out of * Utopia, from whence, thou must know reader, can come no fittons but all fine Poetrie.

First, he sayth, that certayne Norwichmen writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterward being therupon examined, were compelled to graunt, that he at his examination redde a bill, but what it was, they could not tel, for they stood not so neare, to heare hym. And albeit they stood not so neare, yet some of them perceaued certayne thinges there spoken, whereby they thought that he did reuoke. Some agayne added to those things spoken certayne additions of their owne, to excuse him from recantation.

First to aunswere hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with M. More, let vs see with what conueyaunce he proceedeth in this narratiō. At his first examination (sayth he) he waxed stiffe in hys opinions, but yet God was so good Lord vnto hym, that he was fully cōuerted to the true Catholicke fayth. &c. And when might thys goodly conuersion begin? Many dayes (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certayn day assigned, but many dayes lefte at large, that he might haue y^e larger rounge, to walke inuisible. Well then, but how many dayes coulde these be, I would fayne learne of M. More, when hee was not many dayes in theyr hands, no longer then they could sende vpp to London for a writte to burne him? Belike [Page 1009](#) then shortly after his apprehension, at the first comming of the fryers vnto hym, by and by he reuolted. A straunge matter,* that he which 2. yeares before had layne in suche a burning hell of dispayre, for his first abiuration, and could find no other comfort, but onely in returning to the same doctrine agayne, which before he had denyed, vtterly resigning himselfe ouer to death, and taking his leaue of his frendes, and setting his face with Christ purposely to goe to Hierusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the handes of y^e Scribes & Pharisies for that doctrines sake, should now so soone, euen at the first brunt, geue ouer to the contrarye doctrine agayne. It is not like. God was so good Lord vnto hym, sayth M. More. That God was good Lord vnto him very true it is. But that God did so turne him in deede, to be a member of that Romish Church, that hath not M. More yet sufficiently proued. To affirme without proufe or demonstration, in matters of storye, it is not sufficient. But what hath bene done in deede, that must be proued by good euidence and speciall demonstration of witnesses, that we may certaynly know it so to be.

It followeth moreouer in M. More. And there lacked not some (sayth he) that were sory for it.* No doubt, but if our Bilney had so relented, some would haue bene very sorye therfore. But what one man in all this summe, in all Norwich was sory that M. More must specifie vnto vs before we beleue him: so well are we acquaynted with his Poeticall fictiōs But how els should this narratiō of M. More seeme to runne with probabilitie, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreouer, and sayth: And some wrote out of Norwiche to London, that he had not reuoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them. This soundeth rather to come more neare to a truth.* And here is a knack of Sinons arte, to interlarde a tale of vntrueth with some parcell of truth now and then among, that somethings being found true, may winne credite to the rest which is vtterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men beleued, for the not recanting of Bilney? Because (sayth he) afterwarde they being called to examination: it was there proued playnly to their faces, that Bilney reuoked. By whō was it proued? By those (sayth he)

which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his reuocation hymselfe &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one mans name in all the Cittie of Norwich, y^t heard Bilney recant? There M. More will geue vs leaue to seek them out if we can,* for he can name vs none. Well, & why could not the other part heare Bilney read hys reuocation as well as these? Because (sayth More) hee read so softly, that they could not heare him.

Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his reuocation so softly, that some could heare, some could not hear him thē this would be knowne, what was the cause why Bilney read his reuocation so softly? which must needes be either for lacke of good will to read, or good voyce to vtter. If good will were absent in reading▪ that reuocation, then it appeareth y^t he recanted against his owne minde and conscience. If it were by imbecillitie of voyce & vtterance, thē how followeth it M. More in this your narration, where you say, that the sayd persons, whiche coulde not heare hym read the bill, yet notwithstanding could heare hym rehearse certaine other thinges spoken by him the same time at the fire, wherby they could not but perceauē well, that he reuoked his errors. &c. Ah M. More for all your poudre of experience, doe ye thinke to cast such a mist before mens eyes, that we cannot see how you iuggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? vnlesse peraduenture you wil excuse your selfe, per licentiam Poeticam, after the priuiledge of Poets and paynters, for as ye know the old liberty of these two. Pictoribus atque Poetis.

Quaelibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.

Nowe if this vayne of yours, which so extremely rayleth and fareth agaynst the poore Martyrs & seruantes of Christ, be so copious that you dare take in hand anye false matter to proue, and to make men beleue, that Bilney dyed a Papist, yet the maner of handling hereof woulde haue required some more artificiall conueyaunce: Mendacem enim (vt scis) memorem esse oportet: that mē, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the trueth) neither hangeth w^t it selfe, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because M. More is gone and dead, I will cease anye further to insult vpon him, least I may seeme to incur y^e same vice of hys in mordendo mortuos. Yet for somuche as his bookes be not yet dead, but remayne aliue to the hurt of many, hauing therfore to do, notw^t him, but with his book disciples, this would I know how hangeth this geare together: Bilney was heard,* and yet not heard hee spake so softly & yet not softly. Some sayd he did recat, some said he did not recant. Ouer and besides, how wil this be answered, that for so much as the sayd Bilney (as he sayth) reuoked many dayes before his burning, & the same was knowen to him at London, then how chaunced the same could not be as well knowne to them of Norwiche? who (as hys owne story affirmeth) knew nothing therof before the day of his execution, then seeing a certayne bill in his hande, whiche some sayd was a bill of his reuocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made •layne, especiallye in such a matter as this is, which he knew hymselfe peraduenture to be false, at least, he knew would be doubted,* suspected, and contraried of a great multitude.

I passe now to hys second reason, where he reporteth, that the sayd Bilney forthwith vpon hys iudgement and degradation, kneeled downe in the presence of all the people, and asked of the Chauncellour absolution from the sentence of excommunication, holding hym well content with hys death whiche hee confessed hymselfe to haue deserued. &c.*

As touching the pacient receiuing of hys death. I doe well assent, although I do not thinke that he had deserued any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, vpon his iudgement and degra'dation, as I do not deny that he myght so do, so I suppose agayne the cause of hys kneeling not to be vnto the Chancellour to aske absolution from hys excommunicatiō. And if he were assoyled frō hys excommunicatiō, yet doth it not thereupon followe that he recanted, no more then before, whē he came to M. Latimer in hys study, hūbly to be confessed & assoyled from hys sinnes as the blindnes of y^e tyme then led him. But whether he kneeled downe and was assoyled or no, neyther was I there to see hym, nor yet M. More hymselfe. And therfore with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, vnlesse hee brought better demonstration for hys assertion then hee doth, hauing no more for himselfe, but onely hys owne * 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . And yet neuerthelesse admit hee so did, being a man of a timorous conscience of an humble spirite, and not fully resoluēd touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not therby (as is sayd) that he reuoked hys other Articles and doctrine, by hym before professed.

The like answere may also be shaped to his third reason where he sayth: that certayne dayes after hys iudgement,*he made great labour that hee might receaue the blessed bodye of Christ in forme of bread, whiche the Chauncellour after a great sticking a while, at length did graunt, perceiuing his deuotion thereto &c. Whereunto I aunswere as before, that it is not vnpossible, but that Bilney might both heare Masse,* and desire to receaue the sacrament: For in that matter it maye be, that he was not resoluēd otherwise, then common custome then led both hym and many other. Neyther doe I finde in all the articles objected agaynst Bilney, that euer he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the Masse or the Sacrament: whiche maketh me thinke, that hee was yet ignoraunt and also deuout as other then were.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as M. More sayth,*that in receiuing of the sacrament, he holdyng vp hys handes should say the Collect: Domine Iesu Christe: and comming to these wordes, ecclesiae tuae pacē & concordiam, he knocked vpon hys brest, dyuers tymes repeatyng the same wordes▪ &c. al this beyng granted to M. More, yet it argueth no necessarye alteration of hys former doctrine,* which he preached and taught before And yet if I listed here to stand dalyng with M. More, in the state inficiall, and deny that he affirmeth: how will hee make good that which he sayth: He sayth that Bilney kneeling before the Chauncellour, desired absolution: Then commyng to Masse full deuoutly, required to receaue the body of Christ in forme of bread,*repeating diuers tymes the woordes of the collect: Domine Iesu Christe &c. By what argument proueth he all this to be so? M. More in hys preface before y^e book against Tindal so saith, Ergo it is certain. If M. More had neuer made fictions in hys writings beside, or had neuer broken the head of veritie, in so many places of hys bookes as I could shewe hym, then might this argument goe for somewhat. But here I aske, was this M. More present at y^e iudgement of Bilney? No, Or els what registers had he for hys direction? None. Or els by what witnesses will he auouch this to be certayne? Goe, and seeke these witnesses (good reader) where thou canst finde them,* for M. More nameth none. Onely because M. More so saith, that is suficient. Well, geue this to M. More, (although hee hath crackt his credite so often, and may alwayes be bankrout) yet let his word go for paymēt at this time, & let vs imagine [Page 1010](#) all to be oracles, y^t he sayth: yet neuertheles, here must needes remaine a scruple. For what will M. More (or because he is gone) what will his disciples say to this, that if Bilney was before assoyled vppon his iudgement, as they pretend, howe was he then afterward degraded? What assoyling is

this, to be forgeuē first, and then to be punished after? Againe, if he were (as they surmise) conuerted so fully to the Catholicke fayth, and also assoyled, why then dyd the Chauncellour sticke so greatly for a while, to housell him with the body of Christ, in forme of bread? I am sure that if Christ had bene here himselfe in forme of his owne fleshe, he would nothing haue stucke to receaue him, being so conuerted at the first.

To be short, if Bilney was so graciously reduced to y^e holy mother the Catholicke Church, repenting his errors and detesting his heresies, & now being in no Purgatory, but being a very Saint in heauen, as ye say he is: why thē did ye burne him, whom you knew your selues should be a Saint? Thus ye burnt doth Gods enemies, and Gods Saintes too,* what cruel men are you? But here you wil alledge perhaps, your lawe of relaps, by the whiche the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into heresie, is in no case pardonable: for so standeth your lawe, I graunt. But how this law standeth with y^e true church of Christ, & with his word, now let vs reason. For this being a lawe not of politicke or ciuill gouernment, (where suche lawes be •xpedit for publicke necessitie) but onely being a law mere Ecclesiastical, what a cruell mother Church is this, which will not and cannot forgeue her children rising and repenting the second faulte or error committed,* but needes must burne theyr bodyes, that theyr soules may be saued from y^e paynfull Passion of Purgatory,* whom neuerthelesse they know forthwith shal be blessed in heauen? If God do saue them, why doe you burne them? If God doe pardon them why do you condēne them? And if this be the law of your Church, according to your doctrine, to burne them at the second time, though they be amended: how then doth this Church agree with the worde of Christ, and nature of his true spouse, which onely seeketh repentaunce & amend^{ment} of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosome, and motherly receaueth them, whensoever they returne.

Wherefore, if Bilney did returne to your Church (as ye say he did) then was your Church a cruell mother and vnnaturall, which would not opē her bosome vnto hym, but thrust him into the fire whē he had repented. Furthermore how will you defend this law by the word of God, who in expresse wordes teaching all Bishops and Pastors, by the example of Christ the great Bishop of our soules, (beyng compassed about with tentations, that he might haue the more compassion of them which be infirme) exhorted all other spirituall pastors by the lyke example saying:* Hebr. 5. For euery bishop, whiche is taken from among men, is ordayned for men, in thinges pertayning to God, to offer giftes and sacrifice for sinnes, that he may be mercifull to the ignoraunt, and to such as erre, for somuch as he himselfe is compassed about with in^firmitie &c.* Besides whiche Scripture, adde also that some Doctors of the Canon law, if they be well scande, will not deny but that they which be fallen in relapse, whither it be verè, or fictè, yet if they earnestly returne from theyr errors before the sentence be geuen, they may be sent to perpetual prison in some monastery:* &c. Wherefore, if Bilney dyd so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so manye dayes (as More sayth) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death as he dyd, but might haue bene sent to perpetuall prison.

Thus I although I need not to stand longer vpon this matter being so playn, and hauing sayd inough: yet (briefly to repeate that before hath bene sayd) this I say again: first if Thomas Bilney was assoyled from excommunication, and after that heard his Masse so deuoutly, and at the ende of the Masse, was confessed, and consequently after confession was housseled, and lastly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as M. More doth beare vs in hand (to see nowe howe this

tale hangeth together) why then dyd the Chauncellour sticke so greatly to geue hym the sacrament of the aultar, whom he hymselfe had assoyled, and receiued to the sacrament of penaunce before,* whiche is playne agaynst the Canon lawes. Agayne the sayd Thomas Bilney, if hee were nowe receaued to the mother Church by the Sacraments of penaunce and of the aultar: why then was he afterward disgraded, and cut from the Church, sith the Canon permitteth no degradation, but to them which onely be incorrigible? Furthermore, the sayd Bilney, if he being conuerted so many dayes before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholicke fayth, was now no hereticke, howe then did the sentence pronounce him for an hereticke? or finally how would they, or why could they burn him beyng a Catholicke, especially sith the Canon law would beare in him to be iudged rather to perpetuall prison in some mona'stery, as is afore touched, if they had pleased?*

Wherefore in three wordes to aunswere to M. More. First all this tale of hys may be doubted, because of y^e matter not hanging together. Secondly, it may also well be de'nyed, for the insufficiencye of probation, and testimonye. Thirdly, if al this were graunted, yet neyther hath master More anye great aduauntage agaynst Bilney to reprove him to haue recanted: nor yet M. Cope against me, whiche by the authoritie of M. More seeketh to beare mee downe,* and disproue my former story.

For be it graunted that Bilney at his death, did holde with the Masse, with confession, and with the authority of theyr Romish Church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought: yet all this notwithstanding prooueth not that he recanted. For so much as he neuer held nor taught any thing before agaynst the premisses, therfore he could not recant that which he neuer did hold. For the better demonstration whereof, I will recite out of the Registers, some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected agaynst him by one Richard Nele, Priest: who among other witnesses,* deposed agaynst hym for preaching in the Towne of Wylsedone, these wordes folowing.

Put away your golden Gods, your siluer Gods, your stonye Gods, and leaue your offeringes, and lift vp your heartes to the sacrament of the aultar. Also the sayd Maister Bilney sayde in hys Sermon: I know certayne thinges haue bene offered in such places, whiche haue bene afterward geuen to whores, of the stewes, and I call them whores of the stewes that be naught of their lyuing &c. Ex Regist.

Item, by an other witnes named W. Cade, it was deposed agaynst him, thus to preache: That Iewes and Saracens would haue become Christen men long agoe, had not Idolatrye of Christen men beene, by offring of Candels, waxe, or money to the stockes, and the stones of Images set and standing in the Churches. &c.*

Item, by the sayd deponent agaynst Bilney: That the Priestes take awaye the offeringes, and hang them about theyr whores neckes: and after that, they take them agayne from the whores, if they please them not, and hange them vppon the Images, and is not that a great relicke, when it is hanged there agayne?

Item, by the sayd deponent it was testified agaynst Bilney: that goyng on Pilgrimage is nought, and that no man shuld vse it, For it were better not, and rather to tarry at home & giue somewhat

in almose, and offer your hartes, wylles, and myndes, to the sacrament, and leaue your Idolatry to Sayntes.

Item, by W. Nelmys of Wylsedone, that Bilney shoulde preach: They gilde theyr Gods, and beare them about, and men say, they do speake: and if they do speake, it is the deuill that speaketh in them: and not God. &c.

Item, by Thomas Daly of Wilsedone, that Bilney thus preached▪ You come hither on pilgrimage to stockes and stones, You do naught: keepe you at home, and worship the sacrament at home. &c.

Item, by fryer Iohn Hogekeyn, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich: The comming of our Sauour Christ was long desired, and by diuers and manye prophetes prophecied,*that hee should come. But Iohn the Baptist, more then a Prophet, did not onely prophecie, but with his finger shewed: Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world. Then, if thys wer the very Lambe, which Iohn did demonstrate, and shewed, whiche taketh away the sinnes of the worlde, what iniurie is this Bull of the Byshop of Rome to our Sauour Iesu Christ, that to be buryde in the Cowle of S. Fraunces, should or may remit 4. partes of the penaunce? What is left to our Sauour Iesus Christ, which taketh away the sinnes of the worlde? This will I iustifie to be a great blasphemy agaynst the blood of Christ. &c.

Item, by an other Fryer Iulles, that Bilney thus preached: I trust there shall and will come other beside mee, the whiche shall shewe and preache to you the same fayth, and maner of liuing that I doe,*which is the very true Gospell of our Sauour, whereby you shall be brought from your errores, wherein you haue bene so long seduced: for before thys, there hath bene many, that hath sclaudered you, and the Gospell of our Sauour Christe. Of whome speaketh oure Sauoure Christ. Mat. 18. Qui scandalizauerint vnum de pusillis istis qui crediderunt. &c.

Adde moreouer to these the testimonye of Richarde Seman: that Bilney in Ipswich shoulde preache these wordes: Our Sauoure Christ is our mediatour betweene vs and the father: what then should neede vs to seeke to anye Saynt for remedye, inferiour to Christ? Wherefore to make suche petition to anye, but to our Sauour Christ, trustyng therby to haue [Page 1011](#) rem•die, doth great iniurie to the bloud of Christ, and deformeth our Sauour Christ, like as, if a man shoulde take and stryke o• the head, and set it vnder the foote, and to set the foote aboue.

Thus much being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate agayn out of the Registers, touching the opinions of Tho. Bilney. Whereby may appeare the whole sūme of his preaching & doctrine to proceed chiefly against Idolatry, inuocation of sayntes, vayne worship of Images, false trust to mens merites, & such other grosse points of religion, as seemed preiudiciall & derogatory to y^e bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ. As touching the Masse, and Sacrament of the aaltar,* as he neuer varied from himself, so he neuer differred therein frō the most grossest Catholickes And as concerning his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blinde it was at that tyme, may sufficiētly appeare by hys owne aunsweres in tyme of hys abiuration, written with his owne hand in Latine, whiche I haue to shew, as followeth: Credo plaeras{que} legis pontificias vtilis esse,*necessarias, & ad pietatem quo{que} plurimum promouentes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imò ab omnibus plurimum obseruadas. &c. De omnibus nō possum pronunciare,

vtpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nunquā in hoc legi, vt reprehēderē, sed vt discerē intelligere ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legū questus est suo tempore S Augustinus, & item Gersonus, qui miratur quomodo nos post lapsum, inter tot laqueos Constitution ū tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapsum, & vnicum praeceptum non obseruarint. &c.

Moreouer, concerning the authoritie of the keyes, thus he writeth, answering to hys 12. Article: Soli sacerdotes ordinati ritē per pontifices, habent Claues, quarum virtute ligant & soluunt (*clauē non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quam libet sint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, {quam} diu ab Ecclesia tolerantur. &c.

By these wordes of Bilney written by him in Latine, although it may be thought how ignorant & grosse he was after the rudenes of those dayes, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appeare, how falsely he is noted & sclaundered by M. More, and Cope my friend, to haue recanted the Articles, which he did neuer hold or mayntayne otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I sayde) though it be graunted to M. More, or in his absence, to my friende Cope, that Bilney was assoyled, was cōfessed, & housseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not y^t he recanted.

Nowe that I haue sufficiently (I trust) put of the reasons of M. More and of others,* wherby they pretend falsly to face vs out, that Bilny the second time agayne recanted at hys death: it remayneth on y^e other part, that I likewise do inferre my probations, wherby I haue to argue & conuince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as he is vntruely slaundered. And first I will begin euen wyth the words and testimony of M. Mores own mouth, who being Lord Chauncellour when message was sent to hym for a writte of discharge to burne Bilney,* speaking in this wise to the messengers, that came: Go your wayes (sayd he) and burne hym first, and then afterwarde come to me for a bill of my hand. Which wordes may geue vs euidēce enough, that Bilney was not thought then to haue recanted, for then y^e Lorde Chauncellour woulde not haue bene so greedy and hasty (no doubt) to haue him dispatched. And how standeth this with M. Mores wordes now, whiche beareth vs in hand that he recanted many dayes before his burning?

*The like euidence we may also take by the verdict of the Bishop himselfe, that burned him, whose words were these. After he had burned him, and thē heard tell of Doct. Shaxton: Christes mother, sayd he (that was his othe) I feare I haue burnt Abell, & let Cain go, &c. As who would say: I had thought before, that I had punished Cain, and let Abell goe: but now I feare I haue burnt Abell, and let Cain escape. Wherby it is playn to vnderstand what was the Byshops iudgement of Bilney, before his burning: that is, that he was a Cain and the other an Abell. But after the burning of Bilney, the Bishop hearing nowe of Shaxton, turneth hys iudgement, and correcteth himselfe swearing nowe the contrary: that is, least hee had burned Abell, and let Cayn go.

Furthermore, where the Bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abell, what doth this feare of the Byshop import, but a doubting of hys minde vncertaine? For who feareth that wherof he is sure? Wherefore y^t case is playn y^t Bilney at hys burning did not recant, as More reporteth: For then y^t Bish. knowing Bilney to dye a Catholick conuert, & a true member of the

church, would not haue feared, nor doubted, but would haue cōstantly affirmed Bilney to haue dyed a true Abell in deede.* And to conclude this matter, if Bilney dyed an Abell, then the Bishop by his owne confession, must needes proue himself to be a Cain, which slue him. What more clearer probation could we bring, if there were a thousande? Or what neede we any other, hauing this alone?

Now for testimonie and wnesse of this matter,* to be produced, for somuch as M. More alledgeth none to proue that Bilney at hys death did recant: I will assay what testimony I haue on the contrary side, to auouch and proue that Bilney dyd not recant.

And for somuch as Bilney was a Cambrige man, and the first framer of that Uniuersitie in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich,* being not verie farre distant from Cambrige: there is no doubt, but among to many friendes as hee had in that Uniuersitie, some went thether to heare, and see him. Of whom one was Thomas Alen felow thē of Penbroke Hall,* who returning the same tyme, from Bilneyes burning, declared to Doct. Turner, Deane of Welles, being yet aliue (a man whose authoritie neither is to be neglected, nor credite to be distrusted) that the sayde Bilney tooke his death most paciently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation, for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the Citie of Norwiche Necton,* and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of Bilney: neuertheless some be yet aliue, whose witnesses, if neede were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the meane tyme▪ at the writing hereof, here was one Tho. Russell, a ryght honest occupyer, and a Citizen of Norwich, who lykew•e beyng there present on horsebacke at the execution of thys godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither heare hym recant any worde, nor yet heard of hys recantation.

I could also adde hereu•to the testimonie of an other, beyng brother to the Archbyshop of Caunterbury,* named M. Baker, a man yet alyue, who beyng the same time present at the examinatio of Bilney, both heard him, and saw him, when as a certain Fryer called him hereticke. Whereunto Bilney replying agayne, made aunswere: if I •e an hereticke (sayd hee) then are you an Antichrist, who of late haue buried a certain Gentlewoman w^t you, in S. Fraunces coule, assuryng her to haue saluation thereby. Whiche fact, although the Frier the same tyme did deny, yet this cā|not be denied, but Bilney spake these wordes: whereby he may easely be iudged to be farre from the mind of any recātation: according as by the sayd Gentleman, it is also testified, that after that, he neuer heard of any recantation that Bilney eyther ment or made.

If I should recite all, which here might be brought. I myght sooner lacke rowme in my booke to conteine them, then names enough to fill vp a grand iurye.* But what neede I to spend tyme about witnes, when one M. Latymer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to beare witnes to an other? And though my frend Cope, pressing me with the authoritie of M. More, saieth, that he will beleue hym before me: yet I trust, he will not refuse to credite thys so auncient a Senior, father Latimer, being both in Bilneys time, and also by Bilney conuerted, and familiarly w^t hym acquaynted: who being the same time at Cambridge, I sup|pose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter, then maister More.

Touchyng the testimoniall of whiche Latimer,* I haue noted before, how he in ij. sundrye places in his sermons, hath testified of good Bilney, of that blessed Bilney of Saint Bilney, how he dyed paciently agaynst the tyrannicall Sea of Rome. &c. And in an other Sermon also how the sayd Bilney suffered hys body to be burned for the gospell sake. &c. Item, in an other place, howe the sayde Bilney suffered death for Gods wordes sake. vid. pag. 1008.*

I may be thought perhaps of some, to haue stayed to long about the discourse of thys matter. But the cause that moued, and halfe constrained me thereunto, was syr Tho. More, sometimes Lord Chauncellour of England, & now a great Archpillor of all our Englishe Papistes, a man otherwise of a pregraunt witte, full of pleasaunt conceites, also for hys learning aboute the common sort of his estate, esteemed industriuous, no lesse in hys studyes then wel exercised in hys penne. Who if hee had kept hymselfe in hys owne shoppe, and applyed the facultie, being a laye man, whereunto he was called, and had not ouer reached hymselfe to proue maystryes in such matters, wherein hee had little skill, lesse experience, and which pertayned not to his profession, he had deserued, not onely much more commendation, but also longer lyfe.

But for so muche as he, not contented with hys own vocation, hath with Oza reached out hys vnmeete hand [Page 1012](#) to meddle with Gods Arkematters, wherein he had little cunning and while he thinketh to helpe religion, destroieth religion, and is an vtter enemy to Christ, and to his spirituall doctrine, and his poore afflicted Church, to the intent therefore that he being taken for a speciall ringleader, and a chiefe stay in the Popes Church, might the better be knowen what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credite is to be geuen vnto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present history of Bilneys recantation: I haue dilligently searched out and procured the true certificate of M. Bilneys burning, with all the circumstaunces, and poyntes thereto belonging, testified not by some sayes & by heareseyes (as M. More vseth) but truely witnessed,* and faythfully recordeth by one, who as in a place and degree surmounteth the estate of M. More (though he were Lord Chauncellour) so beyng also both a spirituall person, and there present the same time, comming for the same purpose the day before, to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 of Martyrdom, whose credite I am sure will counterpease with the credite of M. More. The order of which martyrdome was this, as followeth.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doct. Pelles Doctour of law and Chauncellour, first was degraded by Suffragan Underwoode, according to the custome of ther popishe maner, by the assistaunce of all the Fryers and Doctours of the same sute▪ Whiche done, he was immediately committed to the •aye power, and to the two Sheriffes of the Cittie, of whome Thomas Necton was one.* This Tho. Necton was Bilneys speciall good frend, and sory to accept hym to such execution as followed. But such was the tyrannye of y^e tyme and dread of the Chauncellour and Fryers, that he coulde no otherwise doe, but needes must receiue him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not beare in his conscience hymselfe to be present at hys death: so, for the time that he was in hys custody, hee caused hym to be more friendly looked vnto, and more holesomely kept, concerning his dyet, then he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, whiche was before the day of his execution,* being S. Magnus day and Saterdag, the said Bilney had diuers of his frendes resorting vnto hym in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whome one of the sayd frendes finding hym eating of an

Albrew with suche a cheerefull hart and quyet minde as he did, sayd that he was glad to see hym at that time,* so shortly before hys heauy and paynfull departure, so hartily to refresh himselfe. Wherunto he answered: Oh sayd he,

[illustration]

A description of the godly constancy of Thomas Bilney, who being in prison, oftentimes prooued the fire with his finger.

* I followe the example of the husbandmen of the countrey who hauing a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestowe cost as long as they may, to hold it vp, and so do I now wyth this ruinous house of my body, and with Gods creatures in thanks to hym, refresh the same as ye see. Then sitting with his sayde friendes in godly talke, to theyr edification some put him in minde that though the fire, which he shuld suffer the next day should be of great heate vnto hys body, yet the comfort of Gods spirite should coole it to hys euerlasting refreshing. At this word the said Tho. Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did diuers tymes besides) and feelyng the heate thereof, O (sayd he) I feele by experience, & haue known it long by Philosophy,* that fire by Gods ordināce is naturally hoot, but yet I am perswaded by Gods holye worde, and by the experience of some spokē of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heate, and in the fire they felte no consumption: and I constantly beleue, that how soeuer y^t stouble of this my body shalbe wasted by it, yet my soule and spirite shalbe purged thereby: a payne for the tyme, whereon notwithstanding followeth ioy vnspeakeable. And here he much entreated of this place of scripture: Noli timere quia redemi te & vocaui te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum transieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaueris in igne,* non combureris & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus sanctus Israell, saluator tuus. That is: Feare not, for I redeemed thee, and called thee by the name thou art myne owne. When thou goest through the water, I wyll be with thee, and the strong flouds shall not ouerflow thee. Whē thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burne thee, and the flame shall not kindle vpon thee, for I am the Lord the God, the holy one of Israell. Which he did most comfortably entreate of, as well in respect of hymselfe, as applying it to the particular vse of his frendes there present, of whome, some tooke suche sweete fruite therein, that they caused the whole sayd sentence to be fayre written in Tables, & some in theyr bookes The comfort whereof (in diuers of them) was neuer taken from them to their dying day.

The Saterday next following, when the Officers of execution (as the maner is) with their gleaues and halbardes were ready to receaue hym, and to leade him to the place of execution without the Citty gate, called Byshops gate, in a low valley commonly called the Lollards pit, vn^der S. Leonards hyl enuironed about with great hylles (whiche place was chosen for the peoples quiet sitting to see the executiō) at the comming forth of the sayd Thomas Bilney out of the prison doore,* one of hys frendes came to hym with few wordes, as he durst, spake to hym & prayed him & in Gods behalfe, to be constant and to take his death as paciently as he could. Whereunto the sayd Bilney aunswered, with a quyet and milde countenance: Ye see when the Mariner is entred hys shyp to sayle on the troublous Sea, how he for a while is tossed in the byllowes of y^e same but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quyet hauen, he beareth in better comforte, the perils whiche he feeleth: So am I now toward this sayling, & what soeuer storms [Page 1013](#) I

shall feele, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the hauē: as I doubt not therof by the grace of God, desiring you to help me w^t your prayers to the same effect.* And so he going forth in the streetes, geuing much almes by the way, by the handes of one of his frendes, & accompanied with one D. Warner Doct. of Diuinity and parson of Wintertō, whom he did chuse as his olde acquayntaunce, to be with him for his ghostly comfort: came at the last, to the place of execution, and ascended downe from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay mans gowne with his sleues hanging downe, & his armes out, his heare being pitiously mangled at his degradation (a litle single body in person, but alwaies of a good vpright countenaunce) and drew neare to the stake prepared, & somewhat tarying the preparation of the fyre, he desired that he might speak some wordes to the people, and there standing, thus he sayd:

Good people, I am come hyther to dye, and borne I was to liue vnder that condition,* naturally to dye againe, and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man in a right beliefe towards almighty God, I will rehearse vnto you in a fast fayth, the Articles of my Creede, and then began to rehearse them in order as they be in the common Creede, with oft eleuating his eyes and handes to almighty God, and at the Article of Christes incarnatiō hauing a litle meditation in himselfe, & comming to the word Crucified, he humbly bowed himselfe and made great reuerence, and then proceeding in the Articles and comming to these wordes, I beleue the Catholicke Church, there he paused and spake these wordes: Good people I must here confesse to haue offended the Church in preaching once agaynst the prohibition of the same, at a poore Cure belonging to Trinity hall in Cambrige where I was fellow,* earnestly intreated thereunto by the Curate and other good people of the parish, shewing that they had no Sermon there of lōng time before: & so in my consciēce moued, I did make a poore collation vnto them, and therby ranne into the disobedience of certaine authority in the Church, by whom I was prohibited: howbeit I trust at the generall day, charity that moued me to this acte, shall beare me out at y^e iudgement seat of God:* & so he proceeded on, without any maner of wordes of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his deth.

This once done, he put of his gowne, and went to the stake, and kneelyng vpon a litle ledge comming out of the stake, wheron he should afterward stand to be better sene, he made his priuate prayer w^t such earnest eleuation of his eyes and handes to heauen, and in so good quiet behaiour, that he seemed not much to cōsider the terror of his death, and ended at the last,* his priuate prayers with the 143. Psalme beginning Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem meam. &c. That is, Heare my prayer O Lord, consider my desire: & the next verse he repeated in deepe meditation thrise: Et ne intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo Domine. i. And enter not into iudgement with thy seruaunt, for in thy sight shall no man liuing be iustified, and so finishing that Psalme he ended his priuate prayers.

After that, he turned himselfe to the officers, asking thē if they were ready, and they answered, yea. Whereupon he put of his iacket and doublet and stode in his hose & shirt, and went vnto the stake, standing vpon that ledge, and the chayne was cast about him, and standing thereon, the sayd D. Warner came to him to bid him farewell,* which spake but few wordes for weeping. Upon whom the sayd Tho. Bilney did most gently smile, & inclined his body to speak to him a few wordes of thankes, and the last were these: O Maister Doctor, Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, vt cum venerit Dominus,* inueniat te sic facientem. That is, Feede your flocke,

feede your flocke, that when the Lord commeth, he may finde you so doing, and farewell good M. Doctour, and pray for me, and so he departed without any answere, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood vpon the ledge at the stake, cer'tayne Friers, Doctours and Priors of theyr houses beyng there present (as they were vncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation.* &c.) came to him and sayd: O M. Bilney the people be perswaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we haue procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw theyr charitable almes from vs al, except you declare your charity towards vs and discharge vs of the matter. Whervpon the sayd Tho. Bilney spake with a loud voyce to the people, and sayd: I pray you good people be neuer y^e worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death. It was not they, and so he ended.

Then the officers put reed and Fagots about hys body and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparcl'd and deformed the visour of his face, he holding vp his handes and knocking vpon his brest, crying sometimes Iesus, sometimes Credo. Which flame was blowne away frō him by the violence of the winde, which was that day & 2. or 3. dayes before notable great, in which it was sayd that the fieldes were maruellously plagued by the losse of corne: and so for a litle pause,* he stode without flame, the flame departing & recoursing thrise ere the wood tooke strength to be the sharper to consume him: and thē he gaue vp the ghost, and his body being withered •owed downeward vpon the chayne. Thē one of the officers with his halbard smite out the staple in the stake behinde him, & suffered his body to fall into the bottome of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus haue ye (good readers) the true history, & Martyrdome of this good man, that is,* of blessed Saint Bilney (as M. Latimer doth call him) without any recātation, testified and ratified by the authority abouesayd. By the which authority and party being there present & yet alieue, it is furthermore constantly affirmed that Bilney not only did neuer recant, but also that he neuer had any such bill, or script or scrolle in his hand to read, either softly, or apertly, as M. More per licentiā Poeticam, would beare vs downe.* Wherefore euen as ye see M. More deale in this, so ye may trust him in the residue of his other tales, if ye will.

¶**Mayster Stafford of Cambridge.**

AS the death of this Godly Bilney did much good in Northfolke where he was burnt: so his diligēt trauel,* in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruite behinde him in Cambridge, beyng a great meanes of framing that Uniuersity, & drawing diuers vnto Christ. By reason of whō, and partly also of an other called M. Stafford, the word of God begā there most luckely to spread, and many toward wittes to florish. In the company of whom was M. Latimer, D. Barnes, D. Thistell of Penbroke hall, M. Fooke of Benet Colledge, and M. Soude of the same Colledge, D. Warner aboue mentioned, with diuers other moe.

This M. Stafford was then the publicke reader of the Diuinity lecture in that Uniuersity. Who, as he was an earnest professour of Christes Gospell: so was he as diligēt a folower of that which he professed, as by this exāple here folowing may appeare.

For as the plague was then sore in Cambridge,* and amongst other a certaine Priest called Syr Henry Coniurer lay sore sicke of the sayd plague, M. Stafford hearyng therof, and seing the horrible daunger that his soule was in, was so moued in conscience to helpe the daūgerous case of the Priest, that he neglecting his owne bodely death, to recouer the other from eternall damnatiō, came vnto him, exhorted and so labored him, that he would not leaue him, before he had conuerted him, and saw his coniuring books burned before his face. Which being done, maister Stafford went home, and immediatly sickened, & shortly after most christianly deceased. Ex fideli testimonio D. Ridlei, & Edmund. Episcoporum Lond.

Concerning which M. Stafford, this moreouer is to be noted how that M. Latimer being yet a feruent and a zealous Papist,* standing in the Schooles when M. Stafford read, bad the Scholers not to heare him: and also prea|ching agaynst him, exhorted the people, not to beleue hym, and yet the sayd Latimer confessed himselfe, that he gaue thanks to God, that he asked him forgeuenesse before hee departed.

And thus much by the way of good M. Stafford, who for his constant and godly aduenture in such a cause, may seeme not vnworthy to goe with blessed Bilney, in the fellowship of holy and blessed Martyrs.

¶The story of M. Symon Fish.

BEfore the time of M. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall,* I should haue placed the story of Simō Fish with the booke called the Supplication of Beggars, declaring how and by what meanes it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof folowed after, in the reformation of many thinges, especially of the Clergy. But the missing of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here which shold haue come in sixe yeares before. The maner and circumstaunce of the matter is this:

After that the light of the gospell working mightely in Germany, began to spread his beames here also in England, great styrr & alteration folowed in the harts of many: so that colored hipocrisy, and false doctrine, & paynted holynes began to be espyed more and more by the reading of Gods word. The authority of the Bishop of Rome, and y^e glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had [Page 1014](#) fresh wits sparced with Gods grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sincerity, from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the sayd M. Simon Fish, a gentleman of Brayes Inne. It happened the first yeare that this Gentleman came to Londō to dwel, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525. that there was a certayne play or interlude made by one M. Roo of the same Inne gentlemā, in which play partly was matter agaynst the Cardinall Wolsey. And where none durst take vpō thē to play that part, which touched the sayd Cardinall, thys foresayd M. Fish tooke vpon him to do it, wherupon great displeasure ensued agaynst him, vpon the Cardinals part: In so much as he being pursued by the sayd Cardinall,* the same night that this Tragedy was playd, was compelled of force to voyd his owne house, & so fled ouer the Sea vnto Tindall: vpon occasion wherof the next yeare folowing this booke was made (being about the yeare .1527.) and so not long after in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528. was sent ouer to the Lady Anne Buileyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which book her brother seing in her hand, tooke it and read it, & gaue it her agayne, willing her earnestly to geue it to the king, which thing she so dyd.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord. 1528.* The king after he had receiued the booke, demaunded of her who made it. Wherunto she aunswered and said, a certayne subiect of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall. After the king had kept the booke in his bosome 3. or 4. dayes, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was geuen by the kinges seruants, to the wife of the sayd Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband, without all perill or daunger. Whervpon she therby being encouraged, came first & made sute to the king for the safe returne of her husband. Who vnderstanding whose wife she was, shewed a maruellous gētle & chearefull countenance towardes her, asking where her husband was. She answered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then sayth he, fetch him, and he shall come and goe safe without perill, & no man shal do him harme, saying moreouer that he had much wrong that he was from her so lōg: who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the which meane time, the Cardinall was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and M. More set in his place of the Chauncellorship.

Thus Fishes wife being emboldened by the kinges words,* went immediatly to her husband being lately come ouer, and lying priuily within a myle of the Courte, and brought him to the king: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the king saw him, and vnderstood he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenance: who after long talke: for the space of 3. or 4. houres, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him and bad him take home his wife, for she had takē great paynes for him. Who aunswered the king agayne and said, he durst not so do, for ••are of Syr Thomas More then Chauncellour, & Stoksley then Bishop of London. This seemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

The king taking his signet of his finger, wyllled hym to haue him recommended to the Lord Chauncellor,* charging him not to be so hardy to worke him any harme, M. Fish receiuing the kinges signet, went and declared hys message to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as sufficient for his owne discharge, but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife: for she a litle before had by chaunce displeased the Friars, for not suffering them to say theyr Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others vnlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellor, though he had discharged the man, yet leauing not his grudge towardes the wife,* the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before him: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay sicke of the plague, had bene like to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her husband, the sayd M. Fish deceasing w^t in halfe a yeare,* she afterward maryed to one M. Iames Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams sonne, a worshypfull knight of glostershyshe. The which foresaid M. Iames Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently af^ter in the processe of this story, shall appeare.

And thus much concerning Symon Fische the author of the booke of beggars,* who also translated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys the kinges footman, touching the same matter.

This M. Moddys being with the king in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, sayd if it might please his grace to pardon hym, & such as he would bring

to his grace,* he shoulde see such a booke, as was maruell to heare of. The king demaunded what they were. He sayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot, & George Robinsō.* The king poynted a time to speake with them. Whē they came afore his presence in a priuy closet, he demaūded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of thē said y^t there was a book come to their h•s, which they had there to shew his grace. When he saw it, he demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea sayd George Elyot, if it please your grace to heare it. I thought so, sayd the king, for if need were thou canst say it without booke.

The whole booke being read out,* the king made a long pause, & then sayd, if a man should pull downe an old stone wall and begin at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head: and then he tooke the book and •ut it into his deske, and commaunded them vpon theyr allegiance, that they should not tell to any man, that he had seene the booke. &c. The Copy of the foresayde booke, intituled of the Beggars, here ensueth.

¶A certaine Libell or booke intituled the Supplication of Beggars, throwne and scattered at the procession in Westminster on Candlemas day, before king Henry the 8. for him to read and peruse, made & compiled by M. Fish.

¶To the king our Soueraigne Lord.

MOST lamentably cōplayneth theyr wofull misery, vnto your highnes,* your poore daily bedemen the wretched hydious monsters, on whō scarcely for horror any eye dare looke, the soule vnhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that liue only by almes, how that their nūber is dayly so sore increased, that all the almes of all the well disposed people of this your realme is not halfe enough for to susteine them, but that for very constraint, they dye for hunger. And this most pestilent mischiefe is come vpon your sayd poore bedemen, by the reason y^t there is in the times of your noble predecessors passed, craftely crept into this your realme, an other sorte, not of impotent, but of strong, puissant, and counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabondes, which since the tyme of theyr first entry, by all the craft and wylines of Sathan, are now encreased vnder your sight, not onely into a great number, but also into a kingdome.

These are not the herdes, but y^e rauinous wolues, going in herdes clothing, deuouring the flock, Byshops,* Abbots, Priours, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffraganes, Priestes, Monkes, Canons, Friers, Pardoners & Somners. And who is able to number this idle rauenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) haue begged so importunatly, that they haue gotten into theyr hands, more thē the third part of all your Realme. The goodlyest Lordships, manors, landes, and territories are theirs. Besides thys, they haue the x. part of all the corne, medow, pasture, grasse, wood, coltes, calues, lambes, pigs, geese, and chickens. Ouer and besides, the x. part of euery seruantes wages,* the x. part of wolle, milke, hony, waxe, cheese, and butter: yea & they looke so narrowly vpon theyr profites, that the poore wiues must be countable to them for euery x. egge, or els she getteth not her rightes at Easter, and shalbe taken as an hereticke. Hereto haue they theyr foure offering dayes. What money pull they in by probates of Testaments, priuy tithes, and by mens offrings to theyr pilgrimages, and at theyr first Masses. Euery man and childe that is buried, must pay somewhat for Masses and Diriges, to be song for him, or els they will accuse theyr frendes and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet

they will keepe thereof no counsell) by halowing of Churches, altars, superaltars, Chappels, and belles, by cursing of men, and absolving them agayne for mony? what a multitude of money gather the Pardoners in a yeare? How much mony get the Somners by ex'tortion in a yeare, by asciting the people to the Commissaries Court, and afterward releasing the appaun•es for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a yeare?

* Here if it please your grace to marke, you shall see a thing far out of ioynt. There are wythin your realme of England. 52000. Parishe Churches. And this standing, that there be but x. housholdes in euery Parishe, yet are there v.c. M. & xx. M. househoulds. And of euery of these householdes hath euery of the fiue orders of Friers, a peny [Page 1015](#) a quarter, for euery order: that is, for all the fiue orders, fiue pence a quarter, for euery house: that is, for all y^e fiue orders, 20. d. a yeare of euery house. Summa,* v.C. and xx.M. quarters of Angelles, that is, 260000. halfe Angels. Summa 130000. Angelles. Summa totalis, 430333. poūdes. 6. s. 8. d. sterling. Wher'of not 400. yeares passed, they had not one peny.

* Oh grieuous & paynfull exaction, thus yearely to be payde: from the which the people of your noble Predecessours the Kinges of the aunciente Britaines, euer stode free. And this will they haue, or els they will procure him that will not geue it to them to be taken as an hereticke. What Tyranne euer oppressed the people, lyke this cruell and vengeable generation? what subiectes shall bee able to helpe theyr Prince, that be after this fashion yearely poled? What good Christen people cā be able to succour vs poore lepers, blynde, sore, and lame, that bee thus yearely oppressed? Is it any meruayle that your people so complaine of pouerty? Is it any meruaile that the taxes, fiftenes and subsidies, that your grace most tēderly of great cōpassion, hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatned ruine of theyr common wealth, haue bene so slouthfully, yea paynefully leuied seeing almost the vttermost peny that mought haue bene leuied, hath bene gathered before yearely, by this erroneous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the auncient Britons, should euer haue bene able to haue brought theyr armies from so far, hether into your land, to haue conquered it, if they had had at that time such a sort of idle glottons to finde at home.* The noble king Arthur had neuer bene able to haue caried his army to the foote of the mountaynes, to resiste the comming downe of Lucius the Emperour, if such yearely exactions had bene taken of his people. The Greeks had neuer bene able to haue so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorantes to finde. The auncient Romaines had neuer bene able to haue put all the whole world vnder theyr obeysaunce, if their people had bene thus yearely oppressed. The Turke now in your time should neuer bene able to get so much ground of christendome, if he had in his Empyre such a sort of Locustes, to deuoure his substaunce. Lay then these summes to the foresayd third part of the possessions of the realme, that ye may see whether it draw nigh vnto the halfe of the whole substance of the Realme, or not: so shal ye finde that it draweth farre aboue.

*Now let vs then compare the number of this vnkinde idle sort, vnto the number of the lay people, & we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should haue halfe. Cōpare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundreth person. Compare them to men, womē & children, then are they not the foure hundreth person in nū|ber. One part therefore in foure hundreth partes deuyded, were to much for them, except they did labor. What an vnequall burthē is it that they haue halfe with the multitude, and are not the foure hundreth person of theyr

number? What tounge is able to tell that euer there was any commō wealth so sore oppressed, since the world first began?

And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy theeues, with these yearely exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing but exempt themselues from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but traslate all rule, pow^rer, Lordship, authority, obedience and dignity, from your grace, vnto thē. Nothing but that al your subiectes should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be vnder thē, as they did vnto your noble predecessor king Iohn: which for because that he would haue punished certayne traytors that had conspired with the French kyng,* to haue deposed him from his crowne and dignity (among the which a Clerke called Stephen, whom afterward agaynst the kinges will, the Pope made Bishop of Caunterbury, was one) interdicted his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrōgfully (alas for shame) hath stand tributary not vnto any kinde of temporal prince, but vnto a cruell deuilish bloudsupper, drunkē in the bloud of the Sayntes and Martyrs of Christ, euer since.

Here were an holy sort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, al his realme and succession, for doing right. Here were a charitable sort of holy men that could thus interdite a whole Realme, & plucke away the obedience of the people from their naturall liege Lord and king, for none other cause, but for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meeke heardees, but of bloudsuppers, that could set the French king vpon such a righteous Prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusiō of the bloud of his people, vnles this good and blessed king, of great compassion,* more fearing & lamenting the shedding of the bloud of his people, then the losse of his crowne and dignity, agaynst all right and conscience, had submitted himselfe vnto them.

O case most horrible, that euer so noble a king, realme and succession, should thus be made to stoupe to such a sort of bloudsuppers. Where was his sword, power, crowne, & dignity become, wherby he might haue done iustice in this matter? where was their obedience become that shoulde haue ben subiect vnder his high power in this matter? Yea where was the obedience of all his subiectes become, that for maintenance of the cōmon wealth should haue holpen him manfully to haue resisted these bloudsuppers, to y^e shedding of theyr bloud? was it not altogether by theyr policy, translated from this good king vnto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing,* but apply themselues by all the sleights they may, to haue to do with euery mans wife, euery mans daughter, and euery mans mayde, that cukoldry and baudry should reigne ouer al, among your subiectes, that no man should know his owne childe. that theyr bastards might inherite the possessions of euery man, to put the right begotten children cleare beside their inheritance, in subuersion of all estates and godly order. These be they that by their abstaining from Mariage, do let the generation of the people, whereby all the Realme at length, if it should be continued, shalbe made desert and inhabitable.

These be they that haue made an 100000. idle Whores in your realme,* which would haue gotten their liuing honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches illected them to vncleane lust and idlenes. These be they that corrupt the whole generatiō of mankind in your Realme, that catche the pockes of one woman, and beare them to another, that be burnt with one woman, & beare it to another, that catch the leproy of one woman, & beare it to another. Yea

some one of them shall boast among his felowes, that he hath medled with an C. women, These be they, y^t when they haue once drawne mens wiues to such incontineny, spēd away theyr husbands goodes, make the women to runne away from theyr husbandes, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bringing both man, wife and children, to idlenes, theft and beggery. Yea, who is able to nūber the great and broad bottomles Occeane Sea, full of euils, that this mischieuous and sinfull generation may lawfully bring vpon vs vnpunished.

Where is your sworde, power, crowne and dignitie become, that shoulde punish by punishment of death euen as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murthers, and treasons cōmitted by this sinnefull generatiō? Where is theyr obedience become that should be vnder your high power in this matter? It is not altogether translated and exempt from your grace vnto them? Yes cruelly. * What an infinite nūber of people might haue bene increased to haue peopled the Realme, if this sort of folke had bene maryed like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? such truly as was neuer since the world began, among the whole multitude of the Heathē, Who is she that will set her handes to worke, to get 3. d. a day, and may haue at least 20. d. a day to sleepe an houre wyth a Frier, a Monke, or a Priest? What is he that would labor for a groat a day, and may haue at least 12. d. a day to be baude to a Priest, a Monke, or a Frier? What a sort are there of them that mary Priests soueraigne Ladyes, but to cloake the Priestes incontineny, and that they may haue a liuing of the Priestes, thēselues for theyr labor? * How many M. doth such lubricity bring to beggery, theft and idlenes: which should haue kept their good name, & haue set themselves to worke, had not beene this excessiue treasure of the spiritualtye? what honest man dare take any man or woman into his seruice, that hath beene at such a schoole with a spiritual man?

Oh the greeuous shypwracke of the common wealth, * which in auncient tyme before the comming of these rauinous wolues, were so prosperous, y^t then there were but few theeues: yea theft was at that tyme so rare, that Caesar was not compelled to make penalty of death vpon felony, as your grace may well perceiue in his institutes. There [Page 1016](#) was also at that time, but few poore people, and yet thei did not begge, * but there was geuen them enough vnasked, for there was at that time, none of these rauinous wolues to aske it from them, as it appeareth in the Actes of the Apostles. Is it any maruell though there be now so many beggers, theues, and •ole people? Nay truely. What remedy? make lawes agaynst them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. * Are they not stronger in your owne Parliament house then your selfe? What a number of Bishops Abbots and Priors, are Lordes of your Parliament? Are not all the learned men of your realme in fee with them, to speake in your Parliament house for them agaynst your crowne, dignity, and common wealth of your realme, a few of your owne learned Counsell onely excepted? What lawe can be made agaynst them that may bee auayleable? Who is hee (though he be greued neuer so sore) that for the murther of his auncestor, * rauishmēt of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespassse, manne, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to theyr charge, by any way of action: and if he do, then is he by and by, by theyr wyknes, accused of heresy: yea they will so handle him ere he passe, that, except he will beare a Fagot for theyr pleasure, he shalbe excommunicate, & then be all his actions dashed.

So captiue are your lawes vnto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, * may be admitted to sue any actiō in any of your Courts. If any man in your Sessions dare be so hardy to indite a Priest of any such crime, he hath ere the yeare go out, such a yoake of heresy layd in his

necke, that it maketh him wish that he had not done it. Your grace may see what a worke there is in Londō: how the Bishop rageth for inditing of certayne Curates of extortion, & incontīnēcy the last yere in the Wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hunne commenced action of Premunire against a Priest, he had bene yet aliue and no heretick at all, but an honest man. Did not diuers of your noble proge[n]itors, seeyng theyr crowne and dignity runne into ruine, and to be thus craftily translated into the handes of this mischieuous generatiō, make diuers statutes for the reformation thereof: among which the statute of Mortmayne was one, to the intent that after that time they should haue no more geuen vnto them? But what auayled it? haue they not gotten into theyr handes more landes since, thē any Duke in England hath, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, haue they not for all that translated into theyr handes from your grace, halfe your kingdome throughly, the onely name remayning to you for your aūceters sake: So you haue the name and they the profit. Yea I feare, if I should wey all thinges to the vttermost, they would also take the name vnto them, and of one kingdome make twayne: the spirituall kingdome as they call it (for they will be named first) and your temporall kingdome. And which of these 2. kingdoms suppose you, is like to ouergrow the other, yea to put y^e other cleare out of memory? Truly the kingdome of the bloudsuppers, for to them is geuen daily out of your kingdome: and that that is once geuen them, commeth neuer from them agayne. Such lawes haue they that none of them may neither geue nor sell nothing. What law can be made so strong agaynst thē, that they either with mony or els with other pollicy, will not breake or sette at nought? What kingdome can endure, that euer geueth thus frō him and receiueth nothing agayne? Oh how all the substaunce of your realme, your sword, power, crowne, dignity & obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlepole of these greedy goulfes, to be swallowed and deuoured.

Neither haue they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their handes, but that they say they pray for vs to God, to deliuer our soules out of the paynes of Purgatory, without whose prayer they say, or at least without the Popes pardon, we coulde neuer be deliuered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reason that we geue thē all these things, although it were a hūdred times as much. But there be many men of great litterature and iudgement, that for the loue they haue vnto the trueth and vnto the common wealth, haue not feared to put thēselues into the greatest infamy that may be, in abiectiō of all the world, yea in peril of death, to declare theyr opinion in this matter: which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thing inuented by the couetousnes of the spirituality, onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto thē, and that there is not one word spokē of it in all holy Scrip|ture. They say also, that if there were a Purgatory, and also if that the Pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thence: he may deliuer hym as well without mony, if he may deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousād: if he may deliuer a thousand, he may deliuer them al, and so destroy Purgatory, and then he's a cruell tyrant without all charity, if he keepe them there in prison and in payne, tyll men will geue him money.

Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spiritualtye, that if they will pray for no man but for thē that geue thē money, they are tyrants & lacke charity, & suffer those soules to be punished and payned vncharitably for lacke of theyr prayers. This sorte of folkes they cal hereticks, these they burne, these they rage agaynst, put to open shame and make them beare Fagots. But whether they be heretickes or no, well I wot, that this Purgatory & the popes pardons are all the cause of the translatiō of your kingdome so fast into theyr handes: wherefore it is manifest, it can not be of Christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he himselfe payd

tribute to Cesar, he tooke nothing frō him, but taught that the high powers should be alwaies obeied, yea he himself (although he were most free Lord of al, & innocēt) was obedient vnto y^e high powers vnto death. This is the great skabbe, why they will not let y^e new testamēt go abroad in your mother tounge, least men should espye that they by theyr cloked hypocrisy do translate thus fast your kingdome into their hādes: that they are not obedient vnto your high power: that they are cruell, vncleane, vnmercifull and h•pocrites: that they seeke not the honor of Christ but theyr owne: that remission of sinnes are not geuen by the Popes Pardon, but by Christ, for the sure fayth and trust that we haue in him.

Here may your grace well perceiue, that except you suffer their hipocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to runne into theyr handes, and as long as it is couered, so long shal it seme to euery man to be a great impiety, not to geue them.* For this I am sure your grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my Father: why may I not as well geue them as much as my father did? And of this minde I am sure, are all the Lordes, knightes, squires, gentlemē, & yeomen in England: yea and vntill it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of Mortmaine was neuer made with no good cōscience, seing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their soules out of Purgatory by geuing to the spirituality, as theyr predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore, if you will eschew the ruine of your crowne & dignity, let theyr hipocrisy be vttered, & that shalbe more speedefull in this matter, then all the lawes that may bee made, be they neuer so strong. For to make a law for to punish any offender, except it were more for to geue other mē an ensample to beware how they commit such like, offence, what should it auayle?* Did not Doct. Alen most presumptuously now in your time, agaynst al his allegiance all that euer he could, to pull frō you the knowledge of such ples, as belong vnto your high Courtes, vnto an other Court in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not also D. Horsey and his complices most heinously (as al the world knoweth) murder in prison that honest Marchaunt Rich. Hunne, for that he sued your writ of Premunire agaynst a priest that wrongfully held him in plee in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belonged vnto your high Courtes? And what punishment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one payd 500. pound (as it is sayd) to the building of your chamber, & when that paymēt was once passed, the Captaynes of his kingdome (because he fought so manfully agaynst your crowne and dignity) haue heaped to him, benefice vpon benefice, so that he is rewarded * x. times as much. The other (as it is sayd) payd 600. pound for him & hys complices: which for because that he had like wise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately as he had obteyned your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captaynes of his kingdome, wyth benefice vpon benefice, to the value of foure times as much. Who can take example of punishment, to beware of suche like offence? Who is he of their kingdome that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seing the promotions that fell to these men for theyr so offending? so weake and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and peruerse generation.

And this is by the reason that the chiefe instrument of your law,* yea y^e chiefe of your Councill and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instrumentes are obedient, is alwayes a spirituall man, which hath euer such an inordinate loue vnto his own kingdome that he will maintayne that, though all the tēporall kingdomes and common wealthes of the world,

should therefore [Page 1017](#) vtterly be vndone. Here leue we out the greatest matter of all, least that we declaring such an horrible caren of euill agaynst the ministers of iniquity,* should seeme to declare the one onely fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloued minister of righteousnes, which is to be hid till he may be learned by these small enormities that we haue spo|ken of, to know it playnly himselfe.

But what remedy to releue vs your poore, sicke, lame, and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the reliefe of the poore people?* Nay truely. The moe the worse, for euer the fat of the whole foudation hangeth on the Priestes beardes. Diuers of your noble Predecessours, kinges of this realme, haue geuen landes to Monasteries, to geue a certeine summe of mony yearly to the poore people, wherof for the auncienty of the time, they geue neuer one peny, They haue likewise geuen to them, to haue a certayne of masses sayd dayly for them: wherof they say neuer one. If y^e Abbot of Westminster shold sing euery day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundatiō a thousand Monkes were to few. Wherefore, if your grace will build a sure hospitall that neuer shall sayle, to releue vs all your poore bedemen, then take frō thē all these thinges. Set these sturdy loubies abroad in the world to gette thē wiues of their owne, to get theyr liuing with theyr labor in the sweat of their faces, according to the commaunde|ment of God, Gen. 1. to geue other idle people by theyr example, occasion to go to labor.

Tye these holy idle theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market Towne,* till they fall to labour, that they by theyr importunate begging, take not away the almes y^t y^e good christē people wold geue vnto vs sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemē. Thē shal as wel y^e number of our foresayd monstrous sort, as of the bandes, whores, theeues, and idle people decrease. Then shall these great yearly exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, & obedience of your people be trāslated from you. Thē shall you haue full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the gene|ration of your people be encreased. Then shall your commons encrease in riches. Thē shall y^e Gospell be preached. Then shall none beg our almes frō vs. Thē shall we haue enough and more then shall suffice vs: which shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs. Thē shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate lōg to endure.

Against this booke of the Beggars aboue prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinall,* another contrary booke or supplication, was deuised and writtē shortly vpō the same, by one sir Thomas More knight, Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, vnder the name and title of the poore sely soules pewling out of Purgatory. In the which booke, after that the sayd M. More writer therof, had fyrst deuided y^e whole world into foure partes, that is, into heauen, hell, middle earth, and purgatory: then he maketh the dead mens soules by a Rhetoricall Prosopopoea, to speake out of Purgatory pynfolde, sometimes lamentably complayning, sometimes pleasauntly dalying & scoffing at the authour of the Beggars booke, sometymes scoldyng and rayling at him, calling him foole, witlesse, frantike, an asse, a goose, a mad dog, an hereticke, & all that nought is. And no maruell, if these sely soules of purgatory seme so fumish • testy. For heat (ye know) is testy, & soon inflameth choler, but yet these Purgatory soules, must take good heed how they call a man a foole, and hereticke so often. For if the sentence of the Gospell doth pronounce thē guilty of hell fyre,* which say fatue, foole: it may be doubted lest those poore sely melancholy

soules of Purgatory, calling this man foole so oft as they haue done, doe bring themselues therby out of purgatory fire, to the fire of hel, by y^e iust sentēce of the gospell: so that neither the 5. woundes of S. Fraunces, nor all the merites of S. Dominicke, nor yet of all the Friars can release them poore wretches. But yet for so much as I doe not, nor cannot thinke, that those departed soules, eyther would so farre ouershoot themselves if they were in purgatory, or els that there is any such fourth place of Purgatory at all (vnlesse it be in M Mores Utopia) as Mayster Mores Poeticall wayne doth imagine,* I cease therefore to burden the soules departed, and lay all the witte in maister More the authour and contriuer of this Poeticall booke, for not keeping Decorum personae, as a perfect Poet should haue done,* They that geue preceptes of Arte, do note this in all Poeticall fictions, as a special obseruation to foresee and expresse what is conuenient for euery persō, according to his degree and condition to speake and vtter. Wherefore if it be true that M. More sayth in the sequele of his booke, that grace & charity increaseth in thē that lye in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreable, that such soules lying so long in Purgatory, should so soon forget their charity, and •all a rayling in theyr supplication so fumishly, both against this man, with such opprobrious & vn•cting termes, & also agaynst Iohn Badby, Richard Howndon, Iohn Goose, Lord Cobham and other Martirs of y^e Lord burned for his word: also agaynst Luther, Williā Tindall, Richard Hunne and other moe, falsly belying the doctrine by them taught & defended: which is not like that such charitably soules of Purgatory would euer doe, neither were it conuenient for them in that case, which in deede though theyr doctrine were false, shoulde redound to the more encrease of theyr payne. Agayne, where the B. of Rochester defineth the Aungels to be ministers to Purgatory soules some will thinke peraduenture M. More to haue missed some part of his Decorum in making the euill spirite of the author & the deuill to be messenger betwene middle earth, & Purgatory, in bringing tidinges to the prisoned soules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touching the maner how this deuill came into Purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing his teeth,* in •othe it maketh me to laugh, to see the mery Antiques of M. More. Belike thē this was some mery deuill, or els ha• eaten w^t his teeth some Nasturcium before: which commyng into Purgatory, to shewe the name of this man,* could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (sayth he) an ••mious and an enuious laughing ioyned with grinning and gnashing of teeth. And immediatly vpō the same, was contriued this scoffing & rayling supplication of the pewling soules of Purgatory, as he himselfe doth terme them. So then here was enmying, enuying, laughing, grinning gnashing of teeth, pewling, scoffing rayling, and begging and altogether to make a very black Sanctus in Purgatory. In deed we read in S•ripture, that there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in hell, wher the soules and bodyes of men shalbe tormented.* But who would euer haue thought before, that the euill aungell of thys man, y^t made the booke of Beggars, being a spirituall and no corporall substaunce, had teeth to gnashe, and a mouth to grinne? But where then stood M. More I meruaile all this meane while, to see the deuill laugh with hys mouth so wide, that the soules of purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike this was in Utopia, where M. Mores Purgatory is founded, but because M. More is hence departed, I leaue him wyth hys mery Antiques.* And as touching his book of Purgatory, which he hath left behynde, because Iohn Frith hath learnedly and effectuously ouerthrowne the same, I will therefore referre the reader to hym, while I repayre again (the Lord willing) to the history.

After that the clergy of Englande, and especially the Cardinall vnderstood these bookes of the beggars supplications foresayde, to be strawne abroad in the streetes of London, and also before

the king, the sayd Cardinall caused not onely his seruantes dilligently to attend to gather them vp, that they shuld not come into the kynges hands but also when he vnderstood, that the kyng has receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kings Maiestie saying: If it shall please your grace, here are diuers seditious persons which haue scattered abroad bookes contayning manifest errors and heresies, desiring his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the king putting his hand in his bosome, took out one of the bookes and deliuered it vnto y^e Cardinal. Thē the Cardinall together with hys bishops,* cōsulted how they might prouide a speedy remedy for thys mischiefe, & therupon determined to geue out a commissiō to forbid the reading of all Englishe bookes, and namely thys booke of Beggars, and the newe Testament of Tyndals translation: which was done out of hand by Cutbert Tonstall Byshop of London, who sent out his prohibition vnto his Archdeacons, wth all speede, for the forbidying of that booke and diuers other more: the tenour of whiche prohibition here followeth.

***A prohibition sent out by Cutbert Tonstall Bysh of London, to the Archdeacons of his diocese, for the calling in of the new Testaments translated into Englishe, with diuers other books: the Catalogue wherof hereafter ensueth.**

CVthbert by the permission of God, Bishop of London, vnto our welbeloued in Christ the Archdeacon of London, or to his Officiall, health, grace & benediction.* By the duty of our pastorall office, we are bound diligently with all our power, to fore'see, prouide for, roote out, and putte away all those things, which seme to tend to the perill & daunger of our subiectes, and specially the destruction of theyr soules. Wherefore we hauing vnderstanding by the reporte of diuers credible persons, & also by the euident apparaunce of the matter, that many childrē of iniquity [Page 1018](#) mainteiners of Luthers sect, blinded through extreme wickednes wandring from the way of truth and the Catholicke fayth, craftely haue translated the new Testament into our English tongue, entermedling therwith many heretical Articles and erronious opinions, pernicious and offensiue, seducing the simple people attempting by their wicked & peruerse interpretations, to prophanate the maiesty of the Scripture, which hetherto hath remayned vndefiled, & craftely to abuse the most holy word of God, & the true sence of the same: of the whiche translation there are manye bookes imprinted, some with gloses and some without, cōteining in the English tounge that pestiferous and most pernicious poysō dispersed throughout all our dioces of London in great number: which truly without it be spedely foresene, without doubt, will contaminate and infect the flocke committed vnto vs, with most deadly poyson and heresy, to the grieuous peril & daunger of the soules committed to our charge, and the offence of Gods diuine maiesty. Wherefore we Cuthbert the bishop aforesayd, grievouslye sorowing for the premisses, willing to withstand the craft & subtlety of the auncient enemy and his ministers, which seeke the destruction of my flock, & with a diligent care, to take heed vnto the flock cōmitted to my charge, desiring to prouide spedy remedies for the premisses, do charge you ioyntly and seuerally, & by vertue of your obedience, straightly enioine & commaund you, that by our authority you warne or cause to be warned al & singular, aswell exempt as not exempt, dwelling within our Archdeaconries, that within 30. dayes space, whereof 10. dayes shalbe for the first 10. for the second 10. for the third and peremptory terme, vnder payne of excommunication, and incurring the suspitiō of heresy, they do bring in and really deliuer vnto our vicar general, all & singular such bookes as containe the translation of the new Testament in the English tongue, and that you doe certefy vs or our sayd Commissary, within a monethes after the day of the date of these presents, duely, personally or by your letters, together with these

presentes, vnder your seales, what you haue done in the premisses, vnder payne of contempt geuen vnder our seale, the 23. of October, in the 5. yeare of our consecration an. 1526.

¶The like Commission in like maner and forme, was sent to the three other Archdeacons of Middlesexe, Essex, and Co•chester, for the execution of the same matter, vnder the Bishops seale.

***The names of the bookes that were forbidden at this time, together with the new Testament.**

- *The supplication of Beggers.
- The reuelation of Antechrist, of Luther.
- The new Testament of Tindall.
- The wicked Mammon.
- The obedience of a Christen man.
- An introduction to Paules Epistle to the Romaines.
- A Dialogue betwixt the father and the sonne.
- Oeconomicae Christianae.
- Vnio dissidentium.
- Piae Precationes.
- Captiuitas Babilonica.
- Ioannes Hus in Oseam.
- Zwinglius in Catabaptistas.
- De pueris instituendis.
- Brentius de administranda Republica.
- Luther ad Galatas.
- De libertate Christiana.
- Luthers exposition vpon the Pater noster.

¶Besides these bookes here before mentioned, within a short time after, there were a great number more of other bookes in like maner prohibited by the kings proclamation: but yet by the Bishops procurement. an. 1529. the Catalogue wherof with the names & the authors, are here to be sene.

***Libri Sectae siue factionis Lutherianae importati ad ciuitatem London▪ per fautores eiusdem Sectae, quorum nomina & auctores sequuntur.**

- IOannis Wycleffi viri pijssimi dialogorū libri quatuor, quorum primus diuinitatem & ideas tractat. Secundus vniuersarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitijs{que} ipsis contrarijs copiosissimè loquitur. Quartus Romanae Ecclesiae sacramēta, eius pestiferam dotationem, antechristi regnum, fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocrisim demonstrat.
- De bonis operibus doctoris Ma. Lutheri.
- Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem .x. summum Pontificem.
- Tessaradeca consolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.
- Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Christiana.
- Sermo doctors Martini Lutheri.
- Enarrationes M. Lutheri in epistolas D. Petri.

- Resposio Martini Lutheri ad librū Magistri Bartholomei Catharini desensoris Siluestri Pontificis cum exposita visione Danielis 8. de an. Christi.
- De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.
- Deutonomos Mosis ex Hebreo castigatus, cum annotationibus Martini Lutheri.
- Lutheri Cathecismus Latina donatus ciuitate, per Iohannem Lonicerum.
- Ionas Propheta, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.
- In Epistolā Pauli ad Galathas, Martini Lutheri cōmmētarius.
- Mart. Lutheri epistolarū farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Psalmorum aliquot interpretatione.
- Enarrationes seu Postillae Mart. Lutheri in lectiones qua ex Euāgelicis historijs, Apostolorū scriptis, alijs{que} sacrae scripturae literis desumpta per vniuersum annū, tam diebus dominicis, quam diuorum memoriae facris super missam faciendam recitantur.
- Conclusiones sedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri de fide & ceremonijs.
- Eiusdem de fide & operibus saluberrima declaratio.
- Ceremoniarum eruditissima resolutio, quid sint & quomodo eis vtendum.
- Conclusiones quinquaginta eiusdē pro timoratis cōscientijs.
- Resolutio Lutheriana super propositionem suam. 13. de potestate Papae.
- Didimi Fauentini aduersus Thomam Placentinū, pro Martino Luthero Theologo oratio.
- Enarrationes nouae Domini M. Lutheri in Ionam Prophetā.
- De votis monasticis Martini Lutheri iudicium.
- Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.
- Conciunculae quaedam Martini Lutheri in deiparae virginis & aliquot festos dies nuper è populari lingua latinè factae.
- In Esaia Prophetam cōmentarius Ioannis Oecolampadij.
- In Daniele Prophetam Ioannis Oecolampadij libri duo.
- Appologetica Ioannis Oecolampadij de dignitate Eucharistiae. Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cenaie alienum sensum inferant.
- De non habendo pauperum delectu, Ioannes Oecolāpadius.
- In postremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariā, & Malachiam, commentarius Iohannis Oecolampadij.
- Quid de Eucharistia veteres tū Graeci, tum Latini senserint dialogus, in quo epistolae Philippi Melanctonis & Iohannes Oecolampadij insertae sunt.
- Apologetica Ioannis Oecolampadij de dignitate Eucharistiae.
- Ioannes Oecolampadius de genuina verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum significatione.
- In epistolam Pauli Apostoli adnotationes à Ioanne Oecolāpadio recognitae.
- Accuta exegesis id est expositio Eucharistici negotij ad Martinum Lutherum Huldricho Zwinglio auctore.
- Complanationes Esaiae Prophetae foetura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zwinglium.
- Farrago Annotationum in Genesim, ex ore Hulderichi Zwinglij. Annotatiunculae per Leonē Iudam, ex ore Zwinglij, in vtrā{que} Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam.
- Ad Phillippenses annotatiunculae per Leonem Iudam, ex ore Huldrichi Zwinglij exceptae,
- Ad illustrissimos Germaniae principes Augusta congregatos de conuitijs Eccij.
- In Catabaptistarum Stropheas Elenchus Huldrichi Zwinglij.
- De veteri & falsa religione Huldrichi Zwinglij cōmmētarius.
- Ad illustrissimum cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de prouidentia Dei, Huldricho Zwinglio auctore.
- Complanationes Ieremiae Prophetae foetura prima, cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zwinglium.
- Ad Theobaldi Bellicani & vrbani regij Epistolas resposio Huldrichi Zwinglij.

- Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formādi sunt, praeceptiones pauculae, Huldricho Zwinglio autore.
- Annotationes Iohānis Bugenhagenij Pomerani in Epistolas Pauli ad Galatas, Ephesios, Phillippenses, Collossenses, Thessalonicenses, primam & secundam.
- In Regum duos vltimos libros annotationes Ioannis Bugēhagij pomerani post Samuelem, iam primum emissae.
- Iohannis Bugenhagenij pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuelem Prophetam, id est duos libros Regum.
- De coniugio Episcoporum & diaconorum, ad venerandū doctorem Wolfgangum Reysenbusts, per Ioannem Bugenhageniū Pomeranum.
- Explicatio brevis, simplex, & canonica libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris test. canonici libri expofiti sunt, autore Conrado Pelicanio.
- Psalterium Daudis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non esse ferendas in tēplis Christianorum imagines & statuas coli solitas, autoribus ecclesiastis argentoraten.
- Epistola Martini Bucerii, Euangelistarū enarrationes nuncupata. De Ebdomadis que apud Danielem sunt opusculū, in quo tractatur de sacrificio missae abolendo, incerto autore.
- Nouae doctrinae ad veterem collatio per Vrbanum Regium, in quo tractat de sacris Ecclesiae.
- [Page 1019](#)Collectaneae cōmunium troporum sacrosanctae scripturae, Batholomeo Westhemero collectore.
- In epistolam ad Romanos, Andreae Kuophen Costermensis interpretatio. Adiecta est Epistola à Philippo Melancthone.
- Loci vtriusque testamenti cōplectentes praecipua capita totius Christianismi, cum adiectis scholijs.
- Epistola Pauli ad Titum iam recens per Iohannem Agrigolam scholijs nouis illustrata.
- In Hoseam Prophetam. 5. sermones Capitonis.
- Dispositio orationis in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, Philippo Melancthone autore.
- Sancti Pauli ad Colessenses Epistola, cum cōmentarijs Philippi Melancthonis.
- Noua scholia Philippi Melancthonis in Prouerbia Salomonis.
- De autoritate, officio, & potestate Pastorum ecclesiasticorum, ex Philippi Melancthonis editione.
- Philippi Melancthonis Annotationes in Ioannem.
- Annotationes Philippi Melancthonis in Euangelium Mathaei.
- Enarrationes perpetuae in sacra quatuor Euangelia per Martinum Bucerum.
- In Sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Epheseos, Martinus Bucerus.
- In theophaniā, quē Sophoniam vulgo vocāt, Epitomographus, ad ebraicam veritatē versus, per Martinum Bucerum.
- Iob cum commentarijs Iohannis Brentij.
- Ecclesiastes Salomonis cum commentarijs Ioannis Brentij.
- In Diui Ioannis Euangelium Io. Brentij exegesis.
- Francisci Lamberti Auinionensis, in diui Lucae Euāgeliū commentarij.
- Francisci Lamberti commentarij de Prophetia, eruditione, & linguis, de{que} litera & spiritu.
- In regulam Minoritarū, & cōtra vniuersas perditionis Sectas, Francisci Lamberti commentarij.
- Eiusdem libellus de differentia stimuli carnis Sathnae nuncij, & vstionis.
- In Cantica Canticorū Salomonis, libellū quidē sensibus altissimis, in quo sublimia sacri coniugij mysteria quae in Christo, & Ecclesia sunt, pertractantur, Francisci Lamberti commentarij
- In Amos, Abdiam, & Ionam, Prophetas, commentarij Francisci Lamberti.
- Francisci Lamberti cōmentarij in .iiij. vltimos Prophetas, nēpe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam, & Malachiam.

- Wessellus de sacramēto Eucharistiae, & de audiēda missa. Farrago Wesselli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de prouidentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Ecclesiastica, de Sacramēto penitētiæ, & quæ sūt clauēs Ecclesiae, & de purgatorio.
- Wesselli Epistola aduersus M. Eugelbertum Lerdens, in qua tractatur quid sit tenendū de spirituū & mortuorū apparationibus, ac de suffragijs & celebrationibus.
- Tractatur Wesselli de oratione & modo orandi.
- De Christi incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominicae passionis, libri duo Wesselli Groningensi authore.
- In Dei gratiae & Christianae fidei commendationem, cōtra falsam & pharisaicam multorum, de iusticijs & meritis operū doctrinam & gloriationē, fragmenta aliquot D. Iohannis Gocchij, nunquam ante hac excusa.
- Dialogus D. Iohannis Gocchij Mechliniensis, de quatuor errorib. circa Euangelicam legem exortis.
- Quod nō sit onerosa consefsio paradox. Ioannis Oecolāpadij. De celibatu monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andrea Carolostadio autore.
- Francisci Lamberti cōmentarij, de causis excaecationis multorum seculorum, ac veritate denuò & nouissimè dei misericordia reuelata &c. Ex Regist London.

The new Testament in the Catalogue aboue recited, began first to be translated by William Tyndall, & so came foorth in Print, about the yeare of our Lord. 1529. wherew^t Cutbert Tonstall Byshop of London, with Sir Thomas More being sore agreeued, deuised howe to destroy y^e false erronious trāslation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington a Mercer, was then at Antwarpe, where the Bishop was. This man fauoured Tyndall, but shewed y^e contrary vnto y^e Bishop. The Bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to passe, cōmoned how that he would gladly buy the new Testaments, Packington hearing him say so, sayd: my Lord I cā do more in this matter then most Marchants y^t be heare, if it be your pleasure: for I know the Dutchmen & strangers that haue bought thē of Tyndall, and haue them here to sell, so that if it be your Lordships pleasure I must disburse money to pay for thē, or els I cannot haue them, & so I will assure you to haue euery booke of them that is printed & vnsolde. The Bishop thinking he had God by the toe, sayd: do your diligence gētle Maister Packington, get thē for me, & I will pay whatsoever they cost,*for I intend to burne & destroy them all at Paules Crosse. This Augustine Packington, went vnto William Tyndall and declared the whole matter, and so vppon compact made betweene them, the Bishop of London had the bookes, Packington had the thanks, & Tindall had the money. After this Tindall corrected the same new Testaments agayn, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thicke and threefolde ouer into England. When the Bishop perceaued that, hee sent for Packington, and sayde to him how commeth this y^t there are so many new Testamentes abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all. Then aunswered Packington: surely I bought all that was to be had, but I perceiue the haue printed more since. I see it will neuer be better so long as they haue letters and stamps, wherfore you were best to buy the stamps too, & so you shalbe sure. At whiche aunswere the Bishop smiled and so the matter ended.

In short space after: it fortunēd y^t George Constantine was apprehended by syr Thomas More,*which was then Chauncellour of England, suspected of certayne heresies during the time that hee was in the custodie of M. More. After diuers communications amongst other thinges M. More asked of hym, saying: Cōstantine I would haue thee playne with me in one thing that I will aske, and I promise thee I will shew thee fauour in all other thyngs, wherof thou art accused. There is beyond the Sea, Tyndall, Ioye, and a great meany of you, I knowe they can not liue

w^tout helpe. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou beyng one of them haddest thy part therof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that helpe them thus? My Lord quoth Constantine, I will tell you truely: it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath bestowed among vs a great deale of mony vppon new Testamentes to burne them, and that hath bene and yet is our only succour and comfort: Now by my truth, quoth More I thinke euen the same, for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it.

Of this Georg Constantine moreouer it is reported by Syr Tho. More that he being taken and in holde,*seemed wel content to renounce hys former doctrine, & not onely to disclose certayne other of hys fellowes, but also studyed & deuised, how those books, which he himselfe and other of his fellowes had brought and shipped, might come to the Bishops hands to be burned, and shewed to the foresayd Syr Tho. More Chauncellour, the shipmans name that had them, and the markes of the fardels,*by the whiche the bookes afterward were taken & burned. Besides this hee is reported also to haue disclosed diuers of his companiōs of whome some were abiured after, some had abiured before, as Rich. Necton, who was committed to Newgate vpon the same, and is thought there to haue dyed in prison or els had not escaped theyr handes, but should haue suffered burning, if the reporte of M. More be to be credited. More in hys preface agaynst Tindall.

Notwithstanding the same Constantine afterward, by the helpe of some of hys frendes,*escaped out of prison ouer the seas, and after that, in the time of king Edward, was one of them that troubled the good Bishop of S. Dauids which after in Queene Maryes tyme, was Burned. But of Constantine enough.

Mention was made in the leafe before. pag. 1040. how the Byshops had procured of the king a proclamation to be set forth in the yeare of our Lorde. 990. for the abolishing of diuers bookes aforenamed, and also for y^e withstanding of al such as taught or preached any thing agaynst the dignitie and ordinaunces of the Church of Rome. Upon this proclamation insued great persecution and trouble against y^e poore innocēt flock of Christ, as here following you may see, with the sayd proclamation also prefixed before y^e same the tenour whereof is this.

***A proclamation for resisting and withstanding of most damnable heresies, sowen within this realme by the disciples of Luther and other heretikes, peruerterers of Christes religion.**

The king our soueraigne Lord, of his most vertuous and gracious disposition,* considering that this noble realme of England, hath of long tyme continued in the true Catholicke fayth of Christes religion, and that his noble progenitours, kinges of thys hys sayd realme, haue before thys tyme made and enacted, many deuout lawes, statutes and ordinaunces, for the mayntenaunce and defence of the sayde fayth agaynst the malicious and wicked sectes of heretickes and Lollardes, who by peruersion of holye Scripture, do induce the erroneous opinions, sow sedition amōg Christen people, and finally disturbe the peace and tranquillitie of Christē realmes, as late happened in some parties of Germany, where, by the procurement and sedition of Martin Luther and other heretickes, wer slayn an infinite number of Christen people: cōsidering also, that as well by the corruption & malice of indiscrete [Page 1020](#) preachers, sators of the sayd erroneous sects as by certayn hereticall and blasphemous bookes lately made and priuily sent into this

realme, by the disciples, fautors, & adherents of the sayd Martin Luther & other heretickes, the kings subiects are like to be corrupted, vnlesse his highnes (as the defēsor of the faith) do put to his most gracious helpe & authoritie royal to the due & speedy reformation thereof, his highnes therfore, lyke a most gracious Prince, of his blessed & vertuous disposition, for the incomparable zeale, which he hath to Christes religion & faith, & for the singular loue & affection that he beareth to all his good subiects of this his realme, & specially to the saluation of their soules, according to his office▪ & duetye in that behalfe, willeth and intendeth to prouide with all cōuenient expedition, that this his noble realme may be preserued frō the said pestiferous, cursed, & seditious errors. And for as much as his highnes is credibly informed, that some of the said errors be already sown & spread within this his realme, partly by the corruption of indiscreete preachers, partye by erroneous bookes, compiled, printed & written, as well in the English tongue, as in latine & other languages, repleat with most venomous heresies, blasphemies & slaunders, intollerable to the cleane eares of any good christen man: his highnes therfore, like a most gracious & christian Prince onely entending the sauegarde of this his realme, the preservation of his subiectes, and saluation of their soules, willeth to put now in execution, with all diligence possible, all good lawes, statutes and ordinaunces concerning the premisses before this time prouyded, made and ordeyned by hys most noble progenitors kings of England, for that purpose & entent. Which lawes and statutes by our soueraigne Lorde, and hys most honourable counsaile, by long and deliberate aduise for the extirpation suppressyng & withstanding of the sayd heresies, haue bene seene, examined, & by them in euery part, thought good & necessary to be put in execution.

Wherefore his highnesse chargeth and straightly commaūdeth all and euery his Lordes spirituall and temporal, Iudges, Iustices of peace, Shiriffes, Mayors, Baylifs, Constables, and all other hys Officers, Ministers, and all his true and louing subiectes, that all fauour, affection, and partialitie layd apart, they effectually with all diligence and study, endeuour themselues substantially for the executing of al and euery of the articles hereafter ensuyng, without dissimulation, intermission or excuse, as they wil auoide hys high indignation and displeasure.

First, that no man within the kinges realme or other his domynions, subiect to his highnes, hereafter presume to preach, teache, or informe any thing openly or priuily, or cōpile and write any booke, or hold, exercise, or kepe any assembles or schooles, in any maner of wise, contrary to the Catholike faith, or determinatyon of holy church, nor that any person within this his sayd realme & dominions, do presume to preach openly or secretly, withoute they haue first obtained licēce of the Bishop of the diocesse, where they entend to preach, curates in their parishes, persons priuiledged, and other by the law of the church onely except.

Also that no mā wittingly hereafter fauour, support, or maintain any person, which preacheth in forme aforesayd, or maketh any such or like conuenticles and assembles, holdeth or exerciseth any schooles, maketh, writeth, or publisheth any suche booke, teacheth, infourmeth, or stirreth the people or any of them, in any maner of forme to the said errors. Moreouer, that al & euery person and persons hauing any bookes or writinges of any suche errors, erroneous doctryne and opinion, do deliuer or cause to bee deliuered effectually and actually, all and euerye such bookes and writings, to the Bishoppes of the dioces, or to the ordinary of the place, within 15 daies after this proclamation pronounced. And in case any person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soeuer they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this Act and proclamation, or doe not

deliuer or cause to bee deliuered suche bookes, within the time aforesaid, that euery bishop in his dioces, or ordinary, shal cause that person or persons, and euery of them to be arested in that behalfe diffamed or euidently suspected, and detayne & kepe thē vnder safe custody in their persons,* vntil such time that the said persons & euery of thē, either haue purged thēselues of the said errors, or els do abiure the said errōneous sects, preachings, doctrines, or opinions, as the law of holye Church doth require.

Furthermore, if any person by the law of holy Church be cōuicted before the bishop of the dioces, or his Cōmissary in any case aboue expressed, that the said Bishop may kepe in prison, the sayd person or persons so conuicted, as it shal seeme best to his discretiō, after the greuousnes or qualitie of the crime, and further, may set a fine to be paid to the behoufe of the king, by the persō or persons conuicted, as it shalbee thought conuenient to the saide Byshop hauing respect to the greuousnes of the effence of the sayde persō or persōs the said fine to be certified by the Bishop, into the kings Eschequer, ther to be leuied to the kings vse, except in such cases in which by the lawes of holy church, the said persons conuict of heresies, ought totally to be left to the secular iurisdictiō.

Also, if any person within this his realme of England or other his dominions▪ be by sentence iudicial conuicted of the said preaching and doctrines prohibited, erroneous opinions, schooles & informations or any of them, and before the Bishop, or his Commissary do abiure, according to the fourme of the lawes of holye church, the foresaid erroneous sectes, doctrines, schooles,* or informatiōs, or els be pronounced by the bishops or their cōmissaries after their abiuration by thē before made, to bee relapsed, so that after the lawes of holy church, they ought to be relinquished to the iurisdiction secular (wherin faith is to be geuen to the Bysh. or his Cōmissaries in that behalf) then the Shiriffe of the Coūtie, Maior, Shirifes, or Maior and Baylifes of the same citie, towne or borough▪ next vnto the said Bishop or Commissaries shalbee personally present in the sentence geuing, by the said Bishop or Cōmissaries thereunto required, and after the said sentence geuē,* shal receiue the said persons and euerye of them, and put them to further excution, according to the lawes of this realme.

Also the Chauncellor, treasurer of England, the Iustice of the one Bench and the other, Iustices of peace, Shirifes, Maiors and Bayliffes of cities and townes, and other Officers hauing gouernance of the people, which now be, or for the time, hereafter shall be, shal make othe in taking their charge and ministracion, to put their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make vtterly to cease, and destroy all maner of heresies and errors, cōmonly called Lollardies, within the precinctes of their offices and administrations, from time to time with all their power.

Also they shal assist the Bishoppes and their Commissaries, and them shall fauour and mayntaine as oftentymes as that to do, they or any of them, shal be required by the said Byshops or their commissaries, so that the Bishops or their commissaries, shall beare & pay the reasonable costes of the said officers and ministers, when and as often as they shall trauaile or ryde to arrest heretickes and Lollardes, or to assist the said Bishops or Commissaries by vertue of the kings lawes and statutes.

Moreouer the Iustices of the kings Bench, Iustices of peace,* and Iustices of Assise shal inquire at their Sessions and sittings, of all those that holde any errors or heresies, and who be their

mayntainers, receptors, fauourers and supporters, common wryters of bookes, as also of their sermons, schooles, conuenticles, congregations, confederacies.

Furthermore, if any person be endicted of any of the poynts abouesayd, the Iustices of the peace haue power to awarde agaynst them Acapias, and the shriues be bound to arrest such persons so endicted, as sone as they may be found by themselues, or by their Officers. And forsomuch as cognisaunce of heresie, errours, and Lollardies, appertayneth to the Iudge of holy church, and not to the Iudge secular, the persons so indicted to bee deliuered to the bishoppes of the places or their Commissaries, by indenture betweene them to be made within x. dayes after their arrest, or sooner if it can be done, thereof to be acquite or conuict by the lawes of holy church, in case that those persons be not endicted of other thinges, whereof the knowledge appeareth to the Iudges & Officers secular. In which case, after they bee acquite and deliuered afore the Iustice seculare, of those thinges pertayning to the Iudge seculare that they be conueyed in safegarde to ordinaries or their Commissaries, and to them to be deliuered by Indentures (as is abouesaid) there to be acquite or conuicted of the said heresies, errours and Lollordies, (as is abouesaide) after the lawes of holy church. Prouided that the Inditementes be not taken in euidence, but for an information afore the Iudges spirytuall, against such indicts, but that the Ordinaries cōmence their proces against those indicts in the same manner as no inditement had bene, hauing no regard to such inditements.

Moreouer, that no manner of person or persons, of what estate, degree or condition he or they be, do from henceforth presume to bring into this realme, or do sell, receiue take or detayne anye booke or worke printed or written, whiche is made, or hereafter shall be made agaynst the fayth Catholike, or against the holy decrees, lawes and ordinaunces of holy Church, or in reproche, rebuke, or slaunder of the kings, his honourable counsayle, or hys Lordes spirituall or temporall. And in case they haue any suche booke or woorke, they shall incontinent, vppon the hauing of them, bring the sayd booke or worke to the Bishop of the dioces, without concealement or fraude: or if they know any person hauing any of the sayd bookes, they shall detect them to the sayd bishoppe, all fauour or affection layde apart, and that they fayle not thus to do, as they will auoyd the kings high indignation and displeasure.

The bookes whiche in this Proclamation generallye are restrayned and forbidden, be afterwarde in the Register more specially named by the Byshops. Whereof the most part were in Latine, as are aboue recited, and some were in English, as these and other partly also aboue expressed.

- A disputation betweene the father and the sonne.
- A booke of the olde God and new.
- Godly prayers
- The Christian state of Matrimony.
- The burying of the Masse.
- The summe of the Scripture.
- Mattens and Euensong, vij Psalmes. and other heauenlye Psalmes, with the commendations, in English.
- [Page 1021](#)An exposition vpon the vij. Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinth.
- The Chapters of Moses, called Genesis.
- The Chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomos.
- The Matrymonie of Tyndall.

- Davids Psalter in English.
- The practise of Prelates.
- Hotlulus animae in English.
- A. B. C. against the Clergy.
- The examination of William Thorpe. &c.

Although these bookes wythall other of the lyke sort by the vertue of this proclamatiō were inhibited to al english men to vse or to reade: yet licence was graunted before, to sir Tho. More by Tonstall Bishop of London, An. 1527. that he notwithstāding might haue and peruse them, with a letter also sent to him from the sayd Bishop, or rather by y^e aduise of other bishyps, desiring him that he would shew his cunning and play the prety man, lyke a Demosthenes, in expugning the doctrine of these bookes & opinions: who albeit he was no great diuine, yet because he saw some towardnes in him by his booke of Utopia, & other fine Poetrie of his,*therefore hee thought him a meete man for their purpose, to withstand the procedings of the Gospel, either in making some apparance of reason agaynst it, or at least, to outface it and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked in his part, neyther good will nor labour to serue y^e Bishops turne, so farre forth as all his Rhethoricke coulde reache: filling vp with finenes of wit, and scoffing termes, where true knowledge and iudgement of Scripture dyd fayle: as by his workes & wrytings agaynst Bilney, Tyndall, Frith, Fish, Barnes, Luther &c. may soone bee discerned, if the reasons and maner of his hādling be wel waied: & rightlye examined with the touchstone of the scripatures. But now to fall into our story agayne:

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamatiō aforesayde, thus deuised and set out in the kinges name, an 1529. the Bishops which were the procurers hereof, had that now, which they would haue: neither dyd there lacke on their part any study vnapplyed, any stone vnremoued, any corner vnsearched, for y^e diligēt execution of y^e same. Wherupō ensued grieuous persecution, & slaughter of the faythfull. Of whom the first that went to wrack was Thomas Bilney, of whō sufficiently afore hath bene said: & the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the story here followeth.

¶Richarde Bayfield Martyr.

FOlowing the order of yeres and of tymes, as the course of our hystory requireth, next after the consummatiō of Tho. Bilney,* wee haue to entreate of the Martyrdome of Rich. Bayfield, which in the month of Nouemb. the same yere, which was the yere of our Lord, 1531. was burned in Smithfield.

This Rich. Bayfield sometime a Monke of Bury, was conuerted by D. Barnes, and ij. godly men of London, Brickemakers, M. Maxwell, and M. Stacy Wardens of their company. Who were grafted in the doctrine of Iesus Christ,* and through their godly conuersation of lyfe, conuerted many men and wemen, both in London and in the countrey: and once a yere of their owne cost, went about to visite the brethren and sisterne scattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that tyme muche resorted to the Abbey of Bery, where Bayfield was to one D. Ruffam, who had bene at Louaine together studentes.* At that time it happened that this Bayfield the Monke, was Chamberlaine of the house to prouide lodging for the straungers, and to see them well entertained: who deltyed muche in Doctor Barnes talke, and in the other lay mens talke afore rehearsed, and at the last Doctor Barnes gaue him a new Testament in Latin, and the other two gaue him Tyndals

Testament in English, with a booke called the wicked Mammon, and the Obedience of a christen man: * wherein he prospered so mightely in two yeares space, that he was cast into the prison of his house: there sore whipped, with a gagge in hys mouth and then stocked, and so continued in the same torment .iij. quarters of a yeare before D. Barnes coulde get him oute, whiche he brought to passe, by the meanes of D. Ruffam aforesayd, & so he was committed to D. Barnes to goe to Cambridge with him. By that tyme hee had bene there a good while, he tasted so well of good letters, that hee neuer returned home agayne to his Abbey, but wēt to Londō to Maxwel and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, & so conueyed him beyond the Sea. D. Barnes beinge then in the Fleete for Gods word. * This Bayfield mightely prospered in y^e knowledge of God, and was beneficiall to M. Tyndall and M. Frith, for hee brought substaunce wyth him, and was their owne hand, and solde all their workes and the Germaines workes both in Fraunce & in England, and at the last comming to London to M. Smithes house in Bucklers Bury, there was he bewrayed, & dogged from that house to his Bookebynders in marke lane, and there taken and caryed to Lollardes Tower, & from thence to the Colehouse, by reason y^t one person Patmore Parson of Much Haddam in Essex thē lying in Lollards Tower, was in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ there confirmed by hym. This Parson Patmore after lōg trouble was abiured and condemned by the Byshops to perpetuall prison and deliuered afterwarde by the kinges pardon. * As more appeareth in the sequele of hys storye among abiurers &c. He was taken because he maryed hys priest in those dayes. He had alwayes corne plentye and when the markets were very deare, he would send plenty of hys corne thither to plucke downe the prices thereof,

This Richard Bayfild being in the Colehouse was woorser handled then hee was before in the Lollardes tower, for there he was tyed both by the neck, * middle and legges, standing vpright by y^e walles, diuers times maniced, to accuse other y^t had bought hys books, but he accused none but stode to his religion and confession of his fayth vnto the very end, and was in the consistorie of Paules, thrise put to his triall, whether he would abiure or no. He sayd he would dispute for hys fayth, & so did to theyr great shame. Stokesley then being his iudge, with the assistance of Winchester and other Bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seene.

The articles layd to Richard Bayfield, by the foresayd Bishops were these, an. 1531. Nouemb. x,

¶Articles layd to Richard Bayfield.

First, that hee had bene many yeares a Monke professed of the order of S. Benet, * of S. Edmundes Bury in the diocesse of Norwiche.

2. That he was a priest and had ministred and continued in the same order, the space of 9. or x. yeares.

3. That sithens the feast of Easter last, hee being beyonde the sea, brought and procured to haue diuers and manye bookes and treatises of sundry sortes, as well of Martyne Luthers owne workes, as of diuers other of hys damnable sect, and of Oecolampadius the great heretique, and diuers other heretickes, both in Latine and Englishe, y^e names of which bookes were contayned in a little bill written with hys owne hand.

4. That in the yeare of our Lord. 1528. he was detected & accused to Cutb. then B. of London,* for affirming and hol|ding certayne Articles contrary to the holy Church, and specially that all laud and prayse should be geuen to God alone and not to sayntes or creatures.

5. That euery priest might preach the word of God by y^e authoritie of the Gospell, and not to runne to the Pope or Cardinals for licence as it appeared (sayd they) by his confession before the sayd Byshop.

6. That he iudicially abiured the sayde articles before the sayd Bishop, and dyd renounce and forswere them and all other articles contrarye to the determination of holye Church, promising that from thenceforth hee woulde not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a solemne othe vpon a booke, & the holy Euangelistes, to fulfill such penance as shoulde be enioyned hym by the sayd byshop.

8. After hys abiuration it was enioyned to hym for penance that he should goe before the crosse in procession, in the parish church of S. Buttolphes at Billings gate, and to beare a fagot of woode vpon hys shoulder.

9. It was enioyned hym in penance, that he shuld prouide an habite requisite and meete for hys order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go no where without such an habite, the which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewise enioyned him in penance, that sometyme before the feast of the ascension then next ensuing, hys abiuration, he should goe home vnto the Monastery of Bury, and there remayne according to the vowe of hys profession, which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appoynted by the sayd bishop of Londō to appeare before the sayd byshop, the 25. day of April, next after hys abiuration, to receiue the residue of his penance, and after hys abiuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

11. That the 20. day of Iune, next following hys abiuration, he did appeare before the sayd Bysh. Tonstall in the Chappell of the Byshop of Norwiche hys place, and there it was newly enioyned hym in part of penance, that hee shuld prouide him an habite cōuenient for his order, & pro|fession, w^tin 8. dayes then next following, whiche hee had not done.

[Page 1022](#) That it was there agayne enioyned him, that he should depart from the city, diocesse, & iurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the speciall licēce of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being, which he had not fulfilled.

¶The aunswer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles prefixed.

TO the first Article he confessed that hee was professed a Monke in the monastery aforesayd,* in the yeare .1414.

To the ij. Article he answered that he was a priest, and tooke orders. An. 1518.

To the third Article he confessed the bil and scedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought ouer the sayde bookes and workes a yeare and a half past, & a great number of euery sort. Being further demaunded for what intent he brought them into the realme, he aunswered, to the intent y^t the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more gloryfied in thys realme amongst Christen people, and that he had solde and dispersed many of those bookes before named, to sūdry persons within thys Realme, and to diuers of the diocesse of London. Being further demaunded whether Martin Luther were cōdemned as an heretike by the Pope, he answered that he heard say, that Martin Luther with all his sect and adherents, were and are condemned as heretikes by y^e Pope. And being demaūded, whether Zwinglius was of Luthers sect: he aunswered that he neuer spake with him. Being asked whether Zwinglius was a Catholicke: hee aunswered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the bookes contained in the scedules, did cōtain any errors in thē: he said, he could not tell, neither could he iudge. Also he confessed that the common fame hath bene within these ij. or iij. yeres, that Oecolampadius & Zwinglius be heretikes: also y^t such as leaue to Martin Luther be heretikes. Also he cōfessed that being beyond the sea, he heard say before he brought into this realme the bookes cōtained in the said bils, that y^e king had by proclamation prohibited that no man should bring into this realme any of Martin Luthers bookes, or of his sect. Which confession thus ended, y^e Bishop appointed him to appeare the next day.

Saterday being the xj. of Nouember, Richard Baifield appeared & acknowledged the aunswers, that he had made in the Session the day before. Which thing done, y^e Officiall obiected the 4, Article vnto him: wherunto he aunswered, y^t he could not tell whether there be any heresies in thē, for he had read no heresies in thē. And being demaūded whether he had read any of those bookes, he aūswered, y^t he had read y^e greater part of thē here & there, but not throughout.

He was demaunded, whether he beleueed the forenamed bookes to be good, and of the true faith. Hee aunswered that he iudged they were good, and of the true faith. Beyng enquired, what bookes he read in the realme, he sayd that hee had read the newe Testament in Latine, and other bookes mencioned in the bils,* but he read none trāslated: notwithstanding he did confesse that he read a booke called Thorpe, in the presence and audience of others, and also a booke of Iohn Friths purgatory, which he had read to himselfe alone as he sayd, and also had read to himselfe a booke called the practise of Prelates, & also said, that he had read a booke called the parable of y^e wicked Mammon, but in y^e presence and hearing of others, which he knew not.

Also he confessed that he had read the obedience of a christian man, and the summe of scripture among company, & also the dialogue betwixt the Plowman & the Gentleman among company, as he thought: also he had read a piece of y^e answer of Tindall made to sir Thomas More: likewise he had read the dialogue of Frith to himself: he had read also the Prologues of the v. bookes of Moses contained in y^e long scedule, and in company, as he thought.

All which bookes hee had read vnder maner aforesayde within these ij. yeres last past. And as for y^e new testament in english, he read it before he had these bookes specified in the scedules before rehearsed.

To the third article, as touching Zwinglius and others he supposed that they held y^e same doctrine that Luther did but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The 16. day of Nouember, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the Bishop, who inquired of him of what sect Zwinglius was. He said, he thought y^t hee helde with Luther in some points &c.

Also he confessed that first he brought bookes of y^e sortes abouenamed into this realme, about Midsomer was xij. moneth, & landed them at Colchester, & afterward brought part of them to this city, & some hee dispersed and solde in this city. The second tyme that he brought bookes, was about all Hollowntide was xij. month, and landed them at S. Catherines, the which bookes y^t L. Chaūcelor tooke frō him. Also that at Easter last, was the 3. time y^t hee brought ouer the bookes now shewed vnto him, & cōtained in these two bils, & landed with them in Norffolke, & from thence brought them to the city of London in a male.

To the v. vj. and vij. articles, he aunswered and confessed them to be true,

To the viij. he aunswered, that it was enioyned him, as is cōteined in the article, y^e which iniunction he fulfilled.

To the ix. he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the x. he answered, that it was adioined him that hee should go to the Abbey of Bery, & there cōtinue: the which he said he dyd 3. tymes, but he did not weare his Monkes cowle, as he was enioyned.

The xi. Article he confessed.

For the xij. Article, y^t he did not weare his monkes habit according to the abiuration, he referred hymselfe to y^e actes whether he were so enioyned or no.

To y^e xiiij. Article he said, y^t he did not remēber y^e contents therof, but referred him selfe to the actes. Notwithstāding he confessed, that he had no licence of the Bishop of Londō, to come to the citie or diocesse of London, nor to make anie abode there. Ex Registro Lond.

¶The sentence geuen against him in a case of relapse.

IN the name of God Amen. We Iohn by the sufferance of God, Byshop of London,* in a case of inquisition of heresie and relapse of the same, first begun before M. Rich. Foxfard, Doctor of both lawes, our officiall, now dependynge before vs vndecided, against thee Rich. Bayfield Priest and Monke, professed to the order & rule of S. Benedict, in the Monastery of S. Edmondes Bery, in the dioces of Norwich, and by the meanes of the causes within written vnder our iurisdiction, & withal fauour rightly and lawfullye proceeding, with al fauour possible y^e merites and circumstances of the cause of this inquisition heard, waied, vnderstand & fully discussed by vs the said Bishop, reseruing vnto our selues, y^e which by lawe ought to bee reserued: haue thought good to proceede in this maner to the pronoucing of our definitiue sentence.

Forsomuch as by the Actes enacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, & by thee iudicially confessed, we do finde that thou hast abiured certaine errors & heresies & damnable opinions, by thee confessed, aswel particularly as generally, before our reuerent fellowe and brother, then

thy Ordinary, according to the forme and order of the Churche and that one M. Luther together with his adherentes and complices, receiuers and fauourers what soeuer they bee, was cōdempned as an heriticke by the authoritie of Pope Leo the x. of most happy memory, and by the authoritie of the Apostolicke Sea, and the bookes & al writings, scedules and Sermons of the sayde maister Luther, his adherentes and complices whether they be found in Latine or in anye other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold heresies and errours, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproued, and vtterly reiected, and inhibition made by the authoritie of the said Sea to al faithful Christians, vnder the payne of excommunication and other punishments in that behalfe to bee incurred by the law, that no man by any meanes presume to read, teache, heare, imprint, or publishe, or by any meanes do defend, directly or vndirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses or in any other publike or priuat places, any such maner of writings, bookes, errours or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apostolike letters, drawne out in forme of a publicke instrument, wherunto and to the contents thereof, we referre our selues as farre as is expedient, and no otherwise: And for somuche as we doe perceauue that thou diddest vnderstand the premisses, and yet these things notwithstanding, after thy abiuration made (as is aforesayd) thou hast brought in diuers & sundry tymes, many bookes of y^e said Martin Luther and his adherentes and complices, and of other heretickes, the names, titles, and authors of which bookes here follow and are these, Martine Luther of the abrogating of the priuate Masse. The declarations of M. Luther vpon the Epistles of Peter. Luther vppon the Epystles of Paule and Iude.* Luther vppon monasticall vowes. Luthers commentary vppon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Galathians.

Iohannes Oecolampadius vppon the exposition of these words: Hoc est corpus meum. The Annotations of Oecolāpadius vpon the Epistles of Paule vnto the Romans, Oecolāpadius his Commētary vpon the 3. last prophets, Aggeus, Zacharie, and Malachie. The Sermons of Oecolampadius vppon the Catholicke Epistles of Iohn. A booke of Annotations vpon Genesis, gathered of Huldecus [Page 1023](#) Zwinglius. The Commentaries of Pomeran vppon foure chapters of the 1. Epistle to the Corinth. Annotations of Pomeran vpon Deut. and Samuell. Pomeran vpon the Psalmes. The Commentaries of Frances Lambert of Auinion, vpon the Gospell of S. Luke. A Congest of all matters of Diuinitie by Fraunces Lambert. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert vpon the Prophet Ioel. The Commentaries of Fraunces Lambert vpō the Prophetes, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, and Osee. A new G•ose of Philip Melancton vpon the Prouerbes of Salomon. The Comentaries of Philip Melancton, vpon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Colos. The Annotations of Philip Melancton, vpon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romans, and vpō y^e Epistle to the Colo. Salomons sentences translated according to the Hebrew by Philip Melancton. Most wholesome Annotations vpon the Gospel of S. Marke, by Christopher Hegendorphinus. The Cōmentaries of Iohn Brentius vpon Iob. The Commentary of Iohn Brentius vpō Ecclesiastes of Salomon. Hoꝛmilies of Brentius vpō the Gospel of S. Iohn. The Annotations of Andrew Althomarus, & Brentius vpon the Epistle of S. Iames. The Commentaries of Bucer vpon Sophonias. Bucer vpon the 4. Euangelistes. The proces Cōsistorial of the Martyrdome of Iohn Husse. A briefe commendatory of M. Luther vnto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the life, doctrine and Martirdome of Iohn Hus. Felmus vpon the psalter, his exposition vpon Esay, his expositions vpon Ieremie. Capito vpon Oseas. Capito vpon Abacuc. Vnio dissidentium. The Pandect of Otho. The Cataloge of famous men. An aunswere of Tyndall vnto Syr Thomas More. A disputation of Purgatory made by Ioh. Frith in English. A prologue to the v. book of Moyses called Deuteronomy. The first booke of

Moyses called Genesis. A prologue to the iij. booke of Moyses called Leuiticus. A prologue to the iiij. booke of Moyses Num. A prologue to the ij. booke of Moyses called Exod. The practise of prelates. The new Testament in English, with an introductiō to the Romaines. The parable of the wicked Mammon. The obedience of a Christian man. A. B. C. of Thorpes. The Summe of Scripture. The primer in English.* The Psalter in English. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman: Of all which kynde of books both in Latin and English, translated, set forth and imprinted, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other heretiks condemned, for as much as thou hast brought ouer from the parties beyōd the Sea a great number into this Realme of England, & specially to our Citie and Dioces of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conueied ouer, also hast kept by thee and studied those books, and hast published & read them vnto diuers men, and many of those bookes also hast dispersed and giuen vnto diuers persons dwelling within our Citie and Dioces of London, & hast confessed and affirmed before our Officiall, that those books of M. Luther and other heretikes his complices and adherentes, and all the conten•es in them are good & agreable to the true faith, saying thus, that they are good and of the true faith, and by this meanes and pretence, hast commēded and praised M. Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast fauoured & beleued their errors, heresies and opinions: Therefore we Iohn the Bishop aforesaid, first calling vpon the name of Christ,* and setting God only before our eyes, by the counsell and consent of the Diuines, and Lawiers, with whom in this behalf we haue conferred, do declare and decree thee the foresaide Richard Bayfild, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abiuration, as a fauorer of the foresaid M. Luther, his adherentes, complices, fauourers, and other condemned hereticks, and for commending and studying, reading, hauing, retaining, publishing, selling, giuing, and dispersing the bookes and writings, as well of the sayd M. Luther, his adherentes and disciples, as of other heretikes before named, and also for crediting, and maintayning the errors and heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthely to be and haue bene an hereticke, and that thou by the pretence of the premisses art fallen again most damnably into heresie, and we pronounce that thou art and hast bene a relapsed hereticke, and hast incurred and oughtest to incur the payne and punishment of a relapse, and we so decree & declare, and also condemne thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premisses, thou hast euen by the law, incurred the sentence of greater excommunication, and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to haue bene and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate and disgrace thee from all priuiledge and prerogatiue of the Ecclesiasticall orders, and also depriue thee of all Ecclesiasticall office and benefice: also we pronounce and declare thee by this our sentence or decree, the which wee here promulgate and declare in these writings, that tho• art actually to be disgraced, deposed, and depriued as followeth.

IN the name of God. Amen. We Iohn by the permission of God, Byshop of London,* rightly and lawfully proceeding in this behalfe, doe dimisse thee Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somersam, being pronounced by vs a relapsed hereticke, and disgraced by vs frō all Ecclesiastical priuiledge, out of the Ecclesiasticall Court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receiue thee vnder their iurisdiction, earnestly requiring and desiring in the bowels of Iesu Christ,* that the execution of this worthy punishment, to be done vpon thee, and against thee in this behalfe, may be so moderated, that there be neither ouermuch crueltie, neither to much fauorable gentlenes, but y^t it may be to the health and saluation of thy soule, and to the extirpation, feare, terrour, and conuersion of al other heretickes vnto the vnitie of the Catholike faith. This our finall decree by this our sentence definitiue, we haue caused to be published in forme aforesaid.

Monday the xx. of Nouember. 1531. In the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul before the saide Iohn Byshop of London iudicially sitting,* being assisted with Iohn Abbot of Westminster, and Robert Abbot of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Christes Church in London, these honorable Lordes being also present, Henry Earle of Essex, Richard Gray, brother of the Marques of Somerset, Iohn Lambert Maior of London, Richard Gresham and Edward Altam Shrieffes (the which Maior and Shriues were required to be there present by the Byshop of Londons letters hereafter written,* and by vertue of a statute of king Henry the fourth king of Englande) also in the presence of diuers Chanons, the Chauncellour, Officiall, and Archdeacon of London, with the Byshops Chaplaines, and a great number both of the Clergie and Laitie, Mathew Grefton the Register beyng also there present: M. Rich. Bayfild aliâs Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turnor the Aparator hys keeper,* in whose presence the transumpt of the Apostolicke Bull of Pope Leo the x. vpon the condemnation of Martine Luther and his adherentes, was brought foorth and shewed, sealed with the seale of Thomas Wolsey late Legate de Latere, and subscribed with the signe and name of M. Robert Tunnes, publike Notary, and also the decree vpon the condemnation of certain bookes brought in by him, sealed with the seale of the Archbyshop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three Notaries.

Then the Byshop of London repeated in effecte before him, his abiuration which he had before made, and other hys demerites committed and done, beside his abiuration: and the sayde Baifield saide, that he was not culpable in the articles that were obiected against hym, and desired that the heresies contained in the bookes whiche he brought ouer, might be declared in open audience. Then the Byshop, after certeine talke had with the saide Bayfield as touching the desert of his cause, asked hym whether he could shewe any cause why he should not be deliuered ouer vnto the seculer power, and be pronounced as a relaps, and suffer punishment as a relaps. The sayd Baifield declared or propounded no cause, but said, y^t he brought ouer those bookes for lacke of money, and not to sowe any heresies. And incontinent the sayd Bayfield with a vehement spirite (as it appeared) sayde vnto the Byshop of Lond. the life of you of the spiritualtie is so euill, that yee be heretickes, and ye doe not onely liue euill,* but doe maintaine euill liuing, and also do let, that what true lyuing is, may not be knowen, & saide that their liuing is agaynst Christes Gospell, and that their beliefe was neuer taken of Christes Church. Then the sayde Byshop, after long deliberation had, for so much as the sayd Rich. Bayfield (he sayd) could shew no cause why he should not be declared as relaps, he read the decree and sentence against him: by the which amongst other thinges, he condemned him as an heretike, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due vnto such as fall againe into heresie, and by his wordes did disgrace him,* and also declared that hee shoulde be actually disgraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

The foresayd sentence being so read by the Byshop of London, he proceeded immediatly to the actual & solemne disgradyng of the sayd Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somersam, and there solemely and actually disgraded him before the people, the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesayd, from the Ecclesiasticall Court. Wherupon the secular power being there present, receiued him vnto their iurisdiction, without any writte in that behalfe obtained, but only by vertue of the Byshops letters by the [Page 1024](#) statute of kyng Henry the .4. in that behalfe prouided and directed vnto them vnder the Bishops seale. The tenour o• which letters here after folow.

***The Letters of requirie directed to the Maior and Shiriffes of the Citie of London, that they should be present that day, when the sentence should be giuen, to receiue the heretike (as they called him) that was condemned.**

IHon by the permission of God Byshop of London, vnto our dearely beloued in Christ,* the right honourable Lord Maior of the Citie of London, and the Shiriffes of the same, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we haue already by our Vicar general proceeded in a certaine cause of heresie and relaps into the same, against one Richayd Bayfilde, alias Somersam, and intende vpon Monday next beeing the xx. day of this present moneth of Nouember, to giue a sentence definitiue against the saide Richard Bayfild alias Somersam, and to leaue and deliuer him ouer vnto the secular power: We require you the Lord Maior and Shiriffes aforesaid, the Kinges Maiesties Vicegerentes, euen in the bowels of Iesu Christ, that according to the forme and effect of the statute of our most noble and famous prince in Christ our Lord, the Lord Henry the fourth by the grace of God late King of England, that you will be personally present in the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, with your fauourable ayde and assistance in this behalfe, the day that the sentence shall be giuen, and to receiue the said Richard Bayfild, aliâs Somersam, after his sentence so giuen, to discharge vs and our Officers, and to doe further according to the tenour and effect of the saide statute, as farre as shal be required of you according to the Canonical Sanctions, and the laudable custome of the famous kingdome of England, in this behalfe accustomed.

In witnesse whereof wee haue set our seale vnto this present, Dated the 19 day of Nouember. An. 1531. and in the first yeare of our consecration.

On Monday the xx. day of Nouember in the yeare aforesaid, in the Queere of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, the byshop of London calling vnto him Iohn Abbot of Westminster, Robert Abbot of Waltam, Nicholas Prior of Christes Church of the Citie of London, maister Iohn Coxe Auditor and Uicare generall to the Archebyshop of Canterbury, Peter Ligham Official of the Court of Caunterbury. Thomas Baghe Chauncellour of the Church of S. Paules, William Clief, Archdeacon of London, Iohn Incent Chanon residentiary of the same, William Brytton, Robert Birch, and Hugh Aprice, Doctours of both lawes, in the presence of vs Mathew Grefton Register, Antony Hussy, Richard Martin and Thomas Shadwall publicke Notaries and Scribes appoynted in this behalfe, briefly rehearsed the aunsweres of the same Bayfild in effect, and his abiuration, & other his demerites by him done beside his abiuration. The which religious persons and other Ecclesiasticall men aboute sayd,* thought it good and agreed y^t the sayd Byshop should proceede agaynst hym in this case of relaps, and should pronounce and giue forth the sentence against him, in case aforesaid, and so he was deliuered to the Shriffes to cary to Newgate, beyng commaunded to bring him againe vpon Monday following, into Paules vpper Queere, there to giue attendaunce vpon the byshop of London with the residue till they haue done with him,* & by and by the Sheriffes were commaunded to haue him into the Uestry, and then to bring him forth agayne in Antichristes apparell to be disgraded afore them.* When he had disgraded him kneeling vpon the highest steppe of the aultar, he took his Crosier staffe, and smote him on the breast, that he threwe him downe backwardes, and brake his head that he sounded, and when he

came to himselfe again, he thanked God that he was deliuered from the malignaunt Church of Antichrist, & that he was come into the true sincere Church of Iesus Christ militaunt here in earth, and I trust anone (said he) to be in heauen with Iesus Christ, & the Church triumphaunt for euer, and so was he lead forth through y^e Queere to Newgate, and there rested about an houre in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparell manfully & ioyfully, and there for lacke of a speedy fire, was two quarters of an houre aliue. And when the left arme was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, & it fell from his body, and he continued in praier to the end without mouing.

Syr Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not after his death, to rae in his ashes, to pry and spie out what sparkes he could finde of reproche and contumely, whereby to rase out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof, he hath found out two thinges to lay against him. The one is, that he saith, he went aboute to sure himselfe to two wiues at once, one in Brabant, an other in England. The second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in vtter dispayre of his pardon, hee was content to forswear his doctrine, & letted not to disclose his brethren. For y^e answer wherof, although there were no more to be sayd, yet

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Richard Bayfield.

* this were inough to say, that M. More thus sayth of hym a man so blynded in the zeale of Popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate vnto the other, y^t in them whom he fauoureth, he can see nothing but al fayre roses and sweete vertue: * in the other which he hateth, there is neuer a thing can please his phantasie, but al as blacke as pitch, vice, abhominatiō heresie & folly, what soeuer they doe, or entend to doe. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as also of other moe, I will deferre the defence of them, to a seuerall Apology by it self, hereaf- (God willing) to be adioyned.

***Iohn Teukesbery Leatherseller of London Martyr.**

IOhn Tewksbery was conuerted by the reading of Tindals Testament, and the wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. * In all poyntes of religion he openlye did dispute in the Byshops Chappell in hys pallace. Who in y^e doctrine of iustification and all other articles of his fayth was very expert, and prompt in hys aunsweres, in suche sort as Tonstall and all his learned men were ashamed, y^t a Leatherseller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heauenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist hym. This disputation continued a seuennight. The processe of whose examinations, Articles and aunsweres, here follow as they are out of the bishops Register extracted.

On Wensday the 21. day of Aprill, in the yeare of oure Lord. 1529. * Iohn Stewkesbery was brought into the Cōsistory at London before Cutbert Byshop of London and his assistaunces, Henry Bishop of S. Asse, and Iohn Abbot of Westminster. Unto whom the Byshop of London declared that hee had at diuers times exhorted hym to recant the errors and heresies, whiche he held and defended, euen as hee did thē agayn exhort him, not to trust to much to his own wit &

learning, but vnto the doctrine of y^e holy mother the Church. Who made aunswere that in his iudgement, he did not erre from the doctrine of y^e holy mother the Church. And at the last, being examined vpon errores, which (they sayd) were in the sayd booke called y^t wicked Mammon, he aunswere thus: Take ye the book and read it ouer, and I thinke in my consciēce, ye shal finde no fault in it. And beyng asked by the sayd bysh. whether he dyd rather geue credite to hys book or to the Gospell: [*](#) he answered that the gospell is and euer hath bene true. And moreouer being particularly examined what hee thought of this article, that the Iewes of good intent and zeale slue Christ, he answered, look ye the booke through, before and after, as it lyeth, and ye shall finde a better tale in it, then ye make of it, & further thought that whosoeuer translated y^e new testament, and made the booke, meaning the wicked [Page 1025](#) Mammon, he did it of good zeale, and by the spirite of god.

Also being farther asked by the sayd Bishop of Londō, whether he would stand to the contentes of his booke, hee aunswere: [*](#) looke ye the booke before and after, and I wyll be cōtent to stand to it. The being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing, he aunswere, that a man should do good works for the loue of God only, & for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in heauen: for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demaunded whether that Christ with all his workes did not deserue heauen. He answered and sayd: that it was playne enough. Which thinges being done, the Bishoppe sayd further to Iohn Tewkesbery thus: I tell thee before God and those which are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the Articles aboue named, and many other more contained in the same booke, [*](#) are false hereticall, and condemned by the holy Church: howe thinkest thou? And further, the sayd Bishop of London sayd vnto him agayne: I tel thee before God and those which are here present. &c. and so asked him agayne what he thought of those Articles. And after many exhortations, he commaunded him to aunswere determinately vnder payne of the lawe, saying further vnto him, that if he refused to aunswere, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretick according to the order of the law. Which thinges so done, the Bishop asked Iohn Tewkesbery agayne, whether the sayd booke called the wicked Mammon were good?

[*](#)To which interrogatory he aunswereth, that he thinketh in his cōscience, there is nothing in the booke, but that which is true. And to this article obiected, that is, that faith onely iustifieth without workes, he aunswereth that it is well sayd. Wherunto the Bishop inferred agayne, that the articles before obiected, with diuers other contained in the booke called the wicked Mammon, were false, erronious, damnable and hereticall, and reprobued and condemned by the Church: and before God and all those that were presēt, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often & very gētly exhorted the sayd Iohn Tewkesbery, that he would reuoke and renoūce his errors, otherwise if he did intend to perseuere in them, he must declare him an hereticke, which he would be very sory to do. These thinges thus done, the Bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should choose what spirituall or temporall man he woulde to be his Counsellor, and gaue him time as before, to deliberate with himself vntill the next sitting.

Also in the same moneth of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord aforesayd, [*](#) the Bishop of London Cutbert Tonsal sitting in the Consistory, with Nicolas of Elye, Iohn of Lincolne, and Iohn of Bathe and Welles. &c. This Iohn Tewkesbery was brought before them. After certeyne Articles being repeated vnto him, the Byshoppe of London brought out before him a certeine booke called the wicked Mammon, asking him whether the booke was of the same impression and

making, as was his booke that he had sold to others. Who answered and sayd, it was the same. Whervpon the bishop of London asked him agayn, whether the booke contained the same errors or no. Who aunswered agayne, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the Gospell and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that ye be not in perill for it: for the cōdemnatiō of it, and of the other is all one, Further he said, that he had studied holy Scripture by the space of these 17. yeares, and as he may see the spottes of his face through the glasse, so in reading the new Testament he knoweth the faultes of his soule. Further, he was examined vpon certeine points and articles, extracted out of the sayd booke of the wicked Mammon, as foloweth.

*First, that Antechrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should sodenly appere with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him, but Antechrist is a spirituall thing. Whereunto he answered and sayd that he findeth no fault in it, Agayne it was demaunded of him touchyng the article, whether fayth onely iustifieth a man. To thys he sayd, that if he should looke to deserue heauen by works, he should do wickedly, for workes folow fayth, and Christ redemed vs all with the merites of his passion.

That the deuil holdeth our harts so hard, that it is impossible for vs to consent to Gods law. To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

*That the law of God suffereth no merites, neither any man to be iustified in the sight of God. To that he aunswered, that it is playne enough considering what the law is, and he sayth, that he findeth no ill in it.

*That the law of God requireth of vs thinges impossible. To that he answered, that the law of God doth commaund, that thou shalt loue God aboue all things, and thy neyghbors as thy selfe, which neuer man could doe, and in that he doth finde no fault in his conscience.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruite,* so there is no law put to him that beleueth & is iustified throgh faith. To that he aunswered and sayd, he findeth no ill in it.

All good workes must be done without respect of any thing, or any profite to be had thereof. To that he aunswered, it is truth.

Christ with all his workes did not deserue heauen. To that he aunswered, that the text is true as it lyeth, and findeth no fault in it.*

Peter and Paule and Saynts that be dead, are not our frendes, but theyr frendes whom they did helpe when they were aliue. To that he sayd, he findeth no ill in it.

Almes deserueth no reward of God To that he answered, that the text of the booke is true.*

The deuill is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer. To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

We can not loue except we see some benefite and kindnes, as long as we liue vnder the law of God only,* where we see but sinne and damnation, and the wrath of God vp on vs, yea where we were damned afore we were borne. We cānot loue God, nor can not but hate him as a tyrant, vnrighteous & vniust, and flee from him, as did Cain.* To that he answereth, and thinketh it good & playne enough.

We are damned by nature, as a tode is a tode by nature and a Serpent is a Serpent by nature. To that he answered it to be true as it is in the booke.

Item, as concerning the article of fasting.* To that hee answered and sayd, the booke declareth it selfe.

Euery one man is a Lord, of whatsoever another man hath. To that he answered, what lawe canne be better then that, for it is playnely ment there.

Loue in Christ putteth no difference betwixte one and another. To that he aunswered and sayde, it is playne enough of it selfe.

As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference, as cōcerning saluation, and as touchinge the pleasing of God To that hee aunswered saying, it is a playne text, and as for pleasing of God, it is all one.

That the Iewes of good intent and zeale put Christ to death. To that he aunswered, that it is true,* and the text is playne enough.

The sectes of S. Fraunces, S. Dominicke, and others be damnable. To that he answered and sayd S. Paule repugneth agaynst them.* Which articles being so abiected & answeare made vnto them by Iohn Tewkesbery, the sayd Bishop of London asked him whether hee woulde continue in his heresyas and errors aboue rehearsed, or renoūce and forsake them. Who answered thus: I pray you reforme your selfe, and if there be any error in the booke, let it be reformed: I thinke the booke be good enough.

Further, the Bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To the which the sayd Iohn Tewkesbery aunswered as is aboue written: to witte, I pray you reforme your selfe, and if there be any error in the booke, let it be reformed, I thinke it be good enough. Which thing being done, the bishop appoynted him to determine better with himselfe agaynst the morow, in the presence of M. Iohn Cox, Uicar generall to the Archbishop of Caunterbury, M. Balfride Warton, Rouland Philips, Wiliam Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of diuinity.

The 13. day of Aprill,* in the yeare of our Lorde abouesayde, in the Chappel within the Pallace of Londō, before Cutbert bishop of Londō with his assistance, Nicolas, byshop of Elye. &c. Tewkesbery agayne appeared and was examined vpon the articles drawen out of the book, called the wicked Mammon, as foloweth.

First, Christ is thine and all his deedes be thy deedes: Christ is in thee and thou so knit in him inseperably: neyther canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned wyth thee, neither cāst thou be saued except Christ be saued with thee. To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, we desire one an other to pray for vs. That done,* we must put our neighbour in remembraunce of his duty, and that we trust not in his holynesse. To this he aunswered, take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Item,* now seest thou what almes meaneth and wherfore it serueth. He that seeketh with his almes, more then to be mercifull: to be a neighbour, to succour his brothers need: to do his duty to his brother: to geue his brother that he ought him: the same is blind & seeth not Christes bloud. Here he answereth,* that he findeth no fault throughout all the booke, but all the booke is good, and it hath geuen him great comfort and light to his conscience.

Item that ye do nothing to please God, but that he cōmaunded. To that he answereth and thinketh it good, by his truth.

[Page 1026](#)Item, so God is honored on all sides, in that we coūt him righteous in all his lawes and ordinaunces. And to worship him otherwise then so, it is Idolatry. To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these Articles being done, the Bishop of London did exhort the sayd Iohn Tewkesbery to recant his errors abouesayde: and after some other cōmunication had by the Bishop with him, the sayd Bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appoynted him to determine with himselfe against the next Session, what he would do.

*IN this next Session he submitted himselfe and abiured his opinions, and was enioyned penance, as foloweth, which was the 8. of May.

In primis, that he should keepe well his abiuration vnder payne of relaps.

Secondly, that the next Sondag folowing in Paules Church in the open procession, he should cary a Fagot, and stand at Paules Crosse with the same.

That the Wednesday folowing he should cary the same Fagot about Newgate market and Chepeside.

That on Friday after, he should take the same fagot agayne at S. Peters church in Cornehill, and cary it about the market of Ledenhall.

That he should haue 2. signes of Fagots embrothered, one on his left sleue, & the other on his right sleue, which he should weare all his life time, vnles he were otherwise dispensed withall.

That on Whitsonday euē he should enter into the Monastery of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and there to abide, and not to come out vnles he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of y^e city or dioces of London, without the speciall licence of the B. or his successors. Which penance he entred into the 8 day of May. an. 1229.

And thus much concerning his first examinatioⁿ, which was in the yeare .1529. at what time he was inforced thorow infirmitye as is before expressed to retract and abiure his doctrine.*
Notwithstāding, the same Iohn Tewkesbery, afterward cōfirmed by the grace of God, and moued by y^e example of Bayfield aforesayd that was burned in smithfield, did returne and constantly abide in the testimonye of the truth and suffered for the same. Who recouering more grace, & better strength at the hand of the Lord, two yeares after being apprehended agayne, was brought before Syr Thomas More, and the Bishop of Londō, where certaine Articles were objected to him: the chiefe wherof we intēd briefly to recite, for the matter is prolix.

In primis, that he confesseth that he was baptised, and intendeth to keepe the Catholicke fayth.

*Secondly that he affirmeth that the abiuration, othe, & subscription that he made before Cutbert late Byshop of London, was done by compulsion.

Thirdlye, that he had the bookes of the obedience of a Christian man, and of the wicked Mammon in his custody, and hath read them since his abiuration.

Fourthly, that he affirmeth that he suffered the two fagots that were embrothered vpon his sleue, to be taken frō him for that he deserued not to weare them.

Fiftly, he sayth that fayth onely iustifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixtly, he sayth that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for vs, & therefore no prayer is to be made vnto any Sayntes. Wherupon they layd vnto him this verse of the Antheme. Salue Regina, aduocata nostra. &c. To the which he aunswered, that he knew no other Aduocate but Christ alone.

Seuenthly, he affirmeth that there is no Purgatory after this life,* but that Christ our Sauior is a sufficient purgation for vs.

Eightly, he affirmeth that the soules of the faythful departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, he affirmeth y^t a priest by receiuing of orders, receiueth more grace, if his fayth be increased, or els not.

Tenthly, and last of all, he beleueth that the sacrament, of the flesh & bloud of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in flesh & bloud as it was borne of y^e virgin Mary. Whervpon the Byshops Chauncellor asked the sayd Tewkesbery, if he could shew any cause why he should not be takē for an hereticke falling into his heresy agayne, and receiue the punishment of an hereticke. Wherunto he aunswered, that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong agayne.

Then the Chauncellor caused the articles to be read opēly, with the aunsweres vnto the same, the which the sayde Tewkesbery confessed, & therupon the Bishop pronounced sentence agaynst him, & deliuered him vnto the Shyriffes of Londō for y^e time being, who were Rich. Greshā, & Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield vpō S. Thomas euen, being the 20. of Decēber, in the yeare aforesayd, the tenor of whose sentence pronounced agaynst hym by the Bishop, doth here ensue word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. The deseruinges and circūstances of a certein cause of hereticall prauity, & falling again thereunto by thee Iohn Tewkesbery of the Parish of S. Michaels in the Querne, of the City of Londō, & of our iurisdiction, appearing before vs sitting in iudgement, being heard, seene, & vnderstand, & fully discussed by vs Iohn by the sufferance of God, bishop of Londō, because we do find by inquisitions manifestly enough, that thou didst abiure freely & voluntarily before Cutbert, late Bishop of Londō thy ordinary, diuers & sundry heresies errors & damnable opinions, contrary to y^e determination of our mother holy church, as well speciall, as generall, & that since and beside thy foresaid abiuration, thou art agayne fallen into y^e same damnable heresies, opiniōs, & errors, (which is greatly to be lamēted) & the same doest hold, affirme & beleue: we ther'fore Iohn the Bishop aforesayd, the name of God first being called vpon, & the same only God set before our eyes, & with the coūsell of learned men assisting vs in this behalfe (with whō in this cause we haue cōmunicated of our definitiue sentence & finall decree, in this behalfe to be done) do intēd to proceed & do proceed in this maner. Because as it is aforesayd, we do finde thee, the foresayd Iohn Tewkesbery of our iurisdiction, to be a contēner of the first abiuration, & moreouer, before & after the foresaid first errors, and other dānable opinions, to haue fallen & to be an hereticke fallen, & to haue incurred the payn of such fallen hereticks: we do pronounce, determine, declare, & condemne thee of y^e premisses, to haue incurred the daūger of the greac excōmu'nication, & do pronouce thee to be excōmunicated, & also do declare thee the sayd Tewkesbery so dānably fallē agayne into heresy, to be in the secular power & in their iudgemēt, (as the holy Canons haue decreed) & here we do leaue thee to the foresayd secular power & to their iudgement, beseeching them earnestly in the bowelles of Iesus Christ, that such seure punishment and execution as in this behalfe is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigor be vsed,* but to the health and saluation of thy soule, and to the terror, feare, and rooting out of heretickes & theyr conuersion to the Catholicke fayth & vnity, by this our finall decree, which we declare by these our writings.

This foresayd sentence definitiue agaynst Iohn Tewkesbery was read and pronounced by the Bishop of London, the 16, day of the month of December, the yeare aforesayd,* in the house of Syr Thomas More high Chauncellor of England, in the Parish of Chelsey. After the whych sentence, the Sheriffes receiued the foresayd Tewkesbery into theyr custody, and caried him away with them, and afterwarde burned him in Smithfield, as is aforesayd, hauing no writ of the king for theyr warrant.

***The apprehension of one Edward. Frese, a Paynter.**

EDward Freese was borne in Yorke, and was Prentise to a Paynter in the same Citty, and by the reason of working for his maister in Bearsy Abbay,* or by some such occasion, was knowne vnto the Abbot of the same house, for he was a boy of a pregaunt witte, and the Abbot fauored him so much, that he bought his yeares of his mayster, and would haue made him a Monke. And

the ladde not liking that kinde of liuing, and not knowing how to gette out, because he was a Nouice, ran away after a long space and came to Colchester in Essex, and remayning there according to his former vocation, was married and liued like an honest man. After he had bene there a good time, he was hyred to paynt certayne clothes for the new Inne in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market place, & in the vpper border of the clothes, he wrote certeine sentences of the Scripture, and by that he was plainly knowne to be one of them which they call heretickes.

And on a time he being at his worke in the same Inne they of the Towne, when they had sene his work,* went about to take him, & he hauing some incling therof, thought to shift for himselfe, but yet was taken forceably in y^e yarde of the same Inne, & after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham to the bishops house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certein others of Essex, that is to wit one Iohnson and his wife, Wyllye, his wife and his sonne, & father Bate of Rowshedge.* They were fedde with fyne manchet made of saw dust, or at the least, a great part therof, and were so straightly kept, that theyr wiues and theyr frendes could not come at them.

After the Painter had bene there a long space, by much sute he was remoued to Lollardes tower. His wife in the time of her sute, whiles he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, & preasing to come in at the gate, [Page 1027](#) being then bigge with child, the porter lift vp his foote and stroke her on the belly,* that at lēgth she dyed of y^e same, but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all stocked for a long time, & then they were let lose in theyr prisons againe. Some had horse locks on theyr legs, & some had other yrons. This painter woulde euer be writing on the walles with chauke or a coale, & in one place he wrote Doct. Dodipall would make me beleue that the Moone were made of grene cheese. And because he would be writing many thinges, he was maniced by the wrestes, so long till the flesh of his armes was growne higher then his yrons. By the meanes of his manicles he could not kemme his head, and he remayned so long maniced that his heare was felded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after long sute, he was brought out in the Consistory at Paules,* and as his brother did report, they kept him three dayes without meate, before he came to his answeare. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much euill handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but looke and gase vpon the people like a wilde man, and they asked hym anye questiō, he could say nothing, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had spilt his body, and destroyed his wittes, they sent him backe agayne to Bersie Abbey, but he came away againe from thence, and would not tary amongst them: albeit he neuer came to his perfect minde, to his dying day.

*His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Ualentine Freese & his wife, gaue theyr liues at one stake in Yorke, for the testimony of Iesus Christ.

Also the wife of the sayd father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king, wythout redresse, & at the last she deliuered one to his owne hands, and he read it himselfe, whereupon she was appoynted to go into Chaūcery lane, to one whose came (as is thought) was M. Selyard, & at the last, she got a letter of the same Selyard to the Byshop, and when she had it,

she thought all her sute welbestowed, hopinge that some good shoulde come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked officers in those dayes, were crafty and desirous of his bloud, as some others had proued theyr practise, some of her frendes would needes see the content of her letter,* and not suffer her to deliuer it to the bishop, & as they thought, so they found in deed, for it was after this maner.

After commendations had▪ &c. Looke what you can gather agaynst Father Bate, send me word by your trustye frend Syr William Saxy,* that I may certify the kinges Maiesty. &c. Thus the poore woman, when she thought he• sute had bene done, was in lesse hope of her husbandes life thē before. But within short space after, it pleased God to deliuer him: for he gate out in a darcke night & so was caught no more, but dyed within a short time after.

In this yeare also, as we do vnderstād by diuers notes of old Registers and otherwise,* Frier Roy was burned in Portugale: but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can haue no vnderstāding: but what his doctrine was it may be easely iudged by the testimonies, which he left here in England.

In y^e beginning of this yeare which we are now about, through the complaynt of the Clergy made to the king, the translation of the new Testament with a great number of other bookes, were forbiiddē. For the Bishoppes comming into Starre chamber the 25th day of May, and communing with the kinges Counsell, after many pretences and long debating, alledged that the translation of Tindall and loy were not truely translated, and moreouer that in thē were Prologues and Prefaces,* that smelled of heresy, and railed agaynst the Bishops, wherefore all such bookes were prohibited, and commaundement geuen by the king to the byshops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the Uniuersities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorāt in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commaundement, the byshops did nothing at all, to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tyndals translation, by reason whereof many thinges came to light, as ye shall hereafter heare.

This yeare also, in the moneth of May, the Byshop of London caused all the new Testaments of Tindals translation, and many other bookes which he had bought, to be brought •nto Paules Churchyard, and there openly to be burned.

¶James Bainham Lawyer and Martyr.

IAmes Bainham Gentleman, sonne to one M. Bainhā a knight of Glocestershyre,* being vertuously brought vp by his parents, in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latine & the Greeke tongue. After that, he gaue himselfe to the study of the lawe, beinge a man of vertuous disposition, & godly conuersation, mightely addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of y^e Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberall to scholers, very mercifull to his clients, vsing equity and iustice to the poore, very diligent in geuing counsell to all the needy, widowes, fatherles, and afflicted, without mony or reward, briefly a singular example to al Lawyers.

This M. Bainham, as is aboue noted, maryed the wife of Symon Fishe aforesayd, for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Syr Tho. More Chauncellor of England, and arrested with a Sergeant at Armes, and caryed out of the middle Temple▪ to the Chauncellors house at Chelsey, where he continued in free prison a while, till the time that Syr Tho. More sawe hee could not preuayle in peruerting of him to his secte. Then he cast him in prison in his owne house, and whipped hym at the tree in his garden, called the tree of troath, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked, and so he was, Syr Tho. More being present himselfe, till in a maner hee had lamed him, because he would not accuse the Gentlemen of the Temple of his acquayntaunce, nor woulde not shewe where his bookes lay: and because his wife denyed them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, & their goodes confiscate.

After they had thus practised agaynst hym what they coulede, by tortures and tormentes. then was he brought before Iohn Stokesly Bishop of London, the 15. of Decēber, an. 1531. in the sayd towne of Chelsey, and there examined vpon these Articles and interrogatories ensuing.

Ffirst whether he beleued there were anye Purgatory of soules hence departed.*

Wherunto he made aunswere as foloweth: If we walke in light euen as he is in light, we haue society together with him, and the bloud of Iesus Christ his sonne, hath clensed vs from all sinne. If we say we haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues and the truth is not in vs. If we confesse our sinne, he is fathfull and iust, and will forgeue vs our sinnes, and will purge vs from all our iniquities,

2. Secondly, whether the Sayntes hence departed, are to to be honored and prayed vnto, to pray for vs.*

To which he aunswered on this wise: My litle children, I write this vnto you, that you sinne not. If any man do sinne, we haue an Aduocate with the Father, Iesus Christ the iust, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not onely for our sinnes, but also the sinnes of the whole world. And further, vpon occasion of these wordes: Omnes sancti Dei orate pro nobis, being demaunded what he ment by these wordes. Omnes sancti, he aunswered: that he meant them by those that were alieue, as S. Paule did by the Corinthians, and not by those that be dead:*for he prayed not to them (he sayde) because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole church is gathered together, they vse to pray one for an other, or desire one to pray for an other, with one hart: and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled and not ours: and I pray, sayd he, as our Sauior Christ prayd at his last houre. Father, take this cuppe frō me if it be possible, yet thy will be fulfilled.

3 Thirdly, he was demaunded whether he thought that any soules departed were yet in heauen or no.

To this he answered and sayd: That he beleued that they be thete as it pleaseth god to haue them, that is to say,*in the faith of Abraham, and that herein he would: commit himselfe to the Church.

4. Fourthlye, it was demaunded of him, whether hee thought it necessary to saluation, for a man to confesse his sinnes to a Priest.

Whereunto his aunswere was this: *That it was lawfull for one to confesse and knowledge his sinnes to another. As for any other confession he knew none. *And further he sayd that if he came to a Sermon, or any other where, where as the worde of God is preached, and there take repentance for his sinnes, he beleued his sinnes, forthwith to be forgeuen of God, & that he needed not to go to any confession.

5. Fiftely, that he should say and affirme, that the truth of holy Scripture hath bene hid, and appeared not these 800. yeares, neither was knowne before now.

To this he sayde: That he ment no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was neuer, these 800 yeares past, *so plainly and expressly declared vnto the people, as it hath bene within these 6. yeares.

6. He was demaūded further, for what cause holy Scripture hath bene better declared within these 6. yeares, then it hath bene these 800. yeares before. *

Wherunto he answered: To say playnly, he knew no mā to haue preached the word of God sincerely & purely, *and after the vayne of Scripture, except M. Crome and M. Latimer, and sayd moreouer, that the new Testament now translated into Englishe, [Page 1028](#) doth preach and teach the word of God, & that before that time, men did preach but onely: that folkes should beleue as the church did beleue, and then if the Church erred, men should erre to. Howbeit the church sayd he, *of Christ can not erre: & that there were 2. Churches, that is, the Church of Christ militant, and the Church of Antechrist, and that this church of Antechrist may & doth erre, but the Church of Christ doth not.

7. Seuently, whether he knew any person that dyed in the true fayth of Christ, since the Apostles time.

*He sayd: He knew Bayfild, and thought that he dyed, in the true fayth of Christ.

*8. Eightly, he was asked what he thought of Purgatory and of vowes.

He aunswere: If any such thing had bene moued to Saynct Paule of Purgatory after this life, *he thought S. Paule would haue condemned it for an heresy. And when hee heard M. Crome preach and say, *that he thought there was a Purgatory after this life, he thought in his minde that the sayd M. Crome lyed, & spake against his conscience, and that there was a hundreth moe, which thought the same as he did: saying moreouer that he had seene the confession of M. Crome in print, God wot a very foolish thing, as he iudged.

And as concerning vowes, he graunted that there was lawfull vowes as Ananias vowed Act. 5. for it was in his owne power, *whether he woulde haue solde his possession or not, & therefore he did offend. But vowes of chastity, and all godlynesse is geuen of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himself can keep, but it must be geuē him of God. And therefore a Monke, Frier, or Nunne, that haue vowed the vowes of Religion, if they thinke, after theyr vowes made, that they can not keep theyr promises that they made at Baptisme, they may go forth and mary,

so that they keepe after theyr mariage, the promise that they made at Baptisme. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vowes, but onely the vow of Baptisme.

9. Ninthly, he was demaunded whether Luther beyng a Frier, & taking a Nunne out of religion, & afterward marying her,* did well or no, and what he thought therein.

He aunswered: That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no. He made aunswere he could not say so.

As concerning the Sacrament of anneling, being wil^dled to say his minde.

*He aunswered & sayd: It was but a ceremony, neither dyd he wotte what a man should be the better for such an oyling and annoynting The best was, that some good prayers he saw to bee sayd thereat.

*Likewise, touching the Sacrament of Baptisme, hys wordes were these.

That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shalbe sau^d: that is, as many as die concerning sinne, shall liue by fayth wyth Christ.*Therefore it is not we that liue after that, but Christ in vs. And so whether we liue, or dye, we are Gods by adoption, & not by the water onely, but by water and fayth: that is by keping the promise made For ye are kept by grace and fayth, sayth S. Paule, & that not of your selfe: for it is the gift of God.

He was asked moreouer of matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace, being commaunded in the old law, and not yet taken away.

His answe^re was: that Matrimony is an order or law, that the Church of Christ hath made,*and ordeined, by the which menne may take to them women and sinne not.

*Lastly, for his bookes of scripture, & for his iudgemēt of Tindall, because he was vr^ged to cōfesse the troth, he sayd: That he had the new Testament translated into the English toūg by Tindall,*within this moneth, and thought he offēded not God in vsing and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knewe the kinges proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at Paules crosse. But for all that hee thought the word of God had not forbid it: confessing moreouer, that he had in his keeping within this moneth, these bookes: the wicked Mammon, the obedience of a Christen man, the practise of Prelates, the aunswere of Tindall to Tho. Mores Dialogue, the booke of Frith agaynst Purgatory, the Epistle of George Gee, aliās George Clerke: adding furthermore, that in all these bookes he neuer saw any errors And if there were any such in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the sayde bookes.*And as concerning the newe Testament in Englishe, he thought it vtterly good, and that the people should haue it, as it is. Neither did he euer know (sayde he) that Tindall was a noughtye felow. And to these answeres he subscribed his name. This examination (as is sayd) was the 15. day of December.

The next day folowing, which was the 16. day of December, the sayd Iames Bainham appeared agayn before the Bishop of London, in the foresayd place of Syr Thomas More at Chelsey,*

where, after the guise and forme of theyr proceedinges, first his former Articles with his aunsweres were agayn repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him whether he would persiste in that which he had said, or els would returne to the Catholicke Church from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet receiued, as they said: adding moreouer ma'ny fayre intising & alluring wordes, that he would reconcile himself, saying the time was yet that he might be receiued: the bosome of his mother was open for him. Otherwise if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to saue, or els vtterly to cast himselfe away. Which of these wayes he would take, the case present now required a present aunswere, for else the sentence definitiue was there ready to be read. &c.

To conclude lōg matter in few words, Bainhā wauering in a doubtfull perplexity betwene life on y^e one hand,* & death on y^e other, at lēgth geuing ouer to the aduersaries, gaue answere vnto thē that he was cōtēted to submit himself, in those things wherin he had offēded, excusing that he was deceiued by ignorāce. Thē y^e bishop requiring him to say his mind plainely of his answeres aboue declared demaūded what he thought therof, whether they were true, or no.

To this Bainham sayd, that it was to high for him to iudge. And then being asked of the Bishop, whether there was any Purgatory, he aunswered, and sayd: he could not beleue that there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demaunded, he graūted as foloweth: That he could not iudge whether Bayfield dyed in the true fayth of Christ or no. That a man making a vowe, can not breake it without deadly sinne. That a Prieste promising to liue chaste, may not mary a wife. That he thinketh the Apostles to be in heauen. That Luther did nought in marying a Nunne. That a childe is the better for confyrmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keepe bookes prohibited by the Church, the pope, the Bishop, or the King, and sayde that he pondered those poyntes more now, then he did before. &c.

Upon these aunsweres the Bishop thinking to keepe him in safe custody, to further triall, committed him to one of the Counters.

The time thus passing on, which bringeth all thinges to theyr end, in the month of Febr. next folowing in y^e yere of our Lord 1532. the foresayd I. Bainham was called for again to the bishops Cōsistory, before his Uicar general, & other his assistance:* to whō Foxford the bishops Chaūcellor recited again his articles & answeres aboue mētioned, protesting that he intēded not to receiue him to y^e vnity of y^e holy mother church,* vnlesse he knew the said Bainhā to be returned again purely & vnfaynedly to the catholick faith, and to submit himselfe penitently to the iudgement of the Church. To whom Bainham spake in this effect, saying that he hath and doth beleue the holy Church, and holdeth the fayth of the holy mother the Catholicke Church.

Wherunto the Chaūcellor offring to him a Bill of hys abiuratiō, after y^e forme of y^e Popes church cōceiued, required him to read it. Who was cōtented & read to y^e clause of y^e abiuratiō, cōteining these words: I voluntarily, as a true penitēt persō returned frō my heresies, vtterly abiure. &c. & there he staid & would read no farther, saying y^t he knew not y^e articles cōteined in his abiuratiō

to be heresy, therefore he could not see why he should refuse thē. Which done, y^e Chaūcellor proceded to the reading of this sētēce definitiue, cōming to y^e place of this sentēce: y^e doctrine & determi|natiō of the church. &c. & there paused, saying he would reserue y^e rest till he saw his time. Whō then Bainhā desired to be good vnto him, affirming that he did acknowledge y^t there was a Purgatory: that y^e soules of the apostles were in heauen. &c. Then began he agayne to read the sentence but Bainham agayne desired him to be good vnto him. Whereupon he ceased the sentence, & sayd that he would accept this his confession for that time as sufficient.

So Bainhā for that present was returned to his prison agayne. Who then the 5. day after,* which was the 8. day of February, appeared as before, in the consistory. Whom the foresayd Chauncellor repeating agayne his articles & answeres, asked if he would abiure and submit himself: who aunswered that he would submitte himselfe, and as a good Christian man should. Agayne the Chauncellor the second time asked if he woulde abiure. I will (sayd he) forsake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them, & so being commaunded to lay his handes vpon the booke, read his abiuration opēly. After y^e reading wherof he burst out into these wordes, saying, that because there were many wordes in the sayd abiuration, which he thought obscure & difficile, he protested that by his oth he intended not to go from such defence, which he might haue had before his oth. Which done y^e Chaūcellor asked him why he made that pro|testation? Bainhā said, for feare least any man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Thē y^e Chaūcellor taking y^e definitiue, sentēce in his hand, disposing himself (as appeared) to read [Page 1029](#) the same: Well M. Baynham (sayd he) take your othe, and kille the booke, or els I will do mine office agaynst you, & so immediatly he tooke the booke in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Which done, the Chaūcellor receiuing the abiuratiō at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay xx.li. to the king. After that,* he enioyned him penance, to goe before the Crosse in procession at Paules, & to stand before the preacher during the sermōs at Paules crosse, with a fagot vpō his shoulder the next sonday, & so to returne w^t the Sumner

[illustration]

***James Baynham enioyned Penance.**

** to the prison again, there to abide the bishops determination: and so the 17. day of Febr. he was released and dismissed home. Where he had scarce a moneth continued, but he bewayled his fact and abiuration, & was neuer quiet in mind & conscience, vntill the time he had vttered his fall to all his acquayntance,* and asked God and all the world forgeuenes before the congregation in those dayes, in a ware house in Bowlane: and immediatly the next sonday after, he came to S. Austens, with the newe Testament in hys hand in English,* and the obedience of a christen man in his bosome, and stode vp there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly with weeping teares, that he had denyed God, and prayed all the people to forgeue him, and to beware of his weakenesse, and not to doe as he did. For sayd he, if I should not returne agayne vnto the truth (hauing the new Testament in his hand) this word of God would damne me both body and soule at the day of iudgement. And there he prayed euery body rather to dye by and by, then to do as he did: for he would not feele such an hell againe,* as he did fele, for all the worlds good. Besides thys he wrote also certeine letters to the Bishop, to his

brother, and to others, so that shortly after he was apprehended, & so committed to the Tower of London.

¶The proces agaynst Iames Baynham, in case of relapse.

THE 19. day of Aprill. 1532. M. Rich. Foxford Uicar general to the bishop of London, accōpanied with certein Diuines, & Mathew Grefton the Register sitting iudicially,* Iames Bainhā was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the tower, before whō y^e vicar general rehearsed y^e articles cōteined in his abiuration before made & shewed him a bound booke, which the sayd Bainhā acknowledged to be his owne writing, saying that it was good. Then he shewed him more of a certain letter sent vnto the bishop of Londō, y^t which also he acknowledged to be his: obiecing also to the sayd Bainhā, that he had made & read the abiuration which he had before recited;* shewing him moreouer certain letters which he had written vnto his brother, the which he confessed to be his owne writing, saying moreouer, that though he wrote it, yet there is no thinge in the same that is nought, if it be as my Lord Chauncellor sayth. Then he asked of Bainham how he vnderstood this which foloweth, which was in his letters: yet coulde they not see nor know him for God, when in deed he was both God & man, yea he was three persons in one, the father, the sonne & the holy ghost: & Bainham sayd it was nought. Whyche thinges thus done, there was further obieced vnto hym these words, that he had as leue pray to Ioane his wife, as to our Lady. The which article Bainhā denied. The sayd Bainhā amongst other talke as touching the sacramēt of y^e alter, sayd: Christes body is not chewed w^t teeth, but receiued by fayth. Further it was obieced agaynst him, that notw^tstanding his abiuration, he had sayd that the Sacrament of the altar was but a misticall or memoriall body: y^t which article Bainham denied.* It was further layd vnto him, that he should say, that S. Thomas of Caunterbury was a thiefe and murtherer, and a deuill in hel. Whereunto he answered thus, that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a murtherer, and if he did not repent him of his murther,* he was rather a deuill in hell, then a saynt in heauen.

The 20. day of April, in the yere aforesaid, y^e said Iames Bainhā was brought before the vicar generall in y^e church or al saynts of Barking,* where as he ministred these interrogatories vnto him. First y^t since y^e feast of Easter last past he sayd, affirmed and beleued, that the sacrament of the altar, was but a misticall body of Christ, and afterwarde he sayd, it was but a memoriall: y^t which article Bainham denied. The the vicar general declared vnto him, that our ho^ly mother y^e catholick church determineth & teacheth in this maner: that in the sacramēt of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth no bread. The officiall asked Bainhā whether he did so beleue or not. Wherunto Bainham answered, saying that S. Paul calleth it bread,* rehear^sing these words: Quotiescunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis: and in that poynt he sayth, as S. Paul sayth, and beleueth as y^e church beleueth. And being demaunded twise afterward what he thought therin, he would geue no other answere.

Item, that since the feast of Easter aforesaid, he had affirmed & beleued that euery man that would take vpō him to preach the Gospel of Christ clearly,* had as much power as the Pope. To the which article he aunswered thus: He that preacheth the word of God, whatsoever he be, and liueth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heauen and earth. The which key is the same scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to binde and to loose, but by the key of the Scripture.

Item, that he affirmed that S. Thomas of Canterbury was a thiefe and a murderer, & in hel.*
Wherunto he answered as before.

Item, that he sayde he had as leue pray to Ioane hys wife, as to our Lady: the which he denyed as before.

Item, that he affirmed & beleued, that Christ himselfe was but a man, the which article he also denyed.

The premisses thus passed, the vicar generall receiued Frances Realms, Iohn Edwards, Raphe Hilton, Iohn Ridly, Frances Dryland, and Raphe Noble, as witnesses to be sworne vpon the articles aforesayd,* and to speake the truth before the face of the sayd Iames Bainhā, in the presence of M. Iohn Nayler Uicar of Barking, M. Iohn Rode Bachelor of diuinity, Williā Smith, Richard Griuel, Tho. Wimple, and Richard Gill.

The 26. day of Aprill in the yeare aforesayd, before M. Ioh. Foxford vicar general of the bish. of Londō,* in y^e presence of Mathew Grefth Register, and Nicolas Wilson, & Will. Philley, professors of diuinity, Iohn Oliuer, Williā Midleton, & Hugh Apprise, doctors of the law, M. Richard Gresham Sheriffe of London, & a great cōpanye of others, Iames Bainham was brought forth by the Lieutenaunt of the Tower, in whose presence the vicar general rehearsed the merites of the cause of inquisition of heresy agaynst him, & proceded to y^e reading of the abiuratiō. And whē the Iudge read this article folowing contened in the abiuration: Itē,* that I haue said that I wil not determine whether any soules departed be yet in heauen or no, but I beleue that they be there as it pleaseth God to haue them, that is to say, in the fayth of Abraham: & I wote not whether the soules of the apostles or any other be in heauen or no. To this Iames aunswered, that I did abiure, and if that had not bene, I would not haue abiured at all.

After all the articles were read contened in the abiuration, & certeine talke had as touching the sacrament of baptisme, the sayd Iames Bainham spake these words: If a Turke, a Iew,* or Sarasen do trust in God & keepe hys law, he is a good Christian manne. Then the Official shewed vnto him the letters which he sent vnto his Brother, written with his owne hand, and asked him what he thought, as touching this clause folowing: Yet could they not see and know him for God, when in deed he was both God & man, yea he was three persons in one, the father, y^e sonne and the holy ghost. Wherunto Bainham said, that it [Page 1030](#) was nought, & that he did it by ignorance, & did not ouersee his letters. Thē M. Nicholas Wilson amongst other talke as touching the sacrament of the alter,* declared vnto him that the church did beleue the very body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the alter. Bainham aunswered: The bread is not Iesus Christ, for Christes body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread. Being further demaunded whether in the sacrament of the altar, is the very body of Christ God and man in flesh and blood: after diuers doubtfull aunsweres, Bainham aunswered thus: He is there very God and man in forme of bread.

This done, the Official declared vnto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in agaynst him, & obiected vnto him, that a litle before Easter he had abiured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the sayd vicar generall, after he had takē deliberation & aduise with the learned his assistantes, did proceed to the reading of the definitiue sentence agaynst him,

& also published the same in writing: wherby amongst other things besides his abiuration,* he pronounced & condemned him as a relapsed hereticke, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, & so to be left vnto the secular power, that is to say, to one of y^e Sherifs being there presēt. After the pronouncing of which sentence, M. Nicolas Wilson counselled & admonished tha said Iames, y^t he would conforme himself vnto the church. To whō he aunswered, that he trusted that he is the very childe of God, which ye blinde Asses (sayd he) doe not perceiue. And last of al, departing frō his iudgement, he spake these wordes:* M. Wilson, nor you my Lord Chauncellor, shall not proue by scripture, that there is any Purgatorye. Then the sentence of condemnation was geuen agaynste him, the which here to repeat word for word, is not necessary, for so much as the tenour thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of Bayfeld, aliās Somersam. Here also should ensue the letter of the Bishop of Lōdon, directed vnto the Maior and Sheriffes of the same city, for the receiuing of him into their power, & that putting of him to death, the tenor wherof is also of like effect to that before written in the story of Bayfeld. After this sentence geuen, Iames Bainham was deliuered into the handes of Syr Richarde Gresham Sheriffe, then being present, who caused him by his Officers to be caryed vnto Newegate, & the said Iames Baynham was burned in Smithfielde the last day of Aprill, in the yeare aforesayd, at three a clocke at afternoone.

This M. Bainham during his imprisonment was very cruelly handled. For almost the space of a fournight he lay in the bishops colehouse in the stockes, with yrons vpon his legs.* Thē he was caryed to the Lord Chaūcellors, and there chayned to a post 2. nightes. Thē he was caryed to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by y^e space of a seuen nighte. Thē to the Tower, where he lay a fournight scourged with whips, to make him reuoke his opinions. Frō thence he was caryed to Barking, thē to Chelsey, and there condemned, and so to Newgate to be burned.

[illustration]

¶The burning of Iames Baynham.

At whose burning here is notoriously to be obserued, that as he was at the stake in the midst of the flaming fyre which fire had halfe consumed his armes & legs,* he spake these wordes: O ye Papistes, behold, ye looke for miracles, and here now you may see a myracle, for in this fire I feele no more paine, then if I were in a bed of Downe: but it is to me as sweet as a bed of roses. These words spake he in the midst of the flaminge fire, when his legges and hys armes (as I sayd) were halfe consumed.

¶Iohn Bent Martyr.

AT the writing hereof, came to our hands a certeyn notice of one Iohn Bent,* who about this present time or not long before, being a Tailor, & dwelled in a village called Urcheuaunt, was burnt in the Towne of the Deuises

[illustration]

* within the country of Wilkeshire, for the denying of the sacrament of the altar, as they terme it.

¶One Trapnel Martyr.

ALso much about the same tyme,* was one Trapnell burned in a Towne called Brodford, within the same County.

***The History of three men hanged for the burning of the Rood of Douercourt, collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, which was one of the doers of the same.**

IN the same yeare of our Lord 1532. there was an Idoll named the Roode of Douercourt,* whereunto was much and greate resorte of people. For at that time there was great rumour blowne abroad amonges the ignorant sort, that the power of the Idoll of Douercourt was so greate, that no man had power to shutte the Church doore where he stood, and therefore they lette the Churche doore bothe nyght and daye continually stand open, for the more credite vnto theyr blinde rumour. Which once beyng conceyued in the heades of the vulgare sort, seemed a great maruell vnto many men, but to many agayne, whom God had blessed with his spirite, was greatly suspected, especially vnto these, whose names here folow, as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Estbergholt,* Nicholas Marshe of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honor and power of the almighty liuing God so to be blasphemed by such an Idoll. Wherefore they were moued by the spirit of God, to trauell out of Dedham in a woondrous goodlye night, both hard frost and fayre moone shine, although the nighe before, and the night after were exceeding foule and rayny. It was from the towne of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Roode stood x. miles.* Notw^tstanding they were so willing in that theyr enterprise, that they went these x. myles without payne, and found the Church doore open, according to the blinde talke of the ignorant people: for there durst no vnfaithful body shut it. Which happened [Page 1031](#) wel for their purpose, for they founde the Idol, which had as much power to keepe the doore shut,* as to keepe it open. And for prooffe thereof, they tooke the Idol from his shrine, and caryed him a quarter of a myle from the place where he stooode, without any resistance of the sayd Idol. Whereuppon they strake fire with a Flint stone,* and sodenly set him on fire, who burned out so brym, that he lighted them homeward one good myle of the ten.

This done, there went a great talke abroad, that they should haue great riches in that place,* but it was very vntrue, for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselues afterward confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coate, his shoes and tapers. The tapers did helpe to burne him, the shooes they had againe,* and the coate one sir Thomas Rose did burn, but they had neither peny, halfe peny, golde, grote, nor iewel.

Notwithstanding three of them were afterwarde indyted of felonie, and hanged in chaynes within halfe a yere after, or thereabout.* Robert Kyng was hanged in Dedham at Burther. Robert Debnam was hanged at Cattawaye Causey: Nicholas Marshe was hanged at Douercourt. Which three persons, through the spirite of God at their death, dyd more edifie y^e people in godly learning, then all the Sermons that had bene preached there a long

[illustration]

¶Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Marshe hanged for taking downe the Roode of Douercourt.

tyme before.

The fourth man of thys companye named Robert Gardner,* escaped their handes and fledde. Albeit he was cruelly sought for, to haue had the like death, but y^e lyuing Lord preserued him, to whom be al honour & glory world without ende.

The same yeare, and the yeare before, there were manye Images cast downe and destroyed in manye places,* as the Image of the Crucifixe in the hygh waye by Cogshall, the Image of saint Petronil in the Church of great Horksleigh, the Image of saint Christopher by Sudburye, and an other Image of saint Petronil in a Chappell by Ipswicke.

Also Iohn Seward of Dedham, ouerthrew a Crosse in Stoke Parke, and tooke two Images out of a chappell in the same parke, and cast them into the water.

¶The storie, examination, death, and martyrdome of Iohn Frith.

AMongest al other chaunces lamentable, there hath ben none a great tyme whiche seemed vnto me more greeuous,* then the lamentable death and cruel handlinge of Iohn Frith, so learned and excellent a young man, which had so profited in al kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equal amongst al his companions and besides withal had such a godlynes of lyfe ioined with his doctrine,* that it was hard to iudge, in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly prayse worthie in them both. But as touchinge his doctrine, by the grace of Christ, we will speake hereafter. Of the great godlynes which was in him, this may serue for experiment sufficiēt for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular giftes & ornaments of y^e mind in him most pregnant wher withall he might haue opened an easie way vnto honor & dignitie, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himselfe vnto the Church of Christ, excellently shewing forth & practising in himselfe the precept so highly cōmended of the Philosophers, touching the life of man, which life they say, is geuen vnto vs in such sort, that how much better the man is, so much y^e lesse he should liue vnto himselfe, but vnto other, seruing for the common vilitie, & that we should think a greate parte of our byrth to be due vnto our parentes, a greater part vnto our country, & the greatest part of all to be bestowed vpon the Church if we will be counted good men. First of all he begā hys study at Cambridge.* In whō nature had planted being but a child maruelous instructions & loue vnto learning, whereunto he was addict. He had also a wonderful promptnes of wit & a ready capacitie to receaue and vnderstand any thing, in so much that he seemed not to be sent vnto learning, but also borne for the same purpose: neyther was there any diligence wanting in him, equall vnto that towardnes, or worthy of his disposition.* Whereby it came to passe that he was not onely a louer of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man. In the which exercise, whē he had diligently laboured certayn yeres, not without great profite both of Latine and Greeke, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquayntaunce with William Tindall, through whose instructions, he first receaued into his hart the seede of the Gospell and sincere godlines.

At that time Tho. Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke prepared to build a Colledge in Oxford,* maruelous sumptuous which had the name & title of Frideswide, but now named Christes Church, not so much (as it is thought) for y^e loue & zeale that he bare vnto learning, as for an ambitious desire [Page 1032](#) of glory & renoume, & to leaue a perpetual name vnto the posteritie. But that

building, he being cut of by y^e stroke of death (for he was sent for vnto y^e king, accused vpon certaine crimes, and in the waye by immoderate purgations killed him self) least partly begun, partly halfe ended & vnperfect, and nothing els saue only the kitchin was fully finished. Wherupon Rodulphus Gualterus a learned mā, being then in Oxford, & beholding the Colledge, sayd these wordes in Latine. *Egregium opus Cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolut popinam. Howe large & ample those buildings should haue ben, what sumptuous cost should haue bene bestowed vpon the same, may easily be perceiued by y^t that which is already buylded, as the kitchin, the hall, and certain chambers, where as there is such curious grauing and workemanship of stone cutters, that all things on euery side did glitter for the excellency of the workmāship, for the finesse of y^t matter, with the gilt antikes, & embossings, in so much that if all the rest had bene finyshed to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well haue excelled not onely all Colledges of studentes, but also palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinal gathered together into that Colledge, what soeuer excellent thing there was in the whole realme, eyther vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside prouision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed vnto that cōpany all such men as were found to excell in anye kinde of learning & knowledge. Whose names to recite all in order, would be to lōg. The chiefe of them whiche were called from Cambridge were these.

- M^r Clarke, Maister of art, of xxxiiij. yeares of age.
- M. Fryer, afterward Doctour of Phisicke, after that a strong papist.
- M. Sumner, maister of Art.
- M. Harman, maister of Art, and after fellow of Eaton Colledge, after that a papist.
- M. Bettis, maister of Art, a good man and zelous, and so remayned.
- M. Coxe, maister of Art, who conueyed him selfe away toward the North, and aftrr was Schoolemaister of Eaton, and then Chaplayne to Doctor Goodrich Bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to king Henry, and late Byshop of Ely.
- Iohn Frith, Bachelor of Art.
- Bayly, Bachelor of Art.
- Goodman, who being sicke in the prison with the other, was had out, and dyed in the towne.
- Drumme, who afterwarde fell away, and forsooke the truth.
- Thomas Lawney, Chapleine of the house, prisoner with Iohn Frith.

To these ioyned also Tauerner of Boston, the good Musitian, * besides manye other called also out of other places moste pyked young men of graue iudgement and sharpe wittes, who conferring together vpon the abuses of relygion, being at y^t time crept into y^e Church, were therfore accused of heresie vnto the Cardinall, and cast into a prison, within a deepe caue vnder the groūd, of the same Colledge where their salt fyshe was layde, so that through the fylthie stinche thereof, they were all infected, and certaine of them taking their death in the same prison, shortly vpon y^e same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

The troublers and examiners of these good men were these, * Doct. London, Doctor Higdon, Deane of the same Colledge, and Doct. Cottesford, Commissary.

*Maister Clarke, maister Sumner, and Syr Bayly, eating nothing but saltfishe from Februarie, to the middest of August, dyed all three together within the compasse of one weeke.

Maister Bettes a wittie man, hauyng no bookes foūd in hys chamber, through entreatie and suertie gote out of prison, and so remayning a space in y^e Colledge, at last slipt away to Cambridge, and after was Chapleine to Queene Anne, and in great fauour with her.

Tauerner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clarkes bookes vnder the bordes in his schoole, yet the Cardinal for his musicke excused him, saying, that he was but a Musitian, and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, Iohn Frith, with other, by the Cardinalles letter, which sent word that he would not haue them so straightly handled, were dismissed out of prison vpon condition,* not to passe aboue ten myles out of Oxford. Which Frith after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, which bare then fagottes, went ouer the sea, and after two yeares he came ouer for exhibition of the Prior of Reading (as is thought) and had y^r Prior •uer with him.

B•yng at Reading,* it happened that he was there taken for a vacabond, & brought to examination: where the simple man whiche coude not craftily enough colour him selfe, was set in the stockes. Where after he had sitten a lōg time, and was almost pined with hunger, and woulde not for all that declare what he was,* at the last hee desired that the Schoolemaister of the towne might be brought to hym, which at that time was one Leonard Coxe, a mā very wel learned. As soone as he came vnto him, Frith by and by began in the Latine tongue to bewaile his captiuitie.

The Schoolemaister by and by beinge ouercome wyth his eloquence, did not onely take pitie and compassion vppon him, but also began to loue and embrace such an excellent witte and disposition vnlooked for, especially in such a state & miserie. Afterward, they conferring more together vpon many things as touching the Uniuersities, scholes, and tongues, fell from the Latine into the Greeke, Wherin Frith dyd so inflame the loue of that Schoolemaister towardes him, that he brought him into a marueilous admiration, especiallye when the Schoolemaister hearde him so promptly by hart, rehearse Homers verses out of his first booke of Illiades. Whereuppon the Shooolemaister wēt with all speede, vnto the Magistrates, greeuously complaining of the iniurie which they did shew vnto so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the helpe of the schoolemaster, was freely dimitted out of the stockes,* & set at libertie without punishment. Albeit this his safetie continued not lōg, thorow the great hatred and deadly pursuit of sir Tho. More, who at that time being Chauncelour of Englande, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the waies and hauens, yea & promising great rewardes, if any mā could bring him any newes or tydings of him.

Thus Frith beinge on euerye part beset with toubles, not knowing whiche way to turne hym,* seeketh for some place to hyde him in. Thus fleeting from one place to an other, and often chaunging both his garmentes and place, yet coude he be in safetie in no place, no not long amongst his frindes: so that at the last, being trayterously taken, (as ye shall after heare) hee was sent vnto the Tower of London, wheras he had many conflicts with the bishops, but specially in wrytyng with Syr Thomas Moore.* The first occasion of his wrytyng was this: Uppon a tyme hee had communicatiō with a certaine olde familiar freende of his, touching the Sacramēt of the body

& blood of Christ. The whole effecte of which disputation, consisted specially in these foure poyntes.

1 First that the matter of the sacrament is no necessarye article of fayth vnder payne of damnation.

2. Secondly, that for somuch as Christes naturall bodye in like condition hath all properties of our bodye, sinne onely except, it it cannot be, neyther is it agreable vnto reason, that he should be in two places or moe at once, contrarye to the nature of oure bodye.

3. Moreouer it shall not seeme meete or necessarye, that wee should in this place vnderstand Christes words, according to the literall sense, but rather accordyng to the order and phrase of speache, comparing phrase wyth phrase, accordyng to the Analogie of the Scripture.

4. Last of all, how that it ought to be receaued accordyng to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at thys tyme is crept into the Church, and is vsed now a dayes by the Priestes, do neuer so much differ from it.

And for somuche as the treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat lōg,* his frend desired hym that such things as he had reasoned vpon, he would briefly committe vnto writing, and geue vnto hym for the helpe of his memory. Frith, albeit he was vnwilling, and not ignoraunt howe daungerous a thing it was to enter into suche a contentious matter, at y^e last notwithstanding he being ouercome by the intreaty of hys frend, rather followed hys wil, then looked to his owne safegard.

There was at that tyme in London a Taylor named William Holt, which fayning a great frendshyp towarde this party,* instantly required of him to geue him licence to read ouer that same writing of Frithes, whiche when hee vnaduisedly dyd, the other by and by caryed it vnto More being thē Chauncellour, which thing afterward was occasion of great trouble, and also of death vnto y^e said Frith.* For More hauing gotten a copy of this booke, not onely of this Sicophant, but also two other copies, whiche at the same time, in a maner were sent hym by other promoters he whetted his wittes, and called his spirites together as [Page 1033](#) much as he might, meaning to refute his opiniō by a contrary booke.

This in a maner was the whole summe of the reasons of Frithes booke: First to declare the Popes beliefe of the Sacrament, to be no necessary article of our faith, that is to say, that it is no article of our fayth necessary to be beleued vnder payne of damnation,* that the Sacrament should be the naturall body of Chryst. Whych he thus prooueth: For many so beleue, & yet in so beleuing the Sacrament to bee y^e naturall bodye, are not thereby saued but receyue it to their damnation.

Agayne, in beleuyng the Sacrament to bee the naturall body, yet that naturall presence of his body in the bread, is not that which saueth vs,* but his presence in our harts by fayth. And likewise the not beleuing of his bodyly presence in the Sacrament, is not the thyng that shall damne vs, but the absence of him out of our hart, through vnbeliefe. And if it be objected, y^t it is necessary to beleue gods worde vnder payne of damnation: to that he aunswereth, that the woorde taken in the right sense as Christ meant, mayntayneth no such bodyly presence as the

Popes church dothe teache, but rather a Sacramentall presence. And that (saith he) may be further confirmed thus.

¶Argument.

- None of the olde fathers before Chrystes incarnation, were bound vnder paine of damnatō to beleue this point:
- *All we be saued by the same fayth that the olde fathers were.*
- Ergo, none of vs are bounde to beleue this point vnder paine of damnation.*

The first parte (sayth he) is euydent of it selfe. For howe coulde they beleue that which they neuer hearde nor sawe?

The seconde part (sayth he) appeareth plainly by saint Augustine,* writinge ad Dardanum, and also by an hundreth places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate thē this, that the same fayth y^t saued our Fathers, saueth vs also. And therefore vpon the truth of these two parts thus proued, must the cōclusion (saith he) nedes folowe.

¶An other Argument.

- None of y^t olde fathers before Christes incarnation, did eate Christ corporally in their signes, but only mystically & spiritually, and were saued:
- Al we do eate Christ euen as they did, and are saued as they were:
- Ergo, none of vs do eate Christe corporally, but mystically, and spiritually in our signes as they did.

For the probation of the first part, Frith proceeding in his discourse, declared howe the auncient fathers before Christes Incarnation, dyd neuer beleue any such poynt of this grosse and carnall eating of Christes bodye: and yet notwithstanding they dyd eate hym spiritually, and were saued: as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinees, and other godly Israelites besides. All whiche (sayth he) dyd eate the body of Christ, and did drinke his bloud, as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spiritual, pertaining onely to fayth,* and not to the teeth: For they were al vnder the cloude, and dranke of the rocke which folowed them, this rocke was Christe, whiche was promysed them to come into the worlde. And this promise was first made vnto Adam,* when as it was sayd vnto the Serpent: I will put hatred betweene thee and the woman, betweene her seede and thy seede &c.* And afterward again vnto Abraham: In thy seede shall all people be blessed &c. Addyng also the Sacrament of Circumcision,* which was called the couenant, not because it was so in deede, but because it was a signe and a tokē of y^e couenant made betwene God & Abrahā, admonyshing vs therby how we shuld iudge & thinke touching the Sacrament of his body & blodd: to wyt, that albeit it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly vnderstād therby y^e fruit of our iustification, which plētifully floweth vnto all faithful by his most healthful body & bloud. Likewise the same promise was made vnto Moses the moste meeke & gentle captaine of the Israelites, which did not only him self beleue vpō Christ, which was so oftē promised, but also did prefigure him by dyuers meanes,* both by y^e Manna whiche came downe from heauen, and also by the water whiche issued out of the rocke, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Neyther is it to be doubted, but that both Manna and this water had a Propheticall mysterie in them, declaryng the very selfe same thing then, which the bread & the wyne do now declare vnto vs in the sacrament. For this saith S. Augustine: Who soeuer did vnderstand Christ in the Manna, did eate the spirituall foode that we do. But they which by that Manna sought onely to fill their bellyes, did eate thereof, and are dead. So likewise sayth he of the drinke: For the rocke was Christ. And by and by after he inferreth thus: Moses dyd eate Manna and Phinees also, and many other also dyd eate therof which pleased God, and are not dead. Why? because they did vnderstand the visible meate spiritually. They did spiritually hunger, and did spiritually taste of it, that they might spiritually be satisfied. They al did eat the same spirituall meat, and all did drinke the same spiritual drinke: al one spiritual thing, but not al one corporal matter (for they did eate Manna, and we an other thing) but the selfe same spiritual thing that we doe, and although they dranke the same spiritual drinke that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we an other: which neuertheles signified all one thing in spiritual effect. Howe did they drinke al one thing? The Apostle answereth: Of the spiritual rock which folowed them, for the rocke was Christ. And Bede also adding these words, sayth: Beholde the signes are altered, and yet the fayth remaineth one. Thereby a man may perceiue that the Manna, which came downe from heauen, was the same vnto them, y^t our Sacrament is vnto vs,* and that by eyther of them is sygnified that the body of Christ came downe from heauen, & yet notw^tstandyng neuer any of the said,* that Manna was the verye bodye of Messias, as our Sacramentall bread is not in deede the bodye of Chryst, but a mistical representation of the same. For lyke as the Manna whyche came downe from heauen, and the bread whych is receyued in the Supper, dothe nourish the bodye, euen so the body of Christ comming downe from heauen, and beyng geueuen for vs, dooth quicken vp the spirites of the beleeuers vnto lyfe euerlastyng. Then if the saluation of both people be alyke, and their fayth also one, there is no cause why wee shoulde adde transubstantiation vnto oure Sacrament, more then they beleueed their Manna to bee altered and chaunged. Moreouer, for because they are named Sacramentes euen by the significatyon of the name, they must needes be signes of thinges, or els of necessitie they can be no Sacraments.

But some may here object and say: If onely fayth, both vnto them & also vnto vs, be sufficient for saluation,* what need then any sacraments to be instituted? He aunswered that there are three causes why Sacramentes are instituted. The first S. Austen declareth in these wordes,* writing agaynst Faustus: Men (sayth he) cannot be knit together into one name of religion, be it true, or be it false,* except they be knit by the societie of signes and visible sacramēts the power whereof doth wonderfully preuayle, in somuch that such as contemne them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned, without the which godlines cānot be made perfect. &c. An other cause is that they shoulde be helpers to grafte and plante fayth in our hartes,* and for the confirmation of Gods promises. But thys vse of Sacramentes many are yet ignoraunt of,* and more there be whiche doe preposterously iudge of the same, taking the signes for the thinge it self, and worshipping the same: euen by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bushe that hangeth at the Tauerne dore, and sucke it for to slake hys thirst, and will not go to the Tauerne where the wyne is. Thirdly, they do serue vnto this vse,* to stir vp the mindes and hartes of the faythfully to geue thanks vnto God for his benefites. And these in a maner are the principall poyntes of hys booke.

When More (as is before sayd) had gotten a cotype of this treatise, he sharped his pen all that he might, to make answer vnto this youg man (for so he calleth him through out hys whole booke)

but in such sort, that whē the booke was once set forth, and shewed vnto y^e worlde,* then he endeououred himselfe all that he might, to keepe it from printing, peradventure least that any cōpye therof should come vnto Frythes handes. But notwithstanding, when at the last Frith had gottē a copie therof by meanes of his frēdes,* he aunswered him out of the prison, omitting nothing y^t any man could desyre to the perfecte & absolute handlyng of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so doe I thinke it not much necessarye to repeate all his reasons and argumentes, or the testimonyes which he had gathered out of y^e Doctors: specially for so much as y^e Archb. of Canterbury Cranmer, in his Apology agaynst the Bishop of Winchester, seemeth to haue collected them abundantly,* gathering the principal and chieftest helpes from thence that he leaned vnto agaynste the other: and I doubte muche whether the Archbishop euer gaue any more credite vnto any authour of that doctrine, then vnto this aforesayde Frythe.

What dexteritee of wyt was in him, and excellencye of doctrine, it may appeare, not onely by his books which he [Page 1034](#) wrote of the Sacrament, but also in them which he intituled of Purgatory. In the which quarrell he withstoode the violence of three most obstinate enemies, y^t is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastall, whereof the one by the helpe of the Doctors, the other by wresting of the scripture, and the third by the helpe of naturall philosophy had conspired agaynst him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not agaynst two onely, but euen▪ with them all three at once, did so ouer throw & confound thē, y^t he conuerted Rastall to his part.

Besides all these cōmendatiōs of this young man, there was also in hym a frendly & prudēt moderatiō in vttering of the truth, ioyned with a learned godlines. Which vertue hath alwayes so much preuayled in the Church of Christ, that without it all other good giftes of knowledge,* be they neuer so great, cānot greatly profite, but oftentimes do ve'ry much hurt. And would God that all thinges in all places were so free frō al kind of dissension, that there were no mention made amongst Christians,* of Zuinglians & Lutherians, when as neyther Zuinglius, neyther Luther died for vs, but y^t we might be al one in Christ. Neither do I think y^t any thing could happen more grievous vnto those worthy men, then theyr names so to be abused to sects and factions, which so greatly withstood and stroue agaynst all factiōs. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest vnto the truth, neyther so rashly intermeddle in thys matter,* that I will detract any thing from eyther part, but rather wish of God I might ioine either part vnto other. But nowe for so much as we intreate of the storye of Iohn Frith, I cannot chuse but must needes earnestly and hartily embrace the prudent and godly moderatiō which was in that man, who maynteyning this quarrell of the Sacrament of the Lords supper, no lesse godly, then learnedly (and so as no man in a maner had done it more learnedly (and pithily) yet he did it so moderately, w^tout any cōtention, the he would neuer seeme to striue agaynst y^e papistes except he had bene driuen to it euē of necessitie, In al other matters, where necessitie did not moue hym to contend, he was ready to graunt all thinges for quietnes sake, as hys most modest reasons and aunsweres did declare.

For when as More disputing in a certayne place vppon the Sacrament, layd agaynst him y^e authoritie of Doctour Barnes, for the presence of the body and bloud in y^e sacrament, he answered vnto More & his companions, that he would promise vnder this condition, that y^e sentence of Luther & Barnes might be holdē as ratified, he would neuer speake more words of it: for in that poynt they did both agree with him, that y^e sacrament was not to be worshipped,* & that Idolatrie being taken away, he was content to permit euery man to iudge of the sacramēt, as

God should put into their harts: for then there remayned no more poison, that any man ought or might be afrayd on. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefe poynt of y^e sacrament, they should easely accorde & agree in the rest.

This much he wrote in the treatyse, entituled, The exile of Barnes agaynst More.* Which words of this most meeke martyr in Christ, if they woulde take place in the seditious dyuysions and factions of these our dayes, wyth great ease and litle labour men might be brought to a vnitie in this controuersie, and much more concord and loue should be in the Church, & much lesse offence geuen abrode then there is.

But to our story againe of Iohn Frith, who after he had now sufficiently contended in his wrytinges with More, Rochester, and Rastal Mores sonne in lawe, he was at the last caryed to Lambeth, first before the Bishop of Caunterbury, and afterwarde vnto Croydon, before the Bishop of Winchester to pleade his cause. Last of all, hee was called before the Bysshoppes in a common assemble at London, where as he constantly defended himselfe, if he might haue bene heard.

*The order of his iudgement, with the maner of his examination and articles whiche were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by him selfe, in a letter written and sent vnto his frendes, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

¶A Letter of Iohn Frith to his frendes, concerning his troubles: wherein after he had first with a briefe preface saluted them entring then into the matter,* thus he writeth.

I Doubt not deare brethē, but that it doth some deale vexe you, to see the one part haue all the wordes, & freely to speake what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and nor to be hearde indifferently. But referre your matters to God, which shortly shal iudge after an other fashion. In the meane time I haue written vnto you as briefly as I maye, what articles were objected agaynst me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might vnderstand the matter certainly.*

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, of Purgatory, and of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching Purgatorie, they enquired of mee, whether I did beleue there was any place to purge the spotts and filthe of the soule after this life. But I saide that I thought there was no such place. For man (said I) doth consist, and is made onely of two partes, that is to say, of the body and the soule, wherof the one is purged here in this world, by the crosse of Christ, which he layeth vpō euery childe that he receiueth: as affliction worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment &c. and last of all the rewarde of sinne, which is death, is layde vpon vs: but the soule is purged with the worde of God, which we receiue through faith, to the saluation both of bodie and soule. Now if ye can shewe me a third part of men beside the bodie & the soule, I will also graūt vnto you the 3. place, which you do call Purgatorie. But ye cā not doe this, I must also of necessitie denie vnto you the Bishop of Romes Purgatorie. Neuerthelesse I count neither part a necessarie article of our faith, to be beleued vnder paine of damnation, whether there be such a Purgarie or no.

Secondly, they examined me touching the sacrament of the aultar, whether it was the very bodie of Christ, or no.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christs body & also our bodie,* as Saint Paule teacheth vs in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our bodie, which being diuers and manye members, are associate and gathered together into one felowship or bodie. Likewise of the wine which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, & is made into one licour. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the bodye of Christ, declaringe hys bodye to bee broken and deliuered vnto death, to redeeme vs from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is distributed, it is Christes bodye, signifying that as verilie as the Sacrament is distributed vnto vs, so verily as Christes body & the fruit of his passiō dystributed vnto all faythful people.

In that it is receiued, it is Christes bodie, signyfyng that as verily as the outward man receiueh the sacrament with his teeth & mouth, so verilye dooth the inwarde man through fayth receiue Christes body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it, as of the bread which he eateth.

Well (said they) doest thou not thinke that his very naturall bode fleshe, bloud and bone,* is really conteyned vnder the Sacramente, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, said I, I do not so think. Notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negatiue) anye article of fayth. For euen as I say, that you ought not to make any necessarie article of the faith of your part (which is the affirmatiue) so I say againe, that we make no necessary article of the fayth of oure part, but leaue it indifferent for all men to iudge therein, as God shall open his hart, and no side to condemne or despise the other, but to nourish in all thinges brotherly loue, and one to beare an others infirmitie.

After this they alleged the place of Saint Augustine,* where he sayth: Ferebatur In manibus proprijs. That is to say, hee was caryed in his owne handes.

Whereunto I aunswared, that Saynt Augustine was a playne Interpreter of hym selfe: for he hath in an other place:* Ferebatur tanquam in manibus suis: That is to say, he was caried as it were in his owne handes: which is a phrase of speache, not of one that doth simply affirme, but onely of one expressing a thing by a similitude And albeit that Saint Augustine had not thus expounded him selfe, yet he writing vnto Boniface,* doth playnely admonish all men, that the Sacraments do represent and signifie those things whereof they are Sacramentes, and many times euen of the similitudes of the thinges them selues they do take their names: and therefore according to this rule it may be sayd, he was borne in his owne handes, when as he bare in his handes the Sacrament of his body & bloud.

Then they alleaged a place of Chrysostome, whiche at the first blush maye seeme to make muche for them:* who in a certaine Homilie vppon the Supper wryteth thus: Doest thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught as other meats doe? No, God forbyd. For as in waxe when it commeth to the fire, nothing of the substaunce remayneth nor abydeh: so lykewise thinke that the misteries are consumed by the substaunce of the body &c.

These wordes I expounded by the wordes of the same Doctor, which in an other Homilie saith on this manner. The inwardeies (saith he) as sone as they see the bread, they flee ouer al creatures, and doe not thinke of the bread that is baken of the baker, but of the bread of euerlasting lyfe, whiche is signified by the mysticall bread. Nowe conferre these places together, & you shall perceiue that the last expoundeth the first plainely. For hee sayeth, Doest thou see the bread and wine? I aunswere by the second, nay. For the inwarde eyes as soone as they see the bread, do passe ouer all [Page 1035](#) creatures, and doe not anye longer thinke vpon the breadd but vppon hym whiche is signified by the bread. And after thys manner he seeth it,* and agayn he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outwarde and carnall eyes, so wyth his inwarde eye he seeth it not, that is to saye regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not vpon it, but is otherwyse occupied. Euen as when we play or doe anye thing els negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do: not that in deede we doe not see that whiche we go about but because our minde is fixed on some other thyng, and doth not attend vnto that whiche the eyes do see.

In lyke manner may it be aunswered vnto that whiche followeth: Doe they auoyde from thee (sayth hee) into the draught as other meates doe? I will not so say. For other meates passing through the bowels, after they haue of them selues geuen nourishment vnto the bodye, be voyded into the draught, but this is a spirituall meate, which is receiued by fayth, and nourisheth both body and soule vnto euerlasting lyfe, neyther is it at anye tyme auoyded as other meates are.*

And as before I sayde, that the externall eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes beyng otherwise occupied do not behold or thinke vpon, euen so our outward man doth digest the bread, and voyde into the draught but the inwarde man doth neyther regard nor thinke vpon it, but thinketh vpon the thinge it selfe that is signified by that bread. And therefore Chrisostome a little before the woordes whiche they alleadged, sayth: Lifte vp your myndes and hartes. Wherby he admonysheth vs to look vpon and consider those heauenly thynges whiche are represented and signified by the bread and wyne, and not to marke the bread and wyne it selfe.

Here they sayde, that was not Chrisostomes minde: but that by this example hee declareth that there remayned no bread nor wine.* I aunswered, that was false: for the example that he taketh, tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spirituall eyes from the beholding of visible thynges, and to transport them an other waye: as if the thynges that are seene, were of no force. Therefore he draweth awaye our mynde from the consideration of these thinges, and fixeth it vppon him, whiche is signified vnto vs by the same. The very woordes whiche followe, sufficiently declare thys to be the true meaning of the authour, where as he commaundeth vs to consider all thynges with our inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually.

But whether Chrisostomes woordes▪ doe tend eyther to to this or that sense,* yet do they indifferētly make on our part agaynst our aduersaryes, which way so euer we doe vnderstand them. For if he thought that the bread and wyne doe remayne we haue no further to trauayle: but if he meant contrariwyse, that they doe not remayne, but that the natures of the bread and wyne are altered, then are the bread and wyne falsely named Sacramentes and mysteryes,* whiche can be sayd in no place to be in the nature of thynges: For that whiche is in no place, howe can it be a Sacrament, or supplye the rouse of a mysterye? Finally, if hee speake onely of the outwarde fourmes and shapes (as we call them) it is most certayne that they doe continually remayne, and that they by the substaunce of the bodye are not consumed in anye place, wherefore it must

necessarily followe the woordes of Chrisostome to be vnderstanded in suche sense as I haue declared.

Here peradventure many would maruaile, that for somuch as the matter touching the substaunce of the Sacrament,* beyng separte from the articles of fayth, and binding no man of necessitie eyther vnto saluation or damnation, whether hee beleeeue it or not, but rather may be left indifferently vnto all men, freely to iudge eyther on the one part or on the other, accordyng to hys owne mynde, so that neyther part do contemne or despise the other, but that all loue and charitie be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions: what then the cause is, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death. The cause why I dye is this, for that I can not agree with the diuines & other head Prelates, that it shuld be necessarily determined to be an article of fayth, and that we should beleeeue vnder payne of damnation, the substaunce of the bread and wyne to be chaunged into the body and bloud of our sauioure Iesus Christe, the fourme and shape onely not being chaunged. Whiche thing if it were most true (as they shall neuer be able to proue it by any authority of the Scripture or Doctours) yet shall they not so bring to passe, that that doctrine, were it neuer so true, shoulde be holden for a necessarye article of fayth. For there are many thinges both in the Scriptures and other places, whiche we are not bounde of necessitye to beleeeue as an article of fayth.

So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bondes when I wrote these thinges, and yet for all that I will not holde it as an article of fayth, * but that you may without daunger or damnation, eyther beleeeue it, or thinke the contrarie.

But as touchinge the cause why I cannot affirme the doctrine of Transubstantiation, diuers reasons doe leade me thereunto. First, for that I do playnelye see it to be false and vaine, and not to be grounded vpon anye reason, either of the Scriptures,* or of approued Doctours.

Secondly, for that by my exāple I woulde not be an author vnto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of fayth, more then the necessary points of ther Creed, wherein the whole summe of oure saluation doth consist, specially such thinges,* the beliefe whereof haue no certaine argument of authoritie or reason.

I added moreouer, that their Church (as they call it) hath no such power and authoritie, that it eyther ought or maye binde vs vnder the peril of our soules, to the beleuing of any such articles.

Thirdlye, because I will not for the fauour of our Diuynes or Priestes, be preiudiciall in this poynt,* vnto so manye nations of Germanes, Heluetians, and other, whiche altogether reiecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wyne into the bolye and bloud of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as wel those that take Luthers part, as those which holde with Oecolampadius. Which thinges standing in this case, I suppose there is no mā of any vpright conscience, which will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put vnto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true in deede, to be establyshed for an article of faith.

And thus muche hytherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of Iohn Frith, whiche was done wyth all moderation and vprightnesse. But when as no reason woulde preuaile against

the force and crueltie of these furious foes, the xx. day of Iune, in the yeare of oure Lorde, 1533. hee was brought before the Byshoppes of London, Winchester, and Lincolne, who sitting in Paules vpō Friday, the xx. day of Iune, ministred certaine interrogatories vpon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatorie, vnto the sayde Frith, as is aboue declared. To the whiche when he had answered & shewed his minde in forme and effect, as by his owne wordes aboue doth appeare, hee afterward subscribed to his answers with his owne hand, in these wordes.

Ego Frithus ita sentio, & quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, & affirmavi.

That is to say.*

¶I Frith thus doe thinke, and as I thinke, so haue I sayde, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my bookes haue published.

But when as by no meanes he coulde bee perswaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to beleue that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, Fiat Iudicium & iustitia;* he was condemned by the Bishop of London to be burned, and sentence geuen agaynst him: the tenour whereof here ensueth.

¶The sentence geuen against Iohn Frith.

IN the name of God, Amen. We Iohn by the permission of God, Byshop of London, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly fauour by authoritie and vertue of our office, against thee Iohn Frith, of our iurisdiction,* before vs personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slaundered of heresie, hauinge hearde, seene, and vnderstande, and with diligent deliberation wayed, discussed, and considered the merites of the cause, all thinges being obserued which by vs in this behalfe, by order of law ought to be obserued, sitting in our iudgement seate, the name of Christ being first called vpon, and hauing * God onely before our eyes, because by y^e actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confession iudicially made before vs, we do finde that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended dyuers errors and heresies, and damnable opinions, contrarie to the doctrine and determinatiō of the holy Church, and specially agaynst the reuerende Sacrament, and albeit that we following the example of Christ, which woulde not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should conuert and lyue, haue oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by al lawfull meanes that we coulde, and moste wholesome admonitions that we did knowe, to reduce thee againe to y^e true fayth, and the vnitie of the vniuersall Catholique Church, notwithstanding wee haue founde thee obstinate and stiffe necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions & heresies, and refusing to returne againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the holy mother Church, and as the childe of wickednesse and darkenesse, so to haue hardened thy harte [Page 1036](#) that thou wylt not vnderstande the voyce of thy sheapeheard, which with a fatherly affection doth seeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions. We therefore Iohn the Bishop aforesaid, not willyng that thou whiche arte wicked, shouldest become more wicked, and infecte the Lordes flocke wyth thy heresy, which we are greatly afayde of, do iudge thee, and definitiuey condemn thee, the sayde Iohn Frith, thy demerites and faultes beyng aggrauate through thy damnable obstinacie, as gyltie of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate vnpenitent sinner, refusing penitently to returne to y^e lappe and

vnitie of the holy mother Church, and that thou haste bene, and arte by Lawe excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excōmunicate person: also wee pronounce and declare thee to bee an heretique to be cast out from the Church, and left vnto the iudgement of the secular power, and nowe presentlye so do leaue thee vnto the secular power, and their iudgement, moste earnestly requiring them in the bowels of our Lorde Iesus Chryst, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done vppon thee, maye so bee moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentlenesse too muche mitigated, but that it may bee to the saluation of thy soule, to the extirpation, terrour, and conuersion of heretiques, to the vnitie of the Catholique fayth,* by this our sentence definitiue or finall decree, which we here promulgate in this fourme aforesayde.

This sentence thus readde, the Byshop of London directed hys letter to Syr Steuen Pecocke, Mayor of London,* and the Sheriffes of the same Citie, for the receyuyng of the foresayde Iohn Frith into their charge. Who being so deliuered ouer vnto them the fourth daye of Iulie, in the yeare aforesayde, was by them caryed into Smithfield to be burned, and when he was tyed vnto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancye and courage he suffered death:* for when as the fagots and fire were put vnto hym, hee willingly embraced the same, therby declaring with what vprightnesse of mynde he suffered hys death for Christes sake, and the true doctryne, whereof that daye hee gaue with his bloud, a perfect and firme testimonie. The wynde made hys death somewhat the more longer, which bare away the flame from him vnto his felowe that was tyed to his backe: but hee had established hys minde with such pacience, God geuinge hym strength, that euen as though he had felt no paine in that long torment, he seemed rather to reioyce for his felow, thē to be careful for himselfe.

This truely is the power and strength of Christ, stryuing & vanquishing in his Saintes: who sanctifye vs together with them, and direct vs in all thinges to the glory of his holy name. Amen.

This day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the Bishop of London certified king Henry the eight of his worthy, ye rather woolluish proceeding against these men: the tenour whereof, for as muche as it proceedeth as the other do before, we therefore omit it, referringe the reader to the same.

¶**Andrewe Hewet burned with Maister Frith.**

ANdrewe Hewet borne in Feuersham, in the county of Kent,* a yong man of the age of foure and twenty yeres, was apprentice with one maister Warren Taylor, in Watlyng streete. And as it happened that hee went vppon a holy daye into Fleete streete,* towarde Saint Dunstanes, he met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the kyngs Taylour at that present, called maister Malte: and beyng suspected by the same Holt, (which was a dissemblyng wretche) to be one that fauoured the Gospel, after a litle talke had with hym, he went into an honest house about Fleete Bridge, whiche was a bookesellers house. Then Holt thynking he had founde good occasion to shew foorth some fruit of his wickednesse,* sent for certaine offycers, and searched the house, & fynding the same Andrew, apprehended hym, and caryed hym to the Byshops house, where he was cast into yrons,* and being there a good space by the meanes of a certaine honest man, he had a File conueyed vnto hym, wherewith he fyled of his yrons, & when he spyed his tyme, he got out of the gate. But being a man vnskilfull to hyde hym selfe, for lacke of

good acquaintance he went into Smythfielde, and there mette with one Wythers, whych was an hypocrite as Holt was, Which Wythers vnderstandynge howe he had escaped, and that hee knewe not whyther to goe, pretending a faire countenance vnto hym, willed hym to go wyth him, promysing that he shoulde bee prouyded for, and so kept hym in the countrey where he had to do, from Lowe Sunday til Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to y^e house of one Iohn Chapman in Hosier lane beside Smithfielde, and there left him by the space of two dayes.

Then he came to the layde Chapmans house againe, and brought Holt with hym.* And when they mette wyth the sayde Andrewe, they seemed as though they meant to doe hym verye much good: and Holt for hys part sayd, that if he should bryng any man in trouble (as the voyce was that he had done the sayde Andrewe) it were pitie but that the earth should open and swallow him vp:* in so much that they would needes sup there that night, & prepared meate of their owne charges. At nyght they came & brought certaine geasts with them, because they would haue the matter to seeme as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt tooke out of his purse two groates,* and gaue them to the sayde Andrewe, and embraced him in hys armes. As they were gone out, there came in one Iohn Tibaulde, whiche was banished from his own house by an Iniunction, for he had bene foure times in prison for Christes Cause. And wythin an houre after that Holt and Wythers were gone,* the Bishoppes Chauncelour, and one called Sergeaunt Weuer came and brought with them the watche, and searched the house, where they founde the sayde Iohn Chapman and the forenamed Andrewe, and Iohn Tibalde, whom they bounde wyth ropes, which Sergeaunt weuer had brought with hym, and so caryed them vnto the Bishops house: but Andrewe Hewet they sent vnto the Lollardes Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibaulde asunder,, watched with two Priestes seruauntes. The next daye Byshop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined wyth a fewe threatnyng woordes, Chapman was commytted to the stockes with this threate, that hee shoulde tell an other tale,* or els he shoulde sitte there tyll hys heeles dyd droppe from hys arse, and Tibaulde was shutte vp in a close chamber, but by Gods prouisyon hee was well deliuered oute of pryson: albeit hee coulde not enioy hys house and lande, because of the Bishoppes Iniunction, but was fayne to sell all that he had in Essex,* for the tenour of hys Iniunction was, that he should not come wythin seuen myles of hys owne house, and the foresayde Chapman, after fiue weekes imprisonment (wherof three weekes he sate in the stockes) by much suit made vnto the Lorde Chauncelour, whiche at that tyme was Lord Audley, after many threatnyngs was deliuered: but the sayde Andrew Hewet after long & cruel imprisonment, was cōdemned to death, & burned with Iohn Frith: whose examination here foloweth.

The twentie day of the moneth of Aprill, Andrew Hewet was brought before the Chauncelour of London,* where was objected agaynst hym, that hee beleueed the Sacrament of the aultar after the consecration, to bee but a signification of the bodye of Chryst, and that the host cōsecrated was not the verye bodye of Christe. Nowe for so muche as thys article seemed haynous vnto them, theyr woulde do nothyng in it without the consent of learned counsaile. whereupon the Byshoppe of London, associate with the Byshops of Lincolne and Winchester, called him agayne before him. Where he being demaunded what hee thought as touchyng the Sacrament of the last Supper, aunswared: euen as Iohn Frith doth. Then sayd one of the Bishoppes vnto hym:* dost thou not beleue that it is reallie the bodye of Christe, borne of the virgin Marye? So (sayth he) do not I beleue. Why not, sayd the Bishop? Because (saith he) Christ cōmaunded me, not to geue

credit rashly vnto al mē, which saith: Behold here is Christ, & there is Christ, for many false prophets shal rise vp, saith the Lorde.

Then certayne of the Bishoppes smyled at him, and Stokesley the Bishop of London sayd: Why, Fryth is an heretique, and already iudged to bee burned,* & except thou reuoke thyne opiniō, thou shalt be burned also wyth him. Truelye (sayth hee) I am contented therewithall. Then the Bishop asked him if hee woulde forsake hys opinions, Whereunto he answered, that he would do as Frith did. Whereupon he was sent vnto the prison to Frith, and afterwarde they were caryed together to the fire. The Byshops vsed many perswasions to allure this good man frō the truth, to folow them;* but he manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore the fourth day of Iuly at after noone, he was caryed into Smythfilde with Frith, and there burned. When they were at y^t stake,* one Doctor Cooke a person in London, openly admonished al the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more thē they woulde doe for a dogge. At which wordes Fryth [Page 1037](#)

[illustration]

The burning of Iohn Frith, and Andrewe Hewet.

smiling, desired the Lord to forgeue him. These hys words did not a litle mooue the people vnto anger, and not wythout good cause. Thus these two blessed Martyrs committed their soules into the handes of God.

The Historie of the persecution and death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter, collected and testified by Iohn Vowel, alias Hoker.

Thys Thomas Benet was borne in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the Uniuersitie, there made mayster of Arte, and (as some thinke) was also a Priest, a man doubtles very wel learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintaunce and familiaritie of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious Martyr of Christe. Thys man, the more he did grow and encrease in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhorre the corrupte state of religion then vsed, and therefore thinking his owne countrey to be no safe place for hym to remaine in, and being desirous to liue in more freedome of conscience, he did forsake the Uniuersitie, and went into Deuonshire, in the yeare of our Lord. 1524. and first dwelled in a market towne named Torriton, both towne and countrey being to him altogether vnknownen, as hee also was vnknownen to al men there. Where for y^e better maintenaunce of himselfe and his wife, hee did practise to teache yong children, and kept a schole for the same purpose. But that Towne not seruing hys expectation, after hys abode one yeare there, hee came to the citie of Exceter, and there hyring an house in a streate called the Bocher rowe, did exercise the teaching of children,* and by that meanes sustayned his wife and familie. Hee was of a quiet behaiour, of a godly conuersation, and a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensiuie to no body. Hys greatest delight was to be at all Sermones and preachings, whereof he was a diligēt and an attentiuie hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gaue wholly to his priuate studie in the Scriptures, hauing no dealings nor cōferences wyth any body, sauing with suche as hee coulde learne and vnderstand to be fauourers of the Gospell, and zelous of Gods true religion: of suche he would be inquisitiue and most desirous to ioyne him selfe vnto them. And

therefore vnderstandinge that one William Strowde of Newnham,* in the Countie of Deuonshire Esquier, was committed to the Bishops prison in Exeter, vpon suspition of heresie, although he were neuer before acquainted w^t him, yet did he sende his letters of comfort and consolation vnto him. Wherein, to auoide all suspition which myghte be conceiued of him, he did disclose him self, and vtter what he was, and the causes of hys being in the Countrey▪ wrytyng among other things these wordes: Vt ne scortator aut immundus essem, vxorem duxi, cum qua hisce sex annis, ab istorū Antichristianorum manibus in deuonia latitauī. That is to say,* because I woulde not be a whoremonger, or an vncleane person, therefore I married a wise, with whom I haue hidden my selfe in Deuonshire, from the tyrannie of the Antichristians, these 6. yeares.

But as euery tree and Hearbe hath hys due time to bryng foorth his fruite, so did it appeare by thys man.* For he daily seeing the glorie of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained, & that most false vsurped power of the Bishop of Rome so extolled, was so greeued in conscience, and troubled in his spirite, that he could not be quiet till he did vtter his minde therein. Wherefore dealing priuately with certaine of his frendes, he did plainly open and disclose howe blasphemously and abhominably God was dishonoured, his worde contemned, and hys people whom he so dearely bought, were by blinde guides caried headlong to euerlasting damnation, and therefore hee coulde no longer endure, but muste needes and would vtter theyr abominations, and for his owne parte, for the testimonie of his conscience, and for the defence of Gods true religion,* would yeelde hymself moste patiently (as neare as God woulde geue him grace) to die and to shedde hys bloude therein, alleaging that his death shoulde be more profitable to the Church of God, and for the edifying of his people, then his life shuld be. To whose perswasions when hys friendes had yeelded, they promysed to pray to God for hym, that hee myght be strong in the cause, and continue a faithfull souldiour to the ende. Which done, he gaue order for the bestowing of such bookes as he had, and very shortlye after, in the moneth of October, hee wrote his minde in certaine scrolles of Paper, whyche in secrete maner he set vp vpon the doores of the Cathedrall church of the Citie, in which was wrytten: The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worshippe God onely,* and no Saintes.

These bills being found, there was no smal adde, and no litle search made for the inquiry of the heretike that should set vp these bills:* and the Maior & his officers were not so busie to make searches to find this heretike, but the bishop and all his doctors were as hote as coales, & enkindled as though they had bene stong w^t a sort of waspes. Wherefore to kepe y^e people in their former blindnes, order was taken that the doctors should in hast vp to the pulpit euery day, and confute this heresie. Neuerthelesse this Thom. Benet [Page 1038](#) keping his own doings in secret, went the sonday folowing to the cathedral church to the Sermon, and by chaunce sate downe by 2. men, which were the busiest in al the city, in seking & searching for this heretike, and they beholding this Benet, sayd the one to the other. Surely thys fellowe by all likelyhoode is the heretike that hath set vp the billes, and it is good to examine him.* Neuertheles whē they had wel behelde him, and saw the quiet and sober behaiour of the man, his attentiuenes to the preacher, his godlinesse in the Church, being alwayes occupied in hys Booke, which was a Testament in the Latine tongue, were astonied and had no power to speake vnto him,* but departed & left hym reading in his booke. As touching this poynte of Benets behaiour in the Church, I finde the reportes of some other a litle to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiuing the letters and wrytings of a certain minister, whych at the same time was

present at the doynge hereof in Exeter, thus I finde moreouer added concerning the behauiour of this Thomas Benet in the Church.

At that time (sayth he) as I remember, doct. Moreman Crispin, Caseley wyth suche other, bare the swinge there. Beside these were there also preachers there,* one Doctour Bascauld, an vnlearned doctor God knoweth, and one D. Daudid, as wel learned as he, both Gray friers, and doctor I know not who, a Blacke frier, not much inferiour vnto them.* Moreouer there was one Bachelor of Diuinitie, a Gray frier, named Gregory Bassed, in deede learned more then they all, but as blinde and superstitious as he whych was most. Whych Gregorie not long before, was reuolted from the way of righteousness, to the way of Beliall: for in Bristowe (sayth the author) he lay in prison long, & almost famished, for hauing a booke of M. Luther, called his questions, which he a long time priuily had studied, & for teaching of youth a certaine Catechisme. To be shorte, the braines of the Canons and Priests, the officers and commons of that Citie were very earnestly busied, howe or by what meanes suche an enormous heretique, whyche had pricked vp those billes, might be espied and knowen, but it was long first. At last the Priestes founde out a toye to curse him what soeuer he were, with booke, bel and candle, which curse at that day seemed most fearefull and terrible. The maner of the curse was after this sort.

One of the Priestes, apparelled all in white, ascended vp into the pulpit.* The other rabblement, wyth certaine of the two orders of Friers, and certaine superstitious Monks of S. Nicholas house standing round about, and the Crosse (as the custome was) being holdē vp, with holy candles of waxe fixed to the same, he began his sermon w^t this Theame of Iosue: Est blasphemia in Castris. There is blasphemie in the armie: and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious, and so concluded, that that foule and abominable heretike, which had put vp such blasphemous billes, was for that his blasphemie, damnably accursed, and besought God, our Lady, S. Peter Patrone of that church, with all the holy companie of martyrs, confessors, and virgines, that it might be knowen what hereticke had put vp such blasphemous billes, that Gods people might auoide the vengeance.

The maner of the cursing of the sayd Benet was maruelous to beholde, for as muche as at that time there was fewe or none,* vnlesse a Sherman or two (whose houses I well remember were searched for billes at that time, and for bookes) that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doeth blesse theyr curses in such cases. Then sayde the Prelate, by the authoritie of God the father almighty, and of the blessed virgin Mary, of S. Peter and Paule, and of the holy Saints, we excommunicate, we vtterly curse and banne, commit and deliuer to the deuill of hell, him or her, what soeuer he or shee be, that haue in spite of God and of S. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saintes, and in spite of our most holy father the Pope Gods vicare heere in earth,* and in spite of the reuerend father in God, Iohn our Diocesane, and the worshipfull Canons, Maisters, and Priestes, and Clarkes, which serue God daily in this Cathedrall Church, fixed vppe with waxe such cursed and hereticall Billes full of blasphemie, vppon the doores of thys and other holy Churches wythin this Citie. Excommunicate plainely be hee or shee plenally, or they and deliuered ouer to the deuill, as perpetuall malefactors and schismatiques. Accursed might they be, and geuen body & soule to the deuill. Cursed be they, he, or shee in Cities and townes, in fieldes, in wayes, in pathes, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or risinge, walking,* running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and what so euer thing they doe besides. Wee separate them, him, or her, from the thresholde, and from all the good praiers of the

church, from the participation of the holy masse, from all Sacraments, Chappels, and aultars, from holye bread, and holy water, from al y^e merites of Gods priests, and religious men, and from all their Cloisters, from all their pardones, priuileges, grauntes, and unmunities, whych all the holy fathers Popes of Rome haue graunted to them: and we geue them ouer vtterly to the power of the feend, and let vs quench their soules, if they be dead, thys night in the paines of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched,* and put out (and wyth that he put out one of the candles) and lette vs praye to God, (if they be aliue) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is) so he put out the other candle) and lette vs pray to God and to oure Lady, and to S. Peter and Paule, and all holye Saintes, that all the senses of their bodies maye faile them, and that they may haue no feeling, as nowe the light of this candle is gone (and so he putte out the thirde candle) except they, hee, or shee, come openly nowe and confesse their blasphemie, and by repentaunce (as muche as in them shall lye) make satisfaction to God, our Ladye, S. Peter, & the worshipfull companie of thys Cathedrall Church, and as thys holy Crosse staffe nowe falleth downe, so myghte they, except they repent and shewe them selues: and one firste taking away the Crosse, the staffe fell downe. But Lorde what a shoute and noyse was there, what terrible feare, what holding vp of handes to heauen, that cursse was so terrible.

Now thys fond foolish phantasie and mockerie beyng done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thyng ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear,* but fel to great laughter, but within him selfe, and for a great space coulde not cease: by the which thing the poore manne was espyed. For those that were next to him, wondryng at that greate curse, and beleeuing that it coulde not but light on one or other, asked good Benet for what cause he should so laugh. My frendes (sayd he) who can forbear, seeing suche merie conceites and enterludes plaid of the priestes? Straitway a noyse was made, Heere is the heretike, heere is the heretike, holde him fast, holde him fast. With that there was a greate confusion of voyces, and much clapping of handes, and yet they were vncertain whether he were the heretike or no. Some say,* that vppon the same he was taken and apprehended. Other report, that his ennemies being vncertaine of him, departed, and so he wēt home to his house. Where hee being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former billes, and caused his boy early in the morning following, to set the sayd billes vpon the gates of the Churchyarde. As the boy was setting one of the sayde billes vpon a gate called the little stile, it chaunced that one W.S. going to the Cathedral church to heare a Masse called Bartons Masse, whych was then daily sayd about 5. of the clocke in the morning, founde the boye at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was,* did charge him to be the heretike, which had set vp the billes vpon the gates, wherefore pulling downe the bill, he broughte the same together with the boy before the Maior of the citie, and thereuppon Benet being knowen and taken, was violently committed to warde.

On the morow began both the Canons and heades of the citie ioyned w^t them, to fal to examination.* With whom for y^e day he had not much communication, but confessed & said to them, it was euen I that put vp those bils,* and if it were to doe, I would yet doe it againe, for in them haue I written nothing but that is very truth. Couldste not thou (said they) as well haue declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting vp billes of blasphemie? No (sayd he) I put vp the billes that many should read and heare what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better knowe your Antichrist the Pope to be the Bore out of the woode, which destroyeth & throweth downe the hedges of Gods church, for if I had ben heard to speake but one woorde, I should haue bene clapped fast in prisone, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of

your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light, for God wil so haue it, and no longer will suffer you.

The next day after he was sent vnto the bish. who first cōmitted him vnto prison called the bishops prison,* where he was kept in stocks & strong yron, with as much fauour as a dog shuld find. Then the B. associating vnto him one D. Brewer his chancelor, & other of his leude cleargy and friers, began to examine him & burden him,* that cōtrary to the catholike faith, he denied praying to the saints, and also denied y^e supremacie of the Pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober maner, & so learnedly proued & defended hys assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his aduersaries, but also brought thē in great admiratiō of him, the most part hauing pitie & compassion on him. The friers tooke great paines with him, to perswade hym from his erronious opiniōs, to recant & acknowledge his fault touching the billes, but they did but dig after day, for God [Page 1039](#) had appoynted him to bee a blessed witnesse of hys holye name, and to be at defiance withall their fals perswasions.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers searched his house for bils and bookes, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his wife, charging her w^t diuers enormities, it were too long to write. But she like a good woman tooke all thyngs patiently that they did to her: like as in other things she was contented to beare the crosse with hym, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to liue wyth course meate and drinke, that they myght be the more able somewhat to help the poore, as they did to the vttermost of their power.* Amongst all other priestes and Friers, Gregory Basset was most busie with him. This Gregorie Basset, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant tongue,* and not long before, was faln from the truth, for the which hee was prisoned in Bristowe long time, at whose examinatiō was ordeined a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as report went abroad) menaced him to burne his hands of, whereupon he there before them recāted, and became afterward a mortall enemie to the truth al his life. This Gregorie (as it is sayde) was feruent wyth the poore man, to please the Canons o^r that Church, and marueilously tormented his braines, howe to turne hym from his opinions, yea and he was so diligent and feruent with him, that he wold not depart the prison, but lay there night and day,* who notwithstanding loste his labour: for good Benet was at a poynt not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as wel as y^e other holy fathers, lost his spurres, in so much that hee sayde in open audience, that there was neuer so obstinate an heretike.

The principal poynt betweene Basset & hym, was touching the supremacie of the B. of Rome, whom in his bils he named Antichriste,* the thiefe, the mercenary, & the murtherer of Christes flocke: and these disputations lasted about 8. daies, where at sundry times repaired to hym both the blacke and gray Friers, with priestes and Monkes of that Citie. They that had some learning, perswaded hym to beleue the Church, and shewed by what tokens shee is knowen. The other vnlearned railed, & said that the deuil tēpted him, and spit vpon him, calling him hereticke: who praied God to geue them a better mind, & to forgeue them: For (saide he) I will rather die, then worship such a beast, the very whoore of Babylon,* and a false vsurper, as manifestly it doeth appeare by his doings. They asked what he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being gods vicar? He doth (quoth he) sell the sacraments of the Church for mony, he selleth remissiō of sinnes daily for mony, and so doe you likewise: for there is no day but yee say diuers Masses for soules in fained Purgatorie,* yea, and yee spare not to make lying sermons to y^e people, to maintaine your false traditions and foule gaines. The whole worlde doth begin now to note your

doings, to your vtter confusion & shame.* The shame (saide they) shalbe to thee and to such as thou art, thou foule heretike. Wilt thou allowe nothyng done in holy Church? What a peruerse heretike art thou? I am (sayde he) no heretike, but a Christian man, I thanke Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done & vsed in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soule: but I see nothing in your church, but that maintaineth the deuil. What is our church, sayd they? It is not my church (quoth Benet) God geue me grace to be of a better church,* for verily your church is the plaine church of Antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a denne of theeues, an awmry of poyson, and as farre wide from the true vniuersall & Apostolike church, as heauen is distant from the earth.

Dost not thou thinke (sayde they) that we pertaine to the vniuersal church? Yes (quoth he) but as dead mēbers, vnto whom the church is not beneficial, for your workes are the deuises of man, and your Church a weake foundation▪ for ye say & preach,* y^t the popes word is equall with Gods word in euery degree. Why (sayd they) did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? He said that (quoth he) to al, as wel as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority geuen him then they, or els y^e churches planted in euery kingdom by theyr preaching, are no churches.* Doth not S. Paul say, Vpon the foundations of the apostles and prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built vpon a mā, is the deuils church or congregation, & not Gods. And as euery Church this day is appoynted to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordeined by y^e word of God in preaching & ministration of the sacramēts vnder the prince the supreme gouernor vnder God: so to say, y^t all the churches with their princes & gouernours be subiect to one bishop, is detestable heresie, & the pope your God challenging this power to him selfe, is the greatest schismatike that euer was in the church, & most foul whore of whom Iohn in the Reuelation speaketh.*

O thou blinde & vnlearned foole (said they) is not y^e confession & consent of all the world as we confesse & consent,* y^t the popes holines is the supreme head & vicar of Christ? That is (saide Benet) because they are blinded & know not the scriptures, but if God wold of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacie would sone decay. We thinke (said they) thou art so malicious that thou wilt cōfesse no church. Loke (saide he) where they are that confesse the true name of Iesu Christe,* & where onely Christ is y^e head, & vnder him the prince of the realm, to order al bishops, ministers, & preachers, and to see them doe their dueties in setting forth the only glory of God by prea'ching the worde of God, & where it is preached that Christ is our only aduocate, mediator, & patrone before God hys father, making intercession for vs, and where the true faith and confidence in Christes death and passion, and his only merits and deseruings are extolled, & our owne depressed, where the sacrament is duly w^tout superstition or idolatry administred in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice vpon the crosse once for all, and where no superstition raigneth, of that Church wil I be.

Doth not the Pope (sayd they) confesse the true Gospel? do not we all the same? Yes (sayde he) but ye denie the frutes thereof in euery poynt. Yee builde vpon the sands, not vpon the rocke. And wilt thou not beleue in deede (sayd they) that the pope is Gods vicare? No (sayd he) in deede.* And why, sayde they? Because (quoth hee) hee vsurpeth a power not geuen him of Christ, no more then to other Apostles, and also because he doeth by force of that vsurped supremacie, blinde the whole world, and doeth contrary to all that euer Christ ordained or commaunded. What, sayde they, if he do all things after Gods ordinance and cōmandement,

should he then be his vicare? Then (saide he) wold I beleue hym to be a good bishop at Rome ouer hys owne Diocesse, and to haue no further power. And if it pleased God, I would euery bishop did this in their diocesse: [*](#) then should we liue a peaceable life in the Church of Christ, and there should be no such seditions therein. If euery Bishop would seke no further power then ouer his owne diocesse, it were a goodly thing.

Nowe, because all are subiecte to one, all must doe and cōsent to al wickednes, as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of greate Superstition in euerye kyngdome. And what Bishoppe soeuer he be that preacheth the Gospel, & mainteyneth the truth, is a true Bishop of y^e church. And doth not (sayd they) our holye father the pope mayntaine the Gospell? Yes (sayd he) I thinke he doth read it, & peraduenture beleue it, & so do you also, but neither he nor you do fixe the anker of your saluatiō therin. Besides that ye beare such a good wil to it, that ye keepe it close, that no man may reade it, but your selues: & when you preach god knoweth how you handle it: in somuch that the people of Christ knoweth no Gospel wel neare, but the popes Gospel, & so the blynd leade the blind, & both fall into y^e pit. In the true Gospell of Christ, confidence is none, but onely in your popish traditions and phantasticall inuentions.

Thē said a black Fryer to him, God knoweth a blockhead: doe we not preach the Gospell dayly? [*](#) Yes (sayde he) but what preaching of the Gospell is that, when therwyth ye extoll superstitious thinges, and make vs beleue y^t we haue redemption through pardons and buls of Rome, à poena & culpa, as ye terme it, and by the merites of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coates, and in shrift ye beguile them: yea and do a thousand superstitious thinges more: a man may be weary to speake of them: I see (sayd the Fryer) that thou art a damned wretche: I will haue no more talke with thee.

Then stept to hym a gray fryer, a doctor (God knoweth) of small intelligence, & layd before hym great and many daungers. I take God to record sayd Benet, my lyfe is not deare to me. I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seing your detestable doings, to y^e vtter destructiō of gods flock, & for my part, I can no longer forbear: I had rather by death (which I know is not far of) depart this life, y^t I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries & superstitions, or be subiect to Antichrist your pope. Our pope (said the Fryer) is the vicar of God, & our waies are the wayes of God. I pray you (sayd Benet) depart frō me, & tell not me of your wayes. He is onely my way which saith: I am the way, the truth and the life. In hys way will I walke, his doinges shall be my example, not yours, nor your false popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lyes and falshood of you and your Pope. His euerlasting life wil I seeke, y^e true reward of all faithful people. Away frō me I pray you. Uexe my soule no lōger: ye shall not preuayle. There is no good exāple in you, no truth in you, no lyfe to be hoped for at your hands▪ Ye are all more [Page 1040](#) vaine then vanitie it selfe. If I should heare & folowe you this day, euerlasting death should hang ouer me, a iust rewarde for all them that loue the life of thys worlde. Away from me, your company liketh me not.

Thus a whole weeke, nighte and day was Benet applied of these and such other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done & saide to him in the time of his imprisonment, and y^e hate of the people y^t time, by meanes of ignorance, [*](#) was hote against him: notwithstanding they could neuer mooue his patience. He aunswared to euery matter soberly, and that more by the aid of Gods spirite, then by any worldly studie. I thinke he was at the least

50. yeres olde. Being in prison, his wife prouided sustenance for him, & when shee lamented, he comforted her, and gaue her many good and godly exhortatiōs, and prayd her to mooue him nothing, to apply vnto his aduersaries.

Thus when these godly Canons & priestes wyth the monkes & friers had done what they could, and perceiued y^t he would by no meanes relent,* then they proceeding vnto iudgement, drewe out their bloudy sentence against hym, condemning him (as the maner is) to be burned. Whyche being done, and the wryt which they had procured De comburendo, being brought from London, they deliuered hym the 15. of Ianuary 1531. vnto sir Tho. Denis Knyght, then sherife of Deuonsh. to be burned. The milde martyr reioycing his ende to approche so neare, as the sheepe before the shearer, yelded himselfe w^tall humblenes to abide and suffer the crosse of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Linerie dole, without Exeter, hee made his most humble confession and praier vnto almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such grauitie and sobriety, & wyth suche a pithie oration to seeke the true honouring of God,* and y^e true knowledge of him, as also to leaue the deuises, fantasies, and imaginations of mans inuentions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonied & in great admiration: In so much that the moste part of the people, as also the Scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confesse that hee was Gods seruaunt, and a good man.

Neuerthesse two Esquiers, namely Thomas Carew and Iohn Barnehouse standing at the stake by hym, firste with faire promises & goodly wordes, but at length rough threatnings, willed him to reuoke his errorrs, and to call to our Ladie and the Saintes,* and to say, Precor sanctam Mariam & omnes Sanctos Dei. &c. To whome hee wyth all mekenesse answered, saying: No, no, it is God onely, vpon whose name we must call, and we haue no other aduocate vnto him, but onely Iesus Christe: Who died for vs, and nowe sitteth at the right hande of the father, to be an aduocate for vs, and by him must we offer & make our prayers to God, if we will haue them to take place and to be hearde. Wyth which answer the foresayde Barnehouse was so enkindled,* that he tooke a furse bush vpon a pike, and being set on fire, thrust it vnto his face, saying, Ah whoresone heretike, pray to our Lady, and say, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or by

[illustration]

The burning of Thomas Benet.

* Gods wounds I will make thee to do it.

To whom the sayde Thomas Benet wyth an humble and a meeke spirite, most patiently answered: Alas Syr, trouble me not. And holding vp his handes, sayde: Pater ignosce illis. Whereuppon the Gentlemen caused the woode and furses to be set a fire,* and therewith this godly manne lifted vp his eyes and hands to heauen, saying, O Domine, recipe spiritum meum: and so continuing in his prayers, did neuer stirre nor striue, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, vntil his life was ended. For the which the Lord God be praised, and send vs his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with hym enioy the blesse and ioye prouided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a Ierkine of neates leather, at whose burning, such was the deuilshe rage of the blinde people, that wel was he or shee that coulde catche a sticke or furse to cast into the fire.

Hitherto we haue runne ouer (good reader) the names, y^e Acts and doings of them which haue susteined death and the tormēt of burning for Christes cause,* through the rigorous proclamation aboue specified, set out (as is sayd) in the name of K. Henrie, but in dede procured by the Bishops. Which proclamation was so straitly looked vpon & executed so to the vttermost in euery poynt, by the sayd popish Prelates, that no good man habens spiramentum,* wherof Esdras speaketh) coulde peepe out wyth his head neuer so little, but he was caught by the backe, & brought eyther to the fire, as were these aboue mentioned: or els compelled to abiure. Wherof there was a great multitude, as wel men as women: whose names if they were sought oute through al registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Neuerthelesse omitting the rest, it shal content vs at this present, briefly as in a shorte Table, to insinuate the names, with the speciall Articles, of suche as in the diocesse of London vnder Bishop Stokesley, were molested and vexed, and at last cōpelled to abiure, as heere vnder may appeare.

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Persons abiured, with their Articles.

Geffrey Lome. 1528. His Articles were these: For hauing and dispersing certain bookes of Luther. Item,* for translatinge certaine chapters of his booke De bonis operibus. For holding that faith without works, is sufficient to bring vs to heauen. That christen men ought to worship God onely and no Saintes. That christen men shuld not offer to images in churches, nor sette any lyghte before them. That pardons granted by pope or bishop do not profite man.

Sygar Nycolson,
Stationer of
Cambridge. 1528. His Articles were like: and moreouer, for hauing in his house certayne Bookes of Luther and other prohibited, and not presentyng them to the Ordinarie. The handling of this man was too too cruell, if the reporte be true, that hee shoulde be hanged vp by those partes, whych nature well suffreth not to be named.

Iohn Raymund a
Dutchman. 1528. For causing fiftene hundreth of Tindals new Testaments to be printed at Antwarpe, and for bringing 500. into England.

Paule Luther Gray
Frier, and Warden of
the house at Ware.
1529. Hys Articles: For preachyng and sayinge that it is pitie, that there be so manye Images suffered in so manye places, where as vndiscreate and vnlearned people be: for they make theyr Prayer and Oblations so intirely and heartely before the Image, that they beleeeue it to be the very selfe Sainct in heauen. Item, that if he knewe hys father and mother were in heauen, hee would counte them as good as S. Peter or Paule, but for the paine they suffred for Christes sake. Item, that there is no nede to go on pilgrimage. Item, that if a manne were at the poynte of drowning or anye other daunger: hee shoulde call onely vppon God, and no

Sainct, for Saincts in heauen can not helpe vs, neither know no more what men do here in this world, then a man in the North countrey knoweth what is done in the South countrey.

Roger Whaplod sent by one Thomas Northfolke vnto Doctor Goderige this Bill following to be reade at his Sermon in the Spittell:*

Roger Whaplod
Merchaunt Taylor.
1529.

If there be anye well disposed person willing to doe any coste vppon the reparation of the Cunduite in Fleetestreete, let hym or them resort vnto the administratours of the goodes and cattell of one Richarde Hunne, late Marchaunt Taylor of London, which died intestate, or els to mee, and they shall haue toward the same vj.li.xiiij.s.iiij.d. and a better pennie, of the goodes of the sayde Richarde Hunne: vppon whose soule, and all christen soules, Iesu haue mercy.

For the which Bill both Whaplod and Northfolke were brought & troubled before the Bishop, and also Doctour Goderige, which tooke a groate for reading the Bill,* was suspended for a time, from saying Masse, and also was forced to reuoke the same at Paules Crosse, reading this Bill as foloweth.

The reuocation of Doct. Wil. Goodrige read at Paules Crosse.

MAisters, so it is that where in my late Sermon at S. Mary spittle, the Tewesday in Easter weeke last past, I did pray specially for the soule of Richarde Hunne,* late of London Marchant Tailer, an heretike by the lawes of holy Church iustly condemned, by reason wherof I greatly offended God and hys Church, and the lawes of the same, for the which I haue submitted mee to my Ordinarie, and done penaunce therefore: for as muche as peradventure the audience that was there offended by my sayde woordes, myght take any occasion thereby to thincke that I did fauour the sayd heretike or any other, I desire you at the instance of almighty God to forgeue mee, and not so to thynke of me, for I did it vnadvisedly. Therefore heere before God and you, I declare my selfe that I haue not fauoured him or any other heretike, nor heereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholike faith of holy church, according to my profession to the best of my power.

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Rob West. Priest.
1529.

Abiured for Bookes and opynyons contrary to the Proclamation.

Nicholas Whyte of
Rye. 1529.

Hys Articles: For speaking against the Priestes saying of Mattens. For speaking against praying for them that be deade: Against praying to God for small trifles, as for the cowe caluyng, the henne hatching. &c. For speakynge againste the relique of S. Peters finger: Against oblations to Images: Against vowing of Pilgrimage:

Against Priesthoode: Against holy bread and holy water. &c.

Rich. Kitchin,
priest. 1529.

His Articles: That pardons granted by the Pope, are naughte, and that menne should put no trust in them, but onely in the Passion of Christe.* That he being lead by the wordes of the Gospell. Matt. 7. De via lata, & angusta, and also by the Epistle of the Masse beginning: Vir fortissimus ludas, hadde erred in the way of the Pope, and thoughte, that there were but two wayes and no Purgatorie. That men ought to worship no Images, nor set vp lights before them. That Pilgrimage doth nothing auaille. That the Gospell was not truely preached for the space of 300. yeares past. &c.

Hys Articles: That hee was not bounde to say hys Mattens nor other seruice, but to sing with the Queere till they came to Prime, and then sayinge no more seruice, thought he myght wel goe to Masse. That hee hadde saide Masse oftentimes, and hadde not sayde hys Mattens and his deuine Seruice before. That hee hadde gone to Masse wythout Confession made to a Priest. That it was sufficient for a manne being in deadly sinne, to aske God mercy onely for his sinne wythoute farther confession made to a Prieste. That hee helde agaynste Pilgrimages, and called Images stockes and stones, and witches.

Wil. Wegen priest
at S. Mary hill.
1529.

Item, that he being sicke, wente to the Roode of Sainte Margarete Patens, and sayde before hym twenty Pater nosters, and when hee sawe hymselfe neuer the better, then he sayde, a foule euill take him, and all other Images.

Item, that if a manne keepe a good tongue in hys head, hee tasteth well.

Item, for commending Luther to be a good manne for preaching twice a day. &c. For saying that the Masse was but a Ceremonie, and made to the entent that men should pray onely.

Wil. Hale holy
water clearke of
Tolenham. 1529.

Item, for saying, that if a man had a paire of beades, or a booke in his hand at the church, and were not disposed to pray, it was naught. &c.

Hys Articles: That Offeringe of money and Candles to Images, dyd not auaille, sith wee are iustified by the bloude of Christe. Item, for speakynge agaynste worshipping of Saintes, and the Popes pardones. For sayinge, that sith the Sacramentes that the Prieste doeth minister, bee as good as they, which the Pope doeth minister, he dyd not see but the Priest hast as good authority as the Pope. Item, that a man shoulde confesse himselfe to God only, and not to a Priest. &c.

Wil. Blomfeld
Monke of Buoy.

Abiured for the like causes.

Iohn Tyndall. 1530.

For sending 5. markes to his brother Wil. Tindall beyond the sea, and for receiuing

and keeping with him certayne letters from his brother.

- Wil. Wor•ley
Priest, & Hermite.
1530. His Articles: For preaching at Halestede, hauing the Curates licence but not the Byshops. Item, for preaching of these woordes: that no man riding on Pilgrimage, hauing vnder hym a soft saddle, and an easy horse, should haue any merite therby, but the horse and the saddle &c. Item, for saying that hearing of Mattens and masse is not the thing that shall saue a mans soule, but onely to heare y^e word of god.
- Iohn Stacy Tyler.
1530. Hys Articles were agaynst Purgatory, whiche he sayde to be but a deuise of the Priestes to get money. Against fasting dayes by mans prescription: and choise of meates. Agaynst superfluous holydayes. Item, agaynst Pilgrimage. &c.
- Laurence Maxwell
Taylor. 1530. His Articles: That the Sacrament of the alter was not the very bodye of Christ in fleshe and bloud: but that he receiued hym by the word of GOD, and in remembraunce of Christes passion. Item, that the order of Priesthood is no sacrament. Tat there is no purgatory. &c.
- Tho Curson, Monke
of Eastacre in
Northfolke. 1530. Hys Articles were these: For goyng out of the monastery and changing his weede, and letting hys crowne to grow, working abrode for his liuing, making copes and vestimentes. Also for hauing the new Testament of Tindals translation, and an other booke conteyning certayne bookes of the old Testament, translated into Englishe by certayne, whome the Papistes call Lutherans.
- Hys Articles: It was objected, that hee beyng enioyned aforetyme by Richard Fitziamies B. of London, for hys penaunce to weare a fagot bordered vppon his sleeue vnder payne of relapse, hee kept not the same, & therefore hee was condemned to perpetual custody in the house of S. Bartlemew, from whence afterward he escaped and fled away.
- Tho. Corn. well,
or Austy. 1530. Thomas Philip was deliuered by syr Thomas More, to bishop Stokesley by indenture. Besides other Articles of Purgatorie, Images, the Sacrament of the altare, Holydaies, keeping of bookes, and suche like, it was objected to him, that he being searched in the Tower, had founde aboute hym Tracies Testament, and in his chamber in the Tower was founde Cheese and Butter in Lent time. Also that hee had a letter deliuered vnto him goyng to the Tower. Which letter, wyth the Testament also of Tracie, because they are both worthy to be seene, we mynde (GOD willing) to annexe also to the storie of thys Thomas Phillip. As hee was oftentimes examined before maister More and the Bishop, he alwaies stode to his denial, neither could there any thing be prooued clearely agaynste him, but onely Tracies Testamente and hys butter in Lente. One Stacie first bare witness againste him, but after in the Courte openly hee protested that he did it for feare. The Byshoppe thē willing him to submit him self, & to sweare neuer to holde any opinion cōtrarye to the determination of holye Church, he sayde he would. And when the forme of

hys abiuration was geuen him to read, he read it, but the Byshop not content with that, wold haue hym to reade it openly. But that hee woulde not, and sayde hee woulde appeale to the king supream heade of the Churche, and so did. Stil the Byshop, called vpon him to abiure. Hee aunswared, that he would be obedient, as a Christen man shoulde, and that hee woulde sweare neuer to holde any heresie during his life, nor fauoure any heretickes.

But the Bishop not yet contente, would haue him to reade the abiuration after the forme of the Churche conceaued, as it was geuen him. Hee aunswared again that he would forswear all heresies, and that he woulde maintaine no heresies, ne fauour and heretickes. The Byshop with this woulde not be aunswared, but needes would driue him to the abiuration formed after the Popes Church. To whome hee said, if it were the same abiuration, that he read, he would not read it, but stand to his appeale made to the kinge, the supream heade of the Churche vnder God. Againe, the Bishop asked hym, if he would abiure or not. Except (sayd he) you will shewe me the cause, whye I should abiure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeale, and required the Bishop to obey the same. Then the Bishop reading openly the Bil of excommunication against him, denounced him for contumax, and an excōmunicate person, chargyng all men to haue no company or any thyng to doe with him.

After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeale, or whether he was burⁿed, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abiured, I find no mention made in the registers.

***A letter directed to Thomas Phillip in the name of the brethren, and geuen him by the way going to the Tower.**

THE fauour of him that is able to keepe you that you fall not, and to confesse your name in the kingdome of glorye,* and to geue you strength by his spirite to confesse him before all hys aduersaries, be with you euer, Amen.

Syr, the brethren thincke that there bee diuers false brethren craftily crept in among them, to seeke out their freedome in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lords aduersaries, as they suppose they haue done you. Wherefore if so be it, that the spirit of God mooue you thereunto, they as counsailors desire you aboue all things to be stedfast in the Lordes veritie without feare, for hee shall and will be your helpe according to his promise, so that they shall not minish the least heire of your head without his will: vnto the which will, submitte your selfe, and reioyce:* for the Lorde knoweth how to deliuer the godly out of temptation, and howe to reserue the vniust vnto the daye of iudgement to be punished:* and therefore, cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. And in that you suffer as a Christen man, bee not ashamed,* but rather glorify God on that behalfe: looking vpon Christ the authour and finisher of our faith: which for the ioy that was set before hym,* abode the Crosse & despised the shame. Notwithstanding, though we suffer the wrong, after the example of our maister Christe, yet we be not bounde to suffer the wrong cause, for Christe hymselfe suffred it not, but reprobued him that smit him wrongfully. And so

likewise sayth S. Paule also: So that we must not suffer the wrōg,* but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous iudges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore according both to Gods law and mans, ye be not bounde to make no aunswer in no cause, till your accusers come before you. Which if you require, and thereon doe sticke, the false brethren shall be knowne to the great comforte of those that nowe stand in doubt whome they may trust: and also it shall be a meane that they shall not craftily by questions take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in the 20. chapter of the Acts it is wrytten.* It is not the maner of the Romanes to deliuer any man that he shuld perish before that he which is accused, haue his accusers before hym, and haue licence to aunswere for himselfe, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused. And also Christe will,* that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stande. And in the 5. chap. to Timoth. the first epistle it is written:* Against a Seniour receiue none accusation but vnder two or three witnesses. A Seniour in this place is any man that hath an house to gouerne. And also their owne lawe is agreeable to this Wherefore seeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accusations such witnesses shuld be,* you may with a good cōscience require it. And this the God of grace which hathe called you vnto his eternal glory by Christ Iesu, shal his owne selfe after a little affliction, make you perfect, shal settle, strengthen, and stablish you, that to him may be glory and praise for euer. Amen.

Thus ye haue heard the letter deliuered to Th. Philip. Now followeth the Testament of William Tracie.

***Tracie his Testament.**

A Little before this time, William Tracie a worshypfull Esquire in Glocestershire, and then dwelling at Todington, made in his wil, that he woulde haue no funerall pompe at his burying, neither passed he vpon Masse, and farther sayd that he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saued, and not by any Saint. Thys Gentlemā dyed, and his sonne as executor,* brought the will to the Bysh. of Canterbury to proue, which he shewed to the cōuocation, and there most cruelly they iudged that he should be taken out of the ground and be brent as an hereticke, anno. 1532. This commission was sent to Doc. Parker Chauncellour of the Diocesse of Worcester, to execute theyr wicked sentence, whiche accomplished the same. The kynge hearynge his subiect to be taken out of the grounde and brent wythout his knowledge or order of his law, sent for the Chancellour, and layde high offence to his charge: who excused him selfe by the Archbishop of Caunterburye whyche was late dead, but in conclusion it cost hym CCC. pounce to haue hys pardon. The will and Testament of thys Gentleman thus condemned by the Clergie, was as here vnder foloweth.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Tracie of Todington in the Countie of Glocester Esquire, make my Testament & last wil, as hereafter foloweth.* First and before all other things, I commit my selfe vnto God & to his mercy, beleuing without any doubt or mistrust that by hys grace and the merits of Iesus Christ, and by the vertue of his passion and of his resurrection, I haue and shall haue remission of all my sinnes and resurrection of body & soul, according as it is written: I beleue that my redemer liueth, & that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Sauour: this my hope is laid vp in my bosome.

[Page 1043](#) And touching the wealth of my soule, the faith that I haue taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mans workes or merites. My ground and beliefe is, that there is but one God and one Mediatour betweene God and man, which is Iesus Christ: so that I accept none in heauen nor in earth to be Mediatour betwene me and God, but only Iesus Christ: all other to be but as petitioners in receiuing of grace, but none able to geue influence of grace: And therefore will I bestowe no part of my goodes for that entente that any man should say or do, to helpe my soule, for therin I trust onely to the promises of Christ: He that beleueeth and is baptised, shall be saued,* and he that beleueeth not, shall be damned.

As touching the burying of my body it auayleth me not whatsoeuer be done thereto,* for S. Austen sayth De cura agenda pro mortuis, that the funerall pompes are rather the solace of them that liue, then the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remitte it onely to the discretion of mine executors.

And touching the distribution of my temporall goodes, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestowe them to be accepted as the fruites of faith,* so that I do not suppose y^t my merite shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merite is the faith of Iesus Christ onely, by whome suche workes are good according to the wordes of our Lorde: I was hungry and thou gauest me to eate, &c. And it foloweth: that ye haue done to the least of my brethren, ye haue done it to me, &c. And euer we should consider that true saying: that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good worke: for faith maketh the man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liueth by faith: and whatsoeuer springeth not of fayth is sinne,*&c.

And all my temporall goodes that I haue not geuen or deliuered, or not geuen by writing of mine owne hande, bearing the date of this present writing, I doe leaue and geue to Margaret my wife, and to Richard my son, whom I make mine Executors. Witnes hereof mine own hand, the tenth of October, in the xxij. yeare of the reigne of King Henry the eyght.

This is the true copie of his will, for the whiche, as you heard before, after he was almost two yeares dead, they tooke him vp and burned him.

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Persons abiured,

with their Articles.

John Periman Skinner.*

Hys Articles were much lyke vnto the others before: Addyng moreouer, that all the Preachers then at Paules Crosse, preached nothyng but lyes and flatterings, and that there was neuer a true Preacher but one: namyng Edward Crome.

1531.

Rob. Goldston Glasier. 1531.

His Articles: That men should pray to God onely, and to no Saints. That Pilgrimage is not profitable. That men should giue no worship to Images. Item, for sayeng, that if he had as much power as any

Cardinall had, he woulde destroye all the Images
that were in all the Churches in England.

Hys Articles: For hauing the Testament in
English, the fiue bookes of Moses, the practise
of Prelates, the summe of Scripture, the A B C.

Item, about the burning of Baineham, for
sayeng: I would I were with Baynham, seeing
that euery man hath forsaken him, that I might
drinke with him, and he might pray for me.

Item, that he moued Henry Tomson to learne to
reade the new Testament, calling it the bloud of
Christ.

Laurence Staple Seruing man.

Item, in Lent past, when he had no fish, he did
eate egges, butter, and chese. Also about sixe
weekes before M. Bilney was attached,* the
sayd Bilney deliuered to him at Greenewich
foure new Testamentes of Tindals translation,
which he had in his sleeue, and a budget besides
of bookes, whiche budget hee shortly after
riding to Cambridge, deliuered vnto Bilney, &c.
Item, on Fridayes he vsed to eate egges, &
thought y^t it was no great offēce before God,
&c.

Hys Articles: That which the priest lifteth ouer
his head at the sacring time, is not the very body
of Christ, nor it is not God, but a thing that God
hath ordeyned to be done.

Henry Tomson Taylor. 1531.

This poore Tomson although at the first hee
submitted himselfe to the Byshop: yet they with
sentence cōdemned him to perpetuall prison.

His Articles: that he cared not for goyng to the
Churche to heare Masse, for hee could say
Masse as well as the Priest. That he would not
pray to our Lady, for she could do vs no good.

Iasper Wet^tzell of Colen. 1531.

Item, beyng asked if he would goe heare Masse,
he sayd he had as lieue go to y^e gallowes, where
the theeues were hanged.

Item, beyng at S. Margaret Patens, and there
holdyng his armes a crosse, he sayd to y^e

people, that he could make as good a knave as he is, for he is made but of wood. &c.

His Articles: There is no Purgatory. The Pope hath no more power to graunt pardon then an other simple Priest. That God gave no more authoritie to S. Peter, then to an other Priest. That the Pope was a knave and his Priests knaves all, for suffering his Pardons to goe abroad to deceive the people. That S. Thomas of Canterbury, is no Saint. That S. Peter was neuer Pope of Rome.

Rob. Man, Seruyngman. 1531.

Item, he vsed commonly to aske of Priestes where he came, whether a man were accursed if he handled a chalice or no? If the Priest would say yea,* then would he reply agayne this: If a man haue a sheepes skinne on his handes, meanyng a payre of gloves, hee may handle it. The Priestes saying yea: wel then (quoth he) ye wil make me beleue, that God put more vertue in a sheepes skinne, then he did in a Christian mans hand, for whom he dyed.

His trouble was, for hauyng these booke in English: a proper Dialogue betwene a Gentleman, and a husbandman. The summe of Scripture. The Prologue of Marke. A written booke conteynyng the Pater noster, Ave Maria, and Credo in English. The ten Commaundementes, and the 16. conditions of Charitie.

Henry Feldon. 1531.

His Article onely was this: for saying that the blessing with a shoe sole is as good as the Byshops blessing. &c.

Rob. Cooper, Priest 1531.

His Articles were, for speakyng agaynst auricular Cōfession, and Priestly penance, and agaynst the preaching of the Doctours.

Thomas Row. 1531.

His opinion: That the Sacrament of the aulter is not the body of Christ in flesh & bloud, and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and bloud in the forme of bread.

Wil. Walam. 1531.

Witnesse was brought agaynst her by her neighbours Ioh. Rouse,* Agnes his wife, Iohn Pole of S. Osithes, for saying: Ye vse to beare Palmes on Palme Sonday: it skilleth not whether ye beare any or not, it is but a thyng vsed and neede not.

Grace Palmer. 1531.

Also ye vse to go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walsingham, & other places: ye were better tarye at home, and geue money to succour me and my children and other of my poore neighbours, then to goe thether: for there ye shall finde but a peece of tymber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, for repentyng that she did euer light candles before Images.

Item, that the Sacrament of the aulter is not the body of Christ: it is but bread which the Priest there sheweth for a token or remembraunce of Christes body.

Philip Brasier of Bocksted. 1531.

His Articles: That the Sacrament holden vp betwene the Priests hādes, is not the body of Christ, but bread, and is done for a signification. That confession to a Priest needeth not. That images be but stockes and stones. That pilgrimage is vayne. Also for sayeng that when there is any miracle done, the Priests do noint the images, and make men beleeeue that the Images do sweate in labouring for them, and with the offerings the priests find their harlots.

Ioh. Fayrestede of Colchester 1531.

Hys Articles: For words spoken against pilgrimage and images. Also for sayeng these words:* that the day should come, that men should say: cursed bee they that make these false gods, meaning images.

George Bull of Much hadham, Draper. 1531.

*Hys Articles: That there be three confessions: One principall to God, another to his neighbour, whom he had offended: and the third to a Priest: and that without the two first confessions to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be saued. The third confession to a Priest, is necessary for counsaile to

such as be ignorant and vnlearned, to learne howe to make their confession with a contrite hart vnto God, and how to hope for forgeuensse: and also in what maner they should aske forgeuenes of their neighbor, whom they haue offended, &c. Item, for sayeng that Luther was a good man.* Item, that he reported, through the credence and report of M. Patmore, Parson of Hadham, y^t where Wickliffes bones were brent, sprang vp a well or welspring.

His Articles: For speaking and holding against pilgrimage and images, and against prescribed fasting dayes.

Ioh. Haymond Milwright. 1531.

That Priests and religious men notwithstanding their vowes made, may lawfully forsake their vowes and mary. Item, for hauing bookes of Luther, and Tyndall.

Hys Article: for that he standing accursed two yeares together, and not fearing y^e censures of the Popes church, went about with a song in the cōmendation of Martine Luther.*

Rob. Lamb a Harper. 1531.

Hys Articles: For speaking against Purgatory, and Thomas Becket.

Item, at the towne of Farnsham, he seeing Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a crosse caried before a corse, asked, to whome he kneeled? He sayd, to his maker.* Thou art a foole (said he) it is not thy maker, it is but a peece of copper or wood, &c.

Ioh. Hewes Draper. 1531.

Item, for these words: Maisters, ye vse to go on pilgrimage: it were better first that yee looke vpon youre poore neighbours which lacke succour, &c.

Also, for sayeng that he heard the Uicar of Croidon thus preache openly: That there is as much bawdry kept by going in Pilgrimage to Wilsedone or Mousswell, as in the stewes side, &c.

This Patmore was brother to mayster Patmore Parson of Hadham, who was prisoned in the Lollards tower for marying a Priest, and in the same prison continued three yeare.

This Patmore was accused by diuers witnesses, vpon these Articles:

That he had as lene pray to yonder hunter pointing to a mā painted there in a stayned cloth, for a peece of flesh, as to pray to stockes that stand in walles meaning Images.

Tho. Patmore Draper. 1531.

Item, that men should not praye to Saints, but to God only: for why shuld we pray to Saints (said he) they are but blockes and stockes? * Item, that the truth of Scripture hath bene kept from vs a long time, and hath not appeared till now. Item, comming by a tree wherein stoode an image, he tooke away the waxe which hanged there offered. Item, that he regarded not the place whether it was halowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead. Also, in talke with the Curate of S. Peters, he defended that Priests might mary.

This Patmore had long hold wyth the Byshop of London. First he would not sweare infamia nō praecedente. Then he would appeale to the King, but all would not serue. He was so wrapt in the Byshops nets, that he could not get out, but at last he was forced to abiure, and fined to the King an C. pound.

* Note in the communication betwene this Patmore, and the priest of S. Peters, that where as the priest objected against him (as is in y^e register) that priests haue liued vnmarried, * & without wiues these 1500. yeres in the Church: he & all other such priestes therin say falsly and deceiue the people, as by story is proued in this volume, that priests here in England had wiues by the law within these 500. yeres & lesse.

Simon Smith maister of Arte of Gunwell hall in

This Simon Smith, and Benoro his wife, were the

Cābridge, and Benore his wife. 1531.

parties, whome M. Patmore Parson of Hadham aboue mentioned did mary, & was condemned for the same to perpetuall prison. For the which mariage, both the sayde Simon and Benore his wife were called to examination before the Byshop, and hee caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how, & where he married. Then, after his mariage, how long he taried, whether he wente beyond Sea, where he was, and wyth whome. After his returne, whether he resorted, how he liued, what mercery ware he occupied, what fayres he frequented, where he left his wyfe, how he caried her ouer, and brought her home agayne, and how she was founde, &c. All this they made him confesse, & put it in their register. And though they coulde fasten no other crime of heresie vpon him, but onely his mariage: yet calling both him and her being greate with child to examination, they caused them both to abiure & suffer penance.

Tho. Patmore Patson of Hadham. 1531.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the Parsonage of Hadham in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz lames, Byshop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flocke during the time of the sayde Fitz lames, and also of Tunstall his successor, by the space of sixteene yeares or more, behauing himselfe in life and conuersation without any publike blame or reproch, vntil that Iohn Stokesley was preferred vnto the sayd Byshopricke. Who,* not very long after his enstalling, either for malice, not greatly lyking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to preferre some other vnto the benefice (as it is supposed and alleaged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited vnto the King, as also vnto Queene Anne, then Marchionesse of Pembroke) caused him to be attached and brought before him, and then keepyng him prisoner in his owne Pallace a certayne tyme, afterwarde committed hym to Lollards tower, where hee kepte him most extreamely aboue two yeares, without

fire or candle, or any other reliefe, but such as his frends sent him, not suffering any of them notwithstanding, to come vnto him, no not in his sicknes. Howbeit, sundry times in the meane while he called him iudicially, eyther before himselfe, or else his vicare generall Foxford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry Articles, viz. as first, whether he had bene at Wittenberge, 2. and had seene or talked with Luther, 3. or with any english man abiding there, 4. who went with hym, or attended vpon him thether, 5. also what bookes he bought there either Lattin or English, 6. and whether he had read or studied any workes of Luther, Oecolampadius, Pomeran, or Melancton. Besides [Page 1045](#) these he ministred also other Articles vnto him, touching the mariage of Maister Symon Smith (before mentioned) wyth one Ioane Bennore, charging hym, that he both knewe of, and also consented vnto theyr mariage, the one being a Priest, and his Curate, and the other hys maydeseruant, and that he had perswaded hys sayde maydeseruant, to marry with hys sayde Curate, alleading vnto her, that though it were not lawfull in Englande for Priestes to marry, yet it was in other Countreys beyonde Seas. And that after theyr sayd marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the sayde Smith to minister in hys cure, all Easter tyme, and fifteene dayes after: and that at theyr departure out of Englande, hee supped wyth them at the Bell in newe fishestreete, and agayne, at theyr returne into Englande, dyd meete them at the sayde Bell, and there lente vnto the sayde Smyth a Priestes gowne.

He objected moreouer agaynste hym in the same Articles, that he had affyrmed at Cambridge, 1. that hee dyd not set a bottell of hay by the Popes or Byshops cursse: 2. and that God byndeth vs to impossible thynges that hee may saue vs only by hys mercy: 3. and also, that though yong children bee baptised, yet they can not be saued except they had fayth, 4. and

lastly, that it was agaynst Gods law to burne Heretikes.

Unto these Articles, after long imprisonment and greate threatens of the Byshop and hys Uicare, he at last aunswere: makyng fyrst hys appeale vnto the Kyng. Wherein hee shewed, that forasmuch as the Byshop had most vniustly, and contrary to all due order of lawe and the equitie thereof, proceeded agaynst hym, as well in falsely defaming hym wyth the cryme of Heresie, wythout hauing any iust prooffe or publicke defamation thereof, as also contrary to all iustice, keepyng hym in most straight prison so long time, (both to the great daunger of hys lyfe by greuous sicknesse taken thereby, as especially to hys no small grieffe, that through hys absence, hys flocke whereof hee had charge, were not fedde with the word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to minister vnto hym suche Articles, mingled wyth interrogatories, as neyther touched anye heresie, nor transgression of any lawe, but rather shewing a minde to picke quarels agaynst hym and other innocent people. He therefore for the causes alleadged, was compelled and did appeale from hym and all hys officers, vnto the Kings Maiestie, whome (vnder God) he had for hys most iust and lawfull refuge, and defender agaynst all iniuries. From whyche appeale, although hee minded not at anye tyme to departe, yet, because hee would not shewe hymselfe obstinate agaynst the Byshop beeing hys Ordinary, (although he had most iust cause to suspect his vniust proceeding agaynst hym) hee was neuerthelesse content to exhibite vnto him this hys aunswere. Firste, that howsoeuer the Byshop was priuately enformed, yet because hee was not Publice diffamatus apud bonos & graues accordyng to lawe, he was not by the lawe bounde to aunswere to any of those Articles.

And as touching the first sixe Articles (as whether he was at Wittenberge, and spake with

Luther or anye other, or bought or read any of theyr bookes &c.) because none of those thyngs were forbidden hym by any lawe, neyther that he was publickly accused of them, (for that it was permitted to many good men to haue them) he was not bound to aunswere, neyther was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Maister Simon Smyth with Ioane Bennore, he graunted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Mayster Smyth, but that he gaue hys mayde counsaile thereunto, he vtterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the mariage betweene them, he thought it not at all against Gods lawe, who at the first creation made mariage lawfull for all men. Neither thought he it vnlawfull for him, after their marriage, either to keepe hym as hys Curate, or else to lend or geue him any thyng needefull, (wherein hee sayde he shewed more charitie then the Byshop, who had taken all thyngs from them) and therefore he desired to haue it proued by the Scriptures, that Priests marriages were not lawfull. Against whome, Foxford the Byshops vicare often alledged generall Counsayles, and determinations of the Church, but no Scriptures, still vrging hym to abiure hys Articles, which, Patmore long tyme refused, and stickyng a great while to his former aunsweres, at last was threatened by Foxforde to haue the definitiue sentence read agaynst him. Whereupon he aunswered that he beleued the holy Churche as a Christen man ought to do, and bycause it passed his capacitie he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would beleue it: For he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Priest mought marry a wife, howbeit by the lawes of y^e Church he thought that a Priest might not marry. But the Chauncelor still so vrged him to shew, whether a Priest mought marry w^tout offence to God, that at length he graūted that Priestes might not marry without offence to God, bycause the Church had forbidden it: & therfore a Priest could not marry without deadly sinne. Now as touchyng the foure last Articles, he denied that he spake thē

as they were put agaynst him: but he graunted that he mought perhaps ies•yngly say, that a bottell of hay were more profitable to him, thē the Popes curse: Which, he thought true. Also to the secōd he affirmed, that God had set before vs, by his preceptes and commaundements the way to iustice: which way was not in mās power to go and keepe, therfore Paule sayth ad Gallathas 3. quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos, but yet to fulfill it, it was in manu (id est in potestate) intercessoris: that none that shalbe saued shall accōpt their saluation vnto their own deedes, or thanke their own iustice in obseruyng the law: for it was in no mans power to obserue it. But shall geue all thanks to the mercies and goodnes of God, according to the Psalme: Laudate Dominū omnes gentes: and accordyng to the saying of Paule, vt qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur: Which hath sent his sonne to do for vs y^t, which was not in our own power to do. For if it had bene in our owne power to fulfill the law, Christ had bene sent to vs without cause, to doe for vs that thyng, which we our selues could haue done, that is to say, fulfill the law. As for the third he spake not, for he did neuer knowne that any may be Baptised without fayth: which fayth, in asmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not bee geuen to peruulis? To the last, he sayd, that if he spake it, he ment it not of those that S. Barnard called heretickes, with more adulterers theeues, murtherers, with other opē sinners which blaspheme God by their mouthes, callyng good euill, and euill good, makyng light darkenesse, and darkenesse light: But he ment it of such as men call heretickes; accordyng to the testimony of S. Paule, Act. 24. I liue after the way sayth he that men call heresie: Whom, Christ doth foretell that ye shall burne & persecute to death.

After these aunsweres thus made, the Byshop with his persecutyng Foxforde, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by straight imprisonment and partly by threatens to proceede agaynst him, that in the end he was

fayne through humaine infirmitie to submit himselfe and was abiured, and cōdemned to perpetuall prison: with losse both of his benefice, as also of all his goodes. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwarde made such sute vnto the Kyng, (by meanes of the Queene) that after three yeares imprisonment, he was both released out of prison, and also obtained of the Kyng, a Commission vnto the Lord Awdeley beyng then Lord Chauncelor, and to Cranmer Archbyshop of Cāterbury, and to Crumwell then Secretary, with others, to enquire of the iniurious and vniust dealynges of the Byshoppe and his Chauncelor agaynst the sayd Patmore, notwithstanding his appeale vnto the kyng and to determine therof accordyng to true equitie and iustice: & to restore the sayd Patmore agayne vnto his sayd benefice. But what was the ende and issue of this Commission wfinde not as yet.

Iohn Row Bookebinder, a Frēch man. 1531.

This man for bynding, buyng, and dispersing of bookes inhibited,* was enioyned beside other penaunce, to goe to Smithfield with his Bookes tyed about hym, and to cast them in the fire & there to abide till they were all brent to ashes.

Christ of▪ a dutchmā of Antwerpe. 1531.

This man, for sellyng certeine new Testaments in English to Iohn Row aforesayd, was put in prison at Westminster, and there dyed.

W. Nelson Priest. 1531.

His crime was, for hauyng and buiying of Peryman certain bookes of Luther, Tyndall, Thorpe. &c. and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the Kings proclamation: for the which he was abiured, he was Priest at Lith.

Tho. Eue Weauer. 1531.

His Articles: That the Sacrament of the aultar was but a memory of Christes passion. That men were fooles to go on pilgrimage, or to set any candle before images. Item, it is as good to set vp staues before the Sepulchre, as to set vp tapers of waxe. That Priestes might haue wiues.

Rob. Hudson of S. Pulchers. 1531.

*His Article: On Childermas daye (sayth the Register) he offred in Paules Church at offering time, to the childe Byshop (called S. Nicholas) a dogge for deuotion (as he sayd) and meant no hurt, for he thought to haue offered a halfe peny, or else y^e dogge, and thought the dogge to be more better then a halfe peny, and the dogge should raise some profite to the child, and sayd moreouer it was the tenth dogge, &c. Ex Regist.

Edward Hewet seruicingman. 1531.

His crime: That after the Kynges proclamation he had and read the new Testament in English: Also the booke of I. Frith against Purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry seruant. 1531.

Hys Article: That he, after the kings proclamation, had & vsed these bookes, the Testament in English, the summe of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in Englishe hidden in hys bedstrawe at Worcester.

Michaellobley.

1531.

His Articles: That hee beeing at Antwerpe bought certeine bookes inhibited, as the Reuelation of Antichrist, the obedience of a Christian man, the wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, for speaking against Images and Purgatory. Item, for sayeng that Bilney was a good man,* and dyed a good man, because of a Bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he tooke his death so pacientlye, and did not forsake to die wyth a good will, &c.

A boy of Colchester. 1531.

A boy of Colchester, or Northfolke brought to Richard Bayfield, a budget of bookes, about four dayes before the sayd Bayfield was taken: for the which the lad was taken, & laid in the counter by M. More Chancellor, & there dyed.

Wil. Smith Taylor. 1531.

His Articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his house, Rich. Bayfield, and other good men. That he receiued hys bookes into hys house, and vsed much reading in the new Testament. He had also the Testament of William Tracy. He beleued there was

no Purgatory.

Wil. Lyncoln Prentise. 1532.

His Articles: For hauing and receiuing bookes from beyond the Sea, of Tindall, Frith, Thorpe, and other. Item, he doubted whether there were any Purgatory: Whether it were well done to set vp candles to Saints: to go on pilgrimage, &c.

Iohn Mell of Bocksted 1532.

His heresie was this: for hauing and reading the new Testament in english, the Psalter in English, and the booke called A B C.

Iohn Medwell seruant to M. Carkit,[*Scriuener](#).
1532.

This Medwell lay in prison xxiiij. weekes, till he was almost lame. Hys heresies were these: That he doubted whether there was anye Purgatory. He woulde not trust in pardons, but rather in the promises of Christ. He doubted whether the merites of anye but onely of Christ did helpe him. He doubted whether pilgrimages and setting vp of candles to images were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any Saint. Item, hee had in his custody the new Testament in Englishe, the examination of Thorpe, the wicked Mammon, a booke of Matrimony. Ex ipsius scedula ad Episc. Scripta.

Christofer Fulman, seruāt to a Goldsmith.
1532.

This yong man was attached for receiuing certayne bookes at Antwerp of George Constantine, and transporting them ouer into England, and selling them to sondry persons, beeyng bookes prohibited by the proclamation. Item, he thought then those bookes to haue bene good, and that he had bene in errour in times past.

Margaret Bowgas.
1532.

Her heresies were these: Being asked if she would go on pilgrimage, she sayd, I beleue in God, and he can do me more good, then our Lady, or any other Saint, and as for them, they shal come to me, if they will, &c. Then Richard Sharples Parson of Millend by Colchester, asked her, if shee sayde her Aue Maria, I say (sayd she) hayle Mary, but I will say no further. Then said he, if she left not those

opinions, she would beare a fagot. If I do (saide she) better then I shall: adding moreouer that she would not go from that to die therefore. To whome the Priest aunswered and sayd, she would be burned. Heereunto Margaret againe replyeng, asked the Priest, who made Martyrs? * Tyrants (quoth the Priest) make Martirs, for they put Martirs to death. So they shall, or may me, quoth Margaret. At length with much ado, and greate persuasions, she gaue ouer to Foxford the Chancellor, and submitted her selfe.

John Tyrel an Irishman of Billery key, Taylor.

His Articles were these: That the Sacramente of the aulter was not the body of Christ, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore the occasion being asked, how he fell into that heresie: he answered and sayd, that about three weekes before Midsomer last past, hee heard M. Hugh Latimer preach at S. Mary Abchurch, that men should leaue going in pilgrimage abroad, * and do their pilgrimage to their poore neighbours. Also the sayde M. Latimer in his Sermon, did set the Sacrament of the aulter at little.

William Lancaster Taylor.

1532.

The cause layde to this man, was: That he had in his keeping the booke of Wickliffes wicket. Item, that he beleueed the Sacrament of the aulter after the words of consecration not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, vpon the day of Assumption he sayd, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receiue the sacrament of the aulter.

Rob. Topley Frier.

1532.

His Articles. He being a Frier Augustine of Clare, forsooke his habite, and going in a secular mans weede, tenne yeares, married a wife called Margret Nixon, hauing by her a child: * and afterward being brought before y^e Byshop, he was by him abiured and condemned to be prisoned in his former Monastery: but at last he escaped out, and returned to his wife agayne.

Tho. Topley Austen Fryer at Stokeclare.

By the occasion of this Rob. Topley aforesayde, place is offered to speake something likewise of Tho. Topley his brother belike, and also a Frier of the same order & house of Stokeclare. This Tho. Topley had bene conuerted before, by one Richard Foxe, priest of Bumstede, and Miles Couerdale, in so much that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certayne bookes,* cast off both his order and habite, and wente lyke a secular Prieste. Wherupon he was espied and brought to Cuthbert Byshop of London, ann. 1528. before whome, this confession he made, as followeth.

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***The recantation of Thomas Topley.**

ALL Christen men beware of consentyng to Erasmus fables, for by consentyng to them, they haue caused me to shrinke in my fayth that I promised to God at my Christenyng by my witnesses.* First, as touchyng these Fables, I read in Colloquium by the instruction of Syr Richard Foxe, of certaine Pilgrimes, which (as the booke doth say) made a vowe to go to S. Iames,* & as they wēt, one of them dyed & he desired his felowes to salute S. Iames in his name: and an other dyed homeward, and he desired that they would salute his wife and his childrē,* and the thyrd dyed at Florence, & his felow sayd he supposed that he was in heauen, and yet he sayd that he was a great lyer. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mynde was almost withdrawne from deuotion to Saintes. Notwithstandyng I cōsēted that the diuine seruice of them was very good, and is though I haue not had such sweetnesse in it as I should haue had, because of such Fables, & also because of other foolish pastimes, as daūcing, tennes and such other, which I thinke haue bene great occasions that the goodnes of God hath bene voyde in me, and vice in strength.

Moreouer, it fortunēd thus about halfe a yeare a goe, that the sayd Syr Richard went forth and desired me to serue his Cure for him, and as I was in his chāber, I found a certain booke called Wickleffes Wicket,* whereby I felt in my cōscience a great waueryng for the tyme that I did read vpon it, and afterward also when I remembred it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Neuerthelesse I consented not to it, vntill I had heard him preach, and that was vpō S. Anthonies day: yet my mynde was still much troubled with the sayd booke (whiche did make the Sacrament of Christes body, in forme of bread, but a remēbraunce of Christes Passion) till I heard Syr Myles Couerdale preach, and then my mynde was sore withdrawne from that blessed Sacrament, in so much that I tooke it then but for the remembraunce of Christes body.* Thus haue I wretchedly wrapped my soule with sinne, for because I haue not bene stedfast in y^t holy order that God hath called me vnto by Baptisme, neither in y^e holy order that God & S. Augustine hath called me to by my Religion. &c.

Furthermore he sayd and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as hee was walkyng in the fieldes at Bumstede with Syr Myles Couerdale late Frier of the same order,* goyng in y^e habite of a secular Priest, which had preached the iiij. Sondag in Lent at Būstede, they did cōmon together of Erasmus workes, and also vpon cōfession: the which Syr Myles sayd & did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sinnes betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a Priest: which opinion this respondent thought to bee true and did affirme and hold the same at that tyme. Also he sayth that at the sayd Sermon made by the said Syr Myles Couerdale at Bumstede, he heard him preache agaynst worshypping of Images in the Church, saying and preachyng that men in no wise should honour or worshyp thē: which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learnyng to defend it.

Wil. Gardiner Austen Frier of Clare.	With this Topley I may also ioine William Gardiner one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise by y ^e motion of the said Rich. Foxe Curate of Bumstede, & by shewyng hym certayne Bookes to read was brought likewise to the lyke learnyng & iudgement, and was for the same abiured by Cuthbert Bysh. the same yeare .1528.
Richard Iohnson of Bocstede and Alyce his wife. 1531.	This Richard and his wife were fauourers of Gods word, and had ben troubled for the same of lōg time. They came from Salisbury to Bocstede by reason of persecution, where they cōtinued a good space. At lēgth by resort of good men, they began to be suspected, & specially for a booke of Wickleffes Wicket whiche was in their house, they were conuented before Stokesly Byshop of London, and there abiured.

So great was the trouble of those times, that it would ouercharge any story to recite the names of all thē,* whiche during those bitter dayes before the cōming in of Queene Anne, either were driuen out of the Realme, or were cast out frō their goodes and houses, or brought to open shame by abiuration. Such decrees and Iniunctions then were set forth by the Byshops, such lawes and proclamations were prouided, such watch and narrow searche was vsed, such wayes were taken by force of othe to make one detect an other so subtelly, that vnneth any good mā could or did escape their handes, but either his name was knowen, or els his person was takē. Yet neuerthesse so mightely the power of Gods Gospell did worke in the hartes of good men, that the nūber of them did nothyng lessen for all this violence or policie of the aduersaries, but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffreth not to recite y^e particular names of all and singular such as then groned vnder the same Crosse of affliction and persecution of those dayes: as of which number were these.

- Arthur.
- Geffray Lome.
- *Iohn Tibold, his mother, hys wife, his two sonnes, and his two daughters.
- Edmond Tibold, and his wife.
- Henry Butcher, and his wife.
- William Butcher, and his wife.
- George Preston, and his wife.
- Ioane Smith, widow.
- Robert Smith, her sonne.
- Richard Smith, her sonne.

- Margaret Smith, her daughter.
- Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.
- Rob. Hempstede, and his wife.
- Tho. Hempstede, and his wife.
- Iohn Hempstede, his sonne.
- Robert fayre.
- William Chatwals.
- Ioane Smith widow, otherwise called Agnes widow.
- Iohn her sonne.
- Thomas her sonne.
- Christopher her sonne:
- Alyce her daughter.
- Ioane her daughter.
- Iohn Wigger.
- Nicholas Holdens wife.
- Alyce Shypwright.
- Henry Browne.
- Iohn Craneford.

¶ All these were of the Towne of Bumstede, who being detected by Syr Richard Foxe their Curate, and partly by Tibold, were brought vp to the Byshop of London, and all put together in one house, to the number of xxxv. to be examined and abiured by the sayd Byshop.

Moreouer, in other townes about Suffolke and Essex, other also were detected, as in the towne of Byrbroke, these following.

- Isabell Choote widow.
- *Iohn Choote her sonne.
- William Choote her sonne.
- Christopher Choote her sonne.
- Robert Choote her sonne.
- Margeret Choote her daughter.
- Katherine her mayde.
- Thomas Choote, and his wife.
- Haruy, and his wife.
- Agnes his daughter.
- Thomas his sonne.
- Bateman, and his wife.
- Iohn Smith, and his wife.
- Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
- Robert Catlyn, a spone maker.
- Christmas, and his wife.
- William Bechwith, his wife, and his two sonnes.
- Iohn Pickas, and his wife.
- William Pickas, his brother.
- Girling, his wife, & his daughter.
- Mathewes wife.

- Iohnson, his wife, and his son.
- Thomas Hilles.
- Roger Tanner.
- Christopher Rauen, and his wife.
- Iohn Chapman, his seruant.
- Richard Chapman, his seruant, and brother to Iohn Chapman.*

Who remaineth yet aliue, & hath bene of a long time a great harberour of many good men & women that were in trouble & distresse, & receiued thē to his house, as Tho. Bate, Simon Smith, the Priests wife, Roger Tanner, with a nūber mo, which ye may see & reade in our first edition, pa. 419.

¶ Touching this Richard Chapman, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his coate and shyrt enioyned bare head,* bare foote, and bare legge, to go before the procession, and to kneele vpon the cold steps in the Church all the Sermon time,* a little ladde seeing him kneele vpon the cold stone with his bare knees, & hauing pitie on him, came to him, and hauing nothing else to geue him, brought him his cap to kneele vpon. For the which the boy immediatly was taken into the Uestry, and there vnmercifully beaten for his mercy shewed to the poore penitent.

Besides these, diuers other were about London, Colchester, and other places also partakers of the same Crosse and affliction for the like cause of the Gospell, in whiche number commeth in these which hereafter follow.

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- Peter Fenne, Priest.
- Iohn Turke.
- Robert Best.
- William Raylond of Colchester.
- Henry Raylond, his sonne.
- Marion Mathew, or Westden.
- *Dorothe Long.
- Thomas Parker.
- Alyce Gardiner.
- Iohn Tomson. of Colchester.
- Ioh. Bradley, and his wife.* of Colchester.
- *Iohn Hubert of Estdoneland, and his wife.
- M. Forman, Bachelor of Diuitie, Parson of Hony lane.
- Robert Necton.
- Katherine Swane.
- Master Cowbrige, of Colchester.
- Wydow Denby.
- Robert Hedill, of Colchester.
- William Butcher, whose fathers graundfather was burned for the same Religion.
- Abraham Water, of Colchester.
- Robert Wygge. of London.

- William Bull. of London.
- George Cooper. of London.
- Iohn Toy,* of S. Fayth. of London.
- Richard Foster. of London.
- Sebastian Harrys, Curate of Kensington.
- Ex Regist. Lond.

¶All these in this table contained, were troubled and abiured. an. 1527. and 1528.

- Ioh. Wyly the elder.
- Catherine Wyly, his wife.
- Io. Wyly, his sonne.
- Christian Wyly, his wife.
- W. Wyly, his sonne.
- Margaret Wyly, his wife.
- Lucy Wyly.
- Agnes Wyly, two yong gyrles.
- An. 1532.

These eight persons were accused, an. 1532. for eating potage and fleshmeate fiue yeares before, vpon S. Iames euen.

Also another time, vpon S. Peters euen, as Catherine Wyly dyd lye in childbed, the other wiues, with the two gyrles, were found eating altogether of a brothe made with the fore part of a racke of Mutton.

Item, the foresayd Iohn Wyly the elder, had a Primmer in English in his house, and other bookes.

Also, he had a yong daughter of tenne yeares olde, which coulde render by hart the most part of the 24. Chapter of S. Mathewe. Also, could rehearse without booke, the disputation betweene the clarke and the Frier.

Item, the sayde Iohn Wyly had in hys house a treatise of William Thorpe, and Syr Iohn Oldcastle.

¶A note of Richard Bayfilde aboue mentioned.

MENTION was made before of Richard Bayfild Monke of Bury, pag 1024. who in these perillous dayes, amongst other good Saincts of God, suffered death, as yee haue heard, but how and by whome he was detected, hath not bene shewed: which nowe in searching out of Registers, as we haue found, so we thought good heere to adioyne y^e same with the words & confession of the same Edmund Peerson, which detected him in maner as foloweth.

***The accusation of Edmund Peerson agaynst Bayfilde.**

*The xiiij. day of September at iij. of the clocke at after noone, the yere of our Lord. 1527. Sir Richard Bayfylde sayd that my Lord of Londons Commissary was a playne Pharisey, wherfore he would speake with him, and by his wholesome doctrine he trusted in God, hee shoulde make him a perfect Christen man and me also, for I was a Pharisey as yet, he sayd.

Also he sayde, that he cared not and if the Commissary and the Chauncellour heard him both, for the Chauncellour he sayd, was also a Pharisey, and trusted to make him a Christen man.

Also he sayd, he was entreated by his frends, and in maner constrayned to abyde in the Citie agaynst hys will, to make the Chauncellour and many moe, perfect Christen men, for as yet many were Phariseis, and knewe not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Also he sayde, that M. Arthur and Bilney were and be more pure and more perfecter in their liuing to God, then was or is the Commissary, the Chauncellour, my Lord of London, or my Lord Cardinall.

Also he sayde, that if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they shal be Martyrs before God in heauen.*

Also he sayd, after Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreths of men, that should preach the same that they haue preached.

Also he sayd, that he would fauour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their liuing to be so good: for they did weare no shyrtes of linnen cloth, but shyrtes of heare, and euer were fasting, prayeng, or doing some other good deedes: and as for one of them, whatsoever he haue of money in his purse, he will distribute it for the loue of God, to poore people.

Also he sayde, that no man should geue laud nor prayse in no maner of wise, to no creature, nor to no Saint in heauen,* but only to God. Soli Deo honor & gloria, that is. To God alone be all honour and glory.

Also he sayd, ah good Sir Edmund, ye be farre from the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Pharisey with many other of your company: but I trust in God I shall make you and many other mo, good and perfect Christen men ere I depart from the Citie,* for I purpose to reade a common lecture euery day at S. Fosters Church, which lecture shall be to the edifyeng of your soules that be false Phariseys.

Also he sayde, that Bilney preached nothing at Wilsedone, but that was true.

Also he sayd, that Bilney preached true at Wilsedone, if he sayd that our Ladyes crowne of Wilsedone,* her rings & beades, that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the Ministers of Christes Church: for that haue I seene my selfe, he sayd, heere in London, and that will I abide by.

Also he sayde, he did not feare to comen and argue in Arthur and Bilneys opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinall.

Also he sayd, that he would hold Arthur and Bilneys opinions and Articles, and abyde by them that they were true opinions, to suffer death therefore: I know them (said he) for so noble and excellent men in learning.

Also he sayde, if he were before my Lord Cardinall, hee would not let to speake to him, and to tell hym that he hath done nought in prisoning of Arthur and Bilney, whyche were better disposed in their liuings to God, then my Lord Cardinall, or my Lord of London, as holy as they make themselues.

Also he sayd, my Lord Cardinall is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the Commaundements of God: for Christ (he said) neuer taught him to folow riches, nor to seeke for promotions nor dignities of this worlde, nor Christ neuer taught him to weare shoes of siluer and gilt, set with pearle and precious stones,* nor Christ had neuer ij. crosses of siluer, ij. axes, nor pillar of siluer & gilt.

Also he sayde, that euery Priest might preach the Gospell without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinall, my Lord of London, or any other man. And that would he abide by, and thus he verified it as it is written. Marke. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum praedicate Euangelium omni creaturae. Christ commaunded euery Priest to go foorth thoroughout all the worlde, and preache the word of God, by the authoritie of this Gospel, and not to runne to y^e Pope, nor to no other man for licence, and that would hee abyde by, he sayd.

Also he sayd: Wel Sir Edmund, say you what you will, and euery man, & my Lord Cardinall also, and yet will I say and abide by it, my Lord Cardinall doth punishe Arthur & Bilney vniustly, for there be no truer Christen men in all the world liuing, then they two be, and that punishment that my Lord Cardinall doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who say, this maye I do, and thys will I do, who shall say nay, but he doth it of no iustice.

Also, about the xiiij. day of October last past, at iij. of the clocke at after noone, Syr Richarde Bayfilde came to S. Edmunds in Lumbardstreete, where he founde me Syr Edmund Peerson, Sir Iames Smith, and Syr Myles Garnet, standing at the vttermost gate of the personage, & Syr Edmund sayd to Syr Richard Bayfilde: how many Christen men haue yee made since yee came to the Citie? Quoth Sir Richard Bayfilde, I came euen now to make thee a Christen man, and these two other Gentlemen with thee, for well I know ye be all three Phariseis, as yet.

Also he sayd to Syr Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better Christen men then he was, or any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerson.

[Page 1049](#) And thus we haue, as in a grosse summe, cōpiled together the names and causes, though not of al, yet of a great, and to great a number of good men & good women, whych in those sorowful daies (from the yere of our Lord 1527. to this present yere 1533. that is, til the comming in of Queene Anne) were manifold wayes vexed and persecuted vnder the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.* Where again we haue to note, that frō this present yere of our Lord 1533. during the time of the sayd Quene Anne, we read of no great persecution, nor any abiuration to

haue bene in the Church of Englande, saue onely that the Registers of London make mention of certaine Dutchmen, counted for Anabaptists, of whom 10. were put to death in sondry places of the realme. an 1535. other 10. repented and were saued. Where note again that 2. also of the said company, albeit the diffinitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the king, which was contrary to the Popes law.

Now to proceede forth in our matter, after that the Byshops and heads of the clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure,* exercising their cruell authoritie against the poore wasted flocke of the Lord,* and began furthermore to stretch forth their rigour and austeritie, to attach & molest also other greater persons of the temporaltie: so it fell, that in y^e beginning of the next or 2. yere following, which was an. 1534. a parliament was called by the king, about the 15. day of Ian. In the which parliament, the commons renewing their old griefes, complained of the cruelty of the Prelates & Ordinaries, for calling men before them Ex Officio. For suche was then the vsage of the Ordinaries and theyr Officials,* that they would send for men, & lay accusations to them of heresie, onely declaring to them, that they were accused, and would minister Articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth: wherby the cōmons was greuously anoyed & oppressed, for the party so acited, must eyther abiure, or do worse, for purgatiō he might none make.

As these matters were long debating in the Common house, as last it was agreed, that the temporall men should put their griefes in wryting, and deliuer them to the King. Whereuppon the 18. day of Marche, the common speaker accompanied wyth certaine Knights and Burgeses of the common house, came to the Kyngs presence, and there declared, how the temporal men of his Realme were sore agreed with the cruell demainour of the Prelates & Ordinaries, which touched theyr bodies and goodes so neare, that they of necessitie were inforced to make their humble sute by their speaker vnto hys grace, to take such order and redresse in the case, as to his high wisdom myghte seeme most conuenient. &c.

Unto this request of the commons, although the King at that time gaue no present graunt, but suspended them with a delay, yet notwithstanding this sufficiently declared the grudging mindes of the temporal men, against the spiritualtie, lacking nothing but Gods helping hande to worke in the kings heart for reformation of suche things, whych all they did see to be out of frame. Neyther did the Lordes diuine prouidence faile in time of neede,* but eftsones ministred a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spirituall clergy grown to such an height, as was intollerable. He sawe againe and heard the groning hearts, the bitter afflictions of hys oppressed flocke, his truth decayed, his religion prophaned, the glorie of his sonne defaced, his church lamentably wasted: wherfore it was high time for his high Maiestie to looke vppon the matter (as he did in deede) by a straunge & wonderous meanes, whych was through the kings diuorcement from Lady Katherine Dowager, and marying with lady Anne Bullen, in this present yere: which was the first occasion and beginning of all this publike reformation, which hath followed since in this Church of England to thys present day, according as ye shall heare.

The mariage betwene king Henry VIII. and Queene Anne Bullen, and Queene Katherine diuorced.

IN the first entrie of this kings raigne, yee hearde before, pag. 800. howe after the death of Prince Arthur,* the Ladie Katherine Princes Dowager and wife to Prince Arthur, by the consent bothe

of her father and of his, and also by the aduise of the nobles of thys realme, to the ende her downe might remaine stil within the realme, was espoused after the decease of her husbande, to hys nexte brother, which was this king Henrie.*

This mariage seemed very straunge and hard, for one brother to marie the wife of an other. But what can be in thys earth so harde or difficulte, wherewyth the Pope, the omnipotent Uicare of Christe, can not by fauour dispense, if it please him? The pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Iulius the second, by whose dispensation,* thys mariage, which neither sense or nature wold admit, nor Gods lawe woulde beare, was concluded, approoued and ratified, and so continued as lawfull, without any dout or scruple, the space neare of 20. yeares, till about the time, that a certaine doubt began first to be mooued by the Spanyards themselues of the Emperours counsaile. An. 1523. at what time Charles the Emperour being here in England, promised to marye the Lady Mary daughter to the Kynge of England, with the which promise the Spanyardes themselues were not well contented,* obiecting this among many other causes, that the saide Ladie Marie was begotten of the king of England by his brothers wife.

Wherupon the Emperour forsaking that mariage, did couple himself with Lady Isabel, daughter to king Emanuell of Portugall. Which Mariage was done in the yere of our Lorde 1526. After thys Mariage of the Emperour, the next yere following, King Henrie being disappoynted thus of the Emperour, entred talke, or rather was laboured too by the French Ambassadors, for the sayde Lady Mary to be married to the Frenche kinges sonne, Duke of Orliance. Upon the talke whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put of by a certaine doubt of the President of Paris, casting the like obiection as the Spanyardes had done before, that was,* whether the Maryage betwene the king & the mother of this Lady Mary, which had bene his brothers wife before, were good or no. And so the mariage twice vnluckely attempted, in like sorte brake of againe and was reiected: whych happened in the yere of our Lord. 1527.

The king vpon the occasion hereof casting many things in his minde, began to consider the cause more depely, first with himselfe, after with certaine of hys nearest counsaile,* wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked hys minde, wherof the one touched his conscience, the other cōcerned the state of his Realme. For if that Mariage wyth his brothers wife stode vnlawfull by the law of God, then neither was his conscience cleare in reteining the mother nor yet the state of the realme firme by succession of the daughter.* It happened the same tyme that the Cardinall which was then nearest about the king, had fallē out with the Emperour, for not helping him to y^e Papacy, as ye before haue heard: for the which cause he helped to set the mat^ter forward, by all practise he might. Thus the king perplexed in his conscience, and carefull for y^e common wealth and partly also incited by the Cardinall, coulde not so rest, but inquired further, to feel what the word of God & learning woulde say vnto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in publicke question, but that by the worde of God and the iudgements of the best learned clerkes, and also by the censure of the chiefe Uniuersities of all Christendome, to the number of .x. and moe, it was soone discussed to be vnlawfull.

All these censures,* bookes and writinges of so manye Doctors, Clerks, and Uniuersities sent from all quarters of Christendome, to the king albeit they might suffice to haue full resolved and did in deede resolute the kinges consciēce touching this scruple of his mariage: yet would not he streight way vse that aduauntage whiche learning dyd geue him, vnles hee had withall the assent,

as well of the Pope: as also the Emperour: wherein he perceaued no li'tle difficultie. For the Pope, he thought, seing the mariage was authorised before, by the dispensation of his predecessour, would hardly turne hys keyes about, to vndoe that which the Pope before him had locked: & much lesse would he suffer those keyes to be foyled, or to come in anye doubt which was like to come, if that mariage were prooued vndispensable by Gods woorde, which his predecessour, thorough his plenary power had licenced before. Againe the Emperour, he thought, would be no lesse hard for his part on the other side, for as much as the sayd Lady Katherine was the Emperours neare aunt and a Spaniarde borne. Yet neuertheles his purpose was to prooue and feele what they both would say vnto it, & therefore sent Steuen Gardiner to Rome, to way with Pope Clement. To the Emperour was sent Syr Nicolas Heruy knight, ambassador in the Court of Gaunt. Firste Pope Clement, not weying belike, the full importaunce and sequele of the matter,* sent Cardinal Campeius (as is sayde) into Englande, ioyned with the Cardinal of Yorke.

At the comming of which Legates,* the King first opening vnto them the grieve of hys conscience, seemed wyth great reasons and persuasions, sufficiently to haue drawne the good will of those two Legates to his side. Who also of their owne accord, pretended no lesse but to shew a willing inclination to further the kinges cause. But yet the mouthes of the common people, and in especial of women, and [Page 1050](#) such other as fauoured the Queene, and talked their pleasure,* were not stopped. Wherefore, to satisfie the blinde surmises, and foolish communication of these also, who seeing the comming of the Cardinales, cast out suche leaude wordes, that the king woulde for his owne pleasure haue an other wife, with like vnseeming talke, he therefore willing that al men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his Nobilitie, Iudges, and Counsaillors, wyth diuers other persons, to resort to his Pallace of Bridewel the 8. day of Nouemb. An. 1529. where he openly speaking in his great chāber, had these words in effect as followeth.

The kings Oration to his subiects.

OVR trustie & welbeloued subiects, both you of the nobility, & you of the meaner sort, it is not vnknowē both how that we, both by Gods prouision and true and lawfull inheritaunce, haue raigned ouer this realme of England, almost the terme of 20. yeares. During whiche time, we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken anye thing from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue had victory & honor, so that we think that you nor none of your predecessors neuer liued more quietly, more wealthely, nor in more estimation vnder any of our noble progenitors. But when we remēber our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our life time, are clearely defaced, & worthy of no memory, if we leaue you in trouble at the time of oure deathe, for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischiefe and trouble shall succede to you and to your children. The experience thereof some of you haue seene after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward 4. and some haue heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realme betwene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster: by the which dissention, this realme was like to haue bene clearely destroyed.

And although it hath pleased almighty God to send vs a faire daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our greate comfort and ioy, yet it hath bene tolde vs by diuers great Clearks that neither she is our lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wife, but that we liue together

abominably and detestably, in open adulterie: in somuch, that when our Ambassade was last in France, and motion was made that the Duke of Orleance should marry our sayde daughter, one of the chiefe Counsailours to the French king, sayd: It were well done, to know whether she be the king of Englands lawfull daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begot her on his brothers wife, which is directly againste Gods law and his precept. Thinke you my Lords, that these words touch not my body and soule? Thinke you that these doings doe not daily and hourelly trouble my cōscience, and vex my spirits? Yes we doubt not, but and if it were your cause, euery man wold seeke remedy, when the pearil of your soule, and the losse of your inheritance is openly laide to you. For this onely cause, I protest before God, and in the word of a Prince, I haue asked councell of the greatest Clearkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this Legate, as a manne indifferent onely to knowe the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can iudge. And as touching the Queene, if it be adiudged by the law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there was neuer thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the which shee is descended (as you well know) she is a woman of most gentlenesse, of moste humilitie and buxumnesse, yea and of all good qualities appertaining to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this 20. yeares, almoste haue had the true experiment: so that if I were to mary againe, if the marriage might be good, I would surely chose her aboue all other women. But if it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was against Gods law and clearly voyde, then I shall not onely sorowe the departing from so good a Ladie and louing companion, but much more lamēt and bewaile my infortunate chance that I haue so long liued in adultery to Gods great displeasure, and haue no true heire of my body to inherite thys Realme. These be the sores that vex my minde, these be the pāgs that trouble my conscience, and for these greeues I seeke a remedy. Therefore I require of you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subiects our minde and entent, according to our true meaning, and desire them to pray with vs that the very truth may be knowen for the discharge of our conscience and sauing of our soule, and for the declaration hereof I haue assembled you together, and now you may depart.

Shortly after this Oration of the king, wherewith he stirred the harts of a number, then the two Legates, being requested of the king for discharge of his conscience,* to iudge and determine vpon the cause, went to the Queene lying then in the place of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwene y^e king and her, to heare and determine, whether the mariage betwene them stooode with Gods law nor not. When she vnderstoode the cause of their comming, being thereat some thing astonied at y^e first, after a litle pausing with her selfe,* thus she began, answering for her selfe.

ALas my Lorde (said she) is it nowe a question whether I be the kings lawfull wife or no, when I haue bene married to hym almost 20. yeres, and in the meane season neuer question was made before? Diuers Prelates yet being aliue, and Lords also,* and priuie cōsailors with the king at that time, then adiudged our mariage lawful and honest, and nowe to say it is detestable and abominable, I thinke it great maruel: and in especiall when I consider what a wise prince the kings father was, & also the loue & natural affectiō, that K. Ferdinādo my father bare vnto me. I think in my self that neither of our fathers were so vncircumspect, so vnwise, & of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might folowe of oure Mariage, and in especiall the king my

father sent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long sute, with great cost and charge obtained a licence and dispēsation, that I being the one brothers wife, and peradventure carnally known, might without scruple of cōscience, mary with the other brother lawfully, which licēce vnder lead I haue yet to shewe, which things make me to say, and surely beleue, that our mariage was both lawful, good and godly. But of this trouble I only may thanke you my L. Cardinal of Yorke. For, because I haue wondered at your high pride and vaine glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abhominable lecherie, & litle regarded your presumptuous power and tyrānie, therfore of malice you haue kindled this fire, & set this matter abroache,* and in especiall for the great malice that you beare to my nephewe the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he woulde not satisfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force, & therfore you haue said more then once, that you wold trouble him and his frends: & you haue kept him true promise, for of all his warres & vexations, he onely may thanke you. And as for me his poore Aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you haue put me too by this newe found dout, God knoweth, to whō I commit my cause according to the truth. The Cardinal of Yorke excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was sore against his wil that euer the mariage shuld come in question, but he sayd that by his superiour the B. of Rome, he was deputed as a iudge to hear the cause, which he sware on his profession to heare indifferently. But whatsoeuer was said, she beleueed him not, & so the Legates tooke their leaue of her & departed. These words were spoken in French, & wrytten by Cardinal Campeius Secretarie, which was present, and afterward by Edward Hall translated into English.

In the next yeare ensuing, an. 1530. at the blacke Fryers of London was prepared a solemne place for two Legates, who comming with their crosses, pillers, axes,* and all other Romish ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chayres couered with cloth of gold, and cushiōs of y^e same. When all things were ready, then the king & the Queene were ascited by Doct. Sampson, to appeare before the said Legates the 28. day of May.* where (the commission of the Cardinals first being read, wherein it was appoynted by the Court of Rome, that they should be the hearers & iudges in the cause betweene them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two Proctors.* Then the Queene was called, who being accompanied with 4. Byshops, and other of her counsayle, and a great company of Ladyes came personally her selfe before the Legates: who there after her obeysance, with a sadde grauitie of countenance, hauing not many wordes with them: appealed frō the Legates, as iudges not competent, to y^e court of Rome and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeale, the Cardinals sate weekly, & euery day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitiuely was determined.

As the tyme passed on, in the month of Iune, the king being desirous to see an ende, came to the Courte, and the Queene also, where he standing vnder his cloth of estate, vttered these or like wordes in effect as followeth.

MY Lordes Legates of the Sea Apostolicke, whiche be deputed iudges in this great and waighty matter,* I most hartely beseech you to ponder my mynde and intent, whiche onely is to haue a finall ende for the discharge of my conscience: for euerye good Christen man knoweth what payne and what vnquietnesse he suffereth which hath hys conscience greeued. For I assure you on mine honour, that this matter hath so vexed my minde, and troubled my spirites, that I can scantly study any thinge, whiche should be profitable for my realme and people, and for to haue a quietnes of body and soule, is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I beare to her

that I haue maryed, for I dare say, that for her womanhoode, wisdom, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had such an other, and therefore if I would willingly chaunge I were not wise. Wherefore my suite is to my Lordes at this time, to haue a speedie ende, according to right, for the quietnesse of my minde and conscience onely, and for no other cause, as God knoweth.

[Page 1051](#) When the king had said, the Queene departed without any thing, saying. Then she was called, to know whether she would abide by her appeale,* or answer there before the Legates. Her Proctor answered that she would abide by her appeale. That notwithstanding, the Counsaillers on both sides every day almost, met and debated this matter substantially, so y^t at the last the diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the lawe of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother, which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, that prince Arthur her husband confessed the act done, by certaine words spoken, which being recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather should there be red, then by me here vttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of prince Arthur, she thought and iudged that she was with childe, and for that cause, the king was deferred from the title & creation of the Prince of Wales, almoste halfe a yeare, whych thing coulde not haue bene iudged, if she had not bene carnally known.

Also she her self caused a bul to be purchased, in y^t which were these words, Vel forsan cognitam, which is as much to say, as peradventure carnally known, which words were not in the first Bull graunted by Iuly at her second mariage, to the kinge, which seconde Bull with that clause was onely purchased, to dispence wyth the second matrimonie, although there were carnal copulation before, which Bul needed not to haue bene purchased, if there had ben no carnall copulation, for then the first Bull had bene sufficient.

Moreouer, for the more cleare euidence of thys matter that Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the sayd Lady Katherine his wife,* it appeareth in a certaine booke of Recordes which we haue to shew touching this mariage, that the same time when Prince Arthur was firste maryed with this Ladye Katherine daughter to Ferdinando, certaine Ambassadors of Ferdinando his Counsaile were then sent hether into England for the sayde purpose to see and to testifie, concerning the full consummation of the said matrimoniall coniunction. Which Counsaillers here resident, being solemnly sworne, not onely did affirm to both their parentes, that the Matrimonie was consummate by that acte: but also did send ouer into Spaine to her father, such demonstrations of their mutuall coniunction, as here I wil not name, sparing the reuerēce of chaste eares: which demonstrations otherwise in those Records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doute and question.

Besides that, in the same recordes appeareth that both he and she not onely were of such yeares as were mete and able to explete the cōsummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales by the space of 3. quarters of a yeare.

Out of a written booke of Recordes, containing certaine conferences betwixte the Cardinall and Queenes Katherines Amner about this matter, remaining in our custodie to be seene.

Thus when the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground,* then they fell to perswasions of Natural reasons, how this should not be vndone for three causes. One was because, if it

shoulde be broken, the onely childe of the king should be a Bastard, which were a great mischiefe to the realme. Secōdly, the separation shuld be cause of great vnkindnes betwene her kinred and this Realme. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space, had made the Mariage honest. These perswasions with many other, were set forth by the Queenes Counsaile, and in especial by the Bishop of Rochester, which stode stiffe in her cause.* But yet Gods precept was not aunswered, wherefore they left that ground and fel to pleading that the court of Rome had dispenced with that Mariage. To this some Lawyers sayde, that no earthly person is able to dispence with the positieue law of God.

When the Legates hard the opinions of the Diuines, and saw wherunto the end of this question would tend,* for asmuch as men began so to dispute of the authoritie of the Court of Rome, & especially because the Cardinal of York perceiued the king to cast fauour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind them selues out of that brake by time, & so Cardinall Campeius dissembling the matter conueyed himselfe home to Rome againe, as is partly aboue touched, pag. 187. The Kinge seeing himself thus to be differred and deluded by the Cardinals,* tooke it to no litle grieve: whereupon, the fall of the Cardinall of Yorke folowed not long after.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 1530. Shortly after it happened the same yeare, that the king by hys Ambassadors was aduertised that the Emperoure and the Pope were both together at Bononie: Wherefore he directed Sir Tho. Bullein late created Earle of Wiltshire, and Doctor Stokesley (afterward Bishop of London) and Doctor Lee (afterward bishop of York) with his message to the popes Court, where also the Emperor was. Pope Clement vnderstanding the kinges case and request,* and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their dispensations, and moreouer doubting the Emperours displeasure, bare him selfe strange of from the matter, answering the Ambassadors with this delay: that he presently would not define in the case,* but would heare the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do iustice.

Although the king ought no suche seruice to the Pope, to stād to his arbitremēt either in this case; or in any other hauing both the Scripture to lead him,* and his law in his owne hands to warrant him: yet for quietnes sake: and for that he wold not rashly breake order (which rather was a disorder in deede) he bare so long as conueniētly he might. At length, after long delaies and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redresse, he began somewhat to quicken & to looke about him, what was best both for his owne conscience, and the stablshment of his realme, to do.

No man here doubteth,* but that al this was wrought not by mans deuise, but by the secrete purpose of the Lord himselfe, to bryng to passe further thinges (as afterwarde followed) whiche his diuine prouidence was disposed to work. For els as touching the y^e kings intent & purpose, he neuer meant nor mynded any such thing as to seek the ruine of the pope, but rather sought all meanes cōtrary, how both to stablsh the Sea of Rome, & also to obteyne y^e good will of the same Sea and Court of Rome, if it might haue bene gotten. And therefore intending to sue his diuorse frō Rome, at the first beginning: his deuise was by Stephen Gardiner his Ambassadour at Rome, to exalt the Cardinall of York,* as is before shewed pag. 990. to be made pope and vniuersall Bishop, to the end that he ruling that Apostolicke sea, the matter of his vnlawfull

maryage, whiche so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without anye further rumor of the world. Which purpose of his if it had taken effect as he had deuised it, and the english Cardinall had once bene made Pope, no doubt, but the authoritie of that sea had neuer bene exterminate out of England. But God being more mercifull vnto vs, tooke a better way then so. For both without and contrarye to the kinges expectation, he so brought to passe, that neyther the Cardinall of Yorke was Pope (which shuld haue bene an infinite cost to the king) and yet neuertheles the king sped of his purpose too,* and that much better then he looked for: For he was ridde, by lawfull diuorcement, not onely from that vnlawfull mariage which clogged his consciēce but also from the miserable yoke of the popes vsurped dominion, whiche clogged the whole realme, and all at one time.

Thus Gods holy prouidence ruling the matter (as I sayd) when the king could get no faourable graunt of the Pope touching his cause being so good and honest, he was enforced to take the redresse of his right into his own handes, and seeing this * Gordian knotte would not be loosed at rome, he was driuē against his wil (as God would) to play the noble Alexander himselfe, and with the sword of his princely authority knapt the knot at one stroke clean a sunder, loosing as it were with one solutiō, infinite questions. For where the Doctours and Canonistes had lōg disputed, and yet could neuer thoroughly discusse the largenes and fulnes of the popes two swordes both temporall and spirituall: the king with one sword did so cut of bothe cleane out of England, as ye shall see more anone. But first, the king like a prudent prince, before he would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such rank fleshe and putrified places as were about it, and therefore following his owne prouerbe, like as one goyng about to cast downe an olde rotten wall, will not beginne with the foundation first, but with the stones that lye in the toppe: so he to prepare his way better vnto the Pope,* first beganne with the Cardinall, castinge him by the lawe of Premunire, out of his goods & possessions, and so at lēgth by poysoning himselfe, he procured his owne death: which was in the yeare 1530. Thys done, shortly after about the the yeare 1532. the King to prouide by time agaynste mischiefes that might come from Rome, gaue foorth eftsoones this proclamation as followeth.

THE kings highnes straightly chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of person, what estate, degree,* or condition so euer hee or they be of, doe purchase or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome or els where, nor vse and put in executiō, diuulge or publish any thing heretofore wthin this yeare passed, purchased, or to be purchased heereafter containing matter preiudiciall to the highe authoritie, iurisdiction and prerogatiue Royall of thys hys sayde realme, or to thē lette, hinderance or impeache, ment of his graces noble and vertuous intended purposes in the [Page 1052](#) premises, vppon paine of incurring his highnes indignation and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his graces pleasure, to the dreadful ex•mple of all other.

After this was done, the king then proceeding farther, caused the rest of the spirituall Lordes to be called by proces into the kinges benche to make their appearaunce,* for so much as the whole Clergie of Englande, in supporting and maintaining the power Legatiue of the Cardinall,* by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the Premunire, and therefore, were called into the kinges benche, to aunswere. But before the day of theyr appearaunce, the Prelates together in theyr conuocation, concluded among themselues an humble submission in wryting, and offered the king for a subsidie or contribution, that hee woulde be their good Lord and release them of

the Premunire by Act of Parliament, first to be gathered in the prouince of Caunterbury a C.M. poundes. And in the Prouince of Yorke, xvij. hundreth, and xl. pound x. pence. The whyche offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised.* In this submission the clergie called the kyng supreme head of the Churche of Englande, whych thing they neuer confessed before: wherupon many things folowed, as after (God willing) ye shall heare.

But first, forsomuch as we are in hand nowe wyth the matter, we wil borow by the way, a few words of the reader, to speake of this clergie money, of a 118840. pounds & x. pence, to be leuied to the king, as is aboue touched. For the leuying of which summe, an order was taken amonge the prelates, that euery B. in his Dioces should call before him all the Priestes, Parsons, & Uicars, amongst whome D. Stokesley B. of London, a man then counted to be of some witte and learning, but of litle discretion and humanitie (which caused him to be out of the fauour of the common people) called before him all the Priestes wythin the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Sept. being Friday, in the Chapter house of S. Paule. At which day the priests appeared, and the Bishops policie was to haue onely 6. or 8. priestes together, and by perswasions to haue caused them to graunt some portion toward the paiment of the foresaid hundreth M. pound. But the number of the Priestes was so greate (for they were 6. hundreth at the least, and with them came many temporall men to heare the matter) that the Bishop was disapoynted of his purpose. For when the Byshops Officers called in certaine Priests by name into the chapter house,* wyth that, a great number entred, for they putte the Bishops Officers that kept the doore a side.

After this, the Officers got the dore shut againe. Then the Priestes without, sayde: we will not be kept wythout, and our felowes be within: we know not what the bishop will do with them. The temporal men being present, comforted and encouraged the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the doore, and one strake the Bishops Officer ouer the face, and entred the Chapter house, and many tēporall men with them, and long it was ere any silēce could be made. At last, whē they were appeased, the bishop stode vp and sayd: Brethren, I maruell not a litle, why you be so heady, and know not what shalbe sayd to you: therefore I pray you to keepe silence and to heare me paciently.

My frendes all, you knowe well that we be men fraile of condition and no Aungels, and by frailtie and lacke of wisdom, wee haue misdemeaned oure selfe toward the king our soueraigne Lord and his lawes,* so that all we of the Cleargie were in the Premunire, by reason whereof, all our promotions, landes, goodes and cattels were to hym forfait, & our bodies ready to be imprisoned: yet his grace moued with pitie and compassion, demaunded of vs what we could say, why he should not extend his lawes vpō vs. Then the Fathers of the Cleargye humbly besought hys grace of mercy. To whom he aunswered that he was euer enclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences, we had litle penaunce: For where he might by the rigour of hys law, haue taken all our liuelode, goods and cattels, he was contented with one hundreth thousand pounds to be payd in 5. yeres. And although that this summe be more then we may easely beare, yet by the rigor of his lawes we shoulde haue borne the whole burthen. Wherefore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelode & salarie toward the paiment of this summe graūted.

Then it was shortly sayde to the Byshop: My Lorde, twenty nobles a yeare is but a bare liuing for a Priest: for now vittaile and euery thyng is so deare,* that pouertie, in maner, enforceth vs to say nay. Beside that, my Lorde, we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medled neuer wyth the Cardinals faculties: let the Byshoppes and Abbottes which haue offended, pay.

Then the Bishops Officers gaue to the Priestes hygh wordes, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also diuers temporall men whych were present, comforted the Priestes, and bade them agree to no paiment. In t•ys rumour, diuers of the Bishops seruaunts were •u••ered and stricken, so that the Bishop began to be afraide, and wyth faire wordes appeased the noyse, and for all things which were done or sayd there, he pardoned them, & gaue to them hys blessing, and prayed them to departe in charitie. Then they departed, thinking to heare no more of the mat•••, but they were deceiued: For the Byshop went to Sir Thom. More then being Lorde Chancellor (which greatly fauoured the B. and the clergy) and to him made a greeuous cōplaint, & declared the fact very greuously.* Wherupon commaundement was sent to syr Tho. Pargitor Maior of the Citie, to attache certayne priests and temporal men, and so 15. priestes & 5. temporall men were arrested, of the whych,* some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleete and other prisons, where they remained long after.

This being done in the yeare of our Lorde 1532. it followeth moreouer the same yeare, that diuers preachinges were in the realme, one contrary to another, cōcerning the kings mariage: and in especiall one Thom. Abell Clerke,* which was the Queenes Chaplaine, to please her withal, both preached and also wrote a booke in defence of the sayd mariage: wherby diuers simple mē were persuaded. Wherfore the king caused to be cōpiled and reduced into a boke, the determination of the vniuersities, with the iudgemēt of great Clerkes, which booke being printed & set abroad, did againe satisfie all indifferent and reasonable persones, which were not too much wedded to their willes.

Mention was made a litle before, of a parlamēt begon the 15. day of Ianuary, An. 1533. in the which Parliament the cōmons had put vp a Supplication, complaining of y^e strait dealing of the Cleargie in their proceeding Ex officio.* This cōplaint, although at the first it seemed not greatly to be tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of y^e parliament, the time so wrought withall, that the King hauing more cleare vnderstāding of the abuses & enormities of the clergy, and in speciall of the corrupt authoritie of the Sea of Rome, prouided certayne actes agaynst the same: First as concerning the lawes, decrees, ordinaunces and constitutions made and stablished by the pretended authoritie of the Byshops of Rome, to y^e aduauncemēt of theyr worldly glory: y^t who so did or spake any thing either agaynst their vsurped power, or agaynst y^e sayd lawes, decrees, or consti|tutiōs of theirs not approued nor groūded vpō holy scripture or els being repugnant to y^e kings prerogatiue royal,* shuld therfore stād in no danger nor be impeachable of heresie. And likewise touching such cōstitutions ordinances, & canōs prouinciall or Synodall, which were made in this realm in y^e conuocation of bishops, being either preiudicial to y^e kings prerogatiue, or not ratified before by the kinges assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his sub|iects, or in anye wise repugnant to the lawes and statutes of this realme, they▪* were committed to the iudgment of 32. persons chosen by the king, out of that higher & lower house, to be determined either to stand in strēgth, or to be abrogate at their discretions: and farther that all y^e Clergy of this realme submitting themselues to the kyng should and did promise in verbo Sacerdotij, neuer hereafter to presume to assemble in theyr conuocations without the kinges

writte, nor to enact or execute suche constitutions without hys royall assent. &c. Ex Statut. Henr. 8.

Farther in the same Parliament was enacted and decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention no person should appeale, prouoke or sue,* out of the kinges dominions, to the Court of Rome, vnder payne of prouisours, prouision, or Premunire.

Item, in the same parliament was defined and concluded, y^t all exportation of Annates and first fruites of Archbishopricks and Bishopricks out of this Realme to the Sea of Rome, for any bulles, brieues, or palles,* or expedition of any such thing should vtterly cease.

Also for the inuesting of Archbishops, Bishoppes, or other of any Ecclesiasticall dignitie, such order in the sayde Parlament was taken, that the king should send a licence vnder the great seal, with a letter missiue, to the Prior and Couent, or to the Deane and Chapter of those Cathedrall Churches where the Sea was vacant: by the vertue of which licēce or letters missiue, they within 12. daies should chose the said person nominated by the king, & none other, and y^t election to stand effectuell to all intents, which election being done, then the partie elect, making first his othe and fealty to the king, if it were a Bish. that was elect, then the king by his letters patents, to signifie the sayd election to the Archb. of that prouince, and 2. other Bishops, or els to 4. bishops within this realme, to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulles, breues, or other things from the Sea of Rome.

[Page 1053](#) Moreouer, against al other whatsoever intolerable exactions and great summes of mony vsed to be paid out of this realme to the B. of Rome, in pensions, censures, Peterpence, procurations, fruites, suites for prouisions & expeditions of bulles, for Archb. and Bishops, for delegacies and rescriptes in causes of contentions and appeales,* iurisdictions legatiue: also for dispensations, licences, faculties, graunts, relaxations, writtes called Perinde valere, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinit sorts of bulles, breues, and instrumēt of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited. In the said Parlament it was ordained, y^t all such vncharitable vsurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peterpence wont to be paide to the sea of Rome, should vtterly surcease, and neuer more to be leuied: so that the king with his honorable counsaile should haue power and authoritie from time to time, for the ordering, redresse, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, priuileges, &c. within this realme.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peterpēce aforesaide, that the same were first brought in and imposed by K. Iua, about the yere of our Lord. 720. Which Iua K. of the Westsaxōs,* caused through al his dominiō in euery house hauing a chimney, a peny to be collected & paid to the B. of Rome in the name of S. Peter, & therof were they called Peterpēce vide supra pag. 127. The same likewise did Offa K. of Mercīas after him, about the yere of our Lord. 794. vide pag. 114. And these Peterpence euer since, or for the most part, haue vsed of a long custome to be gathered and summoned by the Popes collectors here in England, frō the time of Iua aforesaide, to this present Parlament. An. 1533.

Finally, by the authority of the Parlament it was consulted and considered cōcerning the legalitie of the lawfull succession vnto the crowne, in ratifying and inhabling the heires of the kings body

and Queene Anne. In the whych parliament moreouer the degrees of mariage plainly and clerely were explaned and set forth, such as be expresly prohibited by Gods lawes, as in this Table may appeare.

A Table of degrees prohibited by Gods lawe to marrie.

- The sonne not to mary the mother, nor stepmother.
- The brother not to mary the sister.
- *The father not to mary his sonnes daughter, nor his daughters daughter.
- The sonne not to mary his fathers daughter gotten by hys stepmother.
- The sonne not to mary his aunte, being either his fathers or his mothers sister.
- *The sonne not to mary his vncles wife.
- The father not to mary his sonnes wife.
- The brother not to mary his brothers wife.
- No man to mary his wiues daughter.
- No man to mary his wiues sonnes daughter.
- No man to mary his wiues daughters daughter.
- No man to mary his wiues sister.
- All these degrees be prohibited by the scripture.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this foresaide Parliament, and also being in the same Parliamente concluded, that no man of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer,* hath any power to dispense wyth Gods lawes, it was therfore by the authoritie aforesayd, agreing with the authoritie of Gods word, assented that the maryage aforesayd solemnised betwene the kyng and the Ladie Katherine, being before wife to prince Arthur the kynges brother, and carnally known by him (as is aboue proued) should be absolutely demed and adiudged to be vnlawfull and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect: and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer Archb. of Cant. should stand good and effectuell to all intents: and also that the lawful matrimony betwene the king and the Lady Anne his wife shoulde be established, approoued, and ratified for good and consonant to the lawes of almighty God.* And further also, for the establishing of thys kynges lawfull succession, it was fully by the sayd parliament adiudged that the inheritance of the crowne shuld remaine to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the King and Queene Anne his wife.

During the time of this Parliament, before the mariage of Queene Anne, there was one Temse in the Common house, which mooued the Commons to sue to the king, to take the Queene againe into hys companie, declaring certaine great mischiefes like to insue therof, as in bastarding the Ladie Marie the kings onely childe, and diuers other inconueniences: which being reported to the kings eares, he sent immediately to syr Thomas Audley, Speaker then of the Parliament, expressing vnto hym amongst other matters, that he marueiled muche, why one of the Parliament did so openly speake of the absence of the Queene from him: which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (sayde hee) hys soule,* and wished the Matrimonie were good, for then hadde he neuer bene so vexed in conscience. But the Doctors of Uniuersities (said he) haue determined the mariage to be voide, and detestable before God, which grudge of conscience (hee sayde) caused hym to abstaine from her companie, and no foolishe, nor wanton appetite. For I am (sayde he) 41. yeare olde, at whyche age the lust of man is not so quicke, as it is in youthe. And sauing in Spaine and Portogale, it hath not bene seene, that one manne hath

married two sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the brother to marry the brothers wife, was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I neuer heard it, that any christian man so did, but my selfe. Wherefore ye see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report. And so the Speaker departing, declared to the Commons the kings saying.

Not long after that, the Kinge perceiuing belyke the mindes of the Cleargy not much fauouring his cause, sent for the Speaker againe and 12. of the Common house,* hauing with him 8. Lordes, and sayde to them: Well beloued subiects, we had thought the Clergy of our realme had ben our subiects wholye, but nowe we haue well perceyued that they be but halfe oure Subiectes: yea, and scarce oure subiectes: For all the Prelates at their consecration, make an othe to the Pope, cleane contrarye to the othe that they make vnto vs, so that they seeme to be hys subiectes and not ours: and so the King deliuering to them the Copie of both the othes, required them to inuent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spirituall subiects.* The Speaker thus departed, and caused the othes to be read in the Common house, the very tenor wherof here ensueth.

The othe of the Clergie to the Pope.

I Iohn Bishop or Abbot of A. from this houre forward, shall be faithfull and obedient to S. Peter, & to the holy church of Rome, and to my Lorde the Pope, and his successours Canonically entring. I shall not be of counsaile nor consent,* that they shall loose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer anye violence, or any wronge, by any meanes. Their counsaile to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discouer to any person. The Popedome of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of S. Peter I shall helpe and retaine, and defende against all men. The legate of the sea Apostolicke going & comming, I shall honourably entreat. The rightes, honours, priuiledges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and hys successours, I shall cause to be conserued, defended, augmented, & promoted. I shall not be in counsell, treatie, or any acte, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Churche of Rome, their rights, states, honours, or power: and if I knowe anye such to be mooued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and assoone as I can, I shall aduertise him, or suche as maye geue hym knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reseruations, prouisions and commandements Apostolike, to my power I shall keepe and cause to be kept of other. Heretikes, schismatikes, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power I shal come to the Synode whē I am called, except I be letted by a Canonically impediment. The lights of the Apostles I shall visite personally or by my deputie, I shall not aliene nor sell my possessions, wythout the Popes counsell, so God me helpe and the holy Euangelistes.

¶This othe of the Clergie men, which they were wont to make to the Bishoppe of Rome (nowe Pope quondam) was abolished and made voyde by statute, and a new othe ministred & confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the King to be the supream heade vnder Christe in this Church of England, as by tenor thereof may appeare here vnder ensuing.

The othe of the Clergie to the king.

I Iohn B. of A. vtterly renoūce and clerely forsake al such clauses words, sentences & grants, which I haue or shal haue hereafter of the Popes holines,*of & for the bishoprike of A▪ that in any wise hath bene, is, or hereafter may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to youre highnes, your heirs, successors, dignity, priuiledge or estate royal: and also I doe sweare that I shalbe faithful and true: and faith and truth I shall beare to you my soueraigne Lord, and to your heires kings of the same, of life and limme, and earthly worship aboue all creatures, for to liue & die with you and yours against al people, and diligently I shalbe attendant to all your nedes and businesse, after my wit and power, and your counsel I shall kepee and holde, knowledging my selfe to hold my Bishopricke of you onely, beseeching you of restitutiō of the temporalties of the same, promising (as before) that I shalbe faithfull, true, and obediēt subiect to your said highnes, heires, and successours during my life, and the seruices and other things due to your highnesse, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same Bishoprike; I shall truely do and obediently performe, so God me helpe and all Saintes.

[Page 1054](#)These othes thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the Pope lost al his interest and iurisdiction heere in Englande, wythin shorte while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof,* the matter falling out more & more against the Pope, Syr Thomas More, of whome mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the Pope, & a heauy troubler of Christes people, and nowe not liking well of this othe, by Gods good worke, was enforced to resigne vp his Chauncelorschip, and to deliuer vp the great seale of England into the kings hands. After whom succeeded syr Thomas Audley, Keeper of the great seale,* a man in eloquence and giftes of tonge no lesse incomparable, then also for hys godly disposed minde, and fauorable inclination to Christes religiō, worthy of much commendation.

These things being done in the parlament, the king w^tin short time after, proceeded to the mariage of the foresayd lady Anne Bullen, mother to our most noble Quene now, who w^tout all controuersie was a special comforter & aider of all the professors of Christes gospell,* as well of the learned as the vnlearned: her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly almes did manifestly declare: Who besides the ordinarye of a C. crownes, and other apparell that she gaue weekly a yeare before she was crowned,* both to men and women, gaue also wonderfull much priuie almes to wydowes and other pore housholders cōtinually til shee was apprehended, and she euer gaue three or foure pounce at a time to the poore people, to buy them kine withall, and sent her Subammer to the townes about where shee lay, that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poore householders in their parish, and some towns receiued 7.8. or 10. pound to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poore in the Townes were. Shee also maintained many learned mē in Cambridge. Likewise did the Erle of Wilshire her father, and the Lord Rochford her brother, and by them these men were brought in fauour w^t the king: of whome some are yet aliue and can testifie the same, which would to God they were nowe as great professors of the gospell of Christ, as then they appeared to be, which were D. Heath, and D. Thirlby: with whome was ioyned the L. Paget, who at that present was an earnest protestant,* & gaue vnto one Rainolde West, Luthers bookes, and other bokes of the Germanes, as Franciscus Lambertus de Sectis, and at that time he red Melancthons Rhetorike openly in Trinitie hall in Cambridge, and was w^t his M. Gardiner a mainetainer of D. Barnes and all the Protestantes that were then in Cambridge,* & holpe many religious persons out of their cowles.

It hath bene reported vnto vs by diuers credible persons which were about this Quene, and daily acquainted with her doings concerning her liberall and bountiful distribution to the pore, how her grace caried euer about her a certaine little purse,* out of the which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some almes to the needy, thinking no day well spent, wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefite at her handes. And this I write by the relation of certain noble personages which were chiefe & principall of her waiting maides about her, especially the Duches of Richmond by name.

Also concerning the order of her ladies & gentlewomen about her, one that was her silkwoman, a Gentlewoman not nowe aliue, but of great credite and also of fame for her worthy doings,* did credibly report, that in all her time she neuer saw better order amongst the ladies & gentlewomen of the Courte, then was in this good Queenes dayes, who kepte her maides and suche as were about her so occupied in sowing and woorking of shirts & smockes for the poore,* that neither was there sene any idlenes then amōgst them, nor any leisure to followe such pastimes as daily are seene now a daies to raigne in princes courtes.

Thus the king being deuorced from the lady Dowager his brothers wife, married this gracious Lady, making a prosperous and happy change for vs,* being deuorced from the foresaide Princesse and also from the Pope both at one time. Notwithstanding as good and godly purposes are neuer without some incommodie or trouble following, so it happened in this diuorcement that the sayde Princesse procuring from Rome the Popes curse, caused both the king and the realme to be interdicted, wherof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the meane time Quene Anne, shortly after her mariage,* being great with childe, the next yeare followynge, which was 1533. after the first diuorcement publicly proclaimed,* was crowned wyth high solemnitie at Westminster: and not long after her Coronation, the 7. day of September she was brought a bed, and deliuered of a faire Lady, for whose good deliuerance Te Deum was songe in all places, and great preparation made for the Christening.

The Maior and his brethren with 40. of the chiefe Citizens were commaunded to be present withall the nobles and Gentlemen. The kings Pallace and all the wals betweene that and the Friars, was hanged with Arras, and the Friars Church. Also the Fonte was of siluer, & stode in the midst of the Church three steppes high, whych was couered with a fine cloth, and diuers Gentlemen wyth aprons and towels about their neckes, gaue attendance about it. Ouer the Fonte hong a faire Canopy of crimosine Satten fringed wyth Golde. About it was a raile couered wyth saie. Betweene the Quire and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the childe ready in. These things thus ordered, the childe was brought into the Hall, and then euery man set forward. First the citizens 2. and 2. Then the gentlemen, Esquiers and Chapleins. Next after folowed the Aldermen and the Maior alone. Next the Maior folowed the kings Councill. Then the kings Chappel. Then Barons, Bishops and Earles. Then came the Earl of Essex, bearing the couered Basons gilte. After him the Marques of Exeter wyth the taper of Uirgin waxe. Next him, the Marques Dorset bearynge the Salte. Behinde him the Ladie Marie of Northfolke bearing the Chrisome which was very riche of Perle and stone. The olde Duchesse of Northfolke bare the childe in a Mantle of Purple Uellette, with a longe traine Furred with Ermine. The Duke of Northfolke with hys Marshal rod, went on the right hand of the sayde Duchesse, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hande. Before them went the Officers of armes.

The Countesse of Kente bare the long traine of the childe mantell. Betwene the Countesse and the child, went the Erle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the Erle of Darby on the left hand, supporting the said traine. In the middest ouer the childe was borne a Canapie by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Hussey, the Lord William Haward, and the Lord Thomas Hawarde the elder. In this order they came vnto the Church dore where the Bishop of London mette it, with diuers Abbots and Byshops, and began the obseruances of the Sacrament. The Archbishop of Caunterbury was Godfather, and the olde Duchesse of Northfolke, and the old Marchionesse of Dorset, widowes, were Godmothers, and the childe was named Elizabeth.

After all thinges were done at the Church doore, the child was brought to the Fonte & Christened. This done,* Garter the chiefe king of armes cryed aloud: God of his infinite goodnes send prosperous lyfe and longe, to the high and mighty princesse of England, ELIZABETH. Then the Trompettes blew, and the childe was brought vp to the aultare and immediately confirmed▪ by the Archbishop, the Marchionesse of Exceter beyng Godmother. Then the Archbishop of Caunterbury gaue to the Princesse a standing cup of Gold. The Duchesse of Northfolke gaue to her a standing cup of Golde, fretted with Pearle. The Marchionesse of Dorset, three gilte boles pounced, with a couer. The Marchionesse of Exceter, three standing boles gilt & grauen with a couer. And so after a solemne bancket ended with Ipocras, Wafers, and such lyke in great plenty, they returned in like order agayne vnto the Courte, wyth the Princesse, and so departed.

At the Maryage of this noble Lady, as there was no small ioy vnto al good and godly men, and no lesse hope of prosperous successe to Gods true Religion, so in like maner on the contrarye parte, the papistes wanted not theyr malicious and secret attemptes, as by the false hipocrisie and fayned holynesse of a false fayned hypocrite this yeare before espyed & found out, may sufficiently appeare what theyr deuilshe deuises and purposes were. For certayne Monks Friers, & other euill disposed persōs, of a deuilish intent, had put into the heades of many of the kinges subiectes, that they had reuelation of God and hys sayntes, y^t he was highly displeased w^t king Henry, for y^e diuorcement of the Lady Katherine, and surmised amongst other thyngs, that God had reuealed to a Nunne, named Elizabeth Barton, whome they called the holy maide of Kente, that in case the Kinge proceeded in the sayde deuorce,* hee should not be king of this realme, one moneth after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton by fals dissimulation practised and shewed to the people, marueilous alteration of her visage and other partes of her body, as if she had bene rapt or in a traunce, & in those fained traunces by false hipocrisie (as though shee had bene inspired of God) she spake many words in rebuking of sinne, and reproouing the Gospell whiche shee called heresie, and among them vttered diuers thyngs to the great reproch of the king and Quene, & to the establishing of Idolatrie, Pilgrimage, and the derogatiō of Gods glory: whych her naughtines being spied out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbishop of Caunterbury, the [Page 1055](#) Lord Cromwell, and Maister Hugh Latimer, shee was condemned and put to death with certeyne of her affinitie and Councell in the moneth of Aprill,* an. 1533. The names of which conspiratours with her, were these: Edwarde Bocking, Monke of Canterbury, Richard Master, Person of Aldington, Iohn Dering, Monke of Canterbury, Hugh Riche, Frier Warden of the Gray Friers of Canterbury, Richard Risby, Henry Gold, bacheler of Diuinitie, and Person of Aldermay, Fisher Byshop of Rochester, Iohn Adeson Priest, his Chapleine, Thomas Laurence, the Byshops Register of Caunterbury, Edwarde Thwates, Thomas Abell. Of the which persons, the sayd Elizabeth Berton, Henry Gold, Richard

Master, Edwarde Bocking, Iohn Dering, Hugh Riche, Richarde Risby, were attaynted of Treason by Acte of Parliament, and put to execution.

The residue as Fisher Byshop of Rochester, Thomas Golde, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Thwates, Iohn Adeson, Thomas Abell, being conuicte and atteynted of misprison, were condemned to prison, and forfayted theyr goodes & possessions to the King. Ex Statut an. 25 Reg Hen 8.

Edward Hall, a writer of our Englishe Stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesayd, adioyneth next in his booke,* the narration of one Pauier or Pauie, a notorious enemye (no doubt) to Gods truth. Thys Pauier beyng the towne Clerke of the Citie of London, was a man (sayth he) that in no case coulde abyde to heare that the Gospell shoulde be in Englishe: In so much that the sayd Hall hymselfe heard hym once say vnto hym, and to other by, swearing a great othe: that if he thought the Kings highnes would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, rather thē he would so long liue, he would cut his owne throate, but he brake promise (sayth Hall) for he dyd not cut his throate with any knife, but with an halter did hang himselfe. Of what minde and intent he so did, God iudge.

My information farther addeth this, touching the sayd Pauier or Pauie, that he was a bitter enemye, very busie at the burning of Richard Bayneham aboue mentioned. Who hearing the sayd Baynham at the stake speakyng against Purgatory and transubstantiation:* set fire (sayd he) to this hereticke and burne hym. And as the trayne of gunpouder came toward the Martyr, he lifted vp his eyes and hands to heauen, saieng to Pauier: God forgiue thee, and shewe thee more mercy then thou doest to me. The Lord forgiue Sir Thomas More, and pray for me all good people: and so continued he praieng, till the fire tooke hys bowels and his head, &c.

After whose Martyrdome, the next yeare folowing, this Pauier the towne Clerke of the Citie, went and bought ropes. Which done, he went vp to an hygh garret in hys house to pray, as he was wont to doe, to a roode which he had there, before whom he bitterly wept: And as his own mayde comming vp found him so doynge, he bad her take the rustye sworde, and go make it cleane, and trouble him no more, and immediately he tied vp the rope, and hoong himselfe. The maydes hart still throbbed, and so came vp, and founde him but newly hanged. Then she hauing no power to helpe him, ranne crieng to the Church to her mistres to fetch her home. His seruants and Clerkes he had sent out before to Finisbery,* and to Maister Edney Sergeant to the Lord Maior, dwelling ouer Byshops gate, to tary for him at Finisebery Court till he came: but he had dispatched himselfe before, so that they might long looke for him before he could come. Which was an. 1533.

To this story of Pauier, may also be added the lyke terrible example of Doctor Foxford, Chauncellour to the Byshop of London, a cruell persecutor and a common butcher of the good Saints of God: who was the condemner of all those aforementioned,* which were put to death, troubled, or abiured vnder Byshop Stokesley through all the dioces of London. This Foxford dyed about this present yeare and time: of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed by suche as were of right good credite, vnto certayne persons, of whom some be yet aliue, that he dyed sodenly sitting in his chayre, his belly being brust, and his guts falling out before him.

About the same time died also William Warrham Archbyshop of Canterbury: in whose rounge succeeded Thomas Cranmer, which was the Kings Chapleyne, and a great disputer against the vnlawful mariage of Lady Katherine Princesse Dowager, being then so called by Act of Parliament.

Ye heard before, how the Parliament had enacted, that no person after a certeine day, should appeale to Rome for any cause. Notwithstanding which Acte, y^e Queene, now called Princesse Dowager, had appealed to the Courte of Rome, before that Acte made: so y^t it was doubted, whether that Appeale were good or not. This question was well handled in the Parliament house, but much better in the Conuocation house, and yet in both houses it was alledged, yea and by bookes shewed, that in the Councils of Calcedone, Affrike, Toletane, and diuers other famous Councils in the primatiue Church, yea in the tyme of S. Augustine it was affirmed, declared, & determined that a cause rising in one Prouince, should be determined in the same & that neither the Patriarke of Cōstātinople should medle in causes moued in the iurisdiction of the Patriarke of Antioch, nor no Byshop should entermedle within an others Prouince or coūtre. Which thyngs were so clerkly opened, & so cūningly set forth to all intētes, y^t euery mā that had witte, & was determined to folow y^e truth, & not wilfully wedded to his owne mynde, might playnly see y^t al appeales made to Rome, were clearely voyde & of none effect. Which doctrines & coūsailes, were shewed to y^e Lady Katherine Princesse Dowager, but she (as womē loue to lose no dignitie) euer continued in her old song, trusting more to the Popes partialitie, then to the determination of Christes veritie.

Wherupon the Archbyshop of Cāterbury Cranmer aboue named, accōpanied with y^e Bishops of Lōdon, Winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, & diuers other great Clerkes 〈◇〉 a great number, road to Dunstable, which is vi. myle frō Amphthyl, where the Princesse Dowager lay: & there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, she was ascited to appeare before the sayd Archbyshop, in cause of Matrimony, in the sayd towne of Dunstable: & at the day of appearaunce, she would not appeare, but made default, & so was called peremptorily, euery day .xv. dayes together, and at the last, for lacke of appearaunce, & for contumacie, by the assent of all the learned men there beyng present, she was diuorced from the kyng,* & their Mariage declared to be voyde and of none effect: which sentence geuen, the Archbyshop and all the other, returned backe agayne.

¶Where note that although this diuorce folowyng after the new Mariage, needed not at all to be made, the first Mariage beyng no Mariage at all before God,* yet to satisfie the voyce of the people, more then for any necessitie, the kyng was contented through the persuasions of some, so to doe. For els as touchyng God and conscience, what great neede was of any diuorce, where before GOD, no Mariage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous & detestable adultery, as the Act of Parliamēt doth terme it? But to our matter agayne.

After the dissolutiō of this first Mariage made between the king & the Lady Princesse Dowager, she neuerthelesse bearyng a stout mynde, would not yet relēt, neither to the determination of the Uniuersities, nor to the cēsure of the Clergy, nor of the whole Realme, but folowyng the coūsaile rather of a few Spanyardes, to molest the kyng & the realme by sute, & meanes made to the Pope, procured certaine writynges, first of monition and aggrauation, thē of excommunication and interdiction to be sent downe from Rome,* wherein the Pope had interdicted both the kyng & the whole Realme. But the Popes Cursor beyng not the hardyest mā (belike) that euer shewed

his head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his Popishe car•age without the kynges reach, & so keepyng himselfe aloofe of (like a prety man) set vp his writynges in the Towne of Dunkirke in Flaunders. In the which towne, first vpon the Northdoore of the Church was set vp a monition,* that the kyng of Englād should surcease the sute of diuorce, the which Iohn Butler Clerke, thē Commissary of Calice, by commaundement tooke downe in a night.

After that, before Whitsonweeke there was set vp in the same place an excōmunication, aggrauation, regranation, & interdiction. For the which also, the sayd Butler by commaūdement was sent to Dunkirke to take it downe.* And because the cōssell of Calice would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a seruaūt of the Lord Lisle, thē Deputie of Calice, whose name was Cranuell▪ and vpon Wensday in Whitsonweke, at vij. of the clocke in the mornynge, he tooke it downe whole and brought it with hym, & deliuered the same to the Lord Deputie aforesaid. Which was about the yeare .1533.

This beyng knowne & certified vnto the kyng, he was motioned by his counsell, that such as were about her, and moued her thereto, should be put frō her. And therefore the Duke of Suffolke was sent to Bugden beside Huntynghō, where y^e sayd Lady Katherine lay, who perceiuyng her stomacke to cōtinue froward still, in aūsweryng him with high wordes,* & sodenly so in a fury to part frō him into her priuy chamber, & shut the doore: brake vp the doore of her Court, & discharged a great sort of her houshold seruaūts, & yet left her a conueniēt number to serue her like a Princesse. They that remayned still, were sworne to serue her [Page 1056](#) as Princesse onely, and not as Queene. Of whome some sayd they were once sworne to serue her as Queene, and otherwise would not serue, and so were dismissed. The other which were sworne to serue her as Princesse, she vtterly refused for her seruants, and so she remayned wyth the fewer, liuing after this about the space of two yeares.

¶The abolishing of the Pope out of England.

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the mariage of Queene Anne, and diuorce of Lady Katherine Dowager,* next followeth the yeare 1534. In the which was assembled the hye Court of Parliamēt againe after many prorogations, vpon the third day of February, wherein was made an Acte of succession, for the more suretie of the crowne, to the which euery person being of lawfull age,* should be sworne. During this Parliamt time, euery Sunday preached at Paules crosse a Byshop, which declared the Pope not to be head of the Church.

After this, Commissions were sent ouer all England, to take the othe of all men and women, to the Act of succession.* At which, few repined, except D. Iohn Fisher, bishop of Rochester, sir Tho. More late Lord Chancellor, and D. Nicholas Wilson, parson of S. Thomas Apostles in Lōdon. Wherefore these 3. persons, after long exhortatiō to thē made by y^e Byshop of Canterbury at Lambeth,* refusing to be sworne, were sent to the Tower, where they rremained, & were oftentimes motioned to be sworne: but the Bishop and sir Tho. More excused thē by their writings, in which they sayd, that they had written before the sayd Lady Katherine to be Queene, & therefore could not well go frō that which they had written. Likewise the Doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her Queene, and therefore now coulde not withsay it againe: Howbeit▪ at length he was well contented to dissemble y^e matter, & so escaped: but the other two stode agaynst all the Realme in their opinion.

From the moneth of Marche this Parliament farthermore was proroged to the iij. day of Nouemb. abouesaid. At what time, amongst other diuers statutes, most graciously and by the blessed wil of God it was enacted, that the Pope, and all his colledge of Cardinals, with his pardōs, Indulgences, which so long had clogged this Realme of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, & which neuer could be remoued away before, was now abolished, eradicate, & exploded out of this land, & sent home againe to their owne countrey of Rome, from whence they came, God be euerlastingly prayed therefore, Amen.

¶An Acte concerning the Kings highnes to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to haue authoritie to reforme and redresse all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same.
Cap. 1.

Albeit the Kings Maiesty iustly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the Clergy of this Realme in their Conuocations, yet neuerthesse for corroboration & confirmation thereof, and for encrease of vertue in Christes Religion within this Realme of England, and to repress & extirpe all errors, heresies, and other enormities & abuses heretofore vsed in the same: be it enacted by authoritie of this presēt Parliamēt, y^t the king our soueraigne Lord, his heires & successours, Kings of this Realme, shal be taken, accepted, & reputed y^e only supreme head in earth of y^e Church of England, called Anglicana ecclesia, and shall haue & enioy annexed and vnited to the Imperial crowne of this realme, as wel y^e title & style therof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, iurisdiction, priuiledges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the sayd dignitie of supreme head of the same Church belonging & appertaining: and y^t our sayd soueraigne Lord, his heires & successours, Kings of this Realme, shal haue full power and authority from time to time, to visite, repress, redresse, reforme, order, correct, restraine, and amend all suche errors, abuses, offences, contemptes & enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any maner of spirituall authoritie or iurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of almighty God, the encrease of vertue in Christes religiō, and for the conseruation of y^e peace, vnitie, and tranquility of this realme, any vsage, custome, forreine lawes, forreine authoritie, prescription or any thing or things, to the contrary heereof notwithstanding.

The Kings Proclamation, for the abolishing of the vsurped power of the Pope.

*TRustie and welbeloued, we greete you well, and where as not onely vpon good and iust and vertuous groundes and respects, edified vpon the lawes of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, aduisement, and consent, as well of all other our nobles and commons temporall, as also spirituall assembled in our high Court of Parliament, and by authoritie of the same, we haue by good and wholesome lawes and statutes, made for thys purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our Realme, the abuses of the Byshop of Rome, his authoritie and iurisdiction of long time vsurped, as well vpon vs and our Realme, as vpon all other Kings and Princes and their Realmes (lyke as they themselues haue confessed and affirmed) but also for as much as our sayde Nobles and Commons both spirituall and temporall, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, * haue vpon good, lawfull, and vertuous groundes, and for the publicke weale of this our Realme, by one whole assent, graunted, annexed, knit, and vnited to the Crowne Imperiall of the same, the title, dignitie, and style of supreme head or gouernour in earth

immediately vnder God of the Church of England, as we be, and vndoubtedly haue hetherto bene, which title and style both the Byshops and Cleargie of this our Realme, haue not only in conuocation, assembled, consented, recognised, and approoued lawfully and iustly to apperteyne vnto vs, but also by word, othe, profession and writing vnder their signes and seales, haue confessed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the same, vtterly renouncing all other othes and obedience to any other foreyne Potentates, and all foreine iurisdictions and powers, as well of the sayd Byshop of Rome, as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their sayd professions and writings corroborated with the subscription of their names, and apension of their seales, more playnely appeareth: We let you witte, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission geuen vnto vs of Almighty God, and vpon a vehement loue and affection toward our louing and faithfull subiectes, perceiuing right well what greate rest, quietnes, and tranquillitie of conscience, and manyfold other commodities might insurge and arise vnto them, if that the sayde Byshops and other of the Cleargy of this our Realme, should set foorth, declare and preach to them the true and sincere worde of God, and without all maner colour, dissimulation and hypocrisie, manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities and abuses which the sayde Byshop of Rome, as well in the title and style, as also in authoritie and iurisdiction of long time vnlawfully and vniustly hath vsurped vpon vs and our progenitours, and also other Christen Princes: haue therefore adressed our letters vnto the Byshop of the dioces, straightly charging and commaunding him in the same, that not onely he in his owne proper person, shall declare, teach, and preach vnto the people forthwith vpon the receat of our sayd letters vnto him directed, euery Sonday and other high feastes through the yeare, the true, meere, and sincere word of God, and that the same title, stile, and iurisdiction of supreme head, apperteineth only to our Crowne and dignitie Royall, likewise as the sayd Byshop and all other the Byshops of our Realme, haue by othe affirmed and confirmed by subscription of their names, and setting to their seales, but also geue warning, monition and charge to al maner Abbots, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, Prouosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Ecclesiasticall persons, within his sayd diocesse, as well to teache, preach, publish, and declare in all maner Churches, our foresayde iust title, style, and iurisdiction, euery Sonday and high feast thorough the yeare, and further to monish and commaund all other Scholemaysters within his sayd diocesse, to instruct and teach the same vnto the children committed vnto them, as also to cause all maner prayers, orizons, rubrickes, Canons of Masse bookes, and all other bookes in the Churches, wherein the sayde Byshop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pompe and authoritie preferred, vtterly to be abolished, eradicate, and rased out, and his name and memory to be neuer more (except to hys contumely and reproch) remembred, but perpetually suppressed and obscured: and finally to desist and leaue out all such Articles as be in the generall sentence,* which is vsually accustomed to be read four times in the yeare, and do tende to the glory and aduancemēt of the Bishop of Rome, his name, title, and iurisdiction.

Whereupon we esteeming and reputing you to be of such singular and vehement zeale and affection toward the glory of Almighty God, and of so faythfull, louing, and obedient harte towards vs, as ye will not only do and accomplish with all power, wisdom, diligence and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gods worde, but also practise, studie, and endeouour your selfe, with all your pollicie, wit, power, and good will, to amplifie, defend, and mayntayne all such interest, right, title, stile, iurisdiction, and authoritie, as is in any wise apertaining vnto vs, our dignity, prerogatiue, & crowne imperiall of this our Realme, haue thought good & expediēt, not only to signifie vnto you by these our letters, the

particularities of the charge, monition, and commaundement geuen by vs vnto the sayd Byshop, as before is specified: but also to require, and straightly charge and commaund you, vpon payne of your allegiance, and as ye shall auoyde our high indignation and displeasure at your vttermost perill, laieng apart all vayne affections, respects, or other carnall considerations, and setting onely before [Page 1057](#) your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignitie of your soueraigne Lord and King, and the great concord and vnitie, and inestimable profite and vtilitie, that shal by the due execution of the premisses, insue to your selfe and all other faithfull and louing subiectes, ye make or cause to be made diligent searche and waite, and especially in euery place of youre shirewicke, whether the said Bishop do truly, sincerely, and without all maner cloke, colour, or dissimulation, execute, and accomplishe our will and commaundement, as is aforesaid And in case ye shall heare, perceiue, and approuably vnderstand, and know that the said Bishop, or any other ecclesiasticall person within his dioces, do omit and leaue vndone any part 〈◇〉 parcel of the premisses, or else in the execution and setting forth of the same, do coldly and fainedly vse any maner sinister addition, wrong, interpretation, or painted colour: then we straightly charge & commaund you, that forthwith vpon any such default, negligence, or dissimulation of the said Bishop, or any other ecclesiasticall person of his dioces, contrary to the true tenour, meaning, and effecte of the saide charge by vs to him appointed aforesaid, yee doe make indelaidly, and with all speede and diligence, declaration and aduertisement to vs and our Counsell, of the saide defaulte, and of the behauour, maner, and fashion of the same.

And for as much as we vpon singular trust, and assured confidence which we haue in you, and for the speciall loue and zeale we suppose and thinke ye beare towards vs and the publicke and common wealth, vnitie, and tranquillitie of this our realme, haue specially elected and chosen you among so many, for this purpose, and haue reputed you suche men, as vnto whose wisdom, discretion, truth and fidelitie, we might commit a matter of suche great waight, moment, and importance, as whereupon the vnitie and tranquillity of our realme doth consist, if ye shoulde contrary to our expectation and trust which we haue in you, and agaynst your duety and allegiance towards vs, neglect or omit to do with all your diligence and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalfe, or holt, or stomble at any part or specialtie of the same, be yee assured that we like a Prince of iustice, will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the worlde besides shall take by you example, and beware contrary to their allegiance, to disobey the lawfull commaundement of theyr soueraigne Lord and Prince in such things: as by the faithfull execution whereof, ye shall not onely aduance the honor of Almighty God, and set forth the maiestie and Imperiall dignitie of youre soueraigne Lord, but also bring an inestimable weale, profite and commoditie, vnitie and tranquillitie, to all the common state of this our Realme, whereunto both by the lawes of God, nature, and man, ye be vtterly bound.

Geuen vnder our signet at our Pallace of Westminster the 9. day of Iune.

Furthermore, that no man shall cauill or surmise thys fatall fall and ruine of the Pope, to haue come rashly vpon the Kings owne partiall affection, or by any sensuall temeritie of a few, and not by the graue and aduised iudgement, approbation and consent generally and publicly, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as also vpon substantiall groundes, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spiritual and most learned persons in this Realme: it shall be requisite moreouer to these premisses, to adioyne the words and

testimonies also of the Byshops owne othes and profession made to the King, yelding and rendering vnto him only the stile of supreme head next vnder Christ, of the Church of England, all other seruice, subiection, and obedience to be geuen to any other forreine Potentate, which should be preiudiciall to the Kings highnes in this behalfe beeing excluded, and that both frankly and freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also vppon the faith and fidelitie of their priesthode, as by their owne words and handwriting may appeare, in forme as heere vnder followeth.

The othe of Steuen Gardiner to the King.

EGo Stephanus Wintonien. Episcopus pure, sponte, & absolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo, Illustrissimae vestrae Regiae maiestati, singulari ac summo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliae & Franciae, Regi, fidei defensori, Domino Hiberniae, atque in terris Ecclesiae Anglicanae supremo immediatè sub Christo capiti, quod post hac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prelato, nec Romano pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

In English.

I Steuen Byshop of Winchester, do purely of mine owne voluntary accord and absolutely,* in y^e word of a Bishop, professe and promise to your princely maiestie, my singular and chiefe Lord and Patrone, Henry the 8. by the grace of Gdo King of England & of France, defendor of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, & in earth of the Church of England supreme head immediately vnder Christ, that from this day forward I shall sweare, promise, geue, or cause to be geue to no forreine Potēstate, Emperour, King, Prince or Prelate, nor yet to the Byshop of Rome, whō they call Pope, any othe or feaultie directly or indirectly, either by word or writyng, but at all tymes and in euery case & condition I shall obserue, hold, & mainteyne to all effectes & intentes, the quarell & cause of your royall Maiestie & your successours, and to the vttermost of my power, shall defend the same agaynst all manner of persons whom soeuer I shall know or suspect to bee aduersaries to your Maiestie or to your successours, & shall geue my fayth, truth, & obedience sincerely & with my very hart, onely to your royall Maiestie, as to my supreme Prince. I professe the Papacie of Rome not to be ordeined of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirme and openly declare and shall declare it to be set vp onely by mā,* and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any treatie with any person or persons either priuely or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Byshop of Rome shall haue or exercise here any authoritie or iurisdiction, or is to be restored to any iurisdic•ion hereafter.

Furthermore that y^e sayd Byshop of Rome now being or any that shall succede him hereafter, in the sayd Sea, is not to be called Pope nor supreme Byshop or vniuersall Byshop, nor most holy Lord, but onely ought to be called Byshop of Rome and felow brother (as the old maner of the most auncient Byshops hath bene) this I shall to my power openly mainteyne and defend.

Also I shall firmly obserue & cause to bee obserued of other, to the vttermost of my cunnyng, witte, & power, all such lawes and Actes of this Realme, how and what soeuer, as haue bene enacted & established for the extirpation and suppression of the Papacie, and of the authoritie, and iurisdiction of the sayd Byshop of Rome. Neither shall I appeale hereafter to the sayd Bish.

of Rome, nor euer consent to any person, that shall appeale to him, neither shall I attempt, prosecute or follow any sute in the Court of Rome for any cause of right or Iustice to be had, or shall make aunswere to any plee or action, nor shall take vpon me the person and office either of the plaintife or defendent in the sayd Court. And if the sayd Byshop by his messenger or by his letters shall make any meanes or significatiō vnto me of any matter what soeuer it be, I shall with all speede & diligence make declaration & aduertisement therof, or cause that same to be signified, either to your princely maiesty, or to some of your secret coūsaile, or to your successours or any of their priuy counsell: Neither shall I send or cause to be send at any tyme, any writing or messēger to the sayd Byshop or to his Court without the knowledge & cōsent of your maiesty or your successours willyng me to send writing or messenger vnto him. Neither shall I procure or geue coūsaile to any persō to procure bules, brieues or rescriptes whatsoever, either for me or for any other, frō the sayd Bysh. of Rome or his court. And if any such shall be procured agaynst my will & knowledge either in generall or in speciall, or els whosoever they shall be graunted vnto them, I shall vtter & disclose the same, & not consent thereunto, nor vse them in any case, & shall cause them to be brought to your maiestie or your successours.

Furthermore for the confirmation hereof, I geue my fayth & truth by firme promise & in the fayth of a Byshop that agaynst this my foresayd profession, & promise made, I shall defēd my selfe by no dispēsation, exception, nor any remedy or cautel of law or exāple, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I haue done or made any protestatiō in preiudice of this my profession & promise here made: the same I do reuoke at this present & for euer hereafter, and here vtterly do renounce, by these presents. Whereunto I haue subscribed & vnder written the name both of my selfe & of my Byshopricke, with my proper hand, & thereto also haue put to my seale, in perpetual & vndoubted testimony of the premisses.

Geuen the x. day of February. an. 1534.

& of our soueraigne Lord kyng Henry viij. 26.

Steph. Winton.

***The lyke othe of Iohn Stokesley Byshop of London.**

I Iohn Byshop of London, do purely, & of myne owne volūtary accord, & absolutely in the word of a Byshop professe and promise to your princely maiestie, my singular,* and chief Lord and patrone Henry 8 by the grace of God kyng of England, and of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in earth of the same Church of Englād supreme head immediately vnder Christ. &c. Like to the othe before.

Ioan. London.

¶The like othe and handwriting of Edward Lee, Archbyshop of Yorke.

I Edward by the permission of God, Archbyshop of Yorke, doo purely of mine owne voluntary accord,* and absolutely, in the word of a Byshop, professe and promise to your royall Maiestie, my singular and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. In like forme to the othe before.

Edovardus Eborac.

The like othe and handwriting of Cuthbert Byshop of Duresme.

I Cuthbert by the permission of God Byshop of Duresme, doo purely of mine owne voluntary accord,* and absolutely in the word of a Byshop, professe and promise to your royall Maiestie, my singular and chiefe Lord and patrone, &c. As before.

Per me Cutbertum Dulnelm.

And so likewise all the other Byshops after the same order and forme of othe were obliged and bound to the king, as to their supreme head of the Church of England immediatly vnder Christ renuncyng and abiuryng vtterly and voluntarily, the Popes too long vsurped iurisdiction in this Realme: testifieng moreouer the same, both with their owne hand, and also with their seale.

Besides these cōfirmations & testimonials of y^e Bishops aforesayd, ye shall heare yet moreouer, the decree and publicke sentence of the vniuersitie of Cambridge written likewise and subscribed & signed with the publike seale of their vniuersitie, the tenor of which their letter heere followeth.

¶A letter of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge against the vsurped power of the Byshop of Rome.

VNiuerſis Sanctae matris Ecclesiae filijs, ad quos praesentes literae peruenturae sunt, coetus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiae Cantabrigiensis, salutem in omnium saluatore Iesu Christo. Cum de Romani pontificis potestate, &c.

In English.

TO all and singular children of the holy mother Church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole societie of Regentes and not Regētes of the Uniuerſitie of Cābridge,* sendeth greeting in our Sauour Iesu Christ. Where as now of late it hath risen vp in question among vs, concerning the power of the Bishop of Rome, which he doth both claime to himselfe by the holy Scripture ouer all prouinces & nations in Christendome, and hath now of long time exercised in this realme of England: and forasmuch as our censure concerning the cause is required, to wit: whether the Byshop of Rome hath any power or authoritie in this kingdome of England allotted to hym by God in the Scripture, more then any other foreine Byshop, or no: we thought it therfore good reason & our duty, for the searching out of the veritie of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole indeuour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and censure is, touching the premisses. For therefore we suppose, that Uniuerſities were first prouided and instituted of Princes, to the end that both y^e people of Christ

might in the lawe of God be instructed, and also that false errorrs, if any did rise, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned Diuines, be discussed, extinguished, and vtterly rooted out. For the which cause, we in our assemblies and conuocations (after our accustomed maner) resorting and conferring together vpon the question aforesayd, and studiously debating and deliberating with our selues, how and by what order we mighte best proceede for the finding out of the truth of the matter, and at length choosing out certayne of the best learned Doctours and Bachelers of Diuinity, and other maisters, haue committed to them in charge, studiously to ensearch and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certifie vs what is to be said to the question propounded.

For asmuch therefore, as we hauing heard, and well aduised,* and throughly discussed in open disputations, what may be sayd on both partes of the foresayd question, those reasons and arguments do appeare to vs more probable, stronger, truer, and more certaine, & sounding much more neare to the pure and natiue sense of Scripture, which do deny the Byshop of Rome to haue any such power geuen him of God in the Scripture. By reason & force of whych arguments, we being perswaded and conioining together in one opinon, haue with our selues thus decreed to aunswere vnto the question aforesayde, and in these writings thus resolutely do aunswere in the name of y^e whole Uniuersitie, & for a cōclusion vndoubted, do affirme, approue, & pronounce, that y^e Byshop of Rome hath no more state, authoritie, and iurisdiction geuen him of God in the scriptures, ouer this Realme of Englād,* then any other externe Byshop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our aunswere and affirmation, we haue caused our common seale to be put to these our foresaid letters accordingly.

At Cambridge in our Regent house.an. Domi. 1534.

¶Steph. Wint. De Vera Obedientia.

YOu haue heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonsal, & of Stokesley, how of their voluntary mind, they made their profession to the king, euery one seuerally,* taking and accepting a corporall othe, vtterly and for euer to renounce and reiect the vsurped superioritie of the Byshop of Rome. Now for a further testimonie and declaration of their iudgementes and opinions whiche then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall heare ouer and beside their othes, what the foresayd Byshops in their owne Bookes, Prologues, and Sermons do write, and publishe abroad in Printe, touching the sayd cause of the Popes supremacie.

And first (God willing) to begin with Stephen Gardiners booke De vera Obedientia, we will briefly note out a few of his owne words, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not onely confuteth the Popes vsurped authority,* but also proueth the Mariage betwene the King and Queene Katherine his brothers wife, not to be good nor lawfull, in these words:

Of the which morall preceptes in the old law, to speake of some (for to rehearse al it needeth not) the Leuiticall precepts touching forbidden & incestuous mariages,* as farre as they concerne chaste and pure wedlocke, wherein the Originall of mans increase cōsisteth, are alwaies to be reputed of such sorte, that although they were first giuen to the Iewes: yet because they appertaine to the law of nature, & expound the same more plainely vnto vs, therefore they belong

as well to all maner of people of the whole world for euermore. In which doubtles, both the voyce of nature & Gods Commaundement agreeing in one, haue forbidden that which is contrary and diuers from the one, and from the other. And amongst these, sith there is commaundement that a man shall not mary his brothers wife, what could the Kings excellent Maiestie do otherwise, then he did by the whole consent of the people, and iudgemēt of his Church, that is, to be diuorced from vnlawfull mariage,* and vse lawful and permitted copulation, and obeieng (as meete it was) conformably vnto the commandement, cast off her whome neither law nor right permitted hym to retayne, and take him to chaste and lawfull mariage? wherein although the sentence of Gods worde (whereunto all things ought to stoupe) might haue suffised: yet his Maiestie was content to haue the assisting consents of the most notable graue men, and the censures of the most famous Uniuersities of the whole world: and al to the entent, that men shoulde see he did that, both that he might doe and ought to do vprightly, seeing the best learned and most worthy men haue subscribed vnto it, shewing therein such obedience, as Gods word requireth of euery good & godly man: so as it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speake, I could not passe this thing ouer with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speake.

¶Winchesters reasons against the Popes supremacie.

Moreouer,* the sayde Gardiner in the forenamed booke De vera obedientia, what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithely he dsputeth on the Kings side against the vsurped state of the Bishop of Romes authoritie, by the wordes of his booke it may appeare: whereof a breefe collection heere followeth.

IN the processe of his foresayd booke, he alledging the old distinction of the Papistes,* wherein they geue to the Prince the regiment of things temporall, and to the church of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the Church to extend no farther, then to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all preheminance to the sword of the Prince, alleading for this the Psal. 2. And now you Kings be wise,*and be learned you that iudge the earth, &c.

Also the example of Salomon: who being a King,*according [Page 1059](#) to his fathers appointment ordeined the offices of the Priests in their ministeries,*and Leuites in their order, that they mighte geue thanks, and minister before the Priests, after the order of euery day, and porters in their diuisions gate by gate.

And speaking more of the sayd Salomon, he saith: For so commaunded the man of God, neither did the Priestes, nor Leuites omitte any thing of all that he had commaunded, &c.

Beside this, he alleageth also the example of King Ezechias 2. Paralip. 28. He alledgeth moreouer the example and facte of Iustinian, whiche made lawes touching the faith, Byshops, Clerkes, heretickes, and such other.

Aaron, (saith he) obeyed Moses. Salomon gaue sentence vpon Abiathar the high Priest.

Alexander the King in the first of Machabees, writeth thus to Ionathas: Now haue we made thee this day the high Priest of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Then comming to the wordes of Christ, spoken to Peter, Math. 16. vpon which words the Pope pretendeth to builde all his authoritie: to thys he aunswereth, that if Christ by those wordes had limited vnto Peter any suche speciall state or preheminence aboue all princes, then were it not true that is written, Caepit Iesus docere & facere: for asmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his owne factes and example, who in all his life neuer vsurped either to himself any such domination aboue Princes, shewing himselfe rather subiect vnto Princes, nor yet did euer permit in his Apostles any such example of ambition to be seene: but rather rebuked them for seeking any maner of maioritie amongst them.

And where he reasoneth of the Kings style and title, being called the King of England, and of Fraunce, defendour of the faith,* Lord of Ireland, & supreme head in earth of the Church of Englande immediately vnder Christ, &c. thus he addeth his mind & censure, saieng that he seeth no cause in this title, why any mā should be offended, that the King is called head of y^e Church of Englād, rather then of y^e Realme of England, and addeth his reason therunto saieng: If the Prince & King of England be the head of hys kingdome, that is, of all English men that be his subiects, is there any cause why the same English subiects shoulde not be subiect to the same head likewise in this respect because they are Christians, that is to say, for the title of godlynes, as though that God which is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of Rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation, sayeng: To say (sayth he) that a King is the head of the kingdome, and not of the Church, what an absurde, and a foolish sayeng is this?

And farther, adding for example, the subiection of the seruaunt and wife:* If the seruaunt (saith he) be subiect to his maister, or wife to her husbād being infidels, doth their conuersion afterwarde, or name of Christians make them lesse subiects, then they were before? As Religion therefore doth not alter the authoritie of the Maister ouer the seruaunt, nor the husband ouer the wife: no more (sayeth he) doth it betweene the Prince and subiects.

Paule making no exception nor distinction of subiection, saue only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their Princes, and what Princes? Those Princes which beare the sworde. And although wee bee bound by the Scripture to obey our Byshops and spirituall Pastours of the Church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chiefe and head authoritie that ought to be giuen to the Prince, no more then the obedience of the seruant to his Maister, or of the wife to her husband exempteth them from subiection due to their superiour powers.

And heerewithall he inferreth a principle of the Lawe. Diuers Iurisdictions (saith he) proceeding from one person do not marre nor hinder themselues,* but rather do confirme and fortifie one another.

*Againe, where as the Bishop of Rome vnder the name of Peter doth appropriate to himselfe the highest place in the Church, for that he is the successour of Peter: thereunto he aunswereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough and to the ful: I would (saith he) he were: for so in very deede he might well exceede & passe all kings and princes, if not in preheminēce of

dignitie, yet in admiration & excellency of vertue. In which kinde of superioritie the Lord Christ would his Apostles and Ministers to go before all Kings and Emperours in the whole world.

After this, in prosecuting the argument of Peters confession, he argueth thus and sayth: That as flesh and bloud did not reuele to Peter that confession: so neither was that prerogatiue giuen to the fleshe and bloud of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter, whiche is to meane in respect of the spirituall confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnall place or person, &c.

Item, if the scholer ought not to be aboue the mayster, how then could either Peter take that vppon him, which Christ his maister so constantly did refuse, or how can the Byshop of Rome now clayme that by succession, whereof no example is to be founde either in the head, or his predecessor before him? For so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, Iames, & Iohn, that they did arrogate no such primacie vnto them, but were contēt that Iames surnamed Iustus, should be the Byshop of the Apostles.

And as for the name and signification of the word Primatus i. primacie, if it be taken for the first nomination,* or the first place giuen, so he graūteth that Peter had the preferment of the first name and place in the order of the Apostles. But it foloweth not, that with this primacie he had also a kyngdome giuen.* And though hee were byd of the Lord to confirme his brethren: yet was he not byd to exercise an imperie vpon his brethren, for so were they not his brethren, but his subiectes.

Then Peter was Primus, that is, first or chief in the number of them which confessed Christ,* it is not to be denied. For first he confessed, first he taught the Iewes, first he stode in defēce of the veritie, and was the first and chief Prolocutor amongst them: but yet that maketh not, that he should therfore vendicate a generall primacie and rule ouer all other states, and potestates of the world, no more then Apelles because hee is noted the first and chief of all Paynters, therfore he ought to beare rule ouer all Painters? or because the Uniuersitie of Paris is nominate for the first and chief of other Uniuersities, shall therefore the French kyng, and all other Princes in their publicke administratiō, wherein they are set of God, become subiectes and vnderlynges to that Uniuersitie?

Thus after many other reasons and persuasions contained in the sayd booke De obedientia (for I do but superficially skimme ouer the toppe only of his probations and argumentes) finally in the end of his peroration, he cōcludeth the whole summe of his mynde, in this effect: first denying that the Bishop of Rome had euer any such externe iurisdictiō assigned to him absolutely from God, to reigne ouer Kynges and Princes. For the probation wherof he hath alledged sufficiently (as hee sayth) the examples and doynges of Christ him selfe, whiche ought to be to vs all a sufficient document.

And as concernyng the terme of Primacie, albeit it be vsed sometyme of the Fathers, yet the matter beyng well considered and rightly expounded maketh nothing for the large dominion of the Byshop of Rome, whiche now he doth vsurpe.

Also as for the prerogatiues graunted vnto Peter, by the whiche prerogatiues our Sauour would crowne his owne giftes giuen vnto him, crownyng not the flesh and bloud of Peter, but the marueilous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothyng for the Popes purpose.

Likewise as concernyng the locall succession of Peter, y^e Pope hath nothyng thereby to clayme.* If he will be successour of Peter, he must succeede him in fayth, doctrine, & conditions, & in so doying, he neither will neither yet shall neede to seeke for honour, but shall be honored of all good men, accordyng as a good man should be, and that much more then he beyng a good man would require.

And thus Steph. Winchester, takyng his leane, & biddyng the Pope farewell, endeth with a frēdely exhortatiō,* willyng him to be wise & circumspect, & not to striue stubburnely agaynst the truth. The light of the Gospell (sayth he) so spreadeth his beames in all mens eyes, y^t the works of the Gospell be knowne, the mysteries of Christes doctrine are opened: both learned and vnlearned, men & women beyng Englishmen borne, do see & perceiue, that they haue nothyng to doe with Rome nor with the Byshop of Rome, but that euery Prince in his owne dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a Uicare of God, & Uicegerent of Christ in his owne boūdes. And therefore seyng this order is taken of God,* that one in the Church should beare the office of teachyng, an other should beare y^e office of rulyng, (which office is onely limited to princes) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to folow the same, wherein consisteth our true and speciall obedience. &c.

To this booke of Stephen Winchester De obedientia, we will adioyne for good felowshyp, y^e Preface also of Edmund Boner Archdeacō then of Leycester, prefixed before the same, to the entēt that the reader seyng the iudgemētes of these men as they were then, & agayne the sodeine mutation afterward of the sayd parties to the cōtrary opiniō, may learne thereby what vayne glory and pompe of this world cā worke in the frayle nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to susteine. The Preface of Boner before the sayd booke of Winchester De obedientia, proceedeth thus in effect, as foloweth.

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¶The Preface of Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leycester, prefixed before Stephen Gardiners booke, De obedientia.

FOr asmuch as some there be, no doubt (as the iudgements of men be alwaies variable) which thinke the controuersie which is betweene the Kings roiall Maiestie,*and the Bishop of Rome consisteth in this point, for that his Maiestie hath taken the most excellent and most vertuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deede is farre otherwise, and nothing so: to the intente therefore that all true harty fauourers of the Gospell of Christ,*which hate not, but loue the truth, may the more fully vnderstand the chiefe point of the controuersie, and because they shall not be ignoraunt what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned Bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cause of Matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the Gospell:*heere shall be published the Oration of the Bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in all kinde of learning) entituled DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, that is,*concerning true obedience. But as touching this Bishops worthy praises,

there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are farre better knowne to all Christendome, then becommeth me heere to make rehearsall. And as for the Oration it selfe (which as it is most learned, so it is most elegant) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth it selfe inough, and seeing good wine needeth no tauerne bushe to vtter it? But yet in this Oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle Reader, thou shalt beside other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled of what importaunce, and how inuincible the power and excellencie of Gods truth is: which as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it can not possibly be oppressed and darkened after such sorte, but it sheweth it selfe againe at length, more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching obedience, that it is subiect to truth, and what is to be iudged true obedience. Besides this, of mens traditions, which for the most parte, be most repugnaunt against the truth of Gods law. And there by the way, he speaketh of the Kings said highnes mariage, which by the ripe iudgemente, authoritie and priuiledge of the most and principall Vniuersities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the most excellent, and most noble Lady Queene Anne. After that, touching the Kings Maiesties title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the Church of England. Lastly of all, of the false pretenced supremacie of the Bishop of Rome in the Realme of England, most iustly abrogated: and how all other Byshops being felowlke to him in their function, yea and in some points about him within their owne prouinces, were before time bound to the King by their othe.

But be thou most surely perswaded of this good Reader, that the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but onely this mariage, would easily content himselfe, specially hauing some good morsell or other geuen him to chaw vpon. But when he seeth so mighty a King, being a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, so sincerely and so hartely fauour the Gospell of Christ, and perceiue the yearely and great pray (ye so large a pray, that it came to as much almost as all the Kings reuenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the Kings Maies•ies Realme (alas heeretofore, too cruell and bitter) nor make lawes as he hath done many to the contumelie and reproch of the Maiestie of God, which is euident that he hath done in time past, vnder the title of the Catholicke Church, and the authoritie of Peter and Paule, (when notwithstanding he was a very rauening Wolfe, dressed in sheepes clothing, calling himselfe the seruaunt of seruants) to the great damage of the Christen common wealth: heere, heere began all the mischief, thereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling. For if it were not thus, could any man beleue that this Iuppiter of Olympus (which falsely hath arrogated vnto himselfe an absolute power without controlment) would haue wrought so diligently by all meanes possible, to stirre vp all other Kings and Princes so traiterously against this so good and godly and so true a Gospellike Prince, as he hath done? Neyther let it moue thee (gentle Reader) that Winchester did not before now, apply to this opinion, for he himselfe in this Oration sheweth the cause, why he did it not. And if he had sayd neuer a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a man to suspend his iudgemente, and not to be too rash in geuing of sentence. It is an olde sayd sawe: Mary Magdalene profited vlesse in her quicke beliefe that Christ was risen, then Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his aduised taking of leasure, restored the matter. Albeit I speake not this as though Winchester had not boulded out this matter secretly with hymselfe before hand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago) but that running faire and softly, he would firste with his paynefull study, plucke the matter out of the darke, although of it selfe it was cleare enough, but by reason of sondry opinions, it was lapped vp in darkenes, and then did

he debate it wittely too and fro, and so at last after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor then leasure an• time, he would resolutely with his learned and cōsummate iudgement confirme it.

Thou shouldest gentle Reader, esteeme his censure and authoritie to be of more weighty credence,*in as much as the matter was not rashly and at all aduentures, but with iudgemente (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the Byshop of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but many men often times, yea and right great learned men afore now, haue done the same euen in writing, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleighes, falshood, fraudes, and deceiptfull wyles, openly knowne to the world. Therefore if thou at any time heeretofore haue doubted either of true obedience, or of the Kinges Maiesties mariage, or title, either else of the Bishop of Romes false pretended supremacy, as if thou haddest a good smelling nose and a sound iudgemente, I thinke thou diddest not: yet hauing read this Oration, (which if thou fauour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the Byshop of Rome, and his Sathanicall fraudulent falshode, shall doubtles wonderfully content thee) forsake thyne error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thy selfe, that it is better late so to doo, then neuer to repent. Fare thou hartily well most gentle Reader,*and not only loue this most valiant King of England & of France, who vndoubtedly was by the prouidēce of God, borne to defend the Gospell, but also honor him and serue him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long ago without doubt reputed among the greatest learned men, geue him thy good word wyth highest commendation. The end of Byshop Boners Prologue.

What man reading and aduising this booke of Winchester De vera obedientia,*i with Boners Preface before the same, would euer haue thought, any alteration coulde so worke in mans hart, to make these men thus to turne the catte (as they say) in the panne, and to start so sodenly from the truth so manifestly knowne, so pith•ly proued, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed. If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and sware vnto: what periury most execrable was it before God and man? If they meant good fayth, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindnes is this so sodenly fallen vpon them, to make that false nowe, whiche was true before, or that to be now true, which before was false? Thus to say & vnsay, & then to say againe, to doe and vndo, & as a mā would say, to play fast or loose with truth, truly a man may say, is not the doing of a man, whiche is in any case to be trusted, whatsoeuer he doth or saith. But heere a man may see what man is of himselfe, when Gods good humble spirit lacked to be his guide.

Furthermore, to adde vnto them, the iudgement also and argumentes of Tonstall Bishop of Duresme, let vs see how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth,*i them in his Sermon made before King Henry vpon Palmesonday, remayning yet in print. In the whiche Sermon, disputing against the wrongfull supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, he proueth by manifest groundes most effectuously, both out of the Scripture, auncient Doctors, and of Councils, not only that the Bishop of Rome hath no such authoritie by the worde of God committed to him, as hee doth challenge: but also in requiring & chalēging the same, he reproueth & condemneth him with great zeale & ardent spirit to be a proude Lucifer, disobediente to the ordinarie Powers of God set ouer him, contrary to Christ and Peter, and finally in raising vp warre against vs for y^e

same: he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and murtherer of Christian men.

First by the scripture he reasoneth thus & proueth,* that all good mē ought to obey the potestates, & Gouvernors of y^e world, as Emperours, Kings & Princes of all sortes, what name soeuer the sayde supreme powers do beare or vse for theyr countreys in whiche they be, for so S. Peter doth playnely teach vs 1. Pet. 2. sayeng: Be yee subiect to euerye humane creature for Gods cause, whether it be Kyng as chiefe head, or Dukes or Gouvernours, &c. So that S. Peter in his Epistle commaundeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Ministers of God, by all Christian men. And according vnto the same, S. Paule Ro. 13. saith: Let euery liuing man be subiect to the high powers,*for the high powers bee of God, and who soeuer resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinaunce of God, and purchaseth thereby to himselfe damnation, &c.

And in the same place of Tonstall, it foloweth: and least men should forget their duetie of obedience to their Princes, it is thrise repeated: that they be the ministers of God, whose place in their gouernance they represent: so that vnto them all men must obey Apostles, Patriarches, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Priestes, and all of the Clergy, &c. And therefore (saith he) the Bishop of Rome [Page 1061](#) oweth to his seueraigne and superior like subiection by the word of God, taught vnto vs by Peter and Paule, as other Bishops do to theyr princes, vnder whom they be. &c.

Also, an other expresse commaundement wee haue of Christ. Luk. 22. who vpon the occasion of his disciples struing for superiority, discusseth the matter, saying on thys <◇> : The kinges of the people and nations haue dominion ouer them, and those that haue power ouer them be called gracious Lords, but so it shal not be amongst you. But whosoever amongst you is the greater shalbe as the yonger. And whosoever amongst you shall be chiefe, shalbe as a seruaunt and a minister. &c.

And againe, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdome declareth that his kingdome is not of this world, & therefore sayth Tonstall, those that go about to make of Christs spirituall kingdome,* a worldly kingdome, do fall into the error of some heretickes that looke that Christ after the day of iudgement, shall raign with all his sayntes here in earth carnally in Hierusalem, as the Iewes do beleue that Messias is yet to come and when he shall come, he shall raigne worldly in Hierusalem.

By these and such other places it may well appere, that Christ neither before his incarnation,* (as Tonstall sayth) nor after his incarnation, did euer alter the authoritye of worldly kinges and Princes, but by his owne woorde, commaunded them still to be obeyed of theyr subiectes, as they had bene in the auncient time before. &c. And for examples of the same,* he alledgeth first y^e example of Christ himselfe. Mathew. 22. who being asked of the Iewes, whether they should geue tribute to Caesar or no, he bad thē geue to Caesar those thinges that be his, and to God those thinges that be his, signifying that tribute was due to Caesar, and that theyr soules were due to God. &c.

Also, in the 17. of Mathew it appeareth that Christ bad Peter pay tribute for him and his Disciples,*when it was demaunded of him. And why? Because he woulde not chaunge the order of obeysaunce to worldly Princes due by theyr subiectes. &c.

An other example of Christe he citeth out of the 6. of Iohn,* where after Christ had fed fiue thousand and moe, with a few loaues, and fewer fishes, and that the Iewes would haue takē him and made him theyr king, he fled from them, and woulde not consent vnto them. For the kingdome (sayth he) that he came to set h•re in earth, was not a worldly and temporall king'dome, but an heavenly and spirituall kingdome, that is, to raigne spiritually by grace and fayth in the hartes of all Christen and faythfull people, of what degree, or of what nation soeuer they be, and to turne al people and nations, which at his comming were carnall & liued after the lustes of the flesh, to be spirituall and to liue after the lustes of the spirite, that Christ with his father of heauen, might reigne in the hartes of all men. &c.

And here in these examples of Christes humility, farther is to be noted, how Christ the sonne of God did submit himselfe, not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also deiected himselfe and in a maner, became seruaunt to his owne Apostles: so far of was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honor: For so appeared in him, not onely by washing the feet of his Apostles, but also the same time a litle before his passion, when the Apostles fell at contention among themselues, who among thē should be superiour, he setting before them the example of his owne subiection, asketh this question: Who is superiour, he that sitteth at the Table,*or he that serueth at the Table? Is not he superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you, as he that ministreth, and serueth. &c.

The like examples Tonstall also inferreth of Peters humility.* For where we read in the Actes, how the Centurion a noble man of great age, did prostrate himselfe vpon the ground at the feete of Peter: then Peter not suffering that eftsoones tooke him vp and bad him rise, saying: I am also a man as thou art.

So likewise did the Aungell, Apocalips. 19. and 22. to whom when Iohn would haue fallen downe to haue adored him which shewed him those visions,* the Aungell sayd vnto him: See thou do not so, for I am the seruaunt of God, as thou art. &c.

Agayne in the foresaid Peter what an example of reuerent humility is to be sene in this, that notwithstanding he with other Apostles hauing his commission to go ouer all yet neuerthelesse he being at Ioppa and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go to him, without the vision of a sheete let downe from heauen, by the which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or els he knew in himselfe no such primacy ouer all people and places geuē vnto him, nor no such commission so large aboue the other. &c.

Furthermore, the sayd Peter being rebuked of Paule his fellow brother, tooke no scorne therof, but was content, submitting himselfe to due correction.

But here, sayth Tonstall, steppeth in the B. of Rome and sayth that Peter had authority geuen aboue all the residue of the Apostles,* & alledgeth the wordes of Christ spoken to him. Math. 16. Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I wil build my Church, & will geue to thee, the keyes of the

kingdome of heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth,*shall be bound in heauen. This sayd Christ, sayth the Pope, and S. Peter is buried at Rome, whose succour I am, and ought to rule the Church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heauē gates, as Peter was. &c.

And Christ sayd also to Peter after his resurrection: Feede my sheepe, which he spake to him onely,* so that thereby he had authority ouer all that be of Christes flocke, and I as his successour, haue the same. And therefore who so will not obey me, King or Prince, I wyll curse hym,* and depriue him of his kingdome or seigniory: For al power is geuen to me, that Christ hath, and I am his Uicare generall, as Peter was here in earth, ouer all & none but I, as Christ is in heauen.

This ambitious and pompous obiection (sayth Tonstall) of the Pope, and his adherentes,* hath of late yeares much troubled the world, and made dissention, bebate, and open warre in all partes of Christēdome, & all by a wrong interpretatiō of the Scripture. Who if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the Apostles themselues taught vs, and all the auncient best learned interpreters do expound them, the matter were soone at a poynt. But otherwise, sith they peruert the Scripture, and preach an other Gospell in that poynt to vs, then euer the apostles preached, we haue therin a general rule to folow: That though an Aungell came from heauen,*and woulde tell vs such new expositions of those places, as are now made, to turne the wordes, which were spoken for spirituall authoritye of preaching the word of God, and ministring of the Sacramentes to a worldly authority, we ought to reiect him, as S. Paule willeth vs Gala. 1.

To open therfore the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesayd, and first to begin with the 16. Chapter of Mathew here is to be obserued, that the question being put in generall of Christ to all his Apostles, what they thought or iudged of him, Peter aunswering for them all, as he was alwayes ready to answere, sayd: Thou art Christ, the sonne of the liuing God.* To whom Iesus answered agayne: Blessed be thou Symon the Sonne of Iona: for fleshe and bloud hath not reueled this vnto thee, but my Father which is in heauen: And I say to thee, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. That is to say: vpon this rocke of thy confession of mee to be the Sonne of GOD,* I will builde my Church: for this fayth containeth the whole summarie of our fayth and saluatiō, as it is written Rom. 10. The word of fayth, that we do preach is at hande,*in thy mouth and in thine hart. For if thou confesse with thy mouth our Lord Iesus Christ, & with thy hart do beleue that God raised him frō death to life thou shalt be saued &c. And this confession being first vttered by the mouth of Peter, vpon the same confession of his, & not vpon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his Church, as Chrisostome expoundeth that place in the 26. Sermon of y^e feast of Pentecost, saying: Not vpō the person of Peter,* but vpō the fayth, Christ hath builded his church. And what is the fayth? This: Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God. What is to say, vpon this rocke? That is, vpon this confessiō of Peter. &c. And with this saying of Chrisostome, all aūcient expositors, sayth Tonstal treating that place, do agree, For if we should expoūd that place, that the church is builded vpō the person of Peter, we should put an other fōūda^tion of the Church, then Christ, which is directly agaynst S. Paule, saying: No man may put any other foundation,*but that which is put already, which is Christ Iesus. &c.

And because Peter was the first of all the Apostles,* that confessed this, that Christ is the sonne of God, by y^e which fayth all men must be saued: thereof commeth the primacy, that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the nūber of all the Apostles.

And as Peter was the firste of them that confessed Christ to be the sonne of God, so was he most ardent in his fayth, most bolde and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his comming out of the shippe in the great tempest, and also most vehemēt in his maysters cause, as appeared by draw'ing out his sword, and after the Lords resurrection, is declared in the 2.3.4. chapiter of the Actes: where as the Iewes withstanding the Apostles preaching the fayth of Christ, Peter as most ardent in fayth,* was euer most ready to defend the fayth against the impugnors therof, speaking for them all vnto the people. &c. and therfore hath these honorable names geuen him, by the auncient interpreters, y^t some times he is called the mouth of the Apostles, y^e chiefe of the Apostles, some time the Prince of the Apostles, some [Page 1062](#) time the President of the whole Church, & some time hath the name of primacy, or priority attributed to him.

And yet the sayd Peter notwithstanding these honourable names geuē vnto him, that he should not haue a rule or a iudicial power aboue all the other Apostles, it is plain by S. Paule and many other.

First, S. Paule Gal. 2. playnly declareth the same, saying: That as the Apostleship of the Circumcision, that is, of the Iewes, was geuen by Christ to Peter: so was the Apostleship of the Gentiles geuen to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paule knew no primacy of Peter concerning people & places, but amōg the Iewes. And therof S. Ambrose expounding that place, sayth thus: The primacy of the Iewes was geuen chiefly to Peter,* albeit Iames and Iohn were ioyned with him: as the primacy of the Gētiles was geuen to Paule, albeit Barnabas was ioyned with hym: So that Peter had no rule ouer all.

*Also in the Actes 10. when Peter was sent for to Cornelius a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a speciall vision geuen him from heauen by the Lord.

Item, that all the Apostles had like dignity and authority,* it appeareth by S. Paule Ephes. 2. Where he sayth: Now ye are not straungers, nor foreners but ye be Citizens wyth the Sayntes and of the household of almighty God, builded (saith he) vpon the foundation of the Apostles,* and the Prophets, Christ being the corner stone: vpon whom euery edifice being builded, groweth vp to an holy tēple in our Lord. &c. Here he sayth that they be builded, not vpon the foundation of Peter onely, but vpon the foundation of the Apostles, so that al they be in the foundation set vpon Christ the very rocke, wherupō standeth the whole Church.

In the 21. chap. also of the Apoca. the new City, and the heauenly Hierusalem of almighty God is described of the holy ghost,* not with one fōūnation onely of Peter, but with 12. foundations, after the number of the Apostles.

S. Cyprian Lib. De simplic. prael. geueth record likewise to the same,* that the Apostles had equall power & dignitie geuen to them by Christ. And because al should preach one thing, therefore y^e beginning therof first came by one which was Peter, who confessed for them all: That Christ was the Sonne of the liuing God,* saying further, that in the Church there is one office of

all the Bishops, whereof euery man hath a part allowed wholly vnto him. Now, if the Bishop of Rome may meddle ouer all, where hee will: then euery man hath not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part ioyntly, with him: so that now he hath it not wholly: which is agaynst Cyprian.

S. Austen likewise expounding the Gospell of Iohn, in the 50. treaty,* speaketh there of the keyes of Peter. Whiche he sayth were geuen of Christ to Peter, not for himselfe alonely, but for the whole Church.

Cyrrillus expounding the last chapter of Iohn, & there speaking of the wordes of Christ spoken vnto Peter,*Feed my sheepe. &c. thus vnderstandeth the same: That because Peter had thrise denied Christ, whereby he thought himselfe he had lost his Apostleship: Christ to comforte him agayne, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrise,* whether he loued him, and so restored hym agayne to his office, which els he durst not haue presumed vnto, saying vnto him: Feed my sheep. &c. With which exposition the auncient holy expositors of that place, do likewise agree: So that by these wordes of feeding Christes sheep, the Bishop of Rome can take no aduantage to maintein his vniuersall pastoralty ouer all Christian dominions.

Agayne, where as the Bishoppe of Rome sayth, that Peter by these wordes of Christ spoken to him, hath a preheminance aboue the other, S. Paule Actes. 20. proueth the contrary: where he speaking to the Bishops assembled at Milete, sayth to them: Take heed to your selues, and to all your flocke, in which the holy Ghost hath put you to gouerne. &c.

And Peter himselfe likewise. 1. Pet. 5. sayth: Ye that be Priestes feed the flocke of God amongst you &c.

So that by these Scriptures conferred together, it may appeare that neither the 16. Chapter of Mathew nor the 21. of Iohn do proue that Peter had power,* authority, or dignity geuen him of Christ, ouer all the other, that they should be vnder him: and yet notwithstanding his primacy, in that he first of all the Apostles confessed Christ to be the Sonne of the liuing God (with the which confession all the other Apostles did consent, and also preached the same) standeth still. Which confession first by Peter made, al other that will be saued, must follow also, and be taught to confesse the same. And thus the Bishop of Romes power ouer all, which he would proue by those places wrongfully alledged for his purpose, vtterly quayleth, and is not proued. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now farther proceeding in this matter, the sayd Tonstall commeth to Councels and examples of the primitiue Church, as foloweth.

Faustinus,* Legate to the Byshop of Rome in the v•. Councell of Carthage, alledged that the Bishop of Rome ought to haue the ordering o• all great matters in all places by his supreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledgeth for him, and that vntruely, the fyrst Councell of Nice, to make for his purpose. After this, whē the booke was brought forth,* and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the Counsell at that time, sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioche, where the

Patriarchall seas were, to haue the true copy of the Councell of Nice, which was sent vnto them. And an other copy al^so was sent from Rome whether also they sent for y^e same purpose.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no such Article found in it, but in the fift chapter therof the contrary, that all causes Ecclesiasticall should either be determined within the Dioces, or els, if any were greued, then to appeale to the Counsell Prouinciall, and there the matter to take full end,* so that for no such causes men should goe out of theyr Prouinces: the whole Counsell of Carthage wrote to Celestine at that time beyng Byshop of Rome, that since the Counsell of Nice had no such article in it, as was vntruly alledged by Faustinus, but the cōtrary, they desired him to abstein after, to make any more such demaūd denouncing vnto him, that they would not suffer any cause great or small, to be brought by appeale, out of theyr country, and thereupon made a law that no man shall appeale out of the country of Aphrike vpon payne to be denoūced accursed. Wherewith the Bishop of Rome euer after held him content, and made no more busines with them seeyng he had nought to say for himselfe to the contrary. And at this Counsell S. Austen was present, and subscribed the same. Read more herof pag 10.

It was determined also in the sixte Article of the sayde Counsell of Nice:* that in the Orient the Bishop of Antioche should be chiefe: in Egypt the Bishop of Alexandria: about Rome, the Bishop of Rome, and like Wise in other countryes, the Metropolitanes should haue theyr preheminence: so that the bishop of Rome neuer had medling in those countryes.

And in the next Article following, the Byshop of Hierusalem (which City before had bene destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old prerogatiue, to be y^e chiefe in Palestine and in the cuntry of Iury.

By this ye see howe the Patriarch of Rome duryng al thys tyme of the primitiue Church,* had no such primacye preeminēt aboue other Patriaches, much lesse ouer kinges and Emperors, as may appeare by Agatho Byshoppe of Rome long after that, in whose tyme was the sixt Councell generall. Whiche Agatho after his election: sent to the Emperor thē beyng at Constantinople, to haue his electiō allowed before he would be consecrate, after y^e old custome at that time vsed.

In like sort,* an other Bishop of Rome called Uitalianus did the same, as it is written in the Decrees in the 63. Distinct. cap. Agatho.

The like did S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory, before thē, as it is written in the chap. Cum longè, in the same. Distinct. During al which time, the byshops of Rome folowed wel the doctrine of S. Peter and S. Paule left vnto them, to be subiectes and to obey theyr Princes.

Thus after that Byshop Tonsall playing the earnest Lutheran, both by scriptures and auncient Doctours,* also by examples sufficient of the primitiue church, hath proued and declared, how the Byshops of Rome ought to submit thēselues to theyr higher powers, vnder whom God hath appoynted euery creature in this world to obey: now let vs likewise see how the sayd Byshop Tonsall describeth vnto vs his disobedience intollerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice most execrable.

And first speaking of the disobedience of Adam & Eue, then of the pride of Nabugodonosor, & of Lucifer,* at length he compareth the Bishops of Rome to them all. Who fyrst for disobedience refuse to obey Gods commaūdemēt, but contrary to his word, will be aboue theyr gouernours, in refusing to obey them.

Secondly, beside this rebellious disobedience in these Bishops of Rome not sufferable,* theyr pride moreouer so farre exceedeth all measure, that they will haue theyr princes, to whō they owe subiection, prostrate vpon y^e ground, to adore them by godly honor vpon the earth, and to kysse theyr feet, as if they were God, where as they be but wretched men, and yet they looke that theyr princes should do it vnto them, and also all other christen men owing them no subiection, should do the same.

And who be these I pray you, that men may knowe [Page 1063](#) them? Surely (sayth he) the Bishoppes of Rome be these whom I do meane. Who following the pride of Lucifer theyr father, make themselues fellowes to God, and do exal• theyr seate aboue the starres of God, and do ascend aboue the cloudes, and will be like to almighty God. The starres of God be ment the aungels of heauen, for as stars doe shew vnto vs in part, the light of heauen, so do Aungelles sent vnto men, shew the heauenly light of the grace of God, to those to whom they be sent. And the cloudes signified in the olde Testament the Prophettes, and in the new doe signify the Apostles and Preachers of the woord of God. For as the cloudes do conceiue and gather in the skye moysture,* which they after poure downe vpon the ground to make it thereby more fruitfull: so the Prophets in the olde Testament, and the Apostles and Preachers in the newe, do poure into our eares the moysture of theyr heauenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith by grace, our soules beinge scere and drye, to bring foorth fruit of the spirite. Thus doe all auncient expositours, and amongst them Saynt Augustine, interpret to be ment in Scripture, starres and cloudes, in the exposition of the 45. Psalme.

But S. Iohn the Euangelist writeth in the 19. chapter of the Apocalips,* & in the 22. also, that whē he would haue fallen downe at the Aungels foote that did shew him those visions there written, to haue adored him with godly wor'ship, the Aungell sayd vnto him: See thou do not so, for I am the seruaunt of God as thou art. Geue adoration and Godly worship to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Bishops of Rome suffering all men prostrate before them to kisse theyr feet (yea the same Princes,* to whom they owe subiection) do clime vp aboue the starres and Aungels too, offering their feet to be kissed, with shoes and all. For so I saw my selfe being present, 34. yeares ago, whē Iulius thē Bishop of Rome stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlaynes held vp his skyr• because it stood not (as he thought) with his dignity, that he should do it himselfe, that his shoo might appeare, whiles a noble man of great age did prostrate himselfe vpon the ground, and kissed his shoo: which he stately suffered to be done, as of duety. Where me think I saw Cornelius the Centurion, Captayn of the Italians •and, spoken of in the tenth Chapter of the Actes, submitting himselfe to Peter, and much honoring him: but I saw not Peter there to take him vp, and to bidde him rise, saying I am a man as thou art, as Saynt Peter did say to Cornelius:* so that the Bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due vnto God, doe clime aboue the heauenlye cloudes, that is to say, aboue the Apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hartes of men, by theyr heauenly doctrine of the word of God.

Thus Bishop Tonstall hauing described the passing pride of the Pope, surmounting like Lucifer, aboue Byshops, Apostles, Aungelles, and starres of heauen, proceeding then further to the latter ende of his Sermon, commeth to speake of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent,* in that he being iustly put from his kingdome here: to wreake his spitefull malice, styrreth vppe warre against vs, & bloweth y^e horn of mischief in geuing our land for a spoyle and pray to all, whosoeuer at his setting on, will come and inuade vs.* But let vs heare his owne wordes preaching to the king and all Englishmen, touchyng both the popes malice, and the treason of Cardinall Poole.

Now (sayth he) because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully vse his vsurped power in all thinges, (as he was wont to do) and sucke out of this Realme by auarice insatiable, innumerable summes of money yearely, to the great exhausting of the same: he therefore moued and repleat with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to styrre all Christen nations, that will geue eares to hys deuillish enchauntmentes, to moue warre agaynst this realme of England, geuing it in pray to all those, that by hys instigation will inuade it.

And here expounding these foresayd wordes (to geue in pray) he declareth what great mischief they conteyne, and willeth euery true Englishman well to marke the same. First to make this realme (sayth he) a pray to all vēturers,* all spoylers, all snappehaunses, all forlornehopes, all cormorantes, all raueners of the world, that will inuade this Realme, is to say: thou possessioner of any landes of thys Realme, of what degree soeuer thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slayne and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will haue all for themselues: & thou mayest be sure to be slayne, for they will not suffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to liue to make any claime afterwarde or to be reuenged, for that were theyr vnsurety. Thy wife shalbe abused before thy face: thy daughter lykewise defloured before thee: thy children slayne before thine eyes: thy house spoyled: thy cattell driu•n away & sold before thy visage: thy plate, thy mony by force taken frō thee, all thy goodes, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children, rauened, broken and di•tributed, •n thy presence, that euery rauener may haue his share. Thou Marchaunt art sure to be slaine, for thou hast either money or ware, or both, which they search for Thou Byshoppe or priest, whatsoeuer thou be, shalt neuer escape, because thou wouldest not take the Bishop of Romes part, and rebell a'gaynst God and thy Prince, as he doth. If thou shalt fi•e and escape for a season, whatsoeuer thou be: thou shalt see and heare of so much misery and abomination, that thou shalt iudge them happy, that be dead before: for sure it is, thou shalt not finally escape: For, to take the whol realme in pray, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themselues, as they will do if they can.

And the Bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth hys pestilent malice the more,* hath allured to his purpose a subiect of this Realme, Reginald Poole comē of a noble blood, and therby the more errant traytor, to go about frō Prince to Prince, and from country to countrey, to styrre them to warre agaynst this Realme, and to destroy the same being his natie countrey: whose pestilent purpose, the Princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abomination, both for that the Bishop of Rome (who being a Bishop should procure peace) is a styrrer of warre: and because this most errant and vnkind traytour is his minister to so deuillish a purpose, to destroy the cōūtry that he was borne in, which any heathen man would abhorre to do.

And so continuing in his discourse agaynst Cardinall Poole and the Bishop of Rome for styrring the people to warre and mischief, he further sayth, & sayth truely,* that for these many yeares past, little warre hath bene in these partes of Christendome, but the Bishop of Rome eyther hath bene a styrrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldome any cōpounder of it, vnlesse it were for his ambition or profite. Wherefore since, as S. Paule sayth,*that God is not the God of dissention but of peace, who commaundeth by hys word, peace alway to be kept: we are sure that all those, that go about to breake peace betwene Realmes, and to bring them to warre, are the childrē of the deuill, what holy names soeuer they pretend to cloke their pestilent malice withall: which clogging vnder hipocrisy is double deuilishnes, and of Christ most detested, because vnder his blessed name, they do play the deuils part.*

And in the latter end of his Sermon concluding wyth the 39. Chapter of Ezechiell, where the Prophet speaketh against Gog and Magog, going about to destroy the people of God, and prophecyeth agaynst them, that the people of God shall vanquish and ouerthrow them on the mountaynes of Israell that none of them shall escape, but theyr carcasses shal there be deuoured of kytes, and crowes, and byrds of the ayre: so likewise sayth he of these our enemies, wishing, that if they shall persist in theyr pestilent malice, to make inuasion into this Realme, then theyr great Captayne Gog (the bishop of Rome he meaneth) may come w^t them, to drinke with them of the same cup,* which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for vs, that y^e people of God might after quietly liue in peace,

We haue heard hetherto the othes, censures, and iudge^mentes of certayne particulare Byshoppes of Yorke,* of Winchester, of London, of Duresme, and also of Edmund Bonor, Archdeacon then of Leycester, agaynst the Popes vnlawfull vsurpatiō. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the Reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbatiō of these aforesayd, to inferre also the publicke and generall agreement of the whole Clergy of Englād, as in a totall summe together, confirmed and ratified in theyr owne publicke booke, made and set forth by them about the same tyme, called then the Bishops booke. In the which booke, although many thinges were very slender & vnperfect, yet as touching this cause of the Bishop of Romes regalty, we wyll heare (God willing) what theyr whole opinion & prouinciall determinatiō did conclude, according as by their own words in the same book, is to be sene word for word, as foloweth, subscribed also with theyr owne names: the Catologue of whom vnder theyr owne confession, shall appere.

WE thinke it conuenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shal instruct and teach the people cōmitted vn^to theyr spirituall charge, y^t where as certayne men doe imagine and affirme, that Christ should geue vnto the Byshop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head & gouernor of all Priestes & Bishops in Christes Church, but also to haue and occupye the whole Monarchy of the world in his handes, and that he may therby lawfully depose kinges and Princes from theyr realmes, dominions, [Page 1064](#) and seignories, and so transferre and geue the same to such persons as him liketh that is vtterly false and vntrue: For Christ neuer gaue vnto S. Peter, or vnto any of the Apostles, or their success^{rs}, any such authoritie. And the Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paule do teach and commaūd, that all Christen people, as well Priestes and Bishops as others, should be obediēt and subiect vnto the Princes and Potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

And as for the Bishop of Rome, it was many hundreth yeares after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or gouernance aboue any other Bishops, out of hys prouince in Italy: sith the which time he hath euer vsurpe• more and more. And though some part of his power was geuen vnto him by the consent of the Emperours, Kinges and Princes, and by the consent also of the Clergy in generall Counsels assembled: yet surely he atteyned the most part therof by maruellous subtlety and craft, and specially by colluding with great kings and princes, sometime trayning them into his deuotion by pretence and colour of holynesse and sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the sayde Byshops of Rome aspired and ro•e at length vnto such greatnes in strength and authority,* that they presumed and took vpon thē to be heads & to put lawes by thyr own authority, not onely vnto al other Bishops within Christēdome, but also vnto the Emperours, Kings, & other the Princes and Lordes of the worlde, and that vnder the pretence of the authority committed vnto them by the Gospell. Wherin the sayd Bishops of Rome do not onely abuse and peruert the true sense and meaning of Christes word: but they do also cleane contrarye to the vse and custome of the priuative Church: and so do manifestly violate, as wel the holy Canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles, as also the degrees and constitutions made in that behalfe,* by the holy Fathers of the Catholique church assēbled in the first general councelles. And finally they doe transgresse theyr own profession, made in theyr creation. For all the Bishops of Rome alwayes when they be consecrated and made Bishops of that See, doe make a solemne profession and vowe, that they shall inuolably obserue and keepe al the ordinances made in the eight first generall Councils: among the whiche it is specially prouided & enacted, that al causes shal be finished and determined with in the prouince where the same begun, and that by the byshops of the same prouince: and that no Byshop shall exercise any iurisdiction out of his owne dioces or prouince. And diuers such other Canons were then made and confirmed by the sayd councils, to repress and take away out of the Church, all such primacy and iurisdiction ouer kinges and Byshops, as the Byshops of Rome pretend nowe to haue ouer the same.* And we finde that diuers good fathers Byshops of Rome did greatly reprove, yea and abhorre (as a thing cleane contrary to the Gospel, and the decrees of the church) that anye Byshop of Rome, or els where, shoulde presume, vsurpe, or take vpon him the title and name of y^e vniuersal byshop, or of the head of all priestes, or of y^e highest priest, or any such lyke title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, y^t there is no mention made, neyther in Scripture, nor in the writinges of any Autenticall doctor or author of the Church, being within the tyme of the apostles, that Christ did euer make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the preeminence of power, order or iurisdiction, betweene the Apostles thēselues, or betweene y^e bishops themselues, but y^t they were all equall in power order, authoritie, & iurisdiction. And that there is now and sith y^e time of the Apostles, any such diuersitie, or difference among the Bishops, it was deuised by the ancient fathers of the priuative Church, for the conseruation of good order and vnitie of the Catholicke church and that eyther by the consent and authoritie, or els at the least by the permission and sufferance of the princes and ciuill powers for the tyme ruling. &c.

And shortly after followeth: And for the better confirtion of this part, we thinke it also conuenient, that all Byshops and preachers shal instruct and teach the people cōmitted vnto theyr spirituall charge, that Christ did by expresse words prohibit, that none of his Apostles nor any of theyr successors, should vnder the pretence of the authority geuen vnto them by Christ, take vpon them y^e authoritie of y^e sword: y^t is to say, the authoritie of kings, or of any ciuill power in this world, yea or any authoritie to make lawes or ordinances in cau•s appertayning vnto ciuill

powers. Truth it is, the priestes and byshops may execute all suche temporall power & iurisdiction, as is cōmitted vnto them by y^e ordinance & authoritie of kings or other ciuill powers & by the consent of the people (as officers and ministers vn^der the sayd kinges and powers) so long as it shall please the sayd kinges and people to permit and suffer them so to vse and execute the same. Notwithstanding if anye bishop of what estate or dignitie so euer he be, be he bish. of Rome or of any other citie, prouince, or dioces, do presume or take vpon him authoritie or iurisdiction in causes or matters which appertayne vnto kinges and the ciuill powers and their Courtes, and will mayntayne or thinke that he may so do by y^e authoritie of Christ and his Gospell, although y^e kings and princes would not permit and suffer hym so to doe: No doubt that Byshop is not worthy to be called a Byshop,* but rather a tyranne & an vsurper of other mens rightes, contrary to the lawes of god, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise then hee that goeth about to subuert the kingdome of Christ. For the kingdome of Christ in his Church is a spirituall, and not a carnall kingdome of the world, that is to say, the very kingdome that Christ by himself, or by his Apostles and disciples sought here in this worlde, was to bring all nations from the carnall kingdome of the prince of darkenes, vnto the light of hys spirituall kingdome, & so to raygne himselfe in the harts of the people by grace, fayth, hope, and charitie. And therefore sith Christ did neuer seeke nor exercise anye worldly kyngdome or dominion in this worlde, but rather refusing and fleeing from y^e same, did leaue the said worldly gouernance of kingdomes, realmes, and nations, to be gouerned by Princes & potentates (in like maner as he did finde them) & commaunded also his Apostles and Disciples to doe the sēblable, as it was sayd before: what soeuer priest or bishop will arrogate or presume vpō him any such authoritie, and will pretend e the authoritie of the Gospell for his defence therin, he doth nothing els, but (in a maner as you would say) crowneth Christ agayne with a crowne of thorne, and traduceth & bringeth him foorth agayne with his mantle of purple vpon his backe, to be mocked and scorned of the world, as the Iewes did to their owne damnation.

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witⁿes and testimony of these byshops and other learned mē, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Byshops booke aforenamed.

***Testes.**

- Thomas Cantarien.
- Edouardus Ebor.
- Iohannes London.
- Cuthbertus Dunel..
- Stephanus Winton.
- Robertus Carliolen.
- Iohannes Exon.
- Iohannes Lincoln.
- Iohannes Bathonien.
- Rolandus Couen. & Lich.
- Thomas Elien.
- Nicolaus Sarum.
- Ioannes Bangor.
- Edouardus Herefor.
- Hugo Wigornien.

- Ioannes Roffen,
- Richardus Cicestren,
- Guliel. Norwicen.
- Gulielmus Meneuen.
- Robertus As•auen.
- Robertus Landauen.
- Richardus Wolman. Archdiaco. Sudbur.
- Gulielmus Knight. Arch. Richmond.
- Ioannes Bel. Arch. Gloucester.*
- Edmundus Boner. Archdia Leicester.
- Gulielmus Skippe, Archdiaco. Dose.
- Nicholaus Heth. Archdiaco Stafford.
- Cuthbertus Mashall. Arch. Nottingham.
- Ricardus Curten. Archdia. Oxon.
- Gulielmus Glife.
- Galfridus Dovnes,
- Robertus Oking.
- Radulphus Bradford.
- Richardus Smith.
- Simon Mathew.
- Ioannes Prin.
- Guliel Buckmaster,
- Gulielmus May.
- Nicolaus Wotton.
- Ricardus Coxe.
- Ioannes Edmundes.
- Thomas Robertson,
- Ioannes Baker.
- Thomas Barret.
- Iohannes Hase.
- Ioannes Tyson.

These were Doctours of Diuinitie, and of both Lawes.

Iudge now thy selfe (louing reader) per confessata & allegata: that is, by these thinges heretofore confessed, alledged, allowed, prooued and confirmed, by penne set forth, by wordes defended, and by othe subscribed by these Bishops and Doctours, if eyther Martine Luther himselfe or anye Lutherane els could or did euer say more agaynst y^e proud vsurpation of the Bishop of Rome,* then these men haue done. If they dissembled otherwise then they meant, who [Page 1064](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1065](#) coulde euer dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who coulde euer turne head to tayle so sodenly & so shortly as these men did? But because these thinges we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them; let vs marke therefore theyr reasons, and let the persons goe.

And although the sayd proufes and argumentes heretofore alledged, might suffice to the full discussion of this matter agaynst y^e Popes vsurped primacy: yet because many do yet remayne, which wil not be satisfied, to refel therfore & confute this popishe article of the popes vayne and

proud primacie, with as much matter and furniture of reasons & allegations as the writings and testimonies of these Bishops and others do minister vnto vs: we mynde (the Lord willing) to annexe to these former confirmatiōs of the bishops aforesayd,* an other supplement also of a certayne Epistle sent by Bishop Tonsall, and by Iohn Stokesley byshop of London, to Cardinall Poole, for a more ample confutation of the vsurped power.

Concerning the argument of whiche Epistle, here is first to be vnderstanded, that about thys time or not much ouer, Cardinall Poole brother to the Lord Montague, was attaynted of high treasō, and fled away vnto Rome, where within a short time after, he was made Cardinall of S. Mary Cosmeden: of whō more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the tyme of Queene Mary. In the meane tyme hee remayning at Rome, there was directed vnto hym a certayne Epistle exhortatory by Stokesley Byshop of London, and Tonsall Byshop of Duresme, perswading hym to relinquishe and abandon the supremacy of the Pope, and to conforme himselfe to the religion of his king. The copy of which his Epistle for the reasons and argumentes therein contained about the same matter, we thought here not vnworthely to be put in, or vnprofitable to be read. The tenour wherof here followeth.

***The true copy of a certayne letter, written by Cutbert Tonsall Byshop of Duresme, and Iohn Stokesley Byshop of London, to Cardinall Poole, prouing the Byshop of Rome to haue no speciall superioritie aboue other Byshoppes.**

*FOR the good will that we haue borne vnto you in times past as long as you continued the kinges true subiect, we cannot a little lament & mourne, that you neyther regarding the inestimable kindnes of the kings highnes heretofore shewed vnto you in your bringing vp, nor the honor of the house that you be come of, nor the wealth of the countrey that you were borne in, should so decline from your duety to your prince, that you shuld be seduced by fayre words and vaine promises of the Bishop of Rome, to winde with him, going about by all meanes to him possible, to pull downe and put vnder foote, your naturall Prince & Maister, to the destruction of the countrey that hath brought you vp, and for a vayne glory of a red Hat, to make your selfe an instrument to set forth his malice, who hath styrred by all meanes that he could, all such Christiā Princes as would geue eares vnto him, to depose the kinges highnes from his Kingdome, and to offer it as a pray for them that should execute his malice, and to styrr if hee could his subiectes agaynst him in styrring and nourishing rebellions in his realme: where the office & duety of all good Christiā men, and namely of vs that be priestes, should be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietnes, all discord to concord, and in doing contrary, we do shew our selues to be but the ministers of Satan, and not of Christ, who ordeined all vs that bee priestes, to vse in all places the legatiō of peace, & not of discord.

But since that can not be vndone that is done, second it is to make amendes, and to followe the doing of the prodigall sonne spoken of in the Gospell: who returned home to his father, & was well accepted, as no doubt you might be, if you will say as he said in knowledging your folly,* and doe as he did, in returning home agayne from your wandring abroad in seruice of him, who little careth what come of you, so that their purpose by you bee serued. And if you be moued by

your conscience, that you can not take the king your mayster as supreme head of the Church of England because the Bishop of Rome hath heretofore many yeares vsurped that name vniuersally ouer all the Church,* vnder pretence of the Gospell of S Mathew,* saying: Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke I will build my Church. Surely the text many of the most holy & auncient expositors, wholly doe take to be ment of the fayth, then first confessed by the mouth of Peter, vppon whiche fayth, confessing Christ to be the sonne of God,* the church is builded, Christe being the very lowest foundation stone, whereupon both the Apostles themselues,* and also the whole fayth of the Churche of Christ by them preached through the world, is founded and builded, and other foundation none can be, but that onely as S. Paule sayth: No other foundation can any man lay, besides that which is layd, which is Christ Iesus.

And where you thinke that the Gospell of Luke proueth the same authority of the Bishoppe of Rome, saying: Peter, I haue prayed for thee; that thy fayth shoulde not fayle: and thou beyng once conuerted, confirme thy brethren, Surely that speaketh onely of the fall of Peter knowne to Christ by his godly prescience, whereof he gaue an inkling that after the time of his fal, he should not despayre, but returne agayne and confirme his brethren, as he euer being most feruent of them, was wont to do. The place doth playnely open it selfe that it can not be otherwise taken, but thys to be the very meaning of it, and not to be spoken but to Peter:.* For els his successours must first fayle in the fayth and then conuert, and so confirme theyr brethren. And where as you thinke that this place of the Gospell of Iohn. Feede my sheepe, was spokē onely to Peter, and that those woordes make him shepheard ouer all, and aboue all:.* S. Peter himselfe testifieth the contrary in his canonicall, Epistle, where he sayth to all priestes▪ Feede the flocke of Christ which is among you: which he bade them do by the authority that Christ had put them in, as foloweth: And when the chiefe shepheard shall appeare, ye shall receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glory.

The same likewise Saynt Paule in the Actes, testifieth sayinge: Geue heed to your selues and to the whole flocke,* wherin the holy ghost hath set you to gouerne the church of God. Where, in the originall text, the word signifiyng Regere, to gouerne, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, is the same that was spoken to Peter, Pasce, Feede, for it signifieth both in the Scripture. And that by these wordes he was not constitue a shepheard ouer all, it is very playne by the facte of Saynt Peter, which durst not enterprise much conuersation among the Gentiles, but eschewed it as a thing vnlawfull, and muche rather prohibited then commaunded by Gods law, vntill he was admonished by the reuelation of the sheete full of diuers viandes, mentioned in the Actes of the Apostles: where if Christ by these wordes, Feede my sheepe, had geuen such an vniuersall gouernaunce to Peter, then Peter being more feruēt then other of the Apostles to execute Christes commaundement,* woulde of his owne courage haue gone without any such new admonition to Cornelius: except peradventure you would say, that Peter did not vnderstād the sayd wordes of Christ, for lacke of the light which the latter men haue obtained to perceiue, and thereby vnderstand the wordes of Christ to Peter, better then Peter himselfe did. And straunge also it were to condemne Peter as an high Traytour to his mayster, after his ascension: as he in deede were worthy if hys mayster had signified vnto him, that the Byshops of Rome, by hys dying there, shoulde be heades of all the church, and he knowyng the same by these wordes, Feede my sheepe, yet notwithstanding his maysters high legacy and commaundement, woulde flee as he did, from Rome, vntill his mayster encountring him by the waye,* with terrible woordes, caused him to returne. And because thys history peradventure can not weigh agaynst an obstinate

mynde, to the contrary. What shall we saye to the woordes of Saynt Ambrose, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample primacy, was geuen to Paule, as to Peter? Vppon these woordes of Paule. He that wrought by Peter. &c. thus he writeth: *Petrum solum nominat, & sibi comparat,* quia primatum ipse acceperat ad fundandam Ecclesiam: se quoque pari modo electum vt primatū habeat in fundandis Ecclesijs Gentium.* &c. That is to say, He nameth Peter onely, and compareth him to himselfe, because he receiued a primacy to builde a church: and that he in like sort was chosen himselfe to haue a primacye in building the churches of the Gentiles. And shortly after it foloweth: Of those (that is to say of the Apostles) which were the chieftest, his gift, he sayth, was allowed, whither he had receiued of God, so that hee was founde worthy to haue the primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had in preaching to the Iewes. And as he assigned to Peter for his companions, those whiche were of the chieftest men amongst the Apostles, euen so also did he take to him selfe Barnabas, who was ioyned vnto him by Gods iudgement: and yet did hee challenge to himselfe alone the prerogatiue or primacy which God had geuen him, as to Peter alone it was graunted among the other Apostles. So that the Apostles of the Circumcision gaue theyr handes to the Apostles of the Gentyles: to declare theyr concorde in fellowshippe, that eyther of them should know that they had receiued the perfection of the spirite in the preaching of the Gospell, and so shoulde not neede eyther other in any matter.* And shortelye after sayth Saynt Ambrose, who durste resiste Peter the chiefe Apostle, but an other suche a one, whiche by the confidence of his election might knowe himselfe to be no lesse, and so might reprove boldly that thing which he inconsiderately had done.

This equality of dignity whiche Saynt Ambrose affirmeth by scripture to be equally geuen to Peter and Paule,* S. Cyprian and S. Hierome do extend to all the Apostles, Cyprian saying thus: *Hoc erāt vti{que} & caeteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti, & honoris & potestatis:* All the rest of the Apostles were the same that Peter was, being endued with like equality of honor [Page 1066](#) and power.* And S. Hierome thus: *Cuncti Apostoli clauēs regni coelorum accipiunt, & ex aequo super eos Ecclesiae fortitudo fundatur:* All the Apostles receiued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, & vpon them, as indifferently & equally, is the strēgth of the Church grounded and established. Which S Hierome also, as well in hys Commentaries vpon the Epistle to Tite, as in hys epistle to Euagrius, sheweth that these primacies long after Christes ascension, were made by the deuise of men, which before by the common agreement and consent of the Clergye, euery of the Churches were gouerned, yea the patriarchall Churches.

The wordes of S. Ierome be these: *Sciant ergo episcopi se magis ex consuetudine,* quam dispēsationis dominicae veritate, presbitteris esse maiores:* Let the Bishopps vnderstand, that they bee greater then other Priestes:* rather of custome, then by the vertue and verity of the Lordes ordinaunce. And in his sayd epistle to Euagrius he hath the like sentence, and addeth thereto: *Vbicun{que} fuerit Episcopus, siue Romae siue Eugubij, siue Constantinopoli.* &c. Whersoouer a Bishop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, he is of all one worthynes, & of all one priesthood, & that one was elected which should be preferred before other, it was deuised for the redresse of schismes, least any one chalenging to much to himself, should rēt the church of Christ. These wordes onely of S. Ierome, be sufficient to prooue that Christ by none of these 3. textes (which be all that you & others do alledge for your opinion) gaue to Peter any such superiority, as the B. of Rome by them vsurpeth: and that Peter nor no other of the chiefe Apostles did vendicate such primacy or superiority, but vtterlye refused it, and therefore gaue preeminence aboue thēselues, to one that though he be sometimes called an

Apostle, yet he was none of the 12. as Eusebius in the beginning of his second book, called *Historia ecclesiastica*, doth testify, alledging for him the great and auncient clerke Clemens Alexandrinus, saying thus: Petrus, Iacobus, ac Ioannes, post assumptionem Saluatoris, quamuis ab ipso fuerant omnibus penè praelati, tamen non sibi vindecarūt gloriam, sed Iacobum qui dicebatur Iustus, apostolorum Episcopum statuunt: Peter, Iames & Iohn, after Christes ascension into heauen, although they were by him preferred almost before all other, yet they chalenged not that glory to themselues, but decreed that Iames,* who was called Iustus, should be chiefe bishop of the Apostles. By these wordes it is cleare, that Iames was the bish. of the apostles, not because as some men do glose, he was elected by the Apostles, but because he had thereby the primacy and honor of a bishop in Ierusalem, aboue the rest of the Apostles.

And one thing is especially to be noted, and also maruelled at, that the bishops of Rome do challenge this primacy alonely by Peter, and yet S. Paule, which was his equal, or rather superior by scripture,* in his Apostleship amongst the Gentiles, wherof Rome was the principall, suffered at Rome where Peter did, and is commonly in all the Romane Church, ioyned with Peter in all appellations and titles of preeminence, and both be called Principes Apostolorum: The chiefe of the Apostles. Vpon both is equally founded the Church of Rome. The accounting of the Bishops of Rome, many yeares agreeth thereunto. For Eusebius sayth, that Clemens tertius post Paulum & Petrum, pontificatum tenebat: Clement was the third Bishop after S. Paule and Peter: reckoning them both as Bishops of Rome, and yet therin preferring S. Paule: with like words, saying of Alexander bishop of Rome: that Quinta successione post Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula sortitus est: Alexander obtained the gouernance of the people by succession, the fift Bishop after Peter and Paule. Irenaeus also saith as Eusebius reciteth:* that Fundata & aedificata Ecclesia, beati apostoli Lino officium Episcopatus iniungunt: After the Church was once founded and builded, the holy Apostles charged Linus with the Bishopricke. Whereby appeareth, that they both ioyntly constituted him bishop of Rome, and receiued onely theyr Apostleship enioyned vnto them by Christ. And therefore if the bishops of Rome challenge any preheminance of authority by Peter, they should as well or rather challenge the same by Paul, because they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there suffered: resigning first that Bishopricke to Linus, and all at once.

And if you will peraduenture leaue to the former preaching there by Peter, which by Scripture can not be prooued, yet then at least S. Paule and his successours in Ephesus should haue lyke primacy, because he founded first that Church, though S Iohn after that did builde it, as witnesseth Eusebius, saying: Ecclesia quae est apud Ephesum,* a Paulo quidem fundata est, à Iohanne ver• aedificata: The Church which is at Ephesus, was founded of Paule, but it was builded of Saynt Iohn. And so Peter should haue no other primacy in Rome,* but as Paule had in Ephesus, that is to say: to be counted as the first Preacher and conuerter of the people there to the fayth of Christ. And aswell might all the Bishoppes of Ephesus, challenge the primacy of all nations, both Gentiles & Iewes by Saynt Paule the Apostle of the Gentiles theyr founder, as the Byshoppe of Rome by S. Peter the Apostle onely of the circumcision, in case he were the fyrst founder, challenging primacy ouer all. But vndoubtedly this primacy ouer all, that the Byshoppes of Rome of late doe challenge, was not allowed nor yet knowne nor heard of amongst the auncient Fathers though they had theyr church of Rome in high estimation, aswell for the notable vertuous deedes that the Clergy did there shew and exercise abundantly to theyr neighbors (as witnesseth the sayd• Eusebius, alledging there the Epistle that Dionisius Alexandrinus wrote to

Soter Bishop of Rome,* testefying the same) as for that the Citty of Rome was the most ample and chiefe Citty of the world, witnessing Saynt Cyprian, saying: Planè, quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma praecedere, illic maiora & grauiora commisit: Certaynely, because that Rome ought for the greatnesse therof to excell Carthage, there Nouatus committed the greater and more greuouse offences. Which Saynt Cyprian also, when he had ordeyned and appoynted certayne decrees and statutes vnto the Bishop of Rome, he did not submitte them to his reformation or iudgement, but onely signified his owne sentence to like him also: and yet adding thereunto, that if any Byshops (meaning aswell of Rome as of others) which were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwise thinke or doe, he would not then, that his sentence should be to them preiudiciall, neither woulde he thereby compell them to any thing: but would that they should follow theyr owne myndes and customes: partly for that euery one of the Byshops hath liberty of his owne will, and partly for that euery gouernor shall make an accompt to God of his owne deede,* as it appeareth playnely in his Epistle to Stephanus and Iulianus. And in the 3. Epistle to Cornelius, towards the end: speaking of the appeale that one Felicissimus a Nouatian, after his condemnation in Affrica, made to Rome, he impugneth such appeales, saying: Quia singulis pastoribus portio gregis est assignata, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, rationē sui actus Domino redditurus. &c. Forasmuch as euery pastor hath his owne flocke committed to him, whiche euery one ought to rule and gouerne, and must geue account to the Lord of his administration, it is decreed of vs all, and we thinke it both meet & iust, that euery mans cause and plee should there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerke & Martir S. Cyprian would neuer haue eyther impugned theyr appeale to Rome from theyr owne primacies,* or so earnestly haue maintained his determinations in the Councils of Affrike contrary to the opinion of the Bishops of Rome, and to theyr customes, without any submission by word or writing, if the primacy ouer all, which the Byshops of Rome doe challenge and vsurpe, had bene grounded vpon the playne scriptures, as you with some others do thinke: & it is to be supposed also, that he would in all his Epistles haue called them Patres or Dominos, fathers or Lords, as Superiors, and not alwayes Fratres & collegas, brothers and felowes in office, as but onely his equals.

Which thing yet more playnely doth appeare by the actes of the Councils of Affrike in S. Augustines time,* by the which it is euident, that though the fayth of Christ was by the Romaynes first brought into Affrike (as S. Augustine doth confesse) yet it was not read nor knowne, that the Bishops of Rome vsed or challenged any soueraignty in Affrike, vnto this time. And yet then he did not challenge it by the right of Gods worde, but by the pretence of a certayne Canon supposed to be in the council of Nice: Which article coulde neuer be found, though it were then very diligently sought for through all the principall Churches of the East and South: but onely was alledged of Iulius Bishop of Rome, out of his owne Library. And you may be well assured,* that if the scriptures had made for it, neyther the Byshop of Rome woulde haue left that certayne prooffe by scriptures, and trusted onely to the testimony of an Article of that Counsell, being in doubt and vnlikely to be found, nor yet S. Augustine with his holy and learned company, would haue resisted this demaūd, if it had bene either grounded vpon scriptures, or determined in that or other Councilles, or yet had stand with equity, good order or reason. Howbeit the largenes and magnificence of buildinges of that city,* and the auncient excellency and superiority of the same in tēporall dominiōs, was the onely cause that in the cōsels (where the Patriarchall seas were set in order) the Bishop of Rome was lotted to the first place, and not by any such constitution made by Christ as appeareth well by that, that Cōstantinople being at

the same time of this ordering of the Patriarchall seas, most amplye enlarged by the Emperors, being before a small town & of no renowne, & by thē most magnificētly builded & aduaūced worldly with al titles, prerogatiues & priuiledges tēporal like vnto Rome, & therfore called Noua Roma, new Rome, was therefore aduaūced also to the second sea and place Antiochia in the East, (where S. Peter first tooke the chayre before he came to Rome, and where christen men had first theyr name geuen them) yea and Ierusalem (which was the first mother Citty of our fayth, and where Christe himselfe first founded the faith) & also Alexandria being recited to the 3.4 and 5. places, because at that time they were not in so hie estimation in the world, though in the faith of Christ all they were auncientes, and some of them mothers to Rome.

Truth it is, that the Bishops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the fayth amonges themselues, made sutes to the Byshop of Rome: but that was not for the superiority of iurisdiction ouer them, but because they were greatly deuided, and those coutries, [Page 1067](#) as well byshoppes as others much infected with the heresies of the Arrians, whereof the West was in a manner cleare, and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide those matters, but were al suspected of affectiō for one cause or other▪ Wherefore they desired the opinions of the Bishops of the West, as indifferent, and not tangled with affections of any of those partes, neither corrupted with any of the Arrians, as appeareth by the Epistles of S Basil; written in all their names for the saide purpose In the which also it is especially to be noted, that their suite was not to the Bishop of Rome singularly, or by name: but (as the titles do shew) to the whole congregation of the Bishops of Italie, and Fraunce, or of the whole West, and sometime preferring the French and Italian Bishops, saying, Gallis, & Italis and neuer naming the Romanes.* And for a cleare prooffe that the auncient fathers knewe not this premacie of one aboue all, we neede none other testimonie, but their determination in the Councel of Nice, that Alexandria, and Antiochia, and vniuersally all other primates, should haue the whole gouernance of their confine countries, like as the Bishop of Rome had of those that inhabited within his suburbes. And this determination proueth also, that your three Scriptures ment nothing lesse, then this primacie ouer all. For God forbid that we should suspect that Councel as ignorant of those plaine Scriptures, to the which sith that time, all Christendome hath leaned, as the anker of our fayth. And if you like to read the ancient Ecclesiasticall histories, there you may see, that Athanasius and other patriarches did execute that primacie, as in making consecrating, and ordering of Churches, Bishops and Clerkes in their countries East and South, as the Byshoppes of Rome in that time did in the West and North.

And if you woulde yet any thing object against any of these witnesses, then for to eschew contention, and for a finall conclusion, let the bishop of Rome stand to his owne confession made many yeres past by his predecessor Agatho to the Emperor Constantine, Heraclius, & Tiberius, in his Epistle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the Synodes which he thought to be vnder the See apostolicke: wherein soone after the beginning of the Epistle, he comprehendeth them all vnder the name of the byshoppes dwelling in the North and West partes of their Empire: So that there in his owne Epistle, he confesseth all his subiectes and obedienciaries to be onely of the North and West: and so it appeareth euidently by his owne confession, that neyther by Gods lawe dor mans law he had to do with any person of the East or South. And this his high souerainty ouer al, chalenged (as you and others say) by Scripture as by his own confession doth appeare, is brought into a litle and a straight angle. And this Agatho was not a man vnlearned, as appeareth by the actes of the vj. synode of Constantinople in the 4. act,*

wherein is written at large and expressed the saide Epistle and confession. And the primacie of Peter, which auncient doctors speake of, which was only in preaching and teaching the faith of Christ, which he first among all the Apostles, and first of all mortall men, did expresse with his mouth, did after so adhere to his owne person, that it was neuer deriued either to any successor, or to any other apostle, but chiefly to himselfe: for all other afterwarde professing the same, spake it according vnto him, who had professed it before. Moreouer, al the Apostles (as S. Iohn saith) be foundations in the heauenlie Ierusalem, and not Peter only. Also Cyprian affirmeth (as is aforesaid) that all the apostles were of equall dignitie and power: whiche all ancient authors likewise doe affirme. For Christ gaue the apostles like power in the Gospell, saying: Go and teach all nations baptizing them, &c. And S. Paul (as is said before) knew no other primacie giuen to Peter to preache in any place,* but among the Iewes as he himselfe had among the Gentiles, as he writeth to Galat. Whervpon S. Ambrose writing (as is aforesayde) affirmeth the same. And that the mother of all Churches is Ierusalem (as afore is saide) and not Rome, the scripture is plaine, bothe in the Prophette Esaye: Out of Syon shall the law proceed,* and the word of the Lord out of Ierusalem. Vpon the which place S. Hierome sayth: In Hierusalem primum fundata ecclesia, totius orbis ecclesias seminavit: Out of the Church being first founded in Hierusalem, sprong all other churches of the whole worlde.) And also in the Gospell whiche Christ before his ascension commaunded his Apostles to preache throughout al the world, beginning first at Ierusalem: So that the byshop of Romes vniuersal power by him claymed ouer all, can not by any scripture be iustified: as if you haue read the auncient fathers expositions of the said scriptures (as we suppose you haue, sith your letters sent hyther concerning this matter) and would giue more credence to their humble and plaine speaking▪ then to the latter contentious and ambitious writers of that high and aboue the Ideas of Plato his subtiltie (which passeth as you write) the lawiers learning and capacitie: we doubt not but that you perceiue and thinke the same.

And where you thinke that the king can not be taken as supreme head of the Church, because he can not exercise the chiefe office of the Church in preaching and ministring of the sacramentes: it is not requisite in euerie bodie naturall, that the head should exercise eyther all maner of offices of the body, or the chiefe office of the same. For albeit the head is the highest & chief member of the naturall body, yet the distribution of life to al the members of the body, as well to the head as to other members, commeth from the heart, and it is the minister of life to the whole body, as the chiefe act of the body. Neyther yet hath this similitude his full place in a mysticall body, that a king shoulde haue the chiefe office of administration in the same: And yet notwithstanding the scripture speaking of king Saule, sayth I made thee head▪ amongst the tribes of Israell. And if a king amongst the Iewes were the head in the tribes of Israell, in the time of the lawe, muche more is a Christian king head in the tribes of spirituall Israell, that is, of such as by true fayth see Christ who is the end of the law. The office deputed to the byshops in the mysticall body, is to be as eyes to the whole body,* as almighty God saith to the prophet Ezechiell: I haue made thee an ouerseer ouer the house of Israell. And what Byshops soeuer refuseth to vse the office of an eye in the mysticall body, to shew vnto the body the right way of beleeuing and liuing, which appertayneth to the spirituall eye to doe, shall shew himselfe to be a blinde eye: and if hee shall take anye other office in hand then appertayneth to the right eye, he shall make a confusion in the body, taking vppon hym an other office then is geuen him of God. Wherefore if the eye will not take vpon him the office of the whole head, it may be aunswered, it cannot so do, for it lacketh brayne. And examples shew likewise, that it is not necessary alway that the head should haue the

facultie or chiefe office of administration, as you may see in a nauie by sea, where the admirall who is captayne ouer all, doth not meddle with stering or gouerning of euery ship, but euery mayster particular must direct the shyp to passe the sea in breaking the waues by his steryng and gouernaunce,* whiche the admirall the head of all doth not hymselfe, nor yet hath the facultie to doe, but commaundeth the maysters of the ship to do it And likewise many a captayne of great armyes, whiche is not able, nor neuer coulde peraduenture shoote, or breake a speare by hys own strength, yet by his wisdom and commaundement onely atchieueth the warres, and attayneth the victory.

And where you thinke that vnitie standeth not onely in the agreeing in one fayth and doctrine of the Church,* but also in agreeing in one head: if you meane the very & onely head ouer all the church our Sauour Christ: Whome the Father hath set ouer all the Church: which is his body, wherein all good Christen men doe agree, therein you say truth. But if you meane of any one mortall man to be head ouer all the Church and that to be the bishop of Rome, we do not agree with you: For you doe there erre in the true vnderstanding of Scripture, or els you must say, that the sayd Councell of Nice, and other most auncient did erre, which deuided the administration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the South from the North, as is before expressed, and that Christ the vniuersal head is present in euery church, the Gospell sheweth: Where two or three be gathered together in my name,* there am I in the middes of them. And in an other place: Behold, I am wyth you, vntill the end of the world.* By which it may appeare christ the vniuersall head, euery where to be with hys misticall body the Church: who by hys spirite worketh in all places (how far so euer they be distaunt) the vnitie and concorde of the same. And as for any other vniuersall head to be euer all, then christ himselfe, Scripture prooueth not, as it is shewed before. And yet for a further prooffe, to take away the scruples, that peraduenture doe to your appearaunce rise of certayne wordes in some auncient authors, and especially in S. Cyprians epistles as that the vnitie of the church stood in the vnity with the bishop of Rome, though they neuer call him supreme head,* if you will wey and conferre all their sayinges together, you shal perceiue that they neither spake nor ment otherwise, but whē the bishop of Rome was once lawfully elected and enthroned, if then anye other woulde by faction, might force, or otherwise, (the other liuing and doing his office) enterprise to put him downe, and vsurpe the same Bishopricke, or exercise the others office himselfe, as Nouatianus did attempt in the tyme of Cornelius: then the sayd fathers reckoned them Catholicks that did communicate with him that was so lawfully elected, and the custome was, one primacye to haue to doe with an other, by congratulatorye letters soone after the certaynty of theyr election was knowne, to keepe the vnity of the Church: and that they that did take part or mayntayne the vsurper, to be schismatickes, because that vsurper was a schismaticke: Quia non sit fas in eadem ecclesia, duos simul Episcopos esse, nec priorem legitimum Episcopum sine sua culpa deponi: Because it was not lawfull for two Bishoppes to be at once together in one Church, neyther the former Byshop being lawfull, to bee deposed without his fault were proued.* And this is not a prerogatiue of the church of Rome, more thē of any other cathedrall, speciall, patriarchall, or metropolitall church, as appeareth in the third Epistle of the first booke, and in the eight of the second, and of the fourth booke of S. Syprian to Cornelius. [Page 1068](#) Whose wordes and reasons, although peraduenture they might seeme to conclude the vnitie of the Church in the vnitie of the Bishop of Rome,* because they were al written to him in his own case, may as wel be written vnto any other bishop lawfully chosen, who percase should be likewise disturbed as the bishoppes of Rome then were by any factions of ambitious heretickes.

And where you thinke the name of supreme head vnder Christ, giuen and attributed to the kinges maiestie, maketh an innouation in the Church, and perturbation of the order of the same, it can not be any innouatiō or trouble to the church, to vse the rōume that God hath called him to, which good Christian Princes dyd vse in the beginning when faith was most pure,* as S. Augustine ad Glorium & Eleusium sayth? Ait enim quidam, non debuit Episcopus pro consulari iudicio purgari &c. One there is which saith, that a Bishop ought not to haue ben put to his purgation before the iudgement seate of the Deputie, as though he him selfe procured it, and not rather the Emperour himselfe caused this inquirie to be made, to whose iurisdiction (for the which he must answere to God) that cause did especially pertain. Chrysostome writeth of that Imperiall authoritie thus: Laesus est qui non habet parem vllum super terram: summitas & caput est omnium hominum super terram.* He is offended that hath no peere at all vpon the earth, for he is the highest potentate, and the head of all men vpon earth. And Tertullian ad Scapalum saith: Colimus ergo & Imperatorem sic, quomodo & nobis licet, & ipsi expedit, vt hominem à Deo secundum, &c. We honour & reuerence the Emperour in such wise, as is lawfull to vs and expedient to him, that is to say, as a man next and the second to God, from whom he hath receiued all the power he hath: and also inferiour to God alone, whose pleasure it is so to haue it: For thus is he greater then all men, whiles he is inferiour but to God alone.

And the sayde Tertullian in his booke apologeticall speaking of Emperours, saith: Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium. &c. They knowe who hath giuen to them their gouernement: they know that God is he alone, vnder whose onely power they be, and take themselues as second to God, after whom they be chefe before al other. Theophilacte also to the Rom. vpon this place: Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: Saith the Apostle there teacheth euery mā, Siue sacerdos ille sit siue Monachus, siue Apostolus, vt se principibus subdat: that whether he be a priest or a monke, or an apostle, he should subiect him selfe to princes. That is, although thou be an Apostle, an Euangelist, a Prophet, or whatsoever thou art, be subiect. Non enim (saith he) subuertit pietatem haec subiectio: For this subiection ouerthroweth no godlines. And the Apostle sayth not onely. Let him obey: but let him be subiect.

*And if the Apostles be subiect to princes, much more all Byshoppes and Patriarkes, yea the Bishoppes of Rome and all other.

It is written also in the Chronicles: Daud said to Salomon, behold the priest and Leuites diuided in companies, to do all manner of seruice that pertaineth to the house of God. Also, Daud did appoint chiefly to thanke the Lord, Asaph and his brethren, &c And Iosaphat the king did constitute Leuites and priestes, & the ancient families of Israel for the iudgement and cause of the Lord towardes all the inhabitants of the earth. and he charged them saying, thus shall ye do in the feare of the Lord, faithfully & in a perfect heart. Furthermore, Ezechias appointed the priestes and the Leuites in their order▪ to wayte by course euery man according to his office. And it followeth Ezechias gaue commandement to the people dwelling in Hierusalem, that they shoulde giue their portions to the priestes and Leuites, that they might attend on the lawe of the Lord. Where it followeth also that by the precept of Ezechias the king, and of Azarias the bishoppe of the house of the Lord all things were done to whom pertained al the dispēsatiō the house of the Lord. And in the end it is said: Ezechias did all these things in all Iurie: he wrought that which was good, right, & true before his Lord God in all the furniture of the ministry of the house of the lord, according to the law & ceremonies desirous to seek his Lord God with al his

heart, as he did and prospered therein.* Iosias also did ordeine priestes in their offices, and commaunded many thinges.

By al which it may appeare, that Christiā kings be soueraignes ouer the Priestes, as ouer all other their subiectes, and may commaunde the priestes to do their offices, as well as they do others: and ought by their supreme office, to see that all men of all degrees do their duties, whereunto they be called either by God, or by the king: and those kinges that so do, chiefly do execute well their office. So that the kinges highnes taking vpon him as supreme head of the Church of England, to see, that as well spiritual men as temporall, do their duties, dooth neither make innouation in the Church, nor yet trouble the order thereof: but doeth as the cheefe and best of the kinges of Israell did, and as all good Christian kinges ought to doe. Which office good Christian Emperours alwayes tooke vpon them, in calling the vniuersal Councels of all countries in one place and at one time, to assemble together to the intent that all heresies troubling the Church, might there be extirped: calling and commaunding as well the Bishop of Rome, as other Patriakes and all primates, as wel of the East as of the West, of the South as of the North,* to come to the sayd Counsell. As Martianus the Emperour did in calling the great Counsell of Calcedon, one of the foure chiefe & first generall Councels, commaunding Leo then Bishop of Rome to come vnto the same. And albeit Leo neither liked the tyme, which he would for a season shoulde haue bene deferred▪ nor yet the place, for he wold haue had it in Italy, wheras the Empeꝛour by hys owne commaundement had called it to Calchis in Asia, yet he answered the Emperour, that he would gladly obey his commaundement, and sent thither his agentes to appeare there for him, as doth appeare in the Epistles of Leo to Martiane then Emperoure .xli.xlvii.xvliij. and in the xlix Epistle to Pulcheria the Empres. And likewise desireth Theodosius the Emperour to commaund a Councell of Bishops to be called in Italy, for taking away such contentions and troubles, as at that tyme troubled the quietnes of the Churches. And in many moe Epistles of the same Leo, it doth manifestly appeare, that the Emperoures alwayes assembled generall Councels by theyr commaundementes▪ And in the sixt generall Council it appeareth very playnly, that at that time the Byshoppes of Rome made no clayme, nor vsed anye title to call themselues heades vniuersall ouer all the Catholicke Church, as there doth appeare in the superscription or salutation of the foresayd Synodically preamble, which is this word for word.

To the most godly Lordes and most noble victors and conquerours, the welbeloued Children of God and our Lord Iesu Christ, Constantine the great Emperour, and to Heraclius and Tiberius Cesars, Byshop Agatho the seruaunt of the seruaunts of God, with all the cōuocations subiecte to the Councell of the See apostolicke, sendeth greeting. And he expresseth what Countreyes he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation: For it followeth that those were vnder hys assembly, whiche were in the North and East partes, so that at that time the byshop of Rome made no such pretence to be ouer and aboue all, as he nowe doth by vsurpation, vendicating to hymselfe the spirituall kingdom of Christ, by which he raigneth in the heartes of all faythfull people, and then chaungeth it to a temporall kingdome ouer and aboue all kinges, to depose them for hys pleasure, preaching thereby the flesh for the spirite, and an earthly kingdome for an heauenly, to hys owne damnation, if he repent not.* Where hee ought to obey hys prince by the doctrine of S. Peter in his first Epistle, saying: Be ye subiect to euery ordinaunce of man,* for the Lordes sake, whether it be to the king as to the chiefe, or vnto gouernours, as sent of hym to the punishment of the euill doers, and to the prayse of the good. Agayne S. Paule: Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers. With other thinges before

alleged. So that this his pretended vsurpation to be aboue all kings is directly agaynst the scriptures, geuen to the Church by the Apostles▪ whose doctrine whosoeuer ouerturneth, can be neyther the head, nor yet the least member of the Church.

Wherefore, albeit ye haue hetherto stuck to the sayd wrongfully vsurped power, moued thereto, as ye write, by your conscience, yet sithence now ye see further, if ye lust to regarde the meere truth, and such auncient authours as haue bene written to you of in tymes past, we would exhorte you for the wealth of your soule, to surrender into the Byshoppe of Romes handes, your redde hatte, by whiche he seduced you, trustyng so to make you, beyng come of a noble bloud, an instrument to aduaunce his vayne glory, whereof, by the sayd hat hee made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

In whiche doyng yee shall returne to the truth, from whiche yee haue erred: doe your duetye to your soueraigne Lord, from whom ye haue declined, and please thereby almightie God, whose lawes ye haue transgressed, and in not so doyng, ye shall remayne in errour, offendyng both almightie God, and your naturall soueraigne Lord, whome chiefly yee ought to seeke to please. Which thyng, for the good mynde that we heretofore haue borne you, we pray almightie God of his infinite mercy, that you do not. Amen.

When all other kynges subiectes,* and the learned of the Realme had taken and accepted the othe of the kynges supremacie, onely Fisher the Byshop of Rochester & Syr Thomas More refused (as is aforesaid) to be sworne: who therfore fallyng into the daūger of the law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the same. an. 1535. This Iohn Fisher aforesayd, had written before agaynst Oecolampadius, whose booke is yet extant, and afterward agaynst Luther.*

Also amongst other his actes he had bene a great enemy and persecuter of Iohn Frith, the godly learned Martyr of Iesus Christ, whom hee and Syr Thomas Moore caused to be burned a yeare and a halfe before, and shortly [Page 1069](#) after the said fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton called the holy maid of Kent) and founde guilty by act of Parleament, as is aboue recorded. For his learning and other vertues of life, this Bishop was well reputed and reported of many, and also much lamented of some. But whatsoeuer his learning was, pitie it was, that he being indued with that knowledge, should be so farre drowned in such superstition: more pitie that he was so obstinate in his ignoraunce: but most pitie of all that he so abused the learning he had, to such crueltie as hee dyd. But thus commonly we see come to passe, as the Lorde saith: That who so striketh with the sworde, shall perishe with the sworde,* and they that staine their handes with blood, seldome do bring their bodies drie to the graue: as cōmonly appeareth by the end of bloudy tyrantes, and especially such as be persecuters of Christes poore members.* In the number of whom was this Bishop and sir Thom. More, by whom good Iohn Frith, Teukesbery, Thomas Hytten, Bayfield, with diuers other good saintes of God, were brought to their death. It was sayde, that the Pope, to recompence Byshop Fisher for his faithfull seruice, had elected him Cardinal, and sent him a Cardinals hat as far as Calice, but the head it should stand vpon, was as hie as London bridge, ere euer y^e Popes hat could come to him. Thus Bishop Fisher and Syr Thomas More, which a litle before had put Iohn Frith to death for heresy against the Pope,* were themselues executed and beheaded for treason against the king, the one the xxij. of Iune, the other the vi. of Iuly. ann. 1535.

Of sir Tho. More some thing hath bene touched before, who was also recounted a man both wittie & learned, but whatsoeuer he was beside, a bitter persecuter he was of good men,* and a wretched enemie against the truth of the Gospel, as by his bookes leaft behind him maye appeare, wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther Zwinglius, Tindal, Frith, Barnes, Bayfild, Bainham, Teukesbery, falsely belying their articles & doctrine,* as (God graunting me life) I haue sufficient matter to proue against him.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecuter of them that stooode in defence of the Gospel: so againe on the other side, such a blynd deuotion he bare to the Pope holy See of Rome, & so wilfully stooode in the Popes quarell against his owne prince, that he woulde not giue ouer tyll he had brought y^e Scaffolde of the Towre hyll with the axe and all vppon his owne necke.

Edwarde Hall in his Chronicle writing of the death and manners of this Syr Thomas More, seemeth to stand in doubt, whether to call him a foolishe wise man, or a wise foolishe man. For as hy nature he was indued with a great witte, so the same againe was so mingled (sayth he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knewe him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken, except he had ministred some mock in the communication: in so much as at his comming to the Tower, one of the officers demaunding his vpper garment for his fee, meaning his gowne, he answered that he should haue it, and tooke him his cappe, saying it was the vppermoste garment that he had. Likewise, euen going to his death, at the Tower gate a poore woman called vnto him, & besought him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended,* she could not come by) and that he woulde intreat that she might haue them againe, or els she was <◇> ▪ He answered, Good woman, haue patience a little <◇> , for the king is good vnto me, that euen within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee him selfe. Also when he went vppe the stayre on the Scaffold, he desired one of the Sheriffes officers to giue hym hys hand to helpe him vp, and sayde, when I come downe againe, let me shyft for my selfe so well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him, asking him forgiuenes of his death, as the manner is. To whom he said, I forgiue thee, but I promise thee, that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of y^e striking of my head, my neck is so short. Also, euen when he should lay downe his head on the block, he hauing a great gray beard, striked out his beard, and said to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer the block least you should cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

There is no doubt but that the Popes holines hath halowed and dignified these two persons long since, for Catholike martirs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred yeres expired, they shal also be shrined & portissed dying as they did in that quarrel of the church of Rome, y^t is in taking the bishop of Romes part against their own ordinary & natural prince. Wherunto (because y^e matter asketh a long discourse, & a peculiar tractation) I haue not in this place, much to contend with Cope my friend. This briefly for a memorandum may suffice, that if the causes of true martyrdome ought to be pondred, & not to be nūbred, & if the end of martyrs is to be weyed by iudgement, & no• by affection: then the cause and quarrell of these men standing as it doth, & being tried by Gods word, perhaps in y^e Popes kingdome they may go for martirs, in who•e cause they dyed: but certes in Christes kingdome their cause wil not stand, how so euer they stand them selues.

The like also is to be said of the three monkes of Charterhouse, Exmewe, Middlemore, and Nudigate,* who the same yeare in the moneth of Iune, were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certaine trayterous words against the kings crown and dignitie: for the which they were hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne, whō also, because Cope my good frēd doth repute & accept in the number of holy Catholique Martyrs, here would be asked of him a question: What Martyrs be they, which standing before the iudge, denye their owne words and sayings, and plead not guiltie, so as these Carthusians dyd? whereby it appeareth, that they would neither haue stand nor haue died in that cause as they did, if they might otherwise haue escaped by denying. Wherefore if my friend Cope had bene so well aduised in setting out his martyrs, as God might haue made him, he woulde first haue seene the true recordes, & ben sure of the ground of such matters wherupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

In the same cause & quarrell of treason also, the same yeare, a little before these aforesaide in the moneth of May,* were executed with the like punishmēt, Iohn Houghton, Priour of the Charterhouse in London, Robert Laurēce Prior of the Charterhouse of Beluaile, Austen Webste• Prior of the Charterhouse of Exham.

Beside and with these three Priors, suffered likewise the same time two other Priestes, one called Reignolde, brother of Syon, the other named Iohn Haile vicare of Thistleworth.*

Diuers other Charterhouse monkes also o• Londō were then put in prison, to the number of nine or tenne, and in the same prison dyed, for whom we will (the Lorde wylling) reserue an other place hereafter to intreate of more at large.

In y^e meane time,* for so much as y^e foresaide Cope in his doughty Dialogues, speaking of these nine worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three priors aboue recited, here by the way I would desire maister Cope, simply and directly to answere me to a thing or two that I would put to him, and first, of this Iohn Houghtō that angelical Prior of the Charterhouse, his olde companion & acquaintance of whō thus he writet• 〈◇〉 qui cum Ioannem illum Houghtonum cogito non tam homi•• 〈◇〉 quām angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor,* cuius eminentes virtutes, diuinas dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo vnquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare, &c. By these his owne wordes it must needes be confessed, that the authour of these Dialogues, who so euer he was, had well seene and considered the fourme and personable stature, proportion and shape of his excellent bodye, with such admiration of his personage, that (as he sayth) as oft as he calleth the said Iohn Hughton to mind, it seemeth to him, euen as though he saw an angel in the shape and forme of a man. Whose eminent vertues moreouer, whose diuine gifts, and heroical celsitude of mind, no man (saith he) may sufficiently expresse. &c. And how old was this M. Cope then I would know, when he sawe and discerned all this? For as I vnderstand,* M. Cope being yet at this present scarce come to the age of xl. yeares, he could not be then aboue nine yeare olde (the other suffering ann. 1535.) in the which age, in my minde, M. Cope had small discretion to iudge either of any such angelical proportion of mans personage, or of his diuine qualities, and heroical celsitude of his mind, as yet he remembreth in his Dialogues. Which thing among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to suspect, y^t these Dialogues printed in A•twerp, ann. 1566. were brought ouer by M. Cope, there to be prin^ted, but were penned & framed by an other Pseudocopus, whatsoeuer,

or in what Fleete so euer he was, vnlesse my marks do greatly faile me. But as the case is of no great weight, so I let it passe, returning to other matters of more importance.

Shortly after, the ouerthrow of the Pope consequently began by litle and litle to follow the ruine of Abbeyes & religious houses in Englande, in a right order & methode by Gods diuine prouidence. For neither coulde the fall of Monasteries haue followed after, vnlesse that suppression of the Pope had gone before, neither could any true reformation of the church haue bene attempted, vnles y^e subuersion [Page 1070](#) of those superstitious houses had ben ioyned withal.

Whereupon the same yere in the moneth of October, the king hauing then Tho. Cromwell of his Counsel,* sent Doct. Lee to visite the Abbeyes, Priories, and Nunryes in all England, & to set at libertie all such religious persons, as desired to be tree, & all other that were vnder the age of 24. yeares: Prouiding withal y^t such Monkes, Chanons, & Fryers as were dismissed,* should haue giuen thē by the Abbot or Prior, in steede of their habite, a secular Priestes gowne, and xl. shillings of money: & likewise the Nunnes to haue such apparel as secular women did then cōmonly vse, and suffered to goe where they would. At which time also from the sayde Abbeyes and Monasteries were taken their chiefe iewels and reliques.*

WHen the king had thus established his supremacie, & all things were well quieted within the Realme, he like a wise prince,* & hauing wise counsaile about him, forecasting with himselfe, what forreine daungers might fall vnto him by other countries about, whiche all were yet in subiection to the Bishoppe of Rome, saue onely a fewe Germane princes, and misdouting the malice of the pope: to prouide therefore by time for perilles that might ensue, thought good to keepe in by all meanes possible with other Princes.

And first to entertaine the fauour of the French king, who had ben sicke a litle before,* and now was lately recouered to health, in signification of publike ioy and frendship, the king cōmanded a solemne and famous procession to be ordeined through the city of London, with the Waits and children of Grammer schooles, with the maisters and vshers in their array: Then folowed the orders of the friers and Chanons, and the Priours with their pompe of Copes, Crosses, Candlestickes, and vergers before them. After these folowed the next pagean of Clerkes & priestes of London, all in Copes likewise. Then the monkes of Westminster and other Abeys, with their glorious gardeuiance of Crosses, Candlestickes, and Uergers before them in like sort. Last of all came the queere of Pauls, with their residensaries, the Bishop of London and the Abbots folowing after in their Pontificalibus. After these courses of the Clergie, went the companies of the citie, with y^e lord Maior & Aldermē in their best apparel, after their degrees And least it might be thought this Procession of the church of Lōdon, to make but a small or beggerly shewe, the furniture of the gay Copes there worne, was counted to the number of 714. Moreouer, to fill vp the ioy of this procession, and for the more high seruice to almightie God, beside the singing queeres, & chaunting of the priestes, there lacked no minstrels withal, to pipe at the processions. Briefly here lacked nothing els, but only y^e ordināce to shoot of also.* But because that is vsed in the Processions at Rome, therefore for difference sake, the same is reserued onely for the Popes owne Processions, and for none other, in the moneth of October.

This grand processon was appointed, for a triumphe or a thankes giuing for the late recouerye of the Frenche kinges health, as is aforesayd.

Ouer and besides this, the king to nourish and reteine amitie with kings and princes,* least the Pope being exiled now out of England, should incite them to warre against him, directed sundry Ambassadors and messengers with letters and instructions. To the Emperour was sent syr Tho. Wyat, to the French king syr Fraunces Brian, and Doct. Edw. Foxe, who was also sent to the Princes of Germanie, to the Scottes king was sent sir Raffe Sadler, gentleman of the kinges priuie chamber.

In Scotlande the same time were cast abroade diuers railing ballets, and slaunderous rimes against the king of England, for casting of the Ladye Dowager, and for abolishing the Pope:* for the which cause the foresaid Sir Raffe Sadler being sent into Scotland, with lessons and instructions howe to addresse himselfe accordingly, after he had obteyned accesse vnto the king, and audience to be hearde, first declareth the effectuous & harty cōmendations from the kinges maiestie his graces vncle, and withal deliuered his letters of credence. Which done, after a fewe wordes of courtly entertainment, as occasion serued him to speake, the sayde Syr Raffe Saddler obtaining audience, thus beganne in the king his maisters behalfe, to declare, as followeth.

***The Oration of the kynges ambassadour.**

WHeras there is nothing after the glory of almighty God,* in this world so much to be tendred by kings, Princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their honor, estimatiō, good fame & name, which whosoouer neglecteth, is to be esteemed vnnatural, and vnlesse a man labor to auoide and extinguish the false reportes, slanders, and diffamations made of him by malicious persons, he may wel be suspected, in cōscience to cōdemne himselfe: the king your vncle considering y^e same, and hearing of sundry ballets, criminations, and famous libels, made and vntruly forged and deuised in Scotland against his grace, by your graces subiectes, not only vpon trust to find with your grace such natural affection, frendship and amitie, as the nerenes of blood betweene vncle & nephew, necessitude of reuerence, proximitie both of kinne & of dominions together doth require: but also vpon assurance, that your grace and wisdom will consider howe these slaunders and diffamations, although they were but against a priuate person, whatsoeuer he were, moste commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate: as the diffamation of kinges toucheth kinges, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your grace, his nephewe (other he might haue sent more worthy, but me at this time, for lacke of a better hath he sente) to desire, pray, and require your grace, that according as the nearenes of blood, connexion of estate, & other things before expressed, of right and iustice do require: beseeching your grace, gently to weigh and balaunce, & wel to ponder the malice of these the saide slaunders, and to call in againe all the saide diffamatorie ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authours and setters forth thereof according to their demerites: and furthermore to cause open proclamatiōs to be made through your realm, that none of your inhabitantes there shall in any manner wise so misuse himselfe hereafter, vpon such great payne and punishment, as to your grace and your Counsaile shal be thought conuenient for the transgression thereof: so that other by their correction, and by the fearefull example of the penaltie, may beware howe to commit the like offence in time comming.

The example of such slaunders is very pernicious to all kinges. For by such slaunders of other princes, y^e slaunders take boldnes so to deale afterward with their own king, as they haue done with other,* and the next step from such slaunderous words, is to attempt deedes, and so to fal to sedition: of the importance and danger wherof no man is ignorant.

Wherefore, your grace, at the comtemplation of your deare vncle, in tendering his proceedinges, shall doe well to follow therin the louing steppes of his good brother and all ye the French king, who hath already at Roane and sundry places els, caused certaine slaunderous preathers to before punished: and further directed commissions thorowe his Realme for repressing the same: As also other Princes shalbe readye (his Maiestie trusteth) to doe the like in their dominios, if like occasion shalbe giuen to require the same of them. In which in so doing, your grace may be assured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to winne your vncles most sincere & kind hart, to y^e encrease of your amitie and alliance, which, as to you shalbe moste honorable, so shall it be no lesse profitable vnto him.

And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration concerning the slaunderous and diffamatorie libelles,* leaste I shoulde seeme with prolixitie of matter more then needes, to abuse your graces silence: I will nowe descende to the other point of that which I haue to vtter vnto your grace, as touching the Popes Nuntio or messenger. Of whose late arriuall, the kinges Maiestie your vncle hauing partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the speciall cause of his comming from Rome, and yet fearing by the common bruite and talke of your subiects, what his arrande should be.; that is to practise some annoyance by his pretended censures against the kinges Maiestie your vncle: he therfore premonishing your grace before, as fearing the woorst, most iustly maketh his complaint thereof vnto your grace his nephewe, requiring you, that for as much as the foresaide bruites and reportes are slaunderous to his Maiestie: and seeing that neyther the Emperour, nor the Frenche king, nor any other Princes haue consented therto, or vnderstood thereof, the kings maiestie therefore your vncle willing to stop those brutes & talkes, desireth & most hartily praieth your grace at his instant request, to vouchsafe, to consider & way. First,* the supremacie of princes by the holy scripture graunted vnto him & other princes in earth vnder Christ, vpon their churches.

Secondly to weigh what the Gospel and Gods word calleth a Church.

Also what superstitious, idolatries, and blinde abuses haue crept into all realms, to y^e high displeasure of almighty God by reason thereof.

Fourthly, what is to be vnderstanded by the true censure or excommunication of the Church, and how no such [Page 1071](#) can be in y^e power of the Bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his Maiestie, or any other prince hauing so iuste grounde to auoyde from the roote, and to abolish that execrable authoritie, which y^e Bishop of Rome hath vsurped and doth vsurpe vpon all princes, to their great detriment and dammage.

As touching the consideration of which foure pointes, although the kinges maiestie your vncle douteth not your grace to be furnished & provided with sufficiēt knowlege, rightly to discerne and iudge vpon the same, yet if it shal so please your grace further to know your vncles mind touching the said points, I assure your highnes in the behalfe of your foresaid vncle his maiestie,

that he wil not stick to send vnto you such learned, wise, and discrete men as shal amply enforme you thereof, and of such other thinges as your grace hauing once a smacke therof, shall thinke most worthy for a prince to knowe.

His request therefore to your highnes is, that you wil consider of what moment and importance it shall be vnto your grace (hauing the Scottes your subiects so euill instructed in the premisses) for you to assent and agree to any such censure, and so by such example to giue such an vpper hand ouer your self and other princes, to that vsurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendome, wheresoeuer y^e true declaration of y^e truth and word of God shall haue free course, to scourge them, vnlesse they will adore, worship, and kysse the feete of that corrupt holinesse, which desireth nothing els but pride, and the vniuersal thral of Christendome vnder Romes yokes.

But because the censures of that Nuntio be not yet opened, but lye secrete and vncertaine vnder muttering, I shall cease further to proceede therein,* tyl further occasion shall minister to me more certaine matter for to say and to iudge. In the meane time for so much as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the kings maiestie, that y^e Abbot of Arbroth shoulde be chosen of late and elected to be a Cardinal in this your Realme of Scotlande,* his maiestie therfore for the good loue & harty good wil he beareth vnto your grace, as y^e vncl is boūd vnto y^e nephew, knowing y^t you as yet perceiue not so wel the hypocrisie and deceitfull guile and malice of the Romains and their practises, as he himself doth by his long experience: could not but hearing therof, aduertise your grace, that his aduise is, you should not suffer any of your subiectes to take vpon him that red hatte of pride: whereby he shal incontinently, the same being receiued, (vnles he be of a contrary nature to any man that euer was yet of y^t sort) not only be in maner discharged of his obedien•, and become the bishop of Romes true liege man: but also shall presume of his Cardinalshyp to be your fellow, and to haue the rule as well as you. Then shall the Bishop of Rome creepe into your owne very bosome, know al your secretes, and at last, vnlesse you wil be yoked,* and serue their pleasure in all points, your grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance in the beginning shal seeme to your grace very honorable and pleasant: but wisdom would to beware of the taile, which is very black and bytter.

His maiesties father, and Grandfather to your grace, had a Cardinal, whereof he was weary, and neuer admitted other after his decease, knowing y^e importable pride of them. In like maner also his highnes by the experience of one, hath vtterly determined to auoid al the sort: So wel his grace hath knowen & experienced their mischief, yoke, and thraldome• that thereby is layd vpon princes. By reason wherof, as his highnes is the more able by his owne experience to informe your grace: so of good will & meere propēsitie of hart, caused partly by nature and kinne, partlly by coniunction and vicinitie of dominions adioining so neare together, he is no lesse ready to forewarn your grace before, wishing that God will so worke in your princely hart and noble stomake, that his maiesties monition & frendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part vnto his nephewe, so it maye preuaile and take place in your mind, that your grace wisely in weighing with your self, what supreme right princes haue and ought to haue vpon their Churches and landes where they gouern, & what litle cause the bishop of Rome hath therto, to procede by vniust censures against thē: your grace may therin not only stand to the iust defence of your deare vncl, but also may endeuor to folow his steps therin, & to take his counsel, whiche he doubteth not, but shal redound not onely to your graces honour, to the

benefite, weale, & profit of your realm & subiects, but especially to y^e glory of almighty God, and aduancement of his true religion.

And thus haue I expounded to your grace, the summe of my errand and message from the kings maiestie your vnclē, who as he would be glad to be aduertised by answere, of your graces purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf so for my part, according to my charge and duetie, I shall be prest and ready with al diligence, to giue mine attendāce vpon your pleasure for the same accordingly.

***The summe and effecte of the kinges message sent to the French kyng, in defence of his proceedinges.**

The king considering the present state of his marriage which was not yet well digested ner accepted in the Courtes of other Princes:*, and also hauing intelligence of the straight amitie intended by the marriages betweene y^e Emperour and the French king, and also or the Popes inclination to pleasure the Emperour, and further vnderstādyng of the order and meaning of the French kings counsell, not greatly fauouring his purposes, sent therfore vnto Fraunce for his ambassadour Edw. Foxe doct. of Diuinitie, his Chaplaine and Coūsailour, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himself in those the kinges affaires. The contentes of which his instructions came to this effecte: That the saide Edwaad Foxe, first declaring to the French king the most affectuous com^mendations made on the kinges behalfe, with declaration of the kings most entire and hartie good wil to vnderstand of his prosperitie, & the good successe of his affaires, which his maiestie no lesse desired then his owne: and also after the kings letters being deliuered to him and to other personages of his Counsaile, then,*, after his accesse made vnto the king, shuld vtter and insinuate vnto the king, his maisters mind & intent in these thre special pointes folowing.

The first was, to declare the iustnes of the kings cause, concerning the late marriage with queene Anne, & diuorcement of the king, from his brothers wife.

The second, to signifie and expresse the iniuries done by the Pope, as afterward shall be declared.

The third was, to winne and allure to the kings deuotion the Chauncelour of Fraunce.

And as touching the declaration of the iustnes of the kinges cause, first he taking with him certayne bookes printed, conteyning the determinations of vniuersities in that behalfe, with reasons and authorities confirming the same, should distribute the sayd bookes to the Bishop of S. Line, & to other bishops, to Monsieur de Langez, & other of the kinges counsel moe, and to proue after the best fashion, to obtaine their approbations of the same bookes, & with dexteritie to assay whether he could induce thē of the Uniuersitie of Paris, and other learned men, to send forth this booke with their authorities and approbations. That done, thē he being acquainted with al those points & articles of the kinges cause, in communication and conference (as the case required) shoulde not onely make answere to such things as should be objected, but also furnish & mainteine the iustnes of that opinion, with his learning in such sort as he could best inuent and cogitate.

As touching the second part which contained the iniuries done by y^e pope against the king the sayd ambassador in that behalfe being a man no lesse acquainted,* then also wel beaten and ripe in the manifold misbehaviours of the Pope, from the beginning of the cause, shuld declare & expresse to the French king, how iniuriously the sayde Pope had demeaned himself toward the kinges highnes: first in sending a commission decre•al, and then cōmaunding it to be burnt: as also in promising by schedule of his own hād, not to cal the cause out of England: and moreouer approuing first y^e iustnes of the kings cause, yet notwithstanding afterward went from the same, and did contrary.

Touching all which iniuries receiued at the Popes hand, although the king had great cause iustly to complain yet other iniuries there were beside these, wherewith the kyng most especially was moued.

The one was for calling and cyting the kings highnes to appeare at Rome.*

The other was for reiecting the person of the kynges trustie subiect and Chaplayne, maister Kerne his ambassadour, from making such allegations,* as to the king in that case appertained: besyde sundry other no smal greues and inconueniences, which here might be shewed and alleged: But in these two especial iniuries the kyng thought hym selfe most chiefly touched, and agreeued. In opening & ripping vp of which iniuries, & first in the said iniurious calling of the king to Rome, instructions were geuen to the said ambassador to explicate the open violation therin,* of y^e most ancient and general counceles, the Councel of Nice, the councel of Aphrike, & the councel of Milen. In which counceles, the cōtrary was, for quietnes of the world, prouided & ordered: declaring withal, how agreeable y^e same [Page 1072](#) is to all lawes, reason, & equitie, that Princes shold not be cōpelled to repaire to Rome, at the Popes calling, nor be bound in a matter of such weight & moment, to send out of their realmes & dominions, the writings, instrumentes, & monuments containing the secretes of their affayres, or to make & trust a proctor being in so far distant parties, in a matter of such importance, to abide & fulfill that which the said Proctor should agree vnto there. The matter and case wherof did not so much concerne y^e estate of any one prince alone, as it touched the dignitie of al other Christen kings so neare, that vnles they wold suffer themselues to be yoked with the Popes authoritie, it was tyme (in as much as the Pope now made this enterprise on thē) to ensearch and know the bottom & ground both of his & of their authoritie: & if any thing by negligēce or misuse had ben lost, to recouer the same, rather then to suffer it to decaye any more. As touching al which greues, hurts, inconueniences, preiudice, & euil example which might thereof ensue, y^e kinges highnes doubted not, but that his good brother the French king would assist and concurre with his highnes for maintenance and defence of the same.

*For declaration of the second notable greefe and iniurie done by the Pope to the kings highnes, thus furthermore he was willed to insinuate to the French kyng, what iniurie or rather contumelie the kinges highnes receyued at the Popes hand, in not suffering the kinges subiect & ambassadour to allege such matter in defence of his Prince, as by law, reason, & equitie was to be heard and admitted, for as much as the sayd ambassadour doctor Kerne the kings Chaplain being at Rome, at such time as citations were there published against y^e kings highnes, & vnderstanding his grace by thē to be called before one Capasucha, Deane of y^e Rote, was there ready to make answer to the queens Agents cōplaint, & had by the aduice of other great learned

men,* conceyued a certaine matter cōteining causes reasonable & lawfull, why the kings highnes shuld not be boūd to appeare there, either by himself, or by his proctor. Which matter also he did exhibite on the kings behalfe, as a true subiect by law of nature is bound to mainteine & to allege in defence of his prince that is absent, & ought by equitie to preserue him frō condemnation. And yet this notwithstādyng the saide Capasuccha not regarding nor considering the matter alledged, demaunded whether the said Doccor had any proxie from the king or no, for soch purpose, and vpon default and lacke of the sayd Proxie (which was not necessary in this case) Proceeded in the principal cause. By reason wherof the sayd doctor Kerne appealed to y^e pope, alleging iniurie to be don, not only to the kings highnes, but also to himselfe, for that such matter as he did allege, was not cōsidered nor regarded, but proces made. To the which appellation, notwithstanding the sayd Capasuccha gaue an ambiguous and a doubtfull answer, which was that as much as Doctor Kerne was by the lawe a lawfull person, so much he would giue place, & deferre appellationi, and otherwise not.

Thus vpon declaration of this doubtful answer, passed certaine daies, the said Capasuccha promising alwaies to open his sayde answer and sentence more plainly, and to giue a determinate resolution. Which he neuerthelesse did not, albeit he was diuers times vrged thervnto: but so passed the time, and sodenly returned to processe. Whereupon the sayde Doctor Kerne appealed eftsoones againe, and put a supplication to the Pope, for admission of the sayde appeale. By reason whereof the matter was reasoned in the signature. In which signature by no lawe it coulde be shewed why the said doctor Kerne should not be admitted to allege in defence of the kinges highnes, but onely y^t they there amongst themselues being the greater nūber, which were of the Emperours dominions, and feede of him (amōg which was also the said Capasuccha) gaue their voices as the Pope sayde, that Doctour Kerne should not be hearde, Sine mandato Regiae maiestatis. Whereunto when Doctor Kerne replyed, saying: whatsoever they decreed or said, there was no law to mainteine and beare it: it was said againe by cardinall Anconitate, that the Pope might iudge after his conscience. And vpon this resolution, they determined there to proceede in the principall cause, vnles the king woulde sende a Proxie, intending by this iniurie & wrong, to enforce his highnes to y^e exhibitō of a Proxie there,* to his highnes high preiudice, to the pernicious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and also to the derogation of the liberties & prerogatiues of his gracious Realme. Unto the obseruation wherof his highnes is bound by his othe, and also by the same othe bounde to recouer and restore such liberties and priuileges, as by any of his predecessours hath ben lost, diminished, or decaied in tyme past.

These with other like iniuries and wrongs of the pope done to the king, the foresayd ambassadour M. Foxe according as he had in charge and commission, did declare open, and shew vnto the French king, to the intent to sollicite the sayd king, to do by his meditation, for the remedying and redressing of those foresayd iniuries and wrongful dealinges of the Pope in this behalfe.

Furthermore, for the thyrd purpose touching y^e Chancellor of Fraunce,* for asmuch as hee was one of the chiefe personages whome the Frenche king most trusted in hys great affayres (by whose aduise all matters of learning were then conduced and trayned) the king thought it not vnprofitable, by all wayes and meanes to winne and allure his friendship and amitie also, vnto his deuotion, eyther that by his meanes and dexteritie the kinges purposes might be aduanced the better: or at least for a Ne noceat: y^t is to mittigate and diminishe such fauour as he by y^e admirall or otherwise, was moued to shew to the Imperials. For the which cause the king

committing in charge to hys ambassadour aforesayd, willed and instructed hym howe and what to doe, and after what maner to attemperate himselfe to all occasions and times of oportunitie: as first to deliuer to him frō the king, his letters of credence, and withall to declare and extend the kinges most effectuous commendations, with the harty good will, and sincere affections whiche his highnes bare to the sayde Cardinall Chauncellour of Fraunce, with no lesse desire also most gladly to do that thing which might be to his commoditie and benefite, according as the manifold pleasures, grauties, and kindnes done on his part for the kinges highnes did worthily deserue. Then after such words of mollification, to enter into further communication with him, in such sort as might best serue his honour.

And forasmuch as the Cardinall was thē noted much to be moued with the affections of vayn glory, & couetous therfore amongst other cōmunication,* it was deuised to in|ferre mentiō of the Papalitie, noting what wayes & meanes might be vsed to attayne vnto that dignitie. Wherein if the kinges highnes coule stand him to anye steede, as he thought the person of the sayd Chauncellour most meet for the same:* so he would not fayle to moue and to procure it to the best furtheraunce of his aduauncement. And finally to declare how desirous the kinges highnes was to retayne and make sure vnto him, the amitie and friendship of the sayd Chauncellour, and that hys highnes deuising by what meanes and wayes he might do the same (albeit his grace knew wel, that the fayth and sinceritie of the sayd Chauncellour towards hys mayster, was such, as no gift, pension, or other offer could aduance or increase that good will which for hys maysters sake, he would employ in the kinges highnes affayres) thought that for declaration of hys hartye good will towards the sayde Chauncellour, it were conuenient to offer vnto hym some yearly remembraunce. &c.

This was the summe and effect of the message of the king sent vnto the French king, and to other of his counsayle, by his ambassadour maister Edward Foxe, whiche was especially to signifie and make manifest vnto the sayd French king the vniust dealinges and preiudiciall proceedinges of the pope, in calling vp the king of Englande to appeare at Rome, by Proxie, which was derogatory to y^e kinges dignitie and crowne, and also preiudiciall both to generall Councils of the primitiue tyme, and to the auncient lawes and statutes of this Realme (as is afore declared) and no lesse hurtfull for example to all other Princes and kinges likewise. &c.

This message so done,* shortly after was sent to the said french king, Stephen Gardinar bish. of Winchester, with the kings answeare and message again on this maner: y^t for so much as the saying of the Frenche king to the ambassadors was this: that notwithstanding all the kings Realm shuld agree and condescend neuer so muche to y^e right & title,* which the succession procreated of this his lawfull matrimony hath in this hys realme: yet when outward parties shall conceaue anye other or contrary opinion thereof great trouble and vexation might ensue. Wherunto the K. made answeare agayne, declaring y^t he could not but greatly marueyle, y^t the king his brother being so wise a Prince,* and there to well expert and learned in Chronicles and histories, not onely of his owne realme, but also of all others, or any of his Counsayle, being men of such experiēce as they were taken to be, would thinke that the opinion & consent of other outward Realms was so highly to be cōsidered and regarded of any prince or king, in stablishing or in executng of thinges which mighte be lawfully done, and which touched the preseruacion of the rightes, preeminences, dignitie, and state of his realme, and did also notably conferre vnto the singular benefite and tranquillitie of the same, so as the words both of the sayde king hys [Page](#)

[1073](#) brother, and of the great master did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignoraunt them selues,* that many thinges haue bene by hys noble progenitours kinges of Fraunce attempted and done, as well in cases of matrimonie, as otherwise, which in some part in the opinion of y^e Popes of Rome then being, & in some part in the opinion of diuers other outward princes, states, seignories, and common people haue bene thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable vnto them: and yet that notwithstanding hys said progenitors knowing them selues the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficial to them and to the realm, haue not therfore desisted from their said purposes, but diligētly employing their owne strength and powers with the succours of their frends, haue finally atchieued their sayd enterprises, wythout requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement therunto of outward princes.

Againe, wheras the Chauncelour of France made thys ouerture to the •ayde Bishop of Winchester, whether the kyng woulde be content to haue indifferent Iudges to be appoynted by the authoritie of the Pope,* to determine his cause, wyth a commission decretall from y^e same, declaring Quid iuris. &c. The King by his ambassador therunto answearing, declared that the Pope hauing done vnto hym so notable and euidēt iniuries, as he had done, it were hys office and duetie, now to labor him selfe to ende this matter, and to studie how to make due satisfaction to God and his iustice, which hee hath tam indignis modis offended and violated, and to deliuer himselfe out of the danger, and the perpetual infamie of the world, which he hath incurred by reason of these his most vngodly doings, and not to looke that the King shoulde make any request or suite vnto hym therefore, or recompence for the same. &c.

Furthermore, where as the Pope, at the request of the French king, had in open Consistorie proroged execution of his censures and excommunication against the king vnto the first day of Nouember, and woorde thereof was sent to the king by his ambassadours, from the great maister of Fraunce, that the king mighte haue the sayde prorogation made autentikely in wryting, if he woulde: The kyng answearing thereunto, thought it not vnprofitable, that hys ambassadors resident in France, should receiue vnto theyr hands, the possession of the saide newe prorogation conceiued and wrytten in autentike forme and maner according to the order of the lawes.

After this againe, came other letters to the King from France, namely frō the great maister of France, tending to this ende, that if the king would do nothing for the pope, (meaning by the reuocation of such actes of parliament,* as were made in the Realme of England, to the Popes preiudice) it were no reason, neither shoulde it be possible for the Frenche king to induce the Pope to any gratuitie or pleasure for the king in his affaires.

Wherunto the king answearing againe, sendeth worde to the French king,* trusting and hoping wel of the perfect frendship of the French king his good brother, that he will neuer suffer any suche perswasion to enter into hys breast, whatsoever the great maister or any other shall say to the contrary thereof, nor that he will require any thyng more of him to do for the Pope, Chauncelour or other, then hys Counsaile hath already deuised to be done in this behalfe: especially considering the words of the sayd French kings promise made before, as well to the Duke of Northfolke, as to the other Ambassadours, promising his frendship to to the King simply without requiring him to reuocate or infringe any suche acte or constitution made by the realme and Parliament, to the contrary: Perswading moreouer, and laying before the eyes, as well of the Pope, as of the French king, howe much it should redound to the Popes dishonou• and infamie,

& to the sclaunder also of his cause, if he should be seene so to pact and couenant wyth the king vpon such conditions, for the administration of that thing, which he in his owne conscience hath reputed and adiudged to be most rightfull & agreeable to iustice and equitie, and ought of his office and duetie to do in thys matter simpliciter & gratis, and wythout all worldly respectes, eyther for the aduancement of his priuate lucre and commoditie,* or for the preseruacion of hys pretended power and authoritie. For surely it is 〈◇〉 to be doubted▪ but that the Pope being minded and determined to geue sentence for the inualiditie and nullitie of the kings first pretended matrimonie, hath conceiued and established in hys owne conscience a 〈◇〉 and certain opinion and perswasion, that he ought of iustice and equitie so to do.

Then to see the Pope to haue thys opinion in deede, and yet refuse this to doe for the King, vnlesse hee shall be content for his benefite and pleasure,*•edere iuri suo, and to doe some things preiudiciall vnto his subiects contrary to hys honour: it •o easie to be foreseene, what the world and the posteritie shall iudge de tam turpi nundinatione iustitiae, & illius tam foeda & sordida lucri & honoris ambitione. And as fo• the kings part, if he shal not attaine now iustice at the mediation of hys good brother, knowing the Pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfie all his desires, being mooued thereunto by iustice,* and that the •et therof is no default of iustice in the cause, but onely for that the king woulde not condescende to hys request: it is to the king matter sufficient enough for discharge of hys conscience to God and to the worlde, although hee neuer did execute in deede hys sayde determination. For sith hys corrupt affection is the onely impediment thereof, what neede either the king to require him any further to doe in the cause, or els his subiectes to doubt any further in the iustnesse of the same.

Albeit if respects to benefites & merites done towards the Pope & the See of Rome,* should be regarded in the attaining of iustice in a cause of so high consequence as thys is, reason would, that if it would please the Pope to consider the former kindnesse of the King shewed vnto him in time past (whereof hee is very loth to enter the rehearsall, ne videatur velle exprobrare quae de alijs fecerit bene) he should not nowe require of him any newe benefite or gratuite to be shewed vnto him, but rather studie to recompence hym for the olde graces, merites, pleasures, and benefites before receiued. For surely he thinketh that the Pope can not forget, howe that for the conseruation of his person, his estate and dignitie, the king hath not heretofore spared for anye respectes,* in vsing the office of a moste perfecte and stedfaste frend, to relinquish the long cōtinued good will established betweene him and the Emperour, and to declare openly to all the world, that for the Popes sake, and in default of hys deliuerance, he would become enemie to the sayde Emperour, and to make against him actuall warre.

Besides thys, the King hath not failed hym with right large and ample subuentions of money, for the better supporting of his charges, against the enterprises of the sayde Emperour, combinding and knitting him selfe wyth the Frenche king, to procure the aduancement of the sayde Frenche kings armie into Italie, to the charges whereof, the king did beare little lesse then the one halfe: Besides notable losses sustained as well in his customes, subsidies, and other dueties, as also to the no little hinderaunce and dammage of his subiects and marchauntes, occasioned by discontinuance of the traffike and entercourse heretofore vsed with the Emperours subiectes. In doing of al which thinges, the king hath not bene thus respectiue, as the Pope nowe sheweth himselfe towards him, but lyke a perfect frend hath bene alwayes contented franckly, liberally, and openly to expone all his study, labour, trauayle, treasure puisaunce, Realme and diuers

subiectes for the Popes ayd, and y^e mayntenance of the state and dignitie of the Church and See of Rome. Which thinges although he doth not here rehearse animo exprobandi, yet hee doubteth not, but the same weighed in the ballaunce of anye indifferent mans iudgement,* shalbe thought to be of that weight & valure, as that he hath iustly deserued to haue some mutuall correspondencie of kindenes to be shewed vnto hym at y^e popes handes: especially in the ministration of iustice and in so reasonable & iust cause as this is, and not thus to haue his most rightfull petition reiected and denyed because he will not follow hys desire and appetite in reuocating of such actes as be here made & passed for the weale & commoditie of hys realme and subiectes.

¶ Thus ye haue heard how instantly the king had laboured by the meanes of the french king, to the pope being then in Fraunce, for right and iustice to be done, for the dissolution and nullitie of his first pretended matrimonye with hys brothers wife. Which when it could not be attained at the popes handes, vnles the king would recompēce and require the same by reuocating of such statutes as wer made and enacted here in the high Court of Parliament, for the surety of succession and stablishment of the Realme: what the king thereunto aunswered agayne, ye heard, declaring that to be a farre vnequall recompence and satisfaction for a thinge whiche ought of right and iustice to be ministred vnto him, that a king therefore should reuocate and vndoe the actes and statutes passed by a whole Realm contrary to hys owne honour, and weale of hys subiectes. &c.

Where is moreouer to be vnderstanded,* how that the Pope with all hys papistes, and the French king also, and peradventure Stephen Gardiner too, the kynges owne Ambassadour, had euer a speciall eye, to disproue and disapoynt y^e kings successiō by Queene Anne, whō they knew all to be a great enemye vnto the pope, thinking thereby, that if that succession were diminished, the popes kingdome might soone be restored agayn in England. But yet [Page 1074](#) for all their vniust and craftie packing, they were throughe Gods prouidēce, frustrate of their desired purpose. For although they so brought to passe the next yeare folowing, to ad•lle the order of that succession by a contrary Parlament:* yet neither did they so adnihilate it, but that both K. Edward followed, yea and also the same succession afterward by the said king and other parlaments was restored againe, and yet (God be praised) hath hetherto raigned, & doth yet florish in the Realme of England.

Nowe, as wee haue declared the Kings doings in the Realme of Scotland and of Fraunce, proceeding further in the kings proceedings wyth other Princes, let vs see how the king defended himselfe and his cause before the Emperour, sending his ambassador vnto him, vsing these wordes before his maiestie, as here foloweth.

The Oration of the kings Ambassadour before the Emperour in defence of his cause.

SIr, the king my maister taking and reputing you as his perfect frende, confederate, and allye, and not doubting but you remembring the mutual kindnes betwene you in times past,* wil shew yourself in all ocurents to be of such minde and disposition, as iustice, truthe and equitie doeth require: hath willed me by his letters, to open and declare vnto you, what he hathe done, and in what wise hee hathe proceeded concerning suche Marriage as by many yeares was supposed to haue bene betwene your Aunte and hys grace.* In which matter being two principall poyntes

specially to be regarded & considered: that is to say, the iustice of the cause, and the order of the processe therein, hys highnes hath so vsed hym in both, as no man may right wisely complaine of the same.

First, as touching the iustnes of the cause, that is to say, of that Mariage betwene him and your sayde Aunte to be nought,* and of no moment ne effect, but against the law of God, nature, and man, and indispensable by the Pope, and in no wise vailable: his highnes hath done therein, asmuch as becommeth him for discharge of hys cōscience, and hath found so certain, so euidēt, so manifest, so open, and approued truth, as wherunto his maiesty ought of good congruence to geue place, & which by al other ought to be allowed and receiued, not as a matter doubtful, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguitie: but as a plaine determined and discussed verity of the true vnderstanding of gods word and lawe, which all Christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly respects, prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if hys highnes had vsed only his owne particular iudgement & sentence, or the minde only & opinion of his owne natural subiects, (althoughe the same might in his conscience haue suffised) woulde not muche haue repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent to him in the same, till further discussion had bene made thereupon. But now, forasmuch as besides hys owne certaine vnderstanding, and the agreement of thys whole Cleargie to the same in both Prouinces of hys realme, his maiestie hath also for him the determinatiōs of the moste famous vniuersities of Christendome,* and most indifferent to pronounce and geue iudgement in this case, and among them, the Uniuersitie of Bonony, (all feare of the Pope set apart) concluding against his power: and also Padua (the Uenetians threatens not regarded) geuyng their sentence for the truth & eident words of Gods law: there should no man, as seemeth to him, gainsay or wythstand, either in word or dede, the truth thus opened, but for his honor and duetie to the obseruation of Gods law, willingly embrace and receiue the same.

According whereunto his grace perceiueth also aswell in his Realme, as els where, a notable consent and agreement amongst all Diuines, and suche as haue studied for knowledge of Gods lawe without contradiction of anye number, vnlesse it be such applying their minde to y^e maintenaunce of worldly affections, do either in defence of such lawes as they haue studied, eyther for satisfaction of theyr priuate appetite, forbear to agree vnto y^e same. The number of whō is so smal, as in the discerning of truth, it ought not to be regarded in a case so plainly described and determined by Gods word, as thys is.

And if percase your Maiestie heere not regarding the number, but the matter, shall seme to consider in thys case, not so much who speaketh, as what is spoken, to aunswer thereunto, I say: Syr, the king my maister is of the same mind, for his own satisfactiō, & taketh hymselfe to be in the right,* not because so many sayeth it, but because hee being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Neuertheles, reason would, and enforceth also, that straungers to the cause, and not parties therein, should be induced to beleue that to be truth, that such a number of Clearkes doe so constantly affirme, specially not being otherwise learned to be iudges of theyr sayings, as your maiestie is not. And if you were, then could your highnesse shew such reasons, authorities, and grounds as cannot be taken away, and be so firm and stable, as they ought not of Christen men in any part to be impugned, like as hath bene partly heeretofore shewed by his sondry ambassadours to your Imperiall maiestie, and shuld eftsoones be done, were it not too great an iniury to y^t is already passed in the Realme, to dispute the same againe in any other countrey:

which being contrarious to the lawes and ordinances of his realme, he trusteth your prudēcie will not require, but take that is past, for a thing done, and iustly done: and as for Gods part, to leaue hys conscience to himself, qui Domino sua stat aut cadit: and for y^e world to passe ouer as a frend, that whych nothing toucheth you, and not to maruell though the said king my master regarding the wealth of his soule principally, with the commodity of his person, and so great benefit & quiet of his realm, haue percase done y^t he for his priuate fantasie, woulde not had chaunced: like as his highnesse also would wish it had not happened that such cause had bene geuen vnto hym to compell him so to doe.

But these things in their outward visage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concerne the soule.**Quid autem prodest homini si vniuersum mundum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur. Primum quaerite regnum Dei. &c.* And yet neither his highnes ignorant what respect is to be had vnto the world: and how much he hath laboured and trauailed therein, hee hath sufficiently declared and shewed to the world in his acts and proceedings. For if he had vtterly contempned the order and processe of the worlde, or the frendshippe and amitie of your Maiestie: he needed not to haue sent so often and sundry Ambassates to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and spent his time in delayes, as he hath done hetherto, but might many yeres past, haue done that he hath don now, if it had so liked hym, and with as litle difficulty then as now, if he would haue wythout such respect, folowed hys pleasure in that behalf. But now I doubt not, your maiestie doth wel remember how often the king my master hath sent vnto your highnes, and that your maiestie hath heard also what sutes hee hath made to the Pope, and how the sayd Pope hath handled him again onely in delay and daliance, wyth open commission geuen to his Legates to determine and geue sentence for hym by a commission decretall, and secretly to geue them instructions to suspend and put ouer the same.* By which meanes and other semblable, hee perceaued playnly himselfe to be brought in such a labirynth as going forward that way, he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to steppe right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quyet and repose himselfe at the last.

And is it not tyme to haue end in seuen yere, or els to seeke for it an other way? The pope hath shewed hymselfe both vnwilling to haue an ende, and also ready and prone to do him iniurie, as well in citing hym to Rome, as also sending forth certayne breues to his grace sclaunderous, and for the iniustice and iniquitie of them, to himself dishonorable: as he gaue hys highnes good and iust cause to suspect, least any end to be made at hys hand (if any he would make) might be in hys conscience receiued and followed. For the pope doying iniury in some poynt, why should he be thought conuenient Iudge, not vsing hymselfe indifferently in this matter, (as many moe particularities may be shewed and declared) considering,* there is a generall Councell, willing al matters to be determined where they first began, and that the whole body of our Realme hath for the wealth of the same, by a law established the determination of such causes? By reason wherof the Bishop of Canterbury as metropolitane of our Realme, hath geuen sentence in due iudgement for the kinges partie. It is not to be asked nor questioned, whether that matter hath bene determined after the common fashion, but whether it hath in it common iustice, truth and equitie of Gods lawe. For obseruatiō of the common order, hys grace hath done that lay in hym, and inforced by necessitie hath found the true order mayntainable by Gods worde & generall Councels which he hath in substaunce followed with effect, and hath done as becommeth hym, tendring eyther Gods lawe, or hys person, or the wealth of hys Realme, like as he doubteth not but your maiestie (as a wise Prince) remembring his cause from the beginning hetherto, will of

your selfe consider and thinke, y^t among mortall men, nothing shuld be immortall, & suites must once haue an end: Si possis rectè, si non, quocunque modo. And if he cannot as he would, his hignesse thē to do as he may, & he y^t hath a iourney to be perfited, must if he cānot go one way▪ assay an other. What soeuer hath bene herein done, necessitie hath enforced hym [Page 1075](#) (that is to say Gods law) in the matter, and such maner of dealing of the Pope, as hee hathe shewed vnto hym in the same, doing sundry iniuries w^tout effect of iustice, wherein he promised the same. But as for the kings matter to the Pope: he shall entreat with him a parte. As touching your maiestie, he taketh you for his frend, & as to a frend he openeth these matters vnto you, trusting to find your maiesty no les frendly hereafter vnto him, then he hath done heretofore.

By these matters thus passed and discoursed to and fro betwene the King and these forrain Princes aboue rehersed, many things are to be vnderstāded of the reader, who so is disposed to behold and consider the state & proceeding of publike affairs,* as wel to the church apperteining, as to the common wealth. First howe the king cleareth himselfe both iustly and reasonably for hys diuorce made w^t the Lady Katherine the Emperors aunt.* Secondly, how he proueth and defendeth his mariage with Queene Anne, to be iust & lawful, both by the authority of Gods word, and the comprobatō of the best & most famous learned men and vniuersities, and also by the assent of the whole realme.

Furthermore for the stablishing of the kings succession in the Imperiall crowne of this Realme,* for the suppression of the pope, and vniting the title of supremacie vnto the kings Crowne, what order therein was taken, and what penaltie was sette vppon the same,* as may appeare by the Act of Parliament set forth. An. 1534. Ex Henr. Reg. 26. cap. 13. in these wordes following.

If any person or persons after the 1. of Februarie next, doe maliciously imagine,* inuent, practise, or attempt to depriue the king of the dignitie, title, or name of hys royall estate. &c. that then euery such person and persones so offending in any of the premisses, their aiders, counsellors, cōsenters, and abbettours being therof lawfully conuict, according to the lawes and customes of this Realme, shalbe reputed,* accepted, and adiudged traytours, and that euery suche offence in any the premisses committed or done after the said first day of February, shalbe reputed, accepted, and adiudged high treason: and the offenders, therein their aiders, consenters, counsellors and abbettors being lawfully conuict of any such offence, shall haue & suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as is limited and accustomed in cases of high treason.

Uppon thys and suche other Actes concluded in those Parlamentes, what stomacke the Pope tooke, what stirre hee kept, and what practises hee wrought wyth Cardinall Poole, to stirre vp other natiōs to warre against vs, what difficultie also there was w^t the Emperor, with the French king, and with the king of Scottes about the matter, and what labour was vsed on the kings parte, to concile these Princes for hys owne indemnitie, to keepe him from their warres and inuasions, and especially to obtēin the Popes approbation, and to auoide his censures of excommunication, and finally, what despitefull iniuries & open wrongs the Pope wrought against hym, vpon the which Pope the king had bestowed so much money, and great treasors before, all this likewise by the premisses may appeare.

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our storie, as the order and computation of yeares doe giue, we haue now consequently to enter into the storie of the good Martyr of God,

William Tindal, being this present yeare falsly betraied and put to death. Whych William Tyndall, as he was a speciall organe of the Lord appoynted, and as Gods mattock to shake the inward rootes and foundation of the Popes proud prelacie: so the great prince of darknes, with his impious impes, hauing a special malice against him, left no way vnsought, how craftely to entrap him, and falsly to betray him, & maliciously to spil his life: as by the proces of his story here folowing may apear.

¶The life and storie of the true seruaunt and Martyr of God William Tyndall: Who for his notable paines and trauell maye well be called the Apostle of England in this our latter age.

William Tindall the faithfull Minister and constant Martyr of Christ,* was borne about the borders of Wales, and brought vp from a childe in the Uniuersitie of Oxforde,* where he by long continuance grewe vp, and increased as well in the knowledge of tounes, and other liberall Artes, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures:* wherunto his mind was singularly addicted: In so much that hee lying then in Magdalene Hall, read priuely to certaine students and felowes of Magdalen Colledge, some parcell of Diuinitie: instructinge them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose maners also and conuersation being correspondent to the same, were suche, that all they which knewe him, reputed and esteemed hym to be a manne of most vertuous disposition, and of life vnsported.

Thus he in the Uniuersitie of Oxforde increasing more and more in learning and proceeding in degrees of the schooles, spying his time, remoued from thence to the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, where after hee had likewyse made his abode a certaine space, being nowe further ripened in the knowledge of Gods worde, leauing that Uniuersitie also, he resorted to one M. Welche a Knight of Glocestershire, and was there Scholemaister to his children, and in good fauour with his master. This Gentleman, as he kept a good ordinarie commōly at his table, ther resorted to him many times sondry Abbots, Deanes, Archdeacons, wyth other diuers Doctors and great beneficed men: who there together with M. Tindall sitting at the same table, did vse many times to enter communication and talke of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus: Also of diuers other controuersies and questions vpon the Scripture.

Then maister Tindall,* as hee was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so he spared not to shewe vnto them simply and plainely hys iudgement in matters, as hee thought: and when as they at any time did varie from Tyndal in opinions and iudgement, he would shew them in the booke, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and to confirme his sayings. And thus cōtinued they for a certaine season, reasoning and contēding together diuers and sondry times, till at lengthe they waxed weary, and bare a secrete grudge in their hearts against him.

Not longe after thys, it happened that certaine of these great Doctours had inuited M. Welche and his wife to a banquet: where they had talke at wil and pleasure, vttering their blindnesse and ignoraunce without any resistance or gainesaying. Then M. Welche and his wife commynge home and calling for M. Tyndall, began to reason w^t him about those matters, whereof the Priestes had talked before at their banquet. M. Tyndall answering by scriptures, maintained the truthe, and reprobued their false opinions. Then sayde the Ladye Welche, a stoute and a wise woman (as Tyndall reported). Well (sayd shee) there was suche a Doctour which may dispend a

C.li. and an other CC.li. & an other CCC.li. and what? were it reason, think you,* that we should beleue you before them? Maister Tindall gaue her no answere at that time, nor also after that (because hee sawe it would not auaille) he talked but little in those matters. At that time hee was about the translation of a booke called Enchiridion militis Christiani, which being translated, he deliuered to his maister and Ladie. Who after they had read & well perused the same,* the Doctorly Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neyther had they the cheare & countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thyng they marking and well perceiuing, and supposing no lesse but it came by the meanes of M. Tyndall, refrained them selues, and at last vtterly withdrew themselues, and came no more there.

As thys grewe on, the Priestes of the Countrey clustring together,* began to grudge and storme against Tindall, railing againste him in Alehouses and other places. Of whome Tyndall him selfe in his Prologue before the first booke of Moses, this testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffred much in that countrey by a sort of vnlearned Priestes, being full rude and ignoraunt (sayeth hee) God knoweth: which haue seene no more Latine then that onely which they read in their Portesses & Missalles: (whyche yet many of them can scarsely reade) excepte it be Albertus de secretis mulierum,* in which yet thoughe they be neuer so sorily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teache the midwiues, as they say: and also an other called Lynwood, a booke of constitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customes, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the duetie of holy Church, to discharge theyr consciences withall. For they are bound that they shal not diminish but encrease all things vnto y^e vttermost of theyr powers, which pertaine to holy church. Thus these blind & rude Priestes flocking together to the Alehouse (for that was their preaching place) raged and rai•ed againste him, affirming that his sayings were heresie:* adding moreouer vnto hys sayings of their owne heades: more then euer he spake, and so accused him secretly to the Chauncelour and other of the Bishops Officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishops Chancellour appoynted,* and warning was giuen to the priests to appeare: amongst whom M. Tindall was also warned to be there. And whether hee had any misdoubte by their threatnings, or knowledge geuen hym that they woulde lay some thyngs to hys charge it is vncertaine: but certaine this is (as hee hym selfe declared) [Page 1076](#) that he doubted their priuie accusations: so y^t he by the way in going thetherwards, cried in his mind hartily to God, to geue him strength fast to stande in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellour, he threatned him greuously, reuiling and rating him as though he had ben a dog, & laide to his charge many thinges,* whereof no accuser yet coulde be broughte forth (as commonly their maner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the Priestes of the countrey the same time were there present. And thus M. Tindal after those examinatio•s escaping out of their hands, departed home and returned to his maister againe.

There dwelt not farre off a certaine Doctour that hadde bene an olde Chauncellour before to a Byshop,* who had bene of olde familiar acquaintance with M. Tyndall, and also fauoured him well. Unto whome M. Tyndall went and opened his minde vpon diuers questions of the scripture:* for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the Doctor sayd: doe you

not knowe that the Pope is very Antichrist, whome the Scripture speaketh of. But beware what you say: for if you shall be perceiued to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life: and sayd moreouer, I haue bene an officer of his, But I haue geuen it vp and defie him and all his workes.

It was not long after, but M. Tindal happened to be in the companie of a certaine diuine recounted for a lerned man, and in commoning and disputing with him, he droue him to that issue,* that the sayde great Doctor burst out into these blasphemous wordes, and sayde: wee were better to be without Gods lawe then the Popes. M. Tyndall hearing thys, ful of godly zeale, and not bearing that blasphemous say•ng, replied againe & sayde: I de•ie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that i• God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did.

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndall, they neuer ceased barking and rating at him, and laide many sore thinges to hys charge, saying that he was an hereticke in Sophistry, an hereticke in Logicke, an hereticke in Diuinitie: and sayde moreouer to him, that he bare himselfe bolde of the Gentlemen there in that country: but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom M. Tyndall answering againe thus said, that he was contented they shoulde bring him into any countrey in all England, geuing hym x.li. a yere to liue with, and binding him to no more but to teache children and to preache.

To be short, M. Tyndal being so molested and vexed in the countrey by the Priests, was constrained to leaue that country and to seke an other place: and so comming to M. Welche, he desired him of hys good will, that hee myght depart from him, saying on this wise to him: Syr I perceiue I shall not be suffered to tary long heere in this countrey, neither shall you be able though you woulde, to keepe me out of the hands of the spiritualtie, & also what displeasure might grow therby to you by keeping me, God knoweth: for the which I shoulde be right sorie. So that in fine, M. Tindall with the good will of his maister,* departed, & eftsoones came vp to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the country before, and specially about the towne of Bristowe, and also in the sayde towne, in the common place called S. Austines Greene. At length he bethinking him selfe of Cutbert Tonstall, then Byshop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus,* who in his annotations so extolleth him for his learning, thus cast with himselfe, that if hee might attaine vnto his seruice hee were a happy man. And so comming to Syr Henry Gilford the kings controller, and bringing with him an Oration of Isocrates, which he had then trāslated out of Greke into English, he desired him to speake to the sayde B. of London for him. Which he also did, and willed him moreouer to wryte an Epistle to the Byshop, and to go him self with him.* Which he did likewise, and deliuered his Epistle to a seruante of his, named William Hebilthwaite, a man of his olde acquaintaunce. But God who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndals purpose, nor for the profite of hys Church, and therefore gaue him to finde little fauor in the Bishops sight.* The answer of whom was thys, that hys house was full, he had mo then he could wel finde, and aduised him to seeke in London abroad, where hee saide hee coulde lacke no seruice. &c. and so remained hee in London the space almoste of a yere, beholding and marking wyth him selfe the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, howe they boasted them selues and set vp their authoritie and kingdome: beholding also the pompe of the Prelates, wyth other thynges moe whiche greatly misliked him: In so muche that he vnderstoode, not onely there to be no rowme in the Bishops house for hym to

translate the new Testament: but also that there was no place to do it in al England. And therfore finding no place for his purpose within the realme,* and hauing some ayde and prouision, by Gods prouidence ministred vnto hym by Humphrey Mummoth aboue recited, as you may see before, pag. 1076. and certain other good men, hee tooke hys leaue of the realme, & departed into Germanie. Where the good man being inflamed with a tender care and zeale of his countrey, refused no trauell nor diligence howe by all meanes possible, to reduce his brethren and couñtreymen of England to y^e same tast and vnderstanding of Gods holy word and veritie, which the Lord had endued him withal.

Whereupon he considering in his minde, and partely also conferring with Iohn Frith,* thought wyth him selfe no way more to conduce therunto, then if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speach, that the poore people might also reade and see the simple plaine woord of God. For first hee wisely casting in hys minde, perceiued by experience, how that it was not possible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the Scripture were so plainly layde before theyr eyes in theyr mother tongue, that they myght see the processe, order, and meaning of the text: For els what so euer truth shuld be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quenche it againe, either wyth apparant reasons of Sophistrie, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture: either els iuggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense, as impossible it were to gather of the text, if the right processe, order, & meaning thereof were seene.

Againe, right wel he perceiued and considered this only, or most chiefly to be y^e cause of all mischief in the church,* that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes: For so long the abhominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaicall Clergie, could not be espied, and therefore al theyr labour was wyth might & maine to keepe it downe, so that eyther it should not be red at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with y^e mis• of theyr Sophistrie, and so entangle them whych rebuked or despised theyr abominations, wyth arguments of philosophie, and with worldly similitudes, and apparant reasons of naturall wisdom: and with wresting the scriptur• vnto their owne purpose, contrary vnto the processe, order, and meanyng of the texte, woulde so delude them in descanting vppon it with Allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses layed before the vnlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy hart, & were sure that all were false that they said yet couldest not thou solue their subtle ridles.

For these and such other considerations, this good man was moued (and no doubt styrred vp of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue,* for the publicke vtility and profit of the simple vulgar people of the country: first, setting in hand with the newe Testament, whiche he first translated about the yeare of our Lord 1527. After that he tooke in hand to translate the olde Testament, finishing the fiue bookes of Moyses, with sondry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before euery one, most worthy to be read and read againe of all good Christians: as the lyke also he did vpon the new Testament.

Hee wrote also diuers other woorkes vnder sundry titles, among the which is that most worthy monument of his, intituled: The obedience of a Christian man: wherin with singulare dexteritie he instructeth all men in the office and duetie of Christian obedience, wyth diuers other treatises: as The wicked Mammon: The practise of Prelates, wyth expositions vppon certaine partes of the

Scripture, and other Bookes also aunswearing to Syr Thom. More and other aduersaries of the truthe, no lesse delectable, then also most fruitfull to be read, which partly before beyng vnknowne vnto many, partly also being almost abolished and worne out by time, the Printer heereof (good Reader) for conseruing and restoring such singulare treasures, hath collected and set foorth in Print the same in one generall volume, all and whole together, as also the woorkes of Iohn Frith, Barnes, and other, as are to be seene most special and profitable for thy reading.

These bookes of W. Tyndal being compiled, published & sent ouer into England, it cannot be spoken what a dore of light they opened to the eies of the whole English nation, which before were many yeres shut vp in darkenesse.

At his first departing out of y^e realme, he toke his iorny into y^e further parts of Germany, as into Saxony,* where he had conference w^t Luther and other learned mē in those quarters. Where, after y^t he had continued a certen season, he came down from thence into the netherlands,* & had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp, vntil y^e time of hys apprehēsiō: wherof more shalbe said god willing hereafter.

[Page 1077](#) Amongst his other bokes which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the alter: the which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies & grose idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come, to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it woulde seeme to them odious to heare any such thing spoken or set foorth at that time, sounding againste their great Goddess Diana, that is, againste their Masse, being had euery where in great estimation, as was the Goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians whom they thought to come from heauen.

Wherefore M. Tindall being a man both prudent in his doings, and no lesse zealous in the setting foorth of Gods holy truth,* after such sort as it might take most effect wyth the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but by Gods mercifull grace, a time shuld come, to haue that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lorde almighty be alwaies praised therefore. Amen.

These godly bookes of Tindall, and specially the newe Testament of his translation, after that they begā to come into mens handes, and to spread abroad, as they wroughte great and singuler profite to the godly:* so the vngodly enuying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser then they, & againe fearing least by the shining beames of truth, their false hypocrisie & workes of darkenesse should be discerned: began to stirre with no small ado, like as at the birth of Christ, Herode & al Ierusalem was troubled with him.* But especially Sathan the prince of darkenes, maligning y^e happy course and successe of the Gospel, set to his might also, how to empeache and hinder y^e blessed trauailes of that man: as by this, and also by sondry other wayes may appeare. For at what time Tindall had translated the fift booke of Moises called Deuteronomium, minding to Printe the same at Hamborough, hee sailed thereward: where by the way vpon the coast of Holland, he suffred shipwracke, by the which he loste all his bookes, wrytings and copies, and so was compelled to begin al againe a new, to his hinderāce and doubling of his labors. Thus hauing lost by that ship, both money, his copies and time, he came

in an other ship to Hamborough,* where at his appoyntment M. Couerdale taried for him, and helped hym in the translating of the whole 5. bookes of Moises, from Easter till Decemb. in the house of a worshipfull widowe, Maistres Margaret van Emmerson. Anno 1529. a greate sweating sicknesse being the same time in the Towne. So hauing dispatched his businesse at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerpe againe.

Thus as Sathan is, and euer hath bene an ennemy to all godly endeours, and chiefly to the promoting & furtherance of Gods word, as by this & many other experimēts may be sene: so his ministers and members following the like qualitie of their maister, be not altogether idle for their partes: as also by the Popes Chapleins and Gods ennemies, and by their cruell handling of the sayde M. Tindall the same time, both here in England and in Flāders, may well appeare.

When Gods will was, that the newe Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindall the translator therof added to the latter ende a certain Epistle, wherin hee desired them that were learned to amende, if oughte were found amisse. Wherefore, if any such default had bene, deseruing correction, it had bene the parte of courtesie and gentlenesse, for men of knowledge and iudgement to haue shewed their learning therein, and to haue redressed y^t was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then of the clergy being not willing to haue that booke to prosper, cryed out vpon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thousande heresies in it, & that it was not to be corrected, but vtterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scripture into Englishe:* some that it was not lawfull for the lay people to haue it in their mother tongue, some y^t it woulde make them all heretickes. And to the intent to induce the temporall rulers also vnto theyr purpose, they made more matter, & said, that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the king. All this Tindall himselfe in his own prologue before the first booke of Moses declareth: and addeth further, shewing what great paines was taken in examining that translation, & comparing it wyth their owne imaginations and termes, that with lesse labor (hee supposeth) they might haue translated them selues a great part of the Bible: Shewing moreouer, that they scāned and examined euery title and poynt in the said translation, in such sorte and so narrowly, that there was not one i. therein, but if it lacked a pricke ouer his heade, they did note it, and numbered it vnto the ignoraunt people for an heresie. So great was then the froward deuises of y^e English Clergy (who should haue ben the guides of light vnto the people) to driue the people from the texte & knowledge of the scripture, which neither they would translate themselues, nor yet abide it to be translated of others:* to the intent (as Tindall sayeth) that the woorde being kept still in darknesse, they might sitte in the consciences of the people through vaine superstition & false doctrine, to satisfie theyr lustes, their ambition, and vnsaciable couetousnesse, and to exalte theyr owne honour aboue King and Emperour, yea and aboue God him selfe. Haec ille.

The Bishops and Prelates of the realme, thus (as ye haue hard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, although hauing no cause against the olde and newe Testament of the Lorde newly translated by Tindall,* and conspiring together w^t all their heads and counsails, how to repeale the same, neuer rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason wherof a proclamatiō in al hast was deuised and set forth vnder publike authoritie: but no iust reason shewed, that the testament of Tindals translation, with other workes mo both of his and of other wryters, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye hearde before, page 1018. Which was about the yere of our Lorde. 1527. And yet not contented heerewith, they proceeded further, howe to

entangle him in their nettes, and to bereft him of his life. Which howe they brought to passe, nowe it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest,* how that the Bishops & sir Tho. More hauing any poore man vnder Coram, to be examined before them, namely, such as had bene at Antwerpe, most studiously would searche and examine all things belonging to Tindall, where and with whom he hosted, where aboutes stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparell he went, what resorte he had. &c. All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appeare by the examination of Simon Smith, and others) then began they to worke their feares, as you shall heare by the relation of his owne host.

William Tindall being in the towne of Antwerp,* had ben lodged about one whole yere in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishmā, who kept there an house of english Marchauntes. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had bene a Gentleman, hauing a seruauant with him: but wherfore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Maister Tindall diuers times was desired forth to diner and supper amongst marchants:* by y^e meanes wherof this Henry Philips became acquaynted with him, so that within short space M. Tindall had a great confidence in him: and brought him to his lodging to the house of Tho. Pointz, and had him also with him once or twise to dinner & supper, and further entred such frendship with him that through his procurement, he lay in the same house of the sayd Pointz: To whom he shewed moreouer his bookes and other secrets of his study, so litle did Tindall then mistrust this Traytor.

But Pointz hauing no great confidence in the fellowe, asked Maister Tindall howe hee came acquaynted wyth this Philips. Maister Tindall aunswered, that he was an honest man handsomely learned, and very comfortable. Then Pointz perceiuing that he bare such fauor to hym, sayd no more, thinking that hee was broughte acquaynted with him by some frend of his. The sayd Phillippes beyng in the Towne iij. or iiij. dayes, vppon a tyme desired Pointz to walke with him forth of the Towne to shewe him the commodities therof, and in walking together w^tout the towne, had communication of diuers thinges, and some of the kinges affayres. By the whiche talke Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but after by the sequele of y^e matter hee perceiued more what hee intended. In the meane time this he well perceiued, that he bare no great fauour,* either to the setting forth of any good thing, either to the proceedinges of the king of England. But after when the time was past, Pointz perceiued this to be his mynde, to feele if he could perceiue by him, whether he might breake with him in the matter for lucre of money, to helpe hym to his purpose: for he perceiued before that he was monied & would that Pointz should thinke no lesse: but by whome, it was vnknowne: For hee had desired Pointz before to helpe him to diuers thinges, and such things as he named, he required might be of the best, for sayd he,* I haue money enough, But of this talke came nothing but y^e men should thinke he had some thinges to doe, for nothing els folowed of his talke. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was [Page 1078](#) in doubt to moue this matter for hys purpose to any of the rulers or Officers of the towne of Antwarpe, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, & by the meane therof, M. Tindall should haue had warning.

So Phillippes went from Antwarpe to the Court of Bruxelles, whiche is from thence 24. Englishe miles, the K. hauing there no Ambassadour: for at that time the king of England and the Emperour were at a controuersye for the question betwixte the King and the Ladie Katherine, which was Aunt to the Emperor: and the discorde grewe so much, that it was doubted least there shoulde haue bene warre betwene the Emperour and the king, so that Phillippes as a traitour both againste God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors moe besides him: who after hee had betrayed master Tindal into their hāds, shewed himselfe against the kings owne person, and there set foorth things against the king, to make shorte, the saide Philips did so much there: that hee procured to bring from thence w^t hym to Antwerpe that Procurour general, which is the Emperours Atturney, with other certain officers: as after followeth. The which was not done wyth small charges and expences, from whome so euer it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his doore, Phillippes man came vnto hym, and asked whether Maister Tyndall were there, and sayde his maister would come, to hym, and so departed. But whether hys M. Phillippes were in the towne or not, it was not knowne: but at that time Pointz hearde no more, neyther of the maister nor of the man. Within 3. or 4. daies after, Pointz went foorth to the Towne of Barrow, being 18. English miles from Antwerpe, where he had businesse to doe for the space of a moneth or sixe weekes,* and in the time of hys absence, Henrie Philips came againe to Antwerpe to the house of Pointz, and comming in, spake with his wife, askinge her for M. Tindall, and whether he woulde dine there with him, saying: what good meat shall we haue? She answered, suche as the market will giue. Then went he foorth againe (as it is thought) to prouide, and sette the Officers whyche hee brought wyth hym from Bruxelles, in the streete, and about the dore. Then about noone he came againe and went to M. Tindall, and desired hym to lend him 40. shillings, for (sayd he) I lost my purse this morning, comming ouer at the passage betweene this and Machelyn.* So M. Tindall tooke him 40. shillings, the whych was easie to be had of him, if he had it: for in the wylie subtilities of this world he was simple and vnexperte.

Then sayde Philips, M. Tindall you shall be my gest here thys day. No sayd M. Tindall, I goe foorth thys day to dinner, and you shall go wyth me and be my gest, where you shallbe welcome. So when it was dinner time, master Tindal went forth with Philippes, and at the going forth of Pointz house, was a long narrow entrie, so that 2. could not go in a frount.* M. Tindal would haue put Philippes before him, but Philippes woulde in no wise, but put M. Tindall afore, for that he pretended to shewe great humanitie. So master Tindall being a man of no greate stature, went before, and Philips a tall comely person folowed behinde him, who had set Officers on either side of the doore vpon 2. seates: which being there, might see who came in the entrie, and comming through the same entrie, Philips poynted with his finger ouer M. Tindals head downe to him, that the Officers which sat at the doore, myght see that it was he whome they shuld take, as the officers that tooke M. Tindall, afterward tolde Pointz, and sayde to Pointz whē they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see hys simplicitie when they tooke him. Then they tooke him and brought him to the Emperours Attourney or Procurour general, where he dined. Then came the Procuror general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of master Tindals,* as well his bookes as other things: and from thence Tindall was had to the Castle of Filforde, 18. English miles from Antwerp, and there he remained vntill he was put to death.

Then incontinent by the helpe of English marchants, were letters sent in the fauour of Tindall, to the Court of Bruxels.* Also not long after, letters were directed out of England to the counsaile at Bruxels, and sent to the marchauntes aduenturers to Antwerpe, commaunding them to see that with speede they should be deliuered. Then such of the chiefest of the marchaunts as were there at that time being called together, required the sayde Pointz to take in hād the deliuerie of those letters, w^t letters also from them in the fauour of M. Tindall, to the Lorde of Barrowe and others, the which lord of Barrow (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Bruxels, as the chiefest conductor of the eldest daughter of the King of Denmarke, to be married to the Palsgraue, whose mother was sister to the Emperour, shee being chiefe Princesse of Denmarke. Who after he heard of hys departure, did ride after the next way, and ouertooke hym at Akon, where hee deliuered to him his letters. The which whē he had receyued and red, he made no direct answere, but somewhat obiecing, said: there was of their coutriemen that were burned in England not long before, as in dede there were Anabaptists burnt in Smithfield, and so Pointz said to him: howbeit sayd he, what so euer the crime was, if his Lordship or any other noble manne had wrytten, requiring to haue had them, he thought they should not haue bene denied. Well sayde he, I haue no leisure to wryte, for the Princesse is ready to ride.

Then sayde Pointz, if it shall please your Lordship, I will attēd vpon you vnto y^e next baiting place, which was at Mastright. If you so doe, sayde the Lorde, I will aduise my self by the way what to write. So Pointz folowed him from Akon to Mastright, the which are 15. English miles asonder, & there he receiued letters of him,* one to the coūsel there, an other to the company of the marchants aduēturers, & an other also, to the Lord Cromwell, in Englād.

So Pointz roade from thence to Bruxels, and then and there deliuered to the counsaile, the letters out of England, wyth the Lord of Barrowes letters also: and receiued eftsoones answer into England of the same by letters, which he brought to Antwerpe to the English marchantes, who required him to goe with them into England, and he very desirous to haue M. Tindal out of prisone,* lette not for to take paines with losse of time in his owne busines and occupying, but diligently followed with y^e said letters, which he there deliuered to the counsell, and was commanded by them to tary vntil he had other letters, of the which he was not dispatched thēce in a month after. At length the letters being deliuered him, he returned againe & deliuered them to the Emperors counsell at Bruxels, and there taryed for answere of the same.

When the sayd Pointz had taried 3. or 4. dayes, it was tolde him of one that belonged to the Chauncerie, that M. Tindall shoulde haue bene deliuered to him accordinge to the tenour of the letters: But Phillippes being there, followed the suite against maister Tindall, and hearing that hee should be deliuered to Pointz,* and doubting leaste hee shuld be put from his purpose, he knew none other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying: that hee was a dweller in the towne of Antwerpe, and there had bene a succourer of Tindal, and was one of the same opinion, and that all this was onely his owne labour and sute, to haue M. Tindall at libertie, and no mans els.

Thus vppon hys information and accusation,* Pointz was attached by the Procurour generall, the Emperours Attorny, and deliuered to the keping of two Sergeants of armes: and the same euening was sent to hym one of the Chancery with the Procuror generall, who ministred vnto hym an othe, that he should truely make answere to all suche things as shoulde be inquired of hym, thinking they would haue had no other examinations of hym but of hys Message.* The next day

likewise they came againe and had him in examination, and so fiue or sixe daies one after an other, vpon not so fewe as an hundreth Articles, as well of the kings affaires as of the message concerning Tindal of his aiders and of his religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procurer general drew 23. or 24. articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz: the copy wherof he deliuered to him to make answer therunto, and permitted him to haue an Aduocate and Proctour, that is a doctour and Proctor in the lawe: and order was taken, that 8. dayes after, he should deliuer vnto them his aunswer, and from 8. daies to 8. daies, to procede til the processe were ended: Also that he should send no Messenger to Antwerpe, where as hys house was, beyng 24. Englishe miles from Bruxels, where he was prisonner, nor to any other place, but by the poste of the towne of Bruxels: nor to sende any letters, nor any to be deliuered to him, but writtē in dutch, and the Procurour generall, who was party against him, to reade them, to peruse & to examine them thorowly, contrary to all right and equitie, before they were sent or deliuered: Neither might any be suffred to speake or talke w^t Pointz in any other tongue or lāguage, except only in the Dutch tongue, so that his keepers who were Dutchmen, might vnderstand what the contents of the letters or talk should be, sauing that at one certaine time the Prouinciall of the white friers came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a yong Nouice being an englishman, whom the Prouinciall after dinner, of his owne accord, did bid to talke with the sayde Pointz, and so wyth him he was licenced to talk. The purpose and great pollicy therin was easie to be perceiued. Betwene Pointz & the Nouice was much prety talke, as of sir Tho. More,* and of y^e bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death: whose [Page 1079](#) death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dyeng in such a quarell, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for Martirs, with other noble doctrine and deepe learning in diuinitie, meete to feede swine withall. Such blindnes then in those dayes raigned amongst them. After this, Pointz deliuered vp his aunswer to the Procurour generall, and then after, at the dayes appointed, went foorth with replication duplicke, with other aunswers eche to other in writing what they could.

*As the Commissioners came to Pointz, Philips the traytour accompanied them to the dore in following the processe against him, as he also did against M. Tindall, for so they that had Pointz in keeping, shewed hym. Thus Pointz for Maister Tyndall was sore troubled, and long kept in prison: but at length, when he saw no other remedie, by night he made his escape, and auoyded their hands. But good Tyndall could not escape their handes, but remayned in prison still, who being brought vnto his aunswere, was offered to haue an aduocate and a proctor: for in any criminall cause there, it shall be permitted to haue counsaile, to make aunswere in the lawe. But he refused to haue any such, sayeng: that he would aunswere for himselfe: and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason woulde serue, although he deserued no death,* he was condemned by vertue of the Emperours decree made in the assemble at Ausbrough (as is before signified) and vpon the same, brought forth to the place of execution,* was there tied to y^e stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning at the towne of Filford, an. 1536. crieng thus at the stake with a feruente zeale; and a loud voyce: Lord open the King of Englands eyes.*

[illustration]

¶The Martyrdome and burning of mayster William Tyndall, in Flaunders, by Filford Castle.

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sinceritie of his life,* that during the time of his imprisonment (whiche endured a yeaere and a halfe) it is sayde, hee conuerted hys keeper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also the rest that were with him conuersaunt in the Castle, reported of him, that if he were not a good christen man, they could not tell whome to trust.

The Procuror generall the Emperours Attourney being there,* left this testimonie of him, that he was Homo doctus, pius, & bonus: that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man.

The same mornynge in which he was had to the fire, he deliuered a letter to the keeper of the castle, which y^e keeper himselfe brought to the house of y^e foresayd Pointz in Autwerpe, shortly after: which letter, with his examinatio^{ns} & other his disputations, I would might haue come to our handes: all which I vnderstā^d did remaine, & yet perhaps doe, in the handes of the keepers daughter. For so it is of him reported that as he was in the Castle prisoner, there was much writynge, and great disputation to and fro, betwene him and them of the Uniuersitie of Louaine (which was not past ix. or x. myles from the place where he was prisoner) in such sorte, that they all had enough to do, and more then they could well weld, to aunswere the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupō he most pithely grounded his doctrine.

Of Iudas that betrayed Christ, it is written: that he returned the money agayne to the Phariseis,* & afterward did hang him selfe: So Philippes this miserable traytor, after he had bene receaued of Tyndal, & borrowed money of him, & yet betrayed him and pursued him to death: albeit he reioyced a while after y^t he had done, yet y^e saying so goeth, that he not long tyme after enioyed the price of innocent bloud, but was consumed at last with lyce.

The worthy vertues and doings of this blessed Martyr, who for his paynefull trauailes, and singular zeale to his countrey, may be called in these our dayes, an Apostle of Englād, it were long to recite. Amongest many other, this because it seemeth to me worthy of remembraunce, I thought not in silence to ouerpasse, which hath vnto me credibly bene testified by certaine graue Marchauntes, & some of thē also such as were present the same tyme at the fact, and men yet alyue. The story wherof is this.

There was at Antwerpe on a tyme, amongst a company of Marchauntes as they were at supper, a certaine iuggler, which through his diabolicall inchaūtements or Art Magicall, would fetch all kyndes of viandes, & wyne from any place they would, and set it vpon the table incōtinent before them, with many other such lyke thynges. The same of this iuggler beyng much talked of, it chaunced that as M. Tyndall heard of it, he desired certaine of the Marchants, that he might also be present at supper, to see him play his partes.

To be brieue, the supper was appointed, and the Marchauntes with Tyndall were there present. Then the iuggler being required to play his feates, and to shewe his cunning, after his wonted boldnes began, to vtter all that he could do, but all was in vaine. At the last,* with hys labour, sweating, and toyling, when he sawe that nothyng would go forward, but that all his enchauntmentes were [Page 1080](#) voyde, he was compelled openly to confesse, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man euen in the Martyrs of these our dayes, can not lacke the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning y^e workes and bookes of Tyndall, which extend to a great number, thou wast tolde before (louyng reader) howe the Printer heereof mindeth by the Lordes leaue,* to collect them all in one Uolume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at thys time be needefull to make any seuerall rehearsall of them.

And as touching his translation of the new Testament, because his enemies did so much carpe at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies, to aunswere therfore to their sclanderous tongs and lieng lippes, thou shalt heare and vnderstand, what faithfull dealing, and sincere conscience he vsed in the same, by the testimonie & allegation of his own words,* written in his Epistle to Iohn Frith as foloweth: I call God to record against the day we shall appeare before our Lord Iesus, to geue a reckening of our doings, y^t I neuer altered one sillable of Gods word against my cōscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be geue me, &c.

And as ye haue heard Tyndals owne words thus protesting for himselfe: now let vs heare likewise the faithfull testimonie of Iohn Frith, for Tindall his deare companion and brother, thus declaring in his aunswere to mayster More, as followeth.

The testimony of Iohn Frith in his booke of the Sacrament concerning William Tyndall.

AND Tyndall I trust liueth, well content with suche a poore Apostles life, as God gaue his sonne Christ, and his faithfull Ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of poundes, although I am sure that for his learning and iudgement in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted, then all the Bishops in Englande. I receaued a letter from him, whiche was written since Christmas, wherein among other matters he writeth this: I call God to record against the daye wee shall appeare before our Lord Iesus to geue a reckening of our doings, that I neuer altered one sillable of Gods word against my conscience, nor woulde do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be geuen me.

Moreouer, I take God to witnesse to my conscience, that I desire of God to my selfe in this world, no more then that without which I can not keepe his lawes, &c. Iudge Christian Reader whether these words be not spoken of a faithfull cleare innocent hart. And as for his behauour, is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sinne, howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the hart. This much out of Frith.

And thus being about to conclude and finishe wyth the life and story of William Tindall,* it shall be requisite now that the Reader do heare some thing likewise of his supplication made to the King, and nobles of the Realme, as they are yet extant in his workes to be seene, and woorthy in all ages to be marked, the tenour whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndals supplications to the King, Nobles, and subiects of England.

I Beseech the Kings most noble grace, well to consider all the wayes,* by the whiche the Cardinall, and oure holy Byshops haue led hym since he was first King, and to see whereunto all the pride, pompe, and vaine boast of y^e Cardinall is come, and how God hath resisted hym and oure Prelates in all their wiles. We hauing nothing to do at all, haue medled yet with all matters,

and haue spent for our Prelates causes, more then all Christendome, euen vnto the vtter beggering of our selues, and haue gotten nothing but rebuke and hate amōg all nations, & a mocke and a scorne of them, whom we haue most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saieng is) of late dayes made a play, or a disguising at Paris, in whiche the Emperour daunced with the Pope, and the French King, and weeryed them: the King of England sitting on a hye bench, and lookyng on.* And when it was asked why he daunced not, it was aunswered, that he sat there, but to pay the minstrels their wages. As who shoulde say, we payd for all mens dauncing. We monied the Emperour openly, and gaue y^e french King double and treble secretly: and to the Pope also. Yea and though Ferdinandus had money sent openly to blind the world withall, yet the saieng is through all Dutchland that we sent money to the King of Pole, &c.

Furthermore,* I beseech his grace also to haue mercy of his owne soule, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Testament to be persecuted vnder his name any longer: that the sword of the wrath of God may be put vp agayne, which for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawne.

Thirdly, my petition is to his grace,* to haue compassion on his poore subiectes, that the Realme vtterly perish not with the wicked counsaile of our pestilente Prelates. For if his grace, which is but a man, should die, the Lords and commons not knowing who hath most right to enioy the crowne, the realme could not but stand in great daunger.

My fourth sute and exhortation is to all the Lords temporall of the realme,* that they come and fall before y^e kings grace, and humbly desire his Maiestie, to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succede: And if he or shee fayle, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly: and let all the Lords temporall be sworne therto, and all y^e knightes and squiers and gentlmen, and the commons aboute xvij. yeares old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they trie it by the sword, I promise them, I see no other likelyhode but it will cost the realme of England, &c.

Further, of all the subiects of England this I craue: that they repent. For the cause of euill rulers is the sinne of the subiects as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false Preachers is, that the people haue no loue vnto the truth, sayth Paule in the 2. Chapter of the 2. Epistle to the Thessalonians. We be all sinners an hundred times greater then all that we suffer. Let vs therefore eche forgiue other, remembring the greater sinners, the more welcome if we repent according to the similitude of the riotous son, Luk. xv. For Christ died for sinners and is their Sauour, and his bloud their treasure to pay for their sinnes. He is that fatted calfe which is slaine to make them good cheare withall, if they wil repent and come to their father againe: and his merites is the goodly rayment to couer the naked deformities of their sinnes.

Finally, if the persecution of the Kings grace and of other temporall persons conspiring with the spirituality, be of ignoraunce, I doubt not but that their eyes shal be opened shortly, and they shal see & repent, and God shal shew them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God, by the reason of a full cōsent they haue to sinne and to walke in their old wayes of ignoraunce, whereunto beeing now past all repentance, they haue vtterly yeilded themselues, to followe with full lust without bridle or snaffle, which is the sinne against the holy Ghost: then ye shall see euen shortly, that God shall turne the poynt of the sword

wherewith they now shed Christes blood, homewarde to shed theyr owne againe, after all the examples of the Bible.

These thinges thus discoursed pertayning to the story and doings of Tindall, finally it remayneth to inferre certayne of his priuate letters and epistles, whereof among diuers other which haue not come to our hands, two speciall he wrote to Iohn Frith, one properly vnder his own name, another vnder the name of Iacob, but in very deede was written and deliuered to Iohn Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further vnderstand by the sequeale heereafter. The copie and tenour of the Epistles heere followeth.

A letter sent from Tyndall, vnto Mayster Frith being in the Tower.

THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of Iesus Christe our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearely beloued brother Iohn,* I haue heard say, how the hipocrits now that they haue ouercome that great busines whiche letted them, or at the least way, haue brought it at a stay, they returne to their olde nature againe. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordeyned to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory raigne ouer all.

Dearely beloued, how euer the matter be, commit your selfe wholly and onely vnto your most louyng Father, and most kynde Lorde, and feare not men that threate, nor trust men that speake faire: but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make hys word good. Your cause is Christes Gospell, a light that must be fed with the blood of fayth. The lampe must be dressed and snuffed dayly, and that oyle poured in euery euening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners,* yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God: for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffred for vs, leauing vs an example that wee should follow his steps, who did no sin. Herby haue we perceiued loue, that he layd downe his life for vs:* therefore we ought also to lay downe our liues for the brethren. Reioyce and be glad,* for great is your reward in heauen. For we suffer with him that wee may also be glorified with him: who shall chaunge our vile body, [Page 1081](#) that it may be fashioned like vnto his glorious body, according to the working wherby he is able euen to subiect al things vnto him.

Dearely beloued, be of good courage, and comfort your soule with the hope of this hye reward, and beare the image of Christ in your mortall body,* that it may at his comming be made like to his immortall: and followe the example of all youre other deare brethren, which choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keepe your conscience pure and vndefiled, and say against that nothing. Sticke at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ,* saieng: they finde none but that wil abiure rather then suffer the extremitie. Moreouer, the death of them that come againe after they haue once denied, though it bee accepted wyth God, and all that beleue, yet is it not glorious, for the hypocrites say, he must needes dye, denyeng helpeth not: But might it haue holpen, they would haue denied fiue hundreth times:* but seeing it would not helpe them, therefore of pure pride and meere malice together, they spake with their mouthes, that their conscience knoweth false. If you geue your selfe, cast your selfe, yeeld your selfe, commit your selfe wholly and onely to your louing father, then shall his power be in you and make you strōg, and that so strong, that you shall feelee no payne: which should be to another present death: and his spirite shall speake in you, and teach you what to aunswere,* according to

his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and worke for you aboue all that your hart can imagine: Yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all,* with all they can make, haue sworne your death. Vna salus victis, nullam sperare salutem: To looke for no mans helpe, bringeth the helpe of God to them that seeme to be ouercome in the eyes of the hypocrites: Yea, it shall make God to carry you through thicke and thinne for his truthes sake, in spite of all the enemies of hys truth. There falleth not an heare till his houre be come: and when his houre is come, necessitie carieth vs hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then haue we a reward and thanke.

Feare not threatening therefore, neyther be ouercome of sweet words:* with which twayne the hypocrites shall assaile you. Neyther let the persuasions of worldly wisdom beare rule in your hart:* no, though they be your friends that counsaile you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their visure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faynt. He that endureth to the end, shall be saued If the payne be aboue your strength,* remember: Whatsoeuer ye shall aske in my name, I will geue it you. And pray to youre father in that name, and he shall cease your payne, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of fayth, be with you, Amen.

William Tyndall.

Two haue suffred in Antwerpe, In die sanctae Crucis, vnto the great glory of the Gospell:* four at Rysels in Flanders, and at Luke, hath there one at the least suffered, and all the same day. At Roane in Fraunce they persecute. And at Paris are fiue Doctors taken for the Gospell. See, you are not alone: Be cheerefull and remember that among the hard harted in England, there is a number reserued by grace: for whose sakes if neede be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soeuer it be, forget it not, that we may knowe howe it goeth with you, for oure harts ease. The Lord be yet againe with you, with all his plenteousnes, and fill you that you flowe ouer, Amen.

If when you haue read this, you may send it to Adrian, do I pray you, that he may knowe howe that our harte is with you.

George Ioy at Candlemas being at Barrow, printed ij. leaues of Genes. in a great forme, and sent one copy to the King, and another to the new Quene, with a letter to N. for to deliuer them: and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprong the noise of the new Bible: and out of that is the great seeking for English bookes at all printers and bookebinders in Antwerpe, and for an English Priest that should print.

This chaunced the 9. day of May.

Sir, your wyfe is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake haue the glory of God hindred.

William Tyndall.

Another notable and woorthy letter of Maister William Tyndall sent to the sayd Iohn Frith, vnder the name of Iacob.

¶The grace of our Sauour Iesus, his pacience, meekenesse, humblenesse, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your hart, Amen.

DErely beloued brother Iacob, mine harts desire in our Sauour Iesus is,* that you arme your selfe with pacience, and bee cold, sober, wyse and circumspect, and that you keepe you alowe by the ground, auoiding hie questions that passe the common capacite. But expound the law truly, and open the vayle of Moses to condemne all flesh,* & proue all men sinners, & all deedes vnder the law, before mercy haue taken away the cōdemnatiō therof, to be sinne and damnable: and then as a faythfull minister, set abroche the mercy of our Lord Iesus,* and let the wounded cōsciēces drinke of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, & not as the doctrine of the hypocrites: and the spirite of God shall worke with you, and all cōsciēces shall beare record vnto you, and feelee that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a miste on those two, to shadow and hide them I meane the law of God and mercy of Christ, that resist you withall your power. Sacramentes without signification, refuse. If they put significations to them, receiue them, if you see it may helpe, though it be not necessary.

Of the presence of Christes body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can,* that there appeare no diuision among vs. Barnes will be whote agaynst you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmatiue, whether constant or obstinate, I omitte it to God. Phillip Melancthon is sayd to be with the French kyng. There be in Antwerpe that say, they saw him come into Paris with an C. and L. horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmē receiue the word of God, he will plant the * affirmatiue in thē. George Ioy would haue put forth a Treatise of the matter, but I haue stopt him as yet, what he wil do if he get mo'ney, I wot not. I beleue he would make many reasons little seruing to the purpose. My mynd is, that nothyng be put forth till we heare how you shall haue sped. I would haue the right vse preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thyng, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at laysure, of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talke what they will. For as to beleue that God is euery where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within in the hart, in spirite and veritie:* euen so to beleue that the body of Christ is euery where (though it cannot be• proued) hurteth no man that worshippeth hym no where saue in the faith of his Gospell. You perceiue my mynde: howbeit if God shewe you otherwise, it is free for you to doe as he moueth you.

I gessed long agoe, that God would send a dasing into the head of the spiritualitie,* to catche them selues in their owne subtletie, and I trust it is come to passe. And now me thinketh I smell a counsaile to be taken, litle for their profites in tyme to come. But you must vnderstand, that it is not of a pure hart and for loue of the truth, but to aduenge them selues, and to eate the whores fleshe, and to sucke the mary of her bones. Wherefore cleaue fast to the rocke of the helpe of God, and commit the ende of all thynges to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then vse the wisdom of the worldly, as farre as you perceiue the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not: and euer among, thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tounge, and learnyng set vp in the Vniuersities. But and if ought be required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your selfe to God, and be not ouercome of mens persuasions, whiche happely shall say: we see no other way to bryng in the truth.

Brother Iacob, beloued in my hart, there lyueth not in whom I haue so good hope and trust, and in whom myne hart reioyseth and my soule comforteth her selfe, as in you: * not the thousand part so much for your learnyng, and what other gifts els you haue, as that you will creepe allow by the ground, and walke in those thynges that the conscience may feelee, and not in the imaginations of the brayne: in feare and not in boldnesse: in open necessary thynges, and not to pronounce or define of hyd secretes, or thynges that neither helpe or hynder whether they be so or no in vnitie and not in seditious opinions: in so much that if you be sure you know, yet in thynges that may abide laysure, you will deferre, or say (till other agree with you•) me thinke the text requireth this sense or vnderstādyng: Yea and that if you be sure that your part be good, and an other hold the contrary, yet if it be a thyng that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it passe, and referre the thyng to other men, and sticke you stifly and stubburnely in earnest and necessary thynges. And I trust you bee perswaded euen so of me. For I call GOD to recorde agaynst the day we shall appeare before our Lord Iesus, * to geue a rekenyng of our doynge, that I neuer altered one syllable of Gods word agaynst my conscience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour or riches, might be geuen me. Moreouer I take God to recorde to my conscience: that I desire of God to my selfe in this world, no more then that without which I can not keepe his lawes.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could helpe at hād, and ayde you if neede required: I promise you I would not be farre of, and commit the ende to God: my soule is not faynt, though my body be wery. But God hath made me euill fauoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of mē, speach^llesse and rude, dull and slow wytted: your part shalbe to supply that lacketh in me, remembryng, that as lowlynesse of hart shall make you hygh with GOD, euen so meekenesse of wordes shall make you sinke into the hartes of men. Nature geueth age authoritie, but meekenesse is the glory of [Page 1082](#) youth, and geueth them honour. Aboundance of loue maketh me exceede in babling. *

Syr, as concerning Purgatory, and many other things, if you be demaunded, you may say, if you erre, the spiritualtie hath so led you, and that they haue taught you to beleue as you do. For they preached you all such things out of Gods word, and alledged a thousand textes, by reason of which textes you beleueed as they taught you. * But now you finde thē lyers, and that the textes meane no suche things, and therefore you can beleue them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and beleue no such thing: howbeit you are ready to beleue, if they haue any other way to prooue it, for without prooffe you can not beleue them, when you haue found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceyue wherein we may helpe, other in being still, or doynge somewhat, let vs haue word, and I will do mine vttermost.

My Lord of London hath a seruaunt called Iohn Tisen with a red beard, and a blacke reddish head, and was once my scholler, he was seene in Antwerpe, but came not among the Englishmen: whether he is gone an Ambassadour secret, I wot not.

The mighty God of Iacob be with you to supplant his enemies, and geue you the fauour of Ioseph: and the wisdom, and the spirit of Stephen be with your hart and with your mouth, * and teach your lippes what they shall say, and how to aunswere to all things. He is our God if we despaire in our selues, and trust in hym: and his is the glory, Amen.

William Tyndall. ¶I hope our redemption is nygh.

¶This letter was written an. 1533. in the moneth of Ianuary. Which letter although it do pretend the name of Iacob, yet vnderstand (good Reader) that it was written in very deede to Iohn Frith, as is aboue tolde thee. For the more prooffe and euidence whereof, read Frithes booke of the Sacramente, and there thou shalte finde a certayne place of this Epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus: I call God to record, against the day we shall appeare before our Lorde Iesus to geue a reckening of oure doings, that I neuer altered one sillable of Gods word against my conscience, &c. Which Epistle Iohn Frith hymselfe witnesseth that he receaued from Tyndall, as in hys testimonie aboue appeareth.

¶The death of the Lady Katherine and of Queene Anne.

The same yeare in the which W. Tyndall was burned, which was the yeare of our Lord 1536. in the begynning of the yeare,* first died Lady Katherine Princes Dowager in the moneth of Ianuary.

After whome the same yeare also, in the moneth of May next following, followed the death also of Queene Anne, who had now bene married to the King the space of three yeares. In certeine records thus we finde, that the Kyng being in his Iustes at Greenewich, sodenly with a fewe persons, departed to Westminster, and the next daye after Queene Anne his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and certayne other: and the xix. day after was beheaded. The wordes of this worthy and Christian Lady at her death, were these:

Good Christen people, I am come hether to die, for according to the Law, and by y^e Lawe I am iudged to death, and therefore I will speake nothing against it.* I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake any thing of that, whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God saue the King, and sende him long to raigne ouer you, for a gentler, or a more mercifull Prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and soueraigne Lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartely desire you all to pray for me. O Lord haue mercy on me. To God I commend my soule. And so she kneeled downe, sayeng: To Christ I commend my soule: Iesu receiue my soule: repeating the same diuers times, till at length the stroke was geuen, and her head was stricken off.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queene. Godly I call her,* for sundry respectes, whatsoeuer the cause was, or quarell objected against her. Fyrst, her last wordes spoken at her death, declared no lesse her sincere fayth and trust in Christ, then dyd her quiet modestie vtter forth the goodnesse of the cause and matter, whatsoeuer it was. Besides that, to such as wisely can iudge vpon cases occurrent, this also may seeme to geue a great clearing vnto her, that the King the third day after was married in his whites vnto an other. Certaine this was, that for the rare and singular giftes of her minde so well instructed, and geuen toward God, with suche a feruent desire vnto the trueth and setting foorth of sincere Religion, ioyned wyth like gentlenes, modestie, and pitie toward all men, there hath not many suche Queenes before her borne the Crowne of England. Principally this one commendation she left behinde her, that during her life, the Religion of Christ most happely florished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many things might be written more of the manyfolde vertues, and the quiet moderation of her milde nature, how lowly she would beare, not onely to be admonished,* but also of her owne accomde would require her Chapleynes playnely and freely to tell whatsoeuer they sawe in her amisse. Also, how bountifull shee was to the poore, passing not only the common example of other Queenes, but also the reuenues almost of her estate: in so much that the almose which she gaue in three quarters of a yeare, in distribution, is summed to the number of xiiij. or xv. thousand pounds. Beside the great peece of money which her grace intended to impart into foure sundry quarters of the Realme, as for a stocke there to be employed to the behoofe of poore artificers and occupiers. Agayne,* what a zelous defender she was of Christes Gospell, all the world doth knowe, and her actes doe and will declare to the worldes ende. Amongst which other her actes, this is one, that shee placed M. Hugh Latymer in the Byshopricke of Worcester, and also preferred Doctor Shaxton to his Byshopricke, being then accompted a good man. Furthermore, what a true fayth she bare vnto the Lorde, this one example may stande for many: for that when King Henry was with her at Wodstocke, and there being afayde of an olde blinde prophesie, for the which neyther he, nor other Kings before him, durst hunt in the sayde parke of Woodstocke, nor enter into the Towne of Oxford, at last thorough the Christian and faithfull counsaile of that Queene, he was so armed against all infidelitie, that both he hunted in the foresayde parke, and also entred in the Towne of Oxford, and had no harme. But because touching the memorable vertues of this worthy Queene, partly we haue sayd something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord so permitting) by other who then were about her: I will cease in this matter further to proceede.

This I can not but meruayle, why the Parliamt holden this yeare, that is, the xxviij. yeare of the King, (which Parliamt three yeares before had established and confirmed this Mariage as most lawfull) shoulde now so sodeinly and contrary to their owne doings,* repeale and disable the sayd Mariage agayne as vnlawfull, beeyng so lawfully before contracted. But more I meruayle, why the saide Parliamt, after the illegitimation of the Mariage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceede, and charge her with such carnall desires of her body, as to misuse her selfe with her owne naturall brother the Lorde Rochford, and others,* being so contrary to all nature that no naturall man will beleue it.

But in this Acte of Parliamt did lie (no doubt) some great mistery, which heere I will not stand to discusse, but onely that it may be suspected some secrete practising of the Papistes here not to be lacking, considering what a mightie stoppe she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong Bulwarke she was for the maintenance of Christes Gospell and sincere religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason wherof, it may easily be considered that this Christian and deuout Debora could lacke no enemies amongst such a number of Philistians, both within the Realme and without.

Agayne, neither is it vnlike but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroade in Ambassie, was not altogether asleepe. The suspition whereof may be the more coniecturall, for that Edmund Boner Archdeacon of Leicester, and then Ambasadour in Fraunce succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plaine Papistrie, as in the sequeale of their stories, when wee come to the time, more ample (the Lord graunting) shall be expressed.

And as touching the Kings minde and assent,* although at that time through crafty setters on, he seemed to be sore bent both against that Queene, and to the disheriting of his owne daughter: yet vnto that former will of the King so set against her then, I will oppose againe the last will of the King, wherein expressly and by name he did accepte, and by plaine ratification did allow the succession of hys Mariage to stand good and lawfull.

Furthermore,* to all other sinister iudgements and opinions, whatsoever can be conceiued of man against that vertuous Queene: I object and oppose againe (as in stede of aunswere) the euident demonstration of Gods fauour, in mainteining, preseruing, & aduaunsing the offspring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, nowe Queene, whome the Lord hath so meruailously conserued from so manifold [Page 1083](#) daungers, so royally hath exalted, so happely hath blessed with such vertuous patience, and with such a quiet reigne hetherto, that neither the reigne of her brother EDVVARD, nor of her sister Mary, to her is to be compared, whether we consider the number of the yeares of their reignes, or the peaceablenes of their state. In whose royall and flourishing regiment we haue to behold, not so much the naturall disposition of her mothers qualities, as the secrete iudgemente of God in preseruing and magnifieng the fruite and offspring of that godly Queene.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of Cardinall Poole,* and of Paulus Iouius, that Popish Cardinall, who measuring belike other womē by his curtesanes of Rome, so impudently abuseth his penne in lieng and rayling against this noble Queene: to aunswere agayne in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and iudgement of so many noble Protestants and Princes of Germany, who beeing in league before with King Henry, and minding no lesse but to haue made him the head of their confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this Queene, vtterly brake from him and refused him, onely for the same cause.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wilie Papistes, who seeing the Pope to be repulsed out of England by the meanes chiefly of this Queene, and fearing alwayes the succession of this Marriage in time to come: thought by sinister practise to preuent that perill before, whispering in the Kings eares, what possibly they could, to make that Matrimonie vnlawfull, and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Againe, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that mariage, and a perpetuall enemy against Lady Elizabeth) being then abroade with the French Kyng and the great Maister of Fraunce, ceased not in his letters still to put the King in feare, that the foreine Princes and powers of the world, with the Pope, woulde neuer be reconciled to the King, neither should he be euer in any perfect securitie, vnlesse he vndid againe such actes before passed for the ratification of that succession. Which thing when they had now brought to passe after their owne desire, that both now the Queene was beheaded,* and Elizabeth the Kings daughter disherited, they thought all things to be sure for euer. But yet Gods prouidence still went beyond them, and deceaued them. For incontinently after the suffering of Queene Anne, the King within three dayes after, maryed Lady Iane Semer, of whome came King Edward, as great an enemy to Gods enemy the Pope, as euer his father was, and greater too.

In the meane time, as these troublous tumultes were in doing in England, Paule the third Bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind to helpe forward for his own aduantage. Who seeing his

vsurped kingdome & feate to be darkened in the countreys of Germany,* & also in Englād, thought it high time to bestirre him, and therefore, to prouide some remedy against further daungers, appointed a general Councel at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to be there, or else to sende their Ambassadors, vnder faire pre•enses, as to suppress heresies, and to restore the Church▪ and to warre agaynst the Turke, &c. This Bull was subscribed with the hands of 26. Cardinals, and set vp in diuers great Cities, that it might be knowne and published to the whole world. Unto the which Bull, firste the Protestants of Germany doe aunsweare, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that Councell, being indicted at Mantua in the Popes owne Countrey. Whose declaration, with theyr causes graue and effectuell,* being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy heere to be inserted, yet for breuitie, and more speede in our story, I will pretermit the same, and only take the Oration or answere of our King heere: Wherein he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or to send at the Popes call to his Councell, indicted at Mantua. Whose Oration or Protestation, because it containeth matter of some w•ight and great experience, I thought heere good to expresse, as foloweth.

¶A Protestation in the name of the King, and the whole Counsaile, and Cleargy of England, why they refuse to come to the Popes Councell at his call.

SEing that the Bishop of Rome calleth learned men frō all parties,* conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh most meet and most ready to defend fra•des and vntruthes: we could not but with much anxietie cast with our selues, what so great a preparance of wits should meane. As chance was, wee gessed euen as it folowed. We haue ben so long acquainted with Romaine subtilties and popish deceites, that we wel and easely iudged y^e Byshop of Rome to intend an assemble of his adherents and men sworne to thinke all his lusts to be lawes. We were not deceiued.* Paule the Byshop of Rome hath called a Councell, to the which he knewe well either fewe or none of the Christen Princes coulde come. Both the time that he indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whether wandereth not these Popishe Bulles? whether go they not astray? what King is not cited and summoned by a proud Minister and seruant of Kings, to come to bolster vp errors, fraudes, deceites, and vntruthes, and to set foorth this feined generall Councell? For who will not thinke that Paule the Byshop of Rome goeth sooner about to make men belecue that he intendeth a generall Councell, then that he desireth one in deede: No, who can lesse desire it, thē they that do despaire of their cause, except they be iudges, and giue sentence themselues against their aduersaries? We, which very sore against our will, at any time leaue off the procurement of the Realme and cōmon weale, neede neither to come our selues,* nor yet to sende our procuratours thether, no nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse vs, that we come not at his call, which hath no authoritie to call vs?

But for a season let vs (as a sorte of blyndlynges doe) graunt that he may call vs,* and that he hath authority so to do: yet (we pray you) may not all men see, what auaieth it to come to this Councell, where ye shall haue no place, except ye be knowen both willing to oppresse trueth, and also ready to confirme and stablish errors? Do not all mē perceiue as well as we, with what integritie, fidelitie, and Religion, these men go about to discusse matters in controuersie, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plaine what fruite the common weale of Christendome may looke for there,* where as Mantua is chosen the place to keepe this

Councell at? Is there any Prince, not beeing of Italy, yea, is there any of Italy, Prince or other dissenting frō the Pope, that dareth come to this assemble, and to this place? If there come none, that dare speake for troden truth,* none that will venture hys life, is it meruayle if the Bishop of Rome being iudge, no man repining, no man gainesaieng, the defenders of the Papacie obtaine that Popish authority now quayling and almost fallen, be set vp againe?

Is this the way to helpe things afflict?* to redresse troubled Religion? to lift vp oppressed truth? Shall men thys way know, whether the Romane Bishops (which in very deede are, if yee looke either vpon their doctrine or life, far vnder other Bishops) ought to be made like theyr felowes, that is, to be pastours in their own Dioces, and so to vse no further power: or else whether they may make lawes, not only vnto other Bishops, but also to Kings & Emperours? O boldnesse, meete to be beaten downe with force, and not to be conuincd with arguments. Can either Paule that now Lordeth, or any of his, earnestly go about (if they alone, or at y^e least without any aduersary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heale the sickenneses, to take away the errorrs, to plucke downe the abuses that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolstered vp, by such Councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

It is very like, that these, whiche prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pul down all such things, as their forefathers made, onely for y^e increase of money.* Where as their forefathers, whē their honour, power, primacy, was called into question, woulde either in spite of Gods law, mainteine their dignity, or (to say better) their intollerable pride: is it like, that these will not trede in their steps, and make naughty new Canons, wherby they may defend old euil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care, either what they haue done, or what they intend to do hereafter, for as much as Englād hath taken her leaue of Popish crafts for euer, neuer to be deluded w^t them hereafter? Romaine Bishops haue nothing to do with Englishe people: the one doth not trafike with the other: at y^e least, though they wil haue to do with vs, yet we wil none of their marchandise, none of their stuffe. We will receiue them of our Councell no more. We haue sought our hurt, and bought our losse a great while too lōg. Surely their Decrees, either touchyng things set vp, or put downe, shall haue none other place w^t vs, then al Bishops Decrees haue, that is, if we like them, we admit them: if we do not, we refuse them. But lest peradventure mē shal think vs to folow our senses too much,* & that we, moued by small or no iust causes, forsake the authority, censures, Decrees, and Popishe Councelles, wee thought it best heere to shew our mind to the whole world.

Wherefore we protest before God and all men, that we <1 page missing> [Page 1085](#) down of his vsurped power, and proud primacy: for expelling of hys vsurped iurisdiction: and for deliuering of oure realme from his greeuous bōdage and pollage? Who seeth not him euen inflamed w^t hatred againste vs, and y^e flames to be much greater,* then he can nowe keepe them in? He is an open ennemie, he dissembleth no longer, prouoking all men by all the meanes that hee can to endamage vs and our countrey. These 3. yeares he hath bene occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stirre vp the commōs of England, now corrupting some with mony, some wyth dignities. Wee lette passe, what letters hee hath wrytten to Christen Princes: with howe great feruent study, he hath exhorted men to set vpon vs. The good Uicare of Christe, by his doing sheweth how he vnderstandeth the words of Christ.* Hee thinketh, he playeth Christes part well, when he may say as Christ did: Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium: I come not to make peace in earth, but to sende swordes about: and not such swordes,

as Christ would his to be armed with all, but such as cruell manquellers, abuse in the slaughter of theyr neighbours. Wee meruaile little, though they vexe other Princes oft, seing they recompence our fauour shewed to them, wyth contumelies, our benefites with iniuries.

We will not rehearse here, how many our benefites bestowed vpon Romaine bishops, be lost. God be with such vngrate earles,* vnworthy to be nombred amongst men: Cer•es, suche that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But y^t we haue learned to owe good wil, euē to them that immortally hate vs, what coulde we wish them so euill, but they haue deserued much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better minde. God be thanked, we haue made all their seditious ententes, sooner to shew their great malice towardes vs, then to do vs much hurt: yet they haue well taught vs, euermore to take good heede of our ennemyes. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leaue their whelpes amongst the lambes of our flocke. When we be weary of our wealth, wee will euen doe then, as they would haue vs now do. No, no, as long as we shal see his heart so good towardes vs, we trust vppon hys warning, we shall well prouide to withstand hys cruell malice. No, let him now, spende his deceites, when they can hurt none but such as would deceiue, and are deceiued.

They haue by sundry waies, made vs priuy, howe much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the iudgement of Iulye, of Clement the 7. of Paule the 3. nothing to be regarded w^t vs.* They be afraide, if wee shoulde sustaine no hurt because wee iustly reiected their primacie, that other Princes woulde begin to doe lykewyse, and to shake of their shoulders, the heauy burthens that they so long haue borne, againste Scripture, all right and reason▪ They be sory to see the way stopped, y^t now their tyranny, auarice, and pride cā haue no passage into England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to tosse, to trouble al men. They can scarce suffer priuiledges, that is to say, licence to spoyle our Citizens, geuen them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorful custome, to be taken frō them. They thinke it vnlawful, that we require things lawful of them that will be vnder no lawes. They thinke, wee doe them wrong,* because we will not suffer them to do vs wrong any longer. They see their marchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see, that we will buy no longer, chalke for cheese. They see they haue lost a faire flese, vengeable sorie, that they can dispatch no more pardons, dispensations, tot quotes, with the rest of their baggage and tromperie. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they doe foolishly, that giue golde for leade, more weight of that then they receiue of this.* They passe not, though Peter & Paules faces be grauen in the lead, to make fooles faine. No, we be sorie that they shoulde abuse holy Saints visages, to the begiling of the world.

Surely, except God take away our right wittes, not only his authority shalbe driuē out for euer,* but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England. Wee will from henceforth, aske counsel of him and his, when we lust to be deceiued, when we couet to be in error, when we desire to offend God, trouth, and honesty. If a man may gesse the whole worke by the foundation,* where deceits beginneth the worke, can any other then deceits be builded vpō thys foundation? What can you looke for in thys Mantuan council,* other then the oppression of truth & true religion? If there be any thing well done, thinke as euery mā doth, bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things wel that many euill may the better be taken at theyr handes. They when they lust, can yelde some part of theyr ryghte. They are content, that some of their decrees, some of their errors & abuses be reprehended: but they are neuer more to be s•ared, then when they shewe

themselves most gentle. For if they graunt a few, they aske many: if they leaue a litle, they will be sure of a great deale. Scarse a man he may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea when they blesse him: which seldome doe good, but for an intent to do euil. Certainly come who so will to these shops of deceits, to these taires of frauds, we wil loose no parte of our right in comming at his call,* that ought to be called, and not to fall. We wil neither come at Mantua, nor send thether for this matter. &c.

And so the king proceeding in the sayde hys Protestation, declareth moreouer, how the Pope, after he had summoned his Councell first to be kept at Mantua, the 23. of May, An. 1537. shortly after directed out an other Bull, to prorogate the same Councell to the month of Nouember, pretending for his excuse, y^t the Duke of Mantua woulde not suffer him to keepe any Councell there,* vnles he maintained a number of warriors, for defence of the town. And therfore in his latter bull, he prorogeth this assemble, commaunding Patriarkes, Archbishops, Byshops, Abbots, and other of the spiritualtie, by the vertue of obedience and vnder paine of cursing, to be present, but sheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whether they shoulde come. And in very deepe no great matter, though no place were named. For as good coucel no where to be called, as where it could not be. And aswell no place serued him, that intended no Councell, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, then to name suche, as he purposed not to come too: for so shoulde hee breake no promise, which maketh none. And so going forward in his oration, toward the latter ende, he thus inferreth by his wordes of Protestation, saying.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to vnderstand that, that we oft haue sayd, and now say, and euer will say:* He nor his hath no authoritie, no iurisdiction in England. Wee giue him no more then hee hath, that is neuer a deale. That which he hath vsurped against Gods lawe, & extorted by violēce, we by good right, take from him again. But he & his wil say: we gaue them a primacie. We heare them well. We gaue it you in dede. If you haue authority vpon vs, as long as our cōsent giueth it you, and you euermore wil make your plee vpon our consent, then let it haue euen an ende, where it began: we cōsent no longer, your authoritie must nedes be gone. If we being deceiued by fals pretense of euil alledged scriptures, gaue to you y^t ye ought to haue refused: why may we not, our error nowe perceiued, your deceite espied, take it againe? We princes wrote our selues to be inferours to popes. As long as wee thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they haue no great cause to maruill, if we hereafter doe not as we did, both the lawes cyuill, and also the lawes of God, be on our side. For a free man borne doth not lose his liberty, no nor hurt the plee of his libertie, though he write himselfe a bond man.

Againe, if they leane to custome, we send them to saint Ciprian, which saith that custome,* if trouthe be not ioyned with it is nothing, but erroris vetustas, that is, an old error. Christ sayd: Ego sum via, veritas, & vita: I am y^e way trouthe and life. He neuer sayd: Ego sum consuetudo, I am the custome. Wherefore, seeing custome serueth you on y^e one side, and Scripture vs vppon the other, are ye able to matche vs? In how many places doth Christ monish you to seek no primacie, to preferre your selues before no body? no,* to be obedient vnto all creatures? Your old title, Seruus seruorum, euill agreeth with your new forged dignitie. But we will not tary in matters playne: We onely desire God, y^t Cesar & other Christian Princes, would agree vpō some holy Councell, where trouthe may be tried and Religiō set vp, which hath bene hurt by nothing so sore, as by general not generall Councils. Errours and abuses grow to fast.*Erudimini, erudimini qui

iudicatis terram: Get you learning you y^t iudge the earth: & excogitate some remedy for these so many diseases of y^e sick Church. They that be wisest, do dispayre of a generall Councell. Wherefore we think it now best, that euery Prince call a Councell prouincial, and euery Prince to redresse his owne Realme. We make all men priuy, what we thinke best to be done for the redresse of religion. If they like it, we doubt not, but they wil follow it, or some other better. Our trust is, that all Princes will so handle themselues in this behalfe, that Princes may enioy their own, and Priests of Rome content themselues with that they ought to haue. Princes as we trust, will no longer nourish Wolues whelpes: they wil subscribe no more to popish pride, to the Papacie. &c.

Fauour our doinges, O Christen Princes. Your honor & ancient Maiestie is restored. Remēber, there is nothing pertaining so muche to a Princes honour, as to set forth truth, and to helpe religion. Take you heed that their [Page 1086](#) deceite worke not more mischief, then your vertue can doe good: & euerlasting warre we would all Princes had with this Papacie. As for their Decrees, so harken to them, that if in this Mantua assemble, thynges be well done, ye take them, but not as authorised by them, but that trouth and thyngs that mainteyne Religiō, are to be taken at all mēs hādes. And euē as we will admit thynges well made, so if there be any thyng determined in preiudice of trouth, for mainteinaūce of their euill grounded primacy, or that may hurt y^e authoritie of kings, we protest vnto y^e whole world, that we neither allow it, nor will at any tyme allow it.

Ye haue, Christen Readers, our mynde cōcernyng the generall Councell. We thinke you all see, that Paule & his Cardinals, Byshops, Abbots, Monkes, Friers, with the rest of the rablemēt, do nothing lesse intēd, then the knowledge or search of trouth. Ye see, this is no tyme meete, Mātua no place meete, for a generall Coūcell. And though they were both meete, yet except some other cal this Coūcell, you see, that we neither neede to come, nor to sēd. You haue heard how euery Prince in his owne Realme, may quiet thynges amisse. If there be any of you, that can shew vs a better way, we promise w^t all harty desire, to do that, that shalbe thought best for the setlyng of Religion, & that we wil leaue our owne aduises, if any mā shew vs better. Which mynde of ours, we most hartly pray GOD, that gaue it vs, not onely to encrease in vs, but also to send it vnto all Christen Princes, all Christen Prelates, and all Christen people.

A little before the death of Queene Anne, there was a Parliamēt at Westminster, wherin was geuē to the kyng by cōsent of the Abbots, all such houses of religiō, as were vnder 300. markes. Which was a shrewde prognosticate of the ruine of greater houses, which in deede folowed shortly after, as was & might easely be perceaued before of many, who thē sayd: that the low bushes and brambles were cut downe before, but great okes would folow after.

Although the proceedyng of these thyngs did not well like the myndes of the Popes frendes in Englād,* yet notwithstanding they began agayne to take some breath of comfort, when they sawe the foresayd Queene Anne dispatched. Neuerthesse they were frustrate of their purpose (as is aforeshewed) and that doblewise. For first, after they had their willes of Queene Anne, the Lord raysed vp an other Queene, not greatly for their purpose, with her sonne kyng Edward.* And also for that the Lord Crōwell the same tyme began to growe in authoritie. Who like a mighty piller set vp in the Church of Christ, was enough alone to confounde and ouerthrow all

the malignant deuises of the aduersaries, so long as God gaue him in lyfe here to continue: whose story hereafter followeth more at large.

Shortly after this foresayd Mariage of the kyng with this Queene Iane Semer aboue mentioned, in y^e moneth of Iune, duryng the continuation of the Parliament, by the consent of the Clergy holdyng thē a solemne conuocation in the Church of S. Paule,* a booke was set forth conteyning certaine Articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people, wherein they intreated specially but of three Sacramentes: Baptisme, Penance, & the Lordes Supper. Where also diuers other thyngs were published concernyng the alteration of certaine pointes of Religion, as that certaine holy dayes were forbiddē, and many Abbayes began to bee suppressed. For the whiche cause, the rude multitude of Lincolneshyre fearing the vtter subuersion of their old Religion,* wherein they had bene so long noused, did rise vp in a great cōmotion, to the nūber: welneare of 20. thousād, hauyng for their Captaine, a Monke named D. Makerell, calling himselfe then Captaine Cobbler: but these rebels being repressed by the kyngs power, and desiryng pardon,* soone brake vp their assembly. For they hearing of the royal army of the king cōming against them wyth his owne persone there present, & fearing what would follow of this, first the noble men and Gentlemen, which before fauoured them, began to w^ddraw themselues, so that they were destitute of Captaines: and at the laste, they in writing made certaine petitions to the king, protesting that they neuer intended hurt toward his royal person. These petitions the king receiued, and made thys answer againe to them as followeth.

The kings answer to the rebels.

Ffirst, we begin and make answer to the fourth and sixt articles,* because vpon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of Counsailours, I neuer haue red, heard, nor knowen, that Princes, Counsailours and Prelates, should be appoynted by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meete, or of habilitie to discerne and choose meete and sufficient Counsailours for a Prince: How presumptuous then are ye the rude cōmons of one shire, and that one the most base of y^e whole realme, and of the least experience, to finde fault with your Prince, for the electing of his Counsailours and Prelates, and to take vpon you, contrary to Gods lawe, and mans lawes, to rule your Prince, whom ye are boūd by al law, to obey and serue with both your liues, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cause, to withstand?

As to the suppression of religious houses & Monasteries, we wil that ye and al our subiects should wel know,* that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall & temporall of thys realme, and by al the commons in the same, by Acte of Parlament, and not set foorth by any Counsailour or Counsailours vpon their mere wil and fantasy, as ye full falsely would perswade our realme to beleeeue.

And where ye alleage, that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the trueth thereof is contrary: for there bee no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of liuing was vsed, and that doth well appeare by their owne confessions subscribed wyth their owne handes in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffred a great many of them (more then we needed by the Acte) to stand: wherin,* if they amend not their liuing, we feare, we haue more to aunswere for, then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the reliefe of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme, that they

haue bene a great reliefe of poore people, when a great many or the most parte hath not past foure or fiue religious persons in them, & diuers but one, which spent the substaunce of the goodes of their houses in nourishing of vice and abhominable liuing. Nowe, what vnkindnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all our subiects that be of that minde, which hadde leuer suche an vnthrifitie sorte of vicious persons shoulde enioye suche possessions, profites and emoluments, as grow of the sayd houses, to the maintenance of their vnthrifitie life, then we your naturall Prince, soueraigne Lorde and King, whych doth & hath spent more in your defences of our owne, then sixe times they be woorth?

As touching the acte of vses, we maruaile what madnes is in your braine,* or vpon what ground ye wold take authority vpon you, to cause vs to breake those lawes and statutes, which by all the noble Knightes and Gentlemen of this Realme (whom the same chiefly touched) hath bene graunted and assented too: seeing in no maner of things, it toucheth you the base commons of our realme.

Also, the groundes of all those vses were false, and neuer admitted by law, but vsurped vpon the prince, contrary to all equitie and iustice, as it hath bene openly both disputed & declared by all the well learned mē in the Realm of Englande, in Westminster Hall: whereby yee may well perceiue, howe madde and vnreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and howe vnmeete it is for vs, & dishonorable, to graunt or assent vnto, and lesse mete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort, to demande the same of your Prince.

As touching the fifteene which yee demaunde of vs to be released, thinke yee that we be so faint hearted,* that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many mo) could compell vs with your insurrections & such rebellious demeanour, to remitte the same? or thinke yee that any man will or may take you to be true subiects, that first make & shewe a louing graunt, and then perforce would compel your soueraigne Lord and King to release the same? The time of paiement whereof is not yet come: yea and seeing the same will not counteruaile the tenth peny of the charges, whych we haue and daily do susteine for your tuition & safegarde: make you sure by your occasiōs of these your ingratitude, vnnaturalnes, and vnkindnes to vs now administred, ye geue vs cause (which hath alwayes bene asmuche dedicate to your wealth, as euer was King) not so muche to set our study for y^e setting forward of the same, seing how vnkindly and vntruly ye deale now wyth vs, wythout any cause or occasion. And doubt yee not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to consider your duetie of allegiāce to your king & soueraigne Lord, the rest of our Realm (we doubt not) hath, & we and they shall so looke on thys cause, y^t we trust it shalbe to your confusion, if according to your former letters you submit not your selues.

As touching the first frutes, we let you to witte, it is a thing graunted vs by Acte of Parliament also,* for the supportation of part of the great and excessiue charges, which we support & beare for the maintenaunce of your wealthes and other our subiects: and we haue knowen also that yee our commons haue much complained in times passed, that the most part of our goodes, landes, and possessions of the Realme, were in the spirituall mens handes: and yet bearing [Page 1087](#) vs in hande, that yee be as louing subiectes to vs as may be, yee can not finde in your hearts, that your Prince and soueraigne Lord should haue any part therof (and yet it is nothing preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but doe rebel and vnlawfully rise against your Prince, contrary to the due•y of allegiaunce & Gods commaundement. Syrs, remember your follies and traiterous

demeanours, and shame not your native country of England, nor offend no more so grievously your vndoubted king & natural prince, which alwayes hathe shewed him selfe most louinge vnto you, and remember your duetie of allegiance, and that yee are bound to obey vs your king, both by Gods commandement, and lawe of nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftsoones vpon the foresayde bondes and paines, that yee wythdrawe your selues to your owne houses euery manne, and no more to assemble contrary to our lawes and your allegiaunces, and to cause the prouokers of you to thys mischief, to be deliuered to our Lieutenants handes or ours, and you your selues to submitte you to suche condigne punishment, as wee and our nobles shal thinke you worthy: for doubt you not els, that we & our nobles can nor wil suffer this iniury at your hands vnreuēged, if ye geue not place to vs of soueraignetie, & shew your selues as bounden and obedient subiects, and no more to entermeddle your selues from hencefoorth wyth the waightie affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof onely appertaineth to vs your king, and such noble men and counsailours, as we list to electe and choose to haue the ordering of the same.

And thus wee pray vnto almightie God, to geue you graee to doe your duties, to vse your selues towards vs like true and faithfull subiectes, so as wee may haue cause to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to consent amongst you, to deliuer into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundreth persons to be ordered according to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacie and wilfulnes, to put your selues, your wines, children, lands, goodes and cattels, beside the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of total destruction, & vtter ruine, by force and violence of the sword.

After the Lyncolneshyre menne had receiued thys the Kynges aunswere aforesayd,* made to theyr petitions, eche mistrusting other who shoulde be noted to be the greatest meddler, euen very sodeinly they began to shrinke and out of hand, they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his owne house in peace: but the Captaines of these rebels escaped not all cleare, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserued. Ex Edw. Hallo.

After thys, immediately wythin sixe dayes, vpon the same, followed a newe insurrection in Yorkeshire for the same causes,* through the instigation and lying tales of seditious persons, especially Monkes and Priests, making them beleue, that their siluer chalices, crosses, iewels, and other ornaments shoulde be taken out of their Churches, and that no man should be married, or eate any good meate in his house, but should geue tribute therfore to the King: but their speciall malice was against Cromwell, and certaine other Counsailours.

The number of these rebelles were neare about 40. M. hauing for their badges the 5. woundes,* wyth the signe of the Sacrament, and Iesus wrytten in the midst.

This their deuilish rebellion, they termed by the name of a holy pilgrimage,* but they serued a wrong and a naughty Saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, whereuppon was painted Christ hanging vpon the Crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it, on the other side, with other such ensignes of like hypocrisie and fayned sanctitie, pretending thereby to fight for the faith, and right of holy Church.

As soone as the king was certified of this newe seditious insurrection, hee sent with all speede against them, the Duke of Northfolke,* Duke of Suffolke, Marques of Excetor, Earle of Shrewsbury & other, wyth a great armye, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

These noble Captaines and Counsaillours thus well furnished with habilement of warre, approaching towarde the rebels, and vnderstāding both their number, and howe they were ful bent to battaile, first with policy went about to assay and practise how to appease all without bloudshedding;* but the Northern men stoutly and sturdely standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, wold in no case relent frō their attempts. Which when the nobles perceiued, & saw no other way to pacifie their furious mindes vtterly sette on mischief, determined vppon a battel. The place was appoynted, the day assigned, and the houre set, but see y^t wanderous worke of Gods gracious prouidēce.

The night before the day of battaile came (as testifieth Edward Hall) fell a small raine, nothing to speake of;* but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small forde, and that men, in maner y^e day before, might haue gone brishod ouer, sodenly rose of suche a height, deepenes, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabite, could tell that euer they sawe afore: so y^t the day, euen when the houre of battayle shoulde come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

After this, y^e appoyntment made betweene both y^e armies being thus disappointed, as it is to be thought, onely by God (who extended his great mercye, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons, that in that deadly slaughter had like to haue bene murdered) could take no place: then by the great wisdom and pollicie of y^e said Captaines, a communication was had, & a pardon of the kings Maiestie obtained, for al the captayns and chiefe doers of this insurrection, and they promised y^t such thinges as they found themselues agreeued with all they shoulde gently be heard, and theyr reasonable petitions graunted, & that their articles shoulde be presented to the king, that by his highnesse authoritie, and wisdom of his Counsaile, all thinges shoulde be brought to good order and conclusion: and with this order euery man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hote as fire, to fight, being letted therof by God; went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water. A Domino factum est istud.

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkeshyre, and the king lying the same time at Windsore there was a Butcher dwelling within 5. miles of the saide towne of Windsore,* whiche caused a Priest to preach, that all they that tooke part with the Yorkshire men, whom he called Gods people did fight in Gods quarrell: for the whiche both he and the priest were apprehended, and executed.

Diuers other priestes also, with other, about the same tyme committing in like sorte treason agaynst the king, suffered the like execution. Such a busines had the Kyng then to ridde the realme from the seruitude of the Romish yokes.

Tantae molis erat Romanam euertere sedem.

But Gods hād did still worke with all, in vpholding hys Gospell and troden truth, against all seditious sturres, cōmotions, rebellions, and what soeuer was to the contrary as both by these storyes aforepassed, and by suche also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appeare.

The yere next after this, which was of the Lord. 1537. after that great execution had bene done vpon certayne rebellious Priestes and a fewe other lay men,* with certayne noble persons also and gentlemen, amongst whome was the Lord Darcy, the Lorde Hussy, Syr Robert Constable Syr Thomas Percy, Syr Frances Bygot, Syr Stephen Hamelton, Syr Iohn Bulmer, and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the Abbottes of Gerney, and of Riuers. &c. in the month of October, the same yere folowing, was borne Prince Edward. Shortly after whose birth, Queene Iane his mother, the second daye after, dyed in childbed, & left the king agayne a widower, which so continued the space of two yeres together. Upon the death of whiche Queene Iane,* and vppon the birth of prince Edward her sonne, these two verses were made which follow.

Phoenix lana iacet nato Phoenixe,* dolendum

Secula Phoenixes nulla tulisse duas.

Here is by the waye to be vnderstand, that during all this season, since the time that the king of Englande had reiected the pope out of the Realme, both the Emperour,* y^e French king, and the king of Scottes, with other forreine potentates (which were yet in subiection vnder the Pope) bare no him do great good fauour inwardly, what soeuer outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking pryuy setters on, nor secret working among themselues, how to compasse vngracious mischiefes, if God by cōtrary occasions had not stopped their intended deuises. For first y^e Pope had sent Cardinall Poole to the French king, to stir him to warre agaynst the realme of England.

Secondly where as the Frenche king,* by treaty of perpetuall peace, was bound yearly to paye to the king of England at the first dayes of May, and Nouember about xcv. thousand crownes of the summe, and odde mony, and ouer, that 10000. crownes at y^e sayd ij. termes, for recōpēce of salt due, as the treates therof did purporte: that pension remayned now vn timered iiiij. yeares and more.

Furthermore, the Emperour and the Frenche K. both reteined Grancetor a traiterous rebell against the king, & condemned by Act of Parliament, with certayn other traitors moe, and yet would not deliuer him to the king at his earnest suite and request.

[Page 1088](#)The Frenche king also digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance wyth the Bishop of Rome, Clement in marying the Dolphine to hys Niece, called Katherine de Medicis.

The sayd Frenche kyng moreouer, contrary to his contracte made, married his daughter to the king of Scottes. All which were preiudiciall: and put the kinge (no doubt) in some feare and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant Prince) to see the Pope, the Emperour, the French king, and king of Scottes so bent against him.

And yet all this notwithstanding, the Lord stil defended the iustnes of his cause against them all. For although the French king was so sette on by the Pope, and so linked in mariage with the Scots, and sacked nothing now but only occasion to inuade the realme of England: yet notwythstanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the kinges sonne by Queene Iane, and vnderstandinge also by the death of the sayde Queene Iane, that the Kyng was a widower, and perceiuing moreouer, talk to be that the king would ioine in mariage with the

Germaines, began to waxe more calme and colde, and to geue much more gentle wordes, and to demeane him selfe more curtuously, labouring to mary the Queene of Nauare hys sister to the king.

The Ambassadors resident then in France for the king, were Ste. Gardiner, with Docto• Thirleby, &c. Whyche Steuen Gard. what he wrought secreately for the Popes deuotion, I haue not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But thys is certaine, that when D. Boner Archdeacon then of Leicester, was sente into Fraunce by the Kinge (throughe the meanes of the Lord Cromwell (to succede Steuen Gardinar in Ambassie, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1538. he found such dealing in the sayd Bishop of Winchester, as was not greatly to be trusted, beside the vnkynde partes of the sayde Byshop againste the foresayde Boner,* comming then from the King and Lorde Cromwell, as was not to be liked.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, & few men peruenture woulde beleue,* the brawling matters, the priue complaints, the contentious quarels, and bitter dissentiōs betwene these two, and especially what despyghtful contumelies D. Boner receiued at the hands of Winchester. For vnderstande (good Reader) that this doctor Boner all this while remained yet (as he seemed) a good man,* and was a great furtherer of the kinges proceedings, and a fauourer of Luthers doctrine, and was aduanced only by the Lorde Cromwel. Whose promotions here to rehearse: first he was Archdeacon of Leycester, persone of Bledon, of Dereham, Cheswike, and Cheriburton. Then was made Byshop of Hereford, and at last preferred to be Bish. of London. The chiefe of which preferments and dignities were conferred vnto him only by the meanes and fauour of the L. Cromwel,* who was then his chiefe and only patrone, and setter vp: as the said Boner himselfe in al his letters doth manifestly protest and declare. The Copies of which his letters I could heere produce and exhibite, but for prolonging my story with superfluous matter. Yet that the worlde and all posteritie may see, how the comming vp of D. Boner was onely by the Gospell (howsoeuer he was after vnkind vnto the Gospell) this one letter of his,* which I wil heere inferre, written to the Lorde Cromwel out of Fraunce, may stand for a perpetuall testimonie, the tenour whereof here ensueth.

***A letter of Doctor Boner the kings Ambassadors resident in Fraunce, sent to the Lord Cromwell, declaring the order of his promotions and comming vp.**

MY very singular especiall good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commende mee vnto your honourable good Lordship.* And wheras in times passed in hath liked the same, without any my desertes or merites, euen only of your singular exceding goodnes, to bestowe a great deale of loue, beneuolence, and good affection vpon me so poore a man, and of so small qualities, expressing in deede, sondry wayes, the good effectes therof to my great preferment, I was very much bounde thereby vnto your honourable good Lordshippe, and thought it alway my duetie (as in deede it was) both to beare my true hart againe vnto your Lordship,* and also, remembring suche kindnes, to doe vnto the same all such seruice & pleasure as might then lie in my smal power to do.

But where of your infinite & inestimable goodnes, it hath further liked you of late, first to aduance me vnto the office of Legation from such a Prince as my soueraigne Lorde is, vnto the Emperour and French king, and next after to procure and obtayne mine aduancement to so honourable a promotion as the Byshoprike of Hereford: I must here knowledge the exceeding greatnes of your Lordshippes benefite,* with mine owne imbecillitie to recompence it, and say (as Virgil writeth) Grates persoluere dignas non opis est nostrae.

Surely my good Lorde, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite thus your Lordships moste speciall kindnesse and bountifull goodnes at any time, vnlesse I shoulde vse that ciuile remeady called in law acceptilation, which great detters especially, are accustomed to procure at the handes of their creditours:* whereby yet neuertheles your goodnes the onely doer thereof, shoulde rather be encreased, then my duetie towardes the same, thereby diminished. And cessio Bonorum (the onely extreeme refuge and helpe of poore detters deuised also in * ciuile) myghte somewhat help herein, sauing that it is not possible that I shall come Ad tam pinguem fortunam (Wherupon that remedy is grounded) whereby I may recompence and requite this dette worthely.

So that in cōclusion there resteth this, that vnlesse your Lordships self do lose me as you haue boūd me, I shal (and that ful gladly) remaine cōtinually your most boundē beadesmen. And Syr I most humbly beseeche your good Lordship, in the honor of God, seeing this thing is begonne, and auanced onely by your goodnesse and meanes you will to the entent the acte may be wholely your owne, stretche out your goodnesse, not suffering the rest to be perfited otherwise thē by your own hands: wherein as I must & shall knowledge my selfe to be exceedingly beholden vnto your good Lordshippe: so shal the same more esteeme and set by, during my life, hauing so attained it by your onely goodnes: And verely, if your good Lordship be not better to me heerein then I can,* vnlesse it be of your owne goodnes, desire you, I knowe not howe I shall be able to ouercome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore, were right honest and good, yea, and suche as one of farre better qualities then I was or am of, ought therewith to haue beene contented, yet considering that of diuers of them, it is to witte, Leicester, Bledon, Derham, Cheswicke, and Cheryburton, the first fruites, tenthes, and charges borne, I haue not receiued clerely one penie, I am now neuer a whit the more able to beare the great charges of this.

I shall therefore herein and in all things els pertaining heereunto, seeing your Lordshippe is so great a patrone, and will nedes binde me for euer to be your owne (as in deede I will) referre all together vnto your goodnesse, beseeching you to take the order and disposition of all into your handes. I cannot tell whether the late Bishop standeth bounden for the first fruits, tenthes, or other dueties, which by stature may be demanded of his successour, but I feare it greatly, and beseeche your Lordship that I may be holpen therein. My charges now heere enforceth me the more to speake and trouble your good Lordship, which at the beginninge are not a fewe, and yet not ended. Of my fidelitie to your good I haue of fiue hundreth crownes, remaining fortie, bestowed vpon horses, m•le, mullet, raiment, and other necessities, standing debter to M Thirlby neuertheles, and also to M. Doctour Heynes for one hundreth markes or fast vpon, to them both. And besides this (suche is my chaunce nowe at the beginning) diuers of my seruantes haue fallen sicke, being in great pearill and daunger, putting me to no little charges.

Ouer and besides these displeasures comming vnto me, by not hauing their seruice, and other to keepe them, and also wantinge mine other seruants in Englande, which thoughe I haue sent for them, yet neither they, neither my horses or stuff are come, I must and doe take patience, trusting it will mende.

Vpon the closing vp of this letter and depeache of this bearer, God willing I will packe vp my geare, and to morow betime followe the French kinge, who yesterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haste towards Paris. And▪ thus our blessed Lord long and wel preserue your good Lordship in health. At Bloyse the 2. of September in the euening.

Scribled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be and is in dede, your Lordships beadesman • at commaundement. Edmund Boner.

Diuers other Letters beside this, of Doct. Boner remayne in writyng vpon the like effect and purport, which here also I might adde for a further demōstration hereof: but this one in stede of many, may suffice.* Now to our pur'pose agayne: which is to declare how this Doct. Boner in the tyme of his first springyng vp, shewed him selfe a good man, & a fast frend to the Gospell of Christ & to the kyngs proceedynges & contrariwise, how Steuen Gardiner did halt then both with God & with the kyng. Also what vnkyndnes and contumelies the sayd Boner receaued at his handes: what rancour and hartburnyng was betwene them:*, and what complayntes the one moueth agaynst the other, remaineth cōsequētly by their writyngs & recordes to be opened. For the more euident demonstration whereof, they that haue the letters of y^e sayd Doct. Boner written from Fraunce to the kyng, and the Lord Cromwell may right well perceauē. And first to note what a Gospeller [Page 1089](#) he was, in his letter from Roan, hee speaking of hys trustie companion, and bearer of hys letters (who was belike D▪ Heines) he geueth thys report both of him, and of hymselfe, saying:

If this bearer had beene so much desirous to please the Emperour and followe his religion,*,as he was studious to serue truely your grace: and to aduaunce the truthe: he had not wanted, &c. And againe:

And besides that he hath not wanted the euil report of naughtie fellowes,*,naming him a Lutherane: wherein for companie I was ioyned, such was their goodnesse, &c.

Againe in an other letter written to the Lord Cromwel these woordes he hath, speaking of his companion Doctor Heines:

Especially for that the saide D. Heines by his vprighte dealing herein,*,and professing the truth, neither gate thanks nor reward, but was blased abroad by honest folks to be a Lutherane. The les hee pleaseth in Spayne, the better argument it is, that his entent was to serue none but the kings highnesse, and the truth, &c.

And furthermore in an other minute wryting to the L. Cromwel of Steuen Win. and of his churlishnes toward him, thus he sayth:

And there founde I in M. Doct. Thirlby muche kindnesse, and in the Bishop of Winchester as little.*&c: And in the same letter it followeth:

And if I had receiued any intertainement of the Bish. of Winchester, I would likewise haue sent you worde. I thanke God, I neede not, for I had nothing of him. &c.

Also in an other letter the sayde Boner wryting to the L. Cromwel concerning one Barnabe, and him self, what colde welcome they both had at the handes of Winchester, vseth these wordes folowing.

And my good Lorde I beseech you to continue your good fauour to this honest poore man Barnabe,*who is body and soule assuredly your owne, and as well beloued of the B. of Winchester as I am: and of my trouth I suppose and beleue verely, one of the chief grudges the Bishop hath against him, is because your Lordship of your charitable goodnes doth loue and fauour him.

An other letter of Doctor Boner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Winchester, and also declaring how he was promoted by the sayd L. Cromwell, to the Bishoppricke of Herforde.

MY very singular especiall good Lorde, according to my most bounden duetie, I recommend me right humbly vnto your good Lordship, aduertising the same, that the 29. of the last, about 4. of the clocke at after noone, there arriued heere Barnabe wyth your Lordshippes letters dated at Ewrige, the 24. of the same, and thinking that at his sayde arriuall, the Bishop of Winchester, M. Thirlby and I had bene all lodged together, wherein very deede we had seuerall lodgings, he went straight to the Bishop of Winchesters lodging (M. Thirlby and I beinge then walkinge in the fieldes) and the Bishop incontinently enquired of him,* not howe the kings grace did, as was his duetie: but (as Barnabe tolde me) inquired of him where he left the kings grace at his comming away whether hee had brought any letters for him: whether M^r. Brian and M. Wallop were in the Courte at his departing: and finally what newes wer in England. To the which questions, when Barnabe had made aunswer, saying, that he left the kings grace at Byrling, and that M. Brian, and M. Wallop were in the Courte at his departing, and withall that hee had no letters from them, ne any other to him, and finally, for the newes that the kinges highnes had geuen me the Bishoppricke of Herforde: the Bishop (as Barnabe reporteth, and I doubt not but hee sayeth truely) caste downe his head, making a plaice mouth with his lippe, and afterwarde lifting vp his eyes and handes (as cursing the day & houre it chaunced) seemed so euill contented therewith,* that he would neither bid Barnabe drinke, or tarie supper, ne yet further common with him, but turning from him called one M. Medowe, and shewed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heuily, semblably as he doeth euery thing, that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnabe perceiued that I was not there, and that also this comfortable countenaunce and good cheare made vnto him,* he went thence and searched mee, who then was walking with M. Thirlby (as is afore) and by chance commoning with him of the Bishop of Winchester, geuing him aduertisement that he should not be abused by the sayde Bishop, whome

I sayde made of him not for any hartie loue I thought he bare vnto him, but either in despite of me, to whome hee thought it shoulde bee greatly displeasaunt: either els vnder colour thereof, and by familiaritie, for to grope him and to serue his owne craftie purposes by him And sone after the departure of M. Thirlby from me, who then went to the Bishop to supper, I returned towards my lodging,* and by the way mette with Barnabe, whose salutation was after that sorte, that it caused mee to wonder at it, especially I hauing no expectation or hope of suche thing as he rehearsed vnto me. And surely my good Lord, I wold not beleue him in the thing he tolde, till I perceiued the same by the superscription of youre Lordships letter, which he afterwarde deliuered vnto me: declaring withall (to my great comforte) the prosperous estate of the kings highnesse and of your good Lordship. Which known, I besought almighty God to graunt the long continuance thereof, and also as was my duetie, did geue moste humble thanks to the kings highnesse and to your saide good Lordship. And hereupon,* keeping your Lordships letters still in my hands vnbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of M Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate these my newes and great good fortune with him, and not finding him there, I redde ouer your Lordships letters, sending the same afterward to M. Thirlby, and perceiuing by Barnabe that he had other letters for me, which he tolde me he must deliuer vnto me secretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiuing them accordingly, did reade them ouer, both that your Lordships second letter sent to me, and also the other sent to Master Wyat. &c.

Your Lordships most bounden beadesman, and alwayes at commaundement. Edmund Boner.

When the king, by the aduise of the Lord Cromwel and other of his Counsaile had appoynted D. Edmund Boner to returne from the Emperour, and to be resident in Fraunce, in the place of Winchester and of Doct. Thirleby he sent his letters to the sayde B. of Winchester, and to M. Thirleby shewing his pleasure vnto them in that behalf, with this clause in the same letters contained in expresse wordes as followeth.

And where the sayde M Boner wanteth furniture of stuffe and plate meete for that office, our pleasure is,*that you M. Thirleby shall deliuer vnto him by indenture, al the plate you haue of ours in your custodie, and that you my Lorde of Winchester shall furnish him with all suche other stuffe, as shall be necessarie for hym. Wherein as you shall doe vnto vs pleasure, so we shall be content at your returne, to satisfie you for the same. &c.

The Bishop of Winchester receiuing these letters from the king, and being lothe to come into England (what soeuer the matter was) also hearing that Doctoure Boner should succede him, his disdainfull nature did stomack him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedie but the kings commaundement must be done, first hee sendeth the kings letter, with his also to the Emperours courte, vnto M. Boner, and to D. Heynes, willing them in all haste to repaire to Lions wythin 2. dayes. Beside these letters of Winchester, D. Thirleby adioyned his letters also wyth like quicknes to the said D. Heynes and to Boner, the contents whereof here followeth.

The letter of Doct. Thirleby to Doct. Heynes and Boner.

With my hearty commendations, and the desire of youre company,* and nowe so muche rather that I shall thereby haue a great benefite, viz. the deliuerance from trouble to ease, from a straunge cuntry to mine owne, from the waiting vppon *him that forceth as litle for me, as I

am acquainted with him, to the seruice of him whose prosperitie and loue I accompte as my life: these shall be to pray you to make no lesse speede hether, then you would make to a good feast, when that you be hungrie. M. Boner shal know many things, but when you come I shal tel you more, so that you haste you. Come I pray you, I woulde faine be at home. I saw not my *master these 4. monthes. When as you M. Boner shall come to Lions, it shalbe good to go to Bonuise, he is a good money maker: In faith I can write no more, but bidde you come hartily, hastily I would haue written, and the soner, the better welcome to Lions, where this was geuen the last of Iuly.

By hym that hath loued you well, and nowe will loue you better, if you hast you hether. Th. Thirlby.

At the recept of these letters, Doctor Boner and Doctor Heynes did putte themselues in a readinesse to repair incontinent vnto Lions, thinking there to haue found Win. and Thirlby, according to y^e purport of their letters. But Wint. and Thirlby not abiding their comming, made hast away from Lions to la Barella: where Boner riding in post after him, ouer tooke hym. With whō what entertainment and talke he had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, & what brauling words passed betwene them, and what great misliking Boner had of him for speciall causes heere in thys brabbling matter, or brauling dialogue vnder following may appeare, which for thy recreation, and the further vnderstanding of Winchesters qualities, I wishe thee (louing Reader) to peruse and consider.

But first heere is to be noted, that the King and the L. [Page 1090](#) Cromwell, at what time they had appoynted D. Edmund Boner to be resident ambassadour in Fraunce, required in their letters, that he shuld aduerse them by wryting, what he misliked in the doings and behauior of certaine persons whom they did note then vnto him. Whereupon the sayde D. Boner sendeth this declaration of Steuen Gardiner B. of Wint. as followeth.

A declaration sent by D. Boner to the Lorde Cromwel,* describing to him the euill behauiour of Steuen Winchester, with speciall causes therein contained, wherfore and why he misliked of him▪

Ffirst I mislike in the B. of Winchester, that when any mā is sent in the kings affaires, and by hys highnesse commaundement, the Bishoppe,* vnlesse he be the onely and chiefe inuentour of the matter and setter foorth of the person, he will not onely vse many cauillations, but also vse great strangenesse in countenaunce and chere to the person that is sent: ouer and besides, as small comfort and counsell as may be in the matter, rather dissuading & encouraging the persone earnestly to set forthwarde his message, then boldning and comforting him, as is his duety, with help & counsel to aduenture and do his best therein.* The experience whereof I haue had my selfe with him, as wel at Roan the first time I was sent to Rome, commanded by the kings highnes to come by him, and at Marsels, the time of the intimation of the kinges protestation, prouocation, and appeale, as also lately going to Nice, touchyn• the generall Counsell,* and the authority of the B. of Rome: and •nally, nowe last of all, at my returne from Spaine, where neither my diligence in comming to him and vsing him in the beginning with all the reuerence I

coude, neither the kings letters wrytten vnto him in fauour, ne yet other thing coude mollifie his hard heart,* and cancred malitious stomacke, but that he woulde spitefully speake, & vnkindly doe, as in deede he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth.

When riding in post I came to La Barclla, a post a this side Lyons, the 7. day of August, he being in bedde there, I taried till hee rising vp and making himselfe ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarying for him in a seconde chamber, and at hys comming thether, he sayd: what M. Boner, good morow. A Syr yee be welcome,* and herewithall he put out his hand, and I kissing mine, tooke him by it, and incontinently after he sayde: Come on, let vs goe and walke a while into the fields, and withall drew towards the doore, preparing him to walke. To whome I sayde, I woulde waite vpon him. His going to the fields (as appeared afterwards) was not so muche to walke, as to haue a place where hee myghte speake loud, and triumph alone against me, calling in his wordes againe. If hee spake any amisse, or vtterly deny them if that made for his purpose. And by chaunce, rather then by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for M. Thirleby, and desired I might see him, and speake with him. The Bishop that perceiuing, and with all that I stacke vpon it, he commaunded one of his seruauntes to call M. Thirleby, but yet afore his comming, the Byshop could not be idle, but sayd this to me:

M. Boner, your seruaunt was yesterday with me, and as I told him,* I will tell you. In good faith, ye can haue nothing of me. Nothing my Lord (quoth I) merely speaking? Mary God forbid, that is a heauy worde, and much vncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much vppon your goodnesse, that hathe a great deale. In faith (quoth he) ye shall haue nothing of me, marie ye shall haue of M. Thirleby his cariage, mules, his bed, and diuers other things, that he may spare, and which hee hath kept for you. Well my Lord (quoth I) if I shal haue nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for my self otherwise, & prouide it where I may get it. And heere the Bishop, because I would not geue hym thanks,* for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I woulde not shewe my selfe greatly contented and pleased, though I receiued nothing at his handes, hee began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him againe, that I wanted all thing sauing money and good will to serue the kings highnes.

Tell me one thing (quoth hee) that ye want. One thing quoth I? Mary, amongst many things that I want, I want naperye. That shall ye not neede (quoth he) heere in this countrey, and heere he began to tell a long tale, that none vsed that, but M. Wallop and he in the beginning: which is not true generally. And from this, hee began to goe, descending by his negatiues: my Mullettes (sayth he) ye can not haue:* for if ye should, I must nedes prouide other for them againe: my Mulet clothes ye can not haue, because mine armes are on them, not meete for you to beare: my raiment (I being a Bishoppe) that is not meete for you: and so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing shuld I haue.

*And here came master Thirlby, who welcōmed me very gently, and after an honest sorte: to whome the Bishoppe rehearseth againe his negatiues, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in cōclusion for all that hee coude doe, that nothing I shoulde haue of him, and this rehearsed hee still on ende, I am sure aboue a dosen imes, and that with a Pilates voice, so that all his companie standing more then three or foure paire of buts length off, heard hym.

When I sawe that he would make no ende, but euer rehearsing one thing still, I sayd to him, my Lord, I beseech you, seeing I shall haue nothing of you, but of M. Doctor here, let me geue him thāks that deserueth it, and not trouble you therin no more,* but leauing cōmunication therin, let me desire and pray you, that we may common of the kings matters. And that I may haue therein knowledge as well of the state thereof, as also of your counsaile in that behalfe. The Bishop was so hoate and warme in hys owne matters, that he woulde not heare, but needes woulde returne againe, and shew why that I could haue nothing of him. My Lorde (quoth I) heere is still on ende one tale, which mee thinketh, seeing that I vnderstande it, ye neede not so oft to repeat it,* especially seeing that it commeth alwaies to this conclusion, that I shall haue nothing of you. Ye lye (quoth he) I sayde not so. I report me (quoth I) to M. Thirleby heere present, whome I shall desire to beare recorde of your sadde and discrete honest behaiour wyth me. I say you lie (quoth he.) My Lord (quoth I) I thanke you.

I do not say (quoth he) that yee shall haue nothing of me: but I say, ye can haue nothing of me.* And though the one heere comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diuersitie betwene these two maners of speakings: I can spare nothing vnto you, and therefore yee shall haue nothing, and though I can spare you, yet you shall haue nothing: for in the one is an honestie in the speaker, which would if he could doe pleasure, and in the other, there lacketh that honestie.

My Lord (quoth I) to examine whether I shall haue nothing, because ye can spare nothing: or shall haue nothing, though yee haue plentie, because ye will I shall haue nothing, it shal not much helpe me in my iourney. Wherefore, seeing ye bide vpon this, that I shall haue nothing, I will thancke you for nothing, and prouide otherwise for my selfe. Torde in your teethe (quoth he) and prouide as ye will. Bishoplike spoken,* by my faith (quoth I) and well it becommeth you to speake thus to me. Yea mary doth it become me (quoth he) and repeating the wordes againe, sayd with a sharp accent: haue nothing of me? Torde in your teethe. Wel my Lord (quoth I) this needeth not▪ sauing that yee haue a full stomacke, and your witte abroad willingly hereby to ease your stomacke against me. Yes marie (quoth he) it needeth for me,* though it needeth not for you, for I entende (quoth he) I woulde ye shoulde knowe it, to iustifie my selfe to the king in all things. If yee doe so (quoth I) ye shall doe the better. Nay (quoth hee) I doe it, and will doe it. Well (quoth I) ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can doe. Yes (quoth he) I can doe it.

Nowe by my troth (quod I) seeing the kings highnesse hath wrytten so tenderly for me vnto you, as appeareth by his highnes letters that his grace hath done: me thinketh, ye hauing so greate plentie of all things, and I so great neede thereof, comming poste as I doe: yee goe about as euill to iustifie your selfe to the kinge, as any one that I haue seene: And iwise my Lorde (quoth I) I wold haue reckened that, comming as I doe come, I shoulde haue bene both better welcome, and better entreated of you then nowe I am, euen and it had bene for no other respecte, then because I am an Englishman.

I shall tell you (quoth he) for the kinges sake,* yee may looke to haue: but for your owne sake yee gette nothing. Well (quoth I) then hauing nothing, I will geue no thanks at all, and hauyng any thing, I shall geue thanks to the king, and none to you. I tell you (quoth he) ye gette nothing. And I tell you againe (quoth I) that I will not thanke you for nothing: and heere his flesh of hys cheeke began to swell and tremble, and he looked vpon me, as he woulde haue runne throughe me, and I came and stode euen by him and sayde: trowe you my Lorde (quoth I) that I

feare your great looks? Nay faith doe I not.* Ye had neede to gette another stomacke to whette vppon, then mine, and a better whettestone then any yee haue. For I assure you, yee shall not whet me to your purpose: and if yee knewe howe little I do sette by this vn louing and indiscrete behaiour of yours, yee woulde not vse it vppon me. And I shall tell you (quoth I) if I were not brided, and had other respects both to the kings highnes my soueraigne Lord, and also to other that may commaund me, I would haue tolde you ere this time my minde after an other sort. Tell me, quod hee? Toorde in your teethe. Well my Lorde (quoth I) ye woulde, I perceiue by you and by your woordes, prouoke mee to speake as vndiscretely and * bedlemly, as yee doe. But surely yee shall not, howe so euer yee shall speake. But this will I tell you, I shall shewe howe I am handled of you. Marie spare not (quoth he,) Well my Lord (quoth I) you haue heere full well plaied the part of a Bishoppe, and it is great ioy of you, that with this your furious anger and choller, ye can make al the companie here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my parte, if yee your selfe be not ashamed, or comming to your selfe (for nowe your anger is suche that you heare not your selfe) be not displeased, I shall be ashamed and pitie this your doing without wisdom, and the oftner you vse this maner, the more shall it be to your dishonestie.

Lo (quoth he) how fondly he speaketh, as who sayth, I were all in the blame. Will you not heare (quoth hee) this wise man? My Lord (quoth I) I woulde you could heare with indifferent eares, [Page 1091](#) and see with indifferent eyes your selfe. Ye haue made a brabbling heere for nothing,* and would that I would geue you thanks for that thing which maister Thirleby hath done for me. I looke for no thanks of you (quoth he) and sayd withall looking spitefully, that he knew me well enough, and that he was not deceiued in me. Well (quoth I) and me thinke I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye say you are not deceiued in me,* so I trust I wyll not be deceyued by you. But I pray you sir (quoth I) because yee say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceiued in me, how do you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you do, say it, and I shall make aunswere.

I could not driue him to aunswere heereunto, so that I suppose, eyther of hys owne naughtie nature he hath made me an image after his owne fantasie, or else beleeeued the report of such in conditions, as he is hymselfe, who in malice, I suppose, and disdayne may be compared to the Diuell in hell,* not geuing place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the prouision of the thousand crownes. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while, afore they were come out: and further I sayd, that seeing they had bene simpliciter geuen to me, I would neuer thanke him for them, but the Kings highnesse: and I sayd, that if they were twenty thousand, he should breake so many sleepes afore he should haue any part thereof, intreating me as he did. Well (quoth he) you haue them. That is truth (quoth I) and nothing thankfull to you.

Why then (quoth he) seeing you haue heere diuers things of M. Thirlbies, and all other things are parabilia pecunia, whiche you haue, yee may make thereby good prouision for your selfe. That is truth (quoth I) and that can I and will do, though yee tell me not,* seeing I haue nothing of you, and afore this, had prouided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessitie had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing mee thereby to follow you. And yet (quoth I) one thing may I tell you: yee are very desirous I should be prouided well for, as appeareth in that you haue taken away at Lyons one horse that Fraunces had prouided for me, and also your

seruaunt Mace hauing a horse to sell and knowing my neede, by your consent hath sold hys horse to a straunger, rather then he woulde sell him to me, so that nothyng suffering mee to haue of you, and taking away that prouision which I make and go about to make, you well declare how hartily you desire I should be prouided for. In fayth (quoth he) choose you, ye may prouide and you will, and seeing your iourney hether from Lions is vayne, you may thether returne againe and make there prouision for your selfe.* I thought (quoth he) departing from Lions, to haue made easie iourneys, and to haue followed the Court till you had come, and now come you squirting in post, and trouble all. I came foorth in post (quoth I) by the commaundement of the King my mayster, and had libertie to returne at pleasure by his graces letters, and seeing that I had no horses for the iourney, me thought better to ride in post then go a foote. Well (quoth he) I will not departe hence this twelue month, except ye be otherwise prouided. Prouided (quoth I?) I must tary till I may be prouided for horssees, if yee speake of that prouision: and seeing that this riding in post greeueth you, it causeth mee to thinke you are loth to depart,* and angry that I shall succeed you. I haue heere already two gownes, and a veluet iacket, so that you shall not be letted an houre by me.

I tell you (quoth he) yee shall otherwise prouide, or else I will not depart, For I tell you (quoth he) though yee care not for the Kings honour, but wretchedly doo lyue with tenne shillings a day, as ye did in yonder partes, you and your companion, I must and will consider the Kings honor. And I tell you agayne (quoth I) I will and do consider the Kings honour, as much as yee at anie tyme wyll do, and as sory will be that it should be touched by anie negligence or defaulte in mee: yea, and I say more to you (quoth I) though yee may spende farre aboue mee, I shall not sticke if any thyng be to bee spent for the Kynges honour, to spende as liberally as you, so long as eyther I haue it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever enformed you of the wretchednesse and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the partes where we haue bene, made a false lye, and ye shew your wisdom full well in so lightly beleeuing and rehearsing such a tale.

I can not tell (quoth he) but this was openly rehearsed by Mayster Brians seruaunts at my table. Yea was (quoth I?) Yea mary was it (quoth he.) Now by my troth (quoth I) then was the fare that was bestowed vpon them, very well cast away. For of my fidelitie, that weeke that Mayster Brian and his seruauntes were wyth vs at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me fiue and twentie pound in the charges of the house. This they say (quoth he.)* Yea (quoth I) and therein they lye. And heere I shewed hym, that being well settled at Nice, and hauing made there good and honest prouision to our no little charges, M. Wyat woulde not rest, till he had gotten vs to Villa Franca, where euen vppon the first word of M. Heynes, he was right well contente to take of vs xx. shillings by the day. Which was not during x. dayes: where at his comming to vs to Nice, himselfe and all his seruaunts, & then tarieng with vs two dayes, we tooke not one peny of hym. And moreouer, at the departing of M. Wyat from Villa Franca, in post into Englād, we found our selues, our seruaunts, all M. Wyates seruauntes to the number of 16. all his acquaintaunce, whiche dinner and supper continually came to vs, sometymes twelfe sometymes ten, and when they were least six or eight and for this, had not one peny of M. Wyat, and yet at our commyng from Barcelone where we taried about viii. dayes, we gaue to M. Wyat 28. li. and to his seruauntes v.li. besides xl. shillynges that priuately I gaue to some beyng of gentle fashion out of myne own purse: so that I told him, it was neither M. Wyat, ne Mason that found vs & our seruants, but we payed for the findyng of them, and here it chaunced to vs to haue all the charge and other men to haue all the thanks.

The Byshop when he heard this, was amazed and stode still, finally saying: By my trouth (quoth hee) I tell you as it was told me, and Maister Doctour here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea and I will tell you more (quoth hee) they sayd that Maister Heynes woulde haue bene more liberall a great deale, if you had not bene. Now by my trouth (quoth I) I shall therein make Maister Heynes himselfe iudge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath bene between him and me therein.

Thinkyng that this communication had driuen the other matters out of the Byshoppes wilde head,* I helde my peace, and by and by was hee in hand agayne with them as euer hee was. My Lord (quoth I) I desired ere while, your Lordshyppe to make an ende of this communication, wherein the longer ye talke, the more ye make me beleue that ye woulde, where ye haue spoken vndiscretely, yea, and vnkyndely, not regardyng the Kynges Letters, with multitude of wordes and great countenance, I should thinke ye had not done amisse: but surely you lose your labour, for ye shall neuer make me thinke that ye are desirous to do me pleasure,* neither for myne owne sake, nor for the kynges. For if your wordes bee well wayed, I haue as much of you in deede for myne owne sake, as I haue for the kynges sake, that is nothing at all. Here both of vs were talking together, but I helde on still, and euer enforced him to this: My Lord (quoth I) this is the thyng that I shall onely desire of you: that where the kinges grace hath here in the French Court diuers affaires (as I take it) ye would therein instruct me of the state therof, and geue me your best counsell and aduise: and this I protest vnto you, that if ye this will doe: I will attently heare you, and if ye will not, I shall with payne heare you in your other things, but I will make no aunswere at all.

For all this, the Byshoppe ended not, but in conclusion, when he sawe by no meanes that he could induce me to aunswere, he returned homewardes,* and I brought him to his lodgyng and chamber. It beyng dinner tyme, and all thynges prouided, and standyng afore him, and he turnyng his backe from me into a windowe. I at his turnyng towardes me agayne, put of my bonet, and sayd: God be with you my Lord. He gaue no aunswere to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to go. Whereupon, returnyng to my lodgyng, which was in Maister Thirlbyes chamber, I caused my dinner to be prouided, and when it was almost ready, the Byshoppes Steward called Myrrell came for me, (whether sent from the Byshoppe or not. I cannot tell) and I told him, my dinner was prouided for, and withall, that my Lord his Maister had geuen me such a breakefast, that I neede no dinner nor supper, and so the Steward drinkyng with me, returned agayne, and I went to dinner in Maister Thirlbyes lodgyng: and after dinner I went to the Byshoppes lodgyng, who at my comyng very gētly put of his bonet, & so we walked together quietly a while and shortly after, the Byshop began after this maner: Maister Boner, to day we commoned of prouision for you, and because ye shall lay no blame vpō me, I will tell you what I will doe for you. I will prouide you mules, mullets, horses,* seruauntes, money, yea and all thynges that shalbe necessary. My Lord (quoth I) here is a large offer and a great kyndnesse come vppon you. I maruell (quoth I) that I could heare nothyng of this, to day in the mornyng.* I tell you (quoth he) this will I doe, for know you that I will consider the kynges honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the kyng will pay me agayne. My Lord (quoth I) I haue sent my seruaunt already to Lyons, to make prouision for me, and I haue sent other abroad here in the towne and countrey, to do the same: ye shall neuer neede to trouble your selfe herewith. I will (quoth he) You shall not say an other day, that ye could not be prouided for. My Lord (quoth I) let me haue instructions in the kynges matters, and as for other thynges I shall not aske of you,

because this day ye made me so playne aunswere. After much communication, I departed from him louyngly, tellyng him that I would be at Terrara that night where he intended to be lodged. And so the Byshop biddynge me farewell,* tooke soone after, his horse ridyng to Terrara to bed.

And by the way I ouer tooke him, and passing by,* doynge my duety to him and to his company, I came to Terrara lodgyng at the post house, and euen as the Byshop came into the [Page 1092](#) towne, stode at the post house dore: To whome the Byshop sayd, we shall see you soone M. Boner. Yea my Lord (quoth I) thinking that thereby he had desired me to supper, and at supper time I went to his lodging, hauing other to eate my supper at home, and glad he appeared to be, that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giuing any thing to me, sauynge at the commynge of the fruite, he gaue me a peare I trow,* because I should remember mine owne countrey. After supper, he walked taking M. Thirlby with hym, and I walked with an Italian, being Embassadour for the Countie Mirandula, and after a good space we returned, and bad the Byshop good night.

I did not after that night dine nor sup with the Bishop, till hee came to Burges in Berry, where vpon the depeach of Fraunces, and closing vp of our letters sent to the Kings highnes, the supper was so prouided, and set vpon the bourd and the Bishop in washing, standing so betweene me and the dore, that I could not get out:,* and there would he needes that I should wash with hym and sup: and I suppose all the way from Barella to Bloys, he talked not aboue foure times with me, and at euery time sauynge at Molyns, (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the Kings affaires heere in Fraunce) and at Veronne, (when he aunsweryng to my requests in writing, deliuered me his booke of his owne hand for mine instructions, the copie whereof is now sent heere withall) there was quicke communication betweene vs. His talking by the way was with M. Thirleby, who I thinke, knoweth a great deale of his doing, and will if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I my selfe was out of* credence with the Byshop, not being applicable to his manners and desires.

And surely, as M. Thirleby told me, at his first commynge to Lyons, and then speaking with the Bishop, the Bishop seemed to be so well content to returne, and so glad of his commynge to succede him, that his fleshe in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the Bishop make men beleeeue, that he would gladly come home. Which thing beleeeue it who will, I will neuer beleeeue: for euer he was looking of letters out of England from M. Wallop, and M. Brian, whome he taketh for his great frends: and M. Wyat himselfe reckoned that the Bishop should haue come into Spaine, or else my Lord of Durham,* so that the Bishop of Winchester euer coueted to protract the time, desiring yet withall to haue some shadow to excuse and hide himselfe, as tarieng at Barella, he made excuse by my not commynge to Lyons, and commynge to Varennes, and there hearing by the Embassadors of the Venetians a flieng tale of the going of the Frenche King towardes Bayon to meete the Emperour,* by and by he said: lo, where is mayster diligence now? If he were now heere (as then I was that night) wee would to the Court and present him and take our leaue. But whē I in the morning was vp afore him, and ready to horse, hee was nothing hasty. No, commynge to Molyns afore him, and there tarrieng for him, the Frenche King lieng at Schauenna, three small leagues off, hee made not halfe the speede and haste that hee pretended.

I mislike in the Byshop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any ioined in commission with him,* should keepe house, but to be at his table. Wherein eyther he searcheth thereby a vaine glory and pride to himselfe, with some dishonour to the King,* as who saith, there were among all the Kings Embassadors, but one able to mainteine a table, and that were he: either else he doth the same for an euill entent and purpose, to bring them therby into his daunger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone, which I suppose verily hath bene his entent.

I mislike in the sayd Bishop, that where he for his owne pompe and glory, hath a great number of seruaunts in their veluets and silkes,* with their chaines about their neckes, and keepeth a costly table, with excessiue fare, and exceeding expenses many other waies: he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commaunded to do by the Kings grace, and that is his aunswere commonly, when his frends telleth him of his great charges, and so vnder colour of the Kings commaundement and honour, he hydeth his pride which is heere disdained.

*I mislike in the said Bishop, that he hauing priuate hatred against a man, will rather satisfie his owne stomacke and affection hindering, and neglecting the Kings affaires, then relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubburne will, geue familiar and harty counsaile (whereby the Kings highnes matters and busines may be aduaunced and set foorth) to him that he taketh for his aduersary.

I mislike in the said Bishop, that he euer continually heere in this Court of Fraunce, made incomparably more of the Emperours,* King of Portugals, Venetians, and Duke of Ferraries Ambassadors, then of any Frenchmen in the Court, which with hys pride caused them to disdaine him, and to thinke that he fauoured not the French King, but was imperiall.

I mislike in the Bishop, that there is so great familiaritie and acquaintance,* yea and suche mutuall confidence betweene the said Bishop and M. as naughty a fellow, and as very a Papist as any that I know, where he dare expresse it. The Bishop in his letters to M. Wyat euer sendeth speciall commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to M. Heynes and me, being with M. Wyat, as we perceiued by the sayde letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the Bishop, that he thinketh there is none suche. And hee telled me at Villa Franca, that the Byshop vpon a time, when he had fallen out wyth Germaine, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came vnto him, desiring and praieng hym that hee woulde speake wyth Germaine, and reconcile him;* so that no wordes were spoken of it, and what the matter was, hee would not tell me. That yong fellowe Germaine knoweth all, and Preston which is seruaunt to the Byshop of Winchester, shewed me one night in my chamber at Bloys after supper, that Germaine is euer busie in shewing the Kings letters to straungers, and that he himselfe hath geuen him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the Byshop departed hence, and when I woulde haue more of him therein, hee considering how the Bywop and I stoode, kept him more close, and woulde say no further.

In this declaration of D. Edmund Boner sente to the Lord Cromwell aboue prefixed,* diuers things we haue to note: First, as touching Steuen Gardiner, Bish. of Wint. heere we haue a plaine demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, ioyned with malice and disdaine intollerable: whereof worthely complaineth D. Boner aforesayd, shewing sixe speciall causes, why and

wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before by the Kings commaundement so to do.

Secondly, in the said Steuen Wint. this we haue also to note and vnderstand, that as he heere declareth a secret [1] inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his booke De obedientia) to papistry,* ioining part and side with suche as were knowne papists: so he seemeth likewyse to beare a like secret grudge against the Lord Cromwell, and all such whomsoever he fauoured.

Thirdly, as concerning the forenamed D. Edmund Boner the author of this declaration, heere is to be seene [3] and noted, that he all this while appeared a good man and diligent friend to the truth, and that he was fauoured of the Lord Cromwell for the same.

Fourthly, that the said D. Boner was not onely fauoured of the Lord Cromwell, but also by him was aduanced [4] first to the office of Legation,* then to the Bishoprike of Hereford, and lastly to the Bishoprike of London, whome the said D. Boner in his letters agniseth and confesseth to be his only Patron, and singular Mecaenas.

Which being so, we haue in this said D. Boner, greatly to meruayle, what should be the cause, that he, seing all his [5] setting vp, making, and preferring, came only by the Gospell and by the of the Gospels side, he being then so hated of Steuen Gardiner and such as he was, being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the Gospell (as appeared both by his Preface before Gardinars booke De obedientia, and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell, also by helping forward the printed Bibles at Paris) could euer be a man so vngratefull & vnkind, afterward to ioine part with the said Steuen Gardiner against the Gospell (without y^t which Gospel, he had neuer come to be bishop, neither of Hereford nor yet of London) and now to abuse y^e same bishopricke of London to persecute y^t so vehemently, which before so openly he defended. Wherin y^e same may well be said to him in this case, y^t he himselfe was reported once to say to the french King in the cause of Grancetor: to witte, that he had done therein against his honour, against iustice, against reason, against honesty,* against frēdship, against his own promise and his othe so often made, against his owne doctrine and iudgement, which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues betwene him and his setters vp, and against all together, and to conclude, against the saluation of his owne soule.

But to referre this to the booke of his accomptes who shall iudge one day all things vprightly, let vs proceede further in y^e cōtinue of this D. Boners legation. Who being now Ambasadour in the court of Fraunce (as he haue heard) had geuen in commission from the king, to entreate with the French King for sondry pointes, as for the printing of the new Testament in English,* and the Bible at Paris: also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the King: for goods of merchaunts taken and spoiled: for the kings pension to be paid: for the matters of the Duke of Suffolke: for certaine prisoners in Fraunce. Item, for Grancetor the traitour, and certain other rebels to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which affayres, the sayd D. Boner did employ his diligence & trauaile to the good satisfaction and contentment of the kings minde,* and discharge of his duetie, in such sort as no default could be found in him, saue only that the French King one time tooke displeasure with him, for that the said Boner, beyng now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king in

the cause [Page 1093](#) of Grancetor the traytour (wherein he was willed by the aduertisement of the Kings pleasure,* to wade more deeply and instantly) vsed these words to the French King, as y^e french king himself did afterward report them) saieng, that he had done in deliuerāce of that foresaid Grancetor being an Englishman,* agaynst God, agaynst his honor, agaynst iustice, agaynst reason, agaynst honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treates & leagues betwene him and his brother the King of England, yea and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop Boner, although he denieth to haue spoken them in that forme and qualitie, yet howsoever they were spoken, did stirre vp the stomack of the French King, to conceiue high displeasure agaynst him, in so much that he answering the Lord Ambassadour againe, bad him write these three things vnto his maister.

First, among other thinges that his Embassadour was a greate foole.

Secondarily, that he caused to be done better iustice there in his Realme in one houre, then they did in Englande in a whole yeare.

Thirdly, that if it were not for the loue of his maister, he should haue an hundreth strokes with an Haulbard, &c.

And furthermore, the sayde Frenche King beside thys, sending a speciall messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to reuoke and cal this Ambassadour home, and to send him an other. The cause why the french King tooke these wordes of Bishop Boner so to stomacke (as the L. Chauncelour said) was this, for that the Kings of Fraunce standing chiefly and in maner only vpon theyr honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise in those wordes (if they had bene well taken) was not so much blame perchaunce, as boldnes, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his maisters behalfe.* But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this Byshop and many other, that they in earthly matters, and to please terrene Kings, will put forth themselues to such a boldnes and forwardnes: and in Christes cause the King of all kings, whose cause they should onely attend vppon and tender, they are so remisse cold and cowardly.

To these letters of the French King, the King of England sent aunswer againe by other letters, in which he reuoked and called home againe bishop Boner, geuing vnto him about the same time, the Bishopricke of London, and sente in supply of his place, Sir Iohn Wallop, a greate frend to Steuen Gardiner. Whiche was in February, about the beginning of the yeare of our Lord 1540. Heere now followeth the othe of Boner to the King, when hee was made Byshop of London.

¶The othe of Doctor Edmund Boner, when hee was made Byshop of London, agaynst the Pope of Rome.

YE shall neuer consent nor agree that the Byshop of Rome shall practise,* exercise, or haue any maner of authority, iurisdiction, or power within this Realme, or any other the Kings dominion, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the vttermost of your power: and that from hencefoorth ye shall accept, repute, and take the Kings Maiestie to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and that to your cunning, witte, and vttermost of your power, without guile, fraude, or other vndue meane, ye shall obserue, keepe, mainteine, and defend the

whole effects and contents of all and singular Actes and Statutes made and to be made within this Realme, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Byshop of Rome and his authoritie, and all other Actes and Statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the Kings power of supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and this ye shall do agaynst all maner of persons, of what estate, dignitie, degree, or condition they be, and in no wise do, nor attempt, nor to your power, suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, priuely or apertly, to the let, hinderance, dammage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any maner of meanes, or for any maner of pretense: And in case any othe bee made, or hath bene made by you to any person or persons in maintenance or fauour of the Bishop of Rome or his authority, iurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vaine and adnihilate, so helpe you God, &c.

In fidem praemissorum ego Edmundus Boner, electus & confirmatus Londonensis Episcopus, huic praesenti chartae subscripsi.

¶Ecclesiasticall matters. an. 1538.

It will be iudged, that I haue lingred peraduenture too much in these outward affaires of Princes and Ambassadors.* Wherefore, leauing with these by matters perteynyng to the Ciuill state a while, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to put my story in order agayne of such occurrets as belong vnto the Church, first shewyng such Iniunctions and Articles, as were deuised and set forth by the kyng, for the behoofe of his subiectes. Wherein first is to be vnderstaded, that the kyng, when he had taken the title of supremacie from the Byshop of Rome, and had translated the same to himselfe, and was now a full Prince in his owne realme, although he wel perceiued,* by y^e wisdom and aduise of the Lord Cromwell and other of his Couisaile, that the corrupt state of the Church had neede of reformatiō in many thyngs: yet because he saw how stubburne and vntoward the hartes of many Papistes were to be brought from their old persuasions and customes, and what businesse he had with them, onely about the matter of the Popes title, he durst not by and by reforme all at once (which notwithstanding had bene to be wished) but leadyng them fayre and softly, as he might, proceeded by litle and litle, to bryng greater purposes to perfectiō (which he no doubt would haue done,* if the Lord Cromwell had lyued) and therfore first he began with a litle booke of Articles (partly aboue touched) bearyng this title. Articles deuised by the Kynges highnesse, to stable Christen quietnesse and vnitie among the people. &c.

*Articles deuised by the kyng.

IN the contentes of which booke, first be set forth the Articles of our Christiā Creede, which are necessarily and expressly to be beleued of all men.* Then with the kynges Preface goyng before, foloweth the declaration of iij. Sacramentes: to witte, of Baptisme, of Penance, and of the Sacrament of the Aultar. In the tractation wherof, he altereth nothyng from the old trade receaued heretofore frō the Church of Rome.

Further then, proc•edyng to the order and cause of our iustificatiō, he declareth, that the onely mercy and grace of the father promised freely vnto vs for his sonnes sake Iesu Christ, and the merites of his Passion and bloud,* be the onely sufficient and worthy causes of our iustification:

yet good workes with inward contrition, hope, and charitie, and all other spirituall graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needes cōcurre also in remission of our sinnes, that is, our iustification: and afterward we beyng iustified, must also haue good workes of charitie, and obediēce towards God, in the obseruyng and fulfillyng outwardly of his lawes and commaundementes. &c.

As touching Images,* he willeth all Byshops & preachers to teach the people in such sorte, as they may know, how they may vse them safely in Churches, and not abuse them to Idolatry, as thus: that they be represētters of vertue and good example, and also by occasiō, may be styrrers of mēs myndes, and make them to remember themselues and to lamēt their sinnes, and so farre he permitteth them to stand in Churches. But otherwise, for auoydyng of Idolatrie, he chargeth all Byshops & preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they cōmit no Idolatry vnto them, in sensyng of them, in kneelyng and offeryng to thē, with other like worshyppynge, whiche ought not to be done, but onely to God.

And likewise for honoryng of Saintes, the Byshops and preachers be commaūded to informe the people,* how Saints hence departed ought to be reuerenced & honored & how not. That is, that they are to be prayسد & honored as the elect seruauēts of Christ, or rather Christ to be prayسد in them for their excellent vertues plāted in them & for their good example left vs, teachyng vs to lyue in vertue & goodnes, & not to feare to dye for Christ, as they did: & also as aduauncers of our prayers, in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be geuen vnto them, which is onely due to God: And so forth charging the sayd spirituall persons to teache their flocke that all grace and remission of sinnes, and saluation, can no otherwise be obtained, but of God onely,* by the mediation of our Sauioir Christ, who is onely a sufficient Mediatour for our sinnes: and that all grace and remission of sinne must proceede onely by mediation of Christ and no other.

From that, he commeth further to speake of rites & ceremonies in Christes Church,* as in hauyng vestimentes vsed in Gods seruice, sprinklyng of holy water, giuyng of holy bread, bearyng of Cādles on Candlemas day, taking of ashes, bearyng of Palmes, creepyng to the Crosse, setting vp the Sepulcher, hallowing of the fonte, with other like customes, rites, & ceremonies, all which old ri•es and customes, the foresayd booke doth not by and by repeale, but so farre admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remēbraunce of spirituall thynges: but so, that the people withall must be instructed, how the sayd ceremonies [Page 1094](#) containe in them no such power, to remitte sinne, but onely that to be referred vnto God, by whome onely our sinnes be forgeuen vs.

And so concluding with Purgatory, he maketh an ende of those Articles,* thus saieng thereof: that because y^e booke of Machabes aloweth praieng for soules departed, hee therefore disproueth not that so laudable a custome, so long continued in the Church. But because there is no certeyne place named, nor kynde of paynes expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessarie suche abuses clearely to be put away, which vnder the name of Purgatory haue bene aduaunced: as to make men beleue, that by the Bishop of Romes pardons, or by Masses sayd, at Scala coeli, or other where, in any place, or before any Image, soules mighte clearely bee deliuered out of Purgatory, and from the paynes thereof, to be sent straight to heauen, and such other like abuses, &c.

And these were the contents of that booke of articles deuised, and passed by the Kings authority, a little before the stirre of Lincolneshire and Yorkeshire. Wherin, although there were many and great imperfections and vntruthes not to bee permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithstanding, the king and his counsaile to beare with the weakelings, whiche were newly weyned from their mothers milke of Rome,* thought it might serue somewhat for the time, in steade of a little beginning, till better might come.

And so consequently, not long after these Articles thus set forward,* certeyne other Iniunctions were also geuen out about the same yeare, 1536. whereby a number of holy daies were abrogated, and especially such as fel in the haruest time: the keeping of which redounded greatly to y^e hinderaunce of gathering in their corne, hay, fruite, and other such like necessarie commodities. The copie and tenour of which Iniunctions I haue also hereunto annexed, as vnder foloweth.

¶The Kings Iniunctions.

FORasmuch as the number of holy dayes is so excessiue growen,* and yet daily more and more by mens deuotion yea rather superstition, was like further to encrease, that the same was and should be not onely preiudiciall to the common weale, by reason that it is occasion as well of much slouth and idlenes, the very nursse of theeues, vagabunds: and of diuers other vnthriftnes and inconueniences, as of decay of good misteries & Artes profitable & necessary for the common wealth, & losse of mans foode, many times being cleane destroied through the superstitious obseruance of the said holydaies, in not taking the oportunity of good & serene weather, offered vpon the same in time of haruest, but also pernicious to the soules of many men, which (being entised by the licencious vacation & libertie of those holydaies, do vpon the same, commonly vse and practise more excesse, riot, and superfluitie, then vpon any other dayes. And sith the Sabboth day was vsed and ordeined, but for mans vse, and therefore ought to geue place to the necessitie and behoofe of the same whensoever that shall occurre, much rather any other holyday institute by man: It is therefore by the Kings highnes authoritie as supreme head in earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the Prelates and Cleargie of this his Realme, in conuocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things decreed, ordeyned and established.

First, that the feast of dedication of Churches, shall in all places through out this Realme,* be celebrate and kept on the first Sondag of the moneth of October, for euer, and vpon none other day.

Item, that the feast of the patron of euerye Church within this Realme, called commonly the Church holyday,* shall not frō hencefoorth be kept or obserued as a holy day, as heretofore hath bene vsed, but that it shal be lawful to all & singular persons resident or dwelling within thys Realme, to go to their worke, occupation or mistery, & the same truely to exercise and occupy vpon the sayde feast, as vpon any other worke day: except the saide feast of Church holy day bee suche as must bee else vniuersally obserued and kept as a holyday by this ordinance following.

Also that all those feastes or holydayes, which shall happen to fall or occurre either in the haruest tyme, whiche is to be counted from the first daye of Iuly,* vnto the xxix. day of September, or

else in the tearme time at Westminster, shall not be kept, or obserued frō hencefoorth as holydaies, but that it may be lawfull for euery man to go to his work or occupation vpon the same, as vpon any other worke day: except alwaies the feastes of the Apostles, of the blessed Uirgin, and of Saint George: and also such feastes as wherein the Kings highnes Iudges at Westminster doe not vse to sit in Iudgement. All whiche shall be kept holy and solemne of euery man, as in time past, haue bene accustomed: Prouided alwaies, that it may be lawfull vnto all Priestes and Clerkes, as well secular as regular, in the foresaid holydaies now abrogate, to sing or say their accustomed seruice for those holydayes, in their Churches: so as they do not the same solemnely, nor do ring to the same after the maner vsed in high holydayes, ne do commaund, or indict the same to be kept or obserued as holydayes.

Finally, that the feastes of the Natiuitie of our Lord, of Easter day, of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptist,* and of S. Michael the Archaungell, shall be from hencefoorth counted, accepted, and taken for the four generall offering dayes.

And for further declaration of the premisses, be it knowē that Easter tearme beginneth alwayes the xvij. day after Easter day, reckening Easter day for one,* and endeth the Monday next folowing the Ascension day.

Trinitie terme beginneth alwaies the Wednesday next after the Octaues of Trinitie Sunday,* and endeth the xj. or xij. day of Iuly.

Michaelmas terme beginneth the ix. or x. day of October, and endeth the xxvij. or xxix. day of Nouember.*

Hilary terme beginneth the xxij. or xxiiij. day of Ianuary, and endeth the xij. or xiiij. day of February.*

In Easter terme, vpon the Ascension daye: in Trinitie terme, vpon the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist: in Michaelmas terme vpon Alhalow day: in Hilary Terme, vpon Candlemas day, the kings Iudges at Westminster do not vse to sit in iudgement, nor vpon any Sunday.

After these Articles and Iniunctions thus giuen out by the King & his Counsaile, thē folowed moreouer (as time serued) other Iniunctions moe, concerning Images, reliques, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgremages deuised, by superstition, and maintained for luker sake, also for the Pater noster, Creede, and Gods Commandements, and the Bible to be had in English, with diuers other points moe necessary for Religion. The wordes of which Iniunctions heere also ensue.

***Other Iniunctions geuen by the authoritie of the Kings highnes to the Cleargy of this his Realme.**

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yere of our Lord god 1536. and of the most noble reigne of our soueraigne Lord Henry the eight, king of England and of Fraunce,* defendour of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the Church of England, the xxvij. &c. I Thomas Cromwell Knight, Lorde Cromwell, keeper of the priuie Seale of our sayd soueraigne Lorde the

King, and vicegerent to the same, for and cōcerning all his iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall within this Realme, to the glory of Almightye God, to the Kings highnes honour, the publike weale of this Realme, and increase of vertue in the same: haue appointed and assigned these Iniunctions ensuing to be kept and obserued of the Deane, Persons, Uicars, Curates, and Stipendaries, resident or hauing cure of soules, or anye other spirituall administration within this Deanry: vnder the paynes heereafter limited and appointed.

The first is, that the Deane, Persons, Uicars, and other hauing cure of soule any where within this Deanry shall faithfully keepe and obserue, and as farre as in them may lye, shall cause to be kept and obserued of all other, all and singular lawes and statutes of this Realme,* made for the abolishing and extirpatiō of the bishop of Romes pretensed and vsurped power, and iurisdiction within thys Realme, and for the stablishment and confirmation of the Kings authoritie and iurisdiction within the same, as of the supream head of the Church of Englande, shall to the vttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a yeare nowe nexte ensuing, once euery Sondag, and after at the leastwise, twice euery quarter of a yeare, in their Sermōs, and other collations,* that the Byshop of Romes vsurped power and iurisdiction, hauing no establishmēt, nor groūd by the lawe of God, was of most iust causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe vnto him no maner of obedience or subiection, and that the Kinges power is within his dominiō, the highest potentate & power vnder God to whome all men within the same dominion, by Gods commaundement, owe most loyaltie and obedience afore and aboue all other potentates in earth.

Item, whereas certeine Articles were lately deuised and put forth by the Kings highnesse authoritie, and condiscended vpō by the Prelates and clergy of this his Realme in conuocation (whereof part were necessary to be holden [Page 1095](#) and beleued for our saluation, and y^e other part do conserne and touch certeine laudable ceremonies, rites, and vsages of the Church, meete and conuenient to be kepte, and vsed for a decent and politike order in the same) the sayde Deane, Parsons, Uicars, and other Curates, shall so open and declare in their sermons and other collations, the said Articles vnto them that be vnder their cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of thē be necessarie to be beleued and obserued for their saluation and whiche be not necessary, but only do concerne the decent and politike order of the said Church, according to suche cōmandement & admonition, as hath bene giuen vnto them heretofore by the authority of the kings highnes in that behalfe.

Moreouer, that they shall declare vnto all such as be vnder their cure,* the Articles likewise deuised, put forth and authorised of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certayne superstitious holydaies, according to the effecte and purport of the same Articles, and persuaue their parishioners to keepe and obserue the same inuiolably as things wholesome, prouided, decreed, and established by common consent and publike authoritie for the weale cōmoditie, and profite of all this Realme.

Besides this, to the entent that all superstition and hypocrisie crept into diuers mens hartes, may vanish away, they shall not set forth nor extoll any images,* reliques, or miracles, for any superstitiō or lucre, nor allure the people by any intreatemēts, to the pilgrimages of any Saints, otherwise then is permitted in the Articles lately put foorth by the authority of the Kings Maiesty,

and condescended vpon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realme in Conuocation, as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to geue this commoditie or that, seing all goodnes, health, and grace ought to be both loked and asked for, only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other, for without him it can not be geuen: but they shall exhort as well their parishioners, as other pilgrimes, that they do rather apply themselues to the keeping of Gods commandements,* and fulfilling of his works of charitie, perswading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labor, trauaile or occupatiō, and prouiding for their families, then if they went aboute to the said pilgrimages: and it shall profit more their soule health, if they do bestow y^t on the poore & needy, which they would haue bestowed vpon the sayd images or reliques.

Also in the same their Sermons and other collations, the Parsons, Uicars, and other Curates aforesayd, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers,* maisters & gouernours of youth, being within their cure, to teache or cause to be taught, their children and seruaunts euen from their infancy, the Pater noster, the Articles of our faith, and the ten commaundements in their mother tongue, and the same so taught, shall cause the sayd youth oft to repeate & vnderstād. And to the intent this may be the more easily done, the said Curates shall in their sermons deliberately and plainely recite of the sayd Pater noster, Articles, or commaundements, one clause or article one day, and an other another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little & little, and shall deliuer y^e same in writing, or shew where printed bookes containing the same, be to be solde to them that can read, or will desire the same: and therto that y^e said fathers and mothers, maisters & gouernours doe bestowe their children and seruautes euen from their childhoode, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counsayling, and by all the waies and meanes they may, as well in their saide sermons and collations, as otherwaies, the said fathers, mothers, maisters, and other gouernours beeing vnder their cure and charge, diligētly to provide and foresee, that the said youth be in no maner wise kept or brought vp in idlenes, least at any time afterward,* they be driuen, for lacke of some misterie or occupation to liue by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other vnthriftnes, forasmuch as we may dayly see, through slouth & idlenes, diuers valiant men fall, some to begging, and some to theft & murder, which after brought to calamitie & misery, impute a great part thereof to their frends and gouernours, whiche suffered thē to be brought vp so idly in their youth, where if they had bene educated and brought vp in some good litterature, occupatiō or mistery, they should (being rulers of their owne familie) haue profited as well themselues, as diuers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonweale.

Also that the said Parsons, Uicars, and other Curates, shall diligently provide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duely and reuerently ministred in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them other in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realme, or of speciall licence geuen by the Kings Maiestie, to be absent frō their benefices, they shall leaue their cure, not to a rude and vnlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude & vnlearned of their cure, wholesome doctrine, & reduce them to the right way,* that they do not erre: and alwayes let thē see, that neither they nor their Uicars doe seeke more their owne profite, promotion or aduantage, then the profite of the soules that they haue vnder their cur• or the glory of God.

Item, that euery person or proprietary of any Parish Church within this realme, shall on this side y^e feast of S. Peter ad vincula, next cōming, prouide a booke of the whole Bible both in Latin and also in English,* and lay the same in the quire for euery mā that will, to looke and read thereon, & shall discourage no mā from the readyng of any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but rather cōfort exhort, & admonish euery man to read the same, as the very word of God, & the spirituall foode of mās soule, whereby they may the better know their dueties to God, to their soueraigne Lord the kyng & their neighbour, euer gently and charitably exhortyng them, that vsing a sober and a modest behauour in the readyng & inquisition of the true sence of the same, they do in no wise stifly or egerly contēd or striue one with another, about the same, but referre the declaration of those places that be in controuersie, to the iudgement of them that be better learned.

Also the sayd Deane, Persons, Uicars, Curates and other Priestes shall in no wise at any vnlawfull tyme, nor for any cause then for their honest necessitie,* haunt or resort to any Tauernes or Alehouses, and alter their dinner and supper, they shall not geue themselves to drinking or riot, spendyng their tyme idly by day or by night, at tables or cardes playing, or any other vnlawfull game: but at such tymes as they shall haue such leysure, they shall read or heare somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy thēselues with some honest exercise, & y^t they alwayes doe those thynges which appertaine to good congruence & honesty, w^t profite of the cōmon weale, hauyng alwayes in mynde, that they ought to excell all other in puritie of life, & should be example to all other, to lyue well and Christianly.

Furthermore, because the goods of the Church are called the goodes of the poore, and in these dayes nothyng is lesse seene then the poore to be susteyned with the same, all Persons, Uicars, Prebendaries,* and other beneficed mē within this Deanery, not beyng resident vpon their benefices, whiche may dispend yearly xx.li. or aboue, either within this Deanry or els where, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poore Parishioners or other inhabitauntes there, in the presence of the Churchwardens, or some other honest men of the Parishes, the xl. part of the fruites and reuenues of their sayd benefices, least they bee worthely noted of ingratitude, which reseruyng so many partes to thēselues cannot vouchsafe to impart the xl. portion therof, amongst the poore people of that Parish, that is so fruitfull and profitable vnto them,

And to y^e intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the executyng of the sayd premisses, euery Parson, Uicare, Clarke,* or beneficed man within this Deanry, hauyng yearly to spēd in benefices or other promotions of the Church, an C. poundes, shall geue competent exhibition to one Scholer, & for as many C.li. more as he may dispēd, to so many scholers more shall geue like exhibitō in the vniuersitie of Oxford or Cābridge, or some Grammer Schoole, which after they haue profited in good learnyng, may bee parteners of their patrones cure and charge, as well in preaching, or otherwise in the execution of their offices, or may when neede shal be, otherwise profite the common wealth with their coūsell and wisdom.

Also, that all Parsons, Uicars, and Clarkes, hauyng Churches, Chappels, or mansions within this Deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter vpon the same māsions or Chauncels of their Churches beyng in decay,* the fift part of those their benefices, till they shal be fully repayred, and the same so repayred they shall alwayes keepe and mainteine in good estate.

All which and singular Iniunctions shall be inuiolably obserued of the sayd Deane, Parsons, Uicars, Curates, Stipendaries, & other Clerkes and beneficed men, vnder payne of suspension, and sequestratiō of the frutes of their benefices, vntill they haue done their dueties, accordyng to these Iniunctions.

¶After these Iniunctions and Articles afore expressed (which were geuen about the yeare of our Lord. 1536. and 1537.) it was not aboue the space of a yeare, but other Iniunctiōs also were published, to the further instruction of the people in the proceedynges of religion, whereby both y^e Parsōs of Churches, & the Parishes together were enioyned to prouide in euery Church to be a Bible in English, also for euery Parishoner to be taught by the Minister, [Page 1096](#) to vnderstand and say the Lords Prayer and Creede in their own vulgare tongue, with other necessary & most fruitefull Iniunctions, the tenour whereof here foloweth.

¶Iniunctions exhibited. ann. 1538.

IN the name of God Amen. By the authority & commission of the most excellent Prince,* Henry by the grace of God, King of England, & of France, defendour of y^e faith, Lord of Ireland. and in earth supreme head vnder Christ, of the Church of England, I Thomas Lorde Cromwell, Lord priuie seale, Uicegerent to the kings said highnes for all his iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall within this Realme, do for the aduancement of the true honour of almighty God, encrease of vertue, & discharge of the Kings maiestie, giue and exhibite vnto you N. these Iniunctiōs folowing to be kept, obserued, & fulfilled vpō the paine hereafter declared.

First, that ye shall truely obserue and keepe all & singular the Kings highnes Iniunctions geuē vnto you heretofore in my name by his graces authority, not only vpon the paines therein expressed, but also in your default now after this second monition continued, vppon further punishment to be straightly extended towardses you by the Kings highnes arbitrement or his vicegerent aforesayde.

Item, that ye shall prouide on this side the feast of N. next comming,* one booke of the whole Byble of the largest volume in English, and the same set vp in some conueniēt place within the said Church that ye haue cure of, whereas your parishoners may most cōmodiously resorte to y^e same & read it. The charges of which booke shal be ratably borne betwene you, the parson and parishoners aforesaid: that is to say, the one halfe by you, & the other halfe by thē.

Item, that yee shall discourage no man, priuely nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the sayd Bible, but shal expresly prouoke, stirre & exhort euery person to reade the same, as that which is y^e very liuely word of God, that euery Christen persons is bounden to embrace, beleeeue, & folow, if he looke to be saued, admonishing them neuerthelesse to auoyde all contention and alteration therein, and to vse an honest sobrietie in the inquisition of the true sence of the same, and to referre the explication of the obscure places, to men of higher iudgement in scripture.

Item, that ye shall euery sonday and holyday through the yeare, openly & plainly recite to your parishners, twise or thrise together, or oftner if neede require, one Article or sentence of the Pater noster, or Creede in Englishe, to the entēt they may learne y^e same by hart,* & so frō day to day, to geue thē one like lesson or sentēce of the same, till they haue learned the whole Pater noster,

and Creede in Englishe by rote, and as they be taught euery sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound & declare the vnderstāding of y^e same vnto them, exhorting al parents and housholders, to teach their children and seruants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do: and that done, ye shall declare vnto them the tenne commandements, one by one, euery sonday and holyday, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

Item, that ye shall in confessions euery Lent, examine euery person that commeth to confession to you,* whether they can recite the Articles of our faith, and the Pater noster in Englishe, and heare them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to them, that euery Christen person ought to know the same before they should receiue the blessed Sacrament of the Alter, and monish them to learne the same more perfectly by the nexte yeare folowing, or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to Gods boord without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great perill of their soules) so ye shall declare vnto them, that yee looke for other Iniunctions from the Kings highnes by that time, to stay and repeale all such from Gods boord, as shall be founde ignoraunt in the premisses: wherefore do ye thus admonish them, to the entent they should both eschue the perill of their soules, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incurre heereafter by the same.

Item, that ye shall make or cause to be made in the sayd Church, and euery other cure ye haue, one Sermon euery quarter of a yeare at the least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very Gospell of Christ, and in y^e same exhort your hearers to the workes of charitie, mercy, and faith, specially prescribed and commaunded in scripture, & not to repose their trust or affiance in other workes deuised by mens fantasies besides scripture: as in wandering to Pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to fained Reliques or Images, or kissing, or licking the same, saieng ouer a number of beades not vnderstanded ne minded on, or such like superstition: for the doying whereof, ye not onely haue no promise of reward in Scripture, but cōtrariwise great threats and maledictiōs of God, as things tending to Idolatrie and superstition, whiche of all other offences, God almighty doth most detest and abhorre, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Item, that suche fayned Images as ye knowe in any of your cures to be so abused with Pilgrimages or o••erings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall for auoiding of that most detestable offence of Idolatry,* forthwith take downe without delay, and shal suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or Images of waxe, to be set afore any Image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth acrossse the Church by the roodeloft, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the sepulchre: whiche for the adorning of the Church and diuine seruice, yee shall suffer to remayne still, admonishing youre parishners, that Images serue for none other purpose, but as the bookes of vnlearned men that can no letters, wherby they might be admonished of the liues and conuersation of them, that the saide Images do represent. Which Images, if they abuse for any other intēt then for such remembrances, they cōmit Idolatrie in the same to the great danger of their soules: and therfore the Kings highnes graciously tendering the weale of his subiects soules, hath in part already, & more will hereafter trauaile for the abolishing of such Images, as might bee occasion of so greate offence to God, and so great a daunger to the soules of his louing subiects.

Item, that in all suche benefices or cures, as yee haue, whereupon ye be not your self resident, yee shall appoynte such Curates in your stead, as both can by habilitie,* & will also promptly execute these iniunctions, and do their duty otherwise, that ye are bounden to do in euery behalfe accordingly, and profite their cure no lesse with good example of liuing, then with declaration of the word of God, or else their lacke and defaults shall be imputed vnto you, who shall straightly aunswer for the same, if they do otherwise.

Item, that you shall admit no man to preach within anye of your benefices or cures, but suche as shall appeare vnto you to be sufficiently licenced therunto by the Kings highnes or his graces authority, or the bishop of y^e dioces, and such as shal be so licenced, ye shal gladly receiue, to declare y^e word of God without any resistance or cōtradictiō.

Item, if ye haue heretofore declared to your parishners any thing to y^e extolling & setting forth of pilgrimages,* to fained reliques or images, or any such superstitiō, ye shall now openly afore the same, recant & reprove y^e same, shewing them (as the truth is) that you dyd the same vpon no ground of Scripture, but as being led & seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the Church, thorough the sufferance and auarice of such as felt profite by the same.

Item, if ye do or shall know any within your parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in english, or sincerely preached,* or of the executiō of these iniunctions or a fautor of the Bishop of Romes pretended power, now by the lawes of this Realme iustly reiected and extirped: ye shall detect the same to the Kings highnes or his honourable Counsayle, or to his vicegerent aforesayd, or to the iustice of peace next adioyning.

Item, that you and euery Parson, Uicar, or Curate, within this diocesse, shall for euery Church keep one booke of Register,* wherein ye shall write the day and yeare of euery wedding, christening, & burieng, made within your parish for your time, & so for euery man succeding you likewise & also therin set euery persons name that shall be so wedded, christined or buried, & for the safe keeping of the same booke, the parish shall be bounde to prouide of theyr common charges, one sure coffer with ij. lockes and keies, whereof the one to remaine with you, and the other wyth the Wardens of euery such parish wherein the sayd booke shall be layd vp: Which booke ye shall euery Sonday take foorth, and in the presence of the saide Wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, al the weddings, christnings, and buriengs, made the whole weeke before, and that done, to lay vp the sayd booke in the sayde coffer as afore, and for euery time the same shall be omitted, the partie that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeite to the sayd Church three shillings foure pence, to be employed on the reparation of the same Church.

Item, that ye shall once euery quarter of a yeare, reade these and the other former iniunctions geuen vnto you by authoritie of the Kings highnes, openly and deliberately before al your parishners, to the entent that both you may be the better admonished of your duetie, and your said parishners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

Item, for as much as by a lawe established, euery m•n is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their tithes,* & so redub one wrong with another, or be his owne iudge, but shall truly pay y^e same as hath ben accustomed to their persons & curates, without any restraint or diminutiō: & such lacke [Page 1097](#) and default as they can

iustly find in theyr parsons and curates, to call for reformation therof, at theyr Ordinaryes & other superiors handes, who vpon complaint & due prooffe therof, shall reforme the same accordingly.

Item, that no Person shall from henceforth alter, or chaunge the order and maner of any fasting day that is cōmaūded & indicted by y^e church, nor of diuine prayer nor of seruice, oth•rwise thē is specified in y^e sayd iniūctiōs, vntill such time as the same shall be so ordered & transposed by y^e kings highnes authority,* the Euens of such saynts, whose holidayes be abrogated, only excepted, which shalbe decla'ed henceforth to be no fasting dayes, except also the commemoratiō of Tho. Becket sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, which shalbe cleane omitted, and in stead thereof, the feriall seruice vsed.

Item, that the knoling of the Aues after seruice, & certayne other times, which hath bene brought in & begon by the pretence of y^e B. of Romes pardon,* henceforth be left & omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to haue pardon, for the saying of their Aues betwene the sayd knolyng, as they haue done in times past.

Itē, where in times p•st, men haue vsed in diuers plates in theyr Processions, to sing Ora pro nobis to so manye saintes,* that they had no time to sing the good Suffrages, folowing: as Parce nobis Domine, and Libera nos Domine it must be taught and preached, y^e better it were to omit Ora pro nobis, and to sing the other suffrages being most necessary and effectuell. All which and singuler Iniunctions I minister vnto you and to your parishners by the kings highnes authority to me committed in this part, which I charge & commaund you by the same authority to obserue and keep, vpon paine of depriuation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the king or his vicegerent for this time being shalbe sene conuenient.

By these Articles and Iniunctiōs thus comming forth one after an other, for the necessary instruction of the people,* it may appeare, how well the king deserued then the title of his supreme gouernment, geuen vnto him ouer the church of England: by the which title and authority he did more good for the redressing and aduauncing of Christes Church and religion here in England, in these three yeres, then the Pope, the great Uicar of Christ, w^t all his bishops and Prelates had done the space of iij. hundreth yeaes before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his counsell, how by all wayes and meanes, to redresse religion, to reforme errors, to correct corrupt customes, to helpe ignoraunce, and to reduce the misleadings of christes flock drowned in blinde popery, superstition, customes & idolatry, to some better forme of more perfect reformatiō. Wher vnto he prouided not only these articles, precepts, and iniunctions aboue specified, to informe the rude people: but also procured the Bishoppes to helpe forward in the same cause of decayed doctrine,* with their diligent preaching & teaching of the people, according as ye heard before pag. 1024. how that in the yere 1534. during all the whole time of the parliament, there was appoynted euery sonday a Bishop to preach at Paules Crosse agaynst the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.

Amongest which bishops, Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne, the kinges confessor, and a great persecutor of y^e poore flock of Christ (as is before sufficiently recorded,* pag. 952. made a Sermon before the king, vpon good Friday this present yere 1538. at Grenewich, seriously and effectuously preaching on the kinges behalfe, against the vsurped supremacy of the bishop of

Rome, the contentes of whose sermō wholly to expresse, were here to long & tedious. So much as may suffice for our purpose, I thought should remayne to the posterity, beginning at his Theame, whiche then he tooke in hand to entreat vpon, writtē in the 13. cha, to the Hebrues, as foloweth.

¶The Sermon of Iohn Longland Bishop of Lincolne, on good Friday, before the king at
Grenewich. an. 1538.

THE wordes of the Apostle are these: Habemus altare de quo edere non habent potestaté qui tabernaculo deseruiunt.* Quorum enim animalium infertur sanguis pro peccato in sancta per pontificē:* horum corpora cremantur extra castra. Propter quod, & Iesus extra portam passus est. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra castra, improprium eius portantes.

These are the wordes of the Apostle. Many things contained in few wordes, and the English thereof is this: We haue an aulter, we haue an aulter (sayth the Apostle) an aulter, and a sacrifice vpon this aulter. And they that serueth the Tabernacle, may not eat of this aulter, may not eat of the Sacrifice that is offred vpon this aulter. For the Apostle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the aulter for that that is sacrificed vpon the aulter. The blood of those beastes that were slayne for the sacrifice, was brought into the holy secret high place of the temple where the Arke was, betwene the high aulter (as ye will say) and the veile by the bishop, & there offered vp for the sinne of the people. The bodies of the beastes that were burned without the paulions or tentes for the which, Propter quod, for which what? for the fulfilling of which mistery. Also to verifie and fulfill the figure, and that the thing figured, might be correspondent to the figure. Iesus suffered without the gate, to sanctify the people by his blood. Let vs go out therefore and suffer with Christ bearing his opprobries and rebukes. These be the wordes of the Apostle now taken.

I will by the helpe of our Lord God, declare these wordes in order, euē as they do stād. Here is an aulter, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Byshop which did offer this Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a seruing of the Tabernacle, the blood of the sacrifice which was offered by the Byshop for the sinnes of the people, in the moste holy place of the temple, and the bodies of the beastes (whose blood was offered) were burned without the tentes. And this was done the x. day of the vij. moneth. Ye heare now the words of the Apostle. Wherin appeareth the manifest figure of the Passion of our sauior Iesus Christ, which we this day do honor.

In these wordes the Apostle toucheth the figure of the lawe. And bringeth it to a spirituall vnderstanding. For it was commaunded in the law, in the booke of Numbers,* that the x. day of the vij. moneth, in the feast that was called the feast of the propitiation, of mercy, of remission, or the feast of purgation, when the people were purged. At which time, they should take a calfe and a kidde, and slay them: whose blood the onely Bishop should bring, In sancta sanctorum, into the most holy, solemne,* and secret place of the temple: wherein the bishop neuer came, vnlesse he brought with him blood, to offer in Sacrifice. Quia omnia ferē in sanguine secundum legem mundabuntur, & sine sanguinis effusione non sit remissio, sayth the Apostle. Almost al thinges after the law, or in the law, were cleansed in blood, and by blood: & without the effusion of blood, was no remission. And in that place of the temple called Sancta Sanctorum, the Bishop prayed and offered for the people. The flesh and corps of the sacrifice was burned without the tentes, without theyr paulions. And it was not law full to any that did serue the tabernacle, to eat of the flesh of that sacrifice.

Here is a manifest figure (as I sayd) of the Passion of our Sauour Christ. The aultar that was consecrate and halowed in this solemnity of the bloud of the eternall. Testament, was that holye crosse that Christ suffered on. Which as on this day, he did consecrate, hallow, dignifie and dedicate, and did adourne and decke the same with the members of his most precious body, more gloriously then if it had bene embrodered and insert with precious stones. For as golde which is the most precious metall, is made more precious when it is set with precious stones,* and is dignified therewith, whether it be aultar, Image, crowne, ring or owch• so was the aultar the holy Crosse, beautified, dignified, adourned & made precious with the members of that most precious stone Christ, which is as Peter sayth: Lapis viuus,* ab hominibus reprobatus, a deo electus: probatus, angularis & praeiosus. This Christ is (he sayth) the liuely stone, which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approued stone, for a corner stone, for the chiefe stone in the building of his church, for the stone that ioyneth the walles of the Church together, for the stone wherupon the fayth of Christ and his Church is builded. A precious stone, a stone of price, a stone of high value, far passing in the estimation of a good Christen man, all other precious stones in the world. This precious stone Christ, with the members of his most precious body, did decke, adourne, and made precious this aultar of the Crosse, when his body was by the •ewes, with violency,* extremely strayned vpon the same, that all his bones (as testifieth the Prophet) mought be numbred. Vpon this aultar was the great Sacrifice of the world offered, Christ himselfe. He was the Sacrifice, & he was the Priest. He offered vp himselfe to God his father,* for the sinne of man. Obtulit semetipsum immaculatum deo, vt sanctificaret iniquinatos, sayth the Apostle. He offered himselfe a pure, cleane, immaculate hoste to God, to redeeme the world, to sanctify sinners, to iustify man.

This Christ the Bishop of good thinges to come (as the Apostle witnesseth) entred once into the place called Sancta Sanctorum, not onely of the temple, but in Sancta sanctorum, into that holy place of places, into heauē. He entred with sacrificed bloud like a Bishop. Not with the bloud of goates or calues,* not with the bloud of rammes or buls: but with his owne precious bloud. For if the bloud of goates and bulles, and the ashes of the burned calfe sprinckled abroad, were sufficient to the making cleane of flesh: how much more then, the bloud of Christ (who by the holy Ghost, did offer vp himselfe to God, a most pure, most cleane, & immaculate sacrifice) is able to purge, clense and make fayre our cōsciences frō the works of death, and to liue in the liuing God?

This is our great bishop, as the Apostle sayth,* Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetrauit coelos, Iesum filium dei. We haue [Page 1098](#) a great bishop, which did penetrate the heauens whose name is Iesus the sonne of God. This is our great Byshop, our high Byshop, our vniuersall Byshop. This is the head byshop of all Bishops and of all the worlde, named God (as the Apostle sayth) to be our great bishop, properly called Summus pontifex, the highest Bishop,* the Bishop of bishops. For thys is he onely that is Summus, maximus & vniuersalis pontifex.

The bishop of Rome therefore ought herein to be abashed, ashamed, and to abhorre his owne pride. For in this he outrageously doth offend God and blasphemeth him,* in that he presumeth to take this high name from our byshop Christ: In that, he taketh away (as much as lyeth in him) the glory of God, the maiesty appertayning vnto Christ: In that he taketh vpon him these names onely appropriate vnto Christ, Summus pontifex, maximus pon'tifex, vniuersalis pontifex: the highest Byshoppe, the greatest Byshop, the vniuersall Byshop, the Byshop of all the world. I

much maruell how he dare be so bolde to vsurpe and take these great names vpon him.* Greater blasphemy cannot be▪ then to take frō God, that that naturally belongeth vnto him: then to take from God, his glory and honor: then to vendicate and take vpon him such high names, as beseemeth no Christen man to vsurpe. God sayd by his Prophet: Non dabo gloriam meam alteri: I will not geue my glory awai to any other, to any creature. He doth reserue the glory, that laud & honor that belongeth onely vnto him, vnto himselfe:* no mā to attēpt so far, no man to take so much vpō him.

Peter, Peter, thou wast once Byshop of Rome, and the first bishop of Rome: Diddest thou euer take this name vpon thee, Sūmus,* Maximus, Vniuersalis? No, no, no. And why? For the holy ghost was in thee. Thou wouldest take no more vppon thee then God gaue thee. Thou wast not desirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou soughtest for, was for the glory of God: as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epistles, and thy life, shall soone perceiue. Looke a great number of Byshops that next folowed Peter in the same See: what were they? holy Martyrs, holye Liuers, which neuer attempted thus farre. Let the Byshop of Rome therefore knowledge his great fault, his high folly, his vnlawfull vsurpation, his vnpriestly presumption, and humble himselfe to Christ and God his great Byshop. Would God he would reforme himselfe. Would God he would keepe himselfe within that compasse of his authority, and no more to encroch vpon other mens iurisdictions, but diligently keepe and ouerloke his owne dioces and be content with that, would God he would looke vpon hys predecessor S. Gregory in his Register, which was a Byshoppe of Rome, a holy man. Let him learne there how he did rebuke Iohn, that time the Bishop of Constantinople, for taking on him so high^{ly},* in such names vniuersall Bishop, highest Byshop, greatest Byshop: and how he proued it to be agaynst the lawe of God. Hee sayth there in one place to this proud Bishop Iohn, what answere shalt thou make in that strait examination at that last iudgement, to Ch•ist the head of the vniuersal holy Chur that goest about to haue subiecte vnto thee all the members of Christ, by taking on thee the name of vniuersall Bishop. In an other place agayne in the same booke he sayth vnto him,* who art thou that doest presume to vsurpe a new name vpon thee, of vniuersall Byshop▪ contrary to the statutes of the gospell and decrees.

God forbid that euer this blasphemy should come in the hartes of Christen people, in the which the honor of all priesthoode is taken away, when a man shall rashly and arrogantly take that name vpon him. Let this Bishop of Rome therefore humble himselfe vnto our great vniuersall Byshop Christ, humble himselfe vnder the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apostle doth write of the honour and power of this Christ our great high Byshop. He is (he sayth) Pontifex misericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis,* penetrans coelum, compatiens infirmitatibus nostris, offerens dona & sacrificia pro peccatis nostris, condolens ijs qui ignorant & errant: Qui potest saluum facere a morte, offerens preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis & exauditus est pro reuerentia sua: Pontifex appellatus a deo. Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior coelis: Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alij) prius pro suis delectis hostias offerre,* deinde pro populo: Pōtifex sedens in dextris dei interpellans pro nobis, emūdans cōscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrans sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem. Hic est pontifex confessionis nostrae.

Let all earthly Byshops learne of this heauenly bishop Christ. Some of these properties are appropriate and belongeth onelye to God and not to man.* In some we ought to follow him. In some we can not, ne ought to do. This our high and great Bishop is Misericors (sayth the

Apostle) mercifull. A mercifull Bishop, readye to forgeue, ready to remitte those that haue offended him. He ie not cruell, not vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to folow him.

He is Pontifex potens, a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weake and feeble bishops, not able to doe any thing but by his permission and helpe. He is able to make sick, to make whole: to make rich, to make poore: to set vp, to put down. Potens, a mighty byshop, mighty and able to remit sinne, to forgeue, to saue both body & soule from damnation. Potens, a mighty bishop and full of power. No power in this world but of him. Omnis potestas a domino deo est. All power is of him. And as he himselfe witnesseth: Data est mihi omnis potestas in coelo, & in terra. All power is geuen vnto me in heauen and in earth. Potens saluare a morte. He can saue the body, and saue the soule. He can deliuer the one, and deliuer the other from euerlasting death. Who can forgeue sinne but he? Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus deus? Est potens. He is a mighty Byshop. Of him & by him, Emperours, Kinges, Magistrates and Potestates, Byshops,* Priestes, with al other that haue power, haue theyr power and authority. Who is able to turne the winde? to make the winde blow or cease but he. Who is able to say and proue, I will now haue it vayne, now cleare: the sunne to shine, the water to flow, to ebbe,* with such other, but onely he. This is our mighty bish▪ Pontifex potens, mighty, yea Omnipotēs, almighty. He can do all.* Nothing is to him impossible. Ipse dixit & facta sunt omnia. Mandauit & creata sunt vniuersa. Potens ergo est. He is a mighty bishop. Wee are not so.

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faythfull bishop: faythfull. He is a faythfull bishop to God referring all laudes,* all honour and glory to his father. In all thinges that he did; miracles or other, he tooke neuer the more vpon himselfe. He was also a faythfull Bishop to the world: For he did all that belonged to the office of a good Byshop. The very office of a byshop is, praedicare, orare & sacricare, siue offerre. To preach, to pray, to do sacrifice or to offer.* He preached to his people: He taught the worlde most wholesome doctrine, whereby he called the people to God: he conuerted sinners, he called them to penance. He made them weepe and lamēt their sinnes. They folowed his person, they folowed his word they folowed his ensample. They came out of all costs to see him, to heare him, to learne of him. They forsooke meat and drinke, house and home, and folowed him wheresoeuer he went, as well in wildernes, as els where. In so much that after they had folowed him three dayes, he being moued with pity least they shoulde perish for lacke of food being in wilderness farre from succour, he fed them twice miraculously. Once in the desert with fiue loaves and two fishes▪ he fed v.M. men, besides women and children, and there were left xij. great baskets, xij. maundes full of the brokelets, and offals at that meale.* At another time he fed in wilderness to the number of 4. M. men besides women and children, with seuen loues and a few litle fishes, and there was left of fragmentes, 7 maundes full.

The second office of a byshop he fulfilled also: For he prayed.* He was most deuout in prayer, so to teach all byshops and Preachers not to presume in theyr witte or learning, neither in their capacity, memory, fayre tongue or vtterance: but that the Preacher do studiously apply his booke with all diligence to studye how to speake, what to speake: afore whom he shall speake: and to shape his sermon after the audience. The preacher ought also besides his study & preaching to pray. For by deuout prayer, he shal attein percase as much or more, as by study or learning. For with out prayer the wordes will litle preuayle. Looke in Christ his life and thou shalt find, that in euery thing he wēt about, he prayd,* to shew the valiancy, the vertue and

strength of prayer: to shew our necessities, our weakenes & feblenes of nature. He prayd for his people (as Luke witnesseth) the space of one whole night. And what a maruailous deuout prayer made he for his people in the Mount the night afore his passion,* whē the Chalice of death was represēted vnto him: when he swet water & bloud? when he cried thrise, Transeat à me Calix iste: let this Chalice, let this passion & bloud, let the vertue therof passe from me vnto all mankind. Let euery man haue the vertue and merite thereof: let it worke in all folkes: let euery faythfull man and woman be perteyner thereof: let it not be lost, but worke to the worldes end. This was a maruallous deuoute mercifull prayer. And agayne he suffering and hanging on the crosse, offered vp for his people,* Preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis. He offred vp his praiers and supplications with a huge cry, with a piteous voyce, with a lamentable and deadly shrill, and with weeping teares to God his father, he hanging on the crosse, euen when the spirit shoulde departe the body, not then forgetting his people at the houre when all the people forgetteth both the worlde and themselues. Which cry was so huge and great, so maruelous and of that effect that the heauens trembled thereat, the Angels mourned for pity, the Sunne lost his light, the vaile in the temple riued in two, the earth quaued, the stones rent asunder and brast in gobbetes, the graues opened, the dead bodies rose to life. & appeared in the City. Centurio & those that kept Christ to see the execution done, cried: Verè, filius Dei erat iste: This was the vndoubted sonne of God. His prayer and weeping teares were so pleasaunt vnto the father, that it was heard: Exauditus est pro reuerentia sua: He was heard & why? For it was so entire, so deuout, so reuerently done, in such a maner and fashion, with such a zeale grounded vpō such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his owne. And for that he did the very office of a byshop, so entyrelly to pray, and so reuerently to offer vp himselfe in sacrifice for his people, he was heard, he was heard, his prayer was heard of God. And that is [Page 1099](#) the third property of a good Bishop, to offer sacrifice for his people. Euery Bishop, euery Bishoppe for his Diocesanes and for the whole vniuersall Church. In these three we ought as much as we may to folow Christ.

*Thus this Christ was and is Pontifex fidelis, a faythfull Byshop. Faythfull, faythfull, in his word, true in his promise, deceyuing no man, but profiting all. •n al that he did or spake, he sought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God: teaching therby all Byshops of the world in all that go about, to doe it to the laude, prayse and glory of God. And herein we ought also to followe hym.

Magnus Pontifex. He is the great Bishop, the high Byshoppe the supreme Byshop, the vniuersall Bishop ouer all the world. No great bishop but he. None high, none supreme nor vniuersall Byshop, but he.

And herein the byshop of Rome outrageously vsurpeth vpon God, as he doth vpon the world, to take the honor and names (onely to God appropriate) to himselfe,* and doth greuously blaspheme and offend God therein. Greater blasphemy can not be, then to ascribe to God, that that no wayes belongeth vnto him, or to take frō God, that that is vnto him appropriate. It is meete therefore he do betimes and in season, leaue his vniust encrochmentes both agaynst his Lord God, and also agaynst the world, least he do prouoke God to poure out all his vialles of wrath vpon him:* the Vaees, I meane, the maledictions and vengeance that Iohn speaketh of in the Apocalips.* I woulde aduise hym to cease the iniuries which he hath & dayly doth agaynst the Christ our great high vniuersall Byshop, least thou excommunicate and strike him, least thou

shew thy wrath and iudgement agaynst him and vtterly extinct his pride and ambitious pretended authority. For thou wilt be knowne, thou wilt be knowne to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great vniuersall and supreme Byshop, what so euer the bishop of Rome shall attempt to the contrary: * and thou wilt punishe his worldly arrogancy, and strike when thou seest thy time. And though it be long ere thou strike, yet let him beware, for strike thou wilt if thou be vtterly prouoked: And when thou doest strike, thy stroke is great, thy stroke is dreadfull and sore. It vanquisheth the body, it slayeth the soule, it damneth both. Beware therefore thou Bishop of Rome, and be cōtent with thine owne dioces, with thine owne charge, as other Byshops are with theirs: * For further then thine owne dioces, thy iurisdiction doth not stretch.

A maruellous blindness in thee therefore, to take vpon thee to aunswere for all the world, and art not able to aunswere our great Bishop Christ, for thy selfe at the dreadfull day of iudgemēt, when he shall aske but these few questions of thee Quomodo intrasti? Quomodo rexisti? Quomodo vixisti? Quomodo pauisti? Quae & qualia exempla dedisti? Quid ad meam gloriam fecisti & huiusmodi. * How diddest thou enter into the Bishopricke? by me or by the world? vnlawfully, or lawfully? by Symony, or freely by labour, by paction, or called God? Howe diddest thou rule thy cure thy dioces? Diddest thou pray for thy people? Diddest thou preach me to thy diocesans? diddest thou geue them ghostly and bodely foode? diddest thou minister spirituall and ghostly salues (the Sacramentes I meane) to heale the sores of theyr soules? How didst thou liue? Didst thou cast away the care, the glory & pōpe of the world? * Didst thou folow me in humility, in charity in cōpassion, in pouerty, in cleanes, & in chast liuing?

How diddest thou gouerne thy diocesans? Diddest not thou make of all things that thou diddest meddle with a money matter in selling that which was not in thee to sel nor geue, which thou calledst thy pardons, * thy commissions, thy breeues, thy delegacies reseruations, exemptions, appellations, bulles, and dispēsations? Diddest not thou vnder these pretenses and like other doings, deceiue the world? What answere shalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great Byshop Christ, when he shall visite thee and all thy dioces, me and all my dioces, yea when he shall visite all the world? What aunswere shalt thou then make? I think verely thou shalt then haue enough to do, yea and more thē thou canst winde thy selfe out of, to make aunswere for thy selfe, for thine owne dioces, and for thine owne diocesans, though thou vsurpe not vpon other mens as thou doest. The Apostle writeth of Christ humbly, * & calleth him, Magnum pontificem, the great bishop. And he of Rome is not with this word contented, but wil haue a higher word for him selfe, in the superlatiue degree, Maximum pontificem Magnum. The greatest Bishop. Oh, where is the humblenesse and meekenesse that should be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the world, how can he for shame suffer such blasphemous words to passe in his name, to his great shame and rebuke: * to the great daunger of his soule: and to the perilous ensample vnto other? Oh, sie vpon pride▪ it is a common prouerb pride will haue a fall.

Our bishop Christ was Humilis, meeke, lowly, & humble in hart. * He rode not vpon any palfray nor couragious horse, but vp on an Asse and that but once. He neuer was borne pompously abroad in a chayre, vppō mens shoulders. He neuer profered hys foote to any body to kisse. We read that he washed the feete of his Disciples and wyped thē. * We read that Mary Magdalene profered to haue kissed his feete, but he did prohibite her, sayi•g: Noli me tangere: Touch me not. He would not suffer the woman thē to touch him. He neuer had garde to defend him. * He neuer follow'ed the pōpe of the world. He disdained not to go vpon the groūd with his bare feet. What

shall I say? * He gaue ensamples enough to the Bishop of Rome, to me and all Bishops, to be meek and humble: he to know himselfe, and we our selues, as if he and we diligently looke in scripture, we shall finde. And herein, in meeknes we are bound to folow him. *

Compatiens infirmitatibus This Byshop Christ, had compassion of our infirmities of our fraylties. It is impossible for a man to know the afflictions of the miserable person, that neuer suffered him selfe affliction, that neuer had experience of paynes, that neuer felt what payne men•. But this byshop Christ had experiēce of our nature: how weake, how feeble the nature of man is: * howe weake of himselfe to doe any good worke without the helpe of God: how feeble to resiste temptations Hee suffered and felte the infirmities and paynes of this naturall body. He hath therefore compassion vpon man, when he doth see him fall. He sorroweth his ruine, teaching Bishops in especial afore all other, to haue copassion and pity vpon the sinner, to helpe him spiritually, to cōfort him ghostly, to helpe him to arise from sinne, to allure him to penance, to draw him to vertue, to make him know God, to feare his iustice, to loue his lawes, and thus to seeke all the wayes he and we can: to saue the sinners soule for whom he shall make aunswere to God for his owne diocesans: soule for soule, * bloud for bloud, payne for payne, hell for hell, damnation for damnation. For which soule, * our great Bishop Christ (as the Apostle doth witnesse) did offer giftes and sacrifice himselfe, hauing compassi•n of thē that by ignorance and by error, did sin & offend God. Euen when he was his greatest agony vpon the crosse, he cryed to his father: forgeue them father, forgeue thē, they know not what they do, they are ignoraunt people, they know not what is what, nor what danger they runne into by this entreating me. They know not theyr offences: forgeue them Father, forgeue them. In this compassion we ought also to follow our great Byshoppe Christ. *

It followeth in the former letter: Est Pontifex appellatus à Deo. He is a Byshop, and so named of God He is the very Byshop. He offered vppe the very sacrifice, the sacrifice of his owne most blessed body and bloud, whereby the sinne of the world was put away. Euery Byshop of the world is not named a Byshop by God. For some commeth into that office, not by the holy ghost, * not elect of God (as Iohn sayeth) not entring in ouile ou•um per ostium, sed ascendens aliundē. * Some there are that entreth into the folde of the sheep of GOD, not by the dore Some there be that entreth in, hauing charge and cure of soule, not by God: but by worldly meanes, by worldly labour, by importune sutes and intercession of frendes, or by theyr owne vnlawfull labour, by simony, and such other wayes. Such are not named Byshops by God. Such entreth not by the dore, not by him that sayth: Ego sum ostium. Ego sum via, veritas, & vita. I am the dore, I am the way, I am the life, I am trueth, I am pastor bonus, the very true and good Byshop that entred by God. * And all that entreth otherwise then by God, Christ calleth them fures & latrones, theues spoylers, raueners, deuourers, and deceiuers of the sheepe. Theyr liuing shall declare the same. For such as so wilfully do enter, do study theyr owne profites and commodities. Such receiueth the fruites and do nothing for them• Such suffereth theyr sheepe to perish for lacke of bodily and ghostly foode and susteynaunce for lacke of preaching, for lacke or geuing good counsell, for lacke of good liuing, for lacke of good ensample. And suche, for the most part, liueth naughtily, carnally, fleshly, viciously, popously, world'ly, & not bishoply nor priestly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Christ sayth: Qui intrat per me, saluabitur, * & ingredietur, & egredietur, & pascua inueniet. He that entreth by me, shalbe saued. Et ingredietur, & egredietur. And he shall go in, and he shall go out. What is that to say: he shall goe in, and he shall goe out? • thinke he meaneth by going in, that he shall haue grace to enter studiously into the holy Scripture, daily

and nightly to meditate, to study, and to profite in the lawes of God. Et egredietur. And he shall explayne and truely interpretate and publish it vnto the people Et pascua inueniet. And he shall finde there plenty of spirituall food for himselfe & for his people, to edify their soules, to instruct and call thē to the knowledge of God to feed thē pletifully, that they shall not lack necessaryes to their soules. Let vs therefore so liue, that we may be called Pōtifices appellati a Deo.*

This our great Byshop Christ is also: Pontifex, sanctus, innocens, impollu•us, segregatus à peccatoribus, excelsior coelis, sedens à dextris Dei, emundans conscientias nostras à peccatis, intrans sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem He is Sanctus A holy Bishop, and willeth vs to be holy in our conuersation,* applyeng our selues vnto godlynesse to the seruice of God, to lyue like byshops, like priestes▪ pure, cleane, chaste, deuout, studious, faythfully labouring in his word, praying, doing sacrifice, and euer to be godly and vertuously occupied.

He is Innocēs, an innocēt, He neuer sinned, he neuer offēded in word, thought, no• deed, Innocens,* noying no creature profiting [Page 1100](#) all folkes, meekely suffering aduersities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproches, without grudge or contradiction. Innocens & simplex: simplex sine plica. An innocēt, without pleit or wrinkle▪* without error or doublenes, without hipocrisy or dissimulation, without flattering or glosing, without fraud or deceite: not seruing the body nor the world, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heauenly Bishop.

Impollutus. He was vndefiled. He liued cleane without spot or blot,* without wemme or strayne. No immūdicity in him, no vncleannesse, nor filthinesse: but all pure and cleane, chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godlinesse: In so m•ch that he was Segregatus à peccatoribus, cleane segregate from all kinde of vncleannesse, from all maner of sinnes, and from sinners. Segregate from them, not from theyr company: For as Mathew writeth:* Publicans and sinners came and eate and drank with him and his disciples in the house of Leui. And he also came as a Phisition, to heale the sinner. And yet he was segregate from them, quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato: as touching theyr ill liuinges,* not being participant with them in sinne: but came onely to heale them, and to ridde them from sinne and sore of the soule. He entred the heauens, not with the bloud of kidde nor Goate, but with his owne proper bloud. For which and for his holynesse and perfectnes,* Excelsior coelis factus est. He is extolled and exalted aboue all the Aungels and beatitudes: aboue all the heauens sitting on the right hand of the father. Whō all the heauenly creatures doe worship, honor and do reuerence vnto Where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediatour in hys manhead to his father for vs.

This our Bishop purgeth our consciences (as witnesseth the Apostle) he clenseth our soules, he maketh vs inwardly beaution and fayre. The Bishop of Rome lacketh manye of these notable vertues. He hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is (as we all are sinners) a sinner. To whom this word Magnus, great, is not conuenient, nor can be in him any wayes verified.* For he cannot forgeue sinne as our Byshop doth, nor iustify as he doth, neither enter in Sancta Sanctorum, with his owne bloud, as he did. How can he then be called a great Bishop that is (as we be all sinners) a sinner, a breaker of the lawes of God, and dayly doth or may fall and sinne? And for that cause the law commaunded that euery bishop and Priest shoulde first offer hostes and sacrifice for his owne sinnes and afterward, for the sinnes of the people How can he therefore be called a great Bishop or Priest?

Our Bishop we speake of, is the very great bishop. No dole, no fraude, no guile, was euer founde in his mouth. And when the Prince of the worlde the deuill, came to him, he coulde finde no poynt of sinne in him. Wherefore Gabriell the Archaungell shewing his natiuity vnto Mary his mother, sayd: Hic erit magnus, & filius altissimi vocabitur.* He shalbe great and shalbe called the sonne of God. And agayne it is written of him: Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos.* A great Prophet is risen among vs. Sinne maketh a man small and litle: litle in reputation before God and man. Vertue maketh man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where you haue reedde,* that a sinner was called great? I trow it shall not be founde. Will you heare who were called great in scripture? It is written of Isaac, quod proficiebat valde, & factus est magnus valde. He profited greatly in vertue,* and was made great, great in reputation of the world. Moyses was called Magnus, great for his vertue. Abraham and Iohn Baptist likewise.* Now Iesus our Bishop is called magnus Episcopus, magnus Sacerdos. And after him neuer Byshop called Magnus in all Scripture,* neither in the reputation of man vnlesse it be in comparison one of an other (and so Sayntes and holy Lyuers are called great in respect of sinners, or other meane Liuers) but where Christ our Byshop commeth: there he, not in comparison of other, but simpliciter, by his owne magnitude and greatnesse, and of himselfe, euer was and is great, of whom it is written: A summo coelo egressio eius: & occursus eius vsque ad sūmum eius.* And as the apostle also proueth in many places by expresse words. But now there is no Bishop or Priest in this world, that may worthely of himselfe be called great, nor ought to take this name Magnus vpon him▪

This is he therefore of whom it is written: Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis. The great Byshoppe aboue all other. And as he is called and in very deed is,* Pastor pastorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, Sanctus sanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum: Ita & magnus magnorum est. And he is called the Heardesman of heardesmen, the Byshop of Byshoppes, the Prophet of prophetes, the Holy of holiest, the Lord of lordes, the King of kinges: euen so is he called, and verely is Episcopus magnus. Therefore the Prophet did adde, Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis, the great Byshop or priest: great of himselfe, great in vertue and power, great of himselfe, and great in comparison afore all other. And therefore the Apostle sayd: Habemus Pontificē magnum,* qui penetrauit coelos IESVM filium DEI. We haue a great Byshop, which did penetrate the heauens, Iesus the sonne of God.

Here may ye now see how the Byshop of Rome doth wrongfully encroch vpon our great Byshop Iesus Christ, to take from him, not onely this name Magnus, and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, Videlicet, Maximus, Summus, Sanctus, Beatissimus, Vniuersalis, and such other. The greater, the highest, the holiest, the blessedst, and vniuersall in the superlatiue degrees and yet there is no great Byshop but Christ onely no supreme Byshop, but he onely, none holy, none blessed, none vniuersall Bishop but only he. The B. of Rome, & all other bishops are but vnderlinges & vnworthy suffragans vnto this Bishop Christ.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the Apostle) is Pontifex nostrae confessionis, the Bishop whom we do confesse to be our great bishop, our high bishop, our supreme Bishop, our holy, blessed and vniuersall Bishop. Which names are reserued onely vnto Christ, and to no earthly Bishop: Not to the Bishop of Rome, not to the Bishop of Ierusalem, not to the Bishop of Antioch, nor of Constantinople, nor to any other Bishop. No earthly byshop to presume to take vpon him these high and holy names onely to God appropriate.

God of thy goodnes thou mayest and I trust wilt once make this vayneglorious bishop of Rome, first to know and knowledge thy sonne Christ to be the onely supreme and vniuersal bishop of the world. Secundarily to know himselfe, his weakenesse, his frailty and his presumption. To know his office and bounden dutye vnto thee. To knowe his owne Dioces, and to vsurpe no further. Thirdly to haue a low, hūble, meek hart and stomacke: to feare thee God and thy iudgementes, to knowledge his owne faultes, and vsurpations, and to redresse the same.

Now to returne vnto our matter, it foloweth in y^e letter first taken: De quo edere non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo deseruiunt. &c. And thus much out of Iohn Longlandes Sermon agaynst the Pope.

You heard before by the kings Iniunctions aboue expressed, and directed out. an. 1538. how all such Images & pictures, which were abused with pilgrimage of offrings of any Idolatry, where abolished: by vertue of which Iniunction, *diuers Idols & especially y^e most notable stockes of Idolatry, were taken downe the same yere. 1538. as the Images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, * the lady of Wilsdon, Tho. Becket, with many moe, hauing engines to make their eies to open and role about, and other parts of theyr body to styrrre, and many other false iugglings, as the bloud of hayles, & such like, wherewith the simple people a long time had bene deceiued. All which were espyed out, and destroyed.

Among diuers other of these foule Idols, *there went also in the same reckoning, a certayne olde Idolatrous Image in Wales named Daruell Gatheren: whiche in the moneth of May, in the yere aboue mētioned was brought vp to London and burnt in smithfield. With the which Idol also was burnt the same time, and hanged for treason, Fryer Forrest, of whom some mētion was partly touched before in the story of Cardinal Wolsey.

¶Frier Forest.

THis Forest was an obseruaunt Frier, and had secretly in confessions declared to many of the kinges subiects, * that the king was not supreme head, and being therof accused and apprehēded, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the Church, when he himselfe had sworne to the contrary. He answered that he tooke his oth with his outward man, but his inwarde man neuer consented thereunto. And being further accused of diuers damnable Articles and thereupon conuicted, he gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishment of the Church. Upon this his submission hauing more liberty then before he had to talke with whom he would he became as farre from his submission as euer he was. And when his abiuration was sent him to read, * he vtterly refused it and obstinately perseuered in his errorrs: wherefore he was iustly condemned, after hanged in Smithfield in chaynes vpon a gallowes quicke, by the middle & arme holes, and fire was made vnder him, and so was he consumed and burnt to death.

In the place of execution there was a scaffold prepared for the kinges most honorable Counsell and the nobles of the Realme to fitte vpon: to graunt him pardon, if he had any sparke of repentance in him. There was also a pulpite prepared where y^e right reuerēd father Hugh Latimer B. of Worcester declared his errors, & manifestly confuted thē by the Scripture, with many godly exhortations to moue him to repentance. But he was so froward, * that he neither would heare neither speake. A litle before, the foresayd Image called Daruel Gatheren cōming out of Wales,

was brought to the gallows, and there also with the foresayd Frier (as is sayde) was set on fire. Whome the Wealshmen much worshipped, and had a Prophecye amongst [Page 1101](#) them, that this Image shoulde set a whole forrest on fyre. Which prophecy tooke effect, for he set this Fryer Forest on fire and consumed hym to nothing. The Fryer when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, he caught hold vpon the lader, and would not let it go, but so vnpaciently took his death, as neuer any man that put his trust in God at any time, so vngodly or vnquietly ended his life.

In the month of October & Nouember the same yere, shortly after the ouerthrow of these images and pilgrimages, folowed also the ruine of the Abbeis & religious houses, which by the special motion of the Lord Cromwel (or rather and principally, by the singuler blessing of almighty God) were suppressed, being geuen a litle before by acte of Parliament, into the kinges hand: wherupō not onely the houses were rased, but theyr possessions also disparcelled among the nobility in such sort,* as all friers, monkes, Chanons, Nunnes, and other sectes of religion, were then so rooted out of this Realme from the very foundation, that there semeth by Gods grace, no possibility hereafter left for the generation of those straunge weedes to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Sauior Christ, in his Gospell, saying: Euery plantation being not planted of my father,*shalbe plucked vp by the rootes. &c.

¶The history of the worthy Martir of God Iohn Lambert, otherwise named Nicolson, with his troubles examinations and aunsweres, as well before the Archbishop of Caunterbury Warham, and other Bishops: as also before K. Henry 8. by whom at length he was condemned to death & burned in Smithfielde. Ann. 1538.

IMmediatly vpon the ruine and destruction of the monasteries,* the same yere, & in the month of Nouember followed the trouble and condemnation of Iohn Lambert y^e faythfull seruaunt of Iesus Christ, and Martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert being borne and brought vp in Northfolke, was first conuerted by Bilney, and studied in the Uniuersity of Cambridge. Where after that he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greeke, and had translated out of both tongues sondry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the partes beyond the seas, to Tyndall and Frith,* and there remained the space of a yere and more, being preacher and Chapleine to the Englishe house at Antwerpe, till he was disturbed by sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow was caried frō Antwerpe to London:* where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the Bishops house at Oxford, before Warham y^e Archb. of Cant. and other aduersaries, hading 45. articles ministred agaynst him, wherunto he rendred answere agayne by writing. The which answeres for as much as they conteine great learning, & may geue some light to the better vnderstanding of the common causes of religion now in controuersy, I thought here to exemplify the same,* as they came right happely to our handes. The copy both of the articles and also of his aunsweres, here in order foloweth.

¶Articles to the number of 45. layd to Lambert.

IN primis, whether thou wast suspecte or infamed of heresy?*

2. Whether euer thou hadst any of Luthers bookes, and namely sith they were condemned, & how long thou kepst them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?
3. Whether thou wast constitute priest, and in what Dioces, and of what bishop?
4. Whether it be lawfull for a Priest to mary a wife, and whether a priest in some case be boūd by the law of God to mary a wife?
5. Whether thou beleuest that whatsoeuer is done of man whether it be good or ill, commeth of necessity.
6. Whether the sacrament of the aulter be a sacrament necessary vnto saluation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and bloud of Christ, in likenes of bread and wine?
7. Item, what opinion thou holdest touching the Sacrament of Baptisme, whether thou doest beleue that it is a sacrament of the Church, and a necessary sacrament vnto saluation and that a Priest may baptise, and that the order of baptising ordeined by the church, is necessary and wholesome?
8. Item, whether you beleue that matrimony be a sacrament of the church necessary to be obserued in the church, & that the order appointed by the Church for the solemnising therof, is allowable and to be holden.
9. Item, whether thou doest beleue orders to be a sacramēt of the church,* and that saying of masse ordeined by the Church, is to be obserued of Priestes: whether it be deadly sinne or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Priesthoode, were inuented by mans imagination or ordeined by God?
10. Item, whether penance be a sacrament of the Church and necessary vnto saluation:* and whether auricular confession is to be made vnto the priest, or is necessary vnto saluation: and whether thou beleuest that a Christiā is boūd, besides contrition of hart, hauing the free vse of an apte or meet priest, vnder necessity of saluation, to be confessed vnto a Priest and not vnto any lay man, be he neuer so good and deuout, & whether thou beleuest that a Priest in cases permitted vnto him, may absolue a sinner (beyng contrite and confessed) from his sinnes, and enioine him wholesome penance?
11. Item, whether thou doest beleue and holde,* that the sacrament of confirmation & extreme vnction, be sacramēts of the church, and whether that they doe profite the soules of them which receiue them, and whether thou beleuest the foresayde seuen sacramentes, to geue grace vnto them that do duly receiue them?
12. Whether all thinges necessary vnto saluation, are put in holy Scripture,* and whether things onely there put be sufficient, and whether some thinges vpon necessity of saluation, are to be beleued and obserued, which are not expressed in Scripture?

13. Whether thou beleuest that Purgatory is, and whether that soules departed be therein tormented and purged?*

14▪ Whether holy martyrs, apostles and confessors, departed from this world, ought to be honored and called vpon,* and prayed vnto.

15. Whether the Sayntes in heauen, as Mediatours, pray for vs?

16. Whether thou beleuest that oblations & pilgrimages, may be deuoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and reliques of sayntes?*

17. Whether the fast in Lent and other appoynted by the Canon lawe,* and receiued in common vsage of Christian people (vnlesse necessitye otherwise requireth) are to be obserued?

18. Whether it be laudable and profitable,* that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembraunce of Christ and his sayntes?

19. Whether thou beleuest that prayers of men liuing, doe profit soules departed and being in Purgatory?*

20. Whether men may merite and deserue both by their fastinges and also by their other deedes of deuotion?

21. Whether thou doest beleue, that men prohibited of Bishops to preach, as suspect of heresy,* ought to cease from preaching and teaching, vntill they haue purged thēselues of suspition before an higher iudge?

23. Whether thou beleuest that it is lawfull for all Priestes freely to preach the word of God or no?

23. Whether thou beleuest that it is lawfull for lay men of both kindes, that is to wit,* both men and women to sacrifice and preach the word of God?

24. Whether excommunication denounced by the Pope agaynst all hereticks, do oblige and bind them before God?*

25. Whether euery priest is bound to say dayly his mattins and euensong, according as it is ordeined by the church or whether he may leaue them vnsaid without offēce or deadly sinne?

26. Whether thou beleuest that y^e heds or rulers, by necessity of saluation, are boūd to geue vnto the people,* holy scri'pture in theyr mother language?

27. Whether is it lawful for the rulers for some cause, vpō theyr reasonable aduisement, to ordeine that the scripture should not be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgar language?

28. Whether thou beleuest that consecrations, hallowings and blessings vsed in the Church are to be prayed?

29. Whether thou beleuest that the pope may make lawes, and statutes,* to bind all christen men to the obseruance of the same, vnder payne of deadly sinne, so that such lawes & statutes be not contrary to the law of God?

30 Whether thou beleuest, that the pope and other prelates & theyr deputies in spirituall things, haue power to excōmunicate Priestes, and lay people that are inobedient and sturdy from entring into the church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the sacramentes of the same?

31. Whether fayth only without good workes,* may suffice vnto a man fallen into sinne after his baptisme for his saluation [Page 1102](#) and iustifying?*

32. Whether a Priest marying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the Pope, and begetting also childrē of her without slaunder geuing, do sinne deadly?

33. Item, whether a latin priest after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore troubled and styrrd with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marying a wife for remedy of the same, do sinne deadly?

34. Item, whether thou didst euer pray for Iohn Wickliffe,* Iohn Hus▪ or Hierome of Prage cōdemned of heresy in the Coūsell of Constance, or for any of them sith they died, or whether thou hast done opely or secretly any deedes of charity for them, affirming them to be in blesse & saued?

35. Item, whether thou hast recounted them or any of thē to be saints, and worshipped them as sayntes?

*36. Item, whether thou doest beleue, holde and affirme, that euery generall Coūsell, and the Coūcell of Constance also, do represent the vniuersall congregation or church?

37. Item, whether thou doest beleue that the same things which the Counsel of Constance (representing the vniuersall church) hath approued,* & doth approue for the maintenance of fayth, and soules health, that the same is to be approued and holden of all christians?

38. Whether the condēnations of Iohn Wickliffe, I. Hus and Hierome of Prage, done vpon theyr persons, bookes, and documents by the whole general coūsell of Constance were duely and rightly done, and so for such, of euery catholick person, they are to be holden?

*39. Whether thou beleuest that Ioh. Wickliffe of Englād Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage, were hereticks and for hereticks to be named, and theyr bookes and doctrines to haue bene and now be peruerse, for the which books and pertinacy of theyr persons, they are condemned by the holy counsell of Constance for heretickes?

40. Item, whether thou beleue or affirme, that it is not lawfull in any case to sweare?

41. Whether thou beleue that it is lawfull at the commaūdemēt of a iudge,* to make an othe to say the truth, or any other othe in case cōuenient, and that also for purgation of infamy?
42. Item, whether a christian person despising the receipte of the sacramentes of confirmation,* extreme vnction, or solemnising of matrimony, do sinne deadly?
43. Itē, whether thou beleuee, that S. Peter as Christes vicar,* haue power vpon earth to bind and lose?
44. Item, whether the Pope ordinarily chosen for a time his proper name being exprest, be the successor of S. Peter?
45. Item, whether thou hast euer promised at any tyme by an othe,* or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you woulde alwayes hold & defēd certein conclusions or articles, seming to you and your accōplices, right and cōsonant vnto the fayth, and that you certefye vs touching the order and tenor of the sayd opinions and conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your adherentes, & promised to be adherent vnto you in this behalfe?

¶The aunswere of Iohn Lambert to the first Article.

VNto your first demaund wherin you do aske, whether I was suspect or infamed of heresy.* I answere that I am not certayne what all persons at all seasōs haue demed or suspected of me, peraduenture some better, some worse, like as y^e opiniō of the people was neuer one, but thought diuersly of all the famous prophets,* & of the Apostles, yea and of Christ himselfe: as appereth in S. Iohn, how, whē he came into Ierusalem in the feast called Scenopegia, anon there arose vpon him a great noyse, some saying that he was a very good man, other sayd nay, & called him a seducer, because he led the people frō the right waies of Moses law, into error. Seing therfore that all men coulde not say wel by Christ, which is the author of verity and truth, yea the very truth it selfe, and likewise of his best seruāts: what should I need to regard, if at some time, some person for a like cause should suspect of me amisse, and euill report of me. Seing moreouer it is sayd in the Gospell. Vae vobis, cum laudauerint vos omnes homines. &c. Woe be to you when all men speak well of you:* for so did theyr fathers to the false prophets. If therfore at any season such infamy was put vpon me, I am glad that I haue so litle regarded the same, that now I haue forgottē it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more then twice a foole to shew you thereof: for it is written in your owne law: Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.* No man is bound to bewray himselfe. But this I ensure you, I was neuer so charged with suspition or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any tyme, conuented and reprobued afore any iudge afore that I was troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your handes: and of them seing you could not prooue me faulty, I wonder why you would neuer yet pronōūce me quite and innocent, according as I haue euen lowely desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those passe, you haue imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I thinke certaynely, that you coulde no more haue proued me culpable, thē you did in the first that is, to wytt, no whit culpable in neither, had it not bene, that by long imprisonment you enforced me to tell what I thought in them, which I haue and will freely do: and that indifferently considered, I suppose

shall not deserue anye sore punishment, vnlesse you will beare the truth, wherevnto I hope it shall not disagree.

¶To your second demaund,* where you do inquire whether euer I had any of Luthers bookes, and namely sith they wer cōdemned, and how long I kept them and whether euer I haue spent any study in thē? I say that in deade I haue had of them, and that both before they were condēned & also sith, but I neither will ne can tell you, how long I kept them:* but truth it is that I haue studied vpon th• and I thanke God that euer I so did: For by them hath god shewed vnto mee, and also to an huge multitude of other, such light, as the deceiueable darcknes of them (I beseech God amend it) that name themselues (but amisse) to be the holy Church, cannot abide. And that appeareth euidently, for they dare not stand to any triall. He coueteth aboue all things, as all his aduersaries do well know, y^t all his writings & the writinges of all his aduersaries myght be translated into al languages, to the intent that al people might see & know, what is saide of euery part, wherby mē should the better iudge what the trueth is. And in this me thinketh he requireth nothing but equity, for y^e law would haue no body condemned, me yet iustified, vntill his cause were both heard and knowne.

But the contrary part, I meane our ouer riche prelacy which is so drowned in voluptuous liuing that they can not attend to studye Gods Scripture ne preach the same,* which should be the principall part of theyr office,* abhorre this fashion (albeit it is right indifferēt and full of equity) no lesse thē they do abhor death. And no maruell for doubt lesse if it so could be obtained, that the writinges of all parties might be openly seene and confere, we shoulde soone see theyr sleightly dealing and facing doctrine,* with all other cloked abusion, lightly ouerthrowne: As appeareth well in Almayne, for there be y^e bookes of euery party sene openly and translated in the vulgar language, that al people may see and read vpon them: and so vpon the sight of the books, they lightly folow the true light of Gods word refusing the horror of darcknes and false doctrine, whereby before, they haue beene seduced from the right teaching and way shewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundreth ne of a thousand, but generally of whole Cities & countreies, both high and low, few or none except.

But our Prelates seeing thys, and that there dealinge should, if this light were set vp,* soone be detecte and discouered, haue sent out commaūdements, that if any persons shall aduenture to keepe any such bookes, they shalbe, in so doing, excommunicate from God, and al his Saintes, and cursed as blacke as pitch, whether the bookes be in Latin, English, French, Dutch, or any other tongue: as in deede men seing the fruite contained in them haue set them foorth in all languages. But this ought not Christē men to think any newelty, for so did theyr forefathers the Prelates in Christes time, and after to the Apostles, yea and if it were well tried I thinke it should be soone founde out, that they haue so dealt euer since, vnto this daye.* For when Christ went about preaching, the Scribes and Pharise is whiche were Bishops then & Prelates gaue a generall cōmaūdement, that whosoeuer confessed him to be Christ, should be cursed and put out of the Synagogue, y^t we call the church, and so they were. Looke in the Actes of the Apostles, and you shall finde howe they were in like maner serued: yea looke in the olde Testament and you shall finde (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporall ruler at that season, to haue the prophecy of Ieremy (for he of all other is most vehement agaynst the dissimulation of priestes) to be burned: why then should we eschew them or theyr workes, vnles we knew a better cause why,* whom our prelates reiect and cast away, seing they render no rea|sonable cause of

theyr enterprise? but presuming of theyr power, without any due authority, that I can finde, graūted vnto them so to do, will, because they so commaund, so haue all done, according to the tyrannicall saying (as I trow) of Sardanapalus: Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione vo|luntas: That is to say: So will I, so doe I commaund: and that my will for reason stand.

But I would to God y^t such knew what spirit they haue [Page 1103](#) in thē.* For if they had in deed, the spirit which they claime & pretend to haue, I meane y^e spirit of Christ, I dare say, it should soone alter them from such hautie language & doting, and cause them to turne a new leafe: for that spirite is ful of softnes and lenitie, lowlines and humilitie, patience and temperancie, voyde of all wilfulnes & tiranny, yea, it should cause them not to preuent,* but easily to followe the counsaile and doctrine of Christes Apostles, & holy saintes that be their interpretours.* As S. Paul which writing vnto the Thessalonians, would them all, to proue al things, and to retaine or hold that only, which is good, in refraining frō all that hath semblance of euil. And Saint Iohn would haue Christian people,*to try the spirite of them that shoulde speake whether they were of God or no. Also he writing in another Epistle vnto a noble woman and vnto her children, sayth, If any person shall come vnto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receiue hym not into your house, ne make him any cheare. So that in this he would haue women to knowe the doctrine of Christ, and to loue that, refusing to giue credence vnto forraine teaching, not sauouring the same.

In the 1. Epistle also to the Corinthians, S. Paule writing in general to all the inhabitants of that city, saith: Brethren,*be you not children in wit and vnderstanding, but as concerning maliciousnes, be you children. In wit I would haue you perfite: and why? Uerily for none other cause, but that we should (as he writeth vnto the Hebrues) haue discretion to iudge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts:* according to y^e saying of the prophet: See that ye be not like vnto an horse or a mule which lacke vnderstanding. And we should pray with him in another Psalme: O Lord teach me the way that I should walke in,*for I lift vp my soule vnto thee.

Saint Chrysostome according vnto this, in a certaine of hys Commentaries vpon Mathew,* the booke is called Opus imperfectum, writeth after this fashion, so neare as my remembrance doth serue, and certaine I am that I shall not misreport him, and that I will be tried when soeuer it shall please you to bring the booke. The priestes that were Pharises in the time (sayth he) of Christe, made an ordinance, that who so euer shoulde knowledge Iesus to be Christe should be accursed and excommunicate. If then the Pharises or Priestes that now do occupy their rowmes should make a like ordinance, because they would not haue Christes doctrine to be professed for hindring of their lucre, should we therefore giue in all poyntes credence vnto them, and leaue of to seeke after the knowledge of Christes doctrine? Nay truely. Why (quoth he) shal we not be excused herein by ignoraunce,*leeing we be forefended by the rulers to haue knowledge? He aunswereth no verily: for if (saith he) when thou desirest to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one merchaunts ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third and so further, to knowe where is the best cloth and best cheape: thou vsing such careful diligence for a temporal profite art well worthy great reproche, that wilt be more remisse and negligent for thy soule health. Seeke therefore about from one Doctor or teacher vnto an other, that thou mayest know who doth most duely and truely teache Christ, and him follow, accord•ng to the saying of the Apostle: Prooue all and holde the good:*and as it is sayde in the Gospell, that thou maist

know: Qui funt probati nummularij, & qui non. That is to wit,*know who be true or lawful chaungers or coyners,*and who be not.

He also addeth another similitude or parable. When thou goest (quoth he) a iourney, not knowing perfetly the way, thou wilt, lest thou should fayle of the right way, enquire of one man and after of an other, and if thou shouldest chaunce to go somewhat wyde, yet thou wilt not so leaue of the iourney vndone, but make inquisition againe to come where thou wouldest rest: So likewise (sayth he) ought wee to seeke about intentiue for the wealth of our soule: Qui sunt probi clauigeri, & qui non, that is to saye, who are the right key bearers and who not: meaning thereby the key bearers, Christes apostles, and bearers of his testimony or message. Which saying, although it were written of no autentically authour (howbeit it is written euen of him whome I shewed you in the sayde worke) but vttered of one that were in little estimation, euery indifferent person hauing wit and reason, would assent (I doubt not) that it is full true.

The same author also, in an Epistle which you shall find in a work called Psegmata Chrysostomi,* sheweth (as I remember) how certain men deemed ill of him, for because he did study Origenes workes, which afore was condemned for an heretick:* but he maketh an Apologie to the same shewing that Christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing. In whiche Apologie he bringeth▪ for his defence,* the saying of Paul aboue rehearsed, Proue all thinges &c. Likewise did S. Hierome, I wote not well in what place of his works, but you shall find it in a treatise called vnio dissidentium where he entreateth De mādatīs hominū. When it was objected agiynst him that he retained by him the workes of Eusebius & of Origine, studying vpon thē he bringeth for him that it was so lawfull, the sayde place of the Apostle, making therewith an aunswere worthy to be greatly noted.

The same is also reported in the booke called Ecclesiastica historia, or els Historia Tripartita. I wote not now precisely whether. So that these and other moe authorities of the scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy interpretours shall proue, that I and other may safely (no good law inhibiting, vnles constitutions Pharisical) read and search the woorkes, not onely of Luther, but also of all other, be they neuer so ill or good: namely seeing I am a Priest, whō the bish. of Norwich ought not to haue admitted into orders, vnles he had seene me to haue had iudgement to discern good from ill, neither ought any of you to geue orders to any such, in whom you do not finde like habilitie for to iudge the light from darckenes, and the trueth from falshood: and therefore if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemne your selues, iudgyng rather of sensuall pleasure then of equitie, which in men of your order, were a great shame and much vncomely.

¶Unto your third demaund, wherto you do aske, whether I was constitute a Priest, and in what dioces,* and of what Bishop: I say that I was made Priest in Norwich and of the Bishops Suffragan of the same Dioces. ¶Unto the fourth, wherein you do demaund, whether it be lawfull for a Priest to marry a wife, & whether a Priest in some case be bound by the law of God to mary a wife:* I say that it is lawfull, yea, and necessary for all men y^t haue not geuen to them of God, the gifte of chastitie, to marry a wife, and that sheweth both Christ and S. Paule. In y^e 19. of Mathew Christ speaking vnto the Phariseis that came for to attempt him, in the conclusion, sayth in this wise: Whosoever, shall forsake hys wife except it be for fornication, & marieth an other, committeth adultery, and whosoever maryeth her so forsaken, committeth adultery.*

With that speaketh his disciples: If thus the case stand betwixt a man and hys wife: it shall be hurtful and not expedient to contract matrimony. He made aunswere: Euery man cannot away with that saying, but they vnto whome it is geuen of God: Meaning that euery man coulde not abide single or vnmaryed,* but such vnto whome was was geuē of God a special grace so to continue. And if with your better aduise I might be somewhat herein bolde, I woulde suppose that where as he doth say: Non omnes sunt capaces huius dicti (Euery man cānot away with that saying) thys worde Non omnes, ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in y^e psalme it is sayd: *Non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis viuens. It is meant that no person liuing shalbe iustified afore God. And in the Epistle to the Galathians, and to the Romanes where it is sayd: Ex operibus, legis non instificabitur omnis caro. (By the works of the law,* no flesh shalbe iustified in his sight) it is meant therby nulla caro, so that non omnis, after y^e rule of equipollence, should be taken forasmuch as nullus: and then then the sence should be thus, Nulli sunt capaces huius dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit.* No man can be capax of thys saying, or can so passe theyr life without mariage, except those whiche haue it geuē them by a singular grace of God to liue chafte.

Then he proceeded further saying, There be gelded men that so were borne from the mothers wombe, and there be some gelded men, that haue bene so made by men,* and there be gelded men that haue so made themselues, for loue of the kingdome of heauen. In conclusion he saith: who that receiueth this saying, thinking that it should be vnexpedient for him to mary, and that he may liue chaste thorowe y^e gift geuen him of God, let him take it, and so liue. So he leaueth singlenes of lyfe to all mens election,* without anye compelling them thereto.

Hereunto assenteth S. Paule, when that by many reasons he had perswaded the Corinthians to single life. Finally, he concludeth thus: This (quoth he) say I vnto you willing y^e which shuld be for your profite: but not to bring you in bondage. And a little afore: I would (quoth he) that all men were euen as my selfe am. But euery one hath a seuerall gift of God one one wise, an other otherwise, shew'ing thereby, that vnto some it is geuen of God to liue continēt, and to other for to engender & procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Whiche thinge you may easily perceauē in this: that after he had shewed forth hys good wishe and desire, saying: Velim omnes homines.* &c. I would that all men were euen as I am: hee putteth a coniunctiō aduersatiue, that declareth an obstacle or stop saying: Sed vnusquisque proprium donum habet. &c. But euery man hath hys proper gift of God.

[Page 1104](#) Upon this he procedeth further, wherby you may apertly see, y^t he would haue al men (none except) to mary wāting the gift of continencie. This (quod he) I say to the vnmarried and widowes:* expedient it were for them to remaine as I do: but if they cannot liue continent, let thē contract mariage, for better it is to mary then to burne. This prooueth well that all priestes wanting continencie of heart, had neede to mary for to auoyd burning lust, vnles they be in obedient to the mind of Christ, that spake in Paule, in obseruing the traditions of men.

In the beginning also of the same Chapter also he saith: It is good that a man should not deale with a woman. Notwithstanding for auoyding fornication (quod he) let euery man haue his wife, and euery woman haue her husband. He sayth here: Quisque & quaeque euery man and euery woman. And not quidam,* nec quaedam, some man nor some womā: He excepteth neither priest

ne nunne, but euery one both man & woman is bound for auoyding of burning and fornication to mary, not hauing the gift giuen of chastitie.

The same also confirmeth your own law▪ dist. 29. where it is written thus: Si quis discernit presbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, anathema sit. If any man do holde that a priest being married, in that respect y^t he is married, ought not to minister in his function: be he accursed. And in the 31. dist. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro suo fidelem, ac religiosam detestatur, aut culpabilem aestimat, velut quae regnum Dei introire non possit, anathema sit. If any man shal find fault w^t matrimony; and detest a faithfull and deuout woman lying with her husband, and thinke her culpable, as one that could not therefore, enter into the kingdome of God: be he accursed. And euery where else, such like are to be seene.

Moreouer, in historia tripartita, it is written, that a noble Martyr of Christ called Paphnutius,* in Nicene Councell, when all other bishops were purposed to haue enacted there that priestes should liue vnmarried,* this holy man resisted thē so mightily both with reasons, and also with authority of scripture, that then their purpose altered, & their first deuise could not passe. And one authoritie I remēber was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the second Epistle to Timoth. Your deuise (quod he) may haue a semblāce of holines: but in deed it shall be the destruction and vndoing of the same.

Moreouer, in one of the principall histories of Fraunce called,*Les illustrations de gaulles. Whosoeuer please may there read it as it standeth, within 6. leaues afore the end of the same: how the author with deepe sorrow lamenteth the ordinance that decreed first, priests to liue vnmarried shewⁱng, & that amply, the miseries that haue ensued in France, therby imputing it vnto Calixt the pope: of whom he maketh a doleful mention in Meter, wherof the first I yet remember, And it is thus: O sancte Calixte, totus mundus odit te. &c. O holy Calixte, al the world hateth thee. Which followeth in writing to all that lust to behold therin. But what nede I to make longer treatise hereof, for so much as you do dayly both heare and see, what soule abomination ariseth in euery corner, of this pitious law made of men y^t would presume to be wiser then God,* thinking (as we euer do) that eyther he would not, or els for lack of wisdom he could not shew vs a sufficient law or way, to direct our lyfe and conuersation, to come to the ioy and resting place of him promised, and so of vs longed and looked for. Wherby we both be farre vnreasonable in so deeming of him after our vnwise wit, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to helpe, Amen.

¶Unto the v. where ye do aske, whether I beleuee that whatsoeuer it done of man, whether it be good or ill, commeth of necessity: that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free will, so that he may deserue ioy or paine? I say (as I sayd at the beginning) that vnto the first parte of your riddle, I neyther can, ne wil giue any diffinitue answer, forsomuch as it surmounteth my capacitie, trusting that God shall sende hereafter, other that shall be of better learning and wit then I, for to endite it. As cōcerning the second part, wheras you do interpret, that is to say, whether man haue free will or no, so that he may deserue ioy or payne: as for our deseruing specially of ioy, I thinke it very slender or none, euen when we do the very commandementes and law of God, and that am I taught by our sauour, in s. Luke where he sayth thus: Which of you (quod he) hauing a seruaunt that hath eared your land, or fed your beastes, wil say vnto him,

when he commeth home out of the field, go thy way quickly, & sit down to thy meat: and rather will not say vnto him, make ready my supper, seruing me therat vntill I haue made an end thereof, and afterwarde take thy selfe meate and drinke. Thinke you that he is bound to thanke his seruaunt which thus shall doe his commaundement? I trowe (sayth he) nay. Euen so you (sayth he) when you haue done all thinges to you commaunded, say yet you be vnprofitable seruaunts, & haue done that which you were bound to do.

In which words you may clearly see, that he would not haue vs greatly esteeme our merites, when we haue done that is commaunded by God,* but rather reckoning our selues to be but seruants vnprofitable to God, for so much as he hath no neede of our wel doing, for his own aduancement, but onely that he loueth to see vs doe well for our owne behoufe: and moreouer, that when we haue done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify, neither our selfe: ne our owne free will, but laud him with a meeke heart, thorowe whose benefite we haue done (if at any time we doe it) his lyking and pleasure: not regarding our merite, but his grace and benefite. Wherby onely is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attend our merites in doing the commandement of God,* much lesse should we looke for merite, for obseruing of our owne inuentions, or traditions of men, vnto which there is no benefite in all Scripture which Paul calleth y^e word of truth and of faith, promised.

But here may be objected against me, that the rewarde is promised in many places to them that do obserue y^e preceptes of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such reward shall neuer be atteyned of vs, except by the grace and benefite of him, which worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, Fulgentius, with other, as you may see euery where in their workes,* and specially in the treatise called Vnio dissidentium, wherein he entreateth de gratia & meritis And of S. Augustine I remember ij. or iij. right notable sentences concerning the same.* One is in the 9. booke of hys Confessions, in this fourme: Vae etiam laudabili vitae hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam. Quia verè non exquiris delicta vehementer fiducialiter speramus aliquem locum apud te inuenire indulgentiae. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? O si cognoscerent se omnes, & qui gloriatur in Domino gloriaretur: Woe be to the life of men, be they neuer so holy, it thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou doest not exactly examine the faultes of men, therefore we haue a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoeuer recounteth vnto thee his merites, what other thing doth he recount, but thy benefits? O would God all men would see and knowe themselues and that he which glorieth, would glorie in the Lord. Againe, in the first booke he sayth thus vnto God: Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid auarus & vsuras exigis? Superogatur tibi vt debeas? & quis habet quicquam non tuū? *Reddis debita nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens. Doth any man giue that he oweth not vnto thee, that thou shouldest be in his debte? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendrest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgiuest debte, and yet lovest nothing. And therefore his vsuall prayer was this: Domine da quod iubes, & iube quod vis. Lord giue that thou commaundest, and commaund what thou wilt.

Also in the booke called, Manuale Augustini, or De contemplatione Christi, he sayth in this wise: Tota spes mea est in morte Domini. Mors eius meritum meum, refugium meum, salus vita, & resurrectio mea. Meritum meum miseratio Domini. Non sum meriti inops quamdiu ille miserationum Dominus non defuerit. Et si misericordiae Domini multae, multus ego sum in

meritis. All my hope is in the Lordes death. His death is my merite, my refuge, my health and my resurrection. My merites is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercie shal continue. And if y^e mercies of the Lorde be great and riche, then am I also great and rich in merites.

And to conclude, they be Christes owne merites and good works (as sayth S. Ambrose wel nigh euery where) that he worketh in vs, which he doth reward and crowne,* and not ours, if one should loke narrowly vpon the thing, & speak properly. Howbeit, they yet neuerthesse are ours by him, for so much as his mercifull bountie imputeth hys goods to be ours. So that in this, I wot not how other do meane, which lust to sel their merits vnto their neighbors that happely haue skarce enough for themselues: but I do wholly deme & beleue, according as the scripture with these holy doctors, and such other, do teach, wishing that men euer for good doing should not so much (as the cōmon people doth) regard their merite or reward,* for that is not the thing that engendreth the loue of god in vs, but rather maketh men to honour God in a seruile fashion, & for the loue of themselues in doing workes for loue of rewarde, or for dread of payne, more then because it so pleaseth God, & lyketh him: whereas if we regarded first (yea & altogether) that it is our duety to do wel (which is the keping of his cōmandements) & that so we should content his pleasure, [Page 1105](#) reward should vndoubtedly ensue good deedes,* although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth euermore y^e fire vnseparate therefrom. And thus we shuld serue god with hartie loue as children, and not for meed or dread, as vnlouing thraldes and seruauntes.

Concerning free will, I meane altogether, as doth S. Augustine, that of our selfe we haue no libertie ne habilitie to doe the will of God, but are subiect vnto sinne & thralds of the lame, conclusi sub peccatum, & vaenundati sub eodem: Shut vp and sold vnder sinne, as witnesseth both Esay & also Paule, but by the grace of God, wee are rid and set at libertie, according to the portion that euery man hath takē of the same, some more some lesse.

¶Whereas in your sixt demaund, you do enquire whether the sacrament of the aulter be a sacrament necessarye vnto saluation,* and whether after the consecration of the bread & wine done by the priest,* as by the minister of God there is the very body and bloud of Christ in likenes of bread & wine: I neither can ne wil answere one worde, otherwise thē I haue told sith I was first deliuered into your hands Neither woulde I haue aunswered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as I now doe, till you hadde brought foorth some that would haue accused me to haue trespassed in the same, which I am certayn you can not do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

¶As concerning the other vi. sacramentes, I make you that same answere that I haue done vnto the sacramēt of the aulter, and none other. That is, I will say nothing vn'till some men appeare to accuse mee in the same, vnlesse I know a more reasonable cause then I haue yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching y^e forme and fashion, I shall answere willingly so farre forth as my rudenes will serue. I hold well that such as be duely elect Ministers in the Church ought to baptise, except necessitie require otherwise and that the forme vsed in the Church, is in mine opinion not vncommendable. Neuertheles it should edifie muche more, if it were vttered in the vulgar language, and cause people in the Baptisme of children, more effectuously to thank God for hys institution and high benefite thereby represented.

In like condition do I also deeme of ministration in all the other,* that it should be expedient to haue thē ministred openly in y^e vulgar lāguage, for the edifying of y^e people. As concerning the forme vsed in matrimony, I lyke it right wel, and thinke it commendable, sauing in all cōtreyes lightly Iudas hath set in his foote ouer farre, and taketh in hand to sell his maister, accompanied with Symon Magus: saying what will you geue me if I deliuer vnto you Christ? This is the saying of all them that require,* without any lawfull authoritie, in some places .xii. pence, in some vi, pence, in some more, in some lesse, but in euery place lightly some mony: when a couple shoulde be maryed: and this they cal the churches right. Moreouer, y^t they will not suffer mariage to be solemnised at al times of the yeare, I thinke it standeth not with Christes rule, but rather is agaynst the same: and that they will not suffer the danes vpon all holydayes to be proclaymed vnlesse a dispensation for money be purchased therefore. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no mony ought to be geuen for this: no more shoulde anye be taken for anye other. But y^e contrary is seene, whiche is great pitty, yea euen at the receiuing of the sacrament of the aulter, priestes euery where vse to clayme somewhat; and in some part of the West cōūtre, no lesse then 2. pence of euery pole.

¶As touching priesthood in the primitiue church, whē vertue bare (as auncient Doctors do de••e, and scripture in mine opinion recordeth the same) most rouse, there were no mo officers in the Churches of God, thē byshops and Deacons, that is to saye, ministers▪ as witnesseth beside scripture full apertly, Hierome in his Commentaries vpon the Epistles of Paule, whereas hee sayth, that those whome we call priestes were all one, and none other but Bishyps, and the bishops none other but priestes, mē ancient both in age and learning, so neare as could be chosen neyther were they institute and chosen as they be nowe a dayes, with small regard of a Bishop
 〈◇〉 his Officer onely apposing them if they can construe a Collect, but they were chosen not onely of the B. but also to the consent of y^e people amōg whō they shuld haue their liuing, as sheweth S. Cyprian: and the people (as he sayth) ought to haue power to chuse priestes y^t be men of good learning, of good & honest report, but (alack for pity) 〈◇〉 elections are now banished, and new fashiōs brought all which if we should confer w^t the forme of the election shewed of Christ by hys apostle Paule, we should finde no smale diuersitie, but all turned vp side downe. To cōclude, I say, y^e order or state of priests & deacons was ordayned by God, but Subdeacōs & comu•ers otherwise called Ex 〈...〉 Accolitae, which We call Benet and Collect,* were institute by the inuentiō of men. And this you may finde in the law, Dist. 21. and other places, where is written Subdiaconatus tempore Apostolorum non fuit sacer. Subdeaconship in the time of the Apostles was no holy order.

¶As touching eare confession, I say, that the common fashion now vsed was neuer ordeined by Christes law, that is written in the Bible: neither can you proue by any authority of the same, that we ought to confesse all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all & of euery such, to any man. Agayne,* for the maintenaunce of this which I haue sayd, you shal know that Chrisostome standeth stifly with me in his Commentaries vpon the Epistle to the Hebrues.* In an homely also that he maketh vppon the Psalme Miserere. And moreouer in a Sermon that he maketh, De poenitentia: beside many other treatises, wherein he cōtinueth euer one, testifying in semblable wise,

In like maner doth one of your principall Doctours.* writing vpon your Canon lawe, named Panormitanus, testifie that it is made by the lawe of man, and not of God, in cap. Omnis

vtrius{que} sexus. In the booke also called historia tripartita, you shal finde how it was first institute (as I remember) and after vndone againe, because of an huge vilany committed with a woman by a Minister of the Church thorow confession.

Also it is mentioned in the ende of first Distinct De poenitentia, how the Greek Church,* whome I thinke you do not note to be heretickes, will not yet hetherto allowe it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to proue that cōfession made to a priest, should not be necessary, & also that confession made vnto God should suffice, cōcluding in this wise: Quibus autoritatibus▪ &c. I coulde bringe forth other that be yet liuing men, of surmounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reasons, do shewe and confirme this my saying to be iust: but I keepe silence and will not name them, least, I should bring them in hatred. Notwithstanding, I neuer sayd, ne will say, but that men feeling them selues agreed in conscience with some great tentatiō, had neede to go vnto such, whom they know and trust to be of stedfast credence, and to haue good skill in the law of God, opening their grief vnto them, to the entēt they may know through counsell, some ease and remedy thereof.

But in this I meane not that they ought to goe vnto their Curate or to any other Priest,* whose credence they deeme not all trusty, or their Councell not sage, but to any other, whatsoever he be, whom they know moste sufficient in properties aboue shewed, when their Curate doth lacke them. And this thing is the moste behouable, when men needing counsell, be so voide of knowledge in Christes lawe, that they cannot finde therein remedie themselues. For the doctrine of Christe, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the minde, so that men by spirituall knowledge might ease themselues.

To the other part of your question, where ye do aske whether a Priest in cases vnto him limited,* may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sinne, inioyning hym holosome penance? I say that onely Christ looseth a sinner which is contrite, by his worde and promise, and the priest doth nothing but shew and declare the worde: Neyther doth declaration or ministry of the priest any whit auaille for to lose any person, vnlesse he that should be losed, geue credence vnto the word ministred and shewed by the priest Which word or promise of Christ is called the word of reconciliation or attonment making betwixt God and man. And this testifieth S. Paul in the 2. to the Cor. where he sayth in this wise:*God hath reconciled vs vnto him thorough Iesus Christ. See how it is God that looseth vs from sinne, which is to make recōciliation or atonemēt betwixt vs and him, and that thorow Christ, whom he caused to dye for the same purpose.*And he (quoth S. Paul) hath ordayned vs Ministers of the said atonement. See howe Christes Apostles called not themselues the authors of binding and losing, but Ministers: for he (that is to wit,* God) recōciled the world vnto him for giuing their sinnes. Where you may know what reconciling is. And hath committed (saith Paul) Vnto vs to be messengers of the same worde or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

Also that the power wherby men are losed from sinne, is not the priests power you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true: yea and with leasure,* I doubt not but y^t I can shewe the same in the Decrees which is thus: Solus Deus remittit peccata. Only God forgiueth and pardoneth vs of our sinnes: And this was preached at Pauls Crosse the sonday next after the Epiphany last, the Byshop of London sitting by:* the Preacher speaking after this forme, treating of this text: Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit [Page 1106](#) peccata mundi: Behold the lamb of God which

taketh away the sinnes of the worlde. In that said the preacher, testimony is geuen of Christ to be a Lamb, it is shewed y^t he was an innocent man. But in y^t it is sayde, that he taketh away the sinne of the world, is shewed that he was God, alleaging there for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgare saying aboute sayde by me: Solus Deus remittit peccata. And the same proposition, or an other equal with the same, vseth Chrysostome in an Homely that is made vpon this text of Mathe. Vocabitur nomen eius Iesus. &c. His name shalbe called Iesus: for he shall saue his people from their sinnes. Also Saint Chrysostome in opere imperfecto, vpon this texte, Vae vobis Scribae & Pharisei, qui clauditis reg^{um} coelorum, &c. Woe be vnto you Scribes and Phariseis, because yee shutte vppe the kingdome of heauen before men, &c. As nere as my remembrance doth serue me: or els in some other place, but in the same booke (as I suppose) he affirmeth that the keies of heauen are the worde & doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreouer S. Gregory (I trow) in his booke called Pastoralia, or els it is in an Epistle that he writeth, ad Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, in these wordes: Clauis appertionis est sermo correctoris, qui increpando, culpam detegit, quam saepe nescit qui perpetravit. The key of loosing is the word of the corrector who rebuking doth disclose the fault, whiche many times he knoweth not that committeth the same.

Saint Ambrose agreeing to the same, sayeth: Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. The worde of God forgiueth sinne, But shal we then say, that Gods ministers do not binde & lose? I say no, not as the authors of so doing but they doe lose and bind in like maner, as it is said of Paul in the Act. of y^e Apostles, where our Sauour spake vnto him in this maner: I shal (sayde our Sauour) deliuer thee from the people and nations, vnto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be conuerted from darkenes to light. Here Paule is sayd to open the eyes of mens hartes. Albeit to speake properly, it is God that so doth: And therfore Dauid prayeth vnto him: Reuela oculos meos: Open mine eyes O Lorde. And in like maner it is spoken of Iohn Baptist in the 1. of Luke: that he shoulde goe before Christ in the spirite and power of Helias, and turne the hartes of the fathers to their children, and the vnbeleeuers to the wisdome of the rightwise. Albeit to turne mens harts, and to worke in them belongeth vnto God. But so vse we to speake Metonymicè: As if your lordship had defined me to be excommunicate, and thereupon should sende a commaundement to the person of Knoll to declare the same▪ the people would say that the person of Knoll proclaiming your commandement had accursed me: but yet doth he not properly curse me, but you rather, whē he in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commaundement, rather then his owne.

Touching cases limited to Priestes and Ministers, for losing from sin, or binding in the same. I do know no such thinges shewed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life. Neither can any man (I suppose) shew by authoritie therof, that one should haue more or lesse limited him, thē an other. And if you can or will thereby teache it me, I shall thank you for your doing, & pray god to acquit you

Concerning enioyning of penance, I knowe of none y^t men need to admitte, nor you to put or enioyn the same except it be renouation of liuing, in casting apart old vyce, & taking them vnto newe vertue: whiche euery true pennytent entendeth, or ought to entend verily by the grace & assistance of our sauour Christ, to shew and performe. ¶ Unto the xj. I say, that grace is giuen vnto them, that duely receiue the Sacramentes of Christe and his church but whether by them or no, that I cannot define: for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or

without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, how, and when. Moreouer, many a leud persō receiue the sacraments,* that are destitute of grace, to their confusion. So that I cannot affirme, that y^e Sacramentes giue grace: Yet in due receipt of the Sacramentes, I suppose and thinke, that God geueth vnto them grace that so taketh thē,* as he doth vnto al good, euen without thē also. ¶Wheras in your xij. article you do aske, whether al thinges necessary vnto saluation, are put in holy Scripture, & whether things only there put, be sufficiēt, & whether some things vpō necessitie of salutiō, are to be beleued & obserued, which are not expressed in scripture: this is y^e questiō, as great learned mē haue shewed me, whom I do cōūt my frēds, sith y^e time I appeared at your lordships assignment before maister Doctor Lesse, & maister Melling, w^t other in your chappell of Lambeth,* when these questions were fyrst propounded: this (I say) is the question, whiche (as they told me) is the head and whole content of all other objected agaynst me. Yea this is both the helme and sterne of al together, and that which they contended right sore to impugne: but loue of the trueth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yeld to their will, thinking quòd sanctum est veritatem praeferre amicitiae,* that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amitie: And also, Si dextra manus scandalizet, deberet praescindi & abijci. if the right hand offend, it ought to be cut off and cast away.

But touching an aunswere vnto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had Saint Cyrils workes by me,* I should not nede to shew any other answer in this, then he hath shewed afore time, writing vpon this saying of S. Iohn: Sunt, & alia multa quae fecit Iesus,*there are many things moe which Iesus did. Notwithstanding, for so much as euery man at all seasons, cannot haue what he would,* and therfore must make other shift: such as he may I say (as I suppose) the first part of your questiō to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed: that is to wit, that al thinges needefull for mans saluation, be mencioned and shewed in holy scripture, and that the thinges onely there put, be sufficient for the regiment of spirituall liuing & mans soule health. And in this shal you finde both the auncient Doctors standing with me: and moreouer, the suffrage of holy writte, whose authoritie is of most soueraigne and vnfallible stedfastnes.

Looke what Saint Hierome sayeth vpon this verse:*Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum: The Lorde shall rehearse it, when he writeth vp the people. Saint Ambrose also in a treatise, De Paradiso, doth shew likewyse, where he bringeth this text of Paule written in the 2. to the Corinth. I am afraid leaste it may by some meane be brought to passe, that as the Serpent deceiued Eue thorow wilines, so your mindes may be corrupt from the simple veritie that is in Christ. And also in his Commentaries vpon the epistle to the Coloss. vpon this text. In Christ Iesus is all treasure of wisdom, and in other diuers places of the same worke.*

S. Chrysostome also in his Commentaries vpon Paul declaring this saying: Omnis scriptura diuinitus inspirata. &c. The whole Scripture giuen by inspiration of GOD. &c. And in his Booke called Opus imperfectum, I wote not precisely vpon what text, but there you shal finde, that he would haue a true preacher of gods law, not swaruing therefro, neither vpon the right hand, neither vpon y^e left. but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Salomō: for he that should therunto adde or withdraw, should enterprise, as sayeth Chrysostome, to be wiser then God. These or els such like wordes doth he say. I will be deemed by the booke brought forth, because my remembraunce cannot retayne perfectly all such thinges.

S. Cyprian mainteineth well the same in an Epistle that •e writeth ad Ceciliū fratrem.* Which I woulde to God were in English, that al men might learn the deuout goodnes in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearely, how we ought to heare Christ onely and his learning, not regarding ne attending to the traditions of men: lyke as he doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of Saluation:* the administration of righteousnes, the word of truth, yea and the truth it selfe: the rod of direction: our spirituall food: the spirituall sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaultes of our ghostly enemies, the seede of God, the kingdome of heauen & keyes of the same: the power of God: the light of the worlde, which who so followeth, shal not be ouercome with darknes: the law of God: his wisdom, and Testament. Of which wordes and such like,* euery one will giue mat•er of substantial argument, that we following the same doctrine onely, shall haue sufficient safe conduct to come vnto the inheritaunce promised, albeit none other wayes or meanes were annexed with the same. And certaine I am that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught,* howe we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we neede to do, as testifieth the Psalme, in these wordes: Vniuersae viae domini misericordia & veritas. &c. All the wayes of the Lorde are mercie and truth. And againe, the Prophet willing vs to do as he did, sayth in this maner: Adhaesi testimonijs tuis domine, noli me confundere. I haue cleaued to thy testimonies O Lord, confound me not. In lyke maner the sayd whole Psalme warneth vs.* Yea all the Scripture biddeth vs sticke fast to the steady and true worde of God: saying that he is verax, & viae eius veritas: omnis autem homo vanitas & mendax: For he is true and all his wayes are trueth: but all men are vaine and lyers. For that is the sure foundation which cannot fayle them that grounde therevppon as reporteth Christ: Euery one (sayth he) that heareth my words, & doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth vppon a sure foundation. And there ought to be none other foundation to christen men but only the vndoubted truth of Iesus, [Page 1107](#) to build our faith vpon, and direct our liuing thereafter, as sheweth s. Paul saying: Fundamentū aliud nemo, &c. Other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid which is Iesus Christ. And likewise in the Epistle, vnto the Ephesians,* where he sayth: I am non estis hospites & aduenae sed conciuēs sanctorum, & domestici dei. &c. Nowe ye are no more strangers and forreiners, but Citizens with the Saints and of the houshold of God.

And in the same epistle S. Paul dilating of Christes benificence, sheweth, how that he ordained in the Church diuers officers, to the edifying of Christen people, that he calleth Christes body, vntill all we may come vnto the vnitie of faith, which cōmeth by following of one doctrine whiche is Christes, wherby wee may growe to bee perfect men, and that we should not be here like to children caried about with euery winde of doctrine by deceipte and wilines of men that study to deceiue vs.

In like forme doeth he warne vs in the Epistle to the Hebrues, that we should not be caried about as the wind with diuers and straunge doctrines, but continue in that which euer continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all partes, and that at all times: not being chaungeable as mens constitutions be, whereof looke what one doth counsaile or ordaine to be of effecte, another annulleth the same, according as mens mindes doe alway alter and are full vnsteddy. Neither doe such pertaine vnto all men, for the Greekes with other (whome the Pope, ne none of his people wil yet deny to be of Christes Church) will in no condition admitte such, neither for men to liue after them, nor to beleue them as pertaining to theyr faith: But they allowe well the doctrine that perseuereth euer one,* and is immutable, as sheweth Saint Paule saying: Iesus

Christ yesterday, and to day is all one: and so euer shal be. He is white breade without any sower leuen of Pharisaical traditions: veritie without guile, light without any darkenes: the very straight way that hath neither hooke, ne croke. From this ought we not to turne neither vpon one hand, ne other, vnlesse we will go from him that is our felicitie and anker of safetie.

But what should I more entreate of this, excepte I would recite all scripture, which in euery parte is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning vs to cleaue fast vnto this way, which is the doctrine of the Gospel? which God I beseech him graunt vs all, both to knowe and loue taking heede that in no wise wee be seduced therefro, by lawes & doctrines of men. Looke also in the ij. chap. to the Colossians, and in the epistle of Timothe and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy scripture to be conteined sufficiently enough of doctrine,* for the regiment and saluation of our soules. And this because learned men do call the head Article laid against me: I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therin hereafter, whatsoever shall be tide of me, for the truth is so in deed, that hereupon hangeth the summe of all. Therefore, I shall recite it once againe.* I say that in holy Scripture, the doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the saluation of christen mens soules God giue vs grace we may know it, to builde our faith stedfastly vpon the same in working thereafter.

As touching the latter parte of your question, I saye that there are many thinges both to be obserued and to be beleueed, that are not expressed in scripture: as the Ciuill lawes of princes and comminalties ordeined for ciuill regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtefull to faith or charity, but helpful to the same, I reckon that we ought to kepe them, not only for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake, although such ordinances be not expresly and particularly in scripture expressed, for they are generally therin conteined and spoken of,

Moreouer, if you meane by this word expressed, that which in scripture is clearely shewed out, & appeareth euidently to euery reader or hearer y^t hath but a mean vnderstanding, so do I affirme y^t there are some thinges which a man ought to beleuee, although they be not of him erpressely vnderstand: As I haue euer beleueed that the virgine Mary was and is a perpetuall virgine, and that the same might be gathered by the scripture. But if by this word expressed you meane comprehended, or centeined, (as me thinke the minde of him that wrote the demaunde should be) so that he meaneth by this question, thus: whether any thing ought to be obserued and beleueed, whiche is not contained in Scripture and that vpon necessity of saluation) then I say, that there is nothing neither to bee obserued ne to be beleueed vpō necessitie of saluation, which is not conteined in Scripture, and mentioned in the same either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other thinges are to be beleueed as I beleueed that Doct. Warham was Byshop of Caunterbury, ere euer I saw * your Lordship? and I beleue that I knew verily who was my father & mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and such like: and yet in such pointes, although man haue not a stedy beleefe, he may be saued.

¶To the xiiij. where ye do aske whether I beleuee y^t purgatory is,* and whether that soules departed be there in tormented & purged? I say that there is a Purgatory in this world, & that doth the scripture, and also the holy doctors call the fire of tribulatiō, through which al Christians shal passe, as testifieth Saint Paul in the second chapter of the ij. Epistle to Timoth. Whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that fewe do know it, and fewer peraduenture will beleuee it. Marke you the wordes (good people) and know that they be his, and not mine. They

be thus: *All that will godly liue in Iesu Christe, shall suffer persecution. In this Purgatory doe I nowe reckon my selfe to stande: God send me well to perseuer vnto his honour. Of this speaketh also S. Peter in these wordes which pertaine to the instruction of all Christen people: *Virtute Dei custodimini per fidem ad salutem, quae in hoc parata est vt patefiat in tempore supremo: in quo exultaris nunc, ad breue tempus, afflicti in varijs experimentis si opus sit, quo exploratio fidei vestrae multo preciosior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam & honorem. Ye (quoth he) are preserued thorowe the power of God by faith vnto saluation, which is prepared to be reuealed in the last time wherein yee nowe reioyce, though for a season (if neede require) ye are sundry waies afflicted and tormented that the triall of your faith, being much more precious then gold that pearisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be founde vnto laude, glorie, and honour at the appearing of Iesu Christe. &c. Other Purgatory knowe I none, that you can prooue by Scripture, vnlesse it be by one place of the same, whyche well examined, I trowe, shall make but li•t•e against me, for the maintenaunce of any other then I haue shewed.

But whatsoever be brought against me, I truste that holye Doctours shall by their interpretation, sustayne the parte the which I do take vpon me, making aunswere for me sufficient, so that you shal say, it is no new thing which I haue or shall speake: Yet that you shoulde see euen nowe somewhat wrytten of auncient Doctours concerning the same, I shall shewe you what I haue read in S. Augustine: first in a sermon that he maketh De Ebrietate, in this wise, saying: Nemo se decipiat fratres: duo enim loca sunt, & tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, *cum Diabolo absque vlla dubitatione peribit. That is to say: Brethren let no man deceiue himselfe, for there be two places, and the third is not knowne. * He that with Christ hath not deserued to reigne, shall without doubt perishe wyth the deuill. In an other also that he maketh, De vanitate huius seculi, it is sayd thus: Scitote vos, quòd cum anima à corpore auellitur statim in paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certè pro peccatis, in inferni tartara praecipitatur. Eligite mo'do quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, *aut sine fine cruciari cum impijs. Whiche is thus to say: Knowe you that when the soule is departed from the body, * it is incontinent, for his good deedes, put in paradise, or els thrown hedlong into the dungeō of hell, for his sinnes. Choose you nowe what ye list, and purpose while you be here in this life, either to ioy perpetually with Saints, or els to be tormented without end among wicked sinners. Thus sayeth holy Augustine.

To make an end, I hope surely y^t by the ayde of our sauour, I shall come to heauen and reigne with Christ, ere that I shall feele any purgatory, beside that I haue & shall susteine in this life. And he that beleueth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saued as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I thinke no whit lesse) as suche as teache the people or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this statio to that, from one altar to an other they shall cause soules to be deliuered: * yea and as well such as say that a man being buried in a gray Friers frocke, shall so haue remission of the the third part of his sinnes, as is graunted in a Bull vnto the sayd Religion: and such like. For as S. Augustine shall make with me in his book called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opiniō of some that in the church of Christ, liuing in mischiefe vngraciously, taking therof no repentaunce, did yet falsly deeme that they shoulde be saued through the clensing of purgatorye: where hee concludeth thus: Suche a thing after this life to be (sayth he) is not incredible, but whether it be so or no, a doubt may be therof moued or a question demanded. The same wordes doth he agayn recite in a booke called, Quaestiones ad

dulcium, or dulcitiū I wotte not whether he is called, and there he intreateth the same more copiously: and would I might see the place once agayne.

To this agreeth S. Paule writing thus to the Cor. Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram tribunali Christi, vt reportet quisque eapuae fiunt per corpus, iuxta id quod fecit, siue [Page 1108](#) bonum siue malum. For we must al appeare before the iudge'ment seat of Christ, that euery man may receiue the things which are done in his body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill. And againe where he writeth vnto the Hebrues, I trow it be said in this wise. Memores sitis victorum tanquam vna cum illis vincti: [*eorum qui affliguntur veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore](#): Remember thē that are in bondes, euen as though ye were bound with them: be mindfull of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.

To the 14. where you aske whether holy Martyrs, Apostles, [*](#) and Confessours departed from this worlde, ought to be honoured, called vpon, and praied vnto? I answere as touching the honouring of them, with the very wordes of S. Augustine in his booke, De Vera religione, in his last leafe, [*](#) where he saith thus: Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum, Quia si piē vixerunt, non sic habentur vt tales quaerant honores, sed illum à nobis coli volunt, quo illumināte laetantur [*meriti sui nos esse consortes](#): honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem malē vixerunt ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi. Agayne, a litle after the same, he saith: Nam idipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, vt naturam humanam, ipsa Dei virtus & Dei sapientia incommutabilis & consubstantialis patri & coaeternus, suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum est: Hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, & excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, vt vnum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cuius contemplatione beati sunt: neque enim & nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipso setiam diligimus Angelos, & his congratulamur.

Nec inuidemus {quod} ea paratiores, vel nullis molestijs interpediētibus perfruūtur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniā & nos tale ali quid sperare a cōmuni domino iussi sum{us}. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non seruitute: nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, [*quia nos ipsi cū boni sumus, templa sūmi Dei esse nouerunt](#). Rectē ita{que} scribitur hominē ab Angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed vnum Deum, sub quo ille esset & conseruus. Thus saith S. Augustine, handling the same matter a litle after more at large.

The content of this vnto you I expound that knowe no Latine, for I couet that all persons shoulde knowe both my thought in this, and all maner of doing, to the intent that of all persons I would haue true report and testimony, what soeuer shal betide me. Saint Augustine in these wordes would haue, [*](#) that we should worshippe no men departed, be they neuer so good and holy, for they seeke no such honour, but would haue vs to worshippe God alone: no nor yet no Aungell, ne honour the same, but onely the imitation of them, following their good actes in our liuing, as they followed our moste mercifull God whiles they were aliue, not building Churches in the name or honour of them, for they woulde haue no suche honour done vnto them: it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the Aungels will not that we shoulde builde any Churches in reuerence of them, but woulde, that with them wee shoulde honour the originall marke, and performer of all. They refuse all honour, sauing that whiche is called honor charitatis, which is nothing els, but to be loued. Thus sayth Saint Augustine. Whiche loue we shall testify in following their good actes,

by helping the poore or helpelesse with almes and mercy,* and dealing truely in worde and deede, according to our state and calling, both towardes God and man. Which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoeuer shall truely and duely follow that trade, shall feele it (I dare say) as the burden of Christes Crosse was vnto him right weyghty and grieuous: when he bare it to Caluarie: sauing that we neede not to feare for he hath promised to bee with vs in tribulation, to ridde vs from the same, For the Prophete Dauid sayth: Cum ceciderit iustus non collidetur,*quia Dominus supponit manum suam. That is to witte when a iust person beginneth to fall, hee shall not be borne flatte downe to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand vnder him, to reare him vp againe. And in the Gospell he biddeth: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati estis & ego reficiam vos. That is to say, Come you vnto me all that do trauaile and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke vpon you, learning of mee, that am softe and meeke minded,*and you shall finde ease thereby in your soules, for my yoke is easy, and my burden light. See you here, how he is euer ready to supporte them, that for truth shall sustein the chargable and sore vexations put vpon them of the world, which cannot endure the trueth to preuayle, and the vntruth to be disclosed.

As touching inuocation: that is to witte, calling, vpon them we haue in Scripture,* how we should call vpon almighty God in all necessities or tribulations. As in the Psalmes euery where: as in this: Call vpon me in time of your tribulation, and I shal deliuer you. Marke howe he sayeth, here call vpon me,* appointing neyther S. Thomas ne maister Iohn Shorne Also in an other place? The Lorde is nigh vnto them thar call vpon hym, that call vpon him truely, and with that he sheweth who calleth truely vpon him. saying thus: He shall do the will or desire of them that reuerenceth him, and shall heare graciously their prayer, and make them safe, for the Lord loueth al that loueth him, and all sinners shall be destroyed.

And thus vsed y^e holy prophets, Patriarks, Apostles, & other good faithfull people in olde time, in al tribulation & anguish, to resort vnto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is shewed in other places in this wise:*In my trouble I called vpon the Lord (saith Dauid) and he hearde me gratioously, when I was troubled, I cried vnto the Lorde and he mercifully heard me. Also I lift mine eyes vp vnto the mountaines but from whence shall helpe come vnto me, Myne helpe (quoth he) shall come from the Lorde that made both heauen and earth. I reade the first of these verses in forme of interrogation, folowing saint Augustine which (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the moste perfite forme, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know y^t I lacke books, and haue not them lying by me. Notwithstanding I am certain I shal not decline much from him. The hylles toward the which Dauid did lift vp his eyes were Saintes and holy men, of whom when he could not haue his minde satisfied, he turned another way, saying: from whence shall help come vnto me? Anone he remembring himselfe better, sued vnto God himselfe, of whom incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish and so witnessed the same for our instruction saying:*Myne helpe is of the Lord, or commeth from the Lorde, which made heauen and earth. This interpretation (as neare as I remember) is after the minde of Saint Augustine: and I suppose verely, that it is not contrary vnto the mind of God ne disagreeing with the sequele of Scripture.

Also in this wise it is reported in the new Testament by authoritie reduced out of the olde, where it is written:*Euery one that calleth vpon the name of the Lord shal be saued. And marke howe, cum*energia, it is said: vpon the name of the Lord, without any sending vs, either to S.

Christopher (though he be paynted neuer so stout) either to S. Patrickes purgatory in Ireland or to S. Iames in Galicia, in the yeare of grace, or yet to anye other saint or place: but would vs, y^t we shuld call vpō almighty God, and vpon his name, for the loue that hee beareth to Christ, and is alway our Aduocate before our father: to purchase mercy for our sinnes: *and not for our sinnes onely quoth S. Iohn. (who is y^e writer of this saying and testimony) but also for the sinnes of all the world. S. Augustine vppon the same noteth, that S. Iohn in that place, sayth: we haue an Aduocate, and that Christ is Aduocate for him, like as he is for all other, to purchase mercy for him, like as hee doth for all other that shall be sauēd: and that Sainct Iohn will not be knowne for our aduocate, but that Christ shoulde be taken for Aduocate of all.

S. Bede (as I remember) vppon the same, maketh as much for this purpose, as doth S. Augustine, or well more so that by course of scripture, we are taught to resort for all ayde and reliefe (as I haue sayd) vnto the head spring and fountayne of all comfort and mercye, *as S. Paule calleth him, the father of mercies and of all comforte, which is readye to comforte vs in all tribulation: which (as the psalme reporteth) healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy vppon al our iniquities. For he is sweete (as is sayd in an other place) and gentle, and many mercies are layd vp for all those that call vpō him. Yet he sheweth vs no where (I trow) of benefites that we shall purchase by praying vnto saintes departed, and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authoritie of Scripture, I woulde thinke my selfe hyghly beholding to him, what soeuer hee were, eyther great or small, young or olde: but I weene it cannot be.

I haue made truely long search, yet could I neuer find any such substantiall teaching. Howbeit, I offer my selfe euer to learne, and know that my rude witte, foolish youth vnexpert experience, and feeble discretion, had need of good instruction, as much as any other. Howbeit, I see (thāked be god) that sometime he sheweth some sparcke of light and wisdomē to children, hiding the same from other that are reputed of higher prudence: so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing suche factes done of God before theyr face, and laugh thereat sometime with indignation, as the Phariseis did at the blinde man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him [Page 1109](#)Thou caitife was borne blinde for thy sinnes, *and wilt thou teach vs, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and Doctours to teach the law? As who would say, it becommeth ther full••ll. Yet we ought not to maruell greatly at suche doing, for so much as S. Paule. 1. Corinthians. 1. sheweth of like practise done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing, so that it perteyneth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our tyme, as it did to that it was first written in. *The doctrine of Christes crosse, that is to wit, of the new testament, is to them that perish folly, (sayth he) but to vs that obtayne thereby saluation (incaning thereby, to such as beleue) it is the might or power of God for it is written (sayth he) by the Prophet Esay: that God aforetime sayd he woulde destroy the wisdomē of the wise, and the vnderstanding or learning of the learned woulde he throw away and despise.

This prophecy alleged, Paule thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish affiaunce, vayneglory or opinion that they had in men, whom they peradventure euer highly esteemed for their offices, or solemne titles. So that he proceedeth foorth in the same: where are ye now (quoth he) the worldly wise, the scribes that is to say, *Doctors and such other like officers. Hath not god shewed the wisdomē of the world to be foolish & vnsauery? for after that by the wisdomē of God (which is shewed in Scripture I suppose) the world hath not studied

to knowe God,*by wisdomē, it hath pleased God now to saue them that beleue: thorow the foolishnes of preaching. He calleth the word of God foolish preaching,* not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdomē, but he spake after the opinion of thē that set litle or nought therby, esteming it as Esops Cock did the precious stone, and as swine do pearles.

After long proces in the same matter, he cōcludeth thus Brethrē (sayth he) you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, are called to the beliefe of the Gospel, nor many mighty men, ne many of noble parentage: but those that be• fooles after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to cōfound the wise. &c.

Therefore, I say (as I sayd afore) that thanks bee to God, albeit I am (as I shewed before) voyd of such great prudency that other be well endued with, yet I see partly how theyr great reasons be not very substantiall, wherby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority fayleth thē, to shew, that we ought to pray to Sayntes departed, for to be Mediators for vs to Christ. And amōg other, this is one, that they leaue much vpon bringing it forth so vsually that common people, well nigh altogether harpe vpon the same: Some fauoring, it other contrariwise esteming it of no value.

The reason is this: If whē one shuld desire to come to y^t speach of our soueraigne to obtaine some bowne of hym,* neede it were first to purchase the fauour of his Chamberlaines or some like officers to bring him to the kinges presence, for els he may watch long in vayne, vntill he be full a colde, ere that he shall speake with his grace and muche lesse is hee like to obtaine his petition. In likewise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and vs: of whom if we should purchase any benefite, we must first break vnto the Sayntes departed making them our frēdes to go betwext God and vs, as Mediatours, and Intercessors. But such (with theyr leaue I would speake it) I thinke are deceyued,* in that they resemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious Prince (as I heare by common reporte he is) yet he is not in graciousnesse to be conferred with God: and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knewe of all thinges before the beginning of the world: and is euery where, to see, not onely our outwarde dealing, but also all secret thoughtes of all mens hartes, so that he needeth no Mediatours to enforme him of our desires, as the king doth neede: And he is so full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly or as soone obtēin of him that is for my behoofe, as I shoulde wyne by praying holy Sayntes to be intercessors to him for me.

Therefore I passing such apparant reasons, take me to the ensample of antiquity.* I meane of the Patriarckes, Prophets, and the Apostles, and authority of Scripture▪ which teach that we need not so to feare, but may boldly resort vnto Christ hymselfe and his holy Father, for so much as he biddeth vs in these wordes and other lyke, so for to do▪ saying: Come vnto me all ye that trauell, are vexed, and sore charged,*and I will refresh and ease you. Marke how he biddeth vs to resort vnto hymselfe and that without feare.* For he and his father which are all one, geueth aboūdantly of all gooddnes, vnto all men, and vphrayde no body for theyr vnworthinesse. But if we entend to obteyne of hym, we must all doubtfulnes (as I sayd afore) put a part, with a sure confidence of his mercy, aske of him that we woulde haue. So y^e I leaue vnto other, what they lust to doe, praying Iesu, that we al may lust for that, that is most pleasing to him.

But I thinke, concerning my selfe, that according to Christes owne cōmaundemēt, I may without any doubt casting, resort in all encombraunces, to seeke ease thereof, euen vnto himselfe, and to his blessed father. Therefore he biddeth vs when we should pray, to say after this fashion: Our father which ar• in heauen &c. For there is no creature ne creatures, that euer were or be, that hath more, nor so much, neither of might,* wherby commeth hability to geue helpe: ne of mercy and tendernes, which should make them willing in proportion agreable with hability: ne of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God: which not onely is almighty, all mercifull: and all wise: but also infinite in all these glorious properties,* so that vndoubtedly he can, will, & best knoweth how to relieue and succour vs in all necessity & anguish: vnto whom be honor without end for euer. Amen.

One thing yet I will shewe you in thys case, of whych thing I was once aduertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is nowe liuing, I will not name hym, least I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceyued against him thorough my relation. The thing was this:* I will (quoth he) pray vnto Saintes, but that shall be, when I thinke that God, either can not,* or will not geue me my petition. But that (as I shewed in the conuocation house) shall neuer be, I hope. And therfore it is to me needlesse to seeke any further about, standing in such trust and belief•, as I hope I haue found vpon Gods sure promise.

¶To the 15. Article, where you doe demaund whether the Saints in heauen, as Mediatours, pray for vs? I say,* that I beleue Saintes in heauen do pray for vs, for I suppose they know that all mē generally liuing vpō earth, be wrapped in manifolde miseries, like as they also were, theyr soules being imprisoned within theyr bodyes beyng mortall. Albeit I thinke they know not what particular miseries men vpō earth be entangled and clogged with,* as sheweth Augustine, or els some other (as I thinke rather) vnder his name in a certayne worke, saying in this wyse: Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, vbi non vident quaecunque aguntur aut eueniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vidēt tumulos suos aut corpora sua, vtrū abiecta iaceāt, an sepulta? Quomodo intersunt miseriae viuorum,* cum vel sua ipsi mala patiantur si talia merita contraxerūt, vel in pace requiescant, vbi mala nulla nec patiando nec compatiendo sustineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quae patiando & compatiendo cum hic viuerent, sustinebant. The summe hereof is, that soules departed, fele nor know of no particular miseries sustained of men liuing in this world, wherby they should neede to take eyther pacience, or els compassiō after theyr decease. Yet forsomuch as they know in generall, that all men liuing are cladde with fraylety, & theyr charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased, therfore I beleue verely that they do pray for vs as petitioners, but not as mediators, so far forth as I can see.* For scripture vsseth to speake but of one Mediatour, which I thinke, signifieth a maker of peace or atonemēt betwixt God the father and man. Record I take of Paul, which. 1. Tim. 2. sayth: Vnus est deus, vnus est & mediator dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus, qui dedit semetipsū redemptionem pro omnibus. Erasmus translateth it, conciliator dei hominum. That is to say. There is one God and Mediatout or peace maker betwixt God and man,* the man called Christ Iesus, which gaue himselfe for the redemption of all.

Thus (I say) I beleue Sayntes in heauen do pray for vs, as petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all they, I weene, do pray & long that the day of iudgement may soone come, according to the saying of Paule:*Solicita creaturae expectatio reuelationem filiorum dei expectat. The feruēt desire of the creature waiteth whē the sonnes of God shalbe reueled. And agayne: Omnis creatura

congemiscit, & nobiscum parturit vs{que} ad hoc tempus. Euery creature groneth with vs and trauelleth in payne together vnto this present. Which shalbe for the accomplishmet of glory both to them and to all other elect of god to be his children and coinheritors with Christ.

¶In the xvj. Article where you demaund whether I beleue that oblations and pilgrimages may be deuoutly & meritoriously done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Sayntes? I say, that what they may be, I can not perfectly tell: For God can so worke, that vnto those, whome he hath chosē to be inheritors with him, all things shal turne to a good conclusion, as sayth Saynt Paule to the Romanes in this wise: Vnto those that loue God, all thinges shall well succede and woorke together for their furtheraunce in goodnesse. Of whom it is written in the Psalme: Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their god, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors: Yea theyr euil dedes shall not hurt them, but come wel to passe for the increase of vertue. [Page 1110](#) For as it is sayd in the Gospell: Cui minus remittitur minus diligit. To whom lesse is forgeuen, he loueth lesse. And agayne, it hurted not Onesimus, that he ran away from his mayster Philemon, but God wrought, that by occasion therof, he me•te with Paule, which conuerted him to the fayth of the Gospell, who before was without beliefe. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define: God wotteth. But this I say, that God did neuer institute any such thing in the new testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christen people to folow and beleue. Yea that onely is of perfect surety, and none other, but as it is agreable and hath ground of the same. And like as we haue no certayne doctrine institute of Christ, ne his disciples, teaching vs thus for to do: no more is there any merite appoynted of him therefore, as I shewed afore where I tolde my minde of our merites.

Moreouer, where ye put Piè, which I call deuoutly: very true deuotion (that is called in Latine Pietas) is that, which hath annexed therewith diuine promises for thys present life to come: as witnesseth Paule. 1. Tim. 4. which is nothing els but the obseruation of Christes law, that in the Psalme for the purenesse thereof, is called argentum igne examinatum, purgatum septuplum: Siluer fined often and many times thorow fire. It hath no chaffe in it, as hath mennes traditions, but is pure and cleane wheate, as sheweth Jeremy writing in this wise. Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad Prophetas, dicit dominus, qui furantur verba mea vnusquisque a proximo suo, & seducunt populum meum in mendacijs suis & in erroribus suis. What is the chaffe to the wheate? Therefore beholde, I will come agaynst the Prophets, sayth the Lord that steale my word euery one from his neighbour, and deceiue my people in theyr lies and in theyr errors. And this deuotion is that which S. Iames calleth the pure Religion of Christ, saying: Pure and immaculate religion afore God the father is, to visite fatherlesse children and widdowes in theyr vexation. Whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourlesse and helpelesse, without counsell and other aimes, according to our hability, whensoever we see them in need or distresse.

The other part of this Religion shewed by S. Iames is, That a man should keepe himselfe cleane from the world: and that doe they, which be not affectionate so vnto any thing therin, but that they haue the thinges of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can finde in theyr hart to depart from them when God shal please, or charity so requireth.

Thus doing we shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paule, which writing to the Corinth. sayth thus: Brethren the time is short, this remayneth, that they whiche haue wiues should be as they

had them not: & those that weepe, should be as they wept not: and those that buy, as if they were without possession: and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not: for the fashiō of this world passeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should not loue ne dread any worldly thing, passing measure or inordinatly, but God aboue all thinges, and all other thinges in him, or for him: & he that thus doth,* fulfilleth the commaundement of Christ, spoken to the rich man in the Gospell, where he sayth: Goe and sell all that euer thou hast,*and come folow me. For he hath sold away al that euer he hath, that surely entendeth for the loue of Christ, to helpe the poore with all that he may. Voluntas reputatur pro facto: The will is accepted for the deed, as is sayd commonly. And this saying both of Iames, and also of the Euangelist, I think verely belongeth to al christen men that they should performe it, none except, neyther lay man, ne women (as we vse to say) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

As cōcerning y^e reliques & tombes of saints, I haue said vnto your Lordship afore, what I do thinke of the milke of our Lady,* y^e bloud which they say, is at Hailes, Norwich & other places, w^t such other: wherof (I trust) you doe know what ought to be done. And I besech god you may do ther in as your office doth require, so shewing example vnto other prelates, to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do, remembring alway, as Paule sayth: the time is short, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Finally, holy Moyses, when he died, would be so buried that no man should know which was his graue, as it is witnessed in the booke of Deuteronomy:* & that (as the expositors testify) was because y^e Iewes which were prone to new fāgled worshipping, should not fall into Idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold myracles that were wrought by him while he was aliue.

*To conclude, I say it is no poynt of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saintes graues and reliques, are meritorious works, ne yet that there is any deuotiō in so doing: That is godly which is institute by scrip|ture. If you thinke contrary, I would desire to know for mine instruction, what part of scripture should make therfore, agaynst me.

¶In the xvij. where you doe aske, whether the fast of lent, and other appoynted by the common law,* and receaued in common vsage of Christen people (vnlesse necessity otherwise requireth) are to be obserued. I saye that in mine opinion they are to be obserued, and fastyng discretly done is commendable, for so shall a man auoyde slouth & be the more ready to serue God and also his neighbours: & therby tame the rebelliō of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the Poet:*Sine cerere & baccho friget venus Without wine & good fare, lust waxeth colde. And as saynt Hierome: Venter mero estuans spumat in libidinem: The body enflamed with wine, bursteth out into lust.

Yet shall not the breaking of these feastes make a man to do deadly sinne,* except in his minde be some other malicious affection therwith annexed, as rashnes of minde, despite, or such like, for so much as no positieue law of man, made without foundation of scripture, may binde any person: so that in breaking of such,* he shall therfore sinne deadly. And of this sort made by man, is the fast of lent and other dayes ordeined in your lawes without authoritey of scripture, which willeth vs to fast perpetually, eating and drinking, but when neede requireth (not for any

voluptuousnes, as many that recounteth themselues great fasters, I feare haue done) yea and that sparely, forseeing alwaye that our Romackes be neuer cloied with dronkenhippe or surfeiting, as is commaunded by our Sauior in Luke: but contrariwise,* after the fashion rather of a certayne Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in Valerius Maximus, that neuer rose from his meales meat, with a full stomacke, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry: which, as the story testifieth, caused him to liue so wonderfull a long season, that a m•n could vnneth thinke it possible for ones life, to be so prolou'ged, had not such a notable author reported it.

And (to tell the trueth) I suppose the prelates shoulde better haue perswaded the people to pure fasting, by instāt preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations,* then by ordeining of so sore a multitude of lawes and constitutions: For the nature of man is well described of Horace saying: Nitimur in vetitum sēper, cupimus{que} negata. Looke what is forbid that we most desire, and alwayes couet the things that be denied vs. And in an other prouerbe: Funis plus aequo tēsus rumpitur. The rope by ouermuch straining bursteth a sonder. According to this, sayd a good olde father in Cambridge, I remēber his saying well yet: He was an old Doct. of diuinity, Whē a Legate came into England at a time, & he with certayne Bishops, had ordeined that the dedication of al churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy & solemnized vpon one day,* and priestes should haue their gownes made close before, with such other like ordinances: he resisted, not condescēding to haue thē put in executiō, whē his Diocesane required him,* declaring howe this multitude of lawes pleased him not: For we had enough & abundantly afore, adding this reason: Adam being in Paradise had but one law to obserue,* and yet he brake it: what other thing then shall this multitude do (quoth he) but multiply transgression? For when a Fagot is bound ouer strait the bond must breake.

God therfore I besech him, send vs of the sweet dew of his heauenly doctrine,* to moysten and supple the earthlye groūd of our hartes, that we may grow like fashioned vnto him, putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and paynted shew, that is much caused by humaine lawes and constitutions, and do vpon Christ, that is y^e very truth and the way directing men to the same. Amen.

¶Unto the xviiij. where you aske,* whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipfull Images be set in churches for the remembraunce of Christ and his sayntes? I say,* that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psal. sayth: Confusion or shame be vpon them that worshippe or make obeysance vnto carued Images, & that glory in theyr pictures. Moreouer S. Augustine in his book de vera religione, sayth thus: Let vs not haue deuotion in worshipping the workes of men: or els thus,* let vs not be bound to worship the workes of men, for the workemen are more excellent then the thinges which they make: whom notw^tstanding we ought not to worship: The latin is thus: Non sit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus,* meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices qui ta'lia fabricantur, quos tamen colere non debemus.

Lactātius also maketh strongly with the same. I can not without the booke recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of the same matter. Origē also contra Celsum (I trow) will likewise testify, where (as I remember) he concludeth, saying, that he would haue no Goldsmithes ne Grauers in a Communalty, for they do but litle profite or none thereto.

[Page 1111](#)*And S. Gregory that was chiefe, either inuentor that Images should be set in churches, or els maintainer therof, woulde not, as I haue read (I trow it is in an Epistle which he writeth ad Seruum) haue them worshipped.

And as concerning the exciting of mens memory, I would suppose, that it Christes doctrine were so shewed and opened, that people might clearly vnderstand it (and that is the principall office of prelates and curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof) I thinke veryly we should haue litle need of any other Images, then that should by wholsome doctrine be shewed vnto vs by word of mouth & writing: Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad comenefaciendum discipulos, quam viuā vox. Nothing is so effectuell to excite the remembraunce of disciples, as the liuely voyce of good teachers: as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of learned men.

So that I suppose, if this liuely doctrine of God had afore time bene apertly & diligently opened vnto the people, as curates ought to haue done, we should haue suche profite thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting vp or taking downe of other dumme stockes & lifeles stones,* carued or made by men. And if prelates would begin to set vp Christes word, which alas for pity, is not looked vpon, but rather troden downe & despised, so that many are not ashamed to say, I will haue no more learning in Christes law, then my predecessors, for they that magnifye it, must be sore punished, and taken for hereticks, with such other greeuous wordes) if this doctrine were yet set vp in Churches (I say) and truely opened, that all men myght haue theyr iudgement therby reformed and made cleare, I thinke we shoulde not greatly neede the profite that commeth by Images made of men, to excite our remembraunce to liue Christerily.

For that word which came from the brest of Christ him selfe, and was writtē of other, that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his spirite the holy ghost,* sheweth full perfectly his blessed will, which is the true and certayne Image of his mind and deuise. If this therfore were diligently inculcate, I thinke we should be transformed anewe, according to the minde of Paule, which writing to the Colossians,* sayth thus: See that you lye not one to an other, after that now you haue put of the olde man with his woorkes, and haue put vpon you the new man, which is transformed and renouate after the knowledge and image of him that made vs. Yea, thus should we all be docti à Deo▪ taught of God, as is sayde in Iohn and all should know God both small and great,* according to the promise recited in the Hebrues: yea thus should we be restored to goodnesse,* that we should haue the Image of God, •arned in our hartes full expressly. For euery man is transformed into the fashion of vertuous thinges that he is accustomed to read and heare.* And therfore it were a greate grace, if we might haue the worde of God diligently and often spoken and song vnto vs in such wise; that the people might vnderstand it. Yea, then should it come to passe, that craftes mē should sing spirituall psalmes sitting at theyr worke, and the husbandman at his plough, as wisheth S. Hierome.

Yea this holy Image of Christ, I meane his blessed doctrine, doth appoynt vs also to cōsider the works made by the hand of God,* such as no man can make like, wherby as sayth S. Paule writing to the Romanes: The inuisi, ble power and diuinity of God is knowne and sene by the creation o• the world, of such as will consider his workes, that are therin by him made.* Looke in the Psalmes: Laudate Dominum de Coelis: Coeli enarrant. &c. Prayse ye the Lord, from heauē. The heauens declare the glory of God,* with other. And these two Images, Gods workes, and his doctrine hath, ere any Images made by men were set vppe in Churches well and sufficiently

instructed the primitiue church,* and should yet instruct vs well,* if they were well considered: so that we shoulde not neede so sore to contend for setting vp of other made by men. Wherby I haue perceiued much harme to arise, and no great profite: nor the scripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary. As concerning which matter I woulde your Lordshyppe woulde please to reade the Epistle of Baruche once agayne, writing of the same matter.

Unto the xix. where you aske, whether I beleue that prayers of men liuing do profite soules departed, & beyng in Purgatory?* I made answeare in the xiiij. article.

Unto the xx. where you doe aske, whether men merite and deserue both by theyr fasting and also by other deedes of deuotion?* I haue shewed what I do think therof, in the fift demaund.

In the xxi. where you do aske, whether I do beleue that men prohibited of bishops to preach,* as suspect of heresy, ought to cease from preaching & teaching, vntill they haue purged themselues of suspition, afore an higher Iudge? I say, that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy,* either because they neuer thought to beleue such errors, as men by false suspition do deeme them to fauor: or els when men as well of high estate, as of low, by sinister iudgemēt may thinke that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Esay:*Wo be to them (quoth he) that calleth the light darckenes, and the darckenes light: the truth falsehood, and falsehood truth: as the Byshops and the Priestes, with theyr Oratour Tertullus, called Paule, saying thus before a Iudge called Felix, vnto whose Court they brought hym to be condemned to death: We haue (quoth they) gottē here a pestilent felow,*a sower of sedition or discord among all the Iewes of the worlde, and bringer vp of the Secte of the Nazarens, which was also minded to haue polluted our temple. &c.* This is to call by peruerse iudgement, trueth falsehoode. And thus did theyr predecessours speake of the Prophets, yea and of Christ himselfe, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy: which is written for our instruction. And men thus being suspected (as I woulde none were) ought in no wise therefore to cease neither from preaching, ne teaching.

Ensample of this we haue in the Actes of the apostles, where is shewed, that whē Peter & Iohn had done a myracle vpon a man that had bene lame frō his natiuity (whō by the power of Christ they healed,* & caused to go where he pleased) the people hearing of this, came running about Peter & Iohn. Peter seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not thinke him & his felow S. Iohn, to haue done this wōderfull thing by their own power or holynes, but by the vertue of Christ, whom they & theyr head rulers had slayne.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came vpō them the priestes & officers of the temple accompanied with the Saduces, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preace that men should arise from death by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified, and therewith they layd handes vpon them, and put them in warde vntill next day. The next day they sent for the Apostles before them, demaunding by what power and in whose name they did this myracle? Peter made aunswere,*If you (quoth he) that are head rulers ouer the people, lust by examination to knowe by what meanes we did it, we woulde you should all know, that we did it through the name of Christ Iesu of Nazareth, whom you did crucify: but God did cause him to arise agayne. In the vertue of hys name doth this man that afore was lame, now stand before you here both whole and found. For Christ is that high corner

stone, whō you cast away, which should haue builded the peoples fayth vpon him, neither is there any saluation without him.

These great men, seing that Peter spake so freely, and that he with his felow Iohn, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great garde of seruaunts, being like ideots, and men vnlearned wondred therat. At the last they did commaunde them to depart out of theyr Councell house, whiles they should cōmon more largely of y^e matter.* Afterward they called y^e Apostles afore them agayde, commaunding them that they should no more preach ne teache in the name of Iesus. But the Apostles aunswered, saying: I beseeche you iudge better: ought we to obey you more then God, or no? For certaynely we must needes testify of those thinges which we haue both heard and seene. Then the head Priestes threatning them sore, did geue them strait charge,* not to breake theyr precept, and so did let them goe, not knowing any cause why they might punish them: for they feared lest the people would haue taken part with the Apostles, for the people gaue glory to God for the myracle shewed by them.

Notwithstāding al these great threats Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people,* doing thē to know that glory therfore ought to be geuē to Iesus, by whose power and name they were done. Wherwith the harts of the people melted for ioy: so that they folowed after the Apostles, whyther soeuer they went.

The primate of the priestes hearing of this, and all that were about him, repleate with indignation, layd handes vpon the Apostles, putting them in the common Prison. But the Aungell of God in the night opened the Prison dores, and brought them out, saying:*Goe you into the Temple, and stand there preaching vnto the people all the wordes of life. That is to say, Christes doctrine: and so they did earely in the morning. Then came foorth the chiefe Priest, and they whom he vsed to haue about him, and called a Councell, in which were all the Priestes of Israel, or auncientes of Israel. So they sent vnto the prison house for to haue the apostles brought forth before them. When theyr seruaunts came to the prison house, & found the apostles gone thence, they returned to theyr maisters, saying: we found the prison fast shut round about in euery part, & [Page 1112](#) the keepers watching at the dores without, full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find no body within.

Then as the high priestes & officers of the temple heard this they were in a great perplexity, doubting what wold therof come.* Then came one vnto them & shewed thē, saying: Behold, the men that ye put in prison, are standing in the temple preaching vnto the people. Then wēt they thither, and brought the apostles with thē, without any violence: but they were afraid lest the people would haue beaten them downe with stones.

Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their Councell house, the high priest beginning his proposition agaynst the apostles in this forme: Haue we not straitly commaunded you (sayd he) that you should not preach in the name of Christ? And see, you haue filled all Hierusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this mans blood vpō vs,* that we should vnrighteously haue caused him to suffer death? Then aunswered Peter and the other Apostles, saying: We ought to obey God more then any man. The God of our fathers hath raysted Iesu from death, whom you did slay, hanging him vpon a tree. Him notwithstanding hath GOD raysted, and by his power

aduaunced to be our king and Sauour: by whom shalbe geuen to all Israel, that will take repentaunce, forgeuenes of sinne.

These great rulers hearing this, their harts were therwith clouen a sunder, and they couſelled together for to slay the apostles. But one good man amōg theyr multitude aduised them otherwise, whose aduise they did approue. Thē they called the apostles againe afore them, causing them to be scourged, & charged them no more to preach in the name of Iesu, and so did let them depart.

Then went they away out of the Councell, reioycing that God had made thē worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name sake.* But yet they neuer ceased to teach & preach of Iesus Christ, euery day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the 4.5. and 6. of the Actes of the apostles, & for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practise is shewed in all ages. So that hereby you may see,* when men be wrongfully suspect or infamed of he'resy, and so prohibited by Bishops for to preach the worde of God,* that they ought for no mans commaundement to leaue or stop, though they do neuer purge themselues afore them, for such will admitte no iust purgation many times, but iudge in theyr own causes, and that as they lust, which me thinketh, is not all comely. Therefore in the old law the priestes and other Iudges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controuersy.

Yet this I thinke reasonable, that a man iustly and not causelesse suspect,* and namely if he be so found faultye of heresy, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, vntill he haue made his purgation before some Iudge. But in my rude opinion, it were necessary and conuenient that our heades should not be ouer ready of suspition,* and so inhibiting men approued, from preaching, specially in this Session, when the people doth suspect them to doe it more for loue of themselues, and mainteining of their priuate lucre, or honor, then to do it for loue of God, and main'tenance of his honor.

In the xxij. where you demaund, whether I beleue that it is lawfull for all Pristes freely to preache the woorde of God or no,* and that in all places, at all seasons & to al persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent? I say, that priestes are called in Scripture by two distinct wordes, that is to wit, Praesbiteri & Sacerdotes. The fyrst is to say, auncient men, Seniors, or elders: and by that word or vocable,* are the seculer iudges or such like head officers, sometime also signified, as we reade in Daniel, that they were called, which defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldome, and nothing so customably, as those to be called Praesbiteri, which are set to be Prelates in the Church to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine,* that is, the roode of direction, and the foundation of Christes fayth. And Priestes thus called Praesbiteri, in the Primitiue Church (what time were but few traditions and ordinaunces to let vs from the strayt trade or institution made by Christ and his Apostles) were the very same and none other, but Bishops, as I shewed you in the first part of mine aunswere, by authoritye of Saynt Hierome.

Paul also recordeth the same right euidently in the first to Titus, in this fourme: I left thee Titus (quoth blessed Paule) behinde me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in a due order, such thinges as lacke or be not els perfectly framed, and that thou shouldest set priestes in euery towne,*like as I did appoynt thee, if any be without reproche, or blamelesse, the husbände of one wife, hauing

faythfull children, not geuen to ryote, or that be not vnruely, for so ought a Bishop to be. &c. These are not my words, but S. Paules, in the Epistle to Titus.* Where you may see, that a priest called Praesbiter, shuld be the same that we call a byshop, whom he requireth a litle after, to be able by wholesome doctrine of Gods Scripture,* to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine, & if any shall speake agaynst it, to reprove them thereby. And marke you how he would haue a bishop (otherwise called an auncient man, or a priest) to make exhortation by holy scripture, & thereby to reprove them that shall speake agaynst the trueth, & not to condemne them by might or authority onely, or els by traditions of men made in generall Councels. And as many as are in this wise Priestes whiche are called commonlye Praesbiteri, otherwise Bishops) such as in the church are set to take cure of soule, and to be spirituall pastors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times conuenient, and to whom soeuer it shall please thē, if they suppose and see that theyr preaching should edify and profite.

And where as you adde this particule: Though they were not sent: I say, that all suche are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent: for of this speaketh S. Gregorye in his Pastorals, in this wise:*Praedicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit. Whosoeuer taketh priesthood vpon him, taketh also vpon him the office of preaching. Yea your lawe reporteth in like maner, Distinct. 43. where it is thus sayd: A Priest ought to be honest, that he may shew honesty both in wordes and conditions.* Wherefore it is sayd in the Canticles: The Cheekes of the spouse, that is to wit, of preachers, are to be compared to a Turtle doue.

Where is moreouer added: He must also haue the gift of teaching because (as sayth S. Hierome) innocent cōuersation, without speach or preaching, how much it is auaylable by example geuing, so much doth it hurt agayn by silēce keping: for wolues must be driuē away by barking of dogs & by the shepheards staffe, which as y^e glose sheweth) signifieth preaching & sharpe words of the priest. And this I vnderstād of such as should be priestes elect both by god and men, in Gods church, whose office is to preach.

And though many of them which now doe minister in the church, and are elect by bishops, otherwise thē after the maner of Christes institution, and the forme of the primitiue Church, neither do, ne can preach:* yet ought not the multitude of such to be layd for an authority agaynst me, or other that are compelled to shew the truth and right ordinance of the apostles, that was vsed afore time in the Primitiue church: God bring it in agayn. Neither ought we for the negligence of bishops, which haue chosen such an ignorant multitude (wherby the principal duty of priestes is growen out of knowledge) when we do shew you therof, to be so enforced by a booke othe, and therefore noted as heretickes, imprisoned, and burned.*

Other be called priestes in the new Testament by thys word, Sacerdotes, that is to say (I thinke) sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called Rex & Sacerdos, Kyng & Prieste, so be all true Christen men in the newe Testament (as is testified. Apocal. 1.) by Christ, made Kinges and Priestes. The wordes in the Apocal. be thus:*To Iesu Christ whyche hath loued vs, and washed vs from our sinnes through his bloud, and made vs kinges and priestes vnto God euen his father, vnto him be glory and rule for euer and euer. Amen. Thus sayth S. Iohn, speaking of all Christen people.* In like maner is it sayde. 1. Peter. 2. where he writeth vnto all Christen men: You (quoth he) be a chosen generation, a regall priest hood, an holy people.* S. Bede expounding the same (as my remembraunce doth serue) shall testify playnely with me. And S. Augustine I wot

well, in diuers places recordeth, that all Christen men be so called, Regale Lacerdotium. And likewise doth Faber in his Commentaries vpon the same place. Whosoeuer looketh vpon the treatise called Vnio dissidentium, shall finde a multitude of auncient Fathers sayinges declaring the same.

But this may yet seme a strange thing & a new, that al persons should be called priests, & that in scripture, which can not lye. Truth it is in deede, it may seeme straunge to diuers, as it did to me, and many other,* when we read it first, because we neuer read ne heard of the same before: and so did Christes doctrine and his apostles seeme new to his audience, when he himselfe preached.

Albeit he yet proued his doing and sayinges by authority of the law and Prophetes, as is shewed in the first to the Romanes where Paule reporteth.*That he was chosen a part to be a minister of the Gospell that was promised before by the Prophettes. And our Sauour testifieth the same in Saynt Iohn, saying to the Iewes:*Thinke you not (quoth he) that I shall accuse you before my Father? There is one to accuse you, which is Moyses, in whome ye doe trust. But if you beleued Moyses, you should certaynely beleue me, for he writeth of me. &c. Likewise a litle aboue, he biddeth thē search [Page 1113](#) the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

But although these sayinges doe seeme newe for lacke that we haue not had olde familiarity with Scripture, and vsage in reading the same, (God amend and help it, when it shall please him) yet truely so standeth it written, as I haue sayd, and so is interpreted by the Doctors aboue named, and so was it preached of a certayne Doctour also of Diuinity in London, the second day of Aduent last past, in this sentence. I wote not whether these were the selfe wordes or no. The church (quoth the doctor) is nothing els but the congregatiō of faythfull people:* and you all (quoth he to the people) are of the church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewise we & all men are priestes, but yet are not all alike ordeyned Ministers (sayd he) for to consecrate the body of Christ in the Church.* Thus sayd the preacher: whom when I see oportunitie, I dare be bolde to name. And these I say ought not all to preach openly in generall conuentions or assembles, neither canne they, but they rather should come to learne: yet priuatelye are they bound for instructions of theyr seruantes, children,* kinsfolke, and such like, to speak that should be for the destruction of vice, and encrease or vpholding of vertue, whensoever time and place so behoueth, as sheweth Saint Paul, saying in this wise: You that are fathers, prouoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them vp in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.

In the xxiiij. where you doe aske, whether I beleue that it is lawefull for lay people of both kindes,* that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God, I say that it is not meet for none, in mine opinion to preach openly the word of God,* except they be chosen & elect to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or els by both, and therefore S. Paule calleth him selfe in all his Epistles, an Apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galathians he writeth thus: Paule an Apo|stle, not sent by men, nor by man, but by Iesus Christ. Also to the Romanes: How shall men preach truely (quoth he) excepte they be sent.

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of Gods law,* and also of lawes written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity, laye people may preach, and that of both kindes, both men and women, as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthians, where as he sayth: That it is a

shame for a woman to speake in a multitude or congregation. Yet in an other place he sayth: That euery woman praying or prophecying, hauing nothing vpon her head, doth dishonor her head.

To this accordeth the prophesye of Ioel recited Act. 2. where in the person of God is sayd thus: I shall poure out of my spirit vpon all flesh, & both your sonnes and your daughters shall prophecy. Thus did Anna the Prophetesse daughter of Phanuel, geue prayse vnto Christ in the Temple, & spake of him to all men of Hierusalem, that looked after the redētion of Israel.

This also doth yet speake vnto vs in Scripture, the virgine Mary, by the song which she made, that is dayly recited in the Church, called Magnificat. Yea Stephen also being no Priest, but a Deacon, made a wonderful good sermon. Actes. 7. This also willeth your Decrees, Dist. 9. de Conse. where is thus sayde: A woman although shee is learned & holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, ne baptise, except necessity requireth. So that where need is, I shall adde this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the Lawe: like as a woman maye baptise, so may she teach the woord of God, or preach, as is declared more playnely. Cap. 16. quest. 1. & in Glosa. 11. Cap adijcimus dist. 18. And I beseeche God, that for lacke of true and well learned Officers, suche necessity doe not come now vpon vs, that such shal need to take vpon them to preach.

There is a learned man, which in a Dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbot & a Gentlewoman, hauing skill in learning, iesteth, but with prety earnest (as his maner is) and geueth a watch worde touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the Dialogue. The gentlewoman aunswering the Abbot, for that he had partly checked her, because she was quicke in vtterance of learning: Syr (quoth she) if you continue therin so dull as you haue done and dayly do, the world perceiuing it (as they begin fast to grow quicke in sight) it is to be feared, least they will sette you beside the saddle, and put vs in your roomes.

As concerning sacrifice doing (so I doe vnderstand by the word which you do vse, Libare, not knowyng els what it should meane) I say, that it is lawfull for all men and women to doe sacrifice, of what sort soeuer they be: but I meane not by sacrifice doing, to say Masse, as priestes vsed to do, thereunto appoynted: but like as Christen people be Sacerdotes, that is to say, Sacrificers, as is shewed before, so ought they to offer, and do offer spirituall Sacrifices, as writeth S. Paule to the Romanes, saying: I beseeche you brethren, for the loue of Gods mercy, that you will geue your body a liuing sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping. In that he sayth our body should be a sacrifice, he would haue it slayne▪ for that was the maner, that all beastes that were wont to be sacrificed shoulde be first slayne. But he ioyneth therewith, Liuing, saying: Geue your body to be a liuing sacrifice. So that he would we shold continue to liue in this body to Gods pleasure, but fleeing the ciuill lustes and appetites therof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we doe not geue vnto our reason ouer much of the bridle, whereby it may runne at ryot, folowing fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanitie or arrogancy: as whē men will take in hand to deuise, by their owne wit, a more godly way of liuing, then is institute by Christ (whiche is the wisdom of his heavenly Father) sayinge that his is not sufficient enough for vs to follow. Of whome it is sayd by the Prophet Esaye in these wordes: This people approche neare vnto me, and honoureth me with their lippes, but theyr hart is farre from me: but they do worship me in vayn, teaching doctrines that are lawes or preceptes of men.

Then Paul proceedeth, shewing of this Christian sacrifice, saying: And apply not your selues vnto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed by renouation of your mind,*that you may know what is the will of God, what is good acceptable, and rightfull afore him. See how he would haue vs do this sacrifice, and mortify our lusts, in refusing the corru•t fashion and behavior of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the same.

An other maner of Sacrifice whiche he requireth, is, that we shoulde alwaye offer vnto God the Sacrifice of prayse, that is to wit, the fruite of our lippes,* that Osee calleth, Vitulos Labiorum, geuing laude vnto his name: and that we should not forget to doe good, and to be beneficiall to our neighbours, For in such sacrifice (sayth he) GOD hath delight.

Thus I say, that by playne suffrage of your law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons in necessity, & in time of need, may lawfully preach or shew the worde of God, and also do sacrifice, but I thinke, except great neede require, they ought not so to do.

Thus haue you herein my minde, which if it be not firme and substantiall, I will yet reforme it when any better is shewed, as I will also do in all other thinges: for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit me thinke the decrees do passe euidently with me.

In the xxiiij. where you doe aske, whether excommunication denounced by the Pope agaynst all heretickes, do oblige and binde them before God? I say,* that it byndeth them afore God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named, & if he denounceth them so to be, not of his owne proper head or affection onely:* but with the consent of other gathered with him in Christes name, for the behoofe of Christes Church: For so vsed S. Paule, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth,* which had full horribly defiled his mother in law, as appeareth. 1. Cor. 5.

And the same forme declareth the Gospel. Mathew. 18. in these wordes: If thy brother hath trespas•ed agaynst thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he wil heare thee,*thou hast so wonne thy brother. If he will not heare thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three,*euery thing may be assured. If he will not heare them, shew it vnto the cōgregation. If he will not follow the minde of the congregation, let him be vnto thee as a paynime or a notable sinner. For verily I say vnto you, whatsoever you shall binde vpon earth, shalbe boūd in heauen. So that such excommunication ought to be done (as me thinketh) by the congregation assembled together with theyr pastor, whose aduise they ought principally to esteeme and folow, if it be vertuous and godly.

And thus is it conuenient to be done: For the Pope is made of fleshe as well as other men, and therefore he may sometime iudge awry, cursing the blessed,* and blessing the cursed? and likewise may other Prelates iudging the Christen to be hereticks, and heretickes Christen. Of whō it is also written in the prophecy of Ezechiel:*Mortificabant animas, quae non moriuntur, & viuificabant animas, quae non viuunt: They slewe the soules of them that should not dye, and gaue lyfe to the soules that should not liue.* As did the Phariseis when they did cast Christ out of the Uineyard, which signifieth the Church. Marke. 11.* And as our Sauour prophesied in the xix. of Iohn, saying vnto his Disciples: There shalbe (quoth he) some that shall excommunicate

you, yea, and the time shall come, that who so euer shall slay you: shall thinke to doe honour to GOD, and this shall they doe vnto [Page 1114](#) you, because they do neither know my father nor me. These wordes be written in the Gospell of Iohn 19. Wherby you see, that for lacke o^r knowledge of God, which is taught and s^howne by the light of scripture, Christ prophesyed how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea & slea his true seruants, thinking through such factes to please god, and to do him good seruice.

Wherfore sēd O Lord I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee,* to be dilated vpon earth, which Osee bewayleth sore, seing it absent, wherby mens iudgement may be rectified, and so to do accordingly to the leading of the same.

In the 25. where you aske, whether euery Priest is bound to say dayly his Mattins & Euēsong, according as it is ordeined by the church,* or whether he may leaue them vnsayd, without offence or deadly sinne? I say, that prayer in scripture is much commended, and many great and vnmeasurable benefites are shewed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily geue themselues therto. With prayer doth S Paul bid vs to fight, in diuers places, cōtinuing in the same agaynst our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Israelites fought in batta^{le} agaynst a nation of Infidels:* I trow theyr Captayne was called Amalecke. Moyses stood vpon a mountayne,* to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting vp his handes, prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites, but in long holding them vp, at last his feruour began to grow cold and faint, & his handes sagged downward, and euer as his handes grew heauy (which signifieth, that his affection in praying abated & waxed colde) the Infidels preuayled: but as he kept them heaued vpwārd (wherby was meant intentiue prayer of a deuout mynde) he purchased victorie to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the lawe to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses, which alway, as they dyd see his armes to faynt, did vphold them, so that finally the victory came vnto Israel.

By Moses is signified, as sheweth great Clerkes, deuotion.* By Aaron and Hur, the knowledge of Gods doctrine. Which two thinges▪ (deuotion I meane & knowledge) all men had need to haue presently with thē: for deuotion doth eleuate the mind to God: but knowledge doth susteine or vphold the same, that it may with courage continue not falling down, but so alway doth incense and kindle it, that it mounteth vp into the presence of our heauenly father, where they sauour together farre more sweetely then any fumigation either of Iuniper, Incense, or what soeuer els, be they neuer so pleasaunt, doth sauour in any mans nose.

Therefore S. Paule seing howe necessary the knotte of these two, deuotion & knowlege of Gods will was, which is shewed in scripture (as teacheth saynt Cyprian in these wordes: The will of God, sayth he, is that whiche Christe both taught and wrought) Paul, I say, seing this, wished to be excommunicate and separate from God, for to haue the Iewes to come to the knowledge of Christes Church,* which is the onely right waye to saluation, for whome he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a litle after, in the 10. chap. to the Romanes saying: I beare them recorde, that they haue a zeale & deuotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christes doctrine.*&c. Where you may clearelye see how the Iewes (as S. Paule which is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeal & deuotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. Moses was amongst them, but Aaron was away: whose absence payned Paul so sore, that he rauished with

exceeding charity, wished no small harme vnto himself, vpon condition that the multitude of thē might be holpen, and haue better iudgement: euen to be separated from God.

It must nedes be thē greatly hurtfull, albeit men haue deuotion to be without the knowledge of God & his law,* signified by Aaron.

S. Paule also before y^t he came to knowledge had such like deuotion himselfe, as he reporteth. Actes. 26. in these wordes: *All the Iewes (quoth he) haue knowne my liuing, that I haue led sith I entred into mans age (which time as I remēber, is accounted from the xvj. or xvij. yeare of a mans life, in Latine he calleth it, adolescentia) which from the beginning thereof, was (sayth he) at Ierusalem among mine owne nation, that did know me afore also from the beginning, if they would say trueth, that I liued after the most straitest order or sect of our religion,*being a Pharisy. And I (quoth Paul a litle after) thought to doe many thinges in fighting agaynst the name of Iesus Christ, yea and did also being at Ierusalem, and I thrust many Sayntes or holy men into prison, hauing power geuen me therto of the high Priestes, and when they shoulde be put to death I gaue sentence: and I (quoth he) was commonlye in all Sinagogues punishing them, and compelling them to blaspheme (as menne are fayne now a daies, when the Bishops make them to abiure: and to deny the trueth of the Gospell) yea more ouer did I (quoth Paule) rage agaynst them, pursuing after them into straunge landes.

See what zeale Paul had to God, afore he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. He thought to haue pleased god highly in persecuting his seruants, of whom one was S. Steuen. He was then sore blinded through ignorance,* and wanted the assistance of Aaron. But anone, as Christ which is the true Aaron, had appeared to him, asking hym and saying in a lamentable fourme: O Saule, Saule, why doest thou persecute me,* in troubling and striking my seruauntes the members of mine owne body, of whom it is sayd, He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eie: * His hart fell (I dare say) so low as his body, that is, euen downe to the earth, repenting himselfe full sore, being redye to amend, and follow after a new way, as appeareth by hys aunswere, where he sayth: O Lorde what wilt thou haue me to doe? As though one woulde say: Nowe I see all that I thought to haue done afore of good intention, and good purpose or deuotion, hath deceiued me. I finde it otherwise. That which I esteemed good, in very deede is; and was nought.

Teach me therefore good Lord (quoth he) a better way, & amend my iudgement, that mine owne will or intentiō forsakē, I may now follow thine, to please thee, & to do thy will. And so he came to Ananias, by the assignement of Christ, the thick filthines of his olde wayward iudgement, fell away, as appeareth by the drosse or rubbish that came from his eyes, euen like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put vpon him a new iudgement, which is directed after the strait rule of the Gospell.* Whereby you may see that mens deuotion may oft beguile and seduce thē except knowledge do assist the same, for to susteine & direct it: which knitte together, shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations.

So that it is much expedient for all mē as nigh as they may, to haue prayer annexed with knowledge: * & that sheweth full notably Erasmus, in the second passage of Enchiridiō, where he testifieth but of easye liking, that he hath in saying of Mattins,* yea rather contrariwise he sheweth disliking, and so he doth also in his exposition of the fyrst Psalme: Beatus vir, where the

text maketh agreeably for the same, it is written in this wise: Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsell of the wicked, and hath not stande in the way of sinners, ne sit in the chayre of pestilence,*but hath hys will in the law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.

See howe the Prophete (whiche I doubt not but hee knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as euer did any pope or generall coūsell, or whatsoeuer they were beside, that ordeined long seruice to be sayd of Priestes) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the law of God both day and night, that is to wit, alwayes.* A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right deuotion, or true godlines. For Paule defining godlynnes, sayth thus: Pietas ad omnia vtilis est, vt quae promissiones habeat praesentis vitae & futurae.* That is to wit, Godlynnes is profitable vnto all things,*for that hath annexed thereto, promises of this life present, & of the life to come.

But no such promise is made of God, I am certayne, to them that say dayly mattins. Neither are we certayne by the word of God, that we shal therefore be blessed of him, no more then we are certayne,* that for saying ouer the xv. Oos, euery day once through an whole yeare, we shall apertly see our Lady to ayd vs afore our death, as it is testified in the Scripture of the Primer,* but not by Scripture of the Bible: or that we shall haue a like benefite for saying of her Psalter vpon the ten beades that commeth from the crossed friers, or vpon the fiue beades halowed at y^e Charter house, or fasting our Ladyes fast, as men call it: ne for fasting on the wednesday,* as is shewed by a booke that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lusteth, for it is neither the new Testament ne the olde.

They are condemned, you wote wel, & I perhaps shal haue a litle lesse fauor because I tell y^e trueth freely, for such thinges are called offense. But would God, that all persons so thinking,* would remember what aunswere Christ made vnto his disciples in the 15. of Math. whē they came vnto him, and warned him to beware saying: You knowe that the Phariseis are offended, hearing such wordes spoken. I will leaue out Christes aunswere, least I should be thought ouer free and plain in taryng or vttering of abusions, and speake no further.

A like demaund with aunswere thereto annexed,* shall you finde in the 11. of Luke, where Christ would not refrayne to speake any deale more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deeme me (God wotteth whether▪ righteously or no) sclaunderously to reuise the sayde places, and [Page 1115](#) thē counsel me to do that shalbe most expedient to folow if their charitie will so require. Yet would I that all people should knowe, that I do not reprove that saying of the xv. Oos, which (so farre •orth as my remembrance doth serue) is a very good praier,* or such like prayers: ne would I that any person shuld think me to disalow any discret fastings, for such, not only present with you, but euen from hence ab|sent, haue I commended in earnest speaking, and so entēd to do by the assistaunce of Gods grace. Neuertheles such vain promises I do abhorre, as be with thē annexed, with the vpholders of the same. For such doe cause vaine confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right beleife of the Gospel, (which Christen men ought onely to build their faith vpon) vnto new inuentions of vanitie. S. Paul calleth such, old womens tales, where he writeth vnto Timothe, bidding him to beware of them, & to throw them away.

The Prophete Dauid likewise doth accord therunto, saying: *Beatus vir cuius est nomē Domini spes eius & non respexit in vanitates & insanias falsas*:^{*}Blessed (quoth he) is the mⁿ that hath in the name of God his affiaunce or hope, and hath not looked backe to vanities and false dotages or madnesse. And this I say againe, that the Mattens saying, hath no more promise of God made to the sayers,^{*} then hath the other aboue named, for they were institute by the fantasie or mind of men, and not by y^e rule of scripture. Neither do I thinke the priestes which wil truly follow the rule of God, written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or encombred with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from y^e study of that, which to know belongeth principally both to their owne soules saluation, and also to the discharge of their dutie, and which God most highly of Priestes doeth require, (I meane the study of his Gospel) whereby they them selues should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should fede Christes flock, the congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Sauour in Iohn. I (quoth he) am the doore,^{*}whosoever shall come in by me, shal both come in, and goe out, and finde good pasture or feeding. That is to saye, who soever shall enter to be a pastour or Minister in Christes church or congregation by Christ, shal both enter into contemplation of Gods glory declared abundantly in scripture, and after go forth and shew that same abroade to other for their wealth and edifying.

To this accordeth that is written in Luke, whereas our Sauour speaketh to all his Church signified in the person of Saint Peter. Peter (quoth he) I haue prayed that thy faith should not fayle, and thou being conuerted, goe then about to confirme thy brethren So that he would haue Peter stablished first in faith of his sure doctrine,^{*} and then to go forth, as he did, to teache other to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all priests to be called Presbyteri, which will be ministers in the Church, for so biddeth S. Peter in his first Epistle, in the last chapter, saying thus: I beseech the Priestes (quoth he) that are among you, I my selfe being a priest, and a witnes bearer of Christes afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shalbe reuealed, see that you with all diligence doe feede the flock of Christ taking care of the same,^{*}not as enforced thereto, but willingly: not desiring filthy lucre, but with a louing minde: neither as men exercising dominion ouer the children or inheritours of God, but so that you be paternes, or ensample giuers to the flocke. See, how he requireth of priestes that they should spend all their diligence to feede Christes flocke, and to shew good ensample of liuing, making no mention of long Mattens saying, which then were not mentioned nor spoken of.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this fourme: ignorance, sayth the Lawe (marke it well I beseeche you al) is the mother of all errors.^{*} Which ought to be eschewed especially of Priests, that among the people of God haue taken vpon thē the office of preaching: priests are commaunded to reade holy Scriptures, as sayth Paul the Apostle to Timothe: Giue heede to reading, exhortation,^{*}and teaching, and continue alwayes in the same. Let priests therefore knowe holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edifie all men both in knowledge of fayth, and in discipline of good workes.^{*} These be the wordes of the lawe in the Decrees Dist. 38. Where you see howe the Lawe lamenteth ignorance in al persons, for it is the original of al errors. God send vs therefore the knowledge of his true gospel.^{*} It biddeth that ignorance should be vtterly eschewed, and principally of priestes, whose labour and diligence shoulde be bestowed al in reading of scripture, & preaching the same, bringing in for the same purpose, the saying of the Apostle, which willeth in like manner.

Moreouer it requireth that priests should giue al their study to edifie other in faith and vertuous liuing.* Whereof I do gather both by the saying of the Prophet, that willeth vs to be studyous in the Law of God day and night, and by the saying of the Apostle, whiche woulde haue Timothe to be occupied euer in reading and teaching, and by the report of your owne Lawe, which saith likewise, that a priest ought to bestow al his labor in reading & preaching. So that a priest set thus truely to studye, that hee may stablishe himselfe in the fayth of Christes doctrine, intending after to helpe other with true preaching o• the same, or doing other like deedes of charity, assigned in the law of god, shall not offend deadly, if so spending his time, he omitteth to say Mattens, which is an ordinaunce of men.

Neuertheles concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made priestes by negligent admission of Bishops, and their own presumption,* that labour to be made priests before they be any Clerkes, and ere euer they knowe what is the very office of a priest, do not feare to take vpon them, if they may attayne therto, to be a curate, they recke not of how many, so they may get a good lumpe of mony, neuer minding after that the study of Scripture, a•ter they are come to Dominus vobiscum: for such I doe think long mattens to be needfull, to restrayne them from other enormities that they should else runne in. Of whiche you may be weary to see the experience thereof dayly arising. Yea and if such woulde be content to admit it, I woulde euery one mattens were as long to them as fiue, except they could be stow theyr time better.

In the 26. where you doe aske, whether I beleeeue that the heades or rulers by necessity of saluation are bounde to geue vnto the people,* holy scripture in their mother language? I say, y^t I think they are bound to see that the people may truely know holy Scripture, & I do not knowe, how that may be done so well,* as by geuing it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may haue it by thē at al times to passe y^e time godly, when soeuer they haue leysure thereto, like as they haue in Fraunce vnder y^e French kings priuelege,* & also with the priuiledge of the Emperour, and so do I knowe that they haue had it these 50. yeres and 4. in Fraunce at the least, and it was translated at the request of a king called I trowe, Lewes, as appeareth by the priueledge put in the beginning of the book.

In like manner haue they it in Flanders, printed with y^e priueledge of the Emperour. In almayne also and Italy & I suppose through all nations of Christendōe. Likewise hath it bene in England,* as you may finde in the Englishe story called Polychronicon. There it is shewed, how whē y^e Saxons did inhabite the land, the K. at that tyme, which was a Saxon, did himselfe translate the Psalter into the language that then was generally vsed. Yea I haue seene a booke at Crowland Abbey, whiche is kept there for a relique, the booke is called S. Guthlakes Psalter, and I ween verily it is a copy of the same, that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latine, Greeke, Hebrue, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English, and as I haue perceiued sith the time I was last there, being at Ant'werpe, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also shewed,* howe that S. Bede did translate the Gospell of Iohn into Englishe, and the author of the same booke promised that he would translate into English all the Bible, yea and perhaps hee did so, but (I wot not howe it commeth to passe) all suche thinges be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are some walking priuily in darckenes, that will not haue theyr doyngs knowen. It is no lye that is spoken in the Gospel of Iohn Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem: All that doth noughtily,* hateth the light, and will not haue theyr doynges knowne. And therefore they keepe downe the light

strongly: for that opened and generally knowne,* all wrongfull conueyance should anone be disclosed and reprooued, yea and all men shuld see anone, whether those that hold agaynst vnrighteousnes, being therfore sometime horribly infamed & sclandered, named heretickes and schismatickes, were in deede as they be called or no.

Yea, moreouer I did once see a booke of the new Testament,* whiche was not vnwritten by my estimation thys C. yeares, and in my minde, right well translated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latine. But he that shewed it me, sayd, he durst not be knowne to haue it by him, for manye had bene punished aforetime, for keeping of such, and were conuict therefore of heresie.

Moreouer I was at Paules Crosse, when the newe Testamēt imprinted of late beyond the sea,* was first forefended, & truely my hart lamented greatly, to heare a great man preaching agaynst it, whiche shewed foorth certayne thinges that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I yea, and not I, but likewise did many other thinke verily to be none. But (alacke for pittie) malice can not say well. God helpe vs all and amend it.

[Page 1116](#)So that to conclude, I thinke verily it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scripture were deliuered by authority of the head rulers, vnto the people truly trāslated in the vulgar tongue, in like maner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you adde, whether they be bound by necessitie of saluation, to deliuer it to y^e people? I wil not so narrowly touch that point now, but I say, that they are bound by right & equity, to cause it to be deliuered vnto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying & consolation, which the people by Gods grace, should therof gather, that now it is like they want, & are destitute of.

In the .xxvij. where you doe demaunde, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, vpon their reasonable aduisement,* to ordein that y^e Scripture should not be deliuered vnto y^e people, in the vulgar language? al men may here see, that whosoever deuised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to haue the Scripture in the vulgare tongue,* & that they thought, that I so saying could not be wel reproued, and therefore are laid out al these additions, as it were to snare and trappe me in: whether the heades be bound, and that by necessity of saluation, to deliuer it to the people: and whether for opportunitie of time, they may ordeyne to restraine it for some cause, and by some reasonable aduisement of them taken. Sed frustra iacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum:.*But without cause you spread the nette before the eyes of the byrdes or foules. I shewe you plainly, that notwithstanding all these thinges, in mine opinion, it was not well done to inhibite it, and woorse, that the Bishoppes haue not sith amended it, if so be they could, that the people might haue it to vse & occupie vertuously.

And here I will adde one reason. The Scripture is the spiritual foode and sustenance of mans soule. This is shewed to be true in many places of Scripture: like as other corporal meat is the foode of the body.* Then it he be an vnkinde father that keepeth bodily meate awaye the space of a weke or a moneth frō his children, it should seme that our bishops be no gentle pastors or fathers, that kepe away the foode of mens soules frō them (specially when other do offer the same) both mōthes, yeres, & ages. Neyther do I see any oportunitie of time, or reasonable aduisement, that should cause it to be withdrawn & taken away, but the contrary rather: for it is

reson cōuenient & needfull for men to eate their meate euer whē they are right hūgry, & blessed are they that hūger & thirst after the word of god, which teacheth to know him, and to do his pleasure at all times: * for that we doe craue euey day in our Pater noster saying: Giue vs Lord our heauenly bread.

In the .xxviiiij. where you doe aske, whether I beleeeue that consecratiōs, halowings, & blessings vsed in y^e church are to be prayسد? * I say that I know not of al, & therfore I wil not dispraise thē, neither can I therfore ouer much speake of them al, seeing I know them not: such as are the halowing of belles, the halowing of pilgrims, when they should go to Rome, the halowing of beades, and such like. But those which I am aduised of and do remember, * be in myne opinion, good: such as is this. When the prieste hath consecrated holy bread, he saith: Lord blesse this creature of bread, as thou did blesse the fiue loaves in desart, that all persons tasting therof may receiue health, &c. whiche I would euey man might say in English, * when he shuld go to meate, I like it so well.

Also this is a right good one, that is sayd ouer him that shal read the Gospell: The Lord be in your hart & in your mind and mouth, * to pronounce and shew forth his blessed gospel. Which is also spoken ouer a preacher taking benediction, when he shall go into a pulpite. Al such good thinges I like very well, and thinke them commendable, wyshing therfore y^t al people might know what they meane, that they with reioice of hart might pray ioyfully with vs, and delight in al goodnes: which should be, if they were vttered in English, according to the minde of Saint Paule 1. Cor. 9. where he wisheth, rather to speake fiue woordes in the Church hartily with vnderstanding, whereby other might haue instruction, * then tenne thousand wordes in a tongue vnknown. Yea, to say truth, and truth it is in deede, that I shall say: a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is knowen, the further the vertue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in mens hearts and remembraunce. God send therefore the blinde to see, and the ignoraunt to haue knowledge of all good thinges.

Thus I conclude that consecrations, halowings, and blessings vsed in the Churche (so farre foorth as I remember and knowe) be commendable. Of other I can giue no sentence wishing euen as I trust men shall once see it come to passe, that all good thinges may be song and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

In the xxix. where you do aske, whether I beleeeue that the Pope may make lawes and statutes to binde all Christen men to the obseruance of the same, * vnder the payne of deadly sinne, so that such lawes and statutes be not cōtrary to the law of God? I say, * that if it be true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit: Lawes be neuer confirmed vntill they be approued by common maners of thē that shal vse them: then can not the Popes lawes bind all Christen men: for the Greekes, and the Bohemes will (as you do know ful wel) neuer admit them, but do refuse thē vtterly, so that I do not finde, that his lawes may bind all Christen men.

Finally, I can not see, that he hath authority to make lawes, binding men to the obseruance of them vnder pain of deadly sinne, more then hath the king or the Emperour: and to say soth, I say (as I haue said afore) I thinke verily that the Churche was more full of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long agoe, but in the time of Constantine, if it be true

that is reported in the Decrees Dist. 15. ca Canones generalium,) then it hath bene sith: God repayre it, and restore it again to the auncient puritie and perfection.

In the xxx. where you do aske, whether I beleuee that the Pope and other prelats and their deputies in spiritual thinges, haue power to excommunicate Priestes, and laye people that are inobedient and sturdy, from entring into y^e church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the Sacramentes of the same? I thinke, that the Pope and other prelates haue power to excommunicate both priests and lay men, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law, for such are sundred from God, afore the prelates do giue sentence, by reason of their sinne and contumacie, according as it is said in Esay by almighty God: *Your sinnes (quoth he) do make diuision betwixt you and me. And the Prelates by right iudgement, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, and that is, to pronounce such to be excommunicat of God, and vnworthy to minister any Sacramentes, or to be conuersant with Christen folke, that will not amende. * For thus biddeth Paul. 1. Corinth. 5. If any amongst you called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, or a couetous person, or a worshipper of images or Idolles, or a rayler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eate no meate. Such ought to bee put out of the Church, and not be suffered to come within it.

I am not certaine that Prelats haue any such power, * And though they had, I doubt whether charitie shoulde permit them to shew it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the whiche the sturdy comming thither and hearing it, might soone be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thervpon come to amendement. This confirmeth well a lawe made in the Councel of Carthage, which is this: A Bishop ought to prohibite no person to come into the Church, and to heare the word of God, whether he be Gentile or Iewe, or heretike, vntil the masse time of them that are called Catechumini de Conse. distinct. 1.

Moreouer, where you speake of Prelates Deputies, I thinke suche be but little behoueable to Christes flocke. It were necessary and right, * that as the Prelates themselues wil haue the reuenues, tythes, & oblations of their benefices, they them selues should labour and teache diligently the word of God therefore, and not to shift the labor from one vnto an other, til all be leaft (pitie it is) vndone. Such doth S. Iohn call, Fures & latrones: Theeues and murtherers, although they make neuer so goodly a worldly shew outward, and beare a stout porte.

This I saye that the Pope and other prelates haue power to excommunicate rebels against Gods ordinance, and to suspend them frō receiuing or ministring the sacrament, but I am not sure, that they haue power to forefend them from out of Churches, especially when Gods word is there preached, vnles the sinners be so sore desperat, that they scorne the same. And I would, that euery Prelate receauing his liuing of benefices, * should him selfe worke in the same, specially in true preaching of Christes doctrine, without winding his owne necke out of the yoke, & charging therwith, other called deputies or Uicars, Curates, and suce lyke. For God would haue euery man to get his liuing by sweate of his owne face, that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as euery workeman is worthy his meate: so contrariwise they that labour not, vnlesse they be let by impotencie, are worthy to haue no meate, and much lesse to take of those, to whom they do no seruice .50. or 40. pounce a yeare, for wayting after none other thing, then the Moone shining in the water. The Canon law maketh clearely with the same.

Looke in the Decrees, Cap. 21. quest. 2. Capitulo precipimus, and you [Page 1117](#) shall finde plainly, as I say.

¶In the xxxj. where you aske, whether faith only with out good workes, may suffice vnto a man fallen into sinne after his Baptisme,* for his saluation and iustifying? I say, that it is the vsage of Scripture to say, that faith onely doeth iustifie and worke saluation, afore a man do any other good works, and that is shewed by many authorities both of scripture, & also of many holy Fathers, in a treatise called Vnio dissidentium, which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated in English.* And truely I do thinke in this matter (like as is here shewed by many authorities of holy fathers) that a mā fallē into sinne after Baptisme, shalbe sauēd through faith, and haue forgiuenes by Christs passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a mā hauing short lyfe, lacketh leasure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true fayth is of such vertue and nature, that when oportunitie commeth, it can not but work plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witnes bearers of a mans true faith. This declareth S. Augustine vpon Iohn. I trowe it is where he expoundth this text: Si diligitis me,*precepta mea seruare: If you loue me keepe my commaundementes.. Whereas within a little after he speaketh in this wise, Opera bona non faciunt iustum, sed iustificatus facit bona opera. That is to say, good workes make not a iust or righteous man, but a man once iustified, doth good workes.

¶In the xxxij. where you aske, whether a Priest marying a wife, & that without the dispensation of the Pope, & begetting also children of her without slaunder giuing,* do sinne deadly? I say, that he doth not so much offende, as those, which in Wales (as I haue heard say) and also in many partes beyōd the Sea, or rather in all places, do giue openly dispensations for money, to Priestes to take concubines: neither doth he offende so much, as the purchasers of such dispensations: for they on euery hand, do clearly cōmit fornication and aduoutry, vtterly forefended by Gods law, and the Priest, of whom speaketh your demaund, offendeth but mans law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written, I weene it be in a glose, and certainly I wote not whether it be in the text or no,* I can lightly turn to it hauing a booke. The sentence is thus: Presbyter fornicans est plus puniendus quàm vxorem ducens. That is to say, a priest doing fornicatiō, ought to be punished more, thē one which hath married a wife. Finally I thinke such a priest as before is named in your demaunde, sinneth not deadly.

¶In the xxxiiij, where you aske, whether a Latin Priest, after he hath taken the order of Priesthode, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, & therefore marying a wife for a remedy of the same, do sinne deadly? I say, that a Latin Priest, and a Greeke Priest is al one before God, if they folow both one rule of Christ, left to vs in holy Scripture: neither doth Christ put any such difference: but the one hath by that rule the same libertye, y^t an other, and no more nor lesse, for there is the same God i• Greece,* that is here: & hath left one way for vs to liue after, both here and there. And therefore, I can not see by his law, but that a Latin Priest may mary, as wel as they do. And if the Greeks should not folow Christes law in beleuing the same, and liuing thereafter, you would call them heretickes. But that will not the Pope haue done. Wherefore seeing they do let Priests mary, affirming it may so be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretiks: why should other mē that say the same, be called heretiks: or be therefore burned? Therefore, folowing the law of God I make the same answere of a Latin Priest, that I made before of all Priestes, that a Priest not hauing the gift of chastity, is bound to mary, for

auoyding fornication. ¶In the xxxiiij. where you do aske, whether euer I praied for Iohn wickleffe,* Iohn Hus. and for Hierome of Prage condemned of heresie in the Councell of Constance, or for any one of them, sith they died, and whether I haue openly or secretly done any deedes of charitie for them, affirming them to be in blisse and saued? I say, that I neuer prayed for any of them, so farre foorth as I can remember. And though I had, it foloweth not, that in so doing I shoulde be an hereticke.* For you note well, that there is a mightie great countrie called Boheme, which yet do follow (as mē say) that same doctrine which Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage taught their Auncetors, whom (as I trowe) neyther the Pope nor you do recount heretikes and infidels.

¶In the 35. where you aske, whether I haue recounted and sayd them or any of them to be Saintes, and worshipped them as Saintes? I say, that in such secre•e and hidde thinges,* which I doe not perfectly knowe, I followe the Councel of Paul, which biddeth that we should not iudge ouer soone, but to abide (vnlesse the thinges, whiche we should passe vpon, be the more euident) vntill the cōming of the Lord which shall illumine and shewe foorth clearely thinges, that now lye hid in darcknes. Therefore hetherto haue I neither iudged with them, ne agaynst them, but haue resigned suche sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose iudgement I wotte is infallible.

And where as you say, they were condemned of heresie in the Councel of Constance, if so the counsell did right, God shall allow it (I doubt not) and that shall suffice to haue commendation of him: So that it is not neede to aske of me, whether the acts of the same are cōmendable or no? Neither cā I geue any direct answer therto: for I do not verily know thē. And though I did, yet am not I verily perswaded, that I because the Councell hath condemned them, must therefore beleue them to be damned: for a Coūcell (as I weene) may sometime slip beside the right truth but what that Councell did in condemning them,* I can not precisely say: God worteth. Yea and that one singular person may iudge more rightly, then a great multitude assembled in a Counsel, appeareth both by Gods law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the Councell that is spoken of in the 11. of Iohn, where is shewed, that after our sauour had restored Lazarus to life the bishops and Phariseis then were gathered in a Coūcell saying: what shall we doe? Truth it is, that this man Iesus doth many miracles, and if wee suffer him thus all the world will beleue him, whereupon the Romaines will come, and put vs out of Ierusalē our dwelling place,* and destroy our nation. At which time Cayphas did arise, shewing forth his sentence, which the whole Councell did admitte.

In likewise is shewed Actes. v. where in a Councell of the Bishops and Priestes assembled to know what punishment should be done vnto Christes Apostles,* for because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commaūded the Apostles no more to speake in Christes name) there among a shrewde multitude of them, gathered together, did arise a certaine wise man, called Gamaliel (a pitifull thyng verely to see but one good man in such a great Conuocation or Coūcell of Priests, y^t shuld be y^e lightes of vertue to all the people) which Gamaliel was a Doctour of the law, & had in good reputation among y^e people:* much like he was (as seemed to me) to Doct. Collet sometye Deane of Paules in London) while hee lyued. I may come no neare for to name some other of our tyme, least I should bee thought offensiue. This Gamaliell did byd the Apostles go aside, for a while, out of the Councell or conuocation house, & so he spake vnto the other Priestes or Bishops in the Councell thus: You

men (quoth he) of Israell, take heede to your selues what you shall do vpon these men the Apostles.*For afore this tyme haue risen one called Teudas, and after him an other named Iudas of Galilee, which haue turned the people after them: and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now (quoth he) I say vnto you, refrayne from hurtyng these men, the Apostles, and let them alone, or suffer thē. For if this enterprise and worke that they haue made, be of men, vndoubtedly it shall perishe, & be fordone: but if (quoth he) it be of God, you cā not fordoe it. And this I tell you (sayd Gamaliell) least you should be founde to striue and fight agaynst God.

Unto this sentence of Gamaliel did all the other of the conuocation or Parliament agree, and so they called in the Apostles of Christ afore them, causing them to be scourged and charging them, no more after to preache of Christes name, and so did let them depart. This was vndoubtedly done in the tyme of our Sauour and of his Apostles,* and caused to be written for our comfort and learnyng: For the holy Ghost knew afore, that like practise should come in y^e latter tyme of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that Coūcels do not alway discern with Christ, but sometyme they may do agaynst him. And therefore sayd Dauid: Non sedi cum cōcilio vanitatis,* & cum iniquē agentibus non introibo. Odiui Ecclesiam malignantium, & cum impijs nō sedebo: sed lauabo inter innocentes manus meas. &c.*I did not (quoth Dauid) sitte with the assembly or Coūcell of vayne doers, or lyers, and I will not go in amōgest them that worke iniquitie: for I hate the conuocation of thē, that are malicious, or maligners, and amōgest the wicked will not I sit: But I will wash my handes among innocentes &c.

Also, in an other Psalme he writeth thus: Dominus dissipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Cōcilium autem Domini, in aeternum manet. &c. The Lord (quoth he) doth destroy or annihilate the Coūcell of the Gentiles,*he reproueth the Councils of the people and of rulers. But the Council or deuise of the Lord endureth euer, & the purpose of his minde abideth into the world of worldes. For that purpose doth S. Peter in the Actes of the Apostles alledge this verse out of the Psalme: Quare [Page 1118](#) fre muerunt gentes, &c. Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vayne thinges, &c. Like vnto this is written Esay. 1.* Also you may see in the Councils of the Pharises aboue shewed, that one singular persō may sometime perceiue a thing more then a generality or a multitude: for only Gamaliel did see better what was behouable,* thē could all the other there congregate.

Agreeable vnto this wee finde in the Decrees Dist. 31. where it is written, that the Councell of Nice, willing to correct or amende the life of men of the Church, ordeined lawes called Canons or rules. And as they treated vpon such ordinaunces, some thought it erpedient to bring in a law, that Byshops, Priestes, Deacons, and Subdeacons should not ly with their wiues, whom they had married afore they were consecrate into the order. With that arose Paphnutius a Confessor of Christ,* and gaynsayde it, testifying that marriage was an honorable thing: saying also, that it is chastitie for a man to lye with his owne proper wife. And so he perswaded the council, that they should cōstitute no such lawe,* affirming, that it was a sore matter, that they were minded to do, which should be, either to the priests, or els to their wiues, an occasion of fornicatiō: and this was Paphnutius reason. The wordes of the Canon proceede thus.

This declared Paphnutius, he neuer being married, nor hauing experience of Mariage, & y^e Councell commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to euery mans free

wil and libertie, without any enforcemēt or necessitie. These wordes stand (as I haue recited them vnto you) written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed In historia tripartita, as I haue shewed before in the fourth Article. Upon, this, that Paphnutius did thus resiste and preuaile against all the other Councel, doth the Glose note in the same law: * that one singular per'son may gaynesay or speake against an vniuersal generaltie, hauing a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same haue we in Abbot Panormitane, where he sayth thus: I wold (quoth he) rather beleue one lay person, bringing for him authoritie of scripture, thē an vniuersal Coūcell that ordeineth or defineth a thing, without scripture.

Finally I say, that I neuer recounted them neither Saintes, ne deuils, but resigned the iudgement thereof to God, neither haue I in earnest reported thē the one, or the other. Neither haue done vnto them particular worship so farre forth, as I can remember,

*¶In the xxxvj. where you do aske, whether I beleue hold, and affirme that euery generall Councel, & the Coūcel of Constaūce also do represent the vniuersal congregation or Church? I say y^t what such Councils doe represent, * I cannot certainly rel, and therfore beleue neither yea, nor nay, neither can I thefore make any affirmation pro, & contra, with this demaund, or against it: and no maruell. For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the same, ne yet any sufficient reason. And me thinketh this (vnder correction I speake) y^e Councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the vniuersal church, not being yet the same, as I wot wel they neither are ne were: For the Church I do take for to be al those, that God hath chosen or predestinate to be inheritours of eternall blisse & saluation, * whether they be temporall, or spirituall, king, or subiect, Bishop, or Deacon, father or child, Grecian or Romaine. * And this Church spreadeth through the vniuersall world, whereas any do cal for help truly vpon the name of Christ: and there do they euer most grow & assemble commonly, where as his blessed word is purely & openly preached, & declared, for that is the reliefe of mans soule, wherunto all men louing their soules health, lust to resort & seek (as all thinges do naturally seeke after that, which should nourish and prolong their life) for in it is shewed, that righ'teousnes, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hun'gred for, shal come in the kingdom of heauen. Of this may wel the Prouerbe in the Gospel (although it be applied to the iudgement of God, * when he shal appeare in y^e generall, dome) be verified where soeuer is a dead carion, thether will soone be assembled Egles. That is to wit, wheresoeuer is declared by the course of Scripture, the benefites and commodities graunted to vs by Christs death, thether wil mē seke and flye, to know how they may enioy & attain them, which I beseech him to graunt vs. Amen.

¶In the xxxvij. where you do aske, whether I beleue that the same thing, * which the Councell of Constance representing the vniuersal Church hath approued and doeth approue for the maintenance of faith and soules health, is to be approued, * and holden of all Christen people: and that which the same Councell hath condemned and doth condemne, to be contrary to faith and good maners, ought of y^e same christen people to be beleued and affirmed for a thing condemned? I say, that whatsoeuer the same Councell, or any other haue aproved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of al Christen people to be likewise approued, holden, & allowed. And again, whatsoeuer the same or any other hath condemned, being reprove & condēnation worthy, for because it is hurtful to faith, or good liuing, I say, the same ought of al Christē people to be condemned & reprobued. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discerne, in what wise their iudgement passed: whether with right, or vnright, for because I neuer looked

vpon their Acts, nei|ther do I greatly coue• for to do: wherefore I referre the determinatiō to them, y^t haue better aduised their doings, and thereby haue some more skill in them, then I.

In the xxxviii. you demaund, whether the condemnations of Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus,* and of Hierome of Prage, done vpon their persons, bookes, and documentes, by the holy generall Councel of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of euery Catholike person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed? I aunswer, that it passeth my knowledge, and I can not tel: thinking surely, y^t though I am ignoraunt of the same, so y^t I cannot discusse the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shalbe therefore neuerthelesse, and that I and all Christen men may well suspend our sentence being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one, ne the other, neither yea, nor nay.

In the xxxix. you ask whether I beleue hold, & affirm that Iohn Wickleffe of England, Iohn Hus of Boheme,* and Hierome of Prage, were heretickes, and for hereticks to be named, and their books and doctrines to haue ben & now be peruerse, for the which books & pertinacie of their persons, they are condemned by the holy Councel of Constance for heretikes? I say, that I know not determinately whether they be heretikes or no, ne whether their books be erroneous or no, ne whether they ought to be called heretickes or no.

¶In the xl. where you aske, whether I beleue and affirme, that it is not lawful in any case, to sweare? I say,* y^t I neither so do beleue, ne affirme, ne neuer did.

¶In the xli. where you aske, whether I beleue, that it is lawful at the commandement of a iudge, to make an oth to say the truth, or any other othe in a case conuenient, and that also for purgation of infamy,* I answere that I neuer saide the contrary: but that I thinke and haue thought it lawful to giue an oth afore a iudge, to say the truth, if the iudge so require, and that by request lawful and conueniēt. As when a thing is in controuersie betwixt two persons, and therupon they sue vnto a iudge for sentence, when the iudge can none otherwise boulte out the truth, he may require an oth. As when the two women, which contended before Salomon, to auoyde the cryme of murther, which the one had comitted in oppressing her child to death, and would haue put the same vpon the other,* if Salomon could not by his wisdome otherwise haue inuestigated the truth, he might (I suppose) for to come by the more certaine information of the thing, haue caused one of them or both, seing it expedient for him, to sweare, wherein the women had bene bound to obey him. But Iudges haue neede to be spare in requiring of othes: For in custorable or oft Iuries, creepeth in alway betwixt times some periury, as sheweth Chrisostome in wordes semblable to these, and thinges precious, through oft haunt or occupying, loseth their estimation. And so reuerent othes vnaduisedly required for euery trifle vsually, do cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I feare, to breake them.

Therefore in Almaine, they haue made of late (as I haue hard say by credible persōs▪ which haue come from thence) many notable ordinances for the cōmon wealth within a while, & amongst other this is one: If a man be set for to enter plea against another in any town, the Peeres therof afore whom al actions are vsed to be debated, hearing such a plea entred, shal cal the parties priuately together, before they come into any open Court. And the matter examined, they shal exhort them to let the plea ceasse without further processe, shewing them y^e great damage both godly and worldly, comming of waging the law, and the great cast and commoditie, that is in

agreement and concord.* Which exhortation they vse to shew with so great grauity, and fatherly loue (such wonders are wrought where the Gospell hath free passage that very few will commence plea.* And though any plea be commēced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do set the suters at vnitie, ere the matter do come to discussion in open Court.

Notwithstanding if some be so weiwardly minded (as in a multitude al are not one mans children, & therefore vnlike of intent) that they will needes proceede and follow y^e law, they shal be heard to speak their matters in opē court, and taught as the matter is most like to succede, counsailed [Page 1119](#) with new exhortation to stoppe their processe. If they will not be perswaded, & then the Iudges seeing the matter so ambiguous y^t they cannot giue perfect sentence therin,* except by vertue of an othe made by one of the parties, they be first better certified. Then wil they shew the same before the suters, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to giue a solēne oth for loue of winning some worldly profit: & how (vnlesse such as shal make it, ne y^e better ware to eschew the same) they shal (beside an euil ensāple giuing to a multitude) work thēselues happily shame or dishonesty.

Upon this, they shal giue respite vntil a certaine day appointed. So that in the meane while the suters may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this, they wil not thus rest, at the day appointed, shal they come forth into a common place, and the great Bel of the Citie caused to be rōg, whereby the people shalbe warned, what they are about to do: and the people assembled, the Iudges shal in full chargeable & lamentable wise, charge the parties, vnder vertue of their othe, to make true relation of y^e shalbe demaunded. So y^t by reason of soberly & fatherly exhortations made of the Iudges or Peeres of the Towne, and perswasion of neighbours, and for auoyding of Gods displeasure,* and shame of men there is litle sute in courts: & if at any time, any be made, they be lightly stopped. So that Iurie and swearing is well excluded and neede not much to be required.

This haue I shewed because it pitieth me to heare and see the contrary vsed in some of our nation,* & such also as name themselues spiritual men, and should be head Ministers of the Church, who incōtinent as any man commeth before them, anone they cal for a book, and do mone him to sweare, without any longer respite, yea & they wil charge him by vertue of the contentes in the Euangely, to make true relation of all that they shall demaunde him, he not knowing what they will demaunde, neither whether it be lawfull to shew them the truth of their demaundes or no? For such things there be that are not lawful to be shewed. As if I were accused of fornication, & none could be found in me, or if they shold require me to sweare to bewray any other that I haue known to offend in that vice,* I suppose it were expedient to holde me stil, & not to folow their wil, for it should be contrary to charitie, if I should so assent to bewray them, that I neede not, and to whom perhappes, though I haue known them to offend, yet trusting of their amendment, I haue promised afore to keepe their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreouer, if suche Iudges sometime not knowing by anye due prooffe that such as haue to do afore them,* are culpable wil enforce them by an othe, to detecte themselues in opening before them their harts: in this so doing, I can not see that men neede to condescende in their requestes. For it is in the law (but I wotte not certainly the place) thus.* *Nemo tenetur prodere semetipsum*, that is to say: No man is bound to bewray himselfe. Also in another place of y^e law it is written: *Cogitationis poenam nemo patiatur*: No man should suffer punishment of

men for his thought. To this agreeth the common Prouerbe, that is thus: Cogitationes liberae sunt à vectigalibus.* That is to say, thoughtes be free and neede to pay no tole. So that to conclude, I thinke it lawfull, at the commandement of a Iudge, to make an othe, to say the truth, specially if a Iudge requireth an othe duely, and in lawful wise, or to make an oth in any other case conueniēt, and that also for purgation of infamie,* when any infamie is lawfully layd against a man.

¶In the xliij. where you aske, whether a Christen person despising the receite of the Sacramentes of confirmation, extreame vnction, or solemnising of Matrimony, do sinne deadly? I say like of the recite of them, as I haue sayd before of the selfe thinges and none otherwise.

¶In the xliij. where you aske, whether I beleue, that S. Peter was Christes Uicare, hauing power vpon earth to binde & lose? I say, that I do not perceiue clearely what you meane by this terme Uicare:*. For Christ neuer called Peter, ne none other so in Scripture. If you meane thereby, that after the departing hence of Christ, when he was risen from death in his immortall body, and so styed into heauen, whereas he remayneth sitting vpon y^e right hand of his Father,* that he so being away from hence, S. Peter occupied his rounge: then I say, it is not vntrue but Peter in a manner (which I shal shew here vnder) was his Uicar, and like as Peter was his Uicar, euen so was Paule, and the other Apostles, and the one no lesse then the other if it be true,* that S. Cyprian doth write: whiche is also consenting to Scripture, he sayth thus: That Christe spake vnto Peter saying: I say (quoth our Sauour,) that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke of stone shall I builde my congregation, and the gates of hel shal not ouercome it. To thee will I giue the keies of heauen, & what thinges thou shalt binde vpon earth, the same shalbe bounde also in heauen: and what so euer thou shalt lose vpon earth, shalbe losed also in heauen. And to him after his resurrection doth Christ say: feed my sheepe.

And albeit that hee gaue equall power vnto all his Apostles after his resurrection, and saith:*like as my Father sent me, do I also send you: Take you the holy ghost: If you shal retayne to any man his sinnes, they shalbe retayned: If you shal remitte to any man his sinne, to him they shalbe remitte*. Neuerthelesse, because he woulde declare vnitie,* he ordayned by his authoritie; the originall of the same vnitie beginning of one. The other Apostles truely were the same that Peter was, induced with equall partaking both of honor and authoritie, or power,* but the beginning commeth of one that the congregation shoulde be shewed to be one. These are the wordes of Cyprian in a treatise that is called, De simplicitate Praelatorum, wherein you may see that Christ made all the Apostles of equal honour and like authoritie. Notwithstanding because he would testifie the vnitie of his Church or Congregation, he spake,* as it were alonely vnto Peter, when he sayd: feede my sheepe: And I shall geue thee Peter, the keyes of heauen: but in so saying, though the wordes seeme spoken to Peter onely, yet they were spoken vnto him,* in that hee sustayned the generall person of all the Church, being as it were a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake vnto all other the Apostles, vnto whome also he gaue all the same authoritie, that he gaue vnto Peter, as you may see both in these wordes of Cyprian, and also the same is clearely shewed out of S. Augustine in diuers places,* but no where more playnly in a few wordes then in a treatise called de Agone Christiano.

To this accordeth well that is writtē of Paule, Gal. 2. Ab his qui videbantur aliquid esse: quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert &c.* Of those Apostles (quoth Paule) which seemed to be of authoritie, I was not taught (what they were in tyme passed, it skilleth me nothing: God regardeth

not the exterior appearaunce of man) neuerthelesse they whiche appeared to be of price, shewed me no learning, nor gaue me no counsell. But contrary, when they had seene that the Gospell of vncircumcision was committed vnto me, like as the Euangely of circumcision was vnto Peter for hee that was mightier then Peter concerning the Apostleship toward the Iewes was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles: Therefore, when Iames, Peter, and Ioh. which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace geuen me, they gaue vnto me and Barnabe their right handes in signes of fellowship to be their partners, so that we shoulde exercise the office of Apostles among the Gentiles, as they dyd among the Iewes. Wherein you may clearely see, that Paule tooke no instruction of them whiche seemed to be in hygh authoritie, and that Peter Iames, and Iohn, which were noted principals, tooke Paule and Barnabas to be theyr mates and fellowes. Which they woulde not haue done (I suppose, if they had knowne,* that God had granted to thē a prerogative singular to excell Paule, and to be his soueraigne: but according to the prerogative of God granted, they might safely haue shewed it, and enioyed y^e same: like as they did reioyce in other benefites graunted to them of God, to be ministers in his churche for the edifying of the same: and as S. Iohn calleth himselfe the Disciple loued of his maister Iesus, and testifieth, how that vnto him Christ hanging vpon the Crosse, did commit his blessed mother.

Moreouer, if these three Apostles, Iames, Peter, and Iohn, should haue by humilitie, left out to make mention of their prerogative,* when they tooke Paule and Barnabas into their fellowship: yet is it to be thought that Paule which vseth neuer any inordinate arrogancie, writing the wordes aboue sayd for the magnifying of his owne priuiledge and authority geuen him of God, woulde not haue suppressed and passed ouer their primacie vnspeakē of, with whome hee maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were enuious, and to pyke away authority frō other to himselfe vnlawfull: that cannot so be. Moreouer he saith a little after the wordes afore rehearsed,* that he reprobud S. Peter euen before his face. Wherupon S. Hierome expounding the same Epistle, saith (as I remember) that Paule woulde not haue bene bolde so to do,* except he had knowne himselfe equall to Peter.

In the words also of Paule aboue written, this might be noted, as seruing to my purpose, that Peter had no pree'minence or primacy aboue the other, for Iames is named afore hym, which Paule would not haue done,* (I thinke) knowing Peter to be Iames superiour. Therefore he making no such variety in order, put Iames afore saying: And Iames, Peter and Iohn, that appeared the principals (quoth he) gaue vnto me and to Barnabe their right handes in signe of fellowship. Yet notwithstanding Paule loued good order [Page 1120](#) (I suppose) as wel as any y^t now are, which contendeth so sore for superiour rouins & preeminencie claiming to be y^e Apostles successours. I wold it were so much for the common wealth of Christen people,* as it is suspect that they do it for vayne glory, and worldly lucre. According to this, shal you find. Acts xj. where is shewed, th•rafter Peter by instinct of the holy Ghost, had gone vnto one of the Gentiles called Cornelius a pety Captaine, hauing the gouernaunce of an hundreth men, teaching him the wayes and doctrine of Christ, and Baptising him and other with him assembled, being like as he afore was, Paganes: the Apostles and other Christen brethren that were in Iewry,* hearing thereof, when Peter came to Hierusalem, they which held vpon Circumcision, made none obeysaunce vnto him (albeit I thinke verily he had more holines then euer had any other Pope) as the Emperor is fayne to do to y^e Pope at his coronation, falling downe to kisse the Popes feete, or to hold the Popes styrrup while he mounteth vpon his horseback,* according to the forme of law written: I am not certaine whether in the Decrees or els the Decretalles, or in both rather (for

such ordinaunces are inuiolable & worthy to be principally recorded) but they reasoned sore & disputed both against S. Peter,* and also his doing, saying: you haue gone amongst them that you ought not haue had to do with, ne to haue medled among them, y^t are men vncleane,* because they are vncircumcised: yea & that is more, you haue eate & dronke with them. Peter mildly and coldly made aunswer againe, rehearsing all the maner of his doing in order: shewing that he was so instruct to doe by mightie and cleare reuelations of God, & not by his owne fantasie and pleasure.

Which aunswere being heard, the other that afore had made sore obiections against him (which were both of the Apostles,* and other Christen brethren) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gaue glory therfore to God, saying: Then God hath graunted also vnto the Gentiles to take repentaunce, and so to come to eternall lyfe. Where in you may see, that the other Apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is shewed of Paule, to dispute against him. Neither were they therefore by Peter reproued of inobedience. He did not allege any preeminēce or authoritie, to rebuke them for their complaining, as one wold say: why should you that are my sheepe, control me, that am the head of the church and your pastor, or Christs general vicare, hauing both iurisdiction temporal, and spirituall: with such other like? but shewed them it was the will of God, that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tel them of eternal life, which God pleased to giue to them as well as to the Iewes. In token wherof the holy ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptised.

*Thus may you see, that if Peter were the Uicare of Christ, euen so likewise was Paule, and all the other Apostles. And I do not thinke contrary, but that Peter and all other of the Apostles were Christes Uicars, if you meane by this word Uicar, a deputie or such like for to preach his Euangelie (which is an office of al other most soueraigne) to minister Sacramentes, and to do other such diuine seruice in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christs true Apostles, Bishops, Priestes, Legates, or any such like. Which authority was giuen thē by Christ after his resurrection, when he sayd vnto them these wordes:*Peace be amongst you Like as my father hath sent me, so do I sende you. Take you the holy Ghost: whose sinnes soeuer you shall forgiue, are forgiuen them: and whose sinnes you shall retayne, are retayned. And the same authoritie did they receiue when Christe spake vnto all the Church,* after the mind of Saint Augugustine and other, in Peter, saying: Peter feede my sheepe.

¶In the xliiij. where you aske, whether I beleue, that the Pope ordina•ly chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed,* be the successour of Peter, I say that it seemeth to me a thing of no great vawle whether a man beleue so or no, I can not see y^t it should be numbred amongst the Articles of our faith.* Notwithstanding I will shewe my rude thought in it, which is this.

The Pope may succede in S. Peters steade or office, and do the same duly & diligently feeding Christes flocke, and shewing vertuous ensample of liuing to the same, & so doing, he may and ought to be thoght and named a true successour of S. Peter.* And thus is your Lordship, S. Peters successour, performing the conditions aforesaid, with otherlike properties requisite to your order and duety: yea and as many other as do truly their duty and duely the office of a Byshop. And otherwise may not the Pope be called the successour of Peter, for because he is entred into S. Peters office, not regarding to do that is requisite for the same, not folowing y^e trace of vertue,

but the cōtrary. And then is he wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not vnpossible. For what should men cal those Peters successors, that play the pageants and folow with the conditions of Caiphas, Symon Magus, or Iudas? Such verely if any be, cannot rightwilly claime to be Peters successors,* no more then the night may claime to be successour of the day▪ for Peter was neuer so minded, ne taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peters aduersaries, for so much as they do not his will, that is shewed by his owne actes and writing, but worke against the same. Of such may be saide: Non Sanctorum filij sunt, qurtenent loca Sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum. That is to say,* they are not all Saintes children, that occupy the rowms of Saintes, but they are their children, that exercise their works. Yea, of such may be said, that is written of S. Hierome. Al Byshops (quoth he) are not Byshoppes, marke you well Peter, but marke also Iudas. Behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiastical dignitie maketh not a Christen man. Cornelius the Centurion being yet a pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the holy ghost. Contrariwise, Daniel being a child, condemneth Priestes, or auncient men. It is no easy thing (saith he) to stande in the rowme of Peter and Paul, & to kepe the seate of them now reigning with Christe: For vnsauery salt is nought els worth, but to be throwen out of the doores,* and troden downe of hogges. This sayth S. Hierome.

Wherunto agreeth wel S. Augustine. Euery one (quoth he) that saith vnto you. Pax vobis, ought not to be heard, or to be beleued, as a doue. Crows be fedde of dead carion: & so is not a doue: but liueth by the frutes of the earth.* Her liuing is pure, innocent and hurtlesse. Whereby you may see, that ill Bishops are no Byshops, and that they which folow no Saints in vertuous liuing, are not the successors of Saints, but vnsauery salt, that is, neither of the church, ne shal come in heauen to reigne there with Peter & Paul, but be thrown out with great contēpt. For God knoweth a doue from a crow, and an innocent liuer from a deuourer of carion. But such as declare and shew good deeds, as the Saints did, be their childrē and successours, and shal with them reigne in heauen.

So that to conclude, I say,* that the Pope ordinatly chosen is the successour of S. Peter, folowing S. Peters godly liuing. And els, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shal be but a vaine name. For rather may he els be reputed an Image of a Pope, or of a Bishop according as such be called of the Prophet: O Pastor & Idolum: O Idoll shepherds.

¶In the xlv. where you aske,* whether euer I haue promised as any time by an othe, or made any confederacie or league with any person or persons, that I would alway hold and defend certain conclusions or articles seeming to me and to my complices right & consonant vnto the faith? * and will that I should certifie you of the course and forme of the said opinions and conclusions by row, & of y^e names and surnames of them that were to me adherent, & promised to be adherēt in this behalf: I say, that I doe not remēber, that euer I made pact or confederacie w^t any person or persons, ne made any promise by oth, that I would alway hold and defend any conclusions, or articles seming to me and other, right and consonant to the faith, vnlesse it hath chanced me to say in this forme: that I would neuer with the ayde of God, forsake ne decline from the truth, neither for feare, nor yet for loue of man or men.

Thus I haue perhaps sayd in some time, or some place, because I haue in deed so intended, and doe entend, Gods grace assisting me. But I can not yet tell you, whether I haue so said or no, nor to what persōs, ne at what time, neither in what place. Neither I do reckē me to haue any

cōplices, but such as do loue me, and I them,* for God and in God. And those doe I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christen, in calling vpon Christes name. And concerning opiniōs or cōclusions, I can tel you of none other, thē I haue shewed: the summe wherof I reckon and think vtterly be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the new Testament.*

The first is in the Actes of the Apostles in this wise: Christus est caput anguli, nec est in alio quoquam salus. Non enim aliud nomen sub coelo datum est inter homines, in quo oporteat nos saluos fieri. That is to say: Christ is the head corner stone of our faith, whervpon it should be set and grounded: neyther is saluation in any other,*for there is none other name vnder heauen geuen amongst men, wherein we may be sauēd. This is the one of the propositions, wherein is ingrossed or cōprehended my saying, which S. Paul doth thus otherwise explicate: Christ is made of God our wisdomē, our righteousnes, our purenes, or satisfaction, and our redemption. And in an other place: There is none other foundation,*that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is Christ Iesus.

The other proposition is written of the Prophete Esay, [Page 1121](#) and recited of our Sauour in the Euangelie of Mathew,* in these woordes: Men doe worship me in vaine, teaching doctrines and preceptes, or lawes humaine. Of thys wryteth Paule very largely in diuers places,* and euery where wel nigh. Amongest other, Collos. 2. where he warneth the Colossians to take heede that no man do spoyle them, to steale them away, by Philosophie or vaine deception, according to the constitutions of menne, and ordinaunces of thys worlde. Thus I doe certifie you of all the opinions and conclusions, whyche I entend, or haue intended to sustaine, being contained in the two propositions aboue wrytten. Other holde I none, but suche as are mentioned in the Creede, both that is songe at Masse, and also in the other Creede, that all people do daily say euery day.

Finally, that you require to knowe of the names and surnames, in order particularly of them, that be to me adherentes, or that haue promised me to be adherent in thys part:* I say, that I knowe of none particular, that I remēber, wythout I shoulde note vnto you a great multitude, whych you may know, and here of (I suppose) through all regions and realmes of Christendom, that do thinke likewise, as I haue shewed, I weene the multitude mounteth nigh vnto the one halfe of Christendome: and more should doe likewise, by a great sort within a while (I doubte not) but that our ghostly ennemie laboureth a maine, to haue the knowledge of the truthe suppressed,* and letteth, that it can not come abroad for to be seene. I say therefore againe I know of no particular adherentes, ne of none that hath so promised me to be in these matters. And thogh I did, I would not (except I knew that charitie so required, which I do not finde yet hetherto) detect, ne bewray any one of them, for no mans pleasure: For I am bound to obey God aboue men. Who be wyth vs, and graunt the truthe to be knowen. Amen.

These aunsweres of Iohn Lambert, to the 45. Articles aboue expressed,* were directed and deliuered to Doctoure Warham Archbyshop of Caunterbury, as it appeareth, about the yeare of oure Lorde 1532. at what time, the sayde Lambert was in custodie in the Archbishops house of Otforde, beyng there destitute of all helpe and furniture of bookes, as by his owne wordes is to be gathered. But so the prouidence of God wrought for Lambert, that wythin short space after, An. 1533. the sayde Archbyshop Warham died: whereby it seemeth that Lambert for that time was deliuered. In this meane while Doct. Cranmer was sent ouer in Ambassage, with the Earle of Wilshyre, Doctoure Stokesley, Doct. Kerne, Doctor Benet, and other learned men, to the byshop

of Rome lying then at Bonony, to dispute the matter of the Kinges mariage, openly first in the Courte of Rome, then in the Courte of the Emperoure. Where after sondry promisses, and appoyntmentes made, yet when the time came, no man there appeared, to dispute with them, in these two propositions: 1. That no man, iure diuino, could or ought to marry his brothers wife. 2. That the Byshop of Rome by no meanes oughte to dispence to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will entreate (the Lordes grace permitting) in the sequele of our storie, comming to Doctour Cranmers life.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that Sea the sayde Doctour Cranmer. Lambert in the meane season being deliuered, partly by the death of this Archbyshop, partly by the comming in of Queene Anne, returned into London, and ther exercised himself about the Stocks, in teaching children, both in the Greeke, and latine tounge. And for somuch as priests in those dayes could not be permitted to haue wiues, he left his priesthode; & applied him selfe to that function of teaching, entending shortly after also to be free of the grocers, and to be married. But God, who disposeth al mens purposes after his secrete pleasure, did both intercept his mariage, and also his freedome, and married him to his sonne Christ Iesus, as now consequētly followeth to be declared.*

Thus then after that Iohn Lambert nowe had continued in thys vocation of teaching,* with great commendation, and no lesse commoditie to the youth: it happened thys present yeare 1538. hee was present at a Sermon, in S. Peters Church at London. He that preached, was named Doctor Tailour, a man in those dayes not farre disagreeing from the Gospell, and afterwarde in the tyme of King Edward was made Byshop of Lincolne, and at last in the time of Queene Marie was depriued from the same, and so ended his life, among the confessours of Iesu Christ.

When the Sermon was done, Lambert hauinge gotten oportunitie, wente gently vnto the Preacher to talke with him, and vttered diuers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. Al the whole matter or controuersy was concerning the sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ. Taylor excusing himselfe at that present for other busines, willed him to write his minde, and to come againe at more leisure.

Lambert was contented, and so departed. Who wythin a while after, when hee had written hys minde, came againe vnto him. The summe of his arguments were ten, whych he comprehended in wryting, approuing the truthe of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason, and by the Doctours. The whyche arguments,* although they came not all vnto our handes, yet such menne as were present at those affairs, reported thē to be of great force and authoritie. And of a few which were borne away in memorie, the firste reason was thys, gathered vppon Christes wordes, where it is sayde in the Gospell: Thys cuppe is the newe Testament.

And if (sayeth he) these wordes do not chaunge neyther the Cup,* neither the wine corporally into the newe Testament: by like reason it is not agreeable that the woordes spoken of the bread, should turne the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

An other reason was thys: that it is not agreeable vnto a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must followe of necessity, that either Christ had not a naturall body, or els truely according to the common nature of a body, it cānot be present in two places at once,

and much lesse in many: that is to say, in heauen & in earth, on the right hand of hys father, and in the Sacrament.

Moreouer, a naturall body can not be wythoute hys forme and shape, conditions, and accidents, like as the accidents and cōditions also can not be without their subiect or substaunce. Then, for somuch as in the sacrament there is no qualitie, quantitie, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no apparaunce at all, of fleshe: [*](#) who doeth not plainly perceiue that there is no transubstantiate body of hys in the sacrament? And to reason by the contrary: al the proper conditions, signes, and accidents whatsoeuer they be pertaining vnto bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which can not be there wythout the subiect: therfore we must of necessitie confesse the bread to be there. Hee added also many other allegations oute of the Doctoures. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whome I spake of before, willing and desiring (as is supposed) of a good minde to satisfie Lambert in this matter, amongst other, whome he tooke to counsayle, he also conferred with doct. Barnes, Which Barnes, [*](#) although he did otherwise fauor the Gospell, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to fauour this cause, fearing peraduenture, that it woulde breede some let or hinderance among the people, to the preaching of the Gospell, whiche was now in a good forwardnes, if suche sacramentaries should be suffered: He perswaded Taylor by and by to put vp the matter to Thomas Cranmer Bishop of Caunterbury. And hereby may we see it truely verified, which Wil. Tyndall before writing to Iohn Frith, did note in Doct. Barnes, saieng: that D. Barnes will be whote against you, &c. pag. 154.

Upon these originals, Lamberts quarell first beganne, and was brought vnto this point, that through the sinister doing of many, it began of a priuate talke, to be a publicke and common matter. For hee was sent for by the archbishop and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly: for the archbishop had not yet sauoured y^e doctrine of the Sacrament, [*](#) whereof afterward hee was an earnest professour. In that disputation, it is sayd, that Lābart did appeale from the Bishoppes, to the kinges Maiestie. But how soeuer the matter was, the rumour of that disputation, was by and by spread throughout the whole Court.

I told you before, how that king Henry for two yeres past shewing the part of an hard husband, had beheaded Queene Anne his wife. Which deede did not onely greatly displease the Germaine Princes (who for that onely cause had broken of the league with him, an. 1536. but also many other good men in England.

Moreouer, how that within a while after, Abbayes began to be subuerted, and all theyr goodes to be confiscate and geuen abroad. For which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceiued a very euill opinion of him, in so much as the sediciouse sorte rebelled agaynst him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner then Bishop of Winchester, [*](#) was in authoritie amongst the kings Counsellors who as he was of a cruell nature, so was hee no lesse of a subtile and crafty witte, euer gapyng for some occasion how to let and hinder the Gospell: albeit a long time hee was not so greatly esteemed with the king that hee coulde much preuayle to atchieue his conceaued purpose: But at length: vpon this matter aduising himselfe, he thought he [Page 1122](#) had apt occasion and oportunitie to accomplish hys desire. [*](#) Neither did he forslacke the occasion

ministred, but wente straight vnto the kinge, priuely admonishing him, & wyth faire flattering words, geuing him most pernicious counsell, declaring howe great hatred and suspition was raised vpon him, almost in all places.

First, for abolishing the Bishop of Romes authority, then for subuersion of the monasteries, and also for that the diuorcement of Queene Katherine was yet fresh in mens mindes: and nowe the time serued, if hee woulde take it, easely to remedy all these matters, and pacifie the myndes of them, whiche were offended with him, if onely in thys matter of Iohn Lambert, he woulde manifest vnto y^e people, how stoutly he wold resist hereticks: and by this new rumor he should bring to passe, not onely to extinguish all other former rumors, and as it were with one nail to driue out an other, but also should discharge himselfe of all suspition, in that he nowe began to be reported to be a fauourer of newe sectes and opinions.

*The king geuing eare more willingly, then prudently or godly to this Cyrene, immediately receiued the wicked counsaile of the Bishop, and by and by sent out a generall Commission, commanding all the nobles and Bishops of thys Realme, to come with all speede, to London to assiste the king against heretickes and heresies, whych the kynge himselfe would sit in iudgement vpon.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all partes of the realme, not without much wōder and expectation in this so straunge a case. All the seates and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

*By and by the godly seruant of Christ Iohn Lambert was brought from the prison with a garde of armed men, euen as a Lambe to fight w^t many Lyons, and placed right ouer against where the kyngs royal seat was, so that now they taried but for the kings comming to the place.

At the last, the king himselfe did come as iudge of that great controuersie, with a great garde, clothed all in white, as couering by that colour and dissimuling seueritie of all bloudy iudgement.

On his right hand sate the Bishops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in purple, accordinge to the maner. On the left hand sat the Peeres of the Realme, the Iustices, and other Nobles in theyr order: behynde whome sate the Gentlemen of the kings priue Chamber. And this was the manner and forme of the Iudgement, which albeit it was terrible inough of it selfe, to abash any innocent, yet the kings looke, his cruell countenance, and his browes bent vnto seueritie, * did not a litle augmēt this terrour, plainly declaring a minde ful of indignation farre vnworthy such a Prince, especially in such a matter and against so humble and obedient a subiect.

When the king was set in his throne, he behelde Lambert with a sterne countenance, and then turning himselfe vnto his counsailours, he called foorth D. Day Byshop of Chechester, commanding him to declare vnto the people, the causes of this present assembly and iudgement.

*The whole effect of hys Oration tended in a manner, to this poynt: That the king in this Session woulde haue all states, degrees, Byshops and all other, to be admonyshed of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceiue any sinister opinion of hym, that nowe the authoritye and

name of the Byshop of Rome beyng vtterly abolished, he woulde also extinguish all Religion, or geue libertie vnto heretickes to perturbe and trouble the Churches of England, wythout punishment, whereof he is the heade: and moreouer that they shoulde not thinke, that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation vpon the hereticall doctrine, but onely for thys purpose, that by the industrie of hym and other Byshops, the heresies of thys man heere present (meaning Lambert) and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When hee had made an ende of hys Oration, the King standing vp vpon his feete leaning vpō a cushion of white cloth of tussue, turning him self toward Lambert with his browes bent, as it were threatning some greeuous thyng vnto him, sayd these wordes: Hoe good fellow, what is thy name? Then the humble Lamb of Christ, humbly kneling downe vpon his knee, sayd: My name is Iohn Nicolson, although of many I be called Lambert. What (sayde the king? haue you two names? I would not trust you hauing two names, although you were my brother. Lambert, O most noble Prince,* your bishops forced me of necessitie to chaunge my name. And after diuers Prefaces and muche talke had in this maner, the king commaunded him to goe vnto the matter, and to declare hys minde & opinion what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the altare.

Then Lambert beginning to speake for himselfe,* gaue God thanks which had so inclined the heart of the kinge, that he himselfe would not disdaine to here and vnderstand the controuersies of Religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the crueltie of the bishops,* that many good & innocent men in many places are priuely murdered and put to death without the kings knowledge.

But now for so much as that highe and eternall kyng of kyngs, in whose handes are the heartes of all Princes, hath inspired and stirred vp the kings minde, that he hymselfe will be present to vnderstande the causes of hys subiectes, specially whom God of his diuine goodnesse hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of iudgement and knowledge, he doth not mistrust, but that God will bryng some great thing to passe through him, to the setting foorth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting hys Oration: I came not hether (sayd he) to heare mine owne praises thus painted out in my presence, but briefly goe to the matter, wythout any more circumstaunce. Thus hee spake in Latine.

But Lambert beyng abashed at the Kynges angrie words, contrary to al mens expectation, staid a while considering whether hee myght turne him selfe in these great straites and extremities.

But the king being hasty, with anger and vehemencie sayde: why standest thou still?* Aunswere as touching the Sacrament of the aultar, whether doest thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it? And with that word the king lifted vp his cappe.

Lambert. I answere with S. Augustine, that it is the bodie of Christ, after a certaine maner.

The king. Answer me neither out of S. Augustine, neither by the authoritie of anie other, but tell me plainelie,* whether thou saiest it is the bodie of Christ, or no? These words the king spake againe in Latin.

Lambert. Then I denie it to be the bodie of Christ.

The king. Marke well, for now thou shalt be condemned euen by Christes owne words: Hoc est corpus meum.

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterburie to refute his assertion: who first making a short preface vnto the hearers,* began his disputation with Lambert, verie modestlie, saieng: Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled betwene vs indifferentlie, that if I do conuince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willinglie refuse the same: but if you shall prooue it true by the manifest testimonies of the scripture, I do promise, I will willinglie embrace the same.

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Actes of the Apostles, where as Christ appeared vnto S. Paule by the way: disputing out of that place,* that it is not disagreeable to the worde of God, that the bodie of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heauen was seene vnto S. Paule the same time vpon earth: & if it may be in two places, why by the like reason, may it not be in many places?

In this maner the Archbishop began to refute the secōd argument of Lambert, which as we haue before said, was written & deliuered by the said Lābert, vnto the preacher: for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert aunswered vnto this argument, saying: that the Minor was not thereby prooued, that Christes bodye was dispersed in two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the maner of his bodye.* For the Scripture doth not say, that Christ being vpon earth, did speake vnto Paule: But that sodenly a lighte from heauen did shine rounde about him, and hee falling to the ground, heard a voyce sayinge vnto him, Saule, Saule, why doest thou persecute me? I am Iesus whom thou persecutest. &c. Here this place doth nothing lette, but that Christe sittinge in heauen,* myghte speake vnto Paul, and be heard vpon earth, for they which were wyth Paule, verely heard the voyce, but did see no body.

The Archbishop on the contrary part, sayd: Paule him selfe doth witnesse.* Actes 26. that Christe did appeare vnto him in the same vision.

But Lambert againe sayde, that Christ did witnesse in the same place, That hee woulde againe appeare vnto hym,* and deliuer him out of the handes of the Gentiles: Notwythstanding we read in no place, that Christ did corporally appear vnto him.

Thus,* when they had contended about the conuersion of S. Paule, and Lambert so aunswearinge for hymselfe, that the king semed greatly to be mooued therwith, and the Byshop himselfe that disputed, to be entangled, and all the audience amased: then the Byshop of Winchester, whych was appoynted the 6. place of the disputation, fearing least the argument should be taken out of

hys mouth, or rather [Page 1123](#) being drowned wyth malice against the poore man, wythout the kinges commaundement, obseruing no order, before the Archbishop had made an end, vnshamefastly kneeled downe to take in hand the disputation, alledged a place out of the 12. Chapter to the Corinthians, where S. Paule sayeth: Haue I not seene Iesus? And againe in the 15. chapter: He appeared vnto Cephas: and afterwarde vnto Iames, then to all the Apostles, but last of al, he appeared vnto me as one borne out of due time.*&c.

Heereunto, Lambert aunswered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seene, and did appeare, but he did deny that hee was in two or in diuers places, accordinge to the maner of his body.

Then Winchester agayne, abusinge the authoritie of Paule, repeateth the place out of the seconde Epistle to the Corinthians and 5. Chapter: And if so be, we haue knowen Christe after the fleshe,*nowe hencefoorth knowe wee hym so no more. &c.

*Lambert aunswered, that this knowledge is not to be vnderstanded according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by S. Paule, whyche speaking of hys owne reuelation, sayeth thus: I know not whether in the body or without the body,*God knoweth, whiche was rapte into the thirde heauen, I knowe not, whether in the body or without, God knoweth. Whereby, euen by the testimony of S. Paule, a man shall easily gather, that in thys reuelation hee was taken vp in spirite into the heauens, & did see those things, rather then that Christe came downe corporally from heauen, to shew them vnto him: especially, for that it was said of the Aungell: That euen as hee ascended into heauen, so hee should come againe. And S. Peter sayeth, whom it behoueth to dwell in the heauens. And moreouer appoynting the measure of time, he addeth: Euen vntill that all things be restored. &c. Heere againe, Lambert being taunted and rebuked, coulde not be suffered to prosecute hys purpose.

After the Byshoppe of Winchester had done, Tonstall Bishop of Durham tooke hys course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of Gods omnipotencie, at the last he came to this poynt,* saying: that if Christ could performe that which he spake touching the conuerting of hys body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothyng, but that he would performe.

Lambert answeared, that there was no euidente place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he woulde chaunge the breade into hys body: and moreouer, that there is no necessitie why he shoulde so doe. But thys is a figuratiue speache,* euery where vsed in the Scripture, whē as the name and appellation of the thing signified, is attributed vnto the signe. By whiche figure of speache, circumcision is called the couenaunt, the Lambe, the passeouer: beside 600. such other.

Nowe it remaineth to be marked, whether wee shall iudge all these after the words pronounced, to be straightway chaunged into an other nature. Then agayne began they to rage a freshe againste Lambert, so that if hee coulde not be ouercome wyth arguments, he shoulde be vanquished with rebukes and tauntes. What shoulde he doe? He might well holde his peace like a Lambe, but bite or barke againe he could not.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesly byshop of London, who afterward lying at y^e poynte of death, reioysed, boasting, that in his life time he had burned 50. heretickes.*

Thys man amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to proue, that it was not onely a worke of a diuine miracle, but also that it did nothing abhorre nature. For, it is nothing dissonant from nature (sayeth he) the substances of lyke things to be oftentimes chaunged one into an other: So that neuertheles,* the accidentes doe remayne, all be it the substaunce it selfe, and the matter subiecte be chaunged. Then hee declared it by the example of water boylinge so long vppon the fire, vntill all the substance thereof be euaporate. Nowe (sayeth he) it is the doctrine of the Philosophers, that a substaunce can not be chaunged, but into a substaunce: wherefore we doe affirme the substaunce of the water, to passe into the substaunce of the aire. Notwythstanding the qualitie of the water, which is moystnesse, remaineth after the substaunce is chaunged, for the ayre is moist, euen as the water is.

When this argument was heard, the Byshops greatly reioysed, and sodenly their countenance chaunged, as it were assuring themselues of a certaine triumph and victory by this Philosophicall transmutation of elements, and like as it had ben of more force, then Crisippus argument, which passed all maner of solution.

Lambertes aunswere was long looked for heere of all men. Who, assoone as he had obtained silence and liberty to speake, first of all denied the Bishoppes assumpte, that the moisture of the water did remaine after the substance was altered. For all be it (sayth he) that we doe graunt with the Philosophers, the ayre to be naturall moist, notwythstanding it hathe one proper and a diuers degree of moysture, and the water an other. Wherefore, when as the water is conuerted into the aire, there remaineth moisture, as you doe say, but that is not the moisture of water, but the proper and naturall moisture of the aire. Whereupon there is an other doctrine amongst the Philosophers, as a perpetuall rule, that it can by no meanes be, that the qualities & accidents in natural things should remaine in their owne proper nature, without their proper subiect.

Then againe the king and the Byshops raged against Lambert, in somuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might haue ben driuen into a rage, if his eares had not bene acquainted with such tauntes afore. After this the other Bishoppes, euery one in his order, as they were appoynted, supplied their places of disputation.

There were appoynted ten in number, for the performing of this Tragedie, for his ten Arguments, which (as before we haue declared) were deliuered vnto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place,* to repeate the reasons and arguments of euery Byshop: and no lesse superfluous were it so to doe, specially for somuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forceable, and suche as by the long vse of disputation haue ben beaten,* and had little in them, either worthy the hearer, or the reader.

Lambert in the meane tyme beyng compassed in wyth so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checkes and taunts, and pressed on the other side, with the authority and threats of the personages, and partly being amazed with the maiestie of the place in the presence of the King, and especially being wearied with longe standinge,* whych continued no lesse then fiue houres, from twelue of the clocke, vntill fiue at nyght, being broughte in despayre that he shoulde nothing profite in thys purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this poynt, that he chose rather to holde his peace.

Whereby it came to passe, that those Byshoppes, which last of all disputed with him, spake what they lusted wythout interruption, saue onely that Lambert now and then, would alledge somewhat out of S. Augustin for the defence of hys cause, in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most parte (as I sayde) being ouercome with wearines and other griefes, he held his peace, defending himselfe rather with silence, then with argumentes, which he saw would nothing at al preuaile.

At the last, when the day was passed, and that torches begā to be lighted, the king minding to breake vp this pretended disputation, sayd vnto Lambert in this wise: What sayst thou now (sayd he) after al these great labours which thou hast taken vpon thee,* and all the reasons & instructions of these learned men, art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt y^u liue or dye? What sayst thou? Thou hast yet free choose. Lambert aunswered: I yelde and submit my selfe wholly vnto the will of your Maiestie. Then said the king. Commit thy selfe vnto the handes of God, and not vnto myne.

Lambert, I commend my soule vnto the handes of God, but my body I wholly yeld & submit vnto your clemency. Then sayd the king, if you do committe your selfe vnto my iudgement, you must dye,* for I will not be a patron vnto heretickes, and by and by turning himself vnto Cromwell, he sayd: Cromwell: read the sentence of condēnation agaynst him. This Cromwel was at that time the chiefe frend of the Gospellers. And here is it muche to be maruailed at,* to see how vnfortunately it came to passe in this matter, that through the pestiferous & crafty counsaile of this one Bishop of Winchester, Sathan (whiche oftentimes doth raise vp one brother to the destruction of an other) did here performe the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers, then Gospellers themselues. Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer and Cromwell, who afterwarde in a maner al, suffered the like for the Gospels sake: of whō (God willing) we will speake more hereafter.

This vndoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subiltie of the Bishop of Winchester, whiche desired rather,* that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, then by any other, so y^t if he refused to doe it, he shoulde likewise haue incurred the like daunger. But to be short, Cromwell at the kings commaundement taking the schedule of condēnation in hand, read the same: Wherein was contened the burning of heretickes, whiche either spake or wrote anye thing, or had any bookes by them, repugnant or disagreeing from the Papisticall Church, and theyr tradition,* touching the sacrament of the aultare: also, a decree that the same shoulde be sette vppe vppon the Church porches, and be read foure tymes euery yeare, in euery Church [Page 1124](#) throughout the Realme, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the heartes of the people. And in this maner was the cōdemnation of Iohn Lambert. Wherein great pitie it was, and muche to be lamented, to see the Kinges highnesse that day so to oppose and set his power and strength •o fiercely and vehemently in assisting so manye proude and furious aduersaries, against that one poore seely soule, to be deuoured. Whō hys Maiestie wyth more honour might rather haue aided and supported, being so on euery side oppressed and compassed about wythout helpe or refuge, amonge so many Wolues and vultures,* especially in suche a cause tending to no derogation to him nor to his realme, but rather to the necessary reformation of syncere truth and doctrine decaied. For therein especially consisteth the honour of Princes, to pity the miserable, to relieue the oppressed, to rescue the wrōgs of the poore, and to tender and respect the weaker parte, especially where righte and truth standeth with him: which if

the King had done that day, it had ben, in my minde, not so much for the comforte of that poore persecuted creature, as it woulde haue redounded to the immortall renoume of his Princely estate to all posteritie.

But thus was Iohn Lambert, in this bloody Session, by the king iudged and condemned to death, whose iudgement now remaineth with the Lord against that day, whē as before the tribunall seate of that great iudge, both princes and subiects shall stande and appeare, not to iudge, but to be iudged, according as they haue done and deserued. Ex testimonio cuiusdam 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . A.G.

And thus muche hetherto of Lambertes articles, aunsweres, disputation, and his condemnation also. Nowe to proceede further to the storie of his death.

Upon the day that was appoynted for this holy martyr of God to suffer,* he was brought out of the prisone at 8. of the clocke in the morning, vnto the house of the L. Cromwel, and so caried into his inward chamber, where as it is reported of many,* that Cromwell desired him of forgeuenes, for that he had done. Ther, at the last, Lambert being admonished, that the houre of his death was at hande, hee was greatly comforted and cheared, and being broughte out of the chamber into the Hal, he saluted the gentlemen, and sate downe to breakfast wyth them, shewing no manner of sadnesse or feare. When as the breakfast was ended, he was caried straight way to the place of execution, wher as hee shoulde offer hymselfe vnto the Lorde a sacrifice of sweete sauour, who is blessed in his Saintes for euer and euer. Amen.

As touching the terrible maner and fashion of the burning of this blessed Martyr, heere is to be noted, that of all other, which haue beene burned and offered vp at Smithfielde, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled, as he. For after that his legges were consumed and burned vp to the stumpes, and that the wretched tormentours and enemies of God had withdrawne the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coales were left vnder hym, then two that stode on eche side of him, with their Hallebardes pitched him vpon their pikes, as farre as the chaine wolde reache, after the manner & forme as here in this picture is described. Then hee lifting vp such handes as hee had, and his fingers endes, flaming with fire,* cried vnto the people in these wordes: None but Christ, none but Christ, and so being let downe againe from their Hallebardes, fell into the fire, and there gaue vp his life.

Thus yee haue heard by what crafte and subtiltie thys

[illustration]

The order and maner of the burning of the constante Martyr in Christ, Iohn Lambert.

good man was intrapped, and wyth what crueltie he was oppressed, so that nowe remaineth nothing, but onely his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the byshops thought not to be long protracted.

During the time that hee was in the Archbyshoppes Warde at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause vnto king Henrie.

Wherein he first mo•lifying the kings minde and eares, w^t a modest & sober preface, declaring how he had a double hope of solace laid vp, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of Princes, God: the other nexte vnto God, in hys Maiestie, which shoulde represent the office and ministerie of that most high Prince in gouerning here vppon earth: after that proceeding in gentle wordes, he declared y^e cause which mooued him to that which he had done.

And albeit he was not ignorant howe odious this doctrine woulde be vnto the people, yet notwithstanding, because he was not also ignoraunt how desirous the kynges mind was to search out the trueth,* he thought no time vnmeete to performe his duetie, especially for so muche as hee woulde not vtter those thyngs vnto the ignoraunt multitude, for auoiding of offence, but only vnto the Prince him selfe, vnto whom he might safely declare his minde.

After thys Preface made, hee entring into the Booke,* confirmed his doctrine touchinge the Sacramente, by diuers testimonies of the Scriptures, by the whiche Scriptures, hee prooued the bodye of Christe, whether it riseth, [Page 1125](#) or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conuersant here, to be alwaies in one place.

Then he gathering together the mindes of the auncient Doctours, did proue and declare by sufficient demonstration, y^e sacrament to be a misticall matter. Albeit hee so ruled himselfe in suche temperaunce and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the holy sacrament was the very naturall bodye of our sauour, and the wine hys naturall bloud, and that moreouer his naturall body & bloud were in those misteries, but after a certayne maner, as al y^e auncient Doctours, in a maner do interpret it.

After this protestation thus made, hee inferreth y^e sentence of his confession, as here followeth.

***A treatise of Iohn Lambert to the king.**

CHrist is so ascended bodily into heauen, & his holy māhode thether so assumpt, whereas it doth sit vppon the right hand of the father,* that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory, that by the infallible promise of God, it shall not or cannot from thence return before the generall dome, whiche shall be in the ende of the world: And as he is no more corporally in the world, so cā I not see how he can be corporally in the sacrament, or his holy supper. And yet notwithstanding do I knowledge & confesse that the holy sacrament of Christes body & bloud is his very body & bloud in a certayne maner, which shall be shewed hereafter with your graces fauour & permissiō, according to the wordes of our sauour instituting y^e same holy sacrament, & saying: This is my body, whiche is geuē for you.*And agayne: This is my bloud which is of the new Testament▪ which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes,

But now for approuing of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heauen, and his holy manhooe so thether assumpte. &c. that by the infallible promise of God, he shall not, or cannot any more from thence boldly return before the generall dome, I shall for this alledge first

the scriptures, and following the authorities of olde holye Doctors, w^t one consent testifying with me. Besides thys, I neede not to tel, that the same is no other thing, but that we haue taught to vs in these. 3. articles of our Creede: He ascended into heauen, and sitteth on the right hand of GOD the father almightye, from thence he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead. For Christ did ascend bodily, the God head which is infinite, vncircūscriptible, replenishing both heauen and earth, being immutable, and vnmooueable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

Scriptures affirming the same.

The Scriptures whych I promised to alledge for the confirmation of my sayd sentence, be these: Hee was lifted vp into heauen in their sight,*and a cloude receaued him from theyr eyes and when they were looking vp into heauen, they sawe two men. &c. Heere it is euidently shewed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscrip^t body. That thys departing was visible and in a visible bodye, these woordes doe testifie: And when they were looking vppe. Whye stande ye heere looking vppe into heauen. And: euen as yee haue seene him. &c. That secondly it was in body, I haue afore prooued, and moreouer the Deitie is not sene, but is inuisible, as appeareth: To God onely inuisible. &c. and, He dwelleth in the inaccessible lighte,*whiche no man seeth nor may see. &c. Therefore the manhead and naturall body was assumpt, or did ascend. That thirdly it was in a circumscrip^t body, appeareth manifestly in this. First, y^t his ascension and bodily departing, caused them to loke vp. And secondly, that he was lift vp, that is to witte, from beneath or from a lowe. And thirdly, that a cloud receaued him. Where as no cloud nor cloudes can receiue or embrace the Deitie. &c.

I am •aine to leaue out other euident Argumentes for the same purpose, least I shoulde be ouer prolix and tedious. It doeth there also further followe in like forme, how the Aungels made aunswere to the Disciples, saying: Yee menne of Galile, why stande yee gasing into heauen? Thys Iesus which is taken vppe from you into heauen, shall so come agayne, as you haue seene him going vppe into heauen. Here we see againe, that Iesus is assumpte, or taken away into heauen. And then it must be from oute of the worlde,* accordinge to that we read, Iohn 16. I went foorth from the father, & I came into the worlde. I leaue the worlde againe, and I go vnto the Father: That is not els, but as hee came from the father of heauen into thys worlde, in that he was incarnate & made man, for hys Godhead was neuer absent, either from heauen, or yet from earth: euen so shoulde his manhoode leaue the worlde againe, to go to heauen. Moreouer, in that it is sayde: So shall he come, is plainly testified, that hee is away, and nowe corporally absent.

Finally, it is shewed further, after what maner he shal come againe, by these woordes: Euen as you haue seene hym going vp into heauen. Which is not els, but, as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to heauē, a cloud embrasing him and taking him from among you: euen so shal you visibly see hym to come againe in the cloudes, as wee reade. Math. 26.*You shall see the sonne of man to come in the clouds of heauen. And againe, Math. 24. And they shall see the sonne of man. Such other textes haue we full many, declaring my sentence to be Catholicke and true. Of which I heere shall brieflye note some places, and passe ouer them, knowing that a litle rehearsall is sufficient to youre noble wisdom, The places be, Marke 16. Luke 24. Iohn 13.14.16. and 17. Rom. 8. Ephes. 1. and 2. and 2. Cor. 6. Hebr. 8.9.10. and 12. and 1. Thess. 4. and 1. Pet. 2. which all do testifie, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, departed from it vnto hys father, ascended into heauen, sitting still vpon the ryghte hand of the father aboue all

dominion, power, and principalitie, where he is present aduocate and intercessor before hys father, and that he shall so bodely come againe, lyke as he was seene to depart from hence.

Nothing can better or more clearely testifie and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Christes holy body and bloud, then do the words of Scripture,* wherby it was institute. Marke doth agree wyth Mathewe, so that in a maner he reciteth his very wordes. And no maruaile it is. For as the Doctours doe say, the Gospell of Marke is a very Epytome or abridgement of Mathew. I shall therefore write the relations of them touching the institution of this sacrament together. The relation or testimonie of Mathewe is this: As they were eating, Iesus tooke bread, and when hee had geuen thanks he brake and gaue to hys disciples, and sayde: Take, eate, this is my body. And taking the cup, and geuing thanks, hee gaue it to them,*saying drinke yee all of this, for this is my bloud of the new Testamēt which is shed for manye, for the remission of sinnes. And I say vnto you, I will not drinke hencefoorth of this fruite of the vine, vntill that day, that I drinke it new with you in the kingdome of my father.

The testimonie or relation of Marke, is this: And as they did eate, Iesus tooke the breade,*and when hee hadde geuen thanks, he brake it and gaue it to them, and sayde: Take, eate, thys is my body. And hee tooke the cuppe, and when hee hadde geuen thanks, he gaue it to them, and they all dranke of it, and hee sayd vnto them▪ This is my bloud of the new Testament which is shed for many. Verely, I say vnto you, I wil drinke no more of the fruit of the vine vnto that day that I drinke it newe in the kingdome of God. Luke being the companion of Paule, as appeareth in the Actes,* and 2. Timothie 4. doth so next agree with him in making relation of thys Supper, and holy institution of the Sacrament. Hys relation or reporte is thys: When he had taken breade and geuen thanks, hee brake it and gaue to them, saying: This is my bodye which is geuen for you, doe thys in remembraunce of me. Likewise also after Supper,*he tooke the cuppe, saying: This cuppe is the newe Testament in my bloude which is shedde for you.

Paules testimonie doeth followe nexte, agreeablye to Luke, & it is thus: For I haue receiued of the Lorde, that which I also haue deliuered to you.*That oure Lorde Iesus Christe in the same night wherein he was betrayed, tooke breade, and when hee had geuen thanks, he brake it and said: Take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you: this doe ye in the remembraunce of mee. After the same maner also he tooke the cup when he had supped, saying: This cuppe is the newe Testament in my bloude: thys doe as oft as yee drinke it, in the remembraunce of me: for as often as ye shall eate this breade, and drinke this cuppe, ye shall shewe the Lordes death, till he come. By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your grace, whiche I conceyue of the holy Sacrament of Christes blessed body and bloude, and in all poyntes of difficultie, shall I annexe the very interpretation of the olde holy Doctours and Fathers, to shew that I doe not grounde any thing vpon my self. Thereafter shall I adde certaine arguments, whiche I truste shall clearely prooue and iustifie my sentence to be true, Catholike, and according both with God and his lawes, and also with the minde of holy Doctours.

My sentence is this, that Christ ascended into heauen, and so hath forsaken the worlde, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hande of hys Father, wythout returning hether againe vntill the generall dome: at what time hee shall come from thence, to iudge the dead and liuing. This all do I beleue, done in his natural body, which he tooke of the blessed virgine Marie hys mother, in the which he also suffered passion for our safetie & redemption vpon a crosse: which died for vs &

was buried: in which he also dyd arise againe to life immortall. That Christe is thus ascended in his manhode and natural body, & so assumpt into heauen, we may soone proue, for as much as the godhead of him is neuer out of heauē, but euer replenishing both heauen and earth, and al that is besides, being infinite and interminable [Page 1126](#) or vncircumscribable, so that it neither cā properly eyther ascende or descend, being without all alterations and vnmutable or vnmoueable.

So that now his naturall body being assumpt from among vs,* and departed out of the worlde, the same can no more returne from thence vnto the ende of the worlde. For as Peter witnesseth. Act. 3. Whome the heauen must contayne vntill the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouthe of all his holy Prophetes, since the worlde began. And the same doth y^e Article of our Creede teach vs, which is: From thence (.i. from heauē) he shall come to iudge the quick and the dead.* Which time Paule calleth the appearing of oure Lord Iesus Christ. 1. Timoth. 6.

Seeing then, thys naturall body of our Sauour, that was borne of hys mother Marie, being a Uirgine, is all whole assumpt into heauē, and departed out of this world, and so, as sayth S. Peter: He must remaine in heauen vntil the ende of the worlde, which he calleth the time when all thynges must be restored: This (I say) seene and beleueed according to our Creede and the Scriptures, I cā not perceiue how the naturall body of hym can contrariwise be in the world, and so in the Sacrament. And yet notwithstanding is this true, that the holy Sacrament is Christes body & bloude, as after shall be declared.

Doctors affirming the same.

But firste, for the establishing of my former purpose, that the naturall bodye of our Sauour is so absent from thys worlde,* and ascended to heauen, that it can be here no more present vnto the generall dome, I wold beseech your grace to consider the minde and sentence of olde holy Doctours, in thys purpose or matter, how agreeably they testifie wyth that is tofore shewed. Amongest whom we haue first S. Augustine, wryting thus to Dardanus: Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est Christus: Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Quod verò ad hominem. &c. Therefore as concerning the woorde, Christe is the Creator: all things are made by hym: but as touching man,*Christe is a creature made of the seede of Dauid accordi•g to the flesh, and ordained accordinge to the similitude o••enne. Also because man consisteth of two thinges, the soule and the flesh: in that hee had a soule, hee was pensiue and sorrowfull vnto death, in that he had flesh he suffered death. Neyther when wee call the sonne of God Christ, wee do separate hys manhoode, nor when we cal the same Christ the sonne of manne, we doe separate his Godhead from him. In that he was manne, he was conuersaunt vppon the earth (and not in heauen where hee nowe is) when hee sayde: no man ascendeth vp into heauen, but he whych descended from heauen, the sonne of manne whyche is in heauen. Although in that respect that he was the sonne of God, he was in heauen, and in that he was the sonne of man, he was yet in the earth, and as yet was not ascended into heauē. Likewise in that respect that he is the sonne of God, he is the Lord of glory: and in that he is the sonne of man, he was crucified. And yet notwythstanding the Apostle sayth▪ And if they had knowen the Lord of glory, they woulde neuer haue crucified him. And by this both the sonne of man was in heauen, and the sonne of God in that hee was man, was crucified vppon earth. Therefore as he might well be called the Lorde of glory being crucified, when as yet that suffering did onely pertaine vnto the flesh, so it might well be sayde:

Thys day thou shalt be with mee in Paradise, when according to the humilitie of hys manhoode in his flesh, hee lay in graue, and according to his soule hee was in the bottome of hell that same day. According to his diuine immutabilitie hee neuer departed from Paradise, because he by his Godhead is alwaies euery wher. Doubt you not therefore that there is Christ Iesus accordinge to hys manhoode, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, & kepe faithfully thy Christian confession: for he rose from the dead, he ascended into heauen, he sitteth at the right hand of the father: neyther will hee come from any other place, then from thence to iudge the quicke and the deade. And he shall come, as the voice of the Angell beareth witnesse, as he was seene to goe into heauen, that is to say, in the selfe same forme and substance of fl•sh, wherunto vndoubtedly hee gaue immortalitie, but hee did not take away the nature therof: According to this fourme of hys flesh he is not to be thought to be euery where And we must take heed that we doe not so affirme the diuinitie of his manhode, that we therby take away the truthe of his body. For it is not a good consequente, that that thinge whych is in God, shoulde so be in euerye place as God. For the Scripture sayeth very truely of vs, that in hym wee liue, mooue, and haue our being: and yet notwithstanding wee are not in euery place as he is, but*that man is otherwise in God, because that God is otherwise in man, by a certayne proper and singular maner of being:*for God and man is one person, and onely Iesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in euery place: but in that he is man, he is in heauen.

By whych wordes of holy Augustine, your grace may euidently see, that hee testifieth and teacheth the blessed bodye or flesh of Christ to be no where else then in Heauen. For to it being assumpt or ascended into heauen, God (as hee sayeth) hath geuen immortalitie, but not taken away nature. So that by the nature of that holy fleshe or bodye,*it must occupie one place. Wherefore it followeth: According to thys fourme: that is to witte, of hys fleshe. Christe is not to be thought to be in euery place. For if Christ should in hys humanitie be euery where diffused or spreade abroad, so shoulde hys bodely nature or naturall bodye bee taken from hym. And therefore hee sayeth: For wee muste beware that we doe not so affirme the diuinitie of manne, that we do take away the humanitie of his bodie. But in that hee is God, so is hee euery where, according to my woordes before wrytten: and in that he is manne, so is he in heauen. And therefore it is sayde: For God and man is one person, and onely Iesus Christ is both. Hee in that he is euery where, is God: but in that hee is man, he is in heauen,

And yet do we read agreeable to the same matter, more largely in the same Epistle, by these woordes: Christum Dominum nostrum vnigenitum Dei filium, equalem patri eundemque hominis filium, quo maior est pater, vt vbique totum, praesentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, & in eodem templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem Deum, & in loco aliquo coeli propter veri corporis modum. Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lorde the onely sonne of God, equall with his father, and the same being the sonne of man whereby the father is greater, is presente euery where as God, and is in one and the same Temple of God as God, and also in some place of heauen as concerning the true shape of hys body.

Thus finde we clearely, that for the measure of his very bodye, he must be in one place, and that in heauen, as concerning hys manhode, and yet euery where present in that he is the eternall sonne of God & equall to his father. Like testimonie doeth he geue in the 30. Treatise that he maketh vpon the Euangelie of Iohn. These be his woordes there wrytten: Donec saeculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Domini. &c. Vntill the worlde be at an

ende, the Lord is aboue, but heere is the truth of the Lorde also, for the body of our Lorde in which hee rose, must be in one place: *but hys trueth is abroad in euery place. The first parcell, that is, vntill the worldes ende, is so put, that it may ioine to the sentence going before, or else to these woordes following: The Lorde is aboue. &c. And so shoulde it well accorde to my sentence before shewed, whyche is, the Lorde is so bodely ascended, that in hys naturall body he cannot againe retourne from heauen vntill the generall dome.

But howsoever the sayde clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill: for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full stedfast. In somuch, as the scripture doth mention but of two Aduents or commings of Christe, of which the first is performed in his blessed incarnation, * and the second is y^e coming at the general dome. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creede: From thence shall hee come to iudge the quicke and the dead, is not onely shewed wherfore hee shall come againe, but also when he shall come agayne so that in the meane while, as y^e other Article of our Crede witnesseth: He sitteth at the right hande of God his father, that is not els to say, thē he remaineth in glory with the father. Furthermore, euen as I haue before rehearsed the foresaid authority of Augustine, so haue I read it in his Quinquagenes vpon a Psalme, of whiche I can not now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the Epistle to S. Hierome. So y^t we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth vse it, as his vsuall prouerbe or by word. *

In the same is also testified, that his blessed body can be but in one place, so that it being now according to the scripture and article of our beliefe or Creede, in heauen it cā not be in earth: and much les can it be in so vnnumerable places of the earth, as we may perceiue that the Sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Sauior must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to y^e saying of Peter: Whome the heauens muste receiue vntill the time of the restitution of all thing: Yet as the wordes following make mention: Veritas autem eius vbique diffusa est. But his veritie is scattered euerie where. This verity of Christ, or of his body, * I do take to be that he in other places, doth call Virtus Sacramenti The vertue of the Sacrament. As in the 25. treatise vpon Iohn we finde thus written: Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti. The Sacrament is one thing, & the vertue of the Sacrament, is an other thing. And againe: Si quis manducauerit ex ipso, non moritur, sed qui pertinet ad virtutē sacramēti, nō qui pertinet ad visibile sacramētū. &c. If any mā eat of him he dieth not, but he meaⁿeth of him, which doth apertain to the vertue of the sacramēt, & not of him which pertaineth to the visible sacramēt. And to declare what is the vertue of the sacramēt, y^t I coū^t to be y^e truth of the lord or of his body▪ he saith: Qui māducatur int{us}, nō foris, qui [Page 1127](#) manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. He which eateth inwardly in spirit, not outwardly: he that eateth in hart, and not he which chaweth with teeth.

So that finally, this truth of the Lord or his body, which is dispersed euery where abroad, * is the spirituall profite, fruite, and comforte, that is opened, to bee receiued euery where of all men by faith in the veritie of the Lord, that is to witte, in the very and true promise or Testament made to vs in the Lordes body that was crucified and suffered death for vs, and arose againe ascending immortall into heauen: where he sitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his father, from thence not to retourne vntill the generall dome or iudgement. This bodily absence of our Sauior is likewise clearely shewed in the 50. treatise that hee maketh vpon Iohn: where he doth expound this text: Ye haue the poore alwayes with you, *but you shall not alwayes haue mee with you, to my purpose, that thereby I count and holde mine opinion to be rather Catholicke, then theirs that

hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirme in his Sermons of the seconde and thirde Feries of Gaster, and in so many places besides forth, as here can not be recited, the number of them is so passing great.

With him consenteth full plainely Fulgentius in hys second booke,* to Trasimundus, writing in this wise: Vnus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex patre Vnus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens coelo cum esset in terra, &c. One and the same man being locall, in that he is man which is God almighty of the Father. One and the same according to humane substance, being absent from heauen when he was in the earth, and leauing the earth when he ascended vp into heauen. But according to his diuine and almighty substance, neyther departing from heauen, when hee descended from heauen, neyther leauing the earth, when hee ascended into heauen. The which may well be knowne by the vndoubtfull sayeng of our Lord hymselfe: which that he might the better shewe his humanitie occupyeng a place, sayd vnto hys Disciples: I ascend vp vnto my father and your father, vnto my God and your God. Also when he had sayde of Lazarus: Lazarus is dead, he adioyned sayeng: And I am glad for your sakes, that you may beleue, because I was not there. But shewing the greatenes of hys diuinitie, he sayd to his Disciples: Behold I am with you vnto the ende of the world. For how did he ascend into heauen? but because he is locall and true man? And how is hee present to hys faithfull, but because he is almighty and true God? &c. In thys maner doth he proceede foorth, speaking much, full agreeably to my sentēce, which is now ouerlong here to write. But what can be sayd more plainely in so few words making for me?

First he saith, that Christ being a man, is as concerning his manhead,* locall, that is to say, contained in one place. And to expresse that more clearly, he addeth to it, sayeng: He is one and the same according to his humane substaunce, absente from heauen when he was in earth, and leauing the earthe when he ascended into heauen. Whereas he hath a contrary Antithesis for the godly nature, to shew forth the first point the more effectually. The Antithesis is thus: But according to his diuine and incomparable substaunce,*neither leauing heauen when he descended from heauen, neither forsaking the earth whē he ascended into heauen. Whereby is also confirmed, that I said: Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanitie, but not in his Deitie, which is immutable and vnmoueable: as we may perceiue by that he here doth call it, Almighty substance. Furthermore, to shew, that Christ (as touching his humane and naturall body) is locall, and in one place: he alledgeth, and that right iustly, two textes of Scripture. The first is: I ascend to my father, &c. And the second is of Lazarus, I am glad for your sakes, &c.

Finally, he maketh this demaund: But how he did ascend into heauen, but because he is a locall and very man? Whereby we may see, that by this sentence, Christ could not ascend, except he had bene locall, that is, contained in one place, and so very man.* And that is according to S. Augustine, writing as is aboue shewed: And he shall so come (as the Angell witnesseth) euen as you haue seene him going vp into heauen, that is to say, in the same forme and substance of his flesh. According to this forme he is not spread abroad in euery place: for wee must beware that we do not so esteeme his diuinitie, that we thereby doo take awaye the veritie of his bodie. So that they both do testifie, that Christ could not haue ascended, except he had bene locall, that is to witte, contained in one place, and very man: and that if he were not locall, he coulde not be a man. Wherefore Saint Augustine sayeth further, ad Dardanum: Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nusquam erunt, & quia nusquam erunt,*nec erunt. That is to witte: Take away localitie, or

occupieng of place from bodies, and they shall bee no where: and for because they shall be no where, they shall haue no being at all.

We therfore coueting to find Christ or his natural body, should seeke for him in heauen, where his naturall manhood is sittynge on y^e right hād of his father. So willeth vs S. Ambrose in the x. booke which he writeth vpon Luke, speakyng of Christes humanitie assūpt, in this wise: Ergo, **nō supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundū carnem te quaerere debemus, si volumus te inuenire.* &c. Therefore we ought not to seeke thee vpon the earth, nor in the earth, neither accordyng to the flesh, if we will finde thee: for now accordyng to the flesh we do not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephē did not seeke thee vpon the earth, when that he did see thee standyng on the right hand of God the Father. But Mary whiche sought thee vpon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee because hee sought thee in heauen. Stephen amōgest the Iewes saw thee beyng absent. &c. Thus we must seeke for the naturall body of Christ, not vpon the earth, but in heauen, if we will not be deceiued. And that doth he more largely shew in the same treatise, speakyng thus of the veritie of Christes body: *Quomodo nō corpus quiesceret, in quo manebant insignia vulnerum, vestigia cicatricum, quae Dominus palpanda obtulit?* &c. How could it come to passe that the body could not rest in the sepulcher, in whiche the tokens of the woundes and scarres did appeare, which the Lord him selfe did offer to be touched (in whiche doynge hee did not onely stablish the fayth, but also augmēted deuotion?) Because he would rather cary vp into heauen the woundes receaued for vs, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father, the price of our libertie. Such a one the Father doth place at his right hād, embracing the triumph and victory of our saluation▪ &c.

Gregory also in an Homely of Pentecost, sayth agreeably to the other, in these wordes: **Quando non maneret apud eos, qui ascensu•us coelos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiscū sum omnibus diebus vsque ad consummationem saeculi?* &c. When was it that he did not tary with them, which ascending vp into heauen, promiseth, saying: Behold I am here with you continually vntill the ende of the world? But the word incarnate tarieth and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarieth in Diuinitie. And therefore he sayth that he 〈◇〉 with them: euen he which was euer present with them 〈...〉 power, and now departed by his corpora••• 〈...〉 doth he testifie in the Home•y of 〈...〉

With these doth Bede accord in an Homely of 〈◇〉 in which he declareth this text. Ioh. 16. A litle while, **and ye shall not see me: And agayne, a litle while and ye shall see me.* And also in an Homely of the vigill of Pētecost. And who can otherwise say or thinke, knowyng the Scripture and our belief, but that the naturall body of Christ is so assūpt into heauen all whole, that it must there abide without returnyng, vntill the generall Iudgement. Notwithstandyng, seyng this is the chief poynt whereupon I seeke to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy Sacramēt, that Christes holy & naturall body is so assumpt into heauen, that there it must remayne all whole without returnyng vntill the generall dome: I will yet with the permission of your grace, adde one or two Arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentēce to be faythfull and Catholicke.

¶ Argumentes out of Scripture.

First, as Christ was enclosed and so borne about in the wombe of his mother bryng a Uirgin vndefiled,* and after was borne into this world, and put in a maunger, and so he growyng in age did abide in diuerse places, but in one after an other, sometime in Galile, sometime in Samaria, sometime in Iury, sometyme beyond, & sometyme on this side of Iordan, & consequently he was crucified at Hierusalem, there beyng enclosed & buried in a graue, frō whēce he did arise, so that the aungels testified of him: He is risen and is not here. Mathew. 28. and as at the tyme appointed,* after his resurrectiō, he was assumpt or lifted vp into heauen, from the top of the Moūt of Oliuet, in the sight of his Disciples, a cloude compassing him about: Euen so shall he come from the same celestially place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, accordyng to the testimony of the aūgels. Actes. 1.* So that in this we may vndoubtedly finde that Christ, as touchyng his manhead, can not be corporally in many & diuers places at once, and so to be corporally in his naturall body in heauen and also in the earth, and that it is moreouer, in so many partes of the world, as men haue affirmed.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoyle Christ of the propertie of mans nature,* which is to be in one place, whō the same Scripture doth perpetually witnesse and teach to be man, & so to counfound the condition of his bodily nature, with the nature Diuine. Paul doth teach that Christ in māhead, was made in all pointes lyke vnto his brethren, sinne excepted: how then can his [Page 1128](#) body be in more places at once, vnlike vnto the naturall propertie of the bodies of vs his brethren? But heere doo some wittie Philosophers, yea, rather Sophisters then Diuines, bring in to the annulling of Christes humanitie, a similitude of mans soule whiche beeing one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in euery part of the body. But such should remēber, that it is no conuenient similitude which is made of things different and diuerse in nature, such as be the soule and body of man, to proue them to haue like properties. This is as if they woulde proue Christes body to be of one nature and propertie with his soule, & that things naturally corporal, were not most diuers from creatures naturally spirituall.

Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or fleshe of Christ,* were meerely spirituall, and full like vnto the substance of Angels, yet could it not in this wise follow, that his body could be euery where, or in diuers places at once. Wherefore such subtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like vs, by whiche the olde Doctors do define, that the body of Iesu exalted or assumpt into heauen, must be locall, circumscrip, and in one place: notwithstanding that the veritie, spirituall grace, & fruite that commeth of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or euery where. How coulde Christ corporally depart out of this world,* and leaue the earth, if he in y^e kinds of bread and wine be not onely corporally contened and receiued, but also there reserued, kept and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testifie, Iohn xiiij. But Iesus knowing that his houre was come, that he should passe out of this world to his father,*&c. And in like forme, Luke 24. And it came to passe, that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was caried vp into heauen: What doe they signifie, if Christ went not verely out of this worlde, his naturall body being surely assumpt into heauen?

They do therefore vndoubtedly declare that Christ, being very God and very man, did verely depart out of this world in his naturall body, his humanitie being assumpt into heauen, where it

remaineth sitting in glory wyth the father: Where as yet his Deitie did not leaue the world, ne depart out from the earth. Paule doth say Philippians 2. that of ij. things he wist not which he might rather choose,* that is to witte, to abide in the flesh for preaching the Gospell, or els to be dissolued from the flesh, seing that to abide with Christ is much and farre better. By the which Paule doth manifestly proue, that they bee not presentlye with Christ, which yet do abide mortall in the flesh. Yet they bee with Christ in suche wise, as the Scripture doth saye that the beleeuing be the Temple of Christ. And as Paule doth say 2. Cor. 13. Do you not know your selues that Iesus Christ is in you? In which sense he also promised to be with vs vnto the end of the world. Christ therefore must be otherwise in that place, in which the Apostle desired to be with him, being dissolued, and departed from his body, then he doth abide either in the supper, or else in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth vndoubtedly meane heauen, which is the paradise of perfect blisse and glory: Where as Christ being a victour, triumpher, and conquerour ouer death, sinne, and hell, and ouer all creatures, doth reigne & remaine corporally. Thus do I trust that your grace doth see my sentence, this farforth to be right Catholicke, Christen, and faithfull, according to holy scripture, to holy Fathers, and to the Articles of our Christen beliefe. Whiche sentence is thus: Christes naturall body is so assumpt into heauen, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, from heauen returne, vntill the end of the world: and therefore can not the same naturall body, naturally be heere in the world, or in the Sacrament: For then should it be departed or gone out of the world,* and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and alreadye come, which is a contradiction, and variaunt from the nature of his manhead.

The second part of this matter.

Now my sentence in the second part of thys matter, is this (if so be your grace shall please to knowe it,* as I your poore and vnworthy, but full true subiect, woulde with all submission and instance beseech you to know it) I graunt the holy sacrament to be the very and naturall body of our Sauour, and his very naturall bloud, and that the naturall body and bloud of our Sauour, is in the Sacrament after a certaine wise, as after shall appeare. For so doe the words of the supper testifie: Take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you. And againe: Drinke yee all of this, this is my bloud which is of the newe Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes. Of which words, seeing in them dependeth a greate triall and prooue of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them, is and hath bene all controuersie of this matter, I therefore shall shewe the interpretation, that holy Doctours haue made of them, that as to me seemeth, be full woorthy credite.

First,* wee finde in the seconde booke of Tertullian which he writeth against Marcion: Ipse Christus nec panem reprobauit, &c. Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body. This Marcion, against whome Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as euill. Whiche thing Tertullian doth improue by the Sacrament, saieng as is aboue written:*Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body. As who woulde saye: If Christ had iudged the bread euill, then woulde hee not haue left it for a signe or sacramente to represent his blessed body. Agreeably to the same doth hee also saye in the fourth booke made againste the saide Marcion in these wordes: Christus acceptum panem & distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, &c.*Christ made that same bread whiche he tooke and distributed to his Disciples, his body, sayeng: This is my body, that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could

not haue bene a figure, vnlesse it were the body of a very true thyng in deede. Furthermore, a voyde thing which is a phantasie, could not receyue a figure or a forme. This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no naturall body,* but a body phantasticall. Which error or heresie, this famous Doctor Tertullian doth improue by the holy Sacrament, saing as afore is written, That the Sacramente is a figure of Christes body: Ergo, Christ had a very and true body. For a thing which is vaine and fantasticall, can receiue no figure. So that in both places we may clearely perceiue his interpretation of these wordes: Thys is my bodye: Whiche interpretation is not new but authentike or full auncient, like as is the Writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the olde Doctours,* whiche folowed him, did euer improue hym therefore, but rather haue folowed it, as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the Preface vpon the third Psalme, doth the sayde Augustine highly commend the wonderfull sufferance of Christ, which so long did suffer and forbear Iudas, as if hee had bene a good and an honest man: where as notwithstanding he did knowe his trayterous thoughtes,* when hee receyued hym to the feast or supper, in which he dyd commend and delyuer to his Disciples, the figure of his body and bloud. The wordes of Austen in Latine, be these. In historia noui Testamenti,* ipsa Domini nostri tanta & tam admiranda patientia erat, quòd eum tādīu pertulit tanquā bonū, &c. In the story of the new testament, the patience of our Lorde was so great, and so to be marueiled at, because hee suffered Iudas so long as a good man, when as he knewe his thoughtes when he rereceiued him to the feast, in the which he did commende and deliuer the figure of his body and bloud to his disciples.

The same holy Doctour also wryting agaynste Adamantius, saith thus: Non enim dubitauit Dominus dicere,* hoc est corpus meum, cūm daret signum corporis sui: For the Lorde did not doubt to say: This is my body, when he gaue a signe of his body. And for a further declaration of the same Chapter, he saith: Sic enim sanguis est anima, quomodo petra erat Christus, &c. For the bloud is so the soule, as the rocke was Christe. Notwithstanding hee dothe not saye, that the rocke did signifie Christ: but he doth say that the rocke was Christ.

Expressely doth Augustine here call the signe of Christes body, his body, playnely interpreting these words, This is my body, as both he and Tertullian did before.

Moreouer, he taketh these three sentences: This is my body: The soule is the bloud: and Christ was the stone,* to be of one phrase, and to be like speaches, or to be expounded, after one fashion. And this texte: The rocke was Christe doth hee commonly thus expounde: The rocke did signifie Christ, as appeareth Lib. 18. de Ciuitate Dei. Cap. 48. Also in the booke of Questions vppon Genesis,* and in the booke of Questions vppon Leuiticus, handling the 28. Chapter of Iohn: and in his Sermon of the Annuntiation of oure Lady.

In like maner also Saint Hierome expoundeth it in the small scholies, written vpon the first chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians,* and all other writers with one consent, so far as I can reade: and so doth the text require it to be expounded. For Christe was not a naturall stone, as all men may well perceyue, and yet was hee the verye true stone figuratiuely, as Lyra sayth: Solet res quae significat, nomine rei quam significat, nominari: The thing which signifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thing whiche it doth signifie. And so is the stone signifieng Christe,* called Christe, whiche thereby is signified. And as hee doth approoue this text, The stone was Christ, likewise doth hee expounde: The bloud is the soule, wyth the whiche hee dooth

knit thys texte: This is my body, to be figuratiuely expounded, as they be. According to this, doth the holy Doctour [Page 1129](#) write,* Psalme 50. Nisi quis manducauerit carnem meam, non videbit vitam aeternam, &c. Vnlesse a man doo eate my flesh, hee shall not see eternall life. They vnderstoode that very foolishly, and conceyued the same carnally, and thought that oure Lorde woulde cutte awaye lumpes or peeces of his body, and geue to them. And they sayd: This is an hard sayeng. But they were hard of beliefe, and not the sayeng. For if they had not bene hard, but meeke, they would haue sayd to them selues: He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hyd Sacramente or mysterie therein. They shoulde haue aboden with hym, easie of beliefe, and not hard, and then shoulde they haue learned of him that which other learned, that tarried, after they were gone awaye.

In this may we see, that our Sauour willeth his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the maner of eating, is, and hath bene much controuersie. The Iewes of Capernaum were offended with Christ, when he sayd, he woulde haue his flesh eaten: and except a man shoulde eate hys flesh, hee could not come to lyfe eternall.* They supposed grossely, and vnderstoode hym (if a man might so playnely speake it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumpes and peeces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beastes, and so geue it them to eate of, as Augustine dooth heere say. And vpon this grosse, or (as holy Augustine doth heere call it) foolish and fleshly vnderstanding, they were offended, and sayde to him: This is a sore or hard sayeng. They did shoote foorth their bolt, and vnwise sayeng ouer soone, and were offended before they had cause. They tooke that for hard and sore, which shoulde haue bene passing pleasaunt and profitable to them, if they would haue heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

And euen so now, that whiche in this matter maye appeare at the first blush, a sore, strange, and intollerable sentence, for as much as we haue not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of long time ben beaten into our heads, and perswaded to our mindes, yet by deliberation and indifferent, and abiding a triall of that which at the first may appeare sore and intollerable, shal (I trust) be found a sweete truth, to such specially as your grace is, louing to heare & to knowe all truth. But the Capernautes were hard, as here sayth Augustine, and not the worde. For if they had not bene hard, but soft and pacient to heare, they woulde haue said in themselues, Christ sayeth not this without a cause, and there is some hid misterie therein: and so by pacient •ariance, they shoulde haue knowne the trueth, that they coulde not attaine to, for peruerse hastines, or haste, which is a great stoppe and let of true iudgement.* But the Disciples taried patiently to heare further, and so did they knowe this speach of Christ to be the words of life, that to the other, ouer readily departing from Christ, were words of death:.* For they tooke them literally and grossely, and the letter (as Paule sayth) slayeth.

But to shewe what the Disciples remayning wyth Christ did learne, saint Augustine doth consequently shew by the wordes of the Gospell, saieng thus: Ille autem instruxit eos, & ait illis: Spiritus est qui viuificat, caro nihil prodest, &c. But he instructed them, and sayd vnto them: The Spirite is that which geueth life, the fleshe profiteth nothing. The words that I haue spoken vnto you, are spirite and life. Vnderstand you that which I haue spoken, spiritually. You shall not eate this body which you see, neyther shall you drinke that same bloud which they shall shed foorth, that shall crucifie mee. I haue set foorth to you a certayne Sacrament or mysterie, which beeing spiritually vnderstande, shall geue you lyfe: and although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be vnderstād inuisibly. In thys do we see,* that both Christ and Augustine

would haue Christes wordes to be vnderstande spiritually, and not carnally: figuratiuely, and not literally, and therefore doth he say: You shall not eate this body whiche you see, neyther shall you drinke that same bloud which they shall shed foorth that shall crucifie mee. And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his bloud to be drunken: But he would not his bodie to be carnally eaten, whyche was materially seene of them to whome he spake, nor hys materiall or naturall bloud to be carnally drunken, which hys crucifiers shoulde cause to issue from his naturall bodye crucified,* as sayeth Augustine: but hee ordeyned and willed his bodye and bloud to bee spiritually eaten and drunken in faith and beliefe, that his body was crucified for vs, and that his bloud was shed for the remission of our sinnes.

This eating and drinking is nothing but suche true fayth and beliefe as is shewed. Wherefore as Christ sayth: He that eateth my fleshe, and drinketh my bloud, hath lyfe euerlastyng. Euen so doth he saye: He that beleueeth in mee, hath lyfe euerlastyng. And Saint Augustine agreeably to the same,* treating vpon Iohn, doth say: At quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducasti, &c. Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Beleue, and thou hast eaten. I do know that Christ ordeineth his Sacrament to be receiued and eaten, which is in a certayne wise called his body, as after shalbe more largely opened: but the same doth not feede y^e mynde of them, except it be takē spiritually & not corporally. Heb. 13. It is good to stablish the hart with grace, & not with meat.

And S. Augustine assentyng to the same, doth say in a Sermō, that he maketh vpō these wordes,* in the Gospell of Luke: Lord teache vs to pray. Panem dixit, sed Epiouision, hoc est supersubstantialem. &c. He sayd bread, but supersubstantiall bread. This is not the bread, which goeth into the body: but that bread whiche doth satisfie the substaunce of our soule. Our soules therfore, into whom nothyng corporall, can corporally enter, doth not carnally receiue the body & bloud of our Sauour, neither did he ordeine his blessed body and bloud so to be eaten and drunken. Although our soules can not lyue, except they be spiritually fedde with the blessed body and bloud of him, spiritually eatyng and drinkyng them, in takyng also at tymes conuenient,* the blessed Sacrament, whiche is truely called his body and bloud: Not that it is so really, but as is shewed by the interpretation both of Tertullian & Augustine, because it is a signe or figure of Christes body and bloud. And the signes or Sacramentes both commonly, as sayeth Augustine, both ad Bonifacium, and in his worke, De Ciuitate Dei,* take their denomination of the thynges by them represented and signified.

But for somuch as some will object, that Augustine in the worde afore rehearsed, doth not speake of eatyng the Sacrament, for the text of the Scripture, vpon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eatyng the Sacrament, whiche text is this: Vnlesse a man eate my flesh. &c I aunswere, that true it is, he began of spirituall eatyng, and thereto serueth the text recited. Neuerthelesse,* he meaneth that Christ is not ordeyned to be eaten, either without the Sacrament, or in the Sacrament, but spiritually of the faythfull: as more euidently doth appeare by these wordes there folowyng: Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendauī, quod spiritualiter intellectum viuificabit vos. &c. I haue commēded vnto you a Sacrament, which beyng vnderstand of you spiritually, shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be vnderstand inuisibly.

Here doth hee shewe, that hee meaneth of eatyng, not without the Sacrament onely, but also in the Sacramēt: And therefore he doth not onely say, I haue commended vnto you a certaine Sacrament. &c. But he addeth moreouer. Although it is requisite the same to be celebrate visibly. How therefore can the eatyng of Christ, and the Sacramēt therof be visibly celebrate, but in the Maūdy, or in his Supper? Which is celebrate visibly in visible thynges of bread and wine: which can not quicken or relieue vs and our soules, except they be vnderstand and so recieued spiritually.

Furthermore, as concernyng the Exposition of these wordes of the Supper, This is my body &c.* S. Augustine writyng to Bonifacius, sayth thus: Sepè ita loquimur, vt Pascha appropinquāte, crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem dicamus. &c. We vse oftentimes this maner of phrase, that when Easter doth approche,*we name the day that commeth after, or the next day after that, the Passion of the Lord, when as he notwithstanding had suffered before that, many yeares: neither that Passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say vpon the Lordes day: This day the Lord hath risen, when so many yeares are past since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fonde, that he will reprove vs as lyers, for this maner of speakyng, because we call these dayes accordyng to the similitude of those, in which these thynges were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but by course of tyme of the yeare commyng about, is like vnto it: and also because that thing is sayd to be done that day, through the celebration of the Sacramēt, whiche was not done that day, but long before that tyme. Was not Christ once offered vp in him selfe? And yet notwithstanding he is not onely offered vp in the Sacrament, in the solemne feastes of Easter, but euery day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lye, which beyng demaunded, aunswereth, that Christ is offered vppe. For if the Sacramentes had not a certaine similitude of those thynges whereof they are Sacramentes, then should they be no Sacramentes at all. By reason of this similitude or likenesse, Sacramētes oftentimes do receiue the names of the selfe same thynges, wherof they are Sacramentes.

Therefore, as after a certaine maner, the Sacrament of Christes body, is the body of Christe,*and the Sacrament of Christes bloud, is the bloud of Christ: euen likewise the Sacrament of fayth, is fayth For to beleue is none other thyng, then to haue fayth. And by this it is aunswered, that the very infantes haue fayth, because of the Sacrament of fayth, and conuert them selues vnto God, because of the Sacrament of [Page 1130](#) conuersion: for the very answeare it selfe doth appertayne vnto the celebration of the Sacrament: as the Apostle speaketh of Baptisme. For he sayth, We are buried by Baptisme, into death. He doth not say, we haue signified a burieng, but he playnely saith we are buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so weightie a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing it selfe.

Nothing can be more playnely spoken, nor more agreeably to the natural vnderstanding of the texts of the Supper, and to the exposition afore shewed, of Tertullian and of himselfe. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heauen, and so absent from the earth, it is needefull to know, howe the holy Sacrament, which he doth call his body and bloud, should be his body and bloud.

This holy Doctor therefore Augustine, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches, and first by common speeches,* and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The common speech is this: We do (sayth he) vse often to say, that when Easter doth approach to

drawe nigh, to morrowe or the next daye, is the Lordes Passion, whereas he did suffer afore many yeares past, and that passion was neuer but once done.

The second common speache is, And of that Sondaye wee saye, that this day the Lorde did rise from deathe, whereas so many yeares be yet past sith the time he arose. Wherefore, to conclude he saith: No man is so foolish, that he will reprove vs for so saieng, or to saye, that we haue lyed, for because we do call these daies after the similitude of those, in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfesame, but by reuolution of time, like vnto it. And the resurrection is sayd to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the Sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time afore past.

The third speache: was not Christ offered vp once for all in his owne person? Yet is he neuerthelesse offered in the Sacrament mystically for the people,* not onely euery yeare at the feast of Easter, but also euery daye. Neyther doth he lie, which when he is demanded, shal answer, that he is offered vp or sacrificed. For if the Sacramentes had not a certaine similitude of those thinges, of which they be Sacraments, then shoulde they be no Sacraments at all. By reason of which similitude, they do for the most parte receiue the denomination or name of those thinges signified. And therefore after a certaine maner, the Sacrament of Christes body, is the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christes bloud,* is the bloud of Christ, and so also be the Sacraments of faith, called faith.

This doth he yet proue by an other example of speach, which is this: It is none other thing to beleue, then to haue fayth. And therfore when answeare is made, that the infantes haue fayth, which in deede haue it not in ful working, it is answeared, that suche haue faith for the Sacrament of faith, and that they doo conuert themselues vnto fayth, for the Sacrament of Conuersion. For the very answeare it selfe doth pertaine to the celebration of the Sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appeare, that as we vse truely to call that good Friday, or the day of Christes passion, which is not in deede the day of Christes Passion, but onely a memoriall thereof once done for euer: and as we vse to call the next Easter day, the daye of Christes resurrection, not because that Christ in the same daye shall arise, but only for a memoriall of his resurrectiō once done for euer, and that of long time passed.

And Christ beeing offered vp once for all in his owne proper person, is yet sayde to be offered vp, not only euery yeare at Easter, but also euery day in the celebration of the Sacrament, because his oblation once for euer made, is thereby represented. Euen so (saith Augustine) is the Sacramēt of Christes body, the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christes bloud, the bloud of Christ, in a certayne wise or fashion.* Not that the Sacrament is his naturall body or bloud in deede, but that it is a memoriall or representation thereof, as the dayes before shewed, be of his verye and naturall body crucified for vs, and of his precious bloud shed for the remission of our sinnes. And thus be the holy signes or Sacramentes truely called by the names of the very thinges in them signified. But why so? For they (saith Augustine) haue a certaine similitude of those things wherof they be signes or Sacraments, for else they should be no Sacraments at all: And therefore do they commonly, and for the most part receiue the denomination of the things whereof they be Sacraments.

So that we may manifestly perceiue that he calleth not the Sacrament of Christes body and bloud, the very body and bloud of Christ, but as he sayd before. But yet he sayth in a certaine maner or wise: Not that the Sacramente absolutely and plainely, is his naturall body or bloud. For this is a false argument of Sophistrie, which they call, *Secundum quid ad simpliciter*, that is to say,* that the Sacramēt of Christes body, is in a certaine wise, the body of Christe, Ergo, it is also playnely and expressly the naturall body of Christ. For such an other reason might this be also: Christ is after a certayne maner, a Lion, a Lambe, and a doore: Ergo, Christe is a naturall Lion and Lambe, or materiall doore. But the Sacrament of Christes body and bloud, is therefore called his body and bloud, because it is thereof a memoriall, signe, sacrament, token, & representation, spent once for our redemption. Which thing is further expounded by an other speech, that he doth heere consequently allege of baptisme: *Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus dicit*, &c.

The Apostle (quoth Augustine) sayeth not, we haue signified buryeng, but he sayeth vtterly, we be buried with Christ, For else should all false Christians be buried wyth Christ from sinne, which yet do liue in all sinne. And therefore saith Augustine immediately therupon, he called therfore the sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name, then of the thing it selfe. Thus (O moste gracious and godly prince) do I confesse and knowledge, that the bread of y^e sacrament is truely Christes body, and the wyne to be truely his bloud, according to the wordes of the institution of the same Sacrament: but in a certaine wise, that is to wit, figuratiuely, sacramētally, or significatiuely, according to the exposition of the Doctours before recited, & heereafter folowing. And to this exposition of the old Doctours, am I enforced, both by the articles of my Creede, and also by the circumstances of the sayde Scripture, as after shall more largely appeare. But by the same can I not finde the natural body of our Sauour to be there naturally, but rather absent, both from the sacrament, & from all the world, collocate and remaining in heauen, where he by promise must abide corporally, vnto the end of the world.

The same holy Doctor writing agaynst one Faultus, sayth in like manner:**Si Machabaeos cum ingenti admiratione praeferimus, quia escas quibus nunc Christiani licitè vtuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptismo Christi, pro Eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi, &c.* If we doo preferre wyth greate admiration the Machabees, because they would not once touche the meates which Christian men now lawfully vse to eate of, for that it was not lawfull for that tyme then beyng propheticall, that is, in the tyme of the olde Testament: how muche rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the Baptisme of Christ, and for the Sacrament of thankesgiuing, and for the signe of Christe, seeyng that those of the old Testamente were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these Sacramentes in the newe Testamente are the tokens of things complete and finished? In this do I note, that according to the expositions before shewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the Sacrament of Christes body & bloud, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, *signum Christi*, and that in the singular number,* for as much as they both do signifie welnigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saueour. And moreouer, he calleth them *Indicia rerum completarum*: that is to wyt, The tokens or benefits that we shall receiue by the beliefe of Christe for vs crucified. And them doth he call vsually both the sacraments, *signum Christi*, in the singular number. And as the same Saint Augustine in his fiftie treatise vpon the Gospel of Saint Iohn teacheth, where he sayeth thus: *Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertines, (quod significat Petrus) habes Christum, & in praesenti, & in futuro. In praesenti per fidem, &c.* If thou be good,*if thou pertayne to the body of Christ (which this word, Petrus,

doth signifie) then hast thou Christ both heere presente, and in time to come: Heere presente through fayth: heere presente by the signe and figure of Christe: heere presente by the Sacrament of Baptisme: heere presente by the meate and drinke of the altar, &c.

More there was that Iohn Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much onely came to our hands.

The death of Robert Packington.

AMong other actes and matters passed and done thys present yeare,* which is of the Lorde 1538. heere is not to be silenced the vnworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, Mercer of London,* wrought and caused by the enemies of Gods worde, and of all good proceedings. The story is this: The said Robert Packington, being a man of substance, and dwelling in Chepeside, vsed euery day at fiue of the clocke, Winter and Sommer, to goe to prayer at a Churche then called S. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercers Chappell. And one morning amongst all other, being a great mistie morning, such as hath seldōe bin seene, euen as he was crossing y^e streate from his house to the Churche, he was sodenly murthered [Page 1131](#) with a gunne, which of y^e neighbours was plainly heard: and by a great nūber of labourers standing at Soper lane end, he was both seene go foorth of his house, and the clap of the gunne was heard, but the deede dooer was a greate while vnespied and vnknowne. Although manye in the meane time were suspected, yet none could be founde faulti• therein. The murtherer so couertly was conueied, tyll at length by the confession of Doctour Incent Deane of Paules in his death bed, it was knowne, and by him confessed, y^t he himselfe was the authour thereof, by hiring an Italian for lx. crownes or thereabout,* to do the feate. For the testimonie whereof, and also of the repentaunt wordes of the said Incent, the names both of thē which heard him confesse it, and of thē which heard the witnesses report it, remayne yet in memorie, to be produced, if neede required.

The cause why he was so litle fauored with the clergie, was this, for that he was known to be a mā of great courage, & one that could both speake, & also would be heard: for at y^e same time he was one of the burgesses of the Parlamēt for the city of Londō, & had talked somewhat against the couetousnes & cruelty of the clergie, wherefore he was had in cōtempt with them, and was thought also to haue some talke with the King, for the whiche he was the more had in disdaine with them, & murthered by the sayde Doctour Incent, for his labour, as hath bene aboue declared.

And thus muche of Rob. Packington, whiche was the brother of Austen Packington aboue mentioned, who deceiued bishop Tonal, in bying the new translated Testament of Tyndall. Whose pitious murther, although it was priuie and soden, yet hath it so pleased the Lorde, not to keepe it in darkenes, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

NEither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, sometime a Lawyer & a Gentleman, which suffered the fire this yeare also in Smithfielde,* anno. 1538. Whom although I do not here recite, as in the number of Gods professed martyrs, yet neither do I thinke him to be cleane sequestred from the companie of the Lordes saued flocke and family, notwithstanding that y^e bish. of Romes Church did condemne and burne him for an heretike: but rather do recount him

therefore, as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leastwise this case of hym and of his end may be thought to be such, as may well reprove and condemne their crueltie and madnesse, in burning so without all discretion, this man being madde and distract of his perfect wittes, as he then was, by this occasion as heere followeth.

This Gentleman had a wife of exceeding beautie and comelines, but notwithstanding of so light behaue our and vnchaste conditions (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beautie) that she forsaking her husband, whiche loued her entirely, betok her self vnto another paramour. Which thing when he vnderstood, he tooke it very greeuously and heauily, more then reason woulde. At the last being ouercome

[illustration]

¶ Collins with his dogge burned.

with exceedyng dolour and heauynesse, he fell mad, beyng at that tyme a student of the law in London. When he was thus rauished of his wittes, by chaunce hee came into a Church where a Priest was a saying Masse, & was come to the place where they vse to hold vp and shewe the Sacrament.

Collins beyng beside his wittes, seyng the Priest holdyng vp the host ouer his head, & shewing it to the people,* he in like maner counterfeityng the Priest, tooke vp a litle dogge by the legges, and held him ouer his head, shewyng him vnto the people. For this he was by and by brought vnto examination, and condēned to the fire, and was burned, and the dogge with him, the same yeare of our Lord in the which Iohn Lambert was burned. 1538.

*The burnyng of Cowbridge at Oxford. anno. 1538.

With this foresayd Collins, may also be adioyned the burnyng of Cowbridge, who likewise beyng mad,* & beside his right senses, was either the same, or the next yeare folowyng, condēned by Longland, Byshop of Lyncolne, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at Oxford. What his opinions and Articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse. For as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his wordes and saynges could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would euer collect Articles agaynst him, whiche sayd, he could not tell what?*_ And if his Articles were so horrible and madde, as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my iudgement, a man more fitte to be sent to Bethlehem, then to bee had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature madde or vnreasonable, or to make heresie of the wordes of a senselesse man, not knowyng what he affirmed.

But this is the maner and propertie of this holy mother Church of Rome, that what soeuer commeth in their handes and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way: neither pitie that will moue, nor excuse that will serue, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider: as by these two miserable exāples both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appeare. Who rather should haue bene pitied, and all wayes conueniēt sought, how to reduce the seely wretches into their right myndes agayne, according as the true Pastours of Israell be commaūded by the spirite of God, to seeke agayne the thynges that be last, to bynd vp the

thynges that be broken &c. and not so extremely to brust the thyngs that be bruised before. But to ende with this matter of Cowbridge,* what soeuer his madnesse was before, or how soeuer erroneous his Articles were (whiche for the fonde fantasies of them, I do not expresse) yet as touching his end, this is certaine, that in the midst of the flame, he lifyng vp his head to heauen, soberly and discretly called vpon the name of the Lord Iesus Christ, and so departed.

¶William Leiton and Puttedew Martyrs.

ABout the same tyme & yeare, or not much before,* when Iohn Lābert suffered at London, there was one Puttedew also condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolke, who commyng into the Church, and meryly tellyng the Priest, that after he had dronke vp all the wyne alone, he afterwarde blessed the hungry people with the emptie Chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leauyng to vs an experiment.*Quàm parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis, as the olde saying was then: but rather as we may see now. Quàm male tutum sit ludere cum impijs.

The other, Williā Leyton, was a Mōke of Aye, in the Countie of Suffolke & was burned at Norwich, for speakyng agaynst a certaine Idole,* which was accustomed to be carried about the Processions at Aye: & also for holding that the Sacramentall Supper ought to bee administred in both kyndes, about the yeare and tyme aforesayd.

¶The burnyng of one Peke at Ipswich.

IN the burnyng of an other Suffolke man,* named N. Peke dwellyng sometye at Earlestoneh•, and burnt at Ipswich, somewhat before the burnyng of these aforesayd thus I finde it recorded and testified: That when as hee beyng fast bound to a stake, and Furse set on fire round about him, was so scor•hed, that he was as blacke as soote, one Doctour Redyng there stāding before him, with Doctour Heyre and Doct. Springwell, hauyng a long white, wand in his hand, did knocke him vpon the right shoulder, [Page 1132](#) and sayd, Peke, recant, and beleue that the Sacrament of the aultar, is the very body of Christ, fleshe, bloud, and bone, after that the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration ouer it, and heere haue I in my hande to absolue thee for thy misbeliefe that hath ben in thee, hauing a scrole of paper in his hande. When he had spoken these wordes, Peke answered, and sayde, I defie it and thee also, & with a great violence he spit from him very bloud, whiche came by reason y^t his vaynes brake in his body for extreame anguishe. And when the sayde Peke had so spoken, then D. Reding sayd: To as many as shall cast a sticke to the burning of this heretique,* is graunted fortye dayes of pardon by my Lord Byshop of Norwich. Then Barne Curson, Sir Iohn Audley Knight, with many others of estimation being there present, did rise from their seates, and wyth their swords did cut downe boughes, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

[illustration]

Witnes Iohn Ramsey and others, who did see this acte.

In the yeare last before this, whiche was of the Lorde. 1537. it was declared how Pope Paul the third indicted a general Councel to be holden at Mantua.* Whereunto the king of England among

other Princes being called, refused either to come or to sende at the Popes call, and for defence of himselfe, directed out a publike Apologie or Protestation, rendring iust and sufficient matter, why neyther he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes commandement. Which Protestation is before to be read, page. 1084. This Councell appointed to begin the 23. daye of Maye, the yeare aforesayde, was then stopped by the Duke of Mantua, pretending that hee woulde suffer no Councell there, vnlesse the Pope would fortifie the Citie with a sufficient armye, &c. For whiche cause the Pope proroged the sayd Councell, to be celebrate in the moneth of Nouember folowing, appointing at y^e first no certaine place. At length named and determined the citie of Uincence (lyeng within the dominion of the Uenetians) to be the place for the Councell▪ Whereunto when the King (the yeare next folowing, which is this present yeare of the Lorde 1538.) was requested by the Emperour and other states, to resort eyther hymselfe, or to sende: he agayne refusing (as hee dyd before) sendeth this Protestation in waye of defence and aunswere for hymselfe, to the Emperour and other Christen princes: the copie and effect whereof heere vnder foloweth, and is this.

Henry the eight by the grace of God, King of Englande and Fraunce, &c. saluteth the Emperour, Christian princes, and all true Christen men, desiring peace and concord amongst them.

WHereas not long sithens, a booke came forth in our and al our Counsailes names,* which cōteined many causes why we refused the Councell, then by the Byshop of Romes vsurped power first indicted at Mantua,* to be kept the xxiiij. day of May, after proroged to Nouember, no place appoynted where it should be kept, and whereas the same booke doth sufficiently proue, that our cause could take no hurt,* neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of addict men to one sect, nor in any other Councell called by his vsurped power: we thinke it nothing necessarie so oft to make newe protestations,* as the Bishop of Rome and his Courts by suttletie and craft, do inuent wayes to mocke the world, by newe pretensed generall Councils. Yet notwithstanding, because that some things haue now occurred, either vpon occasion geuen vs by change of the place, or else through other consideratiōs, which now being knowne to the worlde, may do muche good, we thought we should do but euen as that loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Christes fayth and religion, to adde this Epistle. And yet we protest,* that we neyther put forthe that booke, neither yet wee woulde this Epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we should seeme lesse to desire a generall Councell, then any other Prince or Potentate, but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all partes, and vniuersall. And further, wee desire all good Princes, Potentates, and people, to esteeme and thinke that no Prince would more willingly be presente at such a Councell then we: suche a one we meane, as we speake of in our protestation made concerning the Councell of Mantua.

Truely as our forefathers inuented nothyng more holyer then generall Councils, vsed as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to y^e Christian cōmon wealth, to y^e faith, to our religion,* then general Coūcels, if they be abused to lucre, to gaines, to y^e establishment of errorrs. They be called general, and euen by their name do admonish vs, that all Christen mē which do dissent in any opinion, may in thē openly, frankly, & without feare of punishment or displeasure, say their mind. For seeinge suche thyngs as are decreed in generall Councils, touche equally all men that geue assent thereunto, it is meete that euery man may boldly say there, that hee thinketh. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a

generall Councell, where alonely those men are heard, which are determined for euer, in all pointes, to defend the Popish parte, and to arme themselves to fight in the Byshop of Romes quarrell, though it were against God and his Scriptures. It is no generall Councell, neyther it ought to be called generall, where the same men be onely Aduocates and aduersaries: the same accused and iudges.* No it is against the lawe of nature, either that we shoulde condescend to so vnreasonable a law against our selues, eyther that we should suffer our selues to be lefte without all defence, and beeing oppressed with greatest iniuries, to haue no refuge to succour our selues at. The Byshop of Rome and his, be our great enemies, as wee and all the world may well perceyue by his doings.

He desireth nothing more then our hurt, and the destruction of our Realme: Do not we then violate the iudgement of nature, if we geue him power and authoritie to be our Iudge?*_ His pretended honor first gotten by superstition, after encreased by violence, & other waies as euill as that: his power set vp by pretence of religion, in deed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God: his primacie borne by the ignorancie of the world, nourished by the ambition of Bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely vnderstande: these three things (wee say) which are fallen with vs, and are like to fall in other Realmes shortly, shall they not be established agayne, if he may decide our cause as him lusteth? if he may at his pleasure oppresse a cause most righteous, and set vp his, most against truth? Certainly he is very blinde, that seeth not, what ende we may looke for of our controuersies, if suche our enemy may geue the sentence.

We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a Councell, where some hope may be, that those things shall be restored, which now being deprauate, are like (if they be not amended) to be the vtter ruine of Christian Religion. And as we do desire suche a Councell, and thinke it meete that all men in all their praiers should desire & craue it of God: euen so we thinke it pertaineth vnto our office, to prouide both that these Popishe subtilties hurte none of oure subiects, and also to admonishe other Christian Princes,* that the Bishop of Rome may not by their consente, abuse the authoritie of kings, either by the extinguishing of the true preaching of Scripture (that now we beginneth to spryng, to growe, and spreade abroad) eyther to the troubling of Princes liberties, to the diminishing of Kings authorities, and to the great blemish of their princely maiestie. We doubt nothing but a Reader not parcial, wyll soone approue such things as we heere write, not so muche for our excuse, as that the worlde may perceiue both the sundrye [Page 1133](#) deceites, craftes, and subtleties of the papistes, & also how much we desire that controuersies in religion may once be taken away.

All that we sayde there of Mantua, may here well be spoken of Uincence.* They do almost agree in al poyntes. Neither is it like, that there will be any more at this coucell at Uincence, then were the last yere at Mantua. Truly he is worthy to be deceiued, y^t being twice mocked, wyll not beware the third time. If any this last yere made forth toward Mantua, and being halfe on theyr way, then perceiued that they had taken vpon them that iourney in vayne, we do not think them so foolish, that they will here after ride farre out of towne to be mocked. The time also and the state of thinges is such, that matters of Religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other thinges are) thē be commodiously intreated of and decided. For whereas in maner the whole world is after such sorte troubled with warres,* so incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, can there be any man so against the setling of religion, that he will thinke this

time meet for a generall Councell? Undoubtedly it is meer that such controuersies as we haue with the Bishop of Rome, be taken as they are, that is, much greater then that they may either be discussed in this so troublesome a time, or els be committed vnto proctors, without our great ieopardy, albeit the time were neuer so quiet.

What other princes will doe, we can not tell: but we will neither leaue our realme at this time,* neither wil we trust any Proctor with our cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of our Realme standeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof our selfe. For except both an other Iudge be agreed vpon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be prouided for the debating of our cau'ses, albeit all other thinges were as we would haue them, yet may we lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended Councel. We will in no case make him our arbeter, which not many yeres past, our cause not heard, gaue sentence agaynst vs. We will that such doctrine, as we folowing y^e Scripture, do professe, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the onely touchstone of true learning.

We will not suffer them to be abolished, ere euer they be dicussed,* ne to be oppressed, before they be known: much lesse we will suffer them to be troden down being so clearly true. No, as there is no iote in Scripture, but we will defend it, though it were with ieopardy of our life, and peril of this our Realme: so is there nothing that doth oppresse this doctrine, or obscure it, but we will be at continuall warre therew^t. As we haue abrogated al old popish traditions in this our Realme, which eyther did help his tyranny, or encrease his pride: so if the grace of God forsake vs not,* we will well foresee, that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent, to blinde vs or our Realme.

If mē will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see euen by a due and euident prooffe in reason, though grace doth not yet by the word of Christ enter into them, how small the authority of the Bishop of Rome is, by the lawfull deniall of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For if the Bishop of Rome did earnestly intend to keepe a Coucell at Mantua, and hath power by the law of God, to call Princes to what place him liketh: why hath he not also authority to chuse what him listeth: The Bishop chose Mantua: the Duke kept him out of it. If Paule the Bishop of Romes authority be so great as he pretendeth,* why could he not compell Fridericus the Duke of Mantua, that the Councell might be kept there? The Duke would not suffer it. No, he forbad him his towne.

How chaunceth it, that here excommunications flee not abroad? Why doth he not punish this Duke? Why is his power, that was woont to be more then full, here empty? wont to be more then all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vayn to a Councell, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place, to the which he calleth them? May not kinges iustly refuse to come at his call, when the Duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooseth? If other Princes order him as the Duke of Mantua hath done,* what place shalbe left him, where he may keepe hys generall Councell?

Agayne, if Princes haue geuen him this authoritye to call a councell, is it not necessary, that they geue him also al those thinges, without the which he can not exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him to finde no place to call them vnto? Truely he is not woont to appoynt one of his owne cityes, a place to keep the Councell in. No, the good man is so faythfull and frendly toward other, that seldome he desireth Princes to be his gestes.

And admitte he shoulde call vs to one of his Cittyes, shoulde we safely walke within the walles of such our enemies towne? Were it meete for vs there to discusse controuersies of Religion, or to keepe vs out of our enemies trappes? meete to study for the defence of such doctrine as we professe,* or rather how we might in such a throng of pe'rilles be in safegard of our life? Well, in this one arte the Bishop of Rome hath declared, that he hath none authority vpon places in other mens dominions, and therefore if he promise a Coūsel in any of those, he promiseth that, that is in an other man to performe, and so may he deceiue vs agayne.

Now if he cal vs to one of his owne townes,* we be afraid to be at such an hostes table. We say, better to ryse an hungred, then to go thence with our bellyes full. But they say, the place is found, we need no more to seek where the Coūcell shalbe kept. As who sayth,* that that chaunced at Mantua, may not also chaunce at Uincence: and as though it were very like, that the Uenecians, men of suche wisdom, should not both foresee, and feare also, that the wise Duke of Mantua semed to feare. Certes, when we thinke vppon the state that the Uenecians be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing, that they will eyther leaue Uincence theyr Cittye to so many Nations, wythout some great garrison of souldiours, or els that they beyng els where so sore charged already, wil now nourish an army there?

And if they would, do•h not Paule himselve graūt that it should be an euill President, & an euill example to haue an armed Councell?

Howe so euer it shall be, we most hartily desire you, that ye will vouchsafe to read those thinges that we wrote this last yeare, touching the Mantuan Councell. For we nothing doubt, but you, of your equity, will stand on our side agaynst theyr subtlety and fraudes, and iudge (except we be deceiued) that we in this busines, neither gaue so much to our affectiōs, neither without great and most iust causes, refused theyr Councelles, theyr Censures, and Decrees.

Whether these our writinges please all men, or no, we thinke we ought not to passe much. No, if that which indifferently is written of vs, may please indifferēt readers, our desire is accomplished. The false and mistaking of thin'ges by men parciāll shall moue vs nothing, or els very litle. If we haue sayd ought agaynst the deceites of the Byshop of Rome, that may seeme spoken too sharply, we pray you, impute it to the hatred we beare vnto vices, and not to any euill will that we beare him. No, that he and all his may perceiue that we are rather at strife with his vices, then with him and his: our prayer is, that it may please God, at the last to open theyr eies, to make soft their hard hartes, and that they once may with vs (theyr owne glory set apart) study to set forth the euerlasting glory of the euerlasting God.

Thus mighty Emperour, fare you most hartily well, and ye Christen Princes the pillars, and stay of Christendome, fare ye hartily well. Also all ye, what people so euer ye are, which do desire that the gossell, and glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye hartily well.

As the Lorde of his goodnes hath raised vp Thomas Cromwel to be a frend and patrone to the Gospell: so on the contrary side Sathan (which is aduersary, and enemy to all good thinges) had his organe also, which was Steuen Gardiner, by all wyles and subtile means to impeach and to put backe the same. Who after he had brought his purpose to passe, in burning good Iohn Lambert (as ye haue hearde) proceeding still in his craftes and wyles, and thinking vnder the

name of heresies, sectes, Anabaptistes, & sacramentaris, to exterminate al good bookes, and faithful professours of Gods word out of England, so wrought with the king, that the next yeare following, which was of our Lord. 1539. he gaue out these Iniunctions, y^e copy and contentes wherof I though here also not to be pretermitted, and are these.

***Certayne other Iniunctions set forth by the authority of the King, agaynst English bookes, sectes, and Sacramentaries also, with putting downe the day of Thomas Becket.**

First, that none without special licence of y^e king, transporte, or bring from outward parties into England,* any manner of Englishe bookes, neither yet sell, geue, vtter, or publishe any suche, vpon payne to forfeyte all their goode and cattelles, and their bodies to be imprisoned, so long as it shal please the kinges maiestie.

Item, that none shal print, or bring ouer any English [Page 1134](#) bookes with annotations or Prologues, vnles such books before he examined by the kings priuy Counsell, or others appoynted by his highnesse, and yet not to put therto these wordes: Cum priuilegio Regali, w^tout adding, Ad imprimendum solum: neither yet to print it, without the kinges priuledge be printed therewith in the English tongue,* that all men may read it. Neyther shall they print any translated booke, without the playne name of the translator be in it, or els the printer to be made the translatour, and to suffer the fine and punishment therof at the kinges pleasure.

Item, that none of the occupation of Printing shall within the Realme, print, vtter, sell, or cause to be published any Englishe bookes of Scripture,* vnlesse the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the kings highnesse, or one of his priuy Counsell, or one Byshop with^{••} the Realme, whose name shall therin be expressed, vpon payne of the kinges most high displeasure, the losse of their goods and cattels, and prisonment, so lōg as it shal please the king.

Item, those that be in any errours, as Sacramentaries,* Anabaptistes, or any other, or any that sell books, hauing such opinions in them, being once knowne, both the bookes and such persons shalbe detected and disclosed immediately vnto the kinges Maiesty, or one of hys priuye Counsell, to the intent to haue it punished without fauor, euen with the extremity of the law.

Item, that none of the kings subiects shall reason, dispute, or argue vpon the sacramēt of the aulter, vpon paine of losing theyr liues,* goodes and cattels, without all fauor, onely these excepted that be learned in Diuinitye: they to haue theyr liberty in theyr scholes and appoynted places, accustomed for such matters.

Item, that holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling,* and creeping on good Friday to the crosse and Easter day, setting vp of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on Candlemas day, Purification of women deliuered of child, offering of Crisomes, keeping of the foure offering dayes, paying theyr tithes, and such like ceremonyes must be obserued & kept, till it shal please the king to chaunge or abrogate any of them. This article was made for that the people was not quieted and contēted (many of them) with the ceremonies then vsed.

Finally, all those Priestes that be maryed, and openly knowne to haue theyr wiues,* or that hereafter do intēd to marry, shall be depriued of all Spirituall promotion, & from doying any

duety of a Priest, and shall haue no manner of office, dignity, cure, priuiledge, profit, or commodity in any thing appertaining to the Clergy, but from thence forth shalbe taken,* had, and reputed as lay persons, to all purposes and intentes: and those that shall after thys proclamation marry, shall runne in his graces indignatō, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his graces will & pleasure.

Item, he chargeth all Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Prouostes, Parsons, Uicars, Curates, & other Ministers, and euery of them in their own persons, within their cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God, & trueth of his word: and also considering the abuses & superstitions that haue crept into the hartes and stomackes of many, by reason of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them vpon payn of imprisonment at his graces pleasure,* not onely to preach and teach the word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference betwene things commaūded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in theyr church then vsed, least the people therby might grow into further superstition.

Item, for as much as it appeareth now clearely, that Thomas Becket sometime Archbishop of Caunterbury, stubbornely withstanding the wholesome lawes established agaynst the enormities of the Clergy, by the kynges highnesse noble Progenitour King Henry the second, for the common wealth, rest, and tranquility of thys Realme, of his froward minde fledde the Realme into Fraūce, and to the Bishop of Rome, maynteyner of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the sayd Lawes, (whereby arose much trouble in this sayd Realme) and that his death which they vntruly called Martyrdome, happened vpon a rescue by him made, and that (as it is written) he gaue opprobrious wordes to the Gentlemen, which then counselled him to leaue hys stubbornnesse, and to auoyde the commotion of the people risen vppe for that rescue, and he not onely called the one of them bawde, but also tooke Tracie by the bosome, and violently shook hym, and plucked hym in such maner, that he had almoste ouerthrowne him to the pauement of the church, so that vpon this fray, one of theyr companye perceiuing the same, strake him, and so in the thronge Becket was slayne: and further, that his canonization was made onely by the Byshop of Rome, because he had bene a champion to mayntayne his vsurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquitye of the Clergy.

For these and for other great and vrgent causes long to recite, the kinges Maiesty by the aduise of hys Counsell, hath thought expedient to declare to hys louyng subiectes, that notwithstanding the sayd canonization,* there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conuersation, wherby he should be called a Saynt, but rather esteemed to haue bene a rebell and traytor to his Prince.

Therefore his grace straitly chargeth and commaundeth, that from henceforth the sayd Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saynt, but Bishop Becket, and that his Images and Pictures thorow the whole Realme shalbe pluckt downe and auoyded out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the dayes vsed to be festiuall in his name, shall not be obserued, nor the seruice, office, Antiphons, Collectes, & prayers in his name read,* but rased & put out of all the bookes: & that all their festiuall dayes already abrogated, shalbe in no wise solemnized, but his graces ordinaunces, and iniunctions therupon obserued, to the intēt his graces louing subiectes shalbe no longer blindly ledde & abused to

commit Idolatry, as they haue done in tymes passed, vpō payne of his maiestyes indignation, & imprisōment at his graces pleasure▪

Finally his grace straightly chargeth and commaundeth that his subiects do keep and obserue all and singuler his iniunctions made by his maiesty, vpon the payn therin contened.

Here foloweth how religion began to goe backward.

TO many which be yet aliue, & can testify these thinges, it is not vnknowne, how variable the state of Religiō stood in these daies:⚭ how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth: what chaunces and chaunges it suffered. Euen as y^e king was ruled and gaue •are sometime to one, some time to an other, so one while it went forward, at an other season as much backward agayne, and sometime clea• altered & changed for a season, according as they could preuayle which were about the king. So long as Queene Anne liued, the Gospell had indifferent successe.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king was made away, the cause of the gospell began again to incline, but that the Lord then stirred vp y^e Lord Cromwell, oportunely to helpe in that behalfe. Who, no doubt did much auayle for the encrease of Gods true Religion, & much more, had brought to perfection,⚭ if the pestilent aduersaryes maligning the prosperous glory of the Gospel, by cōtrary practising had not craftily vndermined him and supplanted his vertuous procedings. By the meanes of which aduersaries it came to passe after the taking away of the sayd Cromwel, that the state of Religion more and more decayed, during all the residue of the raygne of king Henry.

Among these aduersaries aboue mentioned, y^e chief captain was Steuen Gardiner bishop of Wint. who with his confederats and adherentes, disdayning at the state of the L. Cromwel, and at the late mariage of the Ladie Anne of Cleue (who in the beginning of the yere of our Lord. 1540. was married to the king) as also greued partly at the dissolution of the Monasteries,⚭ and fearing the growing of the Gospell, sought al occasions how to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to traine the king to their owne purpose. Now what occasion this wilye Winchester found out to worke vpon, ye shall heare in order as followeth.

It happened the same time that the Lorde Cromwell for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realm, deuised a mariage for y^e king to be concluded betwene him & the Lady Anne of Cleue,⚭ whose other sister was already married vnto the duke of Saxony. By this mariage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amitie, and ally shold be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany, & so therby godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome, and his tyrannical religion. But the diuel euer enuying the prosperity of the gospell, layd a stumbling blocke in that cleare way, for the king to stumble at. For when the parentes of the noble lady were commoned withall for the furtherance of y^e sayd mariage, among others of her frends, whose good wil was required, y^e duke of Saxony her brother in law misliked y^e mariage, partly for that he wold haue had her bestowed vpon some prince of Germany more nigh vnto her sister, & partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Wherupon it followeth that the slacknes of the Duke in that behalfe being espyed, crafty Winchester taking good holdfast [Page 1135](#) theron, so alienated the kinges mind from the amity, that semed now to begin and grow betwene the Duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof, he brought the king

at length cleane out of credit with that religiō and doctrine, which the duke had then mayntained many yeares before.

Thus wily Winchester with his crafty fetches partly vpon this occasion aforesayd, & partly also by other pestilent perswasions creping into the kinges eares ceased not to seeke all meanes how to worke his feat & to ouerthrow Religion, first bringing him in hatred with the Germane Princes,* then putting him in feare of the Emperor, of the French king, of the Pope, of the king of Scottes, and other forraigne powers to rise agaynst him, but especially of Ciuil tumultes & commotions here within this realme (which aboue all thinges he most dreaded) by reason of innouation of religiō and dissoluing of Abbies: and for abolishing of rites, and other customes of the Church, sticking so fast in the mindes of the people, that it was to be feared, least theyr hartes were or woulde be shortly styrred vp agaynst him,* vnlesse some speddy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring moreouer what a daūgerous matter in a common wealth it is to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of Religion. Which being so, he exhorted the king for his owne safegard and publicke quiet and tranquility of his realme, to see betime how and by what pollicy these so manifold mischiefes might be preuēted. Agaynst which no other way nor shift could better be deuised, then if he would shew himself sharp and seuer agaynst these new Sectaryes, Anabaptistes, & Sacramētaries (as they called them) & would also set forth such Articles, confirming the auncient & Catholick fayth, as wherby he might recouer agayne his credence with Christen Princes, and whereby all the world besides, might see and iudge him to be a right and perfite Catholicke. By these & such like crafty suggestions,* the king being to much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defēce from the reformation of true Religion, supposing thereby to procure to himselfe more safety both in his owne realme, and also to auoide such daungers, which otherwise might happen by other Princes, especially seing of late he had refused to come to the generall Councell at Uincence, being thereto inuited both by the Emperor, & other forraigne potētates, as ye haue heard before. And therefore, although he had reiected the Pope out of this Realme, yet because he woulde declare himselfe neuerthesse to be a good Catholicke sonne of the mother Church, and a withstander of new innouations and heresies (as the blinde opinion of the world did then esteme them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert,* then after he gaue out those Iniunctions aboue prefixed: & now further to encrease this opinion with all men,* in the yeare next folowing, which was of the Lorde. 540. through the deuise and practise of certayne of the Popes factors about him, he sūmoned a solemne Parliamēt to be holden at Westminster the 28. day of Aprill, of all the states and Burgeses of the Realme: Also a Synode or conuocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned of the Clergy of thys Realme to be in like maner assembled.

The Acte of the vi. Articles.

In which Parliamēt Synode, or conuocation, certein Articles, maters and questions, touching religiō, were decreed by certein prelates,* to the nūber especially of 6. commonly called the 6. Articles (or the whip with 6. stringes) to be had & receiued among the kings subiects in pretence of vnity. But what vnity therof folowed, y^e groning harts of a great number, and also the cruell death of diuers both in the dayes of K. Henry, & of Queene Mary, can so well declare, as I pray God, neuer the lyke be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst christen men, but rather deserueth to be buried in perpetuall obliuion, yet for that the office of history, compelleth vs therunto, for the more light of posterity to come: faythfully and truly to comprise thinges done in the church, as well one as another, this shalbe briefly to recapitulate y^e sūme & effect of the foresayd 6. articles, in order as they were geuen out, and hereunder do folow.

The first Article.

THE first Article in this present Parliament accorded and agreed vpon: * was this: that in the most blessed Sacramēt of the aultar, by the strength and efficacy of Christes mighty worde (it being spoken by the priest) is present really vnder the forme of bread and wine, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauour Iesu Christ, conceiued of the virgine Mary and that after the cōsecration there remayneth no substaunce of bread or Wyne, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ God and man.

The 2. Article.

Secondly, that the communion in both kindes, * is not necessary ad salutem, by the law of God to all persons: and that it is to be beleued & not doubted of, but that in the flesh, vnder forme of bread, is the very bloud, & with the bloud, vnder forme of wine, is the very flesh as well aparte, as they were both together.

The 3. Article.

Thirdly, that priestes after the order of priesthoode receiued as afore, may not mary by the law of God.

The 4. Article.

Fourthly, that the vowes of chastity or widowhead, * by mā or woman made to God aduisedly, ought to be obserued by the law of God: and that it exempteth them from other libertyes of christen people, which without that they might enioy.

The 5. Article.

Fiftly, that it is meete and necessary, that priuate Masses be continued and admitted in this english Church and congregation, as whereby good Christē people, * ordering themselues accordingly, do receiue both godly & goodly consolations and benefites: And it is agreable also to Gods law.

The 6. Article.

Sixtly that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retayned, and continued, * vsed and frequented in the Church of God.

After these Articles were thus concluded and consented vpon the Prelates of the Realme craftely perceiuing that such a foule & violent act could not take place or preuayle, vnlesse straight and bloudy penalties were set vpon them, they caused through theyr accustomed practise to be ordeyned and enacted by the king and the Lordes spiritual, and temporall, and the commons in the sayd Parliament, as foloweth.

The penalties vpon the 6. Articles.

That if any person or persons within this Realme of England, or any other the kings dominions,* after the xij. day of Iuly next comming by word, writing, imprinting, ciphring, or any otherwise, shuld publish, preach, teach, say affirme, declare, dispute, argue or holde any opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, vnder forme of bread and wine (after the consecration therof) there is not presēt really,* the naturall body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ, conceiued of the virgin Mary, or that after the sayd consecration, there remayneth any substaunce of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substāce of Christ, god and mā, or after the time abouesayd, publish, preach, teach, say, affirme, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in y^e flesh, vnderforme of bread, is not the very bloud of christ or that with the bloud of Christ, vnder the forme of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, aswell aparte, as though they were both together: or by any of y^e meanes abouesayd or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirme the said sacra^lment to be of other substance then is abouesayd, or by any meane contemne, depraue, or despise the sayd blessed sacrament: that then euery such person, so offēding their ayders comforters, counsellors, consenters and ab•eters therein (being therof conuicted in forme vnder written, by the authority abouesayd) should be deemed and adiudged hereticke,* and euery of such offence should be adiudged manifest heresy: & that euery such offender and offenders, should therefore haue & suffer iudgemēt, execution, payn & paynes of death, by way of burning, without any abiuratiō, benefite of the cleargy, or Sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or suffered:,* and also should therefore forfeit and loose to the kinges highnesse, his ayres and successors, all his or theyr honors, manors, castles, landes tenementes, rentes, reuersions, seruices, possessions, & all other his or theyr hereditaments, goods and cattell,* termes and freeholdes, whatsoever they were, which any such offence or offēces, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason.

The penalty of the last v. Articles.

And as touching the other v. articles folowing, the penalty deuised for them, was this:,* That euery such person or persons, which do preach, teach, obstinately affirme, vphold, mainteine or defend, after the 12. day of Iuly, the sayd yeare any thing contrary to the same, or if any being in orders or after a vow aduisedly made did mary, or make mariage, or contract matrimony, in so doing should be adiudged as felones, and lose both life, and forfeit goodes, as in case of felony, without any benefite of the clergie, or priuiledge of the Church or of Sanctuary &c.

[Page 1136](#)Item, that euery such person or persons, which after y^e day aforesayd, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or holde opinion contrary to the 5. articles aboue expressed, being for any such offēce due^lly conuict or attainted, for the first time, besides the forfayt of all his goodes and cattell and possessions what so euer, should suffer

imprisonment of his body at the kings pleasure: & for the second time, being accused, presented, & therof conuict, should suffer, as in case aforesayd of felony.

Item, if any within order of pristhood, before the time of the sayd Parliament, had maryed or contracted Matrimony, or vowed widowhead, the sayd matrimony should stand vtterly voyd and be dissolved.

Item, that the same daunger that belonged to priestes marying theyr wiues, shuld also redound to the womē ma|ryed vnto the Priestes.

*Furthermore, for the more effectuall execution of the premises, it was enacted by the sayd Parliament, that full authority of Inquisition of all such heresy, felonies and contemptes, should be committed and directed down into euery shyre, to certayn persons specially therunto appointed: of the which persons three at least (prouided alwayes the Archbishop or bishop, or his Chauncellor, or his Com|missarie to be one) should sitte foure times at least, in the yeare, * hauing full power to take information & accusation by the depositions of any two lawfull persons at the least, as well as by the othes of xij. men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresy, felonies and contemptes aboute remēbred, hauing also as ample power to make pro|ces agaynst euery person or persons indited, presented, or accused before them: also to heare & determine the foresayd heresy, felonies, contemptes and other offences, as well as if the mater had bene presented before the Iustices of peace in their Sessions: And also that the saide Iustices in theyr Sessions, & euery Steward or vndersteward, or his Deputy in theyr law daies, should haue power by y^e othes of xij. lawfull men to enquire likewise of all & singular the heresy, felonies, contemptes and other offences, and to heare and determine the same, to all effectes of this present Acte. &c.

Prouided withall that no person nor persons therupō accused, indited, or presented, should be admitted to chalēge any that shoulde be enpanelled for the triall of any matter or cause, other thē for malice or enuy: which chalēge should forthwith be tryed in like maner, as in cases of felony. &c.

Prouided moreouer that euery person that shoulde be named Commissioner in this inquisition, should first take a corporall oth, the tenor of which oth here ensueth.

***The oth of the Commissioners.**

*YE shall swere, that ye to your cunning, witte and power, shall truely and indifferently execute the authority to you geuen by the kinges Commission, made for correction of heretickes & other offenders, mentioned in the same Commission without any fauor, affection, corruption: dread or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you helpe, and all Sayntes▪

And thus much briefly collected out of the act and Originals, * which more largely are to be sene in y^e statute an. 31 Reg. Henr. 8. concerning the sixe Articles, which otherwyse for the bloudy cruelty thereof are called the whip with sixe stringes, set forth after the death of Queene Anne, and of good Iohn Lambert, deuised by the cruelty of y^e Bishops. but specially of the Bishop of Wint. and at length also subscribed by K. Henry. But herein, as in many other parts moe, the

crafty pollicy of that Bishop appeared, who like a lurking Serpent, most slyly watching his time, if he had not taken the king comming out vpon a soddayne, there where it was (I spare here to report as I heard it) it was thought and affirmed by certaine, which then were pertaining to the king, that Winchester had not obtained y^e matter so easely to be subscribed as he did.

These sixe Articles aboue specified, although they contened manifest errorrs,* heresies, and absurdities agaynst all Scripture and learning (as all men hauing any iudgemēt in Gods word may plainly vnderstand) yet such was the miserable aduersity of that time & the power of darcknes, that the simple cause of truth and of religion, was vtterly left desolate and forsakē of all frends. For euery man seing the kinges minde so fully addict vpon polliticke respectes to haue these articles to passe forward, few or none in all that Parliament would appeare,* which either could perceiue that was to be defended, or durst defend that they vnderstood to be true, saue onely Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, who then being maryed (as is supposed) like a constant Patron of Gods cause, tooke vpon him the earnest defence of the trueth oppressed in the Parliamēt, three dayes together disputing against those sixe wicked articles, bringing forth suche allegations and authorities, as might easely haue helped the cause nisi pars maior vicisset, vt saepe solet, meliorem. Who in the sayd disputation,* behaued himselfe with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words toward his Prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of almighty God, that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king, & agayne his reasons and allegatiōs were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the king (who euer bare speciall fauour vnto him) well liking his zealous defēce, onely willed him to depart out of the Parliament house, into the Councell Chamber, for a time (for sauegarde of his conscience) til the Acte should passe and be graunted: which he notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do.

After the Parliament was finished & that matter concluded, the king considering the constant zeale of the Archbishoppe, in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing y^e many authorities, & reasons wherby he had substantially confirmed the same, sent the Lord Cromwell (which w^hin few dayes after was apprehended) the ij. dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and all the Lordes of the Parliament, to dine with hym at Lambeth, where they signified vnto him that it was the kinges pleasure that they all shoulde in his hignes behalfe, cherish, comfort & animate hym,* as one that for his trauell in that parliamēt had declared him selfe both greatly learned, and also a man descreet & wyse, and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that Parliament contrary to hys allegations. He most humbly thanked first y^e kinges highnes, of his singuler good affection towards him, and them all for theyr paynes, adding moreouer, that he so hoped in God that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place, to the glory of god, & commodity of the realme. Which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were amongst vs extant to be seene and read, no doubt but they would stand in time to come in great good stead, for y^e ouer throw of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforesayd.

Allegations agaynst the vi. Articles.

IN the meane while for so much as the sayd hereticall articles are not so lightly to be passed ouer,* wherby y^e rude & ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceiued in the false & erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they haue bene in times past, for lack of right instructiō, and experience of the aūcient state, & course of times in our fore elders dayes I thought therefore (the

Lord therunto assisting) so much as antiquity of stories may helpe to the restoring agayn of truth and doctrine decayed, to annexe hereunto some allegations out of auncient recordes, which may geue some light to the conuincing of these newfangled Articles and heresies aboue touched.

And first as touching the Article of transubstantiation wherein this Parliament doth enact that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very naturall body of Christ the selfe same which was borne of the virgin Mary: and that in such sort as there remayneth no substance of bread & wine, after the Priestestes consecration, but only the body & bloud of Christ, vnder the outward formes of bread and wine: First here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theyrs, in that forme of words as in standeth, was neuer obtruded, receiued, or holden either in the Greek Church, or in the Latine Church vniuersally for a Catholicke, that is, for a generall opinion or article of doctrine, before y^e time of the Laterane Counsell at Rome, vnder Pope Innocent the 3. an. 1216.

And for so much as it hath bene a common persuasiō amongst the most sort of people,* that this article in y^e forme of words as here standeth is & hath bene, euer since Christ his time, a true Catholick, & generall doctrine, commonly receiued and taught in the Church, being approued by the Scriptures and doctors, and consent of all ages vnto this present time. To the entent therfore that the contrary may appere, & the people may see how far they haue herin bene beguiled: we will here (Christ willing) make a litle stay in our story, & examine this foresayd article by true antiquity and course of historyes, to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

Now therfore, for y^e better discussing of y^e matter, let vs first orderly and distinctly aduise the wordes of the Article,* the contents of which Article consist in 2 parts or mēbers. In the first whereof is noted to vs a presence of a thyng which there was not before. In the secōd is noted a priuation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The presence is noted by these wordes of the Article where is said, that in the blessed Sacrament, by the words pronounced, is present the naturall body and bloud of our [Page 1137](#) Sauior, vnder y^e formes of bread and wine: so that in these wordes, both the sacrament, & the naturall body is imported necessarily to be presēt. For els, how can y^e natural body of Christ be present in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wine,* if the Sacrament there were not presēt it selfe? or how can a thing be sayd to be in that, which is not there? Wherefore, by these wordes, both the Sacrament and also the body must necessarily haue theyr beyng and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the Sacrament, and of the body, being rightly taken, may right well stand together, the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the body of Christ to the inward eyes of fayth and mouth of the soule.

And therefore touching these prepositions in thys Article (In) and (Vnder) if question be asked in what is the body of Christ,* it may be well aunswered, in the Sacrament to the eyes of our fayth, like as the outward sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the body. Agayne, if the question be asked vnder what is the body of Christ? it may be well aunswered, vnder the formes of bread, and wine, so as the Doctors did take the forme••, to meane the outward elements and natures of the Sacrament, and not the accidences.

*And thus, to the first part of the article beyng well expounded, we do assent, and confesse the same to haue bene the true Catholick opinion approued by the auncient Doctors and consent of all times, euen from the first institutiō of this Sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of y^e article, which taketh away all presence and substance of bread from the Sacrament: to that we say, that first it standeth not with theyr owne article. Secondly, that it standeth not with the doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it standeth not with antiquity, but is meerly a late i•••ention.

And first that it agreeth not with theyr owne Article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their article, they say that the naturall body of Christ is present in the blessed Sacrament, vnder the formes of bread & wine, how can the naturall body of Christ be present in the Sacrament, if there remayne no sacrament? or howe can any sacramēt of y^e body remayne, if there remayne no substaūce of bread which should make the sacrament? For how can the body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how cā the sacrament of the body haue any being, where the substance of bread hath no being.*

For first, that the body it selfe can not be the sacrament of the body, it is euident of it selfe.

Secondly, that the accidēces of bread without the substance of bread, can not be any Sacrament of Christes body, certayne it is and demonstrable by this argument.

Argumentum a definitione.

*Ca- A sacrament is, that beareth a similitude of that thing wherof it is a Sacrament.

mest- Accidences bere no similitude of that thing, which is there signified.

res. Ergo, Accidences can in no wise be a Sacrament.

Wherefore vpon this argument being thus concluded, vpon the same this also must nedes folow.

***¶Argument,**

Da- In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, the thing that representeth must nedes beare a similitude of the thing represented.

ti- The substance of bread in the Sacrament, is onely that whiche beareth the similitude of Christes body.

j. Ergo, the substaunce of bread, must nedes be in the Sacrament.

And therefore by this demonstratiō, it is apparant, that these ij. partes in the Article aforesayd, are euil couched together, wherof the one must nedes destroy the other. For if the first part of the Article be true, that the naturall body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, vnder the formes of bread and wine, and seing the Sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present, must nedes be

the substance of bread and not the accidents onely of bread, as is aboue proued, then the substance of bread can not be euacuated from the Sacrament, and so the second member of the Article must nedes be false.

Or if the second part be true that there is no substaunce of bread remayning, and seing ther is nothing els to make the sacrament of the naturall body of Christ, but onely the substaunce of bread, for as much as the accidents of bread can make no Sacramēt of Christes body, as is aboue shewed: then taking away the substance of bread, the first pa•t of the article must nedes be false, which sayth that the naturall body of Christ is present in the sacrament forasmuch as the substance of bread being euacuated, there remaineth no Sacrament, wherein the body of Christ should be presēt. 2. Secondly,* that it disagreeeth from the whole order and course of the scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before, in the treatise of Iohn Lambert, vpon the Sacrament. pag. 1099. as also in other sūdry places in this volume besides. 3. Thirdly, that the sayd Article of transubstantiation is no auncient nor authentike doctrine in the church publickly receiued: but rather is a nouelty lately inuēted,* reaching not much aboue y^e age of 3. or 4. hundred yeares or at most aboue the the time of Lanfrancus an, 1070. it remayneth now to be proued,

Wherin first may be ioyned this issue, that this monstrous paradoxe of transubstantiation was neuer induced or receiued publickely in the church, before the time of the Laterane Councell, vnder Pope Innocentius the 3. ann. 1216. or at most before the time of Lanfrancus, the Italian, Archbishop of Cant. 1070.

In which time of Lanfrancus, I denye not, but that this question of transubstantiation began to come in controuersy, and was reasoned vpon, amongst certaine learned of the clergy. But that this Article of transubstantiation was publickely determined, or prescribed in the church for a general law or Catholick doctrine of all men necessarily to be beleued,* before the time of the forsayd Innocentius the 3. it may be doubted, and also by histories of tyme proued to be false.

And though our aduersaries seeme to alledge out of the olde Doctours certayne speeches and phrases, which they wrast and wring to theyr purposes: wherein they say: that the bread is called, is beleued, & is the body of Christ that of bread is made the body of Christ: that the bread is chaunged,* altered, or conuerted to the body of Christ, or is made to be his body, that the creatures be conuerted into the substance of the body and bloud of Christ: that the bread and wine doe passe into the diuine substaunce, with such other like sentences: and beare themselues bragge vpon the same as thought thys doctrine of transubstantiation stood vpon y^e consent of the whole vniuersall Church,* of all ages and times of nations and people, and that the iudgement of the Church was neuer other then this: and yet if the olde Doctors sayings be well weyed, and the discourse of times by this historye well examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine: nor yet that any heresy or treason was made of denying of transubstantiatiō before y^e time of Innocentius the 5. or at the furthest of Lanfrancus, as is aforesayd: about the which time Sathan the old Dragon was prophesied by the Apocalips to be let lose, to seduce the world.

For probation whereof, first I will beginne with the time of Tertullian, and of Augustine:* which both doe teach the Sacrament to be a figure, a signe, a memoriall, & representation of the Lordes body, and knewe no suche transubstantiation: & yet were no traytors nor heretickes.*

Neyther was S. Ambrose any hereticke or traytour, where he writeth these wordes: Vt sint, quae erant, & in aliud conuertantur. &c.* Which wordes Lanfrancus coulde not aunswere vnto any otherwise, but by denying them to be the wordes of Ambrose.

Gelasius was byshop yf Rome, and liued about 500. yeares after Christ,* and speakth of a transmutation of the bread and wine into the diuine nature, but there expounding himselfe, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, so that he expressly sheweth the elementes of bread & wine, notwithstanding to remayne still in their proper nature, with other wordes moe, very playne, to the same effect: vnto the which words Contarenus in the assemble of Ratesbone, could not well aunswere, but stood astonied.

Theodoretus likewise speaking of the visible simboles, hath these words: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .*i. after the sanctification they remayne in theyr former substaunce, figure and forme. &c.

Ireneus, where he sayth, that the bread broken and the cuppe mixt, after the vocation of God,* cease to be cōmon bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the body and bloud of Christ: and explicating his wordes more playnely addeth moreouer, that the Eucharist consisteth in 2. things, one being earthly, which is bread & wine: the other heauenly: which is the bodye and bloud of Christ. &c. declareth in these woordes, both his owne opinion playnely, & also teacheth vs what was then the doctrine of his time.

[Page 1138*](#) Hesichius also who was 500. yeares after Christ where he speaketh of the sayd mistery, quòd simul panis & caro est. i. which he sayth to be both flesh, and bread, declareth therby two substances to be in the Sacrament. By the whiche we haue to vnderstande, that transubstantiation in hys age was not crept into the Church: and yet neyther heresy nor treason therefore was euer layd to his charge for so saying.*

Emissenus, comparing a man conuerted to Christ, by regeneration, vnto the holy misteryes conuerted into the body and bloud of our Lord, expresseth playnly, quod in exteriori nihil additum est, & totum in interiori mutatum est. That is, that outwardly nothing is chaunged, and that all the chaunge is inward. &c. wherin (no doubt) he spake playne agaynst this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuse him therfore either to be hereticke or traytor.

Here might be added the wordes of Fulgentius, Hic calix est nouum Testamentum, id est. Hic calix quem vobis trado, nouum Testamentum significat. i. This cup is the new Testament: that is, this cup which I deliuer vnto you, signifieth the new Testament.

Bede also who liued about the yeare 730. writing vpō the psalme 21. hath these wordes: Edent pauperes. &c. Pauperes id est mundi contemptores, edent quidem realiter, si ad sacramenta referantur, & saturabuntur aeternaliter, qui intelligent in pane & vino visibiliter sibi proposito, inuisibile scilicet corpus verum, & sanguinē verum domini, quae verus cibus & verus potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur. &c. that is: Poore men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat in deed really, if it be referred vnto the Sacramentes, and shalbe filled eternally, because they shall vnderstand in bread and in wine, beyng visibly set before them▪ a thing

inuisible, to wit, the true body and true bloud of the Lord, which are true meat, & true drinke, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished.

And thus in these words of Bede likewise is to be vnderstand, that no transubstantiation, as yet in his time was receiued in the Church of England.

Long it were to stand vpon all particulars Briefely to conclude, the farther the church hath bene from these our latter dayes, the purer it was in all respectes, and especially touching this barbarous article of trāsubstātiation.* We will now draw more neare our owne time, cōming to the age of Bertrame, and of Haimo, who were about the yeare of our Lord 810. vnder Carolus Magnus.

By whose writings it is euident, that the church was infected as yet with no such phantasy of transubstantiatiō neither did any almost, dreame of taking away y^e substance of bread from the Sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and other which liued in that age, doe attribute to the Sacrament, the honorable name, and reue'rence (as we also doe) of the Lordes body and bloud: yet they exclude not from thence all substaunce of mele & bread & leane the bare accidences, as our new come Catholickes do,* as by the wordes of Haymo doth appeare. Where he folowing the wordes of Bede, sheweth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lordes body. Quia (sayth he) panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. That is: Because bread confirmeth the hart of man, therefore it is called conueniently the body of Christ, and because wine worketh bloud in the fleshe of man, thereof is it referred to the bloud of Christ. What canne be more effectually spoken to proue the substaunce of breade there to remayne? For take away the substance of bread & wine, what is in the accidences left, that can confirme mā's hart, or ingender bloud in the flesh. And therefore seeyng there must nedes something remaine, that must be referred to Christes body & bloud in that Sacramēt, it either must be the substaunce of bread and wine, or els it canne be no Sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible thinges which are sanctified how and whereunto they be conuerted, he sayth: that by the holy ghost they passe to a Sacrament of the Lordes body.

And likewise the same Haymo in an other place, speaking of the feuites of the earth, that is, of corne and wyne, declareth,*how our Sauour making of them an apt mistery, cōuerteth them to a Sacrament of his body and bloud. &c. Lib. 7. in Ecclesiast. cap. 8.

Bertramus likewise, as he liued in the same age, so in like sort he shewed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For as Haymo writing in these words declareth, quia aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti: sacramentum enim uero percipitur, virtute Sacramenti interior homo satiatur,* that is: the sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the sacramēt is an other thing; for the sacrament is receiued with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament, the inward man is satisfied.

So after like maner, Bertramus according to y^e same, thus writeth: Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat. &c. That is: the bread, which by the ministry of y^e priest is made the body of christ doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man,* & an other thing it

speaketh to the mindes of the faythfull. Outwardly it is bread, the same as was before, the same forme is pretended, the coulour appeareth, the same taste remayneth. But inwardly there is an other matter fare more precious, and more excellent, because it is heauenly, which is the body of Christ, that is scene, not with the outwarde eyes of the fleshe, but with the syght of a faythfull minde. &c.

We will now proceede to the testimonye of Rabanus Maurus byshop of Mentz & scholer somtime to Alcuinus in Paris, an english man: ^{*} who liuing also in the same age with Haymo and Bertrame, (which was 800. yeares after Christ) geueth the like testimony of this doctrine in his booke of Institutions. Where he asking the question, why the Lord would geue the misteries of his body and bloud, then vnder suche thinges as might be kept and reserued whole with great honor? thus he aunswereth agayne: The Lord (sayth he) would rather that the Sacramentes of his body and bloud should be receiued with the mouth of the faythfull, ^{*} and made to be theyr food, that by the visible action, the inuisible effecte might be shewed: For like as materiall meate outwardlye nourisheth and quickeneth the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soule. For man lyueth not onely by bread, but by euery word proceeding from the mouth of God.

And after foloweth: For this bread and drink, signifieth the eternall society of the head, and of the members together.

And agayne: For the Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is an other thing. The Sacramēt is receiued with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inwarde man is nourished: For the Sacrament is turned to the nourishmēt of the body, but the vertue of the Sacrament, the dignity of eternall life is gotten.

Wherefore, like as the same is turned into vs, when we eate of it: so also are we turned into the body of Christ, when we liue obediently and godly. &c. Who seeth not by these wordes of this Byshoppe, what forme of doctrine was then in the Church receiued concerning this article of the Sacramet, much diuers from this our grosse opinion of transubstantiation.

With the sayd Rabanus also accordeth an other of the like standing and also doctrine, ^{*} called Christianus Druthmerus: who writing vpon Math. The wine (sayth he) doth chere and cherish the bloud, and therefore not incōueniently the bloud of christ is figured therby: for whatsoever procedeth frō him to vs it chereth vs with true gladnes, & encreaseth al goodnes vnto vs.

And a [•]it[•]e before, the sayd Druthmarus sayth: The Lorde gaue to his Disciples the Sacrament of his body, to the remission of sinnes, and keeping of charity, that they alwayes remembring his doing, might do that in figure, which he should doe for them. This is my body (sayth he) that is, in Sacrament. This Druthmarus liued also in the time of Carolus Magnus, as witnesseth Abbas Spaynehemensis.

After Bertamus was Ioannes Scotus, or els as some call him, Ioannes Erigena, ^{*} a man well accepted with Carollus Caluus, and afterward with Lodouicus Balbus, about the yere of our Lord 880. ^{*} He wrote a Booke De corpore & sanguine Domini, so affirming therein, & teaching, as he knew that Bertramus had taught a litle before in Fraunce. ^{*} This booke y^e pope caused to be

condemned in Vercellensi Synodo, Of the life and conuersation of this Iohannes Scotus, & also of hys death, read before, pag. 146.

In the yere of our Lord. 950. liued Odo Archbyshop of Cāterbury, in whose time it appeareth in the catholickes owne confession, that many priests then affirmeth, that the bread and wine after consecration, did remayn in their former substance, and that the sayd mysteries were onely a figure of the body and bloud of Christ, as we finde it witnessed by Osberne himselfe, who did write the liues of Odo, Dunstane. and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfrāke Archbyshop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anselmus Chaplain. The wordes of Osberne be these: *Hoc ferè tempore, quidam clerici maligno errore seducti, asseuerare conabantur panem & vinum, quae in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, in priori substantia manere, & figuram tantummodo esse corporis & sāguinis Christi. &c. That is: About this time (saith Osbern, * writing in the daies of Lanfrak) certaine of the Clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintein, that bread and wine, which are set vpon the aulter, after the consecration do remaine in their former substaunce, and are but onely a figure of the body and bloude of Christe. &c. And no doubt but at that time, the common opinion of most of the Clergye was so that the Sacrament was the bodye and [Page 1139](#) bloud of Christ, and that the substaunce of bread and wine notwithstanding were not transubstantiate, as the Romish Catholikes do now teach. But this is the guise of these men that in their writinges and stories, stil they diminish the better number, wherby their faction may seeme euer to be the bigger and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then receiued in the Church, he inferreth mention of certaine of the Cleargy. &c.

And as he fayleth in the number of these Clergymen which then held against transubstantiation, so he vpholdeth the same with as lying a miracle: * Which miracle hee faineth to be wrought the same time, for the conuersion of the sayd Clergy men, by the bloud dropping out of the host at Masse, as Odo was breaking the host ouer the chalice. At the sight wherof, first Odo himselfe (saith he) wept for ioye, seeing his petition accomplished, which he so earnestly praied for. Secundarily, all those Clergie men (saith he) which before beleueed not this transubstantiation, by & by were conuerted, and blessed the archbishop that euer he was borne, desiring him to pray againe, that the bloud might returne to his former shape, * & streight it was done. And this was the miracle: which seemeth as true, as that which W. Malmesbury writeth of the sayde Odo, howe by his prayers, he caused a sworde to come flying from heauē into king Aethelstanes scabbard whē he had lost his owne, as he should fight aginst Analanus: or els as that miracle where the sayd Odo is said to couer and defend the church of Caunterbury, that no droppe of raine could touch it, so long as the rooffe thereof was in making. *Ex W. Malmesb. Vid sup. pag. 151.

In the which so miraculous a myracle, many things are to be marueiled. First I maruel, that at this great myracle of the Archb. in his Cathedral Church, amongst so ma'ny singing men, we read of no Te Deum ther to be song, after the doing thereof.

*Secondly I maruell, that those Priestes and Clerkes, which then denied transubstantiation, were suffered to be so neare the Archb. at his Masse, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretickes and traitours, if this Article of transubstantiatio had ben then such a Catholike doctrine, and so publikey receaued in the Church as they say it was.

Thirdly I maruel, seeing the time of myracles is expired, we hauing the scriptures to guide vs, why y^e Archbyshop would seeke to miracles and apparitions to conuert men, rather then to the lawe and Prophets, according as we are commaunded, especiall hauing no such example of all the olde Doctors, which in confutatiō of so many erroneous opinions, yet neuer sought to such myracles, or blynde meanes,

Fourthly, I maruel much at the discrepance in telling this tale,* betweene Osbern and the other which since haue written Legendes of Odo. For wheras Osbern speaking of certaine Priestes, nameth no place, but leaueth the matter at large, and speaketh absolutely: quidam clerici: all other which haue since written the Legendes of Odo, doe tell this tale against certaine Priests of Caunterbury, adding to the wordes of Osberne, quidam Clerici Cantuarienses But to conuict the falshode of them all, as well Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more auncient then this of Osberne, written (as it may seeme) in the time of Aelfricus Archb. of Canterbury & Elphege then Bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made in deede of this miracle, but after an other sort, then this of Osberne, & to an other purpose, then to dissuade certaine priestes infected with that errour frō the opiniō before declared: which is only brought to shew the holines of Odo: as comonly the maner of Legendes is to do. So that in this olde Legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed the matter not to many priests of England, that were in that error as Osborne would: sed vocat protinus fidelem seruum, qui cominus erat, & miraculum secretè demonstrat, &c. that is, but called vnto him a certaine faithful seruaunt, which was neare about him, and shewed vnto him the miracle secretly. Wher vpon the Priest (sayth the Legende) muche reioyced at the holines of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to almighty God, that the body might returne againe to the former shape. &ce. Out of this old lying Legend, Osberne, and other likewise that followed him, seemeth to haue takē this tale: so that out of the errour of one (as the maner is) springeth the errour of a number mo.

But this much more I maruel, why this miracle is not stored in Henry Huntington,* which professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in Rog. Houeden, and such other: but onely in such blinde Legendes, which commonly haue no substance of veritie, nor certeinetic of time or writer, to know when, and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying visions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osberne, were true y^t for the conuerting of Priestes of England, whiche would not beleue transubstantiation, this bloud did drop out of the hoste (of the which bloud peradventure came the bloud of Hales) and that by the sight thereof the Priestes e•tsoone were all conuerted (as Osberne pretendeth) how then came it to passe, that after the time of Odo, in the daies of Elfricus, which was after him Archb. of Canterbury, y^e third from Dunstane, and fourth from Odo, not onely the Priestes of England, but also the Archbishop himself, wer not yet brought to the beliefe of this transubstantiatiō, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament thē, whiche we doe nowe? as most clearly appeareth both by the Epistles and Homelies of the foresayde Archbishop Elfricus, whiche herunder, for the more euidence (Christ willing) wee will annexe.

This Elfricus, as sayth Capgraue, in the life of Oswald bishop of Worceter, was first Abbot of S. Albo•es and after made archbishop of Canterbury,* about the yere of our Lord 996. in the time of

king Etheldred, & of Wulfsinus B. of Scyrburne, Elfricus also (as witnesseth Wil. of Malmesbery, in Vita Adelmi) was Abbot of Malmesbery. Furthermore the sayd Wil. of Malmesbery writing of Elfricus Archbishop of Caunterbury, saith that he was before bishop of Welles, and afterward archbishop of Cāterbury. So that Elfricus was Archbishop of Canterbury, it is out of al ambiguitie.* But whether Elfricus which was Abbot (of whom we doe here intreate) were the same Archbishop, or not, by this diuersitie of Capgraue & Malmesbery, it may be doubtful. But whether, he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly materiall, for so much as the said Elfricus, & Elfricus (although they were diuers persons yet were they both in one age, and liued in one time together.

Furthermore, the same Elfricus (of whome nowe we speake) of what calling soeuer he was,* yet notwithstanding hee was of suche estimation and good liking in those dayes among the most learned, that for his learnyng authoritie, and eloquence, hys writings were accepted and authorised among y^e Chanons & constitutions of y^e Church in that time, as hereby may appeare: For where as the bishops and Priestes before the comming of William Conquerour had collected together a certayn booke of Canons and ordinaunces, to gouerne the Clergie,* gathered out of generall and particular counsels, out of the bookes of Gildas, out of the poenitentiall bookes of Theodorus Archbyshop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbertus archbishop of Yorke, out of the Epistles of Aleuinus, as also out of the writynges of the olde Fathers of the primitiue Church. &c. among the same Canons & Constitutions be placed these two Epistles of the sayd Elfricus here vnder folowing, wherof the one was sent to Wulfsinus Bysh. of Scyrburne, the other to Wulfstane Archb. of Yorke, as yet are to be sene in ij. bookes belongyng to the Library of the Church of Worceter,* the one written in the old Saxones tongue intituled 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , the other for the most part in Latine, with this title: Admonitio spiritualis doctrinae. Which booke of Saxon Canons & Constitutions belongyng sometyme to Wulfstane Byshop of Worceter, was geuen by him as for a great iewell, to the Church o^r Worceter, as by the same booke appeareth.

Moreouer, besides this booke of Worceter aboue touched,* there is yet extant also another like booke of Canons belōgyng to the Church of Exeter, wherein the same two Epistles of Elfricus be contained in the old Saxon tōgue, and also in Latine, and prescribed yearly to be read to the Clerkes and Priestes of that Church: Which booke in like maner was geuen to the Church of Exeter by Leofricus the first, and most famous Bishop of that sea.

Of this Elfricus further is to be vnderstanded,* that hee translated two bookes of 80. sermons out of Latin, into the Saxon speach, vsed then orderly to be read in Churches on sondayes & other festiual dayes of the yeare, as by his own words may appeare in the end of one of y^e said books of sermons, whose woordes be these: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ; We let passe many good Gospels whiche he that lyst, may translate. For we dare not enlarge this booke muche further, left it be ouergreat, and so be a cause of lothsomnes [Page 1140](#) to men, through the bignes therof. &c.

Also in an other place he confesseth the same of himselfe: whose wordes in the preface before his grammer be these. Ic AElfric polde þa listlan boc apendan to engliscum gereorde of ðam staef craefte ðe is gehaten grammatica. syððan ic tpa bec apende on hund eahtatigum spellum;* I

Elfrike was desirous to turne into our English tongue from the arte of letters, called grammer, this little booke, after that I had translated the two bookes of fourescore sermons, &c.

Of his Epistles especially we read of foure, which he wrote. One to the monkes of Egnesham. De consuetudine monachorum. An other to Wulfstane Arch. of Yorke, wherin is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The thirde, he wrote against priestes marriage,* to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certaine Anker abiding, which defended the marriage of priests, affirming it to be lawfull. The fourth, he wrote to Wulfsinus B. of Scyrburne, touching the matter of the sacramēt. In the which epistle he taking occasion by a certaine abuse in his time, which was, that priests on Easter day filled their housel boxe, and so kept it for the space of the whole yeare, till Easter came againe, for sicke persons, writeth vppon that occasion, in these words as follow in his owne Saxons tongue.

A writing of Aelfrike to wulfstne.

* Man sceal healden þæt halige husel mid mycelre gymene & ne forhealdan hit. ac halgian open ednipe to sceocum mannum. a. embe VII. niht. oððe embe XIII. night {that} hit huru fynig ne sy. forðon ðe eal spa {that} ðe on easterdaeg paes gehadgod; Ðæt husel is Cristes lichama na lichamlice ac gastlice; Na se lichama ðe he on ðropode. ac se lichama ðe he embe spraec. ða ða h bletsode hlaf & pin to husel anre nihte aer his ðropunge. & cpaep be þam geblotsode hlaf. ðis is min lichama. & eft be ðam halgan pine. ðis is min blode þe bið for manegum agoten on synna forgifenesse; Vnderstandþ nu {that} se drighthen ðe mihte apendon ðone hlaf aer his ðropunge to his lichaman. & {that} pin to his blode gastlice. þæt se ylca daeghpamlice bletsah ðurh sacerda handa hlaf & pin to his gastlican lichaman. and to his gastlican blode.

The same in English.

Men shal reserue more carefully that holy housell, & not reserue it to long, but halow other of new for sicke men alwayes within a week or a fortnight,* that it be not so much as hory. For so holy is the housel which to dayis halowed, as that which on Easterday was halowed, That housel is Christes body not bodily but ghostly. Not the body which he suffred in,* but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine to housel the night before his suffring, and sayd by the blessed bread: this is my body, & agayn by the holy wine, this is my bloud, which is shed for many in forgiuenes of sinnes. Understand now that the Lord, who could turne that bread before his suffering to his body, and that wine to his bloud ghostly, y^t the selfe same Lorde blesseth daily through the priestes handes, bread and wine to his ghostly body, and to his ghostly bloud.

After this Epistle aboue prefixed of Elfricus, written to Wulfsinus B. of Shireburne, concerning the sacramental bread, how it is not Christes body, lichamlice that is, bodily, or (as we terme it now) really: and also howe the same ought not to be ouerlong kept in y^e pixe: here foloweth further an other epistle of the sayd Elfricus written to Wulfstane Archb. of Yorke, both reprehending y^e said abuse aboue touched, and also conteining matter more at large against the bodily presence in the sacramental bread. The copy of his epistle, both in his owne Saxon, and in our English here followeth.

An other Epistle of Aelfricus against the bodily presence to Wulfstane Archbishop of Yorke.

SVme preostas gefyllað heora husel box on <◇> & healdaþ ofer tpelf monaþ to untrumum
<◇> spylce ðaet husel sy haligre ðonne oþer. Ac hi <◇> pislice. forðam he hit pannað. oððe
mid ealle for**** on spa langum fyrste. & he bið •onne scyldig <◇> saegþ seo boc; Se ðe husel
forhylt. oððe hit <◇> oððe miseton. oððe oðre nytenu. sceapa þapoenitientialem. hpaet he
saegðe þisum; Eal spa halig is ðaet <◇> ðe bið gehalgod to daeg. spa ðaet ðe bið gehalgod on
ð• halgan easterdaege; Healda• forþig ic bidde þone hal• Cristes lichaman mid maran pisdome
to seocum ••|num fram sunnan daege to sunna daege on spiþe <◇> boxe. oððe be ðam
maestan feopertyne niht and ðþþ hit þonne. and lecgað ðaer oþer; pe habbaþ by s•• ðam on
Moyses bocum. spa spa God sylf bebead <◇> Moyses ae. ðaet se sacerd sceolde on aelcum
saet•• daege pettan tpelf hlafas on ðam tabernaculo ealle ••|bacene. ða paeron gehatene Panes
propositionis. and <◇> sceoldon ðaer standan on ðam Godes getaelde oð <◇> saeternes daeg.
& etan hi ðonne ða sacerdas sylfe ••|tan daer oðre; Sume preostas nellað ðicgan ðaet <◇> ðe hi
halgiap; Nu pille pe eop secgan. hu seo boc segð <◇> þam; Presyter missam celebrans. & non
audens sac•|ficiū accurante conscientia sua anathema est; <◇> maessepreost ðe maessaþ.
and ne dear ðaet husel ðicg• pat hine scyldigne. se is amansumod; Laesse <◇> ••|digenne ðaet
husel. ðonne to halgienne; Se ðe tu••|gaþ ane ofletan to husle. se bið þam gedpolan gelice. ••|an
cild fullaþ tupa; Crist sylf gehalgod husel aer <◇> ðropunge. he bletsode ðone hlaf. & to braec
þus speþe•de to his halgum apostolum. etaþ ðisne hlaf. hit is m• lichama; and he eft bletsode
aenne calic mid pine and cp•• heom ðus to. drincaþ ealle of ðisum. his is min ag•• blode ðaere
nipan gecyðnyse. ðe bið for maneg••|goten on synna forgyfenysse; Se drihten þe halg•• husel
aer his ðropunge, and cpaþ {that} se hlaf paere his <◇> lichama. and þaet pin paere pitodllice
his blod. se ha•• daeghpamlice þurgh his sacerda handa hlaf to his ••|man. & pin to his blod on
gastlicere geryne. spa <◇> raedaþ on bocum; Ne bið se liflica hlaf lichamlice <◇> ah se ylca
lichama. ðe Crist on ðropode; Ne ðaet <◇> ge pin nis þaes haelendes blod •e for us agoten paes
••chamlice þinge. ac on gastlicum andgyte; aegþer <◇> soplice se hlaf his lichama. and {that}
pin eac his blod spa <◇> heofonlica hlaf paes. ðe pe hataþ manna. ðe feopertig•• ara afedde
Godes folce. & þaet hlutre paeter pas ••lice his blod. ðe arn of ðam stane on ðam paetene ð••
Spa spa Paulus apraet on sumon his pistole: Omnes <◇> nostri eandem escam spiritualem
manducauerunt; & <◇> eundem potum spiritualem biberunt. &c. Ealle uref•• aeton on ðam
paestene þone ylcan gastlican mete. & ð•• gastlican drenc druncon; Hi druncon of þam gastli••
stane. & se stane paes Crist; Se apostol saede spa spa <◇> nu gehyrdon þaet hi ealle aeton ðone
ylcan gast••[Page 1141](#) mete. and hi ealle druncon ðone gastlican drenc; N• cpaed he na
lichamlice. ac gastlice; Naes Crist ða gyt geboren. ne his blod naes agoten. ða þaet Israhela folc
<◇> aet ðone mete. & of ðam stane dranc. & se stan naes lichamlice Crist ðeah he spa cpaede;
Hit paeron ða ylcan geryn• on ðaere ealdam ae. & hi gastlice getacnodon þaet gastlice husel ures
haelendes lichaman. ðe pe halgiap nu.

The same in English.

*Some Priests fil their boxe for housel on Easter day, and so reserue it a whole yere for sicke men, as though that housel were more holy then any other. But they do vnaduisedly, because it waxeth hory, or altogether rotten by keping it so long space: and thus are they become giltye, as y^e booke witnesseth to vs. If any do kepe y^t housell to long or lose it or myse or other beastes doe eate it, se what the penitential booke saith by this: So holy is altogether that housel, which is halowed to day, as that which is halowed on Easter day. Wherefore I beseech you to keepe the holy body of Christ with more aduisement: for sick men, frō Sunday to Sunday, in a very cleane boxe: or at the most not to keepe it aboue a fortnight, and then eate it, laying other in the place. We haue an example hereof in Moyses books, as God him selfe hath commanded in Moyses law, how the Priestes should set euery Saterdag, twelue loaues al new baked, vpon the tabernacle: the which were called Panes propositionis: and those shoulde stand thereon Gods tabernacle, till the next Saterdag, and then did the Priests thēselues eate them, and set other in the place. Some Priestes will not eate the housell, which they do hallowe: But we wil now declare vnto you how the booke speaketh by thē Presbyter missam celebrans, & non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia, an athema est. The Prieste that doeth say masse and dare not eate the housel, his conscience accusing him, is accursed. It is lesse daunger to receiue the housel, then to hallowe it. Hee that doth twise hallow one host to housel, is like vnto those heretickes, who doe christen twise one childe. Christ himselfe blessed housell before his suffering: he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his Apostles: Eate this bread, it is my body. And againe, he blessed one Chalice with wyne, & thus also spake vnto them: Drinke ye al of this, it is mine owne bloude of the newe Testament, which is shed for many for the forgiuenesse of sinnes. The Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, & saith that the bread was his own body, & that the wyne was truly his bloud, haloweth daily by the handes of the prieste, breade to his body and wine to his bloud in ghostly mystery, as we read in bookes▪ And yet notwithstanding that liuely bread is not * bodily so, nor the self same body that Christ suffered in: nor that holy wine is the Sauours bloud which was shed for vs in bodily thinge: but in Ghostly vnderstanding. Both be truely, y^e bread is his body, & that wine also is his bloud, as was the heauenly bread, which we call manna that fedde forty yeares Gods people. And the cleare water which did then runne from the stone in the wilderness, was truely his bloud, as S. Paul wrote in one of his Epistles: Omnes patres nostri candemescam spiritualem manducauerunt, & omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, &c. Al our fathers did eat in the wil'dernes the same ghostly meat, and dranke y^e same ghostly drinke. They dranke of that Ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ. The Apostle hath saide (as you nowe haue heard) that they all did eate the same ghostly meate, & they all did drinke the same ghostly drinke. And he saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Christe was not yet borne, nor his bloud shedde, when that the people of Israel did eate that meat and dranke of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the * same mystery in the olde lawe, and they did ghostly signifie that ghostly housell of our Sauours body which we consecrate nowe.

Besides these Epistles aboue prefixed, of Elfricus to Wulfsinus,* and Wulfstane, whiche fight directly against transubstantiatiō, mention was touched also before of certein Sermons to the number of lxxx. translated by the said Elfricus, out of Latine into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as ye partly haue heard before. Of the which lxxx. Sermons, xxiiij. were chiefly selected, to bee read,* as in stede of Hom•lies, or treatises, vnto the people: in such order, as the

first xij. Sermons or treatises, intreating of general matters (as De initio creaturae, de augurils, de die iudicij, vnus confessoris de vanilo•uio & negligentia, d• auaritia, de falsis dijs, &c.) were appointed to be read at pleasure, & at the discretion of the Minister. The other xij. sermons were prescribed of proper feasts: (as De annūtiatione beate Mariae, de natiuitate domini, de circumcissione domini, de Epiphania, de purificatione sanctae Mariae. Dominica prima in Quadragesima, Dominica palmarum Die Pascae &c. Wherof this testimony remaineth in y^e same book yet to be sene both in the Saxon tongue, and also in the Preface of the latter xij. Sermons in Latine, in these wordes following: In hoc codicillo con tinentur sermones Anglice, quos accepimus de libris quos Abbas Anglicè transtulit. &c.

Furthermore as touching these lxxx. Sermons aforesayd, which El•ricus translated into Englishe, here is to be vnderstanded, that in the said Sermons vsed then orderly to be recited to y^e people, there is one appointed to be red in die Sancto Pascae, that is, vpon Easter day, Which Sermon being translated by the sayd Elfricus, we haue here exhibited both in Saxon speache and in English, to the entent, that the Christen and indifferent reader perusing the same, may iudge therby, how the fantastical doctrine of trāsubstantiation, in those daies of Elfricus & before his time, was not yet receiued nor knowen in the Church of England: for so much as the sayd Sermon being in Latine before, doth leaue vnto vs an euident declaratiō, what was the common opinion of this Sacrament in the Church receaued: before that Elfricus did euer set hande to translate the same out of the Latin.

And thogh the Latin copies and exemplars of these foresaid Sermons, are not remaining in our Libraries,* let y^t be no maruel to thee, louing reader: but vnderstand therby the craftie packing of the Popes Clergie, who in the time of Lanfrancus, & Pope Innocent, studying by al meanes, how to preferre and further this their newcome doctrine of transubstantiation, did abolish and rase out of Libraries and Churches, all such bookes which made to the contrary. And therefore because Lanfrancus and other Italian Priestes here in England vnderstood not y^e Saxon bookes as they did the Latine, all that whiche they vnderstoode, they made away. The Saxon bookes, because they knewe them not, they let remaine, And this is the cause why our Latine copies now are not to be found. Which to be true by iij. reasons coniectural it may probably be supposed.

First,* for that these Saxon Sermons being translated out of the Latine (as ye haue heard by the wordes of Elfricus already proued) onely we see the Saxon bookes reserued: of the Latin none doth appeare.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certaine peece or fragment of an epistle of Elfricus in the Library of Worceter, wherin, so muche as maketh agaynst the matter of transubstantiation, we haue found in the middle of the said Latin epistle, vtterly rased out, so that no letter or piece of a letter doth there appeare. The woordes cut out, were these: Non est tamen hoc sacrifici•um corpus eius, in quo passus est pro nobis ne{que} sanguis eius quem pro nobis effudit:*sed spiritualiter corpus eius efficitur & sanguis, sicut Manna quod de caelo pluit, & aqua quae de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus &c. 1. Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of hys, wherin he suffered for vs, nor the same blood of hys: whiche he shed for vs but spiritually it is made his body and blood as that Manna whiche rayned from heauen and the water whiche did flowe out of the rocke, as Paule. &c. These woordes so rased out are to be restored agayne by an other Saxon

booke found in Exceter. By the rasing of whiche one place, it may easily be coniectured, what these practisers haue likewyse done in the rest.

Thirdly by one Italian tricke of Polydore Uirgill in our daies,* the properties and doinges of all other Italian papists of elder time, may partly be coniectured. For so I am informed by such, as precisely will affirme it to be true y^t when Polydore being licensed by the king to viewe and searche all Libraries, had once accomplished his storye by the help of such books as he had compiled out of Libraries in y^e end, when he had taken out what he would: like a true factor for y^e popes own tooth, he piled his bookes together & set them al on a light fire. For what cause he so did, I can not certaynly pronounce: but who so considereth well his religion, may shrewdly suspect him. For a probatiō, wherof, this may serue for a sufficient tryall: that whereas of all other writers of historyes that haue bene in Englād, as of Fabian, Lanquer, Rastall, More, Leland, Balle, Halle, & such other, some of their bookes which they then occupied yet remayn in hands to be seene. Onely of suche books, as Polydore vsed and which past his handes, what Englishe man is he that hath seene, or can shewe me one? Whereby it may wel be thought, the foresaid information to be true. As also by this one Italian tricke of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpose. But for somuch as those Latine bookes be n•w abolished, and can not be had, let vs returne to our Saxon tongue agayne, and see what this Saxon sermon of Elfricus translation, doth say for transubstantiation: The copy whereof here ensueth.

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¶A Sermon translated out of Latin into the Saxon tongue by Aelfricus, against Transubstantiation. An. 996.

In die Sanctae Pascae.

¶The Alphabet of the Saxon tongue.

¶a. b. c. d.* e. f.* ȝ. * h. i. l. m. n. o. p. r.* s.* t.* u. p.* x. y.* z.*

Abbreuiactions.

AE.* Þ.* ƿ.* S.* p.* &.* ð.* þ.*

This Sermon was vsuall to be read in the Church here in England in the Saxons time. An. 366.

〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 [Page 1143](#) 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 [Page 1144](#) 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉

[Page 1145](#)

The same in English.

A Sermon on Easter day.

MEn beloued, it hathe bene often sayde vnto you about our Sauours resurrection,* howe hee on this present day, after his suffering mightely rose from deathe. Nowe will we open vnto you through Gods grace, of the holye housell, which ye should nowe go vnto, and instruct your vnderstanding about this mysterie, both after the olde couenaunt, and also after the newe, that no doubting maye trouble you about thys liuely foode. The almightye God bad Moses hys Captaine in the Lande of Egypt, to commaund the people of Israel to take to euery family a lamb of one yere old, the night they departed out of the countrey to the land of promise, and to offer that lambe to God, and after to cutte it, and to make the + signe of the Crosse wyth the lambes bloud vpon the side postes, and the vpper post of theyr doore, and afterwarde to eate the Lambes flesh roasted, and vnleauened bread with wilde lettisse, God sayeth vnto Moyses: Eate of the Lambe nothing rawe, nor sodden in water but roasted at the fire. Eate the heade, the feete, and the inwardes, and lette nothing of it be left vntill the morning, if anye thing therof remaine▪ that shall you burne with fire. Eate it in this wise: Girde your loynes▪ and doe your shoes on your feete▪ haue you staues in your handes, and eate it in haste. The tyme is the Lordes Passeouer. And there was slaine on that night in euery house through oute Pharaos raigne, the firste borne childe: and Gods people of Israel were deliuered frō that sodaine death through the Lambes offering & his bloudes marking. Then sayde God vnto Moyses. Keepe this day in your remembraunce, and holde it a great feaste in your kindredes wyth a perpetuall obseruation, and eate vnleauened breade alwayes seuen dayes at this feaste.* After thys deede, God led the people of Israel ouer the red Sea with drye foote, & drowned therein Pharao and all his army together with theyr possessions, and fedde afterward the Israelites 40. yeares, wyth heauenly foode,* and gaue them water out of the hard rocke, vntill they came to the promised land. Parte of thys storie we haue treated off in an other place, partly we shall nowe declare, to witte, that which belongeth to the holye housell, Christen men may not nowe keepe that olde lawe bodely, but it behooueth them to knowe what it Ghostly signifieth. That innocent Lambe which the old Israelites did then kil, had signification after Ghostly vnderstanding, of Christes suffering, who vnguiltie shedde his holy bloud for our redemption. Hereof sing Gods seruants at euery * Masse, Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. That is in our speach: Thou Lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon vs. Those Israelites were deliuered from that sodaine deathe, and from Pharaos bondage by the lambes offeryng, which signified Christes suffering: through which we be deliuered from euerlasting death, and from the deuils cruell raigne, if we rightly beleue in the true redemer of the whole world Christ the Sauour. That Lambe was offered in the euening: and our sauour suffered in the sixt age of this world. This age of this corruptible worlde is reckened vnto the euening. They marked with the lambes bloud vpon the doores, and the vpper postes *Thau, that is the signe of the crosse, and wer so defended from the Angels that killed the Egyptians first borne childe. And wee * ought to marke our foreheades and our bodies with the token of Christes roode, y^t we may be also deliuered from destruction, when we shalbe marked both on forehead, and also in heart with the bloude of oure Lordes suffering. Those Israelites dyd eate the lambes flesh at their Easter time, when they were deliuered, and we receiue ghostly Christes body, & drynke his bloude, when we receiue with true beliefe, that holye housell. That time they kept with them at Easter 7. daies with great worship, when they were deliuered from Pharao, and went from that land. So also Christen men keepe Christes

resurrection at the time of Easter these 7. dayes, because throughe his suffering and rising we be deliuered, and be made cleane by going to this holy housel, as Christ sayeth in hys Gospell: Verely, verely I say vnto you ye haue no life in you excepte yee eate my flesh and drinke my bloud. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloude, * abideth in mee, and I in him, and hath that euerlasting life, and I shall raise him vp in the last day. I am the liuely bread that came downe from heauen: not so as your forefathers did eate that heauenly breade in the wilderness, and afterwarde died. Hee that eateth this breade, liueth for euer. Hee blessed breade before his suffering, and deuided it to hys Disciples, thus sayinge: Eate of thys breade, it is my body, and doe this in my remembraunce. Also hee blessed wyne in one cuppe, * and sayd: Drinke ye all of this: This is my bloude that is shedde for manye, in forgeuenesse of sinnes. The Apostles did as Christ commanded, that is, they blessed breade and wine to housel againe afterward in his remembrance. Euen so also their successours and all priestes by Christes commaundement do blesse bread and wine to housel in his name wyth the Apostolicke blessing. Nowe menne haue often searched and doe yet often * search, how bread that is gathered of corne, and through fires heate baked, may be turned to Christes body: or howe wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned through one blessing, to y^e Lords bloud. Now say we to such men, that some thinges be spoken of Christ by * signification▪ and some be thinges certayne. True this is and certayne that Christ was borne of a mayd, and suffered death of his owne accord, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is sayde to be bread by signification, and a Lambe, & a Lyon, & a mountayne. He is called bread, because he is our life and angels lyfe. He is sayd to be a Lambe for his innocencie: a Lyon for strength wherewith he ouercame the strong deuil. But Christ is not so notwithstanding after true nature, neither bread, nor a lambe, nor a lyon. Why is then the holy house called Christes body, or his bloud, if it be not truely that it is called? * Truely the bread and the wine which in the supper by the priest is hallowed, shewe one thing without to humaine vnderstanding, and an other thing within to beleuing mindes. Without they be seene bread and wine both in figure & in taste, & they be truely after theyr hallowing Christes body and his bloud through ghostly mistery. An heathen childe is christened, yet hee altereth not his shape without, though he be chaunged within. He is brought to y^e fontstone sinfull through Adams disobedience: howbeit he is washed frō all sinne within, though he hath not chāged his shape without. * Euen so the holy font water that is called the welspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subiect to corruption, but y^e holy ghostes might commeth to the corruptible water through the priests blessing, and it may after wash the body and soule from al sin, through ghostly might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, y^t water is corruptible moysture, and after ghostly mistery, hath wholsom vertue. So also i• we behold the holy housell▪ after bodily vnderstanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we knowledge therein ghostly might, thē vnderstand we that life is therein, and that it geueth immortalitie to thē that eate it with beliefe. Muche is betwixt the inuisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is * naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, & is by might of Gods word truely christes body and bloud, not so notwithstanding bodily, but ghostly. Much is betwixt the * body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body truly that Christ suffered in, was borne of the flesh of Marie w^t bloude and with bone, with skin and with sinewes, in humane lims, with a reasonable soule liuing, and his ghostly body, which we call the housel, * is gathered of many cornes, without bloud and bone, without limme, w^tout soule, * and therefore nothing is to be vnderstand therein bodely, but all is ghostly to be vnderstande. Whatsoever is in that housel, which geueth substaunce of life that is of the ghostly might, and inuisible doing. Therefore is that holy housell,

called a myserie, because there is one thing in it seene, and an other thing vnderstanded. That which is there * seene, hath bodely shape: and that we do there vnderstande, hath ghostly might. Certainly Christes body whyche suffered death and rose from death neuer * dieth hencefoorth, but is eternal and vnpassible. That housel is temporal, not eternal, ** corruptible and dealed into sundrye partes chewed betweene teeth and sent into the belly: howbeit neuerthelesse after ghostly myght it is all in euery parte. Many receiue that holy body: and yet notwithstandinge, it is so all in euery part after ghostly myserie. Though some chewe the lesse, yet is there no more might notwithstāding in the more parte, then in the lesse, because it is whole in all men after the inuisible might. This myserie is a * pledge and a figure: Christes body is truth it selfe. Thys pledge we doe kepe mystically, vntill that we be come to the truth it selfe, and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is so as we before haue sayde, Christes body and his bloude: not bodily, but ghostly. But now here the Apostles words about this misterie. Paul the Apostle speaketh of the old Israelites thus writing in his epistle to faithful men: Al our forefathers were baptised in the cloud and in the sea, * and all they did eate the same ghostly meat, & dranke the same ghostly drinke. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ Neither was that * stone then from which the water ran bodily Christe, but it signified Christe, that calleth thus to all beleuing and faithful men: Who soeuer thirsteth, let hym come to mee and drinke, and from his bowelles shall flowe liuely water. This he sayd of the holy Ghost, whych they receiued who beleued on him. The Apostle Paul sayth: that the Israelites did eate the same ghostly meat, & dranke the same ghostly drinke, [Page 1146](#) because that heauenly meate that fed them 40. yeares, and that water which from the stone did flowe, had signification of Christes body and hys bloud, that now be offred daily in Gods Church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodely, but ghostly.

We said vnto you ere while, that Christ halowed bread and wine to housell before his suffering, * and sayde: Thys is my body and my bloud, Yet he had not then suffered: but so notwithstanding he * turned through inuisible mighte, the bread to his owne bodye: and that wine to his bloud: as he before did in the wildernes, before that he was borne to be a man, when he * turned y^e heauenly meate to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his owne bloud. Uery many did eate of that * heauenly meat in the wildernes, and drinke the ghostly drinke: and were neuerthelesse dead, as Christ sayd. And Christ meant not y^e death whych none can escape, but that euerlasting death which some of that folke deserued for theyr vnbelief. Moyses and Aaron, and many other of that people which pleased God, did eate that heauenly bread: and they died not y^e euerlasting death, though they died the common death. They sawe that the heauenly meate was visible and corruptible, & they ghostly vnderstood by that visible thing, and ghostly receiued it. The Sauour sayeth: * Hee that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud▪ hath euerlasting life. And he bad them not eate that body wherewith hee was enclosed, nor to drinke that bloude which he shed for vs: * but he meant with those wordes that holy housell, which ghostly is his body and his bloud, and hee that tasteth it with beleueing heart, hath that eternall life. In the olde lawe faithfull men offred to God diuers Sacrifices, that had * foreshignification of Christes bodye, which for our sinnes he himselfe to his heauēly father hath since * offered to sacrifice. Certainly this housell which we do now halow at Gods alter, is a * remembrance of Christes body which he offered for vs: and of hys bloud whych he shed for vs: So he himselfe commaunded: Doe thys in my remembraunce. Once suffered Christe by hym selfe, but yet neuerthelesse hys suffering is daily renued at thys supper, through myserie of the holy housell. Therefore we ought to consider diligently: howe that this holy housell is both Christes bodye, and the bodye of all * faithfull

menne, after ghostly myserie. As wise Augustine sayeth of it: If ye wil vnderstand of Christes body, here the Apostle Paule thus speaking. Yee truely be Christes body and his members. Nowe is your myserie sette on Gods table, and ye receiue youre myserie, which myserie ye your selues be. Be that which ye see on the altare, and receiue that which yee your selues be. Againe the Apostle Paule sayeth by it: We manye be one bread, and one bodye. Understande nowe and reioyce, many be one bread, and one body in Christ. He is our heade, and we be his limmes: and the bread is not of one corne, but of many: nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So also we all shoulde haue one vnitie in our Lorde, as it is wrytten of the faithfull armie, how that they were in so great an vnitie, as though al of them were one soule, and one heart. Christe hallowed on hys table the myserie of oure peace and of our vnitie. He which receiueth that myserie of vnitie, & keepeth not the bonde of true peace, receiueth no myserie for himselfe, but a witnesse against himselfe. It is very good for Christen men, that they goe often to howsell, if they bring with them to the alter, vngiltines and innocēcy of hart: if they be not oppressed with sinne. To an euil man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if hee receyue vnworthely that holy housell. Holy * bookes commaund that water be mingled to that wine which shall be for housell, because the water signifieth the people, & the * wine Christes bloud, and therefore shall neither the one wythout the other be offered at the holy masse, that Christ may be wyth vs, and we with Christ, the head with the limmes, and the limmes with the head. Wee woulde before haue intreated of the Lambe whyche the olde Israelites offered at theyr Easter time, but that we desired first to declare vnto you of this myserie, and after how we should receiue it. That signifying lambe was offered at the Easter, And the Apostle Paule sayeth in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our Easter who was offred for vs, and on this day rose from death. The Israelites did eate the Lambes fleshe as God commaunded, with vnleauened bread and wilde lettisse: * so wee shoulde receiue that holy housell of Christes body and bloud without the leauen of sinne, and iniquitie. As leauen turneth the creatures from their nature: so doth sinne also chaunge the nature of manne from innocencie to vncleannesse. The Apostle hath taught howe we shoulde feast, not in the leauen of the euilnesse, but in the sweete doughe of puritie and truth. The herbe which they should eate with the vnleauened bread is called lettisse, and is bitter in taste. So we should with bitterness of vnfained repentaunce purifie oure minde, * if wee will eate Christes bodye. Those Israelites were not woonte to eate rawe fleshe, and therefore God badde them to eate it neyther raw nor sodden in water, but rosted with fire. He shal receiue the body of God rawe, that shal thinke without reason, that Christ was onely manlike vnto vs, and was not God. And he that will after mans wisdom search y^e mystery of Christs incarnation, doth like vnto him that doth seeth lambes fleshe in water, because that water in this same place signifieth mans vnderstanding: but we should vnderstand, that all the mistery of Christes humanitie was ordered by the power of the holy Ghost: and then eate we his body rosted with fire because the holy ghost came in fyry lykenes to the Apostles in diuers tonges. The Israelites should eate the lambs head, and the feete: and the pur'tenaunce, and nothing therof must be le•te ouer night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burne that in the fire: and they breake not the bones. After Ghostly vnderstanding we doe eate the lambes head, when wee take holde of Christes diuinitie in our beliefe. Agayne when we take holde of his humanitie with loue, then eate we the lambs feete, because that Christe is the beginning and end, God before all worlde, and man in the end of this worlde. What bee the lambes purtenaunce but Christes secrete precepts, and these we eate when we receiue with the greedines the word of life. There must nothing of the lambe be left vnto the mornig, because that all Gods sayings are to bee searched with great carefulnesse: so that all his precepts may be knowen in vnderstanding and deede in the nyght of this present life, before that the last day of

the vniuersall resurrection doe appeare. If wee cannot searche out thoroughly all the mysterie of Christes incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest vnto y^e might of the holy ghost with true humilitie, and not to search rashly of that deepe secretenes aboue the measure of our vnderstanding. They did eate the Lambes flesh wyth theyr loynes girt. In the loynes is the lust of the bodye, and he whiche will receyue that housell, shall couer or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastitie that holy receite. They were also shod. What be shoes but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truely shod if we match in our steppes and dedes, the life of mē departed this life, which please God with keeping of hys commandements. They had stauies in their handes when they did eate. This staffe signifieth a carefulnes & diligent ouerseeing. And all they, that best knowe and can, shoulde take care of other men, and stay them vp with theyr helpe. It was inioyned to the eaters y^t they should eate the lambe in haste, for God abhorreth slouthfulnesse in his seruants, and those hee loueth, that seeke the ioye of euerlasting lyfe with quickenes, and hast of minde. It is written: Prolong not to turne vnto God, least the time passe away throughe thy slow tarrying. The eaters mought not breake the lābs bones. No more mought y^e souldiers that did hang Christ, breake his holy legges, as they did of the two theeues that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death sounde without all corruption: and at the last iudgement they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wounde on the crosse. This time is called in the Ebrue tongue Pasca, & in Latine Transitus, and in English a Passeouer, because that on this day the people of Israel passed from the land of Egypt ouer the red sea: from bondage to the lād of promise. So also did our Lorde at this time departe as sayeth Iohn the Euangeliste, from thys world to hys heauenly father. Euen so we ought to folow our head, and to goe from the deuill to Christe: from thys vnstable worlde, to hys stable kingdome. Howbeit we shoulde firste in this presente lyfe departe from vice to holy vertue: from euill manners to good manners, if we wil after this our lente life goe to that eternall life, and after our resurrection, to Christ. He bring vs to hys euerlasting father, who gaue hym to deathe for our sinnes. To hym be honour and praise of well doynge world wythout ende. Amen.

And thus I suppose, it standeth cleare & evidently prooued by course of al these ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Austen vnto the daies of this Elfricus aboue mencioned, and after him, that this newcome miracle of transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heades of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned mē nor was admitted for any doctrine in the Church,* at least for any general doctrine of all men to be receiued, til a M. yeare compleate after Christe, that is, till that Sathan began to be let at large. Apoca. 20.* For who euer heard in all the primitiue Church, or euer reade in the woorkes of the old ancient Doctors this question once to be asked, or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lordes Supper? Or what manne was euer so doltish to beleue any suche thyng, or euer called hereticke for not beleuing the same, before the time of seduction that is [Page 1147](#) before the 1000. yeares aforesayd were expired.

*Wherefore they that stand so much vppon the antiquity of this Article as a doctrine which hath euer since Christes time bene receaued in the Church, taught by the Apostles, beleued of all Catholickes, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of Councels, of natiōs, and people vnto this present day: these I say, either shewe them selues very ignoraunt in hystories and in all state of antiquitie or els most impudently they doe abuse the simple credulitie of the people.

To procede now farther in this discussion of antiquitie, it followed, that after the time of Elfricus aforesayde, this matter of transubstantiation began firste to be talked off, & to come in question among a few superstitious monkes: so that as blindnes and superstition began more and more to encrease,* so the sayd grosse opinion still more and more, both in number and authoritie preuailed, in so much that about the yeare of our Lord. 1060. the denying of transubstantiation began to be counted heresie.

And in this number firste was one Berengarius a Frenche man,* and Archdeacon of Angeowe, whyche of all Christen men, which we read of, was first called and counted an hereticke for denying of transubstantiation, & troubled for the same, as ye shall heare.

This Berengarius liued in the time of Pope Leo 9. Uictor, and Nicholas 2. which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 1060. Albeit I doe finde our wryters heere in some discrepance. For the most of them doe holde, that he firste recanted vnder Pope Leo 9. in the Councel of Uercellense: and afterwarde againe vnder Pope Nicholas 2. about the yeare 1062. as is to be gathered of Gratian, De consecrat. dist. 2. Ego Berengarius, where he sayth, that Pope Nicholas did send about to Bishops and Archbishops, the Copie of his recantation.

Againe, by the Actes of the Councell of Rome, it there appeareth, that the sayd Berengarius made this hys sayde last recantation vnder Pope Hildebrande, called Gregory 7. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand vpon. The truth of the story is this: that when Berengarius had professed the truth of the sacrament, & had stande in the open confession therof, according to the auncient veritie of the doctrine receaued in the Church before, he was so handled by certaine malignaunt & superstitious monks that what by euill entreatie, and what for feare of deathe (such is the weake frailty of man) he began to shrink, and afterward did in deede recant the truth.

Of these malicious ennemies againste Berengarius, the chiefest troubler was Lancfranke, Abbot of Codune, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, Guimond monke, likewise first of the abbey of Leufrede, & afterward Archb. of Auersane: Algerius also monke of Corbein: Fulbertus also monke and byshop: and Hildebrand sometime monke of Cluniake, and then Archdeacon of Turon, & afterward Bishop of Rome.

By these and such other monks of the like fraternitie, the errour and heresie of transubstantiation began firste to be defended, and partes publikely in wryting to be taken about that matter.* Of the which sides and partes, the firste that began to set vp that faction by wryting, seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius aboute the time of Bertrame: and likewise Lancfrancke the firste that brought it into England.*

On the contrary side againe, the firste that was openly impugned and troubled for denying transubstantiation, was this Berengarius: with whom Lancfranck also was supposed at the first beginning to holde and take part, but afterward to cleare himselfe, he stode openly against hym in the Councell, and wrote against him.

It foloweth then in the Acte of the Councel, that when the Synode of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together assembled, y^e greater number (saith the storie) did

holde, that the breade and wine were turned substantially into the body and bloud of Christ. Notwithstanding (sayeth he) diuers there were in the sayde Councel whych helde the contrary wyth Berengarius,* but at laste were driuen to geue ouer. Berengarius amonge the rest, after he had long stand in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their willes, confessing his error where none was, and desired pardon of the Councell. And thys was (as seemeth to W. Malmesb.) hys firste geuing ouer. Who afterwarde returning to hymselfe agayne after the death of Pope Leo,* and prickte with the stinge of conscience, was driuen agayne to recognise the truthe, whych he before had denied.

The Pope (sayeth Malmesb.) perceauing this, would not leaue him so, but sent into Fraunce, Hildebrande hys Cardinall Chaplaine (as meete a mate for such a feate, as was in all Satans courte) and made him with a wany and to come agayne coram nobis: who so handled Berengarius and bringing hym before the face of the Councel bolden at Turon, that he made him to say, erraui, once again: against whome stode vp in that Councell Lanfrancus, and Guimundus aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus stādeth the narration of W. Malmesbery. But by the actes of y^e Councel of Rome appeareth an other declaration, which is, that thys latter recantation of Berengarius shoulde be at Rome vnder Hildebrand, being then Pope,* in the yere of our Lord. 1076. and in the moneth of February, and that in the sayde Councell holden in Ecclesia Saluatoris, thys recantation of, Ego Berengarius, was made, and he enioyned by the sayd Pope Hildebrand, vpon hys oth, neuer hereafter to teache or dispute contrary to that faith of the Sacrament there holden. &c.

Againe, Henry Bullinger in his booke,*De origine erroris, following belike some other authour, expresseth the order of the foresayd recantation after thys sorte, and sayeth, that in the time of Pope Leo. 9. Anno. 1051. there was a Romane Councell holden at Uercellense, in the whyche Councell Lanfrancke beinge then present, the Booke of Ioh. Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for,* who seeing the preiudiciall proceeding of that Councell, refused himselfe to come, but sent two Clerkes, which openly there defended hys cause and quarell, and were for the same committed vnto prison. Such is the freedome of the Popes generall Councils, w^t prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this Councel notwithstanding, the French men stode stiffe, both at Angew, and Turon, ioyning and consenting wyth Berengarius.

Not long after this, died Pope Leo, and after him succeeded Pope Uictor,* by whom an other Synode was kept at Florence, where the Actes and doings of the foresayde Councel of Uercellense, were confirmed, and a Legate also appointed to be sent to Turon in Fraunce. This legate was Hildebrand aboue mentioned,* who calling the clergy of Fraunce together in a Synode, fell there in hande wyth the cause of the Sacrament. Berengarius not being ignoraunt of these Romaine Councils, so kept himselfe, that in all his action, he would geue none other answere, but that he beleued and consented with the faith of the Catholicke Church: & so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the councel, rather deluding the pretēses of his ennemies, then freely confessing the simple truth.

Againe,* after Uictor came Pope Nicholas 2. who congregating an other Councell at Rome, An. 1058. sent for Berengarius there to appeare, who being present, argued what he could, for the iustnesse of his cause, but all woulde not serue: In the Popes generall Councils, such a stroke

and mastership beareth authoritie aboue veritie. Berengarius being thus borne downe on euery side by might & superioritie, when no remedye woulde serue,* but hee muste needes recant againe (for the law of relapse was not yet in season) he desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the Pope woulde require of him,* besides y^t whych hee hadde there confessed. Then Pope Nicolas committed that charge to Humbart a Monke of Lotharinge, and after a Cardinall, y^t he should draw out in formable wordes, the order of his recantatiō, after the prescription of Rome, whych hee shoulde reade and publickely professe before the people. The forme of which words is registred in the Decrees, De consecrat. dist 2. Ego Berengarius. &c. The effecte whereof is thys: That hee pretendeth with heart and mouth, to professe, that he acknowledging the true, catholicke,*and Apostolicall faith, doth execrate all heresie, namely, that, wherewyth hee hath lately bene infamed, as holding that the bread and wine vpon the Altare, after the consecration of the Priest, remaine onely a Sacrament, and are not the very selfe body and bloude of oure Lorde Iesu Christ, neither canne be handled or broken wyth the priestes handes, or chewed with the teethe of the faithfull, otherwise then onely by maner of a Sacrament Consenting now to the holy and Apostolicall Church of Rome,*he professed wyth mouth and heart, to holde the same faith touching the Sacraments of the Lordes masse, which the Lorde Pope Nicholas, with his Synode heere present doth holde, and commaundeth to be holden by hys Euangelicall and Apostolicall authoritie, that is, that the bread and wine vpon the Altar, after consecration are not only a Sacramēt, but also are the very true and selfe body, and bloud of our Lorde Iesu Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with handes, and chewed with teethe: swearing by the holy Euangelistes, that whosoeuer shall holde or say to the contrary, he shall holde them perpetually accursed, and if he himselfe shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the seueritie and rigour of the Canons. &c.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly sorte: so it gaue to the cōtrary part no litle triumph, wherby euer since they haue taken the greater courage to tread downe the truth.

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[Page 1148](#)It happened shortlye after this, that Hildebrande the Popes graunde Captaine, in the behalfe of hys Mayster Pope Nicolas, went in warfare against the Normandes. Which warre being finished, shortly after, he set vppon a new viage to fight for Pope Alexander, against Cadolus: which victory being also atchieued, it was not long, but he put the new Pope Alexander beside the cushion, and was made Pope himselfe: so that during the busie stirre of these warres, the Popes holinesse had no laisure to attende the debating of this controuersie of the Sacrament.

*At length, when al was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he woulde be, hys restlesse brayne coulde not be vnoccupied, but eftsoone summoneth a new Councell at Rome in the Church of Laterane, to reuiue agayne the olde disceptation of Berengarius, about the yeare (as some holde) 1079.

Thus Berengarius beyng toste by these Monkes and Phariseis, was so confounded, and bayted on euery side, that partly for worldly feare, straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grieve of conscience, that he had nowe twice renied the truth, on the other side, that the man (as is of hym reported) after these suche turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning,

and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought wyth hys handes for liuing, all the residue of his life.

The opinion which Berengarius sustained touchyng the Sacrament (as by his owne wordes in Lancfrankes booke may appeare) was thys: *The sacrifice of the Churche consisteth of two things: The one visible: the other inuisible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to meane, the body of Christe) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible & to be sene: but being lift vp into heauen, and sitting on the right hand of his father, to the time of restoring of all thing (as S. Peter sayeth) it can not be called downe from thence. For the person of Christ consisteth of God and man: the Sacrament of the Lords table consisteth of bread and wine, which being consecrate are not chaunged, but remaine in their substances, hauing a certaine resemblance or similitude of those things, wherof they be sacraments, &c. Ex Lib. Lancfranci.

By these wordes of Berengarius doctrine, all indifferent readers may see & iudge, that he affirmed nothing but that was agreable to the holy scripture, beleuing wyth S. Austen, and all other auncient elders of the Churche, that in the holy supper all faithful beleuers be refreshed spiritually, with the body & bloud of the Lord, vnto euerlasting life. * Wherefore most impudently they doe misreporte hym (as they doe many other besides) whych falsely lay to hys charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred supper of the Lord, nothing els were receiued of y^e faithful, besides onely y^e bare signes, which is the bread & the wine.

And nowe that you haue seene the doctrine of Berengarius, let vs also take a vewe of the contrary teaching of Lanfrancus and his fellowes, conferring and comparyng together the institution of the one side, with the institution of the other, to marke and cōsider whych of them soundeth nearer to the truth of the scriptures. The wordes of Lanfrancke be these:

I beleue the earthly substances, which vpon the Lordes table are diuinely sanctified, through the ministration of the Priest, to be conuerted vnspeakeably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously by the operation of Gods mightye power, into the essence of the Lordes body, *the outward formes only of the things themselues, and certaine qualities reserued, and that for two respectes: The one, least the sight of the rawe and bloudy flesh might otherwyse make men to abhorre from eating thereof for that they whiche beleue the thinge they see not, might haue the greater merite for their beliefe. The conuersion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lordes body, notwithstanding, yet is the selfe same body of the Lorde in heauen, and there hathe hys essentiall being at the right hande of hys father immortall inuiolate, perfect, vndeminished, and vncorrupted: so that truely it may be affirmed, the selfe same body both to be receiued of vs, and yet not the selfe same. *The self same, I meane, as touching the essence, propertie, and vertue of his true nature: and yet not the selfe same as touching the formes of breade and wine, and other outwarde qualities incurring to our outwarde senses. &c. And thus haue ye the confession of Lancfranke Archb. of Cant.

From thys confession of Lancfranke, the opinion and assertion also of Guimundus Archb. of Auersane, doth nothing differ in grosenesse and impietie, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending: That the bodye of Christ is pressed, and torne with teethe euen like as it was felt and touched with the handes of Thomas.

And moreouer, the sayde Guimundus (if his booke be not rather counterfayted at Louaine) in the same place answearing to an obiection put out, that it is not lawfull for Christe to be torne in pieces with teethe, doubteth not to pronounce that whether we take tearing for hard biting, or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing therunto) the body of Christ may be touched with handes, bitten wyth mouth, crushed,* yea and deuided in pieces, wyth hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that, as hee was brused vppon the crosse, according to the Prophete, saying: Hee was brused for our iniquities, &c. so the same body for the health of the faithfull, may deuoutly be torne and rent with theyr teethe any thyng to the contrary notwithstanding. &c. Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol. 30. Iudge now all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kinde of doctrine, and howe thys opinion cohereth with the infallible voyce of Gods worde, saying: Exod. And of him ye shall not breake a bone. &c.

Thys rude and mishapen doctrine of these Monkes, concerning transubstantiation, as ye haue heard,* whē and by whome it began first to be broached: so if ye would now know by what learning and scriptures they did confirme, and establish the same, ye must here thinke and vnderstād, howe their chieftest groundes and substaunce to perswade the people was at this time, certain myracles by them forged, and published both in theyr wrytings and preachings whereof one was the same of Odo aboue recited, whyche Osberne, or some other monkish Legend inuented of him, howe he shoulde shewe vnto certaine the host turned into the likenesse of flesh and bloude droppinge into the chalice for the conuersion of those clearkes, whiche before would not beleeeue it.

An other like miracle is also told by the sayde Osberne of Dunstane in this order,* how the sayd Dunstane appeared to a certaine lame crepill in the nyght, willing hym to resort vnto his tombe, to haue hys limmes again restored. Which crepil, according as he was willed, after he had ther continued praying for health a lōg time, and could not obtaine, began to returne home againe after long tarying,* w^tout all hope of recouery. To whom the sayd Dunstane appearing againe by the way, asked from whence hee came, and whether he would. The crepill answearing, declared how he came thether vppon hope of health, where hee had long taryed, and because he could finde no recouerie, therfore he nowe was returning home. To whome then sayde Dunstane: I am (sayeth he) Dunstane the fellowe seruant of all Gods seruants,* and haue bene occupied with certain necessary busines, for the which I could not be present ther with my children. For Elfrike (sayde hee) otherwise surnamed Bata hath attempted to disherite my church, but I haue so stopped him, that he could not preuaile.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stampe are rife in popish stories, counterfayted & forged vnder diuers and sondry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, and to other moe, whiche to recite all, would fill a whole sea full of lyes & fables. Among many,* one is thus inuented of Paschasius. There was a Priest, sayth hee, of Almain, named Plegildus, who did see and handle wyth his hands, visibly the shape of a childe vpon the aulter & so after he had imbraced and kissed him, it returned againe to the likenes of bread, as hee shoulde come to the receiuing therof. This miracle when it was objected against Berēgarius, he merely deriding the blinde fable, aunswered in these wordes: Speciosa inquit, pax nebulonis, vt cui oris praeberet basium, eo dentium in ferret exitium. That is, A goodly peace quoth he of a false verlet, that whō he before kissed with his mouth, by & by he goeth about to teare him with •is teeth.

An other miracle is reported of a Iew body, who vpon a time entring into the Church, with an other Christian lad which was his play fellow, saw vpon the altar a little childe broken & torne in peeces,* and afterward by portions to be distributed among the people. Which sight when the young Iew comming home had told vnto his father to be true and certayne, hee was for the same, condemned to be burned. Thus he being inclosed in a house, and the dore fast where he should be burned, he was founde and taken out from thence by the Christians, not onely aliue, but also hauing not one heare of his heade blemished w^t the flames about him. Who then being of the Christians, demaunded howe he was so preserued from the burning fire: there appeared (sayd he) to me a beutiful woman sitting on a chair, whose sonne the childe was, which was before deuided & distributed in the Church among the people, who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and wyth her gowne skirtes kepte the flame from mee, so that I was preserued thereby from pearishing. &c. Belike these Monkes lacked miracles among the Christians, when they were faine to borow such figmentes of the Iewes to prooue their fayned transubstantiation.

And these commonly were then the argumēts of these Monkes,* wherwith they perswaded the people to beleue their transubstantiation. But to leaue these monkes fictions, & to returne againe to Berengarius, thus Malmesbury [Page 1152](#) of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recāted (as is aforesayde) yet notwythstanding this doctrine of the Sacrament still remained in the minde of his hearers. And how so euer the tirāny of the Pope did driue him thorough feare to denye his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet notwithstanding after hys death he lacked not his well willers. In the number of whom was Hildebertus Bishop Cenomanensis, whose verses in commendation of his master, I thought here not vnworthy to be preserued, being otherwise rare peraduenture to be founde in our storie wryters.

Verses in praise of Berengarius.

QVem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,

*Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit:

Quem sacrae fidei fastigia summa tenentem,

Tandem extrema dies abstulit ausa nefas.

Illa dies damnosa dies, & perfida mundo:

Qua dolor & rerum summa ruina fuit.

Qua status ecclesiae, qua spes, qua gloria cleri,

Qua cultor iuris iurè ruente ruit.

Quicquid Philosophi, quicquid cecinere Poetae,

Ingenio cessit eloquioquè suo.

Sanctior & maior sapientia, maius adorta,

Impleuit sacrum pectus & ora Deo.

Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit:

Singula factori sic studuere suo.

Vir sacer & sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas:

Quo minor est quisquis maximus est hominum.

Qui census peperit paucos, seruauit honores:

Cui potior pauper diuite, iusque lucro.

Cui nec desidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:

Nec tumidum fecit multus & altus honos.

Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit:

Sed doluit quoties cui daret haec, aberat.

Qui non cessauit inopum fulcire ruinas,

Donec inops, dando pauper & ipse fuit.

Cuius cura sequi naturam legibus vti,

Et mentem vitij, ora negare dolis:

Virtutes opibus, verum praeponere falso,

Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere:

Laedere nec quemquam, cunctis prodesse, fauorem

Et popolare lucrum pellere mente, manu.

Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit vnquam,

Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.

Quem pudor hospitium statuit sibi, quam{que} libido

Incestos superat, tam superauit eam.

Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit, inquit,

Degenerant alij, nascitur iste mihi:

Quaeque vagabatur & penè reliquerat orbem,
Inclusit sacro pectore iustitiam.
Vir sacer à puero, qui quantum praeminet orbi
Fama, adeò famae praeminet ipse suae.
Fama minor meritis cùm totum peruo let orbem,
Cùm semper crescat, non erit aequa tamen.
Vir pius atque grauis, vir sic in vtroque modestus,
Vt liuor neutro rodere possit eum.
Liuor enim destet, quem carpserat antea, nec tam
Carpsit & odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat:
Quàm prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres huius abisse dies.
Vir verè sapiens & parte beatus ab omni:
Qui coelos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum secum vi•ram precor ac requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.

Although in this time of Berengarus, whyche was about the yeare of oure Lorde. 1060. (as ye haue heard) this error of transubstantiation began to growe in force and strength, by the supporting of certaine popishe monkes aboue rehearsed, as Lancfrancus, Guimundus, Algerius, Hugo, Bishop of Lincolne. Fulbertus, (of whom it is said in stories, that our Ladie gaue him sucke being sicke, wyth her owne brestes) and such other: yet notwithstanding, all this while the sayd Transubstantiatiō was decreed for no publicke law, * nor doctrine to be holden by any general cōsent, either of the Church of Rome, or any other Councell, before the Council of Laterane, vnder Pope Innocent the 3. who in the yeare of our Lorde. 1215. celebrating in the church of Laterane, a generall council of 1300. bishops, enacted there diuers constitutions, as of yerely cōfession, and the communion to be vsed of the whole multitude once a yeare through euery parish church.

Item, for the recouery of the holy land, with a subsidie also to be leauied for the same.

Item for the abolishing of the bookes and wrytinges of Ioachim Abbas, and also the opinions of Almaricus afore mentioned: notwithstanding that y^e said Ioachim did subscribe with his owne hand that he held the same doctrine, * which was in the church of Rome, and also submitted hys

bookes to be presented to the Sea of Rome, there to bee corrected or approoued. And yet was he iudged though not an heretike yet to be erroneous, & especially in those bokes which he wrote against Peter Lombard, calide afterward the master of Sentence.

In the sayde Counsel, besides diuers other constitutions and the Articles of the Creede there in order repeated,* as appeareth, Extr. De summa trinit. & fide Catholica, cap. 1. firmiter, there was also enacted, decreed, and establyshed the fayth and beliefe of Transubstantiation, in these woordes following.

There is one vniuersall Church of the faithful, without which none can be saued, in the which Church the self same Iesus Christ is both Priest and also the sacrifice,* whose body and bloude are truly contained in the Sacrament of the aulter, vnder the formes of breade and wine, the breade being transubstantiated into the body and the wine, into the bloud, by the power and workinge of God: so that to the accomplishing of thys mysterie of vnitie, wee might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And thys sacrament none can make or consecrate, but hee that is a prieste lawfully ordained, according to the keyes of the Church, whych Iesus Christ hath left to his Apostles, and to their successours. &c.

And thus was the foundation layd for the building of transubstantiatiō, vpon the consent of these foresayd. 1300. Byshops, in the yeare of our Lorde aboue specified, vnder pope Innocentius, and the doctrine therof intruded for an article of fayth into the church, necessarily to be beleueed of all men vnder payne of heresie.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substaunte of bread and wine was nowe banished out of the sacrament,* and vtterly transcorporated into the substance of Christes very body and bloud: yet was not this body eleuated ouer the priestes head nor adored of the people till the dayes of pope Honorius the 3. succeeding after Innocentius, who by his counsaile likewise commaunded adoration and eleuation to be ioyned with transubstantiation as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth an other.

Agayne, the sayd sacrament of the Lordes supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, eleuated and adored yet it was not offered vp for a sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, nor for a remedye of the soules in Purgatory, nor for a merite operis operati, sine bono motu vtentis. &c. before that other popes comming after, added still new additions to the former inuentions of theyr predecessours.

And thus haue you the whol order and origine of these Idolatrous partes of the masse described by theyr times & ages,* whiche first began with consecration and the forme therof, which were wordes of the Canon. Then came trāsubstantiation by Innocentius, and after eleleuation & adoration by Honorius, and last of all came the oblation meretorious and propitiatory for the quicke and dead in remission of sinnes, Ex opere operato.

Which thinges being thus constituted by the to muche vsurped authority of the church of Rome,* shortly after followed persecution, tyranny and burning among the christians, first beginning with the Albingenses, and the fayth full congregation of Tholouse, neare about the tyme of the sayd Innocentius, as is afore remembred. pag. 271.

And thus much for the first article of transubstantiatiō which (as ye haue heard) was not admitted into y^e Church for any generall doctrine of fayth, before the yeare and time aboue assigned, of pope Innocent the third, and therefore if any haue bene otherwise perswaded, or yet doe remayne in the same perswasion still of this doctrine, as though it had bene of a longer cōtinuance then frō the time aboue expressed, let him vnderstand that by ignoraunce of hystories he is deceiued, and for the more satisfyinge of his mynde, if he credite not me,* let him beleue the wordes of one of hys owne catholike sort, Iohn Duns I meane, who in hys 4. booke wryting of Transubstatiatiō, in what time and by whose authority it was first establieshd, hath these words, which also are before mentioned, pag. 257. These woordes of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly wythout transubstantiatiō: but the Church did chuse thys sence, whych is harder, being thereto mooued (as seemeth) chiefly because men shoulde holde of the Sacraments, the same whyche the Church of Rome doth holde. &c. And further in the same place the sayde Duns expounding himselfe what hee meaneth by the church of Rome, maketh there expresse mention of the sayde Innocentius the 3. and of thys Councell of Laterane. &c.

And furthermore, to the entent that such as be indifferent seekers of the trueth, may be more amplie satisfied in [Page 1150](#) this behalfe, that this transubstantiatiō is of no antiquitie, but of a late inuention: I wil also adioyne to this testimonie of Iohan. Scotus,* the iudgement and verdict of Erasm. lib. Annot. where he wryteth in these wordes: In Synaxi transubstantiationē serò definiuit Ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere siue sub pane consecrato, siue quocun{que} modo adesse verum corpus Christi.*&c. That is, In the sacrament of the communion, the church cōcluded transubstantiatiō but of late dayes. Long before that it was sufficient to beleue the true body of Christ to be present eyther vnder bread, or els by some maner. &c.

The second Article.

As touching the seconde Article, which debarreth from the lay people the one halfe of the Sacramente,* vnderstanding that vnder one kind, both partes are fully contained, for so much as the world wel knoweth that thys Article is but young, inuented, decreed, and cōcluded no longer since then at the Councel of Constance, not past 200. yeres agoe: I shal not nede to make any long standing vpon that matter,* especially for that sufficient hath bene •aid th•rof before in our long discourse of the Bohemians story, pag. 611.

First, lette vs see the reasons and obiections of the aduersaries in restraining the Laitie from the one kynde of this Sacrament.* The vse (say they) hath bene so of longe continuance in the Church. Whereunto we aunswere, that they haue no euident nor authentike example of anye auncient custome in the church, which they can produce in that behalfe.

Item, where they alledge the place of S. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread.* &c. citing moreouer many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to aunswer therunto, although wee doe not vtterly repugne, but that some of those places may be vnderstanded of the Sacrament, yet that beyng graunted, it followeth not therefore, that one parte of the Sacrament was only ministred to the people without the other, when as by the common vse of speach, vnder the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it followe, because that breade was broken among the brethren, therefore the cuppe was not distributed vnto them. For so we finde by the words of S. Paule, that y^e vse of the Corrinthians

was to communicate not onely in breaking of bread, but in participating the cuppe also. The cup (sayeth he) which we participate.*&c.

Also after the Apostles, in the tyme of Cyprian, of Hierome, of Gelasius and other successiue after them, it is euident y^t both the kindes were frequented in the Church. First Cyprian in diuers places declareth that the sacramēt of the bloud was also distributed.*How do we (sayth he) prouoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their bloud, if we deny vnto them the bloud of Christ when they prepare themselues to the conflict?

The wordes of Hierome are plaine. Priestes (sayth he) whiche minister the Eucharist,*and deuide the bloude vnro the people.

In historia tripartita, it was sayde to y^e Emperour Theodosius,*how will you recieue the body of the Lord, with such bloody handes, or the cup of hys precious bloud, with that mouth, which haue spilled so much innocent bloud?

In the Canon of Gelasius, and in the Popes own decrees,* these words we read: We vnderstand that there be some whych receauing onely the portion of the Lordes bodye, doe abstaine from the cuppe of hys sacrate bloud, to whom we enioyne, that either they receaue the whole Sacrament in both the kinds, or els that they receaue neither:*for the diuiding of that whole & one Sacrament cannot be done without great sacriledge, &c. So that thys decree of Pope Gelasius being contradictorie to the councell of Constance, it must follow, that either y^e pope did erre, or els the councell of Constance must needes be a sacrilegious Councel, as no doubt it was.

The like testimonie also appeareth in the Councell of Toletane,* that the laitie did then communicate in bothe kindes, besides diuers other olde presidēts, remaining yet in the churches both of Germanie and also of Fraunce, declaring likewise the same.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable by manifolde probations, how farre this newfound custome differeth from all antiquitie and prescription of vse and time. Againe, although the custome therof were neuer so auncient, yet no custome may be of that strength to gainstand or countermaunde the open and expresse commaundement of God, which sayeth to all men: Bibite ex hoc omnes. Drinke yee all of this. &c.

Againe, seeing the cup is called the bloude of the newe testament, who is hee that dare or can alter the Testament of the Lorde, when none may be so hardy to alter the Testament of a man, being once approoued or ratified?

Further, as concerning those places of Scripture before alledged, De fractione panis, that is, of breaking of bread, wherupon they thinke themselues so sure that the Sacrament was then ministred but in one kinde: To aunswere thereunto, first we say, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture, De fractione panis,* are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the same beyng geuen vnto them, yet can they not inferre thereby, because one parte is mentioned, that the full Sacrament therefore was not ministred. The common maner of the Hebrue phrase is, vnder breaking of bread to signifye generally the whole feaste or supper: as in the Prophete Esay, these woordes, Frange esurienti panem tuum, doe signifie as well geuyng drinke as bread, &c.

And thirdly howsoever those places, De fractione panis be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For if the Sacrament were administred amongst them in fractione panis. i. in breakinge of breade, then must they nedes graūt, that if bread was there broken. Ergo, there was breade,* forasmuche as neither the accidences of bread without breade can be broken, neither can the naturall body of Christ be subiect to any fraction or breakyng by the Scripture, which sayeth: *And yee shall breake no bone of him. &c. Wherefore take away the substance of breade, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christes body, neither yet the accidences wythout their substance can be broken, neither agayne will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken? And what then was it in thys their Fractione panis▪ that they did breake, if it were not Panis, that is, Substantia panis quae frangebatur? To conclude, if they say that this fraction of bread was a Sacramentall breaking of Christes bodye, so by the like figure let them saye that the being of Christes naturall body in the Sacrament is a Sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Item, they obiecte further and say,*that the churche vpon due consideration may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies and Sacraments.

Aunswer. The institution of this sacrament standeth vpon the order, example, & commandement of Christ.* This order he tooke: First he deuided the breade seuerally frō the cuppe, and afterward the cuppe seuerally from the breade.* Secondly this he did not for any neede on his behalfe, but onely to geue vs example how to do the same after him, in remembraunce of his death to the worldes ende. Thirdly, beside this order taken, and example left, hee added also an expresse commaundement: Hoc facite, Doe thys. Bibite ex hoc omnes. Drinke ye all of this. &c. Against this order, example, and commaundement of the Gospel, no Church nor councill of men nor aungell in heauen hath any power or authoritie to change or alter, according as we are warned: If any bring to you any other Gospell beside that ye haue receiued, holde him accursed. &c.

Item, an other Obiection.*And why maye not the Churche (say they) as well alter the fourme of thys Sacramente, as the Apostles did the fourme of Baptisme, where in the Actes S. Peter sayth: Let euery one be baptised in the name of Iesu Christ. &c.

Aunswere. Thys text sayeth not, that the Apostles vsed thys fourme of baptising: I baptise thee in the name of Christ.*&c. but they vsed many times this manner of speache, to be baptised in the name of Christe, not as expressing thereby the formable words of baptising, but as meaning this, that they would haue them to become members of Christe,* and to be baptised as Christians, entring into his baptism, and not only to the Baptisme of Iohn: and therefore, althoughe the apostles thus spake to the people, yet notwithstanding when they baptised any themselues, they vsed (no doubt) the forme of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Item, among many other obiections, they alledge certaine perils and causes of waight and importance, as spilling, sheding, or shaking the bloud out of the cuppe, or souring, or els sticking vpon mens beardes. &c. for the which they say it is wel provided, the halfe communion to suffice. Wherunto it is soone aunswered, that as these causes were no let to Christ, to the Apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the Primitiue Churche, but that in theyr

publike assemblies they receiued al the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other: * so neither be the sayd causes so important nowe, to adnull and euacuate the necessarye commaundement of the Gospell, if we were as carefull to obey the Lorde, as wee are curious to magnifie oure owne deuises, to strayne gnattes, to stumble at strawes, and to seeke knottes in rushes, whych rather are in oure owne phantasies growing, then there where they are sought.

Page 1151 *In summa, diuers other obiections and cauillations are in Popish bookes to be found as in Gabriell the difference made betwene the laitie and Priests, also the distinction vsed to be made betweene the Priestes communion and the laicall communion. Where is to be vnderstand, that when Priests were bidde to vse the laicall communion, thereby was ment not receauing vnder one kinde as lay men doe nowe, but to absteyne from consecrating, and onely to receaue as the lay men then did. Some also alledge certeyne speciall or particular examples, as of the cuppe onely seruing for the bread, or of the bread only sent to certeine sicke folke for the cuppe. And heere they inferre the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the Sacrament of bread, whiche she onely receaued without the cuppe, was turned to a stone, &c. other alledge other priuate examples likewise of infants, aged mē, sicke persons, men excommunicate, phrentickes and madde men, or men dwelling farre off from Churches, * in mountaynes or wildernes, &c. All which priuate examples neither make any instance against the auncient custome of publicke congregations frequented from the Apostles time, and much lesse ought they to derogate from the expresse and necessarye precept of the Gospell which saith to all men without exception: Hoc facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.

The third Article.

Priuate Masses, trentall Masses, and dirige Masses, as they were neuer vsed before the time of Gregory, * vi.C. yeares after Christ: so the same do fight directly agaynste our christian doctrine, as by the definition therof may wel appeare: The Masse is a worke or action of the priest, applied vnto men for meriting of grace, Ex opere operato, in the which Action the Sacrament is first worshipped, * and then offered vp for a sacrifice for remission of sinnes, à poena & culpa, for the quicke and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their owne teaching: so there is no part thereof which disagreeeth not from the rules of christian doctrine, especially these, as follow.

*1. The first rule is: Sacramentes be instituted for some principall end and vse, out of the which vse they are no sacraments. As the sacrament of Baptisme is a Sacrament of regeneration, and forgiuenes of sinnes to the person that is Baptised. But if it be caried about to be worshipped and shewed to other as meritorious for their remission, and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

2. No sacrament nor ceremonie doth profite or conduce, but them only which take and vse the same. *

3. Only the death of Christ, and the worke of his sacrifice vpon the crosse is to be applied to euery man by faith for saluation and health of his soule. * Beside this worke alone, to apply any action or worke of Priest or any other person, as meritorious of it selfe, and conducible to saluation, to soules health, or to remission of sinnes, it is Idolatrie and derogatorie to the Testamente of God, and to the bloud of Christ preiudiciall.

4. To make Idoles of sacramentes, and to woorshyp dumbe things for the liuing God,* it is Idolatry. Fugite Idola, &c. 1. Cor. 10.

5. Euery good worke whatsoever it be that a man doth, profiteth onely himselfe,* and cannot be applied to other men, Ex opere operato, to profite him vnto merite or remission, only the Actions of Christ except.

6. No man can apply to an other the sacrifice of Christes death by any worke doing;* but euery man must apply it to himselfe by his owne beleeuing. Iustus ex fide sua uiuet. Habacuc. 2.

7. The Sacrifice of Christes deathe dothe saue vs freely by it selfe,* and not by the meanes of any mans working for vs.

8. The Passion of Christ once done and no more, is a full and a perfecte oblation and satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world,* both originall and Actuell: by the vertue of which Passion, the wrath of God is pacified toward mankind for euer, Amen.

9. The Passion of Christ once done is onely the obiect of that faith of ours whiche iustifieth vs and nothing else.* And therefore whosoever setteth vp any other obiect, beside that Passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and to behold the same, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatrie.

Against all these rules, priuate Masses directly doe repugne. For first beside that they transgresse the order, example, and commaundement of Christ (which diuided the bread and cup to them all) they also bring the Sacramente out of the right vse wherunto principally it was ordeined. For where as the vse of that Sacrament is principally instituted for a testimoniall and remembraunce of Christes death, the priuate Masse transferreth the same to an other purpose, either to make of it a gasing Idoll, or a worke of application meritorious,* or a sacrifice propiciatory for remission of sinnes, or a commemoratiō for soules departed in Purgatory, accordyng as it is written in their Masse booke: Pro quorū memoria corpus Christi sumitur, Pro quorū memoria sanguis Christi sumitur. &c. Where as Christ sayth contrary, Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.

Furthermore,* the Institution of Christe is broken in this, that where the Communion was giuē in common, the priuate Masse suffereth the Priest alone to eate & drink vp all, and when he hath done, to blesse the people with the emptie cuppe.

Secōdly, whereas Sacraments properly profite none but thē that vse the same in the priuate Masse the Sacramēt is receaued in the behoofe not onely of him that executeth, but of them also that stand looking on, & of them also which be farre of, or dead and in Purgatory.

Thirdly,* whē by y^e scripture nothyng is to be applyed for remission of our sinnes, but onely the death of Christ, cōmeth in the priuate Masse as a worke meritorious done of the Priest, which beyng applyed to other, is auayleable Ex opere operato, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done, ad remissionem peccatorum.

Fourthly, priuate Masses & all other Masses now vsed of the Sacramēt make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in stead of a receauyng, make a deceauyng,* in place of shewing forth Christes death, make new oblation of his death, & of a cōmuniō, make a single sole supping.* &c

Fiftly, whereas in this generall frayltie of mans nature,* no mā can merite by any worthynes of workyng for him selfe, the Priest in his priuate Masse taketh vpon him to merite both for him selfe, and for many other.

Sixtly, it standeth agaynst Scripture, that the Sacrifice and death of Christ can bee applyed any other wise to our benefite and iustification, then by fayth: Wherefore it is false that the action of the Masse can apply the benefite of Christes death vnto vs. Ex opere operato,*sine bono motu vntis vel sacrificantis.

Seuenthly, where as the benefite of our saluatiō and iustifyng standeth by the free gift & grace of God through our fayth in Christ:* contrary the application of these Popish Masses stoppeth the freenesse of Gods grace and maketh that this benefite must first come through y^e Priestes handes and his opus operatum, vnto vs.

The eight contrarietie betweene priuate Masse, and gods word, is in this: That where the scripture sayth Vnica oblatione cōsummauit eos, qui sanctificantur in perpetuum With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for euer:* agaynst this rule the priuate Masse proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a dayly oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, newe to be done agayne: And finally, that which was instituted onely for eating and for a remembraunce of that oblation of Christ once done, the Popish Masse, maketh an oblation and a new satisffection dayly to be done, for the quicke and the dead.

To cōclude these both priuate and publicke Masses of Priestes,* turne away the obiect of our fayth from the body of Christ crucified, to the body of Christ sacrificed in their Masses. And where God annexeth the promise of iustification, but onely to our fayth in the body of Christ crucified: they do annexe promise of remissiō a poena & culpa, to the body in their Masses sacrificed, by their application: besides diuers other horrible and intolerable corruptions whiche spryng of these their priuate and publicke Masses, whiche here I leaue to other at their leysure further to conceaue and to consider. Now let vs proceede to the other Articles folowyng.

¶The fourth and fift Articles of vowes and Priestes Mariage.

As we haue discoursed before by histories and order of tyme,* the antiquitie of the iij. former Articles aboue mentioned, to witte, of trāsubstātiation, of the halfe cōmunion and of priuate Masses, so now commyng to the Article of vowes and of Priestes mariage, the reader will looke perchaunce to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before & to be certified from what cōtinuaunce of tyme these vowes & vnmarried lyfe of Priests haue continued.* Wherin although sufficient hath bene sayd before in the former processe of this history, as in the life of Anselmus. pag. 195. also of Pope Hildebrād, pag. 175. &c. yet for the better establishing of y^e readers mynde agaynst this wicked article of Priests mariage, it shalbe no great labour lost, here briefly

to recapitulate in the tractatiō of this matter, either what before hath bene sayd, or what more is to be added.

[Page 1149](#) And to the entent that the world may see and iudge the sayd lawe and decree of Priests single sole life, to be a doctrine of no auncient standing heere within this Realme, but only since the time of Anselmus,* I will first alledge for me the wordes of Henr. Huntynghton. lib. 7. De historia Anglorum heere following.

Eodem anno ad festum Michaelis tenuit Anselmus Archiepiscopus Concilium apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit sacerdotibus Anglorum, vxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum: ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent, &c. That is, The same yeare at the feast of S. Michael. Anselme the Archbyshop of Canterbury held a Synode at London: *In the which Synode he forefended Priestes heere in Englande to haue wiues, which they were not inhibited before to haue. Which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To othersome againe it seemed very dangerous, *least while that men should take vpon them such chastitie more then they should be able to beare, by that occasion they might happily fall into horrible filthines, whiche shoulde redound to the exceeding slaunder of christian profession, &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselmus, both Odo, and after him Dunstane Archb. of Canterbury, and Ethelwold B. of Winchester, and Oswold B. of Worcester in the dayes of King Edgar, anno. 963. as they were all Monkes themselues, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing in Monkes in Churches and Colledges,* and putting out the married Priests as ye may read before pag. 153. Yet notwithstāding neither was that in many Churches, and also the priests then married, were not constrayned to leaue their wyues, nor theyr rouses, but onely at their owne choyce. For so writeth Malmesbury in vita Dunstani: Ita{que} clerici multarum Ecclesiarum,*data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, cessere, &c. That is: Therefore diuers & sondry clerkes of many Churches, being put to their choice, whether to chaunge their weede, or to part from their places, wente their waies, &c. So also Elfricus after them (of whome mention was made before) was somewhat busie in setting forward the single life of Priestes,* and Lanfrancus lykewise. But yet this restreynt of Priestes lawfull marriage was neuer publickely established for a lawe heere in the Church of England, before the cōming of Anselme in the daies of William Rufus, & king Henry 1. writing in these words: Boldly I commaunde by the authoritie which I haue by my Archbishoprike,*not only within my Archbishoprike, but also throughout England, that all Priests that keepe women, shall be depriued of their Churches, and al ecclesiasticall benefices, &c. As ye may reade more at large before, page. 196. whiche was much about the same time whē as Hildebrand also at Rome begā to attempt the same matter, as before hath ben shewed: & also besides him were other Popes mo, as Innocent the 3. Pope Nicholas the 2. and Calixtus the 2. by whome the acte against Priests mariage was brought at length to his ful perfectiō, and so hath cōtinued euer since.

Long it were and tedious to recite here all such constitutions of Councils prouinciall and generall, namely of y^e council of Carthage, & of Toledo, which seemed to worke something in that behalf, against the matrimony of priests. Againe, longer it were to number vp the names of al such bishops and priests, which notwithstāding haue bin married since that time, in diuers

countreys, as more amplye shall be shewed (the Lord willing) in the sequele hereof. In the meane season, as touching the age & time of this diuelish prohibition for priests to haue their wiues, thys is to be found by credible proofes, and conferring of histories, that in the yeare of our Sauour 1067. at what time Pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the Papall chayre,* this othe began first to be taken of Archbishops and Byshops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministerie, or into any ecclesiasticall function hauing a wife: and lykewise the Clergie to be bound to promise the same.

And this was (as I said) about the yeare of our Lorde, 1067. well approued and testified by course of hystories.* Whereby appeareth the prophesie of S. Paule truely to be verified, speaking of these latter times. 1. Tim. 4. Where he writeth in these wordes. The spirit speaketh playnely, that in the latter times, there shall some depart from the faith, harkening vnto spirits of errour, and to doctrines of deuils, forbidding to marry, and commaunding to abstayne from meates, whiche the Lord hath created to be taken with thankesgeuing, &c.

In this prophesie of S. Paule ij. things are to be obserued: First the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of mariage,* and forbidding of meates, whiche God generally hath left free to all men. The second thyng in this prophesie to be noted, is the time whē this prophesie shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the worlde. So that this concurreth right well with these yeares of Pope Hildebrand aforesayde, beeing a thousande yeares complete after the Ascension of our Sauour: so that they may well be called the latter times.

This prophesie of S. Paule thus standing (as it doth firme and certain, that is,* that forbidding of mariage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it nedes consequently follow therby, that the married life of priestes is more auncient in the Church, then is the single life, then the law I meane commaunding the single life of Priests. Which may soone be proued to be true, by the true count of times, and search of hystories.

For first at the Councill of Nice, it is notorious that this diuelish law of mariage to be restrained, was stopped by Paph•tius.

2. Before this Councill of Nice, in the yeare of our Lord 180. we reade of Polycrates B. of Ephesus, who dissenting from Pope Uictor about a certaine controuersie of Easter day, alledgeth for himselfe how his progenitoures before him 7. together, one after another, succeeded in that seate, and he now the 8. after them was placed in the same: vsing this his discent of his parents, not only as a defence of his cause, but also a glory to himselfe, &c.

3. Pope Syricius about the yeare of our Lord 390. wrote to the priests of Spaine about the same matter of putting their wiues from them, if his Epistle be not counterfeyte. These Spanish priestes had then with them a Byshop of Terragon. Who aunswering to Syricius in this behalfe, alledged the testimonies of S. Paule, that Priestes might lawfully retaine their wiues, &c.* To this Syricius replied againe (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly and no lesse ignorauntly, reprouing the Priests that were married, and for the defence of his cause, alledged this sentence of S. Paule: Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini. That is: If ye shall liue after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appeare not onely howe they in Spaine then had wiues,* but also how blinde these men were in the Scriptures, which shewed themselues such aduersaries against Priests Mariage.

4. To be short, the further we go & nearer to the auncient time of the church, the lesse auncient we shall finde the depriuation of lawfull matrimony amongst christian ministers, beginning if we will, with the Apostles, their examples and Canons, who although were not all married, yet diuers of them were, and the rest had power and libertie to haue and keepe their wiues, witnessing S. Paule, where he writeth of himselfe: *Non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem circumducendi sicut & reliqui Apostoli? That is to say: haue not we power to leade about a sister to wife, as also the other Apostles haue? Whereby is to be seene, both what he might do, and what the other Apostles did. Also Clemens Alexandrinus, whiche was CC. yeares after Christe, Lib. Strom 7. denieth not but that Paul was married beyng an Apostle, as well as Peter and Philp. * And as the sayde Apostles in their doctrine admonishe all men to marrie that can not otherwise doe, sayeng to euery one beeyng in daunger of temptation: *Vnusquisque suam vxorem habeat ne tentet vos Satanas, &c.* That is, Let euery man haue his owne wife, least Sathan tempt you, &c. So likewise the same Apostles in their Canons (as in the Popes Decrees cited) do precisely charge, that no Bishop nor priest, * shoulde sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saieng: If anye shall teach that a priest for religion sake, *ought to contemne his owne wife, let him be accursed, &c.

As for the Glose there in the margent, whiche expoundeth this word contemning for exhibiting things necessarye for her sustenance, all the worlde may see that to bee a Glose of meere Sophistry. * And because I haue here made mention of Clemens Alexandrinus, it shal not be to our purpose impertinent, to inferre the wordes of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend Priests lawfull matrimonie, against certayne vayne bosters of virginitie in his time. *Dicunt gloriosi isti iactatores, se imitari dominum, *qui neque vxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid possedit: se magis quam alios Euangelium intellexisse gloriantes.* That is: These glorious braggers doe vaunte themselues to bee the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet possessed anye thing heere in the worlde, &c. And it followeth: *Eis autem dicit scriptura, deus superbus resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde nesciunt causam cur dominus vxorem non duxerit primum quidem propriam sponsam habuit ecclesiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, vt opus haberet etiam adiutore aliquo secundum carnem, &c.* To these the Scripture maketh aunswere: God withstandeth the proude, and geueth grace to the humble. Agayne, they consider not the cause why the Lorde tooke no wife. * First he had his owne peculiar spouse: which is y^e Church. Moreouer, neither was he as a common man, that hee shoulde [Page 1153](#) stand in such neede of a helper after the fleshe, &c. And in the same booke a little after alleading against them that abhorre matrimonie, * he inferreth the wordes of S. Paule: how that in the latter dayes some shall fall from the faith attending to spirits of error, and to doctrine of deuils, forbidding to marry, and to absteyne from meates, &c. Which place of Saint Paule, Clement heere applieth not against the Nouatians, and them that condemne matrimony in generall in all men, as naught: but he applyeth it only against suche, as forbid mariage in part, and namely in Priests, &c.

*This Clement wrote after Christ two hundreth yeres, and yet if we come downeward to lower times, we shall finde both by the Councell of Gangren CCC. yeares, and also by the Council of Nice CCCC. yeares after Christe, the same libertie of priestes mariage established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The wordes of Gangren Councell be these: *Si quis discernit Praesbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, ** & ab eius

oblatione ideo abstinet, anathema sit, &c. That is: If any do iudge that a Priest for his mariage sake, ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstaine from the same, let him be accursed.

Moreouer, proceeding yet in times and Chronicles of the Church, we shall come to the sixt Councell called Synodus Constantinopolitana,* almost seauen C. yeares after Christ: the wordes of the which Councell be alleadged in the Decrees, and be these in Latine. Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis esse cognouimus traditum, eos qui ordinati sunt Diaconi vel Presbyteri, confiteri quod non suis iam copulentur vxoribus, antiquum sequentes canonem Apostolicae diligentiae & constitutiones sacrorum virorum, legales nuptias amodo valere volumus, nullo modo cum vxoribus suis eorum connubia dissoluentes, aut priuantes eos familiaritate adinuicem, in tempore oportuno, &c. That is: Because in the order of the Romaine Canon, we know it so to be receaued, that such as be Deacons and Priestes, shall professe themselues to haue no more copulation with their wiues, we following the auncient Canon of the diligent Apostles and constitutions of holy men, enact that suche lawfull mariage, from henceforth, shall stande in force, in no case dissolving theyr coniunction with their wiues, neither depriuing them of their mutuall societie and familiaritie together, in suche time as they shall thinke conuenient, &c. Hetherto ye haue heard the decree: heare now the penaltie in the same decree and distinction contained. Si quis igitur praesumpserit contra Apostolicos canones aliquos Praesbyterorum & Diaconorum priuare à contactu & communione legalis vxoris suae deponatur, &c. That is: If any therefore shal presume, against the Canons of the Apostles,* to depriue either priest or Deacon from the touching and companie of his lawfull wife, let him be depriued. And likewise this Priest and Deacon, whosoever for religion sake shall put away his wife, let him be excommunicate, &c. And the Councell of Gangren sayth: let him be accursed. By these wordes of the Councell recited, sixe things are to be noted.

1. First, how this Councell calleth y^e Mariage of priestes lawfull, contrary to these vj. articles, and to a certeyne late Englishe writer of our countrey, entituling his booke against the vnlawfull mariage of Priestes.

2. In that this Councell so followeth the Canons of the Apostles, and constitutions of holy men: we haue to vnderstand, what the censure both of the Apostles: and determination of other holy men were therein.

3. If the Iniunction of this Councell, agreeyng thus with the Apostles and holy men, stode with truth, the contrary Canon of the Romaines, and also of these sixe English articles, must needes be condemned of error.

4. By this Councell appeareth that so long time, almost 700. yeares after Christ, this prohibition of Priestes mariage was not yet entred into the Orient Church, but stoutely was holden out.

5. By the Romane Canon heere mentioned (which began with Gregorius 600. yeares after Christ, a little before this Councell) it can not be denied, but the Church of Rome began then to disceuer, not onely from the veritie, but also from the vnitie of all other Churches, following the Apostolicke doctrine. Albeit the said Romane Canon, at that time stode not long, but was shortly disanulled by the sayd Gregorius agayne by the occasion of infants heads found in his fish pond, whereof (Christ willing) more shal be spoken heereafter.*

6. Sixtly, heere is to be noted & remēbred the craftie false packing, and fraude of the Romaines: which in the Latine booke of Councels, in diuers new impressions, haue suppressed this Canon, because be like, it maketh little w^t their purpose: plaieng much like with this, as Pope Zosimus Bonifacius and Celestinus played with y^e sixt council of Carthage, which for their supremacy would haue forged a false Canon of Nice, had not the Councell sent to Cōstantinople for the true exemplar therof & so proued them open lyers to their faces. So likewise this Canō aboue mētioned although it be omitted in some bookes, yet beyng found in the auncient & true written copies beyng alledged of Nilus a Greeke Byshop of Thessalonica.* CC. yere tofore and moreouer beyng found & alledged in the Popes own booke of Decrees Distin. 31. must needes conuince them of manifest theft & falsehoode. Thus it may stand sufficiently proued that y^e deprauation of Priestes lawfull mariage all this space was not entred into the church neither Greeke nor Latin,* at least tooke no ful possession before Pope Hildebrandus tyme. Anno Domini. 1070 and especially Pope Calixtus time. Anno Domini. 1120. which were the first open extortors of Priestes mariage.

Auentinus a faythfulll writer of his tyme writyng of the Councell of Hildebrand, hath these wordes: *Sacerdotes illa tempestate publicè vxores, sicut caeteri Christiani habebant filios procreabant, sicuti instrumentis donationū quae illi templis, Mystis, & Monachis fecere: vbi hae nominatim cum coniugibus testes citantur, & honesto vocabulo Praesbiterissae nūcupantur, inuenio Caesar tum. &c. That is: In those dayes Priestes commonly had wiues as other Christē men had, and had children also, as may appeare by auncient instrumentes, & deedes of gift, which were then giuen to Churches to the Clergy and to religious houses in the whiche instrumentes both the Priestes and their wiues also with them (which there be called Praesbyterissae) I finde to be alledged for witnesses. It happened moreouer y^e same tyme (sayth Auentine) that the Emperour had the inuestyng of diuers Archbyshopprickes, Byshopprickes, Abbayes and Nunries within his dominions, Pope Hildebrand disdaynyng agaynst both these sortes aforesayd, that is, both against them that were inuested by the Emperour and also agaynst all those Priestes that had wiues, prouided so in his Coūcell at Rome, that they which were promoted by the Emperour into liuyngs of the Church were counted to come in by Symony: the other which were maryed Priestes were counted for Nicolaitanes. Wherupon pope Hildebrād writyng his letters to y^e Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other great Prelates, and Potētates: namely to Bertholdus, Zaringer, to Rodolphus of Sueuia, to Welphon of Bauaria, to Adalberon, and to their Ladyes, and to diuers other to whom he thought good: also to Byshops, namely, to Otto Byshop of Constance, with other Priestes and lay people, willeth them in his letters to refuse and to keepe no company with those Symoniake, and those Nicolaitane Priestes (for so were they termed then, which had either any Ecclesiasticall liuyng by the Emperour, or els which had wiues to auoyd their Masses: * neither talke, neither to eate nor drinke with them, nor once to speake to them, nor to salute them, but vtterly to shunne them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise thē they would eschue the plague or pestilence.

By reason whereof ensued a mighty schisme and affliction among the flocke of Christ,* such as lightly the lyke hath not bene seene. For the Priestes went agaynst their Byshops, the people agaynst the Priest, the laytie agaynst the Clergy: briefly all ranne together in heapes & in confusion. Men and women, as euery one was set vpon mischief, wickednesse, contention and auarice, tooke thereby occasion vpon euery light suspicion, to resiste their Minister, to spoyle the goodes of the Church. The vulgare people contemned the Priestes which had maryed wiues,

despised their Religion, and all thynges that they dyd: yea and in many places would purge the place where they had bene, with holy water, and brent their Tithes. Also such was, the mischief of them, that they would take the holy mysteries, whiche those maryed Priestes had consecrated, and cast them in the dyrt, & tread them vnder their feete: For so then had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no Priestes, neither that they were Sacramentes, whiche they did consecrate. So that by this occasion, many false Prophets rose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ, by forged Fables, and false miracles, and feyned Gloses, wrastyng the Scriptures as serued best for their owne purposes. Of whom few there were that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boastes & brags thereof, but the greatest part vnder the shew & pretence of honesty & purenes of life cōmitted incest, fornication, adultery, euery where almost, and no punishment was for the same. &c. Thus much out of Auentinus: Lib. 5. Annal.

To this testimony of Auentinus aboue mentioned, we will also adioyne the recorde of Gebuilerus a writer of this our latter tyme, and one also of their owne crewe,* who doth testifie that in tyme of the Emperour Henricus the fourth,* an. 1057. the number of 24. Byshops both in Germany, Spayne, and in Fraunce, were maryed, with the [Page 1154](#) Cleargie also of their dioces.

Of the which Spanish Byshops we reade also in Isidorus, whiche wrote more then sixe hundreth yeares after Christ (and the place also cited in the Popes Distinctions) in his booke De clericorum vita,* how they ought eyther to leade an honest chaste life, or else to keepe themselues within the bande of matrimonie, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of Priests, eyther to be then voluntary, or else their mariage not to be restrained as yet, by any law.

Moreouer, such Calistian Priestes as be nowe adayes, counting Priests mariage as a new deuise, and not standing with auncient times,* let them looke vpon the Decree of Pope Symmachus, and answeare there to the Glose. Dist. 81. where it is written: Let Priests be all restrained from the conuersation of all women, except it be their mother, sister, or their owne wife, &c. Where the glose in the margent, geueth a note, saieng: Hic loquitur secundum antiqua tempora.

Thus if either the voyce of scripture might take place with these men which be so rigorous against Priestes mariage:* or if the examples of the Apostles might moue them (whome S. Ambrose witnesseth to haue bene all married, except onely Paule and Iohn) or else if the multitude of married Bishops and Priestes might preuaile with them, heere might be rehearsed:

That Tertullian was a married Priest, as witnesseth Hierome.

[*Spiridion](#) Byshop of Cyprus, had wife and children.

Hylary Byshop of Poytiers, was also married.

Gregory Byshop of Nyssa.

Gregory Byshop of Nazianzum.

[*Prosper](#) Byshop of Rhegium.

Cheremon Byshop of Nylus. All these were married Byshops.

*Of Polychrates, and his 7. aunciters Byshops and married men, we spake before.

Epiphanius Byshop of Constantinople in Iustinians tyme was the more commended, because his father & aunciters before him, * were Priests and Byshops married.

Hierome sayth, that in his time, Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia. That is, many Priestes were then married men.

Pope Damasus reciteth vp a great number of Byshops of Rome, * which were Priestes sonnes, as:

- Syluerius. an. 544.
- Deus dedit, aboute the yeare 622.
- Adrianus 2. aboute the yeare 873. *
- Foelix 3. about the yeare 474.
- Hosius.
- Agapetus. an. 534.
- Gelasius, 484.
- Bonifacius.
- Theodorus, whose Father was Byshoppe of Hierusalem, aboute the yeare 634.
- Ioannes 10. an. 924.
- Ioannes 15. the sonne of Leo a Priest, aboute the yeare 984.
- Richarde Archdeacon of Couentry.
- Henry Archdeacō of Huntingdon.
- Volusianus Byshop of Carthage.
- Tho. Archbishop of Yorke, sonne of Sampson Byshop of Worcester.

And howe many other Byshops and Priestes in other countreys besides these Bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leasure were such, to make a whole beaderole of them all?

In the meane time the wordes of Siluius Cardinall, & afterward B. of Rome, are not to be forgotten, whiche he wrote to a certeyne frende of his, * whiche after his orders taken, was disposed to mariage. To whome the foresayde Syluius aunswereth agayne in these wordes folowing: Credimus te vti non insulso consilio, si cum nequeas continere, coniugium quaeris: quamuis id prius cogitandum fuerat, anteaquam initiaueris sacris ordinibus. Sed non sumus dii omnes qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum est, vt legi resistere nequeas, melius est nubere quàm vri, &c. That is: We beleue that you in so doing, follow no sinister counsayle, in that you choose to be married, when otherwise you are not able to liue chaste. Albeit this counsayle should haue come into your heade, before that you entred into Ecclesiasticall orders. But we are not all gods to foresee before, what shall happen heereafter. Now for so much as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the lawe, better it is to marry then to burne, &c.

All these premisses well considered, it shall suffice, I trust though no more were sayd, to proue that this general law and prohibition of priests mariage pretended to be so auncient, is of no such

great time, nor lōg cōtinuance of yeres as they make it, but rather to be a late deuised doctrine gēdered by the Monkes, and grounded vpō no reason, law nor scripture, but that certeine, which be repiners against the truth, do racke and wrast a few places out of Doctors and ij. or iij. Councels for their pretended purpose. Whose obiections and blinde cauillations, I as professing heete but to write stories, referre to the further discussion of Diuines: in whose bookes this matter is more at large to bee sought and searched. In the meane season so much as apperteyneth to the searching of times and antiquitie, and to the conseruation of such Actes and monuments as are behoueable for the Church, I thought heereunto not vnprofitable to be adioined a certaine Epistle learned and auncient of Uolusianus, Bishop sometimes of Carthage, tending to the defence of Priests lawfull wedlocke,* which Aeneas Syluius in Descriptione Germaniae, also Illyricus in Catal. and Melancth. Lib. De coniugio do father vpon Huldericus Byshop of Augusta, in the time of Pope Nicholas 2. but as I finde it in an old written example, sent by Iohn Bale to Math. Archbishop of Canterbury, as it is ioyned in the same booke:* so it beareth also the same title and name of Uolusianus Byshop of Carthage: ioining also withall, another Latine Epistle, whiche perhaps hath not bene seene in Print before. The Copies of which both Epistles as being pertinent to the purpose present, heere vnder ensue in forme as foloweth.

¶The epistle in Latin of Volusianus, or as some thinke of Huldericus Byshop of Augusta, to Pope Nicholas, agaynst the forbidding of Priestes Mariage.

Epistola Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Episcopum.

¶Haec est rescriptio Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi, in qua Papae Nicolao de continentia clericorum, non iustè sed impiè, nec canonicè, sed indiscretè tractanti ita respondit.

Nicolao Domino & patri peruigili sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Prouisori, Volusianus solo nomine Episcopus, amorem vt filius, timorem vt seruus.

CVm tua, ô Pater & Domine,* decreta super clericorum continentia nuper mihi transmissa, à discretione inuenirem aliena, timor me turbauit cum tristitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quod dicitur, pastoris sententia, siue iusta, siue iniusta timenda est. Timebam enim infirmis Scripturae auditoribus, qui vel iustae vix obediunt sententiae, ne iniustam conculcantes liberè, onerosa, imò importabili pastoris praeuaricatione praecepti, se obligarent. Tristitia verò vel compassio, dum considerabam, qua ratione membra cauere possent, capite suo tam graui morbo laborante. Quid enim grauius quid totius Ecclesiae compassione dignius, quam te summae sedis Pontificem, ad quem totius Ecclesiae spectat examen, à sancta discretione vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hac deuisti, cum clericos, quos ad abstinentiam coniugij monere debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nun quid enim meritò communi omnium sapientum iudicio haec est violentia, cum contra Euangelicam institutionem, ac sancti Spiritus dictationem, ad priuata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum ergo plurima veteris ac noui Testamenti suppetant exempla, sanctam (vt nosti) discretionem docentia,* tuae rogo graue sit paterniati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginae interseri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege sacerdoti coniugium constituit, quod illi postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Sed idem in Euangelio loquitur: Sunt eunuchi,* qui se castrauerunt propter regnum caelorum, sed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui potest capere, capiat. Quà propter Apostolus quoque ait: De virginibus praeceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. Qui etiam iuxta praedictum Domini, non omnes hoc consilium capere posse considerans, sed multos eiusdem consilij assentatores, hominibus, non Deo, pro falsa specie continentiae placere volentes, grauiora vides committere, patrum scilicet vxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere:* ne morbi huius aspersione ad usque pestilentiam conualescente, nimium status labefactetur Ecclesiae totius: Propter fornicationem, dixit, vnusquisque suam vxorem habeat. Quod specialiter ad laicos pertinere, ijdem mentiuntur hypocritae: qui licet in quouis sanctissimo ordine constituti, alienis tamen vxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in supradictis saeuiunt sceleribus. Hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt,* cuius mamillam quia durius pressêre, sanguinem pro lacte biberunt. Nam illud Apostolicum: Vnusquisque suam habeat vxorem, nullum excipit verè, nisi professorem continentiae, vel eum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate prefixit.

Quod nihilominus tuam, Pater venerande, condecet strenuitatem, vt omnem qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentiae, postea voluerit apotatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito constringas, aut ab omni ordine, canonica autoritate deponas: & hoc vt viriliter implere sufficias,* me omnesque mei ordinis viros adiutores habebis non pigros. Verùm vt huius voti nescios omninò scias non esse cogendos, audi Apostolum dicentem [Page 1155](#) ad Timoth: Oportet (inquit) Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, vnus vxoris virum. Quam sententiam ne quis ad solam Ecclesiam verteret, subiunxit: Qui autem domui suae praeesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesiae Dei diligentiam habebit? Similiter inquit: Diaconi sint vnus vxoris viri, qui filijs suis bene praesint, & suis domibus. Hanc autem vxorem à sacerdote benedicendam esse, sancti Syluestri Papae decretis scio te sufficienter docuisse. His & huiusmodi sanctae Scripturae sententijs, Regulae clericorum scriptor non immeritò concordans, ait: Clericus sit pudicus, aut certè vnus matrimonij vinculo foederatus. Ex quibus omnibus veraciter colligit, quòd Episcopus & Diaconus reprehensibiles notantur, si in mulieribus multis diuiduntur. Si verò vnam sub obtentu religionis abijciunt, vtrunque, scilicet Episcopum & Diaconum, sine graduum differentia, hic Canonica damnat sententia: Episcopus aut Presbyter vxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abijciat, si verò reiecerit, excommunicetur:* & si perseuerauerit, deijciatur. Sanctus quoque Augustinus, sanctae discretionis non inscius: Nullum, inquit, tam graue facinus est, quin admittendum sit, vt deuitetur peius.

Legimus praeterea in secundo Tripartitae Ecclesiasticae libro historiae, quòd cum Synodus Nicaena haec eadem vellet sancire decreta,* vt videlicet Episcopi, Praesbyteri, Diaconi, post consecrationem à proprijs vxoribus vel omninò abstinerent, vel gradum deponerent: surgens in medio Paphnutius, (ex illis Martyribus quos Maximus Imperator, oculis eorum dextris euulsis, & sinistris suris incisis, damnavit) contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias, ac castitatem esse dicens connubium cum propria vxore: persuasitque Concilio ne talem ponerent legem: grauem asserens esse causam, quae aut ipsis, aut eorum coniugibus occasio fornicationis existeret. Et haec quidem Paphnutius, licet nuptiarum experts, exposuit: Synodusque eius sententiam laudauit, & nihil ex hac parte sanciuìt, sed hoc in vnusquisque voluntate, non in necessitate dimisit.

Sunt verò aliqui, qui sanctum Gregorium suae sectae sumunt adiutorem: quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculosum huius haeresis decretum à S. Gregorio factum, condigno poenitentiae fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippè cùm die quadam in viuarium suum propter pisces misisset, & allata inde plus quam sex milia infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus poenitentia ingemuit,* & factum à se de abstinētia decretū, tātae caedis causam cōfessus, cōdigno illud, vt dixi, poenitentiae fructu purgavit: suoque decreto prorsus damnato, Apostolicum illud laudauit confilium: Melius est nubere quàm vri: addens ex sua parte: Melius est nubere, quàm mortis occasionem praebere. Hunc forsitan rei euentum si illi mecum legissent,* non tam temerè, credo, iudicarent, Dominicum saltem timentes praeceptum: Nolite iudicare, vt non iudicemini. Inde Paulus dicit: Tu quis es, qui iudicas alienum seruum? suo Domino stat, aut cadit. Stabit autem: potens est enim Dominus statuere illum.* Cesset ergo sanctitas tua cogere, quos tantū deberet admonere: ne priuato (quod absit) praecepto, tam veteri quàm nouo contrarius inueniaris testamento. Nam, vt ait sanctus Augustinus ad Donatum: Solum est quòd in tua iusticia pertimescimus, ne non pro lenitatis Christianae consideratione, sed pro immanitate facinorum censeas coercendum. Quod te per ipsum Christum ne facias obsecramus: sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, vt supersint quos peccasse poeniteat.* Illud etiam Augustini volumus te recordari, quod ait: Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate: & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter. Idem de eodem: In timore Christi in nomine Christi exhortor: Quicumque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicumque habetis, in eis non praesumatis. Dico autem, non si ista habetis, damnamini: sed si in istis praesumatis, damnamini: si propter talia magni vobis videamini: si generis humani conditionem communem propter excellentem vnitatem,* obliuiscamini. Quod nimirum poculum discretionis ex illo fonte Apostolicae hauserat praedicationis: Solutus es ab vxore, noli quaerere vxorem: alligatus es vxori, noli quaerere solutionem. Vbi & subditur: Qui habent vxores, sint tanquam non habentes: & qui vtuntur mundo, tanquam non vtantur. Idem dicit de vidua: Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino. Nubere in Domino est, nihil in contrahendo cōnubio quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare. Ieremias quo{que} ait: Nolite cōfidere in verbis mendacij, dicētes: Templū Domini, templum Domini, tēplum Domini est. Quod Hieronimus exponens: Potest (inquit) & hoc illis virginibus conuenire,* quae iactant pudicitiam suam impudenti vultu: praeferunt castitatem, cum aliud habeat conscientia: & nesciunt illam Apostoli definitionem de virgine, vt sit sancta corpore & spiritu. Quid enim prodest corporis pudicitia, animo constuprato, si caeteras virtutes, quas Propheticus sermo describit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, & quia discretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in alijs tamen vitae tuae constitutionibus eam honestè conseruatam non ignoramus: huius intentionis prauitatem te citò correcturum non desperamus. Et ideo non quanta possumus grauitate, istam licet grauissimam negligentia corripimus, vel iudicamus. Quanquam enim secundū vocabula quae vsus obtinuit, sit Episcopatus Praesbyterio maior: tamen Augustinus Hieronymo minor est, & à minori quolibet non est refugienda correptio: praesertim cum is qui corripitur, & contra veritatem, & pro hominibus niti inuenitur. Ne{que} enim, vt ait sanctus Augustinus ad Bonifaciū: Quorumlibet disputationes, quam uis catholicorū & laudatorum virorum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: vt non liceat nobis salua honorificentia, quae illis debetur, aliquid in eorū scriptis improbare at{que} respuere, si fortè inuenerimus quòd aliter senserint quàm veritas habeat, diuino adiutorio vel ab alijs intellecta, vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati magis contrariū, quàm hoc, quòd cum ipsa veritas de continentia loquens, nō vnus hominis,* sed omnium planè (non excepto numero professorum continentiae) dicat: Qui potest capere, capiat: isti (nescitur vnde instigati) dicant: Qui non potest capere, feriat anathemate?

Quid verò per homines fieri potest stolidius? quid diuinae maledictioni obligatius, quàm cum aliqui, vel Episcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita praecepites sint in libidinem, vt ne{que} adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum (proh pudor) turpissimos amplexus sciant abhorre: casta clericorum cōiugia sibi dicant foetere, & ab eis non verae iusticiae compassione, sed falsae iusticiae dedignatione, non vt conseruos rogent cōtinere, sed vt seruos iubeant ac cogant abstinere? Ad cuius imperij, ne dicam consilij, tam fatuam, tam{que} turpē addunt suggestionem, vt dicāt: Honestius est pluribus occultè implicari, quàm apertè in hominū vultu & conscientia cum vna legari. Quod profectò nō dicerent, si ex illo & in illo essent, qui dicit: Vae vobis Phariseis, qui omnia facitis propter homines. Et per Psalmistā: Qui hominibus placent, confusi sunt,* quoniam Dominus spreuit eos. Hi sunt, qui prius deberent nobis persuadere, vt in cōspectu eius, cui omnia nuda & aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quàm in conspectu hominū mundi esse. Licet ergo merito suae prauitatis, nullius consiliū mereantur pietatis, nos tamē memores humanitatis diuinae, eis consilium authoritatis nunquam à pietate vacantis, per viscera ministramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe:* Eiice primū hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perspicies vt eiicias festucā de oculo fratris tui.

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod Dominus dicit de muliere: Qui sine peccato est vestrū, primus in eam lapidem mittat, quasi di•eret: Si lex iubet, si Moses iubet,* iubeo & ego, sed competentes legis ministros exigo. Attendentes, quid adducitis, attendite quaeso & quid estis: quia, si te ipsum, vt ait Scriptura, perspexeris, nulli vnquam detraxeris. Significatum est autem nobis de quibusdā eorum, quod tanta apud se intumescant elatione, vt gregem Domini,* pro quo boni pastores animas non dubitant ponere, isti verberibus etiam abs{que} ratione praesumant laniare. Quorum sentētiam S. Gregorius nimium deplorans ait: Quid fiet de ouibus, quando pastores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, nisi qui saeuit? quis verò persecutorē iudicabit, nisi qui dorsū suū ad flagella patienter ministravit?* Operae praecium est autē, vt audiatur, quo fructu tantū Ecclesiae Dei inducabant scandalū, tantū cleris despectum, & ab ipsis Episcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitauerim, de quibus Paulus Apostolus dicit ad Timotheum: Quia in nouissimis temporibus discedēt quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris,* & doctrinis daemoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, & cauteriatam habentium conscientiam, prohibentium nubere.

Hic est autem, si diligēter inspiciatur, totius eorum manipulus zizaniae, totius euentus insaniae,* vt dum clerici licita vnus mulieris cōsortia, Pharisaico deuicti (quod absit) furore, relinquere cogātur, fornicatores & adulteri & aliarum prauitatum turpissimi ministri cum ipsis efficiantur. Qui hanc in Ecclesia Dei haeresim, sicut caeci duces caecorū machinantur, vt videlicet illud impleatur quod Psalmista eis, vt pote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur: Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant. &c. Quia ergo nemo, ô Apostolice, ignorat,* quòd si tu per tui decreti sententiam, tantam futuram esse pestilentiam solitae discretionis claritate perspexisses, nūquam quorumlibet tam prauis suggestionibus consensisses: debitae tibi subiectionis fidelitate consulimus, vt vel nūc ad tanti scandali ab Ecclesia Dei pro pulsionē euigiles: & qua nosti discretionis disciplina, Pharisaicā ab ouili Dei extirpes doctrinā, ne scilicet vnica Sunamitis, adulterinis diutius vsa maritis, gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à sponso Christo videlicet, auellat diuortium: dum nemo sine castimonia, non tantum in virginali flore, sed etiam in coniugali habita coniunctione, visurus sit Dominum nostrum: qui cum Deo patre & Spiritu sancto viuut & regnat per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

As touchyng the antiquitie of this Epistle aboue prefixed it appeareth by the copie which I haue sene, & receaued of the aboue named Matthew Archbyshop of Cāterbury, to be of an old & aunciēt writyng, both by the forme of the characters, and by the wearyng of the Partchment, almost consumed by length of yeares and tyme.

And as cōcernyng the author therof, the superscriptiō (if it be true) playnely declareth it to be the Epistle of Uolusianus Byshop of Carthage. Albeit heretofore it hath [Page 1156](#) commonly bene taken and alleaged by the name of Huldericus Byshop of Augusta, and partely appeareth to be so, both by the testimony of Aeneas Syluius, in Descriptione Germaniae, who in the said treatise affirmeth that Huldericus Byshop of Augusta, did constantly resist the Pope abolishing the mariage of Priests, &c. and also by the record of Illyricus, testifieng that the said epistle not only remaineth yet to this day in old monumentes, but also that hee himselfe did see two exemplars of the same, both pretending the name of the sayde Huldericus to bee the author. Notwithstanding this copie heere aboue prefixed, beareth the title not of Huldericus Bishop of Augusta, but of Uolusianus Bishop of Carthage in Aphricke, as ye may see by the words of the preamble, sayeng, This is the rescripte of Volusianus Byshop of Carthage, vnto Pope Nicholās concerning Priests not to be restrayned from lawfull marriage, &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was to whōe these epistles were written, it is not plainly shewed in the same, but that by probable coniecture it may be gessed rather to be Pope Nicholas 2. for so much as in his time, Priestes mariage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more then at other times before

Now as touching the English▪ of this Latine epistle aboue exhibited,* forasmuch as the same is before inserted, page 157. we will referre the reader vnto the same place. Wherein if the translation of the English doe swarue any thing from the Latin heere aboue prefixed, the cause was, for that the Latine copie which heere we follow, came not before to our hands.

¶Another epistle of the said Volusianus, concerning marriage not to be restrayned from priestes and ministers of the Church.

CVm sub liberi arbitrij potestate creati simus, & non sub lege, sed sub gratia, qualiter creati sumus, viuamus. Vos qui continentiae legem nobis inuitis, imponitis, liberi arbitrij nos potestate priuatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis, & imperando cogitis: & legis vinculo, à quo ipsa gratia nos in libertatem liberati sumus,*alligare, & spiritum seruitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipsamque gratiam, sine qua nihil facere possumus, omninò euacuare satagitis, ita vt (sicut ait Apostolus) ipsa gratia iam non sit gratia, & Dei donum non sit Dei donum: Et non ex Deo sed ex homine, nec ex vocante, sed ex operante: cum idem Apostolus dicat: Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis.

Nam cū sint▪ tria principalia & quasi effectiua, per quae omnis anima humana capax & compos rationis,*quicquid spiritalis boni apprehendere & percipere potest, apprehendit & percipit, & sine quibus nihil prorsus capere possit: liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, & gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona à malis decernimus atque eligimus: mandato ad omnia facienda prouocamur ac incitamur: gratia promouemur & adiuuamur) horum omnium tamen gratia Domina & Magistra & quasi praepotens imperatrix & Regina est, ad cuius nutum caetera pendent, & ab ea vim &

efficaciam expectant, & sine illa nihil praevalent, sed quasi stolidi & mortui, sicut materia sine forma, iacent & subiacent. Loco enim materiae, secundum propositionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium possumus accipere non incongruè: Gratiam verò, loco formae: Mandatum autem quod medium est quasi instrumentum, ad vtrunque respicere, quo summus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quasi stolidam materiam moueat & promoueat, & formam gratiae illi componat. Et sicut materia sine formâ est horrida & deformis: ita liberum arbitrium est horridum & deforme sine gratia superueniente se mouente & promouente, mandato medio quasi instrumento (vt diximus) interueniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam similitudinem est gratia: & quod materia sub forma, hoc idem est libera voluntas sub gratia. Et item, quod est instrumentum ipsorum, hoc est mandatum ad vtrunque istorum. Instrumentum namque sordidam materiam, & horridam atque asperam, obscuram, & quasi coecam emaculat & expolit, & claram, planam ac lucidam, forma superueniente, reddit. Sic & mandatum, liberum arbitrium sordidum & horridum, asperum & incultum, obscurum & coecum, nitidat, comit, lenit, & excolit, lucidat, & illuminat: sicut Propheta dicit: praeceptum domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, splendore gratiae superueniente. Et sicut materia & instrumentum sine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas & mandatum sine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum sine gratia praeueniente & subsequente potest? Gratia namque ad liberum arbitrium, mandatum quasi nuntium ac famulum mittit: mandatum liberum arbitrium prouocat atque quasi sopitum excitat, vt ad bona facienda euigilet & exurgat, viamque ei quam peragere debeat, quasi coeco deducendo demonstrat. Quorum vtrunque si à gratia deseritur, nihil omnino per se potest. Quod si conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si praesumit, non assumit, sed potius totam operam & laborem frustra consumit. Cum enim mandatum, seu per hominem siue per Angelum mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium seu humano seu angelico mandati nuntio commouetur, prouocatur, & instruitur, <◇> diuina gratia comitetur, praeueniat, & subsequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè homini in paradiso posito mandatū quod audiuit: E• omni ligno Paradisi comede, de ligno vero scientiae boni & mali ne comedat? Nihil prorsus ad salutem, sed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia saluatricis & auxiliatrix defuit, quā ille iniuste suis viribus fisus, contempsit. Aut quid valuit Israelitico populo in Eremo constituto, mandatū legis quod per Moyse accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominum se qui suo arbitrio, & non illius vocatione praesumit dicens: Domine, sequa te quocunque ieris. Ex multis alijs diuinae scripturae locis noui & veteris Testamenti demonstrari potest, quod neque mandatū, neque liberū arbitriū per se quicquā valet, nisi diuina gratia praeueniendo & subsequendo adiuuet. Cum igitur continentiae bonū, imò omne bonū sit solius diuinae gratiae donū, nec per mandatum, nec per liberū arbitriū comprehendatur, errant & frustra laborant qui se suis viribus illud apprehendere conantur. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc inuitis & nolentibus imperant, & non spontaneè sed coactè in Sacrarium Dei dona offerre suadent, nescientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Moysi & Moyses à Domino praecepit dicens: Separate apud vos primitias Domino: quisque voluntarius & bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid est separare apud vos primitias Domino, nisi studiosa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus vestris tractare, & cum discretionem deponere & diuidere, quid Domino de thesauro cordis nostri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras & non rectè diuidas, peccasti. Et quid est prono animo offerre, nisi quod ait Psalmista: voluntariè sacrificabo tibi? Et Apostolus: Non ex tristitia aut necessitate: Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon, Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, & in omni Dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, & in exultatione sanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo facito adinventionem manuum tuarum. Et Apostolus Iacobus: Nō amat Dominus (inquit) coacta seruitia. Et, maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter .i. nō curiosè neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus inuitos

aliquid offerre non iubet: ita vos inuitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere, prohibet per eundem Moysen vbi ait: **Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniā proximo facere, est eū non cōpatiēdo & miserando corrigere de peccato: sed dedignido & exprobrando & detrahendo arguere & accusare, & non in spiritu lenitatis instruere, sed in spiritu asperitatis & austeritatis destruere, cum Apostolus dicat: *Si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spirituales estis instruite huiusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans teipsum ne & tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximū, est vltra vires suas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare nō potest imponere, imponētibus fortassis importabile, *cū Dominus de Pharisaeis ad Discipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens: Super cathedram Moysi sedent Scribe & Pharisaei, &c. Et Apostolus Petrus: Pascite (inquit) qui in vobis est, gregem Domini, prouidentes, non coactē, sed spontaneē, secundū Dominum: neque turpis lucri gratia, sed volūtariē: neque dominantes in Clero, sed forma estote gregi ex animo. Hic pastor pastorū, princeps Apostolorū, quid caeteri pastores vel Apostoli debeant facere, quomodo gregē Domini sibi creditum tractare, apertē & piē demonstrat atque insinuat, & quantam sollicitudinem & compassionem erga subditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat: & omnem potestatem tyrannicae dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in subditos sibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat, & eos non dominos, *sed patres subditorum debere esse pronunciat: neque eis aliquid typo potentiae imperare, sed zelo pietatis admonere & obsecrare iuxta vires vnius cuiusque secundum Dominum, non secundum suae voluntatis arbitrium vel potestatis imperium: & illis formam esse gregi debere, vt quid alijs imperant, ipsi priores faciant, & non minus exemplis quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo▪ inquit: non ex imperio: ex voluntate, non coactione: ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plaerique qui zelo cupiditatis, nō charitatis accensi, alijs imperant quod implere non valent: & dum lucrum animarum querere se simulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod bene Baalam propheta exprimit, *qui prophetiae donum & benedicendi gratiam quam diuinitus acceperat, non ad vtilitatē aliorum, sed ad vsum suae cupiditatis vertit: & sicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere se ostendunt, & dū meliores alijs se videri volunt, hoc praesumptione quadam & temeritate agunt, & ideo in ipso praesumptionis suae & temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit Apostolus: Qui zelum Dei habent, *sed non secundum scientiam. Zelum Dei secundum scientiam est habere, prouidē & cōsulte in diuinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profectio Oza similitudinem gerit, qui dum Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, in•linatum parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari▪ est legem Domini quam ipsi sacerdotes portare & tenere debent ab eis nō obseruando contradici, & quasi à recto statu in diuersam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adiutor dei interpretatur, erigere tentat: Quia sunt quidā Prelati, qui dum sacerdotalem ordinem▪ ipsam legem diuinā maligno excessu vel leuiter à sitae rectitudinis vta quasi inclinare & in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem castigere [Page 1157](#) & corrigere magis virtutis suae ostentatione quā diuina emulatione praesumunt, & quia hoc inconsultē agunt dum adiutores Dei videri appetunt, plerum{que} mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt & alij qui nullam infirmitatis humanae considerationem, *nec vllum misericordiae respectum & compassionis affectū habent, & cum Apostolo dicere nescientes: Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? D•m se subditis non conditione qua pares, sed autoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, at{que} magistri videri, & plus prae esse quā prodesse cupiunt, *illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, & eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenaeo in Euangelio legitur, quem angariauerunt persecutores Domini vt tolleret crucem eius. Cuius etiam nomen huic figurae conuenienter aptatur. Simon nam{que} interpretatur obediens. Simon verō, id est obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur*

cum subiecti qui{que} à suis magistris vi dominationis vel autoritatis, •el anathematis pressi, & eis obedire compulsi, crucem continentiae patiuntur inuiti: ipsam{que} crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ip'sam plus ad perniciem suam, quàm ad salutem portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur,*sed potius ipsi peccato viuificantur: Nam & alia peccata grauiora exindè oriūtur. Inhibito enim naturali vnus mulieris coniugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: surrepit illicita & damnabilis, non legitima sed contra legem alienae vxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam & meretricabilis nefanda pollutio: quin etiam abominabilis omnibus parentalis incestatio, vel aliarum multarum immundiciarum vel libidinum à diabolo inuentarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Vnde Loth de Sodomitico incendio Angelo domini educente ereptus, & vxoris consortio viduatus, dum sua infirmittas cōscius ad montana non ausus est Angelo monente ascendere, ipse in Segor p•rua ciuitate quae iuxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso Angelo praecipiente & sic ad eum loquente: *Salua animam tuam: noli respicere post tergum, sed in monte saluum te fac, ne & tu simul pereas. Cui dixit▪ Loth: Quaeso Domine mi, quia inuenit seruus tuus gratiam corā te vt saluares me: non possum in monte saluari, ne fortè apprehēdat me malum & moriar. Est Ciuitas iuxta hic ad quam▪ possum fugere parua,*& saluabor in ea. Quid est quod Loth à Sodomis fugiens praecipiente Angelo vt in monte saluaretur, montem ascēdere quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, sed Segor paruā ciuitatem iuxtā montem positam, vt in ea saluaretur, ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicun{que} fidelium Sodomiticae libidinis incendium & periculum euadere cupiens, dum celsitudinē virginalem non valet, & castitatis vidualis timet ascendere ne in ea periclitetur ad cōiugalem copulam cū ad vtram{que} continentiam p•r•ula est & vtri{que} proxima,*confugit? Nam{que} post continētias supradictas, haec castitas probatur laudabilis, & non priuatur praemio regni coelestis. Ad hanc castitatem, qui non potest continere, iubetur accedere & in ea suluari, ne fortè si montem ascenderit, apprehendat eum malū & moriatur, & ne, si continentiam non sibi diuinitus concessam, suis viribus obtinere tentauerit, malum incontinentiae vel fornicationis vel aliquarum supradictarum pes•um eum apprehendat, & in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dū infirmitatem suam non considerant, & dum maiora se apprehendere conantur, ipsa sua praecipitatione retroacti, in deteriora labuntur: quia dum maiora inconsultius ambiunt, minora quae tenere videbantur,*amittunt. Quod sanè exemplo ipsius Loth apertè demonstratur: qui dum relictā Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat, & in qua saluari petierat, in montem ascendit, ibi{que} mansit, in incestum filiarum suarum, ipsarum surreptione corruit, sicut scriptura dicit. Ita nam{que} scriptum est: Ascendit Loth de Segor & mansit in monte, dederunt{que} filia patri suo bibire vinum nocte illa, & ingressa est maior, dormiuit{que} cum patre. Quod nequaquam sibi contigisset, si in Segor in qua saluari poterat, ad praeceptum Angeli, sicut ille postulauerat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod sibi ab Angelo concessum fuerat, dereliquit, & quod concessum non fuerat,*id postea sua voluntate contra praeceptum Angeli praesumpsit, salutis suae dispendium pertulit, & graue incestus peccatum incurrit. Sic pleris{que} contingit▪ qui dum quod sibi concessum est à Deo relinquunt, & id quod sibi concessum est ambiunt, & illud quod sibi concessum est perdunt, & illud quod sibi concessum non est, apprehendunt. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui dum coniugalem vitam quae sibi concessa est, & in qua saluari possent, vel inuiti vel volentes deserunt, & maiori profectus desiderio caelibem vitam actitare satagunt, salutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, & periculum maximum in ista incurrunt, & ex quo proficere conabantur, magis deficiunt (& sicut supradiximus) in maioris ruinae voraginem vergunt. Quod bene Doctor gentiū Paulus cōsiderans, & infirmis quibus{que} benignè prospiciens Corinthijs super his scriptis suis se consulentibus, ita rescripsit dicens: De quibus autem scripsistis mihi: bonum homini est mulierē non tangere:*propter fornicationem

autem vitandam, vnusquis{que} vxorem suam habeat, & vnaquae{que} virum. Et vxori vir debitum reddat: similiter vxor viro. Et post pauca, Nolite (inquit) fraudari inuicem, nisi fortè ex consensu ad temptus, vt vacetis orationi: & iterum reuertimini in idipsum ne tentet vos Satanas propter incōtinentiam vestram: quoniam, sicut ait Poeta, non omnia possimus omnes: Et sicut Apostolus in superioribus dixit: Quia non est volentis ne{que} currentis, sed Dei miserentis: Et alibi: *Quia vnici{que} nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Hanc mensuram vnici{que} tenendam nec transgrediendam esse, docens mox intulit: Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, sed vnusquis{que} proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidē sic▪ alius autem sic: Quia videlicet mensura nos arcendos, & debere esse contentos in sequentibus intimauit dicens: Vnumquē{que} sicut vocauit Deus, ita ambulet. Et vnusquis{que} in qua uocatione vocatus est, in hac permaneat apud Deum Et hoc idem repetit paulò inferius causa confirmationis: Vnusquis{que} in quo vocatus est frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanā videbat non posse tollerare incentiua *gemini calori▪ nisi per gratiam Dei, ne{que} vincere pugnam carnis aduersus spiritum: & quia sic ipse dixit de se alibi• Videbam aliam legē in mēbris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae, hoc se misericorditer, & compatiēter, & vnanimiter, nō regulariter ne{que} imperatiuē dixisse, sicut in alia epistola, mōstrauerat vbi ait: Humanū dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae. *Et in hac ipsa paulò superius in eodem schemate, vbi ait: Hoc autem dico secūdam indulgentiam, non secundum imperium, subdendo demonstrat: De virginibus autem preceptū Domini non habeo▪ consilium do tanquā misericordiā consecutus, vt sim fidelis. Id est, ea misericordiā qua mihi Dominus consuluit quando ad fidem me vocauit, & sibi fidelem fecit, & ego alijs consulo & eandem misericordiā illis impendo. Et quoniam bonū est vtrum{que} cū vxore esse & sine vxore esse, & cū viro esse & cū viro non esse, ne{que} peccatum est vel cum vxore esse vel cū viro esse, mox subinfert dicēs: Estimo ergo bonū esse propter instantē necessitatē: quo niā bonū est homini esse sic. &c.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem? Que est necessitas instans, nisi infirmitas praesens? Vel necessitas instans, *est necessitas vrgens & cogens prout necessitas extirerit vel coegerit. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem & angustiam quae tunc extabat & cum cogebat vt talia scriberet & eis sic indulgeret causa scilicet vitandae fornicationis quae▪ tunc temporis acciderat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum supradictarum quae accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc inaept, & sibi scribentibus rescripsit, & Corinthijs in superioribus huius epistolae vehementer inuectus, in haec verba prorupit: Quid vultis? In verga veniam ad vos, *an incharitate & spiritu mansuetudinis? Omnino auditur inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita vt vxorē patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitandae fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, vt si continere non potest, nubat, vel vxorem accipiat, Quod exponendo subdit: Alligatus es vxori? *Noli quaerere solutionem. Solutus es ab vxore? Noli querere vxorem. Si autem acceperis vxorem, non peccasti. Et si nupserit virgo, non peccauit. Et hic iterum non imperando sed indulgendo & compatiendo se dixisse ostendit: Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestrae cedo, Hoc ita{que} in potestate voluntatis vnus cuius{que} posuit vtrum velit eligere: nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quo eum astringat & teneat, inijcere, consequenter subiungens: Porro, hoc ad vtilitatem vestram dico: non vt laqueum vobis inijciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, & quod facultatem praebeat Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, & quos consortio vxoriae coniunctionis impediri, vel sollicitos esse nolebat. Alijs verò ita dicit: Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit superadulta, & ita oportet fieri: quod vult, faciat: non peccat si nubat. Et iterum: vtrum{que} bonum esse▪ vnum

tamen melius esse cōcludendo confirmat: *Igitur qui matrimonio coniungit virginem suam, benè facit, & qui non iungit melius facit. Quod concordatur superiori sententiae vtri{que} sexui datae, in qua ait: Si acceperis vxorem non peccasti, & si nupserit virgo non peccauit. Si ergo virum accipere vxorem, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apostolum peccatum non est, & beatitudinem non aufert, sed affert: & quia vter{que} bene facit, ideo ambo beati: nos qui vxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut si Apostolus vnicui{que} propter fornicationem vxorem suam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, & carnem peccati ex carne Adae peccatricem traximus, & continere non possumus, propter eandem causam & secundum eandem indulgentiam vxores habere non permittimus, & habitas dimittere angariamur? Aut ita{que} vxores nobis habere imitātes Apostolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permissionem non esse concessam ab Apostolo, demonstrate. Quod opinor dicturi estis, quia haec indulgentia non fuit data ab Apostolo clericis aut alicui nostri ordinis, sed solis laicis. Quod ex verbis Apostoli vel ex circumstantia epistolae non potest defendi, cū nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel graduum siue professionum, nec ipse discernit seu nominibus seu officijs vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipse rescribebat, nisi tantū generaliter omni Ecclesiae Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio huius epistolae his verbis demōstrat: *Paulus vocatus Apostolus Christi Iesu per volūtātē Dei, & Sostenes frater, Ecclesiae Dei quae est Corinthi, sanctificatis in Christo Iesu, vocatis sanctis, cū omnibus qui inuocant nomē Domini. [Et post nonnulla alia, quae cōpendij causa hic rescidimus, haud ita multum ad rem attinentia, [Page 1158](#) subinfert mox ad hunc modum:] Infirmitatem nostrā vos cōsiderate, ac miserari rogamus, & ne ei violentiā inferatis suppliciter imploramus. Nam sicut iam satis superius inculcauimus vobis, null{us} ad cōtinētiā inuitus debet compelli. Ne{que} hoc genus virtutis vlli per legem Dei necessario imparutū est, sed voluntaria deuotione Domino offerendū, dicēte ipso de hoc, Euangelio: Nō omnes capiunt verbū istud, sed quibus datū est. Ad quā tamē benigna mox exhortatione eos qui possūt inuitat dicēs: *Qui potest capere •apiat. Vndē gratia distinctionis nō Moyses foeminalibus vestire Aaron & filios eius iubetur, *vt de prioribus dicitur: vesties ijs Aarō fratrē tuū & filios eius cū eo: sed, facies (inquit) faeminalia linea vt operiant carnē turpitudinis suae. Ipsi (inquit) operian• ea•nē turpitudinis suae, tu foeminalia pontifici & filijs eius facies: tu castitatis regulam docebis: tu abstinendum ab vxorio complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri sunt, intimabis: nulli tamē violentū huiusmodi continentiae iugū imponens: sed quicumque Sacerdotes fieri ac ministerio altaris seruire volūt, ipsi sua sponte vx|ori serui esse desistant. Quod vbi perfecerint, at{que} suscepto semel continentiae proposito, ministros se Sanctuarij at{que} Altaris fore consenserint, aderit diuina gratia quae velut caeteris illis habitū Sacerdotibus cōgruū imponens, quomodo viuere vel docere debeant, abundanter instituit. Qui sensus subsequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus post pauca subiungit: Cū{que} laueris patrē cū filijs aqua, indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id e•t, linea & tunica, * & superhumerali, & rationali, quod stringes balteo, & pones tiaram, & oleum vnctionis fundes super caput eius, at{que} hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quo{que} illius applicabis & indues tunicis lineis, cinges{que} Aaron balteo, cilicet & liberos eius, & impones eis Mitras, erūt{que} Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua: Nam{que} hic de foemmalibus à Moyse accipiēdis praecipitur. Vndē liquidò constat quod se hoc genere vestimēti ipse prius Aaron ac filij eius induerant, & •ic ad manum Moysi lauādi, induendi, vngendi & consecrandi intrabant. Hic apertē ostenditur & docetur nulli continentiae iugum inuito imponendum, sed à Deo prompta & deuota volūtate accipiendum. Quod & Dionysius Areopagita theosophus, id est Deū sapiens, Pauli Apostoli Discipulus▪ & ab eo Atheniensium Archiepiscopus ordinatus, in epistola qua dam ad Pymtum Gnasiorem

Episcopum missa, in qua plurima de nuptijs & castitate commemorat, sicut Ecclesiastica refert historia, monet, & precatur illum ne grauia onera discipulorū ceruicibus imponat, neue fratribus necessitatē cōpulsae castitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum pereclitatur infirmitas. At{que} Pymtus Dionysio rescripsit sententiā se consilij melioris quod ipse dabat, amplecti. Hoc i•idem & Paphnutius vir diuinissimus at{que} castissimus, cū in Niceno Concilio (vt in tripartita historia inuenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere Sacerdotibus voluissent, in mediū eorū zelo humane infirmitatis cōmotus & cōscius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogauit: quin potius in voluntate vnus cuius{que} ponerent exorauit, ne fortē per hoc locum darent & occasionē adulterio & fornicationi. Hac nam{que} cautela sancti viri in religione vtebantur, vt cū de instructione & aedificatione subditorū aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorē vitā de diuinis praeceptis cōmoneri facerēt, cū patientia & mansuetudine potius obedienda praeciperēt, quam cū potentia & austeritate imperarēt, nullū{que} inuitū sibi obedire cōpellerent. Quorū vos exempla sequentes qui eorum loco tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem sarcinam quaesumus imponatis,*ne imprecatione dominica cū phariseis & •egis peritis suscipiamini, in qua a••: Ve vobis legis periti, qui oneratis homines oheribus quae non possunt portari, & ipsi vno digito vestro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamo• filiorū Israel ascendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorū qui praesūt operibus Ne{que} vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de vtero matris sic nati sunt,*vel eos eunuchos qui violēter ab hominibus facti sunt, sed potius eos eunuchos, qui seipsos sua sponte eunuchizauerunt propter regnum coelorum:*neue sacris ordinibus & diuino mysterio propter nos tantū, calumniā faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter nostram vitam improbā illud hominibus cōtemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibitis:*ac per hoc vitā improbam infamatis, & odorem nostrū corā Pharone & seruis eius faetere facitis. Quod vos non rectē, si dici liceat (ne molestē accipiatis) videtur nobis, facere, & cōtra diuinā auctoritatē & Canonicam regulā hoc {quod} facitis, esse: cū Dominus per legislatorem dicat:*Turpitudinē matris tuae nō reueles, & ignominia eius ne discooperias: Mater nostra Ecclesia est: Filij huius matris, quique fideiū sunt. Cuius tamē materna appellatio,*maximā in Sacerdotibus est. Nam ipsi, generant fideles, & verbo praedicationis, & sacramento Baptismatis. An non mater erat quae dicebat: Filioli mei quos interim parturio? Turpitudine ergo & ignominia matris nostrae reprehēnsibilis est actio Sacerdotalis vitae. Quae turpido tunc reuelatur, & ignominia discooperitur, cū sacerdotalis vita publicē infamatur. Quod vos nimirū facitis, qui fragilitatē nostrā quasi hactenus latentē & coopertam (quia eā nullus ita cognouerat) hominibus diffamatis, & propter eā diuina mysteria vel ministeria aspernāda sancitis. Quasi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena,*& ea polluat & cōmaculet immūdia nostra cū Psalmographus dicat: Lex domini immaculata. Aut qua si illi nostro cōtagio cōtaminētur, quia ea ex nostro ore & ex nostro officio adipiscuntur.*Quod si ita dicitis esse, nequaquā discipulis & turbis de Phariseis Domin{us} praeciperet: Omnia quaecū{que} dixerint vobis, seruare & facite Et rursus, si ita esset nequaquā Dominus Iudam quē •urē esse sciebat & proditorē suū futu•ū, cum discipulis alijs ad praedicandū mitteret, ne{que} pot•statē signa ••c•endi & sanitates donādi, n•{que} ad communionem sac•o•anctae caenae eū admittēret. Et si immūdia nostra diuina mysteria vel ministeria & eorū capaces & auditores insiceret & deteriora•et, nequaquā Dominus Lepro•ū quē mūdauerat, •āgeret, ne{que} ei o••ulū daret, & nequaquā cū Simone alio Leproso mādicaret, & nequaquā à Maria peccatrice pedes suos osculari, & lach•y•• la•ari, & capillis tergi▪ & caput suum vngi permetteret. Hinc sacrorum Canonū veneranda auctoritas sanxit, nullū qui etiam ab haeretico sacramēta dominica rectē perceperit, vll•tenus ipsa haeretica prauitate corrumpi, nec vlla sacramēta illius cōtagione comaculari. Vndē Romana Ecclesia Anastasium Papam in quadam epistola ad Anastasium Imperatorem directa, decreuit & scripsit, quòd nullū de his vel quos

baptizauit Acatius, vel quos Sacerdotes vel Leuitas secundū Canones ordinauit, vlla eos ex nomine Acatij portio laesionis attingat, quo forsā per iniquum t•adita sacramēti gratia minus firma videatur. Nā & baptismū (quod procul sit ab Ecclesia) siue ab adultero, siue a fu•e datū fuerit, ad percipientē non minus peruenit illibatum. Quid vox illa quae son•it per colūbā? Omnē maliciā vel maculā humanae pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur: Hic est qui baptizat. &c. Nā si visibilis solis istius radij cū per loca foetidissima transeunt, *nulla cōtactus inquinatio maculantur: multo magis virtus illius qui istū visibilē solē fecit, nulla mysterij dignitate cōstringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Ecclesia minister pro officio suo videtur operari, hic totū cōtinetur implēdo diuinitatis effectū. Ita ille per quē Christ{us} loquitur Paulus, affirmat: Ego plātaui, Apollo rigauit: sed deus incrementum dedit. A Deo nō qu•ritur quis vel qualis praedicet: sed sic praedicet, vt inuidos etiā benē de Christo praedicare confirmet. *Tanta est nam{que} diuinae potentia gratiae, vt per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat & colligat probos. His ita{que} authoritabus & alijs praedictis rationibus persuaderi debetis, ne{que} nos à diuini officij celebritate arcere, ne{que} illos quorū nihil interest, ab eius cōmunionē suspēdere. Quodsi mali sumus, nobis ipsis sumus▪ & plus nobis quā alljs nocemus: & quos fortassē malos conspiciatis, quid boni interius habeāt, ignoratis. Sūt enim pleri{que} quos de incōtinētia iudicatis, qui cōtinētiore sūt quā illi quos de cōtinētia glorificatis. Qui habemus vxores, iuxta Apostolū tanquā non habemus. Quum videlicet cōtinētiā quia nobis nō potestis dare, orate nobiscū & pro nobis, vt ille nobis donet, *cuius hoc donū nos citur esse, & sine quo nemo poterit cōtinēs esse. Aliter enim illā habere nō possumus nisi ex totis precordijs illum oremus cuius hoc donū esse cognoscimus. Et hoc ipsū (inquit Salomō) est sapientia, scire culus hoc donum est, & quoniam super hoc nihil est. *

¶The same in English.

FORasmuche as we are created vnder the power of * free will, * & not vnder the law but vnder grace let vs so liue as we are created. You which lay vpon vs the law of continency agaynst our will, do depriue vs of the liberty of fre will. You commaund vs, and by commaunding compell vs to will that we would not, & not to will that we would do. You binde vs to the law, from the which by grace we are made free: and you constrayne vs to receiue the spirite of bondage agayn to feare: and go about to make the grace of God of no effect, without the which we can do nothing, so that, as the Apostle sayth: Grace is now no grace: and the gift of God is not the gift of God. And not of God, but of mā: not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh where as the Apostle sayth: It is not in him that willeth, nor in hym that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. *

For where as there be three principal & effectual things wherby euery humane soule endued with reason apprehēdeth & perceiueth whatsoever spirituall thing it is able to apprehend and perceiue, and without the which it can perceiue nothing: the which three thinges be these: * to wit free will, the cōmaundement, and grace (for by free wil we discernē and chose the good from the euill: by the commaūdement we are prouoked and styrrēd vp to do all thinges: by grace we are furthered & holpen to performe the same) yet of all these, grace is the Lady & Maistres, and as a mighty Empresse and Queene, * vpon whose becke the other doe wayte and geue attendance, receiuing of her both strength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remayne as thinges of themselues dull and dead, much like as amongst the Philosophers, their Materia without Forma, being thereto adioyned. For in the stead of Materia, we maye, after a maner not vnfitly place free

will: and in the place of Forma we may set grace, & the commaundement (which is the meane betwene them both,* as a certayne instrumēt) to haue respect to both: whereby the principall Artificer which is God, furthereth and setteth forward free will as a rude dul matter, applieth to it his grace as y^e forme therof. And like as the sayde Materia without Forma, is rude and shapelesse, so free wil is a thing rude and deforme, if it [Page 1159](#) be not holpen with grace comming therunto, to moue it & to further it, the commaundement cōming as a meane betwene them both in the stead of the instrumentall cause, as is before sayd.

Therefore like as Forma is in respect of Materia, the like resemblaunce beareth free will in respect of grace. And agayne, as Materia is in respect of Forma, the same also is free will in respect of grace.* And as the instrument serueth betwene the foresayd Materia and Forma, so doth the commaūdement betwene free wil and grace. The instrument comming and working vpon the sayd Materia being of it selfe ougle, rugged, and a thing without all shape and fashion, doth forme it, shape and pullish it, and maketh it hansom, lightly, lightsome, bright and cleare: euen so likewise the commaundement comming and working vpon free will, being of it selfe, a thing rude, grosse, vnshapen & deformed, blind and obscure, doth clarify it, decke ⟨◇⟩, adourne it, bewtifye and lighten it through the brightnesse of grace comming vnto it, according to the saying of the Prophet: The •ommaundement of the Lord is bright and cleare, geuing sight to the eyes.*

And as the matter & the instrument without the forme can do nothing, euen so free will and the commaundement without grace haue no power to worke. For what can eyther free w^{ll} or the cōmandement do except they be helpē with grace both going before and folowing? For grace sēdeth the commaundement as a messenger and minister to free will: the commandement prouoketh freewil and styrreth it vp, as out of a sleepe to do good workes and leadeth it as a blind man, by the hand, teaching him the way wherⁱn to go. Which both if they be destitute of grace, are able of thēselues to do nothing. And if they beginne, yet they proceede not, neither do they performe or accōplish any thing: and if they presume, it prospereth not, and is but labor lost. For where the commaundement commeth, •yther by man or by Aungell: and also where freewill is mooued, prouoked and enformed either by the motion of man or of Aungell, yet vnlesse Gods grace go withal preuenting and folowing the same what is it able to do? For whē man was put in Paradise, what auayled him the commaundement which he heard: Thou shalt eate of euery tree of Paradise, but onely of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, thou shalt not eate.* Which commaundement wrought not to his saluation but to his condemnation. And why? because grace that saueth and helpeth,* was wanting, whiche he presuming vniustly vpon his owne strength despised. Or what did the commaundement of the law geuen by Moyses, profite the people of Israel in the wilderness, which law they refused to obey? Or what profite wrought it to hym whych presumed to folow the Lord of his owne free will and not of the Lordes calling, saying vnto him: Lord I wil folow thee whether soeuer thou goest. By these and many other places of holy Scripture both of the olde and newe Testament,* it may be prooued that neyther the commaundement nor free will haue power to woorke of themselues, vnlesse they be holpen by Gods grace preuenting and folowing them.

*Seing therefore the gift of continency, as all other gifts be, is the gifte onely of Gods grace, and commeth not by the commaundement nor by free will: they erre therefore & striue in vayne which labour to obteyne it by theyr owne power. And much more they also do erre, whiche by force constrayne men agaynst their will thereunto, mouing thē to offer giftes into the sanctuary of God,

not of theyr own accord but by coactiō, either not knowing or els not remēbring the saying of the Lord to Moyses: Seperate amongst you the first frutes vnto the Lord, and let euery man of his owne voluntary and willing minde,* come and offer the same vnto the Lord. What is this, to separate with you the first frutes to the Lord, but onely to wey and consider diligently in your hartes, and with discretion to lay down and separate vnto the Lord, what we ought to present vnto him out of the treasure of our hart? For if thou offer rightly & doest not rightly deuide, thou sinnest. And what is to offer with a willing and ready minde,* but as the psal'mist, sayth: I will offer sacrifice vnto thee willingly and chearefully: And the Apostle sayeth: Not grudgingly or of necessity: for God loueth a chearefull geuer. And Salomon sayth: Geue the Lord his glory with a good and free hart, and in euery gift thou geuest,* shew a ioyfull countenance, and sanctify thy tythes with gladnes: and with a chearefull eye do all that thou takest in hand. And the Apostle James sayth: The Lord loueth not constrayned seruice. And cursed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently, that is, not carefully and with a willing minde.*

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth vs not to offer any thing to him agaynst our willes: so doth he forbid vs to compell any man to offer any thing agaynst their wils by the foresayd Moyses where he sayth: Thou shalt not do thy neigh'bour wrong, neither oppresse him with violence. To do wrong to thy neighbour, is to correcte him for his sinne not of any compassion or mercy towards him, but to re, proue him and to cause him in disdayning, vpbrayding,* 〈◇〉 rebuking him: not to informe him in the spirite of lenity: but to destroy him in the spirit of bitterness and rigour, as the Apostle sayth: If a man be taken in any fault,* you that are spirituall informe such in the spirite of lenity, considering thy selfe least thou also be tempted.

To oppresse our neighbor with violence, is to exact any thing of him aboue his power, & to lay vpon him more then he is able to beare, an• more peradventure then they thēselues are able to weeld, which lay it vpon him. Where as the Lord speaking of the Pharises to his disciples,* forbiddeth them the same, saying: The Scribes and Pharises doe sitte vpon the chayre of Moyses. &c. And the Apostle Peter: Feed (sayth he) as much as in you lyeth, the Lordes flocke, prouiding for them, not by constraint, but willingly after a godly sort, and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready a minde: not as though ye were Lordes ouer the Clergy, but be you as an example to the flocke of good will.

This shepheard of shepheardes and Prince of the Apostles doth playnely and evidently declare and insinuate what all other Pastors and Apostles ought to do: how to entreat the flocke of the Lord committed vnto them,* and what great care and compassion of minde they ought to haue towards theyr Cure: and remoueth farre out of their harts all power of Tyrannicall Lordship and all ambitiō, which some do exercise with gredynes vpon those that are committed to their charge, and pronouceth that they ought not to be Lordes, but fathers ouer their flocke: and not imperiously to commaūd them, as exercising stately authority and power vpon them, but gētly to admonish them and beseech them in the zeale of piety, according to the strength of euery person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of theyr owne will, or ambitiously setting forth theyr own power and iurisdictiō, and that they ought to be an example to the flocke, doing first themselues that thing, whiche they commaund others, and so to teach them no lesse by examples then by words. Willingly (saith he) and not by cōstraynt: of charity, & not for greedy gayne. For there be many which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of couetous gredines and ambition, commaūd others that which they are not able to accomplish,* and while they pretend

to seeke the gayne of soules, they hunt and seek rather for worldly lucre. Which Baalam the Prophet did well expresse: who conuerted the gift of prophecy, and the grace of blessing which he had receiued of God, not to the profite of others, but to his owne commodity.

And some there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretēd to do it with the zeale of God: and whiles they would seeme to be better then other, this they doe with a certayne presumption & rashnes, and so fall in their owne presumption and temerity.* Of whome the Apostle speaketh: Which haue a zeale of God, but not according to knowledge To haue a zeale of God, according to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumspectly. Of whom Oza beareth a type and resemblaunce: Who whiles that he went about with his hand to stay the Arke of the Lord staggering a litle by reason of the kicking of the Oxen which caried it, fell downe therfore dead.* The Arke of the Lorde to stagger or miscarye by the kickyng of the Oxen, signifieth the law of the Lord (which the priestes themselues ought to beare and hold vp) to be contraried of them in not obseruing the same,* & to be turned out of the right course to the contrary part, which Oza, who is interpreted to be a helper of god, attempteth to hold vp. For there be certayne Prelates, which while they see the order of priesthood by some enormity or excesse, to strayne the law of God neuer so litle out of the right course, and la'bor to redresse and rectify that disorder, rather by vayne ostentation of theyr owne strength, then for any pure zeale to God, while they thus presume inordinately to do, thinking to seme to be the helpers of God, many times do mor'tally fall, and incurre therby great daunger and perill.

Some other also there be whiche hauing before theyr eies no consideratiō of mans infirmity neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor know'ing how to say with the Apostle: Who is infirme and I am not infirme? these whiles they compare themselues to suche as be vnder theyr charge, not in condition wherein they are equall, but in authority wherein they are superiours, & couet to be theyr maysters, & more to rule ouer them then to profite them, they oppresse the weakenesse of thē by force and violence of authority, and compell them to theyr obedience: which is rightly figured by the fact, which is reade in y^e Gospell of Symon Cyrenaeus,* whom the persecutours [Page 1160](#) of the Lord constrayned to take vp the Crosse of Christ. Whose name also doth fitly agree w^t y^e same figure. For Simon by interpretation is called obedient. Symon then, that is to say, the obedient man is forced to beare y^e Crosse of the Lord, when as subiectes being constrayned of theyr maysters by the rigour either of Lordship, or authority, or fere of theyr curse, and so compelled to obey them, are dryuen to sustain the Crosse of continency agaynst theyr wils: who neither do loue the Crosse which they beare, because they beare it rather to theyr destruction thē to theyr health: neither by bearing the Crosse, do dye vnto sinne, but by the bearing therof are rather quickned vnto sinne. For ther'of ryse diuers other more greuous sinnes. For by the inhibiting of lawfull and naturall mariage with one woman, riseth the vnnaturall and most execrable Sodomitical fornication:* riseth also the vnlawfull and damnable defiling of other mens wiues: riseth furthermore cursed and whorish filthines and pollution: and moreouer riseth most abhominable incest agaynst all nature, with theyr owne kindred, with a heape of manifolde other filthy ahhominatiōs and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frayle infirmity of man is brought (no doubt) into great perill.

Wherefore Loth being deliuered from the burning of Sodome through the guiding of the Lordes Aungell, and beriued of the felowship of his wife, whiles that he cōsidering his owne infirmity durst not ascend vnto the mountaine as the Angell badde him, did choose rather to dwel in Segor

a litle City nere by, the Aungell thus bidding hym and speaking vnto him: *Saue thy soule and looke not behinde thee, but saue thy selfe in the mountayne least thou also perish. To whome Loth aunswered: I pray thee Lord, because thy seruant hath found such grace in thy sight that thou wilt saue me, I can not be saued in the mountayne, least perhappes some euill take me and I dye: There is a litle City hereby whereunto I may flye and may be saued in it.

What meaneth this that Loth flying from Sodome by the commaundement of the Aungell to be saued in y^e moūtayne, would not ascend vp to the hill fearing there to perish but did chose rather to dwell in Segor a small Cittye neare vnto the hill, *there to be saued, but that euery faythfull man coueting to eschue the burning & daunger of Sodomiticall lust, while neither he is able to mount vp to the toppe of virginity, and also is afearde to ascend to the moūtayne of the state of widowhood least he perish therein, flyeth therfore to the state of matrimony, which is a small cōtinēcy in respect of the other two, & also nere vnto thē both. For after those two kindes of continencye, *this chastity is also proued to be laudable, & is not depriued of the reward of the kingdome of heauen.

Unto this chastity, he is commaūded to flie which can not otherwise cōteine, & to be saued in it, least peraduēture if he clime vp to the moūt, he fall into inconueniency & perish therin: that is, least if he shall attempt to obtēin by his owne strength the contenencye whyche is not geuen vnto him of God, the euill of incontineny or fornication, or of some of the other euilles afore rehearsed, do fall vpon him, and so he perish in them mortally. For there be many who while they consider not their owne infirmity, & while they striue to atchiue greater thinges thē they are able to reach in this theyr climbing do fall headlong into worse inconuenience, and while they foolishly seeke for great thinges, doe lose the lesse, which before they seemed to haue. Whych we may well vnderstand by the example of Loth aforesayde: Who what time he left the small Cittye Segor, which he chose before to inhabite, in the which he sought to be saued: went vp to the mountayne and there abyding fell into the stolne incest of his owne daughters, as the scripture witnesseth, saying: Loth went vp from Segor and remayned in the mountayne, and his daughters gaue to theyr father wine to drinke that night. And the elder of them went and lay with her father. Which thing had not happened vnto him, if he had kept himselfe still in Segor, where he might haue bene saued at the bidding of the Aungell, as he himselfe required. But because he forsooke that, which was graunted to hym of the Aungell, and presumed to that vpon his owne will; contrary to the precept of the Angel, which was not graūted:: therfore he fell into great daunger of his soule & committed the greuouse sinne of incest.

No otherwise doth it happē to many other, who while either they forsake y^e thing which is graunted thē of God, or ambitiously clime after that which is to thē not graunted, *both they lose that which they had graunted vnto thē, and fall into that which to them was not graunted. For diuers there be which while they forsake eyther willyngly or agaynst theyr will, the maryed life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be saued, and striue with a presūptuous desire to lead a single life, both they lose that health and safety, whych they might haue had in one, and incurre great daunger in the other: so that whereby they suppose most to gayne, by the same they lose & fall into the pit of greater ruine. Which thing S Paule y^e Doctor of the Gentiles well considering, and tenderly prouiding for the infirmity of the weake Corintheians writing to him for counsell touching this matter, did write to thē agayne in this wise, saying: As concerning the thinges wherof ye wrote vnto me, as it is good for a man not to touch a

womā.*Neuerthelesse to auoyd whoredome, let euery man haue his wife and let euery woman haue her husband. Let the husband geue vnto his wife due beneuolēce: likewise also the wife vnto her husband. And a litle after: withdraw not (sayth he) your selues one from an other, except it be with consent for a time, that you may geue your selues vnto fasting and praier: and afterward come together agayne le• to Sathan tempte you for your incontineneye.* For as the Poe• sayth, we can not all do all thinges, and as the Apostle sayth: It is not in him that willeth not in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. Also an other place: For to euery one of vs is geuen grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.* And that euery one of vs ought to keepe and not to transgresse this measure, he teacheth anone after saying: I wish that all men were as I my selfe am but euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this maner, an other after that.*

And that we are to be kept within our compasse, and measure, and ought therewith to be content, hee teacheth moreouer as followeth: Let euery man abide in that vocation wherein he is called, And shortly after, for confirmatiō therof, hee repeteth the same agayne and sayth: Let euery man wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord And because he perceaued that the infirmitie of man was not able to susteine the burning motiōs and heates of nature styrring in a man, but onely by the grace of God, neither to be able to conquere the fleshe fighting agaynst the spirite, according to that whiche he sayth of himselfe in an other place: For I see an other Lawe in my members rebelling agaynst the Lawe of my minde, he therefore of mercy and compassion, as condescending vnto their weakenes: and not by rigour of law and force of commaundement, thus sayde. As also in an other place in his Epistles he speaketh in like woordes saying: I speake thus grosly after the maner of men, because of the infirmitie of your flesh. And in this foresaid Epistle,* moreouer a litle before, vsing the same maner of speach, he saith, Thus I say to you as of fauour and not of commaundement. And adding moreouer, he sheweth: As touching virgines I haue no commaundement of the Lord,*but onely do geue counsell, as one that haue found mercy with God, that I shoulde be faythfull. That is, after the same mercy wherwith the Lord hath informed and instructed me when he called me to the fayth, and made me faythfull to hym: so I likewise doe geue counsell to other and shewe the same mercy to them.

And for asmuch as both are good: to witte to haue a wife or not to haue: to haue a husband or not to haue: neither is there anye sinne in hauing wife or husband: shortly after he inferreth saying: I suppose therefore this to be good for the present necessitie: I meane, that it is good for a man so to be: What meaneth this, for present necessitie? What is this necessitie present, but present infirmitie? or els instant necessitie, compelling to doe, as y^e order of necessitie requireth. Or els he meaneth by this present necessitie,* the distresse of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write, and so to beare with them which was for the auoyding of the fornicatiō amongst them, and many other kinds of filthines aboue touched which might haue happe'ned. For the which fornication he tooke occasion to write vnto the Corinthians and to answere to theyr letters: and therefore he vehemently agaynst the sayd Corinthians in y^e former part of the sayd Epistle vttereth these words: What will you shall I come to you with a rod? or in loue and in the spirite of meekenes? There is heard among you to be fornication,*& such fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should haue his own fathers wife. &c. And therefore for this necessity of auoyding such fornication, he saith: It is good for a man so to be: that he which cannot cōteine,*should mary & take a wife. which afterward he expouñdeth thus inferring: art thou boūd to a wife? seek not to be losed. And if thou be losed frō a wife seek not a wife. But if

thou takest a wife thou sinnest not, and if a virgine mary, she sinneth not. &c. And that he spake not thys by way of commaunding, but of sufferance and compassion, he sheweth plainly in these words folowing: But I spare you: that is to say, I beare with your infirmity: & therefore he leaueth it in the free power and will of euery man, to chuse what he best liketh, Neither doth he inforce any man (he sayth) violently, nor charge them with any strait commaundement, and therefore addeth these words folowing: And this I speake for your owne commodity, not to tangle you as in a snare, but for that it is good and honest for you, that you [Page 1161](#) may serue the Lord without separation.

This he sayth to them whom before he exhorted to cōtinency, and whom he woulde not to be let or troubled by matrimoniall coniunction. But to other he sayth thus: If any man thinke that it is vncomely for his virgin to remayne ouer long vnmarried, and if neede so require, let him doe what he thinketh good, he sinneth not: let them mary: And agayne both be good, he saith, but yet the one to be better he concludeth saying: Therefore he that ioyneth in Matrimony, his virgin doth wel, but he that doth not doth better. Which agreeth wel with the text aboue, speaking of both kindes, as well the man as the woman, where he sayth: If thou take a wife thou sinnest not, and if the virgin take a husband she sinneth not.

If therfore it be no sinne for the man to take a wife, nor for the virgine to take a husband, after the apostles mynd, neither doth diminish theyr felicity, but rather encrease it, & for as much as both do well, & so both be blessed: we then which take wiues for our infirmity, what doe we sinne in hauing them? Or if the apostle do suffer & permit to euery man for the auoyding of fornication to haue his wife, we then which come of the same lumpe or masse & taking our sinnefull flesh of the sinnefull flesh of Adam, are not able otherwise to containe, why are we not permitted for y^e same cause & by the same permissiō, to haue likewise our wiues, but are enforced to forsake them being maryed?

Wherefore either do you permit vs, folowing the apostle, to haue our wiues, or els teach vs that we come not of the same masse,* either els shew vs that the same sufferaūce & permission is not graūted to vs by the Apostle which is graūted to other. Which cause peraduenture you wil thus pretend: that this sufferance was graūted of the Apostle, not to the clergy or to any of our order, but only to lay mē. Which cannot well be defended neyther by the wordes of the Apostle, nor by any circumstance of his Epistle for as much as there is no certayne distinction or denomination either of persōs or degrees, or professions there mētioned, neither doth he make any difference either in names or offi|ces of men, either of them which wrote vnto him either of those persons of whom he wrote, or els of those to whō he answereth, but onely in general to the whole church of the Corinthians, as he himself in the beginning of his Epistle purporteth in these wordes: Paule called the Apostle of Iesus Christ,*by the will of God & Sosthenes his brother to the church which is at Corinth, such as be sanctified in Christ Iesus, called sayntes, with all that inuocate the name of the Lord. &c. [And after a few other wordes, which here for breuityes sake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent: thus he inferreth:] These premisses being then wel considered, we besech you to haue regard & compassiō of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you, not to oppresse vs with this violence. For as we haue sufficiently before proued, no man ought to be cōstrayned vnto continency agaynst his wil, neither is thys kind• of vertue commaunded of God to any man, of necessity,* but onely of voluntary deuotion to be offred vnto the Lord: as he himselfe speaketh in the Gospell: All men can not receiue this saying, but to

whom it is geuen. Whereunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, saying: He that is able to receiue this, let him receiue it. &c.

Wherefore for distinctions sake Moyses is not himselfe commaūded to cloth Aaron and his sonnes with breeches as in these wordes going before: *Thou shalt cloth with these Aaron thy brother, and his sonnes with him. &c. But he thus sayth: Thou shalt make linnen breches that they thēselues may couer the filth of theyr flesh. That they themselues (sayth he) may couer the filth of theyr flesh. Thou (sayth he) shalt make the breches for the bishop and his sonnes: thou shalt teach the rule of chastity: thou shalt exhort them to absteine from the company of theyr wiues, which shall do the priestes office: Yet laying vpon none violently the sayd yoake of continency, but whosoouer shalbe priests and shal serue the aulter, shall of their owne accord surcease from the vse of matrimony: which when they shall do, & of theyr owne voluntary consent shall take vpon them the purpose of cōtinency to serue the aulter, then shall the grace of God be present, which as it did apparell those other priestes aforesayd with attyre for thē conuenient: so shall it instruct these abundantly how they ought to liue and to teach. And this sence well agreeth with the text that foloweth, saying: And when thou shalt wash the father and his sonnes with water, *thou shalt take the garmentes, that is, the strait coat, the tunicle & the brestlappe, and put them vpon Aaron, & gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou shalt put the myter vpon his head, and shalt put the holy crowne vpon the miter, and thus shall he be consecrated. Also thou shalt bring his sonnes and put coates vpon them, and shalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron & his sonnes, and shalt put bonettes on them, and the Priestes office shalbe theirs for a perpetuall law.

Thus then you see a commaundement of receiuing the linnen breches of Moyses. Wherby it playnely appeareth, * that Aaron and his sonnes, first did apparrell themselues with this kind of apparell, and so entred in to be washed, inducted, annointed & cōsecrated by the hands of Moyses.

By the which we are playnely taught, that the yoke of continency is not to be inforced vpon any man against his will, but is to be receiued of God with a prōpt & a deuout will. Which thing also Dyonisius Areopagita that godly wise man, the Disciple of S. Paule and ordeined of hym B. of Athenes, in a certayne Epistle of his sent to Pymtus B. of the Gnasians, in which he toucheth many things of mariage and chastity (as is in y^e Ecclesiastical history rehearsed) doth admonish the sayd Pymtus, and prayth him that he will lay no grieuous burthens vpon the neckes of the Disciples, neither inferre any necessity of compelled chastity vpon the brethren, whereby the infirmity of some of thē might be in daunger. * And Pymtus answering to Dyonisius agayn, sheweth himself willing to embrace the sentēce of his wholesome coucell. The same also did Paphnutius, the diuine & chaste bishop, who in y^e coucell of Nice (as the Tripertite history doth shew vs) when the fathers, which there were present went about to restrayne Priestes from mariage: he rising vp amongst thē & moued with the zeale of mans infirmity, desired thē that they would not so doe, but rather to leaue it vnto the voluntary discretiō of euery man, least in so doing they might peraduenture geue occasion of adultery and fornicatiō. For those holy men did thē vse this cautele and moderation in religion, that whē they treated any thing concerning instructiō and edification of the people, * and would haue them styrred vp to a better life by godly instructions, they would rather perswade things to be obserued with patience and lenity, then

commaund with rigour and authority: neither would they compell any man to theyr obedience agaynst his will.

Whose examples you also folowing, which succede in their rowme and name, do you not lay vpō vs infirme per|sons, such importable burthēs, lest you be partakers with the Pharisyes and lawyers of the Lords curse: Who saith: Woe to you lawyers which lay burthens vpon men, which they can not beare, and you your selues touch not the burdens wyth one finger. And least the cry of the children of Israel ascend vp to the Lord for the cruell dealing of them which are ouerseers of the workes: Neither do you make such Eunuches which are so borne from theyr mothers wombe, or such Eunuches which are violently made by men, but rather those Eunuches which of theyr owne accord haue gelded themselues for the kingdome of heauē. Neither do you bring vpon the holy order of Gods ministers for vs only, such an offence and sclaunder, that for our wicked life you make the ministry to be despised of others, while you wil not suffer them either to heare vs, or to receiue the sacramentes of vs, infaming therby our lend life, & causing the sauor of vs to stinke before Pharaο, & his seruants. Wherin it semeth to vs that you deale not soundly & vprightly, if a man may so say (I pray you take it in good worth, that I speak) & also to be agaynst y^e authority of Gods word, & the canonicall constitutions which you doe: where as the Lord sayth by Moses the lawgeuer: the shame of thy mother thou shalr not disclose, & her ignominy thou shalt not discouer. Our mother is y^e church: y^e sonnes of this mother be all the faythfull, which name yet most fitly is appropriate vnto priestes: for they do beget y^e faythfull, both by y^e word of preaching & sacramēt of baptisme. Was not he to be coūted a right mother: who sayd, my litle children of whom I trauell in byrth agayne? The shame & ignominy of our mother, what is it but the reproveable conuersation of the life of priests which shame & ignominy is thē reueiled, whē y^e life of priests is publickly infamed. Which thing you do, y^e discouer & notify vnto men our fragility, lying before as hyd & couered, because before it was not known & for the same you bring y^e holy ministry & misteries of god into cōtēpt & hatred: as though the polluted life of other did any thing p•rtaine thereto to pullute the same, & as though our vncleannes did any thing blemish thē, or diminish the purenes therof, where as the Psalmist sayth: The law of the Lord is pure and immaculate: Or as though they were any whitte polluted by our infection, which do receiue the sayd misteries either by our mouth, or by our ministry. Which if you graunt to be so, then the Lord would neuer haue spokē so to his disciples & the people, touching the Phariseis, saying: Whatsoeuer they bid you obserue, that obserue and do.

And agayne, if it were so, the Lord would not haue sēt forth Iudas, whom he knew should betray him, with the other Disciples to preach, neither would haue committed to him the power of working myracles, & of geuing health nor admitted him to the Communion of the Supper. And if our impurity shuld infect our holy misteries or ministrations, and make them worse that heare and receaue the [Page 1162](#) same then the Lord would neuer haue touched the Leper whom he had healed, neither woulde he haue kissed hym, neyther would haue eaten with Symon an other Leper, neyther would haue suffered his feet to be kissed, and with the teares to be washed, and with the heare to be dryed, & his head to be annoynted of Mary the sinner.

Therefore the holy Canons haue thus decreed, that no man which rightly receiueth the Lordes Sacramentes of an heretique, shoulde be therefore any thing corrupted by his hereticall pranity, nor the sayd Sacramentes shoulde be any whitte distayned by the infection of him. Whereupon the Church of Rome in a certayne Epistle directed vnto Anastasius the Emperour, by Anastasius

the Pope, did so ordeine and write, that none of all them whom Acatius did baptise, or whom he ordeined Canonically to be priestes or Leuites, shoulde be any thing hurt by the name of the sayd Acatius: so that thereby the Sacramentes which by him were ministred, should seme the lesse firme and effectuall. For the sacrament of Baptisme also being ministred of an adulterer or a thiefe (which God forefend to be in the Church) doth come vnto the receiuer neuer a whit the worse. What meant that voyce which sounded by the Doue, but that it excluded all euill and impurity of the corruption of man? * in the which it is declared and sayde: This is he which baptiseth. &c. For if the beames of this visible Sunne passing by the filthy places, receiue no spot of filthinesse thereby, much more the grace of him which made this visible Sunne, is not tyed to any worthinesse of our workes. What soeuer therefore any minister of the Church worketh in his functiō to the behoofe of the people, all that taketh his effecte by the operation of God. Thus witnesseth Paule by whom Christ speaketh: I haue planted, and Apollo hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath geuē the encrease. God regardeth not so much, who or what maner of person doth preach, but that he so preach, that he may confirme thē that be nought, and cause them to preache well of Christ. For such is the operation of Gods mighty grace, * that by euill men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wic'ked persons he getteth and gathereth together those that be good.

By these and such other reasons and authorities aboue alledged, you ought to be perswaded, neyther to abandon vs that be married, from the administration of diuine seruice, nor yet to excommunicate such, to whom the matter nothing pertaineth, from the communion thereof. And if we be euill, we are euill to our selues, and hurt our selues more then others. And such as you suppose peradventure to be vitious, yet may haue some good thing inwardly whi'che you know not of.

For many there be whom you iudge to be incontinent, which liue more chastly then they whom you so greatly extoll for their continency. * We that haue wiues, according to the Apostles minde, so haue them as though we had them not. Which gift of continency for as much as you can not geue vs, pray therefore with vs and for vs, that he wil geue it vnto vs, who only is the giuer therof, & without whom no man is able to liue continently. For otherwise we can not haue it, vules we pray vnto him frō the bottom of our hartes, who is knowne to be the author and geuer therof. And this same (sayth Salomon) is wisdom, *to know whose gift it is: neither is there any gift aboue this.

These two Epistles written to Pope Nicolas vnder the title of Uolusianus, geueth vs to vnderstande by the contentes thereof, first that he himselfe was then a married Bishop.

Secondly, that the liberty of Priestes marriage ought not to be restrayned by any generall Law, of compulsion: but to be left to euery mans free choyse and voluntary deuotion.

Thirdly the sayd Epistles being written to Pope Nicolas (if the title be true) declare, that this law prohibiting the lawfull matrimony of Churchmen, began first in thys Popes times generally to be enacted.

And although it be not here expressed, which Pope Nicolas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the wordes of Pope Alexander 1. Distinct. 32. Praeter, * it may probably

be esteemed to be Nicolas. 2. and not Nicolas the first, as some do suppose amongst whom is Illyricus in Centur. 9. cap. 10. and also Iohn Bale, De Scriptoribus Cent. 2. with certayne other: from whose iudgements although I am loth to dissent, yet notwithstanding modestly and freely to vtter herein my opinion, thys I suppose, that if the trueth of this matter were throughly tryed, it might peraduenture be found, that they be herein deceiued, and al by mistaking a certayne place of Gracian. For the better explanation wherof, here is to be vnderstāded, that amongst the distinctions of Gracian there is a constitution, Dist. 32. Nullus, the tenour whereof is thi•Nullus Missam audiat Praesbiteri, quem scit Concubinam iud•bitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem. &c. That is: That no man shall heare masse of any Priest, whome he knoweth vndoubtedly to haue a Concubine, or a woman priuily resorting to him. &c.

This Decree for as muche as Gracian doeth alledge vnder the name and title of Pope Nicolas, not namynge what Nicolas he was, therefore Iohn Bale and Illyricus, one folowing the other, and they both folowing Uolaterane Lib. 22. doth vouch this constitution vpon Nicolas the first. The wordes of Uolaterane be these, writing of Nicolas the first: Multa hic vtilia constituit, inter quae, nequis Concubinam habenti praesbitero aut sacrificanti interesset, vt testatur Gracianus. &c.

In like effect folow also the wordes of Illyricus afore sayd: Decretum fecit, *ne quis à Sacerdote Sacramentum su•cipiat, quem sciret habere Concubinam, seu vxorem, and alledgeth, as Uolaterane doth, the sayd Distinction of Gratian Distinct. 32. Nullus. In alleadging whereof both they seme to be deceiued, mistaking belike one Nicolas for an other, as may be proued, & made good by three or foure reasons.

First, by the wordes of Pope Alexander the second, in the next Chapter folowing, * who being the successour of Leo and Nicolas the second, vseth the same wordes in his Synode of Mantua (which Gracian referreth vnto Nicolas, and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully alledging moreouer the former constitution of both his predecessours Pope Leo and Nicolas: whiche by all storyes are knowne to be Leo the nyynth and Nicolas the second, which both were next before him. The wordes of Alexander. 2. be these: Praeter hoc autem praecipiendo mandamus, vt nullus Missam audiat praesbiteri quem scit Concubinam habere indubitanter, vel subintroductam mulierem, vnde etiam sancta Synodus hoc capitulum sub excommunicatione statuit, dicens• Quicumque Sacerdotum, diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, post cōstitutum beatae memoriae praedecessoris nostri sancti Leonis Papae & Nicolai, de castitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam du•erit, vel ductam non reliquerit. &c. By the which words speaking of Nicolas his predecessor it is euident to vnderstand this to be Pope Nicolas the second, which was his next predecessor and not Pope Nicolas the first, who was about 200. yeares before him.

The second reason, I take out of the next Chapter of Gracian going before, * where he allegeth agayne the same Nicolas writing to Otho Archbishop. Which Otho was then in the time of this Nicolas the second Archbishop of Colen, and was afterward in the Counsell of Mantua, vnder Pope Alexander 2. teste Ioan. Quintio, Iure consulto, * Wherby it must needes be graunted, that this was Nicolas the second, and not the first.

The third coniecture or reason is this, for that Pope Nicolas the first neuer made any such Act or Decree, the Priestres that were entangled with a Concubine, shoulde neither sing Masse, nor that any should resort to heare the Masse of such. &c. but rather the contrary. * For so we reade in the

history of Antoninus, and in the Decrees 15. q. 8. Sciscitantibus. Sciscitantibus vobis si à sacerdote quifuerit comprehēsus in adulterio, siue de hoc sola fama resperserit, debeatis Cōmunionem suscipere, nec ne, respondemus: *Non potest aliquis quantumcunque pollutus sit, sacramenta diuina polluere, quae Purgatoria cunctarum contagionum existunt. &c.

And yet more playnely also afterward he sayth: Consulendum decernitis vtrum praesbiterum habentem vxorem debeatis sustentare & honorare, an à vobis preijcere? In quo respondemus, quoniam licet ipsi valdè sint reprehensibiles, *vos tamen conuenit Deum imitari, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos & malos: deijcere enim à vobis eos non debetis. Distinct. 18. Consulendum. &c. That is: *Where ye demaund concerning the Priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to susteine him, and honour him, or reiecte him from you, we aunswere, That albeit they be very much blame worthy, yet ye ought to be folowers of God, which maketh his sunne to rise both vpon the good, and vpon the badde. And therefore ye ought not to reiect such away from you. &c.

And this Nicolas, Antoninus confesseth playnely to be Nicolas y^e first. Wherby it is not onely not vnlike, * but also most certayne that Nicolas the first was not the father of this constitution, either to exterminate married priestes from theyr churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiuing their Communion, much lesse then frō hearing theyr seruice.

Fourthly, for as muche then as it is vndoubted that Nicolas 2. and Alexander 2. through the intrigation of wicked Hildebrand, were the authors of that constitution, whereof Gracian speaketh, it remaineth playne by the wordes of Uolusianus, in the latter end of his Letter, [Page 1063](#) (wherin he maketh mention both of discharging the priest from singyng Masse, & the people from hearing) that the saide Epistle was written, not to Pope Nicolas the first but to the secōd, for because both these were decreed against married priestes vnder Nicolas. 2. and Alexander. 2. as is afore declared.

And further, least my iudgement herein should seeme to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian Doctour, * and a famous Lawyer, Ioannes Quintius aboue mentioned, who in his booke De Clericorum moribus, plainely accordeth wth mine opinion, touching this Nicolas authour of the Decree aforesaide, where he writeth in these wordes: Nicolaus Papa Othoni Coloniensi Archiepisc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices Primum, secundumū oportuit esse, qui haec rescripserit, ille Romanus, anno. 860. hic Burgundus, ann. 1059. Reliquos Ninolaos antecessit Gratianus, qui scripsit haec, anno. 1150 Posteriores fuisse credo, qui in Panomiae lib. 3. Tit. de lapsis, nominatur Nicholaus iunior, cuius est & aliud Decretum sequens. *&c. That is to say in English: Pope Nicolas writing to Otho Archebishop of Colen. Glos. There haue bene in all, fiue Popes called by this name of Nicolas. Of the whiche fiue, this Nicolas the writer hereof muste bee eyther the first, or seconde: the one a Romane, anno. 860. the other a Burgundian, ann. 1059 or. 1060. the other Nicolas liued after Gratian, who wrote in the yere. 1150. In my iudgement I suppose this to be Nicholas the seconde, which in the thirde booke of the Lawes called Pannomiae. Tit. de lapsis, is named Nicolas the younger. Which Nicholas also is authour of the next Decree that followeth. &c.

Wherfore if any man shal objecte hereafter, that because Gratian in the Distinction aforesayde, nameth Pope Nicolas absolutely without any additiōs, * it is therfore to be taken for Nicolas the

first: vnto this obiection I set here these two Lawiers to answeare. Unto whose aunsweare this I adde also, that the common manner of Gracian lightly in all his Distinctions is, that when he speaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, and suche other, verye seldome he expresseth the difference of their names. So in the Dist. 18. Praesbyteris, where he bringeth in the Decree of Pope Calixtus in like maner against the Matrimonie of Priestes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, he addeth therto no discrepance of his name: and yet al the world knoweth, that this was Calixtus the second, & not the first, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters (no doubt) by their title appeare to be written by Uolusianus. Most certaine this is, by whō so euer they were written, fruitfull Epistles they are, and effectual to the purpose.

But least wee shall seeme too muche to digresse from our purpose, let vs returne to the story & time of Nicolas y^e second againe, which was about the yeare, as is said. 1060. a litle before Hildebrand was Pope. Which Hildebrande, albeit he was then but a Cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all thinges,* and concluded what him listed in the Church of Rome, and also made Popes, whom he would, as appeared both by this Nicolas, & also Pope Alexander which followed him. pag. 174. So that this dissolution of priests mariage began somewhat to kindle vnder this pope Nicolas,* through the pestilent meanes of Hildebrand, and after him increased more vnder Pope Alexāder, as appeareth by the Synode holden at Millane, an. 1067. but moste of al it burst out vnder the sayd Hildebrand himselfe being Pope, the yeare (as is sayd) 1076.

Although as touching this prohibition of priestes to be married, I am not ignoraunt, that certaine of the contrary faction, in searching out the reache and antiquitie of this tradition, for priestes to abstaine from wiues, doe referre the same to the time of the seconde Councell of Carthage, which was about y^e time of Pope Syritius, a great enemy to Ministers wyues, as appeareth Distinct. 84. Cum praeterito.* Yet notwithstanding to the same may be aunsweared, that this was no vniuersall or generall Councell, but some particular Synode, and therfore of no such great forceable authoritie.

2 Secondly, the same Synode being about the time of Pope Syritius, who was a capitall enemy against priests marryage:* may seeme to draw some corruption of the time then present.

3 Thyrdly, neither is it vnpossible, but as diuers bastard Epistles haue bene falsely fathered vpon certaine auncient Bishoppes of the Primitiue Church, and diuers Canons also (as of the Councell of Nice) haue bene corrupted by Byshoppes of Rome, so some falsehode likewise or forgery might be vsed in this seconde Councell of Carthage.

4 Fourthly, although no false conueyance had ben vsed therein, yet for so much as the sayd Canon of this secōd Councell of Carthage doth misreport and falsifye the Canons of the Apostles, in so doing it dooth iustly diminishe his owne credite.

5 Fiftly, seeing the foresayde Canon of this seconde Council of Carthage tendeth cleane contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, to the Council of Gangra, and other Councils moe, and commaundeth that, whiche they doe accurse, the authoritie thereof ought to haue no great force, but rather may be reiected.

6 Finally, though this constitution of the Councell of Carthage, were perfectly sounde, without all corruption,* yet plaine and euident it is by this Uolusianus, Byshop also of Carthage, that the same constitution tooke no great holde in the Church, for so muche as we see, that both this Uolusianus was married after that in Carthage him selfe, and also besides him many hundreth yeares after, Marriage was a common matter through moste Churches of Christendome, amongst Bishoppes and priests, as partly before hath beene declared. And more maye be seene in hystories, what great tumultes and busines was long after that in Hildebrandes time, and after him also amongst the Clergy men, both in Italie, Spayne, France, and in al quarters of Christendome, for seperating priestes from their libertie of marrying.

And againe, if this tradition concerning the vnmarried life of Priestes had stand vpon such an olde foundation from the second Council of Carthage (as they pretend) what needed then in the time of Pope Nicolas. 2. Pope Alexander. 2. Pope Gregory. 7. and other Popes after them, so much labour to be taken, so many Lawes and decrees to be deuised & enacted, for the abolishing o• priests marriage, if the same had bene of such a long antiquitie as they would make men beleeeue?

By these thinges considered it may appeare, that this distraction of Priests marriage, by publique Lawe compelling them to single life,* was nether receiued for a ful law generally to be obserued in the Church of Rome, but only since the beginning of Hildebrand, that is, since these fiue hundred yeares.

Aboute whiche time firste is to be noted, that vnder Pope Leo and this Pope Nicolas, Cranzius, and certayne Germaine Chronicles doe saye, that Symonie and Priestes Marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo was. ann. 1051.

After him Pope Nicolas (to whom the foresaid Letter of Uolusianus seemeth to be written) made this ordinaunce: Vt nullus missam audiat praesbyteri quem scit concubi nam indubitanter habere aut subintroductam mulierem. Et mox: Quicumque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatae memoriae praedecessoris nostris sanctiss. Papae Leonis, de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliqueret,*ex parte omnipotentis Dei & autoritate beati Petri & pauli praecipimus, & omninò contradicimus vt Missam non cantet &c. That is, What soeuer priest Deacon, or Subdeacon, according to the constitution of Pope Leo our predecessour, conserning the chastitie of Clerkees, shal openly mary a Concubine, or shal not put her away beyng married in the behalfe of almighty God &c. we vtterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no Masse, nor read the Gospell or Epistle at Masse, nor execute any diuine seruice. &c. And this was about the yeare of our Lord. 1058.

Although in this constitution of Pope Nicolas, thys word Concubine may be vnderstanded for no wi•e, but so as Gratian vnderstandeth it in the 16. Canon of the Apostles in these wordes: Concubina verò intelligenda est praeter vxorem: That is, for one besides a mans wyfe.* Then after this Pope Nicholas, comming pope Alexander, and specially Pope Hildebrand,* do expound this Concubine forbidden, for a wife, and such priestes as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitans: for so we read in the Synode of Millane, vnder Pope Alexander the second:*Nicholaitae autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra castitatis Ecclesiasticae regulam foeminis admiscentur. &c.

And further it followeth in the same Synode: Nicolaitarum quoque haeresin nihilominus condemnamus,* & non modo praesbyteros, sed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab vxorū, vel concubinarum foedo consortio nostris studijs, in quantum nobis possibilitas fuerit, arcendos esse promittimus &c.

And after it followeth in this wise: Si haec de Simoniaca & Nicolaitarum haeresi delenda & funditus destruenda fideliter non obseruauero, ab omnipotenti Deo & omnibus Sanctis sim excommunicatus et anathematizatus, & ab omni Christianorum consortio inueniar alienus.

And moreouer it followeth vpon the same: Anathematizo quoque omnes haereses extollentes se aduersus sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam,* specialiter vero et nominatim. Simoniacam haeresin: deindē Nicolaitarum aquē abominabilem haeresin, quae impudēter latrat, sacri altaris Ministros [Page 1164](#) debere vel posse licenter vti coniugibus, quomodo & laicos, &c. As much to say in English, as, I doe accurse all heresies extolling thēselues against the holy catholike and Apostolike church,* but especially and namely, the heresie of Simonie: and in like maner, the abominable heresie of the Nicolaitanes, whiche impudently barketh, that the Ministers of the holy aaltar may & ought to vse wiues lawfully, as well as lay men, &c. And thus much concerning the Synode of Millain, vnder Pope Alexander. 2. ann. 1067.

Nexte after this Alexander, rose vppe Pope Hildebrand, of all other, the chieftest and most principal enemy agaynste Priestes Marriage. For whereas all other approued Canons and Councelles were contented, that any Clergie man hauing a wife before his entring into his ministerie,* might enioy the libertie of his marriage, so that he married not a widowe, or a known harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twice married, nowe commeth in Pope Hildebrande, making Priestes Marriage to be heresie, and further enacting: That what soeuer Clerke, Deacon, or Minister had a wife, what so euer she was, (mayde or other) either before his orders, or after, should vtterly put her from him, or elles forsake his Ministerie. &c.

Although notwithstanding the greatest parte of Ecclesiasticall Ministers seeing this straunge doctrine and proceedinges (whiche Saint Paule expressly calleth the doctrine of Deuilles) did what they coulede to withstande the same.** Of whom Lambertus Scafna burgensis thus writeth: Aduersus hoc Decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem planē haereticum, & vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui oblitus sermonis Domini, quo ait: Non omnes capiunt hoc Verbum: Qui potest capere, capiat, &c. Et Apostoli: Qui se non continet nubat: Melius est nubere, quā vri, Violenta exactione homines viuere cogeret ritu Angelorum. Quod si pergeret, malle se sacerdotium, quā coniugium deserere, &c. In English thus: Agaynste this Decree, the whole number of the Cleargie did vehemently storne and grudge, crying out vpon him, as a pernicious heretique, & one that maynteyned phantasticall doctrine: who forgetting what the Lorde sayth:* All men can not take this worde: Hee that can take it, let him take it. And also what the Apostle sayeth: Who so can not otherwise conteyne let him marrye, better it is to marry then to burne, &c. Yet notwithstanding woulde bynde men to liue like Aungelles. Who if he continued as he beganne, they woulde (they sayd) sooner forsake the order of Priesthode, then their order of Matrimony, &c.

*Which Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call vpon them, and to sende to the Bishops euery where to execute his commaundement with all seueritie, threatning to lay

the Apostolicall Censure vppon them, if otherwise they shewed not their diligence there in to the vttermost. Ex Lamb. This was, ann. 1074. Of the same Hildebrande, Radulphus de Diceto also writing hath these wordes:

Gregorius Papa septimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Symoniacos*anathematizauit, vxoratos sacerdotes à Diuino remouit officio, & Laicis Missam eorum audire interdixit, nouo ex exemplo, & (vt multis visum est) inconsiderato praeiudicio, contra sanctorum patrum sententiam, &c. The English is this: Pope Gregorie the seuenth called Hildebrand holding a Synode, accursed, such as committed Simonie, and remooued married Priestes from saying seruice, forbidding also the lay men to heare their Masse, after a new and strange example, & as many thought, after an vnconsiderate preiudice, against the sentence of holie fathers.

And thus much for the antiquitie of bringing in the single life of Priests, which first springing from the tyme of Pope Nicholas and Alexander 2. began first with a custome, and afterward was brought into a lawe, chieflie by Pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italie into other countries, and at length into England also, albeit not with out much adoe, as ye shall heare, the Lord willing.

In the meane while as Pope Nicolas and Hildebrand were busie at Rome, so Lanfranke Archb. of Canterbury likewise was doing here in England about the same matter, although he began not altogether so roughlie as Pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his Councell holden at Winchester: where though he inhibited such as were Prebendaries of cathedrall churches to haue wiues, yet did he permit in his Decree,* that such Priests as dwelt in townes and villages, hauing wiues, should reteine them still, and not to be compelled to be separate from them: and they which had none, should be inhibited to haue: enioyning moreouer the Bishops thus, to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into order, any priests or Deacons, vnlesse they should first make a solemne profession to haue no wiues.

The words of the Councell be these: Decretumque est, vt nullus Canonicus vxorem habeat, sacerdotum verò in castellis & in vicis habitantium habentes vxores,*non cogantur vt <◇> non habentes, interdicantur vt habeant: & deinceps caueant Episcopi, vt Sacerdotes vel Diaconi non praesumant ordinare, nisi profiteantur vt vxores non habeant, &c.

And here to note by the way of the said Lanfranke, for all his glorious gaye shew of his monkish virginitie and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so vnspotted for his part, but that the storie of Mathew Paris, writing of Paulus Cadonensis,* whom Lanfranke preferred so gladly to be Abbot of S. Albons, thus reporteth of him: Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadonensis Archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, iure, aliquorum relationibus, consanguinitate propinquior, &c. That is, Paule a Monke of Cadune, and nephew of the Archbishop Lanfranke, yea as some say further, more neere in blood to him, then so, &c.

Then after Lanfranke, came Anselme into the See of Canterbury, who taking to him a stouter stomacke,* more fiercelie and egerlie laboured this matter, in abrogating vtterly the mariage of priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, and of the vniuersall clergy, not permitting as Lanfranke did, Priests that had wiues in villages and townes, to keepe them still, but vtterly commanding, and that vnder great paine, not onelie Priests and Deacons, but Subdeacons also (which is against the

Councell of Laterane) which were already married, to be separated,* and that none should be received into order hereafter, without profession of perpetual chastitie.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, the Priests yet still holding their owne, as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful Injunction, but kept still their wives almost two hundred yeares after, refusing and resisting of long time, the yoke of that servile bondage, to keepe still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appeare by those Priests of Yorke, of whom Gerardus Archbishop of Yorke speaketh, writing to Anselme in these wordes: *Sitio Clericorum meorum integritatem, sed praeterquam in paucis admodum, ve Aspidis surditatem, vel fabulosi cuiusdam Prothei mutabilitatem inuenio. Varijs linguarum aculeis, minas, modò conuitia infligunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores sunt, tolero. Illud omninò graue genus mali est, quod hi qui quasi in sinu meo sunt, qui Canonicorum nomine gaudent canones aspernant, aduersus concilij nostri statuta, quasi Sophistici disputatores argumētantur, professiones verò mihi penitus abnegant Canonici illi, qui sine professione ad sacros ordines inordinabiliter sunt prouecti, & qui in praesbyteratu vel Diaconatu constituti, vxores siue Concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, ab Altari nulla se reuerentia continuerunt. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos inuito, dura ceruice nituntur, ne inordinando castitatem profiteantur:* In englishe thus: I much desire the puritie of my clergie men. Howbeit except it be in very few, I finde in them the deafenes of the serpent aspis, and the inconstancie of Protheus that the Poets fable spake of. With theyr stinging tongues they cast out some while threatens; some while tauntes and rebukes. But this grieueth mee lesse in them that be further off. This grieueth mee most of all, that they whiche be of mine owne Church as in myne owne bosome, and prebendaries of myne owne See, contemne our Canons, and argue like Sophisticall disputers, agaynst the statutes of our Councell. The prebendaries which vnordinately haue bene taken into orders heretofore without making vow or profession, refuse vtterly to make profession to me. And they that be priestes or Deacons, hauing married before openly wyues or Concubines, will not be removed for any reuerence from the Altare. And when I call vpon any to receaue order, styffely they deny to professe chastitie in theyr ordering &c.

Thus for al their rigorous austeritie by this Anselme in forcing his Decree made at London, agaynst the marriage of Priests, yet the same had no great successe,* neither in his life time, nor after his life. For although sondry priestes, during his life tyme, were cōpelled by his extremitie, to renounce theyr wyues, yet many denied to obey him.

Diuers were contented rather to leaue theyr benefices, then their wives. A great number were permitted by king Henry, for mony to enioy theyr wives. Which was so chargeable vnto them, (sayth Edmer in his 4. booke) that at length two hundred priestes, in theyr Albes and Priestly vestementes, came barefoote to the kings Pallace, crying to hym for mercy, and especially making theyr sute to the Queene, who vsing much compassion towardes them, yet durst not make for them any intercession.

Anselme at this time was ouer the Sea, making his voyage to the pope. Who hearing hereof,* writeth to the King, declaring that suche forfeitures appertayned nothing to him. But onely vnto Bishops, and in theyr defaulte to the Archbishops. Whereof read more, pag. 194. So wilfull was the blinde zeale of this Prelate, agaynst [Page 1165](#) all reason, against nature it selfe, against the

example of his forcelders against publique custome of his owne tyme, against the doctrine of the Apostles, the constitution of Councils against all honestie, and all Gods forbode, that he neither at the contemplation of the king, nor at the crying out and publike dolour of so many priests, nor yet moued with the letters of Pope Paschalis himself (who puttyng him in remembrance of so many priests sonnes,* willed him to consider the necessitie of the tyme, pag. 196. would yet nothing relent from his stubborne purpose, vnto his latter ende. In whom, as many great crimes may iustly be noted, so of all other, this is most principally in him to be reprehended: for that he seeyng and perceauing what Sodomiticall feditie and abhomination, with other inconueniences, did spring incontinently vpon this his Diabolicall doctrine, yet for all that would not giue ouer his pestilent purpose.

For so the storie recordeth, that when Anselme had established his Synodoll constitution,* in seperating priests from their wyues (which was, anno. 1103.) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of Sodomitrie, which then beganne speciallie to raigne in the Clergie, after this inhibition of matrimonie.

Whereupon Anselme was constrained to call an other Councell at Paules within London, to prouide for this mischiefe. In which Councell this Act was made: Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, & eos in hac voluntate iuuantes, graui an athemate dānamus, donec poenitentia & confessione absolutionem mereantur, &c. All them that commit the vngracious sinne of Sodomitrie,*and them also which assist them in this their wicked purpose, with greuous curse we doe condemne, till such tyme as they shall deserue absolution by penance and confession, &c.

Thus ye haue heard what abhominable wickednesse ensued after that priests were debarred from mariage, and whatfore punishment was deuised by this maidenly prelate, for extirping that sinful wickednes: in the abolishing whereof, more wiselie he should haue remooued away the occasion whereof he was the authour himselfe, then by penaltie to suppress it, which he could neuer do.

Now let vs heare further, what folowed in that worthy Councell.*Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, statutum est, siquidem fuerit persona religiosi ordinis, vt ad nullum amplius gradum promoueatur, & si quem habet, ab illo deponatur. Si autem laicus, vt in toto Regno Angliae legali sua condignitate priuetur. Et ne huius criminis absolutionem, ijs qui se sub regula viuere vouerunt, aliquis nisi Episcopus deinceps facere praesumat Statutum quoque est, vt per totam Angliam in omnibus Ecclesijs, & in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio praefata publicetur ac renouetur, &c. Which is as much to say in English: It is enacted, that whosoeuer shall be publikely known to be guiltie hereof,*if he be a religious person, he shal from thence forth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath alreadie, shall be taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be depriued of all his freedome within the whole realme of England. And that none vnder a bishop shal presume to assoyle such as haue bene Monkes professed, of that trespasse. It is also enacted, that euery sonday in the yeare, and in euery parish church in England, this generall curse aforesayd shall be published and renewed, &c. Ex Rog. Houed. & Epist. Anselm. 278.

Is not here (trowe you) good diuision of Iustice, that lawfull wedlocke of priests can find no grace nor pardon, yea, is made now heresie: where adulterie & horrible Sodomitrie is washed

away with a little confession? And see yet what foloweth more.* After that this penall curse shuld now go abroad and be published in churches, the monkes perceiuing this matter to touch them somewhat neare, whispered in Anselmus care, perswading him that y^e publication of that Acte might growe to great danger and inconuenience, in opening the vice which before was not knowne: in such sort, that in short tyme after, that curse was called in againe.

And so cursed Sodomitrie & adulterie passed free without punishment,* or word spoken against it, where contrary godly matrimonie could find no mercy.

Now what reasons and arguments this Anselme sucked out of the Court of Rome, to prooue the matrimonie of priests vnlawfull, were it not for combring the Reader with tediousnes, here would be shewed. Briefly, the chiefe grounds of all his long disputation,* in his booke entituled, Offendiculum Sacerdotum, betweene the maister and scholer, come to this effect.

Argument.

Priests of the old law, during the tyme of their ministration, abstained from their wyues:

Ergo, Priests in the tyme of the Gospel, which euery day minister at the aulter, must neuer haue any wiues.*

Another Argument.

Moses, when he should sanctifie the people, goyng vp to the hyll, commaunded them to sequester themselues from their wiues three dayes:

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord always ought to liue chaste alwaies without wiues.

Another Argument.

Dauid before he should eat of the shewbread, was asked whether he and his company had bene without the company of their wyues three dayes:

Ergo, Priests that be continually attending vpon the table and sacraments of the Lord, ought neuer to haue company with any such.

Another Argument.

Oza, which put his hand to the Arke,* was slaine therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before:

Ergo, Priests whose hands be alwayes occupied about the Lordes seruice, must be pure from company of wife, or any woman.

Another Argument.

Nadab, and Abiud, which sacrificed with strange fire, were deuoured therefore,* because they companied with their wiues the same night:

Ergo, Priests and sacrificers must haue no wyues to company with all.

Another Argument.

The priests of the Gentiles, in old tyme when they sacrificed to their idoles, are sayd to lye from their wiues:

Ergo, much more the priests that sacrifice to the liuyng God, ought so to do.

Another Argument.

Christ was borne of a Uirgin, Christ liued euer a virgin, and commaundeth them that will serue him,* to folow him. Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur: id est, Si vis mihi ministrare, me castè viuendo imitare.

Ergo, Priests that haue wyues are not meete to serue hym.

1. Cor. 7.

Let euery man haue his owne wyfe for auoydyng of fornication.

The exposition of Anselme.

That is meant and granted of the Apostle,* onely to lay men: Hoc solis laicis eum concessisse, nemo ignorat.

1. Cor. 7.

Melius est nubere quàm vri: It is better to marrie then to burne.

The exposition.

Melius, id est, leuius est legitimæ vxori nubere, quàm vri, id est, quàm alienarum mulierum concupiscentia consumi. It is a lighter fault to marrie one lawfull wife, then to be consumed with concupiscence of straunge women.

1. Timoth. 3.

Oportet esse episcopum irreprehensibilem, vnius vxoris virum. &c. A Bishop oughte to be vnreprooeable, the husbände of one wife. &c.

The exposition.

Praecipit Apostolus, ne quis ad sacerdotium accedere praesumat, nisi is qui non nisi vnicam vxorem laicus habuisset: Accepto autem ordine, nunquam ei carnis commixtione se copularet, tantum vitae necessaria ei subministraret: That is, The Apostle here commaundeth, that none shoulde presume to be Priest, but hee who being a laye manne before, hathe had no more but one wife: And after he be made prieste, not to couple him selfe anye more with her, but onely to minister to her, thinges necessary for her liuing. &c.

And finally after these thynges thus disputed, and alleged, the said Anselme concludeth the matter with this final censure and determination, as foloweth: Per hoc autem [Page 1166](#) quod sacras vestes induunt,*vel sacra vasa tangunt, Christo violenter manus injciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre praesumunt▪ Christum quodam modo visibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur ministerium eorum, Christi persecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur: In English thus: In that these men (hee speaketh of married Priests) do put on the holy vestments, or do touch the holy vessels, they do lay violent hands vpon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a maner visibly crucifie Christ vpon the aulter. The ministry of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a crucifieng of Christ, &c.

Loe here the mighty reasons, the strong timbered arguments, and the deepe diuinitie wherewith this Anselm and all other that drawe after his string,* goe about to impugne the lawfulness of Priestes mariage. Because the Israelites when they should appeare before the Lorde at Mount Sinai, were commanded to keepe frō their wiues three dayes: and bicause the Priests of the old Law in doing their function, as their turne came about, refrained the companie of their wiues for that present tyme: Ergo, priests of the new lawe must at no tyme haue any wiues, but liue always single, &c.

And why might not Anselme as wel argue thus: The people of Israel approaching to the Mounte, were commaunded in like sorte to washe their garmentes: Ergo, Priestes of the newe Lawe, which are occupied euery day about the Aultar, ought euery day to washe all their garments.

Moses approaching to the presence of the Lorde in the bush, was commanded to put of his shoes: Ergo, Priestes of the new lawe, which are euer approaching to the presence of their God, should neuer weare shoes.

Of king Daud and his company, which but once in all their lyfe did eate of the shewebread, it was demanded by the high Priest, whether they had kept them from theyr wyues three dayes before: Ergo, Kinges and the people of the newe Testament, which euery yeare eate the breade of the Lordes boorde, more precious then euer was that Panis propositionis, should abide all their life wiuelesse and vnspoused.

But here Anselme should haue considered by these Scriptures, howe we are taught not to put awaye oure wyues,* but wiselie to distinct tymes, when and howe to haue them. For as Salomon teacheth, to be a tyme for all things: so is there a time to marrie, and a time not to marrie, a time to resort, a tyme to withdraw, a tyme of company, a time of abstinence and prayer, which S. Paul calleth, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,* and as he speaketh of a tyme of prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a tyme of resorting together, and addeth the cause why: Ne tentet vos Satanas

propter incontinentiam vestram, &c. That is, Least Satan (saith he) tempt you for your incontinencie.

And thus should Anselme with Salomon & Paul, haue considered the order and distinction of tymes. Oftentymes in scripture that is commanded to some, and at sometime, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a tyme is conuenient, is not by and by alwayes conuenient. Neither that which for a tyme is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for euer.* Neither ought speciall examples, to breake generall orders: neither agayne doe extraordinarie prohibitions, make an vniuersall rule.

They were then commaunded to sequester themselues from their wiues at the comming of the Lorde: not that the comming of the Lorde did breake wedlocke,* but his commaundement did bynd obedience: and therefore obeied they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wyues, but onely to separte themselues for a tyme, and that not for monethes and yeaes, but onely for three dayes, which abstinence also was enioined them, not in the presence, nor at the appering of the Lord, but three dayes before his descendyng to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth, that the vse of their wedlocke, neither displeased God being present, nor yet did driue his presence away when he was come: for he remained there present amongst them on the hill xl. dayes notwithstanding.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their wiues, as it was expreslie commanded to them by God: so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor vnconuenient for the time: giuing vs thereby to vnderstand, how to vse separation in wedlocke wiselye, that is, neither at no time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, which neuer follow the tyme of S. Paule,* called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, for abstinence and prayer: so do they worse which fall into that 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, whereof S. Paule againe giueth vs warning, Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam vestram. But worst of all do they, which so separate their wiues cleane from them, and so abiure all matrimonie, that they fall headlong into the diuels pitfall of fornication, and all filthie abomination. And therefore the Lord foreseeing the perill thereof, said vnto the people: Estote parati in diem tertium, & ne appropinquetis vxoribus vestris, &c.* Appointyng in deede a separation from their wyues, but yet knowyng the infirmitie of man, limiteth the tyme withall, addyng, In diem tertium, and goeth no further.

He saith not, as Anselme said in the Councel of Winchester: Iurabunt praesbyteri, diaconi, & Subdiaconi, vxores suas omnino abiurare, nec vllam deinceps cum eis conuersationem habere, sub districtione censurae, &c.

The like order also was taken by the Lorde with the priests of the old Testament, who although they were enioyned to withdraw themselues from their wiues duryng the tyme of their priestly seruice: yet for auoyding fornication, they were permitted to haue their wyues notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their wyues serued to sanctification, and their resorting agayne vnto them, serued to auoid adultery and fornication.

But here our priestly prelates will object, that because they be continually conversant about the priestly function therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereunto I answer.*

1 First, the priestly function of those high priests sacrificing for the people in the old lawe, representeth onely the function of Christ the high priest sacrificing for the sinnes of the world, which truly and onely performed that pure chastitie in his sanctified body, which the law then in those priests prefigured.

2 Secondarily, speaking now of the Priestes of the newe Testament (and speaking properly) the Scripture knoweth nor admitteth no Priest to sacrifice to God for the sinnes of man,* but only the high king and priest Christ Iesus.

3 Thirdly, vnto that priest all other be but seruants and Ministers: of whome, some be Apostles, some Prophetes, some Euangelistes, some Preachers, hauyng the gyft of vterance, some Interpreters and Doctours, hauyng the gyft of vnderstandyng, some Deacons seruyng the Lordes boorde. The office of all whome chiefly consisteth in ministring the word, next in administring the Sacraments.

4 Fourthly, for so much as in these principally aboue all other, purenesse and sanctification of lyfe is required, as much and more too, then was in the Priestes of the olde Law, from whom all fornication, adulterie, incest,* and vncleannesse of lyfe ought most to be banished: therefore in these especially aboue the Priestes of the olde Law, matrimonie and spousage is most requisite and conueniēt, who so euer he be, which otherwise can not containe, accordyng to the Apostle, saying: Vnusquisque vxorem suā habeat propter fornicationem.

5 Fiftly, neyther is this matrimonie in these, any hinderance to their sanctification before God,* but rather furthereth & helpeth their sanctification, forasmuch as where matrimonie is not, there commonly reigneth adulterie, fornication, and all kindes of filthinesse accordyng to the true sayeng of Bernard: Tolle de Ecclesia honorabile connubium & thorum immaculatum, nonne repleas eam concubinarijs, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus & omni denique genere immundorum? That is,*Take frō the Church honourable mariage, and the bed vndefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with Concubinaries, with incestuous persons, Sodomiticall vices, and finally with all kynd of beastly filthinesse?

The truth of which saying, lacketh no kynde of examples for confirmation, if we listed here to ransack the liues of these glorious despisers of matrimony, euen from Lanfrank the first ringleader of this daunce here in England, with * Paulus Monke of Cadone his Nephew, whome Mathew Paris misdoubted to be his owne sonne, vnto Steuen Gardiner with his gouldelockes, the author and workemaister of these sixe articles. But to the reasons of Anselme hitherto sufficient, which of themselues be so friuolous and grosse, that only to recite them, is enough to confute the same.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussion of Diuines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest by processe of tymes & histories, that this cruell lawe compelling ministers of the church to abiure matrimonie, entred not into this

land before Lanfranke and Anselme his successor, as both may appeare by the multitude of priests sonnes lawfully begotten in matrimonie, and succeeding in the churches here of England, testified by the epistle of Pope Paschalis to Anselme before, pag. 196. and also may appeare likewise by the Councill of Anselme holden at Winchester which partly was touched before, and now the full act we [Page 1167](#) haue more largely expressed to be read and seene of all posteritie, as vnder followeth.

The Acte against Priestes mariage concluded in the Councill at Winchester, vnder Anselme, An. 1104.

*HAEc sunt statuta de Archidiaconibus, Praesbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunque gradu constitutis, quae Wintoniae statuerunt Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, & cum eo Girardus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, & omnes alij Angliae Episcopi, in praesentia gloriosi Regis Henrici, assensu omnium Baronum suorum▪ Statutum est vt Praesbyteri, & Diaconi castè viuant, & foeminas in domibus suis non habeant praeter proxima consanguinitate sibi iunctas, secundum hoc quod sancta Nicena Synodus de•ini•t. Illi verò praesbyteri, diaconi, siue subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Londonensis Concilij, foeminas suas tenuerint vel alias duxerint, si elegerint in sacris ordinibus remanere, iurēt quòd cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum est etiam vt praedictae foeminae in domo cum eis scienter non conueniant, neque huiusmodi faeminae in territorio Ecclesiae habitent. Si autē propter aliquam honestam causam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si verò in duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorū accusatus fuerit, quòd hoc statutum transierit, purgabit se adiunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, sex si praesbyter, quinque si diaconus, quatuor si subdiaconus sueriti Cui autem haec purgatio defecerit, vt transgressor sacri statuti iudicabitur. Illi verò praesbyteri qui diuini altaris & sacrorum ordinum contemptores praelegerint cum vxoribus suis habitare, à diuino officio remoti, extra*hortum ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem sententia Archidiaconos & Canonicos omnes complectitur & de abiurandis vxoribus, & de vitanda earum conuersatione, & de distictione censurae si statuta transgressi fuerint. Iurabunt & Archidiaconi omnes quòd pecuniam non accipient pro tolleranda transgressione huius statuti. Sed neque villo modo tollerabunt praesbyteros vxoratos cantare, vel vicarios habere, & quòd ipsi non dissimulabūt per Archidiaconos suos hoc inquirere, & fideliter episcopis suis renunciabunt, & attentè, & fideliter de exequenda huius rei vindicta Episcopos suos adiuuabunt. Qui verò Archidiaconus vel Diaconus hoc iurare noluerit, Archidiaconatum vel Diaconiam irreparabiliter perdet. Praesbyteri verò qui relictis vxorib{us} Deo & sac is ordinibus seruire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio cellantes pro se vicarios habebunt, iniuncta eis poenitentia secundum quod Episcopis eorum visum fuerit.

And yet this vnreasonable statute of Anselme, so diligently defended with sharpe censures and penalties, had no great speed,* neither in the lyfe tyme of the said Anselm, nor long after his death, but that diuers priests notwithstanding kept still their wiues, or that after his death, they returned to their wiues agayne, through the sufferance of the famous & learned king named then Henry Bewclark who somthing stayed the oportunitie of this mōkish prelate, and willed that priests should kepe both their wyues and theyr Churches, as they did before in Lanfrankes dayes.

Then after Anselme followed Radulphus Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time was no great sturre against the Priestes that were married.* About the tyme of this Archbishop, king Henry called a Counsaile at London, where he obtained of the spiritualtie a graunt to haue the punishment of married priests (which the spiritualtie afterward did much repent) whereby the priests paying a certaine to the king, were suffered to retaine their wiues stil, as is aboute storied,* pag. 294.

Next after this Radulph, then succeeded Williā Turbile, surnamed De Turbine, who renued againe the constitution of Anselme against married priests,* especially by the helpe of Ioannes priest and Cardinall of Crema y^e Popes Legate, sent the same tyme into England, anno. 1129. Of which Cardinall Cremensis, because enough hath bene before declared,* how after his stout replying in the councell of London, against the married state of priestes, exclaiming what a shamefull thing it was, to rise from the sides of an whore, to make Christes body, the night followyng was shamefully taken with a notable whore, &c. as is apparant before, pag. 294.

I will therefore passe ouer that matter, returnyng againe to William the Archbishop, who with the Cardinall Legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himselfe in repriuing the matrimonie of priestes: in so much, that he would geue thē no longer respit to put away their wiues but from Michaelmas to Saint Andrewes day. followyng, yet could he not bryng hys purpose to passe, but that the priests still continued with their wiues by the Kyngs leaue, as the Saxō story plainly recordeth in these words: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ; That is to say in English,* This William the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops which were in England did commaund,* and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all hled their wyues by the kings leaue, euen so as they before did, &c. So hard was this cause to be wonne, that the Archb. at length gaue it ouer, and left the cōtrouersie wholly vnto the kyng. Whereupon he decreed that the Priestes should remaine with their wyues still.* And so continued they after that, in the tyme of Theobaldus after hym, of Tho. Becket, Rich. Baldwine, Steuen Langton, Rich. Edmund, Boniface, Peccham, and other, during we•nere the tyme after Anselme, 200. yeares.

And least the quarelling aduersary beyng peraduenture disposed here to cauill, should object and say,* that such marriage among the Spiritual men might be priuate and secrete, but not openly knowen, nor quietly suffered by any lawe of this Realme: to auoyde therefore what maye be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thyng neyther impertinent nor vnprofitable to this storye, and for the further satisfyng of the Readers mynde herein, to inferre and make knowen by good recorde, not onely that the libertie of marriage amongst spirituall men, hath continued within this Realme duryng the tyme aforesayde, (videlicet) two hundred yeares or thereabouts, after Anselme, and that not in secrete wise, but also openly, and beyng knowne, the same to be suffered and lawfully allowed of, in such sort, as both they, their wiues, children, and assignes might enherite and enioye landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, by waye of feoffament, deede of gyfte, or any other assuraunce, in suche sorte, manner, and fourme, as laye men, their heyres and assignes at this day lawfully may doe. As by diuers writings and instrumentes shewed vnto vs at the writyng hereof, by diuers men (whose names hereafter follow) some to this day remaining fayre sealed, some by antiquitie and long keping, much worne, and their seales mouldred and wasted, is very euident and manifest to be seene. The copies whereof beyng by vs truely and faithfully excerpted out of the very originals (beyng yet extant) we haue here vnder inserted, as followeth.

¶**Certayne Instrumentes and Euidences of auncient recorde, declaryng the marriage of
priestes to haue stande in tymes paste, both with ancient custome, & publike lawes of this
Realme.**

SCiant praesentes & futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwille miles concessi, dedi, & hac praesenti charta mea confirmani Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico, & Matildae vxori suae pro homagijs & seruitijs suis, & pro sex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in *gersumam, vnam peciam terrae arabilis, quae iacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter mesuagium Galfridi Sulyard, & coemeterium Ecclesiae de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Ioannis de Neuton, & abuttat super regiam stratam versus orientem, & super terram quae fuit Henrici Popiltele versus occidentem: Habend. & tenend. de me & haeredibus meis illis & heredibus suis aut quibuscun{que} dare, legare, vendere vel assignare voluerint, in quocun{que} statu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, per petuè & haereditariè Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & haeredib{us} meis duos denarios, scilicet ad festū sancti Andreae denariū & ad natiuitatē sancti Iohānis baptistae vnū denariū. Et ad scutagium domini regis quando euenit vnum obolum tantū & non amplius pro omnibus seruitijs, consuetudinibus, sectis curiae, & exactionibus secularibus. Et ego Williel. de Blunwell, & haeredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus praedictam peciam terrae praenominatis Stephano & Matildae vxori suae & haeredibus suis, aut cuicun{que} dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint contra omnes gentes tam Iudaeos quam Christianos in▪ perpetuum per praefatum seruitium. Et vt haec concessio & donatio rata sit & stabilis in perpetuum, hanc cartam sigillo meo roborauī: His testibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reynestorpe, Ioanne de Neuion, Willielmo Canebot, Ioan. filio Simonis, Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielm. de Campo, Thomae Croce, Andr. Waleys, Willielm. Valiant, & alijs.

¶This sayd peece of Euidence called a deede of Feofement of lands remaineth in the keeping of Thomas Blūdeuill of Neuton Flotman in the Countie of Northfolke Esquier at this present (videlicet) 22. die Nouembris,* Anno [Page 1168](#) R. Eliz. R. decimo. Et anno Dom. 1567. Who (I knowe) will not refuse to shew the same to any man that shall desire the sight thereof.

1. Other deedes and instruments of lyke antiquitie, declaring the same, receiued of Maister Iohn Forde.

*SCiant omnes praesentes & futuri quòd ego Williel filius Walteri, dominus de Ridware Hamstall, concessi, & tradidi Ioanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico, & vxori suae Matildae filiae Henrici Colbein, vnam dimidiam virgat•• terrae in Edinghall, cum omnibus pertinen tijs in ••ftis & croftis, pra•is & pasturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghall: illam scilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit: Habend & tenend• de me & de haeredibus meis sibi & vxori suae Matildae, ad totam vitam eorum liberè & quietè, benè & pacificè, &c. Et ego vero Williel. & haered• mei praedict dimidiam virgatam terrae cum pertinentijs praedict. Ioanni & vxori suae praedict. ad totam vitam eorū contra om̄nes gentes Warrantizabimus, &c. In huius concessionis & traditionis robur & testimonium vter{que} nostrum alterius scripto sigillum suum apposuit: His testibus, Roberto Saluein de Haselour Andrea Saluein de eadem, Ioanne filio Radulphi de Edinghall, Richardo de Ykebrom, Roberto de Fryeford, & alijs.

2. An other euidence touching the same, of lands in the Countie of Leicester.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd Ego Radulphus filius & haeres Ioannis Wiscarde de Sceyle dedi,* & concessi, & hac mea •esenti carta cōfirmaui Agneti de Welintona vnam a cram terrae in territorio de maiori Sceylae quae iacet super le Wouelondis, inter terram monachorum de Miriuall, extendentem se ad vnum caput super soreram monachorum de Miriuall, & aliud caput versus villam de Sceyle: Habendum & tenendum de me & haeredibus meis vel assignatis & eorum haeredibus praedict. Agneti de Welintona & pueris suis de Will. Persona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio suo primogenito, si superuixerit matri suae.* Deinde Galfrido fratri eius. Postea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori. Deinde sororibus eorum si frater superstes non fuerit. Ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram cum pertinentijs licentialiter sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis praedictis facienda: & quòd haeredibus vel assignatis vltimi vel vltimae possidētis remaneat vltius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, bene & in pace iure perpetuo: Reddēdo inde annuatim mihi & haeredibus meis vel assignatis meis & eorum haeredibus vnum obolum argenti ad pascha, pro omnibus seruitijs, & exactionibus, wardis, ma•itagijs, releuijs, legatis, tallagijs, & omnimodis sectis comitatus, hundredorū & curiae meae & haeredum meorum, & aliorum, & seruitijs forinsecis vel exigētijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & haeredes mei vel assignati & eorum haeredes, totam praedictam terram cum pertinentijs, •raedict. Agneti & filijs suis & filiabus post decessum praedict. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicta persona genitis vni post alterū successiuè, & haeredibus vel assignatis vltimi vel vltimae possidentis (vt praedictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et vt haec omnia supradicta rata & inconcussa permaneant in posterum, praesentem cartam sigilli mei impressione corroboraui: His testibus, Willielmo tunc Persona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorpe, Richardo & Roberto filijs suis Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle, Willielmo filio suo, Ioanne filio Radu•phi Aky, Williel, Clerico de eadem, & multis alijs.

3. An other euidence of like effect.

*SCiant praesentes & futuri. quòd ego Radulphus Wilscharde, filius & haeres Ioannis Wilsardi de Sceyle, dedi & concessi, & hac mea praesenti carta confirmaui Agneti de Willington, quatuor acras & vnam rodam terrae meae arabilis in campo de maiori Sceyle. Quarum vna acra iacet super Wodde Hules, &c. [Et Paulo infra:] Habend & tenend. de me & haeredibus meis vel assignatis & eorum haeredibus, praedict. Agnetae de Willington & pueris suis de Willielmo persona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio suo primogenito si superuixerit matri suae, deinde Galfrido fratri eius, postea Roberto fratri eorum iuniori, deinde sororibus eorum si frater superstes non fuerit, ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram cum pertinentijs, licentialiter sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis praedictis facienda, & quod haeredibus vel assignatis vltimi vel vltimae possidentis remaneat vltius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, benè, & in pace iure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & haeredibus vel assignatis & eorum haeredibus, vnum obolum argenti ad pascha, aut vnum par albarum chirothecarum de praecio vnus obuli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem soluētis, pro omnibus se•uitijs & exactionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, legatis, talliagijs & omnimodis sectis comitatus hundredorum & curiae meae & haeredum meorum & aliorum, & seruitijs forinsecis vel exigentijs humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & haeredes mei ve• assignati & eorum haeredes, totam praedictam terram cum pertinētijs, praedict. Agneti & filijs eius & filiabus post discessum praedict. Agnetis• singulis eorum de dicta persona genitis vni post a•terū successiuè, & haeredibus vel assignatis vltimi vel vltime possidentis (vt praedictum est) contra omnes mortales

in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et vt haec omnia supradicta, rata & inconcussa permaneant in posterum, praesentem cartam sigilli mei impressione corrobora•: His testibus, Will. tunc Persona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorpe, Rich & Rob• filijs suis. Henr. filio Personae de Sceyle, Ioāne filio, Radulph. Aky, de eadem, Rob. Hastyng, Williel. Grym, & alijs.

4. An other euidence vpon the like matter.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, concessi,* & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldolester Clerico & Amiciae vxori suae, illud mesuagium quod Matheus Gilbert quond• de me tenuit in paruo Apilby, in longitudine iuxta altam via: tenendum & habendum de me & haeredibus meis, sibi & Amiciae vxori suae & eorum haeredibus, & cui vel quibus communibus horis quodocun{que} dare vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene & in pace, &c Et ego praedict. Henricus & haeredes mei praedictum mesuagium cum omnibus aisiamentis & pertinentijs suis praefatis, Henrico & Amiciae vxori suae & eorum haeredibus & assignatis (vt supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum &c. Vt haec omnia subscripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic praesenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Ioanne de Norton, Willielmo Huelen de Apilby, &c.

5. An other euidence touching the lyke.

SCiant praesentes & futuri,* quòd ego Rogerus Pescher de Apilby dedi, concessi, & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Aldolester Clerico, & Amiciae vxori suae, viginti buttes terrae arabilis cum pertinentijs suis in territorio de Apilbe. Quarū tres buttes iacent super Brodelein, &c. [Et Paulo post: Tenend. & habend. praedict. Henrico & Amiciae vxori suae & eorum haeredibus & assignatis, cui vel quibus in sanitate vel in aegritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, bene & haereditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego praedictus Rogerus Pescher & haeredes mei totam praedictam terram cum pertinentijs suis vbicun{que} memoratis, Henrico & Amiciae vxori suae & eorum haeredibus & assignatis (vt supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, & in omnibus & per omnia acquietabimus & defendemus in futurum, &c. Vt haec mea donatio, concessio, & cartae meae confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuū, huic praesenti scripto sigillum meum pro me & haeredibus meis du•i apponendum, fide mediante: His testibus, Williel. de Meycham, Ioanne filio Henrici de Norton, &c.

6. An other euidence touching the same, of lands in the Countie of Darb.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quod ego Willielmus filius & haeres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi,* concessi, & omninò quietum clamaui de me & haeredibus meis in perpetuum Nich de Crumford pro quadam summa pecu'niae quam idem Nicholaus mihi prae manibus donauit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs & edificijs, & cum omnibus pertinentijs suis in omnibus rebus & locis, sine aliquo retinemento, quae & quas habuit iure haereditario in feodo de Banquel. per Williel. de Banquel Clericum quondam patrem meum, Habend. & tenend. ipso Nicholao & haeredibus suis vel assignatis in feodo & haereditate de capitali Domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, & in pace cū omnibus libertatibus &

aisiamētis in omnibus locis & singulis ad praedicta terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquel & terra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Williel. nec haeredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine nostro ius vel clameum in praedictis terris & tenementis, gardinijs, curtilagijs, burgagijs, edificijs, & omnibus pertinentijs suis de caetero habere, exigere, vendicare vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro praedictis terris & tenementis capitali domino 7. solidos, 3 denarios & obulū argenti annui redditus ad terminos statutos Paschatis, & S. Michaelis. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto praesenti sigillum meum apposui & munimenta inde eidem Nicholao tradidi: His testibus, domino Ioanne de Osemondiston perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Mathaeo de Reynedon, Mathaeo Drabill, Elio de Banquell Clerico, Richardo de Yollegrane, Rogero Filio Yoke, & alijs.

7. Another Evidence concerning the lyke.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quod ego Williel. filius & haeres quondam Willielmi Mahenmey de Banquer Clerici, dedi, [Page 1169](#) concessi, & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui de me & haeredibus meis in perpetuum, Nicholao de Crumford pro quadā summa pecuniae mihi prae manibus data, vnum capitale mesuagium edificatum, & vnam bouatam terrae, cum prato & omnibus pertinent. suis sine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bouaram terrae cum pertinentijs quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit & tenuit in villa & territorio de Banquell: & octo acras terrae arabilis, & vnam particulam prati diuisim iacentes in campis de Banquell. &c. Habend & tenend. ipso Nicholao & haeredibus suis vel suis assignatis in feodo & haereditate, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus, & aisiamētis in omnibus rebus & locis infra villā de Bāquel & extra, ad praed. terras & tenementa cum pertinentijs pertinētibus de capitali domino de Banquel. &c. Et ego Williel. & haeredes mei omnia praedicta terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinent. suis vt (praedictum est) dicto Nicholao & haeredibus suis vel suis assignatis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimonium praesenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testib{us}, Domino Ioanne de Osemondist•n perpetuo Vicario de Banquel, Math. de Reynedon▪ Math. Drabill, Elio de Banquel, Rich. de Yollegrauē▪ Rogero 〈◇〉 Yoke de Banquel, & alijs.

8. An other evidence concerning the like.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd nos Thomas de Billeston Clericus & Leticia vxor mea, dedimus, concessimus, & hac praesenti carta nostra confirmauimus Gerardo Filio Alexādri de Wiston & Cicilie vxori suae, omnia illa burgagia, mesuagia: gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, parta & edificia, seldas cum redditibus, seruitijs, pascuis, communis, pasturis & caeteris omnib. pertinentijs suis in feodo de Banquel, quae habuimus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum & tenendum dictis Gerardo & Ciciliae vxorisuae ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis & haeredibus nostris, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus suis pertinentijs: faciendo inde annuatim nobis & haeredibus nostris, praedict Gerardus & Caecilia ad totam eorum vitam, vnum denarium argenti ad festum S. Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & haeredibus nostris capitali Domino feodi illius seruitia, inde annuatim d•bita & consueta. Et nos vero praedicti Thomas & Letitia & nostri haeredes omnia praedicta burgagia, mesuagia, gardina curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata & edificia; seldas cum redditibus, seruitijs, pascuis, communis pasturis, & caeteris omnibus pertinentijs suis praedictis Gerardo & Caeciliae ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gen•es warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimoniū huic praesenti cartae

nostrae sigilla nostra apposuimus: His testibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Co•errel. Wil de Crūford▪ Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Crumford in Banquell, Rad. Bercar•o in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, & alijs.

9. An other evidence touching the same.

VNiuersis ad quos praesens scriptum peruenerit, Leticia quae fuit vxor Thomae de Bylleston, salutem in domino. Noueritis me in pura viduitate mea concessisse & confirmasse pro me & haeredibus meis Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyston, & Caecillae vxori suae omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs suis in Banquell, quae idem Gerardus & Cicilia vxor eius habent ex concessione Thomae de Bylleston quondam viri mei: Habendū & tenendum eisdem Gerardo & Ciciliae ad totam vitam eorundem de me & haeredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis: faciendo inde mihi & haeredibus meis vnum denariū argenti ad festum S. Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & haeredibus meis capitalibus Dominis seruitia inde annuatim debita & consueta. Et ego praefata Leticia & haeredes meis praedicta tenementa cum pertinent. praedictis Gerardo & Ciciliae ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimonium praesentibus sigillum meum apposui: His testibus Rob▪ le Walley, Rob. le Taylor, & alijs. Datum apud Banquell, die veneris proximo post festum Annunciationis beatae Mariae, anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi nono.

10. An other evidence touching the like matter.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, concessi, & hac praesenti mea carta confirmaui Ioanni de Bradburne Clerico & Aliciae vxori suae,* & haeredibus de corporibus eorum exeūtibus, vnam particulam curtilagij mei (videlicet) centum pedes in longitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentis & aisiamentis, eidem placeae pertinet•bus: Habendum & tenendum eidem Ioanni & Aliciae & eorum haeredibus legitime procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi & haeredibus meis vnum florem Rosae ad festum Natiuit. S. Ioannis Baptistae pro omnibus. Et ego praedictus Williel Basket & haeredes mei praedictam placeam cum aisiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & contra omnes gentes defendemus. Et si contingat (quòd absit) quòd praedictus Ioannis & Alicia sine haeredibus de corporibus eorum legitime procreatis obierint, quòd praedicta placea sine alicuius cōtradictione reuertatur. Et vt haec mea donatio, cōcessio, & prae'sentis cartae meae confirmatio •ata sit & stabilis permaneat, huic praesenti cartae sigillum meum apposui: His testibus,* Richardo de Longdun, Rob. Brag. Rog. Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Ioanne Glākirion & alijs. Datum apud Yelgraue in festo S▪ Ioannis ante portam Latinam. Anno Domini 1313.

11. An other evidence touching the same.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd ego Rogerus le Potter haeres Aliciae filiae Williel. de Downedale de parua Ridware dedi,* cōcessi, & haec praesenti cartame• confirmaui magistro Richardo de Hampton Clerico & Margaretae vxori eius, & haeredibus vel assignatis praedicti Rich. omnes terras & tenementa mea quae habeo in diuersis locis in feodo de parua Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes praedictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentijs eorū praedictis Rich. & Margaretae vxori eius & haeredibus vel assignatis predicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius

per seruitia debita & de iure consueta, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum. Et ego verò praedictus Rogerus & haeredes mei omnes praedictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentijs eorum, praedictis Rich. & Margaretae vxori eius & haeredibus vel assignatis praedicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum.* In cuius rei testimonium huic praesenti cartae sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Thoma de Pipe▪ Rich. Iulian, Roberto Ka, Edmund le Walshemon, Williel. le Flecher, & alijs. Datum apud paruum Ridware die Lunae proximo post festum S. Gregorij Papae, Anno regni Regis Edwardi 3 post Conquestum 28.

¶The originals of these 11. peeces of evidences last recited I receiued, in the writing of this story,*of a right honest and worshipfull Gentleman called M. Iohn Forde, a student of the lawes in the Inner Temple: in whose handes (I trust after the finishing of this story) shal remaine to be seene of them that shall desire the same.

1. The copies of other Evidences touching the same matter, receiued of Master Iohn Hunt.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd ego Phillippus Poupu de parua Bradley, dedi, concessi,* & hac praesenti carta mea cōfirmaui Henrico de Denardistone Clerico & Aliciae vxori eius, pro seruitijs eorum & pro quadam summa pecuniae quam mihi dederunt prae manibus in gersumam, vnam peciam terrae meae arabilis cum omnibus pertinentijs, siue habeatur plus siue minus, prout bundae testantur, in campo vocato Grenecrost, in villa de parua Bradley, iacentem inter terram meam ex parte vna, & terram praedicti Henrici ex parte altera, vno capite abuttante super Coemeterium de parua Bradley, & alio capite abuttante super terram praedicti Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi praedict. Henrico & Aliciae vxori eius, ha•red. & assignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicun{que} vel quibuscun{que} dict. peciam terrae cum omnibus pertinent: dare, vendere, legare vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iurè benè, in pace in perpetuum & hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi feruitium inde debitum & consuetum, videlicet vnum obulum ad Natiuitatem beati Ioannis Baptistae pro omnibus seruiijs, consuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum sectis, & secularibus demaund. Et ego praedict. Phil. hered. & a•signat, mei warrantizabimus praedictam peciam terrae cum omnibus pertinent, praedictis Henrico & Aliciae vxori eius, heredibus & assignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium, huic praesenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Petro de Walpol. Rich. de Hanuile. Williel. Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Thoma de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, & alijs.

2. An other evidence touching the same.

OMnibus Christi fidelib{us} ad quos praesens scriptum peruenerit, Williel. le Bygod, salutem in Domino sempiternam.* Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me dedisse, cōcessisse, remisisse, ac omninò tam pro me quam pro haeredibus meis in perpetuum, quietū clamasse Hērico de Denardiston Clerico & Aliciae vxori eius, hered. & assignat. eorum totum ius & clameum quòd habui vel habere potui aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagijs, wardis, releuijs, eschaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertinent. suis, quae in aliquo modo seu tempore facere debuerunt vel consueuerunt pro terris & tenement. quae quondam fuerunt Rich. Poup, in villa de parua Bradley, & in alijs terris & tenement, quae vel quas praedict. Henr. & Alicia tenent vel tenuerunt de me seu de feodo meo die confectionis praesentium in praedicta villa de parua Bradley: Ita quòd ego Williel

praedict. nec haered mei nec aliquis nomine nostro amodò in praemissis aliquid iuris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vindicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium, huic praesenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: Histestibus, Ioanne Maueysin, Rich Bercar. Henr. Maueysin, Ioh. Bercar, Williel: Wastel, Hug. Wastel. Wil. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, & alijs.

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3. An other euidence touching the like matter.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd ego Reginaldus filius Iordani de Wethresfeld, dedi, concessi, & hac praesenti carta mea cōfir|maui Hē. de Denardistō Clerico & Aliciae vxori eius pro homagis & seruitijs eorum,* & pro quadam summa pecuniae quam mihi dederunt praemanibus in * gersumam, vnam peciam terrae meae arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinentijs, siue habeatur plus siue minus, in villa de parua Bradley, in campo vocato heldhey, iacētem inter terram Williel. de Mampford quondam, & terram Ioannis le Rede quondam, ex parte vna in longitudine, & tertam Richar. de Hanuyle ex altera, & abuttat ad vnum caput super terrā Ioannis le Lumbard, & aliud caput super cāpum vocatum Crōdon, cum sepibus & foueis & omnibus alijs pertinentijs, ad dictā terram spectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me haeredibus & assignatis meis, praedictis Henrico & Aliciae vxori eius, heredibus & assignatis dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict, Henr. praedictam terram cum omnibus pertinentijs praedict. dare vendere vel aliquo modo assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iure, benè, in pace & hereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi haeredibus, & assignat. meis, vnām rosam ad festum natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae pro omnibus seruiti; s, consuetudinibus, auxilijs, curiarum sectis & secularibus demaundis. Et ego praedict. Reginaldus, heredes, & assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus praedictam terram cum sepibus & foueis & omnibus alijs pertinentijs praedictis Henrico & Aliciae vxori eius, heredibus, & assignat. dict. Henrici per praedict. seruitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium, huic praesenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Ioanne Maueysin, Petro de Walepol. Ricard. de Hanuyle, Ricard. Bercar, Hen. Maueysin, Ioanne Bercar, Williel. Wastel, Hugone Wastel, Thom. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & alijs,

4. An other euidence of like effect.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd ego Richard. de Hanuyle de parua Bradley,* dedi, concessi, & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui Henr. de Denardēston Clerico & Aliciae vxori eius, vnam peciam terrae meae arabilis, cū omnibus pertinent, in parua Bradley in campo vocato Mortecrost, pro homagijs & seruitijs •orū, & pro quadam summa pecuniae quam mihi dederunt prae manibus in gersumam, iacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex vtra{que} parte, & vnum caput abuttat super campum vocat. Wodcraft. Habend. & tenend. de me, haered. vel assignatis meis, ipsis, haered. & assignat eorum, vel cuicun{que} vel quibuscū{que} dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinētijs, dare, vēdere, legare, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, iure benè, in pace & haereditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & haeredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis vnum denarium, & ad Pascha vnum denarium pro omnibus seruitijs consuetudinibus, auxilijs, Curiae sectis & secularibus demaundis. Et ego praedict. Ricar. haered. & assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus praedict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentijs praedictis, Henrico & Aliciae vxori eius, haered.

& assignat. eorum per praedictum seruitium cōtra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic praesenti scripto sigillū meū apposui: His testibus, Petro de Walepol, Williel. Wastel, Hugone Wastel, Ric. Bercar, Henr. Maueysin, Ioanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, & alijs.

5. An other evidence touching the same.

SCiant praesentes & futuri, quòd ego Mathaeus de Raclisde dedi,* concessi, & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico de Denardiston Clerico & Amiciae vxori eius, haered. & assignat. dict. Henrici, vnam peciam terrae arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinent siue habeatur plus siue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Ricard. de Hanuyle ex vna parte, & terram dict. Henrici de Denardiston ex alia parte, & vnam caput abuttat super viam vocatam Lebreddich, & aliud caput super terram Ricar. de Hanuyle antedict. Habend. & tenend. praedictam peciam terrae cum omnibus suis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunque vel quibuscunque praedictus Henr. praedictam peciam terrae cum omnibus pertanent dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, iurè, benè, in pace, haereditariè in perpetuū: faciendo capitali Domino •odi seruitia inde de iure debita & consueta. Et ego praedict. Mathaeus & heredes mei praedictam peciam terrae cum omnibus suis pertinent (vt praedictum est) praedict. Henr. & Aliciae, hered. & assignat dict Henr. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic praesenti cartae sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Ricard. de Hanuyle, Ioanne de Stonham,* Ioanne Godfrey Williel. Wastel. Clement. de Bures, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley, die Lunae in quindena Sancti Michaelis. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi, octauo.

6. An other evidence touching the same.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quod ego Richardus de Louerhal de parua Bradley, dedi, concessi,* & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui Henr. de Denardiston Clerico & Amiciae vxori eius, & haered. dict. Henr. vnam peciam terrae meae arabilis, siue habentur plus siue minus, prout iacet in villa de parua Bradley in campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Henrici Cosin ex vna parte, & terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, vno capite abbuttante super crostam Williel. Attegaene, & alio capite super le Ouerhallmede: Habend & tenend dictam peciam terrae cum omnibus pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, praedict. Henr. & Aliciae & hered. dict. Henr. cuicunque & quibuscunque dictam peciam terrae dare, vèdere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè iure, benè, in pace, hereditariè, in feodo & in perpetuum: faciēdo eidem capitali Domino feodi seruitia inde de iure debita. Et consueta Et ego praedict. Ricar. & hered. mei praed. peciam terrae praed. Henr. & Aliciae & hered. dict. Henr. & suis assignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic praesenti cartae sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Ricar. de Hanuyle, Ioanne Godfrey, Ioanne de Stonham, Williel. Attegrene. Roberto Petipas, Williel. Aleyne, & alijs. Datum apud paruam Bradley die dominica proxima post festum Paschale. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi. 10.

7. An other evidence touching the like matter.

SCiant praesentes & futuri quòd Ego Clemens de Cloptone, concessi, dedi,* & hac praesenti carta mea confirmaui Ioanne de Bosco de Coulynge Clerico & Basiliae vxori eius & haeredibus praed

Ioannis▪ tres acras terrae cum omnibus suis pertinentijs in Coulynge, siue sit ibi maius siue minus prout simul iacent inter terram domini Roberti de Aspal ex parte vna, & terram quódam Ioannis le Pogeys ex alia, vno capite abuttante super viam communem, & alio super terram quondam praedict. Ioannis Pogeys: Habend. & tenend. praedict. tres acras terrae cum omnibus •uis pertinent. praedict. Ioanni & Basiliae & hered. praedict. Ioannis de capitalibus Domini feodi illius per seruitia inde debita & de iure consueta. Et ego praedictus Clemens & heredes mei, praedictis Ioanni & Basiliae & haered. praedict. Ioannis totam praedictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinentijs contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimonium, huic praesenti chartae sigillum meum apposui: His testibus,*Thoma de Caldebeke, Ricard. Farewell, Ioanne de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & Williel. le Paumer. Datum apud Coulynge die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Lucae Euangelistae. Anno Regni Regis. Edwardi filij Regi, Edwardi, tertidecimo.

¶All the Originals of these seuen seuerall peeces of Euidences, y^e true copyes whereof are here before inserted and last recited, at this present (videlicet) this 23. of Nouēber in the yeare of our Lord. 1575. are in the custody and do remayne among the Euedences,* and writings of Iohn Hunt of Esse alias Ashen, in the Countie or Essex Esquire, and are pertayning, and belonging to his Mannor of Ouerhall, alias Parua Bradley aforesayd, in the County of Suffolke. At whose handes they are easily at this present and long time (I trust) after the writing of this historye, shall remayne to be seene, of good record, if any man eyther be desirous of y^e sight thereof, or doubtfull of the truth of the same.

Although these Instrumentes and Euidences aboue here specified, be of themselues euidēt & playn enough, so that no man can reasonable obiect any thing to the contra!ry: yet to stop the mouthes of all suche wranglers and cauillers, who being satisfied with no truth, wil here peradventure take some occasion vpon this word Clericus, so oftentimes named in these Euidences aforesayd, to obiect y^t this word may as well be taken for other,* as for Priestes therefore, to preuent the cauilling obiections of such, thys shalbe briefly to reply thereunto, that in the cōmon lawes of this realme, in all giftes or feoffmentes made to any spirituall person (vnles he be some graduate of Diuinitie in y^e schooles) the sayde spirituall person is named by no other terme, but by y^e word Clericus: as by diuers places, as well in the printed bookes, as in old Registers and writings of the Lawyers, as well in the common law, as Statute law remayneth of Recorde very euidēt to be seene. Some special notes wherof as well for the ease of the Reader in the search of the same, as also for the further satisfying of some who peradventure shall want the bookes, I thought good here to exhibite in forme and tenour as foloweth.

Certaine notes how this word Clericus is taken in the Lawe bookes.*

SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad Coronā pertineat, arestatus fuerit, & postmodum per praeceptum domini regis in Balliū traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quòd [Page 1171](#) hi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium eum habeant coram Iusticiarijs, non amercientur de caetero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alij plegij sui, si corpus suum habeāt coram Iusticiarijs, licet coram eis propter priuilegium clericale respondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios suos.

An other Note.

Rex & antecessores sui a tempore cuius contrarij memoria non existit, vsi sunt quòd Clerici suis immorantes obsequijs, dum obsequijs illis intenderint,* ad residentiam in suis beneficijs faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in praeiudicium Ecclesiasticae libertatis quòd pro Rege & republica necessarium inuenitur.

An other Note.

*Clericus ad Ecclesiam confugiens pro feloniam, pro immunitate Ecclesiastica obtinenda, si asserit se esse Clericum, regnū non compellatur abiurare, sed legi regni se reddens, gaudebit Ecclesiastica libertate, iuxta laudabilem consuetudinem regni hactenus vsitatam.

An other Note.

Appellatori in forma debita tanquam Clerico per Ordinarium petito libertatis Ecclesiasticae beneficium non negabitur.*

In the Statute intituled Articuli Cleri, made onely for the benefite of the Clergie. An. R. Edwardi. R^a 2. nono. are diuers notes to like effect.

But what nedeth many arguments for the proufe hereof? The Statutes and law bookes of this Realme are very full of them in diuers and many places, besides the presidents, for the forme of geuing of benefices, whereof none are capable, but such as are spiritual men & of the Clergie, wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or terme in the Latin tong,* then Clerici, for the most part, not in the kyngs owne graunt or the Lord Chauncellours, or any other subiectes of his, as very well appeareth both by diuers olde wrytten Presidents whych haue bene shewed vnto me, & also by the formes of presentations collected & set foorth for the instruction of such as are ignoraunt, or not very perfite in the order of them, in a Printed booke called The booke of sundrie Instrumentes. In whyche fourme in the sayd booke the words in the kings graunt be these: Rex Reuerendissimo in Christo. &c. ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de N. vestrae diocesis modo per mortem vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad nostram donationem pleno iure spectantem, dilectum Capellanum nostrum A.B. Clericū, intuitu charitatis vobis praesentamus, & mandamus vti dictum A. Capellanum nostrum ad praefatam Ecclesiam admittere, eumque Rectorem eiusdem instituere, cum suis iuribus. &c.

But if the presentation be from a Knight, an Esquier, or a Gentleman, then these words Capellanum nostrum are alwayes left out, as in the sayd booke apeareth in this sort. Reuerendo in Christo patri. &c. A.B. de N. ad Ecclesiam de N predictam vestrae dioc. modo per mortem T.D. vltimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam praesentationem pleno iure spectantem, dilectum mihi in Christo Iacobum P. Clericum vestrae paternitati praesento, humiliter rogans quatenus prefatum I. ad dictam Ecclesiam admittere, ipsumque in Rectorem eiusdem Ecclesiae institui & induci facere velitis cum suis Iuribus & pertinentijs vniuersis. &c. As in the saide booke is more at large to be sene or perused.

Thus I doubt not, louing reader, but by these so plaine Euidences aboue prefixed, thou hast sufficiently to vnderstand, that thys violent restraunte of Priestes lawful Mariage wythin this Realme of England, is of no suche long reach and antiquitie, as hath bene thought of many, and

al by reason of ignorāce of hystories, and course of times. So that briefly as in a Summary Table to comprehende that whole effect hereof:

First about the yeare of our Lord. 946. to the profession of single life,* and displacing of mariage began to come into exāple here in England,* by reason of s. Benets monks, which then began to encrease hereabout the time of King Edgar, and especially by the meanes of Oswald bishop of Yorke, Odo and Dunstane, Archbishops of Canterburie, and Ethelwolde Bishop of Wint. so that in diuers Cathedral churches, and bishops Seas, monkes with theyr professed singlenes of life, crept in, & married Ministers (which were then called secular Priestes) with their wiues out of sondry Churches were dispossessed not from wyues, but onely from their places: and yet not in all Churches, but onely in certaine, wherof read before, page 198.

*Not long after that, about the time of Pope Nicolas 2. An. 1060. of Alexander, and Hildebrande, came into y^e sea of Canterbury an other Monke called Lanfranke, who also being a promoter of thys professed chastitie, made the Decree more generall, that all Prebendaries being married in anye Churches, shoulde be displaced: yet the Priestes in Townes and villages shoulde not be compelled to leaue theyr married wiues, vnlesse they would.

Last of all folowed monkish Anselme. an. 1106. by whō was made this law of Winchester aforesayd, that Priests, Archdeacons, Deacons, & subdeacons, whiche had wyues & spiritual liuing, shoulde be put from them both,* and also that none after shuld be admitted to their orders, but shuld first professe single life, that is, to liue without wiues. And thus much concerning priestes mariage forbidden.

Let vs adde moreouer to these evidences aboue rehearsed, for more confirmation of the ancient vse and liberty of priests mariage an other testimonie or two out of like ancient records with like plaine wordes declaring vnto vs, howe the matrimony of Priests, before the time of Lanckfranke aforesaid was no straunge example in the Church, and first we wil inferre the words of an old Martyrologe pertaining to the Recordes of Canterburie. The wordes of whych Martyrologe be these.

Ex antiq. Martyrilogio Ecclesiae Cant.

LAnfrancus Archiep. reddidit Ecclesiae S. Andreae,* quia de iure ipsius Ecclesiae antiquitus fuerunt, in Suthrege, Mutelac, Lōdoniae, monasterium Sanctae Mariae, cum terris & domibus, quas Liuingus Praesbyter & vxorillius Londoniae habuerunt.

To this also may be adioyned an other like antiquitie out of an olde wrytten history belonging to the church off. Assaph, after the time of Lanfranke, as foloweth.

Anno Domini, 1261. ex antiq. libro Assaphensi manu scripto.

DE Clerico vxorato receptante publicè * forbonizatum scienter, & possit contra ipsum probari, nobis videtur quòd tenetur respondere in fo•o Ecclesiastico. Si verò facit residentiam in terra principis, & cōtingat ipsum mulctari, tota mulcta sua principi debetur. Si verò residentiam in terra Episcopi facit, mulcta diuidatur inter Episcopum & Principem. Si verò vxor alicuius talis

scienter vel nolenter in eius absentia receptauerit, Mulier in foro Ecclesiastico respondeat, & Clericus ratione sui facti, nō puniatur, nec pro ea (nisi velit) respondere cogatur.

Neither is the testimonie of Mantuanus vnworthye also hereunto to be added, wryting in the life of Hilarius Bishop of Pictauium, as followeth.

Ex Mantuano.

INtegras vitae, legum prudentia cultus
Coelicolûm, tutela inopum, diadema, pedum{que}
Pictauienne tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum viuis tibi, sorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obstitit vxor
Legitimo coniuncta toro, non horruit illa
Tempestate Deus thalamos, cunabula, taedas.
Sola erat in pretio, quae nunc incognita virtus
Sordet & attrito viuuit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quae sunt conubia contra,
Esse malas quidam perhibent Prudentia patrum
Non satis aduertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuset,
Quid valeat natura pati. Ceruicibus, aiunt,
Hoc insuauae ingum nostris imponere Christus
Noluit, istud onus quod adhuc quàm plurima monstra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius esse volunt, qua lex diuina sinebat
Isse via, veterum{que} sequi vestigia patrum:
Quorum vita fuit melior cum coniuge, quàm nunc
Nostra sit exclusis thalamis & coniugis usu.

The sixt Article touching Auricular confession.

OF confession three kindes we find in the scriptures expressed and approued. The first is our confession priuately or publikely made vnto God alone: [*](#) and thys confession is necessary for all men at all times. Wherefore S. Iohn speaketh: If we confesse our sinnes, he is faythfull to forgeue vs. &c.

The second is the confession which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confession also hath place when any such thing is committed, whereof riseth a publicke offence and sclaunder to the Church of God: As amplexes of penitentiaries in the prim^etiue Church, & Melciades and other. &c.

[Page 1172](#) The thirde kinde of confession is that, which we make priuately to our brother. [*](#) And thys confession is requisite, whē either we haue iniuried or by any way damnified our neighbor, whether he be rich or poore. Wherof speaketh the Gospel: Go and reconcile thy selfe first vnto thy neighbour. &c. Also S. Iames: Confesse your selues one to another. &c. Or els this confession may also haue place, whē any such thing lieth in our conscience, in the opening whereof we stande in neede of the counsell & comfort of some faithfull brother. But herein must we vse discretiō in auoiding these poyntes of blinde superstition. First that we put therein no necessitye for remission of our sinnes, [*](#) but to vse therein oure owne voluntarie discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled minde. The second is, [*](#) that we be not bound to any enumeration of our sinnes. The thirde, that we tie not our selues to any one persone, more then to an other, but to vse therein our free choyse, whome we thinke can geue vs the best spirituall counsell in the Lord.

But as there is nothyng in the Church so good and so ghostly, which through peuishe superstitiō either hath not, or may not be peruerted: so thys confession also hath not lacked his abuses. First the secret confession to God alone, as it hath ben counted insufficient, so hath it ben but lightly esteemed of many. The publike confession to the congregation hathe bene turned to a standinge in a sheete, or else hath bene bought out for money. Furthermore, the secreat breaking of a mans minde to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing hys infirmitie or temptatiōs, for counsel and godly comfort, hath bene turned into auricular confession in a Priestes eare for assoyling of his sinnes. In the which auriculare cōfession, [*](#) first of the free libertie of the penitent in vttering his griefs, they haue made a mere necessitye, and that vnto saluation and remission of sinnes. Secondly, they require withal, enumeration and a full recitall of all sinnes whatsoever: [*](#) both great and small, also besids y^e necessity of this eare confessiō, they adde therto a prescription of time, at leaste once in the yeare for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed: making moreouer of the same a sacrament. And lastly, where as before it stode in the voluntary choyse of a man to open his hart to what spirituall brother he thought best, for an easement of his griefe & ghostly consolation, they binde him to a Priest (vnlesse some Frier come by the waye to be his ghostly father) to whome he must needes confesse all, whatsoever he hath done, and though he lacke the key of knowledge, and peraduēture of good discretion, yet none must haue power to assoyle him, but he through the authority of hys keyes.

And this manner of confession, say they, was instituted by Christe, and hys Apostles, and hath bene vsed in the Church euer since to this present day. Which is a most manifest vntruth, and easie by storyes to be conuincd.

*For Socrates lib. 5. cap. 19. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 16. in y^e booke of Ecclesiasticall history, do geue vs plainly to vnderstand, that thys Auricular confession neuer came of Christe, but onely of men.

Item, in the time of Tertullian, Beat. Rhenanus testifieth, that there was no mention made of thys Auricular confession. Which may well be gathered thereof, for that Tertullian wryting vpon repentaunce, maketh no mention at all thereof.

*Item, in the tyme of Chrysostome, it appeareth there was no such assoyling at the Priests hands, by these wordes where he sayeth: I require thee not that thou shouldest cōfesse thy sinnes to thy fellowe seruaunt. Tell them vnto God, who careth for them.

*Item, the sayde Chrysostome in an other place wryting vpon repentance, and confession: Let the examination of thy sinnes, and thy iudgement (sayth he) be secrete and close without witnesse. Let God onely see and heare thy confession. &c.

*Item, in the time of Ambrose, De poenit. Dist. 1. Petrus, the glose of the Popes owne decrees recordeth: That the institution of Baptisme was not then begonne, which nowe in oure dayes is in vse.

Item, it is truely sayd therfore of the Glose in another place, where he testifieth: That this institution of penance began rather of some tradition of the vniuersall church, *then of any authoritie of the new Testament, or of the olde. &c.

The lyke also testifieth Erasm. wryting vpon Hierome in these wordes. Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum institutam fuisse. &c. That is: It appeareth, that in the time of Hierome, this secrete confession of sinnes was not yet ordained, *whiche the church afterwarde did institute holesomely, if our Priests and lay men woulde vse it rightly. But heerein, diuines not considering aduisedly what the olde doctours do say, are much deceiued. That which they say of general and open confession, they wrast by and by to this priuie and secrete kinde of confession, which is farre diuers, and of an other sort. &c.

The like testimony may also be taken of Gracian himselfe, who speaking of confession vsed then in hys tyme, *leaueth the matter in doubtfull suspense, neither pronouncing on the one side, nor on the other, but referreth y^e matter to the free iudgement of the Readers, which the acte of these six Articles here enioyneth as necessary, vnder paine of death.

Briefly, in fewe woordes to searche out and notifie the very certaine time, *when this Article of eare confession first crept into the Church, & what antiquitie it hath in following the Iudgement of Ioannes Scotus, and of Antoninus, it may be well▪ supposed, that the institution thereof tooke his first origine by Pope Innocent the thirde, in hys Councell of Laterane, An. 1215. For so we reade in Ioannes Scotus Lib. 4. Sent. Dist. 17. Artic. 3. Praecipua autem specificatio huius

praecepti inuenitur in illo cap. Extra. de poenit. & remiss.* Omnis vtriusque sexus. &c. And after in the same Article it followeth: Nam ex prima institutione Ecclesiae non videntur fuisse Distincti proprii sacerdotes. Quando enim Apostoli hinc & inde ibant praedicando verbum Dei. &c. By the which wordes it appeareth that there was no institution of any suche confession specified before the constitution of Innocentius the thirde.

But more plainly the same may appeare by the wordes of Antoninus in 3. parte Histor.* Whyche be these Innocentius tertius in Concilio generali praedicto, circa Sacramenta confessionis & communionis sic statuit: Omnis vtriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annum discretionis peruenerit, omnia peccata sua solus saltem semel in anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti, & iniunctam sibi poenitentiam proprijs viribus studeat adimplere, alioquin & viuens ab ingressu Ecclesiae arceatur, & moriens Christiana careat sepultura. Vnde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in Ecclesijs publicetur: ne quisquam ignorantiae coecitate velamen excusationis assumat. &c. That is to say. Pope Innocent the 3. in hys generall Councell aforesayde, touching the Sacraments of confession and the communion, made this constitution as followeth.* That euery faithfull person, both man & woman, after they come to the yeares of discretion, shall confesse all their sinnes by themselues alone, at least once a yeare, to their owne ordinarie priest, and shall endeouour to fulfil by their owne strength, their penance to them enioyned. Or els who so doth not, shall neither haue entraunce into the Church being aliue, nor being dead shall enioy Christian buriall. Wherefore this wholesome constitution we wil to be published often in the Churches, least any manne throughe the blindnesse of ignorance maye make to them selues a cloke of excuse. &c. And thus much hetherto we haue alledged by occasion incident of these sixe Articles for some part of confutation of the same, referring the reader for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of Diuines, whyche professedlye wryte vpon those matters.

In the meane time, for asmuche as there is extante in Latin a certaine learned Epistle of Philippe Melancthon, wrytten to king Henrye againste these vj. wicked Articles aboue specified, I thought not to defraud the reader of the fruit therof, for his better vnderstanding and instruction. The tenour and effect of hys Epistle translated into English, thus followeth.

The Copie of Melancthons Epistle sent to king Henry, against the cruel Acte of the vj. Articles.

MOste famous and noble Prince,* there were certayne Emperours of Rome, as Adrianus. Pius, and afterward the two brethren Uerus and Marcus, which did receiue gently the Apologies and defences of the Christiāns: whych so preuailed with those moderate Princes, that they swaged theyr wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of theyr cruell Decrees. Euen so, for asmuch as there is a Decree set foorth of late in your Realme agaynst that doctrine whyche we professe, both godly and necessary for the Church, I beseeche your moste honourable Maiestie fauorably both to read & consider this our complaint, especially seeing I haue not onely for our owne cause, but much rather for the common sauegarde of the Church, directed this my wryting vnto you. For seyng those heathen Princes did bothe admitte and allowe the defences of the Christians, howe much more is it beseeeming for a king of Christian profession, and such a one as is occupied in y^e studies of holy histories, to heare the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the Church? And so much the more willingly I wryte vnto you, for that you haue so

fauorably heeretofore receiued my letters w^t a singular declaration of your * beneuolēce towards me. This also giueth me some hope that you wil not vnwillingly read these things▪ for asmuch as I see that the very phrase & manner of wryting doth playnly declare, not your selfe, but onely the byshops to be the authors of those articles and decrees there [Page 1173](#) set forth: Albeit, through theyr wily and subtile sophistications, they haue induced you (as it happened to manye other worthy princes besides you) to condescend and assent vnto thē: as the rulers perswaded Darius beyng otherwise a wise and a iust prince, to cast Daniel vnto y^e Lyons.

*It was neuer vnseemely for a good prince to correct & reforme crue•l and rigorous lawes (as it is commōly said) to haue a second viewe and ouersight of things before passed and decreed.

The wise Athenians made a Decree when the Cittye of Mitilene was recouered, which before had forsaken thē that all the Citizens there should be slayn, and the citty vtterly destroyed. Wherupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commaundement to the armye.* On the nexte morow the matter was brought agayne before the same iudges, and after better aduise taken, there was a contrary de'cree made, that the whole multitude should not be put to y^e sword, but a fewe of the chiefe authors of theyr rebellion, should be punished and the Citty saued. There was therefore an other ship sent forth w^t a countermaund in all haste to ouertake and preuent theyr former ship, as also it happened. Neither was that noble citty which then ruled and reigned farre and wide, ashamed to altar and reform their former Decree. Many suche examples there be, the most part wherof, I am sure are wel knowne vnto you. But in the Church especially, Princes haue many times altered & reformed their Decrees, and Nabuchodonosor & Darius. There was a Decree set forth in the name of Assuerus,* cōcerning the killing of the Iewes. That Decree was afterwarde called in again. So did Adrianus and Antoninus also correct and reforme their Decrees.

Therefore, although there be a decree set forth in England, which threatneth straunge punishmentes and penalties, disagreeing from the custome of the true Church, and swaruing from the rules & Canons thereof: yet I thought it not vnseemely for vs to become petitioners vnto you, for the mitigation of these your sharpe and seuer proceedings. The which when I consider,* it greeueth my minde, not onely for the perill and daunger of them which professe the same doctrine that we doe, but also I doe lament for youre cause, that they should make you an instrument and a minister of their bloudye tyrannie and impietie. And partly also I lament, to see the course of Christian doctrine peruerted, superstitious rites confirmed, whoredome and lecherous •u•tes maintained.

Besides al this, I here of diuers good mē, excelling both in doctrine and vertue, to be there deteined in prisonne, as Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton and others, to whom I wish strength, pacience, & consolation in the Lord. Unto whom albeit there can nothyng happē more luckely or more gloriously,* then to geue their liues in the confession of the manifest truth and veritie: yet would I wish that you should not distaine your handes with the bloude of such menne: neyther woulde I wish suche Lanternes of lyght in youre Churche, to be extinguished: neither these spitefull & malicious Phariseis, the enemies of Christe, to haue their wils so much fulfilled. Neither againe woulde I wish that you shoulde so muche serue the will and desire of that Romishe Antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeue to see you nowe to take part with him, against vs hoping well by the helpe of his bishops, to recouer againe his former possessiō, whych of late by your vertuous and godly meanes be lost. He seeth your Bishops,* for the time, loyall vnto

you, and obsequious to obey your wil: but in heart he seeth them linked vnto him in a perpetual bond of fidelitie and obedience. In all these feates and practises, the Romish Bishops are not to seeke. They see what great stormes and blastes heretofore they haue passed by bearing & suffering. They see that great things be brought to passe in time. Neither doe they forget the olde verse of the Poete.

Multa, dies variusque labor mutabilis aevi Retulit in melius.

Manye good and learned men in Germanie conceiued of you great hope, that by your authoritie and example other Princes also would be prouoked to surcease likewise from their vniust crueltie, and better to aduise them selues for the reformation of errours crept into the Church: trusting that you would be as a guide and Captaine of that godly purpose and enterprise. But nowe seeing these your contrary proceedings, wee are vtterly discouraged: the indignation of other Princes is confirmed: the stubbornesse of the wicked is augmented: and olde and great errors are thereby stablished.

But heere your Byshops will say agayne (no doubt) that they defende no errours, but the very truthe of Gods holy worde. And although they be not ignoraunt that they striue in very dede, both against the true word of God, and the Apostolicke Church, yet like craftie Sophisters, they can finde out faire gloses, pretending a goodly shewe outwardly, to colour their errours and abuses.

And this sophistication not onely now in England is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom,* neither in Rome only raigneth, where Cardinal Couterrenus, Sadolet, and Cardinall Poole, goe about to paynte out abuses wyth newe colours and goodly gloses: but also in Germany diuers noble men are likewise corrupted and seduced w^t the like sophistication. And therefore I nothing maruell that so manye there wyth you bee deceiued wyth these craftie iugglinges. And although you for your parte, lacke neyther learning nor iudgement, yet some times we see it so happen, that wise men also be caried away by faire and colourable perswasions, from the veritie. The saying of Simonides is praise worthy:*Opinion (sayeth hee) manye times peruerteth veritie. And many times falle opinion hath outwardly a fairer shewe, then simple truthe. And specially it so happeneth in cases of religion, where y^e deuill transformeth himselfe into an Angel of light, setting foorth with all colourable & goodly shewes, false opinions. Howe faire seemeth the glose of Samosatenus, vpon the Gospell of S. Iohn:*In the beginning was the word. &c. and yet is it full of impietie, but I omitte forreine▪ examples.

In these articles of yours, how many thinges are craftely & deceitfully deuised? Confession sayth the article, is ne|cessary, & ought to be retayned.* And why say they not plain|ly, that the rehearsing & numbring vp of sinnes is necessary by Gods word? This the bishops knew wel to be very false, & therfore in the article they placed their wordes generally, to bleare y^e eies of the simple people, that whē they heare confession to be necessary, they shuld thereby thinke the enumeration of sinnes to be necessary by Gods worde.

The like legerdimaine also they vse in the article of priuate Masses, albeit the beginning the sayd article conteyneth a manifest vntruth, where they say that it is necessary to retayne priuate Masses. What man in all the primitiue Church, more then 4. hundreth yeares after the Apostles time, did euer so say or thinke, at what tyme there were no suche priuate Masses vsed? * But

afterwarde in the processe of the Article, folowe other blinde sophistications, to make the people beleue that they should receiue by them, diuine consolations and benefites. And why doe they not plainely declare what consolations and benefites those be? [*](#) The Bishops here do name no application and merite, for they knowe that they can not be defended. Yet they dally wyth glosing wordes, whereby they may winde out and escape, if any should improue their application. And yet notwithstanding they would haue this their application to be vnderstanded and beleued of the people. They woulde haue this Idolatrous perswasion confirmed: to witte, that thys sacrifice doth merite vnto others, remission A poena & culpa: release of all calamities, and also gaine & luer in common trafficke, and to conclude, whatsoeuer els the carefull heart of man doth desire.

The lyke Sophistication they vse also, where they say that Priests mariage is against the law of God. They are not ignoraunt what S. Paule sayth: [*](#) A Bishop oughte to be the husband of one wife: and therefore they know right well that Mariage is permitted to Priestes by the law of God. But because nowe, they say, they haue made a vowe, they goe craftely to worke, and doe not say that priests for their vowes sake can not marrie, but plainely geue out the Article after this sorte: that Mariage of Priestes is vtterly against the lawe of God. Againe, what impudencie and tyranny do they shew moreouer, when they compell mariages to be dissolued, and command those to be put to death, whych will not put away their wiues, and renounce theyr matrimony? Wher as the vow of Priestes, if it had any force at all should extend no further but onely to put them from the ministerie if they would mary. And this (no doubt) is the true meaning of the Councils and Canons.

O cursed Byshops. [*](#) O impudent and wicked Winchester, who vnder these colourable fetches, thincketh to deceiue the eyes of Christ, and the iudgements of all the godly in the whole worlde. These things haue I wrytten that you may vnderstand the crafty sleights, and so iudge of the purpose and pollicie of these Byshops. [*](#) For if they would simply and hartely search for the truth, they would not vse these craftie collusions and deceitfull iugglings.

This Sophistication, as it is in all other affaires pernicious and odious, so aboue al things, most specially it is to be auoyded in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heynous impiety to corrupt or peruert the pure word of God. And heereof the Deuill whiche is called Diabolus, specially taketh his name, because he wrasteth the word of God out of mennes hearts by such false iuggling and sophistical cauillations. And why do not these Bishops as well plainely vtter and confesse that they will abide no reformation of [Page 1174](#) doctrine and Religion in the Church, for that it shall make against their dignitie, pompe & pleasure? Why do not their adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retaine still thys present state of the Church for their owne profite, tranquillitie, and maintenaunce? Thus to confesse, [*](#) were true and plaine dealing.

Now, whiles they pretende hypocritically a false zeale and loue to the truth and sincere Religion, they come in w^t their blinde sophistications, wherwith they couer their errours: for their Articles set forth in thys act be erroneous, false & impious, how glorious soeuer they seme outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished that these bishops would remember Gods terrible threatning in the prophet Esay: Wo to you (sayeth he) which make wicked lawes. [*](#) What wil you doe in the day of visitation and calamitie to come? &c. Woe vnto you that call euill good, &c.

Now to come more nere to the matter which we haue in hande: this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkenes hath bene in the church of Christ.* Mens traditions not onely haue bene a yoke to good mens consciences, but also (which is much worse) they haue bene reputed for Gods holy seruice, to the great disworship of God. There were vowes, thyngs bequeathed to churches, diuersitie of garments, choice of meats, long babling prayers, pardōs, image worship, manifest idolatry committed to saints, the true worship of God and true good workes not knowen. Briefly, little difference there was betwixte the Christian and heathen religion, as stil is yet at Rome, to this present day, to be sene. The true doctrine of repentance, of * remission of sinnes, whych commeth by the faith of Christ, of iustification of faith, of the difference betweene the lawe and the gospell, of the right vse of the Sacramēts, was hid and vnknowen. The keyes were abused to the maintenance of the Popes vsurped tyrannie. Ceremonies of mens inuention were much preferred before ciuile obedience and dueties done in the common wealth.

Unto these errours moreouer was ioyned a corrupte life,* full of all lecherous and filthy lustes, by reason of the law forbidding Priestes to marrie. Out of thys miserable darknes, God something hath begon to deliuer his church through the restoring againe of true doctrine. For so wee must needes acknowledge, that these so great and long festred errors haue not ben disclosed and brought to light by the industry of man,* but thys light of the Gospel, is onely the gift of God, who nowe againe hath appeared vnto the Church. For so doth the holy Ghost prophecie before, how in the later times the godly should sustaine sore & perillous conflicts with antichrist, foreshewing that he should come, enuironed with a mighty and strong army of Bishoppes, hypocrites and Princes: that he should fighte agaynste the truth, and slay the godly.

And that now all these things are so come to passe, it is most euident, and cā not be denied. The tirannie of the byshop of Rome hath partly brought in errors into y^e church, partly hath confirmed them, & nowe maintaineth the same with force and violence, as Daniel well foreshewed. And mucche we reioyced to see you deuided frō him,* hoping and trusting well that the Church of England would now florish. But your Byshops be not deuided from the Romish Antichrist: his Idolatrie, errours, and vices they defende and maintaine with tooth and naile: for the Articles nowe passed, are craftely picked out. They confirme all humane traditions in that they establish solemne vowes, single life and auricular confession. They vpholde and aduaunce not onely their pride and authoritie, but all errours wythal, in retaining the priuate Masse.

Thus haue they craftily prouided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignitie & wealth may still be vpholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience it selfe doth plainly teach vs. Nowe what man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? For (as I sayde before) this matter concerneth not onely these Articles whyche be there enacted, but all other Articles of sound doctrine are likewise ouerthrowne,* if such traditions of men shalbe reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doeth Christe say? For they worship me in vaine wyth the precepts of men? or why doth S. Paule so oft detest mennes traditions?

It is no light offence to set vp new kindes of worshipping and seruing of God without his worde,* or to defend the same. Such presumptiō God doth horribly detest, which wil be knowen in his word onely. He wil haue none other Religions inuented by mans devise: for els all sorts of religions of all nations might be approued & allowed. Leane not (sayth he) to thine owne

wisdome. But he sent Christ, and commaundeth vs to heare him, & not the inuention of subtile and politike heads, which apply religion to their own luker and commoditie.

Furthermore, priuate Masses, •owes, the single life of Priestes, numbring vp of sinnes to the Priest, wyth other thinges moe, being but mere ordinaunces of men, are vsed for Gods true seruice and worship. For although the Supper of the Lorde was truely instituted by Christe, yet the priuate masse is a wicked prophanation of the Lords supper. For in the Canon what corruption is cōtained in this, where it is said that Christ is offered, and that the worke it selfe is a sacrifice which redemeth the quicke and the deade? * These things were neuer ordained of Christ: yea manifold wayes they are repugnaunt to the Gospell. Christ willeth not him selfe to be offered vpp of Priestes, neither can the worke of the offerer or of the receiuer, by any meanes, be a sacrifice. This is manifest Idolatry, and ouerthroweth th• true doctrine of faith, and the true vse of the Sacraments. * By faith in Christ we are iustified, and not by any worke of the Priest. And the Supper is ordained that the Minister should distribute to others, * to the intent that they repēting for their sinnes, shoulde be admonished firmly to beleue the promises of the Gospell to pertaine vnto them: Heere is sette a plaine testimonie before vs, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by hys bloude.

And thys is the true vse of that Supper, whyche is ordained in the gospel, * and was obserued in the primatiue Church 300. yeares and more, from the which we oughte not to be remooued. For it is plaine impietie to transferre the Lordes institution to any other vse, as wee are taughte by the seconde commaundement. Wherefore these priuate Masses, for asmuche as they swarue from the right institution of Christ manifold waies, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other ways besides, * they are not to be reteined but to be abolished. Flie (sayeth S. Paule) from al Idolatrie. In these priuate masses muche Idolatrie is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defēd: and no maruell. * For in the latter times y^e scripture plainly sheweth that great Idolatrie shall raigne in the Church of God. As Christ himselfe also signifieth, saying: When ye shal see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the Prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, * lette him vnderstande. And Daniel in the 11. chapter. And he shall worship the God Maozim in his place, and shall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, siluer, and precious stones. Both these places speake of the masse.

Thys kinde of worship and horrible prophanation of the Sacrament, God abhorreth. For howe many sundry kindes of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the Masse? First, it is set foorth to sale. Secondly, * they that are vnworthy, are compelled to receyue whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied for meritorious and satisfactorie for the quicke and the deade. Fourthly, many thynges are promised thereby, as prosperous nauigation, remedies against diseases both for manne and beast, wyth other infinite moe. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be other also no lesse to be reprehended, whych the simple people doe not so plainly see. Such worshipping and seruing of God is not to be set vp after the phantasie of men.

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer sacrifice to God without his commaundement. For when of this woорke they make a sacrifice, they imagine that priuate Masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sorte, And we see that Masses are bought with gold and siluer, great riches and sumptuous charges: also the Sacrament to be caried about in gold and

siluer to be worshipped, whereas the sacrament was neuer ordeined for any such purpose. Wherefore seeing the commandement of God biddeth, flie from Idolatry, priuate Masses are not to be maintained. And I maruell what they saye that such priuate Masses are necessarily to be reteyned,* when it is euident that in the olde time there was none such. Shal we thinke that thinges pertaineing to the necessary worship of GOD, could so long be lacking in the primitiue Church 300. yeares after the Apostles and more? What can be more absurde and against all reason?

We see these priuate Masses to be defended with great labour and much a doe: of some, for feare lest their gayne should decay: of some, because they would serue the affection of the vulgare people (whiche thinketh to haue great succour therby, and therefore are loth to leaue it) rather then for any iust cause or reason to lead them. But howsoeuer they do, a most manifest & euident cause there is why these priuate Masses ought to be abolished. For first their application vndoubtedly is wicked: neither doth the work of the priest merite any grace to any person, but euery one is iustified by his owne fayth. Neither againe would God haue any man to trust vpon any ceremony, but only to the benefite of Christ. And most certaine it is, that the application of these Masses for the dead, is ful of great errour and impietie.

[Page 1175](#) But here come in blinde gloses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application.* For vniuersally amongst all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that thys worke is auaylable for the whole Church? Yea the Canon of the Masse it selfe declareth no lesse. And why then doe some of these craftie sophisters dally out the matter wyth their glosing wordes, denieng that they make any application of their Masses, when they know full well that the errour of the people is confirmed by this their doing: although they themselues do thinke otherwise? Albeit how few be there in very deede which do otherwise thinke?

We ought not to dissemble in Gods matters. Let vs vse them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the auncient custome of the primitiue Church doth leade vs.* Why should any man be so presumptuous to swerue from auncient custome? Why now do they defend the errours of other which haue peruerted the institution of Christ?

Now, although some perhaps wil pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his Masses, yet notwithstanding he so dealeth in handling the ceremony priuately by himselfe, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high seruice done to God, and suche as God requireth: whiche is also erroneous and to be reprobued. For why, no seruice nor worship pertaineing to God ought to bee set vp by mans deuise, without the commaundement of God.

Wherefore I beseeche you for the glorie of Christ, that you will not defend the article of this Acte cōcerning these priuate Masses, but that you will suffer the matter to bee well examined by vertuous and learned men. All thinges that we here with vs do, we do them by euident & substantiall testimonie of the primitiue Church, which testimonie I dare bee bolde to set against the iudgementes of all that haue since followed, such as haue corrupted the aunciente doctrine and old rites with manifold errours.

As touching the other articles, they haue no neede of any long disputation.* Uowes that be wicked, fayned, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt, but thys is the common

perswasion of all men touching vowes, that all these wil workes deuised by man, are the true seruice and worship of God: and so thinke they also whyche speake most indifferently of them. Other adde therevnto more grosse errorrs, saying, that these works bring wyth them perfection, and merite euerlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in manye places doth reprove. Christ saith: They woorship me in vayne wyth the preceptes of men.* And Paule sayth, that these obseruations be the doctrine of deuils: for they ascribe to the power and strength of man, false honour, because they are taken for the seruice of God: they obscure faith and the true worshipping of God. Item, the sayd Paule to the Coloss. sayth: Let no man deceyue you by fayned humilitie,*&c. Why make you Decrees? &c. Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are in deede a wicked and detestable seruice of God.

Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt & wicked abuses. The whole order of Monckery, what superstition doth it containe: What prophanations of Masses, inuocation of Saints, colours & fashions of apparell, choise of meates, superstitious prayers without all measure? Of which causes euery one were sufficient,* why these vowes ought to be broken. Besides this, a greate part of men are drawne to this kinde of life chiefly for the bellies sake, and then afterward they pretend the holines of their vowe and profession.

Furthermore, this vowe of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himselfe saith: All men do not receiue this.* Such vowes therefore whiche without sinne can not be performed are to be vndone, but these things I haue discussed sufficiently in other of my workes.

But this causeth me muche to maruell, that this vowe of Priestes in your English Decree,* is more strait and hard, then is the vowe of Monkes, whereas the Canons themselues doe bind a Priest no farther to single life: but onely for the time that he remaineth in the ministry. And certeynely it made my hart to tremble when I reade thys Article which so forbiddeth matrimony, and dissolueth the same being contracted, and appointeth moreouer the punishment of death for the same. Although there haue bene diuers godly Priestes which in certeyne places haue bene put to death for their mariage, yet hath neuer man hetherto bene so bold to stablisch any such lawe.* For euery man in a maner, wel perceiued that all well disposed and reasonable persons would abhorre that crueltie: and also they feared least the posteritie woulde thinke euill thereof. Who would euer thinke, that in the Church of Christ, wherein all lenitie toward the godly ought most principally to be shewed, such cruelties and tyrannie could take place, to set sorth bloudy lawes to be executed vpon the godly for lawfull matrimonie?

But they brake their vowes, will the Byshoppes say.* For (as I sayd) that vow ought not to stād seing it is turned to a false worship of God, & is impossible to be kept. Agayne, although it stooode in force, yet it should not extend to thē which forsake the ministry. Finally, if the Bishops here would haue a care and regarde to mens consciences, they should then ordaine Priestes without any such profession or vow making, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the ministry without professing of any vow, and the same afterward, when they had married their wiues, to haue remayned in the ministry, as is testified Cap. Diaconi. Distinct. 28.

Certainely what here I may cōplayne, I can not tell.* First, in this Article I can not impute it to ignoraūce that they do. For no man is ignoraūt of the commaundemēt of God, which sayth: Let

euery man haue his wife for auoydyng of fornication. Agayne, who is so blynd but he seeth what a life these vnmarried Priestes do liue? * The complayntes of good mē are wel knowen. The filthynes of y^e wicked is toto manifest. But peradventure your Byshops holding w^t the sect of Epicures, doe thinke that God is not offended with filthy lustes. Which if they so thinke, then doe we susteine doubtlesse a hard cause where such must be iudges.

I am not ignoraunt that this single life is very fitte to set out the glory and brauery of Byshops and Colledges of Priestes, & to mainteine their wealth and portely state, and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhorre so much that Priestes should be married. But O Lamentable state of the Church, if lawes shuld be so forced to serue, not the veritie and the will of God, but the priuate gayne and commoditie of men. They erre which thinke it lawfull for them to make lawes repugnaunt to the commaūdement of God & to the law of nature, so that they be profitable to attaine wealth and riches. * And of trouth frō my very hart I do mourne & lament, right noble Prince, both for your sake & also for the cause of Christes Church. You pretende to impugne and gaynestād the tyrāny of the Romish Byshop, and trully do call him Antichrist, as in deede he is: & in the meane tyme you defēd and maintaine those lawes of that Romish Antichrist, which be the strength & sinowes of all his power▪ as priuate Masses, single lyfe of Priestes, & other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishmentes to good men and to the mēbers of Christ, you violently oppresse and beare down the veritie of the Gospell begynnyng to shyne in your Churches. This is not to abolish Antichrist, but to establish him.

I beseech you therfore for our Lord Iesus Christ, that you file not your conscience in defendyng those Articles which your Byshops haue deuised and set forth touchyng priuate Masses, Auricular confession, vowes, single life of Priestes, & prohibition of the one halfe of the Sacrament. It is no light offēce to establish Idolatry, errorrs, crueltie the filthy lustes of Antichrist. If the Romane Byshop should now call a Councell, what other Articles chiefly would he deuise and publish vnto the world, but the very same which your Byshops haue here enacted.

Understand and consider I pray you, the subtile traynes and deceites of the deuill, * whiche is wont first to set vpon and assayle the chief gouernours. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the begynnyng of the world, so his chief purpose is by all craftie and subtile meanes, to worke contumely agaynst Christ in sparsing abroad wicked opinions and setting vp Idolatry: and also in pollutyng mākind with bloudy murthers and fleshly lustes: in the workyng wherof he abuseth the policies and wittes of hypocrites: also the power and strength of mighty Princes: as stories of all tymes beare witnes what great kyngdomes & Empires haue set themselues with all might & maine, agaynst the poore Church of Christ.

And yet notwithstanding God hath reserued some good Princes at all tymes, out of the great multitude of such giants, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worshyp: * as Abrahā taught Abimelech, Ioseph the Egyptian kynges: and after them came Dauid, Iosaphat, Ezechias, Iosias excellyng in true godlynesse. Daniell conuerted to the knowledge of God the kynges of Chaldea & Persia. Also Britāny brought forth vnto the world the godly Prince Constantine. In this number I wishe you rather to be, then amongst the enemyes of Christ, defiled with Idolatry & spotted with the bloud of the godly: of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many tymes forewarne, and many examples do teach.

Yet agayne therefore I pray and beseeche you for our Lord Iesus Christ, that you wil correct and mitigate this Decree of y^e Byshops: In which doyng you shall aduaūce the glory of Christ, and prouide as well for the wealth of your owne soule, as the sauegarde of your Churches.

[Page 1176](#)Let the hartie desires of so many godly men through the whole worlde, moue you, so earnestly wishing that some good Kings woulde extend their authoritie to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the abolishing of all Idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the Gospell. Regarde also and consider I beseeche you, those godly persons,* which are with you in bands for the Gospels sake, being the true members of Christ.

And if that cruell Decree be not altered, the Byshops will neuer cease to rage agaynst the Church of Christe without mercy or pitie. For them the deuill vseth as instrumentes and ministers of his furie and malice agaynst Christ.* These he stirreth vp to slay and kill the members of Christ. Whose wicked and cruell proceedings and subtile sophistications, that you wil not prefer before our true and most righteous request, all the godly most humbly & hartily do pray & beseech you. Which if they shall obteyne, no doubt but God shal recompence to you great rewards for your pietie, and your excellēt vertue shalbe renowned both by penne and voyce of all the godly, whiles the world standeth. For Christ shall iudge all them that shall deserue either well or euill of his Church. And whiles letters shal remaine, the memoriall worthy of such noble deserts, shall neuer dye or be forgotten with the posteritie to come. And seing we seeke the glory of Christ, and that our Churches are the Churches of Christ, there shall neuer be wantyng such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnifie with due commendation such as haue well deserued, & likewise shal condemne the vniust crueltie of the enemies.

Christ goeth about hungry, thirstie, naked, prisoned, complaining of the raging furie of the Bishops, and of the wrongfull oppression and crueltie of dyuers Kyngs and Princes, entreating that the members of his body be not rent in peeces, but that true Churches may be defended, & his Gospell aduanced. This request of Christ to heare, to receiue, and to embrace, is the office of a godly Kyng, and seruice most acceptable vnto God.

☞Intreating a little before, page 1143. of certayne olde instrumentes for prooffe of Priestes lawfull Marriage in times past, I gaue a little touch of a certayne recorde taken out of an olde Martyrologe of the Church of Cant. touching Liuingus a priest, and his wife, in the time of Lanfrancke. Wherein I touched also of certain lands and houses restored againe by the said Lanfrancke to the Church of S. Andrew.*Now for asmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands, and partly considering the restoring of the sayde landes, to be to Christes Church in Canterbury, and not S. Andrew in Rochester: and also for that I haue founde some other presidentes approouing the lawfull Mariage of Priestes, and legitimation of theyr children, I thought good for the more full satisfying of the reader, to enter the same, as followeth.

***A note out of an old Martyrologe of Caunterbury.**

OBijt Guillielmus Rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit Ecclesiae Christi omnes ferè terras, &c. That is: After the death of William King of England,* the sayd Lanfrancke restored agayne to Christes Church in Canterbury, all the landes whiche from auncient memory vnto these latter dayes, haue bene taken away from the right of the sayd Church. The names of which landes be these: In

Kent, Raculfe, Sandwich, Rateburch, Wodetun, the Abbay of Limming, with the lands and customes vnto the same monasterye belonging, Saltwude, &c. (Stocke and Denentun, because they belonged of olde time to the Church of S. Andrewe,* them he restored to the same Church.) In Sutherey, Murtelac, the Abbay of S. Mary in London, with the landes and houses which Liuingus Priest, and his wife had in London. All these Lanfrancke restored agayne for the health of his owne soule, freely, and without money,* &c.

***A note for the legitimation of Priestes children, ex termino Michael. Anno 21. Henr. 7. fol. 39. page. 2.**

NOte, that in the xix. yeare of this King, in an Assise at Warwicke, before Syr Guye Fairfax, and Syr Iohn Vauisour, it was found by Verdite,* that the father of the tenaunt had taken the order of Deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue, the tenaunt dyed, and the issue of the tenaunt did enter. Vpon whome the pleyntife did enter as next heyre collaterall to the father of the tenaunt.* Vpon whome he did reenter, &c. and for difficultie, the Iustices did adiourne the Assise. And it was debated in the Escheker chamber: If the tenaunt shall be a Bastard, &c. And heere by aduise it was adiudged that he shall not be bastard, &c. ¶Frowicke chiefe Iustice sayd to me in the xix. yeare of Henry the vij. in the common place, that he was of counsaile in this matter, and that it was adiudged as before, which Vauisour did graunt. ¶And Frowicke sayd, that if a Priest marry a wife,* and hath issue and dyeth, his issue shall inherite, for that the espousals be not voyde but voydable. ¶Vauisour: if a man take a Nunne to wife, this espousall is voyde.

☞Note, that in the latter Impression of Henry the vij. yeares of the lawe, this word Priest in this case aforesayd in some bookes is left out: whether of purpose or by negligence, I leaue it to the Reader to iudge.

***Another note for legitimation of Priestes children.**

AD Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Mariae Dei gratia, &c. xvj. die Iulij, Anno Reg. dict. Regis & Reginae, primo & tertio irrotulatur sic. Praesentatum est per totum homagium quòd Symon Heynes*Clericus diu antè istam Curiam, vid. per duos annos iam elapsos, fuit sesitus secundum consuetudinem huius Manerij in dominio suo vt de feodo, de & in duabus acris terrae, percellis de xxxv. acris & dimidij terrae, nuper in tenuta Ioannis Heynes. Ac. de & in vno tenemento vocat. Bernardes nuper in tenuta Ioannis Cotton. Ac de & in lvij. Acris & iij. rodīs terrae & pasturae, siue plus siue minus, prout iacent in campis de Myldenhall praedicta in diuersis pecijs, vt patet in Curia hic tenta die Iouis proximo post festum Sancti Lucae Euangelistae, An. regni Regis Henrici viij.xxxviij. Necnon de & in xij. acris terrae natiuae iacentibus in Townefield & Twamelfield in diuersis pecijs. Ac de & in quatuor Acris & dimidio terrae iacentibus in Myldenhall praedicta. Ac de & in quinque rodīs terrae iacentibus in Halywelfield. Qua propter praemissa, idem Symon nuper habuit ex sursum redditione Willielmi Heynes prout pater in Curia hic tenta die Martis proximo post Dominicam in Albis Anno regni Regis Edwardi vj. primo.*Et sic sesitus idem Symon de omnibus supradictis praemissis inde obiit solus sesitus. Et quòd Ioseph Heynes est filius & haeres eius propinquior, & modo aetatis quinque annorum & amplius. Qui quidem Ioseph praesens hic in Curia in propria persona sua, petit se admittie ad omnia supradicta praemissa tanquam ad ius & haere ditatem suam. Et D. Rex & D. Regina ex gratia sua speciali, per Clementum Heigham militem Senescallum suum,

concesserunt ei inde sesinam tenendam sibi▪ haeredibus, & assignatis eius, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. Regis & D. Reginae secundum consuetudinem huius, Manerij, per seruitia & redditus inde debita, &c. Saluo iure, &c Et dat Domino Regi & D. Reginae v. lib. de fine pro ingressu suo habendo, & fidelitas inde respectuatur quousque, &c. Et vltcrius consideratum est per Curiam quòd dict. Ioseph est infra aetatem vt praefertur. Ideo determinatum est & concessum est per consensum Curiae quòd Ioanna Heynes nuper vxor praedicti Simonis, ac mater predicti Ioseph habebit custodiam eiusdem Ioseph, quousque idem Ioseph peruenerit ad suam legitimam aetatem.

Concerning these vj. Articles passed in this Acte aforesayd in the 21. yeare of King Henry, sufficiently hetherto hath bene declared, first what these Articles were: secondly by whom and from whom chiefly they proceded: thirdly,* how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant and contrarious to true doctrine, christian religion, and the word of God, to nature also it selfe, all reason and honesty, and finally to the auncient lawes, customes, and examples of our forcelders during the daies of a thousande yeares after Christe they were. Fourthly, yee haue heard also what vnreasonable and extreme penaltie was set vpon the same,* that a man may deeme these lawes to be written not wyth the inke of Steuen Gardiner, but with the bloud of a Dragon, or rather the clause of the Diuell. The breach whereof was made no lesse then treason and felony, and no lesse punishment assigned thereto then death.

Besides all this, the wordes of the Acte were so curious and subtile, that no man could speake, wryte or cyphar against them, without present daunger, yea scarcely a man might speake any word of Christ and his Religion,* but he was in perill of these vj. Articles. Ouer & besides, the Papistes began so finely to interprete the Act, that they spared not to indite men for abusing their countenance & behaiour in the Church. So great was the power of darkenesse in those dayes. And thus much concerning this Acte.

Besides these vj. Articles in this foresaide Acte concluded, there was also another constitution annexed withall, not without the aduise (as may seeme) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this:* that Priestes and Ministers of the Church, seing now they would needes thēselues be bound from all Matrimony, should therefore by law likewise be bound to such honesty and continencie of life, that carnally they should vse & accustome no maner of woman married or single, by way of aduoutrie or fornication: the breache whereof, for the first tyme, was to forfeite goodes, & to suffer imprisonment at the Kings pleasure: and for the second [Page 1177](#) time, being duely conuicted, it was made felonie as the other were.

In this constitution, if the Lord Cromwell and other good men of the Parliament might haue had their wyll, there is no doubt, but the first crime of these concubinarye Priests, as well as the second, had had the same penaltie, as the other vj. Articles had and should haue bene punished with death. But Steuen Gardiner with his felowe Byshops, who then ruled all the roste, so basted this extraordinarie Article with their accustomed shiftes, that if they were taken and duely conuicte for their not castè nor cautè, at first time it was but forfeite of goodes. Also for the second conuiction or atteinder, they so prouided that the next yeare folowing, that punishment and paine of death by Acte of Parliamente,* was cleane wiped away and repealed. And why so? Because (sayeth the Statute) that punishment by payne of deathe is very sore, and much extreme, therefore it pleaseth the Kyng, wyth the assente of the Lordes, that that clause aboue written

concerning felonie, and paynes of deathe, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and vpon the first and seconde conuiction or atteynder of anye Prieste or woman,*for anye suche offences (of whoredome or aduoutrie) aforesayde, shall be from hencefoorth voyde and of none effecte, &c. So that by this statute it was prouided, for all suche votaries as liued in whoredome and adulterie, for the first offence to lose his goodes and all his spirituall promotions except one. For the second, to forfeite all that he had to the King. For the third conuiction to susteyne continuall imprisonment.

In these vngodly proceedings of the Popes Catholicke Clergie, two things we haue to note.

*1. First, the horrible impietie of their doctrine, directly fighting against the expresse authoritie of God & his word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they restrayne: that which he biddeth, they forbid. Habeat, sayeth he: non habeat say they, taking exceptions agaynste the worde of the Lord. That which he calleth honorable and vndefiled, they call heresie: that which he cūmendeth and instituteth, they punish with paynes of death. Not onely the Priestes that marry, but them also that say or cyphre that a Prieste may marry, at the first they kill as felons. Neither can any Miserere take place for chaste and lawfull wedlocke: where as cōtrariwise a spirituall man may thrise defile his neighbours wife, or thrise defloure his Brothers daughter, and no felonie at all layde to his charge. What is this in plaine words to say, but that it is lesse sinne thrise to commit aduoutry, then once to marry.

2. The seconde is to be noted, how these paynted hypocrites doe bewray their false dissembled dealinges vnawares, with whome a man might thus reason. Tell vs you Priests and votaries,* which so precisely flie the state of Matrimonie, intende you to liue chaste, and are able so to do without wiues, or do you keepe your selues chaste & honest without them, and without burning, or not? If ye be not able, why then mary you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? Why make you those vowes, which you can not performe? or why do you not breake them being made, falling thereby in daunger of breakyng Gods commandemēt, for keeping your owne? If you be able, and so do intend to cōtinue an honest and a continent, conuersation without wiues, then shall I aske of you, according as Doct. Turner grauely & truely layeth to your charge: why do you so carefully prouide a remedie by your lawes aforehand for a mischief to come, whiche you may auoide if ye list,* vnlesse eyther ye listed not to stand, though ye might, or else saw your owne infirmitie, that you could not though ye would? And therefore fearing your owne weake fragilitie, you prouide wisely for your selues aforehand, that where other shall suffer paynes of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrise in abhominable adultery, and yet by the law haue your liues pardoned.

And heere commeth out your owne hypocrisie by your selues bewrayed. For where as you all confesse, that you are able to liue chaste if ye wil without wiues, this moderation of the lawe prouided before against your aduouterous incontinencie, playnely declareth that eyther ye purpose willingly to fal, or at least ye feare and stand in doubt not to be able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take such vowes vpon you, standing in such doubt and feare for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted that all do not fall, but that some keepe their vow,* though some viciously run to other mens wiues and daughters: then here againe I aske you, seeing these

vicious whorehunters and aduouterous persons amongst you, do liue viciously (as you can not deny) and may do otherwise if they list (as you cōfesse) what punishmēt then are they worthy to haue, which may liue cōtinent and wil not, neither yet will take the remedy prouided by God, but refuse it? Which beyng so, then what iniquitie is this in you, or rather impietie inexcusable against God and man, to procure a moderation of lawes for such,* and to shew such compassion and clemēcie to these so heynous adulterers, whorehunters, and beastly fornicators, that if they adulterate other mens wiues neuer so oft, yet there is no death for them: and to shew no compassion at all, nor to finde out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill thē as felons and heretickes, which honestly doe mary in the feare of God, or once say that a Priest may mary? How can ye heare be excused. O you children of iniquitie? What reason is in your doying, or what truth in your doctrine, or what feare of God in your harts? You that neither are able to auoyde burnyng & pollutiō without wedlocke, nor yet will receaue that remedy that the Lord hath giuen you, how will you stand in his face, whē hee shall reuele your operations and cogitations to your perpetuall confusion, vnlesse by tyme ye conuert and repent? And thus beyng ashamed of your execrable doyngs I cease to defile my penne any further in this so stinkyng matter of yours, leauyng you to the Lord.

It was declared before,* pag. 1136. that what tyme these vi. Articles were in hand in the Parliament house, Cranmer then beyng Archbyshop of Canterbury onely withstoode the same, disputyng iij. dayes agaynst them: whose reasons and Arguments I wish were extant and remaynyng. After these Articles were thus passed and concluded, the kyng, who alwayes bare especiall fauour vnto Cranmer, perceiuyng him to bee not a litle discomforted therewith sent all the Lordes of the Parlament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dyne with him at Lambeth (as is afore declared) and within few dayes also vpon the same, required that he would geue a note of all his doings and reasonynges in the sayd Parlament, whiche the sayd Cranmer eftsoones accomplished accordyngly,* drawyng out his reasōs & allegations, the copy wherof beyng fayre written out by his Secretary, was sent and deliuered vnto the kyng and there remayned.

Now after these thynges thus discussed as touchyng the vi. wicked Articles, it foloweth next, in returnyng to the order of our story agayne, to declare those thynges, which after the setting out of these Articles ensued, commyng now to the tyme and story of the Lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy fame and deedes are worthy to lyue renowned in perpetuall memory.

¶The history concernyng the lyfe, actes, and death of the famous and worthy Counsailour Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Essex.

THomas Cromwell although borne of a simple parentage, and house obscure,* through the singular excellencie of wisdom and dexteritie of witte wrought in him by God, coupled with like industrie of mynde and desertes of lyfe, rose to hygh preferment and authoritie, in somuch that by steppes and stayres of office and honour,* he ascended at length to that, that not onely he was made Earle of Essex, but also most secret and deare Counsellour to kyng Henry, and Uicegerent vnto his person, which office hath not commonly bene supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged with in this Realme.

First as touchyng his byrth, he was borne at Putney or thereabout, being a Smithes sonne, whose mother married after vnto a shyreman. In the simple estate & rude begynnys of this man (as of

diuers other before him) we may see and learne that the excellencie of noble vertues & heroicall prowesses, which aduance to fame and honour, stād not onely vpon byrth & bloud, as priuileges onely intayled appropriat to noble houses: but are disposed indifferently & proceede of the gift of God, who rayseth vp the poore object many tymes out of the donghill, & matcheth him in throne with Peeres and Princes. Psal. 113.

As touching the order and maner of his comming vp,* it would be superfluous to discourse what may be sayd at large: onely by way of story it may suffice to giue a touch of certaine particulars, and so to proceede. Although the humble condition and pouertie of this mā was at the begynnyng (as it is to many other) a great let & hinderaūce for vertue to shew her selfe, yet such was the actiuitie and forward rypenes of nature in him so pregnaūt in witte & so ready he was, in iudgemēt discret, in tounge eloquent, in seruice faythfull, in stomacke couragious, in his penne actiue, that beyng conuersaūt in the sight of mē, he could not long be vnespied, not yet vnprouided of fauour & helpe of frēdes to set him forward in place and office. Neither was any place or office put vnto him, whereunto he was not apt & fit. Nothyng was so hard which with witte and industrie he could not cōpasse. Neither was his capacitie so [Page 1178](#) good, but his memorie was as great in reteining whatsoeuer he had attained. Which well appeared in cannyng the text of the whole new Testament of Erasmus translation without booke, in his iourney going and comming from Rome:* whereof ye shall heare anone.

Thus in hys growing yeares, as he shot vp in age, and ripenes, a great delite came in his mynde to stray into foreine countreys, to see the world abroade, and to learne experience: whereby he learned such touns and languages, as might better serue for his vse hereafter.

And thus passing ouer his youth, being at Antwerpe, he was there reteined of the Englishe Marchauntes to be their Clerke or Secretary, or in some suche lyke condition placed pertaining to their affaires.

It happened the same time, that the Towne of Boston thought good to send vp to Rome,* for renewing of their two Pardons, one called the great Pardon, the other the lesser Pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of money (for the Popes Marchandise is alwayes deare ware) yet notwithstanding such sweetnesse they had felt thereof,* and such gayne to come to theyr Towne by that Romish Marchandise (as all superstition is commonly gaynefull) that they like good Catholicke Marchauntes,* and the Popes good customers, thought to spare for no coste, to haue their leases agayne of theyr Pardons renewed, whatsoeuer they payde for the fine. And yet was all this good Religion then: suche was the lamentable blindnes of that time.

This then being so determined & decreed amongst my coūtreymen of Boston, to haue their pardōs needes repaired & renewed from Rome, one Geffray Chābers with an other cōpanion was sent for y^e messengers, with writings & money, no small quātity, well furnished, & with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable & costly exployt, who cōming in his iorney to Antwarpe, & misdoubting himselfe to be too weake for the compassing of suche a weightie peece of worke, cōferred & perswaded with Tho. Cromwell to associate him in that legacie, and to assist him in the contriuing thereof. Cromwell although perceauing the enterprise to be of no small difficultie, to traaverse the Popes Court, for the vnreasonable expenses amōgst those greedy

cormorantes, yet hauing some skill of the Italian tounge, and as yet not grounded in iudgement of religion in those his youthfull daies, was at length obtained and content to giue the aduenture, and so tooke his iourney toward Rome.* Cromwell loth to spend much time, & more loth to spend his money: and againe perceiuing that the Popes greedy humor must needes be serued wyth some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to cast with himselfe, what thing best to deuise, wherein he might best serue the Popes deuotion.

At length, hauing knowledge how that the Popes holy tooth greatly delited in new fangled straunge delicates, and dayntie dishes, it came in his minde to prepare certeine fine dishes of gelly, after the best fashion, made after our countrey maner heere in Englande, which to them of Rome was not knowne nor seene before.

This done, Cromwell obseruing his time accordyngly, as the Pope was newly come frō hunting into his pauillion, he with his companions approched with his english presents brought in with a three mans song (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after y^e English fashion. The Pope sodenly marueiling at the straungenes of the song, and vnderstanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not emptie handed, willed them to be called in. Crōwell there shewing his obediēce, & offering his iolye iunkets,* suche as Kings and Princes only (sayd he) in the realme of Englaād vse to feede vpon, desired y^e same to be accepted in beneuolent part, which he and his cōpanions as poore suters vnto his holines, had there brought and presented, as nouelties meete for his recreation, &c.

Pope Iulius seing the straungenes of the dishes, commaunded by and by his Cardinall to take the assay. Who in tasting thereof, liked it so wel, and so likewise the Pope after him, that knowing of them what their sutes were, and requiring them to make knowen the making of that meate, he incontinent without any more adoe, stamped both their pardons,* as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus was the iolye pardons of the Towne of Boston obteyned as you haue heard, for the maintenaunce of their decayed porte. The copie of which Pardons (which I haue in my handes) briefly comprehended, commeth to this effect: That all the brethren and sisters of the gylde of our Lady in S. Botulphes church at Boston,* should haue free licence to choose for their confessor or ghostly father, whome they woulde, eyther seculare Prieste, or religious person, to assoyle them plenarely from all their sinnes, except only in cases reserued to the Pope.

Also should haue licence to carry about with them an aultar stone whereby they might haue a Priest to say them Masse, or other diuine seruice, where they would, without preiudice of any other Church or Chappell, though it were also before the day, yea and at three of the clocke after midnight in the Sommer tyme.

Furthermore, that all suche breethren and sisters of the sayd gilde,* which should resort to y^e chappel of our Lady in S. Botulphes Church at the feast of Easter, Whitsontide, Corpus Christi, the Natiuitie or Assumption of our Lady, or in y^e Octaues of them, the feast of S. Michaell, and first Sondag in Lent, should haue Pardon no lesse then if they themselues personally had visited the Stations of Rome.*

Prouided that euery such person, man or woman, entring into the same gilde, at his first entraunce should giue to the finding of vij. Priests, xij. Queresters, & xiiij. beademen, and to the lightes of y^e same brotherhoode & a Grammer schole, vj. shillings viij. pence, and for euery yeare after, xij. pence.

And these premisses being before graunted by Pope Innocentius, and Pope Iulius 2. this Pope Clement also confirmed, graunting moreouer, that whatsoeuer brother or sister of the same gylde thorough pouertie, sickenes, or any other let could not resort personally to the saide chappell, notwithstanding he should be dispensed withall, as well for that, as for all other vowes, irregularities, censures Canonically whatsoeuer, only the vowe of going the Stations of Rome, and going to S. Iames of Compostella excepted, &c.

He also graunted vnto them power to receaue full remission A poena & culpa once in theyr lyfe,* or in the houre of death.

Item, that hauing their aultar stone, they mighte haue Masse sayd in any place, though it were vnhalloved.* Also in the time of interdict, to haue Masse or any Sacramente ministred: and also being departed, that they might be buried in Christen buriall notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreouer his graunt, that to all such breethren and sisters, in resorting to the foresayd Chappell of our Lady vpon the Natiuitie, or Assumption of our Lady, giuing supportation to the sayd Chappel, at euery such Festiuall daye, to haue full remission of all their sinnes. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the Chappell aforesayd, yet if they came to their owne Parish Church, and there sayd one Pater noster, and Aue Maria, they should enioy the same remission aboue specified: or whosoever came euery Friday to the same Chappell, should haue as much remission, as if he went to the Chappell of our Lady called Scala coeli.

Furthermore, that whatsoeuer Christē people,* of what estate or cōdition soeuer, either spirituall or tēporal, would ayde & support the chamberlaines or substitutes of y^e foresayd gylde, should haue fiue hundreth yeares of pardon.

Item, to all brothers and sisters of the same gylde was graunted free libertie to eate in time of Lent,* or other Fasting dayes, egges, milke, butter, cheese, and also fleshe, by the counsaile of their ghostly father and phisition, without any scruple of conscience.

Item, that all partakers of the same gylde, and beyng supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or euery Friday or Saterday, either in the said Chappell in S. Botulphes Church, or any other Chappell, of their deuotion shall say a Pater noster, Aue Maria, and Creede, or shall say or cause to be sayde Masses for soules departed in paynes of Purgatory, shall not onely haue the full remission due to them which visite the Chappell of Scala Coeli, or of S. Iohn Lateran, but also the soules in Purgatory shall enioy full remission, and be released of all their paynes.

Item, that all the soules departed of the brothers and sisters of the sayde gylde:* also the soules of their fathers and mothers shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffragies, almoses, fastings, masses, and mattens, pilgrimages, and of all other good deedes of all the holy Church militant for euer, &c.

These indulgencies, pardons, grauntes, and relaxations, were geuen and graunted by Pope Nicholas the fift,* Pope Pius 2. Pope Sixtus, and Pope Iulius the second, of which Pope Iulius it seemeth, that Cromwell obteyned this Pardon aforesaide about the yeare of oure Lorde 1510. Which Pardon againe afterward through the request of King Henry, an. 1526. was confirmed by Pope Clement the seuenth. And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renued by the meanes of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Iulius the second.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor iudgement of Religion, but was wylde & youthfull, without sence or regard of God and his worde as he himselfe was wont oftentimes to declare vnto Cranmer [Page 1179](#) Archbishop of Cant. shewing what a ruffine he was in his yong dayes,* and how he was in the warres of duke Bourbon at the siege of Rome, also what a great doer he was with Geffray Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston euery where in Churches as he went, and so continued, till at length by learnyng the texte of the newe Testament without booke, of Erasmus translation in his going and comming from Rome (as is aforesayd) he began to be touched and called to better vnderstanding.

In this meane tyme Thomas Woolsey Cardinall of Yorke began to beare a great port in England,* and almost to rule all vnder the King, or rather with the King, so that the freshest wittes, and of best towardnes, most commonly sought vnto him. Among whome was also Thomas Cromwell to his seruice aduaunced, where he continued a certayne space of yeares,* growing vp in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be sollicitour to the Cardinall.

There was also about the same tyme, or not much different, in the houshold of the sayd Cardinall, Tho. More, afterward knight and Chauncelour of England: & Steuē Gardiner Byshop after of Wint. and of the Kings Coūsaile. All these three were brought vp in one houshold, and all of one standing almost together. Whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wittes much vnequall: so neither was their fortune and aduauncementes greatly diuers,* albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though peraduenture in More and in Gardiner there was more arte of letters, and skill of learning: yet notw^tstanding there was in this mā a more heauenly light of minde, & more prompt & perfect iudgement, eloquence equall, and as may be supposed, in thys man more pregnant: and finally in him was wrought a more heroicall and princely dispositiō, borne to greater affayres in the common wealth, and to the singular helpe of many.

It happened that in this meane season, • Cromwell was placed in this office to be sollicitour to the Cardinall, the said Cardinal had then in hand the building of certeine Colledges,* namely his Colledge in Oxforde, called then Frideswide, now Christes Church. By reason whereof, certayne small monasteries and priories, in diuers places of the realme, were by the saide Cardinall suppressed, and the lands seased to the Cardinals hāds. The doing wherof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell. In the expedition whereof he shewed himselfe very forward,* and industrious, in such sort as in y^e handling thereof, he procured to himselfe much grudge with diuers of the superstitious sorte, and with some also of noble calling about the King. And thus was Cromwell first set a worke by the Cardinall, to suppress religious houses. Which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the Cardinall whiche had gotten vp so high, began to come downe as fast, first from the Chauncellorship (in whiche roome was placed Sir Tho. More, as is aforesayd) then he fell into a Premunire: So that his houshold being dissolued, Tho. Cromwell amongst other, laboured also to be retheyned into the Kings seruice.

There was at the same tyme one Syr Christopher Hales Knight, Maister of the Rolles, who notwithstanding was then a mightie Papist, yet bare he suche fauour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the King, as a man most fitte for his purpose, hauing then to do against the Pope. But heere before is to be vnderstand, that Cromwel had greatly bene complained of, and diffamed by certeine of authority about the King, for hys rude maner and homely dealing in defacing the Monkes houses, & in handling of their aultars, &c. Wherefore y^e king hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest y^t mention of him: neither lacked there some standers by, who w^t reuiling words ceased not to encrease and inflame y^e kings hatred against him. What their names were, it shall not neede heere to recite. Among other there present at the same hearing, was the Lorde Russell Earle of Bedforde, whose life Cromwell before had preserued at Bononye, through politicke conueyance, at what time, the said Earle comming secretly in the kings affaires, was there espyed, and therefore being in great daunger to be taken, through the meanes and pollicie of Cromwell escaped.

This Lord Russell therefore not forgetting the olde benefites past, & with like grauitie willing againe to requite that he had receaued, in a vehement boldnes stode forth, to take vpon him the defence of Thomas Cromwel, vttering before the king many commendable words in the behalfe of him, and declaring withall how by his singulare deuice and policie, he had done for him at Bononie, beyng there in the Kings affaires, in extreame perill. And for as much as now his Maiestie had to do with the Pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the kynges purpose, which could say or do more in that matter, then could Thomas Cromwell, and partly gaue the kyng to vnderstand wherein. The kyng hearyng this, & specially markyng the latter end of his talke, was contēted and willyng to talke with him, to heare and know what he could say.

This was not so priuily done, but Cromwell had knowledge incontinent, that the kyng would talke with him, & whereupon: & therefore prouidyng before hand for matter, had in a readynesse the copie of the Byshops othe, which they vse cōmonly to make to the Pope at their consecration: and so beyng called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

Cromwell after most loyall obeysaūce, doying his duetie to the kyng, accordyng as he was demaunded,* made his declaration in all pointes, this especially making manifest vnto his highnes, how his Princely authoritie was abused within his own Realme, by the Pope & his Clergy, who beyng sworne vnto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, & sworne a new vnto the Pope, so that he was but as halfe kyng, and they but halfe his subiectes in his owne land: which (sayd he) was derogatorie to his crowne,* and vtterly preiudiciall to the common lawes of his Realme: Declaryng therupō how his Maiestie might accumulate to himselfe great riches, so much as all y^e Clergy in his Realme was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The kyng geuyng good eare to this, and likyng right well his aduice, required, if he could auouch that which he spake. All this he could (he sayd) auouch to be certaine, so well, as

that he had the copie of their owne othe to the Pope, there present to shewe, and that no lesse also he could manifestly proue, if his highnesse would geue him leaue: & therewith shewed the Byshops othe vnto the kyng.

The kyng folowyng the veyne of his counsayle, tooke his ryng of his finger, & first admittynge him into his seruice,* sent him therewith to the Conuocation house among the Byshops. Cromwell commynge with the kynges signet boldly into the Clergy house, and there placynge himselfe among the Byshops (W. Warham beyng then Archbyshop) begā to make his Oration, declaryng to them the authoritie of a kyng, and the office of subiectes, and especially the obedience of Byshops & Churchmen vnder publicke lawes, necessarily prouided for the profite & quyet of the cōmon wealth. Which lawes notwithstanding they had all transgressed, & highly offended in derogation of the kynges royall estate, fallyng in the law of Premunire, in that not onely they had consented to the power Legatiue of the Cardinall,* but also in that they had all sworne to the Pope, contrary to the fealtie of their soueraigne Lord the kyng, & therefore had forfeited to the kyng all their goodes, cattels, landes, possessions, and whatsoever liuynge they had. The Byshops hearyng this, were not a litle amased, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had shewed them the very copie of their othe made to the Pope at their cōsecration, and the matter was so playne, that they could not deny it, they begā to shrink, and to fall to entreatie, desirynge respite to pause vpon the matter. Notwithstanding the end thereof fell so out, that to be quite of that Premunire, by Act of Parliament, it cost them to the kyng for both the prouinces, Canterbury and Yorke, no lesse then .118840. poundes, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1530. whereof before you may read more at large, pag. 1020.

After this. an. 1522. Syr Thomas Cromwell growynge in great fauour with the kyng,* was made Knight & Maister of the kynges Iewel house, & shortly after was admitted also into the kynges Coūsaile, which was about the commynge in of Queene Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within two yeares after the same. an. 1524. he was made Maister of the Rolles, Doct. Taylor beyng discharged.

Thus Cromwel springynge vp in fauour and honour, after this, in the yeare .1527. a litle before the byrth of kyng Edward, was made Knight of the Garter,* & not long after, was aduanced to the Earledome of Essex, and made great Chamberlaine of England. Ouer and besides all which honours, he was constitute also Uicegerent to the kyng, representynge his person. Whiche office although it standeth well by the law, yet seldome hath there bene sene any besides this Cromwell alone, either to haue susteined it, or els to haue so furnished the same with counsayle and wisdom, as Cromwell did. And thus much hytherto cōcernynge the steppes and degrees of the Lord Cromwells risynge vp to dignitie and high estate.

Now somewhat would be sayd likewise of the noble [Page 1180](#) Actes, the memorable examples, and worthy vertues not drowned by ease of honour in him, but encreased rather, & quickened by aduancemēt of authority & place, to work more abundantly in the common wealth. Among y^t which his woorthy actes and other manyfolde vertues, in this one chiefly aboue all other riseth his commendation,* for his singular zeale and laborious trauaile bestowed in restoring the true Church of Christ, and subuerting the Synagogue of Antichrist, the Abbeyes, I meane, and religious houses of Friars and Monkes. For so it pleased almighty God by the meanes of the said Lord Cromwell, to induce the King to suppress first the Chauntries, then the Friars houses and

small Monasteries, till at length all the Abbeyes in England both great and lesse, were vtterly ouerthrowne and pluckt vp by the rootes. The which acte and enterprise of him, as it may geue a president of singular zeale to all Realmes christened, which no Prince yet to this day scarce dare folow: so to this Realme of Englande it wrought such benefit & commoditie, as the fruite thereof yet remayneth, and will remayne still in the Realme of Englande, though we seeme little to feele it. Rudely and simply I speake what I suppose, without preiudice of other which can inferre any better reason. In the meane time my reason is this: that if God had not raised vp thys Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out of the Abbeyes and Celles of straunge religion,* what other men see, I know not: for my part I neuer yet saw in thys Realme any such Cromwell since Cromwells time, whose hart and courage might not sooner haue bene subuerted with the money and bribes of Abbots, then he to haue subuerted any Abbey in all England.

But heere I must of necessitie answeare the complaynt of certayne of our countrey men. For so I heare of many, the subuersion of these Monasteries to be reprehended,* as euill and wicked. The building (say they) mighte haue bene conuerted vnto schooles and houses of learning. The goodes and possessions might haue bene bestowed to much better and more godly vse of the poore, and mainteining of hospitalitie. Neyther do I denie, but that these thyngs are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole hart, if I did not consider heerein a more secret and deeper meaning of Gods holy prouidence, then at the first blush peradventure to all men doth appeare.

And first to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders,* ful of al feditie, & found out by the Kings visitours, and in their Registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be beleueed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that no maruayle it is if Gods vengeance from heauen prouoked, woulde not suffer anye stone or monument of these abhominable houses to be vnplucked vp. But (as I sayd) letting these things passe vnder chaste silence, whiche for very shame will abhorre any storie to disclose: let vs now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of Monkerie, and consider howe and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons, at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

In the former parte of thys Hystorie, declaration was made before,* page 133.134. first by whome, and at what time these Monkish houses heere in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of Saint Benet,* and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded, as by Augustine the Monke, Furseus, Medulphus, Aidanus, Ceadda, king Ulferus, Oswius, Elfreda, King Oswys daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botulphus, Edeldreda, King Oswald, Edgar, Erkenewaldus Bishop, Ethelwoldus Bishop of Winchester, Osketellus Archbishop of Yorke, Oswaldus Bishop of Worcester, Leswinus Byshop of Dorcester, Dunstane, and diuers other.

The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be,* pro remissione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione animae: pro amore coelestis patriae: in eleemosinam animae: in remissionem criminum: pro salute Regnorum: pro salute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & sororum nostrarum parentum, & omnium benefactorum: in honorem gloriosae Virginis, &c. As may appeare in auncient histories, in olde Charters and donations vnto religious houses, and in the Chronicle of Ingulphus, as also all other stories be full of the same.

So King Ethelstane for killing his brother Edwyne, builded two Monasteries,* Midleton, and Michelneye, for his soule, page. 152. Which doctrine and institution, for so much as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the Testamēt of God, the Gospel of Iesus Christ, the freedome of our redemption, and free iustification by fayth, it is therfore to be condēned as execrable and horrible, as euil or worse then the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be maruelled rather that God woulde suffer it to stand so long.* Albeit Gods mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time, to worke againste suche impious foundations from the time of theyr first setting vp. For besides the inuasions of the Danes, (whiche may seeme to be stirred vp of God, especially for the subuersion of Abbeyes) let old hystories be searched, what Monasterie almost in all this Realme, was eyther leaft by the Danes, or reedified agayne after the Danes, but by some notorious casualty of fire sent by Gods hand, it hath bene burnt vp.

First, the Monasterie of Caunterbury,* called the house of S. Gregory, was burnt, an. 1145. and afterward againe burnt, an. 1174. Ex hist. Geruasij.

The Abbey of Croyland also was twise burnt. Ex hist. Ingulphi.

The Abbey of Peterborow twise set on fire, an. 1070. Ex Chron. Peterb.

The Abbey of S. Maries in Yorke burnt, with the hospitall also.

The Abbey of Norwich burnt.

The Abbey of S. Edmunds Bury burnt and destroyed. Ex Chron. S. Edmund.

The Abbey of Worcester burnt.

The Abbey of Glocester was also burnt.

The Abbey of Chichester burnt.

The Abbey of Glastenbury burnt.

The Abbey of S. Mary in Southwarke burnt.

The Church of the Abbey at Beuerley burnt.

The steeple of the Abbey of Euesham burnt.

These, with many other monasteries mo,* God brought downe to the ground, so that few or none of all the Monasticall foundations in all England, either before the Conquest escaped the hands of the Danes and Scottes, or else after the Conquest escaped destruction of fire, and that not without ius•••use deserued:* for as the trade of their lyues was too too wretched and bestiall, so the profession of theyr doctrine was intollerable, fraught with all superstition, full of much Idolatrie, and vtterly contrary to the grace of the Gospell and doctrine of Christ.

Furthermore, the more these Abbeyes multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew vnto them. And albeit we reade the name of Monkes to haue continued from the old auncient time, yet notwithstanding the Monkes of those dayes were not like to the Monkes of our time, nor their houses then, like to our Abbeyes now. So we reade of the Monkes of Bangor before the comming of Augustine: but those Monkes got their liuing with toyle and labour of theyr hands, and had no other lands nor lordships to liue vpō.* Againe, neither were they as Ministers then, but as Laye men: according as Hierome describeth the Monkes of his time, sayeng: Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium. And againe he sayeth: Alia causa est Monachi, alia Clerici. Clerici oues pascunt. Ego pascor. That is, A Monkes office is not to preache, but to mourne. The state of a Monke is one thing, and the state of a Priest is another. Priestes feede the flocke of Christ. I am fedde, &c.

Also in the storie of Ingulphus Abbot of Croylande,* thus I finde, an. 1075. In Croylandiam primum installatus inueni tunc in isto Monasterio Croylandési Monachos numero, 62. Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, praeter aliorum Monasteriorum Monachos nostri capituli conprofessos, &c. That is,*Being installed in the Abbey of Croyland, I found there to the number of lxij. Monkes. Of which Monkes, foure of them were laye breethren, besides the Monkes of other Monasteries, which were also professed to our Chapter, &c.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Councell of Chalcedon,* where it is prouided Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negotijs immisceant, &c. Et Leo Epist. 62. Vetat Monachos & laicos etsi scientiae nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi. Whereof reade more page. 154.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of Hierome, that Monkes in the firste persecutions of the Primitiue Church were lay men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together,* eyther for feare of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianitie, the monkes yet keeping theyr name, & growing in superstition, woulde not ioyne with other Christians, but keepe still their brotherhoodes, diuiding themselves from other Christians, and professing a kinde of life straunge and diuers from the common trade. Upō this diuersitie of life and profession, folowed also like diuersitie of garments and attire differing from their other breethren. After this moreouer came in the rule of S. [Page 1181](#) Benedict, enioyning to them a prescribed forme of goyng, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silēce, sole life and diet, and all thinges almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

Whereby men seeing theyr austerity, beganne to haue them in great admiration.* And thus growing vp in opini|on of ho••nes, of lay men and laborers they came at length to be Clergy men, and greatest doers of all other in Christes religion: In so much that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect christian vnles he were a monke: neither almost was any aduaūced to any dignity of the Church, but either he was a monke, or afterward he put on a monkes weede: According as in the stories of this Realme is to be seene, howe in the tyme of Dunstane Archbishop of Canterbury,* of Ethelwold Byshop of Worcester, and of Oswald Bishop of Winchester, Pope Iohn. 13. writing to king Edgar, willed him in hys letters, to see in his Cathedrall Churches none to be promoted to be Bishops, but such as were of the Monasticall religion, and willed him moreouer to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to

place in Monkes, and that none of the secular Clerkes there should be chosen bishop, but either taken out of the same Couent of that church, or of some other Abbey.

So was also king Henry the second commaūded to do in the house of Waltham,* where the secular Canons were remoued out, and regular Canons intruded. The same did Oswald Bishop with the Church of Worcester, likewise in their Sees did Dunstane Archbishop of Canterbury, Osketellus Archbishop of York, Ethelwold Bishop of Worcester (who in storye is reported to be Multorum fundator Monasteriorum,) Leswinus also Bishop of Dorchester, with other Bishops moe about the time and raig of king Edgar. •do Archbishop of Caunterbury before Dunstane, an. 934. after his election refused to take that dignity vpon him, before he had receiued the habite of a monk in the Abbey of Florence in Fraunce, because as the story telleth (if it be true) Nullus ad id tempus nisi monachali schemate indutus,* Archiepiscopus fuisset. &c. That is, Because all the Archbishops of Caunterbury before him, had bene Monkes. &c. In like maner Baldwinus also an. 1114. after he was elected Archb. of Canterbury, tooke vpon him the habite and profession of Mereton Abbey. And so did Reginaldus his next successor after him. &c.

As concerning therfore the origene of Monks, ye haue heard how first they began of lay mē onely, leading a straiter life from the society of other persons, who then folowing the rule of S Benet, were called regulars & votaries, and yet all this while had nothing to do with any Ecclesiasticall ministry, til the time of Pope Bonifacius y^e fourth an. 606. who then made a decree, that monkes might vse the office of preaching, of the christening, of hearing confessions and assoyling thē of their sinnes, differing from priestes onely in this, that they were called Regulares, and priestes were called Seculares, the monkes were votaries, the priestes had free liberty to haue wiues, til the time of Lanfranke and Anselme, as is aforesayd. Albeit Athanasius in his Epistle Ad Dracontium, witnesseth also, that he knewe Monkes in the olde time and Bishops, which were marryed and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance & superstition with time encreased, so the number and swarme of monkes still more and more multiplied, in such sort, as not onely they thrust out secular Priestes frō their houses, but also out of them were made, Popes, Cardinalles, Archbishops, and Bishops, to gouerne Churches. Of which nūber began Austen the first Archbishop of the See of Cant. and the most part of all other Archbishops after him, vntill the time of the Conquest, and after.

All this while the Friers were not yet come, neyther the discipline of S. Dominike,* nor the Testament of S. Fraunces, nor the order of the Austen brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of. Which last of all came in w^t theyr pageans, and played theyr part likewise, an. 1220. being much more full of hipocrisy, blindnesse, Idolatry, and superstition, then were the monkes: So that, what with monkes of y^e one side, & w^t the friers, of the other side while all thinges were ruled by the Rules of S. Benet, by y^e Canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of S. Dominike, and by the Testament of S. Fraunces, Christes Testament was trode vnder foote, the rule of Gods word neglected, true Christian religion defaced, fayth forgotten, the right way of saluation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christes seruants persecuted, and the peoples soules vncomforted: yea and the true Church of Christ almost cleane extirped, had not almighty God (who can not forgette his promise, prouided remedy in time, in raysing vp this Cromwel his seruaunt, and other like champions, to cut vppe from the roote of the houses of them, which otherwise would vtterly haue rooted vp the house of the Lord, & had subuerted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoeuer findeth himselfe agreeued with Cromwels doinges in suppressing these Monasteryes of Monkes and Fryers, let him wisely consider with hymselfe, first the doctrine, lawes and traditions of these men, which he shall find rebelling to the religion of Christ,* pernicious to our saluation, derogatory to Christes glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise wel aduise the horrible and execrable liues of these Cloysterers, or at y^e least search out the rolles and registers of matters found out by inquisition in king Henry the eight his dayes, agaynst them: which here is not to be spoken of, vnles we will speake as Mathew Paris speaketh of the Court of Rome: Cuius foetor vsque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat: That is, Whose filthy stinch (saith he) did breath vp a most pestiferous fume, euen vnto the cloudes of heauen. &c.

All which thinges well considered,* what maruell is it then, if God of his iust iudgement did set vp the foresayde Lord Cromwell to destroy these sinfull houses, whō they owne corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of theyr landes and possessions to the handes of such as they were bestowed vpon: if it so pleased the king in bestowing those Abbey landes vpon his Nobles and Gentlemen,* either to restore them againe vnto them from whence they came, or els to gratifie hys nobility, by that meanes of pollicye not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwel? But they might (say you) haue bene much better employed to other more fruitfull vses. Briefely to aunswere thereunto, what may be done presently in a common wealth, is not enough to say: but what may also folow must be considered. If thys throwing downe of Abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities or cuntryes, as are amongst the Germanes, where the state gouerned & directed by lawes, rather then by rulers, remayneth alwayes alike and vnmutable, who doubteth but such houses there standing still, y^e possessions might well be transposed to such vses abouesayd, without any feare or perill? But in suche Realmes and Kingdomes as this, wher Lawes and Parliamentes be not alwayes one, but are subiect to the disposition of the prince: neither is it certayne alwayes what Princes maye come: y^e surest way therfore to send Monkerie & Popery packing out of the realme, is to doe with their houses and possessions as king Henry here did, through y^t motion of y^e counsell of Cromwell. For els who seeth not in Queene Maries time, if either the houses of monkes had stand or their landes had bene otherwise disposed then into the handes of such as they were, how many of them had bene restored & replenished agayn w^t monkes & fryers, in as ample wise as euer they were? And if Dukes, Barons and the Nobilities scarce were able to retayne the landes and possessions of Abbeyes distributed to them by king Henry, from the deuotion of Queene Mary, seeking to build agayne the walles of Hierico, what then shoulde the meaner sorte haue done, let other men coniecture. Wherefore it is not vnlike, but that Gods heauenly prouidence did well foresee and dispose these thinges before by this man,* in workyng the destruction of these Abbeyes: whereupon, as often as he sent out any men to suppress any monasterie, hee vsed commonly to send them with this charge, that they shuld throw downe those houses euen to the foundation.

Which wordes although may seeme percase to some to be cruelly spoken of hym: yet contrariwise doe I suppose the doing thereof not to be without Gods speciall prouidence and secret guiding: Or els we might peraduenture haue had suche swarmes of fryers and monkes possessed in theyr nestes agayne, before this day in England, in so great a number, that tenne Cromwels afterward vnneth should haue suffered to haue vnoused them.

Wherefore, if the plantation which the Lord God neuer planted, be pluckt vp by the rootes,* let God alone wyth his working, and let the monasteries goe.

Now that you haue seene, what this Malleus Monachorum hath done in defacing the Sinagogue of the pope:* let vs see how the sayd Cromwell againe did trauayle in setting vp Christes church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Romes power and authoritye was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect neuer ceased to seeke all occasion, how eyther to restore hys head agayne, being broken and wounded,* or at the least to keepe vpriht those thinges which yet remayned: wherein although theyr labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to passe, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted con|tinually theyr enterprises.

It happened, that after the abolishing of the Pope, [Page 1182](#) certayne tumultes began to rise about religion. Wherupō it seemed good vnto king Henry, to appoynt an assemblie of learned men and Bishops,* which should soberly & modestly entreat and determine those thinges which perteyned vnto Religion. Briefely, at the kinges pleasure all the learned men, but specially the Bishops assembled, to whō this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himselfe with the Byshoppes, who by chaunce meeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the conuocation house, where all the Bishoppes were assembled together. Which was in the yeare .1537. The Bishops and Prelates attending vppon the comming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose vp, and did obeysaunce to him as to their vicar generall, and he agayn saluted euery one in theyr degree, and sate downe in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office, and after him euery bishop in his order, and Doctours. First ouer agaynst him sate the Archb. of Canterbury, then the Archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of London, Lincolne, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Herford, Chychester, Norwich, Rochester and Worcester. &c. There Cromwel in y^e name of the king (whose most deare and secret Counsellour at that present he was, and Lorde priuy Seale, and vicar generall of the realme) spake these wordes in maner folowing.

RIght reuerend fathers in Christe: The kinges maiesty geueth you high thanks that ye haue so diligently without any excuse,* assembled hither according to his commaūdemēt. And ye be not ignoraunt that ye be called hither to determine certayne controuersies, which at this time be moued concerning the christian Religion and fayth, not onely in this Realme, but also in all nations through the world. For the king studyeth day and nyght to set a quietnesse in the Church, and he can not rest, vntill all such controuersies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you & of his whole Parliament. For although his speciall desire is to set a stay for the vnlearned people, whose cōsciēces are in doubt what they may beleue: and he himselfe by his excellent learning, knoweth these controuersies wel enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and of his whole Parliamēt. By the which thing ye may perceiue both his high wisdom, and also his great loue toward you. And he desireth you for Christes sake, that all malice obstinacy, and carnall respecte set apart ye will frendly and louingly dispute among your selues, of the controuersies moued in the Church,* and that ye will conclude all thinges by the woord of God, without all brawling or scolding: neither will his maiesty suffer the Scripture to be wrasted and defaced by any Gloses, any papisticall Lawes, or

by any authority of Doctours or Counsellors, and much lesse will he admitte any articles or doctrine, not conteyned in the Scripture, but approued onely by continuaunce of time and olde custome, and by vnwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know wel enough that ye be bound to shew this seruice to Christ and to his Church, and yet notwithstanding his maiestye will geue you high thanks, if ye will sette and conclude a godly and a perfect vnity: whereunto this is the onely way and meane, if ye wil determine all thinges by the Scripture, as God commaundeth you in Deuteronomie, whiche thing hys maiesty exhorteth and desireth you to do.

When Cromwel had ended this his Oration, the Byshops rose vp altogether, geuing thanks vnto the kings maiesty, not for his great zeale toward the church of christ and also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so Christian a prince.

Immediately they rose vp to disputation, where as Stokesly Bishop of London, first of all, being the moste earnest champion & maynteyner of the Romish Decrees, (whō Cromwel a litle before had checked by name, for defending vnwritten verities) endeuoured himselfe with all his labour and industry, out of the olde Schole Gloses, to maynteyne the seuen Sacramentes of the Church.* The Archb. of Yorke, Lincolne, Bath, Chichester, & Norwiche also fauoured his part and sect. On the contrary part, was the Archb. of Canterbury, the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Harford, and Worcester, with many other.

After much communication had on either part, & that they had long contended about the testimonies of the Doctors, which as it seemed vnto them, dissented & disagreed among themselues, the Archbishop of Caunterbury at the last spake and sayd thus vnto them.

IT besemeth not men of learning and grauity to make much babling and brawling,*about bare wordes, so that we agree in the very substance & effect of the matter. For to brawle about words is the property of Sophisters & such as meane deceit & subtlety, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, & in the miserable state of the Church: and not of them whiche shoulde seeke the glory of Christ,*and should study for the vnitie & quietnes of the Church. There be waighy controuersies nowe •oued and put forth not of ceremonies and light thinges, but of the true vnderstanding, and of the right difference of the lawe and of the Gospell: of the maner and waye how sinnes bee forgeuen of comforting doubtfull and wauering consciences, by what meanes they may be certified, that they please God,*seeing they feele the strength of the lawe, accusing them of sinne: of the true vse of the Sacramentes, whether the outward worke of thē doth iustifie man, or whether we receaue our iustification by fayth. Item, which be the good workes, and the true seruice and honour which pleaseth God: and whether the choyse of meates, the difference of garmentes, the vowes of Monkes and priestes, and other traditions which haue no worde of God to confirme the•: whether these (I say) be right good workes, and suche as make a perfect Christian man or no. Item, whether vayne seruice, and false honouring of God, and mans traditions, doe binde mens consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing,*and such other (whiche cannot be proued to be institute of Christ, nor haue anye worde in them to certifie vs of remission of sinnes) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptisme and the supper of the Lord or no?

These be no light matters, but euen the principall poyntes of our Christian religion. Wherefore we contēd not about words and titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith. Blessed be the

peacemakers,* for they shalbe called the sonnes of God. And Paule writing vnto Timothie, commaunded Byshops to auoyde brawling and contention about wordes, whych be profitable to nothing but vnto the subuersion and destructiō of the hearers: and monisheth him specially, that he should resist with the scriptures whē any man disputeth with him of the fayth: and he addeth a cause wheras he sayth: Doing this thou shalt preserue both thy selfe, & also them which heare thee: Now if ye will folow these Counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contentiō and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfecte vnity and concorde out of the Scripture. Wherefore in this disputatiō, we must first agree of the number of the Sacramentes, and what a Sacrament doth signify in the holye scripture, & when we call Baptisme & the Supper of the lord,* Sacramentes of the Gospell, what we meane thereby. I know right well, that S. Ambrose and other Authors call the washing of the Disciples feete and other thinges, Sacramentes: which I am sure you your selues woulde not suffer to be numbred among the other Sacramentes.

When he had ended his Oration, Cromwel commaunded Alesius which stode by (whome he perceiued to geue attentiuē eare to that which was spokē) to shew his mind and opinion, declaring to the Bishops before, that he was the kinges scholer, and therefore desired them to be contented to heare him indifferently.

Alesius after he had first done his duety vnto the Lord Cromwell, and to the other Prelates of the Church, sayde in this wise.

Right honorable & noble Lord, and you most reuerend Fathers and Prelates of the Church,* although I come vnprepared vnto this disputatiō yet trusting in the ayd of Christ which promiseth to geue both mouth and wisdom vnto vs when we be required of our fayth, I wil vtter my sentence and iudgement of this disputation. And I thinke that my Lord Archbishop hath geuen you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament, a ceremony institute of Christ in the gospell, to signify a special or a singuler vertue of the gospell, and of godlines (as Paule nameth remission of sinnes to be) or whether ye meane,* euery ceremony generally, which may be a tokē or a signification of an holy thing, to be a sacrament. For after this latter signification, I will not sticke to graunt you that there be seuen Sacramentes and more too, if ye wyll. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the iust signification, where as he sayth: That Circumcision is a token & a seale of the righteousness of fayth. This definitiō of one particular sacrament, must be vnderstand to pertain vnto all sacramentes generally,* for the Iewes had but one Sacrament onely, as all the sophistical writers do graūt. And he described Baptisme after the same maner, in the fiftē to the Ephesians, whereas he sayth. That Christ doth sanctify the Church (that is to say,* all that be baptised through the bath of water in the word of life. For here also he addeth the word & promise of God vnto the ceremonye. And Christ also requireth fayth, where he sayth: Who so euer beleueth, and is baptised, shalbe saued.

And S. Augustine describeth a Sacrament thus: The word of God comming vnto the element, maketh the sacrament. And in an other place he sayth: A sacrament is a thing wherin [Page 1183](#) the power of God,* vnder the forme of visible thinges, doth worke secretly saluation. And the Mayster of the Sentences doth describe a Sacrament no otherwyse. A Sacrament (sayth he) is an inuisible grace, and hath a visible forme: and by this inuisible grace, I meane (sayth he)

remission of sinnes. Finally Saynt Thomas denyeth that any man hath authority to institute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree vnto this definition of a Sacrament, it is an easie thing to iudge of the number of those Sacraments which haue the manifest word of God, and be institute by Christ to signify vnto vs the remission of our sinnes.

S. Augustine sayth, that there be but two such Sacramentes, in the cxviij. Epistle to Ianuarius. His wordes be these: *First, I would haue thee to vnderstand the summe and effect of this disputation, which is this: that our Lord Iesus Christ (as he he himselfe sayth in the Gospell) hath ladē vs, but with a light and easy yoke or burden. Wherefo•e he hath knit together the felowship of his new people with Sacraments, *very few in nūber, very easy to be kept: & very excellent in signification, which be Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord, and such other, if there be any moe commaunded in the holye Scripture, those excepte which were burdens for the seruitude of the people in the olde law, for the hardnes of theyr hartes. &c. And agayne in the iij. book of the learning of a Christian man, *he sayth: The Scripture hath taught vs but few signes, as be the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the solemne celebration and remembraunce of the body and bloud of the Lord. &c.

Then the Bishop of London which could scarsly refrayne himselfe all this while, and now could forbear no longer, *brake out in this maner. First of al (saith he) where you alledge, that all the Sacramēts which are in y^e church instituted by Christ himselfe, haue eyther some manyfest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to shew forth some sig'nification of remission of sinnes, it is false and not to be allowed.

Then sayd Alesius, that he would proue it, not only by manifest authority of scriptures, but also by euident testimonies of auncient Doctors and scholewriters.

*But the Bishop of Herford which was then lately returned out of Germany (where he had bene Ambassadour for the king to the Protestantes) being moued with the bishop of Londons frowardnes, turning himselfe first to Alexander Alesius, *willed him not to contend with the Byshop in such maner, by the testimonies of Doctors & schole men, forsomuch as they doe not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselues in all poyntes, but do vary and in many poyntes are vtterly repugnant. Wherefore if this disputation shalbe decided by their minds and verdites, there shalbe nothing established neither shal appeare any way of agrement to follow. Furthermore we be cōmaunded by the king that these controuersies should be determined onely by the rule and iudgement of y^e scripture. This he spake vnto Alesius. Then he turning himselfe vnto the Bishops, likewise admonished them with a graue and sharpe Oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

Thinke ye not (sayd he) that we can by any Sophisticall subtilties steale out of the world agayne, *the light which euery man doth see. Christ hath so lightned the worlde at this time, that the light of the Gospell hath put to flight all misty darckenesse, and it wil shortly haue the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vayn neuer so much. The lay people do now know the holy scripture better then many of vs. *And the Germanes haue made the text of the Bible so playne and easie by the Hebrue and Greeke tongue that now many thinges may be better vnderstand without any gloses at all, then by all the commentaries of the Doctours. *And moreouer they haue so opened these controuersyes by theyr writings, that women and children

may wonder at the blindnesse and falsehood that hath bene hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly, what ye will determine of these controuersies, that ye make not your selues to be mocked and laughed to scorne of al the world, and that ye bring them not to haue this opinion of you,*to thinke euer more hereafter, that ye haue neyther one sparke of learning, nor yet of godlines in you. And thus shall ye loose all your estimation and authority with them, which before tooke you for learned men, and profitable members vnto the common wealth of Christendome. For that whiche you doe hope vpon, that there was neuer heresy in the Church so great, but that processe of time with the power and authority of the Pope hath quenched it,*it is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turne your opinion, and thinke this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weake, so that it be true, but it shall finde place, and be able to stand agaynst all falshood.

Truth is the daughter of time, & time is the mother of trueth. And whatsoever is besieged of truth,*cannot long continue, and vpon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought trāsitory, or that it will euer fall.*All things cōsist not in paynted eloquence and strength or authority. For the trueth is of so great power, strength & efficacy, that it can neither be defended wyth wordes, not to be ouercome with any strength,*but after she hath hidden her selfe long, at length she putteth vp her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras: A king is strong, wine is stronger, yet women be more strong, but truth excelleth all.*

To this effect in a maner, & much more, did he speake and vtter in that conuocation, both copiously and discretly Through whose Oration, Alesius being encouraged, proceded further, to vrge the Bishop with this argument.

***The Argument in forme.**

- Ba- Sacramentes bē seales ascerteyning vs of Gods good wil:*
- ro- Without the word there is no certaynty of Gods good will:
- co. Ergo, without the word there be no Sacraments.

The first part of this reason is S. Paules owne saying, the fourth to the Romanes, where he sayth: That circumcision is a token and a seale of the righteousnes of fayth. Ergo, it requireth faith to certify mans hart of the will of god.* But the word of God is the foundation of fayth as Saint Paule witnesseth. Rom. 10. Fayth commeth by hearing, and hearing commeth by the worde of God.* For the minde must be taught & instructed to y^e will of God by the word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paule by that saying confuteth this opinion,* that the Sacramentes should make men righteous & iust before God, for y^e very outward work, without faith of them that receiue them.

And after this manner doth Paule speake vnto the Ephesians:* that Christ doth sanctify his church through the bath of water in the word of life. And for as much as he ioyⁿeth the word vnto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the word of God,* that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifestly teach that the word of God is the principall thing, and euen as it were the very substaunce & body of the Sacrament: and the outward ceremony to be nothing els then a token of that liuely inflammation whych we receiue through fayth in the word and promise. Saint Paule also in ministring the sacrament of the Lordes supper, doth manifestly adde the woordes of

Christ: He tooke bread (sayth he) and when he had geuen thanks, he brake it and sayd, take ye this, and eate ye this, for it is my body. Item, Do ye this in my remembrance.* Beside this he teacheth euidently y^e onely Christ and none but he had power to institute a sacrament: & that neither the Apostles, nor the Church hath any authority to alter or to adde any thing vnto his ordynauce, whereas he saith: For I haue receiued of the Lord that which I deliuered vnto you. &c. To what purpose shoulde he go about to mooue the people to beleue him and to winne theyr hartes with this protestation, if it had bene lawefull for him to haue made any sacramentes, or to haue altered the forme and maner of ministring this sacramēt, as some men both wickedly and shamelesly do affirme, that the Apostles did alter the forme of Baptisme.

When he had spoken thus much,* the B. of Londō dyd interrupt him, and sayd: Let vs graūt that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are you farre deceiued, if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which euery sowter and cobler doe reade in theyr mother tongue. And if ye thinke that nothing pertayneth vnto the Christian fayth, but that onely that is written in the Bible, then erre ye playnely with the Lutherans.* For S. Iohn sayth: that Iesus did many thinges which be not written. And S. Paul commaundeth the Thess. to obserue and keep certeine vnwritten traditions & ceremonies.* 2. Thes. 2. Moreouer he himselfe did preach not the scripture onely but euen also the traditions of the Elders. Act. xvj. Finally we haue receiued many things of the Doctors & Councels by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet for as much as the olde Doctors of the Churche do make mention of them, we ought to graunt that we re'ceiued them of the Apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthi'ly be called the word of God vnwritten.

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell,* the Archbishop, with the other Bishops, which did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a litle one vpō another, forasmuch as they saw him flee euen in y^e very beginning of the disputation, vnto his old rusty sophistry and vnwritten verities. Then Alesius would haue proceded further with the Bishop to haue confuted this blasphemous lye, but the Lord Cromwell bade him be cōtent, for [Page 1184](#) the time began to go away, and it was xij. of the clock, and thus he made an end w^t his protestation. Right reuerend mayster Bishop, you deny that our christen fayth and religion doth leane only vpō the word of God which is written in the Bible, which thing if I can proue and declare, then you will graunt me that there be no sacramentes, but those that haue the manifest word of God to confirme thē. Unto this he did consent, and then immediatly that assemble was dissolved for that day.

The next day when the Bishops were set agayne, the Archbishop of Canterbury sending his Archdeacon, commaunded Alesius to abstayne from disputation, wherupon he wrote his minde, and deliuered it vnto Cromwell, who afterward shewed the same vnto the Bishops. Thus through the industry of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religiō could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throughout all England.

How desirous and studious this good Cromwel was in y^e cause of Christs religiō,* exāples need not to be broght. His whole life was nothing els, but a continuall care and trauell how to aduaunce and further the right knowledge of the Gospell, and reforme the house of God: As by so many Proclamations aboue specified by his meanes set forth, may well appeare, wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lordes Prayer, and Creede in English, then procured

the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for euery English man to vnderstand: after that to rescue the vulgar people from damnable Idolatry, caused certaine of the most grossest pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further for the more commodity of the poore sort, which get their liuing with their dayly labor & worke of their handes, he prouided that diuers idle holidayes were diminished. Item he procured for thē liberty to eate egges and whitmeat in Lent. Furthermore by him it was also prouided for y^e better instruction of the people, that beneficed•mē should be resident in their Cures and parishes, there to teach and to keepe Hospitality, with many other thinges els most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of Religion and behoofe of Christes Church: as by the Proclamatīōs,* Iniunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine aboue specified, set forth in the kings name, by his meanes, may more aboundantly appeare. pag. 1069.1070. &c.

Now to adioyne withall his priuate benefites in helping diuers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefly his whole life was ful of such examples, being a man to that intent ordeined of God (as his deedes well proued) to do many men good, and especially such as were in daunger of persecutiō for religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doinges.

¶How Cromwell holpe a poore woman with childe, out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.

Persecuters.

Persecuted.

The cause.

- Fishers wife of Harnesey▪
- D. Cockes.
- Bishop Thomas Stokesley. Frebarne and
- Holland his his Wife.
- Sumner.
- M. Garter, king of Armes.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1538. Syr William Formā being Maior of the citey of London, three weekes before Easter, the wyfe of one Tho. Frebarn dwel|ling in Pater noster row, being w^t childe, lōged after a morsell of a pigge, and told her minde vnto a Mayde dwelling in Abchurch lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to helpe her vnto a piece. The mayd perceiuing her earnest desire, shewed vnto her husbād, what his wife had sayd vnto her, telling him that it might chaunce to cost her her life and the childes too whiche she went withall, if she had it not. Uppon this Thomas Frebarne her husbāde spake to a butter wife which he knew, y^t dwelled at Harnsey, named goodwife Fisher, to helpe him vnto a pigge for his wife, for she was with childe, & longed sore to eate of a pigge. Unto whome the sayde goodwife Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday folowing, and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had deliuered him the pigge, she craftily conueyed one of the pigge•feete, & caried it vnto Doctor Cockes, at that time being Deane of Caunterbury, dwelling in I•y lane, who at that time of his dinner, before certain gestes which he had bidden, shewed his pigs foot, declaring who had the body therof: and after that they had talked

theyr pleasure, & dinner was done,* one of his gestes being landlord vnto Frebarne aforesayd, called M. Garter, & by his office king of Armes, sent his man vnto the sayd Frebarne, demaunding if there were no body sicke in his house. Unto whom he aunswered, that they were all in good health, he gaue God thanks. Then sayde he agayne, it was tolde hys Mayster that some body was sicke, or els they would not eate flesh in Lent. Unto whom Frebarne made aunswere, that his wife was with childe, and longed for a piece of a pigge, and if he could get some for her, he would. Then departed his Landlordes man home agayne.

And shortly after his Landlord sent for him. But before that he sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of Londons Sumner, whose name was Hollōd, & whē this Frebarne was come, he demaunded of him, if he had not a pig in his house, which he denyed not. Then commaunded Mayster Garter the sayde Sumner called Hollond, to take him, and goe home to hys house,* and to take the Pygge, and carry both him and the Pigge vnto Doctour Stokesley his Mayster, being then Bishop of London, & so he did. Then the Bishop being in his chamber, with diuers other of the Clergy, called this Frebarne before him, and had him in examination for his pigge, laying also vnto his charge, that he had eaten in his house that lent, poudred beefe and Calues heades.* Unto whom Frebarne answered. My Lord, if the heades were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodyes eaten? Also if there be eyther man or woman that can proue, that either I, or any in my house hath done as your Lordship sayth, let me suffer death therfore. You speake (sayd he) agaynst pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, holy water, nor yet goe on Procession on Palme Sondag: Thou art no Christian man. My Lord, sayd Frebarne, I trust I am a true Christen man, & haue done nothing neither agaynst Gods law nor my princes.

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two hours, diuers came vnto the bishop, some to haue theyr childrē confirmed, & some for other causes. Unto whom as they came, hauing the pig before hym couered, he would lift vp the cloth and shew it them,* saying: How thinke you of such a felow as this is? is not this good meate, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent, yea and also poudred Beefe and Calues heades too beside this?

After this the Bishoppe called his Sumner vnto him, and commaunded him to go and carry this Thomas Frebarne and the pig openly thorow the stre•tes, into the olde Bayly, vnto Syr Roger Chomley, for the Bishop sayd, he had nothing to do to punish him,* for that belonged vnto y^e ciuill magistrates, and so was Frebarne caryed w^t the pyg before him, to sir Roger Chomleis house in the old Baily, & he being not at home at that time, Frebarne was broght likewise back agayne vnto the bishops place with the pig, and there lay in the porters lodge till it was 9. a clocke at night. Then the bishop sent him vnto the Counter in the Poultry by the Sumner and other of his seruauntes.

The next day being Saturday, he was brought before the Maior of London & his brethren, vnto Guild hall, but before his comming, they had the pig deliuered vnto them by the Bishops officer.

Then the Maior and the Benche layd vnto his charge (as they were informed from the Bishop) that he had eaten poudred beefe and Calues heades in his house the same Lent, but no man was able to come in that would iustify it, neither could any thing be found, saue onely the Pig, which (as is before sayd) was for the preseruacion of his wiues life, and that she went withall. Notwithstanding the Maior of London sayde, that the Monday next folowing, he should stand on the Pillary in Cheapeside, with the one halfe of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other halfe on the other.

Then spake the Wyfe of the sayd Frebarne vnto the Maior and the Benche, desiring that she myght stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they tooke a satten list, & tide it fast about the pigs neck, and made Frebarne to cary it hanging on his shoulder vntill he came vnto the Counter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the Wyfe of this Prisoner tooke with her an honest woman, the Wyfe of one Michaell Loble, whiche was well acqwaynted with diuers in the Lord Cromwelles house, vnto whom the sayde woman [Page 1185](#) resorted for some helpe for this prisoner, desiring them to speake vnto theyr Lord and Mayster for his deliuerance out of trouble.

It happened that the same time came in Doctour Barnes and Mayster Barlowe,* who vnderstandyng the matter by Lobleys wife, went vp to the Lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof: who vpon their request, sent for the Maior of the City of London: but what was sayd vnto the Lord Maior, is vnknowne, sauing that in the after noone of the same day, the wife of the person aforesayd resorted agayne vnto the Lord Maior, suyng to get her husband deliuered out of prison, declaring how that she had 2. small children, and had nothing to helpe her and them, but onely her husband, who laboured for theyr liuings. Vnto whom the Maior aunswered, what come ye to me? You are taken vp with the Kinges Counsell. I supposed that you had come to desire me that your husbände shoulde not stand vpon the Pillary in Cheapeside on Monday nexte, with the one halfe of the pyg on his one shoulder and the other halfe on the other. Also the Maior sayd vnto her, that he could not deliuer him without the consent of the rest of his brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day folowing, which was Sondag, to re•ort vnto Paules to Saint Dunstones Chappell, and when he had spoken with his brethren, he woulde then tell her more. Other answere could she get none at that time. Wherefore she wēt vnto M. Wilkenson, then being Sheriffe of London, desiring him to be good vnto her, and that she might haue her poore husband out of prison. Vnto whom M. Wilkenson answered: O woman▪ Christ hath layd a piece of his crosse vpon thy necke,* to proue whether thou wilt helpe hym to beare it or no, saying moreouer to her, that if the Lord maior had sent him to his Counter, as he sent him to his brothers, he should not haue taryed there an houre, and so cōmaunded her to come the next day vnto him to dinner, and he would do y^e best for her he could. So the next day came, & this woman resorted again to M. Wilkensōs, according as he bad her, who also had biddē diuers gestes: vnto whō he spake in her behalfe But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, whē she saw the hote fish come in, she felt downe in a swoond, so that for the space of two houres she could keepe no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Pater noster row, and then they sent for the Midwife, supposing that she would haue bene deliuered incontinent of her childe that she went with, but after that she came somewhat agayn to herselfe, where she lay sicke and kept her bed the space of xv. weekes after, being not able to helpe her selfe, but as she was helped of others, during the time of xv. weekes.

Now to shew further what became of this Pig, wherof we haue spoken so much, it was carryed into Finsburye field by the Bishop of Londons Sumner,* at his maisters commaundement, and there buried. The Monday folowing, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesayd was apprehended, the Maior of London, with the residue of his brethren being at Guild hall, sent for the prisoner aforenamed, and demaunded sureties of him for his forth cōming, what so euer hereafter should or might be layd vnto his charge,* but for lacke of such suretyes as they required vpon his owne band, which was a Recognisaunce of twenty pound, he was deliuered out of theyr handes. But shortly after that he was deliuered out of this his trouble, mayster Garter, of whome we haue spoken before, beyng his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in foure yeares after, he could not get an other, but was constrayned to be within other good folkes, to his great hindrance and vndoing.

Hard it were and almost out of number to rehearse the names and stories of all them, which felt the gentle helpe of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembred the notable deliuerance of one Gray, a Smyth of Bishops Starford,* who being accused for denying y^e sacramēt of the aulter to be our Sauior, was sent vp for the same to Londō and there should haue bene condemned to be burnt, but that by the meanes of the L. Cromwell, he was sent home agayne and deliuered. One other example, though it be somewhat long with the circūstances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretary that thē was to Doctor Cranmer Archbishop of Caunterbury, whiche Secretary is yet aliue, and can beare present record of the same.

¶How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmers Secretary.

MEntion was made before how king Henry in y^e yeare of his reigne 21. caused the 6. Articles to passe, much agaynst the mind and contrary to the consēt of the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Crāmer,* who had disputed three daies against the same in the Parliament house, with great reasons and authorities. Which Articles after they were graunted and past by the Parliamēt, the king for the singuler fauor which he euer bare to Cranmer, and reuerence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had sayd and obiected in the Parliamēt agaynst these Articles, or what could be alleged by learning agaynst the same, required a note of the Archbishop of his doings, what he had sayd and opposed in the Parliament touch••g that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell, and other Lordes of the Parliament whom the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort agayne his greued mind, and troubled spirits as hath bene aboue recited. pag, 1136.

Wherupon when his dinner was finished, the next day after the Archbishop collecting both his argumēts, authorities of scriptures, and Doctors together, caused his Secretary to write a fayre booke therof for the king, after this order. First the Scriptures were alleadged, then the Doctors, thirdly folowed the Arguments deducted from those authorities. This booke was written in his Secretaryes Chamber. Where, in a by Chamber lay the Archbishops Almosiner. When this booke was fayre writtē,* and whiles the Secretary was gone to deliuer the same vnto y^e Archbishop his maister, who was (as it then chaunced) rydde to Croydon: returning backe to his chamber, found hys doore shut, and the key caryed away to London by the Almosiner.

At this season also chaūced the father of the sayd Secre|tary to come to the Citty, by whose occasion it so •ell out, that he must nedes go to London. The booke he could not lay into his

chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keepe, being straitly charged in any cōditiō of the Archbishop his maister, to be circumspect thereof, so that he determined to go to his father and to keep the booke about him. And so thrusting the booke vnder his girdle, he went ouer vnto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where he entred into a whirry that went to London, wherein were 4. of the Garde, who ment to land at Paules wharfe and to passe by the kinges highnesse, who then was in hys Barge with a great number of Barges and boates about him, then baiting of Beares in the water ouer agaynst the banke.

These foresayd yeomen of the gard, when they came agaynst the kinges Barge, they durst not passe by towards Paules wharfe, least they should be espyed, & therfore entreated the Secretary to goe with them to the Bearebayting, and they would finde the meanes being of the garde to make rowme and to see all the pastime, the Secretary perceiuing no other remedy, assēted therto. Whē the whirry came nye the multitude of the boats,* they with pollaxes got in the whirry so farre, that being compassed with many other whirryes and boates there was no refuge if the Beare should breake loose and come vpon them, as in very deede within one pater noster while, the Beare brake lose and came in to the boate where the yeomen of the gard were and the sayd Secretary. The gard forsook the wherry and went into an other barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The Beare and the dogs so shook the whirry wherin the Secretary was, that the boate being ful of water, soncke to the ground, & being also as it chaūced an ebbing tide, he there sate in the end of y^e whirry vp to y^e middle in water. To whō came the Beare and all the dogges. The Beare seking as it were aide and succor of him, came backe with his hinder parts vpon him and so rushing vpō him, the booke was losed frō his girdle and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The flying of the people, after that the beare was lose, from one boat to an other, was so comberous, that diuers persons were throwne into the Thames, the king commaunding certayne men that could swimme, to strip them selues naked and to helpe to saue them that were in daunger. This pastime so displeased the king that he bad away away, with the Beare, and let vs all go hence.

The Secretary perceiuing his booke to fleete away in the Thames, called to the Beareward to take vp y^e booke,* When the Beareward had the booke in his custody, being an errant Papist, farre from the Religion of his Mystres (for he was the Lady Elizabethes Beareward, now the Que•nes maiesty) ere that the Secretary coulde come to land,* he had deliuered the booke to a Priest of his owne affinity in Religion standing on the bancke, who reading in the booke and perceiuing that it was a manifest refutation of the 6. Articles, made much a doe and tolde the Beareward that whosoeuer claymed the booke, should surely be hanged. Anone the Secretary came to the Beareward for his booke. What quoth the Beareward, dare you chalenge [Page 1186](#) this booke? Whose seruaunt be you? I am seruaunt to one of the Coūsell, sayd the Secretary, and my Lord of Caunterbury is my maister. Yea mary, quoth the Beareward, I thought so much. You belike I trust, quoth the Beareward, to be both hanged for this booke. Well (sayd he) it is not so euill as you take it, and I warrant you my L. will auouch the booke to the kinges Maiesty. But I pray you let me haue my booke, and I will geue you a Crowne to drink. If you would geue me v.C. crownes, you shall not haue it, quoth the Beareward. With that y^e Secretary departed from him, & vnderstanding the malicious frowardnes of the Beareward, he learned that Blage the Grocer in Cheapeside might doe muche with the Beareward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter,

requiring hym to send for the Beareward to supper, and he would pay for y^e whole charge therof, and besides that rather thē he would forgo his book after this sort, the Beareward should haue xx. shillinges to drinke. The supper was prepared. The Beareward was sent for, and came. After supper the matter was entreated of and xx. shillings offered for the book. But do what could be done, neither frendship, acquayntaunce, nor yet reward of mony could obtaine the book out of his handes, but that the same shoulde be deliuered vnto some of the Counsell that woulde not so sleightly looke on so waighty a matter, as to haue it redeemed for a supper or a piece of money. The honest man M. Blage with many good reasons would haue perswaded him not to be stiffe in his owne conceit, declaring that in the end he shoulde nothing at all preuayle of his purpose, but be laught to scorn, getting neither peny nor prayse for his trauel. He hearing that, rushed sodenly out of the doores from his friend M. Blage without any maner of thankes geuing for his supper, more like a Beareward then like an honest man. Whē the Secretary saw y^e matter so extremely to be vsed against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practising of entreaty with the Beareward, as with him that seemed rather to be a Beare himselfe then the Maister of the beast, determining the next morning to make the L. Cromwell priuy of the chaunce that happened.

So on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to y^e Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter vnto him & how he had offered him xx.s for the finding therof. Wher is the felow, quoth the Lord Cromwell? I suppose, sayd the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attēding to deliuer the booke vnto some of the Counsell. Well sayd the Lord Cromwell, it maketh no matter: go with me thether and I shall get you your booke agayne. When the Lorde Cromwell came into the hall of the Court, there stood the Beareward with the booke in his hand, wayting to haue deliuered the same vnto Syr Anthony Browne, or vnto the Bishop of Winchester,* as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell sayd, come hither felow. What booke hast thou there in thy hand? and with that snatched the booke out of his hand, and looking in the booke, he sayd, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, sayd he to the Secretary. But where haddest thou this booke, quoth the Lord Cromwel to the Beareward? This Gentleman lost it two dayes agoe in the Thames sayde the Beareward. Doest thou know whose seruauant he is, sayd the Lord Cromwell? He sayth, quoth the Beareward, that he is my Lord of Canterburies seruauant. Why then dyddest not thou deliuer to him the booke, whē he required it, sayd the L. Cromwell. Who made thee so bold as to detein and withhold any booke or writing from a Coūsellers seruauant, specially being his Secretary? It is more meter for thee to medle with thy Beares thē with such writing, & it were not for thy maisters sake, I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malepert knaues to meddle with Counsellers matters. Had not mony bene well bestowed vpon such a good felow as this is, that knoweth not a Councellers man frō a Coblers man? And with those wordes the Lord Cromwell went vp into the kinges chamber of presence and the Archbishops Secretary with him, where he found in the chamber the Lord of Caunterbury. To whō he sayde, my Lord I haue founde here good stuffe for you (shewing to him the paper booke that he had in his hand) ready to bring both you & this good felow your mā to the halter,* namely if the knaue Beareward now in the Hall, might haue well compassed it. At these wordes the Archbishop smiled and sayd, he that lost the booke is lyke to haue the worse bargayne, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the booke fayre agayne: & at those wordes the Lord Cromwell cast the booke vnto the Secretary saying, I pray thee Morice go in hād therewith by & by with all expedition, for it must serue a turne. Sure^{ly} my Lord, it somewhat reioyseth me, quoth the L. Cromwell, that the verlet might haue had of your man xx. s. for the book, and now I haue

discharged the matter with neuer a peny. And shaking him wel vp for his ouermuch malepar•nes, I know the felow wel enough (quoth he) there is not a rancker Papist within this realme, thē he is, most vnworthy to be seruaunt vnto so noble a Princesse. And so after hūble thanks geuen to the Lord Cromwell, the sayd Morice departed with his booke, which when he agayne had fayre written, was deliuered to the kinges Maiesty by the sayd Lord Cromwell, within 4. dayes after.

***The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his olde frendes and benefactours.**

IT is commonly sene, that men aduaūced once from base degree, to ample dignities do rise also with fortune into such insolency and exaltatiō of mind,* that not only they for'get themselues what they were, & from whence they came but also cast out of remembraunce al their old frendes and former acquayntance, which haue bene to them before beneficiall. Frō which sort of men, how farre the curteous cō'dition of this christen Earle did differ, by diuers examples it may appeare As by a certain poore woman keping some time a vitailing house about Hownsloe, to whom the said Lord Cromwell remayned in debt for certayne old reckonings, to y^e summe of xl.s. It happened that the L. Cromwel with Cranmer Archbishop of Cāterbury, riding thorow Cheapeside toward the Court, in turning his eye ouer the way, and there espying this poore woman, brought now in need & misery, eftsones caused her to be called vnto him. Who being come, after certayn questions asked of her if she were not such a womā, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demaunded, if he were not behind for a certayne payment of mony betwene him and her. To whō she with reuerent obeisance, confessed that he ought her money for a certayn old reckoning which was yet vnpayd, wherof she stode now in great necessity, but neuer durst call vpō him nor could come at him for to require her right. Thē the L. Cromwell sending the poore woman home to hys hou•e▪ and one of his seruants withall,* that the Porter should see her in, after his returne from the Court, not onely discharged the debte which he ought, but also gaue her a yearely pension of foure poundes, and a liuery euery yeare while she liued.

The like curtesy the said L. Cromwell shewed also to a certayne Italian, who in the city of Florence, had shewed him much kindnes in succoring and relieuing his necessity as in this story following may appeare. Which storie set forth and compiled in the Italian tong by Bandello, & imprinted at Luke by Busdrago, an. 1554.* I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance therof, as it is reported.

Not many yeares past, sayth the author, there was in Florence a merchant whose name was Fraunces, descended from the noble & auncient family of the Frescobaldes:* this Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble & liberall minde, vnto whome also through prosperous successe and fortunate lucke in his affayres and doings, much aboundaunce of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, hauing his cofers replenished w^t many heapes of much treasure. He according to the custome Marchantes, vsed his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he liued sojourning in London, keping house to his great commendation and prayse.

It happened, that Fraunces Frescobald being in Florence, there appeared before him a poore yong man,* asking his almes for Gods sake. Frescobald as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tottered attire, but that his countenaunce gaue signifiatiō of much towardnes & vertue in him, with cōformity of maners agreing to the same, being moued

with pity, demaūded of what coūtry he was, & where he was borne. I am Syr (quoth he) of England,* & my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poore man, & by his occupation a cloth sherer. I am straied from my country, and am now come into Italy with the campe of frenchmē, that were ouerthrowne at Gatilyon,* where I was the page to a footman, carying after him his pike and burganet. Frescobald partly considering the present state of this yong man, and partly for the loue he bare to the english natiō, of whom he had receiued in times past sondry pleasures, receiued hym into his house, & with such curtesy interteined his gest, as at his departure whē he was in mind to returne to his coū|try, he prouided such necessaries as he any way neded.* He gaue him both horse & new apparel, & 16. duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his coūtry. Cromwell rendering his harty thanks, tooke leaue of his host & returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage & heroicall spirite, geuen to enterprise great matters, very liberall, a graue Counseller, &c. But to our purpose.

[Page 1187](#)At what tyme Cromwell was so highly fauoured of his prince, and aduanced to such dignitie as is aforesaid, Frāces Frescobald (as it many tymes happeneth vnto Merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses, cast backe and become very poore. For according to conscience and equitie, he payd whatsoeuer was due to any other frō himself, but such debts as were owing vnto him, he could by no meanes obtaine:* yet calling further to remembrance that in England by certaine merchants there was due to him the summe of 15000. ducates, he so purposed with him self, that if he could recouer that mony, he would well content himself, and no longer deale in the trade of merchants but quietly passe ouer the rest of his dayes.

All things prepared for his iourney, he setting forward towards England, at last arriued at London, hauyng vtterly forgotten what curtesie long before hee had shewed to Cromwel, which is the property alwayes of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefites he hath shewed to other, but to kepe in mind continually what he hath receiued of other. Frescobald thus being now ariued at Lōdon, and there traueilling earnestly about his businesse, it chanced him by the way to meete with this noble man, as he was riding toward the court. Whome, as soone as the sayd lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought with himselfe that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands in tymes past he had receyued so gentle entertainment, and therupon sodenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in hys armes he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refraine teares, he demanded if he wer not Frances Frescobald the Florētine. Yea sir (he answered) and your humble seruant. My seruant (quoth Cromwell?*) no, as you haue not bene my seruant in times past, so will I not now account you otherways then my great and especiall frend, assuring you that I haue iust reason to be sory, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me vnderstand of your arriuyng in this land, which known vnto me, truely I should haue payd part of that debte which I confesse to owe you: but thanked be God I haue yet tyme. Well sir, in conclusion, you are hartilie welcome.* But hauing now waightie affaires in my princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tary with you. Therefore at this tyme I take my leaue, desiring you with the faithfull mynde of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner, and then in remounting on his horse, he passed to the Court. Frescobald greatly meruailing with himselfe who this Lord should be, at last after some pause, hys remembraunce better called home, he knewe hym to be the same, whome long before (as you haue heard) he had relieued in Florence, and thereat not a little ioyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recouer his duety.

The houre of dinner drawing neere, he repayed to the house of this honourable Counsellour, where walkyng a while in his base Court, he attended his commyng. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but he agayne embraced this Gentleman with so frendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall and all the other noble men of the Court beyng then in his cōpany, did not a little maruell thereat.

Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceyued, he turnyng towardes them,* and holding Frescobald fast by the hand: do ye not meruaile my Lordes (quoth he) that I seeme so glad of this man? This is he by whose meanes I haue atchieued the degre of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignoraunt of hys curtesie when I greatly neded, I shall tell it you: and so there declared vnto them euery thing in order, accordyng as before hath bene recited vnto you. His tale finished, holdyng him still by the hand, he entered his house, and commyng into the Chamber where his dinner was prepared, he sate hym downe to the Table, placing his best welcomed guest next vnto him.

The dinner ended, and the Lordes departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Fraunces in few wordes opened his cause, truely tellyng, that from great wealth he was fallen into pouerty, and that his only portion to maintayne the rest of his life, was xv. thousand Ducates which were owyng him in england and two thousand in Spaine. Whereunto the lord Cromwell answeryng agayne, sayd, touching the things Maister Frescobald that be already past, although it can not now be vndone by mans power, nor by pollicye called agayne, which hath happened vnto you by the vnstable cōdition and mutabilitie of this world altering too and fro: yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your selfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall loue, I must also bewaile with you this your state and condition, which state and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of iust heauines, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receaue in this your heauy distresse some consolatiō for your old curtesie shewed to me in tymes past, the lyke curtesie now requireth of me agayne, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherin I stand bound vnto you according as the part of a thankfull man byndeth me to do in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore receiued. And this further I auouch in the word of a true frend that during this life and state of myne. I will neuer fayle to do for you, wherein my authoritie may preuaile to supply your lacke and necessitie. And so let these fewe wordes suffice to giue you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the tyme no longer.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence,* after that euery man by his commandement was departed, he locked fast the dore. Thē opening a coffer full heaped with treasure, he first tooke out sixtene Ducates, and deliuaryng them to Frescobald, he sayd: loe here (my friend) is your mony which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here other tenne which you bestowed in my apparell, with ten more that you disbursed for the horse I rid away on. But cōsidering you are a merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to returne your money without some consideration for the long detainynge of it. Take you therefore these 4. bags,* and in euery of them is 400. ducates, these you shall receiue and enioy from the hands of your assured friend.

Frescobald, although from great welth he was brought to a lowe ebbe, and (almost) an vtter decay, yet expressyng the vertue of a modest mynde, after gentle thanks geuen to the Lord

Cromwell for his exceeding kyndnesse shewed, curteously would haue refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him agaynst his will to receiue it.

This done, he caused Frescobald to geue him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the summe that from euery of them was owyng him.* This scedule he deliuered to one of his seruants, vnto whom he gaue charge diligētly to search out such men whose names therein was contened, if they were within anye part of the realme, & then straightly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fiftene dayes, or els to abide the hazard of hys displeasure. The seruant so well performed his maisters cōmandement, that in very short tyme they made payment of the whole summe: and if it had lyked Frescobald so to haue demanded, they should haue answered to the vttermost such commoditie, as the vse of his money in so many yeres would haue giuen him profit: but he contēted with his principall, would demaund no further.* By which meanes he gate both hartly loue and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so deare to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this tyme, Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the lord Cromwel, who euer gaue hym such entertainment as he had right well deserved,* and oftentimes mooued him to abide in England, offering him the lone of 60000. Ducates, for the space of 4. yeare, if he would continue and make his banke in Londō. But Frescobald, who desired to returne into his country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his lyfe, with the great fauor of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards hys desired home, where richly arriuing, he gaue himselfe quietly to lyue. But this wealth he small time enioyed, for in the first yeare of his returne he dyed.

So plentifull was the life of this man in such fruites full of singular gratitude and curtesie, that to rehearse all,* it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many other I may not ouerpasse, whereby we may euidently consider or rather maruell at the lowly mind of such a person, in so high a state and place of honor. For as he comming with other of the Lordes of the Counsayle and Commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certaine Monkes which there denied y^e kings supremacie, after the examination done was there sittynge at dinner, it chaunced him to spie a farre off, a certain poore man which there serued to sweepe their Sels and cloister, and to ring the bells. Whome when the Lord Cromwell had well aduised, he sent for the poore man to come vnto him, and before all the table most louingly and friendly, calling him by his name, tooke him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good wordes, and turnyng therewith to the Lordes: My Lordes (quoth he) see you this poore man. This mans father hath bene a great frend to mee in my necessitie, and hath giuen me many a meals meat. Then said he vnto the poore man, come vnto me and [Page 1188](#) I will prouide for thee, and thou shalt not lacke so long as I liue. Such as were there present and saw and heard the same, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides diuers other eminent vertues,* iij. things especially are to be considered to wit, flourishing authoritie, excelling wisdom and feruent zeale to Christ and to his Gospell. First, as touchyng his feruent zeale in setting forward the sinceritie of Christen faith, sufficient is to be seene before by the iniunctions proclamations, and articles aboue specified, that more can not almost be wished in a noble man, and scarce the lyke hath bene seene in any.

Secondlye, for his wisdom and pollicie no lesse singular, ioyned with his christen zeale, he brought great things to passe,* as well on this side the sea as in the other partes beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with forreine realmes, as may well by the kings letters and instructions sent by his meanes to his Ambassadors resident both with the Emperour the French king and the king of Scots, and also with y^e Pope appeare. In all whose courtes, such watch and espiall he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there anye sparke of mischiefe kindling neuer so little against y^e kyng and the realme,* which he by wit and pollicie did not quēch and keepe downe. And where pollicie would not serue to obteine peace, yet by mony he bought it out: so that during all the tyme of Cromwels prosperity, the king neuer had warre with any forreine nation: notwithstandyng, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the kings of Fraunce and Scotland were mightily bent and incensed agaynst hym.

Thus, as the prudent pollicie of this man was euer circumspect abroad,* to stay the Realm from foreine warres: so his authoritie was no lesse occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: First, in hampering the popish prelates and disappointing their subtile deuises: secondly, in brideling and keping other vnruly subiects vnder subiection and discipline of the lawes. Wherby, as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was he a terror to the euill doers: so that not the presence of him onely, but also the hearing of the comming of Cromwell brake many fraies, and much euill rule: as well appeared by a certeine notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of ruffins in the streete of London called Pater noster rowe. Where cartes were set on both sides of purpose, prepared to enclose them, that none might breake in to part them. It happened, that as this desperate skirmish should begin,* the Lord Cromwell comming the same time from the Court through Paules churchyard, and entering into Chepe, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and so come vpon them through Pannier Alley.

Thus as the conflict began to waxe hote, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, sodenly at the noice of the Lord Cromwels commyng, the campe brake vp and the Ruffins to go, neither could the cartes kepe in those so couragious campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, only through the authoritie of the Lord Cromwels name.

*One example more of the like affinitie commeth here in mynd, which ought not to be omitted, concernyng a certaine seruing man of the like ruffenly order, who thinking to disc•uer himselfe from the common vsage of all other men in strange newfanglenes of fashions by himselfe (as many there be whom nothing doth please, which is dailie seene and receiued) vsed to go with his haire hangyng about his eares downe vnto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous maner, counterfeiting belyke the wyld Irish men, or els Crinitus Ioppas, which Uirgil speaketh of, as one wearie of his owne English fashion: or else as one ashamed to be seene lyke a man, would rather go like a woman, or lyke to one of the Gorgon sisters, but most of all lyke to hymselfe, that is, lyke to a Ruffin, that could not tell how to go.

As this Ruffin ruffling thus with his locks was walkyng in the streetes, as chance was, who should meet him but the Lord Cromwell,* who beholding the deforme and vnseemly maner of his disguised goyng, full of much vanitie and hurtfull example, called the man to question with

him whose seruauant he was, which being declared, then was demanded, whether his maister or any of his felows vsed so to go with such haire about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yeld any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at lēgth he fell to this excuse that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered agayne, that for so much as he had made himself a votarie, he would not force him to breake his vowe, but vntill his vow should be expired, he should lye the meane tyme in prison, and so se•te him immediately to the Marshalsey: where he endured, till at length this intonsus Cato beyng perswaded by hys maister to cut his haire, by sute and petition of frends, hee was brought agayne to the Lord Cromwell with his hed polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellowes, and so was dismissed.

Hereunto also pertaineth the example of frier Bartley,* who wearing still his friers coule after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell commyng thorough Paules churchyard, and espieng him in Rheines his shop, yea said he, will not that coule of yours be left of yet? And if I heare by one a clocke that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediatly for example to al other. And so putting his coule away, he neuer durst weare it after.

If the same Lorde Cromwell which could not abyde this seruyng man so disfigured in his haire, were now in these our dayes aliue with the same authoritie, which then he had, and saw these new fangled fashions of attire, vsed here amongst vs both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffes, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigall or rather hyperbolicall barbarous breeches (which seeme rather lyke barels then breeches) would haue any place in England. In which vnmeasurable excesse of vesture, this I haue to maruell: first how these seruing men, which commonly haue nothyng els but their wages, and that so slender and bare, cā maintaine such slops, so huge and so sumptuous,* which cōmonly stand them in more, then their three yeares wages doe come vnto. Secondly I maruell, that their maisters and Lordes (who shall yeld to God account of their seruauants doings) do not search and trie out their seruants walkes, how they come by these expenses, wherewith to vpholde this brauerie, seing their stipendary wages, and all reuenues els they haue, will not extend thereunto. Thirdlye, this most of all is to be marueiled, that magistrates which haue in their hands the ordring and guiding of good laws do not prouide more seuerely for the needfull reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, & truly this may say that England once had a Cromwell.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy Counsellour by his prudent pollicie, his graue authoritie and perfect zeale wrought and brought to passe in the publicke Realme, and especially in the Church of England, what good orders he established, what wickednes and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he broght to light, what crafty iuglings what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusiōs he detected and abolished out of the Church. What posteritie will euer thinke the Church of the Pope pretendyng such religion, to haue bene so wicked,* so long to abuse the peoples eyes, with an old rotten stocke (called the Roode of grace) wherein a man should stand inclosed with an hundreth wyers within the roode, to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lippe, to mooue and shake his iawes according as the valew was of the gift which was offred? If it were a small piece of siluer, he would hang a frowning lippe, if it were a piece of gold, then should his iawes go merily. Thus miserablye was the people of Christ abused, their soules seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this Idolatrous forgerie at last, by Cromwels meanes was

disclosed,* and the image with all his engines shewed openly at Paules crosse, and there torne in pieces by the people. The like was done by the bloud of Hales, which in like maner by Cromwell was brought to Paules crosse, & there prooued to be the bloud of a ducke.

Who would haue iudged, but that the mayd of Kent had bene an holy woman and a prophetesse inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paules crosse to bee a strong whore.

What should I speake of Daruel Gartheren, of the rood of Chester, of Thom. Becket, our Lady of Walsingham,* with an infinite multitude more of the like affinitie? All which stockes and blockes of cursed idolatrie, Cromwell stirred vp by the prouidence of God, remooued out of the peoples way, that they might walke more safely in the sincere seruice of almighty God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth,* and purging y^e church of Christ, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there enuy creepeth in, and where true pietie seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withall.

Thus (I say) as he was labouring in the commō welth [Page 1189](#) and doying good to the poore afflicted saintes, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enimies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they neuer ceased, till in the end th•y by false traines and crafty surmises, brought him out of the kings fauour.

The chiefe and principall enimie against him, was Steuen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who euer disdayning and enuieng the state and felicitie of the Lord Cromwell,* and now taking his occasion by the mariage of lady Anne of Cleue, beyng a stranger and forreiner, put in the Kings eares what a perfect thing it were for the quiet of y^e realm, and establishment of the kings succession, to haue an English Queene and Prince that were meere English: so that in conclusion the kings affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleue, the lesse fauour he bare vnto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other backe friends also and ilwillers in the court about the king, which little made for Cromwell both for his religion which they maligned, and for other priuate grudges also incident by the way.

Ouer and besides all which, it is moreouer supposed, that some part of displeasure might ryse agaynst hym, by reason of a certaine talke, which happened a little before at Lambeth, at what tyme the king after the making of the vi. Articles, sent the sayd Lord Cromwell his Uicegerēt, with the two Dukes of Northfolke & Suffolke, with all the Lordes of the Parliament to Lambeth, to dyne with the Archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alledged in the Parliament agaynst the said Articles) to cheare and comfort his daunted spirits agayne.

There the said Cromwell with the other noble Lordes sitting with the Archbishop at his table in talke,* as euerie lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signifie what good will both the kyng & they bare vnto him: among the rest one of the company entring into a comparison betweene the sayd Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall of Yorke, declared in his iudgement, that Cranmer was much to bee preferred for his myld and gentle nature, where as the Cardinall was a stubburne and a churlish prelate, and one that could neuer abide any noble man, and that (sayd he) knowe you well enough, my Lord Cromwell, for he was

your Maister, &c. At these wordes the Lord Cromwell beyng somewhat touched to heare the Cardinals seruice cast in hys teeth, inferred agayne, saying: that he could not deny but he was seruant sometyme to Cardinall Wolsey, neyther did repent the same, for he receiued of hym both fee, meate, and drinke, and other commodities: but yet he was neuer so farre in loue with hym, as to haue wayted vpon him to Rome, if he had bene chosen Pope, as he vnderstoode that he would haue done if the case had so fallen out. Whiche when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirmyng the same, and shewyng moreouer what number of Florens he should haue receyued, to be his Admirall, and to haue safe conducted hym to Rome, in case he had bene elected Bishop of Rome. The partie not a little mooued with these wordes, told hym, he lyed. The other agayne affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and hygh wordes rose betwene them. Which contention although it was through intreatie of the Archbishop and other nobles somewhat pacified for the tyme, yet it might be, that some bitter roote of grudge remayned behynd, which afterward grew vnto him to some displeasure. And this was, an. 1540. in the moneth of Iuly. Ex testimonio, Secretarij. Cantuar.

After this, the next yeare followyng, which was 1541. in the month of Aprill was holden a Parliament,* which after diuers prorogations was continued till the moneth of Iuly the sayd yeare.* In the which month of Iuly, the Lord Cromwell beyng in the counsaile chamber, was sodenly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. Whereat, as many good men which knewe nothyng but truth by him did lament,* and prayed hartily for him, so moe there were on the contrary side that reioyced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had bene in some dignitie before in the Church, and nowe by hys meanes were put from it. For in deed, such was hys nature, that in all his doyngs he could not abyde any kynde of Poperie, nor of false religion creepyng vnder hypocrisie, and lesse could abyde the ambitious pryde of Popishe Prelacie, which professing all humilitie, was so elated in pride, that kinges coulde not rule in their owne Realmes for them. These snuffing Prelates as he could neuer abide so they agayne hated him as much, whiche was the cause of shortnyng his dayes, and to bryng him to his ende: So that the xix. day of the moneth aforesaid, he was attainted by Parliament.

In the which Atteinder diuers and sondry crimes surmises, obiections and accusations were brought against hym but chiefly and aboue all other,* he was charged and accused of heresie, for that he was a supporter of them (whō they recounted for heretikes) as Barnes, Clarke, and many other, whom he by his authoritie and letters written to Shiriffes and Iustices in diuers Shires rescued and discharged out of prison. Also that he did euulgate & disperse abroad amongst the Kings subiects, great numbers of bookes, conteming (as they said) manifest matter of much heresie, diffidence, and misbeliefe. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, bookes comprising matter expresly against the Sacrament of the aulter, & that after the translation thereof, he commended and mainteyned the same for good and christian doctrine.

Ouer and besides all this, they brought in certaine witnesses (what they were, the atteinder expresseth not) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with heinous wordes spoken agaynst the king in the Church of s. Peter the poore, in the moneth of March, in the xxx. yeare of the kings raigne. Which wordes if they be true, as the Atteinder doth purport three things I haue here much to meruaile at. First, if his aduersaries had so sure holde and matter against hym,* then what would mooue thē to make such hastie speede in all post haste, to haue him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abyde hym to come to his purgation?

Which if he might haue done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily haue clered himselfe thereof.

Secondly, this I maruell,* that if the wordes had bene so hainous against the kyng, as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses which heard those words in S. Peters Church, in the xxx. yeare of the kyngs raigne, conceale the sayd wordes of such treason so long, the space almost of ij. yeares,* and now vttered the same in the xxxij. yeare of the kings reigne, in the moneth of Iuly.

Thirdly, here is agayne to be marueled, if the king had known or beleued these words to be true, and that Cromwell had bene in deede such a traytour to his person, why then did the kyng so shortly after lamēt his death, wishing to haue his Cromwell aliue agayne? What Prince will wish the lyfe of hym whom he suspecteth vndoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and person? wherby it may appeare what iudgement the King had of Cromwell in himselfe, howsoeuer the parliament by sinister information was otherwise incensed to iudge vpon him.

Such malicious makebates about Princes and parliaments, neuer lacked in common weales. By such kyng Ethelstane was incensed to kill his brother Edwine, pag. 159. So was king Edward 2. deposed. So likewise when king Richard 2. was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accusations were layd against him in the Parlament? So was Humfrey the good Duke of Gloucester, the kings vncler, by Henry Beauford bishop of Winchester and other in the Parliament holden at Bery, arrested as a traitour, and falsly made away, pag. 160. What great treason was in the words of him, who dwelling in Chepe side at the signe of the Crowne, sayd merily to hys sonne, that if he liued, he would make him heyre of the crowne: & yet was he therefore atteinted and iudged for a Traytor? pag. 701. In the tyme of king Henry the 8. how was that Parliament incensed, wherein both Queene Anne was falsly condemned, and Queene Elizabeth her daughter, as falsly disherited? To omit here the Attainder of the Duke of Buckingham wrought by the Cardinall of Yorke: Of the lord Cobham likewise, and sir Roger Acton, pag. 150 If the cause of the lord Henry late Earle of Surrey were well tried out, peradventure no such hainous purpose of any treasō shuld be found therein as than was made. Who incensed y^e late Duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such makebates as these? And afterward whē the sayd Duke himselfe was atteinted for a traytor and condēned for a felon, a briber and extorcioner: how was the parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip receyued of Cardinall Poole at Rome, but a sely crowne in way of almes, and therefore by meanes of Steuen Gardiner was atteinted for a traytor. George Egles did but read some tyme in woods and by the said Gardiner was also condemned and suffered as a traytor.

Not that I here speake or meane agaynst the hygh courtes of Parliamentes of thys our Realme,* necessariye assembled for the common wealth, to whom I always attribute their due reuerence and authoritie. But as it hapneth sometimes in generall Councels, which though they be neuer so generall, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do erre in waightie matters of religion: so lykewise they that say, that Princes and Parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heds, in matters [Page 1190](#) ciuill and politike, do not therein derogate or empaire the high estate of parliaments, but rather geue wholsome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsell they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For priuate affection which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies & doings of

men, creepeth sometymes into such generall Councels, and into Princes Courtes also, either to much amplifying things that be but small, makyng mountaynes of molehills, or els to much extenuating thyngs that be of themselues great and waightie, according as it is truely said of the Poete Iuuenal: Dat veniam cornis, vexat censura columbas, or as our English Prouerbe sheweth: As a man is friended, so is his matter ended: And where the hedge, is lowe,* a man may lightly make large leapes: or rather to speake after the Frenche phrase: Qui son chien veult tuer, la rage luy met sus. That is: He that is disposed to haue hys dogge killed, first maketh men beleeeue that he is madde. And thus much hauing declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I referre to the high Parliament of that mightie king, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the meane season, howsoeuer the cause of the Lorde Cromwell standeth, true or false, this is certain, that Steuen Gardiner lacked not an head, nor yet priue assisters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their tyme, when as the kyng being disposed to marrie an other wyfe,* which was the Lady Katherine Hawarde, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did repudiate Lady Anne of Cleue, which otherwise is to be thought during the lyfe of Cromwell, could not so well be brought to passe.

But these things beyng now done and past, let vs passe them ouer and returne agayne from whence we digressed, that is to the lord Cromwell beyng now atteinted & committed to the Tower. Who so long as he went with full sayle of fortune, how moderately, and how temperatly he did euer beare himselfe in his estate, before hath ben declared.* So now the said lord Cromwell, always one man, by the contrary wynd of aduersitie being ouerblowne, receiued the same with no lesse constancie, and patiēce of a christian hart. Neither yet was he so vnprovided of counsaile and forecast, but that he did foresee this tempest long before it fell,* and also prepared for the same for two yeares before smelling the cōspiracie of his aduersaries, & fearing what might happen, he called vnto him his seruants, and there shewing vnto them in what a slippery state hee stood, and also perceiuing some stormy weather already to gather, required them to looke diligently to their order and doings, least through their default any occasion might rise agaynst him.* And furthermore, before the tyme of his apprehension, such order he tooke for his seruants, that many of them, especially the yonger brethren which had little els to take vnto, had honestly left for thē in their frends hands to relieue them, whatsoeuer should him befall.

Briefly, such a louyng and kynd maister he was to his seruantes, that he provided aforehand almost for them all: In so much, that he gaue to twelue children which were his Musitians, twenty pound a peece, and so cōmitted them to their friends. Of whom some yet remayne aliue, who both enioyed the same, and also geue recorde of this to be true.

Furthermore, beyng in the tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiauntly he behaued hymselfe, how grauely and discretely he aunswered and entertayned the commissioners sent vnto him, it is worthy noting. Whatsoeuer articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing vnto him, either concerning matters ecclesiasticall or temporall, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in euery condition then they them selues.

Amongst the rest of those Commissioners which came vnto him: one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell desired to cary for him a letter to the kyng, which when he refused, sayeng that he

would cary no letter to the king from a traytor: then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not agaynst his alleageance. Then the Lord Cromwell taking wisse of the other Lordes, what he had promised: You shall commend me (sayd he) to the Kyng, and tell hym: By that he hath so well tryed, and throughly prooued you as I haue done, hee shall finde you as false a man as euer came about hym.

*Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the kyng, whereof when none durst take the cariage vpon him, sir Rafe Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the kyng before, beyng euer trusty & faythfull vnto hym) went to the king to vnderstand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not. Which, when y^e kyng had graunted, the sayd M. Sadler as he was required, presented the letter vnto the king, which he commaunded thrise to be red vnto him, in so much the kyng seemed to be mooued therewith.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the Acte of parliament afore passed, the worthy and noble Lorde Cromwell oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not comming to his answer, the 28. day of Iuly, an. 1541. was brought to the scaffold on Tower hill, where he sayd these words followyng.

I am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe,* as some thinke peradventure that I will. For if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am by the law cōdemned to die, and thanke my lord God that hath appointed me this death for myne offence. For sithens the tyme y^t I haue had yeares of discretion. I haue lyued a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aske him hartelie forgiuenes. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue bene a great traoueller in this world, & being but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithens the tyme I came thereunto, I haue offended my Prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgiuenes, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgiue me. And now I pray you that be here, to beare me record. I dye in the catholike fayth, not doubting in any Article of my faith no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Manye haue slaundered me, and reported that I haue bene a bearer of such as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is vntrue. But I confesse, that like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct vs in the truth, so the deuill is ready to seduce vs, & I haue bene seduced,* but beare me witnes that I die in the catholike faith of the holy church. And I hartily desire you to pray for the kings grace, that he may long lyue with you in health and prosperitie: and that after him his sonne prince Edward that goodly impe, may long raigne ouer you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I wauer nothing in my faith. And so making his prayer, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell sayd at the houre of his death.

O Lord Iesu, which art the onely health of all men liuing,* and the euerlasting life of them which die in thee: I wretched sinner do submit my selfe wholly vnto thy most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed vnto thy mercy, willingly now I leaue this fraile and wicked fleshe in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me agayne at the last day in the resurrection of the iust. I beseech thee, moste merciful lord Iesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strōg my soule against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of

thy mercy against all the assaults of the deuill. I see and knowledge that there is in my selfe no hope of saluation, but all my cōfidence, hope and trust, is in thy most mercifull goodnesse. I haue no merites nor good works, which I may alledge before thee. Of sinnes and euill workes (alas) I see a great heape: but yet thorough thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whome thou wilt not impute their sinnes: but wilt take and accept me for righteous and iust, and to be the inheritour of euerlasting lyfe. Thou mercifull lord wast borne for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake: thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake all thy holy actions and workes thou wroughtest for my sake: thou suffredst most grieuous paines and tormentes for my sake: finally, thou gauest thy most precious body and thy bloud to be shed on the crosse for my sake. Nowe most mercifull Sauior, let al these things profit me, that thou frely hast done for me, which hast geuen thy selfe al so for me. Let thy bloud cleanse and wash away the spots and foulenes of my sinnes Let thy righteousness hide and couer my vnrighteousnes. Let the merites of thy passion and bloudshedding be satisfaction for my sinnes. Geue me Lord thy grace that the faith of my saluation in thy bloud wauer not in me, but may euer be firme and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life euerlasting neuer decay in me, that loue waxe not cold in me. Finally, that the weaknes of my fleshe be not ouercome with the feare of death. Graunt me mercifull Sauior, that when death hath shut vp the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soule may still behold and looke vpon thee, and when death hath taken away the vse of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say vnto thee: Lord into thy hands I commend my soule, Lord Iesu receaue my spirit. Amen.

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly & louingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold,*he quietly committed his soule into the hands of God, and so paciently suffred the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which very vngodly performed the office.

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¶Of the Bible in English printed in the large volume, and of Edmund Boner preferred to the Bishoprike of London, by the meanes of the Lord Cromwell.

ABout the time and yere, when Edmund Boner bishop of Hereford, & ambassadour resident in Fraunce, begā first to be nominate & preferred by the meanes of the lord Cromwel to the bishoprike of London:,* which was, anno. 1540. it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwell and Erle of Essex, procured of y^e king of england his gracious letters to the French king to permitte and licence a subiect of his to imprint the Bible in English within the vniuersitie of Paris because paper was there more meete and apt to be had for the doing therof, then in the realme of England, & also that there were more store of good workmen for the readie dispatch of y^e same.* And in like maner at the same time the said king wrote vnto his ambassadour, who then was Edmund Boner Bishop of Herford lying in Paris, that he should ayde and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable sutes. The which Bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to y^e merchants that were the imprinters of the same, and moreouer did diuers and sundrie times call and commande the said persons, to be in maner daily at his table both dinner and supper,* and so much reioyced in the workemanship of the said Bible, that he himselfe would visite the imprinters house, where the same bibles were printed, & also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed he little wayed. And further the sayd Boner was so feruent that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a new testament

in english & latine,* and himselfe took, a great many of them and payd for them & gaue them to his friends. And it chaunced the meane time, while the said Bible was in printing, the king Henry the 8. preferred the said Boner from the said bishopricke of Herford, to be bishop of Londō, at which time y^e said Boner according to the statute law of England, tooke his othe to the king, knowledging his supremacie, and called one of y^e aforesaid Englishmen that printed y^e bible, whom he then loued, although afterward vpon the change of the worlde he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton: to whom the said Boner saide when he tooke his othe, maister Grafton, so it is, that the kings most excellent maiestie hath by his gracious gift presented me to the Bishopricke of London,* for the which I am sory, for if it would haue pleased his grace, I could haue bene well content to haue kept mine old bishopricke of Herford. Then said Grafton I am right glad to heare of it, and so I am sure will bee a great number of the Citie of London: for though they yet know you not, yet they haue heard so much goodnes of you frō hence,* as no doubt they wil hartily reioyce of your placing. Then said Boner, I pray God I may doe that may content them, and to tel you M. Grafton. Before god (for that was commonly his othe) the greatest fault that. I euer found in Stokesley, was for vexing and troubling of poore men, as Loblely the bookebinder and other, for hauing the scripture in english, and God willing he did not so much hinder it, but I wil as much further it, and I wil haue of your Bibles set vp in the Church of Paules, at the least in sundrie places sixe of them,* and I will pay you honestly for them and giue you hartie thanks. Which wordes hee then spake in the hearing of diuers credible persons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. But now M Grafton at this time I haue specially called you to be a witnes with me that vpon this translation of Bishops Sees, I must according to the statute take an othe vnto the kings maiestie knowledging his Supremacie, which before God I take with my heart and so thinke him to be,* and beseech almightie God to saue him, and long to prosper his grace: holde the booke sirah, and reade you the oth (said he) to one of his chapleins, & he layd his hand on the booke and so he tooke his othe. And after this he shewed great friendship to the saide Grafton, and to his partener Edward Whitchurch, but specially to Myles Couerdail, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

Now after that the foresaid letters were deliuered, the French kyng gaue very good wordes, and was well content to permit the doing therof. And so the printer went for'ward and printed forth the booke euen to the last part, and then was the quarell picked to the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the fayth,* and there charged with certaine articles of heresie. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Myles Couerdale, but hauing some warning what would folow the said Englishmē posted away as fast they could to saue themselues, leauing behynd them all their Bibles, which were to the number of 2500. called the Bibles of the great volume, and neuer recouered any of them, sauing that the Lieftenaunt criminal hauing them deliuered vnto hym to burne in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Mauibert place, was somewhat mooued with couetousnes,* and sold 4. great dry fattes of them to a Haberdasher to lap in caps, and those were bought againe, but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate losse of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the sayd losse after they had recouered some part of the foresayde bookes, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went agayne to Paris, & there got the presses, letters, and seruants of the aforesayd Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themselues (which before they neuer entended) and printed out the said Bible in London,* and after that printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and losse, for the hatred of the bishops

namely, Steuen Gardiner, and his fellowes, who mightily did stomacke and maligne the printing thereof.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the story, thou hast louyng Reader, to note and vnderstand that in those daies there were ij. sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing diuers titles, and printed in diuers places. The first was called Thomas Mathews Bible, printed at Hambrough, about the yeare of our Lord, 1532. the corrector of which print was then Iohn Rogers, of whom ye shall heare more Christ willing hereafter. The Printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was in deede William Tyndall, who with the helpe of Miles Coue[•]ale had translated all the bookes thereof, except onely the Apocrypha, and certaine notes in the margent which were added after. But because the said William Tyndall in the meane tyme was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected,* it was thought good to thē which had the doing therof, to chaunge the name of William Tyndall, because that name then was odious, and to farther it by a strāge name of Thomas Mathew, Iohn Rogers the same time beyng corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocripha, and added also certaine notes thereto in the margent,* and therof came it to be called Thomas Mathewes Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Mathew, after it was imprinted and presented to the Lord Cromwell, & the Lord Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the sayd Cromwell presented it to y^e kyng, and obtained that the same might freely passe to be read of hys subiectes with hys graces licence: So that there was Printed vpon the same booke, one lyue in red letters with these wordes: Set forth with the Kings most gracious licence.

The setting forth of this booke did not a little offend the Clergy, namely, the Bishop aforesayd, both for the Prologues, & specially because in the same booke was one special table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the scriptures for the approbation of the same, & chiefly about the supper of the lord and mariage of priests, and the masse, which there was said not to be found in Scripture.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this foresayde Bible of Mathew,* another Bible began to be printed at Paris, an. 1540. Which was called the Bible of the large Uolume. The Printers whereof were the foresayde Richard Grafton, and Whitchurche which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the lord Cromwell. The chieffest ouerseer was Myles Couerdale, who taking the translation of Tyndall, conferred the same with the Hebrue, and amended many things.

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Mathew was omitted,* yet sondry markes & handes were annexed in the sides, which ment that in those places shuld be made certeine notes, wherwith also the clergy was offended, though the notes were not made.

After this, the bishops bringing their purpose to passe, brought the Lord Cromwell out of fauour, and shortly to his death: and not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of y^e preface of the same,* and then was the sale of the Bible commaunded to be stayed, the B. promising to amend & correct it, but neuer performing the same: Then Grafton was called, & first charged with the printing of Mathewes Bible, but he being feareful of trouble, made excuses for himselfe in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make. To the which he aunswered, that he knewe none. For his purpose was to haue retayned learned men to haue made the notes,* but when he

perceyued the kynges maiestie, and his Clergye not willing to haue any, he proceded no further. But for al these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remayned [Page 1192](#) vi. wekes, and before he came out, was bound in CCC.li that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted any moe Bibles, vntill the king & the clergy should agree vpon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that tyme stayed, during the raigne of Kyng Henry the viij.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued suiters to Boner, as is aforesaid, to be a meane for to obteyne of the French king their bookes againe: but so long they continued suters, and Boner euer fed them with faire wordes, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till at the last Boner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where he was right ioyfully welcomed home by the lord Cromwell, who loued him dearely, and had a maruelous good opinion of him.* And so long as Cromwell remained in autoritie, so long was Boner at his beck and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enimies: as namely, at that tyme to Gardmer B. of Winchester, who neuer fauoured Cromwell, & therefore Boner could not fauour him, but that he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be.* But so soone as Cromwell fel, immediatly Boner and Winchester pretended to be the greatest men that liued, and no good word could Boner speake of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speake, calling him the rankest heretike that euer liued: and then such as the sayd Boner knew to be in good fauour with Cromwell,* he could neuer abide their sight. Insomuch, as the next day after that Cromwell was apprehēded, the abouenamed Grafton, who before had bene very fam•liar• with Boner, met with the sayd Boner sodenly, and sayd vnto hym, that he was sory to heare of the newes that then was abroad. What are they, sayd he? Of the apprehension of the L. Cromwell, sayd Grafton. Are ye sory for that (sayd he?) It had bene good that he had bene dispatched long ago. With that Grafton looked vpon hym and knew not what to say, but came no more to Boner. Howbeit afterward the sayd Grafton beyng charged for the imprinting of a ballet made in the fauour of Cromwel was called before the Councel,* where Boner was present and there Boner charged hym with the wordes that hee spake to hym of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the lord Awdeley, who then was Lord Chauncellor, right discretly and honourably, cut of the matter, and entered into other talke.

The history of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, diuines.

Like as in forreine battails the chiefe poynt of victorie consisteth in the safetie of the Generall or captayne:* euen so when the valiaunt standerd bearer and stay of the church of England, Tho. Cromwell I meane, was made away, pitie it is to behold, what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, wherof we haue now (Christ willing) to entreat. For Winchester hauyng now gotten his full purpose & free swinge to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that Aper Calydonius, or (as the scripture speaketh) that Ferus singularis,* what troubles he raised in the Lordes vineyard. And least by delayes he might loose the occasion presently offered, he straight wais made his first assaultes vpon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret and William Hierome, whom in y^e very same moneth within ij. dayes after Cromwels death, he caused to be put to execution. Whose histories seuerally to comprehend, first of all we will somewhat speake of Barnes D. of diuinitie, whose perticular story here followeth.

This Barnes, after he came from the Uniuersitie of Louaine,* went to Cambridge, where he was made Prior and maister of the house of the Augustines. At that tyme the knowledge of good

letters was scarcely entred into the Uniuersitie, all things beyng full of rudenes and barbaritie, sauing in very few, which wer priuy and secret. Wherupon Barnes hauing some feeling of better learning and authors, began in his house to read Terence, Plautus, & Cicero,* so that what with his industry, paines & labours, and with the helpe of Tho. Parnell his scholer, whom he brought from Louane with him, reading Copia verborum & rerum, he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudenesse) as M. Cambridge, maister Felde, M. Colman, M. Burley, M. Couerdall, with diuers other of the Uniuersitie, that sojourned there for learnings sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house, Paules Epistles, and put by Duns and Dorbel, and ye• he was a questionarye himselfe: and onely because he would haue Christ there taught and his holy word, he turned their vnsauory Problemes and fruitles disputations to other better matter of the holy scripture, & thereby in short space he made diuers good diuines. The same order of disputatiō which he kept in his house, he obserued likewise in the vniuersitie abroad whē he shuld dispute with any man in the commō scholes. And the first man that answered Doctor Barnes in the Scriptures, was Maister Stafford for his forme to bee Bachelor of diuinitie, which disputation was maruelous in the sight of the great blynde Doctors, and ioyfull to the godly spirited.

Thus Barnes what with his reading, disputation and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching euer against bishops and hypocrites, and yet did not see his inward & outward idolatry, which he both taught and mainteined, till that good M. Bilney, with other (as is aforesayd in the lyfe of M. Bilney) conuerted him wholly vnto Christ.

The first sermon that euer he preached of this truth, was the Sonday before Christmas day, at S. Edwardes church longing to Trinitie hall in Cambridge,* by y^e Pease marker: whose theame was the epistle of the same sonday, Gaudete in domino, &c. and so postilled the whole epistle, folowyng the scripture and Luthers postill, and for that sermon he was immediatly accused of heresie by ij. fellowes of the kings hall. Then the godly learned in Christ both of Penbroke hall, S. Iohns, Peter house, Queenes colledge the Kings colledge, Gunwell hall, & Benet college, sh•wed themselues & flocked together in open sight, both in the scholes, and at open Sermons at S. Maries, and at the Austens, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The house that they resorted most commonly vnto, was the white horse, which for despite of them to bryng Gods word into contempt was called Germany. This house especially was chosen because of them of S. Iohns. The kings colledge, and the Queenes colledge, came in on the backe side. At this tyme much trouble began to ensue. The aduersaries of D. Barnes accused him in the Regēt house before the Uicechancelor, where as his articles were presented with him & receyued, he promising to make answer at the next conuocation, and so it was done. Then Doctor Nottoris a ranke enemy to Christ, mooued Doct. Barnes to recant, but he refused so to do: which appeareth in hys booke that he made to king Henry the 8. in English, confuting the iudgement of cardinall Wolsey, and the residue of the Bishops papisticall,* and so for the tyme stode stedfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preachyng agaynst another, in trying out of Gods truth, vntil within vj. dayes of Shrouetyde. Then sodenly was sent downe to Cambridge a sergeaunt of armes called maister Gibson, dwelling in s. Thomas Apostles in Londō,* who

sodēly arested D. Barnes openly in the conuocatiō house, to make all other afraid: and priuily they had determined to make search for Luthers bookes, and all the Germaines workes sodenly.

But good D. Farman of the Queenes Colledge, sent word incontinently thereof,* to the chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number xxx. persons. But God be praysed they were conueied, by that tyme that the sergeant at armes, the Uicechauncelor and the Proctours were at euery mans chamber,* goyng directly to the place where the bookes lay (wherby it was perceiued that there were some priuy spies amongst that small company) and that night they studied together and gaue him his answer, which answer he caried with him to Londō the next morning, which was Tuesday before Shrouesonday,* & came on the Wednesday to London, & lay at M. Parnels house by the stockes. In the morning he was caried by the Sergeant at armes to cardinal Wolsey to Westminster, waytyng there all day, and could not speak with him til night.* Then by the reason of D. Gardiner Secretary to the cardinall (of whose familiar acquaintance he had bene, before) and M. Foxe M. of the Wardes, he spake the same nyght with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees. Then sayd the cardinall to them, is this D. Barnes your man that is accused of heresie? Yea, and please your grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise.

What M. doctor (sayd the cardinal) had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people,* but that my golden shewes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my goldē cusshiōs, my crosses did so sore offēd you, that you must make vs Ridiculum caput amongst the people. We were iolily y^t day laughed to scorne. Uerily it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage, thē in a pulpit: for at the last you sayd, I weare a payre of red gloues, I should say bloudye gloues (quoth you) that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies, And he answered. I spake nothing but [Page 1193](#) the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience and according to the old Doctors: and then did hee deliuer him vi. sheetes of paper written to confirme and corroborate his sayinges.

He receaued them smiling on him, and saying, we perceiue then that you intend to stand to your Articles and to shew your learning.

Yea sayde Barnes that I doe intend by Gods grace, with your Lordships fauour.

He answered, such as you are do beare vs litle fauour & the catholicke church. I will aske you a question. Whether do you thinke it more necessary that I should haue al this royaltie, because I represent the kings maiesties person in all the hie courtes of this realme, to the terrour & keeping downe of all rebellions, treasons, traytors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this common wealth, or to be as simple as you would haue vs,* to sell al these foresayd thinges, and to geue it to the poore, whiche shortly will pisse it agaynst the walles, and to pull awaye this maiestie of a princely dignitie, which is a terrour to all the wicked, and to follow your counsell in this behalfe.

He answered I thinke it necessary to be sold and geuen to the poore. For this is not comely for your calling, nor y^e kinges maiestie is not mayntayned by your pompe & pollaxes, but by God, who sayth: Per me reges regnant. Kinges and theyr maiesties raigne and stand by me.

Then answered he: Lo M. Doctors, here is the learned the wise man that you told me of. Then they kneeled down and said: we desire your grace to be good vnto him, for hee will be reformable.

*Then sayd he, stand you vp, for your sakes & the Uniuersitie we wil be good vnto him. How say you M. doctor do you not knowe that I am Legatus de latere, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion wⁱn this realme, as much as the pope may? He sayd, I knowe it to be so.

Will you then be ruled by vs, & we will do al thinges for your honesty, and for the honesty of the Uniuersitie?

He answered, I thanke your grace for your good wil, I will sticke to the holy scripture and to Gods booke, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Aunswere well sayd he, thou shalt haue thy learnyng tryed to the vttermost, and thou shalt haue the law.

Then he required him that he might haue iustice wyth equitye, and forthwyth he shoulde haue gone to the tower, but that Gardiner & Foxe became his sureties that nyght, and so he came home to M. Parnels house again, and that night fell to wryting againe and slepte not, M. Couerdale, M. Goodwin & M. Feld being his wryters: and in y^e morning he came to Yorke place to Gardiner and Fox, and by & by he was committed to the Sergeant of armes to bring hym into the chapter house at Westminster before the Byshops, and the Abbot of Westminster called Islip.

The same time when D. Barnes should appeare before the cardinall,* there were 5. Stilliard mē to be examined for Luthers bookes and Lollardy, but after they spied Barns they set the other aside, and asked the Sergeaunt of armes what was his errand. He sayd he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined of heresie, and presented both hys Articles and hys accusers. Then immediatly after a little talke, they sware him & laid his articles to him. Who lyke as he answered the cardinal before, so sayd he vnto them, & then he offred the booke of his probations vnto them. Who asked hym whether he had another for himself, and he said, yea, shewing it vnto them. Who then tooke it from him, & said they should haue no laisure to dispute with him at that present for other affaires of the kings maiestie, which they had to do, and therfore had him stand aside. Then they called the Stilliarde men againe one by one, and when they were examined,* they called forth the M. of the Fleete, and they were committed al to the Fleete. Then they called D. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his Articles or no, and he subscribed willingly: and then they committed him and yong M. Parnel to the Flete also wyth the other.* There they remayned till Saterdaye in the morning, and the Warden of the Fleete was commanded that no man should speake with hym.

On the saterday he came againe afore them into y^e chapter house,* and there with the stilliard men remained till 5. a clocke at nyght. And after long disputations, threatnings, & scornings, about 5. a clocke at nyghte, they called hym, to know whether he would abiure or burne. He was then in a great agony, & thought rather to burn thē to abiure. But thē was he sent again to haue y^e counsel of Gard. and Fox, & they persuaded him rather to abiure thē to burn, because (they said)

he shuld do more in time to come, & with diuers other perswasions that were mighty in the sight of reason & foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling vpon his knees, he cōsented to abiure, and the abiuration put in hys hande, hee abiured as it was there wrytten, and then hee subscribed wyth hys owne hand:*, and yet they would scarcely receyue hym into the bosome of the Church, as they termed it. Then they put hym to an oth, and charged him to execute, doe, and fulfill all that they commaunded him, and he promised so to doe.

Then they commaunded the Warden of the Fleete to carye hym with his fellowes to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close pryson, and in the morning to prouide 5. fagots for D. Barnes, and the 4. Stilliard men. The 5. Stilliard man was commanded to haue a taper of 5. poūd waight to be prouided for him, to offer to the roode of Northen in Paules, and all these things to be ready by 8. of the clocke in the morning, and that hee with all that he could make, with bils and gleaues, and y^e knight marshall withal his tipstaues that he could make, shuld bring them to Paules and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all readye by theyr houre appoynted in Paules church, the church being so full that no man coulde get in. The Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the staires for himselfe, with 36. Abbots, mitred Priors and byshops, and he in his whole pompe mitred (whiche Barnes spake against) sate there inthronized, his Chapleins and spirituall doctors in gownes of damaske and satine, and he hymselfe in purple, euen like a bloudye Antichriste. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the staires also, for the B. of Rochester to preache against Luther and Doctor Barnes:*, and great baskets full of bookes standing before them within the railes, which was commaunded after the great fire was made afore the roode of Northen there to be burned, and these heretikes after the sermon to goe thryse about the fire, and to cast in theyr fagots.

Now while the sermon was a doing, D. Barnes and the stilliard men were commanded to knele downe & aske God forgeuenes, the catholike church and cardinals grace and after that hee was commaunded at the ende of the sermon to declare that he was more charitablier hādled, then he deserued or was worthy (hys heresies were so horrible and so detestable) and once againe kneeled downe on hys knees, and desiring the people of forgeuenesse and to praye for him, and so the cardinal departed vnder a canapie with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paules, and then he tooke his mule, and the mitred men came backe againe. Then these poore men being commanded to come downe from the stage (whereon the sweepers vse to stande when they sweepe the Church) the Byshops sate them downe againe and commanded the knight marshall and the Warden of the Fleete with theyr company to carie them aboute the fire, and so were they brought to the bishops, and there for absolution kneeled downe. Where Rochester stode vp and declared vnto the people how many dayes of pardon and forgeuenes of sinnes they had for beyng at that Sermon,*, and there did assoyle D. Barnes wyth the other, and shewed the people that they were receiued into the church agayne.

This done, the Warden of the Fleete and the Knyght Marshall were commanded to haue them to the Fleete againe, and charged that they should haue the libertie of the Flete as other prisoners had, and that theyr frends myght resort vnto them, and there to remaine till the Lorde Cardinals pleasure was knowen.

After that Barnes there in the Fleete had cōtinued the space of halfe a yeare, at length beyng deliuered, was committed to be free prisoner at the Austen friers in London. When those

Caterpillers and bloody beasts had there vndermined hym, they complained againe to their Lord cardinall. Wherupon he was remoued to the Austen Fryers of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself vnder stāding nothing therof, but supposing still y^t he shuld there remaine and continue in free prison, at last one M. Horne, who had brought hym vp, and was his speciall frende, hauing intelligence of the writte which should shortly be sent downe to burne him, gaue him counsaile to faine him selfe to be desperate, and that hee shoulde wryte a letter to the Cardinal and leaue it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whether he was gone to drown hymself, & to leaue his clothes in the same place: [*](#) and there an other letter to be left to the Maior of the towne to search for hym in the water, because hee had a letter written in parchment about hys necke, closed in waxe, for the Cardinall, whyche would teach all men to beware by hym. Uppon thys, they were 7. dayes in searching for hym, but hee was conueyed to London in a pore mans apparel, and so taried not there but tooke shipping and went by long Seas to Antwerpe, and so to Luther, and there fell to studie till hee had made aunswere to all the Bishops of the Realme, and had made [Page 1203](#) a Booke intituled, Acta Romanorum pontificum. And an other booke wyth a supplication to king Henrie. Immediatly it was tolde the Cardinall, that he was drowned, and he sayde, Perit memoria eius cum sonitu. But thys did lyghte vppon hymselfe shortly after, whyche wretchedly dyed at Leicester.

In the meane season D. Barnes was made strong in Christ, [*](#) and got fauour both of the learned in Christe, & forreine Princes in Germanye, and was great wyth Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Iustus Ionas, Hegendorphinus and Aepinus, and with the Duke of Saxon, and the king of Denmarke, which king of Denmarke in the time of More and Stokesley sent hym wyth the Lubeckes, as an Ambassadour, to king Henry the viij. He lay wyth the Lubeckes Chauncellor at the Stilliard.

Syr Tho. More then Chancelour, woulde fayne haue entrapped him, [*](#) but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great frende. And ere he went, the Lubeckes & he disputed wyth the Bishops of this realme in defence of the truth, and so he departed agayne wythout restraunte wyth the Lubeckes. After hys going againe to Wittemb. to the Duke of Saxon, and to Luther, hee remained there to set forwardes hys workes in Printe that he had begon, from whence hee returned againe in the beginning of the raigne of Queene Anne, [*](#) as other did, & continued a faythfull preacher in this Citie, being all her time wel entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent Ambassador by K. Henrye the 8. to the Duke of Cleue, for the marriage of y^e Lady Anne of Cleue, betwene the king and her, and was wel accepted in that Ambassade and in all hys doings, [*](#) vntil the time that Ste. Gardiner came out of Fraunce: but after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the Queenes maiestie, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers, who after the marryage of the Ladie Anne of Cleue, neuer ceased vntill hee had grafted the mariage in an other stocke, by the occasion wherof he began his bloody broyle.

For not long after, Doctor Barnes with hys brethren were apprehended and caryed before the kyngs maiestie to Hampton courte, and there he was examined. Where the kynges maiestie seeking the meanes of his safety, to bring Wintc. and hym agreed, at Wynchesters request, graunted him leaue to go home with the bishop to cōferre with him and so he did. But as it happened they not agreeing, Gardiner and his cōpartners sought by al subtil meanes, how to entangle and to entrappe them in further danger, which not long after was brought to passe. For by certaine complaintes made to the kinge of them, they were enioyned to preache 3. sermones

the next Easter folowing at the Spittle. At the which sermones, besides other reporters which were thether sent, Ste. Gardiner also was there present sitting with the Maior, either to beare recorde of theyr recantation, or els as the Phariseis came to Christ, to trippe them in their talke, if they had spokē any thing awry. Whē these 3. had thus preached their Sermons, among whome Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Ste. Gardiner there present, humbly desired him in the face of al the audience, if he forgaue hym, to holde vp hys hande, and the sayd Gardiner thereupon held vp his finger: yet notwithstanding shortly after by the meanes of the sayd reporters, they were sent for to Hampton Courte: who from thence were caryed to the tower by Syr Iohn Gostwike. From whence they neuer came out till they came to theyr death, as hereafter Christ willing shall more appeare.

And thus hetherto concerning the hystorye of Barnes. Nowe let vs likewise consider the storye and doinges of Thomas Garet.

The story of Tho. Garret or Garrerd, and of his trouble in Oxford, testified and recorded by Antony Dalaber, who was there present the same tyme.

ABout the yere of our Lord 1526. Maister Garret Curate of Hony Lane in London, came vnto Oxford, and brought with him sondry bookes in Latin,* treating of the Scripture, with the first parte of Vnio dissidentium, & Tindals first translation of the new Testament in English, the which bookes he sold to diuers scholers in Oxford.

After he had ben there a while, and had dispatched those bookes,* newes came from London that hee was searched for through al London to be apprehended and taken as an heretike, and to be imprisoned for selling of those hereticall bookes (as they termed them) because they spake agaynste the vsurped authority, and erroneous doctrine of the B. of Rome, and his no lesse impure and filthy Synagoge. For it was not vnknownen to Cardinall Wolsey, and to the B. of London, and to other of that vngodly generation, that M. Garret had a great number of those bookes, and that he was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there, to suche as he knew to be the louers of the Gospel.* Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a priuie searche through all Oxford to apprehende and imprison hym, and to burne all and euery hys foresayd bookes and him to, if they coule: so burning hote was their charitie. But yet at that time one of the foresayde Proctours,* called M. Cole of Magdalene colledge, who after was crosse bearer vnto Cardinal Wolsey, was wel acquainted with M. Garret, and therefore he gaue secret warning vnto a frende or two of M. Garret of this priuie search, and willed therefore that he shuld forthwith as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford, for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he shoulde be forthwith sent vp vnto the Cardinall, and so should be cōmitted vnto the Tower.

The Christmas before that time, I Antonye Dalaber then Scholer of Alborne Hall,* who had bookes of maister Garrets, had bene in my countrey in Dorsetshire at Stalbridge, where I had a brother Person of that Parish, who was verye desirous to haue a Curate out of Oxforde, and willed me in any wise to gette him one there if I coule. Thys iust occasion offered, it was thoughte good amonge the brethren (for so did wee not onely call one an other, but were in deede one to an other) that maister Garret chaunging hys name, should be sent foorth wyth my letters into Dorsetshire vnto my brother, to serue him there for a time, vntill hee myghte secreately from thence conueye hymselfe some whether ouer the Sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in

all haste possible vnto my brother, for maister Garret to be hys Curate, but not declaring what hee was in dede, for my brother was a rancke papist,* and after was the most mortall ennemie that euer I had for the Gospels sake.

So the wedensday in the morning before Shroftyde, M. Garret departed out of Oxforde, toward Dorsetshyre, with his letters for his new seruice. How farre he went, & by what occasion he so soone returned, I know not. But the Friday next,* in the night time he came agayne to Rodleyes house, where he lay before, and so after midnight in the priuy search, whiche was then made for him, hee was apprehended and taken there in his bed by y^e 2. Proctours and on the saterday in y^e morning was deliuered vnto one D. Cotisford, M. of Lincolne Colledge, then being Comissary of the vniuersitie, who kept hym as prisoner in hys owne chamber. There was great ioy and reioysing amōg all the papistes for his apprehension, and specially wyth Doctor London: Warden of the new Colledge, and Doctour Higdon Deane of Frideswides, two Archpapistes. Who immediately sent theyr letters in post hast vnto the Cardinall to enforme him of y^e apprehēsiō of this notable Hereticke: for the whiche theyr doying, they were well assured to haue great thanks. But of all this sodayne hurly burley, was I vtterly ignoraunt, so that I knewe neither of maister Garrets so sodayne returne, neyther that hee was so taken, vntill that afterward he came vnto my chāber, being then in Glocester Colledge, as a man amased, & as soone as he saw me, he sayd he was vndone, for he was taken. Thus he spake vnaduisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the yong man was departed, I asked him what hee was, and what acquayntaunce he had with hym. He sayd he knew hym not, but he had bene to seeke a Monke of his acquayntaunce in that Colledge, who was not in his chamber, and thereupon desired that his seruaunt (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly remoued thether) to bring him to me: and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the priuy search, as ye haue heard and that now when the Commissary & al his company were gone to Euensong, and had locked him alone in his chamber,* he hearing no body stirring in the Colledge, put backe the bar of the locke with his finger, and so came straight vnto Glocester Colledge, to speake with that monke, if he had bene within, who had also bought bookes of him.

Then sayd I vnto him: Alas M. Garret, by this your vncircumspect comming vnto me, and speaking so before this young man, you haue disclosed your selfe, and vtterly vndone me. I asked him why he went not vnto my brother wyth my letters accordingly. Hee sayde, after that hee was gone a dayes iourney and a halfe, he was so fearefull, that his heart would no other, but that he must needes returne againe vnto Oxford, and so came againe on Friday• at night, and then was takē, as ye heard before. But now wyth deepe sighes, and plentie of teares, hee prayed mee to helpe to conuey him away, and so he cast of his hooide & hys gowne, wherein he came vnto me, and desired me to geue him a coate with sleeues, if I had any,* and tolde me that he wold go into Wales, and thence conuey himself into Germany, if he might. Thē I put on him a sleued coat of mine. [Page 1195](#) He woulde also haue had an other maner of cap of me, but I had none but priestlike, such as his owne was.

Then kneeled we both downe together on our knees, and lifting vp our hearts and hands to God our heauenly father, desiring him wyth plentie of teares, so to conducte and prosper him in his iourney, that he myght well escape the daunger of al his enemies, to y^e glory of his holy name. if his good pleasure and will so were, and then we embraced and kissed the one the other, the teares so abundantly flowing out from both our eies,* that we al bewet both our faces, and scarcely for

sorrowe could we speake one to the other, and so he departed from me, apparelled in my coate, being committed vnto the tuition of oure almyghtye and mercifull father.

When he was gone downe the staires from my chamber, I straightwayes did shut my chamber doore, and wēt into my study, and tooke the new Testament in my hands, kneeled downe on my knees, and with many a deepe sigh and salt teare, I did wyth much deliberation read ouer the 10. chapter of S. Mathew his Gospell: and when I had so done,* with feruent prayer I did cōmit vnto God, that our dearely beloued brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Iesus Christes sake, his onely begotten sonne our Lord, that he would vouchsafe, not only safely to conducte and keepe our saide deare brother, from the hands of all his ennemies, but also that he would endue hys tender and lately borne litle flock in Oxford, w^t heauenly strength by his holy spirite, that they might be well able therby valiauntly to wythstand to hys glory, al their fierce enemies, and also myght quietly, to theyr owne saluation, with all godly pacience, beare Christes heauy crosse, which I now •awe was presently to be laide on their young and weake backes, vnable to beare so huge a burden, w^tout the greate helpe of his holy spirite.

This done, I laide a side my bookes safe, folded vp M. Garrets gowne and hoode, and laide them into my presse among mine apparel, & so hauing put on my short gowne, shut vp my study and chamber doores, and went towards Friswides, to speake with that worthy martyr of God M. Clarke, and others, and to declare vnto them what hadde happened that after noone. But of purpose I went by S. Mary church,* to goe firste vnto Corpus Christi Colledge, to speake with Diet and Udall, my faithfull brethren and fellowes in the Lord there. But by chaunce I mette by the way wyth a brother of ours, one master Eeden, fellowe of Magdalene Colledge, who, assoone as hee sawe mee, came with a pitifull countenance vnto mee, saying that we were all vndone, for M. Garret was returned agayne to Oxforde, taken the last night in the priuie searche, and was in prison with the Commissary. I sayd it was not so. He sayd it was so. I tolde him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He aunswered me and sayde, I knowe he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the euen, & was taken in his bed at Radleis this nyghte in the priuie search: for (quod he) I heard our Proctour M. Cole say and declare the same this day in our colledge, to diuers of the house. But I told him againe, that I was wel assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later thē either the Proctor or Commissarie did, and then I declared the whole matter vnto him, how and when he came vnto me, and howe hee went hys way, willinge hym to declare the same vnto other our brethren whom he should meete with all, and to geue God harty thanks for his wonderfull deliuerance, and to pray him also that he would graūt hym safely to passe away from al his enemies, and told him that I was goinge vnto mayster Clarke of Friswides, to declare vnto him this matter, for I knewe, & thought verely that he and diuers others there, were then in great sorrowe for this matter. Then went I straight to Friswides, and Euensong was begon, and the Deane and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices: they were almost at Magnificat before I came thether,* I stode at the quier doore and heard master Tauerner play, and others of the Chappell there sing, wyth and among whome I my selfe was wont to sing also, but now my singing and musicke was turned into sighing and musing.

As I thus and there stode, in commeth D. Cotisforde the Commissary,* as fast as euer he could goe, bare headed, as pale as ashes (I knewe his grieffe well inough) and to the Deane he goeth into the Quier, where he was sittinge in hys stall, and talked wyth him verely sorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truely gesse. I went aside from the Quier doore:

to see & heare more. The Commissary and Deane came out of the Quier wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. Aboute the middle of the Church met them D. London, puffing, blustering and blowing like a hungry and gredy Lion seeking hys pray. They talked together a while, but the Commissarie was much blamed of them for keeping of hys prisoner so negligently, in so much that hee wepte for sorrowe: and it was knowen abroade, that master Garret was escaped, & gone out of the Commissaries chamber at Euensonge tune, but whether no man coulde tell. These doctours departed, and sent abrode their seruants and spies euery where. Maister Clarke aboute the middle of Compline,* came foorth of the Quier: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what was happened that after noone, of master Garrets escape. He was glad, for he knewe of his foretaking. Then he sent for one M. Sumner anst M. Bets,* fellowes and Canons there. In the mean• while he gaue me a very godly exhortation, praying God to geue me and all the rest of our brethren, prudentiam serpentini, & simplicitatē columbinam, for we shoulde haue shortly much neede thereof, as he ve•ely thought. When M. Sumner and M. Bets were come vnto him, hee caused mee to declare againe the whole matter vnto them two, and they were very glad, that M. Garret was so deliuered, trusting that he should escape al his enemies. Then desiring them to tell vnto our other brethren, what was happened (for there were diuers other in that Colledge) I went to Corpus Christi colledge to comfort our brethren, there being in like heauines. There I taried and supped wyth them. At whiche supper we were not very merie, considering our state and pearill at hand.

When we had ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with feruent sighes and hartly prayers vnto God our heauenly father, I went to Alborne hall, & there lay that night. In the morning I was vp very early, and as soone as I could get out at the dore, I went straight to^ward Gloucester Colledge to my chamber. It had rayned that morning, and with my goyng I had all to be sprinckled my hose and shoes with myre. And when I was come vnto Gloucester colledge, which was about 6. of the clock, I found the gates fast shut. Whereat I did much marueile for they were wont to be opened dayly long before y^e time. Then did I walke vp and downe by y^e wal there, a whole houre before the gates were opened. In the meane whyle my musing head being full of forecasting cares, & my sorowfull hart flowing with dolefull sighes, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I shuld chance to be taken & be examined, I would accuse no man nor declare any thing further then I did already perceauie was manifestly known before. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to shift my selfe & to put on a longer gowne, went in towards my chamber, & goyng vp the stayres would haue opened my dore, but I could not in a lōg season do it. Wherby I perceiued that my lock had ben medled w^tall, and therewith was somewhat altered. Yea at last with much ado I opened the locke and went in.* When I came in, I saw my bed all to tossed and tūbled, my clothes in my presse throwne down, & my study dore open. Wherof I was much amased, and thought verily y^t some searche was made there that night for M. Garret, and that it was knowne of his being with me, by the Monkes man that brought him to my chamber.

Now was there lying in the next chamber vnto me a Monke, who as soone as he had heard me in y^e chamber, came to me, and told howe M. Garret was sought in my chāber y^t night, and what ado there was made by the Cōmissary & the two proctors, with billes & swords thrust thorow my bedstraw, and how euery corner of my chāber was searched for M. Garret. And albeit his gowne and his hoode lay there in my presse with my clothes▪ yet they perceiued them not. Then he told me hee was commaunded to bring mee as soone as I came in, vnto the Priour of y^e

students named Antony Dunstane a Monk of Westminster. This so troubled me that I forgot to make cleane my hose and shoes, & to shift me into an other gowne: and therefore, so all to be dirted as I was, & in my short gowne I went with him to the sayde Priors chamber, where I found the sayd Prior standing & looking for my comming.* He asked me where I hadde bene that night. I told him I lay at Alborne Hall with my old bedfellow Fitziamas, but he would not beleue me. He asked mee if M. Garret were with me yesterday, I told him yea. Then he would knowe where he was, and wherfore he came vnto me, I told hym I knew not where he was except he were at Woodstocke. For so (sayde I) hee had shewed me that he would goe thether, because one of the kepers there his frend, had promised him a peece of veneson to make mery withall the shroftide, and that he woulde haue borrowed a hatte and a payer of hygh shoes of me, but I had none in deede to lend hym. Thys tale I thought meetest, though it were nothyng so. Then hadde he spied on my forefinger a big ringe of siluer very well double gilted with 2. letters A. D. ingraued in it for my name: I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I tooke it vnto hym. When hee hadde it in hys [Page 1196](#) hand, he sayde it was hys ring, for therein was his name. an A. for Antonie,* and a D. for Dunstane. When I hearde hym so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delyuered from and out of hys company, as I was assured to be deliuered from my ryng for euer.

Then he called for pen, inke, and paper, and commāded me to wryte when & howe Garret came vnto me, & where he was become. I had not wrytten scarsly three woordes, but the chief bedle with ij. or iij. of the Commissaries men, were come, vnto Maister Prior, requiring hym strayghtwayes to bryng vs away vnto Lyncolne Colledge to the Commissarye, and to D. London. Whether when I was brought into the chapel, there I found D. Cotislorde commissarie, D. Higdon then Deane of the Cardinals Colledge, and D. London Warden of the new Colledge standinge together at the altare in the chappel. When I was brought vnto them, after salutations geuen and taken betweene them, they called for chaires and sate downe, & called for me to come to them. and fyrste they asked what my name was.* I told them that my name was Antonye Dalaber. Then they also asked me howe long I had bene student in the Uniuersitie, and I tolde them almost 3. yeares. And they asked mee what I studied. I tolde them that I had read sophistrie and logicke in Alborne Hal, and now was remoued vnto Glocester Colledge to study the Ciuil lawe, the which the foresayde Prior of the studentes affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew M. Garret, and how long I had knowen him. I told them I knew him wel, & had knowen him almost a tweluemōth. They asked me when he was with me. I told them yesterday at after noone.

Now by this time whiles they had me in this talke, one came vnto them which was sent for, w^t pen, inke and paper. I trowe it was the Clerke of the Uniuersitie. Assoone as he was come, there was a bourd & tres•es wyth a forme for him to sit on, set betweene the Doctours and me, and a great Masse booke layde before me, and I was commaunded to lay my right hand on it, and to sweare that I should truely aunswere vnto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined vpon.* I made danger of it a while at first, but afterwarde being perswaded by them, partly by faire words, and partly by great threatens. I promised to do as they wold haue me, but in my hart nothyng so ment to do. So I layd my hand on the booke, and one of them gaue me my othe, and that done commaunded me to kisse the booke.* Then made they greate curtesie betweene them who should examine me, & minister interrogatoryes vnto me. At the last, the rankest Papistical Pharisey of thē all D. London tooke vpon hym to do it.

Then he asked me againe by my othe. where M. Garret was, and whether I had conueyed hym. I tolde him I had not conueyed hym, nor yet wist not where he was, nor whether he was gone, except he were gone to Wodstocke, (as I had before sayde) as he shewed me he woulde. Then he asked me agayne when he came to me, howe he came to me, what and howe long he talked with me, and whether he went from me, I tolde hym he came to me about euensong time, and that one brought hym vnto my Chamber doore, whome I knowe not, and that he told me he would goe to Woodstocke for some venison to make mery withall this Shroftide, and that he woulde haue borrowed a hatte, and a paire of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lēd hym, and then he straight went hys way frō me, but whether I knowe not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a paper booke.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whether I had conueyed hym, for surely they sayde I brought hym going some whether this morning, for that thei might wel perceiue by my foule shoes and dirty hosen, that I had trauailed wyth hym the most part of this night. I aunswered plainly that I lay at Alborne Hall with sir Fitziamas, and that I had good witnes therof there. They asked me wher I was at Euensong. I tolde them at Friswides, and that I sawe firste M. Commissarie, and then maister D. London come thether at that time vnto M. Deane of Frisewides, and that I saw them talking together in y^e Church there. D. London and the Deane threatned mee, that if I would not tell the truthe where I had done hym, or whether he was gone, I should surely be sent vnto the Toure of London, and there be racked, and put into litle ease. But M. Commissary prayed me with gentle words to tell him where he was, that he might haue him againe, & he would be my very great frende, & deliuer me out of trouble straitway. I told hym I could not tel where he was, nor whether he was become. Thus did they occupie and tosse mee almost two houres in the chappel, sometimes with threatnings and foule wordes, and then wyth faire wordes and fayre promises flattering mee. Then was hee that brought M. Garret vnto my chamber, brought before me, and caused to declare what M. Garret sayde vnto me at hys comming to my chamber, but I saide plainely I heard him say no such thing, for I thoughte my nay to be as good as hys yea, seeing it was to rid and deliuer my Godly brother out of trouble and pearill of his life.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any mā, or to know any thyng of y^t which they sought, they al 3. together brought me vp a lōg staires into a great chamber ouer M. cōmissaries chamber,* wherin stode a great paire of very high stocks. Then M. Commissary asked me for my purse & girdie, toke away my mony and my kniues, and then they put both my legs into y^e stockes, and so locked me faste in them: in which I sate, my fete being almost as high as my head, and so departed they (I thinke to their abominable masse) locking fast y^e chamber doore, and leauing me alone. When all they were gone, then came vnto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most cōstant martyr of God, M. Iohn Clarke my father in Christ, who well nigh two yeres before that, whē I did earnestly desire hym to graūt me to be his scholler, & that I myght go w^t hym continually when and wheresoeuer he shoulde teache or preache (the whych he did daily) sayd vnto me much after this sort:* Dalaber, you desire you wot not what, & that you are, I feare me, vnable to take vpon you. For though nowe my preaching be swete and pleasaunt vnto you, because there is yet no persecution laide on you for it, yet the time will come, & that peraduenture shortly, if ye continue to liue godly ther'in, that God will lay on you the crosse of persecution to try you withall, whether you can as pure golde abide the fire, or as stubble and drosse be consumed therew^t. For

the holy Ghoste plainely affirmeth by S. Paule, quod omnes qui pie volunt viuere in Christo Iesu, persecutionem patientur. Yea,* you shall be called and iudged an heretike, you shalbe abhorred of the world, your owne friends and kinsfolke wil forsake you, and also hate you, and you shalbe cast into prison, and no man shall dare to help or comfort you, and you shall be accused & brought before the bishops, to your reproche and shame, to the great sorow of all your faithfull friendes and kinsfolke. Then wil yee wish yee had neuer knowen thys doctrine. Then will ye curse Clarke,* and wish that yee had neuer knowen him, because he hath brought you to al these troubles. Therfore rather then that ye shuld do this, leaue of from medling of this doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my company.

At which wordes I was so grieued, that I fell downe on my knees at his feete, & with aboundance of teares and sighes euen from the bottome of my heart, I earnestly besought him, y^t for the tender mercy of God shewed vnto vs in our Lord Iesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receiue me into his company, as I had desired, saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begon this in me, woulde not forsake me, but geue me grace to continue therin vnto the ende. When he heard me say so, he came to me, and toke me vp in his armes, kissed me, the teares trickling downe from his eyes, & sayd vnto me: The Lorde almighty graūt you so to do, and from henceforth for euer take me for your father, and I will take you for my sonne in Christe. Nowe were there at that time in Oxforde, diuers Graduates and Scholers of sundry Colledges & Halles, whome God had called to the knowledge of his holy worde, which all resorted vnto M. Clarkes disputations & lectures in diuinitie at all times as they might: and when they might not come conueniently, I was by M. Clarke appoynted to resort to euery one of them wekely, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the scriptures, that by me frō hym they might haue the true vnderstanding of the same: which exercise did me most good and profite, to the vnderstandinge of the holy scriptures, which I most desired.

This foresaide forewarnyng and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly Martir of God M. Clarke, cōming to my remembrance, caused me wyth depe sighs to cry vnto God from my hart to assist me wyth his holy spirit, that I might be able paciently & quietly to beare & suffer whatsoever it shuld please him of his fatherly loue to lay on me,* to his glory & the comfort of my dearely beloued brethren, whom I thought now to be in great feare & anguish, least I would be an accuser of them all, for vnto me they al were well knowne, & all theyr doings in that matter. But God be blessed, I was fully bēt neuer to acuse any of thē, whatsoever should happen of me.* Before dinner M. Cotisforde came vp to me and requested me earnestly to tel him wher master Garret was, and if I would so do, he promised me straightwaies to deliuer me out of prison. But I told hym I could not tell where he was: no more in deede I coulde. Then hee departed to dinner, asking mee if I woulde eate any meate, and I tolde him, yea right gladly. He sayde hee [Page 1197](#) would sende me some. When he was gone, hys seruauents asked me diuers questions, which I doe not now remember, and some of them spake me faire, and some threatened me, calling me hereticke, and so departed, locking the doore last vpon me.

Thus farre Anthonye Dalaber hath prosecuted thys storye, who before the finishing, departed the yeare 1562. in the Dioces of Salisburi: the residue thereof as we coulde gather it of auncient and credible persones, so haue we added heere vnto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended or taken by maister Cole the Proctor or hys men, going Westwarde, at a place called Hinksey a little beyond Oxforde,* and so being brought back againe, was committed to ward, that done, he was conuented before the Commissary, Doctour London and Doctour Higdon Deane of Friswides (now called Christes Colledge) into S. Maries Church, where they sitting in iudgement,* conuicted him according to their law as an hereticke (as they said) and afterward compelled him to cary a fagot in open procession from Saint Maries Church to Friswides, and Dalaber likewise wyth hym, Garret hauing his red hoode on hys shoulders like a maister of Arte. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till farther order was taken.

There were suspected beside, a great number to be infected with heresie, as they called it, for hauing such bookes of Gods truth, as Garret solde vnto them, as M. Clarke, which died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receyue the Communion, being in prisone, and saying these woordes: Crede, & manducasti. Maister Somner, Maister Bettes, Tauerner the Musition, Radley, wyth other of Friswides Colledge,* of Corpus Christi Colledge, as Udall and Diet, wyth other of Magdalene Colledge one Eeden, w^t other of Glocester Colledge, and two blacke Monkes, one of S. Austines of Canterbury named Langporte, the other of S. Edmondes Burie monke, named Ioh. Salisbury, two white monkes of Barnard Colledge, two Canons of S. Maries Colledge, one of them named Robert Ferrar afterwarde Bishop of S. Dauies,* and burned in Queene Maries time. These two Canons, because they had no place in the Uniuersitie with the other, they wente on the contrarye side of the procession bare headed, and a Bedel before them, to be knowen from the other. Diuers other there were, whose names I cannot remēber, whych were forced and cōstrained to forsake theyr Colledges, and sought their frendes. Againste the Procession time, there was a great fire made vpon the toppe of Carfaxe, whereinto all such as were in the sayd Procession, either conuicte or suspect of heresie, were commaunded in token of repentaunce and renouncing of their errours, euery man to cast a booke into the fire as they passed by.

After this, M. Garret flying from place to place, escaped theyr tyrannie vntill thys present time, that he was againe apprehended and burned w^t D. Barnes. With whome also W. Hierome sometime vicare of Stepney,* was likewyse drawne into Smithfielde, and there together wyth them, constantly endured martyrdome in the fire.

Now let vs adde also to these, the storie of Hierome.

The life and storie of W. Hierome Vicare of Stepney and Martyr of Christ.

THE third companion which suffered wyth Barnes and Garret, was W. Hierome Uicare of Stepney. Thys Hierome being a diligent preacher of Gods worde,* for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached diuers and sondry sermons, wherein to the entent to plante in the consciences of men, the sincere truth of christen religion, he laboured as much as time then serued, to extirpe & weede out the rootes of mens traditions, doctrines, dreames, and fantasies. In so doing it coulde not otherwise be, but hee must needes prouoke much hatred against hym amongst the aduersaries of Christes gospell.

It so happened, that the sayde Hierome preaching at Paules in the 4. Sonday of Lent last past, made there a sermon,* wherin he recited and mētioned of Agar, and Sara, declaring what these ij. signified. In processe, wherof he shewed further, howe that Sara & her childe Isaac, and all they that were Isaacs, and borne of the free woman. Sara, were freely iustified: Contrary they that were borne of Agar the bondwoman, were boūd and vnder the law, and cannot be freely iustified. In these words, what was heere spoken, but that S. Paule himselfe vttereth and expoūdeth in his Epistle to the Galat. 4. Or what coulde heere be gathered of any reasonable or indifferēt hearer,* but cōsonant to sound doctrine, and veine of the Gospel? Now see what rancor and malice armed with crafty and subtile sophistry can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and conuented before the kinge at Westminster, & there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Percase thou wilt muse (gentle reader) what erroneous doctrine here coulde be picked out. Note therefore for thy learning, & he that listeth to study how to play the Sicophant, let him here take exāple.* The knot found in thys rush was this, for that he preached erroneously at Paules crosse, teaching the people, that all that were borne of Sara, were freely iustified, speaking there absolutely without any condition eyther of Baptisme or of penaunce &c. Who doubteth here but if s. Paule hymselfe had bene at Paules crosse, and had preached the same wordes to the Englishe men, which he wrote to the Gal. in this behalfe, Ipso facto he had bene apprehended for an hereticke for preachyng agaynst the sacrament of Baptisme and repentaunce?

Furthermore it was objected agaynst him, touchyng matter agaynst magistrates, and lawes by them made. Wherunto he answered agayn and affirmed (as he had be'fore preached) that no Magistrate of himselfe coulde make any law or lawes, priuate or otherwise,* to binde the inferior people, vnles it were by the power, authority and commandement of his or their Princes to him or them geuen, but onely the Prince. And moreouer, to confirme the same he added, saying: that if the Prince make lawes consenting to Gods lawes, we are boūd to obey them. And if he make lawes repugnant to the lawes of God, and be an euill and wicked prince: yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his sermons, one Doct. Wilson entred into disputation wyth him,* and defended that good works iustified before God, and were necessary and auailable to saluation. To whome Hierome answered agayne, that all workes whatsoever they were, were nothing worthe, nor no part of saluation of themselues, but only referred to the mercy and loue of God,* which mercy and loue of God directeth the workers therof, & yet it is at his mercy & goodnes to accept them. Which to be true doctor Wilson neither could, nor did denie.

And thus mucche concerning the seuerall storyes of these iij. good mē. Now let vs see the order of their martyrdome, ioyning them al together: what was the cause of their condemnation, and what were their protestations and words at theyr suffering.

Ye heard before howe Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, were caused to preach at Easter at the spittie.* The occasion whereof as I finde it reported by Steuen Gardiner wryting againste George Ioye, I thoughte heere to discourse more at large.

Steuen Gardiner hearing that the sayd Barnes, Hierome & Garret should preach the Lent folowing, an. 1541. at Paules crosse, to stoppe the course of theyr doctrine, sent his chaplaine to

the B. of London, the Saterdag before the first Sondag in Lent, to haue a place for hym to preache at Paules. Which to him was graunted, and time appointed that he should preach the sonday following, whych should be on the morrowe: which Sondag was appoynted before for Barnes to occupie that roome. Gardiner therefore determining to declare the gospell of that sonday, containing the deuils 3. temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of scripture amongst some, as the deuil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the deuil, wherin he alledged the scripture against Christe, to cast himselfe downeward, and that he shoulde take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

Now a dayes (quoth he) the deuil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselues backwarde.* There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backwarde. Now the Deuill teacheth, come backe from fastinge, come backe from praying, come backe from confession, come back from weeping for thy sinnes, and all is backwarde: In so much that men must now learne to saye their Pater noster backwarde. For where we sayde, forgeue vs our debtes, as we forgeue our debtors; now it is, as thou forgeuest our debts, so I wil forgeue my debtors, and so God must forgeue first, and all I say, is turned backward. &c.

And amongst other things, moreouer he noted the deuils crafte and shifte in deceiuing man: who enuying hys felicitie, and therefore coueting to haue man idle, and voide of good workes, and to be led in that idlenesse, wyth a wan hope to liue merely at hys pleasure heere, and yet to haue heauen at the last,* hath for that purpose procured out pardons from Rome, wherin heauen was sold for a litle money, and for to retaile that marchaundise, the deuill vsed Friers for his ministers. Now they be gone withall theyr trumperie, but the deuill is not yet gone. &c. And now that [Page 1198](#) the Deuill perceiueth that it can no longer be borne, to buy and sell heauen by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offerre heauen without workes for it,* so freely, that men shall not neede for heauen to worke at all, what so euer oportunitie they haue to work: mary if they wil haue any higher place in heauen, God wil leaue no worke vnrewarded, but as to be in heauen, needes no works at all, but onely belief, onely, onely, and nothing els. &c.

This sermone of Steuen Winchester finished, Doctor Barnes who was put of from that sonday,* had his day apoynted, which was the thirde Sondag next ensuinge, to make his sermon: who taking the same text of the Gospell which Gardiner had done before, was on the cōtrary side no lesse vehement in setting forwarde the true doctrine of Christian religion, thē Winchester had done before in plucking men backwarde from truth to lies, from sinceritie to hypocrisie, from religion to superstition from Christ to antichrist. In the processe of which sermon he proceeding, and calling out Steuen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluded in a pleasaunt allegorye, to a Cockfight, terming the sayd Gardiner to be a fighting Cocke, and hymselfe to an other, but the Garden Cock (he sayd) lacked good spurres, obiecting moreouer to the said Gardiner, & opposing hym in his Grammer rules, thus saying: that if he had answered hym in the Schooles, so as he had there preached at the crosse, he would haue geuen him 6. stripes: declaring furthermore what euill herbes this Gardiner had sette in the Garden of Gods scripture. &c.

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the splene,* that he immediately went to y^e king to cōplain, shewing how he being a bishop and a prelate of the realm, was handled and reuiled at Paules crosse.

Wherupon the king geuing to much eare to Gardiners griefe, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and w^t many high words rebuked his doings in his priuy closet, hauing with him the Erle of Southhampton which was the Lorde Wrisley,* and the master of the horse which was Anthony Browne, D. Cockes, and D. Robinson. Unto whō when Barnes had submitted himselfe: Nay said the king, yeld thee not to me, I am a mortall man, and therewith rising vp, and turning to the Sacrament, and putting of his bonet, sayd: yonder is the maister of vs al, author of truth, yeld in truth to him, and that truth will I defend, & otherwise yelde thee not vnto me. Much ado there was, & great matter layd against Barnes. In cōclusion this order was taken,* that Barnes should goe apart with Winchester, to conferre & common together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being therunto appoynted, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom the one was D. Cockes, the other was D. Robinson, with 2. other also to them assigned, which shuld be reporters to the king of the disputation. At the first entry of which talke, Gardiner forgeuing him (as he saith) al that was past, offred him the choice, whether he wold answer, or oppose, which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

The question betwene them propounded, by Gardiners narration was this: Whether a man coulde doe anye thyng good or acceptable, before the grace of iustificatiō or not? Which question rose vpon a certaine contētion which had beene betwene them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of vs to forgeue our neighbour, to obtaine forgeuenesse of hym: yet he sayd that God must forgeue vs first, before we forgeue our neighbour: For els to forgeue our neyghbour were sinne by the text that sayeth: All that is not of faith, is sinne, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner to proue the contrary, came foorth wyth hys arguments two or three, to the which argumentes (sayeth Gardiner) Barnes coulde not aunswere, but desired to be spared that nyght,* and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning Gardiner wyth the hearers being againe assembled, D. Barnes, according to the appoyntment, was present, who then went about to assoil his arguments. To his solutions Gardiner againe replied. And thus continued they in thys altercation by y^e space of two houres.* In the ende of thys Cockfight Winchester thus cōcludeth thys glorious tale, and croweth vp the triumph, declaring howe Barnes besought him to haue pitie of hym, to forgeue hym, and to take hym to be hys scholer, whome then the sayd Winchester (as he confesseth himself) receiuing, not as his scholer, but as hys companion, offred, to hym a portion oute of his liuing, to the summe of xl.li. a yere.* Which if it be true, as Steuen Gardiner himselfe reporteth, why then doth this glorious Cackatrice crowe so much against Barnes afterward, and cast him in the teeth bearing all the world in hand, that Barnes was his scholler, whereas he himselfe heere refuseth Barnes to be hys scholer, but receiueth hym as hys companion fellowlyke? But to the storie.

This done, the king being aduertised of the conclusion of this matter betweene Barnes and Winchester, was cōtent that Barnes shoulde repaire to the Bishoppes house at London, the mōday folowing. Which he did, with a certaine other cōpanion ioyned vnto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not expresse, only he saith, y^t it was neyther Hierome nor Garret. In this next meeting betweene Barnes and the bishop vpon the foresaid monday the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, vttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of x. the effect wherof here followeth.

Winchesters Articles against Barnes.

The effect of Christes passion hath a condition.* The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effecte of Christes passion.

They that wil enjoy the effect of Christes passion, must [1] fulfill the condition.

The fulfilling of the condition requireth firste knowledge of the cōdition, which knowledge we haue by faith. [2]

Faith commeth of God, and thys faith is a good gifte. It is good and profitable to me: it is profitable to me to do [3] well, and to exercise thys faith: Ergo, by the gifte of God I may do well before I am iustified.

Therefore I may do wel by the gift of God before I am [4] iustified, towards the attainment of iustification.

There is euer as much Charitie towards God, as [5] faith, And as faith encreaseth, so doth charitie encrease.

To the attainment of iustification is required faith and [6] charitie.

Euery thing is to be called freely done, wherof the beginning [7] is free and at liberty wythout any cause of prouocation. [8]

Faith muste be to me the assuraunce of the promyses of God made in Christ (if I fulfil the condition) & loue must [9] accomplish the condition: wherupon foloweth the attainment of the promise according to Gods truth.

A man being in deadly sinne, maye haue grace to do the [10] workes of penance, whereby he may attaine to hys iustification.

These Articles for somuch as they be sufficiently aunswered and replied vnto by George Ioy in his Ioynder,* & Reioynder agaynst Winchester, I shall not neede to cūber this work with any new adoe therewith, but onely referre the reader to the bookes aforesayd: where he may see matter enough to answeere to these popish articles.

I told you before how the king was contented y^e Barnes shuld resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be traded and directed by the bishop, which Barnes then hearing the talk of y^e people, & hauing also conference with certayne learned men, within two dayes after his comming to y^e bishops house, waxed weary thereof, & so comming to the bish. signified vnto him,* that if he would take him as one y^t came to conferre, he would come still, but els he would come no more, & so cleane gaue ouer the bishop.

This beinge knowen vnto the king, thorough sinister complaints of popish Sycophantes, Barnes againe was sent for, and cōuented before the king, who grievously being incensed against him, enioyned both him, Hierom and Garret, at the solemne Easter sermons at S. Mary spittle, opēly

in wryting to reuoke the doctrine whych they before had taught. At which sermons Ste. Gardiner also himself was present to heare theyr recantation.

First Doctor Barnes, according to hys promise made to the king, solempnely and formally beganne to make his recantation, whych done, he wyth much circumstance and obtestation called vpon the Byshop (as is aboue touched) and asking of hym forgeuenes,* required hym in token of a graunt to holde vp hys hand, to the entent that he there openly declaring his charitie before the worlde, the Byshop also would declare his charitie in like maner. Which when the bishoppe refused to doe at the first, as he was required, Barnes againe called for it, desiring him to shew his charitie, and to holde vp his hande. Which when he had done w^t much a do, wagging his finger a litle: then Barnes entring to his Sermon after his prayer made,* beginneth the processe of a matter, preaching contrarye to that, which before he had recanted. In so much, that the Maior, whē the Sermon was finished, sittinge wyth the Bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit sende hym to warde, to be forth comming for that his bold preaching contrary to hys recantation. The like also did Hierome, and Garret after hym.

The king had appointed before certain to make report of the sermons. Besides them there was one who wryting to a frende of hys in the Court, in the fauour of these preachers, [Page 1199](#) declared how gayly they had all handled the matter, both to satisfie the recantation, and also in the same Sermons to vtter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore partly by these reporters, & partly by the negligent looking to this letter,* which came to the Lord Cromwels hands (sayeth Gardiner) Barnes wyth his other fellowes were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Steuen Gardiner in his foresayde booke against George Ioye, woulde needes cleare himselfe, that he was in no part nor cause of their casting into the tower, and geueth this reason for him,* for that he had then no accesse, ne had not after, so long as Cromwels time lasted, to the Kings secret Counsayle: yet notwithstanding the sayd Gardiner can not persuaide vs to the contrary, but that his priuie complaing to the King, and his secrete whisperings in his frends eares, and his other workings by his factours about the King, was a great sparcle to set theyr fagots a fire.

Thus then Barnes, Hierome, and Garret being committed to the Tower, after Easter, there remayned till the xxx. day of Iuly, which was two dayes after the deathe of the Lord Cromwell. Then ensued processe againste them by the Kings Counsell in the Parliament,* to the whyche processe Gardiner confesseth himselfe that he was priuie amongst the rest. Whereupon all these three good saints of God, the xxx. day of Iuly, not comming to any aunswere, nor yet knowing any cause of their cōdemnation, without any publike hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing themselues to the fire, had there at the stake diuers and sundry exhortations, amongst whome D. Barnes first began wyth thys protestation following.

I am come hether to be burned as an hereticke, and you shal heare my beliefe,* whereby you shall perceiue what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I neuer (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which scripture leade me vnto, and that in my Sermons I neuer mainteined any errour, neyther moued nor gaue occasion of any insurrection. Although I haue bene sclaudered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron bag, which I vtterly protest before God that I neuer meant it nor preached it: but all my study and

diligēce hath bene vtterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine,* as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Sauour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed virgin Mary, which sectes I detest and abhorre. And in this place there hath bene burned some of them, whome I neuer faouored nor mainteyned, but with all diligence euermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our soueraigne Lord the King, and the true and sincere religion of Christ. And now harken to my fayth.

I beleue in the holy and blessed Trinitie, three persons and one God,* that created and made al the world, and that this blessed Trinitie sent downe the seconde person Iesu Christ into the wombe of the most blessed & purest virgin Mary. And heere beare me record, that I do vtterly condemne that abhominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptistes, which say that Christ tooke no flesh of the virgine. For I beleue that without mans will or power, hee was conceiued by the holy Ghost, and tooke flesh of her, & that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, & other passions of our body (sinne except) according to the sayeng of S. Peter: He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sinne. And I beleue that this his death and passion was the sufficient raunsome for the sinne of all the world. And I beleue that through his death, he ouercame sinne, death, and hell, and that there is none other satisfaction vnto the Father, but this his death and passion only: and that no worke of man did deserue any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our iustification. For I know the best worke that euer I did, is vnpure and vnperfite. And with this he cast abroade his handes, and desired God to forgiue hym hys trespasses.* For although perchaunce (sayd he) you knowe nothing by me, yet do I confesse that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: Wherefore I beseeche thee, O Lorde, not to enter into iudgement with me, according to the sayeng of the Prophete Dauid: Non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo domine .i. Enter not into iudgement with thy seruaunt O Lord.* And in an other place: Si iniquitates obseruaueris domine quis sustinebit? Lorde, if thou straitely marke our iniquities,* who is able to abyde thy iudgement? Wherefore I trust in no good worke that euer I did, but onely in the death of Christ. I do not doubt, but through him to inherite the kingdome of heauen. Take me not heere that I speake against good woorkes,* for they are to be done, and verely they that do them not, shall neuer come in the kingdome of God. We must do them, because they are cōmanded vs of God to shew and set foorth our profession, not to deserue or merite, for that is onely the death of Christ.

I beleue that there is a holy Churche, & a company of all them that professe Christ: and that all that haue suffered & confessed his name, be Saintes, & that all they do prayse & laude God in heauen, more then I, or any mans tongue cā expresse, & that alwayes I haue spoken reuerently, and prayed them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady (I say) was a Uirgin immaculate and vndefiled & that she is the most purest virgine that euer God created & a vessell elect of God of whom Christ should be borne. Then sayd M. Shiriffe,* you haue sayd well of her before. And beyng afrayde that Maister Shiriffe had bene or should be agreeued with any thyng that he should say, he sayd: Maister Shiriffe, if I speake any thyng that you will me not, do no more but beken me with your hand, & I will straight way hold my peace, for I will not be disobedient in any thyng, but will obey.

Thē there was one that asked him his opiniō of praying to Saintes. Then sayd he:* Now of Saintes you shall here my opinion. I haue sayd before somewhat I thinke of them, how that I beleue they are in heauen with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture

willeth thē to haue. But I say throughout all Scripture we are not commaūded to pray to any Saintes. Therefore I can not nor will not preach to you that Saintes ought to be prayed vnto: for then should I preache vnto you a doctrine of myne owne head. Notwithstandyng whether they pray for vs or no, that I referre to GOD. And if Saintes do pray for vs, then I trust to pray for you within this halfe houre Maister Shiriffe, and for euery Christian man liuyng in the fayth of Christ & dying in the same as a Saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quicke, I will surely pray for you.

Wel, haue you any thing more to say? Thē spake he to Maister Shiriffe & sayd, haue ye any Articles agaynst me for the which I am condemned? * And the Shriffe aunswered, no. Then sayd he, is there here any mā els that knoweth wherfore I dye, or that by my preachyng hath takē any error? Let them now speake & I will make thē aunswere. And no man aunswered. Then sayd he, well I am condēned by the law to dye, & as I vnderstand, by an Acte of Parliamēt, but wherfore, I cānot tell, * but belike for heresie, for we are lyke to burne. But they that haue bene the occasiō of it. I pray God forgeue them, as I would be forgeuen my selfe. And Doct. Stephē Byshop of Winchester that now is, if he haue sought or wrought this my death either by word or deede, I pray God forgiue him as hartly, as freely, as charitably, and without faynyng, as euer Christ forgauē them that put him to death.

And if any of the Counsell, or any other haue sought or wrought it through malice or ignoraūce, I pray God forgiue their ignoraunce and illuminate their eyes that they may see and aske mercy for it. I beseeche you all to pray for the kynges grace, as I haue done euer since I was in prison, and do now, that God may geue him prosperitie, and that he may long raigne amōg you, * & after him that godly Prince Edward may so raigne, that he may finishe those thynges that his father hath begon. I haue bene reported a preacher of sedition & disobedience vnto the kyngs Maiestie, but heare I say to you, that you al are bound by the commaūdement of God to obey your Prince with all humilitie, & with all your hart, yea not so much as in a looke to shew your selues disobedient vnto him, & that not onely for feare of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God. Yea and I say further, if the kyng should cōmaunde you any thyng agaynst Gods law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.

Then spake he to the Shiriffe and sayd, M. Shiriffe I require you on Gods behalfe, * to haue me cōmēded vnto the kynges grace, & to shewe him that I require of his grace these fiue requestes: First that where his grace hath receaued into his handes, all the goodes and substaunce of the Abbeyes. Then the Shiriffe desired him to stop there. * He aunswered, Maister Shiriffe I warrant you I will speake no harme, for I know it is well done y^t all such superstition be cleane taken away, and the kyngs grace hath well done in takyng it away. But his grace is made a whole kyng, * and obeyed in his Realme as a kyng (which neither his father nor graūdfather, neither his aunceters that raigned before him euer had) & that through the preachyng of vs and such other wretches as we are, which alwayes haue applied our whole studies, and giuen our selues for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well it maketh no matter. Now he raigneth among you: I pray God long may he liue and raigne among you. Would to God it might please his grace to bestow the sayd goodes or some of them, to the comfort of his poore subiectes, which surely haue great neede of them.

[Page 1200](#)The second that I desire his grace, is, that he will see that matrimonie be had in more reuerence then it is, and that men for euery light cause inuented,* cast not off theyr wiues, and liue in adultery and fornication, and that those that be not married, should not abhominably liue in whoredome, folowing the filthy lustes of the fleshe.

The third, that the abhominable swearers may be punished and straightly looked vpon: for the vengeance of God wil come on them for their mischieuous othes. Then desired he maister Pope to haue him commended to Maister Edgar,* and to desire him for the deare bloud of Iesu Christ, that he woulde leaue that abhominable swearing which he vsed, for surely except he did forsake it, he woulde come to some mischieuous ende.

The fourth, that his grace would set forth Christs true Religion,* and seeing he hath begon, that he would go forward and make an end, for many things haue bene done, but much more is to do: and that it would please his grace to looke on Gods word himselfe, for that it hath ben obscured with many traditions inuented of our owne braynes. Now said he, how many petitions haue I spoken of? And the people said foure. Well said he: euen these foure be sufficiente, whiche I desire you: that the Kinges grace may be certified of, and say that I most humbly desire him to looke earnestly vpon them: and that his grace take heede that he be not deceiued with false preachers and teachers and euill councell, for Christ sayth, that such false Prophets shal come in Lambes skinnes.

Then desired he all men to forgeue him, and if hee had sayd any euill at any time vnaduisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or geuen anye occasion of euill, that they would forgiue it him, and amende that euill they tooke of him,* and to beare him witnes, that he detested and abhorred all euill opinions and doctrines against the worde of God, and that he died in the faith of Iesu Christ, by whom he doubted not, but to be saued. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

The like confession made also Hierome and Garret, professing in like maner their beliefe, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their myndes vpon euery article,* as the time would suffer: whereby the people might vnderstand that there was no cause nor error in their fayth, wherefore iustly they ought to be condemned: Protesting moreouer that they denied nothyng that was eyther in the old or new Testament, set foorth by their soueraigne Lorde the King: whome they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most deare sonne Prince Edward. Which done. Hierome addeth this exhortation in few words folowing.

I say vnto you good breethren, that God hath bought vs all with no small price, neyther with golde nor siluer,* or other such things of small value, but with his most precious bloud. Be not vnthankfull therefore to him againe, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfill his commaundementes, that is, loue your brethren. Loue hurteth no man, loue fulfilleth all things. If God haue sent thee plentie, helpe thy neighbour that hathe neede. Giue him good councell. If ye lacke, consider if thou were in necessitie, thou wouldst gladly be refreshed. And againe, beare your crosse with Christ. Consider what reproofe, sclaunder, and reproch he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all thinges. Consider that all that Christ did, was of his meere goodnesse, and not of our deseruing. For if we could merite our owne saluation, Christ

woulde not haue dyed for vs. But for Adams breaking of Gods precept, we had bene all lost, if Christ had not redee^med vs againe. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driuen out of Paradise: so wee, if we breake Gods commaundements, shall haue damnation, if we do not repent and aske mercy. Now therefore let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their workes, but in the bloud of Christ, to whome I commit my soule to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my breethren here present with me, that our soules leauing these wretched carcasses, may constantly depart in the true fayth of Christ.

In much like sort Garret also protesting and exhorting the people after his confession made, ended his protestation in maner as foloweth.

I also detest, abhorre, and refuse all heresies and errours,* and if eyther by negligence or ignoraunce I haue taught or maynteyned any, I am sory for it, and aske God mercie. Or if I haue bene so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken anye offence, errour, or euill opinion, I desire him, and all other persons which I haue any way offended, of forgeuenes. Notwithstanding to my remembraunce, I neuer preached wittinglye or willingly anye thing agaynste Gods holye worde, or contrary to the true fayth, to the maintenaunce of errours, heresies, or vitious liuing, but haue alwaye for my little learning and witte, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his lawes, and also the Kinges accordingly. And if I coulde haue done better, I woulde. Wherefore Lorde if I haue taken in hande to

[illustration]

¶**The death and burning of the most constant Martyrs in Christ, D. Robert Barnes, Tho. Garret, and W. Hierome in Smithfield, an. 1541.**

[Page 1201](#) do that thing which I could not perfectly perfourme, I desire thee pardon for my bolde presumption. And I pray God send the kings grace good and godly counsaile, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the encrease of vertue in this his Realme. And thus now I yeelde vp my soule vnto almighty God,* trusting and beleuing that he of his infinite mercy for his promise made in the bloud of hys sonne our most mercifull Saueour Iesu Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sinnes, whereby I haue most greeuously from my youth offended hys Maiestie: wherefore I aske hym mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for mee,* that I may pacientlye suffer thys payne, and dye stedfastly in true fayth, perfect hope and charitie.

And so after theyr prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Iesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to stablishe them with perfect faith,* constancy and pacience thorough the holy Ghost, they taking themselues by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offred themselues to the handes of the tormentors, and so tooke theyr deathe both Christianly and constantly with suche patience as mighte well testifie the goodnes of theyr cause, and quiet of theyr conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightely the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the harts of his seruants, especially in such, which causelesse suffer with a giltles conscience for his religions sake, aboue other whiche suffer otherwise for their deserts.* For whereas they which suffer as malefactors, commonly are wont to goe heauie and pensieue to their death, so the other

with heauenly alacritie and chearefulnes doe abide whatsoeuer it pleaseth the Lord to lay vpon them? Example whereof we haue right well to note, not only in these three godly Martirs, aboue mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two dayes before, the same no lesse may appeare. Who although he was brought to his death, atteinted and condemned by the parliament,* yet what a giltles conscience he bare to his death, his Christian patience well declared. Who first calling for his breakefast: and cheerefully eating the same, and after that passing out of his prison downe the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the waie the Lord Hungerford going likewise to his executiō (who for other matter heere not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned) and perceiuing him to be all heauie and dolefull,* with cheerefull countenance, and comfortable words, asking why he was so heauie, he willed him to plucke vp his heart, and to be of good comfort: For, sayd he, there is no cause for you to feare. For if you repent, and be hartely sorry for that you haue done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Christes sake wil forgeue you, and therefore be not dismayde. And though the breakefast which we are going to, be sharpe, yet trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall haue a ioyfull dinner. And so went they together to the place of execution, and tooke their death patiently.

¶A note of three Papistes executed the same tyme with Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.

THE same tyme and day and in the same place, where & when these three aboue mentioned did suffer,* three other also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary: for denying the kynges supremacie, whose names were Powell, Fetherstone and Abell. The which spectacle so happenyng vpon one day, in two so cōtrary partes or factiōs, brought the people into a marueilous admiration & doubt of their Religion,* which part to follow and take: as might so well happen amongst ignoraunt and simple people, seeing two contrarye parts so to suffer, the one for Popery▪ the other against Popery, both at one time. In so much that a certaine straunger beeyng there present the same time, and seing three on the one side, and three on the other side to suffer, said in these wordes: Deus bone quomodo his viuunt gentes, hic suspenduntur Papistae, illic comburuntur Antipapistae? But to remoue and take away all doubt hereafter from the posterity,* whereby they shall the lesse maruel how this so hapned, here is to be vnderstande, howe the cause thereof did rise and proceede. Which happened, by reason of a certeine diuision and discord amongst the Kings Councell, which were so diuided amongst themselues in equall parts, that the one halfe seemed to hold with the one Religion, the other halfe with the contrary.

The names of whome, although it were not necessary to expresse, yet being compelled for the setting foorth of the truth of the story, we haue thought good heere to annexe, as the certaintie thereof came to our hands.

Protestants.

Papistes.

Canterbury.

Wynchester.*

Suffolke.

Duresme.

Vicount Beawcham.

Norfolke. Southhampton.

Vicount Lisle.

Anthony Browne.

Russell Treasurer.

William Paulet.

Pagyt.

Iohn Baker.

Sadler.

Rich. Chaunc. of the augmentation.

Audeley.

Wingfield Vic. Chaunc.

This diuision and separation of the Coūsell amongst themselues, caused both these partes aboue mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for an other, to suffer together.* For as the one part of the Counsell called vpō the execution of Barnes, Garret, & Hierome, so the other part likewise called vpō the execution of the law vpō Powell, Fetherstone, and Abell. Which sixe beyng condemned and drawen to the place of execution, two vpon an hyrdle, one being a Papist, the other a Protestant, thus after a straūge maner were brought into Smithfield, where all the sayd sixe together for contrary doctrine suffered death, three by the fire for the Gospell, the other three by hangyng, drawyng, and quarteryng for Popery.

Allen Cope in his worshypfull Dialogues, makyng mention of these three aforesaid, Powell, Fetherstone,* and Abell, amōgest other which dyed in kyng Hēries dayes in the like Popish quarell, that is, for the like treason agaynst their Prince (beyng in all to the number of 24.) extolletth thē not onely in wordes, but with miracles also, vp to the height of heauē, amōg the crowned Martyrs,* & Saints of God. To the whiche Cope, because in this hast of story, I haue no laysure at this present to geue attendaūce, I shall wayt attēdaūce (the Lord willing) an other tyme, to ioyne in this issue with him more at laysure. In the meane time, it shall suffice at this present, to recite the names onely of those 24. rebelles, whom he of his Popish deuotiō so dignifieth with the pretended title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkish rebels be these here folowyng.

- Iohn Houghton.
- Robert Laurence.
- Aug. Webster.

- Reynald of Syon.
- Iohn Hayle.
- Iohn Rochester.
- Iac. Wannere.
- Iohn Stone.*
- Iohn Trauerse.
- William Horne.
- Powell.
- Fetherstone.
- Abell.

Beside these were other ix. Cartusian Monkes which dyed in the prison of Newgate. To the whiche number if ye adde M. More, and the Byshop of Rochester, the summa totalis commeth to 24. whom the sayd Cope vniustly crowned for Martyrs. But of these more shall be sayd (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

Thus hauyng discoursed the order of the vi. Articles, with other matter likewise folowyng in the next Parliament, concernyng the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Doct. Barnes, and his felowes. &c. Let vs now (proceedyng further in this history) cōsider what great disturbaunce and vexation ensued after the setting forth of the sayd Articles, through the whole Realme of Englād, especially amongst the godly sorte. Wherein first were to be mentioned the straite and seuer commissions sent forth by the kynges authoritie, to the Byshops, Chauncelors, Officials, to Iustices, Maiors, & Bailiffes in euery shyre,* and other Commissioners by name in the same commissions expressed, and amongst other, especially to Edmund Boner Byshop of London, to the Maior, Shiriffes, and Aldermen of the same, to enquire diligently vpon all hereticall bookes, and to burne them, also to enquire vpon such persons whatsoever culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contemptes, or transgressions, or speakyng any wordes contrary the foresayd Act set forth of the sixe Articles.* The tenour of whiche Commissions beyng sufficiently expressed in auncient Recordes, and in the Bishoppes Registers, and also partly touched before, pag. 1101. therefore for tediousnesse I here omit, onely shewyng forth the Commission directed to Edmūd Boner Byshop of London, to take the othe of the Maior of London, and of others, for the execution of the Commission aforesayd. The tenour wherof here foloweth.

¶The Commission for takyng the othe of the Maior of London, and others, for the execution of the Acte aforesayd.

HENry the eight by the grace of God, kyng of England and of Fraunce, defender of the fayth, Lord of Ireland, and in [Page 1202](#) earth supreme head of the Church of England, vnto the Reuerend father in Christ Edmund Boner Byshop of London,* and to his welbeloued the Byshops Chauncellour, health. Know ye that we haue geuen you ioyntly and seuerally power and authoritie to receaue the othes of William Roche Maior of London, Iohn Allen Knight, Raffe Warren Knight, Rich. Gresham Knight, Roger Chomley Knight, Sergeant at Law, Iohn Greshā, Michael Dormer Archdeacon of London, the Byshops Cōmissary and Officiall, Robert Chidley, Gwy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and Iohn Morgā, and euery of them our Cōmissioners for heresies and other offences done within our Citie of London, and Dioces of the same, accordyng to the tenour of a certaine schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore we commaūde that you receiue the othes aforesayd, and when you haue receaued them, to certifie vs

into our Chauncery vnder your Seales, returnyng this our writ. T. meipso^m at Westminster the 29 of Ianuary in the 32. yeare of our reigne.

What the othe was of these Commissioners, whereunto they were bounde, read before, pag. 1101.

***A note how Boner sat in the Guildhall in Commission for the vi. Articles. And of the condemnyng of Mekins.**

Vpon this commission geuen vnto Edmūd Boner, he commyng to the Guildhall with other Cōmissioners,* to sit vpō the Statute of the vi. Articles, begā eftsoones to put in execution his authoritie after a rigorous sort, as ye shall heare. And first he charged certaine Iuries, to take their oth vpon y^e Statute aforesaid: who being sworne had a day appointed to geue their Uerdicte. At the which day they indited sundry persons, which shortly after were apprehended & brought to Ward, who after a while remaynyng there, were by the kyng & his Counsaile discharged at the Starre chāber, without any further punishment.

Not lōg after this, Syr Wil. Roche being Maior, Boner with other Cōmissioners, sat at the Guildhall aforesayd, before whom there were a certaine number of Citizens warned to appeare, and after the Commission read, the sayd parties were called to the booke, and when v. or vi. were sworne, one of the sayd persōs beyng called to the booke, Boner seemed to mislike, and sayd: Stay a while, my Maisters (quoth he) I would ye should consider this matter well that we haue in hand, whiche concerneth the glory of God, the honor of the kyng, and the wealth of the Realme, and if there be any here amōg you, that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence then here. Thē commoned the Commissioners with Boner about that man, so that at length he was called to the booke and sworne, not all together with his good will.

When the ij. Iuries were sworne, Boner taketh vpon him to geue the charge vnto the Iuries, and began with a tale of Anacarsis, by which example, he admonished the Iuries to spare no persons,* of what degree soeuer they were. And at the end of his charge he brought forth to the barre a boy, whose name was Mekins, declaryng how greuously he had offended by speaking of certaine wordes agaynst the state, and of the death of Doct. Barnes: & produced into the sayd Court ij. witnesses, which were there sworne in the face of y^e Court. So a day was assigned, vpō which the Iuries aforesayd should geue vp their Uerdicte: at which day both the Commissioners, & the sayd Iuries met at Guildhall aforesayd. Then the Clarke of the peace called on the Iuries by their names, & when their appearaunce was taken,* Boner bad them put in their presentmentes. Thē sayd the foreman, whose name was W. Robins of that Iury. My Lord (with a low curtesy) we haue found nothyng. At which wordes he fared as one in an agony, & sayd: Nothyng? haue ye fōūd nothyng? What nothyng? By the fayth I owe to God (quoth he) to the foremā, I would trust you vpon your obligatiō: but by your oth I will trust you nothyng. Thē sayd some of the Commissioners: My Lord, geue them a lōger day. No (quoth he) in Lōdon they euer finde nothyng. I pray you, what say you to Mekins? My Lord, quoth the foreman, we can say nothing to him, for we finde the witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the Sacrament was nothyng but a ceremonie, & the other nothing but a signification. Why, quoth Boner, did he not say, that Barnes dyed holy? Thē pausing a while, he bad cal the other Iury. Put in your

Uerdict, quoth he. My Lord sayd one, we haue foūd nothyng.* Iesus quoth he, is not this a straunge case.

Then spake one of the same Iury, whose name was Raph Foxley, & sayd: My Lord whē you gaue vs charge, we desired to haue the Persons & Curates of euery Parish to geue vs instructions,* and it was denyed vs. Then stode vp the Recorder and sayd, it was true in deede that he had spoken, and therewithall sayd, this last yeare were charged two Iuries, which did many thinges naughtely and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay,* to make an vprore among y^e Kings people, & therefore it was thought not meete, that they should geue information to you. Nay, nay, quoth Boner, this was the cause: I• the Person or Curate should geue information according to hys knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to a knaue priest, and he shal go by and by and open it. What, sayd my Lord Maior, there is no man (I trow) that wyll say so. Yes by my trouth, quoth Boner, knaue Priest, knaue Priest. Then sayde the Lorde Maior,* somewhat smiling, there be some of them slipper fellowes, and as men finde them, so will they oft times report. Boner not well contented with those wordes, said to the Iurie: My maisters, what say you to Mekins? They aunswered, the witnesses doe not agree, therefore we do not allow them. Why, quod Boner, this court hath alowed them. Thē said one of the Iurie to the Recorder: Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them? Yea, sayd the Recorder, it is sufficiēt, & said: Go you aside together a while, & bring in your verdicte. After the Iury had talked together a litle while, they returned to the bar again with their inditement, which at Boners hand was frendly receaued: so both they and the other Iurie were discharged, & bidden take their ease. Thus ended the court for that day.* Shortly after they sate for life and death. Mekins being brought to the barre, and the inditement read. Boner sayd to him: Mekins confesse the truth, and submit thy selfe vnto the Kings law that thy death may be an example to all other.

This Rich. Mekins being a child, which passed not the age of fiteene yeares (as Halle reporteth) as he had heard some other folkes talke,* so chaunced he to speake against y^e sacrament of the altar. Which comming to Boners eares, he neuer left him (as afore doth plainly appeare) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poore father nor mother for feare durst ayde him with any reliefe: whereby he there indured in great misery. At what time he was brought vnto the stake, he was taught to speake much good of the Bishop of London, and of the great charitie he shewed to him, and to defie and detest all heretickes and heresies, but specially Doctor Barnes, vnto whome he imputed the learning of that heresie, which was the cause of his death. The poore ladde would for sauegard of his life,* haue gladly sayde that the xij. Apostles had taught it him: such was his childishe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many spake and sayd, it was great shame for the Bishop, whose parte and dutie it had bene rather to haue laboured to saue his life, then to procure that terrible execution, seeing that he was such an ignoraunt soule, that he knew not what the affirming of heresie was.

¶Richard Spenser, Ramsey, and one Hewet, suffered at Salisbury.

ABout the same time also a certeine Priest was burned at Salisbury, who leauing his Papistry, had married a wife, and became a player in enterludes,* with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned: Against whome, and specially against Spenser, was layd matter concerning the Sacramente of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this Inquisition aboue mētioned was ment properly and especially concerning the vj. Articles,* yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts beganne to rise and to be moued by the Quest, whether they might enquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and cases of Lollardy, or for speaking against holy bread, holy water, or for fauoring the cause of Barnes, of Frier Warde,* Sir Thomas Rose, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in all Parishes almost through London in the yeare aforesayd, which was 1541. as heere ensueth in a brieft summary Table to be seene.

¶A brieft Table of the troubles at London, in the vj. Articles time.

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Persons presented.	Their causes.
John Dixe.	THis Dixe was noted neuer to be confessed in Lente, nor to receiue at Easter,* and to be a sacramentary.
Rich. Chepeman.	Chepeman, for eating fleshe in Lente, and for working on holydayes, and not comming to the Church.
Mistres Cicely Marshall.	Cicely, for not bearing her Palme, and despising holye bread and holy water.
Michaell Haukes.	Haukes, for not comming to the Churche, & receiuing yong men of the new learning.
M. Iohn Browne.	Browne, for bearyng wyth Barnes.
Annes, Bedikes wife.	Bedikes wife, for despising our Lady, and not prayeng to Saints.
• Andrew Kempe. • William Pahren. • Richard Manerd.	Kempe, Pahren, Manerd, for disturbing the seruice of the Churche with brabling of the new Testament.
Wylliam Wyders.	Wyders denied two yeaes before,* the Sacramente to bee Christes body, and sayd that it was but only a signe.
Willi. Stokesley.	Stokesley, for rebuking hys wife at the Church, for taking holy water.
Roger Dauy.	Dauy, for speaking agaynste worshipping of Saints.
M. Blage.	M. Blage, for not comming to his parish Church, not confessing, nor receauing.
Wil. Clinch.	For sayeng, when he seeth a Priest preparing to the Masse, ye shall see a

Priest now goe to masking. * Item, for calling the Bish. of Winchester, false flattering knaue. Item, for buryeng his wife without Dirige, and causing the Scotte of S. Katherines to preach the next day after the buriall.

Wil. Playne.

Playne, seeing a Priest go to Masse, said, now you shall see one in masking. Item, when hee came to the Church wyth loud reading the english bible, he disturbed the diuine seruice.

- Herman Iohnson.
- *Hierome Akon.
- Giles Hosteman.
- Rich. Bonfeld.
- Tho. Couper.
- Humfrey Skinner.
- Ioh. Sneudnam.
- Rich. Philips.
- Iohn Celos.

These ix. persons were presented, for that they were not confessed in Lente, nor had receiued at Easter.

- Iohn. Iones.
- Wil. Wright.
- Peter Butcher.
- Roger Butcher.

*These foure were presented for not keeping the diuine seruice in the holydayes.

Brisleys wife.

Brisleys wife, for busie reasoning on the newe learning, and not keeping the Church.

Mistres Castle.

*M. Castle for being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.

M. Galias of Bernardes Inne.

M. Galias, for withstanding the Curate sensing the alters on Corpus Christi euen, and saieng openly that he did nought.

M. Pates of Davids Inne.

M. Pates and M. Galias, for vexing the Curate in the body of the Church, in declaring the Kings Iniunctions, & reading the Byshops booke, so that hee had muche adoe to make an end.

Wil. Beckes and his wife.

*Beckes and his wife suspected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the crosse on good Friday.

- Thomas Langhā.
- Wil. Thomas.
- Rich. Beckes.

These foure were presented for interruptyng the deuyne seruice.

- Wil. Beckes.

Rafe Symonds. Symondes for not keeping our Ladies Masse, whiche he was bound to keepe.

Ioh. Smith prētise. Smith, for sayeng, that he had rather heare the crieng of dogges, then Priestes singing Mattins or Euensong.

- Tho. Bele.
- Ioh. Sturgion.
- Ioh. Wilshire.
- Tho. Symon.
- Rafe Cleruis, and his wife.
- Iames Banaster.
- Nicolas Barker.
- Iohn Sterky.
- Christofer Smith.
- Thom. Net.

These xj. persons of Saint Magnus parish,* were presented and accused, for mainteyning of certayne preachers, as then it was called, of the newe learning, as Wisedome, Rose, frier Ward, sir Wil. Smith, aliâs Wright.

Nich. Philips. Philips for mainteing heretikes and scripture bookes, and for vsing neyther fasting, nor prayer.

Rich. Bygges. Bigges, for despising holye bread, putting it in the throte of a bitch, and for not looking vp to the eleuation.

Mistres Elizabeth Statham. For mainteining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret,* Hierome, and diuers other.

Iohn Duffet. Duffet for marrieng a woman, which was thought to be a Nunne.

Wil. Hilliard. Hilliard & Duffet for mainteining Barnes, Hierome,* and Garret, with other mo.

- Grafton.
- Whitchurch.

Grafton and Whitchurch suspected not to haue bene confessed.*

- Ioh. Grene.
- Mother Palmer.
- Christop. Cootes.
- Wil. Selly.
- Alexander Frere.
- Wil. Bredy.
- Iohn Bushe.
- W. Somerton.

All these being of the parish of S. Martins, at the wel with ij. buckets, were presented for cōtemning the ceremonies of the Church. Also some for walking in the sacring tyme, with theyr caps on. Some for turning their heads awaye. Some for sitting at their dores when sermons were in the Church, &c.

- George Durant.
- M. Davids prētise.

Rob. Andrew.

Andrew, for receiuing heretikes into his house,* and keeping disputatiō of heresie there.

- Ioh. Williamson.
- Tho. Buge.
- Tho. Gilbert.
- W. Hickson.
- Rob. Daniel.
- Rob. Smitton.

These other sixe were suspected to bee Sacramentaries, and rancke heretikes, and procurers of heretikes to preache, and to bee followers of theyr doctrine.

Ioh. Mayler.

To be a Sacramentary, and a rayler against the Masse.*

Rich. Bilby Draper.

Bilby presented for sayeng these words, that Christ is not present in y^e blessed sacrament.

- Henry Patinson.
- Anthony Barber.
- Rob. Norman.

These two were detected for maynteyning theyr boyes to sing a song against y^e sacramēt of y^e alter.* Also Patinson came not to confession. Norman also refused to come to cōfession, saieng, that none of his seruants shuld be shriuē of a kna. priest.

Ioh. Humfrey.

For speaking against the sacramentes and ceremonies of the Church.*

- Wil. Smith, and his wife
- Iohn Cooke and his wife.

These ij. couples were presented for not comming to seruice in their Parish Church, and for sayeng, it was lawfull for Priests to haue wiues.

- W. Gate or Cote.
- Wil. Aston.
- Iohn Humfrey.
- Iohn Cooke.

To these foure it was layde, for sayeng that the Masse was made of peeces and patches. Also for deprauing of mattins, Masse, and Euensong.

- Ioh. Miles and his wife.
- Ioh. Millen.
- Ioh. Robinson.
- Rich. Millar.
- Ioh. Greene and his wife.
- Arnold Chost.

All these were put vp for railing against the Sacramentes and Ceremonies.

- Ioh. Crosdall.

These three labouring men, for not comming to diuine seruice on

- Ioh. Clerke. holydayes: and for labouring in the same.*
- Ioh. Owell.

- Tho. Granger. Noted for common syngars against the sacraments and ceremonies.
- Ioh. Dictier.

- Ioh. Sutton and his wyfe. These three were noted to be despisers of auriculare confession.
- Ioh. Segar.

- Ioh. Raulins.
- Ioh. Shiler.
- W. Chalinge.
- Ioh. Edmunds.
- Ioh. Richmond & his wife. For despising holy bread and holy water, and lettynge diuine seruice.

Margaret Smith. For dressing fleshemeate in Lent.

- Tho. Trentham.
- Rob. Granger. For reasoning agaynste the sacramente of the aultere, and saieng that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men tooke it, very God.
- W. Petyngale.
- Wil. May and his wife.
- Iohn Henrison, & his wife.
- Rob. Welsh.
- *Ioh. Benglosse.
- Ioh. Pitly.
- Henry Foster.
- Rob. Causy.
- W. Pinchbecke & his wife. All these thirteene were put vp by the Inquisition, for giuing small reuerence at the sacring of the Masse.

Martin Byshops wyfe. She was presented by her Curate for being not shruen in Lente,* nor receiuing at Easter. Also she did set light by the curate, when he told her therof.

Rob. Platte and his wife. These were great reasoners in Scripture, sayeng that they had it of the spirite: and that confession auayleth nothing: and that hee not able to reade, would vse no beades.

- Tho. Aduet.
- Ioh. Palmer. *The cause layd to these three persons, was for reasoning of the

• Rob. Cooke.	scripture, & of y^e sacramēts. The Register saith, that they denied all the Sacramentes, But this Popish hiperbole wil finde little credite, where experience acquaynted with popish practises, sitteth to be y^e iudge. This man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, & maintainer of Barnes opinions.
Ioh. Cockes.	
• Ioh. Boultes. • *Tho. Kelde.	Forbidding his wife to vse beades. *He refused to take penāce & absolutiō, & did eate flesh vpon a Friday before Lent.
*Nich [▪] Newell.	Newel a frenchmā presented to be a man far gone in y^e newe sect: & that he was a great iester at y^e saints & at our Lady.
• Ioh. Hawkins and his seruant. • *Tho. Chamberlain and his wife. • Iohn Curteys. • M. Dissel, his wife and his seruant.	These eight were great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies.
The Curate of S. Katherine Colmā.	He was noted for calling of suspecte persons to hys Sermons by a bedle, without ringing of any bell: * and when he preached, he lefte his matters doubtfull. Item, for preaching without the commaundemente of hys Parson. Item, for that he was a Scotishe Frier, driuen out of hys countrey for heresie.
Tulle Bustre, his wife, and his son in lawe.	These were noted for comming seldome to the Churche, and many times were seene to labour vpon the holydayes.
Wil. Ettis and his wife.	Ettis and his wife were noted for maynteining certeyne preachers: * and for causing one Tauerner being no Priest, to preach against the Kings Iniunctions.
• Merifield and his sonne in law. • Nicholas Russell. • The goodman of the Saracens head in Fridaystreete. • W. Callaway. • Io. Gardiner, with	Against thys company, presentation was made for gathering together in the euening, and for bringing ill preachers, (that is to say, good preachers) amongst the people.

three prentises.

Tho. Plummer.	This Tho. was presented for saieng, y ^t the blessed Sacrament was to him y ^t doth take it, so: & to him y ^t doth not, was not so.
Shermons.	Shermons, keper of the Carpenters Hall in Christes parishe,* was presented for procuring an enterlude to be openly played, wherein Priestes were railed on, and called knaues.
- Lewes Morall, a seruant. - Iames Ogule, and his wife.	Noted not to haue bene confessed certayne yeares before.
Tho. Babam.	Accused not to haue ben confessed nor houseled in his parish Church.*
The person & Curate of S. Antlins.	For not vsing y ^e ceremonies in making holywater,* nor keping their processiōs on saterdayes.
Lewys Bromfield.	For not taking his housell,* and for absenting himselfe from the Church on holydayes.
- Iohn Sempe. - Iohn Goffe.	For despraising a certayne Antyme of oure Ladye,* begynnnyng Te matrem, &c. sayeng that there is heresie in the same.
Gilbert Godfre.	For absenting himselfe from the Church on holydayes.
Th. Cappes priest.	For saieng these words, that the Sacramente of the aulter was but a memory & a remembraunce of the Lords death.*
Io. Mailer, Grocer	For calling the sacrament of the aulter, the baken God: and for saieng that the Masse was called beyond the Sea, Misse,* for that all is amisse in it.
Ioh. Hardyman, Priest.	Hardymā, parson of S. Martins in Yremunger lane, presented for preaching opēly, that cōfession is confusiō & deformatiō:* & that y ^e butcherly ceremonies of y ^e church were to be abhorred. Also for sayeng, what a mischiefe is this to esteme y ^e sacramēts to be of such vertue, for in so doing, they take y ^e glory of God frō him: & for sayeng that faith in Christ is sufficiēt w ^t out any other sacramēts to iustifie.*
Christopher Dray Plummer.	For saieng of the sacrament of y ^e aulter,* that it was not offered vp for remissiō of sins: and that the body of Christ was not there, but only by

representatiō and signification of the thing.

Rob Ward, Shomaker.

Presented by three witnesses for holding against the Sacrament of the aulter,* he dyed in prison in Bredstreete.

Nicolas Otes.

For not cōming to y^e housel at easter, he was sēt to Newgate.*

- Hermā Peterson.
- Iames Gosson.
- Rich. White, Haberdasher.

For not comming to shrift & housel at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bredestrete.

For sayeng, that he dyd not [Page 1205](#) thinke that Christ was in the sacramēt of the aulter within y^e sepulchre,* but in heauē aboue.

Harison being in a place w^tout Algate meryly iesting in a certayne cōpany of neighbors, where some of them sayd: let vs go to Masse: I say, tary, sayd he:* and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lift it vp ouer his head: And likewise taking a cup of wine, & bowyng down his head made therwith a crosse ouer the cup, and so taking the sayde cup in both hys hands, lift it ouer his head: saying these wordes: haue ye not heard masse now? For y^t which he was presented to Boner thē B. of London. Against whom came these witnesses.

- Giles Harison.
- Rich. Bostocke, Priest.

- Thomas Castell. Witnesses agaynst Giles.
- Andrew Morice. Witnesses agaynst Giles.
- W. Grene. Witnesses agaynst Giles.
- Iohn Margetson. Witnesses agaynst Giles.

For saying that auricular cōfessiō hath killed moe soules, thē all the bils, clubs, & halters haue done, sithens K. Henry was king of England. &c. Also for saying, that the water in Thames hath as much vertue as the water which the priests do halow.

- Margaret Ambsworth.
 - Iohn Leicester.
- For hauing no reuerence to y^e sacramēt at sacring time. Item, for instruction of maydes, & being a great Doctresse.

- W. Raynold.
- Christ. Tounesend.
- Tho. Daud, Skinner▪
- Tho. Mabs.
- Tho. Starchey.
- Christ. Holybread.
- Martine Donam.
- W. Derby.

All these noted & presented for maynteyning of Barnes & such other preachers, & many of their wiues for not takyng holy bread, nor going in procession on Sondays.

*[Laurence Maxwell](#),

For speaking and reasoning agaynst auricular confession.

Bricklayer.

Ioh. Coygnes, or Lyuelond.*
_

For holdyng agaynst the sacrament of the aulter, and not receiuing at Easter.

Gerard Frise.

Presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a Sermon preached is better then the sacrament of the aulter,* and that he had rather go to heare a sermon,* then to heare a Masse.

Dominicke Williams
Frenchman.

For not receiuing the Sacrament of the aulter at Easter.

- Tho. Lancaster priest
- Gough.

Lay in the Coüter in y^e Pultrye, for compiling & bringing ouer bookes prohibited.

Frier Warde.

Item, Gough the Stacioner trobled for resorting vnto him.
Layd in the Counter in bred streete, for marying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chastity.

Frier Wilcocke.

Wilcock a scottish frier priso^d in the Fleet, for preaching agaynst confession, holywater, agaynst praying to sayntes, & for soules departed, agaynste Purgatorye, and holding that priestes might haue wiues. &c.

Ioh Taylour D. in Diuinity.

D. Taylor presented for prea^dching at S. Brides in Fleete^d street, that it is as profitable to a man to heare masse, & see the Sacrament, as to kisse ludas mouth, which kissed Christ our sauior. &c.

W. Tolwine, Person of S.
Anthonies.

Presented and examined before Edm. Boner, for permitting Alexand. Seton to preach in his church hauing no licence of his ordinary, & also for alow^ding the Sermons of the sayde Alexander Seton, whiche hee preached agaynst D. Smith.

To the sayd Tolwine moreouer it was obiected, that he vsed y^e space of ij. yeares, to make holy water, leauing out the general exorcisme, beginning Exorciso te. &c. vsing these words for y^e same: Benedicite: Dominus. Ab eo fit benedicta, a cuius latere fluxit sanguis & aqua: Adioining therto,*commixio salis & aquae fiat in nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus Sancti.

The like vsage of making holy water was also vsed in Aldermay Church where Doct. Crome was, & in Hony lane.

Agaynst this obiection thus Tolwine defended himself saying: that he tooke occasion so to do by the kinges Iniunctions, whyche say,

that ceremonyes should be vsed, all ignorance & superstition set apart.

In y^e end this Tolwyne was forced to stand at paules crosse to recāt his doctrine & doings.

- Rob. Wisedome.
- Tho. Becon, Preacher.

The same time also Robert Wisedome,* parish Priest of S. Katherines in Lothbery, and Tho. Becon, were brought to Paules crosse, to recant and to reuoke theyr doctrine, and to burne theyr bookes.

Sir George Parker, Person of S. Pancrace.

This priest and parsō of S. Pancrace,* and Curate of little Alhallowes, was noted, suspected and conuented before the Ordinary for certayne bookes, especially, for hauing Vnio dissidentium. &c.

Sir Iohn Birch Priest.

I. Byrch priest of S. Botolphes lane was complayned of by one M. Wilson, for being a busy reasoner in certayne opinions, which agreed not wyth the popes church.

Alexander Seton a Scottishman and a worthy Preacher.

Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, & presented by 3. priestes,* of whō one was felow of Whittington colledge called Rich. Taylor. An other was Ioh. Smith. The thyrd was Ioh. Huntingdon, who after was conuertened to y^e same doctrine himselfe.

This Seton was Chaplayne to the duke of Suffolke and by him was made free Denison. In his sermon preached at S. Anthonies, his aduersaries picked agaynst him matter cōteining 15. obiectiōs, or rather cauillatiōs which for example I thought here to exhibite to the reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures: but also what wrāgling cauillers cā do, in deprauing that is right, or in wrasting that is wel mēt, or in carping that they vnderstand not, or in seking out faults where none is, as by these theyr sinister cauillations may appeare.

***Certayne places or Articles, gathered out of Setons Sermons by his aduersaryes.**

THE sayings and wordes of Alexander Seton spoken & preached by him in his sermon,* made the xiiij. day of No'uember, at afternoone in the Parish Church of S. A. in London, Paule saith, of our selues we can do nothing I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better thē Paul, Iames, Peter, and all the Apostles? Hast thou any more grace then they? Tell me now if thy will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tel me whether it be to do good, or ill? If thou say to do ill, I will graunt thou hast a greater deale. If thou say to doe good, I aske whether is more somewhat, or nothing? For Paul said he could do nothing and I am sure thou hast no more grace, then Paul and his companions.

Scripture speaketh of three thinges in man: the fyrst is will: the other two are consent and deed. The first (that [Page 1206](#) is will) God worketh without vs,* and besides vs. The other two he

worketh in vs, and wyth vs. And here he alledged S. Augustine, to proue that we can will nothing y^t is good. Moreouer he said, thou hast not one iot, no not one title to do any good.

There is nothing in heauen, nor earth, creature nor other, that can be any meane towards our iustification nor can or may satisfy God the father for our sinne, saue onely Christ, and the shedding of his blood.

He that preacheth that workes doe merite, or be any meane to our saluation, or any part of our iustificatiō preacheth a doctrine of the deuill.*

If any thing els saue onely Christ, be any meane towards our iustificatiō, then did not Christ only iustify vs.

I say that thy good woorkes, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one iot or title towards thy iustificatiō. For if they be, then is not Christ a full iustifier, and that I will proue hy a familier example. Be it in case that I haue .2. seruantes, the one is called Iohn, and the other Robert, & I promise to send you such a day xx.l. by Iohn my seruant and at my day I send you by Iohn my seruant xix.l.xix. s. xi. d. ob. q. and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy xx.l. euery penye and farthing. Yet will I aske if I be true of my promise, or no, and thou mayst say nay. And why? because I promised to send thee that whole, xx. pound by Iohn and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I say, if thy workes do merite or bring one litle iot or title toward thy iustification, then is Christ false of his promise, which sayd that he would do altogether.

One Scripture I will bring you (which they can not writhe) to proue that Christ was onely promised to be our onely Iustifier, our onely meane, and that is in the xxij. of Genesis, where it is written: In thy seede shall all people bee blessed, meaning therby onely Christ: and he said not in thy seedes, nor in the workes of thy seedes. Wherefore all they that preach, that workes be any part or meane toward our iustification, do make God false of his promise.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of iustice, wrought by him that is already a iust man, which can not chuse but brynge forth good fruit.

I would aske a question, whether he that worketh be a good mā,* or bad, for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he can not chuse but bring forth good fruites: if he be an ill mā, he can bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit, for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

He that sayth that works do merit any thing towards our saluation, doth make workes checke mate with Christ & plucketh from Christ that is his, & geueth it to workes. Some will aske, wherefore then should I do good workes? I aunswere, good workes are to be done for no cause els, but onely for the glory of God, and not that they do merite any thing at all. And he that sayth that workes are to bee done for any other cause, thē for the glory of God only and will haue thē to merite, or be any meane towards our iustification, I say he lyeth, and beleue him not.

He that cā shew me in any scripture, that works do me'rite, or by any meane to our iustification: for the first scripture I will (without any further iudgemēt) lose both mine eares, for the second,

my tounge, and for the third my necke. For I dare say he cannot prooue in all the whole scripture one title: wherefore beleue them not.

Men say that we deny good workes, and fasting, and prayer.* They lye on vs, we deny nothing but popish workes, and popish fasting, and popish prayer, & he that preacheth that works do merite, or fasting doth merite, or pray^rer doth merite, doth preach a popish doctrine.

If you aske when we will leaue preaching of workes, euen when they do leaue to preach that works do merite, & suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, & only mean to our iustification, & till thē, we will not cease in Gods cause to set forth onely Christ to be a ful & perfect, & onely satisfaction.

If you aske, if good works shalbe rewarded, I say yea, and with no lesse then eternall glory,* but for no merit that they deserue, for they deserue nothing: but only because god hath promised, not for the merite of the worke, but for hys promise sake, and he will not breake his promise.

Other articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.

TOuching reconciliation spoken of by D. Smith, preaching in the forenoone at Paules crosse,* Alexander Seton preaching at afternoone, at S. Anthonies, & recityng his sayings & scriptures, reprobued him for alledging thys saying, Recōciliamini deo, & englishing the same thus, recōcile your selues to God: because it is there spoken passiuely, & not actiuely, so that there should be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also reprobuing the sayd D. Smith, for that the said D. said, that man by his good works might merite. Which sayⁱng of D. Smith, the sayd Alexander Setō reprobued in the pulpit at S. Anthonies, the 13. day of Nouember, the yere of our Lord 1541. as noughtely spoken.

Moreouer the sayd Alexander Seton sayd in the same place, that it was shame that any such preacher shoulde be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous doctrine, as to say that workes should merite, adducing: non sunt condignae passionēs, &c. Et postquam feceritis omnia. &c.

Finally Seton said, peraduenture ye will say the church hath determined this matter touching workes. And I say (quoth he) that it is Ecclesia malignantium, so determining any thing agaynst scripture.

To these pretēsed obiectiōs of his aduersaries, he made his answer again by writing, first denying many thinges there presented, taking vpon his conscience, that he neuer spake diuers of those words: and again many things, that he neuer ment to such end nor purpose, as in y^e said register may appeare. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the ordinary proceded in his cōsistory iudgement, ministring to him certain Interogatories (after the popish course) to y^e number of x. articles The greatest matter laid against him was for preaching free iustificatiō by fayth in Christ Iesu,* agaynst false cōfīdēce in good works, & mans fre wil. Also it was layd vnto him, for affir^ming y^e priuate masses & diriges, & other prayers profited not y^e soules departed: so that in the end, he with Tolwing aforesaid was caused to recant at paules crosse. an. 1541.

- Adde to these aforesayd, D. Taylor Parson of S. Peters in Cornehill.
- South, Parish priest of Allhallowes in Lombardstreet.
- Some, Priest.
- Giles, the kinges Beerebrewer at the redde Lion, in S Katherines.
- Tho. Lancaster, Priest. All which were imprisoned likewise for the 6. Articles.

To be short, such a number out of all parishes in Lōdō & out of Calice: and diuers other quarters,* were thē apprehended through the sayd Inquisitiō, that al prisons in Lōdon were to litle to hold thē, in so much that they were fain to lay thē in the Halles. At the last by the meanes of good L. Audley, such pardō was obtained of the king, that y^e said L. Audley, thē L. Chancellor, being contēt that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being boūd onely to appere in the starre chamber the next day after Al soules, there to answer if they were called: but neither was there any person called, neither did there any appeare.

¶The story of Iohn Porter, cruelly Martyred for reading the Bible in Paules.

IN the number of these afore named, commeth the remēbraunce of Iohn Porter,* who in the same yeare 1541. for reading the Bible in Paules Church, was cruelly handled and that vnto death, as you shall heare. It was declared in this history aboue, pag. 1162. how Edm. Boner Bishop of London (in the dayes of the L. Cromwell) beyng then Ambassador at Paris,* was a great Doer in setting forward the Printing of the Bible in the great volume: promising moreouer, that he would for his part haue 6. of those Bibles set vp in the Church of S. Paule in London. Which also at his comming home, he no lesse performed, ac|cording to the kinges proclamation set foorth for y^e same, whereof read before, pag. 1069.

The bibles thus standing in Paules by the commaūdement of the king, and the appointment of Boner the bishop, many well disposed people vsed much to resort to the hearing therof, especially whē they could get any that had an audible voyce to read vnto thē, misdoubting therein no daunger toward them: and no more there was, so long as the dayes of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst diuers and sondry godly disposed persōs, which frequented there the reading of the foresayd Bible. that one Iohn Porter vsed sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edefying as well of himselfe, as of other. This Porter was a freshe young man, and of a bigge stature. Who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such Sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters forth of Gods truth,* became very expert. The Bible then being set vppe by Boners commaundement vpon diuers pillars in Paules Church fixed vnto the same with cheines for all men to read in thē y^t would,* great multitudes woulde resort thither to heare this Porter, because he could read well and had an audible voyce. Boner & his chappeleines being greued withall (& the world beginning then to frowne vppon the Gospellers) [Page 1207](#) sent for the sayd Porter, and rebuked him very sharpe|ly,* for his reading. But Porter answered hym that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his aduertisementes which he had fixed in print ouer euery Bible.

Boner thē •ayd vnto his charge, that he had made expositions vpon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumultes. He answered: he trusted that should not be proued by him. But in fine Boner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettred in irōs both legges and armes,* with a collar of iron about his necke fastened to the wall in the dungeon, being there

so cruellye handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsmā of his whose name is also Porter, and yet alieue and canne testify that is true,* & dwelleth yet without Newgate. Who seing his kinsman in this miserable case entreated Iewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel yrons, and so through frendship and mony, had him vp among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murther: where Porter being amongst them, hearing and seing their wickednes and blasphemy exhorted thē to amendmēt of life,* and gaue vnto them such instructiōs as he had learned of the Scriptures: for which his so doying he was complayned on and so caryed downe, and layd in the lower dungeon of al, oppressed with boltes and yrons, where within 6. or 8. dayes after, he was found dead.

It is signified vnto vs by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt nere to the same place of the prison where Porter lay,* did heare him pitiously to grone and make a lamētable noise, where some suppose y^t he was put in certayne strait yrons which be there in the house, called The deuill on the necke, being after an horrible sort deuised, straying & wrinching the necke of a man with his legges together, in such sort as y^e more he styrreth in it, the strayer it presseth him, so that within 3. or 4. houres, it breaketh & crussbeth a mans backe and body in pieces. In which Deuillish torment, whether Iohn Porter was slayne or no, it is not certaine. But how so euer it was, this is knowne, that he was found dead (as is aforesayd) in the dungeon, with such groning and piteous noyse heard the night before in the sayd dungeō, as is declared.

A note of one Thomas Sommers imprisoned for the Gospell.

AMongst these Londiners thus troubled by the clergie we will adde also (although a little out of place) an other note of a Marchaunt called Tho. Sommers,* who died in the Tower of London for confessing of the Gospell. Which Tho. being a very honest Marchant and wealthy, was sent for by the Lord Cardinall and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luthers bookes (as they termed them) and after a great sute made for him to the sayd Cardinall, his iudgement was that he should ride from the tower into Cheapeside carying a new booke in his hand and be hanged with bookes round about him, with three or iiij, other Marchaunts after the same order: which was done. And when M. Sommers should be set on a colliers nagg as the rest of his fellow prisoners were, a frend of his called M. Copland brought him a very good gelding, fayre dressed with bridle and sadle, and when the Bishops Officers came to dresse him with bookes, as they had trimmed the other, and would haue made holes in his garment to haue thrust the stringes of the books therein, nay sayd Sōmers, I haue alwayes loued to goe hansomely in my apparell, and taking the bookes and opening them, he bound them together by the stringes and cast them about his necke (the leaues being al opē) like a collar,* and being on horse backe, rode formost thorow the streetes, till they came about the standard in Cheapeside, where a great fire was made to burne their bookes in, and a Pillary set vp there for 4. persons in token that they had deserued it.

In the meane time, by the way as they should come it was appoynted, that one should go before them with a ba'son. At the noyse whereof, M. Sommers horse beyng a lofty gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he which ronge the bason beyng afeard of himselfe, was fayne to go alone a great space before that any horseman did folow after. At length when they came to the fire, euery of them ha'uing a booke in his hand, they were commaunded to caste their bookes into the fire. But when M. Sommers saw that his new Testament should be burned,* he threw it ouer

the fire: which was seene by some of Gods enemies, and brought to him agayne, commaunding him to cast it into the fire: which he would not do, but cast it thorow the fire. Which thing was done iij. times. But at last a stander by tooke it vp, and saued it from burning. But not long after,* the sayd M. Sommers was cast agayne into the Tower by the Cardinall, through the cruelty of the Bishops and theyr adherentes, who soone after dyed in the sayd prison for the testimony of his fayth.

What trouble & vexatiō happened amongst the godly brethren in London, for the 6. Articles, hitherto we haue discoursed. Albeit neither haue I cōprehended all, which were molested through all the Parishes of London: neyther agayne did this rigorous Inquisition so cease within the precinctes of this Citty onely, but also extended further to Salisbury, Northfolke, Lincolne, and through all other Shyres and quarters of the realme: so that whereas any popish Prelate most bare stroke, there most persecution encreased. The Bishop of Lincolne the same time was Iohn Longland, and Doct. Dracotte his Chauncellour. Of whose rigorous doyinges ye haue heard enough and to much before. His ready diligence in all popish quarels as it neuer lacked before: so now in the execution of these 6 Articles, it was not farre behinde in whose dioces diuers good men and women,* namely about Buckingham and A'mersham, and quarters there aboutes, were grieuously dis'quieted, appearing yet in the same Register: as one

Elinore Godfrey.

For laughing & speaking certayne words agaynst one Tho. Collerd, who like a pope-holy hypocrite in the Church of Merlow,* vsed at Masse tyme to crouch behinde the children, and whē the priest crossed his head with the saucer (as she termed it) he would crosse his head likewise. And for these wordes shee was conuented before the bishop, and miserably vexed.

W. Hart.

For saying these wordes:* Thinkest thou that God almighty will abide ouer a knaue priestes head.

Christoph: Etle.

Because he did no reuerence vnto the sacrament comming to the church, and for looking vpon his book at time of eleuation, and that he would not come to see the eleuation.* &c. Item, as he was working vpon a piece of Fustian on an holy day, and being asked why he kept not the holy day, he aunswered, that was no worke, and that it was better to do that, then to sitte at the Alehouse drinkyng dronke.

W. Fastendiche.

For speaking certayne wordes agaynst y^e sacrament of the aulter, and beleued not,* that it was the very body of Christ.

W. Galand.

W. Garland, talking of extreme vnction, sayd that those thinges were Godly signes, but there were but two sacramentes. &c.

W. Webbe.

Because hee set the Image of a headlesse Beare in the Tabernacle of S. Roke.*

¶Thomas Bernard, and Iames Morton Martyrs.

ABout the same time Iohn Longland Byshop of Lincolne, burned two vpon one day,* the one named Tho. Bernard, and the other Iames Morton: The one for teaching the Lordes prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of S. Iames translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time or much thereabout, recāted one M. Barber maister of Arte of that Uniuersitie,* a man excellently learned. Who being called vp to Lambeth before the Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, & so learnedly defended himselfe therein, that (as it is credible affirmed of them, which yet be aliue, and were present thereat) neyther Cranmer himselfe, nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Austen. Wherin he was so prompe and rype of himselfe, that the Archbishop with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding by compulsion of y^e time and daunger of the vi. articles, at last hee relented, and returning agayne to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but ware away. Ex testimonio Rad. Moris.

A mery, and pleasaunt narration, touching a false fearfull imagination of fire, rayseed among the Doctors and Maisters of Oxford in S. Maries church at the recantation of M. Mallary M. of Arte of Cambridge.

THis recantatiō of M. Barbar aforesayd in the Uniuersitie of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of an other [Page 1208](#) recantation likewise happening not long before,* in y^e sayd Uniuersity, which I thought here not to ouerpasse, and namely for that the same caryeth withall, a mery rydiculous spectacle, not vnworthy to be remembred, & here to be inserted, somewhat to recreate & refreshe by the way the wery mind of the reader, after so many bloudy and lamentable storyes, executions, recantatiōs, and tragedyes aboue passed. The story is this.

There was one M. Malary, mayster of Arte of Cambridge, scholer of Christes Colledge, who for the like opinions to those aboue rehearsed, holden contrary to the catholicke determination of holy mother church of Rome, y^t is, for the right truth of Christes Gospell, was conuented before the Bishops, and in the end, sent to Oxford, there openly to recant,* and to beare his fagot, to the terror of the Studentes of that Uniuersi•y. The time and place was appointed, that he should be brought solely into S. Maryes church vpon a Sondag: where a great number of the head Doctors and Diuines, and other of the Uniuersity, were together assembled: beside a great multitude of Citizens and towne dwellers which came to behold the sight. Furthermore,* because that solemnity should not passe w^t out some effectuall Sermon, for the holding vp of the mother Church of Rome, D. Smith reader then of the Diuinity lecture, was appoynted, to make the Sermon at this recantation. Briefly at the preaching of this Sermō there was assembled a mighty

audience of all sorts and degrees as well of Studentes as other. Few almost were absent, which loued to heare or see any newes. In so much y^t ther was no place almost in the whole Church which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

All thinges thus being prepared and set in a readines, commeth forth poore Mallary with his fagotte vpon hys shoulder.* Not long after also procedeth the doctor into the pulpite to make his Sermon: the purpose and argument wherof was wholly vpon the Sacramēt. The which Doctor for the more confirmation and credite to his wordes, had prouided the holy catholick cake, and the Sacrament of the aulter, there to hang by a string before him in y^e pulpit. Thus the Doctor with his God almighty entring his godly Sermon, had scarce proceded into the middest therof (the people geuing great silence with all reuerence vnto his doctrine) but soddenly was heard into the Church the voyce of one crying in the street, fire, fire. The party which first cryed thus in the street, was called Heuster. The occasion was this, for that he comming from Allhallowes Parish, saw a Chimney on fire, and so passing in the street by S. Maryes Church, cryed fire, fire, as the fashion is, meaning no hurt.

This sound of fire being heard into the Church, fyrst of them which stode outtermost next to the Church doore so encreased and went from one to an other,* that at length it came vnto the eares of the Doctors, & at last to the preacher himselfe. Who as soone as they heard the matter, being amazed with soddeine feare, and maruelling what the matter should meane, beganne to look vp into the toppe of the Church, and to behold the walles. The residue seeyng them look vp, looked vp also. Then began they in the middest of the audience to crye out with a loud voyce, fire, fire. Where sayth one? where sayth on other? In the Church, sayth one. The mention of the Church was scarcely pronouced, when as in one moment there was a common cry amongst thē, the Church is on fire, the Church is sette on fire by heretickes.* &c. And albeit no man did see any fire at all, yet forsomuch as al mē cried out so, euery man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such feare, cōcourse and tumult of people, through the whole church, that it cā not be declared in wordes, as it was in deed.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed) we see many times how one litle sparke geueth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stackes and piles on burning, so here vpon a small occasion of one mans worde, kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion running in euery mans head within the Church,* thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased almighty God to delude these deluders, that is, that these great Doctors and wise men of the Scholes,* which thinke themselues so wise in Gods matters as though they coulde not erre, should see by theyr own senses and iudgements, how blind and infatuated they were in these so small matters & sensible trifles.

Thus this strong imaginatiō of fire being fixed in their heades, as nothing could remoue them to thinke contrary but that the Church was on fire: so euery thing that they saw or heard,* encreased this suspition in them, to make it seme most true, which was in deede most false. The first & chieft occasion that augmēted this suspition, was the hereticke there bearing his fagot, which gaue them to imagine, that all other heretickes, had conspired with him, to set the Church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people & running too and fro, the dust was so raysed, that it shewed as it hadde bene the smoke of fire. Which thing together with the outcry of the people,

made all men so afayd, that leauing the Sermon, they began altogether to runne away. But such was the preasse of the multitude running in heapes together, that the more they laboured, the lesse they could geue out. For whilst they ranne all headlong vnto the doores euery man struing to get out first, the thrust one another in such sort, and stucke so fast, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church, agayn, neither they that were within could get out by any meanes. So the one dore being stopped, the ran to an other litle wicket on the North side, towardes the Colledge called Brason nose,* thinking so to passe out. But there agayne was the like or greater throng. So the people clustring & thronging together, it put many in daunger and broughte many vnto theyr end, by brusing of their bones or sides. There was yet an other dore towardes the West, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened: yet now ranne they to it with such sway, that the great barre of iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens handes, the dore notwithstanding could not be opened, for the preasse or multitude of people.

At the last, when they were there also past all hope to get out then they were all exceedingly amazed and ran vp and downe, crying out vpon the heretickes which had cōspired theyr death. The more they ranne about & cried out the more smoke & dust rose in the Church, euen as though all thinges now had bene on a flaming fire. I thinke there was neuer such a tumultuous hurly burly rising so of nothing heard of before, nor so great a feare where was no cause to feare, nor peril at all: so y^t if Democritus the mery philosopher sitting in y^e top of the church,* & seing al things in such safety as they were, hadde looked downe vpon the multitude, and beholden so great a number some howling and weeping, running vppe and downe, and playing the madde men, now hither, now thither, as beyng tossed too and fro with waues or tempestes, trembling and quaking raging and faring, without any manifest cause, specially i• he had sene those great Rabbines the Doctors laden with so many badges or cognisaunces of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselues in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror, being almost beside themselues, I thinke he would haue satisfied himself with this one laughter, for all his life time, or elles rather woulde haue laughed his hart out of his belly, whilst one sayd that he playnely heard he noice of the fire, an other affirmed that he sawe it with his eyes, and an other sware that he felt the molten leade dropping downe vpon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once graffed in mennes hartes through feare.* In all the whole company there was none that behaued himselfe more modestly then the Hereticke that was there to do penance, who casting his Fagot of frō his shoulders vpon a Monkes head that stood by kept himselfe quiet, minding to take such part as the other did.

All the other being careful for themselues, neuer made an end of running vp and downe & crying out. None cried not more earnestly then the Doctor that preached (who was as I sayd, D. Smith) who in a maner first of all cryed out in the pulpit, saying: These are the traines and subtleties of the heretickes agaynst me. Lord haue mercy vpō me: Lord haue mercy vpon me. But might not God, as it had bene (to speake with Iob) out of a whyrle winde haue aunswered agayne vnto this Preacher thus:* Thou doest now implore my mercy but thou thy self shewest no mercy vnto thy felowes and brethren.* How doth thy flesh trēbell now at the mention of fire, but you thinke it a sport to burne other simple innocents, neither do you any thing at all regard it? If burning seme so grieuous a matter vnto you, and to suffer the torment of fire: then you should also haue the like consideration in other mens perils and daūgers, when as you do burne your felowes and brethren.

Or if you thinke it but a light or trifling matter in thē go to now, do you also with like courage, cōtemne,* & with like patience suffer now the same tormentes your selues. And if so be it I shoulde nowe suffer you with the whole Church to be burned to ashes, what other thing shoulde I do vnto you, then you do dayly vnto your felowes and brethren? Wherefore since you so litle esteeme the death of others, be now content that other men shoulde also litle regard the death of you. With this (I say) or with some other like aunswere, if that either God, or humane charity, either the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea if there had bene a fire indeed (as they were more [Page 1209](#) feared then hurt) who would haue doubted but that it had happened vnto them according to their deserts? But now worthy it is the noting, how the vayne feare and folly of those catholicks either was deluded, either how theyr cruelty was reprobued, whereby they being better taught by theyr owne example, might hereafter learne what is to put other poore men to the fire which they themselues here so much abhorred.*

But to returne agayn to the descriptiō of this pageant• wherein (as I sayd before) there was no daunger at all, yet were they all in such feare, as if present death had ben ouer their heades.

In all this great maze and garboyle there was nothing mor• feared then the melting of the lead, which many affir|med that they felt dropping vpō their bodies: Now in this sodein terror and feare, which tooke from them all reason & counsell out of theyr mindes: to beholde what practises & sondry shiftes euery man made for himselfe, it would make not onely Democritus, and Heraclitus also to laugh but rather an horse weluere to breake his halter. But none vsed themselues more ridiculously, then such as semed greatest wise men, sauing that in one or ij. peradventure some what more quietnes of minde appeared. Amongest whom was one Claymund President of Corpus Christi Colledge (whom for reuerence and learnings sake I do here name) and a few other aged persons with him,* which for theyr age and weakenesse, durst not thrust themselues into the throng amongst the rest, but kneled downe quietly before the high aulter, committing themselues & theyr liues vnto the sacrament. The other which were yonger and stron|ger, ran vp and downe through the preasse maruelling at the vnciuility of mē, and waxt angry with the vnmanerly multitude that would geue no rowme vnto the Doctors, Bachelers, Maisters, and other graduates & regent maisters. But as the terror and feare was common vnto all men, so was there no differēce made, of persōs or degrees euery man scamling for himselfe. The violet cap or purple gowne, did there nothing auayle the Doctour, neyther the masters hood nor the monkes coule was there respected.

Yea if the king or queene had bene there at that present and in that perplexity, they had bene no better then a common man. After they had long striuen and assayed all maner of wayes and saw no remedy, neither by force neither authority to preuayle: the fell to entreating and offering of rewardes, one offering xx. poūd, an other his scarlet gown so that any man would pull him out though it were by the eares.

Some stood close vnto the pillers, thinking themselues safe vnder the voutes of stone for the dropping of the lead. Othersome being without mony & vnprouided of al shift, knew not which way to turne them. One being a presidēt of a certaine Colledge (whose name I need not here to vtter) pulling a bourd out from the pues, couered his head & shoulders therwith agaynst y^e scalding lead, which they fea|red much more then the fall of the Church. Now what a laughter would this haue ministred vnto Democritus amongst other thinges, to behold there a certayne

ground paūch, who seing the dores stopped and euery way closed vp, thought by an other compendious meanes to get out through a glasse window if it might be by any shift. But here the icō grates letted him: notwithstanding his gredy mind would needes attempt if he could happely bring hys purpose to passe. Whē he had brokē the glasse, & was come to the space betwene y^e grates where he should creepe out, first he thrust in his head w^t the one shoulder, & it wēt thorow wel enough. Thē he labored to get the other shoulder after, but there was great labor about y^t, & lōg he stuck by y^e shoulders with much adoe. For what doth not importune labor ouercome? Thus farreforth he was now gottē. But by what part of his bodye he did sticke fast, I am not certayne, neither may I fayne, forsomuch as there be yet witnesses which did see these thinges, which woulde correcte me if I should so doe. Notwithstanding this is most certayne that he did stick fast betwene the grates, and coulde neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being in deed a Monke, and hauing but short hose, by the which way he supposed soonest to escape, by the same he fel into further incōuenience making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the window had bene in danger: & contrariwise if the slaine had raged within the Church, all his other parts had lyen opē to the fire. And as this man did sticke fast in the windowe, so dyd the rest sticke as fast in the dores, that sooner they myght haue bene burned, then they could once styrre or moue one foot. Through the which prese at the last there was a way found, that some going ouer their heads gat out.

Here also happened an other pageaunt in a certayne Monke (if I be not misadvised) of Glocester Colledge, whereat Calphurnius mighte well laugh with an open mouth.* So it happened that there was a young lad in this tumult, who seing the dores fast stopped with the prese or multitude, & that he had no way to get out, climed vp vpō the dore, and there staying vpon the top of the doore, was forced to tary still▪ For to come downe into the Church agayne, he durst not for feare of the fire, and to leape downe toward the street he could not without daunger of falling. When he had taryed there a while, he aduised himself what to do: neither did occasion want to serue his purpose. For by chaunce, amongst them that gat out ouer mens heads, he saw a Monke comming towards him, which had a great wide Coule hanging at his backe. This the Boye thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the Monke came neare vnto him, the Boy which was in the toppe of the doore, came downe, and pretily conueyed himselfe into the Monkes Coule,* thinking (as it came to passe in deed) that if the Monke did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brieve, at the last the Monke gat out ouer mens heads, with the boy in his Coule, and for a great while felt no wayght or burden.

At the last, when he was somewhat more come to himselfe, and did shake his shoulders, •eling his Coule heuyer thē it was accustomed to be, & also hearing y^e voyce of one speaking behinde his Coule, he was more afrayd then he was before, when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed, that the euill spirit which had set the Church on fire, had flyen into his Coule. By and by he began to play the Exorcist: In the name of God (sayd he) and all sayntes, I commaund thee to declare what thou art that art behinde at my backe. To whom the boy aunswered: I am Bertrames boy, sayd he (for that was his name.) But I, sayd the monke, adiure thee in the name of the vnseparable trinity, that thou wicked spirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get thee hence. I am Bertrames boy, sayd he, good mayster let me go: and with that his Coule began with the wayt to cracke vppon hys shoulders. The monke when he perceiued the

matter, took the boy out and discharged his Coule. The boy tooke his legges and ranne away as fast as he could.

Among other, one wiser then the rest, ranne wyth the Church dore key, beating vpon the stone walles, thinking therewith to breake an hole thorough to escape out.

In the meane time those that were in the streate looking diligently about them, and perceyuing all thynges to be without feare, maruelled at this soddayne outrage, & made signes and tokēs to them that were in the church, to keepe themselues quyet, crying to them that there was no daunger.

But for so much as no word could be heard by reason of the noyse that was within the Churche, those signes made them much more afrayd then they were before, interpreting the matter, as though all had bene on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tary still within y^e church, and not to venter out. This trouble continued in this maner by the space of certayne houres.

The next day, and also all the weeke following there was an incredible number of bills set vp vpon the Church dores, to enquire for thinges that were lost, in such variety and number, as Domocritus might here agayne haue had iust cause to laugh. If any man haue foūd a payre of shoes yesterday in S. Mary Church, or knoweth any man that hath found them. &c. An other bill was set vp for a gowne that was lost. An other intreateth to haue his cappe restored. One lost his purse and gyrdle with certeyne mony: an other his sword. One enquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, an other for an other. To be short, there was few in this ga•boyle, but that either through negligence lost, or through obliuion left something behind him.

Thus haue you hitherto heard a tragicall story of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The description whereof although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the wor^thines of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we haue superficially set foorth some shadow therof, wherby the wise & discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing els be lacking in setting forth the full narration therof. As touching the heretick, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of thys hurly burly, therefore the next day folowing he was reclaimed into the Church of S. Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenary penance.

The 4. and 5. Mariage of K. Henry the 8.

THE same yeare and month next folowing, after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, which was an. 1541. [Page 1210](#) the king immediately was diuorced from the Lady Anne of Cleue. The cause of which seperation being whollye committed to the Clergy of the Conuocation,* it was by them defined, concluded, and graunted, that the kyng being freed frō that pretended matrimony (as they called it) might mary wher he would,* & so might she likewise: whō also consenting to the same diuorcement her selfe, by her owne letters, was after that taken no more for Queene, but onely called Lady Anne of Cleue. Whych thinges thus discussed by the Parliament and Conuocation house▪ the king thesame moneth was marryed to his fifte Wyfe▪ which was the

Lady Katherine Haward, Niece to the Duke of Northfolke, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Haward the Dukes brother. But this marryage likewise continued not long.

In the same moneth of August, and the same yeare, I finde moreouer in some records, beside the xxiiij. Chapter-house monks aboue recited, whom Cope doth sanctify for holy martyrs, for suffering in the Popes deuotion, against the kinges supremacy, other sixe which were also brought to Tiborne and there executed in the like case of rebellion. Of whom, the first was the Prior of Dancaster, the second a monk of the Charterhouse of Lōdō, called Giles Horne, some call him William Horne: the third one Tho. Epsam a Monke of Westminster, who had his Monkes garment pluckt from his backe, being the last monke in K. Henries dayes that did weare that monkish weede: the fourth one Philpot: the fift one Carewe: the sixt was a Fryer. See what a difficulty it is to plucke vp blind superstition once rooted in mans hart by a litle custome.

Now as touching the late maryage betwene the king and the Lady Haward ye heard how this matrimony endured not long: for in the yere next folowing 1542. the sayd Lady Katherine was accused to the king of incontinent liuing, not onely before her mariage with Fraūces Direham, but also of spousebreach sith her maryage, with Tho. Culpeper. For the which both the men aforesayd, by acte of Parliament were atteinted and executed for high treason, and also the sayd Lady Katherine late quene, with the Lady Iane Rochford widow, late Wyfe to George Boleyne Lord Rochford, brother to Queene Anne Boleyne, were beheaded for theyr desertes within the Tower. Ex Hallo & alijs.

After the death and punishment of this Lady his fifth wife, the king calling to remembraunce the wordes of the Lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old Counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the wayes of Winchester, beganne a litle to set his foote agayne in the cause of Religion. And although he euer bare a speciall fauor to Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury (as you shall heare more hereafter, God willing, in the lyfe of Cranmer) yet now the more he missed the Lord Cromwel the more he inclined to the Archbishop, & also to the right cause of Religion. And therefore in the same yeare and in the month of October, after the execution of this Queene, the king vnderstanding some abuses yet to remayne vnreformed, namely about pilgrimages and Idolatry, and other thinges moe besides to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters vnto the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy redresse and reformation of the same. The tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these wordes.

¶The kinges letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

*Right reuerend father in God, right trusty and welbeloued, we greet you well letting you to wit, that whereas hertofore vpon the zeale and remembraunce whiche we had to our bounden duety towardes almighty God, perceiuing sundry superstitions and abuses to be vsed and embraced by our people, wherby they grievously offended him and his word: we did not onely cause the Images and bones of such as they resorted and offered vnto, with the ornamentes of the same, and all such writings and monumentes of fayned myracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away, in all places of our Realme, but also by our Iniunctions commaunded, that no

offering or setting vp of lightes or candles should be suffered in any Church, but onely to the blessed Sacramentes of the aulter: it is lately come to our knoweledge, that this our good intent and purpose, notwithstandinge the shrines, coueringes of shrines, and monumentes of those thinges do yet remayne in sundry places of this Realme, muche to the sclander of our doinges, and to the greate displeasure of almighty God, the same being meanes to allure our subiectes to theyr former hipocrisye and superstition: and also that our Iniunctions be not kept as appertayneth. For the due and speedye reformation whereof, we haue thought meete, by these our letters, expressly to will and commaund you, that incontinent vpon the receite hereof▪ you shall not onely cause due search to be made in the Cathedrall Church for those thinges, and if any shrine couering of shrine, table, monument of myracles, or other pilgrimages, do th•e continue, to cause it to be so taken awaye, as there remayne no memory of it, but also that you shall take order with all the Curates, and other hauing charge within your Dioces, to doe the semblable, and to see that our Iniunctions be duely kept, as apperteyneth without fayling, as we trust you▪ and as you will aunswere for the contrary.

Geu•n vnder our Signet at our towne of Hull▪ the fourth day of October in the 33: yeare of our raigne.

Furthermore, the next yeare after this ensuing, which was 1543. in the moneth of February, followed an other Proclamation geuen out by the kinges authority, wherein the Popes Lawe forbidding white meates to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meates set at liberty, for the behoofe of the kinges subiectes. The copy of which Proclamation I thought here good also to be remembred.

¶A Proclamation concerning eating of white meates made the 9. of February, the 34. yeare of the reigne of the kinges most Royall maiesty.

FOr as much as by diuers and sundrye occasions, as well Heringes, Linges, Saltfish, Samond, Stockefish,* as other kindes of fishe bene this yeare scant, and also enhaunced in prices aboue the olde rate and common estimation of theyr valour, so that if the kinges louing subiectes should be enforced onely to buy and prouide Hering and other salt store of fish,* for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maynteynaunce of theyr householdes and families all this holye time of Lent, according as they haue bene wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other conuenient meanes relieued therein, the same might and should vndoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detrimēt: and for so much as his highnes considereth howe this kinde and maner of fasting, (that is to say) to absteyne from mylke, butter egges, cheese, and other white meates, is but a meere positiue Law of the Church, and vsed by a custome within this Realme, and of none other force or necessitie, but the same may be vpon considerations and groundes altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the publicke authoritye of kinges and princes, when so euer they shall perceiue the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The kinges highnesse therefore most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commoditie of his people, hath thought good for the consideratiōs oboue rehearsed, to release and dispense with the sayd law and custome of absteyning from white meates this holy time of Lent, and of his especiall grace and mere motion geueth and graunteth vnto all and singuler his subiectes within this his Realme of Englande, Wales, Callis, Cuisnes, & Hammes, and in all other his graces dominions, free liberty faculty and licence to eat all maner of white meates, as

milke, Egges, butter, Cheese and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any Law, Constitution, vse, or custome to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherein neuerthelesse his highnesse exhorteth, and in the name of God requireth all suche his faythfull subiectes, as may, will, or shall enioy this his sayde graunt or faculty, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtfull thereof, •or abuse or turne the same into a fleshly or carnall liberty, bu• rather endeuour themselues to theyr possible powers, with this libertye of eating of white meates, to obserue also that fast which God most specially requireth of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the deuill, with all theyr pompes and workes, and also to subdue and repress the carnall affections & the corrupt works of the flesh, according to theyr vow and profession made at the Font stone, for in these poyntes specially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian man: thus to endure and cōtinue from yeare to yeare, till the kinges highnesse pleasure shall by his maiestyes proclamation be published to the contrary.

The trouble and persecution of foure windsore men, Robert Testwood, Henry, Filmer, Anthony Person, apd Iohn Marbecke, persecuted for righteousnesse sake, and for the Gospell.

COMming nowe to the Storye and tyme of the foure Windsore men troubled and persecuted for the true testimony of Gods word,* whereof three were martyred and sacrificed in fire, the fourth (which was Marbecke) had his pardon: first I haue to sh•w the original of their troubles in seuerall partes: secondly the maner and order of theyr death, as they suffered together, which was, an. 1544. thirdly to answere partly in purgation of my selfe, against certayne clatterers, which haue hitherto taken theyr pleasure [Page 1211](#) in railing against my former edition of Acts and monuments, for mistaking y^e name of Marbecke, whō in one place I reported to haue ben burned, albeit in the ende of the story, correcting my selfe agayne, I declare hym not to haue bene burned. Wherefore to stoppe the brawlyng mouthes of such quarellers, I thought here to set forth the ful narration, both of the said Marbecke, and of his fellows, in truth as I trust none of them shal haue iust cause to quarel thereat.

The originall of Testwoods trouble.

Persecuters.	Persecuted.	The Causes.
• M. Ely. Symons, a Lawyer. • D. London St. Gardiner B. of Winchester. • Wrisley. Southarne Treasurer of Exceter. • D. Bruerwood, Chauncellor of	• Rob. Testwood. • Henry Filmer. • Anthony Person. • Iohn Marbecke. • Rob. Benet. • Sir Phillip Hobby, his wife. • Sir Tho. Cardine his	*IN the yere of our Lord, 1544. there was one Robert Testwood dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in Musicke had so great a name, that the Musitions in Windsore colledge, thought hym a woorthye man to haue a rouse among them. Whereupon they informed D. Sampson (beeyng then their Deane) of him. But for so much as some of the Canons at that tyme hadde heard of Testwood, howe that he smelled of the newe learning (as they called it) it would not be consented vnto at the first.

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------|
| Exeter. | wyfe. | |
| • M. Knight,
Winchesters
Gentleman. | • M. Edmūd
Harman. | |
| • D. Oking. | • M. Thom.
Weldone. | |
| • D. Capon B. of
Sarū. | • Snobal his wife
of the kings
chāber. | |
| • Sir Wil. Essex
knight. | • D. Heynes
Deane of
Exeter. | |
| • Sir Tho. Bridges
knight. | | At Windsore. |
| • Sir Humfrey
Foster knight. | | |
| • M. Franken
Deane of
Windsor. | | Ann. 1544. |
| • M. Fachel of
Reding. | | |
| • Bucler the
kings
Attorney.* | | |
| • Filmers
brother. | | |
| • Hyde, a Iurate
dwelling beside
Abington. | | |
| • Rob. Ockam, a
Lawyer. | | |

Notwithstanding, with often sute of the foresayd Musitions made to one Doctor Tare (who beyng halfe a Musition himselfe, bare a great stroke in such matters) a rounge beyng voyd, Testwoode was sent for to bee heard. And beyng there foure or fiue dayes among the quier men, he was so well lyked both for hys voyce and cunningg, that he was admitted, and after settled in Windsore, wyth hys houshold, and had in good estimation wyth the Deane and canons a great while. But when they had perceyued him by hys often talke at theyr tables (for he could not well dissemble his religion) that he leaned to Luthers sect, they began to mislike him. And so passing forth amōg them it was his chaunce one day to bee at dinner with one of the Canons, named D. Rawson. At the which dinner amongst all other, was one of Kyng Edwardes 4. Chauntrie priests, named M. Ely, an old Bachelor of Diuinitie. Which Ely in his talke at the boord, began to raile against lay men, which took vpon them to mell with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English tongue) then they which had bene students in the Uniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge all the dayes of their lyues.* Then Testwood perceiuing he ment that by him, could forbear his railyng no longer, but said: M. Ely, by your pacience I thinke it be no hurt for lay men, as I am, to read and to know the scriptures.

Which of you (quoth Ely) that be vnlearned, knoweth them, or vnderstandeth them? S. Paul saith: If thine enemy hunger, feed him: if he thirst, geue hym drinke, and in so doynge, thou shalt heape coales of fire vpon hys head. Now sir (quoth Elye) what meaneth Sainte Paule by these coales of fire? Marry sir (quoth Testwoode) hee meaneth nothing els by them (as I haue learned) but burning charitie, that with doynge good to our enemies, wee shoulde therby win them. A sirah, quoth he, you are an old scholer in deed.

After this, they fell into further communication of the Pope, whose supremacy was much spokē of at that tyme, but not knowen to be so farre in question in the parliamēt house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the Pope ought to be head of the church or no. Agaynst the which,* Testwoode durst not saye hys full mynd, but reasoned within his boūds a great while. But when they were both well stricken in an heate, Testwoode forgetting himselfe, chaunced to say, that euery king in his own realme & dominion, ought to be the hed of the church vnder Christ▪ At the which words Ely was so chafed, that he rose vp from the table in a

great fume, calling him heretike, and all that nought was, and so went brawling & chiding away, to the great disquieting of al the company that weee there. Then was Testwood very sory to see the olde man take it so greuously. Wherupon after dinner he went and sought M. Ely, and found him walking in the bodye of the church, thinking to haue talked with him charitably, & so to haue bene at one againe: but euer as Testwood preased towardes him, the other shunned him, and would not come ni• him, but spit at him, saieng to other that walked by: beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretike and schismatike, that euer came in Windsore.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that Elye had made his complaint to the Deanes deputie, and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely at the Deanes comming home (if all thynges had chaunced euen) to haue put hym to hys trumpe. But see the fortune. It was not twelue dayes after, •re that the kings supremacie passed in the Parliament house Whereupon the Deane (D. Sampson) came home sodainly in the night late,* and forthwithall sent his Uerger about to all the Canons and ministers of the colledge, from the highest to the lowest, commaunding them to be in the Chapter house by eight of the clocke in the mornynge. Then Ely cōsulted with the Canons ouer night (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to haue put Testwood to a great plunge. But he that layeth a snare for another man (sayth Salomon) shall be taken in it himselfe. And so was Elye. For when the Deane and euery man were come and placed in the Chapter house, and that the Deane had commended the ministers of the Church for their diligence in tendyng the Quire, exhortyng them also to continue in the same: he began (contrary to euery mans expectation) to inuey agaynst the Bishop of Romes supremacie and vsurped authoritie, confoundyng the same by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a woonder to heare: and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the Parliament house, the Popes supremacie was vtterly abolished out of this Realme of England for euer, and so commanded euery man there, vpon his allegiance, to call hym Pope no more, but bishop of Rome, & whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintaine or fauour his cause by any manner of meanes, he should not only loose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an vtter enemy to God and to the king. The Canons hearing this, were all stricken in a dumpe. Yet notwithstanding Elies hart was so great, y^t he would faine haue vttred his cankerd stomack agaynst Testwood:* but the Deane (breaking his tale) called him old foole, and tooke him vp so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the Deane commanded all the popes pardōs which hanged about the Church to be brought into the Chapterhouse, and cast into the chimney, and burnt before all their faces, and so departed.

Another cause of Testwoods trouble.

AS it chanced Testwood one day to walke in the church at after noone,* & beheld the pilgrimes (specially of Deuonshire & Cornwall) how they came in by plumpes with candles & images of waxe in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windsore (as they called hym) it pitied hys hart to see so great idolatry committed,* & how vainly the people had spent their goods in comming so farre to kisse a spur, & to haue an old hat set vpon their heds. In so much, that he could not refraine, but (seing a certaine company which had done their offering stand gasing about y^e church) went vnto them, & with al gentlenes began to exhort them to leaue such fals worshipping of dombe creatures, and to learne to worship the true liuing God aright, putting thē in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, & how God many times had

plagued his people for running a whoring to such stocks & stones, & so would plage them and their posteritie if they would not leaue it.

[Page 1212](#)After this sort he admonished them so long, till at the last, his words (as God would) tooke such place in some of them,* that they said, they would neuer goe a pilgrimage more. Then he went further, & found another sort licking & kissing a white Lady made of Alabaster, which Image was mortrest in a wall behind the hie altar, and bordred about with a prety border, which was made like branches with hanging apples & floures. And when he sawe them so superstitiously vse the Image (as to wipe their handes vpon it, & then to stroke them ouer their hands & faces, as though there had ben great vertue in touching y^e picture) he vp with his hand in the which he had a key, and smote a peece of the border about the image, downe, and with the glaunce of the stroke chanced to breake of the images nose.* Lo, good people, quoth he, ye see what it is, nothyng but earth & dust, and cannot helpe it selfe, & how will you then haue it to helpe you? For Gods sake brethren, be no more deceyued: and so he gate him home to his house, for the rumor was so great, that many came to see the Image, how it was defaced. And among all other came one Williā Symons (a Lawyer) who seyng the image so berayed, and to lacke her nose,* tooke the matter greuously, & looking down vpon the pauement, he spied the images nose where it lay, which he tooke vp and put in his purse, saying, it should be a deare nose to Testwood one day.

Now were many offended with Testwood, the canons for speaking against their profit, the waxe sellers for hyndring their market, & Symons for the Images nose. And more then that, there were of the canons men that threatned to kill him. Whereupon Testwood kept his house, and durst not come forth, minding to haue sent the whole matter in writing by his wife, to M. Cromwell the kings secretary who was his special frend. The Canons hearyng that Testwood would send to Cromwel, they send y^e Uerger vnto him, to will him to come to the church: who sent them word agayne, that he was in feare of his lyfe, & therfore would not come. Then sent they two of y^e eldest Peticanons to entreat him, & to assure him that no man should do him harme. He made them a plaine answer, that he had no such trust to their promises, but would complain to his frendes.* Then wist they not what shift to make (for of all men they feared Cromwel) but sent in post hast for old M. Ward, a iustice of peace dwelling 3. or 4. myles of, who being come & hearing the matter, was very loth to meddle in it.* But notwithstanding, through their entreaty he wēt to Testwood & had much ado to perswade him, but at the last, he did so faithfully promise him by the oth he had made to God & the king, to defend him from all daungers and harmes, that Testwood was content to go with him.

And when M. Ward and Testwood were come into the Church, and were goyng toward the Chapter house, where the Canons abode their commyng,* one of the Canons men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would haue bene vpon him, but M. Ward with his men resisted, and gat Testwood into the Chapter house, causing the seruing men to be called in, and sharply rebuked of their maisters, who straitly commanded them vpon paine of loosing their seruice, & further displeasure, not to touch him nor to geue him an euill worde. Nowe Testwood being alone, in the Chapter house with the Canons and M. Ward was gētly intreated, & the matter so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his duety as he had done before.

An other cause of Testwoods trouble.

*Vpon a Relique sonday (as they named it) when euery Minister after their olde custome should haue borne a relique in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood. Which relique (as they said) was a Ratchet of bishop Becketts. And as the Sexten would haue put the Ratchet in Testwoods hands, he pushed it from hym, sayeng, if he did geue it to him, he would wipe his taile withall, & so the Ratchet was geuen to another. Then came the Uerger down from the hie altar with S. Georges dagger in his hand, demāding who lacked a relique. Mary (quoth Testwood geue it to M. Hake (who stood next him) for hee is a prety man of his hands, & so the dagger was geuē vnto him. Now Testwood perceiuing the dagger in maister Hakes hand, and being merily disposed (as he was a mery conceited man) stepped forth out of his place to D. Clifton standing directly before him in the midst of the quire, with a glorious golden Cope vpon his backe, hauing the Pixe in his hand, and said: Sir, M. Hake hath Saint Georges dagger. Now if he had his horse, and S. Martins cloke, and maister Iohn Shornes bootes, with king Henries spurres, and his hat, he might ride when he would, and so stepped into his place againe. Whereat the other chaunged colour, and wist not what to say.

Another cause of Testwoods trouble.

IN the dayes of M. Franklen, who succeeded D. Sampson in the Deanry of Windsore,* there was on a tyme set vp at the Quire dore, a certaine foolishe printed paper in Meter, all to the prayse and commendation of our Ladye, ascribing vnto her our iustification, our saluation,* our redemption, the forgeuenes of sinnes, &c. to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the Canons called M. Magnus (as it was reported) caused to be set vp in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood sawe this paper, he pluckt it downe secretly. The next day after was another set vp in the same place. Then Testwood cōming into the Church, and seyng another paper set vp, and also the Deane commyng a little way of, made haste to be in at the Quire dore, while the Deane stayd to take holy water, and reaching vp his hand as he went, pluckt away y^t paper with hym. The Deane beyng come to hys stall,* called Testwood vnto him, and sayd, that he maruelled greatlye how he durst be so bolde to take downe the paper in hys presence? Testwood aunswered agayne, that he maruelled much more, that his maistership would suffer suche a blasphemous paper to be set vp, beseeching hym not to be offended with that he had done, for he woulde stand vnto it. So M. Deane being a timerous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no mo papers set vp, but poore Testwood was eaten and drunken among them at euery meale, and an heretike he was, and would rost a fagot for this geare one day.

Now maister Magnus being sore offended with Testwood for pluckyng downe his papers,* to be reuenged on him, deuised with the Deane and the rest of the Canons, to send their letters to D. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the Kings Phisition, who lay (for the most part) at the Court, to see what he would do against Testwood. Which letters being made, were sent with speede. But whatsoeuer the cause was,* whether he durst not meddle for feare of Cromwell, or what els I cannot tell, their suite came to none effect. Then wyst they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleepe, till S. Georges feast, whiche was not farre of.

Now in the meane tyme there chaunced a prety storye, betweene one Robert Phillips Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and Testwood. Which story, though it was but a mery pranke of a singing man, yet it greeued his aduersary wonderfully. The matter was this. Robert Phillips was so notable a singing man (wherein he gloried) that wheresoeuer he came, the best and longest song,

with most counteruurses in it, shuld be set vp at his commyng.* And so his chaunce beyng now to be at Windsore, agaynst hys comming to the Antheme, a long song was set vp, called Lauda viui. In which song there was one counteruurse toward the end, that began on this wise, O redemptrix & saluatrix. Which verse of all other, Robert Phillips woulde sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that dittie. Now Testwood knowing his mynd well enough, ioyned with him at the other part:* and when he heard Robert Phillips begin to fetch his flourish with O redemptrix & saluatrix: repeating the same one in anothers neck. Testwood was as quicke on the other side to answer hym agayne with Non redemptrix, nec saluatrix, and so striuyng there with O and Non, who should haue the maistrie, they made an ende of the verse. Whereat was good laughyng in sleeues of some, but Robert Phillips with other of Testwoods enimies were sore offended.

Within 14. dayes after this, the Lordes of the Garter (as their custome is yearly to doe) came to Wyndsore to keepe S. Georges feast: at which feast the Duke of Norfolke was President:* vnto whom the Deane and canons made a greeuous complaint on Testwood. Who being called before the Duke, he shooke hym vp and all to reuiled hym, as though he would haue sent him to hangyng by & by. Yet neuerthelesse Testwood so behaued himselfe to the Duke, that in the ende he let hym go without any further molestyng of hym, to the great discomfort of the Deane and Canons.

Here haue ye heard the causes which moued Testwoods enemies to seeke his destruction, and coulde not attayne their purpose, till that wicked Aman D. London came, as shall be shewed in the processe followyng.

The originall of Henry Filmers trouble.

ABout the yeare of our Lord, 1541. after all the orders of superstitious and beggyng Friers were suppressed and put downe, there chaunced one Sir Thomas Melster, [Page 1213](#) which had bene a Frier before,* and changed his Friers coat (but not his Friers hart) to be Uicare of Wyndsore. This priest on a tyme made a Sermon to his Parishioners, in the which he declared so many fond and Frierish tales,* as that our Lady should hold out her brests to S. Bernard, and spout her milke into his eyes, with such like festiuall tales, that many honest men were offended therwith, and specially this Henry Filmer then one of the Church wardens:* who was so zelous to gods word, that he could not abide to heare the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he tooke an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the ende the Priest gaue him hartie thanks, and was content at hys gentle admonition, to reforme himselfe without any more ado, and so departed frendly the one from the other.

Now was there one in the towne, called W. Symons a Lawyer (as is aforesayd) who hearyng that Filmer had bene with the Priest, and reprobued him for his Sermon, tooke pepper in the nose, and gat him to the Uicar, and did so animate him in his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mynd of Symons: who meeting with Filmer afterward all to reuiled him,* saying he would bring him before the bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had bene suppressed, stood against Symons, and said, that the Uicar had preached false and vnsound doctrine, and so

would he say to the Bishop whensoever he came before hym. Then Symons slipt not the matter, but went to the Mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signed with their own hands in the priests fauour,* as much as could be deuised, and so prepared himselfe with other his frendes to go to the bishop (whose name was D. Capon) and to take the priest with them: which was a paynfull iourney for the sely poore man, by reason he had a sore leg.

Now Filmer hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foile, consulted with his frends what was best to do: who concluded to draw out certain notes of the vicars Sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at Salisbury as soone as Symons or before hym, if it might bee possible. Thus both the parties being in a readines, it chanced thē to set forth of Windsore all in one day. But by reason the Priest (beyng an impotent man) could not endure to ride very fast, Filmer and his company gate to the towne an houre and more before Symons, and went to the Bishop and deliuered vp their Bill vnto hym. Which Byll when the bishop had sene and perused well,* he gaue them great thanks for their paines, saying it did behooue him to looke vpon it, for the Priest had preached heresie, and should bee punished.

Then Filmer declared vnto the Bishop, the fourme of his talke he had with the Priest, and the ende thereof: and how the matter being renued agayne by Symons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordship therewith. Well, said the bishop, ye haue done like honest men. Come to me soone againe, and ye shal know more, and so they departed from the Bishop to their Inne. And while they were there reposing themselves,* Symons with his company came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) gate them vp to the bishop in all post haste, takyng the priest with them.

The bishop hearing of mo Windsore men, demaunded what they were, & being informed how it was the vicar of the towne with other moe,* he caused y^e vicar to be brought in. To whom he said: Are you the vicar of Windsore? Yea forsooth my Lord, quoth he. How chaunceth it quoth y^e B. that you are complained on? for here hath bene with mee certaine honest men of your towne, which haue deliuered vp a bill of erroneous doctrine against you. If it be so, I must nedes punish you, & opening the bill he red it vnto him. How say you quoth the B. is this true or no? The vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himselfe to the bishops correction. Then was his company called in, and when the B. saw Symons, he knew him well, and said: Wherefore come you M. Symons?* Pleaseth it your Lordship (quoth he) we are come to speake in our vicars cause, which is a man of good conuersation & honestie, and doth his dutie so well in euery poynt, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we haue in our towne called Filmer, which is so corrupt with heresie, that he is able to poison a whole countrey: and truely my Lord (quoth Symons) there is no man y^t can preach or teach any thyng that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to say it is starke nought. Wherefore we shal besech your lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of other, that our vicar may do his dutie quietly, as he hath done before this busie fellow troubled him. And that your Lordship shall the better credite my saiengs, I haue broght with me these honest men of the towne, and beside all that, a testimoniall from the Mayor and his brethren to confirme the same, & so he held out the writing in his hand.

Then said the B. So God helpe me M. Symons ye are greatly to blame,* and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently goe about to maintayne your priest in his error,

which hath preached heresie, & hath confessed it: wherefore I may not nor will not see it vnpunished. And as for that honest mā Filmer on whō ye haue complained, I tel you plainly he hath in this point shewed himself a great deale more honest man thē you. But in hope you will no more beare out your vicar in his euill doings, I will remit all things at this tyme: sauynge that he shall the next Sondag recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsore Church.* & so the B. called in Filmer and his company which waited without, & deliuered the priests recantation vnto them, with a great charge to see it truely obserued in all poyntes. Then Symons tooke his leaue of the B. and departed with a flea in his eare, disappointed of his purpose,* & sore ashamed of the foile. For this cause Symons could neuer brooke Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold vp his finger (as his maner was where he ought displeasure) and say: I will be euen with you one day, trust me.

The originall of Anthony Persons trouble.

There was a certain priest named Anth. Person, which frequented much to Windsore, about the yeare of our Lord,* 1540. and vsing the talent that God had giuen hym in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the towne (specially Symons) were sore offended.* In so much that Symons at the last begā to gather of his sermons, & to marke his auditors: whereof ensued the death of diuers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a yeare & more after, a minister of Satan called D. London, Warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of Windsore, who at his first comming to Windsore, began to vtter his stomacke, & to shew his affection. For at his first Residēce diner which he made to the clerkes (which company for the most parte at that time fauoured the Gospell) all his whole talke to two Gentlemen strangers at his boord (till the table was a taking vp) was nothing els but of heretikes, and what a desolation they would bring the realm vnto,* if they might be so suffered. And by S. Mary masters (quoth he to the clerkes at the last) I cannot tel, but there goeth a shrewde report abroad of this house. Some made aunswer, it was vnderdeserued. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a stranger & haue small experience amōg you: but I haue heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither haue prayer nor fasting.

Then spake Testwood:* By my troth sir (quoth he) I thinke that was spoken but of malice, for prayer (as your mastership knoweth better then I) is one of the first lessōs that Christ taught vs. Yea mary sir, quoth he, but the heretikes will haue no inuocation to saints, which all the olde fathers do allow. What the olde fathers do allowe,* quoth Testwood, I cannot tel, but Christ doth appoint vs to goe to his father, and to aske our petitions of him in Christes name. Then you will haue no meane betwene you & god, quoth D. London. Yes sir, quoth Testwood, our mean is Christ, as S. Paul saith: There is one Mediator betwene god and man, euen Iesus Christ. Geue vs water quoth D. Londō. Which being set on the boorde, he said grace and washed, & so falling into other communication with the straungers, the clerkes tooke their leaue and departed.

When D. London had ben in Windsore a while among his catholike brethren, & learned what Testwood was,* & also of Symons, who shewed him our Ladies nose (as he called it) what a sort of heretikes were in the towne and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty priest, called Anth. Person, he was so maliciously bent against thē, that he gaue himselfe

wholy to the deuill to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired w^t the foresaid Symōs (a meet clerk to serue such a curate) and other of like sore, how they might cōpasse the matter, first to haue all the Archheretikes (as they termed thē) in Windsore & thereabout, indicted of heresie,* and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to worke vpon, (as they thought) which was the sixe articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First they drew out certaine notes of Antho. Persons sermons, whiche he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, & their popish [Page 1214](#) Masse.* That done, they put in sir Phillip Hobby with the good Lady his wife, sir Thomas Cardine, M. Edmund Harman, M. Tho. Weldon, with Snowbal and his wife, as chiefe aiders, helpers, & mainteiners of Anth. Person. Also they noted D. Haines Deane of Exceter and a Prebendary of Windsore, to be a common receiuer of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as cōmonly haunted Anthony Persons sermons, & of all such as had the Testament, and faoured the Gospell, or dyd but smell thereof.

Then had they priuy spies to walke vp and down the Church, to harken and heare what men said, and to marke who did not reuerence the sacrament at the leuation tyme, and to bring his name to D. London. And of these spies some were Chantrie priests: among the which there was one notable spie, whose name was called sir Will. Bowes such a fleering priest as would be in euery corner of the Church pattering to himselfe, with his Portuous in hys hand, to heare and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus whē they had gathered as much as they could,* and made a perfect booke thereof, D. London with two of his catholike brethren moe, gaue them vp to the B. of Winchester Steuen Gardiner, with a great complaynt against the heretikes that were in Windsor, declaring vnto him how the towne was sore disquieted through theyr doctrine and euill example.* Wherefore they besought hys lordships helpe, in purging the towne and castle of suche wicked persons. The B. hearing their complaynt, and seying their booke, praised their doings, and bade them make frends and go forward,* and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nayle, sparing for no money nor paynes taking: as Marbecke saith that he himselfe heard one of them say, who was a great doer therin, and afterward sorry for that he had done, that the sute therof cost him that yeare for his part only an hūdred markes,* beside the death of iij. good geldings.

Now B. Gardiner, which had conceiued a further fetch in his brayne then D. London had, made Wrisley & other of the Counsaile on his side, and spieng a tyme conueniēt, went to the king, complainyng what a sort of heretiques his grace had in his Realme, and how they were not only crept into euery corner of his court,* but euen into his priuie chamber, beseching therfore his maiesty, that his laws might be prosecuted: the king geuing credite to the counsaile words, was content his lawes should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the B. that he desired, & forthwith procured a commission for a priuy search to bee had in Windsore for bookes and letters that Anth. Person should send abroad,* which commission the king granted to take place in the towne of Windsore, but not in the castle.

At this time the canons of Excester (specially Sutharn, Treasurer of the church, and D. Brurewood the Chancellor) had accused D. Haynes their Deane, to the counsell, for preaching agaynst holy bread and holy water, and that he should say in one of his Sermons (hauing occasion to speake of Matrimony) that mariage and hangyng were destinie:* vpon the which they gathered treason agaynst hym, because of the kings mariage. The B. of Winchester (at the same

tyme) had also enformed the counsaile of M. Hobby, how he was a bearer of Anthony Person, and a great mainteyner of heretikes. Whereupon both he and D. Heynes were apprehended and sent to the fleete. But it was not very long after, ere that by mediation of frends, they were both deliuered.*

Nowe, as touching the Commission for searchyng of bookes, M. Warde and Fachel of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsore the Thursday before Palme sonday, in the yeare of our Lord, 1543. and began their search about xi. of the clocke at night. In the which search were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, Iohn Marbecke, and Robert Testwood, for certaine bookes and writings found in their houses agaynst the vj. articles, and kept in ward til monday after, and thē fet vp to the Counsaile all saue Testwood, with whom the Bailifs of the towne were charged, because he lay sore diseased on the Goute. The other three being examined before the Counsaile, were committed to prison, Filmer and Bennet to the bishop of Londons Gaole, and Marbecke to the Marshalsey: whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodnes of the Counsaile, and the crueltie of the bishop.

The first examination of Iohn Marbecke, before the Counsaile, on the Monday after Palme Sonday. 1544.

THIS Marbecke had begun a great woorke in English, called The Concordaunce of the Bible. Which booke being not halfe finished, was among his other bookes taken in the search, and had vp to the Counsaile.* And when he came before them to be examined, the whole worke laye before the bishop of Winchester Steuen Gardiner, at the vpper end of the boord. Who beholding the poore man a while▪ sayd: Marbecke, doest thou knowe wherefore thou art sent for? No, my Lord quoth he. No, quoth the Byshop.* That is a meruailous thing. Forsooth my Lord quoth he, vnles it be for a certaine search made of late in Windsore. I cannot tell wherefore it should be. Then thou knowest the matter well enough quoth the Bishop, and takyng vp a quire of the Concordance in his hand, sayd: Understandest thou the Latine tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but simply. No, quoth the Bishop? And with that spake M. Wrisley (then secretary to the king) he saith but simply, I cannot tell quoth the B. but the booke is translated worde for word out of the Latin Concordaunce, and so began to declare to the rest of the Counsaile,* the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers, concluding with this reason, that if such a booke should goe foorth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another booke, which was the booke of Esay the prophet,* and turnyng to the last chap. gaue the booke to Marbecke, and asked hym who had written the note in the margent. The other looking vpon it, said: forsooth my Lord, I wrote it. Read it quoth the B. Then he read it thus, Heauen is my seate, and the earth is my footestoolle. Nay, quoth the B. read it as thou hadst written it. Then shall I read it wrong quoth he, for I had written it false. How hadst thou written it, quoth y^e bishop? I had written it quoth he, thus: Heauen is my seat and the earth is not my footestoolle. Yea mary quoth the Bishop, that was thy meanyng. No, my Lord quoth he, it was but an ouersight in writyng, for as your Lordshippe seeth, this worde (Not) is blotted out. At this tyme came other matters into the Counsaile, so that Marbecke was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there a while, one of the Counsaile (named sir Anthony Wingfield Captaine of the Garde) came foorth, and callyng for Marbecke, committed him to one Belson of the gard, saying vnto him on this wise: Take this man and haue him to the Marshalsey,* and tell the

keeper that it is the Counsailes pleasure that he shall entreat him gently. And if hee haue any mony in his purse (as I think he hath not much) take you it from him, left the prisoners do take it, and minister it vnto him as he shall haue need. And so the messenger departed with Marbecke to the Marshalsey, and dyd his commission most faithfully and truly, both to the keper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

The second examination of Marbecke, before the Bishops Gentleman in the Marshalsey.

ON the next day (which was Tuesday) by 8. of the clock in the morning,* there came one of the B. of Winchesters Gentlemen into the Marshalsey, whose mā brought after him two great books vnder his arme, & finding Marbecke walking vp and downe in the Chappell, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. I had no such cōmaundement quoth he: for the messenger, which brought hym yesternight from the Counsaile, sayd: It was theyr pleasure he should he gētly vsed. My Lord quoth the gentleman will not be content with you, and so takyng the bookes of his man, called for a chamber,* vp to the which he caried the prisoner, and casting the bookes from him vpon a bed, sate him downe and said: Marbecke, my Lord doth fauour thee well for certaine good qualities thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed least thou cast away thy selfe wilfully. If thou wylt be plaine, thou shalt doe thy selfe much good: if not, thou shalt do thy selfe much harme. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, for as much as he hath alwayes hearde good report of thee: wherfore now see to thy selfe, and play the wise man.* Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretikes (as Hobby and Heynes, with other mo) & knowest much of their secrets: if thou wilt nowe open them at my Lords request, he will procure thy deliuerance out of hand, and preferre thee to better liuing.

Alas sir, quoth he, what secretes doe I knowe? I am but a poore man, and was neuer worthy to be so conuersant eyther with M. Hobby, or M. Heynes, to know any part of their myndes. Wel, quoth the Gentleman, make it not so strange, for my lord doth know wel inough in what estimation they had both thee and Anth. Person, for your religion. Of Anth. Person, quoth he, I can say nothyng, for I neuer saw him with them in all my lyfe. And as for my selfe, I can not denye, but that they haue alwayes (I [Page 1215](#) thanke them) taken me for an honest poore man, and shewed me much kindnes: but as for their secrets, they were to wise to commit them to any such as I am.

Peraduenture quoth the Gentleman, thou fearest to vtter any thing of them,* because they were thy frends, lest they hearing therof, might hereafter withdraw their frendship from thee, which thou nedeest not to feare, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and neuer like to pleasure thee more, ner no man els.

With that the water stooode in Marbeckes eyes. Why weepest thou quoth the Gentleman? Oh sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me, these men haue done me good, wherfore I beseech the liuing God to comfort them as I would be comforted my selfe.

Well quoth the Gentleman, I perceiue thou wilt play the foole: and then he opened one of the bookes, and asked him if he vnderstood any Latine. But a little sir, quoth he. How is it then, quoth the gentleman, that thou hast translated thy booke out of the latin Concordance, & yet vnderstandest not the tongue? I will tell you quoth he. In my youth I learned the principles of my

Grammar, wherby I haue some vnderstāding therin, though it be very smal. Then the gentleman began to try him in the latin Concor'dance & English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, & was satisfied, he called vp his man to fet away the bookes, & so departed, leauing Marbecke alone in the chamber, the dore fast shut vnto him.

About two houres after, the Gentleman came againe, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand,* & sate him down vpon the beds side (as before) & sayd: by my troth Marbecke, my lord seeth so much wilfulnes in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last w^t Haynes? Forsooth, quoth he, about a three weekes agoe, I was at dinner with him. And what talke, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his boord? I cā not tel now, quoth he. No, quoth y^e gentleman, thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thyng in so short space. Yes sir, quoth he, such familiar talk as mē do vse at their boordes, is most commonly by the next day forgotten,* and so it was with me. Didst thou neuer, quoth the Gentleman talke with him, nor with none of thy fellowes, of the Masse, or of the blessed Sacrament? No, forsooth, quoth he. Now forsooth, quoth the Gentleman, thou liest, for thou hast bene sene to talke with Testwood, and other of thy fellowes, an houre together in the church, whē honest men haue walked vp and downe beside you, & as euer they haue drawen neare you, ye haue staid your talk till they haue bene past you, because they should not heare wherof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I haue talked with Testwood and other of my felowes, I cannot tel how oft, which maketh not that we talked eyther of the Masse, or of the sacrament: for men may common & talke of many matters, that they would not y^t euery man should heare, and yet far from any such thyng: therefore it is good to iudge the best. Well quoth the Gentleman, thou must be playner with my Lord then this, or els it wyll bee wrong with thee, and that sooner then thou weenest. How playne will his Lordship haue me to be Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe consciēce, but I am ready to do it at his Lordships pleasure. What tellest thou me quoth the gentleman of thy consciēce? Thou maist with a sate conscience vtter those that be heretikes, and so doying thou canst do God and the king no greater seruice. If I knew sir, quoth he, who were an heretike in deede, it were a thing:* but if I should accuse him to be an heretike that is none, what a worme would that be in my consciēce so long as I liued: yea it were a great deale better for me to be out of this lyfe, then to lyue in such torment. In faith quoth the Gentleman, thou knowst as well who be heretikes of thy fellowes at home, and who be none, as I doo know this paper to be in my hand: but it maketh no matter, for they shall al be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not vtter and tell of thee all that they can? yes I warrant thee. And what a folish dolt art thou, that wilt not vtter aforehand what they be, seeyng it standeth vpon thy deliuerance to tell the truth? Whatsoeuer quoth he, they shall say of me, let thē doe it in the name of God,* for I will say no more of thē, nor of no man els, then I know. Mary quoth the Gentleman if thou wilt doe so, my L. requireth no more. And for as much as now peraduenture, thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things euen by & by to remembrance, I haue brought thee inke & paper, that thou mayest excogitate with thy selfe, & write such things as shal come to thy mynd.* O lord, quoth Marbecke, what will my L. do? Will his lordship compell me to accuse men, and wot not whereof? No, quoth the Gentleman, my L. compelleth thee not, but gently entreated thee to say the truth. Therefore make no more adoe, but write, for my Lord will haue it so, and so layd downe the ynke and paper and went his way.

Now was Marbecke so full of heauines and wo, that he wyst not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the booke to satisfie the Byshops mynd,* vnlesse he did accuse men to the woundyng of

his owne soule. And thus beyng compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cryed out to God in his hart, fallyng downe with weping tears and sayd:

O most mercifull father of heauen, thou that knowest the secret doyngs of all men,*haue mercy vppon thy poore prisoner which is destitute of all helpe and comfort. Assist me (O Lorde) with thy speciall grace, that to saue this frayle and vile bodye, which shall turne to corruption at his tyme, I haue no power to say or to write any thing, that may be to the casting awaye of my christen brother: but rather (O Lord) let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most mercifull father, for thy deare sonne Iesus Christes sake.

Then he rose vp and beganne to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these wordes: Where as your Lordship will haue me write such thyngs as I knowe of my fellowes at home:* pleaseth it your lordship to vnderstand, that I cannot call to remembraunce any maner of thing whereby I might iustly accuse any one of them, vnlesse it be that the readyng of the new testament (which is common to all men) be an offence: more thē this I know not.

Now the Gentleman about his houre appointed, came agayne, and found Marbecke walking vp and downe the chamber. How now, quoth he, hast thou written nothing?* yes Sir, quoth he, as much as I know. Well sayd, quoth the Gentleman, and tooke vp the paper. Which when hee had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearyng by our lordes body, that he would not for xx. pound, cary it to his L. and maister. Therefore quoth he, go to it againe, and aduise thy selfe better, or els thou wilt set my Lord against thee, and then art thou vtterly vndone. By my troth Sir,* quoth Marbecke, if hys Lordshyppe shall keepe me here these seuen yeares, I can say no more then I haue sayde. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the Gentleman, and so putting vp hys penner and inkehorne, departed wyth the paper in hys hand.

The third examination of Marbecke, before the Byshop of Winchester hymselfe in his owne house.

THE next day, which was Wednesday, by viij. of the clocke in the morning,* the bishop sent for Marbecke to his house at S. Mary Oueries, and as he was entring into the bishops hall, he sawe the bishop hymselfe commyng out at a doore in y^e vpper end therof, with a rolle in his hād, and goyng toward the great wyndow, he called the poore man vnto him and sayd: Marbecke, wilt thou cast awaye thy selfe? No my Lord quoth he, I trust. Yes, quoth the B. thou goest about it, for thou wilt vtter nothing. What a deuill made thee to meddle with the scriptures? Thy vocation was an other way, wherein thou hast a goodly gyft,* if thou didst esteeme it? Yes my Lord, quoth he, I doe esteeme it and haue done my part therin, accordyng to that litle knowlege that God hath geuen me. And why the deuill quoth the Byshop, dydst thou not holde thee there? and with that he flang away from the wyndow out of the Hall, the poore man following him from place to place, til he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, y^e bishop began on this wise: A sirha, quoth he, the neast of you is brokē I trow. And vnfolding his roll (which was about an elne long) he said: Behold, here be your captains both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pacte of thy secte about Windsore, & yet wilt thou vtter none of them. Alas my lord quoth he, how shuld I accuse them, by whō I know nothing? Well, quoth the bish. if thou wilt needes cast away thy selfe, who can let thee?* What helpers haddest thou in setting forth thy booke: Forsooth my lord, quoth he none. Now quoth the bishop? how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldest do

it without helpe. Truly my L. quoth he, I can not tel in what part your lordship doth take it, but how soeuer it be, I will not deny but I did it without the helpe of any man saue God alone. Nay quoth the B. I do not discōmend thy dilligēce, but what shuldest thou meddle with that thing which pertayned not to thee?

And in speaking these words, one of his Chaplaynes, (called M. Medow) came vp and stayd himselfe at a window, to whō the bishop sayd, here is a marueilous thinge. This fellow hath taken vppon him to set out the Concordance in english, which book whē it was set out in latyn was not done without the helpe and dilligence of a dosen learned men at the least, and yet will he beare me in hand that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt, quoth [Page 1216](#) the B. except God himselfe would come downe from heauen and tell me so, I will not beleue it: and so going forth to a window, where two great Bibles lay vpon a cusshion, the one in Latine, and the other in English, he called Marbecke vnto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, sayd: Canst thou English this sentence? Nay my L. quoth he, I trow I be not so cunning to geue it a perfect English, but I can set out the English thereof in the English Bible. Let see, quoth the B. Then Marbecke turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Bishop. So he tried hym a three or foure tymes, till one of his men came vp and tolde hym the Priest was ready to go to Masse.

And as the B. was goyng, sayd the Gentleman whiche had examined Marbecke in the Marshalsey the day before: * Shall this fellow write nothyng whyle your Lordship is at masse, for he passeth not on it. It maketh no matter quoth the Bishop, for he will tell nothing, and so went downe to heare Masse, leauing Marbecke alone in y^e gallery. The B. was no sooner downe, but the Gentleman came vp agayne with inke and paper. * Come sirha quoth he, my Lord will haue you occupied till Masse bee done, perswadyng hym with fayre wordes, that he shoulde bee soone dispatched out of trouble, if he would vse truth and plainenes. Alas sir, quoth he, what will my Lorde haue me to do? for more then I wrote to his Lordship yesterday, I can not? Well, well, goe to quoth the Gentleman, & make speed, and so went his way. There was no remedie but Marbecke must nowe write some thyng: wherefore he calling to God againe in his mind, wrote a few words as nye as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the B. was come from Masse, and had looked on the writing, he pusht it from him, saying: what shall this do? It hath neither head nor foote. There is a maruelous sect of them (quoth the B. to hys men) for the deuill cannot make one of them to bewray another. Then was there nothyng among the Bishops Gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but Crucisige vpon the poore man. And when the bishops white ratchet was on him and all: well Marbecke, quoth he, I am now going to the Court, and was purposed, if I had foūd thee tractable, to haue spoken to the kings maiesty for thee and to haue geuen thee thy meat, drinke, & lodging here in myne house: but seyng thou art so wilful and so stubburne, thou shalt go to the deuill for me.

Then was he caried downe by the B. men, with many railing words. * And comming through the great chamber, there stood D. London, with two mo of hys fellows, waiting the bishops comming: and passing by them into the Hall, he was there receiued of his keper, and caried to prison againe. It was not halfe an houre after, ere that the B. sent one of his Gentlemen to the vnder keeper called Stokes, commanding him to put irons vpon Marbecke, and to keepe him fast shut in a chamber alone, and when he should bring him downe to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, nor no man to him: & furthermore, y^t he should suffer no maner of person (not

his owne wife) to come & see him or minister any thing vnto him. When the porter (who was the cruellest man that might be, to al such as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet as God would,* fauorable to this poore man) had receyued this cōmandement from the B. he clapt irons vpon him & shutte him vp, geuing warning to all the house, y^t no man should speake or talke to Marbecke, whensoever he was brought downe, and so he continued the space of iij. wekes & more, till his wife was suffered to come vnto him.

The sute of Marbeckes wife to the Bishop of Winchester.

MArbeckes wife, at the tyme of her husbands apprehēſion,* had a yong child of a quarter old, sucking vppon her brest: & when her husband was taken from her, & had away to the Counsaile, not knowing what should be come of him, she left the child and all, and gate her vp to Londō, and hearing her husband to be in the Marshalsey, goeth thether. But when she came there, she could in no wise bee suffred to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrowe. Then by counsaile of frends, she gate her to the B. of Winchester (for other helpe was there none to be had at y^t time) making great sute to haue his licence to go & see her husband, and to helpe him with such things as he lacked. Nay quoth the B. thy husband is acquainted with all the heretikes that be in the Realme,* both on this side the Sea and beyond, and yet will he vtter none of them. Alas my Lord quoth she, my husband was neuer beyond the seas, nor no great trauailer in the Realme to be so acquainted, therfore good my Lord let me goe see him. But all her earnest sute from day to day would not help, but still he put her of, harping always vpon this string: thy husband wil vtter nothing. At the last, she finding him in the court at s. Iames going toward his chamber, was so bold to take him by y^e ratchet and say: O my Lord, these 18. dayes I haue troubled your Lordship: now for the loue of God, and as euer ye came of a woman, put me of no longer, but let me go to my husband.* And as she was standing with the Bishop & his men, in a blynd corner goyng to his chamber, one of the kings seruantes called Henry Carrike, and her nexte neighbor, chanced to be by: & hearing the talke betweene the B. and her, desired his Lordship to be good Lord vnto the poore woman, which had her owne mother lying bedred vpon her hands, beside 5. or 6. children. I promise you quoth the B. her husband is a great heretike, & hath reade more scripture then any man in the Realme hath done. I cannot tel my Lord, quoth Carrike, what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet neighbour as euer I dwelt by. He will tell nothing quoth the B. He knoweth a great sort of false harlots, and will not vtter thē. Yes my Lord quoth Carrike, he will tell, I dare say, for hee is an honest man. Well, quoth the B. (speaking to the wyfe) thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou loue thy husband well, go to him, and geue him good counsaile, to vtter such naughty felowes as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall haue what I can doe for him: for I doe fansie him well for his Art, wherin he had pleased me as well as any man: and so stepping into his chamber, said she shold haue his letter to the keper.* But his mynd being changed he sent out his ring by a Gentleman, which Gentleman deliuered the ring to his man, charging him with the Bishops message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, & tooke boat, who neuer rested rayling on her husband all the way, till they came to y^e prison: which was no small crosse vnto the poore woman.

And when they were come to the Marshalsey: the messenger shewed the B. ring to the Porter, saying: Maister Stokes, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to haue recourse to her husband: but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both comming & going

least she bring or cary any letters to or fro, & that she bryng no body vnto him, nor no word from no mā. Gods bloud quoth the Porter (who was a foule swearer) what wil my Lord haue me to do? Can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her husband, or let her not go for I see nothyng by him but an honest man. The poore woman fearing to be repulsed, spake the Porter faire, saying: Good maister be content, for I haue found my Lorde very good Lord vnto me. This yong man is but the Gentlemans seruant which brought the ring from my Lord, & I thinke doth his message a great deale more straiter then my Lord commanded the Gentleman, or that the Gentleman his maister commanded him. But neuerthelesse good M. quoth she, I shal be content to strip my selfe before you both commyng and goyng, so farre as any honest woman may do with honesty. For I entend no such thyng, but only to comfort and helpe my husband. Then the Messenger sayd no more, but went his way, leauing the womā there, who from that tyme forth, was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

The fourth examination of Marbecke, before the Commissioners in the Bishop of Londons house.

ABout a three weekes before Whitsonday, was Marbecke sent for to the B. of Londons house, where sat in Commission Doctor Capon, Bishop of Salisbury, Doctor Skyp Bishop of Harford, Doct. Goodricke Bishop of Ely, Doct. Okyng, Doct. May, and the Bishop of Londons Scribe, hauyng before them all Marbeckes bookes. Then sayd the Byshop of Salisbury: Marbecke, we are here in commission sent frō the kings maiesty, to examine thee of certaine things wherof thou must be sworne to answer vs faithfully & truly. I am content my lord quoth he, to tell you the truth so far as I can, and so tooke hys othe. Then the Bishop of Salisbury layd forth before hym, hys 3. bookes of notes, demaunding whose hand they were. He answered they were his owne hand, & notes which he had gathered out of other mens works, 6. yeres ago. For what cause quoth the Byshop of Salisbury diddest thou gather them? For none other cause my Lorde, quoth he, but to come by knowledge. For I being vnlearned & desirous to vnderstād some part of scripture, thought by readyng of lerned mens works to come the sooner therby, & where as I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by thē, that I noted as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margent, that had set out the worke. So me thinke quoth [Page 1217](#) the Byshop of Ely (who had one of the bookes of notes in his hand al y^e time of their sitting) thou hast read of al sorts of bookes both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes. So I haue my Lorde, quoth he. And to what purpose, quoth the Byshop of Salis. by my trouth, quoth he, for no other purpose but to see euery mans minde. Then the B. of Salis. drew out a quire of the Concordance, and layd it before the B. of Harford, who looking vppon it a while, lifted vp hys eyes to D. Oking (standing next him) and sayd: Thys man hath ben better occupied, then a great sort of our priestes. To the which he made no answer.

Then sayd the Byshop of Salisbury, whose helpe hadst thou in setting forth this booke? Truely my Lorde, quoth he, no helpe at al. How couldest thou, quoth the bishop, inuent such a booke, or know what a Concordance meant, w^tout an instructor. I wil tell your Lordship, quoth he, what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Mathewes bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to haue one of them: and being a poore man not able to buye one of them, determined wyth my selfe to borrow one among my frends, & to wryte it forth. And when I had wrytten oute the 5. bookes of Moises in faire greate paper, & was entred into the booke of Iosua, my frende M. Turner chaunced to steale vpon me vnwares, & seeing me wryting out the Bible, asked

me what I meant therby. And when I had told him the cause: Tush, quoth he, thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable worke for thee, to set out a Concordance in English. A Concordance sayde I? what is that? Then he tolde me it was a booke to finde out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, & that there was such a one in Latin already. Then I tolde him I had no learning to goe about such a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that mater, for it requireth not so much learning, as diligence. And seeing thou art so painful a man, and one that cannot be vnoccupied, it wer a goodly exercise for thee. And this (my Lord) is all the instruction that euer I had before or after, of any man. What is that Turner, quoth the B. of Salis.? Mary, quoth D. May, an honest learned man, and a Bachelor of Diuinitie, and sometime a fellow in Magdalene colledge in Oxford. Howe couldest thou, quoth the B. of Salisb. with thys instruction, bring it to thys order and forme, as it is? I borrowed a Latine Concordance, quoth he, and began to practyse my wit, and at last wyth great labor and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordship doth see. A good wit with diligence, quoth the bysh. of Harford, may bring hard things to passe. It is great pitie quoth the Bish. of Ely, he had not the Latine tounge. So it is, quoth D. May. Yet can not I beleue, quoth the Bishop of Salisb. that he hath done any more in thys worke, then wrytten it out after some other that is learned.

My Lordes, quoth Marbecke, I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say,* and graunt to my request if it shall seeme good vnto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Byshops. I do maruaile greatly wherfore I should be so much examined for this booke, & whether I haue committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I haue, then were I loathe any other to be molested or punyshed for my faulte. Therefore to cleare all men in this matter, thys is my request, that ye wil trie me in the rest of the boke y^t is vndon. Ye see that I am yet but in the letter L. Beginning now at M. & take out what word ye wil of that letter, & so in euery letter folowing, and geue me the wordes in a pece of paper and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, wyth inke and paper, the English Bible, and the Latine concordance: and if I bring you not these wordes wrytten in the same order & forme that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other.

By my trouth Marbecke, quoth the Byshop of Elye, that is honestly spokē, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspition. That he shal, quoth they all. Then they badde Doct. Oking draw out such wordes as he thought best in a peece of paper, and so rose vp: and in the meane time, fel into other familiar talke with Marbecke (for the Byshop of Ely and Harford both, were acquainted w^t hym afore, and his frendes, so farre as they durst) who perceiuing the Bishops so pleasauntly disposed, besought them to tel hym in what daunger he stooode.* Shal I tell thee Marbecke, quoth the Byshop of Sarum? Thou art in better case then anye of thy felowes, of whom there be some would geue 40.li. to be in no worse case then thou art, whose sayinges the other affirmed. Then came D. Oking wyth the wordes hee had wrytten, & while the Byshops were perusing them ouer, Doctour Oking sayd to Marbecke (very frendly) on thys wise:* Good M. Marbecke make hast, for the sooner ye haue done, the sooner ye shall be deliuered. And as the Byshops were going away, the bishop of Harforde tooke Marbecke a litle aside, and enformed him of a word whych D. Oking had written false, and also to comfort him, sayd: Feare not, there can no law condemne you, for any thing that ye haue done, for if ye had wrytten a 1000. heresies, so longe as they be not your sayings nor your opiniōs, the law cānot hurt you. And so went they all with the Byshop of Sarum to dinner, who taking the pore man with them,

who dined in the hall at the Stewardes borde: and beside that, had wine and meate sent downe from the bishops table.

When dinner was done, the Bishoppe of Sarum came downe into the Hall, commaunding inke and paper to be geuen to Marbecke, and the 2. bookes to one of his men to go with him, at whose going he demanded of the Byshop, what time hys Lordship would appoynt him to doe it in. Against to morrowe this time, quoth the Byshop, whyche was about 2. of the clocke, and so departed.

Marbecke now being in his prison chamber, fel to his busines, & so applied the thing, that by the nexte day when the Bishop sent for him againe, he had written so much, in the same order & forme hee had done the rest before,* as contened iij. sheetes of paper and more. The whych, when he had deliuered to the Bishop of Sarum (Doc. Oking standing by) he marueiled and sayd: Well Marbecke, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee, quoth hee (putting vp the paper into his bosome) the king shal see this or I be 24. houres elder: but he dissembled euery worde, and thought nothing lesse then so. For afterwarde, the matter being come to light, and knownen to his grace what a boke the poore man had begon, which the Byshops woulde not suffer him to finish: the king saide he was better occupied then they that tooke it from him. So Marbecke departed from the byshop of Sarum to prison againe, and heard no more of hys booke.

The 5. examination of Marbecke, before D. Oking and M. Knight Secretary to the Bishop of Winchester, in S. Mary Ouers Church.

Vpon Whitsonday following, at after noone,* was Marbecke sent for once againe to S. Mary Ouers, where he found D. Oking with an other gentleman in a gowne of Damaske, with a cheyne of gold about his neck (no mo in all the church but they two) sitting together in one of the stalles, their backs toward the church dore, lookyng vpon an Epistle of M. Iohn Caluins, whiche Marbecke had written out. And when they sawe the prisoner come, they rose and had him vp to a side alter, leauing his keeper in the body of the church alone. Nowe as soone as Marbecke saw the face of a gentleman (which before he knewe not by reason of his apparell) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsey, and did also cause him to write in the Bishoppes gallery, but neuer knew his name, till now he heard Doct. Oking call hym M. Knight. This M. Knight helde forth the paper to Marbecke and sayd, looke vpon this, and tell me whose hand it is. When Marbecke had taken the paper,* & seene what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand sauing y^e first leafe, and the notes in the margent Thē I perceiue, quoth Knight, thou wilt not go from thine owne hand. No Sir quoth he, I will deny nothing that I haue done. Thou doest well in that, quoth Knight, for if thou shouldest, we haue testimonies enough besides, to trye out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the last leafe? That I cannot tell you, quoth Marbecke. Thē how camest thou by it, quoth Knight? Forsooth I will tell you quoth he. There was a prieste dwelling with vs vpon a v. or .vi. yeares ago, called Marshall: who sent it vnto me with the first leafe written, desiring mee to write it out with speede, because the copy could not be spared past an houre or twain and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the cotype and it agayne.

And howe came this hand in the margent, quoth hee, which is a contrary hand to both the other? That I wyll tell you, quoth Marbecke▪ When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much hast of it,

that I vnderstoode not the matter: wherefore I was desirous to see it agayne, and to read it with more deliberation, and being sent to me the second tyme, it was thus coted in the margent as ye see. And shortly after this, it was his chaunce to go beyond the seas (where he liued not long) by reason whereof the Epistle remayneth with me: but whether the first leafe, or y^e notes in the margent were▪ his hand, or whose hand els,* that I cannot tell. Tush, quoth D. Oking to M. Knight, he knoweth well enough, that the notes be Heynes owne hande, If you know so much, quoth Marb. ye knowe more then I doe, for I tell you truely I knowe it not. By my faith Marbecke, quoth Knyghte, if thou wylt not tell by fayre meanes: those fingers of thine shall be made to tell.* By my trouthe Syr, quoth Marbecke, if ye do teare the whole body in peeces (I trust in God) yee shall neuer make me accuse [Page 1218](#) man wrongfully. If thou be so stubburne, quoth D. O king, thou wilt die for it. Dye M. Okyng, quoth hee? Wherefore should I die. You told me the last day before the Byshops, that assoone as I had made an ende of the peece of Concordance they tooke me, I shoulde be deliuered, and shall I now die? This is a sodaine mutation. You seemed then to be my frend: but I know the cause, ye haue red the ballet I made of Moses chayre, and that hath sette you agaynst mee, but when soeuer yee shall putte me to death, I doubt not to dye Gods true man and the kyngs. How so, quoth Knight? howe canst thou die a true manne vnto the kyng, when thou hast offended his lawes? Is not this Epistle, and moste of thy notes thou hast wrytten, directly against the 6. articles? No syr quoth Marbecke: I haue not offended the kyngs lawes therein: for since the first time I began wyth the Concordance (whyche is almoste 6. yeares agoe) I haue bene occupied in nothing els:* So that bothe this Epistle, and al the notes I haue gathered, were wrytten a great while before the 6. Articles came foorth, and are clearely remitted by the kings generall pardon. Trust not to that, quoth Knight, for it wil not help thee. No I warrant hym, quoth Doct. Okyng, and so going downe to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison againe.

The sute of Filmers wife, to the Bishops which sate in commission, for her husband.

IN lyke maner, y^e wife of Filmer knowing her husbands trouble to be only procured of malice by Simons his old ennemie, made great sute and labour vnto the Byshops which were commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodnes to examine her husband before them,* and to heare hym make his purgation. Thys was her only request to euery of the Byshops from day to day, wheresoeuer shee coulde finde them. In so muche that two of the Byshops (Ely and Harforde) were verie sorye (considering the importune and reasonable sute of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus traouailing long vp and downe from one to an other, to haue her husbände examined,* it was her chaunce at the last to finde the Byshops all three together in the Byshoppe of Elye hys place, vnto whom she sayd: O good my Lordes for the loue of God, let now my poore husbände be brought foorth before you, while yee be heere all togethers. For truely my Lordes, there can nothing be iustly laide against hym, but that of malicious enuie and spite, Simons hath wroughte him this trouble. And you my Lorde of Salisburie, quoth the poore woman, can testifie (if it woulde please your lordship to say the truth) what malice Simōs bare to my husband when they were both before you at Salisburie (litle more then a yeare agoe) for the Uicar of Wyndsors matter. For as your Lordship knoweth, when my husbände had certified you of the Priests sermone, which you sayde was plaine heresie: then came Symons (after the Prieste hymselfe had confessed it) and would haue defended the priestes error before your Lordship, and haue had my husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to cōmend and praise my husband for his honesty, and to rebuke Symons for

maintaining the Priest in his error, & thereupon commanded the priest to rekant his heresy at his comming home to Windsore. This (my Lord) you knowe to be true. And now my Lords, quoth the woman, it is most certain, that for thys cause only did Symons euermore afterward threaten my husband to be euen with him. Therefore good my Lordes, call my husbände before you, and heare hym speake: and if ye finde any other matter againste hym then this that I haue tolde you, let me suffer death. Is thys so my Lord, quoth the B. of Ely and Harforde? and the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latine to the B. of Salisbury, and he to them, & so departed. For the matter was so wrought betweene Doctor London and Symons, that Filmer could neuer be suffred to come before the Commissioners to be examined.*

The manner of their condemnations, and howe they dyed.

When the time drewe nie that the kings maiestie (who was newly married to that good and vertuous Ladie Katherine Parre) should make his progresse abroad, the foresayde Steuen Gardiner B. of Winchester had so compassed hys matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king, as he did. Wherewith the Gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked euery houre to be clapt in the necke. For the saying went abroad, that the B. had bent his bowe to shoote at some of the head Deare: but in the meane time 3. or 4. of the poore rascals were caught, that is to saye, Anthony Person, Henry Filmer, and Iohn Marbecke, and sent to Wyndsore by the sheriffes men,* the Saterdag before S. Iames day, and laid fast in the towns Gaile: and Testwood (who had kept his bed) brought out of his house vpō crouches, and laide with them. But as for Bennet, (whych should haue bene the fift man) hys chance was to be sicke of the Pestilence, and hauing a greate sore vpon him, was left behinde in the bish. of Londons gaile, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now these men being brought to Wyndsore, there was a sessions speciall procured to be holdē the Thursday after, which was S. Annes day. Against the which Sessions (by the counsell of D. London and Symons) were all the farmers belonging to the Colledge of Wyndesore, warned to appeare: because they coulde not pike oute Papistes enough in the towne, to go vpon the iury. The iudges that day were these.

- Doctor Capon Bishop of Salisburie.
- Syr William Essex Knight,
- Syr Thomas Bridges Knight.*
- Syr Humfrey Foster Knight.
- Maister Franklen Deane of Wyndsore.
- And Fachel of Reading.

When these had taken theyr places, and the prisonners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam occupying for that day the Clarke of peace his •oume, called Anthony Person, according to the maner of the Courte,* and red hys Inditement, which was this.

First, that he should preach two yeares before, in a place called Wyngfield, and there should say:* that like as Christe was hanged betwene two theeues, euen so whē the priest is at masse, and hath cōsecrated and lifted him vp ouer hys head, then he hangeth betweene 2. theeues, except he preach the word of God truely, as he hath taken vpon hym to do.

Also that he sayde to the people in the Pulpit: yee shall not eate the body of Christ, as it did hang vpon the Crosse, gnawing it with your teeth, that the bloude runne aboute your lippes, but you shall eate him thys day, as ye eat him to morow, the next day, and euey day: for it refresheth not the body, but the soule.

Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of God, he sayd as foloweth: This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

Also hee sayde, that Christ sittinge with hys Disciples, tooke bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying: Take and eate it. This is my body. What is thys to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

To this, Anthony answered & sayde: I wil be tryed by God and his holy word, and by the true Church of Christ, whether thys be heresie or no, wherof ye haue Indited me this day. So long as I preached the Bishop of Rome and his filthy traditions, I was neuer troubled: [*](#) but since I haue taken vpon me to preach Christ and his Gospel, yee haue alwaies sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you haue taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shal not lye in your powers to hurt my soule. Thou callest vs theeues, quoth the Byshop. I say, quoth Anthony, yee are not only theeues but murtherers, except ye preach and teach the worde of God purely and sincerely to the people, whych ye do not nor neuer did, but haue allured them to al Idolatry, superstition and hypocrisie, for your owne lucre & glory sake, [*](#) through the which ye are become rather bitesheepes then true byshops, biting and deuouring the poore sheepe of Christ like rauening wolues neuer satisfied with blood: which God wil require at your hāds one day, dout it not. Then spake Symons his accuser, standing wythin the barre, saying: [*](#) It is pitie this fellow had not bene burnt long agoe as he deserued. In faith (quoth Anthonie) if you had as you haue deserued, you were more worthy to stand in this place then I: but I trust in the last daye when wee shall both appeare before the tribunall seate of Christ, that then it wilbe known which of vs 2. hath best deserued this place. Shal I haue so long a day, quoth Symons, [*](#) holding vp hys finger? Nay, then I care not: and so the matter was iested out.

Robert Testwoode.

Then was Testwoode called, and his Inditement read, which was that he should say in the time that the priest was lifting vp the Sacrament: [*](#) what wilt thou lift hym so hie? What yet hier? Take heede, let him not fall.

To thys Testwoode aunswared, [*](#) sayinge it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the B.) thou hast bene sene, that whē the [Page 1219](#) Priest shoulde lift vp the Sacrament ouer hys heade, then wouldest thou looke downe vpon thy booke, or some other way, because thou wouldest not abide to looke vpon y^e blessed Sacrament. I beseech you my Lord▪ quoth Testwood, whereon did he looke that marked me so wel? Mary quoth Bucklayer the Kynges Atturney, hee coulde not be better occupied, thē to marke suche heretickes that so despised the blessed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Then was Filmer called and his Inditement read: that he should say that the Sacrament of the saultare is nothing els but a •imilitude and a ceremony: * and also if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I haue eaten twentie Gods in my dayes.

Here ye must vnderstand, that these wordes were gathered of certaine communication which shuld be betwene Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus.

This Henry Filmer comminge vpon a Sondag from Clewer his Parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbors, chaunced in the way to meete his brother (whyche was a verie poore labouring man) and asked hym whether he went. To the Church sayd he. And what to do, quoth Filmer? To doe quoth hee, as other men doe. Nay, quoth Filmer, you go to heare masse and to see your God. What if I do so, quoth he? If that be God (should Filmer say) I haue eaten 20. Gods in my dayes. Tourne agayne foole and go home with me, and I wil read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that shalbe better then all that thou shalt heare or see there.

This tale was no sooner brought to Doct. London by William Symons (Filmers vtter ennemie) but he sent for the poore man home to his house, * where he chearished hym with meat and money, telling him he shoulde neuer lacke, so long as he liued: that y^e seely poore man (thinking to haue had a daily frend of D. London) was content to do and say whatsoever he and Symons would haue hym say or do against his owne brother. And when D. London had thus won the pore man, he retained him as one of his houshold men, * vntill the court day was come, and then sent him vp to witnes this foresaid tale against his brother. Which •ale Filmer denied vtterly, saying that D. London (for a little meat and drinke sake) had set him on, and made him to say what his pleasure was: * wherefore my Lord (quoth Filmer to the bishop) I beseeche your Lordship weigh the matter indifferently, * for as muche as there is no man in all thys towne, y^t can or will testifie with him, that euer he heard any such talke betwene him and me: and if he can bring forth any that wil witnes the same with him, I refuse not to die. But say what he could, it would not preuaile.

Then Filmer seeing no remedy, but that hys brothers accusemēt shuld take place, he sayd: Ah brother, what cause hast thou to shew me this vnkindnes? I haue alwaies ben a naturall brother vnto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thy selfe knowest: and is this a brotherly part, * thus to rewarde me nowe for my kindnesse? God forgeue it thee my brother, & geue thee grace to repent. Then Filmer looking ouer his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the booke of statutes. Hys wife being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the booke of statutes, ran downe to the keper, and brought vp the booke, & gat it conueied to her husbād.

The Bishop seeing the booke in his hand, starte hym vp from the bench in a great sume, * demanding who had geuē the prisoner that booke, commaunding it to be taken from him, and to make searche who had brought it, swearing by the faith of hys body, he should go to prison. Some sayd it was his wife, some sayd the keeper. Like inough (my lord) quoth Symons, for he is one of the same sort, & as worthy to be heere as the best, if he were rightly serued. But howsoever it was, the truthe would not be knowen, and so the Bishop sate him downe againe.

Then sayd Filmer: O my Lord, I am this day iudged by a lawe, & why should not I see the lawe that I am iudged by? The law is, I should haue two lawfull witnesses and here is but one, which would not doe as he doeth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine ennemies. Nay, quoth Bucklayer the kynges attorney, thyne heresie is so heinous, and abhorteth thine owne brother so much, that it forceth him to witnesse against thee, which is more then two other witnesses.

Thus (as ye see) was Filmer brought vniustly to hys death, by the malice of Symons and D. London, who had enticed that wretched caitiffe his brother, to be their minister to worke his confusion. But God which is a iust reuēger of all falsehode & wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to liue vppon earth, but the next yeare followyng, he beyng taken vp for a labourer to goe to Bullaine, had not bene there three daies, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a Gunne tooke him and tore him all to peeces: And so was these woordes of Salomon fulfilled: A false witnesse shall not remaine vnpunished.

Iohn Marbecke.

Then was Marbecke called, and hys Inditement read,* whiche was that he shoulde say: That the holy Masse, when the Priest doeth consecrate the body of our Lorde, is poluted, deformed, sinnefull, and open robbery of the glory of God, from the which a Christian hart ought both to abhorre and flee. And the eleuation of the Sacramente is the similitude of the setting vp of Images of the calues in the Temple builded by Ieroboam: and that it is more abomination then the sacrifices done by the Iewes in Ieroboams temple to those calues. And that certaine and sure it is that Christ himself is made in the masse, mans laughing stocke.

To thys hee aunswered and sayde,* that these woordes wherof they had indited him, were not his, but the wordes of a learned man called Iohn Caluine, and drawn out of a certaine Epistle which the sayd Caluine had made, whych Epistle he had but onely wrytten out, and that long before the 6. Articles came foorth: so that nowe he was discharged of that offence by the kings generall pardon, desiring that he might enioy the benefite thereof.

Then was the Iurye called, which were all Farmers belonging to the Colledge of Wyndsore,* whereof fewe or none had euer sene those men before, vppon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the farmers as partial) desired to haue the Townes men, or such as did know them, and had sene their daily conuersations, in the place of the Farmers, or els to be equally ioyned w^t them: but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseeene and determined.

Now when the Iury had taken theyr oth and al, Bucklayer the kynges attorney began to speake:* and first he alledged many reasons against Anth. Person, to prooue him an hereticke. Whych when Anth. woulde haue disprooued, the Bishop sayd: let him alone, Syr, he speaketh for the K. & so went Bucklayer foorth with his matter, making euery mans cause as hainous to the hearers, as he coulde deuise. And when he had done and sayd what he would, then Sir Humfrey Foster spake to the Quest in the fauor of Marbecke on thys wise: Maisters quoth hee,* ye see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thyng to the charge of this poore man Marbecke, sauing he hath written certaine things of other mens sayings with his owne hand, wherof he is

discharged by the kings generall pardon: therefore ye ought to haue a conscience therin. Then start vp Fachel at the lower ende of the benche, and sayd: * What can we tel whether they were wrytten before the pardone, or after? They may as well be wrytten since as afore, for any thing that we knowe. These wordes of Fachel (as euery man sayd) were the cause of Marbeckes casting that day.

Then went the Iury vp to the chamber ouer the place where the iudges sate, and in the meane time, went all the Knights and gentlemen abroad, * sauing the Byshop Syr William Essex, and Fachell, which three sate still vpon the Benche till all was done. * And when the Iurie hadde bene togethers aboue in the chamber, about the space of a quarter of an houre, vp goeth Symons (of hys owne brayne) vnto them▪ and taried there a prety while, and came down againe. After that, came one of the Iury downe to the byshop, and talked wyth hym and the other twaine a good while, whereby manye coniectured, that the Iurie coulde not agree of Marbecke. But whether it were so or no, it was not long after his going vp again, ere that they came downe to geue their verdit. * And being required according to the forme of the law to say their minds: one called Hyde dwelling beside Abyngton, in a lordshyp belonging to the Colledge of Wyndsore, speaking in the mouthe of the rest, sayd they were all giltye.

Then the Iudges beholding the prisoners a good while (some wyth watery eyes) made curtesie who should geue iudgement. Fachel requiring the byshop to doe it, he sayde he might not: the other also being required, said they wold not. Then said Fachel, it must be done: one must do it, * and if no man will, then will I. And so Fachell being lowest of al the bench, gaue iudgement. Then Marbeck being y^e last vpon whom sentence was geuen, cried to the bish. saying: Ah my Lorde, you tolde me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case then any of my fellowes, and is your sayinge come to this? Ah my L. you haue deceiued me. Then the B. casting vp his hand, sayd he could not do withall.

Page 1220* Now the prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared themselues to die on the morow, comforting one an other in the deathe and passion of theyr maister Christe, who had ledde the way before them, trusting that the same lord which had made them worthy to suffer so farre for hys sake, would not nowe withdraw his strength from them, but geue them stedfast faith & power to ouercome those firie torments, and of his free mercy and goodnes (wythout theyr desertes) for hys promise sake, receiue theyr soules. Thus lay they all the night long (til very dead sleepe tooke them) calling to God for hys aide and strength, and praying for their persecuters, whiche of blinde zeale and ignoraunce had done they wist not what, that God of hys mercifull goodnes would forgeue them, * and turne theyr hearts to the loue and knowledge of his blessed and holy worde: Yea such heavenly talke was among them that night, that the hearers watching the prison without, wherof the Shiriffe hymselfe was one, with diuers gentlemen moe, were constrained to shed out plēty of teares, as they themselues confessed.

On the next morow, which was Friday, as the prysoners were all preparing themselues to go to suffer, worde was brought them that they should not dye that day. The cause was this. The Byshop of Sarum, and they among them had sent a letter by one of the Shiriffes Gentlemen, * called M. Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the Court being then at Oking) in the fauour of Marbecke. At the sight of whych letter, the bishop straight way went to the kyng, and obtained hys pardon.

Which being graunted, he caused a warrante to be made out of hande for the sheriffes discharge, deliuering the same to the messenger, who with speede returned wyth great ioy (for the loue he bare to the partie) bringing good newes to the towne,* of Marbeckes pardon: wherat many reioysed. Of this pardon were diuers coniectures made. Some said it was by the sute of the good Shriffe syr William Barington, and syr Humffray Foster (with other Gentlemen moe that fauoured Marbeck) to the B. of Sarum and the other Commissioners, that the letter was sent.

Some sayde againe, that it came of the Byshop of Sarum and Fachels first motion,* being pricked in conscience, for that they had so slēderly cast him away. Other thought againe, that it was a policie purposed afore, by the Byshop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of D. London, because they would seeme to be mercifull. Which coniecture rose vppon thys occasion. There was one Sadocke dwellynge in the towne which was greate with D. London and Symons: and he shoulde say 4. dayes before the sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Marbecke should haue hys pardon.

Other there were that thought the foresayde Byshops with D. London, had done it for this purpose: that he now hauing his life, would rather vtter such mē as they would haue him to do, then to come in like daunger again. Which coniecture rose vpon thys: Symons meeting wyth Marbeckes wife, said thus vnto her: your husband may thanke God & good frendes: my Lord of Winchester is good Lord vnto him, which hath got his pardon. But shall I tel you, quoth he? * his pardon wilbe to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord & other of the counsel, when he shalbe demaunded, for vnto that purpose onely is he reserued. Alas sir, quoth she, what can he tel? Well womā quoth Symons, I tell thee plaine, if he doe not so, neuer looke to haue thy husband out of prisone, and so departed from her.

The like meaning did M. Arche make to Marbecke him selfe, on the saterday in y^e morning, that the men shoulde be brent, when he came to cōfesse them. I haue nothing, quoth he, to saye vnto you Marbecke at this time, but heereafter you must be cōtent to do as shalbe enioyned you: meaning he should be forced to do some vnlawful thing, or els to lie in perpetuall prisone.* And thys was moste likely to haue beene attempted, if they hadde proceeded in their purpose: whose intent was to haue gone thorow the whole realme, in the lyke sorte as they had begonne at Wyndsore, as the Byshop of Sarum confessed openly and sayde, that he trusted ere Christmasse daye following, to visite and cleanse a good part thereof. But moste commonly, God sendeth a shrewed Cowe short hornes, or else manye a thousande in England had smarted.

On saterday in the morning, that the prisoners shoulde go to execution, came into the prison two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called Doctour Blithe, and the other maister Arche, whych two were sent to be their confessors, master Arche asked them, if they would be confest, and they sayde yea. Then hee demaunded if they would receyue the Sacramente. Yea sayde they wyth all our heartes. I am glad quoth Arche, to heare you say so, but the law is (quoth he) that it may not be ministred to none that are cōdemned of heresie. But it is inough for you that ye do desire it.* And so had them vp to the Hall to heare theyr confessions, because the prison was full of people. Doctor Blyth tooke Anthony Person to him to confesse, and mayster Arche the other two. But how soeuer the matter went between the Doctour & Anthony, he taryed not long w^t him but came downe agayne, saying he woulde no more of his doctrine. Do you call him Doct. Blith, quoth Anthony? He may be called Doct. Blind for his learning, as farre as I see. And soone after,

the other two came downe also. Thē Anthony seeing much people in the prison, began to say y^e Lords prayer, whereof he made a maruelous godly declaration,* wherein hee continued til the Officers came to set them away, and so made an end. And taking theyr leaue of Marbecke (their prison fellow) they prayesd God for his delyueraunce, wishing to hym the increase of godlynnes & vertue, and last of all besought him hartily to helpe them with hys prayer vnto God, to make them strong in theyr afflictions, and so kissing him one after an other, departed.

Now as the prisoners passed thorough the people in y^e streetes,* they desired all the faythfull people to praye for them, & to stand fast in the truth of the gospell, & not to be moued at theyr afflictions, for it was the happyest thinge that euer came to them. And euer as Doctour Blithe and Arche (who rod on each side the prisoners) woulde perswade them to turne to their mother holy Church: away would Anthony cry, away with your Romishe doctryne and all your trompery, for we will no more of it. When Filmer was come to his brothers dore, he stayed and called for his brother, but he coulde not be seene, for Doctour London had kept him out of sight that day, for the nonce.

And when hee had called for him three or foure times, and saw he came not, he sayd: and will he not come? * Then God forgeue him and make him a good man. And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Person with a cheerefull countenaunce, embraced y^e post in his armes, and kissing it, sayd: Nowe welcome myne owne sweete wife: for this day shalt thou and I be married together in the loue and peace of God.

And being all three bound to the post,* a certaine young man of Filmers acquayntaunce, brought him a pot of drinke, asking if he woulde drinke. Yea quoth Filmer, I thanke you. And nowe my brother quoth he, I shall desire you in the name of the liuing Lord, to stand fast in y^e truth of the gospell of Iesus Christe, whyche you haue receaued, and so taking the pot at hys hande, asked hys brother Anthony, if he would drinke. Yea brother Filmer quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

And when he had dronke, he gaue the pot to Anthonye & Anthony likewise gaue it to Testwoode. Of which drinking their aduersaries made a iesting stocke, reportyng abrode that they were all dronke & wist not what they said,* when as they were none otherwise dronke then as the Apostles were, when the people sayd they were full of newe wyne, as theyr deedes declared. For when Anthonye and Testwoode had both dronken, & geuen the pot from them, Filmer reioysing in the Lord, sayd: Be mery my brethren, & lift vp your hearts vnto God,* for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall haue a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and redeemer. At the which words Testwood lifting vp his handes and eyes to heauen, desired the Lorde aboue to receiue his spirite. And Anthony Persone, pulling the straw vnto him, laid a good deale thereof vpon the top of hys head, saying: Thys is Gods hatte:* now am I dressed like a true souldiour of Christ, by whose merites onely, I trust this day to enter into his ioye.* And so yelded they vp their soules to the father of heauen, in the faythe of his deare sonne Iesus Christe, w^t suche humilitie and stedfastnesse, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they coulde haue founde in their heartes (at that present to haue died with them.

How all their conspiracies were knowen.

YE haue hearde before of one Robert Bennet, howe hee was at the first apprehended wyth the other foure persons aforesayd, and committed to the B. of Londons pryson, and aboute the tyme hee shoulde haue gone to Wyndsore, fell sicke of the pestilence, by meane whereof he remained still in prison.

This Bennet, & Symons (ye shall vnderstād) were the greatest familiars and cōpany keepers y^t were in all Windsore, & neuer (lightly) swarued the one frō the other,* sauing in matters of religiō, wherein they could neuer agree. For Bennet the one Lawyer, was an earnest Gospeller, & Simons the other Lawyer, a cankered papist: but in al other worldly matters, they cleaued together like burres.

Thys Bennet had spoken certayne woordes agaynst theyr little rounde God, for the whych hee was as farre in [Page 1221](#) as the best, and had suffered death wyth the other, if he had gone to Windsore when they went.* And now that the mater was al done and finished, it was determined by the bishop of Salisbury, that Robert Ockam on the Mondaye after the men were burnt shoulde goe to the Byshop of Winchester wyth the whole processe done at the Sessions the Thursday before.

Then Symons, at Bennets wiues request, procured of the byshop of Salisbury his fauourable letter to the byshop of Winchester for Bennets deliuerance. Which letter Bennets wife (for asmuche as her owne man was not at home, which should haue gone with the letter) desired Robert Ockam to deliuer it to y^e Bishop, & to bring her word againe: who sayde hee woulde. So foorth went Ockam toward the bishop of Winchester with his budget ful of wrytings, to declare and open all thyngs vnto hym that were done at Wyndsore Sessions:* but all theyr wicked intentes (as God wold haue it) were soone cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the Queenes menne (named Fulke) which had lien at Windsore all the time of the busines, and had got knowledge what a number were priuily indited, and of Ockams going to the bishop of Winchester, gate to the Court before Ockam, and told sir Thomas Cardine & other of the priuy chamber, how al the matter stode. Whereupon Ockam was layde for and had by the backe, as soone as he came to Oking, and kepte from the byshop.

On the next morrowe very early, Bennets wyfe sent her man to the Courte after Ockam, to see howe he spedde with her husbandes letter. And when hee came there, hee founde sir Thomas Cardine walking wyth Ockam vppe and downe the greene before the Courte gate: whereat he marueled, to see Ockam with him so early, mistrusting the matter: whereuppon he kept himselfe out of sight, till they had broken off theyr communication.

And assoone as he saw M. Cardine gone (leauing Ockam behinde) he went to Ockam and asked hym, if hee had deliuered hys maisters letter to the Bishop. No, sayd Ockam, the king remouueth thys day to Gilforde, and I must goe thether, and will deliuer it there. Mary, quoth hee, and I will goe with you, to see what aunswere you shall haue, and to carie woord to my mistres, and so they rode to Gilford together. Where Bennets man (being better acquainted in the towne then Ockam was) gat a lodging for them both, in a kinsmans house of hys.

That done, he asked Ockam, if he would goe and deliuer his mistres letter to the Byshop.* Nay (sayde Ockam) you shall go and deliuer it your selfe, and tooke him the letter. And as they were

goyng in the strete together, and comming by the Earle of Bedfordes lodging (then Lorde priuie seale) Ockam was pulled in by the sleeue, & no more seene of Bennets man, till he sawe him in the Marshalsey. Then went Bennets man to the bishops lodging and deliuered hys letter. And when the Byshop had red the contentes thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come Syrha, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth, then the letter specifieth, & had hym into a litle garden. Now, quoth the Bishop, what say you to me? Forsoth my Lorde, quoth he, I haue nothing to say vnto your Lordshippe, for I did not bryng the letter to the Towne. No quoth the Byshop, where is he that brought it? Forsoth my Lorde quoth he, I left him busie at his lodging. Then he wil come, quoth the Byshop. Bid him be wyth me betimes in the mornynge. I wil quoth he,* do your lordships commandement, and so he departed home to hys lodging. And when hys kinsfolkes saw him come in, alas cosin, quoth they, we are all vndon. Why so, quoth he, what is the matter? Oh sayde they, heere hath bene since you went, M. Padget the kings secretary, with sir Tho. Cardine of the priuie chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the towne w^t Ockam: therfore make shift for your selfe assoone as you cā. Is that all the matter, quoth hee? then content your selfe, for I wil neuer flee one foote, happe what hap will. And as they were thus reasoning together, in came y^e foresaid searchers againe, & when M. Cardine saw Bennets man, he knewe him very well, & sayde: was it thou that came to the towne w^t Ockam? Yea sir, quoth he. Now who the deuill (quoth M. Cardine) brought thee in company w^t that false knaue? Then he tolde them hys busines, and the cause of his comming, whych being knowen, they were satisfied, and so departed. The nexte day had Bennets man a discharge, for hys master (procured by certaine of the priuie chamber) and so went home.

Nowe was Ockam all this while at my Lorde priuie Seales, where he was kept secret, til certaine of the Counsaile had perused all his wrytings, amonge the which they found certaine of the priuie Chamber indited, w^t other the kings Officers, with their wiues, that is to say, Sir Tho. Cardine, sir Phillip Hobby, wyth both theyr Ladies. M. Edmund Harman, M. Thomas Weldone, wyth Snowball and hys wife.* All these they had indited by the force of the 6. Articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Person. And beside them, they had indited of heresie (some for one thing, and some for an other) a great number moe of the Kings true and faithfull subiects. Whereof the kings Maiestie beyng certified, hys grace of hys speciall goodnes (without the sute of any man) gaue to the foresayd Gentlemen of his priuie Chamber, and other his seruants with theyr wiues, hys gracious pardō. And as God wold haue the matter further knowen vnto hys maiestie, as hee roade one day a huntinge in Gilforde Parke, and sawe the Sheriffe wyth syr Humfrey Foster sitting on theyr horse backes together, he called them vnto him, & asked of them, how hys lawes was executed at Windsore: Then they beseching hys grace of pardon, tolde hym plainely that in all theyr liues they neuer sate on matter vnder his graces authoritie, that went somuch against theyr consciences, as the death of these men did, and vp and told hys grace so pitiful a tale of the casting away of these poore men, that the King turning hys horsehead to departe from them, sayde: Alasse poore Innocents.

After thys,* the king withdrew hys fauour from the B. of Winchester, & being more and more enformed of the conspiracie of doctor London and Symons, he commaunded certaine of his counsaile, to search out the ground thereof.

Whereupon Doctour London and Symons were apprehended and brought before the Counsaile, and examined vpon their othe of allegeaunce. And for denying their mischeuous and traitorous

purpose, whiche was manifestlye proued to theyr faces, they were both periured, and in fine, adiudged as periured persons, to weare papers in Wyndsore, and Ockam to stand vpon the pillerie in the towne of Newbery where he was borne•

The iudgemēt of all these 3. was to ride about Windsore, Reading and Newbery, with papers on their heads,* and theyr faces turned to the horse tales, & so to stand vpon the Pillerye in euery of these Townes, for false accusation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for periurie.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good Saintes of Windsore, according to the copie of their owne acts, receiued and wrytten by Iohn Marbecke, who is yet aliue, both a present witnes, and also was then a partye of the sayd doings, and can testifie the truth thereof.

Aunswere to the cauilling aduersaries touching Iohn Marbecke.

Wherefore against these crooked cauillers, which make so much ado against my former boke, because in a cer|taine place I chaunced to saye that Bennette and Filmer had their pardon (when in dede it was Bennet and Marbecke) be it therfore known, protested, denounced,* and notified, to al & singular such carpers, wranglers, exclamers, deprauers, with the whole broode of all such whisperers, railers, quarelpickers, corner creepers, fault finders & spidercatchers, or by what name els so euer they are to be titled that here I openly say, affirm, professe, hold, maintain & write the same as I sayde & wrote before in the latter castigations of my booke: that is, that Iohn Marbecke was with the other condemned, but not burned, cast by the law but by pardone sauēd, appoynted with the rest to die,* & yet not deade, but liueth (God be praised) & yet to thys present day singeth merely, and playeth on the Organes, not as a dead man, amōgst Foxes martyrs (as it hath pleased some in y^e court to encounter against me) but as one witnessed & testified truely in the booke of Foxes Martyrs to be a liue. And therefore such maner of persons, if y^e disposition of their nature be such; that they must needes finde faultes, then let them finde them where they are, and wher those faults by their finding may be corrected. But wheras they be corrected already, & found to their hands, & also amended before, let then these legend liers looke on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find inough, and cease their bitinge there, where they haue no iust cause to barke.

And admitte that I had not foresene and corrected thys escape before, touching the matter of Iohn Marbecke, but that the place stil had remained in the boke, as it was, that is, that the sayd Iohn Marbecke, whyche as yet aliue, had then died & suffred w^t the other 3. the same time at Wyndesore: yet what gētle or courteous reader, could haue therin any iust matter to triumph & insult against me, seing the iu|diciall acts, the records, & registers, yea & the bishops certificate, & also the write of execution remaining yet in Recorde, sent to the king, did lead me so to say and thinke? For what man wryting histories, who can not be in all places to se al things, but folowing his records & registers, wher in he seeth the said Marbecke to be iudged and condemned [Page 1223](#) with the rest, would otherwise write or thinke, but that also he was executed and burned in the same company?

But nowe I correct and reforme the same agayne, and first of all other, I finde the fault, and yet am I found fault withall. I correct my selfe, and yet am I corrected of other. I warne the Reader

of the truth,* and yet am I a liar. The booke it selfe sheweth the escape, and biddeth in steade of 4. to read 3. burned, and yet is the booke made a legēd of lies.

Briefly, where I preuent all occasion of cauilling to the vttermost of my diligence, yet can not I haue that law, which all other bookes haue, that is, to recognise & reforme mine owne errata.

Wherefore to conclude, these men, whosoeuer they are if they will be satisfied, I haue sayd inough: if they wil not, whatsoeuer I cā say, it wil not serue, and so I leaue them: I woulde I could better satisfie them. God hymself amend them.

The persecution in Calyce, with the Martyrdome of George Bucker, otherwise called Adam Damlyp, and others.

AT what time Iohn Marbecke was in the Marshalsey, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1544. there was in the sayd prison with him one George Bucker,* named otherwise Adam Damlyp, who hauing continued in the sayd prison 3. or 4. yeres, at last by the commandement of Winchester, was had to Calice by Ihon Massie, the keeper of the Marshalsey,* and there hanged, drawen, & quartered for treason pretended, whiche was a little before the condemnation of the Windsore men aforesayd, as is by the letters of the sayd Iohn Marbecke to me signified.

Touching which story of Adam Damlyp, for somuche it includeth matter of much trouble and persecutiō that hapned in Calice,* to digest therefore and comprise the whole narration therefore in order, firste I will enter (the Lorde willing) the storie of Damlip, and so proceede in order to such as by the sayde occasion were afflicted and persecuted in the towne of Calice.

Persecution in the towne of Calice.

Persecutors.	Persecuted.	The Causes.
• Iohn Doue, Prior of the gray Fryers in Calice. • Syr Gregorie Buttol, Priest. • Steuen Gardiner, Bysh. of Winchester. • D. Sampson Byshop of Chichester. • D. Clarke Byshop of Bathe. • D. Repse B. Norwich. • Haruey, com^r missarie in Calice.	• George Bucker, or els called Adam Damlyp. • A poore labouring mā. • W. Steuens. • Thom. Lancaster. • Iohn Butler commissary. • W. Smith Priest. • Raffe Haire. • Iacob a Surgion. • A Fleming. • Clement Philpot seruaunt. • Ieffrey Loueday. • Dodde.	IN the yeare of oure Lorde 1539. the Lorde Cromwell being yet aliue, there came to Calice one Georg Bucker, alias, Adam Damlyppe, who had beene in tyme past a great Papist and Chaplaine to Fisher bishop of Rochester, and after the death of the bishop hys maister hadde trauailed through Frāce Dutchland, and Italie, and as he went, conferred with learned menne concerninge matters of controuersie in Religion: and so proceedinge in hys iourny to Rome, whereas he thoughte to haue founde all godlynesse and sincere Religigion, in the end, he foūd there (as hee confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempte of Chrystes true religion, loosenes of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthinesse, that it abhorred his heart and conscience any longer there to remayne: althoughe he was greatlye

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ladie Honor, wife to the I. Lisle deputie of Calice. • Syr Thomas Palmer, Knight. • Iohn Rooch, woode Esquier.* • Rich. Long, souldiour of Calice. • Fraunces Hastings souldiour. • Hugh Coū, sel seruant. • Syr Rafe Ellerker Knight. • Syr Iohn Gage. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sir Edmond Priest. • W. Touched, Postmaister. • Pet. Bequet. • Anthony Pickeryng gentleman. • Henry Tourney gentleman. • George Darby, Priest. • Iohn Shepard. • W. Pellam. • W. Keuerdall. • Iohn Whitwood. • Ioh. Boote, Ro. Cloddet. • Copen de Hane, alias Iames Cocke. • Math. Hounde. • W. Crosbowmaker. | <p>requested by Cardinal Pole, there to continue, and to read 3. Lectures in the weeke in his house, for y^t which he offered hym great entertainment. Whyche he refused, & so returnge homewarde, hauynge a piece of money geuen him of the Cardinall at his departure, to the value of a Frenche crowne towarde his charges, came to Calyce, as is aforesayd. Who as he was there wayting without the gate for passage into Englande, and being there perceiued by certayne Calyce menne, namely,* William Steuens, and Thomas Lancaster through conference of talke to bee a learned man, and also well affected: and moreouer howe that he being of late a zelous Papist, was now returned to a more perfecte knowledge of true Religion, was by them hartely entreated to stay at Calice a certayne space, and to read there a day or two to the intent he might do some good there after his payneful trauell, vnto the people. To this request Adam gladly consented, so as he might be licenced by such as were in authority, so to do.</p> |
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Whereupon the sayde Steuens at the opening of the gates, brought him vnto the Lord Lisle the kinges Deputie of the towne and marches of Calice,* vnto whome hee declared throughly what conference and talke had bene be'tweene Adam Damlip and him. Which knowne, the sayd Lord Deputie instauntly desired the sayd Damlip to stay there and to preach three or foure dayes or more at his pleasure, saying that he should haue both his licence & the Cōmissaries also (which then was sir Iohn Butler) so to doe. Where after he had preached three or fourt times, hee was so well lyked both for his learning, his vtteraunce and the truth of his doctrine, that not onely the souldiours & commoners, but also the Lord Deputy and a great part of the Counsell, gaue him maruelous great prayse and thanks for it,* and the sayd Lord Deputy offered vnto him a chamber in his owne house, and to dyne and sup euery meale at his owne messe, to haue a man or two of his to wayte vpon him & to haue what soeuer it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for mony, yea & what he would in his purse to buy bookes or otherwise, so as he would tary there among them, & preach onely so long as it should seeme good to himselfe. Who refusing his Lordships great offer, most hartily thanked him for the same, and besought him to be onely so good vnto him, as to appoynt him some quiet & honest place in the towne where he might not be disturbed nor molested, but haue oportunitie to geue himselfe to hys booke, and would dayly once in the forenoone, and agayn by one a clocke at after noone, by the grace of God, preach among them according vnto the talent that God had lent him.* At which aunswere the Lorde Deputy greatly reioysed and therupon sent for the foresayd W. Steuens, whom he earnestly required to receiue and lodge the sayde Damlip in his house, promising what soeuer hee shoulde commaund, to see it payd with the most: and moreouer would send euery meale frō his owne

messe a dish of the best vnto them, and in deede so did: albeit the sayde Damlip refused that offer, shewing his Lordship that thinne dyet was most conuenient for Studentes. Yet could not that restrayne him but that euery meale he sent it.

This godly man by the space of xx. dayes or more, once euery day at vij. of the clocke preached very godly, learnedly & playnly,* the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christes body and bloud, mightely enueying agaynst all Papistrie and cōfuting the same, but especially those two most pernicious errours or heresies, trifling Transubstantiation, and the pestilent propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Romishe Masse, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the auncient Doctours, earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to returne from theyr Popery, declaring how Popish he himselfe had bene, and how by the detestable wickednes that he did see vniuersally in Rome, he was returned so farre homeward, and now became an enemy through Gods grace, to all papistry: shewing therewith, that if gayne or ambition could haue mooued him to the contrary, he might haue bene enterteyned of Cardinall [Page 1224](#) Poole (as you haue heard before) but for very conscience sake ioyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods most holy word, he now vtterly abhorred all Papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued a while reading in the Chapter house of the White Friers, but the place beeyng not bigge enough, he was desired to reade in the Pulpit, and so proceeding in his Lectures (wherein hee declared howe the world was deceaued by the Romaine Bishops, which had set forth the damnable doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the reall presence in the Sacrament,* as is aforesayde) he came at length to speake against the Pageaunt or Picture set foorth of the Resurrection whiche was in Saint Nicholas Church, declaring the same to be but meere Idolatrie, and illusion of the Frenchmen before Calice was English.

Upon which Sermon or Lecture, there came a Commission from the King to the Lord Deputie, M. Grendfield,* sir Iohn Butler Commissary, the Kinges Mason, and Smith, with others, that they should searche whether there were (as was put in writing, and vnder Bull and Pardon) three hostes lyeng vpon a Marble stone, besprinkled with bloud, and if they found it not so, that immediatly it should be plucked downe, and so it was. For in searching therof, as they brake vp a stone in a corner of the Tumb, they in stead of the three hostes, founde souldered in the Crosse of Marble lyeng vnder the Sepulcher,* three playne white counters which they had paynted lyke vnto hostes, and a bone that is in the typ of a sheepes tayle. All which trumpery Damlip shewed vnto the people the next day folowing, which was Sondag, out of the Pulpit, and after that they were sent by the Lord Deputie to the King.*

Notwithstanding the Deuill stirred vp a Doue (hee might well be called a Cormorant) the Priour of the white Friers. Who with Syr Gregory Buttoll, Chapleyne to the Lord Lisle, began to barke agaynst him. Yet after the sayde Adam had in three or foure Sermons confuted the sayd Friers erroneous doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatorie Sacrifice of the Masse:* the sayd Frier outwardly seemed to geue place, ceasing openly to inuey, and secretly practised to peach him by letters sent vnto the Clergie here in England: so y^t within viij. or x. dayes after, the said Damlip was sent for to appeare before the Bishop of Canterbury,* with whome was assistant Steuen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, D. Sampson, Byshop of Chichester, and diuers other, before whome he most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which hee had taught, in such sort aunswering, confuting, & soluting the obiections, as his aduersaries, yea euen among

other, the learned godly and blessed Martyr Cranmer then yet but a Lutheran, maruelled at it, & said plainly, that y^e Scripture knew no such terme of transubstantiation.* Then begā the other Bishops to threaten him, shortly to cōfute him with their accustomed argument, I meane fire and fagot, if hee should still stand to y^e defence of that he had spoken. Wherunto he constantly answered, that he would the nexte day deliuer vnto them fully so much in writing as he had said: whereto also he would stand, and so was dismissed.

The next day at the houre appointed to appeare, when they looked surely to haue apprehended hym, in the meane season he had secrete intimation from the Bishop of Canterbury,* that if he did any more personally appeare, he should be committed vnto Warde, not like to escape cruell death. Wherupon he (plaieng in deede then somewhat old Adams part, for such is man, left in his owne handes) had him commended vnto them, and sent them four sheetes of paper learnedly written in the Latin tounge, cōteining his faith with his argumentes conferences, of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctours, by a messenger or frend of his. Whiche done, he hauyng a little money giuen him in his purse by his frends, stepped aside, and went to the West cuntry, and there kept all the time, whyle great trouble kindled against Gods people in Calice, vpon the same, as ye shall heare, the Lord permitting.

After his departure, the Kings Maiestie was aduertised, that there was great dissention & diuersitie of pernicious opinions in his sayd towne of Calice, greatly tending to the daunger of the same. Wherupō, during yet the daies of the Lord Cromwell,* were sent ouer Doct. Champion Doctour of Diuinitie, & M. Garret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the people, and to cōfute all pernicious errorrs, who in effect preached and maintained the same true doctrine which Adam Damlip had before set foorth, and by reason thereof, they left the Towne at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the sclaunder that had runne on it.

After the departure of the sayd Champion and Garret, one Sir William Smith Curate of our Lady Parishe in Calice, a man very zelous, though but meanely learned, did begin to preach, and earnestly to inuey against Papistrie and wilfull ignoraunce: exhorting men obediently to receaue the word, and no longer to contemne the same,* least Gods heaueie plagues and wrath should fall vpon them, which alwayes foloweth the contempt of his holy word. Which sir William Smith, for that sometime he would be very feruent & zelous, sharply inueying against the despisers of the word, was moued by some of y^e Counsell there, who would seeme to fauour Gods word, that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same, willing him to beare with suche, for by bearing with them they might hap to be wonne.

Well, well, said the same Smith (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) some men say I am too earnest, and will me to beare with such as continue open enemies against Christes holy Gospell, and refuse, nay forbid that any should reade the Bible or holy scripture within their house: but let all such take heede, for before God, I feare that God for their contemning of his word, will not long beare with them, but make them in suche case as some of them shall not haue a head left them vpon their shoulders to beare vp their cap withal: which also after came to pas.

This Smyth continued in the diligente bestowing of his talent there, till shortly after the deuill got such hold in the harts of a number of Gods enemies, that he with diuers other godly men were

called ouer into Englande, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appeare.

First the Lord Lislie the Kings deputy there, whome we shewed to be the maintainer of Damlip (albeit he were himselfe of a most gentle nature, & of a right noble bloud,* the base sonne of that noble Prince King Edward the fourth) being fiercely set on, and incessantly entised by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an vtter enemy to Gods honour, and in Idolatry, hypocrisie, & pride incomparably euill, she beeing dayly and houely thereunto incited and prouoked by Sir Thomas Palmer Knight, & Iohn Rookewood Esquire, two enemies to Gods word,* beginning now to flourish at Calice: these I say, with certayne other of the Counsell of the sayd Towne of Calice, to the number of vij. mo besides themselues, seeking occasion or rather a quarell, where no iust cause was geuē, begā to write very heinous letters and greuous complaints vnto the Lordes of the priuie Counsell, agaynst dyuers of the Towne of Calice, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions: As first the foresaid Adam Damlip, who though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stacke still in their remembraunce from time to time, vntill at last the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traitor, as hereafter shal appeare.

Also besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Broke, Rafe Hare, likewise of Sir Iohn Butler then Commissarie, and Sir W. Smith, Iames Cocke, aliàs Coppen de Hane, Iames Barber & other, and the names of them all sente ouer. Of the wich persons, first the sayde Thomas Broke, and Rafe Hare, Coppen de Hane, and Iames Barber were apprehended and sent ouer, and cōmitted to prison in Westminster gate, and then commanded to appeare before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bish. of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the Kings maiesties commission, for the examination of them. And their accusers also were sent ouer with letters from the Counsell there, vnto his priuie Councell here, in the furtheraunce of their malicious sutes against those honest men, with certaine speciall letters directed vnto the Lord Fitzwilliams then Earle of Southhampton, & great Admirall of Englād, to the L. Sandes, Lord Chamberlayne of the Houshold, likewise also to sir William Kingstone Knight, Comptroller of y^e houshold, and to D. Sampson, then B. of Chichester, and other tending all to one effect, that is to say, to the vtter destruction of these godly men, if God after his wonted manner, had not mightely preserued them, and, as it were ouershadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

That the same may the better appeare, you shall vnderstand that first Rafe Hare, a man rude and so vnlearned, that scarce he could reade, yet through Gods grace,* was very zelous, and therewith lead so godly & temperate a life, as not one of his enemies coulde accuse or blame the same his sober lyfe and conuersation. Thys Rafe Hare was charged to be one, that had spoken against auriculare confession, against holy bread and holy water,* yea and beside that, he was one which would not lightly sweare an othe, nor vse almost any maner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they terme it, but was alwaies in a corner by himselfe, looking on his booke. The poore simple man being charged by the Commissioners, y^t he was a naughty man & erroneous, [Page 1225](#) and that he could not be otherwise, comming out of a towne so infected with pernicious errors & sects as that was, was willed by them to take good heede to himselfe, least through obstinacy he turned his erroneous opinions to playne heresie: for an error defended, is heresie.

My good Lordes sayde the poore man, I take God to recorde,* I woulde not willingly maintayne an errour or heresie, wherefore I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that whyche I haue spoken, I will neuer denye it. Moreouer, if it be truth, I wil stand vnto it, and otherwise if it be an errour, I will with all my hart vtterly forsake it, I meane if it be against Gods holy worde. For the Lorde is my witnes, I seeke, and dayly pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errours, and I trust the Lorde will saue me, and preserue me from them.

Aha, quoth the Bishop of Winchester, do you not heare what he saith my Lord? I perceiue now thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, sayd Rafe Hare, what euill sayd I? Mary Syr, you sayd, the Lord, the Lord, and that is, Symbolum haereticorum, sayde Winchester. What is that my Lord,* for Gods sake tell me, sayde Hare? Thou art nought, thou art nought, sayd he. At which words y^e simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayde and driuen into a great agony and feare. Which thing Winchester wel perceiuing, said vnto him: Rafe Hare, Rafe Hare, by my trouth I pitie thee much. For in good faith, I thinke thee to be a good simple man, & of thy selfe wouldest meane well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtile schoolemaisters, that haue seduced thee good poore simple soule, and therefore I pitie thee: and it were in deede pitie that thou shouldest be burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast serued y^e King right well in his warres. I haue heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the King as good seruice as euer thou wast, and we all will be a meane to his grace to be good and gracious Lord vnto thee, if thou wilt take pitie of thy selfe, and leaue thy errours. For I dare say for vs all, that be Commissioners, that we would be loth that thou should be cast away. For alas poore simple man, we perceiue thou hast bene seduced (I say) by others.

How sayest thou therefore? thou knowest my Lorde of Canterburies grace here is a good gentle Lord, and would be lothe thou shouldst be cast away. Tell me, canst thou be cōtent to submit thy selfe vnto him, and to stand vnto such order, as he and we shall take in this matter? How sayest thou man? speake. The poore man therewith falling vpon his knees, and sheeding teares, aunswered, speaking to the Archbishop of Canterbury in this wise: My good lord, for Christes sake be good vnto me, and I referre my selfe vnto your graces order, do with me what you please.

The Bishop of Canterbury, considering what daunger he was ready to fall in, & pitieng the same (though the simplicitie of y^e man was so great,* that he perceiued it not) sayd, nay Rafe Hare, stand vp, & aduise thy selfe, and commit not thy selfe to me, for I am but one man, and in Commission but as the other are, so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But if thou do commit thy selfe vnto all, then thou committest thy selfe vnto the law, and the law is ordained to do euery mā right. Go to Raph Hare, said Winchester, submit thy selfe to my Lord and vs: it is best for thee to doo so. Whereupon he fell vpon his knees again, and said: My Lordes and maisters all, I submitte my selfe wholly vnto you.* And therewithall a booke was holden him, and an oth geuen him to be obedient vnto them, and to all Ecclesiasticall lawes: and straightway he was enioyned to abiure, and to beare a fagot three seuerall dayes, & moreouer, the poore man lost the liuing that he had at Calice.

This simple man hearing his penance, piteously lamented, and earnestly at the firste denied to stande thereunto, with piteous exclamation, sayeng: O my Lord of Winchester, my Lorde of

Winchester, haue you made me a logge ready to be layde vpon the fire, whensoever anye wicked man falsly of malice, by prouocation of the deuill, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? Or shall I be thus handled, nothing proued to my face against me? Alas, I haue alwayes hated errorrs and heresies. Content thy self Hare: there is now no remedy, thou must eyther do thy penance, or be burnt, sayd the Cōmissioners. Thus haue you heard how Ralph Hare did speede.

Then was Thomas Broke called for, against whome it was objected by some of the Counsels letters of Calice,* that he was a seditious fellow. Among these accusers besides the rest, was one Richard Long, an other Fraunces Hastings, men of armes, who charged y^e forenamed Tho. mas Broke, and one Geffray Loueday Esquire, for staying and mainteining the foresayde Adam Damlyp at Calice: as who had promised vnto him a stipend to preache such heresies and pernicious opinions, as afterwarde hee taught there: and that these two daily gathered many seuerall summes of money, for the entertainment of the said Adam. Howbeit, the foresaid Hastings failed in the prooffe thereof. For Loueday proued that he was viij. daies before Damlips comming to Calice, and during xiiij. daies continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied aboute necessary affaires of Charles Duke of Southfolke. And Broke during the sayde time, was at London daily attendant in the Parliament house, wherof he had enough to beare witnes, against y^e vntrue surmise.

After that, came three at once against the sayd Broke, well armed as they thought, who had not onely consulted together before of the matter,* and put it in writing at Calice, beside their conference and talke by the way keepyng company from thence hether, but also had obtained from the Lord Deputie and others of the Counsell, speciall letters as is aforesaid: and among other, one letter vnto the Bishop of Chichester, for the earnest and speedy furtherāce of the aduancement of their accusations against Brooke.

The first of these three was a young Gentleman lately brought vp vnder the said Brooke in the office of custome,* whose name was Edmund Payton.

The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both base borne, and also such a one,* as in his youth for murthering a man with a clubbe in Bow lane in London, was faine by obtaining the Kings pardon, to saue his necke.

The third was one Tho. Boyse, who shewyng more honesty then the rest, affirmed not that he himselfe heard y^e sayd Broke speake any thing of that whiche was objected against him,* but iustified that either of the other two had stedfastly affirmed to him, that Broke had spoken vnto them those things heere vnder objected against him.

The yong man first objected againste the sayde Broke,* that he should say that the thing which the Priest vseth to hold vp ouer his head at Masse, is not the natural body of Iesu Christ: for if that were so, who so would, might haue their belly ful of Gods, their guts ful of Gods, and he that had lately receiued the Sacrament before he wente to the Sea, might happely vomit God vp againe on shypboord.

And thus much he brought ouer in writing wyth hym from Calice, and added thereto, as it should seeme, to exasperate the Commissioners and the rest of the Cleargy against him, certaine other

heynous words spoken against Byshops and Priestes. Whiche wordes the sayd Broke there denied, confessing neuerthelesse that certaine priuate talke he had with him touching the Sacrament, wherein he shewed to the yong man the right vse of the same, concluding, that albeit with our mouthes we receyued very materiall bread and wine, yet by faith,* all Christian mē do receiue, eate, and drinke, to their great comfort and benefite, the very natural body and bloud of Christ, which was both borne of the virgine Mary, and suffered death on the Crosse for the remission of their sinnes: which most holye Sacrament, who so came vnworthely vnto, the same was so farre from the eating of Christes body and bloude, that all such (without hartie repentaunce) do eate their owne damnation. And to conclude with him in that priuate talk he told him, that if the grosse & vnlearned error of transubstantiation, were in deede matter of truth and sincere doctrine, then not only this should follow of it, that euery mā who would, might haue euerlasting life (for they might when they woulde receiue the outward Sacrament, seene with our eyes, whiche the Priestes call Christes naturall body, and who so eateth Christes body, and drinketh hys bloud, hath euerlasting lyfe, sayeth Christ) but also there should great absurdities follow therby, as whē a mā hapneth to go to the sea, hauing lately receiued the sacrament, he should put it ouer boorde, or do it on the hatches, & therfore exhorted the said Payton to leaue that grosse error.

The second accuser was Poole, who objected agaynste him, that about two yeares past, he himselfe dining wyth the sayd Brooke, with xv. or xvj. other honest men,* heard him thus say at the table, that the thing which the Priestes vse to hold vp ouer their heads, was not the very bodye and bloud of Christ, but a sacrament to put vs in remembrance thereof. Unto whose obiections the said Broke answered, that a man in mirth might well enough with charitie beshrewe suche a guest, as when he had dined wyth a man, could so lōg after remember to say him such a grace: and required of Poole, of whence the rest of the gwestes were. He aunswered they were of the towne all. Then inferred he, that he was sure Poole could as well remember some of their names which then were present, as freshly to keepe in mind (for so by oth vpon a booke he had af•irmed) euery word of the whole matter which he objected: but for that the matter was vtterly vntrue. Whereupon▪ [Page 1226](#) the sayd Brooke desired their honours to consider the slendernes of his tale.

To be shorte, he with the rest of hys felowes, to witte, Rafe Hare, Coppen, and Iames the Barber, were for that time dismissed.

During the tyme while these four were thus in examination at London,* the other two, to witte, Syr William Smith preacher, and Iohn Butler, by commaundement were apprehended in Calyce, and bounde by suretie not to passe the gates of the towne of Calyce. In the whiche towne, the sayd Iohn Butler Commissary was accused by Rich. Thorpe and Ioh. Ford, souldiours of Calice, saiiing that he shoulde say,* that if the Sacrament of the aultar be fleshe, bloud, and bone, then there is good aqua vitae at Iohn Spisers. Upon which accusation the sayde Thorpe and Forde brought for recordes before the Counsaile of Calyce, Marraunt Haynes, Iohn Luckes, Harry Husson, and Harry Troste, all of the parish of Oye beside Calyce. Whereupon shortly after, the sayde Iohn Butler and Sir William Smith were sent for, and by one Swallow a purseuant, which set vp the other aforesaide, brought into England, vnto the house of the sayd Swallow, dwellyng by S. Iames, where the Kings maiestie lay at that tyme, and the next day being Thurseday, after dinner, Butler & Smith were brought to the starre chamber before the priuie Counsaile, where

both sedition and heresie was objected against them: and after much talke, was sayde vnto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they should make theyr purgation by the lawe: And from thence by the foresayde Swallow they were sent to the Fleete.

The next day being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smyth were sent for to come to Bathe place, where they were brought into the Chappell, there sitting D. Clarke, Byshop of Bathe, Doctour Sampson, then Byshop of Chichester, Doctour Repse, the Byshop of Norwich, who was a Monke, being fast a sleepe. Then was objected vnto Butler with great reuerence, the opprobrious wordes spoken against the blessed Sacramente, rehearsing (as is aforesayd) the articles.* Butler required to haue them in writing, and so woulde make aunswere in writing. The whiche they woulde not graunt him: and vpon that aunswere he stode. Then choler gathered in the Byshop of Chichester. The story were too long to write: yet part yee shall vnderstand.

Chichester found great fault that Butler made not lowe cursie, beeing stubborne and arrogant, as he said, and in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then turning him about, he called to his brother Bannester being present (that time dwelling in Pater noster Row) to make aunswere for the shirt. He said, I can make answeere for the shirt. No good aunswere saide Chichester. Forsooth, saide hee, the shirt is mine▪ I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to haue any seruauant. A good aunswere sayd the Byshop of Bathe. Then Butler made lowe curtesie, and said, the shirt is answered. Then Chichester said, thou mockest vs. But he sayde no. And thus muche concerning that time.

¶The story of William Smyth.

Then after Butler, was Sir William Smith, Curate of our Lady Parish in Calice,* called before them, and charged in a manner with the same haynous errors and pernicious opinions, that were objected against the sayde Rafe Hare, and therto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against prayeng to Saints, against doing of good workes, and many other like things: and therewithall, one Richard Long, a man of armes of Calice, prooued against the said Sir Smyth, and y^e foresaid Brooke by an othe taken vpon a booke, that the sayd Smith and Brooke did eate flesh together in Lent in the sayd Brookes house. For a Millers boy, sayd hee, came into Brookes kitchen, and sawe halfe a Lambe lye a roasting at the fire. Where as the truth is, that the sayde Sir William Smith during all the Lent, came neuer once within the sayd Brookes house. And it is as true also, that the sayd Richard Long, vpon a displeasure taken with his wife, went shortly after out of his owne house, to the Iu•rie end of the hauen at Calice, where desperately he drowned himselfe,* not one boy, but many men, women, girles, and boyes seeing him miserably taken vp againe starke dead: all which lamented his pitifull ruine. A terrible example vnto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a booke vpon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be: a thing in these dayes ouer rise euery where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be.

¶The trouble of Iohn Butler.

There was also called before them sir Iohn Butler, then Commissary of Calice,* whom they would haue burdened with the maintenance, or (at y^e leastwise) sufferance, of the foresayd Adam Damlip, which preached so lōg time there, and was not by him punished. Who for his

defence answered, that the Lord Deputie and the whole Counsell there so highly entertained, and so frendly vsed the said Damlyp, and with their owne presence & high commendations outwardly so allowed and cōmēded his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise thē he did: & therfore humbly besought their Lordships and other the Commissioners to be good vnto him. At whose handes, after long attendance geuen, he was discharged, & so returned home againe, being also dismissed of his Commissaryship.

The recantation of certayne Calyce men.

NOW to declare what order was taken with these foresayd Calycemen, it was appointed that sir W. Smith, Rafe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber,* should be sent to Calice, there to abiure and to do penance. Where sir W. Smith was enioined to make the Sermon, Rafe Hare, Iames Cocke, and Iames Barber standyng wyth fagots vpō their shoulders. The Sermon was made in y^e market of Calice. Which being done, they went with their fagottes about the market place, the Drumme and Fife going before them, and then returning to the Commissioners with testimoniall of the same, they departed. Albeit in this recātation, the said W. Smith Curate of our Ladyes Church handled his Sermon after that sort, as in effect he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat hys aduersaries malicious harts, in that it bare the name of a recantation, according to the Commissioners order, appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the towne and marches.

As touching Iames Barber aforesayde, for so much as his dwelling was not at Calice,* but foure miles off from the towne, it was therfore enioyned him to beare his Fagot, not at Calice, but on the Saterday next following to stand in the market there, where he dwelled, with his Fagot vpon his shoulder, and the sayd Syr William Smyth likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the firste Commission sente ouer to Calice to enquire vpon the heretickes there.

Another Commission sent ouer to Calice.

AFTER all these thynges done and past, the grudgyng mindes of the aduersaries yet were not satisfied, but still suggested new cōplaints to the Kings eares against the towne of Calice, making the king beleue,* that through new opinions the towne was so diuided, that it was in great daunger of the aduersary to be ouercome.

Whereupon shortly after, the weeke before Easter next folowing, other newe Commissioners were sent ouer by the King to Calice, to witte, the Earle of Sussex, Lorde great Chamberlaine, the Lord S. Iohn,* Sir Iohn Gage Knight, Sir Iohn Barker Knight, M. Layton, Clerke of the closet, and Doctor Currin, with speciall instructiōs besides signed by the Kings Maiesties owne hand: for his highnes had bene incensed once againe from the Counsell at Calice, that the towne was in perill through dissension,* and diuersitie of opinions. Upon their arriuall, M. Doct. Currin preached a notable Sermon, exhorting all men to charitie, hauing nothing in his mouth but charitie, charitie. But as it seemed afterwarde, such a burning charitie was in him and the rest of the Commissioners, that had not God pitied the innocencie of mens causes, there had a hundred bene burnt or hanged shortly after.

But it happened farre otherwise. For of the number of those accusers, four were by those Commissioners sent ouer into England, to witte, Clement Philpot, seruaunt to the Lorde Lisle, sir Edmund, Curate of our Ladyes Church, W. Touchet a Postmaister, Peter Bequet, of the which four,* Touchet and Bequet were sente to theyr places againe: the other two were drawne, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accused, there was not one that lost one heare of his head.

After the Sermon was done, on the morowe to witte, on Sherethurseday, all the Commissioners solemnely receiued the Sacramente. And at after noone, the Counsell were with the Commissioners, and after their consultation, tipped staues warned, aboue the number of foure score, so peruerse persons as the like were not in y^e towne [Page 1227](#) or marches, to appeare on the morrow at viij. of the clocke before the Counsell at the Staple Inne, who at their appearance were commaunded vpon their allegiance, to present all such heretickes, schismatickes, and seditious persons, as they did know: and in no wise to doubt or dread so to do, for they shoulde haue great aduauntage thereby, yea they should haue eyther their linings,* or their goodes, and besides that, they shoulde haue greate thanks at the Kings Maiesties hand, and his honorable Counsell, and what frendship they of the Kings Counsell there coulde shew them. All that good Friday, euen till x. of the clocke at night, those wicked and malicious persons occupied their time in aunswering to diuers and sondry questions.

These things were not so secretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honest mens knowledge. Whereupon such feare and distrust assaulted all men, that neighbour mistrusted neighbour, the maister the seruaunt, the seruaunt the maister, the husband the wife, the wife the husband,* and almost euery one the other, that lamentable it was to see how mourningly men and women went in the streetes, hanging downe their heads, shewing euident tokens of the anguish of their harts.

The second trouble of Thomas Brooke.

Vpon Easter Monday, one Hugh Councell an honest man, seruaunt to the sayd Brooke, was conuented before them, and by the space of xiiij. dayes, not suffered to returne to his maisters house, but kepte in custody, and many times examined vpon Articles and Interrogatories, in hope to haue found worthy matter, either of heresie or treason against the sayde Brooke: and the same daye that Brooke was committed to Warde, the sayde Hugh Councell was discharged.

The Wednesday in the Easter weeke, sundry Questes were charged by their othes to make inquisition for all maner of heresies, erroneous opinions and seditions, as a Quest of Aldermen, an other of men at armes, and an other of Constables and Uintners, an other of common Souldiours, and an other of Commoners.

And shortly after theyr presentments, on good Friday, there was conuented before the Commissioners, and straighte were sente to close prison,* Anthony Pickering Gentleman, Harry Tourney Gentleman, Syr George Darby Priest, Iohn Shepheard, William Pellam, William Keuerdale, Iohn Whitwoode, Iohn Boote, Roberte Clodder, Copen de Hane, & Mathew de Hound. Upon whome ran sundry brutes: Some said they should be hanged, some said burnt, some said hanged drawne and quartered, some said nailed to the Pillery: so that pitifull it was to

see the lamentation that their wiues, their children, seruants, and frendes made secretly where they durst, for that they founde euery where words of discomfort, and no where of comfort, but still Inquisition was made.

The second trouble of William Steuens.

The foresayd William Steuens after hys returne from London aboue mētioned, besides many other Articles laid to him for religion, to y^e number of 40. or welnie, was by y^e Lord Deputie charged y^t he had stayed the foresaid Adam Damlip, hyred him to preache, and gaue him meate, drinke and lodging, cōming from the arrant traytor Cardinall Poole,* and suborned by him: and that he had receyued money of him, to the intent he should preach in Calice false & erroneous doctrine, wherby y^e towne being deuided & at contention within it selfe, might easely be ouercome & wonne by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the sayde Steuens aunswered, that whatsoeuer he had done vnto the sayd Adam Damlip, he had done it at the earnest request & commaundement of the sayd Lord Deputie. Whereupon, if it had bene treason in deede, he must haue bene more faultie.

Then the said William Steuens was againe the second time by the said Commissioners sent ouer into England, & clapt in the tower, & afterwarde, to wit, immediately after the said Commissioners repaire vnto the Kings highnes, y^e said Lord Deputy was sent for ouer, & likewise put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And whē the Kings Maiestie minded to haue bene gracious vnto him, & to haue let him come forth, God tooke hym out of thys world, whose body resteth in y^e Tower, & his soule wth God, I trust,* in heauen, for he died very repentaunt. But y^e wicked Lady his wife immediately vpon his apprehensiō, fell distraught of minde, & so cōtinued many yeares after. God for his mercy, if she yet liue, geue her his grace to repent.

The second Monday after Easter, the foresayd Brooke was conuented before the Commissioners, and committed to close prison in the Mayors Gayle.

Then the Counsell of Calice, doubting lest there should not be any sedition or heresie proued against him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied y^e Contrrollers office in the custome house. This mā was kept in close prison, so as neither his wife then great with childe, nor any other his frends might repaire vnto him. Where, after y^t he had often times beene borne in hande, that there were diuers concealements come to light that were made by Brooke in the office of Custome, and y^t the said Bradway should be greeuously punished if he would acknowledge none of thē, nor burden y^e said Brooke with no kind of concealement: the poore simple man, hoping thereby to get release of his imprisonment, accused the sayd Brooke, that he had for a long time concealed foure grotes euery day for his Clarkes wages, & to that accusation they caused the simple man to set his owne hand before witnesses.

Wherevpon, after a day or two, the said Bradway greeued in his conscience for the same his most vntrue accusation, did with a knife enterprise to cut his own throte:* but God of his mercy so directed his wicked purpose, that the backe of his knife was towarde his wesande. Whereby though the wound were broad, yet he escaped with lyfe.* And as he gaue a grone with the sodaine paine that he felt, the Gayler came vp, and bereft him of the knife. But thorough the

giltines of the false accusation, and shame of the world, the mā lost his wits, who then staring and dismaid was dismissed out of prison, and a long time after went in piteous case so dismayed about the streete, to the great impouerishing of him, his poore wife and familie.

This kynde of handling of the said Brooke, made all his frendes, but specially his wife, to be greatly afeard of the malice of his enemies: the rather also, for that all his goods and landes were ceised. And his wife thrust into the meanest place of all his house, with her children and family, the keyes of al y^e dores and chestes beside taken from her. Who for y^t she was rigorously entreated at sir Edward Ringleis hand, Controller of the Towne (an office of no small charge, though he knew not a B from a battledore, nor euer a letter of the booke) sayeng vnto her, that if she lyked not the roome, he woulde thrust her quite out of the dores: well Sir, sayd she, well, the Kings slaughter house had wrong when you were made a Gentleman, and with all speede she wrote a letter to the Lorde Cromwell,* therein discoursing how hardly and sore those poore mē were hādled, that were committed to ward and close prison, and that all men feared (what through the malice of their Papisticall enemies, and the great rigour and ignoraunt zeale of those that were in authoritie) they should shortly for their faith and consciences, being true men, and suche as reuerently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her husband, who was yet more extremely handled then any other: So that, vnlesse his honour vouchsaued to be a meane to the Kings maiestie, that they with their causes might be sente ouer into England, they were but dead men.

Whereupon the said Lord Cromwell wrote speedely his letters vnto the Commissioners, declaring the kings maiesties pleasure and commaundement was, that the arrant traitour and hereticke Brooke,* with a dosen or twentye complices, should with their accusers be immediately sent ouer, that heere in Englād they might receiue their iudgement, and there at Calice to the great terrour of like offenders hereafter suffer according to their demerites.

Now by the tyme that the sayd Commissioners had receiued these letters, they had made out precepts for 8. or 9. score honest men more to be cast in prison. But these letters so appalled them, that they stayde, and afterwarde sent no moe to ward. But making then as diligent inquisition as was possible, to haue found some worthy matter againste those before named, whereby there might haue bene some colour, both of the Counsels greeuous complaintes, and of the Cōmissioners rigorous dealing, whē no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured y^t they should not go vnpunished, they first banished thē the towne and Marches of Calice with a Trumpet blowne, vnder paine of death, for a hundred yeare and a day if that one day had bene left out, all had bene marde, and then sent them backe to prison, staying them there vpon hope that the L. Cromwell should come into captiuitie sooner then he dyd.* But at last, to wit, on May day, they sente the xiiij. prisoners through the market, the sayd Brooke going before wyth yrons on his legges, as the chiefe captaine, the rest following him, two and two without yrons, vnto shipbord, & then were they all coupled in yrons two & two together. Where, because they were loth to go vnder the hatches. Sir Iohn Gage with a staffe smote some of them cruelly:.* Whereupon Anthony Pickering sayd vnto him, Syr, I besech you yet be as good vnto vs as you would be to your horses or dogs: let vs haue a litle aire that we be not smothered. [Page 1228](#) Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put downe close, and they garded and kept with a great company of men, and so sailing forward, by Gods mercifull prouidence, were within 24. houres, at ancker before the Tower of London.

And when the Lord Cromwell vnderstoode they were come, he commaunded their yrons to be smit off at the Tower wharfe, and the prisoners to be brought vnto him.

When he saw them he smiled vpon them, stedfastly beholding each of them, and then sayde: Sirs, you must take payne for a time. Go your way to the Fleete, and submit your selues prisoners there,* and shortly you shall knowe more, so in deede they did, for that euening he sente them word they shoulde be of good cheere, for if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honesty, as they came with shame.

Whilest these xiiij. persecuted men lay in the Fleete, and W. Steuens in the Tower, to wit, the xix. day of Iuly, an. 1541. the foresaid Lord Cromwell for treason layd agaynst him, was at Tower hill beheaded, as is before specified in his story, who made there a very Christian end. Then had the poore Calice men great cause to feare, if they had not altogether depēded on the mercifull prouidēce of their heauenly father, whose blessed will they knewe directed all things. But he in the midst of their deepe troubles and miseries so comforted them, that euen as the daungers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation & ioy in him, so farre forth, as Mathew de Hound, one of those xiiij. who was in trouble onely for that he heard Copen de Hall reade a Chapter of the new Testament,* and was as deepe in punishment, and in banishmente from his wife, children, and countrey, as the rest, got in shorte time suche instruction, that hauing therewith a soule and conscience fraughted ful of godly zeale vnto Gods glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few monethes after his deliuerance out of the Fleete: for inueying constantly against the wicked honouring of images, & praying vnto Saints departed, was cruelly in a most cōstant faith and patience, burned in Flaunders.

Now therfore when all hope in man was past, the right honourable L. Audeley, lord Chancellor of Englād, without further examination,* discharged first the sayd 13. that were in the Fleete, and at length two yeares after, he deliuered W. Steuens also by the Kings owne motion, out of the Tower, saying at y^e discharging of those 13. sirs, pray for the Kings Maiestie, his pleasure is y^t you shall all bee presently discharged. And though your liuings be taken from you, yet despaire not: God wil not see you lacke. But for Gods sake sirs beware how you deale with popishe Priests: for, so God saue my soule, some of them be knaues all. Sirs, said he, I am commaunded by the counsaile to tell you,* that you are discharged by vertue of the kings generall pardon, but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you are called sacramentaries. Therefore I can not see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the Kings highnesse, for his graces pleasure is, that I should dismisse you, and so I do, and pitie you all: Farewell sirs.

So geuing God most hartie thanks for his mightye and mercifull deliuering of them, they departed dismissed, as you haue heard,* being in deede in very poore estate: but not in so miserable state as all those eight Counsailours of Calice were within one yere and a halfe after. For wheras the other three Counsailers which semed more fauourable to them: to wit, the Lord Gray, sir George Carow, and sir Rich. Grinefield, which purged the towne of those sclaunders that vntruely were raysed vpon it,* and therfore for a time were in their princes high displeasure: within y^e yeare were al three in greater fauour then euer they were before, and that not without the reward of xx. pound by yeare to him & to his heires, who had least: the other eight Counsailours, vniustly charging them and the towne of sedition and heresie: to say, the Lord

Lisle, the Lord Sandes, Sir Iohn Wallop, sir Edward Rinsley, Rob. Fowler Esquier vice treasurer,* sir Tho. Palmer knight, called lōg Palmer, W. Simpson Esquier vndermarshall, & Ioh. Rockwod, were either greatly out of their Princes fauour, and in the Tower or els where prisoners, either els by very desperat deathes in outward appearance, taken out of this world: For tediousnes I will rehearse but only the horrible ende of the said Rockwood, the chiefe stirrer vp of all the afflictions afore spoken of: who euen to the last breath staring & raging, cried, he was vtterly damned: and being willed to aske God mercy,* who was ready to forgeue all that asked mercy of him, he braied & cried out, All too late, for I haue sought malitiously the deathes of a number of the honestest men in the towne, and though I so thought them in my hart, yet I did that lay in me to bring thē to an euil death: all too late therefore, all too late. Which same words he answered to one that at the departure of the xiiij. in yrons towards England, said: Sir, I neuer saw men of such honesty, so sharply corrected, & taking it so patiently and ioyfully. Rockwod thē fetching a friske or two, scoffingly answered: All too late. The vndermarshal sodenly fel downe in the Counsaile chamber, and neuer spake word after, nor shewed any token of remembrance. The plagues of the other also, as I am credibly infourmed, were little better.

The second apprehension and martyrdome of Adam Damlyp.

CONcerning Adam Damlip,* otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, page. 1223. how hee being conuented before the Bishops at Lambeth, and afterwarde secretly admonished, and hauing money geuen him by his freinds, to auoide, and not to appeare agayne before the Bishops: after hee had sente his allegations in writing vnto them, departed into the West cuntry, and there continued teaching a schoole a certaine space, about a yeare or two. After that, the good man was againe apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the sixe articles, and brought vp to London, where he was by Steuen Gardiner commaunded into the Marshalsey, and there lay the space of other two yeares or thereabout.

During the imprisonment of this George in the Marshalsey, Io. Marbecke (as partly ye heard before) also was cōmitted into the same prison, which was the morow after Palme sonday. The maner of that time so required, that at Easter euery person must nedes come to cōfessiō. Wherupon Marbecke with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come vpō Easter day to sir George aforesaid,* to be confessed, who was then cōfessor to y^e whole house. By this occasion I. Marbecke, which had neuer sene him before, entring into cōference w^t him, perceiued what he was, what he had ben, what troubles he sustained, how long he had liue there in prison, by whō, & wherfore: who declared moreouer his mind to Marbecke, to y^e effect as foloweth: And now because, said he, I thinke they haue forgottē me,* I am fully minded to make my humble sute to the Bish. of Winchester, in an Epistle, declaring therein mine obediēce, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the woorst. I can but leese my life presente, which I had leuer do, then heere to remaine, and not to be suffered to vse my talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will surely put it in prooffe.

This Damlip for his honest and godly behauiour was beloued of all y^e whole house,* but specially of the keeper him selfe, whose name was Massy, whōe he always called master: and being suffred to go at liberty within y^e house whether he would, he did much good amōg the common & rascal sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice & sin, and kept them in such good order & awe, that the keeper thought himselfe to haue a great treasure of him. And no lesse also Marbeck

himselſe confesseſeth, to haue found great cōfort by him. For notwithstanding y^e straight precept geuen by the Bish. of Winchester, that no man shoulde come to him,* nor hee to speake with any man: yet the sayde Adam manye tymes would finde the meanes to come and comfort him.

Now when he had made and drawne out hys Epistle, he deliuered the same to his maister the keeper,* vpō saterday in the morning, which was about the secōd weeke before Whitsonday folowing, desiring him to deliuer it at the Court to y^e B. of Winchester. The keeper said, he woulde, and so did. The Bish. what quicke speede he made for hys dispatch, I know not, but thus it fel out, as ye shall heare.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (which had taried supper for his comming) sawe him so sad and heauie, they deemed something to be amisse. At last the keeper casting vp his eyes vpon Syr George, sayd: O George, I can tell thee tidings. What is that maister, quoth he? Upon Monday next thou and I must goe to Calice. To Calice maister? What to do? I know not,* quoth the keeper, & pulled out of his purse a peece of waxe with a little labell of parchmēt hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when Sir George saw it, hee sayde: well well Maister, nowe I knowe what the matter is, What, quoth the keeper? Truely maister I shall die in Calice. Nay, quoth the keeper, I trust it be not so. Yes, yes maister, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodnes therin. And so the keeper & they went together to supper with heauie cheere for sir George as they there called him. Who notwithstanding was mery himselſe,* & did eate his meate as well as euer he did in all his life: In so much that some at the boord sayd vnto him, that they marueyled how he could eate his meate so well, knowing hee was so neare his death. Ah maisters quoth he, do you thinke that [Page 1229](#) I haue ben Gods prisoner so long in the Marshalsey, and haue not yet learned to dye? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein. Ex litteris Ioa. Marbecki.

And so vpon Monday early in the morning before day, the keeper with in. other of the Knight Marshallles seruauents,* setting out of London, conueyed the sayde Adam Damlyp vnto Calice vpon the Ascension euen, and there committed him to the Maiors prison. Upon whiche daye Iohn Butler the Commissary aforesayd, and Syr Daniell his Curate of S. Peters, were also committed to the same prison, and commandement geuen no man to speake with Butler.

Upon Saterday next was the day of execution for Damlyp. The cause whiche firste they layd to his charge, was for heresie. But because by an acte of Parliamente, all suche offences done before a certayne daye, were pardoned (through which Acte he could not be burdened with anye thing that he had preached or taught before) yet for the receiuing of the foresayd French crowne of Cardinall Pole, (as you heard before) he was condemned of treason, and in Calice cruelly put to death, being drawne, hanged, and quartered.

[illustration]

The death and Martyrdome of Damlyp.

The daye before his execution, came vnto hym one M. Mote,* then person of our Lady Church of Calice, saying: your foure quarters shall be hanged at four partes of the towne. And where shall my head be, sayd Damlip? Upon the Lanterne gate, said Mote. Then Damlip answered,

Then shall I not neede to prouide for my buriall. At hys death, Sir Rafe Ellerker Knight, then knight Marshall there, would not suffer the innocent & godly mā, to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but sayd to the executioner, dispatch the knaue, haue done. For sir Wil. Mote appointed there to preache, declared to the people how he had bene a sower of seditious doctrine, and albeit he was for y^e pardoned by the generall pardon, yet he was cōdemned for being a traytor against the king. To the which whē Adam Damlip would haue replied & purged himselfe, the foresaid Sir Rafe Ellerker would not suffer him to speake a word, but commanded him to be had away. And so most meckely,* patiently, and ioyfully, the blessed and innocent Martyr tooke his death, sir Rafe Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he saw the traytors hart out. But shortly after the sayd Sir Rafe Ellerker in a skirmishe or roade betweene the Frenchmen and vs, at Bullayne was among other slayne.* Whose onely death sufficed not his enemies, but after they had stripped him starke naked, they cut off his priuie members, and cut the hart out of his bodye, and so leaft him a terrible example to all bloody and mercilesse men. For no cause was knowne, why they shewed such indignation against the saide sir Rafe Ellerker, more then against the rest, but that it is written: Faciens iustitias Dominus & iudicia omnibus iniuria pressis.

As touching Ioh. Butler, and sir Daniel his Curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with Damlip, vpon Sondag next following,* they were cōmitted to Io. Massy aforesayd, keeper of the Marshalsey, and his company, and brought to the Marshalsey, where he continued and his Curate nine moneths and more. At last being sore laid vnto by Sir George Gage, Sir Iohn Baker, and Sir Thomas Arundell knightes, but especially by Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, for y^e reteining of Adam Damlip, yet by friendes soliciting the Kings highnes for him, (namely sir Leonard Musgraue, and his brother Baunster,* who were bounde for his appearance in a thousande pound) he at length by great labour and long time was discharged, and at last by licence permitted to returne to Calice againe. Ex scripto testimonio Caletiensium.

Furthermore, as touching William Steuens aboue mentioned, who remained all this while prisoner in the Tower,* the same was also condemned with Adam Damlip of treason, which was for note and crime of Popery, in lodging Adam Damlip, which came from Cardinal Poole the traytor, in his house, at the Lord Deputies commaundement. Notwithstanding the King afterwarde vnderstanding more of the said William Steuens, how innocent he was from that crime,* being knowne to all men to be an earnest and zelous Protestant, gaue him his pardon, and sent him home againe to Calice, and so likewise all the other thirteene aboue mentioned.

The story of a poore labouring man in Calyce.

BY the credible information & writing of the said Calyce men, which were then in trouble,* it is reported of a certaine poore laboring mā of Calice, who after the preaching of Adam Damlyp, being in certaine company, said, that he would neuer beleue, that a priest coulde make the Lordes body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Haruey Commissary there. Which Haruey in time of his iudgement inueying against hym, with opprobrious words, sayd, that he was an heretike, & should die a vile death. The poore man (whose name yet I haue not certainly learned) answering for himselfe againe, saide, that hee was no hereticke, but was in the fayth of Christ.* And where as thou sayest (said he) that I shall dye a vile death, thou thy selfe shalt dye a viler death, and that shortly, and so it came to passe: for

within halfe a yeare after, the said Haruey was hanged, drawne, and quartered for treason in the sayd towne of Calice.

An other history of one Dodde a Scottish man, burned in Calice.

AFTER the burning of this poore man, there was also an other certayne scholer, counted to be a Scottish man,* named Dodde, who cōming out of Germany, was there taken with certayne Germane bookes about him, and being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the truth that hee had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the sayd towne of Calice, within the space of a yeare, or thereabout, after the other godly Martyr aboue mentioned.

And for so much as I am presently in hand wyth matters of Calice,* I can not passe from thence without memorie of an other certayne honest man of the same township, named William Button, aliâs Crosbowmaker, although the time of this story is a litle more anciēt in yeares: which story is this.

William Crosbowmaker, a souldier of Calice, and the kings seruant, being a man as some natures be,* somewhat pleasantly disposed, vsed when he met with Priests, to demaund of them certayne merry questions of pastyme, as these: Whether if a man were sodenly taken, and wanted an other thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the Popes pardons, in steede of a broken paper?

Another question was, whether in the world might better be wanting, dogs or priests. And if it were answered, that dogs might rather be spared: to that he woulde replie againe and inferre, that if there were no dogs, wee coulde make no moe, but if there lacked ignoraunt Priestes, we might soone, and too soone, make too many of them.

It happened that in the time of D. Darley, Parson of our Ladies Church in Calice, being Commissary there so: Archbishop Warham, there came a blacke Frier to Calice with the Popes pardons: who for iiij. d. would deliuer a soule out of Purgatory. The frier was full of romish vertues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This foresayd William Button, aliâs Crosbowmaker, comming to the pardons, and pretending that he would deliuer his father & frends soules, [Page 1230](#) asked if the holy father the Pope could deliuer soules out of purgatory? The frier said, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth Button, dooth he not of charitye deliuer all the soules thereout? Of which wordes he was accused to the Commissary, who at his appearing before the sayd Commissary, confessed to haue asked such questions. The Commissary being angrye thereat sayd: Doubtest thou thereof thou hereticke? There was standing by a blacke fryer named Capel, an English man, who sayd to the Commissary. There is Tenne thousand of these hereticke betwene Graueling and Trere. Button aunswered, Maister fryer of all men you may keepe silence. For your coat hath bene twice cut of from the fayth. The first time your order was enioyned to haue your blacke coat shorter thē your white, and for the second time your order must goe to the furthest part of their church,* and there sing an Antheme of our La'dy. The Commissarye at these wordes chafed, called Button hereticke, with many other opprobrious words. Thē sayd Button to the Commissary, if your holy father the Pope may deliuer soules out of purgatory, and wil not of charity deliuer them, thē I would to God the king would make me Pope, and I would surely deliuer all out without money.

At these wordes the Comissary raged, and reuiled Button exceedingly, causing him to beare a billet, & procured his wages (which was 6. d. a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the kinges maiesty, declaring all the whole matter to his grace, who sent him to Calice agayne, and gaue him after that 8, d. a day.

***A notable example, wherin may appeare as well the despite of D. London, and other papistes agaynst the Gospellers, as also the fidelity of a matrone towards her husband.**

FOR so much as mention was made a little before of D. London, we will somewhat more adde of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor vnfruitefull,* to the entent it maye more euidently appeare what trueth and trust is to be looked for of this cruell kinde of papists. This Doctor London was warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, where it happened that certayne plate was stolen and conueied,* and brought vp to London, and sold to a Goldsmith, named William Calaway. Thys Calaway was a man of good and honest name, and reputation amongst his neighbours,* but specially earnest and zelous towards the Gospell, and a great mayntainer therof. He had oftentimes before bought much plate of the same man without any peril or daunger, wherfore he doubted y^e lesse of his fidelity.

At the last the principall of the theft being taken, and the Goldsmith also that was the byer being knowne, D. London,* when he vnderstoode him to be a fauourer of the Gospel, wherof he was an extreme aduersary, began strait wayes to be in a rage, and to sweare grea• and deep othes that he woulde spare neither labour nor cost, but woulde bring the Goldsmith to the gallows, although it shoulde cost him fiue hundred pound. To be short this good goldsmith was arraigned as accessary, and an action of Felony brought agaynst him. He contrariwise alledged that they ought not to proceed agaynst him, the principall beyng alieue. D. London on the contrary part, affirmed that the principall was hanged: which was most false, for he was one of the same Colledge,* and was alieue, and but lately set at liberty. To be briefe, he being found gyilty, the Iudge asked him what he coulde alledge, why he should not dye? He required to haue the priuiledge of his booke, according to y^e aūcient custome and maner. But here it was objected agaynst him that he was Bigamus, and therfore he might not haue his booke by the lawe, notwithstanding that he neuer had two wiues,* but because his wife had two husbandes, it was imputed to him for Bigamia.

Thus this good Goldsmith being seclused from all hope of life, by the craftye spite of his malignant aduersaries: his wife beyng a woman of proued honesty and good fame,* came in before the Iudges, and perceiuing her former marriage to be hurtfull vnto her husband, to saue her husbandes life, she tooke an othe before the Iudges, that she was not Bigama, and that she was neuer married to moe men then to the sayd Goldsmith: and although she had children by her other husband, and continued diuers yeares with him, yet she sware that she was neuer married vnto him. Thus this woman by defaming of her selfe to her great praise,* and singuler example of loue, deliuered her innocent husband: thinking it better for her to lyue w^t ignominy and reproche, then for her husband to die, lesse esteming the losse of her good name, then of his life. Ez Ed. Hallo.

As touching the qualite of this facte or periury, I intermeddle not here to discusse, but leaue it at large to the iudgement of Lawyers to define vpon. Trueth it is, that periury neither in man nor

woman is to be cōmmended, neither ought to be defended. But yet the true hart & faithfull loue betwene this man and his wife, counterpeasing agayne as much or more on the other side, the more rare & straūge I see it in many couples now a dayes, the more I thinke it worthy, not onely to be praised, but also for examples sake to be notified. But in the meane time, what shall we say to these priestes and aduersaries, who in such sorte violently do presse and force the poore sheepe of Christ with perill of theyr consciences vnto such periury, & that in such causes, where no such trueth is sought, but innocency oppressed, true religion persecuted, & only their spite & wrath agaynst Gods word wreaked.

During the time of these sixe articles aforesayd, which brought many good men vnto death: yet so it happened by another contrary acte sette forth before, for the kinges supremacy (as ye haue heard) that the contrary sect also of the Papistes was not all in quiet. For besides the death of Moore, and the Bishop of Rochester, and the other Charterhouse Monkes, Friers and Priestes aboue specified, about this year were also condemned and executed by the same law, two other,* of whom one was a Priest of Chelsey, named Larke, which was put to death at London for defending the B. of Romes supremacy, aboue the kynges authority. The other was Germaine Gardiner (nere kinsman to Steuen Gardiner, and yet more neare to his secret coūsell, as it is supposed) who likewise in practising for the Pope, agaynst the kings iurisdiction, was taken wyth the maner, and so brought vnto the Gibbet.

Upon the detection of this Germaine Gardiner being Secretary to Gardiner bishop of Winchester his kinsman it semed to some,* and so was also insinuated vnto the king not to be vnlike, but that the sayd Germain neither would nor durst euer attempt any such matter of popery, without some setting on, or consent of the Bishop, he being so nere vnto him, & to all his secrets as he was. Wherby the king began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doinges of the Bishop: but yet he so couertly and clearely conueyed his matters, playing vnder the boord, after his wonted fetches in such sort, as I can not tel how) still he kept in with the king, to the great inquietatiō of the publick state of the Realme, and especially of Christes Church.

In declaring the dreadfull lawe before set forthe of the sixe aycticles, which was, an. 1540. ye heard what penaltye was appoynted for the breach of the same, in like case as in treason & felony, so that no remedy of any recātatiō would serue.* This seueritye was a little mitigated by an other Parliament, holden afterward an. 1544. by the which parliament it was decreede, that such offenders which were conuict in the sayd articles, for the first time should be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such forme as should be layd vnto him by his Ordinary, or after his recantation,* if he eftsoones offended agayne, then for the second time he should be admitted to abiure, and beare a fagot. Which if he denyed to do or els being adiured, if he the third time offended, then he to susteine punishment according to the Lawe. &c. Although the straitnes & rigor of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this presēt Parliament: yet notwithstanding the venome and poison of the errors and mischiefes of those articles remayned still behind not remoued, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforesayd. By the which Parliament moreouer many thinges were prouided for the aduancement of Popery, vnder the coulour of religion: so that all maner of books of the old and new Testament, bearing the name of Will. Tindall, or any other hauing Prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, wordes, or sentēces contrary to the sixe articles,

were debarred. In like maner all songs, playes, and Enterludes, with all other books in English, conteining matter of religion, tending any way agaynst the sayd articles were abolished.

In the which Parliament furthermore it was prouided, that the text of the new Testament or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentises, iourneimen, seruimgmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and laborers, yet was permitted notwithstanding to noble men and gentle men, & gentlewomen to read and peruse, to their edifying so that they did it quietly without arguing, discussing, or expounding vpon the Scripture.

Ouer and besides,* wheras before the offender or defendaunt might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to purge and try himself: In this Parliament it was permitted to the party detect, or complayned on, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or mo in nūber, as the other which deposed agaynst him. &c.

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Other qualifications of the acte of the sixe Articles.

AFTER this Parliament moreouer folowed an other parliament. an. 1545. wherein other qualifications▪ more speciall of the sixe articles were prouided: That where as before the cruell statute of the sixe articles was so strait, y^t if any of the kinges subiectes had bene cōplayned of by any maner of person, as wel being his enemy, as otherwise, he should be indicted presently vpon the same, without anye further examination or knowledge geuē to the party so ac^cused, & so thereupon to be attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was therfore by this parliamēt prouided, that all such presentmentes and indictmentes shoulde not be brought before the Commissioners, otherwise then by the othes of xij. men or moe, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, that no such indictmentes or presentmentes should be taken, but within one yeare of the offences committed, eyther els the sayd indictmentes to stand voyd in the law.

Item, that no person accused vpon any such offence agaynst the sixe articles, should be attached, or committed to ward, before he were therof indicted, vnlesse by speciall warrant from the king &c.

Item, by the authority of the sayd Parliament it was considered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be agaynst the sixe articles, shoulde be accused, not within the space of 40. dayes of the sayd his reading or preaching, then the partie accused to be acquitted.

Item, that the Iustices or inquirers of suche presentmentes should haue full power to alter and reforme all panelles of inquirie, returned before them, in like maner as the Iustices of peace may do in theyr Sessions, vpon any other inquiries-

Item, that the party so accused or indicted, vpon his tryall, may haue all manner of chalenges (peremptory onely excepted) as other persons arraigned for felony may haue, by the lawes of this realme.

*By these qualifications & moderatiōs of the 6. articles, it may appere that the king begā somewhat to grow out of fauor with Ste. Gardiner, & to discredit his doings, wherby he was y^e more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the desolate cause of religiō, as may appeare both by these premisses, & also by other prouisions & determinations of the foresayd parliament. an. 1545. wherein it was decreed by act of parliamēt, y^t the king should haue full power & authority to appoynt 32. persons, to wit 16. of y^e clergy, & 16. of the tēporalty, to peruse, ouersee, & examine the Canōs, cōstitutions & ordinaūces of y^e canon law, as well Prouinciall, as Synodall, & so, according to their discretions, to set & establish an order of ecclesiasticall lawes suche as should be thought by the king and them cōuenient to be receiued and vsed within this realm. Which statute as it is most needfull for the gouernement of the Church of England: so would God it had bene brought to perfection.

In this yere touching matters of histories, we read no great thing worthy of memory, but onely of two persons, Ioh, Athee, & I. Haywood. Of which two, we find first I. Athee to be indicted by the kings writ, for certayne words agaynst y^e sacramēt, which words in the indictmēt are specified to be these: that he would not beleue in y^e thing whiche y^e knaue priest made, neither in that which Longs wife selleth: but onely in God y^t is in heauen. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it flesh & bloud, he answered: so he might do if he would turne it into a chickens leg, meaning the sacrament of the aulter.

The same yere also folowed y^e recantation of Io. Heywood, who although he was tached for treasō, for denying the kings supremacy, yet vsing y^e clemency of y^e king, vpon his better reformatiō & amēdment, made an open & solēne recantation in y^e face of all the people, abandoning & renoūcing the Popes vsurped supremacy, & cōfessing of the king to be chiefe supreme head & gouernor of this church of England, al forein authority & iurisdiction being excluded. The tenor & effect of whose recantation here foloweth.

***The recantation of Iohn Haywood.**

I Am come hyther at this time, (good people) willing and of mine own disirous sute, to shew and declare vnto you briefly. First of all the great and inestimable clemency, and mercifulnesse of our moste soueraigne and redoubted Prince, the kinges Maiesty, the which his highnesse hath most graciously vsed towards me a wretch moste iustlye and worthely condemned to dye, for my manifolde and outrageous offences, haynously and trayterously committed agaynst his maiestye and his lawes. For wheras your maiestyes supremacy hath so often bene opened vnto me both by writing and speaking (if I had grace, either to open mine eies to see it, or mine eares to heare it) to be surely and certaynely grounded, and established vpon the very true worde of God. Yet for lacke of grace I haue moste wilfully and obstinately suffered my selfe to fall to suche blindnes, y^t I haue not onely thought y^t the bysh. of Rome hath bene and ought to be taken the chiefe and supream head of the vniuersall Church of Christ heare in earth, but also like no true subiect conceiled and fauored such as I haue knowne or thought to be of the opinion. For the which moste detestable treasons and vntruthes. I heare most humbly and with all my hart, first of

all aske the kinges maiesty forgeuenesse, and secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now doe, or hereafter shall heare of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they therby be stayd from falling at any time in such miserable blindnesse and folly.

Moreouer, here afore God and you (good Christian people) I do vtterly & withall my hart, recāt & reuoke all mine aforesayd erroneous and trayterous opinions. And (as my conscience now doth force) I protest that euē wyth my hart I firmly thinke and vndoubtedly beleue, that the Byshop of Rome neyther now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can haue by any law of God or man, any more authoritye without the precincte of his owne countrie about him, then any other Bishop hath within his owne dioces. Wherby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretended and vsurped power or authority of the Byshop of Rome out of this Realme to be done iustly and truly by the law of God. And also I take our soueraigne Lord, the kinges highnesse to be supreme head immediatly next vnder Christ of the Church of England and Ireland, and all other his graces dominions, both of the spirituality & temporalty. And I confesse not onely that his maiesty so is by the law of God, but also his progenitours kinges of thys Realme so hath bene, and his highnesse heyres and sucessors kinges of this Realme so shall be.

Thus haue I shewed you my minde as well as I can but neither so well as I would, nor so full as I should, namely cōcerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious prince hath shewed toward me, not onely for sauing my body after worthy cōdēnatiō to death as is aforesayd but also for sauing my soule frō perishing, if my body had perished before the receiuing of such wholesome councell as I had at his highnes most charitable assignement. And of this confession declared vnto you (I say as farre forth as I can.) I hartely pray you all to beare me record, and most entyrelly to pray almighty God, for the long and most prosperous estate of our soueraigne Lord the kinges Maiesty in all his affayres and procedings.

By me Iohn Heywood

Memorandū quod supra scripta assertio siue recātatio fuit fa|cta & publice emissa per prenommatum Iohannem Heiwood die dominica Sexto viz. die Iulij. An. Millessimo Quingentessimo Quadragesimo quarto, apud crucem paulinam tempore Concionis ibidem.

In this yeare of our Lord. 1545. as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth by the course of yeares, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland, agaynst M. George Wysard, and diuers other good men of the same country, about the same yeare of our Lord. 1545. and somewhat before. But because now we are come to the latter ende almost of K. Henryes raygne, we will make an ende (the Lord willing) with a few other English storyes perteyning to that time: & that finished, so to set vpon those matters of Scotland, ioyning them whole together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see (good reader) in the latter end and closing vppe of this kinges raigne.

***Kerby and Roger Clarke of Suffolke Martyrs.**

COMming now to the yeare of our Lord.* 1546. first passing ouer the Priest, whose name was Saxye, which was hanged in the Porters lodge of Stephen Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester, and

that (as it is supposed) not without the consent of the sayd Bishop,* and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation: to passe ouer also one Henry, with his seruauant burned at Colchester: I will now proceede to the story of Kerby and Roger Clarke of Mendessham, who were apprehended at Ipswiche. ann. 1546. the saterday before Gang monday, and brought before the Lord Wentworth, with other Commissioners appointed there to sit vpon theyr examinations, iudgemēts, [Page 1232](#) and causes. The night before they were areyned, a bil was set vp vpon the townehouse doore (by whom,* it was vnknowne) and brought the next day vnto the Lord Wentworth: who aunswered, that it was good counsell. Whiche bill in the latter end shall appeare.

In the meane time Kerby & Roger beyng in the Gailers house, named I. Bird, an honest and a good man (who had checkes diuers times at the barre, that he was more meet to be kept, then to be a keeper) came in Mayster Robert Wingfielde, sonne and heyre of Humfrey Wingfielde knight) with M. Bruesse of Wennenham: who then hauing conference with Kerby (being then in a seuerall chāber separate frō the other) mayster Wingfeld sayd to Kerby:* Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise that y^u take no more vpō thee thē thou shalt be able to performe. The terror is great, the payne will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were be time to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, then rashly to begin, & then to shrink: with such like words of perswasion. To whom he answered agayne: Ah M. Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say,* there standeth a christen souldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other thinges, are in the handes of God, and he will suffer no more to be layd vpon vs, then he will geue vs strength to beare. Ah Kerby, sayd mayster Wingfield, if thou be at that poynt, I will b••de thee farewell? For I promise thee I am not so strong, that I am able to burne. And so both the Gentlemen saying that they woulde pray for them, tooke handes with them, and so departed.

Now (first touching the behaiour of Kerby & Roger) when they came to the iudgement seate,* the Lorde Wentworth, with all the rest of the Iustices there readye, the Commissary also by vertue ex officio. sitting next to the L. Wentworth, but one betwene Kerby and Roger lifted vp theyr eyes and handes to heauen, with great deuotion in all mens eyes, making theyr prayers secretly to God for a space of time, whilst they might say the Lordes praier fiue or sixe times.

That done, theyr articles were declared vnto thē, with all circumstances of the law:* and then it was demaunded and enquired of them, whether they beleued, that after the wordes spoken by a priest (as Christ spake them to his Apostles) there were not the very body and bloud of Christ, flesh, bloud, and bone, as he was borne of the virgin Mary, and no bread after.

Unto the which wordes they answered and sayd, No, they did not so beleue: but that they did beleue the Sacrament which Christ Iesus did institute at his last supper,* on Maundy thursday at night to his disciples was onely to put all men in remembraunce of the precious death and bloud shedding for the remission of sinnes, and that there was neither flesh nor bloud to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine:* and yet more then bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to an holy vse. Then with much perswasions, both with fayre meanes and threatens besides (if it would haue serued) were these two poore men hardly layd to: but most at the handes of Foster an inferior Iustice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both saythful and content, chusing rather to dye then to liue, and so continued vnto the end.

Then sentence was geuen vpon them both, Kerby to be burned in the sayd towne the next Saterdag,* and Roger to be burned at Bury the Gang Monday after. Kerby when his iudgement was geuen by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble reuerēce holding vp his hands, and bowing himselfe deuoutly, sayd: Praysed be almighty God, and so stood still without any moe wordes.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talke secretly, putting his head behinde an other iustice that sate betweene them. The sayd Roger perceiuing that,* sayd with a loud voyce: Speake out my Lord, and if you haue done any thing contrary to your conscience, aske God mercy, and we for our partes do forgeue you: and speake not in secret, for ye shall come before a Iudge, and then make answere openly, euē he that shall iudge all men: with other like wordes.

The Lord Wentworth somewhat blushing, and chaūginge his countenaunce through remorse (as it was thought) sayd, I did speake nothing of you, nor I haue done nothing vnto you,* but as the Lawe is. Then was Kerby and Roger sent forth: Kerby to prison there, & Roger to saynt Edmundes Bury. The one of the two brusting out with a loud voyce (Roger as it is supposed) thus spake with a vehemency:*Fight (sayd he) for your God For he hath not long to continue.

The next day, which was Saterdag, about ten of the clocke, Kerby was brought to the market place, wheras a stake was ready,* wood, broome, and straw, and did of hys clothes vnto his shyrt, hauing a night cap vpon his dead, and so was fastened to the stake with yrons, there beyng in the galery, the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the Iustices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how euery thing should be done, and also might heare what Kerby did say: and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation.* There was also standing in the galery by the Lord Wentworth, D. Rugham, whiche was before a Monke of Burye and sexten of the house, hauing on a Surplis and a stoole about his necke. Then silence was proclaymed, and the sayd Doctour beganne to disable himselfe, as not meet to declare the holye Scriptures (being vnprouided because the time was so short) but that he hoped in Gods assistance it should come well to passe.

All this while Kerby was trimming with yrons and fagottes, broome, and straw,* as one that should be maryed with new garmentes, nothing chaunging cheare nor couētaunce, but with most meeke spirite gloryfied GOD: which was wonderfull to behold. Then Mayster Doctor at last entred into y^e sixt Chapter of S. Ioh. Who in handling that matter so oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applyed them rightly. Kerby tolde the people, that he sayd true, and bade the people beleue him. But when he did otherwise, he tolde him agayne: You say not true: beleue him not good people.

Whereupon, as the voyce of the people was, they iudged Doctour Rugham a false Prophet. So when mayster Doctour had ended his collation, he sayde vnto Kerby: Thou good man, doest not thou beleue that the blessed sacrament of the aultar is the very flesh and bloud of Christ, and no bread euen as he was borne of the virgine Mary? Kerby aunswering boldly, sayd: I do not so beleue. How doest thou beleue, sayd the Doctour? Kerby sayd, I do beleue that in the Sacrament that Iesus Christ instituted at his last supper on Maundy Thursdaye to his Disciples (which ought of vs likewise to be done) is the death and passion, and his bloud shedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembred: and (as I sayde before) yet bread, and more then bread, for that it is cōsecrated to a holy vse.

Then was mayster Doctor in his dumpes, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then sayd the vnder Shiriffe to Kerby, hast thou any thing more to say? Yea syr sayde he, if you wyll geue me leaue. Say on, sayd the Shiriffe.

Then Kerby taking his night cappe from hys head, put it vnder his arme, as though it should haue done him seruice agayne: but remembring him selfe,* he cast it from him, and lifting vp his handes, he sayd the Hymne, Te Deum, and the beliefe, with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whilest Kerby was thus doing, did shroude him selfe behinde one of the postes of the Gallery, and wept, and so did many other. Then said Kerby, I haue done: you may execute your office good Maister Shiriffe.

Then fire was set to the wood, and with loud voyce he called vnto God, knocking on his brest, and holding vppe

[illustration]

¶The burning and Martyrdome of Kerby.

[*Page 1233](#) his handes so long as remembraunce would serue, and so ended his life, the people geuing shoutes, & praying God, with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple & vnlettered.

On the Gang Monday, an. 1546. about tenne of the clocke,* Roger Clarke of Mendelsham was brought out of prison and went on foote to the gate, called Southgate in Bury, and by the way the Procession mette with them, but he went on, and would not bow cap nor kne, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition,* the Officers being much offended. And without the gate, where as was the place of execution, the stake beyng ready, and the wood lying-by, he came and kneeled down, and sayd Magnificat in the English tongue, making as it were a Paraphrase vpon the same: Wherein he declared how that the blessed virgine Mary, who might as well reioyce in purenes, as any other, yet humbled her selfe to her Sauour.* And what sayst thou Iohn Baptist, sayd he, the greatest of all mens children? Behold the Lambe of God whiche taketh away the sinnes of the world. And thus with loude voyce he cried vnto the people while he was in fastning to the stake, & then the fire was set to him, wheras he suffered paines vnmercifully,* for the wood was greene and would not burne, so that he was choked with smoke: and moreouer being set in a pitch barrel, with some pitch sticking stil by the sides, was therewith sore payned, till he had got hys feet out of the barrell. And at length one standing by tooke a fagotte sticke, and striking at the ring of yron about hys necke, so pashed him, and stroke him belike vpon the head, that he shronk downe on the one side into the fire, & so was dissolved.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certayne Bill put vpon the towne house doore, and brought the nexte day to the Lord Wentworth: the wordes of which Bill were these.

¶The Byll set vpon the Townehouse dore in Ipswich.

IVstè iudicate filij hominum: yet when ye shall iudge, minister your iustice with mercy.*

A fearfull thing it is to fall into the hands of the liuing God: be ye learned therfore in true knowledge, ye y^t iudge the earth, least the Lord be agry with you.

The bloud of the righteous shall be required at your handes. What though the veile hanged before Moses face? yet at Christes death it fell downe.

The stones will speak, if these should hold theyr peace: therfore harden not your hartes agaynst the verity.

For fearefully shall the Lord appeare in the day of v̄geance to the troubled in conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but euery fat shall stand on his owne bottome. Therfore haue remorse to your conscience: feare him that may kill both body and soule.

Beware of innocent bloud shedding: take heed of iustice ignorantly ministred: worke discretely as the Scripture doth commaund: looke to it, that ye make not y^e trueth to be forsaken.

We beseech God to saue our king, king Henry the 8. that he be not lead into temptation. So be it.

This yeare also it was ordeined & decreed & solemnly geuen out in Proclamation by the kings name & authority and his Counsell, that the english Procession should be vsed throughout al England, according as it was set forth by his sayd counsell, and none other to be vsed throughout the whole Realme.

About the latter end of this yeare .1545. in the Moneth of Nouember, after that the king had subdued the Scots, and afterward ioyning together with the Emperour,* had inuaded France, and had got from them the town of Bollayn, he summoned his high Court of Parliament. In the which was graunted vnto him besides other subsidies of mony,* all Colledges, Chaūtries, free chappels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoodes, guildes, & perpetuities of stipēdary priestes, to be disposed at his wil & pleasure. Wher'vpon in the moneth of Decem. folowing,* the king after the wonted maner, came into the parliamēt house, to geue his roiall assent to such actes as were there passed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker,* he answering agayne vnto the same, not by the L. Chancellour (as the maner was) but by himselfe, vtred forth this oration word for word, as it is reported, and left in story.

In the contentes of whiche Oration, first eloquently and louingly he declared his gratefull hart to his louyng subiectes, for theyr grauntes and subuentions offered vnto him. In the second part, with no lesse vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and vnity. Whereunto if he had also ioyned the third part, that is, as in wordes he exhorted to vnity, so had begon in deed first himselfe to take away the occasion of deuision, disobedience, & disturbance frō his subiectes, that is, had remoued the stūbling blocke of the 6. articles out of the peoples way, which set brother agaynst brother, neighbour agaynst neighbor, the superior agaynst subiect, & the wolues to deuour the poore flocke of Christ: then had he not onely spoken, but also done like a worthy prince. But of this more shalbe sayd in the sequele hereof, God willing.

***The kinges Oration in the Parliament house.**

ALTHOUGH my Chauncellour for the time being,* hath before this time vsed, very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such Orations▪ as haue bene set forth in this high Court of Parliament: yet is he not so able to opē and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secretes of my hart, in so playne and ample maner, as I my selfe am and can doe. Wherefore I taking vpon me, to aunswere your eloquent Oration Mayster Speaker, say: that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, haue both praysed and extolled me, for the notable qualities that ye haue conceiued to be in me, I most hartely thanke you all, that you haue put mee in remembrance of my duety, which is to endeuer my selfe to obteine and get such excellent qualites, and necessary vertues, as a prince or gouernour should or ought to haue: of whiche giftes I recognise my selfe both bare and barayne.

But of such small qualities, as God hath endued me withall, I render to his goodnesse my most hūble thanks entending with all my wit and diligence, to gette and acquire to me such notable vertues and princely qualities as you haue alledged to be incorporate in my person.*

These thanks for your louing admonition and good counsell first remembred, I eftsoones thanke you agayne because that you considering our great charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gayne, but to our great cost) which we haue lately sustained, as well in defence of our & your enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortresse, whiche was to this Realme most displeasaunt and noysome, and shalbe by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation most profitable and pleasaunt, haue freely of your owne minde, graunted to vs a certayne subsidy here in an acte specified, which verely we take in good part, regarding more your kindnesse, then the profite therof as he that setteth more by your louing harts, then by your substance. Beside this harty kindnesse, I cannot a litle reioyce when I consider the perfect trust & sure confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfayned beliefe in my good doinges, & iust proceedings for that you, without my desire or request, haue cōmitted to mine order and disposition, all Chauntreys, Colledges, Hospitals, and other places specified, in a certayne acte, firmlye trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, & the profite of the common wealth. Surely,* if I contrary to your expectation, should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay, or learning (which is so great a iewell) to be minished, or poore and miserable people to be vnrelieued you might say that I being put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trusty frend to you, nor charitable man to mine euen Christen, neither a louer of the publique wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome account must be rendered of all our doinges. Doubte not I pray you but your expectation shalbe serued, more godly & goodly then you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall playnely perceiue.

Now sithens I finde such kindnesse on your part toward me, I can not chuse, but loue and fauor you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoureth his subiectes then I doe you, nor no subiectes or commons more loue and obey theyr soueraigne Lord, then I perceiue you doe me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require, my person shall not be vnaduentured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect loue and concord, this frendly amity can not cōtinue except both you my Lordes Temporall, and you my Lords Spirituall, and you my louing subiectes, studye and take payne to amend one thing, which is surely amisse and farre out of order, to the which I most hartely require you: which is, that

charity & concord is not amongst you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in euery place. Saynt Paule sayth to the Corinthians, in the xiiij. Chapiter. Charity is gentle, Charity is not enuious, Charity is not proud, and so forth in the sayde Chapter. Beholde then what loue and * charitye is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretique and Anabaptist, and he calleth hym agayne Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharesey? Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these the signes of fraternall loue betweene you? No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of charitye amongst your selues, wil be the hinderaunce and asswaging the feruent loue betwene vs, as I sayd before, except this woud be <◇> , and clearely made whole. I must needes iudge the faulte and [Page 1234](#) occasion of this discord,* to be partly by negligence of you the father, and preachers of the Spirituality. For if I know a man which liue•h in adultery, I must iudge him a lecherous & a carnall person. If I see a man boast and bragge himselfe, I can not but deeme him a proud man. I see and heare dayly, that you of the Clergye preach one agaynst an other, teach one contrary to an other, inueigh one agaynst an other, without charity or discretion. Some be to stiffe in their olde Mumpsimus, other be too busy and curious in their new Sumpsimus. Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preache truely and sincerely the word of GOD, according as they ought to doe. Shall I nowe iudge you charitable persons doing this? No, no: I can not so do. Alas how can the poore soules liue in concorde, when you preachers sowe amongst them in your Sermons, debate and discord? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darcknesse. Amend these crimes I exhort you, and set forth Gods * word, both by true preaching, and good example geuing, or els I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high minister here, will see these diuisions extincte, and these enormities corrected, accordyng to my very duety, or els I am an vnprofitable seruant and vntrue officer.

Although (as I say) the Spirituall men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the Temporalty bee not cleane and vnspotted of malice and enuye: for you rayle on Byshops, speake sclaunderously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order, and Christian fraternitie. If you know surely that a Bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsell, or to vs, to whom is committed by God the authority to reforme and order such causes and behauiors,* and be not iudges your selues, of your owne phantasticall opinions, and vayne expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy scripture, and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstand, that it is licenced you so to do, onely to informe your owne conscience, and to instruct your children and family, and not to dispute and make scripture a rayling and a taunting stocke agaynst priestes▪ and preachers as many light persons do. I am very sory to know and heare how vnreuerently that most precious iewel the word of God is disputed, rymed, * song & iangled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. And yet I am euen as muche sory,* that the readers of the same folow it in doing so faintly & coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was neuer so faynt amongst you, & vertuous & * godly liuing was neuer less vsed, nor god himselfe amongst Christians was neuer lesse reuerenced, honored, or serued▪ Therefore, as I sayde before, be in charitye one with an other, like brother and brother. Loue, dread, and serue God (to the which I as your supreme head and soueraigne Lord exhort and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer be dissolved or broken betwene vs. And as touching the lawes, which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making & furthering the same, or els your labour shall be in vayne, & your cōmon wealth nothing relieued.

Notes vpon the foresayd exhortation.

*Princes which exhort to concorde and charitie, doe well, but Princes which seeke out the causes of discord, & reforme the same, do much better: The papist and protestant Hereticke, and Pharisee, the old Mumpsimus, and the newe Sumpsimus, be te•mes of variance and dissention, and be (I graunt) Symptomata, of a sore wound in the commō wealth but he that will amend this wound must first beginne to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof: otherwise to cure the sore outwardlye, whiche inwardlye doth fester and ranckle still, it is but vayne.

The roote and ground of al this greeuance riseth here of the prelates and clergy of Rome, seeking as it seemeth altogether after riches, pompe, & honour of this world, to mayntayn y^e same vnder pretence of religion, doe in verye deed subuert religiō, vnder y^e title of the church, they bring into the churche manifest errours, & absurdities intollerable, who pretending to be fathers of the churche, if they transgressed but in maners and lightnes of life, or neglygence of gouernement, they might be borne withall for peace & concords sake, and here modesty, ciuillitie, quietnes vnitie, & charitie, might haue place amongst modest natures. But now they obscure the glory of the sonne of God, which in no case ought to be suffered: they extinct the light & grace of the Gospell: they clogge mens consciences: they set vp Idolatry, & mayntayn Idols, they bring in false inuocation, they restrayne lawfull matrimonye, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredome in the Church vnspeakable, they corrupt the sacramentes: they wrast the scripture as worldly purposes, they kill and per'secute Gods people. Briefly theyr doctrine is damnable: theyr lawes be impious, their doinges are detestable. And yet after all this, they crept craftely into the hartes of princes vnder the title of the Church, & coulour of concord, making kinges and princes beleue that all be hereticke and schismaticke, which will not be subiect to their ordinary power. Now almighty God, who is a ielous God, & not suffering the glory of his sonne to be defaced, nor his truth to be troden vnder foot, stirreth vp againe the harts of his people to vnderstād his truth & to defend his cause. Whervpō of those two partes, as two mighty flintes thus smiting together cōmeth out the sparcke of this diuisiō, which by no wise can be quenched, but that one part must nedes yeld & geue ouer. There is no neutrality, nor mediatiō of peace, nor exhortation to agremēt that will serue betwene these two contrary doctrines, but either the Popes errors must geue place to Gods word, or els the veritye of God must geue place vnto them.

Wherefore, as the good intent and plausible Oration of the king in this behalf, was not to be discommended in exhorting his subiectes to charity: so had he much more deserued commendation if he hadde sought the right way to worke charity, & to helpe innocency amongst his subiects, by taking away the impious law of the 6. articles, the mother of all diuision and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in wordes neuer so much to charity, and in deed to geue a knife to the murtherers hand, to run vpon his naked brother, which neither in conscience can leaue his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himselfe? As by experience here foloweth to be seene, what charity ensued after this exhortation of the king to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Askew, with 3. other poore subiectes of the king, within halfe a yeare after: whereof shortly you shall heare more declared.

When these Chauntries and colledges thus by Acte of Parliamēt wert geuen into the kings hands as is aboue remembred: which was about the moneth of Decēber, an. 1545. the next Lent

following D. Crome preaching in the Mercers chappel, among other reasons and persuatiōs to rouse the people from the vayn opinion of Purgatory, inferred this grounding vpon the sayd act of parliamēt: that if Trentals and Chauntry masses could auayle the soules in Purgatory, then did the Parliament not wel in geuing away Monasteryes, Colledges, & chaūtries, which serued principally to that purpose. But if the parliament did wel (as no mā could deny) in dissolving them,* and bestowing the same vpon the king, then is it a playne case, that such Chauntries and priuate masses do nothing conferre to relieue them in Purgatory. This dilemma of D. Crome, no doubt, was insoluble.* But notwithstāding the charitable Prelates, for all the kinges late exhortation vnto charity, were so charitable to him, that on Easter next they broght him Coram nobis,* where they so handled him y^t they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would haue dissolved him & his argument in burning fire, so burning hote was theyr charity according as they burned Anne Askew and her fellowes in the moneth of Iulye the yeare folowing.* Whose tragickall story and cruell handling now consequētly (the Lord willing) you shall heare.

¶The first examination of Mistres Anne Askew, before the inquisitours. 1545.

TO satisfy your expectation:* good people (sayth she) this was my first examination in the yeare of our Lorde. 1545. and in the in the month of March.

First Christoph. Dare examined me at Sadlers Hall,* being one of the Quest, and asked if I did not beleeeue that the sacrament, hanging ouer the altar, was the very bodye of Christ really. Then I demaunded this question of hym:* wherfore S. Stephen was stoned to death, and he sayd, he could not tell. Then I answered, that no more woulde I assoyle his vayne question.

Secondly, he sayd that there was a woman,* which did testifie that I shoulde read, howe God was not in Temples made with handes. Then I shewed him the 7. and 17 chap. of the actes of the Apostles, what Stephen and paule had said therein. Wherupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearles amōg swine, for Acornes were good enough.*

Thirstly, he asked me wherfore I sayde that I had rather to read fiue lines in the Bible, then to heare 5. Masses in the temple? I confessed, that I sayd no lesse: not for the disprayse of either y^e epistle or the Gospel, but because y^e one [Page 1235](#) did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As S. Paul doth witnes in the 14. chap. of his first epistle to the Cor. where as he sayth.* I the trumpet geueth an vncertayne sound, who will prepare himselfe to the battell?

Fourthly: he sayd vnto my charge that I should say: if an ill priest ministred,* it was the deuill and not God.

My answeere was, that I neuer spake any such thyng. But this was my saying:* that whosoeuer he were that mi'nistred vnto me, his il cōditiōs could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I receiued neuertheles, y^e body & bloud of Christ.

He asked me what I said concerning confession? I answered him my meaning, which was as S. James sayth, that eu•ry man ought to knowledge his faultes to other, and the one to pray for the other.

Sixtly, he asked me what I sayd to the kinges booke? And I aunswered him, that I coulde say nothing to it, because I neuer saw it.

Seuēthly, he asked me if I had the spirit of God in me? I answered,* if I had not, I was but a reprobate or cast away. Then he sayd he had sent for a priest to examine me, which was here at hand.

The priest asked me what I sayd to the Sacrament of the aulter,* & required much to know therein my meaning. But I desired him againe, to hold me excused concerning that matter. None other answere would I make him, because I perceiued him to be a papist.

*Eightly he asked me, if I did not thinke that priuate masses did helpe soules departed? I sayd, it was great idolatry to beleue more in thē, then in the death which Christ dyed for vs.

*Then they had me thence vnto my L. Maior, and he ex'aminēd me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all thinges as I aunswered the Quest before. Besides this my L. Maior layd one thing to my charge, whiche was neuer spokē of me, but of them: & that was, whether a mouse eating the host, receiued God or no? This question did I neuer ask, but in deede they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no aunswere but smiled.

Then the Bishops Chauncellor rebuked me and sayd, y^t I was much to blame for vttring the scriptures. For S. Paul (he sayd) for•ode women to speake,* or to talke of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Paules meaning as well as he, which is in the 1. Corin. 14. that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching. And thē I asked him, how many women he had seene go into the Pulpit and preach? He sayd he neuer saw none. Then I sayd, he ought to finde no fault in poore women, except they had offended the law.

Then the L. Maior commaunded me to warde, I asked him if sureties would not serue me, and he made me short answere,* that he would take none. Then was I had to the Counter, and there remayned xi. dayes, no frend admitted to speak with me. But in the mean time there was a priest sent to me, which sayd that he was commaunded of the Bishop to examine me, and to geue me good counsell, which he did not.* But first he asked me for what cause I was put in the Counter, and I told him, I could not tell. Then he sayd it was great pity that I should be there w^tout cause, and concluded that he was very sory for me.

Secondly he sayd, it was told him, that I should deny the Sacrament of the aulter. And I aunswered agayne that, that I haue sayd, I haue sayd.

Thirdly he asked me if I were shriuen, I tolde him, so that I might haue one of these three, that is to say, Doctor Crome, Syr Gillam, or Huntington. I was contented be cause I knew them to be men of wisdomē, as for you or any other I will not dispraise, because I knowe you not. Then he sayd, I would not haue you thinke, but that I, or an other y^t shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they, for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer vs to preach. Then I aunswered by the saying of Salomon. By communing with the wise, I may learne wisdomē,* But by talking with a foole, I shall take scathe. pro.

Fourthly he asked, if the host should fall, and a Beaste did eate it, whether the beast did receiue God or no? I answered,* seing you haue taken the paynes to aske y^e questiō I desire you also to assoyle it your selfe: for I will not doe it, because I perceiue you come to tempt me. And he said, it was agaynst the order of scholes, y^t he which asked the que'stion, should answeere it, I told him, I was but a woman, and knew not the course of scholes.

Fiftly he asked me, if I entended to receiue the Sacrament at Easter, or no? I aunswered, that els I were no Christen woman, and thereat I did reioyce, that the time was so neare at hand,* and then he departed thence wyth many fayre wordes.

The xxiiij. day of March, my coosin Britaine came into the Counter vnto me, and asked me whether I might bee put to bayle, or no? Thē went he immediately vnto my L. Mayor, desiring of him to be so good vnto me. That I might be bayled. My Lord aunswered him, and sayd that he would be glad to doe the best that in him say. How be it he could not bayle me, without the consent of a spiritual officer: requiring him to go & speak with the Chauncellor of London. For he sayde, like as he could not committe me to prison without the consent of a spirituall Officer, no more could he bayle me without the consent of the same.

So vpon that, he went to the Chaūcellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Maior. He answered him the that matter was so haynous,* that he durst not of him selfe do it, without my Lord of London were made priuy thereunto. But he sayd he would speake vnto my Lord in it, & badde him repayre vnto him the nexte morow, and he should wel know my Lords pleasure: And vpon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the Chaūcellor, & with the Bishop of Londō. The Bishop declared vnto him, that he was very well contented that I should come forth to a communication, & appoynted me to appere before him the next day after, at 3, of the clock at afternoone. Moreouer, he sayd vnto him, that he would, there shold be at the examination such learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might see, & also make report that I was hādled with no rigor. He answered him that he knew no man that I had more affection to, then to other. Then sayd the Byshop: yes as I vnderstand, she is affectioned to Doct. Crome, Syr Guillam, Whitehead, & Huntingtō that they might heare the matter:* for she did know thē to be learned & of a godly iudgemēt. Also he required my co•in Britayn, that he should earnestly perswade me to vtter euē the very bottome of my hart: and he sware by his fidelitie, that no man should take any aduantage of my words: neyther yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing y^t I should there speake: but if I sayde any maner of thing amisse, he with other more would be glad to reforme me therin, with most godly counsell.

On the morow after, the Bishop of Londō sent for me, at one of the clocke, his houre being appoynted at three, & as I came before him,* he said he was very sory of my trouble, & desired to know my opiniō in such matters as were layd against me. He required me also in any wise boldly to vtter the secrets of my hart, bidding me not to feare in any poynt, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no mā should hurt me for it. I answered: forsomuch as your lordship appoynted three of the clocke, & my frendes shall not come til that houre, I desire you to pardō me of geuing answeere til they come. Thē sayd he, that he thought it meet to send for those 4. men which were afore named & appointed. Thē I desired him not to put them to the payne, for it should not need, because the two gentlemen which were my frendes were able enough to testify that I should say. Anone after he went into his gallery with M. Spilman, & willed him in any

wise that he shoulde exhorte me to vtter all that I thought.* In the meane while he cōmaunded his Archdeacon to cōmon with me, who sayd vnto me: Mistres wherfore are you accused & thus troubled here before y^e Bishop? To whom I answered agayne and sayd: Syr, aske I pray you my accusers, for I know not as yet. Thē tooke he my booke out of my hand, and sayd: such bookes as this, haue brought you to the trouble you are in. Beware (sayth he) beware, for he that made this booke and was the author therof, was an hereticke I warrant you, & burnt in smithfield. Then I asked him, if he were certayne and sure, that it was true that he had spoken. And he sayd he knew well the booke was of I. Frithes making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed for to iudge of the booke before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth therof. I said also,* that such vnaduised and hasty iudgement is a token apparant of a very slender wit. Then I opened the booke & shewed it him. He said he thought it had bene an other, for he could finde no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to bee so vnadvisedly rash & swift in iudgement, till he throughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me.

Immediately after came my cosin Britaine in with dyuers other, as M. Hall of Grayes Inne, & such other like. Then my Lord of London perswaded my cosine Britaine as he had done oft before, which was that I shoulde vtter y^e bottom of my hart in any wise.* My Lord said after y^t vnto me, that he would I should credite the counsaile of such as were my frendes and wel willers in this behalf, which was, that I should vtter all thinges that burdened my cōscience: for he ensured me that I shoulde not neede to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me & would performe it: which was that neither he nor any man for him, should take me at aduauntage of any word I should speake: and therefore he had me say my minde without feare. I aunswered him that I had [Page 1236](#) nought to say: for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Then brought he forth this vnsauery similitude: that if a man had a wound, no wise Surgeon would minister helpe vnto it before he had seene it vncovered.* In like case saith he, can I geue you no good counsaile, vnles I know wherwith your conscience is burdened. I answered, that my conscience was cleare in all things: & for to lay a plaister vnto the whole skin, it might appeare much folly.

Then you driue me (saith he) to lay to your charge your own report,* which is this: you did say, he that doth receue the Sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiueth the deuil and not God. To that I aunswered, that I neuer spake such words. But as I said afore, both to the Quest and to my Lord Mayor, so say I now agayne, that the wickednes of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and fayth, I receiued no lesse then the body and bloude of Christ. Then sayd the Byshop vnto me, what saying is this in spirite? I will not take you at the aduauntage. Then I answered: my Lord without fayth and spirite, I cannot receiue him worthily.

*Then he sayd vnto me, that I should say that the Sacrament remayning in the pixe, was but bread. I answered that I neuer said so, but in deede the Quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer (I sayd) till such tyme as they had assoled me this questiō of mine, wherfore Stephen was stoned to death? They sayd they knew not. Then sayd I againe, no more would I tell thē, what it was.

Then said my Lord vnto me, that I had alledged a certain text of the scripture.* I answered that I alledged none other but S. Paules owne saieng to the Athenians in the xviiij. chap. in the Apostles acts, that God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands. Then asked he me what my fayth and beliefe was in that matter? I aunswered him, I beleue as the Scripture doth teach me.

Then inquired he of me, what if the Scripture doe say that it is the body of Christ? I beleue sayd I, as the scripture doth teach me.* Then asked he agayne, what if the scripture do say that it is not the body of Christ? My aunswer was still, I beleue as the scripture informeth me. And vpon this argument he taried a great while, to haue driuen me to make him an aunswere to his mynde. Howbeit I would not: but concluded this with him, that I beleue therin and in all other things as Christ and his holy apostles did leaue them.

Then he asked me why I had so few wordes? And I answered,* God hath geuen me the gift of knowledge, but not of vtterance. And Salomon saith: That a woman of few wordes is a gift of God. Prou. xix.

Fiftly, my Lord laid vnto my charge, that I should saye that the Masse was superstitious,* wicked, & no better then idolatry. I aunswered him no: I said not so. Howbeit I say the quest did aske me whether priuate masse did relieue soules departed or no? Unto whom then I answered: O Lord what idolatry is this, that we should rather beleue in priuate masses, then in the healthsome death of the dere sonne of God? Then said my Lord againe: what an aunswer is that? though it be but meane (sayd I) yet it is good enough for the question.

Then I told my Lord that there was a priest, which did heare what I said there before my L. Mayor & them. With that the Chancellor answered, which was the same Priest. So she spake it in very deede (sayth he) before my L. Maior and me.

Then were there certaine Priests, as D. Standish and other, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them alwayes thus: that I sayd to my Lorde of London, I haue said. Then D. Standish desired my Lord to bid me say my mynd concernyng the same text of Saint Paules learning,* that I being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures, specially, where so many wise learned men were.

Then my L. of London sayd he was informed, that one should aske of me if I would receiue the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mocke of it. Then I desired that myne accuser might come forth,* which my L. would not. But he said agayne vnto me, I sent one to geue you good counsell, and at the first worde you called him Papist. That I denied not, for I perceiued he was no lesse: yet made I hym none answer vnto it.

Then he rebuked me, and sayd that I should reporte, that there were bent against me threescore priests at Lincolne.* In deed (quoth I) I sayd so. For my friendes tolde me, if I did come to Lincolne, the priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as therof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither in deede, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. More ouer, I remained there ix. dayes to see what would be said vnto me. And as I was in the Minster reading vpon the Bible, they resorted vnto me by ij. and by ij. by v. and by vj. minding to haue spoken vnto me, yet went they theyr wayes agayne without wordes speaking.

Then my L. asked, if there were not one that did speak vnto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the last, which did speake to me in deed. And my L. then asked me what he sayd? And I told him his words were of smal effect, so that I did not now remember them: Then sayde my L. there are many that read and know the scripture, & yet follow it not, nor liue thereafter. I said againe,* my L. I would wish that all men knew my conuersation & liuyng in all points, for I am sure of my selfe this houre y^t there are none able to proue any dishonesty by me. If you know any that can do it, I pray you bring them forth.

Then my L. went away, and said he would entitle some what of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstāce. But what it was, I haue not all in memory, for he would not suffer me to haue the copy therof. Onely do I remember this small portion of it.

Be it knowen (saith he) of all men,* that I Anne Askew do confesse this to be my faith and beliefe, notwithstanding my reportes made afore to the contrary. I beleue that they which are houseled at the hands of a Priest, whether hys conuersation be good or not, do receiue the body and bloud of Christ in substance really. Also I do beleue, that after the consecration, whether it be receiued or reserued, it is no lesse then the very body and bloud of Christ in substance. Finally I do beleue in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church, in all pointes according to the old Catholike faith of the same. In witnes wherof I the sayde Anne haue subscribed my name.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me and asked me if I did agree to it. And I sayd againe, I beleue so much therof, as the holy scripture doth agree vnto: wherefore I desire you, that ye will adde that therunto. Then he answered,* that I should not teach hym what he should write. With that, he went forth into his great chamber, and read the same Bil before the audience, which enueigled and willed me to set to my hād, saieng also, that I had fauour shewed me. Then sayd the B. I might thāke other, and not my selfe, of the fauour that I found at hys hand: for he considered (he sayd) that I had good frendes, and also that I was come of a worshipfull stocke.

Then answered one Christopher, a seruant to M. Dennie: Rather ought you (my L.) to haue done it in such case for Gods sake then for mans. Then my L. sate down, and tooke me the writing to set therto my hand, and I writ after this maner: I Anne Askew do beleue all maner things contained in the faith of the catholike church.

And for as much as mention here is made of the writyng of Boner,*which this godly woman sayd before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to inferre the same, both with the whole circumstance of Boner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the Register, and also with her owne subscription: to the intent the Reader seyng the same subscription, neyther to agree with the tyme of the title aboue prefixed, nor with the subscription after the writing annexed, might the better vnderstand thereby what credite is to be geuen hereafter to suche Byshops, and to such Registers. The tenour of Boners writyng proceedeth thus.

The true copy of the confession and beliefe of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kime, made before the B. of London, the xx. day of March, in the yere of our lord God after the computation of the Church of England, 1545. and subscribed with her owne hand, in the presence of the •ayd B. and other, whose names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the

entent the world may see what credence is now to be geuen vnto the same woman, who in so short a tyme hath most damnably altered and changed her opinion and beliefe,* & therefore rightfully in open court arraigned and condemned, Ex Regist.

BE it known to all faythfull people, that as touching the blessed sacrament of the aultar, I do firmly & vndoubtedly beleue, that after the wordes of consecration be spoken by the Priest, according to the common vsage of thys Church of England,* there is present really the bodye and bloud of our Sauour Iesu Christ, whether the minister which doth consecrate, be a good man, or a bad man, & that also whensoever the sayd Sacrament is receiued, whether the receiuer be a good man or a bad man, he doth receiue it really & corporally. And moreouer, I do beleue, that whether the said Sacrament then receiued of the Minister, or [Page 1237](#) els reserued to be put into the pixe, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sicke, yet there is the very bodie and bloud of our sayd sauour: so that whether the Minister or the receiuer be good or bad, yea whether the Sacrament be receiued or reserued, alwayes there is the blessed body of Christ really.

And this thing with all other things touching the Sacrament & other sacraments of the Church, and all things els touching the christian beliefe, which are taught and declared in the kings Maiesties booke lately set forth for the erudition of the christiā people, I Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truely and perfectly beleue, and so here presently confesse and knowledge. And here I do promise that henceforth I shall neuer say or doe any thyng agaynst the premisses, or against any of them. In witnesse whereof, I the sayd Anne haue subscribed my name vnto these presents.

Written the xx. day of March, in the yere of our Lord God. 1545.Ex Regist.

[*](#)By me Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme.

- Edmund Bish. of London.
- Iohn Bish of Bathe.
- Owen Oglethorpe Doct. of Diuinitie.
- [*](#)Rich. Smith Doct. of Diuinitie.
- Ioh. Rudde Bachelor of Diuinitie.
- Wil. Pie Bachelor of Diuinitie.
- Iohn Wymsley Archdeacon of London.
- Iohn Cooke.
- Rob. Iohn.
- Frances Spilman.
- Edward Hall.
- Alexander Bret.
- Edmund Buts.

With diuers other mo beyng then present.

Here mayest thou note gentle Reader in this confession, both in the B. and his register: a double sleight of false conueiaunce. For although the confession porporteth the words of the bishops writing,* whereunto she did set her hand, ye• by the title prefixed before, mayest thou see that

both she was arraigned & condemned before this was registred, and also that she is falsly reported to haue put to her hand, which in deed by this her owne booke appeareth not so to be, but after this maner and condition: I Anne Askew doe beleue all maner thinges conteyned in the fayth of the Catholike Church, and not otherwise. It followeth more in the story.

Then because I did adde vnto it the catholike church he •ang into his chamber in a great fury. With that my cosin Britaine followed him, desiring him for Gods sake to bee goo• L. vnto me.* He answered that I was a woman, and that •e was nothing deceiued in me. Then my cosine Britayne desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weake womans wit to his lordships great wisdome.

Then went in vnto him Doct. Westen, and sayd, that the cause why I did write there the catholike church,* was that I vnderstoode not the Church written afore. So with much adoe, they perswaded my Lord to come out agayne, and to take my name with y^e names of my sureties, which were my cosin Britaine, and Maister Spilman of Graies Inne.

This beyng done, we thought that I should haue bene put to bayle immediatly according to the order of the law. Howbeit, he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison agayne,* vntill the next morrow, and then he willed me to appeare in the Guild hall, & so I did. Notwithstanding, they would not put me to bayle there neyther, but red the B. writing vnto me, as before, and so commanded me againe to prison.

Then were my sureties appointed to come before thē on the next morrow in Paules Church: which dyd so in deede. Notwithstanding they would once agayne haue brokē of with them because they would not be bound also for another woman at their plesure, whom they knew not nor yet what matter was laid vnto her charge.* Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to & fro, they toke a bond of them of recognisance for my forth comming. And thus I was at the last deliuered.

Written by me Anne Askew.

The latter apprehension and examination, of the worthy Martyr of God,* Mistres Anne Askew. Anno. 1546.*

I Do perceiue (deare friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perswaded throughly in the truth,* concernyng the Lords supper, because Christ said vnto his Apostles: Take, eate, this is my body, which is geuen for you.

In geuing forth the bread as an outward signe or token to be receiued with the mouth, he mynded them in perfect beliefe, to receiue that body of his, which should dye for the people, and to thinke the death therof to be the only health and saluatiō of their soules. The bread and the wine were left vs for a sacramentall communion, or a mutuall parti'cipation of the inestimable benefites of his most precious death and bloudsheading, and that we should in the ende therof be thankfull together for that most necessarie grace of our redemption. For in y^e closing vp therof, he said thus: This doye in remembrance of me. Yea, so oft as ye shall eat it▪ or drinke it. Luke xi. and i. Cor. xi. Els should we haue bene forgetfull of that we ought to haue in daily

remembraunce,* & also bene altogether vnthankful for it, therefore it is mee•• that in our prayers we call vnto God to graft in our foreheds, the true meaning of the holy Ghost concerning this Communion. For S. Paul sayth: The letter slayeth: the spirit is it onely that geueth lyfe. ij. Cor. iij. Marke well the sixt chap. of Iohn, where all is applied vnto fayth, note also y^e 4. chap. of S. Paules first Epistle to the Corin.* and in the end therof ye shall find that the things which are seene, are temporall, but they that are not seene, are euerlastyng. Yea looke in the 3. chap. to the Hebrues,* and ye shall finde that Christ as a sonne (and no seruant) ruleth ouer hys house, whose house are we (and not the dead temple) If we holde fast the confidence and reioysing of that hope to the end.* Wherefore, as sayd the holy Ghost: To day if ye shall heare his voice harden not your harts, &c. Psalm. 99.

The summe of my examination,* before the Kings Councill at Greenewich.

YOur request, as concerning my prison fellowes, I am not able to satisfie, because I heard not their examinations: but the effect of myne was this.* I beyng before the Councill, was asked of M. Kyme. I aunswered that my Lord Chauncellor knew already my mynd in that matter. They with that aunswer were not contented, but sayde it was the kings pleasure that I should open the matter to them. I answered them plainly I would not so doe. But if it were the Kinges pleasure to heare me, I would shew hym the truth. Then they sayde, it was not meete for the Kyng to be troubled with me. I answered that Salomon was reckoned the wysest kyng that euer lyued: yet misliked he not to heare two poore common womē, much more hys grace a simple woman, and hys faythfull subiect. So in Conclusion I made them none other aunswer in that matter.

Then my Lord Chancellour asked me of my opinion in the sacrament. My aunswer was this: I beleue that so oft as I in a christian congregation,* do receiue the breade in remembrance of Christes death, and with thanks geuyng, according to his holy institution. I receiue therwith the fruits also of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bad me make a direct answer. I said I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange lande. Then the B. said, I spake in parables. I aunswered,* it was best for him, for if I shew the open truth (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he sayde, I was a Parret. I told hym agayne: I was readie to suffer all thyngs at hys handes, not onely his rebukes, but all that should follow besides,* yea, and all that gladly.

Then had I diuers rebukes of the counsayle, because I woulde not expresse my mynde in all thynges as they would haue me. But they were not in the meane time vnanswered for all that, which now to reherse were to much, for I was with them there about fiue houres. Then the Clarke of the Counsaile conueyed me from thence to my Lady Garnish.

The next day I was brought againe before the Councill. Then would they needes know of me, what I sayd to the sacrament. I answered,* that I already had said that I could say. Then after diuers words, they bad me goe by. Then came my L. Lisle, my L. of Essex, and the B. of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confesse the sacrament to be flesh, bloud and bone. Then sayd I to my L. Parre, and my L. Lisle, that it was great shame for thē to counsayle contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the B. sayd he would speake with me familiarlye. I sayde, so did Iudas when he vnfriendlye betrayed Christ. Then desired the Bishop to speake with me alone.* But that I refused. He asked me why? I sayde that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, euerye matter shoulde stand, after Christes and Paules doctrine. Mathew. xviij. ii. Cor. xiiij.*

Then my L. Chancellour began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked hym how long he woulde halt on both sides? Then would he needes knowe where [Page 1238](#) I found that. I sayd in the scripture▪ iij. Reg. xviij. Then he went his way.* Then the B. sayd I should be burnt. I answered that I had searched all the scriptures, yet coulde I neuer finde, that either Christ or his Apostles, put any creature to death. Well, well, sayd I, God will laugh▪ your threatnings to scorne. Psalm. i•. Then was I commanded to stand aside.* Then came to me D. Coxe, and D. Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree.

Then they made me a bill of the Sacrament, willyng me to set my hand thereunto;* but I would not. Then on the sonday I was sore sicke, thinking no lesse then to dye. Therfore I desired to speake with Maister Latimer: but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremitie of sickenes: for in all my life afore was I neuer in such payne. Thus the Lord strengthen vs in the truth. Pray, pray, pray▪

The confession of me Anne Askew, for the tyme I was in Newgate, concerning my beliefe.

I Finde in the Scriptures (sayd she) that Christ tooke the bread and gaue it to his disciples▪* saying▪ Take, eate, this is my body which shall be broken for you, meaning in substāce, his owne very body, the bread being thereof an only signe or Sacrament. For after lyke maner of speaking, he sayde, he would breake down the temple, and in three days build it vp agayne, signifieng his owne body by the temple, as S. Iohn declareth it, Iohn. 2. and not the stony temple it selfe. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of thanks geuing for it,* whereby we are 〈◇〉 vnto him by a communiō of christian loue. Although there be many that cannot perceiue the true meaning therof, for the veile that Moises put ouer his face before y^e children of Israel, that they should not see the clearenes thereof, Exod. 24. and 2. Cor. 3. I perceyue the same veyle remayneth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blynd men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thyng materiall.* O kyng (sayth Daniel) be not deceiued, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men. Daniel, 14. Oh, what stifnecked people are these, that will alwayes resist the holy Ghost? But as their fathers haue done, so do they, because they haue stony hartes.

Written by me Anne Askew, that neyther wisheth death, nor yet feareth his might, and as mery as one that is bound towards heauen.

Truth is layd in prison, Luke. 21. The law is turned to wormewood, Amos. 6. And there can no right iudgement go forth,* Esay. 59.

Oh forgeue vs all our sinnes, and receiue vs graciously. As for the workes of our hands, we will no more call vppon them. For it is thou Lord that art our God. Thou shewest euer mercye vnto the fatherlesse.

Oh, if they would do this (sayth the Lord) I shoulde heale their sores, yea with all my hart would I loue them.

O Ephraim, what haue I to do with Idols any more? who so is wyse, shall vnderstand this. And he that is rightly instructed, will regard it, for the wayes of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly,* will walke in them, and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them. Ose. 14.

Salomon (sayth S. Steuen) builded an house for the God of Iacob. Howbeit, the highest of all dwelleth not in Temples made with hands,* as sayth the Prophet: Heauen is my seat, & the earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Hath not my handes made all things?* Act. 7.

Woman beleue me (sayth Christ to the Samaritane) the tyme is at hand, that ye shall neyther in this mountayne, nor yet at Ierusalem worship the father. Ye worshippe ye wotte not what, but we knowe what we worshippe. For saluation commeth of the Iewes. But the houre commeth, and is now when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirite and veritie. Iohn. 3.*

Labour not (sayth Christ) for the meate that perisheth, but for that that endureth into the lyfe euerlastyng, which the sonne of man shall geue you: For hym GOD the Father hath sealed, Iohn. 6.

***The summe of the condemnation of me Anne Askew at the Guild hall.**

They sayd to me there, that I was an heretike, and condemned by the law. If I would stand in mine opiniō. I answered, that I was no heretike, neither yet deserued I any death by the law of God. But as concerning y^e faith which I vttered and wrote to the counsell. I would not (I sayd) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needes know, if I would deny the Sacrament to be Christes body and bloud. I said yea. For the same sonne of God that was borne of the virgine Mary, is now glorious in heauen, and will come againe from thence at the latter day like as he went vp. Act. 1. And as for that ye call your god, it is a peece of bread. For a more prooffe thereof (marke it when ye list) let it lye in the boxe but iij. monethes, and it will be mouldy, & so turne to nothing that is good. Wherupon I am perswaded, that it cannot be God.

After that they willed me to haue a Priest:* and then I smiled. Then they asked me, if it were not good? I sayd, I would confesse my faults vnto God. For I was sure that he would heare me with fauour. And so we were condemned with a Quest,

My beliefe which I wrote to the Counsaile was this:* that the sacramental bread was left vs to be receiued with thankes geuyng, in remembraunce of Christes death, the onely remedy of our soules recouery: and that thereby we also receiue the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious Passion. Then would they needes know whether the bread in the boxe were God or no? I sayd, God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth, Iohn. 4. Thē they demanded: will you plainly deny Christ to be in the Sacrament? I answered that I beleue faithfully the eternall sonne of God not to dwell there. In witnesse whereof, I recited agayne the history of Bell,* and the 19. chap. of Daniell, the 7. and 17. of the Acts, and the 24. of Mathew, cōcluding thus: I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might God haue the prayse thereof with thanks.

My letter sent to the L. Chauncellor.

The Lord God, by whom all creatures haue their being,* blesse you with the light of his knowledge, Amen.

My duety to your Lordship remembred, &c. It might please you to accept this my bold sute, as the sute of one, which vppon due considerations is moued to the same, and hopeth to obtaine. My request to your Lordship is onely: that it may please the same to be a meane for me to the kings maiesty, that his grace may be certified of these few lynes which I haue written concerning my beliefe. Which when it shall be truely conferred with the harde iudgement geuen me for the same, I thinke his grace shal wel perceiue me to be wayed in an vneuen paire of balance. But I remit my matter and cause to almighty God, which rightly iudgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the gouernaunce of him, and fellowship of all saints. Amen.

By your handmayd Anne Askew

My faith briefly written to the kings grace.

I Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath geuen me the bread of aduersitie, and the water of trouble,* yet not so much as my sinnes haue deserued, desire this to be knowen vnto your grace, that forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an euill doer: Here I take heauen and earth to record, that I shal die in my innocencie. And according to that I haue sayd first, & will say last, I vtterly abhorre and detest all heresies. And as concernyng the supper of the Lord, I beleue so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with hys most blessed blood. I beleue also so much as he willed me to follow and beleue so much as the catholike church of hym doth teach. For I will not forsake the commaundement of his holy lips. But looke what God hath charged me with his mouth, that haue I shut vp in my hart: and thus briefly I ende for lacke of learnyng.

Anne Askew.

The effect of my examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

ON Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the crowne,* where as M. Rich and the B. of London with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuaade me from God: but I did not esteeme their glosing pretences.

Then came there to me Nich. Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I sayd to hym, that it had bene good for him, neuer to haue bene borne, with many other like wordes. Then M. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remayned till three a clocke.

Then came Rich and one of the Counsell, charging me vpon my obedience,* to shew vnto them if I knew any mā or woman of my secte. My aunswere was, that I knewe none. Then they asked me of my Lady Suffolke, my Lady of Sussex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliams. I said, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to proue it. Then sayd they vnto me, that the kyng was informed, that I [Page 1239](#) could name if I

would, a great number of my secr. I aunswered, that the kyng was as well deceiued in that behalfe, as dissembled with in other matters.

Then commanded they me to shew how I was maintayned in the Counter, and who willed me to sticke to my opinion, I sayd that there was no creature that therin did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the counter, it was by the means of my mayde. For as she went abroad in the streetes, she made mone to the prentises, and they by her did send me money: but who they were I neuer knew.

Then they sayde, that there were diuers Gentlewomen that gaue me money,* but I knew not their names. Then they sayd that there were diuers Ladies that had sent me money. I aunswered, that there was a man in a blew coate, which deliuered me x. shillings, and sayd that my Lady of Hertford sent yt me. And an other in a violet coat gaue me viij. shillings, and sayd my lady Denny sen• it me. Whether it were true or no, I cannot tell. For I am not sure who sent it me, but as the mayd did say. Thē they sayd, there were of the Counsell that did maintayne me. And I sayd no.

Then they did put me on the racke, because I confessed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long tyme. And because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellour and M. Rich, tooke paynes to racke me with theyr owne handes, tyll I was nigh dead.

Then the Lieftenaunt caused me to be loosed from the racke. Incontinently I swoounded, and then they recouered me agayne. After that I sate two long houres reasoning with my Lord Chauncellour vpon the bare floore, whereas he with many flattering wordes,* perswaded me to leaue my opinion. But my Lord God (I thanke his euerlasting goodnes) gaue me grace to perseuer, and wil do (I hope) to the very end.

Then was I brought to an house, and layd in a bedde, with as weary and paynefull bones, as euer had pacient Iob, I thanke my Lord God therefore. Then my Lorde Chauncellour sent me worde if I would leaue my opinion,* I should want nothing: If I would not, I shoulde forth to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him agayne word, that I would rather die, then to breake my fayth.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blinde hartes, that the truth may take place. Farewell deare friend, and pray, pray, pray.

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower, thus it was.* First, she was led downe into a dungeon, where Syr Anthony Kneuet the Liuetenant commaunded hys Gaoler to pinche her with the racke. Which beyng done so much as he thought sufficient, went about to take her downe, supposing he had done enough. But Wrisley the Chauncellour not contented that she was loosed so soone confessing nothing, commaunded the Lieftenant to streine her on the racke agayne. Which because he denied to doe, tendering the weakenes of the woman, he was threatned therefore grieuously of the sayd Wrisley,* saying, that hee would signifie hys disobedience vnto the kyng: and so cōsequently vpon the same, he and M. Riche throwyng of their gownes, would needes play the tormenters themselues: first asking her if she were with child. To whome she aunswering agayne, sayd: ye shall not neede to spare for that, but do you willes vpon me: and so

quietly and patiently prayeng vnto the Lord: she aboade their tyranny, till her bones and ioints almost were pluckt a sunder, in such sort, as she was caried away in a chaire. When the racking was past, Wrisley and his fellow tooke theyr horse toward the Court.

In the meane tyme, while they were making their way by land,* the good Lieftenant eftsoones taking boate, spedde hym in all hast to the Court, to speake with the kyng before the other, and so dyd. Who there makynge his humble sute to the Kyng, desired his pardon, and shewed hym the whole matter as it stode, and of the rackynge of Mistresse Askew, and how he was threatened by the Lord Chauncellour, because at his commaundement, not knowynge his highnesse pleasure, he refused to racke her: whiche he for compassion could not finde in his hart to do, and therefore hūbly craued his highnes pardō. Which when the K. had vnderstand,* seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handlynge of the woman, and also graunted to the Lieftenant his pardon, willing him to returne and see to hys charge.

Great expectation was in the meane season among the Warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his returne. Whom when they saw come so cheerefully, declaring vnto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little ioyous, and gaue thanks to God therfore.

¶Anne Askews aunswer vnto Iohn Lacels letter.

OH friend most dearly beloued in God, I meruaile not a litle what should mooue you to iudge in me so slender a fayth as to feare death which is the ende of all misery in the Lord I desire you not to beleue of me such wickednes.* For I doubt it not▪ but God will performe his worke in me, like as he hath begun. I vnderstand the counsaile is not a litle displeased, that it should be reported abroad, that I was racked in the tower. They say now, that they did there, was but to feare me: whereby I perceyue, they are ashamed of their vncomely doyngs, and feare much, least the kings Maiestie should haue information thereof. Wherefore, they would no man to noyse it. Well, their crueltie God forgeue them.

Your hart in Christ Iesu. Farewel, and pray.

The purgation or aunswer of Anne Askew against the false surmises of her recantation.

I Haue read the processe whiche is reported of them that knowe not the truth, to be my recantation.* But as the Lord liueth, I neuer ment thing lesse then to recant. Notwithstanding this I confesse, that in my first troubles, I was examined of the Bishop of London about the Sacrament. Yet had they no graunt yf my mouth, but this, that I beleued therein as the word of God did bynd me to beleue, more had they neuer of me. Then he made a Copie whiche is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand. But I refused it. Then my ij. sureties did wyll me in no wise to sticke thereat, for it was no great matter, they sayd.

Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus: I Anne Askew do beleue this, if Gods word do agree to the same, and the true catholike church. Then the B. beyng in great displeasure with me,* because I made doubtles in my writing, commaunded me to prison: where I was a whyle, but afterwards by the meanes of frendes, I came out againe. Here is the truth of that matter. And

as concerning the thing that ye couet most to know, resort to the sixt of Iohn, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fareye well.

Anne Askew.

The confession of the faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate before she suffered.

I Anne Askew of good memory, although my merciful father hath geuen me the bread of aduersitie,* and the water of trouble: yet not so much as my sinnes haue deserued: confesse my selfe here a sinner before the throne of hys heauenly maiestie, desiring his forgeuenes and mercye. And for so much as I am by the law vnrighteously condemned for an euill doer concerning opinions, I take y^e same most mercifull God of myne, which hath made both heauen and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to hys most holy word. And I trust in my mercifull Lord, which is the geuer of all grace, that he will graciously assist me agaynst all euill opinions, which are contrary to his blessed veritie. For I take him to witnes, that I haue done & wil do vnto my lyues end, vtterly abhorre them to the vttermost of my power.

But this is the heresie which they report me to holde that after the Priest hath spoken the wordes of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say,* & also teach it for a necessary article of fayth, that after those wordes be once spoken, there remayneth no bread, but euen the selfesame body that hoong vpon the crosse on good Friday, both fleshe, bloud, and bone. To this belief of theirs, say I nay: For then were our common Crede false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, & from thence shall come to iudge the quicke and dead. Loe, this is the heresie that I holde, and for it must suffer the death. But as tou•hing the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I beleue it to be a most necessary remembraunce of his glorious suffrings and death. Moreouer, I beleue as much therein, as my eternall and onely redeemer Iesus Christ would I should beleue.

Finally, I beleue al those scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious bloud. Yea,* & as s. Paul saith, those scriptures are sufficient for our •erning & saluatiō, that Christ hath left here with vs: so that I beleue, we nede no vnwritten verities to rule his church w^t. Therefore looke what he hath sayd vnto me with his owne mouth in his holy Gospell, that haue I with Gods grace closed vp in my hart,* and my full trust is (as Dauid saith) that it shalbe a lanterne to my footsteps. Psal. xxviii.

There be some do say that I deny the Eucharist or sacrament of thankes geuyng: but those people do vntruly report of me. For I both say and beleue it, that if it wer ordered [Page 1240](#) lyke as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were vnto vs all. But as cōcerning your masse as it is now vsed in our daies, I do say and beleue it to be the most abhominable Idoll that is in the world: For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neyther yet dieth he agayne. And vpon these wordes that I haue now spoken, wyll I suffer death.

O Lord, I haue mo enemies now, then there be hairens on my head.* Yet Lord, let them neuer ouercome me with vaine words, but fight thou Lord in my stead, for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall vpon me, which am thy poore creature. Yet sweete Lord, let me not set by them which are against me: for in thee is my whole delight. And Lord I hartily

desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most mercifull goodnes forgeue them that violence which they do and haue done vnto me. Open also thou their blynd hartes, that they may hereafter doe that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy veritie aright, without all vaine fantasies of sinnefull men. So be it. O Lord, so be it.

By me Anne Askew.

[illustration]

☛ **The order and maner of the burning of Anne Askew, Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, Nicholas Belenian, with certayne of the Councill sitting in Smithfield.**

Hetherto we haue entreated of this good woman. Now it remayneth that we touch somewhat as concernyng her ende and Martyrdome. After that she, beyng borne of such stocke and kynred, that she might haue liued in great wealth and prosperitie, if she would rather haue followed the world, then Christ, now had bene so tormented, that she could neyther lyue long in so great distresse,* neyther yet by her aduersaries be suffered to die in secret: the daye of her execution beyng appoynted, she was brought into Smithfield in a chayre, because she could not goe on her feete,* by meanes of her great tormentes. When she was brought vnto the stake, she was tyed by the middle with a chayne, that held vp her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, D. Shaxton who was then appoynted to preach,* began his Sermon. Anne Askew hearyng, and answering agayne vnto him, where he sayd wel, confirmed the same: where he sayd amisse, there sayde she he misseth, and speaketh without the booke.

The Sermon beyng finished, the Martyrs standyng there tyed at three seuerall Stakes ready to theyr Martirdome, beganne theyr prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceedyng, the place where they stode beyng rayled about to keepe out the prease. Upon the Benche vnder Saint Bartlemewes Church, sate Wrisley Chauncellour of England, the old Duke of Norfolk, the olde Earle of Bedford, the Lord Mayor wyth dyuers other moe. Before the fire should be set vnto them, one of the Benche hearyng that they had gunnepouder about them, and beyng afrayde least the fagots by strength of the gunnepouder would come •lieng about their eares, began to be afraid, but the Erle of Bedford declaring vnto him how y^e gunpouder was not laid vnder the fagots, but onely about theyr bodies to rydde them out of their paine, which hauyng vente, there was no daunger to them of the fagottes, so diminished that feare.*

Then Wrisley Lord Chauncellour, sent to Anne Askew letters, offring to her the kyngs pardon, if she would recant. Who refusing once to looke vpon them, made this answer agayne: that she came not thether to deny her lord and Maister. Then were the letters likewise offered vnto the other, who in lyke manner followyng the constancie of the woman, denied not onely to receyue them,* but also to looke vpon them. Whereupon the Lord Mayor commaundyng fire to be put vnto them, cryed wyth a lowde voyce, Fiat iustitia.

And thus the good Anne Askew with these blessed Martyrs, beyng troubled so many maner of ways, and hauyng passed through so many tormentes, hauyng now ended the long course of her agonies, beyng cōpassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice vnto God, she slept in the

lord, an. 1546. leauyng behynd her a singular example of christian constancy for all men to follow.

John Lacels, Iohn Adams, and Nicholas Belenian.*

There was at the same time also burnt together wyth her, one Nicholas Belenian priest of Shropshire, I. Adams a Taylor, and Iohn Lacels Gentleman of the [Page 1241](#) court and houshold of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they dyed together with Anne Askew. For albeit that of themselues they wer strong and stout men, yet through the example and exhortation of her, they beyng the more boldened, receyued occasion of greater comfort in that so paynefull and dolefull kynd of death: who beholdyng her inuincible constancie, and also stirred vp thorough her perswasions, did set apart all kynd of feare.

Thus they confirming one another with mutual exhortations taried looking for the tormenter and fire, which at the last flaming round about them, consumed their blessed bodies in happy Martyrdome, in the yeare of our saluation. 1546. about the month of Iune.

There is also a certayne letter extant, which the sayd I. Lacels briefly wrote beyng in prison touchyng the sacrament of Christes body and bloud: wherein he doth both cōfute the error of them, which being not contented wyth the spirituall receyuing of the sacrament, wil leaue no substance of bread therin, and also confuteth the sinister interpretation of many therupon. The tenor of which letter is as here vnder followeth.

The copy of the letter of Iohn Lacels written out of prison.

Saint Paule because of sectes and dissention among the Corinthians,* wrote his epistle vnto them: and in lyke case pertaining to my conscience, I doe protest my whole hart in the blessed supper of the Lord, wherein I trust in God to bryng nothyng for me, but I shall be able wyth Gods holy worde, to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of saint Paule in the sayd Epistle the xi. chapter. That which I deliuered vnto you,* I receyued of the Lorde. For the Lorde Iesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, tooke breade, gaue thanks and brake it, and sayd, take ye, eate ye, this is my body, which is broken for you.

Here me seemeth S. Paule durst not take vpon hym hys Lord and maisters authoritie. Wherefore, as at Gods hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate body and bloud of Christ, is the quietnes of all mens consciences, the onely remedy of our sinnes, and the redemption of mankynd which is called in the scripture the dailye offering: so the Masse whiche is the inuention of man (whose author is the Pope of Rome, as it doth appeare in Polydore Virgill▪ and many others) is the vnquietnesse of all Christendome,* a blasphemy vnto Christes bloud, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abhominable desolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. S. Paule was belyke to learne of the Romaines church,* the manner of the consecration (as they call it) wyth the breathyng ouer the hoste, and other ceremonies besides, that he durst not take vpon him to say: Hoc est corpus meum.* But this I will admitte: it was the Lord Iesus that made the supper, which also did finish it, and made an end of the onely acte of our saluation, not onely

here in this world, but with his father in heauen, as he declareth hym selfe: that he will drinke no more of this bitter cuppe, tyll he drinke it new in his fathers kingdom, where all bitternes shall be taken away.

Now if any man be able to finish the acte of our Sauour, in breakyng of hys body, and sheadyng of his bloude here, and also to finish it with the father in heauen, then let hym say it. But I thinke that if men will looke vpon saint Paules wordes well,* they shall be forced to say, as Saint Paule sayth: the Lord Iesus sayde it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For these wordes: Hoc est corpus meum, were spokē of his natural presence (which no man is able to deny) because the acte was finished on the crosse, as the story doth plainly manifest it to them that haue eyes. Now this bloody sacrifice is made an ende of, the supper is finished, forasmuch as Christ hath once suffered for sinnes,*the iust for the vniust, to bring vs to God, and was killed as pertainyng to the fleshe, and hath entered in by hys owne blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternall redemption.*

Here now followeth the administration of the supper of the Lorde, which I will take at Christes handes after the resurrection, although other men will not bee ashamed to bryng the wicked Councels of foolish inuentions for them. And it came to passe as Christ sate at meate with them, he tooke bread,*blessed, and brake it, and gaue it to them, and their eyes were opened and knewe hym, and he vanished out of their sight. And the Apostles did know him, in breakyng of breade.*

Here also it seemeth to me the Apostles to follow their Maister Christ, and to take the right vse of the Sacrament, and also to teache it to those that were conuerted to Christ, as mention is made in the Actes of the Apostles: where as is sayd: They continued in the Apostles 〈◇〉 and fellowship in breakyng of bread and prayer, and they con•nued daylie with one accord in the temple,*and brake bre•d 〈◇〉 euery house, and did eate there with gladnesse and singlenesse o• heart, praying God, and had fauour with all the people. And Saint Paule followyng the same doctrine, doth plainely shew the duetie of the Minister, and also of them that shal receiue it: As oft as you shall eate this bread, and drinke th•s cuppe, ye shall shewe the Lordes death vntill he come.* Here I doe gather that the Minister hath no further power and authoritie,* then to preach and pronounce the lordes death, or els to say the Lord Iesus sayd it, which did fulfill it on the crosse.

Furthermore I doe stedfastly beleeeue, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinaunce of Christ, the blessed and immaculate Lambe is present to the eyes of our fayth, and so we eate his flesh, and drinke hys blood•, which is to dwell with God, and God with vs.* And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he geueth vs his holy spirite, euen as the forefathers that were before Christes commyng, did presently see the Lordes death, and did eate his body, and drinke his blood.

In this do I differ from the Popes Church, that the priestes haue authoritie to make Christes naturall presence in the bread,* for so doth he more then our Lorde and Sauour did: As the example is manifest in Iudas, which at Christes handes receyued the same wyne and bread, as the other Apostles did. But the Pope and his adherents, are euen they whom Daniel speaketh of, saying: He shall set men to vnhalloow the sanctuary, and to put downe the daylie offering, and to set vp the abhominable desolation. Yea,*he (of Rome) shall speake meruailous things against the

God of heauen, and God of all Gods, wherin he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is deuised already. He shall not regard the God of heauen, nor the God of his fathers, yea in his place shall he worship the mighty Idoll, and the God whome his fathers knew not, which is the God Maozim.

For lacke of tyme, I leaue the commemoration of the blessed supper of the Lord,* and the abhominable idoll the masse, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the God Maozim. Read the second and last chap. of Daniel, the ij. to the Thes. the 2. Epistle: where as they recite the abomination of desolation, which Mathew sayth, standeth in the holy place, which is the consciences of men. Marke sayeth, where it ought not to stand, which is a plaine denial of all the inuentions of men. Further Luke sayth, the tyme is at hand. Paule sayth, the mysterie of iniquitie worketh alredie, yea, and shall continue till the appearaunce of Christ, which in my iudgement is at hand.

Now for the supper of the Lord, I do protest to take it as reuerently as Christ left it, and as his apostles did vse it, according to the testimonies of the Prophets, the Apostles and our blessed sauour Christ, which accordingly S. Paule to the Ephesians doth recite.

Now with quietnes I commit the whole world to their pastor and heardman, Iesus Christ the onely Sauior and true Messias, and I commend my soueraigne Lorde and Maister, the Kings maiestie, King Henry the 8. to God the father, and to our Lord Iesus Christ: the Queene and my Lord the Prince, with this whole realme, euer to the innocent and immaculate lambe, that his blood may wash and purifie their hartes and soules from all iniquitie and sinne, to Gods glory, and to the saluation of their soules. I doe protest that the inward part of my hart doth gront for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is aboue: yea and there to be with God for euer. Farewell in Christ Iesu.

Iohn Lacels seruaunt late to the king, and now I trust to serue the euerlasting king, with the testimony of my blood in Smithfield.

¶Rogers Martyr, burned in Northfolke.

Like as Winchester and other Bishops did set on kyng Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs* so D. Repse B. of Norwich did incite no lesse the old duke of Northfolke against one Rogers in the country of Northfolke: who much about the same yere and time, was there condemned and suffered Martyrdome for the vj. articles. After which tyme, it was not long, but within halfe a yere both the kyng himselfe, and the dukes house decayed:* albeit the Dukes house by Gods grace recouered againe afterward, and he hymselfe conuerted to a more moderation in this kind of dealyng.

***The storie of Queene Katherine Parre late Queene, and wife to King Henry 8 Wherein appeareth in what daunger she was for the Gospell, by the meanes of Steuen Gardiner and other of his conspiracy: and how graciously she was preserued by her kind and louing husband the king.**

After these stormye stories aboue recited, the course and order, as well of the time, as the matter of storie doeth require nowe somewhat to intreate likewise touching the troubles and afflictions of the vertuous and excellent lady Queene Katherine Parre,* the laste wife to king Henrye. The storie wherof is thys.

About the same time aboue noted, whych was about the yeare after the king returned from Bullein, he was informed that Queene Katherine Parre, at that time his wife, was very much geuen to the reading and study of the holy scriptures.* & that she for that purpose had retained diuers well learned and godly persons, to instruct her throughly in the same, w^t whom as at al times conuenient she vsed to haue priuate conference touching spiritual matters: so also of ordinarie, but especially in Lente euey day in the after noone for the space of an houre,* one of her sayd Chaplains in her priuie Chamber made some collation to her and to her Ladies and Gentlewomen of her priuie Chamber, or other that were disposed to heare: in which sermons, they oft times touched suche abuses as in the churche then were rife. Which things as they were not secretely done, so neyther were their preachings vnknownen vnto the Kynge. Wherof at the first, and for a great time, he semed very wel to like. Which made her y^e more bold (being in deed become very zealous toward the Gospell, and the professors therof) •ranckly to debate with the king, touching Religion, and therein flatly to discouer her selfe: oftentimes wishing, exhorting and perswading the king,* that as hee had to the glorye of God and hys eternall fame, begonne a good and a goolye woorke in banishinge that monstereous Idolle of Rome, so he would throughly perfite and finish the same, cleansing and purging hys Church of Englande, cleane from the dregges therof, wherin as yet remained great superstition.

And all be it the king grewe towardes hys latter ende, very sterne and opinionate, so that of fewe he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended wyth all by argument: notwithstanding towardes her he refrained hys accustomed manner (vnto others in like case vsed) as appeared by great respectes, either for the reuerence of the cause, whereunto of hym selfe he seemed well inclined, if some others coulde haue ceased from seeking to peruert hym, or els for the singular affection which vntill a verye smal time before hys death, he alwayes bare vnto her. For neuer handmaide soughte wyth more carefull diligence to please her mistresse, then shee did with all painfull endeour apply her selfe by all vertuous meanes, in all thynges to please hys humour.

Moreouer, besides the vertues of the minde, shee was endued wyth very rare giftes of nature, as singular beautie, fauour, and comely personage▪ being thynges wherein the King was greatly delyghted: and so enioyed shee the kings fauour, to the great likelihoode of the setting at large of the Gospell within this Realme at that time, hadde not the malicious practise of certain enemies professed against the truth (which at that time also were very great) preuented y^e same, to the vtter alienating of the kings mind from Religion, and, almost to the extreme ruine of the Queene and certaine others with her, if God had not maruelously suc•oured her in that distresse.* The conspirers and practisers of her death, were Gardiner B. of Winchester, Wrisley then Lord

Chauncellor, and others more aswell of the kings priuie chamber, as of his priuie councell. These seeking (for the furtheraunce of theyr vngodly purpose) to reuiue, stirre vp and kindle euil and pernicious humours in their Prince and soueraigne Lord, to the intent to depryue her of thys great fauour, which then she stode in wyth the king, (which they not a litle feared would turne to the vtter ruine, of their Antichristian secte, if it shoulde continue) and thereby to stoppe the passage of the Gospell: and consequently,* hauing taken away her, who was the only Patronesse of the professours of the trueth, openlye wythout feare of checke or controlment, wyth fire and sworde, after theyr accustomed maner, to inuade the small remainder (as they hoped) of that poore flocke, made theyr wicked entrie vnto this theyr mischieuous enterprise, after thys manner following.

The kinges Maiestie (as you haue hearde) misliked to be contended with all in any kinde of argument. This humour of hys, although not in smaller matters, yet in causes of Religion as occasion serued, the Queene would not sticke in reuerent termes and humble talke, entring wyth him into discourse with sound reasons of Scripture, now and then to contrary. The whych the Kyng was so well accustomed vnto in those matters, that at her handes he tooke all in good part, or at the least did neuer shew countenance of offence thereat:* which did not a litle appall her aduersaries, to heare and see. During which tyme, perceyuing her so thoroughly grounded in the kings fauour, they durst not for theyr liues once opē their lips vnto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her backe: And so long shee continued this her accustomed vsage; not onely of hearing priuate sermons (as is sayde) but also of her free conference with the king in matters of Religion, without all perill,* vntill at the last by reason of his sore leg (the anguish whereof began more and more to encrease) he waxed sickly, and therewithall, froward, and difficult to be pleased.

In the tyme of this his sicknes, he had left his accustomed maner of comming and visiting the Queene, & therefore she, according as she vnderstoode him by such assured intelligence as shee had about him, to be disposed to haue her company, sometimes being sent for, other sometymes of her selfe would come to visite him, either at after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose. At whiche tymes shee woulde not fayle to vse all occasions to moue him, according to her maner, zelously to proceede in the reformation of the Church.* The sharpenes of the disease had sharpened the kinges accustomed pacience, so that he began to shew some tokens of misliking: and contrary vnto his maner, vpon a day, breaking of that matter, hee tooke occasion to enter into other talke, which somewhat amazed the Queene. To whome notwithstanding in her presence, he gaue neither euill word nor countenance, but knit vp al arguments w^t gentle wordes and louinge countenaunce: and after other pleasant talke, shee for that time tooke her leaue of his maiesty. Who after his maner, bidding her fare'well sweete hearte (for that was his vsuall terme to the Queene) licenced her to depart.

At this visitation chaunced the Bishop of Winchester aforenamed to be present,* as also at the Queenes takynge her leaue (who verry well had printed in his memorie the kings sodaine interrupting of the Queene in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thoughte y^t if the yron were beaten whilst it was hotte, and that the kynges humoure were holpen, suche misliking might followe towards the Queene, as might both ouerthrow her & all her endeours: and only awaited some accasion to renewe into the kings memory, the former misliked argument. Hys expectatiō in that behalfe did nothing faile him. For the king at y^t time shewed himselfe no lesse

prompt and ready to receiue any information, then the bishop was maliciously bent to stir vp the kings indignation against her. The king immediately vpon her departure from him, vsed these or like wordes: A good hearing (quoth he) it is when women become such Clerkes, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine olde dayes to be taught by my wife.

The Bishop hearing this,* seemed to mislike that the Queene shoulde so much forget her selfe, as to take vpon her to stand in any argument wyth his maiestie, whom he to his face extold for his rare vertues, and especially for his learned iudgement in matters of religion, aboue, not only Princes of that and other ages, but also aboue Doctours professed in Diuinitie, and sayde that it was an vnseemely thing for any of his maiesties subiects to reason and argue with him so malaparty, and greuous to him for hys parte and other of his Maiesties Councillours and seruantes, to heare y^e same: and that they all by prooffe knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not nedeful for any to put him in mind of any such matters: inferring moreouer how dāgerous and perillous a matter it is, and euer hath bene for a Prince to suffer suche insolent wordes at hys subiectes hands: who as they take boldnesse to contrary their soueraigne in wordes, so want they no will, but onely power and strength to ouerthwart them in deedes.

Besides thys,* that the Religion by the Queene so stifly maintained, did not onely disallow and dissolue the pollicie and politicke gouernment of Princes, but also taught the people that all thynges oughte to be in cōmon, so that what colour so euer they pretended, theyr opinions were in deede so odious, and for the Princes estate so perillous, that (sauing the reuerence they bare vnto her for hys Maiesties sake) they durst be bolde to affirme that the greatest subiect in this lande, speaking those wordes that shee dyd speake, and defending those argumēts that she did defend, had with indifferent iustice, by law deserued death.

Howbeit for his part he would not nor durst not, without good warrante from his Maiestie, speake hys knowledge [Page 1243](#) in the Queenes case, althoughe very apparaunt reasons made for hym, and suche as his duetifull affection towards his Maiestie, and the zeale and preseruatiō of hys estate, would scarcely geue hym leaue to conceyue, though the vttering thereof might thorowe her, and her faction, be the vtter destruction of hym, and of suche as in deede dyd chiefly tender the Princes safetie, wythout hys Maiestie would take vpon him to be their Protector, and as it were theyr Buckler. Whych if he would doe (as in respect of hys owne safetie hee ought not to refuse) he with others of hys faithfull Counsailours, coulde wythin shorte time disclose such treasōs, cloked with this cloke of heresy, that his maiestie should easily perceiue how perillous a matter it is to cherish a Serpent within hys owne bosome. Howbeit he would not for his parte willingly deale in the matter, both for reuerent respect aforesaid, and also for feare lest the faction was growen already too great, there with the princes safetie to discouer the same. And therewithall with heauie countenance and whispering together with them of y^e secte there present, he helde his peace.

*These and such other kindes of Winchesters flattering phrases, marueilously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the Queene, and also to be ielous and mistrustfull of his own estate. For the assuraunce whereof Princes vse not to be scrupulous to doe any thyng. Thus then Winchester wyth his flattering wordes, seeking to frame the kynges disposition after hys owne pleasure, so farre crept into the king at that time, and wyth doubtfull feares he with other his fellowes, so filled the kyngs mistrustfull minde, that before they departed the place, the king

(to see belike what they would doe,) had geuen commandement, with warrant to certaine of them made for y^t purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certaine articles against the Queene, wherein her life might be touched: which the king by their perswasions pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, hauing any rigour or coloure of law to countenance the matter. With this commission they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put theyr pernicious practise to as mischieuous an execution.

Duringe the time of deliberation about thys matter, they failed not to vse al kinds of policies,* and mischieuous practises, aswell to suborne accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to vnderstand what bokes, by law forbidden, shee had in her closet. And the better to bring theyr purpose to passe, because they would not vpon the sodaine but by meanes deale wyth her, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those Ladies whom they knew to be great with her, and of her bloud. The chieftest whereof, as most of estimation, and priuie to all her doings, were these:* the Lady Harbert, afterwarde Countesse of Pembroke and sister to the Queene, & chiefe of her priuie chamber: the Lady Lane, being of her priuie chamber, and also her cosine germane:* the Lady Tyrwit of her priuie chamber, and for her vertuous disposition, in very great fauour and credite with her.*

It was deuised that these three aboue named shoulde first of all haue bene accused and brought to aunswer vnto the 6. articles: and vpon their apprehension in the Courte, their closet and coffers shoulde haue bene searched, y^t somewhat might haue bene found, wherby the Queene myght be charged,* which being found, y^e Queene her selfe presently should haue bene taken, and likewise caried by barge by night vnto the Tower. This platforme thus deuised, but yet in the ende comming to no effecte, the king by those aforesayde, was foorthwith made priuie vnto the deuise by Winchester and Wrisley, and his consent therunto demanded. Who, (belike to prooue the byshops malice, how farre it would presume) like a wise politike Prince, was contented (dissemblingly) to geue his consent, and to alow of euery circumstance (knowing notw^tstanding in the ende what he would doe. And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaide was appoynted: which deuise yet after was chaunged.

The king at that time lay at White Hal, and vsed very seldome, being not well at ease, to stirre oute of hys chamber or priuie gallery: and few of his Counsell, but by especial commandement, resorted vnto him, these onely except: who by reason of this practise, vsed oftner then of ordinary to repaire vnto hym. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grewe now within fewe dayes of the tyme appoynted for the execution of the matter, & the poore Quene knew not nor suspected any thing at all: and therefore vsed after her accustomed manner, when shee came to visite the king, still to deale with hym touching Religion, as before shee did.

The king al this while gaue her leaue to vtter her mind at the ful, without contradiction: not vpon any euil minde or misliking (ye must cōceiue) to haue her speedy dispatch•, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the vttermoste of Winchesters fetches. Thus after her accustomed conference wyth the kyng, when shee hadde taken her leaue of him (the time and daye of Winchesters ••all day approaching fast vpon) it chaunced that the king of himselfe vpon a certaine night after her being wyth him, and her leaue taken of hym, in misliking her Religion, brake the whole practise vnto one of hys Phisitions, eyther Doctor Windy, or els Owen, but rather Windy as is supposed: pretending vnto him, as though he intended not any longer to be

troubled wyth such a Doctresse as shee was, and also declaring what trouble was in working againste her by certaine of her enemies, but yet charging him wythall, vpon peril of his life, not to vtter it to any creature liuing: and therupon declared vnto him the parties aboue named with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The Queene all this while compassed about wyth enemies and persecutours, perceiued nothing of all thys, nor what was working against her, and what trappes were layde for her by Winchester and his fellowes: so closely the matter was conueied.* But see what the Lorde God (who from his eternall throne of wisdom, seeth and dispatcheth all the inuentiōs of Achitophel, and comprehendeth y^e wily beguily themselues) did for his pore handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruine, whereunto she was ready to fall vnawares.

For as the Lorde would, so came it to passe, that the bill of Articles drawn againste the Queene, and subscribed with the kings own hand (although dissemblingly ye must vnderstand) falling from the bosome of one of the foresayd Councillours,* was founde and taken vp of some godly person, and brought immediately vnto the Queene. Who reading there the Articles comprised against her, and perceiuing the kings owne hand vnto the same, for the sodain feare thereof, fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agonie, bewailing and taking on in suche sorte, as was lamentable to see: as certaine of her Ladies and Gentlewomen beyng yet aliue, whiche were then present about her,* can testifie.

The king hearing what perplexitie she was in, almost to the pearil and danger of her life, sent his Phisitions vnto her. Who traueling about her, and seing what extremity shee was in, did what they could for her recouerie.* Then Wendy, who knew the case better then the other, and perceiuing by her words what y^e mater was, according to that the king before had told him: for the comforting of her heauy minde, began to breake with her in secrete maner, touching the said articles deuised against her, which he himself (he sayde) knewe right well to be true: although he stode in danger of his life, if euer he were knowen to vtter the same to any liuing creature. Neuertheles, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his owne conscience, hauing remorse to consent to y^e shedding of innocent bloud, he could not but geue her warning of that mischief that hāged ouer her head,* beseeching her most instantly to vse al secrecie in that behalfe, and exhorted her somewhat to frame and conforme her selfe vnto the kings minde, saying he did not doubt, but if she wold so do, and shew her humble submission vnto him, shee shoulde finde him gracious and fauourable vnto her.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the daungerous state wherin she yet stil remained: came vnto her hymselfe. Unto whome, after that shee had vttered her griefe,* fearing lest his maiestie (she sayd) had taken displeasure with her, and had vtterly forsaken her: he like a louing husband wyth swete and comfortable wordes so refreshed & appeased her careful mind, that she vpon the same began somewhat to recouer, and so the king after he hadde taryed there about the space of an houre, departed.

After this the Queene remembring with her selfe the wordes that M. Wendy had said vnto her, deuised how by some good oportunitie she myght repaire to the kings presence. And so first commanding her ladies to conuey away theyr bookes, which were against the lawe, the next nyght following after supper, shee (waited vpon only by the lady Harbert her sister and the Lady

Lane, who caried the candle before her) went vnto the kings bed chamber, whome she found sitting and talking with certaine Gentlemen of his chamber. Whom when the king did beholde, very curteously he welcomed her, and breaking of the talke, whych before her comming he had wyth the Gentlemen aforsaid, began of himself, contrary to his maner before accustomed to enter into talke of religion, seming as it were, desirous to be resolved by the Queene of certaine doubttes which he propounded.

[Page 1244](#)The Queene perceiuinge to what purpose thys talke did tend, not being vnprouided in what sort to behaue her selfe towards the king, with such aunsweres resolved hys questions as the time and oportunitie present did require, mildly, and with a reuerent countenance aunswering againe after thys maner.

Your Maiestie (quoth she) doth right well know, neither I my selfe am ignoraunt,*what great imperfection and weakenesse by our first creation, is allotted vnto vs women, to be ordained and appoynted as inferiour and subiect vnto man as our heade, from which head all our direction ought to proceede, and that, as God made man to his owne shape and likenesse, whereby he being indued with more speciall giftes of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heauenly things, and to the earnest endeouour to obey his commaundements: euen so also made hee woman of man, of whome and by whome shee is to be gouerned; commanded and directed. Whose womanly weakenesse & naturall imperfection, ought to be tollerated, aided and borne wythal, so that by his wisdomes such things as be lacking in her, ought to be supplied.

Sithens therefore that God hath appoynted suche a naturall difference betwene man and woman, and your Maiestie beyng so excellent in giftes and ornaments of wisdom, and I a seely pore woman so much inferiour in all respects of nature vnto you: how then commeth it now to passe that your Maiestie in such diffuse causes of religion, will seeme to require my iudgement? Whyche when I haue vttered and sayd what I can, yet must I, and will I referre my iudgement in this and all other cases to your Maiesties wisdomes, as my onely anker, supreme heade and gouerner heere in earth next vnder God, to leane vnto.

Not so by Saint Marye, quoth the King. You are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct vs (as we take it) and not to be instructed, or directed by vs.

If your Maiestie take it so (quoth the Queene) then hath your Maiestie very much mistaken me, who haue euer bene of the opinion, to thinke it very vnseemely & preposterous for the woman to take vpon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her Lord and husband, but rather to learne of her husband, & to be taught by him. And where I haue with your Maiesties leaue heeretofore bene bolde to holde talke with your Maiestie, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I haue not done it so much to maintaine opinion, as I did it rather to minister talke, not onely to the ende that your Maiestie mighte with lesse grieffe passe ouer this painefull time of your infirmitie, beinge intentiue to oure talke, and hoping that your Maiestie shoulde reape some ease thereby: but also that I hearing your Maiesties learned discourse, might receiue to my selfe some profite thereof. Wherein I assure your Maiestie I haue not missed anye parte of my desire in that behalfe, alwayes referring my selfe in all suche matters vnto your Maiestie, as by ordinance of nature it is conuenient for me to doe.

And is it euen so sweete hart, quoth the king? And tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect frendes we are now again,* as euer at any time heretofore: and as hee sate in hys chaire embracing her in his armes & kissing her, hee added thys saying: That it did him more good at that time to heare those wordes of her owne mouthe, then if hee had heard present newes of an hundreth thousand pounds in money fallen vnto him. And wyth greate signes and tokens of marueilous ioy and liking, with promises and assurances, neuer againe in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasaunt discourses wyth the Queene & the Lords, and Gentlemen standing by, in the end (being very farre on the night) he gaue her leaue to departe. Whome in her absence to the standers by, he gaue as singulare and as affectuous commendations, as before time to the Bish. and the chancelor (who then were neither of them present) he seemed to mislike of her.

Now then (God be thanked) the Kings mynde was cleane altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly shewed) this Tragicall practise of those cruell Caiphases:* who nothing vnderstanding of the kings wel reformed minde; & good disposition towarde the Queene, were busily occupied about thinking & prouiding for their next dayes labour, which was the day determined to haue caryed the Queene to the Tower.

The day & almost the houre appoynted being come, the K. being disposed in the after noone to take the aire (waited vppon wyth two Gentlemen onely of hys bed chamber) went into the garden,* whether the Queene also came, being sent for by the Kinge hymselfe, the three Ladies aboue named, alone waiting vppon her. Wyth whom the king at that time disposed himselfe to be as pleasant as euer he was in all his life before: When sodainly in the midst of theyr myrth, the houre determined being come, in commeth the Lord chauncellour into the garden with a 40. of the kings garde at his heeles,* with purpose in deede to haue taken the Queene together with the 3. Ladies aforesaide, whom they had before purposed to apprehende alone, euen then vnto the tower. Whome then the kyng sternly beholding, breaking of his myrth with the Queene, stepping a little a side, called the Chauncellour vnto hym. Who vppon hys knees spake certaine wordes vnto the king, but what they were (for that they were softly spoken, and the King a good pretie distance from the Queene) it is not well known,* but it is most certaine that the kings replying vnto hym, was knaue, for his aunswer: yea arrant knaue, beast, and foole, and with that the king commāded hym presently to auant out of presence.* Which words although they were vttered somewhat lowe, yet were they so vehemently whyspered out by the king, that the Queene did easely with her Ladies aforesayd ouer heare them: which had bene not a litle to her comforte, i• shee had knowen at that time the whole cause of hys comming so perfectly, as after shee knewe it. Thus departed the L. Chācellor out of the kings presence as he came, with all his traine, the whole mould of all hys deuise being vtterly broken.

The king after his departure, immediatly returned to the Quene. Whom she perceiuing to be very much chafed▪ (albeit comming towards her, he inforced himselfe to put on a mery countenance) with as swete words as she could vtter, endeuoured to quallify the king his displeasure with request vnto his maiestie in the behalfe of the L. Chauncelor, whom he seemed to be offended with all: saying for his excuse,* that albeit she knew not what iust cause his maiesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet shee thoughte that ignoraunce not will, was the cause of his error, and so besought hys maiestie (if the cause were not very hainous) at her humble suite to take it.

Ah poore soule (quoth he) thou little knowest how euill he deserueth this grace at thy hands. Of my worde (sweete heart) he hath bene towards thee an arrant knaue,* and so let him go. To this the Queene in charitable maner replying in few wordes, ended that talke: hauing also by Gods onely blessing happely for that time and euer, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruell enemies for the Gospels sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this Bishop, & of suche like bloody aduersaries practising thus against the Queene, & proceeding of gods gospel (as ye haue heard) putteth me in remembrāce of such an other like story of his wicked working in like manner, a litle before: but much more pernicious & pestilent to the publick church of Iesus Christ, then this was daungerous to the priuate estate of the Queene. Whyche storie likewise I thought heere as in conuenient place, to be adioyned & notified, to be knowen to all posteritie, according as I haue it faithfully recorded and storied by hym, which heard it of the Archbishop Cranmers own mouth, declared in order and forme as foloweth.

*A discourse touching a certaine pollicie vsed by Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, in staying king Henrie the 8. from redressing of certaine abuses of ceremonies in the church, being Ambassadour beyonde the seas.

Also the communication of king Henrye the 8 had wyth the ambassador of France at Hampton Court concerning the reformation of religion, as wel in France, as in Englande. Anno 1546. Mens August.

IT chanced in the time of K. Henrie the 8. when his highnes did lastly (not many yeres before his death) conclude a league betwene the Emperor, the French king and himselfe, that the B. of Winchester Steuē Gardiner by name, was sent in Ambassage beyonde the seas, for that purpose. In whose absence the Archbishop of Cāterbury Thomas Cranmer, attending vpon the kings Court, sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion▪ not yet fully restored vnto a perfection.* For lyke as the sayd Archb. was alwaies diligent and forward to prefer and aduaunce the sincere doctrine of the Gospel: so was that other byshop a contrary instrument, cōtinually spurning against the same, in whatsoever coast of the worlde he remained. For euen now he being beyond y^e seas in y^e temporal affaires of y^e realme forgate not, but fōud the meanes as a most valiant champion of the B. of Rome, to stop and hinder, aswel the good diligence of the sayd Archbishop,* as the godly disposition of the kings Maiestie in that behalfe▪ whych thus chaunced.

Whilest the sayde B. of Winchester was nowe remaining beyond the seas, about the affaires aforsaide, y^e kings maiesty and the saide Archbishop, hauing conference together for reformatiō of some superstitious enormities in the Church: amongst other things, the king determined forthwith [Page 1245](#) to pull downe the Roodes in euery churche,* and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Alhalow night, wyth a few such like vaine ceremonies: And therefore, when the said Archb. taking his leaue of the king, to go into Kent his dioces, his highnes willed him to remember that he shuld cause 2. letters to be deuised: for me (quoth the King) to be signed, the one to be directed vnto you my Lorde, and the other vnto the Archbishop of Yorke, wherein I will commaund you both to send forth your precepts vnto all other Byshops wythin

your prouinces,* to see those enormities and Ceremonies reformed vndelaidly that we haue communed off.

So vppon this, the kings pleasure knowen, when the Archbishop of Canterburie was then come into Kent, hee caused his Secretarye to conceiue and write these Letters according to the kings minde, and being made in a readinesse, sent them to the Courte to Syr Anthony Denie, for hym to get them signed by the king, when maister Denie had mooued the king thereunto, the king made answe: I am now otherwayes resolved, for you shal send my Lorde of Canterburie worde, that sithence I spake with hym about these matters, I haue receiued letters from my Lord of Winchester, nowe being on the other side of the Sea, about the conclusion of a league betweene vs,* the Emperour and the Frenche king, & he wryteth plainely vnto vs, that the league wil not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innouation, change, or alteration, either in Religion or ceremonies,* then heretofore hath ben already commensed and done. Wherefore my Lorde of Canterburie must take patience heerein, and forbear vntill we may espye a more apt and conuenient time for that purpose.

Which matter of reformation began to be reuiued again, at what time the great Ambassador from the French king, came to the kings Maiestie at Hampton Courte not long before his death.* Where then no Gentleman was permitted to waite vpon his Lord and maister,* wythout a veluet coate and a chaine of golde. And for that entertainment of the Ambassadour, were builded in the parke there, 3. very notable great and sumptuous banketting houses. At the which it was purposed, that the sayd Ambassadour should haue bene 3. sundry nightes very richly banketted. But as it chaunced, the French kings great affaires were then sodenly such, that thys Ambassadeure was sent for home in post hast, before he had receiued halfe the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he hadde but the fruition of the first banketting house.

Now what princelike order was there vsed in the furniture of y^e banket, as well in placing of the noble estates, namely the kings Maiestie, and the French Ambassadour w^t the noble men both of England and Fraunce on the one parte, and of the Queenes highnesse and the Ladye Anne of Cleue with other noble women & Ladyes of the other part, as also touching the great & sumptuous preparation of both costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose heere presently to entreate thereof, but onely to consider the note of the conference and communication had the first night after the sayd bāket was finished,* betweene the kings Maiestie, the sayde Ambassadour, and the Archbishop of Canterburie (the kings highnesse standing openly in the banketting house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arme vpon the shoulder of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arme vppon the shoulder of the Ambassadour) touching the establishing of godly religion betweene those two Princes in both theyr realmes: As by the report of the sayd Arch. vnto hys secretarie vppon occasion of his seruice to be done in king Edwards visitation, then being register in the same visitation,* relation was made on that behalfe in thys sorte.

When the sayd visitation was put in a readines, before the Commissioners should proceede in their viage, the said Archb. sent for the sayde Register his man vnto Hampton Courte, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certaine things in the sayde visitation: whereof hee gaue vnto hym instruction,* hauing then further talke with hym touching the good effect and successe of

the sayde visitation. Upon which occasion the Register sayde vnto hys maister the Archbyshop: I doe remember that you not long agoe, caused me to conceiue and write letters, which king Henry the 8. shuld haue signed and directed vnto your grace, and the Archbishoppe of Yorke, for the reformation of certayne enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roodes, and forbidding of ringing on Alhalow night, and such like vaine ceremonies. Whiche letters your grace sent to the Courte to be signed by the kinges Maiestie, but as yet I thinke that there was neuer any thing done therein.

Why, quoth the Archbishop againe, neuer hearde you how those letters were suppressed and stopped? Wherunto the Archbysshops seruauant aunswering againe: as it was (sayde hee) my duetie to wryte those letters: so was it not my part to be inquisitiue what became thereupon. Marye, quoth the Archbishop, my Lord of Winchester then beyng beyond the seas, about a cōclusion of a league betwene the Emperour, the Frenche king, & the king our maister, and fearing y^t some reformation should here passe in the realme touchinge Religion in hys absence, againste hys appetite, wrote to the kinges Maiestie, bearing hym in hande,* that the league then towardes, woulde not prosper nor go forwardes on his Maiesties behalfe, if he made any other innouation or alteration in Religion, or Ceremonies in the Church, then was already done: which hys aduertisement herein caused the king to staye the signing of those letters, as Syr Anthonie Denie wrote to me by the Kinges commaundement.

Then said his seruauant againe vnto hym: Forasmuche as the kings good intent tooke no place then, nowe youre grace may goe forward in those matters, the oportunity of the time much better seruing thereunto then in king Henries daies.

Not so, quoth the Archbyshop. It was better to attempt such reformation in king Henry the viij. his dayes, then at thys time, the King beinge in hys infancie. For if the kings father had set foorth any thyng for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durste gainesay it? Marye, we are now in doubt how men will take the change or alteration of abuses in the Church, and therefore the Counsaile hath forborne specially to speake thereof, and of other thyngs, whych gladly they woulde haue reformed in thys visitation, referring all those & suche like matters, vnto the discretions of the visitours. But if King Henrye the viij. had liued vnto this day, w^t the french king, it had bene past my L. of Winchesters power, to haue v•sured the kynges highnes as he did, when he was about the same league.

I am sure you were at Hampton Courte, quoth the Archb. when the French kings ambassador was entertained there at those solemne banketting houses, not long be••re the kings death: namely, when after the bankette was done the first night, the king leaning vpō the Ambassador and vpon me, if I should tel what communicatiō betwene the kings highnes and the said Ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere Religion then, a manne would hardly haue beleued it. Nor I my selfe had thought the kings highnes had ben so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling downe of Roodes, and suppressing the ringing of bells, I take it y^t few in England would haue beleued, that the kings Maiestie, and the French king had bene at thys poynt,* not only within halfe a yeare after to haue chaunged the masse in both the realmes into a communion, as we now vse it, but also vtterly to haue extirped, and banished the Byshop of Rome and his vsurped power, out of both their realms and dominions.

Yea they were so throughly and firmly resolved in that behalfe, that they ment also to exhort the Emperour to doe the like in Flanders and other his Countreies and Seniories, or els to breake of from him. And heerein the kynys highnes willed mee (quoth the Archbishop) to pen a forme thereof to be sent to the Frenche king to consider of. But the deepe & most secrete prouidence of almighty God, owing to this realme a sharpe scourge for our iniquities, preuented (for a time) this theyr most godly deuise and intent, by taking to his mercy both these Princes.

A briefe narration of the trouble of Syr George Blage.

HEere woulde also something be sayde of Syr George Blage one of y^e kings priuy chamber,* who being falslye accused by syr Hugh Cauerley knight, and M. Littleton, was sent for by Wrisley L. Chauncellour the sonday before Anne Askew suffered, & the next day was caried to Newgate, & from thence to Guild Hal,* where he was cōdemned the same day, & appoynted to be burned the wensday folowing. The words which his accusers laid vnto him, were these. What if a mouse should eat the bread? then by my cōsent they should hang vp the mouse. Wheras in dede these words he neuer spake as to hys liues ende hee protested. But y^e truth, as he sayd, was this, that they craftely to vndermine him, walking w^t him in Pauls church after a sermon of D. Crome, asked if he were at the Sermon, and he said yea, I heard say (saith M. Littleton) that he sayd in his sermō that the masse profiteth neither for the quick nor for the dead. No saide M. Blage, wherefore then? belike for a gentleman when he rideth a hunting to kepe his horse frō stumbling,* & so they departing immediately after he was apprehended (as is shewed) and condemned to be burned, when this was heard among them of the priuye chamber, the king hearing thē whispering together) whych he could [Page 1246](#) neuer abide) commaunded them to tell hym the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and sute made to the king, especially by the good Earle of Bedford then L. priuie Seale, the king being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so nere him, & euen into his priuie chamber without hys knowledge, sent for Wrisley, commaunding him eftsoones to draw out hys pardon himself,* and so was he set at libertye. Who cōming after to the kings presence: ah my pig sayth the king to him, (for so he was wont to call him.) Yea sayd he, if your maiestie had not bene better to me then your Bishops were,* your pig had bene rosted ere this time.

But to let this matter of syr George Blage passe, wee will now reduce our storie againe to Anne Askew and her fellowe Martyrs, who the same weeke were burned, and could finde no pardon.*

Then the Catholicke fathers when they had broughte this christian woman wyth the residue (as aboue hath ben declared) vnto theyr rest, they being now in their ruffe and triumph, like as the Phariseis when they hadde broughte Christ to his graue, deuised w^t themselues howe to keepe him down stil, & to ouertreade truth for euer. Whereupon consulting with certaine of the Counsell, they made oute a straight and harde proclamation, authorised by the kinges name, for the abolishing of the scripture, & al such English bookes, which might geue any light to the setting foorth of Gods true word and grace of the Gospel, the copie and tenour of which Proclamation is this as followeth.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of English bookes, after the death of Anne Askew, set forth by the king. An. 1546. the 8. day of Iuly.

THE kings most excellent Maiestie vnderstanding howe vnder pretence of expounding and declaring the truthe of Goddes Scripture,*diuers leud and euil disposed persons haue taken occasion to vtter and sow abroad by bookes imprinted in the English tongue, sondry pernicious and detestable errours & heresies, not onely contrary to the lawes of this realme, but also repugnant to the true sence of Gods law and his word,*by reason whereof certaine men of late, to the destruction of their owne bodies & soules, and to the euill example of others, haue attempted arrogātly and malitiously to impugne the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet and godly Religion vnited and established vnder the kings Maiestie in this his realme: his highnesse minding to foresee the daungers that myght ensue of the sayd bookes, is enforced to vse hys generall prohibition commaundement and proclamation, as followeth.

First, that from henceforth no man, woman, or person▪ of what estate,*condition, or degree so euer he or they be, shal after the last day of August next ensuing, receiue, haue, take, or keepe in his or their possession, the text of the newe Testament of Tyndalles or Couerdales translation in English, nor any other then is permitted by the Acte of Parliament made in the Session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the 34. or 35. yere of his maiesties most noble raigne, nor after the sayd day, shall receiue, haue, take, or keepe in his or their possession, any maner of bookes prynted or wrytten in the English tongue, which be, or shalbe set forth in the names of Frith, Tindal, Wickliffe, Ioy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Couerdale,*Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other booke or bookes, containing matter contrary to the sayde Acte made An 34 or 35. but shall before the last day of August next cōming, deliuer the same English booke, or bookes to his maister in that housholde, if hee be a seruauant or dwell vnder any other, and the maister or ruler of the house, & suche other as dwell at large, shall deliuer all such bookes of the sortes aforesaid as they haue, or shal come to their hāds, deliuered as afore or otherwise, to the Maior, Bailiffe or chiefe Constable of the towne where they dwell, to be by them deliuered ouer openly within 40. daies next folowing after the said deliuerie to the Shiriffe of the shire, or to the Byshops Chancellour, Commissary of the same diocesse, to the entent the said Bishop, Chauncellour, Commissary, and Shiriffe, and euery of them shall cause them incontinently to be openly burned, which thing the kinges Maiesties pleasure is, that euery of them shall see executed in most effectuall sort,*and of their doings thereof make certificate to the kings Maiesties most honourable Councill, before the 1. of October next comming.

And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any daunger of such penall statutes as be passed in this behalfe, for the keeping of the sayd bookes, the kings Maiestie is most graciously contented by this proclamation,*to pardon that offence to the sayd time appoynted, by this proclamation for the deliury of the said bokes and commaundeth that no Bishoppe, Chauncellor, Commissarie, Maior, Bailiffe, Shiriffe, or Constable, shall be curious to marke who bringeth forth such bookes, but only order, & burne them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man after the last day of August next comming, shall haue any of the sayde bookes in his keeping, or be proued, and conuined by sufficient witnesse before 4. of the kings most honourable counsail, to haue hidden thē, or vsed thē, or any copy of any of them, or any parte of thē, wherby it shuld appeare that he willingly hath offēded the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not onely suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the kings maiesties will and

pleasure,*but also shall make suche fine and raunsome to his highnesse for the same, as by his Maiestie or 4. of hys graces said counsaile shalbe determined. &c.

Finally, his Maiestie straightly chargeth and commandeth that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition so euer he or they be, from the day of this proclamation presume to bring any maner of English booke, concerning any maner of Christian religion, printed in the parties beyonde the seas into this realme, to sell, geue, or distribute any English booke printed in outwarde parties, or the copie of any such booke, or any part thereof to any persone dwelling within this his graces realme, or any other hys maiesties dominions, vnlesse the same shalbe specially licenced so to doe by his highnesse expresse graun• to be obtained in writing for the same, vppon the paines before limited, and therewithall to incurre his maiesties extreeme indignation.

For so much as it is & hath alwayes bene the common guise and practise of the popes church to extinct, condemne and abolish all good bookes and holesome treatises of learned men, vnder a false pretence of errors & heresies,* wherof examples abundantly maye appeare in this historie aboue.

Now for the better triall hereof, to see and trie the impudent & shamelesse vanitie of these Catholicke Clergimē, in mistaking, falsifying, deprauing, blaspheming and slandering, where they haue no cause, against al right & honest dealing, yea against their own knowledge, conscience and manifest verity of Gods worde. I shall therfore desire the attentiuē Reader, before we passe any further to consider & expend here 2. things by the way. First what opiniōs and Articles these men gather out of their bookes for errorrs and heresies. Secondly how wittingly and willingly they wrast, peruert, and miscōstrue their sayings, and writings in such sense as the wryters neuer spake nor ment, and all to bryng them into hatred of the worlde, after they haue burned their bookes.

So did they before wyth Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, & Hierome, So did they with M. Luther, Tindal, Friethe, Lambert, Barnes, Ioy, Roy, Seron,* and briefly yet do stil wyth all the Protestants, either peruerting their sayings, otherwise then they meante, or noting for heresies suche as are manifest principles, & grounds of our religion: Or els falsly belying them, or vntruelly mistaking them, eyther in mangling y^e places, or adding to their words as may serue for their most aduauntage, to bring them out of credite w^t Princes and all the people,

For the more euident probation and experience wherof thou shalt see here (Christen reader) as in a table laid before thine eyes: the booke or catalogue of such errorrs, blasphemies and heresies, whiche the Catholicke Papistes in their own registers haue extracted out of their bokes whō in this & other proclamatiōs they haue condemned. Wher vnto moreouer, we haue annexed y^t very places also of the Authors, out of which euery Article is gathered, keepyng the same signature of verse and page, whyche they in theyr registers doe send vs vnto. So that with a little diligence, thou maist now (louing reader) easely perceiue, conferring the Articles and places together, what trueth and fidelitie these bloudye Catholickes haue vsed toward the children of God: First in burning vp theyr bodies, then in consuming, and abolishing theyr bokes, and afterward drawing out Articles, such as they list thēselues out of their workes to make the people beleue what damnable heretickes they were, as by these articles here vnder ensuing collected and contained in

their owne registers may wel appeare. In al which articles, there is not one (speaking of these wryters which here they haue condemned) but either it is a perfect truth and a principle of Christen doctrine, or els it is falsly gathered, or peruersly recited, or craftely handled & maliciously mangled, hauing either something cut frō it, or some more added, or els rackt out of his right place, or wrasted to a wrōg meaning, which the place geueth not, or els whych some other place folowing doth better expound & declare. This false & malicious dealing, hath alwayes bene a common practise amongst Gods enemies from the beginning to falsifie, wrast, and depraue all thinges what soeuer maketh not to their faction & affection, be it neuer so true and iust. So began they w^t Steuen y^e 1. martyr of Iesus Christ,* and so haue they continued stil, & yet do to this present day.

Long it were to recite, but more greuouse to behold what spite and falshood was vsed in the articles of y^e Albingenses Waldenses, Wickliffe, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, [Page 1247](#) Armachanus, syr Iohn Oldcastle, Iohn Hus, the Bohemians, and such other. Which thing if the bookes and places when these Articles were gathered againste them, had bene suffered to remayne, we might more playnely vnderstand. In the meane season as touching these Articles here present, for so much as the Bishops owne Registers haue offered them vnto vs, and doe yet remaine with the selfe same bookes from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee (frendly reader) first to cōsider the Articles, and laye them with the places which the Registers themselues doe assigne, and then iudge thy selfe what is to bee thought thereof. The Articles gathered out of the foresayd bookes wyth the Bishops decree prefixed before the same, is as here vnder followeth.

A publike Instrument by the Byshops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other bookes to be English.

IN the name of God. Amen. Be it knowen to all and singulare, true,* and faithfull people, to whome these present letters testimoniall, or this present publicke and authenticke instrument shall come to be seene, reade, hearde or vnderstande, and whome this vnder wrytten shall or may teache, or appertaine vnto in any maner of wise in time to come, William by the sufferaunce of almighty God, Archbishop of Caunterburie, Primate of all the Realme of Englande, sendeth greeting in our Lorde God euerlasting. We signifie vnto you all, and let you well wit and know by these presents, that the king our soueraigne Lorde, hearing of many bookes in the English tongue, containing many detestable errours, and damnable opinions, printed in the parties beyond the Seas, to be brought into diuers townes, and sondrye parties of this his Realme of Englande, and sowne abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith Catholicke, and perillous corruption of hys people, vnlesse speedy remedy were briefly prouided, hys highnesse willinge euermore to employ all his studie and mynde in the high degree which almighty God hath called hym vnto, to the wealth of his subiectes, that they might liue, not only in tranquillitie and peace, but also be kept pure and cleane of all contagion, and wrong opinions, in Christes Religion: considering also that he being defendour of the faith, woulde be full loth to suffer such euill seede sowne amongst his people, and so take roote that it might ouergrowe the corne of the Catholicke doctrine before spronge in the soules of hys subiectes: for the repellinge of suche booke, calling vnto him of his great goodnesse, & gracious dispositiō, not onely certain of the chief prelates & clerks of his realm, but also of eache Vniuersitie a certaine number of the chiefe learned men proposed such of those bookes, as his grace had readye to be read vnto them,

requiring to heare in that behalfe their aduise and iudgement of them. Who both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing ouer the sayde bookes, founde in them manye errorrs and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such a sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a greate parte of his people (if they mighte be suffered to remaine in theyr handes any space) gathering also out of them many great errors, and pestilent heresies, and noting them in wryting, to the intente to shewe for what cause they reputed the sayd bookes damnable, of which hereafter out of eache booke gathered many do ensue: albeit, many more there be in the said bookes, which bookes totally do swarue full of heresies and detestable opinions.

Heresies and errorrs collected by the Byshops out of the booke of Tyndall, named the wicked Mammon with the places of the booke annexed to the same,*_oute of which euery Article is collected.

1. FAith onely iustifieth. Fol. 59.

*This Article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our saluation, is playne enoughe by S. Paule and the whole body of the scripture: Neither can any make this an heresie,*_ but they must make S. Paule an hereticke, and shew themselues ennemies to the promises of grace, and to the crosse of Christ.

2. The law maketh vs to heare God, because we be borne vnder the power of the Deuill.*Fol. 59.

3. It is impossible for vs to consent to the will of God. Fol. 59.

*The place of Tyndall from whence these Articles be wrasted, is in the wicked Mammon, as followeth. Whych place I beseeche thee indifferente to reade, and then to iudge.

*In the faith which we haue in Christ, & in Gods promises, finde we mercy, life, fauour, & peace. In the law we finde death, damnation and wrath, moreouer the curse and vengeance of God vpon vs. And it (that is to say, the law) is called of Paul, the ministratiō of death and damnation. In the lawe wee are prooued to be the ennemies of God, and that we hate hym. For howe can we be at peace wyth God, and loue hym, seeing we are cōceiued and borne vnder the power of the Deuill, and are his possession & kingdome, hys captiues and bondmen, and led at hys will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for vs to consent to the will of God? Muche more is it impossible for a man to fulfill the lawe of hys owne strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heires of the eternall damnation. &c.

4. The lawe requireth impossible things of vs Fol. 59.

Read the place.* The law when it commaundeth y^t thou shalt not lust, geueth thee not power so to do: but daumeth thee because thou canst not so doe.* If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God and loue hym, then must thou turne to the promises and to the gospel, which is called of Paul the ministration of righteousness and of the spirite.

5. The spirit of God turneth vs & our nature, that we do good: as naturally as a tree doth bring fourth fruit. Fol. 65.*

The place is this: the spirite of God accompanyeth fayth and bringeth with her light, wherwith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bōdage & captiuitie, and humbleth himself,* & abhorreth himselfe. She bringeth Gods promises of all good thynges in Christ: God worketh with his word, & in his worde. And as hys word is preached, fayth rooteth her selfe in y^e harts of the elect: and as fayth entreth: and the worde of God is beleued, the power of God looseth the hart from the captiuitie & bondage vnder sinne: and knitteth & coupleth hym to God & to the will of God, altereth hym & changeth him cleane, fashioneth and forgeth hym a new, geueth him power to loue and to do that which before was impossible for him either to loue or doe, and turneth him into a new nature: so that he loueth that which before hee hated, & hateth that which he before loued, and is cleane altered and changed, and contrary disposed: and is knitt and coupled fast to gods will, and naturally bringeth fourth good workes: y^t is to say, that which God commandeth to do, & not things of his owne imagination: and that doth hee of his owne accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of his owne accord. &c.

6. Workes doe onely declare to thee that thou art iustified. Fol. 65.

If Tindall say,* that workes doe onely declare our iustification, he doth not thereby destroy good works: but onely sheweth the right vse and office of good workes: to be noted to merite our iustificatiō, but rather to testify a liuely fayth, which onely iustifieth vs, The article is playn by the scripture, and S. Paule.

7. Christ with all his workes did not deserue heauen. fol. 69.

Reade the place. Al good workes must be done freely w^t a single eye, without respect of any thing,* so that no profit be sought thereby. That commaundeth Christ, where hee sayth. Free haue you receaued, free geue agayne. For look as Christ with all his workes did not * deserue heauen (for that was his already) but did vs seruice therewith, & neyther looked for, nor sought his owne profite, but ours and the honour of god his father onely: euen so we withal our workes, may not seeke our owne profite, neither in thys world, nor in heauen, but must and ought freely to worke to honour God withall, and without all maner of respect, seeke our neighbours profite, and do him seruice. &c.

8. Labouring by good workes to come to heauen, thou shamest Christes blood. Fol. 9.

Read the place.* If thou wouldest obtaine heauen with the merites and deseruings of thine owne works, so doest thou wrong, yea and shamest the blood of Christ, and vnto thee Christ is dead in vaine. Now is the true beleuer heire of God by christes deseruings,* yea and in Christ was predestinate and ordained vnto eternall life before the worlde began. And when the Gospell is preached vnto vs, we beleue the mercy of God, and in beleuing we receiue the spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternall life, and we are in eternal life already, and feelee already in our harts y^e sweetnes thereof, and are ouercome with the kindnes of God & Christ: and therefore loue the will of God, and of loue are ready to woorke freely, and not to obtaine that whyche is geuen vs freely, and whereof we are heyres already, &c.

9. Saintes in heauen can not helpe vs thither. fol. 69.

Whether saintes can helpe vs vnto heauen, see y^e scripture,* and marke wel the office of the sonne of God our only Sauour and redeemer, and thou shalt not nede to seeke any further.

10. To builde a Church in the honour of our Ladye or anye other Saincte, is in vaine, they cannot helpe thee,*they be not thy friends, fol. 71.

Read the place of Tind. What buildest thou Churches, foundest Abbeyes, Chauntreis, & Colledges in the honour of Saintes, to my mother, S. Peter, Paule,* and Saintes that be deade, to make of them thy friendes? They neede it [Page 1248](#) not: yea they be not thy friends. Thy friends are thy poore neighbours,* which neede thy help and succour. Thē make thy friendes with the vnrighteous Mammon, that they may testifie of thy fayth, and that thou mayest knowe and feelee that thy faith is right, and not fayned, &c.

11. All flesh is in bondage of sinne, and can not but sinne, fol. 74.

This Article is euident enough of it selfe, confirmed by the scripture, and needeth no allegations.

12. Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saued without thou be saued, fol. 76.

Reade the pla•e: A phisition serueth but for sicke men, & that for such men as feelee their sicknes, & moorne therefore, and long for health.* Christ likewise serueth but for sinners only that feelee their sin, and that for such sinnes as sorow & mourne in their harts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfill the law, or to keepe the cōmandements: Now he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that hee shall be made whole. Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousnes sake (that is, to fulfill the law) for their lust shall be fulfilled,* Matth. 5.

This longing, and the consent of the hart vnto the lawe of God is the working of the spirit, which God hath poured into thine hart, in earnest that thou mightst be sure that God will fulfill all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seale and marke which God putteth on all men that he chooseth vnto euerlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sinne, and mournest, and consentest to the lawe, and longest (though thou be neuer so weake) yet the spirit shall keepe thee in al temptations from desperation, and certifie thine hart, that God for his truth shall delyuer thee, and saue thee, yea and by thy good deedes shalt thou be saued, not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and al his deedes are thy deedes, Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably, neyther canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee, neither can Christ be saued, except thou be saued with him, &c. The like comfortable wordes he hath afterwarde, fol. 38. which are these. He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his owne misery and sin, and moorneth in his hart to be deliuered, that he might honor God, and God for his truth must heare him, which saith by the mouth of Christ: Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousnes, for they shall be satisfied. God for hys truthe sake must put the righteousnes of Christ in hym, and wash his vnrighteousnes away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner neuer so weake, neuer so feeble and fraile though he haue sinned

neuer so oft and so greeuous, yet so long as this lust desire and mourning to be deliuered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sinnes, reckoneth them not for his truthe sake, and loue in Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God that would be no sinner. Hee that would be deliuered, hath his hart loose already, His hart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth vnto the lawe and will of God, and iustifieth God, that is, beareth record that God which made the law, is righteous and iust. And such an hart trusting in Christes blood, is accepted for full righteousness, and his weakenes, infirmitie, and frailtie, is pardoned, and his sinnes are not looked vpon, vntill God put more strength in him, and fulfill his desire, &c.

*13. The commaundements be geuen vs, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and call for mercy of God, fol. 76.

*Reade the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commaundements. Math. 15, 19. First remember that whē God commaundeth vs to do any thing, he doth it not therefore because that we of our selues are able to doe that he commaundeth, but that by the lawe we might see and know our horrible damnation and captiuitie vnder sinne, and so repent and come to Christ and receiue mercy, &c.

14. Fasting is only to auoyde surfet, and to tame the body, all other purposes be nought, fol. 81.

The words of Tyndall be these. Fasting is to abstayne from surfetting or ouermuch eating, from dronkennes and cares of the world, as thou mayst reade Luke 20. And the end of fasting is to tame the body, that the spirite may haue y^e free course vnto God,* and may quietly talke with God. For ouermuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly busines, presseth downe the spirit, choketh it, and tangleth it, that it can not lift vp it selfe to God. Now he that fasteth for any other entent then to subdue the body, that the Spirit may wayte on God, and freely exercise it selfe in the things of God, the same is blinde, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and shooteth at a wrong marke, and hys entent and imagination is abhominable in the sighte of God, &c.

*15. To bid the poore man pray for me, is onely to remember him to do his dutie: not that I haue any trust in his prayer, fol. 82.

The words of Tindall be these. When we desire one another to pray for vs,* that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his dutie, and not that we trust in his holines, our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the trueth of Gods promises. We haue also a promise that when two or three or moe agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth vs, notwithstanding as God heareth many, so heareth he few, & so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, & desire the honour of God, &c.

16. Though thou geue me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now then I was before, fol. 83.

The wordes be these. If thou geue me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound then I was before.* Mans imagination can make the commaundemente of God neither greater nor smaller, neither can the lawe of God either adde or diminish. Gods commaundemente is as great as himselfe, &c.

17. A good deede done and not of feruent charitie as Christes was, is sinne, fol. 83.*

The wordes of Tindall be these. Though thou shewe mercy vnto thy neighbour,* yet if thou do it not with suche burning loue, as Christ did vnto thee, so must thou knowledge thy sinne, and desire mercy in Christ, &c.

18. Euery man is Lord of another mans good, fol. 83.

The words of Tindall be these. Christ is Lord ouer all, and euery Christian is heire annexed with Christ, & therefore Lord of all, and euery one lord of whatsoeuer an other hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore neede, and thou haue to helpe him, and yet shewest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his owne, and art a theefe, &c. Reade more heereof in the xx. Article following.

19. I am bound to loue the Turke with the very bottome of my hart, fol. 83.

The place of this Article is this. I am bound to loue the Turke with all my might and power, yea and aboue my power: euen frō the ground of my hart,* after the example that Christ loued me, neither to spare goods, body, or life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gauest me all the world? Where I see neede, there can I not but pray, if Gods spirit be in me, &c.

20. The woorst Turke liuing hath as much right to my goodes at his neede, as my housholde, or mine owne selfe, fol. 83.*

Reade and marke wel the place in the wicked Mammon.

In Christ we are all of one degree without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a christen mans hart be open to all mē,*and receyueth all men, yet because that his habilitie of goodes extendeth not so farre, this prouision is made, that euery man shall care for his owne housholde, as father and mother, and thynne elders that haue holpen thee, wife, children, and seruants. If thou shouldest not care and prouide for thine housholde, then were thou an Infidell, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do, and for so much as that is thy part committed to thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy dutie to thine housholde, and yet hast further aboundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poore that can not labour, or woulde labour and can get no worke, and are destitute of friends: to the poore I meane, which thou knowest, to them of thine owne parish. If thy neighbours which thou knowest, be serued, and thou yet haue superfluitie, and hearest necessitie to be among the breethren a thousand mile off, to them art thou detter. Yea, to the very Infidels we be detters if they neede, as farrefoorth as we maintayne them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is euery man that needeth thy helpe, thy father, mother, sister, and brother in Christ: euen as euery man that doth the will of the father, is father, mother, sister and brother vnto Christ.

Moreouer, if any be an Infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his houshold, his wife, children, and suche as can not helpe themselues, then art thou bound to them, if thou haue wherewith, euen as much as to thine owne housholde, and they haue as good right in thy goodes, as thou thy

selfe, &c. And if the whole world were thine, yet hath euery brother his right in thy goodes, and is heire with thee, as we are all heyres with Christ, &c.

21. Almes deserueth no meede, fol. 84.*

The place is this: He that seeketh with his aliues more then to be mercifull, to be a neighbour, to succour his brothers neede, to doe his duetie to his brother,* to geue hys brother that he oweth him, the same is blinde▪ and seeth not what it is to be a christen man, and to haue fellowship in Christes bloud, &c.

22. There is no worke better then another to please God, To make water, to wash dishes, to be a sowter or an Apostle, all is one. To wash dishes and to preach is all one as touching the deed to please God, fol. 44.

The words of Tindall be these. As pertayning to good works, vnderstand that all workes are good whyche are [Page 1249](#) done within the lawe of God in fayth, and with thankesgiuing to God,* and vnderstande that thou in thy doing them pleasest God, whatsoeuer thou doest within the law of God, as when thou makest water, &c.

Moreouer, put no difference betweene workes, but whatsoeuer commeth into thy handes, that doe, as tyme, place, and occasion geueth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. As touching to please God, there is no worke better then an other. God loketh not first on thy workes as the world doth, as though the beautifulnes of the world pleased him, as it doth the world, or as though he had neede of them, but God looketh first on the hart, what faith thou hast to his wordes, how thou beleueest him, and how thou louest him for his mercy that hee hath shewed thee: he looketh with what hart thou workest, and not what thou workest, how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an Apostle or a Shomaker. Set this example before thine eyes. Thou art a kitchen Page, and wastest thy maisters dishes. Another is an Apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this Apostle, harke what S. Paule sayth: If I preach (sayth he) I haue naught to reioyce in, for necessitie is put vnto me. As who shoulde say, God hath made me so, wo is vnto me if I preach not. If I doo it willingly (saith he) then haue I my rewarde: that is, then am I sure that Gods spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternall life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed vnto mee: that is, if I doe it not of loue to God, but to get a liuing thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had leauer otherwayes liue: then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God my selfe, &c. Moreouer, howsoeuer he preach, he hath not to reioice in that he preacheth. But if he preach willingly with a true hart & of conscience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternall life, and the working of the spirite of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodnes and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his owne infirmitie, weakenes, and vnworthines, and mourneth and knowledgeth hys sinne, in that the hart will not arise to worke wyth that ful lust and loue that is in Christ our Lord. And neuerthelesse is he yet at peace with God through faith & trust in Christ Iesu. For the earnest of the spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witnes vnto his hart, that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, whyche grace is now not idle in him. In his workes putteth hee no trust.

Now thou that ministrest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen page, receiuest all things of the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office: submittest thy selfe to his will, and seruest thy maister, not as a man, but as Christ himselfe, with a pure hart, according as Paule teacheth: putteth thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreouer, there is not a good deede done, but thy hart reioiceth therein, yea when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this Apostle, and seest the people turne to God, thou consentest vnto the deede, thy harte breaketh out in ioy, springeth and leapeth in thy brest that God is honoured, and in thine hart doest the same that the Apostle doth, and happly with greater delectation, and a more feruent spirit. Now, he that receaueth a Prophete in the name of a Prophet, shall receiue the reward of a Prophet. That is, he that consenteth to the deede of a Prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same spirite, and earnest of euerlasting life, which the Prophete hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.*

Now if thou compare deede to deede, there is no difference betwixt washing of dishes, & preaching of the word of God. But as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaseth, but as farrefoorth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his spirit in him, and purified his hart by faith and trust in Christ, &c.

*23. Ceremonies of the Churche haue brought the worlde from God, fol. 86.

Reade the place of Tindall. Seeke the word of God in all thinges,* and without the word of God, doe nothing, though it appeare neuer so glorious. Whatsoeuer is done without the word of God, that count Idolatrie. The kingdome of heauen is within vs. Luke 7. Wonder therfore at no monstrous appearaunce, nor at anye outward thing without the word. For the world was neuer drawne from God, but with an outward shewe, and glorious appearance and shining of hypocrisie, and of fained and vsurped fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, halowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising, &c.

*24. Beware of good intentes: They are damned of God, fol. 87.

*25. See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee, fol. 87.

The words of Tindall out of the which these two articles are gathered, are these. Beware of thy good intende, good minde, good affection, or zeale as they call it.* Peter of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeale, chidde Christ, because he sayde that he must goe to Ierusalem, and there be slayne. But Christ called him Sa•an for hys labour: a name that belongeth to the Diuell, and sayde that he perceiued not godly things, but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a feruent affection to Christ, the sonnes of Zebede would haue had fire to come downe from heauen, to consume the Samaritanes: but Christ rebuked them, sayeng, that they wist not of what spirit they were: that is,* that they vnderstood not how that they were altogether worldlye and fleshly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeale, but Christ condemned his deede. The Iewes of a good entent and of a good zeale slew Christ, and persecuted the Apostles, as Paule beareth them record. Rom. x. I beare them record (saith he) that they haue a feruent minde to Godward, but not according to knowledge.* It is another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayest knowe Gods will, and what he would haue thee to do.

Our mind, entent, and affection, or zeale, are blinde, and al that we do of them is damned of God, and for that cause hath God made a testament betweene him and vs, wherin is conteneid both what he woulde haue vs to do, and what he would haue vs to aske of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to please God withall, but that he commaundeth, neyther aske any thing of him, but that he hath promised thee, &c.

26. Churches are for preaching onely, and not as they bee vsed now, fol. 87.*

This Article conteyneth neyther error nor heresie, but is playne enough of it selfe, to all them that haue their minds exercised in the scriptures of God.

27. To worship God otherwise then to beleue that he is iust and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol, fol. 87.

Reade the wordes of Tindall with this Article.* God is honoured on all sides,* in that we count him righteous in all his lawes and ordinances, and also true in all his promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an Idoll of him, &c.

28. Pharao had no power to let the people depart at Gods pleasure, fol. 95.*

29. Our prelates in sinne, say they haue power, fol. 95.

Reade the place in the wicked Mammon,* out of y^e which these two Articles are gathered. S. Paule sayeth: If thou confesse with thy mouth that Iesus is the Lorde,* and beleue with thine hart that God raised him vp from death, thou shalt be safe: that is, if thou beleue he raised him vp againe for thy saluation. Many beleue that God is riche and almighty, but not vnto themselues: and that he wil be good to them and defend them, and be their God. Pharao for paine of the plague, was compelled to confesse his sinnes: but had yet no power to submit himselfe vnto the will of God, and to let the children of Israell go, and to lose so great profite for Gods pleasure. As our prelates cōfesse their sinnes, saieng: though we be neuer so euill, yet haue we the power. And againe, the Scribes and the Phariseis (say they) sate in Moyses seate, do as they teache, but not as they do. Thus confesse they that they are abhominable, &c.

Heere followe other heresies and errors, collected by the Byshops out of the booke named,* the obedience of a Christian man, with the places of the booke annexed to the same.

1. HE saieth we are bounde to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God, fol. 132.

Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him whome we haue offended, which recompence we are able to make, one man to another, and are bound so to do: but to God no man can make any mends or recompence, but onely Gods owne sonne Christ Iesus our Sauour. For else if man could haue made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vayne, Gal. 2. Loe, what heresie or error is in this Article?

2 He sayth that children ought not to marry without the consent of theyr parents, fol. 120.

The wordes of Tindall in the obedience be these.* Let the fathers and mothers marke howe they themselves were disposed at all ages,* and by experience of their owne infirmities, helpe their children, and keepe them from occasions. Let them prouide marriages for them in season: teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife which the sonne taketh,* nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent or good will of their Elders, or them that haue authoritie ouer them. If their friendes [Page 1250](#) will not marry them, then are they not too blame if they marry themselues. Let not the fathers and mothers alwayes take the vttermost of their authoritie of their children, but at all times suffer with them, and beare theyr weakenes, as Christ doth ours, &c.

3 He saith, that vowes are against the ordinance of God, fol. 109.

They that say that this Article is an heresie. Let them shew where these vowes in all the new testament be ordeyned by God,* especially such vowes of single life, and wilfull pouertie, as by the canon law be obruded to yong Priests and Nouices. S. Paule playnely forfendeth anye widowes to be admitted vnder the age of threscore yeres. Is not heere trow you a perilous heresie?

4 He saith that a christian man may not resist a prince being Infidell and an Ethnike. This taketh away free will, fol. 113.

*S. Peter willeth vs to be subiect to our princes, 1. Pet. 2. S. Paule also doth the like, Rom. 13. Who was also hymselfe, subiecte to the power of Nero: and although euerye commaundement of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he neuer made resistaunce against the authoritie and state of Nero, as the Pope vseth to do against the state, not only of Infidels, but also of Christen Princes.

5 Whatsoeuer is done before the spirit of God commeth and geueth vs light, is damnable sinne. This is against morall vertues, fol. 113.*

What heresie Aristotle in his Ethikes can finde by thys article, I can not tell: sure I am that the word and spirite of God well considered, can finde none, but rather wyll pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresie.

6 He reproueth men that make holy Saints their Aduocates to God,* and there he sayth that Saints were not rewarded in heauen for their holy workes, fol. 114.

The words of Tindall be these. They turne from Gods word, and put their trust and confidence in the Sainct and his merites, and make an aduocate, or rather a God of the sainct,* &c. They ascribe heauen to their imaginations and mad inuentions, and receiue it not of the liberalitie of God, by the merites and deseruing of Christ, &c.

7 God moued the harts of the Egiptians to hate the people. Likewise he moued Kings, &c. fol. 118.

The words in the obedience be these. In the 107. Psalme thou readest: He destroyed the Riuers, and dried vp the springs of water, and turned the frutefull land into barr•nnes, for the inhabitaunces thereof. When the children of Israell had forgotten God in Egypt, God moued the harts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wilines, Psalme 105.

In the second chapter of the first booke of the Kings, God was angry with the people, and moued Daudid to number them, when Ioab and the other Lords wondered why he would haue them numbred, and because they feared least some euill should follow, dissuaded the King: yet it holpe not, God so * hardened his hart in his purpose, to haue an occasion to sleie the wicked people, &c.

8 Paule was of higher authority then Peter, fol. 125.

The words in the Obedience be these, I suppose, sayeth he (speaking of Paule) that I was not behinde the hygh Apostles, meaning in preaching Iesus Christ and his Gospell, and in ministring the spirit. And in the same cha. he proueth by the doctrine of Christ, that he was greater then the high Apostles. For Christ saith, to be great in the kingdome of God, is to do seruice, and take payne for other. Upon which rule Paule disputeth, sayeng: If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more, in labours more abundant, in stripes aboue measure, in prison more plenteous: in death oft, &c. If Paule preached Christ more then Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is hee greater then Peter, by the testimonie of Christ, &c.

*9 A Priest ought to haue a wife for two causes, fol. 133.

The words of Tindall be these. He must haue a wife for two causes: One, that it may thereby be knowne who is meete for the rowme, he is vnapt for so chargeable an office:* which had neuer household to rule. An other cause is, that chastitie is an exceeding seldome gift, and vnchastitie exceeding perillous for that degree, in as much as the people looke as well vnto the liuing, as vnto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the liuing disagree, and fall from the faith, and beleue not the word, &c.

10 He condemneth auricular confession, fol. 140.

*Of this, reade aboue, page. 1166.1167.

*11 Euery man is a Priest, and we neede no other Priest to bee a meane for vs vnto God, fol. 144.

The words in the obedience be these. There is a worde called in Latin Sacerdos, in Greeke 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , in Hebrue Cohā, that is, a Minister, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Priest, as Aaron was a priest and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediatour betweene God and them, and in the English it should haue had some other name then Priest. But Antichrist hath deceiued vs with vnknown and strange terms to bring vs into confusion and superstitious blindnes.* Of y^t maner is Christ a priest for euer, and all we are Priestes through him, and neede no more of anye such priest to be a meane for vs vnto God. &c.

12 He destroyeth the sacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol. 144.*

As truly as matrimony and orders be sacramentes: so truly is this article an heresie.

13 He sayth that Purgatory is of the popes inuention, and therefore he may doe there what soeuer he will. Fol 150.

One of the popes owne writers saith thus,* soules being in purgatory are vnder y^e popes iurisdiction, & the P. may if he will, euacuate all purgatory.* Furthermore y^e olde Fathers make litle mention of purgatory, y^e Greek church neuer beleued Purgatory: S. Augustine doubteth of purgatory and the scriptures playnly disproue purgatory: S. Iohn sayth: The bloud of Iesus Christ the sonne of God purgeth vs from all sinne. And the pope sayth: sinne can not be purged but by the fire of purgatory,* nowe whose inuention can Purgatory be, but onely the popes.

14 Saintes be saued not by theyr merites, but onely by the merites of Christ. fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and playne by the Scryptures, then this? Esay sayth. All we haue erred,* euery man in his owne wayes,* and God hath layd vpon him all our iniquities. &c.

15 He sayth, no man may be hired to pray. fol. 155.

The wordes in the obedience be true, which are these:* To pray one for an other are we equally bound: & to pray is a thing that we may alwayes doe what soeuer we haue in hand, and that to do, may no man hyre an other:* christes bloud hath hyred vs already. &c.

16 Why should I trust (sayth he) in Paules prayer or holines? *If S. Paule were aliue, he would compare himselfe to S. Paule, and be as good as he, fol. 159.

The wordes of Tindall, be these. Why am not I also a false Prophet if I teache thee to trust in Paule,* or in hys holines or praier, or in any thing sauing in Gods word, as Paule did? I• Paule were here and loued me, as hee loued them of his time,* to whom hee was a seruaunt to preache Christ what good could he do for me, or wish me but preache christ & pray to God for me to open my hart, to geue me his spirite, and to bring me vnto the ful knowledge of Christ? Unto which port or hauen when I am once come, I am as safe as Paule, ioynt heire with Paule of all the promises of God. &c.*

17 He sayth that all that be baptised, become Christ himselfe fol. 163.

With this Article conferre the words of the Obedience,* which be these. In Math. 28. sayth Christ: in as muche as ye haue done it to any of the least of these my brethrē, ye haue done it to me. And in as much as ye haue not done it vnto one of the least of these: ye haue not done it vnto me. Here seest thou that we are Christes brethren, and euen Christ himselfe, and whatsoever we doe one to another, that do we to Christ. &c.

18 He sayth that the children of fayth be not vnder no lawe,* fol. 163.

The wordes of Tindall be these.* I serue thee not because thou art my mayster or king, for hope of rewarde or feare of payne, but for the loue of Christ. For the childrē of fayth are vnder no law,

as thou seest in the Epistle to the Romaines, to the Galath. and the 1. to Tim. but are free. The spirite of Christ hath written the liuely law of loue in their hartes, whiche driueth them to worke of theyr owne accomde, freely and willingly for the great loue sake onely which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no lawe to compell them. &c.

19 There is no deede so good,*but that the law condemneth it. fol. 177.

The place in the Obedience, is this.* Thou hast the story of Peter how he smote Malchus eare, and howe Christ healed it agayne. There hast thou in plaine text great fruit and great edifying, which I passe ouer. Thē come I, whē I preach of the law and the gospell, and borow this example to expresse the nature of the law and of the Gospell and to paynt it vnto thee before thine eyes,* and of Peter & hys sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospell (saying: as Peters sworde cutteth of the eare, so doth the lawe. The law damneth, the law killeth and mangleth the consciēce. There is no eare so righteous, that can abide the hearyng of the law. There is no deede so good, but that the law dāneth it. But Christ that is to say the Gospell, the promises and Testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the eare and conscience, which the law hath hurt. &c.

20 To aske of God more then he hath promised,*commeth of a false fayth and is playne idolatry. 171.

[Page 1251](#)The wordes of Tindall are these. Looke wherin thou canst best keep the commaundementes,* thither get thy self, and there abide. &c. If we haue infirmities y^t draw vs frō the lawes of God, let vs cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burne, marry, for God hath promised thee no chastitie, as long as thou mayest vse y^e remedy that he hath ordayned:* no more then hee hath promysed to slacke thine hunger without meate. Now to aske of God more then he hath promised, commeth of a false fayth and is playne Idolatry. &c.

21 Our payne taken in keeping the commaundements, doth nothing but purge the sinne that remayneth in the fleshe.*But to looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen, then God hath promised for Christes sake, is abhominable in the sight of God, fol. 171.

Consider the place in the Obedience, which is this. To looke for any other reward or promotion in heauen, or in the life to come,* then that which God hath promised for Christes sake, and which Christ hath deserued for vs, with his payne taking, is abhominable in the sight of God: For Christ only hath purchased the reward, and our payne taking to keepe the commaundementes, doth but purge the sinne that remayneth in the flesh, and certifie vs, that wee are chosen and sealed with Gods spirit, vnto the rewarde that Christ hath purchased for vs, &c.

22 The Pope hath no other authoritie but to preache onely fol. 173.

Christ sayde to Peter: Feede my sheepe. Iohn 21. And thou being conuerted, confirme thy brethren. Luke. 22. And to his Apostles he sayd: Goe ye into all the world and preache the Gospell, &c. Againe, S. Paule. 1. Corinth. 1. sayth: That Christ sent him not to baptise, but to preache. To what other office or function he sent the Pope, let thē iudge which consider the Scriptures.

23 If thou binde thy selfe to chastitie to obteyne that whyche Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an Infidell, fol. 175.

Reade and conferre the place of Tindall, which is thys. Chastitie canst thou not geue to God, further then God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not liue chaste, thou art boūd to marry, or to be damned, &c. For to what purpose thou bendest thy selfe, must be seene. If thou do it to obteyne thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an Infidell,* and hast no parte with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, looke in Deuteronomy, and there shalt thou finde it more largely intreated, &c.

24 He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles, fol. 176.

The words in Tindals Obedience be these: And when they crie miracles, miracles, remember that God hathe made an euerlasting Testamente whiche is in Christes bloud, against which we may receiue no miracles, no neither the preaching of Paule himselfe if he come agayne, by his owne teaching to the Galathians, neither yet by the preaching of the Aungels of heauen, &c.

The end of Gods miracles is good: the end of these miracles is euill. For the offerings which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintaine vice, sinne, and all abhominacion, and are geuen to them that haue too much, so that for very aboundance they some out theyr owne shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stinche of their filthines, &c.

25 He sayth that no man should serue God with good intent or zeale:*for it is playne Idolatry, fol. 177.

The place is this in the Obedience. Remember Saule was cast away of God for euer, for his good intende. God requireth obedience vnto his word,* and abhorreth all good intents and good zeales which are without Gods worde: for they are nothing else but playne Idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods, &c.

¶Heere followe other heresies and errours collected by the Byshops, out of the booke called the Reuelation of Antichrist, with the places of the booke, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

1. TO binde a man perpetually to any vowe of Religion, is (without doubt) an errour, fol. 19.

*The place of the booke called the Reuelation, whence this Article is gathered, is this as foloweth: Whiche the Fathers did neither make nor keepe (he meaneth vowe) but with the libertie of the spirite, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did (without doubt) they erred according to mans fragilitie.

2 To say the constitutions of Religion are good, because holy men did ordeyne them,*as Augustine, Benedict, Fraunces, Dominicke, and such other, and to folow such examples of Fathers, is to leaue the fayth, fol. 19.

The place of the article is this. But they object the statutes and ordinances are good. Holy men did make them,* as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Fraunces, Dominicke, and such other. To this I aunswer: That is euen it that Christ and the Apostles did meane, that these works shuld be like to those things which are taught in the Gospell: for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and priuily bringing in of sectes and heresies, because they take only of the fathers examples of workes, and leaue the faith, &c.

3 All morall diuines haue a wicked conscience full of scrupulositie,*fol. 3.*

Morall diuines be they whose doctrine and hope of saluation consisteth in morall vertues, rather then in christian faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such, can neuer be certified in conscience of their saluation, but alwayes be full of feare and scrupulositie. S. Paule therefore sayeth, It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and y^e promise might be firme and sure to the whole seede, Rom. 4.*

4 Morall vertues, as iustice, temperance, strength, chastitie described by naturall reason, maketh a Synagoue,*and corrupteth Christes fayth, fol. 64.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelation, is this: So many he (the Pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led vnder his lawes and imperie.* And who is he in the world that is not subiect vnder him, except they be infants, or peraduenture some simple persons, which are reserued by the inscrutable counsell and prouision of God? O thou man of sinne: O thou sonne of perdition: O thou abomination: O thou corrupter: O thou author of euill consciences: O thou false maister of good consciences: O thou enemy of faith and christen libertie, who is able to rehearse, yea or to comprehend in his mind the infinite waues of this monstrous * Kings euils.

If he had ordeined these his lawes in those workes of vertues that are commended in the ten precepts, or else in such as the philosophers and naturall reason did describe, as are iustice, strength, temperance, chastitie, mildnes, truth, goodnes, and such other: peraduenture they shoulde only haue made a Sinagoge, or else haue ordeyned in the world a certaine ciuill iustice, for through these also fayth shoulde haue bene corrupted, as it was amōgst the Iewes. Howbeit, nowe hee keepeth not himselfe within these boundes, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite tempests of mischief, enticing and drawing vs to ceremonies, and his owne fayned traditions, and bindeth vs like asses and ignorant fooles, yea and stockes vnto them, &c.

5 Christ tooke away all lawes, and maketh vs free and at liberty, and most of all he suppresseth all ceremonies, fol. 65.63.*

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelation, is this: Christ taking away all lawes to make vs free,* and at libertie, did most of all suppress and disanull the ceremonies which did consist in places, persons, garmēts, meates, dayes, and such other, so that their vse shoulde be to all men most free and indifferent, &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all lawes, he declareth a little before, saieng: he hath not deliuered vs from the law, but from the power & violence of the lawe, which is the very true

losing. But for al that, he hath not taken away from the powers and officers their right, sword, and authoritie to punish the euill, for such pertayne not to hys kingdome, vntill they are made spirituall, and then freely and with a glad hart they serue God.

6 If the Pope woulde make all the obseruations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holydayes, confession, matrimonie, masse,*mattins, and reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not bee Antichrist: but now, because he commendeth them in the name of Christ, he vtterly corrupteth the Church, suppresseth the faith, and aduanceth sinne, fol. 67.

If the Pope will infer a necessitie of those things, which Christ leaueth free and indifferēt, then what doth he make himselfe but Antichrist? The Article is plaine, and is founded vpon the doctrine of Christ, and S. Paule.

7 To beleeeue in Christ maketh sure inheritors with Christ, fol. 1.

8 If a man say, then shall we no good workes do?*_I aunswere as Christ did:*_This is the worke of God to beleeeue in him whome he hath sent, fol. 1.

The place of these two Articles gathered out of the Reuelat. is this:*_ Who is this light that we are exhorted to beleeeue in? Truly it is Christ as S. Iohn doth testifie: He was the true light that lighteneth all men which come into the world. To beleeeue in this light, maketh vs the children of light, and the sure inheritors with Iesus Christ. Euen now haue we cruell aduersaries, which set vp their bristles, saying: why? shall we then do no good workes? To these we aunswere as Christ did to the people in the [Page 1252](#) sixt of s. Iohn, which asked him what they should do, that they might worke the workes of God? Iesus answered and sayd vnto them: This is the worke of God that ye beleeeue on him whome he hath sent.*_ And after it followeth: Uerily, verily I say vnto you, he that beleueth on me, hath euerlasting life. To this also condescendeth S. Iohn in his epistle, saying: These things haue I written vnto you that beleeeue on the name of the sonne of God, that you may surely know how that you haue eternall life. What is the name of the sonne of God? Truly his name is Iesus, that is to say, a sauour: therefore thou must beleeeue that he is a sauour.

But what auayleth this? The diuels do thus beleeeue & tremble.*_ They know that he is the sonne of God, and sayd vnto him, crying: O Iesu the sonne of God, what haue we to do with thee? They know that he hath redemed mākind by his passion, and laboured to let it. For whē Pilate was set downe to geue iudgement, his wife sent vnto him, saying:*_ Haue thou nothing to doe with that iust man, for I haue suffered many things this day in my slepe about him. No doubt she was vexed of the diuel, to the intent that she should perswade her husband to giue no sentence vpō him, so that Satan might the longer haue had iurisdiction ouer mankind. They knowe that he hath suppressed sinne and death as it is written. Death is consumed into victory. Death where is thy sting? Hell where is thy victory? The sting of death is sinne: the sting of sinne is the lawe. But thanks be vnto God,*_ which hath geuē vs victory through our Lord Iesus Christ: who by sinne, damned sinne in the flesh. For God made him to be sinne for vs, that is to say, a sacrifice for our sinne (and so is sinne taken in many places) which knew no sinne, that we by his meanes should be that righteousnes which before God is allowed. It is not therefore sufficient to beleeeue that he is a sauour and redeemer: but that he is a sauour & redemer vnto thee, &c.

9 Nombring of sinnes maketh a man a more sinner, yea, a blasphemmer of the name of God,*fol. 3.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this:* Knowledge thy selfe a sinner, that thou mayest be iustified. Not that the numbring of thy sinnes can make thē righteous, but rather a greater sinner, yea & a blasphemmer of the holy name of God, as thou mayest see in Caine, which said that his sinnes were greater then that he might receiue forgiuenes, and so was a reprobate, &c.

10 God bindeth vs to that which is impossible for vs to accomplish,*fol. 3.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this:* If thou aske of me why he bindeth vs to that whych is impossible for vs to accomplish: thou shalt haue S. Augustine aunswere, which saith in the second booke that hee wrote to Hierome, that the lawe was geuen vs, that wee might knowe what to do, and what to eschewe, to the intent that when we see our selues not able to do that whiche we are bound to do, nor auoide the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whome we shall aske this strength, so that we may say vnto our father: Good father commaunde whatsoeuer it pleaseth thee, but giue vs the grace to fulfill that thou commaundest. And when wee perceiue that we can not fulfill his will, yet let vs confesse that the law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnall, solde vnder sinne. But let vs not heere sticke, for now are we at hell gates, and doubtles shoulde fall into vtter desperation,* except God did bring vs agayne, shewing vs his gospell & promise, saying: feare not little flocke, for it is your fathers pleasure to geue you a kingdome,* &c.

11 Sinne can not condemne vs: for our satisfaction is made in Christ which dyed for vs,*fol. 4.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this:* Sinne hath no power ouer vs, neither can condemne vs for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which dyed for vs that were wicked, and naturally the children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through the greate loue wherewith he loued vs, euen whē we were dead through sinne,* hath quickened vs with Christ, & with him hath raised vs vp, & with him hath made vs sit in heauēly things through Iesus Christ, for to shew in times to come, the exceding riches of his grace in kindnes towards vs through Christ Iesus: for by grace are ye saued through faith, and that not of our selues, for it is the gift of God, and cōmeth not of workes, least any man should boast himselfe, &c.

12 I will shew thee an euident argument and reason, that thou mayst know without doubt,*who is Antichrist. All they that doe pursue, are Antichrists. The Pope, Byshops, Cardinals, and theyr adherents do pursue: therefore the Pope, Byshops, and Cardinals, and their adherents, are Antichrists, I weene our Sillogismus be well made, fol. 9.

*The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuela. is this: I will shew thee an euident reason, that thou mayst know without doubting which is the very Antichrist: and this argument may be grounded of their furious persecution which Paul doth confirme writing to the Galathiās. We (deare brethren) are the children o• promise as Isaac was (not the sonnes of the bond woman as Ismaell:) but as he that was borne a•ter the flesh did persecute him that was borne after y^e spirite, euen so is it now. Mark Paules reason. By Isaac are signified the elect, and by Ismaell the

reprobate. Isaac did not persecute Ismaell, but contrarye, Ismaell did persecute Isaac. Now let vs make our reasō.

Bar- All they that do persecute are Ismaell, be reprobates and Antichristes.

ba- But all the popes, Cardinals, bishops,* and theyr adherentes do persecute:

ra. Therefore all the popes, cardinals, bishops,* & their adherents be Ismaell, reprobates and Antichristes.

I weene our Sillogismus is well made, and in the first figure.

Read the place and see how he proueth the partes of this argument more at large.*

13 I thinke verily that so long as the successours of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred,*there were good Christen men and no longer. fol. 10.

The Bishops of Rome in the primitiue Church were vnder persecution the space welneare of 300. yeares, vnder y^e which persecution, as good as 30. of them and moe dyed martyrs. Since that time haue succeeded 204. popes whiche haue liued in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the booke of Reuelation thinke that there is not 4. to be found good christen men, I thinke no lesse but that he may so thinke without any heresie?

14 It is impossible that the worde of the Crosse shoulde be without affliction and persecution. fol. 10.*

S. Paule sayth:* who soeuer will liue vertuously in Christ Iesu, shall suffer persecution. And how then cā this be true in Paule, and in this man heresie?

15 That the Apostles did curse euer any man,*truely we can not read in scripture: for Christ commaunded them to blesse those that cursed them. fol. 11.

Upon what good ground of the Reuelatiō this heresie is wroung out, let the place be conferred,* which is written in these wordes following: They are as mercifull as the Wolfe is on his pray. They were ordeyned to blesse men, but they curse as the deuill were in them. Paule sayth, that he hath power to edifie, and not to destroy.* But I wot not of whom these bloudy beastes haue their authority, which do so much reioyce in cursing & destruction. We reade how Paule did excōmunicate the Corinthian (and y^t for a great transgressiō) to the entent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity,* and desired agayne the Corinthians to receaue hym with all charitie:* but that the Apostles did curse any man, truely we can not read in scripture, for Christ commaunded them to blesse those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them. &c.

16 By workes, superstitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truely iustifie and make holy fol. 15.*

Note here (good reader) how peruersly & corruply this article is drawne. For where the place of this book, which is written, fol. 15. expresly speaketh of trusting to workes, meaning that we should put no confidence in workes, but onely in fayth in Christ Iesus,* this article to make it appeare more infamous and hereticall, leaueth out the false trust, and speaketh simply, as though workes should decay fayth. Read the place which is written in these wordes folowing: Daniell calleth not this word, Peschaim, any maner of sinne, but those speciall and chiefe sinnes, whiche resist and fight agaynst the truth and the fayth: as at the trusting in workes, superstitions, and ceremonies, by y^e which we decay from the fayth. &c.

17 The abusion of the Masse with all his solemnities, with vigils, yeare mindes, foundations burials,*and all the busines that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloke of godlynes and deceiuing of the people: as they were good workes, rather for the dead then for the quicke. fol. 24.

True godlines consisteth in fayth, that is, in the true knowledge of the sonne of God whom he hath sent, and in y^e obseruation of Gods cōmaundements. All their rites & additions instituted by man, are no part of true godlines. And who so putteth trust and confidence therein, as being thinges meritorious for the dead, is deceiued. Suche funerals S. Austen calleth rather refreshinges of the liuing, then releuings and helpes of the dead.

18 To keep and obserue one day to fast, an other to abstaine, to forbear such a meate vpon the fasting day to deserue heauen therby, is a wicked face and cloke, & agaynst Paul. fol. 29.*

The trueth of this article is manifest enough, to be voyd of all errour and heresie, vnlesse it be heresie, to beleue and hold w^t the scripture, s. Paule sayth,* if heauen & our righteousnes [Page 1253](#) come by the law, then Christ died in vayne. Gal. 2.

*19 The multiplication of holydayes, of feastes of Corpus Christi, of the visitation of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and in deede foolish, vnprofitable and vayne, fol 30.

This Article likewise nedeth no declaration, conteining in it a true and necessary complaint of suche superfluous holydayes of the Popes making. Which as they bring with them much occasion of wickednes, idlenes, dronkenesse, and vanitie, so hauing also ioined vnto them opinion of religion, and meritorious deuotion and Gods seruice, they gender superstition, & nourish the people in the same.

20 Keeping of virginitie and chastitie of religion is a diuelishe thing,*fol. 30.

The place cited in the booke of the Reuelation of Antichrist,* doth sufficiently open it selfe, speaking and meaning onely of those Monkish vows, whiche by the canonically constitution of the Pope, are violētly forced vpon Priests and Monkes, the coaction whereof S. Paule doth rightly call the doctrine of deuils. And here note by y^e way another tricke of a Popishe cauller. For where the wordes of the booke speake plainely of the chastitie of the religious, fraudulently turning it to an vniuersalitie sayeth, the chastitie of Religion, whereby it might seeme to the simple reader more odious & hereticall. The words of the place be these.

Keeping of virginie & chastitie of the religious, semeth to be a godly and a heauenly thing: but it is a diuelishe thing. Of the which it is spoken in the fourth of the first epistle to Tim. Forbidding to marry, &c. where as againe our most reuerend father maketh that thing necessary,* that Christ would haue free, whereof Daniell in the 11. chapter speaketh: He shall not be desirous of women. Heere Daniel meaneth that he shall refuse and abstaine from mariage, for a cloke of godlynes,* and not for loue of chastitie.

21 Worshipping of Reliques is a proper thing, and a cloke of aduantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men, fol. 30.31.

These be the wordes in the Reuel. This (the worshipping of reliques he meaneth) is a proper & most fruitfull cloke of aduantage.* Out of this were inuēted innumerable pilgrimages, with y^e which the foolish & vnlearned people might loose their labour, monie & time, nothing in y^e meane season regarding their houses, wiues & children, cōtrary to the commandement of God: when as they might do much better deedes to their neighbours, which is the precept, &c.

22 There is but one speciall office that pertayneth to thine orders,*and that is to pre•ch the word of God, fol. 36.

Of this matter sufficient hath bene said before in the 22. article alledged out of the booke of Obedience.

23 The Temple of God is not stones and woode, neither in the time of Paule was there any house which was called the temple of God,*fol. 37.

The place of this article is this: Which is an aduersary (the Pope he meaneth) and is exalted aboue all that is called God or that is worshipped:* so that he shall sit in y^e temple of God & shew himselfe as God. Doth not he sit in the Temple of God, which saith and professeth hymselfe to be the maister in the whole Church? what is the Temple of God? Is it stones and wood? Doth not Paule saye: The Temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paule was there any house, which was called the tēple of God, as we now cal them. What meaneth this sitting, but reigning, teaching, and iudging? Who sith the beginning of the Church, durst presume to call himselfe the maister of the whole Church, but only the Pope? &c.

*24 He that fasteth no day, that sayth no Mattens, and doth none of the precepts of the Pope, sinneth not, if he thinke that he doth not sinne, fol. 43.

The place in the Reuel. is this: Because he feareth the consciences vnder the title & pretence of Christes name, he maketh of those things which in themselues are no sinnes very greuous offences. For he that beleueth that hee doth sinne if he eate flesh on the Apostles euē, or say not Mattēs and Prime in the morning, or else leaue vndone any of the Popes precepts, no doubt he sinneth: not because the dede which he doth is sinne, but because he beleueth it is sinne, and that against this foolish beliefe & conscience he offendeth. Of the which foolish cōscience only the Pope is head author. For another doing the same dede, thinking that he doth not sinne, truely offendeth not. And this is the cause that the spirit of Paul cōplaineth that many shall depart frō the faith. And for this foolish conscience mens traditiōs be pernicious & noisome, y^e snares of

soules hurting the faith & the libertie of the Gospel. If it were not for this cause, they should do no hurt. Therefore the diuell through the Pope abuseth these consciences to stablish the lawes of his tyranny, to suppress the faith and libertie, and to replenish the world with error, sinne and perdition, &c.

*25 Christ ordeyned the Sacrament of the aultar, onely to nourishe the fayth of them that liue: but the Pope maketh it a good woorke, and a sacrifice to be applyed both to quicke and dead, fol. 48.

The place is this: Sathan hated the Sacramente,* and knew no way how to suppress & disanull it: Therefore he found this craft, that the sacrament which Christ did onely ordeine to nourish and stablish the faith of them that liue, should be counted for a good worke and sacrifice, & bought and sold: And so faith is suppressed, and this holosome ministry is applied, not to the quicke, but vnto the dead, that is to say, neither to the quicke, neither yet to the dead. O the incredible fury of God, &c.

26 These signes (he speaketh of miracles and visions or apparitions) are not to the increase of the fayth and Gospell,*for they are rather against the fayth and Gospell, and they are the operation of sathan, and lying signes, fol. 49.

The place is as followeth: Who is able to number the monstrous maruels only of them that are departed?* Good Lord, what a sea of lyes hath inuaded vs, of apparitions, coniurings, and aunsweres of spirits? By the which it is brought to passe, that the Pope is also made the king of thē that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profite of his Priestes, which haue all their liuing, riches, and pompe out of Purgatory: howbeit, they should haue lesse, if they did so well teache the fayth of them that lyue, as they do ridelesse them that are dead. Neyther was there syth the beginning of the world, any worke founde of so little labour and great aduauntage. For truely to thys purpose were gathered almost the possessions of all Princes and rich men. And through these riches sprang vp all pleasures and idlenes, and of idlenes came very Babilone and Sodoma, &c.

Neither are these signes to the encrease of the fayth and Gospell (for they are rather against the faith and Gospell) but they are done to stablishe the Tirannie of these* faces and reedeles, and to set vp & confirme the trust in works. Among these illusions are those myracles to bee reputed, which are shewed in visions, pilgrimages, and worshippings of Saints as there are plenty now adayes, whiche the Pope confirmeth by his Bulles, yea and sometyme doth canonize Saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying signes, &c.

27 The people of Christ doth nothyng because it is commaunded, but because it is pleasaunte and acceptable vnto them, fol. 63.

The wordes out of the which this Article is gathered, are these. They are the people of Christ,* whiche willingly do heare and folow him, not for any feare of the lawe, but only intised and lead with a gracious liberty and faithfull loue: not doing any thing because it is commaunded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable vnto them though it were not commaunded: for they that would do otherwise, should be counted the people of the lawe & Synagoge,* &c.

28 In the whole new law is no vrgent precept, nor greeuous, but onely exhortations to obserue thinges necessary for soule health, fol. 63.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Reuelat. is this: * A christian should worke nothing by compulsion of the law, but all through the spirit of liberty, as Paule saith in the 2. of the first epistle to Tim. The law is not geuen to a righteous man. For whatsoever is done by compulsion of the law, is sinne: for it is not done with a glad and willing spirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling against the law, and this truly is sinne. Therefore in the fourth of the second Epistle to the Cor. He calleth the preachers of the new Testament, the Ministers of the spirit, * and not of the letter, because they teach grace and not the law. Wherefore in the whole newe testamente are there no vrgent or greeuous precepts, but only exhortations to obserue those thinges whiche are necessary to our health. Neither dyd Christ and his Apostles at any time compel any man. And the holy Ghost was for that cause called Paracletus, that is to say, an exhorter and comforter, &c.

29 All things necessary are declared in the new Testament, * but no man is compelled, but to doo according to their owne wyll. Therefore Christ teacheth. Math. 28. that a rebell should not bee killed, but auoyded, fol. 63.66.

The wordes in the Reuelat. are these. In the new Testament are all things declared, * which we ought to do and leaue vndone: what reward is ordeined for them that do & leaue vndone: and of whome to seeke, finde, and obteyne helpe to do and leaue vndone: But no man is compelled, but suffered to do according to their owne will. Therefore in the 18. of Math. he teacheth that a rebell shoulde not be killed, but auoied & put out of cōpany like a Gentile, &c.

30 Christ forbad that one place should be taken as holy, * and another prophane: but would that all places shoulde bee indifferent, fol. 65.

Page 1254 * The place is this, Christ taking away the difference of all places, will be worshipped in euery place. Neither is thee in his kingdome one place holy & an other prophane: but a• places are indifferent, neither canst thou more hartily & better beleue, trust, and loue God in the temple at the altar, in the churchyard, then in thy •arne, vineyard: kitchine, or bed. And to be shorte, the martyrs of Christ haue honored him in darcke dungeons and prisons. &c.

31 He rayleth agaynst all the rites and ceremonies of the Masse, as he were mad fol 68.

The place out of the which this article is collected, is as followeth. * If a Nunne touch the superaltare or the Corpores (as they call it) it is a sinne. To touche the Chalice, is a great transgression. To say Masse with an vnhalowto Chalice, is a greuous offence. To doe sacrifice in vestimentes which are not consecrated, is a haynous crime. It is reputed for a sinne if in ministring any Sacrament, the Priest doe lacke any ornament that perteyneth thereunto, If he call a childe, or speake in the wordes of the Canon, it is a sinne. He offendeth also that doth stut or stamber in the wordes of the Canon. He sinneth that toucheth the holy Reliques of Sayntes. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the aultar eyther with hand or finger, though it be for necessity to plucke it from the roufe of his mouth, committeth such villanous iniquity, that they will scrape & shaue of the quick flesh from the part which, did touch it. I think at length they will sley the tounge, the roufe of the mouth, y^e throte, and the belly, because they touch the sacrament. But to

hurt thy neighbor, or priuily to conuey away any of his goods, or not to helpe him in his need, is in a maner counted for no sinne, nor yet regarded. &c.

*32 No labor is now a dayes more tedious then saying of Masse Mattens. &c. Which before God are nothing but greuous sinnes fol, 70.

*33 The sinnes of Manasses and other wicked kinges sacrificing theyr owne children, are but light and childish offences to those. The cursed sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are seuen times worse Gētiles then we were before we knew Christ. fol. 70.

*The wordes out of the whiche these two Articles are gathered are these. They are so oppressed (those hee meaneth which are vnder the seruitude of the Popes lawes & decrees) that they fulfill them onely with the outwarde worke: for theyr willes are cleane contrary, as we see by experience in troublesome busines of Uigilles, Masses, & Houres, which both must be sayd and song. In the which they labour with such wearinesse, that now a dayes no labour is more tedious. Yet neuerthelesse the cruell exactors of these moste hard workes, compell men to worke such thinges without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grieuous sinnes: although before men they be good workes and counted for the seruice of God. Here are inuēted the intisementes of the senses through organes, musicke and diuersity of songes: but these are nothing to the spirit, which rather is extinct through these wantō trifles. Ah Christ, with what violence, with what power are they driuen headlong to sinne, & perish through this abomination?

It is horrible to looke into these cruell wherlepoles of consciences,* which perish with so great paynes and labor what light offences to these are the sinnes wherin Manasses and other wicked kinges sinned by doing sacrifice with theyr owne children and progeny? Truely the cursed sacrifices of the most rude gentils, no not of the Lestrigones may be compared vnto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in vs: seuen more wicked spirites make the ende worse then the beginning. For I say that we Gentiles are worse 7. times then we were before we knew Christ. &c.

34 It were better to receiue neither of the partes of the sacramēt of the aulter,*then the one alone. fol. 73.

The wordes be these. Playnely I thinke that y^e whole is takē away, sith I see manifestly the one part gone (for y^e bread & the wine is but one sacramēt) the other is left only for a laughing stocke. For he that in one part offendeth against god, is guilty in al. Therefore it were better to receiue neither of the partes, then the one alone: for so we might y^e more su•ely eschue the transgression of that which Christe did institute. &c.

35. The law of the Pope that commaundeth euery man to communicate together vpon one day, is a most cruell law constrayning men to theyr owne destruction. fol. 73.

The place is this. He (the Pope he meaneth) setting a most cruell and deadly snare to tangle the consciences, suffereth not the vse of this Sacrament to be free, but cōpelleth all together on one certayne day once in the yeare to communicate. Here I pray thee Christē brother, how many doest thou thinke do communicate onely by the cōpulsion of this precept, which truely in theyr

hart had leuer not to communicate? And all these sinne (for they doe not communicate in spirite, that is to say,* neither in fayth nor will, but by the compulsion of this letter and law (sith that this bread requireth a hungry and not a full hart, & muche lesse a disdayning & hateful minde. And of all these sinnes, the Pope is author, constrayning all men by his most cruell lawe to theyr owne destruction, where as he ought to leaue this communion free to euery man, and onely call & exhort them, and not compell and driue them vnto it. &c.

36 The spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in scripture· fol. 81.*

In thinges appertayning to Gods worship and seruice, true it is that he is not to be worshipped,* but only according to that which he hath reuealed & expressed vnto vs in his owne word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his wordes doth playnely appeare.

37 Saynt Thomas de Aquino sauoreth nothing of the spirite of God. fol. 83.*

The doctrine of Thomas Aquine referreth the greatest or a very great part of our righteousness to opus operatū, and vnto merites.* The spirit of God referreth al our righteousness before God, onely to our fayth in Christ. Nowe how these sauor together, let any indifferent reader iudge.

38 The Pope did condemne the truth of the word of God openly at Constance in Io. Hus,*perseuering vnto this day in the same stubbernes. fol. 86.*

Touching the condemnation of Iohn Hus, & the maner of his handling & the cause of his death, read his storye before beginning pag. 602. and consider moreouer his prophecy of the hundreth yeares after him expyred pag. 770. how truly the sequele did folow in M. Luther, & thē iudge of his cause, good reader, as the truth of Gods worde shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slaūderous articles.

***Here follow other heresyas and errors,* collected by the Byshops out of the booke named the Summe of the Scripture, with the places of the booke annexed to the same.**

THE water of the fount hath no more vertue in it then hath any other water. fol. 1.*

2 The water of Baptisme lyeth not in halowed water or in other outward thing, but onely in fayth. fol. 6.

The place of these two articles gathered out of y^e sūme of the Scripture is this.* The water of Baptisme taketh not away our sinne: for then were it a precious water, and then it behoued vs dayly to wash our selues therein.* Neyther hath the water of the Fount more vertue in it selfe, thē the water that runneth in the riuer of Rhene. Whē Philip baptised the Eunuch, the seruant of Candace, the Queene of Ethiope, there was then no halowed water, nor candle, nor salte nor creame, neither white habite:* but he baptised him in the first water they came to vpō y^e way. Here mayst thou perceiue that the vertue of Baptisme lyeth not in halowed water, or in the outward thinges that we haue at y^e Fount, but in the fayth onely. &c. Christ hath healed vs (sayth S. Paule by the bath of regeneration and renouation of the holy Ghost.*

3 Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to helpe theyr childrē that they be put to schole, that they may vnderstand the Gospell,*and the Epistles of S. Paule. fol. 15.

The place of this article gathered out of the sayd booke is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers be bounde to helpe the children that they be put to schole, to the entent,* y^t they may vnderstand the Gospell, the ioyfull message of God, with the Epistles of S. Paule, God hath commaun'ded to publish, & to shew the Gospell, not onely to priestes but to euery creature. Goe ye (sayth Christ vnto his Disciples) into the vniuersall world and preach the Gospell to euery creature.* For we be all equally bound to knowe the Gospell and the doctrine of the new testament. &c. And S. Paule writing to the Corinthi. confesseth that hee sendeth hs Epistles to all the Church, that is to say, to all the assemble of Christen men, & to all them that call •n the name of Iesus. &c.

4 We thinke when we beleue that God is God, & can our creed, that we haue the fayth that a christian man is bound to haue:*but so doth the deuill beleue. fol. 17.

5 To beleue that the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost be one God, is not the principall that we must beleue: our fayth dooth not lye principally in that, for so beleueth the deuill. fol. 18.*

This place out of the which these two articles are collec'ted, is this: We thinke, when we beleue that God is God,* and can our Creede, that we haue the fayth which a Christian is bound to haue. The deuill beleueth also that there is a God and life euerlasting, and a hell,* but hee is neuer [Page 1255](#) the better for it: and he trembleth alway for this fayth, as sayth Saint Iames, The deuils beleue, and they tremble. A man might aske:* what shall I then beleue? Thou shalt beleue playnely and vndoubtedly that the father, the sonne and the holy Ghost is one only God. &c. But this likewise beleue the wicked spirites, and are nothing the better ther'fore. There is yet an other fayth which Christ so much requireth of vs in the Gospell, and whereunto S. Paule almost in all his Epistle so strongly exhorteth vs, that is, that we beleue the Gospell, when our Lord began first to preach, he sayd (as rehearseth S. Marke) repent and beleue the Gospell. Of this fayth, read before in the first Article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and in the ix. and x. of the Reuelation of Antichrist.*

6 If we beleue that God hath promised euerlasting life, it is impossible that we should perish. fol. 20.*

Lo here good Reader, an other manifest example of the vn honest dealing and false cogging of these mē. For where the place of the author, speaketh expressely of putting our trust in God & his promises, the article pretily leaueth out our trusting in gods promise, & fayth onely: if we beleue y^t god hath promised.* Read the place and conferre it with the article & then iudge whether there be no differēce betwene trusting in the promise y^t God hath made of euerlasting life and beleuing onely that God hath made the promise of euerlasting life. The place here foloweth as it is there, written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in god and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish for he hath promised vs life euerlasting. And for as much as he is almighty, he may well performe that that he hath promised: and in that he is mercifull and true, he will performe his promise made vnto vs, if we can beleue it stedfastly, and put all our trust in him.

*7 If thou canst surely and stedfastly beleue in God, he will holde his promise. For he hath bound himselfe to vs, and by his promise he oweth vs heauen: in case that we beleue him. fol. 21.

Seing all our hope standeth onely vpon the promise of God, what heresy then is in this doctrine, to say that God oweth vs heauen by his promise,* whiche is no other to meane but that God can not breake promise. And nowe iudge thou good reader whether is more heresy to say, that God oweth vs heauen by his promise, as we say: or this, that God oweth vs heauen by the condignity & congruity of our workes as the Papists say?

*8 All Christes glory is ours. fol. 27.

*9 We neede not to labour for to be Christes heyres and sonnes of God, and to haue heauen: for we haue all these thinges already fol. 24.

The words out of the which these two heresyas are gathered, be these: We be made his heyres, and al his glory is ours, as S. Paule largely declareth. This hath God geuen vs without our deseruing and we need not to labour for all these thinges, for these we haue already. &c.

They which note these articles for heresy, by the same iudgement they may make heresy of S. Iohns gospel, & of Paules epistles,* and of al together. S. Iohn sayth, the glory which thou gauest me, I haue geuen thē that they may be one, as we also are one. As many as receiued him, to thē gaue he power to be the sonnes of God. S. Paule sayth: The same spirit certifieth our spirit,* that we are the sonnes of God.* If we be sonnes, then are we also heyres, y^e heyres I meane of God, and heyres annexed with Christ.

10 We need not to labor by our good workes to get euerlasting life:*for we haue it already: we be all iustified, we be all the childrē of God. fol. 28.

*11 All that thinketh that good workes helpe or profite any thing to get the gift of saluation, they blaspheme agaynst God and rob God of his honour. fol. 28.

12 If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in workes,*Christ shall not helpe vs. fol. 18.

13 We deserue nothing of God. fol. 30.

*14 We deserue not euerlasting life by our good woorkes, for God hath promised it vnto vs,*before that we began to do good. fol. 40.

*15 Euery Christian man muste keepe Gods commaundementes by loue, and not by hope, to gette for his seruice euerlasting lyfe. fol. 42.

16 The Iewes kept the commaundementes, and the law of God: yet they could not come to heauen.*fol. 43.

17 Men trusting in theyr good workes, are like to the theefe on the left side,*and are such men as commeth to the Church daylye, keepeth holydayes and fasting dayes, and heareth masses, & these people be soonest damned: for this is one of the greatest errors in Christendome, to thinke that thy good workes shall helpe to thy saluation.*fol. 47.

If these articles be made heresy, which referre the benefite of our inheritance of life and saluation to Gods gyft, & not to our labors: to grace and not to merits: to faith and not to the law of workes, thē let vs shut vp clean the new testament, & away with Gods word, and set vp a new diuinity of the Popes making: yea let vs leaue Christ with his hereticall gospell, and in his stead sette vp the Byshop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the Disciples 〈◇〉 his decretals. And certes, except christen princes begynne betime to sake some zeale of God vnto them, & looke more seriously vpon the matter, the proceedinges of these men seme to tend to litle better, then to driue vs at length from true Christianity, to an other kinde and forme of religion of theyr owne inuention, if they haue not brought it well neare to passe already.

18 To serue God in a tediousnesse, or for feare of hel,*or for the ioyes of heauen, is but shadowes of good workes, and such seruice doth not please God. fol. 41.

The place is this: Works done in faith, be alonely pleasant vnto God, and worthy to be called good workes:* for they be the works of the holy ghost that dwelleth in vs by this fayth. But they that are done by tediousnes and euill will, for feare of hell, or for desire of heauen, be nothing els but shadowes of workes, making hipocrites. The end of our good works is onely to please god, knowledging that if we do neuer so much, we can neuer do our duty: for they that for feare of hell, or for the ioyes of heauen do serue god do a constraigned seruice, which God will not haue. Such people do not serue God because he is their God and their father, but to haue theyr reward and to auoyd his punishments, and such people are hyred men and waged seruaūtes, & are not children. But the children of God serue theyr father for loue. &c.

19 We must loue death, & more desire to dye, then to feare death fol. 36.*

Although our nature be frayle & full of imperfectiō, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought & as we are lead by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to dye and to be with Christ, as the place it selfe doth well declare, which is this:

We must loue death,* and more desire to die and to be w^t god, as did S. Paul, then to feare death. For Iesus Christ dyed for vs, to the intent that we shoulde not feare to dye, and he hath slayn death, and destroyd the sting of death, as writeth S. Paule, saying: O death where is thy sting?* death is swallowed vp in victory. And to the Philippians:* Christ is to me life, and death is to me aduauntage.

20 God made vs his children and his heires,*while we were his enemies, and before we knew him. fol. 44.

I maruell what the Papistes meane in the Registers to condemn this article as an heresy, vnlesse theyr purpose be vtterly to impugne & gainstand the scripture, & the writings of S. Paule, who in the fift chapter to the Rom. & other his Epistles, importeth euen the same doctrine in all

respectes, declaring in formall words that we be made the children and heyres of God, and that we were reconciled vnto him when we were his enemies.

21 It were better neuer to haue done good worke, and aske mercy therefore, then to do good workes,*and thinke that for thē god is bound to a man by promise. fol. 48.

22 We can shew no more honor to God,*then fayth and trust in him. fol. 48.

The place out of the which these two articles are gathered, is this:.* It were better for thee a thowsande folde that thou haddest bene a sinner, and neuer had done good deed, & to acknowledge thine offences & euill life vnto God, asking mercy with a good hart, lamenting thy sinnes, then to haue done good workes & in them to put thy trust, thinking that therfore God were bound to thee. There is nothing, which (after the maner of speaking) bindeth God, but fyrme and stedfast fayth and trust in him & his promises. &c. For we can shew vnto God no greater honor, then to haue faith and trust in him: For whosoeuer doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty & mercifull. &c.

23 Fayth without good workes, is no litle or no feeble faith,*but it is no fayth. fol. 50.

24 Euery man doth as much as he beleueth. fol. 50.

The place out of the which the two Articles be gathered, is this:.* If thy fayth induce thee not to do good workes thē hast thou not y^e right fayth, thou doest but onely thinke that thou hast it. For S. Iames sayth, that fayth wythout workes is dead in it selfe. He sayth not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead and that is dead, is not.* Therefore whē thou art not moued by fayth vnto the loue of god and by the loue of god vnto good works, thou hast no fayth but fayth is dead in thee, for the spirit of God that by fayth commeth in to our hartes to styrre vp loue, cannot be idle.* Euery one doth as much as he beleueth, & loueth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S. Iohn. He that hath thys hope that he is the sonne of god, purifieth himself, as he is pure.*[Page 1256](#) He sayth not, he that purifieth himselfe hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the fayth, as it behoueth that the tree must first be good which must bring forth good fruit.

25 We cannot be without motions of euill desires: but we must mortify them in resisting them.*fol. 52

They which note this article of heresy, may note them selues rather to be like the Pharisy. Luke. 18. who foolishly flattering himselfe in the false opinion of his owne righteousnes, was not subdued to the righteousnes, which standeth before God,* by fayth, and therefore went home to his house lesse iustified then the publican. If the scriptures condemne the hart of man to be crooked euen from his youth Gene. 6. and also condemneth all the righteousnes of man to be like a filed cloth, & if S. Paule could finde in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but sheweth, a cōtinuall resistance betwene the old man and the new, then must it folow, that these phariseis which condemne this article of heresy, eyther cary no flesh, nor no old man about them to be resisted or verely, say what they will, they can not choose but bee combred with euill motions for the inward man continually to fight agaynst. The place of the authour sufficiently defendeth it selfe, as foloweth.

S. Paule byddeth vs mortify all our euill desyres and carnall lustes, as vncleanesse, couetousnesse, wrath, blasphemy,* detractation, pride, and other like vices. And vnto the Rom. 6. he sayth: let no sinne raigne in your mortall bodyes. That is to say, albeit that we cannot liue without the motion of suche euill desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in vs, but shall mortifye them in resisting them. &c.

26 All true Christianity lyeth in loue of our neighbors for God, and not in fasting,*keeping of holy dayes, watching, praying, and singing long prayers dayly and all day long, hearing Masse, running on pilgrimage. &c. fol. 52.

The place of this article is this: Thou hast alwaies occasion to mortify thine euill desires to serue thine neighbor,* to comfort him, and to helpe him with word and deed, with coūsell and exhortation and other semblable meanes. In such loue towardes our neighbor for the loue of God, lyeth all the law and the prophets (as saith Christ) yea and all christianity: and not in fasting, keeping of holydayes, watching, singing, and long praiers daily and all day lōg, hearing of masses, setting vp of candles, running on pilgrimages and such other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, enuious and subiect to all wicked affections, do. &c.

27 Many Doctors in diuinity, and not onely common people beleueth that it is the part of Christen fayth onely to beleue that Iesus Christ hath liued here in earth. fol. 53.54.*

The place is this: We beleue that Iesus Christ hath here liued-on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he dyed for vs,* and did many other thinges. When we beleue these things after the story, we beleue that this is our christen fayth. This not onely the simple people beleueth, but also Doctors in diuinity, which are takē for wise men. Yea the deuill hath also this fayth, as sayth S. Iames: The deuils beleue, and they tremble. For as we haue sayd before, the deuil beleueth that God is God, and that Iesus Christ hath here preached, that he dyed, was buried, and rose agayn▪ Thus must we also beloue, but this is not the fayth wherof speaketh the Gospell and S. Paul. &c.

Of this fayth and what it is, read before in the place of the 4 and 5. articles of this booke, and of the 1. Article gathered out of the wicked Mammon, and the 9. and 10. article of the Reuelation of Antichrist.

28 He that doth good agaynst his will, he doth euill. fol. 56.

The place is this: A• good deedes which are not done by loue and good wil, are sinne before God as saith S. Augustine. He that doth good against his wil, doth euil, albeit that he doth, be good. For that I do agaynst my wil, I hate and whē I hate the commaundement, I hate also him that hath commaunded it. &c.

29 No man doth more then he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of theyr good workes fol. 59•*

The words be these: The Prophet Esay sayth: we are all as an vncleane thing, and all our iustice is as it were a filthy cloth and therefore I can neuer maruell enough, that many of the religious

persons would make other partakers of theyr good workes,* seeing that Christ sayth in the Gospell: when ye haue done all those things which are cōmaunded you: say, we are vnprofitable seruantes we haue done but that which was our duety to doe. For none can do to much. None doth more then he is bound to doe, but onely Iesus Christ (which onely as sayth S. Peter neuer did sinne, neither was there deceit found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to doe: and as the Prophet Esay sayth, hath taken vpon him our infirmities, and borne our sorrowes, he was wounded for our offences, & smitten for our wickednesse, & by his stripes are we made whole. &c.

30 Christ hath gotten heauen by his passion, but that right hath he no need of,*but hath graunted it to all them that beleue in hys promises. fol. 59,

Read the place: Iesus Christ possesseth the kingdome of heauē by double right.* First because he is the sonne of god and very inheritor of his kingdome. Secondly because he hath gottē it by his passion and death. Of his second right he hath no neede, and therefore he geueth it to all them that beleue and trust in him and in his promises.

31 If God had promised vs heauen for our good woorkes,*wee should euer be vnsure of our saluation fol. 59.

32 Be our sinnes neuer so great,*that it seemeth impossible to vs to be saued, yet without any doubt we must beleue to be saued. fol. 59.

The wordes out of the which these two articles be gathered are these: If God had promised heauen vnto vs be'cause of our workes, we should euer then be vnsure of our saluation. For we should neuer know how much,* nor how long we should labor to be saued, & should euer be in feare that we had done to litle, and so we should neuer dye ioyfully. But God would assure vs of heauen by his promise, to the entent we should be certayne and sure, for he is the trueth and cannot lye: and also to the intent that we should haue trust and hope in him. And notwithstanding that after the greatnes & multitude of our sinnes, it seeme to vs a thing impossible, yet alwayes we must beleue it without any doubt, because of his sure promise. And who soeuer doth this, he may ioyfully dye and abide the iudgement of god, which els▪ were intollerable. Read more hereof before in the xi. article taken out of the wicked Mammon.

33. If thou loue thy wife because shee is thy wife, that is no loue before God:**but thou shalt loue her because shee is thy sister in God. fol. 83.

The wordes be these: Our Sauour Christ hath commaunded nothing so straightly as to loue an other: yea to loue our enemies also. Then how much more shoulde the man & wise loue together. But there be but few that know how to loue the one the other as they ought to do. If thou loue thy wife onely because she is thy wife, and because she serueth and pleaseth thee after the flesh, for beauty, byrth, ri'ches, and such like this is no loue before god. Of such loue speaketh not S. Paule. For suche loue is among harlots, yea among brute beastes: but thou shalt loue her because she is thy sister in the christen faith, and because she is inheritour together with thee in the glory of God, & because ye serue together one God, because ye haue receaued together one baptisme

&c. Thou shalt also loue her for her vertues, as shamefastnes, chastitie and diligence, sadnes, pacience, temperance, secrecy obediēce, and other godly vertues &c.

34. It is nothing but all incredulitie to runne in pilgrimage and seeke God in one certayne places,*which is like mightye in all places. fol. 62.

The matter of this article is euident to all indifferent & learned iudgementes to be voyde of all doubt of heresie.

35. Men should see that their children come to Churche to heare the sermon. fol. 89.*

The place of this article is this: On the Festiuall dayes thou shalt bring thy children to the church to heare the sermon, and when thou shalt come home,* thou shalt ask them what they haue kept in memory of the sermon. Thou shalt teach thē the Christian fayth. Thou shalt admonish thē to liue well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to dye, then to do any thing that is against the will of God. And principally thou shalt learne them the contentes of the prayer of our Sauour Christ, called y^e Pater noster, that is to say how they haue an other father in heauen, of whom thy must seeke for all goodnesse, and without whom they can haue no good thing: & how that they may seeke nothing in all theyr workes, and in all theyr intents, but the honor of theyr heauenly father: And how they must desire that this father would gouerne all that they doe, or desire: And how that they must submit all to his holy wil, which cannot be but good. &c. Thou shalt buy them wholsome bookes, as the holy Gospell, the epistles of the holye Apostles, yea both the new & the old Testament, that they may vnderstand and drinke of the sweet fountayne & waters of life.

36 Thou shalt not vexe or greue by iustice or otherwise the pore that oweth vnto thee: for thou mayest not doe it without sinne.*fol 97.

The place is this: Thou shalt not vexe or greue by iustice. &c. as Christ sayth: resist not euill,* but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheeke, turn to him the other also. &c. S. Paul sayth: Render not euil for euil,* and if it be possible as much as is in you, liue in peace with all men, not reuēging [Page 1257](#) your selues my welbeloued, but geue place to wrath for• is written: to me the vengeance, and I will render it, sayth the Lord God.

*37. Some textes of Canon law suffereth warre, but the teaching of Christ forbidde•h all warres. Neuerthelesse when a City is besieged, or a country inuaded, the Lord of the country is bounde to put his life in ieopardy for his subiectes. fol. 119.

*38 So a Lord may vse horrible warre charitably and Christianly: fol. 119.

As touching warre, to be moued or styrred first of our parts agaynst any people or country vpon any rash cause, as ambi•ion, malice, or reuēge, the gospell of Christ geueth vs no such sword to fight withall. Notwithstanding for defence of coūtry and subiectes, the magistrate being inuaded or prouoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best, as the city of Mar•urgh did well in defending it selfe agaynst the Emperour. &c.

39. The gospell maketh all true Christen men seruauntes to all the world. fol. 79.

*He that compiled this article craftely to make y^e matter to appeare more haynous, leaueth out y^e latter, part which should expound the other, that is, by the rule of charity: for that the author addeth withall. By which rule of charitye, and not of office and duety, euery christen man is boūd one to help another, as Christ himselfe being Lord of all, yet of charity was a seruaunt to euery man, to do him good, read the place of the summe of the scripture in the page as in the article it is assigned.

*40. The Gospell is written for all persons, estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. fol. 112.

They which noted this article for an heresy, I suppose could litle tell either what GOD, or what the Scripture meaneth.

*41. When iudges haue hope that an euill doer will amend they must be alwayes mercifull, as Christ was to the woman taken in aduou•ry. The temporall law must obey the Gospell and thē that we may attēd by warning, we shall not correct by iustice. fol. 113.

The purpose of the book whence this article is wrasted being well vnderstood, intendeth not to binde tēporal iudges and magistrates, from due executiō of good lawes, but putteth both them, and especiall spiritual iudges, in remēbraunce by the example of Christ to discern who be penitent offēders, and who be otherwise, and where they see euident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be ecclesiasticall iudges, to spare them: if they be ciuill magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law (as much as they conueniently may) with merciful moderation, which the Greekes do call 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

And thus much hitherto of these heresies and Articles collected by the byshops, & inserted in theyr own registers one of the bookes ab••e specified. The names of y^e bishops and collectors were these: Syr Tho. More, L. Chaūcellor Wil. Warham Archb. of Cant. Tunstall bish. of London. Ste. Gardiner, G. of Wint. Rich. Sampson Deane of the chappel, Rich. Wolman M. of Requestes, Iohn Bell, D. Wilson, with a great number moe, as in the registers doth appeare. Ex Regist. Cant & Londinensi,

*I shall not need I trust (gentle reader) further here to tary thee with reciting mo places: whē these already reher'sed may suffice for a taste & a triall for thee sufficient to note and consider how falsely & most slaunderously these catholickes haue deptraued, and misreported the books and writings of good men, who might almost gather heresies as well of S. Iohns gospell, & S. Paules epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirite of spite and cau•lling finde out, being inflamed with hatred, & blowne with the bellowes of ambition and iniquity? * And as they haue done with these, the like partes they haue and do practise stil against al other: whosoeuer in defēce of truth, dare touch neuer so litle either the Popes crowne, or the bellies of his clergy: for these ij. sores in no case they can abide to be touched. And hereof onely cōmeth all this crying out, he'resy, heresy, blasphemy, error & schisme. Although the doctrine be neuer so sound and perfect after the scripture, yet if the writer be not such in all pointes (especially in these two aboue touched) as wil sing after theyr tune, and daunce after theyr pipe (he is by & by an) hereticke, * by vertue of

theyr Inquisition. So did they with the Articles of the learned Erle Ioannes Picus Mirandula. So did they with Ioh. Rencline or Cap[•]ion. So did they also with good Iohn Colet here in England. Also with the like spirite of lying & caulling, the catholicke faculties of Louane, Spain and Paris condemned the works and writings of Erasmus & many mo. So full they are of censures, articles, suspicious, offences, inquisitions, so captions they be in taking, so rash in iudging, so slaunderous of reporte, so practised in deprauing, misconstruing and wrasting true meaninges into wrong purposes, briefly so pregnant they be in finding he^resies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serue theyr deuotiō, or els he shall procure theyr displeasure, that is, shall be demed for an hereticke. Yea & though no iust cause of any heresy be ministred, yet wher they once take disliking, they will not sticke sometimes with false accusations to presse him w^t matter, which he neuer spake nor thought. If Luther had not styrrd against the Popes pardons and authority, he had remayned still a white sōne of the mother Catholick church, and all had bene wel done whatsoever he did. But because he aduentured to touche once y^e triple crowne, what flouds of heresies, blasphemies and articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole world? what lyes and forged crimes were inuented agaynst him?

Here now cōmeth Staphylus and furious Surius,^{*} w^t theyr fraternity, and say, that he learned his Diuinity of the deuill. The foloweth an other certain Chronographer who in his lying story reporteth most falsely, that Luther dyed of dronkennes. With like malice the sayd Chronogra^pher writeth also of M. Bucer, falsely affirming vpon his information, that he should deny at his death, Christ our Messias to be come. When not onely D. Redman whiche preached at his buriall, but also all English men, whiche knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid against one Singleton Chapplein some time to Queene Anne Bullen,^{*} that he was the murderer of Packington, and afterward, that he was a styrrer vp of sedition & cōmotion: who also suffered as a traytor for the same: Where in very deed the true cause was for nothing els, but for preaching the Gospell vnto the people, whose purpose was euer so farre of from styrring sedition, that he neuer once dreamed of any such matter, as he himselfe declared and protested to one R. Lante his scholer, who is yet aliue and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practise amongst the Romish Bishops: whereof enough hath bene sayd before in the story of Syr Ioh. Oldcastle, and Syr Roger Acton. &c.

An other like practise of such malicious slaunder wee finde also in one Meriall a Brickleyer,^{*} whose name w^t hys abiuration remayneth yet in the Registers of the Byshop of London.

The story is this, and not vnworthy to be remembred. In the yeare of our Lord. 1534. whiche was about the first beginning of Queene Anne Bullen, at what time Purgatory and such trompery began to grow in contempt. Stokesly Bishop of London made a sermon in the Shroudes vpon the Sondag before May day:^{*} Where he preaching in the commendation and vertue of Masses, declared to the people that for a little cost, if they procured Masses to be sayd, wiues might deliuer their husbandes, and husbandes their wiues out of the bitter paynes of purgatory. At thys sermon, besides many other, was Thomas Meriall, a zelous fauourer of Gods word: who being on the watche on May euen, made relation of these wordes of the Byshop vnto the company about him, amongst whom then was one Iohn Twyford, a furious papist, and who had y^e same time the setting vp of the stakes in Smithfield, wherat the good Saintes of God were burned.

This Twyford whiche then kept a Tauerne and had an old grudge agaynst y^e sayd Meriall for striking his boy hearing these words: *allured home to his house certain per^sons, to the number of x. Whose names were these: Blackwell, Laurence Wilson, Thomas Clarke, Iohn Duffild, W. Kenningham, Thomas Hosier, Worme a cutler, Alen Ryse, with an other whiche was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly M. Chābers Clerke whose name was Bright. And when he had craftily ouercome them w^t wyne, & made them to report what wor[•]es he listed, and which they knew not thēselues, the Clerkes by and by receaued y^e same in writing. Wherupō this article was gathe^red agaynst Meriall, that he should holde and affirme, that y^e passion of Christ doth not help thē which came after him but onely them which were in Limbo before: * & also that he should say y^t his wife was as good as our Lady. Upō this writing of the Notary, he was immediately brought to bishop Stokesly, and therby y^t depositiō of these x. false witnesses wrōgfully accused, and also for the same should haue be condemned, had not Doct. Barret the same tyme, byd him speake one word (which he knew not) as the sentence was in reading, whereby y^e condemnation was stayd and he put to doe open penaunce and to beare a Fagotte. * Notwithstanding the sayd Meriall sware before the Byshop that he neuer spake nor ment any such words as there was sayd vnto him, but onely recited the wordes of the bishops sermō, reporting the same in the person of the bishop, and not his owne. Whiche also was testified to bee true by the othes of 3. other, to witte, W. Tōson▪ Gregory Newman▪ [Page 1258](#) and W. Witte, who being in the foresayde watch the same time, did take vpon theyr oth before the Bishop: that hys wordes were no other, but as is aboue declared. Which 3. witnesses at the second edition hereof were also liuing, w^t the wife of the foresayd Meriall, who woulde then also be sworne that the same is true. Where as contrary the other x. persons be al gone, and none of them all remayning. Of whome moreouer the most of all the sayd x. came to a miserable end where as the other 3. which testified the truth w^t Meriall, being liuing at the 2. editiō hereof, did see the ende of all the other. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner to F••th, Bayfield, Baynham, Teukesbury, Lambert, * and other good men, he died rotting aboue the groūd, that none could abide him, and so came to a wretched end. Ex testimon. vxoris Meriall, W. Tomson, Greg. Newman. W. Wit. &c.

Of thys malycious and peruerse dealinge of these men contrary to all truth & honesty, in defaming them for hereticks, * which in deed are none, & with opprobrious railing to slaunder their cause, which is nothing els but the simple truth of Christes gospel, who so listeth to search further (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice) let hym read the story of Merindol, & Angrogne, pag. 945.955. Let him consider the furious Bull of Pope Martine. pag. 625. The like slaunderous Bull also of Pope Leo x. with the •dict of Charles the Emperour agaynst Luther. Also let hym suruey the railing stories of Surius the Monke of Colen, the booke of Osius, of Lindus, the Chronologie of Genebrardus, the story of Cochleus agaynst the Hussites and the Lutheranes, with the Preface of Conradus Brunus the Lawyer prefixed before the same, wherein he most falselye and vntruely rayling agaynst these Protestantes, whom he calleth heretickes, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, Church robbers cruell, false lyers, crafty deceiuers, vnfaythfull, promise breakers, disturbers of publicke peace and tranquility, corrupters and subuerters of commō weales, and all els that naught is.

*In much like •ort was Socrates accused of his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whō Plato notwithstanding defendeth. Aristides the iust lacked not his vniust accusers. Was it not obiected vnto S. Paule that hee was a subuerter of the law of Moyses, * and that we might do euill

that good might come thereof? How was it layd to the Christian Martyrs in the primitiue Churth for worshiping an Asses head, and for sacrificing of Infantes. pag. 54? And to come more nere to these our latter daies, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of french,* men gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate y^e holy communion, were accused of filthy commixion of mē and women together, and the king the same time Henry 2. was made to beleue that beds with pillowes and mats were founde there in the floore where they laye together: wherupon the same time diuers were condēned to the fire and burned pag. 862. Finally what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be voyd of these sclaunderers or crimynatiōs,* whē also our Sauior Christ himselfe was noted for a wine drinker, & a common haunter of the Publicanes? &c.

Euen so likewise it pleaseth our Lorde and Sauior Christ, to keepe vnder and to exercise his church vnder the like kinde of aduersaries now rainging in the church,* who vnder the name of the church will nedes mayntain a portly state and kingdome in this world, and because they can not vpholde theyr cause by playne scripture and the word of God, they beare it ou• with facing, rayling, and slaundering, making Princes and the simple people beleue, that all be heretickes, schismatickes, blasphemers, rebels & subuerters of all authority & commō weales, whosoever dare reply with any scripture agaynst theyr doings.

It is writtē of Nero, that when he himselfe had burnt the Citty of Rome sixe dayes and seuen nightes,* he made open proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the City on fire, to styrre the people agaynst them, wherby he might burne and destroy them, as rebels and traytors.

Not much vnlike seemeth the dealing of these religious Catholickes, who when they be the true heretickes themselues, and haue burnt and destroyed the Church of Christ, make out theyr exclamatiōs, Buls, briefes, articles bookes,* censures, letters and Edicts against the poore Lutheranes, to make the people beleue, that they be the heretickes, schismatickes, disturbers of the whole world. Who if they could proue them as they reprove them to be heretickes, they were worthy to be heard. But nowe they cry out vpon them heretickes, and can proue no heresy: they accuse them of errour: and can proue no errour: they call them schismatickes, and what Church since the worlde stood, hath bene the mother of so many schismes as the mother Church of Rome? They charge them with dissention and rebellion. And what dissention can be greater, then to dissēt from the scripture, and word of God? or what rebellion is like, as to rebell against the sonne of God, & against the will of hys eternall Testamente? They are disturbers (they say) of peace and of publicke authority: Which is as true, as that the Christians set the Citty of Rome on fire. What doctrine did euer attribute so much to publicke authority of Magistrates, as do the protestantes, or who euer attributed lesse to magistrates, or deposed moe dukes, kinges, and Emperours, thē the Papistes? They that say, that the Bishop of Rome is no more but the Bishoppe of Rome, and ought to weare no crowne, is not by and by a rebell agaynst his king and Magistrates, but rather a maynteyner of theyr authority: which in deed the Byshop of Rome cannot abide. Briefely, wilt thou see whether be the greater heretickes, the Protestantes or the Papistes? Let vs try it by a measure,* and let this measure be the glory onely of the sonne of God, which cannot fayle. Nowe iudge I beseeche thee, whosoever knowest the doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or lesse to the Maiestye of Christ Iesus our king and Lord: the Protestantes which admit none other head of the Church nor iustifier of our soules, nor forgeuer of our sinnes, nor Aduocate to his father but him alone: Or els the papistes which can

abide none of all these articles, but condemn the same for heresy. Which being so (as they themselues wyll not deny) now iudge (good reader) who hath set the Citty of Rome on fire. Nero, or els the Christians.

But to returne agayne to the purpose of our former matter, which was to shew forth the proclamation of the Byshops for the abolishing of English bookes aboue rehearsed, as being corrupt and full of heresye, whiche notwithstanding we haue declared to conteine no heresye, but sounde and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and Scripture of God.

Here nowe when the Prelates of the Popes side had procured this Edict & proclamation aforesayd, for the condemnation of al such English bookes printed or vnprinted which made agaynst theyr aduantage, they triumphed not a litle, wening they had made a great hand against y^e Gospell for euer to rise againe, & that they had established their kingdome for euer, as in deed to all mās thinking it might seme no lesse. For who would haue thought,* after so strayt so precise, and so solemne a proclamation set forth & armed with the kinges terrible authority: also after the cruel execution of Anne Askewe, Lacels, and the rest: Item after the busy search moreouer and names taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and layd vp, diuers in present perill, & expectation of theyr attachment: who would haue thought (I say) otherwyse possible, but that y^e gospel must nedes haue an ouerthrow, seing what sure worke the papistes here had made, in setting vp theyr side, and throwing downe the contrary.

But it is no new thing in the Lord, to shew his power agaynst mans presūption,* that when he counteth himselfe most sure, then is he furthest of, and when he supposeth to haue done all, then is he new to begin agayne. So was it in the primitiue Church before Constantinus time, that when Nero, Domitianus, Maxentius, Decius, and other Emperours impugning the gospell & profession of Christ, did not onely constitute lawes and proclamations against the Christians, but also did ingraue the same lawes in tables of brasse, minding to make all thinges firme for euer and a day: yet we see, how with a litle turning of Gods hand, all theyr puissant deuises, & brasen lawes turned all to wind and dust. So little doth it auayle for man to wrastle agaynst the Lord and his procedinges. Howe so euer mans building is mortall and ruinous, of brickle bricke, and mouldring stones, the Lord neuer taketh in hande to builde, that either time can waste, or man can pluck down. What God setteth vp, there is neither power nor striuing to the contrary. What he entendeth, standeth: what he blesseth, that preuayleth. And yet mans vnquiet presumption will not cease still to erect vp towers of Babell against the Lord, which the higher they are builded vp,* fall with the great ruine. For what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing as in example of all ages is to be seene: so in this late proclamation deuised by the bishops, is in like maner exemplified.

The which proclamation, though it was sore & terrible for the time, yet not long after,* by reason of the kings death (whō the Lord shortly therupon took to his mercy) it made at length but a castle come downe. So that where the prelates thought to make theyr Iubile, it turned them to the Threnes of Ieremy. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hostes, whose name be sanctified for euer.

[Page 1259](#)This I do not inferre for any other purpose, but onely for the workes of the Lord to be seene: premonishing thee (good Reader) withall that as touching the king (who in this

Proclamation had nothing but the name onely) here is nothing spoken but to his laude and prayse. Who of hys owne nature & disposition,* was so inclinable and forward in all things vertuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redresse of religion, hath not lightly bene sene in any other Prince christned: As in abolishing the stout and almost inuincible authority of the Pope, in suppressing mo'nasteries, in repressing custome of Idolatry & pilgrimage &c. Which enterprises, as neuer king of England dyd accomplish (though some beganne to attempt them) before him: so yet to this day we see but few in other Realmes dare folow the same.

If Princes haue alwayes theyr Counsell about them, that is but a common thing. If some time they haue euill counsell ministred that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them,* then of princes themselues. So long as Queene Anne, Tho. Cromwell, B. Cranmer, M. Denny, D. Buts, with such like were about him, & could preuaile with him, what organe of Christes glorye did more good in the Church then he? as is apparant by such monuments, instrumentes and actes set forth by him, in setting vp the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in remouing diuers superstitious ceremonies in bringing into order y^e inordinate orders of friers & sectes, in putting chantry priests to theyr pensions: in permitting white meate in Lent: in destroying Pilgrimage worship: in abrogating idle & superfluous holydaies, both by act publicke, and also by priuate letters sent to Boner, tending after this effect.

¶By the king.

Right reuerend father in God, right trusty and welbeloued, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifolde inconueniences which haue ensued, and dayly do ensue to our subiectes by the great superfluity of holy dayes, we haue by the assentes and consentes of all you the Byshops, and other notable personages of the Clergy of this our Realme, in ful congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished suche as be neither Canonically, ne meete to bee suffered in a common wealth, for the manifolde inconueniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed: and to the intent our determination therein may be duely obserued and accomplished, we haue thought cōuenient, to commaūd you immediately vpon the receit hereof, to addresse your commaundementes in our name to all the curates, religious houses, and colledges within your dioces, with a cōpye of the act made for the abrogation of the holy dayes aforesayd, a transumpt whereof ye shall receiue herewith, commaunding thē and euery of them in no wise, eyther in the Church or otherwise, to indict or speake of any of the sayd dayes and feastes abolished, wherby the people might take occasion either to murmure, or to contemne the order taken therein, and to continue in theyr accustomed idlenes, the same notwithstanding: but to passe ouer the same with such secret silence, as they may haue like abrogation by disuse, as they haue already by our authority in conuocation. And forasmuch as the time of haruest now approacheth, our pleasure is, ye shall with such diligence and dexterity, put this matter in execution, as it may immediatly take place, for the benefite of our subiectes, at this time accordingly without fayling, as ye wil aunswere vnto vs for the contrary. Geuen vnder our Signet, at our Monastery of Chertesey, the 11. day of August.

Thus while good Counsell was about him, and could be heard,* he did much good. So agayne when sinister and wicked Counsell, vnder subtile and craftye pretences had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth & verity out of the Princes eares, how much Religion and all good thinges went prosperously forward before, so much on the cōtrary side all reuolted backward agayn.

Wherupō proceded this Proclamation aboue mētioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English bookes. Which proclamation bearing the name of the kinges maiesty, but being y^e very deed of the bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly sort, bringing thē either into great daūger, or els keping thē in much blindnes, had not the shortnes of the kinges dayes stopped the malignant purposes of the foresayd Prelates,* causing the king to leaue that by death vnto y^e people, which by his life he would not graūt. For within 4. monethes after,* the proclamatiō cōming out in August, he deceased in the beginning of Ianuary, in the 38. yeare of his raigne. an. 1547. leauing behinde him three children, who succeded him in his kingdome, K. Edward, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth: of whom it remaiⁿeth now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the proces of this hystory, according as the order of theyr succession, and Actes done by them in the church shall require, after that fyrst I shall haue prosecuted certayne other matters by the way, according to my promise, here to be inserted.

¶The History touching the persecution in Scotland, with the names and causes of such blessed Martyres, which in the same country suffered for the truth after the time of Patricke Hamelton.

THus hauing finished the time and rase of kyng Henry the eight, it remayneth now according to my promise made before, here to place & adioyne so much as hath come to our handes, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed Martyrs of Christ, which in that coūtry likewise suffered for the true religion of Christ, & testimony of theyr fayth.

To proceede therefore in the historye of these Scotland matters,* next after the mention of Dauid Straton and M. Nicholas Gurlay, with whom we ended before. pag. 956. the order of time woulde requyre nexte to inferre the memory of syr Iohn Borthwike Knight,* commonly called Captayn Borthwike. Who being accused of heresy (as the papistes call it) and cited therefore. an. 1540. and not appearing, and escaping out into other countryes, was condemned for the same, being absent, by the sentence of Dauid Beaton Archbishop of S. Andrewes, and other Prelates of Scotland, and all his goodes confiscate, and his picture at last burned in the open market place. Whose story with his articles objected agaynst him, and his confutations of the same here ensueth in processe vnder expressed, as followeth.

***The Act or Processe or certayne Articles agaynst Syr Iohn Borthwike Knight in Scotland with the aunswere and confutation of the sayd Borthwike, whose preface to the reader here foloweth.**

BY the helpe of a certayne frend of mine, there came cer^tayne articles vnto my hand for the which the Scottish Cardinal and such other like of his sect and affinity did cōdemne me as an hereticke.* And for so much as this condēnation should not lacke his cloke or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, where as besides the bare names of the witnesses they alledged none other profe at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling these articles which they could not proue partly that I might take away from all true Christians, the occasion of all euill suspition, as though that I beyng vanquished or ouerthrowne by theyr threatnings would deny Christ: and partly that theyr errors being thereby made manifest they should euen for very shame repent, or els hereafter y^e lesse abuse y^e furor or

madnesse of such wytnesses to shed bloud. Therefore I will first confirme by euident testimonyes of the Scriptures those things whiche in times past I haue taught, and afterwarde I will refell theyr vayne Sophistication, wherby they go about to subuert the trueth of God.

SYr Iohn Borthwike knight commonly called Captain Borthwike being accused suspected, slaundered and conuicte by witsnesse, without all doubt of greater estimation then he himselfe, in the yeare of our Lord. 1540. the 28. day of May, in the cloister of S. Andrewes in the presence of the most reuerēt Fathers, Gawine Archbishop of Glasquene Chauncellour of Scotland, William Bishop of Aburdin, Henry of Candicatia, Iohn Bishop of Brecknock and William of Dumbar Byshoppes, Andrew of Mellrowes, George of Dunerueling, Iohn of Paslet, Iohn of Lōdorse, Rob. of Rillos & Wil. of Rulrose Abbots, Māicolalyne of Quiterne and Iohn of Pettin vaim Pryors, Mayster Alexander Kalfour Uicar of Kitman Rector of Lawe officiall of Sayncte Andrewes, Iohn Winton Suppriour, Iohn Anand and Thomas Eminghame, Chanons of Saynt Andrewes, Iohn Tompson with vniuersity of Saynt Andrewes, and Mayster Iohn Maior and Peter Capelland Batchelers of Diuinity and doctours, Martine Ballfour Batcheller of Diuinitye and of his fellow Pryour of the Fryers Augustynes of the same Cittye, Iohn Tulidaffe Warden of the Fryers Mynors and Iohn Paterson of the same Couent, and also in the presence of the most noble mighty and honourable Lords, George of Huntelo, Iames of Arrain, William Marshal, William of Monnetros, Erles, Malcolme Lord of Flemming, Chamberlaine of Scotland, Iohn Lord of Linsey, Iohn L. of Erskine, George L. of Seton, Iames Hamelton of Finwart, Water L. of S. Iohn, M. Iames of Colinton [Page 1260](#) Clarke to the Kings Register, with diuers other Lordes, Barons, and honest persons, beyng called & desired together for wites, that he did hold, publish, and openly teach these errors followyng.

The first Article.

That our holy father the Pope as Christes vicar, hath not, neither can exercise greater autoritie ouer Christians here on earth, then any other bishop or prelate.

Borthwike.

These holy ones do magnify their Lord by like title, as common theeues and robbers are accustomed to preferre the captaines and ringleaders of their robberies and mischiefs, calling them in euery place the most honest, & good men, where as likewise it is euidēt, y^t in the whole world there is no man more geuen to riot, which more greedily doth seeke after all kynde of delicatenes and wantonnesse, and finally aboundeth with all kynde of vice: as treason, murder, rapine, and all kynd of such euils. Furthermore, where as they affirme him to be the vicar of Christ here in earth, it shall be easily conuinced when as it shall be made manifest, that he hath not, nor cannot exercise more power or autoritie ouer christians, then any other bishop or prelate. For vnto that office of beyng vicar, they referre that great autoritie the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which beyng taken away, the office of vicar doth also fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I wil first demand of the mainteiners of this preheminance and authority, whereupon they wil ground the same. I know that they will aunswer vnto me that Peter had power & authority ouer the other Apostles, and consequently ouer the vniuersall church, the which power by succession, is translated vnto the bishops of Rome. But how vnshamefastly they do lye herein, any may easily perceiue which hath but any small sparke of iudgement in him. When as he shal heare the testimonies of the scriptures, which we will alleage to confirme this our

opinion. For Peter in the xv. of the Actes. In the counsell doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth vs what of necessitie we ought to doe. And he there did also heare other speake, and did not onely geue them place to say theyr myndes, but also permit and receiue their iudgement: and where as they decreed, hee followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to haue power ouer others? Furthermore, where as in his first epistle he writeth vnto bishops and pastors, he doth not commād them as a superior or head ouer them, by power and authoritie, but maketh them his fellowe companions, and gently exhorteth thē as is accustomed to be done betweene equals of degree: for these are his wordes: I beseech and desire the bishops and pastors which are amongst you, for so much as I my selfe am also a bishop, and a witnesse of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glorye which shall be reuealed, that they do diligently feede the flocke of Christ which is committed vnto them. Why then do they so challenge vnto them the authority of Peter, which he neuer acknowledged in himselfe. Truly I do not dout, but if that Peter were here present, he would with like seueritie rebuke their folly and madnes, as Moses in times past did vnto Iosua, which burned with too earnest a zeale towards hym. I doubt not but that many in this fayned authoritie of Peter do seeke out more vayne helps to main'taine and vpholde the tyranny of Popes, rather then to make him ruler and gouernour ouer all other. For where as in the 8. chapter of the Acts he is commaunded by hys fellowes, to go with Iohn into Samaria, he did not refuse so to do. In so much then, as the apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that they doe not count him as theyr hed and superior, and in that he doth obey them, & taketh vpon him the office or ministry committed vnto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a societie and fellowship w^t them, but no rule nor imperry ouer them, as he writeth in his epistle.* But if none of these examples were euident or manifest, the onely epistle to the Galathians were sufficiēt to put vs out of all doubt: where as S. Paule almost throughout two whole chapters, doth nothing els but declare and affirme himselfe to be equall vnto Peter, in the honour or dignitie of the Apostleship. For first of all he reherseth how he went vp to Ierusalem vnto Peter, not to the intent to professe any homage and subiection vnto him but onely to witnesse with a common consent and agreement vnto all men, the doctrine which they taught, & that Peter did require no such things at his hand, but gaue vnto him the right side or vpper hand of the fellowship, that they might iointly together labour in the vineyard of the Lord.* Moreouer, that he had no lesse fauour and grace amongst the Gentils, then Peter had amongst the Iewes: and finally, when as Peter did not faithfully execute hys office and ministerie, he was by him rebuked, & Peter became obedient vnto his correction. All these things do euidently proue, that there was equalitie betweene Paule and Peter, and also that Peter had no more power ouer the residue of the Apostles, then he had ouer Paule. The which thing S. Paule euen of purpose doth intreat of, lest that any man should preferre Peter or Iohn before hym, in the office of Apostleship, which were but his companions, & not Lordes ouer one a other. Wherupō, the•• places of scripture work this effect, y^t I cannot acknowledge Peter to be superior or hed ouer other Apostles, neyther y^e Pope ouer other bishops. But I acknowledge & confesse Christ to be the only head of the church, the foundation and high priest therof, the which with one only oblation, hath made perfect for euermore all those which are sanctified.* And I boldly doe affirme and say with S. Gregory, that whosoeuer calleth himselfe, or desireth to be named or called, the head or vniuersal priest or bishop, in that his pride, he is the forerider or predecessor of Antichrist: for so much as thorough his pride he doth exalt himselfe aboue all others. Furthermore, where as they alledge out of the olde law, the high priesthood and the supreme iudgemēt, which God did institute and ordaine at Ierusalem: I aunswer therunto, that Christ was that high bishop,* vnto whome the right and title of priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will

take vpon hym to succeed in the place or degree of hys honour. For so much as this priesthood doth not consist only in learyng, but in the propitiation and mercy of God,* which Christ hath fulfilled by his death, and in the intercession, by the which he doth n•w intreat for vs vnto hys father.

Whereas also they do alledge out of the 16. chapter of Mathew, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke, &c. If they do thinke that this was peticularly spoken vnto Peter, S. Cyprian, and S. Augustine shall sufficiently aunswere them that Christ did it not for this purpose, to preferre one man aboue all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the vnity of the church: for so •ayth S. Cyprian in the person of one man,* God gaue vnto him al the kayes, that he might therby signify the vnity of thē all. For euen as Peter was, euen the very same were all the residue, beyng endued with like fellowship of honour and dignity. But it was conuenient that it should take his originall of one, that the church of God might be manifested to be one only. Saint Augustines wordes are these,* if the mistery of the church were not in Peter, the Lorde would not haue sayde vnto hym, I wyll geue vnto thee y^e kaies of the kingdome of heauen. If this were spoken vnto Peter, the church hath them not. If the Church haue them: Then Peter, when he receyued the kayes, did figurate the whole church. Agayne, when as they were all demaunded and asked, only Peter answered. Thou art Christ. Then was it sayd vnto him, I will geue vnto thee the kaies, as though that he alone had receyued the power of bindyng and loosing, for like as he alone spake that for them all,* so he as it were bearing the person of that vnity, receiued the same with them all. Therefore one for them all, because he is vnited vnto them all. Another argument they doe gather vppon the wordes which Christ spake vnto Peter. Thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke will I builde my church. The which wordes are not found to be spoken vnto any other of the apostles. The which argument shal easily be dissolued, if we did vnderstand & know why Christ did geue Peter that name, which otherwise was called Simon. In the first chapter of Iohn, Christ speaketh thus vnto hym. Thou shalt be called Cephas, the which by interpretation signifieth Peter, in that point hauing respect vnto the constant confession of Christ which he had made, lyke as God changed the name of Abraham, who at the first was called Abram, because he should be a father of many nations, then euen as Abraham took his name of y^e multitude, which should come forth of his seede: so likewyse Peter tooke his name of the constaunt confession of Christ, which in deed is the true rocke wherupon y^e church is builded, and not Peter himselfe. No otherwise then Abraham, which was not the multitude it selfe, whereof he tooke his name. Besides this, the church should be stayed or builded vpon ouer weak a foundation if it should haue Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who beyng amased and ouercome with the words of a little wench, did so constantly deny Christ. Nowe therfore I thinke there is no man but that doth vnderstand how these Romishe builders do wrest the scriptures hether and thether, & like vnto the rule or squire, do apply them accordyng to their wils, to what end and vse they thēselues thinke good. Furthermore in that they doe alledge out of the xx. chapiter of Iohn, feede my sheepe, it is ouer childish and argument: for to sheepe is not to beare rule and dominion ouer the whole Church, besides all this as Peter had receiued cōmaundement [Page 1261](#) of the Lord,* so doth he exhort all other Bishops to feed their flocke in his first Epistle and v. chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these wordes of Christ y^e either there was no autoritie geuen vnto Peter more then vnto others, or els that Peter did equally communicate that right and authority which he had receiued vnto others and did not reserue it vnto himselfe after his death, to bee transported vnto the Bishops of Rome. As for such reasons as they doe alledge, which are not gathered or taken out of holy scriptures, I passe them ouer, least I myght seeme to contend with shadowes.

The second Article.

That Indulgences and pardons graunted by our supreme head the pope, are of no force, strength, or effect, but tend onely to the abuse of the people and the deceiuyng of their soules.

Borthwike.

It shalbe euidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I haue first of all taught what they do call Indulgences or pardons. They say they are the treasure of the church, that is to say, the merites of Christ, of the Saints, Apostles and Martyrs, which they impudently affirme to haue performed and merited more at Gods hand, at the tyme of their death, then was necessary or needfull for them: & that of the aboundance of their merites, there did so much superabound which was not onely sufficient for themselues, but also might redound to the helpe of others. And because so great a goodnes should not be superfluous or in vayne, they affirme and teach that their bloud was mixed and ioyned with y^e bloud of Christ: and of them both the treasure of the church was compoūd and made for the remission and satisfactiō of sinnes. How cunning and notable cookes these are, which can make a confection of so many sundry herbes. Furthermore, they do fayne the custody and keping of this treasure to be cōmitted wholly vnto the bishop of Rome,* in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great treasures, that he eyther by himselfe may geue or graunt, or otherwyse geue power vnto other to geue the same. And hereupon riseth the plenary, Indulgences and pardons graunted by the Pope for certaine yeares, by cardinals for 100. dayes, by bishops for 40. dayes. This is the iudgement and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those saints to worke or deserue for other, but only Sathan, who would vtterly haue y^e merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the onely remedy of saluation? For if the Scripture do teache vs that no man of himselfe can deserue or worke their saluation,* how did the saints then worke or merit for others. It is manifest that Christ saith in the xvij. of Luke, when we haue done all that which is commanded you for to do, yet sayth he, we are vnprofitable seruaunts. Besides this, all that which may be deserued or merited in the righteousnes of man, in the 64. chapter of Esay, they are compared vnto the garment menstruous & defiled, to be cast out.

There are almost infinite places in y^e scripture, wherein mans power is so extenuate, and the corruption & frowardnes of our nature so made manifest, that euen in the best and most perfect workes, there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the x. virgins written in the 25. chapter of Mathew,* ought to put vs out of all controuersie and doubt. There Christ describeth two kindes of men, the one kynde of holy men which obserue and keepe the inward righteousnesse of the heart, as the oyle of fayth, the other sorte is of suche, which hauyng no mynde of theyr oyle, are aunswered by them whiche are wyse no, least that there be not sufficient for you and for vs, but go you rather to them which doe sell and buy for your selues: in the whiche place it is manifestlye declared how vainely the second sorte of men doth flye to the patronage of the elect, by whose merites they thinke to be saued.

Now let vs waie and consider vpon what places of scripture they build or establish their fayned inuention of pardons: they alledge the saying of S. Paule to the Colossians. I supply or fulfill the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his body which is y^e church. But Paul in this place doth not referre that defect or supplement to any worke of redemption, expiation or

satisfaction, but to those afflictions, by the which the members of Christ, that is to say, all faithfull, should be afflicted, so long as they liue in the flesh, wherefore he sayth, that this doth yet remaine of the passions of Christ, that those afflictions which once he suffered in his owne body, he nowe daily suffereth in his members. For Christ hath vouchsaued to honour vs with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his. And where as S. Paule doth adde this word for the church, he doth not vnderstād thereby for the redemption, reconciliation, satisfaction▪* or expiation of the church. But for the edi••eng and profit•ng of the same, as in the ij. epistle to Timothie, he saith: That for the elect sake he suffered all these things, y^t they myght obtaine saluation, but to the intent no man should thinke that saluation to depend vpon those things which he him'selfe had suffered, he added further,* the which is in Christ Iesu. As touching the reason that the blood of the Martyrs is not shed in vayne without fruit or profit, & therefore ought to be conferred to the common vilitie and profite of the church. I answer, that the profit and fruit therof is aboundant to glorify God by their death, to subscribe and beare witnesse vnto the truth by their blood, and by the contempt of this present lyfe, to witnesse, that he doth seeke after a better lyfe, by his constancie and stedfastnesse, to confirme and establish the fayth of the church, and subdue and vanquish the enemy.

The third Article.

That the Pope is an open vser of Simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualties, and that it is lawfull for all bishops to be coupled and ioyned in matrimony.

Borthwike.

This article hath his seuerall partes, for those things which we haue spoken or answered vnto the article before written, doth sufficiently declare, that the Pope is not only a vser of Simony, but also a notable deceiuer, which selleth such kynd of merchandise, as can in no place helpe or preuaile. For so much as his pardons are nothyng lesse then such as he faineth them to be. Doth he not then shew himselfe a manifest deceiuer, when as he maketh faires and markets of them, but to the intent I will not seeme in this behalfe vainly to labour or trauaile,* I will passe vnto the second part, where as I do say, that it is not onely done against the worde of God, but also against equitie and iustice to forbid priests to marry, for so much as it is not lawfull for any man by any meanes to forbid y^t thing, which the Lord hath left at liberty. For S. Paule in the xiiij. chapter vnto the Hebrewes, declareth, that matrimony is lawfull for all men, saying that mariage and the vndefiled bed or chamber is honourable amongst all men: and in the first to the Corinthians and vij. chapter. He sayth, for auoiding of whoredome, Let euery man haue a wife of his owne: but I know what these obstinate and stiffe necked will aunswer vnto me, that the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of priestes. But what will they aunswere vnto me as touching that whiche is written in the first to Timothie, and iij. chapter. A Bishop ought to be without rebuke, the husband of one wyfe, and by and by after he sayeth, Deacons ought to be the husbandes of one wyfe, the which should rule and gouerne their children and family vprightly. Unto these Paule affirmeth matrimony to be meete and necessary, let them say what they can vnto the contrary. What could bee more vehemently spoken agaynst their wicked tyranny, then that which by the holy Ghost he declareth in the iiij. chapter of the same Epistle, that in the latter daies there should come wicked men which should forbid matrimonye, and calleth them not onely deceiuers, but also wicked spirities attending vnto the doctrine of wicked spirities: but these men thinke that they haue very well escaped, whē as they wrest this sentence to those old ancient

heretikes the Tatianes, they say (these men) did onely condemne matrimonye, we do not condemne it, but onely forbidde Church men to marry. Unto whome we thinke matrimonye is not conuenient. As though that albeit this prophesie were first of all complete and fulfilled in the Tationes, that it did not also redound vnto them, or as though this theyr subtile sophistication, were worthy to be regarded that they do not deny or prohibite matrimony, because they do not forbid it vnto all men generally. Lyke as if a tyraunt would contend and affirme hys lawe to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof onely one part of the citie is oppressed, but now let vs heare the reasons of the contrary part, it behoueth say they, a Priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable marke or token. But read Saint Paule, where as he describeth the perfect Image of a good Bishop, did he not reckon and account mariage amongst the other good giftes which hee required to bee in them. But I knowe very well howe these men interpret Paule? Uerily that a Bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married hys second wyfe. But also it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is false, for so much as he doth by and by declare & shew what maner of women the wiues of Byshops & deacons ought for to be. Wherefore Saint Paule nūbereth matrimony amongst the principall vertues pertainyng vnto a Bishop. And these men do teache it to be an intollerable vice amongst the orders of the Church, and not [Page 1262](#) beyng content with that generall reproche or slaunder, they call it in the Canons, the vncleanlinesse, pollutyng and defilyng of the fleshe. Nowe let euery man consider with himselfe, out of what shop this stuffe is taken. God instituted matrimony, Christ sanctified it with hys presence, by turnyng water into wyne, and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would haue it the Image or figure of his loue and friendship with the Church: What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and prayse of wedlocke. But these vnshamefast faces doe call it a filthy and vncleane thyng, alledgyng the Leuitical priestes, which as often as they came vnto the office of ministration, were bounden to lye a part from their wiues, whereby they beyng cleane and vndefiled, might handle the holy things: [*](#) and our sacraments, for so much as they are much more noble and excellent then theirs, and daily vsed, it would be a very vncomely thing that they should be handled by married men. As though that the office of the ministry of the Gospell were all one with the Leuiticall priesthoode. For they as figures did represent Christ, which beyng mediator betweene God and man, by hys singular and absolute puritie and cleannes, should reconcile the father vnto vs, for so much as on no part sinners could exhibite or shew forth any tye or forme of his sanctity or holynesse, yet to the intent they might shadow hym out, with certaine similitudes or lineamentes, they were commaunded that when so euer they should come vnto the sanctuary or holy place, they should purify themselves: aboue all mens order or fashion, for then did they most nere and properly figurate Christ which appeared in the Tabernacle, as peacemakers to reconcile the people vnto God. This Image or personage, forsomuch as our Ecclesiasticall pastors at this day doe not take vpon them or execute, in wayne are they compared vnto them: Wherefore the Apostle without all exception vpon a sure & good ground, doth pronounce and say, that mariage is honourable amongst all men, and that whoremongers and adulterers do abide the iudgement of God. Besides all this, the Apostles themselves by their examples do prooue that matrimony is not vnworthy of any office or function, be it neuer so excellent, for S. Paule himselfe is witnes, that they did not only kepe their wyues, but also caried them about with them.

The 4. Article.

That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England,* or at the least, the greater or most part of them to be now presently vnderstand and knowen by the English men to be of themselves good and iust, and to be obserued of all faythful Christians as most true and conformable vnto the law of God, and that he hath persuaded many persons, to imbrace the sayd heresies.

Borthwike.

Saint Iohn in his xi. chapter, declareth how Caiphas hy• Bishop of Ierusalem did prophesie that Iesus should dye for the people, which thing he spake beyng vtterly ignoraunt. The lyke Image of blyndnes we haue now presently in our luxurious Cardinall of S. Andrewes, and hys adherents, which accused religion of heresie, which in the yeare of our Lorde, 1540. was had in estimation in England, at the which tyme they proclaymed me an Archheretike, although they esteeme the same religion for most christian, for what religion at that tyme was vsed in England,* the lyke the whole realme of Scotland did imbrace, in this poynt onely the English men differed from the Scottes, that they had cast of the yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both nations, y^e profauatyng of the Supper and Baptisme, was lyke vnto them both, wicked superstition raigned on both partes, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hipocrisie.

Truely it is most false that they do affirme and say, that I had subscribed vnto such kynde of heresies, as though they had bene conformable vnto the law of God, when as nothyng is more aduerse or repugnaunt therevnto: for euen now of late, God of hys goodnesse and mercy had opened my da•elyng eyes, and hath drawen me out of the filthy slow of Idolatry and superstition, in the which amongst others I haue so long tyme wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any lesse absurde, that they affirme me to haue allured many to embrace the same, except peradventure they do vnderstand that I haue oftentimes wished, that the yoke of Antichrist should be shaken and cast off from the neckes of the Scottes, as it is from the Englishe men: whiche thyng with a sincere and vpright heart, and with an earnest mynd, I do now also wish and desire.

The 5. Article.

That the Scottish nation and their Clergy be altogether blynded,* whome he did also say and affirme that they had not the true Catholike fayth. And this he dyd openly teach and preached also, that hys fayth was much better & more excellent, then the faith of all the clergy in the realme of Scotland.

Borthwike.

No man will deny that people to be blynded, which neyther heareth Christ nor his Apostles. Such is the people of Scotland, I speake of those vnto whom the veritie and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested it selfe. There is no cause therefore, why they should accuse me of heresy. Furthermore, how farre of the nation and people of Scotland be from the hearyng of Christ, albeit the premisses do sufficiently declare, in that they do challenge vnto the Romishe Antichrist, the autoritie which Christ and hys Apostles do declare,* Christ himselfe to be endued with all, and that contrary to the worde of GOD they forbid priests to marry. I will adde some thing more vnto it, where by the matter may be more euident. Christ calleth himselfe the dore, whereby all men

ought to enter in at Iohn the x. chapter. Contrariwise, the Scottes doe say and affirme, that we must enter in by the virgine Mary, and Saint Peter. Christ in the fourth of Iohn sayth: The tyme shall come when as the true worshippers shall worship the father in spirit and truth, the Scottes builde themselues hye temples and chappels for Idols, in the which euen as Israell in tymes past they commit fornication: Paule in his Epistle to the Hebrews, and x. chapter, sayth: That Christ by one onely oblation hath made perfect all those for euermore, which are sanctified, which saying confirmeth also the wordes of Christ hangyng vppon the Crosse, saying (it is finished) signifieng that by hys death there was a finall ende set vnto all sacrifices, which are offered vp for sinnes. But the Scottish church men, as they are blasphemers in deede, so do they bragge and boast that they daily offer vp Christ for the sinnes both of the quicke and of the dead. God commaundeth vs that we shall not worship any grauen Image. The Scottes do not onely fall downe flatte before Images, but also offer vp incense vnto them. Saint Paule teacheth vs that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, satisfaction, and redemption. The Scottes beyng wyse men in theyr owne conceites, preferre and embrace traditions fayned & inuented out by mans head before the lawe of God, they stablish righteousness in their owne workes, sanctification in holy water and other externall things, redemption in pieces of lead, which they doe buy of their great Antichrist, who then will quarell with me that I doe lye that the people of Scotland are blind? and that my faith which doth onely behold the word of God to be much more better and excellent then theirs.

The 6. Article.

Agreeably to the ancient errors of Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Hus Archheretikes condemned in the Councell of Constance,* he hath affirmed and preached that the clergy ought not to possesse or haue any temporall possessions, neyther to haue any iurisdiction or authoritie in temporalities, euen ouer theyr owne subiectes, but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England.

Borthwike.

The Lord in the xviij. chapter of the booke of Numbers sayd thus vnto Aaron,* thou shalt possesse nothyng in theyr land, neyther shalt thou haue any portion amongst them, I am thy portion and inheritance amongst the children of Israell for vnto the sonnes of Leuy, I haue geuen all the tithes of Israel, that they should possesse them for their ministry which they do execute in the tent of ordinaries. Albeit I do not doubt, but that the order of the Leuites and of our clergy, is farre different and variable. For the administration of theyr sacred and holy thyngs, after theyr death, passed vnto their posterity, as it were by right of inheritaunce: which happeneth not vnto the posteritie of our clergy in these dayes. Furthermore, if any heritage be prouided or gotten for them, I doe not gaynesay but that they shall possesse it. But still I doe affirme that all temporall iurisdiction should bee taken from them, for when as twise there rose a contention amongst the Disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest Christ, answered: The kyngs of nations haue dominion ouer them, and such which haue power ouer them, are called beneficiall, you shall not do so. For he which is greatest amongst you, shall be made equall vnto the yongest or lest, and he which is the prince or ruler amongst you, shall be [Page 1263](#) made equall vnto hym which both minister, myndyng thereby, and willyng vterly to debarre the ministers of hys word, from all terrene and ciuill dominion and Empire. For by these poyntes he doth not onely declare that the office of a pastor is distinct and deuided from the office of a prince and ruler:* but that

they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or ioyn together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordaine an harder law then he himself before did take vpon hym. Forsomuch as in the 12. of Luke, certayne of the company sayd vnto hym: Maister, commaund my brother that he deuide his inheritaunce with me. He aunswered: Man, who made me a Iudge or deuider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ euen simply did reiect and refuse the office of a Iudge,* the which thing hee would not haue done, if it had bene agreeable vnto his office or duety. The like thyng also he did in the 8. chapter of Iohn. When as he refused to geue iudgement vppon the woman taken in adulterye, which was brought before hym. Where as they doe alledge that Moyses did supply both offices at once,* I aunswer that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time vntill things were brought vnto a better state. Besides that, there was a certayne forme and rule prescribed him of the Lord, then tooke he vpon hym the ciuill gouernaunce and the priesthood, he was commaunded to resigne vnto hys brother, & that not w^tout good cause, for it is agaynst nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseene and provided for in all ages. Neither was there any Bishop, so long as any true face or shew of the Church did continue, who once thought to vsurpe the right and title of the sword. Whereupon in the tyme of Saint Ambrose, this Prouerbe tooke his original: that Emperours did rather wishe or desire the office of priesthood, then Priests any Empire. For it was all mens opinions at that tyme, that sumptuous pallaces dyd pertayne vnto Emperoures, and Churches vnto Priestes. Saint Bernard also writeth many thyngs which are agreeable vnto this our opinion,* as is this his saying: Peter could not geue that which he had not, but he gaue vnto hys successours that which he had, that is to say, carefulnesse ouer the congregation, for when as the Lord & Maister sayth, that he is not constitute or ordained Iudge betwene two, the seruaunt or Disciple ought not to take it scornefully,* if that he may not iudge all men: and lest that he might seme in that place to speake of the spiritual iudgement, he straight way annexeth: Therefore sayth he, Your power and autoritie shall be in offence and transgression, not in possessions. For this purpose and not for the other, haue you receyued the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Why then do you inuade other mens bounds or borders: The rest I will passe ouer for breuities cause.

The 7. Article.

Falsly, and against the honour, state, and reuerence of the sacred maiestie of the kyng of Scottes,* he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble king of Scottes, defender of the Christian fayth, would appropriate vnto him selfe all the possessions, landes and rentes of the Church, geuen and graunted by his predecessors, and also by himselfe, and conuert them vnto hys owne priuate vse. And for this ende and purpose, as he hath many tymes written vnto him, so hath he with his whole endeuour perswaded our sayd noble Lord and kyng therunto.

Borthwike.

It is no maruell though these mad dogges do so barke agaynst me, whom they thinke to haue counselled y^e kings Maiesty (I would to God I had also thoroughly perswaded hym) that he should take away from these vniust sacrilegious possessours, the riches wherewithall they are fatted and engreased lyke Swyne. For this is the nature of dogs, that if any man go about to take away the boane out of their mouth, by and by to snatche at hym and teare hym with theyr teeth. It is out of all controuersie vnto such which haue any wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignoraunt of all learnyng and iudgement, which did so fat and feede with their possessiōs these

belly beastes. For who would not iudge it more then childish,* to bestow the kyngs vitayles or meate vpon the bellies of the Prophets of Baal and Iesabell? But all they which at this present do endue such filthy sinkes (I wyll not call them deus of thieues) with such reuenues they do follow the steps of Iesabell, for what other thing do they, when as daily they are bleating and bowyng before theyr Images, burnyng of incense, and fall flat downe before their altars, but y^t which in tymes past y^e prophets of Baal dyd when as they transported the worship of God vnto an Idoll? Wherefore, if Daniel and Helias were spotted with heresie when they would haue destroyed the Priests of Baall, I graunt that I also must be an hereticke. But forsomuch as then he did nothyng but which was cōmaunded hym of the Lord, that was able to kyll the Prophet which had allured the people to follow strange gods, he could not truly and iustly be accused of heresie: so neyther can my aduersaries spot me therewithall, except peradventure they will condemne in me, that where as Elias delt more rigorously with the Prophetes of Baall, for he cast them into the broke Kidron. I required or desired no more, but that the riches which was wickedly bestowed vpon them, and theyr possessions might be taken frō them.

The 8. Article.

He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same poynt and state,* and to lyke ruine as the church of England was already come vnto.

Borthwike.

If the church of Israel decayed, when as in the tyme of Zorobabell, N•emias, and other holy men, it was released and set at libertie out of Babilon: I graunt also, that it was a ruine vnto the Englishmen to haue departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredome:* vpon whose rotten and filthy paps and brests, they haue a long tyme depended and hanged, beyng made drunke with the wyne of her whoredome and vnshamefastnesse. They had rather cause to geue me thankes, which wyth so sincere and good a heart, wished vnto them so happy a fall. But these vnthankfull persones thought it not enough w^t slaunder and reproch to teare me asunder, but that now also as blynd rage and madnesse hath taken away all sinceritie and vprightnesse of mynde and iudgement to lye in wayte, and lay snares for my lyfe.

The 9. Article.*

He hath openly holden, sayd, and affirmed, preached, and taught, that the lawes of the Church, that is to say, the sacred Canons approoued and allowed by the holy Catholike and Apostolike church to be of •o force, strength, or effect, alledging therfore, and affirmyng that they are made and inuented, contrary to the law of God.

Borthwike.

God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approoued and allowed by the holy Catholike Church, should be of no effect or vaw. For well I know that the holy Apostolicke church hath neuer allowed, ordained,* or taught any thyng which she hath not learned of the Lord, the apostles are witnesses thereof, Peter and Paul, wherof the one of thē dareth not freely

vtter or speake of any of those things, which Christ hath not wrought by hymselfe for the obedience of the Gentiles.

The other exhorteth that if any man speake, he should speake the praises of God, but I condemne those lawes, which the bishops of Rome haue made accordyng to their owne will and mynde, and say that they are spirituall,* pertaynyng vnto the soule, and necessarie vnto euerlastyng lyfe.

For so much as the writyngs of the Apostles doe euidently declare, that there was no authoritie knownen amongst them to make or ordayne any ordinaunces or lawes.

Furthermore the Scriptures do manifestly shewe the same, how oftentimes euen by the Lordes owne mouth,* this foresayd authoritie is taken from the Ministers of the Church: so that no excuse for them remayneth, but that they be playne rebelles agaynst the worde of GOD, how many so euer doe presume or take vpon them to appoint or set any new lawes vpon the people of GOD, whiche thyng is more manifest and euident, then the lyght it selfe in many places of the Scripture. For in the 23. chapter of Iosue, it is written you shall obserue, and doe all that is written in the lawe of Moyses, neyther shall you swarue from that, eyther to the ryght hande, eyther to the lefte hand. But that which is written in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomium, ought to mooue them somewhat the more.

Whatsoever I commaund sayth the Lorde, that you shall obserue and doe: thereunto you shall adde nothing, neyther shall you take any thyng from it. The lyke he had sayd before in the fourth chapter of the same booke. And agayne Moyses in the xxx. chapter of the same booke doth witnesse, that he dyd put foorth lyfe, and blessing vnto Israell, [Page 1264](#) when as he gaue them that lawe which he had receiued of the Lord.* How can they then excuse themselues of periury, which ordaine new lawes to liue by? But let vs proceede further, and see what authoritie the Priestes of Leuies stocke had to make lawes. I doe not denye but that God in the xvij. chapter of Deuteronomie, ordayned vnder a great penaltie, that the authoritie of the Priestes should not be contemned, but had in reuerence. But in the ij. of Malachie. He also declareth vnder what condition they are to be heard, where as he sayth: he hath made a couenaunt with Leuy, that the law of truth should be in hys mouth, and by and by after he added: the lips of the Priest shall keepe and maintayne wisdom, and the law they shall require at hys mouth, which is the messenger of the Lord of hostes. Therefore it is fitte and necessary that if a Priest will be heard, that he doe shew hymselfe the messenger of God, that is to say, faythfully to report and declare the commaundements which he hath receiued of the Lorde. For where as Malachie speaketh of hearyng of them, he putteth this specially that they doe aunswere accordyng to the lawe of the Lorde. Therefore lyke as the Leuiticall Priestes did breake theyr couenaunt made with GOD, if they do teache any other lawe then that which they had receyued of hym: So likewyse these men muste eyther acknowledge themselues to be couenant breakers, or els they may not bynde the consciences of men with no new lawe.

Furthermore, what power the Prophetes had vniuersally, it is very liuely described in Ezechiel in his xxxiiij. chapter.

Thou sonne of man sayth the Lord, I haue made thee a guide vnto the house of Israel, thou shalt heare the word out of myne owne mouth,* and declare it vnto them from me. He then which is

commaunded to heare of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speake any thing of hymselfe? For what other thyng is it to speake from the Lord, but so to speake, that he may boldly affirme and say, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lorde, which he speaketh.

Further, God by his Prophet Ieremy calleth it chaffe, what so euer doth not proceede from hymselfe. Wherefore, none of the Prophetes haue opened theyr mouthes at any tyme to speake, but beyng premonished before by the worde of GOD. Whereupon it happeneth, that these wordes are so often pronounced by them, The worde of the Lord, The charge or burden of the Lord, The vision of the Lord, Thus sayth the Lord, The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Now that we may also confirme that which is before spoken, by the examples of the Apostles, that they haue taught nothyng but that whiche they haue learned of the Lorde, the law which Christ prescribed vnto them, when as he endowed them with the dignitie and honour of the Apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In the last chapter of Mathew, he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such thyngs as they themselues did rashly inuent or deuise, but those things which he had commaunded them.

Furthermore, Paule in the second to the Collossians, denieth that he hath any dominion or rule ouer the fayth of the Corinthians, albeit he was ordayned by the Lorde to be their Apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of Saint Paule, read the tenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romaines, where as he teacheth, That fayth commeth by hearyng, it commeth not by the dreames of the Bishop of Rome, or by any other Bishop, but onely by the worde of God, neyther ought any man to thinke it straunge, that neyther Christ restrayned hys Apostles by the lawe, that they should not teache any thyng but that which they had learned of the mouthe of the Lord. He set the same law vppon hymselfe because it should not be lawfull for any man to refuse it.

My doctrine sayth Christ is not myne, but hys which sent me, my fathers: he which hath bene the onely and eternall counsellor of the father, which also is ordayned by the Father, the Lord and Maister ouer all, for so much yet as he doth the office and part of a Minister, he doth by hys example prescribe vnto all Ministers, what rule and order they ought to followe in teachyng, wherefore the power of the Church is not such, that it may at hys owne wyll and discretion, teach new doctrines, eyther as they terme it, frame new Articles of fayth, either establish new laws: but is subiect vnto the worde of the Lorde, and as it were included in the same. But now let vs beholde what defence they do bryng for their constitutions. The Apostles say they, and the Elders of the Primitiue Church established a decree, besides the commandement of Christ, wherby they did commaunde all people to abstayne from all things offered vnto Idols, suffocation, and bloud.* If that were lawfull for them so to doe, why is it not lawfull for their successour, as often as necessitie shall require to imitate and follow them in doying the lyke.

But I deny that the Apostles in that behalfe, did make any new decree or ordinaunce, for so much as Peter in the same counsell pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be layd vpon the neckes of the Disciples: Euen he hymselfe doth subuert and ouerthrowe hys owne sentence,* if they consent to lay any yoke vppon them. But a yoke is layd vpon them if the Apostles by their owne authoritie do decree to prohibite the Gentils not to touch any thyng offered vnto Idoles or strangled, but you will say, they do write that they should abstayne from those thinges. I graunt

that they do so write. But what doth S. Iames declare? That the Gentils which are conuerted vnto God are not to be troubled and vexed in such externe decrees and outward elementes as these be. And the Apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothyng lesse thē to restraine the libertie of the Gentiles, but onely to admonish and warne them how they should moderate and rule themselues amongst their brethren, lest they should abuse their libertie to the offence of the others.

They alledge furthermore, that which is written in the 23. of Mathew, the Scribes and Phariseis haue sitten in the chayre of Moyses, therefore all thyngs what so euer they commaund you to obserue and keepe,* the same obserue and do, but do you not as they doe. I aunswer, the Lord in this place doth inuey agaynst the manners of the Phariseies simply instructing his hearers, which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceiue or see nothyng in their lyfe which they should follow, yet for all that they should not refuse to doe those thyngs which they dyd teach by the worde, I say by the worde, and not of theyr owne head.

The 10. Article.

Diuers and many wayes he hath sayd, holden, and also affirmed, and openly taught that there is no religion to be obserued or kept, but simply to be abolished and destroyed: as it is now in England, and despising all religion, affirmyng, that it is but abusing of the people, he hath taught that their habites and vestures are deformed, and very monstrous, hauyng in them no maner of vtilitie or holynesse, inducyng and alluryng as much as in him laye, all the adherentes of hys opinion, that all religion in the kyngdome of Scotland should be subuerted and vtterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholicke Church, and the diminishing and detrimen of the Christian Religion.

Borthwike.

The Prophet Esay in hys fift chapter, cryeth out, saying. Wo be vnto you which call euill good, and good euill, darkenesse, lyght, and lyght, darkenesse, sower, sweete, and sweete sower. And followeth in the same place, in the sayd Prophetes, Wo, sayth he, to you that be wise and Sapient in your owne eyes, and prudent in your owne estimation. No man can denye but that the Cardinall of Scotland and hys adherentes to be vnder this most heauy and grieuous curse, when as they doe so generally confound the Christian religion and their wicked Monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of holinesse, I trust I will make it appeare more manifest then the day, that they do it by a sacrilegious audacitie or boldnesse, vnto such as setting a parte all preposterous affection, wyll embrace the truth, when as she doth manifestlye shewe her selfe.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to vnderstand, that I do not touche that kynd of Monkery, whiche Saint Augustine and other so often make mention of: As in which the Monkes beyng gathered together vtterly, contemnyng and despising the vanities of this world, dyd lead a most chaste and godly lyfe, liuyng in prayer, readyng, and disputations, not puffed vp wyth pryde, nor contentious with frowardnesse, neyther full of enuie, no man possessed any thing of hys owne, no man was chargeable or burdenous vnto others, they wrought with theyr handes to gette that which might sustayne the body, the spirit and mynd not let and hindered from God. Whatsoever did superabound more then was necessarye for their sustentation, as by the restraint of their delicious and delicate fare, much did redound of the labours of their hands, it was with

such diligence distributed vnto y^e poore and nedy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them which did geue the same.

[Page 1265](#)For they by no meanes went about to haue aboundaunce lyeng by them, but sought all meanes possible that nothyng should remayne by them more then sufficient, besides this, no man was forced to any extremitie, which he could not beare or suffer, no man had any thyng layd vpon hym, which he refused, neyther was he condemned of the rest, which confessed hymselfe vnable to imitate or follow: they had alwayes in their mynde how commendable a thyng loue and charitie was, they remembered that all things are cleane vnto them which are cleane. Therefore they did not refuse or reiect any kynds of meate as polluted or defiled: but all their whole industry and labor was applied to subdue lust and concupiscence, and to retayne loue amongst brethren. Many of them did drinke no wine, yet notwithstanding they thought not themselues defiled therewithall. For vnto such as were sicke and diseased, who could not recouer the health of their body without the same, they did most gently permit it. And where as many foolishly refused the same, they brotherly admonished them to take heede that they became not rather the weaker▪ then the hollier, thorough theyr vayne superstition.

Hetherto I haue repeated that which Saint Augustine writeth of the Monkes in his tyme wherby I would as it were paint out in a table, what maner of Monkery there was in the old tyme, that all men might vnderstand how great difference there is betweene that and the monkery in these our latter dayes. For he would haue all extreme compulsion to be taken away in such things as by the worde of God are left to vs at libertye.* But nowe a dayes there is nothing more seuerely and cruelly exacted. For they say it is a remedillesse offence if any do but neuer so little swarue from their prescript order in coulor or kind of garment, or in any kynd of meat or in any other friuolous or vayne ceremony.

Saint Augustine doth straightly affirme that it is not lawfull for Monkes to lyue idle vpon other mens labor, he plainly denieth that in his tyme there was any such example of any well ordered Monastery: but our Monkes do constitute the principall part of holynesse in idlenesse, which they call a contemplatiue lyfe, wherfore the state of Monkery of the olde tyme, and of these our dayes, is in all points so diuers,* that scarce can any thing be more vnlike, I will not say vtterly contrary: for our Monkes not content with that godlinesse to the studye and desire, whereof Christ commaundeth all his continually to be intentiue, they imagine a new kynd of godlinesse, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect, then all other. But it is a most pestilent error (which all godlye men ought to abhorre) to fayne any other rule of perfection, then that common rule deliuered vnto the whole vniuersall Church, which we suppose to be sufficiently approoued in the refutation of the article before passed. Now I also passe ouer with silence the great blasphemy, whereby they compare their monasticall confession vnto Baptisme. I also hold my peace that they do dissipate and deuide the Communion of the Church, when as they doe separte themselues from the lawfull societie and fellowship of the faythfull, and clayme vnto themselues a peculiar ministry and priuate administration of the Sacraments, but as Saint Augustine witnesseth, it was so far of, that the Monkes in tymes past, had any seueral church or administration of the Sacramentes with others, and were a part and portion of the common people. Albeit that they dwelt asunder.

But if that a man may touch the manner of these our Monks, what shall I call the cloysters in these our dais, otherwise then brothell houses, swine sties, and dennes of discord. Besides that, I will passe ouer their faires and markets, which in these latter dayes they do make of their reliques of Martyrs, to build vp Sodome agayne. Wherefore I conclude, that this their kynde of lyfe whiche they clayme vnto themselues, is vtterly wicked and naughte, the which is not established or grounded vppon any certayne callyng of God, neyther allowed by him, wherefore I may be bold to say, that it is vnlawfull, because their cōscience hath nothing wherby to sustaine it selfe before god, and whatsoeuer is not of fayth, is sinne.

And furthermore, so long as they do entangle & bynde themselues with so many and so peruerse, and wicked kynd of worshipping, as the Monkery now a days doth contayne in it, I may well say that they are not consecrated vnto God, but vnto the diuell. For why? was it lawfull for the Prophets, to say, that Israelites did offer theyr children vnto wicked spirites, and not vnto God onely, for this cause that they did corrupt and violate the true worshipping of God with prophane ceremonies. Is it not lawfull then to speake the lyke of our Monkes which together with their cowles haue put on a thousand snares of most wicked superstitions? Let euery man now waigh and consider with himselfe, if I haue done wickedly to wishe such religions as is this our Monkery, to be vtterly extinguished and rooted out. Moreouer, all christian princes should rightly and truely do their office, if as in tymes past Iosias pulled downe and ouerthrew the high places which hys elders the kings of Iuda had builded, so they woulde abolishe and dryue away these kynde of Monkes.

It is plainly manifest by lawfull prooues, that the said Iohn Borthwike had and presently hath, diuers bookes suspected of heresie, condemned as wel by the papall, as also Regall and ordinary authoritie, and prohibited by the lawe, that is to say, specially the newe Testament commonly printed in Englishe, Oecolampadius, Melancton, and diuers treatises of Erasmus, and other condemned heretickes, also a Booke intituled, vnio dissidentium, the which conteyneth most manifest and great erroures, and hereticall assumptions, and hath red and studied the same as well openly as priuately, and hath presented and communicated them vnto others, and also hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the ende and purpose, to diuert and turne them away from the true christian and catholike fayth.

Borthwike.

O good God, who can suffer so great a blasphemye? with what a filthy cankered stomacke doe these Romishe swine note the new testament of heresie? who would not iudge it a most venomous tongue, which dare pronounce or vtter such contumelious wordes agaynst the holy Gospell of our Sauour Christ? Truely as the Iewes which put Christ to death, of all other murderers, euen so these men (how so euer they doe pronounce me an Archheretike) do fill vp the measure of all other heretikes: I wyll not say blasphemies, how then shall these serpentes and stocke of Uipers escape and flye the iudgement of euerlastyng fire? I do not greatly stand or stay that they doe suspect Oecolampadius, Melancton, or Erasmus, neither am I so mad to plead their cause who as they are men of singuler learnyng and eloquence, so doe their writings manifestly declare, how falsly and wickedly these Sicophants impute this crime & slaunder of heresie vnto them.

It is manifest that the sayd Iohn Borthwike was so obstinate in all the foresayde errorr and heresies, and so maintained and taught them with such an indurate heart and mynd, that he would not by no meanes be perswaded from them by his friends and diuers other persons, which did dearly loue and fauour hym, but chose rather obstinatly to perseuere in his sayd errorrs.

Borthwike.

I am willingly contented to be reduced to the Catholike faith, but if that Sathan rayse vp any stormes or tempest agaynst that, those I do some thyng resist, wherefore they most shamefully lye which doe otherwyse iest or talke of me, for I know not by what reason they call them my friendes which so greatly laboured to conuert me, neither will more esteeme them, then the Madianites, whiche in tymes past called the children of Israell to doe sacrifice vnto their Idols. And furthermore, I desire the most highe and mighty God, that he will neuer suffer me to swarue or turne away from this so holy, godly, and christian obstinacie and stubburnnesse. The man is blest that hath set his whole hope and confidence vpon the Lorde, and hath not regarded or looked vpon the proud, or those which follow after lies.

¶The sentence of condemnation agaynst Sir Iohn Borthwike Knight, by the Cardinall, Byshops, and Abbots in Scotland. An. 1540.

OF all which the premisses and many other errorrs by hym, holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached,* & taught, the common fame and report is, that the sayd Sir Iohn Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many, is an heretike, and principall heretike whiche holdeth euill opinion of the catholike fayth.

Wherefore we Dauid by the title of S. Steuen in moūt Celio, Prelate and Cardinall of the holy church of Rome, Archbishop of S. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdō of Scotland, & borne Legate of the Apostolike Sea, sitting after the manner of Iudges in our tribunall seate, the most holye Gospels of God beyng layed before vs, [Page 1266](#) that our iudgement myght proceede from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and looke vpon equitie and iustice, hauing only God, the veritie and truth of the Catholike faith before our eyes, his holye name being first of all called vpon, hauing as is beforesayde hereuppon holden a counsel of wise men, as well deuines as lawyers, wee pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and geue sentence, that the said Sir Iohn Borthwike called captaine Borthwike, beinge suspected, infamed, and accused of the errorrs and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condēpned, as is aforesayd, & by lawfull prooues against hym, in euery of the premisses had, beinge conuicte and lawfully cited and called, not appearing but as a fugitiue, runne away, and absent, euen as though hee were present, to be an heretike, and is, and hath bene conuict as an heretike. And as a conuicte heretike and heresiarche to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterward to be deliuered and left vnto the secular power. Moreouer, we confiscate and make forfeite, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeite, all and singular his goodes, mooueables and vnmooueables, howe so euer, and by what so euer title they be gotten, and in what place or partie so euer they be, and all his offices what so euer he hath hetherto had, reseruing notwithstanding the dowrye and such part and portion o• his goodes,* as by the law, custome and right of this Realme vnto parsones confiscate, ought to appertaine. Also we decree that the picture of the said Iohn Borthwike being formed, made, and painted to his likenesse, be

caried thorow this our citie to our Cathedral church, and afterward to the market crosse of the same citie, and there in token of maledictiō and cursse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembraunce of his obstinacie, and condemnation to be burned. Likewise we declare and Decree, that notwithstanding, if the sayd I. Borthwike be here after apprehended or takē, y^t hee shall suffer suche like punishment due by order of lawe vnto heretikes, without any hope of grace or mercye to be obtained in that behalfe. Also we plainly admonishe and warne by the tenour of these presentes, all & singular faithfull Christians, both menne and women of what dignitie, state, degree, order, condition, or preheminance so euer they be, or with what so euer dignitie, or honour ecclesiasticall or temporall they be honoured with all, that from thys day forward they doe not receiue or harbour the said sir Iohn Borthwike, commonly called captaine Borthwike, being accused, conuict, and declared an hereticke, and Archeheretike into their houses, hospitals, castels, Cities, Townes, villages or other cottages what so euer they be, or by anye manner of meanes admit him thereunto, either by helping him wyth meate, drinke or victualles, or any other thyng what so euer it be, they do shewe vnto him any manner of humanitie, helpe, comforte, or solace, vnder the paine and penaltie of greater and further excommunication, confiscation and forfeitures, and if it happen that they be founde culpable or faultie in the premisses, that they shalbe accused therefore as the fauourers, receiuers, defenders, maintainers and abettors of heretikes, and shall be punished therfore according to the order of law, and with such paine and punishment as shalbe due vnto men in such behalfe.

And nowe to prosecute such other as followed, beginning first in order wyth Thom. Forret and his fellowes. Their storie is this.

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	Their Causes.
• Daid Beton, Bishop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes. • George Treichon Bishop of Dunkelden.	• Tho. Forret, priest. • Frier Iohn Kelowe. • Fryer Benarage. • Duncane Sympson, priest. • Rob. Foster, a gentlemā, with three or foure other men of Striuelynge, Martyrs.	NOt longe after the burning of Daid Stratton, and maister Gurlay aboue mentioned, in the daies of Daid Beaton, bishop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes, & George Treichon B. of Dunkelden, a canon of Saint Colmes Inche, and vicar of Dolone, called Dean Thomas Forret, preached euery sonday to hys parishners, the Epistle or Gospell, as it fell for the time: which then was a great nouelty in Scotlande, to see any man preach, except a blacke frier, or a gray frier: and therefore the friers enuied him, and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkelden (in whose diocesse he remained) as an heretike, and one that shewed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgare people in English, to make the Clergie detestable in the sighte of the people. The bishop of Dunkelden mooued by the friers instigation, called the said Deane Thomas,* and said to him: my ioy Deane Thomas, I loue you wel, and therfore I must geue you my counsel,

how you shal rule and guide your selfe. To whom Thom. said, I thank your Lordship hartily. Then the B. began his counsaile on this maner.

My ioy Deane Thomas,* I am enfourmed that you preache the Epistle or Gospell euery Sonday to your Parishners, and that you take not the kowe, nor the vpmoste cloth from your Parishners, which thing is very preiudiciall to the church men: and therefore my ioy Deane Thomas, I would you tooke your kow and your vpmost cloth as other church men do, or els it is too much to preach euery sonday, for in so doing you may make the people thinke that wee shoulde preache likewise. But it is enoughe for you, when you finde any good Epistle, or any good gospell, that setteth foorth the libertie of the holy church, to preache that, and let the rest be.

Thomas answered: My Lorde, I thinke that none of my parishners wil complaine that I take not the kowe nor the vppermost cloth, but will gladly geue me the same together with any other thinge that they haue, and I will geue and communicate with them anye thing that I haue, and so my Lord we agree right wel, and there is no discord among vs.

And where your Lordshippe sayeth, it is too muche to preache euery Sonday: in deede I thinke it is too little,* and also woulde wishe that your Lordship did the like. Naye, nay, Deane Thomas (sayeth my Lorde) let that be, for we are not ordained to preache. Then sayde Thomas, when your Lordship biddeth me preache, when I finde any good Epistle, or a good Gospell, truely my Lorde, I haue reade the newe Testament and the olde, and all the Epistles and the Gospels, and among them all I could neuer finde any euil Epistle, or any euil Gospell: but if your Lordship will shewe me the good Epistle and the good Gospell, and the euill Epistle and the euill Gospell, then I shall preache the good, and omit the euill.

Then spake my Lord stoutly, and saide, I thanke God that I neuer knewe what the olde and newe Testamente was,* (and of these wordes rose a Prouerbe which is common in Scotland: Yee are like the Bishop of Dunkeldene that knewe neither newe nor olde lawe:) therefore Deane Thomas, I will knowe nothing but my Portous and my Pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies: for if you perseuer in these erroneous opinions, ye wil repent it when you may not mende it.

Thomas saide, I trust my cause be iust in the presence of God,* and therefore I passe not muche what doe followe thereupon, and so my Lorde and he departed at that tyme. And soone after a Summons was directed from the Cardinall of S. Andrewes, and the sayde Bishop of Dunkelden vpon the saide Deane Thomas Forret, vpon 2. blacke Friars, called frier Iohn Kelowe, and an other called Benarage, and vpon one priest of Striueling called Duncane Sympson, and one Gentleman called Robert Foster in Strielyng, with other three or foure, wyth them of the towne of Strielyng: who at the day of their appearaunce after their summoning, were cōdemned to the death without any place of recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarkes or chiefe heretikes and teachers of heresies, and especially because manye of them were at the bridall and marriage of a Priest, who was vicar of Twybodye beside Strielynge, and did eate fleshe in Lent at the said bridal, and so they were altogether burnt vpon the castle hill of Edenbrough, where

they that were first bounde to the stake, godly and marueilously did comfort them that came behinde.

Heere foloweth the manner of persecution vsed by the Cardinall of Scotland, against certaine persons in Perth.

Persecuters.	Martyrs.	Theyr Causes.
Dauid Beton, Byshop and Cardinall of S. Andrewes.	• Robert Lambe. • William Anderson. • Iames Hunter. • Iames Raueleson. • Iames Fouleson. • Hellen Stirke hys wife.	First there was a certaine Acte of Parlamente made in the gouernement of the Lorde Hamleton Earle of Arran,* and Gouernour of Scotlande, geuinge priuiledge to all men of the Realme of Scotlande, to reade the Scriptures in their mother tongue, and language, secluding neuerthelesse all reasoning, conference, conuocation Page 1267 of people to heare the Scriptures reade or expounded.* Which liberty of priuate reading being granted by publike proclamation, lacked not hys owne • ruite, so that in sondrie partes of Scotland therby were opened the eies of the elect of God to see the truthe, and abhorre the Papistical abominations. Amongest the which were certaine persones in S. Iohnston, as after is declared.

At thys time there was a Sermone made by Fryer Spense,* in saint Iohnston, aliâs called Perth, affirmynge prayer made o saintes to be so necessarye, that wythoute it there coulde be no hope of saluation to man. Whyche blasphemous doctrine a Burges of the sayd towne called Robert Lambe, could not abide, but accused hym in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adiured hym in Gods name to vtter the trueth. The which the Frier being stricken with feare, promised to doe, but the trouble, tumulte, and sturre of the people encreased so, that the Frier coulde haue no audience, and yet the sayde Roberte wyth greate daunger of his life escaped the handes of the multitude,* namely of the women, who contrary to nature, addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

At this time in the yeare of our Lorde 1543. the ennemies of the truth procured Iohn Chartuous, who fauoured the truthe, and was Prouost of the saide citie & towne, of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the sayde Gouernours authoritie,* and a Papist called Maister Alexander Marbecke to be chosen in his rouse, y^t they myght bring the more easily their wicked enterprise to an ende.

*After the deposing of the former Prouost, and election of the other, in the moneth of Ianuary the yere aforesayde, on saint Paules day, came to sainte Iohnston, the Gouernour, the Cardinall, the Earle of Argile Iustice, sir Iohn Campbell of Lunde knight, and Iustice De•orte, the Lorde Borthwyke, the Bishop of Dumblane, and Orkeney, with certaine other of the Nobilitie. And althoughe there were manye accused for the crime of heresie (as they terme it) yet these persones were onely apprehended vppon the sayde sainte Paules day, Robert Lambe, William Anderson, Iames Hunter, Iames Raueleson, Iames Founleson, and Hellen Stirke his wife, and cast that night in the Spay tower of the sayde Citie, the morowe to abide iudgement.

Uppon the morrowe, when they appeared and were brought forth to iudgement in the towne, was said in generall to all their charge, the violating of the Acte of Parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expoundinge of scripture againste the tenour of the sayde Acte. Robert Lambe was accused in speciall for interrupting of the Frier in the pulpit: whyche he not onely confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duetie of no manne, whych vnderstood and knewe the trueth, to heare the same impugned wythoute contradiction, and therefore sundry which there were presente in iudgement, who hidde the knowledge of the truth, shoulde beare their burden in Gods presence for consenting to the same.

The sayde Robert also wyth William Anderson, and Iames Raueleson were accused for hanging vp the image of S. Fraunces in a corde,* nailing of Rammes hornes to his head, and a Cowes rumpe to hys taile, and for eatinge of a goose on Alhalow euen.

Iames Hunter being a simple man and wythout learning, and a Fletcher by occupation, so that hee coulde be charged wyth no greate knowledge in Doctrine, yet because he often vsed the suspect companye of the rest, he was accused.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accused, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to cal vpon the name of the virgine Mary,* being exhorted thereto by her neyghbours, but onely vpon God, for Iesus Christes sake, and because she said in like maner, that if she her selfe had beene in the time of the virgin Mary, God might haue looked to her humilitie and base estate, as hee did to the virgines, in making her the mother of Christe, thereby meaninge, that there was no merites in the virgine, whyche procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Christe, and to bee preferred before other women, but Gods only free mercy exalted her to that estate. Whiche woordes were counted moste execrable in the face of the Clergie and whole multitude.

Iames Raueleson aforesayde building a house, set vppon the round of his fourth staire, the 3. crowned diademe of Peter carued of tree, which the cardinal tooke as done in mockage of his Cardinals hat, and this procured no fauor to the sayd Iames at theyr handes.

These forenamed persones vppon the morrowe aft•• sainte Paules day were condemned and iudged to deathe,* and that by an Assise, for violatinge (as was alleaged) the Acte of Parliament, in reasoning and conferryng vppon Scriptures, for eating flesh vppon dayes forbidden, for interrupting the holy frier in the pulpitte, for dishonouryng of Images, and blaspheming of the virgine Mary, as they alleaged.

After sentence geuen, theyr handes were bounde, and the men cruelly entreated. Which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bounde by the sergeantes with her husband for Christes sake.

There was great intercession made by the Towne in the meane season for the lif• of these persones aforenamed, to the Gouvernour, who of him self was willing so to haue done, that they myght haue bene deliuered. But the Gouvernour was so subiect to the appetite of the cruel priestes, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they manaced to assist his ennemies, and to depose him, except he assisted their crueltie.

There were certaine priestes in the Citie, who did eate and drinke before in these honest mens houses, to whō the priestes were much bounden. These priestes were earnestly desired to entreate for their hostesse, at the Cardinales handes: but they altogether refused, desiring rather theyr death, then preseruatiō. So cruell are these beastes from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were caried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the towne, except they had theyr men of warre) to the place of execution, whych was common to all theeeues, & that to make their cause appeare more odious to the people.

Robert Lambe at the gallowes foote made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to feare God, and leaue the leauen of Papisticall abominations,* & manifestly there prophesied of the ruine and plague whych came vpon the Cardinall thereafter. So euerye one comforting an other, and assuring them selues to sup together in the kingdome of heauen, that night commended themselues to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but shee was not suffered: yet folowing him to the place of execution, shee gaue him comfort, exhorting hym to perseueraunce and pacience for Christes sake, and parting from him with a kisse, sayd on this maner: Husband, reioyce, for we haue liued together many ioyful dayes: but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most ioyfull to vs both, because we must haue ioy for euer. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall sodainely meete with ioy in the kingdome of heauen.

The woman after was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a child sucking on her brest, yet this moued nothing the vnmercifull hearts of the enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbors of the towne for Gods sake, and the sucking barne was geuen to the nurse, she sealed vp the truth by her death. Ex Registris & instrumentis à Scotia missis.

***The condemnation of M. George Wiseheart, Gentleman, who suffered Martyrdome for the faith of Christ Iesus, at saint Andrewes in Scotland, An. 1546. Marche 1. wyth the Articles obiected againste him, and his answeares to the same.**

With most tender affection and vnfaigned heart consider (gentle Reader) the vncharitable manner of y^e accusation of M. George Wiseheart,* made by y^e bloody enemies of Christs faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and hys meeke answeares,* so farre as he had leaue and leisure to speake. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirite the furious rage, and tragicall cruelnes of the malignant Church, in persecuting of thys blessed man of God: and of the contrary, hys humble, pacient, and most godly answeres, made to them sodainly without all feare, not hauing respect to their glorious manasings and boysterous threats, but charitably and wythout stop answering: not moouing his countenaunce, nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter folowing manifestly shall appeare.

But before I enter into his Articles, I thoughte it not impertinent, somewhat to touche concerning the life and conuersation of this godlye man, according as of late came to my handes, certified in wryting by a certaine scholler of hys, sometime named Emerey Tylney, whose wordes of testimoniall as he wrote them to me, here folow.

[Page 1268](#) Aboute the yeare of oure Lorde a thousande, fiue hundreth, fortie and thre, there was in the vniuersitie of Cambridge one maister George Wiseheart, commonlye called maister George of Bennettes Colledge, who was a man of talle stature, polled headed, and on the same a rounde Frenche cappe of the best. Iudged of Melancholye complexion by his Phisiognomie, blacke heared, long •earded comelye of personage, well spoken after his countrey of Scotlād, courteous, lowly, louely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, & was wel traueled, hauing on him for his habit or clothing, neuer but a mantell friese gowne to the showes, a blacke Millian fustian dowblet, and plaine blacke hosen, course newe canuesse for his Shirtes, and whyte fallinge Bandes and Cuffes at the handes. All the whych Apparell hee gaue to the poore, some weekelye, some monethly, some quarterlye as hee liked, sauing hys Frenche cappe whyche hee kepte the whole yeare of my being with hym.

Hee was a manne modest, temperate, fearinge God, hatinge Couetousnesse: For his Charitie had neuer ende, nyghte, noone, nor daye, hee forbare one meale in three, one daye in foure for the moste parte, except somethyng to comforte nature. Hee lay harde vppon a pouffe of straw: course newe canuesse Sheetes, whyche when hee chaunged, hee gaue awaye, hee hadde commonly by his beddes side a tubbe of water. In the whyche, (hys people being in hedde, the candell pu•te out, and all quiet) he vsed to bathe hymselfe, as I being very yong, being assured often heard him, and in one light nighte descerned hym, hee loued mee tenderly, and I him, for my age as effectually. He taught wyth great modestie and grauitie, so that some of his people thought hym seuer, and woulde haue slaine hym, but the Lorde was hys defence. And hee after due correction for their malice by good exhortation amended them, and he went hys way! O that the Lord hadde left hym to me his poore boye, that hee might haue finished that he hadde begonne: For in his Religion he was as you see heere in the rest of hys life, when he went into Scotland with diuers of the Nobilitie, that came for a treatie to kinge Henry the eighte. Hys learning no lesse sufficient, then his desire alwayes prest and readye to doe good, in that hee was able bothe in the house priuately, and in the Schoole publikely, professing and reading diners authours.

If I shoulde declare hys loue to mee and all menne, hys Charitie to the poore, in geuinge, relieuinge, caringe, helpinge, prouidinge, yea infinitely studyinge howe to doe good vnto all, and hurte to none, I shoulde sooner wante woordes then iuste cause to commende.

All thys I testifie wyth my whole heart and trueth of thys Godly manne. Hee that made all, gouerneth all, and shall iudge all, knoweth I speake the trothe, that the simple maye be satisfied, the arrogante confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . Emery Tylney.

Dogmata eiusdem Georgij.

Fides sola sine operibus iustificat

Opera ostendant & ostentant fidem

Romana ecclesia putatiuè caput mundi,

Lex canonica caput Papae

Missae ministerium, mysterium iniquitatis.

To the sayde maister George beinge in Captiuitie in the Castle of Sainte Andrews, th^e Deane of the same Towne, was sente by the commaundement of the Cardinall, and hys wicked Counsaile, and there summoned the sayde maister George, that hee shoulde vppon the morning followinge,* appeare before the Iudge, then and there to geue accounte of hys seditious and hereticall doctrine.

To whom M. George answeared, what needeth (said he) my Lord Cardinal to summon me to answeare for my doctrine, openly before him, vnder whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound in yrons? May not my Lord compel me to answeare of hys extorte power? Or beleueth hee that I am vnprouided to render a counte of my doctrine? To manifest your selues what men yee are, it is well done that ye keepe your olde ceremonies and constitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinal caused his seruauntes to addresse them selues in theyr moste warlike arraye, with Iacke, Knapskal, Splente, Speare, and axe, more seeming for the warre, then for the preaching of the true word of God.

And when these armed chāpions marching in warlike order had conueyed y^e bishops into y^e abbey Church,* incontinently they sent for M. George, who was conueyed into the sayd Church by the Captayne of the Castle, accompanied with an hundred men addressed in maner aforesayde. Like a lambe lead they him to sacrifice.

As he entred into the Abbey Church doore, there was a poore man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his almes: to whom he flang his purse. And when he came before the Lord Cardinall,* by and by the Suppriour of the Abbey, called Dane Iohn Winryme, stood vp in the pulpite, and made a sermon to all the congregation there thē assembled, taking his matter out of the xiii. chapter of Mathewe, Whose sermon was deuided into foure principall partes.

The first part was a briefe and short declaration of the Euangelist.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed.* And because he called the word of God the good seede, and heresie the euill seede, he declared what heresie was, and how it should be known: which he defined on this maner.* Heresie is a false opinion defended with pertinacie, clearly repugning the word of God.

The third part of his sermon, was the cause of heresie within that Realme, and all other Realmes.* The cause of heresie (quoth he) is the ignoraunce of them which haue the cures of mens soules, to whome it necessarily belongeth to haue the true vnderstanding of the woorde of God, that they may be able to winne againe the false Doctours of heresies with the sworde of the spirite, which is y^e worde of God, and not onely to winne agayne,* but also to ouercome them, as sayth Paule: A Byshop must be faultlesse, as it becommeth the minister of God, not stubburne, nor angrie, no drunkard, no fighter, not geuen to filthy lucre, but barbarous, one that loueth

goodnes, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate and suche as cleaueth vnto the true worde of doctrine, that hee may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improue that which they say agaynst him.

The fourth part of his sermon was how heresies shuld be knowne: * Heresies (quoth he) be knowne on this maner as the Goldsmith knoweth the fine golde from the vnperfect, by the touchstone: so likewise may we knowe heresie by the vndoubted touchstone: that is, the true, sincere, and vndefiled word of God. At the last he added, that hereticks shoulde be put downe in this present life. * To whiche proposition the gospel appeared to repugne, which he entreated of: Let them grow vnto the haruest: the haruest is the end of the world, Neuerthelesse, hee affirmed that they shoulde be put downe by the ciuile magistrate and law. And when hee ended his sermon, incontinently they caused mayster George to ascend into the pulpit, there to heare his accusation and articles. And right agaynst him stood by, one of the fed flocke, a monster, Iohn La•der, * laden full of cursinges, written in paper. Of the which he tooke out a roll, both long and also full of cursinges▪ threatens, maledictions and wordes of deuilish spite and malice, * saying to the innocent M. George, so many cruell and abhominable wordes, and hit him so spitefully with the popes thunder, that the ignoraunt people dreaded least the <◇> then woulde haue swallowed him vp quicke. Notwithstanding he stood still with great pacience, hearing their sayinges, not once mouing or chaunging his countenance.

When that this fed s•w had read throughout all his lying manasinges, his face running down with sweate, * and frothing at his mouth like a boare, he spit at M. Georges face, saying: What aunswerest thou to these sayinges, thou runnagate traytor, theefe, which we haue duely proued by sufficient witnes agaynst the? M. George •earing thys, kneeled downe vpon hys knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this maner.

Mayster George his aunswere.

MAny and horrible sayinges vnto me, a Christian man, * many wordes abhominable for to heare, ye haue spoken here this day. Which not onely to receaue, but also once to thinke, I thought euer great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my sayings, & the maner of my doctrine. This my petition (my Lord) I desire to be heard for three causes. *

The first is, because thorough preaching of the worde of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the aduauncing of the glory of God, that ye heare [Page 1269](#) me teaching truely the pure word of God without any dissimulation.

*The second reason is, because that your health springeth of the word of God: or he worketh all thing by his worde. It were therefore an vnrighteous thing, if ye shoulde stop your eares from me, teaching truely the word of God.

*The third reason is, because your doctrine vttereth many blasphemous and abominable words, not comming of the inspiration of God, but of the deuil, with no lesse perill then of my life. It is iust therefore and reasonable your discretions to knowe what my wordes and doctrine are, and

what I haue euer taught in my time in thys realme, that I pearish not vniustly, to the great pearill of your soules. Wherefore both for the glory and honor of God, your owne health, and safegarde of my life, I beseeche your discretions to heare mee, and in the meane time I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

*First & chiefly, since the time I came into thys realme, I taught nothing but the 10. commandements of God, the 12. Articles of the faithe, and the prayer of the Lorde in the mother tongue. Moreouer, in Dundie I taught the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes. And I shal shew your discretions faithfully what fashion and maner I vsed when I taught, without any humane dread, so that your discretions geue me your eares beneuolent and attent.

Sodenly then with all high voice cried the accuser, the fedde sowe: thou heretike, runnagate, traytor, and thiefe, it was not lawfull for thee to preache. Thou haste taken the power at thine owne hande, wythout any authoritie of the church. * We forethinke y^t thou hast bene a preacher so long. Then all the whole congregation of y^e prelates with theyr complices, sayde these wordes: If wee geue hym licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy scripture so exercised, that he will perswade the people is hys opinion, and raise them against vs.

*Maister George seeing their malicious and wicked entent, appealed from the Lord Cardinal to the Lord gouernour, as to an indifferent and equal Iudge. To whom the accuser Iohn Lauder aforesayde, with hoggish voyce answered, * Is not my Lorde Cardinal the second person wⁱn this realme, Chauncelour of Scotlande, Archb. of S. Andrewes, bishop of Meropois, Commendator of Aberbrothoke, Legatus natus, Legatus à Latere. And so retiring as many titles of his vnworthy honours, as woulde haue loden a ship, much sooner an asse, is not hee, quoth Iohn Lauder, an equall Iudge apparantly vnto thee? Whom other desirest thou to be thy Iudge?

To whom this humble man answeared, saying, I refuse not my Lord Cardinall, but I desire the word of God to be my iudge, and the temporall estate, with some of your lordships mine auditors, because I am here my Lord Gouernours prisoner. * Whereupon the pridefull & scornful people that stode by, mocked him, saying: Suche man suche iudge, speaking seditious & reprochful wordes against the gouernor and other the Nobles, meaning them also to be heretikes. And incontinent without all delay they woulde haue geuen sentence vppon M. George, and that wythout farther processe, had not certaine men there counsailed the Cardinall to reade againe the articles, and to heare his answers thereuppon, that the people might not complaine of his wrongfull condemnation.

And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answeares, as farre as they would geue hym leaue to speake. For when he entēded to mitigate their •ea•ings, and shew the maner of hys doctrine• by and by they stopped hys mouth with an other article.

*1 THou false heretike, runnagate, traytour and thiefe, deceiuer of the people, thou despisest the holy Church, and in lyke case contemnest my Lorde gouernours authoritie. And this wee know for suretie, that when thou preachedst in Du•dy, and wast charged by my Lord Gouernours authority to desist: neuertheles thou wouldest not obey, but perseueredst in the same: and therefore the Bishop of Brothen cursed thee, and deliuered thee into the deuils handes, and gaue

thee in commaundemente that thou shouldest preach no more. That notwithstanding thou diddest continue obstinately.

My Lordes, I haue reade in the Actes of the apostles, that it is not lawfull to desist from the preaching of the gospell,* for the threatens and maners of men. Therefore it is wrytten: *We shal rather obey God then men. I haue also read in the Prophet Malachi: I shall curse your blessings, & blesse your cursings,* beleeuing firmly, that the Lorde will turne your cursings into blessings.

2 Thou fals heretike diddest say, that the priest standing at the altar saying Masse,* was like a Foxe wagging his taile in Iulie.

My Lordes, I sayde not so. These were my sayings: The moouing of the body outwarde,* without the inwarde moouing of the heart, is nought else, but the playenge of an Ape, and not the true seruing of God: For God is a secrete searcher of mennes heartes. Therefore who will truely adore and honour God, he must in spirite and veritie honor hym. Then the accuser stopped his mouth wyth an other article.

3 Thou false heretike preachedst against the sacraments,* saying, that there were not 7. sacraments.

My Lordes, and if it be your pleasures,* I neuer taught of the number of the sacraments,* whether they were seuen or eleuen. So manye as are instituted by Christe, and are shewed to vs by the Euangel, I professe openly. Except it be the word of God I dare affirme nothing.

4 Thou false heretike hast openly taught,* that auriculare confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest that we should only confesse vs to God, and to no priest.

My Lords, I say, that auricular confession,* seeing that it hath no promise of the Euangel, therefore it can not be a Sacramente. Of the confession to be made to God,* there are many testimonies in scripture, as when Dauid sayth: I thoughte I woulde knowlege mine iniquitie againste my selfe vnto the Lorde, and hee forgave the punishment of my sinne. Psal. 32 Heere confession signifieth the secrete knowledging of our sinnes before God. Whē I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprooued no manner of confession. And farther S. Iames sayeth: Knowledge your faultes one to an other, and pray one for an other, that you may be healed.* When that hee had sayde these woordes, the Bishops and their complices cried and grinned with their teeth, saying: Se ye not what colours hee hath in hys speaking, that hee may beguile vs and seduce vs to hys opinion▪

5 Thou heretike didst say openly,* that it was necessary to euery man, to knowe and vnderstande his Baptisme, and what it was, contrary to generall Councels, and the states of holy Church.*

My Lordes, I beleeeue there be none so vnwise heere, that will make marchandise with a French man,* or any other vnknown straunger, except he know and vnderstand first the condition or promise made by the Frenche man or straunger. So likewyse I woulde that wee vnderstoode what thing we promise in the name of y^e infant vnto God in Baptisme. For this cause I beleeeue ye haue

confirmation. Then said master Bleiter chapleine, that he had the deuill within hym, and the spirite of error. Then answered him a child, saying: The deuill cannot speake suche wordes as yonder man doth speake.

6 Thou heretike, traitour, and thiefe, thou saidest that the Sacrament of the altar was but a peece of bread baken vpon the ashes and no other thing els, and all that is there done,*is but a superstitious rite against the commaundement of God.

Oh Lorde God, so manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doeth not teache you.* As concerning the sacrament of the aultare (my Lordes) I neuer taught any thing against the Scripture,*the whych I shall (by Gods grace) make manifest thys daye, I being ready therefore to suffer death.

The lawfull vse of this Sacrament is most acceptable vnto God: but the great abuse of it is very detestable vnto hym. But what occasion they haue to say such wordes of me, I shall shortly shew your Lordships. I once chaunced to meete wyth a Iewe, when I was sailing vpon the water of Rhene. I did enquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacie,*that he did not beleue that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seene all the Prophecies whych were spoken of him, to be fulfilled. Moreouer, the Prophecies taken away, and the Scepter of Iuda, by many other testimonies of the scripture, I vāquished him, that Messias was come,*y^t which they called Iesus of Nazareth. Thys Iewe aunswared againe vnto mee, when Messias commeth, he shall restore all things, and hee shall not abrogate the law, which was geuen to our forfathers, as ye do. For why▪ we see the poore almost perish through hunger amongst you: yet you are not mooued with pity towards them: but among vs Iewes (though we be poore) there are no beggers found.

Secondarily, it is forbidden by the lawe, to faine anye kind of imagery of things in heauen aboue,*or in the earth beneath, or in the sea vnder the earthe: but one God onely to honour: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are ful of Idolles.

Thirdly, a peece of bread baken vpon the ashes,*ye adore and worship, and say, that it is your God. I haue rehersed heere but the sayings of the Iewe, which I neuer affirmed to be true. Then the bishops shooke their heads, and spitted on the earth, and what they meant in this matter further they would not heare.

7 Thou false heretike diddest say,*that extreeme vnction was not a sacrament.

My Lordes, forsooth I neuer taught any thyng of extreme [Page 1270](#) vnction in my doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

*8 Thou false heretike saidest, that holye water is not so good as washe, and suche like. Thou condemnest coniuring, and sayest that holy Churches cursings auaille not.

My Lordes, as for holy water, what strengthe it is of, I taught neuer in my doctrine. Coniuringes and Exorcismes,*if they were conformable to the woorde of God, I would commend them: but in so much as they are not conformable to the commaundement and woord of God, I reprooue them.

*9 Thou false heretike and runnagate hast sayde, that euery lay man is a priest, and suche like. Thou sayest, that the Pope hathe no more power, then any other man.

My Lordes, I taught nothyng but the worde of God, I remember that I haue read in some places in S. Iohn and S. Peter, * of the which one sayth: He hath made vs kings and priests. The other sayeth: Hee hath made vs a kingly priesthood. * Wherefore I haue affirmed that any man being cunning in the woorde of God, & the true faith of Iesu Christ, hath his power geuen him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the woorde of God, the which woord is called the power of God, as witnesseth S. Paule euidently enough. And againe, I say that any vnlearned man, * not exercised in the worde of God, nor yet constant in his faith, what so euer estate or order hee be of, I say, he hath no power to binde or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the woorde of God.

After that he had sayd these wordes, all the Byshoppes laughed, * & mocked him. When that he behelde their laughing, Laugh yee (sayeth he) my Lordes? Though that these sayings appeare scornefull and worthy of derision to your Lordships, neuertheles they are very waighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only vpon my life, but also the honour and glory of God. In the meane time many godly men beholding the woodnes and great crudelitie of the Bishops, and the inuincible patience of maister George, did greatly mourne and lament.

10 Thou false heretike saidest, that a man hath no free wil. But is like to the Stoikes, * which say, that it is not in mans will to doe any thing, but that all concupiscence & desire commeth of God, what soeuer kinde it be of.

My Lordes, I saide not so, truely, I say, that as many as beleue in Christe firmly, vnto them is geuen libertie, conformable to the saying of S. Iohn: * If the sonne make you free, then shall ye verely be free. Of the contrary, as many as beleue not in Christ Iesu, * they are bond seruants of sinne: He that sinneth, is bond to sinne.

*11 Thou false heretike sayest, it is as lawfull to eate flesh vpon the friday, as on sonday.

Pleaseth it your Lordshippes, I haue read in the Epistles of S. Paule, * that who is cleane, vnto him all thyngs are cleane. Of the contrary, to the filthy men all things are vncleane. * A faithful man cleane and holy, sanctifieth by the woorde, the creature of God. But the creature maketh no manne acceptable vnto God. * So that a creature may not sanctifie any impure and vnfaithful man. But to the faithfull man, all things are sanctified by the praier of the word of God. * After these sayings of master George, then said all the Bishops wyth theyr complices: what needeth vs any witnesse against him? hath he not openly here spoken blasphemie?

12 Thou false heretike doest say, that wee shoulde not praye to Saintes, * but to God onely. Say whether thou hast sayd this, or no: say shortly.

For the weakenes and the infirmitie of the hearers, he said without doubt plainly, * that Saints should not be honoured. My Lordes (sayde hee) there are two things worthy of note. * The one is certaine, the other vncertaine. It is found plainly and certaine in Scripture, that we should worship and honor one God, according to the saying of the first Commaundement: Thou shalt

only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart. But as for praying to, and honouring of Saintes, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear or no, inuocation made vnto thē. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they shoulde leaue the vnsure waye, and folowe that way, which was taught vs by our master Christ. He is our only mediatour, and maketh intercession for vs to God hys father.* He is the doore by the which we must enter in. Hee that entreth not in by this doore, but climeth an other way, is a theefe and murtherer. Hee is the veritie and lyfe. Hee that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but hee shall fall into the mire: yea verely, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the whych I haue euer followed. Uerely that whyche I haue hearde and reade in the woorde of God; I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shal witnes the same, if your Lordships will heare me. Except it stande by the woorde of God, I dare not be so bold to affirme any thinge. These sayings he rehearsed diuers times.

13 Thou false heretike haste preached plainly,*saying that there is no Purgatorie, and that it is a fained thinge, any man after thys life to be punished in Purgatorie.

My Lordes, as I haue oftentimes sayde heeretofore,* without expresse wnesse and testimonie of the Scripture, I dare affirme nothyng.* I haue ofte and diuers times read ouer the Bible, and yet suche a terme founde I neuer, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable therunto. Therefore I was ashamed euer to teache of that thyng, whych I coulde not finde in the Scripture. Then sayd he to master Iohn Lauder hys accuser: If you haue any testimonie of the Scripture, by the which ye may prooue any such place, shewe it now before this audiorie. But this dolt had not a worde to say for him selfe, but was as dumbe as a beetle in that matter.

14 Thou false heretike hast taught plainly against the vowes of Monkes, Friers, Nunnes, and Priestes, saying:*that whosoeuer was bounde to such like vowes, they vowed themselues to the estate of damnation: Moreouer, that it was lawful for priestes to marry wiues, and not to liue sole.

Of soothe (my Lordes) I haue read in the Euangell,* that there are three kindes of chaste men. Some are gelded from their mothers wombe: some are gelded by men:* and some haue gelded themselues, for the kingdome of heauen sake. Uerelye I say,* these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as haue not the gift of chastitie, nor yet for the Euangell, haue not ouercome the concupiscence of the flesh, and haue vowed chastitie: yee haue experience, although I should holde my peace, to what inconuenience they haue vowed them selues.

When he had sayde these wordes, they were all dumbe, thinking better to haue tenne Concubines, then one married wife.

15 Thou false heretike and runnagate sayest,*thou wylte not obey our Generall, nor Prouinciall Councils.

My Lords, what your general Councils are, I knowe not, I was neuer exercised in them:* but to the pure worde of God I gaue my labors. Read here your general Councils, or els geue me a booke wherin they are contained, that I may reade them. If they agree with the word of God,* I will not disagree. Then the rauening wolues turned into woodnes, & said. Wherefore let we him

speake any further? Reade forth the rest of the articles, & stay not vpō them. Among these cruell tygers, there was one false hypocrite,* a seducer of the people, called Ioh. Graifind Scot, standing behind Ioh. Lauders backe, hasting him to read the rest of y^e articles, & not to tary vpō his witty and godly answers: For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more then the diuill may abide the signe of the Crosse, when it is named.

16 Thou heretike sayest, that it is vaine to builde to the honor of God, costly Churches,*seeinge that God remaineth not in the Churches made with mens handes, nor yet God can be in so litle space, as betwixt the priests handes.

My Lordes, Salomon sayeth: If that the heauen of heauens can not comprehend thee,* howe muche lesse thys house, that I haue builded? And Iob consenteth to y^e same sentence: Seeing that he is higher then the heauens, therefore what canst thou build vnto him? He is deper then hel,* then how shalt thou know him? He is longer then y^e earth, and broader then the sea. So that God cannot be comprehēded into one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I said neuer that Churches should be destroyed. But of the contrarye I affirmed euer,* that Churches should be sustained and vpholden, that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreouer, wheresoeuer is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawfull vse of the Sacraments, vndoubtedly there is God himselfe. So that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be cōprehended into any place, and where soeuer are two or three gathered in hys name, there is he present in the midst of them. Then sayde he to hys accuser, If you thinke any otherwise then I say, shew foorth your reasons before this audiorie. Then he without al reason being dumbe, and not answering one word, proceeded foorth in hys articles.

17 Thou false heretike contemnest fastinge, and sayest,*thou shouldest not fast.

My Lordes, I finde that fasting is commended in the Scrypture: therefore I were a sclaunderer of the Gospell, if I contemned fastynge. And not so onely,* but I haue learned by experience, that fastinge is good for the health of the bodye: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast.

18 Thou false heretike haste preached openly,*sayinge that [Page 1271](#) the soule of man shall sleepe to the latter daye of iudgement, and shall not obtaine life immortall vntill that day.

God full of mercy and goodnesse forgeue them that saye such things of me. I wote and knowe surely by the worde of God, that he which hathe begun to haue the faith of Iesu Christ, and beleueth firmly in him, I know surely that the soule of that man shall neuer sleepe, but euer shall liue an immortall life. The which life from day to day is renued in grace and augmēted:, nor yet shal euer perish, or haue an ende, but euer immortall shall liue with Christ. To the which life all that beleue in him shal come, and rest in eternall glory. Amen.

When the Bishoppes wyth their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and fourme aforesayde, incōtinently they condēned him to be burnt as an heretik, not hauing respect to hys godly answers and true reasons which he alleaged, nor yet to their owne consciences, thinking verelye that they shoulde doe to God good sacrifice, conformable to the sayings of S. Iohn:,*They

shal excommunicate you: yea, and the time shal come, that he which killeth you, shall thinke that he hath done to God good seruice.

The prayer of maister George.

O Immortall God, how long shalt thou suffer the woodnes & great crudelitie of the vngodly to exercise theyr fury vpon thy seruaunts which doe further thy woorde in this worlde,* seeing they desire to be contrary, y^t is to choke and destroy thy true doctrine & veritie, by the whych thou hast shewed thy selfe vnto the world, which was all drowned in blindnesse and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord wee knowe surelye that thy true seruauntes must needes suffer for thy names sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, whiche is but a shadowe, as thou haste shewed to vs by thy Prophetes and Apostles. But yet we desire thee hartily, that thou conserue, defende, and helpe thy congregation, which thou haste chosen before the beginning of the worlde, and geue them thy grace to heare thy word, and to be thy true seruaunts in thys present life.

Then by & by they caused the common people to voide away, whose desire was alwayes to heare that innocente man to speake. Then the sonnes of darkenesse pronounced their sentence definitiue, not hauing respecte to the iudgement of God. When all this was done and sayde, the Cardinall caused his warders to passe againe wyth the meeke Lambe into the Castle, vntill suche time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Castle, then there came two Gray feendes, frier Scot and his mate, sayinge, Sir, yee must make your confession vnto vs. He aunswered, and said, I wil make no confession vnto you. Go fetch me yōder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession vnto him. Then they sent for the Suppriour of the Abbey, who came to him withall diligence. But what he sayd in thys confession I can not shewe.

When the fire was made readie, and the gallowes at the West part of the Castle neare to the Priorie, the Lorde Cardinall dreading that master George should haue bene taken away by his friendes, commaunded to bende all the Ordinance of the Castle right against that parte, and commaunded al his gunners to be ready and stand beside their gunnes, vnto such time as he were burned. All this beyng done, they bounde Maister Georges handes behinde hys backe, and ledde hym foorth wyth their souldiors from the Castle, to the place of their wicked execution. As hee came forth of the Castle gate, there met him certaine beggers asking his almes for Gods sake. To whome he answered, I want my handes wherwith I should geue you almes: but the mercifull Lorde, of his benignitie and aboundaunce of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to geue you necessities both vnto your bodies and soules.* Then afterwarde met him two false fiendes, I shoulde say Fryers, sayinge: Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her sonne. To whome he answered meekely: Cease, tempt me not my brethren. After thys hee was lead to the fire with a roape about his necke,* and a chayne of yron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire, he sate downe vpon hys knees, and rose againe, and thrise he sayd these woordes: O thou Sauour of the worlde haue mercy on mee. Father of heauen, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people and sayde these wordes.

*I beseeche you Christian brethren and sisters, that yee be not offended in the woorde of God for the affliction and torments, whych ye see alreadye prepared for mee. But I exhorte you that ye loue the worde of God, and suffer paciently and wyth a comfortable heart for the woordes sake, whych is your vndoubted saluation and euerlasting comfote.

Moreouer, I pray you shewe my brethren and sisters, whych haue hearde me ofte before, that they cease not, nor leaue of the worde of God, which I taught vnto them, after the grace geuē vnto me, for no persecutiōs or troubles in this world, which lasteth not: and shew vnto them, that my doctrine was no wiues fables after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greate thanks by men. But for the woordes sake and true Euangel, which was geuen to me by the grace of God, I suffer thys day by men, not sorowfully,* but with a glad heart and minde. For this cause I was sent, that I shoulde suffer this fire for Christes sake. Consider and beholde my visage, yee shall not see mee chaunge my colour. Thys grim fire I feare not. And so I pray you for to doe, if that any persecution come vnto you for the wordes sake, & not to feare them that slay the bodye, and afterwarde haue no power to slay the soule. Some haue sayde of me, that I taught, that the soule of man should sleepe vntil y^e last day. But I know surely, & my faith is such, that my soule shall suppe w^t my sauour Christe this night, ere it be 6. houres: for whom I suffer this. Then he praied for them which accused hym, saying:* I beseeche thee (father of heauen) to forgeue them that haue of any ignoraunce, or els of any euill minde, forged any lies vpon me. I forgeue them wyth all my heart. I beseeche Christ to forgeue them that haue condemned me to death thys day ignorantly.

And last of all he sayd to the people on thys manner: I beseeche you brethren and sisters, to exhorte your Prelates to the learning of the woorde of God,* that they at the laste may be ashamed to doe euill, and learne to do good. And if they will not conuert themselues from their wicked error, there shal hastily come vpon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschewe. Many faithfull wordes sayde he in the meane tyme, taking no heede or care of the cruell torments which were then prepared for him.

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of M. George Wisehart.

*

And last of all, the hangman that was hys tormentor, sate downe vpon hys knees, and said: Syr I pray you forgeue me, for I am not giltye of your death. To whome hee answeared: come hether to me. When that he was come to him, he kissed his cheeke, and sayd: Loe here is a token that I forgeue thee▪ My heart do thine office: and by and by, he was put vpon the gibbet and hanged, and there burnte to poulder. When that the people beheld the great tormēting, they might not withholde from pitious mourning & complaining of this innocent Lambes slaughter.

A note of the iust punishment of God vpon the cruell Cardinall Archbishop of S. Andrewes, named Beaton.

IT was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God M. George Wisehart aforesayd, who was put to [Page 1272](#) death by Dauid Beaton, the bloody Archbishop and Cardinall of Scotland,* as is aboue specified, an. 1546. the first day of March, but the sayd Dauid Beaton Archbyshop of S. Andrewes, by the iust reuenge of Gods mighty iudgement, was slaine within his owne Castle of S. Andrewes by y^e hands of one Lech & other Gētleme, who by the Lord stirred vp, brake in sodenly into his Castle vpon him, and in his bed murthered him the same yeare, the last daye of May, crying out: Alas, alas, sley me not, I am a Prieste. And so like a butcher he liued,* and like a butcher he dyed, & lay 7. monethes and more vnburied, & at last like a carion buried in a dunghill. an. 1546. Maij vlt. Ex histor. impressa.

After this Dauid Beaton, succeeded Iohn Hamelton Archbishop of S. Andrewes. an. 1549. who to the entent that he would in no wayes appeare inferiour to his predecessour,* in augmenting the number of the holy Martirs of God, in the next yeare following called a certayne poore man to iudgement, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and maner of whose story heere followeth.

The story and Martyrdome of Adam Wallace in Scotland.*

There was set vpon a scaffold made hard to the Chauncelary wall of y^e blacke Friers Church in Edinbrough on seates made therupon,* the L. Gouverneur. Aboue hym at his back sate M. Gawin Hamelton Deane of Glasgue, representing the Metropolitane Pastor thereof.* Upon a seate on his right hand sate the Archb. of S. Andrewes. At his backe, and aside somewhat stode the Official Lowthaine. Next to the Byshop of S. Andrewes, the Byshop of Dunblane, the Bishop of Murray, the Abbot of Dunfermeling,* the Abbot of Glen•uce, with other Churchmen of lower estimation, as the Official of S. Andrewes, & other Doctours of that nest and City. And at the other end of the seate sate maister Uchiltrie. On his left hand sate the Earle of Argyle Iustice, with his Deputye Syr Iohn Campbell of Lundy vnder his feete. Next him the Earle of Huntley. Then the Earle of Anguish, the Byshop of Gallaway, the Prior of S. Andrewes, the Bish. of Orkenay, the L. Forbes, Dane Iohn Wynrime Suppriour of S. Andrewes, and behinde the seates stode the whole senate, the Clarke of the Register, &c.

At the further end of the Chauncelary wall in the pulpit was placed M. Iohn Lauder parson of Marbottle accuser, clad in a Surplice, and a red hood, and a great Congregation of the whole people in y^e body of the church, stāding on the ground. After that, Syr Iohn Ker, Prebendary of S. Giles Church was accused, conuicted, and condemned, for the false making and geuing forth of a sentēce of diuorce, and thereby falsly diuorced and parted a man and his lawfull wife in the name of the Deane of Roscalrige and certaine other Iudges appointed by the holy Father the Pope.* He graunted the falshood, and that neuer any such thing was done in deede, nor yet ment nor moued by the foresad Iudges, and was agreed to be banished the realmes of Scotland and England for his life time, and to lose his right hande, if he were found or apprehended therein heereafter, and in the meane time to leaue his benefices for euer, and they to be vacant.

After that was brought in Adā Wallace, a simple poore man in appearance,* cōueyed by Iohn of Cunnoke seruant to the B. of S. Andrewes, and set in the midst of y^e scaffold, who was commaunded to looke to the accuser: who asked him what was his name. He aunswered, Adam Wallace. The accuser sayd, he had another name, which he graunted, and sayd he was commonly called Feane. Then asked he where he was borne? Within two myle of Fayle (said he) in Kyle. Then sayd the accuser, I repent that euer such a poore man as you should put these noble Lords to so great encombrance this day by your vaine speaking,* And I must speake (sayd he) as God geueth me grace, and I beleue I haue said no euil to hurt any body. Would God (said the accuser) ye had neuer spokē, but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of heresie, as neuer was imagined in this countrey of before, and shall be sufficiently proued, that ye can not deny it: and I forethinke that it should be heard, for hurting of weake consciences. Now I wyll yea thee no more, & thou shalt heare the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace, aliās Feane, thou art openly delated and accused for preaching,* saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies vnderwritten. In the first, thou hast said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and bloud of Iesu Christ. He turned to the Lord Gouverneur, and Lords aforesayd, saying: I sayd neuer, nor taught nothing, but that I found in this booke and writte (hauyng there a Bible at his belte, in French, Dutch, and English) which is the word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be Iudge to me and this his holy writ, here it is, and where I haue sayd wrong,* I shal take what punishment you wil put to me: for I neuer said nothing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writte.

What diddest thou say, sayd the accuser? I sayde (quoth he) that after our Lord Iesus Christ had eaten the Pascall Lambe in his latter Supper with his Apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new Sacrament in remembraunce of his death then to come. He tooke bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gaue it to hys Disciples, and sayde: Take yee, eate yee,* thys is my bodye, whyche shall bee broken and geuen for you: And lykewise the cuppe, blessed, and badde them drinke all thereof, for that was the cup of the new testament, which should be shed for the forgeuing of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembraunce.

Then saide the B. of S. Andrewes,* and the Officiall of Lowthaine, with the Deane of Glasgue, and many other Prelates: we know this well enough. The earle of Hütly said: thou aunswerest not to that which is laide to thee: say either nay or yea thereto. He aunswered, if ye will admitte God & his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed sonne Iesus Christ our Lord and Sauour, ye will admit that I haue sayd: for I haue sayd or taught nothing, but that the word, which is the triall and touchstone sayth, whych ought to be Iudge to me, and to all the world.

Why (quoth the Earle of Huntley) hast thou not a Iudge good inough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his word? Aunswere to that is spoken to thee: and then they made the accuser speake the same thing ouer againe. Thou saydest (quoth the accuser) and hast taught, that the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ.

He aunswered: I sayd neuer more then the write sayth, nor yet more then I haue sayd before.* For I know wel by S. Paule when he sayeth: Whosoeuer eateth this bread, and drinketh of thys

cup vnwoorthely, receaueth to hymselfe damnation. And therefore when I taught (which was but seldome, and to them only which required and desired me) I sayd, that if the Sacrament of the aultar were truly ministred, and vsed as the sonne of the liuing God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himselfe by hys diuine power, by the which he is ouer all.

The Bishop of Orkney asked him: Beleeuest thou not (sayd he) that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of the consecration, is the very body of God, flesh, bloud, and bone?

He answered: I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I haue not much latine,* but I beleeue that the sonne of God was conceaued of the holy Ghost, and borne of the Uirgin Mary, & hath a naturall body with handes feete, and other members, and in the same body hee walked vp & downe in the world, preached, and taught, he suffered death vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buryed, and that by his godly power hee rayased that same body agayne the thyrd day: and the same body ascended in to heauen, and sitteth on the right hand of the father,* whiche shall come agayne to iudge both the quicke and y^e dead. And that this body is a naturall body with handes & feete and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well hym selfe: For the whiche euerlasting thanks be to hym that maketh this matter cleare.* When the woman brake the oyntment on hym, aunswering to some of hys Disciples which grudged thereat, he sayd: The poore shall you haue alwayes with you, but me shall you not haue alwayes, meaning of his naturall body. And likewise at his Ascension sayd he to the same Disciples that were fleshly, and would euer haue had him remayning with them corporally:*It is needfull for you that I passe away, for if I passe not away, the comforter the holy Ghost shall not come to you (meaning that his naturall body behoued to be taken away frō thē) But be stout and be of good cheare,*for am with you vnto the worldes end.

And that the eating of his very flesh profiteth not,* may well be knowne by his wordes which he spake in the 6. of Iohn, where after that he had sayd: Except ye eate my fleshe and drinke my bloud, ye shall not haue life in you: they murmuring therat, he reproveth them for their grosse & fleshly taking of his wordes, and sayd: What will ye thinke when ye se the sonne of man ascend to the place that he came frō? It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing, to be eaten as they tooke it, and euen so take ye it.*

It is an horrible heresie, sayde the Bishop of Orkney. When he began to speake again, and bad the Lord Gouverneur [Page 1273](#) iudge if hee had righte by the write, the accuser cryed Ad secundam. Nunc ad secundam, aunswered the Archbishop of S. Andrewes.

*Then was he bidden to heare the accuser, who propounded the second Article, and sayd: Thou saydest lykewyse, and openly diddest teach, that the Masse is very Idolatry, and abhominable in the sight of God.

He aunswered and sayde: I haue read the Bible and word of God in three tounes, and haue vnderstand them so farre as God gaue me grace, and yet read I neuer that word Masse in it all: but I found (sayd he) that the thyng that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was Idolatry, and abhominable in the sight of God. And I say the Masse is holden greatly in estimation,* and high amongst men, and is not founded in the word,

therefore I said it was Idolatry and abhominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and proue it by Gods word, I will graunt mine errour, and that I haue fayled: otherwise not, and in that case I will submit me to all lawfull correction and punishment. Ad tertiam, sayd the Archbyshop.

Then sayde the accuser: Thou hast sayde and openly taught that the God which we woorship, is but bread, sowne of corne,* growing of the earth, baked of mēs hands, and nothing else.

He aunswered, I worship the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made & fashioned the heauen and earth, and all that is therein of naught, but I know not which God you worship: and if you will shew me whome you worship,* I shall shew you what he is, as I can by my iudgement.

Beleeuest thou not (sayd the accuser) that the sacrament of the alter, after the words of the consecration betwixt the Priests hands, is the very body and bloud of the sonne of God, and God himselfe? What the body of God is, sayde he, and what kind of body he hath, I haue shewed you, so farre as I haue found in scripture.

Then sayd the accuser, thou hast preached, sayd, and openly taught diuers & sundry other great errours and abhominable heresies against all the vij. sacramentes, which for shortnes of time I pretermit and ouerpasse. Whether doest thou graunt thy foresayd Articles that thou art accused of, or no, and thou shalt heare them shortly? and then repeated the accuser the three Articles aforesayd shortly ouer, and asked him whether he graunted or denied them.

He aunswered that before he had said of his aunsweres, and that he sayd nothing, but agreeing to the holy word as he vnderstoode, so God iudge him, and his owne conscience accuse him, and thereby would he abide vnto the time he were better instructed by scripture, and the contrary proued,* euen to the death: and said to the Lord Gouvernour and other Lords: if you cōdemne me for holding by Gods word, my innocent bloud shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the iudgemente seate of Christ, who is mightie to defend my innocent cause, before whome ye shall not denie it, nor yet be able to resiste hys wrath:* to whome I referre the vengeance, as it is written: Vengeance is mine, and I will reward.

Then gaue they forth sentence, and condemned him by the lawes,* and so lefte him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir Iohn Campbell Iustice deputie, who delyuered him to the Prouost of Edenbrough to be burnt on the Castle hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the vppermost house in the towne with yrons about his legs and necke,* and gaue charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keepe the key of the sayd house, an ignoraunt Minister and impe of Sathan, and of the Bishops, who by direction, sente to the poore man two Gray Friers to instructe hym, wyth whome he would enter into no communing. Soone after that was sent in two blacke Friers, an Englishe Frier, and another subtile sophister,* called Arbirtromy, with the which English Frier he would haue reasoned and declared his faith by the scriptures. Who aunswered, he had no commission to enter in disputation with him, and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a worldly wise man, and not vngodly in the vnderstanding of the truth,* the Deane of Roscalrige, who gaue him Christian consolatiō, amongst the which he exhorted him to

beleue the realtie of the sacramēt after the cōsecration. But he would cōsent to nothing that had not euīdēce in the holy scripture, & so passed ouer that night in singing, & landing God to the eares of diuers hearers,* hauing learned the psalter of Dauid w^tout booke, to his consolation: For before they had spoyled him of his Bible, which alwaies til after he was cōdēned, was w^t him where euer he wēt. After y^t, sir Hugh knew that he had certaine bookes to read & cōfort his spirit, who came in a rage & tooke y^e same frō him, leauing him desolat (to his power) of all cōsolatiō, and gaue diuers vngodly & iniurious prouocatiōs by his diuelish venome, to haue peruerted him a poore innocent, frō the patience & hope he had in Christ his sauour: but God suffered him not to be moued therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next morning abode this poore man in yrons, and prouision was commaunded to be made for his burning against the next day. Whiche daye the Lord Gouvernour, and all the principall both spirituall and temporall Lords departed from Edenbrough to their other busines.

After they were departed,* came y^e Deane of Roscalrige to him againe & reasoned with him after his wit. Who answered as before, he would say nothing cōcerning his faith but as the scripture testifieth, yea though an Aungell came from heauen to perswade him to the same: sauing that he confessed himselfe to haue receaued good consolation of the said Deane in other behalves as becommeth a Christian.

Then after came in the said Terry again & examined him after his old manner, and said,* he would garre deuils to come forth of him ere euen. To whome he aunswered: you should be a godly man to geue me rather cōsolation in my case. When I knewe you were come, I prayed God I might resiste your temptations, which I thanke hym, he hath made me able to doe: therfore I pray you let me alone in peace. Then he asked of one of the Officers that stode by, is your fire making ready? Who tolde hym it was. He answered, as it pleaseth God: I am ready soone or late as it shall please him: & then he spake to one faithful in that company, & bad him cōmend him to all the faithfull, being sure to meete together with thē in heauen. From that time to his forth comming to the fire, spake no man with hym.

At his fourth comming, the Prouost with great manasing words forbad him to speake to any mā, or any to him,* as belike he had commandement of his superiours. Comming from the towne to the Castell hill, the commō people sayd, God haue mercy vpon him. And on you to (sayd he.) Being beside y^e fire, he lifted vp his eyen to heauē twice or thrise, and said to the people: Let it not offend you, that I suffer the death this day, for the truthes sake, for the Disciple is not aboue his maister. Then was y^e Prouost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heauen againe, and sayd: They will not let me speake. The corde being about hys necke, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance to our sightes, Ex testimonijs & literis è Scotia petitis. an. 1550.

[illustration]

The burning of the blessed Martyr Adam Wallace.

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¶The schisme that arose in Scotland for the Pater noster.

AFTER that Richard Mershal Doctour of Diuinitie and Priour of the blacke Friers at the new Castle in England, had declared in his preachings of S. Andrewes in Scotland, that the Lordes Prayer (commonly called the Pater noster) should be done only to God & not to Saints▪ [Page 1274](#) neither to any other creature: the Doctours of the Uniuersitie of S. Andrewes together with the Gray Friers, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater noster to Saints, had great indignatiō that their old doctrine shuld be repugned, & stirred vp a Gray Frier called Frier Toittis, to preach again to the people that they should & might pray the Pater noster to Saintes. Who finding no part of the Scripture to founde his purpose vpon, yet came to the Pulpit, the first of Nouember, being the Feast of All hallowes, an. 1551. and tooke the text of the Gospell for that day read in their Masse, written in the 5. of Mathew, containing these wordes: Blessed are the poore in spirite, for to them pertayneth the kingdome of heauen.*

This feeble foundation being layde, the Frier began to reason most impertinently,* that the Lordes Prayer might be offered to Saints: because euery petition therof appertaine to them. For if we meete an old mā in y^e streete (sayd he) we will say to him: good day father, and therefore much more may we call the Saints our fathers: and because we graunt also that they be in heauen, we may say to euery one of them: Our father which art in heauen. Father, God hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God to holde their names holy, and so we may say to any of the Saints:*Our father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name. And for the same cause, sayd the Frier, as they are in the kingdome of heauen, so that kingdome is theirs by possession: and so praying for the kingdome of heauen, we may say to them and euery one of them: Thy kingdome come. And except their will had bene the very will of God, they had neuer come to that kingdome, and therefore seeing their will is Gods will, we may say to euery one of them: Thy will be done.

But when the Frier came to the fourth petitiō touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweate abundantly, partly bicause his sophistry began to fayle him,* not findyng such a colour for that part as for the other which went before: and partly because he spake against his owne knowledge and conscience and so was compelled to confesse that it was not in the Saintes power to giue vs our daily bread, but that they shoulde pray to God for vs (said he) that we may obtaine our daily bread by their intercession, and so glosed he the rest to the ende. Not standing yet content with this detestable doctrine, hee affirmed most blasphemously, that S. Paules napkyn and S. Peters shadow did miracles, and that the vertue of Eliseus cloke deuided the waters, attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errours of the Papistes, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, folowed incontinent a daungerous schisme in the Church of Scotland: for not onely the Cleargie, but the whole people were deuided among themselues, one defending the trueth, and an other the Papistry, in suche sort, that there rose a Prouerbe: To whome say you youre Pater noster? * And although the Papists had the vpper hand as then, whose words were almost holdē for law (so great was the blindnes of that age) yet God so inspired y^e harts of the common people, that so many as could get the vnderstanding of the bare words of the Lords prayer in english (which was then saide in Latin) vtterly detested that opiniō, holding that it should in no wise be said to Saints: So that the craftes men and their seruantes in theyr bootes, when the

Frier came, exploded him with shame enough,* crying, Frier Pater noster, Frier Pater noster, who at the last being conuict in his owne conscience, and ashamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leaue the Towne of S. Andrewes.

In the meane time of this brute, there were two Pasquils set on the Abbay Church, the one in Latin beatyng these words.

- Doctores nostri de Collegio▪
- Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
- Quod Sancti sunt similes altissimo:
- Et se tuentur grauatorio
- De mandato Officialis,
- Ad instantiam fiscalis,
- G•w & •eruey non varij
- In premissis connotarij.

*The other in English, bearing these words.

Doctors of Theologie, of fourescore of yeares,

And old iol•e Lupoy the bald gray Friers,

They would be called Rabbi and Magister noster,

And wot not to whome they say their Pater noster.

Shortly, the Christians were so 〈◇〉 offended, and the Papistes on the other side so proud and wilfull, that necessary it was, to eschew greater incōueniences, that y^e Clergy at least should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that y^e lay people might be put out of doubt.* Which being done, and the Uniuersitie agreed, whosoever had bene present might haue heard much subtile sophistry. For some of the popish Doctours affirmed that it shoulde be sayd to God formaliter, and to Sayntes, materialiter, Others vltimatè, & non vltimatè. Others sayde it shoulde be said to God principaliter, and to sayntes minus principaliter. Others, that it should be sayd to GOD primariè, and to saintes secundariè, Others that it would be sayd to GOD capiendo strictè, & to sayntes capiendo largè. Whiche wayne distinctions being heard and considered by the people they y^t were simple, remayned in greater doubtfulnes thē they were in before: so that a well aged man, and seruaunt to y^e Suppriour of S. Andrewes called y^e Suppriours Thome being demaunded to whome hee sayde hys Pater noster: he answered, to God onely. Then they asked agayne what should be sayd to the sayntes, he answered, geue them Aues and Credes inough in the deuils name, for that may suffice them wel inough: albeit they doe spoyle God of his right. Others making their vauntes of the Doctours, sayd, that because Christ (who made the Pater noster) neuer came into the Ile of Britaine, & so vnderstood not the English tonge therefore it was that the Doctors concluded it shoulde be sayd in Latine.

This perturbation and open sclaunder yet depending it was thought good to call a principal Councell to decide the matter. Whiche being assembled at Edenbrough,* the Papistes being destitute of reason, defended theyr partes with lyes, alledging, that the Uniuersitie of Paris had

cōcluded that the Lordes Prayer should be sayd to Saintes. But because that could not be proued, and that they could not preuayle by reason, they vsed theyr wil in place of reason, & sometime dispitefull and iniurious talke. As Fryer Scot being asked of one to whō he shuld say the Pater noster, hee aunswered, saying: say it to the deuill, knaue. So the Councel perceauing they could profite nothing by reasoning, they were compelled to passe [*](#) voting.

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmē, were found deuided and repugnaunt, among themselues. For some Bishop with the Doctours and Friers, consented that the Pater noster should be sayde to sayntes: but the Byshops of S. Andrewes, Caitnesse and Atheins, wyth other moe learned men, refused vtterly to subscribe to the same. Finally, with consent of both the parties, Commission was geuen by the holy church to Dane[*](#) Iohn Winrame, then Suppriour of S. Andrewes, to declare to the people how and after what maner they shoulde praye the Lordes prayer. Who accepting to the commission, declared that it should be sayd to God, with some other restrictions which are not necessary to be put in memory. And so by litle and little, the brute and tumulte ceased, Ex testimonio è Scotia allato.

[*The martyrdome of the blessed seruant of God, Walter Mille.](#)

AMong the rest of the Martirs of Scotland, y^e marueilous constancie of Walter Mille is not to be passed ouer w^t silence. Out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether choose rather to dye then to be any longer ouertroden by the tyranny of the foresayd cruell, ignorant, and beastly byshops Abbots, Monkes, and Fryers, and so began the congregation of Scotland, to debate the true Religion of Christ agaynst the Frenchmen and Papists, who sought always to depresse and keepe down the same: for it began soone after the Martyrdome of Walter Mille, of the which y^e forme here after followeth.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1558. in the tyme of Marye Duches of Longawayll Queene Regent of Scotland, & the sayd Iohn Hamelton being bishop of S. Andrewes,[*](#) and Primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in hys youth had bene a papist) after that he had bene in Almaine, & had heard the doctrine of the Gospell, he returned again into Scotland, and setting aside al papistry and compelled chastitie, maryed a wyfe, whiche thing made him vnto the Byshops of Scotland to be suspected of heresie: and after long watching of him he was taken by 2. Popish Priestes one called sir George S•raqwhen, and the other sir Hugh Turry seruantes to the sayd byshop for the tyme, wythin the towne of Dysart in Fi••e, and brought to s. Andrewes and imprisoned in the castell therof. He being in prison, the Papistes earnestly trauay•ed and laboured to haue seduced him, and threatned him with death and corporall tormentes, to the intent they woulde cause him to recant and forsake the trueth. But seeing they coulde profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firme and constant, they [Page 1275](#) laboured to perswade him by faire promises, and offered vnto him a Monkes portion for all the dayes of his life, in the Abbay of Dunfermeling, so that hee woulde denie the things he had taught, and graunt that they were heresie: but he continuing in the truth euen vnto the end, despised their threatnings and faire promises.

[*](#)Then assembled together the Bishops of S. Andrewes, Murray, Brechin, Caitnes, and Atheins, the Abbots of Dunfermeling, Landors, Balindrinot, & Towper, with Doctors of Theologie of S. Andrewes, as Iohn Greson blacke Frier, and Dane Iohn Uymame, suppriour of S. Andrewes,

William Trāston Prouost of y^e old Colledge, with diuers others, as sondry Friers blacke & gray. These being assembled, and hauing cōsulted together, he was taken out of prison, & brought to y^e Metropolitane Church, where he was put in a Pulpit tofore the Bishops to be acused,* the 20. day of Aprill. Being brought vnto y^e Church, and climbing vp to the Pulpit, they seeing him so weake & feeble of person, partly by age and trauaile, & partly by euil intreatment, that without help he could not clime vp, they were in despaire not to haue heard him for weakenesse of voyce. But when he began to speake, he made the Church to ring and sound againe, wyth so great courage & stoutnes, that the Christians which were present, were no lesse reioyced,* then the aduersaries were confounded and ashamed. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the Byshops Priestes, commaunded him to arise and to answere to his Articles, saying on this maner: Sir Walter Mille, arise and aunswere to the Articles, for you hold my Lord heere ouer long. To whome Walter after he had finished his prayer, aunswered saying: We ought to obey God more then men, I serue one more mightie, euen the omnipotent Lord: and where you call me sir Walter, they call me Walter and not sir Walter, I haue bene ouerlong one of the Popes Knightes. Now say what thou hast to say.

These were the Articles whereof he was accused, with his aunsweres vnto the same.

Oliphant.

What thinke you of Priests mariage?

Mille.

*I hold it a blessed band, for Christ himself maintained it, and approued the same, and also made it free to al men: but ye thinke it not free to you: ye abhorre it, and in y^e meane time take other mens wiues and daughters, & wil not keepe the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastitie, & breake the same. S. Paul had rather marry then burne: the which I haue done, for God forbad neuer mariage to any man, of what state or degree so euer he were.

Olip.

*Thou sayest there is not seauen sacraments.

Mille.

Geue me the Lords supper and Baptisme, and take you the rest, & part them amōg you: For if there be vij. why haue you omitted one of them, to wit, mariage, and geue your selues to sclaunderous and vngodly whoredome.

Oliph.

*Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the aultar, and sayest, that the Masse is wrong, and is Idolatry.

Mille.

*A Lord or a King sendeth & calleth many to a diner, and when the diner is in readinesse, he causeth to ryng a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit downe to be partakers of the diner, but the Lord turning his backe vnto them, eateth all himselfe, and mocked them: so do ye.

Oliph.

Thou denyest the sacrament of the aultar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and bloud.*

Mille.

The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally but spiritually, and standeth in faith only: & as for the Masse, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the Crosse for mans trespasse, and will neuer be offered agayne, for then he ended all sacrifice.

Oliph.

Thou deniest the office of a Byshop.

Mille.

*I affirme that they whome ye call Byshops, do no Bishops workes, nor vse the offices of Bishops, (as Paul biddeth writing to Timothy) but liue after their owne sensuall pleasure, and take no care of the flocke, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honored and called, my Lords.

Oliph.

*Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to whoredome.

Mille.

I affirme that, and say that it is not commaunded in the scripture,* and that there is no greater whoredome in no places, then at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

Oliph.

Thou preachedst quietly and priuatly in houses, and openly in the fields.

Mille.

Yea man, and on the sea also sailing in ship.

Oliph.

*Wilt thou not recant thine erroneous opiniōs? and if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

Mille.

I am accused of my life: I know I must die once, & therefore as Christ sayd to Iudas: Quod facis, fac citius. Ye shal know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corne,* I am no chaffe, I wil not be blowne away with the wind nor burst with the flaile, but I will abide both.

These thinges rehearsed they of purpose, with other light trifles, to augment their final accusation, and then sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he shuld be deliuered to the temporall iudge, and punished as an hereticke, which was to be burnt. Notwithstanding his boldnes and constancie moued so the hartes of many, that the Byshops Stuard of his regaltie, Prouost of the towne called Patrike Learmond, refused to be his temporall iudge: to whome it appertained if the cause had bene iust. Also the Bishops chamberlaine being therwith charged, would in no wise take vpon him so vngodly an office. Yea the whole towne was so offended with his vniust cōdemnation, that the Bishops seruauntes could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to y^e stake, or a tarre barrell to burne him, but were constrained to cut the cordes of their maisters own paulion to serue their turne.

Neuerthelesse one seruaunt of the Byshops more ignoraunt and cruell then the rest, called Alexander Symmerwayll, enterprising the office of a temporall iudge in that part, conueyed him to the fire, where against all naturall reason of man, his boldnes and hardines did more and more increase: so that the spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people that his cause and Articles were iust, and he innocently put downe.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conueyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant had him passe to the stake: and he said, nay, but wilt thou put me vp with thy hand and take part of my death, thou shalt see me passe vp gladly, for by y^e law of God I am forbiddē to put hands vpon my selfe. Thē Oliphant put him vp with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying: Introibo ad altare Dei, and desired that he might haue place to speake to y^e people, the which Oliphant and other of the burners denyed, saying that he had spoken ouer much, for the Byshops were altogether offended that y^e matter was so long continued. Then some of the yong men committed both the burners, and the Byshops their maysters to the Diuell, saying, that they beleued that they should lament that daye, and desired the sayd Walter to speake what he pleased.

And so after he had made his humble supplicatiō to God on his knees, he arose, and stāding vpon the coales said on this wise. Deare frends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime layd to my charge (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God) but only for the defence of y^e fayth of Iesus Christ,* set foorth in the new and old Testament vnto vs, for which, that as the faithfull Martirs haue offered themselues gladly before, beeing assured after the death of their bodies of eternall felicitie, so this daye I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the rest of his seruauntes, to seale vp his truth with my lyfe: which as I haue receaued it of him, so willingly I offer it

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Walter Mille.

[**Page 1276](#) to his glory. Therefore as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of Priests, Monkes, Friers, Priours, Abbots, Bishops, and the rest of the secte of Antichrist, but depend onely vpon Iesus Christ and hys mercy, that ye may be deliuered from condemnation. All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude, for they perceiuing his patience, stoutenes, and boldnes,* constancie, and hardines, were not only moued and stirred vp, but their harts also were so inflamed, that he was the last Martyr that dyed in Scotland for the Religion. After hys prayer, he was hoysed vp on the stake,* and being in the fire, he sayd: Lorde haue mercy on me: Pray people while there is time, and so constantly departed.

Epitaphium.

Non nostra impietas aut actae crimina vitae

Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.

Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,

Quae vitae causa est, est mihi causa necis.

After this, by the iust iudgement of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which passed both in number and costlines, were burnt in time of reformation. Ex fideli testimonio è Scotia misso.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such Martirs as suffered in the Realme of Scotland for the faith of Christ Iesus, and testimonie of his truth.

¶Persecution in Kent.

IN reuoluing the Registers of William Warrham, Archbyshop of Canterbury, I finde moreouer besides these aboue comprehended,* in the time and reigne of king Henry, the names of diuers other, wherof some suffered Martyrdome for the like testimonie of Gods worde, and some recanted, which albeit heere do come a little out of order, and shoulde haue bene placed before in the beginning of King Henries reigne: yet rather then they should vtterly be omitted, I thought heere to geue them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether I trust without fruit vnto the Reader, being no lesse worthy to be Registered and preserued from obliuion, then other of theyr fellowes before them.

¶A Table of certayne true seruants of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Dioces of Cant. vnder William Warrham Archbyshop of Canterbury, with the names of theyr persecuters and accusers. an. 1511.

Persecuters and Iudges.

Accusers and witnesses.

The Martyrs.

- Wylliam Warrham Archbishop of Caunterbury.
- D. Cutbert Tonstall, Doctour of both lawes, and Chauncelour of the Archbyshop.
- D. Syluester, Lawyer.
- D. Wellys.
- Doctour Clement.
- Browne.
- Doctor Iohn Collet, Deane of Paules.
- Doctour Wodyngton.
- Willyam Rich of Benynnden.
- Agnes Iue, of Canterbury.
- Robert Hilles, of Tenterden.
- Steuen Castelyn of Tenterden.
- Io. Grebill of Tenterden, husband to Agnes Grebill the Martyr.
- Christopher Grebill the naturall sonne of Agnes Grebill the Martyr.
- Io. Grebill the yonger, the naturall sonne of Agnes Grebill the Martyr.
- Wil. Oldbert of Godmersham.
- Laur. Cheterdē.
- Tho. Harwood of Rowenden.
- Ioane Harwood his wife.
- Phill. Hardwod.
- Williā Baker of Cramebroke.
- Edw. Walker.
- Robert Reinold, of Benynnden.
- Williem Carder, of Tenderden, weauer.
- Agnes Grebill, of Tenterden, wife of Iohn Grebill the elder, and mother to Iohn and Christoph. Grebill, who with her own husband accused hir to death, being of threscore yeare of age.
- Rob. Harrison of Halden, of the age of lx. yeares.
- Iohn Browne, of Ashford.
- Edward Walker of Maidstone, Cutler.

The Articles whereupon these fiue blessed Martyrs were accused and condemned by the foresayd Iudges and witnesses, were these as follow.

First, W for holdinge that the sacrament of the aulter was not the very true bodye o Christ, but onely materiall bread in substaunce.

2. That auricular confessiō was not to be made to a priest.

3. That no power is geuen of God to Priestes of minystring sacramentes, saying Masse, or other Diuine seruice, W more then to lay men.

4. That the solemnisation of Matrimony is not necessary to saluation of soule, neyther was instituted of God (for a Sacrament they meant)
5. That the sacrament of extreme vnction is not auaileable, nor necessary to soules health.
6. That the Images of the crosse, of the crucifixe of y^e blessed virgin and other Saintes, are not to be worshipped: & that they which worship them, do commit Idolatry.
7. That pilgrimages to holy places and holy Reliques be not necessary, nor meritorious to soules health.
8. That inuocation is not to be made to sayntes, but onely to God, and that he onely heareth theyr prayers.
9. That holy bread and holy water haue no more vertue after their consecration, then before.
10. That they haue beleued, taught & holden all and euery of the same damnable opinions before: as they did at that present.
11. That where they nowe haue confessed theyr erroures, they would not haue so done, but onely for feare of manyfest proufes brought agaynst them, eyther els but for feare to be conuicted by them, they would neuer haue confessed y^e same of theyr owne accord.
12. That they haue commoned and talked of the sayd damnable erroours heretofore with diuers other persons and haue had bookes concerning the same.

The order and fourme of processe vsed agaynst these fiue Martyrs aforesayd, and first of William Carder. Anno. 1511.

William Carder being conuēted before William Warrhā Archbishop,* and his Chancellour Cutbert Tonstal, Doctour Siluester, Doctor Welles, Clement Browē with other moe, the Notaries being William Potkyng and Daudid Cooper, the Articles and interrogatoryes aaboue specified were layd vnto him. Which articles he ther and then denied, affirming that he neuer did, nor doth hold any such opinions, otherwise then becommeth that euerye Christen man shoulde doe, ready to conforme hymselfe in all poyntes to their doctrine: & therfore to cleare himselfe y^e better gaynst those Interrogatories obiected against them he stood in denya^l of the same. The like also did euerye of the other foure martyrs after hym.

All whiche notwithstanding,* the vncharitable Archbyshop seeking all aduauntage agaynst him that he might, & more then right law would ge•e, brought in agaynst hym such witnesses, as before were abiured, whom he knew for feare of relapse, durst doe none other but disclose whatsoever they knew, to wit, Christopher Grebyll, William Rich Agnes Iue, Iohn Grebill, Robert Hils,* & Stephen Castelyn. Whose depositions being taken, and the sayd Carder being asked what he could lay for hymselfe, hee had nothing, he sayd, to produce agaynst theyr attestations, but submitted him vnto theyr mercye, saying moreouer, that if he had euer any misbeliefe of the sacrament of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholickes,

hee now was sory, & repented him therof. Which being done, y^e archb. this his submission notw^tstanding, & notwithstanding that y^e Register maketh no mention of any relapse, cō^trary to good law, at least contrary to all Christen charity proceeded to the reading of his blinde sentence, and so condemned him: who neyther stooode stubbornely to that whiche he did hold, neither yet did hold any thinge contrary to the mind of holy scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called for Agnes Grebill, and examined of the sayd xii. articles aboue recited, whiche she in like maner denyed, as the other had done before, puttyng her aduersaries to ther proof. Then the archbishop calling for Iohn Grebyll her husband, and Christopher and Ioh. Grebyll her two sonnes (who before had bene abiured) caused them vppon theyr othe to depose agaynst theyr owne naturall mother, and so they did.

First Iohn Grebell the elder her husband, examined by vertue of hys othe, to say how Agnes his wife hath and doth beleue of the sacrament of the aaltar, of going in pilgrimage, offeringes, and worshipping of Sayntes, Images &c. and how long she hath so holdē, thus deposed: that first about the end of king Edwardes dayes the fourth, in [Page 1277](#) his house, by the teaching of Iohn Iue, she was brought to that beliefe, and so forth from thence dayly, till this time of detection, she hath continued.

And besides that (sayd he) when my children Christofer and Iohn, being about seauen yeares of age, were then taught of me in my house the said error of the Sacrament of the aaltar, and by the sayd Agnes my wife diuers times, she was alwayes of one mind in the said misbeliefe against the Sacrament of the aaltar,* that it was not Christes body, flesh and bloud, but only bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was stedfast in the sayd error, he sayd that she alwaies without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and sayde, the sayd opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid,* were of the same opinions againste the Sacramente of the aaltar, &c. Ex verbis Registri.

The Byshop with his Catholicke Doctours, not yet contented with this, to set the husband agaynst the wyfe, proceeding further in their Catholicke zeale, caused her two children Christofer and Iohn to be produced,* one of the age of xxij. the other of xix. against their owne naturall mother. Who likewise being pressed with their othe, witnessed and sayd, that the foresaid Agnes their mother held, beleued, taught, and defended, that the Sacrament of the aaltar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ, fleshe, and bloud: That Baptisme was no better in the Fount, then out of the Fount: That confirmation was of no effect: That the solemnisation of Matrimony was no sacrament: That confession to God alone was sufficient: Also that going in pilgrimage and worshipping of Saints and Images was of none effect, &c. Item, that their father and the sayd Agnes their mother helde, taught, and communed of the sayd errors within their house diuers times, by the space of those three yeares past, as well on holy dayes, as working dayes, affirming and teaching that the saide opinions were good and lawfull, and to be holden and maintained, and agreemente was made amongst them, that none of them should discouer or bewray eyther of these beliefes in any wise. Finally, that they neuer heard their sayd father and mother, holding nor reaching any other opinions, then be the said errors against the Sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of Saints and Images, as farre as they could remember, &c. Ex verbis Regist.

Heere hast thou (Christian reader) before thine eyes, an horrible spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impietie, first of an vnnaturall husband,* witnessing against his own wife: and of as vnnaturall children, accusing and witnessing against their owne naturall mother. Which although they had so done, the cause being of it selfe iust and true (as it was not) yet had they done more then nature would haue led them to do. Now the case being such, as which by Gods word standeth firme, sound, and perfect, what impietie were it for men to accuse a poore innocent in case of heresie, which is no heresie? Now besides all this, the husband to come in against his owne wife, and the children to bring in the knife wherewith to cut the throate of theyr owne naturall mother that bare them, that nourished thē, that brought them vp, what is this, but impietie vpon impietie,* prodigious and horrible for all Christian eares to heare? And yet the greatest impietie of all resteth in these pretensed Catholickes and Clergiemen, which weare the authors and causers of all this mischiefe.

The cause why this good woman so stood (as she dyd) in the deniall of these foresaid articles objected,* was thys, for that she neuer thought that her husband and her owne children, who onely were priuie of her Religion, would testifie agaynst her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceaued to come in, and to depose this agaynst her, denying stil as she did before) that she did euer hold such maner of errorrs,* and being now destitute of all frends and comfort, brast out in these woordes openly (as the register reporteth) that she repented the time that euer she bare those children of her body. And thus the Archb. with his Doctours hauing now the thing that they sought for, albeit she was ready to deny all errorrs,* and to conforme her selfe to theyr religion, yet notwithstanding, they refusing her readines and conformitie, proceeded to theyr sentence, and so condemned her to death.

*After whose condemnation, next was brought to examination Rob. Harrison, whom in like maner, because, he stode in his deniall, contrary witnesses agaynst him were produced: to wit, Christofer Grebyll. W. Rich, W. Olberd Agnes Iue, who a litle before had bene abiured, and therefore were so much the more apt and appliable to serue the Bishops humour for daunger of relapse. After the deposition & conuiction of which witnesses, although he submitted himselfe to repentaunce and conformitie, yet notwythstanding it would not be receaued, but sentence was read & he condemned with the other two aforesayd, vnto y^e fire.

And thus these three were condemned and burned,* & certificate geuen vp of them together to the king frō Warrham the Archbishop vpon the same. An. 1511. Maij. 2. Ex Regist. Cant.

Ouer and besides these three godly martyrs aboue recited. I finde in the foresayd Registers of W. Warrham,* ij. other godly like martirs also in the same yeaere, and for the same xij. articles aboue specified, to be condemned vpon y^e depositions of certayne witnesses brought in agaynst thē, to wyt. Tho. Harwod, Phillip Harwod,* Stephen Castelyn, W. Baker, Rob. Reynold, Ioh. Bāpton, Rob. Bright W. Rich. &c. whereupon they were adiudged likewise for heretickes to be burned, the yeaere aforesayd. 1511. y^e names of which two martyrs were Iohn Brown, and Edward Walker. Ex Regist. W. Warrh. fol. 179.

Nowe as you haue heard the names of these blessed Martyrs, with their articles recited, let vs also heare the tenor of the Bishops sentence, by the which they were condemned one after an other. Their sentence contayneth one vniforme maner of wordes in forme as followeth.

***The tenour of the sentence.**

IN nomine Dei. Amen. Nos Willielmus permissione diuina Cantuariensis Archiepis. totius Angliae primas & Apostolicae sedis Legatus,* in quodam negotio hereticae prauitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenterden nostrae Cant. Dioceseos laicum ac nostro imperio notoriè subditum & subiectum coram nobis in iudicio personaliter comparentem nobis super heretica prauitate huiusmodi detectum & delatum, ac per nostram Diocesim Cantuariæ antedictae notoriè & publicè in ea parte apud bonos & graues diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè & canonicè precedentes, auditis & intellectis, visis & cognitis, rimatis{que} ac matura deliberatione discussis & ponderatis dicti negotij meritis, seruatisque in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de iure seruandis, ac quomodo libet requisitis pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine inuocato & solum Deum prae oculis habentes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita coram nobis in eodem negotio inuenimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte iudicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, haereses, & damnatas opiniones, iuri diuino & ecclesiastico obuiantes, contrarios, & repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determinatam & obseruatam, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, predicasse, & dogmatizasse, & presertim contra Sacramenta altaris, seu eucharistiae, poenitentiae, ordinis, & alia Sacramenta, & sanctae matris Ecclesiae dogmata: Et quamuis nos Christi vestigijs inhaerendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis vt conuertatur & viuat, sepenumero conati fuimus te corrigere ac vijs & modis licitis, & canonicis quibus potuimus aut sciuius, ad fidem orthodoxam per vniuersalem Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, determinatam & obseruatam, ac ad vnitatem eiusdem sanctae matris Ecclesiae reducere, tamen inuenimus te adeo durae ceruicis quòd tuos errores & haereses huiusmodi nolueris sponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem Catholicam & vnitatem sanctae matris Ecclesiae antedictas debitè reuerti & redire, sed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantum indurasti cor tuum, vt non velis intelligere vocem tui pastoris tibi paterno compacentis affectu, nec velis pijs & paternis monitionibus allici, nec salubribus reduci blanditijs: Nos vero nolentes quod t• qui iniquus es fias nequior, & gregem dominicum in futurum tuae hereticae prauitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de consilio Iurisperitorum nobis in hac parte assistentium cum quibus communicauimus in hac parte, te Willielmum Carder predictum de meritis atque culpis per tuam damnablem pertinaciam aggrauatis, de & super huiusmodi detestabili hereticae prauitatis reatu conuictum, & ad Ecclesiae vnitatem poenitentialiter redire nolentem, haereticum haereticisque credentem ac eorum fautorem & receptatorem praetextu praemissorem fuisse & esse, cum dolore & amaritudine cordis iudicamus & declaramus finaliter & diffinitiuè in his scriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam haereticum iudicio siue curiae seculari, teque Willielmum Carder praedictum (vt praefertur) haereticum nihilominus in maioris excommunicationis, sententiam occasione praemissorum incidisse & incurrisse, nec non excommunicatum fuisse & esse pronuntiamus, decernimus, & declaramus etiam in his scriptis.

Moreouer, besydes these fyne blessed Sainctes of God, whome they so cruelly by theyr sentence dyd condemne to deathe, we finde also in the same Registers of William Warrham, a greate number of other, whome they for the same doctrine and lyke Articles caused to be apprehended and put to open recantation: the names of which persons in the Catalogue heere following, bee these.

¶Here foloweth a Table contayning the names of them which were abiured the same time vnder William Warham Archbishop, in the Dioces of Caunterbury. An. 1511.

- Iohn Grebyll, the elder of Benynnden.
- *Christopher Grebyll, hys sonne.
- Ioh. Grebill, sonne of Iohn the elder of Benynnden.
- W. Rich of Beninden.
- W. Olbert, the elder of Godmersham.
- Agnes lue of Canterbury.
- Agnes Chytenden of Canterbury.*
- Thomas Manning of Benin | den.
- Ioane Colyn of Tenterden.
- Rob. Hilles of Tenterden.
- Alice Hilles his wife.
- Tho. Harwood. of Rowendē
- Ioane Harwood. his wife. of Rowendē
- Phil. Harwood. of Rowendē.
- Stephen Castelin of Tenderden.
- W. Baker of Cranbroke.
- Margeret Baker his wife.
- W. Olbert the younger, of Godmersham.
- Rob. Reygnolde of Godmersham.
- Agnes Reygnold of Cranbroke.
- Thomas Fielde, of Boxley.
- Ioane Olbert, wyfe to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham.
- Elizabeth White of Caunterbury.
- Thomas Church of greate Charte.
- Vincent Linche, of Halden.
- Iohn Ryche of Wyttysham.
- Ioane Lynche of Tenterden.
- Thom. Browne of Crambroke.
- Iohn Franke of Tenterden.
- Ioyce Bampton, Wyfe of Iohn Bampton, of Berstede.
- Rich. Bampton of Boxley.
- Robert Bright of Maydstone.
- William Lorkyn of Eastforley.
- Iohn Bannes of Boxley. 1512.
- Iohn Buckherst of Stapleherst.
- Ioane Dodde, wife of Iohn Dodde.
- Iohn Bennet, of Stapleherst.
- Rebecka Bennet his Wife.
- Ioane Lowes, Wyfe of Tho. Lowes of Crambroke.
- Iulian Hilles Wyfe of Robert Hilles of Tenterden.
- Robert Francke of Tenterden.

¶The Articles layd to these abiurers, appeare in the Registers to be the same which before were objected to the other v. Martyrs aforesayd: which was, for beleuing and defending.

1. First that the sacrament of the aultar was not the very body of Christ,* but materiall bread.
2. That cōfessiō of sinnes ought not to be made to a priest.
3. That there is no more power geuen of God to a priest, then to a lay man.
4. That the solemnization of Matrimony is not necessary for the weale of mans soule.
5. That the sacrament of externe vnction, called aneyling, is not profitable nor necessary for mans soule.
6. That Pilgrimages to holy and deuoute places be not necessary nor meritorious for mans soule.
7. That Images of Saintes, or of the Crucifixe, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.
- *8. That a man should pray to no saint, but onely to God.

9. That holy water and holy bread is not better after the benediction made by the Priest. Ex verbis Regist. W. Warrhā. Fol. 176. an. 1511.

*By these articles & abruations of the forenamed persons, thou hast to vnderstand Christian Reader, what doctrine of religion was here styrring in this our Realme of England before the time that the name of Martine Luther was euer heard of here amongst vs.

***Three diuers sortes of iudgements amongst the Pa'pistes, agaynst heretickes, as they call them.**

*AS touching the penaunce & penalty enioyned to these aforesaid, as also to al other such like, first here is to be noted, that the Catholick fathers in theyr processes of hereticall prauity, haue three diuers and distinct kindes of iudgementes and proceedinges.

*For some they iudge to be burned, to the intent that other being brought into terrour by them, they might therfore more quietly hold vp theyr kingdome, & reign as they list. And thus condēned they these v. aforesayd, & notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselues to y^e bosome of the mother Church, yet could they not be receiued as by the words of the Register, and by the tenor of theyr sentence aboue specified, may well appeare.

And this sort of persons thus by them condemned, cōsisteth either in such as haue bene before abiured, and fallē agayne into relapse: or els such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abiure, eyther els such as they intēd to make a terrour and example to all other, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselues, and yet cannot be receiued. And of this last sort were these v. Martyrs last named. So was also Iohn Lambert, who submitting himselfe to the king, could not be accepted: So was likewise Richard Mekins the sely

lad, pag. 1174. and the three women of Gernesey, whose submission woulde not serue to saue theyr liues, with many other in like case. Agaynst this sort of persons, the processe which the papists vse, is this. First after they beginne once to be suspected by some Promotor, they are denoūced and cited: then by vertue of Inquisition they are taken and clapt fast in Irons and prison: from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before kilde by famine, colde, or strayghtnesse of the prison. Then be articles drawne or rather wrested out of theyr writinges or preachinges, & they put to theyr othe to answere truely to euery poynt and circumstaunce articulated agaynst them.* Whiche Articles if they seeme to deny, or to salue by true expounding, thē are witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soeuer they are, be they neuer so much infamous, vsurers, ribaldes, women, yea and common harlots. Or if no other witnesses can be founde, then is the husband brought in and forced to sweare agaynst the wife, or the wife agaynst the husband, or the children agaynst the naturall mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebyll. Or if no such witsesse at all can be found, then are they strayned vpon the racke, or by other bitter tormentes forced to confesse theyr knowledge, and to peach other. Neyther must any be suffered to come to them, what neede so euer they haue. Neither must any publicke or quiet audience be geuen them to speake for themselues: till at last sentence be readde agaynst them, to geue them vp to the secular arme, or to degrade thē, if they be Priestes, and so to burne them. Ex hist. Cochlaei contra Hussitas.

And yet the malignity of these Aduersaryes doth not here cease. For after that the fire hath consumed their bodyes, then they fal vpon theyr bookes and condemne them in like maner to be burned, & no man so hardy to read thē, or keep them, vnder payne of heresy.* But before they haue abolished these bookes, first they gather articles out of thē, such as they list themselues, & so peruersly wrast & wringe them after theyr owne purpose, falsely, & cōtrary to y^e right meaning of the author, as may seeme after theyr putting down, to be most heretical, & execrable. Which being done, & the bookes then abolished, that no man may confer them with theyr articles to espy theyr falshood: thē they diuulge and set abroad those articles in such sort as princes & people may see what heretickes they were. And this is the rigor of theyr processe and proceeding against these persons, whom thus they purpose to condemne and burne.

To the second order belongeth that sort of heretickes whom these Papistes do not condemne to death, but assigne them vnto Monasteries there to continue,* and to fast all theyr life, In pane doloris & aqua angustiae, that is, wyth bread of sorow, and water of afflictio: and that they should not remoue one mile out of the precinct of the sayd Monastery, so long as they liued, without they were otherwise by the archbishop himselfe or his successors dispensed with all. Albeit many times the sayd persons were so dispensed withall, that theyr penaunce of bread and water, was turned for them to wollward Wednesdaies and fridaies euery weeke, or some other like punishment. &c.

The thyrd kinde of heretickes were those whom these Prelates did iudge not to perpetuall prison, but onely inioyned them penaunce either to stand before the preacher, or els to beare a fagot about the market, or in processio: or els to weare the picture of a fagotte bordered on theyr lefte sleeues, without any cloke or gowne vpon the same:* or else to kneele at the saying of certain masses, or to say so many Pater nosters, Aues, and Creedes to such or such a Saynct: or to go in pilgrimage to such or such a place: or els to beare a Fagot to the burning of some hereticke:

either els to fast certayne Fridayes bread & water: Or if it were a woman to weare no smocke on Fridayes, but to go wolward. &c, as appeareth Regist. fol. 159.

And thus much by the way out of the Register of William Warrham aforesayd, like as also out of other bishops registers many mo such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leysure would serue me to search, or if the largenes of this Uolume would suffer al to be inserted [Page 1279](#) that might be found. Howbeit, amōgst many other things omitted, the story and Martyrdome of Lancelot, and hys felowes, is not to be forgottē. The story of whō with their names is this.

¶The Martyrdome of Lancelot one of the kinges garde, Iohn a Paynter, and Gyles Germane.

*About the yeare of our Lord. 1539. one Iohn a Paynter, and Giles Germaine were accused of heresy, and whilst they were in examination at London, before the Byshop and other Iudges, by chaunce there came in one of the kinges seruantes named Lancelot, a very tall man, and of no lesse godly minde and disposition, then strong & tall of body.

This man standing by, seemed by his countenance & gesture to fauour both the cause & the poore men his frēds. Wherupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them, and the next day at v. of the clocke in the morning, was caryed with thē into S. Giles in the field, and there burned, being but a small concourse or company of people at theyr death.

In the company and felowship of these blessed Saints and Martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within y^e time of K. Henryes raigne, for the testimony of Gods word and truth, an other good man also commeth to mind not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed and burned in Smithfield, about the latter end of Cuth. Tonstals time Byshop of Londō: whose name was called Stile, as is credibly reported vnto vs by a worthy & auncient Knight, named Syr Robert Outred, who was the same time present himselfe at his burning, and witnes of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalips, which belike he was wont to read vpon. This book when he saw fastened vnto the stake to be burned with him, lifting vp his voyce, O blessed Apocalips (sayd he) how happy am I, that shal be burned with thee? And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalips were both together in the fire consumed.

AND thus (through the gracious supportatiō of Christ our Lord) we haue runne ouer these 37. laborious yeares of king Henries race. Under whose tyme and gouernance, such actes and recordes, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practises, alterations and reformations as thē happened in the church, we haue here discoursed, with such statutes, iniunctions and proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes & matters to the sayd church apperteyning: Albeit not cōprehending all things so fully as might be, yet pretermittting so few thinges as we could, of suche matters as came to our handes:* saue onely, that certayne instruments with a few other occurrentes somewhat pertaining to the course of this kinges history, haue past our hands, as the false lying bul of pope Leo x. against M. Luther: with the forme also of the sayd M. Luthers appeale from the Pope vnto a generall counsel. All which, w^t other matters moe besides omitted, we haue differred by themselues hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the sequele of this present story, as in his due place shall appeare.

In the meane season, amongst other omissions here ouerpast,*^u forsomuch as a certayne instrument of the popes sentence definitiue against K. Henries first deuorse w^t Lady Katherine Dowager, hath of late come to our handes, conteining matter neither impertinent nor vnmeet to be committed to history, I thought here presently to place the same, to the intent that the Reader seeing the arrogant and impudent presumption of the Pope in the sayde sentence, going about by force & authority so to constrayne & cōpell kings and princes agaynst theyr willes, & agaynst right & scripture to apply to his imperious purpose, may the better vnderstand thereby, what was the true cause & groūd why the king first began to take stomacke against the pope and to send him cleane packing out of this realme. But be'fore I shall produce this foresayd sentence of the Pope definitiue, to make the matter more plain to y^e reader, it shal not be amisse, first to discipher & rip vp the originall of such occasions as shal induce the reader to the better vnderstāding of this falling out betwene the king and the Pope.

For so I finde by the letters of D. Stephen Gardener written to Cardinall Wolsey frō Rome, (at what time he & Foxe were sent Ambassadors by the king to Pope Clement the 7. about the expedition of the kings diuorce. Ann. 1632.) that the sayd Pope Clement with the counsell of the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor and other Cardinals, at first was well willing, and very inclinable to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the kinges desire in that behalfe and that for diuers respectes.

As first, for the great benefites receiued,*^u and the singuler deuotion of the king toward the sea Apostolicke, in taking warre for the Churches cause, in surceasing warre at the Popes desire, and especially in procuring the Popes deliuerance, whereby the Pope then thought himselfe with his whole Sea, much obliged to the king mail respectes, to passe by his authority whatsoever• reasonable might be graunted in gratifiyng the kinges so ample merites and desertes.

Secondly, for the euident reasons and substantiall argumentes in the *^u kinges booke conteyned, which seemed well to satisfy the Popes liking, and to remoue away all scruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion & confidence that y^e pope had in the excellent wisdom, profoūd learning, and mature iudgement of the king, which the Pope (as he sayd in formall words) would soner leane vnto, then to any other learned mans minde or sentence, so that the kinges reasōs (he sayd) must needes be of great efficacy and strength of himselfe to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cause mouing the Pope to sauor the kings, request, was for the quiet and tranquility of his conscience which otherwise in that vnlawful Mariage with his brothers wife could not be settled.

The fift cause was for the consideration of the perils & daungers, which otherwise might happen to the realm by the pretended titles of the king of Scottes, & other, without an heyre male to establish the kinges succession: for the auoyding of which perils and also for the other causes aboue rehearsed, the pope shewed himselfe at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the kinges desired purpose in that behalfe.

And thus much touching this by matter I thought here to suggest, & repeat to the reader, albeit the same is also sufficiently expressed before, pag. 1057. and 1058. to the end that the studious

Reader pondering these first proceedinges of the Pope, & comparing them with this sentence definitiue, which vnder foloweth, may y^e better vnderstād what inconstant lenity, what false dealing, what craftye packing, and what contrariety in it selfe, is in this Popes holy Sea of Rome: as by this case of the Pope may well appeare, who in short time after all this, was so clean altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to esteeme so gratefully the kinges trauell and benefites exhibited to the sea Apostolicke, in his defence agaynst the Emperor and the Spanyardes, now he ioyneth vtterly wyth the Cesarians agaynst the king. And where before he so greatly magnified the kinges profound learning, & mature iudgement, esteeming his minde & Sentence aboue al other learned mē, to be as a iudge sufficient in the directiō of this case: now turning head to the taylor, he vtterly refuseth to bring the matter in iudiciū orbis, but will needes deteine it at home. Agayne, where before he pretēded a tēder prouision for the state of this Realme: now he setteth all other realmes against it.* And finally where he before seemed to respect the quiet & tranquility of the kinges conscience: now he goeth about to commaund & compell the king agaynst his will and cōscience to do cleane contrary to that, which he himselfe before in his iudgemēt had allowed, thin|king to haue the king at his becke, and to doe and vndoe what he lifted and commaunded: as by the tenor and true copy of this his Sentence definitiue, ye may vnderstand. Which as it came newly to our hāds, I thought here to exhibite vnto the world, that al mē might see what iust cause the king had, being so presūptuously prouoked by the pope to shake of his proud authority, & vtterly to exile him out of his realme. Marke, I pray thee, the maner of the popes proud Sentence how presumptuously it procedeth.

☛ Anglici Matrimonij. ¶ Sententia diffinitua.

¶ Lata per Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum D. Clementem Papam vij. in sacro Consistorio,* de Reuerendissimorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio, super validitate Matrimonij inter Serenissimos Henricum VIII. & Catherinam Angliae Reges contracti.

PRO

Eadem Serenissima Catherina Angliae Regina.

CONTRA

Serenissimum Henricum VIII. Angliae Regem.

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[illustration]

Clemens Papa. 7.

CHRISTI nomine inuocato in Throno iustitiae pro tribunali sedentes & solum Deum prae oculis habentes, per hanc nostram diffinitiuam sententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Sanctae Ro. Ec. Car. Consistorialiter coram nobis cōgregatorū Consilio & assensu ferimus in his scriptis,* pronunciamus, de•ernimus, & declaramus in causa & causis ad nos & Sedem Apostolicam per appellationem, per charissimam in Christo Filiā Catherinam Angliae Reginam Illustrem a nostris & Sedis Apostolicae Legatis in Regno Angliae deputatis interpositā legitimè deuolutis, & aduocatis, inter praedictā Catherinam Reginam, & Charissimum in Christo Filium

Henricum VIII. Angliae Regē Illustrem, super Validitate & Inualiditate Matrimonij inter eosdem Reges contracti & consummati rebus{que} alijs inactis, causae & causarum huiusmodi latius deductis, & dilecto filio Paulo Capissucho causarū sacri palatij tunc decano, & propter ipsius Pauli absentiam venerabili fratri nostro Iacobo Simonetae Episcopo Pisau•ien. vnus ex dicti palatij causaurū Auditoribus locū tenēti, audiēdis instruēdis, & in Consistorio nostro Secreto referendis cómissis, & pereos nobis, & eiusdē Cardinalibus Relatis, & maturē discussis, corā nobis pēdētibus, matrimoniū inter predictā Catherinā, & Hēricū Angliae Reges cōtractū, & inde secuta quaecū{que} fuisse & esse validū & canonicū valida{que} & Canonica, suos{que} debitos debuisse & debere sortiri effectus, prolē{que} exinde susceptam & suscipiēdā fuisse & fore legitimā, & praefatū Hēricum Angliae Regē teneri, & obligatū fuisse & fore ad cohabitandū cū dict• Catherina Regina eius legitima cōiuge illā{que} maritali affectione & Regio honore tractādū, & eūdē Hēricū Angliae Regem ad praemissa omnia & singula cū effectu adimplendū, condēdandū omnibus{que} iuris remedijs cogendū & cōpellendū fore, prout condēnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, molestationes{que} & denegationes per eundē Henricū Regē eidē Catherinae Reginae super inualiditate ac foedere dicti matrimonij quomodo libet factas & praest•tas, fuisse & esse illicitas & iniustas, & eidē Hērico Regi super illis ac inualiditate matrimonij huiusmodi perpetuū silētium imponēdū fore, & imponim{us}, eundē{que} Henricū Angliae Regē in expensis in huiusmodi causa pro parte dictae Catherinae Reginae coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitimē factis cōdēnandū fore, & condēnamus, quarū expensarum taxationem nobis imposterū reseruamus.

Ita pronuntiamus. I. Lata fuit Romae in Palatio Apostolico publice in Consistorio die .xxiii. Martij M.D.XXXIII.

Blosius.

¶The effect in English.

THE effect of this Sentence is as much to meane in english: That Pope Clement the vij. with the consent of his other brethrē the Cardinals assembled together in his Consistory,* sitting there in the throne of (A) Iustice, calling vpon the name (B) of Christ, and hauing God onely before his (C) eyes, doth pronounce, define, & declare in the cause & causes betwene his dere daughter Katherine Quene of England appealing to the sea Apostolicke, & his beloued (D) sonne Henry the eight, king of England, concerning y^e validity & inualidity of the Matrimony heretofore contracted betwene thē, and yet depending in the Consistory court of the said pope Clement: that the sayd Matrimony alwaies hath (E) and still doth stand firme & Canonically, & that the issue proceeding, or which shall proceed of the same, standeth, and shall stand lawfull and legitimate: and that the foresayd Henry king of England, is and shalbe boūd and obstruct to the Matrimoniall society and cohabitatiō with the sayd Lady Katherine his lawfull wi•e & Quene, to hold and maynteine her with such loue and princely honor, as becommeth a louing husbande, and his kingly honor to do.

Also that the sayd Henry king of England, if he shall refuse so to performe and accomplish all and singuler the premisses, in all effectuall maner, is to be condemned and compelled hereunto by all remedies of (F) the law, & enforced, according as we do cōdemne, compell and enforce him so to do, prouiding that al molestations and refusals what'soeuer, made by the sayde king

Henry agaynst the sayde Queene Katherine, vpon the inualidity of the sayd Mariage, to haue bene and to be iudged vnlawful and vniust: and the sayd king frō henceforth for euer to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter (G) to speake touching the inualidity of the sayd matrimony: like as we also do here will and charge him to holde his peace, and do put him to perpetuall silence herein: Willing moreouer & adiudging the sayd king henry to be condemned and presently here doe condemne him in the expenses on the sayde Quene Katherines behalfe here in our Court, exposed & employed in trauersing the foresaid cause, the valuation of which expenses, we reserue to our selues to be limited and taxed, as we shall iudge meete hereafter.

We do so pronounce. I. At Rome in our Apostolicall palace publickely in our Consistory.23.
Mart. M.D.XXXIII.

Blosius.

Now as you haue heard the presumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh vpon him, contrary to the ordinaunce of God in his Leuiticall law (as before is shewed pag. 1025.) and contrary to y^e best learned iudgementes of Christendome, to commaund and compell the king agaynst his conscience, to reteine in Matrimony his brothers wife: here foloweth in like order to be inferred, according to my promise, an other like wicked, blasphemous,* and sclaunderous Bull of Pope Leo against Martin Luther, with the iust Appellation also of the sayd Martin Luther, from the Pope to a generall Counsell. Wherein may appeare to all men the lying spirite of the pope, both in teaching most heretical doctrine, derogating from the bloud of Christ, and also falsely deprauing & peruerting the sound doctrine of Luther, falsely and vntruely charging him with heresy, when he is the greater heretick himselfe. For what hereticke would euer say that the church of Rome was consecrate and sanctified by the bloud of Peter, but onely the Pope? Or who would cal this heresy, to referre al our saluation and sanctification onely and totally to the bloud of the sonne of God, vnlesse he were an hereticke of all heretickes himselfe?

After the like dealing we read .3. Reg. 18. of wicked king Achab,* who being onely the disturber of Israel himselfe, crieth out vpon Elias, for troubling Israel. So here in semblablewise Pope Leo, with what heape of tragicall wordes and exclamations doth he fare and rage agaynst y^e true seruant of God poore Luther, for disturbing y^e church of God, when it is the Pope onely & his fathers house that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may see enough & to much. In the meane time read, I besech thee, with iudgement this impudent & false slaunderous Bull of the Pope, with the appeale also of Luther agayn from the sayd pope. The copy wherof because they be rare to be gotten, & hath not bene hetherto commonly sene, being before omitted I thought to cōmit here to history, as I had it out of certayn Registers: the maner & tenor wherof is this as foloweth.

A copy of the Bull of Pope Leo x. no lesse slaunderous then barbarous, agaynst Martin Luther and his doctrine. Leo Papa .x.

LEo Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge Domine & iudica causam tuam.* Memor esto impropriorum eorum quae ab insipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt vulpes querentes demoliri veneam, cuius tu

torcular solus calcasti, & ascensus ad patrem, eius curam, regimē,* & administrationem Petro tanquam capiti, & tuo vicario eius{que} successoribus instar triumphantis Ecclesiae commisisti. &c.

¶The sayd sclaunderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the x. agaynst Luther, in English, with the aunswere of Luther ioyned to the same.

LEo Byshop, seruauent of the seruauentes of God, for a perpetual memory hereof. Rise vp O Lord, & iudge thy [Page 1281](#) cause: Remember the rebukes wherewith we are scorned all the day lōg of foolish rebukers. Encline thy eare to our prayers: for Foxes are risen vp, seeking to destroy thy vine|yarde, the vinepresse wherof thou onely hast trodē, and ascending vp to thy Father, hast committed the charge and regiment therof vnto Peter as chiefe head, and to thy Uicare and his successors. The wilde Bore out of the woode seeketh to exterminate and roote vp thy Uineyard. Rise vp Peter, and for this thy pastorall charge committed to thee from aboue entēd to the cause of the holy Church of Rome the mother of all churches,* and of our fayth, which thou by the commaundement of God didst consecrate wyth thine owne bloud: agaynst which (as thou hast foretold vs) false lyers haue risen vp, bringing in sects of perdition, to their owne speddy destruction. Whose toūg is like fire, full of vnquietnes, and replenished with deadly poysō: who hauing a wicked zeale, and nourishing contentions in theyr harts do bragge and lye agaynst the verity.

Rise vp Paul also, we pray thee, which hast illuminate the same Church with thy doctrine and like martyrdome. For now is sprong vp a new Porphery, who, as they said Porphyry then vniustly did sclaunder the holy Apostles, so semblably doth this man now sclaunder, reuile, rebuke, byte, and barcke agaynst the holy Byshops our predecessors, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checkes & rebukes, after the wonted vse of heretickes, whose vttermost refuge is this (as Hierome sayth) y^t whē they see theyr cause go to wracke, then like Serpentes they cast out theyr venime with theyr tounge, and when they see themselues, neare to be ouercome, they fall to rayling. For though heresies (as thou sayest) must needes be, for the exercise of the faythfull: yet least these heresies should further encrease and these Foxes gather strength agaynst vs, it is needfull that by thy meanes and helpe, they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

Finally let all the whole vniuersall Churche of Gods Saynts and Doctours rise vp, whose true expounding of holy Scripture being reiected, certayne persons (whose hartes the father of lyes hath blinded) and wise in theyr owne conceites (as the maner of heretickes is) do expoūd the scriptures otherwise then the holy Ghost doth require folowing onely theyr owne sense of ambition and vayne-glory: yea rather do wrast and adulterate the Scriptures: so that as Hierome sayth, now they make it not the gospel of Christ, but of man, or which is worse of the deuill.

Let all the holy church I say, rise vp, & wi•h the blessed Apostles together make intercessiō to almighty God, that the errors of all schismatickes being rooted & stocked vp, his holy Church may be conserued in peace and vnity.

For of late (which for sorrow we can not expresse) by cre'dible information and also by publick fame it hath come to our eares, yea we haue seene also & read with our eyes, diuers and sundry

errors, of which some haue bene condemned by counsels and constitutions of our predecessors containing expresly y^e heresies of the Greekes & of the Bohemians: * some agayn respectiue, either heretical or false, or sclauderous, or offensiue to good eares, or such as may seduce simple myndes: newly to be raysed vp, by certayne false pretended Gospellers: who by curious pride seeking worldly glory against the doctrine of the apostle, would be more wise then becommeth them, whose babling (as S. Hierome calleth it) without authority of the Scriptures, should finde no credit, vnlesse they should seme to cōfirme theyr false doctrine euen with testimonies of the scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh vs so much the more grief, for y^t those heresies be sprong in y^e noble nation of the Germanes, vnto the which natiō we with our predecessors, haue alwayes borne speciall fauor and affection. For after the Empyre was first translated by the Church of Rome, from the Greekes vnto the Germanes, the said our predecessors and we, haue alwayes had them as speciall fautors & defenders of this our Church, and they haue alwaies shewed themselues as most earnest suppressors of heresies: as witnes wherof remaine yet those laudable cōstitutions of the Germane Emperors, set forth and confirmed by our predecessors, for the liberty of the Church, and for expulsiō heretickes out of all Germany, and that vnder greuous penalty and losse of al theyr goods and lands. Which constitutiōs, if they were obserued this present day both we and they should now be free from thys disturbaunce.

*Furthermore, the heresy of the Hussites, Wicleuistes, & of Hierome of Prage, being condēned and punished in the Coūcel of Constance, doth witnes y^e same. Moreouer doth witnes the same, so much bloud of y^e Germanes spilt fighting agaynst the Bohemians. To cōclude, the same also is confirmed & witnessed by the learned & true confutatiō, reprobation and condēnation set forth by the Uniuersities of Colene and Louane in Germany agaynst the foresayd errors. Many other witnesses also we might alledge, which here, least we should seme to write a story, we preterm••.

Wherefore we for the charge of our Pastorall office cōmitted vnto vs, can no longer forbear or winck at the pestiferous poyson of the foresayd errors: of the which errors we thought here good to recite certayne. The tenor of whiche is this, as foloweth.

It is an old heresy to say, *that the Sacramentes of the new <◇> doth geue grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem. i. which haue in themselues to the contrary, no let.

In a childe after his Baptisme, to deny that sinne remayneth, is to tread downe Paule and Christ vnder foote.

The origene of sinne, although no actuall sinne doe folow •fter, doth stay the soule leauing the body, from the entraunce into heauen.

Vnperfite charity of a mā departing, must needes bring wyth it great feare, which of it selfe is enough to deserue the payne of Purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the kingdome of heauen.

To say that penauce standeth of three partes, to wit, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, is not founded in holy Scripture nor in auncient, holy and Christian Doctors.

Contritiō, which a man stirreth vp in himselfe, by discussing, remembring, and detestinge his sinnes, in reuoluing his former yeares in bitternesse of soule, and in pondering the waight, number and filthinesse of his sinnes, the leeing of eternall blisse, and getting of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh a man an hipocrite and a great sinner.

It is an olde prouerbe, & to be preferred before the doctrine of all that haue written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to transgresse no more. The chieftest and the best penance is a new life.

Neither presume to confesse the veniall sinnes, nor yet all thy mortall sinnes,*for it is impossible to remember all the mortall sinnes that thou hast committed, and therefore in the primitiue Church they confessed the mortall sinnes, which onely were manifest.

While we seeke to number vp all our sinnes sincerely vnto the priest, we meane nothing els herein, but that we will leaue nothing to the mercy of God, to be forgeuen.

In confession no man hath his sinnes forgeuen, except he beleue, whē the priest forgeueth, the same to be remitted: yea otherwise his sinne remayneth vnforgeuē, vnles he beleue the same to be forgeuen. For els remission of the priest, and geuing of grace doth not suffice, except beliefe come on his part that is remitted.

Thinke not thy sinne to be assoyled, for the worthines of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ: Whatsoeuer thou lovest. &c. When thou art absolued of the priest,*trust confidently vpon these wordes, and beleue firmly thy selfe to be absolued, & then art thou truely remitted.

Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite (whiche is*impossible, or that the priest pronouced the wordes of losing, not in earnest, but in iest: yet if the party beleue that he is absolued, he is truely absolued in deed.

In the sacrament of penance and absolution, the Pope or bishop do no more, then any inferior priest can do. Yea and where a priest is not to be had, there euery Christian man, yea or Christian woman standeth in as good stead.

*None ought to say to the priest, that he is contrite, neither ought the priest to aske any such matter.

It is a great error of them which come to the holy housel tru'sting vpon this, that they are cōfessed, that theyr cōscience grudgeth them of no deadly sinne, that they haue sayd theyr prayers, and done such other preparatiues before: all those do eat & drink to theyr owne iudgement▪ But if they beleue there to obteyne Gods grace, this fayth maketh them pure and worthy.

It were good that the church should determine in a generall coūcell, lay men to cōmunicate vnder both kindes: & the Bohemians so doing, be therin neither hereticks, nor schismatickes.

The treasures out of which the Pope doth graunt his Indulgences, are not the merites of Christ, nor of the Sayntes.

Indulgences and pardons be a deuout seducing of the faythfull, and hinderance to good works: and are in the number of thē which be thinges*lawfull, but not expedient.

Pardons and Indulgences to them which haue them, auayle not to remission of the punishment due before God, for actuall sinnes committed.

They which thinke that Indulgences are wholesome and cōducible to the fruite of the spirite, are deceiued.

Indulgences are onely necessary for publicke transgressions, & are onely graunted to them that are obstinate and impacient.

Indulgences and pardons are vnprofitable to 6. sortes of per|sons. 1. to them that be dead, or lye in dying. 2. to thē that be we•• and infirme. 3. to such as haue lawful impedimentes. 4. to thē that haue not offended. 5. to such as haue offended▪ but not publickly. 6. to those that amend and do well.

[Page 1282](#)Excommunications be onely outward punishmentes, and doe not depriue a man of the publike spirituall prayers of the Church.*

Christians are to be taught rather to loue excommunication, then to dread it.

The bish. of Rome, successor of Peter, is not the vicar of Christ, ordeined by Christ and S. Peter, to haue authoritie ouer all the churches in the world.

The wordes of Christ to Peter, Whatsoeuer thou loosest, &c. Math 16. extend no further, but onely to those things, which bee bound of Peter hymselfe.

It is not in the hands eyther of the church, or of the Pope, to make articles of the fayth, yea, or lawes either of maners, or good workes.

Albeit the Pope with a great part of the church, teachyng so or so, did not erre therein: yet is it no sinne nor heresie for a man to hold contrary to them, namely in such things, which are not necessary to saluation, so long as it is not otherwise condemned or approued by a generall Councell.

We haue a way made playne vnto vs, to infringe the authoritie of Councels, and freely to gainestand their doyngs, and to iudge vpon their Decrees, and boldly to speake our knowledge whatsoeuer we iudge to be true, whether the same be approued or reprobued by any generall Councell.

Some of the articles of Iohn Hus condemned in the Councell of Constance, are Christian, most true and Euangelicall, whome the vniuersall Church cannot condemne.

In euery good worke the iust man sinneth.

*Euery good worke of ours, when it is best done, it is a veniall sinne.

To burne heretikes, is against the will of the spirit.

*To fight agaynst the Turkes, is to repugne agaynst God, visiting our iniquities by them.

Freewill after sinne, is a title and name onely of a thyng, and while a man doth that which lyeth in him, he sinneth deadly.

Purgatory cannot be proued out of holy scripture, whiche is Canonically.

Soules in Purgatory be not certaine of their safetie, at lest not all, neither is it proued by reasons or by scriptures, that they bee vtterly out of the state to deserue, or encrease charitie.

*Soules in Purgatory do sinne without intermission, so long as they seeke rest, and dread punishment.

The soules beyng deliuered out of Purgatory by the prayers of the liuyng, be lesse blessed, then if they had satisfied for themselues.

Ecclesiasticall prelates & worldly princes should not doe amisse, if they would scoure away all the bags of begging Friars.

All which errors there is no man in his right wittes, but he knoweth the same in their seuerall respects, how pestilēt they be, how pernicious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds, and finally how much they be against all charitie, and agaynst the reuerence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all faythfull, and maistresse of the fayth it selfe, and agaynst the sinews and strength of ecclesiasticall discipline, which is obedience, the fountayne and welspring of all vertues, and without the which euery mā is to be conuincd easily to be an Infidel.

We therefore desiring to proceede in the premisses more earnestly, as behooueth in things of most importaunce and meanyng, to cut of the course of this pestiferous and cankered disease, lest it should spread it selfe further in y^e Lords field, like hurtfull brambles or bryers, and vsing vpon the sayd errors, and euery of them diligent triall, debatyng strait examination, ripe deliberation. And further, weying and thorowly sifting all and euery of the same together w^t our reuerend brethrē, *the cardinals of the church of Rome, the priors of the orders regular, or ministers generall, also with diuers other professors and maisters of Diuinitie, & of both the lawes, and those the best learned: do finde the foresayd errors or articles respectiue, as is aforesayd, not to be the catholike, nor to be taught as Catholike, but to be agaynst the doctrine or tradition of the catholike Church, and agaynst the true interpretation of holy Scripture, receyued by the same: to whose author Augustine thought we ought so much to leane, that he would not (as he sayd) haue beleued the Gospell, if the authoritie of the Church had not thereto mooued hym.

For by these errors, or at least by some of them it followeth consequently, that the same Church which is guided by the holy Ghost, now doth, & euer hath erred, which is vtterly agaynst that which Christ at the tyme of his ascension (as we read in the holy Gospell of Mathew) promised to his Disciples, saying: I am with you vntill the ende of the world, &c. and also agaynst the determination of the holy Fathers, against the expresse ordinances or Canons of Councils and head bishops, whom not to obey, hath always bene the cause and nurse of all heresies and scismes, as Cyprian doth witnesse.*

Wherefore by the counsaile and assent of the sayde our reuerend brethren, vpon due consideration of all and singular the premisses, by the authoritie of almighty God, & of the blessed Apostles of Peter and Paule, and our owne, we do condemne, reprove, and vtterly reiect all and singular the Articles or errors aforesaid respectiue, as some to be hereticall, some to be slaunderous, some offensiue to godly eares, or els seducing simple mynds, and repugnant to the catholike truth, and by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare that they ought of all christen people both men and women, to be taken as damned, reprooued, and reiected. And therefore forbidding here vnder payne of the greater curse and excommunication, loosing of their dignities, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or temporall, and to be depriued and made vncapable of all regular orders & priuiledges, geuen and graunted by the Sea Apostolike, of what condition so euer they be: also of loosing theyr liberties to hold generall schooles, to read and professe any science and facultie: of loosing also their tenures and feoffments, and of inhabilitie for euer to recouer the same agayne, or any other: moreouer, vnder payne of secludyng from christian buriall, yea and of treason also, and incurring such paynes and punishments expressed in the lawe, as are due for all heretickes and fautors of the same: wee charge and commaund all and singuler Christen people, both men and women, as well of the laitie, as of the Clergie, both secular & also regular, of what order so euer they be, and brieflye all other persones, of what degree or condition so euer they bee, or in what dignitie so euer they are placed, either ecclesiasticall or temporall: as first y^e cardinals of the holy church of Rome, Patriarkes, Primates Archbishops, Bishops, with the prelates and heads of the churches Patriarchall, Metropolitane,* or other cathedrall Collegiate, and other small and inferiour churches: to all clerkes and other persons ecclesiasticall, as Abbots, Priors, or ministers generall or perticular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt: also Uniuersities of schooles, and all other, as well secular priests, as regular, and religious persons of all orders, yea of the begging friers also. Item, kings, Electors of the Imperiall crowne, princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Barons, captains, conductors and seruitures, and all Officers, Iudges, Notaries, whether they be ecclesiasticall or secular: comminalties, vniuersities, dominions, cities, castles, lordships, and places, with the inhabitants of the same: and finally all other persons whatsoever, ecclesiasticall or regular, dispersed in whatsoever places through the whole * vniuersal world, or which shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high Almany, that they shall not presume publikely or priuately vnder any maner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how els soeuer, to hold, maintaine, defend,* preach, or fauour the foresayd errors or any of them, or any such peruerse doctrine.

Ouer and besides, for so much as the foresayd errors, and many other are contained in the bookes or writings of the foresayd Martin Luther, therefore we condemne, reprove, and vtterly reiect, and hold for vtterly condemned, reprooued, and reiected the foresayd bookes, and al the writings of the sayd Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue so euer they are found, wherein the sayd errors or any of them is conteined willing and commanding vnder the vertue of holy obedience,

and incurring the penalties aforesayd, to all and singular christen people, both men and women aboue rehersed, that they presume not by any maner of waies, directly, or indirectly, colourably or expresly, priuily or apertly, either in their houses, or in other publike or priuate places, to read, hold, preach, print, publishe, or defend, eyther by themselves or by others, but straight wayes after the publishing hereof, they doe burne or cause to be burned the sayd errors, by their Ordinaries diligētly beyng searched out, and solemnely presented in the sight of the whole Clergy of the people, vnder all and singular the penalties aforesayd.

Now as touching the sayd Martin, O good lord, what haue we left * vndone? what haue we left vnattempted? what fatherly charitie haue we not shewed, whereby to haue reduced him from these errours? For after that wee did cite hym, thinking to proceed with him more fauourably, we inuited and exhorted him as well by diuers tractations had with our Legate, as by our owne letters, that he would relinquish the foresayd errors, or els hauing safe conduct offred to him, with money necessary for his iourney, to come to vs without any feare or dread, which perfect charitie ought to cast out, and so after the example of our sauour, and his Apostle S. Paule, he would speake, not in corners and in secret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we thinke no lesse, but that reformyng [Page 1283](#) himselfe, he would haue recognised his errors, neyther should haue found so many faults in y^e court of Rome which he beyng seduced with the rumours of malicious people, more thē he ought, doth so much reprehend. Where we would haue taught him to see more clearely then the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome our predecessors (whome he without all modestie, most iniuriously doth rayle vpon) did neuer erre in their Canons and constitutions (which he so much depraue.) For as saith the prophet: Neither is there Rosine or Phisition lacking in Galaa. But he hath alwayes shewed himselfe disobedient, and refused at our Citation to appeare, and yet to this present day continuing still in hys stubburne mynd and heart indurate, hath remayned now more then a yeaere vnder our curse, yea & moreouer, adding mischiefe to mischief (which is worst of all) he hearing of this our Citation, burst out into a presumptuous appellation from vs, vnto the next generall Councell,* against the constitution both of Pope Pius the second, and Pope Iulius the second, our predecessours, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeale,* should be punished as heretikes.

In vayne also he seeketh refuge to the generall Councell, which professeth himselfe not greatly to regard such couēcels. So that now we might lawfully proceed against hym, as against one notoriously suspected of his fayth, yea a very heretike in deed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of an heretike, and to the seueritie of all and singular paynes and censures afore written. Yet we notwithstanding by the counsell of our brethren aforesayd, following the clemencie of almighty God, which wyll not the death of a sinner, but rather that hee should conuert and lyue, and forgetting all iniuries heretofore done vnto vs and to the See apostolike, haue thought good to vse all fauourable meanes toward hym that wee might, and so to worke (as much as in vs lyeth) that he by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation: so that he forsaking hys former errours, might be receiued as the lost chyld, and returne home againe into the lap of his mother the Church.

Wherefore in most harty wise we exhort and beseech the said Martin and all his adherents, receiuers, and fautors by the bowels of the mercy of our God,* and by the sprinklyng of the bloud of our Lord Iesu Christ, in whome, and by whom, is made the redemption of mankind, and the edification of holy mother church, that they will cease to disturbe the peace, vnitie, and

veritie of the said Church, for the which our sauior so instantly prayed to his father, and that they will absteyne from such pernicious errors aforesaid. Who in so doyng shall fynd with vs (if they shal obey, or shall certifie vs by lawfull witnesses, to haue obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charitie, and a full fountayne opened of all mercy and clemencie: willing and charging the said Martine notwithstanding, from henceforth that he vtterly desist in the meane time from all preachyng and office of preaching. Or els if the loue of Iustice and vertue shall not restrayne the said Martin from sinne, neither the hope of our pardon shall reduce hym to repentaunce: to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish y^e said Martin and his adherents, abettors, fautors, and receyuers, by the tenor hereof, in the veritie of holy obedience, & vnder incurring all the penalties aforesaid, districtly charging and commaunding that within fourty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first twenty, for the second, and the other twenty for the third & peremptory terme) immediately following after the setting vp of these present letters,* that the sayd Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherēts and receiuers aforesayd, do surcease from the foresayd errors, and from the preching, publishing, mainteyning and defending of the same: also from setting out of booke or scriptures vpon the said errors or any of them: & furthermore, that they burne, or cause to be burned all and singular such bookes and scriptures as containe the foresaid errors or any of them by any maner of way.

Also that the said Martin doe vtterly reuoke those errors and assertions, and so to certifie vs of the reuokynge thereof by publike testimonie in due forme of lawe, signed by the handes of two prelates, to be sent vnto vs within the terme of other like xl. daies, or els to be brought by him vnto vs, if he himselfe will come (which would please vs much rather) with a full safeconduct aboute mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer vnto hym, to the entent that no scruple of doubt touching hys true obedience,* should hereafter remayne.

Contrarywise, if the said Martin (which God defend) his abettors, fautors, adherents, and mainteyners aforesaid, shal otherwise do, or shal not fulfill to euery effect and purpose, all and singular the premisses within the terme aforesaid, we thē folowing the doctrine of the apostle, which teacheth vs to auoyd an heretical person, after the first and second correction, as wel now as before, and as wel before as now, declaring by our authoritie the said Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherents, mainteyners, and receyuere▪ as withered braunches not remainyng in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnaunt to the Catholike faith, slaundersous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods maiestie, to the detriment and slaunder of the vniuersal church and catholike faith, and despising the keyes of the church: to be, and to haue bene notorious and obstinate heretikes, do condemne the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such of all christen people aforesayd.

Ouer and besides, we forbid vnder the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed, in so doing,* that no man presume by any maner of way, directly or indirect^{ly}, secretly or expresly, priuily or apertly, to read, holde, preach, praise, print, publish or defend, either by thēselues, or by any other the sayd bookes and writings, not onelye those wherein the errors aforesayd are contained, but also all others whatsoever haue bene or shall be set forth, written, or made by the sayd Martin, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholike faith, to the intent y^t his memory may vtterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all christian people, or rather with fire to consume them as is afore declared.

We admonish moreouer, al and singular Christes faithful people, vnder the said payne of the great curse, to auoid or cause to be auoided so much as in them doth lie, the foresaid heretikes not obedient to our commandements, and to haue no fellowship or any conuersation or communion with them or with any of them, neither to minister to thē things necessary.

And moreouer, to the more confusion of the said Martin, with his abettors, adherents, and retainers aforesayd,* thus being declared and condemned as heretikes, after the expiring of the terme aforesayd, we command all and singular Christes faithfull people, both men and women, as Patriarchs, Archbishops, Prelates of Churches, eyther Patriarchall, Metropolitane, and other Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other inferiour Churches, to Deanes & Chapters, and other Ecclesiasticall persons secular, and of all other orders, euen of the begging Friers also, namely, of that congregation, where the sayd Martin is professed,* or hath his abode: also to regular, exempt, and not exempt. Item, to all and singular Princes, what dignity or calling so euer, eyther Ecclesiasticall or Temporall they be of: to Kings, Princes, Electors, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Captaynes, Conductors, Seruitours, Comminalties, Uniuersities, Dominions, Cities, Landes, Castles and places, or the Citizens and inhabitauntes thereof: and briefly, to all and singular other aforesaid, through the Uniuersall world dispersed, specially in Almany, that they and euery of them, vnder all and singular penalties aforesayd, doe personally apprehend the sayd Martin, hys abettors, adherents, receyuers, and fautours, and to retaine them being apprehended, at our instance, and to send them vnto vs (who in so doyng, for their good worke shal receiue of vs and the Sea Apostolike, condigne reward and recompence) or at least, that they vtterly driue them, and euery one of them, out of their Metropolitane, cathedrall, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houses, Monasteries, Conuents, Cities, Dominions, Uniuersities, Comminalties, Castles, Landes, and places respectiuey, as well the Clergy men, as the regular and lay men, all and singular aforesayd.

Those cities, dominions, landes, castles, villages, comminalties, holdes, townes, and places where so euer they be situate respectiuey, Metropolitane, Cathedrall, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monasteries also, Priories, Couents, and religious and deuout places, or what order so euer (as is aforesaid) vnto the which it shall chance the sayd Martin to come, so long as he or they shall there remayne, and three dayes after their departing from thence, we here geue ouer to the Ecclesiasticall interdiction.

And that the premisses may be knowen to all men, we commaund moreouer all Patriarches, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates of Patriarchall, Metropolitane, & other cathedral & collegiate churches, to Deanes and Chapters, and other persons ecclesiastical, & of what order els soeuer aforesaid, to regular brethren, religious monkes, exempt & not exempt aforesaid, wheresoeuer they dwell, and especially within Almany, that they and euery of thē vnder like censures and paynes, do publikely denounce, & cause and commaund to be denounced of others, the said Martin w^t all and singular his foresaid adherents, which shall not obey our commandements and monitions, within y^e terme [Page 1284](#) aforesayd, vpon euery sonday, and other Festiuall dayes, within their churches, when as the greatest concourse of people shal resort to diuine seruice, to be declared and condemned for heretikes, and that all Christes faithful people shall auoid them vnder the said censures and penalties, as be afore expressed, and that they do set vp these presents, or cause to be set vp, or the transcript of them made vnder the forme hereafter ensuing,

in their churches, Monasteries, houses, Conuents, and other places there openly to bee seene and read.

Item, we do excommunicate and curse, all and singuler persons, of whatsoeuer state, degree, condition, preheminence, dignitie, or excellencie they be, which shal procure or cause to be procured by themselues or other, priuily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, wherby these presents, or the copies transcript, or the examples of them can not be read, set vp, and published in their landes and dominions, &c.

Let no man therefore be so bold to dare, to infringe, or with rash presumption, to contrary this wrytyng of our damnation, reprobation, reiection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, commandement, exhortation, beseching, request, admonition, assignation, graunt, condemnatiō, subiectiō, excommunication & curse. And if any person & persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure, that he shall incur the indignation of almightie God,* and of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paule.

Geuen at Rome at S. Peters, an. 1520.17. Calend. Iulij, and of our Popedome, the viij. yeare.

Although it was somewhat long before this Bull aforesaid of Pope Leo, being sent & dispersed through all other places abroad,* could come to the hands of Luther, yet so soone as he by meanes of his friendes, might get a sight thereof, he shaped againe an answer to the same: in such sort, as I am sure, the Pope himselfe wil say, that his Bull was neuer so baited, and so welfauoredly shaken in al his days,* as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his answer may evidently appeare. The contentes & copy of the which answer, I thought here next after the said Bull immediatly to exhibite to the christian reader, that who so is disposed to conferre the one with the other, hauing thē both at hand,* may iudge the better of the whole matter & cause, and also may see the true Image of the Pope out of his paynted visour appeare in his owne perfect colours. The answer now to the Bull here followeth.

IESVS. Martinus Lutherus Christiano Lectori, gratiam Christi in salutem aeternam.

Fama peruenit ad me, Christiane Lector, exijsse Bullam quandam aduersum me,* penē in omnē terrā, prius quam ad me, in quem vnice fuerit, & cui maximē erat inferenda, veniret. Fortē, quod noctis & tenebrarum scilicet filia, tumult lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipsam noctuam, vix tandem multum adiuuātibus amicis, in imagine sua, datum est videre, &c.

***¶Here followeth the same aunswer of Martin Luther agaynst the execrable Bull of Pope Leo, in English.**

Martin Luther to the christiā reader, wisheth the grace of Christ to eternall saluation.* I heard a fanie a farre of (Christian reader) that a certayne Bull was past out against me, and sent almost ouer al the world before it came to me, against whom it was especially directed, & to whō most chiefly it appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except peraduenture it was for that the sayd Bull like vnto a nightcrow, and as a bird of darkenesse hatched in the night, durst not flie in y^e day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night foule after long tyme, by helpe of friends was caught at length & brought vnto me in his owne likenes to behold. Which

causeth me yet to be vncertaine what to thinke, whether my papists do dally & iest with me, in setting out such famous libels without any name against me: or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad men so against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the stile (as it is called) nor y^e processe of the court of Rome obserued. And againe (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought & condemned such articles which it is plaine and manifest to be most christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, the said monster to be hatched by Iohn Eccius, a man wholly compact and framed altogether of lies, dissimulations, errors, & heresies.

*The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I heare it so bruted abroad, that y^e said Eccius is thought and sayd to be the Apostle of such a goodly Bull. And not vnlike, when none could be more meet an Apostle for such an Apostleship then he. And in deed I heard no lesse long since, that a Bull was in working agaynst me at Rome, partly by the workemanship of Eccius: which because (as the stile and composition therof declareth) it displeased the good and learned men there, was therefore differred and should haue bene suppressed.

But whatsoeuer the matter be, it semeth to me not vnlike wheresoeuer this apostle Eccius beareth rule, there to be the kingdom of Antichrist, and all kind of madnes there to reigne. In the meane tyme I will so deale, that I wyll not seeme to beleue Pope Leo the x. with his learned cardinals to be the authors of this furious madnes: which I doe not so much for the honor of the Sea of Rome, as because I will not be puft vp to much with pride, and seeme to my selfe as one worthy to suffer such, so great, & so glorious things for the veritie of God. For if it were so in deed that the bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a truth of such a proude Prelate? Wherein what were more to be wished for of me, then that I should neuer be absolved, reconciled, nor haue any part with that so doltish and vnlearned, wicked, and furious Antichrist? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be receiued with all ioy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my happe at any tyme in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death.* But geue the honour of this cause vnto others, and let this matter fynde his Martyr worthy for the same: I for my sinnes am not worthy to come to that honour.

Let other men therefore thinke of these Romanists what they list: Thus I thinke, that whosoever was the author of this bull, he is a very Antichrist, and against Antichrist, these thinges I write, to redeeme the veritie of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboreth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtayne no part of his will in any thing agaynst me,* here I protest before God and our Lord Iesu Ehrhist, and his holy angels and all the world, that I dissēt with all my hart from the condemnatiō of this bull, which Bull I also do curse and execrate as an enemy, a Church robber and blasphemy against Christ the sonne of god our Lord. Amen.

Furthermore I hold, defend, and imbrace with the ful trust of my spirit, those articles in the said Bul condemned and excommunicate,* and affirme that the same oughe to be holden of all faithful christians, vnder paine of eternal malediction, and that they are to be counted for Antichristes, who so euer haue consented to the sayd Bull, whom I also together with the spirit of all them which purely know, & do vtterly shun them according to the precept of our Lord Iesu Christ. Amen. And let this stand for thy reuocation, O Bulla verè Bullarum filia. i. O thou Bull which art the very daughter of all vayne * bubbles.

This my confession and protestation made (for witnes whereof I take all them that shall read these presents) before I proceed to defend & declare these foresaid Articles, I will first begin, with certaine arguments for the confutation of the sayd Bull: whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorāce of this blockish Antichrist.* For the Apostle Peter so commandeth, that we should be redy to render a reason of that faith and hope which is in vs. And the apostle Paule willeth a bishop to be mighty to exhort in soūd doctrine & to refute the gaynesayers. And these thinges be they, which now 3. yeres agoe, I haue desired & looked for out of Rome, or from them which take part with Rome.* Which things also we do read to be obserued most diligētly amongst the ancient fathers, whensoever they condemned heresies. Neither do we read that the apostles did euer decree any thing in their Counsels, but they first alledged the holy Scripture. So I also when I wayted that they would aunswer me with grapes, and to enforme me wyth true testimonies of the scripture, behold they bryng to me sower and wylde grapes, condemning me with nothing els but bare words, whereas I haue fortified my matter with playne scriptures.

I say vnto thee. O thou most vnlearned Antichrist, hast thou ioined such brain•like rashnes together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to thinke all mē to be turned into stockes & blocks, and to thinke that thou with thy bare and naked words only canst triūph against the inuincible force and power of Gods holy worde? Hast thou learned this maner of condemning of the magistralities of Colen and Louaine.

If this be the maner of the Church to damne errorrs, only to say. I like it not, I deny it, I will not: what foole, what patch, what asse, what block cannot condemne after this maner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed in the publike sight of the church, to dare once to set the trifling vanities [Page 1293](#) onely of thy naked and bare wordes against the thunderboirs of Gods eternall word? O impudent condemnation and right seemely for Antichrist, which hath not one iote or title to bring against such euident scriptures inferred agaynst him, but onely with one worde commeth and sayth, I condemne thee. And why then do we not beleeeue the Turke? Why do we not admit the Iewes? Why doe we not honour the heretikes which also condemne our writings as well as he, if it be enough only to condemne? vnlesse we do not therfore peraduenture geue place vnto them, because they condemne vs not vtterly without some scriptures and reasons: but these men after a new found fashion, vtterly without all scriptures or reason doe condemne vs. What then shall I thinke to be the cause why they proceeded against me with this their Bul condemnatory,* so vaine, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their mere blockishnes, wherby they seyng my allegations to be true and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrifie me with the vayne ratlyng of their rottē parchment. But I tell thee Antichrist, that Luther being accustomed to warre, will not be terrified with these vayne buls, and hath learned to put a difference betwene a piece of paper, and the omnipotent word of God.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they against their owne conscience, durst not perticularly digest all and singular the Articles in their orders: for they feared least they should note hym for an heretike, whom they were not able perhaps to conuince either to be erroneous or offensiue,* & therefore they haue found out this Aduerbe respectiue: & after the numbring of the articles, then come they & say that some be respectiue heretical, some erroneous, and some offensiue, which is as much to say, as we suppose some to be heretical, some erroneous, & some slanderous, but we cannot tell qui, quales, quanti. i. Which, what maner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignoraunce, how slippery and cowardly art thou? how art thou afayrd of the light?

how doest thou turne and returne all thyngs, least thou shouldst be taken lyke a Proteus: and yet for all that thou shalt not so escape, yea in thy wylynes thou shalt the rather be ouertaken and subuerted.*

Come out therefore O thou asseheaded Antichrist, and shew forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell vs if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this article is hereticall, this is erroneous, this is offensiue. For it becommeth such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth. And to shamefull it is to condemne an article for heretical, and yet cānot name the same. Neither will I be answered herewith respectiuely, but I looke to be taught simply and plainly, for I am one of Occams faction which contemneth these respectiues, and loue to haue all things simple & absolute.

Thou seest therefore (good Reader) the ignorant dotage of this Antichrist,* how craftily, & yet grossely he thinketh to walke in a net vnder his aduerbe, respectiuely, who not only •oth not teach the truth, and cause of his cōdemning, but neither also dare proue any error, nor shew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet must he nedes condemn. Is not this trow you a proper kind of damning, to damn and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine maner of loquution, passing all Rhetorike, to speak, & yet not to know what he speaketh, what purgatories might wee wish sufficient to purge the doltish braynes of these Bull bragging bedlems? with such blindnes & doltishnes are all the aduersaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

But I know wherupon all this grieffe riseth. The origine whereof is this:* Eccius mine old aduersary remembring how he was put to shame enough at Lypsia when he rousing hymselfe vppon hys stage, and frothing at the mouth like a Bore, with a furious mouth called me 3. hūdreth tymes heretike, for the Articles of Husse, and yet afterward was not able to proue the same, whereas the sentence condemnatory of the Councell of Constance, alleaged by me otherwise then Eccius looked for, noted there, no certaine article for hereticall: and also the same condemnation much like to this of ours, with the like foolishnes called some of his Articles hereticall, some erroneous, & some offensiue,* and Eccius hearyng this, beyng confounded in himselfe for his impudent rashnes: perceiued that he had called me heretike falsly and vntruly: he thought then to heale this his wound again at Rome, and there to stablish his false and impudent lying. But the lying sophister shall not preuayle by the helpe (I trust) of Christ, for I aske and require yet stil, y^t they absolutely, not respectiuely, distinctly, and not confusedly, simply, & not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, perticularly & not in generall, do shew what is, and what is not heretical. But when will they so do? When Christ and Beliall, or when light and darkenes shall agree together.

And what shall I do then in the meane tyme? First I will contemne these dastardly dotipoles and vnlearned Papists and apostles of Antichrist.* And I wil scorne them as Helias did, and say: if Baal be God, let hym aunswere, pe•••'uenture he is drunke, or busie in hys iourney, Cry out higher, for he is a God and peraduenture heareth. For what other thyng do these Bull bragging Asses deserue els, which cōdemne that they know not, and confesse also their own ignoraunce?

Secondly, I wil not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretike, erroneous▪ or offensiue, so long as I shall not be prooued and plainly cōuicted with simple and manifest wordes in what Article I am so iudged. Neither do I here charge my Papists, these

blockheds, that I will put them to their proofes, but onely that they will shew me at least my error that is, that they will shew me if they know what it is that they themselues do prattle of, or haue any feelyng of their owne doyngs. For so long as they assigne me no hereticall Article, I am at free liberty to deny what Article so euer they lay vnto me to be heretical, and say it is Catholike.

Agayne, what a rudenes is it in this wicked & doltishe Antichrist worthy to be laughed at, where as these drummedaries do distinct hereticall Articles from those that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offense, * and those agayne from slaunders? By the which subtle distinction of those grosseheaded dolts, this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous, is not heretical, and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertaine to these Ecclesiastical condemners, which ought to condemne those things only, which be hereticall. For that which is not hereticall, is catholike, as Christ himselfe saith: He that is not against vs is with vs. Yea I would wish, that these iolly Sophisters would shew me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous, and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothyng from hereticall, but onely in stiffnesse of defendyng. For all things be equally either true or false, * althogh affection in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or lesser. Ye see therfore agayne, how these men for all theyr braggyng Bulls, are not able to produce me one Article which is erroneous and not heretical, * and yet lyke wise brainsike men, they will needs babble they know not themselues what, condemning that which they finde erroneous and not hereticall: which cannot stand eyther in matter or in words so that such as are the Articles: such is the condemnation.

The lyke wisdom also they shew in affirmyng that to be Scandalous, * which is neither hereticall nor erroneous. That Article I would fayne see eyther in my booke or in the words and workes of any writer els from the beginnyng of the world to the latter end. What made my papists then to excogitate these so prodigious monsters, but onely their monstrous fury and madnesse? Unlesse peradventure they meane those Articles so to be Scandalous, as commonly all true and Catholike Articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous then Ueritie? Yea onely truth and veritie is scandalous to all proud and senselesse persons, and is sayd of Christ, 1. Cor. 1. We preach (saith S. Paule) Christe crucified, a stumbyng stone to the Iewes, and to the Gentiles foolishnesse. And in Luke 2. * He is set to be the fall and rising vp of many in Israell. Wherefore, where as my Papistes do distinguish scandalous Articles from hereticall and erroneous, and forasmuch as that which is not hereticall or erroneous, must needs be Catholike and true: it followeth thereof, that these scandalous Articles be vnderstanded and condēd of them for such as be very Catholike and sound. O worthy commendation & me•te for the Papists.

Marke here good Reader, * the impietie of these blynde Bussards, whether they roll themselues, how they deride and mocke themselues, how easily they are taken in theyr owne words, how fond and foolish they are in their studies not only in not proouyng any error or slander in these Articles, but also in goyng about only to expresse them, how they cast out things impossible and most foolishly repugnant to themselues. Where is then thou most presumptuous and shameles Bull, thy doltish respectiue nowe become? whether respectedst thou? Uerily into the bottomles pit of impiety, and thine owne brutish stoliditie.

The like also is to be sayd touching the Articles offense, which must be neyther slaunders, neyther erroneous, nor hereticall, seyng they are distincted by such great Rabbines. Who wyll not

now maruell at the depe & profound wisdom of these Papistes, which could finde out that to be offensive in the Church, which is neyther false, neyther hereticall nor slaunderous, but true, sound, Catholike and edifieng, and yet must that also be condemned? And who would not now desire & couet to be condemned [Page 1286](#) also of such harebrained Idiotes, who by their owne condemning do vtter themselves to approoue things damnable, and to condemne things iustifiable, that is, whyche openly shew themselves, to their owne great ignominy and shame, to be more senseles then stockes, rockes, or blocks. Goe ye nowe therefore, O ye impious and brainlesse Papistes, and if yee wil needes wryte: shew your selues more sober: for this Bull (it appeareth) was spued out in youre night feasts amongs other drabs and harlots, or els hudled vp in the Caniculare dayes or mad midsomer Moone: For neuer were there any dissardes that would shew them selues so madde.

Lette vs now retourne this dirt of Antichrist, and cast it in hys owne teethe, and of hys owne words let vs iudge hym and condemne him,* that heereafter hee maye learne to take better heede, and be better aduised in his lyinge. For as the Prouerbe sayth, a lyer had neede to haue a good memorye. If some Articles be offensive, and other hereticall, and thou condemnest him whych is no hereticke, and consequently a true Catholicke, although hee be sixe hundreth times offensive. Doth not thy shamelesse mouth then condemne thy selfe, not onely of heresie, but of extreeme impietie, blasphemye and treason against Gods holy trueth, shewing thy selfe to be the manne in dede whych is the aduersarye, and is extolled aboue all that which is called God, or is worshipped? Art not thou then the manne of sinne, and the sonne of perdition,* which denieth God hys redeamer, and taketh away the loue of trueth, to stablishe the settinge forth of his error, for men to beleue iniquitie, as Paule foretolde? For if the Article be not hereticall, it can not be offensive or slaunderous, but onely to suche hereticke as Antichrist is, and Sathanistes of all pietie. See theefore howe his shamelesse and moste foolish Bull, whiles it condemneth in me one thinge to be hereticall, and an other offensive, doeth manifestly declare the authours thereof to be true hereticke and the enemies of God in deede.* So that nowe it maye appeare, that there is no knowledge nor counsell against the Lorde, seeing blinde impietie is thus caughte in the woordes of hys owne mouth: so truely it is sayd, that he whiche casteth vpp a stone on highe, it falleth downe againe vpon his owne pate.

And (whyche is chieftest of all) by thys theyr wycked contradiction it commeth to passe,* that the cogitations of theyr owne hartes be reuealed, and that they them selues chiefly do vtter and disclose their owne wickednes which they couet most to conceale, that all men may see how ready they are to condemne all veritie euen at once. For when they affirme suche Articles to be hereticall, whyche neyther they can, nor knowe, nor yet dare shewe or name to be hereticall, what haue we thereby to vnderstand, but that they are the aduersaries of Christe from the bottome of theyr hearts, and ready to impugne all trueth, and yet notwithstanding wyth their dampnable hypocrisie they pretende themselves to be condemners of heresies? Learne, learne, yee beetell headed Asses wyth your blustering buls,* learne I say, what it is, Christe to be a signe of contradiction and a stone of offence. Howe soone and easily is al your inward impietie and your ignominie disclosed wyth the same couert of woordes,* wherewith in vaine yee went aboute to cloke the same? Thus then haue we heere prooued by thys first and manifest argument, that the foresayde Bull proceedeth from none other, then very Antichrist hymselfe, the chieftest aduersarye of God and of all godlinesse. And nowe let either Eckius or the Pope acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what opinion wee ought to haue of hym, or what name to geue him: in

whome all cursed names, as in one heape, doe concurre together and agree, as impietie, blasphemie, ignorance, foolishnes, hypocrisie, lying, briefly, Sathan himselfe with his Antichrist.

Neither doeth thys impietie any thing lesse appeare in that also which I will nowe say. For this worshipful Bul decreeth in plaine and moste impudent woordes,* that those Bookes also of mine ought to be burned, in the whyche are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be vtterly rooted out.

Canst thou O Christian Reader, now doubte that the great Dragon of hell hymselfe speaketh in this Bull? It is an olde Prouerbe, that the Asse singeth therefore euill fauoredly, because hee taketh hys note to hye. So thys Bull in like manner should haue piped more tunably, if he had not sette by hys blasphemous throte so open againste heauen, so impudently and deuclishly condemning also the manyfest and euident trueth. For hitherto Sathan when so euer hee oppressed the trueth, did it vnder the colour of trueth: but this man of sinne, the Aduersarie whyche is extolled aboue God, wythout all colour, not priuily but apeartly, and that in the open Church of God, wythoute all shame taketh vpon hym to condemne, and commaundeth to be burned the sincere veritye of Christe,* knowne and allowed both of hym and of all others. What could be more done amongst the Turkes? What place is thys woorthy off (I praye thee) but the deepe dungeon of Hell? And are yee not afrayde yee Antichristes, wyth your brutishe Bulles, leaste stones and trees shoulde sweare wyth bloude, at the moste horrible sighte of thys your execrable impietie and blasphemie?

Where art thou now good Emperour Charles? Where are yee Christen Kings and Princes? Ye haue geuen your name to Christe in Baptisme, and can ye nowe abide these infernall voyces of suche an Antichriste? Where be yee Bishoppes? Where be yee Doctours? Where be all yee that confesse Christe? Can yee holde your peace at these horrible and prodigious monsters of the Papistes, O miserable Church of God, whyche arte made nowe so greate a scorne, and a very mocking stocke of Sathan. O miserable are all they which liue in these times. The wrathe of God is finally come vpon the Papistes, ennemies to the crosse of Christe and veritie of God, resistinge all menne, and forbidding the trueth of Christe to be taught and preached, as S. Paule sayd of the Iewes. Admitte I praye you, that I were suche a one in deede,* as that cursed and malicious Bull doeth make me to be an hereticke, erroneous, schismaticall, offensive, scandalous, in certaine of my bookes: yet whye shoulde the other bookes of mine be condemned, which are Catholike, Christian, true, edifying, and peaceable? Where haue these wretched Papistes learned thys religion, that for the persones cause being euil, they should damne and burne the holy and sounde verity of God? Can ye not destroy menne, but you must also destroy the truth? Will yee plucke vppe the good wheate also with the cockle? Will yee scatter also the corne away together wyth the chaffe? And whye then receyue yee Origen in hys Catholike bookes, and doe not vtterly reiecte hym all together? Yea, whye suffer yee wicked Aristotle (in whome is nothyng taughte but errours) and doe not at leaste in some parte condemne hym? Why burne yee not and set on fire, the wycked, barbarous, vnlearned, and hereticall Decretalles of the Pope? Why doe ye not all this, I say, but only for that ye are set in this holy place, for none other cause, but onely to be that abomination spoken of in Daniell, whiche shoulde put downe trueth and set vp lyes,* and the operation of errour. For this thinge and none other, becommeth the seate of Antichrist.

Wherefore this I say to thee (Pope Leo the tenth and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whosoeuer is in anye parte or doing in that Courte of Rome) and thys I speake boldly vnto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye will so acknowledge it for your owne: then wil I likewise vse my power, by the which I am made in my Baptisme, y^e sonne of God, and coheyre with Christ, being founded vppon a sure rocke which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heauen, nor earth, and say, monish and exhort you in the Lord that you will reforme your selues and take a better waye,* and refrayne heeeafter from those diabolicall blasphemies and to much exceeding presumptuous impeties, and thys I alledge: That vnlesse ye so do, know it for certayne, that I with all them that worship Christ, doe recount youre seate, possessed and oppressed of Sathan himselfe, to be the damned seate of Antichrist, whiche we not onely do not obey, and will not be subiect nor concorporate vnto, but also do detest and abhorre the same, as the principall & chieftest enemy of Christ, being ready in this our sentence and profession, not onely to suffer gladly your fond foolish censures, but also do pray you hartily that you will neuer assoyle vs agayne, nor euer number vs in your fellowship, and moreouer to fulfill your bloody tyranny, do willingly offer our selues to die for y^e same.* And according y^e to power & might, y^t the spirite of Christ, and efficacye of our fayth can doe in these our writinges, if ye shall persist so still in your fury, we condemne you, & together with this Bull, & all the Decretall, we geue you to Sathan, to the destruction of flesh y^t your spirite in the day of our Lord may be deliuered: in the name whiche you persecute of Iesu Christ our Lord. Amen.

For our Lord Iesus Christ yet liueth and raygneth (in whom I do nothing doubt) who I firmly trust wil shortly come and slay with the spirite of his mouth, and destroy with the brightnes of his comming, this man of sinne, and sonne of perdition, for asmuch as I cannot deny,* if the pope be the author and doer of these mishapen and monstrous doinges, but he is the true, finall, most wicked, and that famous Antichrist: that subuerteth the whole worlde by the [Page 1287](#) operation of his delusions, as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

But whether doth the burning zeale of charity cary me. Neither am I as yet fully perswaded this to be the popes Bull, but to proceede from his wicked Apostle Eckius, who with his fathers,* furiously gaping at me like a gulfe, would swallow me cleane vppe: •inging wyth the wicked thus: Let vs swallow him vp quicke and whole like hell, and like one descending downe into the pitte. For little careth this furious ma•braine,* howe the veritie of God be extinguished (ye he would count that for a lucre) so he might •ill his malicious desire with the bloude <◇> his brother. O miserable state of the Churche at this time• worthy to be bewailed w^t teares o• bloude. But who heareth our gronings, or who comforteth our weepings? The furie of the Lorde seemeth to be inoxorable against vs.

Ouer and besides, what a ridiculous toye, or pretie figment haue they inuented, wherby belike to sport thēselues with some merye matter amongst their earnest businesse, wryting that besides other great frendshippe, whych they haue shewed vnto me: they haue also offered to support me with mony,* and to beare my charges with theyr liberality, in my iourney to Rome. Wil ye see what a charity is newly come vpon the Citie of Rome, which after it hath pilled and polled the whole world of their money, and hath consumed & wasted the same by intolerable tyranny, nowē cōmeth, and to me onely offereth money? But this impudent lye I know with whose hōmer it was coined, Caietanús the Cardinall, a man borne and formed to lie for the whetstone after his

worshipfull Legacie depeached in Germanie comming home to Rome, there he forged & fained that he promised me mony, wheras he being at Anspurge, was there in such miserable penury, & so pinching in his house, that it was thought he woulde haue famished his familye. But thus it becommeth the Bull to be verè Bulla, that is a thing of nought, voide of all trueth and wit.

And so these great iudges & condemners after all thys, yet haue authority to commaund vs to beleue them to say truth, when they do nothing but lie, and that they are good Catholickes, when they be starke heretickes, and that they are true Christians,* whē they play the very Antichrist, and all by the vertue of this vniuersall: Quodcunque ligaueris. &c. i. Whatsoeuer thing thou bindest. &c. So that where nothing is excepted, they thinke they may do all things. Who not only do lie most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudencie) do vaunt and commend their liberalitie before y^e people to bring me more in hatred, making men falsly to beleue that they offered frendship and money vnto me: Whereas these tyrantes of Rome, if they had had any trueth, goodnesse, or godlinesse in them, shoulde haue taken some better hede in their doing and speaking, so that no aduersarye might conceiue any suspition of euil against them. But now if there were no other matter els to bring this Bull out of credite, onely this grosse & foolish lie were sufficient to declare how light, vaine, and false this Bul is. What? would Rome (thinke yee) offer money to mee? And how then commeth thys, which I knowe to be moste certaine, that out of the banke (as they call it) two or three hūdreth crownes were assigned in Germanye to be disposed and geuen to ruffians and catchpoles,* to murder Luther: for these be the reasons & arguments, whereby nowe fighteth, raigneth and triumpheth the holy Apostolicke sea, the mistres of faith & mother of al churches, y^t which long since should haue bene prooued to be the very •eate of Antichrist, and manifold waies hereticall, if shee had fought wyth the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God: whereof she her self is nothing ignorant, & therefore because she would not be brought to that issue, thus shee fareth and taketh on like as she were madde, in the Church of Christ, confounding and consuming all thinges wyth warres,* murders, bloudshed, death, and destruction, and yet for all thys they must nedes be counted most holy fathers in God, & vicars of Christ, and Pastors of his flocke.

But goe to (that I may also dally with them a while) let them, yet send me the money they speake of: for as touching their promise & safeconduct (because I will not ouercharge them) that I gladly resigne to them againe, seeing I haue no great nede therof, so that y^e moni may come to my hāds. But heere I must require so muche as may suffice mee: to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand footemen, and ten thousande horsemen, to conducte me safe to Rome, and so for any other promise of safe conduct I wil not trouble them. And this I requier, because of the daunger that is in Rome,* whych deuoureth vp her inhabitauntes, neyther keepeth, nor euer did keepe promise wyth any: Where these most holy fathers do slay their beloued children in the charitie of God, and brethren destroy their brethren to doe seruice to Christe, as the manner is and stile of Rome. In the meane time I will keepe my selfe free and sa•• from the Citation of this most reuerend Bull. O ye miserable varlets, which are so cōfounded with the truth and with your own conscience, that neither ye can lie handsomely, neither dare ye speake the truth, and yet neither ca ye so kepe your selues quiet, to your perpetuall ignominie and confusion.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a straunge fashion of stile, not heard of before. For where Augustine would haue sayd, that he would not beleue the Gospel, except he had ben moued by the authority of the church, now commeth in this goodly Bull, and maketh this

Catholicke church to be a few reuerent Cardinals his brethren, & priours of regular orders, Masters of Diuinitie and doctors of the law, out of whose counsell the sayd Bull boasteth her selfe to be borne and brought forth, a blessed babe (forsooth) of such an vniuersall Church, O happy trauell (no dout) of this Catholike church, neuer seene nor heard of before,* and such as Augustine the valiant impugner of sectes, if he did see, would not doubt to call it the Sinagogue of the deuill. See therefore the madnesse of their Papistes. The vniuersall Church is a •ewe Cardinals, Priours and Doctours, scarsly perhaps 20. persons in all, when also it is possible enough that neuer one of them all is the mēber of one chappel or altare. And whereas the Church is the communion of Saintes, as we say in the Creede, out of this communion of saintes, that is, out of this vniuersal church, all they then must needes be excluded, whosoever be not in the nōber of these 20. persons:*, and so whatsoever these holye men doe thinke or iudge, by and by the vniuersal Church must needes holde and beleue the same, albeit they be liers, heretikes, and Antichristes, thinking and iudging nothing but that which is abhominable.

Would there euer any man thinke such doltishnesse and madnes to be in Rome? Is there any braine in these mens heads thinke ye, or hart in their bodies?*, Austen speaketh of the church dispersed throughe the whole worlde, confessing the gospel with one consent. Neither would God that any booke els should be receiued with such cōsent of the whole world as the holy scripture (as the sayd Augustine in hys confessions affirmeth) least by the receiuing of other bokes,*, schismes might take occasion to rise, according as the wicked Sea of Rome hath long sought by her decrees, & hath, for a great part, brought the same to passe already. But yet the vniuersall Church did neuer agree thereto. For in the East, West, & South ther haue ben christians, which being content only with y^e gospel, haue not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular church, to make her self an vniuersal church, & accuseth other churches as schismatical whē as she hath cut of her selfe from the vniuersal Church, and striueth in vaine to draw the whole vniuersall church to her, being the mother and fountaine of all schismes, and all by the meanes of this tyrannie.

Let no man therefore euer thinke that this true Catholike Church aforesaide,*, will beleue or maintaine those things which this detestable Bull heere pratleth, when as neyther that which is the very true Church of Rome, in'deede doth her selfe so thinke, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholike, whatsoever is knowen to proceede from y^e Church of Rome. For as I saide, there is no booke which shall be called Catholike heereafter, as neither it hath bene heretofore, besides onely the holy scripture. For the church of Rome it may suffice to glory her selfe to be a little parcell or peece of the vniuersal church, and so let her vexe her selfe onely with her owne decrees.

Neither let any man thinke this to be the Bull of the catholike church, but rather to proceede out of the Court of Rome. For such wisdom and religion may well beseeme that seate of Sathan, whiche seeketh to be counted for the whole vniuersall Church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked Bulles most arrogantly and vainely to the whole world in y^e steade of sincere catholike doctrine.*, Whose pride and presumption hath growne so farre, that shee trustinge vpon her owne power, without al learning and holines of life, taketh vpon her to prescribe lawes to al men of al their doings and sayings,*, as though for dominion only and loftines of spirit, she were to be counted the house and church of Christ, where as by this meanes Sathan also the prince of the worlde, or the Turke might be counted the Church of Christ. Again, neither the Monarchies of

the Gentiles can abide mighty Princes to raigne ouer them w^tout wisdom and goodnes. Furthermore,* in the Church the spirituall man onely iudgeth al things, & is iudged of no man, and not the Pope alone or the Court of Rome, vnlesse they be spirituall.

But against all this theyr rashe presumption, I boldly set the inuincible Champion of the Church S. Paule, who 1. Cor. 14. sayeth: If anye thinge be reueiled to an other that sitteth by, lette the firste manne holde hys peace. Heere haue yee [Page 1288](#) plainly that Pope or any other elder, what so euer he be, ought to kepe silēce, if any thyng be reueiled to other in the Church, that is inferiour. I therefore vpon hys authoritie condemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling Bull, do confidently take vpon me to defende the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any persone, yea of the Pope him selfe with hys whole Church, vnlesse he shall enforme me by the Scriptures. Whereof the firste Article is this.

The Article.

*It is an hereticall sentence, and also common to saye, that Sacraments of the new lawe doe geue grace to them, which haue no obstacle in themselues to the contrary.

The Answer.

I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and I aske of you good maisters Respectiuiestes, which make these Articles respectiuey,* some to be hereticall, some erroneous, some slaunderous, &c. whether respecteth thys article I pray you? To heresie, to error, to slaunder and offence? Or els whether respected you in condemning the same? To the holy scripture? to the holy fathers? to faith? to y^e church? To which of these I beseech you tell me. Neither do I here put you to the labour of proouing, but onely require you to shew your iudgement what you thinke, that I may know wherein I say amisse. Will you that I should tell you (you babish in•antes and noddies) whether this Article respecteth? I will. This article hath ij. respects. Whereof the one respecteth the Papists the condemners heereof, amongste whome it respecteth some to be mules, some to be horses, which haue no vnderstanding and be voide of al sence, and yet notwithstanding they will nedes condemne al things. An other respect it hath to the holy Scripture, which saith. Rom. 14. What so euer is not of faith, is sinne. Whereupon consequently it followeth that the Sacraments or the new law can geue no grace to the vnbeleeuers (for so muche as the sinne of infidelitie is the greatest obstacle) but onely to the beleeuers. For onely faith putteth no obstacle: all other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the Sophisters vnderstande, meaning onely of the actuall purpose of externall sinne. I confesse therefore this article not only to be mine, but also to be the article of the Catholike and Christian veritie: and the Bull whych confesseth the same, to be twise heretical, impious, and blasphemous, with all them which folow the same. Who litle regarding the sinne of incredulitie, foolishly and madly doe holde that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from suming, although the vnbeleuer can thinke no good thyng. But these things I haue discussed more at large in my bookes, and wil more discusse if those prating Romanists dare at any time prooue their opinion and confute mine.

The 2. Article.

To denie that sinne remaineth in a childe after his Baptisme, is as much as to tread downe Christ & Paul together vnder fote.

The Answer.

I wold also require of them to shew the cause why this article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in theyr fantasticall respects, that they are not able to perceiue why they would haue this article condemned. And yet I cānot tell whether it be hereticall or erroneous. And no maruel, when as the condemners themselues cannot tell mee. I hold therfore this article also by the Apostle. Rom. 7. I my selfe in my minde do serue the law of God, and in my flesh the lawe of sinne. Heere the Apostle confesseth plainely of himselfe, that in his flesh he serueth sinne. And also 1. Cor. 1. Christ is made to vs of God our righteousnesse, our wisdom, sanctification and redemption. And how then doeth he sanctified them that be sanctified already, vnlesse it be as the Apoc. sayeth: He that is holy, let him be holy stil? To be sanctified,* is as much as to be purged frō sinne. But what haue these our Respectiusts to do with the apostle Paule, seeing they are the whole vniuersall Church,* by whose authoritie Paule either standeth or falleth, being but a member onely and a parte of the church.* The Lorde rebuke thee Sathan, and these thy Sathanicall papists.

The 3. Article.

The originall roote of sinne, although no actuall sinne do followe, stoppeth the soule departing out of the body, from entrance into heauen.*

The Answer.

As touching this matter, I neuer defined any thing hetherto, but largely & probably I haue disputed hereof, neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done w^t such a •oule. But our papists more blind then bussardes, when they are nothing able to perceiue what cause thys Article hath worthely to be condēned, yet dare they take vpon thē to pronounce that which the whole vniuersal church is ignorant of.* I yet notw^tstanding contemning this folish and fond condemnation aforsaid, doe holde this article probably to be true. For seing this original roote which I speake of, is truly sin, as I haue proued. Rom. 7. & Gal. 5. and seing that sin letteth a man from entring into heauen, as it is written: No polluted thing shal enter: I suppose therefore that originall sinne wythholdeth a man from entring into heauen. Nether do I any thing at al esteeme the fantasticall dreames of them, whereby they extenuating original sinne, doe call it only the paine of sinne, and imperfections, plainly against the manifest scriptures, whiche call it sin and teach the same to be cured by grace, which is the me|dicine of true, and not of fained sinne.

The 4. Article.*

The imperfect charity of a man departing, necessarily carieth with it great feare, which of it selfe is enough to make the pain of Purgatorie, and letteth the entrance into the kingdome of heauen.

The Answer.

This foloweth of the other going before, which in lyke maner I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet holde the same, asking before a dispensation after mine owne arbitrement, euen in defiance of the Bul, which is not able to bringe foorth any other probation but this: We are the hiest powers in the Church, yea we are the church it selfe. Ergo, we are the

best learned, most holiest, ful of the holy Ghost which cannot erre, although we stink like a filthy puddle to the whole worlde, polluted with all kind of sinnes, and drowned in ignorāce. But all these reasons preuaile nothing with me: peradventure they may w^t them, which feare least if my sentence should preuaile, then purgatory should be taken out of the Popes hands, & then priests and religious men hauing lost their gainful offices of vexing (of releasing I wold haue said) of the dead,* should be pinched by the bellies and brought to penurye. It was time therefore for their greedy auarice here to wake & looke about, and not to suffer these their friuolous opinions, but yet very gainefull, to be ouercome with truth, and so to be ouerthrowen.

The 5. article.*

Where they say penance standeth of three partes, to wit, contrition, confession, and satisfaction it is not founded in holy scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and christian Doctours.

The aunswere.

This article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceauē: For the respect thereof is to greedye couetousnesse, and therefore I know that the probation therof hath the like respectē, which is this: if this article wer true then men would geue nothing for satisfactiō and indulgences, neither should we haue any more wherewith to vexē them with confessiōs, cases reserued, restricted, or ampliāted for our gayne, and so should we become beggars, and gods seruice shoulde be minished in Uigils and Masses. But it is wicked that Gods seruice shoulde be minished: therfore Luther is an hereticke: This consequent holdeth a respectu Bullae ad Papistas. 1. From the Bull to the papists and contrariwise.

I beseech thee by the Lord Iesus, whatsoever graue & learned reader shalt read these thinges, that thou wilt pardon this my leuitie, and (as it may seeme) my childishnes. For thou seest how I haue to do with such mē as be twise children, and yet do brag themselues to be peeres and prin^cipall pillars of all men. I assure you, I know it most certaynly to be true, that there be many and great gouernors of people, whiche this so ridiculous and foolish reason aboue recited, hath moued to y^e condemnation of my books. Unlesse I perceiued (with teares I speake it) the anger of God sharpe and fierce agaynst vs, in bringing vs vnder subiēction of such effeminate children, and such dregs of the earth, and vile refuse of al other people of the whole world it would make •e to burst for very grieve and sorrow.

My sentence is, and hath bene this, that that satisfaction whiche the keyes are able to dispenche withall, standeth not by the law of God. For if it did, then could it not be dispensed with all by the keyes. If these Bull founders doe charg me with any other thing besides in this article, they do nothing els but as they are wont to do. For what matter or marueile is it if Antichrist do lye?

The 6. article.

Contrition whiche is gotten by examining,* remembryng and detesting our sinnes, whereby a man calleth to mynde hys yeares past in the bitternes of his soule, in pondring the greatnes, the multitude and filthines of his sinnes, the loosing of eternall blisse, and purchasing of eternall damnation: this contrition maketh an hypocrite, yea rather a manne to be more a sinner.

The Answer.

O the incredible blindnes and brutishnes of these Romish bulles. This Article is truely mine, & very christian, [Page 1289](#) which I will not suffer to be wrested from mee, for all the Popes and papists in the world.* For thys I meant by that doctrine, that repentaunce is of no force, vnlesse it be done in faithe and charitie, whiche thinge they also teache them selues, but that they do not knowe nor teach, neither what faith nor charitie is. And therefore in condemning my doctrine, they condemne also their owne, foolishly repugnyng against themselues in their owne cōtradiction. I say therfore that he which teacheth repentaunce in such wise & maner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercye of God and faith in the same, then to this afflicting and vexing of the minde, he teacheth the repentaunce of Iudas Iscariot, he is pestilent, a deuill to mens soules, and a tormentor of consciences. Read the bookes of those sophisters, where they wryte of repentaunce, and thou shalt see there no mētion made eyther of promise or faith. For these liuely parts of repētance, they cleane omitte, & onely do vexe mē with these dead contritions. But heereof we haue, and wil hereafter entreat more at large.

But what should I here stand vpon euery Article, seeing my bookes be abroad, wherein I haue geuen a reason of all sufficiently, and more woulde haue done, if mine aduersaries also had brought to light theirs.* For what folishnesse is this, that they thinke to answere me with thys one saying, that they count all my sayings as damned, wheras I did wryte to this ende onely, that they shoulde acknowledge their errorrs, wherewith they haue so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I looke that I should be condemned, which vnderstanding & knowing the same right wel, haue iustified those things which they haue condemned before with sufficient authoritie, bothe of scripture and reason. Neither looked I that they should tel me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that I sought of them was to knowe whether they thought right therin or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durst once put foorth his head. Wherefore I see these asses nothing to vnderstand either the things that I say, or yet themselues. But they be suche blinde bussardes, that they perceiue not what it is that I seeke in my bookes. For they dreame that I haue suche an opinion of them, as though they had the truthe of their side, when there is nothing that I lesse thinke to be true. For I foreseeing that they had condemned al these things before, came foorth and shewed my selfe, as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, hereticall, and blasphemous, and so openly to denounce them as heretikes and erroneous, vnles they shewed some better reason and ground of their doings & doctrine: where as they on the other side, like foolish minstrels harping all on one string, haue nothing else in their mouthes,* but we condemne that we haue condemned, proouing after a newe kinde of Logike, the same thing by it selfe. O most idiote huddypeaks, and blockish condemners, where is the saying of Peter? Be alwayes ready to rēder a count of that faith and hope which is in you.

Wherefore seeing these ignorant Papists, being thus confounded, doe so flie away, from the face of the manifest veritie, that they dare not once open their mouthes in defence of themselues, or of their cause, and haue blasted oute with much ado this timerous Bul of theirs: I being comforted with the flight of these mine aduersaries, do account this theyr dastardly damnation in sted of full allowing and iustifying of my cause, and so rebounde againe theyr owne damnation vppon their owne heads, for howe coulde they more condemne themselues, then whiles they, (fearing to be founde themselues culpable of heresie, if they shoulde be driuen to geue account of their doctrine) do flie to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shutte their eyes and stop

their eares, and to say, I will not, I damne thee, I heare thee not, I allow thee not. If I should haue plaid any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) haue triumphed against me? This dastardly feare declareth what cowardes they are.

Wherefore, not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixitie of matter in prosecuting euery Article, I heere protest in these presents, that I * confesse all these thinges here condemned by this miserable Bull, for pure, clear and Catholike doctrine: whereof I haue sufficiently geuen accompt in my bookes which be extant abroad.

Furthermore, I wil also that the sayd my bokes being extant abroad, shalbe taken as a publike accusation against these wicked Sophisters & seducers of the people of God: so that vnlesse they shall geue a count of their doctrine, and shall conuicte me with good grounde of Scripture, I doe here as muche as in me lieth, denounce thē as guiltie of errour, heresie, and sacriledge, admonishing, desiring, and in the Lorde exhorting all them which truely confesse Christ, that they will beware and take heede of their pestiferous doctrine, and not to dout, but that the true Antichrist raigeth by them in the world amongst vs.

And if any shal contemne thys my brotherly admonition, lette him knowe that I am pure and cleane from hys bloud, & excused frō the laste iudgement of Christe. For I haue left nothing vndone, whiche Christian charitie dyd binde me to doe.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babling and trifeling condemners, the vttermost and last which I haue, I will geue and bestow in the quarrell, that is, this life and bloude of mine. For better it were for me a thousande times to be slaine, then to reuoke one sillable of these Articles which they haue condemned. And now as they doe curse and excommunicate me for their damnable heresie, so I againe likewise doe curse and excommunicate them for the holy veritie of God. Christ which is only the Iudge of all, iudge and determine this matter betwene vs, whether of these two excommunications, hys or mine shall stande and preuaile before him. Amen.

In storying the life of Luther, * before pag. 849. it was declared, how the sayd Luther in the beginning, first being reiecte of the Cardinall Caietan, appealed from y^e cardinall vnto the Pope. When that would not serue, neither could not any tollerable submission of Luther to y^e pope be receiued, but that the P. with his Cardinals, contrary to all equity and conscience, wold nedes procede against him, and against the expresse truth of Gods word, thinking by meere authoritie to beare downe the veritie as he had vsed before to do. Luther folowing the iustnes of his cause, * was then compelled to appeale from the Pope to the next generall councell, and so did, as before you may read, pag. 812. Which was 2. yeares before the Popes Bull agaynst Luther came out. The tenour of which appellation before omitted, I thought here to exhibite, wherby the reader considering the great change of religion and state of the church which since hath ensued, may also perceiue y^e true originall cause and occasion, howe it first began, by what order & degrees it after encreased, what humility and submission first on Luthers part was shewed, and again what insolencie, wrong, and violence on the Popes part was declared. And further, where Pope Leo in his Bull aboue prefixed, seemeth to pretend certaine conditions of fauour, charity, and money offred to Luther in the beginning, how false & vain that is, by this present appeale

may appeare. The copie wherof, as it was drawn by the publike notarie and exhibited, is this as in forme here followeth.

The tenour and forme of the Appeale of Martine Luther, from Pope Leo to the next generall Councill.

IN nomine Domini, Amen.* Anno a natiuitate eiusdem .1518. indictione sexta, die vero solis vigesima octaua mensis Nouemb. Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris & Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, diuina prouidentia Papae, decimi, anno sexto in mea Notarij publici testium{que} infra scriptorum ad hoc. specialiter vocatorum & rogatorum praesentia constitutus, &c.

The effect of the sayd Appeale of Luther, in English.

THE effect of the appeale aforesayde, is this: That for somuche as the libertie of appealing is prouided for a remedie to relieue the oppressed from iniurie and violence of the superiour, it was therefore lawful for Martine Luther so to do, especially being manifold waies iniured and molested by the See of Rome, and other the Popes confederates, as hee in the sayde appeale declareth. For at firste whereas he modestly disputing of the errors and abuses of the Popes pardons, did somewhat withstand the impudēt rauens and blasphemies of them that come about with the Popes pardons to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed vpon, and defamed by them in their publike sermones to be an heretike, and consequently vpon the same accused to Pope Leo for an heretike, by Marius the Popes Proctor and others.

Then was obtained of the Pope a commission to cite vp the sayde Luther to appeare at Rome before the Cardinales, by Hieronymus, and Syluester Prieras, hys mortall ennemies, where as he could by no way appeare wythout manifest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the citie of Rome.

For the consideration whereof, Duke Ih. Fridericke, Prince Electour, and the Lantgraue entreated for hym [Page 1290](#) to haue his cause indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equall, and not partiall: yet notwithstanding the sute of these princes, and the contrary labour of the Cardinals, whiche were his capitall aduersaries,* so preuailed at Rome, that the cause of Luther was still detained in their owne handes, and contrary to all indifferencie, was committed to the hearing of the Popes Legate then in Germanie, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti. Who being no lesse enemy against Luther, then the other, and notwithstanding that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble protestation submitted himselfe to be aunswered by the Scriptures, and referred himselfe to the iudgement of the Sea of Rome, and of four Uniuersities, to witte, Basill, Friburge, Louane, and Paris yet contrary to all equitie, shewing forth no Scripture nor reason, reiecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his requests and sutes, he would needes forthwith haue him to reuoke his errorrs, threatning and menasing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

Whereupon Luther being thus proudly reiected of the Cardinall,* made his appeale from the sayde Cardinall to Pope Leo being better informed.

This appellation also being contemned of the Pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor shew Luther his errors by the scripture, nor yet referre the matter by learning to be decided, but would needes perforce proceede against him by meere authoritie, and oppression at Rome, Luther then seeing there was no other refuge or remedie for his owne defence, and seeing moreouer the truth of Gods worde to lie vnder foote by might and authoritie oppressed, so that none durst almost confesse the same,* and that the poore flock was so misled in errors and vaine opinions to the seduction of their soules, for these and other such causes, he being necessarily thereunto compelled, commensed thys Appeale from the Pope misinformed to the nexte generall Councell that should be, calling for the helpe of the publick notarie, and testimonie also of sufficient witnesses requisite in that behalfe accordingly.

¶The death of K. Henry the viij. with the maner thereof.

AND thus closing vp this eight booke with the death of King Henry the 8. I will now (the Lorde Christ assisting me with his grace) proceede next to the time & reigne of King Edward his sonne,* after that first I shall intermitte a few wordes touching the death of the sayde Kyng Henry his father, and the maner of the same. Who after long languishing, infirmitie growing more and more vppon him, lay from S. Steuens day (as is aboue mentioned) to the latter end of Ianuary. His Phisicians at length perceiuing that he would away:* and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for feare of the Act past before in Parliamente, that none shoulde speake anye thing of the Kings death (the Act being made onely for Southsayers and talkers of prophesies) moued them that were about the King to put him in remembrance of his mortall state and fatall infirmitie. Which when the rest were in dread to do, M. Deny who was specially attendant vpon hym, boldly comming to the King: told him what case he was in, to mans iudgement not like to liue, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himselfe to death, calling himselfe to remembrance of his former life, and to call vpon God in Christ betime for grace and mercy, as becommeth euery good Christian man to do.

Although the K. was loth to heare any mētion of death, yet perceiuing the same to rise vpon the iudgement of hys Phisicians and feeling his owne weakenes, he disposed himselfe more quietly to harken to the wordes of his exhortation, and to consider his life past. Which although he much accused, yet (said he) is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my sinnes, though they were greater then they be. M. Deny being glad to heare him thus speake, required to know his pleasure, whether he would haue any learned man sent for to conferre withall, and to open hys mind vnto.* To whome the King aunswered againe, that if he had any, he would haue D. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore M. Denye asking the King whether he woulde haue him sente for, I will first said the King take a little sleepe, and then as I feele my selfe, I will aduise vpon the matter.

*After an houre or two, the King awaking and feeling feeblenes to encrease vpon him, commanded D. Cranmer to be sent for: but before he could come, y^e king was speechles, and almost senseles. Notwithstanding perceiuing D. Cranmer to be come, he reaching his hande to D. Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could vtter no word vnto hym, and scarce was able to make any signe. Then the Archbyshop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call vpon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speake, yet to geue some token with his eyes, or with hand, as he trusted in the Lord. Then the King holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his, as

hard as he could, and so shortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the terme of 37. yeares and 9. monethes,* leauing behinde him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Moreouer, for so much as mention is inserted in thys place of the good inclination of King Henry in his latter dayes to the reformation of religion,* by the occasion hereof it commeth also to minde, somewhat likewise to adde by way of appendix touching the talke betweene the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and the Duke of Suffolke Charles Branden, as cōcerning the Kings purpose and intent conceaued against the Bishop of Winchester Steuen Gardiner, in that he could neuer allowe any reformation in religion in this realme, and namely beeing offended with this that men should vse in their talke, The Lord, as well as our Lord. The sayd Duke sayd vnto the sayd Archbyshop: We of the Counsell had him once at a good lift, and should well haue dispatched him from his authoritie, if the Kings Maiestie our Maister had stayed himselfe from admitting him to his presence, as then hys highnes was content that we should thoroughly haue sifted and tried him, It was my Lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbishop) at that time, when Gardiner his Secretarie was attached and suffred for defending the Popes authoritie. For then I and certaine of the Counsell hauing conference with the Kings Maiestie for that matter, his highnesse was fully perswaded that the Bishops Secretarie being in such speciall fauour with his Maister, would neuer stande so stiffe in defence of the Bishop of Romes vsurped power and authoritie,* without his said maisters both aduise, knowledge, and perswasion. For already, quoth the King, he played but a homely part with me, when he was Ambassadour to the Pope concerning my cause of diuorce. And therefore (quoth the King to me) send for him my Lord incontinently, and by assistance of two or three moe of the Counsell whome you thinke good, let him be committed to the Tower, to aunswere to suche thynges as may bee obiected agaynst hym. Thys communicatiō was in y^e euening: so that we purposed to haue executed the kinges pleasure and commaundement y^e next morning. How beit our talke was not so secrete, but that some of his friendes of the priuy chamber then, suspecting the matter (where he had many frends) sent him word ther of. Who incontinently repayred to the kings presence,* and finding some matter to minister vnto y^e king, his highnesse sayd to the bish. We doe marueile that your secretary hath thus notoriously offended agaynst vs & our lawes. It is surely though: that you are not all cleare in this offēce, but that you are of the same opinion with him, & therefore my Lord be playne with me,* and let me know if you be y^e way infected or no: If you will tell me the trueth, I will rather pardon the fault, but if you halt or dissemble with me, looke for no fauour at my hand.

With this monition Winchester fell downe vppon hys knees & besought his maiesty of mercy and pardon,* manifestly confessing y^t he of long time had bene of that opinion w^t his sayd secretary: and there bewayling himselfe, promised from that day forward to reform hys opinion, & become a new man. Well (quoth y^e king) this way you haue of me, that which otherwise you should neuer haue obtayned. I am content to remitte all thinges past and pardon you vpon your amendment.

The next morning I had worde how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to his highnes & sayde: Your Maiestie hath preuented our commission, whiche I and other had from your grace concerning my Lord of Winchesters cōmitting to the tower. Wot you what quoth the K.? hee hath confessed himselfe as giltie in this matter as hys man,* and hath with muche sorrowe &

pensiuenes sued for my pardon: And you know what my nature and custome hath bene in such matters, euermore to pardon them that will not dissemble but confesse their fault.

Thus wil•ly and politicke he got himselfe out of our hands. But if I had suspected this, I would haue had him in the tower ouer night and stopped his iourney to y^e court. Well sayd my Lord of Caunterbury hee was euermore to good for you all.

Moreouer as touching this foresaid bishop of Winchester for so much as he in king Edwardes tyme bragged so much of his old mayster of famous memory king Henr. 8. to y^e entent y^t the glorious vanitie of this bishop, & of all other like vnto him, more notoriously may appeare to al mē [Page 1291](#) heere is to be noted by the testification as well of mayster Deny, as also of Sir Henry Neuell, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record is this, that king Henry before the time of his sicknes, taking his horse vpon the tarras at Windsore to ride out on hauking, sawe standing before him the Lorde Wrythesley Lord Chancelour with diuers other Counsellours, and amōgst them the Bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the Lorde Chancelour and sayd: * Did not I commaund you he shuld come no more amongst you (meaning the Bishop?) Wherunto the Lorde Chauncellour aunswered, that his comming was to bring his Maiestie word of a beneuolence geuen vnto him by the Cleargie. Whereat the King sayd: Ah, let him come hether, and so he did his message, and the King went straight away.

Item, another time the King immediatly after his repaire to London, fell sicke, and caused diuers times hys whole Counsell to come vnto him about his will, and other his graue affaires: * At what time, the Bishop also would come vp with them into the vtter priuie Chamber, and there remayne vntill the Counsell came from the King, and then go downe with them agayne, to the ende (as then was thought) to blind the world withall.

Furthermore, as the King grewe more in sickenes, he considering vpon his will and testament made before at his going ouer to Bulleyn, willed the same to be drawne out againe with leauing out and excluding the Byshop of Winchester by name from amongst his Executors. Which being to him no small corsey, and a cutting off of all theyr purposes, * a way was found, that Sir Anthony Browne a principall pillar of Winchesters side, pretending vnto the King, as though by the negligence of the writer the Byshops name had bene left out of the Kings will, kneeled downe to the Kings Maiestie, * lying in his bed, and sayd: My Lord of Winchester I thinke by negligence is left out of your Maiesties wil, who hath done your highnes most paynefull, long, and notable seruice, and one without whome the rest shall not be able to ouercome your greate and weighty affaires committed vnto them.

Hold your peace (quoth the King) I remembred hym well inough, and of good purpose haue left him out. For surely, if he were in my testamēt, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should neuer rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Mary, quoth the King, I my selfe could vse him, and rule him to all maner of purposes, as seemed good to me, * but so shall you neuer do, and therefore talke no more of him to me in this behalfe. Syr Anthony Browne perceiuing the king somewhat stiffe heerein, gaue place to the Kings words at that time. Howbeit, seeking farther occasion vpō more perswasions put into his head, tooke in hand once againe to moue the King to haue the Byshop one of his Executors. When the King perceyued that this instant sute would not cease: haue you not yet done (quoth the King) to molest me in this matter? If you wil

not cease farther to trouble me, by the faith that I owe vnto God, I will surely dispatch thee out of my will also, and therefore let vs heare no more of this matter. All thys Sir Anthony Deny was heard to report to the Archbyshop of Cant. Thom. Cranmer,* of the sayd Archbyshops Secretary who is yet aliue, and witnes to the same.

And thus much touching the end of King Henry, who if he had continued a few moneths longer (all those obites and Masses, whiche appeare in his will made before hee went to Bulleyne notwithstanding) most certayne it is, & to be signified to all posteritie, that his full purpose was to haue repurged the estate of the Church, & to haue gone through with the same,* so that he would not haue left one masse in all England. For the more certayne intelligence whereof, two things I haue to leade me. The one is, the assured report and testimonie of Tho. Cranmer, Archbyshop of Caunterbury, hearing the King declare the same out of his owne mouth, both to himselfe, & to Mounsieur de Annebault Lord Admirall the French Ambassadour, in the moneth of August a little before his death, as aboue may appeare more at large,* page. 1240. The other cause which leadeth me thereunto, is also of equall credite, grouded vpon the declaration of the Kings owne mouth after that time, more neare to his death, vnto Bruno Ambassadour of Iohn Fridericke, Duke of Saxonie. Unto the which Ambassadour of Saxony, the King gaue this aunswere openly, that if the quarrell of the Duke of Saxony were nothing else against the Emperour but for religion,* he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor feare, and so with this aunswere dismissed the Ambassadour vnto the Duke openly in the hearing of these foure sufficient witnesses, the L. Scym•r Earle of Harforde, Lorde Lisley then Admirall, the Earle of Bedford Lorde Priuy Seale, and Lorde Paget. But the secret working of Gods holy prouidence, whyche disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather by taking the King away, to reserue the accomplishmēt of this reformation of his church, to the peaceable time of his sonne Edward, and Elizabeth his daughter, whose handes were yet vndefiled wyth any bloud, and life vnspotted with any violence, or crueltie.

And thus to finish this booke, I thought heere to close vp King Henries raigne. But because a little vacant space of empty paper remayneth behinde needefull to be filled vp, to employ therefore and to replenishe the same wyth some matter or other, I thought to annexe heere vnto one story which hapned in this King Henries raigne. Which albeit it serueth not to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet neuerthesse to supply the roome it may stand in some place, either to refreshe the traueiled minde of the Reader wearied with other stories, or else to disclose the detestable impietie of these counterfeite sectes of Monkes and Friers, who vnder the hipocriticall visour of pretensed Religion, haue so long seduced and deceiued the world. Although the deceitfull parts and practises of these fantastical orders be so many, and in all places so notorious, that they are not able to be expressed yet amongst many one you shall heare that chaunced in this Kings dayes in the Citie of Orleance in Fraunce, by the Gray Friers, about the yeare of our Lord. 1534. The story is this.

¶A tragicall story of certayne Friers in Fraunce in the City of Orleance. an. 1534.

THE Maiors wife of the City of Orleance prouided in her will to be buried without any pompe or solemnity.* For when any departeth there, in some places the Belmen are hyred to goe about the City, and in places most frequēted to assemble the people with the sound of the bel, & there to

declare the names and y^e titles of those parties deceased, also where and whē they shal be buried,* exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the Coarse is caried forth, the most part of the begging friers go withall to y^e church, with many torches and tapers caried before them, and the more pompe & solemnity is vsed, the more is y^e concourse of people. But this woman (as I said) would haue none of all this geare done for her. Wherefore her husband which loued her well, followed her mind heerein, and gaue vnto these greedy cormorāts the friers, which waiting for their pray (in whose Church she was buried besides her father and her grandfather) sixe crownes for a reward: whereas they gaped for a great deale more. And afterward when he cut downe a wood and solde it, the friers crauing to haue part thereof freely and without money, he denied them, this tooke they wonderfull greeuously, and where as they loued him not before, they deuised now a way to be reuenged, saying that his wife was damned euerlastingly.

The workers of this Tragedy were Colyman, and Steuen of Arras both doctors of Diuinitie: and the first in deede was a Coniurer, and had all his trinkets and furniture concerning such matters, in a readines, and they vsed the matter thus. They set a yong man which was a Nouice aboue ouer the vaute of the Church, and when they came to mumble vp their mattins at midnight after their accustomed maner, he made a wonderfull noyse and shrieking aloft. Then went this Colyman to crossing and coniuring, but the other aboue would not speake. Beeing charged to make a signe to declare if he were a dumme spirite, he russeled and made a noyse agayne, and that was the signe and token.

When they had layd this foundation, they went to certayne of the chiefest in all the Citie, and suche as fauoured them most, and told them what an heauie case was chanced, yet did they not vtter what it was, but entreated them to take the paines to come to their seruice at nighe. When they were come, and the seruice was begon, he that was alofte, made a greate noyse. Being demaunded what he woulde, and what he was, he signified that he might not speake,* then was he commaunded to answeere to their interrogatories by signes and tokens. Now, was there a hole made for the purpose, where by laying to his eare, he might heare and vnderstand what the Coniurer sayd vnto them. There was also a table at hand, and when anye question was asked, he strooke and beate vpon the Table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then first the Coniurer demaunded whether he were any of them that had ben buried there. After that,* reckning vp many of their names in order, whose bodies had bene buried there, at the last he named the Maiors wife. Heere he made a signe that hee was the spirit of that woman. Then he asked whether be were damned, and for what desert or offence? Whether it were for couetousnes, pride, or lechery, or not dooing the [Page 1292](#) works of charitie, or else for this new sproong vp heresie and Lutheranisme? Moreouer, what was the cause that he made suche a noise, and was so vnquiet? Whether it were that the body beeing buried within holy grounde shoulde be digged vp againe and carryed to some other place? To all these things he aunswered by signes in lyke case as he was commaunded: whereby he affirmed, or denyed euery thyng, striking twise or thrise vppon the Table.

When he had thus signified that Luthers heresie was the cause of her damnation,* and that her body must be taken vp, the Friers desired the Citizens that were present, to beare witnes of such things as they had sene and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they taking aduisement least they shoulde both offende the Maior, and bring thēselues in trouble, refused to subscribe.

Notwithstanding, the Friers tooke the pixe with the hoste and the Lords body (as they call it) and all their Saints reliques, and caried them to another place, and there they sayd theyr Masses: which they are wont to do by the Popes Lawe, when a Church is suspended, and must be hallowed againe, and when the Bishops Official heard of thys, hee came thether to vnderstand the matter better, and associating to him certayne honest men, he commaunded the Frier to coniure in his presence, and woulde haue appoynted certaine to go vp to the vault, to see if any spirite did there appeare. But Steuen of Arras was sore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying that the spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the Official did earnestly vrge them to coniure before him,* yet could they not bring them to it. In the meane time, the Maior making his frends priue what he would do, went to the King, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the Friers trusting to their immunities and priuileges, refused to come in iudgement, the King chose certaine out of the court of Parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gaue them full authoritie so to do. Whereupon they were caried to Paris, and constrayned to make aunswere, but they would confesse nothing. Then they were sent againe to prison, and kept apart one from another: and the Nouice was kept in Fumeus house a Senatour, and being oftentimes examined, he woulde confesse nothing, fearing least he should after be murthered of thē for slaundering theyr order. But when the iudges promised him that he should haue no harme: and should come no more in the Friers handes, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he auouched the same. But they, albeit they were conuicted, and in maner taken with the deede, yet refused they theyr iudges, and bragged of their priuiledges: but it was altogether in vayne,* for they were condemned in open iudgement, that they should be caryed againe to Orleance, and committed to prison, and afterwarde brought openly to the Cathedrall Church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactours are executed, and there should make open confession of their wickednes.

But euen at the same tyme chaunced a persecution against the Lutheranes, which was the cause that this sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For, because the name of the Lutheranes was most odious, they feared least the punishment of these men should not haue bene so much thought to be due for their offence,* as done in reproch of the order: and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the Lutheranes a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to reioice.

This order of the Franciscanes was esteemed of the common people very holy: so that what tyme they were carried out of Paris, certayne women mooued wyth pitie, followed them vnto the gate of the Uniuersitie wyth many teares and sighes.

After they came to Orleance, and were bestowed in seuerall prisons, they began to boast agayne of their liberties and priuiledges, and at length, after long imprisonment, they were discharged and set at libertie without anye further punishmente. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the King had determined, as it was certaynely reported, to plucke downe their house, and make it euen with the ground. Ex Io. Sleid. lib. 9.

But to leaue the memorye of thys Idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let vs occupy the tyme with some better matter,* in remembring the story of a good and constant Martir of the Lorde before ouerpast, whiche suffered in Kent for the worde of God before Luthers time, about the second yeare of this kings raigne, as heere in story followeth.

John Browne a blessed Martyr of Christ Iesus burned at Ashford by Archbishop Warrham, and Doct. Fisher Bish. of Rochester, about the 2. yeare of king Henry the 8. An. 1511.

Persecuters.

Martir.

The cause.

- W. Warrh.
Archb. of Cant.
- Fisher byshop
of Rochester.
- A chaūtry
priest.
- Walter More
Gentleman.
- William More
hys brother.
- Children of
Wye, Bailly
arrāt.
- Beare of
Wilborough.
- Two seruantes
of Wil.
Warham.

I. Browne
of Ashford

At
Ashford.

Ann. 1511.

The first occasion of the trouble of this I. Brown the blessed seruaunt of God,* was by a certayne Priest: who passing downe to Graues end in the cōmon Barge (where the sayd loh. Brown was amongst diuers other passingers moe) and disdayning y^t hee so saucely shoulde sit so neare vnto him in the Barge (who belyke seemed not muche to passe vppon the Priest) began to swell in stomacke agaynst him. At length bursting forth in his priestly voyce and disdaynefull countenance, hee asked hym in this maner: Doest y^u know (sayd he) who I am? thou sittest to neare me and fittest on my clothes. No sir (sayde the other) I know not what you are. I tell thee (quoth hee) I am a priest. What sir, are you a parson or vicar,* or some ladies chapleine? No (quoth he agayne) I am a soule Priest: I sing for a soule. Doe you so sir (quoth the other?) that is well done, I pray you sir (sayd he) where find you the soule when you go to Masse? I cannot tel thee (sayd the Priest.) I pray you, where doe you leaue it sir when the Masse is done? I cannot tell thee (sayde the priest) Neither can you tell where to find it when you goe to Masse, nor where you leaue it when the Masse is done, howe can you then saue the soule, sayd he? Go thy wayes said the priest, I perceiue thou art an hereticke, and I will be euen with thee.

So at the landing,* the priest taking with him Walter More and W. More two Gentlemen and brethren, rode straightwayes to the archbishop, who thē was Wil. Warham. Wherupon the sayd Iohn Browne, within 3. dayes after, was sēt for by the archbishop. His bringers vp were Chilten of Wye bailly arraut, and one Beare of Wilseborough, with two of the bishops seruantes. Who with certayn other being appoynted for the same, came sodenly into his house vppon him,* the same day when his wife was churched, as hee was bringing in a messe of pottage to the bourd seruing his gestes: and so laying hands vpon hym, set him vpon his owne horse, and binding his feete vnder the horses belly, caryed him away to Canterbury, neither he nor his wife, nor any of his friendes knowing whether he went, nor whether he should, and there continuing the space of 40. dayes, frō Lowsōday, till Friday before Whitsonday through the cruell handling of the sayd Archb. and y^e B. of Rochest. D. Fisher, hee was so piteously intreated,* that his bare feete were set vpon the hote burning coales, to make him deny his fayth, whiche notwithstanding hee would not doe, but paciently abiding y^e payne continued in the Lordes quarrell vnremoueable. At length after al this crueltie susteined his wife yet not knowing where he was become, on Friday before Whitsonday he was sent to Ashford where he dwelt the next day there to be burned.

In the meane time,* as he was brought to the town ouer night, there to be set in the stockes, it happened as God would, that a young mayde of his house comming by and seeing her mayster, ran home and told her mistres.

Then she comming to him, and finding him in y^e stocks appoynted to be burned the next morow,* sat by him all the night long. To whome then he declared the whole story or rather tragedy how he was hādled and how his feet were burned to the bones, that he could not set them vppon the ground, by the two Bishops aforesayde (he thanked God therfore) and all to make me (sayd hee) to deny my Lorde, which I will neuer doe, for if I should deny him sayde he in this world he would deny me hereafter. And therfore I pray thee (sayd he) good Elizabeth, continue as y^u hast begon, & bring vp thy childrē vertuously in the feare of God.

And so the next day which was on Whitson euen, thys godly martyr was burned, where he standing at the stake sayd this prayer holding vp his handes as followeth.

[Page 1293](#)The prayer of Browne at his death.

O Lord I yeeld me to thy grace,

Graunt me mercy for my trespase,

Let neuer the fiend my soule chace,

*Lord I will bow and thou shalt beate▪

Let neuer my soule come in hell heate.

Into thy handes I commend my spirit: thou hast redeemed me O Lord of truth.

And so this blessed Martyr ended his life in peace, anno. 1511.

This story the sayd Elizabeth Browne his wife did oft times repeate to Alice her daughter, who dwelling yet in the parish of S. Pulchers, testified the narration heereof vnto me and certayne other, vppon whose credible information I haue recorded the same.*

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the sayde Iohn Browne bare a fagot seauen yeares before this, in the dayes of King Henry the seauenth. Whose sonne also named Richard Browne for the like cause of Religion, was imprisoned at Caunterbury,* likewise in the latter tyme of Queene Mary, and should haue bene burned with two mo besides himselfe, the next day after the death of Queene Mary, but that by the proclaiming of Queene Elizabeth they escaped.

Amongst other iniunctions and letters of king Henry the eight, written and set forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Edmund Bonner for abolishing of Images, pilgrimages, shrines, and other monuments of Idolatry. Which letter being before expressed pag. 1229, we should also haue annexed to the same the letter or mandate of Bonner, directed in latin to Richard Cloney hys Somner, appertayning to the due execution therof. Which letter because

we haue omitted before the defect thereof, I thought heere in this vacant space to supply. The letter written to Cloney in latin thus beginneth.

Bonnors letter to Cloney, keeper of the Colehouse, for the abolishing of Images.

EDmundus permissione Diuina Lond. Episc. Dilecto nobis in Christo Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori, nostro generali salut. grat. & benedictionem.* Cum nos 13. die mensi• instantis Octob. circa noctem, literas serenissimi, &c.

The same in English.

FOR asmuch as the 13. day of this present, we haue receyued the letters of our soueraigne Lord, by the grace of God King of England, &c. to vs directed and conteyning in them the commaundement of his Maiestie, by vs to be executed in tenour of words which heere I send vnto you: we therefore willing and desiring according as our duty bindeth vs, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible according to the effect and tenour thereof,* do charge and straightly commaund you by the tenour heereof, in the Kings behalfe, and for the fidelitie whych we haue in you assuredly approued, that you incontinent vpon the receite heereof, do effectually warne all and singular Parsons and Vicars of this Citie of London, and of all our dioces, that they immediately vpon the sight and intimation of these present Articles and interrogatories heere vnder written, do cause diligent and effectuell inquisition thereof to be made, to witte:

Whether there be vsed or continued any superstition, hypocrisie or abuse within any their parishes or Cures, contrary to anye ordinaunce, iniunction, or commaundement geuen or set forth by the Kings Maiestie or by his authoritie.

Item, whether they haue in their Churches, or within theyr parishes, any shrines, couerings of shrines, tables of fayned myracles, pilgrimages, Images and bones resorted and offered vnto and other monuments and things wherewith the people haue bene illuded, or any offering or setting vp of lights, or candles, other then be permitted by the Kings Maiesties Iniunctions, or whether the said Iniunctions be duely obserued and kept in their Parishes or Cures, or else transgressed and broken, and in what part. And further, after the sayd Inquisition thus by them and euery of them respectiuely being made, that you do certifie vs, or our Vicare generall, what is done in the premisses, vpon the euen of Simon and Iude, or thereabout, vnder the perill thereof following. Dat. 14. die Octob. an. 1541. & nostrae transl. 2.

The ende of the eyght booke.

***¶The Ninth Booke containing the Actes and thinges done in the Reigne of King EDWARD the sixt.**

[illustration]

NEXT after the death of K. Henry succeded king Edwarde his sonne, being of the age of 9. yeres. He began his raigne the 28. day of Ianuary, and raygned 6. yeares and 8. monethes, and 8. dayes, and deceased, ann. 1553. the 6. day of Iulye.

Of whose excellente vertues & singuler graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing canne be sayd enough to his commendation: yet because the renowned same of such a worthy prince shall not vtterlye passe our story without some gratefull remembraunce, I thought in few wordes to touch some litle portion of his prayse, taken out of great heapes of matter, which might be inferred. For to stand vpon all that might be sayde of him, it would be to long: and yet to say nothing, it were to much vnkinde. If kinges and Princes which haue wisely and vertuously gouerned, haue found in all ages writers to solemnise and celebrate theyr Actes and memory, such as neuer knew them, nor were subiect vnto thē, how much thē are we English men bound not to forget our duety to K. Edward, a prince although but tender in yeres, yet for his sage and mature rypenes in witte and all Princely ornamentes, as I see but few, to whom he may not be equal,* so agayne I see not many, to whom he may not iustly be preferred.

And here to vse the example of Plutarch in comparing kings and rulers, the Latines with the Greekes together if I should seek with whom to match this noble Edward, I finde not with whom to make my match more aptly, thē with good Iosias. For as the one began his raigne at eight yeares of his age, so the other beganne at 9. Neyther were their acts and zelous proceedings in Gods cause much discrepant. For, as milde Iosias pluckt downe the hil altars, [Page 1295](#) cut downe the groues,* and destroyd all monuments of Idolatry in the temple: the like corruptiōs, drosse and deformities of Popish Idolatry crept into the Church of Christ or long time, this Euangelicall Iosias king Edwarde remoued,* & purged the true temple of the Lorde, Iosias restored the true worship of God in Ierusalem, and destroyd the Idolatrous priestes: King Edward in England likewise abolishing Idolatrous Masses and false inuocation, reduced agayne religion to a right sincerity, & more would haue brought to perfection if life and time had aunswered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not: as Iosias did, the idolatrous sacrifices, yet he put them to silēce, and remoued them out of theyr places.

Moreouer, in king Iosias dayes the holy Scripture & booke of Gods word was vtterly neglected and cast aside, whi•h he most graciously repayred & restored agayne. And did not K. Edwarde the like with the selfe same booke of Gods blessed worde, and with other wholesome bookes of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his fathers dayes by sharpe lawes & seure punishments here in England? Briefly in all poynts and respectes,* betwene him and this our godly king no oddes is to be found but onely in length of time and reign▪ Who if he might haue reached (by the sufferaunce of God) to the continuance of Iosias reigne: proceeding in those beginnings, which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his Actes, & doings some great

perfection woulde haue ensued to thys Church and Realme. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmē deserved another plague, as after fel amongst vs: as in sequele of the story hereafter (God willing) shalbe de'clared.

In the meane time, to proceed in the excellent vertues of this christian yong Iosias (as we haue begon) althogh neither do we know, nor will laysure serue vs to stād vpō a full descriptiō of all his Actes: yet will we (God willing) g•ue a litle taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, wherby the reader may esteme with himselfe what is to be thought of y^e rest of his doinges, though they be not here all expressed.

And first to begin with that whiche is the chiefest property of al other externe things in a prince to be cōsidered, that is, * to be loued of his subiectes: such were the hartes of all English people towarde this King inclined, and so toward him still cōtinued, as neuer came prince in this realme more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearely & tenderly beloued of all his subiects: but especially of the good & the learned sort, & yet not so much beloued, as also admirable by reason of his rare towardnes & hope both of vertue & learning which in him appeared aboue y^e capacity of his yeares. And as he was intirely of his subiects beloued, * so with no lesse good wil he loued thē again: of nature & disposition meek, and much enclined to clemēcy. He alwayes spared and fauored the life of man: as in a certayne dissertation of his once appeared, had with Maister Cheke in fauoring y^e life of heretickes: in so much that when Ioane Butcher should be burned, all the Councell could not moue him to put to his hand, but were fayne to get Doct. Cranmer to perswade with him, and yet neither could he with much labor induce the king so to do sayyng: what my Lord? will ye haue me to send her quicke to the deuill in her error? so that D. Cranmer himself cōfessed that he had neuer so much to do in all his life, as to cause y^e king to put to his hand, saying that he woulde laye all the charge therof vpon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, grauity of sentence, rypenesse of iudgement. Fauor and loue of religion was in him frō his childhood: Such an organe geuē of God to the Church of England he was, as England had neuer better. Ouer and besides these notable excellencies, * and other great vertues in him: adde moreouer skill & knowledge of tongues & other sciences, whereunto hee seemed rather borne then brought vp.

Moreouer there wanted not in him to this felicitye of wit and dexterity of nature, like happines of institution of good instructors. Neither did there lacke agayne in him any diligence to receiue that, * which they would teach him: in so much that in the midst of all his play and recreatiō, he would alwayes obserue & keep his houre appoynted to his study, vsing the same with much intentiō, till time called him agayne from his booke to pastime. In this his study, & keeping of his houres he did so profit that D. Cranmer the Archbishop then of Canterbury, beholding his to'wardnes, his readines in both tongues, in translating frō Greek to Latine, from Latine to Greek agayne, in declaming w^t his scholefellowes without helpe of his teachers, and that ex tempore, * would weepe for ioy, declaring to D. Coxe his scholemaister, that he would neuer haue thought that to haue bene in him, except he had sene it himselfe.

To recite here his witty sentences, his graue reason• which many times did proceed frō him, and how he would sometimes in a matter discoursed by his coūsell, adde the• vnto of his owne moe reasons & causes touching the 〈◇〉 matter then they themselues had or could deuise, it was 〈◇〉 most incredible in y^r age to see & tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seme notorious and admirable, that he in these immature yeres, could tell & recite all the po••, hauens and creakes, not within his owne realme only, but also in Scotland, and likewise in Fraūce, what commyng in there was, how the tide serued in euery hauen or creke: moreouer, what burdē & what winde serued the comming into the hauen.

Also of all his iustices, maiestrates, gentlemē that bare any authority within his realme, he knew the names,* their housekeping, their religiō and conuersation what it was. Few sermons or none in his court, especially in the Lord Protectors time, but he would be at them. Agayne, neuer was he present at any commonly, but he would excerpt thē or note them with his owne hand.

Besides and aboue al other notes and examples of his commendatiō, as touching the chiefest poynt which ought most to touch all men, for mainteining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing and defending the true cause and quarell of Christes holy gospell, what was his study, hys zealous feruency, his admirable constancy therin, by thys one example folowing, amongst many other, may notably appeare.

In the dayes of this K. Edward the sixt, Carolus the Emperour made request to the sayd king and his counsel to permit Lady Mary (who after succeeded in the crowne) to haue Masse in her house without preiudice of the law.* And the counsell on a time, sitting vpon matters of pollicy hauing that in question, sent Cranmer then Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and Ridley then bishop of Londō, to intreat the king for the same: who comming to his grace alledged theyr reasons and persuasions for the accomplishing therof. So y^e king hearing what they could say, replied his answere again out of the Scriptures, so groundedly, grantly, and fully, that they were enforced to geue place to his re'plication, and graunt the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this maner with his maiesty, labored politickely in an other sort, and alledged what daungers the denying therof might bring to his grace, what breach of amity of the Emperours part, what troubles, what vnkindnes, & what occasions sondry wayes it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the king aunswered, wylling them to contēt themselues, for he would (he sayd) spend his life and all be had, rather thē to agree & graunt to that he knew certainly to be agaynst the trueth. The which when the Byshoppes heard, notwithstanding they vrged hym still to graūt, and would by no meanes haue his nay. Then y^e good K. seyng theyr importunate sure,* that needes they would haue hys Maiesty consent thereto, in the ende his tender hart bursting out in bitter weeping and sobbing, desired them to be content. Whereat the Bishoppes themselues seeing the kinges zeale and constancy, wept as fast as he, and tooke theyr leaue of his grace: and comming from him, the Arch'bishop tooke mayster Cheke his scholemayster by the hand and sayd: Ah mayster Cheke,* you may be glad all y^e dayes of your life, that you haue such a Scholer, for he hath more Diuinity in his litle finger, then all we haue in all our bodyes. Thus the Ladye Maryes Masse for that time was stayed.

Ouer and besides these heauenly graces and vertues, most chiefly to be required in all faythfull and christen maiestrates which haue gouernaunce of Christes flocke, neyther was he also vnprovided of suche outward giftes and knowledge as appertein to the gouernance of his realme politick. In so much that neither he was in expert or ignoraunt of the exchange and all the circumstaunces of the same touching doinges beyond the sea,* but was as skilfull in the practises therof, and could say as much as the chiefe•• doers in his affaires. Likewise in the enterteining of Embassadors, to whom he would geue aunswere, and that to euery part of theyr oration, to the

great wonder of thē that heard, doing that in his tender yeares by himselfe, which many Princes at theyr mature age seldome are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things y^e perteyned to Princely affayres, so had he a chest seuerallye to himselfe for euery yeare, for the keping of such records and matters, as past and were concluded by the Counsell. Of whom also he woulde require a reason and cause of euery thing that should passe their iudgements.* And of this chest he would euermore keep the key about him. His notes also •e ciphred in Greeke letters, to the ende that those that wayted vpon him, should not read nor know what he had written.

[Page 1296](#)He had moreouer great respect to iustice, and to the dispatch of poore mens sute, would appoynt hours & tymes with maister Coxe, then maister of his Requestes, how & by what order they might be sped in their causes without long delayes and attendaūce, and so also debate with him, that theyr matters might be heard and iudged with equity accordingly.

What Hieronimus Cardanus sayth of him cōcerning his knowledge in liberal sciēces, I thought here to expres in his owne words, both in latin and english, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his owne experiment, & vpon the present talke which he had with the king himselfe. The wordes of Cardanus first in latine be these.

Hier. Card. de Genituris.

A Derāt enim illi gratiae. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer cal•eba•: Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (vt audio) Graecae,*Italicae, & hispanicae, & forsan aliarum. Propriā, Gallicam & Latinā exactē tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philosophiae principia, non Musica. Humanitas mortalitatis nostrae imago, grauitas Regiae maiestatis, indoles tāto principe digna. In vniuersum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti i•genij & tantae expectationis puer educabatur. Non haec Rhetoricē exornata veritatem exedunt, sed sunt minora.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latinē non minus quam ego politē & promptē loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum varietate? hos enim nomini Maiestatis suae dedicaueram. Tum ego Cometarum primum causam diu frustra, quaesitam• in primo capite ostendo. Quae nam inquit ille? Concursum, ego aio, luminis erraticorum syderum. At Rex, quomodo, cum diuersis motibus astra moueantur, nō statim dissipatur aut mouetur eorum motu. At ego, mouetur equidem, sed lōge celefius illis ob diuersitatem aspectus, velut in Cristallo & sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parua enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiā. At Rex, & quonam pacto absque subiecto illud fieri potest iridi enim paries subiectū est? Tum ego, velut in lactea 〈◇〉, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candellae propē accensae medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiūt. Ita{que} ex vngue Leonem, vt dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque suauitatem morum. Prius caeperat fauere artibus quam nosceret, & noscere antequam vti posset. Conatus quidam humanae conditionis, quē non solum Anglia, sed orbis ereptum immaturē deflere debet. O quam benē dixerat ille.

Immodicis brevis est aetas & rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Vbi gravit̃s Regia requirebatur, senem vidisses: vt blandus erat & comis, aetatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotijs admouebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his patrem emulabatur. &c. Haec Cardanus.

¶The same in English.

There was in him a towardly disposition & pregnancy apt to all humaine literature: as who being yet a childe had the knowledge of diuers tongues,* first of the english his owne naturall tounge, of y^e latin also & of the french, neither was he ignorant (as I heare) of the greeke, Italian, & spanish tongues, and of other languages peradventure moe. In his owne, in the French & in the Latine tounge singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receiue all other. Neither was he ignorant in logike, in the principles of naturall Philosophy, or in Musicke. There was in him lacking neither humanity the Image of our mortality, a Princely grauity and maiesty, nor any kind of towardnes beseming a noble king. Briefly, it might seme a myracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit & forwardnesse that appeared in him being yet but a child. This I speake not rethorically, to amplifie thinges or to make them more then truth is, yea the truth is more then I do vtter.

Being▪ yet but 15. yeares of age he asked of me in Latin (in which tounge he vttered his minde no lesse readely and eloquently thē I could do my selfe) what my books which I had dedicated to him, De varietate rerum, did contayne? I sayd that in the first chapter was shewed the cause of Comets,* or blasing stars, which hath bene long sought for, & yet hitherto scarce fully found. What cause (sayd he) is that: The concourse or meeting (sayd I) of the light of the wandering Planets and Stars. To this the king thus replied agayne: Forsomuch (sayd he) as the motion of the stars kepeth not one course but is diuers and variable by continual alteration, how is it then that the cause of these Comets either doth not quickly vade & vanish, or that the Comet doth not keep one certayne and vniforme course & motion with the sayd Starres and Planets? Whereunto I answered that the Comet hath his course and mouing, but much more swifter then they, because of the diuersity of aspect, as we see in Christall, and in the Sunne when the forme of the Raynbow reboūdeth on the wall.* For a litle mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then sayde y^e king and how can that be, hauing no subiect: For of y^e rainbow the wall is the subiect? Like (sayd I) as in Lactea via, or in reflection of lightes, as where many candles he lighted and set nere together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightsomnes to appeare. &c.

And so by this litle triall a great gesse may be geuen what was in this king. In whome no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongst all good & learned mē, both for the ingenious forwardnes & amiable sweetnes which in his conditions appeared. First he began to loue & fauor liberall arts & sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could vse them, whose mortall conditiō and soden decease and decay in those tender & vnripe yeres, not onely England, but all the world hath cause to lament. O how truely is it sayd of the Poet.

Thinges that be exceeding excellent.

Be not commonly long permanent.

A shew or sight onely of excellency he could geue vs: example he could not geue. Where a kingly maiesty required grauity, there you should haue sene him a sage and an olde man, and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the cōditiō of his age then required. He plaid wel vpō the L•te. He had also to doe in handling of weighty affayres of the Realme: He was liberall and bountifull in hart, & therein he imitated his father. &c.

Flete nefas magnum,* sed toto flebitis orbe

Mortales: vester corrui omnis honor.

Nam Regum decus. & iuuenum flos spes{que} bonorum.

Delitiae secli, & gloria gentis erat.

Dignus Apollineis lachrymis doctae{que} Mineruae

Flosculus heu misero concidit antè diem.

Te tumulo dabimus Musae, suprema{que} flentes

Munera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Thus after the godly dispositiō and properties of this king briefly in this wise declared, now (God willing) wee will intermeddle something to describe the order & proceedinges which he folowed in his administration & gouerne'ment of both the states, as well politick as especially ecclesiasticke.* Who after the decease of his Father comming to the crowne, because he was of young & tender age, he was committed to 16. gouernors. Amongest whom especiallye the Lord Edward Semer Duke of Somerset his Uncle was assigned and adioyned to him as Protector and ouer seer of him and of the commō wealth,* a man not so highly aduanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble vertues and especially for his fauour to Gods word, worthye of his vocation and calling. Through the endeuer and industry of which man, first that monstrous Hidra with vj. heades, the sixe Articles I meane (which deuoured vp so many men before) was abolished & taken away. By reasō wherof the counsels and proceedings of Winchester began to decaye, who storming at the same matter, wrote to the Lord Protectour in the cause therof, as by his letters is to be sene.

The holy scriptures he restored to the mother tounge, masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore,* after softer beginnings, by litle & litle, greater thinges folowed in the reformation of the Churches. Then suche as before were in banishmēt for the daūger of the truth, were again receiued to theyr cōūtry. To be short, a new face of things began now to appeare, as it were in a stage new players cōming in, the olde being thrust out. For y^e most part y^e Bishops of churthes & diocesses were chaūged. Such as had bene dombe prelates before, were compelled to geue place to other then that would preach and take paynes.

Besides other also out of forreine coutries, mē of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and receiued,* among whome was Peter Martyr, Martine Bucer, and Paulus Phagius. Of whome the first taught at Oxford: the other two professed at Cambridge,* and that w^t no smal commendation of the whol vniuersity. Of the old bishops some were cōmitted to one ward, some to an other Boner Bishop of London was committed to the Marshalsey, & eftsoones for his contempt and misdemeanour deposed frō his bishopricke, as in further processe foloweth to be sene, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, with Tonsal Bishop of Duresme was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas three yeares together, more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it hadde pleased god otherwise not to haue mēt a further plague to [Page 1297](#) this Realme by that man.

But these meek and gentle times of king Edward vnder the gouernment of this noble Protector, haue this one commendation proper vnto them, for that among y^e whole number of the popish sort, of whom some priuily did steale out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest aduersaries, yet of all y^t multitude, there was not one man that lost his life. In summe, duryng the whole time of the 6. yeares of this king much tranquility, and as it were a breathing time was graunted to the whole Church of England: So that the rage of persecutiō ceasing and the sword taken out of the aduersaries hand, there was now no daūger to the godly, vnlesse it were one^ly by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more dammage in corrupting mēs minds, then any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in smithfield, nor any other quarter of this realme, any was heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either Papist or Protestant, eyther for one opiniō or other, except onely two, one an English woman, called Ioan of Kent, and the other a Dutch man, named George, who dyed for certayne Articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Besides these two, there was none els in all king Edwardes raigne,* that dyed in any maner cause of religion, but that one Thom. Dobbe, who in the beginning of this kinges raigne, was apprehended for speaking agaynst the idolatry of the masse and in the same prison died: as in story here ensueth to be sene.

This Thomas Dobbe being a studēt and a maister of Arte in Cambridge, was brought vp in the colledge, called S. Iohns Colledge, and felowe of the same, where he increased in the studye of good letters, among his equals very forward of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeale toward God feruēt pacient in iniuries,* iniurious to no man, of much like sort & condition, as in Doues which without all bitternes of gal, are more apt to receiue iniury then to worke wrong to any. At length this godly man intending with himselfe, and addicting hys mynde to the Christian state of Matrimony, resorted to a certayn mayden not farre of where he dwelt. For the whiche cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused by iij. of that Colledge, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tailer, who with theyr malicious handlyng, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and cōtumelies, so much vexed the vertuous simplicity of y^e man, that they neuer left him, till at length they weryed him out of the Colledge. Who there hauing no rest nor quietnes by reasō of the vnreasonable and virulēt handling of his aduersaries, was compelled to seek some other place wherin to settle himself. Up on the occasion wherof comming vp to Lōdon, it chaūced him to passe through Paules Church, wheras it happned that at the Southside of the Church, at the same tyme there was a Priest at Masse, more busy then wel

occupied being at the eleuation as he passed by. The yong man repleat with godly zeale, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honoring that so deuoutly which the priest lifted vp, was not able to forbear, but opening his mouth & turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honor the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordeined of God to be honored. &c. with such other wordes mo of christian information. For which cause straight way he was apprehended by the Maior, and after accused to the Bishop of Caüterbury, was committed to the Coüter thē in Bredstreete, where he not long continued, but fallyng into a sicknes, how, or wherupon I can not tell, shortly vp on the same chaūged this mortall life. Whose pardō notw^tstanding was obtained of the Lord Protector and shoulde haue bene brought him, if he had cōtinued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and other.

Ouer and besides, I finde, that in the first yeare of the raygne of King Edward, which was an. 1547. there was one Iohn Hume, seruaunt to Maister Lewnax of Wresell apprehended, accused, and sent vp to the Archbish. of Caüterbury, by the sayd M. Lewnax his Mayster & Margaret Lewnax his mistres, for these Articles.

1 First, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the aultar) to be the reall flesh and bloud of Christ.

2 For saying that he would neuer vale his bonet vnto it, to be burned therefore.

3 For saying that if he shoulde heare Masse, he shoulde be damned,

For this was he sent vp by his maister and mistres aforesayd, with speciall letters vnto the Archbishop, requiring him seuerally to be punished by the law for the same. But because I finde no execution folowing thereupon, I therefore passe ouer this story of him.

These thinges premissed, when this vertuous & godly yong prince (endued as you haue heard with speciall graces from God) was now peaceably stablished in his king^dome, and had a couंसell about him, graue, wise, and zelous in Gods cause, especially his vncle y^e duke of Somerset▪ he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the aduaunce^ment of the true honor of almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion: as also the vtter suppressiō and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hipocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realmes and domiⁿions, & therefore folowing, as is afore expressed, the good example of king Iosias, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of Religion in the Church of England.

And forasmuch as at his first entry (notwithstanding his fathers good beginning in abolishing the vsurped power of Antichrist) he yet foūd most of his lawes greatly re^pugning agaynst this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed by the aduise of his sayd wise & honorable Counsell, of his owne regall power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, vntill such time as by consent of the whole estate of parliamēt, he might establish a more free, perfect, and vniforme order therin.

Wherupon intending first a generall visitation ouer al the bishopricks within his realm (therby as wel to vnderstād,* as also to redresse the abuses in the same) he chose out certayn wise, learned, discrete, and worshipful personages to be his Commissioners in that behalfe: and so deuiding

them into seuerall companies,* assigned vnto them seuerall Diocesses to be visited: appoynting likewise vnto euery company, one or two godly learned preachers, which at euery Session shoulde in theyr preaching, both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the Gospell of Christ, & in all loue and obedience to the same, and also earnestly dehore them from theyr olde superstition and wonted Idolatrye. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their Commission, there were deliuered vnto them certayn Iniunctions & ecclesiasticall orders drawne out by the kings learned counsell, the which they should both enquire of, & also commaund in his maiesties behalfe, to be thenceforth obserued of euery person, to whō they did seuerally appertayne within theyr sondry circuites.

In the which, amongst other things, it was first enioined that all Ecclesiasticall persons should themselues obserue, and cause to be obserued of other,* all such Statutes as were made for the abolishing of the Bishop of Romes vsurped power, and establishing of the kings supreme authority, and that they should euery one foure times in the yeare at the least, in theyr publick sermons declare vnto y^e people, that the one being most arrogātly vsurped against the word of God, was now iustly taken away, and the other (according to y^e very true meaning of the same worde) was of most loyall duety onely to be obeyed of all his graces subiectes.

And agayne, that euery the aforesayd ecclesiastical person (hauing cure) shoulde preach,* or cause to be preached w^t in theyr seuerall cures, one sermon euery quarter of y^e yere. In the which they should sincerely set forth the woordes of God, & exhort the people vnto the workes of fayth & mercy prescribed in the same word,* and not vnto workes deuised by mans fantasy, as going on pilgrimages and other lyke idolatrous superstitions: the which they should also to the vttermost of theyr powers reprove and speak agaynst, declaring that all grace & goodnes ought onely to be soughte for at gods hand (as the alone geuer therof) & not at any other creature: And that they shoulde not onely foorthwyth take down and destroy all such Images as had bene thertofore abused by pilgrimage or offerings within theyr said cures;* but also should not thenceforth suffer any lightes or other idolatrous oblation to be made or set vp before any other image, then was yet suffered in the Church.

Also that euery holy day (hauing no Sermon in theyr Church) they should immediatly after the gospel distinctly read in the Pulpit the Lordes prayer,* the beliefe and the x. commaūdemēts of almighty God in the english tounge;* exhorting the people not only to learn thē theyr selues, but also to teach them to theyr childrē & families, & also should charge all Parentes and gouernors of households to bring vp their youth in some good exercise or occupation wherby they might afterwards serue the common wealth, and not runne, and like vagabondes and idle loyterers, & thereby incur the daunger of the lawes.

And furthermore that the sayd persons (hauing cure) should see the holy Sacramentes of Christ reuerently ministred within theyr cures: & that if any of them (by speciall licence or other cases expressed in the Statutes of thys realme) should be at any time absent from theyr benefices▪ [Page 1298](#) that then they should leaue in theyr rowmes some Godly learned and discreet Curate that were able to instruct the people in all truth and godlines not seking thēselues, but rather the profit of theyr flocke.

And likewise, that they should see prouided and set vp some most conuenient and open place of euery their seuerall Churches, one great Bibe in english, & one book of the Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the gospels,* both in English, that the people might reuerentlye without any argument or contention, read & heare the same at such times as they listed: and not to be inhibited therfrō by the Parson or Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and prouoked thereto.

And that the sayd Parsons and Curates should not at any time (but for necessary causes) haunt anye Tauerne or Ale house, neither should spend their time idly in vnlawfull games, but at all theyr conuenient leasures shoulde geue thēselues to the reading or hearing of the holy scriptures.

Moreouer, that in the time of confession euery Lent, they should examine theyr parishners whether they could say the Lordes prayer, the ten commaundementes, and the articles of the Christian fayth: and that if they coulde not, they should then reprove them, declaring further vnto thē that, they ought not to presume to come vnto y^e Lordes table without the true knowledge therof, and earnest desire to fulfill the same.

Also that they shoulde not admitte any man to preache within theyr cures, but suche as were lawefully licensed thereunto:*, and that they hauing at anye tyme before extolled and praysed any Idolatrous Pilgrimage, or other superstition, should now openly recant the same before the people.

*And if there were any open hinderer or disturber of the reading or preaching of the word of God within their parishes, that then they should forthwith detect the same vnto the kinges counsell, or vnto some Iustice of peace to thē next inhabiting.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be y^e better mayntayned, it was also ordeined herein, that euery beneficed persō y^t inought yerely dispend twenty poūdes or vpward (and not resident vpon their cures) should pay towards the reliefe of the poore within theyr parishes euery yeare, the fourty part of theyr fruites and profites: & likewise that euery suche as might dispende one hundreth poundes yearely or more, should for euery hundreth poūd geue a competent exhibition vnto some poore scholer within one of the Uniuersityes of Oxford or Cambridge or els in some other grammer schole of the realme.

And also that euery priest being vnder the degree of a Bachelor of Diuinity should haue of his owne, one newe Testament in English and Latine, with the Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the same, and should diligētly read and study therupon, and should collect and keep in memory all such comfortable places of the scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefites, and goodnes of almighty God towards all penitent & beleuing persons, that they might therby cōfort theyr flock in al daūger of death,* dispayre or trouble of conscience: and that therefore euery bishop in theyr visitations should from time to time try and examine them how they had profited in these theyr studies.

And although the Masse was then still by the Law reteyned, yet was it enioyned, that at euery high masse the sayer or singer therof should openly and distinctly read the Gospell and Epistle in English, in the Pulpit or in some other conuenient place that the people mought heare the same.*

And in like place and maner should read euery holy day and Sonday at Mattins one chapter of the new Testament in English, omitting therfore three of theyr 9. Latine Lessons with theyr Responses: and at Euensong like wise immediately after Magnificat, one chapter of the old Testament in stead of theyr wonted Responses and Memories.

Furthermore, because of the vayne contention that often fall among the people for goyng on Procession, it was ordeined that thenceforth the Priests and Clerkes should kneele in the midst of the Church, & there distinctly sing or reade the Letany in English sette forth by the authority of K. Henry the eight: * and that no person should depart the church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Letany, or during the time of any Sermon, without iust and vrgent cause.

Likewise that the people should spend the holydaies in hearing the word of God, in priuate and publick prayers, in knowledging theyr offences vnto God and amendmēt of the same, * in reconciling themselues charitablye to theyr neighbors where displeasure hath bene, in often receiuing the Communion of the body and bloud of Christ, in visiting the poore & sicke, & in all sober and godly conuersatiō: and not in vanity, idlenes, or dronkenes, neither yet in any bodily labor, otherwise then in y^e time of haruest, to saue the frutes of the earth, if necessity so required: and that no curate should admit vnto the receiuing of the holy cōmunion, * any person who had maliciously and opēly contēded with his neighbors, vnlesse the same did first also openlye reconcile himselfe agayne, and remit all rancor and malice whatsoever.

Moreouer it was ordeined that euery Dean, * Archdeacon master of Collegiat Churches or Hospitals, and Prebendaries (being Priest) should himselfe personally preach twise euery yeare at the least, in some such place where hee had iurisdiction and liuing: and that they and all other curates should teach y^e people that as no man of any priuate affection ought maliciously to violate any ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by y^e kings authority: so likewise they ought not on the other side to vse them superstitiously or idolatrously, * in attributing to them remission of sinnes, driuing away of euill spirits, & other such like dreames & fātasies of men, or els in putting any confidence of saluation or health in thē. And farther that they should vtterly take away and destroy all Shrines and Monumēts of fayned Miracles, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous superstition, as well in theyr Churches, as wythin theyr priuate houses.

Also that they should see prouided within their churches a strong and fit chest for the safe keping of y^e peoples beneuolence geuen towards the reliefe of the poore, * and that the sayd Curates should earnestly exhort and moue theyr Parishioners (especially at the making of theyr Testaments) that as they had bene thertofore willing to bestow much of theyr substance vpon vayne superstitious & blind deuotiōs contrary to gods word, so now they would be much more readier to geue som portion therof vnto theyr poore & nedy brethren, knowing the same to be not only commaūded in y^e word of God, but also promised to be rewarded. And for the better reliefe of the poore it was also appoynted that all mony & profits rising vpon Fraternities, guildes, stocks of Churches or geuen to the finding of Idolatrous lights should be cōuerted for that present vnto the same vse. Last of all, for the want of learned Curates & other good preachers, it was enioyned that y^e Curates (hauing no sermō) should euery sōday read vnto the people in their churches one of the homilies which should be shortly set forth for y^e same purpose by the kinges authority: * & that whē any homily or sermō should be preached or read, then the Prime and Houres should be omitted.

There were also diuers other articles in the same Iniunctiōs appoynted for comelines & due order in the churches: as for repaying of Chauncels and Priestes houses, for keeping of a Register booke of weddinges, christenings and burials, for reading of these Iniunctions euery quarter for due paying of tithes for forbidding of any other alteration of seruice in the Church, or fasting dayes, for making of comely Pulpits for the preachers, for auoyding of simony in buying and selling of benefices of the charitable vsing of Priestes, for praying onely vpon the English and Latine primmers set forth by K. Henry the eight for y^e teaching of his grammer in the common scholes.* At last that the Chauntry Priestes should teach yong children, eyther to write and read, or els some other good and profitable exercises: as it doth more fully and amply appeare in the same Iniunctions at large set forth in the 684. page of the fyrste booke of the Actes and Monuments of the church heretofore imprinted.

Besides these generall Iniunctions for the whole estate of the Realme, there were also certayne others particularly appoynted for the Bishops onely, which being deliuered vnto the Commissioners, were likewise by theyr visitations committed vnto the sayd byshops with charge to be inuiolably obserued and kept vpon payne of the kinges Maiesties displeasure: the effect whereof is as in maner foloweth.

First that they should to the vttermost of theyr wit and vnderstanding,* see & cause al and euery singuler the kings Iniunctions theretofore geuen, or after to bee geuen from time to time, in and through our Dioces, duely, faythfully and truely to be kept, abserued and accomplished, and that they should personally preach within theyr Dioces,* euery quarter of a yeare once at y^e least, that is to say once in theyr Cathedrall Churches, and thrise in other seuerall places of theyr Diocesses, wheras they should see it most conueniēt and necessary, except they had a reasonable excuse to the cōtrary. Likewise, that they should not reteine into their seruice or houshold, any chapleyn but such as were learned, or able to preach the word of God, and those they should also cause to exercise the same.

[Page 1299](#) Moreouer, that they should not geue orders to any person, but such as were learned in holy Scripture: neyther should deny thē that were learned in the same, being of honest conuersatiō and liuing. And last, that they should not at any time or place preach or set forth vnto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and entent cōteined and set forth in the kings highnes homelies, neither yet should admitte or geue licence to preach to any within theyr diocesses, but to such as they should know (or at the least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proued, they should perceiue y^e cōtrary, they should then incontinent not onely inhibite that person so offending, but also punish him and reuoke theyr licence.

Nowe during the time that the Commissioners were occupied abroad in theyr circuits about the speddy and diligent execution of these godly & zelous orders and decrees of the king and his counsell, his maiesty (with the aduise of the same) yet still desiring a farther reformation as well in this case of religiō, as also in some others of his Ciuill gouernment, appointed a parliamēt of the three estates of his Realme to be summoned agaynst the 4. day of Nouēber, in the first yeare of his raigne and the yeare of our Lorde. 1547. which continued vnto the 24. day of December then next folowing.* In the which Session, for as much as hys highnes minded the gouernaunce and order of his people to be in perfect vnity & concord in al things, and especially in the true

fayth and religion of God, and therewithal also duely wayed the great daunger that his louing Subiects were in for confessing the gospell of Christ, through many and diuers cruell statuts made by sondry his predecessors, against the same (which being stil left in force mought both cause the obstinate to contēn his graces godly procedings, and also the weak to be fearefull of theyr christianlike profession) he therefore caused it among other things by the authority of the same parliament to be enacted,* that all Actes of Parliament & Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning religion or opinions, that is to say (as well y^e statute made in the first yeare of the reigne of king Rich. the second,* and the statute made in the second yeare of the reigne of King Henry the fift, and the statute made in the 25. yeare of the raigne of K. Henry .8. cōcerning punishment and reformation of hereticks and Lollards and euery prouision therein conteined, and the Statutes made for the abolishment of diuersity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian religion commōly called the 6. Articles, made in the 31. yeare of the raigne of K. Henry 8. & also the statute made in the Parliamēt begon the 16. day of Ianuary in the 33. yeare of the reigne of the sayd K. Hēry the 8. and after proroged vnto the 21. day of Ianuary in the 24. yeare of his sayd raigne, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning bookes of the olde and new Testament in English, & the printing, vttering, selling, geuing, or deliuering of bookes or writings, and reteining of english bookes or writings, and reading preaching, teaching, or expounding the scriptures, or in any wise touching, mētioning or cōcerning any of the sayd matters: And also one other statute made in the 35 yeare of the Raigne of the sayd K. Henry 8. concerning the qualifcation of the Statute of the sixe Articles, and all and euery other act or acts, of parliament concerning doctrine or matters of religion, and al and euery braunch, article, sentence, matter, paines, or forfaytures conteined, mētioned, or in any wise declared many of the same Actes or Statutes) should from thenceforth be vtterly repealed, made voyd, and of none effect.

By occasion wherof, as wel al such his godly subiects as were then still abiding within this Realme, had free liberty publickely to professe the Gospel: as also many learned & zealous preachers (before banished) were now both licensed freely to returne home agayne, & also encouraged boldly and faythfully to trauel in theyr fūction and calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreouer in the same Session his Maiestye with the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the same Parliament assembled, throughly vnderstanding by the iudgement of the best learned, that it was more agreable vnto y^r first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and bloud of our Sauior Christ, and also more conformable to the common vse and practise both of the Apostles, and of the primatiue Church, by the space of fyue hundreth yeares and more after Christes Ascension, that the sayde holye Sacrament shoulde bee ministred vnto all Christen people vnder both the kindes of bread and wine, then vnder the forme of bread onely, and also that it was more agreable vnto the sayd first institution of Christ and the vsage of the Apostles and primatiue Church, that the people being presēt should receiue the same with the priest then that the priest should receiue it alone: dyd by theyr authority moreouer enacte, that the sayde holy Sacrament should be from thēceforth commonly deliuered and ministred vnto the people throughout the churches of Engl^d and Ireland and other the kinges dominiōs vnder both y^e kindes of bread and of wine,* except necessity otherwise required: and also, that the Priest that should minister the same, should at the least one day before, exhort all persons which should be present, likewise to resort & prepare them'selues to receiue the same. And at y^e day prefixed,

after some godly exhortation made by the minister (wherin should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them which worthely receiue this holy Sacrament, & the daunger and indignation of God threatned to them which presume to receiue the same vnworthely, to the end that euery man might try and examine his owne conscience before he should come thereunto) the sayd Minister shoulde not without a lawfull cause denye the same to any person that would deuoutly and humbly desire it: any Law, Statute,* ordinaunce, or custome, contrary therunto in any wise notwithstanding.

After which most godly consent of the parliament, the king being no lesse desirous to haue the forme of administration of the Sacrament truely reduced to the ryght rule of the scriptures and first vse of the primatiue church, then he was to establish the same by the authority of his owne regall lawes appoynted certain of the most graue and best learned Bishops and others of his Realme, to assemble to'gether at his Castle of Windsor, there to argue and entreat vpon this matter, and conclude vpon and set forth one perfect and vniforme order according to the rule and vse afore'sayd.

And in the meane while that the learned were thus occupied about theyr conferences, the Lord Protectour and the rest of the kinges Councell, farther remembring that that time of the yere did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies agaynst the glory of God, and trueth of his word (determining the vtter abolishing thereof) directed theyr letters vnto the godly and reuerend father Thomas Cranmer, then Archbishop of Caunterbury, & Metropolitane of England, requiring him that vpon the receipt thereof he should will euery Bishop within his Prouince, forthwith to geue in charge vnto all the Curates of theyr Diocesses, that neither candles should be any more borne vpō Candlemas day, neither yet ashes vsed in Lent,* nor Palmes vpon palme Sonday.

Whereupon the Archbishop zealously fauouring thee good and Christianlike purpose of the king and his Coūsell,* did immediately in that behalfe write bnto all the rest of the Bishops of that prouince, and amongst them vnto Edmund Boner then Bishop of London. Of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy, for that we haue hereafter more to say, I thought not to stand long hereupon, but onely by the way somewhat to note his former dissimulation and cloked hipocrisy in that he outwardly at the first consented as well vnto this, as also vnto all other the kinges proceedinges (but whether of feare or of any other subtle fetch, I know not, howbeit most like, rather for one of them or both, then for any true loue.) And therefore receiuing the Archbishops letters as one of them seeming to allow the contentes thereof, he did presently write vnto the Bishop of Westminster, & to others, to whom he was appoynted, requiring them to geue such knowledge therof in theyr diocesses, as thereunto apperteyned: as more plainely appeareth by these his owne letters here inserted which here do folow.

¶A Letter missiue of Edmund Boner sent to the Byshop of Westminster, with the tenour of the Archbishops Letter for abolishing of candles, Ashes, Palmes, and other Ceremonies.

MY very good Lord, after most harty commendations these be to aduertise your good Lordship that my Lord of Canterburyes grace this present 28. day of Ianuary sent vnto me hys letters

missiue, cōteing this in effect: * that my Lord Protectours Grace with the aduise of other the kinges maiesties most honorable Counsell, for certayne considerations them mouing, * are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne vpon Candlemas day, nor also from henceforth Ashes or Palmes vsed any longer, requiring me thereupon by his sayd letters, to cause admonitiō and knowledge thereof to be geuen vnto your Lordship and other Byshops with celerity accordingly. In consideration wherof I do send at this presēt these letters vnto your sayd Lordship, that you therupon may geue knowledge & aduertisement therof within your Dioces as appertayneth: Thus committing your good Lordship to almighty God, as wel to fa•e as your good hart [Page 1300](#) can best desire.

Written in hast at my house in London, the said 18 day of Ianuary. 1548.

Your good Lordships to command, Edmund London.

Now about that present tyme credible and certain report was made vnto the Lords of the counsaile, * that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people in diuers partes of this Realme, for the pullyng downe and takyng away of such Images out of the churches, as had bene idolatrously abused by pilgrimage, offerings, or otherwyse (accordyng to the tenure of one of the Iniunctions geuen by the kyng in his late visitation) some affirmyng that that Image was abused, others that this, and most, that neyther of them both: so that if speedy remedy were not had therein, it might turne to further inconuenience. Wherefore they, by one aduise thinkyng it best (of good experience) for the auoidyng of all discorde and tumult, that all maner Images should be cleane taken out of all Churches, and none suffered to remayne, did thereupon agayne write their letters vnto the Archbishop of Caunterbury, requiring his ready ayde therein: in maner followyng.

Another Letter of the Counsaile sent to the Archbishop of Caunterbury for the abolishing of Images.

AFTER our right harty commendations to your good Lordship where now of late in the Kings Maiesties visitations, among other godly Iniunctions commaunded to be generally obserued thorough all partes of this his highnesse Realme, * one was set forth for the takyng downe of all such Images as had at any tyme bene abused with Pilgrimages, offerings or censings: albeit that this sayd Iniunction hath in many partes of the realme bene quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much stryfe and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, and more and more encreaseth about the execution of the same: some men beyng so superstitious, or rather wilfull, as they would (by theyr good wils) retayne all such Images still, although they haue bene most manifestly abused. And in some places also the Images which by the sayd Iniunctions were taken downe, be now restored and set vp agayne. And almost in euery place is contention for Images, whether they haue bene abused or not. And whiles these men go on both sides contentiously to obtayne theyr myndes, contendyng whether this Image or that Image hath bene offered vnto, kissed, censed, or otherwyse abused, partes haue in some places bene taken, in such sort, as further inconueniēcies be lyke to ensue, if remedy be not found in tyme. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realme is any sure quietnes, but where all Images be cleane taken away, and pulled downe alreadye, to the entent that all contention in euery part of the Realme for

this matter, may be clearely taken away, and that the liuelye Image of Christ should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessary, and without the which the Churches of Christ continued most godly many yeres, we haue thought good to signifie vnto you that his highnesse pleasure, with the aduise & consent of vs the Lord Protector and the rest of the Counsaile, is, that immediatly vpon the sight hereof, with as conuenient diligence as you may, you shall not onely geue order that all the Images remayning in any Church or Chappell within your Diocesse be remoued and taken away, but also by your letters signifie vnto the rest of the bishops within your Prouince, this hys hyghnesse pleasure for the lyke order to be geuen by them, and euery of them within theyr seuerall Diocesse. And in the executiō hereof, we require both you and the rest of the sayd Bishops, to vse such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship hartely well. From Somerset place, the xi. of Febr. 1541.

Your Lordships assured louing frendes.

- Edw. Somerset.
- Hen. Arundel.
- Anth. Wingfield.
- Iohn Russell.
- Tho. Semer.
- Wil. Paget.

When the Archb. had receiued these letters, he forthwith directed his precept vnto Boner B. of London, requiring,* and in the kings maiesties name commaundyng him, that with all speede he should as well geue in charge vnto the rest of the bishops within the prouince of Caunterbury, to looke immediately without delay vnto the diligent and carefull execution of the contents of the sayd letter throughout all places of their Dioces: as also that he himselfe should do the lyke within his owne citie & dioces of London. Whereupon he seming then with like outward consent as before, to allow these doyngs, presently (by vertue of the sayd precept) did send out hys Mandatum as well vnto the rest of the bishops, as also agayne vnto the B, of Westminster, in forme followyng.

¶The Letter of Edmund Boner, sent with the Archbishops Mandate, to the bishop of Westminster for abolishyng of Images.

EDmundus permissione diuina London. Episcopus per illustrissimum in Christo principem & dominum nostrum, Dominum Edwardum sextum, Dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae,* & Hybernicae Regem, fidei defensorem & in terra Ecclesiae Anglicanae & Hybernicae supremum caput, sufficienter & legitimae autorisatus Reuerendo in Christo confratri nostro domino Thomae eadem permissione Westm. Episcopo, salutem & fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reuerendissimi in Christo patris & domini D. Thomae, permissione diuina Cantuar. Archiepiscopi totius Angliae primatis & Metropolitanani, tenorem literarum miss•ū clarissimorum & prudentissimorum dominorum de priuatis consilijs dicti illustrissimi domini Regis in se continen• nuper cum ea qua decuit reuerentia humiliter recepimus exequend. in haec verba.

Thomas permissione diuina Cant. &c. And then makynge a full recitall as well of the Archbishops precept, as also of the Counsels letters aboue specified, he concluded with these wordes. Quocirca nos Edmund. Episc. antedictus, Literis praedictis, pro nostro officio obtemperare, vti decet, summopere cupientes, vestrae fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentissimi Domini nostri Regis, ac praefato•um clarissimorum dominorū de priuatis suis consilijs, quā praedicti Reuer. patris domini Cant. Archiepiscopi, tenore praesentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter consideratis Literarum huiusmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, iuxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam Dioces. vestram West. debite & effectualiter exequi faciatis & procuretis. Datum in aedibus nostris London. vicesimo die Febr. An. Dom. 1548. Et regni dicti illustrissimi domini nostri Regis. Anno secundo.

Now by the tyme that these things were thus determined, the learned men which the kyng had appointed (as ye haue heard before) to assemble together for the true and right maner of administring the Sacramente of the body and bloud of Christ,* accordyng to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first vsage of the Primatiue Church, after theyr long, learned, wyse, and deliberate aduises, dyd finally conclude and agree vppon one godly and vniforme order of receiuing the same, not much differyng from the maner at this present vsed & authorised within this realme and church of England, commonly called the Communion. Which agreement beyng by them exhibited vnto the kyng, and of hym most gladly accepted, was thereupon publikely imprinted, and by his maiesties Councell perticularly deuised and sent vnto euery bishop of the realme, requiring and commaundyng them by their letters on the kings Maiesties behalfe, that both they in their own persons, should forthwith haue diligent and carefull respect to the due execution thereof, and also should with all diligēce cause the bookes which they then sent them, to be deliuered vnto euery Parson, Uicar, and Curate within their Dioces, that they likewise might well and sufficiently aduise themselues for the better distribution of the sayd communion, according to the tenour of the sayd• booke) agaynst the feast of Easter then next ensuyng, as more fully appeareth by these their letters here followyng.

¶ Letters Missiue from the Counsaile, to the Bishops of the Realme, concernyng the Communion to be ministred in both kyndes.*

AFTER our most hartie commendatiōs to your Lordship, where in the Parliament late holden at Westminster,* it was amongst other things most godly established, that according to the first institution and vse of the primatiue church, the most holy sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauior Iesus Christ, shuld be distributed to the people vnder the kyndes of bread & wyne (according to the effect whereof, the kinges maiestie mynding, with the aduice and consent of the Lord Protectors grace & the rest of the Counsaile, to haue the sayd Statute well executed in such sort, or lyke as it is agreeable with the word of God, so the same may be also faithfully and reuerently receiued of his most louing subiects, to their comforts and wealth) hath caused sundry of his maiesties most graue and well learned Prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselues for this matter: who after long conference together, haue with deliberate aduise, finally agreed vpon such an order to be vsed in all places of the kings maiesties dominions, in the distribution of the sayd most holy sacrament, as may appeare to you by the

booke thereof, which we send herewith vnto you. Albeit knowing your [Page 1301](#) Lordships knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will & zeale to the setting forth of all things accordyng to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will of your owne good will, and vpon respect to your duetie, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed vpon, and commaunded to be vsed by the authoritie of the kyngs maiestie: yet remembryng the crafty pratise of the deuill, who ceaseth not by his members to worke by al wayes and meanes, the hinderance of all godlines. And consideryng furthermore, that a great number of the Curates of the Realme, eyther for lacke of knowledge can not, or for want of good mynd will not be so redy to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter, and their owne bounden duties requireth, we haue thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and neuerthelesse in the kings maiesties our most dread Lordes name, to commaund you to haue an earnest diligence and carefull respect both in your owne person, and by all your officers and Ministers, also to cause these bookes to be deliuered to euery Person, Vicar, and Curate within your Diocesse, with such diligence as they may haue sufficient tyme well to instruct and aduise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy Communion, accordyng to the order of this booke, before this Easter tyme, and that they may by your good meanes be well directed to vse such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and vnlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be, praying you to consider, that this order is set forth, to the intent there should be in all partes of the Realme, and among all men one vniforme manner quietly vsed. The execution whereof, lyke as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation: so doe we eftsoones require you to haue a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the kings Maiesties pleasure, and will aunswer for the contrary. And thus we bidde your Lordship right hartily farewell. From Westminster the 13. of March. 1548.

Your Lordships louyng friends

- Tho. Canterbury.
- R. Rich.
- W. Saint Iohn.
- Iohn Russell.
- Hen. Arundel.
- Anth. Wingfield.
- W. Peter.
- Edward North.
- Ed. Wootton.

By meanes as well of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, as also of the statute and acte of parliament before mentioned, made for the stablishyng thereof all priuate blasphemous Masses were now, by iust authoritie fully abolished throughout this realme of England, and the right vse of the Sacrament of the most precious body & bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ, truly restored in stead of the same. But neuertheles, as at no tyme any thing can be so well done of the godly, but that the wicked will find some meanes subtilly to deface the same: so likewyse at this present through the peruerse obstinacy & dissembling frowardnes of many the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedrall and other churches of this realme,* there did aryse a meruailous schisme and varietie of fashions in celebratyng the common service and administration of the Sacraments,* and other rites and ceremonies of y^e church. For some zealously allowyng the kyngs proceedings, dyd gladly follow the order thereof, and others, though not so willingly

admittynge them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly vse some part of them: but many carelesly cōtemnyng all: would still exercise their old wonted popery.

Wherof the kyng and his Counsell hauyng good intelligence, and fearyng the great inconueniences & daungers that might happen through this diuision, and beyng therewithall loth at the first to vse any great seuerity towards hys subiects, but rather desirous by some quiet and godly order, to bring them to some conformitie, did by theyr prudent aduises againe, appoynt the Archbishop of Caunterbury, with certaine of the best learned and discrete bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premisses: and thereupon hauyng as well an eye and respect vnto the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the holy scriptures, as also to the vsages of the primatiue church, to draw and make one conuenient and meete order, rite, and fashion of common prayer, & administration of the Sacraments, to be had and vsed within this his realme of England,* and the dominions of y^e same. Who after most godly and learned conferences, thorough the ayd of the holy Ghost, with one vniforme agreement, did cōclude, set forth, and deliuer vnto the kings highnes, a booke in English intituled: A booke of the common prayer and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the vse of the Church of England. The whith his highnes receiuing with great comfort and quietnesse of mynd, did forthwith exhibite vnto the Lords and Commons of the parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the 4. of Nouember,* in the second yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1548. and continuynge vnto the 14. day of March, then next ensuyng.

Whereupon the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons of the sayd Parliament assembled, well, and thoroughly consideryng as well the most godly trauayle of the kings highnes, of the Lord Protector,* and other of his maiesties Counsaile, in gatheryng together the said Archbishop, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly praiers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the sayd booke mentioned, with the consideratiō of altering those things which were altered, and retainyng those thyngs which were retayned in the same booke: as also the honour of God, and great quietnes, which by the grace of God should ensue vpon that one and vniforme rite, and order in such common prayer, rites, and externe ceremonies to be vsed throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the marches of the same, dyd first geue vnto hys highnesse most lowly and hearty thanks for the same,* and then most humbly prayed hym that it myght be ordeyned and enacted by hys Maiesty wth the assent of the sayd Lords and Commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, that not only all and singular person and persons that had thertofore offended concernyng the premisses (others then such as were then remainyng in Ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleete) myght be pardoned thereof, but also that all and singular ministers in any Cathedrall or parish Churches or other places within the Realme of Englād, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the same, or other the kings dominions, should from and after the feast of Pentecost next commyng, be bounden to say and vse the Mattins, Euensong, celebration of the Lords supper, and administration of ech of the Sacraments,* and all other common and open prayer, in such order & forme as was mentioned in the sayd booke, and none other or otherwise. And albeit that they were so godly and good, that they gaue occasion vnto euery honest and conformable man most willyngly to embrace them, yet least any obstinate persons who willingly would disturbe so godly an order and quiete in this realme, should not go vnpunished, they further requested, that it might be ordeined and enacted by the authoritie aforesayd, that if any maner of Person, Uicar, or other what so euer minister that ought or should

say or sing common prayer, mencioned in the sayd booke, or minister the Sacraments, should after the sayd feast of Pentecost then next commyng, refuse to vse the sayd common praier, or to minister the Sacraments in such cathedrall or parish churches, or other places as he shoulde vse or minister the same, in such order & fourme as they were mentioned, & set foorth in the sayd booke: or should vse wilfully & obstinately standyng in the same, any other rite, ceremonie, order, fourme, or maner of masse, openly, or priuily, or Mattinnes, Euensong, administration of the Sacraments, or other open prayer then was mentioned and set foorth in the sayd booke: or should preache, declare, or speake any thyng in the derogation or deprauyng of the sayde booke, or any thyng therein conteyned, or of any parte thereof, and should be thereof lawfully conuicted accordyng to the lawes of this Realme by verdite of twelue men, or by his owne confession, or by the notorious euidence of the fact, should loose and forfayte vnto the Kynges hyghnesse hys heyres & successours, for hys first offence one whole yeres profite of such one of his benefices or spirituall promotiōs as it should please the kings highnes to assigne & appoint and also for the same offence should suffer imprisonmēt by the space of sixe monthes, without bayle or mainprise.* But if any such person, after his first conuiction,* should eftsonē offend agayne, and be thereof in forme aforesayd lawfully cōuicted, then he should for his second offence suffer imprisonment by y^e space of one whol yeaere, & should also be depriued Ipso facto, of all his spirituall promotions for euer, so that it should be lawfull for the patrons & Doners therof to geue the same agayne vnto any other learned man, in like maner as if y^r sayd partie so offending were dead. And if any the sayd person or persons shoulde agayne the thyrd tyme offend, and be thereof in forme aforesayd lawfully cōuicted, then he shuld for the same 3. offence suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice or spiritual promotion, y^t then he shoulde for his first offence suffer imprisonment by the space of vi. monthes without bayle or maynprise, and for his second offence, imprisonment during hys life. Which request or rather actuall agreement of y^e lordes and commons of the Parliament beyng once vnderstoode of the kyng, was also soone ratified and confirmed by hys regall consent and authoritie, and therupon the sayd booke of common prayer was presently imprinted, and commāded to be exercised throughout the whole Realme and dominions [Page 1302](#) thereof, accordyng to the tenure and effect of the sayd Statute.

Moreouer, in the same Session of the sayd Parliamēt, it was enacted and established by the authoritie thereof: that for as much as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed inconueniences had from tyme to tyme risen amongst the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy through their compelled chastitie,* and by such lawes as prohibited them the godly and lawfull vse of mariage: that therefore all and euery law and lawes positieue, canons, constitutions and ordinances theretofore made by the authoritie of man onely, which did prohibite or forbid mariage to any ecclesiasticall or spirituall person or persones, of what estate, condition or degree so euer they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by gods law may lawfully marry, in all and euery article, braunche and sentence concernyng onely the prohibition for the mariage of the persons aforesayd, should be vtterly voyd and of none effect. And that all maner of forfeitures, paynes, penalties crimes or actions,* which were in the sayd lawes conteyned, and of the same dyd follow, concernyng the prohibition for the mariage of the sayd Ecclesiastical persons, shuld be thencefoorth also clearely and vtterly voyde, frustrate, and of none effect. By occasion whereof, it was thenceafter ryght lawfull for any Ecclesiasticall person, not hauyng the gift of chastitie, most godly to liue in the pure and holy estate of matrimony, according to the lawes & worde of God.

But if the first Iniunctions, statutes, and decrees of the Prince were of many but slenderly regarded, with much lesse good affection were these (especially the booke of common praier) of diuers now receiued: yea, and that of some of them,* which had alwayes before in outward shew willingly allowed the former doings, as appereth most plainly (amongst others) by Boner the B. of London. Who although by his former letters & other mandates, he seemed hitherto to fauour all the kings proceedings: yet did he at that present (notwithstanding both the first statute for the stablishing of the Communion, and the abolishyng of all priuate masses, and also this Statute of the ratifieng and confirming of the booke of Common prayer) still suffer sundry idolatrous priuate masses of peculiar names (as the Apostles masse, the Lady masse and such lyke) to be dailye solemnly sung within certaine perticular chappels of hys cathedral church of Paules, cloking them with the names of the apostles communion, and our Ladies communion, not once findyng any fault therewith, vntill such tyme as the Lordes of the Counsaile hauyng intelligence thereof, were fayne by their letters to commaund hym to looke better thereunto. And then beyng therewith somewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by feare) he was content to direct hys letters vnto the Deane and Chapter of his cathedrall church of Paules, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as the tenure of the Counsailes sayd letters therewithall sent vnto them, did import. Which both two letters I haue, for the more credite, here followyng inserted.

¶A Letter directed from the Kings Counsaile, to Edmund Boner B. of London, for abrogating of priuate Masses, namely, the Apostles Masse, within the church of S. Paule, vsed vnder the name of the Apostles Communion.

After hartly commendations: Hauing very credible notice that within that your cathedral church, there be as yet the Apostles masse, and our Ladies masse, and other masses of such peculiar name, vnder the defence & nomination of our Ladies communion, and the Apostles communion, vsed in priuate chappels and other remote places of the same, and not in the Chauncell, contrary vnto the kings maiesties proceedings, the same beyng for the misuse, displeasing to God, for the place of Paules, in example not tollerable, for the fondnes of the name, a scorne to the reuerence of the communion of the Lords body and bloud: we for the augmentation of gods glory and honour and the consonance of his maiesties lawes, and the auoyding of murmure, haue thought good to will & command you that from henceforth no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer vsed, but that the holy blessed communion according to the acte of Parliament, be ministred at the high aulter of the church, and in no other places of the same, & only at such tyme as your high masses were wont to be vsed, except some number of people desire for their necessary businesse to haue a communion in the mornyng, and yet the same to bee executed in the Chauncell at the high aulter, as it is appoynted in the booke of the publike seruice, without cautele or digression from the common order. And herein you shal not onely satisfie our expectation of your conformitie in all lawfull things, but also auoyd the murmure of sundry that be therewith iustly offended. And so we bid your Lordship hartely farewell. From Richmond, the 24. of Iune, an. 1549.

Your louing friendes

- E. Somerset.
- W. Saint Iohn.
- Ed. Montague.
- R. Rich. Chan.
- Fra. Shrewsbury.
- W. Cecill.

¶To my right worshipfull friendes, and most louyng good brethren, M. Deane of Paules, with all the Canons, Residentaries, Prebendaries, Subdeanes and Ministers of the same, and euery of them with speede.

Right worshipfull, with most hartly commendations. So it is this Wensday the xxvi. of Iune, goyng to dynner,* I receaued letters from the kynges Counsell by a Pursiuaunt, and the same I doe send now herewith vnto you, to the intent you may peruse them well, and proceede accordyngly: praying you in case all be not present, yet those that be now resident and supplying the places, may in their absence call the company together of the Church, and make declaratiō hereof vnto them: Thus committynge you to God, right well to fare.

Written with speede this xxvi. of Iune, at one of the clocke.

Your louyng brother Ed. London.

Ouer and besides all this, the Lord Protectour, wyth the residue of the kings priue and learned Counsel assemblyng together in the Starre chamber about the same mater, that is, for the aduancement and setting forward of the kings so godly proceedings, called before them all the Iustices of peace, where was vttered vnto them by the Lord Rich, then Lord Chauncellour, an eloquent and learned admonition, the tenor whereof ensueth.

IT hath bene vsed and accustomed before this tyme to call at certayne tymes the Iustices of peace before the Kings Maiesties Counsaile,* to geue vnto them admonition or warnyng, diligently (as is their dutie) to looke to the obseruing of such thyngs as be committed to theyr charges, according to the trust which the Kinges Maiestie hath in them. Howbeit, now at this tyme we call you before vs, not onely of custome, but rather of necessitie. For hearyng daily, and perceiuing of necessitie as we do, the great negligence, and the little heed which is taken and geuen to the obseruyng of the good and wholesome lawes and orders in this realme, wherupon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the kings maiesties proclamations and orders taken by the Counsaile (as we are aduertised) not executed, the people are brought to disobedience, and in a maner all his Maiesties study and ours, in setting a good and most godly stay, to the honour of God, and the quiet of the Realme, is spent in vayne, and come to nothing, The which as we haue great hope and trust, not to be altogether so, yet so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh of keepyng the Realme in a most godly order and stay, we must needes impute and lay the fault thereof in you which are the Iustices of peace in euery Shiere, to whom we are woont to direct our writinges, and to whose trust and charge, the Kings Maiestie hath committed the execution of all hys Proclamations, of hys actes of Parliament, and of hys lawes.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent and so slacke herein, that it doth appeare you do look rather,* as it were, through your fingers, then diligently see to the execution of the sayd lawes and Proclamations. For if you would, according to your duties, to your othe, to the trust which the kinges Maiesty hath in you, geue your diligēce and care toward the execution of the same most godly Sta'tutes and Iniunctions, there should no disobedience, nor disorder, nor euill rule be begon or arise in any part of the realme, but it should by and by be repressed, kept downe, & reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it selfe geueth occasion therto, that diuers of you do not onely not set forth, but rather hinder, so much as lyeth in you, the Kings maiesties procedinges, and are content that there should arise some disobedience, and that mē should repine against godly orders set forth by his maiesty: you do so slackly looke to the execution of the same: So that in some shyres which be further off, it may appeare that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his maiesty's proclamations, or if they haue heard, you are content to wincke at it & to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do consider and remember your dueties first to almighty God, and then to the Kings maiestie, the wealth of the whole realme, the safegard of your owne selues: you must needes see that except such orders as the kinges Maiestie [Page 1303](#) hath set, and hereafter shall appoynt, be kept, neither can the realme be defended, if the enemy should inuade, nor in peace it cannot stand: but vpon the contempt of good and wholesome lawes all disorder and inconueniences should come, the people should be wyld and sauage, and no man sure of his owne.

If at any tyme there was occasion and cause to be circūspect and diligent about the same, there was neuer more tyme then now. How we stand in Scotland you know, & that their foreine power maketh great preparation to aide them, and in deed doth come to their ayde: wherof we are surely informed and certified.* Wherfore if there should not be good order and obedience kept in the realme, the realme were lyke vtterly to be destroyed. Neuer forreine power could yet hurt, or in any part preuaile in this realm, but by disobedience and disorder within our selues. That is the way wherwith God will plague vs, if he mynd to punish vs. And so long as we do agree among our selues, and be obedient to our prince, and to his godly orders and laws, we may be sure that God is with vs, & that foreine power shall not preuaile agaynst vs, nor hurt vs.

Wherfore once againe, and stil we must and do lay this charge vpon you that are the better of the shiere, and Iustices of the peace, that with so conuenient speed as you can, you do repayre downe into your Countries, and you shal geue warning to the gentlemen of the shiere which haue not necessarie busines here, that they repaire downe eche man to his countrey,* and there both you and they who be reckoned the stay of euery shiere, to see good order and rule kept: You that your Sessions of gaole deliury and quarter Sessions be well kept, and therein your meetyngs be such, that iustice may be wel and truly ministred, the offenders and malefactors punished according to the lawes of this Realme, without any feare of any man, or that for fauour you should suffer those to escape, which with their euill example might bring other to the like mishap: & that all vagabonds and lewd and light tale tellers and seditious bearers of false newes of the kinges maiestie, or of hys counsaile, or such as will preach without licence, be immediately by you repress and punished.

And if there should chaunce any lewd or light fellowes to make any routes or riotes, or vnlawfull assemblies, any seditious meetings,* vprores, or vprisings in any place by the seditious and diuelish motion of some priuy Traitors, that you and they appease them at the first, and

apprehend the first authors and causers thereof, and certifie vs with speed. The lightnes of the rude and ignorant people must be repress and ordered by your grauitie & wisdom. And here you may not (if any such thing chance) dissemble with those such lewd men, and hide your selues, for it shall be required of you if such disorder be, and surely without your ayde and helpe, or your dissembling, such disorder can not be. Nor we do not say that we feare any such thing or that there is any such thing likely to chaunce: but we geue you warning before, least it should chaunce.

We haue to much experience in this realme, what inconuenience commeth of such matters. And though some light persons in their rage do not consider it, yet we doe not doubt but you way it and know it well enough.* And if it should chaunce our enemies (who are mainteyned by other forraigne power, and the bishop of Rome) should sodainly arriue in some place of England, eyther driuen by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye should see such order kept by firing of their Becons, as hath already bene written vnto you by our letters to repulse the same in so good aray as you can, as we do not doubt but you will for the safegard of your countrey, so that the enemy shall haue little ioy of his comming: and for that purpose you shall see diligently that men haue horse, harnesse, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good orders of the realme, and the kings maiesties commandements. And so for this tyme ye may depart.

What zealous care was in this yong kyng, and in the L. Protector his vncler,* concerning reformatiō of Christes Church and sincere religion, by these Iniunctions, letters precepts, and exhortations, as well to the bishops, as to y^e Iustices of the realme aboue premised, it may right well appeare. Wherby we haue to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned counsaile: as the lingering slacknes and drawing backe on the other side, of diuers the said Iustices and Lawyers, but especially of Bishops,* and old popish curates, by whose cloyed contempt, wilfull winkyng and stubburne disobedience the booke of common prayer was long after the publishing therof, eyther not knowen at all, or els very irreuerently vsed thoroughout many places of this realme. Which when y^e king by complaint of diuers, perfectly vnderstood, beyng not a little agreued, to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willyng consent of the Parliament, and his graces owne zealous desire to take so small effect among his subiects: decreed presently, with the aduise of his whole Counsaile, agayne to write vnto all the bishops of his realme, for spedy and diligent redresse therin: willing and commanding them therby, that as well they themselues should thenceforth haue a more speciall regard to the due executiō of the premisses, as also that all others within their seuerall precincts and iurisdiction should by their good instructions & willing example, be the more oftener and with better deuotion, moued to vse and frequent the same. As further appeareth by the contents of hys letter here ensuyng.

¶ Another letter directed by the King and hys Counsaile, to Boner Bish. of London, partly rebuking hym of negligence, partly chargyng hym to see to the better setting out of the seruice booke within his Diocesse.

RIght reuerend father in God: right trusty and welbeloued, we greete you well: and where as after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops, and other graue and well

learned men in the holy Scriptures, one vniforme order for common prayers and administration of the Sacramentes, hath bene and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobilitie and Commons of the late Session of our late Parliament, but also by the lyke assent of the bishops in the same Parliament, and of all others the learned m^e of this our realme in their Synodes and conuocations prouinciall. Like as it was much to our comfort to vnderstand the godly trauaile then diligently & willingly taken for the true openyng of things mentioned in the sayd booke, whereby the true seruice and honour of almighty God, and the right ministration of the Sacraments beyng well and sincerely set forth accordyng to the Scriptures & vse of the primatiue church, much idolatry, vayne superstition, & great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorow vnto vs, to vnderstand by the complaints of many, that our sayd booke so much traueled for, & also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid) remayneth in many places of this our realme, eyther not knowen at all, or not vsed, or at the least if it be vsed, very seldome,* and that in such light and irreuerent sort, as the people in many places either haue herd nothing, or if they heare, they neither vnderstand, nor haue that spirituall delectation in the same, that to good christians appertaineth. The fault wherof, lyke as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God thorough our appointment to haue due respect to this and such lyke matters: so consideryng that by these and such like occasions, our louyng subiectes remaⁿe yet still in their old blyndnes, and superstitious errors, and in some places in an irreligious forgetfulnes of God, wherby his wrath may be prouoked vpon vs and them, and remembring with all, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we thinke this the greatest, to see the glory and true seruice of hym maintained & extolled, by whose clemency we knowlege our selues to haue all that we haue, we could not, but by aduise and consent of our deerest vncle Edward duke of Somerset, gouernour of our person, and protector of our realme, dominions, and subiects, and the rest of our priuy counsaile,* admonish you of the premisses. Wherein, as it had bene your office to haue vsed an earnest diligence, and to haue preferred the same in all places within your Diocesse, as the case required: so haue we thought good to pray and require you,* and neuerthesse straightly to charge and commaund you, that from henceforth ye haue an earnest and speciall regard to the reduce of these things, so as the Curates may do their dueties more often and in more reuerent sort, & the people be occasioned by the good aduises and examples of your selfe, your Chauncellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more deuotiō to their sayd common prayers, to geue thanks to God, and to be pertakers of the most holy Communion. Wherein shewyng your selfe diligent, and geuyng good example in your owne person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great pastor, to whom we all haue to accompt, and also do vs good seruice: and on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commaundement notwithstanding) haue eftsoones complaint, and finde the lyke faults in your dioces, we shall haue iust cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that ensue thereof vnto you, and consequently be occasioned therby to see otherwyse to the redresse of these things: wherof we would be sory. And therefore we do eftsoones charge and commaund you vpon your allegiance, to loke well vpon your duety herein, as ye tender our pleasure.

Geuen vnder our signet at our Manor of Richmond, the 23. of Iuly, the 3. yeare of our raigne. 1549.

The B. of London among the rest of the bishops, receiuyng these letters, did (as alwayes tofore) in outward shew willingly accept the same: and therefore immediately [Page 1304](#) (with the sayd

letters) directed this his precept vnto the Deane and Chapter of his cathedrall Church of Paules, commanding them to looke to the due accomplishing therof accordingly.

¶A letter of Boner to the Deane and Chapter of Paules.

EDmund by the grace of God, &c. To my welbeloued brethren the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall church of S. Paule in London,* and to the other Ministers there and euery of them do send greeting. And where it is so, that of late I haue receyued the sayd soueraigne Lord the kings maiesties letter, of such tenure as is hereunto annexed, and according to my most bounden dutie, am right well willing and desiring, that the said letters should be in all points duely executed and obserued according to the tenure and purport of the same, as apperteineth: these therfore are to require, and also straightly to charge you and euery of you on his maiesties behalfe, &c. that you do admonish and commaund or cause to be admonished or commaunded, all and singuler Persons, Vicars, and Curates of your iurisdiction, to obserue and accomplish the same from time to tyme accordingly: Furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and euery of you to make certificate herein to me, my Chauncellour or other my officers in this behalfe, with such conuenient celeritie as appertaineth both of your procedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such, as from hencefoorth shall be found negligent in doying their duties in the premisses or any of them.

Geuen at my house at Fulham, the 26. of Iuly, in the yere of our lord. 1549.

and in the third yere of our sayd soueraigne Lord the kings Maiesties raigne.

Moreouer, for so much as the king at that instant hearing the muttering of certain rebellion thē stirring (wherof more shall be said the Lord willing hereafter) & also beyng credibly informed by diuers,* that through the euil example, slacknes of preaching and administring the sacraments, and carelesse contempt of Boner B. of London, not onely many of the people within the city of London, & other places of his Diocesse, were very negligent and forgetfull of their duties to God in frequenting the diuine seruice then stablished and set forth by the authority of parliament: but also that diuers other vtterly despising the same,* did in secret places of his Dioces, often frequent the popish masse and other forraigne rites not allowed by the lawes of this realme, he thought it therefore good (hauyng thereby iust cause to suspect his former dissemblyng doublenes) to appoint the L. Protector and the rest of his priuy counsaile to call the sayd B. before them, and accordyng to their wyse and discrete iudgements, to deale with hym for the same.

Wherupon the xj. day of August (an. 1549.) they sent a messenger for him, and vpon his appearaunce, made first declaration of such informations and complaints, as had bene theretofore made against him. And then after sharpe admonitions and reproofes for his euil demeanors in the premisses, they deliuered vnto him from the kyng (for hys better reformation and amendment) certaine priuate Iniunctions to be necessarily followed and obserued of hymselfe.* And where as in the first branch of the said Iniunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Pauls crosse, the sonday three weekes then next ensuyng (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the tyme, and also partly his owne suspicious behavior so required) they farther deliuered vnto him in writing such articles to intreat vpō in his Sermon, as they thought then

most meete and necessary for the tyme and causes aforesayd. All which Iniunctions and Articles, for the farther manifestation therof, I haue here inserted, as followeth.

Certaine priuate Iniunctions and Articles geuen to Boner by the Counsaile.

FORasmuch as we are aduertised, that amongst other disorders of our subiects,* at this present there be diuers of our citie of London, and other places within your Dioces which beyng very negligent and forgetfull of their duetie to almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, doe assemble themselues very seldome & fewer tymes then they were heretofore accustomed, vnto commō praier and to the holy Communion, beyng now a tyme when it were more needefull with hart and mynde to pray to our heauenly father for his ayd and succour: wherof as we be right sory, so we do vnderstand, that through your euil example and the slacknes of your preaching, and instructing our sayd people to doe their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed: for where heretofore vpon all principall feasts, and such as were called Maius duplex, you your selfe were woont to execute in person, now since the tyme that we by the aduise of our whole Parliament haue set a most godly and deuout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye haue very seldome or neuer executed vpon such or other dais, to the cōtempt of our procedings & euil example of others: & forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that diuers as well in London as in other places of your Dioces, do frequent and haunt foraine rites of masses, and suche as be not allowed by the orders of our realme,* & contemneth and forbeareth to praise and laud God, and pray vnto his maiestie after such rites and ceremonies, as in this realme are approued & set out by our authoritie: and further that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the sayd citie of London & other places of your Dioces, wherby the wrath of god is prouoked against our people: of the which things, you beyng heretofore admonished,* yet hetherto haue made no redresse, as to the pastorall office, authoritie, & cure of a bishop doth appertaine: We therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this Church doth appertaine, to auoid frō vs the high indignatiō of almightie God, by the aduise of our most entirely beloued Uncle the L. Protector and the rest of our priuy Counsaile, haue thought it no lesse then our most boūden dutie, now at this present, and eftsoones peremptorily to admonish, charge, & warne you, that you do most straightly looke vpon the premisses and see them so reformed, that there may appeare no negligence on your behalfe, vpon such payne as by our lawes Ecclesiasticall and temporall, we may inflict vppon you, vnto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seme to vs for qualitie of y^e offence reasonable. And to the intent you shold the better see to y^e reformation of the sayd abuses, we haue thought good to geue you these Iniunctions following.

1 First, ye shall preach at Paules Crosse in London,* in proper person, the Sonday after the date hereof iij. weeks, and in the same Sermon declare and set forth the Articles hereunto annexed: and ye shall preach hereafter once euery quarter of the yere there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly liuyng: and ye shall be present at euery sermon hereafter made at Paules Crosse, if sicknesse or some other reasonable cause doe not let you.

2 Secondly, you your selfe in person shall from hencefoorth euery day which heetofore was accounted in this Church of England, principall feast, or Maius duplex, and at all such tymes as the Bishops of London your predecessours were woont to celebrate and sing high masse, now

celebrate and execute the Communion at the hygh aultare in Paules, for the better example of all other, except sickenes do let.

3 Thirdly, ye shall your selfe according to your duetie & the office of a bishop, cal before you all such as do not come vnto and frequent the Common prayer and seruice in the Church, or do not come vnto gods boord, and receyue the Communion at the lest once a yeare, or whosoeuer do frequent or go vnto any other rite or seruice, then is appointed by our booke, either of Mattins, Euensong, or masse in any church, Chappell, or other priuate places within your Dioces, and ye shall see all such offenders conuented before you and punished accordyng vnto the Ecclesiasticall lawes, with seure and strait punishment therfore. Lykewise ye shall see one onely order vsed in your Diocesse according to our sayd booke and none other.

4 Fourthly, ye shall both by your selfe and all your officers vnder you, search out & conuent before you more diligently then heretofore ye haue done (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the ecclesiastical lawes, and to the authority geuen you in that behalfe.

5 We haue heard also complaintes, that the Churche of Paules and other Churches of London are of late more neglected, as wel in reparation of the glasse, as other buildings and ordinaunces of the same, then they were heretofore woont, and that diuers and many persons in the citie, of malice denyeth the payment of their due tith to their Curates, wherby the Curates are both iniured and made not so well able and in maner discouraged to do theyr dueties. The which thyng also our will and commaundement is, ye shall diligently looke vnto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

6 And forasmuch as al these complaints be made as most done & committed in London,* to the intent you may looke more earnestly, better and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shal abide and keepe residence in your house there, as in the citie, sea, and principall place of your Dioces, and none other where for a certaine tyme, vntill you shalbe otherwise licensed by vs.

[Page 1305](#) And thus hauing brought B. Boner home to his own house, there to leaue hym a while to take his ease in hys owne lodging, til we returne to him againe, we wil in the meane tyme make a little intercourse into Cornewall and Deuonshire to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyall doings of those men against their so meeke and excellent a prince,* hauing no cause ministred therunto: yea hauyng cause rather to yeld prayse and thanks to the lord for such a quiet and peaceable prince in his mercy geuē vnto them. But such is the condition of vnquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace. And where due discretiō lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tel when they be wel, againe some be so crooked and so peruersly geuen, that the more curteously they be intreated, the worse they are: and when by honest diligence they lift not to get their liuyng, by publike disturbance of common weales they thinke to thriue. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornewall and Deuonshire, who hauyng so good and vertuous a kyng, that if they should haue sought hym as Diogenes (they say) did seeke for a man with a candle, a meeker and better soueraigne they could not haue found, a crueller they well deserued: yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to al order, reason, nature and loialtie, aduaunced themselues in a rebellious conspiracie against hym, and agaynst his

proceedings through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certaine popish priestes, who grudgyng and disdainyng agaynst the Iniunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the king,* and specially mourning to see their olde popishe Church of Rome to decay, ceased not by all sinister & subtile meanes, first vnder Gods name and the kings, & vnder coulour of religion to perswade the people, then to gather sides and to assemble in companies, to gather Captaines,* and at last to brast out in ranke rebellion. Neither lacked there amongst the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischiefe and madnesse, as well Gentlemen as other.

Of whom the chiefe Gentlemen Captains were, Humfrey Arundell Esquire, gouernour of the Mount, Iames Rosogan, Iohn Rosogan, Iohn Payne, Thomas Underhil,* Iohn Soleman, William Segar. Of priests which were principall stirrers, and some of them gouernours of the Camps, and after executed, were to the number of 8. whose names were Rob. Bochim, Iohn Tompson, Roger Barret,* Iohn Wolcoke, Wil. Asa, Iames Mourton, Iohn Barow, Rich. Benet, besides a multitude of other popish priests, which to the same faction were adioyned. The number of the whole rebellion, speakyng with y^e lest mounted litle lesse then to the summe of ten thousand stout traitors.

These hearing first of the commotions which began about the same tyme in other parts to broyle, as in Oxfordshire,* Yorkeshire, and especially in Northfolke & Suffolk, began to take therin some courage, hoping that they shold haue well fortified the same with quarell. But afterward perceiuyng how the mischieuous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracie did sodenly fayle, eyther beyng preuēted by tyme, or repressed by power, or that their cause beyng but onely about pluckyng down of enclosures and enlarging of commons, was deuided from theirs, so that eyther they would not or could not ioine their ayde together, then began they againe to quayle, and their courage to debate. Notwithstanding, for so much as they had gone so far, that they thought there was no shrinking back, they fell to new deuises and inuentions, for the best furtherance of their desperate purposes.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own countrey most miserably, to inuade the Citie of Exceter, & so consequently all other parts of the realme. But first for Exceter they gaped,* the gates whereof twice they burned, but gayned nothing sauynge onely gunshot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Beyng put from Exceter, they fel on spoiiling and robbing, where or whatsoeuer they might catche. At length laying their traitorous heds together, they consulted vpon certain articles to be sent vp.* But herein such diuersitie of heds and wits was amongst them, that for euery kind of braine there was one manner of Article: so y^t neither appeared any consent in their diuersitie, nor yet any constancie in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable. Other altogether vnreasonable. Some would haue no Iustice. Some would haue no state of gentlemen. The priests euer harped of one string to ring in the Bishop of Rome into England agayne, and to hallow home Cardinall Poole their countrieman.

After much ado and little to the purpose, at last a fewe sory Articles were agreed vpon to be directed vnto the kyng, with the names of certayne set thereunto, the copy whereof here ensueth.

¶The Articles of the Commons of Deuonshire and Cornewall sent to the king, with answer afterward followyng vnto the same.

First,* forasmuch as man except he be borne of water and the holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of heauen be not opened without this blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, therefore we will that our Curates shall minister this Sacrament at all tymes of neede, as well in the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.*

Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the Bish. whensoever we shal within the Dioces resort vnto him.*

Item, forasmuch as we constantly beleeeue that after the Priest hath spoken the wordes of consecration beyng at Masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body & bloud of our sauour Iesu Christ God and man,* and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very selfe same body that was borne of the virgin Mary, and was geuen vpon the Crosse for our redemption: therfore we wil haue masse celebrated as it hath bene in tymes past, without any man communicatyng with the Priestes, forasmuch as many rudely presuming vnworthily to receiue the same, put no difference betwene the Lordes body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it, with many other abused termes.

Item, we will haue in our churches reseruacion.

Item, we will haue holy bread and holy water in the remembrance of Christes precious body and bloud.*

Item, we will that our Priestes shall sing or say with an audible voyce, Gods seruice in the Quier of the parish churches,* & not Gods seruice to bee set foorth like a Christmasse play.

Item, forasmuch as Priests be men dedicated to God, for ministring and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preachyng of Gods word,* we will that they shal liue chaste without Mariage, as S. Paule dyd, beyng the elect and chosen vessell of God, saying vnto all honest priests, be ye followers of me.

Item, we will that the vj. Articles, which our soueraigne Lord king Henry the 8. set forth in his latter days, shall be vsed and so taken as they were at that tyme.*

Item, we pray God saue king Edward, for we be his, both body and goods.

¶A Message sent by the Kings Maiestie, to certayne of his people assembled in Deuonshire.

Althoug knowledge hath bene geuen to vs & our derest vncle Edward Duke of Somerset,* Gouvernour of our person, and Protector of all our Realmes, dominions and subiects, and to the rest of our priuy Counsaile, of diuers assemblies made by you, which ought of duetie to be our louing subiects, against al order, law, & otherwise thē euer any louing or kind subiectes hath attempted agaynst their natural & liege soueraign lord: yet we haue thought it meete at this very

first tyme not to condemne or reiect you as we might iustly do, but to vse you as our subiects,* thinking that y^e deuil hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Englishmen, so sodainly become enemies to your owne natieue countrey, or of our subiects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretence to relieue your selues, to destroy your selues, your wiues, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of this your lyfe. This we say, we trust that although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be vppon knowledge obstinate. And though some amongst you (as euer there is some cockle amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their prince, esteeme not y^e state of the Realme, but as careles desperate men delite in sedition, tumult, and warres: yet neuertheles the greater part of you will heare the voyce of vs your natural prince and will by wisdom and counsell be warned, and cease your euils in the beginning, whose endes will be euen by almighty gods order, your owne destruction. Wherefore, as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced, we speake & be content •o vse our princely authority like a father to his children for this tyme, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your duties not to auenge your forgetfulness.

First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues against other our louyng subiectes,* to aray• your selues to the warre, who amongst you al can answer for y^e same to almighty God, charging you to obey vs in al things? Or how can any English good hart aunswer vs, our lawes, and the rest of our very louyng & faithfull subiectes, [Page 1306](#) who in deede •y theyr obedience, make our honor, estate,* and degree.

Ye vse our name in your wrytings, and abuse the same against our self.* What iniury herein do you vs, to cal those which loue vs, to your euill purposes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our bloud & inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vse our name. We are your most natural soueraigne Lord and king, Edward the sixt, to rule you, to preserue you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes wel ministred, euery man to haue his owne, to suppress disordred people, to correct traytors, theeues, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to keepe our realmes from foreine princes, from the malice of the Scots, of French men, of the B. of Rome. Thus good subiectes, our name is wrytten, thus it is honored & obeyed, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So y^t of this your offence we can not write to much: And yet doubt not, but this is enough frō a prince to all reasonable people, from a king to al kind harted and louyng subiects, from a puissant king of England, to euery naturall English man.

Your pretences which you say moneth you to do thus, & wherwith ye seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you, be either al false,* or so vaine, that we doubt not, but after ye shal hereby vnderstand the truth therof, ye wil al with one noyse knowledge your selues ignorantly led, & by error seduced, and if there be any that will not, assure you the same be rāke traitors, enemies of our crowne, seditious people, heretikes, Papistes, or suche as care not what cause they seeke to prouoke an insurrection, so they may doe it, nor in dede can waxe so rich with theyr own labors, & with peace as they can do with spoiles, with warres, with robberies, & such like, yea, with the spoile of your owne goodes, wyth the liuing of your labors, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your owne houtholdes, wiues, children. Suche they be, as for a time vse pleasant perswasions to you, & in the ende will cut your throtes for your owne goodes.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessity chance, shal not be christened but vpon the holy dayes. Howe false this is, learne you of vs. Our booke whych we haue set forth by the free consent of our Parliament,* in the English tongue, teacheth you the cōtrary, euen in the first leafe, yea the first side of the first leafe of that parte whyche entreateth of Baptisme. Good subiectes (for to others we speake not) looke and be not deceiued. They whych haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destructiō of you our Christened subiects. Be this knowen vnto you, our honor is so much y^t we may not be found faulty of our word.* Proue it, if by our lawes ye may not christē your children vpon necessity euery day or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but seeing you may doe it, howe can you beleue them which teach you the contrary? What thinke you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obediēce against vs your king & soueraigne, vpon these so fals tales and perswasions in so euident a matter? Therefore you all which wil knowledge vs your soueraigne Lorde, & which will heare the voyce of vs your naturall king, may easily perceiue how ye be deceiued, and how subtilly traitors and papistes wyth their falsehoode seeke to atchieue and brynge their purpose to passe with your helpe. Euery traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason and feede it secretly, euery papist his Poperie, & nourish it inwardly, and in the ende make you our subiectes partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended a common wealth and holinesse.

And howe are you seduced by them, which put in your heades the blessed sacrament of Christes body, shoulde not differ from other cōmon bread? * If our lawes, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrary, why shall any priuate man perswade you against them? We doe our selfe in our owne heart, our counsaile in al their profession, our lawes & statutes in al purposes, our good subiects in al theyr doings, most highly esteeme that sacrament, & vse the communion therof to our most comfort. We make so much difference therof from other common bread, that we think no profite of other bread, but to maintaine our bodies. But of this blessed bread we take very foode of our soules to euerlasting life. How thinke you good subiects, shal not we being your prince, your Lord, your king by Gods appoyntment,* wyth truthe more preuaile, then certaine euill persons wyth open falsehoode: Shall any seditious persone perswade you, that the Sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our Counsaile, by all our good subiectes, esteemed, vsed, participated, and daily receiued? If euer yee were seduced, if euer deceiued, if euer traytours were beleued, if euer papistes poysoned good subiects, it is nowe. It is not the Christening of children, not the reuerence of the sacrament, not the health of your soules y^t they shoote at, good subiectes. It is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seeke, howe craftily, nowe pitiously, how cūningly soeuer they do it. With one rule iudge ye the end, which o^r force must come of your purposes. Almighty God forbiddeth vpon pain of euerlasting damnation, disobediēce to vs your king: and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slowe, would God erre? If your offence be towards God, thinke you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your Iudge is incorruptible, your faulte is most euident.

Likewise are yee euill enfourmed in diuers other Articles, as for Confirmation of your children, for the Masse, for the maner of your seruice of Mattens and Euensonge▪ Whatsoeuer is therein ordered, hath ben long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctours, and other men of great learning, in this realm concluded: in nothing so much labor and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

As for the seruice in the English tongue, hath manifest reasons for it. And yet perchance seemeth to you a newe seruice, and in deede is none other but the olde.* The selfe same woordes in Englishe which were in Latine, sauing a fewe things taken out, so fonde, that it hadde bene a shame to haue heard them in English, as all they can iudge which list to reporte the truthe. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our subiectes should vnderstande in English, being our natural countrey tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latine, then seruing onely for them which vnderstoode Latine, and nowe for all you whiche be borne English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall vnderstand what any other sayth, & so to consent with the speaker. If the seruice in the Church was good in Latine, it remaineth good in English, for nothyng is altered, but to speake wyth knowledge that was spoken with ignorance, and to let you vnderstand what is said for you, to the entent you maye further it with your owne deuotion: An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse then ignorāce. So that who soeuer •ath moued you to mislike this order, can geue you no reason,* nor answeare yours, if ye vnderstoode it.

Wherefore you our subiectes remember, wee speake to you, being ordained your Prince and King by almighty God: if any wise we coulde aduaunce Gods honour, more then we doe, we would doe it: and see that ye become subiectes to Gods ordinances, obeying vs your Prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teache you, whiche haue power to rule you, and will execute our iustice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them, whose fruits be nothing but wilfulnes, disobedience, obstinacie, dissimulation, and destruction of the realme.

For the masse, we assure you, no small studie nor trauell hath bene spent by al the learned Clergy therein,* and to auoyde all contention, it is brought euen to the verye vse as Christ left it, as the apostles vsed it, as holy fathers deliuered it, in dede somewhat altered from y^t the Popes of Rome, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may hear the contrary of some Popish euil men, yet our maiestie, which for our honour may not be blemished nor stained, assureth you, that they deceiue you, abuse you, and blowe these opinions into your heads, for to finish their owne purposes.

And so likewise iudge you of confirmation of children: and let them answeare you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened,* is damned because it dieth before bishopping? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learne that they professed in the lacke therof, by Baptisme: taught in age, that which they receiued in infancie,* and yet no doubt but they be saued by Baptisme, not by confirmation, & made Christes by Christening, and taught howe to continue by Confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, marke good subiects, how our doctrine is founded vpō true learning, and theirs vpon shamelesse errors.

To cōclude, beside our gentle maner of information to you, what soeuer is contained in our booke, either for baptisme, sacrament, Masse, Confirmation, and seruice in the church, is by our parlament established, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the bishops of the realme deuised, & further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea how dare ye geue care, without trembling, to any singuler person, to disallow a Parliament, a subiect to perswade against our maiestie, a man of his single arrogancie, against the determination of the Bishops, and all the clergie, anye inuented argument against the word of God.

But nowe you our subiects, we resort to a greater matter of your blindnes, of your vnkindnes, a great vnnaturalnes, & such an euill, that if we thought it had not begon [Page 1307](#) of ignorance, and continued by persuation of certaine traitors amongst you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings busie,* we coulde not be perswaded, but to vse our sword, and doe iustice, and as we be ordained by God, that is, to redresse your errors, by auengmēt: but loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iust anger, but howe long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our hart is: and rather for your owne causes, being our Christened subiectes, we would ye were perswaded then vanquished, informed then forced, taught then ouerthrowen, quietly pacified then rigorously persecuted.

*Ye require to haue the statute of the 6. articles reuiued: and knowe ye what ye require? or knowe yee what ease ye haue with the losse of them? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, too bloody they were to be borne of oure people, and yet at the first in deede made of some necessitie. Oh subiects? how are ye trapped by subtile persons? we of pitie, because they were bloody, tooke them away, and you nowe of ignorance will aske them againe. You knowe full well, that they helped vs to extende rigour, and gaue vs cause to draw our sword very often: they were as a whetstone to our sworde, & for your causes we left to vse them. And since our mercie mooued vs to wryte our lawes wyth milke & equitie: how be ye blinded to aske them in bloud?

But leauing this maner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you witte, the same hath bene adnulled by our parlament,* with great reioyce of our subiects, and not now to be called by subiectes in question. Dare then any of you with the name of a subiecte, stand against an acte of parliament, a lawe of the whole realme? What is our power, if lawes shoulde be thus neglected? Yea, what is your suretie, if lawes be not kept? Assure you most surely, y^t of no earthly thing vnder y^e heauē, make such a reputation, as we doe of this one thyng, to haue our lawe obeyed, and this cause of God which we haue taken in hande, to be thorowly maintained, from the which we will neuer remooue a heares breadth,* nor geue place to any creature liuing, much lesse to any subiecte, but therein will spende our owne royall person, oure crowne, treasure, realme, and all our state: whereof we assure you of our highe honour. For heerein in deede resteth our honoure, heerein standeth our kingdome, heerein doe all kinges knowledge vs a king. And shall any of you dare breathe or thinke against our honor, our kingdome, or crowne?

In the end of thys your request (as we be geuen to vnderstand) ye would haue them stand in force vntill our full age.* To this we thinke, if ye knew what ye spake, ye wold neuer haue vttered y^e motion, nor euer geuen breath to such a thoughte. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of lesse authoritie for our age? Be we not your king nowe, as we shalbe? or shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue not we the right we shal haue? If ye woulde suspend and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, ye must first know, as a king we haue no differēce of yeres nor time, but as a naturall man and creature of God, wee haue youth, & by his suffrance shall haue age: we are your rightful king, your liege Lord, your king annoynted, your king crowned, the soueraign king of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance, not only when we shal be 21. of yeares,* but when we were of 10. yeares. We possesse our crowne, not by yeares, but by the bloud and discente, from our father king Henry the eight. You are our subiects

because we be your king, and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in vs, not to rule, as in a subiect not to obey.

If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst vtter them selues, would deny our kingdome. But our good subiects know their prince, and will encrease, not diminish his honor, enlarge, not abate hys power, knowledge, not defer his kingdome to certaine yeares: al is one, to speake against our crowne, and to deny our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be brokē vnto 21. yeres. Be we not your crowned, anoynted, and established king? wherein then be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse authoritie, or lesse state, then our progenitors kings of this realme? except your vnkindnes, our vnnaturalnes wil diminish our estimation. We haue hitherto, since the death of our father, by the good aduise and counsaile of our deare and entirely beloued vncle, kept our state, maintained our realme, preserued our honour, defended our people from all enemies: we haue hitherto bene feared and drede of our ennemies: yea, of princes, kings, and nations: yea, heerein we be nothing inferiors to any our progenitours (which grace we knowledge to be geuen vs from God) and how els, but by good obedience of our people, good counsaile of our magistrates, due execution of our lawes. By authoritye of oure kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour, during our raigne, it hath wonne of the enemye, and not lost.

It hath bene maruailed, that we •f so yong yeres haue raigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly.*
And howe chanceth it, that you our subiectes, of that our countrey of Deuonshire, will geue the first occasion to slander this our realme of Englande, to geue courage to the ennemye, to note our Realme of the euil of rebellion, to make it a pray to our old enemies, to diminish our honour, which God hath geuen, our father leaft, our good vncle and Counsaile preserued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, then euen now when our forraine enemye in Scotland and vpon the sea seeketh to inuade vs, to arise in thys manner againste our lawe, to prouoke our wrath, to aske our vengeance, and to geue vs an occasion to spende that force vpon you, whyche we meant to bestow vpon our enemies, to beginne to slay you with that sworde which we drewe forth agaynste the Scots and other enemies: to make a conquest of our owne people, whych otherwise shoulde haue bene of the whole Realme of Scotland?

Thus •arre yee see we haue descended from oure highe maiestie for loue, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and haue bene cōtent to send you an instruction like a fatherly Prince, who of iustice might haue sent you your destructiō like a king to rebels, & now let you know, that as you see our mercy abūdant, so if ye prouoke vs further, wee sweare to you by the liuing God, by whome wee raigne, ye shal fele the power of y^e same God in our sword: which how mighty it is, no subiect knoweth, how puissant it is, no priuate man can iudge, how mortall it is, no English heart dare thinke. But surely surely, as your Lord and Prince, your onely king and maister, we say to you, repent your selues, & take our mercy without delay, or els we wil forth with extend our princely power, & execute our sharpe sword against you, as against very Infidels and Turkes, and rather aduenture our owne roial person, state and power, then the same shall not be executed.

And if you wil prooue the example of our mercy, learne of certaine which lately did arise, pretending some grief•s, and yet acknowledging their offēces, haue not only receiued most humbly their pardon, but feele also by our order, to whom al publike order only pertaineth, redresse deuised for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your dueties to God, whom ye

shal answere in the day of the Lord, and of your dueties toward vs, whom ye shal answere by our order, & take our mercy whilest God so enclineth vs, least when yee shall be constrained to aske, wee shall be too much hardened in heart to graūt it you: and where ye shall nowe heare of mercy, mercy and life, ye shall then heare of iustice, iustice and death.

Geuen at Richmond, the 8. day of Iuly, the third yeare of our raigne.

Besides the Articles of these Deuonshire men aboue mētioned, the sayd rebels sent vp also not long after a supplication to the king,* wherunto answere again was made by the kings learned Counsaile, which here to make short, leisure serueth not to rehearse.

Ouer and besides, to behold the malitious working of those popish Priests, to kindle more the sparke of sedition in the peoples hearts, what brutes and rumours did they raise vp against the king and his Counsaile, makinge the vulgare multitude to beleeeue, that they should be made to pay first for their sheepe,* then for their geese and pigges also, and suche other thinges like: and what soeuer they had in store, or should put in their mouths, they must fine therfore to the king? Of all which matter neuer a worde was eyther thought or meant. But this seemed matter fitte for such priests whereby to set the Prince and hys subiects together by the eares.

Against this seditious company of rebels was apoynted and sent by the king and his counsaile, Syr Iohn Russel knight, Lord priuy Seale, as Lieutenant general of the kings armie, of whome chiefly depended the charge and achiuaunce of that voyage in the West partes. To hym also were adioyned as in parte of ordinary counsaile in those affaires vnder him, syr William Harbert, syr Iohn Pawlet, Syr Hugh Pawlet, Syr Thom. Specke, wyth the Lorde Gray, and other besides.*

Thus the sayde Lorde priuie Seale accompanied wyth the Lord Gray, aduauncing his power against the rebels, although in number of soldiers not equally furnished like to the other, yet through the gracious assistaunce of the Lordes helpe fighting in his cause, and geuing the aduenture against the enemye, about the latter end of Iuly. Anno 1549. gaue them the repulse. Who notwithstanding recouering them selues againe wyth suche stomackes as they had, encountred the seconde time with the foresayde Lorde priuie Seale, about the beginning of August following, of whom, through the Lords mighty power, they with their whole cause of false religion were vtterly vanquished and [Page 1308](#) ouerthrowen.

In the which victorie a great woorke of Gods mightye power vndoubtedly did appeare. For althoughe the number of the rebels did surmounte in great quantitie, the power and strength of the Lorde priuie Seale, and theyr stomackes were so fiercely set vpon al desperate aduentures, and though the power of Sir W. Harbert (being the same time at Bristow) was not yet presently come, which shuld haue ioyned with the Lorde priuie Seale: yet all thys notwithstanding, the goodnes of the Lorde so wrought on the kings behalfe, more then any industry of man (which in al respects in handling that matter was very raw and farre behinde) that the victorie fell to the kings parte, vnder the valiant guiding of the aforesayd L. priuie Seale: so that the popishe rebels not onely lost the fiede,* but a great parte of them also lost their liues, lying there slain miserably in the chase to the compasse of 2. miles space. Where also were taken and apprehended the chieftaines and ringleaders of that mischieuous daunce: wherof the principal were Humfrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Underhil, Iohn Soleman, W. Segar,* Tempson, and

Barret two Priestes, Henrye Bray and Henrye Lee, two Maiors, wyth diuers other mo aboue specified: al which accordingly afterwarde were executed.

These rebels to make their part more sure by the helpe and presence of their consecrated God and maker,* brought with them into the battaile the Pixe vnder his Canapie, and in steed of an aultar, where he was hanging before, set him now riding in a Carte. Neither was there lacking masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy breade also, and holy water plentie, to defend them from deuils and all aduersarye power, whyche in the ende neyther coulde helpe theyr frends, nor yet could saue them selues from the handes of theyr ennemies, but eftsoones both the consecrated God and al the trumperie about him, was taken in the carte, and there lay all in the dust, leauinge to them a notable lesson o• better experience howe to put their confidence heereafter in no suche vaine Idolles, but onely in the true liuing God, and immortall maker, to be serued according to hys prescribed worde, and that onely in the faithe of hys sonne, and not after theyr owne dreaming fantasies.

The storie whereof putteth mee also in remembraunce of an other like popish field, (called Muscledborough field) •ought in Scotland the yeare before this, where the Scots likewise encamping them selues against the Lorde Protectour,* and the kynges power sente into Scotlande, did in semblable wise bringe with them to the battaile the consecrated gods of their aultares, wyth Masses, Crosses, banners, and all their Popish stuffe of Idolatrie, hauing great affiaunce, by vertue thereof to haue a great day against the English armie, as in deede to mannes iudgement myghte seeme not vnlike. For the number of the Scottes armye so farre exceeded ours,* and they wer so appoynted with theyr pikes in the first fronte against our horsemen (which gaue the first onset) that our men were faine to recule, not without the losse of diuers Gentlemen. Notwythstanding, the mighty arme of the Lorde so turned the victorie, that the Scottes in the ende with all their Masses, Pixes, and Idolatrous trinkets were put to the woorse. Of whome in that fielde were slayne betweene 13. and 14. thousande, and not passing an hundreth Englishe men.* The cause of thys was the promise of the Scots made before to king Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish Queene to Kynge Edward, which promise the sayd Scots afterward brake and paide thereafter.

In the whiche victorie this is also to be noted, that the same day and houre when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flighte in Muscledborough, as is credibly noted in Recordes.

During this hurley burley amongst the popish rebels in Cornwall and Deuonshire, the like commotion at the same time, by suche like popish priestes, as Homes and his felowes, began to gender in the parties of Oxforde & Buckingham, but that was soone appeased by the Lord Gray, who comming downe that waye into Deuonshire, chased the rebelles to their houses. Of whom 200. wer taken, and a dosen of the ringleaders deliuered vnto him, wherof certaine were after executed.

In Northfolke and parties thereabout, all be it the originall of theyr tumultuous sturring was not for the like cause,* yet the obstinate hearts of that vnruely multitude semed no lesse bent vpon mischief, to disturbe publike peace, which was also in the moneth of Iuly, the yere abouesayd. For repression of whych rebellion, first was sent the Lorde Marques of Northampton,* wyth

speciall instruction to auoide the fighte, and so by order was appoynted wyth a number of horse to keepe the field and passages, whereby they being stopped from vittaille, might the sooner be brought to acknowledge their follie, and to seeke theyr pardon. Who then following other pollicie, then by order was geuen, came and pinned him selfe wythin the Citie of Norwiche, which afterwarde they were faine to abandone, the rebelles pressing vppon the Citie so on euery side, that at length they obtained the same. Neuerthelesse, in all that conflicte there was but an hundreth on both sides slayne, and otherwise no great <◇> , but onely the losse of the Lord Sheefielde.

Then was sente downe▪ againste them the Earle of Warwike wyth sufficient force and number of souldiours, besides the conuey of 2000. Almaines,* by whome the rude and confused rabble was there ouerthrowne and slaine, to the number, as is supposed at the least of 4000. And in fine, both the Kettes chiefe sturrers and authours of that commotion were taken and put to execution,* and one of them hanged vp in chaines.

Moreouer, besides these inordinate vprores and insurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter ende of the said moneth of Iulye, the same yeaere, which was 1549. an other like sturre or Commotion beganne at Semer, in the Northriding of Yorkeshire,* and continued in the Eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principal doers and raisers vp whereof was one W. Ombler of Easthes•erton yeoman, and Tho. Dale parish clarke of Semer, with one Steuenson of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and nephewe to Ombler.* Which Steuenson was a meane or messenger betwene the said Ombler and Dale, being afore not acquainted together, and dwelling seuen miles one from the other. Who at last by the trauaile of the said Steuenson and their owne euil dispositions inclined to vngratiousnesse & mischief, knowing before one the others mind by secrete conference, were brought to talke together on S. Iames day. An. 1549.

The causes moouing them to raise thys rebellion, were these, first and principallye theyr traiterous heartes grudging at the kings most godly proceedings,* in aduauncinge and refourming the true honour of God, and his religion. An other cause also was, for trusting to a blinde and a fantastickall prophecie, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecie shoulde shortly come to passe, by hearing the rebellions of Northfolke, of Deuonshire, and other places.

The tenor of which prophisie & purpose, together of the traytors was, that there should no king reigne in Englād the noblemen and gentlemen to be destroyed: and y^e realm to be ruled by 4. gouernors,* to be elected & appointed by y^e commons holding a parlament in cōmotion, to begin at y^e south, and north seas of England. &c. supposing that thys their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Deuonshire men in the west, meeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane how to compasse this their trayterous deuilish deuise.

And therefore laying their studyes together, how they mighte finde out more companye to ioyn with them in that detestable purpose, and so set forward to sturre,* thys deuise they framed, to sturre in two places, the one distant seuen myles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substaunce about them as were fauourers of the kinges proceedinges, or which would resist them. But first of all, for the more speedy raysing of men, they deuised to burne Beacons, and therby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea coastes, and hauing the ignoraunt people assembled,* then to poure out theyr

poyson: first beginning with y^e rudest and poorest sorte suche as they thought were pricked w^t pouertie, and were vnwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to followe the spoyle of rich mens goodes, blowing into their heades, that Gods seruice was layd aside, and newe inuentions neither good nor godly put in place, and so feeding them with fayre promises,* to reduce into the Church agayne their olde ignoraunce and Idolatry, thought by that meanes soonest to allure them to rage & rŭne with them in this commotion. And furthermore to the entent they would geue the more terrour to the gentlemen at their first rising, least they shoulde be resisted, they deuised that some should be murdered in Churches, some in theyr houses, some in seruing the king in commission, & other as they might be caught, and to pick quarrels to thē by alteration of seruice on the holy dayes. And thus was the platforme cast of their deuice, according as afterward by their confession at their examinations was testified and remayneth in true recorde.

Thus they being together agreed, Omblor and Dale, and other by their secret appoyntment, so laboured the matter in y^e parish of Semer, Wintringeham, & y^e townes about, that they wer enfecte with the poyson of this confederacy, in such sorte, that it was easie to vnderstād wherunto [Page 1309](#) they would encline, if a commotion were begun. The accomplishmēt wherof did shortly folow. For although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracie named Caluered,* at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion beganne to be smelled before by the Lord President and Gentlemen of those parties, and so preuented in that place where y^e rebels thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer so, but drewe to another place at Semer by the Sea coaste, and there by nighte roade to the Beacon at Staxton, and sette it on fire: and so gathering together a rude route of rascals out of the townes neare about beyng on a sturre, Omblor, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale hasted foorthwith with the rebels to maister Whytes house, to take him, who notwithstandinge being on horsebacke, minding to haue escaped theyr handes, Dale, Omblor, and the rest of the rebelles tooke him, and Clopton hys wiues brother,* one Sauage a marchant of Yorke, and one Bery seruaunt to sir Walter Mildmay, which foure without cause or quarel, sauing to fulfil their seditious Prophecie in some part, and to geue a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered after they had caried them one mile from Semer towards the Wolde, and there after they had stripped them of their clothes and purses, leaft them naked behind them in the plain fields for crowes to feede on, vntill Whites wife, and Sauages wife then at Semer caused them to be buried.

Longe it were and tedious to recite what reuell these Rebelles kept in their raging madnesse, who raunging about the countrey from towne to towne, to enlarge theyr vngratious and rebellious bande, taking those with force whyche were not willing to goe, and leauing in no towne where they came,* any man aboue the age of 16. yeres, so encreased this number, that in shorte time they had gathered three thousande to fauour theyr wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered moe, had not the Lordes goodnesse through prudent circumspection haue interrupted y^e course of theyr furious beginning.

For firste came the kinges gracious and free pardone, discharging and pardonyng them and the rest of the Rebels of all treasons,* murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Maiestie, before the 21. of August, Anno 1549. Whyche pardone although Omblor contemptuously refused,* persisting still in hys wilfull obstinacie, dissuadyng also the rest from the humble accepting the kinges so louing and liberall pardon, yet notwithstanding wyth some it did good.

To make shorte, it was not long after thys, but Ombler, as he was riding from towne to towne, twelue miles from Hūmanby, to charge all the Constables and inhabitantes where he came, in the kings name to resort to Hunmanby, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspecte diligence of Ihon Word the yonger, James Aslabay, Rafe Twinge, and Thomas Constable Gentlemen, hee was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custodie vnto the Citie of Yorke, to answeere to his demerites.

After whome within short time, Thomas Dale, Henrye Barton, the first chiefetaines and ringleaders of the former commotion, with Iohn Dale, Robert Wright, W. Pecocke, Wetherell, & Edin. Buttry, busie sturrers in thys seditiō, as they trauailed from place to place, to draw people to theyr faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to warde,* lawfully conuicted, and lastly executed at Yorke the 21. of Septemb. An. 1549. Ex actis Iudicij publici registro receptis & notatis.

To these pestiferous commotions raised vppe against kyng Edwarde by his owne subiectes in this yeare aforesaide wythin the Realme,* I might also adioyne the busie sturring and raging of the French king, against our yong and innocent Prince, without the Realme. Who hearing of these tumultes and violent insurrections of the kinges subiectes, in diuers and sundrye quarters of the Realme, supposing to take the time for his most aduantage, thought likewise for hys parte not to be vnoccupied. Who after hee had by his ambassadour made open breche with the kinge, immediately after the reuocation of the sayde ambassadour from hence, entending to anoy the king, and make his first inuasion against the Iles of Iersey and Gernsey, thought to haue surprised our shippes and the said Iles with a certaine number of his ships and Galleys. In the which hys assault, he was so hotely saluted by the kinges shippes and the Island, that by the confession of them that sawe it, and by the report wrytten vnto the Lord Protector, the French men at least lost a thousand men, theyr ships and galleis so spoiled, as being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out againe.

*Furthermore, out of Fraunce creadible woorde was broughte to the Lorde Protectoure (whyche yet in letters appeareth) that into one towne in one vessel were brought at least three score Gentlemen to be buried: and also an •hibition special geuen out by the king, not to speake of 〈◇〉 successe in that iourney. Thys was about the beginning of August. 1549.

The like also might be noted of the losses of the sayde French king at Bullenburgh, the eight day of August,* the same yeare, as by the Lord Clintons letters may well appeare: but for spending of time I passe it ouer: What the meaning of the French king was in these voiages,* or how he intended further to procede, I haue not herein to deale. This is certain and euident, that the mighty arme of God mercifully fought for king Edwarde his seruant, to defend and deliuer him from so many harde dangers, so dāgerous and sundrye commotions stirred vp in so many quarters within this Realme, and also without the Realme, and all wythin the compasse of one yeare, and yet the Lorde aboue fighting for his true seruant, dispatched them all, as in storie heere ye haue heard declared, and is no lesse worthy of all posteritie to be noted.

Matter concerning Edmund Boner Bishop of London, with declaration of the Actes and processe entred against him in king Edwardes time.

ANd thus muche hetherto hauing discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised vp on euery side against king Edward, by his vnkinde and vnnatural subiects, and yet notwithstanding, the gracious goodnesse of the Lorde euer geuing him the victorie: nowe lette vs returne againe to Boner Byshop of London, where we leaft hym before, that is, in hys owne house, where he was by the Counsaile commaunded to remaine, as is aboue signified.

And nowe for so much as we haue to enter into the storie of the sayd Boner, for the better vnderstandinge of the whole order therof, it shalbe requisite to rip vp the matter wyth the circumstaunces and occasions thereof from the first beginning of kinge Edwardes time. Where is to be vnderstanded,* that king Edwarde in the first yere of hys raigne, an. 1547. the first day of September, for the order of hys Uisitation, directed out certaine Commissioners, as sir Anthony Cooke, sir Iohn Godsaulle Knightes, Maister Iohn Godsaulle, Christopher Neunson Doctours of the Lawe, and Iohn Madew Doctour of Diuinitie. Who sitting in Paules church vpon their commission, the day and yere aforesaide, there being presente at the same time Edmund Bishop of London, Iohn Royston, Polidore Uirgil, Peter Uan, and others of the saide cathedrall Church,* after the sermone made, and the Commission being reade, ministred an othe vnto the said B. of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome with his vsurped authority, and to sweare obedience vnto the king, according to the effect and forme of the statute made in the 31. yere of kinge Henry the eight: also that he should present and redresse all and singular such things as were needeful within the sayd Church to be reformed.

Wherupon the said Bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commissiō,* only for this purpose & intent (as he sayd) that he might the better fulfill & put in execution the things, wherein he was charged by them in their commission. Unto whom the commissioners answearing, said, they wold deliberat more vpon the matter, & so they called the other ministers of the saide Church before them, and ministred the like oth vnto them, as they did to the bishop before.* To whom moreouer there & then certaine interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lillye the publike Notarie. Which done, after their othes taken,* the sayde Commissioners deliuered vnto the Bishop aforesaid certaine Iniunctions as wel in printe as wrytten, and Homilies set foorth by the king. All which things the sayde Bishop receiued vnder the wordes of thys protestation, as followeth.

I Do receiue these Iniunctions and Homilies with this protestation, that I will obserue them,* if they be not contrarye and repugnaunt to Gods lawe, and the statutes and ordinaunce of the Church, and immediately added with an othe, that he neuer reade the sayde Homilies and Iniunctions.

The whyche Protestation being made in manner and fourme aforesaid, the said Edmund Bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly the register aforesaide, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the sayd Commissioners deliuering the Iniunctions and Homilies to Maister Bellasiere Archdeacon of Colchester, and to Gilberte Bourne Archdeacon of London, [Page 1310](#) Essex, and Middlesexe, and enioyning them in moste effectuous manner, vnder paines therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reseruing other

new iniunctions to be ministred afterward, as wel to the bishop, as to the Archdeacons aforesayd, according as they should see cause. &c. did so continue the visitation til 3. of the clocke the same day in the afternoone.

At the whiche houre and place assigned, the Commissioners being set, and the Canons and Priestes of the sayd Church appearing before them, and being examined vpon vertue of theyr othe, for their doctrine and conuersation of life: first one Iohn Painter, one of the Canons of the said Cathedrall church, there and then openly confessed, that he viciously and carnally had often the company of a certaine married mans wyfe,* whose name he denied to declare. In the which crime diuers other Canons and Priestes of the said church, confessed in like maner, & could not deny them selues to be culpable.

And then after the Commissioners aforesayde had deliuered to Maister Royston Prebendary, and to the proctour of the Deane and of the Chapter of the sayde Cathedrall Church of Sainte Paule, the kinges Iniunctions, and the booke of Homelies, enioyninge them to see the execution thereof, vnder paine therein specified, they proroged theyr sayde visitation vntill seuen of the clocke the next day following.

By this visitation aboue specified, it appeareth, gentle Reader, first howe Boner made his Protestation after the receiuing of the kinges Iniunctions, and also how he after required the same to be put in publike recorde.* Furthermore, thou hast to note the vnchast life and conuersation of these popish votaries and priestes of Paules. Nowe what followed after this protestation of the Bishop made, remayneth further in the sequele of the storye to be declared, wherein first thou shalt vnderstand y^t the said B. shortly after his Protestation, whether for feare or for conscience, repenting himselfe, went vnto the King, where hee submitting himselfe and recantinge his former protestation,* craued pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanor toward his graces Commissioners, in the former visitation. Whych pardone, notwithstanding it was graunted vnto hym by the Kynge, for the acknowledging of hys fault, yet for the euill example of the facte,* it was thoughte good that hee should be committed to the Fleete, as by the tenoure of the Counsailes letter sente to the Commissioners, maye appeare, whych together wyth the fourme also of the Bishoppes protestation and of hys recantation, heere vnder followeth.

To our very louing frendes Syr Anthony Cooke Knight, and the rest of the Commissioners, for the visitation at London,* in haste.

AFTER our heartie commendations: This shalbe to signifie vnto you, that we haue receiued your letters, and in the same enclosed the copie of the protestation made by the Bishop of London, in the time of your visitation at Paules: your wise proceedings wherein and aduertisements from you, wee take in verye thankfull part towardes vs. And because the sayd Bishop which being heere before vs, hath acknowledged his indiscrete demeanour, did at that time at Paules require the Register of your visitation to make recorde and enter of his protestation,* and nowe vppon better cōsideration of his duetie, maketh meanes to haue the same reuoked, as shall appeare vnto you by the true copie of his wrytinge inclosed, the originall whereof remaining wyth vs he hath subscribed: wee pray you to cause the Register to make enter of this his reuocation, accordinge

vnto the tenour of thys his said wryting: Further signifyinge vnto you, that in respecte of his offence, and the euill ensample that might thereupon ensue, we haue thought meete to sende him to the prisone of the Fleete,* whether hee hathe bene conueyed by maister Vicechamberlaine. And whereas sundry thinges for the kinges Maiesties seruice doe nowe occurre heere, whyche require the present attendaunce of you Sir Iohn Godsaulle, as well for your office of the Signet, as of the Protonoriship: we pray you, that leauing the execution of the visitation to the rest of your colleagues, you make your repaire hither with conuenient diligence. Thus fare you right hartily well.

From Hampton Court the 12 of Septemb. 1547.

Your assured louing frendes.

- Tho Canterbury.
- William S. Iohn.
- Iohn Russel.
- Tho. Semer.
- William Paget.
- Anthony Browne.
- William Peter.
- Anthony Denny.
- Edward North.

The forme of Boners recantation,

WHere as I Edmunde Bishop of London, at suche time as I receiued the kings maiesties Iniunctions and Homilies of my most dreade soueraigne Lorde, at the handes of his highnesse visitours, did vnaduisedly make such protestation, as nowe vpon better consideration of my duetie of obedience, and of the euill ensample that might ensue vnto others thereof, appeareth to mee neither reasonable, nor suche as might well stande with the duetie of an humble subiecte: for so much as the same protestation at my request was then by the Register of that visitation enacted & putte in Recorde, I haue thoughte it my duetie, not onely to declare before your Lordshippes, that I doe now vppon better consideration of my duetie, renounce and reuoke my sayde protestation, but also most humbly beseeche your Lordships, that thys my reuocation of the same may be in likewise putte in the same recordes for a perpetuall memorie of the truth, moste humbly beseeching your good Lordshippes, both to take order that it maye take effect, and also that my former and vnaduised doings may be by your good mediations pardoned of the kings maiestie.

Edmund London.

The Registers of these affaires of Boners,* remaineth in the handes of Peter Lillie, then beinge Register to the foresayd Commissioners.

Thus farre thou haste heard (louing Reader) firste the popish protestation of Boner,* then how he calling himselfe home againe, solemnely recanted the same, requiringe further the sayde his

reuocation to be committed to publyke Record, for a perpetual remembraunce. Also how he vpon his humble submission receiued his pardō of the king, and yet for examples sake was commanded to the Flete. Where he neuertheles did not long continue, but accordinge to the effect of the kings pardon afore graūted, was restored both to house and liuing againe: Which was in the first yeare of the king. An. 1547.

After this yee haue heard also in the story aboue, in the second yeare, and a great part of the thirde yere of the king, howe he demeaned hymselfe, although not most forward• in aduauncing the Kinges proceedings, yet in suche sorte, as no great aduantage by any law could be taken againste him, both in swearing his obedience to the king, and in receiuing hys Iniunctions: also in professing hys assent and consent touchinge the state of Religion then: and furthermore in directinge out hys letters, accordynge to the Arch-Bishop of Canterburys Preceptes, to Cloney his Sumner, to the Bishop of Westminster and other Bishoppes, for abolishing of Images, for abrogation of the Masse, for Bibles to be set vpp, and for ministring in both kindes, with such other matters of reformation like: till at length he hearing of the death of the Lorde Admirall the Lorde Protectours brother,* and after that of the sturring and rising of the kinges subiectes in sundrye tumultes agaynst the king, beganne somewhat, as hee durst to drawe backe and slacke his pastoral dilligence, so that in many places of his Dioces, and in London the people not only were negligent in resorting to deuine seruice, but also did frequent and haunt forreine rites of masses and other orders, then in this Realme appoynted,* and hee also himselfe contrary to his wonted maner vpon principal feastes refused in his owne person to execute. Whereupon he being suspected and complayned of, and conuented before y^e kinges Counsaile (as ye heard before) after sharpe admonitions and reproofes, had certayne priuate Iniunctions to hym enioyned.

1. First, that hee shoulde personally preache within three weekes after at Paules crosse.*
2. That according as his predecessours were wont to celebrate Masse, he at such wonted tymes shoulde execute and administer the Communion.
3. That he shoulde call before him and correcte more dilligently such transgressours as absented them selues from the order of seruice and ministration of the Lordes boorde, appoynted then in Churches by the kinges ordinaunce.
4. That he shoulde see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of adulterers and fornicators.
5. That he in the meane while shoulde be resident within his owne house,* during the time while he should make his sermon at Paules aboue mentioned, whiche was an. 1549. In the whiche sermon certayne speciall poyntes were prefixed vnto him, whereupon he should intreate, whiche here in order follow, and are these.

Speciall poyntes and articles to be intreated of of Boner Bishop of London, in his Sermon.

2. THat all such as rebell against their prince, get vnto thē damnation, and those y^t resist the higher power, [Page 1311](#) resist the ordinaunces of God, and he that dieth therfore in rebellion, by the woorde of God is vtterly damned, and so looseth bothe bodye and soule. And therefore

those Rebelles in Deuonshire and Cornewall, in Northfolke, or els where, who taking vpon them to assemble a power & force against their king and Prince, against y^e lawes and statutes of the Realme, and goe about to subuerte the state and order of the commō wealth, not onely do deserue therfore death, as traytors & rebels, but do accumulate to them selues eternal damnation, euen to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer the father and first authour of pride, disobedience, and rebellion, what pretence so euer they haue, and what Masses or holye water so euer they pretende, or goe about to make among themselues, as Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, for rebellion against Moses, were swallowed downe aliue into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice vnto God.

2 Likewise in the order of the Churche and externe rites and ceremonies of diuine seruice, for so muche as God requireth humility of heart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of him, charity and loue to our neighbours, and obedience to hys woorde, and to his Ministers and superioure powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our seruice, & this is the sacrifice that Christe requireth, and these be those that make all thynges pleasaunt vnto God. The externe rites and ceremonies be but exercises of our religion, & appointable by superior powers, in chosing wherof we must obey the magistrates: the whyche thinges also we do see euer hath bene and shalbe (as the time and place is) diuers,* and yet al hath pleased God so long as these before spoken inwarde things be there. If any man shall vse the olde rites, and thereby disobey the superior power, the deuotion of his ceremonies is made nought by his disobedience: so that, which els (so longe as y^e lawe did so stand) myghte be good, by pride and disobedience nowe is made noughte: as Saules sacrifice, Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, and Aarons 2. children were. But who that ioyneth to deuotion obedience, hee winneth the garland. For else it is a zeale, sed non secundum scientiam, a wil, desire, zeale, and deuotion,* but not after wisdom, that is a foolishe deuotion which can require no thanks or praise. And yet agayne, where ye obey, yee must haue deuotion, for God requireth the heart more then the outward doings, and therfore who that taketh the Communion, or sayth or heareth the seruice appoynted by the kings maiestie,* must bring deuotion and inward prayer with hym, or els his praier is but vaine, lacking that whyche God requireth, that is, the heart and minde to pray to him.

3 Further, yee shal for example on sonday come seuenth night after the aforesayd date, celebrate the Communion at Paules Church.

4 Ye shal also set foorth in your sermon, that our authoritie of royal power, is (as of truth it is) of no lesse authoritie and force in this our yōg age, then is, or was of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appeare by example of Iosias, and other yong kings in scripture: and therfore all our subiectes to be no lesse bound to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and statutes, then if we were of 30. or 40. yeares of age.

The deliuey of these Iniunctions & articles vnto the Byshop (with the time of hys appoynted preaching) was soone after knowen abroad amongst the citizens and other the Cōmons within the citie of London,* so that euery man expecteth y^e time therof, wishing to heare the same. Whych being once come, the B. according to the tenour of the Iniunctiōs, publikely preached at the Crosse of Paules, the 1. day of September. Howbeit as hipocrisie neuer lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other, God in hys moste righteous iudgemente maketh it open vnto the world: so at this present was the long colored peruerse obstinacie, and

infestred hatred of this double faced dissembler, against the kings godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by hys disobedient demeanor in thys his sermon.

*For where as he was only commanded to entreat vpon such speciall poynts as were mentioned in his articles: he yet, both besides the counsailes commaundement, to the withdrawing of the mindes of the common people, in as much as in him lay, from the right and true vnderstāding of the holy Sacrament ministred in the holy Communion then set foorth by the authoritye of the kinges maiestie, (according to the true sence of the holy scripture) did spēd most part of his sermon about the grosse, carnall, and papisticall presence of Christes body and bloud in the sacrament of the aultar, and also contrary therunto, did not onely slenderly touch the rest of his articles, but of a rebellious and wilful carelesnes, did vtterly leaue oute vnspoken the whole laste article, concerning the as effectuall and as lawful authority of the kings highnes during his yong age, as if he were 30. or 40. yeares old: notwithstanding the same (because it was the traiterous opinion of the popishe rebels) was by special commaundement chiefly appoynted hym to entreat vppon.

This contemptuous & disobedient dealing, as it greatly offended most of the kings faithfull and louing subiects there present, so did it muche mislike the mindes,* and was farre from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly preacher master Iohn Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester & Glocester, and lastly a moste constant martyr for the Gospell of Christe: as also of M. William Latimer, Bacheler of Diuinitie, and therefore they well weying the fulnes of the fact, and their bounden alegeances vnto their Prince, did therupon exhibite vnto the kings highnes vnder both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the sayd bishop in forme folowing.

The denuntiation of Iohn Hooper and William Latimer against Boner, to the kings maiestie, for leauing vndone the poyntes afore mentioned, which he was charged to preache vppon.

IN most humble wise sheweth vnto your Maiestie, William Latimer and Iohn Hooper, that where of late,* as we be certainly infourmed frō your maiestie, by the hande of the right highe and noble Prince Edward Duke of Somerset, Gouernour of your Royal person, and Protectour of al your highnes realmes, dominions and subiects, and the rest of your priuie Counsaile, there was certaine Iniunctions geuen to the Byshop of London that nowe is, with Articles to be insinuated and preached vnto youre subiectes at a certaine daye limitted, the whyche Iniunctions and articles did onely tende to the honour of GOD, and the better instructions of your highnes people, to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinie, wherewith of late this your Maiesties Realme hath bene marueilously vexed, to the daunger of your highnes person, and the state of the whole Realme, and there•ore a thinge at thys time most necessary to be taught vnto y^e people, that they myght knowe their duetie vnto your maiestie, and vnto almighty God, and especially to acknowledge your Maiestie in these yeares & age to be a perfect, high, and soueraigne Lord and king, and supreme head, whose lawes, proclamations, and commaundementes we are bounde to obey, as wel as any princes subiects are bounde to obey the lawes, proclamations, and commaundementes of their naturall and soueraigne Lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet giuen vnto your person suche age as we trust he shall, nor so many yeares, which we wish to be so many as any Prince euer hadde, the whych yeares doe not make you Kynge or Prince, but the righte of your birthe,* and lawfull succession what soeuer it be, so that we all must as well

acknowledge your maiestie to be our Kinge and Prince, at these yeares, as if you were of the age of 30. or 40. yeares, and your lawes and statutes no lesse to be feared & obeyed, thē if your highnes were 50. or 100. yeres olde, (the whyche thing not onely is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when diuers rebelles haue openly declared, that they woulde not obey your highnesse lawes, nor acknowledge the Statutes made by your Maiestie to be auailable til ye come to the age of 20. yeres) and this not only being so,* but the same thing being commanded by your sayd Maiestie amongst other Iniunctions & Articles geuen in wryting to the sayde Edmund Boner, to be preached in his last sermon, as by the same Iniunctions maye appeare, of the whiche the true copie we haue when neede is to be shewed: yet al this notwithstanding, the said Boner, of what zeale or minde we cannot tell, whether fauoring the opinion of the saide rebels, or contemning your highnesse commaundement declared to him,* hath not only left out to declare the sayd Article, which we most & chiefly expected and looked for, but also in all the rest of his Sermons did not so fully and apertly declare the sayd Iniunctions and Articles as to our iudgement did appeare, they ought to haue bene declared, and was of no lyght grounde looked for, intreating of other farre distant and diuers from the Articles vppon the which he was commaunded to entreat, and such as most should moue and stirre vp the people to disorder and dissension, willingly leauing oute those things which should haue made quiet & obedience. Wherefore not mooued of any malice, grudge, enuie, or euil will to the person of the bishop, but constreined by the loue & zeale which we beare towards your highnes, & of our duty and allegiance to your maiesty, whose honour and sauety with [Page 1312](#) tranquillitie, quietnesse and good gouernaunce of this your Realme, we do most desire, and for y^e discharge of our most bounden duties, to auoyde all the daungers that might ensue of the concealement thereof, we most humbly do denounce and declare the same to your highnes, to the intent that your Maiestie by the aduise aforesayd, may, if it please your highnes, at this our humble denuntiation, call the sayd Byshop to aunswere to the premisses, the which we are ready to auowe and proue, and then your highnes to take further order heerein, as to your Princely wisdomes shall seeme most conuenient: whose long life, and most prosperous gouernement, God almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our liues.

The Kings Maiestie hauing thus by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the cōtemptuous & peruerse negligence of this Bishop, in not accomplishing his highnes commaundement geuē him by Iniunction, thought it most necessary with all conuenient speede (for the auoiding of farther inconueniences) to loke more seuerely vnto the due punishment of such dangerous rebellious obstinacie, and therfore by the aduise of the Lord Protectour,* and the rest of his honorable Counsaile, immediatly he directed forth his commission vnder his broad Seale, vnto the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and to other graue and trusty personages and Counsellors, appointing & authorising all thē, or certain of them, by vertue of the same, to call before them, as well the Bishop of London,* as also the foresaid denouncers, & vpō due examination & prooffe of y^e premisses, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, farther to proceed against him su••arely & de plano, according to law and Iustice, either to suspension, excōmunicatiō, committing to prison, or deprivation (if the qualitie of the offence so required) or otherwise to vse any other censure Ecclesiasticall, which for the better hearing and determining of that cause, myghte to their wisdomes seeme more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Commission heere ensuing.

***The copie of the Kings Commission sent downe vpon the denunciation aforesayd, for the examination of Boner Byshop of London.**

EDward the sixt, &c. To the most reuerent father in God Thomas Archbyshop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England,* the right reuerend father in God Nicholas Byshop of Rochester, our trusty and right welbeloued Counsellers Syr William Peter, and Syr Thomas Smith Knightes, our two principall Secretaries, and William Maye Doctour of the Law Ciuile and Deane of Paules, greeting. It is come to our knowledge, that where we by the aduise of our most entirely beloued Vncle Edward Duke of Somerset, gouernour of our person, and Protectour of all our Realmes, dominions and subiects, and the rest of our priuy Counsayle, did giue to the right reuerend father in God Edmund Byshop of London, vpon certayne complaynts before made vnto vs and other great considerations, certayne Iniunctions to be folowed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appointed to him to preach by vs with certaine articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and obseruing, did exhibite the same in writing vnto him by the hands of our sayd Vncle, in the fulfilling of our Counsell: all this notwithstanding the said Bishop hath in contempt of vs (as it may appeare) ouerslipped and not obserued certeine of the said things so by vs enioyned, and other so peruersely and negligently done that the things minded of vs to reformation & for a good quiet of our subiects and our whole realme, be conuerted by the wilfull negligence or peruersitie of him, to a great occasion of sclaunder, tumult and grudge amongst our people, as it hath bene denounced to vs in writing by certeine honest and discrete persons & otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we tendring the wealth, quietnes, good order and gouernement of our people, haue not thought conuenient to be let past vnpunished and vnreformed, and therefore by the aduise aforesayd, haue appointed you fiue, foure, or three, vppon whose fidelities, wisdomes, dexterities and circumspections, we haue full confidence, to call before you, as well the denouncers of the sayd faultes, as also the sayd Byshop, and with due examinations and processe, according to the law and Iustice, to heare the said matter and all other matters of what kind, nature, or condition so euer they shall be, that shall be objected against the said Byshop, summarily [& de plano,] or otherwise as to your discretions shall be thought most meete, with full power and authoritie to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or depriue the said Bishop, if the offence shal so appeare to merite, or to vse any other censure Ecclesiasticall, which for the better hearing and determining of the cause, shall be requisite and appertene, any lawe, statute, or acte to the contrary notwithstanding. In witnes wherof, we haue caused these our letters to be made patent.

Witnes our selfe at Westminster the viij. of September,

in the third yeare of our reigne.

This commission being sealed with the kinges broad seale,* was by his highnes Counsaile forthwith deliuered at the Court vnto the archb. of Caunterbury, and the rest of the Commissioners mentioned in y^e same, being there al together present. Who vpon the receipt therof determined by vertue of the same, to sit at the archbishops house at Lambeth the Wednesday th^en next ensuing. Which was y^e tenth day of that present month of September, and therefore appoynted the Bishop o^f London to be sommoned to appeare before them as at that

time and place. The maner of whose behauiour at his appearaunce, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborne condition of the person, and also what estimatiō and authoritie he thought the commissioners to be of, I thought not vnmeete fyrst, before I enter into the processe, somewhat to note and describe vnto you.

At his first entry into the place within the Archbishops house at Lambeth,* where the Archbishop and other of the Commissioners sate, he passed forth directly by them wyth his cap vpon his head (making as though hee sawe them not) vntil one plucking him by the sleeue, willed him to do reuerence vnto the Commissioners. Wherat he laughingly turned himselfe, & spake vnto the archb. on this wyse: what my Lord, are you here? By my trouthe I sawe you not. No sayde the Archbishop, you woulde not see. Well (quoth he) you sent for me: haue you anye thinge to say to me? Yea sayd the Commissioners, we haue here authority from the kinges highnes to call you to accompte for your Sermon you made lately at Pauls crosse, for that you did not there publishe vnto the people the article whiche you were commaunded then to preach vpon. At which words the bish. either for that he did not greatly delite to heare of this matter, or els because he would make his friends beleue that hee was called to accompt onely for his opinion in religion (as afterwarde in the sequell of this processe it more playnly appeareth) began to turne his talke vnto other matters, and saide vnto the archbishop.* In good fayth my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reuerence, the• it is? What is it sayd the Archbishop? The blessed masse, •oth he.* You haue written very well of the sacrament: I merueile you doe no more honour it? The Archbishop of Cant. therewith perceiuing his subiltie: and seing his grosse blindnes to commend that which was vtterly contrary to his opinion, sayd vnto him agayne.* If you thinke it wel, it is because you vnderstand it not. The other then adding vnto his former grosse ignoraunce an obstinate impudencie, aunswered:* I thinke I vnderstand it better then you that wrote it. Unto which woordes the Archbishop replied: truely I wil easily make a childe that is but ten yeares old vnderstand therein as much as you: but what is this to the matter?*

Moreouer at what time as they began to enter the Iudicial prosecuting of theyr commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they hadde to object agaynst him, he hearing them speake,* fel to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake lyke a Goose, and to the other, that he spake like a Woodcokke, vtterly denying theyr accusations to be true. Wherupon y^e Archbishop (seeing his peenish malice agaynst the denoũcers) asked him if he would not beleue them, whether hee woulde credite the people there present, and therewithall (because many of them were also at the Bishops Sermon at Paules) he stode vpp and read the article of the kinges authoritie during his young age, saying vnto them,* howe say you my maysters, did my Lord of London preach thys Article? Whereunto they aunswered no, no. At which wordes the Bishop turning himselfe about, deryding sayd: wil you beleue this fond people?

Besides this,* at al his appearings he vsed many irreuerent, vncomely, obstinate and froward wordes and behauiours towards the Commissioners and others (in defacing their authoritie with the termes of pretended Commissioners, pretended witnesses and vniust vnlawfull and pretended proceedinges, with recusation of some, and terming others Dawes, Woodcockes, fooles, and such lyke) which I wil here omitte, for they doe more manifestly appeare in the sequele of the story in the tyme and place, as they happened: Adding yet this much by the way, that although suche stoutnes of hart and will (if it had bene in a cause true and rightfull) might haue perchaunce

seemed in some mens iudgement to be somewhat sufferable: yet to say the truth, in what cause so euer it be, being unmoderate as this shall appeare, it beseemed no wise man, and therefore much lesse one of his calling. For if his cause had bene good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true Canon law of the Gospell doth teach hym? If it were (as it was in deede) naught and wrong, wherto serued so bolde sturdy stoutnesse, but to shewe the impudency [Page 1313](#) of the person and to make the cause worse whiche was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if neede were, what he was able to do in the law, in shifting off the matter by subtill delatories, and friuolous cauilling about the lawe. And if that would not helpe, yet with facing and brasing, and railing vpon the denouncers, with furious wordes, and irreuerent behauiour towards the Kings Commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that some thing might seeme yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his craftie cauteles and tergiuersations alledged out of the law, yet neither his cause could be so defended, nor his behauiour so excused, but that hee was therefore both iustly imprisoned, and also in the ende most lawfully depriued: as by the sequele of this processe may well appeare, the manner whereof is as followeth.

¶The first Action or Session agaynst Boner.

*VPon Wednesday the x. day of September in the yere of our Lord 1549. and in the third yeare of the reigne of King Edward the vj. Thomas Cranmer Archbyshop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, associate with Nicholas Ridley then Bishop of Rochester, sir William Peter Knight, one of the kings two principall Secretaries, and William May Doctour of the Ciuill law and Deane of Paules, by vertue of the Kyngs Commission, sate Iudicially vpon the examination of Edmund Boner Byshop of London, within the Archbishops chamber of presence at his house in Lambeth, before whome there then also personally appeared the sayd Byshop: at whiche time the Commissioners first shewyng forth their Commission, requested sir William Peter that he would openly publish and reade the same. Which done, the Archbishop in the name of the rest, declared vnto the Bishop that a greeuous complaint had bene theretofore made and exhibited against him in writing vnto the kings Maiestie, and his honorable Counsaile, and that therefore his highnes, with their aduise, had committed the examination thereof vnto him and other his Colleges there present, as also vnto sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of his Maiesties two principall Secretaries though then absent, and therewithall shewed also forth a Bill of complaynt exhibited vnto the King by William Latymer and Iohn Hoper Ministers, which they likewise requested sir William Peter to reade.

These things ended, the Byshop like a subtill Lawyer, hauing most like some secret intelligence before of these matters, (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his bosome a solemne protestation ready written: which he then exhibited vnto the Commissioners, requesting that the same might be there openly read: the copie whereof is this in tenour and forme as foloweth.

The tenour and forme of Edmund Boner Bishop of London his protestation, exhibited to the Kings Commissioners at hys first appearing.

EDmundus Lond. Episcopus primò & ante omnia protestor quòd per hanc meam comparitionem seu per aliqua per me hic dicta seu dicenda, allegata seu alleganda, proposita seu proponenda,

exhibita seu exhibenda, gesta seu gerenda, obiecta seu obijcienda, exercita seu exercenda, facta seu fienda, petita seu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Iudices praesentes tanquam in iudices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquò modo consentire vestram iurisdictionem praesentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, nisi prout ac quatenus de iure ad hoc teneat & astringar rationique consonum videatur: & sub protestatione praedicta & ea semper mihi salua (a qua recedere non intendo, sed eandem in omnibus & singulis deinceps in hoc negotio praetenso per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quòd literae commissionales pretensae vobis (vt dicitur) in hac parte directae, seu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam ante hac mihi ostensae aut monstratae fuerunt, nec a me aliquo modo visae, lectae aut cognitae, vel mihi traditae. Itaque contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, ea quae de iure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reuerentia (qua decet) obijcere, ac in debita iuris forma proponere non possum in praesenti vt deberem. Quare vt defensio congrua quae nulli hominum deneganda est, mihi reseruetur liquidòque sciam cuiusmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere possint ac debeant, vtque eas suis loco & tempore iuxta iuris exigentiam, pro necessaria defensione mea proponam contra vel pretensas literas commissionales huiusmodi, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, quatenus liceat & expediat sub protestatione praedicta, facultatem dictas praetensas litteras commissionales in forma originali inspiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, & fidelem copiam debitè exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto & postulo prout iuris est in hac parte, tenore praesentium: nihilominus •estatum manifestè relinquens, quòd obseruantiam & reuerentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac caetera quaecunque serenissimae Regiae Maiest. Domino meo supremo has literas praetensas vobis (vt dicitur) committenti qualitercunque decet in omnibus & per omnia perpetuò humillimè recogniturus sum, habiturus & praestiturus, & his exceptionibus, & defensionibus legitimis mihi de iure & natura competentibus ad defensionem meam necessariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte vsurus.

This Protestation being read, he requested the Commissioners that he might haue the Bill of complaint deliuered him: which when he had well perused, he sayd that the same was very generall, and so generall, as that hee coulde not directly aunswere thereunto.* Whereunto the Archbyshop aunswered, that the speciall cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the Kings commaundement, geuen vnto him by his Counsaile, in that he in his late Sermon made at Paules crosse, did not set forth vnto the people the Kings highnes royall power in his minoritie, according to the tenour of the Article deliuered vnto him by them for that purpose: and for prooffe thereof called forth William Latimer and Iohn Hoper preachers, who before that time had put vp the bill of complaint vnto the King against him.

Upon whome, when the Byshop had earnestly looked, (and well beheld them) he said: as for this Marchant Latimer, I know him very wel, and haue borne with him, & winked at his euill doings a great while, but I haue more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other Marchaunt Hooper, I haue not seene him before, howbeit I haue heard much of his naughty preaching: and then turning himselfe againe to the Archbyshop (of purpose most like to make his frends thinke that he was not called thether to aunswere his contemptuous disobedience,* but for matters of Religion) sayd vnto him: Ah my Lord, now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set foorth in my late Sermon, the true presence of the most blessed body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ to be in the Sacrament of the aulter. For,* as for these my accusers, as they be euil, infamed, and

notorious criminous persons, so are they manifest and notable heretickes, and seducers of the people, especially touching the Sacrament of the aultar: and most of all this Hooper.

For where in my late Sermon at Paules crosse I preached that in the blessed Sacrament of the aultar,* after the words of consecration, there is the true body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ, the selfesame in substaunce that was hanged and shed vpon the Crosse: he the same day at after noone, hauing a great rabblement with hym of his damnable sect, openly in the Pulpit within my Dioces, did preache erroneously to the people against it:* and maliciously inueying against my Sermon, denied the veritie and presence of Christes true body and bloud to be in the same Sacrament, and also falsely and vntruely interpreted and expounded my words. And specially,* where I preached and affirmed the very true body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ to be in the sayd Sacramente, the selfesame in substance that was hanged and shed vpon the Crosse: he like an Asse (as he is an Asse in deede) falsely chaunged and turned the word that into as, like an Asse, saying that I had sayd, as it hanged, and as it was shed vpon the Crosse.

The Archbyshop heereupon perceauing the Byshops drifte, and hearing hym talke so muche of the presence of Christes body and bloud in the Sacramente,* sayde vnto him: My Lord of London, ye speake much of a presence in the Sacrament: what presence is there, and of what presence do you meane? Wherewith the Byshop being somewhat sturred and moued in mind (as appeared by his collericke countenaunce) spake againe to the Archbishop very earnestly, and sayd: What presence my Lord? I say and beleue that there is the very true presence of the body and bloud of Christ. What beleue you, and how do you beleue my Lord? Upon which words the Archbishop,* because he saw his aunswere darke and subtyll, and minding somewhat to nip the grosse absurditie of the Papists, asked him farther whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, armes, and lips, with other liniamentes of his bodye? Whereat the Byshop shaking his head, sayd: Oh, I am right sory to heare your grace speake these wordes, and therewith boldly vrged the Archbyshop to shew his mind therein. Who wisely waying the fond presumption of the partie, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying: that their being there at that time, was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute theyr [Page 1314](#) Commission committed to them by their Prince, and therfore willed him to aunswere them vnto such thinges as were objected against him.

Whereupon vnder his Protestation, he requested to haue a copy both of the Commission,* and also of the denunciation geuen vnto him, with time to aunswere thereunto. Which the Commissioners willingly graunted, assigning him there to appeare agayne before them vpon Friday at eight of the clocke before noone, then next following, and then to aunswere the tenour of the denunciation. And so for that day (he complying somewhat of the shortnes of his time to aunswere) they all departed.

¶The second appearaunce of Boner in the Chappell of Lambeth, before the Archbyshop, and other four Commissioners, the Byshop of Rochester, Secretary Peter, Secretary Smyth, and the Deane of Paules.

Vpon Friday the xiiij. of September aforenamed, foure Commissioners, associated then also with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of the Kings two principal Secretaries,* and ioynt Commissioners with them, sate iudicially in the Archbyshops Chappell within his house at

Lambeth. Before whome (according to their former assignement) there and then appeared the Byshop of London. To whome the Archbyshop in the name of the rest, first sayd: My Lord of London, the last time you were before vs, we layde certayne Articles and matter to youre charge touching your disobedience to the Kings Maiesty, and you haue this day to make your aunswere thereunto: wherefore now shew vs what you haue to say for youre defence.

Whereunto the Byshop first asking the Archbyshop if he had all sayd and done, and he againe saying yea, made this answere: My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sate in the Kings Maiesties commission, your Grace, you my Lord of Rochester, you M. Secretary Peter, and you M. Deane of Paules: but now I perceiue there sitteth also M. Secretary Smyth. Who because he sate not at the beginning, nor tooke there the Commission vpon him, ought not so to do: for by the law, they which begin, must continue the commission.

Whereupon the Archbishop first aunswere, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not certainly shew what the law willeth in that case, but (saith he) if the law be so in deede, surely I take it to be an vnreasonable law.

Well, said the Byshop, there be heere that knoweth the law: and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or sticke much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way: for I haue heere mine aunswere ready.

Then sayde Maister Secretary Peter to the Byshop: my Lord in good sooth I must say vnto you, that although I haue professed the law, yet by discontinuance and disuse thereof,* and hauing bene occupied a long time in other matters from study of the law, I haue perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point: but admit the law were so as you say, yet your selfe knoweth my Lord, that thys is our certayne rule in law, Quòd consuetudo est iuris interpret optimus, and I am sure you will not, nor can not deny, but that the custome is commonly in this realme in all iudgements and Commissions vsed to the contrary: and in very deede altogether at the Court, hauing the Com•••ion presented vnto vs, take it vpon vs: and therfore for you to sticke in such trifling matters, you shall rather in my iudgement hurt your selfe and your matter, then otherwise.

Truely Maister Secretary (sayd the Byshop) I haue also of long while bene disused in the study of the law, but hauing occasion (partly by reason of this matter) to turne my bookes, I finde the law to be as I say: and yet (as I sayd) I tell you heereof by the way,* not minding to sticke much with you in that poynt.

At which wordes Maister Secretary Smyth sayd also vnto the Byshop: well my Lord of London, as cunning as you make your selfe in the law, there be here that knoweth the law as well as you: and for my part I haue studied the law to, and I promise you, these be but quiddites and quirkes inuented to delay matters, but our Commission is to proceede summarily,* & de plano, and to cut off such friuolous allegations.

Well (sayd the Bishop againe) looke well on your commission, and you shall finde therein these wordes: to proceede according to the law and Iustice, and I aske both lawe and Iustice at your handes.

Then Maister Secretary Peter willed hym to stand no more thereupon, but to proceede vnto his aunswere. Wherupon he tooke foorth a writing, wherein was contained his aunswere to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and deliuering it vnto the Archbishop, sayde, that it was of his owne hand writyng, and for lacke of sufficient time written so hastily & coursely, that it could scarsly be read of any other, and therefore he desired to read it himselfe: and so taking it agayne read it openly, the copy whereof here followeth.

***The aunswere of the sayd Bishop, made to the denuntiation aforesayd.**

I Edmond bishop of London, concerning William Latimer & Iohn Hooper, the pretended denunciators of thys matter here nowe before you, and for aunswere vnto the vnlawfull, vntrue and vncharitable pretended denunciation of them, lately in deede contrarye to iustice and good reason, exhibited here and read before you vnder protestation heretofore made by me and red vnto you, remayning in the actes of this court, to which I referre me, and haue the same here agayne for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the law, do for my necessary defence and helpe alleage and say as followeth.

First I do alledge and say, that the sayd William Latimer and Iohn Hooper,* or either of thē were not nor now are to be admitted in any wise by vertue of this or anye other commission, as denunciators against me their Byshop specially, for that they and either of them haue aswell before the time of this pretended denunciation and also thē and since bene and be vile, and infamed, notorious, criminous persons and also open and manifest notable heretickes, especially concerning the sacramentes of the catholicke Church, and namely concerning the blessed Sacrament of the aulter,* by reason of whiche their heresies they were and be by the order of the sayde Catholicke Church here in this realme of England iustly and duely, excommunicated and accursed, and haue deuided thēselues therby from the vntie and integritie of Christes Catholick church and for such persons they haue bene and are named, reputed and taken, openly notoriously and commōly amongst the catholicke people of this Realme of Englande, and especially of this Citty of London, familiarly haunting and conuersaunt with sacramentaries and openly knowne condemned heretickes and fauorers and Abbettors of the same, and theyr detestable & pestilent doctrine & heresie. 2. Item that the sayde Iohn Hooper amonges other hys poysoned and venemous doctrine, and amonges other his erroneous, detestable, and abhominable errors and heresies taught and spread abroad here within this realme infecting and poysoning the kinges subiectes therewyth hath before the tyme of the sayde pretended denunciation, damnably and detestablie made diuers erroneous, and hereticall bookes, especially one intituled a declaration of Christ and of his offcie, printed (as hee falsly surmiseth) in Zurick by Augustine Friers, where hee in many places, heretically and damnably denyeth the true presence of Christes body in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, and also in effect denyeth the verity of Christes blessed bodye vpon the crosse, calling it Mathematticall and excludyng thereby the true and very substaunce thereof. 3.* Item that the sayd Iohn Hooper doth perseuer and continueth still in his sayd poysoned and wicked venemous doctrine in al poyntes mayntayning and defending the same and euery part therof, all the wayes he can, especially agaynst y^e presence of Christes blessed body in the sacrament of the altar, and his sayde bookes, especially the sayde declaration of Christ and of his office, he doth yet allowe and mayntayn as good and Catholicke, where in deede it is hereticall, wicked and damnable, the contentes of whiche doctrine and bookes so intituled, the sayde Latimer especially touching the heresie agaynst the verity of Christes bodye

and his true presence in the sacrament of the aultar hath heard, taught, read, preached, beleueed, holden, mayntayned and kept, and so at this presēt doth yet beleue, hold,* maintayne, and keepe, contrary to the fayth of Christes Catholicke church, and the vnitie of the same obserued amongst all true christen people, incurring thereby heresie excommunication and Scisme to the losse both of their soules and of their beleuers. 4. Item that the sayde Latimer and Hooper, and eyther of them, being of these vile and detestable quallities and consequently by the ordinaunce of the catholick Church of Christ, aswell of this Realme, as also throughout all Christendome, being so excommunicate & cast out thereby, from the sayd Church, are not to this pretended denuntiation, agaynst me theyr Bishop, nor to any iudiciall act to be admitted, ne yet to be accompanied with all, or aunswered vnto, but are by scripture and the order of Christes Catholicke Church here in this Realme vtterly and clearely, to be excluded auoyded, detested, eschewed [Page 1315](#) and abhorred in all maner of wise, of all faithfull and true christen people, fearing God, and desiring the aduancement of the truth. 5. Item, that where the saide Latimer and Hoper in their said pretended denunciation, amongst other things do vntruly deduce, that they haue made their said pretended denunciation not moued of any malice or euill will, but for the good tranquillitie and gouernaunce of this Realme, which as they pretend in their gay and glorious prohome, they would beseeme to haue a great care and sollicitude of, where in very deede, they and suche as they are by sondry wayes, and specially by their corrupt doctrine, and hereticall naughtie preaching and infecting of the Kings Maiesties people, haue disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillitie and gouernance of thys Realme as euidently and notoriously it is well knowne, the truth is that this their saying is euident and playne false, for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be prooued, that the said Hooper conspiring with the said Latimer and other Heretikes of their factions, sect, and damnable opinion, did the first day of September last past, after that I the said Bishop of London had made the sermon at Paules crosse, assemble maliciously, vncharitably and vnlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himselfe is, within my dioces and iurisdiction, and vnder the colour of reading, dyd openly and manifestly rayle and inuay against me the sayd Byshop for my sayd Sermon, not for any suche matter, pretence or cause, as is falsly and vntruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I the sayd Byshop, as became a christen man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flocke, faithfully, and truely to teach them, did taking occasion of the communion not frequented nor reuerenced, but neglected and contemned, confesse and declare my faith and beliefe openly before my audience, touching the blessed Sacrament of the altar ministred in the same Communion, affirming as the catholike Church affirmeth and teacheth. That in the blessed sacrament of the altar, there is the very true bodye of our sauour Christ, the selfesame in substaunce that hanged vpon the crosse, and the very true bloud of our sauour Christ:* the selfesame in substance that was shed vppon the crosse. Against which affirmation and assertion, being Catholike and true, the sayd Iohn Hooper (albeit now colourably and falsely and foolishly pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and iudgement in sondry places of the Citie of London and suburbs of the same) hath since that time maliciously inuayed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routes) to reprooue,* contemne and despise the sayde blessed Sacrament of the aultar, and not to haue a true and faithfull beliefe of it, as hetherto alwayes the catholike Church hath euer had, the sayd William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing other to do the same, not making any such pretence at all (as they in their sayd pretended denunciation, do falsely surmise and deduce,

but onely and chiefly offended for my said assertion,* and affirmation of the veritie of Christes body and bloud in the sacrament of the altare.

Item, that where the sayd William Latimer and Iohn Hooper in their said pretended denunciation, do further deduce and falsly surmise that I the sayd Bishop of London had deliuered to me from the Kings maiestie, by the hands of the Lorde Protectors grace, and the rest of the Kyngs Maiesties Counsaile certayne Iniunctions with articles to be insinuated and preached to the Kings Maiesties subiects at a certayne day limited, and after such sorte, forme, and manner, as is in the said pretended denunciation surmised vntruly and deduced. It is notorious and euident, as well by the tenour and continue of that writing which was to me the saide Byshop of London deliuered by the handes of Sir Thomas Smith Knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the Kings Maiestie, as otherwise,* that the said surmise in such sort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalfe, referring me to the tenour of the sayd writing, which neyther was signed with the Kings Maiesties hand, nor sealed with any his Maiesties seale or signet, ne yet subscribed by any of the sayde Counsaile, or deliuered after such sort, as is alleaged and pretended, as more euidently heereafter shall appeare, and sufficiently be proued for my lawfull and necessary defence in this behalfe.

Item, that in case any such Iniunctions with articles, after such forme and fashion, had so bene deliuered vnto me as is surmised and pretended, yet false and vntrue it is, that I the sayd Bishop either left out, or refused to declare the same for any suche cause or causes, falsly and vntruly surmised in the sayd pretended denunciation or else so peruersly and negligently did, as likewise in the sayd pretended denunciation is deduced, whiche thing may well appeare in the discourse of my said Sermon, where in substance and effect, I declared faithfully & truly these points specially following: it is to witte, that all such as rebell a'gainst their prince, get vnto them damnation, and those that refuseth the high power, resisteth the ordinaunce o^r God, and he that dyeth therefore in Rebellion, is by the word of God vtterly damned, and so loseth both body and soule, alleaging for this purpose the xiiij. Chapter of S. Paule to the Romaines, and it at large declaring vnto the audience, furthermore, speaking of the Rebels in Deuonshire, Cornewale, Northfolke, and elsewhere within this Realme, standing in doubt, whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselues and despised all other, or in the place of both, dooing as they dyd forgetting God, not duely considering the Kings Maiestie theyr supreme head, next and immediately vnder God, forgetting theyr wiues, theyr children, theyr kinsfolke, theyr alliance, acquaintance, and frends, yea themselues and theyr natiue Countrey, and most vnnaturally rebelling agaynst their soueraigne Lord and King, whom by Gods lawe they were bound to loue, serue, and faithfully obey, I did to the best of my power to dissuade Rebellion, and exhort the audience vnto true obedience, say, that obedience being thus commaunded, and all rebellion forbiddē vnder paine of eternall damnation, all these Rebels in Cornewal, Deuonshire, Northfolke, or elsewhere, who take vpon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the lawes and statutes of the Realme, and went about to subuert the order of the common wealth, did not only deserue therefore death, as Rebels and Traitors, but also did accumulate vnto themselues eternall damnation, euen to be in the burning fyre of hell, with Lucifer the father, and first authour of pride, disobedience and rebellion. And heere I did aske who had induced the said Rebels thus to do, to which I aunswered by another question, demaunding who moued and induced Eue to eate the apple and breake her obedience against Gods commaundement, who moued also and induced Caine to kill his brother Abell, yea

who moued Iudas the Apostle to betray his maister Christ, was it not the Diuell? yes truly, and he it is said I, that of his great malice and hatred to man and good order, hath moued and induced these Rebels to this vnnaturall Rebellion agaynst theyr Prince and soueraigne Lord, whereupon I asked what pretenses they had, and answering thereto, said: that amongst other they had Masses and holy water, vppon which I exclaiming against them, said, good Lord: is not this a maruellous thing to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintaine rebellion and inobedience, to pretend masse or holywater, as who saith, that these things had bene instituted and ordeined to defend, mainteine, and excuse rebellion, treason, and inobedience, which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four texts of scripture to proue this thing that I said, aleaging the xvj. Chapter of the booke of Nombers, the xv. Chapter of the first booke of Kings, the x. Chapter of Leuit. and the iiij. that my selfe added also the xiiij. of S. Luke, ioined with the v. of the Actes, setting them foorth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And heere I concluded, that whatsoeuer pretences these rebels had of masses, holy water, or such other, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring my selfe heerein to the indifferent hearers in the sayd audience. And heere pulling out a writing, sent from the Kings Maiesties priuie counsaile vnto me touching the victory against the said rebels, which for breuitie of time, my memory woulde not serue to declare without booke, did rehearse it in writing word by word. In doyng whereof it well appeared, that I did not fauour the opinion of the saide Rebels, nor mainteine their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them, and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better then sacrifice. And that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could nor did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisey and the humble Publicane ascending into the temple to pray, and noting y^e outward and externe doing of them both, with the successe thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the Church, and the externe rites and ceremonies of the deuine seruice, that for as much as God requireth humilitie of hart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of hym, charitie and loue to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his Ministers, and to the superiour powers, we must bring all these things to all our praiers, to all our seruice, and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be such that make all things pleasaunt to almightie God, further saying: that the externe rites are but exercises of Religion, and appointable [Page 1316](#) by superior powers, and that in the choosing thereof, we must obey the Magistrates, and that we also doo see that those things euer hath bene, and shall be diuers, as the time and place is, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humilitie or hart, innocencie of liuing, knowing of God, charitie and loue to our neighbour, with obedience to Gods word, Gods Ministers, and superiour powers, ar• concurrent and pre•ent therewith.

Moreouer I then said, that if any man should vse rites, and disobey thereby the superiour powers, the deuotion of hys ceremonie was made euill, by his disobedience. In so much that that which standing the law, might be good, was by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made euill and vnprofitable, putting examp•e in the fact of Saule, reseruing the fat Sheepe for Sacrifice, and in Chore, Dathan, and Abyron, and also in Nadab and Abbihu, Aarons two children, and in the Galileans, whose blood Pilate did mixe wyth theyr sacrifices. And thereupon I tolde the audience that they must do heerein especially two thyngs, the fyrst they must ioyne to, and wyth theyr deuotion, faythfull obedience, and then they shall winne the garland, and otherwise haue but a zeale. Sed non secundum scientiam, deseruing no thanke or prayse of God, and also they must with and to theyr obedience, ioyne deuotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the hart, then the outward dooing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came

to take the Communion, or to heare or say the seruice, appoynted by the Kings Maiestie, they must bring deuotion and inwarde prayer wyth them, for else their prayers shall be but vaine, as wantyng and lacking that thyng, which God requireth, that is, the hart and mind to pray to him. And heerein because I marvelled that the Communion was no more frequented now adayes, and lamenting the vnreuerent comming to it, and vsing of it, fearing that it proceeded of any euill opinion and beliefe touching the Sacrament of the aultar, ministred and distributed at the sayde Communion, and to the intent to make the people haue better opinion of it then they seemed to haue, I did faithfully,* truly, and playnely declare my beliefe of the sayde Sacramente, wherewith the sayde Latimer and Hooper with theyr complices were so muche offended and agree•ed .viiij. Item, that where the sayde Wylliam Latimer and Iohn Hooper, do further in the sayd pretended denunciation, vntruly, and vncharitably, deduce and alleage, that I in my sayde Sermon, did intreate of such thynges, as most shoulde mooue and sturre vp the people to disorder and dissention, it doth euidently and cleerely appeare, that eyther the sayde pretended denunciatours doo take a declaration faythfully made of the obedience of the subiectes, to the Kings Maiestie, the supream and soueraigne Lord, and the great perill and daunger of Rebellion committed by subiectes agaynst theyr King and Princes, and soueraigne Lorde, to be a moouing and sturring vp of people to discorde and dissention: or else that the affirmation and assertion Catholike of the veritie of Christes body and bloud, and in the blessed Sacramente of the Aultare, set forth by me as afore, doth worke suche disorder and dissention: for euidente it is to all those whyche indifferentlye heard my sayde Sermon, that I groundyng my selfe vppon Scripture, and takyng occasion of the Sondag then occurrent, dyd speake specially and earnestly of these two thyngs, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slaunder them thereby, and I did both set forth the obedience and dutie of all Subiectes, generallye to theyr Kyngs, and speciallye of subiectes of thys Realme, to the Kyngs Maiestie that now is, whose minoritie to all people of thys Realme is more then manifest,* and is euidently also knowne to all the whole world beside. And also dyd then declare the daunger and perill of Rebellion of Subiectes agaynste the hygh powers, and also speciallye of the Rebellion late committed by them of Deuonshyre, Cornewall, Northfolke, and elsewhere, agaynste the Kyngs Maiestie that now is, whyche I woulde not haue doone, except I both had beleueed that all the Kynges Subiectes without exception, were bounde to obey the Kings Maiestie euen as he now is, was, and shall bee, during hys lyfe, whyche our Lorde long preserue to all our comfortes and wealth, and also that the Rebellion of late so committed agaynste hys Maiestie, was damnable, and vtterlye detestable and condemned by Gods Lawe, and heerein I referre mee to the indifferente hearers of thys my Sermon, wyshyng that thys Latymer and Hooper, wyth all the reste of these now Preachers, dyd meane as faythfullye, truly, obedientlye and catholically, as I alwayes haue done towarde the Kyngs maiestie, his honour, authoritie ryall power and suretye of his person and realme, and did not moue, encourage, and stirre the kinges maiesties subiectes to sedition tumulte, and inobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, then I did at any time encourage or stirre any of them in any wise, or geue occasion vnto anye of the same .ix. Item where the sayd William Latimer and Iohn Hooper, do falsly surmise in their pretended denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I the sayde Byshop of London, should more apertly haue declared y^e Iniunctions and articles aforesayd, and that it did so appeare vnto their iudgementes. I do saye, that their iudgements are corrupted and onely set to sclaunder and pickyng of quarrells in this behalfe being well assured, and so credibly informed that all the worshipfull and honest Catholicke persons of my sayd audience were fully satisfied both as touching obedience to the kings maiestie in his tender age and minoritie,* and also

touching the penaltie and great perill of punishmentes for the rebellion so lately committed against his sayd maiestie by the foresaid rebels. And moreouer I do saie that before my Lorde Protector's grace and the rest of the kinges maiesties most honorable counsell then present I made my excuse and alledged many impedimentes, for my not preaching at the crosse, and did not further promise but do the best I coulde, whiche of my fedelitie and conscience I did, not omitting any thyng of purpose or euill will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people both good and bad in euery condition, poynt, specially in this behalfe, collecting and gathering together with all dilligent study, all that might make in my iudgement and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same.

Wherein first he alleaged (or rather shamelesse & slaunderously cauilled) that those his denouncers were vile, infamed and notorious criminous persons,* and also open & manifest heretickes, aswell agaynst the rest of the Sacramentes of the Church, as chiefly agaynst the Sacrament of the aulter: and were for the same by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the Catholickes of this realme, and especially Hooper: who besides other his poysoned doctrine and heresy amongst the people,* had also before the tyme of the denunciation, made diuers erroneous and here•icall books agaynst the true presence of Christes body in the sacrament of y^e aulter, & did also continue in y^e same, allowing & maintayning it as good & catholicke which books and doctrine (chiefly agaynst the sacrament of the aulter) W. Latymer had and then likewise did allow, beleue, & teach, to y^e losse of both their owne soules and also their beleuers, & therefore were not now nor ought at anye time to be admytted eyther in this their denunciation agaynst him, or in any other Iudiciall acte: and that rather also, because that although they pretended in their denunciation, y^t they made not the same of any malice or euill will towards him, but for the good tranquillitie and quyet gouernaunce of thys Realme: yet was it notoriously knowne, that aswell the same day at after noone in which he the sayd byshop preached at the Crosse of Paules, as also at sundry other times,* they two conspiring with other of theyr faction, did maliciously and vnlawfull within his Dioces assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselues were, & there vnder the colour of reading, did openly rayle and inuey agaynst hym, nor for any the causes pretended in theyr denunciation, but because hee had in his Sermon declared (as the Catholicke Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the aulter there was the very true bodye and bloude of Christ, the same in substaunce that was hanged and shed vpon the Crosse.

Then after these vayne and friuolous allegations agaynst the denouncers, he commeth and aunswereth to the substaunce of their denunciatiō, and sayth, that where they in the same do falsly surmise that there were deliuered vnto him from the kinges Maiestie by the handes of the lord Protectour and the rest of his highnes Counsaile,* certayne Iniunctions and articles to be published and declared vnto the people at a day limited in the same, theyr information in such sort as it was deduced, was most false & vntrue, for that the articles deliuered vnto hym by Syr Thomas Smith one of the kinges secretaries, were neyther signed with the kinges owne hand, neyther sealed with his highnes seale or signet, nor yet subscribed by anye of his Counsaile. &c.

Where marke, I beseech you, the subtiltie of a disloyall Papist,* who because the articles were not sealed or signed by the king and his Counsaile, would make them therefore not to be of any such force, as that the breach thereof should cause him to incurre the danger of contemptuous disobediēce. But admit they were not signed nor sealed (of which thing by the way in the

denunciation there is no mention [Page 1317](#) yea or nay) yet is it manifest by the second Bill of Articles ministred vnto him by the Cōmissioners in the fourth Acte of this processe,* that at such time as he was before y^e Counsell, those Articles were by the commandemēt of the Lord Protectour, openly there read vnto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concerning the Kings lawfull power and authoritie during his yong yeares, were also deliuered vnto hym by the handes of the Lord Protectour, in the presence of y^e rest of the Counsell: who thus receiuing them, promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contentes thereof. After which, they were againe deliuered vnto Secretary Smith, to amend suche things therein as the Lord Protectour and the rest of the Counsaile had there appointed. Which being accordingly done (as the Bishop himselfe at the last receipt thereof confessed, were finally deliuered vnto him by the Secretary: and therefore was this but a poore shift.

Now after this, he maketh a supposition: that in case it were true,* that the Iniunctions were deliuered him according to their information: yet was it vntrue that he did omitte or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alledged against him, and that did wel appeare in the discourse of his Sermon, which tended principally (as he sayd) to the disallowing and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Northfolke, Southfolke, Deuonshyre, & Cornwall, or elsewhere within this Realme of England: who forgetting their allegiance and duty vnto their Prince, assigned them by Gods word as their supreme head, their natural loue and care for their countrey, wiues,* children, and kinsfolke, did both deserue death bodily as traytors, & also accumulate vnto themselues damnation of body and soule, eternally with Sathan the father and first mouer of all rebellion and disobedience: and herewithall farther exclaiming against the pretenses of those rebels, who amongst other thyngs pretended the Masse and holywater, with such like, which were neuer ordeined for the purpose, to colour and maintayne rebellion (as he sayd he then proued out of the 16. of Nombers 1. Reg. 15. Leuit. 10. and 4. Luke 13. and Actes 5. in best maner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrayned therefrom) but hauing humilitie of hart, innocencie of liuing, knowledge of God, loue to our neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Ministers and superiour powers concurrent with them, they being externall rites and ceremonies of the Church,* were exercises of Religion, and appointable by superiour powers: and yet that, whiche (standing the law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made euill and vnprofitable.

And heere he farther sayde, because he sawe the people slacke in comming to the Communion and diuine seruice set forth by the kings Maiestie,* and to the entent he would make them haue a better opinion in the Sacrament then hee thought they had, he then faithfully did declare hys beliefe therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they vncharitably and vntruly deduced in their pretensed denunciation, that in his Sermon he did intreate of such things as most should sturre vp vnto dissension & tumult: whereby it appeared vnto him, that his denōucers either tooke his Catholicke assertion of y^e veritie of Christs body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aaltar,* or else hys faythfull declaration made of the obedience of subiects vnto the Kings Maiesty their supreme and soueraigne Lord, with the peril and daunger of rebellion committed against him,* to be the cause of disorder and dissention: for that (saith he) of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the king: whose minoritie was more then manifestly knowen, as well amongst y^e people of this realme, as elsewhere throughout y^e world besides: which he would not haue done, except he had beleued, that both all his subiects were bounden to obey him, euen as he then was and should be during his life, and also that the

rebellion of late committed against him, was detestable and condemned by Gods word: and therefore he wished that his two denouncers, with all the rest of the new Preachers, did meane as faithfully, obediently, and Catholickely towards the Kings honour, royall power, and suretie of person, as he did & had not more moued the people to tumultes & disobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, then he had at any time geuen any occasion thereunto.

Then finally he concluded and sayd, that where his denouncers surmise that it was of no light grounde looked for, as it appeared in their iudgemēts, that he should more apertly haue declared the contents of the Iniunctions and Articles then he did, that their iudgementes were in that behalfe corrupted and set to sclaunder and picking of quarels: for he was wel assured and credibly informed, that all his honest and Catholicke audiēce were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the Kings Maiesty in his tender age, & also concerning the great penalti• and perill that the late Rebels incurred by their disobedience. And besides that, when he was before the Lord Protectour and the rest of the Counsaile, after he had made his excuse, and alledged many impediments for his not preaching at the Crosse, he did not then further promise, but to do the best he could•: which he hath of his fidelitie and conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or euill will, that might satisfie the people in any point concerning the premis•es.

Whilest he was thus reading these answers,* obiecting against his denouncers such causes and quarels as be afore alledged, for which he woulde haue earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the Commissioners, the Archbyshop of Caunterbury replyed, that if there were suche a law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law,* but a law of the Byshop of Rome. For said he, if my matter and case be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea, although he were the Diuell of Hell.

No sir, sayd the Byshop of London,* it is the Kings law vsed in the Realme.

Well, my Lorde (sayde the Archbyshop) ye be too full of your law. I would wishe you had lesse knowledge in that lawe, and more knowledge in Gods law, & of your dutie.

Well, aunswered the Byshop againe, seeing your grace falleth to wishing, I can also wishe many things to be in your person.*

Then spake Secretary Peter to the Byshop as touching these denouncers:* we are not so straited in this matter, but that we may proceede against you, either at theyr promotion, or without them at our pleasure.

A Gods name (then sayd Boner) put them by,* and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I aske but right.

Nay, sayde Secretary Smith, you aske you wot not what: you would haue vs folow your mind in these quidities and quirkes:* and all is nothing else but to delay iustice. And you do herein as theeues, murtherers, and traitors, not to haue the truth knowne.

Say you so to me, quoth the Byshop? I thanke you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were it not in the place ye be: but let it passe. As for my matter,* I feare it not: it is not so euill as you make it, for I haue your owne handwriting for my discharge, whiche when I shall see time, I shall shew forth.

My hand? quoth the Secretary, Let me see it,* & let it be read openly. So it shal, said the Byshop, when I see tyme.

Then sayd M. Smith: you do vse vs thus to be seene a cunning Lawyer.

In deede quoth the Byshop, I knewe the law, ere you could reade it.

With that Secretary Peter willed the Byshop to proceede in reading of his aunsweres: who so dyd, and when he had finished, Latymer deliuered vp a writing in paper vnto the Archbyshop and the rest of the Commissioners: who then sayd vnto the Byshop of London, heere be certayne Articles which we intend to minister vnto you.

The Byshop therewith sayde, do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men?*(poynting to Latimer & Hoper) for I perceauē they gaue thē vnto you.*

Nay, sayd Secretary Peter, we will minister them vnto you, ex officio mero, and thereupon tooke an othe of the Byshop de fideliter respondendo.* Who desiring a copie of the Articles, required also a competent time to be geuen vnto him to make aunswere therevnto.

To whom Secretary Peter replied, saying: My Lord, heere be certaine of the Articles touching your owne fact, which you may aunswere vnto forthwith:* as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Whereunto the Byshop aunswered,* that he wrote it not, but he drewe certaine notes of it.

Then whose counsell (sayd he) and aduise vsed you in making your Sermon?*

To which he also aunswered, that he had therein vsed his own counsell & bookes,* and yet my Chapleins (quoth he) be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why.

These wordes ended, the Commissioners assigned him Monday the 16. of September then nexte, to appeare before them, and to make his full aunsweres vnto all the Articles ministred vnto him by them this daye: the contentes whereof are as foloweth.

¶The forme and tenour of the Articles ministred vnto the Byshop of London, by the Kyngs Commissioners.

MOnday the xvj. of September, the Archbish. associated with the Bishop of Rochester,* Secretary Smith▪ [Page 1318](#) and Doctor May Deane of Paules, sat iudicially▪ within his Chappill at Lambeth: before whom there and then appeared the Byshop of London according as he was

assigned in the last Session; at which time he exhibited vnto the Commissioners in 〈...〉 his answeres vnto the last former Articles.*

But before the same were there read, the Archbyshop sayd vnto him, that his 〈◇〉 a••sweres made y^e 13. of September vnto the denunc•a••••, were very obscure, & therewith also contained much matter▪ of slaunder agaynst Latimer and Hooper, and much vntruth, and therefore they desired there to purge themselues. Whereupon Latimer first obe••ing leaue to speake, sayd, that the Byshop of Londō had most falsely, vntruly, and vncharitably accused him, •aying to his charge many fayned and vntrue matters in his former aunsweres to the denunciation, and such as he should neuer be able to proue. For wherei• his sayd aunswere he alleadged that Hugh Latimer and Iohn Hooper with other heretickes conspiring agaynst him, did the first day of September after the Bishoppes Sermon assemble themselues together vnlawfully against the sayd Bishop, that saying of his was most vntrue.* For neyther that day, nor yet before that day, nor vntill certayne dayes after, he euer knew or spake with Hooper. And as touching hys owne preaching there openly accused by the Byshoppe, he sayd he neuer helde,* taught; or preached any thing concerning the blessed Sacrament, otherwise then he ought to do, nor otherwise then according to the Scriptures, & true Catholicke fayth of Christes Church: and therefore offered▪ himselfe to be tryed by the Archbishop or other suche learned men as it should please the Kings Maiesty, or the said Commissioners to appoynt: and farther to suffer to be hāged, drawne, and quartered, if the Byshoppe coulde iustly proue true the thinges that he had there shamefully layde to his charge. Then M. Hooper vpon like 〈◇〉 obtained, sayd to this effect.

This vngodly man (pointing to the Bishop) hath most vncharitably and vngodly accused me before your grace & this audience, and hath layd to my charge that I am an hereticke. Whereas I take God to recorde, I neuer spake, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And where he sayth I frequēt the company of heretickes, I doe muche maruell of his so saying, for it hath pleased my Lord Protectours Grace, my singuler good Lord and Mayster, and my Ladyes Grace to haue me with them, and I haue preached before them, and much vsed theyr company, with diuers other worshipfull persons, and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And farther, where as he sayth that I haue made hereticall bookes agaynst the blessed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, calling it Mathematicall, I perceiue that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematicall there meaneth, and therefore vnderstandeth not my booke: which I take God to my Iudge, I haue made truely and sincerely, and according to his holy word: and by the same his holy worde and Scriptures I am alwayes & shall be ready to submit my selfe to your Graces iudgemēt and the superiour powers to be tryed: with many suche more wordes of like importance.

Which ended, the Archbishop to shorten this matter, asked the bishop how he could proue that Hooper and Latimer assembled together agaynst him the first of September, as he had alleadged, seing they now denyed it, and therfore willed him to aunswere forthwith thereunto.

The Byshop then aunswered that hee woulde duelye proue it,* so that he might be admitted to do it according to lawe, and with that hee pulled out of his slieue certayne bookes, saying: I haue this Uarlets bookes whyche hee made agaynst the blessed sacrament, which you shal heare. Then as he was turning certayne leaues thereof, Hooper beganne agayne to speake,* but the Byshop turning hymselfe towardes him, tauntingly sayd, put vp your pypes, you haue spokē for your

part, I wil meddle no more with you, and therewith read a certayn sentence vpon the book. Which done, he sayd: Lo here you may see his opinion, and what it is.

At which wordes the people standing behind, and seeing his vnreuerent and vnsemely demeanor and raylyng,* fell sodenly into great laughing. Whereat the Bishop being moued, and perceiuing not the cause wherfore they did so laugh, turned him towards thē in a great rage saying: ah Woodcockes, woodcockes.

*Then sayd one of the Commissioners, why say you so my Lord mary (quoth he) I may wel cal them Woodcocks that thus will laugh, and know not wherat, nor yet heard what I sayd or read.

Well my Lord of London, sayd the Archbyshop, then I perceiue you would perswade this audience y^t you wer called hither for preaching of your beliefe in the Sacramēt of the aultar, and therefore you lay to these mens charge (meaning Hooper and Latimer) that they haue accused you of that. Howbeit, there is no such thing layd to your charge, and therefore this audience shal heare openly read the denunciation that is put vp agaynst you, to the intent they may the better perceiue your dealing herein. And therewithall he sayd vnto the people: My Lord of Londō would make you beleue that he is called hyther for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the sacrament of the aultar,* but to the intent you may perceiue how he goeth about to deceiue you, you shall heare the denunciation that is layd in agaynst him read vnto you,* and therupō he deliuered the denunciatiō vnto Syr Iohn Mason knight who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbishop said agayne vnto the audience: Loe, here you heare how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he woulde perswade you.

With this the Bishop being in a raging heate, as one cleane voyd of all humanity,* turned himselfe aboute vnto the people saying: Well, now heare what the Byshop of London sayth for his part. But the Commissioners seing his inordinate contumacy, denyed him to speak any more, saying that he vsed himselfe very disobediently: with moe like wordes.

Notwithstanding he still persisting in his vnreuerent maner of dealing with the Commissioners,* pulled out of his slieue an other booke, and then sayde vnto the Archbyshop: My Lord of Caunterbury, I haue here a note out of your bookes that you made touching the blessed Sacrament, wherein you do affirme the verity of the body and bloud of Christ to be in the sacramēt, and I haue an other booke also of yours of the cōtrary opiniō: which is a maruellous matter.

To which the Archbishop aunswered, that he made no bookes contrary one to another,* and that he would defend his bookes, how be it he thought the Byshop vnderstoode them not: For I promise you, quoth he, I will finde a boy of ten yeares old, that shal be more apt to vnderstand that matter then you my L. of London be.

Thus after much multiplying of like words, the Commissioners thinking not good to spend any more wast time with him, willed him to shewe forth his aunsweres vnto the Articles objected the last day agaynst him. Whereupon he hauing them ready, did read the same openly vnto thē.* Wherein after many woordes of his former Protestation recited, with a maruellous lamentation, to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretickes, should be vsed

after such a straunge sort, hauing neuerthelesse done the best he could to declare his obedience vnto the kinges Maiesty for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and all Rebels, and also for the aduancement of the verity of Christes true body and his presence in the Sacrament of the aultar, for which onely the malicious denouncers with theyr complices had studied to molest and trouble him,* he then commeth to aunswering the Articles and sayth, that to the first, second, and fourth hee hath already in his former aunsweres to the denunciation sufficiently aunswered, and therefore was not bound by law to answere any further.

As to the thyrd and fift he sayd, he began to write hys Sermon, but being soone wery, did onely make certayne notes therof without help of any other, sauing that he shewed them to his Chaplaynes requiring them to put hym in remembraunce therof: amongst the which for the better setting forth of the kinges Maiestyes power and authority in his minority, he had collected aswell out of historyes, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of diuers young kinges, who notwithstanding theyr minority,* were faithfully & obediently honored & reputed for very true & lawfull kinges. As Henry 3. being but 9. yeares olde, Edw. 3. being but 13, yeares, Rich. 2. being but 11. yeares. Henry 6. being not fully one yere, Edw. 5. being but 11. yeres. Hen 8. being but 18. yeares of age. And out of the old Testament, Osias & Achas, who were but 16. yeares olde,* Salomon & Manasses being but 12. yeares, Iosias, Ioachim & Ioas, being but 8. yeres of age whē they entred their raignes. Al which notes w^t many other he had purposed to declare if they had come vnto his memory, as indeed they did not be'cause y^e same was disturbed partly for lacke of vse of preaching, & partly by reasō of a bill y^t was deliuered him frō y^e kings counsell,* to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Northfolke & Deuonshyre, which being of some good length confounded his memory: & partly also for that his book in his Sermon time fell away from him, wherein were diuers of his notes whiche hee had collected for that [Page 1319](#) purpose: So that he could not remember what he would, but yet in generality he perswaded the people to obediēce to the kinges Maiestye, whose minoritye was manifestly knowne to them and all other.

Then as to the 6. he sayd he knew not the rebels opinion,* and therefore could not answere therunto. And as for aunswere to the 7.8.9. and 11. Articles which touched hys pastoral office, he sayd that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, aswel by his owne busines and his families sicknes, as also by vncharitable informatiōs made agaynst him, yet he hath not failed to geue order vnto his officers straitly to look vnto such matters, and such as he hath knowne, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the lawes. Al which answeres w^t other, written with his owne hand here vnder folow.

¶The aunsweres of Boner vnto the Articles objected to him by the kinges Commissioners the first time.

I Edmond Byshop of London, vnder protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited and repeated before you, which in all my sayinges and doynge, I entend to haue for repeated & rehearsed agayn to all lawfull effectes and purposes, for my honest and necessary defence with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your processe I had made in this behalfe, and likewise of the generality, incerteynety, obscurity, contrariety, repugnaunce, variety, insufficiency, and inuadility of the thinges alleadged and deduced before you,* agaynst me aswell in the commission, and denunciation in diuers partes, as also touching the Articles and Interrogatoryes

so ministred vnto me. Lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vyle hereticall and detestable persons, should be vsed after this straūge sort, hauing done the best I coulde to declare myne obedience vnto the Kynges most excellent Maiesty, for the repressing and discouragyng of Rebellion, and Rebellious Persons, and for the aduauncement of the veritye of Christes true body and his presence in the most blessed sacrament of the Aultar, for which onely the malicious denounciatours with theyr complices haue studyed to molest and trouble me. Albeit coulourably they woulde be seene to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquility of this Realme, which our Lord GOD knoweth they care nothing for, but contrarywise doe lette and impeache the same, corrupting and infecting with theyr poysoned & false doctrine, & teaching the Kings Subiects in this Realme, to the great perill and daunger thereof manye wayes: * doe aunswere vnto certayne pretended Articles and Interogatoryes ministred by you in deede vnto me the sayde Byshoppe the xiiij. daye of September 1540. as foloweth.

To the first Article beginning thus: Fyrst it is reported. &c. and ending thus: to obserue and follow the same. I doe say and for aunswere doe refere me vnto my former answers heretofore, y^t is to wit y^e sayd xiiij. day of September made and exhibited by me before you vnto the sayde pretended denunciation, touching this matter, alleadging with all, that a Reporte of thinges doth not absolutely proue, nor necessary inferre thinges to be in verye deede true after such a sort, fashion, maner and forme, as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

To the second beginning thus. Item, whether that you. * &c. and ending thus: as they were put vnto you. I doe aunswere and saye, that this Article doth depend on the first Article, next before, which after such sort, fashion, maner and forme, as it is deduced, was iustly by me in my aunswere made vnto the same, denied, and I therefore now not bounden by the law eftsoones to make other aunswere thereunto.

To the thyrd, being an Interrogatory and beginning thus. * Item, whether. &c. And ending thus, ye did preach. I doe aunswere and say that I beganne to write a piece of my Sermon, and being soone weary thereof, I did leaue off and did make onely certayne notes of my sayd sermon and put the same notes in writing of myne owne hand without helpe or Counsell of anye other, and the same notes did shewe vnto my Chaplaynes Mayster Gylbert bourne, and Mayster Iohn Harpsfielde, both before and also since my sayd Sermon onely desiring them to put me in remembraunce of my sayde notes, and processe to bee made thereupon and also to searche out for me the names of such kinges as were in theyr minority, when they began to raigne.

To the fourth Article beginning thus. Item, that ye haue not declared. &c. * And ending thus, as it is in your Article. I doe aunswere and say that this Article doth dedepend vpon the first and seconde Articles here before denied, deduced in suche sort, maner, and forme, as is expressed in the same, and moreouer I saye that already aunswere is made hereunto by me, in my former aunsweres made to the sayd pretended denunciation.

To the fifth article beginning thus. Item that ye haue not. &c. And ending thus, declared it. I doe aunswere and say, * that this Article also doth depende vpon the first and second Articles, and that aunswere is made thereunto by me already in my former aunsweres, made vnto the sayd pretended denunciation, and moreouer I doe say, that for the better aduauncement and setting

forth of the kings Maiestyes royall power and authority, euen in his mynoryty, and for the dew obedience of his Maiestyes Subiectes vnto his highnesse euen during the sayd minoritye, I had collected together aswell out of historyes, as also out of the Scripture of the olde Testament, the names of diuers kinges being in minority, who notwithstanding theyr sayd minority, faythfully, dewly and reueren••y obeyed, honoured, serued, taken and reputed, for very true and lawfull kinges, as Henry the third, being but nine yeares olde whē he entred to reigne and gouerne as king, Edward the thyrd being but thirtene yeares of age. Richard the second being but eleuen yeares of age. Henrye the sixt being not fully one yeare of age. Edward the 〈◇〉 being but eleuen yeare olde. Henry the eight being about eightene yeare olde, and so all these Kinges being in theyr minority as the Kinges Maiesty that now is, and yet hauing authority and power regall, as apperteyneth, and in the olde Testament Osias and Achaz, were verye true kynges in theyr minority, being but sixtene yeares of age. Salomon and Manasses being but xij. yeares of age. Iosias and Ioachim being but eight yeares of age, and I •as being but eight yeares olde, all which thinges I say I had collected, in notes communicating the same with my sayde two Chapleynes, and praying them to put mee in remēbraunce, if in numbring of them, or in setting forth my other notes at the tyme of my Sermon, I did faile,* or haue defaulte of memory in any wise, and all these thinges I would haue specially set forth in my sayde Sermon if they had come to my memory, as in deede they did not partlye for disturbaunce of my memory not accustomed to preache in that place, partly also by reason of a certeyne writing, that was sent to me from the Kinges Maiestyes priuie Counsel being of good length to declare to the people, touching the victory agaynst the rebels, specially in Norfolk, Deuonshyre, and Cornewall, confounding my memorye in thinges which before I had set in good order, and partly also for the falling away of my booke in the time of my said Sermon, in which were contened diuers of my sayd notes, touching the Kinges Maiestyes minority, as is aforesayd, hauing yet neuerthesse, otherwise in generality, and speciality, perswaded the people to obedience, vnto the kinges sayd Maiesty, whose minority to them and all other, is notoriously and manifestly knowne, and hys Maiesty sauing of these late Rebelles, faythfully, truely, and reuerently obeyed of all the rest of his Subiectes.

To the sixte, which beginneth, whether ye will. &c. And ending, the opinion or no. I do aunswere and saye, that not knowing certaynely of which Rebelles the Articles meaneth,* ne yet what theyr opiniō is in deed I ought not to be driuen to make aunswere hereunto, ne yet can make good and perfect aunswere therin though I would.

To the seuenth Article being thus. Item that ye know &c. And ending thus. The Kinges Maiesties booke. I doe answere and say that albeit I haue by the space of these 5. weekes, last past and more, bene in maner continually in businesse and trouble, aswell in prouiding for my said Sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my family, much vexed with sicknesse, to my great disquietnesse and charge, and also by reason that I haue bene so much troubled and combred, by informations and complayntes vniustly and vncharitably made agaynst me, ouer & besides the hauing of diuers and sondry persons, which dayly resort and come vnto me for theyr suites and businesse, both in matters of Iustice & otherwise, yet I haue not omitted to send forth to my Archdeacons and other my Officers, to enquire and search diligently in this behalfe, and to certify me accordingly, and yet I can not heare certaynely of any that haue heard, bene at, or celebrate Masses, or Euensong in the Latine tongue, after the olde rite and maner except it be in the house of my Lady Maryes Grace▪ or in the houses of the Ambassadors, ne yet there nor in any of

them, but by flying & not assured report, & w^tout knowing the names & persōs that so haue heard, bene at, or celebrate the same, and in this behalfe how farre I can and ought to [Page 1320](#) proceed and after what sort,* I do referre me vnto the statute, late made in that behalfe.

To the seuenth Article beginning thus. Item that ye haue. &c. And ending thus: punishment vnto them, I do aunswere and say that this Article doth depend of the next Article going before,* and so consequently answer is already therunto made.

To the ninthe Article beginning thus. Item, that ye know. &c. And ending thus: nor see them punished. I do aunswere and say that touching such as eyther hath bene denounced or detected for suche crimynous and culpable persons to me or my office there hath bene processe already made before my sayd offices as it appeareth in my Register,* and the Actes of my Courte, and moreouer I haue geuen expresse Commaundement to my sayd Officers, to enquire and search for more suche Offenders, and to cer••y me thereof, that I maye proc•ede agaynst them accordingly.

To the tenth Article beginning thus. Item ye were &c. And ending thus. The kinges Maiestyes authority in his minority.* I doe aunswere and say, that as touching the tyme mentioned in the Article, and the declaration to be made by Doctour Coxe. I doe not well remember, neither the sayd tyme nor yet the speciall poyntes, & substaunce of the sayd Doctour Coxes declaration, trueth it is, I was at a Sermon made at Paules Crosse by the sayd Doctour Coxe, wherein he inuayed against my Lord of Winchester, and as farre as I can now call to my remēbraunce, it was touching disobedience, wherewith my Lord of Winchester by the sayd Doctour Coxe seemed to be charged, and for a Sermon also that my Lord of Winchester was seemed to haue made before the kinges Maiesty in the Court of Westminster.

To the eleuenth Article beyng by it selfe deliuered vnto me the 14. of this present September. 1549. in the night at my house at London beginning thus.* Item that the rites. &c. and ending thus. The misuses thereof. I doe aunswere and say that I haue already geuen commaudemēt to mine officers to make diligent search and inquiry herein and to certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceede therein as apperteineth, and woulde before this time my selfe haue also enquired, and proceeded, had I not bene so of al sides opprest and postred, with multitude of other necessary busines as I haue bene to my great disquietnesse & trouble.

When he had ended the reading of these answeres, the Commissioners sayd vnto him that he had in the same very obscurely aunswere vnto the 5. Article ministred the 13 of Septēber:,* wherefore they willed him there expressly to aunswere by mouth, whether he had according to the Iniunctions deliuered vnto him, declared the Article beginning thus: You shall also set forth in your Sermō that our authority. &c. Whereunto he agayne answered, that he had already made a full and sufficient aunswere in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

*The Iudges then replied, that the aunsweres already made in that part were obscure and insufficiēt, so that it appeared not certaynely whether he had preached in deed according to the same Iniunction or not: and therefore they eftsoones willed him (as before) directly to aunswere whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the Byshop still yet aunswering as before.

The Iudges agayne demaunded of him, whether hee would otherwise aunswere or no.* To the which he sayde no, vnlesse the law did compell him. Then they asked hym whether he thought the law did compell him to aunswere more fully or no? He aunswere no: adding farther that he was not bound to make aunswere to such positions.

The Commissioners then seeing his froward contumacy, told him playnly that if he persisted thus in his frowardnes, and would not otherwise answere, they would according to law, take him pro confesso, and ex abundanti re|ceiue witnesse agaynst him, & therewithall did agayne recite vnto him 6. of the first and principall articles, demaūding his final answere therunto. Who said (as before) that he had already fully answered them by writing, but where they requested to haue his notes, which he sayde he hadde made of his sermon, they should haue thē if they would sēd for thē. And whereas in his aunswere to the 6. Article he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the Iudges declared vnto him that theyr opinion was: That the kinges majesty before his grace came to the age of 21. yeares, had not so full authority to make lawes and statutes,*as when he came to farther yeares: and that his subiectes were not bound to obey the lawes and statutes made in his young age. Whereunto the byshop aunswere that he was not of the opinion of the Rebels mentioned in that Article, as did well appeare by his aunsweres aswell vnto the denunciation, as also vnto the 5. Article objected agaynst him.

Which ended they perceiuing his scornfull carelesnes, presently did admitte for witnes vpon the Articles objected agaynst him, Mayster Iohn Cheke, Henry Markehā,* Iohn Ioseph, Iohn Dowglas, and Richard Chambers, whome also they onerated with a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangelistes, tru•ly to aunswere and depose vppon the same Articles in the presence of the Byshop, who vnder his former Protestation, like a wilye Lawyer, protested of the nullity of the re•eiuing, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with Protestation also to object agaynst the persons & sayinges of the witnesses for the time and place conuenient:* demaunding also a competent and lawfull time to minister Interrogatories agaynst them, with a copy of all the Actes to that day. Wherwith the delegates were wel pleased, and assigned him to minister his Interrogations, agaynst Maister Cheeke on that present day, and agaynst the rest the next day before noone.

All whiche Interrogatories who so listeth to peruse, may here vnder read the same as foloweth.

¶Certayne Interrogatories exhibited by Boner to be ministred agaynst the foresayd witnesses, vpon the Articles aboue mentioned 18. September.

I Edmund Byshop of London vnder my Protestations heretofore made, before you, doe minister these interrogatoryes ensewing, agaynst all and singuler the pretenced Witnesses already receiued and sworne as hereafter to be receyued and sworne agaynst me the sayd Byshoppe in thys matter, requiring and desiring vnder the sayd Protestation, that all and singuler the sayde pretended Witnesses may be examined in vrytue of theyr othe vppon the sayde Interrogatoryes, and euerye part and percill of them.

1. First that all and singuler the sayd Witnesses in vrytue of theyr othe be examined generally and specially of al and singuler Interrogatories, commōly vsed and accustomed to be made in such matters, especially touching their age, theyr condition their dwelling place, now and

heretofore. by the space of these 12. yeares last past, with whom all thys tyme they haue also dwelled, and bene familiar or conuersant with all, with the names of the places and persons and other circumstances expedient in this behalfe, and by whom they haue bene foūd and mayntained, and for what purpose. Et interrogetur coniunctim, diuisim, & de quolibet.

2. Item, touching the pretended Articles made in thys behalfe, and Iniunctions mentioned in the same, that they and euery of them in virtue of theyr sayd othe, maye be examined whether they knowe the sayde Articles and Iniunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place deposing the formall wordes of the sayd pretended Articles and Iniunctions in especially as they are deduced. The first Article. And therein let them depose,* how he or they knew the said Articles and Iniunctions to be receiued from the Kyngs Maiesty, how also he or they knewe that I the sayd Byshoppe receiued the sayde Iniunctions at the handes of the Lord Protectors Grace. How also they were sitting in the Counsell Chamber, moreouer which were the rest of the Counsell then sitting, specifiyng theyr names and surnames, or titles. Also whether the x. of August this present yeare, or of the last yeare, moreouer whether the Articles or iniunctions were ioyned together, or apart, whether the tenor thereof, and the forme and maner of the doing and folowing, touching me the sayd Byshop and also touching the preaching therunto, as is deduced in the first Article, declaring moreouer, when, where, and how I the sayd Byshop accepted the sayde Iniunctions or promised to obserue and folow the same, and by what expresse wordes. & interrog. vt supra.

3. Item, whether they or any of them, were present at my last sermon, made at Paules Crosse, where they then stode, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the sayd Sermon, how long they taryed therat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formall wordes, or at the least wise in substaunce that I the sayd Byshop then vttered, or wherewith they were offended, and by what occasion, and who with him or then did heare it, & in what place theyr contestes did stand how long they taryed, and at what part they came thither or departed thence. & interrog. vt supra.

4. Item, whether the sayd witnesse or any of them, were desired or required, by any person or persons, to be Wytnesse in this matter, and by whom, when where and how the same was done, and in whose presence. & interrogetur vt supra.

[Page 1321](#)5. Item, whether they or any of them had consulted wyth other to come vnto my sayd sermon, for what purpose, by whom they were induced and moued and how they agreed, and what they did after my sayd sermon for the impugnation or deprauiing therof & interrog. vt supra.

6. Item, whether they or any of them haue bene or be conuersant or familiar, with any that hath bene knowne, noted, or reputed, for a sacramentary, in denying the veritye of Christes true and corporall presence in the sacrament of the aultar, and whether he and they detest and abhorre & absteine from the company of all suche persons, as be vnknowne, noted, or suspected, for sacramentaryes in that be halfe, and what opinion he and they haue with theyr contestes touching the sayd presence. & interrog. vt supra.

7. Item, whether they or any of them, haue wished me the sayd Bishop to be depriued or put in prison, and whether they or any of thē, haue reported and sayd that I shall be depriued or

imprisoned, reioysing thereof, and for what cause they haue so wished or reported, or any of theyr contestes. & interrog. vt supra.

8. Item, whether they or any of them haue bene in times past, a Frier, Preacher minorite, Augustine, or Carmelite, Monke, Canon obseruant, or religious person, professing solemnely pouerty, chastitye, and obedience, according to the lawes, customes, or ordinaunces of this Realme, then vsed and obserued. & interrog. vt supra.

9. Item, whether they or any of them, being so professed haue bene or be since that time maryed to any person, hauing likewise or otherwise bene professed or lose, or bene a widow and how oft they haue bene maryed, and whether any of theyr wiues bene yet alieue. & interrog. vt supra.

10. Item, whether they or any of them haue read the commission in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or thinke, that the commission, Iniunctions, Articles, and denunciation do agree togethers or no, & wherin they thinke or knowe discrepantes, or diuersityes to be betwene them in this behalfe. & interrog. vt supra.

11. Item, if they or any of them do depose, that I haue not sincerely and wholly declared as is contened in the second article,* let him and euery of them be examined in vertue of theyr othe, how they do know it, and by what meanes, declaring how they thinke to haue knowledge therein with them. & interrogetur vt supra.

12. Item, if they or any of thē do depose that I haue trangressed and offended in the fourth article beginning thus. Item that ye haue not declared.* &c. Let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of theyr othe, whether they know that these wordes folowing, as Mattens, Masses, now sayd after that sort in this Realme: were and be put in the Iniunction pretended to be ministred vnto me the sayd Bishop or no. & interrogetur vt supra.

13. Item, if they or any of them do depose that I haue tran'gressed and offended touching the 5. Article, let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of theyr othe,* whether the Iniūctions pretended in this behalfe were signed with the kinges vsuall signet, or rather at all, whether it was sealed with any seale, whether it was subscribed by the L. Protectors grace, or any of the priuie Counsell, whether it was in full Counsell sitting deliuered vnto mee by the Lord protector, whether it was deliuered to me, the rest of the kinges Maiestyes priuie Counsell there then sittynge, whether the sayd dayes as is contened in the first Article, by whom it was written when and where. & interrogetur vt supra.

14. Item, if they or any of them do depose, that I do defēd the opinion of the rebels,* let them be examined, & euery of thē what rebels they be, what is their opinion, & how the lawe of this Realme doth determine therein, declaring by what wordes & factes I the sayd Bishop did speake & do, and at what time and place, and in whose presence, suche wordes or act was spoken or done. & interrog. vt supra.

*15. Item, if they or any of them doe depose that I knowe or haue heard say crediblye that since the time of the sayde pretensed Iniunctions certayn persons within my dioces haue heard, bene at, or celebrate Masse or Euensong in the latine tongue, and after the olde rite and maner, other

then according to the kinges maiestyes booke, let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of his sayd othe, how they know that I so know, or haue heard say, and of the name or names, of the partye or parties, and of the tyme and place when, and where it was, and whether any denunciation or detection were according to the statutes and ordinaunces of this Realme, made vnto me or no. & interrog. vt supra.

16. Item, if they or any of them doe say, that I knowe or haue heard say,* of such notable adulterers, & offences mentioned in the 9. article, let them and euery of them be examined in virtue of his and theyr othe, that they do knowe, that I do know, or haue heard say, and who be the persōs▪ where they dwell, who hath denounced or detected them▪ and how I could and ought to haue cited them & punished them in this behalfe. & interrog. vt supra.

17. Item if they or any of them doe say that I knowe certainly nowe,* what Doctour Coxe declared in hys Sermon at Paules Crosse, as is deduced in the 10. Article, let them be inquired and euery of them in virtue of theyr oth, how they can proue it, by whom, and after what sort. & interrog. vt supra.

18. Item, if they or any of them do say, that I do know, or heare certaynely of the diuersity of the rites of the commō seruice of the church, nowe set forth, and of the ministers▪* parsons transgressing therein, let them and euery of them in virtue of theyr othe bee examined, whether there hath bene any detection, or denuntiation made to me therupon, and how they know or can proue, that I haue bene culpable and negligent herein. & interrog. vt supra.

19. Item, whether they or any of them, haue bene spoken vnto, or solicited herein to testify and after what sorte•, by whom, when, and where, and what was theyr conference and communication therin. & interrog. supra.

20. Item that they and euery of them declare and shewe the true and sufficiēt cause of theyr testimony in all and singuler the premisses.

After this the Iudges delegate assigned the Bishop to appeare againe before them vpon Wednesday the next ensuing, betwene the houres of 7. and 8. of the clocke before noone, in the Hall of the Archbishops manor of Lambet•,* there to shew the cause why he should not be declared pro confesso, vpon al the Articles wherunto he had not thē fully answered, and to see farther processe done in the matter: and so (he still protesting of the nullity and inuadility of all theyr procedinges) they did for that present depart.

In this meane while the Commissioners certified the kinges Maiesty and his Counsell of the Bishops demeanour towards them,* and what obiections he had made agaynst theyr procedinges, making doubtes and ambiguities whether by the tenor of his maiesties Commission the Commissioners might proceed not onely at the denuntiation, but also of theyr meere office: and also whether they mought aswell determine, as heare the cause. Whereupon his Maiesty by aduise aforesayd, for the better vnderstanding therof, did the 17. of September send vnto the Commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretatiō of his will and pleasure in the foresayd Commission, geuing them hereby full authority to proceed at theyr owne discretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor therof ensuing.

¶A certayne declaration or interpretation of the king touching certayne poyntes and doubtes in his former Commission, with licence geuen to the Commissioners, as well to determine as to heare in the case of Boner.

EDward the 6. by the grace of God king of England, Fraunce,* and Ireland, defendor of the fayth and of the Church of England and also of Ireland in earth the supreme head, to the moste reuerend father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of England, the right reuerend Father in God Nicholas Byshop of Rochester, our trusty and right welbeloued Counsellours Syr William Peter, and Syr Thomas Smyth Knightes or two principal Secretaries, and William May Doctor of law Ciuill and Deane of Paules greeting. Where we of late, by the aduise of our most entyrelly beloued Vncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Gouvernor of our Person, and Protectour of our Re•lmes, Dominions and subiects, and the rest of our priuy Counc•, haue addressed vnto you. 5.4.3. of you our letters patentes of Cōmission bearing date at Westminster the 8. daye of September in the third yeare of our raign, willing you by force therof to heare the matters and cause of contempt therein expressed, and calling before you, aswell the denouncers therof, as also the right reuerend Father in God, Edmund Bishop of London, agaynst whom such denunciation is made as in our sayd letters of Commission more at large doth appeare, we be now credibly informed that vpon the sayd Commission diuers doubtes & ambiguities hath and may arise.

As whether you by the tenour of the sayd Commission may proceed not onely at the denunciation, but also of mere office.

And also whether ye may aswell determine as heare the sayd cause.

For further declaration whereof, we doe now interpret and declare that our full minde and pleasure, by the aduise aforesayd▪ was by our Cōmission and now is, that you should proceede a•well by mere office, as also by the way of denūciatiō & by either of them, or any other wayes or meanes at your discretiōs, wherby [Page 1322](#) the truth and merites of the cause may be most speedely and b•st knowne, and that ye might and may aswell finally determine as heare the sayd matters in all your orders and doinges, cutting away all vayne and superfluous delayes, & hauing respect to the onely trueth of the matter. And this our declaration we send vnto you of our sure knowledge and meere motion by the aduise aforesayd, supplying all default, ceremony and poynt of the lawe, which hath, shall, or maye arise of your doinges by reason of anye default of wordes in our sayde former Commission or any parte thereof, any law, statute, or act to the contrary notwithstanding, and therefore we will and commaund you to proceed in the sayde matters accordingly, aswell to our foresayd Commission, as thys our declaration, and so faile ye not. In witnesse whereof we haue made these our letters patentes. At Hampton Court, the xvij. day of September.

¶The fourth Session agaynst Boner Byshop of London before the kinges Commissioners in the great Hall at Lambeth the eight of September.

AFTER this declaration being sent downe and receyued from the Kyng, the Byshop of London (according to the Commissioners assignement the Monday before.) appeared agayne before them vpon Wednesday, the xvij. of September, in the great Hall at Lambeth. Where vnder his wonted

Protestation,* first he declared that althoughe he had already sufficiently aunswered all thinges: yet further to satisfy the terme assigned vnto him, to shewe cause why he ought not to be declared pro confesso, vpon the Articles theretofore ministred agaynst him, and to the which he had not fully aunswered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibite vnto them,* why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherin first vnder his accustomed vnreuerent termes of pretended, vniust, & vnlawfull processe and assignation, he said he was not bound by the law (for good & reasonable causes) to obey the same, especially theyr assignation.

And first, for that the same was onely pronounced by Syr Thomas Smith, one of the pretended Commissioners, without the consent of his pretended Colleagues? or at the least he as a Commissioner did prescribe the Actuary what to write, whiche he ought not to haue done, because by law he ought not to haue intermeddled therein, for that his Colleagues did the first day begin to sit as Iudges agaynst him the Bishop, without the presence of the sayde Syr Thomas Smith.

And secondly because his aunsweres, aswell vnto the pretended denunciation,* as also vnto all the articles theretofore objected agaynst him, were as full and sufficient, as the law required (or at least wyse there was nothyng good in law apparant to the contrary) and therfore he was not enforced by lawe farther to aunswere without farther allegation.

And because also, that all theyr proceedings therto were so extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all maner of lawfull processe, sometimes proceeding ad denunciandū sometimes ex officio mero, and sometimes ex officio mixto, contrary vnto the kinges Ecclesiasticall lawes, and cōtrary also vnto theyr Commission in that behalfe.

And likewise because diuers of the Articles pretended were superfluous and impertinēt, not reuealing though they were proued,* conteyning in them vntruth and falsity, some obscure and vncertaine, some depending vpon other articles, either denyed, or at the least qualified, some captious and deceitfull to bring the aunswere into a snare, and some also beyng Articles of the lawe, in such sort, as by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of this Realme the kinges subiectes were not bound to make aunswere thereunto.*

And lastly, because that Syr Thomas Smith Secretary to the kinges Maiesty,* when that the Byshop was last with the Counsell in the Counsell Chamber at White Hall, after the departure of the Lorde Protectour and the rest of the counsell, did himselfe alone (without any other) write certayne Articles or Iniūctions (amongest the whiche was that of the kinges authority in his minority) and afterward did copy the same at a table within the sayd coūsell Chamber, and so himselfe did deliuer them vnto hym. By reason whereof that is not true, which in the Cōmission, denunciation and Articles was deduced and objected agaynst him.*

When these fonde and friuolous obiections were thus read, the archbishop seing his inordinate and vntollerable contempt towardses them, charged him very sharply saying: My Lord of Londō, if I had sittē here onely as Archbishop of Canterbury, it had bene your part to haue vsed your selfe more lowly, obediently & reuerently towardses me then ye haue: but seing that I with my Colleagues sit here now as Delegates from the kinges Maiesty, I must tell you plaine, you haue behaued your selfe to to much inordinately. For at euery time that we haue sittē in cōmission,

you haue vsed such vnseemely fashions without all reuerence and obedience, geuing taūtes and checkes, aswell vnto vs, with diuers of the seruants and Chaplaynes, as also vnto certayn of the auncientest that be here,* calling thē fooles and Dawes, with such like, as that you haue geuen to the multitude an intolerable exāple of disobediēce. And I ensure you my Lord, there is you and one other Bishop whō I could name, that haue vsed your selues so contēptuously & disobediently, as the like I think hath not before bene heard of or sene: whereby ye haue done much harme.

At which wordes,* the grosse Byshop (a Beast a man might iustly terme him) sayd scornefully to the Archbishop you shew your selfe to be a meete Iudge.

The Archbishop then proceeding, •ayde to his charge how vndiscreetly the last day in the Chappell he had called all the the people Woodcockes.*

Whereunto he aunswered, that the last Session William Latimer one of the denouncers beyng there present,* had practised with the audience that when he lifted vp his hand to them, they shoulde (and did as it were by a token geuen them) say as he sayd, and doe as he did: as one tyme vpon the lifting vp of his hand, they cryed nay, nay, and at an other time yea, yea, & laughed they could not tell wherat, with such like fashions.

Unto which wordes Latimer seing his vayne suspition, replied,* saying that he lifted not vp his hād at any time but onely to cause them hold theyr peace.

Then Secretary Smith sayd to the Bishop, that in all his writings and aunsweres that he had hitherto layd in,* he would not once acknowledge them as the kings Commissioners, but vsed alwayes Protestations with diuers incke horne and naughty termes, calling them pretended Commissioners, pretended Delegates,* pretended Commission, pretended articles, pretended proceedinges, so that all thinges were pretended with him. In deede (sayde he) such termes the Proctors of churches vse, to delay matters for theyr Clientes when they will not haue the truth known▪ But you my Lord to vse vs the kinges maiestyes cōmissioners w^t such termes, you do therin very lewdly & naugh^ttely. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Counsell,* they woulde not credite them, but sayd they were none of the kinges or his Counselles, but Gentlemens doings, and made vnder a bushe, with such like termes. But now my Lord, because hitherto we can not make you confesse whether in your Sermon that you preached, ye omitted the Article touching y^e kinges maiestyes authority in his tender age or not, but still haue sayd that ye wil not otherwise answere then ye haue done, and that ye haue already sufficiently aunswered (with many such like delayes) so as we canne by no meanes induce you to confesse playnely what you did, yea or nay: therfore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we haue dilated the matter more at large, and haue drawne out other Articles whereunto you shall be sworne, and then I trust you will dally with vs no more as you haue done. For although you make your answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by vs and make your aunsweres by mouth to the same Articles, or els you shall do worse. In deede I do not (as I sayd) discommende your Protestations and termes of law, if it were in a young Proctour that woulde helpe his Clientes cause: but in you it may not be suffered so to vse the kinges Commissioners.

Then did the Delegates minister vnto him certayne new Articles and Iniunctions,* and did there onerate him with a corporall othe in forme of law to make a full & true aunswere thereunto. The Byshop notwithstanding still (according to his wonted maner) vnder his former Protestation protested of the nullity and inuadility of these articles, Iniunctions, & processe, desiring also a Copy therof, with a competent time to aunswere thereunto.* To whō the Iudges decreed a Copy, commaunding him to come to his examination to the Archbishop the next day at 8. of the clocke before noone.

Then the Commissioners did receiue for witnesse,* vpon those new Articles nowe ministred vnto the Byshop, Syr Iohn Mason, Syr Thomas Chalenor Knyghtes, Maister William Cicill, Armygell Wade, and Wylliam Hunninges Clerkes to the Kinges Maiesties Counsell, whom they onerated with a corporall othe in the presence of the Bishoppe, who still protested of the nullity of theyr receiuing and swearing, obiecing agaynst them and theyr sayinges: and therwith repeating his Interrogatories already ministred, sayde he had moe to minister by to morow at 8. of the clocke.

[Page 1323](#)The same day and time likewise the Bishop exhibited vnto the Commissioners an information, or rather cauillation agaynst William Latimer, for that he, notwithstanding that he had in all his talke pretended the great tranquility of this Realme,* which was greatly impeached and hindered when that any the kinges subiects should think that his maiesty hath not as full power and authority roiall in his minority, as when his Maiesty came to perfect age, or should thinke that his subiectes were not bound to obey the same, yet hath of late there in opē audience reported, that he hath heard with his cares diuers persons vnreuerently speak of the kings Maiesty saying: tush y^e king is but a babe or child, what lawes can he make? or what cā he do in his minority? let him haue a tost & butter or bread and milke, & that is more meter for him thē to make lawes or statutes or bind vs to obey thē: we are not bound to obey till he be past his minority, & come to his full and perfect age: with the hearing of which wordes the Byshoppe also charged the Commissioners, and that because Latymer at the recitall of the same in theyr presēce, was neither by them cōtroled, nor yet caused to bring forth the same per'sons, but was let passe in silence, sauing that he the sayd bishop did speake agaynst him in that behalfe, saying that he would detecte him, because that, as it appeared he had of long time cōcealed the wordes and not opened the same in such place and to such persōs as he ought to haue done, but had kept the person and sayinges of them secret,* either not taking the matter of such importaunce as he pretended, or els therby vnfaythfully behauing himselfe, towards his Prince, and therefore was worthy with his ayders, fauourers, and counsellors to be punished.

These vayne cauillations ended, the Commissioners for that day finished theyr Session, assigning the Byshop to appeare in that same place again vpon monday thē next folowing betwene the houres of 6. and 9. in the forenoone,* then and there to shew a finall cause why he should not be declared pro confesso. And so deliuering him a cōpye of the articles, they departed: the contentes whereof ensue.

¶Articles and positions geuen by the kinges Commissioners to the Byshop of London, to be answered by him ioynly and seuerally in euery poynt the second time.

1. THat ye were sent for to the Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Counsell,* and came thyther into the Court at Westminster the x. of August, or some other day of the same moneth.

2. Item, that at the same time the Lord Protectour and diuers other of the Kinges Maiesties priuie Counsell, sitting in Counsell, ye were called in, and there the sayde Lorde Protectour did on the Kinges Maiestyes behalfe declare vnto you diuers faultes & abuses the which were found in you, and gaue you strait charge to amend them, adding and threatning that els you shoulde be otherwyse looked vnto.

3. Item, that the sayd Lord Protector's Grace did declare vnto you for better admonition & amendment of you, that ye should haue from the kinges Maiesty by his aduise and the rest of the priuy Counsell, certayne Articles, and Iniunctions to obserue and folow geuen you in writing.

4. Item, that there and then the sayd Lord Protectour commaunded Sir Thomas Smith Knight, Secretary to the Kinges Maiesty, to read a certayne proper booke of Iniunctions and Articles vnto you, the sayd Secretarye standing at the Counsell tables end, and you standing by, and hearing the same.

5. Item, that the sayde Lord Protectour there and then willed to be reformed certayne thinges in the sayd booke of Iniunctions, as where ye wer appoynted to preach sooner, at your request it was appoynted vnto you to preache the Sonday three weekes after the date of the sayd writing.

6. Item, that in the sayd Articles the Lord Protector's Grace found fault because an Article or commaundement vnto you set forth and declared of the Kynges Maiestyes authority now in his yong age, of his lawes and statutes in the same tyme was omitted, and therefore either immediatly before you came into the Counsell Chamber, or you being present and standing by, commaunded the sayde Secretary Smith to put it in writing and annexe it to the rest of the Articles.

7. Item, that the sayd Secretary Smith, then and there did immediately vpon commaundement, write into the sayd booke or paper, wherein the rest of the Articles were written, the sayd article: videlicet, you shall also set forth in your sermon, that the authority of our royall power is (as truth it is) of no lesse authority and force in this our yong age, then was of any of our Predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appeare by example of Iosias & other young kinges in the scripture, and therefore all our subiectes to be no lesse bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and statutes, then if we were of 30. or 40. yeares of age.

8. Item, that the Lord Protectour did so deliuer you the booke or paper, willing first the sayd Secretary Smyth to amend all thinges as he had appoynted.

9. Item, that ye then and there did promise to the Lorde Protector's grace, that ye would obserue & fulfill all in the sayd Iniunctions and articles contained.

10. Item, that all thinges in the sayde booke, put in and mentioned by the sayd Secretary Smith, and the same▪ so read vnto you by him & you first agreing that all that was by him so written, was by the L. Protector's appoyntmēt, the sayd booke was so deliuered vnto you then and there by the sayd Secretary Smith in the Councell Chamber.

11. Item, that you haue the sayd booke in your possession, or els know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to these articles.

12. Item, that ye were commaūded in the sayd Iniunctions to preach the Sondag three weekes after the deliury therof at Paules, & there to entreat vpon certayn articles, as is specified in the sayd booke of Iniunctions, and specially the sayd article beginning. Ye shall also set forth, & ending. 30. or 40. yeares of age.

13. Item, that for the accomplishment of part of the sayde Iniunctions & commaundement, you did preach the fyrst day of September last past at Paules Crosse.

14. Item, that at the sayd sermon, contrary to your Iniunctions, ye omitted & left out y^e sayde article beginning: Ye shall also set forth in your sermon. &c. and ending 30. or 40. yeares of age.

15. Ye shall also aunswere whether ye thinke and beleue that the kinges Maiesties subiectes be bound to obey as well the lawes, statutes, proclamations, and other ordinaunces made now in this young age of the kinges maiesty, as the lawes, statutes, proclamations, & ordinaunces made by his highnes Progenitors.

These Articles being thus ministred to the sayd Byshop of London, the next day being Thursday and the 19. of September, the afore named Commissioners sat in the Archbishops chamber of presence at Lambeth, attendyng the cōming of the B. of London. Before whō there appeared Rob. Iohnson the Bishops Register, and there did de'clare vnto the Commissioners that the bishop his maister could not at that time personally appeare before thē without great daunger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a feuer by reasō of a cold that he had takē by to much ouerwatching himselfe the last night before, wher^yby he was compelled to keepe his bed: neuerthelesse, if hee could without daunger of his bodely health,* he would appeare before them the same day at after noone. This excuse the Iudges were cōtēt to take it in good part. Yet said M. Secretary Smyth, that if he were sicke in deede the excuse was reasonable and to be allowed: but (quoth he) I promise you my Lord hath so dallied with vs, & vsed hitherto such delayes, that we may mistrust that this is but a fayned excuse: howbeit vpon your faythfull declaratiō we are content to tary vntil one of the clocke at afternoone, and so they did, willing M. Iohnson to signify then vnto them, whether the Bishop could appeare or not.

At whiche houre Robert Iohnson and Richard Rogers gentleman of the Bishops chamber appeared agayn before the Commissioners,* declaring that (for the causes afore alledged) their maister could not appeare at that tyme nether. Wherupon M. Secretary Smith sayd vnto them, my Lord of Londō your maister hath vsed vs very homely, and sought delayes hitherto, and now perhaps perceiuing these last Articles to touch the quicke, and therefore loth to come to his answere, he fayneth himselfe sicke.* But because he shall not so deceiue vs any more, we wyll send the Knight Marshall vnto him, willing him, if he be sycke in deed, to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse, but if he be not sicke, then to bring him forth with vnto vs: for I promise you he shall not vse vs as he hath done, we will not take it at his handes: and therefore M. Iohnson (sayd he) you do the part of a trusty seruant as becommeth you, but it is also your part to shewe my Lord of his stubborne hart and disobedience, which doth him more harme thē be is aware of. What, thinketh he to stand with a king in his own Realmes? Is this the part of a

subiect? nay,* I wene we shall haue a new Tho. Becket. Let him take heede, for if he play these parts, he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeale if he thinke good: but whyther? to the Byshop of Rome? So he may helpe hymselfe forwards. I say he can not appeale but to the same king who [Page 1324](#) hath made vs his Iudges, and to the Bench of his counsaile: and how they will take this matter when they heare of it, I doubt not. He would make mē beleue that he were called before vs for preaching his opinion of the sacramēt, wherein I assure you he did both falsly & naughtily, yea & lewdly, and more then became hym, and more then he had in commaundement to do, for he was not willed to speake of that matter, & perhaps he may heare more of that hereafter: but yet he will say no such thing to his charge, and therefore we wyll not haue hym to delay vs as he doth. Which ended, the delegates notwithstanding decreed to tary agayne for him vntill two of the clocke at after noone the nexte day, beyng Friday, and the twenty of September.

The v. Action or processe the xx. of September, agaynst Boner Byshop of London, before the kings Commissioners.

AT which day and tyme the Bishop appeared hymselfe personally before thē in the same chamber of presence.* Where first he did exhibite his answers vnto the last Articles ministred vnto hym the 18. of September. The contents wherof here vnder follow.

¶The aunswer of the sayd Bishop of London, made vnto the Articles ministred vnto hym the second tyme.

THE aunswers of me Edmund bishop of London, vnder myne accustomed protestation geuen vnto the Articles of late ministered and exhibited agaynst me here in this court, with speciall protestation also, that I doe not intend in any wise to make aunswere to any of the sayd articles, otherwise then the lawe of this Realme doth bynd me to doe, nor to speake or say contrary to any thyng that in my former aunsweres I haue sayd or done, and that if so chaunce me to do, it is not nor shall not be with my good will, or full consent, and that so soone as I shall perceyue it, I intend to reuoke it, and so now as than, and then as now, doe so in that case reuoke, to all honest and lawfull purposes.

To the first Article I do aunswere and say, that there was a Messenger whose name I knowe not,* that came vnto me to Fulham as I nowe remember, but I doe not remember the day thereof, and he sayd that my Lord Protectours grace required me to come by and by to speake with hym. And thereupon hauyng made the sayd messenger to breake hys faste, I repayred to the Court at Westminster, but not (vpon the tenth day of August, but some other day of the sayd month.

To the second Article I doe say, that it is obscure, incertayne and ouer generall,* especially in those at the same tyme, which may be referred to the tenth of August, and than aunswere already is made thereunto, and it may be referred to some other day of the sayd month of August, either before the x. of August or after. And because it remayneth vndeclared, I am not bound in law to aunswer vnto it, neyther yet to those wordes and sentence in the sayd Article (it is to wit) then and there, for they without declaration, are incertaine, obscure and generall, and I before the specification, and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an aunswer, specially hauyng already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, accordyng to the commission as I do take

it, and accordyng vnto the law which also willeth that if a certaine answer be looked for, the position and Article must before be certaine.

To the 3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13. and 14, Article, he answereth all after one maner and sort,* as thus. That it doth depend of the former Articles, to which for causes aforesayd, he sayth, he is not bound in law to make answer vnto, especially hauyng already made.

Sauyng that in the sixt he addeth thereunto, that he at no tyme heard the L. Protector find fault, nor commaunded as is deduced in the sayd Article, so farre as he doth finde.

Also sauynge the 7. Article where he addeth neuertheles confessing and knowledging with heart and mouth, the kings maiesties authoritie, and regal power in his minoritie, as well and full as in his maioritie.

Also sauynge the 8.9.10. and 11. articles, where he addeth as they be deduced, they are not true, as appeareth in conser•ing one with other.

To the 12. and 14. Articles, he addeth, as they be deduc•ed they are not true. Confessing neuerthelesse, the Kings Maiesties authoritie and power regall, as before is ex•resse•.

To the 15. Article he aunswereth and sayth, that it is a position of law, and that yet both now,* and heretofore he hath made aunswer thereunto in effect and substaunce, as appeareth in his former aunswers, and so shal do always according to the law and his bounden duetie, knowledging as he hath already done, the kings maiesties regall power in his minoritie, to be no lesse then in his maioritie. And the subiects bound to obey vnto his grace, his lawes, statutes, and ordinaunces, and his sayd authoritie, as well in hys minoritie, as in hys maioritie, not allowyng, but expresly condemnyng the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary.

After this perceiuyng that M. Secretary Smith was somewhat more quicke with hym then others of the Commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vaine quiddities and subtleties in law, but euer earnestly vrged him to go directly to his matter,* and therewithall sometymes sharply rebuking him for his euill and stubborne behaiour towards them: he to deface his authoritie (as he thought) did also then exhibite in writyng a recusation of the Secretaries iudgement against him. The forme and maner wherof, as he exhibited it vnto the iudges, I thought here also to exhibite vnto the Reader as here vnder followeth.

¶The recusation of the Iudgement of Syr Thomas Smith, made by the B. of London the first tyme.

IN the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equitie,* naturall reason, and all good lawes do require, that Iudges shall be of that integritie, wisdom, circumspection, learnyng and indifferencie, that exercising the office and rowme of a Iudge, they may & shall do it, without hatred, malice o• grudge agaynst any person conuented or called before them vprightly, sincerely, and duely executyng and doyng their office vnto them in any wyse committed: and for as much also as all iudgementes and processe ought to haue their due course, and proceede

without suspition or corruption in any wyse: and finally, for as much as very dangerous it is to appeare and make defence before an incompetent Iudge, who commonly and accustomedly of priuate & vnlawful corrupt affectiō to the one side, & for malice, hatred and enuy borne against the other side, rather serueth his carnall, corrupt, and wilfull appetite,*then any thyng is mooued to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reason, touching him that is conuented and compelled to make aunswer against his will: I therefore Edmond Bishop of London, hauing perceiued and felt by all the sayings, proceedings and doyngs of you sir Thomas Smith Knight, one of the two principall Secretaries to the kings Maiestie in this matter attempted and mooued agaynst me, that ye haue bene, and yet continually are a notorious and manifest enemy of me the sayd Edmond, and much offended that I should in any wyse alledge and say, or vse, any such things for my most defence, as the law geueth me licence and libertie to do, yea hearyng most fauourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both eares in any thyng that they shall alledge, purpose, attempt, or do agaynst me, though their persons in lawe are not in any wyse to be heard or admitted, ne yet their sayinges true, and not hearing me so much as with one eare in my lawfull saiengs and doinges in this behalfe, but contrarywise openyng your mouth at large, ye haue sundry tymes, against good wisdom and reason outraged in wordes and deedes against me the sayd Edmond, saying among other wordes, that I did as theeues, murtherers and traytors are woont to doe, beyng my selfe as ye vntruly did say, inward in deed, culpable, and yet outward otherwyse, vnable to defend the matter against me, but onely by takyng exceptions, and making friuolous allegations agaynst my Iudges and Commissioners, and that I haue bene and am as sturdye, wilfull, and disobedient, as may be in your iudgement and opinion, maintaining and vpholding the rebels and their opinions, and that I shall aunswer by mouth, or els smart and doe worse, or els ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be ioyned with Kette and Humfrey Arundell the Rebels: ouer and besides diuers other threatnings and comminatorie wordes by you pronounced and vttered vnseemely, and far vnmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you that are in such rowme and place as ye be in.

And moreouer, increasing your malice, euil will, and grudge borne agaynst me▪ ye haue amongst other thynges vntruly surmised, written, alledged, and sayd, that a certayne booke of Articles and Iniunctions by the Lord Protectours Grace in the full counsaile after a certayne prescribed fashion and fourme in the denunciation, commission, and Articles, which [de facto] were induced, brought in and obiected agaynst me,*was deliuered vnto me: and moreouer of an euill will and vngodly intent & purpose, contrary to the truth, ye haue withdrawen, added, altered, and qualified diuers thynges in the same, otherwyse then they were spoken or done, and yet ye are not ashamed to alleadge, [Page 1325](#) write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all poyntes with the other, where in deede it is not so. And ye haue further [de facto] agaynst the law, and agaynst the Commission to you directed, and agaynst my iust and lawfull allegations & saiengs, proceeded vnlawfully & vniustly agaynst me, attēpting many things agaynst me vnlawfully & vniustly as appeareth ni the acts of this matter, to the which I do referre me so far forth as they make for me,*and be expedient by me and for me to bee alledged and referred vnto your selfe also vnlawfully and vniustly [de facto] with your Colleagues, the which without you had begun the sayd matters, proceedyng, where by the law ye so ought not to haue done in deede, but abstained there from, as heretofore sondry tymes I haue alleaged, appearyng in the actes of this Court, doe vpon these iust and reasonable causes, accordyng to the order of the Kings Maiesties Ecclesiasticall lawes, refuse,*decline, and recuse you the sayd Sir Thomas Smith, as an vncompetent, vnmeete, and suspect Iudge, agaynst me in this behalfe, and

decline your pretended iurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesayd, desiring nothyng but Iustice, and offeryng my selfe prompt and ready to prooue them so farre as I am bound, and accordyng to the order of the Kings Maiesties Ecclesiasticall lawes of this Realme in this behalfe, as tyme, place, and otherwyse shall require.

This recusation ended, the Secretary told him plaine, that that notwithstanding he would proceed in his Commission and would be still his Iudge,* vntill he were otherwise inhibited, and sayd vnto him farther: My Lord, where as you say in your recusation that I sayd, that you did like thieues, murtherers, and traytors, in deed I sayd it, and may and will so say agayne, since we perceiue it by your doings.

Whereunto the Bishop in a great and stoute rage replied,* saying: Well sir, because you sit here by vertue of the Kings Commission, and for that ye be Secretary to hys maiestie, and also one of his highnes counsail, I must and do honour and reuerence you: but as you be but sir Thomas Smith, & say as ye haue said, that I do lyke theeues, murtherers,* and traytors, I say ye lye vpon me, & in that case I defie you: and doe what ye can to me, I feare you not, and therfore quod facis, fac citius.

Whereat the Archbishop with the other Commissioners said vnto him, that for such his vnreuerent behauior he was worthy imprisonment.

*Then the Bishop in more mad fury then before, sayd agayne vnto them: A Gods name ye may do de facto, send me whether you will, and I must obey you, and so wil, except ye send me to the deuill, for thether I will not go * for you. Three things I haue (to wit) a small portiō of goods, a poore carcase, and myne owne soule: the two first ye may take (though vniustly) to you, but as for my soule ye get not, quia anima mea in manibus meis semper.

*Well, sayd then the Secretary, ye shal know that there is a kyng.

Yea Sir (saith the Bishop) but that is not you, neither I am sure,* will you take it vpon you.

No Sir, sayd agayne the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is:* and with that the Commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber vntill they called for him agayne.

Now, in the meane whyle that the Commissioners were in consultation, the Bishop with Gilbert Bourne his chapleine, Rob. Warrington his Commissary, & Rob. Iohnson his Register were taryng in a quadrant voyde place before the dore of the same chamber. Where the Bishop leanyng on a cupboord, and seying his Chapleins very sad,* sayd vnto them in effect as followeth. Syrs, what meane you? Why shew you your selues to be so sad & heauy in mynde, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenaunces? I would wish you, and I require you to be as mery as I am (laying therewith hys hand vpon hys brest) for afore God I am not sad nor heauy, but mery and of good comfort, and am right glad & ioyfull of this my trouble, which is for gods cause, and it greueth me nothyng at all.

But the great matter that griueth me, & pierceth my hart, is for that this Hooper and such other vile heretikes and beastes be suffered and licenced to preache at Paules crosse, & in other places within my Diocesse & Cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed Sacrament of the aultar, & denying the veritie and presence of Christs true body and bloud to be there, & so infecteth and betrayeth my flocke. But I say it is there in very deede, & in that opinion I will lyue and dye, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore ye being christen men, I do require you, and also charge and commaunde you in the name of God and on his behalfe, as ye wyll aunswere hym for the contrary, that ye goe to the Mayor of London and to hys brethren the Aldermen, praying and also requiryng them earnestly in Gods name and myne, and for myne owne discharge on that behalfe, that from hencefoorth,* when any such detestable and abhominable preachers (and especially those which hold opinion against the blessed Sacrament of the aultar) do come to preach vnto them, they forth with depart out of their presence and doe not heare them, least that they taryeng with such Preachers,* should not onely hurt themselues in receiuyng theyr poysoned doctrine, but also geue a visage to the encouragemēt of others, which thereby mought take an occasion to thinke and beleue that theyr erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoones I require and commaunde you to doe.

And then turnyng hymselfe about and beholdyng two of the Archbishops Gentlemen, which in the same place kept the Chamber dore where the Commissioners were in consultation, and perceiuing that they had heard all his talke, he spake vnto them also and sayd: And Syrs,* ye be my Lorde of Caunterburies Gentlemen, I knowe ye very well: and therefore I also require and charge you in Gods behalfe, and in hys name, that ye doe the lyke for your partes in places where ye shall chaunce to see and heare such corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and also aduertise my Lord your maister of the same, and of these my sayinges that I haue nowe spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall aunswere before God for the contrary.

With this the Commissioners called for the Bishop agayne. Who did read vnto them an instrument conteyning a prouocation to the king, which he made in manner and forme here followyng.

The first appellation intimated by Edmund Boner Bishop of London.

IN the name of God, Amen. It shall appeare to all men by this publike instrument, that the yeare of our Lord,* 1549. the xx. day of September, the third yeare of the raigne of our most high and renowned Prince Edward the sixt by the grace of GOD King of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and in earth the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the Pallace of the sayde Bishop situated in London▪ and in the presence of me the Notary publicke, and of the witnesses hereafter named, the foresayd Bishop did personally appeare, and there did shew forth in writing a certaine Protestation and Appellation, the tenor wherof ensueth.

In the name of God. Amen. I Edmund Byshop of London, say, alleadge, and propound before you beyng a publike Notary, and these credible witnesses here present, that although I the foresayd Edmund haue attayned the Bishoprike aforesayd by the beneuolence of the famous Prince of memory King Henry the eight, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, wyth his rites and appurtenaunces, haue of long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same,

and presently doe possesse, beyng taken as Bishop and lawfull possessour of the sayd bishopricke, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed, notoriously and publikely: and moreouer doe keepe residence and hospitalitie on the same, accordyng to the order, state, person and dignitie, and as the reuenewes of the same would permit, and haue exercised and done all thynges appertainyng to my pastorall office as the lawes doe require, as hereafter I trust by Gods grace to doe and obserue, a man of good name and fame, neyther suspended, excommunicate nor interdicted, neyther conuict of any notable crime or fact, alwayes obeying readily the commaundement of the Church, and other my superiours in all lawfull causes, neuerthelesse fearing vpon certayne probable causes, lykely coniectures, threatnyngs and assertions of certayne iniurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little fauour me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premisses or part of them: and least any man by any authoritie, commaundement, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person, or persons, may attempt, preiudice, or hurt to me or my said dignitie, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoyling, vexing, and perturbyng by any maner of meanes: doe appeale to the most hygh and mighty Prince our soueraigne Lord Edw. the 6. by the grace of God king of England, France &c. & in these my writings do prouoke & appeale to his regal maiesty. I do also require the Apostles so much as in this case they are to be required the first, secōd, & third tyme, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be geuen to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foresayd most drede soueraigne Lord, for the safegard of me, my dignitie, title,*and possession in the premisses, and to all that will cleaue to me in this behalfe, I doe also protest that I will be contented to correct, reforme, and amend this my present protestation, and to the same to adde, to take away, and to bryng the same into the best forme and state that may be deuised, by the counsaile of learned men, or as the case shall require, and the same to intimate accordyng [Page 1326](#) to tyme and place and the order of the law,*and still shall require, Vpon all the which premisses, the foresayd Edmund B. of London did require the Notary publike here vnder written, to make vnto hym, and the witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

These thynges were done the yeare, day, and tyme aboue-written, there beyng present Gilbert Bourne Bachelor of Diuinitie, Iohn Harpesfield, and Robert Colen, Maisters of Arte, Iohn Wakelyng, and Richard Rogers learned men, beyng of the Diocesse of Worcester, Westminster, Couentrie, Lichfield, and Glocester, and specially requested to be witnesse of the same. And I Fraunces Harward of the Diocesse of Worcester, and publicke Notary by the Kings regall authoritie, forsomuch as I was present when the foresayd Protestation, Appellation, and other the premisses were done, the yeare of our Lord, the yere of the raign of the kyng, the day of the moneth and place aforesayde, the witnesses abouenamed beyng present,*and for so much as I did enact the same, therefore to this present publicke instrument, written faithfully with myne owne hand, I haue put to my marke, beyng specially requested vnto the same.

Which thyng after he had read, he dyd vnder his protestation first intimate vnto the Archbishop,*
the Byshop of Rochester, and Doctor May, and then protestyng also not to receede frō hys recusation, dyd likewyse intimate the same vnto Maister Secretarye Smyth, requiryng the Register to make an Instrument as well thereupon, as also vppon hys recusation, wyth witnesse to testifie the same.

Then the Delegates did agayne proceede to the examination of the last aunswers,* and findyng the same imperfect, they demanded of hym (according to the first Article) what speciall day of August, he was sent for by the L. Protector? To whom he obstinately aunswered, that hee was not bound to make other aunswere, then he had already made, vnlesse they did put theyr Articles more certayne: neyther would he otherwyse aunswer as long as Maister Secretary Smith was there present, whome he had before recused, and therefore would not receede from his recusation.

*The Secretary seeyng him so wilful and peruerse, said sharply vnto hym. My L. come of and make a full & perfect answer vnto these Articles, or els we will take other order with you to your payne.

In fayth Sir, then sayd the Bishop agayne, I haue thought ye had bene learned, but now before God, I perceiue well that eyther ye be not learned in deede, or els ye haue forgotten it: for I haue so oftē answered lawfully & sufficiently, and haue so oft shewed causes sufficient & reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by lawe to be compelled (you shewyng nothyng to the contrary but sensualitie and will) that I must needes iudge that you are ignorant herein.

Well sayd M. Secretary, ye wyll not then otherwyse aunswer?

No, sayd the B. except the law compell me.

Then sayd the Secretary, call for the knight Marshal, that he may be had to Ward.

With that all the rest of the Commissioners charged the B. that he had at that tyme sundry wayes very outrageously and irreuerently behaued hymselfe towards them sitting on the Kings Maiesties Commission, and specially towards Sir Thomas Smith his graces Secretary, & therefore and for diuers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit hym to the Marshalsey.

By this time the Marshals deputy came before them, whom M. Secretary commanded to take the B. as prisoner, and so to keepe hym that no man might come vnto hym, for if he dyd, he should sit by hym hymselfe.

When the Secretary had ended his talke, the B. sayd vnto him: Well sir, it might haue becōmed you right well that my Lordes grace here present, beyng first in commission, and your better, should haue done it.

Then the Commissioners assigning hym to be brought before them on monday next before noone, betwene 7. and 9. of the clocke in the Hall of that place, there to make full answer to these last Articles, or els to shew cause why he should not be declared pro confesso, did for that presēt break vp that Session.

*Nowe as the Bishop was departing with the vndermarshall, he in a great fury turned himself again towards the Commissioners, and sayde to Sir Thomas Smyth: Sir, where ye haue committed me to pryson, ye shall vnderstand that I will require no fauour at your handes, but

shall willingly suffer what shall be put vnto mee, as boltes on my heeles, yea, and if ye wyll, irons about my middle, or where ye will,

Then departing againe, he yet returned once more, & fomyng out his poison, said vnto the Archbishop: * Wel my Lord, I am sory that I beyng a Bishop am thus handled at your graces hand: but more sory that you suffer abhominable heretickes to practise as they doe in London and els where, infecting and disquieting the Kings liege people: and therefore I do require you, as you will answer to God and to the king, that ye will from henceforth abstaine thus to do: for if ye do not, I will accuse you before God & the Kings Maiestie: answer to it as well as ye can. And so he departed, vsing many reprochful words against sundry of the common people, which stoode and spake to hym by the way as he went.

¶The sixt Action or processe vpon Monday, the 23. of September, had agaynst Boner Byshop of London, before the Commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth.

IT was assigned as ye heard in the 4. Acte prosecuted the 18. of September, * that vpon Monday then next followyng, beyng the 23. of the same moneth, the B. should again appeare before the Commissioners, within the great Hall at Lambeth, then to shew a finall cause why he should not be declared pro confesso, vpon all the Articles wherunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignement, the same 23. day of September, the B. was brought before them by the Undermarshall (to whome for his disobedient and obstinate behauiour he was before that tyme committed) and there dyd first declare vnto them, that hys appearaunce at that tyme and place was not voluntary, but coacted, for that he was agaynst his will brought thether by the keeper of the Marshalsey, and therewithall also vnder hys former protestation, recusation and appeale, did then again intimate a generall recusation of all the Commissioners, alledging in the same, that because the Archbishop with all his Colleagues had neither obserued the order of their Commission, * neyther yet proceeded agaynst hym after any laudable or good fashion of iudgement, but contrarywise, had sundry tymes as well in his absence, as in his presence, attempted many things vnlawfully against his person, dignity, and estate, especially, in committing him to strait prison, and yet commaunding him to make aunswere: & further, because that he with the rest had proceeded in Commission with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, supportyng and maintainyng all his euill doings (notwithstandyng that he the same Bishop had before iustly recused and declined from him) he therfore did also there refuse & declyne from the iudgement of the sayd Archbishop and hys Colleagues, and dyd except agaynst their iurisdiction as suspect, and they therby vnmeete persons to proceed against hym, and therefore accordyng to his former appeale, he intended to submit himselfe vnder the tuition, protection, & defence of the Kings Maiestie, for whose honour and reuerence sake (he sayd) they ought not to proceed any further against hym, * but quietly suffer hym to vse the benefite of all his recusations, prouocations, and other lawfull remedies before alledged, wyth other superfluous words at large, to be read and seen as followeth.

The second recusation made by Edmund Boner Bishop of London.

IN the name of God, Amen. For as much as both naturall reason and all good pollicies of lawes, especially of this Realme of England do admit and suffer hym that is conuented before an

vncompetent and suspect Iudge, to refuse hym and to decline hys iurisdiction, in as much as the lawe and reason on the one side, willeth processe to run vprightly and iustly, and that in corruption and malice, and the other side earnestly laboureth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to bee bridleed. And for because ye my Lord of Caunterbury with your Colleagues in this behalfe (deputed as ye say Commissioners agaynst me) neither haue obserued your sayde Commission, neyther yet proceeded hetherto agaynst me, after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of iudgement, but contrarywise, contrary to your Commission, and agaynst the law, good reason, and order, haue at sundry tymes, and in sundry actes attempted and done many things agaynst me, vnlawfully, vnseemly, and vniustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by other not reformyng and amending the same, as appeareth in diuers and sondry thinges remayning in your actes.

And moreouer because you my sayd Lord, wyth your [Page 1327](#) sayd Colleagues, both haue in myne absence, beyng let with iust causes of impediment, which accordyng to the lawes of this realme I haue fully alledged,* and very sufficiently and iustly prooued, accordyng to the order of the Kinges Ecclesiasticall lawes iniuriously, and much to the hinderaunce of my name, person, tytle, dignitie, and state, and also otherwyse, specially in my presence, agaynst all lawes, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground attempted and done many thinges against me, especially touching myne imprisonment, sending me to strait ward, and yet commaunding me to make answer, as appeareth in your vnlawfull actes.

I for these causes, and also for that ye my sayde Lorde and your sayde Colleagues proceeding with Syr Thomas Smith Knight, whom vpon iust and lawfull causes I haue refused, recused and declined, and fauoured, ye haue maintayned, supported, and borne, in hys vnlawfull and euill doings, do also refuse, recuse and declyne you my sayd Lorde, wyth the rest of your sayde Colleagues, agreeyng and ioynyng wyth you, and doe accept agaynst your proceedyngs, doynges, and iurisdiction as suspect, and thereby vnmeete personnes to proceede herein agaynst me.

And further do alledge, that hauyng bene prouoked to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, as appeareth by the tenor of my prouocation, remainyng in your actes, wherein I doe protest, that I intend to adheare and cleaue vnto, submitting my selfe vnto the tuition, protection, and defence of hys sayd Maiestie in this behalfe, ye in any wyse ought not (if ye regard the person and authoritie of hys graces royall power, as ye ought to doe) to proceede here in agaynst me, especially for the honour and reuerence, ye ought to haue vnto hys Maiestie in this behalfe. And because it appeareth that ye doe not duely and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieue me, that not considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, prouocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I haue vsed and mentioned in your sayd actes.

And also do by these presentes, refuse, recuse, and decline you my sayd Lord, and your sayd Colleagues, and your iurisdiction vpon causes aforesayd, offering my selfe prompt and ready to prooue all the same, afore an arbiter and arbitors, accordyng to the tenure and forme of the law herein to be chosen, requiryng you all, for that honour and reuerence ye ought to beare to our sayd soueraigne Lorde, and his lawes allowed and approoued in this behalfe, that ye doe not attempt or doe, ne yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thyngs in any wyse against me, or vnto

my preiudice, but suffer me to vse and enioy the benefit of my said former, and this recusation, prouocation, allegation, and other lawfull remedies mentioned in your sayd acts. And in case ye doe de facto, where ye ought not to deiure, attempt or suffer any thynges to be attempted or done agaynst me in any wyse herein, I protest herewith, and hereby of my great griefe and hurt in that behalfe, & that not onely I doe intend to appeale from you, but also accordyng to the kynges Ecclesiasticall lawes to accuse and complayne vpon you, as iustly and truly I both may and ought to doe.

Notwithstandyng these recusations and former appellation, the Archbishop with the rest tolde hym playne that they would be styll hys Iudges, and proceed agaynst hym accordyng to the Kings Commission, vntil they dyd receiue a Supersedeas, which if he did obtayne, they would gladly obey.

Then the Bish. seying that they would still proceede agaynst hym,* did there likewise intimate an other appellation vnto the Kings Maiestie, expressing therein in effect, no other matter, but such as is already alleaged in the two former recusations and appeale: sauynge that he requireth, that letters dimissories or appellatories might be geuen him accordyng to law,* and that for his better safegarde he did submit himselfe vnder the protection of the kyng.

The Commissioners for all this, stucke stil vnto theyr Commission, and would not in any case deferre, but vrged him straitly to make a more full aunswer to his Articles, then he had done.

To whom the Bishop sayd, that he would stand vnto his recusations and appellations before made, and would not make other aunswer.

Then the Delegates demaunded of him what cause he had to alledge why he ought not to be declared pro confesso, vpon the Articles wherunto he had not fully answered: the B. still answering (as before) that he would adhere vnto his appellation and recusation.

Wherupon the Archb. with consent of the rest, seeying his pertinacie, pronounced hym Contumax,* and in payne thereof declared him pro confesso, vpō all the articles which he had not aunswered.

This done, Maister Secretary Smith shewed foorth a Letter, which the Byshoppe of London had before that tyme sente vnto the Lorde Mayor and the Aldermen of the Citie of London, the tenour whereof ensueth as followeth.

¶To the ryght honourable and my very good Lorde, the Mayor of London, with all his worshipfull brethren, my very deare and worshipfull friends, with speede.

Riight honourable, with my very humble recommendations, where I haue perceyued of late and heard with myne eares, what vyle beastes and heretickes haue preached vnto you,* or rather lyke themselues prated and rayled agaynst the most blessed Sacrament of the aultare, denying the veritie and presence of Christes true bodye and bloude to be there, geuyng you and the people

libertie to beleue what ye lyst, teachyng you detestably that fayth in this behalfe, must not bee coacted, but euerye man to beleue as he will, by reason whereof, least my presence and silence myght vnto some haue bene seene to haue allowed their hereticall doctrine, and geuyng credite vnto them, betraying my flocke of the Catholicke sorte, ye knowe I departed yesterday from the hereticke praters vncharitable charitie, and so could haue wished that you and all other that bee Catholicke, should haue done,* leauyng those there with hym that be alreadye cast away, and will not be recouered. For your taryng with him still, shall not onely hurt your selfe in receauyng hys poysoned doctrine, but also shall geue a visage that their doctrine is tollerable, by reason that ye are contented to heare it, and say nothing agaynst it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speake with you to aduertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for myne owne discharge and yours, thus muche to wryte vnto you, requiryng and praying you agayne and agayne, in Gods behalfe, for myne owne discharge, that ye suffer not your selues to bee abused with suche naughtie Preachers and teachers, in hearyng theyr euill doctrine that ye shall perceyue them to goe about to sowe. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserue you all with this noble Citie, in all good rest, godlinesse, & prosperitie. Written in hast this Monday mornyng, the xvi. of September. 1549.

Your faythfull Beades man and poore Bishop Edmund Boner.

This Letter beyng read, the Secretary demanded of hym whether he wrote it not. To whome he would not otherwyse aunswere, but that he would still adhere and stand vnto hys former recusations and appeales.* Whiche the commissioners seyng, determined to continue this case in state as it was vntill Friday then next followyng, betwene the houres of viij. and ix. of the clocke before noone, assignyng the bishop to be there at the same time and place then to heare a finall decree of this matter, he still protestyng as before.

¶The seuenth Session or appearaunce of Boner vppon Tewsday the first of October, before the Kynges Commissioners at Lambeth.

VPpon Friday the Commissioners for diuers vrgent causes lettyng them,* dyd not sit in Commission accordyng to their appoyntment, but deferred it vntill Tewsday the first of October then next followyng. Upon which day the Bishop appearyng before them, the Archbishoppe declared vnto hym, that although as vppon Friday laste, they had appointed to pronounce their finall Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet forasmuch as they thought that that Sentence (although they had iust cause to geue it) should haue bene very sore agaynst hym, they had not onely deferred the same vntill this day, but mindyng to be more friendly to hym then he was to hymselfe,* and to vse more easie and gentle reformation towards hym, had also made such sute and meanes for hym, that although hee had grievously offended the Kinges Maiestie, and verye disobediently behaued himselfe, yet if he would in y^e meane while haue acknowledged his fault, and haue bene contented to make some part of amends in submittynge hymselfe accordyng to hys bounden duety, he should haue foūd much fauour: so the Sentence should not haue bene so sore and extreme against him, as it was like now to bee: for which they were very sorry, especially to see the continuāce of such stubborn disobedience, wherby they were thē more [Page 1328](#) inforced to geue such sentence against hym.*

The Bishop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and fauour, but persisting still in hys woonted contumacie, drew foorth a paper, wheron he read these wordes followyng.

I Edmund bishop of London brought in as a prisoner by hys keeper,*one of the Marshalsey, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretended Colleagues, doe vnder my former Protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your Acte, declare that this my presence here at this tyme is not voluntary, nor of myne owne free will and consent, but vtterly coacted and agaynst my will, and that beyng otherwyse sent for, or brought before you then I am (that is as a prisoner) I would not beyng at libertie, haue come or appeared before you, but would haue declined and refused to make any appearaunce at all, but would haue absented my selfe from you, as lawfully and well I might haue done, standing to, vsing, and enioying all and singular my lawfull remedies and defences heretofore vs^d, exercised, and enioyed, especially my prouocation and appellation heretofore interponed and made vnto the Kinges most excellent Maiestie, to whom eftsoones Ex abundanti, I haue both prouoked and appealed, and also made Supplication vnto, as appeareth in these writings, which vnder Protestation aforesayd, I do exhibite and leaue here with the Actuarie of this cause, requiryng hym to make an Instrument thereupon, and the personnes here present to beare record in that behalfe▪ especially to the intent it may appeare, I do better acknowledge the kings Maiesties authoritie euen in his tender and yong age, prouoking and appealyng to his Maiestie as my most gracious soueraigne and supreme head,*with submission to his highnes (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, then other some, I doe meane you my Lord of Caunterbury and your sayd pretended Colleagues, which by law and good reason ought to haue deferred and geuen place vnto such prouocation, appellation, and Supplication, as heretofore lawfully haue bene by me interponed and made vnto his Maiesties most royall person and authoritie in this behalfe.

As soone as the B. had read these wordes, he did deliuer as well that paper, as also two other, vnto the Actuarie, the one conteining an appellatiō, and the other a supplication vnto the kings Maiestie: which appellation beginneth thus: In the name of God. Amen.

Wherein first he shewed how naturally euery creature declineth gladly frō that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and also seeketh helpe & remedy to withstand such hurts and iniuries.

Further he shewed that it is found by experience to be hurtfull and daungerous to trust hym that once hath hurt and beguiled, least he might adde more, rather then to take ought from.

Moreouer he shewed that he had found heretofore at the handes of the B. of Caunterbury and the rest of y^e Colleagues in this matter, much extremitie and crueltie, iniuries, losses and griefes, contrary to Gods law, and the lawes and statutes of this Realme, and agaynst Iustice, charitie, and good order, beyng well assured if they were not stayed but proceeded, they would adde more euill to euill, losse to losse, displeasure to displeasure, as (sayde he) their seruants haue reported, and they agreeable doe shew the same.

Agayne in the sayde appeale he shewed that the Byshop of Canterbury and the other Commissioners ought to haue considered and done better in that matter, for honour and obedience to the Kings Maiestie, which hetherto they haue not done (said he) in that they haue

not giuen place to hys prouocations and appellations heretofore made vnto hys grace, iustly and lawfully, and vpon good and iust causes, namely, for the vniust griefes they did agaynst him, which he sayd to appeare in the Actes of that matter: as in pronouncynge hym contumacem vnreasonably without good cause, and further in assignyng the terme ad audiendum finale decretum, and in committynge hym to straight prisone, as appeareth in theyr Actes. Therefore he dyd not onelye Ex abundanti, ad omnem iuris cautelam, decline and refuse theyr pretended iurisdiction as before: but also by these presentes here shewed, he dyd appeale from the sayd Byshop of Caunterbury and the rest, vnto the Kinges Maiestie, askyng also those Letters of Appeale, which the lawe doth admitte, saying, he dyd not intend to goe from hys former prouocations and appellations,* but to ioyn and cleaue vnto them in euery part and parcell, submyttyng hymselfe to the protection and defence of the Kinges Maiestie, and he therein made intimation to the Byshoppe of Caunterbury, and the sayd Colleagues, to all intentes and purposes that might come thereof.

Furthermore, as touchyng the Supplication aboue mentioned, which Boner (as we sayd) put vp in wrytyng to the Commissioners, the Copie thereof here vnder likewyse ensueth.

¶The Supplication of Boner to the Chauncellor of England, with all the rest of the Kings Maiesties most honourable priuy Counsaile.

PLEASE I• your most honourable good Lordships with my most humble recommendations, to vnderstand,* that albeit I haue accordyng to the lawes, statutes, and ordinaunces of this realme, made supplicatio• prouocation and appellation vnto the kyngs most excelle• Maiestie from the vnlawfull and wycked processe of the Archbishop of Caunterbury, the byshoppe of Rochester, Maister Secretary Smith, and the Deane of Paules, as also as well from their vniust interlocutorie, as also their diffinitive sentence whereby in law I ought to haue libertie to come abroad and prosecute the same yet such is the malignitie of the Iudges agaynst me, with bearing and maintenaunce of other, which sundry and many ways haue sought my ruine and destruction, that I am here penned and locked vp, vsed very extremely at their pleasure, and for the contentation of the sayd Maister Smith, and not suffred to finde sureties, or to goe abroad to prosecute and sue my sayd appellation.

In consideration whereof, it may please your said good Lordships, to take some order and redresse herein, especially for that it is now the tyme that the Kings subsidie now due, ought to be called vpon, and iustice also ministred vnto his Maiesties subiects which beyng as I now am, I cannot be suffered to doe. And thus without further extending my letter therein, consideryng that your great wisdomes, experience and goodnesse can gather of a little what is expedient and necessary for the whole. I doe beseech almighty God to preserue and keepe well all your honourable good Lordships.

Written in hast this 7. of October, 1549. in the Marshalsey.

Your honourable Lordshyps poore Orator & most bounden Bedes man, Edmund London.

These thynges ended, the Archbyshop said vnto him: My Lord, where you say that you come coacted,* or els ye would not haue appeared, I do much maruell of you. For you would therby make vs and this audience here beleue, that because you are a prisoner, ye ought not therefore to aunswer. Which if it were true, were enough to confound the whole state of this Realme. For I dare say, that of the greatest prisoners and rebels that euer your keeper there (meaning the Undermarshall) hath had vnder hym, he cannot shewe me one that hath vsed such defence, as you here haue done.

Well quoth the B. if my keper were learned in y^e lawes I could shew him my mynd therein.*

Well, sayde the Archbyshop, I haue read ouer all the Lawes as well as you,* but to an other ende and purpose then you did, and yet I can finde no suche priuiledge in this matter.

Then M. Secretary Smith did very sore burthen and charge hym, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always behaued himselfe towards the Kings Maiestie and his authoritie.

Whereupon, the B. vnder his protestation aunswered agayne,* that he was the kings Maiesties lawfull and true subiect, and did acknowledge his highnesse to be his gracious soueraigne Lord, or els he would not haue appealed vnto him, as he had, yea & would gladly lay his hands and his necke also vnder his graces feete, and therefore he desired that his highnesse lawes and iustice might be ministred vnto him.

Yea (quoth Maister Secretary) you say wel my Lord,* but I pray you what others haue all these rebels both in Northfolke, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, and other places done? Haue they not said thus? We be the kings true Subiectes, we acknowledge hym for our Kyng, and we will obey his lawes, with such lyke, and yet when eyther Commaundement, Letter or Pardon was brought vnto them from his Maiestie, they beleueed it not, but sayd it was forged and made vnder a hedge, and was Gentlemens doyngs, so that in deede they would not, nor dyd obey any thing.

Ah sir, sayd the B. I perceyue your meanyng:* as who should say, that the Bish. of London is a rebell like them. Yea by my troth (quoth the Secretary.)* Whereat the people laughed.

Then the Deane of Paules said vnto him, that he maruelled much, and was very sory to see him so vntractable, [Page 1329](#) that he would not suffer the Iudges to speake.

To whome the B. disdainfully aunswered▪ Well M. Deane,* you must say somewhat. And likewise at an other tyme as the Deane was speaking, he interrupted him, and sayd, You may speake when your turne commeth.

*Then said Secretary Smith, I would you knew your duetie.

I would (quoth he agayne) you knew it as wel as I, with an infinite more of other such stubburne and contemptuous talke and behaiour towardses them,* which the Commissioners waying, and perceiuyng no likelihood of any tractable reason in hym, determined that the Archbishop with their whole consent, should at that pre••nt there openly read and publish their finall <◇> or

Sentence definitiue agaynst hym. Which he did, pronouncing hym thereby, to be cleane depriued from the Bishopricke of London, and further as in the same appeareth▪ in tenou• as followeth.

¶Sententia depriuationis •ata contra Edmundum London. Episcopum.

*IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas miseratione diuina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliae Primas & Metropolitanus Nicholaus eadem miseratione Roffensis Episcopus, Thom. Smith Miles, illustrissimi in Christo principis & Domini nostri, Domini Edwardi sexti, Dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, & Hyberniae Regis, fidei defensoris, & in terris Ecclesiae Anglicanae, & supremi capitis, Secretariorum principalium alter, & Wilhelmus May Iuris ciuilis Doctor Ecclesiae cathedralis diui Pauli Decanus dicti illustrissimi principis, & domini nostri Regis ad infra scripta vna cum eximio viro Domino Wilhelmo Petro Milite, •iuidem serenissimae Regiae maiestatis, etiam Secretariorum principalium altero, commissarij siue iudices delegati cum ista clausa, videlicet. Deputamus vos quinque, quatuor vel tres vestrum, &c. Rectè & legitimè deputati contra te Edmundum permissione diuina London. episcopum in causa & causis, in literis commissionalibus dictae serenissimae Regiae maiestatis express. & specificat. rirè & legitimè procedentes, & iudicialiter in quirentes, auditis que per nos, & intellectis ac primo examine debite mature discussis, meritis & circumstantijs, causae & causarum inquisitionis huiusmodi, seruatisque vlterius per nos, de iure in hac parte seruandis in praesentia tui Episcopi; antedicti, iudicialiter coram nobis constituti, ac protestantis de coactione, & de caeteris, prout in vltima protestatione hodie per te facta continetur, ad definitionem causae & causarum huiusmodi, prolationemque sententiae nostrae, siue nostri finalis decreti, super eisdem ferend▪ sic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia tam per acta inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata, par•ter & confessata in causa & causis huiusmodi, facta•habita, & gest•, quam per confessionem tuam propriam, factique notorietatem & alia legitima documenta, euidentem inuenimus, & compertum habemus te praefatum Episcop• London• inter caetera, pro meliori, officij tui pastoralis administratione▪ in mandatis habuisse, vt de his qui duas aut tres vxores vt maritos in vnū haberent aut qui externos & non probatos Ecclesiae ri•us in hoc regno sequerentur, quibus rebus, tua Diocesis & Londinens. praecipue erat infamatum, inquireret teque ea facere omnino neglexisse. Item expresse tibi per Regiam Maiestatem praescriptum fuisse vt ipse Episcopus adesses conc•o••bus ad crucem Pauli habitis, tam vt eas honestares tua praesentia, quam vt possis •as accusare, (si qui male ibidem concionarentur) te tamen contra non solum abijisse, sed etiam scriptis litteris, Maiorem London. & Aldermannos, vt inde recederent admonuisse & exhortatum fuisse. Item inter alia quoque per Regiam Maiestatem tibi iniuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuisse, quod articulum quendam, statum reipubl. tunc perniciosissima rebellione, & proditorum contra illum articulum sentientium grauissime perturbatae precipue concernend. & propterea supremum necessarium & specialiter tibi iniunctum videlicet.

Ye shall also set foorth in your Sermon, that our autoritie of our Royall power is (as of truth it is) of no lesse authoritie and force in this our younger age, then is and was of any of our predecessoures, though the same were much elder, as may appeare by example of Iosias and other young Kinges in Scripture. And therefore all our Subiectes to bee no lesse bounde to the obedience of our preceptes, lawes, and statutes, then if we were xxx. or xl. yeares of age.

Apud crucem siue suggestum Diui Pauli London. certo die tibi in ea parte praefixo, & limitato in publica tua conc•one, tunc & ibidem populo recitares, & explicares, teque modo & forma premissa eundem articulum iuxta mandatum, & officij tui debitum recitare & explicare minime curasse, sed contumaciter & inobedienter omisisse, in maximum Regiae Maiestatis contemptum, ac in eius regni praeiudicium non modicum, necnon in subditorum suorum malum & perniciosum exemplum, contumaciamque & inobedientiam multiplicem tam in hac nostra inquisitione, quam alias perperrasse, commisisse & contra•isse. I• ci••o nos Thomas Cantuariens. Archiepiscopus Primas & •etropolitanus, indexque delegatus ante dictus Christi non <◇> primitus inuocato, ac ipsum solum D•••oculis nostris p••ponentes, de & cum expresso consensu pariter & assensu Collegarum nostrorum praedictorum vna nobiscum assidentium, deque & cum concilio Iurisperitorum, cum quibus communicamus in hac parte. Te Edmundum London. Episcopum antedictum a tuo Episcopatu London. vna cum suis iuribus & pertin•ntibus commoditatibus, & •eteris emolumentis quibuscunque deptiuandum & prorsus amo•endum fore de iure debere, pronunciamus decernimus & declaramus pro vt per praesentes sic depriuamus & amouemus per hanc nostram sententiam definiti•am siue hoc nostrum finale dec•erum, qu•m siue quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Which ended, the B. immediately did therefrom appeale by word of mouth, alledgyng that the same sentence there geuē against him, was Lex nulla. The tenor of whose words I thought hereto expresse, accordyng as they were by him vttered, in this wise as followeth.

I Edmund Byshop of London,* brought in and kepte heere as a prisoner agaynst my consent and wyll, doe vnder my former protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appeare, that I haue not beyng so here in this place, consented not agreed to any thyng done agaynst me, and in my preiudice, alledge and say that this sentence geuen here agaynst me, is Lex nulla, and so farre foorth, as it shall appeare to be Aliqua, I doe say it is Iniqua and Iniusta, and that therefore I doe from it, as Iniqua and Iniusta, appeale to the most excellent and noble king, Edward the sixt, by the grace of God, Kyng of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland, next and immediately vnder GOD here in earth supreme head, and vnto hys Courte of Chancerie or Parliament, as the lawes, statutes, and ordinaunces of this Realme, wyll suffer and beare in this behalfe, desiryng instauntly first,* second and third, accordyng to the lawes, Letters reuerenciall or demissories, to be geuen and deliuered vnto mee in this behalfe, with all thynges expedient, requisite, or necessarie in any wyse: and thereupon also the sayd Bishop required the Publike Notary or Actuary William Saye, to make an Instrument, and the witnesse aforesayde and other present to recorde the same. To whom so appealyng, and requiryng as afore, the sayde Iudges delegate sayd, that they wyll declare and signifie to the Kinges Maiestie, what is done in this matter, and thereupon will deferre or not deferre to his sayde appellation, accordyng as hys graces pleasure and commaundement shall be to them in that behalfe: and after all this, the sayd Byshop of London sayd to them, Iam •uncti estis officio. What wyll your grace doe with me now, touchyng my imprisonment? wyll ye keepe me still in prison? shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute myne appeale? To whom the Archb. aunswering, sayd, that they perceyued now more in that matter then they did at the first, & that this matter is more greater rebellion then he is ware of, and therefore said, that as yet they would not discharge him, and thereupon they committed him agayne to his keeper to prison.

This talke finished, the Archbishop considering that most of the audience there present, did not vnderstand the meanyng of the sentence beyng read in the Latin tongue, sayd vnto them: Because there be many of you here that vnderstand not the Latine tongue, and so cannot tel what iudgement hath bene here geuen, I shall therefore shewe you the effect thereof: and therewith did declare in English, the causes expressed in the sentence, adding then therevnto these wordes.

Because my L. of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we haue here by our sentence depriued hym of our bishoprike of London: and this we shew vnto you to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteeme hym any more as B. of London.

Then Boner desired the Archbish. to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appe^eed. But the other seing his froward contempt, refused it, saieng, ye may doe it your selfe. Wherupon very disdainfully againe he sayd, Iam functi estis officio. What will your grace do w^t me touching my imprisonment? will you kepe me stil in prison?

To whom the commissioners answered, that they perceiued now more in the matter then they did before, & that his behauiour was more greater rebellion then hee was ware of, and therefore they would not discharge hym, but committed him agayne to his keeper to be kept in prison. Where he most iustly remained vntil the deth of that most worthy & godly prince king Edward the sixt. After which time he wrought most horrible mischiefe and cruelties against the saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout [Page 1330](#) the whole raigne of Queene Marie. From the executing of the which like tirannie, the Lord of his great mercy keepe all other such. Amen.

Now immediately after his deprivation, he writeth out of the Marshalsey other letters supplicatorie vnto y^e Lord Chancelor and the rest of the kings Counsaile. Wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity that the Duke of Somerset and sir Thomas Smith bare vnto him, his often and earnest suites vnto the King and hys counsaile could not be heard. Hee therefore moste humbly desireth their Lordships for the causes aforesaide, to consider him, and to let him haue libertie to prosecute his matter before them, and he woulde daily pray for the good preservation of theyr honors, as appeareth by the woordes of his owne supplication here vnder following.

Thus after the Commissioners had finished with Boner, he b^eing now prisoner in the Marshalsey, leauing no shift of the law vnsought how to worke for him self as wel as he mighte, drewe out a certaine supplication, conceiued and directed to the kings maiestie, out of the sayd prison of the Marshalsey.

**To the right honourable, my Lorde Chancelor of England,
with all the rest of the kings Maiesties most honorable priuie
counsel.**

PLease it your most honourable good Lordshippes wyth my moste humble commendations to vnderstande that all beit heeretofore I haue made such sute, and to such persons as I cannot deuise to make more, or to more higher, it is to wit, vnto the kings most excellent maiestie, and his most gracious persons in diuers sorts, and also vnto your most honorable good Lordships

being of his priuie counsell▪ for redresse of suche notable and manifest iniuries and extremities as hath bene contrary to all law, honestie, and good reason inflicted vnto me by my Lord of Canterburie, my Lorde of Rochester, Doctor Smith, and Doctor May, yet because the sayd Doctor Smith being a minister to the Duke of Somerset, and they both my deadly ennemies, hath sondry wayes studied and laboured my ruine and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawfull remedies and •utes, hauing therein helpe and furtherance of these two other aforesayd persons, being ready at foote and hand to accomplish all theyr desires and pleasures, I shall at th•• presence hauing for a time forborne to trouble (for good respectes) your moste honorable good Lordshyppes, with any my••tes, and especially for your other manifold great affaires in the kinges Maiesties businesse: my selfe yet the meane while, neither wanting good will, ne yet iust cause being where I am to make such sute, renue my sute, and most humbly beseeche your most honorable good lordshippes to geue me leaue to make most humble supplication againe to your sayd Lordshippes, for honest and lawfull 〈◇〉 to prosecute my appel•atiō and supplication hereto•ore made to the kings moste excellent Maiestie, and according •o the law to make my sute for redresse of the sayde 〈...〉, extremities and wrongs don 〈...〉 the sayd parsones. And your sayd Lordships ouer and besides the furtheraunce of iustice, many wayes 〈◇〉 me and other, and the collection of the kings maiestie Subsidie, nowe to be leuied of the Clergie in my diocesse 〈...〉 hath ben, and is staied by reason of the premisses, shall also binde me moste greatly and intirely to pray daily for the good preseruacion of your sayd moste honourable good Lordshippes in all honour, felicitie and ioy long to continue and endure vnto Gods pleasure.

Wrytten in the Marshalsey, the 26. of October. 1549.

Your Lordships most faithful & assured Bedes man. E. Lon.

A supplication made and directed by Edmund Boner late B. of London▪ to the kings Maiestie, out of the prison of the Marshalsey.

*In the which supplication, first after the vsed forme of stile, he praied for the prosperous estate of the king long to raigne. Then he shewed that his faithful heart and seruice to him, hath, is▪ and shall be, as it was to his father before.

Then •e declared how he had ben belied of euil men, and misreported not to •eare a true hart to his grace, but a rebellious minde, in denying his royall power in his minoritie, where in deede (he sayeth) his grace should finde hym alwayes during life, both in heart, woorde, and deede, to do and acknowledge otherwise, & to be most willing to shew. &c. and to doe all other thinges for his grace, as willingly as any other subiecte, or as those that were his denoūcers, who hee thought were not sent of his grace, but pretended Commissioners. &c.

Further, he complained of his denuntiation by certain commissioners (who sayde they were sent by his grace) alleaging the same not to be lawful: and of his long & sharpe imprisonment, & that the commissioners obserued neyther law nor reasonable order, but extremitie. And wher he had made appeale to his grace, and he coulde not haue it: he desired to haue lawe to prosecute & sue his appeale for his remedy, & that he cōsidering his vocation, might not be shut vp & put from libertie, which his meanest subiects haue.

Then he desired hys graces letters of Supersedeas against the commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the counsaile, and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithfull man, and heerein to haue wrong. So in the ende hee concluded, this (prostrating him selfe euen to the very ground, and humbly kissing his graces fete) to be the thing onely which he humbly desired. &c.

This done, & the supplication perused, the King eftsoone geueth in charge and commaundement,* to certain men of honor and worship, & persons skilfull in the lawe, as to Lorde Rich high Chancelor, the L. treasurer, the L. Marques Dorset, the B. of Ely, Lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Wingfield, sir W. Harbert knightes. Doc. Nich. Wootton, Ed. Mountague Lorde chiefe Iustice, Sir Iohn Baker knight, with Iudge Hales, Ioh. Gosnold, D. Oliuer and also Doctour Leyson, that they scanning and perusing all such actes, matters, and muniments of the sayd Boner by him exhibited, produced, propounded and alleaged, with al and singular his protestations, recusations, & appellatiōs, should vpon mature consideration therof, geue their directed answer vpon the same.* whether the appellation of the said Boner were to be deferred vnto, and whether the sentence defined against him, stood by the law sufficient and effectual, or not. Who eftsoones after diligent discussion, and considerate aduisement had of all & singular the premisses, gaue their resolute answer, that the pretensed appellation of Edmund Boner aforesayde, was nought and vnreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred vnto, and that the sentence by the Commissioners against him, was rightly and iustly pronounced. And this was the cōclusion of Boners whole matter and depriuation for that time.

Thus then leauing doctor Boner a while in the Marshalsey with his keeper,* we will proceede (the Lorde permitting) further in the course of our storie, as the order of yeres and time requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth heere ioyntly with the depriuatiō of D. Boner: yet because he was shortly again deliuered out of the same throughe the Lordes mightye woorking, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his seconde trouble, whych was two yeares after: and so in the meane time returning ag•ine into our discourse, intēd by the Lords leaue, to collect and continue the matters begō, touching y^e kings godly proceedings for reformatiō of religion, in the foresaid yere of our lord, concurring. an. 1549.

And heere first a note woulde be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned trauels,* and disputation in the vniuersitie of Oxford the sayde present yeare, with doct. Chedsey, & other moe, about the matter of the sacrament: which was, that the substance of breade and wine was not changed in the sacrament, & that the body and bloude of Christe was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but vnited to the same sacramentally.

In like maner some touch or mention here also woulde be made of the Ecclesiasticall lawes,* for the gathering and compiling wherof 32. persons were assigned by Act of parlament the sayde present yeare 1549. But because these bee rather matters of tractation, then Hystoricall▪ I meane, (God willing) to deferre the further consideration thereof vnto the ende of the historie of this kinges dayes, and so to passe forward to other matters in the meane while.

Bookes of Latine seruice called in and abolished.

IT followeth then in storie, that certaine of the vulgare multitude,* hearing of the apprehension of the Lord Protectour, and supposinge the alteration of publicke Seruice into Englishe, and administration of the Sacramente and other rites lately appoynted in the Church, had beene the Acte chiefly or only of the sayd Lorde Protectour, beganne vppon the same to noyse and brute abroad, that they shuld nowe haue theyr olde Latine seruice, wyth holy bread and holy water,* and theyr other like superstitious ceremonies againe, whereuppon the King wyth the body and state of the priuie Counsell then being, directed oute his letters of request and straite commaundement to the Byshoppes in their diocesse, to cause and warne the Deane, and Prebendaries of their Cathedrall Churches, all Persons, vicares and Curates: with the Churchwardens of euery Parishe [Page 1331](#) wythin their Diocesse, to bring in and deliuer vp all Antiphoners, Missales, Grailes, Processionals, Manuals, Legendes,* Pies, Portuases, Iournals, and Ordinals after the vse of Sarum, Lincolne, Yorke, Bangor, Herforde, or any other priuate vse,* and all other bookes of seruice, the hauing wherof might be any let to y^e seruice now set foorth in English, charging also and commaunding all suche as should be found stubborne or disobedient in this behalf, to be committed vnto warde.

And because the Kinge moreouer was aduertised that there was a slacknes and a frowardnes among the people refusing to pay towarde the finding of breade and wine for the holy Communion, by reason wherof the Communion in many places was omitted, the Bishops in like manner had geuen in charge to prouide for redresse therof,* & to punish them which should refuse so to do. Wherby it may appeare to vs now, that no wafer cakes but common bread, was then by the kinges appoyntment ordinarily receiued and vsed in Churches. This was about the latter ende of December. An. 1549.

Taking downe of aultares, and setting vp of the table in steede thereof.

FURthermore, in the yeare nexte following .1550. other letters likewise were sent out for the taking downe of altars in churches,* and setting vp the table in steade of the same, vnto Nicholas Ridley, who being Bishop of Rochester before, was then made Bishop of London, in Boners place, the copie and contentes of the kings letters are these, as followeth.

The kings letters to Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London. &c.

RIght reuerende father in God, right trustie and well beloued, we greete you wel.* And where it is come to our knowledge, that being the altars within the more part of the churches of this realme, already vpon good and godly considerations takē down, there doth yet remaine altares standing in diuers other churches, by occasion whereof muche variaunce and contention ariseth amongst sundry of our subiectes, whiche if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconuenience: we lette you wit, that minding to haue all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those & such like diuersities, and considering that amongst other thinges belonging to our royal office and cure, we do accompt the greatest to be, to maintaine the common quiet of oure Realme wee haue thought good by the aduice of our Counsaile to require you, and neuertheles especial to charge and commaund you, for the auoiding of all matters of further contention & strife about the standing or taking away of

the said altares,* to geue substantiall order throughout all your diocesse, that with all diligence all the altars in euery church or chappell, as well in places exempted, as not exempted within your saide diocesse be taken downe, and in the stead of them a table to be set vp in some conuenient parte of the chancel within euery suche church or chappel, to serue for the ministratiō of the blessed cōmuniō.* And to the intēt the same may be done without the offēce of such our louing subiects, as be not yet so wel perswaded in that behalfe as we would wish, we sende vnto you heerewith, certaine considerations gathered and collected that make for the purpose, the whiche and such others as you shall thinke meete to be set foorth to perswade the weake to embrace our proceedings in this parte, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discrete preachers in such places as you shal thinke meete, before the taking downe of the said altars: so as both the weake consciences of other may be instructed and satisfied as muche as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, wee require you to open the foresaid considerations in that our cathedrall church in your own person, if you conueniently may, or otherwise by your Chancelour, or some other graue preacher, both there, & in such other market townes and moste notable places of your diocesse, as you may thinke most requisite.

Geuen vnder our Signet, at our Pallace of Westminster, the 24. daye of Nouember, the 4 yeare of our raigne.

- Edward Somerset.
- Thomas Cranmer.
- William Wiltsher.
- Iohn Warwike.
- Iohn Bedford.
- William North.
- Edward Clinton.
- H. Wentworth.
- Thomas Ely.

Reasons why the Lordes boorde should rather be after the forme of a table, then of an aultare.

The first reason.

First, the forme of a table shall more moue y^e simple from the superstitious opinions of the Popish Masse, vnto the right vse of the Lordes supper.* For the vse of an altare is to make sacrifice vpon it: the vse of a table is to serue for men to eate vpon. Nowe when we come vnto the Lordes boorde, what do we come for? To sacrifice Christe agayne, and to crucifie hym againe? or to feede vppon hym that was once onely crucified, and offered vp for vs? If wee come to feede vppon him, spiritually to eate his body, and spiritually to drinke his bloud, which is the true vse of the Lordes supper, then no man can denie, but the forme of a table is more meete for the Lordes boorde, then the forme o^r an aultare.

The second reason.

Item, where as it is sayde,* the booke of common prayer maketh mention of an aultar, wherfore it is not lawfull to abolish that which that booke alloweth: to this is thus answered:* The booke of common prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lordes supper is ministred, indifferently a Table, an Aultar, or the Lordes boord, without prescription of any forme thereof, either of a Table, or of an Aultare. So that whether the Lordes boorde haue the forme of an Aultar, or of a table, the booke of common prayer calleth it both an Aultar and a Table. For as it calleth an Altar whereupon the Lordes Supper is ministred, a table, and the Lordes boord,* so it calleth the table where the holye Communion is distributed with laudes and thankes geuing vnto the Lorde, an Aultar, for that, that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thankes geuinge. And thus it appeareth, that heere is nothing neither sayde nor meant contrary to the booke of common praier.

The third reason.

Thirdlye, the Popishe opinion of Masse,* was that it might not be celebrated but vpon an aultar, or at the least vpon a superaltare, to supply the fault of the altare, which must haue hadde hys printes and charectes, or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But thys superstitious opinion is more holden in the mindes of the simple and ignorant by the forme of an aultar, then of a table: wherfore it is more meete for the abolishment of thys superstitious opinion, to haue the Lordes boorde after the forme of a table, then of an altar.

The fourth reason.

Fourthly, the forme of an aultar was ordained for the Sacrifices of the Lawe,* and therefore the aultar in Greeke is called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . Quasi Sacrificij locus. But nowe bothe the lawe and the Sacrifices thereof doe cease: Wherefore the forme of the aultare vsed in the Lawe, ought to cease wythall.

The fifth reason.

Fifthly,* Christe did institute the Sacrament of his bodye and bloud at his laste Supper at a Table, and not at an Aultare, as it appeareth manifestly by the three Euangelistes. And Saint Paule calleth the comming to the holy Communion, the comminge vnto the Lordes Supper. And also it is not read, that any of the Apostles or the Primitiue Church did euer vse any altare in the ministration of the holy Communion.

Wherefore, seeing the forme of a Table is more agreeable with Christes institution, and with the vsage of the Apostles and of the Primitiue Church, then the forme of an Aultar, therefore the forme of a Table is rather to be vsed, then the forme of an Aultare in the administration of the holy Communion.

The sixth reason.

Finally,* it is said in the preface of the booke of common prayer, that if any doubt doe arise in the vse and practising of the same booke, to appease all suche diuersitie, the matter shall be referred vnto the Bishop of the dioces, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and

appeasinge of the same, so that the same order be not contrarye vnto any thing contained in that booke.

After these letters and reasones receyued, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley Byshop of London, consequently vppon the same did hold his visitation, wherein amongst other his Iniunctions, the sayde Bishoppe exhorted those Churches in his Diocesse, where the Aultars then did remaine, to confourme them selues vnto those other Churches whych had taken them downe, and had sette vp in the steade of the multitude of their Aultares, one decent Table in euery Church.

Uppon the occasion whereof there arose a greate diuersitie aboute the fourme of the Lordes boorde, some vsing it after the fourme of a Table, and some of an aultare. [Page 1332](#) Wherein when the saide Bishop was required to saye and determine what was moste meete,* he declared he could doe no lesse of his bounden duetie, for the appeasing of such diuersitie, & to procure one godly vniformitie, but to exhorte all his Diocesse vnto that,* which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the vsage of the Apostles, and wyth the Primitiue Church, and to that which is not onely not contrary vnto any thinge contained in the booke of Common prayer (as is before prooued) but also mighte highly further the kings most godly procedings, in abolishing of diuers vaine & superstitious opinions of the popish masse out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to y^e right vse taught by holy Scripture,* of the Lordes Supper, and so appoynted he the fourme of a right Table to be vsed in his Dioces, and in the Church of Paules, brake down the wall standing then by the high Aultars side.

Now we will enter, (God willing) into those matters which happened betweene kinge Edward and hys sister Mary, as by their letters here folowing are to be seene.

To my Lorde Protectour and the rest of the kings Maiesties Counsaile.

MY Lorde, I perceiue by the letters whyche I late receiued from you, and other of the kinges Maiesties Counsaile, that yee be all sorie to finde so litle conformitie in me touching the obseruation of his Maiesties lawes:* who am well assured I haue offended no law, vnles it be a late lawe of your owne making, for the altering of matters of Religion, whiche in my conscience is not worthy to haue the name of a Lawe, both for the kings honors sake, the wealth of the Realme, and geuing an occasion of an euill br•ite through all Christendome, besides the parcialitie vsed in the same, and (as my sayde conscience is very well perswaded) the offending of God, which passeth al the rest: but I am well assured, that the king hys fathers Lawes were allowed and consented to with out compulsion by the whole Realme, both Spirituall and Temporall, and all ye executours sworne vppon a Booke to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorised Lawe, and that I haue obeyed, and will doe with the grace of God, till the Kinges Maiestie my brother shall haue sufficient yeares to bee a Iudge in these matters hym selfe: Wherein my Lorde, I was plaine wyth you at my laste beyng in the Courte: declaringe vnto you at that time, whereunto I woulde stande, and now doe assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine opinion, is for two causes.

One principally for my conscience sake: the other, that the king my brother shal not hereafter charge me to be one of those, that were agreeable to suche alterations in hys tender yeares. And what fruites dailye growe by suche chaunges since the death of the King my Father, to euery

indifferent person, it wel appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and vnquietnesse of the realme.

Notwythstanding, I assure you all, I woulde be as othe to see his highnesse take hurt, or that any euill should come to this his Realme, as the best of you all, and none of you haue the like cause, considering howe I am compelled by nature, beinge his Maiesties poore and humble Sister, moste tenderly to loue and pray for him, and vnto this his realme, being borne within the same, wishe all wealth and prosperitie to Gods honour.

And if any iudge mee the contrarye for mine opinions sake, as I truste none doth, I doubte not in the ende, wyth Gods helpe, to prooue my selfe as true a natural and humble sister, as they of the contrary opinion, with all their deuises and altering of lawes, shall prooue them selues true subiectes, praying you my Lorde and the rest of the Counsaile, no more to vnquier and trouble me with matters touching my conscience, wherein I am at a full poynte, wyth Gods helpe, what soeuer shall happen to mee, intendinge with his grace, to trouble you litle with any worldly sutes but to bestowe the short time I thinke to liue, in quietnes, and pray for the kinges Maiestie and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to Gods honour, the safegard of the kings persone, and quietnesse to the whole Realme.

Moreouer, where your desire is, that I woulde sende my Controller and Doctour Hopton vnto you, by whom you woulde signifie your mindes more amplie, to my contentation & honour: it is not vnknownen to you al, that the chiefe charge of my house •e•teth onely vppon the trauails of my sayde Controller. Who hath not bene absent from my 〈◇〉 three who•e dayes since the settinge vp of the same vnlesse it were for my letters Patentees, so that if it wer• 〈◇〉 for his continual diligence▪ I thinke my litle portion would not haue stretched so farre. And my Chaplaine by occasion of sickenesse, hath bene long absent, and yet not able to ride.

Therefore like as I can not forbear my Controller, and my Prieste is not able to iourney: So shall I desire you my Lorde, and the rest of the Counsaile, that hauinge any thing to be declared vnto me, except matters of Religion, yee will either wryte your mindes, or sende some trustie person, with whome I shall be contented to talke, and make answeere as the case shall require, assuring you, that if any seruaunte of mine owne, eyther man or woman, or Chaplaine shoulde moue me to the contrary of my conscience, I woulde not geue eare to them, nor suffer the lyke to be vsed wythin my house. And thus my Lorde, wyth my hearty commendations, I wishe vnto you and the rest, as well to doe as my selfe.

From my house at Kinning hall, the 22. of Iune. 1549.

Your assured frend to my power, Mary.

A remembrance of certaine matters, appoynted by the Counsaile, to be declared by Doctor Hopton to the Ladie Maries grace, for answer to her former letter, which said Hopton was after shee came to her raigne B. of Norwiche.

Her grace wryteth, that the lawe made by Parliament, is not woorthy the name of a lawe, meaninge the statute for the Communion. &c.

You shall say thereto.

The fault is great in any subject to disallow a law of the king, a Lawe of a Realme, by long studie, free disputation, and vniforme determination of the whole Cleargie, consulted, debated, and concluded. But the greater fault is in her grace, being nexte of any subject in bloude and estate to the kings Maiestie her brother and good Lorde, to geue example of disobedience, being a subiecte, or of vnnaturalnesse, being his Maiesties sister, or of neglecting the power of the crowne, shee being by limitation of lawe nexte to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time, as shee can wel vnderstand, her vnkindnesse resteth in the kinges owne acceptation, the neglecting of the power, before God is answereable, and in the worlde toucheth her honour.

The executours, shee sayth, were sworne to king Henrie the eight his lawes.

You shall say.

It is true, they were sworne to him, his Lawes, hys heires, and successours, which oth they duely obserue, and should offend if they should breake any one iote of y^e kings lawes nowe being, without a dispensation by a lawe, and herein her grace shall vnderstand, that it is no lawe, which is dissolued by a law: Neither may her grace do that iniurie to the kinges Maiestie her brother, to diminish his authoritie so farre, that he may not by the free cōsent of a Parliament, amend and alter vnprofitable lawes, for the number of inconueniences which hereof mighte folowe, as her grace with consideration may well perceiue.

Offence taken by the sending for of her officers.

You shall say.

If her grace consider the firste letters of that purpose, they will declare our good meaning to her, and our gentle vsage, requiring the presence of her trusty seruant, because shee might geue more trust to our message.

Her house is her flocke.

You shall say.

It is well liked her grace shoulde haue her house or flock, but not exempt from the Kings orders: neither may there be a flocke of the kings subjects, but such as wil hear and folowe the voice of the king their shepheard. God disaloweth it, law and reason forbiddeth it, pollicie abhorreth it, and her honour may not require it.

Her grace deferreth her obedience to the kings lawe, till his Maiestie be of sufficient years.

You shall say.

Shee could in no one saying more disallow the authoritie of the king, the maiestie of his crowne, and the state of the Realme. For heerein shee suspendeth hys kingdome, and esteemeth his authoritie by his age, not by his right and title. Her grace must vnderstande he is a King by the ordinaunce of God, by descent of Royall bloude, not by the numbering of his yeares.

As a creature subiecte to mortalitie, hee hathe youthe, and by Gods grace shall haue age: but as a King he hath [Page 1333](#) no difference by dayes and yeares. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young children to haue ben kings by Gods speciall ordinaunce, but also (whiche is to be noted) to haue had best successe in their raigne, and the fauour of God in theyr proceedinges. Yea, in their first yeares haue they most purely reformed the Church and state of Religiō. Therefore her grace hath no cause thus to diminish his maiesties power, and to make him as it were no king vntil she thinke him of sufficient yeares. Wherin howe much his maiestie may be iustly offended, they be sorie to thinke.

Shee saith, shee is subiecte to none of the Counsaile.

You shall say.

If her grace vnderstandeth it of vs in that acceptation as we be priuate men, and not counsailours, sworne to the kings maiesty, we knowlege vs not to be superiors: but if shee vnderstande her wryting of vs as Counsailors and magistrates, ordained by his maiestie, her grace muste be contented to thinke vs of authority sufficient by the reason of our office to chalēge a superioritie, not to rule by priuate affection: but by Gods prouidence, not to our estimation, but to the kings honour, and finally to encrease the kings estate with our counsaile, our dignitie and vocation: and we thinke her grace wil not forget the saying of Salomon, in the 6. chapter of the booke of Wisedome, to mooue a king to rule by counsaile and wisedome, and to builde his estate vpon them. Wherefore her grace must be remembred, the kings Maiesties pollitike body is not made onely of hys owne Royall material body, but of a Counsaile, by whom his maiestie ruleth, directeth, and gouerneth hys Realme. In the place of which Counsaile her grace is not ignorant, that we be set and placed. Wherefore the reputation shee shal geue vs, shee shall geue it to the kings honor, & that which shee shall take from vs, shee shall take from his Maiestie, whose maiestie wee thinke if it might take encrease of honour, as God geueth a daily abundance, it should receiue rather encrease from her beinge his Maiesties sister, then thus any abatement.

Shee receiued maister Arundel, and maister Englefelde.

You shall say.

All the Counsaile remembreth well her refusall to haue her house charged w^t any more number, alleaging the smal proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come of their earnest suite, meaning to be priuiledged subiectes from the lawe, then of her desire, which refused very often to encrease her number. Their cautel the king might not suffer, to haue his law disobeyed, their countreis where they shoulde serue by them to be destitute, and hauing bene seruantes to his maiestie, the circumstances of their departure might in no wise be liked.

Shee refused to heare anye man to the contrarye of her opinion.

You shall say.

It is an aunswer more of will then of reason, and therfore her Grace muste bee admonished neither to truste her owne opinion without ground, neither mislike al others. hauing grounde. If hers be good, it is no hurt if shee heare the worse. If it be ill, shee shall doe well to heare the better. Shee shall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And because shee shall not mislike the offer, lette her grace name of learned men whome shee will, and further then they by learning shal prooue, shee shall not be mooued. And so farre it is thought, reason wil compell her grace.

In the ende yee shall say.

The good willes and mindes of the Lorde Protectour and the Counsaile is so muche toward her grace, that how soeuer shee would her selfe in honor be esteemed, how soeuer in conscience quieted, yea how soeuer benefited, sauing their dueties to God and the king, they woulde as muche, and in theyr doings (if it please her to prooue it) will be nothing inferiours, assuring her grace, that they be moste sorie shee is thus disquieted: and if necessitie of the cause, the honour and suretie of the king, and the iudgement of theyr owne conscience mooued them not, thus farre they woulde not haue attempted. But their trust is, her grace wil alow them the more, when she shal perceiue the cause, and thinke no lesse coulde be done by them, where shee prouoked them so farre.

*¶These and other of like credite, more amply committed to you in speache, you shal declare to her grace, and further declare your conscience for the allowing of the manner of the Communion, as yee haue plainly professed it before vs.

At Richmund. 14. Iune. 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lorde Protectour and the rest of the Counsaile. 27. Iune. 1549.

MY Lorde, I perceiue by letters directed from you and other of the kinges maiesties Counsaile, to my Controller, my Chaplaine, and master Englefelde my seruauant, that ye will them vppon their allegeaunce, to repaire immediately to you, wherein you geue me euident cause to chaunge mine accustomed opinion of you all, that is to say, to thinke you careful of my quietnesse and wel doings, considering how earnestly I wryte to you for the stay of two of them, and that not without very iust cause. And as for maister Englefeld, assoone as he could haue prepared himselfe, hauing his horsses so farre off, although yee hadde not sent at this present, would haue perfourmed your request. But in deede I am much deceiued. For I supposed ye would haue waied and takē my letters in better part, if yee haue receiued them: if not, to haue taried mine answere, and I not to haue found so litle frendship, not to haue bene vned so vnghently at your hands in sending for him, vpon whose trauail doth rest the only charge of my whole house, as I wryt to you lately, whose absence therefore shall be to me & my sayde house no little displeasure, especially being so farre off. And besides all this, I doe greatly maruaile to see your wrytinge for him, and the other two with suche extreeme wordes of pearill to ensue towardes them, in case they did not come, and specially for my Controller, whose charge is so great, that he canne not sodainly be meete to take a iourney: which woordes in mine opinion needed not (vnlesse it were

in some verye iust and necessarye cause) to any of mine, who taketh my selfe subiect to none of you all: not doubting but if the kinges maiestie my brother were of sufficient yeares to perceiue this matter, and knewe what lacke and in commoditie the absence of my said officer should be to my house, his grace woulde haue beene so good Lorde to mee, as to haue suffered him to remaine, where his charge is. Notwithstanding, I haue willed him at this time to repaire to you, commaunding him to returne forthwith for my very necessities sake, and I haue geuen the like leaue to my poore sicke prieste also, whose life I thinke vndoubtedly shall be putte in hasard by the wet and colde painefull trauaile of this iourney. But for my parte I assure you all, that since the king my father, your late maister and verye good Lorde died, I neuer tooke you for other then my frendes: but in this it appeareth cōtrary. And sauing I thought verily that my former letters shoulde haue discharged this matter, I woulde not haue troubled my selfe with wryting the same, not doubting but you doe consider, that none of you all would haue bene contented to haue bene thus vsed at your inferiours handes, I meane to haue hadde your officer, or any of your seruants sent for by a force (as yee make it) knowing no iust cause why. Wherefore I doe not a little maruaile, that yee had not this remembraunce towards mee, who alwayes hath willed and wished you as well to doe as my selfe, and both haue and will praye for you all as heartily, as for mine owne soule to almighty God, whome I humblye beseeche to illumine you all with his holy spirite, to whose mercy also I am at a full poynt to commit my selfe, what soeuer shall become of my body. And thus with my commendations I bid you all fare well.

From my house at Kenninghal, the 27. of Iune.

Youre frende to my power, though you geue mee con|trary cause. Mary.

A copie of the kinges Maiesties letter to the Ladie Marie. 24. Ian. 1550.

Riight deare. &c. We haue seene by letters of our Counsaile, sent to you of late, and by your aunswere thereunto, touching the cause of certaine your Chaplaines, hauing offended our lawes in saying of Masse, their good and conuenient aduises, and your frutelesse and indirect mistaking of the same, which thing mooueth vs to wryte at this time, that where good counsell from oure Counsaile hathe not preuailed, yet the like from our selfe maye haue due regarde. The whole matter we perceiue resteth in thys, that you being oure next sister, in whome aboue all other oure subiectes, nature shoulde place the moste estimation of vs, would wittingly and purposely, not onely breake our lawes your selfe, but also haue others maintained to doe the same. Truely howe soeuer the matter may haue other termes, other sense it hath not: and although by your letter it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that so you myghte do: yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintaine, ne to continue your fault. You muste knowe this sister, you were at the first time when the law was made, borne with all, not because you shoulde disobey the lawe, but y^t by our lenitie and loue shewed you might learne to obey it. Wee made a difference of you from our other subiectes, not for that all other should folow our lawes, & you only against and them, but that you might be [Page 1334](#) brought as far forward by loue, as others were by duety. The error wherein you would rest is double, & euery part so great, that neither for the loue of God, we can wel suffer it vnredressed. neither for the loue of you we can but wish it amēded. First you retaine a fashion in honoring of God, who in dede therby is dishonored, & therein erre you in zeal for lacke of science, & hauing science offered you, you refuse it, not because it is science (we trust, for then should we dispaire of you) but because you

thinke it is none. And surely in this we can best reprehende you, learning daily in oure schoole, that therefore we learne things, because we knowe thē not, & are not allowed to say we know not these things, or we thinke they be not good, & therefore we wil not learne them. Sister, you must thinke nothing can commend you more then reason, according to the which you haue bene hitherto vsed, & nowe for very loue we will offer you reason our selfe. If you are perswaded in conscience to the contrarye, of our lawes, you or your perswaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, so that you will heare what shalbe said againe.

In this poynt you see I pretermit my estate, and talke with you as your brother, rather then your supreme Lord and king. Thus should you, being as wel content to heare of your opinions, as you are content to holde them, in the end thanke vs as much for bringing you to light, as nowe before you learne, you are loth to see it. And it thus muche reason with our natural loue shal not mooue you, whereof we would be sorie, then must we consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our lawes. For though hitherto it hath bene suffered in hope of amendement, yet now, if hope be none, how shall there be sufferance? Our charge is to haue the same care ouer euery mannes estate, that euery man ought to haue ouer his owne. And in your owne house, as you would be lothe openly to suffer one of your seruantes being next you, most manifestly to breake your orders, so must you thinke in our state it shal miscontent vs to permit you so great a subiecte, not to keepe oure lawes. Your nearnes to vs in bloud, your greatnesse in estate, the condition of this time maketh your fault y^e greater. The example is vnnatural, that our sister shuld do lesse for vs, then our other subiects. The case is sclanderous for so great a personage to forsake our maiestie.

Finally, it is too dangerous in a troublesome common wealth, to make y^e people to mistrust a faction. We be yōg, you thinke in yeeres to consider this. Truely sister, it troubleth vs somewhat the more, for it may be, this euil suffered in you, is greater then we can discerne, & so we be as much troubled, because we doubt whether we see the whole pearil, as we be, for that we see. In deede we will presume no further then our yeres geueth vs, yⁱ is, in doubtfull things not to trust our own wits, but in euidēt things we thinke there is no differēce. If you shuld not do as other subiects do, were it not euidēt, that therin you shuld not be a good subiect? Were it not plaine in that case, that you should vse vs not as your soueraigne Lord? Again, if you shoulde be suffred to breake our lawes manifestly, were it not a comfort for others so to do? and if our lawes be broken, & contemned, where is our estate? These things be so plaine, as we could almost haue iudged them sixe yeares past. And in deede it greeueth vs not a little, that you whych shoulde be our most comfort in our yong yeres, should alone geue vs occasion of discomfort. Thinke you not but it must needes trouble vs, and if you can so thinke, you oughte sister to amend it. Our natural loue towards you without doubt is great, & therefore diminish it not your self. If you wil be loued by vs, shewe some token of loue towards vs, that we say not with the Psalme. Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt. If you will be beleueed, when by wryting you confesse vs to be your soueraigne Lord, heare that which in other things is often alleaged: Ostende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis. In the answeere of your letter to our counsaile, we remember you sticke only vpon one reason deuided into two partes. The first is, that in matters of religion, your faith is none other, but as all Christendome doth confesse. The next is, you wil assent to no alteration, but wish things to stād as they did at our fathers death. If you meane in the firste to rule your faith, by that you call Christendome, and not by this Church of England, wherein you are a member, you shal err in many poynts, such as our fathers & yours wold not haue suffered, whatsoever you saye of

the standing still of thinges, as they were leaft by him. The matter is too plaine to write, what may be gathered, and too perillous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authoritie, of things not altered by oure father, you should doe vs too great an iniurie. We take our self for the administration of this our common wealthe, to haue the same authoritye which our father had diminished in no part, neither by example of scripture, nor by vniuersal lawes. The stories of Scripture be so plenteous, as almost y^e best ordered church of the Israelites was by kings, yonger then we be. Well sister, we will not in these things interprete your wrytings to the worste: loue and charitie shall expound them. But yet you must not therby be bolde to offend in that, whereunto you see your wrytings might be wrested. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duetie, and if any impediment be thereof, not of purpose, you shall finde a brotherly affection in vs to remedy the same. To teache you and instruct you, we wil geue order, and so procure you to doe your duetie wil•ingly, that you shall perceiue you are not vsed meerely as a subiect, and onely commaunded, but as a daughter, a scholler, and a sister, taught, instructed, and perswaded. For the which cause, when you haue considered this our letter, we pray you that wee may shortly heare from you.

To the kings most excellent Maiestie.

MY duetie moste humbly remembred to your maiestie, please it the same to vnderstande that I haue receiued your letters by maister Throgmorton this bearer. The contents wherof doeth more trouble me, then any bodily sicknesse, though it were euen to the death, and the rather for that your highnesse doeth charge me to be both as a breaker of your lawes, and also an encourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseeche your Maiestie, to thinke that I neuer entended towards you otherwise then my duty compelleth me vnto, that is, to wish your highnesse all honour and prosperitie, for the which I do and daily shal pray▪ And where it pleaseth your maiestie to wryte, that I make a chalēge of a promise made otherwise then it was meant: the trothe is, the promise coulde not be denied before your maiesties presence at my laste waiting vpon the same. And although, I confesse, the grounde of faith (wherunto I take reason to be but an handmaid) & my conscience also hath and doth agree with the same: yet touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your maiestie (God knoweth by whose perswasion) to wryte, it was not so meanr: I shal most humbly desire your highnes to examine the truth therof indifferently, and either will your maiesties ambassadour, nowe being with the Emperour, to enquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to haue him moue it, or els to cause it to be demanded of the Emperours ambassador here, although he were not within this realme at that time. And thereby it shall appeare that in this poynt, I haue not offended your maiestie, if it may please you so to accepte it. And albeit your maiestie (GOD be praised) hath at these yeres as much vnderstanding and more, then is commonly seene in that age yet considering you do hear but one part (your highnes not offended) I would be a suter to the same, that till ye were grōwen to more perfect yeres, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the soule. So vndoubtedly shuld your Maiestie knowe more, and heare others, and neuerthesse be at your liberty and do your wil and pleasure. And whatsoever your maiestie hath conceiued of me, either by letters to your cōsaile, or by their report, I trust in the ende to proue my selfe as true to you, as any subiect within your realm, & wil by no meanes stand in argument with your maiestie, but in most humble wise beseeche you, euen for Gods sake to suffer me, as your highnesse hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respecte I desire it, God is my iudge, but rather then to offend my conscience, I woulde desire of God, to lose all that I haue, and also my life: and neuerthesse

liue and die your humble sister and true subiect. Thus after pardon craued of your maiestie for my rude and bold writing, I beseche almighty God to preserue the same in honor, with as long continuance of health and life, as euer had noble king.

From Beauliene, the 3. of Februarie,

Your Maiesties most humble and vnworthy sister, Marie.

The Ladie Marie to the Lordes of the Counsaile 4. December. 1550.

MY Lords, your letters dated the second of this present, were deliuered vnto mee the thirde of the same. And where you wryte, that two of my Chaplaines, Doctor Mallet and Barkley be indicted for certaine things committed by them contrary to the kings Maiesties lawes, and processe for them also awarded forth, and deliuered to the Sheriffe of Essex: I can not bur maruell they should be so vsed, cōsidering it is done, as I take it, for saying masse wythin my house: and although I haue bene of my selfe mineded alwayes, and yet am, to haue Masse within my house: yet I haue bene aduertised, that the Emperours Maiestie hath bene promimised that I shoulde neuer be vnquieted nor troubled for my so doing, as some of you, my Lordes, can witnesse. Furthermore, besides the declaration of the saide promise made to me by the Emperors ambassador that dead is, from his Maiesty, to put my chaplaines more out of feare, when I was the last yeare with the kings maiestie my brother, that question was then mooued, and could not bee denied, but affirmed by some of you before his Maiestie to bee true, beinge not so muche vnquieted for the trouble [Page 1335](#) of my sayde Chaplaines, as I am to thinke how this matter may be taken, the promise to such a person being no better regarded. And for mine owne part, thought full little to haue receiued suche vngentlenes at your hāds hauing alwaies (God is my iudge) wished vnto the whole nūber of you, as to my self, & haue refused to troble you, or to craue any thing at your hāds, but your good wil & frēdship, which very slenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithstāding to be plain with you, how soeuer you shal vse me or mine (with Gods helpe) I will neuer varie from mine opinion touching my faith. And if yee or any of you beare me the lesse good wil for that matter, or faint in your frendship towards me, onely for the same I must and will be contented, trusting that God will in the ende shew his mercy vpon me, assuring you, I would rather refuse the frendship of all the world (whereunto I trust I shall neuer be driuen) then forsake any poynte of my faith. I am not without some hope that yee will stay this matter, not enforcing the rigor of the law against my chaplaines. The one of them was not in my house these 4. moneths, & D. Mallet hauing my licence, is eyther at Windsor, or at his benefice, who, as I haue hearde, was indicted for saying of Masse out of my house, whiche was not true▪ But in deede, the day before my remoouing from Woodham water, my whole housholde in effecte was gone to Newhall, he sayde Masse there by mine appoyntment. I see and heare of diuers that doe not obey your statutes and proclamations, and neuerthelesse escape without punishmēt. Be ye Iudges, if I be well vsed to haue mine punished by rigour of a lawe, besides all the false bruits that ye haue suffered to be spoken of me. Moreouer my Chaplaine D. Mallet, besides mine owne commandement was not ignorant of the promise made to the Emperour, which did putte him oute of feare. I doubt not therfore but ye wil consider it, as by that occasion no peace of friendship be taken away, nor I to haue cause but to beare you my good will, as I haue done heeretofore, for albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as if it had lien in my power yee shoulde haue well knowen. Thus with my hearty

commendations to you all, I pray almighty God to send you as much of his grace, as I would wish to mine owne soule.

From Beulien, the 4. of Decemb.

Your assured frend to my power, Mary.

The Counsaile to the Ladie Marie, the 25. of December.

After our due commendations to your grace. By your letters to vs, as an answeare to ours, touching certain processe against two of your Chaplaines, for saying Masse against the law and statute of the realme, we perceiue both the offence of your chaplains is otherwise excused then the matter may beare, and also our good willes otherwise misconstrued then we looked for. And for the first parte, where your greatest reason for to excuse the offence of a lawe, is a promise made to the Emperours Maiestie, whereof you wryte, that first some of vs be witnesses, next that the Ambassadors for the Emperour declared the same vnto you, and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before y^e kings maiestie at your last being with him: We haue thought conuenient to repeate the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it shal appeare howe euidently your Chaplaines hath offended the lawe, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in it selfe, but by times thrise as you say repealed. Of whiche times, the firste is chiefly to be considered, for vpon that doe the other two depende. It is very true the Emperour made request to the kings Maiestie, that you might haue libertie to vse the Masse in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the daunger of the statute. To which request diuers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that shoulde follow the graunt therof, and meanes deuised rather to perswade you, to obey & receiue the generall and godly reformation of the whole realme, then by a priuate fansie to preiudice a common order. But yet vpon earnest desire and entreatie made in y^e Emperours name, thus much was graunted, that for his sake and your owne also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the priuate masse vsed in your own closet for a season, vntil you might be better enformed, wherof was some hope, hauing only with you a few of your owne chamber, so that for all the rest of your housholde, the seruice of the realme shoulde be vsed, and none other: further, then thys the promise exceeded not. And truely suche a matter it then seemed to some of vs, as in dede it was, that wel might the Emperour haue required of the kings Maiestie a matter of more profit: but of more weight or difficulty to be granted, his maiestie coulde not. After this graunt in woordes, there was by the ambassage now dead, oftentimes desired some wryting, as a testimonye of the same. But y^t was euer denyed: not because we meant to breake the promise, as it was made, but because ther was a daily hope of your reformation.

Nowe to the second time, you say the Emperours Ambassadors declaration made mention of a promise to you, it might well so be. But we thinke no otherwise then as it appeareth before wrytten. If it were, hys fault it was to declare more then he heard: ours it may not be, that denye not that we haue sayd. As for the last time when you were with the kings maiestie, the same some of vs (whome by these words your letter noteth) doe wel remember, that no other thing was grauted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the Emperour, at whiche time you had too many arguments made to approoue the proceedings of the kings Maiestie, and to condemne the abuse of the masse, to thinke that where the priuate masse was iudged vngodly,

there you should haue authority and ground to vse it. About the same time, the Ambassadoure made meanes to haue some testimonie of the promise vnder the great seale, and that not hard to haue it, but by a letter, and that also was not onely denied, but diuers good reasons, y^t he should think it denied with reason, & so to be contented with an aunswer. It was told him in reducing that which was commonly called the Masse, to the order of the primatiue church, and the institution of Christe, the kings maiesty & his whole realme had their consciences well quieted, against y^t which, if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, & a very sinne against truth vnknowne. Wherefore to licence by open acte such a dede in the conscience of the kings maiesty & his realme, were euē a sinne against God. The most that might herein be borne, was that the kings maiestie myght vpon hope of your gracious reconciliation, suspende the execution of his law, so that you would vse the licence as it was first graunted. What soeuer the Ambassador hath sayd to others, he had no other maner graunt from vs, nor hauing it thus graunted, could alledge any reason against it. And where in your letter your grace noteth vs as breakers of the promise made to the Emperour, it shal appeare who hath broken the promise: whether we that haue suffered more then we licenced, or you y^t haue transgressed that was graunted. Nowe therefore we pray your grace confer the doing of your chaplaines with euery poynte of the premisses, and if the same cannot be excused, then thinke also howe long the lawe hath bene spared. If it pricke our consciences somewhat, that so muche shoulde be vsed as by the promise you may claime, how much more should it greeue vs to licence more then you can claime? And yet coulde we be content to beare great burden to satisfy your grace, if the burthen pressed not our consciences, whereof we must say as the Apostle sayd: *Gloriatio nostra est haec, testimonium conscientiae nostrae*. For the other parte of your graces letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good willes in wryting to you, how soeuer the law had proceded against your Chaplaines, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein truely had we speciall regarde of your graces degree and estate. And because the lawe of it selfe respecteth not persons, we thought to geue respect to you, first signifying to you what the law required, before it should be executed, that being warned, your grace might either thincke no strangenes in the execution, or for an example of obedience cause it to be executed your selfe. Others we see perplexed wth sodainnes of matters, your grace we woulde not haue vnwarned to thinke any thing done sodaine. Truely we thought it more commendable for your grace, to helpe the execution of a law, then to helpe the offence of one condemned by lawe. And in geuing you knowledge what the kings lawes required, we looked for helpe in the execution by you the kings maiesties sister. The greater personnage your grace is, the nigher to the king, so muche more ought your exāple to further lawes. For which cause it hath bene called a good common wealth, where the people obeyed the higher estates, and they obeied the lawes. As nature hath ioyned your grace to the kings maiestie to loue him moste entirely, so hath reason and lawe subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not, but your grace remembreth, and as they both be ioyned together in you, his maiesties sister, so we trust you wil not seuerē thē, for in deede your grace cannot loue him as your brother, but you must obey his maiestie as his subiect.

Example of your obedience and reuerence of his maiesties lawes is in stead of a good preacher, to a great number of his maiesties subiects, who if they may see in you negligēce of his maiesty or his lawes, wil not faile but folow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by exāple. And so may the kings maiesty whē he shal come to further iudgmēt, impute y^t falt of diuers euil people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your graces doings. And therefore we most earnestly frō the depth of our hearts desire it, y^t as nature hath set your grace nigh his

Maiestie by bloud, so your loue and zeale to his maiesty, wil further [Page 1336](#) his estate by obedience. In the end of your letter ij. thyngs be touched, which we cā not premit: the one is, you seme to charge vs with permission of mē to breake lawes & statutes. We thinke in deede it is too true, that laws and proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is: but that we permit them, we would be so sory to haue it proued. The other is, that we haue suffred brutes to be spoken of you, & that also must be aunswered as the other. It is pity to see men so euill, as whome they may touch with tales & infamies they care not, so they misse not the best. Suche is the boldnes of people, that neither we can fully bridle them, to raise tales of you, nor of oure selues. And yet whēsoeuer any certaine person may be gottē, to be charged w^t any such, we neuer leaue thē vnpunished. In deede, the best way is, both for your grace, & also vs, y^t when we can not find and punish the offender, let vs say as he said that was euil spoken of: yet will I so liue, as no credite shal be geuen to my backbiters. Certainly, if we had credited any euill tale of your grace, we would frendly haue admonished you therof, & so also proceded, as either the taletellers should haue ben punished, or else haue proued their tales. And therefore we pray your grace to thinke no vnkindnes in vs, y^t anye euil brutes haue bene spred by euill men, but thinke rather wel of vs, y^t howsoeuer they were spred, we beleueed them not. Hitherto your grace seeth we haue writtē somewhat at length, of y^e promise made to you and our meanings, in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two speciall matters, wherof the one might suffice to reforme your proceedings, & both together well considered, we trust shall do your grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow: the other is, y^e commodity y^t thereby shall ensue. They both make a iust cōmandement, and because of the first the latter followeth, that first shal be intreated. We heere say your grace refuseth to heare any thing reasoned, cōtrary to your old determinatiō, wherein you make your opinion suspitious, as that you are afeard to be dissuaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storme or water: if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That which we professe, hath y^e foundation in Scriptures vpon plaine textes and no gloses, the confirmation therof by the vse in the primatiue Church, not in this later corrupted: and in deede our greatest chaunge is not in the substāce of our faith, no not in any one article of our crede. Only the difference is, that we vse the ceremonies, obseruations, and Sacraments of our religion as the Apostles, and first fathers in the primatiue Church did. You vse the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarie and ignorance nourished, and seeme to be bold for custome against truth, & we for truth against custome. Your grace in one or two places of your letter, seemeth to speake earnestly in y^e maintenance of your faith, & therin (so that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we must haue the like opinion. The saying is very good if the faith be sound. But if euery opinion your grace hath (we cannot tell how conceiued) shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. S. Paule teacheth you, that faith is by the worde of God. And it was a true saying of him that saide: Non qui cuius credit, fidelis est, sed qui Deo. For where hathe youre grace ground for such a faith, to thinke cōmon praier in the English Church should not be in english? that Images of God shuld be set vp in y^e church? or y^t the sacramēt of Christes body & blood shuld be offred by the priests for the dead? yea, or y^t it should be otherwise vsed, then by y^e scripture it was instituted? Though you haue no scripture to mayneteine thē, we haue euident scriptures to forbid thē. And although fault might be found, that of late baptisme hath bin vsed in your graces house, cōtrary to law, & vtterly w^tout licence, yet is it y^e worse, y^t contrary to y^e primatiue Church it hath bin in a tong vnknown, by y^t which the best part of y^e Sacrament is vnused, & as it were a blind bargain made by the Godfathers in a matter of illuminatiō, and thus in the rest of the things in which your grace differeth frō the common

order of the realme, where haue you groundes or reason but some custome, which oftentimes is mother of many errors? And although in ciuill things she may bee followed where she causeth quiet, yet not in religions, where she excuseth no error, as in Leuiticus it is sayd: Ye shall not do after the custome of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custome of Chanaan: no, you shall not walke in theyr lawes, for I am your Lord God, keepe you my lawes and cōmandements. The points wherein your grace differeth in your faith as you call it, may be shewed where, when, how, & by whom they begā, since the Gospell was preached, y^e church was planted, & the Apostles martired. At which time your faith depended vpon the Scripture, & otherwise there was no necessitie to beleue. For as Hierome sayth: Quod de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. And because your grace as we heare say, readeth sometime the Doctors, we may alledge vnto you the 2. or 3. places of other principall Doctors. August. sayth: Cum dominus tacuerit, quis nostrū dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, vnde probat? And Chrisostomes saying is not vnlike. Multi, inquit, iactant spiritum sanctum, sed qui propria loquuntur, falso illum praetendunt. And if you wi^l haue their meaning plaine, read the 5. Chapter of the first booke of Ecclesiastica historia, and where Constantine had these wordes in the Councell. In disputationibus, inquit, rerum diuinarum, habetur praescripta spiritus sancti doctrina, Euang[•]lici & Apostolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis ostendunt sensum numinis, proinde discordia posita, sumamus ex verbis spiritus questionum explicationes. What playner sayings may be then these to answeere your fault? Agayne, to infinite it were to remember your grace the great number of particular errores (crept into the church whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of false miracles and lewde pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Onely this we pray your grace to remember w^t your selfe: the two wordes that the father said of his sonne Iesus Christ. Ipsum audite. To the second point of the cōmoditie that may follow your obedience, we hauing by the kinges authoritie in this behalfe the gouernaunce of thys realme must herein be playne with your grace. And if our speache offende the same, then must your grace thinke it is our charge and office to finde fault where it is, and our dutie to amend it as we may. Most sory truely we be, y^t your grace, whom we should otherwise honour, for the kinges maiesties sake, by your owne deedes shoulde prouoke vs to offend you, we do perceauē great discommoditie to the realm by your graces singularitie, (if it may be so named) in opinion, & in one respect, as you are sister to our soueraigne Lord & maister, we most hūbly beseeche your grace to shew your affection cōtinually towardes him, as becōmeth a sister. And as your grace is a subiect, and we counsellors to his Maiesties estate, we let you know, the exāple of your graces opinion hindreth the good weale of thys realm, which thing we think is not vnknowne vnto you: & if it be, we let your grace knowe, it is to true. For Gods sake we beseech your grace, let nature set before your eyes the yong age of the king your brother. Let reason tell you y^e losenes of the people, how then can you without a wayling hart▪ thinke that ye should be y^e cause of disturbance? if your grace see the king, being y^e ordinary ruler vnder God not onely of all others in the realme, but of you also▪ call his people by ordinary lawes one way, with what hart can your grace stay your selfe without following: muche worse to stay other y^t would follow their soueraigne Lord? Can it be a loue in you to forsake him, his rule and lawe, & take a priuate way by your selfe? If it be not loue, it is much lesse obedience. If your grace thinke the kings maiestie to be ouer his people as the head in a mans bodye is ouer the rest not onely in place but in dignitie and science▪ how can you being a principall mēber in y^e same body keep y^e nourishment from y^e head, we pray your grace most earnestly think this thing so much greueth vs, as for our priuate affectiō & good willes vnto you (though we shuld dissemble) yet for our publicke office, we cannot but plainely enforme your grace, not doubting but that your wisdomē

can iudge what your office is, & if it were not your owne cause, we know your grace by wisdomed could charge vs, if we suffered y^e like in any other. Truely euery one of vs a part honoreth your grace for our maisters sake, but when we ioyn together in publick seruice, as in this writing we do. We iudge it not tollerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, & leaue it vnamēded. For though we would be negligēt, y^e world would iudge vs. And therefore we do altogether eftsoones require your grace, in the kinges maiesties name, y^t if any of your 2. chaplains, Mallet, or Barcklet, be returned, or as soone as any of them shall returne to your graces house y^e same may be by your graces commaundement or order, sent or deliuered to the sheriff of Essex, who hath commandement from the kings maiestie, by order of the law & of his crowne to attache them, or if that conditiō shall not like your grace, yet y^t then he may be warned frō your graces house, & yet not kept there, to be as it were de|fended frō the power of the law. Which thing we think surely neither your grace will meane, nor any of your counsell assent thereto. And so to make an end of our letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto differred for our great busines, we trust your grace first seeth how y^e vsage of your Chaplaines differeth from the maner of our licence, and what good entent moued vs to write vnto you in former letters: lastly that the thinges whereunto the king and the whole realme hath consented, be not onely lawful and iust by the pollicie of the Realme, but also iust and godly by the lawes of God. So that if we, which haue charge vnder the [Page 1337](#) King should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neyther discharge our selues to the king for our dueties, neyther to God for our conscience. The consideration of which things we pray almighty God, by his holye spirit, to lay in the bottome of your hart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God may haue his true honor: the king his dewe obedience, the Realme concord, and we most comfort. For all the which we do hartely pray, & therewith, for the cōtinuance of your graces helth to your harts desire. Frō Westminster y^e xxv. of December.

***The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counsell xx. May. 1551.**

MY Lordes, after my harty commendations to you, although both I haue bene and also am loth to trouble you with my letters, yet neuerthelesse the newes which I haue lately hard, touching my Chaplayne Doctor Mallet forceth me thereunto, at this present, for I heare by credible report, that you haue committed him to the tower, which newes seeme to me very strange: notwithstanding I thought it good, by these to desire you to aduertise me what is the cause of his imprisonment, assuring you I would be sory that any of mine should deserue the like punishment, and there is no creature within the Kings maiesties Realme would more lament, that any belonging to them should giue iust cause so to be vsed: then I would do: who would haue thought much frendship in you if you had geuen me knowledge, wherein my sayd Chaplein had offended, before you had ministred suche punishment vnto him, eftsoones requiring you to let me knowe by this bearer, the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the short dispatch of the poore Marchaunt of Portingall, I wish to you all no worse then to my selfe, and so bid you farewell.

From Beaulien the 2. of May.

Your frend to my power, Mary.

***The Counsell to the Lady Mary, 6. of Maye. 1551.**

After our humble cōmendatiōs to your grace, we haue receiued your letters of the second of this moneth, by the which your grace seemeth to take it straungely that Doctor Mallet is committed to prison, whereof we haue the more maruell, seeing it hath bene heeretofore signified vnto you that he hath offended the kings maiesties lawes, and thereof condemned, your grace hath bene by our letters earnestly desired, that he might be deliuered to the Sheriffe of Essex, according to the iust processe of the lawe, to the which all maner persons of this Realme be subiect, whereof howsoeuer it seemeth straunge at this tyme to your grace that he is imprisoned, it may seme more strange to other that he hath escaped it thus long: and if the place being the Tower, moue your grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offense, then we pray your grace to vnderstand that in deede it is for the very same, and the place of the imprisonment to be at the Kings Maiesties pleasure, from whome, besides the charge of his lawes, we haue expresse commaundement to doe that we doe. And so we beseech your grace to thinke of vs, that neither in thys case, nor in any other we meane to do any other then minister and see, as much as in our power lieth, ministred iustice indifferently, to all persons, whiche doing then wee thinke your grace should not thinke it any lacke of frendship that wee did not certifie you of the offense of youre Chaplayne, although in deede the cause hath already bene certified. And we trust your grace both of youre naturall nearenes to the Kings Maiestie and your owne good wisdome will not mislike our Ministerie in the execution of the lawes of the Realme, and the pleasure of the Kyngs Maiestie. So we wish to your grace from the bottome of our hart, the grace of almighty God, with the riches of his holy giftes.

***The Lady Mary to the Counsell, the 11. of May.**

MY Lordes, it appeareth by your letters of the vj. of this presēt which I haue receaued, that the imprisonmēt of my Chaplaine Doctour Mallet is, for saying of Masse, and that he was condemned for the same. In deede I haue heard that he was endited, but neuer condēned. Neuerthelesse, I must needes confesse and say, that he did it but by my commaundement, and I sayde vnto him that none of my Chaplaynes shoulde be in daunger of the lawe for saying Masse in my house. And thereof to put hym out of doubt, the Emperours Embassadour that dead is, declared vnto him before that time, how after what sorte the & promise was made to his Maiesty, wherby it appeareth, that the mā hath not in that willingly offēded. Wherefore I pray you to discharge him of emprisonment, and set him at liberty: if not, ye minister cause no• only to him, but to others to thinke that I haue declared more then was true, whiche I woulde not wittingly doo, to gaine the whole world. And heerein as I haue often sayde, the Emperours Maiestie can be best iudge. And to be playne with you according to mine old custome, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that woulde be more loth to be founde vntrue of their word then I. And well I am assured, that none of you haue found it in me. My Lordes, I pray you seeke not so much my dishonour, as to disprooue my word, whereby it should appeare too plaine that you handle me not well. And if you haue cause to charge my Chaplaine for this matter, lay that to mee, and I wyll discharge it againe, by your promise made to the Emperours Maiestie, which you can not rightfully denie, wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning then after such promise made, and to such a person, to seeme to go from it which my Lordes, as your very friend I hartely desire you to consider, and to geue me no cause to thinke you otherwise then my friends, considering I haue alwayes, and yet do (God is my iudge) wishe to you all no worse

neither in soules nor bodies, then to my selfe, and so wyth my hartye commendations, I commit you all to God.

From Beaulien the 11. of May.

Your assured friend to my power, Mary.

¶The Counsaile to the Lady Mary, the 27. of May. 1551.

After our due commendations to your grace, although the same receiue not aunswere so soone, as perchance was looked for vpon the returne of your graces seruaunt: Yet we doubt not, but youre grace vnderstanding that where we haue matters of estate pertaining to the Kings Maiestie in hand, as in deede we haue had of late, the differring of the answere in a matter being no greater, requireth to be borne withal. And touching the answere of your graces letter for D. Mallet, we pray your grace to vnderstande, that although you write he was indited, but not condemned, and so seeme to take exception at the maner of his imprisonment, yet if they which enformed your grace of that maner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your grace with truth, as the reason in deede is not true, then should they haue told your grace that by the Acte of Parliament, if either Mallet haue bene conuicted by the othes of twelue men, or that the fact hath bene notorious, then the punishment doth follow iustly. The trueth of the one and the other way of conuiction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the processe of the lawe. And where your grace, to releue him, woulde take the fault vpon your selfe, we are sory to perceiue your grace so ready to be a defence to one that the Kings lawe doth condemne. Neuerthelesse, he is not punished because your grace bad him, and willed him to do that which was an offence: but he is punished for doing it, and if we should not so see the Kings lawes executed without respecte, it might appeare that we too much neglected our duty, and for that your grace taketh it as a discredite to your selfe, that he should be punished for that you bad him do, alledging to him that you had authoritie so to do, and so promise made to the Emperour, it hath bene both written, and sayde to your grace, what is the truth in that behalfe: and howsoever that your grace pretendeth your licence to haue Masse said before your selfe, for a time of your reconciliation, it had bene so far out of reason for to haue desired that whosoever was your Chapleine might say Masse in any house that was yours, when your graces selfe was not there. For so is D. Mallets offence, for saying Masse at one of your houses, where your grace was not, whych thing as it was neuer graunted, so do we not remember that euer it was demaunded. The sute that hath bene at anye tyme made, either by the Emperours Embassadour that dead is, or by him that now is, was neuer but in respect of your grace, and not to be taken that the Emperour or his Embassadour meant to priuiledge mayster D. Mallet or any other to say Masse out of your presence. Wherefore as we do plainely write to your grace, so do we pray you to take it in good part, and thinke we be as ready to do our due reuerence towards your grace in any thyng wee may doe with our dutie to our maister as any youre grace may commaund: and of suche wisdom we knowe your grace to be, that ye should iudge the better of vs, for that we be diligent to see the lawes of the Realme executed, wherein resteth the strength and safegard of the kings Maiestie our soueraigne Lord and Maister.

The Lady Mary to the Lordes of the Counsaile, 21. Iune. 1551.

MY Lords, although I receiued by my seruant this bearer (who lately deliuered vnto you my letters, wherein I desired to [Page 1338](#) haue my Chaplayne D. Mallet discharged of his imprisonment) your gentle message in generall wordes, for the whyche I geue you my hartye thanks: yet haue I no knowledge whether you will set him at liberty or no: But I thinke that your waighty affayres at that time, was the let and cause ye did not write. For else I doubt not you would haue aunswered me. Wherefore not being satisfied, and vnderstandyng yee would gladly pleasure mee, I thought good eftsoones to desire you, that my sayde Chaplayne may haue his libertye, wherein I assure you, yee shall much gratifie me, beeing not a little troubled, that he is so long in prison, without iust cause, seeyng the matter of hys imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the Emperours Maiestie, as in my late letter I declared vnto you. Wherefore my Lordes, I pray you let me haue knowledge by this bearer how ye will vse me in this matter, wherein if ye do pleasure me accordingly, then shall it well appeare that ye regard the foresayd promise, and I wil not forget your gentlenes therein (God willing) but requite it to my power. And thus with my harty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell.

From Beaulien the 21. of Iune.

Your assured friend to my power Mary.

¶The Counsaile to the Lady Mary, the 24. of Iune. 1551.

AFTER our humble cōmendatiōs to your grace, we haue receiued your graces letter of the 21. heereof, wherin is receaued the same request that in your former letters hath bene made for the release of Doctor Mallet, and therein also your grace seemeth to haue looked for the same answer of your former letter, y^t which indeed partly was omitted (as your grace cōiectureth) by the reason of y^e Kings Maiesties affaires: wherwith we •e thoroughly occupied, partly for that we had no other thing to answeere, then you had heeretofore heard in the same matter. And therefore where your grace desireth a resolute answeere, we assure the same we be right sory for y^r matter, & that it should be your graces chaunce to moue it, as we cannot, with our duties to y^e Kings Maiestie, accomlishe your desire. So necessary a thing it is to see the lawes of the Realme executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contempt of the Ecclesiasticall orders of this Church of England, the same may not without y^e great displeasure of God the slaunder of y^e state be neglected, and therfore your grace may please to vnderstand we haue not only punished your Chaplein, but all such others whom we find in like case to haue disobeyed the lawes of the Kings maiestie. And touching the excuse your grace oftentimes vseth, of a promise made, we assure your grace, none of vs al, nor any other of the Counsell as your grace hath bene certified, hath euer bene priuie to any such promise, otherwise then hath bene written. And in that matter your grace had plaine answer both by vs of the kings maiesties Counsell, at your being last in his Maiesties presence, and therein also your grace might perceiue his Maiesties determination, whereunto we beseech your grace not only to incline your selfe, but also to iudge well of vs that do addict our selues to doe our dueties. And so also shall we be ready to do with all oure harts, our due reuerence towarde your grace, whose preseruatiō we commend to almighty God with our praier.

The Copie of the Lady Maryes letter to the Kings Maiestie.

MY duetie most humbly remembred vnto your Maiesty, it may please the same to be aduertised, that I haue receyued by my seruantes, your most honourable letters, the conte••es whereof do not a little trouble me, and so muche the more, for that any of my sayd seruants should moue or attempt me in matters touching my soule, which I thinke the meanest subiect within your highnes Realme, could euill 〈◇〉 at their seruantes handes, hauing for my part vtterly refused heeretofore to talke with them in such matters, and of all other persons 〈...〉 them therein, to whome I haue declared what I thinke• 〈◇〉 •hee which trusted that your Maiestie woulde haue suffered 〈◇〉 your poore sister and beadewomā to haue vsed the accustomed masse, which the King your father & mine with all his predec•ssours did euermore vse, wherein also I haue ben brought vp frō my 〈◇〉 . And therevnto my conscience doth not only bind me; which by no meanes will suffer me to thinke one thing and do another• 〈◇〉 also the promise made to the Emperour by your Maiesties counsaile was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not off•nd the •wes, although they seeme nowe to qualifie and 〈...〉 thing. And at my last wayting vpon your Maiesty, I was 〈◇〉 to declare my mind and conscience to the same, and desired your highnes, rather then you should constraîne me to leaue 〈...〉 my life• wherunto your maiesty made me a very gētle answer. And now I most humbly beseech your highnes to geuē me leaue to write what I thinke touching your Maiesties letters. In deede• they be signed with your owne hand, and neuertheles in mine opiniō not your maiesties in effect, because it is wel knowē (as heretofore I haue declared in the presēce of your highnesse) that although, our Lorde be praysed, your Maiestie hath farre more knowledge, and greater giftes then others of your yeres, yet it is not possible that your highnes can at these yeares be a iudge in matters of religion: and therefore I take it that the matter in your letters proceedeth from such as doe wish those thinges to take place, which be most agreeable to themselues by whose doinges your maiesty not offended, I entend not to rule my conscience. And thus without molesting your Highnes any further, I humbly beseech the same, euē for Gods sake to beare with me, as you haue done, and not to thinke that by my doinges or example anye inconuenience might growe to your maiestie or your Realme, for I vse it not after such sorte putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I liue or dye, your maiestie shall perceauē that mine intent is grounded vpon a true loue towards you, whose royall estate I beseeche almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my dayly praier according to my duty. And after pardon craued of your maiesty for these rude and bold letters, if neyther at my humble suite, nor for the regard of the promise made to the Emperour, your Highnesse will suffer and beare with mee, as you haue done till your Maiesty may be a iudge herein your selfe, and rightly vnderstand theyr proceedinges, (of whiche your goodnesse yet I despayre not) otherwise, rather then to offend God and my conscience, I offer my body at your wil, and death shall be more welcome then life with a troubled conscience, most humbly beseeching your Maiesty to pardon my slownes in aunswering your letters. For mine olde disease woulde not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I praye almighty God to keep your Maiesty in all vertue and honor with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poore house at Copped hall. the xix. of Aug.

Your Maiesties most humble sister, Mary.

¶A Copy of the kinges maiesties letters to the sayde Lady Mary.

Right deare and right intirely beloued sister, we greeete you well, and let you knowe that it greeueth vs muche to perceiue no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods cause, your soules health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our Realme, haue so long desired, assuring you that our sufferance hath muche more demonstration of naturall loue, then contentation of our conscience and foresight of our safety. Wherefore although you geue vs occasion as much almost as in you is to diminish our naturall loue: yet be we loth to feele it decay, and meane not to be so carelesse of you as we be prouoked.

And therefore meaning your weale, and therwith ioyning a care not to be found gilty in our conscience to God, hauyng cause to require forgeuenes that we haue so long for respect of loue towards you omitted our bounden duety, we send at this present our right trusty and right welbeloued counsaylor the Lord R. or Chauncelour of England, and our trustye and right welbeloued Counsaylers, Sir A. W. Knight, Comptroler of our housholde and Sir W.P. Knight, one of our principall Secretaries in message to you, touching the order of your house, wylling you to geue them firme credite in those thinges they shall say to you from vs, and doe there in our name. Yeauen vnder our signet at our Castle of Winsor, the 24. of August, in the first yeare of our Raigne.

A copy of the kinges Maiesties instructions, geuen to the said L. C. sir A. W. and sir W.P. Knightes, &c. 24. August. 1551.

First, you the sayd Lorde Chauncellor and your Colleagues shall make your immediate repayre to the sayd Lady Mary geuing to her his maiesties hartye commendations, and shewe the cause of your comming to be as followeth

Although his maiesty hath long time, as well by his maiestyes owne mouth and writing, as by his counsayle trauayled that the sayd Lady being his sister, and a principall subiect and member of his Realme, should both be in deede and also shew her selfe conformable to the lawes and ordinaunces of the realme, in the profession and rites of Religion, vsing all the gētle meanes of exhortation and aduise that could be deuised, to the intent the reformation of the faulte might willingly come of her selfe, as the expectation and desire of his maiesty, and all good wise men was: yet notwithstanding his maiestie seeth that hetherto no maner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the errour and manifest breach of his lawes, no small perill consequently may happe to the state of hys Realme, especially the sufferaunce of such a fault being directly to the dishonor of God and the great offence of his Maiesties conscience, and all other good men: and therefore of late, [Page 1339](#) euen with the consent and aduise of the whole state of his priuy Counsayle, and diuers others of the nobility of his Realme, whose names ye may repeate, if you thinke conuenient, his Maiestie did resolutely determine it iust, necessary, and expedient, that her grace should not in any wise vse or maintaine the priuate Masse, or any other manner of seruice, then suche as by the lawe of the Realme is authorised and allowed: and to participate this his maiesties determination to her grace, it was thought in respect of a fauorable proceeding with her selfe, to haue the same, not only to be manifested by her owne officers and seruants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed by them in her house, as well for the more quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the lesse molesting of her

grace with any message by straungers, in that time of her solitarines, wherein her grace then was by the reason of the late sicknesse. For which purpose her three seruants, Rochester, Egglefield, and Walgraue were sent in message in thys mannaer. First, to deliuer his Maiesties letter to her, next to discharge the complaintes of saying Masse, and prohibiting all the houshold from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Maiestie perceiueth vpon their owne report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and in deede how falsly they haue execu•ed theyr commaundement and charge contrary to the duety of good subiectes, and to the manifest contempt of his maiesty. Insomuch as manifestly they haue before his Maiesties Counsayle refused to do that which pertayneth to euery true faithfull subiecte, to the offence so farre of his maiesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forborne, and yet in the maner of the punishment of them, his Maiestie and his Counsayle hath such consideration, and respect of her person being his sister, that without doubt his Maiestie could not with honour haue had the like consideration or fauour in the punishmente of the dearest Counsailour he hath, if any of them had so offended, and therefore his Maiesty hath sent you three not only to declare to her grace the causes of their sending thither of late his officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presentlye. And further, in the default of the sayde officers to take order, as well with hir Chaplaynes, as with the whole housholde, that hys Maiesties lawes may be there obserued. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answeare in his Maiesties name certayne pointes of her letter, sent now lately to his Maiestie. The copy of which letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceede in. First, her allegation of the promise made to the Emperour, must be so aunswered, as the trueth of the matter serueth, whereof euery of you haue heard sufficient testimony diuers times in the counsaile for her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather then to chaunge her conscience. It greeueth his Maiestie much, that her conscience is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is ment of his Maiestie, nor of any one of his counsayle once to hurt, or will euill to her body, but euen from the bottome of their hart wisheth to her mentem sanam in corpore sano. And therefore yee shall do very well to perswade her grace that this proceeding commeth onely of the conscience the King hath to auoyde the offence of God• and of necessary counsaile and wisdom to see his lawes in so weighty causes executed. Item, because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her graces prouision of houshold, and by his absence the same might be either disordered or disfurnished: his Maiestie hath sent a trusty skilfull man of hys owne houshold, to serue her grace for the time. Who also is sufficiently instructed of Rochester, of the state of her things of houshold. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his Maiesties pleasure is, that his seruant shall aduertise his owne chiefe officers of houshold, to the intent if the same may be supplied of any store heere, or elsewhere helped conueniently, her grace shall not lacke.

Item, hauing thus proceeded with her grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your commoning, ye shal thē cause to be called afore you the Chaplaynes, and all the rest of the housholde there presente, and in the Kings Maiesties name most straightly forbid the Chaplaynes eyther to say or vse any Masse or kinde of seruice, other then by the lawe is authorised: and likewise yee shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any suche prohibited seruice, vpon paine to be most straightly punished, as worthely falling into the daunger of the Kings indignation, and a like charge to them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed• they shall aduertise some of his Maiesties Counsayle. In the which clause ye shall vse the reasons of theyr naturall duty and allegiance that they owe as subiectes to theyr soueraigne Lord, which derogateth all other earthly dueties.

Item, if you shall finde eyther any of the priestes, or any other person disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to prison as ye shall thinke conuenient.

Item, for as much as yee were priuy to the determination at Richmond, and there vnderstoode how necessary it was to haue reformation heerein: his Maiesty, vpon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and vprightnes, remitteth to your discretions the manner of the proceeding heerein, if any thing shall chaunce to arise there that in your opinions might otherwise then according to these instructions conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one summe is to auoyde the vse of the priuate Masse, and other vnlawfull seruice, in the house of the sayd Lady Mary.

Item, ye shall deuise by some meanes as you may, to haue vnderstanding after your departure how the order you geue is obserued, and as you shall iudge fit, to certifie hither.

- E.S.
- W.W.
- I.W.
- I.B.
- W.N.
- W.H.
- F.H.
- I.G.
- T.D.
- W.C.

***The story of Steuen Gardiner Bish. of Winchester, briefly collected, the residue whereof concerning hys actes and doings, may further appeare in the booke of Actes and Monuments in the first edition. page. 728.**

ALthough the first imprisonment of Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester,* in order of time was before the deprivation of Byshop Boner: yet for so much as hee was not deposed from his Bishopricke till the nexte or seconde yeare after, which was 1551. I haue therefore driuen off the history of the sayde Byshop of Winchester to this present place: intending neuertheles heere not to extende and prosecute the explication of that busie matter with all circumstances and particularities thereof, so amply at full as I might, partly for that being done in my first volume of Actes and Monuments, may heere suffice and content the reader being disposed there to search and further to reade touching the same, partly also considering how this present volume is growne already very large and great, I thought not to pster the same with any more superfluitie, then eedes must, and therefore leauing out his idle letters, his long processe of Articles and examinations, hys tedious talke with the multitude of depositions brought in against him, and other his actes and interlocutories superfluous,* I minde heere (the Lord willing) briefly and summarily to excerpe only the principall effectes, as to the story may seeme most appertinent, referring the residue to be searched (if any reader o list to do) to the booke of Monuments aforesayd, beginning in the page 728.

Briefly therefore, as touching the actes, dooings, deservings and misdemeanours of this stoute Prelate, and Bishop of Winchester: first we will set before the reader the copy of a certayne writte or evidence against the sayd Byshop, wherein as in a briefe summe generally is described the whole order and maner of his misordred demeanour, copied out of the publike records in maner as followeth.

¶The copy of a writte or evidence touching the order and maner of the misdemeanour of Winchester▪ with declaration of the faultes where, with he was iustly charged.

WHere as the Kings Maiestie by the aduise of the Lord Protector,* and the rest of his highnes priuie Counsell, thinking requisite for sundry vrgent considerations to haue a generall visitation throughout the whole Realme, did about tenne monethes past addresse fourth Commissions, and by the aduise of sondry Byshopps and other the best learned men of the Realme, appointed certayne orders or Iniunctions to be generally obserued, which being such as in some part touched the reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good gouernaunce & quiet of the Realme, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently receiued, and reuerently obserued and executed, sauing only of the Bishop of Winchester, who as well by conference with other, as by open protestation and letters also, shewed such a wilfull disobedience therein, as if it had not bene quickly espied, myght haue bred much vnquietnes and trouble, vpon the knowledge whereof he being sent for, and his lewd proceedings layd to his charge, he in the presence of the whole Councell so vsed himselfe (as well in denying to receiue the sayd orders and Iniunctions as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharpe punishmente,* and yet considering the place he had bene in, he was only sequestred to the Fleete, where, after he had remained a certaine time, as muche a• his ease as if he had bene at his owne house, vpon hys promise of conformitie he was both set at libertie againe, and also licenced to repaire and remaine in his dioces at hys pleasure▪ where when he was, forgetting his duety, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as 〈◇〉 againe more strife, variance, and contention in that one small Citie and Shire, then was almost in the whole Realme after: besides that, the Lorde Protectors grace and the Counsaile were enformed, that to withstande such as he thought to haue bene sen•e from their grace and Lordships into those parties, he had caused [Page 1340](#) all his seruaunts to be secretly armed and harnessed: and moreouer when such preachers as being men of godly life and learning were sent into that Dioces by his grace and Lordship to preache the worde of God, had appoynted to preach, the Bishop to disapoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Maiesties proceedings, did occupie the Pulpit himselfe, not fearing in his Sermon to warne the people to beware of such new Preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine then that which he had taught them (then the which words none could haue bene spoken more perilous and seditions:*) whereupon, being eftsoones sente for, and their grace and Lordships obiecing to him many particular matters wherewith they had iust cause to charge him, they did in the end vpon his second promise leaue him at libertie, onely willing him to remaine at his house at London, because they thought it most meete to sequester him from his Dioces for a time, and beeing come to hys house, he began afreshe to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither Commission nor authority, parte whereof touched the Kings Maiestie: whereof being yet once againe admonished by his grace and their Lordships, he did not only promise to conforme himselfe in all things like a good subiect, but also because he vnderstoode that he was diuersly reported of, & many were also offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformitie, and promised in an open

Sermon so to open his minde in sondry articles agreed vpon,* y^t such as had ben offended, shuld haue no more cause to be offended, but well satisfied in all things: declaring further that as his own conscience was well satisfied, and liked well the Kings proceedings within this Realme, so would he vtter his cōscience abroad, to the satisfaction & good quiet of others, and yet all this notwithstanding, at the daye appoynted he did not only most arrogantly and disobediētly, and that in the presence of his Maiestie, their grace and Lordships, and of such an audience, as the like wherof hath not lightly ben sene, speake of certaine matters contrary to an expresse commandement geuen to him on his Maiesties behalfe both by mouth and by letters,* but also in the rest of the articles, whereunto hee had agreed before, vsed such a maner of vtterance as was very like euen there presently to haue sturred a greate tumult, and in certaine great matters touching the policie of the Realme, handled himselfe so colourably as therein hee shewed himselfe an open great offender & a very sedicious mā: for as much as these his proceedings were of such sort, as being suffred to escape vnpunished, might breede innumerable incōueniences, & that the clemency shewed to him afore by their grace & Lordships, did worke in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldnes to demeane himselfe more and more disobediently against his Maiestie and his graces proceedings: it was determined by their grace and Lordships that he should be committed to the Tower and be conueyed thether by Sir Anthony Wingfield,* and that at the time of his Commission Sir Rafe Sadler and William Hunnings Clerke of the Counsaile, should seale vp the dores of such places in his house as they should thinke mee•e: all which was done accordingly.

By this euidence aboue mentioned, first heere is of the reader to be noted, how •ewdly and disobediently the sayd Sir▪ Gardiner misused himselfe in the Kings generall visitation, in denying to receiue such orders and iniunctiōs, as for the which he iustly deserued much more seueare punishment. Albeit the King with his Uncle the Lord Protectour, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the Fleete. In the which house, as his durance was not long, so his entreating and ordering was very easie. Out of the whiche Fleete diuers and sondry letters he wrote to the Lord Protectour and other of the Counsaile, certayne also to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some to M. Ridley Bishop of London: the particulars were too lōg here to rehearse, cōsidering how this booke is so ouercharged as ye see already:* and especially seeing the same be notified in our first edition sufficiently, as is aforesayd. Wherefore omitting the rehearsall of the said letters, and referring the reader to the booke aforesayde, I will onely repeate one letter of the said Byshop, with the aunsweres of the Lord Protectour vnto the same: the contents whereof be these as followeth.

¶A Letter of Winchester to Mayster Vaughan.

MAister Vaughan, after my right hartye commendations: In my last letters to my Lord Protectour,* signifying according to the generall commaundemet by letters geuen to all Iustices of peace the state of this Shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the Shire to be in good order, quiet, & conformity, for I had not then herd of any alteratiō in this Shire which the said letters of cōmādement did forbid. Now of late within these two dayes I haue heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is tolde me) innouation in the towne of Portesmouth,* where the Images of Christ and his sayntes haue bene most contemptuously pulled downe, and spitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Mayor, the kinges maiesties chiefe ministers, as well to know the trueth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent

I may be seene to discharge my duety, and discharging it in deede both to God and the kinges maiesty, vnder whome I am here appoynted to haue cure, and care to relieue suche as be by any wayes fallen, and preserue the rest that stand, from like daunger.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I haue had acquayntance and whom I know to be wise, & esteeme to haue more knowledge wisdom, and discretion, then to allow any such enormities, and therefore do the more willingly consult with you herein, with request frēdly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, & whether ye thinke the matter so farre gone with the multitude & whether the reproofe and disprouing of the deed, might without a further daunger be enterprised in the Pulpit or not, minding if it may so be, to send one thether for that purpose vpon Sondag next comming, I would vse preaching as it shoulde not be occasion of anye further folly, where a folly is begun, and to a multitude perswaded in that opinion of destruction of Images, I would neuer preach.* For (as scripture willeth vs) we should cast no precious stones before Hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be Hogs and worse then Hogs, if there be any grosser beastes then hogs be, and haue bene euer so taken, and in England they are called Lollards, who denying images, thought therewithall the craftes of paynting & grauing to be generally superfluous and nought, and agaynst Gods lawes.

In Germany suche as maintained that opinion of destroying of Images, were accompted the dregges cast out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewinges in Christes religion, and so taken as Hogges meate. For the reproofe of whom, Luther wrote a booke specially: and I haue with myne eyes seene the Images standing in all Churches where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of Images contayneth an enterprise to subuert religion and the state of the worlde with it, and especially the nobilitie, who by images set forth & spread abroad to be read of al people, their linage, parentage, with remembraunce of their state and actes: and the Pursiuaunt carieth not on his brest the kinges names written in such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read, be they neuer so rude being great knowne letters in Images of three Lyons, and three floures deluce, and other beastes holding those armes. And he that cānot read the Scripture written about the kings great Seale,* yet he can read S. George on horsebacke on the one side, and the king sitting in his maiestie on the other side, and readeth so much written in those images as if he be an honest man, he will put of his cap, and although if the Seale were broken by chaunce, he woulde and might make a candell of it, yet he woulde not be noted to haue broken the seale for that purpose, or to call it a piece of waxe onely, whilst it continueth whole And if by reuiling of stockes and stones, in whiche matter Images be grauen, the setting of the trueth to be read in them of all men, shall be contemned: how shall suche wryting continue in honour, as is comprised in cloutes, and pitch, whereof and whereupon our bookes be made,* such as few can skill of, and not the hundreth parte of the realme? And if we a few that can read, because we read in one sort of letters, so priuiledged as they haue many reliefes, shal pull away the books of the rest, and would haue our letters onely in estimation, and blinde all thē, shall not they haue iust cause to mistrust what is ment? And if the crosse be a trueth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not haue a writing thereof, suche as all can read, that is to say an Image? If this opinion shoulde proceede, when the kings maiestie hereafter should shew his person, his liuely image, the honour due by Gods law among such might continue, but as for the kinges Standardes, his banners, his armes, shoulde hardly continue in their due reuerence for feare of Lollardes Idolatry, whiche they gather vpon scripture beastly, not onely vntruely. The scripture

reprooueth false Images made of stockes and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.

When the Emperours mony was shewed to Christ, wherein was the image of the Emperour, Christ contemned not that Image calling it an Idoll, nor noted not that mony to be against gods law, because it had an image in it, as thogh it were against the precept of God: Thou shalt haue no grauen image, but taught thē good ciuilitie, in calling it the Emperors image, & bad thē vse the mony as it was ordered to be vsed in his right vse.

There is no scripture that reprooueth trueth, and all Scripture reprooueth falshood. False writings, false bookes, false Images and false men, all be nought, to be contemned and despised, as for paper, inke, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A.B. [Page 1341](#) of the Chauncery hand, and a. b. of the Secretary hand, a letter of Germany fashion, or of any other forme, be all of one estimation, and may be of man enclining to the Deuill, vsed for falsehoode, or applying to Gods gracious calling, vsed to set foorth truth. It is a terrible matter to thinke,* that this false opinion co•ceaued against Images should trouble any mans head: and suche as I haue knowne vexed with that deuill (as I haue knowne some) be neuerthesse wondrously obstinate in it: and if they can finde one that can spell Latin to helpe foorth their madnes, they be more obdurate then euer were the Iewes, and slaunder whatsoeuer is sayd to them for their reliefe. Of this sort I know them to be, and therefore if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruite, but labour for reformation to my Lorde Protectour. But if you thought there might be other wayes vsed first to a good effect, I would followe your aduise and proceeding with you and the Mayor, wyth both your helpes to do that may lye in me, to the redresse of the matter: which I take to be such an enterprise against Christes Religion, as there can not be a greater by man excogitate wyth the deuils instigation, and at this time much hurtfull to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider. Whome I hartily desire and pray, to send me aunswere by thys bearer to these my letters, to the intent I may vse my selfe in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to my Lorde Protectour as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you hartely well.

From my house at Woluesay, the third of May. 1547.

Steph. Wint.

¶A Letter of the Lord Protector aunswering to the letter aboue.

AFter harty commendations, receauing of late two letters from your Lordship, the one inclosed in a letter of Maister Uaughans to vs, and directed to him, the other directed straight vnto vs, very wittely & learnedly writtē, whereby we do perceiue how earnest you are that no innouations should be had. The whiche minde of yours, as we do highly esteeme and allow, proceeding from one that would quietnes, so we woulde likewise wishe, that you should take good heede, that too much feare of innouation or disturbance, do not cause both to be. Many times in an hoste, he that crieth enemies enemies when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a mutinie or rebellion to be made, and hee that for feare of sickenes to come, taketh vnaduisedly a purgation, sometime maketh himselfe sicke in deede. We perceau by the sayde your letters, that

haynouser factes and words haue bene brought to your eares, then there was cause why: and those •actes which were punishable, be already by him redrest.

For the matter of Images, an order was taken in y^e late king of famous memory our soueraigne lords daies. Whē the abused Images (yet lurking in some places by negligence of them who should ere this time haue looked vnto y^e same) be now abolished,* let not that be a matter of y^e abolishing of all Images. Though felons & adulterers be punished, all men be not slayne. Though the Images which did adulterate gods glory be takē away,* we may not think by & by all maner of Images to be destroyed. Yet after our aduise, better it were for a time to abolish them all, then for the dead Images, the Kings louing subiects being faythfull and true to the kings maiestie, should be put to variāce and disturbance. With quietnes the Magistrates and Rulers shall keepe thē well in order, whom cōtentious preachers might iritate and prouoke to disorder & strife. So it must be prouided that the kings Maiest. Images, Armes, and Ensignes, should be honoured and worshipped after y^e decent order and inuention of humane lawes and ceremonies, and neuertheles that other Images cōtrary to Gods ordinance and lawes, shuld not be made partakers of that reuerence, adoration and inuocation: which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honor, & be occasion to accumulate Gods wrath vpon vs. Where they be takē for a remēbrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the Church or Marketstead, and folowing the late king of famous memory his counsell & order,* yet more gentlenesse was shewed to those bookes of Images, then to the true and vnfained bookes of Gods word, both being abused, the one with Idolatry, the other with cōtentiō. The scripture was remoued for a time from certaine persons, and almost from all: the Images were left still to them, who most dyd abuse them, y^e thing yet being closed frō them which should teach y^e vse. Wherefore it may appeare vnto vs meete, more diligenter heede to be takē that the abused before, be not abused againe, the aduantage of some Priests, simplicitie of lay men, and great inclination of mans nature to Idolatry geuing cause thereunto.

They that contemne Images, because the matter they are made of is but vile, as stockes and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper, because the meke hath pitch in • & the paper is made of old ragges. And if they be both like, it might be reasoned why a man should be more agreeued, that an Image of wood, though it were of S. Anne, or S. Margaret should be burned,* then hee will that the Byble wherein the vndoubted word of God is comprised, should be torne in peces, burned, or made paste of. Nor we do not now speake of false Bibles nor false gospels, but of y^e very true Gospell, either in Latin, Greeke or english, which we see euery day done, & sometime commaunded, because the Translator displeaseth vs: & yet herein no man exclaimeth as of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one image either for age, & because it is wormeaten, or because it hath ben foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stocke or stone, but a true saint of flesh and bone should be cast in the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot see but that Images may be counted marueylous bookes, to whom we haue kneeled, whom we haue kissed, vpō whom we haue rubbed our beades and handkerchers, to whome we haue lighted candel,* of whome we haue asked pardon and helpe: which thing hath seldome bene sene done to the Gospell of God, or to the very true Bible. For who kisseth y^t but the priest at y^e Masse, at a painted picture or in such a ceremony? Or who kneeleth vnto it, or setteth a candle before it? And yet it seeth or heareth as well as the Images or pictures eyther of S. Iohn, our Lady, or Christ.

In deede Images be great letters, yet as big as they be we haue seene many which haue read them amisse. And belike they are so likely to be read amisse, that God himselfe fearing y^e Iewes to become euill readers of thē, generally did forbid them. Nor it is no great maruell though in reading of them the lay people are many times deceaued,* whē your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most commō Image. Your Lordship hath foūd out in the Kings highnes great seale, S. George on horseback, which the grauer neuer made in it, nor y^e sealer neuer sealed with it, and in this the inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your Lordships eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the Kings Image is on both the sides: on the one side as in war the chiefe Captaine, on the other side as in peace the liege soueraigne: in harnes with his sword drawne to defend his subiects: in his robes in the seate of Iustice with his Scepter rightfully to rule and gouerne them, as he whome both in peace and war we acknowledge our most natural and chieftest head, ruler & gouernour. If it were S. George (my Lord) where is hys speare and dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an vntruth, and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called sometime so of the rude and ignorant people: but not by and by, that that is commonly called so, is alwayes truest. And some haue thought that by like deceauing, as your Lordship herein appeareth to haue ben deceaued, the image of Bellerephon or Perseus was turned first & appointed to be S. George, & of Poliphemus, of Hercules, or of other some Colossus to be S. Christopher, bicause autenticall histories haue not fully proued their two lyues. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus inuented vpō some deuise, or rising of a true fact or history, & whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.*

It were hardly done in deede my Lord, if that you and a few which can reade, should take away from the vnlearned multitude, their bookes of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can reade in one or two languages (as Greeke and Latin) the word of God, and haue had thereby many relieues and priuiledges should pull away the english bookes from the rest whych only vnderstandeth english: and would haue only youre letters of Greeke and Latin in estimation, and blinde all them which vnderstandeth not these languages, from the knowledge of Gods word. And indeede my Lord, by your saying they haue iust occasion to suspect what is meant?

What meane you by true Images and false Images, it is not so easie to perceauē. If they be onely false Images, which haue nothing that they represent,* as s. Paul writeth An idol is nothing (bicause ther is no such God) & therfore the Crosse can be no false image, because it is true y^t Christ suffered vpon it: then the Image of y^e Sun and the Moone were no Idoles, for suche thinges there be as the Sunne and the Moone, and they were in the Image then so represented, as painting & caruing doth represent them. And the Image of Ninus and Cesar,* and (as some writeth) the Images of al the 12. chosen Gods (as they called thē) were the Images of once liuing men. And it might be sayde that the Image of God the father hath no such eies, nose lippes and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor neuer had▪ as they kerue & paint him to haue. But if that be a false Image and an Idoll which is otherwise worshipped & accepted [Page 1342](#) then it ought to be, as the brasen Serpent being a true Image and representation of Christ by abuse was made an Idoll: it may be thought in times past, and peraduenture howe at this time, in some places the Images not onely of S. Iohn or S. Anne, but of our Lady & Christ be false Images and Idols, representing to foolish blind & ignorant mens harts and thoughtes, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for• The whiche were by you (my Lord) to haue bene remoued sooner and before that y^e captayn there should haue need to haue done <◇> . But if your

Lordship be slacke in such matters, he that remoueth false images and Idols abused, doth not a thing worthy blame.

Christ called not the mony hauing Cesars Image in it, an Idoll when it was vsed to lawfull vses, and to pay the due t•ibute with all. But when a man doth not vse those Images grauen in mony, to do his neighbor• good and the common wealth seruice, S. Paule Christes disciple called that couetousnes, and the seruing and bondage to Idols: So that euē in mony may be idolatry, if we make to much of those Images whiche Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish and so feareful one wayes and so tender stomacked, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but thinke euery reformatiō to be a capitall enterprise agaynst al Religion and good order, as there be on the contrary side some to rash, who hauing no consideration what is to be done, headlong wil set vpō euery thing. The Magistrates duety is betwixte these, so in a meane to sit, and prouide that olde doting should not take further or deeper ru•t in the common wealth, neyther auncient error ouercome the seene and tryed trueth, nor long abuse for the age and space of time onely, still be suffered: and yet all these with quietnesse and gentlenesse, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the whyche your Lordship as a man to whom God hath geuen greate qualities of witte, learning and persuasion: coulde bring great helpe and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men, & reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our harty & dayly prayer to God, that in the kinges Maiesties time, whose Maiesties reigne God preserue, al abuses with wisdom reformed. Christes Religion with good and polliticke order of the commom wealth, without any contention and strife among the kinges Subiectes, might florish and daylye encrease. And thys to youre Lordships letter sent to maister Uaughan of Portesmouth.

Winchester to the Lord Protector.

MAY it please your Grace to vnderstande, that I haue noted some poyntes in my Lord of S. Dauids Sermon, which I sende vnto you here with, whereby to declare vnto you some part what I thinke, for the whole I cannot expresse, somewhat I shall encomber you with my •abling, but he hath encombred some frēdes more with his ta•ling. And alas my Lord, this is a piteous case, that hauing so muche businesse as ye haue, these inward disorders should be added vnto thē to the courage of such as would this Realme any wayes euill. For this is the thinge they would desire, with hope therby to disorder this realme, bejng now a time rather to repayre that needeth reparation, thē to make any new buildings which they pretēd. Quiet, tranquility, vnity & cōcord, shall mainteine estimatiō. The cōntrary may animate the enemy, to attēpt that was neuer thought on, which God forbid. There was neuer attemptate or alteration made in England, but vpon cōfort of discorde at home, and woe be to them that mindeth it. If my Lord of S. Dauides, or such others haue theyr head cōbred with any new platforme, I would wish they were cōmaūded betwene this and the kings maiesties full age to draw the plat diligently, to hewe the stones, dig the sand, & chop the chalke in the vnseasonable time of building, and when the kings maiesty commeth to full age, to present theyr labors to him, and in the meane time not to disturbe the state of the realme, whereof your Grace is Protector, but that you may in euery part of religion, lawes, landes, and decrees (which foure containe the state) deliuer the same to our soueraygn Lord, according to the trust you be put in, whiche shall be much to your honor, & as all honest men wish and desire. To which desired effect there can be nothyng so noysome & cōtrarious, as trouble & disquiet. Wherin your Grace shalbe specially troubled as on whose shoulders al the

weight lieth, and what so euer shall happen amisse by the faultes of other, shalbe imputed to your Grace, as doer therof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that you minde not to be faulty in either, yet if the effecte be not to the Realme as were to be wished, the prince, and though he were of age should be excused, and y^e gouernors here the blame. And this is y^e infelicity of preheminance and authority, and specially in this Realme, as storyes make mention, which should not discourage you, for you neede feare nothing without if quiet be reserued at home: and at home if the beginning be resisted, the intēded folly may easily bee interrupted. But if my brother of S. Dauids, may like a champion with his sword in his hand make enter for the rest, the doore of licence opened, there shal mo• by folly thrust in with him thē your grace would wish. Thus as I thinke, I write homely to your grace,* be'cause you were content I should write, wherin I consider onely to haue all thinges well. And because your grace is the Protector and the chiefe dir•etor of the realme to presēt vnto your wisdom what my folly is. I haue bene oftentimes blamed for fearing ouermuch, and yet I haue had an incling that they that so blamed me feared euē as much as I. Being in the state that you be i•, it shalbe euer cōmēdable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong, in trouble ye be greatly weake, & bring your selfe in daūger of one part, when parties be, therwith one to scourge the other. Wheras in cōcord they •e both yours in an honest, reuerēt, louely feare to do theyr duty, which I doubt not your wisdom can consider. And cōsider also how noisome any other outward encōber might be in the time of y^e minority of our soueraign Lord. I told y^e Emperors cōsell that our late souereign Lord did much for the Emperor to enter war with him & put his realme in his old dayes in y^e aduētūre of fortune, whether he should enioy it or no, for y^t is the nature of war. And sometime the cōtēned & abiect haue had y^e vpper hand. And whē ye administer y^e realme for another, it were a maruelous question of him y^t shall enioy y^e realme, to say, what ment you in the time of administratiō to aduētūre my realme? why tooke ye not rather for the time of my minority any peace, whatsoeuer it were, which is better thē y^e best wa•? as some mē haue writtē. I know you haue authority sufficient & wisdom plēty, & yet being entred to write I forget for y^e time what ye be, & cōmen 〈◇〉 you as I were talking at Brusels with you,* deuising of the worlde at large. And if I were sworne to say what I thinke in the state of the world, I would for a time let scots be scots with dispayre to haue thē, vnlesse it were by cōquest, which shall be a godly enterprise for our yong maister whē he cōmeth to age. And in y^e meane time prepare him mony for it, & see y^e realme in an order which hath need of it. And for a stay, if the Emperor would offer the king of Romains daughter as he did: do w^t him in our maisters minority,* as he dyd w^t vs in his. Wherby all this hath chaūced vnto him. And by this allians your estimation shal encrease, & our souereign Lordes surety not a little increase & be augmented. For of Fraunce it must be takē for a rule. They be so wantō they cannot do well lēger thē they see, how they may be scourged if they do not. Here is all the wit that I haue, which I offer vnto you, vpon this occasion of writing, & shall pray God to put in your mind y^t shalbe for the best: as I trust he will, & in y^e meane time, to extinct this barbarous cōtētion at home, which can serue onely to do hurt & no good. I had fashioned a letter to master Ridley which I sēd vnto your grace, and encomber you with these malencoly writings, engendred of this fondnes which be not worth y^e reading. And so it may like you to vse thē, for hauing heard that ye haue sayd vnto me, and otherwise heard and seene what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters, & now such as haue fonde enterprises, shall see that I letted not theyr follyes, which they called Gods worde.* But for hys time, the king our souereigne Lord that dead is, and after his time you, much to your honor and reputation * howsoeuer any shalbe here not contented, which miscontentation hath bene so fond in some, as they haue burst out and wished that they might

without breach of his lawes kill me, which is to me a tokē of a maruelous fury, which hath bene cause why I am glad, both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, & pray to God to order all thinges for the best. With preseruatiō of our soueraigne L. and encrease of your graces honor.

At my house in Sothworke the last of February.

Your Graces humble beadman S. W.

An other letter of S.W.

AFter my humble commēdations to your grace, it may like the same to vnderstand. I haue sene of late 2. books set forth in english by Bale very pernicious, seditious and slaunderous. And albeit that your grace needeth not mine aduertisement in y^e matter, yet I am so bolde to trouble your Grace with my letters for mine owne commodity, wherwith to satisfy mine own conscience to write & say as becommeth me in such matters, which I desire your grace to take in good part. For it greueth me not a little, to see so [Page 1343](#) soone after my late soueraigne Lord and maisters death, a booke spread abroad more to his dishonor (if a princes honor may be by vile inferior subiectes impeached) then professed enemies haue imagined to note a womā to haue suffered vnder him as a martyr, & the woman therewith to be by Bales owne elucidation (as he calleth it) so set foorth & painted as she appeareth to be, & is boasted to be a sacramē^ttary, & by the lawes worthy (as she suffered) the paynes of death, such like things haue by stealth in our late soueraign Lords dayes gone abroad as they do now▪ And as I am wōt in such cases to speak, I keep my wōt to write to your grace now, in whose hands I know the estate of y^e realme to be foretime in gouernment & to whō for respectes of old acquayntaunce I wish al felicity. In these matters of religion I haue bene long exercised and haue (thankes be to God) liued so long as I haue sene them thoroughly tryed and besides that I haue learned in written bookes of Authority, I haue perceiued by bookes written without authority as by M. Bale, Ioye, and other, and specially as Bale vseth now, that Scripture doth by abuse, seruice to the right hand and the left at once in so much as at one time Bale prayseth Luther,* and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a Saynt, whych Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christes naturall body in the Sacrament of the aultar. And yet Bale the noble clerk, would haue Anne Askew blasphemously denying the presence of Christes naturall bodye to be taken for a Saynte also. So as Bales Saynctes may vary in heauen, if they chaunce not by the way, which might suffice to disproue the mans creditte, if thwarting talke were not more desired of many, then the trueth in deede, which trueth was supposed to haue bene both in writing and exercise, well established, long before our late Lordes death. And Bale & his adherentes in their madnes playnely reprobued & condemned. I can not forget your grace tolde me you woulde suffer no innouation and indeed if you deliuer this realme to the king at 8. yeares of age, as the king his father, whose soule God assoyle, left it, as I trust you shall, the acte is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innouation, whyche were a charge to your grace more then needed, beyng already burthened heauely. And albeit in the commō wealth euery man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is, vnder the kinges Maiestye, chiefly yours and as it were yours alone.* Euery man hath his eye directed vnto you both here & abroad, you shall shadow mens doinges if they be done, which is one in commodity of high rule. And for my part besides my duty to the kinges maiesty and the realme, I would that your grace in whom since your gouernement, I haue found much gentlenes and humanity, had

much honor w^t good successe as euer any had and pray to God that men would let your grace alone, and suffer the realme in the time of your gouernement in quyet among our selues, whereby to be the more able to resist forreigne trouble, which your grace doth prudētly forsee. Cer̄tayne printers,* players, & preachers, make a wondermēt, as though, we knew not yet how to be iustified, nor what sacramentes we should haue. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late soueraigne Lord be of no force in theyr iudgement, what establishment coulde anye new agrement haue. And euery incertenty is noysome to any realme. And where euery man will be mayster there must nedes be vncertaynty. And one thing is maruelous, that at the same time is taught that all men be lyers, at the selfe same time almost euery man woulde be beleued. And amongst thē, Bale when his vntruth appeareth euidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew whiche is vtterly misreported. I beseeche your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I see my late soueraigne Lord and maister slaundred by such simple persons,* religiō assaulted, the realme troubled and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion geuen to enemies to poynt and say, that after Wickliefes straunge teaching in the sacramēts of Christes churche hath vexed other, it is finally turned vnto vs to molest & scourge vs, for other fruite cannot Bales teaching haue, ne the teaching of such other as goe about to trouble the agrement established here. In which matter I dare not desire your grace specially to looke earnestlye vnto it, leaste I should seme to note in you that becommeth me not. And I know that your grace being otherwise occupied, these thin'ges may creepe in as it hath bene heretofore, sometime it may be heard for your grace to finde out or pull out y^e root of this naughtines: but yet I am so bolde to write of these of mine owne stomacke, who haue euer vsed for discharge of my selfe to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good, for reliefe of the matter, remitting the rest to the disposition of GOD, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moued: and geuen me such knowledge and experiēce in them,* as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and vntrueth: I meane knowledge and experience of them that be chiefe styrrers, so infect with vntruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters. The pretence is of the spirit, and al is for the flesh, Women, and meat with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, cleane contrarious to the place GOD hath called your Grace thereunto.* For it tendeth all to confusion & disorder, which is the effect of vntrueth. Bale hath set forth a prayer for the Duke I. of Saxe wherein the Duke remitteth to Gods iudgement to be shewed here in this world the iustnesse of his cause concerning religion, and desireth GOD if hys cause be not good, to order him to be taken and to be spoiled of his honor and possessions, with many such gay wordes whereby to tempt God, since which prayer the Duke is in'deed taken as all the world sayth, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such straungenesse in the sonne as we saw it here, as hath not bene sene. They happened both together, this we know, and be both maruelous, but whether the one were a token ordered to concurre with other, God knoweth and manne cannot define. Many common wealthes haue continued without the B. of Romes iurisdiction, but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maynteyned no estate hath co••••ned in the circuit of the world to vs knowne since Christ c•me. For the Turkes and Tartarres gouernement is, as it were a continuall warre and they vphold theyr rule with subduing of nobility by fyre and sworde,* Germanye with theyr new religion could neuer haue stand, & though the Empe'ror had let them alone, for if it be perswaded the vnderstanding of Gods lawe to be at large in women and children, whereby they may haue the rule of that, and thē Gods law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into theyr handes? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be in deede truthes children, and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I haue, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of it

selfe, in a right meaning mans mouth, more eloquent, then forged matters can with studye bring forth. What rymes be sette forth to depraue the Lent, and how fond (sauing your Graces honour) and foolish, and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serue for nothing, but to learne the people to rayle, & to cause such as vsed to make prouision for fishe agaynst Lent, fearing now Lent to be so sicke as the ryme purporteth and like to dye in deede, to forbeare to make theyr accustomed prouision for the next yeare. And thereto shall it come if the common dyet be not certayne. For the Fishmonger will neuer hope to haue good sale, when the the butcher may with flesh out face him. And fishe is that great treasure of this realme & foode inestimable. And these good wordes I geue, although I loue it not my selfe, for such as loue not fish, should neuertheles commend it to other, to the intent the fleshe by them forborne might be to such as loue it onely the more plenty. The publicke defamation & trifling with Lent is a maruellous matter to thē that woulde say euill of this Realme, for there is nothyng more commended vnto vs christen men in both the Churches of the Greekes and Latins then lent is, if all men be not liers. In the king our late soueraigne Lordes dayes this matter was not thus spoken of. And I thinke our enemies would wish we had no lēt. Euery coutry hath his peculier inclination to naughtines, England and Germany to the belly, the one in licor, the other in meat, Fraunce a litle beneath the belly, Italy to vanity and pleasures deuised, & let an English belly haue a further aduancement, and nothing can stay it, whē I was purueior for the seas, what an exclamatiō was there (as your grace shewed me) of the Bishops fasting day, as they called wednesday, and Winchester, Winchester grand mercy for your wine, I beshrow your hart for your water? Was not that song, although it was in sport a signification how loth men be to haue theyr licence restrained? or theyr accustomed fare abated? vnles it were in extreme necessity. I heare say that lēt is thus spok of, by Ioseph and Tongue, with other new (whome I knowe not) as be one of Christes Myracles, which God ordeyned not man to immitate and follow, at whiche teaching all the world will laugh. For Christian men haue Christ for an example in all thinges both to vse the world as he did, onely for necessity, and contemne the world as he did, and in case to refuse it, and choose the vyle death, as he did the death of the Crosse, which thinges he did like a Mayster most perfect, for he was very god, and we must endeuour our selfe in the vse of his gyftes, to follow that he did, not to fast fortye dayes without meate as Christ did, for we be but Prentises, and cary about a ruinous Carcas that muste haue some daylye reparation, with foode, but yet was there neuer none that sayde, how [Page 1343](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1344](#) therefore we should do nothing, because we can not do al, and take Christes fast for a myracle onely. And yet all that folow Christ truely, they worke dayly myracles in subduing and cōforming by Gods grace there sensuall appittes and humble obeying to the wil of God, which no man can of himselfe do, and Christ promised that his true seruants should worke the workes that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a slender matter to say. Lent was one of Christes myracles, for so was it to loue his enemyes, & specially those that scourged and bobbed him, which may not bee (if that allegation hath place) taught Christen men to folow,* because it was a myracle, as they might say it were more tollerable to forgette Lent (as Pogge telleth) of a Priest in the moūtaynes, that knew not how the yeare went about, and when the weather opened and hee went abroad and perceiued his neighbours were towards Palme Sonday, he deuised an excuse to his Paryshe and bad them prepare therefore, for in deede the yeare had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so, as they shoulde be as soone at Easter as the rest, and thus did he passe ouer lent with much lesse slaunder then to teach it for a doctrine, y^t lēt was one of Christs miracles, & therefore not to be imitated for vs, for although it was in deede a greate myracle (as all Christes doynges were) yet was it there not a greate myracle, ne more agaynst mans nature, then to loue them y^t

laboured & were busye to take away the naturall lyfe of his manhoode.* For as the nature of man desireth reliefe, so doth it abhorre distruction or hurt. In will and desire menne followe Christ in al thinges: in execution they cannot. For we haue brickle vessels, and God geueth his giftes to men as he seeth expedient for his Church. So as men cannot heale the lame when they will, as Christ did when hee woulde, but as God shall thinke profitable for the edification of the flocke assembled. Gregory Nazianzene speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate christes fast aboute theyr power, whose immoderate zeale he doth not disallowe not requiring of all men so to doe, for that is an extremity, ne yet assoyling the matter as our new schole men doe, that Christen men shoulde let Christes fast alone as a myracle, which maner of solution I heard a good felow make, when it was told him he might not reuenge himselfe. And when he were stroken on the one eare, put forth the other, I am (quoth he) a man, I am not God, if Christ being God did so, he might (quod he) if it had pleased him haue done otherwise. And so when it hath bene alleadged that Christ fasted forty dayes, he might (quoth he) haue eaten if he had list, these triflinges in sporte mighte bee drawne to graue speach, if Christen men shall refuse to folow Christ in myracles. For all his life was myracles and his loue that is our Badge most miraculous of all to dye for his enemies. I beseeche your Grace to pardon me for I am like one of the commō house, that when I am in my tale, thinke I should haue liberty to make an end and specially writing to your grace with whome I accompt I may bee bolde assuring you it proceedeth of a zeale towardes you, vnto whom I wysh well, whose intent although it be suche as it ought to bee, and as it pleased you to shew me it was, yet such thinges spread abroad whereof the euill willers of the Realme will take courage and make accompte, (although it bee wrong) that all goeth on wheelles, if any man had either fondly or vndiscreetelye spoken of lent to engreue it to bee an importable burthen I would wish his reformation, for I haue not learned that all menne are bound to keepe the lent in the forme receiued, but this I reckon, that no christen man may contemne the forme receiued, being suche a deuoute and profitable imitation of Christe to celebrate his faste, and in that time suche as haue bene in the rest of the yeare worldye to prepare themselves to come as they should come, to the feast of Easter, wherof S. Chrisostome speaketh expressely. And for auoyding contempt, a licence truly obteyned of the superiour serueth. And so I hearde the kinges Maiesty our Soueraigne Lord declare when your grace was present. And therfore he himselfe was very scrupulous in graunting of licences, and to declare that himselfe contemned not the fast, he was at charge to haue (as your Grace knoweth) the lent diet dayly prepared, as it had bene for himselfe and the like hereof I heare say your Grace hath ordered for the kinges Maiestye that now is, which agreeth not with certaine preaching in this matter, ne the rimes set abroad. Lent is among Christen men a godly feast to exercise men to forbear and in England both godly and polliticke, such as without confusion we can not forbear,* as the experience shall shew, if it be euer attempted, which God forbid. And yet lent is buried in rime, and Steuen Stockefishe bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted, wherwith for mine owne part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by theyr fondnes. But I woulde desire of God to haue the strength of thys realme encreased with report of concord,* which doth quēch many vayne deuices and imaginations. And if all men be lyers as it is now to my vnderstanding straungely published, me thinke Bale and such new men as be new liers should be most abhorred and detested, & so much the more daungerous as they be newe. That whiche in Italye and Fraunce is a matter of combate, is now found to be appropiate to all men. God graunt the trueth to be desired of all menne truly. But as one asked when he sawe an olde Philosopher dispute with an other, what they talked on. And it was aunswered how the olde man was discussing what was vertue, it was replied if the old man yet dispute of vertue when will he vse it? So it may be sayd in our religion.

If we be yet searching for it, when shal we begin to put it in executiō? I would make an end of my letters and cannot, wherein I account my selfe faulty. And though I may erre as euery man may, yet I lye not, for I say as I think, for as much as I haue sayd, and further think your grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of religion vnseasonably brought into the defamation of our late soueraigne Lordes actes, doinges & lawes. I beseech your grace take my meaning and wordes in good part, & pardon my boldnes which groweth of the familiaritie I haue heretofore had with your grace, which I cannot forget. And thus enforcing my selfe to an end, shall pray to almighty God to preserue your grace in much felicity wyth encrease of honor and the atchieuing of your hartes desire.

At Winchester the 21. of May.

Your Graces humble beadman. S.W.

¶The Letter of the L. Protector answering to Winchester.

YOur letters dated the 21. day of May as concerning 2. bookes new set forth by one Bale, and certayne sermōs preached here, were with conuenient speede deliuered vnto vs. And like as in your letters to Edw. Uaughan of Portesmouth, so in those to vs we perceiue that you haue a vigilant and diligēt eye, and very fearefull of innouatiō, which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly state of this realme: So we do maruell that so soone, so far of, and so playnely, you canne heare tell and say of so many thinges done here, which in deed we being here and attendant vpō the same cannot yet be aduertised of. The world neuer was so quiet or so vnite, but that priuily or openlye those iij. which you write of, Printers, players, and Preachers, woulde sette forth somewhat of theyr owne heades which the Maiestrates were vnwares of. And the whiche already be banished and hath forsaken the realme, as suffering the last punishmēt, be boldest to set forth theyr mind. And dare vse their extreme licēce or liberty of speaking as out of the handes or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hidde. There hath foolishe and naughty rimes and bookes bene made and set forth, of the which as it appeareth you haue sene more then we, and yet to our knowledge to many be brought, but yet after our minde it is to sore and to cruelly done to lay al those to our charge, and to aske as it were account of vs of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill (as we here say) writeth his mind and many times agaynst the Bishops tyranny, and some time toucheth other great princes, which thing for the most part he doth safely, not that the Bishop alloweth Pasquills rimes and verses specially agaynst himselfe, but because he cannot punish the authour, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late kings daies of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and polliticke Prince, & a diligēt executor of his lawes. And when your Lordshippe was most diligent in the same, yet as your Lordship it selfe writeth, and it is to manifest to be vnknowne, there were that wrote such leud rimes, and plaies as you speake of, & some agaynst the kinges proceedinges, who were yet vnpunished, because they were vnknowne or vngotten. And whē we do wey the matter we do very much maruel why that, about iack of lentes leud balad, and certayne as it was reported vnto vs, Godly sermons (whiche be euill in your letters ioyned together) you be so earnest. When agaynst D. Smithes booke being a man learned in the doctors & scripture which made so playne agaynst the kinges highnesse authority. And for the furtherance of the Bishops of Romes vsurped power, your Lorship neither wrote nor sayd

nothing. And as it appeared you be so angry with his retractation (which frankly w^tout feare, dread cōpulsion, or imprisonmēt onely with learning & truth ouercommed, he came vnto) that you cannot abide his beginning, although hauing the very woordes of scripture. Except peradventure [Page 1345](#) you thinke that the saying of Dauid, omnis homo mendax, cannot be enterpreted, euery man is a lier, which how soeuer your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeared vn^to vs then of him taken but godly to declare the infirmitye of man, and the trueth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, & yet we haue heard of the subtle difference of lying and telling of a lye, or as it is in latin called mentiri and mendacium discere, but if your Lordship be loth to be counted mēdax, which belike he hath interpreted a lyer, or a lying man, and thinke it a matter of combate, he was deceiued in the interpretation, and it is a matter for clerkes to dispute of, we woulde haue wished your Lordshipp to haue written agaynst his booke before, or now with it, if you thinke that to be defended which the author himselfe refuseth to auerre: your Lordship writeth earnestly for lent which we go not about to put away, no more then whē D. Smith wrote so earnestly y^t euery man should be obedient to the Byshops. The Maiestates by and by went not about to bring Kinges and Princes and other vnder theyr subiection. Writers write theyr fantasy, my Lord, and Preachers preach what eyther liketh them, or what God putteth in theyr heades. It is not by and by done what is spoken. The people buyeth those foolish ballads of Iacke a lent. So bought they in times past, pardons, and carroles and Robbin hoodes tales. All be not wise mē, and the foolisher a thing is to some (although not to the more party) it is the more pleasaunt and meete, and peradventure of the sermons there is, and in deed there is (if it be true that we haue heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, then it was of the preachers there and then spoken or ment. Lent remayneth still my Lord, & shall god willing till the kings highnes with our aduise and the residew of his Graces counsel take an other order, although some light and leud mē do bury him in writing, euē as the kinges Maiesty remayneth head of the Church, although by subtle meanes some traytors haue gone about and dayly do, to abuse the kinges Maiesties supremacy, and bring in the Bishop of Romes tyranny, with other superstition and Idolatry. On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a paynfull rome, to reforme all lightnes and leudnes, to the which we do en^deuour our selfe to the best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamation or great feare to be. We doe study to doe all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order. And we woulde wish nothing more then your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one, as of the other, that neither superstition, Idolatry, or papacy, should be brought in, nor lightnesse, nor contempt of good order to be mainteined. They both take beginning at small things, and encreaseth by litle and litle at vnwares. And quiet may be as wel broken with ielosy, as negligence, with to much feare or to much paciēce. No wayes worse then when one is ouer light eared, the one way, and deafe on the other side. Rumors by space and times encrease naturally and by that time they come at you as it appeareth, they be doubled & trebled. We do perceiue your diligent eye towards vs,* & we will wish (& trust you haue) your faythful hart to vs, our most hartly desire & continuall prayer to God is to leaue this realme to the kings highnes at his graces age by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, & Gods religion and doctrine if it were possible and Gods will, then we found it. And that is our whole intent, & esporaunce to the which we refuse no mans helpe, as knoweth God in whom we bid you hartily fare well.

An other letter of W. to the L. Protector.

AFter my moste humble commendations to your good Grace vpon the returne of my seuant Massy with your Graces letters aunswering to such my letters wherein I signified the robbing of my secretary, I read the same gladly, as by the contentes of the matter I had cause so to doe, which was such a comfortatiue as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, hauing bene accustomed thereunto in the kinges my late soueraygne Lordes dayes, which fashion of writing his highnesse (God pardon his soule) called whetting, which was not all the most pleasaunt vnto me at all times, yet when I saw in my doinges was no hurt, and sometime by occasion thereof the matter amended I was not so coy as alwayes to reuers my argument, nor so that his affayres went well, I neuer troubled my selfe, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when suche as were priuy to his letters directed vnto me were affrayd I had bene in high displeasure (for the termes of the letters sounded so) yet I myself feared it nothing at al, I esteemed him (as he was) a wise prince, and whatsoeuer he wrote or sayd for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt or inwardly disfauor him that had bene bolde with him. Whereof I serue for a prooffe, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gaue me the Bishopricke of Winchester, he said he had often squared with me, but he loued me neuer y^e worse. And for a token therof gaue me the Byshopricke. And once when he had bene vehement with me,* in the presence of the Earle of Wilteshyre, and saw me dismayd with it, he tooke me a part into his bed chamber, and comforted me and said that his displeasure was not so much to me, as I did take it, but he misliked the matter and he durste more boldly direct his speache to me then to the Earle of Wilteshyre, and from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasaunt wordes passed from him, as they did sometime, I folded them vp in the matter, which hindered me a litle, for I was reported vnto him that I stouped not and was stubborne, and he had commended, vnto me certayne mens gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at euery of his wordes, & me thought that my nature was as gētle as theirs, for I was sory that he was moued, but els I know when the displeasure was not iustly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was not at any time in al my life discontent or grudging at any thing done by him I thanke God of it. And therefore being thus brought vpp, and hauing first read your graces most gentle letters, signifying the deuise of a proclamation to stay these rumours, and reading the same proclamation which my seruant brought with him, I read the more quiet your Graces great letters, and would haue layd them vp with out further aunswere were it not that percase my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may haue another construction then franke speach where a man may speake, as I reckon I may with your grace, vppon confidence whereof I am so bolde to write thus much for my declaration touching your graces letters of the xxvij. of may, that how earnest so euer my letters be taken in fearing any innouation, I neyther inwardly feare it, neither shewe anye demonstration in mine outward deedes to the world here, or in communication, that I do feare it to be done by authority, but in my selfe resist the rumors and vayne enterprises, with confidence in the truth and your Graces wisdom, for if I feared it in deede, which persuasion it should come to passe, I should haue small lust to write in it, but I feare more in deede the trouble that might arise by light boldenesse of other, and then comber of such matter whiles other outward affayres occupy your Graces minde, then the effecte by your direction that hath bene talked on abroad, and yet in the writing I doe speake as the matter leadeth, continuing mine olde maner to be earnest, whiche as some men haue dispraysed, so some haue commended it, and therefore in a good honest matter I folow rather mine own inclinatio, thē to take y^t paynes to speake as Butter would not melte in my mou•h, wherewith I

perceyue your Grace is not miscontent, for the which, I most humbly thanke you. And first as concerning Portestmouth I wrote to the Captaine and Maior in the thing as I had information, and by men of Credence. And yet I suspended my creditte till I had heard from thence, as by my Letters appeare, and as I was lothe to haue it so, so was I lothe to beleue it. And to shewe that I feared no innouation by authority, ne regarded not any such daunger, went thyther my selfe, and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the Captayne, that after he had shewed me all the gentle entertaynement he coulede, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men as they stode handsomely with theyr weapons, wherewith they had shewed warlike feates, which I did, and departed in amitye with the Captayne and souldiors and all the towne. The captayne telling me playnelye he was nothinge offended with any thing I had sayd in my sermon, ne there was cause why he should. But the very act in deede in defacing the Images had no such ground as mayster Captayne pretended, for I asked specialllye for suche as had abused those Images, and no such could be shewed, for y^t I enqyred for openly. And the Image of S. Iohn the Euangelist standing in the chancell by the high aultar was pulled downe, & a table of alablaster broken. And in it an Image of Christ crucified, so contemptuously handled, as was in my hart terrible, to haue the one eye bored out & the side perced, wherewith mē were wondrously offended, for it is a very persecution beyonde the sea, vsed in that forme where the parson cannot be apprehēded. And I take such an act to be very slaūdrous & esteeming the opinion of breaking Images, as vnlawefull to be had very daungerous, voyd of all learning and truth wrote after my fashion to the captayn, which letters I perceiue to come by your graces hands I was not very curious in the writing of them, for w^t me trueth goeth out [Page 1346](#) playnely and roundly, and speaking of the kinges Seale, vttered the common language, I was brought vp in, after the olde sorte, when as I coniect of a good will the people taking Saynt George for a patron of the Realme vnder God,* and hauing some confidence of succour by Gods strength deriued by him, to encrease the estimation of their Prince and Soueraygne Lord, called theyr king on horsebacke in the feate of Armes, Sayncte George on Horsebacke, my knowledge was not corrupt, I know it representeth the king, and yet my speach came forth after the cōmon language, wherin I trust is none offēce. For besides learning I by experience haue knowne the preheminence of a king both in warre and peace. And yet if I hadde wist my letter should haue comen to your Graces handes to be aunswered, then I would haue bene more precise in my speach then to geue occasion of so long an argument therein. As for S. George himselfe, I haue such opinion of him as becommeth me and haue read also of Belerephon in Homer as they call him the Father of tales, I will leaue that matter. And as for bookes let Latine and Greeke continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the vse of them, what seruice those letters haue done, experience hath shewed, and religion hath continued in them 1500. yeres: but as for the english tongue it selfe hath not continued in one forme of vnderstanding 200. yeres and without Gods worke and speciall miracle it shall hardly conteyne religion long, when it can not last it self, and whatsoeuer your Graces mind is now in the matter, I know well that hauing the gouernement of the Realme your Grace will vse the gift of pollicy, which is a gift of God.

And euen as now at this time Bishops be restrayned by a speciall pollicye to preache onely in theyr Cathedrall Churches (the like whereof hath not bene knowne in my time) so vpon an other occasion your Grace may percase thinke expedient to restrayne (further then the parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now restrained the Bishops liberty of preaching. As for the brasen Serpēt did not in all mens language represent Christ, and if I had written to an other then your Grace, I might haue had the like matter of argument that was taken

agaynst me of S. George on horsebacke. For Gregory Nazianzene chiefe diuine in the Greeke Church calleth the Serpents death, the figure of the death of christ, but not the serpent to be the figure of Christ, and yet when I had done all mine argument, I would resolue as is resolved with me in the speach of S. George on horsebacke, that the common speach is otherwise, and so it is in saying the serpent to be a true figure of Christ, and yet Gregorye Nazianzen called the serpent it selfe 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 of Christ in these wordes 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 &c? in his sermon de pascate and yet in Almechorus Domini we read Aries, Leo, Uermis, spoken of Christ, and some expound the scripture, sicut Moyses. &c. After that sort. And as your Grace sayd when I was last at your house with the french Ambassador, ye wished him & me together disputing, to see whē we would make an end, euen so it is in these matters, when they come in argumēt, for a bye thing (as Saynt George on Horsebacke) when it escapeth me, or speaking of the brasen serpent, folowing a speach not throughly discussed, shalbe occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late Soueraigne Lord (God rest his soule) set these matters in quiet: Who had heard all these reasōs touching Images which be now rehearsed in your graces leters, and hauing once my Lord of Cāterbury & me present with him alone in his Pallace that they call otherwise newe Hall, handled that matter at length and discussed with my Lord of Caunterbury the vnderstanding of gods commaundement to the Iewes,* so as all the Clearkes in Christedome could not amend it. And where as one had denyed the Image of the Trinitye to be had, by reasons as be touched in your Graces letters, I heard his highnesse aunswere to them at another time. And when hee had himselfe specially commaunded diuers Images to be abolished yet (as your Grace knoweth) he both ordered and himselfe putte in execution the kneeling and creeping before the Image of the Crosse, and established agreement in that truth through all this Realme, whereby all argumentes to the contrary be assoyled at once. I would wysch Images vsed as the booke by his highnesse sette forth doth prescribe and no otherwise. I know your Grace only tēpteth me with such reasons as other make vnto you, and I am not fully at liberty although I am bolde enough (and some will thinke to bolde) to aunswere some thinges as I woulde to an other man mine equall, being so much inferiour to your Grace as I am, but me thinketh Saynte Paules solucion during the kinges Maiesties minoritye should serue all. Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus. We haue no such custome in the Church. When our soueraign Lord commeth to his perfect age (which God graunt) I doubt not but God wil reueale that shalbe necessary for the gouerning of his people in religion.* And if any thing shal be done in the meane time (as I thinke there shall not) by your Graces direction, he may when he commeth to age say in the rest, as I heare say, he sayd nowe of late concerning procession, that in his fathers time men were wont to folow procession, vpon which the kinges maiestyes saying the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwarde by your Graces Commaundement, which speach hath put me in remembraunce, that if the Bishops and other of the Clergy, should agree to any alteration in religion to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his Father, whereby his father might be noted to haue wanted knowledge or fauor to the truth, what he would say, I can not tell, but he might vse a maruellous speach, and for the excellency of his spirite, it were like he would, and hauing so iust a cause against Bishops as he might haue it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, thē he might by his lawes do more then any would gladly suffer of our sort at these dayes, for as the allegatiō of his authority represented by your grace, shalbe then aunswere (as youre Grace now writeth vnto me) that y^t your Grace onely desired truth according to Gods scripture, and it may be •hē sayd: we Bishops when we haue our soueraigne Lord & head in minority we fashion the matter as we lust, & then some young man that would haue a piece of the Bishops landes shall say: the beastly Bishops haue

alwayes done so, and when they can no longer mayntayne one of theyr pleasures of rule and superioritye, then they take another way and let that go, and for the time they be here, spend vp that they haue, which eat you and drinke you, what ye list & we together, with Edamus & bibamus cras moriemur. And if we shall alleadge for our defence the strength of Goddes trueth and the playnesse of scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay termes, and say we were conuincd by scriptures, such an excellent iudgement, as the kinges maiesty is like to haue, will neuer credite vs in it, ne be abused by such a vayne answer. And this is a worldly polliticke consideration, and at home, for the noyse abroade in the world will be more slaunderous then this is daungerous. And touching the bishop of Rome, the doing in this realme hitherto hath neuer done him so much displeasure as an alteration in religion during the kinges Maiestyes minority, should serue for his purpose, for he wanteth not wits to beate into other princes eares, that where his authority is abolished, there at euery chaunge of gouernors, shalbe change in Religion and y^t hath bene amongst vs by a whole consent established, shall by pretence of an other vnderstanding in scripture streight be brought in questiō,* for they will geue it no other name but a pretence, howe stiffely so euer we will affirme otherwise and call it Gods worde and here it should much be noted that my Lorde of Caunterbury, being the high Bishop of the Realme, highly in fauour with his late Soueraigne Lord, and my Lord of Duresme a manne of renowned fame in learning and grauity, both put by him in trust for theyr counsell in the order of the Realme, shoulde so soone forgette theyr olde knowledge in Scripture sette forth by the Kynges Maiesties booke, and aduise to enuey such matter of alteration. All which thinges be (I knowe well) by your Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible that euer any such thing should be in deede with effect whatsoeuer the lyghtnesse of talke shall spread abroade, whyche your Grace hath by Proclamation well stayed. But and ye had not, and the world talked so fast as euer they did, I assure your Grace I woulde neuer feare it, as men feare thinges they like not, vnlesse I saw it in execution, for of this sort I am that in all thinges I thinke shoulde not be done in reason, I feare them not, wherewith to trouble mee otherwise then to take heede if I canne, and to the head Gouernours (as now to your Grace) shewe my minde, and such experience hath euery manne of me that hath commoned with me in any such matters. And therfore albeit your Grace writeth wisely that ouermuch feare doth hurt, and accelerateth sometime, that was not intended, yet it needes not to me, for I haue learned that lesson already, and would a great many moe had, which in deede should be a great stay. And thus I talke with your Grace homely, with multiplication of speache not necessary, as though I meant to sende you as great a packet, as I receyued from you. One thing necessary to aunswere your Grace in touching your maruell: howe I know sooner thinges from thence, then your Grace doth there, whiche ariseth not vppon any desire of knowledge on my behalfe, for euill thinges be ouersoone knowne, not vpō any slacknes of your graces behalf there, who is & is noted very vigilāt, as your graces charge requireth. But [Page 1347](#) thus it is euen as it was when I was in some little authoritye, they that were the euill doers in such matters would hide them from me. So now they haue handled it otherwise, for as for lacke of lentes Testament was openly sold in Winchester market, before I wrot vnto your Grace of it. And as for Bales booke called the Elucidation of Anne Askewes Martyredome, they were in these partes common some with leaues vnglewed, where maister Paget was spoken of and some with leaues glued. And I call them common because I saw at the least foure of them. As for Bales booke touching the death of Luther wherein was the Duke Saxons prayer (whereof I wrote) was brought downe into this countrey by an honest Gentleman to whome it was (as I remember hee tolde me) geuen at London for newes, and had it a good while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then receiued the inhibition for preaching whereof men

spake otherwise then they knewe.* And in the meane time Doctour Smith recanted with a Priestee of this Towne (who to mine owne mouth boasted himselfe to be your Graces Chaplayne, but I beleueed it not) brought downe with speed, & made by meanes to haue it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the Countrey here aboutes of tales of me. And when I saw Doctour Smithes recantation beginne with Omnis homo mendax so englished and suche a new humility as he would make all the Doctors of the Church Lyers with himselfe, knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write vnto your Grace for the ease of my conscience: geuing this Iudgement of Smith that I neither liked his tractation of vnwritten verities, ner yet hys retractation, and was gladd of my former Iudgement, that I neuer had familiaritye with him, I saw him not (that I wotte these three yeares ne talked with him these seuen yeares, as curious as I am noted in the common wealth.) And where as in his vnwritten verities he was so mad to say, Bishops in this Realme may make lawes, I haue witnesse that I sayd at that worde, we should bee then dawes, and was by and by sory that euer he had writted of the Sacrament of the aultar, which was not as it was noysed, vntouched, with that word, all men be Liers which is a maruellous word, as it soundeth in our tounge when we say a man were better haue a thiefe in his house then a lyer. And the deprauing of mans nature in that sort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not vpon man, yet the ministration of y^e letter which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath bene from the beginnunge deliuered through mans hand and taught by mā's mouth: which men in the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to lyers. And therefore S, Augustine in his book De mendacio, sayth omnis homo mendax, signifieth omnis homo peccans. If Smyth had onely written of Bishops lawes, and then sayd he had (sauing your honor) lyed loudly or to mitigate the matter, sayd he had erred by ignorāce that had bene done truely and humbly, for he that seeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath small humility, for he woulde hide himselfe by the nūber, & this muche as touching Smith of whō nor his booke till he was in trouble I neuer heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of, I haue told your Grace how I came to knowledge of thē very scarcely in time, but in the thing ouer quickly & neuer had any suche thought in my life, as I denyed to your Grace to be worthely charged with thē, by them I meane that may hereafter charge, for I know no such yet in thys world, and I neuer was in mine opinion so madde, as to write to your Grace in that sort when all thinges be well, I haue many causes to reioyce but where things were otherwise (as I trust they shall not) I haue nothing to doe to aske any accompt, I trust I shall neuer forget my selfe so much, I thanke God I am euen aswell learned to lyue in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of directiō in our late soueraigne Lordes life. And for my quietnes in this estate accompt my self to haue a great treasure of your Graces rule and authority, and therefore will worship and and honor it otherwise then to vse such maner of presumption to aske any accompt. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so sodenly, and I esteeme it a great matter that thinges be stauld hitherto thus, but if thinges had encreased as the rumours purported, your Grace might haue bene encombred more in the execution of your good determination.* Now thanks be to GOD your Grace goeth well about to stay it. As for my selfe I know mine inward determination to doe, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and haue no cause to complayne of the vniuersall Disposition of them in my Dioces. I know but one way of quiet to keep and follow such lawes and orders in Religion as our late soueraigne Lorde left with vs: which by his life, as the Byshops and Clergye sayd was the very trueth, and I neuer read yet or heard any thing why to swarue from it, ne thinke it expedient to call any one thing in doubte during the Kinges Maiestyes minority whereby to empayre the strength of the accorde established, whiche I write not mistrusting your Grace in the contrary, but

declaring my selfe and wishing the same minde to other about you, as I trust they haue, for which I shal• pray to GOD, who prospered out late Soueraigne Lord in that rebellion as we haue seene experience, and by your Graces foresight and polliticke Gouvernement shall send the like prosperity to our Soueraygne Lord that now is, wherein I shall doe my parte as a Subiect most bounden many wayes thereunto. I send vnto your Grace herewith my discussion of my Lord of S. Dauies Purgation, wherein I walke somewhat more at libertye, then writing to your Grace, and yet I take my selfe liberty enough with a reuerent mind, neuerthelesse to keepe me within my bondes whiche if I at any time exceede, I trust your Grace will beare with me after your accustomed goodnesse, for whose prosperitie I shall continually pray with encrease of honor. At Winchester the 6. of Iune.

¶Certayne additions after these Leters aboue specified, with notes and solutions aunswering to the same.

THus haue we set out to thee (gentle and studious reader) an extract of certayn letters af Byshop Gardiner: not of all that he wrote, but of suche as coulde come to our handes: Neither of these also that we haue for any good stuffe, or any great profit in thē contained, or that they dyd cleare him, or his cause any thing, for y^e which he was most worthely condemned. For if there did or might appeare any such thing in all his writinges, that might cleare the ill fauored doinges of that man, be thou sure such as was thē secret about him, and yet his well willers (theyr names I leaue vntouched) hauing his writinges, or beyng able to shew them, as I am priuy they are, would not so conceale them in couert as they doe, being thereto both prouoked and occasioned by vs, if they had seene any thing in them meete to relieue the person, or to remedy his matter. Wherfore thinke not for any such effect these his vayne glorious Letters to be brought in here of vs. But onelye that thou might hereby collect and vnderstand by those his foresayd epistles, and articles folowing, not only the whole course and story almost of all his procedinges from time to time, but also might see the nature and inward condition of the man, how vayneglorious, full stufte and puffed vp with arrogancy, and drowned in his owne conceite he was, much like to the parson, or rather he himselfe, described in the latine Comedy, Miles Thraso Gloriosus, haue nothing in his mouth, but Emperors, Kinges, counsellors, protectors, aduisementes, direction: as though all directiō of realmes and princes did flowe out of his brayne, like as it is in the Poets fables, that Minerua did spring out of the head of Iupiter. And yet if this vaynglorious conceit had bene alone in him, lesse matter had bene agaynst him. Now hys subtle practises, and pretended purposes and dissimulynge conueyance did not onely augment, but also exceeded al his other euils. As in the letters aboue specified is notorious and euident to see, wherein though he durst not apertly gainsay that, which he inwardly misliked: yet how couertly doth he insinuate himselfe to the Lord Protector, vnder pretēce of geuing cōsell, to bring that to passe, which was for his purpose, that is, no innouation or alteration to bee made of religion, during all the kinges minority, but to let all thinges stand as king Henry left them. And that is the chieffest. But in all his letters, wherto he driueth: vsing commonly this argument: which as it is easy to recite, so neither is it hard to answere to. Although in the notes before we haue answered already sufficiently.

¶The Summe and Conclusion of all Winchesters drift, in his Epistles before.

THat is chiefly to bee feared and auoyded of the Lorde Protector, and now specially in the Kinges minority, that may bring both daunger to hym,* and trouble to the Realme.

Innouation of religion from that state, which K. Henry left it, may be and is like to be daungerous to himselfe, and cause trouble to the Realme.

Ergo innouation of Religion, from the state that the king left it is in no wise to be attempted.

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¶The aunswer.

*TO aunswer first to the vocable innouation, which he stumbleth so greatly vpon, this I say: that innouation is properly vsed, * where a thing is brought in a new, which was not before. Forasmuch therefore, as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but only the old religion of the primitiue church reuiued, therfore here is to be thought not so much an innouation, as a renouation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is oft tymes so necessary in common weales, that without the same all runneth to confusion.

Secondly, I aunswer to the argument, which I doe deny as a fallax, for there is fallacia accidentis. Where it is sayd, that reformation of religion gendreth daunger to the Protector, and trouble to the realme: first what wil come, that is vncertaine: And God be hallowed, yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religiō. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to religion reformed. For sincere and true doctrine of hys owne nature worketh quiet, peace and tranquillitie, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Sathan, and wycked aduersaries, not by reason of the doctrine and true religion. So after the preaching of Christ and his Apostles, dissention followed in common weales betwixt father and sonne, brother and brother, &c. but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to other.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of Erasmus, * this I aunswer and say, that this bishop belike had ouerwatched himselfe in this matter. For if it be true which he himselfe affirmeth, fol. 744. that he neuer read that booke before, and now he neuer slept till he himselfe red it. It happened peradventure, that in the ouermuch watching of himselfe, and swift readyng of the booke, hys iudgement was a sleepe, whiles his eyes were open in readyng the same.

Likewyse touching the booke of Homelies, especially the Homilie of saluation, * wherewith he findeth hymselfe so much grieued with the Archbishop, seeyng he bringeth foorth no prooues, I haue nothing to answer. In y^e meane season this I haue to thinke, that if he had bene so cunning in the knowledge of his owne saluation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christes members, he would neuer so rage agaynst that Homily.

Touching the examination of Anne Askew, if it bee misreported by M. Bale, * why doth not he note the places which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do: yet seeyng the examination was of her own penning, which M. Bale did follow, let euery Christian Reader iudge, whether is more to be credited of these two, she that was persecuted, or he that was the persecuter.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillitie. This I aunswere,* that quiet and tranquillitie in weales publike, so long as they are ioined with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But when it is otherwise, that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the second table geue place to the first.

He thwarteth also, and wrangleth much against plaiers,* Printers, Preachers. And no maruell why. For he seeth these three things to be set vp of God, as a triple bulwarke against the triple crowne of the Pope, to bring him down, as God be prayesd they haue done meetely well alreadie.

As touching the Article of Free iustification by fayth, which he cannot abide,* forasmuch as we haue sufficiently declared in the notes before, we shalt referre the Reader now also vnto the same.

*And moreouer, because in one of his letters, mention is made of a certaine letter sent vnto M. Ridley, because we will defraud thee (gentle reader) of nothing that commeth to our handes, here hast thou the copy thereof, in effect as followeth.

Here followeth the copy of the letter of St•. Gardiner sent to M. Ridley, in the letters aboue mentioned, conteining matter and obiections against a certaine Sermon, of the sayd Maister Ridley, made at the Courte.

MAister Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chaunced me vpon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the courte, wherein I hard you confirme the doctrine in religion, set foorth by our late Soueraigne Lorde and mayster, whose soule God pardon, admonishing your audience that ye would specially trauell in the confutation of the bishop of Romes pretended authoritie, in gouernement and vsurped power, in pardons whereby hee hath abused himselfe, in Heauen and earthe. Which two matters I note to be playne,* and here wythout controuersie. In the other two ye spake of, touchyng images and ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for holy water, to driue away deuils, for that ye declared your selfe alwayes desirous, to set forth the mere trueth, with great desire of vnitie as ye professed, not extending anye your asseueration beyond your knowledge, but alwayes adding such like words (as farre as ye had read) and if any man could shew you further, ye would heare him (wherein ye were much to be commended) Upon these considerations, and for the desire I haue to vnitie, I haue thought my selfe bound to communicate to you, that I haue read in the matter of Images, and holy water to the intent ye may by your selfe consider it, and so wey, before that ye wil speake in those two pointes, as ye may (reteining youre owne principles) affirme still that ye woulde affirme, and may in deede be affirmed and mayntayned, wherein I haue seene other forget themselves. First I send vnto you herewith (which I am sure ye haue red that [\(a\)](#) Eusebius writeth of Images, whereby appeareth that Images haue beene of [\(b\)](#) great antiquitie, in Christes Church, and to say, we may not haue Images, or to call them when they represent Christ or his Saintes, be ouer grosse opinions, to enter into your learned head, what so euer the vnlearned woulde tattle. For you know the text of the old law. [\(c\)](#)Nō facies tibi sculptile, forbiddeth no more Images now, then another text forbiddeth to vs puddings. And if omnia be munda mundis, to the bellye, there can be no cause

why they should bee of themselves impura to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then when we haue Images, to call them Idols, is a like fault in fond folly. As if a mā would call (Regem) a Tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prooue that Tyrannus signified once a kyng, like as (Idolum) signified once an Image: but like as (Tyrannus) was by consent of men, appropriate, to signifie an vsurper of that dignitie and an vntrue king: So hath (Idolum) bene appropriate to signifie a false representation, and a false Image. In so much, as there was a solemne anathemization of all those that would call an Image and Idoll, as he were worthy to be hanged, that would call the king our maister (God saue him, our true iust king) a tyrant, and yet in talke he might shew that a tyrant signified sometime a king, but speech is regarded in his present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

I verily thinke, that as for the hauing of Images, ye will say inough, and that also when we haue them, we should not despise them in speach, to call them ([d](#)) idols, ne despise them with deedes, to mangle them or cut them, but at the least suffer them to stand vntorne, wherein Luther that pulled away all other regarde to them, straue stoutly, and obteyned (as I haue seene in diuers of the churches in Germany of his reformation) that they shoulde (as they do) stand still.

All the matter to be feared is exces in worshipping, wherein the church of Rome, hath bene very precise. And specially Gregory, writing Episcopo Mastilien. which is cōteined, De consecratio. Distinctione. 3. as followeth.*

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, fanctorum imagines, sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris, & quidem eas adorari vetuisse, omnino laudamus, fregisse verò reprehēdimus. Dic frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquādo auditum est, quod fecisti? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc & idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui literas nesciunt, vnde & praecipue gentibus, pro lectione pictura est.

Herein is forbidden adoration,* and then in Sexta Sinodo, was declared what maner of adoration is forbidden, that is to say,* godly adoration to it being a creature, as is conteined in the chapter, Venerabiles imagines,* in the same distinction, in this wise.

[Page 1349](#)Venerabiles Imagines Christiani non deos appellant, neque seruiunt eis vt dijs, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, ne{que} ab eis ex spectant futurum iudicium, sed ad memoriam & recordationē primitiuorum venerantur eas & adorant, sed non seruiunt eis cultu diuino, nec alicui creaturae.

By which doctrine, all idolatry is plainly excluded, in euident wordes. So as we cannot say, that the worshipping of Images had his beginnyng by popery, for Gregory forbad it, vnlesse we shall call that Synode, Popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet there is forbidden, cultus Diuinus, and agreeth with our beforesaid doctrine, by which we may creepe before the crosse on good Friday, wherein we haue the Image of the crucifixe in honour, & vse it in a worshipfull place, and so earnestly looke on it, and conceyue that it signifieth, as we kneele [a](#)) and creepe before it, whiles it lyeth there, and whiles that remembrance is in exercise, with which crosse neuertheles, the Sexten when he goeth for a corse, will not be afrayd, to be homely, and holde it

vnder hys gowne whiles he drinketh a pottle of ale, a point of homeliness that myght bee left, but yet it declareth, that he esteemed no Diuinitie in the Image. But euer since I was borne a poore parishioner, a lay man, durst be so bold at a shift (if he weee also churchwarden) to sell to the vse of the Church at length, and his own, in the meane tyme, the siluer crosse on Easter Monday, that was creeped vnto on good Friday. In specialties, there haue bene speciall abuses, but generally Images haue bene taken for Images, with an (b) office to signifie an holy remembraunce of Christ and his saints. And as the sounde of speache vttered by a liuely Image, and representing to the vnderstanding, by the sense of hearing godly matter, doth stirre vp the mynde, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipfull regard, to that sound: (c) So doth the object of the Image, by the sight, worke like effect in mā, within and without, wherin is verily worshipped, that we vnderstand, and yet reuerence and worship also shewed to that, wherby we attaine that vnderstanding, and is to vs in the place of an instrument. So as it hath no worship of it selfe, but remayneth in his nature of stone or tymber, siluer, copper or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembraunce in vs, by representation of the thyng signified vnto vs, then we vse it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the (d) priest at Masse, whome they little regard all the day after. And me thinketh euer, that like as it is an ouer grosse error, to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly (e) honour. So to graunt that we may not haue Images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not vse them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kynde of worship to place them worshipfully. So as if a man place an Image in the church, or hang it about his necke, as (f) all vse to do the Image of the crosse, and the knight of the order (g) Saint George, this is some piece of worship. And if we may not contemne the images of Christ and his saintes, when we haue them (for that were villanie) not neglect them (for that were to haue them without vse▪) which were inconuenient, (quia nec natura nec arte quicquam fit frustra) wee must haue them in estimation and reputation, whiche is not without some honour and worship, and at the least in the place, where we conueniently vse them, as in the church, as where they serue vs rather then we them, and because their (h) seruice is worshipfull, they be so regarded accordingly, for that time of seruice, and therefore they be called Venerabiles Images, and be worshipfully ordered, before whom we kneele, and bowe, and cense, not at that the Images be, but at that the Images signifie, which in our kneeling, bowyng, and censing, we knowledge to vnderstand and read in that fashion of contract writing,* wherein is wrapped vp, a great many of sentences, sodenly opened with one sodaine sight, to hym that hath bene exercised in readyng of them. And me seemeth, after the faith of Christ receiued & known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if by case, there were offered a choise, either to retein painting and grauing, and forbear writing, or chosing writing, to forbear both the other gifts: it would be a probleme, seeing if grauing were taken away, we could haue no printing. And therefore they that presse so much the wordes, of Non facies tibi sculptile, euer me thincketh they condemne printed bookes, the originall wherof is of grauing to make *matrices literarum. Sed hoc est furiosum, & sunt tamen qui putāt palmarium. And therfore now it is englished. Thou shalt make no grauen Images, least thou worship them, which (I here) is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not farre frō the old Iury. But to y^e matter of Images, wherin I haue discoursed at large I thinke, and ye consider (as I doubt not, but ye will) the doctrine set foorth by our late Soueraigne Lord? Ye shall in y^e matter see y^e truth set forth by such as had that committed vnto them, vnder his highnes, amongst whome I was not, nor was not priuie vnto it, till it was done. And yet the clause in the booke, for discussion of (the Lord) and (our Lorde) hath made manye thinke otherwise, but I take our Lorde to witnes, I was not: & that declaratiō of (our Lord) was his highnes own deuise, ex se. For he saw the fond Englishing

of (the Lord) disseuered in speach whom our Lord had congregated. And this I adde lest geuing authoritie to the booke,* I should seeme to aduaunt my selfe.

Now will I speake somewhat of holy water, wherein I sēd vnto you, the xxxiiij. chapter in the ix. book of this story Tripartite, where Marcellus the bishop, bad Equitius his Deacon, to cast abroad water by him first hallowed wherewith to driue away the deuill. And it is noted, howe the deuill could not abide the vertue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true. (:) for we be assured by scripture that in the name of God, the church is able and strong to cast out Deuils according to the Gospel, In nomine meo daemones eijcient &c. So as if the water were away, by only calling of the name of God, that maystry may be wrought. And being the vertrue of the effect onely attributed to the name of God: the question shuld be onely, whether y^e creature of water, may haue the office to conuey the effect of the holines, of thinnuocation of Gods name. And first in Christ, the skirt of hys garment had such an office, to minister health to the womā and spe•cle and cley to the blinde, and S. Peters shadow, & S. Pauls handkerchers. And leauing old stories here at home, the special gift of curation, ministred by the kings of this realme, not of their owne strength but by inuocation of the name of God, hath bene vsed to be distributed in rings of gold and siluer. And I thinke effectually wherin the mettall hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Elizeus put his staffe in like office. And why the whole church myght not put water in like office, to conuey abroad the inuocation of gods name: there is no scripture to the contrary, but there is scripture how other inferiour creatures haue bene promoted to like dignitie, and much scripture, how water hath bene vsed in like and greater seruice. And the story I send vnto you, sheweth how water hath bene vsed in the same seruice, to driue away deuils. In which matter if any shall say, he beleueeth not the story, and he is not bound to beleue it, being no scripture: that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the kings crampe rings. And yet for such effect as they haue wrought, when I was in Frāce,* I haue bene my selfe much honoured, and of all sortes entreated, to haue them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth. Some will say, what is rings to holy water? Marrie thus I say, if the mettall of gold and siluer, may doe seruice to cary abroad, the inuocatiō of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serue to cary abroad the inuocation of the name of God, wherewith to driue away deuils. Hereto will be sayde. Non valet argumentum a posse ad esse. But the story saith, the water did that seruice, and other straungers say and affirme by experience, the kings Maiesties rings haue done the seruice. And our late maister continued all his life, the exercise of that gift of God, and vsed siluer and gold to doe that seruice, to cary abroad the strength of the inuocation of the name of God by him, and he vsed it among vs that serued him in it, when hee had throughly heard and seene what might be sayd in the matter, and yet he had no scripture, especially for it that spake of rings of siluer or gold, no more then is for the ashes ministred a little before ye last preached. And as our young soueraigne Lord hath receiued them reuerently: so I trust he shall be aduertised, ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum, but follow his father therein: also not doubting but God will heare him as he hath heard his father, and others his progenitors, kyngs of this realme, to whose dignitie God addeth this prerogatiue, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth hym. A man might finde some yonglings percase y^t would say, how worldly, wily, wittie bishops, haue enueigled [Page 1350](#) simple kings heretofore, and to confirme their blessings, haue also deuised,* how kings should blesse also, and so authoritie to maintayne, where truth fayled, and I haue had it objected to me, that I vsed to prooue one piece of myne argument euer by a king, as when I reasoned thus. If ye

allow nothing but scripture, what say you to the Kinges rings? but they be allowed, Ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides scripture. And another, if Images be forbidden * why doth the king weare S. George on his brest. But he weareth S. George on his brest: Ergo, Images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why kep• we S. * Georges feast? But we keepe S. Georges feast, Ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the inuocation of the name of God to driue away deuils, cannot be distribute by water: why can it be destribute in siluer, to driue away diseases, and the daungerous disease of the falling euill? But the rings hallowed by the holy church, may do so. Ergo, the water hallowed by the Churche may do lyke seruice. These were sore argumēts in his tyme, and I trust be also yet and may bee conueniētly vsed, to such as would neuer make an end of talke, but rake vp euery thyng y^t theyr dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye sayd, men must receyue the determination of the particular church and obey, where Gods lawe repugneth not expresly. And in this effect to driue away deuils, that prayer and inuocation of the church may do it, scripture maintaineth evidently, and the same scripture doth autorise vs so to pray, and encourageth vs to it. So as if in discussiō of holy water, we attribute all the effect to y^e holines which procedeth from God by inuocation of y^e church, and take water for an onely seruaunt to cary abroad holynesse: there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which scripture authoriseth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such seruice: we shall be conuincd, in that it doth a greater seruice in our baptisme by gods speciall ordinance. So as wee cannot saye, that water cannot, or is not apt to doe this seruice, onely the staye is, to haue a precise place, in the newe Testament, to say, vse water thus in this seruice, as we do in holy water, which me thinketh needeth not where all is ordered, to be well vsed by vs: and whē the whole church agreed vpon such an vse: or any particular church, or the common minister of it: and by the exorcisme ordered for it, the thyng to be vsed, purged, there can be but slender matter to improoue that custome, wherein God is only honoured, & the power of his name set forth, whereunto all thing boweth and geueth place, all naturall operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denyed, that water may do seruice, because scripture appoynteth it not, that (because) driueth away much of the rest, the church vseth, and specially our crampe rings. For if water may not serue to cary * abroad, the effect of Gods grace obtained by inuocation frō God, by y^e common prayer of y^e church. How can the mettall of siluer or gold cary abroad, the effect of the kings inuocation in the crampe rings? which manner of reasonyng (ad hominem) Christ vsed with the Iewes, whē he sayd, Si ego in Belzebub, eijcio daemonia, filij vestri, in quo eijciunt? And if by our owne principles, we should be enforced to say that our * crampe rings be superstitiō (where truth enforceth vs not so to do) it were a maruelous punishment. Si caeci essemus (as Christ saith) peccatum non haberemus, sed videmus, and this realme hath learnyng in it, and you a good portion thereof, accordyng whereunto I doubt not, but ye will waigh this matter non ad popularem trutinam, sed artificis stateram. I meane that artificer y^t teacheth the church our mother (as ye full well declared it) & ordered our mother to geue nourishment vnto vs. In which poynt speaking of the church, although ye touched an vnknown church to vs, and known to God only, yet declared the vnion of that Church in the permixt Church, which God ordereth men to complaine vnto, & to heare agayne, wherein the absurditie is taken away of them that would haue no church knowen, but euery man beleue, as he were inwardly taught himselfe, whereupon followeth the olde Prouerbe. 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . Which is far frō y^e vnitie, ye so earnestly wished for, wherof (as me thought) ye said pride is the let, as it is vndoubtedly, which fault God amend, and geue you grace, so to facion your words, as ye may agree with them in speeche, with whom ye be enclined to agree in opinion. For that is the way to relieue the

world. And albeit there hath bene betwene you and me, no familiaritie, but contrarywise, a little disagreement (which I did not hide frō you,) yet consideryng the feruent zeale ye professed, to teach * Peters true doctrine, that is to say, Christes true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of Images and holy water, to put away deuils agreed not: I haue willingly spent this tyme, to communicate vnto you my folly (if it be folly) * plainly as it is, whereupon ye may haue occasion, the more substantially, fully and plainly to open these matters for the reliefe of such as be fallen from the truth and confirmation of those that receyue and follow it, wherein it hath bene euer much commended, to haue such regard to histories of credite, and the continuall vse of the church * rather to shew how a thyng continued from the beginnyng, as holy water and Images haue done, may be well vsed: thē to follow the light rash eloquence, which is euer ad manū, to mocke and improoue that is established. And yet agayne I come to Marcellus that made a crosse in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad, *cum fide & zelo, after which sort, if our holy water were vsed, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus, and many Elizeus, and many at whose prayer God forgeueth sinne, if such as will enioy y^e prayer haue faith and zeale, as Equitius, and were as desirous to driue the deuil out of the temple of their body and soule, as Equitius out of the temple of Iupiter. So as if holy vse were coupled with holy water, there should be more plentie of holynesse then there is, but as men be prophane in their liuyng, so they cannot bide to haue any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water, fearing lest they should take away sinne from vs, which we loue so well. Solus Christus peccata diluit, who sprinckleth hys bloud, by hys ministers, as he hath taught hys spouse, the Church in which those ministers be ordered, wherein many wayes, maketh not many sauours, as ignorants do iest, whereof I neede not speake further vnto you, no more I neded not in the rest in respect of you, but me thought, ye coniured all men in your sermon, to say what they thought to you, id quod hanc mihi expressit Epistolam, quam boni consules, Et Vale.

Your louyng friend. Ste. Winchester.

AS I haue set foorth here (gentle Reader) the cauillyng letter of Winchester, agaynst M. Ridleys Sermon: so am I right sory, that I haue not likewyse the aunswer of the sayd Ridley agayne, to ioyne withall. For so I vnderstand, that not onely M. Ridley, but also M. Barlow B. of S. Dauids (for Winchester wrote agaynst them both) had written and sent immediately their aunsweres to the same, refutyng the friuolous and vnsauory reasons of this popish prelate, as may well appeare by a parcell additionall of a letter sent by the L. Protector to the sayd Byshop in these wordes.

And because we haue begun to write to you, we are put in remembraunce of a certayne letter or booke which you wrote vnto vs agaynst the bishop of S. Dauids sermon, and D. Ridleys, to the whiche, aunswer beyng immediately made, was by negligence of vs forgottē to be sent. Now we both send you that, and also the aunswer which the B. of s. Dauids wrote to the same booke of yours.

¶Articles and positions ministred and obiected eche of them ioyntly and seuerally to the B. of Winchester, as foloweth.

The 1. Article.

IN primis, that the kings Maiesty iustly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to be the supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland,* and so is by the Clergy of this realme in theyr conuocation, and by acte of Parliament iustly and accordyng to the lawes of God recognised.

Winchester.

This first article the B. granteth.*

The 2. Article.

Item, that hys Maiestie as supreme hed of the sayd Churches, hath full power and authoritie, to make and set forth lawes, Iniunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning religion & orders in the sayd churches for the encrease of vertue, and repressing of all errours, heresies, and other enormities, and abuses.*

Winchester.

To this second article he answereth affirmatiuely.

The 3. Article.

Item, that all and euery his graces subiects are bound by the lawe of God to obey all hys Maiesties sayd lawes, Iniunctions & procedings concerning religion and orders in the sayd church.

Winchester.

To the third article, the laid B. answereth affirmatiuely, and granteth it.

The 4. Article.

Item, that you Steuen B. of Winchester, haue sworne obedience [Page 1351](#) to his maiestie as supreme head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland.

***Winchester**

To the fourth article, the sayd B. aunswereth affirmatiuely, and granteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, that all and euery his graces subiectes, that disobey any his sayd maiesties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinaunces, and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished according to hys Ecclesiasticall law vsed within this his realme.

Winchester.

To this fift article, the sayd B. answereth affirmatiuely, and granteth it.

The 6. Article.

Item, that you the sayd Bishop, as well in the Kings Maiesties late visitation within your dioces,* as at sondry tymes haue bene cōplained vpō, & sondry informatiōs made against you for your doyngs, sayings, and preachings agaynst sundry Iniunctions, orders, and other proceedings of hys maiesty, set foorth for reformation of errors, superstitions, and other abuses of religion.

Winchester.

This article toucheth other mens actes, who or how they are complayned or enformed, I cannot throughly tel. For at the tyme of the kings Maiesties visitation, I was in the Fleete, and the morrow after twelfe day I was deliuered at Hampton court, my L. of Somerset, and my L. of Caunterbury then being in counsaile with many other counsailors, & was deliuered by these words: The kings maiesty hath granted a generall pardon, and by the benefit thereof, I was discharged. Wherunto I answered, that I was learned neuer to refuse the kings maiesties pardon,* and in strength as that was: and I would & did humbly thanke his maiesty therfore, and then they began with me in an article of learnyng touching iustification, whereunto they willed me to say my mynd, adding therwith, that because other learned men had agreed to a forme deliuered vnto me, that I should not thinke I could alter it: which I receiued of them, and promised the Thursday after to repayre to my L. of Somersets house at Sheene, with my mynd written: which I did, and that day seuennight followyng, appearing before hym and other of the counsaile, was committed to my house for prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the forme of words & sentēces that other had agreed vnto (as they said.) In which tyme of imprisonment in my house, the Bish. of Rochester then being as sent to me, and after M. Smith, & then M. Cecil, to which M. Cecil, when I had by learnyng resoluēd my mynde in the matter, I deliuered it, and he deliuering it to my lords Grace, wrote me in hys name, thanks for it: and then it was within the tyme of Lent, ere I was discharged of y^e trouble, and so went to Winchester as a man clearely out of all trauell of busines.

And within 14. daies after that, or there abouts, began other trauell with me, vpon a request made by my Lord of Somerset to surrender a colledge in Cambridge, & diuers letters were written betwene his grace & me in it. Wherin I might perceiue the Secretary in his pen tooke occasiō to pricke me more, then I trusted my Lords grace himself would haue done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then shortly after I receiued letters to come to y^e counsaile,* & by reason I alledged my disease, I was respited by other letters, & three days before whitsontide, receiued yet other letters to come, by which it myght seeme vnto me, that it was not of all beleued that I was diseased, & therfore with all expeditiō when I could not ride, I came in an horselitter, and according to my duetie presented my selfe to my Lordes of the counsaile, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were obiected vnto me, as I had bene in the same place with them that I was in our late soueraigne lords days. Afterwards my L. of Somersets Grace charged me with these matters followyng, & in this forme, hauing the articles written in a paper. First, with disobedience that I came not at hys sending for. Wherunto I answered, that I had his letters of licence,* to stay til I might come conueniently. And vpō the last letters I came incontinently in a horselitter.

Then it was objected y^t I bare Palmes, & crept to the crosse. Whereunto I answered, that they were misinformed and I trusted they would not thinke I durst deny it, if I had done it, because ceremonies had such circumstaunces, as I might easily be reproued, if it were otherwise.

Then it was objected, that at Easter I had a solemne sepulchre in the church, and such other ceremonies. I aunswered, that I had euen as many as the kings Maiesties proclamations commanded me, declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the kings maiesties proclamation, adding how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

It was then objected vnto me, y^t I went about to deface two of the kings maiesties chaplens, sent down to be Canons of the church of Winchester. Whereunto I answered, declaring the fact truly as it was,* which I am yet able to iustify. After this matter thus oft objected & aunswered, I was commanded to go apart, and beyng called in againe, my L. of Somersets grace looking vpon a bill of Articles, sayd I had preached how the Apostles went from the presence of the counsaile, of the counsaile, of the counsaile, which matter I denied▪ addyng that it was not my fashion of preaching so to play in i•eration of words.

After that, it was objected vnto me for preaching of the Sacrament, to say: the bodye of Christ was really present being a faulte to vse the worde really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I aunswered that I did not vse the word really, whiche needeth not.* For as I once heard my Lord of Caunterbury reason agaynst one Lambert in the presence of the kinges Maiestie that dead is: the words of scripture, This is my body that shalbe betrayed for you, do playnely and liuely expresse the very presence: and so did I set it forth to the people in my dioces. And this is the effect of all that was sayd agaynst me at my being at the Counsaile, as I can remember. To whome I declared howe much I esteemed obedience, and tolde them I had taught in my dioces, how the whole life of a Christian man consisteth in suffring properly. And therefore we may not do our own wil, but y^e will of God. And among men we must eyther suffer the rulers will, or their power, their will to order vs, & their power to punish vs. After declaratiō wherof my Lorde of Somerset sayde, ye must tary in the towne. Whereunto I aunswered,* I woulde be contented at theyr commaundement or pleasure to tary: but seeing I was no offender, I desired them I might not tary as an offender: and for declaration thereof, that I might haue some house in the country about London, to remoue vnto for a shifte. In deuising whereof I stack much to borrow Asshar. My Lorde of Somerset saide, if he had any in fayth he woulde lend me one.* And in the end my Lord of Somerset desired me to write what my minde was in ceremonies and to send it vnto him, and with that departed.

Thus I haue truely opened after what sorte I haue bene complayned on, y^t hath certaynly come to my knowledge. Truth it is that one Philpot in Winchester,* whome I accompted altered in his wittes (as I heard) deuised tales of me, the specialties whereof I neuer was called to aunswere vnto. Players and minstrels also rayled on me, & other made ballades and rimes of me, but neuer mā had iust cause to cōplaine of any my sayings, doinges, or preachings, or to my knowledge did otherwise, then afore. And if any man shall put me in remembraunce of any other cōplaynt that might in my absence be made of me: If I haue heard it. I wil graūt so. But well assured I am▪ I was neuer complayned on, & called to make answer to y^e cōplaint, but this one time in all my whole lyfe by no man of anye degree. Once y^e Lord Cromwell,* God pardon his soule & forgeue

him, caused one day & a half to be spent in a matter betwene sir Frances Brian & me, which was ended, & I declared an honest man which the kings maiesty that dead is, God pardon hys soule, set forth with his familiaritie to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble y^t I haue had in my life, sauing y^e sending to the Fleete, beyng occasioned by my owne letter to the counsaile vpon a zeale that I had, which they allowed not, and finally, this sending of me, to y^e Tower, which was without calling me before the counsaile, to heare what I could say. I am loth to be forsworn: and therefore accompt all the complaints in my whole lyfe made against me, wherunto I haue bene made priuy.

The 7. Article.

Item, that after and vpon occasion of those and many other complaints and informations,* you haue bene sundry tymes admonished, commanded, and enioyned to conforme your selfe, as to your duetie appertained.

Winchester.

To this seuenth Article I answer: I was neuer afore the counsaile called by way of outward complaint and information, but onely once in all my whole life, which was at my last comming to London. Wherunto I aunswered (as afore) & haue told the forme & processe of speech to serue for furniture of aunswer, to this and that Article: for other then I haue before written, I remember not to haue done or suffred by the higher powers in all my whole life, til my comming into the tower, without that I haue had any by admonitions, as a mā faulty or negligent at any time that I remember, for the obseruatiō of any thyng alredy made or set forth by y^e kings maiesty that now is, but haue kept, & caused to be kept in my power the kings maiesties arts, statutes, iniunctions, and proclamations inuiolably, hauing [Page 1352](#) for that purpose such a Chancellor, as in orders & ordinances hath bene alwayes himselfe diligent and precise for that tyme I might haue knowledge of his doings.

The 8. Article.

Item, that after the premisses, & for that those former admonitiōs & comandements, notwithstanding you did yet stil she• your selfe not conformable, & for that also others by your exam'ple were much animated,* & thereby occasion of much vnquietnesse ministred amongst the people, you were called before the kings maiesties counsaile in the month of Iune, in the 2. yeare of his maiesties raigne, and by them on his maiesties behalfe, commanded to preach a Sermon before his maiestie, and therein to declare the •ustnesse and godlynesse of his maiesties father in his proceedings vpon certayne matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you deliuered in writyng, and partly otherwise declared vnto you.

The effect wherof was touchyng the vsurped power and authoritie of the B. of Rome, that the same was iustly and godly taken away in this realme, and other the kings maiesties dominions: touchyng the iust suppressing and taking away of monasteries and religious houses, of Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines, Images.

The superstitious goyng about of S. Nicholas bishop, S. Edmund, S. Katherine,* S. Clement, and such lyke: and iust takyng away of Chaunteries, Abbies and Colledges, hallowyng of cādels, water, ashes, Palme, holy bread, beades, creeping to the crosse & such lyke.

Also, touching the setting forth of the kinges maiesties authoritie in his yong yeares to be as great as if his highnesse were of many more yeares.

That auricular confession is indifferent, and of no necessitie by the law of God: and touching the procession and Common prayer in English.

Winchester.

This Article beeyng of so many partes as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by deuision of it in to diuers members, to deuide the one from the other, grāting that is true, denieng that is otherwise, & opening that is ambiguous, auoyding y^t is captious, so as according to my oth, I may open directly & plainly the truth, with sinceritie of conscience. The motion of preaching was made vnto me in mine owne house by M. Cecill, vpon the duke of Somersets behalfe, after I had bene before y^e counsaile, as I haue before sayd:* from which Counsaile I departed (as before is rehersed) as no offender, & therfore when M. Cicil spake to me of preaching before the kings Maiestie, with request to write my sermon before, I denied that maner of preaching, because I said it was to preach like an offender, and I was none, but departed from the Counsaile otherwise as I haue before shewed. And the sayde M. Cicil did not say to me that I was mooued to preach, because I was not conformable: for I had at that tyme no maner of variance with the Counsaile, but was in all conformity with them for any thyng that I know, as I will aunswer afore God.

As for euil example to any man, I could none geue, for I neuer offēded law, statute, or proclamatiō in this realm, •e did euer any act to the empairing of due obedience to y^e kings maiestie in all my whole lyfe, but by obseruation of them, and letting innouations, done as much as in me lay to maintaine obedience.

After M. Cecill had spoken to me of preaching, & deliuered two papers conteining the matters whereupon I should entreat,* because I refused to geue my sermō in writing (which was to me like an offēder, or to read those papers of another mā's deuise, as the conception and sincere maner of vttering of mine own cōsciēce) which me thought then and since, yet a meruailous vnreasonable mater touching both my conscience and honesty) I was then fer to the duke of Somersets graces chamber, and came in at a backe dore to himself alone, sauing he tooke to him as witnes he said, the L. now of Wiltshire, then great maister, & after many words, shewed me certaine articles subscribed by Lawyers, what a B. might command, & what the king might command, and what payne to the disobeyer.

To whom I said plainly & truly, how those Lawyers subscription could not serue in this case to commaund one to vtter to the people for myne own deuise in words,* that is not in deed so: and if I might speake with these lawyers (I sayd) his grace should soone perceiue them to agree with me. My L. sayd, I should speake with no man, and I should do as I was hidden, or do worse, and bade mee aduise me till dinner was done. And then was I conueyed by the L. great Maister to hys

chamber, and there left alone to dyne, as was in deede honourably prepared. But I tooke my selfe to be in the nature of a prisoner, and a restrayned man.

And about two of the clocke at after noone, came vnto me M. Thomas Smith then Secretary,* vnto whome I complained of the vnreasonablenes of the matter, & shewed him certaine particularities, who sayd it was not ment so precisely, but to speake of the matters. To whō I sayd, I was content to speake of the matters, and thē if I speak not accordyng to the truth of them, there should be enough to beare witnesse to my condemnation, and if I spake the truth, then they had their desire. And I sayde further, I thought I might with my conscience say so as men ought and should be content & satisfied. And further if I thought that in my maner of the vtterynge of those matters, I shold offend the Counsaile, I had rather deny to speake of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, then to begin with pulpit, and so bring my selfe in further trouble then needed, and therfore if they would haue me preach, I would preach as of my selfe, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

Wherupon I was brought vp to my L. of Somersets chamber, and there the matter ended thus, that my L. of Somerset sayde he would require no writyng of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of y^e matters in the papers deliuered me by M. Cicill. I told hym I would speake of thē, sauynge for childrens toyes of goyng about of S. Nicholas and S. Clement.* If that be now gone (quoth I) and forgotten, if I be to busy in rehersall of them, they will say I comber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they wyll defame me: When ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothyng but preach on them, and now they be gone, I babble of thē still. I sayd I would teach y^e chiefe points, addyng that I would speake of other matters also, & with that, beyng put to my liberty to choose the day, departed: and otherwyse I was not spoken with concernyng preachyng, sauynge after M. Cicill came vnto me, whereof I shall speake anone.

As concernyng the matters to bee spoken of, all such things as be here rehersed, be named in the papers, deliuered vnto me, although not altogether after this sort: sauynge the setting forth of the kings maiesties authority in his minoritie, whereof there is no worde in those papers, nor there was neuer any promise made of me to speake of it. Truth it is, y^t after I had signified the day whē I wold preach. M. Cicil came vnto me making the chiefe message to know the day when I would preach:* to whome I had sent word before that it should be s. Peters day, because me thought the gospell serued well for that purpose, & in processe of communication he told me that he lyked gaily well a word that I had sayd in another communication. How a king was as much a kyng at one yere of age, as at one hundred yeres of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him agayne, euery mā knew that, and then opened of my selfe the matter further.

And at his next repayre vnto me, which was the mōday before I preached, the sayd M. Cicil brought me papers of the kings maiesties hand,* shewing me how his hyghnesse vsed to note euery notable sentence, and specially if it touched a kyng, and therfore (quoth he) if ye speake of a kyng, ye must ioyn Counsaile withall. Whereunto I made no answer, but shifted to other matter, without making hym any promise or deniall, because I would neyther bind my selfe, nor trouble my selfe to discusse that matter.* For albeit it is godly and wisely done of euery Prince to vse Counsaile, yet speaking of a kings power by scripture, I cannot by expresse scripture limite the kings power by counsaile. And hearyng blyndly by report some secret matter, that I will not speake of here, I thought not to meddle with it in the pulpet: and yet to the effect to haue our

soueraigne L. now obeyed, of which mind I was euer, I pointed to our soueraigne L. there in presence, & sayd he was onely to be obeyed, and I would haue but one kyng, and other words to that purpose. But for any promise to be made by me, I vtterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwyse of it. There was also in the papers deliuered vnto me, occasion geuen me to speake of the Masse, because of Masses satisfactory, as some vnderstand them. And also there was occasion to speake of the sacrament of the aulter, because of the proclamation passed of the same, which to be true, I shall iustifie by the sayd papers.

The 9. Article.

Item, that you receiuyng the same,* and promising to declare the same in a Sermon by you made before hys maiestie for that purpose on the feast of S. Peter, in the sayd 2. yeare of hys raygne, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omitte to declare and set forth many of the sayd matters, and of dyuers others of the sayd Articles, you spake and vttered your mynde in such doubtfull sort, as the iustnesse and godlynesse of his Maiesties fathers and hys proceedings, was not set foorth accordyng to the commaundement geuen vnto you, and your own promise, to the great offence of the hearers, and manifest contempt of hys [Page 1353](#) maiestie, and dangerous example of others.

Winchester.

Touching y^e promise I answer as afore, & as touchyng omission of y^t I shoulde haue spoken of,* by contēpt or disobediēce, I answer by mine oth: I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contēpt or disobediēce: for I euer minded to satisfy y^e promise,* to speak of all matters in those papers, according to my former declaratiō. And if I did percase omit any thing (wherof I cā make now no assurance being ij. yeres & a half past since I preached) but if I did omit any thing, who knew my trauel in y^t matter, wold not maruel, being troubled w^t a letter sent from y^e duke of Somerset, wherof I shal speake after. So as frō 4. of y^e clock, on thursday, till I had done my sermon on y^e friday, I did neither drinke, eat, ne sleepe, so careful was I to passe ouer y^e trauel of preching, without all slander of the truth, w^t satisfaction of my promise, & discharge of my duety to God & y^e kings most excellēt maiesty. Wherin, whether any thyng were omitted or not, I could haue answered more precisely thē I can now, if according to my most instāt sute, & the sute of my seruants, y^e matter had bene heard while it was in fresh memory. But because omissiō may be by infirmity of nature, in which obliuiō is a payn of our original sinne, in which case it is no mortal offence,* if a man beyng put in remēbrance will purge it, I therefore according to the true testimony of mine own consciēce, dare y^e more boldly deny all contempt & disobedience, hauing for my declaratiō a general sentence spoken in my sermon, y^t I agreed with the vpper part in their lawes, orders & commaundements, or such like words,* & found only fault in the lower part. By which sentence appeared, how I allowed in y^e whole, that was past thetherto, & only dissented frō the doings of thē y^t attempt innouations of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, y^t that saieng [omission] here objected vnto me, if it were true as I know it not to be, may happen two wais: one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpose. charity of a christē mā permitteth not to determine y^e worst of that is doubtful & ambiguous to both parties: as touching doutfulness objected. I take god to record I min'ded to speake simply,* & to be on y^e kings maiesties side only, & not to go inuisible in the world, w^t ambiguities esteeming him, &c. The worst mā of all is, y^t wil make himself a lock of words & speech, which is known not to be my factiō, nor I think this life worth y^e dissimulation, & how can y^t be a doubtful speech in him,

y^t professteth to agree with the kings lawes, iniunctions & statutes, which I did expresly. There be y^t cal a doubt whatsoever serueth not theyr appetite. It is not in y^e speaker to satisfy the hearer y^t will doubt where dout is not. The sūme of my teaching was, y^t all visible things be ordred to serue vs, which we may in conueniēt seruice vse. And whē we serue them, y^t is an abuse, and may thē at y^e rulers pleasure, vnles scripture appointeth a special vse of thē, be corrected in y^t vse, or takē away for reformatiō. And this is a plain teaching y^t hath no dout in it, but a yea & a nay on ij. sides, w^tout a mean to make a dout, And if any y^t douteth cōmeth vnto me,* I will resolute him y^t doubt as I can. And if I promised to speake plainly or am cōmanded to speake plainly & cānot, thē is my fault to promise only in the nature of folly & ignorance, whereunto I resort, not for a shift, wherof in deed I professe y^e knowlege but to shew how sometime to my hinderaunce, I am noted learned that can speake plainly, and yet speake doubtfully, other whiles am reiected as one y^t vnderstandeth not the matter at all. As touching contēpt, there can be none▪ manifest y^t proceedeth of a priuy promise if I had broken it, I intended not, but intēded to take it, as appereth by my general sentence, to agre w^t the superiors, & only find fault in y^e inferior subiects, who daily transgresseth the kings maiesties proclamations and other, wherof I spake then.

*The 10. Article.

Item, that you beyng also commaunded on his Maiesties behalfe, for the auoyding of tumult, and for other great considerations inhibited to treat of any matter in controuersie concernyng the masse of the cōmunion, then cōmonly called the sacrament of the aulter, did contrary to the said commandement and inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements and opinions in the same, in the manifest contempt of hys highnes sayd inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers and disturbance of common quiet and vnitie of the realme.

Winchester.

To the x. article the said B. answered, y^t the Wednesday at after noone,* next before y^e friday whē I preached, M. Cicil came to me, & hauing in all his other accesses spoken no word therof, did thē vtter & aduise me frō y^e D. of Somerset, y^t I should not speake of the sacrament, or of the Masse, wherby he said I should auoid trouble. And when he saw me not take it wel, I meane (quoth he) doubtfull matters. I asked him what? He said transubstantiation. I told hym he wist not what transubstantiation ment. I wyll preach (quoth I) the very presence of Christs most precious body & bloud in the sacrament, which is the catholike faith, & no doubtful matter, ne yet in controuersie, sauing that certain vnlearned speake of it, they wot not what. And among the matters quoth I, whereof I haue promised to speake▪* I must by special words speake of the sacrament & the masse also. And when I shal so speake of thē. I will not forbear to vtter my faith & true beliefe therin, which I think necessary for the kings maiesty to know: & therefore if I wist to be hāged when I came downe, I would speake it. Which plaine zeale of my conscience, groūded vpō gods cōmandement to do his message truly, I would not hide,* but vtter so, as my L. should, if he would not haue it spoken of, nor let me to come there as he might haue done, where as els, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might haue accepted the aduise, & w^tout any color of trouble, haue refused to follow it as a thing groūded vpon welth only, as it was thē vttered. With this my answer M. Cicil departed, & vpon y^e thursday which was the next day folowing, & the euening before I preached, betwene 3. & 4. at after noone, I receiued a letter signed with the hand of the D. of Somerset (the copy wherof I am redy to exhibite) & took it

them, & esteemed it so now to continue no effectuall inhibition wherunto I might by gods law, or the kings maiesties laws with discharge of my conscience & duety obey, although the said letters had bene (as they were not) in such termes framed, as had precisely forbidden me (as they did not) but onely to speake of matters in controuersy of the sacrament, which in deed I did not, but only vttered a truth to my consciēce, most certainly perswaded of the most holy sacrament, necessary to be known to the kings maiesty, & to be vttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to be vttered, which in this nature of truth (the vndue estimation and vse whereof, S. Paule threatneth with temporall death) may in no wise be omitted.* So as I was and am perswaded the right estimation of the sacrament, to be to acknowledge the very presence of the same most precious body and bloud present in the Sacrament to feed vs, that was geuen to redeeme vs. If I shewed not my soueraigne Lord the truth therof, I for my part suffer hym wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body, which S Paule threateneth, whose person I am bound by nature, by speciall othes, by Gods lawes to preserue to my power as I will do, and must do, by all ways and meanes. And if the Kings Maiestie doth vouchsafe to teache hys people not to obey hys commaundement, where God commaundeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somersets letter for an inhibition to hold my peace,* when God biddeth me to speake as he doth whē the Wolfe commeth, and not to hide my selfe in silence, which is the most shamefull runnyng away of all. I haue muche matter to alledge against the letter why I should not credite it, written in his name alone, against a common letter (as I tooke it) written by hym and the counsaile, and published in print the first day of the said month, which maintaineth my preachyng of the sacrament & masse, accordyng to the proclamations and iniunctions: the violation of which publike letters, had bene a disorder and contempt, where as I neither offended in the one, nor the other.

And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the kings maiesties lawes, as there did folow none, nor the people, or any man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding players, iesters, rimers, ballademakers, did signify me to be of the true catholike faith,* which I according to my dutie declared to the kings maiesty, from whō I may hide no truth that I thinke expedient for hym to know. And as the name of God cannot be vsed of any creture agaynst God, no more can the kings name, beyng vsed of any subiect against his highnes. Wherefore seyng the abuse of this holy sacrament hath in it a danger assured by scripture of body & soule, whosoeuer is perswaded in y^e catholike faith (as I am) findeth himself so burdened to vtter that vnto his maiesty, as no worldly losse cā let him to do his duty in that behalfe, and much lesse my Lordes priuate letters written without other of the counsailes hands.

The 11. Article.

Item, that after the premisses, viz. in the month of May or Iune or one of them, in the 3. yeare of his hyghnes raigne,* his maiestye sent eftsoones vnto you to know your conformitie towards hys sayd reformatiōs, and specially touchyng the booke of common prayer then lately set foorth by hys maiestie, whereunto you at the same tyme refused to shew your selfe conformable.

Winchester.

To the xi. article for answer and declaration thereof, he sayd: The next day at after noone after he had preached,* when he looked for no such matter, came to his house the right worshipfull Sir

Anthony Wingfield, and Sir Rafe [Page 1354](#) Sadler knights, accompanied wyth a great number of the gard, and vsed themselues for their part according to theyr worships, and (I doubt not) as they were appoynted, Sir Rafe Sadler begā thus w^t me: My L. (said he) ye preached yesterday obedience,* but ye did not obey your selfe, & went forth w^t his message very soberly as he can, and discretely. I asked him wherein I obeied not. He sayde, touching my L. of Somersets letter. Maister Sadler, quoth I, I pray you say to my Lords grace, I would he neuer made mention of that letter, for the loue I beare him. And yet quoth I, I haue not broken that letter, & I was mineded, quoth I, to haue wrytten to my L. vpon the receipt of it, and loe, quoth I, ye may see how I begā, and shewed him (because we were then in my study) the beginning of my letter, and reasoned with him for declaration of my selfe, and told him therwith, I wil not spend, quoth I, many wordes w^t you, for I cā not alter this determination. And yet in good faith quoth I, my maner to you, and this declaration may haue this effecte, that I be gently handled in the prisone, and for that purpose I pray you, make sute on my behalfe.

*Maister Wingfield laide his hand on my shoulder, and arested me in y^e kings name for disobedience. I asked them whether I shoulde. They sayde to the Tower. Finally I desired them that I might be spoken wyth shortly, & heard what I could say for my selfe, and praied them to be suters in it, and so they saide they would.

After y^t I was once in the tower, vntill it was within 6. dayes of one whole yere, I could heare no maner word, message, comfort, or relief, sauing once when I was sicke, and me thought some extremity towardes me, my Chaplaine had licence to come to me for one time, & then denied againe, being aunswered that my feuer was but a tertian, which my said Chaplaine tolde me when he came to me at the Easter followinge, and there beinge wyth me from the morning till night on Easter day departed, and for no su^e could neuer haue him since. To M. Lieftenant I made diuers sutes to prouoke the duke of Somersets grace to hear me. And if I might haue the liberty of an English man, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, statute, acte, proclamation nor his own letter neither, but al wold not help, & I shal report me to M. Liefenant whether in al this time I maligned, grudged or vsed any vnsemely wordes, euer demanding iustice, & to be heard according to iustice. When I had bene thus in the tower one whole yeare within 6. daies or 7. as I remember,* came to the Tower the Lord Chancellor of England, now being the L. Treasurer, and master Secretarye Peter, who calling me vnto them, as I remember, entred this: They sayde they hadde brought with them a booke passed by the parlament, which they would I should looke on and say my minde to it, and vpon my conformitie in it, my Lord of Somerset would be suter to the kings maiestie for mercy to be ministred to me. Wherunto I answered that I trusted if I might be heard, the kings Maiesties iustice would releue me, which I had longsued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for mercy, quoth I, when I haue not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of thys place,* wher asking of mercy, emploieith a further suspition then I woulde be for all the worlde touched in it, were not expedient. And therefore, quoth I, not guiltie is and hath bene allowed a good plee for a prisoner. Then my Lord sayd, why quoth he, were ye not commaunded to preache of the kings authoritie in his younge age, & yet did not? I told him I was not commaunded. Is not (quoth he) that Article in the papers yee had deliuered you? I assured him no.

And after communication of the kings Maiesties authority wherein was no disagreement,* then my lord Chancellor said I had disobeied my Lordes graces letter. I told him I thought not, and if

the matter came to iudgement, it should appeare. And then I sayd to him, my Lord howe many open iniunctions vnder Seale and in open Courte haue bene broken in this Realme? the punishment wherof hath not ben handled after this sort, & yet I would stande in defence y^t I had not broken his letter, waying the words of the letter, wherein I reasoned with M. Peter Secretarie what a controuersie was, and some part what I could say further. But what so euer I canne saye (quoth I) you must iudge it, and for the passion of God do it, and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known if I will haue it.* But when I am (quoth I) declared an offender, I will with humilitie of suffering make amendes to the kings Maiestie, so farre as I am able: for I shoulde neuer offend him, and much lesse in his yong age.

My L. Chancelor then shewed me the beginning of the acte for common prayer, how dangerous it was to breake the order of it, I told him that it was true, & therefore if I came abroad, I would be wel ware of it. But it is (quoth I) after in the act how no man should be troubled for this act, vnles he were first indited, and therefore (quoth I,) I may not be kept in prisone for this acte. Ah (quoth he) I perceiue ye knowe the lawe well enough, I tolde hym my Chaplaine had brought it vnto mee the after noone before. Then they required me to looke on the boke, and to say my minde in it. I answered that I thought not mete to yelde my selfe a scholler to go to schoole in prison, & then slaunder my selfe as though I redemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the law which I know not,* I will honor it like a subiect, and if I keepe it not, I wil willingly suffer the paine of it. And what more conformitie I should shew, I cannot tell, for mine offences be past if there be any. If I haue not suffred enough I will suffer more, if vpon examination I be found faulty, & as for this new law, if I keepe it not, punish me likewise.

Then my Lorde Chaunceloure asked mee whether I would not desire the kings Maiestie to be my good Lorde. At which worde I sayde: alas my Lorde (quoth I) doe yee thinke that I haue so forgotten my selfe? My duety (quoth I) requireth so, and I will on my knees desire hym to be my good Lord and my Lord Protectour also quoth I, that is wel sayd quoth my Lord Chaunceler. And what will ye say further, quoth my L. Chanceler, In good faith quoth I thys, that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and thinke so still, and had it not ben for the article of the supremacie, I woulde haue rather fayned my selfe sicke, then be occasion of this that hath followed: but going to the Pulpit, I must needes say as I sayde. Well quoth my lord Chanceler, let vs go to our purpose again. Ye will quoth he, desire the kings maiestie to be your good Lord, and my Lord Protectour also, and ye say ye thought not to haue offended. All this I will say quoth I.* And yee wil (quoth my Lord Chanceler) submit your selfe to be ordered by my Lorde Protector. Nay (quoth I) by the lawe for my Lord Protectour quoth I hath scourged mee ouersore this yere, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter poynte I varied with my Lorde Chauncellour, when I could not refer my order to my Lord Protectour, but to the law, and staying at this poynt they were cōtent to graunt me of their gentlenes to make their sute to procure me to be heard, and to obtaine me libertie to goe in the galery, and that I should heare of one of them within two daies following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the boke by way of contempt, nor in no euil maner, but y^t I was loth to yelde my selfe a scholer in the Tower, and to be seene to redeme my faults if I had any, with my conscience. My body I sayde, shoulde serue my conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth vpon my conscience and othe that was done and said at their comming. There was more sayde to the purposes aforesayde. And I binde not my selfe to the precise forme of wordes, but to the substaunce of the matter and fashion of the intreating. So neare as I can remember, I haue truely discharged mine oth: But I

heard no more of my matter in one whole yere after almost wythin 14. dayes notwithstanding two letters wrytten by me to the Counsaile, of most humble request to be heard according to iustice. And then at y^e ende of 2. yeres almost, came vnto me the Duke of Somerset with other of the counsel, which matter because it is left out here, I shall not touch but prepare it in a matter aparte, for declaration of my behaiour at all times.

The 12. Article.

Item, that after that. &c. the 9. day of Iuly, in the 4. yeare of his Maiesties raign, his highnes sent vnto you his graces letters, with a certaine submission and Articles, whereunto his grace willed and commaunded you to subscribe, to whiche submission, you contemptuously refused to subscribe.

Winchester.

To the 12. article for answer therunto, he graunted that about the time mentioned in this Article, the Lorde Treasurer, the Erle of Warwike lord great maister,* sir William Harbert, and M. Secretary Peter, came to the tower: and called me before them, and deliuered vnto me the Kynges maiesties letters which I haue to shew, and receiued them at the handes of the lord Treasurer vpon my knees, kissed them as my duety was, and still vpon my knees red them, where as they right gently required me to take more ease, & to go apart with them, & consider them, which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I should be commaunded to say of my selfe as was there wrytten, and to say otherwise of my selfe then my conscience will suffer me, & where I trust my dedes wil not condemne me, therto condemne my selfe w^t my tongue, I should sooner (quoth I to them) by commaundement: thinke if ye would bid me to tumble my selfe desperately into the Thames.

My lord of Warwicke seeing me in that agonye, sayde: What say ye my Lorde, quoth he, to the other Articles? I aunswered that I was loth to disobey, where I might obey [Page 1355](#) and not wrast my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say vntruely of my selfe. Well, quoth my Lorde of Warwicke,* will ye subscribe to the other Articles? I tolde him I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me, must be put out. I was answered that needeth not, for I might wryte on the one side what I woulde say vnto it: and then my Lorde of Warwicke entertained mee verye gently,* and would needes whiles I should write, haue me sit downe by him, and when hee sawe me make somewhat straunge so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said we had ere this sit together, & trusted we should do so againe. And then hauing pen & inke geuen me, I wrote as I remember, on the Article that touched me, these words: I can not with my conscience say this of my selfe, or such like words. And there folowed an Article of the kings Maiesties primacie, and I began to write on the side o^r that, & had made an I, onward as may appere by the articles, & they would not haue me do so, but write onely my name after theyr articles: which I did. Whereat because they shewed themselues pleased and content:* I was bold to tel them merely that by this meane, I hadde placed my subscription aboue them all, & therupon it pleased them to entertein me much to my comfort.

And I was bold to accōpt vnto them mery tales of my miserie in pryson, which they seemed content to heare: and then I tolde them also (desiring them not to be discontent with that I should say:) when I remember eache of them alone, I could not thinke otherwise of them but they were

my good Lords: and yet when they meete together, I feele no remedy at their hands. I looked quoth I, when my L. of Somerset was heere to goe out wythin two dayes, and made my fare well feast in the Tower and all, since whych time there is a moneth past or thereabout: and I agree w^t them,* and now agree with you, and I may fortune be forgotten. My Lorde Treasurer sayde nay, I shoulde heare from them the next day, and so by their special commandement came out of the chamber after them, that they myght be seene depart as my good Lordes: and so was done. By which processe doth appeare how there was in me no contempt, as is sayd in this article, but such a subscriptiō made as they were content to suffer me to make, whiche I tooke in my cōscience for a whole satisfaction of the kings maiesties letters, whiche I desire may be deemed accordinglye. And one thing was said vnto me further that other would haue put in many moe Articles, but they woulde haue no more but those.

The 13. Article.

Item, that you hauing eftsones certaine of the kings Maiesties honorable Counsaile sent vnto you the 12. of Iuly in the sayde 4. yere with the said submission, and being on his Maiesties behalfe required and commaunded to consider again and better the sayd submission, and to subscribe the same, stooode in iustification of your self, & would in no wise subscribe thereunto.

Winchester.

To the 13. article he sayde: The next day after the being in the Tower of the saide L. Treasurer, the Earle of Warwike & other: came vnto me Syr W. Harbert & M. Secretary Peter,* to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my fault (as they saide) because the other forme liked me not. Wherunto I said I knew my selfe innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a devise to empaire my innocency in any poynt by my wordes or wrytings, it can haue no pollicie in it. For although I did more esteeme liberty of body, then the defamation of my self: yet (quoth I) whē I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by my owne * penne once made an naughtye man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked my selfe the more surely in, and a small pleasure were it to me to haue my body at libertie by your procurement, and to haue my conscience in perpetual prison by mine owne act. Many more wordes there were, and perswasions on their parties▪ which caused me to require of them, for the passion of God, that my matter might take an end by iustice, and so departed, theyr being no contempt or faction of disobedience shewed on my behalfe, but onely allegation for my defence of mine innocency in y^e best maner I could devise, as I trust they will testifie.

The 14. Article.

Item, that after all this, videlicet the 14. day of Iuly in the said 4. yeare, the kings maiestie sent yet again vnto you certain of hys maiesties honorable Counsaile with an other submission, and diuers other articles, willinge and commaunding you to subscribe your name thereunto: which to do you vtterly refused.

Winchester.

To the 14. Article he sayde, that on the Monday in the morning following came the bishop of London, Syr William Harbert, maister Secretarie Peter, & an other whom I knowe not, who

brought with them a paper, wyth certaine articles wrytten in it,* which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required that my matter might be tried by iustice, whych although it were more greeuous, yet it hathe a commoditie wyth it, that it endeth certainly the matter? And I coulde neuer yet come to my assured stay, and therfore refused to meddle wyth any more Articles, or to trouble my selfe with the readinge of them, & yet they desired me so instantly to read them, that I was content, and did reade, and to shewe my perfecte obediente minde, offered incontinently vpon my deliuerie out of prison, to make aunswere vnto them, all such as I woulde abide by and suffer paine for, If I haue deserued it. I would in deede gladly haue bene in hand with my Lorde of London, but he saide hee came not to dispute,* and sayde it was the hand of God that I was thus in prison, because I had so troubled other mē in my time. Finally my request was, that they should in this forme make my aunswere to my Lordes of the Counsell as foloweth: That I most humbly thanke them of theyr good will to deliuer me by the way of mercy, but because in respecte of mine owne innocent conscience I had rather haue iustice, I desired them,* seing both was in the kinges Maiesties hands, that I might haue it, whych if it happen to me more greeuous, I will impute it to my selfe, and euermore thanke them for their good will, and so departed I with them, as I trust they will testifie, and no misbehauour or demeanour to haue bene vsed on my behalfe.

The 15. Article.

Item, that after all this, viz. the 19. day of Iulye, in the sayde 4. yeare, you being personally called before the kings maiesties priue counsaile, and hauing the sayd submission and articles openly and distinctly read vnto you, & required to subscribe the same refused for vniuste considerations by you alledged to subscribe the same.

Winchester.

To the 15. article. I graunte, that vpon a Saterdaye at after noone, euen at suche time of the daye as they were at Euensong in the Chappell at the Courte, I was brought thether, and at my comming the Lordes of the Counsaile sayde they were all my Iudges by special commission, and entended to proceede thus wyth me: That I shoulde subscribe certaine articles which were then read, and I muste directly make aunswere, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the passion of God my Lordes be my good Lordes, and let me be tried by iustice whether I be faultye or no:,* and as for these articles assoone as yee deliuer me to my libertie, I woulde make aunswere to them whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they hauing further to say, I answered, these Articles were of diuers sortes: some be lawes whyche I may not qualifie: some be no lawes but learning and facte, which maye haue diuers vnderstandings, & a subscription to them without telling what I meane, were ouer dangerous:,* and therfore I offered for y^e more declaration of raine obedience to all their requestes, that if they woulde deliuer me the articles into the prison with mee, I woulde shortly make them particulare aunswere, and suffer the paynes of the lawe, that by my aunswere I mighte incurre vnto: Wherupon I was commanded to go a part, and they sent vnto me the Lorde Treasurer and maister Secretarie Peter, who communed with me of a meane way, and that liked not the Lordes. And then was I called foorth agayne, and my absolute subscription required againe, & I againe made offer to aunswer particularly, for I coulde not wyth my conscience subscribe them as they were absolutely. And these my considerations, I trust to be iust, seing no man for any commaundements ought to offende his conscience, as I must haue done in that case.

The 16. Article.

Item, that for your sondry and manifold contempts and disobediences in this behalfe vsed, the fruites of your Bishoppricke were then by speciall commission of his Maiestie iustly and lawfully sequestred.

Winchester.

To the 16. article, I deny contempes, and disobedience of partes, and say that my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in thys realme for a doctrine of obediēce, that if a king commaunde that is contrary to the cōmaundement of God,* the subiect may not doe as he is commanded, but humbly stande to my conscience, which is my case, who could not with my conscience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was in deede a decree read, hauing wordes so placed and framed, as though I were such an offender, which mater I deny. And in that decree was mention made of sequestration of fruites: but whether the forme of woordes were of the present tense, or els to be sequestred, I cannot precisely tell, but doe referre that to the tenor of the decree.

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The 17. Article.

Item, that after this, you had intimation and peremptorie monition, with communication that you should within 3. monethes next following the saide intimation, reconcile and submit youre selfe vnder paine of depriuation.

Winchester.

To the 17. article I aunswer, that in the same decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneling from the beginning of the decree, to the latter ende, I remember there was an intimation and three monthes spoken of, & expressed also how at euery monthes end I should haue pen and inke offred to wryte, if I would yet subscribe, and as I vnderstand it was vpon the paine of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I herd the word depriuation, but therein I referre me to the acts of the sentence, which whē it was red, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those articles particularly, euen remaining in prison. And this done, I made suite for some of my seruants abroad to resort to me to the tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary businesse, which could not be obtained. And yet to prouoke it, I sayde to my Lorde of Warwike, howe for agreeing w^t my L. of Somerset, I had some commoditie, and for agreeing with him had nothing, and therefore would needes by intercession presse him, that I might by his meanes haue some of my seruāts resorting vnto me. He answered very gently. And then one sayde I shoulde win 2. or 3. daies haue some body come to me. And then I was dismissed with commaundement to the lieutenant to let me haue the same liberty I had, but no more.

The 18. Article.

Item, that the sayd three moneths are naw throughly expired and runne.

Winchester.

To the 18. Article he sayd, there is almost 6. months passed in time and number of daies, but not one month past to the effecte of the lawe, nor 10. daies neither, because I haue bene so kept in prison y^t I could not see for remedy in forme abouesaide, nor there was not at euery moneth, after the forme of the sentence offred me, pen and inke & libertie geuen me to consult and deliberate w^t other learned men and friends what were best to doe, or to send vnto them. And furthermore, the very 8. day after the decree geuen, I protested before my seruants whom I had only commodity to vse as witnes of the nullitie of the decree for the euident and apparant matter in it,* but if it were any in lawe, I appealed to the kings Maiestie, because my request was not admitted to haue the copie of the articles to answere them particularly, and because it is excessiue correction to sequester my frutes and keepe me in prisone, with other cases to be deduced where I might haue oportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soone as I coulde come to any presence mete therfore, as I did in this assemble at my last repaire, desiring therewith the benefite restitutionis in integrum, because of mine imprisonment, and therefore doe answere this matter with protestation of that appeale, and vtterly deny all manner of contempt.

The 19. Article.

Item, that yon hitherto according to the sayd intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, nor reformed your selfe, but cōtemptuously yet still remaine in your first disobedience.

Winchester.

To the 19. Article, I say that I haue bene all this while in prison so kept, as no man could haue accesse to counsaile with me, nor any meanes to wryte or send to any man, hauing made continuall suite to Maister Lieutenante and master Marshal, vnder whose custody I am here, to make suite in my name to the Lordes of the Counsaile, that I might come to hearing, or els be bailed vpon surety: which I coulde not obtaine, and so haue remained vnder the benefite of my said appeale to the kings Maiestie, made as I might for y^e time, which I eftsoones desire may haue libertie to prosecute.

And where as aunswering to these Articles, for declaration of the integritie of my conscience, I vse in the same places generall woordes: I protest I meane not by those words to setforth my selfe otherwise more arrogantly then as my direct entent (which excludeth malice) and purpose mooueth mee to say,* and as my conscience beareth witnesse vnto me at this time, and therefore will say therein wyth S. Paule: Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc iustificatus sum. Wherefore if any specially be objected vnto me, wherein by ignorance or ouersight & negligence, any mine offence may appeare against the kings Maiesties lawes, Statutes and Iniunctions, I shal desire and protest that it be not preiudiciall to mine aunswere (for thys present, credo, as lawyers in ciuill matters vse that terme) to be true,* y^t is to say suche as w^tout any alteration in my conscience, presently I may of my selfe say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I speake of commaundement to be made to me against Gods lawe, I protest not to touch my soueraigne Lordes honor therin, which my duetie is by al meanes to preserue, but that the commādement geuen, resolueth to be against Gods law on my part, in the obediēce to be geuē, because I may not answer or say otherwise, but Est, est, non, non. So as my

wordes and heart may agree together, or els I should offend Gods lawe, which my soueraigne if he knew my conscience, would not command me.

After these things thus passed, certaine of the Counsaile by the kings appoyntment had sondry daies and times accesse to him in the Tower to perswade with hym: whiche were these, the Duke of Somerset, the lord Treasurer, the Lord priuie Seale, the Lord great Chamberlaine, and M. Secretary Peter.* Who repairing to him the x. day of Iune an. 1550. he desired of them to see the kings booke of proceedings: vpon the sight wherof he would make a ful answer, seeming to be willinge in all thinges to conforme himselfe therunto: and promising that in case any thing offēded his conscience, he would open it to none but to the Counsaile. Whereupon it was agreed the booke should be sent him to see his answer, that his case might be resolued vpon, & that for the meane time he should haue the libertie of the galery and gardine in the Tower, when the Duke of Northfolke were absent.

The king then was lying at Grenewich, at which time the Liefteenant of the tower was appoynted to deliuer the kings booke to the bishop of Winchester.* Who within thre dayes after (which was the 13. of Iune) made declaration againe vnto the counsaile, that the Bishop hauing perused it, said vnto him he could make no direct answer vnlesse he were at libertie, and so being he would say hys conscience. Whereupon the Lordes and other that had bene with him the other day, were apointed to go to him againe to receiue a direct aunswer that the Counsaile therupon might determine further order for him.

The aunswer of the bishop being receiued, through the report of the Lordes which had ben with him,* declaration was made againe, the 8. day of Iuly 1550. that his answers were euer doubtful, refusing while he were in prisō to make any direct aunswer. Wherefore it was determined that he shoulde be directly examined whether he would sincerely conforme himself vnto the kings maiesties proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed y^t particulare articles should be drawne,* to see whether he would subscribe them or not, and a letter also directed vnto hym from the kinges highnesse, with the which the L. Treasurer, the L. great maister, the maister of the horse, and master Secretarie Peter shoulde repaire vnto hym: the tenour of whyche letter heereafter ensueth.

¶A letter sent to the Bishop of Winchester, signed by the king, and subscribed by the Counsaile.

IT is not (we thinke) vnknownen vnto you, with what clemency and fauour,* we by the aduise of our Counsaile caused you to be heard and vsed vpon these sundry complaintes and informations that were made to vs & our said Counsaile of your disordered doinges and wordes, both at the tyme of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the fauour both then and many other tymes ministred vnto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulnes in your selfe, thē any obediente conformitie, such as would haue beseemed a man of your vocation, we could not but use some demonstration of iustice towards you,* as well for such notorious and apparaunt contemptes and other inobediences, as after and contrary to our commaundement were openly knowen in you, as also for some example and terroure of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge agaynst our most godly proceedings: whereof great discord & inconuenience at that tyme might haue ensued. For the auoyding whereof, & for

your iust deseruinges, you were by our sayde Counsaile committed to warde. Where albeit we haue suffred you to remaine a long space, sending vnto you in the meane tyme at sundry tymes diuers of the Noble men and others of our priuy Counsaile, and trauayling by them with clemencye and fauour to haue reduced you to the knowledge of your duety: yet in al this time haue you neyther knowledged your faultes, nor made any such submission as might haue beseeemed you, nor yet shewed any apparāce either of repētāce, or of any good conformitye to our godly proceedinges. Wherewith albeit we both haue good cause to be offēded, & might also iustly by the order of our lawes, cause your former doinges to be reformed and punished to the exāple of others, yet for that we would both the world & your self also shuld know that we delite more in clemency, then in the straight administratiō of iustice, we haue vouchsafed not only to a dresse vnto you these our letters, but also to sēd eftsones vnto you 4. of our priuy coūsel with certain articles: which being by vs with [Page 1357](#) the aduise of our sayde Counsaile considered,* we thinke requisite for sondry considerations to be subscribed by you, and therefore woulde and commaunde you to subscribe the saide Articles vpon paine of incurring such punishment and penalties, as by our lawes may be put vppon you for not doing the same. Geuen at our palace of Westminster the 8. day of Iulye, the 4. yeare of oure raigne.

With this letter addressed from the king and his Counsaile, these Articles also were deliuered to the B. of Winchester here following.

The copie of the Articles.

*Whereas I Steuen bishop of Winchester haue ben suspected as one too much fauouring the bishop of Romes authoritie, decrees and ordinaunces, and as one that did not approoue or allow the kings maiesties proceedinges in alteration of certayne rites in religion, was conuented before the kings highnes counsaile and admonished therof: and hauing certayne things appoynted for me to doe and preache for my declaration, haue not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same wherby I haue not onely incurred the kings maiesties indignation, but also diuers of his highnes subiectes haue by mine example taken incouragement (as his graces counsaile is certainly enformed) to repine at his maiesties moste godly proceedings: I am right sorie therefore, and acknowledge my selfe condingly to haue ben punished, and do most heartily thanke his maiestie, that of his great clemencie it hath pleased his highnesse to deale with me, not according to rigour, but mercye. And to the entent it may appeare to the world how little I do repine at his highnes doings, whych be in religion moste godly, and to the common wealth most profitable, I doe affirm and say freely of mine owne will without any compulsion as ensueth.

*1 First, that by the lawe of God and the authoritie of scriptures the kings maiestie and his successors are the supreme heades of the churches of England, and also of Ireland.

2 Item, that the apoynting of holy daies or fasting daies, as Lent, imber daies, or any suche like, or to dispence therewith, is in the kings maiesties authoritie and power and his highnes as supreme head of the sayde Churches of Englande and Irelande,* and gouernour thereof, may appoynt the maner and time of the holy dayes and fasting dayes, or dispence therewith, as to his wisdom shall seeme most conuenient for the honour of God and the wealth of thys realme.

3 Item, that the kings maiestie hath moste Christianly and godly set forth, by, and with the consent of the whole parliament, a deuout and christian booke of seruice of the church to be frequented by the church,* which booke is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastours, curates, and all ministers Ecclesiastical of the realme of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shal fortune to preach or speake to the people of it, that it is a godly and christian booke and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and obserued of all the kings maiesties true subiectes.

4 I do acknowledge the kings maiestie that nowe is (whose life God long preserue) to be my soueraigne Lord and supreme head vnder Christ to me as a Bishop of this realme,* and naturall subiect to his maiestie: and nowe in this his yonge and tender age to be my full and entire kinge, and that I and all other his highnesse subiectes are bounde to obey all his maiesties proclamations, statutes, lawes, and commaundements, made, promulgate and sette forth in this his highnesse yong age as well as though he were at this present 30 or 40. ye•es olde.

*5 Item, I confesse and acknowledge that the statute commonlye called the statute of sixe articles, for iust causes and grounds, is by authoritie of parliament repealed and disanulled.

6 Item, that his maiestie and his successours haue authoritie in the said churches of England and also of Ireland to alter,* reforme, correct, and amend al errors & abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seeme frō time to time to his highnesse and his successors most conuenient for the edification of his people, so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the scripture and lawe of God.

*Subscribed by Steuen Winchester, with the testimoniall handes of the counsaile to the same.

To these articles afore specified, although Winchester with his owne hand did subscribe, graunting and consenting to the supremacie of the King, as well then beyng as of hys successours to come:* yet because hee sticke so muche in the first poynt touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but onely made hys aunswere in the margent (as is aboue noted) it was therefore thoughte good to the king, that the Maister of the horse, and maister Secretarie Peter should repaire vnto him again with the same request of submission, exhortinge hym to looke better vpon it: and in case the woords seemed too sore, then to referre it vnto him selfe in what sort and with what wordes he should deuise to submit hym, that vpon y^e acknowledge of his fault, the kings highnes might extēd his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined. Which was the 11. day of Iune, the yeare abouesaid.

When the maister of the horse and secretarie Peter had bene with him in the tower according to their Commission, returning from him again they declared vnto the king and his Counsaile how precisely the sayd Bishop stode in iustification of him selfe, that hee hadde neuer offended the kings Maiestie: wherefore he vtterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more suretie of which deniall, it was agreed that a newe booke of Articles should be deuised, wherwith the said maister of the horse and master Secretarie Peter should repaire vnto him againe, and for the more autentike proceeding w^t him, they to haue wyth thē a Diuine and a temporall Lawyer, whiche were the Bishop of London, and maister Goodricke.

The copie of the last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

WHere as I Steuen Bishop of Winchester haue bene suspected as one that did not approue or allowe the kings Maiesties proceedings in alteration of certaine rites in Religion,* and was conuented before the kings highnes Counsaile, and admonished thereof, and hauing certayne things appoynted for me to doe and preach for my declaration, haue not done therein as I ought to doe, whereby I haue deserued hys maiesties displeasure: I am righte so•e therfore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how litle I doe repine at his highnes doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the common wealth most profitable, I doe affirme as followeth.

1 First, that the late king of moste famous memorie kyng Henrie the eight, our late soueraigne Lorde, iustly, and of good reason and ground hath taken away and caused to be suppressed and defaced,* all monasteries and religious houses, and all conuenticles and conuents of Monks, Friers, Nonnes, Chanons, Bonhoms, & other persons called religious, and that the same being so dissolued, the persones therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, vpon that dissolution and order appoynted by y^e kings maiesties authority as supreme head of the church, are clearely released and acquitted of those vowes and professions, & at their full libertye as though those vnwittye and superstitious vowes had neuer bene made.*

2 Item, that any person may lawfully marrie without any dispensation from the B. of Rome or any other manne, with any persone whome it is not prohibited to contracte matrimonie by the lawe Leuiticall.

3 Item, that the vowing and going of pilgrimage to Images, or to the bones and reliques of any Saintes hath ben superstitiously vsed and cause of much wickednes and idolatrie, and therfore iustly abolished by the said late king of famous memorie, and the Images and reliques so abused, haue ben of great and godly consideratiōs defaced and destroyed.

4 Item, that the counterfaiting of S. Nicholas, S. Clement, S. Katherine,* and S. Edmond by children heeretofore brought into the church, was a meere mockerye & foolishnesse, and therefore iustly abolished and taken away.

5 Item, it is conuenient and godly, that y^e scripture of the olde Testament and new, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published to be read of euery man, & that who soeuer doth repel & dehorte me from the reading therof, doth euell and damnably.

6 Item, that the sayd late king of iust ground and reason did receiue into hys handes the authoritie and disposition of chauntries and such liuings as were geuē for the maintenaunce of priuate masses, and did well change diuers of them to other vses.

7 Also the kings maiestie that now is by the aduise & consent of the Parliament, did vpon iuste ground and reason,* suppress, abolish, and take away the sayd chauntries and suche other liuings as were vsed and occupied for maintenaunce of priuate Masses, and Masses satisfactorye

for the soules of thē which are dead, or finding of obites, lights, or other like things: * the Masse that was wonte to be sayde of priestes, was full of abuses, and had very fewe thinges of Christes institution besides the Epistle, Gospell, Lordes prayer, and the wordes of the Lords supper: the rest for the more part were inuēted and deuised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therfore iustly taken away by the statutes and lawes of this realme: and the cōmunion which is placed in the stead thereof, is very godly and agreeable to the Scriptures.

[Page 1358](#)*8 Item, that it is most conuenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all Christen men should receiue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ in both the kindes, * that is, in bread and wine.

9 And the masse wherein the Priest doth onely receiue and the other doe but looke on, * is but the inuention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Romes church, nor agreeable to Scripture.

10 Item, that vpon good and godly cōsiderations, it is ordred in the said boke and order, * that the Sacrament should not be lifted vp and shewed to the people to be adored, but to be w^t godly deuotion receiued as it was first instituted.

*11 Item, that it is well, politikely and godly done, that the kings maiestie by Act of Parliament, hath commanded all images which haue stande in Churches or Chappels, to be clerely abolished & d•faced, least hereafter at any time they should geue occasion of Idolatrie or be abused, as many of them heretofore haue bene with pilgrimages and such Idolatrous worshipping.

*12 And also that for like godly and good considerations, by the same authoritie of Parliament, all Masse bokes, Cowchers, Grailes, and other bokes of the seruice in latin heretofore vsed, should be abolished and defaced, as wel for certaine superstitions in them contained, as also to auoid dissention: and y^t the saide seruice in the church should be thorow the whole realme in one vniform conformitie, and no occasion through those olde bookes to the contrary.

13 That bishops, priests, and deacons haue no commaundement of the law of God, either to vow chastitie, or to abstaine continually from mariage. *

14 Item, that al canons, cōstitutions, lawes positieue, and ordinances of man, which doe prohibite or forbid mariage to any bishoppe, priest, or deacon, be iustly and vpon godly grounds and cōsiderations, taken away and abolished by authority of Parliament.

15 The Homilies lately commanded and set foorth by the kings maiestye to be red in the congregation of England, are godly and wholesome, * and doe teache such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

16 The boke set forth by the kings maiesty by authority of Parliament, containing the forme & maner of making and consecrating of archbishops, * bishops, priests and deacons, is godly & in no poynt contrary to the wholesom doctrine of the gospel, & therfore ought to be receiued and approued of all the faithfull members of the church of England, and namely the ministers of Gods worde, & by them commended to the people.

17 That the orders of Subdeacon, Benet and Colet, and suche others as were commonly called Minores ordines,* be not necessarye by the woorde of God to be reckened in the church, and be iustly left out in the sayd booke of orders.

18 That the holy Scriptures containe sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal saluatiō through faith in Iesus Christ, and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal saluation, but that which may be concluded and prooued by the holy Scriptures.

19 That vpon good and godly considerations, it was and is commaunded by the kings maiesties Iniunctions, that the Paraphrases of Erasmus in English shoulde be set vp in some conuenient place in euery parish Church of thys realme, where as the parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.

20 And because these Articles aforesaid, do containe onely such matters as be already published and openly set forthe by the kings maiesties authority, by the aduise of his highnesse Counsaile, for many great and godly considerations, and amongst others for the common tranquillity and vnity of the realme:* his maiesties pleasure by the aduise aforesayd, is, that you the B. of Winchester shall not only affirm these Articles wyth subscription of your hande: but also declare and professe your selfe well contented, willing, and ready to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before suche audience as to his Maiestie from time to time shal seeme conuenient and requisite, vpon the pain of incurring suche penalties and punishmentes, as for not doing the same, maye by his Maiesties lawes be inflicted vpon you.

These Articles were sent the 15. of Iuly.

The bishop of Winchester receiuing and perusing these Articles, made this aunswer againe: That first touching the Article of submission, he woulde in no wise consent, affirming as hee had done before, that he had neuer offended the kings Maiestye in any such sorte as shoulde geue hym cause thus to submit himselfe: praying earnestly to be brought vnto his trial: wherein he refused the kings mercy, and desired nothing * but iustice. And for the rest of the articles he aunswered that after he were past his triall in this firste poynt, and were at libertie, then it should appeare what he would do in them: not being (as he said) reasonable that he should subscribe them in prisone.

Of this answer when the king and hys counsel had intelligence by the foresayde Maister of the horse, Secretarie Peter, the bishop of London, and M. Goodricke who had bene wyth him, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole counsel, and peremptorily examined once againe, whether he would stand at this poynt or no: which if he did, then to denoūce vnto him the sequestration of his benefice, and consequently the intimation, in case hee were not reformed within 3. monethes, as in the daye of his appearance shall appeare. The tenor and words of which sequestration, with the Intimation followeth.

The wordes of the Sequestration with the Intimation to the Bishop of Winchester.

FOr asmuch as the kings maiestie our most gracious soueraigne Lord vnderstandeth,* and it is also manifestly knowne and notorious vnto vs, that the clemency & long sufferance of his

maiestie woorketh not in you y^e good effect and humblenes and conformitie, that is requisite in a good subiect: and for that your first disobediences, cōtēpts, and other misbehauours, for the which you were by hys Maiesties authoritie iustly cōmitted to warde, haue •ithes your said committing, dayly more & more increased in you in such sort as a great slaunder and offence is therof risen, in many parts of the realme, whereby also much slander, dissention trouble, & vnquietnes is very like more to ensue if your foresaid offences being as they be openly knowne, should passe vnpunished: * we let you wit that hauing speciall and expresse Commission and commaundement from his Maiesty, aswell for your contumacies and contempts so long cōtinued and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the slaunder & offence of the people, which by your sayd ill demeanours is risen, and for that also the Church of Winchester may be in the meane time prouided of a good minister that may and will see all things done & quietly executed according to lawes and common orders of this Realme, * & for sondry other great and vrgent causes we do by these presentes sequester all the frutes, reuenues landes and possessions of your Bishopricke of Winchester & discern, deeme & iudge the same to be committed to the seuerall receite collection and custody of such person or persons as his Maiesty shall appoynt for that purpose. And because your former disobediences and contempts so lōg cōtinued, so many times doubled, renued and aggrauated, do manifestly declare you to be a person without all hope of recouery & plainly incorrigible: we eftsoones admonish and require you to obay his maiesties said cōmaundement and that you do declare your selfe by subscription of youre hand, both willing & well contēted to accept, allow preach and teache to others the sayde articles, and all suche other matters as be or shalbe set forth by his maiesties authority of supreme head of this church of England, on this side, & within the terme of 3. monthes, whereof we appoynt one month for the first monition, one month for the second monition and warning, and one moneth for the third and peremptorie monition.

Within which time as you may yet declare your cōformitie, and shal haue paper, * pen and inke when you wil cal for them for that purpose, so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare your self obedient and conformable as is aforesayd, we intimate vnto you that his maiestie, who like a good gouernor desireth to keepe both his cōmon wealth quiet, and to purge the same of euill men (especially ministers) entendeth to proceede against you as an incorrigible person and vnmeet minister of this church, to deprivation of your sayd bishoppricke.

Neuertheles, vpon diuers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed that the sayd bishops house & seruants should be maintained in their present estate, vntill y^e time that this Iniunction should expire, & the matter for the meane time to be kept secrete.

After this sequestration, the sayde B. was commensed vnto Lambeth before the Archbishop of Cant. & other the kings commissioners by vertue of the kings speciall letter sent vnto the sayde Commissioners, to witte, to the Archbyshop of Caunterburie, Nicholas bishoppe of London, * Thomas bishop of Ely, Henry bishop of Lincoln, Secretarie Peter, Syr Iames Hales knight, Doctour Leyson, Doctor Olyuer lawyers, and Iohn Gosnold Esquire. &c. before them, and by them to be examined, by whome were objected against him 19. speciall articles in order and forme heere following.

Articles and positions ministred ioyntly and seuerally objected to the B. of Winchester.

IN primis, that the kings Maiestie iustly and rightfully is, and by the lawes of God ought to be the supreme head in earth of the Church of England and Ireland,* and so is by the Clergie of this realme in their conuocation, and by the Act of Parliament iustly and according to y^e lawes of God recognised.

2 Item, that his maiestie as supreme head of y^e saide churches, hath full power and authoritie to make and set suche Lawes, Iniunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning Religion an• orders in the said churches for the increase of vertue and repressing of all errours, heresies, and other enormities and abuses.

3 Item, that all and euery his graces subiectes are bound by the lawes of God to obey all his highnesse saide lawes, Iniunctions, and proceedings concerning religion & orders in the sayd Churches.

*4 Item, that you Steuen B. of Winchester haue sworne obedience to his Maiestie, as supreme head of this Church of England and also of Ireland.

5 Item, that all and euery his graces subiects that disobey any of his sayde Maiesties lawes, Iniunctions, ordinances and proceedings already set forth & published, or hereafter to be set forth & published, ought worthely to be punished according to his graces Ecclesiasticall lawes, vsed within thys his realme.

*6 Item, that you y^e sayd Byshop, as wel in the kings maiesties late visitation w^tin your Diocesse, as at sondry other times, haue ben complained vpon, & sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings & preachings against sundry Iniunctions, orders and other procedings of his maiestie set forth for reformation of errors, superstitions and other abuses in religion.

7 Item, that after and vppon the occasion of those & other many complaints and informations, you haue ben sundry times admonished, commanded and enioyned to conforme your selfe, as to your duetie appertaineth.

8 Item, that after the premisses, and for that those former admonitions & commaundements notwithstanding, you did yet still shewe your selfe not conformable,* & for that also by your example the people were much animated, & therby occasion of much vnquietnesse ministred, you were called before the kings maiesties counsell in the moneth of Iune, the 2. yeare of his maiesties raigne, & by them on his highnes behalfe commaunded to preache a Sermon before hys maiestie, and therin to declare the iustnes and godlines of his Maiesties father and his proceedings vppon certaine matters partly mentioned in certaine articles to you deliuered in wryting, and partly otherwise declared vnto you. The effecte whereof, was touching the vsurped authoritye of the B. of Rome, and that his pretensed authoritie was iustly & godly taken away in this realm, & other the kings maiesties dominions: Touching the first suppression and taking away of Monasteries, Religious houses, Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the superstitious going about of S. Nicholas bishop, S. Edmund, S. Katherin, S. Clement and such like, for taking away of Châtreis, Obites and Colleges, touching hallowing of Candels, water,

ashes, palme, holy breade, beades, creeping to the crosse and suche like: touching the setting forth of the kings maiesties authoritie in his yōg yeres to be as great, as if his highnesse were of many more yeres, touching auricular confession, touching the procession & common praier in Englishe, and that things done in generall Councils against the woorde of God, may be iustly reuoked in particular Councils.

*9 Item, that you receiuing the same, and promising to declare them in a sermone by you made before his Maiestie for that purpose, on the feast of S. Peter in the sayd second yere of his highnesse raigne, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the sayd matters to the great contempt of his Maiestie, and daungerous example of others.

10 Item, that you being also commanded, and on his maiesties behalf, for the auoyding of tumult, & for other great considerations inhibited to treat of any matter in controuersie concerning the Masse or the communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the aultar) did contrary to the sayd commandement & inhibition, declare diuers your iudgements & opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of hys Maiesties sayd inhibition,* to the great offence of the hearers, and disturbaunce of the common quiet, and vnity of the realme.

11 Item, that after the premisses, videlicet, in the moneths of May or Iune, or one of them, in the thirde yeare of hys highnesse raigne, his Maiestye sent eftsoones vnto you, to know your conformity towards his said reformation, and specially touching the booke of Common praier then lately set forth by hys maiestie, whereunto you at the same time refused to shewe your selfe conformable.

12 Item, that after that, videlicet the 9. day of Iuly, in the fourth yeare of his Maiesties raigne, his highnes sent vnto you hys graces letters, wyth a certaine submission and articles, wherunto hys grace willed and commanded you to subscribe, to the whyche submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.

13 Item, that you hauing eftsoones certaine of the kyngs most honorable Councell sent vnto you the 12. of Iulye,* in the sayd fourth yeare, with the same submission, and beyng in his maiestyes behalfe required and commanded to consider agayne better the sayd submission and to subscribe the same, stooode in iustification of your selfe, and woulde in no wise subscribe thereunto.

14 Item, that after all thys, the 14. daye of Iulye, in the sayde fourth yeare, the sayd kings Maiestie sent yet agayne vnto you certaine of his maiesties most honorable council with an other submissiō and diuers other articles, willing and commaunding you to subscribe your name thereunto, whych to do you vtterly refused.

15 Item, that after all thys, videlicet the 19. of Iulye in the sayde fourth yeare, you being personally called before the whole counsaile,* and hauing the sayde submission and articles openly and distinctly read vnto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused for vniust and fantasticall considerations by you alledged, to subscribe the same.

16 Item, that for your sundry and manifold contemptes and disobediences in this behalfe vsed, the fruites of your benefice were then by speciall commission of hys Maiestie iustly and lawfully sequestred.

17 Item, that after this, you had intimation and peremptorie monition, with communication that you shuld within 3. monethes next following the sayde intimation, reconcile and submit your selfe vpon paine of depriuation.

18 Item, that the saide 3. moneths are nowe fully expired and runne.

19 Item that you haue not hetherto,* according to the sayd intimation and monition submitted: reconciled, nor reformed your self, but contemptuously yet still remaine in your disobedience. Whereupon they required the B. of Winchester, then and there personally present to be sworne faithfully and truely to make answer.

After these articles were exhibited vnto him, and he hauing leaue to say for himself, wherein he vsed al the cautels, shiftes and remedies of the law to his most aduantage, by way of protesting, recusing and excepting against the commission, and requiring also the copies as well of the Articles, as of his protestation of the Actuaries (which wer W. Say and Tho. Argall) time and respite was assigned vnto hym to aunswer to the sayd Articles in wryting. But he so cauilled and dalied from day to day, to answer directly,* although he was sufficiently laboured and perswaded to the same by sondry callinges and Actes, and also abundantly conuicted by depositions and witnesses, especially by matter induced by the L. Paget, and Andrewe Beynton, & M. Chalenor, pag. 816. (all which I referre to my first booke) that at the last he appealed from them, reputed them not to be competent and indifferent iudges to heare and determine his cause, vnto the kings royal person: notwithstanding by protestation alwaies reseruing to himselfe the benefite of his appellation: And so proceded he to the answering of the foresaid articles, but in such crafty and obstinate maner, as before he had ben accustomed, and as at large to them that be desirous to vnderstand the processe thereof, in the first booke of the Actes and monuments of the Church aforesayd may appeare.

But briefly to conclude, such exceptions he vsed against the witnesses produced against him, and he himself produced such a number of witnesses in hys defence, and vsed so many delaies and cauillations, that in the end the commissioners seeing his stubbernesse, proceeded to the sentence definitiue against him, as heere vnder followeth.

¶Sentence definitiue agaynst Stephen Gardiner B. of Winchester.

IN the name of God, Amen. By authority of a commission by the high and mighty prince our moste gracious soueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith,* and of the Church of England and also of Ireland in earth the supreme head, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth: Edward the sixt. &c. Wee Thomas by the sufferaunce of God Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all Englande, and Metropolitane, wyth the right reuerende fathers in God, [Page 1360](#) Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Byshop of Ely, and Henry Byshop of Lincolne, Syr William Peter Knight, one of our said soueraigne Lordes two principall secretaries, Sir Iames Hales knight, one of our sayd soueraigne

Lordes Iustices of his common plees, Griffith Leison and Iohn Oliuer, Doctors of the Ciuill lawe, Richard Goodrike & Iohn Gosnold Esquiers, delegates, and Iudges assigned & appointed, rightfully & lawfully proceeding according to the forme & tenor of y^e said commission, for the hearing, examinatioⁿ, debating, & finall determination of y^e causes and matters in the said commisson mentioned and conteined, and vpon the contentes of the same, and certeine articles obiected of office against you Steeuen Bishop of Winchester, as more plainely and fully is mencioned and declared in the said commission and articles, all which we repute & take here for to be expressed: & after sondry iudiciall assemblies, examinations, & debatinges of the said cause & matters, with all incidents, emergents, & circumstances to the same or any of them belonging, and the same also beeing by vs ofte heard, seene, and well vnderstanded, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, cōsidered and fully wayed and pondred, obseruing all such order and other things as by the lawes, equitie, and the said commission ought or needed heerein to be obserued, in the presence of you Steeuen Bishop of Winchester, do proceede to the geuing of our finall iudgement and sentence diffinitive in this maner following:

For asmuch as by the actes inacted, exhibites, and allegations purposed, deduced, & alleaged, & by sufficient proofes with your owne confession in the causes aforesaid had and made, we do euidently finde and perceiue that you Steuen Bishop of Winchester haue not only transgressed the commaundements mencioned in the same,* but also haue of lōg time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandements geuen vnto you to the contrary, remained, a person much grudging, speaking, and repugning against the godly reformatiōs of abuses in religion set foorth by the kings highnes authoritie within this his realme: and forasmuch as we do also finde you a notable, open, and contemptuous disobeyer, of sondry godly and iust commandements geuen vnto you by our sayd soueraigne Lorde and by his authoritie, in diuers great and weighty causes, touching and cōcerning his princely office, the state and common quietnes of this his Realme: and for asmuch as you haue and yet do contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences, & misbehauours, contempts, and disobediēces, remaining still after a great number of seuerall admonitions alwaies more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendement, cōtrary both to your oth sworne, obedience, promise, and also your boūden duety of allegiance: and for the great sclaunder and offence of the people, arise in many partes of the Realme, through your wilfull doings, sayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the Realme, and for sondry other great causes by the actes, exhibites, your owne confession, and proofes of this processe more fully appearing, considering withall that nothing effectually hath ben on your behalfe alleaged, purposed, and proued, ne by any other meanes appeareth, whiche doth or may empayre or take away the proofes made against you, vpon the sayde matters and other the premisses:

Therefore we Thomas Archbyshop of Caunterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane, Iudge delegate aforesayd, calling God before our eyes, with expresse consent and assent of Nicholas B. of London, Tho. bishop of Ely, Henry B. of Lincolne, sir Wil. Peter Knight, Sir Iames Hales Knight, Griffith Leison, and Ioh. Oliuer, doctors of the ciuill law, Rich. Goodricke, and Iohn Gosnold, Esquires, Iudges, and Colleagues with vs in the matters aforesaid, and with the counsaile of diuers learned men in the lawes, with whome we haue conferred in and vpon the premisses,* do iudge and determine you Steeuen Bishop of Winchester, to be depriued and remooued from the Bishopricke of Winchester, and from all the rightes, authoritie, emoluments, commodities, and other apurtenaunces to the sayde Byshoprike in any wise belonging,

whatsoever they be, and by these presentes we doe depriue and remoue you from your sayd Bishopricke, and all rites & other commodities aforesaide: and further pronounce & declare the sayd Byshopricke of Winchester to all effectes and purposes, to be voyde by this our sentence definitiue, which we geue, pronounce, and declare in these writings.

This sentence diffinitive being geuen, the sayd Byshop of Winchester vnder his former protestatiōs, dissented frō the geuing and reading thereof, and frō the same as vniust of no efficacy or effect in law: and in that that the same containeth excessiue punishmēt, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesayd, did then and there apud Acta, immediately after the pronouncing of the sētnce, by word of mouth, appeale to the kinges Royall maiestie, first, secondly and thirdly, instantly, more instantly,* most instantly, & asked apostles, or letters dimissorials to be geuen and granted vnto him: And also vnder protestation not to recede from the sayd appellation, asked a copy of the sayd sētnce, the Iudges declaring that they would first knowe the kinges pleasure and his counsell therin: vpon the reading and geuing of which sentence, the promoters willed Will. Say and Thomas A•gall to make a publicke Instrument and the witnesses then and there present to beare testimony thereunto. &c.

And thus haue ye the whole discourse and processe of Steuen Gardiner late bishop of Winchester, vnto whome the Papisticall cleargy doth so much leane, as to a mighty Atlas: an vpholder of their ruinous Religion.* And though I haue not here withal so fully expressed all his letters, answeres, preachinges, examinations, defensions, exhibites & attestations, with the depositions of all suche witnesses as he could and did produce for the most aduantage of hys owne cause, with such notes also and collections gathered vpon the same, as here I might, and as before I haue don I must intreate y^e reader to cōsider first y^e greatnes of this volume which would not well beare the tedious tractatiō thereof: and secondly to content himself in resorting to our first history,* where not onely he may peruse the whole discourse of this bishops doinges set foorth at large: but also may briefly read in a few summarye notes collected, the whole course of his doctrine and Iudgement, touchyng what poyntes of religion he did consent and agree, or not agree vnto. pag. 862.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, til we come to talke of his death hereafter. Whome as wee number amongst good Lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignoraunt and grosse Diuines,* proud Prelates and bloudy persecuters: as both by his cruell life and Pharisaicall doctrine may appeare, especially in the article of the Sacrament, and of our iustification and Images, and also in crying out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things be spoken, but what the Paraphrast vttereth in the person of Christ, or of the Euangelist, and not in his own, that he wrasteth vnto the author, and maketh thereof heresie, and abomination.

The like impudency and quarrelling also hee vsed agaynst Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, & almost agaynst all other true Interpreters of the Gospell. So blinde was his iudgement, or els so wilfull was his mind in the truth of Christs doctrine, that it is hard to say whether in him vnskilfulnes or wilfulnes had greater predomination. But agaynst this doct. Gardiner we will now set and match on the cōtrary side, D. Redman,* for so much as he departing this transitory life the same present yeare 1551. commeth now by course of history here to be mentioned. Who for his singular life and profounde knowledge, being inferiour in no respect to the sayde Gardiner,* shall stand as great a frend in promoting the gospels cause, as the other seemeth an enemy by all

maner of wayes to empayre and deface the same. For the more assured declaratiō whereof, we will hereto adioyne (the Lorde willing) the learned communication betweene the said Doct. Redman lying in his deathbed, and M. Wilkes, mayster Alexander Nowell, Doct. Yong, and other witnesses moe. Whereof the sayd M. Wilkes thus recordeth, speaking in his owne person and his owne wordes as followeth.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes had with maister Doctor Redman being sicke at Westminster, but of good memory 2. Nouemb. 1551. in the presence of M. Yong & another, whō I did not know, and 2. of M. Doct. Redmans seruants, the one called Elias, and the other vnknowne.

I The foresayd Richard Wilkes comming to Doct. Redman lying sicke at Westminster, and first saluting him after my ordinary duetye, wished him health both in soule & body, not doubting moreouer,* but he did practise the godly counsaile in himselfe, which he was wont to geue to other being in his case: and thanks be to God (said I) who had geuen him stuffe of knowledge to comfort himself w^tall. To whom he answering again, said in this wise: God of all comfort geue me grace to haue comfort in hym, and to haue my mind wholly fixed in him. M. Yong & I sayd, Amen. Thē I cōmoned w^t him of his sickenes, & the weakⁿes of his body, and said y^t though he were brought neuer so low, yet he, if it were his pleasure that raised vp Lazarus, could restore him to health agayne. No, no saith he, [Page 1361](#) that is past, and I desire it not but the will of God be fulfilled.

After this or a little other like communication, I asked if I mighte be so bolde not troubling him, to knowe hys mynde for my learning in some matters and poyntes of religion. He sayd, yea, and that he was as glad to common wyth me, in such matters, as with any man. And then I sayde to hys seruantes: I trust I shall not trouble hym. No said Ellis his seruaunt, my L. of London, M. Nowel and other haue communed with him, and he was glad of it. Then sayd M. Redman, no you shall not trouble me. I pray God euer geue me grace to speake the truth, and hys truth, and that which shall redound to his glory, and send vs vnitie in his Church, and we sayd, Amen.

I sayde he shoulde do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to knowe his minde as touching the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ.*

He sayd, as man is made of two partes, of the body and the soule, so Christ would feede the whole man: but what (sayth he) be the wordes of the text? Let vs take the words of the Scripture: and he rehearsed the text himselfe thus: Accipit Iesus panem: Christ tooke bread. Wherein hys wyll was to institute a Sacrament, Accipite, commedite: Take, eate. Here he told the vse of it. What did he geue them? Hoc est corpus meum,* he calleth it his body.

Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.

He said, Christ was present with his sacrament, and in those that receaued it as they ought. And there was Mira vnio, a wonderfull vnion (for that word was named betwixt Christ and vs) as S. Paul saith: Vos estis os ex ossibus eius, & caro ex carne eius. Ye be bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh.* The which vnion was ineffable.

Then I asked him what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.

He answered: if you meane by corporally, naturally, and really, that he is there present Verè, I graunt.

Then I asked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, bloud & bone, as I haue heard the Stewards in their Leets giue charge when the 6. articles stooode in effect, and charge the Inquest to enquire, that if there were any that would denie that Christ was present in the Sacrament of the aultar in flesh, bloud, and bone, they should apprehend them.

He said, that was too grosse, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the Capernaïtes.

*Thē I asked him: in as much as Christ was there Verè, howe do we receaue him? in our myndes and spirituall partes, or with our mouthes and into our bodies, or both?

He said, we receaue him in our minds & soules by fayth.

Then in asmuch as he was much in this point, y^t there was Mira vnio, a marueylous vnion betwixt vs & Christ, in that we were Caro ex carne eius, & os ex ossibus eius: Bone of his bone,*and flesh of his flesh: I desired to knowe his opinion whether we receiued the very body of Christ wyth our mouthes, and into our bodies or no.

Here he paused & held his peace a litle space, and shortly after he spake, saying: I will not say so: I can not tell: it is a hard question, but surely saith he, we receiue Christ in our soule by faith. When you speake of it other wayes, it soundeth grosly and sauoureth of the Capernaïtes.

*Then I asked him what he thought of y^t which y^e Priest was wont to lift vp & shew the people betwixt his hāds?

He saide it is the Sacramente. Then sayd I, they were wont to worship that which was lifted vp. Yea saith he, but we must worship Christ in heauen: Christ is neither lifted vp nor downe. I am glad, sayd I, M. Doctour, to heare you say so much. I would not speake of the holy Sacrament otherwise then reuerently, but I feare least that Sacrament, and the little white peece of bread so lifted vp, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.

*Then said he, looking, vp and praying, God graunt vs grace that we may haue y^e true vnderstanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true vse of his Sacraments, and sayd he woulde neuer allow the carying about of the Sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

Then after a little while pausing, said I: Maister Doctor,* if I shuld not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in transubstantiation. Iesu M. Wilkes (quoth he) wyll you aske me that? Syr sayde I, not if I shoulde trouble you. No, no, I will tell you saith he: Because I founde the opinion of Transubstantiation receiued in the Church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the auncient Doctors diligently,* & went about to stablishe it by them, because it was receiued.

And whē I had read many of them, I found little for it, & could not be satisfied. Thē I went to the Schoole Doctors, and namely to Gabriell, and wayed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceiued they were no pithier, Languescebat opinio mea de transubstantiatione, my opinion of Transubstantiation waxed feeble, and then (sayth he) I returned agayne to Tertullian and Irenaeus, and when I had obserued their sayings, mine opinion that there should be transubstantiation, prorsus erat abolita: was quite dashed.

Then sayd I,* you know that the Schoole Doctors dyd hold that panis non remanebat post consecrationem, that bread remained not after consecration as they called it.

The schoole Doctors (sayth he) did not know what consecratio doth meane: and here he paused a while. I pray you sayd I, what say you that consecratio doth meane? Sayth he, it is Tota actio, in ministring the Sacramente,* as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry, as Christ ordeyned it, that is, consecratio, and what (saith he) neede we to doubt that bread remayneth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certaine good authors that be of the latter time, be of that opinion.

After that I had communed with M. Redman,* and taken my leaue of him, M. Yong came foorth into the nexte chamber with me, to whome I said that I was glad to see M. Doct. Redman so well minded. Then said M. Yong to me, I am sure he will not deny it. I ensure you saith he, M. Doct. hath so moued me, that where as I was of that opinion before in certaine things,* that I would haue burned and lost my life for them, now saith M. Yong, I doubt of them. But I see (saith he) a man shall knowe more & more by processe of time, and reading and hearing of other, and M. Doct Redmans saying shall cause me to looke more diligently for them.

Also Ellis M. Doctour Redmans seruauant shewed me that he did knowe that his maister had declared to Kyng Henry 8. his Maiesty, that faith only iustifieth:,* but that doctrine as he thought, was not to be taught the people, least they should be negligent to do good workes.

The sayd maister Yong hath reported (the which also I heard) that M. Doctor Redman should say, that consensus Ecclesiae, the consent of the Church was but a weake staffe to leane to, but did exhort him to reade the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him when he should be in such case as he was then.

***Another communication betweene Doctor Redman lying in his death bead, and Mayster Nowell then Schoolemaister in Westminster, and certaine other, with notes of his censure & iudgement touching certayne poyntes of Christes Religion.**

1 IN primis, the sayd D. Redman sent for M. Nowell of his own mind,* and said he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moued y^e said D. Redman of a day or two before: and he being desired of the said M. Nowell to declare his mind cōcerning certain points of our Religion, first said: aske me what ye will, and I wil answere you (before God) truly as I thinke, without any affection to the world, or any worldly person.

Witnesses Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

2 Item, the said D. Redman said, that the sea of Rome in these latter daies is Sentina malorū, that is, a sinke of al euil.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

3 Item, that Purgatory, as the schoolemen taught it and vsed it, was vngodly, and that there was no such kynde of Purgatory as they fantasied.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

4 Item,* that the offring vp of the Sacrament in Masses and Trentals for the sinnes of the dead, is vngodly.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

5 Item, that the wicked are not pertakers of the body of Christ, but receiue the outward Sacrament only.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

6 Item, that the Sacrament ought not to be caried about in procession:* for it is taught what is the vse of it in these wordes: Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam: Take, eate, and drinke, and do this in remembrance of me.

Witnesses Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Iohn Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

7 Item, that nothing which is seene in the Sacramente,* or perceiued with any outward sence, is to be worshipped.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas, Richard Burton.

8 Item, that we receiue not Christes body Corporaliter, id est, crassè: corporally, that is to saye, grosly,* like other [Page 1362](#) meates, and like as Capernaïtes did vnderstand it.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

9 Item, that we receiue Christes body sic spiritualiter vt tamen verè:* so spiritually, that neuerthelesse truly.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford,* Ellis Lomas, Iohn Wright.

10 Item, as touching transubstantiation, that there is not in any of the old doctours any good ground or sure prooffe thereof, or any mention of it, as farre as euer he could perceiue, neither that he seeth what can be aunswered to the obiections made against it.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

11 Item, being asked of Maister Wilkes what that was which was lifted vp betwene the priestes handes, he aunswered: he thought that Christ could neyther be lifted vp nor downe.

Witnesses Iohn Yong, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas.

12 Item, that Priestes may by the lawe of God marry wiues.

Witnesses Alexander Nowell, Ellis Lomas.

13 That this proposition: Sola fides iustificat, so that fides signifie Veram, viuam, & acquiescentem in Christo fidem, id est am•lexum Christi: that is to say, that only faith doth iustifie, so that faith do signifie a true, a liuely▪ and a faith resting in Christ and embracing Christ: is a true, godly, sweete, and comfortable doctrine, so that it be so taught that the people take none occasion of carnall libertie thereof.*

Witnesses Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ioh. Wright, Edwarde Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

14 Item, that our workes cannot deserue the kingdome of God,* and life euerlasting.

Witnesses Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edwarde Cratford, Richard Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

15 Item, that the sayde D. Redman, at such times as wee the foresayd persons, which haue subsc•ibed, heard his cōmunication concerning the for•said pointes of Religion, was of quiet mind and of perfite remembraunce, as farre as we were able to iudge.

Witnesses Ioh. Yong, Alexander Nowell, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edward Cratford▪ Richard Elithorne, Iohn Wright.

¶Also M. Yong of himselfe doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wise.

¶To the v. Article.

IN primis, that D. Redman sayd more, where as S. Augustine sayde:*Quòd Iudas idem accepit quod Petrus, that Iudas receiued the same that Peter did, he said that he vnderstoode that of the Sacramente, and that after the same phrase a man might say: Quòd Simon Magus idem Baptisma recepit quod Apostoli, that Simon Magus receiued the same Baptisme that the Apostles did, when he did receiue only the outwarde Sacramente to his condemnation: for he sayd that he

thought Christ would not vouchsafe to giue his holy flesh to an vngodly man. And this he saide was alwayes his mind, though he knew that other men did otherwise thinke.

¶To the vj. Article.

Item, he sayde, he neuer liked the cariage aboute of the Sacrament,* and preached against it about 16. yeares since in Cambridge.

¶To the x Article.

Item, when he was demaunded of transubstantiation, he sayde,* that he had trauayled about it, and thinking that the doubtes which he perceyued dyd rise thereon shoulde be made playne by the Schoolemen, did reade their bookes, and after that he had read them, the opinion of Transubstantiation was euery day Magis & magis languida, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no suche Transubstantiation as they made, adding therto, that the whole Schoole did not knowe what was meant by consecration, which he sayd was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶To the xiiij. Article.

Item, he sayd that he did repent him that he had so much striued against iustification by only faith.*

¶To the xiiij. Article.

Item, that workes had their crowne and rewarde, but that they did not deserue eternall life,* and the kyngdome of God, no not the workes of grace: Nam donum dei vita aeterna. For euerlasting life is the gift of God.

Although the•e testimonies aboue alledged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sounde doctrine, and sincere iudgement of Doctour Redman: yet (velut ex abundanti) I thought not to cut off in this place, the testimoniall letter or Epistle of D. Yong writtē to M. Cheke, specially concerning the premisses. Which Epistle of Doct. Yong, as I receiued it written by his owne hand in the latine tongue, the copy whiche he himselfe hath not, nor can deny to be his owne, & is extant to be read in the former booke of Actes and Monumentes, so I haue here exhibited the same faythfully translated into the English tongue the tenour whereof here followeth.

The letter of M. Yong written to M. Cheke concerning Doct. Redman, translated out of Latine into English.

ALthough right worshipfull,* I am stricken into no little dampe and dolour of minde for the vnripe (but that it otherwise pleased almighty God) & lamentable death of that most blessed & learned man doct. Redman, in so much that all astonied with weeping and lamenting, I can not tell what to doe or thinke (yet neuerthelesse: (perceiuing it to be your worships will and pleasure, that so I shoulde do) I gladly cal my wittes together, and purpose by gods grace, here in these my

letters, sincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confesse at the houre of his death as touching the controuersies of religion, wherwith the spouse of Christ is in these our dayes most miserably troubled and tormented.

This Doct. Redman, being continually by the space of xx. yeares or somewhat more exercised in the reading of the holy scripture, with such industry, labor, modesty, magnanimity, and prayers to almighty God tryed and wayed y^e controuersies of religiō, that in al his doings as he would not seeme to approue that was either false or superstitious so he would neuer improue that he thought to stand wyth the true worship of God.* And albeit in certayne poyntes and articles of his fayth, he seemed to diuers whiche were altogether ignoraunt of that his singular grauitie, eyther for softnes, care, or lacke of stomacke to chaunge his mind and beliefe, yet they, to whom his former life and conuersation by familiar acquayntaunce with him was throughlye knowne, with them also which were present at his departure, may easely perceauē and vnderstand, how in graue & weighty matters, not rashly and vnadvisedly, but wyth constant iudgement and vnfayned conscience he descended into that maner of beliefe which at that time of his goyng out of this world, he openly professed.

I geue your wisdomē to vnderstand, that when death drew neare, he casting away all hope of recouery, minded & talked of no other thing (as we which were presēt heard) but of heauē and heauenly matters, of the latter day of our Sauour Iesus Christ, with whom most feruently he desired to be: whose incredible loue towardes vs miserable sinners,* most worthely and not without teares hee often times vsed to extol and speake of: and vs which wer there present, he earnestly moued and exhorted to prepare oure selues to Christ, to loue one an other, and to beware of this most wretched & corrupt world. And besides that he promised (calling God to witnes thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come) if any woulde demaund any question that he would answer him what he thought in his iudgement to be the truth.* At what time there were present M. Alexander Nowell, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loued y^e said M. Redman: to whome he spake on this wise:

Your excellent learning and purity of life I haue euer both highly fauoured, and had in admiration: and for no other cause (God be my iudge) I do aske these things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learne & knowe of you what is your opinion and beliefe touchynge those troblous controuersies which are in these our dayes: and I shall receaue and approue your wordes as oracles sent from heauen.

To whom when doct. Redman had geuen leaue to demaund what he would, and had promised that he woulde faythfully and sincerely aunswere (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, M. Nowel said: I would (quoth he) right gladly, but that I feare by my talke and communication I shalbe vnto you, so feeble and nowe almost spent, a trouble and grieve. Then sayd Doct. Redmā replying: what shall I spare my carcas (quoth he) whiche hath so short a time here to remaine? Go to, go to (sayd he) propound what you will. Thē M. Nowell put forth certayne questions in order, which I will here declare: wherunto the sayd doct. Redman seuerally answered, as hereafter followeth.

The first question that he asked of him was, what hee thought of the bishop of Rome. Unto whō Doct. Redmā answered that the Sea of Rome in these our latter dayes had much swarued from

the true religiō and worshipping of God & is with horrible vices stayned & polluted;* which I therfore (quoth he) pronounce to be the sincke of all euill and shortly wil come to vtter ruine by scourge of God, except [Page 1363](#) it do fall the sooner to repentance: wherewith he briefly complayned of the filthy abuse of our Englishe Church.

Beeing then asked what his opinion was concerning purgatory,* and what the Scholemen iudged therof, he answered, that the subtill reasons of the Scholemen concerning purgatory, seemed to him to be no lesse vayne, and friuolous, then disagreeing from the truth: adding thereunto: that when we be rapt vp to the cloudes to meete Christ comming to iudgemēt with a great number of Angels in all glory and maiesty then euery one shall be purged with fire as it is written: The fire shall go before hym, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burne in his sight,*and round about him shall be a great tempest: saying that diuers of the old writers approued this his sentence concerning purgatory.

When he was asked whether wicked and vngodly people in the holy communion did eate the body of Christ, and drinke his bloud: he aunswered that such kind of men dyd not eate Christes most blessed flesh, but only tooke the Sacramēt to their own damnation:* saying that Christ would not gyue his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of suche naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw hymselfe from them. And that (quoth hee) that is objected by S. Augustine, that Iudas receiued the selfesame thing whych Peter receiued: that I thinke to be vnderstanded of the externall Sacrament. And the like kynde of phrase of speaking (sayde hee) we may vse concerning the baptisme of Magus: that Simon Magus receaued that which the Apostles did receaue. In deede as concerning the Sacrament of the externall baptisme, Simon Magus receaued that whiche the Apostles did, but that internall grace, wherewith the Apostles were endued, and that holy spirit wherewith by baptisme they were enspired, he lacked. And so (quoth he) the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy table of the Lorde, do receiue the Sacrament and the selfesame which good and godly men receiue: but the body of Christ, they do not receiue, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliuer it them. And thus he sayd was his opinion and beliefe, although he knewe others to be of a contrary iudgement.

Being then after this demaunded whether he thought Christes presence to be in the Sacrament or no, he answered that Christ dyd geue & offer to faythfull and Christian men,* his very reall body and bloud verely & really vnder sacramēts of bread & wine, in somuch that they which deuoutly come to bee partakers of that holy foode, are by the benefite thereof vnited and made one with Christe in hys fleshe and body. And therefore he sayde that Christ dyd distribute his body spiritually that he gaue it truly,* not so yet neuerthelesse that by these and the like wordes we should conceiue any grosse or carnall intelligence, such as the Capernaïtes once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we myghte labour & endeouour to expresse by some kinde of wordes the ineffable maiestie of this misterie. For the maner whereby Christ is there present, and ministreth to the faythfull hys flesh, is altogether inexplicable: but we must beleue (quoth he) and thinke, that by Gods mighty power & the holy operation of his spirit, this so notable a mistery was made: & that heauen & earth was ioined together in that momēt, as the blessed man s. Gregory saith: y^e lowest parts are ioined w^t the highest: By which is vnderstand that holy food, whereby they whiche be regenerate by the holy Ghost in baptisme, are nourished to immortalitie. And further hee sayd that Christes body was receiued in the sayde Sacrament by faith: which being receiued both body and soule, were quickned to euerlasting life.

Being then required to say his minde about transubstantiation, he gaue answere that he had much trauelled in that point,* and that he first much fauoured and enclined to that part which maintained transubstantiation: in searching the veritie whereof most studiously, he had bene no little while occupied, and founde to arise thereabout infinite, and almost inexplicable absurdities. In confutyng whereof, when he had but smally contented himselfe, he said he tooke in hand the Scholemens works, and perused Gabriell and other writers of that sorte, for that by theyr helpe and aide he hoped that all inconueniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of Transubstantiation, might be cleane conuincd and wiped away. Of which his hope he was vtterly frustrate (sayd he) for that he did finde in those works many fond and fantastick things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alledged about such a mystery: and truly (saide he) euer after the reading of them, my former zeale and opinion, touching the maintenance of transubstantiation, did euery day more and more decrease, and therefore in conclusion perswaded himselfe to thinke that there was no such transubstantiation as the Schoolemen imagined and fained to be, saying that in deede the auncient writers were plain•ly against the maintenance thereof: amongst whome, he recited by name Iustine, Irene, and Tertullian, notorious aduersaries to the same. Furthermore, he added heereunto,* that the whole Schoole vnderstoode not what this word Consecratio was: which he defined to be the full and entire action of the whole Communion.

Being demaunded also whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy Supper, he told vs that we are bound so to do: and that it was most agreeing to piety and godly Religion. Likewise being asked whether he would haue the visible Sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted vp betweene the Priestes hands: he answered, that nothing which was visible, and to be seene with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor that Christ woulde be eleuated into any higher, or pulled downe into any lower place,* and that he can neither bee lifted vp higher, nor pulled downe lower.

Againe, being asked what his iudgement was about the custome and maner in carying about the Sacrament in solemne pompes, processions and otherwise: he said, that he alwaies misliked and reprobud that order: in so much that about xvj. yeares agon openly in the pulpit at Cambridge he spake against that abuse and disallowed that ceremony, shewing that Christ had expressed by playne and euident wordes a very fruitfull and right vse of this Sacrament, when he sayde Take ye: (by which phrase quoth hee, he doth expresse that he will giue a gift:) Eate yee: (by whyche words he doth declare the proper vse and order of that hys precious gift:) This is my body: (whereby he doth euidently and plainely shewe what by that gift they should receaue, and how royall and precious a gift he woulde giue them: and therefore he iudged such pompous and superstitious ostentations vtterly to be condemned and taken as plaine mockeries and Counterfaite visars.

His iudgement also being asked about the Commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in orisons whether he thought it profitable or no: he aunswered, that it seemed to him to be no lesse profitable then religious and godly: and that might be well proued out of the bookes of Machabees. The which bokes although Saint Hierome adiudging as not authentike,* thought good to bee read in the Temples onely for the edifying of the Church, and not for the assertion of opinions: yet with me the opinions of the other writers, to whome those bookes are allowed as Canons, preuaileth: which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

Being furthermore required to shew hys mynde about trentall Masses, and Masses of Scala coeli,* he shewed them that they were altogether vnprofitable, superstitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountaine of superstition, not yelding the fruite which they promised to bring forth. The Sacrifice of the Supper of the Lorde, (the Eucharist I meane) that sacrifice he sayd could not be offered for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.*

Finally, of his owne voluntary will, and no man (as farre as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he shewed his opinion concerning Iustification by Christ, I lament (said he) and repent, beseeching God forgiuenes for the same, that to seriously and earnestly I haue wythstand this proposition: that onely fayth doth iustifye, but I alwayes feared that it should be taken to the libertie of the fleshe,* and so should defile the innocencie of life which is in Christ. But that proposition: that onely faith doth iustifye, is true (quoth he) sweete and full of spirituall comfort, if it be truely taken, and rightly vnderstanded. And when hee was demaunded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof: I vnderstand (quoth he) that to be the liuely faith, which resteth in our only Sauour Iesus Christ and imbraceth him: so that in our only Sauour Iesus Christ, all the hope and trust of our saluation be surely fixed. And as cōcerning good works (said he) they haue their crowne and merite: and are not destitute of their rewards. Yet neuerthesse they do not merite the kingdome of heauen. For no workes (said he) coulde not purchase and obteyne that blessed, happy and euerlasting immortalitie:* no nor yet those things whiche we do vnder grace by the motion of the holy Ghost. For that blessed and immortall glory is giuen and bestowed vpon vs mortall men, of the heauenly father for his Sonne our Sauour Christes sake, as S. Paule testifieth, The gift of God is eternall life.*

And these be the resolutions which I heard him geue to the questions by M. Nowell proposed.* From which hys sentence and iudgement so heard by me and of him vttered (as I remember) I neuer declined or varied. I beseeche our Lorde Iesus Christ to cease these troublous stormes wherewith the Church is tossed, and vouchsafe for his holy names sake tenderly to beholde & looke vpon his poore [Page 1364](#) wretched flocke so miserably scattered and dispersed,* beseeching him also of his goodnes to preserue your worship. At London the third of Nouember.

***Heere followeth the history no lesse lamentable then notable of William Gardiner an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portyngale for the testimony of Gods truth.**

*COMming now to the yeare next following 1552. wee will some what step aside, and borow a little leaue, coasting the Seas into Portyngale amongst the Popish marchauntes there, whither a certaine countrymā of ours doth call me, named William Gardiner, a man verely in my iudgement, not only to be compared with the most principall & chiefe Martirs of these our daies, but also such one, as the auncient Churches in the time of the first persecutions, can not shew a more famous: whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firme and stedfast constantnes, the inuincible strength of his spirit, or the cruell and horrible tormentes: the report only and hearing whereof, were enough to put any man in horror or feare. Yet notwithstanding so farre it was of that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted whether the payne of his body, or the courage of his mind were the greater: when as in deede both appeared to be very great.

Wherefore, if any prayse or dignity amongst men, (as reason is) be due vnto the Martirs of Christ for their valiant actes,* this one man amongst many, seemeth worthy to bee numbred and also to

be celebrate in the Church with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatus, Grescentius, and Gordianus. And if the Church of Christ do receiue so great and manifolde benifits by these martirs, with whose bloud it is watred, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancie it is confirmed, by whose testimonie it is witnessed, and finally through whose agonies and victories the truth of the Gospell doth gloriously triumph: let not vs then thinke it any great matter, to requite them with our duety againe, by committing them vnto memory, as a perpetuall token of our good will towards them. Albeit, they themselues receiue no glory at our hands, and much lesse challenge the same: but referre it wholly vnto the Lord Christ, frō whom it came whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them. Notwithstanding, for so much as Christ himselfe is glorified in his Saints, we cā not shew our selues thankfull vnto him, except we also shew our selues dutifull vnto those, by whome his glory doth increase.

Heereupon I thinke it came to passe, that the aunciente Christians in the time of the first persecutiōs,* thought good to celebrate yearely commemorations of the Martirdome of those holy men, not so much to honour thē, as to glorifie God in his souldiours, vnto whom all glory & praise doth worthely belong: and moreouer, that we being instructed by their example, might bee the more prompt and ready in the policies of those warres, to stand more stoutly in batta•le against our aduersaries, and learne the more easily to contemne and despise thys worlde. For in considering the ende and death of these men, who will greatly long or luste after this life, which is so many wayes miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties rumous, wherein consisteth so litte constancie & lesse safety, being neuer free from some hard calamitie one or other? What good mā would haue this world in reputatiō, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, & wherein no man can liue in quietnes, except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little merueile,* that in this great slaughter of good mē with so many spectacles and examples of cruell tormēt, Christians do yet liue as it were drowned in y^e foolish desires of this world, seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yeeld vp their spirits vnder the handes of such tormentors, to lye in filthy prisons, in bondes, darkenes, and teares, & in the end to be consumed with fire. We see so many Prophets of God, euen Christ himself the sonne of God,* to be so cruelly and many waies afflicted in this world, tormoiled, scourged and crucified: & yet we laugh, drinke, and giue our selues vnto all losenes of life, and all lasciuiousnes. For honour & great possessions we contend: we build: we study & labour by al meanes to make our selues rich. Unto whome it doth not suffice y^t we with safety and freedome from their afflictions, racks, wheeles, scourges, yrons read hote, gredirōs, fleshhookes, mallets, and other kyndes of tormentes, may serue our Christ in peace and quiet: but being herewith not content, will giue ouer our selues to all kinde of wickednes, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Sathan?

*But what do we thinke in so doing? Eyther we must reckon those mē to be most miserable in this life, or els our selues to be most vnhappy. But if their blessednes be most certaine and sure, then let vs direct the course of our life to the same felicitie. These men haue forsaken this life, which they might haue enioyed. But if w• cannot willingly put of this life, yet let vs not be slow to amend and correct the same: and though wee cannot dye with them in like martyrdome, yet let vs mortifie the worldly and prophane affections of y^e flesh, which striue agaynst y^e spirite & at the least let vs not runne thus headlong into the licētious desires of the world, as we do. As the lyfe of Christen men is now, I praye thee, what doe these bondes, prisons, these woundes and scarres, these great fires, and other horrible tormentes of martirs, then vpbrayd vnto vs our

slouthful sluggishnes, & worthely make vs ashamed therof? Which Martirs if in their liues they liued so innocently, & in their death continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of vs which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take vpon vs the small conflict agaynst vices & our owne affections? How would we suffer the cruell looks of tirannes? * y^e fearfull kindes of torments, or the violent assaultes of the tormenters in any quarrell of godlines, if in peace and quietnes we are & y^t with euery small breath or winde of temptation we are blown away frō God, so faynt harted w^tout any resistaunce are caryed headlong into all kinde of wickednes & mischief? One singeth songes of loue, an other watcheth all the night at dice, some spend their life & tyme day by day in hawking & hūting, some tipples so at tauerns that they come home reeling. Others what soeuer desire of reuenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they seek to put in practise. Some gape after riches: some swell with ambition: some thinke they are borne for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of iniury and periury, nay rather it is so rare a thinge paciently to suffer iniuries done vnto •s, that except we haue y^e sleight to doe iniury to other, wee thinke our selues scarce men. There is no loue almost nor Charitie among men: neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

But amongst al the rest, vnsatiable couetousnes and auarice so raigneth that no man almost is contented w^t any tollerable estate of life, either that wil prescribe himself any measure in hauing y^t he possesseth: or in proling for y^e which he lacketh: neuer quiet, but alwayes toiling, neuer satisfied but alwaies vnsatiable. Whereby it so commeth, that the mindes of Christen men, being occupied in suche worldly carks & cares, can scarcely find any vacant leisure to think vpon heauenly things: and yet notwithstanding w^t these mindes, we will needes seeme Christians. But nowe setting apart these complayntes spent in vayne, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good W. Gardiner.

And first as cōcerning his kinred, he was of an honest stocke, borne at Bristow, * a towne of Marchandise on the seacost of England, honestly brought vp and by nature geuen vnto grauitie, of a meane stature of body, of a comelye & pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in y^e inward quallities of the mind, which he alwayes from his childhood preserued without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent learning did not a litle commēd & beautifie his other ornamēts. When he grew vnto those yeares at which young men are accustomed to settle theyr minds to some kinde of life, it happened y^t he gaue himselfe to the trade of Marchandise, vnder y^t conduct & guidyng of a certaine marchant of Bristow, called M. Paget, * by whō he was at the last (being of the age of xxvi. yeares, or therabout,) sent into Spayne, and by chaunce the ship ariuing at Lishborne (which is the chiefe Citie of Portugale) he taryed there about his Marchandise, where at the last he hauing gotten vnderstanding of the language and being accustomed to their maners, became a profitable seruāt both vnto his maister & others, in such things as pertayned vn^to the trade of that vocation. Whereunto he did so applye himselfe that neuerthelesse he in that popish country reseruing still the religion of his owne country of England, euer kept himself sound and vndefiled from the Portugals superstition. There were also besides him diuers other good men in y^e same Cittie. * Neither did he lacke good books or the conference of good and honest men, vnto whome he would oftentimes bewaile his imbecilitie and weakenes that he was neither sufficiently touched w^t the hatred of his sinnes, neither yet inflamed with the loue of godlines.

Whilest hee was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemne maryage,* celebrate y^e first day of September in the yeare abouesayd, betweene two Princes: to say, the sonne of the king of Portugale, & the Spanishe K. his daughter. The mariage daye being come, there was great resort of the Nobility and Estates. There lacked no Bishops with Miters, nor Cardinals with their hats, to set out this royall wedding. To be short they wēt forward to the wedding with great Pompe, where a great concourse [Page 1365](#) of people resorted, some of good will, some for seruice sake, and some (as the maner is) to gaze and looke. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole Citie, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladnes. In this great assembly of the whole kingdome, William Gardiner, who, albeit he did not greatly esteeme such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also, comming thether early in the morning, to the intent he might haue the more oportunitie and better place to behold and see.

The houre being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnitie and pompe: the King first, and then euery estate in order.* The greater persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their Masse: for that alone serueth for all purposes. The Cardinall did execute, with much singing and orgaine playing. The people stood with great deuotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking, their mindes being fully bent and set, as it is the maner, vppon the externall sacramente. How greuously these things did pricke and mooue this yong mans minde, it can not be expressed, partly to beholde the miserable absurditie of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people: and not only of the common people,* but specially to see the King himself and his Councell, with so many sage and wise men (as they seemed) to be seduced with like Idolatry as the common people were: In so much that it lacked very little, but that he would euen that present day haue done some notable thing in the Kings sight and presence, but that the great prease and throng that was about him, letted that he could not come vnto the altar. What neede many words? when the ceremonies were ended, he commeth home very sad and heauy in his minde: in so much that all his fellowes marueiled greatly at him: Who albeit vpon diuers coniectures they conceiued the cause of his sadnes, notwithstanding they did not fully vnderstand that those matters so much troubled his godly mind: neither yet did he declare it vnto any man, but seeking solitarines & secret places falling downe prostrate before God, with manifold teares bewayled the neglecting of his dutie, deliberating with himselfe how he might reuoke that people from their impietie and superstition.

In this deliberation and aduise his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer differred, he renounced the world, making vp all his accompts so exactly (as well of that whiche was due vnto him,* as that whiche he ought vnto others) that no man coule iustly aske so muche as one farthing. Which thyng done, he continued night and day in prayer calling vppon God, and continuall meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meate by day,* or slepe by night, or that most, aboue an houre or two of rest in the night, as Pendigrace his fellow companion both at bed and boord, being yet aliue, can testifie.

The Sondag came againe to be celebrate either wyth like pompe & solemnitie,* or not much lesse, wheras the sayd William was present earely in the morning, very cleanly appparelled euen of purpose, that he might stand neare the altar without repulse. Within a while after commeth the King with all his Nobles. Then Gardiner setteth hymselfe as neare the alter as he might, hauing a

Testament in his hand, the which he diligently read vpon, and prayed, vntill the time was come that he had appointed to worke his feate.* The Masse began, which was then solemnised by a Cardinall. Yet he sate still. He which said Masse, proceeded, he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted vp on high, shewed his God vnto the people, all the people gaue great reuerence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At the last they came vnto that place of the Masse, whereas they vse to take the ceremoniall Hoste, and tosse it too and fro round about the Chalice, making certaine circles and semicircles. Then the sayd William Gardiner not being able to suffer any longer, ranne speedily vnto the Cardinall: and (which is vncredible to be spoken) euen in the presence of the King and all his Nobles and Citizens,* with the one hande he snatched away the cake from the Priest, and trode it vnder hys feete, and with the other hand ouerthrew the chalice. Thys matter at the first made them all abashed, but by and by there rose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The Nobles and the common people ranne together, amongst whome, one drawing out his dagger, gaue him a great wounde in the shoulder, and as he was aboute to strike him againe to haue slaine him, the King twise commaunded to haue him saued. So by that meanes they abstained from murther.*

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought vnto the King: by whome he was demaunded what countreyman he was,* and how he durst be so bold to worke such a contumely against his Maiestie, and the Sacramentes of the Church? He answered: Most noble King, I am not ashamed of my Countrey, which am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hether only for traffike of Marchaundise. And when I saw in this famous assembly so great Idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought neither could any longer suffer, but that I must needes do that which you haue scene me presently do. Whiche thyng (most noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproche of your presence, but onely for this purpose (as before God I do clearely confesse) to seeke the only saluation of this people.

When they heard that he was an Englishman,* and called to remembraunce how the Religion was restored by K. Edward, they were by and by brought in suspition, that he had bene suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mocke and deride their religion. Wherefore they were the more earnest vpon him to knowe who was the author and procurer that he should commit that act. Unto whome he answered, desiring them that they would conceiue no suche suspition of him, for so much as he was not moued thereunto by any man, but only by his owne conscience.* For otherwise there was no man vnder the heauen, for whose sake he would haue put himselfe into so manifest daunger: but that he ought this seruice first vnto God, and secondarily vnto their saluation: wherefore if he had done anye thing which were displeasaunt vnto them, they ought to impute it vnto no man, but vnto themselues, which so vnreuerētly vsed the holy Supper of the Lord vnto so great Idolatry, not without great ignominie vnto the Church, violation of the Sacraments, and the perill of their owne soules, without they repented.

Whilest that he spake these with many other thynges more vnto this effect very grauely and stoutly, the bloud ran abundantly out of the wounde, so that he was ready to faint. Whereupon Surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured if it were possible, and be reserued for further examination, and more greeuous torment. For they were fully perswaded that this deede had diuers abbettors and setters on: which was the cause that all the other englishmen also in the same citie came into suspition, and were commaunded to safe custody. Amongst whome,* Pendigrace, because he was his bedfellow, was greeuously tormented and examined more then

the residue, and scarcely was deliuered after two yeares imprisonment. The other were much sooner set at libertie at the intercession of a certaine Duke. Notwithstanding their suspition coulde not yet be satisfied, but they came vnto his chamber to seeke if there were any letters,* to vnderstand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when as they coulde finde nothing there, they came againe vnto him being greuously wounded, with tormentes to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most greuous heresie. Of both whiche pointes, with suche dexteritie as hee could, he cleered himselfe. Wherein, albeit he spake in the Spanish tong well, yet he vsed the Latin tong much more exactly.

But they not being therewith satisfied, added another straunge kynde of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the Bull of Phalaris. Because there shoulde no kynde of extreme crueltie be left vnassayed,* they caused a linnen cloth to be sowed round like a ball, the which they wyth violence put downe his throate vnto the bottome of hys stomacke, tied with a small string which they held in their hands, and when it was downe, they pulled it vp agayne with violence, so plucking it too and fro through the meate pipe, in suche sorte, as with muche lesse grieve they might haue ridde him out of his life at once.

Thus at the last, when all tormentes and tormenters were weered, and that it did nothing at all preuaile to go this way to worke, they asked him whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deede. As touching the deede, aunswered, that it was so farre off that he did repent, that if it were to do againe, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the maner of the deede, he was not a little sory that it was done in the Kings presence to the disquietnes of his minde. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed vnto him, which neither enterprised or thought vpon any such matter,* but rather to be ascribed vnto the King, in that he hauing power, woulde not prohibite so great Idolatry vsed among his people. This he spake with great feruencie.

After they had vsed all kynde of torments, and saw th^t there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his woundes and paynes he could not long liue▪ they brought him three dayes after to execution. And first [Page 1366](#) of all,* bringing him into the Uestry, cut off his right hand, which he taking vp with his left hād, kissed. Then he was brought into the market place, wheras his other hand also was cut off: which he kneeling downe vpon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done after the manner and fashion of Spaine, his armes being bound behinde him, & his feete vnder the horse bellye, hee was caried to the place of execution.

[illustration]

☛ **The order and manner of the cruell handlinge of William Gardiner, an English Merchaunt, tormented and burned in Portugall, in the cause of God and of his truthe.**

There was in that place a certaine engine, frō the which a great rope comming downe by a pulley,* was fastened about the middle of this Christian Martyr, which first pulled him vp. Then was there a great pile of woode sette on fire vnderneath him, into the which he was by little & little let downe, not with the whole body, but so, that his fete only felt the fire. Then he was hoised vp, and so let downe againe into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled vppe and downe. In which great torment for al that, he continued w^t a constant spirite: and the more terribly he burned, y^e more vehemently he prayed.

At the last, when his feete were consumed, the tormentors asked him whether hee did not yet repent hym of his deede,* and exhorted him to call vpon oure Ladie and the Saintes. Wherunto he answered, that as he had done nothing whereof hee did repent him, so hee had the lesse neede of the helpe of our Lady or any other Sainte: and what externall torments so euer they vsed, the truthe (he sayde) remaineth alwaies one and like vnto it selfe: the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not nowe denie it in his death▪ desiring them to leaue of such vanities and follie. For when as Christ did cease any more to be our aduocate, then he would pray to our lady to be his aduocate,* and sayd: O eternall God, father of all mercies, I beseeche thee looke downe vpon thy seruant. &c. And when as they sought by all meanes possible to stoppe his praying, and praising God in this sorte, he cried out with a loude voyce, rehearsing the 43. Psalme: Iudica me Deus, & discerne causam meam, de gente non sancta. Iudge me O God, and defende my cause against the vnmercifull people.

He was not come vnto the latter ending of the Psalme, when as they pulling him vp and downe in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt a sonder, he fel downe in the midst therof: wheras geuing his body for a sacrifice, hee chaunged his temporall paines for perpetuall rest and quietnesse.

Thus it seemed good in the sighte of God by this Messenger to prouoke the Portugales to y^e sincere knowledge of him: and therefore they ought the more to haue acknowledged the great loue & kindnesse of God offred vnto them, and also the more to be mindefull of their owne duetie and thankfulnessse towards him. And if it be so great an offence [Page 1367](#) to violate the ordinaunces of mans lawe, and to contemne the Ambassadors of Kyngs and Princes, lette the Portugalles and all other looke well vnto it,* what it is so cruelly to handle the heauenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether vnreuenged by the mighty hand of God,* when as not onely the very same night, amongst diuers of the kings ships which were in y^e next hauen ready to saile, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparcke of Gardiners fire driuen thether w^t the winde, but also y^e kings sonne which then was married, died within halfe a yere,* and the next yere after the King himselfe also died, and so both within one yere after the tormenting of this blessed Martyr.

Thus the body of the sayd Gardiner being consumed, yet the rage & fury of the common people so ceased not, but they were as cruell against him being deade, as they were when he was aliue, and with their tongues tormēted this Martyr, when they could doe no more with their handes: yea for very madnes they would scarce tarry vntil he were burned, but euery man as they could catch any pece of him halfe burned, threwe it into the sea.

Thys Sacrifice thus ended, the Cleargie, to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared,* for the violating of theyr aultar, appoynted a solemne fast of certaine dayes, for penaunce to purge that facte, which facte rather shoulde haue taught them to purge them selues, and to put away theyr filthy Idolatrie, and much rather they shoulde haue fasted & repented for that their extreeme cruelty they had shewed vnto the liuely member of Christ.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner seemeth to haue profited very many of them litle or nothing: yet for all that there are some (as I haue hearde diuers reporte) oute of whose mindes the remembraunce of this constant Martir can neuer be pulled, and is so freshe yet amongst them, as

if it were nowe lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while since hee was put to death, yet the memorie of hys death, as frutefull seede, hath taken such roote in some, that euen vnto this present day, he is a liuely and diligent preaching vnto them, against superstition and Idolatry vsed in their Churches. Ex testimonio N. Fildi, Pendigrace, & aliorum, qui rei gestae interfuerunt.

The tragicall hystorie of the worthy L. Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.

AFTER so many troublous matters in this historie aforepassed, comming nowe to the lamentable and tragicall narration of the L. Edward duke of Somerset, ^{*}the kings vncle, and Protector of his person & of his realme, I could not wel enter into the story of him, without some premonition first to all noble personages, ^{*}of what honor or calling soeuer within this realme, by way of history briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance vpon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity, howe high soeuer it seemeth, consideringe that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruine, wisdomes so circumspecte, but it maye bee circumvented, no vertue so perfecte, but it may be enuyed, neither any mans trade so simple, but it maye be beguiled. And therefore seeing the condition of mortall things is so, ^{*}that no man can alwaies stand in this so ruinous a world: y^e surest way is euery man to chuse his standing so, that his fall may be y^e easier. But because my purpose is (as I haue said in the stories before) to abridge and make short, I will here stay, referring to the secrete cōsideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be vttered: and so falling into the storie of the Lorde Protectoure Duke of Somerset, we will (the Lorde willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, euen from the beginning.

King Edward, after that both his father and mother were dead, had three vncles least him by his mothers side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the which two first, one was made Protectour of the Realme, and the other high admirall of the same. These two brethren, so long as they were knit & ioyned together in amitie and cōcorde, ^{*}preserued both themselues, the king their nephew, and the whole common wealth from the violence and feare of all danger. But the subtil old serpent alwaies enuying mans felicitie, through slanderous tongues sought to sowe matter, first of discord betwene them, then of suspition, and last of all extreme hatred: in so much that the Protectour suffered his brother being accused (whether truely or falsely the Lorde knoweth) to be condemned, and to loose hys heade. Wherby it came to passe (whether by y^e correction of Gods iudgement vpon him, or whether that he after the death of his brother, and the king being yet but yong and tender of age, was the lesse able to shift for himselfe) that not long after he was ouermatched and ouerthrowen of his enemies, and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost hys head also, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequele of this hystorie foloweth to be declared.

For the better introduction of which hystorie, firste to begin with the foresaide brother of the Lorde Protectoure, ^{*}namely Sir Thomas Semer high Admirall of England, and the kings Uncle, here is to vnderstande that he hadde married Queene Katherine late wife to kinge Henrye the eight, of whome ye heard before, pag. 1342. ^{*}Now it happened (vppon what occasion I knowe not) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the sayde Queene and the Duchesse of Somerset, and therupon also in the behalfe of their wiues, displeasure and grudge began betwene the brethrē.

Which albeit through perswasion of frendes it was for a time appeased betweene them: * yet in shorte space after (perchaunce not without y^e priuie setting forward o^r some whych were backefrendes to the Gospell) it brake out againe, both to the trouble of the Realme, and especially to the cōfusion of them both, as after it is prooued. First to the Lorde Admiralles charge it was laide, that hee purposed to destroy the young king, and translate the Crowne vnto hymselfe, and for the same being attainted and condemned, did suffer at Tower hill the 20. of Marche. An. 1549. As manye there were which reported that the Dutches of Somersette had wrought his death: so manye moe there were, * who misdoubting the long standing of the Lord Protectour in hys state and dignity, thought and affirmed no les, but that the fall of the one brother, would be the ruine of the other: the experiment whereof as it hath often ben proued, so in these also eftsoones it ensued.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lorde Admirall, but insurrections began to kindle the same yeare in diuers quarters of the realme, as is aboue storied. * By the occasion wherof the lord Russel, lord priuy Seale was sent to the West parts, and the lord Dudley Earle of Warwike was sent wth an armie into Norfolke: where bothe he hymselfe & a great number of Gentlemen that were with hym, meeting with the rebels were in great daunger: notwithstanding in the ende the ouerthrowe was geuen to the rebels, which was aboute the beginning of Septemb. 1549. After this victorie atchieued, in the next moneth folowing, whiche was October, * howe the matter fell oute betweene the Lorde Protectour and certaine other Lordes, I knowe not, but at the retourne of the Earle of Warwike aforesaid, greate workinge and consultation there was amonge the Lordes, assembling them selues in the house of M. Yorke, and at Bainardes Castle, and in the Lorde Maiors house at London, against the Lorde Protectoure remaining the• with the King at Hampton Court. Of the which businesse and trouble, thus the Lorde Protectoure wryteth in hys letters to the Lorde Russell in the West countrey, as followeth.

A letter of the L. Protectour, to the L. Russel, Lord priuie Seale, concerning troubles working against him.

AFTER our right hartly commendations to your good Lordship, heere hath of late risen such a conspiracie against the kinges Maiestie and vs, as neuer hath bene seene, * the which they can not maintaine, but with such vaine letters and false tales surmised, as was neuer meant nor entended on vs. They pretend and say, that we haue solde Bulloigne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the souldiours, and other such tales and letters they doe spreade abroad (of the which, if any one thing were true, we would not wish to liue) the matter now being brought to a marueilous extremitie, such as we wold neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, especially of those men towardes the kings maiestie and vs, of whom we haue deserued no such thing, but r^{ather} much fauour and loue. But the case being as it is, this to require and pray you to hastē you hither, to the defence of the kings maiestie, in such force and power as you may, to shew the parte of a true Gentleman, and of a very frende: the which thing we truste God shall rewarde and the kinges Maiestie in time to come, and we shall neuer be vnmindefull of it too. We are sure you shal haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your duety to the kings Maiestie, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair with such force as yee haue, to his highnesse Castle of Windsore, and cause the rest of such force as yee may make to followe you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell.

From Hampton Court, the sixt of October.

Your Lordships assured louing frend, Edward Somerset.

An answer to the L. Protector's letter.

TO this letter of the Lorde Protectoure sent the sixte of Octob. the L. Russel returning answere againe vppon [Page 1368](#) the eight of the sayde moneth, first lamenteth the heauie dissention fallen betwene the Nobilitye and him, which he taketh for suche a plague, as a greater could not be sent of almighty God vpon this Realme, being the next way (saith he) to make of vs conquerors, slaues, & like to induce vpon the whole realme an vniuersal calamitye & thraldome, vnlesse the mercifull goodnes of the Lorde do helpe,* & some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the Dukes request in his letters, for as much as he heard before of this broile of the Lords, & feared least soe conspiracie had ben meant against the kings person, he hasted forward with such company as he coulde make, for the surety of y^e king, as to him appertained. Now perceiuing by the Lordes letters sent vnto him the same sixte day of Oct^r. these tumults to rise vpon priuate causes betwene him and them, he therfore thought it expedient that a conuenient power should be leuied, to be in a readines to withstand the worste (what perils soeuer might ensue) for the preservation both of the king, & state of the realm from the 〈◇〉 of forraine enemies, and also for the staying of bloudshed, if any such thing should be intended betwixt the partes in the heate of thys faction. And this hee thinking beste for discharge of his allegiance, humbly beseecheth his grace to haue y^e same also in speciall regard and consideration, first that the kings Maiestie be put in no feare, & that if there be any such thing wherein he hath geuen iust cause to them thus to proceede, hee will so conforme him selfe, as no such priuate quarels do redound to the publike disturbance of the Realme: certifying moreouer the Duke, that if it were true whyche he vnderstandeth by the letters of the Lordes, y^t he should send about proclamations and letters for raising vp of the commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding hee trusted well, that his wisdom would take such a way, as no effusion of bloud should follow.

And thus muche being contained in his former letters of the eight of October, in his next letters againe, wrytten the 11. day of Octob. the said Lord Russel reioysing to heare of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protectour made to the Lordes,* wryteth vnto him, & promiseth to doe what in the vttermost power of him (and likewise of sir W. Harbert ioyned together with him) doe 〈◇〉, to worke some honorable reconciliation betwene him & them: so as his sayd offers being accepted & satisfied, some good cōclusion might ensue, according to their good hope & expectation: Signifying moreouer, that as touching the leuying of men, they had resolved to haue the same in readinesse for the benefite of the realme,* to occurre all incōueniences whatsoeuer, either by forraine inuasion or otherwise might happen, & so hauing their power at hand, to drawe neare, wherby they might haue the better oportunitie to be solicitours, and a meanes for this reformation on both parties. &c. And thus much for answer of the Lord Russel to the Lorde Protectours letters.

But nowe to the matter againe of the Lordes, who together with the Earle of Warwike (vppon what occasion God knoweth) being assembled at London,* as ye heard, against the Lorde Protector: when the king with his counsaile at Hampton court heard therof, first Secretarye P^rter

with the kings message was sent vnto them, whome the Lords notw^tstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whe[•]upon the L. Protectour wryteth to them in this maner as followeth.

A letter of the Lorde Protectour, to the Counsaile at London.

MY Lordes, we commend vs most hartily vnto you, & wheras the kings Maiestie was infourmed that you were assembled in such sorte as you doe and nowe remaine, and was aduised by vs and such other of his Counsaile as were then heere aboute his persone, to send M. Secretarie Peter vnto you, with such message as whereby mighte haue ensued the suretie of hys Maiesties persone, with preservation of his realme and subiects, & the quiet both of vs and your selues, as maister Secretarye can well declare to you: his maiestie and we of his Counsaile heere doe not a litle maruel that you stay still with you the sayd M. Secretarie, & haue not as it were vouchsafed to send aunswer to his Maiestie, neyther by him nor yet any other. And for our selues we doe much more maruell and are right sory, as both wee and you haue good cause to be, to see the manner of your doinges bent[•] with violence, to bring the kings Maiesty and vs to these extremities. Which as we doe intende, if you wil take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegeaunce doeth binde vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who geueth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers woulde take place (as hetherto none hath bene signified vnto vs frō you, nor we do not vnderstand what you do require or seeke, or what you do meane) & that you do seek no hurt to the kings Maiesties person: as touching all other priuate matters, to auoid the effusion of Christian bloud, and to preserue the kings Maiesties person, his realme and subiectes, you shall finde vs agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require. For we doe esteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme, more then all other worldly things, yea more then our owne life. Thus praying you to send vs your determinate answer heerein by M. Secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer: we beseeche God to geue both you and vs grace to determine this matter, as maye be to Gods honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of vs all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily fare well. From the kings maiesties

Castle of Windsore, the 7. of Octob. 1549.

Your Lordships louing frend, E. Somerset.

After these letters receiued, and the reasonable condition of the Lorde Protectour, and yet not much regarded of the Lordes, they persisting still in their pretended purpose, tooke this aduise: first to keepe themselves in the Citie of London, as strong as they might: and therfore calling vpon the Maior and the Aldermen, they willed them in any case to prouide a good and substantiall watch by nyght,* and a good warde by day, for the safegard of their Citie, and the portes and gates thereof: which was consented vnto, and the Cōpanies of London in theyr turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

Then the sayd Lordes and Counsaillours demaunded of the Lorde Maior and hys brethren 500. menne to ayde them to fetch the Lorde Protectour out of Windsore from the king: but therunto the Maior answered,* that he could graunt none aide without the assent of the common

Counsaile of the citie: wherupon the next day a common counsell was warned. But in this meane time the said Lordes of the Counsaile assembled thēselues at the Lorde Maiors house of London, who then was Syr Henrye Amcottes Fishmonger, and W. Locke Mercer, and sir Iohn Aileph Sheriffes of the said citie, and there the said Counsaile did agree and publishe a Proclamation forthwith agaynst the Lorde Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth.

1 First,* that the Protector by his malitious and euill gouernment, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realme.

2 The losse of the kings peeces in France.

3 That he was ambitious and sought his owne glorye, as appeared by building of most sumptuous & costly houses, in the time of the kings warres.

4 That hee esteemed nothinge the graue Counsell of the Counsaillours.

5 That he sowed diuision betwene the Nobles, the gentlemen, and the commons.

6 That the Nobles assembled themselves together at Londō for none other purpose, but to haue caused the protectour to haue liued wythin limites, and to haue put such order for the suretie of the kings maiestie as appertained: whatsoever the Protectours doinges were, whyche they sayd were vnnaturall, ingrate, and traiterous.

7 That the Protectour sclandered the Counsaile to the king, and did that in him lay, to cause variaunce betwene the king and the nobles.

8 That hee was a great traitor, and therefore the Lordes desired the citie & commons to aid them, to take hym from the king.

And in witnes and testimonie of the contents of the said Proclamation, the Lordes subscribed theyr names, whych were these.

- The Lorde Rich, Lord Chauncellour.
- The Lord S. Iohn, Lord great maister, & president of the Counsaile.
- The Lord Marques of Northampton.
- The Earl of Warwike, Lord great Chamberlaine.
- The Earle of Arundel, L. Chamberlaine.
- The Earle of Shrewsburie.
- The Earle of Southhampton, Wriothesley.
- Sir Thomas Cheyney knight, treasurer of the kings house, and Lord Warden of the Cinque portes.
- Syr Iohn Gage knight, Constable of the Tower.
- Syr Wil. Peter knight, Secretarie.
- Syr Edward North knight.
- Syr Edward Montague, chief iustice of the common place.
- Syr Rafe Sadler.
- Syr Iohn Baker.

- Syr Edw. Wootton.
- Doctour Wootton.
- Deane of Cant.
- Syr Rich. Southwell.

[Page 1369](#) After the foresaide Proclamation was Proclaimed, the Lordes or the most parte of them continuuing and lying in London, came y^e next day to the Guild hal, during the time that the Lord Maior and their brethren sate in their Court or inner chamber,* and entred and communed a long while with the Maior, and at the last the Maior and his brethren came foorth vnto the common Counsaile, where was read the kings letter sent to the Maior and citizens, commaunding them to aid him with a thousand wel appoynted men out of their citie, and to send the same with all speede to his Castle at Windsore.

Thys Letter by name was directed to Syr Henrye Amcottes knighte Lorde Maior, to Syr Roulande Hyll knight, Maior electe, and to the Aldermen and common Counsaile of the Citie of London. The daye and Date of the Letter, was the sixte of October, in the thirde yeare of his raigne, being assigned with the hand of the King, and of the Lorde Protectour, the contentes of which letter, for the satisfaction of the reader, are heere to be seene in maner and forme as followeth.

EDWARD. By the King.

TRustie and welbeloued, we greete you wel. Wee charge and commaunde you most earnestly to geue order with all speede for the defence and preservation of that our citie of London for vs,* and to leuy out of hande, and to put in order as many as conueniently you maye, well weaponed and arraied, keeping good watch at the gates, and to sende vs hither for the defence of oure person, one thousand of that our Cittie, of trustie and faithfull men to attend vpon vs and our most entirely beloued vncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, Gouvernour of our person, and Protector of our Realmes, dominions, and subiects, well harnessed, and with good and conuenient weapon: so that they do make their repaire hither vnto vs this night, if it be possible, or at the least to morow before noone, and in the meane time to doe what as appertaineth vnto your duetie for ours and our sayd vncles defence against all such as attempt any conspiracie or enterprise of violence against vs our sayd Vncle, & as you knowe best for our preservation and defence at thys present. Geuen vnder our Signet at our Honor of Hampton Court, the sixte of October the thirde yeare of oure raigne.

You shall farther geue credite to our trustie and welbeloued Owen Cleydon, the bearer heereof, in all such things as hee shall further declare vnto you on the behalfe of vs and our said vncle the Lord Protectour.

Edward Somerset.

This Letter of the king and of the Lorde Protectoure was not so secretly deuised, nor so speedily sente, but the Lordes keeping at London, had knowledge immediately thereof (by the meanes, as some suppose, of the Lorde Paget, who was then with the King and the Protectour, but the truth

the Lorde knoweth) being there ready furnished with their owne bandes of seruing men, and other souldiours and men of armes.

Who forthwith vpon the same addressed their letters in semblable wise to the sayd Lorde Maior and Aldermen, in the kings name, not onely for supportation of armed men to serue their purposes, and for a sufficient watche to fortifie their Citie, but also that they should not obey any suche letters, Proclamations, or Iniunctions sent to them from the Duke. Which letter of the Lordes at the same instante came likewise to the Lorde Maior and his brethren, the 6. day of the sayde moneth of Octob. The tenour and copie of which letter heere ensueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of London.

AFTER our right hearty commendations vnto your good Lordshippe: knowing your heartie fauour and earnest zeales to the preseruacion of the person of the kings Maiestie & of this realme, and other his maiesties realmes and dominions, we haue thought good to aduertise you, that notwithstanding all the good aduice and Counsell that wee coulde geue to the Duke of Somerset, to staye him selfe wythin reasonable limites, and to vse hys gouernement nowe in the tender age of hys Maiestie, in suche sorte as myght tende to his highnesse suretie, to the conseruation of hys estate, and to his honour: the sayde Duke neuerthelesse still continuing in his pride, couetousnes, and ambition: ceaseth not daily by all the waies and meanes he can deuise, to enriche him selfe without measure, and to impouerish his Maiestie.

Hee buildeth in foure or fiue places moste sumptuously, and leaueth the poore souldiours vnpaid of their wages, vnuictualled, and in all things so vnfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonor that euer came to the king & this realme, doe declare. Hee soweth daily diuision betweene the Nobles and Gentlemen, and the Commons. Hee rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those that were Captaines of the Commons in these late insurrections: and finally in suche wise subuerteth all lawes, iustice, and good order (as it is euident) that putting hys trust in the Commons, and perceiuing that the Nobles and Gentlemen shoulde be an impediment to him in his deuilish purposes, hee laboureth first to haue them destroyed, and thinketh after easily enough to atchieue his desire, which it appeareth plainly, is to occupie the kings Maiesties place: For his doings, who soeuer list to beholde them, doe manifestly declare, that hee mindeth neuer to render account to his Maiestie of his proceedings.

These thinges, with many moe too long to recite, considered, wee pondered wyth our selues, that either wee muste trauaile for some reformation, or wee must in effecte as it were consent with him to the destruction of oure soueraigne Lorde and Countrey. Whereuppon laying apart all respectes, and resting onely vppon our dueties, wee ioyned in Counsell, and thought quietly to haue treated the matter with him. Who perceiuing that we ioyned for the king, and woulde haue suche order as might be for the suertie of his Maiesties persone, and the common wealth, strait put him selfe in force, and resteth at plaine poynt (as it appeareth) eyther to goe through with his detestable purpose, in sorte as hee hath done, or to trie it by the sworde.

Nowe, for as much as we see presently, that vnlesse there be a reformation, the persone of the kings Maiestie is in moste certaine daunger, and this Realme our naturall Countrey lyke to be destroyed wyth all our posterities, like as we haue againe fully resolved wyth Gods helpe, eyther to deliuer the kings Maiestie and the realme from this extreeme ruine and destruction, or to spend our liues for the declaration of our faithfull hearts and dueties: so knowing your heartie good willes and trouth to his Maiestie, and therefore nothing doubting of your readinesse to ioyne with vs in our godly purpose, wee thoughte good to lette you knowe the very trouth of our enterprise, and in the kings Maiesties behalfe to require you, not onely to putte good and substantiall order for watche and warde, but also to haue an earnest continuall regarde to the preseruacion within your City, of all harneis, weapons, and munitions, so as none be suffered to be conueyed to the sayde Duke, nor any others attending about him: and besides that, you from hencefoorth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandements to be sent from the sayd Duke. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily fare well.

From London, the sixt of October.

Your Lordships assured louing frendes.

- Will. Saint Iohn.
- W. Northampt.
- Iohn Warwike.
- Arundell.
- Th. Southampton.
- William Peter.
- Edward North.
- Iohn Gage.
- Rich. Southwell.

After the receiuinge of these two Letters aboue mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the Lordes,* whyche came both at one instaunte, wyth contrarye commaundement to the Lorde Maior and Citizens of London, the case seemed harde to them, and very doubtfull (as it was in deede) what waye to take, and what were best for the Citizens to doe. On the one side the name and authority of the king was much, on the other side the power and garrisons of the Lordes, lyinge then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be suche, as would haue no repulse.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the Recorder it was requested,* that the Citizens would graunt their aide rather vnto the Lords, for that the Protectour had abused both the kings maiestie, and the whole Realme, & that without he were taken from the king, and made to vnderstande his follie, this Realme was in great hazard, and therfore required that the citizens would willingly assent to ayd the Lordes with 500. men.

Hereunto of a great parte of the Common Counsaile, was no other answeare made but silence. But the Recorder (who at that time was M. Brooke) still cryed vppon them for aunswere.* At the last stepped vp a wise and a good Citizen named George Stadlowe, and sayde:

In thys case, it is good for vs to thinke of things past, to auoyde the daunger of thynges to come. I remember (sayeth he) in a storie wrytten in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betweene the King

and his Barons, which was in the time of king Henry the thirde, & the same time the Barons (as our Lordes do now) demaunded aide of the Maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for y^e execution of diuers good lawes against y^e king, which would not suffer those lawes [Page 1370](#) to be put in execution: and the citie did aide them, & it came to an open battel, and the Lordes preuailed against y^e king, and tooke the king and sonne prisoners,* and vpon certaine conditions the Lordes restored the kinge and his sonne againe to their liberties, & among all other conditions thys was one, that the king should not only graunt his pardon to the lordes, but also to the citizens of London: the which was graunted, yea and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what folowed of it? Was it forgottē? No sure^{ly}, nor forgeuen neither, during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken away, straungers appoynted to be our heads and gouernours, the Citizens geuen away body and goods, and from one persecution to an other wer most miserably afflicted. Such is it to enter into the wrath of a Prince, as Salomon sayeth: The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death. Wherefore, for as much as this aide is required of the kinges Maiestie,* whose voyce wee ought to hearken vnto, for he is our high Shepehearde, rather then vnto the Lordes, and yet I woulde not wishe the Lordes to be clearely shaken off: my counsell is, that they wyth vs, and we with them maye ioyne in sute, and make our moste humble petition to the kings maiestie, that it would please his highnes to heare such complaint against the gouernement of the Lorde Protectoure, as maye be iustly alleaged and prooued, and I doubte not, but thys matter will be so pacified, that neither shal the king, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to seeke for further aide, neither we to offende any of them both.

After this tale the Commons stayed, and the Lorde Maior and his brethren for that time brake vppe, till they had further communed wyth the Lordes. To make short, I lette passe what order by the Citie was taken.* But the conclusion was, that the Lordes (vppon what occasion I knowe not) sate the next daye in Counsaile in the Starre chamber, & from thence sente sir Philip Hobby wyth theyr letter of credence to the kings maiestie, beseeching his maiestie to geue credit to that which the sayd sir Philip should declare vnto his maiestye in their names: and y^e king gaue him liberty to speake, and most gently heard all that he had to say. Who so hādled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the Lords, that in the end the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kings presence,* & shortly was committed to warde in a tower within the castle of Windsore, called Bewchamp Tower, and soone after were stayed sir Tho. Smith, maister Whalley, master Fisher, & many other gentlemen that attended vpon the Lorde Protectour. The same day the Lordes of the Counsaile resorted to the Kinge, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector, and the other that were there stayed, and conueyed them through the Citie of London vnto the Tower, and there left them.

Shortlye after the Lordes resorted vnto the Tower, and there charged the Lorde Protectour with sundry articles, as follow.

Articles obiected against the Lord Protectour.

1 IN primis, you tooke vppon you the office of Protectour and Gouernour, vpon condition expressly and specially, that you woulde doe nothinge in the kinges affaires, publicly or priuately, but by the assent of the late kinges executors.

2 Also you, contrary to the sayde condition, of your owne authority, did stay and let iustice, and subuerted the lawes, as wel by your letters, as by your commaundements.

3 Also, you caused diuers persones being arested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felonie, to be discharged and set at large, against the kings lawes, and statutes of this realme.

4 Also, you haue made and ordained Lieutenants for the kings armies & other weighty affaires, vnder your owne wryting and seale.

5 Also, you haue communed with the Ambassadors of other Realmes, discoursing alone with them the waighty causes of this Realme.

6 Also you haue sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well priuately as openly, diuers of the kings moste honourable Counsaillours, for shewing & declaring theyr aduises and opinions against your purposes in the kings waightye affaires, sayinge sometimes to them, that you neede not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwise aduised: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinyon, put them oute, and take other at your pleasure.

7 Also, you had and helde against the lawe in your owne house, a Courte of Requestes, and thereby did enforce diuers the kinges subiectes to answeare for their free holdes and goodes, and determined the same to the subuersion of the same lawes.

8 Also, you being no Officer, without the aduise of the Counsaile, or the more part of them, did dispose of the Offices of the kings gift, for money, and graunted leases and Wardes of the kings, and gaue presentations to the kings benefices & bishoprikes, hauing no authority so to do. And farther, you did meddle with the selling of y^e kings landes.

9 Also, you commaunded Multiplication and Alcumistry to be practised, to abuse the kings coyne.

10 Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, wherby the common people haue made diuers insurrections, & leuied open warre, and distre•ed & spoyled diuers of the kings subiects, which proclamation went forth against the wil of the whole counsaile.

11 Also, you haue caused a commission, with certaine articles thereunto annexed, to be made our concerning enclosures of commons, high wayes, decaying of cottages, and diuers other things, geuing the Commissioners authority to heare and determine the same causes, to the subuersion of the lawes and statutes of this realme: whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, haue risen and growen among the kings subiects.

12 Also, you haue suffered the rebels and traitours to assemble and to lie in campe and armor against the king, his Nobles and gentlemen, without any speedye subduing or repressing of them.

13 Also you did comfort and encourage diuers of the sayde rebelles, by geuing of them diuers summes o• your owne mony, and by promising to diuers of them, sees▪ rewards, and seruices.

14 Also, you in fauour of the sayde rebels, did againste the lawes, cause a Proclamation to be made, y^t none of the said rebels or traitors shuld be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion, to the clear subuersion of the same lawes.

15 Also, you haue sayd in the time of the rebellion, that you liked wel the doings and proceedings of the sayde rebelles and traitors, and sayde, that the couetousnes of the gentlemen gaue occasion to the common people to rise: sayinge also, that better it were for the Commons to die, then pearish for lacke of liuing.

16 Also, you saide that the Lordes of the parlamente were loth to encline themselues to reformatiō of enclosures and other things: therfore the people had good cause to reforme the things them selues.

17 Also, you after the reporte and declaration of the defaultes and lackes reported to you by suche as did suruey Bulleine and the Peeces there, woulde neuer amende the same defaultes.

18 Also, you would not suffer the kings peeces beyōd the seas, called Newhauen, & Blacknest to be furnished wyth men and vitales, although you were aduertised of the defaults therin by the captaines of the same peeces & others, & were thereto aduertised by the kings Counsaile: wherby the French king being the kings open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to inuade and win the sayd peeces, to the kings great losse, and dishonor of his realme.

19 Also, you declared and published vntruely, as well to the kings maiestie, and other the young Lordes attendant vpon his graces persone, that the Lordes of the Counsaile at London, minded to destroy the king, & you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewise you required the yong Lordes to put the king in remembrance therof, to the entent to make sedition, and discord betwene the king and his Lordes.

20 Also, where the kinges Maiesties priuie Counsaile, of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the king & his Realme, did consulte at London to haue communed wyth you, to the entent to mooue you charitablie to amend your doings and misgouernment, you hearing of their sayd assembly, did cause to be declared by letters in diuers places, the said Lordes to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realme.

And thus muche hitherto concerning the first trouble of the Lorde Protectoure, Duke of Somersette,* wyth the crimes and articles obiected against him, with his prisonment also in the Tower, and the terrible proclamatiō geuen out against hym. All which purposes of man, though they seemed fully intended to no lesse, but to the spilling of his life: yet the Lorde aboue, the onely disposer of all mens purposes,* so ordered the matter by the meanes of the kinge labouring for his Uncle, that in short while after, hee was lette out of the Tower, and the Proclamation, whyche before had made hym a traitor, wythin three dayes was called in agayne, a Domino factum est istud,) wyth commaundement geuen, none of them to be solde. And so the Duke of Somerset graciously escaping thys aduersitie, was againe [Page 1371](#) restored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie: wherein he continued the space of two yeares and two dayes.

After the which time of respite being expired, the sayde Duke of Somerset was apprehended & committed againe to the Tower,* and wyth him also Sir Michael Stanhop, sir Raufe Uane, sir Miles Partridge, & other. &c. At length the time being come of his arrainment, the foresayde good Duke being conueied from the Tower, was brought thorow London with the axe of the tower before him, & wyth great preparance of bils, halbardes, pikes, and polaxes, in most forcible wise: a watch also sette and appoynted before euery mans doore through the hie streat of London,* and so was he brought into Westminster hal, where the Lords of the counsaile sitting as his iudges in the middle of the hal, vpon a newe scaffold, he was there before them arrayned and charged both with treason and felonie.

In the whiche iudgement, I passe ouer the vnseemely speech, the vile taunts, and despiteful rebukes, without all modesty or honesty,* vsed by certaine of the Sergeants and Iustices, and some other sitting there. Al which notwithstanding he patiently & quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomacke, nor reuiling them with woordes againe: but like a lambe folowing the true lambe, & example of all meekenes, was contēted to take al things at their handes, and with no lesse patience to beare now theyr vngentle and cruell railings,* then hee did before their glauering wordes and flatterings in time of his high estate and prosperitie. And as the patience of this good Duke was marueilous in forbearing his ennemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no lesse seene in answearing for himself to the articles to him objected: wherunto he wisely and substantially replied,* putting himselfe in the ende to be tried by his Peeres. Who then at length after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus, that as concerning y^e case of treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guiltie of fellonie. When the people (which were there present to a great nōber) hearde the Lordes say, Not guiltie, (meaning by the case of treason) supposing no lesse, but y^t he had bene clearly acquitted by these woordes,* and especially seeing the Axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great ioy and gladnesse made an outcrie, well declaring theyr louing affection and hearty fauour vnto the Duke, whose life they greatly desired. But thys opinion of the people was deceiued, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for felonie. Which act of felonie had bene made a litle before against the rebels, and vnlawfull assembles, suche as shoulde seeke or procure the death of any Counsaillour,* so that euery suche attempt and procurement, according to the act, should be iudged felony. By the vertue of whych Act, the Duke being accused, with certaine other hys complices, to intende and purpose the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, and of certayne beside,* was therfore caste and condemned of felonie, and so was returned toward the Tower againe.

At whose passage throughe the Citie, greate exclamations and outcries were made againe of the people,* some reioycing y^t hee was acquitted, some bewayling that hee was condemned.

Thus the good Duke passing through a great parte of the Citie, landinge at the Crane of the Uinetrie, was conueyed vnto the Tower, where hee endured till the 22. of Ianuary. Upon the which day at the comminge downe of the letter of execution from the Kinge and the Counsaile, the foresayde Duke and Uncle to the Kyng, beinge founde no traitour, onely being caste by the Acte of Fellonye, was deliuered vnto the Sheriffes, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution, a few words here woulde be bestowed in describing the wonderful order and maner thereof, according as it hath faithfully ben suggested to vs vppon the credite of a

certaine noble Personage, who not onely was there present at the deede doing, but also in a maner next vnto him vpon the scaffolde, beholding the order of all things with his eies, and with his penne also reporting the same in order and maner as here foloweth.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1552. the 22. day of Ianuary, in the sixte yeare of the raigne of king Edward the sixte, he being yet vnder age and gouernaunce of Tutours: the noble Duke of Somersette, vncle to kynge Edward, was brought out of the tower of London, and accordinge to the maner, deliuered to the Sheriffes of the Citie: and compassed round about w^t a great number of armed men, both of the garde and others, he was brought vnto the scaffolde on Tower hill: where as hee nothing chaunging neyther voyce nor countenance, but in a maner with the same gesture whych he commonly vsed at home, kneeling downe vppon both his knees, and lifting vpp his handes, commended himselfe vnto God.

After that he had ended a fewe short prayers, standing vp againe, and turning him selfe towarde the East side of the Scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed vnto me standing about the middest of the Scaffold, and diligently marking all things,) neither with the sight of the axe,* neyther yet of the hangman, or of present death: but wyth the like alacritie and chearefulnesse of minde and countenance as before times he was accustomed to heare the causes and Supplication of other, and especially the poore (towardes whom, as it were with a certaine fatherly loue to his children, he alwaies shewed himselfe moste attentiu) he vttered these wordes to the people.

Dearly beloued frendes,* I am broughte hither to suffer death, albeit that I neuer offended against the king, nether by word nor dede, and haue bene alwaies as faithful & true vnto this Realme, as any man hath bene. But for somuch as I am by a lawe condemned to die, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as others to bee subiecte thereunto. Wherefore to testifie my obedience whiche I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death: wherunto I willingly offer my selfe, with most hearty thanks vnto God, that hath geuen me this time of repentaunce, who myght thorowe sodaine death haue taken away my life, that neyther I should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.

Moreouer (dearly beloued frendes) there is yet somewhat that I must put you in minde of as touchinge Christian religion: which so long as I was in authoritie, I alwayes diligently sette foorth and furthered to my power. Neither I repent me of my doinges, but reioyce therein, sith that now the state of Christian religion commeth most neare vnto the forme and order of the Primitiue Church.* Which thing I esteeme as a great benefite geuen of God, both vnto you and me: most hartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth vnto you, you wil with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your liuing. Which thing if you do not, wythout doubt, greater mischiefe and calamitie wil folow.

When he had spoken these wordes,* sodainely there was a terrible noise heard: whereupon there came a great feare on al men. This noise was as it had bene the noise of some great storm or tempest, which vnto some semed to be heard from aboue: like as if a great deale of gunpouder being inclosed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violently broken out. But vnto some againe, it seemed as though it had ben a great multitude of horsemen running together, or comming vppon them. Suche a noyse was then in the eares of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it hapned, that all the people being amased wythout any euident cause, wythout any

violence or stroke stricken, or any man seene, they ran away, some into y^e ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabout: other some being afraide with the horroure and noyse, fell downe groueling vnto the ground w^t their polaxes and halbards, & most part of them cried oute: Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those whyche tarried still in their places, for feare knewe not where they were. And I my selfe which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly burly, stode stil altogether amased, looking when any man woulde knocke me in the head. It hapned heere, as the Euangelists write, it dyd vnto Christ, when as the officers of the high Priestes and Phariseis comming wyth weapons to take him, being astonied, ran backwardes, and fell to the ground.

In the meane time,* whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthony Broune riding vnto the scaffold: which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger had sent hys vncle pardone: and therfore with great reioysing & casting vp their cappes, they cried out, Pardon, pardone is come: God saue the king. Thus this good Duke, although hee was destitute of all mans helpe,* yet he sawe before hys departure, in how great loue & fauour he was with all men. And truely I doe not thinke, that in so great slaughter of Dukes as hath bene in England within these few yeares, there was so many weeping eyes at one time: and not w^tout cause. For all men did see in the decay of this Duke, the publike ruine of al england, except such as in dede did perceiue nothing. But now to returne from whence we haue strayed, the Duke in the meane time standing stil in y^e same place, modestly and with a graue coūtenance, made a signe to the people w^t his hand, that they woulde kepe themselues quiet. Which thing being done, & silence obtained, he spake vnto them in this maner.

Dearely beloued frendes,* there is no such matter heere in hande, as you vainely hope or beleue. It seemeth thus good vnto almighty God, whose ordinance it is meete and [Page 1372](#) necessary that we all be obedient vnto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer: and let vs now ioyne in praier vnto the Lord, for the preseruacion of the Kings Maiestie, vnto whome hitherto I haue alwaies shewed my selfe a most faithfull and true subiecte. I haue alwayes bene most diligent about his Maiestie in his affayres both at home and abroad, and no lesse diligent in seeking the common commoditie of the whole Realme. At whyche words all the people cried out, and said, it was most true.

*Then the Duke proceeding, said: Unto whose Maiestie I wish continuall health, with all felicitie & all prosperous successe. Whereunto the people againe cryed out, Amen.

Moreouer, I do wishe vnto all his Counsaylours the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule in all things vprightly with iustice. Unto whome I exhort you all in the Lord, to shew your selues obedient, as it is your bounden duety, vnder the payne of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preseruacion and safegarde of the Kings Maiestie.

Moreouer, for so much as heeretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men,* & hard it is to please euery man, therfore if there be any that hath ben offended & iniured by me, I most humbly require & aske him forgeuenes: but especially almighty God, whome throughout all my life I haue most greeuously offended: and all other, whatsoeuer they be that haue offended me, I do with my whole hart forgeue them. Now I once againe require you, dearly beloued in the Lord,

that you wil keepe your selues quiete and still, least through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirite be willing and ready, the flesh is fraile and wauering: and through your quietnesse I shall be much more quieter.* Moreouer, I desire you all to beare me witnes, that I dye heere in the fayth of Iesus Christ: desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I may perseuere constant in the same vnto my liues end.

After this, hee turning himselfe agayne aboute like a meeke lambe,* kneeled down vpon his knees. Then doctor Coxe, which was there present to counsell and aduertise him, deliuered a certaine scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a briefe confession vnto God. Which being read, he stode vp againe vpon his feete, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bad the Sheriffes farewel, then the Lieutenant of the Tower and other, taking them all by the handes which were vpon the scaffold with hym. Then he gaue the Hangman certaine money. Which done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe againe in the straw, vntied his shyrt strings. After that, the hangman comming vnto him, turned downe his coller round about his necke, and al other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting vp his eyes to heauen, where his only hope remained, and couering his face with his owne handkercher, he layd himselfe downe along, shewing no maner of token of trouble or feare, neyther did his countenance chaunge, but that before his eyes were couered, there began to appeare a red colour in the midst of his cheekes.

Thus this most meeke and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet couered his necke, he was cōmaunded to rise vp and put it off: and then laying himselfe downe againe vpon the blocke,* and calling thrise vpon the name of Iesus saying: Lord Iesu saue mee, as he was the thyrd tyme repeating the same, euen as the name of Iesu was in vttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head & life, & slept in the Lord Iesus, being taken away from all the daungers and euils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whose truth and Gospell he alwaies shewed himselfe an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath receyued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle Reader, thou hast the true history of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lye.

As touching the maners, disposition, life, and conuersation of the said Duke and the Kings vncke, what shall we neede to speake, when as he can not be sufficiently commēded, according to the dignitie of his vertues? There was alwaies in him great humanitie, and suche meekenes and gentlenes, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to geue care vnto the cōplaints and supplicatiōs of the poore,* & no lesse attentiuē vnto the affaires of the cōmon wealth. Which if he had liued together wyth king Edward, was like to do much good in reforming many misorders within this realme. He was vtterly ignorāt of al craft and deceit, and as farre void of all pride and ambition, as he was frō doing of iniury, being indeede vtterly voyd of both. He was of a gentle dispositiō, not coueting to be reuenged: more apt & ready to be deceiued, then to deceiue. His auncient loue & zeale of the Gospell & of religion he brought with him to the state of this his dignitie. The prooffe whereof sufficiently was seene in his constant standing to gods truth, and zealous defence therof,* against the Bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincolne, London, and others moe, in the Consultation had at Windsore, the first yeare of the kinges raigne.

Briefly, considering the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as seemeth) not vnaptly compare and resemble him vnto Duke Humfrey, the good Duke of Glocester. Who likewise being vncler vnto king Henry 6. and Protector of the Realme (as this was also to king Edw. the 6.) yet he wanted not his enemies and priuy enueyers especially Henry Beauford Cardinal, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellour of England: * who at that time disdayning and enuying the rule and authoritie of thys Duke, procured much trouble agaynst him, and great deuision in the whole realme, in so much that all the Shops within the Cittie of London were shutte in, for feare of the fauourers of these two great personages: For ech part had assembled no small number of people.

For pacifying wherof the Archbishop of Caunterbury and the Duke of Quimber, called the Prince of Portugale, rode eight times in one day betwene the two aduersaries. Such were then the troubles of these tumultuous diuision within the realme, betweene these two: * as is before expressed, pag. 679. not much vnlike to y^e troublesome discord betwixt parties in this Protector's dayes. And as in their afflictions and troubles, these two Dukes seemed not much vnlike, so in matters of religion, and in discerning truth from falshood, their zeale seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the Gospell did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this latter Duke (the Lord be prayesd therfore) yet the wisdom and towardnes of y^e other Duke also touching the same, was not vtterly vnworthy of his commendation. * For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doinges, we may take for example the prudent and famous acte of that noble Duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and popish hipocrisie of the blinde begger at S. Albons mentioned in his story before, pag. 679. For the whiche cause, and for his dilligent studye in reforming that and such other blinde abuses of fayned Religion, he was the more hated of the spirituality, and suche as Winchester then was.

Finally, as thys Lorde Protector Duke of Somerset the kinges vncler, by certayne of the Counsaile was then accused, arraigned & cōdemned for the trespasse (as it was geuen forth) of felonie (although I neuer heard he murdered or robbed any) so the other vncler of king Henry the 6. was made away. * Of whose decease thus writeth Mayster W. Tindall in his practise of Prelaets: At y^e last they found the meanes to contriue a drift to bring their matters to passe & made a Parliamēt far from the Citizens of Londō, where was slayne the sayd good Duke, & the onely wealth of the Realme, and y^e mighty shield which so long had kept it from sorowe, which shortly after his death fell vpon thē by heapes. But the Chronicles (sayth he) cannot tel wherfore he dyed, nor by what meanes. Neuertheles, this they testifie, that he was a vertuous man, godly and good to the common wealth.

But to leaue Duke Humfrey, and to return to the maners and vertues of the Duke of Somerset, whiche before we were about to describe: as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, so was he no lesse fortunate a Captain in warfare abroad. * Under whose gouernment & guidyng not onely diuers rebellious commotions were happily suppressed here at home, but also abroad in the expedition of Scotland such a victory was geuen him of God, that w^t the losse scarce of sixe hundred of his own men, there were of the enemies as good, or little lesse then x. thousand slayn and put to flight, and euen the very same day and tyme in the which all the Idolatrous Images were here burnt at London. And yet al these warres notwithstanding, wherunto he was agaynst his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly geuen to peace, as may be seene by the

sweete and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in print before, and sent to the realme of Scotland.

But as there is nothing in this worlde so perfect in all respectes, which is not blotted or darckned with some spot of vice adioyned withal: so amongst the manifold commēdations of this Duke, one thinge there was too, whiche both desteyned his honour and estimation much, and also more empayred and hindered his owne life & safety: which was, that he in condescending to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the perswasion of certayne, whosoever they were: for that matter lacked not perchaunce some singular fetche and pollicie of some, more craftely then godly disposed persons, as many good men haue supposed.

But what soever of that matter is to be deemed, credible, [Page 1373](#) it is, that the said Duke in suffering or procuring this death of his brother, not only endamaged himselfe, & weakened his own power, but also prouoked the chastisement of Gods scourge and rod, which did so light vpon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord Henry Earle of Surrey, who suffered also at the Tower next before the Lord Admirall, the Lorde Protectours brother, because the casting of him was so neare to the death of King Henry: [*](#) as I know not vpon whome, or what cause the same did proceede, so I passe it ouer and leaue it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the Duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other vices and vertues were, this is certayne, that his ende (the Lord so working wyth him) was constant in Christes truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

Moreouer, on the xxvj. day of February, in the same yeare was sir Rafe Uane, [*](#) sir Miles Partrige both hāged at the Tower hill: And sir Michaell Stanhop, & sir Thomas Arundell beheaded vpon the scaffold: all which four were condemned by the saide Acte of vnlawfull assemblie, and as accessaries vnto the Duke of Somerset.

Not long after the death of the Duke of Somerset, in the next yeare folowing deceased the King himselfe about the moneth of Iune, whereof more shall be said (the Lord graunting) in his due order and course heereafter. In the meane season, before we come to close vp the latter end and story of this good King, the place heere present seemeth not vnfitte to intermixt by the way a few other things before, [*](#) hapning within the time of his reigne, namely concerning matters incident, of the Church & of Religiō. Which state of Religion begā wel to grow, & to come happely forward during this Kings daies, had not the vnhappy troubles of the outward state amongst the Lords not agreeing within themselues, disquieted the good towardnes of things begon. But the malice of the diuell how subtilly worketh it, if men could see it? So long as the Lordes agreed in concord among themselues, Winchester and Boner, with all that faction, was cut short, and began to condescend to good cōformitie. But afterward perceauing the states and nobles of the Realme to be amōg themselues diuided, and y^e Lord Protectour the Kings vncle displaced, and his brother the Admirall before beheaded, and the yong King now left in that case, they begā vpon some hope to take more hart vnto them, [*](#) till at last it came to passe, as they themselues desired. And thus though nothing else will leade vs, yet experience may teach vs what discorde worketh in publicke weales: and contrary, what a necessary thing concord is to the aduancemēt especially of Gods matters appertaining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings daies be not farre to

seeke. For as touching the successe of the Gospell of peace,* while publicke peace and the Gospel did ioine together, marueilous it was how errour & Popery were in themselues confounded, and ashamed almost to shewe their faces. In so much that then both Doctour Smith, Chadsey, Standishe, Yong, Oglethorpe, with many moe recanted their former ignoraunce, whose recantations I haue to shew. Boner then with his owne hand subscribed to the Kings supremacie, and promoted his Iniunctions.

The same also did Steuen Gardiner, subscribing wyth his owne hand to the first booke of the Kings proceedings,* and no doubt had done no lesse to the second booke also set foorth by the King, had not the vnfortunate discorde fallen amongst the nobles in time so vnfortunate, as then it did. Brieflye during all that time of peace and concorde, what Papist was found in all the Realme, which for the Popes deuotion would or did once put his necke in the halter to die a Martyr for his sake?

I shewed before how in these peaceable dayes of Kyng Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius,* with other learned men moe, were entertained, placed and prouided for in the two Uniuersities of this Realme, Oxford and Cambridge, who there with their diligent industrie did much good. The learned and fruitfull disputations of whome, I haue likewise present in my handes heere to insert, but that the bignes of this Uolume driueth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin, and require of themselues a whole Uolume to comprehend thē.

First, Peter Martyr beeing called by the King to the publicke reading of the Diuinitie Lecture in Oxforde,* amōgst his other learned exercises did set vp in the publicke scholes iij. conclusions of Diuinitie to be disputed & tryed by Argument. At whiche disputations were present the Kings visitours, to witte, Henry Byshop of Lincolne, Doctour Coxe Chauncellour of that Uniuersitie, Doctour Haynes Deane of Exeter, M. Richard Morison Esquier; Christopher Neuynton Doctour of Ciuill law. The conclusions propounded were these.

1. In the Sacrament of thankes geuing there is no transubstantiation of bread and wyne into the body and bloud of Christ.
2. The body and bloud of Christ is not carnally or corporally in bread and wine, nor as other vse to say, vnder the kindes of bread and wine.
3. The body and bloud of Christ be vnited to bread and wyne Sacramentally.

They which were the chiefe disputers against hym on the contrary side, were Doct. Tresham, D. Chadsey,* and Morgan. The reasons and principall Arguments of Peter Martyr heereunder follow.

¶The Arguments of Peter Martyr vpon the first conclusion.

- The Scriptures most plainely do name and acknowledge bread and wyne.* In the Euangelistes we reade that the Lord Iesus tooke bread, blessed it, brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples. S. Paule likewise doth oftentimes make mention of bread.

- Ergo, we also with the scriptures ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the sacrament.

Cyprianus.

As in the person of Christ, his humanitie was seene outwardlye, and his Diuinitie was secret within: * so in the visible Sacrament the diuinitie inserteth it selfe in such sort as can not be vttered, that our deuotion about the Sacraments might be the more religious.

Ergo, as in the person of Christ: so in the Sacramente both the natures ought still to remaine.

Gelasius.

The Sacramentes which we receaue of the body and bloud of Christ, are a Diuine matter: by reason whereof, * we are made partakers by the same, of his Diuine nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and bloud of Christ, be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

Augustinus.

As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, when as he is true God, and true man. * For euery thing conteyneth in it selfe the nature and veritie of those things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the Sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is signified, &c.

Theodoretus.

These visible mysteries which are seene, he hath honored with the name of his body and bloud, not chaunging the nature, * but adding grace vnto nature, &c. And the same Theodoretus againe sayeth:

Those mysticall sacraments after sanctification, do not passe out of theyr owne proper nature, but remayne still in their former substance, figure, and shape, &c.

Ergo, lyke as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not chaunged into his diuinitie: so in the sacrament the bread is not chaunged into the body, but both the substances remaine whole.

Origine.

If whatsoeuer entreth into the mouth, goeth downe into the belly, and so passeth through a man: * euen that meate also which is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath materiall within it, passeth into the belly, and so voydeth through a man. But thorough prayer, which is adioined to it, according to the measure of faith, it is profitable and effectuall, &c. And he addeth moreouer: For it is not the outward matter of the bread, but the word that is spoken vpon it, that profiteth him which eateth him worthely, &c.

Irenaeus.

Iesus taking bread of the same condition which is after vs,*(that is, taking bread of the same nature and kinde as we vse commonly to eate) did confesse it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup which is of the same creature which is after vs, (that is, which we commonly vse to drinke) confessed it to be his bloud, &c.

Item, lib. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth,* receauing the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heauenly: so our bodies receauing the sacred Eucharist, be now not corruptible, hauing hope of resurrection, &c.

¶Argument.

- Ba- The bread in the Sacrament is so chaunged into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made vncorruptible by hope.
- ro- But our bodies are not made incorruptible by chaunging their substance.
- co. Ergo, no more is the bread changed into the substance of the body.

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Gregory.

Notwithstanding, whether we take leauened or vnleauened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Sauour, &c.

¶Argument.

- Da- Where bread leauened or vnleauened is taken, there is substance of bread, and not accidences only.
- *ri- In the Sacrament bread is receaued either leauened or vnleauened:
- j. Ergo, in the Sacrament is substaunce of bread and not accidences onely.

¶Argument.

- Ba- The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is vnsensible in operation.
- ro- Accidences only of bread haue no figure of roundnes:
- co. Ergo, the body of Christ is not named of accidences, but of very bread substantiall.

¶Argument.

- The wordes of the Euangelist speaking of that whyche Christ tooke, blessed, brake, and gaue, do importe it to be bread, and nothing else but bread.
- Ergo, the substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chrisostome.

Christ in bread and wyne sayde: do this in remembraunce of me.*

Cyrillus.

He gaue to them peeces or fragments of bread.

*Also the same Cyrill sayth: In bread we receaue his precious body and his bloud in wyne.

Ergo, by these Doctours it remaineth bread after consecration.

Ambrose.

Before the blessing of the heauenly words, it is called another kynde of thyng. After consecration the body of Christ is signified.

¶Arguments of Peter Martyr disputing with M. Chadsey vpon the first question.

- Da- The Analogie and resemblaunce betwene the Sacrament and the thing signified, must euer be kept in all Sacraments.
- ti- In the Sacrament of the Lordes body, this Analogie or resemblaunce can not be kept, if bread be transubstantiated:
- si. Ergo, the substance of bread must needes remayne in the Sacrament of the Lords body.

The Maior of this Argument is certaine by S. Austen, Lib. De catechisandis rudibus,* & Epist. ad Dardan. Where hee sayeth: Sacramentes must needes beare a similitude of those thyngs whereof they are Sacramentes, or else they can be no Sacramentes.

The Minor is thus proued.

¶Argument.

- Ba- The resemblaunce betweene the Sacrament and the body of Christ is this:* that as the properties of bread and wyne do nourish outwardly: so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.
- ro- Without the substaunce of bread and wine, there is no resemblaunce of nourishing.
- co. Ergo, without the substaunce of bread and wyne, the Analogie can not hold.

¶Argument.

- Ba- Agayne, another resemblaunce and similitude or Analogie of this Sacramente is this, that as one loafe of bread, and one cuppe of wine containeth many cornes and many grapes: so the mysticall congregation cōteineth many members, and yet maketh but one bodie:
- ro- Without the substance of bread & wine, no such resemblaunce or similitude of cōiunction can be represented:
- co. Ergo, without the substaunce of bread and wyne, the Analogie of this spirituall coniunction can not holde.

¶Another Argument.

- Ba- Euery Sacrament consisteth in two thynges, that is, in the thing signifieng, and the thing signified.
- ro- Without the substance of bread and wine, there is nothing that signifieth in the Sacrament:
- co. Ergo, the substaunce of bread and wyne in the Sacramente, can in no wise be transubstantiate from theyr natures. The Minor is thus to be proued.

- Fes- There is no signification in any Sacrament without the element.
- •i- The substaunce of bread and wine is the elemente of this Sacrament:
- •o. Ergo, without the substaunce of bread and wine, there is no similitude nor signification in this Sacrament.

And for somuch as the aduersaries ground their transubstantiation so much vpon these wordes of Christ: This is my body: which they expound onely after y^e litteral sense,* without troupe or figure: now that this their exposition is false, and that the sayde woordes are to be taken figuratiuely and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proued. 1. First by the wordes of the Scripture. 2. By the nature of a Sacrament. 3. By the testimonies of the fathers.

1. First by these wordes of the scripture, where he sayth: Doe this in remembraunce of mee, for so muche as remembraunce properly serueth not for thinges corporally presēt, but for thinges rather being absent.

2. Secondly, where he saith: Vntill I come.* Which words were vayne, if he were already come by consecration.

3. Thirdly, where S. Paule sayth: The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Which words of breaking in no case can be verified vppon the body of Christ, which for the glory thereof is vnpossible.

4. Furthermore where as the Lord biddeth thē to take and eate, it is euident, that the same cannot be vnderstand simply of the body of Christ without a trope, forsomuch as he cannot be eaten and chawed with teeth, as we vse properly in eating other meates to doe.

5. The wordes moreouer of Luke and Paule spoken of the cuppe, doe argue likewise that the other words spoken of the bread must needes be taken mystically. As where it is sayd: This cup is the new testament: which woordes must needes be expounded thus: thys cup doth signifie the new Testament.

6. Item, these wordes of S. Iohn. chap. 6. My wordes be spirite and life. The flesh profiteth nothing &c.

7. Itē, where in the same place of S. Iohn, Christ to refell the carnal vnderstanding of the Capernaïtes of eating his body, maketh mention of his Ascension. &c.

The second cause why the wordes of Christ: *This is my body, cannot be litterally expounded without trope, is y^e nature of a sacrament: whose nature and propertie is to beare a signe or signification of a thinge to be remembred, which thing after the substantiall and reall presence, is absent. As touching which nature of a sacrament sufficiently hath bene sayd before. *

The third cause, why the woordes of consecration are figuratiuely to be taken, is the testimonie of the auncient Doctours.

Tertullianus. This is my body: that is to say, this is a figure of my body. *

August. Psal. 3. Christ gaue a figure of his body.

August. Contra Adamantum Manichaeum. He did not doubt to say: This is my body when he gaue a signe of his body.

Hieronimus. Christ represented vnto vs his body.

August. August. in his booke De Doctrina Christiana declareth expressely that this speache of eating the body of Christ, * is a figuratiue speach.

Ambrosius. As thou hast receaued the similitude of his death: so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.

¶Argument.

- Fe- The death of Christ is not present really in the sacrament but by similitude.
- ri- The precious blood of Christ is present in the Sacrament as his death is present: *
- o. Ergo, the precious blood of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament.

The Minor of this argument is proued before by the wordes of Ambrose.

The second question. Whether the body and blood of Christ be in the bread and wine, * or vnder the formes of bread and wine carnally and corporally.

¶Argument.

- Di- The true natural body of Christ is placed in heauen.
- sa- The true naturall body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is:
- mis. Ergo, the true naturall body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in heauen where he is.

The Maior is playne by the Scriptures: Iesus was taken vp to heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of God. *Math. 26 The poore ye haue alwayes with you, but me you shall not alwayes haue Iohn. 12. I leaue the world and go to my Father. Ioh. 16. Many shal say in that day: Loe here is Christ, *and there is Christ, beleue thē not, Mat. 24. Whō the heauē must receiue [Page 1375](#) for a time, vntill the restitution of all. Actes. 3. Seeke those things that are aboue, where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God, &c. Col. 3.

The Minor likewise is evident by S. Austen, who speaking of the glorified body of Christ,^{*} affirmeth the same to be in one certayne place, Propter veri corporis modum, that is, for the maner of a true body.

¶Argument.

- Da- Euery true naturall body requireth one certaine place. August.
- ri- Christes body is a true naturall body:
- j. Ergo, Christes body requireth one certayne place.

¶Argument.

- ^{*}Austen giueth not to the soule of Christ to be in mo places at once, but one. August ad Dardanum.
- Ergo, much lesse is it to be giuen to the body of Christ to be in mo places at once, but in one.

¶Argument.

- The nature of the Aungels is not to be in diuers places,^{*} but they are limited to occupy one certaine place at once. Basilius de spirit. sanct. cap. 22.
- Ergo, the body of Christ, being the true naturall body of a man, can not fill diuers places at one time.

¶Argument.

- Ba- Whatsoever is in many & diuers places at once is God▪
- ro- The body of Christ is not God but a creature:
- co. Ergo, the body of Christ can not be in moe places together.

¶Argument.

- Fes- We must not so defende the Diuinitie of Christ, that we destroy his humanitie. August.
- ti- If we assigne to the body of Christ pluralitie of places, we destroy his humanitie:
- no. Ergo, we must not assigne to the body of Christ pluralitie of places.

¶Argument.

- Fes- Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, can not be dispersed in mo places at once.
- ti- The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed:
- no. Ergo, the body of Christ is not dispersed in mo places at one time.

¶Argument.

- Da- Euery quantitie, that is, euery body hauing magnitude, length, and other dimensions, is circumscribed in one peculiar place:

- ri- The bodye of Christe hathe his dimensions, and is a quantitie:
- j. Ergo, the body of Christ is circumscribed.

Cyrrillus. The Maior is proued by Cyrrillus. Whatsoever is vnderstanded to be a body,*the same is verely in a place, and in magnitude, and in quantitie. And if it be in quantitie, it can not auoyd circumscription, that is, to haue his place.

¶Argument.

- Ba- If Christ had giuen his body substantially and carnally in the Supper, then was that body either passible, or impassible.
- ro- But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gaue at Supper:
- co. Ergo, he did not giue his body substancially and carnally at Supper.

August. The Minor is proued thus. For if ye say it was passible,* Austen is against it, which sayth: Ye shall not eate thys body which you see, nor drinke the same bloud which they shall shed, that shall crucifie me, &c. And if ye say, it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Euangelist, which sayth: Eate, this is my body which shall be geuen for you: So that that body was passible and not impassible, wherein Christ was geuen.

Vigilius. One creature can not receaue in it selfe two contrary or diuers thynges together.*But these two thyngs be diuers and farre vnlike, that is to say, to be conteyned in a place, and to be euery where. For the word is euery where, but the fleshe is not euery where.

¶Argument.

- Fe- Bodyes organically without quantitie be no bodies.
- ri- The Popes doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be without quantitie:
- o. Ergo, the Popes doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be no body.

¶Argument.

- Da- All things which may be deuided, haue quantitie.
- ri- The body in the Popes Sacrament is deuided in iij. partes:
- j. Ergo, the body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantitie, which is against their owne doctrine.

¶Argument.

- Fe- No naturall body can receaue in it selfe, and at one time, contrary or diuers qualities. Vigilius.
- ri- To be in one place locall, and in another place not locall, in one place with quantitie, in another place without quantitie, in one place circumscribed, in another place incircumscribed, is for a naturall body to receyue contrary qualities:
- o. Ergo, the body of Christ can not be in one place locall, and in another not locall, in one place with quantitie, and in another without quantitie, as our aduersaries do affirme.

¶Argument.

- Fe- The wicked receaue not the body of Christ.
- ri- The wicked do receaue the body of Christ, if transubstantiation be graunted:
- son. Ergo▪ transubstantiation is not to be graunted in the Sacrament.

¶Argument for probation of the Maior.

- Ca- To eate Christ, is for a man to haue Christ dwellyng and abiding in him. Augustine.
- mes- The wicked haue not Christ dwelling in them:
- tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian. Cyprianus de Coena Domini. The eating of Christ, is our abyding in hym.*

¶Argument.

- Bo- The holy Ghost could not come if the body of Christ were really present.
- car- That the holy Ghost is come, it is most certayne:
- do. Ergo, it can not be that Christ himselfe should be heere really present.

For prooffe of the Maior. Iohn 16. Vnlesse I go from you, the holy Ghost shall not come: It is expedient for you that I go hence.*

¶Argument of Peter Martyr.

- Ba- If the wicked and infidels doe receaue the bodye of Christ, they receaue him either with sense or reason, or with fayth.
- ro- But they receaue him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith:
- co▪ Ergo, wicked men and infidels receaue in no wise the body of Christ.

For declaration of the Maior: if yee say, they receaue him with sense, that is against their owne lore,* for the body of Christ in the blessed Sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceaued by any sense, neither with reason can they receaue him, by their owne learning, for so much as this Sacramente exceedeth all reason: Nec fides habet meritum, vbi ratio praebet experimentum. And if ye say, that they receaue him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels haue no faith?

What is to eate the body of Christ, the teachyng of the Papistes heerein is straunge, and differeth from the olde Doctours. For where the Papistes do teache,* that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receaue not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament, which is the very body of Christ, they receiue with their mouth, and with their sense the accidences of bread, and thus imagine a certaine body of Christ, suche as euill men and infidels may eate, and yet being eaten, it geueth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them no partakers of his spirite and grace: both Scripture and the auncient expositours of the Scripture do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kinde of eating Christes body, but onely that which is fruitefull, wholesome, and effectuall.*He that eateth my fleshe and drinketh my bloud, abideth in

mee and I in him, &c. Iohn. 6. And therefore it may appeare, that the Scripture meaneth by eating Christes flesh, to beleue in Christes Passion, which none can doe but onely the faithfull. And to the same sense sound all the old Doctours.

Cyprianus. That we should knowe, that eatyng is our dwellyng in hym, and our drinkyng is, as it were,*a certayne incorporation in hym.

Item, the same Cyprian: The eatyng therefore of hys fleshe is a certayne desire to abyde in hym: and sayeth moreouer, that none eateth of thys Lambe, but suche as be true Israelites, that is, true Christen men, without colour or dissimulation.

And agayne hee sayeth: That as meate is to the fleshe, the same is fayth to the soule, the same is the woorde to the spirite, &c.

[Page 1376](#)Moreouer: And therefore (sayth hee) doing this we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we breake the holy bread, and distribute it, &c.

Augustinus. It may not be sayde, that any suche doe eate the body of Christ, because they are accompted amongst the members of Christ. Neither can they be both members of Christ,*and members of an harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ sayeth: He that eateth my fleshe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him: hee sheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but in deede to eate hys body and drinke his bloud, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those wordes, as if hee shoulde saye: he that dwelleth not in me, and in whome I dwell not, let him not say nor thinke, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my bloud.

Also in other places the sayde Austen affirmeth, that, to drinke is to liue: And sayeth moreouer: Why prearest thou thy belly and thy teeth? beleue and thou hast eaten, &c.

All which kindes of eating can not be sayd of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithfull.

And thus briefly we haue runne ouer all the arguments and authorities of Peter Martyr in that disputation at Oxford, with Doctour Tresham, Chadsey, and Morgan, before the Kings visitours aboue named. an. 1549.

Furthermore, who so listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolued in all the occurrents touching the matter of thys Sacrament, let him reade the bookes first of the Archbishop Cranmer against Winchester: Secondly, the tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, translated and extant in English: and thirdly the booke of Bishop Ridley made in prison, called A briefe declaration of the Lordes Supper.

The lyke disputation also about the same time was appointed and commensed at Cambridge, cōcerning the same matter of the Sacrament, the Kings visitours being directed downe for the same purpose by the King. The names of which visitours were these, Nicholas Ridley Byshop of Rochester, Thomas Bishop of Ely, M. Iohn Cheeke the Kings Scholemaister, Doctour May

Ciuilian, and Thomas Wendy the Kings Phisician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these.

The first disputation holden at Cambridge the 20. day of Iune. ann. 1549. before the Kings Maiesties Commissioners by Doctor Madew respondent, whose first conclusion was this.

Transubstantiation can not be prooued by the playne and manifest wordes of Scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the auncient Fathers, for these thousande yeares past. Doctour Glin, M. Langedale, M. Segewike, M. Yonge opponents.

Doctour Madew.

First of all (quoth he) I am very sorry, and do not a little lament the shortnes of time, to declare and discusse such waighty matters of Religion in, as these be. But that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeede: yet you shall vnderstande, how that I haue euer both in hart and mind (if otherwise I could haue auoided it) abhorred all scholasticall disputations, and subtile sophistications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to alledge or bring foorth any dismembred, or curteled sentences, or wrested as hapneth many times, but the whole and full sentences eyther of the Scriptures, or of the auncient Doctors: yea, and to auouch suche Authors sayings, as are not suspected, or fayned, but suche as be theyr owne very sayings indeede, which if they do, there is no doubt, but the cleare light of this our disputation, shall the sooner appeare, and be manifest to this auditorie. And for a further declaration of my part, you shall vnderstande that this my preface in my said former most catholique & godly conclusion shall consist in three principall points. 1. First, what thing it was that Christ gaue to his disciples. 2. Secondly, what season or time this transubstantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, how many diuelish abhominatiōs haue ensued vpon that horrible and pestilēt inuention. As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gaue to his disciples, that may very well appeare euen by our owne naturall sences, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the tasting, whiche can not be deceiued of their naturall iudgement. For the eye seeth nothing but bread and wine, the tasting sauoureth nothing else, and the handes touche nothing else. He gaue also to their vnderstanding not ••ly his holy and sacred doctrine, but also a special gi•t & pledge of his loue. He gaue the only materiall brea• & wine sanctified, as the first rude and plaine elements or principles to allure them withall, but he gaue them the gift of his grace and heauenly doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elementes, which thing playnly appeareth by the wordes of Christ our sauour, Non bibam. &c. I will not drinke hereafter of the fruite of this vine, vntill I drinke it new with you in the kingdome of God. Nowe this fruit or iuoise of y^e vine is nothing els but wine, as Chrisostome saith. And moreouer to proue the same true, if it be reserued after the cōsecratiō for a time, it becommeth sower, and tarte, therefore it is but wine. And as touching the bread, S. Paul sayth thus, is not the bread which we breake, the communion, or participation of Christes body? hee brake breade, therefore it was but bread, whiche he gaue them: for the body of Christ is not broken, as the scripture saythe of y^e same, os non cōminuetis ex eo, you shall not breake a bone of him. Also he saith this is my bodye, not that the bread was his body, and the wine his blood, but he spake those wordes to, and of his owne mortall bodye, there sitting amongst them at supper, or hee spake yet doubtfully as thus: this signifieth my body, it is one thing, whiche is seene, but it is an other thing which is vnderstanded: for y^t which is seen hath a bodely form, but

y^t which is vnderstood thereby hath a spirituall fruite. S. Austen sayth. Let the word haue accesse to the element, so is it made a sacrament: marke, he sayth, let the word haue accesse, and not successe. Now the thinge that hath accesse to an other thinge, doth not quench the thinge that it commeth to, no more doth i[•] here, ergo it is bread and wine still as before, how be it sacred, and holy: What saw you yesterday (sayth S. Austen) vpon the aluter? Truly bread and wine, whiche your owne eyes can wnesse said he, what playner testimonye can be had of so auncient a father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the scriptures of God? Seeing then y^t oure eyes doe behould nothing, but bread and wine, it must needes follow that it is so in deede, or els our sences •e deceaued in their owne proper obiecte, which cannot be by any reason, or naturall philosophy. And yet notwithstanding some papistes dreame and phantesie such a corporal, reall, and grosse presence of Christs body in the sacrament as they affirme it to be there euen as verily, as it was vpon the Crosse. Indeede the bread is chaunged after a certayne maner, into Christes bodye: for Christ gaue not hys owne natural bodye to his Disciples at his last supper, but an onely signe or figure thereof. Christes body is there with the bread: our sences cannot be deceaued about the substaunce of bread, but they doe iudge there to be but one body, that is of bread, Ergo so it is. Also the very definition of a sacrament doth playnly repugne vnto transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substaunce of Christes body, but the accidentes doe not so, Ergo the substaunce doth remayne of the bread that nourisheth: it is also called bread in the Actes, and in diuers other places of the scriptures, wherefore it is so, but in deede after a sorte more holy then before: what gaue he in the supper? bread which is the body, that is to say, an holy signe of his body, as Austen doth wnesse saying: hee doubted not to say this is my bodye, whē it was but a signe of his body. The vnleauened bread was but a bare and naked signe of Christes bodye, and so is this bread the same body, euen as baptisme is. Now indeede there be two maner of signes, one that signifie onely, the other that doth exhibite the thing it self. The first is applyed to the old lawe chiefly, •he other to the law of grace. The old ancient & learned fathers, did neuer vse to speake of the substanciall chaunge, for because that all the mutation is but condicionall, not substanciall, nor we deeme not the bodely substaunce sacramentally, but yet we saye that this proposition (that is my bodye) is but a figuratiue speache, and no proper speache, as some doe deeme. But it is as muche to saye, as this signifieth my bodye, or els thus, this is a sacrament of my body, for the bodi•ye bread, and Christes body are not containd in place locally but mystically. This portenteouse and monstrouse transubstanciation began first to enter, when the popishe prelates, & priestes began to vnderstād this said proposition (this is my body) of the carnall and reall presence of Christes body▪ as hugo de sancto victore, Gracian, Peter, Lombard and <◇> . 3. the very pestilent poyson of al Christ•n religion, vnto whome we haue of long season, yea al•as too long geuen credite: vnder the which Innocente the said deuilish terme, or vocable of transubstantiation began anno. 1315. And Boniface after him Bishop of Rome made the sayde •ad blinde transubstantiation to be the 3. article of the fayth, full wisely no doubt, whereas an other bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly against Nestor the hereticke that bread remayneth there still whose name was G•••sius. 3. Now as touching y^e most shamefull and detestable inconueniences which must needes follow this diuelish t•rme or vocable of transubstantiation, you shall vnderstand the first is, that then suche Papistes will haue Christes body still prostituted, and receaued euen of the [Page 1377](#) wicked and naughty people, which is cleane contrary to that place of our sauour Christ, where he sayth: Whosoouer eateth my fleshe and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Nowe it is plaine, that euill persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them, wherefore they receiue not his body therin at all. For S. Austine tract. 8. super Iohannem saith, that it is but bread which is seene after the Consecration, Ergo, the

substance of bread is there still. 2. The seconde inconuenience that groweth heereof, is the fonde and superstitious reseruatiō of the sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vaine tabernacles ouer the alter, where oftentimes it did putrifie for all their foolish honour, which began in Honorius daies the third Bishop of Rome of that name, which corruption declareth it to be but onely bread, say all Papists what they list. 3. The third inconuenience that must needes follow Transubstantiation, is adoration, which is too plaine Idolatry, as the Papists do know themselues if they list, but they are so stiffenecked, that they will not know it, and so both haue, and yet also will keepe the world in blindnes still if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, euen as we are chaunged into Christ by receiuing the sacrament, so is the bread chaunged into the body of Christ. But our substance is not chaunged into Christes substance, Ergo, the substance of the bread is not changed into Christes body. And to be shorte and playne with you (most honourable audience) the whole vniuersall world hath bene, and yet is sore deceaued and deluded about the estimation of this Sacrament. Therefore this is most true, when we do receaue the sayd Sacrament worthely, then are we ioyned by faith spirituallly to Christ our sauour. And thus much haue I said in this first matter.

The second matter to be disputed of is this.

That in the Lords Supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, then one onely remembrance of Christes death, and of thankesgiuing.

IN this conclusion, I will be muche shorter, and more compendious then in the first. In consideration whereof, you shall vnderstande, that the same is a very godly, and true catholique proposition. For to offer Christ, and to exhibite the same, is all one thing, for in that that he is offered, he is set foorth for to eate, there is no difference at all betweene the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lorde did commaund saying, Do this in remembrance of me, hee made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice, but only that. The Apostle doth declare the maner of the thing doing, saying thus: He tooke bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples. What gaue he to them? forsooth bread, which was the sacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature nor heauenly, did euer offer vp Christ at any time, but he himselfe once for all, vpon the crosse, Ergo, he can not, nor ought not to be offered many times, and often, though that Pighius with all the blinde rabble of Papists say the contrary. For truely in this point especially they knowe not what they say, being so led by the old pharisaicall blindnes. But to the purpose. You shall vnderstand good auditors, that the pure and cleane oblation and sacrifice spokē of by the Prophet Malachy, is nothing else, then deuoute, and faithfull prayer, and thankesgiuing, as Tertullian sayth in his third booke contra Marcionem expounding the Psalme, where it is sayd thus: The sacrifice of laude, and prayse shall honor mee. So doth S. Hierome, Irenaeus, and S. Austen say also vpon Malachy. Where also they denie that Christ is essentially in the sacrament. Yea and S. Austen Epistola 95. ad Paulinum witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true sacrifice that be Christians. And all the aunciente Fathers do call praier by the name of sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoeuer list to reade that most excellent and famous Clarke Zwinglius ca. 18. de articulis, shall finde the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoeuer the Papists do barke against it. Thus I haue declared my mind in both matters now disputable. And if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of argumentes, I will performe the same in my aunswering thereunto.

There disputed against this defendant Doctour Glin, M. Langedale, M. Segewike, and M. Yong, Students in Diuinitie.

Glin.

Notwithstanding right worshipfull Maister Doctor, that you haue so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in euery of these matters now in contention before this honorable and learned audience, and also though iust occasion be ministred to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not inuade the same as now indirectly with contrarious and vaine wordes to occupie the small time which is appointed vs for the triall of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing it selfe, whych conteineth in it matter ynough. It is but •olly to vse many wordes where fewe will serue our purpose, as sayeth the maister of the Sentences. All words may signifie at pleasure and commonly there bee moe thinges then vocables, like as sometimes there was variance amongst learned men of the vnitie of two substances in one personage of Christ God and Man. So is there now in our dayes variance of Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and bloud of Christ. Wherefore I do require you first to shew me heare openly what the said Transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing it selfe, which is our first and chiefest ground.

Madew.

As for that I neede not to shew you, for euery man knoweth it.

Glin.

Peraduenture it is not so good Maister Doctor. And I am perfectly assured that euery man doth not knowe it indeede: for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew.

Forsooth you know it your selfe, and so do all men else.

Glin.

Well, yet I pray you shew me what thing Christ did demonstrate and shew foorth by that article of the newter gender, where he said, This is my body. What did he appoint in that article this? for if he meant by that, the bread, then Christ in the Sacrament is not onely of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the diuine nature, which to say, were blasphemie. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, He spake the word, and it was done, he commaunded, and they were created. Moreouer, if he should meane by that article of the newter gender (this) the materiall bread, then he woulde haue sayd, This bread is my body, so making the article of the newter gender: or else he would haue sayd thus, Heere with this bread is my body, to haue auoyded euer after all heresies, errors, and schismes. But he saide not so, but spake the article of the newter gender, saying, This is my body, that is to saye, the thing or substance conteyned vnder the forme and kind of bread, which you see not with your bodely eyes is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I woulde geue you

my very fleshe to eate, Iohn. 6. In like maner when he gaue the cup of his blood, he sayd not this in the newter gender, as he woulde haue done if he had meant the materiall creature of wine to haue remained, but he saide then in the masculine gender, This is my bloud: That is to say the thing contained vnder the forme of wine whiche you see not with your bodely eyes is my bloud. For truely the holy Ghost came downe to leade vs into all truth and veritie, and not to deceiue vs in so notable a point of our faith. But out of doubte he should haue deceaued in this matter, if so be he had geuen vs onely materiall bread and wine in stead of his bodye and bloud, and not haue fulfilled his promise made Iohn 6. where he promiseth thus. The bread whiche I will geue is my fleshe, which I will geue for the life of the world. Heere be two giuings spoken of, with two relaties, whereof the first with his relatue, must needes be referred to his gift in the last supper, and the second geuing of the same fleshe of his, with his relatue, must be applied of necessitie vnto his geuing of his body vpon the Crosse. Nor we do finde in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfill his sayde promise made in y^e 6. of Iohn, but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceiued in this matter of Transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord thou hast deceaued vs. But God forbid that we should once thinke such wickednes of him. He must also be vniust of his promise if it be not performed at any season, as it is not indeede, if it were not at both the said times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholique Church of Christe dothe holde, determine, and beleue) then must it needes be graunted, that he gaue at his last Supper his owne body and flesh indeede and verely which he gaue vpon the Crosse for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloudie, yet the very same flesh and •loud really after an vnbloudy sort, and spiritually. He said not This bread is my body, nor yet heere with the bread is my body, but, This is my body, which shall be geuen for you. Nor he said not, this wine is my bloud, nor with this wine is my bloud, whiche circumstance of plaine speach he would haue vsed, if the pure creatures should haue remained, but he sayde, This is my bloud, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sinnes, that is to say, the substance hidden vnder these visible formes of bread and wine, are my very proper fleshe and bloud. I pray you where do you find in the whole body of the Scripture expressed, or iustly vnderstanded, that Christ gaue but only a bare and naked signe, figure, or sacrament? Or where finde you that he gaue his body wyth [Page 1378](#) bread,* it remayning bread still? And if you thinke to finde it, I pray you shewe me here, whether that bodye that hee gaue with materiall bread, were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantasticall, if it were his true body (as you doe graunt) then must there needes be two very true bodyes in one place together. Now that it was his verye true body and bloud, it is certayne by the playne wordes of the text saying thus. Which is betrayed or geuen, and which is shedde for you, and for many. But I will let all this passe ouer, and I do requyre of you this one question whether that the sacramentes of the old law, and of y^e new law be all one?

Madew.

*If you doe consider the thinges themselues they be all one, but if you respecte the onely signes, figures and sacramentes outwardly then they be diuers.

Glin.

I doe perceiue your aunswere very well, then further to our purpose, was Christ then after the same maner in the bread that came from heauen. In the paschall lamb, and in Isaac, as he is in this Sacrament? Which if you do graunt me then these propositions were true, for Christ to say

this Manna is my body, this Lambe is my body, this Isaac is my bodye. Moreouer if the Sacramentes of the olde law, and of the law of grace be all one, in very deede, & effect (as you seeme to graūt) thē what difference is betweene the shew bread in Moyses law, and the bread, that we doe breake that Saynt Paule speaketh of? They then had that bread, which signified Christ and so doth ours (as you say) that was bread, so is ours, and so by your reason there is no difference betweene them: yea theyr Manna because it came from heauen, was better then this earthly bread, that commeth from beneath, which is contrarye to the truth: for Saynt Paule sayth, that the law was geuen by Moyses, but the verity was geuē by Iesus Christ. Wherefore that which Christ gaue, was not onely a signe but also the veritye, that is to saye, the liuing breade, that came from heauen, the true Lambe that taketh awaye the sinnes of the world, and Isaac himselfe which is Christ, or els you must graunt me that we christians doe receiue lesse then the Iewes did. For they receiued the breade called Manna from heauen, and we onely a poore morsel of bread from the earth. Theyrs was called Aungelles foode, and ours is (as you holde) little better then common breade. Me seemeth that you doe distrust the doctrine of the fayth of Christendome, for these fiue hundreth yeares, euen as though Christ had forsaken his Catholique Church after one thowsande yeares, but that is not so, for he promised his holy spirite to assist his spowse the Church, and to lead her continually into all trueth from time to time, as neede should require.* As I remember you sayd, that adoration did followe vpon transubstaunciation, but the fathers for one thowsand yeares past doe graunt adoration of the sacrament therefore transubstantiation also. The minor I proue by the most cleare testimonies of S. Austen, S. Ambrose, S. Deuise, S. Basile, and S. Chrisostome,

Madew.

I denye (mayster Doctour) that I sayde any suche thing, and therwith I say that the Fathers do vnderstand by adoration a certeine reuerent maner, that we should receiue the Lordes supper with, which may be called a certē veneration, but no adoration.

Glin.

No may? S. Austen (de ciuitate Dei) witnesseth that the Ethnikes, and Paynims doe esteme the Christians to worship and adore the gods of wheat and barley called Caeres, and the God of wyne called Bacchus. And agayne S. Austen saith thus. Lo no man eateth of that bread except he first adore and worship it.

Madew.

By your pacience S. Austen in that place speaketh of the honoring of Christes body now sitting in heauen.

Glin.

Yea mayster Doctor, thinke you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the sacrament? Seing that he saith it is there, this is my body, which is geuen for you, sayth he. More playnely he needed not to speake for the reall presēce of his blessed body, being both able & willing to verify his word. For if a cunning Lapidary should say to you or me thys is a true right diamōd, a

perfecte carbuncle, saphyre, emrode or any such precious stone, we would beleue him, though we were ignorant of theyr natures. Wherefore we ought much more to beleue our Sauour Christ God, and man, in that he sayth: this is my body. And why then ought we not to honor it in the sacrament. Or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do graunt his body in heauen to be honored, but not his body here in the sacrament.

Madew.

Forsooth he hath but one very body, & no moe, but the same is sacramentally in the sacrament, and substancially in heauen, here by fayth, and there in deed.

Glin.

Well yet once agayne to you thus. The very true body of Christ is to be honored,* but the same very true body is in the Sacrament, ergo the body of Christ in the sacrament is to bee honored.

Rochester.

Welbeloued frendes and brethren in our sauior Christ you must vnderstand that this disputatiō,* with the other that shalbe after this are appointed for to search forth the playne trueth of the holy scriptures in these matters of religion, which of a long season haue bene hidden from vs by the false gloses of that greate Antichrist and his Ministers of Rome and now in our dayes must be reueyled to vs Englishe men, thorow the great mercy of God principally, and secondarily thorow the most gentle clemencye of our naturall soueraigne Lord the kings maiesty, whom the liuing Lord long preserue to raigne ouer vs in health wealth & godlines, to mayntenaunce of Gods holy word, and to the exterpatation of all blinde gloses of men, that goe about to subuert the truth. For because therefore that I am one that doth loue the truth, and haue professed the same amongst you: th••ore I say because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I thinke in this poynt now in controuersy. Not because this worshipfull Doctor hath any need of my healpe in dissoluing of argumentes proposed agaynst him, for as me semeth he hath aunswered hitherto very well and clarkly according to the truth of Gods word. But now to the purpose. I do graūt vnto you (mayster oponent) that the old auncient fathers do record and witnesse, a certeine honour and adoration to be done vnto Christes body, but then they speake not of it in the sacrament, but of it in heauen at the right hand of the father as holy Chrisostome sayth, honor thou it,* and then eat it but that honor may not be geuē to the outward signe but to the body of Christ it self in heauen. For that body is there onely in a signe virtually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirite, effect, and fayth, to the worthy receiuer of it. For we receiue virtually onely Christes body in the sacrament.

Glin.

How thē (if it please your good Lordship) doth baptisme differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receiue Christ also by grace and virtually.

Rochester.

Christ is present after an other sort in baptism, then in this sacrament,* for in that he purgeth and washeth the infant from all kinde of sinne, but here he doth feed spirituallie the receiuer in fayth, with all the merites of hys blessed death and passion. And yet he is in heauen still really and substancially. As for example. The kinges Maiesty our Lord and maister is but in one place, wheresoeuer that his royall person is abiding for the time, and yet hys mighty power, and authoritie is euery where in his realmes and dominions. So Christes reall person is onely in heauen subauncially placed, but his might is in all thinges created effectually. For Christes flesh may be vnderstanded for the power, or inward might of his flesh.

Glin.

If it please your fatherhood, S. Ambrose and S. Austen do say, that before the consecratiō, it is but very bread,* and after the consecration it is called the verie bodye of Christ.

Madew.

Indeed it is the very body of Christ sacramentally after the consecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lordes bread, & thus must S. Ambrose and S. Austen be vnderstanded.

¶Here the proctours cōmanded the Opponent to diuert to the secōd conclusion, but he requested them, that they would permit hym as long in this matter, as they would in the second, and so he still prosecuted the fyrst matter as followeth

Glin.

The bread after the consecration doth feed the soule,* ergo the substaunce of common breade doth not remayne. The argument is good, for S. Ambrose de sacramentis saith thus. After the consecration there is not the thing, that nature did forme, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the Prophet Elias did turne the nature of water how much more then doth the benedictiō of Christ here both God and man.

Madew.

That book of S. Ambrose is suspected to be none of his workes.

Rochester.

So say all the fathers.

Glin.

I doe maruaile at that, for S. Austen in his book of retractions maketh playne that, that was his own very worke.

Rochester.

He speaketh indeede of such a booke so intituled to S. Ambrose, but yet we do lacke the same book indeed.

Glin.

Well, let it then passe to other mens iudgements: What then say you to holy S. Ciprian 1200. yeares past? * Who saith that the bread which our Lord gaue to his disciples, was not chaunged in forme, or qualitie: but in very nature, and by the almighty word was made fleshe.

Madew.

I do aunswere thus, that this word fleshe may be taken two wayes either for the substaunce it selfe, or els for a natural propertie of a fleshly thing. So that Ciprian [Page 1379](#) there did meane of a naturall property, and not of fleshlye substance. And cōtrariwise in the rod of Aarō, where both the substance, and also the property was changed.

Glin.

Holy S. Ambrose sayth, the body there made by the mighty power of Gods worde, * is a bodye of the Uyrgyne Mary.

Rochest.

That is to say, that by the word of God the thing hath a being, that it had not before, and we doe consecrate the body that we may receiue the grace and power of y^e body of Christ in heauen by this sacramentall body.

Glin.

By your pacience (my Lorde) if it bee a bodye of the Uyrgyne as Saynt Ambrose sayth, which we do consecrate as ministers by Gods holy word, then must it needes be more then a sacramentall, or spirituall bodye: yea a very body of Christ in deed, yea the same that is still in heauen without all mouing from place to place, vnspeakably, and farre passing our naturall reason, which is in this mistery so captiuate, that it cannot conceiue how it is there, without a liuely fayth to Gods word. But let this passe: You do graunt that this breade doth quicken or geue lyfe, which if it doe, then it is not a naturall bread, but a supersubstanciall bread.

Rochester.

So doth the effectuall, and liuely word of god, which for that it nourisheth the soule, it doth geue life, for the diuine essence infudeth it selfe vnspeakably into y^e faithfull receiuer of the sacrament.

Glin.

How then say you to holy Damascene a Greeke authour,* who as one Trittenius sayth florished one thowsand yeares past, he sayth thus. The bodye that is of the holye Uirgine Mary is ioyned to the Diuinitye after the consecration in veritye, and in deede, not so as the body once assumed into heauen, and sitteth on the Fathers ryghte hand, doth remoue from thence, and commeth downe at the consecration time, but that the same breade and wyne are substauncially transumpted into the verye bodye and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ. If (sayth he) thou doest not know the maner how it is brought to passe, let it be enough to thee to beleue, that it is done by the operation of the holy Ghost, and we do know no more but that the lyuing word of God is working, and almighty, but the very maner how, is inscrutable to vs, and no great maruell sayth he, for we cannot well expresse howe the materiall bread, wine, or water are transumpted naturally into the same body and bloud of the receiuer, and be become an other body, then they were before. So sayth this great ancient Clarke, also this shewbread with wine and water, are chaunged by the comming of the holy Ghost into christes body and bloud, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.

Rochester.

First I denye (Mayster Doctour) that Damascene was one thowsande yeares past,* secondarily that hee is not to be holden as an auncient father, for that he mainteyneth in his workes euill and damnable doctrine, as the worshipping of images, and such like. Thyrdly I say that in deede God by his holy spirit is the worker of that, whiche is done in the sacrament. Also I graunt that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lordes breade and wine,* by the sanctifying of them in the Lordes word. But I denye that there is any mutation of the substaunces, for there is no other chaunge there indeed, then there is in vs, which when we do receiue the sacrament worthely, then are we chaunged into Christes body, bones and bloud, not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace, much like as Isaias saw the burning cole, euen so we see not there the very simple bread, as it was be|fore the consecration, for an vnion cannot be but of two very thinges. Wherefore if we be ioyned to Christ receyuing the sacrament, then there is no adnihilation of bread, which is, whē it is reduced to nothing as it is in your fained transubstantiation.

Glin.

So I perceiue you would haue me to graunt, that the Sacrament is but a figure, which Theophilactus doeth deny.

Rochester.

You say trueth, he denyeth it deed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not onely a figure.

Glin.

*Whereas Saynt Paule sayth that we being manye are one bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one materiall bread, as you do here, ergo he speaketh of a heauenly bread. And holy Chrysostome vpon Mathew sayth, that the paschall Lambe was a figure, but the mistery is the veryty: For the Disciples would not haue bene offended to haue dronken a figure of Christes

bloud being well accustomed to figures.* For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure but the cleare verity in stead of the figure, as Saynt Iohn sayth, grace and verity was geuen by Christ. Doest thou see bread? (sayth Chrisostome) doth it auoyd or passe as other meates do which we receiue? God forbid, ergo. &c.

Madew.

That auncient Clarke Origene vpon the 15. of S. Mathew sayth thus, as touching that which is materiall in the Sacrament, it descendeth,* and issueth out as other nutrimentes doe. But as concerning that which is celestially, it doth not so.

Glin.

Chrisostome homile. 83. vpō Mathew sayth, that we cannot be deceiued of Christes wordes, but our naturall sences may be deceiued in this poynt very soone and easely: his sayd wordes cannot be false, but our sences be many times beguiled of theyr iudgementes. Because therefore that Christ sayd this is my body, let vs not at any hand doubt (sayth he) but let vs beleue it, and well perceiue it with the eyes of our vnderstanding. And within a litle after in that place, he sayth thus. It was not enough that he was become man; and afterwarde to be scourged for vs but also he did reduce, and bring vs to be as one body with him, not thorow fayth onely, but in very deed also he maketh vs his body. And after that, he sayth that these works are not of mannes power: But the same thinges that hee wrought in his last supper, he nowe worketh also by his precept to his right minister, and we doe occupy the place of the same ministers, but hee it is that doth sanctify, and transumpt the creatures, he performeth still the same.

Rochester.

M. Doctour you must vnderstand that in that place S. Chrisostome sheweth vs that Christ deliuered to vs no sensible thing at his last supper.

Glin.

Honourable syr by your pacience, I graunt that hee gaue to his Disciples no sensible thing in substaunce, but a thing insensible, his owne precious body, and bloud vnder the onely kindes of creatures. And truly (as it seemeth) Theophilactus best knew the meaning of Chrisostome, because all authors accept him as a faythfull interpreter of him. And he hath these same playne words, transelemented, and transformed. Also Theophilactus Alexandrinus super Marcum, Cyrillus, and Saynt Augustine sayth that before the consecration it is breade, but afterwarde it is Christes very body. In like maner S. Augustine vpon 33. Psalme. sayth, that in his last supper Christ did beare himselfe in his owne handes. Now euery man may beare the figure of his body in his owne hands, but S. Austen saith it there for a miracle. Ireneus in his fift booke is of the same minde. And Saynt Augustine sayth I doe remember my wordes. &c. The law and figures were by Moises, but the verity and body came by Christ.

Rochester.

Well, say what you list, it is but a figuratiue speach, like to this if you will receiue, and vnderstand he is Elias for a property, but indeede he was not Elias, but Iohn the Baptist. And so in this place Christ called it his body, when it was very bread. But better then the cōmon breade, because it was sanctified by the woorde of Christ.

¶Here Mayster Langdale replied to Doctor Madew.

Langdale.

Right worshipfull Mayster Doctor by your pacience I haue noted two thinges that you affirmed in youre position euen now before this honourable audience,* the which as me seemeth, are not consonant to the trueth of Gods worde. The first is as touching Christes sayinge I will not from hence forth drinke any more of the fruite of the Uyne, vntill I drinke it newe with you. &c. Whyche place of the Scripture you dyd (as I thinke) vnderstand, and interprete as though nothing els remayned after the consecration, but very wyne still. Whereof I doe not a little maruell. See yng that, that most famous Clarke Erasmus whose authoritye and sentence you refuse at this present onely, yet neuerthelesse he is very worthy in thys matter of farre better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend to alledge him before this learned and honourable auditorye, he playnely affirmeth that for all his great laboure in searching the Scriptures,* he coulde neuer finde either in the Euangelistes or yet in the Apostolicall doctrine, that it might be, or was called wyne, after the consecration. And therefore I cannot but maruell, if the thing be so open and playne, as in your declaration you seeme to make it, that such a profoūd Clarke as he was, coulde not finde it out. For that sayde place he intreated of in his paraphrases, in his annotations, and in others of his lucubrations, and yet he playnely denyeth that same very thing to be found of him, whiche you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be so called after the consecration duely performed by a right minister. I beseeche you not to be offended, though I credite not your saying in this so weightye a matter of Christian religion, as I do his.

Madew.

No forsooth, I will not be offended one iote with [Page 1380](#) you,* but for to contēt your minde in this poynt. It is most constant and sure, that Erasmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a christian to beleue Christes body and bloud to be in the sacrament in what manner or condition soeuer it were.*

Langdale.

By your license good mayster Doctor, these be Erasmus wordes.* The Church of Christ hath determined very lately transubstanciation in the sacrament. It was of a long season enough to beleue Christes body to be eyther vnder the bread consecrated, or els to be present after anye other maner. But yet (sayth he) after that the sayd Church had pōdered and weyed the thing more pithely w^t greater iudgement, then she made a more certeyne determination of the same. In the which place 1. Cor. 7. Erasmus sayth that the proceeding of the holy Ghost equally from the Father, & the sonne, was also determined of the same Church. But let this passe. And as touching the second poynt, whiche I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was that you did wrest,* and wring the saying of Tertullian from the verity of his minde, for you sayde that he doth

interpret the Prophete Malachye speaking of our dayly sacrifice in the new law, to meane nothing els, by that sacrifice in that place, but praier and thankesgeuing. But the sayd ancient Clerke Tertullian hath not those wordes that you doe alleadge of him, that is to saye, (nothing els.) And yet though that Oecolampadius do so interprete that place, yet (as me semeth) the iudgement of the hole Christen church is to be preferred in suche a matter of religion. But I will passe ouer this poynte, and returne to the matter it selfe. And first I doe requyre of your maystershippe*, whether that this sentence (this is my body) be spoken of Christ figuratiuely or not?

Madew.

After the minde of the common glose of Cyprian & Origene it is so taken in very deed.

Langdale.

That cannot be by your pacience, for it is taken the•e substantially, ergo not figuratiuely.

Madew.

I deny your argument.

Langdale.

I proue my argument good thus. This worde substaunce doth playnely repugne, and is contrary to this word figure, ergo substancially, and figuratiuely do also repugne. Moreouer I aske of you whether that this be a true proposition or not, bread is Christes body?

Madew.

*Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition.

Langdale.

Then thus to you. Christes body was geuen for vs, but you saye that bread is Christes body ergo bread was geuen for vs.

Rochester.

Not so syr, for your former propositiō is of double vnderstanding.

Langdale.

Well, yet you M. Doctor doe graunt that Christ is substauncially in the sacrament.

Madew.

No I deny that I sayd so euer.

Langdale.

*Yea? do you so? Well I passe not thereupō greatly, for I will proue it by an other meanes. Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for vs really, and substauncially ergo he is also in the sacrament substauncially. The argument is good, for because that it is the same here, that was there crucified for vs, how be it here inuisibly, indeede spiritually and sacramentally, but there visiblye, and after a mortall, and most bloudy maner.

Rochester.

Mayster Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here in the sacrament, after such a sort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed, and crucified in his naturall body substauncially, and really in very deede: but in the Sacrament he is not so, but spiritually, and figuratiuely onely.

Langdale.

By your good Lordships fauor that is not so, for he is there, not figuratiuely but veryly, and indeed by the power of his mighty word, yea euen his very owne natural body vnder the sacramēt, duely performed by the lawfull minister.

Madew.

Oh say not so, for you speake blasphemy.

Langdale.

No, no, M. Doctor, God forbid, that either I or any mā els should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing, but the very playne trueth, as in my conscience, & learning I do no lesse.

Rochester.

O M. Langdale, I wis it becommeth you, not heare to haue such wordes.

Langdale

If it like your good Lordship I gaue not y^e fyrste occasion of them, but onely did refute that, whiche I was vniustly burthened withall as reason doth require, and it greeued me to heare it. He sayth (if it please your Lordshippe) that there is a mutation or chaunge of the bread after it is consecrated,* which if it be so (as I graunt no lesse) then I would inquyre of him, whether it be chaunged in the substaunce, or in the accidentes, or els in both, or in nothing. No man can iustly say that there is a chaunge into nothing. And all auncient fathers do agree, that the same accidentes are there still after, that were before, nor no doctor sayth▪ that there is any mutation of

both the substance, and accidentes also, ergo the substaunce o• bread is chaunged into some other thing, that is there really present vnder the formes of bread and wine, which by Christes wordes, must needes be his owne blessed body.

Rochester.

Syr you are deceiued greatly, for there is no chaunge of the substaunces neither of the accidentes: * but in very deed there do come vnto the bread other accidents, in so much that wheras the bread and wyne were not sanctified before, and holy, yet afterwarde they be sanctified, and so do receiue then an other sort, or kind of vertue whiche they had not before.

Here is to be noted, that Peter Martyr in his aunswere at Oxford did graunt a chaunge in the substaunces of bread and wine, which in Cambridge by the Bishop Doct. Ridley was denyed.

Langdale.

By your pacience reuerend father, * by such meanes a man may easely auoyde all the misteries of our christē fayth: As where it is sayde thus of God the father, this is my beloued sonne. &c. A man may also wring that to be vnderstood thus: this is y^e image of my welbeloued sonne, or this is the vertue of my well beloued sonne: yea muche more iustly then your good Lordship doth y^e other, because S. Paule to the Hebrues doth call the sonne the Image of the father, and in an other place he calleth him the power, or vertue of God, and Gods wisdom▪ Now though he be so called in scripture, God forbid that we shoulde call hym onely Gods Image or Gods vertue, and not God himselfe.

Rochester.

Oh gentle M. Langdale, * you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figuratiue speache is no•iue somewhere, but not euery where, nor in this matter.

Langdale.

Yet by your license (honorable father) it doth appeare to me no trope at al in these words of christ, * this is my body, which is geuen for you, and that for this reason: Chryst did exhibite or geue againe the very same things at his last supper, by the which thinges he was ioyned to vs, but he was ioyned or knit vnto vs by his owne naturall flesh, & bloud, ergo he did exhibite to vs at his last supper no lesse agayne. My former proposition I proue by the testimony of S. Chrisost. whose wordes in Christes person are these: I would be your brother, I tooke vpon me common flesh & bloud for your sakes, and euen by the same things that I am ioyned to you, the very same I haue exhibited to you agayne. &c.

¶ Here the Proctors commaunded Langdale to geue place to an other.

Rochest.

We are not ioyned by natural flesh, but do receiue his flesh spiritually from aboue. &c.

¶Here M. Segewicke replied.

Right worshipful M Doctor, I do also aske of you first of all,* whether the greeke article (this) of the neuter gēder be referred to the word (bread) or to the word (body) if it be referred to the worde (bread) then Christ woulde not haue sayd this, in the neuter gender, but rather this, in the masculine gender.

Rochester.

Forsooth that article is referred to neyther of both, but may signify vnto vs any other kinde of thing.

Segewicke.

No forsoothe, but it doth note vnto vs some excellēt great thing determinately, & not so cōfusedly as you say. For such a great heap of articles, in the greek doth notify vnto vs a great and weighty thing to be in the sacrament determinately, if wee may credite the auncient Fathers.* Moreouer this word (bread) is not alwayes in the scriptures taken after one sorte: wherefore I desire you to shew me how it is taken in this place of S. Paule: we are many, one bread. &c.

Madew.

Forsooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewicke.

Then after your minde, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rochest.

Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the felowship and vnity that is noted by the coagulation of many graynes into one bread or loafe.*

Segewicke.

Well let that passe, then thus. It is the body, ergo no figure, for because there is a perpetuall contrarietye betweene the law of Moyses & the law of grace. Therein were figures & shadowes, and herein is the verity indeed.

Rochester.

I do graunt it to be Christes true body, & flesh by a propriety of the nature assumed to the godhead,* yea and we do really eat and drinke his flesh and bloud after a certeine reall property.

Segewicke.

It is not the figurate paschall lambe, it is not the figuratiue Manna, nor yet y^e figuratiue shewbread. &c. ergo it is no figure.

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Madew.

I do deny your argument.

Segewicke.

I maynteyne my argument thus, all the shadowes are wholly past, ergo also so be the figures, for euery figure is a shadow, if then it be but a figure, all y^e figures are not past as yet, but that is false, ergo so is the other.

Rochest.

It is nothing but a figure, or token of the true body of Christ as it is sayd of Iohn the baptiste, [*](#) he is Elias, not that he was so in deede or person, but in property, and vertue he represented Elias.

Segewicke.

So, but most learned father, when Christ sayde I am the way, the truth, and the life: may it be vnderstanded as you do the other place thus: I am y^e vertue of the way, verity, and the life? But now to the matter it selfe. It is verily meat, ergo it is not figuratiuely.

Madew.

This verbe or word (is) in this place is taken for that that signifieth.

Here he was commaunded to reply in the second matter.

Segewicke.

NOw as touching our second conclusion thys I say. Wheresoeuer Christ is there is a sacrifice propiciatory, but in the Lordes supper is Christ, ergo in the Lordes supper is a sacrifice propiciatory. [*](#)

Madew.

Christ is not offered in the Lordes supper, but is receiued spiritually.

Segewicke.

The priesthood and the sacrifice be corespondēt together, [*](#) but Christes priesthood after the orde of Melchizedech is perpetuall, ergo also so is his sacrifice.

Rochest.

Christ is a Priest for euer, that is to say his sacrifice, and priesthood offered once for all, is auaylable for euer so that no other shall succeed him.

Legewicke.

Where there is no oblatiō, there is no sacrifice, ergo if Christ be not perpetually offered,* there is no perpetuall sacrifice. Item the same bloudy sacrifice of Christ vpon the Crosse was the very fine and end of all the bloudye sacrifices figured in y^e law after the order of Aarons priesthoode. Wherefore you must needes graunt that he offered himselfe also at his last supper after the order of Melchizedech vnder the formes of breade and wine: or els you must shewe the scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceiue to be done, but at his last supper onely after an vnbloudy maner. Item he is offered for the remission of sins daylye, ergo he is a sacrifice propitiatorye still in the newe law, as Saynt Augustine sayth expounding these wordes of the Psalme. Thou hast not willed to haue sacrifice and oblation, but. &c.

Rochester.

S. Cyprian speaketh much like y^e sorte, where he sayth thus. It is the Lordes Passion, whiche we doe offer. &c.

Segewicke.

In the olde law there were many sacrifices propiciatory, ergo there be also in the new law, or els you must graunt that God is not so beneficiall now to vs, as then he was to them, seing that we be as frayle, and as nedy as euer were they, whiche must be especially the moste pure dayly sacrifice of Christes body and bloud, that holy Malachy speaketh of.

Madew.

*As touching the place of Malachy the Prophet, I answere that it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ dayly in the Sacrament. For that sacrifice there spoken of is nothing els, but the sincere & most pure preaching of Gods holy word, prayer and of thankesgeuing to God the Father thorow Iesus Christ.

Here M. Segewicke was commaunded to cease to Mayster Yong.

Yong.

WORshipful mayster Doctor, although you haue learnedly, and Clarkely defended these your conclusiōs this day: yet seeing that I am now placed to impugne thē in place of a better: I do begin thus w^t you. It hath pleased Christ to make vs partakers of his holy spirite, and that in very deede, by receiuing of the Christen fayth, hope, and charitye, ergo muche more of his owne blessed bodye, and bloud spiritually and in very deede in the Lordes supper. Item the Aungels foode was altogether holy from aboue, and heauenly called Manna, ergo also this celestial, and

heauenly foode can be iustly esteemed to be of no lesse excellency then that,* but without comparison better: and so no very wheate, after due consecration of it. Item the wordes of holy scripture are euermore effectuell, and working, ergo they must performe the thing indeede that they doe promise. For he that might create, might also chaunge at hys pleasure, the natures, and substaunces of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did by chaunging water into wyne at a Mariage in Galile. But Christ in the Scripture dyd promise Iohn. 6. that the bread that he would geue, is hys flesh in deede, whiche promise was neuer fulfilled till in his last supper, when he tooke bread, gaue thanks, blessed it, and gaue it to his disciples saying, take, eate, this is my body. Which bread then was his flesh in deede, as doth well appeare in the sayd place, and next promise depending vpon the same, thus, which flesh I will geue for the life of the world. This last promise was fulfilled by him vpon the Crosse, ergo the first was likewise at his last Supper. So that it was but one, and the same flesh, first and last promised and performed.

Rochester.

In deed the wordes of holy scripture doe worke theyr effectes potencially and thorowly by the mighty operation of the spirite of God.

Yong.

If it please your Lordship,* man is fedde and nourished with Christes bloud, ergo thē it is his bloud indeed, though it do not so appeare, to our outward senses, which be deceiued, for Christ sayth this is my bloud: And also my bloud is drinke in deede. And because that we shoulde not abhorre his blessed bloud in his naturall kinde, or his flesh if they shoulde be so ministred vnto vs: of his most excellent mercy, and goodnesse, condescending to our weake infirmities, he hath appoynted them to be geuen vs, vnder the sensible kindes of his conuenient creatures, that is to say of bread and wyne. Also our body is fedde with Christes body, which is meate in deede, but it can not be nourished with that that is not there present, ergo Christs body that feedeth vs must needes be present in very deede in the sacrament. Item the nature of bread is chaunged, but the nature of the bread, and the substaunce of it, is all one thing, ergo the substaunce also is chaunged. My first proposition is S. Cyprian de coena domini saying, that the bread in figure is not chaunged, but in nature.

Rochester.

Cyprian there doth take thys worde nature for a propertye of nature onely,* and not for the naturall substaunce.

Yong.

That is a straunge acception, that I haue not read in any author before this time, but yet by your leaue, the communion of Christes body, can not be there, where hys body is not, but the communion of Christes body is in the sacrament, ergo Christes body is there presēt in very deed.

Rochester.

Grace is there communicated to vs by the benefite of Christes body sitting in heauen.

Yong.

Not so onely, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones.

Rochester.

We be not consubstantiall with Christ,* God forbid that, but we are ioyned to his mistical body thorow his holy spirite, and the communion of hys fleshe is communicated to vs spiritually thorow the benefite of his flesh in heauen.

Yong.

Well I am contented, and do most humbly beseeche your good Lordshippe to pardon me of my greate rudenesse and imbecillity, which I haue here shewed.

¶Here ended the first disputation holden at Cambridge the 20. day of Iune. 1549.

¶The second disputation holden at Cambridge 24 of Iune. Ann. 1549.

Doctor Glin in his first conclusion.*

¶The misteries of fayth (as August. witnesseth) may very profitably be beleued, but they cannot well be searched forth, as sayth the scripture, I beleued, therefore I spake and he that confesseth me before men, him will I cōfesse before my father which is in heauen, We beleue euery man in his arte, therefore much more Christ our sauior in his word. Maruell not most honorable Lordes and worshipfull Doctours that I speake thus now, for once you your selues spake the same. But peraduenture some wyll say beleue not euery spirite. I aunswere charity beleueueth all thinges, but not in all thinges. If those thinges whiche I shall vtter, be conuincd as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the wordes of of trueth hoc est corpus meum, this is my body, Christ spake them, therefore I dare not say this bread is my body,* for so Christ sayd not, Christ sayd thus, this is my body, and therfore I but duste and ashes, yea a worme before him, dare not say this is a figure of his body: heauen and earth (saith he) shal passe but my word shall not passe. Whatsoever our old father Adam called euery creature, that is his name to this day, y^e new Adam (Christ Iesus) sayd this is my body, & is it not so? he neuer sayd this is a figure of my bodye, nor eat you this figure, or signe of my body. And therfore whē y^e paschall lambe was set before him, he sayd not, this is my body. Wherefore if at y^e day of iudgemēt, Christ should say vnto me, why hast y^u beleued y^t this is my body? I would [Page 1382](#) aunswere him, because thou hast so called it▪ I beleued it not to be a figure, because thou saydst not, that it was a figure: Other reasons to auouch I know not. Of the worde it self. I contend not, but the thing it selfe I defend, for we must speake regularly. Thus Christ, thus the Apostles, thus all the ancient fathers haue spoke, our fathers hadde but onely figures and shadowes, but the Church of God hath the truth it selfe with the signes. Tertullian sayth one figure conteyneth not another, but Melthizedech was a figure, ergo this is the body. The Sacramentes of the Iewes weare signes and tokens, but ours be both the signes and the thing signed also. Luther himselfe confessed that the

body was present with the bread, and could not denye it: Oecolampadius tooke it for a figure onely Chrisostome demaunding wherefore Christ gaue his body before his passion,* rather then at any other time, aunswereth; that hee might tye the trueth to the figure, saying, t•ke, eate, this is my body, not a figure of my body. And the same Chrisostome sayth agayne, if it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his Disciples haue bene offended in eating a fygure? Agayne in his 83. Homely vpon Mathew. They are not any humayne workes, which he did worke at his last supper, he it is that worketh, he maketh perfect, we are his ministers, but it is he that sanctifieth, and chaūgeth the elementes of breade and wine into his bodye and bloud. Agayne doest thou see bread and wine? doe they passe into the priuy like other meates, God forbid. &c. Theophilus Alexandrinus vpon these wordes of Marke the Euangelist this is my body, sayth. This whiche I geue, and which you receiue, •s not onely bread, or a figure of Christ•s body, but the trueth it selfe, for if it should appeare as it is, in forme of flesh & bloud, we should loth it, and therefore the Lord condescendyng to our weakenesse, reteyneth the formes of bread and wine, and yet conuerteth the same into the trueth of his body and bloud. Theophilactus sayeth the bread and the wine is the very body & bloud of Christ, and not a figure onely. If you stand in suspēse of the author, or approue him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken amongst all the learned for a most faythfull interpreter of Chrisostome, the bread sayth he is transelementate, and transmitted into an other substaunce then it was before. Augustine sayth there was great heede taken in the primitiue Church, least any part of the Sacrament should fall downe to the grounde. &c. Cyrillus sayth, leaste wee shoulde abhorre fleshe and bloud in the Sacrament of the Aultar, God humbleth himselfe to our weakenesse pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very trueth of his owne blessed body and bloud. Damasce•e calleth it a diuine body, or a body deified. Origene, Ireneus, Eusebius Hieronimus, with al the rest of the auncient Catholicke Fathers are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce it were too long.

¶The Declaration of Doctor Glin vpon his second conclusion.

THE sacrifice and offering vppe of Christes body in the Sacrament of the Aultar (right honourable and worshipfull) I will defend euen to the effusion of bloud as a thing consonant to scripture, whereof Paule speaketh to y^e Hebrues. But perchaunce some will obiect, Christ offered vp himselfe,*ergo you ought not to offer him. I aunswere, yea, because he offered himselfe therfore, I offer him, for except he had offered himselfe, I could not haue offered hym. But you will say, Christes death is sufficient, and therfore you ought not to offer him agayne. I aunswere. So may we say, we neede neyther to fast nor pray, for Christe hath done both sufficiently for vs. Agayne you will obiect, if you offer him vppe agayne, you crucify him anew. I answere, not so, for many haue offered him, that haue not crucified him, as Abraham, Isaac, Moyses, the Leuites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but incōmemoration of his death, there being not onely commemoration thereof, but also the very presence of Christes body and bloud. Ireneus sayth, Christ counselled his Disciples to offer the first fruites of all theyr goodes to God, not that he needed any of them, but for that they shoulde not shewe themselues fruitless, or vngratefull, and therefore Christ tooke the creature of bread, gaue thanks, and sayde this is my body, and likewise the creature of the cuppe, and confessed saying, this is my bloud of the new Testament. Thus Christe hath taught a newe kinde of oblation, whiche the Church receiuing from the Apostles, offereth to God thorow out all the whole world, who onely geueth vnto vs all kynd of foode, and the first fruites of his gracious giftes in the newe Testament, whereof Malachye

thus sayth, I haue no pleasure in you sayth the Lorde of Hostes, I will not receiue any sacrifices at your handes, because my name is glorified amongst the Nations from the East to the West sayth the Lord, and in euery place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my name. But here may be objected, Christe is the onely sacrifice for sinne, and wythout hym there is no moe. I aunswere,* notwithstanding wee haue this commaundement, doe this in remembraunce of me, besides that I denye not that it is a commemoration, but I denye that it is an onely commemoration. I denye his absence, and I affirme his presence.

Here endeth the declaration of Doctor Glin.

Mayster Perne.

Where as you say (most reuerend mayster Doctor) in your proposition, I beleued, and therefore I spake, and we beleue, and therefore doe speake, our consciences, suggesting the same vnto vs, and agayne that misteryes are not to be searched, and the like, it semeth you go about to restrayne the searching of holye Scriptures, whereas Christe sayth scrutamini scripturas, searche the Scriptures.* Moreouer you haue cited the Fathers confusedly, & without order, you left transubstantiation and endeouour your selfe to proue the reall pr•sence in the Sacrament, wheras we denye nothing lesse then his corporall presence, or the absence of his substaunce in the bread.

Glin.

You inueigh wonderfully you knowe not agaynste what, for neyther I, nor yet August. doe denie the searching of the scriptures, but I sayd out of Augustine misteries are not to be searched: it is an other thing to search misteryes, then it is to searche the Scriptures, whereas you requyre of me a regulate order of citing the Doctours, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of tyme so to do: but if you desire me so earnestly to performe that, if time may be graū|ted me, I will easely fulfill your request.

Perne.

I pray you let me aske you, what is a sacrament?

Glin.

A sacrament is a visible signe, of an inuisible grace.

Perne.

Augustine agaynst Maximinus the Arian Bishop maketh this diffinition of a sacrament. A sacrament is a thing signifyng one thing and shewing an other thing.

Glin.

I refuse not his reason.

Perne.

What is the thing figured by the sacrament?

Glin.

The thing figured is twofolde, to witte the thyng conteyned, and the thing signified, the thing signified, and not conteyned. For there be three thynges conteyned, the true body of Christ, the mystical body and the fruit or benefite of the sacrament.

Perne.

The formes and signes of bread nourishe not, ergo somewhat els besides the bare signe of bread doth remain, which nourisheth y^t is the substaunce of bread. For in euery sacrament there is a similitude, betwixte the signe and the thing signed, but betwixt the body of Christ, and the forme or kinde of bread, there is no similitude, ergo the nature of a sacrament is taken away.

Glin.

I deny your minor mayster Doctor.

Perne.

The formes nourish not, but the bodye nourisheth ergo there is no similitude betwixt them, and so is the nature of a sacrament cleane destroyd.

Glin.

It is sufficient to similitudes that the bread whyche was doth nourishe, and yet certayne Doctors do affirme that the formes do nourish miraculously.

Rochester.

Whosoeuer taketh awaye all the similitude of substaunces, consequently he taketh away the sacrament, for a similitude is three folde, namely of nutrition, of vnity and conuersion. But by a contrary similitude, he is not charged into our substaunce, but we into his: for in nutrition this is the similitude, that our bloud nourisheth our bodyes, so the bloud of Christ doth nourish vs, but after a wonderfull maner, to wit by turning vs into himselfe.

Glin.

I haue aunswered your reason (most reuerend Father) in that I sayd that the formes do nourish miraculously, as certeine learned do affirme.

Perne.

By what authority can you say that bread doth not remayne.

Glin.

By the authority of Christ who sayth this is my body.

Perne.

By the same reason may we say that bread still remayneth, for S. Paule calleth it bread sundry times in hys epistles.

Glin.

I denye not that it is breade, but that it is materiall bread, for Paule alwayes addeth this article (which) betokening (as all men hold) some chiefe thing.

Perne.

We are chaunged into a new creature.

Glin.

Not substancially, but actually.

Rochest.

This is that bread which came downe from heauē, ergo it is not Christs body,* for his body came not from heauen.

Glin.

We may say that Christ, God & man, came down frō heauen for the vnity of his person, or els for the mutuall cōmunity of the same his 2. natures in one, for his humain [Page 1383](#) nature I know came not from heauen.*

Rochester.

The bread is his humaine nature, but y^e humain nature of his came not from heauē, ergo neither the bread.

Glin.

It is true that the bread came not frō heauē as bread simply, but as celestiall & heauenly bread. But I will aunswere to that, wheras you hold that y^e body of Christ came not from heauen: I by the body and flesh of Christ do vnderstand whole Christ, neyther separating his soule, nor yet his

Deity, although hys humanity is not turned into his diuinity by confusion of substaunce, but is one by vnity of both. Or els thus I may reason, the God of glory is crucified, and the sonne of Mary created the world. &c.

Rochester.

So it is. But he is called a rocke and a vine, and so after your iudgement he is both a materiall rocke,* & also a materiall vine.

Glin.

The circumstances there shew playnely that there is a trope or figure: for it foloweth I am the vine, you are the braunches: but here is no trope. For after these words, this is my body, he addeth, which is geuen for you.

Rochester.

*Your iudgement herein is very grosse, and farre discrepant from the truth.

Glin.

If my iudgement in this he grosse (most reuerend father) thē are all the auncient fathers as grosse in iudgemēt as I in this poynt and the catholicke church also.

Perne

Shew vs one place, or one Doctor who sayth that it remayneth not bread after the consecration.

Glin.

I wōder that you are not ashamed to aske that of me, for haue you not had almost infinite places and doctors alledged vnto you in my former declarations prouing as much as you request at my handes?

Perne.

He tooke bread, he brake bread, ergo it is bread.

Glin.

*I haue answered often hereunto, and I graunt it is bread, but not onely, or materiall.

Perne.

Ireneus affirmeth that a sacramēt consisteth of a double matter, of a earthly matter, and of a heauenly, ergo the bread remayneth.

Glin.

Ireneus in that place by the earthly matter,* meaneth the humanity of Christ, and by the heauenly matter, the deity of Christ.

Rochester.

The humanity, and the diuinity of Christ make not a sacrament, which consisteth of a visible, and an inuisible nature, & I deny that Ireneus can be so vnderstanded: Therefore we desire the learned auditory to search Ireneus at home as oportunitie will serue for this matter.

Glin.

I wish them so to do also with all my hart.

Here Maister Grindall beginneth to dispute.

Grindall.

WHeras you say (worshipful M. Doct.) that we speak not now as sometimes we thought,* and iudged in this matter, peraduenture you also iudge not so now of all thinges as you haue done tofore. But what we haue once bene, it forceth not, God respecteth no mans person. And wheras you say that you dare not contrary to Christ cal it a signe,* or a figure, August. notwithstanding dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewise with many mo.

Glin.

True it is, but they called it not a signe or a figure onely, but proue you (if you can) that after the consecration remayneth any other substaunce then the reall body of Christ?

Grindall.

If the formes do nourish (as you contend) they nourish the naturall and humayne body, for they be both as one,* and are nourished a like.

Glin.

Your reason is meere phisicall, and therefore to be reiected in matters of fayth, but I graunt they nourish, but miraculously.

Grindall.

If you graūt that the formes do nourish, thē you graunt that bread remayneth.

Glin.

I sayd euen now that that is true, but the nature of it is chaunged and that miraculously.

Grindall.

If it be the reall and substaunciall body of Christ because Christ sayde (this is my body) ergo because the Lord sayd I will not drinke of the fruit of this vine,* and Paule calleth it bread after the consecration it is therfore bread, & wine.

Glin.

Truely syr you must bring better arguments, or els you will proue nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer: Chrisost. sayth Christ did drinke of the bloud, but whether this sentence I will not drinke of the fruit of the vine be spokē of the bloud it is not certayne. And truly Erasmus denyeth that it is not to be found in all y^e whole scripture, that it is called bread after the consecration. Or els thus I may answer you. Euē as it is called bread for the forme,* and kind, and accidentes which remayne, so for y^e forme, & similitude which it hath it may be called y^e fruit of the vine after the consecratiō. And wheras Chrisost. calleth it wine, he speaketh of the nature wherof the sacramēt necessarily is made. And I denye not but it may be called wine, but yet eucharisticall. &c.

Rochest.

The Euangelistes, Math. Marke, and Luke, call i[•] the fruit of the vine, and Chrisost. saith that the fruit of the vine is nothing els but wine, ergo Christ gaue them wine, and dranke wine himselfe also, not bloud.*

Glin.

Christ said twise I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, once at the eating of the paschall Lambe (as Luke sayth) & then was it wine indeed: And agayne after the consecration of his body and bloud he sayd the like, and then it was not wine, which me think I can proue by the plain words of S. Luke if we compare him with Math. For if it were wine as they both affirme, then the wordes of Christ cannot well stand, because first (as Luke sheweth) he sayde at his legall supper I will not drinke of the fruit of this vine. &c. And agayne in Math. after the consecration of his body & bloud he dranke: it followeth therefore that that which he dranke was not wine by nature, for then must Christ needes be a lyer, which were blasphemy to say.

Rochest.

August. doth thus reconcile those places, saying it is spoken by a figure which we call histeron proteron.

Glin

I know that August. sayth so,* but me thinke y^t which I haue sayd semeth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rochest.

August. seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shiftes to obscure the truth.

Glin.

Say your fatherhoode what you will of Aug. I thinke not so.

Grindall.

This cup is the new testament in my bloud, but here is a trope, ergo,* in these wordes of Christ (this is my body) is a trope also.

Glin.

I deny your argumēt: for wheras Luk saith this cup, Math. sayth this is my bloud, & therfore as Aug. sayth places that be darcke, are to be expounded by other that be light.

Rochest.

All of your side, deny y^e Christ euer vsed any trope in the instituting of sacramentes.

Glin.

For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, wherof you your selfe also do pretend the like.

Rochest.

What vnderstād you by this word (hoc, this) & in what words standeth the force or strength of the sacramēt? In this pronowne (hoc, this) or in this verbe (est, is) or els in this whole sentence this is my body?

Glin.

It is not made the true body, except all the words be spokē, as in baptisme, I baptise thee in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost. For neither doth baptisme consist in this word ego I, or in baptise, or in this word (te, thee) or in these words in nomine, in the name. &c. but in all the wordes spoken in order.

Grindall.

If to eat the body of Christ be a figuratiue speach,^{*} as August. sayth it is, ergo, then these wordes (this is my body) is a figuratiue speach also.

Glin.

It is a figuratiue speach, because we eat not the body of Christ after the same maner that we do other meates. &c.

Grind.

Ciprian vnderstandeth this of those y^t come vnworthely,^{*} & make no difference of y^e Lordes body speaking of y^e diiudicatiō of the sacramentes & not of the body of Christ.

Glin.

Truely he speaketh of the true body of Christ.

Rochest.

They receiue vnworthely, who neither iudge themselues, nor yet the sacraments taking them as other common bread.

Grind.

August. vpon the 33. psal. sayth Christ bare himselfe in his owne handes after a sort, not in deed or truely. &c.

Glin.

You omit many other thinges which August. sayth, & I confesse that he caried himselfe in his own handes after • sort, but August. deliuereth this vnto vs, and as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to cary a figure of his body in his hands. And wheras you say y^t•hrist caryed himselfe after a sort in his owne handes, it is verye true, but yet diuersly, for he sat after one maner at his supper, & after an other maner he caried himselfe in his hands. For Christ in the visible figure bore himselfe inuisibly.^{*}

Grind.

Tertullian calleth it a figure, ergo, it is so.

Glin.

It is (as I haue sayd) a figure, but not a figure onely. But heare what Tertullian sayth, he tooke bread, and made it his body, saying, this is my body. &c.

Grind.

Heare what Chrisost. vpon Math. homil. 11. sup. ca. 5 if vessels sanctified to holy vses. &c.

Glin.

That worke is receiued not as Chrisostomes, but some mans els, as you know, or thus I answere, it is not y^e true body in proper and visible forme.

Here Mayster Gest disputed.

THE bread is not chaunged before the consecration, ergo not after it neither.

Glin.

I deny your argument M. Gest.

Gest.

Christ gaue earthly bread, ergo there is no transubstantiation.

Glin.

I deny your antecedent.

Gest.

That that Christ tooke he blessed, that which he blessed he brake, what he brake he gaue, ergo he receiuing earth^ly bread, gaue the same bread.

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Glin.

Your order in reasoning standeth not, for by y^e same reason may you gather that God tooke a rib of man, and therof built a rib and brought it vnto Adam. Ergo, what he receiued, he brought, but he receiued a rib, Ergo, he brought a ribbe.

Gest.

How is the body of Christ in heauen, and how in the sacrament, whether circumscripitiuely or diffinitiuely?

Glin.

The body of Christ is in heauen circumscripiuely, but not so in the sacrament. The angels also are contained diffinitiuely. But I haue learned that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, but not locally nor circumscripiuely, but after an vnspeakable maner vnknownen to man.

Rochest.

Ah, know you not?

Glin.

Neither in other mysteries of fayth we know not the meane how, although this may partly be prooued by reason. For as my soule is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foote, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body: and as there is one voyce or sound which all men hearyng do vnderstand, so the body of Christ beyng one and the same, is wholly in the aulter, and in many places els. For if God could do this in my foule, how much more in hys owne body.

Rochest.

I beseech you shew vs what difference is betwixt these two, to be in a place circumscripiuely, & diffinitiuely.

Glin.

Your Lordship knoweth very well, but yet if any would know the difference, let hym read August. ad Volusianum, & ad Dardanium, &c.

Gest.

If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Christ, but that is not so, *Ergo, it is not changed.

Glin.

I deny your Minor.

Gest.

It is not generate or begot, ergo it is not the body.

Glin.

That foloweth not, as though to be made & to be generate or begot, were all one thing, or as though there were no other mutation then a generation, & so you impugne a thing y^t you know not. But what call you the generation?▪

Gest.

The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin.

A new definition of a new philosopher.

Gest.

That which he tooke, he blessed, that which he blessed, he brake, and gaue it vnto them, Ergo, &c.

Glin.

Christ tooke bread, brake bread, & gaue his body, that is the substance of his body, saying, This is my body.

Gest.

The bread is not chaunged into the bloud of Christ, Ergo, not into his body neither.

Glin.

I deny your antecedent.

Gest.

The maister of the sentences saith it.

Glin.

You vnderstand him not, for the bread is changed into the bloud of Christ,* by the power of Gods word.

Rochest.

Ye dreame of a reall presence of Christes body in the sacrament, by the force of the words spoken, which the holy scripture doth impugne.

Glin.

We say that not only by the power of the worde, but also by the spirit & secret vertue in the words it is brought to passe, for there is no power in one word alone, as before in baptisme: but in all the words duly prolated, according to the custome of the ancient catholike church.

Gest.

If there were any transubstantiation, the accidents should not remayne still,* but they haue no matter whereto they may leane or cleaue, but the accidentes remayne not themselues alone, Ergo, &c.

Glin.

I confesse the accidents cannot stande themselues alone by their own nature without a subiect, but by y^e power of God they may, not after the opinion of philosophers, but of the scriptures, although I could shew out of y^e scriptures, the accidents to haue bene without the subiect, as in Genesis, The light was made without a subiect, where as the subiect of the light was made the fourth day after, as Basill beareth me record.

Here M. Pilkington disputed.

Pilkington.

THis one thing I desire of you (most worshipfull M. Doctor) that you will answer me with like breuitie, as I shall propound, and thus I reason. The body of Christ that was broken on the crosse, is a full satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world, but the sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world. Ergo, the Sacrament is not the body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your argument.

Pilking.

It is a Sillogisme.

Glin.

It is not so, for there be 4. termes. Touching this word Sacrament, it is manifold: but thus I aunswer. If you take the sacrament for the matter of the sacramēt, that is the body of Christ, then is your Minor propositiō true, and y^e matter of y^e sacrament is the satisfaction for y^e sinnes of the whole world, but if you take the sacrament for the signe, which we call a sacrament, then is your Minor proposition false.

Pilking.

The body of Christ hath satisfied for the sinnes of the whole world, but the sacrament hath not satisfied, Ergo the sacrament is not the body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Minor, vnderstanding the Sacrament for the matter of the sacrament.

Pilking.

The sacrament only profiteth him that receiueth it but many were saued before the institution of this Sacrament was begun, ergo y^e sacrament is not y^e body of Christ.

Glin.

If you meane of the bare signe onely, it profiteth nothing, but if you meane of the thing signified, than what is spoke of the body of Christ, is spoke also of the thing of the sacrament it selfe.

Pilking.

Transubstantiation is not a Sacrament, but that which I meane is a sacrament, Ergo, that which I meane is not transubstantiated.

Glin.

I meane not that transubstantiation is a sacrament, neither do I say that the Sacrament is transubstantiate, but the bread.

Pilking.

The body of Christ is resiant in heauen, & the body of Christ is in the sacrament, Ergo the Sacrament is in heauen.

Glin.

A goodly reason forsooth: but I aunswer, he is after one sort in heauen, and after another sort in the sacrament: for in heauen he is locally, in the sacrament not so, in heauen visibly and circumscripitiuely, but in the sacrament inuisibly and sacramentally.

Rochest.

S. Augustine sayth, take away the spaces from the bodies, and they shall be no where, and that which is no where, is not at all, so whilst you take away the spaces and dymensions from the body of Christ, in the Sacrament you bryng to passe that it is not there at all.

Glin.

In that place Augustine speaketh of naturall bodies, not of supernaturall, otherwyse I could deny that Christ had a true body when he entred into his disciples, y^e gates beyng shut.

Rochest.

Of the gates beyng shut, a diuers and doubtfull meanyng may be gathered, for it may be that he entered in before the gates were shutte, and afterward opened them beyng shut, &c.

Glin.

Then it could be no myracle, but the Euangelists & all sound interpreters say and affirme this to be a miracle of our sauour Christ.

Rochest.

Whether Christ entred in miraculously, the gates beyng shut, or els open, the scripture setteth not downe.

Glin.

As Christ (the wombe of the virgin being shut) was borne into the world without violation of her pure virginitie, or apertion of her wombe (for so he might haue bene polluted) so entred he through the dores to hys Disciples miraculously.

Pilking.

In the bodye of Christ which was geuen for vs, there are no accidents of bread, but in the sacrament there be accidents of bread, ergo, in the Sacrament there is not the body of Christ.

Glin.

In the matter of the sacrament that is in the body of Christ, is no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very sacrament it selfe.

Pilking

I beseech you what do we eate, the substaunce, or the accidents?

Glin.

Both, as when we eate wholesome, and vnwholesome meates together, so we eate the substance of Christes body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilking.

I prooue that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the priuy, but the accidents go in by the mouth, Ergo into the priuy.

Glin.

This sentence whatsoever entreth in by the mouth, &c. is not ment of all kynd of meats, as not of that which Christ eate after hys resurrection.

Pilking.

You shall not eate this body which you see.

Glin.

That is not after that maner as you see it now, nor after the same visible forme.

Pilking.

Wheresoeuer Christ is, there be his ministers also (for so he promised) But Christ as you hold is in the Sacrament, Ergo his ministers are there also.*

Glin.

To bee with Christ is spoken diuers wayes, as in hart, in mynd and place, and sometymes both: or to bee with Christ is to minister vnto him, and to do his wil, &c.

The third disputation holden at Cambridge as before.

M. Perne.

CHrist at his last supper tooke bread, brake bread, distributed bread, Ergo, not his body, but a Sacrament of hys body, for the bones of Christ could no man breake, as witnesseth the Prophet, sayeng: Os non comminuetis ex eo, that is, you shall not breake a bone of hym. This cuppe is the cup of the new Testament in my bloud. In this sentence there is a trope by theyr owne confession, wherefore [Page 1385](#) there is in the other also, This is my body, for the holy scripture is a perfect rule not onely of doying, but also of speakyng. Paule calleth it bread three tymes, Ergo it is bread, &c. And wheras they vrge so much this Pronoun (illum) it is not in the Greeke canon which hath panem, bread, not panem illum, that bread. There was no transubstantiation in the Manna, Ergo, nor in this sacrament, for there is this article (est) if that can prooue transubstantiation as they suppose. And if Manna were a figure (say they) then this is not. This myserie or Sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meate. Manna gaue lyfe vnto them, as this doth vnto vs, yet was it but a figure. In euery sacrament there ought to be a certaine analogie,* both of the interne and externe thyng of the Sacrament, as Augustine sayth, writyng to Bonifacius, but betwixt the formes of bread and wyne, and the body of Christ, there is no analogie at all, Ergo, they make not a Sacrament. As of many graynes, &c. This similitude of Paule is spoken of y^e substance of bread, not of the forme thereof, otherwyse Paule should in vayne compare vs to bread. As in Baptisme there is materiall water, so in the sacrament of the Eucharist is materiall bread. Dionysius called the Sacrament of Christes bodye no otherwyse then bread. Eusebius in ecclesiastica historia doth the same▪ Tertullian, lib. 4. against Marcion, sayth thus, He gaue hys body, that is (sayth he) a figure or type of hys body. Cyprian sayeth, In his last supper he gaue bread and wyne, and hys body vpon the crosse. The same Cyprian epist 6. lib. 1.

and epist. 3. lib. 2. sayeth. Christ dranke wyne at his last supper,* because he would root out the heresie of certaine who onely vsed water in the ministration thereof. Chrysost. hom. 13. vpon Math. sayth, That onely bread remayneth, &c. Theodoretus sayth in hys first dialogue, bread remayneth still in hys first nature as before. Augustine sayth, The bread doth not loose his first nature after the consecration, but receyue y^e another qualitie, whereby it differeth from common bread. The same August. lib. 3. agaynst Maximinus sayeth.* Sacramentes are figures, beyng one thyng in deede, and shewyng forth an other thyng: he speaketh of no transubstantiation here. Agayne, writyng to Bonifacius he sayth, The Sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and so is the sacrament of wyne also, &c. The sacraments of the olde and new law, are all one in substaunce of matter, notwithstanding they be diuers in signes: which Sacramentes, why should they not be one, whē as they signified al one thing. The body of Christ when it was on the earth, was not in heauen, so now it beyng in heauen, is not on the earth. Wherby it may appeare, that transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious, and damnable error, and a most vayne,* vnsauory, and diuelish papisticall inuention, defended and maintayned onely by the papistes, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn this doctrine of transubstantiation, are no new vpstartes, as the enemies of the truth the papists beare the world in hand. But contrarily, those who maintayne this diuelish doctrine, are new sprong vp cocatrices, as Manicheus, Euticus and others. Gelasius sayth, The sacramentes which we receyue, are diuine thyngs, yet cease they not to bee bread and wyne in nature. Out of this puddle of transubstantiation, hath sprong vp adoration of the sacrament, and inducyng men to beleue that Christ hath many bodies.

The declaration of the sayd M. Perne in the 2. conclusion.

MAthew, Marke, Luke, and the apostle Paule, call it a commemoration or remembraunce of Christes body and bloud. And Paule to the Hebrews sayth: By one onely oblation once offered, are we made perfect to eternall saluation, &c. By hym therefore doe we offer vp the sacrifice of laud and prayse to God, that is the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the Eucharist,* because we offer to God praise and thanksgeuyng, with deuout myndes, and it is called the cup of thanksgeuyng, because we geue thanks to God thereby also. You shall preach forth the Lordes death, &c. that is, you shall geue thanks & be myndfull of his death, &c. Geue your bodies a quick and liuyng sacrifice, &c. The sacrifice of prayse and thanksgeiuing, shall honour me, &c. Chrysostome sayth,* The wyse men offered three kyndes of sacrifices, gold, frankencense and myrrhe, so we doe also, namely vertue, prayer, and almes deedes. These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased. And Augustine sayth there are no other sacrifices thē prayer, prayse and thanksgeuyng, &c. Chrysostome homil. 46. vpon Iohn sayth, to be conuerted or turned into Christ, is to be made pertaker of hys body and bloud.

There disputed against him M. Parker, M. Poll•rd, M. Vauisor, and M. Yong.

Parker.

CHrist whose wordes are to be beleueed, sayd, This is my body, he said not this bread is my body, or w^t this bread, or vnder this bread, or by this bread, but sayd plainly, This is my body. And this he prooued by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly,* for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was geuen. The transubstātiatiō of the bread was prefigured

by the Manna which came downe from heauen, all that bread was heauenly, and without any earthly matter or substance adnexed. Secondly, it was promised in those wordes of Christ, y^e bread that I will geue, is my flesh, &c. Thirdly, it was geuen by Christ, and exhibited in hys last supper, sayeng: Take, eate, this is my body.

Here they were forced to breake of through the want of tyme, yet Parker replied thus agaynst Doct. Perne.

WE geue thee thanks most holy Father, that thou hast hid these thyngs from the wyse and prudent, and hast reuealed them to babes, for pryde is the roote of al heresies whatsoeuer. And on the other side, to acknowledge our owne infirmitie and imperfection, is the first steppe to the true vnderstandyng of the truth. Nestorius the heretike affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ, one that was man, another that was God, therefore he sayd that in the Eucharist was containyd true flesh, but onely of hys pure manhoode. Agaynst hym did the counsell of Ephesus conclude, sayeng: That there was the reall fleshe of the sonne of God, &c. This he proued by the words of Christ, My flesh is meate in deede, and what flesh that is, he teacheth vpon the sixt of Iohn, that is, quoth he, the fleshe vnited to the deitie, and quickened by the holy Ghost, &c. Now that that flesh is in the Sacrament, it is playn[•] by Hillarius, lib. 8. de Trinitate, he prooued the same also out of Chrysostome, homil. 45. vpon Iohn.* We are one bodye with hym, mēbers of his flesh, and bones of his bones, &c. Agayne in the same homilie, we are ioyned to hys flesh, not onely by fayth and loue, but also in very deede, and truely[•] And agayne it pleased me to become your brother, and by the same thyngs wherin I was ioyned to you, haue I geuen my selfe agayne vnto you, &c.

Perne.

I graunt vnto you that Christ is in the sacrament truely, wholly, & verely,* after a certaine propertie & maner: I deny not hys presence, but hys reall and corporall presence I vtterly deny, for doubtles hys true and natural body is in heauen, and not in the sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with vs, and in vs after a certaine vnitie. And also in the 6. chapter of Iohn, he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified, &c.

Parker.

The flesh of Christ as it is in the sacramēt, is quick and geueth lyfe, Ergo, his reall and substantiall fleshe is in the sacrament.

Perne.

The flesh of Christ in that it is vnited to the deitie, doth viuifie, and geueth lyfe, but not otherwyse.*

Rochest.

Christ dwelleth in vs by fayth, and by fayth we receiue Christ both God and man, both in spirit and flesh, that is, this sacramentall eatyng is the meane and waye whereby we attayne to the

spirituall eatyng, and in deede for the strengthenyng of vs to the eatyng of this spirituall foode, was this sacrament ordeyned.* And these words This is my body, are ment thus, by grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose.

Parker.

We are ioyned to Christ, not onely by faith, but also in very deede, ergo &c.

Rochest.

We are ioyned to Christ that is, we are made pertakers of his flesh and of immortalitie. And so lyke case is there a vnion betweene man and woman, yet is there no transubstantia•ion of eyther, or both, &c.

Pollard.

The sacrament is not bare bread and nothing els, onely because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures,* and that I prooue by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact, as the Angels are called men, the holy ghost a tonge, the rod of Aaron a serpent, and such lyke. The wordes of Christ do teach the same thyng, as appeareth in the healyng of the woman of Canaans daughter, Iairus sonne, and many others, &c. Ergo, &c. Then he prooued agaynst Rochester, that somewhat els was in the Sacrament besides power and grace by this reason. The euill receyue the body of Christ, as is playne out of Augustine, homil. 21. de verbis domini, but the euill and wycked receyue not the vertue or grace, Ergo, there is not onely grace and vertue in the sacrament.

Rochest.

The euill do not receyue the Lord in Sacrament, [Page 1374](#) but the sacrament of the Lord,* as Iudas, who in deed eate not the true body of the Lord.

Pollard.

In the sacrament be three thyngs, to wit, an outward signe, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruite of the same, the euill receyue the outward signe, and the subiect of the Sacrament, but not the fruite of the Sacrament, Ergo, there is somewhat els in the Sacrament than onely grace. Also euery Sacrament ought to haue a certaine similitude with the matter of the Sacrament, but the materiall bread hath not such similitude with the body of Christ, which is the matter of the Sacrament, Ergo, materiall bread is not a Sacrament.

Perne.

I deny your Minor, for materiall breade doth so nourish the bodye, as the fleshe of Christ doth the soule.

Here he beyng requested, gaue place to others.

M. Vauisor.

THorough the shortnesse of tyme I am so constrayned, that neyther I can speake without losse of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speakyng (as I doe) without great premeditation before this honourable, worshipfull, and learned audience, I shall but shewe foorth my childishnesse herein, and if I should hold my peace, I myght be thought to betray the truth of Gods cause. And therefore whilest I can neyther speake for the breuitie of tyme, nor yet hold my peace gods truth beyng in controuersie, I haue determined although with the impairyng of my good name, to render a reason of my fayth, which if I cannot affourd probably in words, yet wyll I not faulte in sayeng nothyng at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and vnlearned, amongst so many graue learned Fathers & Doctours, then to forsake the iust defence of the truth, which euery good christian man throughout the world, hath euer holden inuiolable. For who so forsaketh the manifest knowen truth, had neuer any true fayth therein. Which thyng that I may ouerpasse in Berengarius,* Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and many others, who are certaynely knowen to be of no lesse variaunce amongst themselues, then vncertain of theyr fayth what to beleue. Zuinglius wryteth thus of hymselfe. Although this thyng which I meane to intreate of doth lyke me very well, yet notwithstanding, I dare define nothyng, but only shew my poore iudgement abroad to others, that if it please the Lord, others may be therby instructed by the spirit of God which teacheth all good thynges. In vayne doe I spende many wordes. You see playnely he dare not define anye thyng certainly, but doubteth whether it please GOD or not. Oecolampadius wrytyng to a certayne brother of hys, sayth thus: Peace be with thee. As farre as I can coniecture out of the learned Fathers these wordes, Iohn. 6. This is my body, be figuratiue locutions, &c. You see hereby how vncertaine they be of their opinions. They leane not to the Scriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the trueth, but to supposals and coniectures, who therefore hereafter wyll cleane vnto them? But nowe I come to your Oration, whose beginnyng pleased me very well, and whose progresse therein offended me not. But in the end you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirmyng my partes by the same. And herein you framed a Syllogisme after this maner. What Christ tooke, that he blessed, what he blessed, that he brake, what he brake that he gaue,*Ergo, what he receyued he gaue, &c. Where to I aunswer wyth a lyke Syllogisme out of Genesis. God tooke a ribbe out of Adams side, what hee tooke, he built, what he built that he brought, what he brought, that hee gaue to Adam to be hys wyfe, but he tooke a ribbe, Ergo, he gaue a ribbe to Adam to wyfe, &c. Also in your sayd Oration, you shute much at those wordes of Paule, where he calleth it bread so often, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, when in deede it was wyne, a rodde when it was a playne serpent.

Rochest.

You haue pretended great zeale & words inough, but what pith or substance your reasons will affourd, we shall see hereafter.

Vauisor.

Christ gaue the same flesh to vs, that he receyued of the virgine,* but he tooke true and naturall flesh of her, Ergo, he gaue vs true and naturall fleshe. My Maior I prooue by August. vpon the 98. Psalme.

Rochest.

M. Uauisor you are in a wrong boxe, for y^e place maketh altogether for maintenāce of adoration, if it make for any thyng.

Vauisor.

I know it very well, and therefore I alledge it as the ground of my reason. These bee Augustines woordes, Christ of the earth receyued earth, and of the flesh of Mary, he receyued flesh, acknowledge his substance therefore?

Rochest.

I acknowledge it.

Vauisor.

And in the very same flesh he walked here vppon the earth, acknowledgge his substaunce.*

Rochest.

I acknowledge it.

Vauisor.

And the very same fleshe he gaue vs to eate, acknowledge hys substaunce.

Rochest.

I acknowlege not hys reall substance to be there, but the propertie of hys substance.

Vauisor.

Then Uauisor recited the place, to the ende hee myght prooue that hys reall substaunce ought to bee acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second, affirmyng it out of Saint Augustine, who sayeth thus. The Disciples of Christ approchyng the Lordes table, by fayth dranke the same bloud which the tormenters most cruelly spilt, &c. but the tormenters spilt no figure of bloud, Ergo, &c. this place will not permit the other so to be illuded.

Rochest.

It is no illusion good M. Vauisor, but surely you would moue a Saint with your impertinent reasons.

Vauisor.

I beseech your fatherhood to pardon my rudenes, for surely I cannot otherwyse speake without breache of conscience.

Perne.

That place of Augustine is to bee vnderstoode of a spirituall kynd of eatyng.

Vauisor.

I demand whether the faythfull may receyue spiritually, so as they neede not to receiue sacramentally.

Perne.

They may.

Vauisor.

Then thus to you: To the spirituall eatyng, there is no need to come to the Lordes table, for so it is the meat of the soule, not of the teeth, but the faythfull come to the Lordes table, Ergo that place is to be vnderstood of a sacramentall eatyng. And agayne, Augustine sayth, that he caried hymselfe in hys hands.

Rochest.

Augustine sheweth a little after, what he meaneth thereby, where he sayeth he caried hymselfe in his owne hands, after a certayne sort or maner.

Vauisor.

True it is that after one maner he sate at the table, and after another maner was in the sacrament.

¶M. Yong here disputeth agaynst Perne, as followeth.

Yong.

I Understand the meanyng o• this worde Proprietas, proprietie, well enough, for in Hillarie and Eusebius, it signifieth not the vertue or power of any substance or beyng, but rather a naturall beyng or substance.

Rochest.

I commend your great diligence in searchyng of authors, but in diuinitie the matter standeth not so, for the proprietie of essence in the deitie, is the very essence, and whatsoeuer is in God, is God.

Yong.

True it is (most reuerend father) that this worde Proprietas, proprietie, in Hillary in hys 8. booke de Trinitate, intreatyng there of the diuinitie of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, is so meant and taken, but the same Hillary almost in the same place speaketh of our communion and vnitie wyth Christ, &c. Tertullian also writyng of the resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the fleshe of our sauour is that whereof our soule is allied to God, that is it which causeth that our soules are ioyned to hym, but our flesh is made cleane, that the soule may be purged, our flesh is annoynted, that the soule may be made holy, the flesh is sealed, that the soule may be comforted, the fleshe is shadowed with the imposition of the handes, that our soule may be lightened with the glory of the spirite. Our flesh is clothed with a body and bloud, that the soule may be fed and nourished of God.

Rochest.

The fleshe in deede is fed with the body and the bloud of the Lord,* when our bodies by mortification are made lyke to his body. And our body is nourished when the vertue and power of the body of Christ doth feede vs. The same Tertullian is not afrayd to cal it flesh, and bloud, but he meaneth a figure of the same.

Yong.

Then by your leaue it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needes be a sacramentall communion, which cannot be. Ergo, &c.

¶Here endeth the third, and last Disputation holden at Cambridge. 1549.

This disputation continued three dayes. In the first dyd aunswer Doctour Madew. Agaynst whome disputed Doctour Glinne, M. Langdale, M. Segewike, M. Young.

In the second disputation did answer Doctor Glinne. Agaynst whome disputed M. Grindall, M. Perne, M. Gest, M. Pilkington.

[Page 1387*](#)In the third disputation answered M. Perne. Against whome disputed one M. Parkar (not Doct. Math. Parkar) M. Pollard, M. Uauisour, M. Yong.

At length the disputations ended, the Bishop of Rochester Doct. Nicolas Ridley after the maner of Scholes,* made this determination vpon the foresayde conclusions, as here followeth.

¶The determination of Doctor Nicolas Ridley Bishop of Rochester, vpon the conclusions aboue prefixed.

There hath bene an ancient custome amongst you, that after disputations had in your common scholes,* there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian religion. Because therefore it is seene good vnto these worshipfull assistentes ioyned with me in commission from the kings Maiestie, that I should performe the same at this tyme: I will by your fauourable pacience declare, both what I do thinke and beleue my selfe, and what also other, ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterwardees ye did with diligence way and ponder, euery man at home seuerally by himselfe.

The principal groundes or rather headsprings of this matter are specially fiue.

The first is the authoritie, maiestie, and veritie of holy Scripture.*

The second is the most certayne testimonies of the auncient Catholicke Fathers, who, after my iudgement, do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abhominable heresie of Eutiches that may ensue of Transubstantiation.

The fift is the most sure beliefe of the article of our fayth: He ascended into heauen.

¶The first grounde.

This Transubstantiation is cleane agaynst y^e wordes of the scripture,* and consent of the auncient Catholick Fathers. The scripture sayth: I will not drinke hereafter of thys fruite of the vine. &c. Now the fruite of this Uyne is wyne. And it is manifest that Christ spake these wordes after the Supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Mathewe, Marke, and also in Luke, if they be well vnderstanded. There be not many places of the scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly materiall: For it is enough if there be any one playne testimonie for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority,* and by the veritie of the same. And the maiestie of this veritie is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture, as in a thousand.

Moreouer, Christ tooke bread, he brake bread, he gaue bread. In the Actes Luke calleth it bread. So Paule calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speaketh of breakyng, which belongeth to the substaunce of bread, and in no wyse to Christes body, for the Scripture sayth: Ye shall not breake a bone of hym.* Christ sayth, Doe ye this in my remembraunce. Saint Paule also sayeth: Doe ye this in my remembraunce. And agayne, As often as ye shall drinke of this cup,* do it in the remembraunce of me. And our Sauour Christ in the 6. of Iohn, speakyng against the Capernaits, sayth: Labour for the meat that perisheth not. And when they asked: What shall we do that we may worke the workes of God? He aunswered them thus: This is the worke of God, that ye beleue in hym whom he hath sent.* You see how he exhorteth them to fayth, for fayth is that worke of God. Agayne, This is the bread which came downe from heauen. But

Christes body came not downe from heauen. Moreouer, Hee that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in hym. My flesh (sayth he) is meat in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede. When they heard this, they were offended. And whilest they were offended, he sayd vnto them: What if ye shall see the sonne of man ascend vp where he was before? Wherby he went about to draw them from the grosse and carnal eatyng. This body sayth he, shall ascend vp into heauen, meanyng altogether as S. Augustine sayth: It is the spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothyng. The wordes that I speake vnto you, are spirit and lyfe, and must be spiritually vnderstood. These bee the reasons which perswade me to incline to this sentence and iudgement.

***¶The second ground.**

Now my second ground agaynst this transubstantiation are the auncient Fathers a thousand yeares past. And so farre of is it that they do confirme this opinion of transubstantiation, that playne they seeme vnto me, both to thinke and to teach the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it breade.* The places are so manifest and playne, that it needeth not to recite them.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians sayth:*I beseech you brethren cleaue fast vnto one fayth, and to one kynde of preachyng, vsing together one manner of thankesgeuyng: for the fleshe of the Lord Iesu is one, and hys bloud is one which was shedde for vs: There is also one bread broken for vs, and one cuppe of the whole Church.

Irenaeus writeth thus:*Euen as the bread that commeth of the earth receauyng Gods vocation is now no more common breade, but Sacramentall breade, consistyng of two natures, earthly and heauenly: euen so our bodyes receauyng the Eucharist, are now no more corruptible, hauyng hope of the resurrection.

Tertullian is very playne,* for he calleth it a figure of the body, &c.

Chrysostome writyng to Caesarius the Monke, albeit he be not receyued of dyuers,* yet wyll I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your myndes: for it seemeth to shewe playnely the substaunce of bread to remayne. The wordes are these.

Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God sanctifyng the same thorough the ministry of the Priest, it is deliuered from the name of breade, and is counted worthy to beare the name of the Lordes body, although the very substaunce of bread notwithstanding doe still remayne therin, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Sonne, &c.

Cyprian sayth: Bread is made of many graynes. And is that naturall bread, and made of wheate? Yea it is so in deede.*

The booke of Theodoret in Greeke, was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not bene his, it should not haue bene set forth there, especially seeyng it is directly against transubstantiation: For he sayth plainely, that bread styll remayneth after the sanctification.

Gelasius also is very playne in this manner. The Sacrament (sayth he) which we receyue of the body and bloude of Christ, is a diuine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of the deuine nature, and yet it ceaseth not s^oil to be the substaunce of bread and wyne. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and bloud of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

After this he recited certayne places out of Augustine and Cyrill, which were not noted.

Isichius also confesseth that it is bread. *

Also the iudgement of Bertram in this matter, is verye playne and manifest. And thus much for the second groūd.

The third ground.

The third ground, is the nature of the Sacrament, which consisteth in three things, that is, Unitie, * Nutrition, and Conuersion.

As touching vnitie, Cyprian thus writeth: Euen as of many graynes is made one bread, so are we one mysticall bodye of Christ. Wherefore bread must needes still remaine, or els we destroy the nature of a Sacrament.

Also they that take away nutrition, which commeth by bread, do take away likewise the nature of the sacrament. * For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soule, euē so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore, they that take away y^e graynes or the vnion of the graynes in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substaunce thereof, in my iudgement are Sacramentaries: for they take away the similitude betwene the bread & the body of Christ. For they which affirme transubstantiation are in deed right Sacramentaries and Capernites.

As touchyng conuersion (that lyke as the bread which we receyue, is turned into our substance, * so are we turned into Christes body) Rabanus and Chrysostome are witnesses sufficient.

The fourth ground. *

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the Eucharist, do take from him the veritie of mans nature. Eutiches granted the diuine nature in Christ, but his humane nature he denied. So they that defend transubstantiation ascribe that to the humane nature, which onely belongeth to the deuine nature.

The fift ground.

The fift ground is the certaine perswasion of this Article [Page 1388](#) of fayth: He ascended into heauen, and sitteth on the right hand. &c.

Augustine sayth: The Lord is aboue euen to the end of the world: but yet the veritie of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein he rose agayne,* must needes be in one place, but his veritie is spread abroad euery where.

Also in another place he sayth: Let the godly receyue also that Sacrament, but let them not be carefull (speaking there of the presence of his body.*) For as touchyng hys maiesty, his prouidence, his inuisible and vnspeakeable grace, these woordes are fulfilled which he spake: I am with you vnto the ende of the world. But accordyng to the flesh which he took vpō hym, accor'dyng to that which was borne of the Virgin, was apprehēded of the Iewes, was fastened to a tree, taken downe agayne from the crosse, lapped in linnen clothes, was buried and rose agayne, and appeared after hys resurrection, so you shall not haue me always with you. And why? because that as concernyng his flesh he was conuersant with hys Disciples fourty dayes, and they accompanying hym, seyng hym, but not followyng hym, he went vp into heauen, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of hys Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concernyng the presence of hys diuine Maiestie.

Marke and consider well what Saint Augustine sayeth: He is ascended into heauen, and is not here, sayth he. Beleeue not them therefore which say that he is yet here still in the earth.

*Moreouer, Doubt not (sayeth the same Augustine) but that Iesus Christ as concernyng the nature of hys manhoode, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and beleeue the profession of a Christian man: that he rose from death, ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of his father, and from that place, and none other (not from the aultares) shall he come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and he shal come as the Angell sayd, as he was seene go into heauen: that is to say, in the same fourme and substaunce, vnto the which he gaue immortality, but chaunged not nature. After this fourme (meanynge hys humaine nature) we may not thynke that it is euery where.

And in the same Epistle he saith: Take away from the bodies the limitation of places and they shall be no where: * and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.

*Vigilius sayth: If the word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeyng that the word is euery where, why then is not the flesh also euery where? For when it was in earth, then verely it was not in heauen: and now when it is in heauen, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certayne, that it is not in earth, that as cōcernyng the same we looke for hym from heauen, whom as concernyng the word, we beleeue to be with vs in earth.

Also the same Vigilius sayth: Which thyngs seeyng they be so, the course of the scripture must be searched of vs, and many testimonies must be gathered to shew plainly what a wickednes and sacriledge it is to referre those thyngs to the property of the diuine nature, which do onely belong to the nature of the flesh: and contrarywyse, to apply those thinges vnto the nature of the fleshe, which doe properly belong to the diuine nature. Which thyng the transubstantiatours doe, whilst they affirme Christes body not to be conteyned in any one place, and ascribe that to hys humanity, which properly belongeth to hys diuinitie: as they do which will haue Christes body to be in no one certayne place limited.

Now in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it dependeth vpon the first,* I will in fewe wordes declare what I thinke. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controuersie in the other would soone be at an end: Two things there be which do perswade me that this conclusion is true: that is, certayne places of the scripture, & also certayne testimonies of the fathers. Saint Paul saith, Heb. 9.* Christ beyng come an high Priest of good thinges to come, by a greater and more perfecter tabernacle not made with hands,* that is, not of this building, neyther by the bloud of Gotes and Calues, but by his owne bloud, entred once into the holye place, and obtayned for vs eternall redemption, &c. and now in the end of the world he hath appeared once to put away sinne by the sacrifice of hymselfe.

And agayne: Christ was once offerred to take away the sinnes of many.

Moreouer he sayth: With one offering hath he made perfect for euer those that are sanctified.*

These scriptures do perswade me to beleue that there is no other oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignoraunt there are many sacrifices) but that which was once made vpon the crosse.*

*The testimonies of the auncient Fathers which confirme the same, are out of Augustine ad Bonifac. Epist. 23. Agayne in his booke of 43. Questions, in the 61. Question. Also in his 20. booke agaynst Faustus the Manichie, cha. 21. And in the same booke agaynst the sayd Faustus, cap. 28. thus he writeth: Now the Christians keepe a memoriall of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and bloud of Christ.

Fulgentius in hys booke De Fide, calleth the same oblation a Commemoration. And these thynges are sufficient for this tyme for a scholasticall determination of these matters.

Disputations of Martin Bucer.

Ouer and beside these disputations aboue mentioned, other disputations also were holden at Cambridge shortly after by Martin Bucer vpon these conclusions followyng.

Conclusions to be disputed.

1. The Canonically bookes of holy Scripture alone,* do sufficiently teach the regenerated all thinges necessarily belongyng vnto saluation.
2. There is no Church in earth which erreth not as well in faith as in maners.
3. We are so iustified freely of God, that before our iustification it is sinne, and prouoketh Gods wrath agaynst vs, what so euer good worke we seeme to doe. Then beyng iustified we do good workes.

In these three Propositions agaynst Bucer, disputed M. Segewike, Yong, and Perne.* Which disputations because they are long here to be recited, I mynde (the Lord willyng) to reserue them to some other conuenient place. In the meane season because great controuersie hath bene and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of Christen bloud about the wordes and meanyng of

the Sacrament: to the intent that the veritie thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtfull scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adioyne to the former discourses of Peter Martyr, and of Doctour Ridley aboue mentioned, an other certayne learned treatise in fourme of a Dialogue, as appertaynyng to the same Argument, compiled (as it seemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr and other Authours,* by a certayne learned and reuerend person of this Realme: who vnder the persones of Custome and Veritie, manifestly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men not to measure Religion by Custome, but to try Custome by truth and the word of God, for els custome may soone deceyue, but the worde of God abydeth for euer.

A fruitfull Dialogue declaring these wordes of Christ: This is my body.

CVSTOME. VERITIE.

CVstome.

I maruell much what madnes is copen into those mens harts,* which now a days are not ashamed so violently to tread downe the liuely worde of God, yea and impudently to deny God hymselfe.

Veritie.

God forbid there should be any such. In deede I remember that the Romish bishop was wont to haue the Bible for his footestoole, & so to tread downe Gods worde euermore when he stood at his Masse. But thanks be to God he is now detected, and hys abhominations be opened and blown throughout all the world. And I heare of no moe that oppresseth Gods word.

Cust.

No mo say you? Yes doubtles there are an hundreth thousand moe, and your parte it is Veritie to withstande them.

Veri.

As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with falsehood. But what are they, disclose them if you will haue them reprooued.

Custome.

What? are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Heare you not how that mē do daily speake against the Sacrament of the aulter, denying it to be the real body of Christ?

Veritie.

In good sooth I haue bene a great whyle abroad, and returned but of late into this countrey. Wherefore you must pardon me if my aunswere be to seeke in such questions. But goe forth in your tale. You haue bene longer here, and are better acquainted then I. What say they more then this?

Cust.

Then this? why, what can they possible say more?

Veri.

Yes there are many things worse then this: for this seemeth in some part to be tollerable.

Cust.

What? me thinketh you dally with me. Semeth it tolerable to deny the sacrament?

Veritie.

They deny it not so much as I can gather by your wordes.

Custome.

Nay then fare you wel: I perceyue you wil take [Page 1389](#) their part.

Veri.

I am not parciall, but indifferent to all parties: For I neuer go further then the truth.

Cust.

I can scarsly beleue you. But what is more true then Christ, which is truth it self? or who euer was so hardy before this tyme to charge Christ with a lye for sayeng these wordes,*This is my body. The words are euident & playne: there is in them not so much as one obscure or darke letter, there is no cause for any man to cauill. And yet that notwithstanding, where as Christ himselfe affirmed it to be his body,* mē now a days are not abashed to say, Christ lyed, it is not his body. The Euangelists agree all in one, the old writers stand of our side, the vniuersall and catholike church hath bene in this mynd these xv. hundred yeare and more. And shall we thinke that Christ hymselfe, hys Euangelists, all the whole Catholike church hath bene so long deceyued, and the truth nowe at length begotten and borne in these dayes?

Veri.

You haue mooued a matter of great force and waight, and whereto without many words I can make no ful answer. Notwithstanding because you prouoke me thereto, if you will geue me licence I will take part with them of whome you haue made false report,* for none of them euer reproued Christ of any lye. But contrarywise, they say that many men of late days, not vnderstanding Christs words haue builded and set vp many fonde lyes vpon hys name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, This is my body,* and next in what sense the Church and the old fathers haue euermore taken them. First therefore you shall vnderstand, that

Scripture is not so to be taken always as the letter soundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the holy ghost was, by whom the scripture was vttered. For if you follow the bare wordes, you will soone shake downe & ouerthrow the greatest part of the christiā fayth. What is plainer then these words: Pater maior me est. My father is greater then I am.* Of those plaine words sprāg vp the heresy of the Arrians, which denied Christ to be equal with his father. What is more euident then this saying: I and my father are both one. Thereof arose the heresy of thē that denied three distinct persons. They all had one soule and one hart,* was spoken by the apostles. Yet had ech of thē a soule and hart peculiar to himselfe. They are now not two, but one flesh, is spoken by the man and his wife. Yet hath both the man and the wife his seuerall body.* He is our very flesh, sayd Ruben by Ioseph his brother, which notwithstanding was not their reall flesh. I am bread sayd Christ, yet was he flesh and no bread.* Christ was the stone, sayeth Paul, and was in deed no materiall stone. Melchisedech had neither father nor mother, and yet in deed he had both. Behold the Lambe of God, sayth Iohn Baptist by Christ, notwithstanding Christ was a man & not a lambe. Circumcision was called the couenant, where as it was but a token of the couenant. The Lambe named the Passeouer, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the passeouer. Iacob raised vp an aulter, & called it beyng made but of lyme and stone, the mighty God of Israel. Moses when he had conquered the Amalakites, set vp an aulter, & called it by y^e names of God,* Iehoua, and Tetragrammatum, We all are one loafe of bread, sayth Paule, yet were they not thereby turned into a loafe of bread. Christ hanging vpon the crosse, appoynted S. Iohn to his mother, saying: Lo there is thy sonne, & yet was he not her sōne.* So many as be baptised into Christ (saith Paule) haue put on Christ, and so manye as are baptised into Christ, are washed with the bloud of Christ. Notwithstanding no man tooke the fonte water to be the naturall bloude of Christ. The cup is the new Testament, sayth Paul, & yet is not the cup in deed the very new Testament. You see therfore that it is not strange, nor a thing vnwoont in y^e scriptures, to call one thing by an others name. So that you can no more of necessitie enforce the chaunging of the bread into Christes body in the sacrament, because y^e words be plaine, This is my body,* then the wiues flesh to be the naturall & reall body & flesh of the husbād, because it is written: They are not two but one flesh: or the aulter of stone to be very God, because Moses with euident and playne words pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you wil needs cleaue to the letter you make for me, and hinder your own cause. For this I will reason, & vse your owne weapon against you. The scripture calleth it bread. The Euangelists agree in the same.* Paule nameth it so v. times in one place, the holy ghost may not be set to schoole to learne to speake. Wherefore I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to beleeeue that in the sacrament there remayneth bread.

Cust.

Me thinketh your answer is reasonable, yet cā I not be satisfied. Declare you therfore more at large, what mooueth you to thinke this of the sacrament. For I thinke you would not withstand a doctrine so long holdē and taught, vnles you were inforced by some strong and likely reasōs.

Veri.

First, in examining the wordes of Christ, I get me to the meanyng & purpose for which they were spoken.* And in this behalfe I see, that Christ ment to haue his death & passion kept in remembrance. For men of themselues bee & euermore were forgetfull of the benefites of God.

And therefore it was behouefull that they should be admonished & stirred vp with some visible and outward tokēs, as with the Passeouer Lambe, the brasen serpent, and other lyke. For the brasen serpent was a token that when the Iewes were stinged & wounded with serpents, God restored thē and made them whole. The passeouer Lambe was a memory of the great benefit of God, which when he destroyed the Egyptians, saued the Iewes whose dores were sprinkled with the bloud of a lambe. So likewise Christ left vs a memoriall & remembraunce of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the childe should demaund of his father what the breaking of the bread, & drinking of the cup meaneth, he myght answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent vpon the crosse, for to redeme the soule of man. And like as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the bloud of Christ cherish & relieue the soule. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacramēt. For Christ charged the Apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Wherupon thus I do conclude:

Fes- Nothyng is done in remembraunce of it selfe.

ti- But the Sacrament is vsed in the remembraunce of Christ.

no. Therefore the Sacrament is not Christ.

Fe- Christ neuer deuoured hymselfe.

ri- Christ did eate the Sacrament with his Apostles.

son. Ergo, the Sacrament is not Christ hymselfe.

Beside this I see, that Christ ordeined not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A sacrament (as S. Augustine declareth) is an outwarde signe of an inuisible grace. Hys words are: *Sacramentum est inuisibilis gratiae visibile signum*. Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this, the token of the body of Christ is the thyng tokened, wherfore they are not one. The second is this.

Fe- One thyng cannot be both visible and inuisible.

ri- But the Sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ inuisible:

son. Therefore they are not one.

Which thing S. Augustine openeth very well by these wordes: *Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramenti. Sacramentum est quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti est corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi*. Moreouer, I remember that Christ ministred this sacrament not to great & deepe philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and vnlearned fishers, which notwithstanding vnderstoode Christes meanyng right well, & deliuered it euen as they tooke it at Christes hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared vnto them the meanyng therof. But the lay people, nor scarsly the Apostles themselues could vnderstand what is mēt by transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, qualitates, quantitates, accidens sine subiecto, terminus a quo, &

terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learnyng for the vnlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that Christ ment some other thyng then hath bene taught of late daies. Furthermore, Christes body is food, not for the body, but for the soule,* & therfore it must be receyued with the instrument of the soule which is fayth. For as ye receiue sustenance for your body by your bodily mouth, so the foode of your soule must be receiued by fayth, which is the mouth of the soule. And for that S. Augustine sharply rebuketh them that thinke to eat Christ with their mouthe, saying: Quid paras dentem & ventrem, crede & manducasti. i. Why makest thou redy thy tooth & thy belly?* beleue & thou hast eatē Christ. Likewise speaking of eatyng the selfe same body, he sayth to the Capernaïtes which tooke hym grosly as men do now a dayes: The words that I speake are spirit and lyfe. It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothyng.* And S. Augustine vpon these words of Christ sayth: *Nō hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, neque bibituri sanguinem, quem effusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id spiritualiter acceptum viuificat: caro autē non prodest quicquam. August. Quinquagena. 2. Psal 98.

Custome.

What meane you by this spirite, and by spirituall eatyng? I pray you vtter your mynde more playnely. For I know well that Christ hath a bodye, and therefore must be eaten (as I thinke) with the mouth of the bodye. For the spirit and the soule as it hath no body and flesh, so [Page 1390](#) it hath no mouth.

Veritie.

You must vnderstand, that a man is shaped of two partes: of the body, and of the soule. And eche of them hath his life and his death, his monthe, his teethe, his foode, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or els can not endure, so must the soule haue his cherishing, otherwise it will decay, & pine away. And therefore we do & may iustly say that the Turkes, Iewes, and Heathen be dead, because they lacke y^t liuely foode of the soule. But how then, or by what meane wil you fede the soule? Doubtles not by the instrument of the body, but of the soule. For that which is receiued into the bodye, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ sayth, That what •o entreth into the belly, is conueied into the draught. And where as you say that the spirite hathe no mouth, like as it hath no bodye or bones, you are deceiued. For the spirite hath a mouthe in his kinde, or else howe coulde a man eate and drinke Iustice? for vndoubtedly his bodily mouthe is no fit instrument for it. Yet Christ sayeth, that he is blessed that hungreth and thirsteth for Iustice. If hee hunger and thirst for Iustice,* belike he both eateth and drinketh it, or otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth hys thirst.* Nowe if a man eate and drinke righteousnesse wyth hys spirite, no doubt his spirite hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus:

Da- Of what soeuer sorte the mouth is, suche is hys foode.

*ti- But the mouth of the spirite is spirituall, not bodily:

si. Therefore it receiueth Christes body spiritually, not bodily.

And in like manner Christe speaking of the eatyng of hys bodye, nameth him selfe the breade, not for the bodye, but of life for the soule,* and sayth: He that commeth to me, shal not hunger, and he that beleeueth in me, shall neuer thirst. Wherefore who so will be relieued by the body of Christ,* must receiue him as hee will be receiued, with the instrumente of faith appoynted thereunto, not with his teethe or mouthe. And where as I say that Christes body must be receiued & taken with faith, I meane not that you shall plucke downe Christ from heauen, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place: but that you must with your faith rise and spring vp to him, and leauing this world, dwell aboue in heauen, putting all your trust, cōfort and consolation in him, which suffered grievous bondage to set you at libertye & to make you free, creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pearced and do•ted for your sake. So shall you feede the body of Christ, so shall you sucke the bloud that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, y^e very true, the onely eating of Christes body.* And therfore S. Gregorie calleth it Cibum mentis, non ventris. i. The foode of the minde and not of the bellie.* And S. Cyprian sayth likewise: Non accuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. We sharpen not oure tooth nor prepare our bellie.

Now to returne to our former purpose, seeing it is plain that Christes body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I wil gather thereof this reason. The sacrament is bodily foode and increaseth the body: Ergo, the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body, it is euident: for Christe calleth it the fruite of the vine, whose duetie is to nourish. And for a prooffe, if you consecrate a whole loafe, it will feede you so well as your table bread.* And if a little Mouse get an host, he will craue no more meate to hys dinner. But you will saye these are worldly reasons. What then if the old Fathers recorde the same? Irenaeus sayth: Quando mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei,* sit Eucharistia corporis & sanguinis Domini, ex quibus augetur & consistit carnis nostrae substantia. Beda witnesseth the same by these woordes: Quia panis carnem confirmat,* & vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ac corpus Christi mysticè, illud ad sanguinem refertur. Wherefore as I sayde before, seeing that Christes body is spirituall meat, and the bread of the sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christes body. Beside this, where it was forbidden in the old law, that any man should eat or drinke bloud, the Apostles notwithstanding tooke the cup at Chri|stes handes, and dranke of it, & neuer staggered or shranke at the matter:,* whereby it may be gathered, that they tooke it for a myserie, for a token, and a remembraunce, farre otherwise then it hath of late bene taken.

Againe, when the sacrament was dealte, none of thē all crouched downe and tooke it for his God, forgetting hym that sate there present before their eies,* but tooke it, and eate it, knowing that it was a sacrament and a remembrāce of Christes body. Yea, the old Councels commanded that no man should kneele downe at the time of the Communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of Idolatry. And long after the Apostles time, as Tertullian wryteth, womē were suffered to take it home with them, and to lap it vp in their ch•stes. And the priest many times sent it to sicke persones by a childe: which no doubt would haue geuen more reuerence therto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300. yere agoe. Honorius 3. the Bishop of Rome tooke him and hanged him vp, and caused men to kneele and crouch downe, and all to b•god him.

Furthermore,* if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtles it is the greatest miracle that euer God wrought. But the Apostles saw no myracle in it. Nazianzenus an olde

wryter, and Augustine entreating of al the myracles that are in the scripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the apostles it appeareth wel that they had it for no maruel, for they neuer mused at it,* neither demanded how it might be: whereas in other thinges they euermore were ful of questions. As touching S. Augustine he not only ouerhippeth it, as no wonder, but by plaine & expres words, testifieth that ther is no maruel in it. For speaking of the Lords supper and of the other sacraments he sayeth these words. *Hic Sacramēta honorem vt religiosa habere possunt, stuporem autem vt mira non possunt. Moreouer, a little before the institution of the sacrament, Christe spake of hys ascension, saying, I leaue the world: I tary but a litle while wyth you. Let not your hearts be troubled because I go from you, I tell you truthe it is for your profite that I goe from you, for if I goe not, the spirite of comfort cannot come to you. Ihon 14. wyth many other like warnings of his departure. S. Steuen sawe hym sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a speciall reuelation of God: but he neuer said that he sawe him at the Communion, or that he made him * euery daye himselfe. And in the Actes of the Apostles S. Peter sayeth, that Christ must needes keepe the heauen till all be ended. Esay, Salomon, and S. Steuen,* saye that God dwelleth not in temples made with mans hand: S. Paule wyseth that he were dissolued and dead, and were with Christ, not in the aultar doutlesse where he might be daily, but in heauen. And to be briefe, it is in oure Credo, & we do constantly beleue, that Christe is ascended into heauen, and sitteth at his fathers right hande: and no promise haue we that he will come iumping downe at euery priests calling. Hereof I gather this reason.

Christes body can not both be gone, and be heere.*

But he is gone, and hath left the world:

Therefore it is follie to seeke him in the world.

Cust.

Fie, you be farre deceiued, I can not in no wise brooke these words. You shut vp Christ too straitly, and imprisone hym in one corner of heauen, not suffering hym to goe at large. No, doubtlesse, he hath deserued more gentlenesse at your hande, then to be tied vp so shorte.

Veri.

I do neither locke vp, neither imprison Christ in heauen:* but according to the Scriptures declare that hee hath chosen a blessed place, & moste worthy to receiue his maiestie: in which place who so is inclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a prisonner: but if you take it for so hainous a thing, y^t Christ should sit resident in heauen in y^e glory of his father, what thinke you of them that imprison him in a litle boxe, yea and keepe him in captiuitie so long, vntil he be mouldy & ouergrowne with vermine, & when he is past mans meat, be not contented to hang him till he stincke, but will haue him to a newe execution, and burne hym too? This is wonderfull and extreme cruell imprisoning. But to returne to the matter, wee are certainly perswaded by the worde of God, that Christ the very sonne of God vouchsaued to take vppon him the body and shape of man, & that he walked & was conuersant amongst men in that same one, & not in many bodies, and that hee suffered death, rose againe, and ascended to heauen in the selfe same body, and that he sitteth at his fathers ryght hande in hys manhode, in the nature and substance of the

said one body. This is our beliefe, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceiued, which leauing heauen, wil grope for Christes body vpon the earth.

Cust.

Nay sir, but I see now you are farre out of the way. For Christ hath not so grosse & fleshly a body, as you think,* but a spirituall and a ghostly body, and therefore without repugnaunce it may be in many places at once.

Veri.

You say right wel, and do graunt that Christes body is spiritual. But I pray you answer me by the waye: Can any other body then that which is spirituall, be at one time in sondry places.

Cust.

No truely?

Veri.

Haue we that same selfe sacrament that Christe gaue to his Disciples, at his Maundie, or no?

Cust.

No doubtlesse, we haue the same.

Veri.

When became Christes body spirituall? was it so euē from his birth.

Cust.

No, for doubtles before he arose from death, his bobody was earthly as other mens bodies are.

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Veri.

Well, but when gaue Christe the Sacrament to hys Disciples? before he arose from death or after?

Cust.

*You know your selfe he gaue it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered hys Passion.

Veritie.

Why then, me thinketh he gaue the Sacrament at that time, when his body was not spirituall.

Cust.

Euen so.

Veri.

And was euery portion of the Sacrament delt to the Apostles, and receaued into their mouthes the very reall and substantiall body of Christ?

Cust.

Yea doubtles.

Veri.

Marke well what ye haue said, for you haue graunted me great repugnance. First you say that no body being not spiritual can be in sundry places at once. Then say you that at the maundy Christes body was not spirituall: and yet hold you that he was there present visible before the Apostles eyes, and in ech of theyr handes and mouthes all at one time: which graunts of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formall reason of youre wordes,* in this sort.

Fe- No body being reall, naturall, and organical, and not spirituall, can be in many places at once.

ri- Christes body in the Sacrament was in the Apostles handes and mouthes at one time, which were manye places:

son. Ergo, Christes body in the sacrament was not a reall, naturall, and organicall body, but spirituall.

Cust.

In deede you haue driuen me into the straites before I was ware of you, and I knowe not howe I may escape your handes honestly. But the best refuge that I haue, is thys, that I will not beleeeue you.

Veri.

I desire you not to geue credence to me. Beleeue the worde of God, yea beleue your owne beliefe, for they bothe witnesse againste you that Christes body is taken vp into heauen, and there shal remaine vntil he come to Iudge.

Cust.

Tush, what speake you of the word of God? There be many darke sayings therein, which euerye man can not attaine to.

Veri.

I graunt you there be certaine obscure places in the scripture,* yet not so obscure but that a man wyth the grace of God may perceiue: for it was wrytten not for Aungels, but for men. But as I vnderstand Custome medleth but litle with Scripture. How say you by S. Augustine, S. Hierom, S. Ambrose, what if they stand on our side?

Cust.

No, no, I know them well inough.

Veri.

So wel as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witnesse, they will geue euidence against you. For S. Augustine commonly in euery of his bookes, but chiefly in an Epistle to his frende Dardanus, declareth that Christes body is placed in one rounge.* I maruell you be not nearer of his counsel. His words are these: Noli dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Iesum, vnde venturus est. Memoriter{que} recole & fideliter crede Christianam confessionem: quoniam resurrexit, ascendit in coelum, sedet a dextris Dei patris, nec aliundè quam indè venturus est, ad viuos mortuosque iudicandos. Et venturus est in eadem corporis substantia: cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus vbiq̃ue diffusus. Cauendum enim est, ne ita diuinitatem astruamus hominis, vt humanitatem amittamus Dei. i. Do not dout the man Iesus Christ to be there, frō whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully beleue the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heauen, sitteth at the righte hande of God the father, and from thence shal come & from no other place, to iudge the quicke and the dead. And shall come in the same substaunce of body, to the which he gaue immortality, and tooke not the nature from it. After this forme he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places, for we must beware so to defend his Diuinitie, that we destroy not his humanitie. And in an other place of the same Epistle. Vna persona Deus & homo, & vtrumque est vnus Christus.*Vbiq̃ue per id quod Deus, in coelo autem per id quod homo. Likewise vpon the 14. Psalme. Donec saeculum finiatur sursum est Dominus: sed etiam hic nobiscum est veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo resurrexit, in vno loco esse oportet,*veritas autem eius vbiq̃ue diffusa est. i. While the world shall last, the Lorde is aboue, and also the veritye of the Lorde is with vs. For the body wherein he rose againe must be in one place. But the verity of him is euery where dispersed. In like manner wryteth Damasus an olde Byshop of Rome in his Credo.*Deuictis mortis imperijs, cum ea carne in qua natus, & passus est, & resurrexit, ascendit in coelum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & passus est. S. Ambrose wryting vppon the 10. chapter of Luke recordeth the same: Ergo, nec supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum terram quaerere debemus Dominum, si volumus inuenire. Non enim supra terram quaesiuit qui stantem ad Dei dextram vidit.*Maria quaerebat in terra tangere Christum & non potuit. Stephanus terigit quia quaerebat in coelo. i. Wherefore, neither aboue the earth, nor

vppon the earth, nor according to the earth we oughte to seeke the Lorde, if we wil finde him: For he did not seeke hym aboue the earth, which did see him sitting at the right hande. And Marie sought vppon the earth to touch Christ and coulde not. Steuen touched hym, because he soughte hym in heauen. S. Hierome in an Epistle to Marcella, prooueth that the bodye of Christe must needes be contained in some place, for he sayeth: Veri Dei est vbique esse: veri hominis alicubi esse. i. The property of God is to be euery where,* the propertie of man is to be in one place. The same Hierome in an other place calleth it a foolish thing to seeke for him in a narowe place, or in a corner, which is the lyghte of all the worlde: Stultum est eum paruo in loco, vel abscondito quaerere, qui totius mundi est lumen. i. Foolishnesse it is, in a smal place or in a hidde corner to seeke hym which is the lyghte of all the whole worlde. Origine sayeth likewise: Audiendi non sunt qui Christum demonstrant in aedibus. i.* They are not to be heard, which shewe Christ in houses. The same also recordeth Beda, wryting vpon these woordes of Christe: Now a litle while shal you see me. He speaketh in Christes person. Therefore (sayeth he) shall you see me but a litle while after my resurrection, because I will not still abide in the earth bodily,*but in the manhoode which I haue taken, will ascende vp to heauen.* What needeth more woordes. All the olde fathers witnesseth the same. You may by these soone iudge the rest. Nowe to retourne to the matter, seeing that the worde of God in many and sundrye places, the Credo, and the abridgement of the faith, seeing all the olde fathers doe constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heauen, and there remaineth at the right hande of the father, and cannot be more then in one place, I doe conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Christ:* first because it is not in heauen, neyther sitteth at the Fathers right hande: moreouer, because it is in an hundreth thousande boxes, where as Christes bodye filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christe, then woulde it necessarily followe, that sinners and vnpenitent persones receiue the body of Christ.

Cust.

Marie, and so they do. For Paule saith plainly, that they receiue the body of Christ to their owne confusion.

Veri.

No not so. These are not Pauls woordes, but hee sayeth: Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne condemnation,*not iudging the bodye of the Lorde. Heere hee calleth it in playne woordes breade. And althoughe the Sacramente be very bread, yet doeth the iniurie redounde to the body of Christ. As if a man breake the kynges Mace, or treade the broade Seale vnder his foote, although hee haue broken and defaced nothyng but siluer and waxe. Yet is the iniurie the Kinges, and the doer shall be taken as a Traitor.* Saint Ambrose declareth the meaninge of Saint Paule by these woordes. Reus est corporis Domini, qui poenas dabit mortis Christi, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini. The cause of the ordinance therof was the remembraunce of the death of Christe, which who so forgetteth, receiue the Sacrament to their condemnation.* That same witnesseth S. Augustine. For the Sacrament, sayeth he, is an outwarde token of loue and charitie. For like as many graines of come are become one pece of bread, euen so they that receiue it ought to be one. Then sayeth hee. *Mysterium pacis ac vnitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecrauit. Quid accepit mysterium vnitatis, & non seruat vnitatem, non mysterium accepit pro se, sed testimonium contra*

se. Hee that readeth the Gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christe,* and liueth contrary to the Gospell, shall doubtlesse be the more giltye of the death of Christe, because hee heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certaine countrey the maner is, that when the Gospell is read, the king shall stand vp with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his sword in defence of the Gospell. But if he himselfe oppresseth the Gospell, he beareth the sword against himself, for the Gospel shal turne to his iudgement, and condemnation. So wil Christ so much more extremely punish a manne which knowing him selfe to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flocke of Christe, yet notwithstanding will impudently creepe into the company of Christian men, & receiue the Sacramentes with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant S. Paule by the vnworthy receiuing of the Sacrament of Christes body. Wherefore a man maye vnworthely take the Sacrament, and be giltye of the death of Christe, although he receiue not Christes body into hys mouthe, & chawe it with his teeth. But what if I prooue that euerye Massing priest is giltye of the body and bloud of Christ?

Cust.

I dare say, you can not prooue it.

Veri.

But if I do prooue it, will you beleeeue me.

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Cu•t.

I may well inough, for it is impossible to doe it. For Priestes commonly are confessed before they go to Masse: and how can they then take the Sacrament vnworthely?

Veri.

In deede confession, if it be discretely vsed, is a laudable custome, and to the vnlearned man, and feeble cōscience so good as a Sermon. But notwithstanding because it was, neuer neither commaunded of Christ, nor receiued of the Apostles, nor much spoken of the olde Doctours, it can not make much for y^e due receiuing of the Sacrament. But how like you these woordes of S. Ambrose? Is indignè sumit, qui aliter sumit, quam Christus instituit. i. He taketh it vnworthely, that taketh it otherwise then Christ ordained it.

Custome.

This liketh me very wel. But what gather you of it?

Veritie.

This will I gather. The Massing Priest taketh the Sacrament otherwise then Christ either commaunded or taught: Ergo, he taketh it vnworthely, and so consequētlly to his condemnation.

Cust.

That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commaunded him.

Veritie.

That shall appeare. For Christ commaunded it to be done in his remembraunce: the Priest doth it in remembraunce of dead men.* Christ tooke breade: and left it breade: the Priest taketh bread and coniureth it away. Christ tooke bread and gaue thanks: the Priest taketh bread, and breatheth vppon it. Christe tooke bread, and brake it: the Priest taketh bread and hangeth it vppe. Christ tooke breade and dealt to hys Apostles: the Priest because hee is an Apostle him selfe, taketh breade and eateth it euery whitte alone. Christ in a Sacrament gaue his owne body to be eaten in faith: the Priest for lacke of faith receiueith accidentes, and dimensions. Christ gaue a Sacrament to strengthen mens faith: the Priest geueth a sacrifice to redeeme mens soules. Christ gaue it to be eaten: the Priestes giueth it to be worshipped.* And to conclude. Christe gaue bread: the Priest sayth he geueth a God. Here is difference inough betwene Christ, and the Priest. Yet moreouer Christ at his Supper spake his woordes out and in a plaine tounge: the Prieste speaketh nothing but Latine or Greeke, which tounge he oftentimes perceiueith not, and much he whispereth least any other poore man should perhaps perceiue him. So it commeth to passe that the Prieste knoweth no more what hee himselfe sayeth, then what he doeth. This you may see that the Massing Prieste receiueith the Sacrament of Christes body farre otherwise then euer Christ minded, and so therefore vnworthely and to his condemnation. Nowe if you thinke your selfe satisfied, I wil returne to my former question, and prooue more at large that Christes body can not be 〈◇〉 of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue if the bre•de were turned into the body of Christ. Christ in the 6. of Iohn,* speaking of the eating of his body, sayth•He that eateth of this bread, shall liue for euer. Whereof I gather thus: But sinnefull men take the Sacrament to theyr condemnation, and liue not for euer: Ergo, in the Sacrament they receiue not the body of Christ. Againe, Christe sayeth: He that eateth me, shall liue for my sake. Heereof I conclude thus: But impetinent personnes can not liue for Christes sake. Moreouer Christes bodye must be receiued, and not wyth the mouth,* as Gregorie recordeth, saying, that it is eaten wyth the teethe of the soule, not of the body, as I haue aboue more largely declared. But wicked, and impenitent persons lacke faith: Wherefore they can not eate the bodye of Christe. Againe, Christes body can not be deuied from his spirite, but wicked men haue not the spirite of God▪ Ergo, they haue not Christes body. Heereunto agreeth all the old wryters, affirming constantly that the vnfaithful he no meete vess•lles to receiue the body of Christe.*S. Augustine sayth: Qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, 〈...〉 non manducat carnem Christi, nec bibit eius sanguinem 〈...〉 ad iudicium suum 〈...〉 And in the persons of Christ he sayeth likewise: Qui non 〈...〉 & in quo ego non maneo, ne se dica• 〈◇〉 existime• manducare corpus meum• aut sanguinem meum bibere. Ambrose auoweth the same, by these woordes: Qui discordat a Christo, non manducat carn•m eius▪ nec bibit sanguinem, ets• tantae rei Sacramentum accipiat.* In like maner wryteth Prosperus:*Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem Christi edit, nec sanguinem bibit, etsi tantae rei Sacramentum, ad iudicium suae praesumptionis quotidie acciprat.* And therefore S. Augustine sayth▪ Mali Sacramentum habent, re•• autem Sacramenti non habent. Thus by the

woordes of God by reason and by the old fathers it is plaine that sinnefull men eate not the bodye of Christ receiue they the Sacrament neuer so ofte: Whiche thing coulde not be, if in the Sacramente there remained nothing but the body of Christ.*

The Sacramente in the Scriptures is named Fractio panis, the breaking of bread: whiche, to say the trueth, were but a colde breaking, if there remained no breade to breake, but certaine phantasies of white, and round. Yet where as they with wordes, crossinges, blessinges, breathings, leapings, and much a do can scarcely make one God, they haue suche vertue in their fingers, that at one crosse they be able to make 20. Gods, for if they breake the Sacrament euery portion, yea euery mite must needes be a God. After the Apostles time there arose vppe heretickes, whych sayde that Christ walking here amongst men bodely vpon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed mennes light. Against whom the old fathers vsed these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungred, eate, wept, sweat, was weary, and in cōclusion died, & had all other properties of a very body: wherefore he had a body. I will vse the same kinde of reasoning. It feedeth,* it tasteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the litle sely mouse taketh it for bread, and to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: Ergo it is bread. The old fathers, whē there remained anye parte of the Sacramente, more then was spent at the Communion, they vsed to burne it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the Sacrament that can turne to ashes,* but onely bread (for I thinke they burned not Christes body to ashes): Ergo, in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the Emperour the 6, of that name was poysoned in the hoste: and Uictor the Bishop of Rome in the Chalice. But poyson can not hang in Gods body, and bloude: Wherefore there remayneth breade and wine. What needeth many wordes in a matter so euident? If you demaund either Gods word, or the doctours and the auncient wryters, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tounge, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Mouse, all these agree in one, and aunswere together there is bread: wherefore if yo^r re[•]ecte so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, specially being such as will lie for no mans pleasure, I will appeale from you, and take you as no indifferent iudge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I wil call the sacrament it selfe to record. It crieth vnto you, and plainely doth aduertise you what you should thinke of it. I am, it sayth, grated wyth y^e tooth: I am conueied into the belly: I perish: I can endure no space: I canker: I suffer grene mould, blew mould, red mould: I breede wormes:* I am kept in a boxe for feare of battes: if you leaue me out al night, I shalbe deuoured before morning, for if the mouse gette mee I am gone: I am bread, I am no God, beleue them not. This crieth the sacrament daily, and beareth witness it selfe.

Cust.

The deuill on such like reasons: and therfore I will neuer trouble my braines to make you aunswere. But if it be true that you haue sayde, why is the Sacrament so well of Christ himselfe, as of hys Apostles, and the olde fathers called the body of Christ?

Veri.

Because it is no straunge thyng in Scripture so to speake, as I haue declared before. But wil you stand to S. Augustines arbitrement in the matter?

Cust.

To no man sooner.

Veri.

S. Augustine in an Epistle to his frende Bonifacius,* geueth a good cause why the Sacramente, although it be not the body of Christ, is notwithstanding called the bodye of Christ. His wordes be these: Si Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta sunt non haberent, om•i•o Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque •arum re•m nomina accipiunt. Ergo,*secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est: Sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est: If Sacraments had not a certaine similitude of those things wherof they be sacraments, then were they no Sacramentes. Of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore after a certaine manner the Sacrament of the body of Christ, is the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the bloud of Christ, is the bloud of Christ. &c. And vpon the 23. Psalme he wryteth likewise:*Christus quod•mmodo se ferebat in manibus suis, cum diceret: Hoc est corpus meum. Christ after a certaine manner and fashion, as it were, did beare himselfe in his owne handes when he sayde: This is my bodye. In manner (he sayeth) and after a fashion, not in very dede. Again, when faithful menne receiue the Sacrament, they thinke not of the breade nor marke the wine,* but they looke farther, & beholde the very body of Christ spread vppon the Crosse and his very bloud poured downe for their sakes: So in Baptisme men regarde not greatly the water, •ut accounte them selues washed wyth the bloude of Christ▪ So sayeth S. Paule: What so euer we bee that are Baptised, wee are washed in the bloude of Christ. Wherefore to the faithfull receiuers you may say that the water of Baptisme is the bloude of Christe, and the breade and wine the body and bloud of Christ: for to them it is no lesse then if the natures were altered and chaunged. Whyche thyng you maye very well learne of Chrysostome, whose woordes are these. Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis consideranda [Page 1393](#) sunt, hoc est spiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi postquam panem vident, creaturas transuolant, neque de illo pane à pistore cocto cogitant,*sed de eo qui se dixit panem esse aeternae vitae. All mysteries must be considered with inwarde eyes, that is to say, spiritually: As the inwarde eyes when they see the bread, they passe ouer the creatures, neither do they thinke of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of him which called himself the bread of eternal life. For these two causes the bread and wine are called the body and bloud of Christe. Nowe I thinke you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these woordes: This is my body.

Cust.

Yet one thing mooueth me very much.

Veri.

What is that?

Cust.

The Doctors and old wryters, men inspired with the holy Ghost haue euermore bene against your doctrine: * Yea, and in these daies the wisest men and best learned call you heretickes, and your learning heresie.

Veri.

As touching the olde wryters, I remember well they speake reuerently of the Sacramentes, like as euery man ought to doe. * But where as they deliuer their minde wyth the right hand, you Custome receiue it wyth the left. For where as they say, that it is the bodye of Christe, and that it must be verely eaten, meaning that it doeth effectually lay before the eyes Christes body, and that it is to the faithfull man no lesse then if it were Christe him selfe, and that Christe must be eaten in faith, not torne nor rent wyth the teeth: * you say that howsoeuer it be taken, it is Christes bodye, and that there is none other eatyng but wyth the mouth. And that the fathers meant no other thing then I haue sayde, it shall appeare by their wordes. But as touching the learned and wise men of these dayes, I can not blame them if they call my doctrine heresie: for they would condemne al auncient wryters of heresie, if they were now aliue. But I will aunsweare you to them anone. In the meane while marke you how well their learning agreeth. They say, you must follow the letter, you must sticke to the letter. * But Origenes sayeth: Si secundum literam sequaris id quod scriptum est [nisi manducaueritis carnem filij hominis non erit vita in vobis] ea litera occidit. If ye folow after the letter, that which is wrytten [vnlesse yee shall eate the flesh of the sonne of man, * there shalbe no life in you] this letter killeth. Augustine in the third booke De doctrina Christiana: Principio cauendum est ne figuratam dictionem secundum literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apostolus * *litera occidit. Cum enim figuratè dictum sic accipitur tanquam propriè dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur, neque vlla animae mors congruentius appellatur. i. First, thou muste beware that thou take not a figuratiue speache after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the Apostle sayeth: The letter killeth. For when a thing is spiritually meant, and the same is takē litterally and properly spoken that is a carnall taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the soule rather then that. And in the same booke he teacheth a man to know the plain sense from a figure, * saying thus: Si praeceptiua loquutio est flagitium iubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figurata est: Nisi m•nducaueritis carnem filij hominis, & biberitis eius sanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur iubere: Ergo, Figura est praecipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, * & suauiter in memoria recōdendum, quòd pro nobis caro eius crucifixa sit. i. If the commaunding speach be such, as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be vndone, then this is a figuratiue speach: Unlesse ye shal eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and shall drinke his bloud, there shall be no life in you. Because in this speach he seemeth to commaund a wicked thing, it is therefore a figuratiue speache, commaunding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lorde, and sweetely to retaine it in our remembraunce. In like manner Chrysostome plucketh you from the plaine letter, and the bare woordes by this saying: Caro non prodest: hoc est secundum spiritum verba mea intelligenda sunt. Quia qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid est autem carnaliter intelligere? * Simpliciter vt res dicuntur, neque aliud quip piam cogitare. Non enim ita iudicanda sunt quae videntur, sed mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, hoc est spiritualiter. i. The flesh profiteth not: that is to say, my wordes must be taken and expounded after the spirite. For hee that heareth after the flesh, gaineth nothing. Nowe what is it to vnderstād carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be iudged as they are seene, but all mysteries must be seene with inwarde eyes, that is

to say, spiritually. What is so hainous in these dayes, as to cal the Sacrament the token or the remembrance of Christes body? Yet did the olde wryters in manner neuer call it other. Tertullian in the 4. booke against the Martionistes: Christus accepit panem, & corpus suum fecit: Hoc est corpus meū dicendo▪ id est figura corporis mei. Christ took bread & made it hys body, saying: This is my body, that is to say, a figure of my body. Ambrose vpon the 11. to the Corinthians: Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, huius rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & sanguinem quae pro nobis oblata sunt significamus. Because we are deliuered by the Lords death, in y^e remembraunce of the same by eating and drinking we signify the body and bloud which were offered vp for vs. Chrysostome in the lxxxij. Homily vpon the Gospel of Mathew: Quando dicunt, vndè patet Christum immolatum fuisse, haec adferentes eorum ora consumimus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cuius Symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est? When they object vnto vs, and aske: howe knowe you that Christe was offered vppe? then alledging these things, we stoppe theyr mouthes. For if Christ died not, then whose signe or token is this sacrifice? Augustine to Adimantus: Non dubitauit Christus dicere: Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. Christ doubted not to say: This is my body, when he gaue but a signe of his body. Augustine vpon the thirde Psalme: Christus adhibuit Iudam ad conuiuuium, in quo corporis & sanguinis sui figuram discipulis suis commēdauit & tradidit. Christ receiued Iudas to the Supper, in the which he commended and deliuered a figure of his body and bloud vnto hys Disciples. Rabanus, de institutione clericorum: Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Because the breade strengtheneth the bodye, therefore it is aptly called Christes body. And likewise the wine, because it encreaseth bloud in the flesh, it doth resemble the bloud of Christ. Druthmarus Monachus in Mathaeum. Vinum laetificat & sanguinem auget, & ideo non inconuenienter per hoc sanguis Christi figuratur. Wine maketh glad the heart, and encreaseth bloud, and therefore the bloude of Christ is not vnaptly signified thereby. Irenaeus witnesseth plainly that in the Sacrament remaineth bread and wine by these woordes: Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, iam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena, & coelesti: As the earthly breade receiuing the vocation of God, is now no common bread but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly & the other heauenly. Heere he recordeth that there remaineth in the Sacrament an earthly nature, which is either breade or nothing. Gelasius wryting against Nestorius, auoweth the same, sayinge: In Eucharistia non definit substantia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & similitudo corporis & sāguinis Domini in actione mysteriorum celebratur. i. In the Eucharist the substance of the bread and nature of the wine ceaseth not to be: For the Image and similitude of the body and bloud of the Lorde is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. Chrysostome in his 20. Homely vpon the 2. Epistle to the Corinthians preferreth a poore man before the Sacramente, and calleth hym the body of Christe rather then the other. Whereof I maye gather this reason:

Bo- The poore man is not the naturall and reall bodye of Christ.

car- Euery poore member of Christe is the body of Christe, rather then the Sacrament: Chrysost.

do. Ergo, the Sacrament is not the naturall and reall body of Christ.

His wordes are: Hoc altare veneraris quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Christi▪ Eum autem qui reipsa corpus est Christi, afficis contumelia, & negligis pereuntem. This aultare thou doest reuerence because the body of Christ therein is set before thee: but him whiche is the body of Christe in deede, thou doest spitefully intreate, and doest neglect him readye to perish.

Chrysostome in the 11. Homely vppon Mathewe: Quod si haec vasa sanctificata ad priuatos vsus est transferre periculosum, in quibus non verum corpus Christi,*sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur, quanto magis vasa corporis nostri If it be so perillous a matter to translate these sanctified vessels vnto priuate vses, in the which not the true body of Christ, but a mysterie of the bodye of Christe is contained, howe muche more then these vesselles of our bodye? Athanasius vppon these woordes: *Qui dixerit verbum contra filium hominis, sayeth: Ea quae Christus dicit non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia. Quod enim •omedentibus suffecisset corpus, vt totius mūdi fieret alimonia▪ Sed id•irco meminit Ascensionis filij hominis in coelum vt eos a corporali cogitatione auelleret. The words that Christe heere speaketh, be not carnall but spirituall. For what bodye mighte haue suffised for all that shoulde ea•e, to be a nourishment of the whole worlde? But therefore hee maketh mention of the Ascension of the sonne of manne into Heauen,* to the enten•e to plucke them awaye from that corporall cogitation. Augustinus ad Marcellinum: In illis carnalibus vi•ctimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris erat oblatu•us, & sanguinis quem erat effusus▪ In i•to autem Sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, & sanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In i•lo ergo Sacrificio, quid [Page 1394](#) nobis sit donandum figuratè significatur: in hoc autem sacrificio quid nobis donatum sit, euidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificijs p••nunciabatur filius Dei occidendus: in hoc pro impijs annuntiatur occisus. In those carnall oblations the flesh of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sinnes, and the bloud which he should bestow for vs. But in this sacrifice is the giuing of thanks and memorial of the flesh of Christ, which he hath offred for vs, and of the bloud which he hath shedde for vs. In that sacrifice therfore is signified figuratiuely what should be giuē for vs: in this sacrifice what is giuen to vs, is euidently declared. In those sacrifices, the sonne of God was before preached to be slaine: in thys sacrifice he is shewed to be slaine already for the wicked. Origenes vpon Mat. expounding these wordes: *This is my body, sayth: Panis iste quem Christus corpus suum fatetur esse, verbum est nutritorium animarum. i. The bread which Christ confesseth to be hys body,* is a nutritiue worde of our soules. Augustinus: Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, vnumquemque fidelium corporis & sanguinis Domini tunc esse participem, quando in baptisate membrum efficitur Christi. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non priuabitur, quando in se hoc inuenit quod Sacramentū significati. No manne ought in any wise to doubt but that euery faithfull man is then partaker of the body and bloud of the Lord, when in Baptisme he is made a member of Christ. For he shall not be depriued of the participation and benefite of that Sacrament, when he findeth in himselfe that thing which the Sacrament doeth signifie. Ambrosius: Tanta est vis verbi, vt panis & vinum maneant quae sunt, & mutētur in aliud. Such is the force & strength of the worde, that the bread and wine remaine the same as they were, and yet are changed into an other thing. For it is not any longer common breade,* but it is turned into a Sacrament: Yet notwithstanding there remaineth bread and wine. Tertullian wryting against an hereticke named Martion, which taught that the creatures of God, as flesh, bread,* wine and such like were naught and vncleanly: Non abiecit Deus creaturam suam, sed ea repraesentauit corpus suum. God hath not cast away his creature, but by it hee hath represented his body. Origenes vppon Leuiticus, speaking of the drinking of Christes bloud, sayeth: Non sanguinem carnis expetimus sed sanguinem verbi.* We doe not desire y^e bloud of the flesh, but the bloud of the woorde. Ambrose called the Sacrament,

Typum corporis Christi, and Basilius Antitypum, whych is as much to say,* as a token, a figure, a remembrance and example of Christes body. Origine vpon the 14. chapt. of Mathew: In isto pane, quod est materiale eijcitur in secessum: id autem quod fit per verbum Dei pro fidei ratione prodest.* In thys bread that thing which is matoriall, passeth throughe mans body: but that which is made by the woord of God, by the meanes of faith doth profite. And least perhaps you thinke that hee spake those woordes of our common table bread, he concludeth the matter himselfe with these words: Haec diximus de pane symbolico: These things we haue spoken of the mysticall bread. Augustinus contra aduersarium legis & Prophetarum, declareth that it must needes be a figure and a remembrance of the body of Christ:*Ista secundum sanae fidei regulam figuratè intelliguntur. Nam alioqui horribilius videtur esse humanam carnem vorare quam perimere, & humanum sanguinem potare quàm fundere. These things are vnderstanded figuratiuely, according to the rule of sound and true faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eate mannes flesh, then to kill a man, and more horrible to drinke mannes blood, then to shed it. And therfore he saith vpon the 98. Psalme: Non hoc corpus quod videtis estis manducaturi,*nec bibituri sanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. i. Ye shall not eat this body which you see, and drinke that blood which they shal shed that shall crucifie me: I commend vnto you a Sacrament. Tertullian: Aliud a pane corpus Iesus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus,*sed ipsum Christi verum corpus traditum est in crucem, quod panis figura in coena exhibitum est. i. Iesus hath an other body then breade, for breade was not geuen for vs, but the very true body of Christ was geuen vpon the crosse, which body was exhibited in the Supper vnder the figure of bread.

This recordeth Theodoretus an auncient wryter, and anoweth that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the Sacrament.* His woordes are these: Symbola visibilia corporis & sanguinis, sui appellatione honorauit, non mutans naturam sed naturae addens gratiam. i. He hath honoured and dignified the visible signes wyth the name of his body and of his blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature. And in an other place, where hee maketh a true Christian man to reason with an heretike, he geueth to the hereticke this part, to holde with the turning of breade and wine into the natural body and blood of Christ. The hereticke's wordes are these: Sacramentum Dominici corporis & sanguinis, alia sunt ante sacram inuocationē: post inuocationem verò mutantur, & alia fiunt. The sacramentes of the Lordes body and bloude before the holy inuocation are one thing, but after inuocation they are changed and made an other. This maketh Theodor. to be the heretikes part. Then bringeth he forth the true Christian man, which reprooueth the hereticke for so saying: Incidisti in laqueos quos ipse struxeras: Ne{que} enim sancta illa symbola post consecrationem discedunt a natura sua: Manent enim in priori & substantia, & figura, etenim & oculis videri & digitis palpari vt ante possunt. Thou art fallen into the snares which thou thy selfe hast laid. For those selfe same holy signes after this consecration, do not go frō their nature, for they abide still both in their former substance and figure, and may be both with eyes seene and felt wyth handes, as before. To the same agreeth well Chrysostome, saying, Postquam sanctificatur panis,*non amplius appellatur panis, tametsi maneant natura panis. i. After the breade is sanctified, it is called breade no more, althoughe the nature of bread stil remaine. Hereby you may vnderstand, how & in what sort the old fathers, how the primatiue and beginning church, how the Apostles, howe Christ himselfe tooke these wordes: This is my body.

Now to withstand and stoutly to go against, not onely ancient wryters, or the congregation of Christian people, which at that time was not ouergrown, no neither spotted with couetousnesse and worldly honour, but the Apostles also, and God himselfe, no doubt it is great fondnesse. But what speake I of the olde fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of his right vnderstanding.* For thys word Transubstantiatio, wherby they signifie turning of the breade into the body of Christ, was neuer neyther spoken, neither heard, neither thought among y^e auncient fathers, or in the olde Church. But aboue 500. yeares past, Pope Nicolas 2. in a Councell holden at Lateranum in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, & woulde haue made an article of the faith, and placed it in the Credo. After whiche time ensued Corpus Christi daye, Masses of Corpus Christi, reseruatiō of the sacrament, with honoure, with canopies, with sensing, w^t kneeling, wyth worshyping and adoration, and with so much as any man coulde deuise. For they thought they could not do to much to hym after that the Bishoppe of Rome had allowed hym for a God. But not fully 200. yeare before that time, when thys doctrine first began to bud, and yet notwithstandinge had not so preuailed, but that a greate number of learned and good men could know the Sacrament to be a Sacrament, and not himselfe: Charles the great king of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome demaunded of a great learned man,* whose name was Bertramus, what hee thoughte by that straunge kinde of calling downe Christe from heauen, and turning a litle gobbet of bread into his naturall body. To whom Bertram made answeere in this wise: Dicimus quòd multa differentia feparantur corpus in quo passus est Christus & sanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, & hoc corpus quod in mysterio passionis Christi quotidie a fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & species est, illud autem ipsa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differētia separentur, quantum est inter pignus & eam rem pro qua pignus traditur, & quantum inter imaginem, & rem eam cuius imago est, & quantum inter speciem & veritatem. This wee say, that there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in the which Christe suffered, and the bloud which he shed vpon the Crosse, & thys body which euery day is celebrated in the mysterie of the Passion of Christe. For this body is a pledge and a similitude, but the other is the very truthe it selfe. Ergo, it appeareth that these two are seperated a sunder by no lesse difference, then is betweene a pledge, and the thing whereof y^r pledge is geuen, or then is betweene an Image of a thing and the thing it selfe whereof the Image is, or then is betwene the forme of a thing and the veritie it selfe. This wrote Bertramus, Druthmarus & manye other,* and yet were neuer in all their time once reprooued of heresie. Thys wrote Ioannes Scotus also, in whose life time men had not eies to espie his heresies. But about 200. yeare after his death, he was iudged and condemned for an hereticke, & his bookes burned in a Councell holden at Vercellae in Lombardie, in the yeare of our Lorde God .1015.* Since which time euen vntill this day although Idolatrye had great encrease, yet there neuer wanted some good men whiche boldly woulde professe and sette foorth the truth, although they were well assured that theyr worldly reward shoulde be spite, malice, imprisonning, sworde, fire, and all kindes of tormentes. Thus so shortly, and in so few woordes as I could, I haue declared to you what Christe meant by these woordes: This is my bodye, what the Apostles thought therein, & in what sorte they deliuered them to theyr successors, in what sense and meaning the holy Fathers and olde wryters, and the Uniuersall and Catholicke Church hath euermore taken them.

The ende and deceasse of king Edward the sixt.

THus hauing discoursed thinges done and past, vnder the raigne of king Edwarde,* suche as seemed not vnfruitfull to be knowen, we will now draw to the ende and death of this blessed king, our young Iosias. Who about a yeare and a halfe after the death of the Duke of Somerset hys Uncle,* in the yeare of our Lorde 1553. entring into the 17. yeare of his age, and the 7. yeare of his raigne, in the month of Iune, was takē from vs, for our sinnes no dout. Whome if it had so pleased the good wil of the Lord to haue spared with longer life, not vnlike it was by all cōiectures probably to be esteemed by those his towarde and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began he would haue reformed suche a Common wealth heere in the Realme of England, as by good cause it might haue bene sayd of hym, y^t was sayd in y^e olde time of the noble Emperour Augustus in reforming and aduauncing the Empire of Rome: Quam quum ille lateritiam (vt aiebat) accepit,*marmoream reliquit. Which Empire he receiued (he sayd) of bricke, but he left it of fine Marble. But the condition of this Realme, and the customeable behaiour of English people (whose propertie is commonly to abuse the lighte of the Gospell when it is offered) deserued no suche benefite of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrarye plague of deformation, suche as hapned after his raigne, as ye shall heare (the Lord graunting) in the nexte Queenes dayes that followed.

Thus then this godly and vertuous Impe, in the time and moneth aboue mentioned was cut from vs, of whose worthy life and vertues haue bene partly afore declared. Neuerthesse, to haue some monument of him remaining to testifie of the good nature and gentle disposition of that Prince, we will adde heere for a remembraunce, thys little Epistle of his own hand wryting to the Archb. of Canterbury, his Godfather as followeth.

An Epistle of yong Prince Edward to the Archb. of Canterbury his Godfather.

*IMpertio te plurima salute colendissime Praesul, & charissime Susceptor Quia abes longè a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem vt viuas diu, & promoueas verbum Dei. Vale.

Antilae decimo octauo Iunij.

Tuus in Christo filius Edwardus Princeps.

An other Epistle of the young Prince Edward to the Archb. his Godfather.

ETsi puer sum colendissime Susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officij erga te mei,* vel humanitatis tuae quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Nō exciderūt mihi humanissimae tuae litterae pridie diui Petri ad me datae. Quibus ante hac respondere nolui, non quòd illas neglexerim, aut non minerim, sed vt illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum verè paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector & veneror, optoque vt multos viuas annos, tuo{que} pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exosculandam esse duco, quoniam diuus Paulus dicit:* Pietas ad omnia utilis est▪ Optimè valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos.

Hartefordioe tertio decimo Ianuarij.

Tui studiosissimus EDOVARDVS Princeps.

The aunswere of the Archbishop to Prince Edwardes Epistle.

Non magis poterit ipsa me seruare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita abs{que} tua & salute & valitudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac saluum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse & incolumem sentio. Neque certè absentia mea tam est iniucunda tibi quàm sunt litterae tuae periucundae mihi. Quae arguunt tibi iuxta adesse & ingenium dignum tanto principe, & praeceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis litteris te sic litteras video colere, vt interim doctrinae coelestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura: quae cuicunque sit curae, non potest illum quaeuis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incoepisti Princeps illustrissime, & Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, vt quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet vniuersam tuam Angliam. Nō scribam prolixius, tum quidem vt me intelligas breuitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te aetate quidem adhuc paruulum paruo gaudere, & similem simili: tum etiam praeterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quò generosa illa tua indoles barbariae vitium contrahat.

The report of the Princes Scholemaister, in commendation of his towardnes to the Archb.

R^Ight honorable and my singular good Lorde,* after my most harty cōmendations: the oportunitie of this messenger forceth me to wryte at this time, hauing litle matter but onely to signify vnto your grace, that my Lords grace your godsonne is mery and in health, and of such towardnes in learning, godlinesse, gentlenes and all honest qualities, y^t both you and I, and all this realme ought to thinke him and take him for a singular gift sent of God, an Impe worthy of such a father: for whome we are bound sine intermissione, to render to God most harty thanks, wyth most humble request of hys long & prosperous continuance. He hath learned almoste foure bookes of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say wythout booke. And of hys owne courage nowe in the latter Booke hee will needes haue at one time 14. Uerses which he konneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Sattellitium Viuis, Aesops Fables, and Latin making, wherof he hath sent your Grace a litle tast. Dominus Iesus te diutissimè seruet.

Thus muche hetherto hauinge declared,* touchinge the worthy vertues and singulare towardnesse of this godlye impe, king Edward the sixth, although I haue not, neither can insert all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let passe many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might haue come to our hands: yet this one briefe note I thought not to ouerslip (somethinge to recreate the wery reader in suche a dolfull storye) being notified to me by one M. Edward Hunderhill, who wayting y^e same time, w^t the rest of his felowes pensioners, and men at armes, as Syr Henry Gates, M. Robert Hal, M. Henry Harston, and M. Stafforton hearde these woordes betweene the king and his counsaile.

The relation and testimonie of which persone and persons aboue named, come to this effect, that king Edw. the 6. the 4. yere of his raigne, being then but 13. yeres old and vppward, at Greenewiche vpon S. Georges day, when he was come from the sermon, into y^e presence chamber, there being his vncle, the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Northumb. with other Lordes

& Knights of that order, called the order of the Garter, he said vnto them: My Lordes, I pray you, what saincte is S. George, that we here so honour hym▪ At which question the other Lordes being all astonied, the L. Treasurer (y^t then was) perceiuing this, gaue answer, and said: If it please your Maiestie, I did neuer read in any hystorie of S. George, but only in Legenda aurea, where it is thus set downe, that S. George out with his sworde, and ran the Dragon through with his speare. The king, when he could not a greate while speake for laughing, at length saide: I pray you my Lorde, and what did he with his sworde the while? That I can not tell your maiesty, said he. And so an end of y^t question of good s. Georg.

Now to returne againe from whence we haue digressed, which is to signifie some part of the order & manner of his godly departing: as the time approched when it pleased almighty God to call this young king from vs, whych was the 6. day of Iulye, the yeare aboue sayde, about three houres before his death, this Godly childe, his eyes being closed, speaking to himselfe, & thinking none to haue heard him, made this prayer as followeth.

The prayer of king Edward before his death.

Lorde God, deliuer me out of this miserable & wretched life, & take me among thy chosen: how be it not my will, but thy wil be done: Lord I commit my spirit to thee.*Oh Lord thou knowest howe happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosens sake send me life and health, that I may truely serue thee. Oh my Lorde God, blesse thy people, and saue thine inheritaunce. Oh Lord God, saue thy chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realme from papistrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy sonne Iesus Christes sake.

Then turned he his face, & seeing who was by him, sayd vnto them: Are ye so night, I thought you had bene further off? Then Doc. Owen said, We heard you speake to your selfe, but what you saide we knowe not. He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, I was praying to God. The last words of his pangs were these: I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me, & take my spirite. And thus he yeelded vp the ghost, leauing a wofull kingdom behinde vnto his sister. Allbeit he in his will hadde excluded his sister Marye from the succession of the crowne, because of her corrupt religion: yet y^e plague which God had destinate vnto this sinfull Realme, coulde not so be voided, but that shee beinge the elder and daughter to king Henry, succeeded in possession of y^e crowne. Of whose dreadfull and bloody regiment, it remaineth nowe consequently to discourse.

[Page 1396](#)This briefly may suffice to vnderstande, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the King and his Counsaile, and also by the Bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaymed from her owne singular opinion fixed vpon custome, to giue anye indifferente hearing to the word and voice of veritie. The whiche set will of the said Lady Mary,* both this yong King and also his father King Henry before him right well perceauing and considering, they were both much displeased agaynst her: In so much that not onely her brother did vtterly sequester her in his will,* but also her own father considering her inclination, conceiued suche hart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of Princesse, yea and seemed so egerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceede further with her (as it is reported) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer the Archbyshop, reconciled the King againe to fauour and pardon his owne daughter. For the better vnderstanding

whereof, by these her owne letters copied out of her owne hand writing (which I haue to shew) something may be perceiued, and more peraduenture may be gessed. The words out of her owne hand writing be these. And first her letter to King Henry her father heere followeth.

***A Letter of the Lady Mary, to King Henry her father.**

IN my most humble wise I beseeche your grace of your dayly blessing.* Pleaseth it the same to be aduertised, that this morning my Lord my Chamberleyne came and shewed me, that hee had receyued a letter from sir William Paulet Controller of your house. The effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remoue vnto the Castle of Herford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he shewed me. Wherein was written, that the Lady Mary the Kings daughter should remooue to the place before sayd, leauing out in the same the name of Princesse. Which when I heard, I could not a little marueyle, trusting verily that your grace was not priue to the same letter as concerning the leauing out of the name of Princesse, for as much as I doubt not in your goodnes, but your grace doth take me for your lawfull daughter, borne in true Matrimonie. Wherefore if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience runne in the displeasure of God, whiche I hope assuredly your grace will not that I so should. And in all other things your grace shall haue me alwayes as humble and obedient daughter and handmayd, as euer was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to: as knoweth our Lorde, who haue your grace in his most holy tuition, wyth much honour and long life, to his pleasure.

Written at your Manor of Beaulien this second day of October.

By your most humble daughter, Mary Princesse.

***A protestation of the Lady Mary, to certayne Lordes sent by the King her father, with certayne requestes vnto her.**

MY Lordes, as touching my remouing to Hatfield, I will obey his Grace,* as my duety is, or to any other place that his grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all other that be heere present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other then my selfe for the Kings lawfull daughter, borne in true matrimonie, or Princesse, and that I will neuer willingly and wittinglye say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to thinke that I agree to the contrary, not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Iudge: but that if I should say or do otherwise,* I shuld in my conscience sclaunder the deede of our mother holy Church and the Pope, who is the iudge in this matter, and none other: and also dishonor the King my Father, the Queene my Mother, and falsly confesse my selfe a Bastard, which God defende that I should do, seeing the Pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitiue, for to his iudgement I submit me.

As you haue heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters no lesse was d•clared toward king Edward her brother and other of his Counsaile: as well may appeare by the letters aboue specified, betweene her and the King her brother and his counsaile: So now let vs inferr somewhat likewise of the stoute talke and demeanor of the sayd Lady Mary toward D. Ridley Bishop of London, who gently comming to her of meere good will, had his communication w^t her, and she with him as here followeth.

About the eight of Sept. 1552. D. Ridley then Byshop of Londō, lying at his house at Hadham in Hartfordshire: * went to visite the Lady Mary then lying at Hunsden two myles off: & was gently entertayned of Sir Tho. Wharton & other her officers, til it was almost xi. of the clock. About which time the said Lady Mary came foorth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and sayde, that he was come to doe his duety to her grace. Then she thanked him for his paynes, and for a quarter of an houre talked with him very pleasauntly: and sayd, that she knew him in the Court when he was Chapleine to her father, and could wel remember a sermon that hee made before king Henry her father, at the mariage of my Lady Clinton y^t now is, to Sir Anthony Broune &c. and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted againe to her grace, betwene whome this communi•ation was, first the bishop beginning in maner as followeth.

Bishop.

Madame I came not onely to do my duetye to see your Grace, * but also to offer my selfe to preache before you on Sunday nexte, if it will please you to heare me. At thys her countenance chaunged, and after silence for a space, she aunswered thus.

Mary.

My Lorde, as for this last matter, I pray you make the aunswere to it yourselfe.

Bishop.

Madame, considering mine office and calling, I am bounde of duety to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary.

Well, I pray you make the aunswere (as I haue sayd) to this matter yourselfe: for you know the aunswere well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you aunswere, this shall be your aunswere: The doore of the parishe Church adioyning shalbe open for you, * if you come, and ye may preach, if you list, but neither I, nor none of mine shall heare you.

Bishop.

Madame, I trust you will not refuse Gods word.

Mary.

I cannot tell what ye call Gods word. That is not Gods worde now, that was Gods word in my fathers dayes.

Bishop.

Gods worde is all one in all times, but hath bene better vnderstanded and practised in some ages, then in other.

Mary.

You durst not for your eares, haue aduouched that for Gods worde in my fathers dayes, that now you doe. And as for your new bookes, I thanke God I neuer read none of them: neuer did, nor neuer will doe.

And after many bitter wordes against the forme of religion then established,* and against the gouernment of the Realme, and the lawes made in the young yeares of her brother, which she sayd she was not bound to obey, til her brother came to perfect age, and then affirmed shee woulde obey them. She asked the Bishop whether he were one of the Counsaile: He aunswered, No. You might well enough (sayd she) as the Counsaile goeth now a dayes.

And so she concluded with these wordes: My Lord, for your gentlenes to come and see me, I thanke you, but for your offering to preache before me, I thanke you neuer a whit.

Then the sayd B. was brought by sir Thomas Wharton, to the place where he dined, & desired to drink. And after he had dronke, he paused a litle while,* looking very sadly, & sodenly brake out into these woordes: Surely I haue done amisse. Why so, quoth sir Thomas Wharton? For I haue dronke (sayd he) in that place where Gods word offred, hath bene refused: Whereas if I had remembred my duetie, I ought to haue departed immediately, and to haue shakē of the dust of my shoes for a testimonie agaynst this house. These wordes were by the sayd bishop spoken with such a vehemencie, that some of the hearers afterward cōfessed their heare to stand vpright on their heades. Thys done, the sayde Bishop departed, and so returned to hys house. Testified by a certayn reuerend personage yet aliue, being then the bishops Chaplaine.

¶And thus making an ende of this ninth Booke, touching the story and raigne of King Edward, and hauing also somewhat sayde before of the nature and disposition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next Booke following: we intend (the grace of God assisting vs therein) now further to proceede in describing the actes and proceedings of the foresayde Lady Mary, comming now to be Queene, and aduaunced next after this godly King Edward, to the Crowne of this Realme of England.

¶The ende of the ninth Booke.

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The beginning of the tenth booke conteyning the horrible and bloudy tyme of QVEENE MARY.

The Preface to the Reader.

FORASMVCH AS WE ARE come now to the tyme of Queene Mary, when as so many were put to death for the cause especially of the Masse, and the sacramente of the Altar (as they cal it) I thought it conuenient vppon the occasion geuen, in the ingresse of this foresayd story, first to prefixe before, by the way of Preface, some declaration collected out of dyuers Writers and Authors, whereby to set foorth to the Reader the great absurditie, wicked abuse, and perillous idolatry of the popish Masse, declaring how and by whom it came in, clouted and patched vp of diuers additions, to the intent that the Reader, seeing the vayne institution thereof, and waying the true causes why it is to be exploded out of all Churches, may the better thereby iudge of their death, which gaue their liues for the testimonie and the word of truth.

First, concerning the origine of this word Missa, whether it came of Missath in Hebrue. Deut. 16. or Mincha, Leuit. 6. which signifieth oblation: or whether it came of sending away the Catechumeni, and persons vnwoorthy, out of the place of ministration,* (as certayne writers suppose) or else, Ex missis donarijs & symbolis quae in offertorio proponerantur: that is, of gifts and oblations wont to be offred before the Communion: or whether Missa is deriued of Remissa, which in the former writers was vsed pro remissione: or whether Missa, pro licentia dimittendi populum, is taken of sending away the congregation by the words of the Deacon, Ite missa est: or whether Missa hath his denomination of that which the Grecians call < in non-Latin alphabet >, dimission of the people, alluding to the story of the Hebrues, licensed of Pharaon to depart out of captiuitie after the eating of the Pasche Lambe, as I read in an old popish booke intituled De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus: or what tearme soeuer it be else, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French: or howsoeuer else it taketh his appellation, as there is no certaintie amongst themselues that most magnifie the Masse, so it is no matter to vs that stand against it. To my iudgemente and coniecture this latter exposition of the word seemeth more probable, both for that it is ioined with the word Ite, which signifieth departing: and also the time and order in speaking the same, agreeth well thereunto. For as the old Hebrues, after the supper of the Lamb, and not before, were set at liberty streight way, to departe out of captiuitie: so belike to declare our mysticall deliuerance by Christ, offred and slaine for vs, first goeth before the action of the holy supper: that done, then the Priest or Deacon sayth, Ite missa est: meaning thereby the deliuerance and liberty which is spiritually wrought in vs, after that the body of Christ hath bene offered for vs. Or else, if Missa otherwise should signifie the celebration or the action of the supper, it would be saide Ite, but venite, missa est, &c. Moreouer, besides other arguments, there be certayne places in Cassianus which seeme to declare, that Missa signifieth dimission of the congregation: as where he writeth of him which commeth not in time to the howers of prayer, saying it not to be lawfull for him to enter into the oratory, Sed stantem prae foribus congregationis, missam praestolari debere. i. that he ought standing without the doores, to waite for the misse of the congregation. And againe in the next Chapter following, he inferreth the same vocable Missa in like sense: Contenti, inquit somno qui nobis post vigiliarum missam vsque ad lucis indulgetur aduentum. i. Contented (sayeth he) with so much sleepe as serueth vs for the misse, or breaking vp of the night vigill, vnto the comming of the day, &c.

But to let passe these coniectures, this by the way I geue to the Reader to note and vnderstande, that as thys word Missa neuer yet entred into the Church nor vsage among the Greekes: so it is to be obserued among our Latin interpretors,* such as haue translated of old time the ancient

Greeke Authours, as Eusebius, and the Tripartite history, and others: that where the Greeke Writers haue these tearmes 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 and 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, that is, to call the congregation, to conuent assemblies, and so frequent together, the old translator of Epiphanius, and other translate vppon the same Missas facere, collectas agere, missas celebrare, &c. wherby it is not obscure to be seene, that this word Masse in the olde time, was not onely and peculiarly applied to the action of consecration, but as wel to all Christen assemblies collected, or congregations conuented, according as in the Dutch language this name (Messe) signifieth any solemne frequency, or panagyrie, or gathering together of the people. But of the name inough, and too much.

To expresse now the absurditie of the saide Masse, and the irreligious application thereof, vnseemely, and perilous for Christians to vse, I will bring two or three reasons of the worthy seruauant and Martyr of God, Iohn Bradford, to which many more may be also added out of others.

First the Masse, sayeth he, is a most subtile and pernicious enemie against Christ, and that double wayes: namely, against his Priesthode, and against his sacrifice, which he prooueth by this way. For the Priesthooe of Christe, (sayeth he) is an euerlasting Priesthooe, and such an one as can not go to another. But the Masse vtterly putteth him out of place, as though he were dead for euer: and so God were a lier, which said that Christ should be a Priest for euer: which briefly commeth vnto this Argument.

- Fes- That thing is not perpetuall, nor standeth not alone, which admitteth succession of other to do the same thing that was done before.
- ti- But the Masse Priests succeede after Christ, doing the same sacrifice (as they say) which he did before.
- no. Ergo, the Masse Priests make Christs Priesthode not to be perpetuall.

Another Argument.

- Ba- All Priests eyther be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchisedech, or after the order of the Apostles, or after that spirituall sort whereof it is written, Vos estis spirituale sacerdotium, &c.
- ro- But our Masse Priests neither be after the order of Aaron,* (for that is to resume that which Christ hath abolished:) neither after the order of Melchisedech (for that is peculiar only to Christ:) neither after the order of the Apostles (for then should they be Ministers, not Maisters, not Priests, but Preachers: (and which of the Apostles was euer named by the title of a Priest?) Againe, neither are they after the generall sorte of the spirituall priesthooe. For after that prerogatiue, euery true Christian is a spirituall Priest as well as they, offering vp spirituall, not bodily sacrifice, as prayers, thanksgeuing, obedience, mortification of the bodie framed to the obedience of his commaundements.
- co. Ergo, our Masse Priests are no Priests (vnlesse it be after the order of the Priestes of Baal.*)

Secondly,* concerning the sacrifice of Christ aboue mentioned, hee reasoneth in lyke manner: whyche wee haue reduced in the waye of Argumente, as followeth:

- Da- To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end wherefore it was begon, declareth the imperfection of the same thing before.
- ri- The Masse Priestes do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ once done for the end wherefore it was begonne (that is, * for propitiation and remission à poena & culpa pro viuīs & pro defunctis:)
- j. Ergo, Masse Priestes make the sacrifice of Christe to be vnperfect, and so are they iniurious to the sacrifice of Christ.

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¶For the confirmation of the premisses, marke heere (Reader) I beseech thee, the Rubrike heere following, written before the Masse of the fiue woundes in the Masse booke.

BOniface Bishop of Rome lay sicke, and was like to die, to whome our Lord sent the Archangell Raphael with the office of the Masse, of the fiue woundes, saying: Rise and write this office, and say it fiue times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately: and what Priest soeuer shall say this office for himselfe, or for any other that is sicke, fiue times, the person for whome it is sayde, shall obtaine health and grace, and in the world to come, (if he continue in vertue) life euerlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this office to be said fiue times for him, of a Priest, without doubt he shall be deliuered. And if it be saide for the soule of the dead, anone as it shall be saide and ended fiue times, hys soule shall be rid from paines. This hearing the Byshop, he did erect himselfe vp in his bed, coniuring the Aungell, by the name of almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harme: who aunswered, that he was Raphaell the Archangell, sent vnto him of God: and that all the premisses were vndoubtedly true. Then the sayde Boniface confirmed the said office of the fiue woundes, by the Apostolike authoritie.

An other Argument against the Masse, for that it is an hinderance to the true seruice of God, * and to the godly life of men: the declaration whereof is more at large by the saide Authour set out: but briefly in fourme of Argument may thus be contracted.

Another Argument.

- Da- Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward seruing of God, whose seruice should be all inward in spirit and veritie, that hindreth the true seruice of God.
- ti- The Masse occasioneth a man to rest in outward seruing, (as in hearing, seeing, and saying Masse, which be but outward senses of a man, * and as they say meritorious ex opere operato, etiam sine bono motu intētionis.)
- si. Ergo, the Masse hindreth y^e right & true seruice of God.

Conclusio. Another Argument, proouing that Masse hindreth good life.

- Di- Upon the Masse riseth false hope: and false remedie is promised to wicked liuers. * For euill men hearing Masse in the morning, vpō hope therof take more securitie in doing al day what they list. And such as haue in bibbing, brauling, tauerning, swearing, whoring, dicing, * carding, committed wickednes, to them the masse is set vp, promising sufficient propitiation sacrifice, remedy of body and soule, for man and beast, a poena & culpa, pro viuīs & mortuis: Though they neuer hearde preaching, neuer vsed praying, neuer repented, or how wicked so euer they

haue bene: yet if they come to the Church, take holy bread and holy water, and heare a Masse, or finde a soule Priest vpon the remedie thereof, then they thinke themselues discharged, and good Catholicke men.

- sa- Upon what cause soeuer riseth false hope and false remedy is promised to wicked liuers,* that hindreth good life.
- mis. Ergo, the Masse hindreth good life.

Conclusio. Another Argument.

- Da- Where one thing is sufficient and serueth alone, there all other helps be neadeles thereunto,* wherein it serueth.
- ti- The Masse, as they say, hath all, serueth for all: for by it commeth pardon for sinnes,* by it commeth deliuerance from Hell and Purgatory, by it commeth health for man and beast. In summa, the Masse is Mare bonorum, &c.
- si. Ergo, all other helps else be needelesse: hearing of Gods word,* faith, praying in spirit, repenting, preaching, pietie, and other helps to good life, &c.

An other Argument, proouing that the Masse is diuers and contrary from the institution of Christes Supper.

- 1. CHrist ordeined his Supper to be a memoriall of his death and passion, to be preached vntill he come.
- The Masse is no memoriall thing of Christ remembred in the Sacrament: but rather they make the Sacrament to be Christ himselfe offered and sacrificed for remission of sinnes, both for the quicke and the dead.
- 2. Christ ordeined his Supper to be celebrate and receaued of the congregation. And therefore Paule biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another. In the Masse there is no such thing, choose the people whether they will come or no, Sir Iohn is kinne to the tide, he will tarry for no man: if he haue a boy to say Amen, it is enough.
- 3. Christ receaued not but he distributed also the whole in euery part. Sir Iohn when he hath receaued all alone, he sheweth the people the empty chalice. And if he distribute to the people once a yeare, it is but in one kinde alone.
- 4. Christ ordeined the Supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembring matter. Contrary our Masse men make it a matter not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, piking, boxing, carying, recarying, worshipping, stouping, kneeling, knocking, with stoupe downe before, hold vp higher, I thanke God I see my maker to day, &c. Christ ordeined it a table matter. We turne it to an altar matter: he for a memorie, we for a sacrifice: he sate, our men stand: he in his common tongue, we in a forreigne tongue. Whereby it is manifest to appeare how diuers and repugnant the Masse is to the institution of the Lords Supper.*

Another Argument, proouing that the Masse is contrary to Gods Commaundementes.

- Item, where the first table of Gods blessed and sacred commaundements teacheth men to woorship and serue him, and to direct the meditations of their harts only vnto him: and that in all places, at all times, both publikely and priuately.

- The Masse booke doth point out seruice for Saints and for creatures, by name, to be serued,* at the least 300. dayes and yeares, as appeareth by the Calenders, Masses, Collectes, martiloge, &c.
- Ergo, the doctrine and institution of the Masse booke, tendeth contrary to Gods holy commaundements.*

Another reason against the Masse.

- Item, where S. Paule in expresse woordes willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the Masse is celebrate in a tongue forreigne, straunge, and vnknowne to the people, so that although the matter therein conteyned were holesome, and consonant to Scripture (as much as disagreeing from the same) yet for the straungenes of the tongue, it geueth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant. Now both the tongue being strange to the eares of the people, and the matter also in the Masse contained, being repugnant to Gods word, what defence can the Masse haue, but vtterly it is to be reiected?
- And for somuch therefore, as the Masse so long vsed in a forreigne language hath not hitherto come to the vnderstanding of the simple and vulgare sort, to the intende they may themselues perceiue the matter, and be theyr owne iudges, I haue heere set forth the chieftest parte thereof (which is the Canon) in Englishe, so as I found it in a certayne written copie, by Maister Couerdale translated, adioining withall the Rubricke and circumstance of the same in euery point, as is in the Masse booke conteyned.

¶The whole Canon of the Masse, with the Rubricke thereof, as it standeth in the Massebooke, after Salisbury vse. Translated word by word out of Laten into English.

After the Sanctus, the Priest immediately ioining hys handes together, and lifting vp his eies, beginneth these wordes: Te igitur clementissime, &c. that is to saye:* Therefore most gracious father, thorough Iesus Christ thy sonne our Lord, we humbly beseech thee.

Let him bowe downe his body, while he sayth: And we desire

Heere the Priest standing vpright, must kisse the altar (a) on the right hand of the sacrifice, saying: that thou accept and blesse,

Heere let the Priest make three crosses vpon the chalice and the bread, saying: these ✙ giftes these ✙ (b) presentes: these ✙ holy and vnspotted sacrifices.

When the signes are made vpon the chalice, let him lift vp his hands, saying thus: Which first of al (c) we offer vnto thee for thy holy Catholike Church: that thou vouchsafe to pacifie, keepe, vnite, and gouerne it, throughout the whole world: with thy seruauant our Pope N. and our Bishop N.

That is (d) his owne Byshop only. and our King N.

And they are expressed by name.

Then let there follow. and all true beleeuers, and such as haue the Catholike and Apostolike faith in due estimation.

Heere let him pray for the liuing.

Remember Lord thy seruants & handmaides N. and N.

[Page 1399](#)*In the which prayer, a rule must be obserued, for the order of charitie. Fiue times let the Priests pray. * First for himselfe. Secondly for father and mother, carnall and spirituall, and for other parents. Thirdly, for speciall frends, parishioners and others. Fourthly, for all that stande by. Fifthly, for all Christen people. And heere may the Priest commend all [\(b\)](#) his frends to God. But my counsaile is, that none make ouerlong tarying there partly for distraction of mind: partly because of immissions which may chaunce through euill Angels: And all that stand heereby round about, whose fayth and deuotion, vnto thee is knowne and manifest: for whome we offer vnto thee, or which themselues offer vnto thee, this sacrifice [\(c\)](#) of prayse, for them and theirs: for the redemption of their soules, for the hope of their saluation, and health, and render their vowes vnto thee the eternall liuing and true God.

Communicating and worshipping the memoriall, fyrst [\(d\)](#) of the glorious and euer virgin

Bowing downe a little, let him say:

Mary the mother of our God and Lord Iesu Christ, & also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter, Paule, Andrew, Iames, Iohn, Thomas, Phillip, Bartholomew, Mathew Simon & Tadeus, Timis, Cletus, Clemens, Sextus, Cornelius, Ciprianus, Laurence, Chrisogonus, Iohn and Paule, Cosme and Damian, and of all thy Saints: By whose [\(e\)](#) merites & praiers, graunt thou, that in all things we may be defended wyth the helpe of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord, Amen.

Heere let the Priest behold the hoste [\(a\)](#) with great veneration, saying:

Therefore Lord we beseech thee, that thou being pacified, wilt receaue this oblation of our bond seruice, and of all thy houshold: and order our dayes in thy peace, and commaund vs to be deliuered from eternall damnation, & to be nombred in the flocke of thine elect, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

Heere againe, let him [\(b\)](#) behold the hoste, saying: Which oblacion we beseech O almighty God in all things to make.

Heere let him make [\(c\)](#) three crosses vpon both, when he sayth: ✚ Blessed: ✚ appointed: ✚ ratified: reasonable and acceptable: that vnto vs it may be.

Heere let him make a crosse vpon the bread, saying: ✚ The body.

Heere vpon the chalice.

And ✚ bloud.

Heere with hands ioined together, let him say: Of thy most dearely beloued Sonne our Lorde Iesu Christ.

Heere let the Priest lifte vp his hands, and ioyne them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift vp the hoste, saying: Who [\(d\)](#) the next day afore he suffered, tooke bread into his holy and reuerent hands: and his eyes beeing lift vp into heauen

Heere let him lift vp his eies.

Unto the God almighty his father.

Heere let him bowe downe, and afterward creet hymselfe vp a little saieng.

Rendring thanks vnto thee, he ✚ blessed, he brake.

Heere let him touch the hoste, saying: And gaue vnto his disciples, saying: [\(e\)](#) take yee, and [\(f\)](#) eate of this ye all [\(g\)](#) for this is my body.

And these woordes must bee pronounced with one breath, and vnder one pro•acion, without making of any pause betweene. After these wordes, let hym bow hymselfe to the hoste, and afterwarde lyfte it vp aboue hys forehead, that it may be [\(h\)](#) seene of the people: and let him reuerently lay it agayne before the chalice, in maner of a crosse made with the same, and then let him vncouer the chalice, and hold it betweene his handes, not putting hys thombe and forefinger asunder, saue only whē he blesseth, saying thus: Likewise after they had supped, he taking this excellent cup into his holy and reuerent hands, rendring thankes also vnto thee,

Heere let him bow hymselfe, saying: Blessed, and gaue vnto his disciples, saying: take, and drinke of this [\(i\)](#) yee all.

Heere let him lift vp the chalice a little, saying thus: For this is the cup of my bloud, of the new and euerlasting testament [\(a\)](#) the mysterie of faith: which for you and for many, shall be shed to the remission of sinnes.

Heere let him lift the chalice to his brest, or further then his head, saying: As oft as ye doe these thinges, ye shall doe them [*](#) in remembraunce of me.

Here let him set downe the chalice againe, and rub hys fingers ouer the chalice. Then let him lift vp his armes, and couer the chalice. Then let him lift vp his armes [*](#) crosse wise, his fingers being ioined together vntill these wordes: De tuis donis (that is to saye, of thine owne rewardes.)

Wherefore O Lord, we also thy seruantes, and thy holye people, being mindfull aswell of the blessed passion and resurrection, as of the glorious ascension of the same Christ thy sonne our Lord God, do offer vnto thy excellent maiestie, of thine owne rewardes and giftes.

Here let there be made * fiue crosses: Namely the three first vpon the host and cup, saying. **+** a pure host: an holy host: **+** an vndefiled host.

The fourth vpon the *bread onely, saying: The holy **+** * bread of eternall life.

The fifth vpon the cup, saying: And **+** cup of eternal saluation. Vouchsafe thou also with a mercifull and pleasaunt countenaunce, to haue respecte hereunto, and to accept the same * as thou diddest vouchsafe to accept the giftes of thy righteous seruaunt Abell, and the sacrifice of our Patriarcke Abraham and the holy sacrifice, the vndefiled host, that the high Priest Melchisadech did offer vnto thee.

Here let the priest with his body bowed downe, and his handes holden a crosse, say: Supplices te rogamus (we humbly besecch thee) vntill these wordes, ex hac altaris participatione (of this partaking of the altar. And then let him stand vp, kissing the altar on the right side of the sacrifice: and * let him make a signe of the crosse vpon the host, and in hys owne face, when he sayth omni benedictione coelesti (with al heauenly benediction.)

We *humbly beseeche thee O almighty God commaund thou these to be brought by the hands of thy holy Aungell vnto thy high altar in the presence of thy diuine maiesty: that as many of vs as.

Here erecting vp himselfe, let him kisse the altar on the right side of the sacrifice saying: Of this participation of the altar, shall receiue thy sonnes holy.

Here let him make a signe of the crosse * vpō the host saying **+** body.

Then vpon the cup, saying: and **+** bloud may be replenished.

Here let him make a signe (in his owne face, saying wyth all heauēly benediction and grace thorow the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here let him pray for the dead.

Remember Lorde also the soules of thy seruauntes and handmaydens. N. and N. which are gone before vs with the marke of fayth, and rest in the sleepe of peace. We beseeche thee O Lord, that vnto them and vnto * all suche as rest in Christ; thou wilt graunt a place of refreshing of light, and of peace, through the same Christ our Lorde. Amen.

Here let him smite once * vpon his brest, saying: ¶Unto vs sinners also thy seruauntes, hoping of y^e multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to geue some portion and fellowship with thy holy Apostles, and Martyrs, wyth Iohn, Stephen, Mathias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha Lucia. Agnes, Cecilia, Anastacia: and with all thy Sayntes, within whose fellowship we beseeche thee admit vs, no• waying our merite, but graunting vs forgeuenes, thorow Christ our Lord.

*here is not sayd Amen.

By whom O Lord, all these good thinges thou doest euer create.

Here let him make a signe ouer the chalice * iij. times, saying.

Thou **+** sanctifiest: thou quickenest: thou **+** blessest, and geuest vnto vs.

Here let him w^tcouer the chalice, and make a signe of the crosse with the host fiue times: * first beyond the chalice on euery side: secondly eauen with the chalice: thirdly, within the chalice: fourthly, like as at the first: Fifthly before the chalice.

Thorow **+** him: and with **+** him: and in him, is vnto thee God father **+** almighty▪ in the vnitie of the **+** holy Ghost, all honour and glory.

Here let the Priest couer the chalice, and holde hys handes still vppon the altar till the pater noster be spoken saying thus.

Worlde without ende, Amen. Let vs praye. Being aduertised by holsome preceptes and taught by *Gods [Page 1400](#) institution, we are bold to say.

Heere let the Deacon take the paten, and holde it vncovered on the right syde of the Priest * hys arme beeyng stretched out an high vntill da propitius. Heere let the Priest lift vp his hands, saying: pater noster, &c. The quire must say: Sed libera nos &c.

Deliuier vs we beseeche thee O Lorde from all euill past, present, and for to come, and that * by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and our virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paule and Andrew, with all Saints.

Heere let the Deacon commit the patten to the Priest, kissing hys hande: and let the Priest * kisse the patten. Afterward let him put it * to his left eye, and then to the right. After that, let him make a crosse with the paten * aboue vpon his head, and so lay it downe againe into hys place, sayeng: geue peace graciously in our dayes: that we being helped through the succour of thy mercy, may both be alway free from sinne, and * safe from all trouble.

*Heere let him vncover the chalice, and take the body, doing reuerence, shifting it ouer in the holow roome of the chalice, holding it betweene his thombes and forefingers: and let him breake it into three partes: the first breaking, while there is sayd: Through the same our Lord Iesus Christ thy Sonne.

The second breaking.

Who with thee in the vnity of the holy Ghost, liueth and reigneth God.

Heere let him hold two peeces in his left hand, and the third peece in the right hand vpon the brinke of the chalice, sayeng this with * open voice.

World without ende.

Let the quire answer Amen. Heere let him make three crosses * within the chalice with the thirde parte of the hoste, saying: The peace of the Lord * + be alwayes + with + you.

Let the quire answer

And with thy spirite.

To saye Agnus dei, let the Deacon and subdeacon approch neere vnto the Priest, both being on the right hande, the Deacon neerer, the subdeacon farther off. And let them say * priuately.

O lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon vs: O lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy vpon vs: O lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, graunt vs peace.

In Masses * for the dead it is sayd thus.

O lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, geue them * rest.

With this addition in the third repetition.

Euerlasting.

Heere making a crosse, let him put downe the said third part of the hoste into the sacrament of the bloud, sayeng: This holy mingling together of the body and bloud of our Lord Iesu Christ * be vnto me, and to all that receiue it, saluation of mind and body: an holesome preparation both to deserue and to receiue eternall life through the same Christ our Lord.

Afore the Paxe be geuen, let the Priest say: O Lord holy father almighty eternall God, graunt me so woorthily to take this holy body and bloud of thy Sonne our Lord Iesu Christ, that * by this I may * merite to receyue forgeuenesse of all my synnes, and be replenished wyth thy holy spirite, and to haue thy peace: for thou art GOD alone, * neyther is there anye other without thee, whose glorious kingdome and Empyre endureth continuallye, worlde without ende. Amen.

Heere let the Priest * kisse the corporas on the right side, and the brinke of the chalice, and afterwarde let hym say to the Deacon.

Peace be vnto thee, and to the Church of God.

Aunswere. And with thy spirite.

On the right hand of the Priest, let the Deacon receaue the pax of him, and reach it to the subdeacon. Then to the step of the quere, let the Deacon himselfe beare the pax vnto the rector of the quere. And let them bring it to the quere, eyther of them to his owne side, beginning at the eldest. But in feastes and feriall dayes * when the quere is not gouerned, the pax is borne from the deacon vnto the quere by two of the lowest of the seconde forme, like as afore.

After the pax geuen, let the Priest say the prayers folowing, priuately, before he communicate, holding the hoste (c) with both his hands.

O God father, thou fountaine & originall of all goodnesse, who being moued with mercye, haste willed thine onely-begotten sonne for our sakes, to descende into the lower partes of the worlde, and to be incarnate: whom I (d) vnworthy hold in my handes.

Here let the priest bowe (e) him selfe to the hoost, saying I worshippe thee, I glorifie thee, I prayse thee, wyth whole intention of mind and hart: And I beseech thee that thou (f) faile not vs thy seruauntes, but forgeue our sinnes so as with pure hart and chaste body wee may be able to serue thee (g) the onely liuing and true God, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord Iesu Christ, thou sonne of y^e liuing God, who according to the will of the father, the holy Ghost working with all, hast quickened the world through thy death: Deliuer me I beseeche thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy bloude, from all my iniquities, and from all euils. And make me alway obey thy commaundements, and neuer suffer me to be seperated from thee for euermore, thou Sauour of the worlde: Who with God▪ the father and the same holy Ghost, liuest and raignest God worlde without end. Amen.

O Lord Iesu Christ let not the sacramēt of thy body & bloud which I receiue (though vnworthy) be to my iudgment and damnation: but thorow thy goodnes, let it profite to the saluation of my body and soule. Amen.

To the body let him say with humilation afore he receaue. Haile for euermore, thou most holy (a) flesh of Christ: vnto mee afore all thinges and aboue all thinges the highest sweetnesse. The body of our Lord Iesu Christ be vnto me sinner, the way and life, in the ✝ name of the father and of the sonne and of the holy Ghost. Amen.

Here let him take the body, (b) a crosse being first made with the same body afore his mouth, saying.

Haile for euermore, thou heauenly drinke: vnto me before all thinges and aboue all thinges, the highest sweetnesse. The body and bloud of our Lord Iesu Christ profite me sinner for a remedy euerlastyng into life eternall Amē. In the ✝ name of the Father, and of the Sonne and of the holy Ghost. Amen.

Here let him take the bloud: whiche when it is receaued, let bow him selfe and say.

¶The Prayer.

I render thākes to thee O Lord holy Father almightie eternall God, whiche hast refreshed me out of the most holy body and bloud of thy Sonne our Lord Iesu Christ. And I beseech thee that this Sacrament of our saluation, whiche I vnworthy sinner haue receiued, come not to my iudgement nor condemnation after my merites, but to the profite of my body, and to the saluation of my soule into life euerlastyng. Amen.

Which prayer being said(c) let the Priest go to the right side of the altar, with the chalice betwene his handes, his f•ngers beyng yet ioyned together as afore & let the Subdeacon approch neare, and poure out wine and water into the chalice. And let the Priest reuce his handes (d) least any parcels of the body or bloud be left behind in his fingers or in the chalice (e). But whē any Priest must celebrate twice in one day, then at the first Masse hee must not receiue any ablutiō, but put it in the Sacristie, or in a cleane vessell till the end of the other Masse: and then let both the ablutions be receiued.

After the first ablution is sayd this prayer.

That we haue receaued with mouth O Lorde, let vs take with a pure mynde, and (f) out of a temporall gift, let it be to vs a remedy euerlastyng.

Here let him (g) wash his fingers in the holow rowme of the chalice with wyne beyng poured in by the Subdeacon: which, when it is drunke vp, let the prayer folow.

Lord let this (h) communion purge vs from sinne, and make vs to be partakers of the heauenly remedy.

After the receiuyng of the ablutions, let the Priest lay the chalice vpo the paten: that if ought remayne behynd, it may drop. And afterward bowyng him selfe let him say.

Let vs (a) worship the signe of the Crosse, whereby we haue receaued the Sacrament of saluation.

Afterwarde let hym (b) washe his handes. In the meane season, let the Deacon fold vp the corporas. When handes are washen, and the Priest returneth to the right ende of the altar (c) let the Deacon reache the chalice to y^e Priestes mouth, that if ought of that which was poured in, doe remayne behynde (d) he may receaue it. After that, let hym say (e) the communion with his Ministers. Then makyng a signe of the Crosse in his owne face, lette the Priest turne hym selfe to the people: and (f) with his armes somewhat lifted vp, and his handes ioyned together, [Page 1401](#) let him say, Dominus vobiscum: and turning him againe to the altar, let him say oremus: (let vs pray.)

Then let him say the (g) postcommon, according to the number and order of the aforesayd prayers. Before the Epistle, when the last postcommon is ended, and the Priest hath made a signe of the crosse in his forehead, let him turne him agayne to the people, and say Dominus vobiscum. Then let the Deacon say Benedicamus domino. At another tyme is sayd Ite missa est. As oft as Ite missa est is sayd, it is alway sayd in turning to the people. And when Benedicamus domino, or Requiescant in pace must be sayde, let it be sayde in turning to the altar. When these things are spoken, let the Priest (with his body howed downe, and his hands ioyned together) in the middes before the altar, say (h) with a still voice, this prayer.

O holy Trinitie, let the office of my (i) bond seruice please thee, and graunt that this sacrifice which I vnworthy haue offred in the eyes of thy maiesty, may be acceptable vnto thee: and that

vnto me and all them for whome I haue offred it ([k](#)) it may auayle to obteyne remission, thou beeyng mercifull, who lyuest and reigest God, &c.

Which prayer being ended, let the Priest stand vpright, ([l](#)) crossing himselfe in his face, saying: In nomine patris, &c. And so, (when obeysance is made) after the same order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the Masse, so hauing on their apparayle with the censor bearer, and other Ministers, let them ([m](#)) go theyr waye agayne.

The ende of the Canon.

NOW it remayneth (as we haue promised before) to entreate of the partes and parcels of the Masse, declaring likewise how and by whome this popish or rather apish Masse became so clamped and patched together with so many dyuers and sondry additions: whereby it may the better appeare what hath bene the continuance of the same.

First, in the beginning of this Preface it was declared before, how this word Masse was neuer vsed nor knowne in the old primatiue Church among the first Christians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and deriue the origine of the Masse from Saint Iames, and Basilius, are farre deceiued. As I thinke that Saint Iames was once Byshop at Ierusalem, so I thinke not contrary, but sometymes he ministred the Communion there in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lords prayer, and other prayers of thankes gyuing. As we now in our Communion vse like prayers, and these prayers make not the Communion to be a Masse. And like is to be sayde of Saint Peter: who though he dyd celebrate the Communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he sayde Masse at Rome, as some report him to do.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origine how this error first came vp among the people,* that Saint Iames sayd Masse at Ierusalem, if a man consider well histories and authors which haue written. For in the history of Eusebius, Egesippus thus writeth of Saint Iames, Eum ab Apostolis primum constitutum fuisse Episcopum & liturgum, &c. vpon the which word liturgus, it is not vnlike, and diuers suppose this error to come, that Saint Iames dyd first set and institute the order of Masse. For so lightly the old translators, wheresoeuer they synde liturgia, or collecta, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, they translated it Missa: whereupon, the greatest occasion of this error riseth to make the people beleue the Masse to be so auncient to proceede from the Apostles, and from Saint Iames. Notwithstanding that error as it lightly came vp, so it may be as lightly exploded. For how could Saint Iames say Masse then at Ierusalem, or Saint Peter at Rome, when as yet neyther the name of Masse was heard, nor the partes thereof inuented. And although Sigibertus in his Chronicles reporte, that in the Citie of Uasath, being delyuered from the siege of the H••es, the pastor of that Church dyd celebrate Masse with thankes geuing aboute the yeare 453. yet Sigibert in so saying is to be taken, as speaking rather after the vse and maner of his time,* when he wrote it, then of that time when it was done. For in all the workes of Saint Augustine, and of Chrisostome, and in all that age, the name of Masse is not founde, but is called eyther the Supper of the Lord, or the Lords boord, or communion, Synaxis, sacrifice, oblation, mistery, celebration of the Sacrament, Eucharistia, the misticall table, Mistagogia, coena mystica, or with some other like tearme they nominate it. The name of Masse was not yet deuised, nor the patches thereof compiled.* Platina testifieth, that before Celestinus Pope, only the Epistle and Gospell were read at the Communion, which being done, the Communion ended.

And Gregory sayeth,* that the Apostles afore the ministration of the Sacrament, did vse only the Lords prayer, that is, the Pater noster. Let vs heare what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter, lib. de rebus Ecclesiastic. Capitu. 22. Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, lectionum, cantilenarum, & consecrationum officio totum hoc Apostoli, & post ipsos proximi, (vt creditur) orationibus, & commemoratione passionis dominicae, sicut ipse praecepit, agebant simpliciter, &c. i. That which nowe is done in the Church with such a long circumstance of so manie orisons, lessons, or readings, songs, and consecrations: all that the Apostles, and they that nexte succeeded the Apostles (as it is thought) dyd accomlishe simply with prayer onely, and wyth the commemoration of the Lords passion, &c. it followeth in the same Authour. And, as the report is, like as it is in the Romane Church vpon Good Friday, where the Communion is wont to be taken without any Masse: so it was in the old time with them, &c.

Now how this Masse hath growne vp and increased since, let vs search out, by the Lords helpe, out of Authors, so much as may be found.

The Introit.

Coelestinus Pope gaue the first Introite, as Platina and Sigibertus writeth.

The Psalme. Iudica me deus, &c.

And before the Priest do prepare himselfe to his Masse,* first with the Psalme, Iudica me deus & decerne causam meam, &c. that was ordeined by the sayd Coelestinus.

☞ And where they ascribe to Sainct Ambrose the two prayers which be vsed in the preparation to the Masse, and be added to the bookes of Ambrose, Erasmus iudgeth the same to be none of his, and that rightly as it seemeth, for therein is contained errors, not else to be found in the bookes of Ambrose, both in geuing adoration to the bread in the Sacrament, and making inuocation to Saintes, namely, to blessed Mary: as in the second prayer, where he sayth: Vt efficax haec mea sit deprecatio, beatae Mariae virginis suffragia peto, &c. i. And that this my prayer may be of efficacie, I desire the suffrage and intercession of blessed Mary the virgine, &c. Whereby it may appeare, learned Ambrose not to be the authour of such an errour.

Chrysostome in the xj. homely vpon the Gospell of Math. sayth,* that in his time (and afore his time) the vse was to sing whole psalmes, till they were entred and assembled together. And so belike Coelestinus borrowed thys custome of the Greekes,* and brought it into the Laten Church as Rupertus writeth.

Gregory the great (as some write) called a Sinode at Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 594. In which Synode he appointed,* that the introite of the Masse should be taken out of some psalme.

The Confiteor.

The Confiteor Pope Damasus brought into the Masse as it is written:* albeit peradventure not this popish confiteor, which in the latter Church hath bin vsed, stufte full of Idolatry, & inuocation of Saints, against y^e word of God.

The Kyrie eleyson.

The Kyrie eleyson ix. times to be repeated in such a tong,* as few priests either vnderstand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did institute, about 600. yeares after Christ, taking it out of the Greekes Church, and yet transposing it otherwise, then there was vsed. For among the Greekes this Kyrie eleyson (which they called their Letany) was song of all the people: The which Gregory ordeined to be song only of the Quere, adding thereto also Christe eleyson, which the Grecians vsed not,* as Gregory himselfe writing to the Byshop of Siracuse, doth testifie.

Gloria in excelsis.

Next followeth Gloria in excelsis, &c. Which words were song of the Angels at the birth of our sauour. Albeit these words also were corrupted, (as many other things were) in the Church. For where the words of the Angels himne were hominibus bona voluntas. i. to men good wil, y^e Masse sayd hominibus bonae voluntatis. i. to men of good will, &c. This himne was brought into the Masse by Pope Symmachus (and not by Telesphorus, as some not truely write that he ordeined three Masses on Christmas day, for in his time there was no Masse.* An. 140.) about the yeare of our Lord 510. And after, the said himne was augmented by Hillarius Pictauiensis, with those words that follow: Laudamus te, &c. singing it first in his owne church, which was Anno. 340. And afterward brought into other Churches by Pope Symmachus. An. 510. as is aforesayd.

Dominus vobiscum, with the aunswere Oremus and the Collectes.

Dominus vobiscum: with the answer of y^e people, although [Page 1402](#) we haue no certayne author named by whom it came: Yet this is certayn, that it was deduced out of the Greek church into the latin: as may appeare by the Liturge of Chrisostome and Basilius (if the liturgie be rightly ascribed vn|to them) also by Origene, and other auncient writers: by whom,* it may seeme that the liturgy, or masse (as they call it) did first begin with Dominus vobiscum, and then sursum corda: after that Gratias agamus domino deo nostro and so folowing vpon the same, verè dignum & iustum est &c. To the which beginning of the Canon, other additiōs after were put vnto by others, as ye shal heare (by the Lordes grace) hereafter more at large.

*Hugo de S. victore, writeth that this prayer was taken out of the auncient salutation of Booz saluting his haruest folkes. And out of the booke of Paralip. Where the prophet saluteth Azan the king with his company about him saying: *Dominus vobiscum. Honorius writeth thus: Praesbiter cū salutatione veteris testamenti, & Episcopus cum salutatione noui testamenti salutatur populum quia dignius est nouum quam vetus testamentum.*i. As the Prieste saluteth the people with the wordes of the olde Testament. Dominus vobiscum. So the Bish. vseth the wordes of the new testament, saying: pax vobiscum. &c. Concerning the Collectes Walfredus writeth: that as they be diuers and vncertayne, so they were made of diuers and sondry authors,* as euery of them thought it congrue. Hugo de S. victore affirmeth that chiefly they were made by Gelasius and Gregorius.

*Why they were called collects, W. Durandus and Micrologus shew the cause, for that in the city of Rome they sayd them ouer the people collected together in the station day, therefore they were called collectae.

¶The Graduell with Alleluya Tracte & Sequenties.

*The Responsorie, which is called the Graduell (beyng wont to be song at the steps going vp) with alleluya, Honorius saith that Ambrose made them, but Pope Gregory ordeined them to be receiued.

Upon festiuall dayes the Sequencies, which were wont to be song, were chiefly composed by an Abbot, called Nokkerus de S. Gallo,* And by Pope Nicholas commaunded to be song in the Masse.

The graduall the people were wont to sing when the Bishop was about to go vp to the pulpit, or some higher standing, where the word of God might be the better and more sensibly heard at his mouth, reading the Epistle and the Gospell.

¶The Epistle and the Gospell.

The reading of the Epistle and the Gospell, although it was not vsed in the Apostles time:* yet it seemeth to bee of auncient continuance: as Hugo sayth, Primis temporibus ab Epistola Pauli, missa incipiebatur, post quam sequebatur Euangelium, sicut nunc. i. In former time, the Masse begon first with the Epistle of S. Paule: after which Epistle thē folowed the Gospell,* as also now. &c.

Walafridus sayth: it is vncertaine who first ordered & disposed them so to be.*

Some attribute them to Hierome, some to Damasus, some to Telesphorus aforesayde. This is certayne, that Pope Anastasius ordeined to stand vp at the hearing of y^e Gospell read,* about the yeare of our sauour .406.

Petrus Ciruelus, writeth thus: Legimus & circa annos Christianae Salutis .500. fere, iam institutas Epistolas in officio missali. &c. About 500. yeares almoste, the Epistle sayth he, was first brought into the masse.

Honorius lib. 1. Epistolam & Euangelium Alexander Papa legi ad missam cōstituit. Hieronimus autem praesbiter lexionariū, & Euangeliarium, vt hodie habet Ecclesia, collegit. Sed Damasus Papa, vt nunc moris est, legi censuit. Alexander sayth he, appoynted the Epistle, and the Gospell, to be read at Masse. The translation and the disposition of them, in that order, as they stand, Hierome the Priest collected: but Damasus would them to be read in the Church,* so as the vse is now

Betwixt the Epistle and the Gospell, the olde Canons of the Spanyardes did forbid any Hymne or Canticle to be songe, in the order of the Masse, which now by the Romish order is broken.

¶The Creede.

The Creede was made by the Synode of Constantinople,* but by Damasus the Pope, ordeined to be song at y^e Masse. And where some affirme that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the yeare of our Lord .340. to reconcile these two together, peradventure thus it may be takē, that the one brought in the Creede,* or Symbole of Nicene counsell, the other appoynted the Creede of Constantinople, as is sayd.

¶The Offertory.

After this,* oblations were wont to bee offered of the people to the Priest: and the Offertorye to be songe of the quere.

☞ Of these oblations speaketh Irenaeus. Pro diuersis sacrificiorum ritibus, simplex oblatio panis & vini fidelibus sufficiat. &c.

In stead of the sondrye rites of sacrifices, let the simple oblation of bread and wine suffice the faythfull.*

Item, Walafrid. omnis populus intrans ecclesiam debet sacrificare, sicut docet ordo institutionis ecclesiasticae. i. Euerye person entring in the Church must doe sacrifice,* as the order of Ecclesiastical institution doth teach, what order this was, it is declared in ordine Romano by these wordes: populus dat oblationes suas, id est panem & vinum: primo masculi, deinde faeminae nouissimè vero sacerdotes & Diaconi offerunt, sed solum panem, & hoc ante altare. i. The people geue euerye one his oblacions, that is, bread and wine: first the men, then the women, after them Priestes and Deacons offer, but bread onely. &c.

Likewise Bucardus testifieth the same In synodo Matiscon decretum est, vt in omnibus Dominicis diebus,* alijsque festiuitatibus oblatio ab omnibus qui ad Missam conuenerint vtriusque sexus offeratur in Ecclesia, singulas oblationes offerentes, finita missa oblationes a praesbitero accipiant. i. In y^e Sinod Matiscon it was ordeined that euerye sonday and festiuall day oblation was made of al the people which came to the masse, or liturgy, both men and women, in the church,* euery person bringing and offering his owne oblation.

The liturgye being done, they receiue the oblations of the priest. &c.

☞ Thus ye maye see what was theyr oblations and sacrifice in the auncient time, in their liturgy. Wherof now remayneth nothing, but the name onely with the song.

This offertory some ascribe to Eutichianus about the yeare of our Lord .280. but thereof no certayne euidence appeareth.

Orate pro me fratres. &c.

Naclerus writeth that Pope Leo broughte in that which is sayd in y^e Masse: Orate pro me fratres & sorores. &c.*

¶The Preface and the Canon.

The Preface of the Canon from verè dignum & iustum est. &c. to per Christum Dominum nostrum is geuen to Gelasius. su•sum corda,* seemeth to be borrowed out of the old maner of the Greeke Church, S. Cyprian also maketh mention of the same and S. Aust. de vera religione. cap 3.

☞ And therefore Thomas Waldēsis iudgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelasius.

After Christum dominum nostrum, in the old liturgy then followed Qui pridie quàm pateretur as Rhenanus supposeth, but then came Pope Gelasius the first, about y^e yeare of our Lord 497. which inserted that which foloweth: Te igitur clementissime. &c.

☞ Whereby it is to bee noted that Polidorus Virgilius (which ascribeth Qui pridie to Pope Alexander) De inuent. lib. 5. cap. 10. is deceiued.*

The like is also to be said of Panormitanus, who referreth the same clause Qui pridie. &c. to the Apostles.*lib. de celebratione Missae Cap. Cum Martha.

Furthermore note (good reader) howe this doth agree with the long Canon of Saynt Ambrose lib. 4 De sacramentis. cap. 5. Dicit Sacerdos: fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem quod est figura corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit ad coelum ad te sancte pater omnipotens aeterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit. &c. if it be true that either Panormitanus saith, or that Gelasius made Qui pridie. &c. Howe can this Canon then be fathered vpon S. Ambrose? And by the same reason also hys whole booke entituled De Sacramentis may be suspected, as of diuers learned men it is.

Then came Pope Sixtus, 10. yeares after him, whiche broughte into the Canon Sanctus, Sanctus,* thrise to be song out of the booke of Esay. And to annexe it together, ioyned also that whiche goeth before: per quem maiestatem tuam. &c.*

☞ He that writeth the liturgy of Basilius, ascribeth it to his name: whether hee doth it truely or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that seeing in the sayde liturgie of Basilius, the same Particle, sanctus, sanctus sãctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni sunt coeli & terra gloria tua, osanna in excelsis, is song: Therefore it must needes folowe, that either Leo whiche was aboute the yeare of our Lord. [Page 1403](#) 460. borrowed this out of Basilius Liturgie, or els y^e same is falsly attributed to Basilius.

After this foloweth: Sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam, till ye come to placatus accipias, which Leo the first did make and institute.

*The wordes in the communion, Hoc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis, &c were put in by Pope Alexander. i. as Humbertus writeth: vnder Byshop Alexander martyr & papa .5. ab Apost. Petro passionem Domini inserēs Canoni Missae, ait: Hoc quotiescunque feceritis. &c.

*Pope Gregory the third about the yeare of our Lord .732. put to his piece: Et eorum quorum memoria. &c.

☞ This Gregory the 3. called a coucell at Rome where in he decreed that Images shoulde not onely be had in tēples, but also worshipped, and that all gaynesayers should be counted as heretickes.

Innocentius the 3. of that name affirmeth Pope Gelasius,* which was about 490. yeares after Christ, to haue made a great piece of that Canon, as he himselfe did something therein, about the yeare of our Lord .1215.

Panormitanus affirmeth that Gregory did adde to the Canon,* this clause, Diesque nostros in pace disponas.

Briefely Gregorius in registro sayth that one Scholasticus made the most part of the Canon, finding also fault with the same, that in composing the Chanon, he woulde put in his owne prayers, & leaue out the Lords prayer. &c.

☞ Where is to be noted, for the reconciling of these wryters together, of whom some impute the Canon to Gelasius, some agayne to Scholasticus: In my coniecture it may be sayd, that both these be one, and so the matter is reconciled. The reason that moueth me is this, for so I finde In vetusto quodam libro de officio missae, after these wordes, Gelasius Papa ex Scolastico effectus in ordine 48. fecit tractatus & hymnos.*&c.

The eleuation and adoration.

The eleuation and adoration of the sacrament, we cānot find to come in by any other, then by Honorius the iij. about the yeare of our Lord 1222. which ordeined that the people then should kneele downe and worship the sacrament.*

The Pater noster.

*Ioannes Diaconus writing of Gregory, sayth: Orationem dominicam mox post Canonem super hostiam censuit recitari. i that Gregory caused the Lordes prayer to be recited immediately after the Canon vpon the host. &c.

☞ Although the Apostles euer vsed the Lordes prayer at the supper of the Lord, as is sayd before: yet Gregory belike placed it so in that order after the Canon, and brought it in with those wordes: praeceptis salutaribus &c.

Gregorius in Reg. Dominica oratio apud Graecos ab omni populo:* Apud nos vero a solo sacerdote cantatur. i. The Lords prayer, sayth he, amonge the Grecians was wonte to •ee song generally of all the people: with vs it is song onelye of the priest.

Agnus.

The Agnus Pope Sergius aboute the yeare of our Lord .700. brought into the Masse,* as witnesseth Exposit. R. ord. propter officium confractionis dominici corporis, constitutum est a papa Sergio vt agnus dei decantetur. &c.

The Pax.

Innocentius ordeined the paxe to be geuen to the people.*Pacis ait, osculum dandum post confecta mysteria, vt constet populum ad omnia quae in mysterijs aguntur, praeuisse consensum. &c.

☞ Peter Martyr in his commētaryes in Iud. saith that it it was brought in by Pope Leo .2. as it is said: and yet supposeth the same not to be so, saying that this was an auncient custome in the Apostles time, for Christians to salute one an other with the kisse of peace. &c.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth also Gabriell Biel. writing in these wordes:*Porrexit in primitiua ecclesia sacerdos osculum pacis ministro, caeteris impartiednum, vt per hoc significaret, &c. i. In the primitiue Church, the priest gaue a kisse of peace to the minister, to be geuen by him to the people.

The distribution and communion.

After this foloweth the comunion, where in our popish Masse and Ministers therof do much alter and degenerate from auncient antiquity, two maner of wayes.

First in that they make no communion thereof, receyuing onely to thēselues, cōtrary both to theyr own words: where they say after theyr receiuing: Sacramenta que sumpsimus. &c. and also to the auncient examples and decrees of the Apostles and others. And where it is decreed in the Epistle of Anacletus. Paracta autē consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apostoli statuerunt, & S. Romana tenet ecclesia. &c. i. The consecration being done, let all communicate together, vnles they will be thrust out of the church dores. &c.

☞ Here note by the way (gentle Reader) how Gratianus the writer of the Popes decrees, is ouersene,* which in hys booke De consecrat. dist. 2. referreth this saying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewise also Chocleus writing agaynst Musculus, followeth Gracianus in the same error.

Likewise in the Canons of the Apostles (if the Canōs were theyrs) we read: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . &c. i. All the faithfull which resort to the Church, and tary not out the end of the seruice, and receiue not the holy communion, suche, as bringing in disorder to the Church, ought to be disseuered, &c. And agayne: Si quis episcopus, praesbiter, aut diaconus, aut quicunq̃ue ex sacerdotali consortio, oblatione facta•, non cōmunicauerint, causam dicito. &c.

For how can that be a communion called, which is not common but priuate to one? As Micrologus writeth: Nec enim proprie communio dici potest, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participant. i. It can not be called a communion, except mo then one do participate of one sacrifice. &c.

And Durandus: In primitiua ecclesia omnes qui celebrationi Missarum intererant, singulis diebus communicare solebāt,*eo quod Apostoli omnes de calice biberunt. &c. i. In the primitiue time all that were present at the ministration, were wont euery day to communicate, because that the apostles did altogether drinke of the cup. &c.

Secondly, they alter and degenerate therein from aūcient antiquity, in that when they communicate also wyth the people, yet they depriue them of the holy cup: which deprauation was not in the church before the counsel o• Cōstance, about the yere of our Lord .1414. For before it was so autentikly receiued, that it was counted a sacriledge, to receiue the one without the other,* as appeareth by the wordes of Pope Gelasius: Cōperimus quod quidam sumpta tantum modo corporis sacri portione. &c. the whole in english is thus: we vnderstand that there be some, which receiuing the one part onely of the holy body,* absteine from the cup of the sacrate blood: who (because they be taught so to do, by what superstition I cannot tell) eyther let thē receiue the sacrament whole together, or let them absteine from the whole sacrament altogether, because the diuision of that one and whole sacrament, cannot be without great sacriledge. &c.

Hytherto also pertaineth the testimony of S. Austen in these wordes: Et ibi vos estis in mensa,*& in calice nobiscum vos estis. Simul enim hoc sumimus, simul bibimus, quia simul viuimus. &c. i. There be you at the table, and at the cup there also be you with vs: for together we receiue, and together we drinke, because we liue together.

As also out of the booke of Gregory it is manifest that not onely the people receiued then in both kindes:* but also the words were prescribed to the minister, what he should say in geuing the cup: Item sacerdos calicem dando dicat: Sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi custodiat te ad vitam aeternam. i. Let the priest say in geuing the cup: The blood of our lord Iesus Christ keepe thee to euerlasting life. Amen.

Further in rēdering the cause, why it should so be done, Thomas Aquine writeth:*Nam hoc valet ad repraesentand•m passionem Christi, in qua seorsum fuit sanguis a corpore separatus. &c. Secundo, hoc est conueniens vsui huius sacramenti, vt seorsum exhibeatur corpus Christi fidelibus in cibum, & sanguis in potum. i. For that serueth to represent the passion of Christ, wherein his blood was parted seuerally from the body. &c Secondly, for that is conuenient to the vse of the sacramēt, that the body shoulde seuerally be geuen to the faythfull to meat. and the blood to drinke.

And therefore serued the office of the deacōs as we read, vt oblata a populo super altare consecranda disponant,*& perfectis mysterijs calicem sacrosancti sanguinis Domini, fidelibus propinent i. To lay the offeringes of the people vpon the altar to be halowed, and when the misteries be consecrated, to distribute the cup of the sacrate blood of the Lord to the faythfull, &c.

But among all other testimonies to proue that the sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more euidēt then the place of Hierome.*Caeterum dominica caena omnibus debet esse communis, quia ille omnibus discipulis suis, qui aderant aequaliter tradidit sacramenta. i. The supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently comen to all his disciples there present. &c.

And thus haue ye heard the Canon described, which otherwise is called secretum. i. the secrete of the masse, beinge so termed, because the priest was wont to read it in secrete or in scilence.* The reason thereof Pope Innocentius .iij. declareth in his third booke, for that the holy wordes, sayth he of the Canon, shoulde not growe in contempt with the people by the dayly vse and hearing thereof. And bringeth [Page 1404](#) in an example concerning the same of certeine shepheards which in the fieldes vsing the same wordes of the Chanon vpō theyr bread and wine, the matter was turned saith he, into flesh and bloud, and they plagued therefore from heauen: but with such popish tales the Church hath bene lōg replenished.

The Postcommon.

*After the Canon and communion, then followeth the Postcommon, with the collectes, which the masse booke requireth alwayes to be vsed in an odde number, sometime teaching to vse but one, as in the sondayes in Lent: and sometime three: as in certen masses, from lowsonday, tyll the Ascention: but neuer to passe the number of seauen.

Ite Missa est.

Last of all commeth Ite missa est, wherby the minister dimitteth and sendeth away al the congregation there present to theyr businesse,* for as you hearde before, it was decreed in auncient time, that it was not lawefull to departe from the congregation in the time of holy ministration, be|fore the end of the whole cōmunion. And therfore, all thinges being accomplished, the minister turning to the assēbly, pronounceth Ite missa est.

☞ Where note that vpon sondayes and festiuall dayes onely when Gloria in excelsis, was songe, Ite missa est was wont to be sayd: on the workedayes, Benedicamus Domino: sometime Requiescant in pace.

NOW concerning such trinckets as were to the foresaid Masse apperteining or circumstant, first the linnin Albes and Corporasses were brought in by Pope Marcus.* Ann. 340. if that be true whiche is thought of some, where note agayne, that in the time of this Pope, it was nothyng offensiue for euery honest Priest, to haue his owne proper wife. In the time also of this Marcus, was concilium Elib•rtinum, which condemned all kindes of Images and pictures in temples.

Contrary to the whiche counsell, Pope Gregorye the thyrd, about the yeare of our Lord. 732. calling a counsel at Rome, did not onely stablish the Images before condēned, but condemned the gaynesayers for Heretickes, as is aforesayd.

By Sixtus the second it was ordeined that no liturgy should be done saue onely vpon altars halowed,* about the yeare of our Lord 260. as some suppose. But as I see no firme probation vpon the same: so haue I probable coniecture the same not to be true.

Some there be that shame not to say that S. Clement brought in the Albe and vestmentes,* to the popish masse.

Item that the sacramēt of the bloud of the Lord should be cōsecrate in chalices of glasse and not of wood, as it was in time before,* they say it was the ordinaunce of Pope Seuerinus.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true prouerbe with all. That once they had woodden chalices, and goldē Priestes, nowe they haue golden Chalices, and woodden Priestes.

Schenianus ordeined the ringing of bels, and burning of lampes in churches.*

Uitalianus the playing on the organes.

*Damasus by the instinct of Hierome appoynted gloria patri after the psalmes.

Pelagius deuised the Memento for the dead.

*Leo brought in the Incense.

Eutichianus as other say, brought in the Offertorye, which was then after a farre other wise then it is, or hath bene vsed now a great whyle. For what time as manye of the Heathen being greatly accustomed with offeringes▪ were conuerted vnto Christ, and could not be wel brought from theyr olde long vse of Offeringes, the Pope thought to beare somewhat with the weake, and permitted them to bring meares into the congregation or church, that whē the Byshoppe had blessed them, they that brought them, mighte distribute them to the poore, or take them to theyr owne vse. But afterward did Pope Gregory so helpe vp this sentence: Non apparebis in conspectu Dei tui vacuus. &c. Thou shalt not appeare in the sight of thy God empty. &c. that as he willed the people to lay theyr offeringes vppon the Aultare: so they did, and haue not yet forgotten to do• so still.

Soule masses, and masses appplied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, which brought in the Memento as is sayd.*

☞Wherein note (good Reader) and marke, how these two stand together, that which our Sauour sayth in hys Euangely, hoc facite in mei commemorationem, do this in remembraunce of me:* and that which they say In quorum memoria Corpus Christi sumitur. &c. i. In whose commemoration the bodye of Christ is taken. &c. Christ woulde it to bee done in his remembraunce, and the Pope sayth, doe it in remembraunce of the deade. &c. What can be more contrary.

Innocentius the third, ordeined that the Sacrament should be reserued in the Church.* The same brought also in auriculare confession as a lawe, about the yeare of our Lord 1215. he did also constitute that no Archbishop should enioy the pall, vnlesse he were of his owne religion: and therefore no great maruell if there be such vnity in popery.

Uigilius ordeined that the Priest should say masse hauing his face toward the east.

Platina writeth how the first latin masse was song in the sixte counsell of constantinople,* whiche was about the yeare of our Lord, 680. so that the sayd Masse was there & then first

allowed and not before. And yet they (I thinke) the greek Church should haue knowne as soone the masse, if it had proceeded from Iames or Basilius, as the Latine Church did know it.

The opinion to thinke the Masse to helpe soules in Purgatory was confirmed by Pope Ioannes 19. by reasō of a dreame wherein he dreamed that he saw and heard the voyces of deuilles lamenting and bewayling,* that soules were deliuered from them, by the saying of Masses and diriges. And therefore did approue and ratify the feast of all soules brought in by Odilo:* moreouer adioined also to the same, the feast of al hallowes, about the yeare of our Lord. 1003.

Concerning lent fast, some thinke that Telesphorus, about the yeare of our Lord. 140. was the author therof.* But that peraduenture may be as true, as that which they also attribute to him, that he ordeined three masses of one priest to be sayd on Christmas day. Or if he did ordeine that fast, yet he did ordeine it but freely to be kept:* for so I finde among the decrees, that lent was commaunded first to bee fasted, but onely of the Clergy or church men.

Pope Leo commaunded the Sacrament to be censed.

Pope Boniface set in his foot for couerting of y^e altars.

In S. Cyprians time, it seemeth that water was then myngled with the wyne,* whereof we read mention in his second booke of Epistles: which mixture is referred to Alexander the first, in the order of the Romaine Canon.

As concerning the breaking of the body in 3. partes we read also mention to be made in the same book of order, but no certaine author thereof to be named. The words of the booke be these: Tripliciter, inquit, corpus Domini intelligitur. Vnum quod resurrexit a mortuis, quod significat particula in sāguinem missa: Aliud quod adhuc viuit in terra significatū per particulam a sacerdote consumptam. Tertium, quod iam requiescit in Christo, quod etiam a tertia particula in altari reseruata apte figuratur. &c. i. Three wayes is the body of the Lord vnderstanded: One which rose agayne from the dead, being signified by that part, which is let fall to the bloud in the chalice. The other is, that yet is liuing in the earth, whiche the part of the priest eaten doth signify. The third is that now resteth in Christ, which also is figured by that particle, that is reserued vpon the aultar.

Dedication of churches came in by Felix the third: and that Churches might not be hallowed but by a Byshoppe an. 492.*

The canticle Gloria laus. &c. in the procession before the Masse▪ on Palmesonday, was instituted by Theodulphus bishop of Aurelia, as Sygibertus writeth, about the yeare of our Lord. 843.

Geuing of holy bread came in by this occasion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and other. The maner was in auncient time, that the Ministers were wont to receiue certaine meale of euerye house or family, wherewith a great loafe was made, called Panis Dominicus, able to serue in the Communion and to be distributed vnto the people, which then was wont euerye day to be present and to receiue, especially they that offered the meale:* for whom it was wont therfore to be sayd in the Canon: Omnium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc

sacrificium laudis offerunt. &c. But afterward the number of the people increasing, and pietye decreasing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordeined to communicate but onely vpon sondayes.

At length folowed the thyrd constitution, that thrise a yeare, at least at Easter, euery man should communicate, being thus prouided, that in stead of the dayly communiō before vsed, the pax did serue. And in stead of receiuing vpon the Sunday, bread was hallowed and sondaylye geuen and distributed vnto the people, whyche also was called Eulogia: the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For so wee reade in the decrees of the sayde Pope Pius: Vt de oblationibus quae offeruntur a populo, & consecrationibus supersunt,*vel de panibus quos deferūt fideles ad ecclesiam, vel certe de suis praesbiter conuenienter [Page 1405](#) partes incisas habeat in vase nitido & conuenienti, & post Missarum solennia qui communicare non fuerint parati, eulogias omni die dominico, & in diebus festis exinde accipiāt. That is: That the Minister shal take of the oblations offered of the people,*remayning of the consecration, or els of the breade, which the faythfull bring vnto the Church or els to take of theyr owne bread and cut it conueniently in portions in a cleane, & a conuenient vessell: so that after the solemnity of the ministration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receiue euery sondaye or festiuall day, Eulogies, or benedictions with the same. Hec ille.

As cōcerning holly water which they vsed to sprinckle at the Church doore, vpon them that entred in, I will not say that it spronge from the Idolatrous vse of the Gentiles.

This I say as I finde in historia Sozomeni. Erat autem Romanis vetusta consuetudo vt quum limen templi transeūdū esset,*sacerdos secundum morē ethnicum madidos quosdam oliue ramusculos manu tenens ingredientes aspergebat. &c. i. It was an olde custome among the Romans, that at the entring in at the Church doore, the priest after the vsuall maner of the Ethniks, hauing in his hand moist braūches of Oliue, did sprinckle with the same such as entred in. &c.

To the which custome this our maner of geuing of holye water is so like, that it seemeth to proceede out of the same.

In the booke of the Popes decrees, & in the distinctiōs of Gratianus, there is a certayne decree fathered vpon Alexander the first,*about the yeare of our Lord. 121. Whiche decree may well seme to be a bastard decree, neither agreing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the coniuring of holy water. The wordes of the decree be these: Aquam sale conspersam in populis benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur, & purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus. Nam si cinis vitule aspersus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, multo magis aqua sale aspersa, diuinisque precibus sacrata populū sanctificat atque mundat. Et si sale asperso per Helisaeum Prophetam sterilitas aquae sanata est: quanto magis diuinis precibus sacratus sal sterilitatem rerū aufert humanarum, & coinquinos sanctificat & purgat, & caetera bona multiplicat, & insidias diaboli auertit, & a phātsmatis versutijs homines defendit? That is: We blesse water sprinckled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinckled with the same may be sanctified and purified: which thyng we charge and commaund all priests to do, for if the ashes of the Cow, in the old law, being sprinckled among y^e people did sanctify, and clense them, much more water sprinckled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers sanctifieth and clenseth the people: and if that Heliseus the Prophet by the sprinckling of salt, did heale and

helpe the barrennesse of the water: how much more the salt being halowed by godly prayers taketh away the barrennes of humayne thinges, and sanctifieth and purgeth them that bee defiled: also multiplieth other things that be good and turneth away the snares of the deuill, and defendeth mē from deceptions of phantasy. &c.

Thus ye haue heard the author and father of holly water, which some also ascribe to Pope Sixtus which succeeded Alexander. But as y^e Papists do not agree in the fyrst authour or institutor of this hallowing of Elementes, so I thinke the same vntruely to be ascribed to either, but leauing the probation of this to farther leasure, let vs nowe heare in our owne tongue theyr owne words, which y^e vse in this theyr coniuration.

The forme and wordes vsed of the Priest in coniuring Salt.

I coniure thee thou creature of Salte by the ✚ liuyng God,* by the ✚ true God, by the holy God. &c. That thou mayest be made a coniured Salte, to the saluation of them that beleue: And that vnto all suche as receiue thee, thou mayest be health of soule and body: and that from out of y^e place, wherein thou shalt be sprinckled, may flie away and depart all phantasy, wickednes, or craftines of the deuils subtlety, and euery foule spirit. &c.

The forme of coniuring water.

*I coniure thee, thou creature of water in the name of ✚ God the father almighty, and in the name of Iesu Christ his sonne, our Lord, and in the vertue ✚ of the holy Ghost that thou become a coniured water to expell all power of the enemy. &c.

Who seeth not in these wordes blasphemye intollerable, how that which only is due to the bloud of Christ, and promised to fayth onely in him, the same is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be saluation both to bodye and spirite, inwardlye to geue remission of sinnes, to geue health and remedy agaynst euils and deuils, against all phantasies, wickednesse, and all foule spirites, and to expell the power of the enemy. &c. If this be true whereto serueth the bloud of Christ, and the vertue of Christian fayth?

Therefore iudge thy selfe (gentle Reader) whether thou thinke this trompery rightly to be fathered vpon those ancient fathers aforenamed, or els whether it may seme more like trueth that Iohn Sleydan writeth, whose woordes in his second booke de Monarchijs are these:**Horum decreta sunt in libris inserta conciliorum, sed ex his plaeraque tam sunt leuicula, tam nugatoria, tam aliena prorsus a sacris literis, vt credibile sit ab alijs longo post tēpore fuisse conficta.* &c. That is: The decrees of these foresaid Bishops and Martyrs be inserted in the booke of Counsels, but of these decrees many therof be so childish, so trifling, and so farre disagreeing from the holy scripture,* that it is very like that the same were fayned and counterfayted of others, long after theyr time. &c. Thus muche sayth Sleydane with moe woordes in that place. Unto whose testimony, if I might be so bolde also to adde my coniecture, I would suppose the coniuration of this foresayd water and Salte, to spring out of the same fountayne, from whence proceeded the coniuring of flowers and braunches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and vniforme, as may appeare.

The maner of halowing flowers and braunches.

I coniure thee, thou creature of flowers and braūches in the name of ✚ God the father almighty: and in the name ✚ of Iesu Christ his sonne, our Lord: and in the vertue of the holy ✚ Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out, and displāted from this creature of flowers and braunches all thou strength of the aduersary, all thou host of the deuill, and all the power of the enemy: euē euery assault of the deuils. &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water: wherby thou mayst partly coniecture the same not to be so olde, as Steuen Gardiner, in hys Letter agaynst mayster Ridley aboue mentioned, woulde haue, Pag. 753. being both deceiued himselfe, and also goyng about to seduce other.

Furthermore as touching the reseruing of reliques & the memoriall of sayntes brought into the masse,* Gregory the thyrd is the author therof, who also added to the canon therof, this clause: Quorum solennitates hodie in cōspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae celebrantur. &c.

Finally it were to long to recite euery thing in order deuised and brought in particularly to the masse, and to y^e Church. For after that mans brayne was once set on deuising, it neuer coulde make an end of heaping rite vppon rite, and ceremony vpon ceremony, till all religion was turned well nighe to superstition. Thereof commeth oyle and creame brought in by Pope Siluester not wont to be hallowed but by a byshop.* That the corporas shuld not be of silcke, but onely of fine linnen cloth. That the Psalmes should be song on sides, the one side of the quier singing one verse the other an other with gloria patri. &c. That bap'tisme should be ministred at no other time in the yere but onely at Easter and at whitsontide (saue onely to infantes and such as were in extreame infirmity) and that it should be requyred 40. dayes before:* so determined by Pope Siricius: and therefore was it that fontes were halowed onely at these two seasons, the which halowing they keep yet still, but the ordinaunce they haue reiecte. Item that belles also were Christened. Item, no Prieste shoulde weare a beard, or haue long hayre, so appoynted by Pope Martine the first. Item that auriculare confession shoulde be made, that the booke of decrees and decretals should be stablished and transubstantiation confirmed, in whiche three Actes Pope Innocentius the thyrd was the chieftest doer,* about the yeare of our Lord. 1215.*

And thus haue ye in sum the gatheringes of the masse, with the Chanon and all the appurtenaunce of the same, which, not much vnlike to the Crow of Esope being patched with the feathers of so manye byrdes, was so long a gethering, that the temple of Salomon was not so long in building, as the Popes Masse was in making. Whereby iudge now thy selfe (good Reader) whether this Masse did proceede from Iames and other Apostles or no. And yet this was one of the principall causes for which so much turmoyle was made in the Church, with the bloudshed of so many Godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this realme: some consumed by fire, some pined away with hūger, some hanged, some slayne, some racked, some tormented one way, some another: and that onely or chiefelye, for the cause of this aforesayd popish Masse, as by the reading of this story folowing, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appeare more at large. In whome I wyshe thee to continue in health and to perseuere in the trueth.

***👉The first entring of Queene Mary to the Crowne, with the alteration of Religion, and other perturbations happening the same time in this Realme of England.**

What time King Edward by long sicknesse beganne to appeare more feble and weake, in the meane while during the time of this his sicknesse, a certayne mariage was prouided, concluded and shortly also vpon the same solempnised in the moneth of May, betwene the Lord Gilford, sonne to the Duke of Northumberland,* and the Lady Iane the Duke of Suffolkes daughter, whose mother being then aliue, was daughter to Mary King Henryes second sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterward to Charles Duke of Suffolke. But to make no long tariance hereupon, the mariage being ended, and the king waxing euery day more sicke then other, where as in deede there seemed in him no hope of recouerye, it was brought to passe by the consent not onely of the Nobility, but also of all the chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, that the king by his Testament did appoynt the foresayde Ladye Iane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, to be inheretrix vnto the crowne of England, passing ouer his two sisters Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the kinges Counsell, and chiefe of the Nobility,* the Maier and city of London, and almoste all the Iudges and chiefe Lawyers of this Realme, sauing onely Iustice Hales of Kent, a man both fauoring true Religion, and also an vpright iudge as any hath bene noted in this Realme, who geuing his consent vnto Lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to Lady Iane. Of this man (God willing) you shall perceiue more in the sequele of this story. The causes layd agaynst Lady Marye, were as well for that it was feared she would mary with a Straunger, and thereby entangle the crowne: as also that she would cleane alter Religion, vsed both in king Henry her father, and also in king Edward her brothers dayes, & so bring in the pope, to the vtter destruction of the Realme, which indeed afterward came to passe, as by the course and sequele of this story may well appeare.

*Much probable matter they had thus to coniecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornnes shewed and declared in her brothers dayes, as in the letters before mentioned, passing betwene her and king Edward, & the Counsell, may appeare. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by euery mans hand, King Edward an Impe of so great hope, not long after this departed, by the vehemency of his sicknes, when he was sixtene yeares of age: with whom also decaid in maner the whole flourishing estate and honor of the English nation.

*When king Edward was deade, this Iane was established in the kingdome by the Nobles consent, and was forthwith published Queene by proclamation at London, and in other Cityes where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Betweene this young Damosell and kyng Edward there was litle difference in age, though in learning & knowledge of the tongues she was not onely equall, but also superior vnto him, being instructed of a Mayster right notablie learned. If her fortune had bene as good as was her bringing vppe, ioyned wyth •inenesse of wit: vndoubtedly she might haue semed comparable, not onely to the house of the Uaspasians, Semp•onians, and mother of the Grachies, yea, to anye other women beside that deserved high prayse for theyr sigulart learning: but also to the vniuersity men, which haue taken many degrees of the Schooles.

In the meane time while these thinges were a working at London, Mary which had knowledge of her Brothers death, writeth to the Lords of the Councell in forme as foloweth.

¶A Letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the Lordes of the Counsell, wherein shee claymeth the Crowne after the decease of king Edward,*

MY Lordes, we greete you well, and haue receiued sure aduertisement that our dearest Brother the king our late soueraigne Lord, is departed to Gods mercye: whiche newes howe they be woefull vnto our hart, he onely knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must and do humbly submitte vs and our willes. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to witte, now after hys Maiesties departure and death, concerning the Crowne and gouernaunce of thys Realme of England, with the title of Fraunce, and all thinges thereto belonging, what hath bene provided by Act of Parliament and the Testament and last will of our dearest Father, besides other circumstaunces aduauncing our right, you know, the Realme, and the whole world knoweth, the Rolles and Recordes appeare by the authority of the kyng our sayde Father, and the king our sayde brother, and the subiectes of thys Realme, so that we verily trust that there is no good true subiect, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignoraunt therof, and of our parte wee haue of our selues caused, and as God shall ayde and strength vs, shall cause our right and title in this behalfe to be published and proclaymed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth straunge, that the dying of oure sayde brother vpon Thursday at night last past, we hytherto hadde no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdomes and prudence to be such, that hauing eftsoones amongst you debated, pondered, and well wayed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the common wealth, and all our honours, wee shall and may conceiue greate hope and trust with much assuraunce in your loyaltye and seruice, and therefore for the tyme interprete and take thinges not to the worst, and that ye yet will like Noble men worke the best. Neuerthelesse wee are not ignoraunt of your consultations, to vndoe the prouisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bandes and prouisions forceable, wherewith yee bee assembled and prepared, by whom, and to what ende, God and you know, and nature can but feare some euill. But be it that some consideration politicke, or whatsoever thing else hath mooued you thereto, yet doubtte you not my Lordes, but we can take all these your doynges in gracious part, being also right ready to remit & fullye pardon the same, with that freely to eschewe bloudshed and vengeance agaynst all those that canne or will intend the same: trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part as appeateyneth, and that wee shall not be enforced to vse the seruice of other our true subiectes and frendes which in thys our iust and right cause, God in whom our whole affiaunce is, shall send vs. Wherefore my Lordes we require you and charge you, and euery of you, that euery of you, of your allegiance whyche you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our parson, onely employ your selues, & forth with vpon receit hereof, cause our right and title to the Crowne and gou•rnement of this Realme to be proclaymed in our Citty of London, and other places as to your wisdomes shall seeme good, and as to this case apperteineth, not fayling hereof as our verye trust is in you. And thus our Letter signed with our hande, shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behalfe.

Yeu•n vnder our Signet, at our Manor of Kenyngall, the ninth of Iuly. 1553.

To this Letter of the Ladye Marye, the Lordes of the Counsell make aunswere agayne as foloweth.

¶Aunswere of the Lordes vnto the Lady Maryes Letter.

MAdame,* we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you iudge your self to haue to the Imperiall crowne of this Realm, & all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answeere whereof, this is to aduertise you, that forasmuch as our soueraign Lady Quene Iane is after the death of our soueraign Lord Edward the sixt, a prince of most noble memorye inuested and possessed with the iuste and right title in the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme,* not onely by good order of olde aunciente lawes of this Realme, but also by our late soueraigne Lordes Letters patentes signed with his own hand, and sealed with the greate seale of Englande in presence of the most parte of the Nobles, Counsellours, Iudges, with diuers other graue and sage personages, assenting & subscribing to the same: We must therefore as of most boūd duety and allegiance assent vnto her sayde Grace, and to none other, except wee shoulde (which faythfull subiectes can not) fall into greuous and vnspeakeable enormities. Wherefore we can no lesse do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you also, to aduertise you, that forasmuch as the diuorce made betwene the king of famous memory K Henry the 8. & the Lady Katherine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the euerlasting lawes of God, and also by the Ecclesiasticall lawes, & by the most part of the noble & learned [Page 1407](#) Vniuersities of Christendome, and confirmed also by the sundry actes of Parliamētes remaining yet in theyr force, and therby you iustly made illegitimate and vnheritable to the crown Imperiall of this realme, and the rules and dominions, and possessions of the same:* you will vpon iust consideration hereof, and of diuers other causes lawfull to be alledged for the same, & for the iust inheritaunce of the right line and godlye order taken by the late king our souereigne Lord king Edward the sixt, and agreed vpon by the Nobles and greatest personages aforesayd, surcease by any pretence to vexe and molest any of our soueraigne Ladye Queene Iane her subiectes from theyr true fayth and allegiance due vnto her grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect shew your selfe quiet and obedient (as you oughte) you shall finde vs all and seuerall ready to doe you any seruice that we with duety may, and be glad with your quietnes to preserue the cōmon state of this realme: wherin you may be otherwise greuous vnto vs, to your selfe, and to them. And thus we bid you most hartily well to fare,

from the Tower of London, this 9. of Iuly. 1553.

Your Ladyships frendes, shewing your selfe an obedient subiect.

- Thomas Caunterbury.
- The Marques of Winchester.
- Iohn Bedford.
- Wil. Morthampton.
- Thom. Ely Chauncellour.
- Northumberland.
- Henry Suffolke.
- Henry Arundell.
- Shrewesbury.
- Pembroke.
- Cobham.
- R. Riche.
- Huntington.
- Darcy.
- Cheyney.

- R. Cotton.
- Iohn Gates.
- W. Peter.
- W. Cicelle.
- Iohn Cheeke.
- Iohn Mason.
- Edward North.
- R. Bowes.

All these aforesayd, except onely the Duke of Northūberland and syr Iohn Gates, afterward were either by especiall fauor or speciall or generall pardon discharged.

After this aunswere receiued, and the mindes of the Lordes perceiued,* Lady Mary speedeth her selfe secretlye away farre of from the City, hoping chiefly vpon the good will of the Commons, and yet perchaunce not destitute altogether of the secret aduertisementes of some of the Nobles. When the Counsell heard of her sodiene departure, and perceiued her stoutnesse, & that all came not to passe as they supposed, they gathered speedily a power of mē together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the Duke of Suffolke shoulde take that enterprise in hand, & so haue the leading of the Bande.* But afterwarde alteringe their mindes, they thought it best to sēd forth the Duke of Northumberland, with certaine other Lords and Gentlemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke shoulde keepe the Tower, where the Lord Gilford and the Lady Iane the same time were lodged.

In the which expedition y^e Gard also, albeit they were much vnwilling at the first therunto, yet notwithstanding through the vehemēt perswasions of the Lord Treasurer, M. Chomley, & other, they were induced to assist the duke, and to set forward with him.

These thinges thus agreed vpon, and the Duke nowe being set forward after the best array out of London, hauing notwithstanding his times prescribed, and hys iourneys appoynted by the Counsell, to the entent he woulde not seeme to do any thing but vpon warrant, Mary in the meane while tossed with muche trauell vp and downe, to worke the surest way for her best aduauntage, withdrew her selfe into the quarters of Northfolke and Suffolke,* where she vnderstood the Dukes name to be had in muche hatred, for the seruice that had ben done there of late vnder king Edward,* in subduing the rebels: and there gathering to her such aid of the commons in euery side as she might, keepeth her selfe close for a space within Fremingham Castle. To whom first of al resorted the suffolke men: who being alwayes forward in promoting the procedinges of the Gospell,* promised her theyr ayd & helpe, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her Brother king Edward had before established by lawes and orders publickely enacted and receiued by the consent of the whole Realme in that behalfe.

To make the matter short, vnto this condition she eftsoones agreed, with suche promise made vnto them, that no innouatiō should be made of religiō,* as that no mā would or could then haue misdoubted her. Whiche promise, if shee had as constantly kepte, as they did willingly preserue her with theyr bodyes and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her bloud, & had also made her raygne more stable to her selfe through former tranquility. For though a man be neuer so puissant of power, yet brech of promise is an euill vpholder of quietnes, feare is worser, but cruelty is y^e worst of all.

Thus Mary being garded with the power of y^e Gospellers, did vanquish the Duke, and all those that came agaynst her. In consideration wherof, it was (me thinks• an heuy word that she aunswered to the suffolke men afterwarde, which did make supplication vnto her grace to performe her promise:*) For so muche (sayth she) as you being but mēbers, desire to rule your head you shall one day well perceiue that members must obey theyr head, and not looke to beare rule ouer the same. And not onely that, but also to cause the more terror vnto other, a certaine Gentleman named M. Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndam side, for the same cause, that is, for aduertising her by humble request, of her promise, was punished, beyng three sundrye times set on the pillory to be a gasing stocke vnto all men. Diuers other deliuered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhorte her to continue in the true doctrine then stablished, and for theyr good wils were sent to prison. But such is the cōditiō of mans nature (as here you see) that we are for the most part more ready alway to seeke frendship whē we stand in need of helpe,* thē ready to requite a benefit once past & receiued. Howbeit against all this, one shoote anker we haue, which may be a sure cōfort to all miserable creatures, y^e equity & fidelity are euer perfect and certainly found with the Lord aboue, though the same being shut out of the doores in this world, be not to be founde here among menne. But seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of office, let vs lay Suffolke men aside for a while, whose desertes for theyr redines and diligence with the Queene, I will not here stand vpon. What she performed on her part, the thing it selfe, and the whole storye of this persecution doth testifye, as hereafter more playnely will appeare.

On the contrary side, the Duke of Northumberlande, hauing his warrant vnder the broade Seale, with all furniture in readines, as he tooke his voyage and was now forward in his way, what ado ther was, what stirring on euery side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, and instructions went to and fro, what talking among the souldiers, what hartburning among y^e people, what fayre pretēses outwardly, inwardly what priuay practises there were, what speeding of Ordinance dayly and hourelly out of the Tower, what rumors and comming downe of soulders from all quarters there was, a world it was to see, & a processe to declare, enough to make a whole Ilias. The greatest helpe that made for the Ladye Mary, was the short iourneis of the Duke, which by commission were assigned to him before, as is aboue mentioned. For the longer the Duke lingered in his voyage, the Lady Marye the more encreased in puissaunce, the hartes of the people being mightily bent vnto her. Which after the Counsell at London perceiued, and vnderstoode howe the common multitude did withdraw theyr hartes from them to stand with her,* and that certaine Noble men begā to go the other way, they turned theyr song, and proclaymed for Queene the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to kyng Henrye the eight, and appoynted by Parliament to succeed K. Edward dying without issue.*

And so the Duke of Northumberland, being by counsell and aduise sent forth agaynst her, was left destitute and forsaken alone at Cambridge, with some of his sonnes, & a few other, among whome the Earle of Huntington was one:*) who there were arrested and broughte to the Tower of London, as traytors to the Crowne, notwithstandinge that he had there proclaymed her Queene before.

Thus haue you Mary now made a Queene, and the sword of authority put into her hād, which, how she afterward did vse, we may see in sequele of this booke. Therefore (as I say) when she had bene thus aduaūced by y^e gospellers,* & saw all in quiet by meanes y^t her enemies were

conquered, sending the Duke captiue to the Tower before (which was the xxv. of Iuly) she folowed not long after, being brought vp the third day of August to Londō, with the great reioysing of many men, but with a greater feare of moe, and yet with flatterye peradventure most great, of fayned hartes.

Thus comming vp to London, her first lodgyng shee took at the Tower,* where as the foresaid Lady Iane with her husband the Lord Gilford, a litle before her commyng* were imprisoned: where they remained waiting her pleasure almost fiue monethes. But the Duke within a moneth after his comming to the Tower, being adiudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded. Albeit he hauing a promise,* and being put in hope of pardon (yea though his head were vpon the blocke) if he would recant and heare masse, consented therto, and denied in wordes that true religion, which before time, as well [Page 1408](#) in K. Henry the 8. dayes, as in K. Edwards he had oft evidently declared hymselfe both to fauour and further: exhortyng also the people to returne to the Catholike fayth (as he termed it.)* Whose recantation the papistes foorthwith did publish and set abroad, reioysing not a litle at his conuersion or rather subuersion, as then appeared.

Thus the Duke of Northumberland with Sir Iohn Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer (which Palmer on the other side confessed his fayth that he had learned in the gospel, and lamented that he had not lyued more Gospellike) beyng put to death: In the meane tyme Queene Marye, entring thus her raigne with the bloud of these men: besides hearyng Masse her selfe in the Tower, gaue a heauy shewe and signification hereby, but especially by the sodaine deliuering of Steuen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not mynded to stand to that which she so deep'ly had promised to the Suffolke men before, concernyng the not subuerting or alteryng the state of religion: as in very deede the surmise of the people was therein nothyng deceyued.

Besides the premisses, other things also folowed which euery day more and more discomforted the people, declaring the Queene to beare no good will to the present state of religion: as, not onely the releasing of Gardiner beyng then made Lord Chauncellor of England and B. of Winchester, Doct. Poynt beyng put out, but also that Boner was restored to his bishoprike agayne,* and D. Ridley displaced. Itē, D. Day to the bishoprike of Chichester, Iohn Scory beyng put out. Item, D. Tonstall to the bishoprike of Duresme. Item, D. Heath to the bishoprike of Worcester, and Iohn Hooper committed to the Fleete. Item, D. Uesi• to Exceter, and Miles Couerdale put out. These things beyng marked and perceiued, great heauinesse and discomfort grew more and more to all good mens hartes: but contrary to the wicked, great reioysing. In which discord of minds, and diuersitie of affections, was now to be seene a miserable face of things in the whole commō welth of England. They that could dissemble, tooke no great care how the matter went. But such whose consciences were ioyned to truth, perceiued already coales to bee kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man, as in deed it came to passe. In the meane while Queene Mary after these beginnings,* remoouyng from y^e Tower to Hampton Court, caused a Parliamt to bee sūmoned against the x. day of Octob. next ensuing, wherof more is to be sayd hereafter.

Ye heard before how diuers Bishops were remooued, and other placed in their rouses: amongst whome was D. Ridley B. of London, a worthy man both of fame and learnyng. This D. Ridley in tyme of Queene Iane had made a Sermon at Paules crosse, so commaunded by the Counsaile:*

declaryng there hys mynde to the people, as touching the Lady Mary, and dissuading them, alledging there the incommodities and inconueniēces which might ryse by receiuyng her to be their Queene, prophesieng as it were before, that which after came to passe, y^t she would bryng in forraigne power to raigne ouer them: besides the subuerting also of Christian Religion then already established: shewyng moreouer, that the same Mary beyng in hys Diocesse, he accordyng to his duetie, beyng then her Ordinary, had trauailed much with her to reduce her to this Religion, and notwithstanding in all other poyntes of ciuilitie, she shewed her selfe gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true fayth and doctrine, she shewed her selfe so stiffe and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceyued, but to disturbe and ouerturne all that which with so great labours had bene confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this Sermon, Queene Mary was proclaymed, whereuppon hee speedily repairyng to Fremingham to salute the Queene, had such colde welcome there: that beyng dispoyled of all his dignities, he was sent backe vpon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

After hym preached also Maister Rogers the next sonday,* entreatyng very learnedly vpon the Gospell of the same day.

This so done, Queene Mary seyng all things yet not goyng so after her mynd as she desired, deuiseyth wyth her Counsaile, to bring to passe that thyng by other meanes, which as yet by open lawe she could not well accomplish, directing forth an Inhibition by Proclamation, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God, besides other thynges also in the same Proclamation Inhibited, the cōpye whereof here followeth.

¶An inhibition of the Queene, for preaching, Printyng, &c.

THE Queenes highnes well remembryng what great inconuenience and daungers haue growen to this her highnes Realme in tymes past,* thorough the diuersitie of opinions in questions of religion,* and hearyng also that now of late, sithence the beginnyng of her most gracious Raigne, the same contentions be agayne much reuiued thorough certayne false and vntrue reportes and rumors spreade by some lyght and euyll disposed personnes, hath thought good to doe to vnderstand to all her highnes most louyng subiectes, her most gracious pleasure in manner followyng.

First,* her Maiestie beyng presented by the onely goodnesse of God, settled in her iust possession of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and other Dominions thereunto belongyng, cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath euer professed from her infancie hitherto. Which as her Maiestie is mynded to obserue and maintaine for her selfe by gods grace during her tyme, so doth her highnesse much desire and would be glad the same were of all her subiectes quietly and charitably embraced.

And yet she doth signifie vnto all her maiesties louyng subiects, that of her most gracious disposition & clemency, her highnesse myndeth not to compell any her sayde subiects thereunto, vnto such tyme as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbiddyng neuertheles all her subiects of all degrees, at their peryls to mooue seditions, or stirre vnquietnes in her people by interpreting the Lawes of this Realme, after their braynes and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the tyme, tyll (as before is sayd) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and

straitly chargeth and commaundeth all her sayd good louyng subiects, to lyue together in quiet sort and Christian charitie, leauyng those new found diuelish termes of Papist or heretike, and such lyke, and applying their hole care, study and trauaile to lyue in the feare of God, exercising their conuersations in such charitable & godly doyng, as their lyues may in deed expresse that great hunger and thirst of Gods glory and holy worde,* which by rash talke & wordes many haue pretended: and in so doing they shal best please God, and lyue without daungers of the lawes, and maintaine the tranquillitie of the Realme. Wherof as her highnes shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashlye presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any publike assemblies or otherwyse, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, shee myndeth according to her dutie, to see the same most surely reformed & punished accordyng to her highnes lawes.

And furthermore, forasmuch also as it is well known,* that sedition and false rumours haue bene nourished and maintayned in this Realme by the subtletie and malice of some euill disposed persons, which take vpon them without sufficient authoritie to preach & to interprete the word of God after their owne brayne in churches and other places, both publike and priuate,* & also by playing of Enterludes, and printyng of false fond bookes, ballades, rymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concernyng doctrine in matters now in question, and controuersie touchyng the high poyntes and mysteries of christen religion, which bookes, ballades, rymes, and treatises,* are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers set out to sale to her graces subiects of an euil zeale, for lucre and couetousnes of vile gayne. Her highnes therefore straitly chargeth and commaundeth all and euery of her sayde subiectes, of whatsoever state, condition or degree they be, that none of them presume from hencefoorth to preach, or by way of readyng in Churches or other publike or priuate places, except in schooles of the Uniuersitie, to interprete or teach any scriptures or any maner poynts of doctrine concerning religion, neither also to print any bookes, matter, ballade, ryme, Enterlude, processe or treatise, nor to play any Enterlude, except they haue her graces speciall licence in writyng for the same, vpon payne to incurre her highnesse indignation and displeasure.

And her highnes also further chargeth and commaundeth all and euery her sayd subiectes, that none of them of their owne authoritie do presume to punish, or to ryse against any offender in the causes abouesayde, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion* committed or done by the Duke of Northumberland or his complices, or to cease any of their goods, or violently to vse anye such offender by strikyng or imprisonyng, or threatenynge the same, but wholly to referre the punishment of all suche offenders vnto her highnes and publike authority, wherof her maiestie myndeth to see due punishment, accordyng [Page 1497](#) to the order of her highnes lawes.*

Neuertheles, as her highnesse myndeth not hereby to restraine and discourage any of her louyng subiectes, to geue from tyme to tyme true information against any such offenders in the causes abouesayd, vnto her grace or her Counsaile, for the punishment of euery such offender, according to the effect of her highnes lawes prouided in that part: so her sayde highnes exhorteth and straitly chargeth her sayd subiects to obserue her commaundement & pleasure in euery part aforesayd, as they will auoyd her highnes sayd indignation and most grieuous displeasure. The seueritie and rigor whereof, as her highnes shall bee most sory to haue cause to put the same in execution: so doth she vtterly determine not to permit such vnlawfull and rebellious doyngs of her subiects, wherof may ensue the daunger of her royall estate to remayne vnpunished, but to

see her sayd lawes touching these points, to be throughly executed, which extremities, she trusteth all her sayd louyng subiects will foresee, dread, and auoyde accordingly: her sayd highnes straightly charging and commaundyng all Mayors, Shiriffes, Iustices of Peace, Bailiffes, Constables, and all other publike Officers and Ministers, diligently to see to the obseruyng and executyng of her sayde commaundementes and pleasure, and to apprehende all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committynge the same to the next Gaole, there to remayne without bayle or maineprise, till vpon certificate made to her highnes or her priuy Counsaile, of their names and doyngs, and vpō examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenour of the lawes aforesayd. Yeuen at our Manor of Richmond, the 18. day of August, in the 1. yeare of our most prosperous raigne.

M. Bourne preaching at Paules Crosse.

*ABout this tyme or not long before, Boner B. of London beyng restored, appoynted M. Bourne a Canon of Paules, to preach at the Crosse, who afterward was B. of Bathe, he takyng occasion of the Gospell of the day to speake somewhat largely in iustifieng of Boner beyng thē present: * which Boner sayd he, vpon the same text in that place, that day foure yeares had preached before, and was vppon the same most cruelly and vniustly cast into y^e most vile Dungeon of the Marshalsey, and there kept duryng the tyme of King Edward. Hys wordes sounded so euill in the eares of the hearers, that they could not keep silence but began to murmur and to stirre in such sort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other estates thē present, feared much an vprore. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher, but who it was, it could not then be prooued, albeit afterward it was knowen.

In fine, the sturre was such, that the Preacher pluckt in hys head, and durst no more appeare in that place. The matter of hys Sermon tended muche to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward: * which thyng the people in no case could abyde. Then M. Bradford at the request of the Preachers brother, and other then beyng in the pul: pit, stode foorth and spake so my^{••}ely, Christianly, and effectuously, that with fewe woordes he appeased all: and afterward he and M. Rogers conducted the Preacher betwixt them from the Pulpit to the Grammar schole doore, where they left him safe, as further in the story of Maister Bradford is declared. But shortly after they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and last of all, with fire in Smithfield.

By reason of this tumult at Paules Crosse, an order was taken by the Lordes of the Counsaile with the Mayor and Aldermen of London, * that they calling the next day followyng a common counsaile of the Citie, should therby charge euery housholder to cause their children, apprentices, and other seruaunts, to keep their owne parish Churches vpon the holydays, and not to suffer them to attempt any thyng to the violatyng of the common peace. Willyng them also to signify the sayd assembly the Queenes determination vttered vnto them by her highnes the 12. of August in the Tower. Which was, that albeit her graces cōscience is stayed in matters of religion: yet she graciously ment not to compell or strayne other mens conscience otherwyse then God shal (as she trusted) put in their harts a perswasion of the truth that she is in, thorough the openyng of hys word vnto them, by godly vertuous, & learned preachers, &c.

Also it was then ordered, that euery Alderman in hys Ward, should forthwith send for the Curates of euery parish within their liberties, and to warne them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any other to preach, or make any open or solemne readyng of scripture in their churches, vnles the sayd preachers were seuerally licensed by the Queene.

After this Sermon at Paules Crosse aforementioned, the next day after it followed, that the Queenes Gard was at the crosse with their weapons to gard the Preacher. And when men withdrew themselves from the Sermon, order was taken by the Mayor, that the Ancients of all companies should be present, least the preacher should be discouraged by hys small Auditorie.

August. 1553.

The 5. of August,^{*} an. 1553. was one William Rutler committed (by the Counsaile) to the Marshalsey, for vtterying certayne wordes agaynst Maister Bourne Preacher, for hys Sermon at Paules Crosse on Sunday last before.

The 16. of August, was Humfrey Palden committed to the Counter for wordes agaynst the sayd Bournes sermon at Paules crosse.

A letter to the Shiriffe of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fisher person of Ammersham a preacher.^{*}

Another letter to the B. of Norwich, not to suffer any preacher or other to preach or expound the scripture openly without speciall licence from the Queene.

The same day was M. Bradford, M. Uernon and M. Beacon preachers committed to the charge of the Lieuutenant of the Tower.

The same day also was M. Iohn Rogers Preacher commanded to keepe himselfe prisoner in his owne house at Paules, without hauing conference with any other thē those of hys owne houshold.

The 22. of August, there was two letters directed to M. Couerdall B. of Exceter, & M. Hooper B. of Gloucester, for their indelayed repayre to the Court, and there to attend the Counsailes pleasure.

The same day Fisher person of Ammersham made his appearance before the Counsaile,^{*} according to their letter the 16. of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of hys sermon.

The 24. of August was one Iohn Meluin a Scotte and and Preacher sente to Newgate in London by the Counsaile.

The 26. of August there was a letter sent to the Mayor of Couentry and his brethren, for the apprehension of one Symonds of Worcester preacher, and then Uicare of S. Michaels in Couentry,^{*} and for the sendyng of hym vp to the counsaile with his examinations and other

matters they could charge hym with. With a Commission to them to punish all such as had by meanes of his preachyng▪ vsed any talke against the Queenes proceedings.

The 29. of August, M. Hooper B. of Worcester made his personall appearance before the Counsaile, accordyng to their letters the 22. of August.

The 31. of August, M. Couerdall B. of Exceter, made hys appearaunce before the Counsaile, according to theyr letters the 22. of August.

September. 1553.

The 1. of September, M. Hooper and M. Couerdall appeared againe before the Counsaile, whence M. Hooper was committed to the Fleete, and M. Couerdall commāded to attend the Lordes pleasure.

The 2. of September M. Hugh Saunders Uicare of S. Michaels in Couentry, was before the Counsaile for a sermon, and was commanded to appeare agayne vppon Monday next after.

The 4. of September a Letter was directed from the Counsaile to M. Hugh Latimer for his appearaunce before them.

About the 5. day of September the same yeare, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a tyme he had bene commaunded to kepe his house, & found there the Archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the booke of Common prayer, both by the scriptures and Doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a fewe other, as hereafter ye shall heare. But whilst they were in hope to come to Disputations, the Archbishop and other were imprisoned, but Peter Martyr was suffered to returne whence he came.

The same day there was a letter sent to the Mayor of Couentry to set Hugh Symonds at liberty if he would recant his Sermon, or els to stay hym,* and to signify so much to the Counsaile.

The 13. of September M. Hugh Latymer appeared before the counsaile accordyng to their letter the 4. of September, [Page 1410](#) and was committed to the Tower close prisoner, hauing his seruant Austen to attend hym.

The same day the Archbishop of Caunterbury appearyng before the Counsaile, was commaunded to appeare the next day at after noone before them in the Starre chamber.

The 14. of September, the Archbishop of Caunterbury, accordyng to their former dayes commandement, made his appearaunce before the Lordes in the Starre chamber. Where, they charyng hym with treason, & spreadyng abroad of sedicious bils, to the disquieting of the estate, they committed hym from thence to the Tower of London, there to remayne till further Iustice and order at the Queenes pleasure.

The 15. of September, there was a letter sent to M. Horne Deane of Durham, for his appearaunce before thē, and another was sent to hym the 7. of October next after, for his speedie appearance.

The 16. of September, there was letters sent to the Mayors of Douer and Rye, to suffer all French Protestantes to passe out of this Realme, except suche, whose names shall be signified to them by the French Embassadour.

October. 1553.

*The first day of October, Queene Mary was crowned at Westminster, and the x. day of the sayd moneth of October then followyng, began the parliament with a solemne Masse of the holy Ghost, after the popish maner, celebrated with great pompe in the pallaice of Westminster. To the which Masse among the other Lordes, accordyng to the maner, should come the bishops, which yet remayned vndeposed, which were the Archb. of Yorke, D. Taylor B. of Lincolne, Iohn Harley B. of Herford. Of the bishops, D. Taylor, and M. Harley presenting themselues according to their duetie, and taking their place amongst the Lordes, after they saw the Masse begin, not abidyng the sight therof, withdrew themselues from the company: for the which cause the Bishop of Lincolne beyng examined, and protestyng his fayth, was vppon the same commanded to attend: who not long after at Ankerwyke by sicknesse departed. M. Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the Parliament, and from hys bishoprike.

Masse beyng done, the Queene accompanied with the Estates of the Realme, was brought into the Parliament house, there according to the maner, to enter and begin the consultation.* At which consultation or Parliament were repealed all statutes made in the tyme of king Henry the 8. for Premunire, & statutes made in K. Edward the sixtes time for administration of common praier & the sacramēts in the English tongue: & further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this Parliament confirmed. In this meane while many men were forward in the erecting of aulters & masses in churches. And such as woulde sticke to the lawes made in K. Edwardes tyme, till other should be established: some of them were marked, & some presently apprehended.* Among whom sir Iames Hales, a knight of Kent, and Iustice of the Common place was one, who notwithstanding he had ventured hys lyfe in Queene Maries cause, in that he would not subscribe to y^e disheriting of her by the kings will, yet for that he did at a quarter Sessions geue charge vpon the statutes made in the tyme of Henry the 8. and Edward the 6. for the supremacie and religion,* he was imprisoned in the Marshalsey, Counter, and Fleete, and so cruelly handled & put in feare by talke, that the Warden of the Fleete vsed to haue in hys hearyng,* of such torments as were in preparyng for heretikes (or for what other cause God knoweth) y^t he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, by wounding himselfe wyth a knife: and afterward was contented to say as they willed him: wherupon he was discharged, but after that hee neuer rested till he had drowned himselfe in a riuer, halfe a myle from his house in Kent. Of whom more is to be seen when you come to his story.

During the time of this parliament, the Clergie lykewyse after their woonted maner,* had a Conuocation, with a disputation also appoynted by the Queenes commaundement, at Paules Church in London the same tyme, which was about the 18. of October. In the which Conuocation, first M. Iohn Harpesfield Bachelor of Diuinitie, made a sermon ad Clerum, the 16. of October. After the sermon done, it was assigned by the bishops, that they of the Clergye house, for auoyding confusion of woordes should chuse them a Prolocutor. To the which roome and office by common assent, was named Doc. Weston Deane of Westminster, and presented to the Bishops, with an Oration of M. Pie Deane of Chichester,* and also of Maister Wymbisley

Archdeacon of London. Which D. Weston beyng chosen and brought vnto the bishops, made his gratulatory Oration to the house, with the answer agayne of B. Boner.

After these things thus sped in the conuocation house, they proceeded next to the Disputation appoynted, as is abouesayd, by the Queenes Commaundement, about the matter of the sacrament. Which disputation continued sixe dayes. Wherein D. Weston was chiefe on the Popes part who behaued himselfe outrageously in tauntyng and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were driuen some to flee, some to deny, & some to die, thogh to the most mens iudgements that heard the disputation, they had the vpper hand, as here may appeare by y^e report of the sayd disputation, the copy whereof we thought here to annexe, as followeth.

The true report of the disputation had and begun in the Conuocation house at London, the 18 of October. Anno. 1553.

WHere as dyuers and vncertayne rumoures bee spread abroad of the Disputation had in the Conuocation house,* to the entent that all men may know the certaintie of all things therein done and sayd, as much as the memory of him that was present▪ thereat can beare away, hee hath thought good at request, throughly to describe what was sayd therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the enterance thereof.

¶Acte of the first day.

First vpon Wednesday, beyng the 18. of October,* at after noone, M. Weston the Prolocutor certified the house that it was the Queenes pleasure,* that the company of the same house beyng learned men, assembled, should debate of matters of Religion, and constitute lawes therof, which her grace and the Parliament would ratifie. And for that (sayd he) there is a booke of late set forth, called the Catechisme (which he shewed forth) bearing the name of this honorable Synode, & yet put forth without your consents as I haue learned, beyng a booke very pestiferous, and full of heresies, and likewyse a booke of Common prayer very abominable (as it pleased hym to terme it) I thought it therefore best, first to beginne with the articles of the Catechisme, concernyng the sacrament of the aultar, to confirm the naturall presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation: Wherefore (sayd he) it shall be lawfull on Friday next ensuyng, for all men freely to speake their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be remooued, and they fully satisfied therein.

¶Acte of the second day.

The Friday commyng, beyng the 20. of October, whē men had thought they should haue entred Disputation of the questions proposed,* the Prolocutor exhibited two seuerall bils vnto the house: the one for the naturall presence of Christ in the sacrament of the aultar, the other concernyng the Catechisme, that it was not of that houses agrement set forth, and that they did not agree therunto: requiryng all them to subscribe to the same, as he hymselfe had done. Wherunto the whole house did immediately assent, except sixe, which were the Deane of Rochester,* the Deane of Exceter, the Archdeacon of Winchester, the Archdeacon of Hertford, the Archdeacon of Stow, and one other. And while the rest were about to subscribe these two articles. Iohn Philpot stood vp and spake first concernyng the Article of the Catechisme, that he thought they were deceiued in the title of the Catechisme, in that it beareth the tytyle of the Synode of London

last before this, although many of them which then were present, were neuer made priuie thereof, in setting it forth,* for that this house had granted the authoritie to make ecclesiasticall lawes vnto certayne persons to be appoynted by the kings maiestie, & what so euer ecclesiasticall lawes they or the most part of them dyd set forth, according to a statute in that behalfe prouided, it might be well sayd to bee done in the Synode of London, although such as be of this house now, had no notice therof before the promulgation. And in this poynt he thought the setter forth therof, nothyng to haue slaundered y^e house as they by their subscription went about to perswade the world, since they had our Synodall authoritie vnto them committed, to make such spirituall lawes as they thought conuenient and necessary.

And moreouer he sayd, as concernyng the article of the naturall presence in the sacramēt, that it was against reason [Page 1411](#) and order of learnyng, and also very preiudiciall to the truth, that men should be mooued to subscribe before the matte were throughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place,* being as a mā astonied at the multitude of so many learned men as there were of purpose gathered together to maintayne olde traditions more then the truth of Gods holy word, he made his request vnto the Prolocutor, that where as there were so many auncient learned men present on that side,* as in y^e realme the like againe were not to be found in such number, & that on the other side of them that had not subscribed, were not past v. or vj. both in age and learnyng far inferior vnto them: therefore, that equalitie might bee had in this disputation, he desired that the Prolocutor would bee a meane vnto the Lords, that some of those that were learned, & setters forth of the same Catechisme might be broght into the house to shew their learning that mooued them to set forth the same,* and that D. Ridley & M. Rogers, with two or three mo, might be licenced to be present at this disputation, and to be associate with them.

This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed vnto the Bishops, who made this aunswer: that it was not in them to call such persons vnto our house, since some of them were prisoners. But they sayd, they would be petitioners in this behalfe vnto the Counsaile, and in case any were absent that ought to bee of the house, they willed them to bee taken in vnto them if they listed. After this they mindyng to haue entred into disputation, there came a Gentleman as messenger from the Lord great master, signifiyng vnto the Prolocutor, that the L. great maister, and the Earle of Deuonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same vnto monday, at one of the clocke at after noone.

¶The Acte of the third day.

Upon Monday the xiiij. of October, at the time apointed,* in the presence of many Erles, Lordes, Knights, gentlemen, and diuers other of the Court and of the Citie also, the Prolocutor made a Protestation, that they of the house had appoynted this disputation, not to call the truth into doubt, to the which they had alredy all subscribed, sauing v. or sixe, but that those gainsayers might be resolued of their arguments in the which they stood, as it shall appeare vnto you, not doubting but they will also condescēd vnto vs.

*Then he demanded of M. Haddon whether he would reason against the questions proposed, or no. To whom he made answer, that he had certified hym before in writyng, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demaunded to be assistent with them, would not bee graunted. M. Elmar likewyse was asked. Who made the Prolocutor the like aunswer, addyng

moreouer this, that they had done too much preiudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed: and little or nothyng it might auayle to reason for the truth, since all they were now determined to the contrary. After this he demaunded of M. Cheyney, whome the Prolocutor sayd allowed the presence with them,* but he denyed the transubstantiation by the meanes of certayne authorities vppon the which he standeth, and desireth to be resolued, as you shall heare, whether he will propose his doubtess concernyng Transubstantiation or no. Yea, quoth he, I would gladly my doubts to be resolued, which mooued me not to beleue Transubstantiation.

The first is out of S. Paule to the Cor. who speakyng of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ,* calleth it oft tymes bread after the consecration.

The second is out of Origene, who speaking of this sacrament sayth, that the material part therof goeth down to the excrements.

The third is out of Theodoretus, who making mention of the sacramentall bread and wine after the consecration, saith that they go not out of their former substance, forme, and shape. These be some of my doubts among many other, wherein I require to be answered.

Then the Prolocutor assigned D. Moreman to answer him,* who to Saint Paule answered him thus: That the Sacrament is called by hym bread in deede, but it is thus to be vnderstood, that it is the sacrament of bread, that is, the forme of bread.

Then M. Cheyney inferred and alledged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh.

Yea quoth Moreman, Hesychius calleth it bread, because it was bread, & not because it is so. And passing ouer Origen, he came to Theodoretus, & sayd, that men mistooke hys authoritie, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr hath done in y^e place of Theodoret, interpretyng 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, for substance, which is a special signification of y^e word whereas 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, is a general word, as well to accident, as to substance, and therefore I answer thus vnto Theodoret, y^t the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, forme, and shape, that is to say, not out of their accidentall substance and shape.

After this M. Cheyney sat him downe, & by and by M. Elmar stood vp as one that could not abide to heare so fōd an answer to so graue an authoritie,* & reasoned vpon the authoritie of Theodoret alledged before by M. Cheyney▪ & declared that Moremans aunswer to Theodoret, was no iust nor sufficient answer, but an illusion and a subtil euasion contrary to Theodorets meaning. For, said he, if 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, should signify an accident in the place alledged, as it is answered by M. Moreman, then were it a word superfluous set in Theodoret there, where do follow two other wordes which sufficiently do expound the accidēces of y^e bread, y^t is 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, which signify in English, shape and forme: & so prooue out of the same author by diuers allegations,* y^t 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, in Greek could not be so generally taken in that place as Moreman for a shift would haue it. But Moreman, as a man hauing no other salue for that sore, affirmed stil that 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, which

signifieth substance, must needs signify an accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could haue no other answer. Elmar as a man wearied with his importunity, gaue place.

After this stood vp Iohn Philpot and sayd, * y^t hee could prooue that by the matter that Theodoret intreateth of in the place aboue alledged, and by the similitude whiche hee maketh to prooue his purpose, by no meanes M. Moremans interpretation of 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, might be taken for an accidētall substaunce, as he for a shift would interprete it to be. For the matter which Theodoret intreateth of in y^t place, * is against Eutiches an hereticke, whiche denied two natures of substance to remayne in Christ beyng one person, and that his humanitie after the accomplishment of y^e mysterie of our saluation, ascendyng into heauen, * & being ioined vnto the Diuinitie, was absorpt or swallowed vp of y^e same, so that Christ should bee no more but of one deuine substance only by his opiniō. Against which opiniō Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament prooueth the contrary against the hereticke: that like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ after the consecratiō, there is the substance of Christes humanitie, with the substance of bread, remaining as it was befor, not beyng absorpt of y^e humanitie of Christ, but ioined by the deuine operation therunto, euen so in the person of Christ being now in heauen, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there bee two seuerall substances, that is, his diuinitie & humanitie vnited in one hypostasie or person, which is Christ, the humanitie not beyng absorpt by the coniunction of the diuinitie, but remaining in his former substance.

And this similitude quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutiches, should prooue nothing at al, if the very substance of the sacramentall bread dyd not remayne, as it did before. But if D. Moremans interpretation might take place for transubstantiatiō, then should the heretike haue thereby a strong argument by Theodorets authoritie, so taken to maintayne his heresie, * and to prooue hymselfe a good christen man, and he might well say thus vnto Theodoret. Like as thou Theodoret, if thou were of D. Moremans mynd, doest say, that after the consecration in the sacrament, the substaunce of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiate into the humane body of Christ commyng thereunto, so that in the sacrament is now but one substance of the humanitie alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before: euen likewise may I affirme and conclude by thine owne similitude, that the humanitie ascending vp by the power of God into heauen, & adioyned vnto the deitie, was by the might therof absorpt & turned into one substance with the deitie: so that now there remayneth but one diuine substance in Christ, no more then in the sacramental signes of the Lords supper, * after y^e consecration doth remayne any more then one substaunce, accordyng to your beliefe and construction.

In aunsweryng to this D. Moreman stackerd, whose defect Philpot perceiuyng, spake on this wyse. Well, M. Moreman, if you haue no answer at this present ready, I pray you deuise one, if you can conueniently, agaynst our next meetyng here agayne. *

With that his saying the Prolocutor was grieuously offended, tellyng hym that he should not bragge there, but that he should be fully answered. Then sayd Philpot, it is the thing that I only desire, to be answered directly in this behalfe, & I desire of you, & of all the house at this present▪ that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, sauyn

Theodoretus authoritie and similitude [Page 1412](#) vpright, as he ought to be taken. None other answer then was made to Philpots reasons, but that hee was commaunded to silence.

Then stode vp the Deane of Rochester offering hym selfe to reason in the first question agaynst the natural presence,* wishing that the scripture and the auncient Doctors in this poynt might be weyghed, beleueed, and followed. And agaynst this naturall presence he thought the saying of Christ in Saint Mathew to make sufficiently enough, if men would credite and follow scripture, who sayd there of hymselfe, that poore men wee should haue alway with vs, but hym we should not haue alwayes: which was spoken, quoth he, concernyng the naturall presence of Christes body, therefore we ought to beleuee as hee hath taught, that Christ is not naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the aaltar.

To this was aunswered by the Prolocutor, that we should not haue Christ present alwayes to exercise almes deeds vpon hym,* but vpon the poore.

But the Deane prosecuted his argument, and shewed it out of S. Austen further,* that the same interpretation of the scripture alledged, was no sufficient aunswere, who writeth in the 50. treatise of S. Iohn on this wise, on the same sentence: When as he sayd (sayth S. Austen) me shall ye not haue alwayes with you, he spake of the presence of his bodye. For by his maiestie,* by his prouidence, by his vnspeakable & vnvisible grace, that is fulfilled which is sayd of him. Behold I am with you vntill the consummation of the world. But in the fleshe which the worde tooke vpon hym, in that which was borne of the virgin,* in that which was apprehended of the Iewes, whiche was crucified on the Crosse, which was let down from the crosse, which was wrapped in cloutes, which was hid in the Sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, you shall not haue me alwayes with you. And why? for after a bodily presence he was conuersant with his disciples fortie dayes, and they accompanying him, seying and not folowing him, he ascended & is not here, for there he sitteth at the right hand of the father, and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of hys maiestie. After another maner we haue Christ alwayes by presence of hys maiesty, but after the presence of his flesh it is rightly sayd: You shall not verily haue me alwayes with you. For the Church had hym in the presence of his flesh a few dayes, and now by fayth it apprehendeth hym and seeth hym, not with eyes.

*To this authority D. Watson tooke vpon him to aunswer, and sayd, he would answer S. Austen by S. Austen, and hauyng a certaine booke in hys hand of notes, he alledged out of the 70. treatise vpon S. Iohn, that after that mortall condition and maner we haue not now Christ on the earth as he was heretofore before his passion.

Agaynst whose aunswer, Iohn Philpot replyed and said,* that M. Watson had not fully answered S. Augustine by S. Augustine, as he would seeme to haue done, for that in the place aboue mentioned by M. Deane of Rochester, he doth not onely teach the mortall state of Christes body before his passion, but also the immortall condition of the same after his resurrection: in the which mortal body S. Augustine seemeth plainely to affirme, that Christ is not present vpon the earth, neither in forme visibly, neither in corporall substance inuisibly, as in few lynes after y^e place aboue alledged. S. Augustine doth more plainely declare by these wordes, saying: Now these two manners of Christes presence declared, which is by his maiestie, prouidence, & grace now present in the world, which before his ascension was present in flesh, and beyng now placed

at the right hand of the father, is absent in the same from the world, I thinke (saith Saint Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter.

Now quoth Philpot, if S. Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but onely his diuine presence, and touching his humanitie to bee in heauen, we ought to confesse and beleue the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is, corporally to bee present always in the sacrament of the aultar inuisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof S. Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his works: you shal seeme to iudge that which S. Augustine did neuer comprehend.

*Why, quoth Watson, S. Augustine in the place by me alledged, maketh he not mention how S. Steuen beyng in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?

It is true, said Philpot, but he saw Christ, as the scripture telleth, * in the heauens beyng open, standyng at the right hand of God the father. Further to this Watson answered not.

Then the Prolocutor went about to furnish vp an answer to S. Augustine, saying, that he is not now in the world after that maner of bodily presence, * but yet present for all that in his body.

To whom Philpot answered, that the Prolocutor dyd grate much vpon this worde Secundum, in S. Augustine, * which signifieth after the maner, or in forme: but he doth not answer to id quod, which is that thyng or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffred, arose, and ascended into heauen, in the which thing and substance he is in heauen, and not on earth, as S. Augustine in the place specified most clearely doth define.

To this nothing els beyng aunswered, the Deane of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, * and read out of a booke of Annotations, sundry authorities for the confirmation therof. To the which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct aunswer, but bade him make an argument, * saying that maister Deane had recited many wordes of Doctors, but he made not one argument.

Then said the Deane, the authorities of the doctors by me rehersed, be sufficient arguments to proue mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you. But still Moreman cried, make an argument to shift of the authoritie, which he could not answer vnto. After this y^e Deane made this argument out of the institution of the sacramēt: Do this in remembraunce of me: and thus ye shall shew foorth the Lordes death vntill he come.

The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: Ergo, * the sacrament is not very Christ: for yet he is not come. For these words, Vntill he come, do plainly signify the absence of Christes bodye. Then the Prolocutor went about to shew that these wordes Vntill he come, * did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of scripture, where, Donec, vntill, was vsed in like sense: but directly to the purpose he answered nothing.

In conclusiō, the Deane fel to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eate the Paschal lambe with hys disciples, or no? He answered, Yea. Further, he demanded whether he eate likewise the Sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman aunswered, Yea. * Then he

asked what he did eate, and whether he eate his owne naturall body, as they imagine it to be, or no? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then said the Deane, it is a great absurditie by you granted, and so he sate downe.

Against this absurditie, Philpot stood vp and argued,* saying, he could proue it by good reason deduced out of scripture, that Christ eat not his owne natural body at the institution of the sacrament, and the reason is this.

Ba- Receiuing of Christes body hath a promise of remission of sinnes with it annexed.*

ro- Christ eating the sacrament, had no promise of remission of sinne.

co. Ergo, Christ in the Sacrament did not eate his owne body.

To this reason Moreman answered,* denyng the former part of the argumēt, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sinnes annexed vnto it.

Then Philpot shewed this to be the promise in the sacrament: Which is geuen for you, which is shed for you for the remission of sinnes. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he droue Philpot to the 6. of S. Iohn, to vouch this saying with these words: The bread which I will geue, is my flesh, which I will geue for the lyfe of the world.

Moreman aunswering nothing directly to this argument,* Harpsfield start vp to supply that which wanted in hys behalfe, and thinking to haue answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argumēt, saying: Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the Sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his Disciples, to whom Christ said: This is my body which is geuen for you, and not for Christ hymselfe.

You haue sayd well for me, quoth Philpot,* for that is myne argument. The promise of the body of Christ, tooke no effect in Christ: Ergo, Christ eate not his owne body.

Then the prolocutor to shoulder out the matter, sayd: the argument was naught.* For by the lyke argument he might go about to proue that Christ was not baptised, because the remission of sinne which is annexed vnto Baptisme, tooke no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptised,* so he eate the sacrament: but he tooke on hym Baptisme, not that he had any neede thereof, or that it tooke any effect in hym, but as our maister, to geue the church an example to folow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and therby to exhibite vnto vs hymselfe, and not to geue hymselfe to hymselfe.

No more was said in this. But afterward the Prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the naturall presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would heare hys Argument without interruption, [Page 1413](#) and assigne one to aunswer him, and not many, which is a confusion to the Opponēt, & specially for him that was of an ill memory. By this time y^e night was come on, wherfore the Prolocutor brake vp the disputatiō for that tyme, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after,* concernyng the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

¶The Acte of the fourth day.

*ON the Wednesday the xxv. of Octob. Ioh. Philpot, as it was before appointed, was redy to haue entred the disputation, mynding first to haue made a certaine Oration, and a true declaration in Latine of the matter of Christes presence, which was then in question. Which thing the Prolocutor perceiuyng, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any Oration or declaration of any matter, commanding him also, that he should make no argument in Latin but to conclude on his arguments in English.

*Then said Philpot, this is contrary to your order takē at the beginning of this disputatiō. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latine, and thereupon I haue drawn and deuised all myne argumēts in Latine. And because you M. Prolocutor haue said heretofore openly in this house, that I had no learning, I had thoght to haue shewed such learning as I haue, in a brieue Oration and short declaration of the questions now in cōtrouersie, thinking it so most conuenient also, that in case I should speake otherwise in my declaration then should stand with learnyng, or then I were able to warrant and iustifie by gods word, it might the better be refourmed by such as were learned of the house, so that the vnlearned sort beyng present, might take the lesse offence therat. But this allegation preuayled nothyng with the Prolocutor, who bade hym still forme an argument in Englishe, or els to hold hys peace.

Then sayd Philpot, You haue sore disappoynted me, thus sodenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandement, leauyng myne oration apart: and I wil come to my arguments, the which as wel as so sodaine a warnyng will serue, I will make in English.* But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what maner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent y^e hearers may the better vnderstand to what end & effect myne arguments shal tend: not to deny vtterly the presence of Christ in his Sacrament truely ministred according to his institution, but onely to deny that grosse & carnal presence which you of this house haue alrede subscribed vnto, to be in the sacrament of the aultar contrary to the true & manifest meaning of the scriptures:* that by Transubstantiation of the sacramentall bread and wyne, Christes naturall body should by the vertue of the words pronounced by the Priest, be conteyned and included vnder the formes or accidences of bread & wyne. This kind of presence imagined by men, I do deny, quoth Philpot, and agaynst this I wyll reason. But before he could make an end of that he would haue sayd, he was interrupted of the Prolocutor, and commaunded to descend to hys argument. At whose vniust importunitie Philpot beyng offended, and thinkyng to purchase hym a remedy therefore,* he fell downe vpon hys knees before the Earles and Lordes which were there present, beyng a great number: wherof some were of the Queenes counsaile, beseechyng them that he might haue libertie to prosecute hys arguments without interruption of any man: the which was gently graunted hym of the Lordes. But the Prolocutor puttyng in vre a poynt of the practise of Prelates, would not condescend therunto, but still cryed: hold your peace, or els make a short argument. I am about it, quoth Philpot, if you would let me alone. But first I must needes aske a question of my Respondent (who was D. Chedsey) concerning a word or twaine of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the aultar, what he meaneth thereby, and whether he take it as some of the ancient writers doe,* termyng the Lordes Supper the Sacrament of the aultar partly because it is a Sacrament of that liuely sacrifice which Christ offered for our sinnes vpon the aultar of the Crosse, and partly because that Christes body crucified for vs, was that bloody sacrifice which the bloudsheddyng of all the beastes offered vpon the aultar in the old lawe, dyd prefigure and signify vnto vs: in signification whereof the

old writers sometime do call the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, among other names which they ascribe there vnto the sacrament of the aultar, or whether you take it otherwyse, as for the sacrament of the aultare, which is made of lime and stone, ouer the which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the Masse, as it is at this present in many places. This done, I wyll direct mine arguments according as your answer shall geue me occasion.

Then made D. Chedsey this answer,* that in their supposition they tooke the sacrament of the aultar, and the sacrament of the Masse to be all one.

Then quoth Philpot, I wyll speake plaine English, as M. Prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolutiō therof: that the sacrament of the aultar which ye reckon to be all one with the masse, once iustly abolished, & now put in full vse agayne, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wyse present in it: and this his sayeng he offred to prooue before the whole house, if they listed to cal him therunto: and likewyse offered to vouche the same before the Queenes grace, & her most honourable Counsaile, before the face of vj. of the best learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and refused none. And if I shall not be able (quoth he) to maintayne by Gods word that I haue said, & confound those vj. which shall take vpon them to withstand me in this poynt, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London, before the court gates. This he vttered with great vehemency of spirit.

At this the Prolocutor with diuers other, were very much offended, demanding of hym whether he wist what he sayd, or no? Yea, quoth Philpot, I wote well what I say, desiring no mā to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more thē by gods word he was able to proue.* And praysed be God, quoth he, that the Queenes grace, hath granted vs of this house (as our Prolocutor hath informed vs) that wee may freely vtter our consciences in these matters of controuersie in Religion: and therefore I will speake here my conscience freely grounded vpō gods holy worde for the truth, albeit some of you here present mislike the same.

Then diuers of the house beside the Prolocutor, taunted & reprehended hym for speaking so vnfaringly against the Sacrament of the Masse:* and the Prolocutor sayd he was mad, & threatned hym that he would send hym to prison, if he would not cease hys speakyng.

Philpot seeyng hymselfe thus abused,* & not permitted with free liberty to declare his mynd, fel into an exclamation, castyng his eyes vp towards the heauen, and said, O Lord what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken & abidden by? and for very sorrow and heauines, the teares trickled out of hys eyes.

After this, the Prolocutor beyng moued by some that were about hym,* was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be briefe therein. I wyll be as briefe, quoth Philpot, as I may conueniently be in vtterynge all that I haue to say. And first I wil begin to groūd myne arguments vpon the authority of scriptures, wherupon all the buildyng of our fayth ought to be grounded: & after I shall confirme the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of the 28. of Mathew,* of the sayeng of the angell to the thre Maries sekyng Christ at the sepulchre, sayeng: He is risen, he is not here: and in S. Luke in the 23. chap. the angell asketh thē, why they sought hym that lyueth among y^e dead.* Likewyse the scripture testifieth that Christ is risen, ascēded into heauen, and sitteth on the right hand of y^e

father: all the which is spoken of hys naturall body: Ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.

I will confirme this yet more effectually by the sayeng of Christ, in the 16. of S. Iohn: *I came (sayth Christ) from my father into the world, and now I leaue the world, and goe away to my father. The which commyng and goyng he ment of hys naturall body. Therefore we may affirme thereby, that it is not now in the world.

But I looke here (quoth he) to be aunswered wyth a blynd distinction of visibly and inuisibly, * that he is visibly departed in his humanitie, but inuisibly he remaineth, not withstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I preuēt my selfe, that w^t more expedition I may descend to the pith of myne arguments, whereof I haue a dosen to propose, & will proue that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christes disciples gaue vnto hym, speakyng these words: Nowe thou speakest plainly, and vttrest forth no Prouerbe. * Which wordes S. Cyrill interpretyng, sayth: That Christ spake without any maner of ambiguitie, or obscure speach. And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainely & without parable, saying: I leaue the world now, and goe away to my father, then that obscure, darke, & inperceptible presence of Christes natural body to remayne in the sacrament vpon earth inuisibly, contrary to the playne wordes of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more vncertain, or more parabolical & vnsensible, then so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, & so descend to the confirmation of all that I haue said, by anciēt writers.

Page 1414 Then D. Chedsey reciting his argument in such order as it was made, * tooke vpon him to answeere seuerally to euery parte therefore on this wise. First to the saying of the Angell, * That Christ is not heere: And why seeke yee the liuing among the dead? He answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christes naturall body in the sacrament, but that they were spoken of Christes body being in the Sepulchree when the three Maries thought hym to haue bene in the graue still. And therfore the Angell sayde: Why doe yee seeke him that liueth, among the deade? And to the authoritie of the 16. of Iohn where Christ saith: Now I leaue the worlde, and goe to my Father. Hee meant that of hys Ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples that knewe plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heauen, but that doeth not exclude the inuisible presence of his naturall body in the Sacrament. For S. Chrysostome wryting to the people of Antioche, doeth affirm the same, comparing Helias and Christ together, and Helias cloake vnto Christes flesh. * Helias (quoth he) when he was taken vppe in the fierie chariote, leaft his cloake behinde him vnto his disciple Helisaeus. But Christe ascending into heauen, tooke his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him. Wherby we may right well gather, that Christes flesh is visibly ascended into heauen, and inuisibly abideth still in the Sacrament of the altare.

To this Philpot replied, and said, you haue not directly answered to the saying of the angel: Christ is risen, and is not heere, because you haue omitted that which was y^e chiefest poynt of all. * For (sayd he) I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hande of God the father: Ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answeere to Cyril, by me alleaged, sufficient. But by and by I will returne to your interpretation of Cyrill, and more plainly declare the same, after that I haue first refelled the authority of Chrysostome, which is

one of your chief Principles that you alleaged to make for your grosse carnall presence in the sacrament. Which being wel weied and vnderstanded, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

At that the Prolocutour startled, that one of the chiefe pillars in this point should be ouerthrowen, & therefore recited the sayd authoritie in Latine first, & afterward Englished the same, wyllinge all that were present, to note that saying of Chrysostome, which he thought inuincible on their side. But I shall make it appeare, quoth Philpot, by and by to make litle for your purpose. And as he was about to declare his minde in that behalfe, the Prolocutor did interrupt him as he did, almost continually. Wherwith Philpot not being content,* said: Master Prolocutour thinketh that he is in a Sophistrie schoole, where he knoweth right well the maner is, that when the Respondent perceiueth that he is like to be inforced with an argument to the which he is not able to answer, then he doth what he can with caullation & interruption to driue him from the same. This saying of Philpot was ill taken of the Prolocutor and his adherents: and the Prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to auoid that authoritie, but his owne vaine imagination. Heare quoth Philpot, and afterward iudge. For I wil do in this as al other authorities wherwith you shal charge me in refelling any of my argumentes that I haue to prosecute, answering either vnto the same by sufficient authorities of scripture, or els by some other testimonye of like authoritie to yours, & not of mine owne imagination: the which if I doe, I will it to be of no credite. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I haue 2. wayes to beat him from your purpose, the one oute of Scripture, the other of Chrysostome him selfe, in the place here by you alleaged.

First, where hee seemeth to say, that Christe ascending, tooke hys flesh with him,* and least also hys flesh behinde him, truth it is: for we all do confesse and beleue that Christ tooke on hym oure humane nature in the virgine Maryes wombe, and through his passyon in the same, hath vnyted vs to hys flesh, and thereby are we become one fleshe with him, so that Chrysostome might therfore right well say, that Christ ascending tooke his fleshe which hee receiued of the virgin Mary, away with him: and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be his electe in this worlde, whych are the mēbers of Christ, and flesh of his flesh: as very aptly S. Paul to the Ephes. in the 5. chap. doth testifie, saying: We are flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones. And if percase any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the Sacrament, so that this interpretation can not so aptly be applied vnto him in that place,* then will I yet interpret Chrysostome an other way by himselfe. For in that place a fewe lines before those woordes, whyche were heere no rather read, are these woordes: that Christe after hee Ascended into heauē, lea^t vnto vs indued w^t his Sacramēts, his flesh in mysteries, that is, Sacramentally. And that mysticall flesh Christ leaueth as well to his Church in the Sacrament of Baptisme, as in the sacramentall bread and wine. And that S. Paul iustly doth witnes, saying: As many of vs as are baptised in Christ, haue put vpon vs Christ.* And thus you maye vnderstande that S. Chrysostome maketh nothyng for your carnall and grosse presence in the Sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Nowe in this meane while M. Pye rounded the Prolocutor in the eare to put Philpot to silence and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrodely shake theyr carnal presence in cōclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gaue one of their chiefe foundations suche a plucke. Then the Prolocutor sayde to Philpot,* that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, & that some other shuld now supply his rowme. Wherwith he was not wel cōtent, saying: Why sir, I haue a dosen Argumentes concerning this matter to be proposed, and I haue not yet scarce ouergone my first Argument: for I haue not brought in any confirmation therof out of any

auncient wryter (whereof I haue for the same purpose manye) beinge hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me.

Wel, quoth y^e Prolocutor, you shal speake no more now, and I commaund you to holde your peace. You perceyue, quoth Philpot, that I haue stufte enoughe for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you commaund me to silence. If you will not geue place, quoth y^e Prolocutor, I wil send you to prison. This is not,* quoth Philpot, accordinge to youre promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paules crosse, that men should be answered in this disputation, to whatsoeuer they cā say, since you wil not suffer me of a dosen arguments to prosecute one.

Then M. Pie tooke vpon him to promise that he shuld be answered an other day. Philpot seeing he myghte not proceede in hys purpose, being therewith iustly offended, ended, saying thus: A sort of you here, which hitherto haue lurked in corners, and dissembled with God & the worlde, are nowe gathered together to suppress the sincere truthe of Gods holy woorde, and to sette forth euerye false deuise, which by the Catholike doctrine of the Scripture, yee are not able to maintaine.

Then stepped forth M. Elmar Chapleine to the Duke of Suffolke:,* whome M. Moreman tooke vpon him to answere. Against whō M. Elmar objected diuers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he toke the day before in hand to proue, that 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 in the sentence of Theodoret brought in by M. Cheiney,* must needes signifie substance, and not accidence. Whose reasons and approbations, because they were all grounded and broughte out of the Greeke I doe passe ouer, for that they want theyr grace in English, and also their proper vnderstanding.* But hys allegations so incombred M. Moreman, that hee desired a day to oueruiew them, for at that instant he was wythout a conuenient answeare.

Then did the Prolocutor cal M. Haddon deane of Exeter, & Chaplaine to the Duke of Suffolke,* who prosecuted Theodoret's authoritie in confirminge M. Elmar's argument. To whom D. Watson tooke vpon hym to geue aunswer, who after long talk was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word Mysterium. But for as much as he seemed to doubt therein, M. Haddon tooke out of his bosome a Latine author to confirme his saying, & shewed the same to M. Watson, asking him whether he thought y^t translation to be true, or y^t the Printer were in any fault.* There may be a fault in the Printer, quoth Watson, for I am not remembred of this worde. Then did M. Haddon take out of his bosome a Greeke booke, wherein he shewed forth with his finger the same wordes, whiche M. Watson could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the moste parte in Greeke, about the boulding out of the true signification of 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Thē stept forth M. Perne,* & in argument made declaration of his minde against transubstātiation, & confirmed the sayings and authorities alleaged by M. Elmar & M. Haddon. To whome the Prolocutor answered, saying: I much maruel, M. Perne, that you wil say thus, for somuch as on friday last you subscribed to the contrary. Which hys saying master Elmar did mislike, saying to the Prolocutor that he was to blame so to reprehend any man,* partlye for that this house (quoth he) is an house of free libertye for euery man to speake his conscience, and partly for that you promised yester day, that notw^tstanding any man had subscribed, yet he

should haue free libertie to speake his mind. And for that the night did approche, and y^e time was spent, the Prolocutor geuing them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that al reasoning set apart, the order of the holy churche must be receiued, & all thyngs must be ordered thereby.

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The acte of the fift day.

ON Friday the 27. of Octob. D. Weston the Prolocutor did first propounde the matter, shewing that the Conuocation had spent 2. dayes in disputation already aboute one only doctor,* which was Theodoret, & about one onely worde, which was 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . Yet were they come the 3. daye to answer al things that could be obiected, so that they would shortly put out their argumēts. So M. Haddon Deane of Exeter, desired leaue to appose M. Watson, which wyth 2. other mo, that is, Morgan & Harpsfield, was apoynted to answer.* M. Haddon demaunded this of him, whether any substāce of bread or wine did remaine after the consecration. Then Master Watson asked of him againe, whether he thought there to be a reall presence of Christes body or no? M. Haddon saide, it was not meete nor orderlike, that hee which was apoynted to be respondent, should be opponent, & he whose duty was to obiect, shuld answer. Yet M. Watson along while would not agree to answer, but that thing first being granted him. At last an order was set, and M. Haddon had leaue to go forward with his argument.

Then he prooued by Theodorets words, a substance of breade and wine to remaine. For these are his wordes: The same they were before the sanctification,*whiche they are after. M. Watson sayde, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence. Whereupon they were driuen againe vnto the discussing of the Greeke woorde 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , and M. Haddon prooued it to meane a substaunce,* bothe by the Etimologie of the word, and by the wordes of the Doctor. For 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 (quoth he) cōmeth of the Participle 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , which descendeth of the verbe 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , and so commeth the Noun 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , which signifieth substance.

Then M. Watson answered that it had not that signification onely. But M. Haddon prooued y^t it must nedes so signifie in that place. Then hee asked Watson when the bread & wine became Symboles? Wherunto he answered: after the consecration and not before. Then gathered M. Haddon this reason out of hys author.

Da- The same thing, saieth Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were Symboles, the same they remaine still in nature and substance,* after they are Symboles.

ti- Bread and wine they were before:

si. Therefore bread and wine they are after.

Then M. Watson fell to the deniall of the authour, and said he was a Nestorian:* and he desired y^t he might answer to master Cheiney, whyche stode by, for that he was more meete to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed vnto the real presence. M. Cheyney desired

pacience of the honorable men to heare hym, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the veritie should appeare: protesting furthermore,* that he was no obstinate nor stubburne man, but would be conformable to all reason: and if they by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more then his, could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they sayd: for he would be no author of schisme, nor hold any thing cōtrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christes spouse. D. Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well learned and a sober man, & well exercised in all good learning, and in the Doctors, and finallye a man meete for his knowledge to dispute in that place: I pray you heare him, quoth he. Then Master Cheiney desired such as there were present to pray 2. words with him vnto God, and to say, Vincat veritas, Lette the veritie take place, and haue the victorie:* and all that were present cried with a loud voyce, Vincat veritas, vincat veritas.

Then sayde D. Weston to him, that it was hypocriticall. Men may better say (quoth he) Vincit veritas, Trueth hath gotten the victorie.* Master Cheyny sayd againe, if he woulde geue hym leaue, he woulde bryng it to that poynte that he might wel say so.

Then he began wyth M. Watson after thys sorte: you sayd,* that M. Haddon was vnmete to dispute, because hee graunteth not the naturall and real presence: but I say you are muche more vnmeete to aunswere, because you take away the substance of the sacrament.

M. Watson said, he had subscribed to the real presence, & should not go away from that.* So sayde Weston also, & the rest of the Priestes, in so muche that for a greate while hee could haue no leaue to say any more, till the Lordes spake, and willed that he should be heard.

Then he tolde them what hee meant by his subscribing to the reall presence, farre otherwyse then they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted M. Haddons argument in prouing that 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 was a substance, vsing the same reason that M. Haddon did before him: and when he had receiued the same aunswere also that was made to M. Haddon, he said it was but a le•d refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author, & proued the author to be a catholike doctor: and that being proued, he confirmed that was saide of the nature and substance, further. The similitude of Theodorete is this, quoth he: As the token of Christes body and bloud after the inuocation of the Prieste, doe change their names, & yet continue the same substaunce, so the body of Christ after his ascension changed his name, & was called immortall, yet had it his former fashion, figure, & circumscription, and to speake at one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore said M. Cheiney,* if in the former part of the similitude you denye the same substaunce to continue, then in y^e later parte of the similitude which agreeth with it, I wil deny the body of Christ after his ascensiõ to haue the former nature & substance. But y^t were a great heresy: therefore it is also a great heresye to take away the substance of bread and wine after the sanctification.

Then was M. Watson enforced to saye, that the substaunce of the bodye in the former parte of the similitude brought in by him, did signifie quantitie & other accidentes of the sacramentall tokens which be s•ene, and not the very substance of the same: and therfore Theodorete saith, Quae videntur. &c. that is, Those things which be seene. For according to Philosophie, the accidentes of things be seene, and not the substances.

Then M. Cheiney appealed to the honorable mē, and desired that they shoulde geue no credite to them in so saying: for if they should so thinke as they woulde teache,* after theyr Lordshippes had ridden 40. miles on horsebacke (as their busines doth sometime require) they should not be able to say at night, that they sawe their horses all y^e day, but only the colour of theyr horsses: and by hys reason Christe must go to schole & learne of Aristotle to speake. For when he saw Nathanaell vnder the fig tree, if Aristotle had stand by, he would haue said no Christe, thou sawest not him, but the colour of him. After this Watson sayde, what if it were graunted that Theodoret was on the other side? whereas they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other side.

Then the Prolocutor called for M. Morgan to helpe: and sayd,* that Theodoret did not more then he might lawfully do. For first he graunted the truthe, and then for feare of suche as were not fully instructed in the faythe, he spake, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, that is, couertly, and in a mysterie: and thys was lawfull for him to do, for first he graunted the trueth, and called them the body of Christ, & bloud of Christ. Then afterward he seemed to geue somewhat to the sences, and to reason, but that Theodorete is of the same minde that they were of, the words folowing, quoth he, do declare. For that which followeth is a cause of that whiche went before, and therefore he sayth: The immortalitie. &c.* Whereby it doth appeare, that he meante the diuine nature, & not the humane. Then was Morgan taken w^t misalleging of the text. For the booke had not this word (for). For the Greeke word did rather signify (truly) & not (for) so that it mighte manifestly appeare that it was the beginning of a newe matter, & not a sentence rendring a cause of that he had sayd before.

Then was it said by Watson again: suppose that Theodoret be wyth you, whych is one that we neuer hearde 〈◇〉 printed, but two or three yeres ago: Yet he is but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church? After this M. Cheyney inferred, that not only Theodorete was of that minde, that the substance of bread and wine doe remaine, but diuers other also, & speciallye Irenaeus, who making mention of this sacrament, sayth thus: when the cuppe whych is mingled with wine, and the breade that is broken,*doe receiue the worde of God, it is made the Euchariste of the bodye and bloude of Christ, by the whiche the substaunce of our flesh is nourished, and doeth consist. If the thanks geuing doe nourish our body, then ther is some substance besides Christes body.

To the which reason both Watson and Morgan aunswared, that Ex quibus, By the whych,* in the sentence of Irenaeus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and bloud of Christ, and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

Master Cheiney replied,* that it was not the bodye of Christ which norished our bodies. And let it be that Christes flesh norisheth to immortalitie, yet it doth not answere that argument, although it be true, no more then that aunswere which was made to my allegation out of S. Paule: The bread which we breake, &c. w^t certaine other like: whereunto you answered, that bread was not taken there in hys proper signification, but for that it had bene: no more then the rod of Aaron which was taken for the serpent, because it had beene a serpent. After this M. Cheyney broughte in [Page 1416](#) Hesechius,* and vsed the same reason that hee did of the custome of burning of Symboles, and hee asked them what was burnt. Master Watson sayd, we must not enquire nor

aske, but if there were any faulte, impute it to Christ. Then sayde M. Cheiney, whereof came those ashes? not of a substance? or can anye substance arise of accidents?

Then was M. Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter.* Who told a faire tale of the omnipotencie of God, and of the imbecilitie and weaknesse of mans reasons not able to attaine to godly things. And he sayde, that it was conuenient whatsoeuer we sawe, felt, or tasted, not to trust our sences. And he tolde a tale out of S. Cyprian, how a woman sawe the Sacrament burning in her cofer,* and that which burned there, quoth Harpsfielde, burneth heere, and becōmeth ashes. But what that was that burnt he could not tell. But M. Cheiney continued still, and forced them with this question, what it was that was burnt? It was eyther (sayde he) the substance of breade, or els the substaunce of the body of Christe, which were too much absurditie to graunt. At length they answered, that it was a miracle, wherat M. Cheiney smiled, and sayd that he could then say no more.

Then D. Weston asked of the company there, whether those menne were sufficiently answered or no.* Certaine Priestes cried Yea, but they were not heard at all: for the great multitude which cried No, no. Which cry was heard and noised almost to the ende of Paules. Whereat D. Weston being much mooued, answered bitterly, that hee asked not the iudgement of the rude multitude & vnlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of M. Haddon and his fellowes, whether they woulde aunswere them other three dayes. Haddon, Cheiney, and Elmar, sayd No. But the Archdeacon of Winchester stode vp and sayde, that they should not say but they should be aunswared, and though all other did refuse to answer, yet he would not,* but offered to answer them all one after another.* wyth whose profer the Prolocutor was not contēted, but raised on him, and sayd that he should goe to Bedlem: to whome the Archdeacon soberly made this answer: that he was more worthy to be sent thether, who vsed himselfe so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equalitie. Then rose D. Weston vp, and sayde:

All the company hath subscribed to our Article, sauing only these men which you see.* What their reasons are, you haue heard. We haue answered them 3. daies, vppon promise (as it pleased him to descāt, wythout truth, for no such promise was made) that they should answer vs againe as long, as the order of disputation doeth require, and if they be able to defend theyr doctrine, let them so doe.

Then M. Elmar stood vp & prooued how vaine a man Weston was,* for hee affirmed that they neuer promised to dispute, but only to open & testifie to the worlde their consciences: For whē they were required to subscribe, they refused, and sayd that they would shewe good reasons whych mooued them that they coulde not with their consciences subscribe, as they had partly alreadye done, and were able to doe more sufficiently: therefore (quoth he) it hath bene ill called a disputation, & they were worthy to be blamed that were the authours of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now meane not to answer, before our argumēts (quoth he) which we haue to propounde, be soluted, according as it was appoynted: For by answering we shoulde but incumber ourselues, and profit nothing, since the matter is already decreed vppon and determined, what soeuer we shall prooue, or dispute to the contrary.

The acte of the sixte day.

*ON Mondaye following, being the 30. of October, the Prolocutor demaunded of Iohn Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answere in the questions before propounded to their obiections, or no? To whome he made this answeare, that he woulde willingly so doe, if, according to theyr former determination, they would firste aunswere sufficiently to some of hys argumentes, as they had promised to do: wherof he had a dozen, not halfe of the first being yet decided: And if they woulde aunswere fully, and sufficiently but to one of his Arguments, he promised that he would answere all the obiections that they shoulde bryng.

Then the Prolocutor bade him propounde hys Argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them: whereunto M. Morgan was appoynted.* Upon Wensday last (quoth he) I was inforced to silence before I had prosecuted halfe of mine Argument: the summe whereof was this (as was gathered by the iust context of the scripture) that the humain body of Christ was ascended into heauen, and placed on the right hand of God the father: wherefore it coulde not be situate vpon earth in the sacrament of the altare, inuisible after the imagination of man. The argument was denied by Morgan: For the profe wherof, Philpot sayd, that this was it wherwith he had to confirme his first argument, if they would haue suffred him y^e other day, as now he trusted they would.

Fe- One selfe and same nature (quoth he) receiueh not in it selfe any thing that is contrary to it selfe.*

ri- But the body of Christ is an humane nature, distincte from the Deitie, and is a proper nature of it selfe.

o. Ergo, it cannot receiue any thyng that is contrarye to that nature, and that varieth from it selfe.

But bodely to be present, and bodely to be absent, to be on earth, and to be in heauen, and al at one present time, be things contrary to the nature of an humaine body, Ergo, it cannot be saide of the humaine body of Christ, that the selfe same body is both in heauen, & also in earth at one instant, either visibly or inuisibly.

Morgan denied the Maior, that is,* the firste parte of the argument. The which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius an auncient wryter.* But Morgan caulled that it was no scripture, and bade him prooue the same out of scripture.

Philpot sayd he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of S. Paule, who sayeth, that Christ is like vnto vs in all poyntes, except sinne: and therefore like as one of our bodies cannot receiue in it selfe any thing contrarye to the nature of a body, as to be in Paules church, and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at Londō visibly, & at Lincoln inuisibly at one time: for that is so contrary to the nature of a body,* and of all creatures (as Didimus and Basilius affirme) that an inuisible creature, as an Angell, cannot be at one time in diuers places, wherefore he concluded, that the body of Christ might not be in moe places then in one, which is in heauen, and so consequently, not to be contained in the sacrament of the altare.

To thys the Prolocutor tooke vpon him to answeare,* saying, that it was not true that Christe was like vnto vs in all poynts, as Philpot tooke it, except sinne,* For y^t Christ was not conceiued by the seede of man, as we be.

Whereunto Philpot againe replied, that Christes conception was prophesied before by the Angel to be supernatural, but after he had receiued our nature by the operation of the holy Ghost in the virgins wombe, hee became in all poynts like vnto vs, except sinne.

Then Morgan inferred that thys saying of Paule dyd not plainly proue his purpose. Wel, quoth Philpot,* I perceiue that you do answere but by cauillation, yet am I not destitute of other scriptures to confirme my first argumēt,* although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholicke a doctour as Vigilius is. Sainte Peter in the sermone that he made in the thirde of the Actes, making mention of Christe, sayth these woordes, whome heauen must receiue vntill the consummation of all things. &c.* Which words are spoken of hys humanitie. If heauen must holde Christ, then can hee not be heere on earth in the Sacrament, as is pretended.

Then Morgan laughing at this,* and geuing no direct answer at all, Harpfield stooode vp, being one of the Bishop of Londons chaplaines, and tooke vpon him to answer to the saying of S. Peter, & demaunded of Philpot, whether he would, ex necessitate, that is, of necessitie, force Christ to any place, or no?

Philpot sayd, that he would no otherwise force Christe of necessity to any place,* then he is taught by the wordes of the holy Ghost, which sounde thus: that Christes humaine body must abide in heauen vntill the day of iudgement, as I rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned.

Why quoth Harpsfield, do you not knowe that Christe is God omnipotent? Yes said Philpot,* I know that right wel, neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotencie. But of Christes omnipotencie what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doeth. I knowe he may make a stone in the wall a manne, if he liste, and also that he may make moe worldes, but doeth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude: hee maye doe this, or that, therefore he doth it.

Ba- Only so much is to be beleueed of Gods omnipotencie, as is in the worde expressed.

ra- That Christes body is both in heauen and heere also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word.

co. Ergo, it is not to be beleueed that the body of Christe, being in heauen is heere also really in the sacrament.

Why quoth the Prolocutor, then you will putte Christ in prisone in heauen. To the which Philpot answered, doe you reckon heauen to be a prisone? God graunt vs all to [Page 1417](#) come to that prisone.

After this, Harpsfield inferred that this word Oportet in S. Peter,* which signifieth in Englishe must, did not import so much as I woulde inferre of necessitie, as by other places of Scripture it

may appeare, as in the first to Tim. where Paule sayeth, Oportet Episcopum esse vnus vxoris virum: A bishop must be the husband of one wife. Here quoth he, Oportet doeth not import suche a necessitie, but that hee that neuer was married may be a Bishop.

To this Philpot saide againe, that the places were not like whych he went about to compare, and that in comparing of the Scriptures wee muste not consider the naked wordes,* but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for y^t in the place by him alleaged,* S. Paule doeth declare of what qualitie a Bishop ought to be. But in the other S. Peter teacheth vs the place where Christ must necessarily be vntill the ende of the worlde: which we ought to beleeeue to be true. And this comparison of this worde Oportet, doeth no more aunswer mine argument, then if I should say of you now being here Oportet te hic esse, you must nedes be heere, which importeth such necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here, & yet you would go about in words to auoide this necessitye with another Oportet, in an other sense, as this, Oportet te esse virū bonum, you must be a good man, where Oportet doeth not in very deede conclude any such necessity, but that you may be an euill man. Thus you may see that your answere is not sufficient, & as it were, no answere to mine argument.

Then the Prolocutour brought in another Oportet, to helpe this matter (if it mighte be) sayinge,* what say you to this, Oportet haereses esse, must heresies needes be therefore because of thys word Oportet?

*Yea truely, quoth Philpote, it cannot otherwise be, if you will adde that which followeth immediatly vpon these woordes of Paul, that is, Vt qui electi sunt, manifestentur, that is: That suche as be y^e elect of God, may be manifested and knowen.

Why, quoth the Prolocutor, the time hath bene that no heresies were.* I knowe no suche time quoth Philpot. For since the time of Abell and Caine, heresies haue bene, and then began they.* Then sayd the Prolocutor, wil you nowe answer Morgan an argument or two? I wil quoth Philpot, if I may first be answered to my argument any thyng according to truth and learning.* What quoth the Prolocutor, you will neuer be answered. Howe I am answered, quoth Philpot,* let all men that are here present, iudge: and specially such as be learned, & with what cauillations you haue dallied with me.

First to the auncient authority of Vigilius, you haue answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be scripture y^t he sayth. Secondly, to the saying of S. Peter in the actes, yee haue aunswared thus, demaunding of me whether I would keepe Christ in prison or no, let men nowe iudge if this be a sufficient answere or no.

Then stode Morgane vp againe, and asked Philpote whether he would be ruled by the vniuersal church,* or no.

Yes, quoth he, if it be the true Catholicke Church. And sith you speake so much of the Churche,* I would faine that you would declare what the church is.

The church, quoth Morgan, is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole worlde.* That is a diffuse definition quod Philpot, for I am yet as vncertaine as I was before what you meane by y^e

church: * but I knowlege no church, but that which is grounded and founded on Gods woord, as S. Paul sayth, * vpon the foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, and vpon the scriptures of God.

What quoth Moreman, was the Scripture before the church? yea quoth Philpot. But I will prooue nay, quoth Moreman, and I wil begin at Christes time. The Church of Christ was before any scripture wrytten. For Mathewe was the first that wrote the Gospell, about a dosen yeares after Christ, Ergo, the church was before the scripture.

To whom Philpot answering, denied this argument. Which when Moreman could not prooue, Philpot shewed that his argument was Elenchus, or a fallace, that is, a deceiueable argument. For he tooke the Scripture only to be that, whych is wrytten by men in letters, wheras in very deede, * all Prophecie, vttered by the spirite of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was wrytten in paper & inke, for that it was wrytten in the heartes, and grauen in the mindes, yea, and inspired in the mouthes of good men, and of Christes Apostles by the spirite of Christ: As the salutation of the Angel was the scripture of Christe, and the word of God before it was written. At that Moreman cried, fie, fie, wondring that the Scripture of God shoulde be counted scripture, before it was wrytten, and affirmed that he had no knowledge that said so.

*To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalfe, for the triall of the truth about y^e questions in controuersie, he woulde wish hymselfe no worse matched then with Moreman.

At the which saying the Prolocutor was greuously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of hym, * that woulde compare with suche a worshipfull learned man as Moreman was, being himselfe a manne vnlearned, * yea a madde man, meter to be sent to Bedlem, then to be among such a sorte of learned and graue men as there were, and a man that neuer woulde be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did commaund him that he shoulde come no more into the house, demaunding of the house whether they would agree thereuppon, or no. To whome a great number aunsweraed, yea. Then sayde Philpot againe, that he might thinke himselfe happye that was out of that companie.

After this, Morgan rose vp, and rounded the Prolocutor in the eare. * And then againe the Prolocutor spake to Philpot and said, least you should slaunder the house, & say that we will not suffer you to declare youre minde, we are content you shal come into the house as you haue done before, so that you be apparelled wyth a long gowne & a tippette as we be, and that you shall not speake, but when I commaund you. Then quoth Philpot, I had rather be absent altogether.

Thus they reasoning to and fro, at length about the 13. of December, Q. Mary, to take vp the matter, sendeth her commaundement to Boner Byshoppe of London, that he should dissolue and breake vp the conuocation. * The copie of which commaundement here followeth.

The precept of the Queene to Boner, Bishop of London, for the dissoluing of the foresayde Conuocation.

MARIA. &c. Reuerendo in Christo patri & Domino, Domino Edmundo London. Episcopo, salutem. * Cum praesens cō••catio Cleri Cantuariensis prouinciae apud Sāctum Paulum London.

iam modo tenta & instans existit, certis tamen vrgentibus causis & considerationibus nos specialiter mouentibus, de aduisamento Consilij nostri ipsam praesentem conuocationem duximus dissoluendam: Et ideo vobis mandamus quòd eandem praesentem conuocationem apud sanctum Paulum praedictum debito modo asque aliqua dilatione dissoluatis. dissoluiue faciatis prout conuenit, significantes ex parte nostra vniuersis & singulis Episcopis, nec non Archidiaconis, Decanis, & omnibus alijs personis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque dictae Cantuariensis Prouinciae quorum interest, vel interesse poterit, quod ipsi & eorum quilibet huic mandato nostro exequendo intendentes sint & obediens prout decet. Teste meipsa apud Westmonasterium 13. die Decembris. Anno regni nostri primo.

During the time of this disputation, the 20. day of Nouēber, y^e Maior of Couentrie sent vp vnto y^e Lordes of the Coūsel Baldwine Clarke, I. Carelesse, Tho. Wilcockes, and Richard Estlin, for their behaiour vpon All halowe day last before. Whereupon Carelesse and Wylcocks were committed to the gatehouse, and Clarke and Astelyn to the Marshalsey.

The same day there was a letter directed to Sir Christopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer knight, for the apprehension of Iohn Huntingdon preacher, for making a rime against D. Stokes and the sacrament. Who appearing before the counsell the 3. of December next after, was vpon his humble submission and promise, to amend aswel in doctrine as liuing, againe suffered to depart.

In the daies of king Henry,* and also of king Edward raiging after him, diuers noble men, Bishops and other, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason as Lord courtney and the Duke of Northfolke (whose sonne Lorde Henry Earle of Surrey had bene the same time beheaded, a worthy & ingenious gentlemen, for what cause, or by whom, I haue not hear to deale, this is certaine, that not many yeres after his death, folowed the beheading of both the L. Semers, and at last of the Duke of Northumberland also) some for y^e Popes supremacie,* and suspicious letters tending to sedition, as Tonstal B. of Durham, and other for other things, all which continued there prisoners til Q. Maries comming in. Unto whome the saide Q. eftsoones graunted their pardone, and restored them to theyr former dignities. Amongst whom also was Gardiner B. of Winchester, whom she not onely freed out of captiuitie, but also aduanced him to be high chancelor of Englande. Furthermore to the L. Courtney she shewed such fauour,* that shee made him Earle of Deuonshire, in so much that there was a suspition amongst many, that she would marie him, but that prooued otherwise.

[Page 1418](#)The same time Bonner also had bene prisonner in the Marshalsey, whome likewise Queene Mary deliuered, & restored to the Bishopricke of London againe, displacing Doct. Ridley, with diuers other good Bishops moe, as is aboue mentioned, as Cranmer from Canterb. the Archbyshoppe of Yorke likewise, Poynette from Winchester, Iohn Hooper from Worcester,* Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereforde, Taylor from Lincolne, Ferrar from S. Davids, Couerdale from Excester, Scorye from Chichester, &c. with a great number of Archdeacons, Deanes, and briefly all suche beneficed men, which either were married, or would constantly adheere to theyr profession. All which were remooued from their liuings,* and other of the contrary secte sette in the same, as Cardinall Poole (who was then sent for) Gardiner, Heath, White, Daye, Troublefield, &c.

And as touching Cranmer, of whome mention was made before,* for so much as there was a rumor spreade of hym the same time at London, that he hadde recanted, and caused Masse to be sayde at Caunterburye, for purging of hymselfe hee published abroad a declaration of hys truth and constancie in that behalfe, protestinge that hee neyther had so done,* nor mineded so to doe: adding moreouer, that if it woulde so please the Queene, he wyth Peter Martyr, and certayne other whome he would chuse, would in open disputation sustaine the cause of the doctrine taught and set foorth before in the time of king Edward, againste all persons whomesoeuer. But while he was in expectation to haue this disputation obtained, he with other bishops wer laid fast in the Tower, and P. Martir permitted to depart the realme, and so wen• he to Argentine.

After this, in the moneth of Nouemb. the Archbyshop Cranmer (notwithstāding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the kings wil,* in disheriting his sister Marye, •lledging many graue and pithy reasons for her legitimation, was in Guild hall of London arraigned and attainted of treason, with the L. Iane, and three of the Duke of Northumberlandes sonnes, which at the intreatye of certayne persons were had againe to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithstanding, Cranmer beinge pardoned of treason, stode onely in the action and case of doctrine, why•h they called heresie, whereof hee was ryghte glad and ioyfull.

This beinge done in Nouember, the people, and especially the Churchmen, perceiuing the Queene so eagerlye set vpon her olde religion, they likewise for theyr partes, to shewe themselues no lesse forward to serue the Queenes appetite (as the manner is of the multitude, commonlye to frame themselues after the humour of the Prince and time present) began in their Quiers to set vp the pageants of s. Katherine,* and of S. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latine, after all their olde solemnitie with their gaye garde•iance, and gray ami•es.

And when the month of December was come, the Parliament brake vp, but first of all such statutes were repealed, which were made either of Premunire, or touched anye alteration of religion and administration of Sacramentes vnder king Edward. In the which parliament also communication was mooued of the Queenes mariage, wyth king Phillip the Emperors sonne.

In this meane while Cardinal Poole beinge sent for by Q. Mary,* was by the Emperour requested to staye wyth hym, to the intente (as some thinke) that hys presence in England should not be a let to the mariage which hee intended betweene Philip his sonne and Q. Marye. For the making wherof, he sent a most ample Ambassade, with full power to make vp the mariage betwixt them: which tooke such successe that after they had communed of the matter a few daies, they knit vp the knot.

Anno. 1554.

The 13. of Ianuarie 1554. Doctor Crome for his preaching vpon Christmas day without licence, was committed to the Fleete.

The 21. of Ianuarie, M. Thomas Wootten Esquire, was for matters of religion committed to the Fleete close prisoner.

*This mention of mariage was about the beginning of Ianuary, and was very euill takē of the people, & of many of the nobility, who for his, and for religion, conspiring among themselues,

made a rebellion: whereof sir Thomas Wyate knight was one of the chief beginners: who beyng in Kent,* said (as many els perceiued) that the Queene and the Counsel would by forraine mariage bring vpon thys Realme moste miserable seruitude, & establish popish religion. About the 25. of Ianuary newes came to London of this stur in Kent,* and shortlye after of the D. of Suffolke, who was fled into Warwikeschier & Lecestershire: there to gather a power. The Queene therefore caused them bothe wyth the two Carewes of Deuonshire to bee proclaimed Traitors: and sent into Kent against Wyate,* Thomas D. of Norfolk, who being aboute Rochester bridge forsaken of them that went with him, returned s••e to London with out any more harme done vnto him, and wythoute bloudshed on either partie.

Furthermore to apprehende the Duke of Suffolke, being fled into Warwikeschiere, was sent the Earle of Huntington in post,* who entring the Citie of Couentrie before the Duke, disappoynted him of his purpose. Wherefore the Duke in great distresse committed himselfe to the keeping of a seruauant of his named Underwoode in Astley Parke, who like a false traitor bewraied him. And so was brought vp to the Tower of London.

In the meane while Sir Peter Carewe hearynge of that was done, fledde into Fraunce, but the other were taken,* and Wyat came towards London in the beginning of February. The Queene hearing of Wyates comminge, came into the Citie to the Guilde Hall, where shee made a vehement Oration against Wyate: the contentes, at least, the effect wherof here foloweth, as nere as out of her owne mouth could be penned.

The Oration of Queene Marie in the Guild Hall.

I Am come vnto you in mine own person, to tel you that,* which already you see and know, that is, how traiterously and rebelliously, a number of Kentish mē haue assembled them selues against both vs and you. Their pretence (as they sayde at the first) was for a mariage determined for vs: to the which, and to all the Articles therof ye haue bene made priuie. But sithens we haue caused certaine of our priuie Counsaile to goe againe vnto them, and to demaunde the cause of this their rebellion, and it appeared then vnto our sayde Counsel,* that the matter of the mariage seemed to be but as a Spanish cloake to couer their pretended purpose against our religion, so that they arrogantly and traiterously demaunded to haue the gouernance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our Counsailers.

Nowe louing subiectes, what I am ye right well knowe, I am your Queene, to whome at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme, and lawes of the same (the spousall Ring wherof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor heereafter shall be left off) you promised your alleageaunce and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right, and true inheritour of the crowne of this Realme of England I take all Christendome to witnesse. My Father, as ye all know, possessed the same regall state, which nowe rightly is descended vnto me: and to him alwaies ye shewed your selues most faithfull and louing subiectes, and therefore I doubt not, but ye will shew your selues likewise to me, and that yee will not suffer a vile Traitour to haue the order & gouernance of our person, and to occupie our estate, especially being so vile a Traytor as Wyat is. Who most certainly as he hath abused mine ignorant subiects, which be on his side,* so doth he entend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoile of your goodes. And this I say to you in the woorde of a Prince, I can not tel how naturally the mother loueth the childe, for I was neuer

the mother of anye, but certainly, if a Prince and gouernour maye as naturally and earnestly loue her subiectes, as the Mother doeth the Childe, then assure your selues, that I being your Ladie and Maistres, doe as earnestly and as tenderly loue & fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartely and faithfully loue me, and then I doubt not, but we shall geue these rebelles a short & speedy ouerthrow.

As concerning the Mariage, ye shall vnderstand that I enterprised not the doing thereof without aduise, and that by the aduice of all our priuie Counsell, who so considered and wayed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not onely thought it very honorable, but also expediēt, both for the wealth of the Realme, and also of you our Subiects. And as touching my selfe, I assure you, I am not so bente to my will, neither so precise, nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure,* I wold chuse where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needes I would haue one. For God I thanke him, to whome bee the praise therefore, I haue hetherto liued a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but with Gods grace am able so to liue stil. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my body behinde me, to be your Gouernour, I trust you would not onely reioyce therat, but also I know it would be to your great comforte. And certainly, if I either did thinke or knowe, that this Mariage were to the hurt of any of you my Commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royall state of this realme of England, I would neuer consent therunto, neither wold I euer mary while I liued. And in the word of a Queene I promise you, that if it shall not probably appeare to all the Nobilitie and Commons in the highe Court of Parliament, that thys Marryage shall be for [Page 1419](#) the high benefit & cōmoditie of all the whole Realme, then I wil abstaine from Mariage while I liue.

And now good Subiects, plucke vp your hearts, and like true men,* stande fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and feare them not: for I assure you I feare them nothing at all, And I will leaue with you my Lord Haward, & my Lord Treasoror, who shalbe assistants with the Mayor for your defence.

¶Here is to be noted, that at the comming of Queene Mary to the Guild hall, being bruted before that shee was comming w^t harnessed men, such a feare came among them that a number of the Londiners fearing least they shoulde be there intrapped & put to death, made out of the gate before her entring in. Furthermore note, that when shee had ended her Oration (which she semed to haue perfectly conned without booke) Winchester standing by her, when the Oration was done, with great admiration cried to y^e people: O how happy are we, to whom God hath geuen such a wise and learned Prince. &c.

Two dayes after, whiche was the 3. of Februarie, the L. Cobham was committed to the Tower,*and M. Wyat entred into Southwarke. Who, for so muche as he coulde not enter y^t way into London, returning another way by Kingstone with his army, came vp through the streetes to Ludgate, and returning thence, hee was resisted at Temple barre,*and there yealded himself to Sir Clement Parson, and so was brought by him to the Courte, & with hym the residue of his armye (for before, Sir George Harpar & almost halfe of his men ran away from him at Kingstone bridge) were also taken,*and aboute an 100. killed, and they that were taken were had to prisone, and a great manye of them were hanged, and he himselfe afterwarde executed at the Tower hill, and then quartered, whose heade after being set vp vpon Haihil,*was thence stolne

away, and great search made for the same. Of which story ye shal here more (the Lord willing) heereafter.

The 12. day of February was beheaded the lady Iane, to whom was sent M. Fecknam, alias Howman, from the Queene 2. dayes before her deathe,* to commune wyth her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christe, to Queene Maries religion. The effect of which communication here followeth.

The communication had betweene the Ladie Iane and Fecknam.

FEcknam.

Madam, I lament your heauy case, and yet I doubt not,* but that you beare out this sorow of youre wyth a constant and patient minde.

Iane.

You are welcome vnto me sir, if your comming be to geue Christian exhortation. And as for my heauye case (I thanke God) I do so litle lament it, that rather I accompt the same for a more manifest declaration of Gods fauor towarde me, then euer he shewed me at any time before: And therefore there is no cause why either you, or other, whych beare me good wil,* should lament or be grieved wyth thys my case, being a thing so profitable for my soule health.

Feck.

I am heere come to you at this present sent from the Queene and her counsaile, to instructe you in the true doctrine of y^e right faith: although I haue so great confidence in you, that I shall haue (I trust) little neede to trauaile wyth you much therein.

Iane.

Forsooth I heartely thanke the Queenes highnesse, which is not vnmindful of her humble subiect: and I hope likewise that you no lesse will doe your duety therein both truely and faithfully according to that you were sent for.

Feck.

What is then required of a Christian?

Iane.

That he should beleue in God the Father, y^e Sonne, and the holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Feck.

What? is there nothing els to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to beleue in him?

lane.

Yes, we must also loue him with all our heart, with all our soule, and with all our minde, and our neighbor as our selfe.

Feck.

Why? then faith iustifieth not, nor saueth not.

lane.

Yes verely, faith (as Paule sayth) only iustifieth.

Feck.

Why? S. Paul sayeth: If I haue all faith without loue it is nothing.

lane.

*True it is: for how cā I loue him whom I trust not? or how can I trust him whome I loue not? Faith and loue go both together, and yet loue is comprehended in faith.

Feck.

How shall we loue our neighbour?

lane.

To loue our neighbor is to feede the hungry, to cloth the naked, and geue drinke to the thirsty, and to doe to him, as we would doe to our selues.

Feck.

Why? then it is necessary vnto saluation, to doe good workes also, and it is not sufficient only to beleue.

lane.

I denye that, and I affirme that faith onely saueth:* but it is meete for a Christian, in token that hee followeth his Maister Christe, to doe good workes: yet may wee not say that they profit to our saluation. For whē we haue done all, yet we be vnprofitable seruāts, and faith only in Christes blood saueth vs.

Feck.

How many Sacraments are there?

lane.

Two. The one the Sacrament of Baptisme,* and the other the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

Feck.

No, there are seuen.

lane.

By what Scripture finde you that?

Feck.

Well, we will talke of that heereafter.* But what is signified by your two Sacraments?

lane.

By the Sacramente of Baptisme I am washed wyth water, and regenerated by the spirite, and that washing is a token to mee that I am the childe of God. The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper offered vnto mee,* is a sure seale and testimonie that I am by the bloude of Christ, which he shedde for me on the Crosse, made partaker of the euerlasting kingdome.

Feck.

Why? what doe you receiue in that Sacrament? Doe you not receiue the very body and bloud of Christ?

lane.

No surely, I doe not so beleeeue. I thinke that at the Supper I neyther receiue flesh nor bloude,* but bread and wine: Which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is dronken, putteth mee in remembraunce howe that for my sinnes the body of Christ was broken, & his bloudshed on the Crosse, and with that breade and wine I receiue the benefites that come by the breaking of his body, & shedding of his bloud for our sinnes on the Crosse.

Feck.

Why? doeth not Christ speake these woordes: Take eate, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? doeth he not say it is his body?

lane.

I graunt hee sayeth so: and so he sayth, I am the vine, I am the doore,* but hee is neuer the more for that the dore not the vine. Doth not S. Paul say, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I should say that I eat the very naturall body and bloud of Christ: for then eyther I should plucke away my redēption, either els there were two bodies, or two Christes. One body was tormēted on the Crosse. And if they did eate an other body, then had hee two bodies: either els if his body were eaten, than was it not broken vpon the Crosse: or if it were broken vpon the Crosse, it was not eaten of his Disciples.

Feck.

Why? is it not possible that Christe by hys power coulde make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a woman wythout seede of man, and as to walke vppon the sea hauing a body, and other suche like myracles as he wrought by his power onely?

lane.

Yes verely:* if God would haue done at his Supper any myracle, he myght haue done so: but I say that then he minded no worke nor myracle, but onely to breake his body, and shed his bloud on the Crosse for our sinnes. But I pray you to answeere me to thys one question: where was Christ when he sayd: Take, eate, this is my body? Was hee not at the table when he sayde so? Hee was at that time alyue, and suffered not till the next day. What tooke he but bread? What brake he but breade? and what gaue hee but breade? Looke what he tooke, he brake: and looke what hee brake, he gaue: and looke what he gaue, they did eate: and yet all this while he himselfe was aliue, and at Supper before his disciples, or else they were deceiued.

Feck.

You ground your faith vppon such authours as say and vnsay both with a breath, and not vpon the Church,* to whom ye ought to geue credite.

lane.

No, I grounde my faith on Gods woorde, and not vpon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church,* the faith of the Church must be tried by Gods worde, and not Goddes woorde by the Church, either yet my Faithe. Shall I beleue the Church because of antiquitye? or shal I geue credite to the Church that taketh away from mee the halfe parte of the Lordes Supper, and will not lette any man receiue it in both kindes? Whych thing if they denie to vs, then denie they to vs part of our saluation. And I saye that it is an euill Church, and not the Spouse of Christ, but the Spouse of the Deuill that altereth the Lordes Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that Church (say I) God will adde plagues, and from that Church will he take their parte out of the booke of life. Doe they learne that of S. Paule, when he ministred to the Corinthians in both kindes? Shall I beleue this Church? God forbid.

Feck.

That was done for a good intent of the Church, to auoide an heresie that sprong on it.*

lane.

Why? shal the church alter Gods wil & ordinance for a good intēt? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend.

With these and such like persuasions he would haue had her leaue to the Church, but it woulde not be. There were [Page 1420](#) many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this Fecknam tooke his leaue, saying, that he was sorry for her: For I am sure (quoth he) that we two shall neuer meete.

lane.

True it is (sayd she) that we shall neuer meete, except God turne your hart.* For I am assured, vnlesse you repent and turne to God, you are in an euill case: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his holy spirite: for he hath geuen you his great gift of vtterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your hart.

¶A letter of the Lady Iane sent vnto her father.

FATHER, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whome my life should rather haue bene lengthened: yet can I so patiently take it,* as I yeeld God more hartly thanks for shortening my wofull dayes, then if all the world had bene geuen into my possession with life lengthened at my owne will. And albeit I am well assured of your impacient dolours, redoubled manyfold wayes, both in bewayling your owne woe, and especially (as I heare) my vnfortunate state, yet my deare father (if I may without offence reioyce in my owne mishaps) me seemes in this I may accompt my selfe blessed, that washing my handes with the innocencie of my fact, my giltles blood may cry before the Lord, mercy to the innocent. And yet though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrayned, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking vpon me I seemed to consent, and therein greuously offended the Queene and her lawes: yet do I assuredly trust that this mine offence towards God is so much the lesse, in that being in so royall estate as I was, mine enforced honour being neuer with mine innocent hart. And thus good father I haue opened vnto you the state wherein I presently stand. Whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seme right wofull, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, then from this vale of miserie to aspire to that heauenly throne of all ioy and pleasure with Christ our Sauour.* In whose stedfast fayth (if it may be lawfull for the daughter so to write to the Father) the Lord that hetherto hath strengthened you, so continue you that at the last we may meete in heauen with the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

At what time her father was flourishing in freedome and prosperitie in the time of King Edward, there belonged vnto him a certayne learned man, student and Graduate of the Uniuersitie of Oxford. Who then being Chaplayne to the sayd Duke, and a sincere Preacher (as he appeared) of the Gospell, according to the doctrine of that time set foorth and receiued, shortly after that the

state of Religion began to alter by Queene Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a Protestant, became a friend and defender of the Popes proceedings. At whose sodayne mutation and inconstant mutabilitie, this Christian Lady being not a little agreeued, and most of all lamenting the daungerous state of his soule, in sliding so away for feare from the way of truth, writeth her minde vnto him in a sharp and vehement letter: which as it appeareth to proceede of an earnest and zealous hart, so woulde God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentaunce, and to take better holde againe for the health and wealth of his owne soule. The copie of the letter is thys as followeth.

¶Another letter of the Lady Iane to M. Harding, late Chaplayne to the Duke of Suffolke her father, and then fallen from the truth of Gods most holy worde.

SO oft as I call to mynde the dreadfull and fearefull saying of God: That he which layeth holde vpon the plough, and looketh backe, is not meete for the kingdome of heauen: and on the other side, the comfortable words of our Sauour Christ to all those that forsaking themselues, do folow him: I can not but maruell at thee and lament thy case: which seemedst sometime to be the liuely member of Christ, but now the deformed impe of the deuil, sometime the beutifull temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kenel of Sathan, sometime the vnspotted spouse of Christ, but now the vnshamefast paramour of Antichrist, sometyme my faythfull brother, but now a straunger and Apostata, sometime a stoute Christen souldiour, but now a cowardly runneaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I can not but speake to thee, and cry out vpon thee, thou seede of Sathan, and not of Iuda, whome the deuill hath deceyued, the world hath begiled, and the desire of life subuerted, and made thee of a Christian an Infidell: wherefore hast thou taken the Testament of the Lord in thy mouth? * Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the wil of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed other to be strong in Christ, when y^u thy selfe doest now so shamefully shrink, and so horrible abuse the Testament and lawe of the Lord? When thou thy selfe preachest, not to steale, yet most abhominably stealest, not from men but from God, and committing most haynous sacriledge, robbest Christ thy Lorde of his right members thy bodye and soule, and chocest rather to liue miserably with shame to the worlde, then to dye and gloriously with honor to reigne with christ in whome euen in death is life? Why doest thou now shew thy selfe most weake, when in deede thou oughtest to bee most strong? The strength of a for• is vnknowne before the assault: but thou yeldest thy hold before anye battrie be made.

Oh wretched and vnhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou nowe forsake hym y^t called thee from the custome gathering amōg y^e Romish Antichristians, to be an Ambassadour & messenger of hys eternall worde? Hee that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and byrth preserued thee, nourished and kept thee, yea and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shall he not now possesse thee? Darest thou deliuer vp thy selfe to an other, * being not thine owne but his? How cāst thou hauing knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vayn traditions of men: * and whereas thou hast bene a publicke professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glorye? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the inuention of man, the golden calfe, the whore of Babilon, y^e Romish Religion, the abhominable Idoll, the most wicked masse? Wilt thou torment agayne, rent, and teare the most precious body of our Sauour Christ with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take vpon thee to offer vp anye

sacrifice vnto God for our sinnes, considering that Christ offered vp himselfe (as Paule sayth vpon the crosse a liuely sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites (which for their Idolatry they so oft receaued) nor the terrible threatnings of the Prophetes, nor the curses of Gods owne mouth feare thee to honour anye other God then him? Doest thou so regard him that spared not hys deare and onely sonne for thee, so diminishing, yea, vtterly extinguishing his glory that thou wilt attribute the prayse and honour due vnto him to the Idols, which haue mouthes and speak not, eyes and see not, eares and heare not: which shall perish with them that made them?

What sayth the Prophet Baruc,* where hee recited the Epistle of Ieremy written to the captiue Iewes? Did hee not forwarne them that in Babilon they should see Gods of gold, siluer, wood, & stone borne vpon mens shoulders, to cast a feare before the Heathen: But be not ye afayrd of them (sayth Ieremy) nor doe as other doe? But when you see other worship thē, say you in your hartes: it is thou (O Lord) that oughtest onely to be worshipped: for as for those Gods, the Carpenter framed them and polished them, yea gilded be they, and layde ouer with siluer, and vayne thinges and cannot speake. He sheweth moreouer, the abuse of theyr deckings, howe the Priestes tooke off their ornamentes and aparelled their women withall: how one holdeth a scepter, an other a sworde in his hand, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much lesse anye other, from either battell or murther, nor yet from gnawing of wormes, nor any other euill thing. These, & such like wordes, speaketh Ieremy vnto them, whereby he proueth them to be but vayne thinges, and no Gods. And at last he concludeth thus: Confounded be they that worship them. They were warned by Ieremy, and thou as Ieremye hast warned other, and art warned thy selfe by many Scriptures in many places. God sayth: he is a ielous God, which will haue all honour, glory, and worship geuen to him onely. And Christ saith in the 4. of Luke to Sathan which tempted him: euen to the same Sathan, the same Belzebub, the same deuill, whiche hath preuayled agaynst thee:*It is written (saith he) thou shalt honor the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serue.

These and such like doe prohibite thee and all Christians to worship anye other God then whiche was before all worldes, and layd the foundations both of heauen and earth: and wilt thou honour a detestable Idol, inuented by Romish Popes, and the abhominable Colledge of craftye Cardinals? Christ offered himselfe vp once for al, and wilt thou offer him vp agayne dayly at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intēt. O sinck of sinne: Oh child of perdition: doest yⁿ dreame therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witnes of Gods threatned wrath against thee? How did Saule? who for that hee disobeyed the worde of the Lorde for a good intent was [Page 1421](#) throwne from his worldlye and temporall kingdome. Shalt thou then that doest deface Gods honour, and rob him of his right, inherite the eternall and heauenly kingdome? Wilt thou for a good intent dishonour God, offend thy brother, and daunger thy soule, wherefore Christ hath shed his most precious bloud? Wilt thou for a good intent plucke Christ out of heauen, and make his death voyde, and deface the triumph of his crosse by offering him vp dayly? Wilt thou either for feare of death, or hope of life, denie and refuse thy God, who enriched thy pouertie, healed thy infirmitie, and yeilded to thee his victory, if thou couldest haue kept it? Doest yⁿ not consider that the threed of thy life hangeth vpon him that made thee, who can (as hys will is) eyther twine it harder to last the longer, or vntwine it againe to breake it the sooner? Doest thou not then remember the saying of Dauid a notable King, to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his 104. Psalme, where he sayth thus: When thou takest away

thy spirit (oh Lord) from men, they die and are turned agayne to their dust: *but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth. Remember the saying of Christ in his Gospell: Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it. And in the same place: Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meete for me. *He that will follow me, let him forsake himselfe, and take up his crosse and follow me. What crosse? the crosse of infamy and shame, *of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution for his names sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers, pierce thy stony hart. Let the two edged sword of Gods holy word there asunder the sinewes of worldly respects, *even to the very marrow of thy carnall hart, that thou mayest once againe forsake thy selfe and embrace Christ. And like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal Governour, so flie not like a white livered milkesop from the standing wherein thy chiefe captaine Christ hath set thee in array of this life. Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, *sustine dominum. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrell is Gods, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

But thou wilt say, I will not breake vntie. What? not the vntie of Sathan and his members? not the vntie of darkenes, *the agreement of Antichrist and his adherents? Nay thou deceauest thy selfe with the fond imagination of such an vntie as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false Prophetes in an vntie? Were not Iosephes brethren and Iacobs sonnes in an vntie? Were not the Heathen, as the Amelechites, the Ph•resites and Iebusites in an vntie? Were not the Scribes and Phariseis in an vntie? Doth not King Dauid testifie: Conuenerunt in vnum aduersus dominum? Yea theeves, murtherers, conspiratours, haue their vntie. But what vntie? Tully sayeth of amitie: Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos. But marke my friend, yea friend, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no vntie but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified that he himselfe sayeth: Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium, &c. but to set one against another, the sonne against the father, and the daughter against the mother in lawe. Deceave not thy selfe therefore with the glittering and glorious name of vntie: *for Antichrist hath this vnity, not yet in deede, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an vntie, but a conspiracie.

Thou hast heard some threatnings, some curses, and some admonitions out of the scripture to those that loue themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard also the sharpe and biting words to those that denie him for loue of lyfe: *Sayth he not: He that denieth me before men, I will denie him before my father in heauen? And to the same effect writeth Paule Heb. 6. *It is impossible (sayth he) that they which were once lightned, and haue tasted of the heavenly gifte, and were partakers of the holy Ghost, and haue tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifyeng to themselves the sonne of God afresh, and making of him a mockingstocke, should be renewed againe by repentance. *And againe saith he: if wee shall willingly sinne after we haue receiued the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sinne, but the terrible expectation of iudgement and fire which shall deuoure the aduersaries. Thus S. Paule writeth, and this thou readest, and doest thou not quake and tremble?

Well, if these terrible and thundring threatnings can not sturre thee to cleaue vnto Christ, and forsake the world: yet let the sweete consolations and promises of the scriptures, let the example of Christ and his Apostles, holy Martyrs and Confessours encourage thee to take faster holde by Christ. *Harken what he sayth: Blessed are you when men reuile you, *and persecute you for my

sake: reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen: for so persecuted they the Prophetes that were before you. Heare what Esay the Prophet sayth: Feare not the curse of men, be not afrayde of theyr blasphemies, for woormes and mothes shall eate them vp like cloth and wooll, but my righteousnes shall endure for euer, and my sauing health from generation to generation. What art thou then (sayth he) that fearest a mortall man, the child of man which vadeth away like the flower: and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heauens, and laid the foundation of the earth▪ I am thy Lorde thy God, that make the sea to rage, and be still,*whose name is the Lorde of hostes. I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand. And our Sauour Christ saith to his Disciples: They shall accuse you and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my names sake,*and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but feare you not (saith he) nor care you not what you shall say:*for it is the spirit of your father that speaketh within you. Euen the very hea•es of your head are all numbred. Lay vp treasure for your selues (sayth he) where no theefe commeth, nor moth corrupteth. Feare not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule, but feare hym that hath power to destroy both soule and body. If ye were of the world, the world would loue his owne:*but because ye are not of the world, but I haue chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

Let these and suche like consolations taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to godward. Let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your minde, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets, of the three children, of Eleazarus that constāt father, of the vij. of the Machabies children, of Peter, Paule, Steuen, and other Apostles and holy Martyrs in the beginning of the Church: As of good Symeon Archbishop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite other vnder Sapoires the King of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all torments deuised by the tyrants for their sauours sake. Returne, returne agayne into Christes warre,*and as becommeth a faithfull warriour, put on that armour that S. Paule teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And aboue all things take to you the shield of fayth, and be you prouoked by Christes own example to withstand the diuell, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faythfull member of his mysticall body, who spared not his owne body for our sinnes.

Throw downe your selfe with the feare of his threatned vengeaunce for this so great and haynous an offence of Apostasie: and comfort your selfe on the other part wyth the mercy, bloud and promise of him that is ready to turne vnto you whensoever you turne vnto him. Disdayne not to come agayne with the lost sonne, seing you haue so wādred with him. Be not ashamed to turne againe with hym from the swill of straungers, to the delicates of your most benigne and louing father, acknowledging that you haue sinned against heauen and earth. Against heauen, by stayning the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be euill spoken of through you. Against earth, by offending so many of your weake brethren to whom you haue bene a stumbling blocke through your sodaine sliding. Be not abashed to come home againe with Mary, and weepe bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the teares of your bodily eyes, but also powring out the streames of your hart, to wash away out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offense. Be not abashed to say with the Publicane,*Lord be mercifull vnto me a sinner. Remember the horrible hystory of Iulian of olde, and the lamentable case of Spyra of late, whose case (me thinke) should be yet so greene in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you should feare the like inconuenience, seeing you are falne into the like offence.

Last of all, let the liuely remembrance of the last day be alwayes afore your eyes, remembering the terrour that suche shall bee in at that time, with the runnagates and fugitiues from Christ, which setting more by the worlde then by heauen, more by theyr lyfe, then by him that gaue them lyfe, dyd shrinke, yea, did cleane fall away from him that forsooke not them: and contrarywise, the inestimable ioyes prepared for them, that fearing no perill, nor dreading death, haue manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed ouer all power of darkenesse, ouer hell, deathe, and damnation, thorough theyr most redoubted Captaine Christ, who now stretcheth out his armes to receaue you, ready to fall vpon your necke and kysse you, and last of all to feast you with the deynties and delicates of his owne precious bloud, which vndoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he woulde not set to shed againe, rather then you should be lost. To whome with the Father and the holy Ghost be all honour, prayse and glory euerlasting. Amen.

Be constant, be constant, feare not for no payne,

Christ hath redeemed thee, and heauen is thy gayne.

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¶A Letter written by the Lady Iane in the ende of the new Testament in Greeke, the which she sent vnto her sister Lady Katherine, the night before she suffered.

I Haue heere sent you (good Sister Katherine) a booke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold,* yet inwardly it is more worth then precious stones. It is the booke (deare Sister) of the lawe of the Lord. It is his Testament and last will which he bequeathed vnto vs wretches: which shall leade you to the path of eternall ioy: and if you with a good minde reade it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortall and euerlasting life. It shall teache you to liue, and learne you to die. It shall winne you more then you should haue gained by the possession of your wofull fathers landes. For, as if God had prospered him, you should haue inherited his landes: so if you apply diligently this booke, seeking to direct your lyfe after it, you shall be an inheritour of such riches, as neither the couetous shall withdrawe from you, neither theefe shall steale, neyther yet the mothes corrupt. Desire with Daud (good Sister) to vnderstande the lawe of the Lorde your God Liue still to dye, that you (by death) may purchase eternall life.* And trust not that the tendernesse of your age shall lengthen your life. For as soone (if God call) goeth the yong as the olde, and labour alwayes to learne to dye. Defye the world, denie the deuill, and despise the fleshe, and delite your selfe onely in the Lorde. Be penitent for your sinnes, and yet despayre not: be strong in fayth, and yet presume not, and desire with S. Paule to be dissolued and to be wyth Christ, with whome euen in death there is lyfe. Be like the good seruaunt, and euen at midnight be waking, least when death commeth and stealeth vpon you like a theefe in the night, you be wyth the euill seruaunt found sleeping, and least for lacke of oyle, you be found like the fyue foolish women: and lyke hym that had not on the wedding garment, and then yee be cast out from the marriage. Reioyce in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your mayster Christ, and take vp your Crosse: lay your sinnes on hys backe, and alwayes embrace hym. And as touching my death, reioyce as I do (good Sister) that I shall be deliuered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall for losing of a mortall life, winne an immortall life: the which I pray God graunt you, and send you of his grace to liue in hys feare, and to dye in the true Christian fayth, from the which

(in Gods name) I exhort you that you neuer swarue, neither for hope of life, nor for feare of death. For if ye will denie his truth to lengthen your lyfe, God will denie you, and yet shorten your dayes. And if you will cleaue vnto him, he will prolong your dayes to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now and you heereafter when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well good Sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must helpe you.

***Heere followeth a certayne effectuall prayer made by the Lady Iane, in the time of her trouble.**

O Lord, thou God and father of my life, heare mee poore and desolate woman,* which flyeth vnto thee, onely in all troubles and miseries. Thou O Lord art the onely defendour and deliuerer of those that put their trust in thee: and therefore I beeyng defiled wyth sinne, encombred with affliction, vnquieted wyth troubles, wrapped in cares, ouerwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and greeuously tormented wyth the long imprisonment of this vile masse of clay my sinfull body: do come vnto thee (O mercifull Sauour) crauing thy mercy and helpe: without the which so little hope of deliuerance is left, that I may vtterly despayre of any libertie. Albeit it is expedient, that seeyng our life standeth vpon trying, we should be visited sometye wyth some aduersitie, whereby we might both be tryed whether we be of thy flocke or no, and also knowe thee and our selues the better: yet thou that saydest that thou wouldest not suffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, be mercifull vnto me now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee: which with Salomon do cry vnto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neyther be too much puffed vp with prosperitie, neither too much pressed down wyth aduersitie: least I beeyng too full, should denie thee my GOD, or beeyng too lowe brought, should despayre and blaspheme thee my Lord and Sauour. O mercifull GOD, consider my miserie best knowne vnto thee, and be thou now vnto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted aboue my power, but eyther be thou a deliuerer vnto me out of thys great miserie, eyther else geue me grace patiently to beare thy heauie hand and sharpe correction. It was thy righte hande that delyuered the people of Israell out of the handes of Pharao, which for the space of foure hundred yeares, did oppresse them, and keepe them in bondage. Let it therefore lykewyse seeme good to thy fatherly goodnes,* to delyuer mee sorrowfull wretch (for whome thy Sonne Christ shedde hys precious bloud on the Crosse) out of thys miserable captiuitie & bondage, wherein I am now. Howe long wilt thou be absent? for euer? Oh Lord hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut vp thy louing kindnes in displeasure? wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy cleane gone for euer, and thy promise come vtterly to an end for euermore? why doest thou make so long taryng? shall I despaire of thy mercy O God? farre be that from me. I am thy workmanship created in Christ Iesu: geue me grace therefore to tary thy leysure, and patiently to beare thy woorkes: assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliuer me when it shall please thee, nothing douting or mistrusting thy goodnes towards me: for thou wottest better what is good for me then I do: Therefore do with me in all thinges what thou wilt: & plague me what way thou wilt. Onely in the meane time arme me I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loynes being girded about with veritie, hauing on the brest plate of righteousnes, & shod with the shoes prepared by the Gospell of peace,* aboue all thinges taking to me the shield of fayth, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery dartes of the wicked, and taking the helmet of saluatiō & the sword of the spirit, which is thy most ho|ly word: praying alwaies with al maner of praier & supplicatiō that I may refer my selfe wholly to thy wil, abiding thy pleasure and comforting my selfe in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me: seeing

such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly perswaded that it can not be but well, all that thou doest. Heare me O mercifull father for his sake, whō thou wouldest shoulde be a sacrifice for my sinnes: to whome with thee and the holy Ghost be all honour and glory. Amen.

After these thinges thus declared, it remayneth nowe, comming to the end of this vertuous Lady, next to inferre the maner of her execution, with the words and behaiour of her in time of her death.

¶These are the wordes that the Lady Iane spake vpon the Scaffold at the houre of her death.

First when she mounted vpon the Scaffold,* she sayde to y^e people standing thereabout: good people I am come hether to dye, and by a lawe I am condemned to the same. The fact against the Queenes highnes was vnlaw full, and the consenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and desire therof by me or on my behalfe, I doe wash my handes thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day: and therewith she wrong her handes, wherein she had her booke. Then said she, I pray you all, good Christian people, to beare me witnes that I dye a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saued by no other meane, but onely by the mercy of God in the bloud of his only sonne Iesus Christ: and I confesse that when I did know the word of God, I neglected y^e same, loued my selfe and the world, & therefore thys plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened vnto mee for my sinnes: and yet I thanke God of hys goodnes that hee hath thus geuen me a time and respite to repent: and now (good people) while I am aliue I praye you assist me with your prayers. And then kneeling down she turned her to Fecknam saying: shall I say this psalme? and he sayd, yea. Then sayd she the Psalme of Miserere mei Deus in English, in most deuoute maner throughout to y^e end, and then she stode vpp and gaue her mayden Maistresse Ellen her gloues and handkercheffe, and her book to Maister Bruges, and then she vntyed her gowne, and the hangman pressed vpon her to helpe her off with it, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towardes her two Gentlewomen, who helped her of therewith, and also with her frowes past and neckercheffe, geuing to her a fayre handkercheffe to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled downe and asked her forgeuenesse, whom she forgaue most willingly. Thē he willed her to stand vpon the straw: which doing she sawe the blocke. Then shee sayd, I pray you dispatche me quickly. Then she kneeled downe, saying: wil you take it off before I lay me downe? & the hangman sayd, no Madame. Then tyed she the kercheffe about her eyes, and feeling for y^e block she sayd: what shall I doe? where is it? where is it? One of the standers by guiding her thereunto, she layd her head downe vpon the blocke, and then stretched forth her body and sayd: Lord into thy handes I commend my spirit, and so finished her life in the yeare of our Lord God. 1553. the 12. day of February.

¶Certayne pretty verses written by the sayd Lady Iane with a pinne.

Non aliena put es homini, quae obtingere possunt.

Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Iane Dudley.

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Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus:

Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.

Post tenebras spero lucem.

¶**Certaine Epitaphes written in commendation of the worthy Lady Iane Gray.**

De Iana Graia Ioan. Parkhursti Carmen.

[*](#)Miraris Ianam Graio sermone valere?

Quo primum nata est tempore, Graia fuit.

In historiam Ianae. I. F.

Tu, quibus ista legas in certum est lector, ocellis:

Ipsaequidem siccis scribere non potui.

De Iana, D. Laurentij Humfredi decastichon.

Iana iacet saeue non aequae vulnere mortis,

Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, martyrio.

Ingenium latius ornauit foemina musis,

Foemina virgineo tota dicata choro.

Sanguine clara fuit, regali stirpe creata,

Ipsaque Reginae nobilitata throno.

Bis Graia est, pulchre Graijs nutrita camaenis,

Et prisco Graiûm sanguine creta ducum.

Bis Martyr, sacrae fidei verissima testis:

Atque vacans regni crimine, Iana iacet.

Thus the xij. day of February (as I sayd) was beheaded the Lady Iane,* and with her also the Lord Gilford her husband, one of the Duke of Northumberlands sonnes, two innocēts in comparison of them that sate vpon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had willingly deuised, and by open Proclamation consented to take from others and geue to them.

Touching the condemnation of this Lady Iane, heere is to be noted, that the Iudge Morgan who gaue the sentence of condemnation against hir,* shortly after he had condemned her, fell madde, and in his raving cried out continually to haue the Lady Iane taken away from hym, and so ended his life.

And not long after the death of the Lady Iane, vppon the xxj. of the same moneth, was Henry Duke of Suffolke her father also beheaded at the Tower Hill, the iiij. day after his condemnation: about which time also were condemned for this conspiracie many Gentlemen and Yeomen,* whereof some were executed at London, and some in the Countrey.* In the number of whome was also Lorde Thomas Gray, brother to the sayde Duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall heare (the Lord willing) in another place.

The xxiiij. of the same moneth, the yeare of our Lorde 1554. Boner Bishop of London sent downe a Commission, directed to all the Curates and Pastors of his dioces, for the taking of the names of such as would not come the Lent following to auriculare confession,* and to the receyuing at Easter: the copie of which monition heere followeth.

¶A monition of Boner Byshop of London, sent downe to all and singular Curates of his Dioces, for the certifying of the names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession and receiuing at Easter.

EDmund by the permission of God, Byshop of London, to all Parsons,* Vicares, Curates and Ministers of the Church, within the Citie and Dioces of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lorde euerlasting. For as much as by the order of the Ecclesiasticall lawes and constitutions of thys Realme, and the lawdable vsage & custome of the whole Catholicke Church, by many hundreth yeares agone, duely and deuoutly obserued and kept, all faithfull people beeing of lawfull age and discretion, are bounde once in the yeare at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to theyr owne proper Curate, and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar, with due preparation and deuotion: and for as much also as we be credibly enformed, that sundry euill disposed and vndeuous persons, geuen to sensuall pleasures and carnall appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting vtterly the health of their soules, do forbear to come to confession according to the sayd vsage,* and to receaue the Sacrament of the aultar accordingly, geuing therby pernicious and euill example to the yonger sort, to neglect and contemne the same: we minding the reformation heereof for our owne discharge,* and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be geuen: do will and commaund you by vertue heereof, that immediately vpon the receipt of this our commaundement, yee and euery ech of you within your cure and charge, do vse all your diligence and dexteritie to declare the same, straightly charging and commaunding all your parishioners, being of lawfull age and discretion, to come before Easter next comming, to

confession, according to the sayd ordinaunce and vsage, and with due preparation and deuotion to receiue the sayd Sacrament of the aulter, and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed vnto you, and do not receiue of you the sayd Sacrament, certifying vs or our Chauncellour or Commissary thereof before the sixt day of Aprill next ensuing the date heereof: so that we knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receyuing the Sacrament accordingly, may proceede agaynst them, as beeyng persons culpable, and transgressours of the sayd ecclesiasticall lawe and vsage: Further also certifying vs or our sayd Chauncellour or Commissary, before the day aforesayde, whether ye haue your aultars set vp, chalice, booke, vestiments, and all things necessary for Masse, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession and all other diuine seruice prepared and in readines, according to the order of the Catholike Church, and the vertuous and godly example of the Queenes Maiesties: and if ye so haue not, yee then with the Churchwardens cause the same to be prouided for, signifying by whose faulte and negligence the same want or faulte hath proceeded, and generally of the not comming of your parishioners to Church, vndue walking, talking, or vsing of themselues there vnreuerently in the tyme of diuine seruice, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours, not omitting thus to doo, and certifie as before, as you will answeere vpon your perill for the contrarye. Geuen at London the 23. of February, in the yeare of our Lord 1554.

The next moneth following, which was the moneth of March, and the 4. day of the sayd moneth, there was a letter sent from the Queene to Boner Bishop of London, with certaine Articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, conteining as heere followeth.

¶Articles sent from the Queene to the Bishop of London, by him and his officers at her commaundement to be put in speedy execution, with her letter to the sayd Byshop before prefixed.

Right reuerend Father in God, right trusty and welbeloued we greeete you well.* And wheras heretofore in y^e time of the late raigne of our most dearest brother K. Edward y^e 6. whose soule god pardon, dyuers notable crimes excesses and faults, with sundrye kindes of heresies, s•••ny, adultery, & other enormities haue bene committed wⁱn this our Realme and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our raigne, without any correction or reformation at all, & the people both of the laitie and also of the clergie, & chiefly of the clergy haue bene geuen to much insolency & vngodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of almighty God, & very much to our regret & euill contentation, & to no litle slander of other Christen realmes, and in a maner to the subuersion & cleane defacing of this our realme, and remembring our duety to almighty god, to be to foresee (as much as in vs may be) y^t all vertue and godly liuing shoulde be embraced, flourish & increase, and therewith also, y^t all vice & vngodly behaiour shuld be banished and put away, or at y^e least wise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept vnder that godlines and honesty might haue y^e ouer hand, vnderstanding by very credible report and publike fame, to ou• no smal heauines and discomfort, that within your dioces as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and euill behaiour hath bene done & vsed, like also to continue and increase vnlesse due prouision be had and made to reforme y^e same, which earnestly in very deede we do mind & intend to the vttermost all y^e waies we can possible, trusting of Gods furtherance and helpe in y^t behalfe. For these causes, and other most iust cōsiderations vs mouing, we send vnto you certayne articles of suche speciall matter, as among other thinges be most necessary now to be put in execution by you & your

officers, extending to the end by vs desired, and the reformation aforesaide, wherein ye shall be charged with our speciall commaundement, by these our letters to the intent you and your officers may y^e more earnestly and boldly proceed therunto without feare of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our Lawes, as by our doinges of that is in the said articles contened, might any wise greue you whatsoeuer be threatned in any such case. And therefore we straightly charge and commaund you, and your sayde officers to proceede to the execution of the said Articles, w^tout all tracte and delay, as ye will answeare to the contrary. Geuen vnder our signet, at our Palace of Westminster the 3. day of march the first yeare of our raigne.

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Articles sent from the Queene vnto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers by her commaundement to be put in execution in the whole dioces.

First, that euery Byshop and his Officers, with all other hauing Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction,* shall with all speede and diligence, and all maner of waies to them possible, put in execution all such Canons and Ecclesiasticall Lawes,* heeretofore in the time of King Henry the eyght vsed within this Realme of England, and the dominions of the same, nor being directly and expresly contrary to the lawes and statutes of this Realme.

Item, that no B. or any his Officer, or other person aforesayd,* heereafter in any of their ecclesiasticall writings, in processe or other extraiuditiaall actes, doe vse to put in this clause or sentence, Regia autoritate fulcitus.

Item, that no Byshop or any his officers or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demaund in the admission of any person to any ecclesiasticall promotion, order or office, any oth touching the primacy or succession, as of late in few yeares passed hath bene accustomed and vsed.

Item, that euery B. and his officers, with all other persons aforesayd, haue a vigilant eie, and vse speciall diligēce and foresight, that no person be admitted or receiued to any ecclesiasticall function, benefice or office being a sacramentary infected or defamed with any notable kinde of heresie or other great crime, and that the said B. do stay and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and Ecclesiasticall promotions do not notably decay or take hinderāce by passing, or cōfirming of vnreasonable leases.

Item, that euery Bishop and all other persons aforesayde,* do diligently trauaile for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the Cleargie, duely correcting and punishing the same.

Item, that euery B. and all the other persons aforesayd, do likewise trauell for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, vnlawfull bookes, ballades, and other pernicious and hurtfull deuices, engendring hatred amongst the people, and discord amongst the same: And the Scholemaisters, Preachers, and Teachers, do exercise and vse their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting foorth any euill and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Bishop and his said officers punished and remoued.

Item, that euery B. and all the other persons aforesayd, proceding summarely & with all celerity & speed,* may and shall depriue or declare depriued and amoue, according to their learning & discretion, all such persons frō their benefices & ecclesiasticall promotiōs, who cōtrary to the state of their order, & the laudable custome of the church, haue married & vsed women as their wiues, or otherwise notably, and slaunderously disordered or abused themselues: sequestering also, during the said proces, the fruites and profites of the said benefices and Ecclesiasticall promotions.

Item, that the said B. and all other persons aforesayd, do vse more lenity and clemency with such as haue married, whose wiues be dead, then with other whose women do yet remayne aliue. And likewise such Priestes, as with the consents of their wiues or women openly in the presence of the B. do professe to abstaine,* to be vsed more fauourably. In which case after penaunce effectually done, the Bishop according to his discretion and wisdom, may vpon iust consideration, receiue and admit them agayne to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to liue vpon, to be payde out of their benefice, whereof they be depriued, by discretion of the said Bishop, or his Officer as he shall thinke may be spared of the said Benefice.

Item, that euery Byshop, and all other persons aforesaid,* do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, hauing solemnely professed chastitie, to continue with hys woman, or wife, but that all such persons, after depriuation of their benefice or Ecclesiasticall promotion, be also diuorced euery one from his saide woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

Item, that euery Bishop and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the Parishioners of euery Benefice where Priests do want,* to repayre to the next Parish for diuine seruice, or to appoint for a conuenient time, till other better prouision may be made, one Curate to serue, Alienis vicibus, in diuers Parishes, and to allot to the saide Curate for his labour some portion of the Benefice that he so serueth.

Item, that all and all maner of processions of y^e Church, be vsed,* frequented, and continued after the old order of the Church in the latine tongue.

Item, that all such holydaies and fasting daies be obserued and kept, as were obserued and kept in the latter time of king Henry the eight.

Item, that the laudable & honest ceremonies which wer wont to be vsed, frequented and obserued in the Churche,* be also hereafter frequented, vsed and obserued.

Item that children be christened by the Priest, and confirmed by the Bishop, as heretofore hath bene accustomed and vsed.

Item, touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to anye orders after the new sorte and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deede,* the bishop of the Dioces finding otherwise sufficiency and habilitie in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

Item,* that by the bishop of the Dioces an vniforme doctrine be set forth by Homelies, or otherwise for the good instruction & teaching of al people: And that the sayd bish. and other persons aforesaid, doe compell the parishioners to come to their seuerall Churches, and there deuoutly to heare deuine seruice, as of reason they ought.

Item, that they examine all Scholemaisters & teachers of children, & finding them suspect,* in any wise to remoue them and place Catholicke men in theyr rowmes, with a speciall commaundement to instructe their children, so as they may be able to aunswere the priest at the masse, and so helpe the priest to masse, as hath bene accustomed.

Item, that the sayd Bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, haue such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premisses with all kind of vertue godly liuing, and good example, with repressing also and keping vnder of vice and vnthriftines as they and euerich of them may be seene to fauour the restitution of true Religion, and also to make an honest accompt and reckening of their office and cure, to the honor of God, our good contentation, and the profite of this our Realme: and the dominions of the same.

A like prescript also with Articles, was sent from the said Queene Mary to the Lord Mayor of London,* the 4. day of March, in the yeare abouesayd, which Lord Mayor vpon the same directed his commandement to the Aldermen, euerye one seuerally in his warde, conteing as followeth.

***By the Lord Mayor.**

ON the Queene our most gracious & most benigne soueraigne Ladies behalfe,* we most straightly charge & commaund you, that ye the said Aldermen, faile not personally to call before your owne person in such place within your sayde warde as to you shall seeme most conuenient & meete vpon Wednesday nexte comming, which shalbe the 7. daye of this present moneth, at 7. of the clocke in the morning of the same daye, all and euery the householders both poore and rich of your sayd warde, & then & there, openly and plainly for your owne discharge and for the eschewing of the perils that to you might otherwise be iustly imputed & layd, do not onely straitly admonish, charge, & commaund in the Queene our sayd soueraigne Ladyes name and behalfe, al and euery the sayd householders, that both in theyr own persons, and also their wiues, children, and seruantes being of the age of xij. yeares and vpwards and euery of them, do at al and euery time, and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and Catholickely, vse and behaue themselues like good and faithful christian people in all and euery thing and thinges touching & concerning the true fayth, profession, and Religion of his Catholicke Church, both according to the lawes and precepts of almighty God, and also theyr bounden duetie of obedyence towards our soueraigne Lady y^e Queene her lawes and Statutes, and her highnes most good example & gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to y^e right wholesome charitable & godly admonitiō, charge and exhortation late set forth and geuen by y^e right reuerēd father in God the bishop of London, our Diocesan and ordinary to all the Persons, Uicars, and Curates wythin this Dioces: but also that they and euery of them do truely without delaye aduertise you of the names & surnames of all and euery person and persons that they or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceiue, or vnderstand to transgresse or offend in anye poynt or Article

concerning the premisses, at their vttermost perilles▪ That ye immediately after such notice therof to you geuen do forthwith aduertise vs thereof, fayle ye not thus to do with all circumspection and dilligence, as ye will aunswere to our sayd most dread soueraigne Lady the Queene, for the contrary at your like perill. Geuen at the Guildhall of the Citie of London, the v. day of March in the first of the raigne of our said saueraigne Lady the Queene. Blackwell.

[Page 1425](#) And likewise do you geue to euery of the sayd housholders straightly in commaundemente, that they or theyr wiues depart not out of the said Citie vntill this holy time of Easter be past.

ABout the same yeare and time, when Doct. Boner set foorth this prescript or monitory, there came from the Quene another proclamation against straungers and forreiners within this realme. The purpose & intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annexe the tenor and maner of the same.

***A copy of the Queenes Proclamation for the driuing out of the Realme Straungers and Forreiners.**

*THE Queene our soueraigne Lady vnderstanding that a multitude of euill disposed persons, being borne out of her highnes dominions in other sondry nations, flyeng from the obeysaunce of the Princes and Rulers vnder whome they be borne, some for heresie, some for murther, treason, robbery, and some for other horrible crimes, be resorted into this her maiesties Realme, and heere haue made theyr demour, and yet be commoraunt and lingring, partly to eschew such conding punishment as their said horrible crimes deserue, and partly to dilate, plant, and sowe the seedes of their malicious doctrine and lewd conuersation among the good subiectes of this her said Realme, of purpose to infect her good subiectes with the like, in so much as (besides innumerable heresies, which diuers of the same beeing heretickes haue preached and taught within her highnes sayd Realme) it is assuredly knowne vnto her Maiesty, *that not only their secret practises haue not fayled to stirre, comfort and ayde dyuers her highnes subiectes to this most vnnaturall rebellion against God and her grace, but also some other of them desist not still to practise with her people eftsoones to rebell, her Maiestie therefore hauing (as afore is sayd) knowledge and intelligence heereof, hath for remedie heerein determined, and most straightly chargeth and commaundeth, that all and euery such person or persons borne out of her highnes dominions, now commoraunt or resident within this Realme, of whatsoever Nation or Countrey, beeing eyther Preacher, Printer, Bookeseller, or other Artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being Denizen or Marchant knowne, vsing the trade of Marchaundize, or seruauant to such Ambassadors as be liegers heere from the Princes and states ioyned in league with her grace, shall within 24. dayes after this Proclamation, auoyde the Realme, vpon payne of most greuous punishment by enprisonment and forfayture and confiscation of all their goodes and moueables, and also to be delyuered vnto their natu•all Princes, or Rulers, agaynst whose persons or lawes they haue offended. Geuing to all Mayors, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subiectes, straightly also in charge, if they knowe any such person not borne in the Queenes highnes dominion• (〈◇〉 before excepted) that shall after the time and day limited in •his Proclamation, tarry within thys Realme, that they shall apprehende the same person or persons, and commit him or them to 〈◇〉, there to remayne without bayle or

mayneprise, till her graces pleasure or her Counsayles be signified vnto them for the further ordering of the sayde person or persons. And that if any of her sayde officers, after the sayd 24. dayes apprehend, take, or knowe of any such, they shall with diligence immediatly certifie her sayd Counsell thereof, to the intent order may forthwith be geuē for their punishmēt according.

In the meane while, vpō the Proclamation before mencioned, not only y^e strangers in K. Edwards time receiued into the Realme for Religion,* amōg whō was Pet. Martir, Iohn Alasco vnclē to the King of Poleland, but many Englishmen fled, some to Freeseland, some to Cleueland, some to high Germany, where they were diuersly scattered into diuers companies & congregations, at Wesell, at Frankford, Emden, Markpurgh, Strausborough, Basill, Arow, Zurich, Geneua, and other places: where by the prouidence of God they were al susteined, and there entertained with greater fauour among strangers abroad,* then they could be in their owne countrey at home, welneare to the number of 800. persons, Students, & other together.

In the saide moneth of March, the Lorde Courtney Earle of Deuonshire, whome the Queene at her first entring deliuered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth also the Queenes Sister, were both in suspesction to haue consented to Wiats conspiracie, and for the same this March were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the imprisonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou shalt note heere for thy learning (good Reader) a politicke point of practise in Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Wint. not vnworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being alwayes a capitall enemie to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking •owe by the occasion of maister Wyate to picke out some matter against the Lorde Courtney, and so in the end, to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, deuised a pestilent practise of conueyance, as in the story heere following may appeare.

The story is this. The same day that Sir Tho. Wyate died,* he desired the Lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtney. Who there before the Lieutenaunte and the Sheriffes, kneeling downe vpon his knees, besought the Lorde Courtney to forgeue him, for that he had falsly accused both the Lady Elizabeth and him, and so being brought from thence vnto the scaffold to suffer, there openly in the hearing of all the people cleared the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lorde Courtney to be free and innocente from all suspition of that commotion. At which confession,* Doctor Weston there standing by, cryed to the people, saying: Beleeue him not good people, for he confessed otherwise before vnto the Counsell.

After the execution done of Sir Thomas Wyat, which was the 11. day of Aprill, word was brought immediately to the Lord Maior Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner,* how maister Wyate had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lorde Courtney, and the wordes also which Doctor Weston spake vnto the people, wherunto the Lord Maior aunswering: Is this true quoth he? said Weston so? In sooth I neuer tooke him otherwise but for a knaue. Upon this, the Lord Maior sitting downe to dinner (who dyed the same day at the Bridgehouse) commeth in Sir Martin Bowes with the Recorder, newly come from the Parliament house, who hearing of the Maior and Sheriffes this report of Wiats confession, both vpon the Scaffold and also in the Tower, marueiled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrary to this, told the same day in the Parliament house, which was, that Sir Thomas Wyate should desire the Lord Courtney to confesse the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not lōg after that a certaine prentice dwelling in S. Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denhā a plasterer being one of Quene Maries seruauents, amongst other talke made mentiō how Sir Thomas Wyate had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be no cōsenter to his rising. Which wordes being brought to Gardiner (by what meanes I know not) incōtinent vpon the same,* Syr Andrew Iudde was sent by the sayd Bishop to y^e Lord Maior, commaunding him to bring the said prentise to the Star Chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should say that Wyat was constrained by the Counsell to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow when he was come to the starre Chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner letting passe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how myraculously almighty God had brought the Queenes Maiesty to the Crowne, y^e whole Realme in a maner being against her, & that he had brought this to passe for this singular intent and purpose,* that this Realme being ouerwhelmed with heresies, shee might reduce againe the same vnto the true Catholicke faith. And where she tooke the Lady Elizabeth into her fauour, and loued her so tenderly, and also the Lord Courtney, who of long time had bene deteined in prison, and by her was set at libertie, and receiued great benefites at her hands, and notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most vnnaturally and traiterously against her with that haynous Traytour Wiates, and by the confession of Wyate (sayde he) and the letters sent to and fro may playnely appeare: Yet there was some in the City of London, whiche reported that Wyat was constrained by the Counsell to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the L. Courtney, & yet you my L. Maior (quoth he) haue not seene the same punished.

The party is heere, sayd the Lord Maior. Take hym with you (said Gardiner) and punish him according to his desert, & said further: My Lord, take heede to your charge, the Citie of London is a whirlepoole and sincke of all euill rumours, there they be bread, and from thence spread into all partes of this Realme.

There stood by the same time the Lord Shandoys,* who being then Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and now hearing the Byshop thus speake, to sooth his tale, came in wyth these words as followeth.

My Lordes (quoth he) this is a trueth that I shall tell you, I being Lieutenant of the Tower when Wiat suffred he desired me to bring him to the Lorde Courtney, whych when I had done, he fell down vpon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of hym selfe, as he had done before, and to submit himselfe vnto the Queenes Maiesties mercy.

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the entent that the Reader perceiuing the proceedings of [Page 1426](#) the bishop in the premisses, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyat himselfe, & with the testimony o^r the Sheriffes whiche were present the same time when Syr Thomas Wiat asked the Lord Courtney forgeuenes, may the better iudge of the whole case and matter for the whiche the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were so long in trouble. Of which her Graces trouble, hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the meane time, to let this matter stay, let vs now passe fur^ther in our history.

*NOt longe after this, Queene Mary partly fearing the Londiners by occasion of Wiats cōspiracy partly per^{ce}iuing most part of the City for religions sake not greatly to fauour her proceedings, to theyr displeasure and hinderaunce sommoned a Parliament to be holdē at Oxford: as it were to

gratify that Citty,* where both the Uniuersity, Towne, and Country had shewed themselues very obedient and forward, especially in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great prouision was made, as wel by the Queenes officers and by the townes men and inhabitantes of Oxford and the Country about.

*But the Queenes minde in short space chaunged, and the same Parliament was holden at Westminster in aprill folowing. Then the Queene, beside other thinges, proposed concerning her mariage to king Philip, and restoring of the Popes supremacy. As touching her maryage it was agreed vpon: but the other request could not as then be obteyned.

The same time when this Parliamēt was sommoned, she also sommoned a conuocation of bishops & of the Clergy,* writing vnto Boner (whom she had made Uicegerēt in the stead of Cranmer being in the Tower) after y^e tenor and forme of a new stile, differing from the olde stile of K. Henry, and K. Edward as foloweth.

***The stile of Q. Mary altered writing to Boner for the summoning of a Conuocation.**

MARIA Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, Hiberniae Regina, fidei defensor.*Reuerendo in Christo patri Edmondo London. Epis. Salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis & vrgentibus negotijs nos securitatem, & defensionem Ecclesiae Anglicanae ac pacem & tranquillitatem &c.

Where note good Reader, concerning the altering and chaunging the Queenes stile, the latter part thereof to bee left out of her title, which is: Ecclesiae Anglicanae Hiberniae supremum caput, because in this present Parliament the supremacy being geuen away from the crowne of Englande to the Pope,* therupon this parcell of the title was also taken away. Likewise the sayd Boner geuing his certificate vpon the same, leaueth out autoritate illustrissimae. &c. legitime suffultus: which parcel also in the same Parliament was repriued and taken away the same time.

¶The dignity of Priestes extolled by Byshop Boner.

IN this foresayd conuocation, Bonor B. of Londō being Uicegerent and President as is said, made a certayne exhortation or oration to the Clergy (whether it was in this conuocatiō or much about the sayd time) wherein he semeth to shew a great piece of his profound and deep learning in setting forth the most incomparable & superangelical order of Priesthood,* as may appeare by this parcell or fragment of his foresayd Oration. Being collected and gathered by some that stode by, whiche as it came to our handes so I thought to impart it to the Reader, both for that the Author of so worthy a worke should not passe vnknown, and partly also, for that y^e estimatiō of this blessed order should los• nothing of his preeminence, but might be knowne in most ample perfection, so as it standeth aboue Angels and kinges, if it be true that Boner sayth.

¶A piece or fragment of the exhortation made by Boner Bishop of London, to them of the Conuocation house, copyed out by them that stood by and heard him.

Boners Oration in prayse of Priesthood.

Wherefore it is to be knowne that Priestes & Elders be worthy of all mē to be worshipped for the dignity sake which they haue of God,* as in Mat. 16. Whatsoever ye shall lose vpon earth. &c. And whatsoever you shall binde. &c. For a priest by some meanes is like Mary the Uirgin, and is shewed by three poyntes: As the blessed Uirgine by fiue wordes did conceiue Christ, as it is sayd: Luke. 1. Fiat mihi secundum verbū tuum: that is to say. Be it vnto me according to thy word:* so the priest by 5. wordes doth make the very body of Christe. Euen as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her wombe: so immediatly after the speaking of the wordes of consecration, y^e bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Uirgin caried Christ in her armes, and layd him in an Oxe shall after his byrth: euen so the Priest after the consecration, doth lift vp the body of Christ, & placeth it, & caryeth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thyrdly, as the blessed Uirgin was sanctified before she was conceiued: so the Priest being ordeined & annoynted before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could cōsecrate nothing, therefore the lay man cannot do the thing, although he bee neuer so holy, and do speake the selfe same wordes of consecration. Therefore here is to be knowne, that the dignity of Priestes by some meanes passeth the dignity of angels,* because there is no power geuen to any of the Aungels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that the greatest and highest Aungell in heauen can not do as S. Barnard sayth: O worshipful dignity of Priestes in whose hands the Sonne of God is, as in the wombe of the Virgin he was incarnate. S. Augustine sayth, that Angels in the consecration of the sacred host do serue him, and the Lorde of heauen descendeth to him. Whereupon Saynt Ambrose vpon Saynt Luke sayth: Doubt thou not the Aungels to be where Christ is present vpon the Aultare. Wherefore Priestes are to be honoured before all kinges of the earth, Princes and Nobles. For a Priest is higher then a King,* happyer then an Aungell, Maker of his Creator. Wherefore. &c.

It was declared a litle before, how Doct. Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower: where being in duraunce, and inuited to the Lieftenants table, he had certain talke or conference with Secretary Bourne M. Fecknam and other concerning the controuersies in religiō: y^t sūme whereof, as it was penned with his owne hand, hereafter ensueth.

***Here foloweth the summe and effect of the communication betwene D. Ridley, and Secretary Bourne with others, at the Lieuetenauntes table in the Tower.**

MAister Thomas of Bridges sayd at his brother mayster Lieuetenantes boorde: I pray you M. Doctours,* for my learning tell me what an heretick is. M. Secretary Bourne sayd, I will tell you who is an hereticke: who so stubbornly & stifly maynteineth an vntruth, he is an hereticke.* Ye meane syr (sayd I) an vntrueth in matters of religion, & concerning our fayth. Yea that is true sayd he: & in this we are soone agreed. Then sayd maister Fecknam, sitting at the vpper end of the table, whom they called M. Deane of Paules: I wil tell you by S. Austine who is an hereticke. Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hereticus est, sayth S. Austine.* And then he englished the same. Sir sayd I, I wene S. Austine addeth the thyrd member, which is, vel vanae gloriae causa. Ye say euen true M. Doctor, sayd he, and thus farre we did agree all three.

M. Fecknam began againe to say, who so doth not beleue that scripture affirmeth,* but will obstinately maintein the contrary, he is Haereticus, as in the sacramēt of the aultar: Mathew doth affirm there to be Christs body. Marke doth affirme it, Luke affirmeth it, Paule affirmeth it, and

none denyeth it: therefore to hold the cōtrary it is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was borne of the virgine: & this is confirmed by vnity, antiquity & vniuersalitye. For none before Berengarius did euer doubt of this,* & he was an heretick, as M. doctor there knoweth full well: I do testify his owne conscience sayd he.

Mary sir, saide mayster Secretary, maister Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, vnitie antiquitie and vniuersalitie. Do ye not thinke so maister Doctour said he to me?

Here while I strayned curtesye and pretended as nothinge to talke, sayd one of the Commissioners: peraduenture M. Ridley doth agree with M. Fecknam, and then there needes not much debating of the matter.

Syr saide I in some thinges I doe and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken to be playne. I doe not agree with him at all. Maister sayde I, ye be (as I vnderstād) the Queenes Commissioners here and if ye haue commissiō to examine me in these matters, I shall declare vnto you playnely my faythe, if yee haue not, then I shall pray you either geue mee leaue to speake my minde freely, or els to hold my peace.

There is none here, sayde M. Secretary, that doth not fauour you: and thē euery man shewed what fauour they [Page 1427](#) bare towards me, and howe glad they woulde be of an agreement.

But as I strayned to haue licence of thē in playn wordes to speak my minde,* so me thought they graunted me it but vix or agrè. Well at the last I was content to take it for licenced, and so began to talke.

To M. Fecknams argumentes of the manifold affirmatiō where no denial was,* I answered: where is a multitude of affirmations in scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the trueth of the matter: for that any one of the Euangelists spake inspired by the holy ghost,* was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that Iohn sayth of Christ: Ego sum ostium ouium. i. I am the dore of the sheepe, as if all had sayde it. For it is not in scripture as in witnes of men where the number is credited more then one, because it is vncertayne of whose spirit he doth speake. And where M. Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation. &c. Syr sayd I, all they do affirme the thing which they ment. Now if ye take theyr wordes to leaue theyr meaning then do they affirme what ye take,* but not what they ment. Syr sayde I, if in talke with you, I should so vtter my minde in words, that ye by the same do, and may playnely perceiue my meaning & could (if ye wold be captious) cauil at my words & writh them to an other sense, I would thinke ye were no gentle companion to talke with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceiue that I did meane.

Mary, quoth M. Secretary, we should els do you plain iniury and wrong.

M. Fecknam perceiuing whereunto my talke went, why (quoth he) what circumstaunces can ye shew me that should moue to thinke of any other sense, then as the wordes playnely say: Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. i. This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?

Syr sayd I, euen the next sentence that foloweth: vix. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. i. Do this in my remembraunce.* And also by what reason, ye say the bread is turned into Christes carnall body: By the same I may say, that is turned into his misticall body. For as that sayth of it: Hoc est corpus quod pro vobis tradetur:* so Paule which spake by Christes spirit sayth: Vnus panis & vnum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de vno pane participamus. i. We being many are all but one bread and one body, in as much as we are partakers of one bread.

Here he calleth one bread, one loafe, sayd Maister Seretary.

Yea sayd I, one loafe, one bread, all is one with me.

But what saye ye quoth maister Secretary, of the Uniuersalitye, antiquitye, and vnity, that M. Fecknam dyd speake of?

I ensure you sayd I, I thinke them matters weighty and to be considered well.* As for vnity, the truth is, before God, I doe beleue it and embrace it, so it be with verity, & ioyned to our head Christ, and such one as Paule, speaketh of saying: Vna fides, vnus Deus, vnum Baptisma. i. On fayth, one God,* one Baptisme. And for antiquity I am also persuaded to be true that Iraeneus sayth: Quod primum verum. i. That is first is true. In our Religion Christes fayth was first truely taught by Christ himselfe, by his Apostles and by manye good men that from the beginning did succeede next vnto them: and for this controuersy of the Sacramēt I am perswaded, that those olde writers which wrote before the controuersye and the vsurping of the sea of Rome do all agree, if they be well vnderstanded in this truth.

I am glad to heare, sayd Maister Secretary, that ye do so well esteme the Doctors of the church.

*Now as for vniuersality, it may haue 2. meanings: one to vnderstand that to be vniuersall which from the beginning in all ages hath bene allowed, another, to vnderstand vniuersalitye for the multitude of our age or of anye other singuler age.

No, no, sayth maister Secretary, these 3. doe alwayes agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest, and here he and I chaunged many wordes. And finally, to be shorte in this matter we did not agree.

There was none quoth mayster Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our dayes Carolostadius, Oecolampadius. And Carolostadius sayth, Christ poynteth to his owne body and not to the Sacrament, and sayd: Hoc est Corpus meum. And Melancton writeth to one Micronius (Miconius sayde I) these or like wordes:*Nullam satis grauem rationem inuenire possum, propter quam a fide maiorum in hac materia dissentiam. i. I can finde no grounded reason to cause me to dissent from the beliefe of our foreelders.

*Thus when hee had spoken at length, with manye other wordes mo: Sir sayd I, it is certain that other before these haue written of this matter. Not by the way onelye, and obiter, as doth for the most all the olde writers, but euen ex professo, and theyr whole bookes intreat of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertram said the Secretary, what man was he? & whō was he, and how do ye know? &c. with many questions.

Syr quoth I, I haue read his booke: He proponeth the same which is now in controuersy, and aunswereth so dyrectly that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that y^e substance of bread remaineth still in the Sacrament, and he wrote vnto Carolus Magnus.

Mary (quoth he) marke for there is a matter. He wrote quoth he, ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum, for no Authour maketh any such mention of Bertramus.

Yes quoth I, Trithemius in Catalogo illustrium scriptorū, speaketh of him. Trithemius was but o• late time: but he spebeth quoth I of them that were of antiquitye. Here, after much talke of Bertram, what authors haue ye quoth M. Secretary to make of the sacrament a figure?

Syr quoth I, ye knowe (I thinke) that Tertullian in playne wordes speaketh thus: Hoc est corpus, id est, figu• Corporis mei. i. This is my bodye, that is to say, a figure o• my body. And Gelasius sayth playnly that Substantia panis manet. i. The substaunce of bread remayneth. And Origene sayth likewise, Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam, ingreditur stomachum & vadit in secessum. i. That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught. This when I had englished, M. Secretarye sayd to me, you know very well as any man. &c. and here, if I woulde, I might haue bene set in a foolishe Paradise of his commendation of my learning, and quòd essem vir multae Lectionis. i. A manne of much readyng. But thys I woulde not take at his hand. He set me not vp so high, but I brought my selfe as low againe: and here was much adoe.

As for Melancton (quoth I) whō M. Fecknam spake of, I maruell that ye will alledge him, for we are more nye an agrement here in England, then the opinion of Melācton to you: for in this poynt we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one materiall substance: & Melanctō as I weene, sayth there are two.

Ye say trueth quoth M. Secretary: Melanctons opinion is so. But I pray you, ye haue read that the sacramēt was in olde time so reuerenced, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministration thereof. Catecumeni (quoth he) and many moe.

Truth sir (quoth I) there were called some Audientes, some Poenitentes, some Catechumeni, and some Euergumeni, which were commaunded to depart.

Now (quoth he) then. And howe can ye then make but a figure or a signe of the Sacrament, as that booke whyche is set forth in my Lord of Canterburyes name, I wisse, <◇> can tell who made it, did not ye make it? & here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would haue geuen me the glorye of the writing of the booke, whiche yet there was sayd of some there, to conteyne most haynous heresy that euer was.

Mayster Secretary (quoth I) that booke was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like a'gain: as for me I ensure you (be not deceiued in me) I was neuer able to do or write any such like thing, he passeth me no lesse, then the learned mayster his yong scholer.

Now, here euery man would haue his saying, which I passe ouer, not much materiall for to tell. But sir quoth I, me thinkes it is not charitably done, to beare the people in hand that any man doth so lightly esteeme the sacrament, as to make of it a figure. For that [but] maketh it a bare figure without any more profit, which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most playnely.

Yes quoth he that they do.

Sir, no quoth I, of a truth: and as for me, I ensure you I make no lesse of the sacrament then thus: I say whosoeuer receiueth the sacrament, he receiueth therewith eyther life or death.

No quoth M. Secretary, scripture sayth not so.

Sir quoth I, although not in the same soūd of words, yet it doth in the same sense, and S. Augustine sayth, in the sound of words also: for Paule sayth: The bread which we breake, is it not the partaking or felowship of the bodye of Christ? And S. Augustine, Manduca vitam, Bibe vitam, i. eate life, drinke life.

Then sayd mayster Pope, what can ye make of it whē ye say, there is not the reall body of Christ? Whiche I doe beleue. &c. & I pray God I may neuer beleue other. How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death,* when Christes body is not there?

Syr quoth I, when you heare Gods word truely preached, if ye do beleue it and abide in it, ye shal and do receiue life withal: and if ye do not beleue it, it doth bring vnto you [Page 1428](#) death: and yet Christes body is still in heauen and not carnall in euery preachers mouth.

I pray you tell me quoth he, how can you aunswere to this:*Quod pro vobis tradetur, which shall be geuen for you: was the figure of Christes body geuen for vs?

No sir quoth I, but the very body it selfe, wherof the sa|crament is a sacramentall figure.

How say ye then quoth he, to Quod pro vobis tradetur: which shall be geuen for you.

*Forsoothe quoth I, Tertullians exposition maketh it playne, for he sayth, Corpus est figura Corporis. i. The body is a figure of the body. Nowe put to Quod pro vobis tradetur: Whiche shall bee geuen for you, and it agreeth exceedyng well.

In fayth quoth he, I would geue xl. poūd that ye were of a good opinion. For I ensure you I haue heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thanke you mayster Pope, for your hart and minde, and ye knowe quoth I, I were a very foole if I woulde in this matter dissent frō you, if that in my conscience y^e truth did not enforce me so to do. For iwise (as ye do perceiue, I trowe) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteeme worldly gayne.

*What say ye, quoth he, to Cyprian? Doth he not saye playnly, Panis quem dedit Dominus non effigie sed natura mutatus omnipotentia verbi factus est caro? i. The Bread whiche the Lorde did deliuer, being changed, not according to the forme, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made flesh.

True Syr, so he doth say, and I answere euen the same which once by chaunce I preached at Paules Crosse in a Sermon,* for the which I haue bene as vniustly & as vntruely reported as any pore man hath bene. For there, I speaking of the sacrament, and inueying against them that esteemed it no better then a piece of bread, told euē the same thing of Poenitentes, Audientes, Catecumeni, Energumeni, that I spake of before: and I bad them depart as vnworthy to heare the misterye, and then I sayd to those that be Sancti: Cyprian the Martyr shall tel you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying Panis est corpus, cibus, potus, caro, &c. i. Breade is the body,* meat, drinke, flesh, because that vnto this materiall substance is geuen the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then tooke I to vtter as the time would then suffer, that the materiall substaunce of bread doth remaine. M. Fecknam (which as is reported to me) did belie me openly in y^e same matter at Paules crosse, heard all this my talke (as red as skarlet in his face) and herein aunswered me neuer one word.

You do know wel, quoth M. Secretary, that Origenes and Tertullian were not Catholicke but erred.

*Syr quoth I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to haue erred in some thinges. But yet I neuer heard that it was eyther layd to Origēs charge or to Tertullian, y^t euer they were thought to haue erred in this matter of the sacrament.

What quoth M. Chomley, late chiefe Iustice, doth not christ say plainly, that it is his very flesh, & his very bloud, and we must needes eate him,* or we can haue no life? Syr, quoth I: if you wil heare how S. Augustin expoūdeth that place, you shal perceiue that you are in a wrong boxe. And when I began to tell S. Augustines minde in his book de Doctrina Christiana: Yea, yea, quoth M. Secretary, that is true, S. Augustine doth take it figuratiuely in deed.

Forty yeares agoe quoth M. Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty yeares ago (quoth I) all held that the Bishop of Rome was supreme head of the vniuersall Church.

What then? was master Fecknam beginning to say. &c. but M. Secretary tooke the tale, and sayde, that was but a positieue law.

A positieue law? quoth I, No Syr, he would not haue it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challēged it by Christes owne word.* For his decree sayth: Nullis Synodicis constitutis, ne{que} Consilijs, sed viua voce Domini praelata est Ecclesia Romana omnibus Ecclesijs in toto Mundo: dicente Domino Petro, tu es Petrus. &c. The Church of Rome was aduaunced aboue all other Churches in the world, not by any Sinodicall constitutiōs, nor yet any counsell, but by the liuely voyce of the Lord, according as the Lord sayd to Peter: Thou art Peter. &c. And in an other place he entreateth. Tu es Cephas, id est, caput. i. Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.

Tush, it was not counted an article (quoth M. Secretary) of our fayth.

Yes, sayd I, if ye call that an article of our fayth, which is to be beleued vnder payne of damnation. For he sayeth: Omninò definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem creaturam subesse Romano pontifici, de necessitate salutis. i. We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronouñce, that euery creature is subiect to the obedience of the Byshop of Rome vpon necessity of saluation.

And here whē we spake of lawes and decrees M, Roger Chomley thought himself much wrounged, y^t he could not be suffred to speake, the rest were so ready to interrupt him: and then he vp and told a long tale what lawes were of kings of England made against the Bish. of Rome, and was vehemēt to tell how they alway of the Clergy did flie to him. And here because he semed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was aunswered of his owne felowes, and I let them talke.

Finally, we departed in peace,* and Maister Secretary promised in the end, that of theyr talke there shoulde come to me no harme. And after I had made my mone for lacke of my books, he sayd they were all once geuen him: but sith I know (said he) who hath them now, write me the names of such as ye would haue and I wil speake for you the best I can.

Upon the Articles aboue mentioned,* and Inquisition made vpon the same, diuers Ministers were diuorced from theyr wiues. Amongest whom was one Iohn Draper, and Ioane Golde his wife, in the Dioces of London, troubled and vexed for the same by Boner Bish. of Londō, who sent forth a Commission with a processe, to sequester and separate them, enioyning also penaunce to the poore woman.

Besides this Iohn Draper, diuers other also were diuorced the same time agaynst theyr wils, & some contented of theyr owne vnconstant accorde, to be separated of theyr wiues: as of Chichester one (who because he soone recouered againe shall be here nameles) an other named Edmōd Alstone, an other Alexander Bull, amongst whome also was D. Standish, with many other: whose names together in the end of this story of Queene Mary, we may peraduenture, by Gods grace in a generall Catalogue, together comprehend.

March. 1554.

The 10. of March a letter was sēt to the Lieuetenant of the Tower to deliuer the bodyes of M. Doc. Cranmer the Archhishop of Caunterbury, M.D. Ridley, and M. Latimer, to Syr Iohn Williames to be conueyed by him vnto Oxford.

The 26. of March there was a letter directed to Syr Henry Doell and one Foster to attach the bodyes D. Tailor Parson of Hadley, and of Hēry Askew, and to send thē vp to the Counsell.

¶How Thomas Cranmer Archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and M. Latimer were sent downe to Oxford to dispute, with the order and maner, and all other circumstances vnto the sayd disputation, and also to theyr condemnation apperteining.

ABout the tenth of April,* Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley B. of London, and Hugh Latimer B. also sometime of Worcester, were cōueyed as prisoners frō the Tower to Windsore: and after from thence to the Uniuersity of Oxford, there to dispute with the Diuines & learned men of both the Uniuersities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance and sacrifice of the sacrament.* The names of the Uniuersity doctors and Graduates, appoynted to dispute agaynst them were these: Of Oxford, Doctor Weston Prolocutor, D. Tresham, Doctor Cole, D. Oglethorp, D. Pie, M. Harpsfield, M. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, D. Yong Uicechauncellor, Doctor Glin, Doctor Seton, D. Watson, D. Sedgewike, D. Atkinson, &c. The Articles or questions whereupon they should dispute, were these.

1 Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament after the wordes spoken by the Priest, or no?*

2 Whether in the Sacrament after the wordes of consecration, any other substance do remayne, then the substance of the body and bloud of Christ.

3 Whether in the Masse be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Touching the order and maner of al which things there done, with the notes, arguments,* & all circumstances there vnto perteyning, to deduce the matter from the beginning-leauing out nothing (as nere as we may) y^t shall seeme necessary to be added, first here is to be vnderstand that vpon saterday the 7. day of Aprill, the heads of the Colledges in Cambridge being congregate together, letters commyng downe from Steuen Gardiner L. Chauncellor, were red [Page 1429](#) with Articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed vpon at Oxford: the contentes of the which three Articles are sufficiently expressed before. Wherupon in the sayd con|gregation of the aforesayd Uniuersity of Cambridge, there was graunted first a grace in this fourme proposed by the Seniour Proctor: Placet vobis vt instrumentum fiat, quod horum iam praelectorum articulorum doctrina sana sit & catholica, atque, cum veritate orthodoxae fidei consentiens, & vestro consensu, & suffragijs comprebatur? That is: may it please you to haue an instrument made that the doctrine of these foresaid Articles may be sound and catholicke and consonant with the verity of the right meaning fayth,* & that the same may be approued by your consent and voyces? Secondly in the sayd congregation, an other grace was geuen and graunted, that Doctor Yong being the Uicechauncellor, D. Glin Doct. Atkinson,* Doct. Scot, and M. Sedgewicke shoulde goe to Oxford to defend the sayde Articles agaynst Caunterbury, London, and Latimer: Also to haue letters to the Oxford men, sealed with theyr common seale: Item, an other grace graunted to M. Sedgewike, to be actuall Doctor, being therupon immediately admitted. The foresayd letters being then drawne out, the third day after (whiche was the 11. day of Aprill) were read in the foresayd congregation house and there sealed.

Wherupon the next day after (the 12. of the sayd month) the foresayd Doctors, with the ful grace of that vniuersity, set forward to Oxford:*, and comming thither the next day after (being friday, the 13. of Aprill) were lodged all at the Crosse Inne, with one Wakecline, being sometime seruant to Byshop Boner.

Anon after their comming, Doct. Crooke presented thē with wine for theyr welcome:*, and shortly after, two of the Bedles came from the Uicechauncellor of Oxford, and pre|sented the

Uicechauncellour of Cambridge with a dishe of Apples, and a gallen of wine. After whome, next came M. Pye and Fecknam to welcome them. Then after consultation concerning the deliery of theyr letters and instrument of grace (which was in Doctor Seton and Watsons keeping) they went all to Lincolne Colledge to Doct,* Weston the Prolocutor, and to the Uicechauncellour D. Tresham: and there they deliuered theyr letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half houre after 8. they returned to theyr Inne again: but first they concluded of a Procession, Sermon, & conuocation to be had the morowe folowing, and that the Doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the Uniuersity of Oxford, & likewise that the Doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the Uniuersity of Cambridge. The same day the forenamed prisoners were disseuered, as was sayd afore: Doctor Ridley to Alderman Iryshes house M. Latimer to an other, and Doctor Cranmer remayned still in Bocardo.*

On Saturday (being the 14. of Aprill) at eighthe of the clocke, the foresayd Uicechauncellour of Cambridge wyth the other Doctours of the same Uniuersitye: repayred to Lincolne Colledge agayne, and found the Prolocutour aboue in a Chappell, with the company of the house singing Requiem Masse,* and taryed there vntill the end. Then they consulting altogether in the Maysters lodging, about 9. of the clocke came all to the Uniuersity church called S. Maries, and there, after short consultation in a Chappell, the Uicechauncellor the Prolocutor.* &c. of Oxford, caused the Uicechauncellor of Cambridge & the rest of the Doctours of that Uniuersity, to send for theyr skarlet robes, brought from Cambridge, saue that Doct. Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the Regentes in the congregation house, had graūted all the Cambridge Doctors theyr graces, to be incorporate there, and so they went vp and were admitted immediately, D. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the Proctour reading the statute, and geuing them theyr othes.

That done, they came all into the Quier, and there held the conuocation of the Uniuersity. They had Masse of the holy Ghost solemnly song in pricksong,* by the Quier men of Christes Church. But first the cause of the Conuocatiō was opened in English, partly by the Uicechauncellour, and partlye by the Prolocutour, declaring that they were sent by the Queene, and wherfore they were sent: and caused Mayster Say the Register, openly to read the Cōmission. That done, the Uicechauncellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded that 3. Notaries, Maister Say for the Conuocation,* a Bedle of Cambridge for that vniuersity, and one Maister White for Oxford, shoulde testifie of theyr doing: and then willed the sayd Notaryes to prouide parchment, that the whole assemblye mighte subscribe to the Articles, saue those that had subscribed before in the conuocation house at London and Cambridge, and so the Uicechauncellour began first: after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the Masse time.

The Masse being done, they went in procession:* First the Quier in theyr surplices followed the Crosse: then the first yeare Regentes and Proctours: then the Doctors of law, and theyr Bedle before them: then the Doctors of diuinity of both Uniuersities intermingled, the Diuinitye & arte Bedles going before them, the Uicechauncellour and the Prolocutour going together. After them Bachelers of Diuinity, Regentes, & non Regentes, in theyr aray: and last of all, the Bachelers of Law and Art. After whom folowed a great company of scholers and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through y^e street to Christs church, and there the quier sang a Psalme, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the Cōmissioners, doctours, and many other to Lincolne Colledge, where they dyned with the Maior of the towne, one Alderman, foure Bedles,

Mayster Say, and the Cambridge Notary. After diner they went all agayne to S. Maries Church: & there after a short consultation in a Chappell, all the Commissioners came into the quier, and sate all on seates before the Aulter, to the number of 33. persons: And first they sent to the Maior, that he should bring in Doct. Cranmer, whiche within a while was brought to them with a great nūber of rusty bilmen.

Thus the reuerend Archb. when he was brought before the Cōmissioners, reuerenced them with much humility, and stode with his staffe in his hande: who notwithstanding hauing a stoole offred him, refused to sit. Then the Prolocutor sitting in the midst in a skarlet gowne, began with a short Preface or Oratiō, in praise of vnity, and especially in the church of Christ: declaring with all his bringing vp, and taking degrees in Cābridge, and also how hee was promoted by king Henry, and had bene his couंसellor and a Catholicke man, one of the same vnity, and a mēber therof in times past: but of late yeares did separate and cut of himselfe from it, by teaching & setting forth of erroneious doctrine, making euery yeare a new fayth: and therefore it pleased the Queenes grace, to send them of the Conuocation & other learned men to bring him to this vnity again, if it might be. Then shewed he him how they of the Conuocation house, had agreed vpon certayne articles, wherevnto they willed him to subscribe.

The Archb. aunswered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, shewing that he was very glad of an vnity, forasmuch as it was Cōseruatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Christianorum. i. the preseruer of all common wealthes, as well of the Heathen, as of the Christians: and so he dilated the matter with one or two storyes of the Romaynes Common wealth. Whiche thing when he had done, he sayde, that he was verye gladde to come to an vnity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the Prolocutor caused the articles to be read vnto him, and asked if he would graunt and subscribe vnto them. Then the Bishop of Canterbury did reade them ouer three or foure times & touching the first article he asked what they ment by these termes verū & naturale. i. true & natural. Doe you not meane sayth he, Corpus organicum. i. a sensible body? Some aunswered, Idem quod natus est ex virgine. i. the same that was borne of the Virgine: and so confusedly, some said one thing, some an other. Then the Bishop of Canterbury denied it vtterly, and when he had looked vpon the other two, he sayde they were all false and agaynst Gods holy word: And therefore would not agree he sayd, in that vnity with them. Which done, the Prolocutor first willing him to write his mynde of them that night, sayd moreouer that he should dispute in them, and caused a copy of the articles to be deliuered him, assigning him to answere thereunto on Monday next, and so charged the Maior with him again, to be had to Bocardo where he was kept before: offring moreouer vnto him, to name what books he would occupy, and he should haue them brought vnto him. The Archbishop was greatly cōmended of euery body for his modesty: In so much, that some Maisters of Arte were seene to weep for him, which in iudgement were contrary to him.

Then was Doctor Ridley brought in, who hearing y^e articles read vnto him, answered, without any delay, saying: they were all false, and sayd further, that they sprange out of a bitter and sower roote. His aunsweres were sharp witty and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was Bishop of Rochester, wherein (they sayd) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it vtterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard

him, which would say and affirme with thē the same. They could bring no prooffe of it at all. After that he was asked of one whether he desired not my lord Chancellor that now is, to sticke to the masse, and other things? [Page 1430](#) He sayd, that my Lord would say no such things or words of him: for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked whether he would dispute or no? He answered: [*](#) that as long as god gaue him life, he should not onely haue his hart, but also his mouth & penne to defend his truth: but he required time and bookes. They sayd he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he shoulde haue bookes. [*](#) He sayde it was not reason that he might not haue his owne bookes, and time also to looke for his disputations. Then gaue they him the articles, & •ad him write his mind of them that night, & so did they commaunde the Maior to haue him from whence he came.

Last of all came in M. Latimer in like sort, with a kerchiefe, [*](#) & 2. or 3. cappes on his head, his spectacles hanging by a stringe at his brest, and a staffe in his hande, and was set in a chayre: for so was he suffered by the Prolocutour. And after this deniall of the articles, when he had wednesday appoynted for disputation, he alledged age, sicknesse, disuse & lack of bookes, [*](#) saying that he was almost as meet to dispute as to be a captayne of Calice: but he would (he sayd) declare his minde either by writing or by word, and would stand to all that they coule lay vpon his backe: cōplayning moreouer that he was permitted to haue neither pen, nor incke, nor yet any booke, but onely the new testament there in his hand, [*](#) which he sayd, he had read ouer 7. times deliberately, & yet could not find the masse in it, neither the marowbones nor sinewes of the same. At whyche words the Commissioners were not a litle offended, & D. Weston sayd, that he would make him graunt, that it had both marowbones & sinewes in the new Testament. To whom M. Latimer sayd agayne: that you will neuer doe M. Doct. and so forthwith they put him to scilence, so that where he was desirous to tell what he ment by those termes, he could not be suffred: there was a very great prease and throng of people: and one of the Bedles swounded by reason therof, and was caryed into the Uestry. After this, bringing home the Prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, videlicet: •. Yong Uicechauncellour, Seton, Glin, Atkinson, Scotte, Watson, Sedgewicke, went to the Crosse Inne to supper. And this was on Saterday being the 14. day of Aprill. [*](#)

On Sunday after, M. Harpsfielde preached at Saynt Maries the Uniuersity Church, at 9. of the clocke, where were diuers of the Doctors of the Uniuersity in theyr robes and placed accordingly. After the Sermō they went all to dinner to Magdalen Colledge, & there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincolne Colledge with the Prolocutor: whether Doct. Cranmer sent answere of his mynde vpon the Articles, [*](#) in writing.

On Monday (being the 16. of Aprill) Mayster Say, & M. Whit• Notaryes, [*](#) wente aboute in the morning to the Colledges, to gette subscriptions to the Articles. And about viij. of the clocke the Prolocutour wyth all the Doctours and the Uicechauncellour mette together at Exeter Colledge, [*](#) and so they went into the schooles: and when the Uicechauncellour, the Prolocutour, and Doctours were placed, and foure appoynted to be Exceptores Argumentorum, set a table in the midst, and foure Notaryes sitting with them, [*](#) D. Cranmer came to the Answerers place, the Maior and Aldermen sitting by him, and so the disputation began to be set a worke by the Prolocutor with a short Praeludium. Doctor Chedsey began to argue first: and ere he left, the

Prolocutour diuers times, Doctor Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshal Uicechauncellor, Pye, Cole, & Harpsfield did interrupt and presse him with theyr Argumentes, so that euery manne sayde somewhat, as the Prolocutour woulde suffer disorderly, sometime in Latine, sometime in Englishe, so that three houres of the time was spent, ere the Uicechancellour of Cambridge began: who also was interrupted as before. He beganne with three or foure questions subtly. Here the Bedles had prouided drinke, and offered the Aunswerer: * but he refused with thanks. The Prolocutor offered him, if he would make water or otherwise ease himselfe, he should. Thus the disputation continued vntill almost two of the clocke, with this applausion Audientium: *vicit veritas. Then were all the Argumentes (written by the foure appointed) deliuered into the hand of Mayster Say, Register. And as for the prisoner, he was had away by the Maior: And the Doctors dyned together at the Uniuersity Colledge.

And thus much concerning the generall order and maner of these disputations, with such circūstaunces as there happened, and thinges there done, as well before the disputations, and in the preparation therof, as also in y^e tyme of theyr disputing. Now foloweth to inferre and declare y^e Orations, Arguments, and aunsweres, vsed and brought forth in the sayd disputations on both partes.

***The Argumentes, reasons, and allegations vsed in this disputation.**

ON Monday D. Weston, * withall the residue of the Uisitours, Censors, and Opponētes: repaying to y^e Diuinity schole, eche one enstalled themselues in theyr places. D. Cranmer with a route of rusty bills was brought thyther, and set in the aunsweres place, with the Maior & Aldermen sitting by him. Where D. Weston Prolocutor, apparelled in a skarlet gowne (after the custome of the Uniuersity) began the disputatiō, with this Oratiō. His wordes in latin as he spake them were these.

Conuenistis hodie fratres profligaturi detestandam illam haeresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento. &c. that is: * Ye are assembled hither (brethrē) this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament. &c. At which wordes thus pronounced of y^e Prolocutor vnwares, diuers of the learned men there present, considering and well weying the wordes by him vttered, burst out into a great laughter as though euen in the entraunce of the disputations, he had bewrayed himselfe and his Religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of christes body in the Sacrament a detestable heresye. The rest of his Oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawfull by Gods word to call these questions into cōtrouersy: for such as doubted of the wordes of Christ, myghte well be thought to doubte both of the trueth and power of God. Whereunto Doctor Cranmer desiring licence, aunswered in this wise.

We are assembled (sayth he) to discusse these doubtfull controuersies, * and to lay them open before the eyes of the world: whereof ye thinke it vnlawfull to dispute. It is in deed no reason (saith he) that we should dispute of y^t which is determined vpon, before the trueth be tryed. But if these questions be not called in controuersy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vayne. This was the summe and effect of his answere: and this done, he prepared himselfe to disputations.

Then Chedsey the first Opponent began in this wyse to dispute.*

Reuerend M. Doctor, these 3. conclusions are put forth vnto vs at this present to dispute vpon.

1 In the Sacrament of the aultar is the naturall body of Christe,*conceiued of the Virgine Mary, and also his bloud present really vnder the formes of bread & wine, by vertue of Gods word pronounced by the priest.

2 There remayneth no substaunce of breade and wyne after the consecration, nor any other substaunc, but the substaunce of God and man.

3 The liuely sacrifice of the Church is in the Masse, propitiatory as well for the quicke as the dead.

These be the conclusions propounded, wherupon this our present controuersye doth rest. Nowe to the ende wee might not doubt how you take the same, you haue already geuen vp vnto vs your opinion therof. I terme it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholicke. Wherefore thus I argue.

Ched.

Your opinion differeth from the scripture.

Ergo, you are deceiued.*

Cranmer.

I deny the antecedent.

Ched.

Christ when he instituted his last supper, spake to his Disciples: Take, eate, this is my body, which shall be geuen for you.

But his true body was geuen for vs:

Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

☞The right forme of this Argument is thus to be framed.

Da- The same which was geuē for vs, is in y^e sacrament.*

ri- But his true body was geuen for vs:

j. Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

Cran.

His true body is truely present to them that truely receiue him: but spiritually.* And so is it taken after a spirituall sort. For when he sayd: This is my body, it is all one as if he had sayde, this is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my bloud. As oft as you shal do this, it shal put you in remembraunce of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my bloud: that as truely as you receiue this sacrament, so truly shal you receiue the benefite promised by receiuing the same worthely.

Ched.

Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith that the true body is in the sacrament.*

Ergo your opinion therin is false.

Cran.

I say and agree with the Church, that the bodye of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the Passion of Christ is effectually.*

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Ched.

Christ, when he spake these woordes: This is my body, spake of the substaunce, but not of the effect.

Cran.

I graunt he spake of the substaunce, and not of the effect after a sorte: and yet it is most true that the bodye of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I denye that he is there truly presēt in bread,* or that vnder the bread in his organically body. And because it should be too tedious (hee sayd) to make discourse of the whole, he deliuered vp there his opinion therof to D. Weston writtē at large, with answeres to euery one of theyr 3. propositions: which he desired D. Weston,* sitting there on high, to read openly to the people: which he promised to doe. But it was not the first promise that such Papistes haue broken.

The cōpye of this writing although it were not there read, yet the contentes therof here we haue drawne out as foloweth.

¶An explication of Cranmer vpon the foresayd Conclusions exhibited in writing.

CRan.

*In the assertions of the Church and of religion, trifling and new fangled nouelties of wordes, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof riseth nothing but contention and brawling about wordes and we must follow so much as we may, the maner of speaking of the scripture.

*In the first conclusion if ye vnderstand by thys worde [really] reipsa. i. in very deede and effectuallye, so Christe by the grace and efficacy of his Passion is in deed and truely present to all his true and holy members.

But if ye vnderstand by this word [really] Corporaliter. i. Corporally,* so that by the body of Christ is vnderstanded a natural body and organicall: so the first proposition doth vary, not onely from vsuall speach and the phrase of scripture, but also is cleane contrary to the holy word of God & christian profession: when as both the scripture doth testify by these wordes, and also the Catholicke church hath professed from the beginning. Christ to haue left the world and to sit at the right hand of the father till he come vnto iudgement.

And likewise I aunswere to the second questiō: that is that it swerueth from the accustomed maner and speach of Scripture.*

The thyrd conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous wordes,* & diffing also much from the true speach of y^e Scripture, so as the wordes therof seeme to import in open sense: it is most contumelious agaynst our onely Lord and Sauour Christ Iesus, and a violating of his precious bloud, which vpon the aultar of the Crosse is the onely sacrifice and oblation for the sinnes of all mankinde.

Ched.

By this your interpretation which you haue made vpon the first conclusion, this I vnderstand, the bodye of Christ to be in the Sacramente onely by the way of participation: in so much as we communicating therof: do participate the grace of Christ: so that you meane hereby only the effect therof. But our conclusiō standeth vpon the substance, and not the efficacye onely, which shall appeare by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand yeare after Christ.

And first to begin with the Scripture, let vs consider what is written in Math. 26. Mark. 14. Luke 22. fyrste to the Corinthis. 11. Mathew sayth:*As they sat at supper Iesus tooke bread. &c. In Marke there is the same sense although not the same wordes:* who also for one part of the Sacrament speaketh more playnely, Iesus taking breade. &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke. 22.*And when Iesus had taken bread. &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses sayth the Scripture, standeth all truth. Here we haue three wytnesses together, that Christ sayd that to be his body which was geuē for many: and that to be his bloud which should be shed for many: wherby is declared the substance and not onely the efficacy alone therof.

Ergo it is not true that you say there to be, not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone therof.

Cran.

*Thus you gather vpon mine aunswere, as though I did meane of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body: but I meane of them both, as well of the efficacye as the substance. And for so much as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speake ex tempore, therfore for the more ample and fuller aunswere in the matter, this writing here I do exhibite.

***¶An explication exhibited by Cranmer.**

OUr Lord and Sauior Iesus Christ, at the time of his Maundy, preparing himselfe to die for our cause, that he might redeeme vs from eternall death, to forgeue vs all our sinnes, and to cancell out the handwriting that was agaynst vs: y^t we through ingratefull obliuion should not forget his death: therfore he at y^e time of his holy supper did institute a perpetuall memory of this his death, to be celebrated amōg christians in bread & wine,* according as it is sayd: Do this in remembraunce of me. And so often as you shall eat this bread & drinke this cup, you shall shew forth the Lordes death till he come. And this remembraunce or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slayne & bloud shed, he would all christians to frequent & celebrate in bread and wine, according as he sayd: Take eate: and drink ye all of this. Therfore, whosoeuer for mans tradition denyeth the cup of Christes bloud to lay men, they manifestly repugne agaynst Christ, forbidding that which Christ commaundeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Phariseis of whom the Lord spake: Ye hipocrites, ye haue reiected the cōmaundementes of God for your traditions.*Well did Esaye prophecy of you, saying: This people honoureth me with theyr lips, but theyr hart is farre from me.*Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and preceptes of men.

The sacrament and misticall bread, being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mysticall wine likewise being taken and receiued be not onely sacra^lmentes of the fleshe of Christ wounded for vs, and of hys bloudshedding but also be most certaine sacraments to vs and (as a manne would say) seales of Gods promises and giftes,* and also of that holy felowship which we haue with Christ and all his members. Moreouer they be to vs memorials of that heauenly food and nourishment wherwith we are nourished vnto eternall life, and the thyrste of our boyling conscience quenched, and finally wherby the harts of the faythfull be replenished with vnspeakeable ioy, and be corroborated and strengthened vnto all workes of godlines. We are many (sayth S. Paule) one bread and one body, all we which doe participate of one breade,*and one cuppe▪ And Christ sayth, Eate ye, this is my body. And drinke ye this is my bloud.* And I am the liuing breade which came downe from heauen. He that eateth me, shall also liue for me.*Not as your fathers did eate Manna in the desert and are dead: He that eateth me, shall also liue for me.

Thus therefore true bread and true wine remaynfull in the Eucharist vntill they be consumed of the faythfull to be signes & as seales vnto vs annexed vnto Gods promises making vs certayne of Gods gifts towardes vs.* Also Christ remaineth in them, & they in Christ, which eate his flesh, & drinke his bloud, as Christ himselfe hath promised. They that eat my flesh & drinke my bloud abide in me, & I in them. Moreouer he abideth also in them which worthely receiueth the outward sacrament, neither doth he depart so soone as the sacramentes is consumed, but continually a^lbideth, feeding and nourishing vs so long as we remayne bodies of that head, & mēbers of the same. I acknowledge not here the naturall body of Christ, which is only spirituall, intelligible, and vnsensible, hauing no distinctiō of mēbers & partes in it: but that body onely I

acknowledge, & worship, which was borne of the virgin, which suffred for vs, which is visible, palpable, & hath all the forme & shape and partes of the true naturall body of man.

Christ spake not these wordes of any vncertayne substance, but of the certayne substance of bread, which he then held in his hands & shewed his disciples whē he sayd: * Eat ye, this is my body: and likewise of the cup: when he sayd: Drinke ye, this is my bloud: meaning verely of that bread which by nature is vsuall and common with vs, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the vniting of many graynes together made by man, & by mans hand brought to that visible shape being of a round compasse & without all sense or life, whiche nourisheth the bodye, and strengtheneth the hart of man: Of this same bread (I say) and not of any vncertaine and wandring substance the old fathers say that Christ spake these wordes: Eate ye, this is my body. * And likewise also of the wine which is the creature and fruite of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, & maketh mens hart mery, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake, drinke ye, this is my bloud. And so the olde Doctors doe call this speaking of Christ, tropicall, figuratiue, anagogicall, allegoricall, which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread & wyne doe remayne and be receiued of the faythfull, yet notwithstanding Christ chaunged the appellation thereof, & called the bread by the name of his flesh, & the wine by the name of his bloud, non rei veritate, sed significāte misterio. i. not that it is so in verye deede, but signified in a misterye. So that wee shoulde consider, not what they bee in theyr owne nature. But what they import to vs and signify, and should vnderstand the Sacrament not carnally, but spiritually, and shoulde, attend not to the visible nature of the Sacraments, neither haue respect onely to the outward bread. & [Page 1432](#) cup, thinkyng to see there with our eye, no other thinges but onely bread and wyne, but that lifyng vp our mynds we should looke vp to the bloud of Christ with our fayth, * should touche hym with our mynde, and receiue him with our inward man, and that beyng lyke Egles in this lyfe, we should flye vp into heauen in our heartes, where that Lambe is resident at the right hand of hys father, * which taketh away the sinnes of the world, by whose stripes we are made whole, by whose passion we are filled at hys table, and whose bloud we receiuyng out of his holy side, do lyue for euer beyng made the ghests of Christ, hauing him dwellyng in vs through the grace of his true nature, and through the vertue and efficacie of his whole passion, beyng no lesse assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually vnto eternall lyfe by Christes flesh crucified, and by hys bloudshed, the true food of our myndes, then that our bodies be fed with meat and drinke in this lyfe: and hereof this sayd mysticall bread on the table of Christ, & the mysticall wyne, beyng administred and receyued after the institution of Christ, be to vs a memoriall, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, * and a seale.

And thereof is it that Christ sayth not thus: This is my body, eate ye: but after he had biddē them eate, then he said: This is my body which shalbe geuē for you. Which is to mean, as though he should say: In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thyng, but a mysticall matter, neither do you attend that which is set before our bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider & behold my body crucified for you, that eate and digest in your myndes. Chaw you vpon my passion, be fed w^t my death. This is the true meat, this is the drinke that moysteneth, wherwith you beyng truly fed, and inebriate, shall liue for euer. The bread and the wyne which be set before our eies are onely declarations of me, * but I my selfe am the eternall food. Wherefore whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, haue not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is my selfe to be meat for you of eternall lyfe.

The onely oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himselfe to God the father once to death vpon the aultar of the crosse for our redemption) was of such efficacy, y^t there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world,* but all y^e sacrifice of y^e old law he tooke away, performyng that in very deede, which they did signify and promise. Whosoeuer therfore shal fixe the hope of his salua^tiō in any other sacrifice, he falleth frō the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. (For) he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities.* All we lyke sheepe haue wandered astray. Euery man hath turned after his owne way, and the Lord hath layd all our iniquities vpon him. (For he) hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of Goates or Calues, but by his own blood,*finding eternall redemption: (And) hath entered into heauen, to appeare now in the sight of God for vs, not to offer hymselfe oftentimes (for so should he haue suffred many times) but now hath he appeared once to put away sinne, through hys owne oblation. And as it is appoynted to all men once to dye, so also Christ once was offered.*Who offering vp one oblation for sinnes, sitteth now for euer on the right hand of God. For by one oblation hath he made perfect for euer those that be sanctified. (For) where is remission of sinnes, there is now no more oblation for sinne (but this only sacrifice of Christ) whosoeuer shall seeke any other sacrifice propitiatory for sinne,* maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validitie, force, or efficacie. For if it be sufficient to remit sinnes, what neede is there of any other? For the necessitie of another, argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God graunt that we may truly leaue to one sacrifice of Christ, and that wee to hym agayne may repay our sacrifices of thanksgeuing, of prayse, of confessing hys name, of true amendment, of repentaunce, of mercifulnes towards our neighbors, and of all other good workes of charitie.* For by such sacrifices we shall declare our selues neither ingratefull to God, nor altogether vnworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ. And thus you haue out of the testimonies of holy scripture, and of the ancient Doctors of the Church, the true and sincere vse of the Lordes holy supper, and the fruite of the true sacrifice of Christ. Which whosoeuer thorough captious or wrested interpretations, or by mens traditions, shal go about otherwise then Christ ordeined them, to alter or trāsubstantiate, he shall aunswere to Christ in the latter day, when he shal vnderstand (but then to late) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal lyfe he hath eaten and dronken eternall damnation to hymselfe.

West.

Because we will not consume and spend the tyme in waste, this your writyng which you exhibite, hereafter shall be read in hys place. In the meane season let vs now fall to the Arguments.

Ched.

The Scriptures in many places doe affirme,* that Christ gaue hys natural body. Mat. 26. Mark. 14. Luk. 22 Ergo,* I doe conclude that the naturall body is in the Sacrament.

Cran.

To your argument I aunswer: If you vnderstand by the body natural (organicum) that is, hauyng such proportion and members as he had liuyng here, then I aunswer negatiuely.

Furthermore, concernyng the Euangelists, thus I say and graunt, that Christ tooke bread and called it hys body.

Ched.

The text of the Scripture maketh agaynst you: for the circumstaunce thereto annexed doth teach vs, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth vs what manner of body it is, and sayth: The same body which shall be geuen.

Ba- That thyng is here conteyned, that is geuen for vs.*

ro- But the substance of bread is not geuen for vs.

co. Ergo, the substance of bread is not here conteyned.*

Cran.

I vnderstand not yet what you meane by this word [conteined]: If ye meane really, then I deny your Maior.

Ched.

The Maior is the text of scripture. He that denyeth the Maior, denyeth the scripture. For the Scripture sayth: This is my body which shall be geuen for you.

Cran.

I graunt he sayd it was his body that should be geuen,* but he sayd it was not his body which is here conteyned: but the body (sayth he) that shall be geuen for you. As though he should say: This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the sheading of my bloud. What wyll ye saye then? is the bread the breakyng, and the cup the sheddyng of the bloud really? If you so say, I deny it.

Ched▪

If you aske what is the thyng therein conteined, because his apostles should not dout what body it was that should be geuen, he sayth: This is my body which shall be geuen for you, and my bloud which shall be shed for many. Ergo, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was geuen, and the same bloud which was shed. And here I vrge the scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no fayned, no spirituall body, nor body in fayth, but the substance of the body.

Cran.

You must prooue that it is containd: but Christ said not which is contained. He gaue bread, and called that his body. I sticke not in the wordes of the Scripture, but in your word which is fayned and imagined of your selfe.

Ched.

When Christ tooke bread and brake it, what gaue he?

Cran.

He gaue bread. The bread sacramentally & his body spiritually, and the bread there he called hys body.

Ched.

This answer is agaynst the Scripture, which sayth that he gaue his body.

Cran.

It did signify that which he did eate.

Ched▪

They did not eate the body as the Capernaïtes dyd vnderstand it, but the self same body which was geuen for the sinnes of the world. Ergo, it was his body which shold be geuen, and hys bloud which should be shed.

¶In some other copies I finde this Argument to be made by Chedsey.

- Ba- The same body is in the sacrament, which was geuē for vs on the crosse.*
- ro- But bread was not geuen on the crosse for vs:
- co. Ergo, bread is not geuen in the sacrament.*

Cran.

I deny the Maior, which is, that the same naturall body is geuen in the sacrament, which was geuen on the crosse, except you vnderstand it spiritually. And after he• denied also the argument as vtterly naught, as he myght wel do, the Maior in y^e second figure beyng not vniuersal.

When M. Chedsey had put forth his Argument, and prosecuted the same, and Doct. Cranmer answered as before is shewed, Doctor Oglethorpe, one of those Doctors which the Prolocutor called Censores (belike to be Arbiters to order the disputations) sayd on this wyse.*

D. Ogle.

You come in stil with one euasion or starting hole to flee too. He vrgeth the scriptures, sayeng y^e Christ gaue his very bodye. You say that he gaue his body in bread. Quo modo praedicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est praedicatio, paⁿis est corpus.

Cranmer.

You should say, Quale corpus. I aunswer to the question: It is the same body which was borne of the virgin, was crucified, ascended: but tropically, & by a figure. And so I say, Panis est corpus, is a figuratiue speache, speaking sacramentally, for it is a sacrament of his body.

Oglethorpe.

This word body beyng praedicatum. doth signifie [Page 1433](#) substance.*

But substantia is not predicated denominatiuely:

Ergo, it is an essentiall predication, and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cran.

Substantia may be predicated denominatiuely in an allegory or in a metaphore, or in a figuratiue locution.

Ogle.

It is not a likely thing that Christ hath lesse care for his spouse the church, then a wise housholder hath for hys family in makyng hys will or testament.

Cran.

Your reason is drawne out of the affaires of men, and not taken out of the holy scriptures.

Ogle.

But no householder maketh hys Testament after that sort.

Cran.

Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it so it be vnderstood and perceiued? I say Christ did vse figuratiue speach in no place more, then in his sacraments, and specially in this his supper.

Ogle.

No man of purpose doth vse tropes in his testamēt, for if he doe, he deceyueth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therfore Christ vseth none here.

Cran.

Yes, he may vse them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogle.

The good man of the house hath a respect that hys heyres after his departure, may lyue in quiet and without brablyng.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do vse tropes:

Therfore (I say) he vseth no tropes.

Cran.

I deny your Minor.

West.

Augustine in his booke entituled, De vnitate Ecclesiae, the x. chap. hath these wordes followyng.*
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Quid hoc est rogo▪ cum verba nouissima hominis morientis audiantur itur ad inferos, nemo eum dicit esse mentitum, & illius non iudicatur haeres qui fortè ea contempserat. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram dei, si vel non credentes, vel contemnètes, expulerimus verba nouissima & vnici filij Dei & domini nostri saluatoris, & ituri in coelum & inde prospecturi quis ea negligat, quis non obseruet,*& inde venturi vt de omnibus iudicet?

That is to say.

What a thing is this I pray you? when the last words of one lying on hys death bed are heard: which is ready to go to his graue, no man sayth that he hath made a lye: and he is not accompted hys heyre, which regardeth not those words. How shal we then escape gods wrath, if either not beleuing or not regardyng, we shall reiect the last wordes both of the only sonne of God, and also of our lord and sauior, both ascending into heauen, & beholding from thence who despiseth, and who obserueth them not, & so shal come from thence to iudge all men?

The argument is thus formed.

Ba- Whosoeuer sayth that the Testator lyed, is a wicked heyre.*
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ba- But whosoeuer sayeth that Christ spake by figures, sayth that he did lye:

ra. Ergo, whosoeuer sayeth that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heyre.

Cran.

I deny the Minor. As who say it is necessary that he which vseth to speake by tropes and figures,* should lie in so doying.

Ogle.

Your iudgement is disagreeyng with all churches.

Cran.

Nay, I disagree with the papisticall church.

Ogle.

This you do through the ignorance of Logike.

Cran.

Nay, this you say through the ignorance of the Doctours.

Weston.

I will go playnly to worke by Scriptures. What tooke he?

Cran.

Bread,

West.

What gaue he?

Cran.

Bread.

West.

What brake he?

Cran.

Bread.

West.

What did they eate?

Cran.

Bread.

West.

He gaue bread, therefore he gaue not his body.

*He gaue not his body, therefore it is not his body verily in deed and in truth.

Cran.

I deny the argument.

Cole.

This argument holdeth a disparatis. It is bread: Ergo, * it is not the body, and it is such an argument or reason, as cannot be dissolued.

Cran.

The lyke argument may be made. He is a rocke: Ergo, he is not Christ.

Cole.

It is not lyke.

West.

He gaue not his body in deede: Ergo, it was not his body in deed.

Cran.

He gaue his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And in uery deede setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body.

West.

Why? then the scripture is false. *

Cran.

Nay, the scripture is most true.

West.

This sayth Chrisostome Homil. 61. ad populum Antiochenum▪ Necessarium est dilectissimi, mysteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem sit, & quare sit datum, & quae rei vtilitas, &c.

That is to say.

Needfull it is (deare frends) to tel you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherfore it is geuen,* and what profite there is of the thing. We are one body and members of his flesh, and of hys bones. We that be in the mysterie, let vs follow that thyng which was spoken. Wherfore that we may become this thyng, not only by loue, but also that we may become one with that flesh in deede, that is brought to passe by this foode which hee gaue vnto vs, mynding to shew his great good will that he hath toward vs: and therefore he mixed hymselfe with vs, and vnited his own body with vs, that we should be made all as one thyng together, as a body ioyned and annexed to the head, for this is a token of most ardent and perfect loue. And the same thyng Iob also insinuatyng, sayd of hys seruaunts, of whom he was desired aboue measure, in so much that they, shewyng their great desire toward him, sayde: who shall geue vnto vs to be filled with his fleshe? Therefore also Christ dyd the same, who, to induce vs into a greater loue toward hym, and to declare hys desire toward vs, dyd not onely geue hymselfe to be seene of them y^t would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered vs to fasten our teeth in hys flesh, and to be vnited together, and so to fill all our desire. Lyke Lyons therfore, as breathyng fire, let vs go from that table, beyng made terrible to the deuil, remembryng our head in our mynde, & his charitie which he shewed vnto vs. For parents many tymes geue they• children to other to be fed, but I doe not so (sayth he) but feed you with myne owne fleshe, and set my selfe before you, desiryng to make you all iolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to looke for thynges to come, who here geue my selfe to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother, I tooke flesh & bloud for you. Agayne my flesh and bloud by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliuer vnto you.

Thus much out of Chrysostome. Out of which words I make this argument.

The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother & kinsman, is geuen of Christ to vs to be eaten.*

Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by hys true, naturall, and organicall flesh:

Ergo, his true, naturall, and organicall flesh, is geuen to vs to be eaten.

Cran.

I graunt the consequence, and the consequent.*

West.

Therefore we eate it with our mouth.

Cran.

I deny it. We eate it through fayth.

West.

He gaue vs the same flesh to eate, wherby he became our brother and kinsman.

But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, naturall and organical flesh:

Therefore he gaue his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten.

Cran.

I graunt he tooke and gaue the same true, naturall, and organical flesh wherin he suffered, and yet he feedeth spiritually, and that flesh is receyued spiritually.

Weston.

He gaue vs the same fleshe which he tooke of the Uirgin:*

But he tooke not the true flesh of the Uirgine spiritually, or in a figure:

Ergo, he gaue his true naturall flesh not spiritually.

Cran.

Christ gaue to vs his owne naturall fleshe, the same wherin he suffred, but feedeth vs spiritually.*

West.

Chrysostome is against you. Homil. 83. in 26. cap. Mat. where he sayth: *Veniat tibi in mentem quo sis honore honoratus, qua mensa fruaris. Ea nam {que} re nos alimur, quā angeli▪ &c.

That is to say.

Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honored, and what table thou sittest at: for wyth the same thyng we are nourished, which the angels do behold and tremble at: neither are they able to behold it w^tout great feare, for the brightnesse which commeth therof: and we be brought and compact into one heape or masse with hym. Being together one bodye of Christ, and

one flesh w^t him. Who shal speake the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his prayes? What Pastor hath euer nourished hys sheepe wyth hys owne members? Manye mothers haue put foorth their Infantes after their byrth, to other Nurses: which he would not do, but feedeth vs w^t hys owne body, & conioyneth and vniteth vs to himselfe.

Wherupon I gather this argument.

[Page 1434](#) Like as Mothers nurse their children with mylke: so Christ nourished vs with his body.

But mothers do not nourish their Infants spiritually with their mylke: [*](#)

Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that bee hys, spiritually with hys bloud.

Cran.

He gaue vs the wyne for his bloud.

West.

If he gaue the wyne for his bloud (as you say) then he gaue lesse then mothers do geue.

But Chrysostome affirmeth that hee gaue more then mothers geue.

Therefore he gaue not the wyne for his bloud.

Cran.

[*](#) You peruert myne aunswer. He gaue wyne, yet the bloud is considered therein. As for example. Whē he geueth Baptisme, we consider not the water, but the holy Ghost, and remission of sinnes. We receiue with the mouth y^e Sacrament: but the thyng and the matter of the Sacrament we receiue by fayth.

West.

When Christ sayd, eate ye, whether ment hee by the mouth or by fayth?

Cran.

He ment that we should receiue the body by fayth, the bread by the mouth.

West.

[*](#) Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cran.

That I deny.

West.

I prooue it out of Chrysostome, writyng vpon the fifty Psalme.

*Erubescit fieri nutrix, quae facta est mater. Christus autem nō ita ipse nutritor est noster: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos pascit, & pro potu suum sanguinem nobis propinauit. Item in 26. Mathaei, Homil. 83. Non enim sufficit ipsi hominem fieri, flagellis interim caedi: *sed nos secum in vnam vt ita dicam, massam reducit, neque id fide solum, sed reipsa nos corpus suum efficit?

That is to say.

She that is a mother, shameth sometyme to play the Nurse. But Christ our Nurse doth not so play with vs. Therefore in stead of meate he feedeth vs with his owne flesh, and in stead of drinke he feedeth vs with hys owne bloud. Likewise, vpon the 26. chap. of Mathew, the 83. homily, he saith: For it shal not be enough for him to become man, and in the meane whyle to be whipped: but he doth bring vs into one masse or lumpe with himself (as I may so call it) and maketh vs his body not by faith alone, but also in very deed.

Cran.

I graunt: We make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with mouth we deny.

West.

*Chrysost. 2. Cor. cap. 13. Homil. 29. hath these wordes: Non vulgarem honorem consequutum est os nostrum, accipiens corpus dominicū. i. No little honor is geuen to our mouth, receiuing the body of the Lord.

Cran.

This I say, that Christ entreth into vs both by our eares & by our eyes. With our mouth we receiue the body of Christ, and teare it with our teeth, that is to say, the Sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirme that the vertue of the sacrament is much: & therefore Chrysostom many tymes speaketh of sacramēts no otherwyse, * then of Christ hymselfe, as I could prooue, if I might haue liberty to speake, by many places of Chrysostom, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ.

*With the which worde of the sacrament of the body, &c. D. Cole beyng highly offended, denied it to be the Sacrament of the body of Christ, saue onely of the mysticall body which is the Church.

Cran.

And why should we doubt to call it the Sacrament of the body of Christ offered vpon the Crosse, seeyng both Christ and the auncient Fathers do so call it?

Cole.

How gather you that of Chrysostome?

Cran.

Chrysostome declareth hymselfe. Lib. 3. De Sacerdotio, cap. 3. O miraculum, O Dei in nos beneuolentia, qui sursum sedet ad dextram patris, sacrificij tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditur{que} lambere cupientibus eum. Fit autem id nullis praestigijs, sed apertis & circumspiciētibus circumstantium omnium oculis.

That is to say.

O myracle, O the good wil of God towards vs, which sitteth aboue at the right hand of the father, and is holdē in mens hands at the sacrifice tyme, & is geuen to feed vpon, to them that are desirous of him. And that is brought to passe by no subtiltie or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers by.

Thus ye heare Christ is seene here in earth euery day, is touched, is torne with the teeth, y^t our tong is red wyth his bloud: which no man hauing any iudgement will say or thinke to be spoken without trope or figure,

West.

What miracle is it if it be not his body: & if he speake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body?

But harken what Chrysostome sayth: *Homil. 34. Quod summo honore dignum est, id tibi in terra ostendo. Nam quemadmodum in regijs non parietes, non lectus aureus, sed regium corpus in throno sedens omnium praestantissimum est: ita quoque in coelis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non Angelos, non Archangelos, non coelos coelorum, *sed ipsum horum omnium Dominum tibi ostendo. Animaduertis quonam pacto quod omnium maximum est atque praecipuum in terra, non conspicaris tantum sed tangis, neque solum tangis, sed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Absterge igitur ab omni sorde animam tuam.

That is to say.

I shew foorth that thing on the earth vnto thee, which is woorthy the greatest honor. For lyke as in the pallace of kyngs, neither the walles, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of Kings sitting vnder the cloth of estate, and royall seat of Maiestie, is of all things els the most excellent: so is in lyke maner, the kings body in heauen, which is now set before vs on earth. I shew thee neither Angels nor archangels, nor the heauen of heauens, but the very Lord & maister of all these things. Thou perceiuest after what sort thou doest not onely behold, but touchest, and not onely

touchest, but eatest that which on the earth is the greatest and chieftest thyng of all other, and when thou hast receued the same, thou goest home: Wherefore clense thy soule from all vncleannesse.

Upon this, I conclude that the body of Christ is shewed vs vpon the earth.

Cran.

What? vpon the earth? no man seeth Christ vpon the earth? He is seene with the eyes of our mynde,* wyth fayth and spirit.

West.

I pray you what is it that seemeth worthy hyghest honour on the earth? It is the Sacrament or els the body of Christ.

Cran.

Chrysostome speaketh of the sacrament, and the body of Christ is shewed forth in the Sacrament.

Weston.

Ergo, then the Sacrament is woorthy greatest honour.

Cran.

I deny the Argument.

West.

That thyng is shewed forth, and is now in the earth [ostenditur &*est] which is worthy highest honor.

But, only the body of Christ is worthy highest honor?

Ergo, the body of Christ is now on the earth.

Cran.

I aunswer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in a Sacrament, and as the holy Ghost is in the water of Baptisme.

West.

Chrysostome sayth [ostendo [I shew forth which noteth a substance to be present.

Cran.

That is to be vnderstood Sacramentally.

West.

He sayth [ostendo in terra] I shew forth on the earth,* declaryng also the place where.

Cran.

That is to be vnderstood figuratiuely.

Weston.

He is shewed foorth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cran.

Your Maior and conclusion are all one.

Weston.

But the Maior is true: Ergo, the conclusion also is true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of most high honour.

But no figure is worthy of highest honour:

Ergo, that which is on the earth is no figure.

Cran.

I aunswer, that is true Sacramentally.

¶Here Weston crieth to hym that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his wordes. Which when he went about to doe, such was the noyse and crying out in the schoole, that his mylde voyce could not bee heard.* For when he went about to declare to the people how y^e Prolocutor did not well english the words of Chrysostome, vsing for ostenditur in terra, he is shewed foorth on the earth, est in terra, he is on the earth, where as Chrysostome hath not [est] nor any such word of beyng on the earth, but only of shewyng, as the grace of the holy Ghost, in baptismo ostenditur, i. is shewed forth in Baptisme: and oftentimes did inculcate this word ostēditur. Then y^e Prolocutor stretching foorth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the schoole with hissing, clappynge of hands,* and noyse, calling him indoctum, imperitum, impudentem, i. vnlearned, vnskilful, impudent. Which impudent and reprochfull wordes, this reuerend man most patiently and meekely did abyde, as one that had bene inured

wyth the suffryng of such lyke reproches. And when the Prolocutor not yet satisfied with this rude and vnseemely demeanor, did vrge and call vpon him to answer the argument. Thē he bade the Notary repeat his words agayne.

Notary.

That which is worthy most high honour, here I [Page 1435](#) shew forth to thee in earth.

The body of Christ is worthy highest honor.

Ergo, he sheweth forth the body of Christ here in earth.

Cran.

That is shewed forth here on the earth which may be seene,* which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but these things be not true of the body.

Cole.

Why should not these thyngs be true of the bodye of Christ.

Cran.

The Maior out of Chrysostome is true, meaning of the Sacrament. For in the Sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figuratiue body is set forth.

Weston.

Shewe me somewhat in earth woorthy greatest honour.

Cran.

I cannot, but in the sacrament onely.

West.

Ergo, the Sacrament is worthy greatest honor.

Cran.

So it is.

Iudges.

Let it be written.

Cran.

I pray you let my aunswer be written likewyse: I affirme that the body of Christ is shewed forth vnto vs. It is our fayth that seeth Christ.

West.

Ostendo tibi. i. I shew it to thee, sayth Chrysostome, not to thy fayth.

Cran.

He speaketh sacramentally.

West.

Ergo, Chrysostome lyeth. For he speaking of shewyng, saith: Ego Chrysostomus ostendo. i. I Chrysostome doe shew. But he can shew nothing sacramentally.

Ched.

By force of argument we are brought to this poynt that the body of Christ is prooued to be on earth, not onely sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour. The reason is indissoluble.

Cran.

I neuer heard a more vayne argument, & it is most vayne: also it hath myne answer vnto it.

Ched.

Wil you affirme that it is absurd which Chrysostom sayth, that the body of Christ is touched?

I touch the body of Christ in the Sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.*

Thomas touched Christ, and said Dominus meus, Deus meus, my Lord, my God:

Ergo, that which he touched, was the Lord God.

¶ This Argument as I receyued it out of the Notaries booke, is not formall: but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus:

Da- As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament.

ti- Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally:

si. Ergo, we touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.

Cran.

*I deny your Argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it sound doctrine to affirme that God is touched.

Ched.

This is because of the vnion: so that God is sayd to be touched, when Christ which is both God and man, is touched.

*Tertullian De carnis resurrectione, sayth: Videamus de propria Christiani hominis forma, quanta huic substantiae friuolae & sordidae apud deum praerogatiua sit. Etsi sufficeret illi quod nulla omnino anima salutem posset adipisci nisi dum est in carne, crediderit: adeò caro salutis cardo est, de qua cum anima deo alligatur, ipsa est quae efficit, vt anima alligari possit: sed & caro abluatur, *vt anima emaculetur: caro inungitur, vt anima consecratur: signatur, vt anima muniatur: caro manus impositione adumbratur, vt anima spiritu illuminetur, caro corpore & sanguine Christi vescitur, vt anima de deo saginetur.

That is to say.

Let vs consider as concerning the proper forme of the christian man, what great prerogatiue this vaine & foule substaunce of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soule could euer get saluation, vnlesse it beleeeue while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh auayleth to saluation, by the which flesh it commeth, that where as the soule so is linked vnto god, it is the sayd flesh that causeth the soule to be linked: yet the flesh moreouer is wasshed, that the soule may be cleansed: the flesh is annoynted that the soule may be consecrated, the flesh is signed that the soule may be defended, the fleshe is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soule may be illuminated with the spirit: the flesh doth eate the body and bloud of Christ, that the soule may be fed of God. Wherupon I gather this argument.

The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

Ergo, the body of Christ is eaten with the mouth.

Item Phocëus 1. ad Cor. cap. 11. vpon these words: Reus erit corporis & sanguinis, *&c.

〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉. **i. Quod ait, reus corporis & sanguinis, istud declarat quod sicuti Iudas ipsum quidem tradidit, Iudaei contumeliosè in ipsum insaniebant: sic ipsum inhonorant qui sanctissimum ipsius corpus impuris manibus suscipiunt, tanquam Iudaei ipsi tenent & execrabili ore recipiunt. Quòd crebro mentionem facit corporis & sanguinis Domini, manifestat quòd non sit simplex homo qui sacrificatur, sed ipse Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per haec quidem ipsos perterrefaciens.

That is to say.

Where as he sayth: Is guilty of the body and bloud: this he declareth, that like as Iudas betraied him, & the Iews were fierce and spitefull agaynst hym: so do they dishonor him which receiue his holy body with their impure hands and as the Iewes did hold him then, do now receyue hym with vnpure mouthes. And where as hee often maketh mention of the body & bloud of the Lord, he declareth that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but euen the Lord hymself, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) makyng them afrayd.

Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered) the body of Christ is touched with the hands.

Cranmer.

You vouche two authors agaynst me vpon sundry thyngs. First I must aunswer Tertullian, and then the other.

Ched.

They tend both to one meanyng.

Cran.

Unto Tertullian I answer (because our disputatiō is wandring and vncertayne) that he calleth that the flesh which is the Sacrament.* For although God worke all thyngs in vs inuisibly beyond mans reach: yet they are so manifest, that they may be seene, and perceyued of euery sense. Therefore he setteth forth Baptisme, vnction, and last of all the supper of the Lord vnto vs, which he gaue to signify his operation in vs. The flesh liueth by the bread, but the soule is inwardly fed by Christ.

Weston.

Sticke to those wordes of Tertullian: Corpus vescitur vt anima saginetur, id est,* The body eateth that the soul may be fed.

Ched.

The fleshe eateth the body of Christ, that the soule may be fed therewith.

West.

Here you see two kyndes of foode: of the soule and of the body.

Ched.

He sayeth, that not onely the soule, but the fleshe is also fed.

Cran.

The soule is fed with the body of Christ, the bodye with the sacrament.

Ched.

Is the soule fed with the body of Christ, & not with the sacrament?

Cran.

Read that which followeth, and you shall perceyue that by thyngs externall,* an operation internall is vnderstood. Inwardly we eat Christes body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, an other inwardly. Like as in Baptisme the external element wherby the body is washed, is one: so the internal thyng wherby the soule is clensed, is another.

Ched.

The soule is fed by that which the body eateth.

But the soule is fed by the flesh of Christ:

Ergo. the body eateth the flesh of Christ.

Cran.

We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eate Christes bodye: Outwardly we eate the Sacrament.

Ched.

I will repeate the Argument.

*The flesh eateth Christes body, that the soule may be fed therewith.

The soule is not fedde with the Sacrament, but with Christes body.

Ergo, the flesh eateth the body of Christ.

Cran.

The Sacrament is one thing, the matter of the Sacrament is another. Outwardly we receyue the Sacrament: Inwardly we eate the body of Christ.

Ched.

I prooue that we receyue that outwardly wherwith the soule is fed.

The soule is fed with the body of Christ.*

Ergo, we eate the body of Christ outwardly.

The flesh eateth Christ his body,*

Ergo, the soule is fed therewith.

Cranmer.

The flesh (I say) eateth the Sacrament. It eateth not Christes body.* For Tertullian speaketh of the Sacrament: and the place hath not [inde] thereof, but [de deo] of God.

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Ched.

What say ye to Phoceus saying: They which receyue the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lordes bloude, as Iudas was.

West.

That which foloweth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, where as he sayeth: Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quos opera coniungit. i. They cannot be separated in reward, whom one worke ioyneth together.

But manducation is the worke or labour, Ergo, &c.

¶The forme of this Argument may be thus collected.

- Di- One worke or labour ioyneth body & soule together.
- i- Manducation is a worke or labour:
- j. Ergo, one manducation ioyneth together both bodye and soule.

*To the Maier of which Argument, thus it may be answered: expounding the saying of Tertullian, vna opera coniungit, sed non idem operandi modus. Agayne, opera here in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions.

*Cran.

Your authoritie (I suppose) is taken out of the booke, De resurrectione carnis. i. of the resurrection of the flesh: & the meaning therof is this. Tertullia goeth about there to prooue that the flesh shall ryse agayne, because it is ioyned together in one worke with the soule. Thorough Baptisme in this world, the body is washed, and the soule is washed: the body outwardly, the soule inwardly, the worke is one. In this worke they are ioyned. And he speketh of signes.

West

He speaketh of eatyng in a signe.

Ergo, the reward is in a signe.

Cran.

They are coupled in one worke, namely, in the Sacrament.

West.

There are two workes:

Ergo, there are two rewards.

I• the worke be in a figure.

Ergo, the reward is in a figure.

Cran.

He speaketh not of two workes. Two workes are but one worke. And yet he saith not, quos vna opera coniungit. i. Whome one worke ioyneth together, but opera. i. A worke: as in Baptisme the soule and the body are ioyned in vnderstandyng.

West.

The flesh and soule shall haue one and the selfe same reward, because they haue one worke.

Cran.

Because they be ioyned together in one worke.

Tres.

For as much as the reuerend Doctors here haue impugned,* and ouerthrown your assertion & your aunswers sufficiently: I will fall to an other matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in fewe woordes, agaynst a certayne sequele of your opinion. The sequele is this: that betwene vs and Christ there is no further coniunction, whiles we receiue the Eucharist, then a coniunction of the mynd, or a spirituall coniunction, whereby we are vnited & knit vnto Christ thorough faith & loue. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substaunce that you vtterly deny. Wherupon in very deed you leaue but a spiritual vnion and ioyning together of mind. Howbeit you would seeme to think otherwise by your subtile answers. But I will declare by manifest testimonies of the fathers, y^t this your sequele which you accompt so sure, is far

wide from the truth. And I will beginne with S. Hillary, who is both an ancient and a learned author. For disputyng agaynst the Arrians, octauo de Trinitate, he sayeth that this was their opinion: that the father and the sonne are conioyned only through vnity of wil. Whereupon Arrius him selfe, when scripture was alledged agaynst hym, dyd (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholike church hath alwayes beleued and euer maintayned, that Christ is one with the father in nature, and not by consent of wil only. To y^e prooffe whereof, when the Catholikes vouched this testimony of Iohn, Pater & ego vnum sumus. i. The father and I are one. The Arrians aunswered, that [vnum sumus] was to bee vnderstand by the assent of their wyls, and agreement of their mynds, not by vnity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now a dais, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hillary goyng on, and proouing the natural coniunctiō betwene the father and the sonne a fortiori,* questioneth with his aduersaries after this maner, I demand of them now which will needes haue the vnitie of will onely, betwene the father and the sonne, whether Christ be now in vs truly by nature, or onely by the agreement of wyls? If (sayth he) the worde be incarnate in very deed, and we receiue at the Lordes table the word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in vs naturally, who beyng borne man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh vpon him that is now inseparable, and hath also myngled y^e nature of his owne flesh, vnto the nature of eternitie vnder the Sacrament of hys flesh, to be communicated vnto vs.* Thus much hath Hillary. Whereupon I aske of you this question. How Christ dwelleth now in vs? accordyng to fayth, or according to nature?

Cran.

I say that Christ dwelleth derely in vs carnally and naturally,* for that he hath taken of the Uirgin our flesh vpon him, and because he hath communicated hys nature vnto vs.

Tres.

Bucer contra Abrincensem,* referreth these words onely to the Eucharist, saying: Christ doth exhibite all this vnto vs in his holy supper, & according to the holy fathers (saith he) Christ liueth therby in vs, not only by fayth and loue, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we ioyned to Christ onely by a spirituall vnion, (as you suppose) but also by a corporall and carnall vnion.

Cran.

I knowe that M. Bucer was a learned man. But your fayth is in good case, which leaneth vpon Bucer.

Tres.

I do not bring Bucer as a Patron of our fayth, but because he is a man of your sort, & yet bringeth this place of Hillary for that vnion which we haue by the sacrament, and confesseth that by it we are carnally vnited to Christ, where as you thinke that we are ioined by it, only through faith and loue.

Cran.

I say that Christ was communicated vnto vs,* not onely by fayth, but in very deed also when he was borne of the virgin. We haue fellowship with Christ, when we are vnited in the vnity of the church, when we are made fleshe of hys flesh, & bones of his bones: and so we are vnited in the communion, in baptisme, and in fayth.

Tres.

I pray you what fellowship haue we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turkes & Iewes therein ioyned with hym? For they are men as we are, and are ioyned with him in mans nature, in that he was born of a woman, I speake now of a more nere vnitie. We are made one with Christ by the communion in a perfect vnitie.

Cran.

*We are made so, I graunt: but we are made so also by baptisme: and the vnity in baptisme is perfect.

Tres.

We are not made one by baptisme in a perfect vnity, as Hillary there speaketh, but by the communiō, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewyse by Baptisme: wherefore you vnderstand not Hillary. You shal heare his words, which are these.*He had now declared afore the Sacrament of his perfect vnion, saying: As the liuing father sent me, so do I also liue by the father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also lyue through me. And a little after that he writeth thus: This truly is the cause of our life, that we haue Christ dwellyng by his flesh in vs that are fleshly, which also by him shal liue in such sort as he liueth by his father. Wherefore, of these words it is manifest, that we obtaine this perfect vnity by meanes of the sacrament, & that Christ by it is carnally vnited vnto vs.

Cran.

Nay Hillary in that same place doth teach,* that it is done by baptisme: and that doctrine is not to be suffred in the Church, which teacheth, y^t we are not ioyned to Christ by Baptisme.

West.

Repeat the Argument.

Cran.

You must first make an Argument.

Tres.

It is made already,* but it shall be made agayne in this forme.

Da- As Christ liueth by his father, so they that eate Christes flesh, liue by the same flesh.

ti- But Christ liueth by the father, not only by fayth and loue, but naturally:

si. Ergo, we lyue not through the eating of Christes flesh by faith and loue onely, but naturally.

Cran.

We liue by Christ, not only by faith and loue, but eternally in deed.

Tresh.

Nay * naturally. I prooue it thus.

As Christ liueth by the Father▪ so lyue we by hys flesh eaten of vs:

But Christ liueth not by hys father onely by faith and loue, but naturally:

Therefore we do not lyue by eating of Christs flesh only by faith and loue (as you suppose) but naturally.

Cran.

The Minor is not true.

Tres.

This is the opinion of Arrius, that Christ is vnited to his father by coniunction of mynd, and not naturally.

Cran.

I say not so yet, neither do I thinke so. But I wil tel you what I like not in your Minor. You say that Christ doth not liue by his father, only by faith and loue: but I say that Christ liueth not at all by his faith.

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West.

Marke and consider well this word [by faith] least any occasion of cauilling be geuen.

Tres.

Let that worde [by faith] be omitted. Neither dyd I meane that Christ liueth by his father thorough faith. Yet the strength of the Argument remaineth in force.* For els Hillary doth not

con•ute y^e Arrians, except there be a greter coniunction betwene vs & Christ, when he is eaten of vs, then only a spiritual coniunction. You do only graunt a vnion. As for a carnall or naturall vnion of the substance of flesh, by which we are ioyned more then spiritually, you do not grant. But our lord Iesus geue you a better mind, and shew you the light of his truth, that you may returne into the way of righteousness.

West.

We came hether to dispute, and not to pray.

Tres.

Is it not lawfull to pray for them that erre?

West.

It is not lawfull yet. But proceed.

Tres.

Agayne, I reason thus: As Christ liueth by hys father, after the same maner do we lyue by the eating of hys flesh.

But Christ liueth not by his father onely in vntie of will,* but naturally:

Ergo, we do not lyue when we eate the flesh of Christ, only by fayth and vntie of will, but naturally.

Cran.

This is my faith, and it agreeth with the scripture: Christ liueth by his father naturally,* & maketh vs to lyue by himselfe in deede: naturally, and that not onely in the sacrament of the Eucharist, but also in Baptisme. For Infants, when they are baptised, do eate the flesh of Christ.

Weston.

Aunswer eyther to the whole argument, or to the partes therof. For this argument is strong and cannot be dissolved.

Cran.

This is the argument.

As Christ liueth by his father, after the same maner do we lyue by his flesh,* beyng eaten of vs:

But Christ liueth not by his father onely in vnitie of will, but naturally:

Ergo, we eating his flesh, do not lyue only by faith and loue, but naturally.

But the Maior is false: namely, that by the same maner we liue by Christ, as he liueth by his father.

West.

*Hillary sayth: after the same manner, vpon these words: he that eateth my flesh shal lyue by me. Ergo, Christ liueth by his father, and as he liueth by his father, after the same maner we shall lyue by his fleshe. Here you see, that Hillary saith, after the same maner.

Cran.

After the same manner, doth not signifie lyke in all things, but in deed and eternally: for so do we liue by Christ, and Christ liueth by his father. For in other respects Christ liueth otherwise by his father, then wee lyue by Christ.

West.

He liueth by his father naturally and eternally:

Ergo, we liue by Christ naturally, and eternally.

Cran.

We do not liue naturally, but by grace if you take naturally for the manner of nature. As Christ hath eternall lyfe of hys Father, so haue we of hym.

West.

I sticke to this word naturally.

Cran.

I meane it touching the truth of nature. For Christ liueth otherwise by his Father, then we lyue by Christ.

West.

Hillary in the 8. booke De Trinitate, denieth it when he sayth: he liueth therfore by his father, and as he liueth by his Father,* after the same manner we shall lyue by his flesh.

Cran.

We shall lyue after the same maner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ: for as he hath of his father the nature of eternitie, so shall we haue of him.

West.

Answer vnto the partes of the Argument.

As Christ liueth by his father, after the same manner shall we lyue by his flesh:*

But Christ doth not lyue by his father onely in vnitie of will, but naturally:

Ergo, we eating his flesh do not liue onely by faith and loue, but naturally.

Cran.

I graunt (as I said) we liue by Christ naturally: but I neuer heard that Christ liueth with his Father in vnitie of will onely.

West.

Because it semeth a meruaile vnto you, heare what Hillary sayth: These things are recited of vs to this ende: because the heretikes fayning an vnitie of wyll onely betweene the father and the sonne, did vse the example of our vnity with god• as though that we beyng vnited to the sonne, and by the sonne to the father onely by obedience and wyll of religion, had no proprietie of the naturall communion by the sacrament of the body and bloud.

But answer to the argument. Christ lyueth by his father naturally and eternally: therefore do we liue by Christ naturally and eternally.

Cran.

Cyrrill and Hillary do say, that Christ is vnited to vs not onely by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to vs hys owne nature,* and so is Christ made one with vs carnally and corporally, because he tooke our nature of the Uirgine Mary. And Hillary doth not onely say that Christ is naturally in vs, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the father: that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternitie or euerlastingnes. For as the worde receiuing our nature, did ioine it vnto himselfe in vnitie of person, and did cōmunicate vnto that our nature, the nature of his eternitie,* that like as he being the euerlasting word of the Father, had euerlasting life of the Father: euen so he gaue the same nature to hys flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with vs the same nature of eternitie, which he and the father haue, and that we should be one with them, not onely in wil & loue, but that we should be also partakers of y^e nature of euerlasting life.

West.

Hilary where he saith: Christ cōmunicated to vs his nature, he meaneth y^t, not by his natiuity, but by y^e sacrament.

Cranmer.

He hath communicated to vs his flesh by hys natiuitie.

West.

We haue communicated to him * our flesh when he was borne.

Cran.

Nay, he communicated to vs his flesh whē he was borne, and that I will shew you out of Cyrill vppon this place: Et homo factus est.

West.

Ergo, Christ being borne gaue vs his flesh.

Cran.

In his natiuity he made vs * partakers of his flesh.

West.

Write Sirs.

Cran.

Yea write.

Ched.

This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsifie it in your booke, because you could not draw it to confirme your purpose.

If Christ haue taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verely borne of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also wee receaue vnder the true mistery the fleshe of his body, by meanes wherof we shalbe one (for the father is in Christ, and Christ in vs) how shall that be called the vnitie of will, when the naturall propertie brought to passe by the Sacrament, is the Sacrament of vnitie? we must not speake in the sence of man, or of the worlde in matters concerning God: neither must wee peruersly wrast anye straunge or wicked sence out of the wholesome meaning of the holy scripture, through impudent and vile contentiō. Let vs read those thinges that are written, and let vs vnderstand those thinges that wee read, and then wee shall performe the duetie

of perfect fayth. For as touching that naturall and true being of Christ in vs except wee learne of him, wee speake foolishly and vngodly that thing that we doe speake: For he sayth: My flesh is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede: He that eateth my fleshe, and drinketh my bloud, abideth in me and I in him. As touching the veritie of his fleshe and bloud, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimonie of the Lord, and also by our fayth, it is verily flesh, and verily bloud.

Here you haue falsified Hillary,* for you haue set verò sub mysterio, for verè sub mysterio, we receiue truly vnder a mystery. Hillary thrise reporteth verè sub mysterio, and you interprete it twice verè sub mysterio, but the third tyme you haue verò for verè.

Cran.

Assuredly, I am not guilty of any deceite herein. It may be that the copy which I followed, had Sub vero mysterio, i. vnder a true mysterye: although touching y^e sense it differeth little. God I call to witnesse, I haue alway hated falsifieng, and if you had laisure and lust to heare false citations, I could recite vnto you vj. hundred.

West.

Here shall be shewed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basill, the other at Paris.

Cran.

I suppose that D. Smiths bookes hath vero.

Weston.

Here is Doctour Smith: let him aunswere for hymselfe.

M. Smith, M. Doctor: what say you for your selfe? speake if you know it.

¶Here Doctor Smith, eyther for the truth in hys booke alledged, or els astonied with Doctor Westons hasty calling, stayd to answer. For he onely put of his cappe, and kept silence.

West.

But your owne booke printed by Wolfe your owne Printer, hath vero.

Cran.

That Booke is taken from me, which easily myght [Page 1438](#) haue ended this controuersie. I am sure the booke of Decrees hath vero.

Cole.

Now you admit the booke of Decrees, when it maketh for you.*

Cran.

Touching the sence of the matter, there is little difference. The chaunge of one letter for an other, is but a small matter.

West.

No•s? Pastor (as you know) signifieth a Byshop, and Pistor signifieth a Baker, But Pastor shalbe Pistor, a Bishop shall be a Baker by this your chaunge of one letter. If verè and vero doe nothing chaunge the sence.

Cran.

Let it be so that in Pistor and Pastor one letter maketh some difference: Yet let Pistor be either a Baker or maker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sence.

Young.

This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth myght appeare. I perceiue that I must goe an other way to worke then I had thought.* It is a common saying: againste hym that denyeth principles, we must not dispute. Therefore that we may agree of the principles, I demaund whether there be any other body of Christ then his instrumentall body.

Cran.

There is no naturall body of Christe, but his organicall body.

Young.

Againe I demande whether sence & reason ought to geue place to faith.

Cran.

They ought.

Yong.

Thirdly, whether Christ be true, in all his wordes?

Cran.

Yea, he is most true, and trueth it selfe.

Yong.

Fourthly, whether Christ at his supper mineded to doe that which he spake or no?

Cran.

Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo: sed fecit Discipulis Sacramentum. That is: In saying he spake, but in sayinge hee made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples.

Yong.

Answer according to the truthe: whether did Christ that as God and man,*_ whych he spake, when he sayde: This is my body.

Cran.

This is a sophistical caullation: go plainly to work. There is some deceite in these questions. You seeke subtlenesse, leaue your craftie fetches.

Young.

I demaunde whether Christe by these woordes wrought any thing or no?

Cran.

He did institute the Sacrament.

Yong.

But answere, whether did he worke any thing?

Cran.

He did worke in instituting the Sacrament.

Yong.

Now I haue you: for before you said it was a figuratiue speache.

*_But a figure worketh nothing.

Ergo, it is not a figuratiue speech. A lyar ought to haue a good memorie.

Cran.

I vnderstoode your Sophistrie before. You by working vnderstande conuerting into the body of Christe: but Christ wrought the Sacrament, not in conuerting, but in instituting.

Young.

Woe be to them that make Christ a deceiuer. Did hee worke any other thyng then hee spake, or the selfe same thing?

Cran.

He wrought the sacrament, and by these wordes he signified the effect.

Fes- Yong.

A figuratiue speach is no working thing.

ti- But the speach of Christ is working:

no. Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran.

It worketh by instituting, not by conuerting.

Young.

The thing signified in the sacramēt, is it not in that Sacrament?

Cran.

*It is. For the thing is ministred in a signe. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for the signe. Augustine separateth the Sacrament from the thing. The Sacrament (sayeth he) is one, and the thing of the Sacrament an other.

Weston.

Sticke to thys Argument.

It is a figuratiue speach.

Ergo, it worketh nothing.

Young.

But the speach of Christ is a working thing.

Ergo, it is not figuratiue.

Cran.

O howe many craftes are in this Argument? they are meere fallacies: I sayd not that the words of Christ do worke, but Christ himselfe: and he worketh by a figuratiue speache.

Weston.

If a figure worke, it maketh of bread the bodye of Christ.

Cran.

A figuratiue speach worketh not.

West.

A figuratiue speach by your owne cōfession, worketh nothing.

But the speach of Christ in the supper (as you graunt) wrought somewhat:

Ergo.

The speach of Christe in the Supper was not figuratiue.

Cran.

I answer these are meere sophismes: the speach doth not worke, but Christ by the speache doth worke the sacrament.

I looke for Scriptures at your handes: for they are the foundation of disputations.

Young.

Are not these wordes of scripture: This is my body, The word of Christ is of strength: and by the Lordes wordes the heauens were made. He sayd: This is my body. Ergo, he made it.

Cranmer.

He made the Sacrament: and I deny your Argument.

Young.

If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. Hee sayde: This is my body. You say contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ, and fall from the faith.

Cran.

You interprete the scriptures contrary to all the old wryters, and faine a straunge sense.

Yong.

Ambrose. De ijs qui initiantur sacris, cap. 9. sayeth: De totius mundi• operibus legisti, quia ipse dixit. & facta sunt, *ipse mandauit & creata sunt. Sermo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quae sunt in id mutare quae non erant <◇> enim minus est nouas res dare, quam mutare naturas: Sed quid argumentis vtimur? suis vtamur exemplis, incarnationis{que} exemplo astruamus mysterij veritatem. Nunquid naturae vsus praecessit cum Dominus Iesus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem quaerimus, viro mixta foemina generare consuevit, Liquet igitur quod praeter naturae ordinem virgo generauit: & hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine est. Quid hic quaeris naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum praeter naturam sit ipse Dominus Iesus partus ex virgine? Vera vtique caro Christi quae Crucifixa est, quae sepulta est: verè ergò illius Sacramentum est. Clamat Dominus Iesus: Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen: hoc est▪ verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat.

That is.

Thou hast read of the workes of all the worlde, that he spake the word and they were made: he commaunded and they were created. Can not the word of Christ which made of nothing that which was not, chaunge those things that are, into that they were not? For it is no les matter to geue newe things, then to chaunge natures. But what vse wee Argumentes? let vs vse hys owne examples, and lette vs confirme the veritie of the mysterie by example of hys incarnation. Did the vse of nature goe before, when the Lord Iesus was borne of Marye? If you seeke the order of nature, cōception is wont to be made by a woman ioyned to a man. It is manifest therfore, that contrary to the *order of nature, a virgin did conceiue: and this that we make, is the body of the virgin. What seekest thou heere the order of nature in y^e body of Christe, when against the order of nature the Lorde Iesus was conceiued of a Uirgine? It was the true flesh of Christe whiche was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truely the sacrament of him. The lord Iesus himselfe crieth: This is my body. Before the blessing of the heauenly wordes, it is named another kinde: but after the consecration the body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his bloud. Before consecration, it is called an other thing: after consecration it is called bloud, and thou sayest Amen: that is, it is true, That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confesse: that the word soūdeth, let the hart perceiue.

The same Ambrose in his 4. booke of sacraments the 4. chap. sayth thus: Panis iste, *panis est ante verba Sacramētorum vbi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur astruamus: quomodo potest, qui panis est, corpus esse Christi consecratione? consecratio igitur quibus verbis est, & cuius sermonibus? Domini Iesu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quae dicūtur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris, vbi venit vt conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus Sacerdos vtitur, sed sermonibus Christi. Ergò

sermo Christi hoc conficit Sacramentum. Quis sermo nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Iussit Dominus & factum est coelum: iussit Dominus & facta est terra: iussit Dominus & facta sunt Maria. &c. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, vt inciperent esse quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, vt sint quae erant & in aliud commutentur.

That is to say.

This bread is breade before the wordes of the Sacraments, when the consecration commeth to it,* of bread it is made the flesh of Christ. Let vs cōfirme this therfore: how can that whyche is breade, by consecration be the bodye of Christ? by what words then is the consecration made, and by whose wordes? by the wordes of our Lorde Iesus. For touching all other things that are sayde, praise is geuen to God, prayer is made for the people, for kinges, and for the [Page 1439](#) rest. When it commeth, that the reuerent Sacrament must be made, then the Priest vseth not his own words, but the wordes of Christ: therfore the word of Christe maketh this Sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made, The Lorde * commaunded, and heauen was made: the Lord commaunded and the earth was made: the Lord commanded, and the seas were made. the Lord commaunded, and all creatures were made. Doest thou not see then how strong in working the woorde of Christe is? If therfore, so great strength be in the Lords word, that those things shuld begin to be which were not before, how much the rather is it of strength to worke, y^t these thinges which were, shoulde be chaunged into an other thing? Ambrose sayth that the wordes are of strength to worke.

Weston.

You omit those wordes which follow, whych maketh the sence of Ambrose plaine. Read them.

Young.

Coelum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem:*ipse dixit & facta sunt, ipse mandauit & creata sunt. Ergo tibi vt respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem, sed post consecrationem dico tibi quòd iam*corpus Christi est. That is. Heauen was not, the sea was not, the earth was not, but heare him that said: he spake the worde and they were made: he commaunded, and they were created. Therfore to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration, but after the cōsecration I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ.

Cran.

All these thinges are common. I say that God doth chiefly worke in the Sacraments.

Yong.

How doth he worke?

Cran.

By his power as he doth in Baptisme.

Yong.

Nay, by the worde he chaungeth the bread into hys body, This is the truth, acknowledge the truth, geue place to the trueth.

Cran.

O glorious wordes, you are too full of wordes.

Yong.

Nay O glorious trueth, you make no change at all.

Cran.

Not so, but I make a great chaunge, as in them that are baptised, is there not a great chaunge when the child of the bondsclaue of the deuil, is made the sonne of God? So it is also in the sacrament of the supper when he receyueth vs into his protection and fauour.

Yong.

If he worke in the sacraments, he worketh in thys sacrament.

Cran.

God woorketh in his Faithfull, not in the Sacraments.

West.

In the supper the words are directed to the breade: in baptisme to the spirite. He sayd not, the water is the spirite, but of the bread he sayd: This is my body.

Cran.

He called the spirit a Doue: when the spirit descended in likenesse of a Doue.*

West.

He doth not call the spirit a Doue: but he sayth, that he descended as a Doue. He was seene in the likenesse of a Doue. As in Baptisme, the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the woordes are directed vnto the bread.

Cran.

Nay it is wrytten: Vpon whomesoeuer thou shalt see the spirite descending.* Hee calleth that which descended, the holy spirit. And Augustine calleth the doue the spirit. Heare what Augustine sayth in 1. Iohn.*Quid voluit per columbam, id est, per spiritum sanctū, docere, qui miserat eum. That is: What meant he by the Doue, that is, by the holy Ghost? forsoothe to teach who sent him.

Yong.

He vnderstandeth of the spirit descending as a doue: the spirit is inuisible.* If you minde to haue the truth heard let vs proceede. Heare what Ambrose saith: Vides quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis in sermone domini. &c. vt supra. That is: You see what a working power the word of Christe hath. Therefore if there be so great power in the Lordes woordes, that those thinges whiche were not, begin to be, howe much more of strength is it to worke that those things that were, should be chaunged into an other thing?

And in the 5. chap. Antequam consecratur, panis est: vbi autem verba Christi accesserint,*corpus est Christi. i. Before it is consecrated, it is bread: but when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ.

But hear what he sayth more: Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum: Take yee, eate yee, this is my bodye. Ante verba Christi calix est vini & aquae plenus: vbi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem. That is.

Before the wordes of Christe, the cuppe is full of wine and water, when the words of Christ haue wrought, there is made the bloude of Christe, which redeemed the people. What can be more plaine?

Cran.

*Nay, what can be lesse to the purpose? The wordes are of strength to worke in this Sacrament, as they are in Baptisme.

Pie.

The wordes of Christ (as Amb. sayth) are of strength to worke. What do they worke? Ambrose sayeth, they make the bloud which redeemed the people.

Ergo, the naturall bloud is made.

Cran.

The Sacrament of his bloud is made. The wordes make the bloude to them that receiue it: not that the bloude is in the cuppe, but in the receiuer.

Pie.

There is made the bloud which redeemed the people.

Cran.

The bloude is made: that is, the Sacrament of the bloude, by which he redeemed the people. [Fit] it is made: that is to say [ostenditur] it is shewed forth there. And Ambrose sayth: we receiue in a similitude. As thou hast receiued the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious bloud.

West.

He sayth in a similitude,* because it is ministred vnder another likenesse. And this is the argument.

*There is made the bloud which redeemed the people.

But the naturall bloud redeemed the people.

Ergo, There is the naturall bloud of Christ.

You aunswer, that wordes make it bloud to them that receiue it: not that bloude is in the cuppe, but because it is made bloud to them that receiue it. That all men maye see how falsely you would auoid the fathers, heare what Ambrose sayth in the 6. booke and 1. chap.

Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui similitudinem video, nō video sanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de sermone Christi qui operatur, vt possit mutare & conuertere genera instituta naturae. Deinde vbi non tulerunt sermonem discipuli eius, sed audientes, quod carnem suam dedit manducari, & sanguinem suum dedit bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit: Verba vitae aeternae habes. & ego a te quò recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam esset horror cruoris, sed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideò in similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentū, sed verè naturae gratiam virtutemque consequeris.

That is to say.

Peraduenture thou wilt say, how be they true? I which see the similitude, do not see the trueth of the bloud. First of all I told thee of y^e word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can chaunge & turne kindes ordained of nature. Afterward, when the Disciples coulde not abide the woordes of Christe, but hearing that he gaue hys flesh to eate, and hys bloud to drinke, they departed: Only Peter sayd, thou hast the wordes of eternal life: whether should I go from thee? Least therefore moe should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of bloud, and yet the grace of redemption should remaine: therefore in a similitude thou receiuest the sacrament: but in deede thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature.

Cranmer.

These wordes of themselues are plaine enough. (And he read this place againe: *Thou receiuest the Sacrament for a similitude) But what is that he sayth: Thou receiuest for a similitude.) I thinke he vnderstandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his bloud.

Ched.

That you may vnderstand that trueth discenteth not from trueth, to ouerthrow that which you say of that similitude, heare what Ambrose sayth lib. 4. De sacrament.

Si operatus est sermo coelestis in alijs rebus, non operatur in sacramentis coelestibus? *Ergo didicisti quod e pane corpus fiat Christi, & quod vinum & aqua in calicem mittitur. sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi coelestis. Sed forte dices, speciem sanguinis non videri. Sed habet similitudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis, vt nullus horror cruoris sit, & pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didicisti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus est Christ•.

That is to say.

If the heauenly word did worke in other things, doth it not worke in the heauenly sacramentes? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christe, and that wine and water is put into that cuppe: but by consecration of the heauenly worde, it is made bloude. But thou wilt say peraduētūre, that the likenes of bloud is not sent. But it hath a similitude.

For as thou hast receiued the similitude of hys death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious bloud, *so y^t there is no horror of bloud, & yet it worketh the price of redemptiō. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receiuest, is the body of Christ.

Cran.

He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things: for he vseth the signes for the things signified: and therefore y^e bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellencie and dignitie of the thyng signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret hym selfe when hee sayeth: In cuius typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis ad tuitionem corporis & animae nostrae percepimus. 1. Cor. 11.

That is.

For a type or figure wherof we receiue the mystical cup of his bloud, for the safegard of our bodies and soules.

Ched.

A type? hee calleth not the bloud of Christe a type or signe: but the bloude of Bulls and Goates in that respect was a type or signe.

Cran.

This is new learning: you shall neuer read this among the fathers.

Ched.

But Ambrose sayeth so.

Cran.

He calleth the bread and the cup a type or signe of the bloud of Christ, and of his benefite.

West.

Ambrose vnderstandeth for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption: not of the bloud of Christ, but of his passion. The cuppe is the type or signe of his death, seeing it is hys bloud.

Cran.

He sayeth most plainely, that the cuppe is the type of Christes bloud.*

Da- Ched. As Christe is truely and really incarnate, so is he truely and really in the Sacrament.

ri- But Christ is really and truely incarnate.

j. Ergo, the body of Christ is truely and really in the sacrament.

Cran.

*I deny the Maior.

Ched.

*I prooue the Maior out of Iustine in hys 2. Apologie: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Cran.

*This place hath ben falsified by Marcus Constantius. Iustine meant nothing els, but that the bread which nourisheth vs, is called the body of Christ.

Ched.

To the Argument. As Christ is truely and naturally incarnate. &c. vt supra.

Cran.

I deny your Maior.

Ched.

The woordes of Iustine are thus to bee interpreted woord for woord.

Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Iesus Christus Saluator noster, *carnem habuit & sanguinem pro salute nostra: sic & cibum illum consecratum per sermonem precationis ab ipso institutae, quo sanguis carnesque nostrae per communionem nutriuntur, eiusdem Iesu qui caro factus est, carnem & sanguinem esse accepimus. That is to say.

As by the worde of God Iesus Christ our sauour, being made flesh, had both flesh and bloud for our saluation: so we are taught that the meat * consecrated by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our bloude and flesh are nourished by * cōmunion, is the flesh and bloud of the same Iesus, which was made flesh.

Cran.

You haue translated it wel: But I deny your Maior. Thys is the sence of Iustine: * that that breade is called the body of Christ, and yet of that sanctified meate our bodyes are nourished.

Ched.

Nay, he sayeth of that sanctified meate, bothe oure bodies and soules are nourished.

Cran.

He sayth not so: but he sayth that it nourisheth our flesh and bloud: and howe can that nourish the soule, that nourisheth the flesh and bloud? *

Cole.

It feedeth the body by the soule.

Cran.

Speake vprightly. Can that which is receiued by the soule and the spirite, be called the meat of the body?

West.

Heare then what Irenaeus sayeth: Eum calicem qui est creatura, *suum corpus confirmauit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando & mixtus c•lix. & Fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur, & cōsistit carnis nostrae substantia This is y^e same cup which is a creature, hee confirmed to be hys body, by which hee increaseth

oure bodies. When both the cuppe mixed, and the breade broken, hathe ioyned to it the woorde of God, it is made the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Christe, of whych the substaunce of our fleshe is increased, and consisteth.

The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and bloud of Christ:*

Ergo, our body is nourished by the body and bloude of Christ.

Cran.

I deny your Argument. He calleth it the fleshe and bloud: for the Sacrament of the body and bloud, as Tertullian also sayth: *Nutritur corpus pane Symbolico, anima corpore Christi. That is, Our flesh is nourished wyth Symbolicall or sacramentall bread, but our soule is nourished wyth the body of Christ.

West.

Looke what he sayeth more. Quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei quae est vita aeterna, quae sanguine & corpore Christi nutritur. li. 5. post duo folia a principio. * That is: How doe they say, that the flesh can not receiue the gift of God that is eternall life, which is nourished wyth the bloud and body of Christe? That is in the 5. booke 2. leaues from the beginning.

Cran.

The body is nourished both with the sacramēt, and with the body of Christ, with the sacrament to a temporall life: with the body of Christ to eternall life.

Ched.

I cannot but be sorie when I see such a manifest lie in your wrytings. For where you translate Iustine on this fashion: that the bread, water and wine, are not so to be taken in this sacrament, as common meates and drinks are wont to be takē of vs: but are meates chosen out peculiarly for this, namely for the geuing of thanks, * and therefore be called of the Greekes Eucharistia, that is, Thanks geuinge, they are called moreouer the bloude and bodye of Christe (so haue you translated it): the wordes of Iustine are thus: Wee are taughte that the meate consecrated by the worde of prayer, by the which our flesh and bloud is nourished by Communion, is the body & bloud of the same Iesus which was made fleshe.

Cran.

I did not translate it worde for worde, but onely I gaue the meaning: and I goe nothing from his meaning. *

Harps.

You remember, touching Iustine, to whom this Apologie was wrytten, namelye to an Heathen man. The Heathen thought that the Christians came to the Church to worship breade. Iustine aunswareth, that we come not to common bread, but as to. &c. as is sayd afore. Weigh the place wel, it is right worthy to be noted: Our flesh is nourished: according to mutation.

Cran.

We ought not to consider the bare bread: * but whosoeuer commeth to the Sacrament, eateth the true body of Christe.

West.

You haue corrupted Emissenus, for in stead of cibis satiandus, that is, to be filled with meat: you haue set cibis satiandus spiritualibus: that is, to be filled with spirituall meates.

Cran.

I haue not corrupted it, for it is so in the Decrees.

West.

You haue corrupted an other place of Emissenus. For you haue omitted these woordes: Mirare cum reuerendum altare cibis spiritualibus satiandus ascendis: *sacrum Dei tui corpus & sanguinem fide respice, honorem mirare, merito contingere. &c. That is: Maruell thou when thou comest vp to the reuerend altar to be filled with spiritual meates: looke in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God: maruell at his honour: worthely touch him.

Cran.

Thys booke hath not that

West.

Also you haue falsified this place by euill translating Honora corpus Dei tui. i. Honour the bodye of thy God. * You haue translated it: Honora eum qui est Deus tuus. i. Honoure him which is thy God. Whereas Emissenus hath not [honor him] but [honor the body of thy God.]

Cran.

I haue so translated him, and yet no les truly, then not without a weighty cause, * for els it shoulde not haue bene wythout daunger, if I had translated it thus: Honour the body of thy God: because of certain, that according to the error of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

West.

Nay you most of all, haue brought the people into y^e errour, whyche so longe haue taught that he sitteth at the right hande of God the father: and counted me for an hereticke because I preached y^e God had no right hande. Then I will appose you in the very Articles of your faith.

Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.*

But God the Father hath no right hand:

Ergo, Where is Christ now?

Cran.

I am not so ignoraunt a nouice in the articles of my faith, but that I vnderstand,* that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signifie to be equall in the glory of the Father.

West.

Now then take this Argument.

Whersoeuer Gods authority is, there is Christes body,

But Gods authoritie is in euery place:

Ergo, what letteth the body of Christ to be in euery place?

Moreouer you haue also corrupted Duns.*

Cran.

That is a great offence, I promise you.

West.

For you haue omitted secundum apparentiam. i. as it appeareth. Where his wordes are these: Et si quaeras quare voluit Ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem huius articuli, cum verba Scriptura possint saluari secundum intellectum facilem & veriore, secundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo. &c. That is: And if you demaunde why the Church did chuse thys so harde an vnderstanding of thys Article, where as the woordes of scripture may be salued after an easie & true vnderstanding (as appeareth) of thys article, &c.

Cran.

It is not so.

West.

Also you haue set foorth a Catechisme in the name of the Synode of London, and yet there be 50,* which witnessing that they were of the number of the Conuocation, neuer heard one worde of this Catechisme.

Cran.

I was ignorant of the setting too of that title: and as soone as I had knowledge therof, I did not like it. Therefore when I complained therof to the Councel, it was answered me by them, that the booke was so entituled, because it was set forth in the time of the Conuocation.

West.

Moreouer, you haue in Duns translated in Romana Ecclesia, pro Ecclesia Catholica. i. In the Church of Rome, for the Catholicke Church.

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Cran.

Yea, but he meant the Romish Church.

West.

Moreouer you haue deprauid S. Thomas, namely where he hath these wordes: *In quantum vero est sacrificium, habet vim satisfactiuam: Sed in satisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quàm quantitas oblationis. Vnde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quae obtulit duo aera, quòd plus omnibus misit. Quamuis ergo haec oblatio ex sui quantitate sufficiet ad satisfaciendum pro omni poena: tamen fit satisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus secundum quantitatem suae deuotionis, & non pro tota poena. That is: In as muche as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: But in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be waied then the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the lord sayde in Lukes Gospell, of the widowe which offered two mites, that she cast in more thē they al. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantitie of it selfe wil suffice to satisfie for all paine, yet it is made satisfactorie to them, for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantitie of their deuotion, and not for all the paine.

You haue thus turned it: Quod sacrificium Sacerdotis habet vim satisfactiuam. &c. That is, That the Sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfaction. &c. And therefore in thys place you haue chopped in this word [Sacerdotis] of y^e priest, wheras in the translation of all the newe Testament, you haue not set it, but where Christ was put to death. And again, where s. Thomas hath [pro omni poena] for all paine, your booke omitteth many things there.

Thus you see brethren the truth stedfast and inuincible, you see also the craft and deceit of hereticks,* the truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore crye altogether, Vincit veritas. i. The truth ouercommeth.

This disordered disputation sometime in latine, sometime in English, continued almost till 2. of the clock. Which being finished, and the arguments wrytten and deliuered to the handes of M. Say, the prisonner was had away by the Mayor, and the Doctors dined together at the vniuersitie Colledge.

Disputation at Oxford betweene D. Smith, with his other Colleagues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley. Aprill. 17.

The next day folowing which was the 17. of April, was brought forth D. Ridley to dispute, against whom was set D. Smith to be principall opponent. Touching whych D. Smith, for so much as mention heere happeneth of hys name, first the reader is to be aduertised what is to be attributed to his iudgement in religion, which so oftentimes before hath turned and returned to and froe, grounded (as it seemeth) vpon no firme conscience of doctrine, as both by hys articles by him recanted may appeare, and also by hys owne letter sent a little before in king Edwardes dayes to the Archbishop of Caunterbury from Scotlande. Which letter I thought heere to exhibite as a certaine Preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimonie against him selfe, whereby y^e reader may vnderstand how deuoutly he magnified them, and their doctrine a little before, agaynst whome he nowe disputeth so busely. Reade (I beseeche thee, his Epistle, and iudge.

The true copie of a certaine Epistle of Doctor Rich. Smith, declaring his affection to the setting forth of Gods sincere woorde.

MOst honorable, I commend me vnto your Lordship, doing the same to vnderstand,* that I wrote letters to your grace in Ianuarye last, and the 10. day of Februarie, declaring the causes of my sodaine & vnadvised departyng from your grace ouer the sea, and desiring your good lordship of your charitye towarde them that repent of theyr ill Acts, to forgeue me your selfe all that wrōg I did towards your grace, and to obtaine in wryting the kings maiesties pardon for me in all poyntes concerning his lawes:* vpon the receit wherof I would returne againe home, & wythin halfe a yeare (at the vttermost) afterwarde wryte, de Sacerdotum connubijs. &c. a Latine booke that should be a iust satisfaction for any thing that I haue wrytten agaynste the same. Reliqua quē omnia dogmata vestra, tum demum libenter amplexurum, vbi Deus mentem meam, vt ea citra cōscientiae laesionem agnoscam, doceamquē. I wrote not this that I want any good liuing heere, but because mine absence oute of the realme, is dishonour to the Kings highnes and Realme, and because I must needes (if I tarie heere a quarter of a yeare longer) wryte an aunsweare to your Graces booke of the Sacramente, and also a Booke of common places against all the doctrine sette foorth by the kinges Maiestie, which I cannot do wyth good conscience. Wherefore I beseeche your Grace helpe me home, assoone as yee may conueniently for Gods sake, and ye shal neuer I trust in God repent that facte.

Ex vrbe diui Andreae 14. Feb.

Richardus Smithaeus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Doctor Rich. Smith, being set heere (as is sayde) to dispute against Byshop Ridly,* who was brought now y^e next day after to the Archb. to aunswer in the diuinitie schoole. Against whome also besides D. Smith disputed, D. Weston, D. Tresham, D. Oglethorpe, D. Glin, D. Seton, D. Cole, M. Warde, M. Harpsfielde, D. Watson, M. Pye, M. Hardinge, M. Curtop, M. Fecknam. To all them hee aunswere very learnedly. Hee made a preface to these questions, but they woulde not let him goe forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and sayde it was blasphemie, and some saide he droue of the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose, & so they wold not suffer him to say his mind. D. Smith coulde get nothing at his hand: in so much that other did take his argumēts and prosecuted them. He shewed himselfe to be learned, & a great clearke. They coulde bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The disputation beginneth.

West. Prolocutor.

Good Christen people and brethren, we haue begon this day our schoole, by Gods good speede I trust, and are entring into a controuersie, whereof no question ought to be mooued, concerning the veritie of the body of our Lord Iesu Christ in the Eucharist. Christ is true, which sayde the wordes. The wordes are true whyche he spake, yea truth it selfe that cannot faile. Lette vs therefore pray vnto God to sende downe vnto vs his holye spirite, which is the true interpreter of his woorde: whiche maye purge away errorrs, and geue light that veritye may appeare. Let vs also aske leaue and libertie of the Church to permit the truth receiued, to be called this day in question, wythout any preiudice to the same. Your partes therefore shalbe to implore the assistaunce of almighty God, to pray for the prosperitie of the Queenes maiestie, and to geue vs quiet and attentie eares. Now go to your questions.

Doct Smith.

This day (right learned M. Doctor) 3. questions are propounded, whereof no controuersy among christians ought to be mooued, to wit:

1. Whether the naturall bodye of Christ our Sauour, conceiued of the Virgine Marie,* and offred for mans redemption vpon the crosse, is verilye and really in the sacrament by vertue of Gods worde spoken by the Priest. &c.
2. Whether in the sacrament after the words of consecration, be any other substance. &c.
3. Whether in the Masse be a sacrifice propiciatorie. &c.

Touching the which questiōs, although you haue publikely and partly professed your iudgemēt and opinion on Saterday last: yet being not satisfied with that your aunswere, I wil assay againe to demanda your sentence in the first question: Whether the true body of Christe, after the woords pronounced, be really in the Eucharist, or els only the figure. In which matter I stande heere nowe to heare your aunswere.

The Preface or protestation of D. Ridley, before his disputation.

I Receiued of you the other day right worshipful M. prolocutor, and yee my reuerend Maisters,* Commissioners from the Queenes maiestie, and her honorable Counsell, three propositions: whereunto ye commaunded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to aunswere concerning the same.

Now whilst I weied w^t my selfe, how great a charge of the Lords flocke was of late committed vnto me, for the which I am certaine I must once render an accompte to my Lord God (and that howe soone, he knoweth) and that moreouer by the commaundement of the Apostle Peter, I ought to be redy alway to geue a reason of the hope y^t is in me with mekenes and reuerence, vnto euery one that shall demaund the same: besides this, cōsidering my duty to the Church of Christ,* and to your worships being commissioners by publicke authority: I determined with my selfe to obey your commaundement, and so opēly to declare vnto you my minde touching the foresayd propositions. And albeit plainely to confesse vnto you the trueth in these things which ye now demaund of me, I haue thought otherwyse in times past then I now do, yet (God I call to record vnto my soule, I lie not) I haue not altered my iudgemēt, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or lawes, either [Page 1442](#) for the dread of any daungers of thys world, either for any hope of commodity: but onely for the loue of the trueth, reuealed vnto me by the grace of God (as I am vndoubtedly perswaded) in his holy woorde, and in the reading of the auncient Fathers.

These things I do the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I meane, if ye thinke otherwyse of the matters propoūded in these propositions, then I now doe, God may open vnto you in time to come.

But how so euer it shall be, I will in fewe woordes do that which I thinke yee all looke I shoulde doe: that is, as plainely as I can, I will declare my iudgement heerein. Howbeit of this I would yee were not ignoraunt, that I will not in deede wittingly and willingly speake in any poynt against Gods worde,* or dissent in any one iote from the same, or from the rules of faith, and Christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of god prescribeth to the Church of Christe, whereunto I nowe and for euer submit my selfe, and all my doinges. And because the matter I haue now taken in hand is waightie, and yee all wel know how vnready I am to handle it accordingly, aswell for lacke of time, as also lacke of bookes: therefore heere I protest that I will publickly this daye require of you, that it may be lawfull for me concerning all mine aunswares, explications, and confirmations, to adde or diminish what soeuer shall seeme hereafter more conuenient and mete for the purpose, through more sound iudgement, better deliberation, and more exact triall of euery particular thing. Hauing nowe by the way of Preface and protestation, spoken these fewe woordes, I will come to the answearinge of the propositions propounded vnto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answeres.

West.

Reuerend maister Doctour, concerning the lacke of bookes, there is no cause why you should complaine. What bookes soeuer you will name,* ye shall haue them, & as concerning the iudgement of your answeres to be had of your selfe wyth farther deliberation: it shall (I say) be

lawfull for you vntill Sonday next to adde vnto them what you shall thinke good your selfe. My minde is that we shoulde vse short arguments, least we shuld make an infinite processe of the thing.

Rid.

There is an other thyng besides, whyche I woulde gladly obtaine at your handes. I perceiue that you haue wryters and Notaries here present. By all likelihoode our disputations shalbe published, I beseech you for gods sake let me haue libertie to speake my minde freely, & wythout interruption, not because I haue determined to protract y^e time with a solemne Preface, but least it maye appeare that some be not satisfied. God wotte I am no Oratour, nor I haue not learned Rhetoricke to set colours on the matter.

West.

*Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part.

Rid.

I would chuse two, if there were any here w^t whome I were acquainted.

West.

Here are two whych M. Cranmer had yesterdaye. Take them if it please you.

Rid.

I am contente wyth them: I truste they are honest men.

The first proposition.

In the Sacrament of the aultare, by the vertue of Gods word spoken of the Priest, the naturall body of Christ borne of the virgine Marie,* and his naturall bloude is really present vnder the formes of bread and wine.

The aunswere of N. Ridley.

In matters appertaining to God, we may not speake according to the sence of man:* nor of the worlde: Therefore this proposition or cōclusion is framed after an other maner of phrase or kinde of speeche, then the Scripture vseth. Againe, it is very obscure and darke, by meanes of sundry wordes of doubtfull signification. And being taken in the sence whych the Schoolemen teache,* and at thys time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plaine contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlinesse.

The explication.

How farre the diuersitie and newnes of the phrase in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and that in euery part almost, it is so plaine & euident to any that is but meanelly exercised in holy wryte, that I neede not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shalbe required of me hereafter.

First,* there is a doubtfull sense in these woordes [by the vertue of Gods word.] For it is doubtful what word of God this is: whether it be that which is red in the Euangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the Euangelists or in S. Paule, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be knowen to be Gods worde, & of such vertue, y^t it should be able to worke so great a matter.

Againe, there is a doubte in these woordes [of the Priest] whether no man may be called a Priest,* but he whych hath authoritie to make propitiatorie sacrifice for the quicke and the deade: and howe it may be prooued that thys authoritie was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

It is likewise doubted,* after what order the sacrificing Priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or els after the order of Melchisedech. For as farre as I know, the holy scripture doth allow no moe.

West.

Let thys be sufficient.*

Rid.

If we lacke time at this present, there is time enough heereafter.

West.

These are but euasions or starting holes, You consume the time in vaine.

Rid.

I can not start farre from you, I am captiue & bound.

West.

Fall to it my maisters.

Smith.

That whych you haue spoken, may suffice at thys present.

Rid.

Let me alone I pray you, for I haue not much to say behinde.

West.

Goe forwarde.

Rid.

Moreouer, there is ambiguitie in thys word, really, whether it be to be taken as the Logicians terme it, *transcender, that is, most generally (and so it may signifie any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any meanes: after which sort we also graunt Christes body to be really in the sacramente of the Lordes Supper, as in disputation, if occasion be geuen shall be declared) or whether it be taken to signifie the very same thing, hauing body, life and soule, which was assumed & taken of the worde of God, into the vnitie of persone. In which sence, sith the body of Christ is really in heauen, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be sayde to be here in the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulnesse in these words, *vnder the formes of breade and wine, whether the formes be there taken to signifie the onely accidental and outward shewes of bread and wine: or there withall the substantial natures therof, which are to be seene by their qualities, and perceiued by exterior sences.

Now the error and falsenes of the proposition, * after the sense of the Romish church and scholemen, may hereby appeare, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and chāged into the flesh, assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by the vertue of the woorde, whych they haue deuised by a certaine number of woordes, and cannot be founde in any of the Euangelistes, or in Paule, and so they gather that Christes bodye is reallye contained in the sacrament of the aultar. Which position is grounded vpon the foundation of transubstantiation: * which foundation is monstrous against reason, and destroieth the Analogie or proportion of the sacraments, and therefore this proposition also, which is builded vpon thys rotten foundation, is false erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the Sacramentaries.

West.

We lose time.

Rid.

You shall haue time inough.

West.

Fall to reasoning. You shall haue some other day for this matter.

Rid.

I haue no more to say concerning my explication. If you will geue me leaue and let me alone, I wil but speake a woord or two for my confirmation.

West.

Go to: say on.

The confirmation of the foresaid answer.

Fes- There oughte no Doctrine to bee established in the church of God,* which discenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities, that cannot be auoided.

ti- But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

no. Ergo,* it ought not to be established and maintained in the Church of God.

The Maior or first part of my argument is plaine, and the Minor or second part is prooued thus.

This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christes flesh, assumed and taken of the woorde to be in the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, & that not by vertue & grace onely, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.*

But such a presence disagreeeth from Gods word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but drawe wyth it manye absurdities.

[Page 1443](#)Ergo, the second part is true.

The first part of thys argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus.

West.

Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters.* Maister Opponent, I pray you to your arguments.

Smith.

I will heere reason with you vppon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and Analogy of faith. The contrary whereof I proue by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation wyth you, I demaund first whether in the 6. chap. of Iohn, there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament.

Rid.

It is againste reason that I shoulde bee impeached to prosecute that which I haue to speake in this assembly, being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few woordes.

West.

Let him reade on.

Rid.

First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

*Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lordes supper.

Fourthly, it maketh precious thinges common to prophane and vngodly persones: for it casteth that whyche is holy vnto dogs, and pearles vnto swine.

Fiftly, it forceth men to maintaine many mōstruous miracles without necessitie and authoritie of Gods worde.

Sixtly, it geueth occasion to the heretickes which erred concerning the two natures in Christe, to defend their heresies thereby.

Seuenthy, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers: it falsifieth also the Catholike Faith of the Church, whyche the Apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithfull (as one of the Fathers sayeth) doe retaine and keepe vntill this day. Wherefore the second parte of mine argument is true.

The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the partes thereof.

THIS carnall presence is contrary to the worde of God, as appeareth, * Iohn. 16. I tell you the trueth. It is profitable to you that I goe away, for if I goe not away, the comfortour shall not come vnto you. Actes 3. Whome the heauens must receaue vntill the time of restoring of all thinges which God hath-spoken. * Math. 9. The children of the Bridegrom cannot mourne so long as the Bridegrome is with them: But now is the time of mourning. Iohn 16. But I will see you againe, and your heartes shall reioyce. * Iohn 14. I will come againe and take you to my selfe. Math. 24. If they shall say vnto you, behold, here is Christ, or there is Christe, beleue them not: for wheresoeuer the deade carcase is, thither the Eagles will resort.

*It varyeth from the articles of the faith: He ascended into heauen, and sitteth on the right hande of God the Father. From whence (and not from any other place, sayeth S. Augustine) he shall come to iudge both the quicke and the deade.

*It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lordes supper, which was commaunded onely to be vsed and continued vntill the Lorde himselfe shoulde come. If therefore he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: For a remembraunce is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference betwene remembraunce and presence, and (as one of the Fathers sayeth) A figure is in vaine where the thing figured is present.

It maketh precious things common to prophane and vngodly persons, & constraineth men to confesse many absurdities.* For it affirmeth that whoremongers and murtherers, yea and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithles, mise, rattes, & dogs also may receiue the verye real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulnes of the spirite of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest wordes of Christ in sixe places & sentences of the sixt chap. of S. Iohn.

It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kinde of crueltie of the Anthropophagi, that is, the deuourers of mans flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to deuoure a quicke man,* then to slay him.

Pie.

He requireth time to speake blasphemies. Leaue your blasphemies.

Rid.

I had little thought to haue hadde such reprochefull woordes at your handes.

West.

All is quiet. Goe to the arguments M. Doctor.

Rid.

I haue not many moe things to say.

West.

You vtter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leaue off (I say) and get you to the argument.

Rid.

It forceth men to maintaine many monstrous myracles, wythout all necessitie and authoritie of Gods worde.* For at the comming of thys presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substaunce of breade, and affirme that the accidents remayne without any subiect, and in the stead thereof, they place Christes body wythout hys qualities and the true maner of a bodye. And if the Sacrament be reserued so long vntill it mould, & wormes breede some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth againe, and some deny it.* Other some affirme y^t the real body of Christ goeth downe into y^e stomacke of the receiuers, & doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good, but another sort hold that the body of Christ is caried into heauē, so soone as the formes of bread be brused wyth the teeth. O works of miracles: Truly & most truly I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof S. Paule prophecied. 2. Thess. 2. Because they haue not receiued the loue of the trueth, that they might be saued, God shall sende them strong delusions, that they shoulde beleue lies, and be all damned which haue not beleued the truth. This grosse presence hath brought foorth that fonde phantasie of concomitaunce, whereby

is broken at this day and abrogated the commandement of the Lord for the distributing of the Lordes cuppe to the laitie.

It geueth occasion to heretickes to maintaine and defend their errorrs: as to Martion, which sayd that Christ had but a phantasticall bodye: and to Eutiches which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the Catholicke faith of the church, which Vigilus a Martyr, and graue wryter sayeth was taught of the Apostles, confirmed wyth the bloude of Martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, vntil his tyme. By the sayings of the fathers, I meane of Iustine, Irenee, Tertullian, Origene, Eusebius, Emisene, Athanasius, Cyrill, Epyphanus, Hierome, Chrysostome, Augustine, Vigilus, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others most auncient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I haue read, making for my purpose, so am I well assumed that I coulde shewe the same, if I myght haue the vse of mine owne bookes, whiche I will take on me to doe, euen vpon the pearill of my life, and the losse of all that I maye lose in thys world.

But now (my brethren) thinke not, because I disalow that presence which this first proposition maintaineth (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantasticall, and besides the authoritie of Gods worde, perniciously broughte into the Church by the Romanistes) that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christes body in his Supper rightly and duely ministred,* whyche is grounded vpon the word of God, and made more plaine by the commentaries of y^e faithfull fathers: They that thinke so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceiued. And to make the same euident vnto you. I will in fewe woords declare what true presence of Christes body in the sacramēt of the Lordes supper I hold and affirme with the worde of God and the auncient fathers.

I say and confesse with the Euangelist Luke,* and wyth the Apostle Paule, that the bread on the which thanks are geuen, is the body of Christe in the remembraunce of hym and of his death, to be set foorth perpetually of the faithfull vntill his comming.

I say and confesse the bread which we breake to be the Communion and partaking of Christes bodye, wyth the auncient and the faithfull fathers.

I say and beleeeue that there is not onely a signification of Christes body sette foorth by the sacrament,* but also that therewith is geuen to the godly and faithfull, the grace of Christes body, that is, the foode of life & immortalitye. And this I holde wyth Cyprian.

I say also with S. Augustine, that wee eate life, and wee drinke life: with Emisene, that we feele the Lorde to be present in grace: wyth Athanasius, that wee receiue Celestiall foode, which commeth from aboue: the propertie of natural Communion, wyth Hyllarius: the nature of flesh and benediction whych geueth life in breade and wine, wyth Cyrill: and wyth the same Cyrill, the vertue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the propertie of the onely begotten, that is to say, life, as he himselfe in plaine words expoundeth it.

I confesse also with Basil, that we receiue the mysticall Aduent and comming of Christ, grace, & the vertue of hys very nature: the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose: the body by grace, with Epiphanius: spirituall flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Hierome: Grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirite, with Chrysostome: grace and inuisible veritie, grace and societie of the members of Christes body, with Augustine.

Finally, with Bertram (which was the last of all these) I confesse that Christes body is in the Sacrament in thys [Page 1444](#) respect: * namely (as he writeth) because there is in it the spirite of Christ, that is, the power of the worde of God, which not onely feedeth the soule, but also clenseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearely appeare vnto al mē, how farre we are frō that opinion, wherof some go about falsly to slaunder vs to the world, saying we teach that the godly and faithfull shoulde receiue nothing else at the Lordes table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

¶The second proposition.

After the consecration there remayneth no substaunce of bread and wine, neyther any other substaunce, then the substaunce of God and man.

The Aunswere.

*THE seconde conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the Sacramente, and the most eident testimonies of the godly Fathers: and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, * both of the first, and of the third. I will not therefore now tary vpon any further explication of this aunswere, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first proposition.

¶The first argument for the confirmation of this aunswere.

IT is very playne by the worde of God, that Christ did geue bread vnto his Disciples, and called it his body.

But the substance of bread is another maner of substāce, then is the substance of Christes body God and man: *

Therefore the conclusion is false.

The second part of mine argument is playne, and the first $\langle \diamond \rangle$ proued thus:

¶The second argument.

Da- That which Christ dyd take, on the which he gaue than••s, and the which he brake, he gaue to his Disciples, and called it his body:

ri- But he toke bread, gaue thāks on bread, & brake bread:

si. Ergo, the first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the Fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Hierome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cirill, Rabanus, and Be••. Whose places I will take vpon me to shew most manifest in this behalfe, if I may be suffered to haue my bookes, as my request is.

Bread is the body of Christ:

Ergo, it is bread.

*A tertio adiacente ad secundum adiacens cum verbi substantiui pura copula.

¶**The third Argument.**

Ba- As the bread of the Lordes table is Christes naturall body, so is it his mysticall body.

ro- But it is not Christes mysticall body by transubstantiation.

co. Ergo, it is not his naturall body by transubstantiatio.

The second part of my argument is plaine, and the first is proued thus: As Christ who is the veritie, spake of the bread: This is my body which shall be betrayed for you, speaking there of his naturall body: euen so Paul moued with y^e same spirit of truth, * said: We though we be many, yet are we all one bread, and one body, which be partakers of one bread.

*¶The fourth Argument.

We may no more beleue bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, * then the wine into his bloud.

But the wine is not transubstantiate into his bloud:

Ergo, neyther is that bread therefore transubstantiate into his body.

¶The first part of this argument is manifest, & the second part is proued out of the authoritie of Gods word in Mathew & Marke: I will not drinke of the fruite of the vine, &c. Now the fruite of the vine was wine, which Christ dranke and gaue to his disciplis to drinke. With this sentence agreeth playnely the place of Chrysostome on the xx. Chapter of Mathew. * As Ciprian doth also, affirming that there is no bloud, if wine be not in the cup.

*¶The fift Argument.

Ba- The words of Christ spoken vpon the cup and vpon the bread, haue like effect and working.

ro- But the wordes spoken vpon the cup haue not vertue to transubstantiate:

co. Ergo, it followeth that the wordes spoken vpon the bread, haue no such vertue.

The second part of the argument is proued because they shuld then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup into the new Testament: but neither of these thinges can be done, and very absurde it is to confesse the same.

¶The sixt argument.

Da- The circumstances of the scripture, the Analogie and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithfull Fathers ought to rule vs in taking the meaning of the holy scripture touching the sacrament.

ti- But the wordes of the Lords supper, y^e circumstances of the scripture, the Analogie of the sacramentes, & the saying of y^e fathers do most effectually & plainly proue a figuratiue speach in the words of the Lordes supper.

si. Ergo, a figuratiue sense and meaning is specially to be receaued in these wordes: This is my body.

The circumstances of the scripture: *Do this in the remēbraunce of me. As oft as ye shall eate of this bread and drynke of this cup, ye shall shewe foorth the Lordes death. Let a man proue himselfe, and so eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup. They came together to breake bread: and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break &c. For we being many, are all one bread, and one body. &c.

The Analogie of the sacramentes is necessary: * For if the sacramentes had not some similitude or likenes of the things wherof they be sacramentes, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lords supper, is taken three maner of wayes.

1. The first consisteth in nourishing: as ye shall reade in Rabana, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenee, * and most plainly in Isodore out of Bertram.

2. The second, in the vniting and ioyning of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

3. The third is a similitude of vnlike thinges, where, lyke as the bread is turned into one body: so wee, by the right vse of this sacrament, are turned through fayth into the body of Christ.

The sayinges of the Fathers declare it to be a figuratiue speache, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, * Chrysostome in opere imperfecto, Augustine, Ambrose, Basill, Gregory, Nazianzene, Hilary, and most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreouer, the sayinges and places of all y^e Fathers, whose names I haue before recited against the assertion of the first propositiō, do quite ouerthrow transubstantiation. But of all other, most evidently and playnly, Irenee, Origen, Cyprian, Chrisostome to Cesarius the Monke, Augustine against Adamantus, Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrisostome agayne on the xx. of Mathew, Rabane, Damasene and Bertram.

Here right worshipfull maister Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the Commissioners, it may please you to vnderstād, that I do not leaue to these thinges onely, * whiche I haue written in my former answeres and confirmations, but y^t I haue also for the prooue of y^t I haue spoken, whatsoeuer

Bertram a man learned, of sound and vpright iudgement, and euer counted a Catholicke for these seuen hundreth yeares vntill this our age, hath written. His treatise whosoeuer shall read and wey, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godlines of life, the allegations of y^e ancient fathers, and his manifolde and most grounded argumentes, I cannot (doubtles) but much marueile, if he haue any feare of God at all,* howe he can with good conscience speake against him in this matter of the Sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the eare, and that first brought me from the common errour of the Romishe Church, and caused me to searche more diligently and exactly, both the scriptures and the writings of the olde ecclesiasticall Fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lye not in the things I now speake.

¶The third proposition.

In the Masse is the liuely sacrifice of the Churche, propitiable and auailable for the sinnes, as well of the quicke as of the dead.*

¶The aunswere to this proposition.

I answere to this third proposition, as I did to y^e first. And moreouer I say, that being taken in such sense as the wordes seeme to import, it is not onely erroneous,* but w^t all so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of christ: that I iudge it may and ought most worthely to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious bloud of our Sauour Christ.

¶The explication.

Concerning the Romish Masse whiche is vsed at this day, or the liuely sacrifice therof, propitiatory and auaylable for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead,* the holy scripture hath not so much as one sillable.

There is ambiguitie also in the name of Masse: what it [Page 1445](#) signifieth,* and whether at this day there be any such in deed as the auncient fathers vsed: seeing that now there be neither Catechistes nor penitentes to be sent away.*

Againe touching these wordes (The liuely sacrifice of the Church) There is doubt whether they are to be vnderstand figuratiuely and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the liuely sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lords supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which maner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely vpon the aultar of the crosse.

Moreouer, in these wordes [as well as] it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage, as men are wont to say in sport of a foolish and ignoraunt person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge: being apt in deede in neither of them both.

*There is also a doubt in the world [Propitiable] whether it signifie heere, that which taketh away sinne, or that which may be made auayleable for the taking away of sin: that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the actiue or in the passiue signification.

Now the falsenes of the proposition, after the meaning of the Schoolemen and the Romishe Church, & impiety in that sense which the wordes seeme to import, is thys: that they leaning to the foundation and their fond trāsubstantiation, would make the quick and liuely body of Christes flesh (vnited and knit to the diuinitie) to lye hid vnder the accidents,* and outward shewes of bread and wine. Which is very false, as I haue said afore, and they building vpon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered vnto God by the Priest in his daily massings to put away the sinnes of the quicke and the dead,* Whereas by the Apostle to the Hebrewes it is euident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and liuely sacrifice of the Church offered vpon the aultar of the crosse, which was, is, and shall be for euer the propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (sayth the Apostle) no more offering for sinne.

¶Arguments confirming his aunswere.

- Ce- No sacrifice ought to be done but where the Priest is meete to offer the same.*
- la- All other Priests be vnmeete to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sinne, saue only Christ:
- rent. Ergo, no other Priests ought to sacrifice for sinne, but Christ alone.

The second part of my argument is thus proued.

- Fe- No honour in Gods Church ought to be takē whervnto a man is not called, as Aaron.
- ri- It is a great honor in Gods Church to sacrifice for sin:
- *son. Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sinne but onely they which are called.
- But onely Christ is called to that honour:
- Ergo, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone,* it is euident: For there are but two onely orders of Priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchisedech. But now the order of Aaron is come to an ende, by reason that it was vnprofitable, and weake, and of the order of Melchisedech there is but one Priest alone, euen Christ the Lord, which hath a priesthoode that can not passe to any other.

Another Argument.

- Ba- That thing is in vaine and to no effect, where no necessitie is wherefore it is done.
- ro- To offer vp any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, there is no necessitie: for Christ our sauour did that fully and perfectly once for all:
- co. Ergo, to do the same in the Masse, it is in vayne.

Heb. 9. Another Argument.

- Fe- After that eternall redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more dayly offering for the same:*
- ri- But Christ comming an high Bishop, &c. found and obtained for vs eternall redemption.
- o. Ergo, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead.

Another Argument.

- Ca- All remission of sinnes commeth only by shedding of blood.
- mes- In the Masse there is no shedding of blood:
- tres. Ergo, in the Masse there is no remission of sinnes: and so it foloweth also that ther is no propitiatory sacrifice.

Another Argument.

- In the Masse, the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mistery representing the same: yea euen there where the Lords supper is duly ministred.
- But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: * for the Apostle sayeth: Not that he might offer vp himselfe often times (for then must he haue suffered often times sith the beginning of the world) now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatory sacrifice:
- Ergo, in the Masse there is no propitiatory sacrifice: For Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering vp of himselfe. And as it is appoynted to all men that they shall once dye, and then commeth the iudgement: euen so Christ was once offered to take away the sinnes of many. And vnto them that looke for him, shall he appeare agayne without sinne, vnto saluation.

Another Argument.

- Da- Where there is any sacrifice that can make the com¹mers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any mo expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.
- ri- But in the new testament there is one onely sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the commers thereto perfect for euer.
- j. Ergo, in the new testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifice.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same ende and purpose, out of which also may be gathered other manifest arguments, for more confirmation thereof.

BY the which will (sayth the Apostle) we are sanctified by the offering vp of the body of Iesus Christ once for all. * And in the same place: But this man after that he had offered one sacrifice for sinne, sitteth for euer at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for euer them that are sanctified, and by himselfe hath he purged our sinnes. * I beseech you to marke these wordes [by himselfe] the whiche well wayed, will without doubt cease all controuersie.

The Apostle playnely denieth any other sacrifice to re¹maine for him that treadeth vnder his feete the blood of [•]e testament by the which he was made holy. Christ wil not be crucified againe, he will not his death to be ^{<◇>} derision.

He hath reconcyled vs in the body of his flesh. * Make I beseech you, he sayth not, in the mistery of his body: But in the body of his flesh.

If any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, * Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitia[•]ion for our sinnes, not for ours only, but for the sinnes of the ^{••}ole world.

I know that all these places of the Scripture are auoyded by two maner of subtile shiftes: the one is by the distinction of the bloody and vnbloudy sacrifice, as though our vnbloudy sacrifice of the Church were any other then the sacrifice of praise and thankesgeuing, then a commemoration, a shewing foorth, and a sacramētall representation of that one only bloody sacrifice offred vp once for all.

The other is by deprauing and wrasting the sayings of the auncient Fathers vnto such a straunge kinde of sense, as the Fathers themselues in deede neuer ment. For what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is euidente by that which S. Augustine writeth in his Epistle to Boniface, & in the 83. chapter of his 9. booke against Faustus, the Manichee, besides many other places, likewise by Eusebius, Emisene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, which do wholly concord and agree together in this vnity in the Lord, that the redemption once made in verity for the saluation of man, continueth in full effect for euer, and worketh without ceassing vnto the end of the world, that the sacrifice once offered can not be consumed: that the Lords death and passion is as effectuall, the vertue of that blood, once shead, as freshe at this day for the washing away of sinnes, as it was euen the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our sauour: and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice which is frequented of the Church, in the Lords Supper, consisteth in praiers, praise, and geuing of thanks, and in remembring and shewing foorth of that sacrifice once offered vpon the altar of the crosse: that the same might continually be had in reuerence by mystery, which once onely, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

These are the things (right worshipfull M. Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the Commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the aunswering of your three foresayde propositions: being destitute of all helpe in this shortnes of time, sodaine warning, and want of bookes. Wherefore I appeale to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the helpe of the same (as much as may be) to be graunted vnto me. And because ye haue lately giuen most vniust and cruell sentence against me, I do heere appeale (so farfoorth as I may) to a more indifferent & iust censure & iudgemēt of some other superiour, competent, & lawful iudge, & that according to the approued state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confesse that I am ignoraunt what that is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the Realme. But if this appeale may not be graunted to me vpon earth, then do I flye (euen as to my onely refuge and alone hauen of health) to the sentence of the eternall iudge, that is, of y^e almighty God, to whose most merciful iustice towards his & most iust mercifulnes, I doe wholly commit my selfe and all my cause, nothing at all despayring of the defence of mine Aduocate and alone Sauour, Iesus Christ, to whome, with the euerlasting Father, and the holy Spirit, the sanctifier of vs all, be now, and for euer, all honour and glory, Amen.

Albeit this learned Byshop was not suffered to reade all that is aboue prefixed before the Disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it vp to the Prolocutour after the Disputations & sentence pronounced: I thought heere the place not vnmeete to annexe the same together with the rest. Now let vs heare the Arguments and aunsweres betweene Doctour Smith and him.

¶D. Smith beginneth to oppose.

SMith.

You haue occasioned me to go otherwise to worke with you, then I had thought to haue done. Me seemed you did in your supposition abuse the testimonies of scripture concerning the Ascension of Christ, to take away hys presence in the Sacrament, as though this were a strong Argument to inforce your matter withall:

*Christ did ascend vnto heauen.

Ergo, he is not in the Sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to disproue this reason of yours.

Christes Ascension is no let to his reall presence in the Sacrament.

Ergo, you are deceiued, whereas you do grounde youre selfe vpon those places.

Rid.

You import as though I had made a strong Argument by Christes going vp into heauen. But howsoeuer mine Argument is made, * you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay vpon his Ascension, but both vpon hys Ascension, and his * abiding there also.

Smith.

Christes going vp to heauen, and his abiding there, hinder not his reall presence in the Sacrament.

Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid.

Of Christes reall presence there may be a double vnderstanding, if you take the reall presence of Christ according to the reall and corporal substance which he tooke of the virgine: that presence being in heauen, cā not be on the earth also. But if you meane a reall presence, *secūdum rem aliquam quae ad corpus Christi pertinet*. i. according to some thing that appertaineth to Christes body, certes the Ascension and abiding in heauen are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christes body after that sort is heere present to vs in the Lords supper: by grace I say as Epiphanius speaketh it.

West.

I will cut off from hencefoorth all equiuocation and doubt. For whensoeuer we speake of Christes body, wee meane that which he tooke of the Uirgin.

Rid.

Christes Ascension and abiding in heauen can not stand with this presence.

Smith.

Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth for all his Ascension and continuall abode in heauen vnto the day of Dome.*

Ergo, his Ascension and abiding in heauen, is no let to his reall presence in the Sacrament.

Rid.

*Maister Doctour, this Argument is nothing worth I do not so straightly tye Christ vp in heauen, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure. For when he will, he may come downe from heauen, and be on the earth, as it liketh himselfe. Howbeit I do affirme that it is not possible for him to be both in heauen and earth at one tyme.

Smith.

Marke I pray you my Maisters, diligently that be here, what he aunswereth. First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hande of his father, is a let to the reall presence of his body in the Sacrament: and then afterward he flyeth from it agayne.

Rid.

I woulde not haue you thinke that I do imagine or dreame vpon any such maner of sitting, as these men heere sit in the Schoole.

Smith.

Ergo, it is lawfull for Christ then to be heere present on the earth, when he will himselfe.

Rid.

Yea when he will, it is lawfull indeede.

Smith.

Ergo, his ascending into heauen, doth not restrayne his reall presence in the Sacrament.

Rid.

I do not gaynesay, but that it is lawfull sor hym to appeare on the earth, when he wil: but proue you y^t he wil.*

Smith.

Then your aunswere dependeth vppon the will of Christ, I perceiue, Therefore I will ioyn agayn with you in this short argument.

Christ, albeit hee doth alway abide in heauen after hys ascension, was seene really and corporally on the earth. Ergo, notwithstanding his Ascension and continuall sitting at the right hand of the father, hee may be really and corporally in the sacrament.

Ryd.

If the Notaries should so recorde your Argument, as you haue framed it, you peradventure woulde be ashamed thereof hereafter.

Smith.

Christ after his Ascension was seen really and corporally vpon the earth.

Ergo, notwithstanding his Ascension and abiding with his father, he may be corporally in the Sacrament.

Ryd.

I graunt the antecedent: but I deny the consequent.

Smith.

Do you graunt the antecedent?

Rid

Yea I graunt the antecedent. I am content to let you haue so much. Because I knowe that there be certayne auncient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you vse that proposition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was seene on earth after his Ascension, Ergo &c.

Smith.

Nay, nay, I will frame it my selfe.

Christ after his Ascension was seene really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heauen continually:

Ergo, notwithstanding his Ascension and continuall abyding at the right hand of the father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Rid.

Let vs first agree about the continuall sitting at the right hand of the father.*

Smith.

Doth he so sit at the right hand of his father, that he doth neuer forsake the same?

Rid.

Nay I do not binde Christ in heauen so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me w^t your equiuocations. Such equinocatiōs are to be distincted. If you meane by his sitting in heauen, to reigne with his father, hee may be both in heauen and also in earth. But if ye vnderstande his sitting to be after a corporall manner of sitting, so is hee alwayes permanent in heauen.* For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heauen, is cleane contrary to the holy scriptures, as Augustine saith: Corpus Christi est in coelo, sed veritas eius vbi{que} diffusa est. i. The body of Christ is in heauen: but his truth is dispersed in euery place.

Now if continually he abide in heauen after the maner of his corporall presence, then his perpetual abiding there, stoppeth or letteth that the same corporall presence of hym cannot be in the sacrament.

Smith.

Act. 3. We read that Christ shal sit perpetually at the right hand of God, vnto the consummacion of the worlde.

West.

I perceauē you are come here to this issue, whether the bodye of Christ may be together both in earth and in heauen. I will tell you, that Christ in very deede, is both in earth and in heauen together and at one time, both one & the same naturall Christ after the veritie and substaunce of his very body, Ergo, &c.

Rid.

I deny the Antecedent.

West.

I proue it by 2. witnesses. First by Chrisost. hom. 17. ad Hebraeos. Nōnē per singulos dies offerim{us}? Offerimus quidē,*sed recordationē facientes mortis eius. Et vna est haec hostia, nō multae. Et quomodo vna, & non multae quae semel oblata est in sancto sanctorum: Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar est illius: id ipsum semper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, crastina alium, sed semper eundem ipsum. Proinde vnum est hoc sacrificium: alioqui hac ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Christi sunt. Nequaquam, sed vnus vbi{que} est Christus: & hic plenus existens, & illic plenus, vnum Corpus, i. Do we not offer euery day? We do so in deede: but doing it for the remembraunce of his death. And this offering is one and not many.

And howe is it one, and not many whiche was offred in the holy place? This sacrifice is a paterne of that: The self same we alwaies offer: Not now as offering one Lambe to day, and an other to morowe, but alwaies one & the same Lambe. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice: for els by this meanes, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places be there many Christes? not so, but one Christ in al places, both perfect here and perfect there, one onely body. Now thus I argue.

We offer one thing at all times.*

There is one Christ in all places, both here compleet, and there complete:

Ergo, by Chrisostome there is one body both in heauen and earth.

Rid.

I remember the place well. These thinges make nothing against me.*

West.

One Christ is in all places, here full and there full.

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Rid.

*One Christ is in all places, but not one bodye in all places.

West.

One body sayth Chrysostome.

Rid.

But not after the maner of bodely substance he is in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For [hic] & [illic] heere and there,* in Chrysostome do assigne no place, as Augustine sayth: Sursum est dominus, sed vbi{que} est veritas domini: The Lord is aboue: But the truth of the Lord is in all places.

Weston.

You can not so escape. He sayeth not the veritie of Christ is one: but one Christ is in all places, both heere and there.

Rid.

One sacrifice is in all places, because of the vnitie of him whome the sacrifice doth signifie: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same.*

West.

Ergo, by your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ.

But Chrysostome sayeth, one body & one Christ is there, and not one sacrifice.

Rid.

I saye that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ is there: Christ by spirit, grace, and veritie: the sacrifice by signification. * Thus I graunt with Chrysostome, that there is one Host or Sacrifice, and not many: and this our Host is called one by reason of the vnitie of that one, which one onely all our Hostes do represent. That only host was neuer other,* but that which was once offered on the aultar of the crosse, of which host all our hostes are but sacramentall examples.

And where you alledge out of Chrysostome, that Christ is offered in many places at once,* both here ful Christ, and there full Christ: I graunt it to be true, that is: that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places, but not after the corporall substance of our flesh which he toke, but after the benediction which geueth life: and he is geuen to the godly receiuers in bread and wine as Cyrill speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostome heere speaketh, he himselfe doth clearly shew what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction: We alwayes do the selfesame: howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.

West.

The second witnes is Bernard in a Sermon that he made of the Supper of the Lord, who sayth:

Vnde hoc nobis pijssime Iesu, vt nos vermiculi, reptantes super faciem terrae nos inquam qui puluis & cinis sumus,*te praesentem habere mereamur prae manibus, prae oculis, qui totus & integer sedes ad dextram patris, qui etiam vnus horae momento, ab ortu solis vsque ad occasum, ab Aquilone vsque ad Austrum, praesto es, vnus in multis, idem in diuersis locis? That is to say:

How commeth this to vs, most gentle Iesu, that wee seely woormes, creeping on the face of the earth, that we (I say) which are but dust and ashes, may deserue to haue thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who both together full and whole doest sit at the right hand of the father, and who also in the moment of one houre, from the rising of the Sunne, to the going downe of the same, art present one, and the selfesame in many and diuers places.

Rid.

These wordes of Bernarde make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthely be suspected.* He hath many good and fruitfull sayings: as also in that same foresayde place by you alledged. But yet he followed in such an age, when as the doctrine of the holy supper was sore peruered. Notwithstanding yet I will so expounde him, rather then reiect him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He sayth that we haue Christ in mysterie,* in a sacrament, vnder a veyle or couer, but hereafter shall haue him

without all veyle or couer. In the meane time, heere nowe hee sayth, that the verity of Christ is euery where. The verity of Christ is both heere and there, and in all places.

West.

What do you call verity? He sayeth not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ.

Rid.

The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: * after that verity he is with them whiche truly beleue vpon him.

West.

Christ is one and the same in diuers places. I vrge these words [in diuersis locis] in diuers places, and yet I am not satisfied.

Smyth.

Christ was seene really and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father.

Ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heauen, hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the Sacrament. *

Rid.

If by perpetuall sitting, you meane the residence of his body in heauen, your reason containeth manifest contradiction.

Smith.

These two haue no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Fathers right hand, and also to be sene here really in earth after his ascension. First, you wil geue me that Christ sitteth in heauen at y^e right hand of his father. For so it is written. Act. 5. Heauen must needes receyue hym vnto the tyme of the restoring of all, &c. Secondly, he was also seene of Paule heere corporally on earth: Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction.

Rid.

What setteth, but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heauen and in earth, and appeare to whome he will? and yet notwithstanding you haue not yet proued, that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heauen vnto the iudgement, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. * But this controuersie (as I sayd) is

amongst all the auncient Doctours and Writers. And that Christ hath bene heere seene, that they graunt all: but whether then he being in earth or in heauen, that is doubtfull.

Smith.

I will proue, that he would appeare in earth.

He so would, and also did appeare heere in earth after his ascension. Ergo, &c.

Rid.

He appeared, I graunt: but how he appeared,* whether then being in heauen or in earth, that is vncertayne. So he appeared to Steuen, being then corporally sitting in heauen. For speaking after the true maner of mans body, when he is in heauen, he is not the same time in earth: and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heauen.

Smith.

Christ hath bene both in heauen and in earth all at one time.

Ergo, you are deceiued in denying that.

Rid.

I do not vtterly deny Christ heere to haue bene seene in earth. Of vncertayne things I speake vncertaynely.

Smith.

He was seene of Paule, as being borne before hys time, after his ascending vp to heauen. 1. Cor. 15.*

But his vision was a corporall vision:

Ergo, he was seene corporally vpon the earth after hys ascending into heauen.

Rid.

He was seene really and corporally in deede: but whether being in heauen or earth, it is a doubt. And of doubtfull things we must iudge doubtfully. Howbeit you must proue that he was in heauen in the same time, whē he was corporally on earth.

Smith.

I would know of you, whether this vision may inforce the resurrection of Christ?

Rid.

I accompt this a sound and firme Argument to proue the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heauen or in earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth,* it maketh no greate matter. Both wayes the Argumente is of lyke strength. For whether he were seene in heauen, or whether he were seene on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certaine it is, he rose againe: for he coule not haue bene seene, vnlesse he had risen againe.

Smith.

Paule sawe hym as he was heere conuersaunt on earth, and not out of heauen as you affirme.

Rid.

You runne to the beginning agayne: that you take for graunted, which you should haue proued.

Smith.

You make delays for the nonce.

Rid.

Say not so, I pray you. Those that heare vs, be learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I aunswere well enough, I warrant you.

Tresh.

He was seene after such sort, as y^t he might be heard.

Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard?*

Rid.

He that found the meanes for Steuen to beholde him in heauen, euen hee could bring to passe well enough,* that Paule might heare him out of heauen.

Da- Smith. As other saw him, so Paule saw him.

ti- Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth:

si. Ergo, Paule saw him visibly and corporally on earth.*

Rid.

I graunt he was sene visibly and corporally: but yet haue you not proued that he was seene in earth.*

Smith.

He was seene so of him, as of other.

But he was seene of other being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth:

Ergo, he was seene of Paule on earth:

Rid.

Your controuersie is about [existens in terra] that is, being on earth: if Existere, to be, be referred as vnto y^e place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on the earth. But if it be referred as to the veritie of the body, then I graunt it. Moreouer, I say that Christ was seene of men in earth after his ascension, it is certayne. For he was sene of Steuen: he was seene also of Paule. But whether he descended vnto the earth, or whether he being in heauen, did reuele or manifest himselfe to Paule, when Paule was rapt into the third heauen, I know that some contend about it: & the Scripture, as far as I haue read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but iudge vncertainly of [Page 1448](#) those things which be vncertayne.

Smith.

Wee haue Egesippus and Linus agaynste you, whiche testifie that Christe appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after hys Ascension. Lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter ouercome with the requestes and mournings of the people, whiche desired him to ge^e hym out of the Citie because of Nero his lying in waite for him, began without company to conuey hymselfe away from thence: and when he was 〈◇〉 to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meete him, and worshipping him, he sayd: Maister, whether walke you? Chrst aunswered, I am come againe to be crucified. Linus writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfesame story. Saint Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias,* scholer to the Apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heauen. With what face therefore dare you affirme it to be a thing vncertaine, which these men do manifestly witnes to haue bene done?

Rid.

I sayd before that y^e Doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith.

Do you thynke thys story is not certayne, beeyng approued by so auncient and probable authoritie?

Rid.

I do so thinke, because I take and esteeme not theyr words, for the wordes of Scripture. And though I dyd graunt you that story to be certayne, yet it maketh not against me.

Smith.

Such things as be certayne, and approued of them, you do reiect as things vncertayne.

Rid.

The story of Linus is not of so greate authoritie: although I am not ignorant that * Eusebius so writeth also in the story of the Church. And yet I accompt not these mens reports so sure as the Canonically scriptures.* Albeit if at any time he had to any man appeared heere on the earth after his Ascension, that doth not disprooue my saying. For I goe not about to tye Christ vp in fetters (as some do vntruly report of vs) but that he may be sene vpō the earth according to his Diuine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirme that it is contrary to the nature of his manhoode and the true maner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heauen and earth, according to his corporall substaunce. And the perpetuall sitting at the right hand of the father, may (I graunt) be taken for the stabilitie of Christes kingdome, and his continuall or euerlasting equalitie with his father in the glory of heauen.

Smith.

Now where as you boast that your faith is the very fayth of the auncient Church: I will shew heere that is not so, but that it doth directly striue against the fayth of the old Fathers. I will bring in Chrysostome for this poynt. Hom. 2. ad populum Antiochenum. Tanquam maximam haereditatem,*Elisaeus melotem suscepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit haereditas, omni auro praetiosior: & erat duplex Helias ille: & erat sursum Helias, & deorsum Helias. Noui quòd iustum illum beatum putatis, & velletis quisque esse vt ille. Quid igitur, si vobis demonstraui quid aliud, quod illo multo maius omnes sacris m•sterijs imbuti recipimus. Helias quidem melotem discipulo reliquit: Filius autem dei ascendens suam nobis carnem dimisit. Sed Helias quidem exutus: Christus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipsam habens ascendit. That is: Eliseus receiued the mantell, as a right great inheritaunce. For it was in deede a right excellent inheritaunce, and more precious then any gold beside. And the same Helias was a double Helias: He was both Helias aboue, and Helias beneath. I know well you thinke that iust man to be happy, and you would gladly be euery one of you as he is, what will you then say if I shall declare to you a certayne other thing, whych all we that are indued with these holy mysteries, do receiue much more then that? Helias in deede left his mantell to his scholer. But the sonne of God ascending, dyd leaue heere his flesh vnto vs. Helias left it putting off the same. But Christ both left it to vs, and ascended also to heauen hauing it with him.

Rid.

*I graunt that Christ did both: that is, both tooke vp his fleshe wyth hym, ascending vp, and also did leaue the same behynde him with vs, but after a diuers manner and respect. For he tooke his flesh with him, after the true and corporall substance of his body and flesh: againe, he left the same in myserie to the faithfull in the supper to be receiued after a spirituall communication and

by grace. Neither is the same receiued in the Supper onely, but also at other times, by hearing the Gospell and by fayth. For, the [bread] which we breake, is the communication of the body of Christ: And generally: vnles ye eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shall haue no life in you.

Smith.

*Chrysostome in his booke de dignitate Sacerdotij. lib. 3. cap. 3. sayth: O miraculum, O Dei beneuolentiam. Qui sursum sedet, tempore sacrificij, hominum manibus continetur. Or, as other haue translated it: O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem, qui cum patre sursum sedet, in illo ipso tēpore articulo, omniū manibus pertractatur, ac seipse tradit volentibus ipsum accipere & complecti That is: O miracle, O good will of God. He that sitteth aboue, at the sacrifice time, is conteyned in the handes of men. Or els as other haue translated, thus: Oh myracle, Oh the gentlenes of God. Hee that sitteth aboue with the father, is handled with the handes of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himselfe deliuer hymselfe to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.

Rid.

He that sitteth there, is here present in mistery and by grace, and is holden of the godly, suche as communicate him, not onely sacramentally with the hand of the bodye, but much more holesomely with the hand of the hart, and by inward drinking is receaued: but by the sacramentall signification he is holden of all men.

Seton▪

Where is then the miracle if hee be onely present thorough his grace and in mistery onely?

Rid.

Yes, there is a miracle, good sir,* Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great (trow you) when bread, which is wont to susteine the body, becommeth food to the soule? He that vnderstandeth not that miracle, hee vnderstandeth not y^e force of that misterye. God graūt we may euery one of vs vnderstād his truth, & obey the same.

Smith.

Chrisostome calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heauen, and at the same tyme is held in the handes of men: not that he is handled wyth the handes of men onely in a misterye, and is with them through grace. Therfore while you deny that, you are altogether deceiued, and stray far from the truth.

Harps.

The former place of Chrisostome is not to bee let slip. Let me before I begin, aske this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloke or mantell, and the gift of his prophecy to his Scholer?

Rid.

Yes surely, it is a great matter.

Harps.

Did not Elias then leaue great grace?

Rid.

He did so.

Harps.

But Christ left a farre greater grace then Helias: for he could not both leaue his cloke and take it with hym: Christ doth both in his flesh.

Rid.

I am well content to graunt, that Christ lefte muche greater thinges to vs, then Helius to Eliseus,* albeit he be sayde to haue left his double spirite with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, whiche Christ ascending vp, here left with vs, is the onely saluation & lyfe of all men which shalbe saued: which life Christ hath here left vnto vs, to be receaued by fayth through the hearyng of y^e word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This vertue and grace Chrisostome, after the phrase and maner of Iohn the Euangelist, calleth Christes flesh.

Harps.

But Christ performed a greater matter.* He caryed vp and left behinde. You vnderstand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, that Elias left his mantel, and carryed it not with him, Christ left his flesh behind him & caryed it with him also.

Rid.

True it is, and I my selfe did affirme no lesse before. Now where you seeme to speake many thinges, in deede you bring no new thing at all. Let there be a comparison betweene grace and grace, & then Christ gaue the far grea^tter grace, when he did inserte or graffe vs into his fleshe.

Harps▪

If you wil geue me leaue, I will ask you this question. If Chrisostome would haue ment so, that Christ left his body in the Eucharist, what playner woordes thincke you, or more euident could he haue vsed then these?

Kid.

These things be not of so great force as they beare a great shewe outwardly. Hee might also haue vsed grosser wordes if he had listed to haue vttered his minde so grosely: for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after y^e maner of other Doctors, which of misticall matters speake mystically, and of Sacramentes Sacramentally.

Harps.

The comparison lyeth in this: That which was impossible to Elias, is possible to Christ.

Rid.

I graunt. It was possible to Christ, which was to y^e other impossible. Helias left his cloke: Christ both left hys flesh and tooke it with him.

Harps.

Helias left behinde him, & could not take with him: Christ both left behinde him, and also tooke with hym. Except you wil say: the comparison here made to be nothing.

Rid.

He tooke vp his flesh with him to heauen, and lefte here the communion of his flesh in earth.*

West.

You vnderstand in the first place his flesh for verye true flesh: and in the second place for grace, & communion of his flesh: and why do you not vnderstand it in y^e second place also for his true fleshe? I will make it euident, howe blockish and grosse your answere is.

Rid.

These be tauntes and reproches, not beseeming (as I thinke) the modesty of this Schole.

West.

Elias left his cloke to his disciple:* but the sonne of God, going vp to heauen, left his fleshe. But Elias certainly left his cloke behinde, and Christ likewise his flesh, [Page 1449](#) and yet ascending, he carryed the same with him to. By which words we make this reason.

Christ left his flesh to his Disciples, and yet for all that he tooke the same vp with him:

Ergo, he is present heere with vs.

Heere Doctour Weston crying to the people, sayd vnto them: Maister Doctour aunswereth it after this fashion:

*He caried his flesh into heauen, and he left here the communion of his flesh behinde. Assuredly the aunswere is to vnlearned.

Rid.

I am glad you speake in Englishe. Surely I wishe that all the whole world might vnderstand your reasons and my aunsweres. Reliquit nobis carnem suam. i. He left vs his flesh. This you vnderstande of his flesh, and I vnderstand the same of grace. He caried his fleshe into heauen, and left behind the communion of his flesh vnto vs.

West.

Ye Iudges, what thinke ye of this aunswere.

Iudges.

*It is ridiculous and a very fond aunswere.

Rid.

Well, I take your words paciētly for Christes cause.

West.

Weston heere citeth a place: Spargimur sanguine Christi: We are sprinkled with the bloud of Christ.

Rid.

M. Doctor, it is the same bloud, but yet spiritually receiued.* And in deede all the Prophetes were sprinkled with y^e same bloud, but yet spiritually I say, and by grace. And whatsoeuer they be that are not sprinckled with thys bloud, they can not be partakers of y^e euerlasting saluatiō.

West.

*Here I bring Bernard vnto you againe. Euen from the West vnto the East, from the North vnto the South, there is one and the selfesame Christ in many and diuers places.

Rid.

The aunswere is soone made, that one Christe is here and in diuers places. For God according to hys Maiestie, and according to his prouidence, as S. Austen sayeth, is euery where with the godly, according to his indiuisable and vnspeakeable grace.* Or else, if we should vnderstande Bernard according to the corporall presence, how monstrous or huge, & giantlike a body would you then make Christes body to be, which should reach euen from North to South, from West to East.

West.

Nay, nay, you make a monstrous aunswer and vnlearned.

Ward.

Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you,* I am minded to come again to M. Doctours argument, by which you being brought into the briers, seemed to doubt of Christes presence on the earth. To y^e prooffe of which matter I will bring nothyng else, then that which was agreed vpon in the Catechisme of the Synode of London, set out not long ago by you.

Rid.

Syr, I geue you to witte, before you goe any farther, that I did set out no Catechisme.

West.

*Yes, you made me subscribe to it when you were a Byshop in your ruffe.

Rid.

I compelled no man to subscribe.

Warde.

Yes by roode, you are the very author of that heresie.

Rid.

I put foorth no Catechisme.

Cole.

Did you neuer consent to the setting out of those things, which you allowed?

Rid.

*I graunt that I sawe the booke. But I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I consented to the booke: I was not the author of it.

Iudges.

*The Catechisme is so set foorth, as though the whole conuocation house had agreed to it. Cranmer sayd yesterday that you made it.

Rid.

I thinke surely that he would not say so.

Ward.

The Catechisme hath this clause: Si visibiliter & in terra, &c. i. If visibly on the earth, &c.

Rid.

I aunswere that those articles were set out, I both witting and consenting to them. Myne owne hand will testifie the same, and M. Cranmer put hys hand to them likewise, and gaue them to other afterward. Now, as for the place which you alledge out of it, that may easely be expounded, and without any inconuenience.

Ward.

Christ is the power and vertue of his Father.

*Ergo, he was not of so little strength, that he coulde not bring to passe whatsoeuer he would himselfe.

Rid.

I graunt.

Ward.

Christ was the wisdom of the father.

Ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as euery man might vnderstand: neither was it hys mynde to speake one thing in steede of another.

Rid.

All this I graunt.

Ward.

Christ was likewise the very truth: Ergo, he made and perfourmed in deede,* that which he intended to make. And likely it is, that he doth neither deceiue, nor could be deceiued, nor yet would go about to deceiue other.

West.

Hilarius in Psalmum 118. hath these words. Vera omnia sunt, & neque ociosè, neque inutiliter constituta dei verba, sed extra omnem ambiguitatem superfluae inanitatis, ignita, & ignita vehementer, ne quid illic esse quod non perfectum ac proprium sit, existimetur. That is: All Gods wordes or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor vnprofitably, but fiery, and wonderfull fiery without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanitie, that ther may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper.

Ward.

He is the truth of the father: Ergo, he can neyther deceiue, nor yet be deceyued, especially, I meane, when he spake at his latter end, and his testament.

Rid.

Christ is the very truth of the father: and I perceyue well to what scope you driue your reason.* This is but a farre set compasse of words. If that these words of Christ: This is my body, which you meane, be rightly vnderstoode, they are most true.

Ward.

He tooke, he brake, he gaue, &c. what tooke he?

Ridley.

Bread, his body.

Ward.

What brake he?

Ridley.

Bread.

Ward.

What gaue he?

Ridley.

Bread.

Ward.

Gaue he bread made of wheate, & materiall bread?

Rid.

I know not whether he gaue bread of wheate: but he gaue true and materiall bread.

Ward.

I will proue the contrary by Scriptures.

He deliuered to them that which he had them take.*

But he had not them take materiall bread, but his owne body.

Ergo, he gaue not materiall bread, but his owne body.

Rid.

I deny the Minor.* For he bad them take his body Sacramentally in materiall bread: and after that sort it was both bread, which he bad them take, because the substaunce was bread, and it was also▪ his body, because it was the Sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the comming to of the holy Ghost, which is alwayes assistentio those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administred.

Harps.

What is he that so sayeth: By the comming vnto of the holy spirite?

Rid.

I haue Theophilact for mine author for this maner of speaking. And heere I bring him,* that ye may vnderstand that phrase not to be mine, vpon Mathew. 26. Furthermore, the said Theophilact writing vpon these wordes: This is my body, sheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, whih is sanctified on the aultar.

Ogle.

That place of Theophilact maketh openly agaynst you. For he sayth in that place, that Christ sayd not: This is a figure of my body, but my body. For sayeth he, by an vnspeakeable operation it is transformed, although it seeme to vs to be bread.

Rid.

It is not a figure,* that is to say non tantum est figura. i. it is not only a figure of his body.

West.

Where haue you that word [tantum] onely?

Rid.

It is not in that place, but he hath it in another & Augustine doth so speake many times, & other Doctours mo.

West.

Heere Weston repeating the words of Theophilact in English, sayd: He sayth it is not a figure, and you say it is a figure.

And the same Theophilact sayth moreouer: that the cōuersiō or turning of the bread is made into the Lords flesh.

* That which Christ gaue, we do geue.

But that which he gaue was not a figure of his body, but his body:

Ergo, we geue no figure, but his body.

☞ As concerning the authoritie of Theophilactus, what hee thought and might haue spoken of that Author, D. Ridley dyd not then speake, nor could conueniently (as he himselfe afterward declared, reporting and writing with his owne hande the disputations in the prison) because of the vproares and clamours which were so great, and he of so many called vpon, that he could not aunswere as he would, and what he thought touching the authoritie of Theophilactus, but answered simply to that, whych was brought out of that author, on this sort.

I graunt (quoth he) the bread to be conuerted and turned into the flesh of Christ, but not by transubstantiation,* but by a Sacramentall conuersion or turning. It is transformed saith Theophilactus, in the same place, by a mysticall benediction, and by the accession or comming of the holy Ghost vnto the flesh of Christ. He sayeth not: by expulsion or driuing away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in his place the corporall substaunce of Christes flesh. And where he sayth: It is not a figure of the body: we shoulde vnderstande that saying, as he himselfe doth elsewhere adde onely, that is: it is no naked or bare figure only. For

Christ is present in his mysteries, neither at any time (as Cyprian sayeth) doth the diuine Maiestie absent himselfe from the diuine mysteries.

West.

You put in onely, and that is one lye. And I tell you [Page 1450](#) farther, Peter Martyr was fayne to denye the Author, because the place was so playne agaynst him.* But marke his wordes, how he sayth: It is no figure, but his flesh.

Rid.

To take his wordes, and not his meaning, is to doe iniury to the author.

H•rd.

No other Doctour maketh more agaynst you. For the wordes in Greeke are 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 ,* which is in Latine, transelementatur, y^t is, turned from one elemēt into an other. And shewing the cause why it is in forme of breade, he sayth: Quoniam infirmi sumus, & horremus crudas carnes cōmedere, maximè hominis carné: ideo panis quidem apparet, sed caro est. That is: Because wee are infirme, and abhorre to eate raw flesh, specially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.

Rid.

That word hath not that strength which you seeme to geue it. You strayne it ouermuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose.* For the same Author hath in an other place, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , That is, We are transelemented, or transformed and chaunged into the body of Christ: & so by that word, in such meaning as you speake of, I could proue as well that we are transformed in deed into the very body of Christ.

Ward.

Learned M. Doctour, thus you expound the place, Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body. i. a figure of my body.

Rid.

Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to expresse the whole.

Da- Ward. My sheepe here my voyce, and folow me.

ti- But all the sheepe of Christ heare this voice:.*This is my body, without a figure:

si. Ergo, the voyce of Christ here hath no figure.

Rid.

The sheepe of Christ folow the voyce of Christ, vnles they be seduced and deceiued through ignorance.

Ward.

But the Fathers tooke this place for no figuratiue speech.

Rid.

Yet they do all number this place among figuratiue & tropicall speeches.

Ward.

Iustinus Martyr in his Seconde Apology hath thus: 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 [.*](#)

Ne{que} verò haec pro pane potuue communi sumimus: Imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Iesus Christus, Seruator noster in carnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem & sanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis & carnes nostrae perimmutationem enutriuntur, eiusdem incarnati carnem & sanguinem esse sumus edocti.

This place Cramner hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished.

☞ For wee doe not take this for common breade and drinke, but like as Iesus Christ our Sauour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and bloud for our saluation: euen so we bee taught the foode wherewith our fleshe and bloud is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the fleshe & bloud of the same Iesus incarnate.

[*](#)Doctor Cranmer hath thus translated it: Breade, water and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinckes be, but they bee ordeined purposely to geue thanks to GOD, and therefore bee called Eucharistia, and be called the bodye and bloud of Christ: and that it is lawfull for none to eat and drinke of them but that professe Christ, and liue according to the same: and yet the same meat and drinke is chaunged into our flesh and bloud, and nourisheth our bodyes.

Rid.

O good Mayster Doctor, goe sincerely to worke: I know that place, and I know how it is vsed.

Ward.

Warde here repeated the place agayne out of Iustine: We are taught. &c. as aboue.

Rid.

O what vnright dealing is this? I haue the selfe same place of Iustine here copyed out. You know your selfe whiche are skilfull of Greeke,* howe the wordes here be remoued out of the right place, and that without any iust cause.

Ward.

I stand still vpon mine argument. What say you?

Rid.

If you will that I should aunswere to Iustine, then you must hears. I haue but one tongue, I can not aunswere at once to you all.

West.

* Christ gaue vs his very and true flesh to be eaten.

But he neuer gaue it to be eaten, but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the aultar.

Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ.

Rid.

If you speake of the very true fleshe of Christ, after the substance of his flesh, taken in the Wombe of the Uirgine Mary, and not by grace and spirituallly, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you vnderstand it of the true flesh, after grace and spirituall communication, I then graunt the first part, and deny the second. For he geueth vnto vs truly his flesh, to be eaten of al that beleue in him. For he is the very & true meat of the soule, wherewith we are fed vnto euerlastinge life, according to this saying: My flesh is meat indeed. &c.

Ward.

Desiderio desiderauit hoc pascha manducare vobiscum. i.*I haue desired with my hartly desire to eat this Paschall with you. What Paschall I pray you desired he to eate? If you stand in doubt, you haue Tertullian. Lib. 4. Contra Martionem• Professus ita{que} se concupiscentia concupiscere edere pascha suum (indignum enim vt alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem & distributum discipulis suum corpus illum fecit: Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo. &c. i. He therfore protesting a great desire to eat his Paschall, his owne Paschall I say (for it was not meete that he shoulde desire any other then his owne) taking bread and distributing it to his Disciples, made it his body, saying: This is my body.

What say you? did he vnderstand by this Paschall the Iudaicall Lambe, or by that whiche afterward he gaue in his Supper.

Rid.

I suppose that the first he vnderstoode of the Iudaicall Passeouer, and afterward of the Eucharist.
Ward.

Nay, then Tertullian is agaynst you, which sayth.

Ba- He desired to eate his Passeouer.

ro- But the Iudaical Passeouer was not his, but straūge from Christ.*

co. Ergo, he meant not of the Iudaicall Passeouer.

Rid.

The Iudaicall Passeouer was not straunge from Christ, but his owne: insomuch as hee is the Lord of all:* and as well the Lord of the Iudaicall Passeouer, as of his owne supper.

Ward.

What aunswere you then to Tertullian, the which sayth: He desired to eate his owne Passeouer, and not the Iuish Passeouer, which stood vpon wordes without flesh.*

Rid.

Tertullian may here dallye in sense Anagogicall. I know that Cyprian hath these wordes: Tunc instituit quidē Eucharistiam, sed vtrum{que} erat Christi. i. He began th• to institute the holy Eucharist, but both were Christes.

Ward.

Augustine the Psalme. 96. Writing vppon these wordes: Adorate scabellum pedum eius. i. Worshipp his footestoole. &c. Quaero inquit, quid sit scabellum pedum eius. Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra scabellum pedum meorum: Fluctuans conuerto me ad Christum, quia ipsum quaero hic,* & inuenio quomodo sine impietate adoretur scabellum pedum eius. Suscepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra est, & de carne Mariae carnem accepit▪ & quia in ipsa carne hic ambulauit, & ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnē māducat nisi prius adorauerit. Inuentum est, quo modo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoretur, vt non solum non peccemus adorādo, sed peccemus non adorando ipsum. &c. i. I aske (sayth he) what is the footstoole of his feete,* and the Scripture telleth me: The earth is the footstoole of my feete. And so in searching therof I turne my selfe to Christ, because I seeke him here in the earth, and I find how, without impiety, the footstole of his feete may be worshipped: for he tooke earth of earth, in that he is flesh of the earth, and of the fleshe of Marye he tooke flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked and also he gaue the same flesh to vs, to be eaten vnto saluation. But no man eateth that fleshe excepte hee haue worshypped before. And so it is found, how such a footestoole of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that, not only we sinne not in worshipping, but also do sinne in not worshipping the same.

Da- He gaue to vs his flesh to be eaten,* y^e which he tooke of the earth, in which also here he walked. &c.

ti- But he neuer gaue his flesh to be eaten, but when hee gaue it at his Supper, saying: This is my body.

si. Ergo, in the Eucharist he gaue vs his flesh.

Rid.

You do alledge the place of Austen vpon the Psalme. 98. Where he sayth: that Christ gaue his fleshe to be eaten which he tooke of the earth, and in whiche here he walked inferring hereupon that Christ neuer gaue the same hys fleshe to be eaten, but onely in the Eucharist, I deny your Minor, for he gaue it both in the Eucharist to be eaten and also otherwise, as wel in the word, as also vpon the crosse.

Smith.

What if Augustine say, that Christ did not onely [Page 1451](#) geue himself to vs in a figure, but gaue his own very flesh in deed and really?

Rid.

I neuer sayd that Christ gaue onely a figure of his bo|dy. For in deed he gaue himselfe in a reall communication, that is, he gaue his flesh after a communicatiō of his flesh.

West.

Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English,* and afterwarde sayd: Ye say, Christ gaue not his body, but a figure of his body.

Rid.

I say not so, I say he gaue his own body verely. But he gaue it by a reall, effectuell, and spirituall cōmunicatiō.

☞ After this, Doctour Glinne began to reason, who (notwythstandinge Mayster Ridley hadde alwayes taken him for his olde frend) made a very contumelious Preface agaynst him. This preface Mayster Ridley therefore did the more take to hart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought that Doctour Glins minde was to serue the turne. For afterwarde hee came to the house wherein Mayster Ridley was kept, and as farre as Mayster Ridley could call ro remembraunce, before Doctor Young and Doctour Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his wordes. The whiche Mayster Ridley did euen from the very hart, and wysshed earnestly, that God would geue, not onely to him, but vnto all other, the true and euident knowledge of Gods Euangelicall sincerity, that all offences put a part, they being perfectly and fullye reconciled, might agree and meete together in the house of the heauenly father.

Glin.

I see that you elude, or shift away all scriptures and fathers,* I will go to worke with you after an other sort.

Christ hath here his Church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speake contumeliously of the Sacramentes.

Rid.

This is a greuous contumely, that you call me a shifter away of the Scriptures, and of the Doctours. As touching the Sacraments, I neuer yet spake contumeliously of them. I graunt that Christ hath here his Church in earth: but that Church did euer receiue & acknowledge the Eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, and not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace.

Clin.

Then I aske this question, whether the Catholicke Church hath euer or at any time bene Idolatrous?

Rid.

The Church is the pillar and stay of trueth, that neuer yet hath bene idolatrous in respect of y^e whole: but peradventure in respect of some part therof, which sometimes may be seduced by euill Pastors and through ignoraunce.

Glin.

* That Church euer hath worshipped the fleshe of Christ in the Eucharist.

But the church hath neuer bene idolatrous:

Ergo it hath alwayes iudged the flesh of Christ to be in the Eucharist.

Rid.

And I also worshippe Christ in the Sacrament: but not because hee is included in the Sacrament: like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because hee is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say that the body of Christ is present in the Sacrament: but yet Sacramētally and spiritually, according to his grace geuing life, and in that respect, really, that is, according to hys benediction geuing life.

Furthermore I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lordes Supper, in such sort as y^e church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the holy ghost, and guided by Gods word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth

acknowledge a presence of Christes body in the Lords Supper to be cōmunicated to the godly by grace and spiritually, as I haue often shewed, and by a Sacramental signification, but not by the corporall presence of the body of his flesh.

Glin.

*Austen contra Faustum Lib. 20. cap. 13. Non nulli propter panem & calicem, Cererem & Bacchum nos colere existimabāt. &c i. Some there were which thought vs in stead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus.

Upon this place I gather that there was an adoratiō of the sacramēt amōg the fathers. And Erasmus in an Epistle to the brethren of low Germany, sayth that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Austen & Cyprian.

Rid.

We do handle the signes reuerently: but we worshyp the Sacrament as a Sacrament, not as a thing signified by the Sacrament.

Glin.

What is the Symbole or Sacrament?

Rid.

Bread.

Glin.

Ergo we worship bread.

Ridley.

There is a decepte in this worde [Adoramus.] Wee worship the Symboles when reuerently we handle them.* We worshippe Christ wheresoeuer we perceiue his benefites. But we vnderstand his benefite to be greatest in the Sacrament.

Glin.

So I may fall down before the bench here, and wor: ship Christ: and if any man aske me what I doe, I may aunswre I worship Christ.

Rid.

We adore and worship Christ in the Eucharist. And if you meane the externall sacrament, I say, that also is to be worshipped as a Sacrament.

Glin.

So was the fayth of the primitiue Church.*

Rid.

Would to God we woulde all folow the fayth of that Church.

Glin.

Thinke you that Christ hath now his Church?

Rid.

I do so.

Glin.

But all the Church adoreth Christ, verely and really in the Sacrament.

Rid.

You know your selfe that the Easte Churche woulde not acknowledge transubstantiatiō,* as it appeareth in the Councell of Florence.

Cole.

That is false. For in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation, although they would not entreat of y^e matter, for that they had not in theyr commission so to doe.

Rid.

Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the Article was propounded vnto them.

Cole.

It was not because they didde not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do.

Curtop.

Reuerend Syr, I will proue and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the Eucharist: & wher^{as} the holy Fathers,* both of the West and Easte Churche haue written, both manye thinges and no lesse manifest of the same matter, yet I will bring forth onelye Chrisostome. The place is in cap. 10. Corinth. 1. Homel. 24.

* That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed frō the side of Christ.

But true and pure bloud didde flowe from the side of Christ:

Ergo, his true and pure bloud is in the cup.

Rid.

It is his true bloud which is in the Chalice (I graūt) & the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is bloud in deede, but not after the same maner, after which maner it sprang from his side. For here is the bloud but by the way of a Sacrament.

Agayne, I say, like as the bread of the Sacrament and of thankes geuing is called the bodye of Christ geuen for vs: so the cup of the Lord is called the bloud which sprang from the side of Christ. But that Sacramentall breade is called the body, because it is the Sacrament of his body: euen so likewise the cuppe is called the bloud also, whiche flowed out of Christes side, because it is in the Sacrament of that bloud which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himselfe for our singuler commodity, namely for our spirituall nourishment, like as Baptisme is ordeined in water to our spirituall regeneration.

Cur.

The Sacrament of the bloud is not the bloud.

Rid.

The Sacrament of the bloud, is the bloud, and that is attributed to the Sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the Sacrament.

Weston.

Here Weston repeateth Curtoppes argument in English.

*That which is in the Chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christes side.

But there came out very bloud:

Ergo, there is very bloud in the Chalice.

Rid.

The bloud of Christ is in the Chalice in deed, but not in the reall presence, but by grace and in a Sacrament.

West.

That is very wel. Then we haue bloud in y^e chalice.

Rid.

It is true, but by grace and in a Sacrament.

Here the people hissed at him.

Rid.

O my maysters, I take this for no iudgement: I will stand to Gods iudgement.

Wat.

Good Syr, I haue determined to haue respect of the time, and to abstayne from all those thinges whiche maye hinder the entraunce of our disceptation: and therefore first I aske this question: When Christ sayd in the vi. of Iohn Qui manducat carnem meam. i. He that eateth my flesh. &c. doth he signify in those wordes the eating of his true and naturall flesh, or els of the bread and Symbole?*

Rid.

I vnderstand that place of the very fleshe of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: And farther I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth vnto the spirituall manducation. For without the spirit to eat the Sacrament, is to eate it vnprofitably. For who so eateth not spiritually, he eateth hys owne condemnation.

Wat.

I aske them whether the Euchariste be a Sacrament.

Rid.

The Eucharist taken for a signe or symbole, is a Sacrament.

Wat.

Is it instituted of God?

Rid.

It is instituted of God.

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Wat.

Where?

Rid.

In the supper.

Wat.

With what wordes is it made a Sacrament?

Rid.

By the words and deedes which Christ sayd and did, and commaunded vs to say and do the same.*
[_](#)

Wat.

It is a thing commonly receiued of all, that the Sacramentes of the new law geue grace to them that worthily receiue.

Rid.

True it is that grace is geuen by the Sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward vertue & Christ geue the grace through the sacrament.

Wat.

What is a sacrament?

Rid.

I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Austine: but I will take that whiche semeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible signe of inuisible grace.

Wat.

Ergo, grace is geuen to the receiuers.

Rid.

The society or coniunction with Christ through the holy Ghost, is grace, and by the Sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is ingrafted in the head.

Wat.

But there is a difference betwene the mysticall body, and naturall body.

Rid.

There is (I graunt you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Wat.

*The Eucharist is a sacrament of the new testamēt, Ergo, it hath a promise of grace:

But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

Ergo, bread and wine be not the sacramentes of y^e new Testament.

Rid.

I graunt that grace pertaineth to the Eucharist, according to this saying: The bread which we breake is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ? And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh vnworthely the sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord, eateth & drinketh his owne damnation: euen so he that eateth and drinketh worthy, eateth life, and drinketh life. I graunt also that there is no * promise made to bread and wyne. But in as much as they are sanctified and made the Sacramentes of the body & bloud of the Lord, they haue a promise of grace annexed vnto them, namely of spirituall partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and geuen, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receiue the Sacrament.

Wat.

If the substaunce of bread and wine do remayne, thē the society betwixt Christ and vs, is promised to them that take bread and wine.

But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receiuers of his fleshe and bloud. Iohn. 6. Qui manducat. &c.

Ergo, the substance of bread and wyne remayneth not.

Rid.

The promise vndoubtedly is made to the flesh and the bloud, but the same be receiued in y^e sacramēt through faith.

Wat

Euery Sacrament hath a promise of grace adnexed vnto it.

But bread and wine haue not a promise of grace adnexed vnto it.

Ergo, the bread and wine are not sacramentes.

Rid.

True it is, euery sacrament hath grace adnexed vnto it instrumentally. But there is diuers vnderstandyng of this word [Habet] hath. For the sacrament hath not grace in|cluded in it: but to those that receiue it well, it is turned to grace. After that maner the water in Baptisme hath grace promised, and by that grace the holy spirite is geuen, not that grace is included in water, but that grace commeth by water.

Wat.

This promise is made to the flesh & bloud of Christ, and not to bread and wine.

Ergo, the sacrament is not bread and wyne, but the body and bloud of Christ.

Rid.

There is no promise made to him that taketh commō bread and common wine: but to him that receiueth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise geuen to the symboles, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and bloud.

Wat.

Euery sacrament of the new testament geueth grace promised of God, to those that worthely receiue it.

Rid.

This sacramēt hath a promise of grace, made to those that receiue it worthely, because grace is geuen by it, as by an instrument, not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wyne.

Wat.

But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthely receiue the flesh & bloud: not y^e bread & wine.

Rid.

That proposition of yours hath a diuers vnderstanding. There is no promise made to thē that receiue cōmon bread, as it were: but to those that worthely receiue the sāctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify.

Wat.

Where is that promise made?

Rid.

The bread which he brake, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? [And] we being many are one bread, one body of Christ?

Wat.

What doth he meane by bread in that place?

Rid.

The bread of the Lordes table, the Communiō of the body of Christ.

Wat.

Harken what Chrysostome sayth vpō that place: Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid significare voluit, & multam inter haec conuenientiam ostendere. Non enim participatione tantum & acceptione, sed vnitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud vnitum est Christo, ita & nos per hūc panē vnione coniungimur. That is: The bread which we break, is it not the Communication of Christes bodye? Wherefore did he not say participation? because hee would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great conuenience and coniunction betwixt y^e same. For we do not communicate by participation onely and re'ceiuing, but also by conning. For likewise as that body is connited to Christ, so also we by the same bread are conioyned and vnited to him.

Rid.

Let Chrisostome haue his maner of speaking and his sentence. If it be true, I reiect it not. * But let it not be preiudiciall to me to name it true bread.

Wat.

All (saith Chrysostome) which sit together at one boord, do cūmunicate together of one true body. What do I call (sayth he) this cōmunicating▪ we are all the selfe same body. What doth bread signify? The body of christ. What be they that receiue it? *The body of Christ For many are but one body. Chrysostome doth interpret this place agaynst you: All we be one bread, & one mysticall bodye, whiche doe participate together one breade of Christ.

Rid.

All we be one mysticall body,* which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickning.

Wat.

Of what maner of bread speaketh he?

Rid.

Of the bread of the Lordes table.

Wat.

Is that bread one?

Rid.

It is one, of the Church being one, because one bread is set forth vpon the table: and so of one bread altogether do participate which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Wat.

See how absurdly you speake. Do you say all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?

Rid.

All, I say, which at one table together haue communicated in the mysteryes, might well so do. Albeit the heauenly and celestiall bread is likewise one also, whereof the Sacramentall bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate.*

Wat.

A peruerse aunswere. Which all? Meane you all christian men?

Rid.

I do distribute this word [All]: for all were wont together to communicate of one bread deuided into parts. Al (I say) which were one cōgregatiō, and which all did communicate together at one table.

Wat.

What? do you exclude then from the body of Christ, all them which did not communicate being present▪

Feck.

But Cyprian sayth: panis quem nulla multitudo consumit. i. Bread which no multitude doth consume.* Which cannot be vnderstanded, but onely of the body of Christ.

Rid.

Also Cyprian in this place did speake of the true body of Christ, and not of materiall bread.

Feck.

Nay, rather he did there intreat of the Sacrament in that tractation De Coena domini,* writing vpon the Supper of the Lord.

Rid.

Trueth it is, and I graunt, hee intreateth there of the Sacrament: but also he doth admixt something there with all of the spirituall manducation.

Smith.

When the Lorde sayth: This is my bodye, he vseth no tropicall speach:

Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid.

I deny your antecedent.*

Smith.

I bring here Augustine in Psal. 33. Conc. 1. expounding these wordes: Ferebatur in manibus suis. He was caried in his owne handes. 1. Regum.

Hoc quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portatur, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de Dauid secundum literā, non inuenimus: de Christo autē inuenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis cū diceret: Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis. &c. That is. How may this be vnderstāded to be done in mā? For no man is caryed in his owne handes, but in the handes of other. How this may be vnderstanded of Dauid after y^e letter, we do not find. Of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands when he sayth: This is my body: for he caried that same body in his owne handes. &c.

Augustine here did not see how this place after y^e letter [Page 1453](#) could be vnderstāded of dauid, because no man cā cary him selfe in his owne handes. Therefore saith he, this place is to be vnderstāded of Christ after the letter. For Christ caried himselfe in his owne hands in his Supper, when he gaue the Sacrament to his Disciples, saying: This is my body.

Rid.

*I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austine could not find after his own vnderstanding, how this could be vnderstand of Dauid after the letter. Austine goeth here from other in this exposition, but I goe not from him. But let this exposition of Austine be graunted to you: although I know this place of scripture be otherwise red of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and also otherwise to be expounded. Yet to graūt to you this exposition of Austine, I say yet notwithstanding it maketh nothing agaynst my assertion: for Christ did beare himselfe in his owne handes, when he gaue the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples.

Smith.

Ergo, it is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his owne handes.

Rid.

He was borne literally, & after that letter which was spoken of Dauid: but not after the letter of these woordes Hoc est corpus meum.

I graunt that S. Austine sayth, that it is not found literally of Dauid,* that he caryed himselfe in his own hands, and that is found of Christ. But this word [ad literam] literally, you do not well referre to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did beare it. S. Austines meaning is this: that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal Dauid, the sonne of Iesse, did beare himselfe in his handes, but of that spirituall Dauid which ouerthrew Goliah the deuill: that is, of Christ our sauior, the sonne of the virgine it may well be found literally, that he bare himselfe in his owne handes after a certayne maner,* namely in carying y^e Sacrament of himselfe. And note that S. Austen hath these wordes [quodam modo] after a certain maner: whiche manifestly doth declare howe the Doctours meaning is to be taken.

Smith.

When then was he borne in his owne handes, and after what letter?

Rid.

He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he sayd: This is my body.

Smith.

Euery man may beare in his own hands a * figure of his body.

But Augustine denyeth that Daudid could cary himselfe in his handes.

Ergo, he speaketh of no figure of his body.

Rid.

It Austen could haue founde in all the Scripture that Daudid had caryed the sacramēt of his body, then he would neuer haue vsed that exposition of Christ.

Smith.

But he did beare himselfe in his owne handes:

Ergo he did not beare a figure onely.

Rid.

He didde beare himselfe, but in a Sacrament: and Austen afterward addeth [quodam modo] that is, Sacramentally.

Smith.

*You vnderstand not what Austen meant when hee sayd [quodam modo:] For he ment that he did beare his very true body in that supper, not in figure and forme of a body, but in forme and figure of bread.

Ergo, you are holden fast, neither are ye able to escape out of his labirinth.

Doctor Weston repeated this place agayne in English. Which done, then Doct. Tresham thus began to speake, moued (as it seemed to M. Ridley) wyth great zeale, and desired that he might be in sted of Iohn Baptist in conuerting the hartes of the fathers, and in reducing the sayde B. Ridley agayne to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had bene some good old man, which had the zeale of God, although not acording to knowledge, and began to aunswere him with mansuetude and reuerence. But afterwarde hee smelled a foxe vnder a sheepes clothing.

*GOd almightye graunt that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the Prophet Malachy of Iohn Baptist, which maye turne the hartes of the Fathers to the children, and the hartes of the children to theyr fathers, that you at length may be conuerted. The wise man sayth: Sonne, honour thy father and reuerence thy mother. But you dishonor your father in heauen, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye sette not by her.

Rid,

These by wordes do pollute your schoole.

Tres.

If there were an Arrian whiche had that subtle wit that you haue,* he might soone shift of the authority of the scriptures and fathers.

West.

Either dispute, or els hold your peace, I pray you.

Tres.

I bring a place here out of the Councell of Laterane, the which Counsell representing the vniuersall Church, wherein were congregated 300. Bishops & 〈◇〉.* Metropolitans, besides a great multitude of other, decreed y^e bread & wine, by the power of Gods word, was trāsubstātiate into the body & bloud of y^e Lord. Therefore whosoeuer sayth contrary cannot be a childe of the church, but an hereticke.

Rid.

Good Syr, I haue heard what you haue cited out of the Councell of Laterane, and remember that there was a great multitude of Bishops and Metropolitans, as you sayde: but yet you haue not numbred how many Abbots, Priors, and Friers were in that councell, who were to the number of 800.

One of the Scribes.

What,* will you denye then the authority of that Counsell for the multitude of those Priors?

Rid.

No syr, not so much for that cause, as for that especially, because the doctrine of that Councell agreed not wyth the word of God as it may well appere by the actes of that Councell which was holdē vnder Innocentius the third,* a man (if we beleue the historyes) moste pernicious to the church and common wealth of Christ.

Tres.

What, doe you not receiue the Councell of Lateran? Whereupon he with certayne other cryed, Scribite, scribite, Write, write.

Rid.

No syr, I receiue not that Councell: Scribite, & rescribite: Write, and write agayne.*

Tres.

Euill men do eat the naturall body of Christ:

Ergo the true and naturall body of Christ is on the aultare.

Rid.

Euill men do eate the very true and naturall bodye of Christ sacramētally, and no further, as S. Augustine saith: but good men do eat the very true body both sacramentally and spiritually by grace.

Tres.

I proue the contrary by S. Austen, Lib. 5. contra Donatistas Cap. 8. Sicut enim Iudas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, sed malè accipiendo peccauit. &c. Like as Iudas, to whome the Lorde gaue the morsell did offend, not in taking a thing that was euill, but in receiuing it after an euil maner. &c. And a litle after, Quia aliquis non ad salutem manducat, non ideo non est corpus. i. Because some do not eate vnto saluation, it foloweth not therefore that it is not his body.*

Rid.

It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the bo'dy: and Iudas tooke the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austen hath distincted these thinges well in an other place, where he sayth: Panem Domini, & panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem dominum: boni autem manducant & panem Domini, & panem Dominum. That is. The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lorde. Euill men eate the breade of the Lord, but not breade the Lorde. But good men eate both the breade of the Lord and breade the Lord.

West.

Paule sayth, the body, and you say, the sacrament of the body.*

Rid.

Paule meaneth so in deed.

Wat.

You vnderstand it euill concerning the signe: for the Fathers say, that euill men doe eat him which descended from heauen.*

Rid.

They eate him indeede, but sacramentally. The Fathers vse many times the sacrament, for the matter of the sacrament, and al that same place maketh agaynst you: and so here he cited the place.

West.

I bring Theophilacte, which sayth, that Iudas dyd taste the bodye of the Lord. Ostendit Dominus crudelitatem Iudae, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, & gustauit carnem Domini. &c. id est. The Lord did shewe the cruelty of Iudas, whiche, when he was rebuked, did not vnderstand, and tasted the Lordes flesh. &c.

Rid.

This phrase to Diuines is well knowne,* and vsed of the Doctors. He tasted the flesh of the Lord Insensibiliter, Insensibly, that is the sacrament of the Lordes flesh.

West.

Chrysostome sayth, that the same punishmēt remaineth to them whiche receiue the body of the Lorde vnworthily, as to them which crucified him.*

Rid.

That is, because they defile the Lordes body: for euill menne doe eate the body of Christ sacramentally,* but good men eate both the sacrament, and the matter of the Sacrament.

Wat.

You reiecte the Councell of Laterane,* because (you say) it agreeth not with Gods worde. What say you then to the Councell of Nice? The wordes of the Councell be these:

Ne humiliter spectemus propositum panem & potum, sed exaltata mente fideliter credamus iacere in illa sacra mensa agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi à sacerdotibus sacrificatum. Let vs not not looke alow by the grounde vpon the bread and the drinke set before vs, but lifting vppe our minde, let vs faithfully beleue, there vpon y^e holy table to lye the Lambe of God taking away the sinnes of the world, being sacrificed of the priestes.

[Page 1454](#)

Rid.

That Councell was collected out of an•ient Fathers and is to me of great authority, for it sayth: Positum esse panem in alt•ri, & exaltata mente considerandum eum qui in coelis est. i. That breade is set vpon the aultare, and hauing our mindes 〈◇〉 vp, we must consider him which is in heauen. The words of the Councell make for me.

Wat.

(Exaltata mente) with a minde exalted: That is, not as brute beastes at the racke or maunger, hauing an eye onely vpon the thing that is set before them. Agnus Dei iacet in mensa: the * Lambe of God lieth on the table, sayeth the Councell.

Rid.

The Lambe of God is in heauen, accordyng to the verity of the body: and here he is with vs in a mistery, according to his power, not corporally.

Wat.

But the Lambe of God lyeth on the table.

Rid.

It is a figuratiue speach, for in our minde we vnderstand him which is in heauen.

Wat.

But he lyeth there, the Greeke word is 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Rid.

He lyeth, there that is, he is there present, not corporally, but he lyeth there in his operation.

Wat.

He lyeth, but his operation lyeth not.

Rid.

You thinke very grossely of the sitting or lying of the Celestiall Lambe on the Table of the Lorde. For we may not imagine any such sitting or lying on y^e table, as the reason of man would iudge: but all thinges are here to be vnderstand spirituallie. For that heauenly Lambe is (as I confesse) on the table, but by a spirituall presence, by grace, and not after any corporall substance of his flesh taken of y^e virgin Mary.

And indeed the same Canon doth very playnly teach, that the bread which is set on the table, is materiall bread, and therefore it (the Canon I meane) commaundeth that we shoulde not creepe on the ground in our cogitation, * to these thinges which are set before vs, as who shoulde say, what other thinges are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substaunce) then breade and wine? but rather (sayth the Canon) lifting vp our mindes into heauen, let vs consider w^t fayth the Lambe of God, which taketh away the sins of y^e world, sitting or lying vpon y^e table. For a

lifted vp fayth sayth he seeth him, which sitteth on the right hande of God the father, after y^e true maner of a body, set by grace on the Lordes Table, and taking away the sinnes of the worlde. For I thinke you meane not so, as though the Lambe did lye there prostrate with his members spreade upon the table.

Smith.

I bring an other place out of the Councell of Nice, Nullus Apostolorum dixit, *haec est figura corporis Christi, Nullus venerabilium praesbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris sacrificium figuram: Ergo. &c. That is. None of the Apostles sayd, this is a figure of the body of Christ: None of the reuerend Elders sayd, the vnbloudy sacrifice of the aultar to be a figure.

Ergo, you are deceiued.

Rid.

This Chanon is not in the Councell of Nice. For I haue read ouer this Councell many times.

Then came in an other whom M. Ridley knew not, & sayd, *the vniuersall church both of the Greekes & Latines of the East and of the West, haue agreed in the Councell of Florence vniformably in y^e doctrine of the sacrament, that in the Sacrament of the Aultar there is the true and reall Body.

Rid.

I denye the Greeke and the East Church to haue agreed either in the Councel at Florence, or at any time els with the Romish Church in the doctrine of Transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the Councell of Florence, wherein the Greekes would agree with the Romanistes: albeit hitherto I confesse it was left free for euery Church to vse, as they were wont, leuened or vnleuened bread.

Here cryed out D. Cole, & sayde, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of breade into the bodye of Christ. M. Ridley sayd, that could not be.

*Here start vp an other vnknowne to M. Ridley, but thought to be one of the Scribes, who affirmed with him, y^t in deed there was nothing decreed cōcerning trāsubstāti|ation, but the Councell left that, as a matter not meete nor worthy to disturbe the peace and concord of the church. To whom M. Ridley answered agayne, saying: that he sayd y^e trueth. *

Pie.

What say you to that councell, where it is sayde, that the Priest doth offer an vnbloudy sacrifice of the Bodye of Christ?

Rid.

I say, it is well sayd, if it be rightly vnderstand.

Pie.

But he offereth an vnbloudy sacrifice.

Rid.

It was called vnbloudy, and is offered after a certain maner, and in a misterye, and as a representation of that bloudy sacrifice, and he doth not lye which sayth, Christ to be offered.

West.

I with one argument will throw downe to y^e groūd your opinion, out of Chrysostome, [*Homi. 24. in. 1. ad Corinth.](#) and I wil teach, not onely a figure or signe, or grace onely▪ but the very same body which was here conuersant in the earth, to be in the Eucharist.

We worship the selfe same body in y^e Eucharist, whiche the wise men did worship in the maunger.

But that was his naturall & reall body, not spirituall:

Ergo the reall body of Christ is in the Eucharist.

Agayne, the same Chrysostome sayth: We haue not here the Lord in the maunger, but on the altare. Here a woman holdeth him not in her handes, but a priest.

Rid.

We worship I confesse, the same true Lord and Sauour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the maunger, howbeit we do it in mystery, and in the sacramēt of the Lordes supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as sayth S. Aust Lib: 3. de doctrina Christiana: not in carnall seruitude: that is, we do not worship seruilely the signes for the thinges: for that shuld be, as he also sayth, a part of a seruile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of fayth, him present after grace and spirituallly sette vpon the Table: and we worship him which sitteth aboue, & is worshipped o• the Aungels, For Christ is alwaies assistant to his mysteries, as the sayd August. sayth. And the diuine maiesty, as sayth Cyprian, doth neuer absent it selfe from the diuine mysteries, but this assistaunce and presence of Christ, as in Baptisme is wholly spirituall, and by grace, and not by any corporal substaunce of the flesh: euen so is it here in the Lords supper, being rightly & according to the word of God duely ministred,

West.

That which the woman did hold in her wombe, the same thing holdeth the priest.

Rid.

I graunt the prieste holdeth the same thing, but after an other maner. She did holde the natural body: * the priest holdeth the mystery of the body.

West.

Weston repeated agayne his argumēt out of Chrysostome in English.

Rid.

I say that the author meant it spiritually.

West.

Weston here dissolving the disputations, had these wordes: Videtis prae fractum hominis animum, gloriosum, vafrum, inconstantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcussas, Ita que clamate: Vicit veritas: that is, Here you see, the stubborne, the glorious the crafty, the vnconstant minde of this man. * Here you see this day, that the strength of the trueth is with our foyle. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note, and he beganne, and they folowed. Verity hath the victory: Veritye hath the victory.

¶The disputation had at Oxford, the 18. day of Aprill. 1554. betwene Mayster Hugh Latimer Aunswerer, and Mayster Smyth and other Opposers.

AFTER these disputations of Byshop Ridly ended, nexte was brought out Mayster Hugh Latimer to dispute, * vpon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day of Aprill. Which disputation beganne at eight of the clocke, in suche forme as before: but it was most in English. For mayster Latimer the answerer alleged that he was out of vse with the Latine, and vnfit for that place. *

There replied vnto him M Smith of Oriall colledge. Doctor Cartwright, mayster Harpsfield, * and diuers other had snatches at him, and gaue him bitter tauntes. Hee escaped no hissinges and scornefull laughings, no more then they that went before him. He was very faynt, and desired that he might not long tary. He durst not drinke, for feare of vomiting. The disputation ended before xi. of the clock. Maister Latimer was not suffered to read, that he had (as he sayd) paynfully writtē: but it was exhibited vp, * and the Pro•ocutor read part therof, and so proc•eded vnto the disputation.

¶The Preface of Weston vnto the disputation folowing.

MEN and brethren, we are come together this day (by y^e helpe of God) to vanquish the strength of the Argumentes, and dispersed opinions of aduersaryes, * agaynst y^e truth of the reall presence of the Lordes body in the sacramēt. And therefore, you father, if you haue any thing to answer, I do admonish that you aunswere in short and few wordes.

Lat.

I pray you good mayster Prolocutour,* doe not exacte that of me, which is not in me, I haue not these xx. yeares much vsed the Latine tongue.

West.

Take your ease father.

Lat.

I thanke you Syr, I am well. Let me here protest [Page 1455](#) my fayth: for I am not able to dispute, & afterwarde doe your pleasure with me.

¶The protestation of mayster Hugh Latimet, geuen vp in writing to Doctor Weston.

The conclusions whereunto I must aunswere, are these.

*1 The first is, that in the sacramēt of the Aultar, by the vertue of Gods word pronounced by the Priest, there is really present, the naturall body of Christ, conceiued of the virgin Mary, vnder the kindes of the appearaunces of bread and wine: and in like maner his blood.

2 The second is, that after consecration, there remaineth no substaunce of bread and wyne, nor none other substaunce, but the substance of God and man.

3 The third is, that in the Masse there is the liuely sacrifice of the church, which is propiciable, as wel for the sins of the quicke, as of the dead.

Concerning the first conclusion, me thinketh it is sette forth with certayn new found termes, that be obscure, and doe not sound according to the speach of the scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I vnderstand it, this I do aunswere playnely, though not without perill: I aunswere (I say) that to the right celebration of the Lordes supper, there is no other presence of Christ required, then a spirituall presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in vs, to the obtaining of eternall life, if we perseuer. And this same presence may be called most fitly, a reall pre'sence, that is, a presence not fayned, but a true and a faythfull presence. Which thing I here rehearse, least some Sycophant or scorner should suppose me with the Anabaptistes, to make nothing els of the Sacrament, but a naked and a bare signe. As for that, which is fayned of many concerning theyr corporall presence, I for my part take it but for a papisticall inuention, and therfore thinke it vtterly to be reiected.

Concerning the seconde conclusion, I dare be bolde to say,* that it hath no stay or grounde in Gods word, but is a thing inuented and founde out by man: and therefore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost sayd, as the Mother and Nourse of the other errors. It were good for my Lordes & maysters of the transubstantiation, to take heede least they conspire with y^e nestorians, for I do not see how they can auoyd it.

The third conclusion (as I do vnderstand it) seemeth subtly to sow sedition agaynst the offering which Christ himselfe offred for vs in his own proper person,* according to that pithy place of

Paule. Hebre. 1. when he sayth: That Christ his owne selfe hath made purgation of our sinnes. And afterwarde: That he might (sayth he) be a mercifull and a faythfull Byshop, concerning those thinges which are to be done with God,*for the taking away of our sinnes. So that the expiation or taking away of our sinnes, may be thought rather to de'pend on this: that Christ was an offering Bishop, then that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himselfe: and therefore it is needlesse that he should be offered of any other. I will speake nothing of the wonderfull presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the ouerthrowing and making fruitlesse (if not wholly, yet partly) of the Crosse of Christ: for truely it is no base or meane thyng, to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my Lordes and maysters the offerers: By what authority doe ye this? And who gaue you this authority? Where? when? A man can not (sayth the Baptist) take any thing, except it be geuen him frō aboue: much lesse then may any man presume to vsurp any honor, before he be therto called. Again, If any mā sin (sayth S. Ioh.) we haue (sayth he) not a masser or offerer at home,* which can sacrifice for vs at masse: but we haue (sayth he) an aduocate Iesus Christ, which once offered himselfe long ago: of which offering, the efficacy and effect is perdurable for euer, so that it is needles to haue such offerers.

What meaneth Paule, when he sayth: They that serue at the aultar, are partakers of the aultar? and so addeth: So the lord hath ordeined, that they that preach the Gospell, shall liue of the Gospell Whereas he should haue sayd: The Lord hath ordeined, that they that sacrifice at masse, should liue of theyr sacrificing, that there might be a liuing assigned to our sacrificers now,* as was before Christes comming, to the Iewish Priestes. For now they haue nothing to alleadge for theyr liuing, as they that be Preachers haue. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing Priesthoode is chaunged by Gods ordinaunce, into a preaching Priesthoode, and the sacrificing Priesthoode shoulde cease vtterly, sauing in as much as all Christian men are sacrificing priestes.

The supper of the Lord was instituted to prouoke vs to thankes geuing, for the offering which the Lorde hymselfe did offer for vs,* muche rather then that our Offciers should do there as they do. Feede (sayth Peter) as muche •s ye may, the flock of Christ: nay rather let vs sacrifice as much as we may, for the flocke of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can neuer wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which at this day is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flocke, how shalt thou be taken? truely catholicke enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing,* howe wyll that be taken? at the leaste I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an hereticke. And whence I pray you, come these papisticall iudgementes? Except perchance they thinke a mā feedeth the flocke, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soone may he learne to sacrifice and masse it.

Thus loe, I haue taken the more payne to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debilitye thereunto: that all men may knowe, howe that I haue so done not without great paynes, hauing not any manne to helpe me, as I haue neuer before bene debarred to haue. O sir,* you may chaunce to liue till you come to this age and weakenes that I am of. I haue spoken in my time before 2. kinges, more then one, two or three houres together, without interruption: but nowe that I maye speake the truth (by your leaue) I could not be suffered to declare my minde before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an houre, without snatches, reuilinges, checkes, rebukes, tauntes, such as I haue not felte the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it

can not be, but an heinous offence that I haue geuen. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the foure marowbones of the Masse. The which kinde of speaking, I neuer read to be a sinne against the holy ghost,

I could not be alowed to shewe what I meant by my Metaphor: But sir nowe (by your fauor) I will tell your maistership what I meane.

The first is the Popish consecration: which hath bene called a Gods body making.*

The second is Transubstantiation.

The third is the Missall oblation.

The fourth adoration.

These chiefe and principall portions, partes & poyntes belonging or incident to the masse,* and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call y^e marowbones of the masse, which in deed you by force, might, and violence intrude in sound of wordes in some of the scripture, with racking and cramping, iniuryng, and wronging the same: but els in deede, playne out of the scripture, as I am throughly perswaded, although in disputation I could now nothing do, to perswade the same to others, being both vnapt to study and also to make a shew of my former study, in such readines as should be requisite to the same.

I haue heard much talke of maister Doctor Weston to and fro, in my time:* but I neuer knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the Queenes maiesties Commissioner. I pray God send you so right iudgement, as I perceiue you haue a great wit, great learning, with many other qualityes. God geue you grace euer wel to vse them,* and euer to haue in remembraūce that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the lowe things on the earth: and that there is no counsell agaynst the Lord: and also that this world hath bene, and yet is a tottering world. And yet agayn, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitatiō, namely, in the Lord.* For who so doth obey them agaynst the Lorde, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest aduersaries that they haue: for they so procure Gods vengeance vpon them, if God be onely the ruler of thinges.

There be some so corrupt in minde, the truth being taken from them, that they thinke gaynes to be godlinesse: Great learned men, and yet men of no learning,* but of railing and raging about questions and strife of wordes, I call thē men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much els so euer they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, vnlearned men: for it is nothing but playne ignoraunce,* to knowe anye thinge without Christ: where as who so knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The Apostle S. Paul confesseth of himselfe to the Corinthians, that he dyd know nothing, but Iesus Christ crucified. Many menne [Page 1456](#) babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ• but pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken hys glory. Depart from such men, sayth the Apostle S. Paule to Timothie.

It is not out of the way to remember what S. Augustine sayth. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the Epistles of Petilian: *Who so euer (saith he) teacheth any thyng necessarily to be beleued, which is not containyd in the olde or new Testament, the same is accursed. Oh beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceyued if Basilius haue not such like words: *What so euer (saith he) is besides the holy scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be beleueed, that is sinne. Oh therefore take heede of this sinne.

There be some that speake many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, then to the truth it selfe. Therefore Paule geueth a watch word: Let no man (saith he) deceiue you with probabilitie and perswasions of woordes. But what meane you (saith one) by this talke so far from the matter? Well, I hope good maisters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speake one thyng twise. Oh Lord God, you haue chaunged the most holy Communion, into a priuate action: and you deny to the Laitie the Lordes cup contrary to Christes commaundement, * and you do blemish the annuntiation of the Lordes death till he come: for you haue chaunged the Common prayer called the diuine seruice, with the administration of the sacramentes, from the vulgar and knowen language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the wyll of the Lord reuealed in his word. God open the dore of your hart, to see the things you should see herein. I would as fayne obey my soueraigne as any in this realme: but in these things I can neuer do it with an vpright consciēce. God be mercifull vnto vs. Amen.

Weston.

Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?

Lat.

No good maister, I pray you be good to an olde man. You may (if it please God) be once old, as I am: ye may come to this age, and to this debilitie.

West.

*Ye said vpon saterday last, that ye could not find the masse, nor the marybones thereof in your booke: but wee will finde a masse in that booke.

Lat.

No good M. Doctor, ye cannot.

West.

What find you then there?

Lat.

Forsooth a Communion I find there.

West.

Which Communion, * the first or the last?

Lat.

I find no great diuersitie in them: they are one supper of the Lord, but I like the last very well.

West.

Then the first was nought belike.

Lat.

I do not wel remember wherin they differ.

West.

Then cake bread & loafe bread are all one with you. Ye call it the Supper of the Lord, but you are deceyued in that: for they had done the supper before, and therfore the Scripture sayth: Postquam coenatum est, that is, After they had supped. For ye know that S. Paul findeth fault wyth the Corrinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper: and ye know no man can be dronken at your Communion.

Lat.

The first was called Coena Iudaica, that is, The Iewish Supper, when they did eate the Paschall Lambe together: the other was called Coena dominica, that is, The Lordes supper.

West.

That is false, for Chrysostome denieth that. And S. Ambrose in cap. 19. prioris ad Corinthios, saith, that *Mysterium Eucharistiae inter coenandum datum, non est coena dominica*: that is, The mysterie of the sacrament, geuen as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord.

And Gregory Nazianzene sayth the same: *Rursus Pasche sacra cum discipulis in coenaculo ac post coenam, dieque vnica ante passionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus, & ante coenam & post resurrectionem peragimus*: that is, Agayne, he kept he holy feast of Passeouer with his Disciples in the dinyng chamber after the supper,* and one day before his passion. But we keepe it both in the Churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection.

*And that first Supper was called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , can you tell what that is?

Lat.

I vnderstande no Greeke. Yet I thinke it meaneth charitie.

West.

Will you haue all thing done that Christ did then? Why, then must the Priest be hanged on the morrow. And where find you I pray you, that a woman should receyue the sacrament?

Lat.

Will you geue me leaue to turne my booke? I finde it in the xi. chapter to the Corinthians. I trow these be hys wordes: Probetautem seipsum homo, &c.

I pray you good maister what Gender is homo▪

West.

Marrie the common gender.

Cole.

It is in the Greeke, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 [.*](#)

Har.

It is 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , that is, vir.

Lat.

It is in my booke of Erasmus translation, Probet seipsum homo.

Feck.

It is Probet seipsum in deed, and therefore it importeth the Masculine gender.

Latimer.

What then? I trowe when the woman touched Christ, he said: Quis tetigit me? Scio quod aliquis me tetigit: that is, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me.

Weston.

I will be at host with you anone. When Christ was at his supper, none were with hym, [*](#) but his Apostles onely.

Ergo, he ment no woman, if you will haue this institution kept.

Lati.

In the twelue Apostles was represented the whole Church,* in which you will graunt both men and women to bee.

West.

So thorough the whole hereticall translated Bible, ye neuer make mention of Priest,* tyll ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minster, (a minstrel I may cal him wel enough) should do it of necessitie?

Lat.

A minister is a more fit name for that office,* for y^e name of a priest importeth a sacrifice.

West.

Well, remember that ye cannot finde that a woman may receiue by scripture. M. Opponent fall to it.

Smith.

Because I perceiue that this charge is layd vppon my necke, to dispute with you: to the ende that the same may go forward after a right maner and order, I wil propose three questions, so as they are put forth vnto me. And first I aske this question of you, although the same in deed ought not to be called in question: but such is the condition of the Church, that it is alwayes vexed of the wycked sort. I aske (I say) whether Christes body be really in the sacrament?

Lat.

I trust I haue obtained of M. Prolocutor, that no mā shall exact that thyng of me, which is not in me.* And I am sory that this worshipfull audience should be deceyued of their expectation for my sake. I haue geuen vp my mynde in writing to M. Prolocutor.

Smith.

Whatsoever ye haue geuen vp, it shall be registred among the Acts.

Latimer.

Disputation requireth a good memory: Ast abolita est mihi memoria, My memorie is gone cleane, and maruellouslye weakened, and neuer the better I wis for the pryson.

West.

How long haue ye bene in prison?

Lat.

These three quarters of this yere.

West.

And I was in prison sixe yeres.

Lat.

The more pitie Sir.

West.

How long haue you bene of this opinion?

Lat.

It is not long sir that I haue bene of this opinion.

Weston.

The tyme hath bene when you sayd Masse full deuoutly.

Lat.

Yea, I cry God mercy hartily for it.

West.

Where learned you this new fanglenes?*

Lat.

I haue long sought for the truth in this matter of the Sacrament, and haue not bene of this mynde past seuen yeres: and my L. of Canterbury his booke hath especially confirmed my iudgement herein. If I could remember all therein conteined, I would not feare to answer any man in this matter.

Tres.

There are in that booke sixe hundred errors.

West.

You were once a Lutheran.

Lat•.

No, I was a Papist: For I neuer could perceiue how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation.* The Tigurines once did write a booke agaynst Luther, and I oft desired God that he might liue so long to make them answer.

Weston.

Luther in hys booke De priuata Missa, sayd, that the deuill reasoned with hym, and perswaded hym that the Masse was not good. Fol. 14. Contigit me, &c Wherof it may appeare, that Luther said Masse, and the deuill dissuaded hym from it.

Lat.

I do not take in hand here to defend Luthers sayings or doyngs. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough I trow. I told you before that I am not meete for disputations. I pray you read myne aunswer, wherein I haue declared my fayth.

West.

Do you beleue this, as you haue written?

Lat.

Yea Sir.

West.

Then haue you no faith.

Lat.

Then would I be sory Sir.

Tres.

It is written, Iohn. 6. Except ye shall eate the fleshe of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shall haue no lyfe in [Page 1457](#) you.* Which when the Capernaïtes and many of Christes disciples heard, they said, This is a hard saieng, &c. Now that the truth may the better appeare, here I aske of you, whether Christ speaking these wordes, did meane of his fleshe to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spirituall eatyng of the same?

Lat.

I aunswer (as Augustine vnderstandeth) that Christ meant of the spirituall eating of his flesh.

Tres.

Of what flesh ment Christ, his true flesh, or no?

Lat.

Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally.

Tres.

Of what flesh ment the Capernaites?

Latimer.

Of hys true fleshe also: but to bee eaten wyth the mouth.

Tresh.

They (as ye confesse) did meane his true flesh, to be taken with the mouth.* And Christ also (as I shall prooue) did speake of the receiuyng of his flesh with the mouth.

Ergo, they both did vnderstand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Lat.

I say, Christ vnderstoode it not of the bodily mouth: but of the mouth of the spirit, mynd, and hart.

Tres.

I prooue the contrary: that Christ vnderstandeth it of the eatyng with the bodily mouth. For where as custome is a right good maistresse and interpreter of things,* and where as the actes put in practise by Christ, doe certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christes deeds in his supper, where he gaue his body to bee taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath ben euer since that tyme, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth euidently inferre that Christ did vnderstand his words here cited of me out of the vj. of Iohn, of the eatyng with the mouth.

Lat.

He gaue not his body to be receyued with the mouth, but he gaue the sacrament of hys body to be receyued with the mouth.* he gaue the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mynd.

Tresham.

But my reason doth conclude, that Christ spake concernyng hys fleshe to bee receyued wyth the corporall mouth: for otherwyse (which God forbid) he had bene a deceyuer, and had bene offensiue to the Capernaites and his Disciples, if hee had not meant in this point, as they thought he ment: for if he had thought as you do fayne, it had bene an easie matter for him to haue sayd: * You shall not eate my flesh with your mouth, but the Sacrament of my flesh: that is to say, ye shall receyue with your mouth, not the thyng it selfe, but the figure of the thyng, and thus he might haue satisfied them: but so he sayd not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was woont: Therefore Christ meant the selfe same thyng that the Capernaits dyd, I meane concerning the thyng it selfe to bee receyued with the mouth: videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreouer, for as much as you doe expound for (corpus Christi) the body of Christ (Sacramentum corporis Christi) the sacrament of the body of Christ, & hereby do suppose that we obtaine but a spirituall vnion, or vnion of the mynd betweene vs and Christ, playne it is that you are deceyued in this thyng, and do erre from the mynd of the Fathers: for they affirme by playne and expresse wordes, that we are corporally and carnally ioyned together. And these be the wordes of Hyllarie: Si verè igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, & verè homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, nos quoque verè sub mysterio carnē corporis sui sumimus, & per haec vnum erimus, quia pater in eo est, & ille in nobis. Quomodo voluntatis vnitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietas perfectè Sacramentum sit vnitatis? That is, Therefore if Christ dyd truely take the flesh of our body vpon hym, and the same man be Christ in deede which was borne of Mary, then we also doe receyue vnder a mysterie, the fleshe of hys body in deede, and thereby shall become one, because the father is in hym, and he in vs. How is the vnitie of wyll affirmed, when a naturall proprietie, by the sacrament is a perfect Sacrament of vnitie?

Thus farre hath Hyllarie. Loe here you see how manifestly these wordes confound your assertion.* To be short I my selfe haue heard you preaching at Greenewich, before king Henry the eight, where you did openly affirme, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and reall presence of Christes body in the Sacrament, for as much as he had the worde of Scripture on his side, (videlicet, Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body: wherby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth: the word of Scripture hath the selfe same thyng which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present, that whereof it was not lawfull once to doubt before when you taught it?

Lat.

Will you geue me leaue to speake?

Tres.

Speake Latine I pray you, for ye can doe it if ye li•t, promptly enough.

Lat.

I can not speake Latine so long and so largely. Maister Prolocutor hath geuen me leaue to speake English: And as for the words of Hyllarie, I thinke they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the Doctours, had not neede to be in my case, but should haue them in a readinesse, and know their purpose. Melancthon sayth, if the Doctours had foreseene that they should haue bene so taken in this controuersie,* they would haue written more playnely.

Smyth.

I will reduce the words of Hyllary into the forme of a Syllogisme.

Da- Such as is the vnitie of our flesh with Christes flesh, such,* (yea greater) is the vnitie of Christ with the Father.

ti- But the vnitie of Christs flesh with ours, is true and substantiall:

si. Ergo, the vnitie of Christ with the Father is true and substantiall.

Lat.

I vnderstand you not.

Seat.

I know your learning well enough, & how su•til ye be: I will vse a few wordes with you, and that out of Cyprian, De coena Domini. The old Testament doth forbidde the drinking of bloud.* The new Testament doth cōmand the drinking and tasting of bloud: but where doth it commaund the drinking of bloud?

Lat.

In these wordes: Bibite ex hoc omnes: that is, Drinke ye all of this.

Seat.

Then we taste true bloud.

Latimer.

We do taste true bloud, but spiritually: and this is enough.

Seat.

Nay, the olde and new Testament in this doe * differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid to drinke bloud.

Lat.

It is true as touching the matter, but not as touching the maner of the thing.

Seat.

Then there is no difference betwene the drinkyng of bloud in the new Testament, and that of the old: for they also dranke spiritually.

Latimer.

And we drinke spiritually also, but a more precious bloud.

West.

Augustine vpon the 45. Psalme, saith: Securè bibite sanguinem quē fudistis. i. Drinke boldly the bloud which ye haue poured out.

Ergo, it is bloud.

Lat.

I neuer denied it, nor neuer wyll go from it,* but that we drinke the very bloud of Christ in deed, but spiritually, for the same S. Augustine saith: Crede & manducasti. i. Beleue, and thou hast eaten.

West.

Nay, Credere, non est bibere nec edere. i. To beleue, is not to drinke or eate. You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I beleue in God. Is not (manducare) to eate, in your learnyng put for (credere) to beleue?

Weston.

I remember my L. Chauncellor demanded M. Hooper of these questions, whether * (Edere) to eate, were (Credere) to beleue, and (Altare) an Aultar, were Christ, in all the Scripture, &c. And he answered yea.

Then said my Lord Chauncellor: Why, then * Habemus Altare de quo non licet edere. i. Wee haue an Aultare, of which it is not lawfull to eate, is as much to say, as Habemus Christum, in quo non licet credere. i. We haue a Christ, in whom we may not beleue.

Tres.

Beleeue, and thou hast eaten, is spoken of the spirituall eatyng.

Latimer.

It is true, I doe allowe your saying: I take it so also.

Weston.

We are commaunded to drinke bloud in the new Lawe.

Ergo, it is very bloud.

Lat.

We drinke bloud, so as appertaineth to vs to drinke to our comfort, in sacramentall wyne. We drinke bloud Sacramentally: he gaue vs his bloud to drinke spiritually, he went about to shew, that as certainly as we drinke wyne, so certainly we drinke his bloud spiritually.

West.

Do not you seeme to be a papist, which do bryng in new wordes, not found in the scripture? Where find you, that (Sacramentaliter) Sacramentally, in Gods booke?

Lat.

It is necessarily gathered vpon scripture.

West.

The old Testament doth forbid the tasting of bloud, but the new doth commaund it.

Lat.

It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touchyng the maner thereof.

West.

Heare ye people, this is the argument.

That which was forbidden in the olde Testament, is commaunded in the new.

To drinke bloud was forbidden in the old Testament [Page 1458](#) and commaunded in the new.

Ergo, it is very bloud that we drink• in the new.

¶This argument, because the Maior thereof is not vniuersall, is not formall, and may well be retorted agaynst West. thus.

Ce- No naturall or morall thyng forbidden materially in the old Testament,* is commaunded in the new.

la- To drinke mans naturall bloud, is forbidden materially in the old Testament:

rent. Ergo, to drinke mans naturall bloud materially, is not commaunded in the new.

Lat.

*It is commaunded spiritually to be dronken, I grant it is bloud dronken in the new Testament, but we receyue it spiritually.

Pie.

It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law.

Latimer.

The substance of bloud is dronken, but not in one maner.

Pie.

It doth not require the same maner of drinkyng.

Lat.

It is the same thyng, not the same manner. I haue no more to say.

Weston.

*Here Weston cited the place of Chrysostome, of Iudas treason: O Iudae dementia. Ille cum Iudaeis triginta denarijs paciscebatur, vt Christum venderet, & Christus ei sanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat: That is, O the madnesse of Iudas. He made bargayne with the Iewes for thirtie pence to sell Christ, and Christ offred him his bloud which he sold.

Lat.

I graunt he offred to Iudas his bloud, which he sold, but in a sacrament.

Weston.

Because ye can defend your Doctors no better, ye shall see how worshipfull men ye hang vpon, and one that hath bene of your mynd,* shall dispute with you. M. Cartwright, I pray you dispute.

Cart.

Reuerend father, because it is geuen me in commandement to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first vnderstand ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confesse my selfe to haue erred. I acknowledge myne offence, and I wyshe and desire God that you also may repente wyth me.

Latimer.

*Wyll you geue me leaue to tell what hath caused M. Doctour here to recant? It is poena legis, the payne of the law, which hath brought you backe, and conuerted you, and many moe: the which letteth many to confesse God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolue it.

Cartwright.

That is not my cause, but I wil make you this short Argument, by which I was conuerted from myne errores.

*If the true bodye of Christ bee not really in the Sacrament, all the whole Church hath erred from the Apostles tyme.

But Christ would not suffer his church to erre:

Ergo, it is the true body of Christ.

Lat.

The popish Church hath erred, & doth erre. I thinke for the space of sixe or seuen hundred yeares,* there was no mentiō made of any eating but spiritually: for before these fiue hundred yeares, the Church did euer confesse a spirituall manducation. But the Romish church begate the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Caunterburies booke handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had hym.

Cart.

Linus and all the rest do confesse the body of Christ to be in the Sacrament: and S. Augustine also vpon the 98. Psalme, vpon this place: Adorate scabellum pedum. &c. grāteth it to be worshipped.

Lat.

We doe worship Christ in the heauens, & we do worship him in the Sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be vsed.

Smyth.

Doe you thinke that Cyrill was of the auncient Church?

Lat.

I do thinke so.

Smyth.

He sayth, that Christ dwelleth in vs corporally: These be Cyrils words of the mysticall benediction.

Lat.

That (*corporally) hath another vnderstanding, then you do grossely take it.

¶Cyrill sayth, that Christ dwelleth corporally in vs, but he sayth not that Christ dwelleth corporally in y^e bread. Which dwelling of Christ in vs, is as our dwelling is also in Christ, not locall or corporall, but spiritual & heauenly (corporally) therefore it is to be takē here in the same sense as S. Paul saith, the fulnes of diuinitie to dwell in Christ corporally, that is, not lightly nor accidentally, but perfectly and substantially, with all his vertue and power, &c. And so dwelleth Christ corporally in vs also.

Smyth.

Here Smyth repeateth these words of Cyrill: Per communionem corporis Christi, habitat in nobis Christus corporaliter: That is, By the communicating of the bodye of Christ, Christ dwelleth in vs corporally.

Latimer.

The solution of this is in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

Smyth.

Cyrill was no papist, and yet these be his wordes: Christ dwelleth in vs corporally,* but you say he dwelleth in vs spiritually.

Latimer.

I say both: that he dwelleth in vs both corporally and spiritually, accordyng to his meanyng: Spiritually by fayth, and corporally by taking our flesh vpon hym. For I remember I haue read this in my Lord of Canterburies booke.

Weston

For because your learnyng is let out to Ferme, and shut vp in my Lord of Caunterburies booke. I wyll recite vnto you a place of S. Ambrose, De apparatione ad Missam, where he sayth: Videmus principem sacerdotem ad nos venientem, & offerentem sanguinem, &c. That is, Wee see the chiefe Prieste commyng vnto vs, and offeryng bloud, &c.

Likewise both Augustine in the 38. Psal. and Chrysostome, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God,*Tom. 3. say: Non solum homines, &c.

Lat.

I am not ashamed to acknowledge myne ignoraunce, and these testimonies are more then I can beare away.

West.

Then must you leaue some behynde you for lacke of cariage.

Latimer.

But for Chrysostome, hee hath many figuratiue speeches, and Emphaticall loquutions, in many places,* as in that which you haue now recited: but he sayeth not, For the quicke and the dead: he taketh the celebration for the sacrifice.

West.

You shall heare Chrysostome againe, vpon the ninth chap. of the Acts: Quid dicis? Hostia in manibus sacerdotis, &c. He doth not call it a cup of wyne.

Lat.

Ye haue myne answer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, Propitiatorium sacrificium, i. A propitiatorie sacrifice.

West.

You shal heare it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysostome out of the same treatise: Non temerè ab Apostolis est institutum, &c.

Weston.

He is too precious a thing for vs to offer: he offereth hymselfe.

Weston.

Here in an other place of Chrysostome to the people of Antioche,* Homil. 69. and also to the Philippians he sayeth: There should bee a memorye and sacrifice for the dead.

Lat.

I doe say that the holy communion beareth the name of a sacrifice, because it is a sacrifice memoratiue.

West.

How say you to the sacrifice for the dead.

Lat.

I say that it needeth not, or it booteth not.

West.

Augustine in his Enchiridion, the 110. chap. sayeth: Non est negandum defunctorum animos pietate suorum viuentium releuari, quum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur.* That is, We must not deny, that the soules of the dead are relieued by the deuotion of their friends which are liuing,* when the sacrifice of the Mediatour is offered for them. Where he prooueth the veritie of Christes body, & praying for the dead. And it is sayd, that the same Augustine sayd masse for his mother.

Lat.

But that masse was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appeare in his writings, which are agaynst it in euery place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be beleued no further, then he bringeth scripture for his prooffe, and agreeth with Gods word.

West.

In the same place he proueth a propiciatorie sacrifice and that vpon an aulter, and no Oyster boord.*

Lat.

It is the Lords table, and no Oyster boord. It may be called an aulter, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propiciatorie sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceiued in some points, though not in all things. * I beleue them when they say well.

Cole.

Is it not a shame for an old man to lye? You say,* you are of the old fathers fayth, where they say well, and yet ye are not.

Lat.

I am of their faith when they say well. I referre my selfe to my L. of Caunterburies booke wholly herein.

Smyth.

Then are you not of Chrysostomes faith, nor of S. Augustines fayth.

Lat.

I haue said, when they said well, and bring scripture for them, I am of their faith, and further Augustine requireth not to be beleeeued.

West.

Origen. Hom. 13. vpon Leuiticus.

Latimer.

I haue but one worde to say, Panis Sacramentalis,[Page 1459](#) the Sacramentall bread, is called a Propitiation, because it is a Sacrament of the Propitiation. What is your vocation?

West.

My vocation is at this tyme to dispute, otherwise I am a Priest, and my vocation is to offer.

Lat.

Where haue you that authortie geuen you to offer?

West.

Hoc facite, Do this, for facite in that place is taken for offerte, that is, offer you.

Lat.

*Is Facere nothing but sacrificare to sacrifice? Why then no man must receiue the sacrament but priestes onely: for there may none offer but priests.

Ergo, there may none receiue but priests.

West.

Your argument is to be denied.

Lat.

*Did Christ then offer himselfe at his supper?

Pye.

Yea, he offred himselfe for the whole world.

Latimer.

Then if this worde (Facite) Do ye, signifie Sacrificate, Sacrifice ye, it followeth, (as I sayd) that none but Priestes onely ought to receiue the Sacrament, to whom it is onely lawfull to sacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?

West.

Fourty yeare agone, whether could you haue gone to haue found your doctrine?

Lat.

The more cause we haue to thanke God, that hath now sent the light into the world.

West.

*The light? Nay lite and lewd Preachers: for you could not tell what you might haue: Ye altered & changed so often your communions and altars, and all for this one end, to spoile and rob the Church.

Latimer.

These things pertayne nothyng to mee. I must not aunswere for other mens deedes, but onely for myne owne.

West.

Well, M. Latimer, this is our entent, to wyll you well, and to exhort you to come to your selfe, and remember that without Noes Arke, there is no health. Remember what they haue bene that were the beginners of your doctrine, none but a few flying Apostataes, runnyng out of Germany for feare of the fagot. Remember what they haue bene which haue set forth the same in this

Realme: A sort of flyngbraines and light heads, which were neuer constant in any one thyng, as it was to be seene in the turnyng of the Table, where lyke a sort of Apes, they coulde not tell which way to turne their tailes,* looking one day West, and another day East, one that way, and an other this way. They will be lyke (they say) to the Apostles, they wyll haue no Churches. A houell is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reuerence. They get them a Tankard, and one sayth, I drinke, and I am thankfull:* the more ioy of thee, sayth another. And in them was it true that Hyllary sayth: Annuas & mēstruas de deo fides facimus▪ id est, We make euery yere and euery month a fayth. A runnagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the Sacrament: by whose procurement that heresie was put into the last Cōmunion booke:* so much preuayled that one mans authoritie at that tyme. You neuer agreed with the Tygurines or Germanes, or with the Church, or with your selfe. Your stubbornnesse commeth of a wayne glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a fagot is in your beard. And we see all by your owne confession, how little cause you haue to be stubborn, for your learning is in scoffers hold. The Queenes grace is mercifull, if ye will turne.

Lat.

You shall haue no hope in me to turne, I pray for the Queene daily euen from the bottome of my hart, that she may turne from this religion.

West.

Here you all see the weakenes of heresie against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

HEre all good Readers maye see how this glorious Prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victorie or no, that I suppose they haue not yet, neyther heard nor seene. And geue that he had the victory, yet what great meruayle was it, disputyng as hee dyd, Non sine suo Theseo: that is, not without his tipplyng cuppe standing at his elbow all the time of his disputation, notwithstanding a priuy notyng and smilyng of them that beheld the matter, but specially at that tyme, when Doctour Ridley disputyng with one of the Opponentes, the sayd Prolocutor tooke the cuppe, and holding it in hys hand, sayd to the Opponent: Vrge hoc. vrge hoc: Nam hoc facit pro nobis. In which wordes as he mooued no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof:* so I thought here also not to leaue the same vnmentioned, somewhat also to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious wearines in reading the story therof.

¶To the Reader.

And thus hast thou (louyng Reader) the whole action and stage of this Doctourly disputation shewed forth vnto thee, against these three woorthy Confessours and Martyrs of the Lorde, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered vsage of the Uniuersitie men, the vnmanly manner of the Schoole, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierces and interruption of the Doctors, the full pith and ground of all their argumēts, the censures of the Iudges, the railyng language of the Oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter ende, being both the actor, the moderator, and also Iudge himselfe. And what maruell then if the courage of this victorious Conquerour, hauyng the lawe in his owne handes, to doe and say what him li•ted, would say for himself, Vicit veritas,

although he sayd neuer a true word, nor made neuer a true conclusion almost in al that disputation.

It followed furthermore after disputation of these three dayes being ended, that M. Harpsfield the next day after,* which was the xix. of Aprill, should dispute for his forme, to be made Doctor. To the which disputation the Archb. of Cant. was brought forth, and permitted among the rest to vtter an argument or two, in defence of his cause. As in sequele hereof may appeare.

***Disputation of Maister Harpesfield Bachelor of Diuinitie, aunswering for his forme to be made Doctour.**

Harpesfield.

I Am not ignoraunt what a weighty matter it is, to entreat of the whole order and trade of the scriptures;* and most hard it is to, in the great contention of Religion, to shew the ready way, whereby the scriptures may be best vnderstanded. For the oftē reading of them doth not bring the true vnderstanding of them. What other thing is there then? Uerily this is the redy way, not to folow our owne heads and senses, but to geue ouer our iudgement vnto the holy catholike Church, who hath had of olde yeres the truth, and alwayes deliuered the same to their posteritie: but if the often readyng of scriptures, and neuer so paynefull comparing of places should bring the true vnderstandyng, then diuers heretikes might preuaile euen agaynst whole generall Councels. The * Iewes did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Sauour that they waited for. But what auailed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that diuers places of the scripture doe much warne vs of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth therby follow: as Scrutamini, &c. Search the scriptures: for they do beare witnesse of me, &c. Lex Domini, &c. The law of the Lord is pure, able to turne soules. And that saying of S. Paule: Omnis Scriptura, &c. All Scripture inspired from aboue, doth make that a man may bee instructed to all good workes. Howbeit, doth the lawe of the Iewes conuert their soules? are they by reading instructed to every good worke? The letter of the old Testament, is the same that we haue.

The heretikes also haue euer had the same scriptures which we haue that be Catholikes. But they are serued as Tantalus that the Poetes do speake of, who in the plenty of thynges to eate and drinke, is sayd to bee oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seeke the Scriptures without the Catholike church, the deeper they fall, and fynde hell for their labour. Saint Cyprian neuer swaruing from the Catholike Church, saith: He that doth not acknowledge the Church to bee his mother, shall not haue God to be his father. Therefore it is true Diuinitie,* to bee wise with the Church, where Christ sayeth: Nisi manducaueritis, &c. Vnlesse ye eate my fleshe, and drinke my bloud, ye haue no lyfe in you.

If he had meant of onely eating bread, and drinkyng wyne, nothyng had bene more pleasaunt to the Capernautes, neither would they haue forsaken hym. The fleshe profiteth nothing to them that doe so take it. For the Capernautes did imagine Christ to be geuen in such sorte as he lyued. But Christ spake high thynges: not that they should haue hym as fleshe in the market, but to consider his presence with the spirite, * vnder the formes whereby it is geuen. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and tymes of ages, so there is no lesse * varietie in eatyng of bodies.

These things which I haue recited briefly. M. Harpsfield did with many more wordes set out: and hereupon D. Weston disputed against hym.

West.

Christes real body is not in the sacrament:

Ergo, you are deceyued.

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Harps.

I deny the antecedent.

West.

Iohn the 6. Dico veritatem vobis, &c. I speake the truth vnto you: It behoooueth me that I go away from you. For vnlesse I do depart, that comforter cannot come, &c.

*Upon this I will make this argument.

Christ is so gone away as he did send the holy Ghost.

But the holy Ghost did verily come into the world:

Ergo, Christ is verily gone.

Harps.

He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

West.

S. Augustine sayth, that these wordes: Ego ero, &c. I wyll be with you euen to the end of the world, are accomplished, secundum maiestatem, According to his maiestie: But secundum praesentiam carnis, non est hic, By the presence of hys flesh, he is not here. The Church hath hym not in flesh, but by beliefe.

Harps.

We must diligently weigh that there are two natures in Christ: the diuine nature, & humane nature. The diuine nature is of such sort, that it cannot chuse but bee in all places. The humane nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, althogh it be in diuers, after a diuers maner. So where that the doctors do entreat of hys presence by maiestie, they do commend the maiestie of the Diuine nature not to hinder vs of the * natural presence here in the sacrament.

West.

He sayth further: Me autem non semper habebitis: Ye shall not haue me alwayes with you, is to be vnderstanded in the fleshe.

Harpesfield.

The presence of the flesh is to bee considered, that he is not here as he was woont to lyue in conuersation with them, to be seene, talked withall, or in such sort as a man may geue hym * any thyng: after that sort he is not present.

West.

But what say you to this of S. Augustine: Nō est hic, He is not here.

Harpesfield.

I do answer out of S. Augustine vpon Iohn, Tractatu. 25. vpon these woordes. Non videbitis me. Vado ad patrem, &c. I goe to the Father, ye shall not see me: That is, Such as I now am. Therefore I doe deny the maner of hys presence.

West.

I wil ouerthrow S. Augustine with S. Augustine: who saith this also: Quomodo quis possit tenere Christum? fidem mitte & tenuisti: that is, How may a man hold Christ? send thy fayth, and thou holdest hym.

So he sheweth, that by sending our fayth, we do hold Christ.

Harpesfield.

In deed no man holdeth Christ, vnlesse he beleue in him, but it is another thing to haue Christ merciful and fauourable vnto vs, and to haue him present in the Sacrament.

There s. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is fauourable vnto vs.

West.

Nay, he speaketh there how the Fathers had him in the fleshe, and teacheth that we haue him not so in fleshe, as they had him long tyme, sayeng: Your fathers dyd holde Christ present in the flesh, do you hold him in your heart. What wordes can be more plaine? Further he sayth, He is gone, & is not here: he hath left vs, and yet hath not forsaken vs. Hic est maiestate, abijt carne: He is here in maiestie, and gone touching the fleshe.

Harps.

I doe vnderstand Augustine thus: that Christ is here in his flesh to them that receiue him worthily: to such as doe not worthily receiue him, to them he is not present in the fleshe. I iudge S. Augustine meaneth so. We haue hym, and haue hym not: we haue him in receiuyng hym worthily, otherwyse not.

West.

Nay, Tener• carnem est tenere corticem literae: I wyll prosecute another argument. Cyrill doth say: By the maiestie of his diuinitie he is euer here, but the presence of hys fleshe hath he taken away.

Harpsfield.

The sense of Cyrill is thus to be vnderstanded: The most true fleshe of Christ is at the right hande of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and so they beleeeued. Thus sayd Cyrill: Thus said Augustine, and because this is the foundation of our fayth, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore, when they prooue this, (the body to bee in heauen,) they do not make agaynst the presence in the sacrament.*

So vnlesse ye can plainly shew, that the fathers do directly say, he is not in the sacrament, you make nothyng against me: for I haue shewed why the Fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference betwene the diuine nature, and the humane nature, as I haue before sayd.

Weston.

I will then prooue, that he is not in the sacrament. Uigilius against y^e heretike Eutiches, vpon these words: Me autem non semper habebitis, sayeth: The sonne of God as touching his humanitie, is gone from vs, by his diuinitie hee remayneth with vs. And that same Uigilius in hys fourth booke, sayeth: Hee that is in the heauen, is not in the earth, speakyng of Christ.

Harps.

I wyll shew you the reason of these wordes. The hereticke Eutiches did beleeeue that the diuine nature of Christ was fastned on the crosse, and beleeeued that Christ had no naturall body. To this Uigilius sayd, that the humane nature was taken vp and ascended, which could not so haue done, vnlesse he had had a body. This he sayd not, to take away the presence in the sacrament.

For what had he to referre this sentence to the Sacrament? Hee neuer dyd so much as dreame of the Sacrament.

West.

Cyrill sayth: Although he be absent from vs in body, yet are we gouerned by his spirit.*

Harps.

By these wordes he gaue vs a cheerefulnesse, to aspire vpwards, seeking therehence our helpe. For as touching his conuersation, he is not so in the Sacrament, as one meet to be liued withall. But let hym teach vs that he is not there to feed vs: for after that sort he is there.

West.

You haue satisfied me with your answers, in doying the same learnedly, and catholically. But now to an other argument.

*Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heauen when he liued here.

But when he did liue bodily on earth, the same naturall body was out of heauen.

Ergo, now whilst his naturall body is in heauen, it is not in earth.

Harps.

I deny the Maior.

West.

Fulgentius ad Transimundum Regem, libro secundo, saith: Secundum humanam substantiam absens erat coelo, cum descēdit de coelo. These are Fulgentius wordes touchyng hys humane substaunce. He was absent from heauen, when he descended from heauen, and touching the same substance, now he is in heauen, he is not on the earth: but concernyng the diuine nature, he neuer forsooke, neither heauen nor earth.

¶After these wordes, not waityng Harpsfields aunswer, he offered maister Cranmer to dispute: who began in this wyse.

Cranmer.

I haue heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignitie of the scriptures, which I doe both commend, & haue maruelled thereat within my selfe. But where as you referre the true sense & iudgement of y^e scriptures to the catholicke church as iudge thereof, you are much deceued, specially for y^t vnder the name of the church you appoynt such Iudges as haue corruptly iudged, and contrary to the sense of the scriptures. I wonder likewyse why you attribute so little to the diligent readyng of the scriptures, and conferryng of places, seying the scriptures do so much commend the same, as wel in diuers other places, as also in those which you your selfe haue alredy alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questiōs, * it semeth to me, neither to haue any groūd of the word of god, nor of the Primitiue church. And to say the truth, y^e scholemen haue spoken diuersly of them, and do not agree therein among themselues. Wherefore mynding here briefly to shew my iudgement also, I must desire you first to aunswere me to a fewe questions which I shall demaund of you. Which beyng done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreouer, I must desire you to beare also with my rudenes in the Latin tonge,

which through long disuse is not now so prompt and ready with me, as it hath bene. And now all other things set apart▪ I mynd chiefly to haue regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christes body is in the sacrament, accordyng to your mynde or determination?

Then answered a Doctor, he is there as touching hys substance, but not after the maner of his substance.*

Harfsfield.

He is there in such sort and manner, as he may be eaten.

Cran.

My next question is: Whether he hath his quantitie & qualities, forme, figure, and such like properties.

Harfsfield.

Are these your questions, sayd Maister Harpsfield? I may likewise aske you when Christ passed thorough the virgines wombe, an ruperit ne•ne? When they had thus a while contended, there were diuers opinions in this matter.

All the doctors fell in a buzzing,* incertaine what to answer: some thought one way, some another, and thus master Doctors could not agree.

Then maister Cranmer said thus: you put of questions with questions, and not with aunsweres. I aske one thyng of you, and you aunswer another. Once agayne I aske: Whether he haue those properties which he had on the earth?*

Tresh.

No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging [Page 1461](#) to a body.

Smyth

Stay you Maister Tresham. I wyll aunswere to you Maister Doctor, with the wordes of Damascene: Transformatur panis, &c. The bread is transformed, &c. But if thou wilt enquire how, Modus impossibilis, The manner is impossible.

Then two or three other added their aunswers to this question,* somewhat doubtfully. A great hurley burley was among them: some affirming one thyng, and some another.

Cran.

Doe you appoynt me a body, and cannot tell what maner of bodye? Either he hath not his quantitie, or els you are ignorant how to answer it.

Harps.

These are vaine questions, & it is not meet to spend the ryme on them.

West.

*Heare me a while, Lanfrancus sometyme Bishop of Caunterbury, doth answer in this wise vnto Berengarius vpon such like questions: Salubriter credi possunt, fideliter queri non possunt: They may be well beleued, but neuer faithfully asked.

Cranmer.

If ye thinke good to aunswer it, some of you declare it.

Harps.

He is there as pleaseth hym to be there.

Cranmer.

I would be best contented with that aunswere, if that your appoynting of a carnall presence had not driuen me of necessitie to haue enquired for disputatiōs sake, howe you place hym there, sithence you will haue a naturall body.

*When agayne he was answered of diuers at one time, some denying it to be quantum, some saying it to be quantitatium, some affirming it to haue modum quanti, some denying it, some one thyng, some an other: vp start D. Weston, and doughtily decided (as he thought) all the matter, saying: It is Corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti. i. It is a body (sayeth he) hauyng quantitie, but not according to the maner of quantitie.

Whereunto M. Warde, a great Sophister, thinkyng the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence: How learnedly and truely I cannot tell, nor I thinke he hymselfe neither, ne yet the best learned there. For it was sayd since, that farre better learned then he, layd as good eare to hym as they could, & yet could by no meanes perceyue to what ende all his talke tended. In deed he told a formall tale to cloute vp the matter.* Hee was full of quantum & quantitatium. This that followeth, was as it is thought, the effect, yet others think no. How be it we wyll rehearse the summe of his wordes, as it is thought he spake them.

Warde.

We must consider (sayth he) that there are duae positiones, Two positions. The one standeth by the order of partes, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which conteyneth.* Christ is in the Sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotles Predicamentes, called Situs. I remember I dyd entreat these matters very largely, when I dyd rule and moderate the Philosophicall disputations in the publike Schooles. This position is sine modo

quantitatiuo, as by an ensample: you can neuer bring heauen to a quantitie. So I conclude that he is in the Sacrament, quantum sine modo quantitatiuo.

These words he amplified very largely, and so high he clymed into the heauens with Duns his ladder, and not with the scriptures, that it is to be marueled how he could come downe again without falling? To whom M. Cranmer said: Then thus do I make myne argument.

Cran.

*In heauen his body hath quantitie, in earth it hath none by your saying.

Ergo, he hath two bodies, the one in heauen, the other in earth.

Here some would haue answered him, that he had quātitie in both, and so put of the antecedent: but thus said M, Harpsfield.

Harps.

I denye your argument, though some would not haue had hym say so.

Cran.

The argument is good. It standeth vpon contradictories, which is the most surest hold.

Harps.

I deny that there are contradictions.

Cran.

I thus prooue it. Habere modum quantitatiuum & non habere, sunt contradictoria.

Sed Christus in coelis, vt dicitis, habet modum quantitatiuū, in terra non habet:

Ergo, duo sunt corpora eius in quae cadunt haec contradictoria: Nam in idem cadere non possunt.

West.

*I deny the Minor.

Harps.

I aunswer, that the Maior is not true. For Habere quantum, & non habere, non sunt contradictoria nisi sic considerantur eiusdem ad idem, eodem modo & simpliciter.

West.

I confirme the same: for one body may haue modum quantitatum, and not haue: * and idem corpus was possible and impossible, one body may haue woundes, and not woundes.

Cran.

This cannot be at one tyme.

Weston.

The ensample of the Potter doth prooue that I say: who of that that is clay now, maketh a pot or cuppe forthwith.

Cran.

But I say againe, that it is so but at diuers tymes: as one piece of meat to be rawe and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would haue it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heauen at one time, & should haue modum quantitatum, and not haue: which cannot be but by such argument as I haue shewed you.

West.

But I say, Christes body was possible and not possible at one * instant.

Seat.

You may aske as well other questions, how he is in heauen? whether he sit or stand, and whether he bee there as he liued here.

Cran.

You your selfe by putting a naturall presence, doe force me to question how he is here. Therefore, next I doe aske this question: Whether good and euill men do eat the body in the sacrament?

Harps.

Yea, they do so, euen as the sunne doth shine vpon kings pallaices, and on dung heapes.

Cran.

Then doe I enquire how long Christ tarieth in the eater.

Harps.

These are curious questions, vnmeet to be asked.

Cranmer.

I haue taken them out of your Schooles and Schoolemen, which you your selues doe most vse: and there also doe I learne to aske how farre he goeth into the body.

Harps.

Wee know that the bodye of Christ is receyued to nourish the whole man concernyng both body and soule: Eo vs{que} progreditur corpus quous{que} *species.

Cran.

How long doth he abide in the body?

Seat.

S. Augustine saith, our flesh goeth into his flesh. But after he is once receiued into the stomacke, it maketh no matter for vs to know how far he doth pierce, or whether he is conueied.

¶ Here M. Tresham and one M. London answered, that Christ beyng geuen there vnder such forme and quantitie as pleased him, it was not to be enquired of his taryng, or of his descending into the body.

Harps.

You were woont to lay to our charge, that we added to the scripture: saying alwayes that we should fetch the truth out of the scripture, and now you your selfe bring questions out of the Schoolemen, which you haue disallowed in vs.

Cran.

I say as I haue sayd alway, that I am constraind to aske these Questions, because of this carnall presence, which you imagine: and yet I know right wel, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures: As to my last question: How long he abideth in the body? &c. The scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so lōg dwell in his people, as they are his members. Wherupō I make this argument.

Ba- They which eate the flesh of Christ, do dwel in hym▪ and he in them.*

ro- But the wicked doe not remaine in hym, nor he in them:

co. Ergo, the wicked do not eate his flesh, nor drinke his bloud.

Harps.

I will answer vnto you, as S. Augustine saith▪^{*} not that how so euer a man do eate, he eateth the body: but he that eateth after a certaine maner.

Cran.

I cannot tel what maner ye appoint, but I am sure that euill men do not eate the flesh and drinke the bloud of Christ, as Christ speaketh in the sixt of Iohn.

Harps.

In the sixt of Iohn, some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the vngodly.

Cranmer.

Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertayne vnto good men.

Harps.

If you do meane onely of the worde of eating, it is true: if concerning the thing, it is not so: And if your meaning be of that which is contained vnder the word of •ating, it may be so taken, I graunt.^{*}

Cran.

Now to the Argument, He that eateth my fleshe, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in mee, and I in hym. Doth not this prooue sufficiently, that euill men doe not eate that the good doe?

Tresh.

You must adde, Qui manducat dignè: He that eateth woorthily.

Cran.

I speake of the same manner of eatyng, that Christ speaketh of.

Weston.

Augustinus ad fratres in Eremo, Sermon. 28. Est c•dan•[Page 1462](#) manducandi modus. i. There is a certaine manner of eating. Augustine speaketh of two maners of eating: the one of them that eat worthely, the other that eat vnworthely.

Harps.

All things in the 6. of Iohn are not to be referred to the Sacrament,* but to the receiuing of Christe by faith. The Fathers doe agree that there is not entreatie made of the supper of the Lorde, before they come vnto, Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est. &c.

Cran.

There is entreatinge of Manna both before & after.

Harps.

I wil apply an other answer. This argument hath a kinde of poyson in it, which must be thus bitten away, that Manna and this Sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacie of him selfe, but of God.

Cran.

But they that did take Manna worthily, had fruite therby:* and so by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruite by that.

Therefore the like doth folow of them both: and so there should be no difference betwene Manna & thys sacrament by your reason.

Harps.

When it is sayde, that they which did eate Manna, are dead, it is to be vnderstand, that they did want the * vertue of Manna.

*If M. Harpsfield do meane of bodily life, they which eate the Sacrament doe die, as well as they which did eate the Manna. If he meane of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat Manna, nor all sau'd that do eate the Sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of Manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth saluation: but only the spirituall beleeuing vppon Christes bodely passion, which onely iustifieth both them and vs. And therefore as the effect is spirituall, whych Christ speaketh of in this chapter: so is the cause of that effecte spirituall whereof hee meaneth, which is our spirituall beleeuing in him, and not our bodely eating of him.

Cran.

They then which doe eate either of them worthely, doe liue.

Harps.

They doe lyue whiche doe eate Manna worthely, not by Manna, but by the power of God geuen by it. The other which doe eate this Sacrament, do liue by the same.

Cran.

Christe did not entreate of the cause, but the effecte which folowed: he doth not speake of the cause whereof the effect proceedeth.

Harps.

I do say the effects are diuers, life and death, which do folow the worthy, and the vnworthy eating therof.

Cran.

Sithens you will needes haue an addition to it, we must vse both in Manna & in this Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or vnworthily.

Christ spake absolutely of Manna, and of the Supper, so that after that absolute speaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wise eate the fleshe of Christe, and drinke his bloud.

*Further Augustine vpon Iohn, Tractatu 26. vpon these wordes, Qui manducat, &c. sayth: There is no suche respecte in common meates, as in the Lords body. For who that eateth other meates, hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but hee that doth eate the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his bloud, doth liue for euer. But you know wicked men not to doe so.

Ergo, wicked men doe not receiue.

Harps.

S. Augustine meaneth, that hee who eateth Christes flesh. &c. after a certaine manner, should liue for euer. Wicked men doe eate, but not after that maner.

Cran.

Ca- Onely they which participate Christ, be of the mysticall body.*

me- But the euill men are not of the mysticall body:

stres. Therefore they doe not participate Christ.

Weston.

*Your wonderfull gentle behaueour and modesty (good master D. Cranmer) is woorthy muche commendation: and that I may not depriue you of your right & iuste deseruing, I geue you most hearty thanks in myne owne name, and in the name of all my brethren. At which saying all the Doctors gently put off theyr cappes. Then M. Weston did oppose the Respondent on this wise.

West.

*Tertullian doth call the sacrament the signe and figure of the Lorde.

S. Augustine ad Dardanum sayeth: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis. i. The Lorde did not sticke to say, this is my body, when hee gaue a signe of his body.

Besides this, he geueth rules howe to vnderstand the scriptures, saying: If the Scriptures seeme to commaund some heynous thing,* then it is figuratiue, as by example: Manducare carnem & bibere sanguinem, est tropicus sermo. i. To eate the flesh and drinke the bloud, is a tropicall speache.

Harps.

*Tertullian did wryte in that place against Martion an heretique, who denied Christ to haue a true body, and said, he had onely a fantastical body. He went aboute to shewe that we had Christ both in heauē and in earth: and though we haue the true bodye in the Sacrament, yet hee woulde not goe about so to confounde him, as to say, that Christe was truely in the Sacrament: For that heretique woulde haue thereat rather marueiled, then beleued it. Therefore hee shewed him, that it was the figure of Christe: and a figure can not be, but of a thing that is, or hath bene extant.

To the texte of Augustine: the Church hath neuer taught the contrarye.* There is an outwarde thing in the Sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names. For it maye be called a Figure in this declaration: That Bodye which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heauen.

To the thirde: That which is brought by Augustine for example, about the vnderstanding of the Scriptures,* is thus to be vnderstanded, as tending to a generall manner of eating: so Manducare carnem, & bibere sanguinem. i. To eate the flesh, and drinke the bloude, may be a figuratiue speache to exclude Anthropophagiam. i. The eating of mans flesh, the which is, when we eate mans flesh cutte into morsels, as we eate common meate: so as we neither haue nor eat Christ in the Sacrament.

West.

I vnderstand your short & learned answeare,* which doth sufficiently content me. But nowe to the second question, which is of transubstantiation.

The scripture calleth it bread.

Ergo, it is bread.

Harps.

In the name of breade all is signified whyche wee doe eate.

West.

Theodoretus an ancient wryter,* in his firste Dialogue, sayth, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body.

Harps.

He doeth there speake de Symbolo, which is, Externa species sacramenti. i. The outwarde forme of the Sacrament.* Hee meaneth that, that doth tarie in his owne nature. Moreouer, as it was reported, hee brought for his answere Augustinum in sententijs Prosperi.

West.

Theodorete also in hys seconde Dialogue of these kindes of breade and wine sayeth: Nec naturam egrediuntur,*manent etiam in sua substantia. i. They goe not oute of their owne nature, but they tarie in their owne substaunce.

Harps.

They are vnderstanded to be of the same substance wherein they are * turned.

West.

But what say you by this? Manent in priori substantia: They remaine in their former substance.

Harps.

Symbola manent: The outward signes doe tarie.

West.

But what is meant here by this word, Symbolum?

Harps.

The outwarde fourme or shape onely of the Nature.

West.

Then you can not call them a substance.

Harps.

Yes Syr, euery thing hath a certaine substaunce in hys kinde.

West.

That is true, but accidentes are not substaunces in theyr kinde.

Harpsfielde.

Sunt quid in suo genere. Of thys they contended much.

West.

Chrysostome ad Caesarium Monachum sayeth,^{*} Sicut antequam consecratur, panis est: sic postquam consecratur, liberatus est ab appellatione panis, donatusque est appellatione corporis Domini, cum natura remanet: That is. Like as before it is consecrated, it is breade: so after it is consecrated, it is deliuered from the name of breade, and is endued with y^e name of the Lordes body, where as the nature doth remaine.

Harps.

Where reade you this place, I pray you?^{*}

West.

Here in Peter Martyr I finde it: I haue hys Booke in my hand.

Harps.

The authour shall be of more credite, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an answer vnto it.

Weston.

In deede I knowe not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius sayeth,^{*} that the nature of breade and wine doe tarrie.

Harps.

What is that Gelasius?

West.

A Bishop of Rome.

Harps.

Then he allowed the Masse.

West.

Yea, and oftentimes sayde it: and Purgatorie he also allowed, and so prayer for the deade, reliques, and inuocation to saintes.

Harps.

Belyke then hee meant nothing against Transubstantiation.

West.

It doeth appeare so in deede.* But Origene vppon Math. the 15. Chapter saith, that the material breade doeth tarrie, and is conueyed into the priuie, and is eaten of wormes.

Harps.

Tushe, tushe, thys place appertaineth vnto holye breade.

West.

What, doth it appertaine to holy bread?

Harps.

Yea, vnto holy breade.

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West.

By what meanes can you shewe how this myraculous worke bringeth Christ into the sacrament.

Harps.

By the scriptures I prooue that, which sayeth: Hoc est corpus meum. This is my body.

West.

It doeth reioyce all vs not a little, that you haue so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the Altare, wherein you haue faithfully cleaued to the Catholike Church, as an onely stay of our religion: by the whych meanes you haue prooued your selfe meete to be authorised further towardes the practising of the scripture.

And heere I doe openly wnesse, that I doe thoroughly consente wyth you, and haue for disputations sake onely, brought these argumēts against you, which you haue right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our forme and maner, we wil end this disputation, saying: In oppositum est sacra theologia. In oppositum est. &c.

¶Thus haue ye heard in these foresaide disputations, about the holy supper of the Lorde, the reasons and arguments of the Doctors, the answeres and resolutions of the Bishops, and the triumphe of the Prolocutor, triumphing before the victorie, w^t Vicit veritas, who rather in my minde shoulde haue exclaimed, vicit potestas: As it happeneth alwaies, Vbi pars maior vincit meliorem. For els if potestas had not helped the Prolocutor more then veritas, there had ben a small victoria. But so it is where iudgements be partiall, and parties be addicted, there all thinges turne to victorie, though it be neuer so meane and simple, as in this disputation might well appeare.

For first of the Opponents part, neither was there almost any argument in true moode & figure rightly framed: neither could the answerers be permitted to say for them selues: and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speake. Againe, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy then anye disputation, without al forme and order, was in the schooles during the time of their answering, that neither could the answerers haue place to vtter their minds, neither would the Opponents be satisfied with any reasons. Cōcerning the which disturbance of that misruled disputation, you shall heare what M. Ridley himselfe reporteth by his owne description, in maner as foloweth.

The reporte and narration of M. Ridley concerning the misordered disputation had against him and his felow prisoners at Oxford.

I Neuer yet sithence I was borne saw, or heard any thing done or handled more vainely, or tumultuously, then the disputation which was with mee in the Schooles at Oxforde. Yea verely, I coulde neuer haue thought that it had ben possible to haue founde amongst men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in thys Realme, any so brasen faced and shamelesse, so disorderly and vainely, to behaue themselues, more like to Stageplayers in Enterludes, to set forth a Pageant, then to be graue Diuines in Schooles to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours (which at Paris I haue seene in time past when Popery most raigned) might be worthely thought (in cōparison of this thrasonical oftētation) to haue had muche modestie. And no greate maruaile, seeing they which should haue beene Moderatours, and Ouerseers of others, and whych shoulde haue geuen good ensample in woordes and grauitie: they themselues, aboue all other gaue worst ensample, and did (as it were) blow the trompe to the rest, to raile, rore, rage, and cry out. By reason wherof (good christen reader) manifestly it may appeare, that they neuer sought for any truth or verity, but onely for the glory of the worlde, and their owne bragging victorie. But least by the innumerable railings & reprochful taūts, wherwith I was baited on euery side, our cause, yea rather Gods cause & his churches, should be euill spoken off, and slandered to the world through false reportes, and vntrue ensamples geuen out of oure disputation, and so the veritie might sustaine some damage, I thought it no les then my duety to wryte mine answeres: to the intent y^t who so euer is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceiue, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me vnto euery of them. How be it (good Reader), I confesse this to be most true, that it is vnpossible to set foorth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their partes being so many, speaking many times all together so thicke that one coulde not well heare an other, either all that was answered on my behalfe, to thē so sondry and diuers Opponents.

Moreouer, a great parte of the time appoynted for the disputations, was vainly cōsumed in opprobrious checks and reuiling tauntes, with hissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue,* to procure the peoples fauour wythall. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did beholde, protesting openly, that suche excessiue and outrageous disorder, was vnseemely for those schooles and men of learning and grauitie, and that they which wer the doers and stirrers of suche things, did nothing else but bewray the slendernesse of theyr cause, and theyr owne vanities: I was so farre off by thys my humble complaynt from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to heare suche rebukes, checkes, and tauntes for my labour, as no persone of any honestie wythout blushing coulde abide to heare the like spoken of a moste vile varlet, against a moste wretched Russian.

At the firste beginning of the Disputation, when I should haue confirmed mine answeare to the firste proposition in fewe wordes,* and that (after the maner and lawe of Schooles) afore I coulde make an ende of my firste probation, which was not very long, euen the Doctors themselues cried oute, hee speaketh plasphemies, hee speaketh blasphemies. And when I on my knees besoughte them, and that heartily, that they woulde vouchsafe to heare me to the ende, (whereat the Prolocutour being mooued, cryed out on hie, Let him reade it, let him reade it) yet when I began to reade it agayne, there followed immediately such showting, such a noyse and tumult, and confusion of voyces, crying, blasphemies, blasphemies, as I to my remembraunce neuer hearde, or read the like, excepte it be that one whych was in the Actes of the Apostles, stirred vp of Demetrius the siluer Smith, and other of hys occupatiō, crying out against Paule, Greate is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the Ephesians: and except it be a certaine disputation whych the Arrians had against the Orthodoxes, and suche as were of godlye iudgemente in Aphryca, where it is sayde, that suche as the President and rulers of the Disputation were, suche was the ende of the disputations. All were in a hurly burly, and so great were the sclanders which the Arrians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This wryteth Uictor in the second booke of his Hystorie.

The which cries and tumultes of them agaynst mee so preuailed, that wild I, nild I,* I was enforced to leaue of y^e reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same aske any one that was there, and not vtterly peruered in Poperie, and I am assured hee will say, I speake the least. But to complaine of these things further, I will cease.

And further speaking of thys disputation, hee concludeth with these wordes: And thus was ended thys moste glorious disputation of the most holy Fathers, sacrificers, Doctours, and Maisters, which fought most manfully (as yee may see) for theyr god and goodes, for theyr faith and felicitie, for theyr countrey and kitchin, for theyr beautye and belly, with triumphant applauses and fauour of the whole Uniuersitie.

After the disputation of maister Latimer ended, whych was the 18. day of April, the Friday following whych was the 20. day of the sayde moneth, the Commissioners sate in saint Maries Church, as they did the Saterdag before, and Doctor Weston vsed particularly disswasions wyth euery of them, and woulde not suffer them to answeare in anye wise, but directly and peremptorily, (as his woordes w•re) to say whether they woulde subscribe, or no. And firste to the Bishop of Canterbury he said he was ouercome in disputations: whome the Byshop

aunswere^{d,*} that where as Doctour Weston sayde, he had aunswere^d and opposed, and could neither mainteine his own errors, nor impugne the veritie, all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to Oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, vnles he would haue brauled with them, so thick they reasons came one after an other. Euer foure or fiue did interrupt him, that he coulde not speake. Maister Ridley and M. Latimer were asked, what they would do, they sayde, they would stande to that they had sayd. Then were they all called together, and sentence read ouer them, that they were no members of the Church. And therefore they, theyr fautors and patrones were condemned as heretiks: and in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turne or no, & they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned all three.

After which sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they aunswere^d againe euery one in theyr turne, in maner and effect of words, as foloweth, the archbishop first beginning thus.

The Archbishop of Caunterburie.

From this your iudgement and sentence, I appeale to [Page 1464](#) the iust iudgement of God almighty, trusting to be present wyth him in heauen, for whose presence in the altare, I am thus condemned.

Doctour Ridley.

Although I be not of your companie, yet doubte not I but my name is wrytten in an other place, whether thys sentence wil sende vs sooner, then we shoulde by the course of nature haue come.

Doctour Ridley.

I thanke God most hartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kinde of death.

Doctor Westons answere vnto Latimer.

If you goe to heauen in thys faith, then will I neuer come thither,^{d,*} as I am thus perswaded.

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from the other, videlicet, the Archbishop was retourned to Bocardo, D. Ridley was caried to the sheriffes house, master Latimer to the Bailiffes.

On Saterdag following, they had a Masse with a generall procession and great solemnitie. Doctor Cranmer was caused to beholde the Procession oute of Bocardo, Doctour Ridley out of the Sheriffes house. Latimer also being brought to see it, from the Bayliffes house, thoughte that he should haue gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper a Catchpoll, to make a quicke fire. But when he came to Karfox, and sawe the matter, he ranne as fast as his olde bones would carrie him, to one Spensers shop, and would not looke towards it. Last of all, D. Weston caried the sacrament, and foure doctors caried the Canapie ouer him.

Immediately after the sentence was geuen, D. Ridley wryteth to the Prolocutor, in maner, as foloweth.

Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

MAister Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, howe you promised me openly in the schooles, after my protestation, that I should see howe my answeares were there taken and wrytten of the Notaries whom ye appoynted, (me fateor neminem recusare) to wryte what should be sayd, and to haue had licence for to haue added vnto them, or to haue altered them, as vpon more deliberation should haue seemed me best. Ye graūted me also at the deliuary of my aunswere vnto your first proposition, a copie of the same: these promises are not performed. If your sodaine departure be any part of the cause therof, yet I pray you remember that they may be perfourmed: for performaunce of promise is to be looked for at a righteous Iudges handes. Nowe I send you here my aunsweres in wryting, to your second and third propositions, & doe desire and require earnestly a copie of the same, & I shal by Gods grace procure the paines of the wryter to be paid for and satisfied accordingly. Maister Prolocutor, in the time of my aunswearing in the Scholes, when I would haue cōfirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should haue time and place to say and bring whatsoeuer I could an other time, and the same your saying was then there confirmed of other of the Commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thoughte then that I shoulde haue had an other daye, to haue broughte and sayde what I coulde for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Nowe that this was not done, but so sodainly sentence geuen before the cause was perfectly heard, I canne not but maruaile. &c.

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the xxiiij. of the sayde moneth of Aprill, D. Weston Prolocutor tooke his iourney vp to London, with the letters certificatorie from y^e vniuersitie vnto the Queene, by whome the Archb. of Cant. directed his letters supplicatorie vnto the Counsaile. The whych letters after the Prolocutor had receiued, & had caried them wel neare halfe way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contentes thereof, sente them backe againe, refusing to carie them. &c. Likewise Bishoppe Ridley, hearing of the Prolocutors going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to cary his answers vp to certaine Bishops in London, the forme of which letters, first of D. Ridley, then of the Archb. and lastly an other letter of D. Ridley to the Archbishop, here in order foloweth.

A letter of B. Ridley to the Prolocutor.

MAister Prolocutour, I desire you, and in Gods name require you, that you truely bring forth and shew al mine answers, wrytten and subscribed with mine owne hande, vnto the higher house of the Conuocation, and specially to my L. Chauncelor, my Lordes of Duresme, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester, and also to shewe and exhibite this my wryting vnto them, whyche in these fewe lines heere I wryte vnto you: and that I did make thys request vnto you by this my wryting, know ye that I did take witnesse of them by whome I did send you this wryting, and also of those whiche were then with them present, videlicet, the two Bailiffes of Oxforde, and of master Irishe Alderman, then there called to be a witnesse.

By me Nicholas Ridley 23. of April, An. 1554.

The copie of the Archb. of Canterb. letters to the Counsaile, sent by Doctour Weston, who refused to deliuer them.

IN right humble wise sheweth vnto your honourable Lordships, Thomas Cranmer late Archbishop of Canterburie,* beseeching the same to be a meanes for mee vnto the Queenes highnesse for her mercy and pardon. Some of you knowe by what meanes I was broughte and trained vnto the will of oure late soueraigne Lorde king Edwarde the sixte, and what I spake against the same, wherein I referre me to the reportes of your honoures and woorships. Furthermore, this is to signifie vnto your Lordshippes, that vpon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations heere in Oxforde against me, maister Ridley, and maister Latimer, in three matters concerning the Sacrament: First of the reall presence, secondly of Transubstātiatiō, & thirdly of the sacrifice of the Masse: vpon Monday against me, vpon Tuesday against Doctour Ridley, and vpon Wednesday against maister Latimer. Howe the other two were ordered, I knowe not, for we were seperated▪ so that none of vs knoweth what the other sayd, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning my selfe I can report. Doctour Chadsey was appoynted to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I neuer knewe the like, euery man bringing forth what him liked▪ without order, and such hast was made,* that no aunswere coulde be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before an other brought a newe argument: and in suche waightie matters the disputation must needes be ended in one day, which can scantly well be ended in three moneths. And when we had answered them, they woulde not appoynte vs one day to bring forth our proofes, that they might answere vs, being required by me thereunto, whereas I my selfe haue more to say, then can be well discussed, as I suppose in twentie dayes. The meanes to resolue the truth, had bene to haue suffered vs to aunswere fully to all that they coulde say, and then they again to answere vs fully to all that we can say. But why they woulde not answere vs, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answere vs, or else for some consideration they made such hast, not to seke the truth, but to condemne vs, that it must be done in poast haste before the matters coulde be throughly heard: for in all haste we were all 3. condemned of heresie. Thus much I thought good to signifie vnto your Lordshippes, that you may knowe the indifferent handlinge of matters, leauing the iudgement thereof vnto your wisdomes.* And I beseeche your Lordships to remember me a poore prisonner vnto the Queenes Maiestie, and I shall pray as I doe daily, vnto God for the long preservation of your good Lordshippes in all godlinesse and felicitie. April. 23.

Doctour Ridley to the Archbishop of Caunterburie.

I Wishe ye might haue seene these mine answeres before I had deliuered them, y^t yee myght haue corrected them.* But I truste in the substaunce of the matter wee doe agree fully, both led by one spirite of truth, and both walking after one rule of Gods woorde. It is reported that Sergeant Morgane,* the chiefe Iustice of the Common place is gone madde. It is sayde also that Iustice Hales hath recanted, peruerted by D. Moreman. Item, that M. Rogers, D. Crome, and M. Bradforde shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here, and that the Doctours of Oxforde shall goe likewise thither,* as Cambridge men came hither. When ye haue red mine answeres, sende thē againe to Austen, except ye wil put any thing to them. I trust the day of oure deliuerie out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetuall rest, and vnto

perpetuall ioye and felicitie draweth me: the Lorde strengthe vs wyth hys mighty spirite of grace. If you haue not to wryte with, you must make your man your frende. And this bearer deserueth to be rewarded, so he may and will doe you pleasure. My man is trustie, but it greeueth both him and mee, that when I sende hym with any thing to you, your man will not let him come vp to see you, as he maye to M. Latimer, and yours to me. I haue a promise to see how my answers were wrytten in the schooles, but as yet I cannot come by it. Praye for me. I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord haue mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that Gods extreme plagues light not on this realme of England.

Turne, or burne.

[Page 1465](#) These disputations being thus discoursed and ended, which were at Oxforde in the moneth of April, as is aforesayd: now let vs returne againe to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise y^t happened in other parties of the realme, in this tumultuous time of Queene Marie. And because thinges that happened in that time, were so many and diuers, that it is hard to keepe a perfecte order in reciting them all: to the entent therefore to inserte things leaft out before, or els to prosecute the same more at full, we haue thought heere a litle to interrupt the order of time (albeit not much) returning againe to the moneth of Iulie the yeare before, videlicet. 1553. In the which moneth of Iuly I shewed before howe the Duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the Gard, and brought to London by the Earle of Arundell and other Lordes and Gentlemen appoynted for that purpose on S. Iames day, being the 25. day of Iuly, and so to the tower, where they remained. These be the names of them which were committed to the Tower with the Duke.

First the Earle of Warwike, the Earle of Huntington, Lord Ambrose,* and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Hastings, who was deliuered againe y^e same night, sir Iohn Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Thom. Palmer, and D. Sandes Chancelour of Cambridge.

The 26. day the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the B. of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Corbet were brought and committed to the Tower.

The 27. day the Lorde chiefe Iustice of Englande, and the Lord Mountacute chiefe Iustice of the common place, were committed to the Tower.

Uppon the Friday being the 28. of Iulye, the Duke of Suffolke, and Sir Iohn Cheeke were committed to the Tower.

The 30. of Iulye, the Lorde Russell was committed to the Sheriffe of Londons custodie.

The 31. day the Earle of Rutlande was committed to the Fleete.

*Uppon the monday the last of Iuly, the Duke of Suffolke was deliuered out of the Tower againe.

Upon thursday the 3. of August, the Queene entred into the citie of London at Algate, & so to the Tower, where shee remained seuen daies, and then remooued to Richmond.

Uppon friday the fourth day, doct. Day was deliuered out of the Fleete.

Upon saterday the 5. day, the Lorde Feries was committed to the tower, and the same daye D. Boner was deliuered out of the Marshalsey. The same day at nyght D. Co•kes was committed to the Marshalsey, and one M. Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day doctor Tons••• and Ste. Gardiner were deliuered out of the Tower▪ and Gardiner receiued into the Quenes priuie counsaile, and made Lord Chancellor.

Uppon Sunday the 7. day, Henry Dudley captaine of the Garde at Guynes,* whych before had beene sente to the French king by his cosin the Duke of Northumberlande, after the dispatch of his ambassage with the French kinge, returned to Guines, & so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

Uppon mondaye the seuenth day of August, Dirige in Latine was songe wythin the Tower, by all the Kynges Chappel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister, wherat was present the Queene, and the most parte of the Counsaile.

Uppon Tuesday the viij. day of August, the kings body was brought to Westminster, and there buried, where D. Day Bishop of Chichester preached. The same daye a Masse of Requiem was songe within the tower, by the Byshop of Winchester, who had on his Miter, & did al things as in times past was done, at whyche Masse the Queene was present.

Upon thursday the Duke of Northfolke came foorth of the Tower,* with whom the Duches of Somerset was also deliuered this thursday.

Uppon sonday the 11. of August, Doctor Bourne preached at Paules Crosse, of the whych sermone reade before, pag. 1339.

In the weeke folowing, commaundement was geuen throughout the citie, that no Prentises should come to the sermon, nor weare any knife or dagger.

Uppon the wednesday, being the xvi. daye of August, M. Bradford, M. Beacon, and M. Ueron, were committed to the Tower: with whom also M. Sampson shoulde haue bene committed,* and was sought for the same time in M. Elsinges house in Fleetestreete (where M. Bradforde was taken) and because he was not founde, the Byshop of Winchester fumed like a prelate with the messenger.

Upon the Fridaye being the 18. of August, the Duke of Northumberland, the marques of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke were arrayned at Westminster, and there y^e same day condemned, the Duke of Northfolke that day being the high Iudge.

Upon saterday the 19. of August, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Iohn Gates, sir Henrye Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were araigned at Westminster, & condemned the same day, the L. Marques of Winchester being hie Iudge.

Upō which day, a letter was sent vnto sir Henry Tirrel, Anthony Browne, and Edmonde Browne Esquiers, praying them to committe to warde all suche as shall contemne the Queenes order of religion, or shall keepe them selues from church, there to remaine vntill they be conformable, and to signifie their names to the counsaile.

Upon Sunday the 20. of August,* Doctour Watson the Byshoppe of Winchester's Chaplaine Preached at Paules Crosse, at whose Sermon was presente the Marques of Winchester, the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Penbroke, the Lord Rich, and two hundred of the Garde wyth their Halbardes, lest the people would haue made any sturre against the Preacher.

Uppon Monday the 21. of August, the Duke of Northumberlande, the Marques of Northampton, Syr Andrewe Dudley, Syr Iohn Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer hearde a Masse wythin the Tower, and after Masse they all fiue receaued the Sacramente in one kinde onely, as in the Popishe time was vsed. On the whiche day also Queene Mary set forth a Proclamation, signifying to the people that she could not hide any longer the religiō which she from her infancy had professed. &c. inhibiting in the said Proclamation Printing & Preaching, the tenour wherof, read before pag. 1334.

Uppon the Tuesday, being the 22. of August, the Duke of Northumberlande, Syr Iohn Gates, and Syr Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower hil, as before is sayd, pag. 1338.* The same day certaine noble personnages heard Masse wythin the Tower, and likewise after masse, receaued the Sacrament in one kinde.

Uppon Sunday the 27. day of August, Doctour Chedsey Preached at Paules Crosse, and the same daye the Byshop of Canterbury, Syr Thomas Smith, and the deane of Paules were cited to appeare the weeke following before the Queenes Commissioners, in the Bishops Consistorie within Paules.

In this meane time it was noysed abroad by running rumours falsely and craftely deuised, eyther to stablish the credite of the Masse, or els to brynge Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury out of credite, that he to currye fauour with Queene Mary, should promise to say Dirige Masse after the old custome, for king Edward, and that he had already sayd Masse at Caunterburie, &c. Wherefore to stoppe the noyse and slaunder of those rumours, the sayde Thomas Archb. of Caunter. the 7. day of September sette foorth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of him selfe, the copie of which letter heere ensueth.

A purgation of Thomas, Archbishoppe of Caunterburie, against certaine sclaunders falsely raised vpon him.

AS the deuill, Christes auncient aduersarie, is a lier and the father of lies,*euen so hath he stirred vp his seruants and members, to persecute Christ and his true worde and religion with lying: which hee ceaseth not to doe most earnestly at this present time. For where as the Prince of famous memorie kinge Henrie the eighte seeing the greates abuses of the Latine Masse, reformed some things therein in his life time, and after our late soueraigne Lord king Edward the 6. tooke the same whole away for the manifolde and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place therof Christes holy Supper according to Christes own institution, and as the Apostles

used the same in the primatiue Church: the deuill goeth about nowe by lying to ouerthrow the Lordes holy Supper againe, and to restore his Latine satisfactorie Masse, a thing of his owne inuention and deuise. And to bringe the same more easylie to passe, some haue abused the name of mee Thomas Archb. of Canterburie, bruting abroad that I haue set vp the Masse again at Canterburie, & that I offred to say Masse at the buriall of our late soueraign prince K. Ed. 6. & that I offred also to say Masse before the Queenes highnesse and at Paules Church, and I wot not where. And although I haue bene well exercised these xx• yeres to suffer and beare euill reports and lyes, and haue not bene much greued thereat, but haue borne all things quietly, yet when vntrue reports & lyes turne to the hinderance of Gods truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore these bee to signifie vnto the world, that it was not I that dyd set vp the Masse at Caunterbury, but it was a false flatteryng, lying, and dissembling [Page 1466](#) monke,* which caused Masse to be set vp there without mine aduise or Counsell: Reddat illi Dominus in die illo. And as for offering my selfe to say Masse before the Queenes highnesse or in any other place, I neuer did it, as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will geue me leaue,* I shalbe ready to prooue, against all that will saye the contrary, that all that is contained in the holy Communion set out by the most innocent and godly Prince king Edward the 6. in his high court of Parliament, is conformable to that order which our Sauour Christ did both obserue and commaund to be obserued, & which his Apostles & primatiue church vsed many yeares, whereas the Masse in many things not onely hath no foundation of Christe, his Apostles, nor the primatiue Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and cōtaineth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either vnlearned or malicious, do report that M. Peter Martyr is vnlearned, yet if the Queene• highnes wil graunt thereunto, I with the sayde M. Peter Martyr, and other 4. or 5. whiche I shall chuse, will by Gods grace take vppon vs to defende, not onely the common praiers of the Church, the ministration of the Sacraments, and other rites & ceremonies: but also al the doctrine and religion set out by our said soueraigne Lord king Edward the 6. to be more pure and according to Gods worde, then any other that hath bene vsed in England these 1000. yeares: so that Gods word may be iudge, & that the reasons and proufes of both parties may be sette out in wryting, to the intent, as well that all the worlde maye examine and iudge thereon, as that no man shall start backe from his wrytinge. And where they boast of the faith that hath bene in the Church these 1500. yeres, we will ioyne with them in this poynt, and that the same doctrine and vsage, is to be followed, whiche was in the Church .1500. yeres past, and we shall prooue that the order of the Church, let out at this present in this Realme by Acte of Parlament, is the same that was vsed in the Church .1500. yeres past, & so shall they be neuer able to prooue theirs.

The same Thursday beinge the 7. of Septemb. Lorde Mountacute chiefe Iustice, and Lorde chiefe Baron were deliuered out of the Tower.

The 13. of September the reuerende father M. Hughe Latimer was committed to the Tower.

The 14. of Septemb. the bishop of Caunterburye was committed to the Tower.

The 26. of September, one Maister Graye of Cambridge called before hym one M. Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peter house to helpe hym saye Masse in Penbroke hal, which was before any law was established for that behalfe.

The Queene came to the Tower of London vpon the Thursday being the 28. of September,* and vpon the Saturday following, shee rode from the Tower thorough the Citie of London, where were made many Pageants to receiue her, and so was triumphantly brought to Westminster to White hall.

Uppon the Sondag being the first day of October, the Queenes highnesse went from White hall to Westminster Abbey, accompanied wyth the most part of the Nobility of this Realme, namelye these: The Duke of Norfolke, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Shrewsburie, the Marques of Winchester, the Earls of Darby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmerland, Oxford, Sussex, Deuonshire, Penbroke, the Lord Dacres of the North, Lord Ferris, Lorde Cobham, Lord Aburgeiny, Lord Wentwoorth, Lord Scroupe, Lord Rich, Lord Uaus, Lorde Hawarde, Lord Conias, Lord Morley, Lorde Paget, and the Lorde Willowbye, with many other Nobles, and all the Embassadours of diuers countreys, the Maior of London wyth all the Aldermen. Also out of the Abbey to receiue her comming, came three siluer Crosses, and to the number of four score or neare vppon,* of singing men, all in very rich & gorgeous coapes. Amongest whom were the Deane of Westminster, and diuers of her Chaplaines, which bare euerye one some ensigne in their handes, and after them followed 10. Byshops mytred all, and their Croyser stauies in theyr handes, and rich Copes vpon them euery one. And in this order they returned frō Westminster hal, before the Quene to the Abbey, where she was crowned by Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Lorde Chancellor of England. At the time of the Coronation Doctour Day Bishop of Chichester made a sermon to the Queenes maiestie, and to the rest of the nobilitie.

Also there was a generall Pardon proclaimed wythin the Abbey at the sayd time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the prisonners of the Tower and of the Flete were excepted, and 62. more. Wherof M. Whitchurch and M. Grafton were two.

The thirde of October, the Uicechauncellour of Cambridge did challenge one M. Pierson, for that hee ministred still the Communion in his owne Parish, and did receyue straungers of other Parishes to the same, and woulde not say masse. Whereupon within 2. dayes after, he was cleane discharged from farther ministring in his Cure.

Uppon the Wedensday following,* the Archb. of Yorke was committed to the Tower.

Uppon Thursdays being the 5. of October. 1553. the Queene road to the Parliament in her roabes, and all the nobilitie with her, and when they were set in the Parliament house, the Bishop of Winchester made to them a solemne Oration, and Sergeant Pollarde was chosen speaker of the Parliament. The same day the Bishops of Lincolne, Harford, and Westchester, were discharged from the Parliament and Conuocation.

Also the 10. daye of October, the Earle of Huntington was deliuered out of the Tower.

Upon the Sondag after, being the 15. of Oct. M. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallowes in Breadstreete in y^e morning: where he declared the abhominacion of the masse, with diuers other matters very notably and godly. Wherof more shalbe heard (by the Lordes leaue) heereafter when we come to his story. In which his doing, as he shewed himselfe to be Gods faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of gods faithful promise, who sayth: Omnis qui

confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor & ego illum coram patre meo qui est in coelis.
Math. 10. But about noone of the same day he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsee.

Upon the Sunday folowing, being the 20. of October, Doctor Weston preached at Paules Crosse.* Who in the beginning of his Sermone willed the people to praye for the soules departed on this wise: You shall pray for all them y^t be departed, that be neither in heauē, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heauē, that they may be releued by your deuout prayers. He named the Lodes table an oyster board. He saide that the Catechisme in Latin, lately sette out, was abhominable heresie, & likened the setters out of the same Catechisme to Iulianus Apostata, and the booke for a Dialogue set out by the sayd Iulianus Apostata, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers:* with many other things. Which Sermon with al the poynts therof, maister Couerdall the same time learnedly confuted by wryting, which remaineth yet in my handes to be seene.

In the weeke following, began the disputations in the conuocation house in Paules Church, whereof sufficient hath bene before declared, pag. 1342.

The 26. day of October, the Uicechauncellour of Cambridge went to Clarehall, and in the presence of Doctoure Walker, displaced Doctour Madewe, and placed Maister Swynborne in the Maistership there, by force of the Lorde Chauncellours letters, for that he was (as they termed it,) Vxoratus, that is, married.

The 28. day of October,* the Papistes in the kings colledge in Cambridge (not tarying the making of any lawe, but of their blinde zeale) had their whole seruice againe in the Latin tong, contrary to the law then in force.

The last of October, the Uicechauncelloure of Cambridge, did sharply reprocue and threaten one M. Thrackold, for that he challenged the sayd Uicechauncellor, who had suffered maister Bouell (contrary to the statutes then in force) quietly wythout punishment to depart, notwithstanding that he refused to sweare to the supremacie of the Queene, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

The third day of Nouember,* the Uicechauncellor sent for the Curate of the rounde Parish in Cambridge, commaunding hym not to minister any more in the English tounge, saying: he would haue one vniforme order of seruice throughout the Towne, and that in Latine, wyth Masse, which was established the xij. day of this moneth.

The 6. day of Nouember, M. Pollarde preached at S. Michaels, and in his Sermon approoued Purgatorie.

The 28. day of Nouember, the Archdeacons Officiall visited in Hynton, where hee gaue in charge to present all suche as did disturbe the Queenes proceedings, in letting the Latine seruice, the setting vp of their altars, and saying of Masse, or any parte thereof: whereby it was easie to see how these good fellowes ment to proceede, hauing the law once on their side, that thus readely against a manifest law would attempt the punishment of any man.

The 15. day of December,* there was two Proclamations at London: the one for the repealing of certaine actes made by kynge Edwarde, and for the setting vppe of the Masse, for the 20. day of December then next folowing: the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say Masse.

The Parliament beginning aboute the v. daye of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the whyche Parliament were dissolved as well all Statutes made of Fremunire, in the time of King Henrie viij. &c. as also other [Page 1467](#) lawes and statutes concerning religion and administration of Sacraments decreed vnder king Edwarde the 6. as is partly aboue touched. In the which Parliament moreouer was appoynted the 20. day of December next ensuing the same yeare .1553. that all the olde forme and manner of Church seruice, vsed in the last yere of king Henry, should now againe be restored.

On Newyeres euen being the last of December, the Lorde Marques of Northampton was deliuered oute of the Tower.

About this time a Priest at Caunterbury sayde Masse on the one day,* & the next day after he came into the pulpit and desired all the people to forgeue him, for he said he had betraied Christe, but not as Iudas did, but as Peter did, and there made a long Sermon against the Masse.

The day after Newyeres day, being the seconde daye of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord. 1554. foure Ambassadors came into London from the Emperour, and were honorably receiued. Their names were these. Le Countie de Egmont, Le Countie de Lalen, Mounsieur Corire, Le Chauncellour Nigre.

About this time a great number of newe Byshoppes, Deanes. &c. were chosen, more then were made at one time since the Conquest. Theyr names are these.

- D. Holyman B. of Bristow.
- D. Coates B. of Westchester.*
- D. Hopton Byshop of Norwiche.
- D. Bourne B. of Bathe.
- D. White B. of Lyncolne.
- D Mores B. of Rochester.
- D. Morgan Bishop of S. Dauies.
- D. Poole B. of S. Asse.
- D. Brookes Bish. of Glocester.
- D. Moreman, coadiutour to the Byshop of Exceter, & after his decease Byshop of Exceter.
- D. Glin B. of Bangor.
- Maister Fecknam Deane of Paules.
- D. Rainoldes Deane of Bristow, with others.

The 12. day of Ianuarie, the Uicechancellour of Cambridge called a congregation generall, wherein amongst other things, he shewed that the Quene would haue there a Masse of the holy Ghost vppon the 18. day of Februarie then next following, for that it was her birthe day, whyche was fulfilled the day appoynted, and that very solemnely.

Upon the Saturday being the 13. of Ianuarie Doctour Crome was committed to the Fleete. Also vpon the Sunday following, one M. Addington was committed to the Tower.* Also this same Sunday knowledge was giuen in the Court openly by the B. of Winchester, that the marryage betweene the Queenes maiestie & the king of Spaine was concluded, and the day following, being monday and the 15. of Ianuary,* the Maior, with the Aldermen and certaine Commoners were at the Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chauncellor to prepare the Citie ready to receiue the said king of Spaine, who declared vnto them what a Catholicke, mighty, prudent & wise prince the said king is, with many other commendations of him.

Upon the Saturday folowing, being the 20. of Ian. the Court of the first fruites and tenthes was dissolved.

Upon the Thursday at night, following the 25. day of Ianuarie, the Lorde Marques of Northampton was againe committed to the Tower, and sir Edward Warnar with him. Who were brought to the Tower by the Maior.

Uppon the Saterdaye followinge, being the 26. of Ianuary, Iustice Hales was committed to the Marshalsee, and the same day maister Rogers was cōmitted to Newgate.* Upon this Saterdag, Sunday, and Monday folowing the Londiners prepared a number of souldiors (by the Queenes commaundement) to goe into Kent against the Commons: whereof were chiefe Captaines the Duke of Northfolke, the Earle of Wormewood, sir Harry Iernyngham, sir George Haward, and 10. other captaines. Which soldiors when they came to Rochester bridge, where they should haue set vpon their enemies, most of them (as it is sayde) lefte theyr owne Captaines, and came wholly to the Kentishmen, and so the foresaid Captaines returned to the Court, both void of men and victory, leauing behind them both 6. peeces of ordinance, and treasure.

Aboute the latter ende of Ianuarie, the Duke of Suffolke with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and tooke hys voyage into Leycester shyre. After whome was sent the Earle of Huntington to take hym and bring hym to London, who proclaimed the said Duke traytor by the way as he r•ade.

And thus passing to the moneth of Februarie, heere is to be noted by the way of story, that vpon the 15. day of the sayd moneth being Thursday, there was seene wythin the Citie of London, aboute 9. of the clocke in the forenoone, straunge sightes.* There was seene two Sunnes both shining at once, the one a good prety way distaunt from the other. At the same time was also seene a Rainebowe turned contrary, and a great deale higher then hath bene accustomed. The common standinge of the Raynebowe is thus

[illustration] [arc]

but thys stooode thus

[illustration] [arc]

with the heade downward, and the feete as it were vpwarde. Both these sightes were sene, as wel at Westminster, in Cheapeside, on the Southside of Paules, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honest men. Also certaine Aldermen went out of the Guild Hall to beholde the sight.

As touching the rising of master Wyate, with Syr W. Cobham and others in Kent, and there comming to London in the moneth of Februarie: also of the Queenes comming to the Guilde Hall, and her Oration there made: and after of the taking of the said Wyat and his company: likewise of the apprehension of the Duke of Suffolke with his brother Lord Iohn Gray: and the next day after of beheading of Lord Gildford and Lady Iane, which was the 12. day of February, and how the day before, which was 11. of the sayd moneth, Lord William Haward and sir Edward Hastings, were sent for the Ladie Elizabeth: and how the same Sondag, Syr Harrye Iseley, M. Culpeper,* and M. Winter were committed to the Tower, the B. of Winchester, the same daye being the 11. of Februarie, preaching before the Queene, and perswading her to vse no mercy towarde these Kentishmen, but seuer execution, all whyche was in the moneth of February: because most of these matters haue bene briefly touched before, or els may be founde in other Chronicles, I wil cease to make any further story of them: hauing somewhat notwithstanding to declare touching the raiment and death of the Duke of Suffolke.

Uppon Saturday, beinge the 17. day of Februarye, the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his Peres, the Earle Arundel was chiefe Iudge for this day.*

Uppon the Sondag following, which was the 18. day of the sayd moneth, Sessions was kept in London, whych hath not before bene sene to be kept vpon the Sondag.

Upon the monday the 19. of Februarie, the Lord Cobhams 3. sonnes, and 4. other men were arraigned at Westminster: of whiche sonnes the youngest was condemned, whose name is Thomas, and the other two came not at the barre, and the other 4. were condemned.

Upon the Tuesday being the 20. of February,* the Lord Iohn Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day, and other 3. men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Upon the Wedensday the 21. of Februarie, the L. Thomas Gray, and sir Iames Croft were broughte throughe London to the Tower with a number of horsemen.*

Upon the Thursday being the 22. of Februarie, syr Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Uppon the Friday being the 23. of Februarie. 1554. the Duke of Suffolke was beheaded at the Tower hil, the order of whose death heere followeth.

The godly ende and death of the Duke of Suffolke beheaded at Tower hil. An. 1554. Febr. 23.

ON Friday the 23. of February. 1554. about 9. of y^e clocke in the fore noone, the Lorde Henrie Gray duke of Suffolke, was broughte foorth of the Tower of London vnto the Scaffolde on the Tower hill,* wyth a greate company, &c. and in his comming thither, there accompanied him Doctor Weston as his Ghostly father, notwythstanding, as it should seeme, against the will of the sayde Duke. For when the Duke went vp to the Scaffolde, the sayd Weston being on his left hand, preased to goe vp wyth hym. The Duke with his hand put him downe againe of the staires:

and Weston taking holde of the Duke, forced hym downe likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the Duke againe put him downe.

Then Weston sayde that it was the Queenes pleasure he shoulde so doe. Wherewith the Duke casting hys handes abroad, ascended vpp the Scaffolde, and paused a pretie while after. And then he sayde: Maisters I haue offended the Queene, and her lawes, and thereby am iustly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient, and I praye God that thys my death may be an ensample to all men,* beseeching you all to beare mee witnesse, that I die in the faithe of Christe, trusting to bee saued by his bloude onely, and by no other trumperie, the whych died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, that when you see my breathe departe frō me, you wil pray to God that he may receiue my soule. And then he desired all men to forgeue him, saying that the Queene had forgeuen him.

[Page 1468](#)Then M. Weston declared with a loude voyce that the Queenes Maiestie had forgiuen him. With that, diuers of the standers by said with meetely good and audible voice: such forgiuenes God send thee, meaning Doctor Weston. Then the Duke kneeled downe vpon his knees, and sayd the Psalme Miserere mei Deus, vnto the end, holding vp his hands, and looking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the Psalme,* he sayd: In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum, &c. Then he arose and stode vp, and deliuered his cap and his skarffe vnto the executioner.

Then the sayd executioner kneeled downe and asked the Duke forgiuenes. And the Duke sayd, God forgiue thee & I do, & when thou doest thine office, I pray thee do it wel, and bring me out of this world quickly,* and God haue mercy to thee. Then stood there a man and sayd, my Lord, how shal I do for the money that you do owe me? And the Duke sayd, alas good felow, I pray thee trouble mee not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled downe and said, Our father which art in heauen, &c. vnto the ende. And then he saide, Christ haue mercy vpon me,* and layd downe his head on the blocke, and the executioner tooke the Axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it vp to y^e people, &c.

The same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the Citie with their halters about theyr neckes. They were in * number about two hundreth.

Upon the Saterdag the 24. of February. Syr William Sentlow was committed as prisoner to the maister of the horse to be kept. This Syr William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeths Gentlemen.

Upon the Sunday beeing 25. of February, Syr Iohn Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this weeke, all suche Priestes within the Dioces of London as were married, were diuorced from theyr liuings, and commaunded to bring in their wiues within a fortnight, that they might likewise be diuorced from them. This the Byshop did of his owne power.

Upon the Tuesday in the same weeke, being the 27. of February,* certayne Gentlemen of Kent were sente into Kent to be executed there. Their names were these, the two Mantels, two

Kneuels, and Bret: with these, Maister Rudston also and certayne other were condemned, and should haue bene executed, but they had their pardon.

As touching the foresayde Maister Mantell the elder, heere by the way is to be noted, that as he was lead to execution, and at his first casting vnder the Gallowes, the rope brake. Then they woulde haue had him recanted the trueth, and receiued the sacrament of the aultar (as they tearme it) and then they sayd he should haue the Queenes pardon: but Maister Mantell like a worthy Gentleman, refused their serpentine counsell, and chose rather to dye, then to haue lyfe for dishonouring of God.

Moreouer, as touching the sayid M. Mantell, for that he was reported falsely to haue fallen from the constancie of his profession, to cleare himselfe thereof, and to reproue the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brieue Apologie in purgation of himselfe: the copie whereof you shall heare.

¶The Apologie of M. Mantell the elder.

PERceiuing that already certayne false reports are rayseed of me concerning my aunsweres in the behalfe of my beliefe,* whiles I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that beleeeue in Christ:* haue thought it the duty of a Christian man as neare as I can (with the truth) to take away thys offence. It pleased the Queenes Maiesty to send vnto me M. Doct. Bourne,* vnto whome at the first meeting I acknowledged my fayth in all points to agree with the foure Creedes, that is, the common Creede, the Creede of Nicene, Quicunque vult, and Te Deum laudamus.

Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declared that I could be contente to shewe vnto anye learned Minister of Christes Church, any thing that troubled my conscience, and of such a mā I would most willingly heare absolution pronounced.

Touching the Sacrament of the aultar (as he termed it) I sayd that I beleeeued Christ to be there present as the holy Ghost ment when these words were written:* Hoc est corpus meum.

Further, when this would not satisfye, I desired him to consider that I was a condemned man to dye by a law, and that it was more mee•e for me to seeke a readines and preparation to death. And in so much as I dissented not from him in any article of the Christian fayth necessary to saluation, I desired him for Gods sake no more to trouble me with such matters, as whiche to beleeeue is neyther saluation, nor not to beleeeue, damnation. He aunswered, that if I dissented but in the least matter frō the catholick Church, my soule was in great daunger, therefore much more in thys great matter, alleading this text: Qui offenderit in minimo, factus est reus omnium. He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all. Yea (quoth I) Verum est,* ex hisce mandatis i. It is true, of these commaundementes of God. To this I desired him to consider, that it was not my matter, neither was I able in these matters to keepe disputation, nor minded so to doe, and therefore to take these few wordes for a full aunswere, that I not onely in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of Religion,* Beleeeue as the holy Catholicke Church of Christ (grounded vpon the Prophetes and Apostles) beleeeueth. But vppon this worde Church we agreed not, for I tooke exceptionat the Antichristian Popish Church.

Then fell we in talke of the Masse, wherein wee agreed not: ^{*} for I, both for the occasion of Idolatry, and also the cleare subuersion of Christes institution, thought it nought, and he è cōtra vpon certaine considerations supposed it good. I founde fault that it was accounted a Sacrifice propiciatory for sinne, and at certaine other applications of it. But he sayde that it was not a propiciatory sacrifice for sinne (for the death of Christ onely was the Sacrifice) and this but a commemoration of the same. Then I: if ye thinke so, certaine blasphemous collectes left out, I could be content (were it not for offending my poore brethren that beleue in Christ, which know not so muche) to heare your Masse. See (quoth he) howe vayne glory toucheth you. Not so sir (quoth I) I am not now I thanke God, in case to be vayne glorious.

Then I found further faulte with it, that it was not a communion. Yes (sayth he) one Priest saying Masse here, ^{*} and an other there, and the third in an other place &c. is a communion. This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paule (sayd I): Non in melius, sed in deterius conuenitis i. Ye come not after a better maner, but after a worse. Yea, ^{*} and it is a communion to (said he) when they come together. Now draweth on the time (quoth hee) that I must depart from you to the Court, to saye Masse before the Queene, and must signifie vnto her in what case I finde you, and me thinke I finde you sore seduced. Then I sayd, I pray you report the best, for I trust you finde me not obstinate. What shall I say are ye content to heare Masse, ^{*} and to receaue the sacrament in the Masse? I beseeche you, sayd I, signifie vnto her Maiestie, that I am neither obstinate, nor stubburne, for time and perswasion may altar me, but as yet my cōscience is such, that I can neither heare Masse, nor receaue the sacrament after that sort, Thus after certaine requestes made to the Queenes Maiestie concerning other matters, he departed.

The next daye hee came to me agayne and brought with him S. Cyprians woorkes, for so I had required him to doe the day before, because I woulde see his sermon De mortalitate. He had in thys booke turned in and interlyned certaine places both concerning the Church and the sacrament which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serue, and at his next cōming I sayd that I was wholly of Cyprians mynd, in the matter of the Sacrament. Doctour Weston and Doctour Mallet came after to me, whome I aunswered muche after that sorte as I did the other. Doctour Weston brought in the place of Ciprian, Panis iste non effigie sed natura mutatus. &c. I asked of him how natura was taken in the Conuocation house in the disputation, vpon the place of Theodoret.

To be short Doctour Bourne came often vnto me, and I alwayes sayde vnto him that I was not minded nor able to dispute in matters of Religiō, but I beleued as the holy Catholick Church of Christ, grounded vpon the Prophetes and Apostles doth beleue, and namely in the matter of the Sacrament, as the holy fathers Cyprian and Augustine do write and beleued, and this aunswere and none other they had of me in effecte, what wordes soeuer haue bene spread abroad of me that I should be conformable to all thinges &c. The trueth is, ^{*} I neither heard Masse nor receaued the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

One time he willed me to be confessed. I sayd I am content. We kneeled downe to pray together in a windowe. I beganne without Benedicite, desiring him not to looke at my hand for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sinnes Therewith he was called away to the Coūcell, & ego liberatus Thus muche I beare onely for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I haue offended any Christian, from the bottome of my hart I aske them forgeuenes. I trust God hath forgeuen

me, who knoweth that I durst neuer deny him before men, least he shoulde deny me before his heauenly father.

Thus haue I left behinde me written with myne own hand the effect of all the talke, especially of the worst that euer I graunted vnto, to the vttermost I can remember, as (God knoweth) all the whole communication I haue not written, for it were both to long and to foolish so to doe. Now I beseche the liuing God which hath receiued me to his mercy and brought to passe that I dye steadfast and vndefiled in his trueth, at vtter defiaunce and detestation of all Papisticall and Antichristian doctrine, I beseech him (I say) to keepe and defend al his chosen for his names sake, from the tyranny of the Byshop of Rome [Page 1469](#) that Antichrist,* and from the assault of all his satellites. Gods indignation is knowne: he will trie and proue who be his. Amend your liues. Deny not Christ before men, least he deny you before his heauenly father. Feare not to lose your liues for him, for yee shall fynde them agayne. God hold his mercifull hand ouer thys Realme, and auert the plagues imminent, from the same. God saue the Queene, and send her knowledge in his truth. Amen, pray, pray, pray ye Christians, and comfort your selues with the Scriptures.

Written the 2. of March. an. 1554.

by me Walter Mantell prisoner, whom both God and the world hath forgeuen his offences.
Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of Mayster Walter Mantell, who if he had cōsented vnto the Queene, what time she sent Doctour Bourne vnto him, to deny his fayth, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

Upon the Saterday being the iij. of March, sir Gawen Carew,* and maister Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

In Lōdon the vij. day of March, euery housholder was commaunded to appeare before the Alderman of their ward, and there were commaunded, that they, their wiues and seruants should prepare themselues to shrift, and receiue the Sacrament at Easter, and that neither they, nor any of them should depart out of the Citie, vntill Easter was past.

*Upon the Sondag following, being the xvij. daye of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the Queenes Sister, was brought to the Tower.

Upon Easter euen, being the xxiiij. of March, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham were deliuered out of the Tower.

The xxv. day (being Easter day) in the morning, at S. Pancrase in Cheape, the Crucifixe with the Pixe were taken out of the Sepulchre,* before the Priest rose to the resurrection: so that when after his accustomed maner he put his hande into the Sepulchre, and sayde very deuoutely: Surrexit non est hic, he found his words true, for he was not there in deede. Whereupon being halfe dismayed, they consulted amongst themselues whom they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debatement they remembred one Marsh, which a little before had bene put from

that personage, because he was married, to whose charge they layde it.* But when they could not proue it, beeing brought before the Maior, they then burdened him to haue kept company with his wife, since that they were by commaundement diuorsed. Whereto he aunswered, that hee thought the Queene had done him wrong to take from him both his liuing and his wife: which words were then noted, and taken very greeuously, and he and his wife were both committed to seuerall Counters, notwithstanding that he had bene very sicke.

The viij. of Aprill, there was a Cat hanged vpon a gallowes at the Crosse in Cheape,* apparelled like a Priest, ready to say Masse, with a shauen crowne. Her two forefeete were tyed ouer her head, with a rounde paper lyke a wafer cake put betweene them: whereon arose great euil will against the Citie of London. For the Queene and the Byshops were very angry withall: and therefore the same after noone, there was a Proclamation, that who soeuer could bring foorth the partie that did hang vp the Cat, should haue xx. nobles, which reward was afterwarde increased to xx. markes, but none could, or would earne it.

As touching the first occasion of setting vp this Gallowes in Cheapeside,* heere is to be vnderstand, that after the Sermon of the Byshop of Winchester (aboue mentioned) made before the Queene for the straite execution of Wyats souldiours, immediately vppon the same the xiiij. of February, were set vp a great number of Gallowes in diuers places of the Citie, namely two in Chepeside, one at Leaden hall, one at Billynges gate, one at S. Magnus Church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleetestreete, foure in Southwarke, one at Allgate, one at Byshops gate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at Saint Iames parcke corner, one at Cripplegate: all which Gibbets & gallowes to y^e number of xx. there remained for terrour of other, frō the xiiij. of February, till the iiij. of Iune, & then at the cōming in of King Philip were taken downe.

The xj. day of Aprill, was Syr Thomas Wyat beheaded and quartered at the Tower hill, where hee vttered these woordes,* touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earle of Deuonshyre. Concerning (sayd he) what I haue sayd of other in my examination, to charge any other as partakers of my doings, I accuse neyther my Lady Elizabeths grace, nor my Lord of Deuonshyre. I can not accuse them, neyther am I able to say, that, to my knowledge, they knew any thing of my rising. And when Doctour Weston tolde him, that his confession was otherwise before the Counsell, he aunswered: that which I said then, I sayd: but that which I say now, is true.

Uppon the Tuesday beeing the xvij. of Aprill, Syr Iames Croft, and Maister Winter,* were brought to the Guild hall, with whom also the same time, and to the same place was brought sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracie with the Duke of Suffolke & the rest, agaynst y^e Queene, where he so learnedly and wisely behaued him selfe (as well in clearing his owne case, as also in opening such lawes of the Realme as were then alledged agaynst him) that the Quest which was charged with his matter, could not in conscience, but finde him not guilty:* for y^t which the said xij. persons of the Quest, being also substantiall mē of the Citie, were bounde in the summe of 500. poundes a peece, to appeare before y^e Queenes Counsell at a day appointed, there to answeere such things as should be laid against thē for his acquiting. Which Quest appeared accordingly before the Counsell in the Starre chamber vppon Wednesday, being the xxv. of Aprill, and S. Markes daye.* From

whēce, after certaine questioning, they were cōmitted to prison, Emanuell Lucar, & maister Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleete.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas Archbyshop of Cant. of Doctour Ridley, and M. Latymer, which was the xx. of this moneth of Aprill, & also of their disputations, because we haue sayd enough before, it shall not neede now to bestow any further rehearsall thereof.

The Friday next following, after the condemnation of them, the xxvij. of Aprill, Lord Thomas Gray,* the late Duke of Suffolkes brother, was beheaded at Tower hil.

Upon the Saterdag, beeing the xxviij. of Aprill, Syr Iames Croft, and Maister Winter were agayne brought to the Guild hall, where Sir Iames Croft was arraigned and condemned, and because the day was farre spent, Maister Winter was not arraigned.

Upon the Thursday, being the xvij. of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guild Hall,* and there the same day condemned, who the next day after, was hanged, drawne, and quartered. His accusation was, for cōspiring the Queenes death: which how true it was, I haue not to say. This is certaine, that he made a right godly ende, and wrote many fruitfull exhortations, Letters and Sonets in the prison before his death.

In the moneth of May it was so giuen out, and bruiited abroad,* that a solemne disputation should be holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in Maister Ridleys letter page. 1396) betwene M. Bradford, M. Saunders, mayster Rogers, and other of that side, and the Doctours of both the Uniuersities on the other side, like as had bene in Oxford before, as you haue heard. Whereupon y^e godly Preachers which were in prison hauing word therof, albeit they were destitute of their bookes, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the aduersaries, and how y^e cause was preiudicate before, also how the disputations were cōfusedly hādled at Oxford: neuerthelesse they thought not to refuse the offer of disputatiō, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard, and therefore wisely pondering the matter with themselues, by a publicke consent, directed out of prison a declaration of their minde by writing, the vij. day of May. Wherein first as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, wheras all things were so predetermined before, yet neuertheles, they would not deny to dispute,* so that the disputation might be either before the Queene, or before the Counsaile, or before the Parlamēt houses, or else if they might dispute by writing: for else if the matter were brought to the Doctours handling in their owne scholes, they haue sufficient prooffe (they sayd) by the experience of Oxford, what little good will be done at Cambridge: and so cōsequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their Religion, and exhorting the people withall to submit themselues with all patience and humilitie, either to the will or punishmēt of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be theyr Iudges in this behalfe, and so ende their protestation, the copie and contents whereof I thought not vnfit here to be inserted.

***A copie of a certayne declaration drawne and sent out of prison by Mayster Bradford, Mayster Saunders, and dyuers other godly Preachers, concerning theyr disputation,* and doctrine of their Religion, as followeth.**

BEcause we heare that it is determined of the magistrats and such as be in authoritie, especially of the Clergye, to send vs speedely out of the prisons of the kings Bench, the [Page 1470](#) Fleet, the Marshalsey, and Newgate, where presently we are, and of long time some of vs hath ben, not as rebelles, traytors, seditious persons, theeues, or transgressours of any lawes of this realme, inhibitions, Proclamations, or commaundements of the Queenes highnes, or of any of y^e Councels (Gods name be prayسد therfore) but alonely for the conscience we haue to God and his most holy word & truth, vpon most certayne knowledge: because we say, we heare that it is determined, we shal be sent to one of the vniuersities of Cambridge, or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalfe: [*](#) in that wee purpose not to dispute otherwise then by writing, except it may be before the Queenes highnes and her Counsell, or before y^e Parliament houses, and therfore perchaunce it will be bruted abroad, that we are not able to mayntaine by the truth of Gods word, and the consent of the true and Catholicke Church of Christ, the doctrine we haue generally and seuerally taught, and some of vs hath writtē & set forth (wherthrough the godly and simple may be offended & somewhat weakened:) we haue thought it our bounden dutie, now whilst we may, by writing to publish and notifie the causes why we will not dispute otherwise then is abouesayd, to preuent the offences which might come thereby.

First, because it is euidently knowne vnto the whole world, [*](#) that the determinations of both the Uniuersities in matters of Religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against Gods word, yea against their own determinations in the time of our late soueraigne Lord and most godly Prince, King Edward: and further it is knowne they be our open enemies, and haue already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

Secondly, because the Prelates and clergie do not seeke either vs or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought vs (as charity requireth) thē would they haue called vs forth hereaboutes before theyr lawes were so made, that franckly and without perill we might haue spoken our consciences. Againe, if they had sought for the veritie, they woulde not haue concluded of controuersies, [*](#) tofore they had bene disputed: so that it easely appeareth that they seeke their owne glory and our destruction, and not vs and the veritie: and therefore we haue good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further preuaile, then to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the veritie.

Thirdly, because the Censors and Iudges (as we heare who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whome pearles are not to be cast, [*](#) by the commaundements of our Sauior Iesus Christ, and by his owne example. That they be such their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Conuocation house in October last past, do most euidently declare.

Fourthly, because some of vs haue bene in prison these 8. or 9. monethes, where we haue had no bookes, no paper, no penne, no inke, or conuenient place for study, we thinke we should do euill thus sodainly to descend into disputation with them, which may alledge as they list, the fathers and their testimonies, [*](#) bicause our memories haue not that which we haue read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may haue there for our aduantage.

Fiftly, because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our Argumentes,* but be stopped when we would speake, one saying thus, another that, the third his mind,* &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially D. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his minde and meaning of the propositions, & had oftentimes halfe a dosen at once speaking against hym: alwayes letting him to prosecute his argument, and to aunswere accordingly: we will not speake of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was vsed. If on this sorte and much worse they handled these fathers, much more will they be shameles bold with vs if we shuld enter into disputation with them.

Sixtly, because the Notaries that shall receiue & write the disputations, shal be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not fauour y^e truth, and therefore must write eyther to please them, or else they themselues (the Censours and Iudges we meane) at their pleasure wyll put to and take from,* that which is writtē by y^e Notaries, who can not,* nor must not haue in their custody that which they write, longer then the disputation indureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth. No copy nor scroule could anye man haue by their good will. For the Censors and Iudges will haue all deliuered into their hands: Yea, if any man was sene there to write (as the report is) the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serue only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all thinke it so necessary not to dispute with them, as if we did dispute we shuld do that whiche they desire & purposely seek, to promote the kingdome of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) y^e truth. We will not speake of the offence that might come to the godly, whē they shuld heare, by the report of our enemies, our aunsweres and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the sclaundering of the veritie.

Therefore we publish, and by this writing notifie vnto the whole congregation and church of England,* that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with thē, otherwise then with the penne, vnlesse it be before the Queenes highnes and her Councell, or before the houses of the parliament, as is aboue sayd. If they will write,* we will aunswere, & by writing confirm and proue out of the infallible veritie, euen the very word of God, and by the testimonye of y^e good and most auncient fathers in Christes Church, this our fayth and euery peece thereof, which hereafter we in a summe do write and send abroad purposely, that oure good brethren and sisterne in the Lord may knowe it: and to seale vp y^e same,* we are ready through Gods helpe and grace to geue our liues to y^e halter of fire, or otherwise as God shall appoynt, humbly requiring, & in the bowels of our Sauour Iesus Christ, beseeching all that feare God, to behaue themselues as obedient subiects to the Queenes highnes and the superiour powers, which are ordeyned of god vnder her, rather after our exāple to geue their heads to the blocke, then in any poynt to rebell or once to mutter agaynst the Lordes annoynted: we meane our soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, into whose hart we beseech the Lord of mercye plentifully to doure the wisdom and grace of his holy spirite, now and for euer. Amen.

First we confesse and beleue all the Canonically bookes of the old Testament,* and al the bookes of the new Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Iudge in all controuersies and matters of religion.

Secondly,* we confesse and beleue the Catholick church whiche is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and louing wife, to embrace and follow the doctrin of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore is shee to be heard accordingly: so that those which will not heare this church thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we accompt as heretickes and schismatickes, accordyng to this saying: If he will not heare the Church, let him be vnto thee as a Heathen.

Thirdly, we beleue and confesse all the Articles of faith & doctrine set forth in the Simbole of the Apostles,* whiche we commonly cal the Creede, and in the Symboles of the Councils of Nice, kept. An. dom. 324. of Constantinople An. dom. 384. of Ephesus kept An. dom. 432. of Calcedon, kept An. dom. 454. of Toletum, the first and fourth. Also the Symboles of Athanasius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, & of Damasus, which was about the yeare of our Lorde. 376. we confesse and beleue (we saye) the Doctrine of the Symboles generally and particularly: so that who soeuer doth otherwise, we hold the same to erre from the truth.

Fourthly, we beleue and confesse concerning iustification,* that as it commeth onely from Gods mercy through Christ, so it is perceaued and had of none whiche be of yeares of discretion, otherwise then by fayth onely: which fayth is not an opinion, but a certaine perswasio wrought by the holy Ghost in the minde and hart of man,* where through as y^e minde is illumined, so the hart is soupled to submitte it selfe to the will of God vnfaynedly, & so sheweth forth an inherēt righteousnes,* which is to be discerned in the Article of iustification, from the righteousnes which God endueth vs withall iustifying vs, although inseperably they goe together. And this we do not for curiositie or contention sake, but for conscience sake, that it might be quyet, whiche it can neuer be, if we confounde without distinction, forgeuenes of sinnes, and Christes Iustice imputed to vs, with regeneratiō and inherent righteousnes. By this wee disallowe Papisticall doctrine of free will, of woorkes of supererogation, of merites, of the necessitie of auricular confession, and satisfaction to Godwardes.*

Fiftly, we confesse and beleue concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God, and therefore in the congregation al thinges publike ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edifie & not in Latin, where the people vnderstād not the same.

Sixtly, we confesse and beleue that God onely by christ Iesus is to be prayed vnto and called vpon,* & therefore we disalow inuocation or prayer to Saints departed this life.

Seuenthly, we confesse and beleue, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be iudged in the last day generally, & in the meane season is entred either into the state of [Page 1471](#) the blessed for euer,* or damned for euer, and therefore is either past all helpe, or else needes no helpe of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirme Purgatory, Masses of Scala coeli, Trentals, and suche Suffrages as the Popishe Church doth obtrude as necessary,* to be the doctrine of Antichrist.

Eightly, we confesse and beleue the Sacramentes of Christ, which be Baptisme and the Lordes Supper, that they ought to be ministred according to the institution of Christ, concerning the

substantiall partes of them: and that they be no longer Sacraments, then they be had in vse, and vsed to the end for the which they were instituted.

*And heere we playnly confesse that the mutilation of the Lords Supper, and the subtraction of the one kinde from the lay people, is Antichristian.

And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the Sacramentall bread and wyne after the words of consecration, as they be called.

Item, the adoration of the Sacrament, with honor due vnto God: the reseruacion and carying about of the same.

Item, the Masse to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and dead, or a worke that pleaseth God.

All these we confesse and beleue to be Antichristes doctrine: as is the inhibition in Mariage as vnlawfull to any state. And we doubt not by Gods grace, but we shal be able to prooue all our confessions heere to be most true by the veritie of Gods word, and consente of the Catholicke Church, which followeth and hath followed the gouernaunce of Gods spirit, and the iudgement of his word.

And this thorough the Lordes helpe we will do, eyther in disputation by word before the Queenes hyghnesse and her Counsaile, eyther before the Parliament houses, of whome we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, eyther with our pennes, whensoever we shall be thereto by them that haue authoritie required and commaunded.

In the meane season, as obedient Subiectes wee shall behaue our selues towardes all that be in authoritie, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he woulde gouerne them all, generally and particularly with the spirite of wisdom & grace. And so we hartily desire, & humbly pray all men to do, * in no point consenting to any kinde of rebellion or sedition against our soueraigne Lady the Queenes highnes: but where they can not obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselues with all patience and humilitie to suffer as the will and pleasures of the higher powers shall adiudge: as we are ready thorough the goodnes of the Lord to suffer whatsoever they shall adiudge vs vnto, rather then we will cōsent to any doctrine contrary to this which we heere confesse, vnlesse we shall be iustly conuincid therof, either by writing or by word, before such Iudges as the Queenes hyghnes and her Counsell, * or the Parlamēt houses shall appoint: For the Uniuersities and Clergy haue condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most iustly we may, & do appeale from them to be our Iudges in this behalfe, except it may be in writing, that to al men the matter may appeare. The Lord of mercy endue vs all with the spirit of his truth and grace of perseuerance therein vnto the end. Amen.

The 8. of May, Anno Dom. 1554.

- Robert Menauen, aliàs
- Robert Ferrar.

- Rowland Taylor.
- *Iohn Philpot.
- Iohn Bradford.
- Iohn. Wigorne and Glouc. Episcopus, aliàs
- Iohn Hooper.
- Edward Crome.
- Iohn Rogers.
- Laurence Saunders.
- Edmund Laurence.
- I. P.
- T. M.

☞ To these things abouesayd, do I Myles Couerdale late of Exon, consent and agree with these my afflicted breethren being prisoners with mine owne hand.

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers, which was on the viij. day of May.

Furthermore, the xix. day of the sayd moneth, the Lady Elizabeth,* Sister to the Queene, was brought out of the Tower, and committed to the custody of Syr Iohn Williams, after Lord Williams of Tame, of whom, her highnes was gently and curteously entreated: who afterward was had to Woodstocke, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield Knight of Oxeborough in Northfolke:* who on the other side, both forgetting her estate, and his owne duty, (as it is reported) shewed hymselfe more hard & straight vnto her, then either cause was geuen of her part, or reason of his owne part would haue led him,* if either grace or wisdom in him might haue sene before, what daunger afterward might haue ensued thereof. Whereof we haue to entreate more at large (the Lorde willing) hereafter in the story & life of Queene Elizabeth.

Upon the Friday following, being the xx. of Iuly, and S. Margarets day, the prince of Spaine lāded at Southhampton. The Prince him selfe was the first that landed: who immediately as he set foote vpon the land, drew out his sword, and caried it naked in his hād a good prety way.*

Then met him without the Towne a little the Maior of Southampton, with certayne Commoners, who deliuered the keyes of the Towne vnto the Prince, who remoued his sword (naked as it was) out of his right hand, into his left hand, and so receiued the keyes of the Maior without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness, and after a while deliuered the keyes to the Maior againe. At the Towne gate met hym the Earle of Arundell and Lord Williams, and so he was brought to his lodging.

Upon the Wednesday following, being S. Iames day,* and the xxv. of Iuly, Philip Prince of Spayne, & Mary Queene of England, were maryed together solemnely in the Cathedrall Church at Winchester, by the Byshop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noble men of both the Realmes. At the time of this mariage the Emperours Embassadour being present, opely pronounced, y^t in cōsideration of that Mariage, the Emperour had graūted & giuen vnto his sonne, the Kingdome of Naples, &c.

Whereupon the first daye of August following, there was a Proclamation, that from that tyme forth, the style of all maner of writings should be altered,* and this following should be vsed.

☞ Philip and Mary by the grace of God, Kyng and Queene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the Fayth, Princes of Spayne and Cicill, Archdukes, of Austrich, Dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flaunders and Tyroll.

Of this Mariage, as the Papistes chiefly seemed to be very glad, so diuers of them after diuers studies, to shew forth their inward affections, some made Interludes and Pagentes, some drewe forth Genealogies, deriuing his petigrue from Edwarde the third and Iohn of Gaunte, some made Uerses. Amongst all other, Mayster Whyte, then Byshop of Lincolne (his Poeticall vayne beeyng drunken with ioye of the Mariage) spued out certayne Uerses: the copy whereof we haue heere inserted.

¶Philippi & Mariae Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex Iohanne de Gandauro, Edwardi tertij, Angliae, Franciaeque Regis filio descendisse ostenduntur, Whito Lincolnense Authore.

Ille parens regum Gandauro ex vrbe Iohannes

Somersetensem comitem profert Iohannem.

Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,

Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit Comitissam.

Haec dedit Henricum, qui regni septimus huius

Henrico octauo solium regale reliquit.

Hoc patre propitio, & fausto quasi sydere nata

Iure tenes sacram teneasque Maria coronam.

¶Verses of M. White Byshop of Lincolne, concerning the Marriage of Philip and Mary.

NVbat vt angla anglo, regina Maria Philippo,

Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,

Noluit humani generis daemon vetus hostis,

Sed Deus Anglorum prouida spes voluit.

Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad praelia Gallus,

Caesar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.

Noluit Haereticus (stirps Caiphae) pontificum grex,

Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.

Octo vxorati Patres in daemone nollent:

Quinque Cathenati pro pietate, volent.

Noluit Iohannes D•dley Northumbrius vrsus,

Sed fidum regni Consilium voluit.

Noluit aetatis nostrae Catelina Viatus,

Sed procures & plebs & pia turba volet.

Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:

Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.

Clarior effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,

Cum sit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.

¶Aunswere by the reuerend Byshop of Norwich to the Byshop of Lyncolne.

EXterno nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,

Vt sint pulsa suis scepra Britanna locis:

Vult Daemon generis nostri antiquissimus hostis,

Anglorum non vult anchora sola Deus.

Nolunt hoc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes,

Vult Caesar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias.

[Page 1472](#)Vult grex Pontificum, stirps Caypha, turba bicornis,

[*](#)Non vult sanctorum sed pia turba patrum.

Nolunt octo, quibus sunt vincla iugalia curae,

Quinque cathenati Daemonis arte volunt.

Hoc neque tu prorsus Dudlaee animose volebas:

Inuitum regni Consilium voluit.

Dedecus hoc non vult fortissimus ille Viatus,
Inuitus populus, sic proceresque volent.
Vos vultis, quoniam semper mala cuncta voletis:
Non vult Graius Dux, nec pia turba volet.
Quot tulit Hispanus rex ergò commoda secum,
Reginae socias cum dedit ille manus?

¶Another aunswere by the sayd Author.

Hispano nubat Maria vt regina Philippo,
Extirpetur stirps vt quoque Nobilium:
Vult pater id vester disturbans omnia Daemon,
Non vult Anglorum sed pater Altitonans.
Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer,
Vult Caesar, Flandrus, Papicolaeque volunt.
Grege mitratorum vult, Cayphae ipsa propago:
Non vult sanctorum sed pius ordo patrum.
Nolunt octo, pios qui iure colunt hymenaeos,
Quinque cathenati pro impietate volunt.
Dudlaeus minimè voluit Northumbrius Heros:
Cui sua perchara est patria, nemo volet.
Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis vt exulet omnis,
Non Graius, sed nec Cantia turba volet.
Ergò magis clarus quàm fit (rogo) sanguis auitus,
Quando iugalis sit iunctus vterque thoro?

¶Other Verses aunswering to Byshop White, made by I. C.

QVamlibet Anglorum stirps ementita Philippo,

Et Maria Hispana de genetrice fuit:

Vt tamen Hispano, confusi sanguinis Angla

Nuberet in gentis dedecus atque patris,

Noluit Anglorum priscae virtutis amator,

Sed Deus in nostram perniciem voluit.

Noluit in nostram, nisi conspirata, salutem

Turba: quid ad nos si gens inimica volet?

Pontifices fati, quasi Cayphas, omina dantes

Nolebant: at grex cacolucos voluit.

Elegere pij connubia talia nolle:

Velle quidem demens haeresis illa fuit.

Consilium multo praestantius octo mariti,

Quinque cathenatis ob malefacta, dabant.

Noluit hos iungi thalamos Northumbrius heros.

O consultores, qui voluere, malos.

Noluit haud aequo confligens marte Viatus,

Solaque quae voluit, turba Papalis erat.

Nolebat Graius, neque terra Britanna volebat:

Nos, quoniam Dominus sic voluit, tulimus.

Sed tulimus pariter fata infoelicia, quando

Infoelix Maria est nupta Philippe tibi.

***Other verses aunswering likewise.**

NVbat vt Hispano Regina Maria Philippo

Dic age Whyte mihi, quos voluisse vides?
Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil,
Velle & nolle Dei est: quid volet ille, refert.
Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluistis:
Quid voluit, quoniam nescis inepte, scias.
Scilicet hoc voluit, vates vt vanus & augur,
Et mendax Whitus pseudopropheta foret.
Regi non regi nupsit, non nupserat, Angla est,
Nō Angla est, grauida est, nō grauida est, grauius est.
Parturit atque parit, sic vos voluistis ouantes,
Nil tamen illa parit: hoc voluit Dominus.
Duxerat ad paucos menses, mox deserit idem:
Sponsa est, mox vidua est: hoc voluit Dominus.
Irrita frustrentur semper sic vota malorum,
Perniciem patriae qui voluere suae.
Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

After the consummation of which mariage, they both remoued frō Winchester to sondry other places, and by easy iourneyes came to Windsore Castle, where he was stalled in the order of the Garter, vppon Sonday, being the xij. of August. At which tyme an Herald tooke downe the armes of England at Windsore, and in the place of them woulde haue set the armes of Spaine, but he was commaunded to set them vp againe by certayne Lordes. From thence, they both remoued to Richmond, and frō thence by water came to London, and landed at y^e Bishop of Winchesters house through which they passed both into Southwark parke, & so to Southwarke house called Suffolk place, where they lay that night being the 18. of August.

And y^e next day, being Saturday, and the xix. of August the king and Queenes maiesties rode from Suffolk place (accompanied with a great number,* as wel of noble men as gentlemen) through the City of London to White Hall and at Londō bridge as he entred at the draw bridge, was a vayne great spectacle set vp,* two Images representyng 2. Gyantes, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagoge holding betweene them certain Latin verses, which for the vayne ostentation of flattery, I ouerpasse.

And as they passed ouer the bridge, there was a number of ordinaunce shot at the Tower, such as by old mens report the like hath not bene heard or seene these hundreth yeares.

From London Bridge they passed to the Conduit in Gracious streete whiche was finely painted, and among other thinges, the ix. worthies, whereof king Henry the 8. was one. He was paynted in harnesse hauing in one hand a sworde, and in the other hand a booke, wherupon was written Verbum Dei,* deliuering the same booke (as it were) to his sonne 〈◇〉 Edward, who was paynted in a corner by him.

But hereupon was no small matter made, for the Bishop of winchester Lord Chauncellour, sēt for the painter and not onely called him knaue for paynting a booke in K. Henries hand, and specially for writing therupon Verbum Dei, but also rancke Traytour and Uillaine, saying to hym that he should rather haue put the book into the Queenes hand (who was also paynted there) for that she had reformed the church and religion,* with other things according to the pure and sincere word of God in deede.

The Paynter answered and sayd, that if he had knowē that that had bene the matter wherfore his Lordship sent for him, he coulede haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his Lordship.*

The bishop answered & said, that it was the Queenes maiesties will and commaundement that he shoulde send for him: and so commaunding him to wye out the booke and Verbum Dei too: he sent him home. So the Paynter departed, but fearing least he should leaue some parte eyther of the booke, or of Verbum Dei, in king Henries hand: hee wiped away a piece of his fingers withall.

Here I passe ouer and cut of other gaudes & Pageantes of pastime shewed vnto him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set vp in Latine, wherein were blased out in one place the fiue philips, as the fiue worthies of the worlde, Philip of Macedonia Philip y^e Emperor, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip Prince of Spayne and king of England.

In an other Poetry K. Philip was resembled by an Image representing Orpheus,* and all Englishe people resembled to brute & sauage beastes following after Orpheus harpe, and daunsing after king Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the arte of the Latine verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I passe ouer y^e matter, hauing other grauer thinges in hand, and therefore passe ouer also the sight at Paules church side of him that came downe vpon a rope tyed to the batilmentes with his head before, neyther staying himselfe with hand or foote: which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let passe touchyng the young flourishing Roode newly set vp agaynst this present tim• 〈◇〉 welcome king Phillip into Paules Church. The setting vp of which Roode was this, and may make as good a Pageant as the best.

An 2. Mariae Boner in his royaltie, and all his Prebendaries about him in Paules Quiere, the Roode layde a long vpon the pauement,* and also all the doores of Paules being shut, the Bishop with other, sayde and song diuers prayers by the Rood: that being done they annoynted the Roode with oyle in diuers places, and after the annoynting crept vnto it and kissed it.

After that they tooke the sayd Roode and weyed hym vppe and set him in his olde accustomed place,* and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole Quiere sang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the Belles, not only for ioy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a mery fellow came into Paules and spyed the Roode with Mary and Iohn new set vppe whereto (among a great sorte of people) he made low curtesie and sayd: sir, your Maistership is welcome to towne.* I had thought to haue talked further with your Maistership, but that ye be here clothed in the Queenes colours. I [Page 1473](#) hope yee bee but a sommers byrd, in that ye be dressed in white and greene, &c.

The Prince thus being in the Church of Paules, after Doctour Harpesfield had finished his Oration in Latine, set forwarde through Fleetestreete, and so came to White hall, where he with the Queene remayned four dayes after, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond.

After this, all the Lords had leaue to departe into theyr countreies, with straitte commaundement to bring all their harnesse and artillery into the Tower of London with all speede. Now remained there no English Lord at the court but the Byshop of Winchester. From Richmond they remoued to Hampton Court, where the hall doore within the Court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, vnlesse his arrand were first knowne: which seemed straunge to English men that had not bene vsed thereto.

About the eight day of September, Byshop Bouer began his visitation,* who charged vj. men in euery parish to inquire (according to their othes) and to present before him the day after S. Mathewes day, being the xxij. of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his Articles, which he had set forth to the number of 37. Of the whiche visitation of Boner, I haue somewhat more largely to entreate, after that first I shall ouerpasse a few other things folowing in course of this present story.

The xvij. day of September, was a Proclamation in London,* that all Uacabonds and master•es men, as well straungers as Englishmen, should depart the Citie within fiue dayes: & straitly charging all Inholders, Uictuallers, Tauerners, and Alehousekeepers, with all other that sell victuals, that they (after the said fiue dayes) should not sell any meate, drinke, or any kind of victuall to any Seruingman whatsoever, vnlesse he brought a testimoniall from his Maister to declare whose seruauant he was, and were in continuall houshold with his sayd Maister, vpon payne to runne in daunger of the law if they offend herein.

Uppon the Sondag following, beeyng the xxx. daye of September,* the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chauncellour of England preached at Paules Crosse, at whose Sermon were present all the Coūsell that were at the Court,* namelye the Marques of Winchester, the Earle of Arundell, Lord North, Sir Anthony Browne, Maister Rochester, Maister Walgraue, Maister Englefield, Lord Fitzwaters, and Secretary Peter, & the Bishop of London, Duresme, & Ely, which iij. sate vnder the Bishops armes. The Gospell wherof he made his Sermon is writtē in the xxij. cha. of Math. Where the Phariseis came vnto Christ, & amōgst them one asked Christ which was the greatest commaundement. Christ aunswered: Thou shalt loue thy Lorde God with all thy hart, &c. and thy neighbour as thy selfe, in these two is comprehended the Lawe and the Prophetes.

After his long declaration of these wordes, speaking very much of loue and charitie, at the last he had occasion vpon S. Iames his wordes, to speake of the true teachers, and of the false teachers, saying, that all the Preachers almost in King Edwards tyme, preached nothing but voluptuousnesse,* and filthy and blasphemous lyes, affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof S. Iames speaketh: saying, that it was full of peruerse zeale, earthly, full of discord and discensiō, that the preachers aforenamed would report nothing truly, & that they taught that it was lawfull for a man to put away his wyfe for adultery, and marry another,* and that if a man vowed to day, he might breake it to morrowe at hys pleasure, wyth many other thyngs which I omit. And when he spoke of the Sacrament, he sayd that all the Church from the beginning haue cōfessed Christes natural body to be in heauen, & here to be in the Sacramēt, and so concluded that matter: & then willed al men to say with Iosephs brethren: Peccauimus in fratrem. We haue all sinned against our brother, and so (sayd he) haue I to. Then he declared what a noble King & Queene we haue, saying that if he should go about to shew that the King came hether for no necessitie or neede, & what he had brought w^t him, it should be superfluous, seing it is euidētly known that he hath x. times as much as we are in hope & possession of, affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle & temperate a Prince as euer was in Englād, and if it were not so proued, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: Exhorting all men to make much of him, & to wynne him whylest we had him, and so should we also winne all such as he hath brought with him, and so made an ende.

Upon the Tuesday following, being the seconde day of October, xx. carts came from Westminster laden (as it was noysed) with gold and siluer, and certain of the Gard with them through the Citie to the Tower, and there it was receiued in by a Spanyard, who was the Kings Treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mattes, and mayled in little bundels about two foote long, and almost halfe a foote thicke, and euery cart were sixe of those bundels. What it was in deede God knoweth, for it is to vs vncertayne.

Aboute the same time, or a little before, vppon Corpus Christi day, the processiō being made in Smithfield,* where after the manner the Priest with his boxe went vnder the Canapy, by chaunce there came by the way a certaine simple man, named Iohn Streate, a ioyner of Colemā streete, who hauing some hast in his busines,* and finding no other way to passe through, by chaunce went vnder the Canapy by the Priest. The Priest seeing the man so to presume to come vnto the Canapy, being belike afraid, and worse feared then hurt, for feare let his Pixe fall downe.* The poore man being straight wayes apprehended, was had to the Counter, the Priest accusing him vnto the Counsayle, as though he had come to slay him, whē as y^e poore man (as he himselfe hath since declared vnto vs) had no such thought euer in his mind. Then from the Counter he was had vnto Newgate, where he was cast into the Dongeon,* there chayned to a post, where he was cruelly & miserably handled & so extremely dealt withall, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his wit altogether, and so vpon the same had to Bedlem. Wherupon the brieue Chronicle of London in this poynt is not to be credited,* which vntruely reported that he fayned himselfe in Newgate to be mad: which thing, we in writing of this history by due inquisition of the partie, haue found to be contrary.

About the v. day of October,* and within a fortnight folowing, were diuers as well housholders as seruants & prentises apprehended and taken, and committed to sondry prisons, for the hauing and selling of certaine bookes which were sent into England by the Preachers that fled into

Germany and other Countreys, which bookes nipped a great number so neare,* that within one fortnight there were little lesse then threescore imprisoned for thys matter: among whome, was M. Browne a Goldsmith, Mayster Sparke a Draper, Randall Tirer a Stationer, M. Beston a Marchaunt, with many other.

Upon the Sondag being the xiiij. daye of October, the old Byshop of Duresme preached in the shroudes.*

Upon S. Lukes day following, being the xvij. of October, the Kyngs Maiesty came from Westminster to Paules Church along the Streetes, accompanied with a great number of Noble men, and there he was receyued vnder a Canapy at the West dore, and so came into the Chauncell where he heard Masse (which a Spanishe Byshop and his owne Chappell soong) and that done, he returned to Westminster to dyner agayne.

Upon the Friday being the xxvj. of October,* certayne men, whereof I spake before, which were of Mayster Throgmortons quest, being in number viij. for the other foure were deliuered out of prison, for that they submitted themselues and sayd they had offended, like weakelyngs, not considering truth to be truth but of force for feare sayd so: these viij. men I say (whereof Maister Emanuell Lucas, and M. Whetstone were chiefe) were called before the Counsaile in the Starre chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all thyngs in that matter according to theyr knowledge and with good consciences, euen as they shoulde aunswere before God at the daye of iudgemente. Where maister Lucas sayde openly before all the Lordes, that they had done in the matter lyke honest men and true and faythfull subiects, and therfore they humbly besought the Lord Chauncellor and the other Lordes, to be meanes to the King and Queenes Maiesties, that they might be discharged and set at liberty, & sayd that they were all contented humbly to submit themselues to their maiesties, sauing and reseruing theyr trueth, consciences and honesty. Some of the Lordes sayde that they were worthy to pay a thousand poundes a peece, and other some sayd that Mayster Lucas and Maister Whetstone were worthy to pay a thousand markes a peece, and the rest fiue hundreth poūds a peece. In conclusion, sentence was geuen by the Lorde Chauncellour, that they should pay a thousand Markes a peece, and that they should go to prison againe, & there remayne till further order were taken for their punishment.

Upon the Tuesday being the xxx. of October, the Lorde Iohn Gray was deliuered out of the Tower and set at liberty.

Upon Sondag the fourth of Nouember, fyue Priestes dyd penaunce at Paules Crosse, which were contente to put away their wiues, and take vpon them agayne to minister. Euery of them had a Taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the Preacher did disple them.

Upon Wednesday the vij. of Nouember, the Lord Paget & Syr Edward Hastings Maister of the horse, were sent as Ambassadors, I knowe not whither, but as it was adiudged, to Cardinall Poole, who lay all the sommer [Page 1474](#) before at Bruxelles,* and it was thought: they were sent to accompany and conducte him into England, where at that time he was nominated and appoynted Byshoppe of Caunterbury.

Upon the Friday folowing the 9. of Nouember Mayster Barlow late Byshop of Bathe, and M. Cardmaker were brought before the counsell in the Starre Chamber,* where a•ter communication they were commaūded to the Fleete.

Upon the Saterdag being the tenth of Nouember, the Sheriffes of London had commaūdemēt to take an inuē|tory of euery one of theyr goods which were of M. Throgmortons quest,* & to seale vp theyr doores, which was done the same day. M. Whetstone, maister Lucas, and Mayster Kyteley, were iudged to pay 2000. pounds a piece and the rest 1000. Markes a piece, to be payd within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those 4. whiche confessed a fault and submitted themselues whose names are these, M. Loe, M. Poynter, M. Beswicke, and M. Cater.

Mention was made a little before of the visitation of Ed. Boner bishop of Londō,* whiche began (as is sayd) about the moneth of September: for the better preparation whereof were set forth certayne Articles to the number of 37. Which articles partly for the tediousnes of them, partly for that maister Bale in a certayne treatise hath sufficiently paynted out the same in theyr coulours, partly also, because I will not infect this booke with them, I slippe them ouer, proceeding in the progresse of this bishop in his visitation in the Countye of Essex. Who passing through the sayde Countye of Essex being attended with diuers worshipfull of the shyre (for so they were commaūded) ariued at Sterford in Hertfordshyre where hee rested certayne dayes,* solacing himselfe after that paynefull peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesayd, at the house of one Persons his Nephew whose wife he commonly called his fayre Niece (and fayre she was in deede) he tooke there great pleasure to heare her play vpō the Uirginals (wherin she excelled) in so much y^t euery dinner (sitting by his sweete side) she rose and played three seuerall times at his request of his good and spirituall deuotiō towards her. These certeine daies thus passed in this bishoplke fashion, he proceded in his popish vi|sitation towards Hadham his owne house and parish, not past two myles from Sterford,* being there most solemnly rang out, as in all other places wheras he passed. At lēgth drawing nere vnto Hadham, when he heard no bels there •••ring in honor of his holines, he grew into some choler & the nearer he approached the hotter was his fit, & the quieter the bels were, the vnquieter was his moode. Thus rode he on chafing and fuming with himselfe.* What meaneth (sayth he) that knaue the Clarke, that he ringeth not, and the parson that he meeteth me not? with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate comming to the towne, alighted, calling for the key of the Church, which was then all vnready, for that (as they thē pretended) he had preuēted his time by two houres, whervpon he grew frō coler to plaine melancholy, so as no man willingly would deale with him to qualify the raging humor so farre incorporated in his brest. At last the Church-doore being opened, the Byshop entred, and finding no sacrament hanged vp, nor roode lost decked after the Popysh precept (which hade commaūded about the same tyme a well fauoured Roode, and of able stature vniuersally in all Churches to be set vp) curtalled his small deuotions, and fell from al coler and melancholy to flat madnes in the vppermost degree, swearing and raging with an huntynge •the or two, and by no beggers, that in his owne Church where he hoped to haue sene best order, he foūd most disorder (to his honors most heauy discomfort, as he sayde) calling the Parsō (whose name was Doctor Bricket) knaue,* and hereticke. Who there humbled himselfe and yelded as it were, to his fault, saying he was sory his Lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him: and ther|fore could not do theyr dueties to receiue him accordingly: & as for those thinges lacking, he trusted, a short time

hereafter should cōpasse that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his Lordship to come to hys poore house (where his dynner was prepared) he woulde satisfy him in those thinges, which his Lordship thought amisse. Yet thys so reasonable an aunsweare, nothyng could satisfy nor asswage his passion vnreasonable. For the Catholicke Prelate vtterly defied him and his chere, commaunding him out of his sighte saying: * (as hys by worde was) before God thou art a knaue, auant hereticke, and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was that with his hand he gaue syr Thomas Iosselin Knight (who was then amongst the rest, & stood next the bishop) a good flewe vpon the vpper part of the neck, euen vnder his eare (as some say which stood by) but as he himself said he hit him full vpon the eare: * wherat he was somewhat astonied at the sodennes of the quarrell for that time. At last, he spake and said, what meaneth your Lordship? haue you bene trayned in Will Somers scole, to strike him who stādeth next you? The Bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not heare.

Then M. Fecknam Deane of Paules seing the bishop stil in this bitter rage, said: O M. Iosselin, you must beare with my lord: * for truly his long imprisonment in the marshalsey, and the misusing of him there hath altered hym, y^t in these passions he is not ruler of himselfe, nor it booteth any man to geue him counsell vntill his heat be past, & then assure your selfe M. Iosselin my lord will be sory for those abuses that now he cānot see in himselfe. Wherunto he merily replied and sayd: so it seemeth Maister Fecknam, * for now that he is come forth of the marshalsey, he is ready to go to Bedlem. At which mery conciepte some laughed and moe smiled because the nayle was so truely hitte vpon the head. The Bishop nothing abashed at his own folly, gaue a deafe eare, as no maruell it was that hee shamed little to strike a straunger, which spared not the burning of so many good men.

After this worthy combate thus finished and atchiued, this marshiall Prelate presently taketh him to his horse agayne (notwithstanding he was minded to tary at Hadhā 3. or 4. daies, and so had made prouisiō in his owne house) and leauing his dinner rode that night with a small company of his householde to Ware (where he was not looked for 3. dayes after) to the great wonder of all the countrey why he so preuented his day afore stalled.

At this hasty posting away of this Bishop, his whole trayne of attendants there left him. Also his Doctors and chaplaines (a few excepted) taryed behind, and dined at D. Brickets as merily as he rode towards Ware all chasingly: which diner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now whether the Bishoppe were offended at those solemnities which he wanted and was accustomed to be saluted withall in other places where he iornied, ioyning to y^t his great God was not exalted aboue ground ouer y^e aultar, nor his blocke almighty set seemely in the roode lost to entertayne straungers, * and therupō took occasion to quarrell with D. Bricket (whose religion percase he somewhat suspected) I haue not perfectly to say, but so it was supposed of diuers the cause therof to rise, which draue the bishop so hastily frō such a dinner. Testified by such as there and thē were present, Rich. K. &c.

¶A story of a Roode set vp in Lankashyre.

In this Uisitation of Bishop Boner aboue mentioned, ye see how the bishop tooke on for not setting vp the Roode and ringing the bells at Hadham. * Ye heard also of the precept, which commaūded in euery parish a Rood to be erected both well fauoured and of an hab•e stature. By

the occasion whereof, it commeth in mind (and not out of place) to storye likewise what happened in a certayne Towne in Lankashyre nere to Lancaster called Cockram, where the Parishioners & Churchwardens hauing the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in theyr parish church had made theyr bargayn and were at a price with one that could cunningly karue & paynt such idols, for the framynge of theyr Roode: who according to his promise,* made them one, & set it vp in theyr Church. This done, he demaunded his mony. But they misliking his workemanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the Maior of Dancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose, and an olde fauourer of the Gospell, which is rare in that country. Then the karuer began to declare how they had couenaunted with him for the making of a Rood, with the appurtenaunces ready karued and set vp in theyr Churche, which he according to his promise had done and nowe demaunding his money they refused to pay him. Is this true, quoth the Maior to the Wardens? Yea Syr, sayd they. And why do ye not pay the poore man his due, quoth he? And it please you Mayster Maior (quoth they) because the Roode wee had before was a welfauored man, and he promised to make vs such an other: but this that he hath set vs vp now, is y^e worst fauored thing that euer you set your eies on, gaping & grinning in such sort that none of our Children dare once looke him in the face or come nere him.* The maior thinking that it was good enough for y^e purpose if it had bene worsse, my maisters (quoth he) howsoever the rood like you, the poore mans labor hath bene neuer the lesse, and it is pity that he [Page 1475](#) should haue any hinderaunce or losse thereby.* Therefore I will tell you what you shal do: Pay him the mony ye promised him, and goe your wayes home and looke on it, & if it will not serue for a God, make no more a doe: but clap a payre of hornes on his head, and so will he make an excellent deuill. This the Parishioners tooke well aworth, the poore man had his mony, and diuers laughed well therat: but so did not the babilonish Priestes.

*This Maior aboue mentioned continued a Protestant almost fifty yeares, & was the onely releuer of M. Marsh the Martyr (whole story foloweth hereafter) with meate, drinke, and lodging while he laye in Lancaster Castle the space of iij. quarters of a yeare, before he was had to Chester to be burned. &c.

About this time or the moneth next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Boner bishop of London, to all Parsons and Curates within hys Dioces, for the abolishing of such scriptures & wrytinges as had bene paynted vpon Churche walles before, in king Edwardes dayes. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to expresse, that the world might see the wicked proceedinges of theyr impious zeale, or rather theyr malicious rage agaynst the Lord and his word, & agaynst the edyfying of Christian people: whereby it might appeare by this blotting out of these Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake agaynst the holy Scriptures of God, but also howe studiously they sought by all maner of meanes, to keepe the people still in ignoraunce.

¶A Mandate of Boner Byshop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and writings paynted vpon the Church Walles.

EDmund by Gods permission bishop of London, to all & euery Parsons,*Vicars, Clarkes, and lettered, within the parishe of Hadham, or within the precinct of our dioces of London whersoever being, sendeth greeting, grace, & benediction. Because some children of iniquity,

geuen vp to carnall desires and noueltyes, haue by many wayes enterprised to banish the auncient maner & order of the Church and to bring in and establish sectes and heresies: taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many thinges besides instituted and obserued of auncient time laudably in the same, placing in the roome therof suche thinges, as in such a place it behoued them not to do: & also haue procured as a stay to their heresies (as they thought) certayne scriptures wrongly applied,*to be paynted vpon the Churche walles, all which persons tende chiefly to this end, that they might vphold the liberty of the flesh & mariage of priestes, and destroy as much as lay in them, the reuerend sacramēt of the aultar and might extinguish and enaruate holydayes, fasting dayes, and other laudable discipline of the Catholicke church,*opening a window to all vices, and vtterly closing vp the way vnto vertue: Wherefore we being mooued with a christian zeale, iudging that the premises are not to be longer suffered do for discharge of our duety, cōmit vnto you ioyntly & seuerally, & by the tenor hereof do straight•y charge and cōmaund you, that at the receit hereof, with all speed conuenient, you doe warne, or cause to be warned, first, secōd, & third time, & peremptorily, all and singuler Churchwardens and Parishioners whosoever within your foresayd Dioces of London, wheresoeuer any such Scriptures or payntings haue bene attempted, that they abolish and extinguishe such maner of Scriptures, so that by no meanes they bee either readde or seene, and therein to proceede moreouer as they shall see good and laudable in this behalfe. And if after the sayd monition, the sayd Churchwardens and Parishioners shall be founde remisse and negligent, or culpable, then you ioyntly and seuerally shall see the foresayd Scriptures to be rased abolished and extinguished forthwith: citing al and singuler those Churchwardens and Parishioners (whome we also for the same do cite here by the tenour hereof) that all and singuler the sayde Churchwardens and Parishyoners being slacke and negligent, or culpable therein, shall appeare before vs our Vicar generall and principall officiall, or our Commissary speciall in our Cathedrall Church of S. Paule at Londō, in the Consistory there, at the houre appoynted for the same, the sixt day next after theyr citation if it be a court day, or els at the next court day after ensuing▪ whereas either we or our Officiall or Commissary shall sit: there to say and alledge for themselues some reasonable cause: if they haue or cā'tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, and otherwise punished for theyr such negligence, slackenesse, & fault, to say and to alledge, and further to do and receiue, as law & rea'son requireth. And what you haue done in the premises, do you certify vs, or our Vicar, principall Officiall, and such our Commissary, diligently and duely in all thinges, and through all thinges, or let him among you thus certify vs, which hath taken vpon him to execute this Mandate: In witnes whereof we haue set our seales to these presentes. Dated in the byshops pallace at London the 25. daye of the moneth of October in the yeare of our Lorde 1454. and of our translation the 16▪

About this time the L. Chauncellour sent M. Christopherson vnto the vniuersity of Cābridge with these 3. Articles, which he enioyned them to obserue.*

The first, that euery scholer should weare his apparell according to his degree in the scholes.

The second was touching the pronūciation of y^e Greek tongue.

The third, that euery Preacher there should declare the whole stile of the king and Queene in theyr sermons.

In this vniuersity of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these thinges, and especiall^ye for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the Uniuersities: of whō, some of theyr own accord gaue ouer, some were thrust out of their felowships some were miserably handled: in so much that in Cābridge in the Colledge of Saint Iohn, there were 24. places void together, in whose roomes were taken in 24. other which neither in vertue nor in religiō semed to answere to them before. And no lesse miserable, was the state of Oxforde,* by reason of the time, and the straight dealing of the visitours that for setting forward theyr Papisticall procedinges, had no regard or respect to the forwardnes of good wittes, and the maynteinaunce of good letters beginning then more & more to florish in that Uniuersity.

And for so much as we haue entred into the mention of Oxford, we may not passe ouer in silēce the famous exhortation of D. Tresham who supplying the roome of y^e Subdeane in Christes Church,* after he had called all the Studentes of the Colledge together, with great Eloquence & art persuasory, began to commend the dignity of the masse vnto them, declaring that there was stuffe in Scripture enough to proue the masse good. Then to allure them to the catholick seruice of the Church, he vsed these reasons declaring that there were a goodly cōpany of Copes,* that were appoynted to Windsore, but he had foūd the Queene so gra'cious vnto him, that they should come to Christes church. Now if they like honest men, would come to Church, they should weare them on holydayes. And besides all this, he would get them the Lady Bell of Bampton, & that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for an holy watersprinckle, he had already the fayrest that was within the realme, Wherfore he thought that no man would be so mad to forgo these commodities. &c.

Which thinges I rehearse, that it may appeare what want of descretion is in the fathers of popery, & into what idle follies such men do fall. Whome I beseech the Lord if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, & to opē theyr eyes to see theyr owne blindnes.

To proceed now further in the course & race of our story where as we left, being before in the moneth of Nouēber it foloweth more that in the * xij. day of the same month of Nouember being Monday, beganne the Parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and Queene rode in theyr Parliament robes hauing 2. swords borne before them. The Earle of Penbroke bare his sword, & the Earle of Westmerland bare the Queenes. They had ij. cappes of maynteinaunce borne before them: whereof the Earle of Arundell bare one, and the Earle o• Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinall Poole landed at Douer vpon the Wednesday being the xxi. day of Nouember, on which day one Act passed in the parliamēt for his restitution in bloud, vtterly repealing as false & most slaunderous that Act made against him in king Henry the eightes tyme, and on the next day being Thursday and the xxij. of Nouember, the King and the Queene both came to the Parliament house to geue theyr royall assent & to establish this Act agaynst his comming.*

Upon the Saterdag being the xxiiij. of Nouember, the sayd Cardinal came by water to London, & so to Lambeth house which was ready prepared agaynst his comming.

Upon the Wednesday folowing being the 28. of Nouember, there was generall procession in Paules for ioy y^t the Quene was conceiued and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent

from the counsell to the Byshop of London. The same day at this procession was present ten Bishops with al the Prebendaries of Paules, and also the Lord Maior with the Aldermen, and a greate number of Commons of the City in theyr best aray. The Copy of the Coũcels letter here foloweth, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

***A Copy of a letter sent from the Counsell vnto Edmund Boner Byshop of London, concerning Queene Mary conceiued with Childe.**

AFTER our hartly commendations vnto your good Lordshippe whereas it hath pleased almighty God amongst other his infinite [Page 1476](#) benefites of late most graciouslye poured vpon vs and thys whole Realme, to extend his benediction vpon the Queenes maiesty in such sort, as she is conceiued and [*](#) quicke of childe. Wherby (her maiesty being our natural liege Lady, queene & vndoubted inheritor of this imperiall crowne) good hope of certayn succession in the crowne is geuen vnto vs, & consequētly the great calamities, which (for want of such succession might otherwise haue fallen vpon vs, & our posterity) shall by Gods grace be well auoyded, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefite of almighty God, endeuoring our selues with earnest repentance to thanke honor and serue him as we be most bounden: These be not onely to aduertise you of these good newes, to be by you published in all places within your Dioces, but also to pray and require you, that both your selfe do geue God thanks with vs for this his especial grace, and also geue order that thanks may be openly geuen by singing of Te Deum in all the churches within your sayde Dioces: and that likewise all priestes and other Ecclesiasticall ministers, in theyr Masses and other diuine seruices, may continually pray to almighty God, so to extend his holy hand ouer his maiesty, the kinges highnes and this whole Realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begon may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye woulde of your selfe haue had special regard without these our letters yet for the earnest desire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, & diligently continued, we haue also written these our letters, to put you in remembraunce: and so bid your Lordshippe most hartily well to fare.

From Westminster the 27. of Nouember 1554.

Your assured louing frendes.

- S. Winton. Chancel.
- Arundell.
- F. Shrewesbury.
- Edward Darby,
- Henry Sussex.
- Iohn Bathon.
- R Rich.
- Thomas Warthom.
- Iohn Huddilstone.
- R. Southwell.

Also the same day in the afternoone, Cardinall Poole came to the Parliament house,* which at that present was kept in the great Chamber of the Court at Whitehall: for that the Queene was then sicke, and could not go abroad: where as (the King and Queenes Maiesties sittynge vnder y^e cloth of Estate, & the Cardinall sitting on theyr right hand, with all the other Estates of the Parliament being present) the Byshop of Winchester being Lord Chauncellor, began in this maner.

¶The wordes of Winchester for receiuing of the Cardinall.

MY Lordes of the vpper house, & you my Maisters of the nether house, here is present the right reuerend father in God my Lord Cardinall Poole come frō the apostolicke Sea of Rome.* As Ambassador to the king and Queenes Maiesties, vpon one of the weightiest causes that euer happened in this Realme, & whiche pertaineth to the glory of God, and your vniuersall benefite. The which Ambassage theyr Maiesties pleasure is to be signified vnto you all by his owne mouth, trusting that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankfull wise, as their highnesses haue done, and that you will geue an attent and inclinable eare vnto him.

When the Lord Chauncellor had thus ended his talke, the Cardinall taking the time then offered, began hys Oration, wherein he declared the causes of his comming, and what were his desires and requestes. In the which meane time, the Court gate was kept shut vntill he had made an end of his Oration. The tenour and wordes wherof here foloweth.

¶The tenour of Cardinall Pooles Oration. made in the Parliament house.

*MY Lordes all, and you that are the Commons of thys present Parliament assembled, which in effecte is nothing els but the state and body of the whole realm, as the cause of my repayre hither hath bene most wisely & grauely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so before that I enter to the particularities of my Commission, I haue somewhat touching my selfe, and to geue most humble and hartly thanks to the king and Queenes Maiesties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and banished from this Cōmon wealth, hath restored me to be a mēber of the lame, & of a man hauing no place, neither here, or els wher within this Realme, haue admitted me in place, where to speake and to be heard. This I protest vnto you all, that though I was exiled my natiue coūtry without iust cause as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profite & doe you good. If the offer of my seruice might haue bene receiued, it was neuer to seek, and where that could not be taken, you neuer fayled of my prayer, nor neuer shall.

But leauing the rehearsall thereof, and comming more neare to the matter of my Commission, I signify vnto you all that my principall trauell is, for the restitution of thys noble realme to the auncient nobility, and to declare vnto you, that the Sea Apostolicke from whence I come, hath a speciall * respect to this realme aboue all other, & not without cause seing that God himselfe, as it were by prouidēce hath geuen this realme, prerogatiue of Nobility aboue other, which to make more playne vnto you, it is to be considered that this Iland, first of all Ilandes receyued the light of Christes religion. For as stories testifye,* it was prima prouinciarum quae amplexa est fidem Christi.

For the Brittaines being first inhabitauntes of thys Realme (notwithstanding the subiunction of Emperours and heathen Princes) did receiue Christes fayth from the Apostolicke Sea vniuersally, and not in partes as other Countrys nor by one and one, as Clockes increase theyr houres by distinction of times, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that theyr ill merites or forgetfulnes of God had deserued expulsion, and that Straūgers being Infidels had possessed this land, yet God of his goodnes not leauing where he once loued, so illuminated the hartes of the Saxons being Heathen menne, that they forsooke the darckenes of heathen errors and embraced the light of Christes religion. So that within small space, idolatry and Heathen superstition was vtterly abandoned in this Iland.

This was a great prerogatiue of Nobilitye, whereof though the benefite therof be to be ascribed to God, yet the meane occasion of the same came frō the * church of Rome. In the faith of which Church, we haue euer since continued and consented with the rest of the world in vnity of religion. And to shew further the feruent deuotion of the inhabitantes of this Iland towards the Church of Rome, we read that diuers princes in the Saxons time w^t great trauel & expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa & Adulphus which thought it not enough to shew themselues obedient to the said Sea, vnlesse that in theyr owne persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had receiued so great a grace and benefite.

In this time of Carolus Magnus who first founded the Uniuersity of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which first broughte learning to that Uniuersity, Wherby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world set the light of the religion from England.

Adrian the fourth being an Englishmā, cōuerted Norway from infidelity, which Adrian afterwards, vpō great affection and loue that he bare to this Realme, being hys natie coūtry, gaue to Henry the second king of England the righte and segniory of the dominion of Ireland, which perteyned to the Sea of Rome.

I will not rehearse the manifold benefites that thys Realme hath receiued frō the Apostolicke Sea, nor how ready y^e same hath bene to releiue vs in all our necessities.* Nor I will not rehearse the manifold miseries & calamities that this realme hath suffered by swaruing from that vnity. And euen as in this realme, so in all other coūtries which refusing the vnity of the Catholick sayth haue folowed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues haue happened. Let Asia and the Empyre of Greece be a spectacle vnto the world who by sweruing from the vnity of the Church of Rome are brought into captiuitie & subiectiō of the Turk.* All stories be full of like examples. And to come vnto the latter time, looke vpon our neighbours of Germany, who by swaruing from this vnity, are miserably afflicted with diuersity of sectes and diuided in factions.

What shall I rehearse vnto you the tumultes & effusiō of bloud, y^t hath happened there of late dayes? Or trouble you with the rehearsall of those plagues that haue happened since this innouation of religion, where you haue felt the bitternes, and I haue heard the report? Of all whiche matters I can say no more, but such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that liue vnder the * Turk, may freely liue after theyr consciēce, and so was it not lawfull here.

If men examine well vpon what grounds these innouations began: they shall wel finde that the roo• of this as of many other mischiefes, was auarice, and that the lust & carnall affection of one man confounded al lawes both diuine and humaine. And notwithstanding all these deuises and policies practised within this realme against y^e church of Rome, they needed not to haue lost you, but that they thought rather as frendes to reconcile you, then as enemies to infest you. For they wanted not great offers of the most mighty Potentates in all Europe to haue ayded the Church in that quarrell. Then marke the sequell: There [Page 1477](#) semed by these chaūges to rise a great face of riches & gayn which in prooffe came to great misery and lacke. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, & turne vniust pollicy to meere folly, & that thing that seemed to be done for reliefe, was cause of playne ruine & decay. Yet see that goodnes of God, which at no time fayled vs, but most beningly offred his grace, when it was of our partes least sought, and worse deserued.

And when all light of true religion seemed vtterly extinct, as the churches defaced, the aultars ouerthrown, the Ministers corrupted: euen like as in a lampe the light being couered, yet it is not quenched, euen so in a few remained the confession of Christes fayth, namely in the brest of the Queenes excellency, of whom to speake without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be veriefied: Ecce quasi derelicta.

And see how miraculously God of his goodnes preserued her highnes, contrary to the expectatiō of man, y^t whē numbers conspired against her, and pollicies were deuised to disherite her, and armed power prepared to destroy her yet she being a virgine helpeles, naked and vnarmed, preuayled, & had the victory of tyrants, which is not to be ascribed to any [*](#) pollicy of man, but to y^e almighty great goodnes and prouidēce of God, to whom the honor is to be geuen. And therefore it may be sayd, Da gloriam Deo. For in mans iudgement, on her graces part, was nothing in appearaunce, but despayre.

And yet for all these practises and deuises of ill menne here you see her Grace established in her estate being your lawfull Queene and Gouvernesse, borne among you, whō God hath appointed to raigne ouer you for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errorrs and sectes. And to confirme her grace the more strongly in this enterprise, loe how the prouidēce of God hath ioyned her in mariage with a Prince of like religion, who being a King of great might, armor & force, yet vseth towards you neither armor nor force, but seeketh you by the way of loue and amity: in which respect great cause you haue to geue thākes to almighty God, that hath sent you such a catholicke Gouvernesse. It shall be therefore your part agayne to loue, obey and serue them.

And as it was a singuler fauor of God to conioyne thē in mariage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them [*](#) issue, for the comfort & surety of this commō wealth. Of all Princes in Europe, the Emperour hath trauayled most in the cause of Religion, as it appeareth by his actes in germany: yet happely by some secret iudgement of god, he hath not atchiued the end. With whom in my iourney hitherwardes I had conferēce touching my legation, wherof whē he had vnderstanding, he shewed great appearance of most earnest ioy & gladnesse, saying that it reioyced him no lesse of y^e recōcilemēt of this realme vnto christiā vnity, thē that his sonne was placed by mariage in y^e kingdome, and most glad he was of al, that the occasion therof should come by me, being an English man borne, which is, (as it were) to call home our selues. [*](#) I can

well compare hym to Dauid, which though he were a man elect of God, yet for that he was contaminate with bloud and warre, he could not build the temple of Ierusalē, but left the finishing ther'of to Salomon, whiche was Rex pacificus. So may it bee thought that the appeasing of controuersies of religion in christianity, is not appoynted to this Emperour, but rather to his sonne, who shall performe the building that his Father hath begonne. Which church can not be perfectly builded, without vniuersally in all Realmes we adhere to one head,* and doe acknowledge him to be the Uicare of God, and to haue power frō aboue. For al power is of God, according to the saying, Non est potestas nisi a Deo. And therefore I consider that all power, beyng in God, yet for the conseruation of quiet & godly life in the world, he hath deriued that power frō aboue into two partes here in earth: whiche is into the power Imperiall and Ecclesiasticall. And these two powers, as they be seuerall and distinct, so haue they two seuerell effectes and operations. For secular Princes to whome the temporall sword is committed, be ministers of god to execute vengeance vpon transgressors and euill liuers, and to preserue the wel doers and Innocentes from iniury and violence. Which power is represēted in these two most excellent persōs, the king & Queenes Maiesties here present, who haue this power committed vnto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalfe.

The other power is of ministratiō, which is the power of the keies,* and order in the ecclesiasticall state, which is by the authority of gods word, & examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and geuen to the Apostolick sea of Rome by speciall prerogatiue. From which sea I am here deputed Legate & Embassador, hauing full and ample cōmissiō from thence, and haue the keyes committed to my handes. I confesse to you that I haue the keyes, not as mine owne keies,* but as the keyes of him that sent me: and yet cannot opē, not for wat of power in me to geue, but for certain impedimēts in you to receiue, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my Commission is not of preiudice to any persō. I come not to destroy but to build, I come to reconcile, not to condemne, I come not to compell, but to call agayne, I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my Commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receiue it. For touching al matters that be past, they shalbe as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

But the meane whereby you shall receiue this benefit, is to reuoke and repeal those lawes and statutes,* which be impediments, blocks, and barres to the executiō of my cōmission. For like as I my selfe had neither place nor voyce to speake here among you, but was in all respectes a banished man, till suche time as ye had repealed those lawes, that lay in my way: euen so cannot you receiue the benefite and grace offred from the apostolick sea, vntill the abrogation of such lawes, wherby you haue disioined and disseuered your selues from the vnity of Christes Church.

It remayneth therefore, that you like true christians & prouident men for the weale of your soules & bodyes, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause, and so to frame your actes and procedings, as they may tend first to the glory of God, and next to the conseruation of your cōmon wealth, surety and quietnes.

The next day after, the 3. Estates assembled agayne in the great chamber of the Court at Westminster: where the king and queenes maiesties, and the Cardinall being present, they did exhibite (sitting all on theyr knees) a supplica'tion to theyr highnesses, the tenor wherof ensueth.

***The Copy of the supplication and submission exhibited to the king and Queenes maiesties, by the Lordes and Commons of the Parliament.**

WE the Lordes spirituall, and temporall, and the commōs of this present parliament, assembled,* representing the whole body of the realme of England, and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the sayd body vniuersally in this supplicatiō directed to your maiestyes, with most hūble sute, that it may by your gracious intercession and meane be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God, the Lord Cardinall Poole Legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father Pope Iulius the third, and the Sea Apostolicke of Rome, do declare our selues very sorye and repentaunt for the schisme and disobedience committed in this realme and the dominions of the same, against the sayd sea Apostolicke, either by making, agreing, or executing any lawes, ordinaunces,* or commaundementes agaynst the supremacye of the sayde sea, or otherwise doing or speaking, that might impugne the same: Offring our selues & promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our sayd repentance, we be, and shalbe alway ready, vnder and with the authorities of your Maiesties, to the vttermost of our power, to doe that shalbe in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of the sayd lawes and ordinaunces in this present parliament, as well for our selues, as for the whole body, whom we represent.

Whereupon we most humbly beseech your maiesties, as persons vndefiled in the offence of his body towards the sayde Sea, which neuerthesse God by his prouidence hath made subiecte to your maiesties so to set forth this our moste humble sute,* that we may obtaine from the sea Apostolicke, by the sayd most reuerent father, as wel particularly as vniuersally, Absolution, release and discharge from all daunger of such Censures, and sentences, as by the lawes of the church we be fallen in, and that we may, as children repentant, be receiued into the bosome & vnity of Christes church, so as this noble Realme, with all the members therof, may in vnity and perfect obedience to the Sea Apostolicke, and Popes for the time being, serue GOD and your Maiesties to the furtheraunce and aduancement of his Honour and Glorie. Amen.

The Supplication being read, the king and Queene deliuered the same vnto the Cardinall, who (perceiuing y^e effect thereof to aunswere his expectation) did receiue the same most gladly from theyr Maiesties: and after he had in fewe wordes geuen thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to reioyce aboue all others, that his cōming from Rome into England had takē most happy successe: He by the Popes authority, did geue them this absolution folowing.

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¶An absolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole, to the whole Parliament of England, in the presence of the King and Queene.

OUr Lord Iesus Christ which with his most precious bloud hath redemed and washed vs frō all our sinnes and iniquities,* that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glo|r'ious spouse without spot or wrinkle, & whō the Father hath appoynted head ouer all his church: he by his mercy absolue you. And we by apostolicke authority geuen vnto vs by the most holy lord Pope Iulius the 3. his Uicegerent in earth) do absolue & deliuer you, and euery of you with the whole Realme and the Dominions therof, from all Heresy and Schisme, and from all and euerye iudgement, Censures,

and paynes, for that cause incurred: & also we do restore you agayn, vnto the vnity of our Mother the holy Church: as in our Letters more playnely it shall appeare: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost.

When all this was done they went into the Chappell, and there singing Te Deum, with great solemnity, declared the ioy and gladnesse that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The reporte of thys was with great speede sent vnto Rome, as well by the king and Cardinals Letters, which hereafter folow: as also otherwise. Wherupō the pope caused there at Rome processions to be made, and thanks to be geuē to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his Church: and therefore praysing the Cardinals diligence, and the deuotion of the king and queen, on Christmas euen, by his Bulls he set forth a generall pardō to all such as did truely reioyce for the same.

¶A copy of king Philips Letter, written with his owne hand to Pope Iulius, touching the restoring of the Realme of England.

MOST holy Father, I wrote yesterday vnto Don Iohn Maurique,* that he shoulde declare by worde of mouth, or els write to your holynes, in what good state the matter of religion stode in this Realme, and of the submission to your holinesse, as to the chiefe. As this day, which is the feast of S. Andrew, late in the eue'ning, we haue done God that seruice (to whose onely goodnesse we must impute it, and to your holynes, who haue taken so great payne to gayne these soules) that this realme with full & generall consent of all them that represent the state, being very penitēt for that was past and well bent to that they come to doe, submitted themselues to youe holynes, & to that holy Sea, whom at the request of the Queene and me, your Legate did absolue. And forasmuch as the sayd Don Iohn shall signify vnto your holinesse, all that passed in this matter, I will write no more therof, but onely that the Queene & I, as most faythful & deuout children of your holynes, haue receiued the greatest ioy and comfort hereof, that may be expressed with tong: Considering that besides the seruice done to God hereby, it hath chaunced in the time of your holynes, to place as it were in the lappe of the holy Catholicke church, such a kingdome as this is. And therefore I thinke I cannot be thankfull enough for that is done this day. And I trust in hym, that your holynes shall alway vnderstand, that the holy sea hath not had a more obedient sonne then I, not more desirous to preserue and encrease the authority of the same. God guid and prosper the most holy personage of your holinesse as I desire.

From London the xxx. of Nouember. 1554.

Your holines most humble Sonne the king. &c.

¶Here foloweth likewise the Cardinals letter to the sayd Pope concerning the same matter.

THose things which I wrote vnto your holines of late, of that hope,* which I trusted would come to passe, that in short space this realme would be reduced to the vnity of the church, & obedience of the Apostolick sea, though I did write them not without great cause: yet neuerthesse, I could not be voyd of all feare, not onely for that difficulty, which the mindes of our countrey men did shew, beyng so long alienated from the sea Apostolicke, and for the old hatred which they had

borne so many yeares to that name: but much more I feared, least the first entry into the cause it self shuld be put of by some other by matter or conuention comming betwixt.

For the auoyding wherof, I made great meanes to the king and Queene, which litle needed, for their own godly forwardnes, and earnest desire to bring the thing to passe, farre surmounted my great and earnest expectation. This day in the euening being S. Andrewes day, (who fyrst brought his brother Peter to Christ) it is come to passe by the prouidence of God, that this Realme is reclaymed to geue due obedience to Peters seat and your holynesse, by whose meanes it may be cōioyned to Christ the head, & his body, which is the Church. The thing was done and concluded in Parliament (the king and queene being present) with such full consent & great reioysing, that incontinently after I had made my Oration, and geuen the Benediction with a great ioy, and shout, there was diuers times sayde, Amen, Amen: which doth euidently declare, that that holy seed, although it hath bene long oppressed, yet was not vtterly quenched in them: which chiefly was declared in the * Nobility. Returning home to my house, these thinges I wrote vnto your holynes vpon the sodaine reioysing that I had of so weighty a matter, so luckely brought to passe by the diuine prouidence, thinking to haue sent my letters by the kings post, who? as it was sayd) should haue departed shortly: but afterwarde, chaunging my purpose, when I had determined to send one of mine owne men, I thought good to adde this much to my Letters, for the more ample gratulation and reioysing at that good chaūce: which thing as it was right great gladnes to me, through the euent of the same (being it selfe very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole Church, so healthsome to this my Countrey, which brought me forth, so honorable to y^e same (which receiued me) so likewise I tooke no lesse reioysing of y^e Princes themselues, through whose vertue and godlinesse the matter did take successe and perfection. Of how many, and how great things may the Church (which is the spouse of Christ, & our mother) make her accompt through those her children? Oh notable zeale of godlines,* Oh auncient fayth which vndoubtedly doth so manifestly appeare in thē both that who so seeth them, muste needes (whether he wyll or no) say the same which the Prophette spake of, of the firste children of the Church: Isti sunt semen, cui benedixit Dominus. Haec plantatio Domini ad gloriandum. That is. These are the seede which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lordes planting to glory in. How holily did your holines with al your authority and earnest affection fauour this mariage, which truly semeth to expresse a great similitude of y^e highest king, which being heyre of the world, was sēt down by his father from the Regall seat,* to be Spouse and Sonne of the Uirgine, & by this meanes to comfort all mankind: for euen so this king himselfe, the greatest heyre of all men which are in the earth, leauing his fathers kingdoms that are most great, is come into his litle kingdome, and is become both the spouse, and sonne of this Uirgine (for he so behaueth himselfe as though he were a sonne, whereas in deed he is an husbände) that he might (as he hath in effect already performed) shew himselfe an ayder & helper to recōcile this people to christ, & his body, which is the church.* Which things seing they are so, what may not our mother the Church her selfe looke for at his handes that hath broughte this to passe, to conuerte the hartes of the Fathers towards theyr Sonnes, and the vnbeleuers to the wisdom of the righteous, which vertue truely doth wōderfully shine in him. But the Queene, which at that time when your holines sent my Legate vnto her, did rise vp as a rodde of incēce springing out of the trees of mirre, and as Frankincence our in the desert, she I say, whiche a litle before was forsakē of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine? what a sauour of myrre & frankincēce doth she geue forth vnto her people? which (as y^e Prophet saith, of the mother of Christ) brought forth before she laboured, before she was deliuered brought forth a man childe,* who euer heard of such a thing?

and who hath seene the lyke of this? shal y^e earth bring forth in one day, or shal a whole natiō be brought forth together? But she hath now brought forth a whole nation before the time of that deliury, wher^of we are in most great hope.

How great cause is geuen to vs to reioyce? How great cause haue we to geue thanks to Gods mercy, your holines and the Emperors maiesty, which haue bene causers of so happy and so godlye a mariage, by whiche we beyng reconciled, are ioyned to God the father, to Christ & to the Church? of the which, although I cannot comprehend in wordes the ioy that I haue taken, yet I can not keepe silence of it. And to this my reioysing, this also was ioyned (which whē I had perceiued by the letters of the reuerend Archb. of Cousane, your holynes Nuncio, with the Emperours maiestye, brought me maruelous great gladnes) y^t your said holynes began to restore to y^e aūciēt bewty, those thinges which in the Church of Rome through the corruptiō of times were deformed, which truely whē it shalbe finished, thē in deede may we wel cry out with y^e Prophet,* and speake vnto your holynes with these wordes. Exue te stola luctus & vexationis & indu te decore, qui a deo tibi est in gloria sempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a deo sempiternū, pax iustitiae, & honor pietatis. Tum autē dicetur, circumspice [Page 4179](#) & vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole us{que} in occidēt•m, verbo sancto gaudentem. That is: Put of the stoole of sorow and vexation and put on comliness, whiche thou hast of God in euerlasting glory. For thy name shall be named of God euerlasting, peace of righteousness, and honor of godlines: & then it shall be sayd: looke about and see thy sonnes gathered together from the sonne rising to the going downe of the same, reioysing in the holy worde. There is nothing truely (to speake of thy children gathered together in the West, which prepare thēselues to meet theyr mother) which they had rather see, thē her apparelled (that I may vse the wordes of the prophet) in that garment of righteousness, wherwith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remayneth, that your ho^lines ioy, and the ioy of all the vniuersall Church maye be perfited, which together with vs her vnworthy children, ceaseth not to pray to God for it. The almighty God preserue your holines long to continue in health, for the profite of his church.

Frō London the last of Nouember. 1554.

Your most humble seruauant Reginald Poole Cardinall.

Upon the Sondag folowing, being the 2. of December the Byshop of Wynchester Lorde Chauncellour of England preached at Paules Crosse, at whiche Sermon was present the King and Cardinall Poole. Hee tooke for hys Theame this parte of the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romaynes the 13. chap. This also we know the season (brethren) that we should now awake out of sleep, for now is our saluation nearer, then when we beleued &c.

Some notes whereof as they came to my hands faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by sundry copies) I haue here thought good to set forth.

*First, he shewed how the saying of S. Paul was verified vpon the gentiles, who had a long time slept in darke ignorance not knowing god: therfore S. Paul (quoth he) to stir vp theyr heauy dulnesse, willed them to wake out of theyr long sleepe, because theyr saluation was nearer then when they beleued. In amplifying this matter, & comparing our times with theirs: he took

ocasiō to declare what difference the Iewish Sacramentes had, from those of the Christians, wherein he vsed these wordes:

Euen as the Sacramentes of the Iewes did declare Christ to come, so doth our sacraments declare Christ to be already come: but Christ to come, and Christ to be come is not al one. For now that he is come, the Iewes sacramēts be done away, and ours only remayne, which declare y^t he is already come, & is nearer vs then he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in signes, but we haue him in the Sacrament of the aultar, euen his very bodye. Wherefore nowe also it is time that we awake out of our sleepe, who haue slept, or rather dreamed these xx. yeares past, as shall more easely appere by declaring at large some of the propertyes and effectes of a sleepe or dreame. And first, as men intending to sleep, do separate themselues frō company, and desire to be alone: euen so haue we seperated our selues from the sea Apostolick of Rome, and haue bene alone,* no Realme in Christendome like vs.

Secondly, as in sleep men dreame sometime of killing, sometime of maiming, sometime of drowning, or burning sometime of such beastlinesse as I will not name, but wyll spare your eares: so haue we in this our sleepe, not onely dreamed of beastlines but we haue done it in deede. For in this our sleepe, hath not one brother destroyed an other? Hath not halfe our money bene wiped away at one tyme? And agayn those that would defend their conscience, were slayne: and others also otherwise troubled, besides infinite other thinges: which you all know as well as I: whereof I report me to your owne consciences.

Farther in a mans sleepe all his senses are stopped, so y^t he can neither see, smell, nor heare, euen so wheras the ceremonies of the church were instituted to moue and stirre vp our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped and we fast a sleepe? Moreouer whē a man would gladly sleepe, he will put forth the candle least peraduenture it may let his sleepe, & awake hym: So of late all such writers as did holde any thing with the Apostolick Sea were condemned,* and forbiddē to be read and Images (whiche were * lay mens bookes) were cast downe and broken.

The sleep hath continued with vs these xx. yeares, and we all that while without a head. For when King Henry did first take vpon him to be head of the church, it was thē no Church at all. After whose death, King Edward (hauing ouer him Gouvernors and Protectours which ruled as them listed) coulde not be head of the Churche but was onely a shadow or signe of a head: and at length it came to passe, that we had no head at all, no, not so much as our 2. Archbishops. For on the one side, the Queene being a woman could not be head of the Church,* and on the other side they both were conuicted of one crime & so deposed. Thus while wee desired to haue a supream head among vs, it came to passe that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the North, in the time of king Henry the •. (I am sure) the king was determined to haue geuen ouer the supremacy agayne to the Pope: but the houre was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, least some would haue sayd, that he did it for feare.

After this M. Kneuet, and I were sent Ambassadors vnto the Emperour to desire him that he would be a meane betwene the popes holines and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the sea of Rome: but the time was neyther yet come. For it might haue bene sayd, that it had bene done for a ciuill pollicy. Agayne, in the beginning of Kyng Edwardes raigne, the matter was mooued,

but the tyme was not yet: for it would haue bene sayd that the king (being but a child) had bene bought and solde. Neither in the beginning of the Queenes raigne was the houre come. For it would haue bene sayd that it was done in a tyme of weaknes Likewise when the king first came, if it had bene done, they might haue sayd it had bene by force & violence. But now euen now, *hora est, the houre is come, when no thing can be obiected, but that it is the mere mercy and pro'uidence of God. Nowe hath the Popes holynesse, Pope Iulius the 3. sent vnto vs this most reuerend father, *Cardinall Poole, an Ambassadour from his side. What to doe? not to reuēge the iniuries done by vs agaynst his holines: sed benedicere maledicētibus, to geue his benedictiō to those which defamed and persecuted him.

And that we may be the more meete to receiue the sayd benedictiō, I shall desire you that we may alway acknowledge our selues offēders agaynst his holines. *I do not exclude my selfe forth of the number. I will flere cum flentibus, & gaudere cum gaudentibus, that is: weep with them that weep and reioyce with them which reioyce. And I shall desire you that we may deferre the matter no longer, for now hora est the houre is come. The King and the Queenes Maiesties haue already restored our holy Father the Pope to his supremacy and the three estates assembled in the Parliament representing the whole body of the Realme haue also submitted themselues to his holines, and his successors * for euer. Wherefore let not vs any longer stay. And euen as S. Paule sayd to the Corinthians, that he was theyr father, so may the Pope saye that he is our Father: for we receiued our doctrine first from Rome, therefore he may challenge vs as his owne. We haue all cause to reioyce, for hys holynesse hath sent hither, and preuēted vs before we sought him: such care hath he for vs. Therefore let vs say: Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & laetemur in ea, Reioyce in this day which is of the Lordes working: that suche a noble man of byrth is come, yea suche a holye Father (I meane my Lord Cardinall Poole) which can speake vnto vs, as vnto brethren, and not as vnto straungers: who hath a long time bene absent. And let vs now awake, whiche so long haue slept, and in our sleepe haue done so much naughtines agaynst the Sacramentes of Christ, denying the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar, and pulled downe the *aultars which thing Luther himselfe would not doe, but rather reprobued them that did, examining them of theyr be'liefe in Christ.

This was the summe of this Sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed, first for the Pope, Pope Iulius the 3. withall his Colledge of Cardinals, the B. of Londō with the rest of that order: then for the king and Queene & the nobility of this Realme, and last for the commons of the same, with the soules departed, lying in the paynes of Purgatory. This ended (the time being late) they beganne in Paules to ring to theyr Euening song, wherby the precher could not be well heard, whiche caused him to make a short end of this clerkly Sermon.

About this very time a Poste or Messenger was sent frō the whole Parliament to the Pope, to desire him to cōfirme and establish the sale of Abbey landes and Chauntry landes: For the Lordes and the Parliament would graūt nothing in the Popes behalfe before theyr purchases were fully confirmed.

Upon the Thursday folowing, being the 6. day of december, and S. Nicholas day, * all the whole Conuocation both Bishops and other: were sent for to Lambeth to the Cardinall, * who the same day forgaue them all theyr per•urations, schismes, and heresies, and they all there kneeled downe

and receiued his absolution, and after an exhortation and gratulation for theyr conuersion to the catholicke church made by the Cardinall, they departed.

Upon the Wednesday being the 12. of December, fiue of the 8. menne (which lay in the Fleete, that were of M. Throgmortons quest) were discharged and set at libertye [Page 1480](#) vpon their fine payed, which was ccxx.li. a piece, and the other •oure put vp a Supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the summe that they were appointed to pay, and so vpon that declaration paying lx.li. a piece,* they were deliuered out of prison vpon S. Thomas day before Christmas, beyng the xxi. of December.

Upon the Saterdag followyng, beyng the xxij. of December, all the whole Parliament had strait commaundement, that none of them should depart into their countrey this Christmas, nor before the Parliament were ended. Which commandement was wonderful contrary to their expectations. For as well many of the Lords, as also many of the inferior sort had sent for their horse, and had them brought hither.

*Upon the Friday following, being the 28. of December, and Childermas day, the Prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

Anno. 1555.

*Upon Newyeres day at night folowing, certain honest men and women of the Citie, to the number of xxx. & a minister with them named M. Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow Churchyard at the Communion, and the same night they were al committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the 3. day of Ianuary, M. Rose was before the B. of Winchester beyng L. Chancellor, and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certaine communication had betweene the Bishop and him.

The same day the Act of the supremacie past in the parlament. Also the same day at night was a great tumult betwene Spaniards & English men at Westminster, wherof was like to haue ensued great mischief through a Spanish Frier, which got into the Church and rong Alarum. The occasion was about two whores which were in the cloister of Westminster with a sort of Spaniards, whereof whilest some playd the knaues with them, other some dyd keepe the entry of the Cloister with Dags in harneis. In the meane tyme certaine of the Deanes men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them and hurt some of them. By and by the noyse of this doying came into the streetes, so that the whole towne was vp almost, but neuer a stroke was striken. Notwithstandyng, the noise of this doying with the Deanes men, and also the ringing of the Alarum made much ado, and a great number also to be sore afraid.

Ye heard a little before the Councels letter sent to B. Boner, signifyng the good newes of Queene Mary to be not onely conceyued, but also quicke with childe, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the xxviij. day. Of this child great talke began at this tyme to ryse in euery mans mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as semed in England to cary Spanish hartes in English bodies. In number of whom here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendatiō for his woorthy affection toward his Prince and her issue, one sir Rich. Southwel, who being the same tyme in the parlament house when as the Lordes were occupied in other affaires & matters of importance, sodainly starting vp, for fulnes

of ioy, brast out in these words folowing: Tush my Maisters (quoth he) what talke ye of these matters? I would haue you take some order for our yong maister that is now comming into the world apace,* lest he find vs vnprouided, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid letters of the counsaile, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an assured opinion was thē conceiued in mens heds of Queene Mary, to be conceiued and quicke with child. In so much that at the same tyme, and in the same Parliament: there was eftsoones a bill exhibited, and an Act made vpon the same, the words wherof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificate, as vnder followeth.

¶The wordes of the Acte.

ALbeit we the Lordes spirituall and temporal, & the commons in this present parliament assembled,* haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserued the Queenes maiesty from many great imminent perils and daungers: euen so he will of his infinite goodnes, geue her highnes strength, the rather by our continuall prayers to passe well the danger of deliuerance of chylde,* wherwith it hath pleased him (to al our great comforts) to blesse her: Yet forasmuch as all things of this world be vncertaine, and hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconstant gouernment during the tyme of the raigne of the late king Edward the 6. do plainly see the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perils that may ensue to this whole realme, if foresight be not vsed to preuent all euill chances if they should happen: For the eschewyng hereof, we the Lordes spirituall & temporall, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most speciall trust and confidence, thot we haue and repose in the kings maiesty,* for and cōcerning the politike gouernment, order, and administration of this realm in the tyme of the yong yeres of the issue or issues of her maiesties body to bee borne, if it should please God to call the Queenes highnes out of this present lyfe, during the tender yeares of such issue or issues (which God forbid) according to such order and maner, as hereafter in this present Acte his highnes most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, haue made our humble sute by the assent of the Queenes highnes, that his maiestie would vouchsafe to accept and take vppon hym the rule, order, education, and gouernment of the sayd issue or issues to bee borne, as is aforesayd, vpon which our sute beyng of his said maiestie most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his highnesse not onely to declare, that like as for the most part his maiesty verely trusteth that almighty God (who hath hitherto preserued the Queenes maiesty) to geue this realme so good an hope of certayne succession in the bloud royall of the same realme, will assist her highnes with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruite of her body well brought forrh,* lyue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world besides, should or could receiue more comfort then his maiesty should and would) yet if such chaunce should happen, hys maiesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not onely to accept and take vpō him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and gouernmēt of such issues as of this most happy Mariage, shall be borne betweene the Queenes highnes and him: but also during the time of such gouernment, would by all wayes and meanes, study, trauaile, and employ hymselfe to aduance the weale both publike & priuate, of this realme and dominions thereunto belonging, according to the sayd trust in his maiestye reposed, with no lesse good will and affection, then if his highnesse had bene naturally borne amongst vs. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the King and the Quenes most excellent maiesties, by the assent of the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the

same, &c. as it is to be seene in the Acte more at large ratified and confirmed at the same Parliament, to the same entent and purpose.

¶ Thus much out of the Acte and statute I thought to rehearse, to the entent the Reader may vnderstand, not so much how Parliaments may sometimes be deceiued (as by this childe of Queene Mary may appeare) as rather what cause we Englishmen haue to render most earnest thanks vnto almighty god, who so mercifully against the opinion, expectatiō, and working of our aduersaries, hath helped & deliuered vs in this case, which otherwise might haue opened such a window to the Spaniardes to haue entred and replenished this land, that peraduenture by this tyme Englishmen should haue enioyed no great quiet in their owne countrey: the Lord therefore make vs perpetually myndfull of his benefits, Amen.

Thus we see then, how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, prouision, and order taken in the Parliament house for their yōg maister long looked for, commyng so surely into the world in the end appeared neither yong maister, nor young maistresse, that any man yet to this day can heare of.

Furthermore, as the labour of the lay sort was herein deluded: so no lesse ridiculous it was to behold what litle effect the prayers of the Popes Churchmen had wyth almighty God, who trauailed no lesse with their processions Masses, and Collects, for the happy deliuerance of thys yong maister to come, as here followeth to be seene.

¶ A prayer made by D. Weston Deane of Westminster, daily to be sayd for the Queenes deliuerance.

O Most righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the first woman, hast threatened vnto all women a common, sharpe, and ineuitable malediction, and hast enioyned them that they should conceiue in sinne, and beyng conceiued, should be subiect to many and grievous tormentes, and finally be deliuered with the danger and ieopardy of their lyfe: We beseech thee, for thine exceeding great goodnes and bottomlesse mercy, to mittigate the straightnes of that law. Asswage thine anger for a while and cherish in the bosome of thy fauour and mercye, our most gracious Queene Mary, beyng now at the poynt of her deliuerance. So helpe her, that without danger of her lyfe, she may ouercome the sorow, and in due season bring forth a chyld, in body beautifull and comely, in mynd noble and valiant. So that afterward she forgetting the trouble, may with ioy, laude & prayse [Page 1481](#) the bountifulnesse of thy mercy, and together with vs, praise and blesse both thee and thy holy name, world withouten ende. This (Oh Lord) we desire thee, we beseeche thee, and most hartily craue of thee. Heare vs oh Lord, and graunt vs our petition: Let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy Church say: Where is theyr God?

¶ A solemne prayer made for king Phillip and Queene Maries childe, that it may be a male chylde, welfauoured and wittie, &c.

O Most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request, bowe downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the eies of thy mercy, vnto vs wretched sinners, bowing y^e knees of our hartes, and with many and deepe sighes bewayling oure sinnes & offences, humbly with eyes intent, & hands displayed, praying & beseeching thee,

with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy seruant, and our Queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceiued with chyld: and at the time of her trauaile graciously with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer her, and from all danger with the child in her conceiued, mercifully preserue.

It hath seemed good in thy sight mercifull Father, by thy seruaunt Mary, to worke these wōders, that is to say: in her hands to vanquish and ouerthrow the stout enemy & to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of * heretikes, Infidels, enemies to thee, and to the crosse of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ, that of thy seruaunt thou mightest speake in farre countreys. Therefore for these wonderfull workes which thou doest to thy seruants, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, and we thy people blesse thee the God of heauen, which hast wrought vpon vs this great mercy, and hast excluded from vs the heretike, the enemy of truth, the persecuter of thy church. We know, we know that we haue grievously (Lord) sinned, that we haue bene deceiued by vanitie, and that we haue forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sinnes be increased vp to heauen, and we our selues haue offended, and our princes & our priests for these our sinnes haue deserued an hypocrite to our prince, our sinnes haue deserued a Tyrant to our Gouernour, that should bryng our lyfe to bitternes. We be not worthy to haue so gentle and mercifull a Queene, so godly a ruler, & finally so vertuous a prince: at the very beginning of whose raigne, a new light as it were of Gods religion, seemed to vs for to spring & rise.* The Iews did blesse y^e widow Iudith with one voice, saying: Thou art the glory of Ierusalem, thou art the ioy of Israell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou hast loued chastity, and thou shalt be blessed for euer.

And we the English people with one agreeable consent do cry:* Thou Mary art the glory of England, our ioy, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast embraced chastitie: thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for euer. But bow downe, O most mercifull Father, thine eare, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest Lord, that against Phillip, not by humane, but by thy ordinaunce our king, and against thy seruaunt Mary by thy prouidence our Queene, the restorers and maintainers of thy Testament & of the faith & most constāt defenders of thy church? thou knowest I say, that against these our two gouernors (the enimies of thy holy * Testament, & of the Church thy spouse) be most ranke Rebels and spitefull murmurers, walking after their lustes, whose mouth speaketh wordes of pride, to the end they may set vp the kingdome of heretikes & schismatikes. By the power of their handes they would * chaunge thy promises, and destroy thine inheritaunce, and stop and shut vp the mouthes of them y^t praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholike Church and aultar.

It is manifest and plaine, how many contentiōs how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many, & how great troublesome vexations, how many heresies & schismes (for these be the most ready deuises, and euident tokens of heretickes) for our sinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy seruant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwellyng place in the midst of his people, to y^e intent to deliuer vs out of y^e hands of our enemies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs, shew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Punish vs for our sinnes according to thy will & pleasure, onely now deliuer vs. We bowing the knees of our hart, beseech thee that thou wilt not reserue vnto vs punishment for euer, & we shall prayse thee, all the days of our life. Heare our cry, and the praier of thy people,

& open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious sauour, the spring of liuely water. Thou that hast begon, make in the hand of the seruaunt a perfect worke. Suffer not, we pray thee, the * faythlesse rebels to say of thy seruaunt and her Counsellours, that they haue deuised matters which they cannot performe. And graunt vnto thy seruant an happy and an easie trauail. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iustice, nor vnwoonted to thy mercy.

It is well knowen vnto vs, how maruelously thou diddest worke in Sara of the age of xc. yeares, and in Elizabeth the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art y^e searcher of harts & thoughts, thou knowest that thy seruāt neuer lusted after man, neuer gaue her selfe to wanton cōpany, nor made her selfe pertaker w^t them that walk in lightnes: but she consented to take an husband with thy feare, & not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy seruaunt tooke an husband, not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire & loue of posteritie, wherein thy name might be blessed for euer and euer. Geue therfore vnto thy seruaunts, Phillip our king, and Mary our Queene, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdome. Geue vnto our Queene thy seruant, a little infant in fashion and body, comely & beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

Graunt the same to be in obedience like * Abraham, in hospitalitie like Loth, in chastitie and brotherly loue, lyke Ioseph, in meekenes & myldnes like Moses, in strength & valiantnes like Sampson. Let him be found faythful as Dauid after thy hart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Salomon. Let him be like Iob, a simple and an vpright man, fearing God & eschewyng euill. Let hym finally be garnished with the comelynes of all vertuous cōditions, and in the same let him waxe old and lyue, that he may see his childrens children to the third & fourth generation. And geue vnto our soueraigne Lord and Lady. K. Phillip and Queene Mary, thy blessing and long life vpō earth. And graunt that of thē may come kings & Queenes which may stedfastly continue in faith, loue, and holynesse. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

¶Another prayer for Queene Mary, and her conceiued chyld.

O Almighty father, which diddest sanctifie the blessed Virgine and mother of Mary in her conception, and in the byrth of Christ our sauour (thy onely sonne:) also by thy omnipotent power didst safely deliuer the prophet Ionas out of the Whales belly: Defend O Lord, we beseech thee, *thy seruaunt Mary our Queene, with child conceyued, and so visite her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not onely the child thy creature within her contained, may ioyfully come from her into this worlde, and receyue the blessed Sacraments of Baptisme and Confirmation, enioying therwith dayly encrease of all princely and gracious gifts both of body & soule, but that also she, the mother, thorowe thy speciall grace and mercy, may in tyme of her trauaile auoyde all excessiue dolour and payne, and abide perfect and sure from all perill and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, thorough Christ our Lord, Amen.

It followeth now further in processe of the story, that vpon the Tuesday, being the x. of Ianuary, xix. of the lower house of the Parliament, with the Speaker, * came to the White Hall to the kyng, and there offred him the gouernment of the realme, and of the Issue, if the Queene should faile, which was confirmed by act of Parliament, within ten dayes after.

Upon Wednesday folowing,* beyng the xxvi. of Ianuary, the Parliament was cleane dissolued. In this Parliament, among other things, the bishop of Rome was established, and all such lawes as were made against hym since the xx. yeare of K. Henry the 8. were repealed, & also cardinall Poole, bish. Pates,* Lilly & other were restored to their bloud. Also there was an acte made for speakyng of words: that whosoever should speake any thyng agaynst the king or Queene, or that might mooue any sedition or rebellion, at the first tyme to haue one of his eares cut of▪ or to forfeit an C. markes: and at the second tyme to haue both his eares cut off, or els to forfeit an C. pounds, & who so euer should write, cipher, or print any of the premisses, to haue their right hand cut off.*

Also in this Parliament, three statutes were reuiued for triall of heresie: one made in the fift yere of Richard the 2. an other in the 2. yeare of Henry the 4. and the third, in the 2. yeare of Henry the 5. Also the doying of M. Rose and the other that were with him, was communed of in this Parliament, and vpon that occasion an acte was made, [Page 1482](#) that certaine euill prayers should be treason agaynst the Queenes highnes. The prayers of these men were thus: God turne the hart of Queene Mary from Idolatrie, or els shorten her dayes. Wherof read the statute, Ann. 1. & 2. Reg. Phil. & Mariae. Cap. 9.

As touching the taking of M. Rose & his felows, word was brought therof to M. Hooper being thē in the Fleete. Whereupon the said M. Hooper sendeth aunswer againe, with a letter also of consolation sent to the sayd prisoners: the copie wherof I thought here not to ouerpasse.

¶The aunswer of M. Hooper to a letter sent vnto him concerning certaine prisoners taken in Bowe churchyard.

*The grace of God be with you. Amen. I perceiue by your letter, how that vpon Newyeres day at night, there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I doe reioyce in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee vnto God for remedy by prayer, as well for theyr owne lackes and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the worde of God commaund all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to reuile any Magistrate with wordes, or to meane him euill by force or violence. They also may reioyce that in well doying, they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I haue thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation: praying God to send them patience, charitie & constancie in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this Realme againe amongst vs, which the vngodly Bishops haue now banished. Ianua. 4. ann. 1555.

¶A letter of consolation sent from M. Hooper to the godly brethren taken in Bow churchyard, in prayer, and layd in the Counter in Breadstreet.

The grace, fauor, consolation, and ayd of the holy ghost, be with you now and euer, So be it.

Dearely beloued in the Lord, euer sithens your imprisonment,* I haue bene maruelously mooued with great affections and passions, as well of myrth and gladnes, as of heauines & sorrow. Of gladnes in this, that I perceyued how ye be bent & geuen to prayer and inuocation of gods helpe in these darke & wicked proceedings of men agaynst Gods glory. I haue bene sory to perceiue

the malice and wickednes of men to be so cruel, diuelish, & tyrannicall, to persecute the people of God for seruyng of God, saying & hearing of the holy Psalmes, and the word of eternall life. These cruell doings do declare, that the Papistes Church is more bloudy and tyrannicall, then euer was the sword of the Ethnikes and Gentiles.

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing wherfore, and by whom ye were takē, I remembred how the Christians in the Primatiue Church were vsed by the crueltie of vnchristened heathens, in the tyme of Traiane the Emperour about 77. yeares after Christes ascension into heauen: * and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had bene traytors and moouers of sedition. Wherupon the gentle Emperor Traiane required to know the true cause of Christian mens trouble. A great learned man called Plinius, wrote vnto him & said, it was because the Christians said certaine psalmes before day, * vnto one called Christ, whō they worshipped for god. When Traiane the Emperour vnderstood it was for nothyng but for conscience & religion, he caused by hys commaundements euery where, that no man should be persecuted for seruyng of God. But the Pope & his church hath cast you into prison, beyng taken euen doynge the worke of God, and one of the excellents workes that is required of Christian men: that is, to wit, whiles ye were in praier, & not in such wicked & superstitious prayers as the papists vse, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name onely ye gaue God thanks for that ye haue receiued, and for his sake ye asked for such thyngs as ye want. O glad may ye be that euer ye were borne, to be apprehended whilest ye were so vertuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousnesse sake. For if God had suffred them that tooke your bodies, then to haue taken your life also, now had ye bene following the Lamb in perpetual ioyes, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not haue you sodainly so to depart, but reserueth you, gloriously to speake and maintaine his truth to the world.

Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out & in with you, and will be present in your harts, & in your mouthes to speake his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishnes to the world. He that hath begun this good worke in you, continue you in the same vnto the end: & pray vnto him, that ye may feare him only, that hath power to kill both body & soule, and to cast them into hel fire. Be of good comfort. All the haire of your hed are numbred, and there is not one of them can perish, * except your heavenly father suffer it to perish. Now ye be in the field & placed in y^e forefront of Christs battel. Doubtles, it is a singuler fauour of God, & a special loue of him towards you, to geue you this foreward & preeminence, & a signe that he trusteth you before others of his people. * Wherfore (deare brethren and sisters) continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most iust and godly, ye stand for the true Christ (who is after the flesh in heauen) & for his true religion and honor, which is amply, fully, sufficiently and abundantly conteyned in the holy Testament, sealed with Christes owne blood. How much be ye bound to God, to put you in trust with so holy and iust a cause.

Remember what lookers vpon you haue, to see & behold you in your sight, God & all his Angels, who be ready alway to take you vp into heauen, if ye be slaine in his fight. Also you haue standing at your backes all the multitude of the faithfull, who shal take courage, strength, * and desire to follow such noble & valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your aduersaries: for he that is in you, is stronger then he that is in them. Shrinke not although it be payne to you, your paynes be not now so great, as here after your ioyes shall be. Read the comfortable

chapters to the Romans. 8.10.15. Heb. 11.12.* And vpon your knees thanke God that euer ye were accompted worthy to suffer any thing for his names sake. Read the 2. chap. of s. Lukes gospell, & there you shal see how the shepherds that watched vpon their sheep all night, as soone as they heard that Christ was borne at Bethlem,* by and by they went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with thēselues, who should keepe the Wolfe from the sheep in the meane time, but did as they were commanded, & committed their sheep vnto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let vs do now we be called, commit all other thinges to him that calleth vs. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He wil helpe the husband, he will comfort the wyfe, he will guide the seruants, he will keepe the house,* he will preserue the goods: yea, rather then it should be vndone, he will wash the dishes, and rocke the cradle. Cast therfore all your care vpon God, for he careth for you.

Besides this, you may perceiue by your imprisonment that your aduersaries weapons against you, be nothyng but flesh, bloud, and tyrannie. For if they were able,* they would maintaine their wicked religion by Gods worde: but for lacke of that, they would violently compell such as they cannot by holy Scripture perswade, because the holy word of God, and all Christes doyngs be contrary vnto them. I pray you pray for me, & I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for euer ioyning in the spirite, and so shall meete in the pallace of the heauenly ioyes, after this short and transitorie lyfe is ended. Gods peace be with you. Amen. The 14, of Ianuary. 1554.

Upon the Friday after this following, being the 18. of Ianuary, all the Counsaile went vnto the Tower, & there the same day discharged and set at libertie all the prisoners of the Tower, or the most part of them, namely,* the late duke of Northumberlands sonnes, Ambrose. Robert, and Henry, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Iohn Rogers, sir Iames Crofts, sir Nich. Throgmorton, sir Nicholas Arnall, sir George Harper, sir Edw. Warner, sir W. Sentlow, sir Gawen Carew, M. Gybbes, Cuthbert Uaughan, wyth many other.

Upon the Tuesday folowing,* being the xxij. of Ianuary, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the B. of Wincher, L. Chancellour and certain other, at the bishops house at S. Mary Oueres. From whence (after communication beyng asked whether they would conuert and enioy the Queenes pardon, or els stande to that they had taught: they all aunswered that they would stand to that they had taught) they were cōmitted to straiter prison then before they were, with charge that none should speake with them.

Amongst the which number of prisoners, one Iames George the same tyme died in prison,* being there in bands for religion & righteousnes sake: who therfore was exempted to be buried in the popish churchyard, and was buried in the field.

Upon the Wednesday folowing beyng the 23. of Ianuary, all the bishops with all the rest of the Conuocation house were before the cardinal at Lambeth,* where he willed them to reparaire euery man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to intreat the people and their flocke with all gentlenes, and to endeouour themselves to winne the people rather by gentlenes then by extremity & rigor, [Page 1483](#) and so let them depart.

Upon the Friday following, being the 25. of Ianuary & the day of the Conuersion of S. Paule, there was generall and solemne procession through London to geue God thanks for their conuersion to y^e catholike church: * Wherin (to set out their glorious pompe) there were fourescore & ten crosses, 160. priests and clerkes, who had euery one of them copes vpon their backs, singing very lustely. There followed also for the better estimation of the sight, 8. Bishops, and last of all came Boner the B. of London, carying the popish pixe vnder a Canapy.

Besides, there was also present the Maior, Aldermen, and all the liuery of euery occupation. Moreouer, the king also himselfe, and the Cardinall came to Paules Church the same day. From whence after Masse they returned to Westminster againe. As the king was entred the Church at the steps goyng vp to the Quiere, all the Gentlemen that of late were set at libertie out of the Tower, kneeled before the king and offred vnto him themselues and their seruices.

After the procession there was also commaundement giuen to make Bonefires at night. Whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talke why all this was done. Some sayd it was that the Queene, beyng then (as they said) with child, might haue a safe deliuary. Others thoght that it was for ioy that the realme was ioyned agayne to the sea of Rome, which opinion of both, seemed most true.

Upon the Monday folowing being the 28. of Ianuary, * the B. of Winchester and the other bishops, had Commission from the cardinall to sit vpon, and order according to the lawes, all such preachers and heretikes (as they termed them) as were in prison, and according to this Commission, the same day the B. of Winchester and the other bishops with certaine of the counsail, sate in S. Mary Oueries church, and called before them these three, M. Hooper, M. Rogers, and M. Cardmaker, who were brought thether by the shriues, from whence after communication, they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker this day submitted himselfe vnto them.

*Upon the Tuesday beyng the 29. of Ianuary, Hooper, Rogers, D. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them, where sentence of excommunication and iudgement ecclesiasticall was pronounced vpon M. Hooper, and M. Rogers by the Bish. of Winchester, who sate as Iudge in Caiphas seat, who droue them out of the church according to their law and order. D. Taylor and Bradford were cōmitted to prison till the next day.

Upon the Wednesday being the 30. of Ianuary, Doct. Taylor, D. Crome, M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and D. Ferrar sometyme B. of S. Dauids, * were before the sayd bishops, where iij. of them, that is to say, D. Taylor, M. Sanders, and M. Bradford were likewise excommunicated, & sentence pronounced vpon them, & so committed to the Shiriffes. D. Crome desired two months respite, and it was granted him, & M. Ferrar was againe committed to prison till another tyme. All these men shewed thēselues to be learned (as in deed they were no lesse) but what auaieth either learning, reason or truth it self, where will beareth rule.

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers aboue recited, Commissions and Inquisitours were sent abroad likewise into all partes of the realme: by reason wherof a great number of most godly & true christians (out of all the quarters of the realme, but especially Kent, Essex, Northfolke, and Suffolke) were apprehended, brought vp to London, and

cast in prison, and afterward (most of them) either consumed cruelly by fire, or els thorough euill handlyng died in the prisons, & were buried on dunghils abroad in the fields, or in some backside of the prison. Of all which matters, cōcerning the tragicall handling of these blessed Martyrs and witnesses of Iesus Christ, of all the bloudy persecution of this tyme, now followeth (the Lord so grantyng) seuerally and more particularly in this next booke in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a generall supplication, giuen vp in the name of the preachers aforesayd lying in prison, vnto the King and Queene, during the tyme of the Parliament, as followeth.

¶Vnto the King and Queenes most excellent Maiesties, and to their most honourable and high Court of Parliament.

IN most humble and lamentable wise complain vnto your Maiesties, and to your high court of Parliament,* your poore desolate & obedient subiects, H. F. T. B. P. R. S. &c. That where as your said subiects liuing vnder the lawes of God and of this realme in the days of the late most noble king Edward 6. did in all things shew themselues true, faithfull and diligent subiects, accord•ng to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministring of Gods holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, & in the dayly practise of such vertues and good demeanor, as the lawes of God at all tymes, and the statutes of the realme did then allow: Your sayd subiects neuerthesse, contrary to all lawes of iustice, equitie and right, are in very extreme maner, not onely cast into prison (where they haue remained now these 15. or 16. months) but their liuings also, their houses and possessions,* their goodes and bookes taken from them, and they slandered to be most hainous heretikes, their enemies themselues being both witnesses, accusers, and Iudges, belying, slandering, and misreportyng your said subiectes at their pleasure, whereas your sayd subiectes beyng straightly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffred to come forth and make aunswer accordingly.

In consideration whereof, it may please your most excellent Maiesties, and this your high court of Parliament, graciously to tender the present calamitie of your sayd poore subiects, and to call them before your presence, graunting them liberty, either by mouth or writing in the playne English tong, to aunswer before you or before indifferent Arbiters to be appointed by your Maiesties vnto such articles of controuersie in religion as their sayd aduersaries haue already condemned them of,* as of hainous heresies: Prouided, that all things may be done with such moderation & quiet behauior, as becommeth subiectes and children of peace, & that your said subiects may haue the free vse of all their owne bookes and conference together among themselues.

Which thing beyng granted, your said subiects doubt not but it shall plainly appeare that your sayd subiects are true and faithful christians, & neither heretikes, neither teachers of heresie, nor cut of from the true catholike vniuersal church of Christ: Yea, that rather their aduersaries themselues be vnto your Maiesties, as were the charmers of Egypt vnto Pharao Sedechias & his adherents, vnto the king of Israel,* and Bariesu to the Proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said subiects be not able by the testimonie of Christ, his prophets, Apostles, & godly fathers of his church to prooue, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and seruice taught and set forth in the tyme of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the 6. is the true doctrine of Christes Catholicke church, and most agreeable to the articles of the christian fayth: your sayd subiects

offer themselues then to the most heauy punishment, that it shall please your maiesties to appoynt.

Wherefore for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you looke for at the day of iudgement) your sayd poore subiectes in bonds, most humbly beseech your most excellent maiesties, and this your high court of Parliament, beningly and graciously to heare and graunt this their petition, tendyng so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifyng of his church, to the honor of your maiesties, to the commendation and maintenāce of iustice, right, and equitie, both before God and man. And your sayd subiectes according to their bounden duety, shall not cease to pray vnto almighty God, for the gracious preseruacion of your most excellent maiesties long to endure.

☛The ende of the tenth Booke.

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***¶Here beginneth the eleuenth Booke, wherein is discoursed the bloudy murthering of Gods Saintes, with the particular Processes and Names of such good Martyrs, both Men and Women, as in this tyme of Queene Mary, were put to death.**

☛[The Story, Life, and Martyrdome of Maister IOHN ROGERS.](#)

THE fourth daye of February, suffered the constant Martyr of God, M. Iohn Rogers, concernynge whose life, examinations, and suffring, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his lyfe and bringing vp. Iohn Rogers brought vp in the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning,* at the length was chosen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their natiue country.) In conferring with them the scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospell of God, in so much that he cast of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himselfe with them two in that paynefull & most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the Englishe tongue,* which is intituled: The Translation of Thomas Mathew. He knowing by the scriptures, that vnlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honest and honourable amongst all men, ioyned hymselfe in lawfull

matrimonye, and so went to Wittemberge in Saxony, where he with much sobernes of liuyng did not onely greatly encrease in all good and godly learnyng,* but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tong, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministry, he diligently and faithfully serued many yeares, vntil such tyme as it pleased God by y^e faithfull trauell of his chosen and deare seruant king Edward the sixt,* vtterly to banish all Popery forth of England, & to receiue in true Religion, setting Gods Gospell at liberty. He then beyng orderly called, hauyng both a conscience and a ready good will to helpe forward the worke of the Lord in his natie country, left such honest and certaine conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the Gospel, without certaintie of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully trauailed,* Nicholas Ridley then bishop of London, gaue him a Prebende in the Cathedrall Church of Paules, and the Deane and the Chapter chose hym to be the Reader of the Diuinitie lesson there, wherein he diligently trauailed, vntill such tyme as Queene Mary obtaining the crowne, banished the Gospell and true religion, and brought in the Antichrist of Rome, with his Idolatry and superstition.

After the Queene was come to the Tower of Londō, he beyng orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement Sermon at Paules Crosse, confirmyng such true doctrine as he and other had there taught in K. Edwards dayes, exhortyng the people constantly to remayne in the same, and to beware of all pestilent Popery, Idolatry, and superstition. The Councel beyng then ouermatched with popish and bloody bishops,* called hym to accompt for his Sermon: To whom he made a stout, wittie, & godly answer, and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearely dismissed. But after that, Proclamation was set foorth by the Queene to prohibite true preachyng, he was called agayne before the Counsel, (for the bishops thirsted after his blood.) The Counsell quarelled wyth hym concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded hym as prisoner to keepe his owne house, and so hee did: although by flying he might easily haue escaped their cruell hands, and many thyngs there were,* which myght haue mooued hym thereunto. He did see the recouery of religion in England for that present, desperate: he knew he could not want a liuyng in Germany, and he coulde not forget his wyfe and x. children, and to seeke means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christes cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the triall of that truth, was content to hazard his lyfe.

Thus he remayned in hys owne house as prisoner a long tyme, till at the length through the vncharitable procurement of Boner Bishop of London, who could not abyde such honest neighbours to dwell by him,* he was remooued from his owne house, to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among theeues and murtherers, for a great space: during which tyme, what businesse he had with the aduersaries of Christ, all is not knowen, neither yet any certaintie of his examinations, further thē he hymselfe did leaue in writyng, which God would not to be lost, but to remayne for a perpetuall testimony in the cause of Gods truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his owne writyng.

¶The Examination and aunswere of John Rogers made to the L. Chancellor, and to the rest of the Counsell, the 22. of Ianuary, Anno. 1555.

The Lord Chauncellour.

First the L. Chancellour said vnto me thus. Sir,* ye haue heard of the state of the realme in which it standeth now.

Rogers.

No my Lord, I haue bene kept in close prison, and except there haue bene some generall thyng sayd at the table whē I was at dinner or supper, I haue heard nothing, and there haue I heard nothing whereupon any speciall thing might be grounded.

L. Chan.

Then sayd the L. Chancellor: Generall thynges, generall things, mockingly? Ye haue heard of my L. Cardinals commyng, and that the Parliament hath receyued his blessing, not one resisting vnto it, but one man which did speake against it. Such an vnitie, and such a myracle hath not bene seene. And all they, of which there are eyght score in one house, sayd one that was by (whose name I know not) haue with one assent and * consent, receyued pardon of their offences, for the schisme that we haue had in England, in refusing the holy fater of Rome to be hed of the Catholike Church. How say ye, are ye content to vnite and knit yourselfe to the fayth of the catholike church with vs in the state in which it is now in England? Wyll ye do that?

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Rogers.

The Catholike Church I neuer did nor will dissen• from.

L. Chancel.

Nay, but I speake of the state of the Catholike church, in that wyse in which we stand now in England, hauyng receaued the Pope to be supreme head.

Rog.

*I know none other head but Christ, of his catholike church, neither will I acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to haue any more authority then any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the olde and pure Catholike church 400. yeres after Christ.

L. Chaun.

Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the 8. to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the onely head?

Rog.

*I neuer graunted hym to haue any supremacy in spirituall thyngs, as are the forgeuenesse of sinnes, geuing of the holy Ghost, authoritie to be a Iudge aboute the worde of God.

L. Chan.

Yea said he, and Tonstall B. of Duresme, and N. B. of Worcester,* if thou hadst said so in his dayes (and they nodded the hed at me, with a laughter) thou hadst not ben alyue now.

Rog.

Which thing I denied, and would haue told how hee was said and ment to be supreme head. But they looked & laughed one vpon another, and made such a busines, that I was cōstrayned to let it passe. There lyeth also no great waight thereupon: for all the world knoweth what the meanyng was. The L. Chancellor also sayd to the L. Wil. Haward, that there was no inconuenience therin, to haue Christ to be supreme head,* and the B. of Rome also: and when I was ready to haue answered that there could not be two heds of one church, and haue more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the L. Chancellor said: what saist thou? make vs a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholike church, or not, with vs in the state in which we are now?

Rog.

My L. without faile I cannot beleeeue, that ye your selues do thinke in your harts that he is supreme head in forgeuing of sinne.* &c. (as is before sayd) seyng you, & all the bishops of the realme haue now xx. yeares long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long agone condescended vnto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L. Chan.

Tush that Parlament was with most great crueltie constrained to abolish and put away the primacie frō the bishops of Rome.

Rog.

With crueltie? Why then I perceyue that you take a wrong way with crueltie to perswade mens consciences. For it should appeare by your doyngs now, that the cruelty then vsed hath not perswaded your consciences▪ How would you then haue our consciences, perswaded wyth cruelty.

L. Chan.

I talke to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often & so cruelly called vpon in that Parlament, to let the Act go forward, yea and euen with force driuen thereunto, where as in this parliament it was so vniformly receiued, as is aforesayd.

Rog.

Here my L. Paget told me more plainly, what my L. Chauncellor ment.* Unto whom I answered: My Lord what will ye conclude thereby? that the first Parliament was of lesse authoritie, because but few condescended vnto it? and this last Parliament of great authoritye, because more condescended vnto it? It goeth not (my Lord) by the more or lesser part, but by the wyser, truer, & godlier part: and I would haue sayd more, but the L. Chauncellour interrupted me with his question, willyng me once agayne to aunswer him. For (sayd he) we haue mo to speake▪ with the thou,* which must come in after thee. And so there were in deed ten persons moe out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which graunted vnto them, and ix. of the contrarye: which all came to prison agayne, and refused the cardinals blessing, and the authoritie of his holy fathers Church, sauynge that one of these ix. was not asked the question other wyse then thus, whether hee would be an honest man as his father was before hym, and aunsweryng yea, he was so discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Haward (as I haue vnderstanded): He bade me tell hym what I would doe: whether I would enter into one Church with the whole Realme as it is now, or not? No, sayd I, I will first see it prooued by the Scriptures. Let me haue pen, inke, and bookes, &c. And I shall take vpon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be prooued to be true, & let any man that wil, conferre with me by wrytyng.*

L. Chan.

Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt neuer haue so much profered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and wilt not now condescend and agree to the catholike church. Here are ij. things, Mercy, and Iustice: If thou refuse the Queenes mercy now, then shalt thou haue Iustice ministred vnto thee.

Rog.

I neuer offended, nor was disobediēt vnto her grace,* and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shal be denied me to conferre by writing, and to try out the truth▪ then it is not wel, but to far out of the way. Ye your selues (all the Bishops of the Realme) brought me to the know^lledge of the pretended primacie of the Bishop of Rome, when I was a yong man twenty yeares past: and wil ye now without collation▪ haue me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so perswaded.

L. Chan.

If thou wilt not receiue the Bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the Catholike Church,* then thou shalt neuer haue her mercy thou maist be sure. And as touching conferring and triall, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to vse any conferring and triall with thee. For S. Paule teacheth me that I shall shun and eschew an heretike after one or two monitions, knowing that such an one is ouerthrowen and is faulty, in as much as he is condemned by his owne iudgement.

Rog.

My L. I deny that I am an heretike: prooue ye that first, and then alledge the foresayd text. But still the Lord Chancellor played on one string, saying.

L. Chan.

If thou wilt enter into one Church with vs, &c. tell vs that,* or els thou shalt neuer haue so much proferred thee agayne, as thou hast now.

Rog.

I will fynd it first in the Scripture, and see it tryed therby, before I receiue hym to be supreme head.

Wor.

Why? do ye not know what is in your Creed: Credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam. I beleeeue the holy Catholike Church.

Rog.

I fynde not the bishop of Rome there. For [Catholike] signifieth not the Romish Church: It signifieth the consent of all true teaching Churches of all tymes,* and all ages. But how should the Bishop of Romes Church bee one of them which teacheth so many doctrines y^t are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the Catholike Church that doth so? that is not possible.

L. Chancellor.

Shew me one of them, one, one, let me heare one.

Rog.

I remembred my selfe, that amongst so many I were best to shew one, and sayd I will shew you one.

L. Chan.

Let me heare that, let me heare that.

Rog.

The B. of Rome and hys Church, say, read, and sing all that they do in their congregations, in Latin,* which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the 14. chapter.

L. Chan.

I deny that, I deny that, that is against the word of God. Let me see you prooue that, how prooue ye that?

Rog.

Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chap. Qui loquitur lingua,*&c. to speake with tonge sayd I, is to speake with a strange tong: as Latine or Greeke, &c. and so to speake, is not to speake vnto mē, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tong, wherfore ye speake not vnto men, but vnto God * (meanyng God only at the most.) This he graunted, that they speake not vnto men, but vnto God.

L. Chan.

Well, then it is in vayne vnto men.

Rog.

No, not in vaine. For one man speaketh in one tong, and another in another tong, and all well.

L. Chan.

Nay I wil prooue then, that he speaketh neyther to God nor to man, but vnto the wynde.

Rog.

I was willing to haue declared how and after what sort these two textes do agree (for they must agree,* they be both the sayings of the holy Ghost, spoken by the Apostle Paule) as to witte, to speake, not to men, but vnto God▪ and to speake into the wynd: and so to haue gone forward with the prooue of my matter begon, but here arose a noyse and a confusion. Then sayd the L. Chancellor.

L. Chan.

To speake vnto God, and not vnto God, were vnpossible.

Rog.

I will prooue them possible.

L. Haward.

No sayd my Lorde William Haward to my L. Chauncellour: nowe will I beare you witnesse that hee is out of the way. For he graunted first, that they whiche speake in a straunge speach, speake vnto God: and now he sayth the contrary, that they speake neither to God, nor to man.

Rog.

I haue not graunted or sayde (turning me to my L. Haward) as ye report. I haue alledged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you vnderstand not the matter.

L. Haward.

I vnderstand so much, that that is not possible. This is a poynte of Sophistrie,* quoth Secretarye Bourne.

L. Chan.

Then the Lord Chauncellor began to tell the L. [Page 1486](#) Hawarde,* that when hee was in high Dutchlande, they at Hale, which had before prayed and vsed their seruice all in dutch, began thē to turne part into latin, & part into dutch.

Worcest.

Yea and at Wittembergh to.

Rog.

Yea (but I could not be heard for the noise) in an Uniuersitie, were men for the most part vnderstande the Latine, and yet not all in Latine. And I would haue tolde the order & haue gone forward both to haue answered my lord and to haue proued the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiuing their talking and noyse to be too noysome,* I was faine to thinke this in my heart (suffering them in the meane while to talke one of them one thynge, and an other a nother) Alas, neither wil, these men heare me if I speake, neither yet wil they suffer me to write. There is no remedy but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said that I would make the texts to agree, and to prooue my purpose well enough.

L. Chan.

No, no, thou canst proue nothing by the scripture. The scripture is dead: it must haue a liuely expositor.

Rog.

No the Scripture is aliue. But let me goe forwarde wyth my purpose.

Wor.

All heretikes haue alleaged the scriptures for them, and therefore we must haue a liuely expositor for them.

Rog.

Yea, all heretikes haue alleaged the Scriptures for them: but they were cōfuted by the scriptures, and by none other expositor.

Wor.

But they wold not confesse that they were ouercome by the scriptures, I am sure of that.

Rog.

I beleue that: and yet were they ouercome by them, and in all Coūcels they were disputed with & ouerthrown by the scriptures.* And heere I would haue declared howe they ought to procede in these daies, & so haue come againe to my purpose, but it was vnpossible, for one asked one thing, an other saide an other, so that I was faine to holde my peace, and let them talke. And euen whē I would haue taken holde on my prooffe, the Lord Chauncelor bad, to prison with me again: and away, away (said he) we haue more to talke withall: if I woulde not be reformed (so he termed it) away, away. Then vp I stode, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then sir Richard Southwell, who stode by in a window, sayd to me: thou wilt not burne in this geare when it commeth to the purpose,* I know well that.

Rog.

Sir I cannot tel, but I trust to my Lorde God yes, lifting vp mine eyes vnto heauen.

B. of Ely.

*Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Quenes Maiesties pleasure and meaning, and set it out wyth large wordes, saying that shee tooke them that woulde not receiue the Bishop of Romes supremacie, to be vnworthy to haue her mercy. &c.

Roger.

I sayde, I would not refuse her mercye, and yet I neuer offended her in all my life: And that I besought her Grace and all their honors to be good to me, reseruing my conscience.

Diuers speake at once.

No, quoth they then, a great sorte of them,* and specially Secretary Bourne, a married priest, and haue not offended the lawe?

Rog.

I sayd, I had not broken the Queenes lawe, nor yet any poynt of the law of the Realme therin, For I married where it was lawfull.

Diuers at once.

Where was that sayd they? thinking that to be vnlawfull in all places.*

Rog.

In Dutchland. And if ye had not heere in England made an open law that Priestes might haue had wiues, I would neuer haue come home again:* for I brought a wife and eight children with me: whych thing yee might be sure that I would not haue done, if the lawes of the realme had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soone with such a sort: I should finde a soure comming of it, and some one thing, some another. And one said (I coulde not well perceyue who) that there was neuer catholike man or countrey, that euer graunted that a priest might haue a wife.

Rog.

I sayd the Catholike church neuer denied mariage to Priests,* nor yet to any other man, and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeaunt which brought me thether, hauing me by the arme.

Wor.

Then the B. of Worcester turned his face towardes me, and saide that I wist not where that church was or is.

Rog.

I sayd yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the doore.

This was the very true effecte of all that was spoken vnto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to al y^e former obiections, as also a due prooffe of that which I had taken in hande: but at this present I was informed that I should to morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leaue out that which I wold most gladly haue done, desiring here the hearty & vnfaigned helpe of the praier of all Christes true members, the true imps of the true vnfaigned Catholicke Church, that the Lorde God of all cōsolation, wil now be my comfort, aid, strēgth, buckler and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case & distresse, that I and they all may despise all maner of threats and cruelty, and euen the bitter burning fire and the dreadfull dart of death, and sticke like true soldiors to our deare & louing captaine Christ, our onely redemer, and sauour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all in vs al, which is y^e very property of an heade (and is a thing that all the Bishops of Rome cannot doe,) and that we doe not traiterously run out of his

tents, or rather out of the plaine field from him, in the most ieopardy of the battaile, but that wee may perseuere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliuer vs) till we be most cruelly slayne of his enemies. For this I most hartely, and at thys present, with weeping teares most instantly & earnestly desire and beseeche you all to pray: And also if I die, to be good to my poore and most honest wife, being a poore straunger, and all my little soules, hers and my children.* Whom with all the whole faithfull and true catholicke congregation of Christ the Lord of life and death, saue, keepe and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vaine world, and to bryng at the last to euerlasting saluation, the true & sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

The 27. day of Ianuarie at night.

The 2. confession of Iohn Rogers, made and that should haue bene made (if I might haue ben heard) the 28. and 29. day of Ianuarie. 1555.

First being asked againe by the Lord Chauncelor,* whether I would come into one Church wyth the Bishops and whole realme, as now was concluded by Parliamēt, (in the which all the Realme was conuerted to the Catholike church of Rome) and so receiue the mercy before profered me, arising againe with the whole realme,* out of the schisme and errour in which we had long bene, with recantation of my errors: I answered, that before I coulde not tell what his mercy meant, but now I vnderstoode that it was a mercy of the Antichristian church of Rome,* whyche I vtterly refused, & that the rising which he spake off, was a very fall into errour and false doctrine. Also that I had and woulde be able by Gods grace, to prooue that all the doctrine which I had euer taught, was true and catholike, and that by the scriptures and the authoritie of the fathers that liued 400. yeres after Christes death. He aunswared that should not, might not, nor ought not be graunted me: for I was but a priuate man,* & might not be heard against the determination of the whole realme. Should (quoth he) when a Parliament hath concluded a thinge, one, or anye priuate person haue authority to discusse, whether they had done right or wrong? No that may not be.

I aunswared shortly, that all the lawes of men myght not, neither coulde rule the worde of God, but that they all must be discussed and iudged thereby, and obey therto: and my conscience, nor no christian mans could be satisfied with such lawes as disagreed from that worde: and so was willing to haue said much more, but the L. Chauncellor began a long tale to very smal purpose, concerning mine answer, to haue defaced me, that there was nothing in mee wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancie, pride, and vainglory. I also graunted mine ignorauncy to be greater then I coulde expresse, or then he tooke it: but yet that I feared not by Gods assistance & strēgth, to be able by wryting to performe my word,* neither was I (I thanked God) so vtterly ignorant as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendred therfore. Proud man was I neuer, nor yet vaine glorious. Al the world knew wel, where and on which side pride, arrogancie, and vaine glory was. It was a poore pride y^t was or is in vs, God it knoweth.

Then sayde hee, that I at the first dashe condemned the Queene and the whole realme, to be of the church of Antichrist, and burdened me highly therewithall. I aunswared that the Queenes maiesty (God saue her grace) would haue done wel enough, if it had not ben for his counsel. He sayde, the Queene wente before him, and it was her owne motion, I said with out faile, I neither could nor I wold euer beleuee it.

Then sayde D. Aldrise the bishop of Carlile, that they the bishops woulde beare him witnesse.*
Yea (quoth I) that I beleue well, and with that the people laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they had kept the dores shut, and would let none in, but the Byshops adherentes and seruauntes, in maner, yea and the firste day the [Page 1487](#) thousand man came not in. Then master Comptroler and Secretary Bourne, woulde haue stande vppe also to beare witnesse, and did.

I sayd it was no great matter: and to say the truthe, I thought that they were good helpers thereto them selues: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowyng that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be beleued before me, yea and before our sauior Christ, and all his Prophets and Apostles thereto in these daies.

Then after many words he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament,* and stooode vp and put off his cap, & al his felow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knew few) whether I beleued in the sacrament to be the very body and bloude of our sauior Christ that was borne of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the crosse, really and substantially.

I aunswered, I had often tolde him that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notw^tstanding, euen as the most part of your doctrine in other poyntes is false, and the defence therof onely by force and crueltie: so in thys matter I thinke it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot vnderstand [really and substantially] to signifie otherwyse then corporally:* but corporally Christ is only in heauē, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out hys charitie after thys sorte: My Lord (quoth I) ye haue dealt with me most cruelly. For ye haue set me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a yere and a halfe.* For I was almost halfe a yere in my house, where I was obedient to you (God knoweth) and spake w^t no man. And now haue I bene a full yere in Newgate at great costes and charges,* hauing a wife and 10. children to finde, and I had neuer a penie of my liuings which was against the lawe.

Hee answeared, that D. Ridley which had geuen them me, was an vsurper, and therefore I was the vniust possessour of them.

Was the king then an Usurper (quoth I) which gaue D. Ridley the Bishoppricke?*

Yea (quoth he) and began to sette out the wrongs that the king had done to the B. of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my termes (quoth he) to call the King vsurper. But the word was gone out of the aboundance of the heart before: and I thinke that he was not very sorye for it in hart. I might haue sayd more cōcerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked hym wherefore he set me in pryson. He said because I preached against the Queene.

I aunswered that it was not true: and I woulde be bound to prooue it, and to stand to the triall of the law, that no man should be able to prooue it,* and thereupon woulde set my life. I preached (quoth I) a sermon at the Crosse, after the Queene came to the Tower: but therein was nothing

said against the Queene, I take witnesse of al the audience: which was not small. I alleaged also that he had after examination let me goe at libertie after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yea, but thou didste read thy lectures after (quoth hee) against the commaundement of the Counsell.

That did I not (quoth I:) lette that be prooued and let me die for it. Thus haue ye now against the law of God & man handled me, & neuer sent for me, neuer conferred with me, neuer spoke of any learning, till now that ye haue gotten a whip to whip me with, & a sword to cut off my necke, if I will not condescende vnto your minde. Thys charitie doth all the world vnderstand.

I might and woulde haue added, if I coulde haue bene suffred to speake, that it had ben time enough to take away mens liuings, and thereto to haue prisoned them, after that they had offended lawes. For they be good Citizens that breake not lawes, and worthy of praise and not of punishment.* But theyr purpose is to kepe men in prison so long, vntil they may catche them in their lawes, and so kill them. I could & would haue added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty deuised law was cast into the Lions den. Item, I might haue declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at libertie, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with childe, & with her 8. honest women, or therabout, to Richmond, at Christmas was a 12. monthe, whiles I was yet in my house.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate,* and sent my wife many times to hym. M. Gosnolde also that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for mee, and so did diuers other worthy men also take paines in the matter. These things declare my Lorde Chancellors Antichristian charitie, which is, that he hathe and doth seeke my bloud, and the destruction of my poore wife and my ten children.

This is a short summe of the wordes which were spoken the 28. day of Ianuarye at after noone, after that Maister Hooper had bene the first, & M. Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lorde graunte vs grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in hys cause, till wee be smitten downe together, if the Lords wil be so to permitte it. For there shall not a haire of our heades pearish again•• hys will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lorde graunt vs to be obedient vnto the ende, and in the end. Amen: Sweete, mighty, and mercifull Lord Iesus the sonne of Dauid and of God, Amen, Amen, let euery true Christian say and pray.

Then the clocke being (as I gessed) aboute foure, the L. Chauncellor sayde,* that he and the Church must yet vse charitie with me (what maner of charitie it is, all true christians do well vnderstand, as to wit, the same that the foxe doeth with the chickens, and the wolfe with the Lambes) and gaue me respite til to morow, to see whether I would remember my selfe wel to morrow, and whether I would returne to the catholike church (for so he calleth hys Antichristian false church) againe, and repent, and they woulde receiue me to mercy.

I sayde that I was neuer oute of the true Catholicke Church, nor would be: but into hys church, woulde I, by Gods grace, neuer come.

Well (quoth he) then is our church false and Antichristian.*

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?

False, quoth I, and cast my handes abroade.

Then sayd one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not: for I passed not vpon his mocke.*

Come againe quoth the Lord Chancellour, to morrow betweene nine and ten.

I am ready to come againe, whensoever ye call quoth I.

And thus was I broughte by the shiriffes to the Counter in Southwarke, Maister Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we hadde much to doe to goe in the streates.

Thus much was done the 28. day of Ianuarie.

The second day, which was the 29. of Ianuary, we were sent for in the morning about 9. of the clocke,* and by the Shriffes fetched from the Counter in Southwarke, to the Church againe, as to wit, to S. Mary Oueries, where we were the daye before in the after noone, as is sayde. And when Maister Hooper was condemned (as I vnderstoode afterward) then sent they for me. Then the Lorde Chauncellour sayd vnto me:

Rogers (quoth hee) here thou wast yesterday, and wee gaue thee liberty to remember thy selfe this night, whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholicke church of Christ agayne or not. Tell vs now what thou haste determined,* whether thou wilt be repentant and sory, and wilt returne againe and take mercy.

My Lorde, quoth I, I haue remembred my selfe right wel what you yesterday laid for you,* and desire you to giue me leaue to declare my minde what I haue to say thereunto, and that done, I shall answer you to your demaunded question.

When I yesterday desired that I myght be suffered by the Scripture and authoritie of the firste, best,* and purest Church to defende my doctrine by wryting (meaning not onely of y^e primacie: but also of all the doctrine that euer I had preached) ye answered me that it might not, nor ought not to be graūted me, for I was a priuate person: and that the parlament was aboute the authoritye of all priuate persons, & therefore the sentēce therof might not be found faultie and valureles by mee being but a priuate persone. And yet my Lorde, quoth I, I am able to shewe examples, that one man hath come into a generall Councell, and after the whole had determined and agreed vppon an act or article, that some one mā comming in afterward, hath by the word of God declared so pithely that the counsel had erred in decreeing the sayd Article,* that he caused the whole Councell to chaunge and aulter their Acte or Article before determined. And of these examples (sayde I) I am able to shewe two. I can also shewe the authoritie of S. Augustine, that when hee disputed with an hereticke,* hee woulde neyther himselfe, nor yet haue the heretike, to leane vnto the determination of two former Councils, of the whyche the one made for him, and

the other for the hereticke that disputed against him: but sayd that he would haue the scriptures to be their iudge which were cōmon and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Item I could shewe (sayde I) the authoritye of a learned Lawyer Panormitanus, whiche saith: * that vnto a simple [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) laye man that bringeth the woorde of God with hym there ought more credite to be geuen, then to a whole Councell gathered together. By these thinges will I prooue that I ought not to be denied to say my minde, and to be heard against a whole Parliament, bringing the worde of God for me and the authoritie of the olde Church 400. yeares after Christ, all be it that euery man in the Parliament had willingly and without respect of feare and fauor agreed therunto (which thing I doubt not a little off, specially seeing the like had bene permitted in that olde Church, euen in generall Councils, yea and that in one of the chieftest councils that euer was, * vnto which neither any Actes of thys Parliament, nor yet any of the late general Councils of the Bishops of Rome oughte to be compared.) For, sayde I, if Henry the eight were aliue, and should call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and heere I woulde haue alledged the example of the Acte of making the Queene a Bastarde, * and of making himselfe the Superiour head, but I coulde not, being interrupted of one, whome God forgeue) then will ye (poynting to my Lorde Chauncellour) and yee and yee, and so yee all (poyntinge to the rest of the Byshops) say, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is mete that it be so enacted, &c.

*Here my L. Chauncellor would suffer me to speake no more: but had me sit downe mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I woulde take vppon me to be their instructor.

My Lorde (quoth I) I stand and sit not: shall I not be suffred to speake for my life?

*Shall we suffer thee to tel a tale, and to prate quoth he? and with that he stode vp, and began to face me, after hys olde arrogant proude fashion, for he perceiued that I was in a way to haue touched them somewhat, which he thought to hynder, by dashing mee oute of my tale, and so hee dyd. For I could neuer be suffered to come to my tale agayne, no not to one word of it: but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and as his maner is, taunt vpon taunt, and checke vpon checke. For in that case (being Gods cause) I tolde hym he should not make me afraid to speake.

L. Chaun.

See what a spirit this fellow hath, sayde he, finiding fault at mine accustomed earnestnesse, and harty maner of speaking.

Rog.

*I haue a true spirite, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God, and would further haue sayd, that I was neuer the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a iuste and true cause and in my master Christes matters: but I might not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told hym that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichriste, * meaning the false doctrine and tyrannicall lawes, with the maintenance

thereof by cruel persecution vsed by the Bishops of the said church (which the B. of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops that are now in Englād, are the chiefe members): Of lawes I meane (quoth I) and not of all men and women which are in the popes church. Likewise when I was saide to haue denied their sacramēt (whereof he made his wonted reuerent mention, more to maintaine his kingdom therby, then for the true reuerence of Christes institution: more for his owne and his Popish generations sake, then for religion or Gods sake) I tolde him after what order I did speake of it (for the manner of hys speakyng, was not agreeing to my woords, which are before recited in the communication that wee had the 28. of Ianuarie) wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied y^e sacramēt.* They would haue said, and did what he lusted: for the most of them were of his owne seruants at that day, the 29. day of Ianuary I meane. At the last I said, I wil neuer denye that I sayd, that is, that your doctrine of the Sacrament is false: but yet I tell you after what order I sayde it.

To be short, he red my condemnation before me perticularly, mentioning therein but 2. Articles, firste that I affirmed the Romish catholike church, to be the church of antichrist, and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He cursed me to be disgraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laitie, and so he gaue me ouer into the shriues hands, which were much better then his.

¶The copie of which his condemnation here I thought to put downe in English, to the entent that the same being here once expressed, may serue for all other sentences condemnatory through the whole storie to be referred vnto.

The Sentence condemnatorie against Maister Rogers.

IN the name of God Amen, Wee Steuen by the permission of God Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and ryghtly proceeding with all godly fauoure by authority and vertue of our office, againste thee Iohn Rogers priest,*alias called Mathewe before vs personally heere present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slaundered of heresie, hauing heard, seene, and vnderstand, and with al diligent deliberation wayed, discussed, and considered the merites of the cause, all thinges being obserued, which by vs in thys behalfe, in order of law ought to be obserued, sitting in our iudgement seat, the name of Christ being first called vpon, and hauing God onely before our eyes: because by the actes enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine owne confession iudicially made before vs, we do finde, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended diuers errours, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrarye to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: That the catholike church of Rome, is the church of Antichrist: Item,*that in the Sacrament of the aultare, there is not substantially nor really the natural bodye and bloude of Christe. The which aforesayde heresies and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the vniuersall and Apostolicall Church, thou hast arrogantly, stubburnely, and wittingly mainteined, held, and affirmed, and also defended before vs, as wel in thys iudgement, as also otherwise, and with the like obstinacie, stubbornnesse, malice and blindnesse of heart, both wittingly and willingly haste affirmed, that thou wilt beleue, maintaine and holde, affirme, and declare the same: Wee therefore S. Wint. B. Ordinarie and Diocesan aforesayd, by the consent and assent as well of our reuerend brethren the Lord Bishops heere present and assistant, as also by the counsell and iudgement of diuers worshipfull lawyers and professours of Diuinitie, wyth

whome wee haue communicated in thys behalfe, doe declare and pronounce thee the sayde Iohn Rogers, otherwise called Mathewe, through thy demerites, transgressions, obstinacies, & wilfulnesses (whych thou manifolde wayes hast incurred by thine owne wicked and stubburne obstinacie) to haue bene and to be guiltie in the detestable, horrible, and wicked offence of hereticall prauitie and execrable doctrine, and that thou haste before vs sondry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornely defended the sayde cursed and execrable doctrine in thy sundry cōfessions, assertions, and recognitions heere iudicially before vs oftentimes repeated, and yet stil doest maintaine, affirme and beleue y^e same, and that thou haste beene and arte lawfully and ordinarily conuicted in this behalfe. Wee therefore (I say) all be it folowing the example of Christ, Which woulde not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should conuert and liue, we haue gon about oftentimes to correct thee, and by al lawfull meanes that wee coulde, and all wholesome admonitions that wee did knowe, to reduce thee againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the vniuersall catholike church, notwithstandinge haue founde thee obstinate and stifnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to retourne againe vnto the true faith and vnitie of the holy mother Church, and as the childe of wickednesse and darkenesse so to haue hardned thy heart, that thou wilt not vnderstand the voice of thy shephard, which with a fatherly affection doth seeke after thee, nor wilt not be allured w^t his fatherly and godly admonitions: wee therfore Ste^m the B. aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, shuldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lords flocke with thine heresie (which we are greatly afraide off) wyth sorrowe of minde and bitterness of hearte doe iudge thee,* and diffinitiuely condemne thee the sayde Iohn Rogers, otherwise called Mathew, thy demerites & defaultes being agrauate through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to returne to the lappe and vnitie of the holy mother church, and that thou hast ben and art by law excommunicate, & doe pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person: Also we pronouce and declare thee being an heritike, to be cast out from the church, & left vnto the iudgement of the secular power, & now presently so doe leaue thee as an obstinate heretike, and a persone wrapped in the sentence of the greate curse, to be disgraded worthely for thy demerites [requiring them notwithstanding in the bowels of our Lord Iesus Christ, that thys execution and punishment worthely to be done vpon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigor therof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentlenes too much mitigated, but that it may be to the saluation of thy soule, to the extirpation, terror, and conuersion of the heretikes, to the vnitie of the Catholike fayth] by thys our sentence definitiue which we heere lay vpon, and against thee, and doe with sorrowe of heart promulgate in this forme aforesaid.*

After this sentence being read, he sent vs (M. Hoper, I [Page 1489](#) meane, and me) to the Clinke, there to remaine till nyghte: and when it was darke, they caried vs, M. Hoper going before with the one sherife, and I comming after with the other, with bils and weapons enough, out of the Clinke, & led vs through the bishops house, and so thorow S. Marie Oueries churchyarde, and so into Southwarke, and ouer the bridge on procession to Newgate through the city. But I must shewe you this also, that when he had red the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable daungerous matter it were to eate and drinke with vs that were accursed,* or to geue vs anye thyng: for all that so did, shoulde be pertakers of the same great curse.

Well my Lord (quoth I) heere I stand before God and you,* and all this honorable audience, and take him to witnesse, that I neuer wittingly or willingly taughte any false doctrine: and therefore haue I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a iudge that is righteous, before whome I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing dout but that I shall be found there a true member of the true Catholike church of Christ & euerlastingly saued. And as for your false church ye neede not to excommunicate me foorth of it. I haue not bene in it these 20. yeares, the Lorde be thanked therefore. But now ye haue done what ye can my Lorde, I pray you yet graunt me one thing.

What is that? quoth he.

That my poore wife being a straunger, may come and speake with me so long as I liue.* For she hath ten children that are hers & mine, and somewhat I would counsell her what were best for her to do.

No (quoth he) shee is not thy wife.

Yes my Lord (quoth I) and hath ben these 18. yeres.

Should I graunt her to be thy wife, quoth he?

Chuse you, quoth I, whether ye will or not: she shalbe so neuerthelesse.

Shee shall not come at thee quoth he.

Then I haue tried out all your charitie, sayde I. You make your selfe highly displeased with the Matrimonie of priestes, but you maintaine open whoredom: as in Wales (quoth I) where euery priest hath his whore opely dwelling with him and lying by him: euen as your holy Father suffereth all the priestes in Dutchlande and in Fraunce to do the like. Therto he answered not, but looked as it were, a squint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is besides penned by M. Rogers in the prison, which he thought and would haue aunswered, if he myght haue bene permitted, touching whych matter, as heere vnder foloweth to be seene by hys owne setting downe.

Hitherto dearely beloued, ye haue heard what was said: nowe heare what I purposed the night before to haue sayd if I could haue bene permitted. Two things I purposed to haue touched. The one howe it was lawfull for a priuate man to reason and wryte against a wicked acte of Parliament, or an vngodly counsell, whych the L. Chauncelor the day before denied me. Thother was to proue that prosperitie was not alwaies a token of Gods loue.

And thys I purpose to speake off, because the Lorde Chauncellour boasted of hym selfe that hee was deliuered fourth of prison, as it were by myracle, & preserued of God to restore true religion, and to punish mee and suche other, whom he termed hereticks. Concerning these two poynts in this manner I purposed to haue proceeded. It is not vnknownen to you, that king Henrie the eight

in hys time made his daughter the Queene that now is, a bastarde: he abolished the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, hee pulled downe Abbeyes, and all this hee did by the consent of Parliament.

King Edward the sixte in hys time made lawfull the mariage of priests, turned the service into English, abolyshed the idolatrous Masse, with all like superstitious trūperie, sette vp the holy Communion, and all by consent of Parliament.

The Queene that now is, hath repealed the Acte that made her bastarde, hath broughte in the Bishop of Rome, and sette him in his olde authoritie, beginneth to set vp abbeis againe, hath made the mariage of priestes vnlawfull, hath tourned the English service into Latine againe, hath set vp the Masse againe w^t like baggage: and pulled downe the holy Communion: and all this is done by consente of Parliament.

If the Acts of Parliament made in king Henries time & in K. Edwards, had theyr foundatiō vpon Gods word, where vpon all positieue lawe ought to be grounded, then these which are stablished in the Quenes time, being cleane contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by gods woorde, so are they wicked, and therfore to be both spoken, and wrytten against of all menne, as well of priuate as of publique persons.

If your Actes, my Lord Chancellour which you ha•e lately coyned (I call them yours, because ye only beare the swinge, deuise, and decree, what yee list all other men are forced to followe,) be good, and according to Gods woord, then the former Actes were naught, whych thing ye seeme to say, in vtterly taking of them away, and setting vp of the contrary: if the former were nought, why then did ye consent vnto them, and confirme them to be good by your voluntarie and aduised wryting, as it appeareth, and will to the worldes ende in your Booke, de vera Obedientia, where you prooue the Queene a Bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be an vsurper, and to haue no authoritie in the Realme of Englande?

Yee must needes confesse, that the moste parte of your Actes of Parliament in these latter dayes, haue bene according to the fantasies of a fewe. King Henry in his time established by Parliament in a manner what he listed, and many thinges that might well haue bene amended.

In Kinge Edwardes dayes the Duke of Somersette and Northumberlande, bare a great stroke in thyngs, and did not all things syncerely. Euen so, since the Quene that now is, came to the gouernement of the realme, al thinges are ordered by your deuise, and head, and the whole Parliament house is ledde as you list, by reason whereof they are compelled to condescende to thinges both contrarye to Gods manifest woorde, and also contrary to theyr owne consciences: so great is your crueltie.

For, to bryng youre wicked purposes to passe, and to establish your Antichristian kingdome (whyche I truste the Lorde wyth the breathe of hys mouthe will spedely blowe ouer) yee haue called three Parliamentes in one yeare and an halfe, that what you coulde not compasse by subtil perswasion, ye might bring to passe by tyrannical threatning: for if yee hadde not vsed cruell force in your doinges, yee had neuer broughte to passe suche thinges as this daye yee haue, to the vtter defacing and abolishing of Gods true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your naturall Countrey, so much as in you lieth.

And as it is moste true that Actes of Parliament haue in these latter dayes bene ruled by the fantasies of a fewe, and the whole Parliament house, contrary to their minds was compelled to consent to such things as a few had conceiued: So it muste needes be graunted that the Papistes at all times were moste readie to apply them selues to the present worlde, and like menne pleasers to follow the fantasies of suche as were in authoritie, and turne with the estate, which way so euer it tourned. Yea, if the estate should chaunge ten times in one yeare, they woulde euer be ready at hande to chaunge with it, and so folowe the crie, and rather vtterly to forsake God, and be of no religion, then that they would forgoe lust or liuing, for God or for religion.

King Henrie by Parliamente, accordinge to Goddes woorde putte downe the Pope: the Clergie consented, and all men openly by othe refused this vsurped supremacie, knowing by Gods worde Christ to be head of the church•, and euery Kinge in hys Realme to haue vnder and nexte vnto Christe, the chiefe Soueraigntie.

King Edward also by Parliament, according to Gods woorde, sette the marriage of Priestes at libertie, abolished the Popish and idolatrous masse, chaunged the Latin seruice, and sette vp the holy Communion: the whole Cleargie consented heereunto: many of them set it foorth by then preaching: and all they by practising confirmed the same.

Notwythstanding, now when the state is altered, and the lawes chaunged, the Papisticall cleargie wyth other, like worldlinges, as menne neither fearing God, neyther flying worldly shame, neither yet regardinge their consciences, othes, or honestie, like wauering weather Cockes, tourn roūd about, & putting on harlots foreheades, sing a newe song, and crie wyth an impudent mouth: Come aagaine, come againe to the catholicke church, meaning the Antichristian church of Rome which is the Synagogue of Sathan, and the very sincke of all superstition, heresie and Idolatrie.

Of what force I pray you may a man think these Parliamentes to be, which scantly can stand a yere in strength? Or what credite is to be geuen to these law makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary lawes, and to condempne that for euill, which before (the thing in it selfe and the circumstances remaining al one) they affirmed, and decreed to be good. Truelye, yee are so readye, contrarie to all ryghte to chaunge and turne for the pleasure of manne, that at the lengthe I feare, GOD wyll vse you lyke [Page 1490](#) chaungelings,* and both tourne you foorth of his kingdom, and out of your owne countrey.

Yee charge the Gospell preachers with the vndoing of thys realme: nay it is the turning papists, whych haue not onely sette a sale theyr Countrey like Traitours, but also troubled the simple people, so that they canne not tell what they may beleue. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be newe doctrine in King Edwardes dayes, nowe they crie against it, as it were moste abhominable heresy. This fault I trust yee shall neuer finde at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that whiche I purposed, for somuche as the Actes of Parliament of these latter times are one contrary to an other, and those which yee nowe haue stablished in your time, are contrary to Gods most manifest woorde, as is the vsurped supremacie of the Byshoppe of Rome, the Idolatrous Masse, the Latine Seruice, the prohibiting of lawfull marriage (which Sainte Paul calleth the Doctrine of Deuilles) wyth many suche other: I say it is not onely lawfull

for any priuate man, which bringeth Gods woorde for hym, and the authoritie of the primatiue and best Church, to speake and wryte against such vnlawfull lawes, but it is hys duetie, and he is bounde in very conscience to doe it: Which thyng I haue prooued by diuers examples before, and now will adde too but one other, which is wrytten in the fifth of the Actes, where it appeareth that the high Priestes, the Elders, Scribes, and Pharisees decreed in their Councell, and gaue the same cōmaundement to the Apostles, that they should not preache in the name of Christe, as yee haue also forbidden vs: notwithstanding when they were charged therewithall, they aunswere. *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus*, that is, we ought more to obey God then man: euen so we may and doe answere you. God is more to be obeyed then mā: & your wicked lawes can not so tongue tie vs, but we will speake the truthe.

The Apostles were beaten for theyr boldnesse, and they reioyced that they suffered for Christes cause. Yee haue also prouided roddes for vs, and bloody whippes: yet when ye haue done that whiche Goddes hande and Counsell hathe determined, that yee shall doe, be it life or deathe, I truste that God wil so assist vs by his holy spirite and grace, that wee shall patiently suffer it, & praise God for it: and whatsoeuer become of mee and others, whiche now we suffer for speaking, and professing of the truthe, yet be yee sure that Goddes woorde will preuaile and haue the ouer hande, when youre bloody lawes and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fal in the dust: and that which I haue spoken of your Actes of Parliament, the same may be sayd of the generall Councils of these latter dayes, whych haue bene wythin these fiue hundreth yeares, where as the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of hys vsurped authority ruled the roaste, and decreed suche things as made for his gaine, not regarding Goddes glorye: and therefore are they to be spoken, wrytten, and cried against of all such as fear God, and loue hys truthe.

And thus muche I purposed to haue sayde, concerning the first poynte.

Nowe touching the second poynte. That where as my Lorde Chauncellour hadde the daye before sayde hys pleasure of them that ruled the Realme, while hee was in prysone, and also reioyced as though God hadde make this alteration, euen for his sake and his Catholike Church, as hee calleth it, and to declare as it were by myracle, that we were before in a Schisme and Heresie, and the Realme was now brought to an vnitie, and to a trueth, and I can not tell whereto: Thereto was I fully purposed to haue sayde. Secondlye, my Lorde, where as yee yesterdaye so highly dispraised the gouernment of them that ruled in innocent King Edwardes dayes, it maye please your Lordshippe to vnderstande, that wee poore Preachers, whome yee so euill allowe, did moste boldly and plainly rebuke theyr euill gouernaunce in manye things, speciallye theyr couetousnesse, and neglecte and small regarde to liue after the Gospell: as also theyr negligence to occasion other to liue thereafter, wyth mo things then I can now rehearse. Thys can all London testifie wyth vs, I would also haue tolde hym, what I my selfe for my parte did once at Pauls Crosse, concerning the misuse of Abbeyes, and other church goodes: and I am assured right well, that neuer a Papiste of them all did euer so much therein as I did, I thanke the Lorde therefore: I was also (as it is well knowen) faine to aunswere therefore before all the Counsell, and manye of my brethren did the like, so that wee for the not rebuking of theyr faultes, shall not aunswere before God, nor be blame worthy before menne. Therefore lette the Gentlemen and the Courtiers them selues, and all the Citizens of London, testifie what we did.

But my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did vnto you, and for that they were of a contrary Religion vnto you. Wherefore in that you seeme so infest against them, it is neither any iust or publique cause, but it is your owne priuate hate, that maketh you to reporte so euill of their gouernaunce. And yee may now say what yee list of them, when they be partely dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shal be sayde of you when your fall shall folowe, yee shall then heare. And I muste say my conscience to you: I feare me ye haue and wil with your gouernance bring England out of Gods blessing into a warme sunne. I pray God you doe not.

I am an Englishe manne borne, and God knoweth, doe naturally wishe well to my Countrey. And my Lorde, I haue often prooued, that the thyngs which I haue much feared afore hande shoulde come to passe, haue in deede followed. I praye God I may faile of my gessing in thys behalfe: but truely that will not be wyth expellyng the true woorde of God out of the Realme, and wyth sheading of innocent bloude.

And as touching your reioycing, as thoughe God had sette you alofte to punishe vs by myracle, (for so you reporte and bragge openly of yourselfe) and to minister Iustice, if wee will not receaue youre holye fathers mercye, and thereby to declare youre churche to be true, and oures false, to that I aunsweare thus: Goddes workes be wonderful, & are not to be comprehēded, and perceiued by māns wisdomē, not by the witte of the moste wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceiued, and doe moste easely iudge amisse of Goddes wonderfull woorkes, that are moste worldly wise. God hathe made all the wisdomē of thys worlde foolishnesse, first Corrinthians the firste, and the seconde Chapter. Dedit dilectam animam suam in manus inimicorum eius. Hierem. xij.

That is.

Hee doeth putte his beloued and deare heart, into the handes of the ennemies thereof.

Thys thing doeth God, whiche thing all wise menne accompte to be the moste foolish and vnwise parte that can be. Will the wise of the worlde (trowe ye) putte their most deare frendes and tenderly beloued children, into their enmies handes, to kill, slaye, burne? &c. that is vnto them a madnesse aboue all madnesse. And yet doeth God vse thys order, and thys is an highe and singular wisdomē in his syght, which the world taketh to be most extreme madnes.

Canne the worlde shewe a cause whye hee suffered the greate multitude of innocente children to be murdered of Herode, of Ascalon, or why he putte that moste holy man Iohn Baptiste, into the handes of Herode hys sonne to be headed, and that in prisone secreatly wythout open iudgement moste tyrannously? Whye he suffered hys beloued Apostle Iames, to be beheaded of another Herode. Acts 12? Whye he suffered his beloued seede of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, to be foure hundred yeares in thraldome and bondage, and vnder Pharaos? And all the stocke of Iuda and Benjamin hys beloued children and Churche, to come vnder the power, sweard, and tyrannie of Nabuchodonosor? No verely, but hys true Catholicke Churche knoweth diuers causes heereof, whyche are nowe too long to reherse, and whych I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

But this I am righte sure off, that it was not because that the aforesayd Godly menne were in heresies, and subiecte to false gods seruices, and Idolatrie, and that theyr aduersaries were men of God, and beloued of God. The contrarye was true: Iohn Baptist was beloued of God, and Herode hated, and so forth of the rest: and Iohn Baptist, the innocent children, Iames, the Children of Israel, in Egypte, and in Babylon, were the catholike members and people of God: and theyr aduersaries, into whose handes they were putte and deliuered, and that of GOD, and by hys good will and pleasure were Idolaters and the people of the Deuill: but they woulde be called the chiefe members of God, and reioyced that they hadde the true God, and that it was nowe declared by myracle, that the Israelites hadde but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were deliuered into the Babylonians handes. And all the other (the Herodes and Pharaos I meane) plainely determined, that if the menne whiche they killed and handled euill, hadde bene Goddes people, God would neuer haue suffered them to come into their hands, but rather haue done the contrarye, and haue lette Iohn Baptist kill Herode, and the Israelites Pharaos, and Nabuchodonosor. Euen the like is nowe to be seene in vs, and in our most cruell aduersaries.

They are not therfore the catholike Church, because our merciful God hath at this present geuē our liues into their [Page 1491](#) handes: neyther are wee therefore heretickes, because wee suffer punishment at theyr handes, as the Lord Chauncellour by hys reioycing, seemeth to gather: the contrarye is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true Catholike church, because wee suffer for the same Doctrine which Iohn Baptiste, Iames, the Israelites, yea Christe, & the Apostles, did teache: of which none taught any thing of oure aduersaries doctrine, namely that the rotten Antichristian heade of Rome, shoulde be the heade of Christes church: But they haue manifestly taught the contrary, specially Paule 2. to the Thessalonians, the 2. chapter. Iohn in the Apocalypse, Dan. 11. which thing, if I might haue life and Bookes, I would so (by Gods grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our aduersaries with their Antichristian head, are the members of the Deuils church, as they vndoubtedly are. And in like case, as the aboue mētioned holy men, though they in their dayes, were counted to be heretickes, seditious, and disturbers of the whole worlde, (for vnto Iohn Baptiste it was sayde, Iohn 1. Wherefore baptisest thou, if thou be not Helias, nor that Prophet? &c. As who saye, thou haste no such authoritie to beginne a newe Ceremonie in the Churche. For we be in ordinarie possession of the churche: and of vs thou haste receiued no such power. We abide by our circumcision: and the like coulde I declare of Iames, and of all the Apostles and Prophetes, and of our Sauour Christe him selfe, that were all condemned as heretickes & blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paule and Silas. Act. 16. heard like woordes of the Philippians: these men trouble our Citie, seeing they are Iewes, and preache institutions, whych are not lawful for vs to receiue, seeing we be Romaines. And in 17. In Athens, the wise menne of this world, & suche as gaue their endeuour to wisdom, said by S. Paule: Quid vult spermologus hic dicere? That is. What will this prater (as my Lord Chancelour sayd to me, shall we suffer this fellow to prate, whē I would faine haue sayd that thyng, that I haue heere wrytten) trifler, newes caryer, or •ringer, that telleth what so euer men will haue him, for gaine and aduauntage, that will for a piece of bread say what yee will haue hym. &c. And an other sayd in the same place: hee seemeth to be a preacher of newe Deuelles. &c. And Actes 21. The Iewes say by Paule, laying handes on hym, helpe O yee Israelites (saye they) this is the manne that teacheth all men euery where against the people (meaning the Iewes) and the law and this place (meaning Ierusalem) and yet was neuer a woorde of these true. And Actes 22. the same Iewes sayde of Paule: out of the earthe wyth that man, or away wyth him. For it is not lawfull for him to liue, or he is not woorthy to liue. And howe many

moe of these examples are to be found in the Bible? Although (I say) these men were in their dayes taken for heretickes, of them that were then in authoritye, and of the great multitude of the worlde, yet it is nowe wel knownen, yea and very shortly after their deathes this was known: yea, and euen in theyr liues also vnto the true Catholicke Church, that they were not onely the chiefe and speciall members of the true Catholicke Church, but also the founders and builders thereof, (notwithstanding the sinister iudgement, that the wise and mighty menne, and the great multitude of the worlde hadde of them) and in theyr consciences they were alwayes assuredlye certified of the same. Euen the same shall the world find true in vs, shortlye after oure deathes, as also there be at thys houre (the Lorde be thanked therefore) not a fewe, that already know it, as we our selues also are by Gods grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that we are no heretikes, but members of the true catholike church, and that our aduersaries the bishops and popish cleargie, which wil haue that title, are the members of Sathans church, and theyr Antichristian head of Rome wyth them.

But here they wil crie out: loe these men wil be stil like Iohn Baptist, the Apostles, and the Prophets. &c.

I answere, we make not our selues like vnto them, in the singular vertues and giftes of God, geuen vnto them: as of miracles doing, and of many other things. The similitude and likenesse of them and vs, consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the sufferinge of persecution and infamie for the same.

We haue preached theyr very doctrine and none other thing: that we are able sufficiently to declare by theyr wrytings: & by wryting for my part, I haue profered to prooue the same (as is now often sayd.) And for this cause we suffer the like reproche, shame, and rebuke of the worlde, & the like persecution, leeing of our liues and goodes, forsaking (as our maister Christ commandeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wiues, children, and all that there is, being assured of a ioyfull resurrection, and to be crowned in glorye wyth them, according to the vnfallible promises made vnto vs in Christ, our onely and sufficient mediatour, reconciler, priest and sacrifice, which hath pleased the father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sinnes, & made vs wythout spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although wee, off, and in our selues are bespotted, & be blotted w^t many filthy sinnes, which if the great mercy graunted in Christ, did not put away, by not imputing them vnto vs of his measurelesse vnspeakeable mercye and loue to saue vs, they woulde haue brought vs to euerlasting damnation, and death perpetuall. Heerein, and in no other, doe we affirme our selues to be like vnto our head Christe, and all his Apostles, Prophetes, Martyrs and Saintes: And heerein oughte all Christian menne to be like them, and heerein are all true Christen men and women lyke them euery one, according to the measure of y^e faith that God hath dealt vnto them, and to the diuersitie of the gifts of the spirite geuen vnto them. But let vs nowe consider, y^t if it be Gods good will and pleasure, to geue hys owne beloued heart, that is, hys beloued church and the members therof, into the handes of theyr ennemies, to chasten, trie & prooue them, and to bryng them to the true vnfeined acknowledging of theyr owne naturall stubburnnesse, disobedience towards God, and his commaundements, as touching the loue of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their naturall inclination, readinesse & desire, to loue creatures, to seeke their owne lusts, pleasures and things forbidden of God, to obtaine a true and earnest repentaunce, and sorowfulnesse therefore, and to make them to sigh and crie for the forgeuenesse of the same, and for the aide of the spirite, daily to

mortifie and kill the saide euill desires and lustes: yea and often falling into grosse outwarde sinnes, as did Dauid, Peter, Magdalen, and other, to arise againe also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, wyth many other causes: lette vs also consider what he hereafter doeth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath geuen his tenderly beloued dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsothe, wheras he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, accordinge to his good pleasure, as all fathers doe with their children. Heb. 12. Prouerb. 3.* He vtterly destroyeth, yea and euerlastingly damneth the vnrepentant enemies. Let Herode tell me what he wanne by killing Iames, and persecuting Peter, and Christes tender dearlings, and beloued spouse and wife, hys Church. Uerely God thought him not worthy to haue death ministred vnto him by mē or Angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile beastes, lice, and small wormes, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharao and Nabuchadonoser, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at the length let Gods dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea out of their bandes and tirannie. For when it could not be obtained at theyr handes, that Gods congregation mighte haue true mercy ministred vnto them, but the counterfaite mercye of these our dayes, that is to saye, extreeme crueltie, and euen the very and that most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleepe, and destroyed those ennemies of his flock, with a mighty hand, and a stretched out arme. Pharao did wyth moste great and intollerable labors and burdens, expresse and bring vnder the poore Israelits, and yet did the Courtiers vndoubtedly noyse abroad, that the king was mercifull vnto them, to suffer them to liue in his land, and to sette them aworke, that they might gette them theyr liuings. If he shoulde thruste them out of hys lande, whether should they go, like a sort of vagabunds and runagates? This title & name of mercy, wold that tyāt haue, and so did his flattering false Courtiers spreade hys wayne praise abroad. Haue not wee the like examples nowe a dayes? O that I had nowe time to wryte certaine thyngs pertaining to our Winchester mercy.* Howe mercifull hee hath bene to me and to my good brethren I will not speake of, neither yet vnto the Duke of Suffolkes moste innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For althoughe their fathers were faultie, yet had their youth and lacke of experience deserued a pardon by all true merciful mennes iudgements. O that I had time to painte out thys matter a right: but there be many aliue that can doe it muche better when I am deade. Pharao had hys plagues: and hys moste flourishinge lande was by his counterfaite mercye, whych was in deede righte crueltie and abhominable tyrannie, vtterly destroyed. And thinke yee that thys bloody butcherly Byshoppe of Winchester and his moste bloudie brethren shall escape? Or y^e Englande shall for theyr offences, and specially for the maintenaunce of theyr Idolatrie, and wilful following of them not abide a great brunt? Yes vndoubtedly.

[Page 1492](#)If God looke not mercifully vpon England,* the seedes of vtter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocriticall Tyrauntes, and Antichristian Prelates Popishe Papistes, and double Traytours to theyr naturall Countrey. And yet they speake of mercy, of blessing of the Catholicke Church, of vnitie, of power and strengthening of the Realme. This double dissimulation will shew it selfe one day when the plague commeth, which will vndoubtedly light vpon these crowneshorne capteines, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly and the poore Realme suffer in the meane while by Gods good sufferance and will.

Spite of Nabuchodonosors beard, and maugre his heart, the captiue, thrall and miserable Iewes must come home agayne, and haue their Citie and temple builded vp agayne by Zorobabell, Esdras, and Nehemias, &c. And the whole Kingdome of Babylon must go to ruine, and be taken

in of straunges, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the disperpled English flocke of Christ be brought againe into theyr former estate, or to a better I trust in the Lorde God, than it was in innocent Kyng Edwardes dayes, and our bloudy Babylonicall Byshops, and the whole crowneshorne companye brought to vtter shame, rebuke, ruyne, decaye, and destruction: for God can not, and vndoubtedly wyll not suffer for euer theyr abhominable lying false doctrine, theyr hypocrisie, bloudthrist, whoredome, idlenesse, theyr pestilent lyfe pampored in all kynde of pleasure, theyr thrasonicall boasting, pryde, theyr malicious, enuious, and poysoned stomackes, which they beare towards hys poore and miserable Christians. Peter truely warneth, that if iudgemente begynneth at the house of God, what shall be the ende of them that beleeeue not the Gospell? If the righteous shall scant be sauēd, where shall the vngodly and sinfull appeare? Some shall haue theyr punishmente heere in thys worlde, and in the worlde to come, and they that doo escape in thys worlde, shall not escape euerlastyng damnation. Thys shall bee youre sauce, O yee wicked Papistes, make yee merry heere as long as yee may.

After that I. Rogers (as yee haue heard) had bene long & straitly imprisoned,* lodged in newgate amōgst theeeues, oftē examined: and very vncharitably intreated & at lēgth vniustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester cōdemned the 4. of February,* in the yeare of our Lord 1555. beeyng Monday in the morning, hee was warned sodenly by the kepers wife of newgate, to prepare himself to the fire: who then being sound a slepe, scarce with much shogging could be awaked.* At length being raysed and waked, and byd to make haste, then, saide he, if it be so, I neede not to tye my poyntes:* and so was had downe, first to Boner to bee disgraded. That done, hee craued of Boner but one petition. Boner asking what that should be: nothing sayde he: but that he might talke a few wordes with his wife, before his burning. But that coulde not bee obtained of hym. Then said he, you declare your charitie, what it is: and so he was brought into Smithfield by Maister Chester, and Maister Woodrofe, then Shiriffes of London, there to bee burnt, where he shewed most constant paciencie, not vsing many wordes, for he could not be permitted, but onely exhorting the people constantly to remaine in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and beare all such bitternes and cruelty as had bene shewed him, but also most gladly to resigne vp his life, and to geue his flesh to the consuming fire for the testimonie of the same.

Briefly and in few wordes to comprehend the whole order of his lyfe, doynge, and Martyrdome, first this godly M. Rogers was committed to prison (as is abouesayd) & there continued a yeare and halfe. In prison he was mery, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much: his examinations he penned with his owne hand,* which else had neuer come to light. Wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable working of Gods prouidence. Ye heard a litle aboue how M. Rogers craued of Boner, going to hys burning, y^t he might speake a few wordes before with hys wife, whiche coulde not be graunted. What these wordes were which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signifie vnto her of the booke written of his examinations and aunsweres whych he had priuily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where mans power lacketh, see how Gods prouidence worketh. For notwithstanding y^t during the tyme of his imprisonment, straite search there was to take away his letters and writings: yet after his death, his wyfe and one of her sonnes called Daniell, cōming into y^e place wher he lay, to seeke for his bookes and writings, and now ready to go away, it chaunced her sonne aforenamed, cast^{ng} his eye aside to spy a

blacke thing (for it had a blacke couer belike because it shuld not be known) lying in a blind corner vnder a payre of stayres. Who willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the booke written with his own hand, contayning these his examinatio^{ns} & answers with other matter aboue specified. In the latter end where of this also was conteyned, which because it concerneth a Propheticall forewarning of thinges pertayning to the Church I thought to place the same his woordes, as they be there written, which are these. If God looke not mercifully vppon Englande, the seedes of vtter destruction are sowne in it already, by these hipocritical tyrauntes, & Antichristian Prelates, Popish Papists, and double traytors to their naturall country. And yet they speake of mercy,* of blessing, of the Catholicke Church, of vnitie, of power, & strengthning of the realm. This double dissimulation will shewe it selfe one daye when the plague commeth, whiche will vndoubtedly light vppon these crowneshorne Captaines, and that shortly, whatsoeuer the godly and y^e poore realme suffer in the meane while by Gods sufferance and will.

Spite of Nabuchodonozers beard, and maugre hys hart, y^e captiue, thral & miserable Iewes must come home agayne, and haue their Citie and temple builded vp again by Zorobabell, Esdras, & Nehemias, &c. And the whole kingdome of Babilon must goe to ruine and be taken of straungers, the Persians and Medes. So shal y^e disper•kled english flock of Christ be brought agayn into their former estate, or to a better I trust in the Lorde God, then it was in innocent king Edwardes dayes, and our bloudye Babilonicall Bishops,* and the whole crowneshorn company, brought to vtter shame: rebuke, ruine, decay and destruction, for God cannot and vndoubtedly will not suffer for euer theyr abhominable lying, false doctrine, their hipocrisie, bloudthirst, whoredome, idlenes, their pestilent life pampred in all kinde of pleasure: their thrasonicall boasting, pride, their malicious, enuious, and poysoned stomackes which they beare towards his poore and miserable Christians. Peter truely warneth that if iudgement beginneth in the house of God,*what shal be the end of them that beleue not the Gospell? If the righteous shall scant bee saued, where shall the vngodly and sinfull appeare? Some shall haue their punishment here in this world and in the worlde to come, and they that doe escape in this worlde, shall not escape euerlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce O ye wicked Papistes, make yee merye here as long as ye may.

Furthermore, amongst other his wordes & sayinges, which may seeme prophetically to be spoken of hym, thys also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked,* that he spake being then in prison, to the Printer of this presente booke, who then also was laid vp for like cause of religion: Thou (sayd he) shalt liue to see the alteration of this religiō and the gospell to be freely preached againe: And therefore haue me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, & putting good ministers into churches, or els their ende will be worse then ours. And for lacke of good ministers to furnish churches,* his deuise was (M. Hooper also agreeing to the same) that for euery x. Churches, some one good and learned superintendent shuld be appointed, which should haue vnder him faythfull Readers, suche as might well be got, so that popish Priests shoulde cleane be put out, and the bishop once a yeare to ouersee the profiting of the Parishes, and if the minister did not his dutye, as well in profiting himselfe in his book, and his Parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trayned by little & litle to geue a reckoning how they do profite, thē he to be expelled, and another put in his place. And the Byshop to do the like with the superintendent, this was hys counsell and request. Shewing moreouer, and protestyng in his commendations to hys brethren

by the Printer aforesayd, that if they would not so doe, their ende he sayde would be worse then theirs.

Ouer and besides diuers other thinges touching M. Rogers, this is not to be forgottē,* how in the dayes of K. Edward the sixt, there was a controuersie among the Bishops and clergye, for wearing of priestes caps, and other attire belonging to that order. M. Rogers beyng one of y^e number which neuer went otherwise then in a round cap, during all the time of K. Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of vniformitie, but vpō this condition, that if they would needes haue such an vniformitie of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it shoulde also be decreed with all that the Papistes for a difference betwixt them and other, shuld be constrayned to weare vpon their sleeues a Chalice with an host vpon it. Whereunto if they [Page 1493](#) would consent, he would agree to the other, otherwise he would not he sayd consent to the setting forth of the same, nor euer weare the cap, as in deede he neuer did.

To proceede now further in describing the doinges of this man, during the time while he remayned prysoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficiall and liberall, for whome he had thus deuised,* that he with his fellowes should haue but one meale a day, they paying notwithstanding, for the charges of the whole: the other meale should be geuen to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander,* a Copersmith in deede, of whose doings more shall be said God willing hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The Sonday before he suffered, he dronke to M. Hooper (beeing then vnderneath him) and bad them commende him vnto him, and tell him, there was neuer little fellow better would sticke to a man then hee woulde sticke to him, presupposing they should both be burned together, although it hapned otherwise, for M. Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such actes of M. Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being deliuered to the Sheriffes, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield the place of his execution, first came to him M. Woodrofe one of the foresaid Sheriffes, and calling M. Rogers vnto him, asked him if he would reuoke his abhominable doctrine,* and his euill opinion of the Sacrament of the aluter. M. Rogers answered and sayd: that which I haue preached, I will seale with my bloud. Then quoth maister Woodrofe, thou art an hereticke. That shall be knowne, quoth Rogers, at the day of iudgement. Well, quoth mayster Woodrofe, I will neuer pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth M. Rogers, and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the Sheriffes toward Smithfield, saying the Psalme Miserere by the way, all the people wonderfully reioycing at hys constancie, with great prayses and thanks to God for the same: and there in the presence of M. Rochester, Comptroller of the Queenes housholde, Sir Richard Southwell, both the Sheriffes, and a woonderfull number of people, he was burned into ashes, washing his handes in the flame as he was in burning. A little before his burning at the stake,* his pardon was brought if he woulde haue recanted, but he vtterly refused it. He was the first Protomartyr of all that blessed company that suffered in Queene Maryes time, that gaue the first aduenture vpon the fire. His wife and children being xj. in number, x. able to go, and one sucking on her brest, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this sorowfull sight of hys owne flesh and bloud could nothing moue him, but that he constantly and cheerefully tooke his death with woonderfull patience, in y^e defence & quarell of Christes Gospell.

[illustration]

The burning of M. Iohn Rogers, Vicar of S. Pulchers, and Reader of Paules in London.

***The history and martyrdome of Laurence Saunders, burned for the defence of the Gospell at Couentry. An. 1555. February 8.**

AFTER that Queene Mary by publicke proclamation in the first yeare of her raigne,* had inhibited the sincere preaching of Gods holy word, as is before declared, dyuers godly Ministers of the word which had the cure and charge of soules committed to them,* did notwithstanding according to their bounden duty, feede their flocke faythfully, not as Preachers authorized by publicke authoritye (as the godly order of the Realme was in the happy daies of blessed King Edward) but as the priuate pastors of particular flockes, among whome, Laurence Saunders was one,* a man of worshipfull parentage. His bringing vp was in learning from his youth, in places meete for that purpose, as namely, in the schoole of Eaton. From whence (according to the manner there vsed) he was chosen to go to the Kings Colledge in Cambridge, where he continued scholler of the Colledge three whole yeares, and there profited in knowledge, and learning very much for that time: shortly after that, he did forsake the Uniuersitie, and went to his parents, vpon whose aduise he minded to become a Merchaunt, for that his mother was a Gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widdow, and hauing a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him vp welthely, and so he comming vp to London, was bound prentise with a Marchaunt, named Sir William Chester (who afterward chanced to be Sheriffe of London the same yeare that Saunders was burned at Couentry.)* Thus by the minde of his frends Laurence should needes haue bene a Marchant, but almighty God which hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his seruant, as it fell out in the end, for although that Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the Marchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his hart, that he could find no liking in that vocation: so that when hys other fellowes were busily occupied about that kinde of trade, he would secretly withdraw himselfe into some priuy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations, as [Page 1494](#) one not liking with that kind and trade of life.

It hapned that his maister, being a good man, and hearing his prentise thus in his secret prayers inwardely to moorne by himselfe, called him vnto him, to knowe what the cause was of that his solitarines and lamentation, who then perceiuing his minde nothing to fantasie that kind of life, (for so Saunders declared vnto him) and perceauing also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his booke,* and spirituall contemplation, like a good man, directed his letters incontinently vnto his frends, and geuing him his Indenture, so set him free, And thus Laurence Saunders being rauished with the loue of learning, and especially with the reading of Gods word, taryed not long time in the trafficke of marchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge againe to his study, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greeke tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much: Therewith also he ioyned the study of the Hebrue. Then gaue he himselfe wholly to the study of the holy scripture, to furnish himselfe to the office of a Preacher.

In study he was diligent and paynefull, in godly life he declared the fruites of a well exercised conscience, he prayed often and with great feruour, and in his praiers as also at other times, hee

had hys parte of spirituall exercises, which his hartie sighing to God declared. In which when any speciall assaulte did come, by prayer he felt presente reliefe: then was his company marueilous comfortable. For as his exercises were speciall teachinges, so in the ende they proued singular consolations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comforte other which were in any affliction, by the cōsolation wherwith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the Uniuersitie, till he proceeded Maister of Arte, and a long space after.

In the beginning of K. Edwards raigne, when Gods true religion was begon to be restored,* after licence obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them which then had authoritie, that they appointed him to read a Diuinitie lecture in the Colledge at Fothringa, where by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignoraunt to Gods true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the aduersaries.* He marryed about that time, and in the marryed estate led a life vnblameable before all men. The Colledge of Fothringa being dissolued, he was placed to be reader in the Minster at Lichefield: where he so behaued himselfe in teaching and liuing, that the very aduersaries did geue him a full report as well of learning, as of much godlines. After a certaine space, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicester shyre, called Churchlangton, wherupon he keeping residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberall house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the Citie of London, named Alhallowes in Breadstreete. Then minded he to geue ouer his Cure in the Countrey: and therefore after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the Countrey, clearely to discharge hymselfe thereof. And euen at that time began the broyle aboute the clayme that Queene Mary made to the Crowne, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In thys trouble, and euen among the begynners of it, (suche I meane as were for the Queene) he preached at Northampton,* nothing medling with the estate, but boldly vttered his conscience against Popish doctrine and Antichrists damnable errorrs, which were like to spring vp agayne in England as a iust plague for the little loue which the English nation did beare to the blessed word of God, which had bene so plentifully offred vnto them. The Queenes men which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner. But partly for loue of hys brethren & frends, which were chiefe doers for the Quene among them, partly because there was no lawe broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He seeing the dreadfull dayes at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeale, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as tyme coulde serue him, seeing he could resigne neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papist.

Thus passed he to and fro in preaching, vntill that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At which tyme he was at his benefice in the countrey, where he (notwithstanding the proclamation aforesayd) taught diligently Gods truth, confirming y^e people therin, and arming them against false doctrine, vntill he was not only commaunded to cease, but also with force resisted,* so that he could not proceede there in preaching. Some of his frends perceiuing such fearefull manassings, counseled him to flie out of the realme, which he refused to do. But seing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towardes London, to vysite the flocke, of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, the 14. of October, as he was comming nigh to the Citie of London, Sir Iohn Mordant a Coūsellour to Queene Mary, did ouertake him, & asked him whether he went. I haue

(sayd Saunders) a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duety. If you wil follow my counsell, quoth M. Mordant let them alone, and come not at them. To this Saunders aunswered: how shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick and desire consolation, if any want good counsell & neede instruction, or if any should slipp into errour & receaue false doctrine? Did not you, quoth Mordāt preach such a day, and named the day, in Breadstreet in London? Yes verely, sayd Saunders, that same is my cure.* I heard you my self, quoth M. Mordant: and will you preach now there agayne? If it please you sayde Saunders, to morow you may heare me agayne in that same place, where I wil confirme by the authoritie of Gods worde, all that I sayd then, and whatsoeuer before that time I taught them.

I would counsell you (quoth the other) not to preache. If you can and will forbid me by lawfull authoritie, then must I obey, sayde Saunders. Nay quoth hee, I will not forbid you, but I doe geue you counsell. And thus entred they both the Cittie, & departed eche from other. M. Mordant of an vncharitable minde, went to geue warning to Boner Bishop of London, y^t Saunders would preach in his Cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, w^t a minde bent to doe his duety. Where because he seemed to be somewhat troubled,* one which was there about him asked him how he did. In very deede (sayth hee) I am in prison till I be in prison: meaning that his minde was vnquiet vntill he had preached, and that then hee shoulde haue quietnes of minde, though he were put in prison.

The next day whiche was Sonday, in the forenone he made a sermon in his parish,* entreating that place whiche Paule writeth to the Corinthians: I haue coupled you to one man, that ye shoulde make your selues a chast Virgine vnto Christ. But I feare lest it come to passe, that as the Serpent beguiled Eue: euen so your wittes should be corrupt from the singlenes which ye had towards Christ. He recited a summe of that true Christian doctrine, through whiche they were coupled to Christ, to receiue of him free iustification thorough fayth in his blood. The Papisticall doctrine hee compared to the Serpentes deceiuing, and lest they shuld be deceiued by it, he made a comparison betweene y^e voice of God, and the voice of the Popish Serpent: descending to more particular declaratiō therof, as it were to let them plainely see the difference that is betweene the order of the Church seruice set forth by king Edward in the Englishe tongue: comparing it with the popish seruice then vsed in the Latine tongue.

The first he sayd was good, because it was accordyng to the worde of God. Corinth. 14. and the order of the primatiue Church. The other he sayd was euill, and though in that euill hee intermingled some good Latine wordes: yet was it but as a little hony or milke mingled with a great deale of poyson, to make them to drinke vp al. This was the summe of hys sermon.

In the after noone hee was ready in his Church to haue geuen an other exhortation to his people.* But the B. of London interrupted him by sending an officer for hym. This officer charged him vpon the payne of disobedience and contumacie, forthwith to come to the Bishop his maister. Thus, as the Apostles were brought out of the Temple where they were teaching, vnto the rulers of y^e priests so was Laurence Saunders brought before this Byshop in his Pallace of London, who had in his company the aforementioned Sir Iohn Mordant & some of his Chapleins. The bishop layd no more to Laurence Saunders charge but treason for breaking the Queenes proclamation, heresie and sedition for his Sermon.

The treason, and sedition, his charitie was content to let slip, vntill an other time. But an hereticke hee woulde now proue him and all those, he sayd, which did teach and beleue that the administration of the Sacramentes and al orders of the Church are most pure, which doe come most nigh to the order of the primitiue Church. For the Church was then but in her infancie, and could not abide that perfection whiche was afterward to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himselfe, & after hym the Apostles did in many thinges beare with the rudenes of y^e Church.* To this Laurence Saunders answered w^t the authoritie of S. Augustine, that ceremonies were euen from the beginning inuented and ordayned for the rude infancy & weake infirmitie of man, and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitiue Church, y^t it had fewe ceremonies, and of the rudenes of the Church Papisticall▪ [Page 1495](#) because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly vnsauery and vnprofitable.

After much talke had concerning this matter, the Byshop willed him to write what he beleueed of transubstantiation.* Laurence Saunders did so, saying: My Lorde, ye do seeke my bloud, and ye shall haue it: I pray God that ye may be so baptised in it, that ye may thereafter loath bloud-sucking, and become a better man. This writing the Byshop kept for his purpose, euen to cut the writers throate, as shall appeare heereafter. The Byshop when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the Lord Chauncellour, as Annas sent Christ to Cayphas:* and lyke fauour found Saunders as Christ his Mayster did before him. But the Chauncellour beeing not at home, Saunders was constrayned to tary for him by the space of foure houres, in the vtter chamber, where he found a Chapleyn of the Bishops very merily disposed with certeine Gentlemen playing at the Tables, with diuers other of the same family or house, occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screene or Cupbord, bareheaded, Syr Iohn Mordant his guide or leader walking vp and downe by hym: who (as I sayd before) was then one of the Counsell. At the last, the Byshop returned from the Court, whome, as soone as he was entred, a great many suters met and receiued: so that, before he could get out of one house into another, halfe an hour was passed. At the last, he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where in the meane way Saunders leader gaue him a writing containing the cause, or rather the accusation of the sayd Saunders, which when he had perused, where is the man, sayd the Byshop? Then Saunders being brought forth to the place of examination, first, most lowly and meekely kneeled downe, and made curtesie before the table where the Byshop did sit: Unto whom the Byshop spake on this wise.

How hapneth it (sayd he) that notwithstanding the Queenes Proclamation to the contrary,* you haue enterprised to preach?

Saunders denied that he dyd preache: Saying, that for so much as he saw the perillous tymes now at hande, he did but (according as he was admonished,* and warned by Ezechiel the Prophet,) exhort his flocke and Parishioners to perseuer and stand stedfastly, in the doctrine which they had learned, saying also, that he was moued and pricked forward thereunto by that place of the Apostle wherein he was commaunded rather to obey God then man: and moreouer, that nothing more moued or stirred hym thereunto, then his owne conscience.

A goodly conscience surely sayd the Byshop. This your conscience could make our Queene a Bastard or misbegotten:* Would it not I pray you?

Then sayd Saunders, we (sayd he) do not declare or say that the Queene is base or misbegotten, neither go aboute any such matter.* But for that let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproch and shame of the Authour:* priuely taunting the Byshop hymselfe, which had before (to get the fauour of Henry 8.) written and set forth in print a booke of true obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queene Mary to be a Bastard.* Now M. Saunders going forwards in his purpose, sayd: We do only professe and teach the sinceritie and puritie of the word, the which albeit it be now forbidden vs to preache with our mouthes, yet notwithstanding I do not doubt, but that our bloud hereafter shall manifest the same. The Byshop being in thys sort pretily nipped and touched, said: Cary away this frensie foole to prison.* Unto whome M. Saunders aunswered, that he did geue God thanks which had geuen hym at the last, a place of rest and quietnesse, where as he might pray for the Byshops conuersion.

Furthermore, he that did lye with him afterwarde in prison in the same bed,* reported that he heard him say that euen in the time of his examination, he was wonderfully comforted, in so much as not only in spirite, but also in body, he receaued a certayne taste of that holy communion of Saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from euery part and member of the body vnto the seate & place of the hart, and from thence did ebbe and flow to and fro, vnto all the partes againe.

This Saunders continued in prison a whole yeare and 3. moneths. In all which space he sent diuers letters to diuers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: and other to his wife and also to others,* certifying them both of the publike calamitie of the time, and also of his priuate afflictions, and of sondry his conflictes with his aduersaries: As in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Weston conferring with him in prison, whereof you shall heare anone (by the leaue of the Lorde) as followeth in the story. In the meane time the Chauncellor, after this little talke with M. Saunders (as is aforesaid) sent him to the prison of the Marshalsey, &c. For the Caiphas (Winchester I meane) did nothing but bayte him with some of his currish eloquence, and so committed him to the prison of the Marshalsey, where he was kept prisoner one whole yeare and a quarter. But of his cause and estate, thou shalt now see, what Laurence Saunders himselfe did write.

¶A parcell of a Letter of Laurence Saunders sent to the Byshop of Winchester, as an aunswere to certayne thyngs wherewith he had before charged hym.

TOuching the cause of my imprisonment,* I doubt whether I haue broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to vse according to our consciences, such seruice as was then established.* My doctrine was then agreeable vnto my conscience and the seruice then vsed. The Act which I did (he meaneth publike teaching of Gods word in his owne parish, called Alhallowes in Breadstreete in the Citie of London) was such, as being indifferently weyed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no wilfull breaking of it, forasmuch as I caused no bell to be roong, neyther occupied I any place in the Pulpit, after the order of Sermons or Lectures. But be it that I did breake the Proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more then a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

Touching the charging of me with my Religion, I say wyth S. Paule: This I confesse,* that after the way which they call heresie, so worship I the God of my forefathers, beleeuing all thyngs which are written in the lawe and the Prophets, and haue hope towards God, &c. And herein study I •o haue alway a cleare conscience towardes God, and towards men:* so that God I call to witnesse, I haue a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded vpon vayne fantasie, but vpon the infallible veritie of Gods word, with the witnessing of his chosen Church agreeable vnto the same.

It is an easie thing for them, which take Christ for theyr true Pastor, and be the very sheepe of his pasture, to discerne the voice of their true shepheard, from the voyce of wolues, hyrelings, and straungers, for as much as Christ sayeth:* My sheepe heare my voice, yea and thereby they shall haue the gift to know the right voice of the true shepheard, and so to follow him, and to auoyde the contrary, as he also sayeth: The sheepe follow the shepheard, for they knowe his voyce: A straunger will they not follow, but will flie from him: for they knowe not the voice of a stranger. Such inward inspiration doth the holy Ghost put into the children of God, being in deede taught of God, but otherwise vnable to vnderstand the true way of their saluation.* And albeit that the Wolfe (as Christ saith) commeth in sheepes clothing, yet he sayth: by their fruites yee shall knowe them.* For there be certayne fruites whereby the Wolfe is bewrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise in sondry sortes of deuoute holines in outwarde shew, he seemeth neuer so simple a sheepe. That the Romish religion is rauening & woluish, it is apparant in 3. principall points.

First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of cōscience,* in obscuring, or rather burying of Christ, and his office of saluation.

Thirdly, it spoyleth God of his true worship and seruice in spirit and truth, appointed in his prescript commaundementes, and driueth men vnto that inconuenience, against the which Christ with the Prophet Esay doth speake sharply: This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hart is far from me.* They worship me in vaine, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. And in another place: ye cast aside the commaundemente of God to mayntayne your owne traditions.

Wherefore I in conscience weying the Romish Religion, and by indifferent discussing thereof, finding the foundation vnstedfast, and the building thereupon but vayne: and on the other side hauing my conscience framed after a right and vncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true Church. I neyther may, nor do intend by Gods gracious assistance, to be pulled one iot from the same, no though an Angell out of heauen should preach another Gospell then that which I haue receyued of the Lord.

And although that for lacke either of such deepe knowledge and profound iudgement, or of so expedite vttering of that I do know and iudge, as is required in an excellent clarke, I shall not be able sufficiently to aunswere, for the conuincing of the gainesayer: yet neuerthesse, this my protestation shall be of me premised, that for the respect of the grounds and causes before considered, albeit I cannot * explicita fide as they call it, conceiue all that is to be conceiued, neither can discusse all that is to be discussed, nor can effectually expresse all that is to be expressed in the discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion, whereunto [Page 1496](#) to I

am professed: Yet do I bind my selfe as by my humble simplicity, so by my fide^m * implicitam: that is, by faith in generalty (as they call it) to wrap my beliefe in the credit of the same, that no authority of that romish religion repugnant thereunto, shall by any meanes remoue me from the same, though it may hap that our aduersaries will labour to beguile vs with entising wordes, and seeke to spoyle vs through Philosophy and deceitfull vanity after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ, &c.

And thus much out of M. Sanders letter, so much as remained thereof. The residue, because it was rent away, I could not adioine hereunto. Notwithstāding by this alredy expressed, it is sufficient to vnderstand how good was y^e cause & estate of this blessed child of god, being prisoner for Christes cause. *For y^e defence wherof he wholly bestowed & resigned himself in such sort as he forbad his wife to sue for his deliury, & whē other of his friends had by suite almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not folow their suite, as by this letter following may appeare.

¶ A letter of M. Saunders to his wife.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Iesus Christ our Lord.

Entirely beloued wife, euen as vnto mine owne soule and body, so do I dayly in my harty prayer wish vnto you, for I doo dayly, twise at the least in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt (deare wife) but that both I and you, as we be written in the booke of life, so we shall together enioy the same euerlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our deare father, in hys sonne our Christ. And for this present life, let vs wholly appoynt our selues to the will of our good God, to glorifie him either by life or by death, and euen that same mercifull Lord make vs worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him Amen. I am mery, I thanke my God and my Christ, * in whome and through whome I shall (I knowe) be able to fight a good fight, and finishe a good course, and then receiue the crowne which is layde vp in store for me, and all the true Soldiours of Christ. Wherefore wife, let vs in the name of our God, fight lustely to ouercome the flesh, the deuil and the world. What our harnesse and weapons be in this kind of fight, looke the 6. vnto the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suite for me in any wise. * Thanke you knowe whome, for her most sweete and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my iourney whether I am passing. God send vs all good speede, and a ioyfull meeting. I haue too fewe suche frends to further me in that iourney, which is in deede the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

A prisoner in the Lord Laurence Saunders.

This his constancie is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, * Antichrist and death. To neither of these did he geue place: but by suffering their malice, got y^e victory ouer them both. One of the conflictcs which he had with Antichrist & hys members, I haue gathered out of a letter of his own hand writing. It was with Doctour Weston, a man, whome though I should prayse, yet would all good and godly mē worthely disprayse. Of this the said Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he sent to one of his frends, which wrote to him to knowe what Doct. Weston dyd at the Marshalsey: whereunto he thus aunswereth.

M. Weston came to conferre with M. Grimoald. What he hath cōcluded with him,* I know not: I wish it may be to Gods glory, Amen, Amen. M. Weston of his gentlenes visited me, & of•red me frendship in his worldly wily sort, &c. I had not so much good maner, as to take it at his hād: for I said, that I was well inough, and ready cherefully to abide the extremity, to keepe thereby a good cōscience. You be a sleepe in sin (said he.) I would awake (quoth I) and do not forget Vigilate & orate. i. Watch & pray. What church was there,* said he 30. yeres past? What church was there, quoth I, in Helias time? Ioane of Kent, sayd he, was of youre Church. No, quoth I, we did cōdemne her as an heretick.

Who was of your Church, sayd he 30. yeares past? Such (quoth I) as that Romish Antichrist, and his rabble haue reputed and condemned as heretickes, Wicklife, sayd he, Thorpe, Old castle, &c. Yea, quoth I, with many moe, as storyes do tell.

The B. of Rome hath, sayd he, long tyme played a part in your tayling sermons: but now be ye sure he must play another maner of part. The more pitie, quoth I, and yet some cōfort it is to see how that the best learned,* wisest, & holiest of you all, haue heeretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermōs & writings, though now to please the world, you do turne with the weathercocke. Did you euer said he, heare me preach against the Bishop of Rome? No (quoth I) for I neuer heard you preach. But I trowe you haue ben no wiser then other, &c. with more about the Sacrament. Pray, pray. God keepe your family & blesse it.

What a blessed taste thys good man had of Gods holy spirit, by diuers and sondry his letters may right wel appeare to him that is disposed to peruse the same:* whereof certayne we haue here thought good, the Lord willing, to expresse, first beginning with that whiche he wrote out of the Marshalsey to D. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners for the like cause of Christ in Oxford.

To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bish. Ridley, and M. Latimer, being prisoned in Oxford.

IN my most humble wise I salute you most reuerend fathers in Christ Iesus our Lord,* Immortall thanks and euerlasting prayes be geuen vnto that our father of mercies, Whiche hath made vs meete to be pertakers of the inheritaunce of Saintes in light, whiche hath deliuered vs from the power of darckenes, and hath translated vs into the kingdome of his beloued Sonne, by whome we haue redemption through his blood. &c O most happy estate, that in an vnspeakable wise our life is hid with Christ in God:* But whensoever Christ which is our life shall shew himselfe, then shall we also appeare with him in glory. In y^e meane season as our sight is but in a glasse, euen in a darcke speaking,* so wee walke in fayth, not after outward appearaunce, the which fayth although for want of outward appearaunce, reason reputeth but as vaine, yea the chosen of God do know the effect thereof, to bring a more substanciall taste and liuely fruition of very felicitie and perfect blessednes, then reason can reach or sences receaue. By this fayth we haue in our profession all good things, yea euen them whiche the eye hath not seene, and the eare hath not heard, neither hath entred the hart of man. &c.* Then if hereby we doe enioy all good things, it followeth that we must needes possesse, haue and enioy you most reuerend Fathers, who be no small part of our ioy and good things geuen vs of God.

We heretofore haue had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefite, prayed be that oure gracious God therefore. And now in spirite we haue the experience of

vnspeakeable cōfort, by your reuerēt fatherhoodes for y^t in this so glorious sort,* ye become a towne set vpon a hill, a candle vpon a candlestick, a specktacl vnto y^e world both to the Angels & vnto men. So y^t, as we to our great cōfort do feelee,* you also may assuredly say with saint Paule, y^t the things which happē vnto vs, do chance vnto y^e great furtherance of the Gospell, so y^t our bonds in christ are manifest, not onely throughout all the iudgement hall, but in all wholl Europa, in so much that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bondes, dare more boldly speake the word without feare. And here in as you haue with s. Paule greatly to reioyce, so we doe reioyce with you, and we do in deed with you geue thāks for this worthy excellēt fauour of our God, towards you, that christ is thus magnified in you, yea and hereafter shal be magnified in your bodies,* whether it be through life or death. Of which thing truely wee are assured in our prayers for you, and ministring of the spirite. And although for your owne partes Christ is vnto you life, and death aduantage, and that your desire is (as in deede it were better for you) to be loosed, and to be w^t Christ, yet for the Church of Christ were it much more necessary, that ye shuld abide in the fleshe. Yea that mercifull God, euen for his Christes sake graunt that ye may abide and continue for the furtheraunce of the Churche and reioysing of fayth, that the reioysing therof may be the more abundant through Iesus Christ by your restoring, Amen, Amen.

But if it seeme better otherwise vnto the diuine wisdomē y^t by speedy death he hath appoynted you to glorifie him, y^e Lords wil be done. Yea euen as we do reioyce both on your behelfes, & also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and shuld be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof: so we shall no lesse reioyce to haue y^e same wrought by death. We shall geue thanks for this honour geuen vnto you, reioysing that ye are accounted worthye to suffer for the name of Christ, and that it is geuen to you of God, not onely that ye shoulde beleue in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shal haue to reioyce in the behalfe of the Churche of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed vpon Gods veritie, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. Oh thanks be to God for this his vnspeakeable gift.

And now most reuerend Fathers, that you may vnderstand the trueth of vs and our estate howe we stand in the lord, I do assure your reuerences, partly by y^t I perceauē by such of our brethren as be here in bondes w^t me, partly by that I heare of them which be in other places, & partly by that inward experiēce which I most vnworthy wretch haue of Gods good comfort (more abundance whereof I knowe there is in others) you may be assured (I say) by Gods grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of [Page 1497](#) our constaunt continuance in the cheerefull confession of Gods euerlasting veritie. For euen as we haue receyued the word of truth, euen the Gospell of our saluation, wherin we beleeuing, are sealed with the holy spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritaunce (the which spirite certifieth our spirit,* that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sente the spirite of his Sonne into our harts, crying, Abba, Father) so after such portion as God measureth vnto vs, we with the whole Church of Christ, and with you reuerend fathers, receiuing the same spirite of faith, according as it is writen: I beleueed, and therefore I haue spoken.* We also beleuee, and therefore speake. For the which we in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, hauing euen such a fight as we haue seene in you and haue heard of you,* are in no wise afraid of our aduersaries.

And forasmuch as we haue such an office, euen as God hath had mercy on vs,* we go not out of kind, but euē with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the Gospell,

knowing most certainly that though we haue this treasure in earthen vessels,*that the excellency of thys power might be Gods and not ours: yet shall we not be dashed in pieces: For the Lord will put his hand vnder vs. [When] we are troubled on euery side, yet are we not without shift: [when] we are in pouerty, we are not vtterly without some thing: [when] we suffer persecution, we are not forsaken therein: [when] we are cast downe, yet we shall not perish: but to communicate with our sweete Sauour Christ in bearing the crosse, it is appointed vnto vs, that euen with him also we shall be glorified. For it is a true saying: If we be dead with him,*we shall also liue with him: If we be patient, we shall also raigne with him: If we deny him, he shall also deny vs. Wherefore be we of good cheere,*alwayes bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Iesus, that the life of Iesus might appeare also in our body: For we know that he which raised vp the Lorde Iesus, shall rayse vp vs also by the meanes of Iesus, and shall ioyn vs to himselfe together with you. Wherefore we are not weered: but though our outward man perish, yet the inwarde man is renued day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentane and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternall weight of glory vnto vs, while we looke not on the things which are seene, but on the things which are not seene. For the things which are seene, are temporall: but the things which are not seene, are eternall.

We testifie vnto you, Reuerend fathers, that we drawe these waters with ioy out of the Wels of the sauour. And I trust we shall cōtinually with you blesse the Lord, & giue thanks to the Lord out of the wels of Israell, we trust to bee merry together at that greate Supper of the Lambe, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of euerlasting Haleluyah, Amen. Yea come Lorde Iesu. The grace of our Lord Iesu Christ be with you, Amen.

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to bee seene how this woorthy warriour prepared himselfe to the appoynted fight, and to keepe hys standyng in Christes Campe.

Laurence Saunders to his wyfe.

GRace and comfort in Christ Iesu our onely comfort, in all extreme assaultes, Amen.

Fayne woulde this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. Oh Lorde how loth is this loitering sluggard to passe forth in Gods pathe? It fantasieth forsooth much feare of fraybugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the reyne of Gods most sweete promise, and of hope which pricketh on behinde, great aduenture there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, and euerlastingly blessed be that heauenly father of ours, who in his Christ, our sufficient Sauour, hath vouched safe to shine in our harts, that he geueth vs the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Iesu Christ: and hauing this treasure in our earthen vessels, that the excellencie of the power might be Gods, and not oures, we are [according to his good will] troubled on euery side, yet are we not without shift: we are in pouerty, but yet not without that is sufficient:*we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein: we are cast downe, neuertheles we perish not: we beare in the body the dying of the Lorde Iesus, that the life of Iesus might also appeare in our body. Wherefore by the grace of our Christ we shall not be weered, neyther be dismayed by this our probation thorough the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had hapned vnto vs: but by his power we shall reioyce, in as much as we are pertakers of Christes passion, that when he doth appeare, we may be merry and glad, knowing that our tribulation which is momentane and light,*prepareth an exceeding and an

eternall weyght of glory vnto vs, while wee looke not on the thyngs which are seene, but on the things whych are not seene. They that sowe in teares,*shall reape in ioye. For he that goeth on his way weeping and scattering his good seede, shall doubtles come agayne wyth ioy, and bring his whole sheaues wyth him. Then, then shall the Lorde wipe awaye all teares from our eyes. Then, then shall be brought to passe that saying which is written: Death is swallowed vp in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God which hath geuen vs the victory thorough our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.*

In the meane season it remayneth for vs to followe S. Peters bidding: Let them (sayth he) that are troubled according to the will of God,*commit their soules to him with well doing, as a faithfull Creator and Maker. He is our maker: we are his handyworke and creatures, whome now when he hath made, he doth not leaue and forsake as the shipwright doth the shyp,* leauing it at all aduentures to be tossed in the tempest, but he comforteth vs his creatures, and in him we liue, moue, and haue our being: Ye not onely that, but now that he hath in his deare Christ repayed vs, being before vtterly decayed, and redeemed vs, purging vs vnto himselfe as a peculiar people by the blood of hys Sonne he hath put on a most tender good will and fatherly affection toward vs, neuer to forget vs: vnto whome by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant,* and not be tender harted to the childe of her wombe, yet may not it be that his faithfull beleeuers should be forgotten of him. He biddeth vs to cast our care on him, and sayth, that assuredly he careth for vs. And what though for a season he doth suffer vs to be turmoyled in the troublous tempestes of temptation, and seemeth as in much anger to haue geuen vs ouer, and forgotten vs? let not vs for all that leaue off to put our trust in him, but let vs with godly Iob conclude in our selues and say: Euen though he kill mee,*yet will I put my trust in him. Let vs with the blessed Abraham in hope, euen contrary to hope by beliefe, leane vnto that our louing Lord, who though for our probation, he suffereth vs to be afflicted, yet will he not bee alwayes chiding, neyther keepeth he his anger for euer: for he knoweth whereof wee bee made: he remembreth that we are but dust. Wherefore, looke how high the heauen is in comparison of the earth,*so great is his mercy towards them which feare him. Looke how wide the East is from the West, so farre hath he set our sinnes from vs. Yea, like as a father pitieth his owne children, euen so is the Lorde mercifull vnto them that feare him. Oh what great cause of reioycing haue we in our most gracious God? we can not but burst foorth into the praying of suche a bountifull benefactour, and say with the same Psalmist: Prayse the Lord O my soule, and all that is within me prayse his holy name Praise the Lord O my soule, and forget not all his benefites.

Deare wife, riches haue I none to leaue behynde mee, wherewith to endow you after the worldly maner. But that treasure of tasting how sweete Christ is vnto hungry consciences (whereof I thanke my Christ, I do feelee part,* and would feelee more) that I bequeath vnto you, and to the rest of my beloued in Christ, to retaine the same in sense of hart alwayes. Pray, pray, I am merry,* and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the deuils in hell. I vtterly refuse my selfe, and resigne my selfe vnto my Christ in whome I knowe I shall be strong as he seeth needefull. Pray, pray, pray.

Laurence Saunders.

As the sayde Mayster Saunders was in prison, strayte charge was geuen to the keeper,* that no person shoulde speake with him. His wife yet came to the prison gate with her yong childe in her armes, to visit her husband. The keeper, though for his charge, hee durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her armes, and brought him vnto his father. Laurence Saunders seeing him, reioyced greatly, saying, that he reioysed more to haue such a boy, then he should if two thousand pounce were geuen him. And vnto the standers by, which prayed the goodlines of the childe, he sayde: what man fearing God woulde not lose this life present, rather then by prolonging it heere, he should adiudge this boy to be a Bastard, his wife a whoore, and himselfe a whooremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should loose his life, yet who woulde not geue it, to aduouch this child to be legitimate, and his mariage to be lawfull and holy?

I do (good Reader) recite thys saying, not onely to let thee see what he thought of Priests mariage: but chiefly to let all maryed couples and parents learne to beare in their bosome true affections: naturall, but yet seasoned with the true salt of the spirit, vnfaynedly and throughly mortified to do the naturall workes and offices of married couples & parents, so lōg as with their doing they may keepe Christ with a free confessing faith, in a conscience vnfoyled: otherwise, both they and their owne liues are so to be forsaken, [Page 1498](#) as Christ required thē to be denied, and geue in his cause,

And now to come to the examination of this good man, alter that the Bishops had kept him one whole yeare and a quarter in prison, at the length they called him, as they did the rest of his felowes, openly to be examined. Of the which his first examination the effect and purpose thus foloweth.*

¶The Examination of Laurence Saunders.

PRayed be our gracious God who preserueth his from euill, and doth geue them grace to auoyd al such offēces as might hinder his honor, or hurt his Church. Amen.

Being conuented before the Queenes most honorable Councell,* sundry bishops being present, the Lord Chauncellor began to speake in such forme as foloweth.

I. Chan.

It is not vnknowne, that you haue bene Prisoner for such abhominable heresies & false doctrine as hath bene sowne by you: and now it is thought good that mercy be shewed to such as seeke for it. Wherefore if now you will shew your selfe conformable, & come home agayne, mercy is ready. We must say that we haue fallen in maner all: but now we bee risen agayne, and returned to the Catholicke Church, you must rise with vs, and come home vnto it. Geue vs forthwith a direct aunswere.

Saun.

My Lord, and my Lordes all, my it please your honors to geue me leaue to aunswere with deliberation.

Chan.

Leaue of your painting and pride of speech. For such is the fashion of you all to please your selues in your glorious wordes.* Aunswere yea or nay.

Saund.

My Lord, it is no time for me now to paynt. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning I confesse to be but small: and as for riches or worldly wealth I haue none at all. Notwithstanding it standeth me in hand to aūswere to your demaund circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perilles are like to fall vpon me: the losing of a good conscience, or y^e losing of this my bodye and life. And I tell you trueth, I loue both life and liberty, if I could enioy them without the hurt of my conscience.

Chan.

Conscience? you haue none at all, but pride and arrogancy, * deuiding your selues by singularitye from the Church.

Saun.

The Lorde is the knower of all mens consciences. And where your Lordship layeth to my charge thys deuiding my selfe from the Church (as you do mean, & is now among you concluded vpon, as I do vnderstand) I do assure you, that I lyue in the fayth wherein I haue bene brought vp sithens I was 14. yeare old: being taught that the power of the B. of Rome is but vsurped, w^t many other abuses springing thereof. Yea this I haue receiued euen at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed vpon by the Catholicke Church and publicke authority.

Chan.

Yea mary, but I pray you, haue you receiued by cōsent and authoritye all your heresies of the blessed Sacrament of the aultar?

Saund.

My Lorde, it is lesse offence to cutte off an arme, hand, or ioynt of a man, then to cut of the head. For y^e man may liue though he do lacke an arme, hand or ioynt, and so he can not without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, haue agreed to cut of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, whome now you will haue to be the head of your Church agayne.

Bish. of Lond.

And if it like your Lordship, I haue his hand agaynst the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?

Saunders.

What I haue written, that I haue written, and farther I will not accuse my selfe. Nothing haue you to burden me withall, for breaking of your lawes since they were in force.*

Chan.

Well, you be obstinate and refuse liberty.

Saund.

My Lord, I may not buy liberty at suche a pryce: but I beseech your honours to be meanes to the Queenes Maiesty for suche a pardon for vs, that wee may liue and keep our consciences vnclogged, and we shal liue as most obedient subiectes. Otherwise, I must say for my selfe, that by Gods grace I will abide the moste extremity that man may do against me, rather then to do against my consciēce.

Chan.

Ah Syrra, you will liue as you list. The Donatistes did desire to liue in singularity: but in deed they were not meete to liue on earth: no more be you, and that shall you vnderstand within these seuen dayes: and therefore away with him.

Saund.

Welcome be it, whatsoeuer the will of God shalbe, either life or death. And I tell you truely, I haue learned to dye. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocēt blood. Truly it will cry. The spirite of God rest vpon all your honors. Amen. This is the summe and forme of my first examination. Pray. &c.

This examination being ended the officers led him out of the place, & so stayed vntill the rest of his fellowes were likewise handled, that they might haue them altogether to prison. Laurence Saunders standing among the Officers seing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them wel of that,* which by their falling from Christ to Antichrist they did deserue, & therefore exhorting them by repentaunce to rise agayne, and to embrace Christ with stronger fayth, to confesse him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, sinne, death & the deuill: so should they reteine the Lordes fauor and blessing.

The cotypes of his other examinations and excommunication came to the hands of such as do keepe them still in secret. But in them as he defended Christes cause stoutly:* so warned he the Phariscaill bishops and papists, of their hypocrisy and tyranny freely, and cleared himselfe of theyr vniust quarrellinges truly. After he was excommunicate and deliuered to the secular power, he was brought by the Shriffe of London,* to the prison called the Counter in his owne parish in Breadstreet: whereat he reioyced greatly, both because he found there a fellow prisoner, M. Cardmaker, with whom he had Christian and comfortable conference, and also because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishners: as by his letter here after shall be declared.

The fourth day of February,* the Bishop of London did come to the prisō where he was, to disgrace him: which when he had done, Laurence Saunders sayd to hym: I thanke God I am none of your Church.

The day folowing in the morning,* the Shriffe of London deliuered him to certayn of the Queenes Gard, which were appoynted to cary him to the City of Couētry, there to be burned. The fyrst night they came to S. Albōs, wher M. Grimoald (a man who had more store of good giftes, then of great constancy) did speake with him.

After M. Saunders had geuen him a lesson meete for his lightnes, he tooke a cup into his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald by his shrugging and shrinking shewing what he was, sayd: of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you: but of that other which you meane, I will not promise you. Well sayde Mayster Saunders, my deare Lord Iesus Christ hath begon to me of a more bitter cup then mine shall be, and shall I not pledge my most sweet Sauior? yes I hope.

After they were come to Couentry,* the same nyght a poore Shoomaker, which was wont to serue him of shoes, came to him after his maner & sayd: Oh my good Mayster God strengthen and comfort you. Gramercies good Shoo'maker, quoth M. Saunders, and I pray thee to pray for me: for I am the vnmeetest man for this high office, that euer was appoynted to it: but my gracious God and deare father is able to make me strōg enough. That same night he was put into the common Gayle among other prisoners, where he slept litle, but spent the night in prayer,* and instructing of others.

The next day, which was the viij. of Februarye hee was lead to the place of execution in the Parcke without the City, going in an old gowne, and a shyerte, barefooted, and aftimes fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the Officer appoynted to see y^e execution done, sayd to M. Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the Queenes Realme with •alse doctrine and heresy: wherfore thou hast deserued death (quoth he) but yet if thou wilt reuoke thy heresies, y^e Queene hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom M. Saunders aunswered: it is not I, nor my fellow Preachers of Gods truth, that haue hurt the queenes Realme, but it is your selfe, & such as you are,* which haue alwayes resisted Gods holy word: it is you which haue & do marre the Queenes Realme. I do hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed Gospel of Christ: that hold I, that beleue I, that haue I taught, and that will I neuer reuoke. With that this Tormentor cryed, away with him and away from him went M. Saunders with a mery courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose vppe agayn, & tooke the stake to which he shuld be chayned, in his armes and kissed it saying: Welcome the Crosse of Christ, welcome euerlasting life: and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetely he slepte in the Lord.

And thus haue ye the full history of Laurēce Saūders whom I may well compare to S. Laurence, or any other of the old Martyrs of Christes church: both for the feruent zeale of the truth and Gospell of Christ, & the most cōstant pacience in his suffering: as also for the cruell tormēts that

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[illustration]

☞The burning of Mayster Laurence Saunders at Couentry.

** he in his paciēt body did susteine in the flame of fire. For so his cruell enemies hādled him, that they burned him with greene woode, & other smothering rather then burning fewell, which put him to much more payne, but that y^e grace & most plentifull consolation of Christ, which neuer forsaketh his seruauntes, & gaue strength to S. Laurence gaue also pacience to this Laurence, aboue all that his tormēts could worke agaynst: which well appered by his quiet stāding, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is aboue declared.

And to the intent to geue to the Reader to vnderstand the better, what the grace of Christ worketh in his seruāts, and agayne, * how feeble & weake man is of himselfe without this grace geuen from aboue, though he seeme otherwise neuer so stout in himselfe: here therfore haue we added to the foresayd story of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble, was be'twene him and Doct. Pendleton, * by the example whereof, such as stand, may learne to vnderstād and take heed with due feare, & not to bragge: to leane to the grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselues.

¶A certayne communication betwene Laurence Saunders and Doctor Pendleton, in the beginning of Queene Maries tyme.

*AT the chaunge of religion in this Realme, and the beginning of Queene Maries reigne, Doct. Pendleton and M. Saunders men knowne to the world, not only to be learned but also earnest preachers of Gods word in the time of blessed king Edward, met together in the country, where by occasiō they were at that time, and as the case required (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was best for them to doe, in so daungerous a season. Whereupon M. Saunders, whether thorow very fraylty in deed of his weake flesh that was loth to tast of the bitter cup, though his spirite were ready thervnto: or whether it were vpon the mistrust of hys owne strength, that he might receiue the greater power from aboue: or whether it were not for any one of the sayd causes alone, but for both together, or such like: semed so fearefull and feeble spirited, that he shewed himselfe in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, whiche he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heeles and to fly the land, rather then to sticke to his profession and abyde by his tackle: * so as Doctor Pendleton (who on the cōtrary side, appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage, nor so earnest before in Pulpit, but as ready now to seale the same with his bloud) tooke vppon him to comfort M. Saūders all that he might, admonishing him (as he could do it very well) not to forsake cowardly his flocke when hee had most neede to defend the wolfe from them: neither hauing put to his hand to Gods plough, to start now aside and geue it ouer, nor yet (that is worst of all) hauyng once forsakē Antichrist, to fall either himselfe, or to suffer others by his example to returne to theyr vomit agayne.

After which and such like perswasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good hart vnto him: what man (quoth he) there is a great deale more cause in me to be afeard thē in you, for as much as you see, I cary a greater masse of flesh vpon my backe then you do, and being so laden with a heauier lumpe of this vile carkase ought ther'fore of nature to be more frayle then you: & yet sayth he, * I will see the vttermost drop of this grease of mine moltē away, & the last gobbet of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I wil forsake God and his truth. Wherunto the

other answering but litle, & wishing that almighty God woulde geue him more strength thē he presently felt in himselfe, acknowledging his owne weaknes, consēted notwithstanding though it were somewhat fayntly, to ioynē w^t him in the profession of the Gospell, & so to go vp to London & set forth the same: wherupon they gaue ech other theyr hāds.

Now when they were come to London, Lord what a great chaunge was there betwene these two persons. The poore feeble faynt harted Saunders, by the goodnes of almighty God, taking hart of grace to him, seking the same in humility, boldly & stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightely beating down Antichrist, & lustely preached Christ his maister, for the which he afterward suffered most willingly as is afore declared. Wheras on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequele, had bene more stout in words,* thē constant in deeds, and a greater bragger, then a good warrior) folowed Peter so iustly in crackes, howsoever he did in repentance (which God onely knoweth) that he came not so soone to London but he chaūged his tipet, & playd y^e Apostata, preaching in stede of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors & lyes, aduauncing Antichrist, and ouerthrowing poore Christ with all his mayne: so his former boldnes came to nothing, vnlesse it were a contrarye key, becomming of a faithfull pastour a false runnagate, and of a true Preacher a sworne enemy of Gods euerlasting Testament, to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of hys flock, and the vtter vndoing, with our Gods greater mercy, of his owne soule. Wherein are specially to be considered the deepe and maruellous iudgementes of God, who as he can and doth make strong whome it pleaseth hym, when he seeth his time, & most commonly such as appeare most feeblest: euen so contrariwise throweth he downe other [Page 1500](#) some,* seeme they neuer so stoute, stand they neuer so much in theyr own conceites. Wherefore let him that standeth take heed he fall not, and let vs pray continually to almighty God though we haue fayth, that he will helpe and encrease our faith, that in him it may be made strōg, which of it selfe is so weake, that it is soone ouerthrowne.

This blessed man of God enduring long time in prisō, did not passe all his time in vnfruitfull idlenes, but still frō time to time did visite his frendes (as is sayd) and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction & consolatiō. All which letters it shall not be greatly needful here to insert, partly because they are to be found in the booke of letters, partly because we entēd also (if God will) to prosecute the same more at large. In the meane time it shall not be out of place here presētly to cōprehend certein of them, as in order foloweth.

¶A letter sent to M. Farrar Bishop of S. Davids, Doctor Tailor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot.

*GRace, mercy and peace, in Iesus Christ our Lord. &c. Good fathers and deare brethren, be thankefull vnto our most gracious God, which hath preserued vs, and shall (I doubt not) from blaspheming his blessed name: yea not onely that, but also ex ore Infantium & Lactentium perficiet laudem. &c. i. Out of the mouthes of very babes and sucklinges shall be set forth his praise. They offer vs (forsooth) our liberty & pardon, so that we will rise with them vnto that faith which we with them were fallen from. Yea or no, must be answered in hast. They will not admit any need full circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable & abhominable. Rise with them we must vnto the vnity. And pardon (say I) of me must not be so dearely purchased. A pardon I desire, for to liue with an vnclogged cōscience. The Donatists (say they) sought for such singularitye, but they were not meete to liue in a common wealth, no more be you, as you shall

shortly vnderstand. Wherefore away with him, yea the time was named within thys seuen night. There be 12. houres in the day. Death shall be wellcome (say I) as being looked for long since, and yet do iustice ye were best, for Abels bloud cryed ye wot what. The spirite of God be vpon you,* & God saue your honors. Thus departed I from thē. Pray, pray. Ah, ah, puer sum, nescio loqui. i. I am a childe, I cannot speake. My brother P. shall shew you more herein. By him send me word what you haue done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray, I woulde gladly meet with my good brother Bradford, on the backside about 11. of the clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we haue such outwalkers, but then will they be at dinner.

Yours as you know, Laurence Saunders.

¶A Letter which L. Saunders did write to his wife, and others of the faythfull, after his condemnation to the fire, written the last of Ianua. 1555. out of the Counter in Breadstreete.

THE grace of Christ, w^t the cōsolation of the holy Ghost, to the keeping of fayth and a good conscience, cōfirme & keep you for euer vessels to Gods glory.* Amen.

Oh what worthy thanks can be geuē to our gracious God for his vnmeasurable mercies plētifully poured vpō vs? And I most vnworthy wretch cannot but poure forth at this present, euē from the bottom of my hart, the beway'ling of my great ingratitude and vnkindnes towardes so gracious a good God and louing father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sinnes, so especially for that sinne of my vnthankfulnessse, craue pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commendyng me to Goddes greate mercyes in Christ.

To number these mercies in particular, where to num'ber the drops of water which are in the Sea, the sandes on the shore, the starres in the skie, O my deare wife & ye the rest of my frends, reioyce with me, I say reioyce w^t thanksgeuing for this my present promotion,* in that I am made worthy to magnifye my God, not onely in my life by my slow mouth & vncircūcised lips, bearing witnes vnto hys truth, but also by my bloud to seale the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church. And as yet I testify vnto you, that the comfort of my sweete Christ doth driue from my phantasy the feare of death. But if my deare husband Christ doe for my triall, leaue me alone a little to my selfe, alas I know in what case I shalbe thē: but if for my prooffe he do so, yet am I sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wal & hide himselfe (as Salomō saith in his mistical ballet) yet will he peep in by a crest to see how I do. He is a very tender harted Ioseph: though he speak roughly to his brethren & handle thē hardly, yea & threatē greuouse bondage to his best beloued brother Benjamin: yet can he not conteyne hymselfe from weeping with vs & vpon vs, with falling on our neckes, and sweetly kissing vs. Such,* such a brother is our Christ vnto vs all. Wherefore hasten to go vnto him as Iacob did with his Sonnes and family, leauing theyr country and acquayntaunce. Yea this our Ioseph hath obtained for vs, that Pharaο the Infidell shall minister vnto vs chariots, wherin at ease we may be caryed to come vnto him: as we haue experience how our very aduersaries do help vs vnto our euerlasting blisse by theyr speddy dispatch, yea & how all thinges haue bene helpinges hereunto: blessed be our God. Be not afrayde of fraybugges which lye in the way. Feare rather the euerlasting fire: feare the Serpent which hath that deadly sting of which by bodely death they shall be brought to taste which are not grafted in Christ, wanting fayth and a

good conscience, and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh my deare wyfe and frends, we, we whom God hath deliuered from the power of darcknes, and hath translated vs into the kingdom of his deare sonne, by putting of the old man, & by fayth putting on the newe, euen our Lord Iesus Christ, his wisdom, holines, righteousnes & redēption, we I say haue to triumph agaynst the terrible spitefull Serpent the Deuill, sinne, hell, death & damnation. For Christ our brasen Serpent hath pulled away the sting of this serpēt,* so that now we may boldly in beholding it spoyled of his sting, triūph & with our Christ & al his elect say: Death where is thy sting? Hell where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath geuen vs [Vs] the victory through our Lord Iesus Christ.

Wherefore be mery my deare wife, & all my deare felow heyres of the euerlasting kingdome alwayes remēber the Lord. Reioyce in hope, be pacient in tribulation, continue in prayer, & pray for vs now appoynted to the slaughter y^t we may be vnto our heauenly father, a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I may hardlye write to you. Wherefore let these few words be a witnes of commendations to you and all them which loue vs in fayth,* and namely vnto my flocke, among whom I am resident by Gods prouidence, but as a prisoner.

And although I am not so amōg them, as I haue bene to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth god now preach vnto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captiuity which now I suffer among them for Christes Gospelles sake, bidding them to beware of the Romish Antichristian religion and kingdome, requiring and charging them to abide in the trueth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed w^t the bloud of theyr Pastor: who though he be vnworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ there high pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath bene taught thē by me, is witnessed by my chaynes, & shall be by my death, through the power of that hye pastor. Be not carefull good wife, cast your care on the Lord, & commend me vnto him in repentant praier, as I do you and our Samuell: whom euen at the stake, I will offer as my selfe vnto God. Fare ye wel all in Christ, in hope to be ioyned w^t you in ioy euerlasting. This hope is put vp in my bosome, Amen, Amen, Amen, Pray, pray.

***An other Letter to Maystres Lucy Harington, a Godly Gentlewoman, and frendly to him in his troubles.**

YOur most gentle commendations,* whereof this messenger made remembraunce vnto me, was for two causes very comfortable. First, for that thereby I vnderstood of the state of your health & bodely welfare, for the which I geue thanks vnto god, who graunt the long continuaunce thereof to his honour and fatherly good will, whereunto I will dayly say, Amen. And farther I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindefull frendship towards me farre vnworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much reioysing in our so gracious a God and mercifull Father, who as he hath in his vnmeasurable mercy by fayth handfasted vs his chosen childrē vnto his deare sonne our Christ, as the spirituall spouse of such an heauēly husband: so he linketh vs by loue one vnto an other, being by that bond cōpact together with charitable readines to doe good one vnto another: so that first to the glory of our God & his Christ, thē to our owne ioying in the testimony of a good cōscience, and last of all to the stopping of the mouthes and confusiō of our aduersaries, we beare the badge as the right spouse of our Christ, which himselfe noted in this saying: Herein shall all men know that ye be my Disciples, if ye loue one another. Then farther, by this bond of mutuall loue,* is sette forth the fatherly prouidence of God towards vs his

children, that though it be he that careth for vs, in whome we liue, mooue and be, who feedeth all flesh with bodely sustenance, yet hath he appoynted vs in these present necessities, to stand in his sted one vnto another. Wherein is not onelye sette forth our dignitye, but also that vnspeakeable accorde and vnitye among vs the many members in his mysticall body. And though that either [Page 1501](#) for lacke of ability, or els through distaunce of place, power and oportunity of helping one another doe fayle: yet wonderfull is the working of Gods children through the spirite of prayer, as wherby they fetch all heauenly influence frō Christ theyr celestially head by his spirite▪ to be measured seuerally as maye serue to the mayntenance of the whole body.

Thus doth our faythfull prayer which we make one for another, distribute and scater Gods bountiful blessinges both ghostly and bodely,* when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arme may not reach forth such Gods riches. According herunto I well perceiue and vnderstand your readines to do good vnto all, and especially I haue experience of your readye good will towardes me in your hartye desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieue my lacke,* and of your helpe to be extended to me in the other spirituall sort by your good prayer, I doubt not: as I also therin assure you of my helpe, being all that I may do, & yet the same not so much as I would do.

My need concerning bodely necessaryes, is as yet furnished by Gods prouision, so that I am not driuē to any extremity wherfore to be burdenous to you, as your gentle beneuolence prouoketh me, the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be eis witnes at this present, in geuing this corruptible body to burne for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say vnto you that I haue a poore wife and childe whom I loue in the Lord, and whome I know for my sake you will tender when I am departed hence. &c.

¶An other Letter to Maystres Lucy Harrington.

GRace and mercy. &c. It happeneth oftentimes that aboundance of matter bringing with it much vehemēcy of frendly affection, maketh men dumbe, and euen then chiefly when there is most eger purpose of speaking,* silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected, vnperfectly to expresse that he goeth about to vtter. Such impediment by much matter mingled with feruency of affection, feele I some times in my selfe, letting the vtteraunce either by tongue or writing, of the aboundance of the hart. The loue of our most gracious God and heauenly Father bestowed vpon vs in the merites of Christ our Sauour, who may by cōcept of minde comprehend, passing in deed al vnderstanding? much lesse may the same by any meanes be expressedly vttered. And as suche heauenlye blessinges which by fayth we fetch from aboue, be inexplicable: so is it hard to vtter, when the faythfull are set on fire by loue, theyr readines to reach forth and to geue by charity, as by fayth they haue receiued. But (alas) we cary this treasure in earthen vessels. Many times fayth is feble and then loue loseth her feruor.* Pray we therfore, Lord encrease our fayth, and loue forthwith will be on fire. And immortall thanks be geuen vnto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed vpon vs the first fruites of his spirite, who cryeth in our hartes Abba Father. And (as S. Paule sayth) seeing we haue the same spirit of fayth,* according as it is written: I beleueed and therfore haue I spoken? we also beleue and therfore we speak: Yea God knoweth this spirit putteth in vs a minde to speake, but in attempting therof, we are driuen w^t Moyses to say: O Lord, I am slow mouthed and of vncircumcised lippes: & with Ieremy:* O Lord I cannot speake.

Albeit that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of hart in my tender Christian duety to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you let this be settled in your vnderstanding, that as S. Paule expresseth vnto his Corinthians that they were in his hart eyther to liue or to dye, with many other such sayings vttered vnto them and the Galathians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so in some part I would be like affected towards all Gods children, and especially towards you whō I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say, how much I am indebted. I thanke you for your great frendshyp and tender good will towards my wife: yea that good gracious God recompēce you, which may worthely with the more counteruayle the same, and fulfill that which lacketh of thankfull duety in vs. And because of that which heretofore I haue conceiued of you and of your more then naturall loue towards me and mine: I make my selfe thus bold to lay this burdē vpon you, euen the care and charge of my sayd poore wife I meane, to be vnto her a mother & mistres to rule and direct her by your discreet counsell.* I know she conceiueth of you the same that I do, & is thankfull vnto God with me for such a frend, and therfore I beseech you euen for Christes sake, put neuer from you thys frendly charge ouer her, whether I liue longer or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I neither she haue any such extreme need: if we had I would be as bold with you as mine owne mother. I beseech you geue my hartly salutations vnto M. Fitzwilliams & my good Lady, with thanks also for my poort wife and child, the Lord recompence them.

Laurence Saunders.

Furthermore as touching his fatherly care & affection to his wife and his litle child, the same is liuely set forth in an other letter, which he did write to his wife: wherein he admonished her, that she should not resort much to the prison, where he was, for daūger of trouble that might ensue, the tenour of whose letter here foloweth.

¶An other letter to his wife with a certayne remembraunce to M. Harrington and M. Hurland.

GRace and comfort. &c. Wife you shall do best not to come often vnto the Grate where the Porter may see you.* Putte not your selfe in daunger where it needes not: you shall I think, shortly come farre enough into daunger by keeping fayth and a good conscience: which (deare wife) I trust you do not slacke to make reckoning and account vpon by exercising your inward man in meditation of Gods most holy word, being the sustenance of the soule, and also by geuing your selfe to hūble prayer: for these two thinges be very meanes how to be made members of our Christ meet to inherite his kingdome.

Do this (deare wife) in earnest, and not leauing of, and so we two shall with our Christ and all his chosen children, enioye the mery world in that euerlasting immortality, wheras here will nothing els be found but extreme misery, euen of them which most greedely seeke this worldlye wealth: and so, if we two continue Gods children graffed in our Christ, the same Goddes blessing which we receiue, shall also settle vpon our Samuel. Though wee do shortly depart hence and leaue the poore Infant (to our seeming) at all aduentures, yet shall he haue our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he sayd and he cannot lye: I will be thy God (sayth he) and the God of thy seed. Yea if you leaue him in the w^ol^dernes destitute of all helpe, being called of God to do his wil either to dye for the confession of Christ,* either any worke of obedience: that God which heard the

crye of the litle poore infant of Agar Saraes handmayden and did succour it, wil do the like to the child of you or any other fearing him and putting your trust in him. And if we lacke fayth (as we do in deede many times) let vs call for it and we shall haue the encrease both of it and also of any other good grace needefull for vs: and be mery in GOD, in who also I am very mery and ioyfull. O Lord what great cause of reioycing haue we, to thinke vpō that kingdome which he voucheth safe for his Christes sake, freely to geue vs, forsaking our selues and folowing him? Deare wife this is truely to follow him,* euen to take vp our crosse and followe him, and then as we suffer with him, so shall we raigne with him euerlastingly. Amen. Shortly, Shortly, Amen.

***An other letter to his wife, to Mayster Robert Harrington, M Hurland. &c.**

GRace and comfort, &c. Deare wife reioyce in our gracious God, and his our Christ,* and geue thanks moste humbly and hartely to him for this dayes worke, that in any part I most vnworthy wretch should be made worthy to beare witnes vnto his euerlasting verity, which Antichrist with his, by mayne force (I perceyue) and by moste impudēt pride and boasting, wil go about to suppres. Remember God alway my deare wife, and so shal gods blessing light vpon you and our Samuel. O remēber alwaye my wordes for Christes sake: be mery and grudge not agaynst God, and pray, pray. We be al mery here thanks be vnto God, who in his Christ hath geuē vs great cause to be mery, by whō he hath prepared for vs such a kingdom, and doth and will geue vnto vs some litle taste therof, euē in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it.*Blessed (sayth our Christ) be they which hunger and thirst after righteousnesse, for such shall be satisfied. Let vs goe, yea let vs run to seeke such treasure, and that with whole purpose of hart to cleaue vnto the Lord, to finde suche Riches in his heauenly word through his spirite obteyned by prayer.* My deare Frenches and Brethren Mayster Harryngton and Mayster Hurland, pray, pray. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma. That is. The spirite is ready, but the fleshe is weake. When I looke vpon my selfe, quid ego stupidus & attonitus habeo quod dicam, nisi illud Petri, exi a me Domine quia homo peccator sum? i. Being astonished and confoūded, what haue I els to say, but those wordes of Peter: Lorde goe from me: for I am a sinnefull man? But then feele I that sweete comforte: Lucerna pedibus meis verbum Domini, lumen semitis meis, & haec mea est consolatio in humilitate mea. i. The word of the Lorde is a Lanterne to my feete, and a light vnto my pathes: and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then waxe I bolde with the same Peter to say: Domine ad quem ibimus, verba vitae aeternae habes. i. Lord to whom shall we go? [Page 1502](#) thou hast the wordes of euerlasting life. This comfort haue I when the geuer thereof doth geue it. But I looke for battels with the roote of vnfaythfulnes, the which I feele in me, will most egerly geue vnto my conscience, when wee come once to the combate. We be (I wene) within the soūd of the triumpe of our enemies. Play ye that be abroade the part of Moyses,*Orantes in omni loco, sustollentes puras manus. i. Praying in all places, lifting vp pure hands, & Gods people shal preuayle:* yea our bloud shalbe theyr perdition who do most triumphantly spill it, & we then being in the handes of our God, shall shine in his kingdome, and shal stād in great stedfastnes, agaynst thē which haue dealt extremely with vs: And whē these our enemies shall thus see vs, they shalbe vexed with horrible feare, and shall wonder at the hastines of the sodaine health, and shall say with themselues, hauing inward sorow and mourning for very anguish of minde: These are they whom we sometime had in derision and iested vpon: we fooles thought their liues to be verye madnes, and their end to be without honor, but loe how they are accounted among the childrē of God. The blessing of God be with you all. &c.

Laurence Saunders.

¶To his wife a litle before his burning.

GRace and comfort in Christ, Amen. Deare wife be mery in the mercies of our Christ,* & ye also my deare frendes. Pray, pray for vs euery body. We be shortly to be dispatched hēce vnto our good Christ. Amen, Amen. Wife I would you sent me my shyrt which you know wherunto it is cōsecrated. Let it be sowed down on both the sides and not open. Oh my heauenly father look vpon me in the face of thy Christ,* or els I shall not be able to abide thy countenance: such is my filthines. He will do so, and therefore I will not be afrayd what sinne, death, hell, and damnation cā do agaynst me. O Wyfe alwayes remember the Lord. God blesse you, yea he will blesse thee good wyfe & thy poore boy also: onely cleaue thou vnto him, and he will geue thee all thinges. Pray, pray, pray.

¶An other letter to M. Robert and Iohn Glouer, written the same morning that he was burnt.

GRace and consolatiō in our sweet Sauour Christ, Oh my deare brethren whom I loue in the Lord, being loued of you also in the Lord, be mery & reioyce for me, now ready to go vp to that mine inheritance, which I my selfe in deed am most vnworthy of, but my deare Christ is worthye, who hath purchased the same for me with so deare a price. Make haste my deare brethrē, to come vnto me, that we may be mery, eo gaudio quod nemo tollet a nobis. i. with that ioy which no man shall take from vs. Oh wretched sinner that I am, not thankfull vnto this my Father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a vessell vnto his honor. But O Lorde, nowe accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not enough circumcised hart. Salute my good Sisters your wiues, & good sisters feare the Lord. Salute all other that loue vs in the trueth. Gods blessing be with you alwayes. Amen. Euen now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my Christ helpe, or els I perish.

Laurence Saunders.

¶After these godly letters of M. Saūders diuersly dispersed and sent abroad to diuers of the faythfull cōgregation of Christ, as is afore to be seene, now in the latter end we will adioyne two other letters writtē not by Mayster Saunders the martyr, but by M. Ed. Saunders the Iustice his brother, sent to this our Saunders in prison, although conteining no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent that the reader may see in these two brethren so ioyned in nature, and so deuided in religiō, y^e word of the Lord verified, truely saying: brother shalbe agaynst brother.* &c. as by the contentes of these two letters folowing may appeare.

¶A letter of Iustice Saunders, to his brother Laurence.

*After my most harty commendations, these bene to a certaine you that I haue spoken with M. Basset, who hath shewed me that 4. pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his handes of the profite of the Prebēdary at York, the which you shall haue although as he thinketh, it was not due vnto you by the reason of your depriuation: before it was due. As concerning your conscience in Religion, I beseech God it maye be lightened by the holy Ghost,

and that you may also haue the grace of the holy Ghost to follow the counsell of Sainct Paule to Timothe. 2. Recte tractare verbum veritatis. That is. To handle rightly the word of truth. Wherein you ar dissenting from many holy and Catholicke men, especieally in the Sacramēt, maketh me in my conscience to condemne yours. For althoughe I haue not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martir & other such. &c.* yet haue I had great desire to see Theophilact and diuers others of his sort and opinion both notable and holy Fathers (if any credit be geuen to the writinges of our auncient fathers before vs) and surely the sentences and iudgementes of two or three of them hath more confirmed my conscience then 300. of the Zuinglians or as many of the Lutherians can or should doe. Thus in haste willing to reliefe you to the end you might conuert, if you shall need towards your finding, if you shall require it of me, you shall vnfaynedly finde my mony ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send vs al thinges good for vs. Scribled this Thursday by your brother and petitioner to God.

Ed. Saunders

¶An other letter of Iustice Saunders to his brother wherein he seeketh to winne him to Popery.

AS nature and Brotherly loue with godly charity requireth,* I send you by these letters (quantum licet) most hartly cōmendation, being sory for your fault and your disobedient handlyng of your selfe towards my Lord Chauncellour, who I assure you, mindeth your good and preseruacion, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know whether you haue not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chaūcellours appoyntment, and howe you can frame your selfe to reforme your errour in the opinion of the moste blessed and our most comfortable Sacrament of the aultar. Wherein I assure you I was neuer in all my life more better affected then I am at thys present, vsing to my great comforte hearing of Masse,* and somewhat before the sacring time, the meditation of S. Barnard, sette forth in the third leafe of this present booke. The accustomed vsing whereof I am fullye professed vnto during my life, and to geue more fayth vnto that confessiō of holy Barnarde, thē to Luther &c. or Latimer. &c. for that the antiquity, the vniuersality of the open church, and the consent of all holy Saynts and Doctors do confirme the same, acertayning you that I haue bene earnestly moued in mine owne cōscience these ten or twelue daies past, and also betweene God and my selfe, to mooue you to the same, most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender my naturall, godly, or frendly loue towards you, that you would read ouer thys booke this holy time, at my request, although you haue alreadye seene it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfy your owne conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

By yours, from Seriantes Inne. Ed. Saunders.

¶The Life and Martyrdome of Mayster IOHN HOOPER Byshop of Worcester and Glocester, burnt for the defence of the Gospell at Glocester. Anno. 1555. February. 9.

IOHN HOOPER Student and graduate in the vniuersity of Oxford, after the study of other sciēces,* wherin he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through Gods secret vocation was styrred with feruēt desire to the loue & knowledge of the Scriptures. In the reading & seaching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence, ioyned with earnest prayer: so neyther wanted vnto

him the grace of the holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to opē vnto him the light of true Diuinity.

Thus Mayster Hooper growing more and more by Gods grace, in ripenes of spirituall vnderstanding, and shewing withall some sparckles of his feruent spirite being then about the beginning of the 6. Articles, in the time of king Henry the 8. fell eftsoones into displeasure & hatred of certaine Rabbines in Oxford, who by and by began to styr coales agaynst him, wherby, and especially by the procurement of Doctour Smith, he was compelled to voyde the Uniuersity, and so remouing from thence, was retayned in the house of Syr Thomas Arundell, and there was his Steward, till the time that Syr Thomas Arundell hauing intelligence of his opinions & religion, which he in no case did fauor, and yet exceedingly fauourynge the person & conditions of the man,* found the meanes to send him in a message to the Bishop of Winchester, writing his letter priuily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good vpon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his seruauent to him agayne.

Winchester after long conference with M. Hooper 4. or 5. dayes together, when he at length perceiued that neither he could do that good, which he thought, to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to M. Arundels [Page 1503](#) request, he sent home his seruauent agayne, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his brest a grudging stomacke agaynst Mayster Hooper still.

It followed not long after this (as malice is alwayes working mischief) that intelligence was geuen to master Hooper to prouide for himselfe,* for daunger that was wor'king agaynst him. Whereupon M. Hooper leauing M. Arundels house, and borrowing an horse of a certayne friend (whose life he had saued a little before from the gallows) tooke his iourney to the Sea side, to goe to Fraunce, sending backe the horse agayne by one, which in deede did not deliuer him to the owner. M. Hooper being at Paris taried there not long, but in short time returned into England agayne, & was retayned of M. Sentlow, till the tyme that he was agayne molested and laid for: whereby he was cōpelled (vnder the pretence of being Captayne of a ship going to Ireland) to take the Seas, and so escaped he (although not without extreme perill of drowning) through Fraunce,* to the higher partes of Germany. Where he entring acquaintance with the learned men, was of thē frēdly and louingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zuricke of Mayster Bullinger, being his singuler frend. Where also he maryed his wife, which was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously the Hebrue toung.

At length when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the 6. Articles, and to geue vs king Edward to raygne ouer this Realme, with some peace and rest vnto the gospel, amongst many other English exiles, which thē repared homeward, M. Hooper also, moued in cōsciēce, thought not to absent himselfe, seing such a time and occasion offered to helpe forward the Lords worke,* to the vttermost of his ability. And so comming to M. Bullinger, and other of his acquayntance in Zuricke (as duty required) to geue them thanks for their singuler kindnes and humanity toward him manifolde wayes declared, with like humanity agayne purposed to take his leaue of thē at his departing, & so did. Unto whom M. Bullinger agayne (who had alwayes a speciall fauor to M. Hooper) spake on thys wyse: M. Hooper (sayde he) although we are sory to parte wyth your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we haue to reioice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christes true religion, that you shall now returne

out of long banishment vnto your natiue country agayn, where not onely you may enioy your own priuate liberty but also the cause and state of Christes Church by you may fare the better as we doubt not but it shall.

An other cause moreouer why we reioyce with you & for you, is this, that you shal remoue not only out of exile, into liberty: * but you shall leaue here a baren, a sower, & an vnpleasant country, rude & sauage, and shal go into a land flowing with milke and hony, replenished w^t al pleasure & fertility. Notwithstanding w^t this our reioycing, one feare and care we haue, least you being absent, and so far distant from vs, or els comming to such aboundance of wealth & felicity, in your new welfare, and plenty of al thinges, and in your flourishing honors, where ye shall come peraduenture to be a Bishop, and where ye shall finde so many new frends, you wil forget vs your old acquaintance & welwil'lers. Neuertheles howsoeuer you shall forget & shake vs of, yet this perswade your selfe, y^t we will not forgette our old frend & fellow M. Hooper. And if you shal please not to forget vs agayne, then I pray you let vs heare from you.

Whereunto M. Hooper aunswering agayne, first gaue to M. Bullinger and the rest right harty thanks, for that their singuler good will, and vnderesued affection, appearing not onely now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreouer that as the principal cause of his remouing to his countrey was the matter of Religion: so touching the vnpleasantnes and barrennes of that couⁿtry of theirs, there was no cause therein, why he could not finde in his hart to continue his life there, as soone as in any place in the world, and rather then in his owne natiue country, if there were nothing els in his cōscience that moued hym so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his olde frendes, although (sayd he) the remembraunce of a mans countrey naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but god had blessed his country of England with many great commodities: yet neither the nature of country nor pleasure of commodities, nor newnesse of frendes should ouer induce him to the obliuion of such frendes and benefactors, whō he was so intirely bound vnto: & therefore you shall be sure (sayde he) from time to time to heare from me, and I wyll write vnto you as it goeth with me. But the last newes of al I shal not be able to write: for there (sayd he) taking M. Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most paynes, there shall you heare of me to be burned to ashes: * and that shalbe the last newes which I shal not be able to write vn'to you, but you shall heare it of me. &c.

To this also may be added an other like propheticall demonstration, forshewing before the maner of his Martyrdome wherewith he should glorify God, which was this. When M. Hooper being made Bishop of Worcester and Glocester should haue his armes giuē him by the Herold, * as the maner is here in Englād, euery Bishop to haue his armes assigned vnto him (whether by the appoyntment of M. Hoper, or by y^e Herold I haue not certainly to say) but the armes which were to him allotted was this: a Lambe in a fiery bush, and the sunne beames from heauen descending downe vpon the Lambe, rightly deuoting (as it seemed) the order of his suffering, which afterward folowed.

But now to the purpose of our story againe: * Thus whē M. Hooper had taken his farewell of M. Bullinger and his frends in Zurick, he made his repayre agayn into Enland in the raigne of K. Edward 6. where he comming to London vsed continually to preach, most tymes twyse, at least once euery day, and neuer fayled.

In his Sermons, according to his accustomed maner, he corrected sinne,* and sharply inueyed agaynst the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the Church. The people in great flocks and companies, daily came to heare his voyce, as the most melodious sounde and tune of Orpheus harpe, as the Prouerbe sayth: Insomuch that often times, when he was preaching, the Church shoulde be so ful, that none could enter further then the doores therof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tong eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in paynes indefatigable.

Moreouer, besides other his giftes and qualities, this is in him to be maruelled, that euen as he began so he cōtinued still vnto his liues end.* For neither could his labour and payne taking breake him, neither promotion chaunge him, neither daynty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kinde of sclāuder (although diuers went about to reprove it) could fastē any fault vpō him. He was of body strong, his health whole & soūd, his wit very pregnant, his inuincible pacience able to sustein whatsoever sinister fortune and aduersity could doe. He was constant of iudgement, a good lusticer, spare of dyet, sparer of words, & sparest of time. In housekeping very liberall, and sometime more free then his liuing would extend vnto. Briefly, of all those vertues and qualities required of S. Paul in a good B. in his epistle to Timothe, I know not one in this good B. lacking. He bare in countenaūce & talke alwayes a certayn seuer & graue grace, which might peraduenture be wished sometimes to haue bene a little more populare and vulgarlike in him: but he knewe what he had to doe best himselfe.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honest Citizen, & to me not vnknowne, which hauing in himselfe a certaine cōflict of conscience, came to his doore for couंसell: but being abashed at his austere behauior durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled minde at other mens hands, which he afterward by y^e help of almighty God did finde & obtayn. Therefore in my iudgement, such as are appointed & made gouernours ouer y^e flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, maners,* countenance and externall behauour, as neither they shew themselues to familiar & light whereby to be brought in contempt, nor in the other side a'gayn, that they appeare more lofty and rigorous, then appertayneth to the edifyng of the simple flocke of Christ. Neuertheles, as euery mā hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly grauitie in this man neither was excessiue, neither did hee beare that personage which was in him without great consideratiō. For it seemed to him peraduenture, that this licentious and vnbrideled life of the common sorte, ought to be chastened, not onely with wordes and discipline, but also with the graue and seuer countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kinde of preaching: at length, and that not wythout the great profite of many, he was called to preache before the kinges maiestie, and soone after, made Bishop of Gloucester by the kinges commaundement.* In that office he continued two yeares, and behaued himself so wel, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharpe correcting of sinne) could finde no fault with hym: and after that he was made Bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister & unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of Bishops, and of their apparell, with suche other like trifles, began to disturbe y^e good & lucky beginning of this godly byshop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begon in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious then profitable or

tending to edification, they vsed to weare suche garmentes and apparrell as the popish Bishops were wont to doe: first a Chymere,* & vnder [Page 1504](#) that a white Rochet: then a Mathematicall cap wyth iiij. angles, deuiding the whole world into foure partes. These trifles tending more to superstition thē otherwyse, as he could neuer abide,* so in no wise could he be perswaded to weare them. For this cause he made supplication to the kings maiestie, most humbly desiring his highnes, eyther to discharge him of the bishopricke, or els to dispense with him for such ceremoniall orders. Whose petition the kyng graunted immediately, writyng his letter to the Archb. after this tenour.

¶The Kings letters or grant, for the dispensation of Iohn Hooper elected B. of Gloucester, written to the Archbishop of Caunterbury and other Bishops.

*Right reuerend father, and right trusty and welbeloued, wee greete you well. Whereas we by the aduise of our Counsaile, haue called and chosen our right welbeloued and well worthy, M Iohn Hooper, professor of Diuinitie, to be our B. of Glocester, as well for his great knowledge, deepe iudgement and long study, both in the scriptures and other prophane learnyng, as also for his good discretion, ready vtteraunce and honest life for that kynd of vocation: to the intent all our louing subiects which are in his sayd charge and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine, learne the better their duety towards God, theyr obedience towards vs, and loue towards their neighbors: from consecrating of whom, we vnderstand you do stay, because he would haue you omit and let passe certayne rites and ceremonies offensiue to his conscience, wherby ye thynke you should fall in Premunire of lawes: we haue thought good by the aduise aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all maner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures, you should run and be in any maner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therfore.

Yeuen vnder our signet at our Castell of Wyndsore, the 5. of August, the 4. yeare of our raigene.

- Ed. Somerset.
- W. Wiltshire.
- W. North.
- W. Paget.
- An. Wingfield.
- N. Wootton.

Besides this letter of the kyng, also the Earle of Warwicke (which was afterward D. of Northumberland) adioined his letter to the foresayd Archb. of Cant. to this purpose and effect, that M. Hooper might not be burdened with the oth vsed then commonly in the consecratiō of bishops, which was against his conscience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be seene, as followeth.

*After my most hartly commendatiōs to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer my L. elect of Glocester, craueth to be borne withall at your hands, you would with safe to shew him your graces fauour the rather at this my instaunce: which thyng partly, I haue taken in hand by the kyngs Maiesties owne motion. The matter is wayed by his highnes, none other but that your grace may facily condescend vnto. The principal

cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oth burdenous to his conscience. And so for lacke of tyme I commit your grace to the tuition of almighty God.

From Westm. the 23. of Iuly, 1550.

Your graces most assured louing friend. I. Warwike.

¶ Both this graunt of the King, and also the Earles letters aforesayd notwithstanding, the bishops still stode earnestly in the defence of the foresayd ceremonies, sayeng it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the thyngs, and not in the thyngs themselues: adding moreouer, that he ought not to be so stubburne in so light a matter,* and that his wilfulnesse therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more then reason would, in the meane tyme occasion was geuen, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the aduersary to reioyce. In conclusion, this Theologicall contentiō came to this end, that the bishops hauyng the vpper hand, M. Hooper was faine to agree to this condition, that sometymes he should in hys Sermon shewe himselfe appparelled as the other Bishoppes were. Wherefore, appoynted to preach before the king as a new player in a strange apparel, he commeth forth on the stage. His vpper garment was a long scarlet Chymere downe to the foote, and vnder that a white linnen Rochet that couered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a Geometriall, that is, a foure squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the straungenes hereof was that day to that good preacher, euery mā may easily iudge. But this priuate contumely and reproch in respect of the publike profite of the Church, which he onely sought, hee bare and suffered paciently. And I would to God in lyke maner, they which tooke vpon them the other part of that tragedy, had yelded their priuate cause whatsoever it was to the publike concord and edifieng of the Church: for no man in all the Citie, was one haire the better for that hote contention.

I will name no body, partly for that hys oppugners beyng afterwards ioyned in the most sure frendship with him, in one & for one cause, suffred martyrdome, and partly for that I commonly vse accordyng to my accustomed maner,* to keep my pen from presumptuous iudging of any person: yet I thought to note the thyng for this consideration, to admonish the reader hereby, how wholesome & necessary the crosse of Christ is sometye in the church of Christ, as by the sequele hereof did afterward appeare. For as in a ciuill gouernance & common wealth, nothyng is more occasion of warre, then ouermuch peace: so in the church, and among churchmen, as nothyng is more pernitiuous then too much quietnes, so nothyng more ceaseth priuate contentions oftentimes rising amongst thē, then the publike crosse of persecution.

Furthermore, so I perswaded my selfe, the same not to be vnexpedient, to haue extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For if it do not a little appertaine to our publike consolation and comfort, when we read in the scriptures of the foule dissension betweene Paule and Barnabie: of the fall of Peter, and of Dauids murder and adultery: why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posteritie, to heare and know the fals of these godly Martyrs,* whereby we may the lesse despayre in our infirmitie, consideryng the same or greater infirmities to raigh in the holy Saints of God, both Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs.

And this by the way, thou hast heard (good Reader) hitherto the weakenes of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared vnto thee,* to the ende theyr fall may minister occasion to vs, eyther of eschewyng the lyke, or els to take hart and comfort in the lyke fall & frailenes of ours. Now agayne on the other part it remayneth to record after the foresayd discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in tyme of persecution, who afterward beyng in pryson for the truths sake, reconciled them selues agayne with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by Bishop Ridley, to the sayd Bishop of Glocester. The copy whereof as it was written wyth hys owne hand in Latine, hereafter followeth translated into English.

¶To my deare brother and reuerend fellow Elder in Christ, Iohn Hooper, grace and peace.

MY dearly beloued brother and fellow Elder,* whom I reuerence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captiuity and myne, I haue not saluted you by my letters: where as (I doe in deed confesse) I haue receiued from you (such was your gentlenes) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such tyme as I could not be suffered to write vnto you agayne: or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters myght safely come vnto your hands. But now my deare brother, for as much as I vnderstand by your workes, which I haue but superficially seene, that we throughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, agaynst the which the world so furiously rageth in these our dayes, howsoeuer in tyme past in certaine by matters and circumstances of Religion, your wisdom and my simplicitie (I graunt) hath a little iarred, ech of vs followyng the abundance of hys owne sense and iudgement: now (I say) be you assured,* that euen with my whole heart (God is my witnes) in the bowels of Christ, I loue you in the truth, and for the truthe sake, which abideth in vs, and (as I am perswaded) shall by the grace of God, abide in vs for euermore.

And because the world (as I perceiue brother) ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth agaynst Christ our Sauour, with all possible force and power, Exalting high thyngs agaynst the knowledge of God: let vs ioyne handes together in Christ, and if we cannot ouerthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in vs lyeth, let vs shake those high altitudes, not with carnall, but with spirituall weapons: and with all brother, let vs prepare our selues to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short tyme of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, we shall triumph together wyth hym in eternall glory.

I pray you brother salute in my name your reuerend fellowe prisoner and venerable father, D.C. by whome since the first day [Page 1505](#) that I heard of hys most godly and fatherly constancie, in confessing the truth of the gospell, I haue conceyued great consolation and ioy in the Lord. For the integritie and vprightnes of that man, his grauitie & innocency all England I thinke hath known lōg ago. Blessed be God therfore, which in such abundāce of iniquitie and decay of all godlines, hath geuen vnto vs in this reuerend old age, such a witnesse for the truth of hys Gospell. Miserable and hard harted is he, whom the godlynes and constant confession of so worthy, so graue, and innocent a man, wyll not mooue to acknowledge and confesse the truth of God.

I do not now brother require you to write any thing to me agayne: for I stand much in feare lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Neuertheles know you, that

it shall be to me great ioy to heare of your constancy & fortitude in the Lordes quarell. And albeit I haue not hitherto written vnto you, yet haue I twice (as I could) sent vnto you my mynde touchyng the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neyther can I yet brother, be otherwise perswaded: I see me thinks so many peryls, whereby I am earnestly moued to counsell you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially vnder the title of your owne name. For I feare greatly left by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and al thyngs takē away frō the rest of the prisoners, wherby otherwise, if it so please God they may bee able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord my most deare brother, and if there be any mo in prison with you for Christes cause, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I doe most humbly and hartily commend my selfe and my fellow prisoners and concaptiues in the Lorde, and yet once agayne, and for euer in Christ, my most deare brother, farewell.

N. Ridley.

*M. Hooper after all these tumults and vexations susteined about his inuesting and priestly vestures, at length entring into his Dioces, did there employ his tyme which the Lord lent hym vnder King Edwardes raigne, wyth such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops, which shall euer hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoeuer Dioces through the whole realme of England, so carefull was he in his Cure, that he left neyther paynes vntaken, nor wayes vnsought, how to trayne vp the flocke of Christ in the true word of saluation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are woont for lucre or promotions sake, to aspire to Bishoprickes, some huntynge for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men vse to purchase Lordships, & when they haue them, are loth to leaue them, and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly lawes, whereby to loose them.

*To this sort of men M. Hooper was cleane contrary, who abhorred nothing more then gain, labouring alwaies to saue and preserue the soules of his flocke. Who beeyng B. of two Diocesses, so ruled and guided eyther of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one familie. No father in his household, no gardiner in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, then he in his Dioces amongst his flocke, goyng about his townes and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That tyme that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publike causes, or els in priuate study, prayer, and visiting of schooles, with hys continuall doctrine, he adioyned due & discrete correction, not so much seuer to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, & welthy state,* thought they might do what they listed. And doubtlesse he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poore, to the great shame of no small number of men now adayes. Whereof many we do see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the meane tyme they haue no regard to the meaner sort of poore people, whome Christ hath bought as dearely as the other.

But now agayne we will returne our talke to maister Hooper, all whose lyfe in fine was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the rest a perpetuall lesson and sermon. Finally, how vertuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceiue and know

euidently by this: that euen as he was hated of none but of them which were euill, so yet the worst of them all could not reprooue his lyfe in any one iote.

I haue now declared hi^e vsage and behaiour abroad in the publike affaires of the Church: and certainly there appeared in him at home no lesse example of a worthy prelates life. For although he bestowed & conuerted the most part of his care vpon the publike flocke and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his bloud: yet neuertheles there lacked no prouisiō in him, and to bring vp his owne children in learning and good maners: euen so much that ye could not discern whether he deserued more praise for his fatherly vsage at home, or for his bishoply doyns abroad. For euery where he kept one religion in one vniforme doctrine and integritie. So that if you entered into the Bishops pallace, you would suppose to haue entred in to some Church or temple. In euery corner thereof, there was some smel of vertue, good example, honest conuersation, and reading of holy scriptures. There was not to be seene in hys house any courtly roystyng or idlenesse: no pompe at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the reuenues of both his bishoprikes,* although they did not greatly excede, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing surmounted therof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitalitie. Twise I was (as I remember) in his house in Worcester, where in hys common hall I saw a table spread with good store of meate, and beset ful of beggers and poore folke: and I asking hys seruantes what this ment, they told me that euery day their Lorde & maisters maner was, to haue customably to dinner a certayne number of poore folke of the sayd citie by course, who were serued by foure at a messe, with whote & wholesome meats: and when they were serued (being afore examined by him or his deputies of the Lordes praier, the articles of their fayth, and x. commaundements) then he himselfe sate downe to dinner, and not before.

After this sort and maner M. Hooper executed y^e office of a most carefull and vigilant pastor, by the space of two yeres and more, so long as the state of religion in K. Edwards tyme did safely flourish and take place:* and would God that all other bishops would vse the like diligence, care, and obseruance in their function. After this, K. Edward beyng dead, and Mary beyng crowned Queene of England, religion beyng subuerted & chaunged, this good B. was one of the first that was sent for by a pursiuant to be at London, and that for two causes.

First, to answer to D. Heath then appointed Bish. of that Dioces,* who was before in K. Edwards days depriued thereof for papistry.

Secondarily, to render account to D. Boner Bishop of London, for that he in King Edwardes tyme was one of his accusers, in that he shewed hymselfe not conformable to such ordinaunces as were prescribed to hym by the king and his Counsayle, openly at Paules Crosse. And although the said M. Hooper was not ignoraunt of the euils that should happen towards him (for he was admonished by certaine of his frends to get him away and shift for hymselfe) yet hee would not preuent them, but taryed still, sayeng: Once I did flee and tooke me to my feete, but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly perswaded to tary, and to liue and dye with my sheepe.

And when at the day of his appearaunce (which was the first of September) he was come to London, before he could come to the foresayd D. Heath and Boner, hee was intercepted &

commaunded violently agaynst hys wyll to appeare before the Queene and her Counsaile,* to answer to certaine bonds and obligations, wherein they sayd hee was bound vnto her. And when he came before thē, Winchester by and by receyued hym very opprobriously,* and rayling and ratyng of hym, accused him of Religion. Hee agayne freely and boldly told his tale, and purged hymselfe. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commaunded to Ward (it beyng declared vnto hym by his departure,* that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certaine summes of money, for the which he was indebted to the Queene, and not for religion.) This how false and vntrue it was, shall hereafter in his place more plainly appeare.

The next yeare, beyng 1554. the 19. of Marche,* he was called agayne to appeare before Winchester and other the Queenes Commissioners: where, what for the Bishop, and what for the vnruely multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was depriued of hys Bishoprikes. Which how, & in what order it was done,* here now followeth to be seene by the testimonie and report of one, which being present at the doing, committed the same to writyng.

¶A letter or report of a certaine godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers depriuation from hys Bishoprike. An. 1554. March. 19.

FOr so much as a rumor is spread abroad of the talk had at my L. Chuancellours,* betweene hym with other Commissioners there appoynted, and M. Hooper cleane contrary to the veritie and truth thereof in deede, and therefore to bee iudged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions [Page 1506](#) and euill reportes, then otherwise, I thought it my duetie, b•yng present thereat my selfe, in writyng to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the veritie therof may be knowen to the doubtfull people, and partly also to aduertise them, how vncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands: which with all humilitie vsed hymselfe towards them, desiryng that with patience he might haue bene permitted to speake, assuryng all men, that where I stood in a mammeryng and doubt, which of these two religions to haue credited, eyther that set forth by the kings maiesty that dead is, or els that now mainteyned by the Queens maiesty,, theyr vnreuerend behaiour towards M. Hooper, doth mooue me the rather to credite hys doctrine, then that which they with railyng and cruell words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I haue written here, was the effect of theyr talke, as I acknowledge it to bee true my selfe: so I appeale to all the hearers consciences, that there were present, (so they put affection away) for the witnesse to the same.

¶The Bishops of Wint. of London, of Duresme, of Landaffe, of Chichester, sate as Commissioners.

Lord Chauncellour.

AT M. Hoopers commyng in, the L. Chauncellour asked whether he was married.

Hooper.

*Yea, my L. and will not be vnmarried, tyll death vnmary me.

Duresme.

That is matter enough to depriue you.

Hooper.

That it is not my Lord, except ye do agaynst the Law.

The matter concerning mariage, was no more talked of then for a great space: but as well the Commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, & laughed,* and vsed such gesture as was vnseemely for the place, and for such a matter. The Bishop of Chichester D. Day, called M. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement wordes, and scornefull countenance. Bekonsall called him beast: so did Smyth one of the clerkes of the Counsayle, and diuers other that stooode by. At length the Bishop of Winchester said, that all men might liue chaste that would, and brought in this text: Castrauerunt se propter regnum coelorum, That is, There he that haue gelded themselves for the kingdom of heauen, Math. 19.

M. Hooper sayd, that text prooued not that all men could lyue chaste, but such onely to whome it was geuen: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry,* mocking and scorning, with callyng hym beast, that the text could not be examined. Then M. Hooper sayd, that it did appeare by the olde Canons that marriage was not forbidden vnto Priestes, and named the Decrees. But the Bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extrauagants. But M. Hooper said, that booke was not it which he named.

Then cryed out the Bishop of Winchester, and sayd: You shall not haue any other, vntill ye be iudged by this. And then began such a noyse, tumult, and speakyng together of a great many that faouored not the cause,* that nothyng was done ne spoken orderly, nor charitably. Afterwardes Iudge Morgan began to rayle at M. Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious & fowle words of hys doying at Glocester, in punishing of men, & said, there was neuer such a tyrant as he was. After that D. Day Bishop of Chichester said, that the Councel of Ancyra, which was before the Councell of Nice, was against the marriage of Priestes.

Then cryed out my L. Chancellor, & many with him, that M. Hooper had neuer read the Councels.

*Yes my Lord (quoth M. Hooper) and my L. of Chichester Doctor Day knoweth, that the great Councell of Nice, by the meanes of one Paphnutius, decreed that no Minister should be separated from his wife. But such clamours and cries were vsed, that the Councel of Nice was not seene.

After this long brutish talke, Tonsall Bishop of Duresme, asked M. Hooper whether he beleued the corporal presence in the sacrament. And maister Hooper said plainly that there was none such, neither did he beleue any such thyng.

Then would the Bish. of Duresme haue read out of a booke, for his purpose belike (what booke it was, I cannot tell:) but there was such a noise and confuse talke on euery side, that he dyd not read it. Then asked Winchester of M. Hooper, what authoritie mooued him not to beleue the corporall presence? He said, the authoritie of gods worde, and alleged this text: Quem oportet

coelum suscipere, vsque ad tempus restaurationis omnium. i. Whom heauē must hold, vntill the latter day.

Then the B. of Winchester would haue made that text to haue serued nothing for his purpose, & he said, he might be in heauen, and in the sacrament also.

M. Hooper would haue sayd more to haue opened the text, but all men that stood next about the Bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that M. Hooper was not permitted to say any more agaynst the Byshop. Whereuppon they bade the Notaries write that hee was married, and sayd, that he would not goe from hys wyfe,* and that he beleued not the corporall presence in the Sacrament, wherfore he was worthy to be depriued from his bishoprike.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confuse and troublesome talke that was betweene them, and except it were hasty and vncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk, at that time. At{que} haec ille hactenus.

¶The true report of M. Hoopers entertainment in the Fleete, written with his owne hand, the seuenth of Ianuary. 1554.

The first of September, 1553.* I was committed vnto the Fleete, from Richmount, to haue the liberty of the prison: and within sixe dayes after, I payd for my liberty v. pounds sterling to the Warden for fees: who immediately vpon the payment therof, complayned vnto Steuen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester,* and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a yeare, in the Tower chamber of the Fleete, vsed very extremely. Then by the meanes of a good Gentlewoman, I had liberty to come downe to dinner and supper, not suffered to speake wyth any of my friends: but as soone as dinner & supper was done, to repaire to my chamber agayne. Notwithstādyng whilst I came downe thus to dinner and supper, the Warden and his wyfe picked quarels with me, and complayned vntruly of me, to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a yeare and somewhat more.* Babington the Warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked Masse: and thereupon the Warden resorted to the B. of Wint. & obteyned to put me into the wardes, where I haue continued a long tyme, hauing nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw, and a rotten couering with a tike and a few fethers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, vntill by gods meanes good people sent me bedding to lye in. Of the one side of which prison is the sinke and filth of the house, and on the other side the towne ditch, so that the stinch of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During which tyme I haue bene sicke: & the doores,* barres, haspes, and chaines being all closed, and made fast vpon me, I haue mourned, called and cried for helpe. But the Warden when he hath knowen me many tymes redy to dye, and when the poore men of the wardes haue called to helpe me, hath commanded the doores to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying: let him alone, it were a good riddance of hym. And among many other tymes, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553. as many can witnes.

I payed alwayes like a Baron to the sayd Warden, as well in fees, as for my boord, which was xx. s. a weeke, besides my mans table, vntill I was wrongfully depriued of my bishoprike, and since

that tyme I haue payed hym as the best gentleman doth in his house: yet hath he vsed me worse and more vilely, then the veriest slaue that euer came to the hall Commons.

The said Warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton,* & stripped him out of his cloths to search for letters, & could find none but only a little remembrance of good peoples names, that gaue me their almes to relieue me in prison: and to vndoe them also, the Warden deliuered the same bill vnto the said St. Gardiner, Gods enemy and myne.

I haue suffered imprisonment almost eightene monethes, my goods, liuyng, friends,* and comfort taken from me, the Queene owing me by iust account 80. poundes or more. She hath put me in prison, and geueth nothyng to finde me, neither is there suffred any to come at me, wherby I might haue reliefe. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (sauing gods helpe) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to iudgement. But I commit my iust cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death. Thus much wrote he hymselfe of this matter.

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¶Another examination of M. Hooper.

THE xxij. of Ianuary followyng, 1555. Babington the Warden of the Fleete was commaunded to bryng M. Hooper before the Bishop of Winchester,* with other Bishops and Commissioners at the sayd Winchesters house at S. Mary Oueries, where as in effect thus much was done.

The Bishop of Winchester in the name of hymselfe and the rest, moooued Maister Hooper earnestly to forsake the euill and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the dayes of K. Edward the sixt,* and to returne to the vnitie of the Catholique Church, and to acknowledge the Popes holynesse to bee head of the same Churche, accordyng to the determination of the whole Parliament, promising, that as he hymselfe, with other his brethren had receyued the Popes blessing and the Queenes mercye: euen so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the Popes holynesse.

M. Hooper aunswered: that for as much as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrarye to the doctrine of Christ,* he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christes Church, much lesse to be head thereof: wherefore he would in no wyse condescend to any such vsurped iurisdiction, neither esteemed he the Church, whereof they call hym head, to be the Catholicke Church of Christ: for the Church onely heareth the voyce of her spouse Christ, & flieth the straungers. Howbeit (saith he) if in any point to me vnknown, I haue offended the Queenes maiestie, I shall most humbly submit my selfe to her mercy, if mercye may be had with safetie of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Aunswer was made, that the Queene would shew no mercy to the Popes enemies.* Whereuppon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleete againe: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, nere vnto the Wardens owne chamber, where he remayned sixe days: and in the meane tyme, his former chāber was searched by D. Martin and others, for writyngs and bookes, which M. Hooper was thought to haue made but none was found.

¶Here followeth another examination of M. Hooper.

The 28. of Ianuary, Winchester and other the Commissioners, sate in iudgement at S. Mary Oueries, whereas M. Hooper appeared before them at after noone agayne, and there after much reasonyng and disputation to and fro, hee was commaunded aside, tyll M. Rogers (which was then come) had bene likewise examined. Examinations beyng ended, the two Shiriffes of London were commaunded about foure of the clocke, to cary them to the Counter in Southwarke, there to remayne vntill the morow at ix. a clocke, to see whether they would relent and come home agayne to their Catholicke Church. So M. Hooper went before with one of the Shiriffes, and M. Rogers came after with the other, and beyng out of the Church doore, M. Hooper looked backe and stayed a little tyll M. Rogers drewe neare, vnto whom he sayd: Come brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and beginne to fry these fagots? Yea Sir (sayd M. Rogers) by Gods grace. Doubte not (sayde M. Hooper) but God wyll geue strength. So goyng forwardes, there was such a prease of people in the streetes, which reioyced at theyr constauncie, that they had much adoe to passe.

By the way the Shiriffe sayd to M. Hooper: I woonder that ye were so hastie and quicke with my L. Chancellour,* and dyd vse no more pacience? He aunswered: M. Shiriffe, I was nothyng at all impacient, althogh I was earnest in my maisters cause, and it standeth me so in hand for it goeth vpon life and death: not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come. Then were they committed to the Keeper of the Counter, and apointed to seuerall chambers, with commaundement that they should not be suffred to speake one with another, neyther yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

Upon the next day followyng, the 29. of Ianuary, at the houre appoynted they were brought agayne by the Shiriffes, before the sayd Bishop and Commissioners in the Churche,* where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talke, when they perceyued that M. Hooper would by no meanes condescend vnto them, they condemned hym to be disgraded, and read vnto hym his condemnation.* That done, M. Rogers was brought before them, and in lyke maner entreated, and so they deliuered both of them to the secular power the two shirifs of London, who were willed to cary them to the Clinke, a prison not far from the B. of Winchesters house, and there to remayne till night.

When it was darke, M. Hooper was led by one of the Shiriffes, with many bils and weapons, first through the B. of Winchesters house, and so ouer London bridge, thorough the Citie to Newgate. And by the way some of the Sergeaunts were wylled to goe before, and put out the Costerdmongers candles who vse to sit with lyght in the streetes: eyther fearyng (of lykelihooode) that the people would haue made some attempt to haue taken him away from them by force,* if they had seene hym goe to that prysonne: or els beyng burdened with an euill conscience, they thought darcknesse to be a most fitte season for such a businesse.

But notwithstanding this deuise, the people hauyng some foreknowledge of his comming,* many of them came foorth of their dores with lights and saluted hym, praying God for his constancie in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen hym in the same to the ende. M. Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for hym, and so went through Chepeside to the place appoynted, & was deliuered as close

prisoner, to the Keeper of Newgate, where he remained sixe dayes, no body beyng permitted to come to him, or to talke with him, sauynge his Keepers. and such as should be appoynted thereto.

During this tyme, Boner B. of London, and others at his appoyntment, as Fecknam, Chedsey,* and Harpsfield, &c. resorted diuers tymes vnto hym, to assay if by any meanes they could perswade him to relent and become a member of their Antichristian church. All the ways they could deuise, they attempted. For besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures, and of auncient writers wrasted to a wrong sense, accordyng to their accustomed maner, they vsed also all outward gentlenes and significations of friendship, with many great profers and promises of worldly commodities, not omitting also most grieuous threatnyngs, if with gentlenesse they could not preuaile, but they found hym alwayes one man, stedfast and immoueable.

When they perceiued that they could by no means reclayme him to their purpose, with such perswasions and offers as they vsed for his conuersion,* then went they about by false rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well knowen, that they and their seruaunts dyd spread it first abroade) to bring hym and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credite with the people. So the brute beyng a little spread abroad, and beleueed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the Byshop of London and other, it encreased more, & at the last came to M. Hoopers eares. Wherewith he was not a little greued, that the people should geue so light credite vnto false rumors, hauyng so simple a ground, as it may appeare by a letter which he wrote vpon that occasiō, the copy wherof followeth.

***A letter of Maister Hooper for the stoppyng of certayne false rumours spread abroad of hys recantation.**

THE grace of our Lord Iesus Christ bee wyth all them that vnfainedly looke for the comming of our Sauour Christ, Amen.*

Deare brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellowe prisoners for the cause of Gods gospell: I do much reioice and geue thanks vnto God for your constancie and perseuerance in affliction, vnto whom I wish continuaunce vnto the end. And as I do reioyce in your fayth and constancie in afflictions that be in prison: euē so do I mourne and lament to heare of our dere brethren that yet haue not felt such dangers for gods truth, as we haue, and do feelee, and be daily lyke to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroade (as I am credibly enformed) that I Iohn Hooper a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death (beyng in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abiure that which heretofore I haue preached. And this talke ariseth of this, that the B. of London and his chaplains resort vnto me. Doubtlesse, if our brethren were as godly as I would wish thē, they would thinke, that in case I did refuse to talke with them,* they might haue iust occasion to say, that I were vnlearned, & durst not speake with learned men, or els proud and disdainfull to speake with them. Therefore to auoyd iust suspition of both, I haue and do daily speake with thē when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am [Page 1508](#) neither proud, nor vnlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I doe in this poynt. For I feare not their arguments, neither is death terrible vnto me, praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall

serue: and that I am more cōfirmed in the truth which I haue preached heretofore by their commyng.

Therefore, ye that may send to the weake brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I haue hitherto left all thinges of the world, and suffred great paynes and imprisonment, & I thanke God I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortall man may be. It were better for them to pray for vs, then to credite or report such rumors that be vntrue. We haue enemies enough of such as know not God truely. But yet the fals report of weake brethren is a double crosse.* I wish you eternall saluation in Iesus Christ, and also require your continuall prayer, that he which hath begon in vs, may continue it to the end.

I haue taught the truth with my tong, and with my pen heretofore, & hereafter shortly will confirme the same by Gods grace with my bloud.

Forth of Newgate the 2. of February, an. 1554.

Your brother in Christ, Iohn Hooper.

Upon Monday mornynge the B. of London came to Newgate, and there disgraded M. Hooper, the sentence of which his degradation here followeth.

¶ Degradatio Hooperi.

IN nomine ✚ patris, ✚ & filij, ✚ & spiritus sancti. Amen. Quoniam per sententiam diffinitiuam à reuerendo in Christo patre & Domino Stephano permissione diuina,* Winton. Episcopo in & contra te Iohannem Hooper praesbyterum, suae iurisdictionis ratione haeresis & delicti infra illius dioecesis Winton. notoriè commissi existentem, nuper ritè & legitimè prolatam, constat sufficienter & legitimè nobis Edmundo London. Episcopo te praefatum Iohannem Hooper haereticum manifestum & obstinatum, ac pertinacem fuisse & esse, ac constat similiter tanquā haereticum huiusmodi per dictam sententiam pronunciatum & declaratum fuisse, maioris{que} excommunicationis sententia ob id innodatum & inuolutum similiter esse, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum & degradandum, curiae{que} seculari ob demerita tua huiusmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictae sententiae, ad quā nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, & expressius lique• & apparet: Idcirco nos Edmundus Episc. London. antedictus, quia nostra & vniuersitatis etiam in terest nostras hic partes interponere, & vicariam operam mutuam{que} vicissitudinem impendere, in cuius etiam dioecesi tu Iohannes Hooper per idem heresis crimen tunc & saepius, & ante & post commisisti, istis inquam & alijs praedictis attentis & exequendo omni meliori & efficaciori modo, quo possumus, sententiam praedictam, sic vt prae mittitur, latam in te qui infra fines & limites dioecesis nostrae London▪ notoriè consistēs, & in hac parte culpabilis & transgressor etiam notoriè existens, ad actualement degradationem tui praefati Iohannis Hooper (culpa tua exigente ac iustitia id poscente) duximus procedendum fore, ac sic etiam realiter procedimus, vt deinde iuxta iuris exigentiam & temporis retroacti morem laudabilem & normam consuetam, te in Arca Ecclesiae manere nolentem, curiae seculari, ritè & legitimè ac effectualiter tradere possumus, Quod ipsum sic fieri debere, nos per hanc nostrā sententiam siue decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, & declaramus in hijs scriptis.

After the sentence of degradation thus declared, nowe let vs see the forme and maner of their degradyng, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that the disgrading of this blessed B. did not proceed agaynst hym as against a B. but as onely against a Priest, as they termed him: for such as he was, these Baalamites accompted for no Bishop.

Here followeth the forme and maner vsed in the disgrading of B. Hooper.

THE fourth day of February, the yere aboue mentioned, in the Chappell in Newgate, the Bishop of London there sitting with his Notarie and certaine other witnesses. came Alexander Andrew the Gaoler,* bringyng wyth hym M. Hooper and M. Rogers, beyng condemned before by the Chauncellor: where the sayd Bishop of London, at the request of the foresayd Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties aboue mentioned, M. Hooper and M. Rogers, after this forme and maner. First, he put vpon them all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a Priest, with all other things to the same order appertainyng, as though (beyng reuested) they should solemnly execute in their office. Thus they beyng apparelled and inuested, the B. beginneth to plucke of, first the vttermost vesture, and so by degree and order commyng downe to the lowest vesture,* which they had onely in takyng Bennet and Collet: and so beyng stript and deposed, he depriued them of all order, benefite and priuiledge belonging to the Clergy: and consequently, that beyng done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the sayd parties so disgraded, to be geuen personally to the secular power, as the Shiriffes beyng for that yere, M. Dauy Woodrofe, and M. William Chester:* who receiuing first the sayde M. Rogers at the hands of the B. had him away with them, bringyng hym to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present. were M. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Londō, Rob. Cosin, and Rob. Willerton, canons of Paules, Th. Mountague, & George Howe clerkes, Tristram Swadocke, and Richard Clunney Sumner, &c.

The same Monday at night beyng the 4. of February, his keeper gaue hym an inkeling that he should be sent to Glocester to suffer death, whereat he reioyced very much, lifyng vp his eyes and hands into heauen, & praising god that he saw it good to send him amongst the people,* ouer whom he was pastor, there to confirme with his death the truth which he had before taught them: not doubting but the Lord would geue him strength to performe the same to his glory: and immediately he sent to his seruāts house for his bootes, spurs, and cloke, that he might be in a redines to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about foure of the clocke in the morning before day, the Keeper with others came to him and searched him, & the bed wherin he lay, to see if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the shiriffs of London and other their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appoynted not farre from S. Dunstanes Church in Fleetestreete, where sixe of the Queenes Garde were appoynted to receiue hym & to cary hym to Gloucester, there to be deliuered vnto the shiriffe, who with the L. Shandois, M. Wickes,* and other Commissioners were apointed to see execution done. The which Gard brought hym to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that tyme more liberally then he had vsed to doe a good while before. About the breake of the day he went to horse, and lept cheerefully on horsebacke without help, hauyng a hood vpon his hed vnder his hat that he should not be known, and so tooke his iourney ioyfully towards Glocester, and alwayes by the way the Gard learned of hym where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and euer caried hym to an other Inne.

Upon the Thursday following, he came to a towne in his Dioces, called Ciceter, xv. miles frō Gloucester,* about eleuen of the clocke, and there dynd at a womans house which had always hated the truth, and spoken all euil she could of M. Hooper. This woman perceiuing the cause of his commyng, shewed him all the frendship she could, and lamented his case with teares, confessing that shee before had oftē reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwardes,* & came to Gloucest•r about v. of the clocke, and a mile without the towne was much people assembled which cried & lamented his estate: in so much, that on of the Gard rode post into the town, to require ayde of the Mayor and shiriffes, fearyng least hee should haue bene taken from them.

The Officers and their retinue repayed to the Gate with weapons,* and commanded the people to keepe theyr houses, &c. but there was no man that once gaue any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingrams house in Gloucester, and that nyght (as he had done all the way) he did eate hys meat quietly, and slept his first sleepe soundly, as it was reported by thē of the Gard and others. After his first sleepe he continued all that night in prayer vntil the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the Gard wer also in the chamber where he lay) that there being solitary, he might pray and talke with God: so that all that day, sauing a litle at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the Gard licenced to speake with hym, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongest other that spake with hym, Sir Anthony Kingston Knight, was one. Who seemyng in tymes past his very friend, was then appointed by the Queenes letters, to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done vppon hym. Maister Kingston beyng brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer,* and as soone as he sawe M. Hooper, he burst forth in teares. Maister Hooper at the first blush knew hym not. Then sayde maister Kingston, Why my Lord, doe ye not know me an olde friend of [Page 1509](#) yours Anthony Kingston.

Yes M. Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do prayse God for the same.

But I am sorry to see you in this case: for as I vnderstand you bee come hether to dye.* But (alas) consider that lyfe is sweete, and death is bitter. Therefore seeyng lyfe may bee had, desire to lyue: for lyfe hereafter may doe good.

In deed it is true M. Kingston, I am come hether to end this lyfe,* and to suffer death here, because I wyll not gainsay the former truth that I haue heretofore taught amongst you in this Diocesse, and els where, and I thank you for your friendly counsail, although it be not so frendly as I could haue wished it. True it is (M. Kingstone) that death is bitter, and lyfe is sweete: but (alas) consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the lyfe to come is more sweete.

Therefore for the desire and loue I haue to the one, and the terror and feare of the other,* I do not so much regard this death, nor esteeme this lyfe, but haue settled my selfe through the strength of gods holy spirit, paciently to passe through the torments and extremities of the fire, now

pre|pared for me, rather then to denye the truth of his worde, desiring you and others in the meane tyme, to commende me to Gods mercy in your prayers.

Well (my Lorde) then I perceyue there is no remedye,* and therefore I wyll take my leaue of you: and I than•e God that euer I knew you, for God did appoynt you to call me beyng a lost child: and by your good instructions,* where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same.

If you haue had the grace so to do, I do highly prayse God for it: and if you haue not, I pray God ye may haue, and that you may continually lyue in hys feare.* After these and many other woordes, the one tooke leaue of the other, M. Kyngston with bitter teares, M. Hooper with teares also tricklyng downe hys cheekes. At which departure M. Hooper tolde hym, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused hym to vtter so much sorrow.

The same day in the after noone, a blind boy, after long intercessiō made to the Gard,* obtained licence to be broght vnto M. Hoopers speache. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessyng of the truth. M. Hooper after hee had examined hym of hys fayth,* and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld hym stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) sayde vnto hym: Ah poore boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what consideration he best knoweth: but he hath geuen thee an other sight much more precious: for he hath endued thy soule with the eie of knowledge and fayth. God geue thee grace continually to pray vnto him, that thou loose not that sight: for then shouldest thou bee blynd both in body and soule.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, which appeared to be sory for M. Hoopers trouble, saying: Sir, I am sory to see you thus. To see me? Why (said he) art thou sory? To see you (sayth the other) in this case. For I heare say ye are come hither to dye, for the which I am sory. Be sory for thy selfe man (sayd M. Hooper) and lament thine owne wickednes: for I am well, I thanke God, and death to mee for Christes sake is welcome.

The same night he was committed by the Gard (their Commission beyng then expired) vnto the custodie of the Sheriffes of Gloucester. The name of the one was Ienkins,* the other Bond, who with the Mayor & Aldermen repaired to M. Hoopers lodgyng, and at the first meetyng saluted hym, and took hym by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this maner. M. Mayor, I geue most heartie thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you haue vouchsafed to take mee a prysoner and a condemned man by the hand: wherby to my reioysing it is some deale apparant that your olde loue and friendshippe towards me, is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also, that all the thynges I haue taught you in tymes past,* are not vtterly forgotten, when I was here by the godly K. that dead is, appoynted to be your bishop and Pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I wyll not now account it falsehood and heresie, as many other men doe, I am sent hither (as I am sure you knowe) by the Queenes commaundement, to dye, and am come where I taught it, to confirme it with my bloude. And now M. Shiriffes I vnderstand by these good men, and my verye friends, (meanynge the Gard) at whose handes I haue found so much fauour and gentlenesse by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could resonably require (for the which also I most hartily thanke them) that I am committed to your custodie, as

vnto them that must see me brought to morrow to the place of execution.* My request therefore to you shall be onely, that there may be a quicke fire, sho•tl• to make an end, and in the meane tyme I will be as obedient vnto you, as your selues would wish. If you thinke I do amisse in any thyng, hold vp your finger, and I haue done. For I come not hether as one enforced or compelled to dye (for it is well knowen, I might haue had my lyfe w^t worldly gayne:) but as one willing to offer and geue my lyfe for the truth, rather then to consent to the wicked papisticall religion of the Bishop of Rome, receiued and set forth by the maiestates in England, to Gods high displeasure and dishonor: and I trust by Gods grace to morow to dye a faithfull seruaunt of God, and a true obedient subiect to the Queene.

These and such lyke wordes in effect vsed M. Hooper to the Mayor, Shiriffes, and Aldermen, whereat manye of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two Shiriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to haue lodged him in the common gaole of the towne called Northgate,* if the Gard had not made earnest intercession for hym: who declared at large how quietly, mildlye, and patiently he had behaued himselfe in the way, addyng therto, that any child might keepe him well enough, & that they themselues would rather take paines to watch with him, then that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at the length he should still remaine in Rob. Ingrams house,* and the shiriffes and the sergeants and other officers did appoynt to watch with him y^t nyght themselues. His desire was that he might goe to bed that night betimes, saying that he had many things to remember: and so did at fiue of the clocke, and slepte one sleepe soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he gate vp in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffred to come into the chamber, that he might be solitarie till the houre of execution.

About 8. of the clocke came sir Iohn Bridges L. Shādoys, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston,* sir Edmund Bridges, & other Commissioners appoynted to see execution done. At nine of the clocke M. Hooper was willed to prepare hymselfe to be in a readines, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought downe from his chamber by the shiriffes, who were accompanied with bils, glaues, and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the Shiriffes on this wyse: Maister Shiriffes (sayd he) I am no traytor, neyther needed you to haue made such a businesse to bryng me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had wylled me, I woulde haue gone alone to y^e stake, & haue troubled none of you al. And afterward lookyng vppon the multitude of people which were assembled, beyng by estimation to the number of seuen thousand (for it was market day, and manye also come to see his behaiour towards death) hee spake vnto those that were about hym, saying: Alas, why bee these people assembled and come together? Peraduenture they thinke to heare some thyng of me now, as they haue in tymes past, but alas speach is prohibited me. Notwith'standing the cause of my death is well known vnto them. When I was appointed here to bee their Pastor, I preached vnto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the worde of God. Because I will not now accompt the same to be heresie and vntruth, this kinde of death is prepared for me.

So he went forward led betwene the two Shiriffes, (as it were a Lambe to the place of slaughter) in a gowne of his Hosts, his hat vpon his hed, & a stasse in his hand to stay himself withall. For the grieve of the Sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him something to halt.* All the way being straitly charged not to speake, he could not bee perceiued once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift vp his

eyes towards heauen,* & looke very cherefully vpon such as he knew: & he was neuer known during the tyme of his beyng amongst them to looke with so chearefull and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appoynted where hee should dye, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him,* which was neare vnto the great Elme tree ouer against the colledge of priestes, where he was woont to preach. The place round about the houses, & the bowes of the tree were replenished with people, and in the chamber ouer the colledge gate stood the priests of the colledge. Then kneeled he downe (for as much as he could not bee suffred to speake vnto the people) to prayer, and beckened vnto him sixe or seuen times whom he knew wel, to heare the said praier, to make report therof in time to come (pouryng [Page 1510](#) teares vpon his shoulders & in his bosome) who gaue attentue eares vnto the same: the which prayer hee made vpon the whole Creede, wherein he continued for the space of halfe an houre. Now after he was somewhat entred into his prayer, a boxe was brought and laid before him vpon a stoole, with his pardon (or at the least wise it was fained to be his pardon) from the Queene, if he would turne. At the sight thereof he cried: If you loue my soule, away w^t it, if you loue my soule, away with it. The boxe being taken away,* the Lorde Shandoys saide: Seeing there is no remedie, dispatch quickly. Master Hooper sayde: Good my Lord, I trust your Lordship wil geue me leaue to make an ende of my prayers.

Then said the Lorde Shandoys to sir Edmund Bridges his sonne (which gaue eare before to maister Hoopers prayer at his request:) Edmond, take heede that he do nothing els but pray: if he doe, tel me, and I shall quickly dispatche hym. Whiles this talke was, there stepped one or two in vncalled, whych hearde hym speake these woordes folowing▪

Lorde (sayd he) I am hell, but thou art heauen: I am swill and a sinke of sinne, but thou art a gracious God and a mercifull redemer.* Haue mercy therefore vpon me most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and accordinge to thine inestimable goodnesse. Thou that art ascended into heauen, receiue me hel to be partaker of thy ioyes, where thou sittest in equal glory wyth thy father. For well knowest thou Lorde wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked doe persecute thys thy poore seruant: not for my sinnes and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allowe their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy bloude, and to the deniall of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy holy spirit to instruct me: the which with as much diligence as a pore wretch might (being thereto called) I haue set foorth to thy glorye. And well seest thou my Lord and God, what terrible paines and cruell torments be prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to beare, or paciently to passe. But al things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen mee of thy goodnesse, that in the fire I breake not the rules of pacience, or els asswage the terroure of the paines, as shall seeme most to thy glory.

As soone as the Mayor had espied these menne whyche made report of the former wordes, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to heare any more. Prayer being done,* he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his hostesse gowne, and deliuered it to the sheriffes, requiring them to see it restored vnto the owner, and put off the rest of his geare, vnto his doublet and his hose, wherein he would haue burned. But the Sheriffes woulde not permit that, (such was their greedinesse) vnto whose pleasures (good man) he very obediently submitted him selfe: and his doublet, hose, and peticote were taken off. Then being in hys shirt, he tooke a poynt from his hose him selfe, & trussed hys shirt betweene his legges, where he had a pound of gunne powder

in a bladder, and vnder each arme the like quantitie deliuered him by the Garde. So desiring the people to say the Lordes prayer with him, and to pray for hym, (who performed it with teares, during the time of his paines) he went vp to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three yrons made to binde him to the stake, were brought: one for his necke, an other for his middle, and the thirde for his legges. But he refusing them said: ye haue no neede thus to trouble your selues. For I doubt not but God will geue strength sufficient to abide the extremitie of the fire, w^tout bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakenesse of the flesh, but hauing assured confidence in Gods strength, I am content ye doe as ye shall thinke good.

So the hoope of yron prepared for hys middle,* was brought, whych being made somewhat too shorte (for hys belly was swolne by imprisonment) he shranke and put in his belly w^t his hand, vntil it was fastened: and when they offered to haue bound his necke & his legs wyth the other two hoopess of yron, he vtterly refused them, & would haue none, saying: I am wel assured I shall not trouble you.

Thus being ready, he looked vpon the people, of whom he might be wel sene (for he was both tal, and stode also on an high stoole) and behelde rounde about him:* and in euery corner there was nothing to be seene but weeping and sorowful people. Then lifting vp his eyes and handes vnto heauen, he praied to himselfe. By and by hee that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aske him forgeuenesse. Of whom he asked why he should forgeue hym, saying:* that he knewe neuer any offence he had committed against him. Oh sir (said the mā) I am appoynted to make y^e•ire. Therein (said M. Hooper) thou doest nothing offend me: God forgeue thee thy sinnes & doe thine office, I pray thee. Then the Reedes were cast vp, and he receiued two bundels of them in hys owne handes, embraced them, kissed them, and put vnder either arme one of them, and shewed with his hand how the rest shoulde be bestowed, and poynted to the place where any did lacke.

Anone commandement was geuen that fire should be set too, and so it was.* But because there were put to no fewer greene fagots then two horses could carry vpon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a prety while also before it tooke the Reedes vppon the fagottes. At length it burned aboute him, but the winde hauing full strength in that place (it was also a lowring & a cold morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a maner no more but touched by the fire.

[illustration]

The burning of M. Iohn Hooper, Bishop at Glocester. An. 1555. Februarie 9.

[Page 1577](#) Within a space after, a few dry fagottes were brought, and a newe fire kindeled wyth fagottes, (for there were no more Reedes:) and that burned at the neather partes, but had small power aboue, because of the winde, sauinge that it did burne his haire,* and scorch his skinne a litle. In the time of which fire, euen as at the first flame, hee prayed, saying mildely and not verye loude (but as one wythoute paynes:) O Iesus the sonne of Dauid haue mercye vpon me, and receiue my soule. After the seconde was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he sayde with an indifferent loud voyce: For Gods loue (good people)

let me haue more fire.* And all this while his nether partes did burne: for the fagottes were so fewe, that the flame did not burne strongly at his vpper partes.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreeme then the other two: and then the bladders of gonnepouder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the winde hadde suche power. In the whych fire he prayed with somewhat a loude voyce: Lorde Iesu haue mercye vppon me: * Lorde Iesu haue mercy vppon mee: Lorde Iesus receiue my spirite. And these were the last woordes hee was heard to vtter. But when he was blacke in the mouth, and his tongue swolne, that he coulde not speake, yet hys lippes went till they were shronke to the gummies: and he knocked his breast with his handes, vntill one of his armes fell off, and then knocked still with the other,* what time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers ends, vntill by renuing of y^e fire▪ his strength was gone, and his hande did cleaue fast in knocking to the yron vpon hys brest. So immediately bowing forwardes, he yelded vp his spirite.

In clarissimi Doctrina & pietate viri Iohannis Hoperi Martyrium, Conradi Gesneri carmen.

AVreus Hoperus flammis inuictus & igni,

Atque suum Christum confessus ad vltima vitae

Momenta, integritate sua praeclarus, & ardens

Exterius flammis, diuinus Martyr: at intus

Eximio fidei feruore accensus, ad astra

Spiritus ascendit, coelesti luce beatus,

In terris cineresque manent, & fama corusca

Flammae instar lucens, lucebit dum stabit orbis,

Vtcunque immanes Boreae, magnaeque procellae

Flatibus aduersis tam clarum abrumpere lumen

Nitantur frustra. Nam quae Deus ipse secundat,

Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta sed vltro

Et commenta ruunt, vastaue voragine sidunt.

Hoperi exemplo, quotquot spiratis Iesu

Doctrinam Christi, discrimina temnere vitae,

Durare, & vosmet rebus seruare secundis

Discite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora: nec auris

Audijt vlla, oculus vel vidit, sed neque captus

Humanae mentis potuit complectier vnquam,

Qualia, quanta Deus seruet sua bona beatis.

Thus was he three quarters of an houre or more in the fire. Euen as a Lambe, paciently he aboade the extremitie therof,* neither mouing forwardes, backwards, or to any side: but hauing his nether partes burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a childe in his bedde: and hee now raigneth as a blessed Martyr in the ioyes of heauen prepared for the faithfull in Christ, before the foundations of the worlde: for whose constancie all Christians are bound to praise God.

A letter which M. Hooper did wryte out of prison to certaine of his frendes.

THE grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write vnto you of late,* and told you what extremity the parliament had concluded vpon, concerning Religion, suppressing the truth, and setting foorth the vntruth, intending to cause all men by extremitie to forswear them selues, and to take againe for the head of the Church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God & al ancient wryters do record: and for lacke of lawe and authoritie, they wil vse force and extremitie, which haue bene the arguments to defend the Pope and Poperie, sith thys wicked authority began first in the world. But now is the time of triall,* to see whether we feare more God or man. It was an easie thing to holde with Christ whiles the Prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true triall who be his.

Wherefore in the name and in the vertue, strength, and power of his holy spirit, prepare your selues in any case to aduersitie and constancie. Let vs not runne away when it is most time to fight. Remēber none shalbe crowned, but such as fight manfully: and he that endureth vnto the end, shalbe saued. Ye must now turne al your cogitations from the pearil you see, and marke the felicitye that foloweth the pearil: either victorie in this world of your enemies,* or else a surrender of this life to inherite the euerlasting kyngdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicitie or miserie of this worlde: for the consideration and too earnest loue or feare of either of them draweth from God.

Wherefore thinke with your selues as touching the felicitie of the worlde, it is good: but yet none otherwise then it standeth with the fauour of God. It is to be kept: but yet so farre foorth as by keeping of it we loose not God. It is good abiding and tarrying still among our friendes heere: but yet so, y^t we tary not therewithall in Gods displeasure, and hereafter to dwell with the deuils in fire euerlasting. There is nothing vnder God but may be kept, so y^t God being aboue all things we haue, be not lost.

Of aduersitie iudge the same. Imprisonment is painfull, but yet libertie vpon euell conditions is more painful.* The prisons stincke, but yet not so much as sweete houses, where as the feare and true honour of God lacketh. I must be alone and solitary. It is better so to be and haue God w^t me, then to be in company with the wicked. Losse of goods is great, but losse of Gods grace & fauour is greater. I am a poore simple creature, & can not tel how to answer before such a great sort of noble, learned, & wise men: It is better to make answere before the pompe & pride of

wicked men, then to stand naked in the sight of all heauen and earth before the iust God at the latter daye.* I shall die then by the handes of the cruell man, he is blessed that looseth thys life full of miseries, and finedeth the life of eternall ioyes. It is paine and griefe to departe from goods and frends: but yet not so muche, as to departe from grace and heauen it selfe. Wherefore, there is neither felicitye nor aduersitye of this world, that can appeare to be great, if it be wayed with the ioyes or paines in the world to come.

I can do no more, but pray for you: do the same for me, for Gods sake. For my parte (I thanke the heauenly Father) I haue made mine accompts, and appoynted my selfe vnto the wil of the heauenly father: as he will, so I will by hys grace. For Gods sake as soone as ye can, send my poore wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D. As it was tolde me, shee neuer had letter from me sithens the cōming of M.S. vnto her: the more to blame the messengers, for I haue wrytten diuers times. The Lord comfort them, and prouide for them for I am able to doe nothing in worldly things. Shee is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had bene accomplished, she should haue hadde necessary things: but that I meant, God can performe, to whom I commend both he• and you all.* I am a precious Iewell nowe and daintely kept, neuer so daintely: for neither mine owne man, nor any of the seruants of the house may come to me, but my keeper alone: a simple rude mā (God knoweth) but I am nothing carefull thereof.

Fare yee well

the 21. of Ian. 1555.

Yours bounden, Iohn Hooper.

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembred in the hystorie of M. Hooper, thys also is not to be forgotten, which happened betwene hym, and a bragging Frier a little after the beginning of his imprisonment: the storie whereof heere followeth.

A Frier came from Fraunce to England wyth greate vaunt,* asking who was the greatest hereticke in all England, thinking belike to doe some great act vpon hym. To whom aunswere was made, that M. Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chieftest ringleader: who was then in the Fleete. The Frier comming to him, asked whye hee was committed to prison. He sayd for debt. Nay, sayde he, it was for heresie, Which when the other had denyed, what sayst thou (quoth he) to hoc est corpus meum? M. Hooper being partly mooued at the sodaine question, desired that hee mighte aske of him againe an other question, whyche was thys: What remained after the consecration in the Sacrament: any breade or no? No breade at all sayeth hee. And when yee breake it, what doe yee breake:* either bread or the body, sayde Maister Hooper? No bread sayd the Frier, but the body onely. If you doe so, sayd M. Hooper, ye do great iniurie, not onely to the body of Christe, but also yee breake the Scriptures, which saye: Yee shall not breake of hym one bone. &c. Wyth y^t the Frier hauing nothing be like to aunswere, recoyled backe, and with his circles and crosses began to vse exorcisme against M. Hooper, as though. &c.

Thys and more wrote master Hooper, to mistres Wilkinson in a letter, which letter was read vnto her by Iohn Kelke.

Comparison betwene M. Hooper and Polycarpus.

When I see and beholde y^e great patience of these blessed Martyrs in our daies, in their sufferings so quietly and cōstantly abiding the torments that are ministred vnto them of princes for Gods cause: * mee thinkes I maye wel and worthely compare them vnto the olde Martyrs of the primatiue Church. In the number of whome, if comparison be to be made betwixt Saint and Saint: Martyr and Martyr, with whom, might I match this blessed martyr M. Iohn Hooper better throughe the whole catalogue of the olde Martyrs, then with Polycarpus the aunciente Bishop of Smirna, * of whome Eusebius maketh mention in the Ecclesiasticall storie? For as both agreed together in one kinde of punishmēt, being both put to the fire, so which of them shewed more patience and constancie in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be sayde. And though Polycarpus being set in the flame (as the storie saith) was kepte by myracle from the torment of the fire, till hee was stricken downe with weapon, and so dispatched: yet Hooper by no lesse myracle armed with patience & feruent spirit of Gods comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt litle more then did Polycarpus in y^e fire flaming round about him.

Moreouer, as it is wrytten of Polycarpus when hee should haue bene tied to the stake, * he required to stand vntied, saying these woordes: Sinite me, qui namque ignem ferre posse dedit, dabit etiam vt sine vestra clauorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam. That is, Let me alone, I pray you, for he that gaue me strength to come to this fire, will also geue mee patience to abide in the same, without your tying. So likewise Hooper, with the like spirite, when hee shoulde haue bene tied with thre chaines to the stake, requiring them to haue no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one, who and if he had not bene tied at all, yet (no doubt) would haue no lesse aunswered to that great patience of Polycarpus. *

And as the ende of them bothe was much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seme not farre discrepant. In teaching, like diligent both, in zeale feruent, in life vnspotted, in manners and conuersation inculpable, Bishops & also martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were ioyned together in one Spirite, so mighte they be ioyned in one name together of 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, * to wit, much fruitful. to which name also 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 is not much vnlike. In thys the Martyrdome of M. Hooper may seeme in suffering to goe before, though in time it followed the Martyrdome of Polycarpus, for that he was bothe longer in prisone, * and there also so cruellye handled by the malice of hys keepers, as I thinke none of the olde martyrs euer suffered the like. To thys also adde howe hee was disgraded by Boner, wyth suche contumelies and reproches, as I thinke in Polycarpus time was not vsed to any.

And as wee haue hitherto compared these two good Martyrs together, * so nowe if we should compare the enemies and authours of their death one wyth the other, wee should finde no inequalitie betwixt them both, but that the aduersaries of M. Hooper semed to be more cruell and vnmerciful. For they that put Polycarpus to death, yet ministred to him a quicke dispatch, mooued belike by some compassion not to haue him stande in the torment: where the tormentors of M. Hooper suffred him without all compassion to stand three quarters of an houre in the fire. And as touching the chiefe doers and authors of his martyrdome, what Consul or Proconsul was

there to be conferred with the Chancelour heere, which brought this Martyr to burning? Let this suffice.

*This good Bishop and seruaunte of God being in prison, wrote diuers Bookes and Treatises, to the number of 24. wherof some he wrote to the parlament in Latine, and one to the Bishop of Chichester D. Day: besides he wrote of the sacraments, of the Lordes praier, and of the x. Commaundements, with diuers other.

Here folowe certaine of M. Hoopers letters.

AS you haue hearde the whole storie of the life and martyrdome of thys good manne declared: so now let vs consequently adioyne some parte of hys letters, wrytten in the time of hys imprisonment, moste fruitfull and worthy to be read, especially in these daungerous dayes, of all true Christians, which by true mortification seeke to serue and followe the Lorde, through all tempests and stormes of thys malignaunt worlde, as by the readyng and perusing of the sayde letters, you shall better feele and vnderstande.

A letter of M. Hooper to certaine godly professors and louers of the truth, instructing them howe to behaue them selues in that wofull alteration and change of Religion.

THE grace, mercye, and peace of God the father through oure Lorde Iesus Christ, be w^t you my deare• brethren,* and withal those that vnfaignedly loue and embrace his holy Gospel. Amen.

It is told me, that the wicked Idol the Masse is stablished again by a law, & passed in the parlamēt house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, & what penaltie is appointed in the Acte, to such as speake against it: also whether there be any compulsion to constraine men to be at it. The statute thorowly knowen, such as be abroad & at liberty,* may prouide for themselves, & auoid the danger the better. Doubtles there hath not bene seene before our time, such a parliament as this is, y^t as many as were suspected to be fauourers of Gods word, shuld be banished out of both houses. But we must geue God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed seruant king Edward y^e sixth, and pray vnto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it w^t Idolatrie, but that we may haue strength and pacience rather to die ten times, then to denie him once. Blessed shall we be, if euer God make vs worthy of that honor, to shed our bloude for hys names sake: And blessed then shall we thinke y^e parents which brought vs into this worlde, that we shoulde from this mortalitie be caried into immortalitie. If we followe the commaundement of S. Paule, that sayth: If ye then be risen againe with Christ,*seeke those thynges which are aboue, where Christ sitteth at the right hande of God. We shall neither departe from the vaine transitorie goodes of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great paines as other doe.

Let vs pray to our heauenly father, that we may know and loue his blessed will, and the glorious ioy prepared for vs in time to come, and that we maye knowe and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the paine prepared for the wicked in the world to come. Ther is no better waye to be vsed in this troublesome time for your consolation, then many times to haue assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ, and there to talke and renewe among your selues the truthe of your Religion, to see what ye be by the worde of God,* and to remember what yee were before yee came to the knowledge thereof, to weigh and conferre the dreames and false lies of the Preachers that nowe preache, with the worde of God

that retaineth all truth, and by such talke and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies, that nowe goe about to deceiue you, & also both know and loue the truth that God hath opened to vs. It is much requisite, that the members of Christe comfort one an other, make prayers together, conferre one wyth an other,* so shal ye be the stronger, and Gods spirite shal not be absent frō you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, pacient in aduersitie, and strong in persecution.

Ye see how the congregation of the wicked by helping one an other, make their wicked religion and them selues strong against Gods truth and his people. If ye may haue some learned man that can oute of the Scriptures, speake vnto you of faith and true honouring of God, also that can shewe you the descent of Christes Church from the beginning of it vntill this day, that ye may perceiue by the life of youre forefathers these two things: the one, that Christes worde, which said, that all his must suffer persecution and trouble in the worlde, be true: the other, that none of al his before our time, escaped trouble: then shal yee perceiue that it is but a follie for one that professeth Christ truely, to looke for the loue of the world.

Thus shal ye learne to beare trouble,* & to exercise your religion, and feele in dede that Christes wordes be true: In the worlde ye shall suffer persecution. And when ye feele your religion in dede, say, ye be no better then your forefathers, but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy souldiours for this warre: and pray to God when yee come together, that hee will vse and order you and youre doings to these three endes, which ye must take heede of: the first, that ye glorifie God: the next,* that yee edifie the Church and Congregation: the thirde, that ye profite your owne soules.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceiued. For although thys time be not yet so bloudye and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that coulde not beare the name of Christ, wythout daunger of lyfe and goodes:* yet is oure time more perillous both for body and soule. Therefore of vs Christ sayde: Thinke ye when the sonne of manne commeth, hee shall finde faithe vppon the earth? Hee sayd not, Thinke ye he shal find any man or woman Christened, & in name a [Page 1513](#) Christian? but he spake of the faith that saueth the Christian man in Christe: and doubtlesse the scarcitie of Faith is nowe more (and will, I feare, encrease) then it was in the time of the greatest tyrannes that euer were: and no marueil why.* Read ye the 6. chap. of s. Iohns Reuelation, and ye shall perceiue amongst other thinges, y^t at the opening of the fourth Seale, came out a pale horse, and hee that sate vpon him was called death, and hell followed hym. This horse is the time wherin hipocrites and dissemblers entred into the Churche vnder the pretence of true Religion,* as Monkes, Friers, Nounes, Massing Priestes, wyth suche other, that haue killed moe soules with heresie and superstition, then all the tyrannes that euer were, killed bodies w^t fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by hys name that sitteth vpon y^e horse, who is called death: for all soules that leaue Christe, and trust to these hypocrites, liue to the deuill in euerlasting paine, as is declared by him that foloweth the pale horse, which is hell.

These pretended and pale hypocrites, haue stirred the earthquakes,* that is to witte, the Princes of the worlde, against Christes church, & haue also darkened the Sunne, and made the Moone bloudy, and haue caused the Starres to fal from heauen, that is to say, haue darkned with mists and daily doe darken (as ye heare by theyr Sermons) the cleare sunne of Gods most pure worde: the Moone, which be Gods true Preachers, whych fetche onely lighte at the Sunne of Gods word,

are turned into bloud, prisons, and chaines, that theyr light can not shine vnto the worlde as they woulde: whereuppon it commeth to passe, that the Starres, that is to say, Christian people fall from heauen, that is to wit, from Gods most true woorde, to hypocrisie, most deuilish superstition and Idolatrie. Let some learned man shew you al the articles of your beliefe & monuments of Christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and yee shall perceiue that there was neuer mention of suche articles as these hypocrites teach. God blesse you, and pray for me, as I do for you.

Out of the Fleete,

by your brother in Christ, Iohn Hooper.

To maister Ferrar Bishop of S. Dauies, D. Tailor, M. Bradford, and M. Philpot, prisonners in the kings benche in Southwarke.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I am aduertised by diuers,* as well such as loue the truthe, as also by suche as yet be not come vnto it, that ye and I shalbe caried shortly to Cābridge, there to dispute in the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we haue and doe professe. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ readie, not only to goe to Cambridge, but also to suffer by Gods helpe,* death it selfe in the maintenaunce thereof. Weston and his complices haue obtained foorth the commission already, and spedily (most like) he wil put it in execution. Wherefore deare brethren, I doe aduertise you of the thing before for diuers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lorde, that the tyme draweth nigh and is at hand, that we shall testifie before Gods enemies, Gods truth. The next, that ye shoulde prepare your selues the better for it. The third, to shew you what wayes I think were best to vse our selues in this matter, and also to hear of euery one of you, your better aduise, if mine be not good. Ye knowe such as shallbe Censors and Iudges ouer vs, breath and thirst our bloud, and whether we by Gods help ouercome after the word of God, or by force and subtiltie of our aduersaries be ouercome, this will be the conclusion, our aduersaries wil say, they ouercome, and ye perceiue howe they reporte of those great learned men and godly personages at Oxforde.

Wherefore I minde neuer to aunsweare them, except I haue bookes present,* because they vse not onely false allegation of the Doctors, but also a peece of the Doctors against the whole course of the Doctors minde. The next, that we may haue sworne Notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very harde to haue, for the aduersaries will haue the ouersight of all thinges, and then make theirs better then it was, & our worse then it was. Then if we see that two or three, or more will speake together, or with scoffes and tauntes illude and mocke vs: I suppose it were best to appeale, to be hearde before the Queene and the whole Counsaile, and that would much set foorth the glory of God. For many of them knowe already the truthe, many of them erre rather of zeale then malice, and the others that be indurate, shoulde be aunsweared fully to their shame (I doubte not) althoughe to oure smart and bloudshedding. For of this I am assured that the Commissioners appoynted to heare vs and iudge vs, meane nothyng lesse then to heare the cause indifferently, for they be ennemies vnto vs & vnto our cause, and be at a poynt already to geue sentēce against vs: so that if it were possible with S. Stephen to speak, so that they could not resist vs, or to vse suche silence & pacience as Christ did, they will proceede to reuenging.

Wherefore my deare brethren, in the mercy of Iesus Christe, I would be glad to knowe your aduise this day or to morowe, for shortly we shall be gone, and I verily suppose that we shall not cōpanie together, but be kept one abroad from an other. They will denie our appeale: yet let vs chalenge the appeale, and take witnesse thereof of suche as be present, and require for indifferencie of hearing and iudgement to be heard, either before the Queene and the Counsaile, or els before all the Parliament, as they were vsed in king Edwardes dayes. Further, for my part I will require both bookes and time to answeere. Wee haue bene prisoners now three quarters of a yeare, and haue lacked oure bookes, and oure memorie by close keeping, and ingratitude of their partes, be not as present and quicke as theirs be. I trust God will be with vs, yea I doubt not but he will, and teache vs to doe all thinges in hys cause godly and cōstantly. If our aduersaries that shalbe our iudges, may haue their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day.* And yet is there no law to condemne vs (as farre as I knowe) and so one of the Conuocation house sayde this weeke to Doct. Weston. To whome Weston made this answeere: It forceth not, quoth hee, for a lawe, wee haue commission to proceede with them: when they be dispatched, let their frendes sue the lawe.

Nowe, howe soone a man may haue such a commission at my Lord Chancelors hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained, as an enditement for Christ at Cayphas hande. Besides that, the Byshoppes hauing the Queene so vpon their sides, may do all thinges both without the aduise, and also the knowledge of the rest of the Lordes of the temporaltie: who at this present haue found out the marke that the Bishops shote at, and doubtles be not pleased with their doings. I pray you helpe that our brother Sanders and the rest in the Marshalsey may vnderstande these thinges, and sende me your answeere betime. Iudas non dormit: nec scimus diem neque horam. i. Iudas slepeth not: neither know we the day nor the hour. Dominus Iesus Christus suo sancto numine nos omnes consoletur & adiuuet. Amen. i. The Lord Iesus Christ with his holy spirite comfort and strengthen vs all Amen.

May 6. 1554.

Yours and with you vnto death, in Christ, I Hooper.

An exhortation to pacience, sent to his godly wife Anne Hooper: whereby all the true members of Christ may take comfort and courage, to suffer trouble & affliction for the profession of his holy Gospel.

OUr sauour Iesus Christ (dearely beloued & my godly wife) in s. Mathewes Gospell said to his disciples,*that it was necessary sclaunders shoulde come: and that they coulde not be auoided,* he perceiued as wel by the cōdition of those that should pearish & be lost for euer in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saued. For he sawe the greatest part of the people would contemne & neglecte, whatsoever true doctrine or godly wayes should be shewed vnto them, or els receiue it & vse it as they thought good to serue their pleasures without any profite to their soules at all, not caring whether they liued as they were cōmanded by Gods word or not: but would thinke it sufficient to be counted to haue the name of a Christian man, wyth such workes and frutes of his profession and Christianitie, as his fathers and elders after their custome & maner, esteeme and take to be good fruites and faithful works, and wil not try them by the worde of God at all. These men by the iust iudgement of God, be deliuered vnto the crafte and subtiltie of the deuill,* that they may be kept by one sclaunderous stūbling blocke or other, that they neuer come vnto Christ, who came to saue those that were lost: as yee may see howe God

deliuereth wicked menne vp vnto their owne lustes, to do one mischief after an other carelesse,* vntil they come into a reprobate minde, that forgetteth it selfe and can not knowe what is expedient to be done, or to be least vndone, because they close their eyes, and will not see the lyght of Gods woorde offered vnto them, and being thus blinded, they preferre their owne vanities before the truth of Gods woorde. Whereas such corrupt mindes be,* there is also corrupt election and choyse of Gods honor: so that the minde of man taketh falsehoode for truthe, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for saluation, hell for heauen, and persecution of Christes members, for Gods seruice and honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reiect the woorde of God: euen so God most iustly deliuereth them into the blindnes of mind & hardnes of heart, that they can not vnderstand,* nor yet consent to any thyng that God would haue preached and set foorth to his glory, after his owne will and worde: wherefore they hate it mortally, & of all things most detest Gods holy worde. And as y^e deuill hath entred into their hearts, that they them selues can not, nor will not come to Christ to be instructed by hys holy woord: euen so can they not abide any other man to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, persecute him, robbe him, imprisone hym, yea and kil him, whether he be man or womā, if God suffer it. [Page 1514](#) And so much are those wicked men blinded, that they passe of no law, whether it be Gods or mans, but persecute such as neuer offended, yea, do euil to those that daily haue praied for them, and wish them Gods grace.

In their Pharaonical and blind furie they haue no respect to nature.* For the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the sonne: and most deare frends, in diuelish sclaunder and offence are become most mortal ennemies. And no marueile, for when they haue chosen sundrye maisters, the one the deuill, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the deuell agree betweene them selues. For this cause, that the more parte of the worlde doth chuse to serue the deuill vnder cloaked hypocrisie of Gods title, Christ sayd:*It is expedient and necessary that sclanders should come, and many meanes be deuised to keepe the litle babes of Christ from the heauenly father. But Christ sayth: Wo be vnto him by whome the offence commeth: Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towardes God, but that the euil shalbe deceiued, & persecute the good: and the good shall vnderstand the truth, and suffer persecution for it vntill the worlds ende. For as he that was borne after the flesh, persecuted in times past, him that was born after the spirite:*euen so is it now. Therefore, for so much as we liue in this life amongst so many great pearils and daungers, we must be wel assured by gods word how to beare them, and how patiently to take them, as they be sent to vs frō God. We must also assure our selues that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, then Christ himself hath appoynted vs.* In S. Luke he geueth vs thys commandement: Ye shall possesse your liues in pacience, sayeth he. In the which words, he geueth vs both commaundement what to doe, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. Hee sheweth also what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles:* and when troubles happen, he biddeth vs be patient, and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our persecuters, because God hath such care and charge of vs, that he wil keepe in the mids of all troubles the very heares of our heade, so that one of them shall not fall away without the wil and pleasure of our heauenly father. Whether the haire therfore tarie in the head, or fal from the head, it is the wil of the father. And seeing he hath such care for the haire of our head, howe much more doeth he care for our life it selfe? Wherefore let Gods aduersaries do what they lust, whether they take life or take it not, they can do vs no hurt: for their crueltye hath no further power then God permitteth them: and that which commeth vnto vs by the will of our heauenly father, can be no harme, no losse, neither destruction vnto vs, but

rather gain, wealth, and felicitie. For all troubles and aduersitie that chaunce to such as be of God, by the wil of the heauenly father, can be none other but gaine and aduantage.

That the spirite of manne may feele these consolations, the geuer of them the heauenly father must be prayed vnto for the merites of Christes passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented,* vntill it be regenerated and possessed with Gods spirit, to beare patiently the troubles of the minde or of the body. When the minde and heart of a man seeth of euery side sorow and heauines, & the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but suche things as be troublous & wholely bent to robbe the poore of that hee hath, and also to take from him hys life: except the man weighe these brittle and vncertaine treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body with the life in Christes precious bloud, and so for the loue and certaintie of the heauenly ioyes contemne all thyngs present, doubtles he shall neuer be able to beare the losse of goodes, life, or any other things of this world.

Therefore S. Paule geueth a very godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitorie life, and therein sheweth howe a man may best beare the iniquitie and troubles of this world: If ye be risen againe with Christ (sayth he) seeke the things which are aboue,* where Christ sitteth at the right hande of God the father. Wherefore the Christian mans faith must be alwayes vppon the resurrection of Christe, when he is in trouble, and in that glorious resurrection he shall not onely see continuall and perpetuall ioy and consolation: but also the victorie and triumph of all persecution, trouble, sinne, death, hell, the deuil, and al other tyrants and persecuters of Christ and of Christes people, the teares and weepings of the faithfull dried vppe, theyr woundes healed, their bodies made immortall in ioy, their soules for euer praising the Lord, and coniunction and societie euerlasting, wyth the blessed company of Gods electes in perpetuall ioy. But the woordes of S. Paule in that place, if they be not marked, shall doe little profite to the reader or hearer, and geue him no pacience at all in this impacient and cruell world.

In this first part S. Paule commaundeth vs, to thinke or set our affections on things that are aboue.* When he biddeth vs seeke the thyngs that are aboue, hee requireth that oure mindes neuer cease from prayer and studie in Gods word, vntill we see, knowe, and vnderstande the vanities of thys worlde, the shortnesse and miserie of thys life, and the treasures of the worlde to come, the immortalitie thereof, and the ioyes of that life, and so neuer cease seeking, vntill suche time as we know certainly, and be perswaded what a blessed man hee is, that seeketh the one and finedeth it, and careth not for the other though hee loose it: and in seekynge to haue ryght iudgement betwene the life present and the life to come, wee shall finde howe little the paines, imprysonment, sclaunders, lies, and death it selfe is in thys worlde, in respect of the paines euerlasting, the prisonne infernall, and dungeon of hell, the sentence of Gods iust iudgement, and euerlasting death.

When a man hath by seeking the woorde of God, found out what the things aboue be: then must hee (as S. Paule saith) set his affections vpon them. And this commaundement is more harde then the other. For mans knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better then thys life present, as you maye see howe daily men and women can praise and commende, yea, and wishe for heauen, and to be at rest there? yet they sette not their affection vpon it, they do more affect and loue in dede a trifle of nothing in this worlde that pleaseth their affection, then the treasure of all treasures in heauen, which their owne iudgement sayth is better

then all worldly things. Wherefore we must set our affections vpon the things that be aboue: that is to say, when any thing worse then heauen vpon the earth, offereth it selfe to be ours, if we wil geue our good willes to it, and loue it in our heartes, then ought we to see by the iudgement of Gods woorde, whether we may haue the worlde without offence of God, and suche thyngs as be for this worldly life, wythout his displeasure. If wee can not, S. Paules commaundement must take place: Set your affections on things that are aboue. If the riches of thys world may not be gotten nor kept by Gods lawe, neyther our liues be continued without the deniall of hys honour, we must set our affection vpon the riches and lyfe that is aboue, and not vpon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commaundement of S. Paul requireth,* that as our minds iudge heauenly things to be better then thyngs vpon the earth, and the life to come better then the life present: so we should chuse them before other, & preferre them, and haue such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done, for they choose the best and approoue it, and yet follow the worste.

But these thyngs (my godly wife) require rather cogitation, meditation, and praier, then wordes or talke. They be easie to be spoken of, but not so easie to be vsed and practised. Wherefore, seeing they be Gods gyftes,* and none of ours, to haue as our owne when we would, we must seke them at our heauenly fathers hand, who seeth and is priuy how poore and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled, and destitute of all his blessed giftes we be by reason of sinne. He did commaund therefore his Disciples, when he shewed them that they shoulde take paciently the state of thys present life full of troubles and persecution,* to praye that they myghte well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stande before the sonne of man. When ye finde your selfe too much oppressed (as euery man shalbe sometime wyth the feare of Gods iudgement) vse the 77. Psalme, that beginneth: I will crie vnto God with my voyce,* and he shall hearken vnto me. In which Psalme is both godly doctrine and great consolation vnto the man or woman that is in anguish of minde.

Use also in suche trouble the 88. Psalme, wherein is contained the praier of a man, that was brought into extreme anguish & misery, and being vexed with aduersaries & persecutions, saw nothing but death & hel. And although hee fealt in hym selfe, that hee had not onely man, but also God angry towards him: yet he by praier humbly resorted vnto God, as the only port of consolation, and in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his saluation in him, whome he fealt his enemie. Howbeit no man of him selfe can doe this,* but the spirite of God that stryketh the mans heart with feare, prayeth for the man stricken and feared with vnspeakeable gronings. And when you feelee your selfe, or know any other oppressed after suche sorte, be glad: for after that God hath made you to know what you be of your selfe, he wil doubtles shew you comfort, and declare vnto you what you be in Christ his onely sonne:* and vse praier often, for that is the meanes whereby God will be soughte vnto for hys giftes. These Psalmes be for the purpose, when the minde can take no vnderstandinge, nor the hart any ioy of gods promises: and therefore were these [Page 1515](#) Psalmes also made .6.22.30.31.38.69. from the whiche you shall learne buthe pacience and consolation. Remember, that although your life (as all Christian mens be) be hid and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as S. Paule sayth) with God in Christ:* and when Christ shall appeare, then shall our liues be made open with him in glorie. But in the meane time wyth seeking and setting our affections vpon the things that be aboue, we must paciently suffer whatsoever God shal send vnto vs in this mortal life. Notwithstanding it might fortune some woulde say. Who is so perfect, that can lette all things

passee as they come, & haue no care of the: suffer all things, and feelee nothing: be attempted of the Deuill, the worlde, and the flesh, and be not troubled? Uerely no man liuing. But this I say, that in the strength of Iesus Christ things that come,* maye passe with care, for we be worldly, and yet are we not caried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things and fele them as mortall men, yet beare them and ouercome them as Christian men. We may be attempted of the deuill, the flesh, and the worlde: but yet although those things pinche, they doe not pierce, and although they worke sinne in vs, yet in Christe no damnation to those that be grafted in him.* Hereof may the christian man learne both consolation & patience. Consolation, in that he is compelled both in his body & goodes to feelee paine and losse, and in the soule heauinesse and anguish of minde: howbeit none of them both shall separate him from the loue that God beareth him in Christ.* He may learne patience, for as much as his enemies both of the body and soule, and the paines also they vexe vs wythall for the time,* if they tarie with vs as long as we liue, yet when death commeth, they shall auoide, and geue place to suche ioyes as be prepared for vs in Christ: for no paines of the world be perpetuall, and whether they shall afflict vs for all the time of our mortal life, we know not, for they be the seruauntes of God to goe and to come, as he commandeth them.* But we must take heede we meddle not forceablye nor seditiously, to put away the persecution appoynted vnto vs by God, but remember Christes saying: Possesse you your liues by your patience. And in thys commādemēt God requireth in euery man and woman this pacient obediēce.* Hee sayeth not, it is sufficient that other holy Patriarkes, Prophetes, Apostles, Euangelists, and Martyrs continued their liues in pacience, and pacient suffering the troubles of this world: but Christ saith to euery one of his people: By your owne pacience ye shall continue your life: not that man hath pacience of him selfe,* but that he must haue it for him selfe of God, the onely geuer of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Nowe therefore, as our profession and religion requireth pacience outwardly wythout resistance and force: so requireth it pacience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he vse vs that be as hys owne creatures, as him listeth.

We may not also murmure against God, but say alwaies his iudgements be right & iust, and reioyce that it pleaseth him by troubles to vse vs, as he vsed heeretofore such as he most loued in this worlde, and haue a singular care to this commandemēt: Gaudete, & exultate, Be glad & reioyce, for he sheweth great cause why: Your rewarde (sayth he) is great in heauen.* These promises of him that is y^e truth it selfe, shal by Gods grace) worke both cōsolation and pacience in the afflicted christian person. And when our sauior Christ hath willed menne in trouble to be content and pacient, because God in the ende of trouble in Christ hath ordained eternall consolation: he vseth also to take from vs all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honor to suffer for christ, because y^e wicked world doth curse & abhorre such poore troubled Christians.* Wherefore Christe placeth all his honourably, and sayeth: Euen so persecuted they the Prophetes that were before you. Wee may also see with whome the afflicted for Christes sake, be esteemed by S. Paul to the Hebrews, where as the number of the blessed and glorious company of Saintes appeare nowe to our faith in heauen in ioy: yet in the letter, for the time of this life, in such paines and contempt, as was neuer more. Let vs therefore consider both them and all other thinges of the worlde sithens the fall of man, and we shall perceiue nothing to come to perfection, but wyth such confusion and disorder to the eye of y^e world, as though things wer rather lost for euer, then like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who euer came to heauen (no not Christ him selfe) vntill suche time as the world had thought verely y^t both he &

al his had ben cleane destroyed and cast away? as the wise man sayth of the wicked people: We thought them to be foles, but they be in peace.

*Wee may learne by things that nourish and maintaine vs, both meat and drinke, to what lothsomnes and (in maner) abhorring they come vnto, before they worke theyr perfection in vs. From life they be brought to the fire, and cleane altered from that they were when they were aliue: from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all to hacked: from the trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the teethe can grinde them: and from the mouth into the stomach, and there so boyled and digested before they nourish, that who soeuer saw the same, would loth and abhorre hys owne nourishment, before it come to hys perfection.

Is it then any marueile if suche Christians as GOD delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in thys worlde, whych is the kitchin and mill to boyle and grinde the flesh of Gods people in, till they atchieue their perfection in the worlde to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meate when it is ful digested, and not before: so must hee looke for hys saluation when hee hath passed thys troublous worlde, and not before.* Rawe fleshe is not meate wholesome for man: and vnmortified men and women, be not creatures meete for God. Therefore Christ sayeth, that his people must be broken, and all too torne in the mill of thys worlde, and so shall they be moste fine meale vnto the heauenly father. And it shall be a Christian mannes parte, and the duetie of a mynde repleanished wyth the spirite of God, to marke the order of God in all his things, howe he dealeth wyth them, and howe they suffer and be content to lette God do his will vpon them, as S. Paule sayeth: They waite vntill the number of the electes be fulfilled, and neuer be at rest,*but looke for the time when Gods people shall appeare in glorie.

We must therefore paciently suffer, and willingly attend vppon Gods doings, althoughe they seeme cleane contrary after our iudgement, to our wealth and saluation: as Abraham did, when hee was bid to offer his sonne Isaac,* in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of hys seede. Ioseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the meane time, after the iudgemēt of the worlde, he was neuer like to be (as God said he should be) Lorde ouer hys brethren. When Christe would make the blinde man to see, he put clay vppon hys eyes, whych after the iudgement of man,* was meanes rather to make hym double blind, then to geue him his sight: but he obeyed, and knew that God could worke his desire, what meanes soeuer he vsed contrary to mans reason: and as touching this world, he vseth all hys after the same sort. If any smart,* his people be the first: if any suffer shame, they begin: if any be subiecte to sclaunder, it is those that hee loueth: so that hee sheweth no face or fauour, nor loue almost in thys worlde outwardly to them, but laith clay vpon their sore eyes, that be sorowfull: yet the pacient man seeth (as S. Paul sayeth) life hid vnder these miseries and aduersities, and sight vnder soule clay, and in the meane time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and beleueth Gods promises to be his consolation in the worlde to come, whych is more woorth vnto him, then all the worlde is woorth besides: and blessed is that man in whom Gods spirite beareth recorde that he is the sonne of God, what soeuer troubles he suffer in thys troublesome worlde.*

And to iudge things indifferently (my godly wife) the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers time, soone after the deathe and resurrection of oure Sauour Christ Iesu, whereof hee spake in S. Mathewe.* Of the whych place you and I haue taken manye tymes greate consolation, and especially of the latter parte of the Chapter, wherein is contained the last

daye and ende of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for suche as loue the comming of our sauour Christe to iudgement. Remember therefore that place, and marke it againe, and yee shall in thys time see great consolation, and also learne muche pacience. Was there euer suche troubles, as Christe threatned vppon Ierusalem? was there sithens the beginning of the worlde, suche affliction? who was then best at ease? The Apostles that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietnesse in the promises of God. And no marueile, for Christ sayeth: Lifte vp your heades, for your redemption is at hande, that is to saye, your eternall rest approacheth and draweth neare. The world is starke blind,* and more foolish then foolishnesse it selfe, and so be the people of the worlde. For when God sayth, trouble shal come, they will haue ease. And when God sayeth, be merrie and reioyce in trouble, we lament and mourne, as thought we were castawayes. But this our flesh (which is neuer merry with vertue, nor sorrie with vice,* neuer laugheth wyth grace, nor euer weepeth wyth sinne (holdeth fast wyth the worlde, and letteth God slippe. But (my dearely beloued wife) you knowe howe to perceiue and to beware of the vanitie and craftes of the deuill wel enough in Christ. And that yee may the better haue pacience in the spirite of God, reade againe the 24. chap. of S. Mathew, and marke what difference is betwene the destruction of Ierusalem,* and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left aliue many offenders to repent: but at the [Page 1516](#) latter day there shall be absolute iudgement and sentence (neuer to be reuoked) of eternall life and eternal death vppon all mē,* and yet towards the end of the world, we haue nothing so much extremitie, as they had then, but euen as we be able to beare. So doth the mercifull father lay vpon vs now imprisonment (and I suppose for my part, shortly death,) now spoile of goodes, losse of frends, and the greatest losse of all, the knowledge of Gods word.* Gods wyll be done. I wish in Christ Iesu our onely mediatour and Sauour, your constancie and consolation, that you may liue for euer and euer, whereof in Christ I doubt not: to whome for his blessed and most paynefull passion I commit you. Amen. 13. October. 1553.

***To a certayne godly woman, instructing her how she should behaue her selfe in the time of her wydowhoode.**

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy spirite, be with you and all them that vnfaynedly loue hys holy Gospell.* Amen.

I thanke you (deare sister) for your most louing remembrance, and although I can not recompence the same, yet do I wish with all my hart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous dayes, in the whiche the Lorde will trie vs. I trust you do encrease by reading of y^e scriptures, the knowledge you haue of God, and that you diligently apply your selfe to folow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do hartily pray you, to consider the state of your wydowhoode, and if God shall put in your minde to change it, remember the saying of Saint Paule 1. Corinth. 7.* It is lawfull for the wydow or mayden to marry to whome they list, so it be in the Lord: that is to saye,* to suche a one as is of Christes Religion. Dearely beloued in Christ, remember these words, for you shall fynde thereby great ioy and comfort, if you chaunge your state. Whereof I wyll when I haue better leysure (as now I haue none at all) further aduertise you. In the meane time, I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good spirit, who stablish and confirme you in all well doing, and keepe you blamelesse to the day of the Lorde. watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

Yours assured in Christ, Iohn Hooper.

¶To all my deare breethren, my relieuers and helpers in the Citie of London.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I haue receaued frō you (dearely beloued in our Sauour Iesus Christ) by the hands of my seruaunt William Downton,* your liberalitie, for the which I do most hartely thanke you, and I prayse God hyghly in you for you, who hath mooued your hartes to shewe this kyndnes towards me, praying him to preserue you from all famine, scarcitie, and lacke of the truth of his worde, whiche is the liuely foode of youre soules, as you preserue my body from hunger & other necessities, which should happen vnto me, were it not cared for by y^e beneuolence and charitie of godly people. Such as haue taken all worldly goodes and lands from me, & spoiled me of all that I had, haue imprisoned my body and appointed no one halfe peny to feede or relieue me withal: but I do forgeue them, and pray for them dayly in my poore prayer vnto God,* and from my hart I wishe their saluation, and quietly & patiently beare their iniuries, wishing no farther extremitie to be vsed towards vs. Yet if it seeme contrary best vnto our heauenly father, I haue made my reckening, & fully resolved my selfe to suffer the vttermost that they are able to do against me,* yea death it selfe, by the aide of Christ Iesu, who died the most vile death of y^e crosse for vs wretches & miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, y^t the wicked world w^t all his force & power, shal not touch one of y^e heares of your heads without leaue & licēce of our heauenly father, whose wil be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Onely we pray, that our willes may be subiect vnto his will, & then although both we & all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he thinke life best, we shal not die, no, although the sword be drawen out ouer our heades: as Abraham thought to kill his sonne Isaac, yet when God perceaued that Abraham had surrendred his will to Gods will, and was content to kill his sonne, God then saued his sonne.

Dearely beloued, if we be contented to obey Gods will, and for his commandements sake, to surrender our goods and our selues to be at his pleasure,* it maketh no matter whether we keepe goodes and lyfe, or lose them. Nothyng can hurt vs that is taken from vs for Gods cause, nor nothing can at length do •s good, that is preserued contrary vnto Gods commaundement. Let vs wholly suffer God to vse vs and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither vse nor gouern our selues contrary to his will by our own wisdom, for if we do, our wisdom will at length proue foolishnes. It is kept to no good purpose y^t we keepe contrary vnto his commandements. It can by no meanes be taken from vs that he would should tary w^t vs. He is no good Christian that ruleth himselfe & his, as worldly meanes serueth: for he y^t so doth shall haue as many changes as chāceth in the world. To day with y^e world he shall like and prayse the truth of God,* to morow as the world will, so will he like and prayse the falshood of man: to day with Christ, and to morow with Antichrist. Wherefore deare brethren, as touching your behauiour towards God, vse both your inward spirites and your outward bodyes, your inward and your outward man (I say) not after the meanes of men, but after y^e infallible word of god.

Refraine from euill in both, and glorifie your heauenly father in both. For if ye thinke ye can inwardly in the hart serue him,* and yet outwardly serue with the world in externall service, y^e thing that is not God, ye deceaue your selues, for both the body and the soule must together concur in the honour of God, as S. Paule plainly teacheth. 1. Cor. 6. For if an honest wife be bound to geue both hart and body to fayth and service in mariage, and if an honest wiues fayth in the hart cannot stand with an whorishe or defiled body outwardly: muche lesse can the true fayth of a Christian in the true service of Christianitie, stand with the bodely service of externall

Idolatry: for the mistery of mariage is not so honorable betweene man and wife, as it is betweene Christ & euery christian man, as S. Paule saith.

Therefore deare brethren, pray to the heauenly father, that as he spared not the soule nor the body of his dearely beloued sonne, but applyed both of them with extreame payne, to work our saluation both of body and soule: so he will geue vs al grace to apply our bodyes and soules to be seruauntes vnto him: for doubtles he requireth as wel the one as the other, and cannot be miscontented with the one and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loueth both: he deuideth not his loue to one and his hatred to the other. Let not vs therfore good brethren, deuide our selues, and say our soules serue him whatsoeuer our bodyes doe the contrary, for ciuill order and pollicy.

But (alas) I know by my selfe, what troubleth you, that is, the great daunger of the worlde, that will reuenge (ye thinke) your seruice to God, with sword and fire, with losse of goodes and landes. But (deare brethren,) way of the other side, that your enemies, and Gods enemies, shal not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels,* and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workemen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyard, there to labour till euening tide, that ye may receaue your peny, which is more worth then al the kinges of the earth. But he that calleth vs into hys vineyard, hath not told vs how sore and how feruently the sunne shall trouble vs in our labour: But hath bid vs labour and committe the bitternes thereof vnto him: who can and will so moderate al afflictions, that no man shall haue more layd vpon him, then in Christ hee shall be able to beare: Unto whose mercifull tuition and defence I commend both your soules and bodyes.

2. September. 1554.

Yours with my poore prayer, Iohn Hooper.

To a Marchant of London, by whose meanes he had receaued much comfort in his great necessitie in the Fleete.

GRace, mercy, and peace in Christ Iesus our Lorde. I thanke God and you for the great helpe and consolation I haue receaued in the time of aduersity by your charitable meanes but most reioice that you be not altered from trueth,* although falshood cruelly seeketh to distayne her. Iudge not (my brother) truth by outward appearaunce, for truth now worse appeareth and more vilely is reiecte then falshood. Leau the outwarde shewe, and see by the worde of God what truth is,* and accept truth, and dislike her not though man call her falshood. As it is now, so hath it bene heretofore, the truth reiecte and falshode receaued. Such as haue professed truth, for truth haue smarted, and the frendes of falshode laughed them to scorne. The tryall of both hath bene by contrary successe: the one hauing the cōmendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falshode by God, flourishing for a tyme with endles destruction, the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortall ioyes. Wherefore deare brother aske and demaund of your booke, the Testament of Iesus Christ in these woefull and wretched dayes, what you should thinke, and what you should stay vpon for a certayne truth, and whatsoeuer you heare taught try it by your [Page 1516](#) booke, whether it be true or false. The dayes be dangerous and full of perill, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heauen and heauenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasures of this life, but yet a very payne if they be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray,

and in Christ dayly require helpe, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace, and defence, that the wickednes of this world preuaile not against vs. We began well, God preserve vs vntill the end. I would write more often vnto you, but I do perceiue you be at so much charges with me, that I feare you would thinke when I write I craue. Send me nothing till I send to you for it, and so tell the good men your partners, and when I neede, I will be bold of you.

3. December 1554.

Yours with my prayer, Iohn Hooper.

¶**To Maistres Wilkinson, a woman hartly in Gods cause, and comfortable to his afflicted members.**

The grace of God, and the comforte of his holy spirit be with you, Amen.

I am very glad to heare of your health, and do thanke you for your louing tokens. But I am a great deale more glad to heare how Christianly you auoyd Idolatry, & prepare your selfe to suffer y^e extremity of the world, rather thē to endaunger your selfe to God. You doe as you ought to do in this behalfe, and in suffering of t^rāsit^ry paynes, you shall auoyd permanent tormēt^s in the world to come. Use your life, and keepe it with as much quietnes as you can, so that you offende not God. The ease that commeth wyth his displeasure, turneth at length to vnspeakeable paynes, and the gaynes of the world, with the losse of his fauour, is beggery and wretchednes. Reason is to be amended in this cause of Religion: For it will choose and follow an errour with the multitude if it may be allowed, rather then turne to faith and folow the truth with the people of God. Moyses found the same fault in himselfe, and did amende it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to vse the libertie of the kings daughter, that accounted him as her sonne.* Pray for contentation and peace of the spirit, and reioyce in such troubles as shall happen vnto you for the truthe sake, for in that part Christ saith you be happy. Pray also for me I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heauenly father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you.

***To my deere frendes in God Mayster Iohn Hall and his wyfe.**

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thanke you for your louing and gentle frendship at all times,* praying God to shew vnto you such fauour, that whatsoeuer trouble and aduersitie happen, y^e go not backe from him. These dayes be daungerous and full of perill, but yet let vs comfort our selues in calling to remembrance the dayes of our forefathers, vpon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundrethes, yea many thousandes dyed for the testimonie of Iesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancie as much cruelty as Tyrants could deuise, and so departed out of this miserable world, to the blisse euerlasting, where as now they remaine for euer, lookyng alwayes for the end of this sinfull world, when they shall receiue their bodies againe in immortalitie, and see the number of the elects associated with them in full and consummate ioyes.* And as vertuous men suffering Martyrdome, and taryng a little whyle in this world with paynes, by and by rested in ioyes euerlastyng, and as their paynes ended their sorowes and began ease,* so dyd their constancie and stedfastnes animate and confirme all good people in the truth, and gaue them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather then to fall with the world to consent vnto wickednes and Idolatry. Wherefore my deare frends, seeing God of his part, hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true fayth, wherein the

Apostles, the Euangelistes, and all Martyrs suffered most cruell death, thanke him for his grace in knowledge, and pray vnto him for strength and perseuerance, that through your owne fault, you be not ashamed nor afeard to confesse it. Ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell shall neuer preuaile against it, nor Antichrist with all his impes proue it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but neuer ouercome. Be of good comfort, and feare more God then man. This life is short and miserable: happy be they that can spende it to the glory of God. Pray for me as I do for you, and commende me to all good men and women.

22. December 1554.

Your brother in Christ, Iohn Hooper.

¶To my dearely beloued sister in the Lord Maistres Anne Warcop.*

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I thanke you for your louing token. I pray you burden not your selfe too much. It were meete for me rather to beare a payne, then to be a hinderaunce to many. I did reioice at the comming of this bearer, to vnderstand of your constancie, and how y^t you be fully resolved by Gods grace, rather to suffer extremitie, then to go frō that truth in God which you haue professed. He that gaue you grace to begin in so infallible a truth, will folow you in the same vnto the end. But my louing Sister, as you be traueling this perilous iourney, take this lesson with you, practised by wise mē: wherof ye may reade in the second of S. Mathewes Gospell. Such as traueled to finde Christ, followed only the starre, and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their iourney. But when they entred into Ierusalem, where as the starre led them not thether but vnto Bethelē, and there asked the Citizens the thing that the starre shewed before: as lōg as they taried in Hierusalem and would be instructed where Christ was borne,* they were not only ignorant of Bethelē, but also lost the sight of the starre that led them before. Whereof we learne, in any case whiles we be going in this life, to seeke Christ that is aboue, to beware we loose not the starre of Gods word, that onely is y^e marke that sheweth vs where Christ is, and which way we may come vnto him. But as Ierusalem stood in y^e way,* and was an impediment to these wise men: so doth the sinagogue of Antichrist, that beareth the name of Ierusalem, which by interpretation is called the vision of peace, and amōgst the people now is called the Catholicke Church, stand in the way that pilgrimes must go by thorough this world to Bethelē the house of saturitie and plentifulnes,* and is an impediment to all Christian trauellers: yea and except the more grace of God be, will keepe the pilgrimes still in her that they shal not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them in deede, they take away y^e starre of light which is Gods word that it can not be sene: as ye may see how the celestial star was hid frō the wise men, whē they asked of the Phariseis at Hierusalem where Christ was borne. Ye may see what great dangers hapned vnto these wise men, whiles they were a learning of liars where Christ was. First they were out of their way, and next they lost their guide & conductour, the heauenly starre. Christ is mounted frō vs into heauen, & there we seeke him (as we say:) let vs therfore go thetherward by the star of his word, & beware we happen not to come into Hierusalem the Church of men and aske for him. If we do,* we go out of the way & lose also our cōductour and guide that only leadeth vs straight thether.

The Poets write in fables, that Iason when he fought with the Dragon in the Ile of Colchis, was preserued by the medicines of Medea, and so wan the golden fleese. And they write also that

Titan, whome they faine to be sonne and heyre of the high God Iupiter, would needes vpon a day haue the conduction of y^e sunne round about y^e world, but as they faine, he missed of the accustomed course: wherupon whē he went too high, he burned heauē,* and when he went too low, he burned the earth & the water. These prophane histories do shame vs that be Christian men, Iason against the poyson of the dragon, vsed only the medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a Christian man against the poyson of the deuill, heresie, & sinne, to vse any other remedy, then Christ & his word? Titan for lacke of knowledge, was afeard of euery signe of the Zodiacke that the Sunne passeth by: wherfore he now went too low, & now too high, and at length fell downe and drowned himselfe in the sea. Christian men for lacke of knowledge, and for feare of such daungers as christian men must needes passe by, go cleane out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Sister take heede, you shall in your iourney towards heauen, meete with many a monstrous beast:* haue salue of Gods word therfore ready. You shal meete husbād, children, louers and frends, that shall if God be not with them (as God be prayed he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very lettes and impedimentes to your purpose. You shall meete with sclaunder and cōtempt of the world, and be accoumpted vngracious & vngodly: you shal heare & meete with cruell tyranny to do you all extremities: you shall now and then see the troubles of your own cōscience, and feele your owne weakenes: you shall heare that you be cursed by the sentence of the Catholicke Church, wyth such like terrours: but pray to God, and follow the starre of his word, and you shall ariue at the port of eternall saluation, by the merites only of Iesus Christ: to whome I commend you and all yours most hartily.

Yours in Christ Iohn Hooper.

¶Unto these letters of Maister Hooper heeretofore recited, we thought not inconuenient, to annexe also another certaine Epistle, not of Maister Hoper, but writtē to hym by a famous learned man Henry Bullinger, chiefe superintendent [Page 1518](#) in the Citie of Zuricke. Of whose singulare loue and tender affection toward Maister Hooper, ye heard before in the beginning of Maister Hoopers life discoursed. Now how louingly he writeth vnto him, ye shall heare by this present letter, as followeth.

¶**To the most reuerend father M. Iohn Hooper Byshop of Worcester and Glocester, and now prisoner for the Gospel of Iesus Christ, my fellow Elder and most deare brother, in England.**

THE heauenly father graunt vnto you, and to all those which are in bands and captiuitie for his name sake, grace and peace through Iesus Christ our Lord,* with wisdom, patience and fortitude of the holy Ghost.

I haue receiued from you two letters (my most deare brother:) the former in the moneth of September of the yere past, the latter in the moneth of May of this present yere, both written out of prison. But I doubting least I should make aunswere to you in vayne, whilst I feared that my letters should neuer come vnto your handes, or else increase and double your sorrow: did refrayne from the duety of writing. In the which thing I doubt not, but you will haue me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole yere, to aunswere to my whole libels rather then letters, whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing vnto you: as also at this present, after I heard that you were cast in prison, I did not refraine from continuall prayer,

beseeking our heauenly Father through our onely mediatur Iesus Christ, to graunt vnto you and to your fellowe prisoners, faith and constancie vnto the ende. Now is that thyng happened vnto you (my brother) the which we did oftentimes prophecie vnto our selues at your being with vs, should come to passe, especially when we did talke of the power of Antichrist and of his felicitie and victories. For you know the saying of Daniell: * His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength, and he shall wonderfully destroy and make hauocke of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his owne will. You knowe what the Lord warned vs of before hand by Mathew, in the tenth chapter, by Iohn in the 15. chapter, and the 16. and also what that chosen vessell Saint Paule hath written in the second to Timothy and the third chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by Gods grace) of your faith and patience, whilst you knowe that those things which you suffer are not looked for or come by chaunce, * but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarell▪ for what can be more true and holy, then our doctrine, which the Papistes, those worshippers of Antichrist do persecute? All things touching saluation, we attribute vnto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we haue bene taught of him and of his disciples, but they would haue euen the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist and to his institutions. * Such we ought no lesse to withstand, then we reade that Helias withstoode the Baalites. For if Iesus be Christ, then let them knowe that he is the fulnes of his Church, and that perfectly: but and if Antichrist be King and Priest, then let them exhibite vnto him that honor. How long do they halt on both sides? * Can they geue vnto vs any one that is better then Christ? Or who shall be equall with Christ, that may be compared with him, except it be he whome the Apostle calleth the Aduersarie? But if Christ be sufficient for his Church, what needeth this patching and peeing? But I know well enough, I neede not to vse these disputations with you which are sincerely taught, and haue taken roote in Christ, being perswaded that you haue all things in him, and that we in hym are made perfect.

Go forwardes therefore constauntly to confesse Christ, and to defye Antichrist, * being mindfull of this most holy and most true saying of our Lorde Iesus Christ: He that ouercommeth, shall possesse all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my sonne: but the fearefull, and the vnbeleeuing, and the abhominable, and the murtherers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all lyers, shall haue theyr part in the lake which burneth with fyre and brimstone, whych is the second death. The fyrst death is soone ouercome, although a man must burne for the Lordes sake: for they say well that do affyrme thys our fyre to be scarcely a shadowe of that which is prepared for the vnbeleeuers, and them that fall from the trueth. Moreouer, the Lorde graunteth vnto vs, that wee may easily ouercome by his power the fyrst death, the which he hymselfe dyd taste and ouercome, promising withall such ioyes as neuer shall haue ende, vnspeakeable, and passing all vnderstanding, the which we shall possesse so soone as euer we departe hence. For so agayne sayeth the Angell of the Lord: If any man woorship the beast and his Image, and receyue hys marke in hys forehead, or on his hande, the same shall drinke of the wrath of God, * yea of the wyne which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb: and the smoke of their tormēts shal ascend euermore, and they shall haue no rest day nor night, which worship the beast & his Image, and whosoever receiue the print of his name. Here is the patiēce of Saintes: here are they that keep the commandements of God, * and the fayth of Iesus. To this he addeth by and by: I heard a voyce saying to me, write: blessed be the dead that dye in the Lord, frō

henceforth (or speedely they be blessed. Io. 5) euen so sayth the spirite, for they rest frō their labours, but their works follow thē: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vayne.

Therefore seeing you haue such a large promise, be strong in the Lorde, fight a good fight, be faythfull to the Lorde vnto the ende: consider that Christ the sonne of God is your Captaine, and fighteth for you, and for that all the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, are your fellow souldiours. They that persecute and trouble vs, are men, sinfull, and mortall, whose fauour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing: & besides that, our life is frayle, short, brickle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lorde, who graunt vnto you, and to all your fellow prisoners fayth and constancy. Commend me to the most reuerend fathers and holy Confessours of Christ, Doctor Cranmer Bishop of Canterbury, D. Ridley Bishop of London, and the good old father D. Latimer. Them and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lordes cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Ministers, the whiche do wish vnto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

Concerning the state of our Church, it remayneth euen as it was when you departed from vs into your countrey. God graunt we may be thankfull to him, and that we doe not onely professe the faith with wordes, but also expresse the same effectually with good workes to the praise of our Lord. The word of God increaseth dayly in that part of Italy that is neare vnto vs, and in Fraunce.

In the meane while the godly sustaine greeuous persecutions, and with great constancy and glory, through tormentes they goe vnto the Lord. I and all my houshold, with my sonnes in law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They doe salute you, and pray for your constancie, being sorrowfull for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to vs Englishmen Studentes, both godly and learned: They be receaued of oure Magistrate. Tenne of them dwell together, the rest remayne here and there with good men. Amongest the other, Mayster Thomas Leuer is deare vnto me and familiar. If there be anye thing wherein I may doe any pleasure to your wife and childrē,* they shall haue me wholly at commaundement: whereof I will write also to your wife, for I vnderstand shee abideth at Franckford. Be strong and mery in Christ, wayting for his delirauce, when, and in what sort it shall seeme good vnto hym. The Lorde Iesus shewe pittie vppon the Realme of Englande, and illuminate the same with his holy Spirite to the glorye of his name, and the saluation of soules. The Lorde Iesus preserue and deliuer you from all euill, with all them that call vpon hys name. Farewell, and farewell eternally.

The 10. of October. 1554. From Zurich.

You know the hand, H.B.

The history of D. Rouland Taylour, which suffered for the truth of Gods word, vnder the tyranny of the Romaine Byshop .1555. the 9. day of February.

THE towne of Hadley was one of the first that receaued the worde of God in all Englande at the preaching of M. Thomas Bilney:* By whose industrie the Gospell of Christ had such gracious successe, and took such root there, that a great number of that parishe became exceeding wel learned in the holye scriptures, as well women as men: so that a man might haue found among them many that had often read the whole Bible through, and that coulde haue sayt• a great part of

S. Paules epistles by hart, and very wel & readily haue geuen a godly learned sentence in any matter of controuersie. Their children and seruantes were also brought vp and trayned so dilligently in y^e right knowledge of Gods worde, that the whole towne seemed rather an Uniuersitie of y^e learned, then a town of Clothmaking or labouring people: And that most is to be commended, they were for the more part faythfull followers of Gods word in their liuing.

In this towne was D. Rouland Taylor, Doctour in both the Ciuill and Canon lawes,* and a right perfect Diuine, parson. Who at his first entring into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed mē do, let out his benefice to a Farmar, that should gather vp the profites, and set in an ignoraunt vnlearned Priest to serue the Cure, & so they may haue the fleece, litle or nothing care for feeding the flocke: But contrarily he forsooke the Archbishop of Canterbury Tho. Cranmer,* with whome he before was in housholde, and made hys personal abode and dwelling in Hadley among y^e people cōmitted to his charge. Where he as a good shepheard, abiding and dwelling among has sheepe,* gaue himself wholly to the study of holy scriptures most faythfull endeuouring himselfe to fulfill that charge, which the Lord gaue vnto Peter, saying, Peter louest thou [Page 1519](#) me?*Feede my Lambes, Feede my sheepe, Feede my sheepe. This loue of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sondag nor holy day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together,* but he preached to them the worde of God, the doctrine of their saluation.

Not onely was his worde a preaching vnto them, but all his lyfe and conuersation was an example of vnfayned christian life, and true holynes. He was voyde of all pride, humble,* and meeke as any childe: so that none were so poore, but they might boldly as vnto their father, resorte vnto him, neither was his lowlines childish or fearefull, but as occasion, time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinfull and euill doers, so that none was so rich but he would tell him playnely his fault, with such earnest and graue rebukes as became a good Curate and Pastor. He was a man very milde, voyde of all rancour, grudge or euill will, ready to do good to all men, readely forgeuing his enemies, and neuer sought to do euil to any.

To the poore that were blinde, lame, sicke, bedred, or that had many childrē,* he was a very Father, a carefull patrone, and diligent prouider, in so much that he caused the parishioners to make a generall prouision for thē: and he himselfe (beside the continuall reliefe that they alwayes found at his house) gaue an honest portion yearly,* to the common almes boxe. His wife also was an honest, discrete, and sober matrone, and his children well noutried, brought vp in the feare of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and liuely image or paterne of all those vertuous qualities described by S. Paule in a true Byshop, a good salt of the earth sauourly biting the corrupt maners of euill men, a light in Gods house set vpō a Candlesticke for all good men to imitate and folow.

Thus continued this good Shepeheard among hys flocke, gouerning and leading them through this wildernes of the wicked world, all the dayes of the most innocent and holy King of blessed memory, Edward the vj. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery vnto his most blessed rest,* the Papistes, who euer sembled and dissembled, both with King Henry the eight, and king Edward his sonne, now seing the time conuenient for their purpose, vttered their false hypocrisie, openly refusing all good reformation made by the sayd two most godly Kings, and contrary to that, they had all these two Kings dayes preached, taught, written,

and sworne, they violently ouerthrew the true doctrine of the Gospell, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receaue againe the Romaine Byshop as supreme head of the vniuersall Church, and allow all the errorrs, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by Gods worde were disproued and iustly condemned, as though nowe they were good doctrine, vertuous, and true Religion.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certayne Petigentleman after the sort of a Lawyer, called Foster, being Steward and keeper of Courtes,* a man of no great skil, but a bitter persecutour in those daies, with one Iohn Clerke of Hadley, which Foster had euer bene a secrete fauourer of all Romish Idolatry, cōspired w^t the said Clerke to bring in the Pope & his maumentry againe into Hadley Church. For as yet Doct. Taylour, as a good shepheard, had retained and kept in his Church, the godly Churchseruice and reformation made by king Edward, & most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole countrey round about.

Therefore the foresayde Foster and Clerke hyred one Iohn Auerth,* Person of Aldam, a very money Mammonist, a blinde leader of the blinde, a Popish Idolatour, and an open Aduouterer and whoremonger, a very fit Minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to geue the onset to begin againe the Popish Masse.

To this purpose they builded vp with all haste possible the altuar, entending to bring in their Masse agayn, about the Palme Monday.* But this their deuise tooke none effect: for in the night the altuar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it vp againe the second time, and layde diligent watch, least any should againe breake it downe.

On the day following came Foster and Iohn Clerke, bringing with them their Popish Sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garmentes, to play his Popish Pageant, whome they and their men garded with swords and buklers, least any man should disturbe him in his Missall Sacrifice.

When Doctour Taylour, who (according to hys custome) sate at his booke studying y^e word of God,* heard the bells ring, he arose and went into the Church, supposing some thing had bene there to be done, according to his Pastorall office: and comming to the Church, he founde the Church dores shut and fast barred, sauing the Chauncell dore, which was onely latched: Where he entring in, and comming into the Chauncell,* saw a Popishe Sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shauen crown, ready to begin his Popish sacrifice, beset roūd about with drawne swords and bucklers, lest any mā should approach to disturbe him.

Then said Doctour Taylour: Thou Deuill, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to prophane and defile it with this abhominable Idolatry? Wyth that start vp Foster, and with an irefull and furious countenance, sayd to Doctour Taylour: thou Traytour, what doest thou heere, to let and disturbe the Queenes proceedings? Doctour Taylour aunswered: I am no traytour, but I am the shepheard that God & my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flocke: wherfore I haue good authoritie to be here: & I command thee, thou popish Wolfe, in the name of God to auoyd hēce, and not to presume here with such a Popish Idolatry, to poyson Christes flocke.

Then said Foster: wilt thou traytourly hereticke make a commotion, & resist violently the Queenes proceedings.

Doctour Taylour answered: I make no cōmotion, but it is you Papistes that maketh commotions and tumults. I resist onely with Gods word, agaynst your Popish Idolatries, which are against Gods word, y^e Queenes honor, & tend to y^e vtter subuersiō of this realme of England. And further thou doest against the Canon law, which cōmandeth that no Masse be said, but at a consecrate aultar.

When the Parson of Aldam heard that, hee began to shrinke backe, & would haue left his saying of Masse. Thē start vp Iohn Clerke, and said: M. Auerth, be not afrayd, ye haue a * Superaltare. Go forth with your busines man.

Then Foster with his armed mē, tooke Doctour Taylour, and led him with strong hand out of the Church, and the Popish Prelate proceeded in his Romishe Idolatry. Doct. Taylours wife, who folowed her husband into the Church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his Church, she kneeled downe, & held vp her hāds, and with loude voyce sayd: I beseeche God the righteous Iudge to auenge this iniury, that this Popish Idolatour this day doth to the bloud of Christ. Then they thrust her out of the Church also, and shut to the dores: for they feared that the people woulde haue rent their Sacrificer in peeces. Notwithstāding, one or two threw in great stones at the windowes, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how without consente of the people, the Popishe Masse was agayne set vp, wyth battayle array, with swordes and buckelers, with violence and tyranny: which practise the Papistes haue euer yet vsed. As for reason, lawe, or Scripture, they haue none on their parte. Therefore they are the same that saith: The law of vnrighteousnes is our strength: Come, let vs oppresse the righteous without any feare, &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerke made a complaint of Doctour Taylour, by a letter written to Steuen Gardiner Byshop of Winchester, and Lord Chauncellour.

When the Byshop heard this, he sent a letter missiue to Doct. Taylour, commaunding him within certaine daies, to come and to appeare before him vpon his allegiance,* to aunswere such complayntes as were made against him.

When Doctour Taylours frends heard of thys, they were exceeding sory and agreeued in minde: which then foreseing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and iustice were troden vnder foote, and falsehode with cruell tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole route: his frendes I say came to him, and earnestly counselled him to departe and flye, alledging and declaring vnto him,* that he could neyther be indifferently heard to speake his conscience and mind, nor yet looke for iustice or fauour at the sayd Chauncellours handes, who as it was well knowne, was most fierce and cruell: but must needes (if he went vp to him) wayte for imprisonment and cruell death at his hands.

Then sayd D. Taylour to his frends: Deare frendes,* I most hartely thanke you, for that ye haue so tender a care ouer me. And although I knowe, that there is neither iustice nor truth to be looked for at my aduersaries handes, but rather imprisonment and cruell death: yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong vpon my side, that I will by Gods grace go and appeare before them and to their beardes resist their false doings.

Then sayd his frendes: M. Doctour, we thinke it not best so to do. You haue sufficiētly done your duety, and testified the truth, both by your godly Sermons, and also in resisting the Parson of Aldam, with other that came hytherto bring in againe the popish Masse. And for as much as our Sauour Christ willeth and biddeth vs, that when they persecute vs in one City, we should flie into another:* we thinke in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping your selfe against another time whē the Church shall haue [Page 1520](#) great neede of such diligent teachers, and godly Pastors.

Oh (quoth Doct. Taylour) what will ye haue me to do? I am now olde, and haue already liued too long to see these terrible and most wicked dayes. Flye you, and do as your conscience leadeth you.* I am fully determined (with Gods grace) to go to the Bishop, & to his beard to tell him that he doth nought, God shall well hereafter raise vp teachers of his people, whiche shall with much more diligence and fruite teach them, then I haue done. For God will not forsake his Church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth vs, and not without a iust cause.

As for me, I beleeeue before God, I shall neuer be able to do God so good seruice, as I may do now: nor I shall neuer haue so glorious a calling, as I now haue, nor so great mercy of God profered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man woulde not gladly dye against the Pope and his adherents? I know that the Papacie is the kingdome of Antichrist, altogether full of lyes, altogether full of falsehood: so that all their doctrine, euen from Christes Crosse be my speede and S. Nicholas,* vnto the end of their Apocalyps, is nothing but Idolatry, superstition, errours, hypocrisie and lyes.

Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my frendes, to pray for me, & I doubt not, but God will geue me strēgth and his holy spirit, y^t all mine aduersaries shal haue shame of their doings.

When his frends saw him so constaunt, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him vnto God: and he within a day or two prepared himselfe to his iourney, leauing his cure with a godly olde Priest, named Syr Richard Yeoman, who afterward for Gods truth was burnt at Norwich.*

There was also in Hadley one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who (after Sir Richard Yeoman was driuen away) vsed dayly to reade a chapter, and to say the English Letany in Hadley Church. But him they fet vp to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate: where after a yeare imprisonment, he died.

But let vs returne to Doctour Taylour agayne, who being accompanied with a seruaunt of his owne, named Iohn Hull, tooke his iourney towards London. By the way this Iohn Hull laboured to counsell and perswade him very earnestly to flie, and not to come to the Byshop, and profered himselfe to go with him to serue him, and in all perils to venter his li•e for him, and with him.

*But in no wise would Doctour Taylour consent or agree thereunto, but sayd: Oh Iohn, shall I geue place to this thy counsell & worldly perswasion, and leaue my flock in this daunger? Remember the good shepeheard Christ, whiche not alonely fed his flocke, but also died for hys flocke. Him must I follow, and with Gods grace will do.

Therefore good Iohn pray for me: and if thou seest me weake at any time, * comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose. Thus they came vp to London, and shortly after Doctour Taylour presented himselfe to the Bishop of Winchester Steuen Gardiner, then Lord Chauncellour of England.

For this hath bene one great abuse in Englande these many yeares, that such offices as haue ben of most importance and waight, haue commonly bene committed to Bishops and other spirituall men, whereby three diuelish mischiefes and inconueniences haue happened in this Realme, to the great dishonour of God, and vtter neglecting of the flocke of Christ: the which three be these.

First, they haue had small leysure to attende to theyr pastorall cures, which thereby haue bene vtterly neglected and left vndone.

Secondly, it hath also pufte vp many Byshops and other spirituall persons into such hautines and pryde, that they haue thought no noble man in the Realme worthy to be their equall and fellow.

Thirdly, where they by this meanes knew the very secretes of Princes, * they being in such high offices, haue caused the same to be knowne in Rome, afore the kings could accomplish and bring their ententes to passe in England. By this meanes hath the Papacy bene so maintained, and things ordered after their wils and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this Realme and others, sometime to the destruction of Princes, and sometime to the vtter vndoing of many common wealthes.

Now when Gardiner saw Doctour Taylour, he according to his common custome, all •o reuiled him, calling him knaue, Traytor, hereticke, with many other villanous reproches: which all Doctour Taylour heard patiently, and at the last sayd vnto him:

*My Lord (quoth he) I am neither Traytour nor hereticke, but a true subiect, and a faithfull Christian man, and am come according to your cōmandement, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me.

Then sayde the Bishop, art thou come, thou villaine? How darest thou looke me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?

Yes (quoth Doctor Taylor) I knowe who yee are. * Ye are Doctor Steuen Gardinar Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chauncellour, & yet but a mortall man I trow. But if I shoulde be afrayde of your Lordly lookes, why feare you not God, the Lord of vs all? Howe dare yee for shame looke any Christian man in the face, * seeing ye haue forsaken the trueth, denyed our sauoure Christ and hys word, & done contrary to your own othe & writing? With what countenance wil ye appeare before the Iudgement seate of Christ, and aunswere to your othe made, first vnto that

blessed king Henry 8. of famous memorye, and afterward vnto that blessed king Edward the 6. his sonne?

The bishop answered: Tush, tush,* that was Herodes othe, vnlawfull, and therfore worthy to be broken. I haue done well in breaking it: and (I thanke God) I am come home agayne to our mother to the Catholicke Church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldest doe.

Doctor Taylor answered: Should I forsake y^e Church of Christ, which is founded vpon the true foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes, to approue those lyes: erroures, superstitions and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approue? Nay God forbid.*

Let the pope and his returne to our sauioure Christ, and his word, and thrust out of the Churches such abhominable Idolatries as he maintayneth, and then wil christen men turne vnto him. You wrote truely agaynst hym, and were sworne agaynst him.

I tell thee (quoth the Bishop of Winchester) it was Herodes oth, vnlawfull, and therfore ought to be broken and not kept, and our holy father the Pope hath discharged me of it.

Then sayd D. Taylor:* but you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtles will require it at youre handes, as a lawfull othe made to your liege & soueraigne Lorde the king, from whose obedience no man can assoyle you, neither the Pope nor none of his.

I see (quoth the Bishop) thou art an arrogant knaue,* and a very foole.

My Lord (quoth Doctor Taylor) leaue your vnseemly rayling at me, which is not seemely for such a one in authoritie as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that He that sayeth to his brother Racha, is in daunger of a Counsell, and he that sayth thou foole, is in daunger of hel fire.

The Bishop answered, ye are all false, and lyars all the sort of you. Nay (quoth D. Taylor) we are true men, and know that is written: Os quod mentitur, occidit animam: & agayne, Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. i. The mouth that lyeth slayeth the soule. And agayne Lord God thou shalt destroy all that speake lyes. And therefore we abide by the truth of gods word which ye contrary to your own conscience deny and forsake.

Thou art maryed (quoth the B.) Yea, (quoth Doctour Taylor) that I thank God I am,* and haue had nine children, and all in lawfull matrimony, and blessed be God y^t ordayned matrimony, and commaunded that euerye man that hath not the gift of continency shoulde mary a wife of his owne, and not liue in adultery, or whoredome.

Then sayd the bishop: thou hast resisted the Queenes Proceedinges,* and wouldest not suffer the Parson of Aldam a very vertuous and deuout Priest, to say Masse in Hadley. Doctor Taylor answered. My Lorde I am Parson of Hadley, and it is agaynst all right, conscience and lawes, that any man shall come into my charge & presume to infect the flock committed vnto me,* with venome of the Popish Idolatrous Masse.

With that the Bishop waxed very angry, & said, Thou art a blasphemous hereticke in deede, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and put of his cap) and speakest agaynst the holy Masse, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. D. Taylor answered, Nay I blaspheeme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reuerence it as a true christian ought to doe,* and confesse that Christ ordayned the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion,* which• when we keepe according to his ordinaunce, we (through fayth) eat the body of Chryst, and drinke his bloud geuing thanks for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quicke & the dead, to geue God thanks for his mercifull goodnes shewed to vs, in that he gaue his sonne Christ vnto the death for vs.*

Thou sayst well (quoth the Bishop) It is all y^t thou hast sayd, and more to, for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for y^e quick & dead. Thē answered D. Taylor: Christ gaue hymselfe [Page 1521](#) to die for our redemption vpon the Crosse, whose body there offered, was the propitiatory Sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient vnto saluation, for all them that beleue in him. And this sacrifice did our Sauour Christ offer in his owne person himselfe once for all,* neither can any Priest any more offer him, nor we neede no more propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore I say with Chrysostome, and all the Doctours: Our Sacrifice is only memoratiue, in the remembrance of Christes death and passion, a sacrifice of thankesgeuing, and therefore Fathers called it Eucharistia: And other sacrifice hath the Church of God none.

It is true (quoth the Byshop) the Sacrament is called Eucharistia, a thankesgeuing, because we there geue thanks for our redemption, and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead, which thou shalt confesse ere thou and I haue done. Then called the Bishop his men, and sayde: haue this fellow hence, and carry him to the Kings bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept.

Then kneeled Doctor Taylour down and held vp both his hands, and said: Good Lord, I thanke thee, and from the tyranny of the Byshop of Rome,* and all his detestable errours, Idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliuer vs: And God be praysed for good King Edward. So they caried him to prison, to the Kings Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two yeares.

☞ This is the summe of that first talke, as I sawe it mentioned in a Letter that Doctour Taylour wrote to a frend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was founde worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his frendes to pray for him, that he might perseuere constaunt vnto the ende.

Being in prison, Doctour Taylour spent all hys tyme in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching,* and exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendement of life.

Within a fewe dayes after, were diuerse other learned and godly men in sondry countreys of England committed to prison for Religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schooles & Churches,* so that there was no greater comfort for Christian harts, then to come to the prisons, to beholde their vertuous conuersation, and to heare their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in Churches, blinde and ignoraunt Massemongers, with their Latine babblings and apishe ceremonies: who lyke cruell Wolues spared not to murther all such, as any thing at all, but once whispered against their Popery. As for the godly preachers which were in King Edwardes tyme, they were either fled the Realme, or else,* as the Prophets did in Kinge Achabs dayes, they were priuely kept in corners. As for as many as the Papistes could lay hold on, they were sent into prison, there as Lambes waiting when the Butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Doctour Taylour was come into y^e prison called the Kings Bench, hee founde therein the vertuous and vigilant preacher of Gods word, M. Bradford: which mā for his innocent and godly liuing,* his deuout, & vertuous preaching, was worthyly counted a miracle of our time, as euen his aduersaries must needes cōfesse. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, & patience, and to perseuere constant vnto the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had prouided hym such a cōfortable prison felow: & so they both together lauded God, and cōtinued in prayer, reading, & exhorting one the other: In so much that D. Taylour told his friends y^t came to visite him, that God had most graciously prouided for him, to send him to that prison where he founde such an anngell of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

¶Doctour Taylour brought foorth to be depriued.

¶After that Doct. Taylour had lyen in prison a whyle, he was cited to appeare in the Arches at Bow Church to aunswere vnto such matter, as there should be objected against him. At the day appoynted, he was led thether, hys keeper wayting vpon him. Where, whē he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his Mariage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctours of the primitiue Church,* by both Lawes Ciuill and Canon, that it is lawfull for Priests to marry, and y^t such as haue not the gift of continencie, are bounde in paine of damnation to marry. This did he so plainely proue, that the Iudge could geue no sentence of diuorce against him, but gaue sentence hee should be depriued of his benefice because he was married.*

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctour Taylour) and alledged many lawes and constitutions for himselfe, but al preuailed not. For he was againe caried into prison, & his liuings taken away, and geuen to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was geuen or sold, I wote not whether,* to one Maister Newealle, whose great vertues were altogether vnlike to Doctour Taylour his predecessour, as the poore Parishioners full well haue proued.

***Doctour Taylour brought agayne before Winchester, and other Bishops.**

AFTER a yeare and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the Papistes got certaine olde tyrannous lawes, which were put downe by King Henry the eight,* and by king Edward, to be againe reuiued by Parlament: so that now they might Ex officio▪ cite whome they would, vpon their owne suspicion, and charge hym wyth what Articles they lusted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burne them: when these lawes were once stablished, they sent for Doctour Taylour with certaine other prisoners, which were agayne conuented before the Chauncellour and other Commissioners about the 22. of Ianuary. The purpose and effect of which talke betwene them, because it is sufficiently described by himselfe in hys owne letter written to a frend of his, I haue annexed the sayd letter heere vnder as foloweth.

¶A Letter of Doctour Taylour, contayning and reporting the talke had betweene him and the Lord Chauncellour and other Commissioners, the 22. of Ianuary.

WHereas you would haue me to write the talke betweene the King and Queenes most honourable Counsell and me on Tuesday, the xxij. of Ianuary, so farre as I remember: First my Lord Chauncellour sayd: You, among other are at this present time sent for,* to enioy the Kings and Queenes Maiestis fauour and mercy, if you will now rise againe with vs from the fall whiche wee generally haue receaued in this Realme, from the which (God be praised) we are now clearely deliuered, miraculously. If you will not rise with vs now, and receaue mercy now offered, you shall haue iudgement according to your demerites. To this I aunswered: that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that euer I could receiue: for I should so fall from my deare Sauour Christ, to Antichrist.* For I do beleue that the Religion set foorth in King Edwards dayes, was according to the veyne of the holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian Religion, from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I liue, by Gods grace.

Then Mayster Secretary Bourne sayde: whyche of the Religions meane ye of in King Edwards dayes? For ye knowe there were diuers bookes of Religion set foorth in his dayes. There was a Religion set foorth in a Cathechisme by my Lord of Caunterbury. Do you meane that you will sticke to that?

I aunswered: My Lorde of Caunterbury made a Cathechisme, to be translated into English, which booke was not of his owne making: yet he set it foorth in his owne name, and truely that booke for the time did much good. But there was after that set foorth by the most innocent King Edward (for whome, God bee prayesd euerlastingly) the whole Churchservice, with great deliberation, and the aduise of the best learned men of the Realme, and authorised by the whole Parliament, and receiued and published gladly by the whole Realme: which booke was neuer reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfited, according to the rules of our Christian Religion in euery behalfe, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contayned: I meane of that booke reformed.

Then my Lord Chauncellour sayd: Diddest thou neuer reade the booke that I set foorth of the Sacrament?

I aunswered that I had read it.

Then he sayd: How likest thou that booke? With that,* one of the Counsell (whose name I know not) sayd: My Lord, that is a good question: for I am sure, that booke stoppeth all their mouthes. Then sayd I: My Lord, I thinke many things be farre wide from the truth of Gods word in that booke.

Then my Lord sayd: Thou art a very varlet.* To that I aunswered: that is as ill as Racha or Fatue. Then my Lord sayd: thou art an ignoraunt beetill brow.

To that I aunswered:* I haue read ouer and ouer agayne the holy Scriptures, and S. Augustines workes through, S. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origine, Gregory Nazianzen, with diuers other bookes through once: therefore I thanke God I am not vtterly ignoraunt. Besydes these, my Lorde, I professed the Ciuill lawes, as your Lordship did, and I haue read ouer the Canon law also.

Then my Lord sayd: with a corrupt iudgement thou readest all things, Touching my profession it is Diuinitie, in whiche I haue written diuers bookes. Then I saide: my Lord, ye did write one booke De vera obedientia: I would you had bene constant in that: for in deede you neuer did declare a good conscience, that I heard of, but in that one booke.

[Page 1522](#) Then my Lord sayd: tut, tut, tut, I wrote agaynst Bucer in Priestes Mariages: but such bookes please not such wretches, as thou art, which hast bene maryed many yeares.

To that I aunswered: I am maryed in deed, and I haue hadde nine children in holy Matrimonye, I thanke God: and this I am sure of,* that your proceedinges now at this present in this Realme agaynst Priestes Mariages is the maintenance of the doctrine of deuils, agaynst naturall lawe, Ciuill lawe, Canon law, generall Counsels, Canons of the Apostles, auncient Doctours, and Gods lawes.

Then spake my Lord of Duresme, saying: You haue professed the Ciuill law, as you say. Then you know that Iustinian writeth, that Priestes shoulde at theyr taking of orders sweare, that they were neuer maryed: and he bringeth in to proue that, Canones Apostolorum.

To that I aunswered: that I did not remember any such lawe of Iustinian. But I am sure that Iustinian Writeth in Titulo de indicta viduitate,* in Cod. that if one would bequeath to his wife in his Testamēt a legacy, vnder a conditiō that she shuld neuer mary agayne, and take an othe of her accomplishing of the same, yet she may mary agayne if he die, notwithstanding the aforesayd cōdition and othe taken and made agaynst Mariage: and an othe is an other maner of obligation made to God, then is a Papisticall vow made to man.

Moreouer in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmayde vnder a condition, that shee shall neuer mary: yet she may mary, and her Patrone shall loose ius patronatus, for his adding of the vnnaturall, and vnlawfull condition agaynst Matrimony.

Then my Lord Chauncellor sayd: thou sayst that Priestes may be maryed by Gods law. How prouest thou that?

*I aunswered: by the playne wordes and sentences of S. Paul, both to Timothy, & to Titus, where he speaketh most euidentlye of the mariage of Priestes, Deacons, and Byshoppes. And Chrysostome writing vpon the Epistle to Timothy sayth: It is an heresye to say that a Bishop may not be maryed.

Then sayd my Lord Chauncellor: thou lvest of Chrysostome. But thou doest, as all thy companions doe, belye euer without shame, both the Scriptures and the Doctors. Diddest thou not also say, that by the Canon lawe Priestes may be married? whiche is most vntrue: and the contrary is most true.

I aunswered: We read in the Decrees, that the foure generall Councils, Nicene, Constantinopolitane, Ephesine, and Chalcedone, haue the same authority that the foure Euangelistes haue. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chiefe bookes of the

Canon law) that the Councell of Nicene, by the meanes of one Paphnutius,* did allow Priestes & bishops mariages. Therefore by the best part of the Canon law, Priestes may be maried.

Then my Lord Chauncellour sayd: thou falsifiest the generall Councell. For there is expresse mention in the sayde Decree, that Priestes shoulde be diuorced from their wiues,* whiche bee maried.

Then said I: if those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the booke be fetched.

*Then spake my Lord of Duresme: Though they be not there, yet they may be in Ecclesiastica historia, which Eusebius wrote, out of which booke the Decree was taken.

To that sayd I: it is not like that the Pope woulde leaue out any such sentence, hauing such authority, & making so much for his purpose.

Then my Lord Chauncellor sayd: Gratian was but a patcher, & thou art glad to snatch vp such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.* I answered my Lord, I can not but maruell that you do call one of the chiefe Papistes that euer was▪ but a patcher.

Then my Lord Chauncellor sayd: Nay I call thee a snatcher & a patcher To make an end: wilt thou not returne agayne with vs to the Catholicke Church? and with that he rose.

And I sayd. By Gods grace I will neuer departe from Christes Church. Then I required that I might haue some of my frendes to come to me in prison: and my Lord Chauncellour sayde: thou shalt haue iudgement within this weeke: and so was I deliuered agayne vnto my keeper,* My Lord of Duresme would that I should beleue as my father and my mother. I alledged S. Augustine: that we ought to preferre Gods word before all men.

And thus muh was conteined in the foresayd letter of Doctor Taylour for that matter.

Besides this letter moreouer he directed an other writing in like maner to an other frend of his concerning the causes wherfore he was condemned, whiche we thought likewise here to expresse as foloweth.

¶The copy of an other Letter to his frend touching his assertions of the Mariage of Priestes, and other causes for the which he was condemned.

IT is heresy to defend any doctrine agaynst the holy scrip|ture. Therefore the Lord Chauncellour and Bishops cōsenting to his sentence agaynst me, be heretickes. For they haue geuen sentence agaynst the mariage of priests, know'ing that S. Paul to Timothe and Titus writeth playnly,* that Bishops, Priestes, & Deacons may be maried: know'ing also that by S. Paules doctrine, it is the doctrine of y^e deuils to inhibite Matrimony. And S. Paule willeth euery faythfull Minister to teach the people so, least they be deceiued by the marked Marchauntes. 1. Tim. 4.

These Byshops are not ignoraunt, that it is onely S. Paules counsell, and lawfull, but Gods commaundemēt also to mary, for such as cannot otherwise liue chaste, neither auoyd fornication.*

They know that such as do mary, do not sinne.

They know that God, before sinne was, ordeined matrimony, & that in Paradise, betwene two of his principall creatures, man, and woman.

They knowe what spirite they haue, whiche saye it is euill to mary (seing God sayd: it is not good for man to be alone without a wife) hauing no speciall gift contrary to the generall commaundemēt and ordinance, diuers times repeated in the booke of Genesis,* which is to encrease and multiply.

They know that Abraham caried into the lād of Canaan his old & yet barrayne wife the vertuous womā Sara with him, leauing father and mother,* and country otherwise at Gods commaundement. For though father & mother, and other frendes are deare and neare, yet none are so dearely and nearely ioyned together, as man & wife in ma'trimony, which must needes be holy, for that it is a figure & similitude of Christ and his Church.

They know that S. Paul geueth a great prayse to matrimony, calling it honorable,* and that not onely to and among many, but to and among all men without exceptiō, whosoever haue need of that Gods remedy, for mans and womans infirmity.

They know y^t if there were any sinne in Matrimony,* it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bedcompany. But S. Paul sayth: that the bedcompany is vndefiled.

They know that the hauing of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moyses, Isaac, Iacob, Daud. &c. to talke with God, neither to y^e Leuites, bishops, & priests office in the time of the old Testament or the New.

They know y^t Christ would not be cōceiued,* or borne of his blessed mother the virgine Mary, before she was espoused in mariage, his owne ordinaunce.

They know by S. Cyprian and Sainct Augustine that a vow is not an impediment sufficient to let Matrimony or to diuorce the same.

They know that S. Chrysostome sayth it is heresie to affirme that a bishop may not haue a wife.*

They know that Ambrose will haue no commaundement but counsaile onely to be geuen, touching the obseruing of virginitie.

They know that Christ with his blessed mother & the Apostles were at a mariage, and beautified and honoured the same with hys presence, and first miracle.

To be short: they know that al that I haue here written touching the mariage of Priestes, is true & they know that the papistes themselues do not obserue touching that matter, their owne lawes and Canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with an hote iron, as detestable heretickes in this behalfe. The Lorde geue them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

My second cause why I was condemned an hereticke is,* that I denyed Transubstantiation and Concomitation, two iuggling wordes of the papistes, by the whiche they doe beleue and will compel al other to beleue y^t Christes natural body is made of bread, & the Godhead by and by to be ioyned thereunto: so y^t immediately after y^e words (called the wordes of consecration) there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substaunce onely of the bodye and bloud of Christ together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick & the dead, as a sacrifice propiciat'ry and satisfactory for the same, This matter was not lōg debated in words: but because I denyed the foresaid papisticall doctrine, (yea rather playne most wicked Idolatry, blasphemy and heresie) I was iudged an hereticke.*

I did also affirme the pope to be Antichrist, and popery Antichristianitie.

And I confessed the Doctrine of the Bible to be a sufficient doctrine, touching all and singular matters of Christian Religion, and of saluation.

I also alledged that the othe against the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, was a lawfull othe,* and so was the othe made by vs all, touching the kings or Queenes preeminence. For Chrisostomus sayth: That Apostles, Euangelistes, [Page 1523](#) and all men in euery realme were euer, and ought to be euer, touching both body and goodes, in subiection to the kingly authority, who hath the sworde in his hand, as Gods principall officer and Gouvernour in euery Realme. I desired the Bishops to repent for bringing the Realme from Christ to Antichrist,* from light to darkenes, from verity to vanity.

Thus you know the summe of my last examination, & condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

God be prayسد: since my condemnation, I was neuer frayd to dye:* Gods will be done. If I shrink from Gods truth▪ I am sure of an other maner of death thē had Iudge Hales. But God be prayسد, euen from the bottome of my hart, I am vnmoueably settled vppon the Rocke, nothyng doubting, but that my deare God will performe and finish the worke that he hath begon in me, and other. To him be al honor both now and euer through Christ our onely and whole Sauior. Amen.

And thus much wrote Doctour Taylour concerning this matter, to his frend.

You heard in the former aunsweres a little before certeine allegations touched of Doctour Taylour out of S. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Ambrose, touching the lawfulness of Priestes mariage. Now ye shal heare the places of the sayd Doctors cited and produced out of their owne bookes, as here ensueth,

¶The places of the Doctours alledged before in Doctour Taylours Letter.

S. Cyprian in his 11. Epistle. Lib. 1.

*THIS question was asked of S. Cyprian, what shoulde be done with those religious persons, that could not keepe their chastity as they had vowed. He answered thus: Thou doest aske what we do iudge of Virgins, whiche after they hadde decreed to liue chastly, are afterward found in one bed with a man. Of the which thou sayst that one of them was a Deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruine of many persons whiche commeth by the reason of such vnlawfull and perilous cōpanying together. Wherfore, if they haue dedicate themselues vnto Christ in fayth, to liue purely and chastly, then let them so remayne without any fable and stronglye & stedfastly abide the rewarde of virginitye. But & if they will not abide, or els cannot abide: then it is better to mary, then for to fall into the fire of concupiscence: And let thē geue to the brethren & sisterne none occasion of sclaunder. &c.

¶Saynt Augustine in his booke, *De bono coniugali ad Iulianum*.

CERTayne men doe affirme, those men to be aduouterers, that doe marry,* after that they haue vowed chastity. But I do affirme that those men do greuously sinne, the whiche do separate them. &c.

¶Ambrose. 32. Quest. 1. Cap. *Integritas*.

*CHastitye of the bodye ought to bee desired of vs: the whiche thing I do geue for a counsell, and do not commaund it imperiously. For Virginity is a thing that alonelye ought to be coūselled, but not to be commaunded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will and not a precept.

¶A briefe recapitulation out of Doctour Taylours causes afore touched for the Reader, more euidently to see how the Papistes do agaynst their own knowledge, in forbiddinge Priests Mariage.

THE Popes Clergy forbidding Ecclesiastical persons to mary, do against their conscience & knowledge as may well be proued by these causes hereunder folowing.

1. First, they know that Matrimony in the old testament, De iure institutionis, is indifferently permitted to all menne without any exception.
2. Secondly, they know, that in the old Testament, De facto, both Priestes, Leuites, Prophets, Patriarches, and al other had theyr wiues.
3. Thirdly, they know that Matrimony was permitted & instituted of God for two principall endes: to wit, for procreation, and auoyding of sinne.
4. Fourtly, they know, that in the old testamēt, God, not onely instituted and permitted Matrimony to be free, but also induceth & appoynteth mē to mary and take wiues, in these wordes: It is not good for a man to be alone. &c.

5 Fiftly, they know, that in the new testament S. Paule permitteth the state of Matrimony free to all men, hauing not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

6. Sixtly, they know that in the new Testament the sayd S. Paule not only permitteth, but also expressly willeth & chargeth men hauing not the gift, to mary, saying: For auoyding fornication let euery man haue his wife. &c.

7. Seuently, they know that in the new Testament the sayd S. Paul, not onely permitteth and commaūdeth, but also commendeth and prayseth the state of Matrimonye, Hebr. 13. Calling it honorable: and the bedcompany to be vndefiled. &c.

8. Eightly, they know, that in the new testament Christ himselfe, not onely was not conceiued nor borne of the vir^gine before she was espoused in matrimonye, but also that both he and his blessed mother did beutify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence: yea in the same began his first miracle.

9. Ninthly, they know, both by the old testament & new, that mariage is no impediment to walke in the obediēce of Gods commandement, for both Abraham caryed into the land of Canaan his old, yea and barrayne wife, the vertuous woman Sara with him: & also to Isaac, Iacob, Moses, Daud, and other, their mariage was no impedemēt to them to talk with God: neither to other Leuites, bishops, and Priestes in the time both of the old testament, & of the new. Agayne, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, & other both to haue their wiues with them, and also to supply the office of Apostleship.

10. Tenthly, they know both by the old testamēt & new, y^t sinnefull fornicatiō & adultery depriueth man of Gods fauor & graces of the holy Ghost, which graces especially be requisite in men of the Church.

11. Eleuently they know in theyr owne secret conscience, & by experience, that neither they which enioyne this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, doe obserue the vowe of chastity. Whereupon rise inconueniences more then can be expressed: but the Lord aboue knoweth all, besides the secret murders peraduenture of many a poore infant. &c.

12. Twelfthly, they knowe, by S. Cyprian. Epist. 11. and S. Augustine. Lib. De bono coniugali ad Iulianum, that a vowe is no impediment sufficient to let Matrimony, or to diuorce the same.

13. Thirtenthly, they know that Chrysostome affirmeth it to be an heresy to say, that a byshop may not haue a wife.

14. Fourtenthly, they know that S. Ambrose. 32. q. 1. Integritas, will haue no commaundement, but counsel onely to be geuen, touching the obseruing of virginity.

15. Fiftenthlye, they knowe that before the time of Pope Hildebrand, that is, during that time of 1000. yeares after Christ, mariage was neuer restrained by any forceable necessity of vow, from men of the Church.

16. Sixtenthly, they know, that S. Paul calleth it the doctrine of deuils, to forbid meates, and maryage which God hath left free with thankes geuing for necessity of man and woman.

After that Doct. Taylour thus with great spirite and courage had aunswered for himselfe, and stoutly rebuked his aduersaries for breaking their oth made before to king Henry and to king Edwarde his sonne, and for betraying the realme into the power of the Romain bishop, they per'ceiuing that in no case he could be styrred to their wils and purpose, that is, to turne with them from Christ to Antichrist, committed him therupon to prison againe, where he endured till the last of Ianuary.

***D. Taylour the fourth tyme with M. Bradford, and M. Saunders, brought before Winchester and other Byshops.**

Vpon which day & yeare aforesayd,* D. Tailour and M. Bradford, and M. Saüders were agayne called to appeare before the byshop of Winchester, the bishop of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Duresme, and ther were charged agayne with heresy & schisme, and therfore a determinate answeere was required: whether they woulde submit themselues to the Romaine byshop & abiure there errors or els they would according to theyr lawes proceed to theyr condemnation.

When D. Taylour and his felowes, M. Bradford and M. Saunders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly,* that they would not depart frō the truth which they had preached in king Edwards dayes, neither would they sub'mit themselues to the romish Antichrist but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would cal them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the Bishops saw them so boldly, constanly, and vnmoueably fixed in the truth,* they read y^e sentēce of death vpon them, which whē they had heard, they most ioyfully gaue God thankes, and stoutly sayde vnto the Byshops: We doubt not but God the righteous Iudge, will require [Page 1524](#) our bloud at your handes, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiuing agayne of Antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now shew agaynst the flocke of Christ.

So was Doctor Taylour nowe condemned, committed to the Clinke, & the keepers charged straitlye to keepe him:,* for ye haue nowe an other maner of charge (quoth the Lord Chauncellour) then ye had before: therefore looke ye take heed to it.

Whē the keeper brought him toward the prison, y^t people flocked about to gase vpō him: vnto whō he sayd: God be praysed (good people) I am come away from thē vndefiled,* & will confirme the truth with my bloud. So was he bestowed in the Clincke till it was toward night, and thē he was remoued to the Counter by the Poultry.

When D. Taylour had lyen in the sayd Counter in the poultry a seuennight or there aboutes prisoner, the fourth day of February, Anno 1555. Edmund Boner Byshop of London with others, came to the said Counter to disgrade him, bringing with them such ornaments, as do appertein to theyr massing Mūmery. Now being come, he called for the sayd D. Taylor to be brought vnto him (the bishop being then in the chamber,* where the keeper of the Counter and his wife lay.) So D. Taylour was brought downe frō the chamber aboue that, to the sayd Boner. And att his comming, the Bishop sayd: Mayster Doctour, I woulde you would remember your selfe, and turn

to your mother holy Church: so may you do wel enough, and I wil sue for your pardon. Wherunto M. Taylor aunswered: I would you and your felowes would turne to Christ. As for me I will not turne to Antichrist. Well (quoth the byshop) I am come to disgrace you: wherfore put on these vestures. No (quoth Doct. Taylour) I will not. Wilt thou not, said the Bishop? I shall make thee, ere I goe. Quoth Doct. Taylor, you shal not by the grace of God. Thē he charged him vpon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him.

So he willed another to put them on his backe: & whē he was throughly furnished therewith, he set his handes by his side, walking vp and down, and sayd: how say you my Lord, am I not a goodly foole? how say you my maysters? If I were in cheape, should I not haue boyes enough to laugh at these apish toyes, & toying trumpery? So the byshop scraped his fingers thūbes, & the crowne of his head, and did the rest of such like deuilish obseruaunces.

At the last, when he should haue geuen D. Taylour a stroke on the brest with his Crosierstaffe, the Bishoppes Chapleine sayd: my Lord strike him not, for hee wyll sure strike agayne. Yea by S. Peter will I, quoth Doct. Taylour. The cause is Christes: and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Maysters quarrell. So the byshop laid his curse vpon him, but stroke him not. Then D. Taylor sayd: though you do curse me, yet God doth blesse me.* I haue the witnes of my conscience, that ye haue done me wrong and violence: And yet I pray God (if it be hys will) forgeue you. But from the tyranny of the Byshop of Rome, & his detestable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs. And in going vp to his chamber, he still sayd: God deliuer me from you, God deliuer me frō you. And when he came vp, he told Maister Bradford (for they both lay in one chāber) that he had made the Byshop of London afearde: for (sayth he laughingly) his Chapleine gaue him counsel not to strike me with his Crosierstaffe, for that I would strike agayne: and by my troth (sayde he rubbing his handes) I made him beleue I would do so in deed.

The night after that he was disgraded, his wyfe and his sonne Thomas resorted to him,* and were by the gētlenes of the keepers permitted to suppe with hym. For this difference was euer found betweene the keepers of the byshops prisons, and the keepers of the kinges prisons: that the Bishops keepers were euer cruell, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like theyr Maysters: but the Keepers of the kinges prisons shewed for the most part, as much fauor, as they possible might.

So came Doctor Taylours wife, his sonne, and Iohn Hull his seruaunt, to sup with him: and at their comming in afore supper, they kneeled downe and praied, saying the Letany.

*After supper walking vp and downe, he gaue GOD thanks for his grace, that had so called him and geuen him strength to abide by his holy worde: and turning to hys sonne Thomas: My deare sonne (sayd he) almighty God blesse thee, & geue thee his holy spirit, to be a true seruaunt of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his trueth all thy long life. And my sonne, see that thou feare God alwaies. Flee from all sinne & wicked liuing: be vertuous, serue God with dayly prayer, and apply thy booke. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy Mother, loue her, and serue her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and folow her good counsell in all thinges. Beware of lewd company of young men that feare not God, but folowe theyr lewde lustes and vayne appetites. Flye from Whooredome, and hate all filthy liuing, remembring that I thy father do dye in the defence of holy mariage. And another day whē god shall blesse thee, loue & cherish the poore people, & coūt that thy chiefe riches is to be rich in almes: and when thy

mother is waxed old, forsake her not, but prouide for her to thy power, and see that she lacke nothing: For so will GOD blesse thee, and geue the long life vpon earth and prosperity: which I pray God to graunt thee.

Then turning to his wife: * My deare wife (quoth he) continue stedfast in the feare and loue of God, keepe your selfe vndefiled from theyr Popysh Idolatryes, and superstitions. I haue bene vnto you a faythfull yokefellow, and so haue you bene vnto me, for the which I pray GOD to reward you, and doubt you not deare wife, but God wyll reward it.

Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, & you discharged of the wedlocke bond towards me: therfore I will geue you my counsell what I thinke most expedient for you. You are yet a childbearing woman, and therfore it will be most conuenient for you to marry. For doubtlesse you shall neuer be at a conuenient stay for your selfe and our poore children, nor out of trouble, tyll you be maryed. Therefore as soone as God will prouide it, marry with some honest faythfull man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will prouide an honest husband for you, & he wil be a mercifull father to you▪ and to my children: whom I pray you, bring vp in the feare of God, & in learning, to the vttermost of your power, and keep them from this romish Idolatry. When he had thus said, they with weping teares prayed together, and kissed one the other: * & he gaue to his wife a booke of the Church seruike, set out by Kyng Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daylye vsed. And vnto his sonne Thomas he gaue a Latin booke, cōteining the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of Ecclesiastica historia: & in the end of that book he wrote his Testament and last Vale, as hereafter foloweth.

¶ **The last will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylour, Parson of Hadley.** *

I Say to my wife, and to my children: The Lord gaue you vnto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord. I beleue that they are blessed which dye in the Lord. God careth for Sparowes, and for the heares of our heades. I haue euer founde him more faythfull and fauorable, thē is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the meanes of our deare Sauior Christes merites: beleue, loue, feare and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to helpe. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly liue, and neuer dye. I go before, and you shal folow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary: I haue bequeathed you to the onely omnipotent.

I say to my deare frendes of Hadley, and to all other which haue heard me preache: * that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine: for the which I pray you thanke God w^t me. For I haue after my little talent declared to other, those lesiōs y^t I gathered out of gods booke, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or any Aungell from heauen should preach to you any other Gospell, then that ye haue receiued, Gods great curse vpon that Preacher.

Beware for Gods sake, that ye deny not God, * neyther decline from the word of fayth, lest God decline from you, & so do ye euerlastingly perishe. For Gods sake beware of Popery: for though it appeare to haue in it vnitye, yet the same is in vanity, and Antichristianity, and not in Christs fayth and verity.

Beware of the sinne agaynst the holy ghost, * now after such a light opened so playnly and simply, truly, throughly and generally to all England.

The Lord graunt all men his good and holy spirit, encrease of his wisdom, condemning the wicked world,* har'ty desire to be with God & the heavenly company, through Iesus Christ our only Mediator, Aduocate, righteousnes, life, sanctification, and hope, Amen, Amen, Pray, Pray.

¶Rowland Taylour departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal saluatiō, I thāke God my heavenly father, through Iesus Christe my certeine Sauour. Amen.

The 5. of February. Anno. 1555.

Psalm. 27.

The Lord is my lighte and my saluation: whome then shall I feare.

Roma. 8.

God is he that iustifieth: who is he that can condemne?

[Page \[unnumbered\]](#)

Psalm. 30.

In thee O Lord haue I trusted, let me neuer be confounded.

On the next morow, after that Doct. Tailour had supped with his wife in the Counter (as is before expressed) which was the fift day of February, the Shiriffe of London, with his Officers came to the Counter by two of the clocke in the morning, and so brought forth Doctor Taylour, and without any light lead him to the Wolsacke, an Inne without Algate. D. Taylours wife suspecting that her husband should that night be caried away, watched all night within S. Butolphes Churchporch beside Algate, hauing with her two children,* the one named Elizabeth of xiiij. yeares of age (whom being left without father or mother, Doctour Taylour had brought vp of almes from iij. yeares olde) the other named Mary, D. Taylours owne daughter.

Now, when the Shiriffe & his company came against S. Butolphes church,* Elizabeth cried saying: O my deare father. Mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then cried his wife: Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? for it was a very darcke morning, that the one could not see the other. D. Taylour aunswered: deare wife, I am here, and stayed. The Shiriffes men would haue led him forth, but the Shiriffe sayd:* stay a litle maysters, I pray you, and let him speake with his wife, and so they stayed.

Then came she to him, and he tooke his daughter Mary in his armes, and hee, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled downe & sayd the Lordes prayer. At which sight the Sheriffe wept apase, & so did diuers other of y^e company. After they had prayd, he rose vp & kissed his wife, & shooke her by the hand, & sayd: Farewell my deare wife, be of good cōfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shal stirre vp a father for my children. And then he kissed his daughter Mary and sayd: God blesse thee, and make thee his seruant: & kissing Elizabeth, he sayde: God blesse thee. I pray

you all stande strong & stedfast vnto Christ & his word, & keepe you from idolatry. Thē said his wife: God be with thee deare Rowland. I will with Gods grace meet thee at Hadley.

And so was he led forth to the Woolsacke, and his Wife folowed him. As soone as they came to the Woolsacke, hee was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with foure Yeomen of the Gard, and the Shiriffes men. Doctor Tailor, as soone as he was come into the chamber, fell downe on his knees & gaue himselfe wholly to prayer. The Sheriffe then seing D. Taylours wife there,* would in no case graunt her to speake any more with her husband, but gētly desired her to go to his house and take it as her owne, & promised her she should lack nothing, & sent two Officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mothers, whither the Officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there, till they came agayne.

Thus remayned Doctour Taylour in the Woolsacke, kept by the Shiriffe and his company,* till 11. of the clocke. At which time the Sheriffe of Essex was ready to receyue him: and so they set him on horseback within the Inne, the gates being shut.

At the comming out of the gates, Iohn Hull (before spokē of) stood at the rayles with Thomas Doctour Taylours sonne. When Doctour Taylour saw them, he called them, saying: Come hither my sonne Thomas. And Iohn Hull lifted the child vp, and set him on the horse before hys father. And Doct. Taylour put of his hatt and sayd to the people that stood there looking on him:* good people, this is mine owne sonne, begottē of my body in lawful matrimony: and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then lift he his eies towards heauen, & prayed for his sonne, layd his hat vpon the chilles head, & blessed him, and so deliuered y^e child to Iohn Hull, whō he tooke by the hand: & sayd: farewell Iohn Hull,* the faythfullest seruaunt y^t euer man had. And so they rod forth, the Shriffe of Essex with foure yeomen of the Gard, and the Shriffes men leading him.

When they were come almost at Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie,* a man of Hadley, who before tyme had bene Doctour Taylours seruaunt, met with them, and he supposing him to haue bene at liberty, sayd: Mayster Doctor I am glad to see you agayne at liberty, and came to him, & tooke him by the hand. Soft Syr (quoth the Shiriffe) he is a prisoner: what hast thou to do with him? I cry you mercy (sayd Arthur) I knewe not so muche, and I thought it none offēce to talk to a true man. The Shyriffe was verye angry with this, and threatned to cary Arthur with him to prison: notwithstāding, he bad him get him quickly away & so they rode forth to Burntwood:* where they caused to be made for D. Taylour a close hood, with two holes for hys eyes to looke out at, & a slit for his mouth to breath at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practise they vsed also with others. Theyr owne consciences told them,* that they lead innocent lābes to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, least i• the people should haue heard them speake, or haue seene them, they might haue bene much more strengthened by theyr godlye exhortatiōs, to stand stedfast in Gods word, and to •ye the superstitions and Idolatries of the Papacy.

All the way Doct. Taylour was ioyfull and mery, a• one that accounted himselfe goyng to a most pleasant banquet or bridall.* He spake many notable things to the Shiriffe and Yeomen of the Gard that conducted him, and oftē moued them to weepe through his much earnest calling vpon them to repēt, and to amend theyr euill and wicked liuing. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and reioyce, to see him so cōstant and stedfast, voyd of all feare, ioifull in hart, & glad to

dye. Of these yeomē of the gard,* three vsed D. Tailour frendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) vsed him very homely, vnkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmesford mette them the Shiriffe of Suffolke, there to receiue him, and to carye him forth into Suffolke.* And being at supper, the Shiriffe of Essex very earnestlye labored him to returne to the Popish Religion, thinkyng with fayre words to perswade him, and sayd good mayster Doctor, we are right sory for you, cōsidering what losse is of such one as ye might be if ye would: God hath geuē you great learning and wisdomē, wherefore ye haue bene in great fauor and reputation in times past with the Counsell and highest of this realme. Besides this,* ye are a mā of goodly personage, in your best strength, & by nature like to liue many yeares, and without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as euer ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloued of all men, as well for your vertues as for your learning: and me thinke it were great pity you shoulde cast away your selfe willingly, & so come to such a paynfull and shamefull death. Ye should do much better to reuoke your opinions, and returne to the Catholicke Church of Rome, acknowledge the Popes holinesse to be the supreme head of the vniuersall church, & reconcile your selfe to him. You may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye shall finde fauor at the Queenes handes, I & all these your frends will be suters for your pardon: which no doubt, ye shall obteine. This counsell I geue you, good Mayster Doctor, of a good hart, a good will towarde you: and thereupon I drinke to you. In like maner sayd all the yeomen of the Gard: vpon that condition Maister Doctor we will all drinke to you.

When they had all dronke to him, & the cup was come to him, he stayed a litle,* as one studying what aunswere he might geue. At the last, thus he aunswered and sayd: Maister Shiriffe, and my Maysters all, I hartely thanke you of your good will. I haue harkened to your wordes and marked wel your counsels. And to be playne with you, I do perceiue that I haue bene deceiued my self, and am like to deceiue a great many of hadley, of their expectatiō. With that woorde they all reioyced. Yea good Mayster Doctour (quoth the Shiriffe) Gods blessing on your hart: holde you there still. It is the comfortablest word, that we heard you speake yet. What? should ye cast away your selfe in vayne? Play a wise mans part, & I dare warrant it, ye shall finde fauour. Thus they reioyced very much at the worde, and were very mery.

At the last: good Mayster Doctor (quoth the Shiriffe) what meant ye by this, that ye sayd ye thinke ye haue bene deceiued your selfe, and thinke ye sh•• deceiue many one in Hadley? Would you know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea (quoth the Shiriffe) good Mayster Doctour, tell it vs playnely.

Then sayd Doctour Taylour, I will tell you how I haue bene deceiued, and as I think, I shall deceiue a great many. I am as you see, a man that hath a very great carkase,* which I thought should haue bene buried in Hadley Churchyarde if I had dyed in my bed, as I well hoped I shoulde haue done: but herein I see I was deceyued: and there are a greate number of wormes in Hadley Churchyard, which should haue had ioly feeding vpon this cariō, which they haue looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceiued, both I and they: for this carkase must bee burnt to ashes and so shall they lose theyr bayt and feding, that they looked to haue had of it.

When the Shiriffe and his company heard him say so, they were amased, and looked one on another, maruelling at the mans constaunt minde, that thus without all feare, made but a iest at

the cruell torment, and death now at hād prepared for him. Thus was theyr expectation clean disapoynted. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth & prosperity: namely,* that he shoulde shortly dye & feed wormes in his graue: which meditation if all our Bishops, & spirituall men had vsed, they had not for a litle worldly glory forsaken the word of God, & truth, [Page 1526](#) which they in king Edwardes dayes had preached and set forth, nor yet to mayntaine the Bishop of Romes authority, haue committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let vs returne to Doctor Taylour, who at Chelmesford was deliuered to the Shiriffe of Suffolke; and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lanham,* the Shiriffe staid there two daies: and thither came to him a great number of Gentlemē and Iustices vpon great horses, which all were appointed to ayde the Shiriffe. These Gentlemen labored Doctor Tailor very sore, to reduce him to the Romish religiō, promising him his pardō (which said they) we haue here for you. They promised him great promotions, yea a Bishopricke if he would take it: but all theyr labor & flattering wordes were in vayne. For he had not built his house vpon the sand in perill of falling at euery puffe of wynde, but vpon the sure and vnmoueable rocke Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and vnmoueable vnto the end.

After two dayes, the Shiriffe & his company led Doctor Taylour towardes Hadley,* and comming within a two mile of hadley, he desired to light of his horse to make water: which done, he lept, and set a friske or twain, as mē commonly do in daunsing. Why Maister Doctour (quoth the Shiriffe) how do you now? He aunswered: Well God be prayسد, good Mayster Shiriffe. Neuer better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lacke not past two stiles to go ouer, and I am euen at my fathers house. But mayster Shiriff (sayd he) shall not we go through Hadley? Yes sayd the Shiriffe, you shall go through Hadley. The sayd he: O good Lord, I thanke thee. I shall yet once ere I dye see my flocke, whom thou Lord knowest I haue most hartely loued, and truly taught. Good Lord blesse them, & keep them stedfast in thy word and truth.

Whē they were now come to Hadley, and came riding ouer the bridge,* at the bridgefoote waited a poore man with fiue small children: who when he saw D. Taylour, he and his children fell down vpon theyr knees, and held vp their handes, and cryed with a loud voice, and sayd: O deare father, and good shepheard, Doctour Taylour: God helpe & succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me, and my poore children. Such witnes had the seruant of God of his vertuous & charitable almes geuē in his life time. For God would now the poore should testify of his good deeds, to his singuler comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous aduersaryes. For the Shiriffe and other that lead him to death, were wonderfully astonied at this: and the Shiriffe sore rebuked the poore man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the towne and countrey, who wayted to see him: whome when they beheld so led to death, w^t weeping eyes and lamētable voy^{ces} they cryed, saying one to another: ah good Lord, there goeth our good shepheard from vs,* that so faythfullye hath taught vs, so fatherly hath cared for vs, & so godly hath go^uerned vs. O mercifull God: what shal we poore scattered Lambes do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him and comfort him: with such other most lamemtable and pitious voyces. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the Shiriffe and the Catchpoles his men, that led him. And Doct. Taylour euermore sayde to the people:* I haue preached to you Gods word & truth, and am come this day to seale it with my bloud.

Comming agaynst the Almes houses, which hee well knew, he cast to the poore people money, which remayned of that good people had geuen him in time of his imprisonment. As for his liuing, they tooke it from him at his fyrst going to prison, so that he was susteined all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable almes of good people that visited him.*

Therefore the money that now remayned, he putte in a gloue ready for the same purpose, & (as is sayd) gaue it to the poore Almesmē standing at theyr dores to see him. And comming to the last of the almes houses, and not seing the poore that there dwelt readye in theyr dores, as the other were, he asked: is the blinde man and blinde woman, that dwelt here, aliue? It was aunswered yea: they are there within. Then threw he gloue and all in at the window, & so rode forth.

*Thus this good father and prouider for the poore, now tooke his leaue of those, for whom all his life he had a singuler care and study. For this was his custome, once in a fourtnight at the least, to call vpō Syr Henry Doyll, and others the rich Clothmakers, to go with him to the almeshouses, and there to see howe the poore liued: what they lacked in meat, drinke, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poore men that had many children, or were sicke. Then would he exhort & cōfort them, and where he found cause, rebuke the vnruely, and what they lacked, that gaue he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister vnto them. Thus shewed he hymselfe in all thinges an example to his flocke, worthy to be folowed: & taught by his deede, what a great treasure almes is to all such, as cherefully for Christes sake do it.

At the last, comming to Aldam Common, the place assigned where he should suffer,* and seing a great multitude of people gathered thither, hee asked what place is this, & what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hyther? It was answered: It is Aldham Cōmon,* the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to looke vpō you. Then sayd he: thanked be God, I am euen at home, and so light from his horse, and with both his handes, rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head notted euilfaoredly, and clypped much like as a man would clippe a fooles head: which cost the good Bishop Boner had bestowed vpon him,* when he disgraded him. But whē the people saw his reuerend and aūcient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping teares, and cryed saying: God saue thee good D. Taylor. Iesus Christ strengthen thee, and helpe thee. The holy Ghost comfort thee: with such other like Godly wishes. Then would he haue spoken to y^e people:* but the yeomen of the Gard were so busy about him, that as soone as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tip staff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speake.

Then desired he licence of the Shiriffe to speake:* but y^e Shiriffe denyed it to him, and bad him remember hys promise to the Counsell.

Well (quoth Doctour Taylour) promise must be kept. What this promise was, it is vnknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the Consell sent for them, and threatned them, they would cut theyr tongues out of theyr heades, except they would promise, that at theyr deathes they would keep silence, and not speake to the people: Wherefore they desirous to haue the vse of theyr tongues, to call vpō God as long as they might liue, promised silence. For the Papistes feared muche, least this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from

Christs ordinances to the Popish traditions, should no• so quietly haue bene receiued, as it was, especially this burning of y^e Preachers: but they measuring others myndes by theyr own, feared lest the tumult or vprore might haue bene stirred, the people hauyng so iust a cause not to bee contented with theyr doinges, or els (that they most feared) y^e people should more haue bene confirmed by their godly exhortatiōs to stand stedfast agaynst their vaine Popish doctrine, & idolatry. But thanks to God, which gaue to his witnesses fayth and pacience, with stout and manly hartes to despise all tormentes: * neither was their so much as any one man that once shewed any signe of disobedience toward y^e magistrates. They shed theyr bloud gladly in the defēce of y^e trueth, so leauing example vnto all men of true & perfect obedience: which is to obey God more then mē, and if need require it, to shed theyr owne bloud rather then to depart from Gods truth.

Doctor Taylor perceiuing that he could not be suffred to speake, sat down, and seing one named Soyce, * he called him and sayd: Soice, I pray thee come & pull of my bootes & take them for thy labor. Thou hast long looked for thē, now take them. Thē rose he vp, * and put of his clothes vnto his shirt, and gaue thē away. Which done, he saide with loud voyce: Good people, I haue taught you nothing but Gods holye word, and those Lessons that I haue taken out of Gods blessed booke, the holy Bible: * and I come hyther this day to seale it with my bloud. With that woorde Homes, yeoman of the Gard, aforesayd, who had vsed doctour Taylour very cruelly all the waye, * gaue him a great stroke vpon the head with a waster, and sayd: Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou hereticke: Then he seying they would not permit him to speak, kneled down and prayed, & a poore woman that was among the people, * stepped in & prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatned to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding she would not remoue, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set hymselfe into a pitch barrell, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his backe vpriight agaynst the stake, with his handes folded together, and his eyes toward heauen, & so he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chaynes: and the Shiriffe called one Richard Doningham a Butcher, and commaūded him to set vp Fagots: but he refused to do it, and sayd: I am lame Syr, and not hable to lift a Fagot. * The Shyrriffe threatned to send him to prison: notwithstanding hee would not do it.

Then appoynted he on Mulleine of Carsey, a man for [Page 1527](#) his vertues fit to be a hang man, and Soice a very dronkard, and Warwicke, who in the commotion time in king Edwardes dayes, lost one of his eares for his sedicious talke, amongst whō was also one Robert King a deuiser of Enterludes, * who albeit was there present & had doying there with the gunnepowder, what he ment and did therein (he himselfe sayth he did it for the best, and for quicke dispatch) the Lord knoweth which shal iudge al, more of this I haue not to say.

These foure were appoynted to set vp the Fagots and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwicke cruelly cast a Fagot at him, which lyght vpon his head, and brake his face, that the bloud ran downe his visage. Then sayd Doctour Taylour: Oh frend, I haue harme enough, what needed that.

Furthermore Syr Iohn Shelton there standing by as Doct. Taylour was speaking and saying the Psalme Miserere in Englishe, stroke him on the lippes: ye knaue,* sayd he, speake Latine, I will make thee. At the last they set to fire: and Doctour Taylour holding vppe both hys handes, called vpō God, and sayd:* Mercifull father of heauen, for Iesus Christ my Sauours sake, receiue my soule into thy handes.* So stood he still without either crying or mouing, with his handes folded together, till Soice with an Halberd stroke him on y^e head that the braynes fell out, and the dead corpes fell downe into the fire.

Thus rendred the man of God his blessed soule into the handes of his mercifull father, and to his most deare and certeine Sauour Iesus Christ, whome he most entyrellye loued, faithfully and earnestly preached obediently folowed in liuing, and constantly glorified in death.

They that were present and familiarlye conuersaunt

[illustration]

☛ **The Martyrdome of Doctour Taylour, burned at Hadley for the testimony of the Gospell. February. 9. Anno. 1555.**

with this Doctour Tailour, reported of him, that they neuer did see in him any feare of death,* but especially & aboue all the rest which besides him suffered at the same time, alwayes shewed himselfe mery and cherefull in tyme of hys imprisonment, as well before his condēnation as after: he kept one countenance and like behaiour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of maister Iohn Bradford, who then was in prison & chamber with him.

The same morning, when he was called vp by the shiriffe to goe to his burning (about three of the clocke in the morning) being sodenly awaked out of his sound sleepe he sat vp in his bed, and putting on his shyrt, had these wordes (speaking somewhat thicke after his accustomed maner:) Ah horson theeues, ah horson theues, robbe God of his honor, robbe God of his honor? Afterward being risen and tying his poyntes, hee cast his armes about a balke whiche was in the chamber betwene Mayster Bradfordes bed & his:* and there hanging by the handes, sayde to M. Bradford: O Maister Bradford (quoth he) what a notable sway should I geue if I were hanged, meaning for that he was a corpulent and bigge man. These thinges I thought good here to note: to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singuler gift of spirit and courage God had geuen to this godly and blessed martyr.

At what time Doctour Taylour was depriued of hys benefice of Hadley, there was one called Syr Robert Bracher, a false pretensed Protestant in king Edwardes dayes, and afterward a deadly enemy to the same Religiō: who was also one of them that so vnmercifully thrust Doctor Taylors wife and children out of the dores, as she her selfe yet can testify: & notwithstanding the same, now since became a Protestant agayne.

This Syr Robert Bracher aforesayde,* comming to Hadley to the buriall of a certayne frend of his and Gods great enemy one Walter Clarke, albeit he came somewhat to late to the market (as he sayd) yet desirous to vtter such Popishe pelfe and packeware as he brought with him, hee opened there his baggage of pestilent doctrine,* preaching in the same towne of Hadley agaynst

iustification of fayth, of the corporall presence, of praying for the dead, and Auricular confession. Whereof Doctour Taylour hauing vnderstanding by Letters, writeth agayn to them of Hadley directing his Letter to his wife in confutation of the sayde Popish poysoned Sermon: the Copy of which Letter we thought not vnworthy here in the ende of this story to bee annexed, as vnder foloweth.

¶ **A Letter of Doctor Taylour of Hadley, written to his wife.**

DEare wife,* I pray God be euer with vs through Christ our onely Mediator. Amen.

I thanke you for my cap: I am something proud of it: for it is one steppe from the Clergy in these dayes. I thanke God my hart is cleane deuided from theyr proceedinges: for I knowe that no [Page 1528](#) man can serue two maisters, specially if they agree no better thē Christ and Antichrist do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of such packing ware as was brought thether the first day of May last past. Christes sheepe can discern Christes voyce from the voice of straungers, theeues, or hirelings. The packebringer was sory that he came to late to the funerall market of his faithfull friend.* But here I will leaue them both to Gods iudgement, and somethyng touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his openyng day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I heare) full of darke sentences, but in deed it is called of Dauid, a candle to our feete, and a light to our pathes. Our Sauior Christ calleth hys word, the light which euill doers do flee from and hate, least their deeds should be reprooued thereby, S. Paule would haue vs to walke as children of light, and in any wyse not to continue in ignorance or darkenes. But all we in the world pertaine to two princes, eyther to the father of light & truth, or els to the prince of darkenes and lyes.

In these dayes preachers declare euidently of whome they are sent, and with what spirit they speake, & to what prince they belong.* For they cry out against Gods, Lightes, Sunne, Moone, Starres, torches, lampes, lanternes, cressets, and candles in Gods booke the Bible, prouided of Gods great goodnes and mercy to auoyd all foule darknes; cloudes, and mistes, or dangerous doutfull wayes in this our iourney to our heauēly father, long home, mansion houses, and dearely purchased heritage. Esay gods faithfull messenger sayth: Woe be vnto them that call sweete sower, good euill, and light darkenes. Therefore commeth my people into captiuitie, because they haue no vnderstanding. Our Sauior Christ pronounceth errors and heresies to remaine among the people, so long as ignorance of the scriptures remayneth. And hereby it appeareth to all good consciences, what they meane, which defame or accuse Gods blessed word beyng full of light, as though it were full of darkenes. These Owles would haue all day lights scraped out of bookes, hartes, and Churches. Oh Lord turne their heartes and tongues: bowe them from the waye of darkenesse, least they goe to the prince of darkenesse, and be cast into the pit of vtter darkenes, where is weepyng and gnashyng of teeth.

Now, touching the packes of wooll, and the packes of cloth, I feare they were as all other wares bee, transubstantiate into flockes,* euen his very finest packing stuffe against onely faith iustifieng, and for the corporal presence of Christes body in the sacrament, for praying for soules departed, and for auricular confession. Abrahams iustification by fayth, by grace, by promise and not by workes, is plainly set forth both in the epistle to the Rom. cap. 4. and to the Gal. ca. 3. and Abrahams works of obedience in offring vp his sonne so long after his iustification, must needes

be taken as a fruite of a good tree iustifieng before men, and not of iustification before God: for then had man to glory in, then dyd Christ die in vayne.

And where as the 6 chap. of Iohn was alledged, to proue that Christ did geue his body corporally in his supper, euē as he had promised in the sayd 6. chap. it is most vntrue.* For onely he gaue his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually in his supper to the faythfull Apostles, and corporally he gaue it in a bloody sacrifice for the lyfe of the worlde vppon the crosse once for all. There in hys owne person,* in hys owne naturall body he bare all our sinnes. By whose stripes we were healed, as S. Peter proueth 1. Pet. 2. and Esay. 53. In deed receiuyng Christs sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receyue Christes body & Christs bloud, euen as I sayd before, the Apostles dyd.

But the popish Masse is another matter. The Masse as it is now, is but one of Antichrists youngest daughters, in the which the deuill is rather present and receyued,* then our sauour, the second person in Trinitie, God and man. O Lord God heauenly father, for Christes sake we beseeche thee to turne agayne England to the right way it was in in K. Edwards tyme, from this Babylonicall stewish spirituall whoredome, conspiracie, tyranny, detestable enormities, false doctrine, heresie, hardnes of hart, and cōtempt of thy word and commaundements, from this euident and open idolatry, sacriledge, simonie, blasphemy, superstition, hypocrisie, transubstantiate angell of lyght and day deuill, kyngdome of lyes, foule vayne schismes, sects, sedition, apostasie, gay sweete poyson, honied and sugred viperous venome, wily woluishnesse, sathanicall subtletie, and abomination in the sight of God, and of all such as put on the true spectacles of holy scripture. I am the more playne now in this matter, because I feare greatly, that many will be to much ready to go from Christ to Antichrist, frō the Bible, true Gods seruice and religion, to Latine lying Legendes, Portases, Masse bookes and superstition. They say theyr Church cannot erre in any poynt, whē in deed they be not of gods church and therfore they can do nothyng but erre, euen as they doe almost in all cases of true fayth.

But to come agayne to the packer rather then preacher, hee bringeth S Chrysostome writyng Ad populum Antiochenum,* where he makyng a comparision betweene Christes flesh and Elias cloke cast downe to Elizeus, when Elias was taken vp in the fiery Chariot, at length he sayeth, that Christ ascendyng vp to heauen, tooke hys flesh with hym, and also left hys flesh behynd hym in earth.

The meanyng of it is, he dyd ascend with hys flesh,* and left a memoriall cloke of the same body and flesh, which he calleth hys flesh, as he in the sacramentall phrase calleth bread his body, because it representeth his body: and as in the lyke manner of Sacramentall speach, a Lambe was called the Passeouer, the Circumcision, Gods couenaunt. He tooke vp hys flesh corporally, & least his flesh in mystery and sacrament spiritually.* Or it may be sayd, that he left hys flesh vpon earth: that is, hys mysticall body, his faythfull people, whom S. Paule calleth the members of hys body, of hys flesh, of hys bones, Ephes. 5. In the 49. chap. of Genesis, there is no word of Christes sacrament, but there is a prophesie of Christes passion, wherein hys Fole was bound, that is, hys body. And where hee speaketh there of grapes and wyne, it is as that is spoken of Christ in an other place, where hee sayeth: Ego solus torcular calcaui: I alone dyd treade the wyne presse meanyng thereby, that Christ alone suffered paynefull passion for the remission of sinnes, and for the consolation of all hys faithfull souldiors.

It is not true that the packer sayd, that Christs infinite power may make his body to bee in a thousand places at once, as a loafe to be in a thousand bellies.* for then myght Christ deuide the partes of hys body, as a loafe is deuided and so consumed, & then myght scripture be false, appointyng Christes body to bee but in one place. Act. 3. Phil. 3. Heb. 3. The articles of our faith tel vs sufficiently where Christes body is. It was neuer in two places at once, neyther euer shall be, neither euer can be corporally and naturally, neither euer was, is, can,* or shall be eaten so with any corporall mouthes, as the Capernaites and the papistes most erroneously and heretically doe iudge. If our sauour Iesus Christ hath no other body natural then is made of the substāce of bread and is in a thousand places at once, as I haue often sayd in Hadley: we are not yet redeemed, neyther shall our bodies ryse againe, & be made lyke vnto his glorious body. We are sure that our sauour Christs body is made of none other substaunce then of his mother the blessed virgin Maries substaunce. We are sure, that he taketh not the nature of Angels, much lesse of bread. Only he taketh on hym the seed of Abraham. Heb. 2. In all thynges lyke vnto vs, sin only except.* And this is a comfortable doctrine to vs christians, beleuing stedfastly as the true catholike fayth is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Vpon this rocke Christs church is builded, and the gates of hell shall neuer preuayle agaynst it. Math. 16.

I speake nothing now of auricular confession and praying for soules departed,* because I do not heare what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am that he can bryng no authentically and canonically warrant for such his packware. He may say what hee wyll of Hebricians and Graecians,* and fleshe vnder formes, and not aboue formes, or aboue the bound. He may coniure and conuey, passe & repasse, euen what he wil in such clouds and mystes. He reproued the scriptures as full of darkenes, & yet is full of darkenes hymselfe. He did wittily, to bring proofes out of Iewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his rounde whyte cake, for that such his pedlary pelfe packe is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christes supper. He glaunced at priests mariage.* He myght agaynst that haue brought as auncient a Doctor as any be alledged out of Hebrue, for hys masse and wafer cake, that is, D. Deuill. 1. Tim. 4.

I meruaile that he dyd not confute and confound S. Paul for the sentences written aboue the aultar, of the which, hee made mention in the pulpit. For he and his fellowes of Oxford bee so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clarkes, that they can easily prooue a man an asse, and writers in the Bible ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, & beggerly fooles. Yet they wil be called catholikes, faithfull true christian people, defenders of the holy mother the Church: but truely they take part with the prince of darknes, with Antichrist, with Iezabell, Apoc. 2. They wyll not be called Papists, Pharises, Iewes, Turkes, heretikes, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, Gods religion had neuer more euident aduersaries, and that in all the chiefe points of it: no not then, when our sauour Christ whypt such Merchants out of the temple, callyng them a company of theeues Math. 21. God geue them grace to repent. God be thanked that the Nobilitie somethyng of late hath spied and stopped their tyranny. O vnhappy England: Oh more vngrate people,* sooner bewitched then the folish Galathians. We haue now none excuse.

We haue vndoubtedly seene the true trace of the prophetically Apostolically primatiue catholike church. We are warned to beware, least we be led out of that way, societie, and rule of Religion. Now we shall shew what countrey men we bee, whether spirituall and heauenly, or carnall and worldly. We had as true knowledge as euer was in any countrey, or in any tyme, since the

beginnyng of the world, God be prayed therfore. If Hadley beyng so many yeares perswaded in such truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and defile it selfe withe the Cake god, Idolatry, and other Antichristianitie thereunto belongyng, [*Page 1529](#) let it surely looke after many and wonderfull plagues of God shortly. Though another haue the Benefice, yet as God knoweth, I cannot but be carefull for my deare Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speake, after the first abhominable Masse begun there, I beyng present, no more I can not but write now beyng absent, [*](#) hearyng of the wicked prophanation of my late pulpit, by such a wily Wolfe. Gods loue, mercy, goodnes and fauour hath bene vnspeakable, in teachyng vs the right way of saluation and iustification: Let vs all haue some zeale, some care how to serue him accordyng to his good will written. The God of loue and peace be euer in Hadley, through Christ our onely aduocate. Amen.

Rowland Taylor.

After that Steuen Gardiner Bish. of Winchester, had got the lawes, [*](#) and the secular arme on his side (as ye haue heard) with full power and authoritie to raigne and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reuerend preachers aforesayd vnder foote, namely, the Archbishop of Cant. D. Ridley B. of London, M. Latimer, M. Hooper B. of Worcester and Gloucester, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had bene cocke sure, and that Christ had bene conquered for euer, so that the people beyng terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, neuer would ne durst once route against their violent religion: not much vnlike in this behalfe, to the manner of the Turkes, who when they cannot maintaine their sect by good learnyng and truth of Gods word, thinke by violēce of sword to force whome they can to their beliefe, and that done, afterward make lawes, no man vnder payne of heresie to dispute or once to call in question any [•](#)f their proceedyngs. [*](#) Euen so St. Gardiner and his fellowes, when they see they cannot preuaile by triall of Gods word, and discourse of learnyng, neither are disposed simply to seeke for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions agaynst Gods word to bee intricate, obscure, and insufficient to bee his owne iudge, and therefore that of necessitie must bee iudged by the Popes Church, and so hauyng Kyngs and Queenes of theyr side, they seeke not to perswade by the worde of God, nor to winne by charitie, but in stead of the law of God, they vse (as the Prouerb saith) 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, [*](#) compelling men by death, fire, and sworde, (as the Turkes do) to beleue that in very deed they think not. And in deed after flesh and bloud this seemeth to bee a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignoraunt how gaily this way thriueth with the Turkes, and therefore thinke they to practise the same, at least wise so they do, vpon what example so euer they doe it. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesayd, supposing (as I said) that all the rest would soone be quailed by their example. But they were deceiued, for wⁱn 8. or 9. dayes after that Ste. Gardiner had geuen sentence against M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, [*](#) and M. Bradford, being the 8. of Febru. sixe other good men wer brought likewyse before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were W. Pigot butcher, [*](#) St. Knight Barber, Th. Tomkins Weauer, Th. Hawkes gentleman, Ioh. Laurence priest, Will. Hunter prentise.

St. Gardiner seyng thus his deuise disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serue to his expectation gaue ouer the matter as vtterly discouraged, [*](#) & from that day medled no more in

such kinde of condemnations, but referred the whole doying therof to Boner B. of London: who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further processe of this hystory hereafter evidently and too muche may appeare. Thus B. Boner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his Consistory at Paules, the L. Maior and certaine Aldermen sitting with him, the 6. persons aforesaid,* vpon the 8. day of Febr. in the yere aforesaid, and in the next day beyng the 9. of Febr. red the sentence of condemnation vpon them, as appeareth in Boners own registers. Such quicke speed these men could make in dispatching their busines at once. Notwithstandyng, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not folow incontinently before the next month of March,* I wyll deferre the prosecuting of their matter, til I come by y^e grace of the Lord, to the tyme and day of their suffering.

In the meane tyme, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I haue not precisely to say, vnlesse peraduenture the sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish Frier, and the kings Confessor did some good. For so I find, that when these sixe persons aforesaid, were cast vpon saterday the 9. of Febr. vpō sonday following, which was the x. of February, the sayd Alphonsus a Gray Frier, preached before the king, in which sermon he did earnestly inuey against the bishops for burning of men,* saying plainly that they learned it not in scripture to burne any for his conscience: but the cōtrary, that they should lyue & be conuerted, with many other things more to the same purport. But touchyng the lingeryng of these mens death, as I haue not certainly to affirme, so I let it passe.

Upon the 14. of February, M. Rob. Ferrar B. of S. Davids, was sent toward S. Davids,* there to be cōdemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdome, for so much as it fell not before the month of March, we wil deferre the history thereof till we come to the day and tyme of his suffering.

Furthermore, this foresaid 14. day of February,* the L. Chauncellor & other his felow Bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that olde Romish traitor, to be set vp ouer the Mercers Chappell dore in Chepeside in Londō, in the forme and shape of a bishop, with Miter and Cro••er. Howbeit within two dayes after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the nexte day (beyng the 17. of February) his head also was stricken of: wherupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected: among whom one M. Ioh. Barnes Mercer, dwellyng ouer agaynst the same Chappel, was vehemently by the Lord Chancellour charged withall, as the doer therof & the rather, for that he was a professour of truth. Wherefore he and three of his seruauntes were committed to pryson: and at his deliury (although it coulde not be prooued vpon him) he was bound in a great summe of money, as well to build it vp agayne as often as it should be broken downe, as also to watch and keepe the same. And therfore at this his compelled charges,* the Image was agayne set vp the secōd day of March, then next ensuing, but (for lack belike of carefull watching) the 14. day of the same moneth in the night, the head of that daungerous beast (ouer whō there was suche a charge geuen) was agayne the seconde tyme broken of: which thing was so heynously taken, that the next day (being the 15. day) there was a Proclamation made in London, that who soeuer woulde tell who did strike of his head (though he were of counsayle, and not the principall doer) he shoulde haue not onely his pardon, but also one hundreth crownes of gold, with harty thāks. But it was not knowne who did it.

The 18. day of February, Queene Mary at length after long delaye,* made full aunswere to the kinge of Denmarke's letters, who had written before two letters to the sayd Queene, in y^e behalfe of M. Couerdale, for his deliuerance, who at that time went vnder sureties, and was in great danger, had he not bene rescued by the great suite & letters of the sayd K. of Denmarke.

The matter and copy of which his sute and letters, as they came to our hands, we haue here set forth and exprest where by the singular loue of this good king towards the truth of Gods word and the professors thereof might the better appeare to the world.

First this vertuous and godly king Christianus, hearyng of the captiuitie of Myles Couerdale,* of whome hee had had some knowledge before (being there in Denmark in King Henry the eight his tyme) and lamentyng hys daungerous case, and partly thorough the intercession of M. Machabeus Superintendent in Denmarke, who was partly of * kinne to Maister Couerdales wife, made intercession by letters to Queene Mary, desiring and requestyng the sayd Myles Couerdale to be sent vnto hym. The date of which hys first letters, was about the Calends of May. An. Dom. 1554. The copy whereof here followeth.

**¶ Christianus Dei gratia, Daniae, Noruegiae, &c. Rex. &c.
eadem gratia Serenissimae ac potentissimae principi D.
Mariae, Angliae, Galliae, & Hyberniae Reginae,
consanguineae nostrae chariss. salutem.**

Serenissima princeps, consanguinea charissima pro necessitudine mutua ac coniunctione,* non solum regij nominis inter nos, sed etiam sanguinis, maximè vero vtrunque inter haec regna nostra à vetustissimis vsque temporibus propagata ac seruata, nō modo commertiorum, sed omnium officiorum vicissitudine & fide, facere non potuimus quin pietatis & doctrinae excellentis commendatione, verè reuerendi viri Ioannis Machabaei, sacrae Theologiae doctoris & professoris praestantiss subditi ac Ministri nostri imprimis dilecti, supplicibus grauissimisque praecibus cōmoti, ad serenitatem vestram has literas daremus. Exposuit is nobis, in hac recenti perturbatione ac motu regni Angliae (quem ex animo euenisse dolemus, & nunc indies in melius verti speramus) quendam nomine Milonem Couerdalum, nuper dioecesis Exoniensis, piaae laudatissimaeque memoriae proximi Regis Serenitatis vestrae fratris, consanguinei itidem nostri chariss. autoritate [Page 1530](#) constitutum Episcopum, nunc in tristiss. calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum vitae, nulla atrocioris delicti culpa, sed illa fatali temporum ruina incidisse. Quae quidem hic Machabaeus noster, quod ei affinitate (& quod grauius est) pietatis, eruditio nis ac morum similitudine, tanquam frater deuinctus sit, non minus ad se pertinere existimat. Itaque nostram opem implorat, vt quam ipse gratiam & fauorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipse non minus suum putat) accommodemus. Mouemur profecto non temere, illius viri (cui suo merito imprimis bene volumus) commiseratione, eiusque maximè testimonio de captiui Antistitis innocentia atque integritate▪ de qua quidem est vt eo melius speremus, quod multis iam morte mulctatis sontibus, de ipso integrum adhuc deus esse voluit. Proinde non dubitauimus serenitatem vestram quanta possimus diligentia atque animi propensione rogare, vt nostra causa captiui illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eum{que} vt à sceleris: ita à poenae etiam atrocitate alienum esse voluit, & temporum offensam,

qua ipsum quo{que} affligi verisimile est, nobis nostrae{que} amicitiae regiae & precibus, praesertim hoc primo auditu, benigne condonare, saltem eatenus, vt si fortè hoc rerum statu grauis eius praesentia sit, incolumis ad nos cum suis dimittatur. Id nobis summi beneficij loco, & Serenitati vestrae inflorentiss. regni auspicijs (quae augusta, fausta, ac fortunata serenitati vestrae ex animo optamus) ad clementiae laudem honorificum erit: & nos dabimus operam, vt cum amicitiae nostrae habitam rationem intellexerimus, eo maiore studio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga Serenitatem vestrā eiusque vniuersum regnum & subditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, vt Serenitati vestrae ad gloriam sui nominis & publicam salutem foelices omnium rerum successus & incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur.

Datae ex arce nostra Coldingeum, septimo Calendas Maij. Anno. 1554.

Vester consanguineus, frater & amicus Christianus Rex.

To these letters of the king, Queene Mary aunswering againe,* declared that the sayd Miles Couerdale was in no such captiuitie for any religion, but for certayn debt: so neither plainly graunting, nor expresly denying his request, but vsing a colorable excuse for shifting of the matter, as appeareth by his second letter sent to the Queene, dated the 24. day of Sept. as followeth.

¶Christianus Dei gratia Daniae, Norwegiae, Gottorum, & Vandalorum Rex: Sleswici, Holsatiae, Stormariae, ac Dithmersiae Dux: Comes in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorst, Serenis. principi dominae Mariae, Angliae, Franciae, & Hyberniae Reginae, fidei defens. &c Sorori & consanguineae nostrae chariss. salutem, & omnium rerum optatos & faustos successus.

REdditae sunt nobis literae Serenitatis vestrae, quibus benigne admodum ad deprecationem nostram, qua pro D. Milonis Couerdali ecclesiae Exon. nuper nomin ati Episcopi incolumitate vsi sumus, respondetur: ita vt intelligamus, licet alterius causae quam quae nobis innotuerat, periculum sustineat, tamen Sereniss. vestram nostrae intercessionis eam rationem habiturā esse, vt illā sibi profuisse ipse Couerdalussētiat. Cui quidē promissioni regiae cum tantum meritum tribuamus, vt ea freti non dubitauerimus eius captiui propinquos (nobis inprimis charos) à moerore ac sollicitudine ad spem atque expectationem certae •alu is vocare, sacere nō potuimus, quin & gratias sereni. vestrae pro tā prōpta ac benigna volūtate, non modo huius beneficij, sed etiā perpetuae inter nos ac regna nostra conseruandae ac colende amicitiae ageremus, & quantum in nobis esset, quod ad applectanda persequendaque haec auspicata initia pertineret, nihil praetermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementia ac moderatione Sere. vestrae vnquam dubium fuit, quam deus opt. max. ad gloriam sui nominis & fructum pub. vtilitatis vt magis ac magis efflorescere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes aerarias, neque aliud grauius delictum D. Couerd. teneri Sere. vestra scribat, est sanè, vt ipsius causa laetemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque eius nostris precibus liberaliter donati. Nam & accepimus ipsum episcopatu, cuius nomine aerario obstrictus fuerat, cessisse, vt inde satisfactio peteretur: maxime cum neque diu eo potitus fuisse, neque tantum emolumenti inde percepisse dicatur. Quinetiam si qua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte causa reperiri posset, tamen sollicitudinem ac dubitationem nobis Serenitatis vestrae tam amice, atque officiose deferētes literae omnem exemerunt: vt existimemus Sere. vestrā, quoad eius fieri posset, magis honorem

nostrum, quam quid ab eo exigi possit, consideraturam▪ Itaque Sere. vestram repetitis precibus vrgere non constituimus: sed potius testatum facere, quam accepta nobis Sere. vest. gratificatio sit, cuius ralem euentum omnino speramus, vt ipse Couerd. coram vobis suae incolumitatis à Sere. vest. exoratae beneficium propediem repraesentare possit. Illud vero imprimis Seren. vest. vicissim persuasum esse cupimus, nos non solum referendae gratiae, sed etiam stabilendae prouehēdae que inter nos ac regna vtrunque nostra amicitiae ac necessitudinis mutuae occasionem aut facultatem nullam esse praetermissuros. Deus opt. max. Sere. vest. diu foeliciter ac beate incolumem esse velit.

Datae ex oppido nostro Ottoniensi, 24. Septembr. Anno. 1554.

Vester frater & consanguineus Christianus.

The same in English.

¶Christierne by the grace of God King of Denmarke Norway, Gotland, and of the Vandales: Duke of Sleswike, Holston, Stormar, and Detmarsh: Earle of Oldenburgh, and Delmenhorst, &c. To the most noble princesse & Lady Mary Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. Our most dearely beloued sister and cosin, wisheth prosperitie, with good and luckie successe of all thyngs.

WE haue receiued your Maiesties letters, whereby aūswere is rendred,* & that very graciously vnto our petitiō, which we made for the safegard of maister Couerdall late called bish. of Exon. So that we perceiue, though he be in daūger for an other cause then was signified vnto vs afore, yet your maiestie will so regard our intercession that Couerdale him selfe shall vnderstand it to haue done him good. To the which regall promise, seyng we (as reason is we should do) attribute so much, that trusting vnto y^e same, we doubt not, where as he beyng in captiuitie, his frendes (whom we specially tender) are therfore in heauinesse and care, your good promise doth call them from such sorow & solicitude, to the hope & expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but rēder thākes vnto your maiesty for such your ready & gracious good will, not onely in respect of this benefite, but also of the cōseruation & keping of perpetuall amitie betwene vs & our realmes, & so as much as in vs lyeth, to omit nothing that to the no'rishing & cōtinuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertaine. Neither had we euer any doubt cōcerning the clemēcie & moderation of your goodnes, whom we hartily beseech almighty God, euer more and more prosper, vnto the glory of his name, & profite of the cōmon weale. Wherefore seyng your Maiestie writeth that maister Couerdale is in daūger for certaine accomptes of money, & not for any other more greeuous offence, we haue cause on his behalfe to reioyce: & therefore we doubt so much the lesse, that at our request he shall graciously haue his deliuerāce geuē him, and be out of daunger. For as touching the Byshoprike, by reason whereof he came in debt, we vnderstād he yelded it vp, that paymēt might thereof be required, specially seing he is reputed neither to haue enioyed it lōg, neither to haue had at any time so great cōmodity of it. More ouer, though it be possible to finde some perplexitie in the accōpt, or happily some other cause, yet your maiesties letters offering such fauour and benignitie, haue taken from vs all carefulnesse and doubt: In so much that we thinke your maiestie (as much as may be) will haue more respect vnto our honour, then vnto that whiche might of hym be required. And therefore wee purpose not to trouble your Maiestie by repeting of our petition, but to declare howe greatly

we esteeme it, that your maiestie would gratify vs herein: whereof we plainely hope for such an end, that Couerdale him selfe shall shortly in our presence make declaration concerning the benefite of his welfare obtayned of your maiestie. And of this wee desire your maiestie to be specially assured agayne, that wee will not onely omit no occasion or oportunitie to requite this benefite, but also to establish and amplifie our mutual loue & amitie betweene vs and our realms on either side. Almighty God preserue your maiestie in prosperous health and felicitie. Geuen at our Citie of Otton the 24. of Septemb. Ann. D. 1554.

To these letters it was a great while before the queene would aunswere. At length through great sute made, the next yeare, the 18. of February, she aunswered agayne in this wise.

¶Sereniss. principi D. Christiano Dei gratia Daniae, &c. Regi Sleswici, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. fratri & amico nostro charissimo.

MARIA dei gratia Regina Angliae, Franciae, Neapolis, *Hierusalem, & Hyberniae, &c. Serenissimo principi Christiano, eadem gratia, Daniae, Noruegiae, Gothorum & Vandalorum Regi: Slesuici, Holsatiae, Stormariae, & Ditmersiae Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorst. &c. fratri & amico nostro chariss. salutem, prosperumque rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex Serenitatis vestrae literis, quas hic nuntius nobis attulit, desyderium vestrum obtinendi a nobis pro M. Couerdalo subdito nostro exeundi e regno nostro, & ad vos proficiscendi facultatem: [Page 1531](#) facile quidem in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem concessimus. Et quanquam ille natus subditus noster nondum explicatus fuerat a debitione certae cuiusdam pecuniae qua nostro aerario soluere iure tenebatur, tamen maiorem vestri desyderij quam nostri debiti rationem habendam esse duximus. Quin insuper animum & voluntatem gratificandi vestrae Serenitati pro nostra mutua amicia, in qua alia etiam re possumus, cum oportunitas feret, libenter ostendemus. Deus Vest. Serenitatem diutissimè seruet incolumen. Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterij, 18. Febr. 1555.

The same month, the 19. day was a certaine intimation set foorth and printed in the name of Boner, * wherein was conteyned a general monition and strait charge geuen to euery man and woman within his Dioces, * to prepare themselues against Lent, then neare approchyng, to receyue the glad tidynges of peace and reconciliation sent from Pope Iulius 3. by Poole his Cardinall and Legate De Latere, and so receyue also the ioyfull benefite of absolution, beyng sent first from the Cardinall to Boner, and from him to euerich of his Archdeacons to be ministred to euery priuate person within his Dioces, that would come the said holy tyme of Lent to his Pastor or Curate to bee confessed, and to receyue of hym wholesome counsaile, penance and absolution: Signifiyng moreouer, that as he was authorised by the foresayd Cardinall, so he for y^e same purpose had indued with the like authoritie, al and singular Pastors and Curates within his Dioces, to reconcile and assoyle from their former heresie and schisme, & from the censures of the Church, such as would resort vnto thē. And lest any scruple or doubt rising peradventure in their consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalfe, he had assigned and deputed therfore through his Dioces certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or els myght open their griefes to any of his Archdeacons, or els come to hys owne person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubtes and obstacles set aside, hee straightly willed and commaunded euery man and woman to come to confession, and to enioy this benefite of

reconciliation and absolution, agaynst the first Sunday next after Easter ensuyng, and not to fayle, For the which purpose he had specially commaunded the Pastours and Curates of euery parish, to certifie vp in writyng the names of euery man and woman so reconciled, and so forth. The copy of which intimation here vnder followeth.

¶The declaration of the B. of London, to be published to the lay people of his diocesse, concernyng their reconciliation.

EDmund by the permission of God, B. of London, vnto all and singuler the lay people of his Diocesse, doth send greeting in our sauour Iesu Christ.

Whereas this noble realme of England, diuidyng it selfe from the vnitie of the catholike church, and from the agreement in religion with all other christian Realmes, hath bene, besides many other miseries & plagues, which Gods indignation hath poured vpon it, grievously also vexed, and sore infected with many and sondry sortes of sects of heretikes, as Arrians, Anabaptistes, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many other, all which sectes be most repugnant: and contrary one agaynst another, & all agaynst Gods truth, and Christes Catholicke fayth: whereupon hath growen such slaunder to the realme, such malice and disagreement among our selues, the inhabitants thereof, such treasons, tumultes, and insurrections agaynst our prince, such blasphemy and dishonour vnto God, as no mans tong or pen is able to expresse: It hath pleased the goodnes of God to cast his eye of mercy & clemency vpon vs, and to mooue the Popes holines to send his most godly messenger, the most Reuerend father in God, the L. Cardinall Poole Legate de Latere, to bryng vs the glad tidings of peace, and reconciliation, & to reduce and bryng home vnto the folde, the lost sheepe that were gone astray, whose message as it hath bene honourably receyued of the Kyng and Queenes maiesties, euen so the Lords spirituall and temporall, and commons at the last Parliamente hath receyued it, reuokynge all lawes (the which in the tyme of schisme were promulgate against the authoritie of the Popes holynes, and restoryng the same and the church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realme before the sayd schisme, the which reconciliation was also most glad and ioyfully embraced as well of all the clergy and conuocation of the prouince of Cant. as also of many other persons, and beyng so great & necessary, to be extended to euery person of the Realme, it hath pleased the sayd L. Legates grace to geue, & imparte vnto me the sayd B. of London, for my sayd Diocesse, and to all such as I shall appoynt in that behalfe, power & authoritie to absolue and reconcile all and euery person ther'of, as well of the Clergy as of the Laitie, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (beyng penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the vnitie of the Catholike church, as by the letters of the sayde L. Legates grace sent vnto me, and from me sent vnto euery of the Archdeacons within my dioces, more at large may, and doth appeare. And forasmuch as in myne owne person, as well for the multitude of people, as distaunce of places, I cannot minister this benefit vnto euery priuate person my selfe, and for that also the holy tyme of Lent is now at hande, in which euery true christen man ought to come vnto his owne Pastor and Curate, to be of him confessed, and to receyue at his hand wholesome counsaile, penance and absolution: these are therefore as well to geue knowledge vnto euery one of you, as also to signifie & declare, that for that purpose, I haue by the sayd authoritie chosen, named and deputed, and so by these presentes, doe chuse, and depute all and singuler pastors and curates, hauing cure of soules within my Diocesse, and beyng themselues reconciled herein, that they and euery of them by authoritie hereof, shall haue full power and authoritie to absolue all such as be lay persons of their parishes, from heresie and schisme, and from the censures of the

Church, into y^e which they be fallen by occasion therof also, & to reconcile to the church al such which shal declare themselues penitent, and desirous to enioy the benefit of the sayde reconciliation. And whereas diuers pastors and curates in sondry parishes, peradventure bee not able to satisfye the myndes, and to appease the consciences of some of theyr parishioners, in cases that shal trouble them, I haue therfore geuen also authoritie to euery Archdeacon of my dioces, within his Archdeaconry, to name and appoynt certayne of the best learned in euery Deanry of their Archdeaconry, to supply that lacke, so that euery man so troubled, may repaire to any one of thē within the said Deanry, whom he shall lyke best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalfe, And also I haue appoynted, that if this beyng done, there shall yet remayne any scruple in the parties conscience, and himselfe not satisfied, then the said partie to repaire vnto one of myne Archdeacons or chaplens, vnto whom his mynd shal be most inclined vnto, or els to repaire vnto myne owne selfe, to bee resolued in his saide scruple or doubt, and to receiue and take such order therin as to one of the sayd Archdeacons, or vnto me shall therin appeare to be most expedient.

Further certifieng and declaring vnto you, that I haue geuen commaundement herein to all my Archdeacons, that they monish and commaund euery pastor, & Curate within their Archdeaconries, that they hauing knowlege hereof, doe in the first holiday next then followyng, at the masse tyme, when the multitude of people is present, declare all these thyngs vnto their parishioners, and exhort them that they esteeme this grace accordingly, and reconcile themselues to the church before the first Sonday after Easter next ensuyng, which thyng I also do commaunde by the tenour hereof, with intimation that the sayd tyme beyng once past, and they not so reconciled, euery one of them shall haue processe made agaynst hym, accordyng to the Canons, as the cause shall require: for which purpose the pastours and Curates of euery parish shall be cōmanded by their Archdeacon, to certifie me in writyng, of euery man and womans name, that is not so reconciled.

Further, herewith I do signify and declare vnto you, that our holy father the Pope, Iulius the 3. of that name, lyke a most tender and naturall father, hearyng of the returne and recouery of his prodigall child this Realme of England, hath hymselfe made much ioy and gladnes here at, and also all other true christen Realmes haue done the lyke. Exhorting you therefore in our Lord, not to bee vnthankfull your selues, or negligent in this behalfe, but diligently to seeke for it, ioyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to vse it, remembryng with all the monition and charge which came from me the last yere, concernyng your commyng to confession in Lent, and receiuyng the sacrament at Easter, which monition to all effects and purposes, I haue now here repeated and renewed, charyng you, and also al your Curates therwith. And because al our dueties is, earnestly and deuoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our soueraignes, the King and Queene of this Realm, I do finally require and pray you, as hartily as I can, to pray for their maiesties accordingly, and specially that it may please almighty God, to send vnto her grace a good tyme, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but vnto vs all great ioy, much comfort, and inestimable profite. Geuen at London the 19th day of the moneth of Febr, [Page 1532](#) in the yere of our Lord God, after the computation of the church of England, 1554. and of my translation, the 16.

***The forme of absolution, to be kept by the Pastors and Curates, in priuate confessions, concernyng this reconciliation.**

OvR Lord Iesus Christ absolue you, and by the Apostolike authoritie to me graunted and committed,* I absolue you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and paynes, into the which you be fallen by reason of heresie, or schisme, or any other wayes: and I restore you vnto the vnity of our holy mother the Church, and the Communion of all Sacramentes, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularitie: and by the same authoritie, I absolue you from all your sinnes, In the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost. Amen.

¶The lamentable history of Maister Iames Hales, Iudge.

IN the history of M. Hooper mention was touched a little before of Iudge Hales,* wherefore somethyng would be sayd more in this place touching that matter. But because the story of that man and of his ende is sufficiently comprehended in our first booke of Acts and Monumēts, we shall not greatly need to stand vpon rehersall of euery perticular matter touching the whole, but only taking the chieftest, and leauyng the rest, we will report somewhat of the communication betwene the B. of Winchester & hym: declaring withal how false and vntrue the excuse is of our aduersaries, which so precisely by the law defend thēselues and say, that in all their doyngs they did nothing but by y^e Law, to beare them out. Which if it be so, how did they thē to Anne Askew? What law had they when they had condemned her first for a dead woman, then afterward to rack her? By what law did they cal vp M. Hooper & prison him for the Queenes debt, when the Queene in very deede did owe hym foure score pounds, and kept hym a yeaere and a halfe in prison, and gaue hym neuer a penny? pag. 1577. By what law did B. Boner condemn and burne Richard Mekins, a lad of xv. yeaeres, when the first Iurie had quit hym, and at the stake reuoked all heresies, and praised the sayd Boner to be a good man: and also hauing him in prison, would not suffer his father and mother to come to hym, to comfort their owne chylde? pag. 1168. What lawe had they to put Maister Rogers in prison, when hee dyd neyther preache nor reade Lecture after the tyme of the Queenes inhibition, and when they had kept hym in his owne house halfe a yeaere, beyng not depriued of anye liuyng, yet would not let hym haue a halfe peny of his owne liuyngs to relieue hym, his wyfe, and xi. childrē? pag. 1574. By what law was Thomas Tomkins hand burnt, and afterward his body consumed to ashes? What good law or honestie was there to burne the 3. poore womē at Garnsey, with the infant chyld fallyng out of the mothers wōbe when as they all before theyr death recanted their wordes and opinions, and were neuer abiured before? So here likewyse in this case, what order or right of law did Steuen Gardiner follow in troubllyng & imprisoning Iudge Hales, when he had done nothyng neither agaynst Gods law, nor mans law, in proceeding by order of law against certayne presumptuous persones, which both before the law, and agaynst the law then in force, tooke vpon them to say their Masse? as ye shall heare in these his answers and communication had with Steuen Gardiner here vnder ensuyng.

¶The communication betwene the Lord Chauncellour and Iudge Hales, beyng there among other Iudges, to take his oth in Westminster hall. An. 1553. October. 6.

Lord Chauncellour. I. Hales.

MAister Hales ye shall vnderstand, that lyke as the Queenes highnes hath heretofore conceiued good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood both faithfully & lawfully in her cause of iust succession, refusing to set your hand to the booke among others y^t were against her grace in that

behalf: * so now, through your owne late desertes against certaine her highnes doings, ye stand not well in her graces fauor: and therefore, before ye take any othe, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation.

Hales.

I pray you my L. what is the cause?

Chaune.

Information is geuen, that he haue indited certaine priests in Kent, for saying masse.

Hales.

My L. it is not so, I indited none, but in deed certaine inditements of like matter were brought before me at y^e last assises there holden, & I gaue order therin as the law required. For I haue protested y^e law, against which, in cases of iustice, I wil neuer (God willing) proceede, nor in any wise dissemble, but w^t the same shew forth my cōscience, & if it wer to do again, I would do no lesse thē I did.

Chanc.

Yea, M. Hales, your conscience is knowen well enough. I know ye lacke no conscience.

Hales.

My L. ye may do well to search your owne conscience, for myne is better known to my selfe, then to you: & to be plaine, I did as wel vse iustice in your said masse case by my conscience, as by lawe, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the vttermost that can be objected. And if I haue therin done any iniury or wrong, let me be iudged by the law, for I will seeke no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession.

Chaunc.

Why M. Hales although you had the rigor of the lawe on your side, * yet ye might haue had regarde to the Queenes highnes present doyngs in that case. And further, although ye seeme to be more then precise in the law, yet I thinke ye would be very loth to yeld to the extremitie of such aduantage as might be gathered agaynst your proceedings in the law, as ye haue sometime taken vpon you in place of iustice, and if it were well tried, I beleue ye should not be well able to stand honestly therto.

Hales.

My L. I am not so perfect, but I may erre for lacke of knowledge. But both in conscience and such knowlege of the law as God hath geuen me, I will doe nothing but I will maintaine it, &

abide in it: and if my goods and all that I haue be not able to counterpeise the case, my bodye shalbe redy to serue the turne, for they be all at y^e Queenes highnes pleasure.

Chanc.

Ah sir, ye be very quicke & stout in your aunswers,* But as it should seeme, that which you did was more of a will, fauouring the opinion of your religion agaynst the seruice now vsed, then for any occasion or zeale of Iustice, seyng the Queens highnes doth set it foorth as yet, wishing all her faithfull subiects to embrace it accordingly: & where you offer both body & goods in your triall, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shal not haue your owne will neither.

Hales.

My L. I seeke not wilfull wil, but to shew my selfe as I am bound in loue to God, & obedience to y^e Queenes maiestie, in whose cause willingly for iustice sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late (as your Lordship knoweth) aduenture as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to aduenture as well my life, as my substance, if I be called therunto. And so in lacke of myne owne power and wyll, the Lords will be fulfilled.

Chanc.

Seeying ye be at this point M. Hales, I wyll presently make an ende with you. The Queenes hyghnesse shall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall haue knowledge. Until which time ye may depart as ye came, without your oth: for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appoynted.

Hales.

I thanke your Lordship, and as for my vocation, beyng doth a burthen and a charge more then euer I desired to take vpon me: when so euer it shall please the Queenes highnes to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly with due contentation obey the same: and so hee departed from the barre.

Not many dayes after this communication or colloquie in Westminster hall,* which was October 6. An. 1553. Maister Hales at the commaundement of the Bish. was committed to the Kynges Benche, where hee remayned constant vntill Lent: then was remooued to the Counter in Breadstreete, and afterward from thence was caried to the Fleete.

Beyng in the Fleete, what it was that he had granted vnto the Byshops by their fraudulent assaults and perswasions, namely, of D. Day bishop of Chichester, and of Iudge Portman (as it is thought) ouercome at last, I haue not to say.

This is certaine, that shortly after callyng hymselfe better to remembraunce,* he was brought to great repentaunce and terror of conscience. In so much, that for very anguish of hart, he was redy

with his penknife to kil him selfe there in the prison, and had (no doubt) so done, had not the mercifull prouidence of the Lord, rescued hym miraculously, as ye shall heare.

It hapned when supper tyme came that he should be called downe, M. Hales hauing little mynd either to eate or drink, gate him straight way to bed, where he lay al the night sobbing & groning, & tooke (God knoweth) litle rest or sleepe. At length when morning came, about sixe of the clock, he sent his seruant for a cup of beere, vnder pretence [Page 1533](#) as though he were thirsty, and desirous to drink, whether the cause were true or fained, it is vnknown: but this folowed, y^t his man was yet scarce out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wouëd himself in diuers places of his body, and was purposed (no doubt) to haue destroyed himselfe, had not the goodnesse of the Lord geuen present helpe in tyme of oportunitie. Wherby it is euident for all men to vnderstand, how gods fauour was not absent from the man, although he thought hymselfe vtterly forsaken for his deniall, as by the sequele may wel apeare.

For as soone as he had sent his man out of his chamber (see what God would haue done) euen afore the chamber dore eftsoones the Butler met him: [*](#) who being desired to fil the drinke, & taking the cup, the other returned agayne vnto his M. at the same very tyme when he was working his owne destructiō: wherby M. Hales at that time was stopt of his purpose, & preserued not without gods manifest good will & prouidence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, [*](#) straightway he taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the Gospell, which he openly in the starre chāber called the doctrine of desperation. M. Hales being within a while after recouered of those woundes, & deliuered out of prison, getteth hymselfe home vnto hys house: where he, either for the greatnes of his sorrow, or for lacke of good counsell, or for that he would auoyde the necessitie of hearing masse, hauing all things set in an order a good while before that, pertaining to his testament, casting himself into a shalow riuer, [*](#) was drowned therein: which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of Ianuary before, an. 1555.

The vnhappy chance of this so worthy a Iudge, was surely the cause of great sorrowe and grieve vnto all good men, & it gaue occasion besides vnto certayne Diuines, to stand some thyng in doubt with themselues, whether hee were reprobate, or saued, or no: about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: [*](#) for he that is our Iudge, the same shalbe his Iudge: and he it is that will lay all things open when the time commeth. This in the meane time is certaine & sure, that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the mans reason. But if he did it in phrenesie & as beyng out of his wit, thē do I greatly pity his case.

Yet notwithstanding, seeing gods iudgements bee secret, and we likewise in doubt vpon what entent hee dyd thus punish himselfe, neither againe is any man certaine, whether he did repent or no, before the last breth went out of his body, me seemeth their opinion is more indifferent herein, which do rather disallow the example of the dead, then dispayre of his saluation.

Otherwyse, if we wyll adiudge all those to hell, that haue departed the world after this sort, how many examples haue wee in the first persecutions of the Churche, of those men and women, who beyng registred in the works of worthy writers, haue notwithstanding their praise and commendation.

For what shall I thinke of those yong men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to heathen Idols,* did cast downe themselues headlong, and brake their owne neckes, to auoyd such horrible pollution of themselues? What shall I say of those virgins of Antioch, who to the end they might not defile themselues with vncleannes, and with idolatry through the perswasio of their mother, casting themselues headlong into a riuer together with their mother, did fordo themselues,* although not in the same water, yet after the same maner of drouning, as this M. Hales did? What shall I say of other two sisters which for the self same quarell did violently throw themselues headlong into the sea, as Eusebius doth record? In whome though perchaunce there was no lesse confidence to beare out the pains which should be ministred of the wicked vnto them, yet that their good desire to kepe their faith and religion vnspotted, was commended and praised.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus,* & that in an other virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in Hierome to be Brassila Dyrachina, who to keepe her virginie, fayned her selfe to be a witch, and so conuenting with the yong man which went about to defloure her, pretended that she would geue hym an Hearbe which should preserue hym from all kynd of weapons: & so to prooue it in her selfe, layd the herbe vpon her owne throte, bidding him smite, wherby she was slayne, and so with the losse of her lyfe, her virginie was saued.

Hreunto may be ioyned the like death of Sophronia a Matrone of Rome, who whē she was required of Maxentius the tyrant to be defiled, and saw her husband more slacke then hee ought to haue bene in sauynge her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her, to tary a whyle tyll she made her ready, went into her chamber, and wyth a weapon thrust her selfe through the brest and dyed. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy acte of Achetes, which biting of his owne tong, did spit it out into the harlots face?

These examples I do not here inferre as going about either to excuse, or to mainteyne the hainous facte of M. Hales, which I would wish rather by silence might bee drowned in obliuion: but yet notwithstanding as touching the person of the man, whatsoever his fact was, because we are not sure whether he at the last breath repented: Againe, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomles depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ Iesu our sauour, we will leaue therfore the final iudgement of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed iudge both of the quicke and the dead.

¶De Iacobo Halisio carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit grauitas, prudentia, norma,

luncta{que} sincera cum pitate fides:

Tam caro firma tibi fortisque Halise fuisset,

Sanctorum prima classe ferendus eras.

Instituit sedenim sua quis sic tempora vitae

Sanctorum, vt nullis sint maculata malis.

Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,

Tu tua fac cures, caetera mitte Deo.

¶The history of Thomas Tomkins, hauyng first his hand burned, after was burned hymselfe by B. Boner, for the constant testimonie of Christes true profession.

MENTion was made before of sixe prisoners,* brought & examined before B. Boner, the 8. of February, whole names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Hanks, Laurence, and Hunter. All which, though they receiued theyr condemnation together the next day after, yet because the tyme of their execution was then driuen of from February til the next month of March, I did therefore referre the story of them to this present moneth of March aforesayde, wherin now remayneth seuerally to entreat of the Martyrdome of these 6. persons, as the order and time of their suffrings seuerally do require. Of the which 6. aforenamed martyrs, the first was Tho. Tomkins burned in Smithfield, the 16. day of March, an. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins a Weauer by his occupation, dwellyng in Shordich, and of the Dioces of London,* was of such conuersation and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come vnto him with her web, as sometyme they did three or foure in a day, hee would alwayes begin with praier. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewyse first begin with prayer. And if any had sought vnto hym to borrowe money, he would shew him such money as he had in his purse, and bid hym take it.

And when they came to repay it agayne, so far of was he from seeking any vsury at their hand, or from straight exaction of his due, that he would bid them keepe it longer, while they were better able. And these were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his neighbors, and almost of all his Parish which knew him, as M. Skinner, M. Leeke, and other moe. Of whom moe then halfe a dosen at once came to me discrete and substantiall men, reporting y^e same vnto me, recording moreouer as followeth: That Doct. Boner B. of London kept the sayd Tomkins with hym in prison halfe a yeare. Duryng which tyme the sayd Bishop was so rigorous vnto hym, that he beat hym bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Where vpon the Bish. caused hys beard to be shauen, and gaue the Barbour xij.d.

Touching whiche shauyng of Thomas Tomkyns beard, this is more to be added:* Bishop Boner hauyng Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of Iuly, did set him with his other worke folkes, to make hay. And seing him to labour so well, the Bishop sittynge him downe, sayd: Wel, I like thee well, for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good Catholicke. My Lord, sayd he, Saint Paule sayth: He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eate. Boner said: Ah, s. Paul is a * great man w^t thee. And so after such other talke, the B. inferring moreouer, wished his beard of, saying, that so he would loke like a catholike. My L. said Tomkins, before my beard grew. I was, I trust a good christian, & so I trust to be my beard beyng on. But Boner in fine sent for the Barber, & caused his beard to be shauē of. The very cause was for that Boner had pluckt of a peece of his beard before.

The burning of Thomas Tomkins hand by Bishop Boner, who not long after burnt also his body.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancie of the partie was much greater with pacience to beare it: [*](#) who although he had not the learning as other haue, yet hee was so endued with Gods mighty spirite, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods truth, that by no meanes he could be remooued from the confession of truth, to impietie and error. Whereuppon Boner the Byshop being greatly vexed agaynste the poore man, when he sawe that by no perswasions he coulde preuaile with him, deuised an other practise not so straunge as cruel, further to try his constancie, to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise conuince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might ouerthrow him by some forefeeling and terror of death. So hauing with him M. Harpsfielde, M. Pendleton, Doctor Chedsey, maister Willerton, and other standing by, hee called for Thomas Tomkins, who comming before the Bishop, and standing as he was woont in defence of his faith, the bishop fel from beating to burning. Who hauing there a taper or waxe candle of three or foure wikes standing vpon the table, thought there to represent vnto vs, [*](#) as it were, the olde Image of king Porsenna. For as he burned the hand of Scaeuola, so this Catholike bishop tooke Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly ouer the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he wold leaue off the defence of his doctrine, which he had receiued.

[*](#)Tomkins thinking no otherwise, but there presently to die, began to commend him selfe vnto the Lord, saying: O Lorde into thy handes I commend my spirite. &c. In the time that hys hand was in burning, the sayde Tomkins afterwarde reported to one Iames Hinse, that hys spirite was so rapte vp, that he fealt no paine. In the whiche burning he neuer shronke, till the vaines shronke, and the sinewes braste, and the water did spirte into maister Harpsfieldes face: In so much that the sayd maister Harpsfield mooued wyth pitie, desired the Byshop to stay, saying, that he had tried hym enough. This burning was in the Hall at Fulham.

And where the Byshoppe thought by that meanes to driue him from his opinions, it prooued muche otherwise: for this Christian Scaeuola, so valiauntly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we haue lesse cause heereafter to meruaile at the manfulnesse of that Romaine Scaeuola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Hetruscan Tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scaeuola was halfe burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or ouercome by his manhoode, or driuen away by feare, sent hym home safe vnto his people: wheras Boner hitherto not contented with the burning of hys hande, rested not vntill he had consumed his whole body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

But before we come to his suffering, we will firste entreat of some parte of his examination & articles, with hys answeres and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in Register recorded.

The first examination of Thomas Tomkins.

THis faithfull and valiaunt souldiers of God Thomas Tomkins, [*](#) after he had remained the space (as is sayde) of halfe a yere in prison, about the 8. day of Februarye, was broughte with certaine other before Boner sitting in hys Consistorie, to be examined. To whome first was brought forth

a certaine bill or schedule subscribed (as it appeared) with his owne hande, the fifte day of the same moneth laste before, conteining these wordes folowing.

Thomas Tomkins of Shordiche, and of the Dioces of London, hath beleueed and doth beleeeue,* that in the sacrament of the aultare, vnder the formes of breade and wine, there is not the very body and bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ in substaunce, but only a token and remembraunce thereof, the very body and bloude of Christ onely being in heauen and no where els.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

Wherupon he was asked whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he graūted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the Byshop went about to persuade him, (w^t wordes,* rather then w^t reasons) to relinquish his opinions, & to returne againe to the vnity of the catholicke church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past: but he constantly denied so to do. When the Bishop saw he could not so conuince him, he brought forth and read to him an other wryting containing Articles and Interrogatories whereunto he shoulde come the next day and answer: in the meane time he shuld deliberate vnto himself what to do, & so the next day, being the 9. day of March, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, to be present in the same place againe, to geue his determinate answer what he would do in the premisses, and then either to reuoke and reclaime himself, or els in the after noone the same day to come againe & haue iustice (as he called it) ministred vnto him: the copy of which articles here foloweth.

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***Articles obiected and ministred the 8. day of Februarie against Tho. Tomkins, with his owne hand subscribing to the same.**

THou doest beleeeue that in the Sacrament of the aultare vnder the formes of bread and wine there is not,* by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy woorde, really, truely, and in very deede, the very true and naturall body of our Sauour Iesus Christ, as touching the substaunce thereof, which was conceiued in the wombe of the virgine Mary, and hanged vpon the crosse, suffering Passion and death there for the life of the worlde.

I doe so beleeeue.

*Thou doest beleeeue that after the consecration of the breade and wine prepared for the vse of the Sacramente of the aultare, there doth remaine the very substance of material bread and materiall wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I doe so beleeeue.

*Thou doest beleeeue that it is an vntrue doctrine, and a false beliefe to thinke or say that in the Sacrament of the aultare there is after the consecration of the bread and wine, the substaunce of Christes naturall body and bloude, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy worde.

I doe so beleeeue.

Thou doest beleeeue that thy parents, kinsfolkes, frendes, and acquaintaunce,* and also thy Godfathers and Godmother, and all people did erre, and were deceiued, if they did beleeeue that in the Sacrament of the aultar there was, after the consecration, the body and bloude of Christe, and that there did not remaine the substaunce of materiall bread and wine.

I doe so beleeeue.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The second examination of Thomas Tomkins.

THE next day, being the 9. of Februarie, at 8. of the clocke before noon,* the said Thomas Tomkins, (according to the former commaundement) was brought againe into the place afore named, before the Bishoppe and other hys assistants, where the foresayd Articles were propounded vnto him: whereunto he aunswered as foloweth.

*To the first he said, that he did so beleeeue, as in the same is contained.

To the second he sayd that it was onely bread, & a participatiō of Christes death and passion, and so do the scriptures teach.

To the third he said and did beleeeue, it was a false doctrine, to beleeeue and thinke as is contained in this Article.

To the fourth, he did also beleeeue the same.

After this aunswere, he did also subscribe hys name to the sayd Articles. Whereupon the Bishop drawing out of his bosome another confession subscribed wyth Tomkins owne hande, and also that article that was the first day obiected against him, caused the same to be openly read, and then willed him to reuoke and deny his sayd opinions: the which he vtterly refused to do, and therefore was commanded to appeare before the Byshop againe in the same place at two of the clocke in the after noone.

**The Bishop repeateth againe the confession of Thom.
Tomkins wrytten before by the sayd Bishop of London, and
subscribed by the sayd Tomkins, the 26. day Septemb. An.
1554. which is this.**

I Thomas Tomkins of the Parish of Shordich, in the Diocesse of London,* hauing confessed and declared openly heeretofore to Edmund Bishop of London mine Ordinarie, that my beliefe hathe bene many yeares past, and is at this present: that the body of our Sauour Iesus Christ is not truely and in very deede in the Sacrament of the aultare, but onely in heauen, and so in heauen, that it can not nowe in deede be really and truely in the Sacramente of the altare.

And moreouer, hauing likewise confessed and declared to my said Ordinarie openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholicke Church, hathe allowed and doeth allowe the Masse and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, & a godly thing: yet my beliefe hath ben many yeres past, & is at this present, that the said Masse is full of superstition, plaine idolatrie, and vnprofitable for my soule, & so haue I called it many times, and take it at this present.

*Hauing also likewise confessed and declared to my said Ordinarie, that the Sacrament of Baptisme oughte to be onely in the vulgar tounge, and not otherwise ministred, and also without any such ceremonies, as customably are vsed in the Latine church, and otherwise not to be allowed.

Finally, being many times and ofte called openly before my said Ordinarie, and talked withall touching all my sayd confessions and declarations,* both by the saide mine Ordinarie & diuers other learned men, aswel his Chaplaines as other, and counselled by all them to embrace the truthe, and to recant mine errour in the premisses, which they tolde me was plaine heresie and manifest errour: do testifie and declare hereby, that I do and wil continually stand to my saide confession, declaration, and beliefe, in all the premisses & euery part therof, and in no wise recant or go frō any part of the same. In witnesse wherof I haue subscribed, & passed this wryting the 26. day of Septemb. the yeare aforesayd.

By me Thomas Tomkyns aforesaid.

The names of them that sate vppon Thomas Tomkins at this Session, were these, Edmund Boner,* Iohn Fecknam Deane of Paules, Iohn Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, Iohn Morwen master of Art, Thomas Morton parson of Fulham, Tristram Swadell, Thom. More, Thomas Beckinsaw, Iames Cline, clearkes.

The last appearance of Tho. Tomkins before Boner and the Commissioners.

THE same daye and place, at two of the clocke in the after noone, he was (the last time) brought forth before the bishops of London, Bath, and Saint Dauids, with others: where hee was earnestly exhorted by the sayd Bishoppe of Bath, to reuoke & leaue off his opinions. Unto whome he answered: My Lord, I was borne & brought vp in ignoraunce vntill nowe of late yeares. And nowe I know the truthe, wherein I will continue vnto the death.

Then Boner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly red, and so in hys accustomed maner persuaded with hym to recant. To whome hee finally sayde: My Lord, I can not see but that you would haue me to forsake the truth, and to fall into errour and heresie. The Byshop seeing he would not recant, did proceede in his law, and so gaue sentence of condemnation vpon him.

The burning of the blessed Martyr, Thomas Tomkyns.

[illustration]

*

Then he deliuered him to the sheriffe of London,* who caried him straighte vnto Newgate, where hee remayned most ioyous and constant, vntill the 16. day of March next after: on which day, hee was by the sayde Sheriffe conueied into Smithfield, and there sealed vp his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of Gods holy name, and confirmation of the weake.

A notable historie of W. Hunter, a yong man of 19. yere, pursued to death by iustice Browne for the Gospels sake, worthy of all young men and parents to be red.

The 26. day of the sayde moneth of Marche, the yeare aforesayde, followed the Martyrdome of William Hunter, a right godly young man of the age of xix. yeares, and borne of like godly parents: by whome hee was not onely instructed in true religion and godlinesse, but also confirmed by them vnto death, after a rare and strange example, [Page 1536](#) worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parentes. Wherein may appeare a singulare spectacle, not onely of a maruelous fortitude in the partie so young: but also in hys parents, to beholde nature in them striuing with religion, and ouercome of the same.* Wherby Christian parents may learne what is to be done not only in their children, but also in them selues, if neede at any time do require, or godlynnesse should demaund the duetie of a christian man against naturall affection. Example whereof in the sequele of thys hystorie we haue here presēt before our eyes. Which hystorie as it was faithfully drawen out by Robert Hunter hys owne brother (who being present with his brother William, & neuer left him till his death, sent the true report vnto vs) we haue heere with like faithfulness placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

*William Hunter being a prētise in London, in the first yeare of Queene Marie, was commaunded at the Easter next following, to receiue the Communion at a Masse, by the Priest of the Parish where hee dwelte, called Colman streete: whyche, because hee refused to doe, hee was verye much threatned that he shoulde be therefore brought before the Bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunters master, one Thomas Tailour, a silke weauer, required William Hunter, to go and depart from him, lest that he shuld come in daunger, because of him, if hee continued in hys house. For the which causes, William Hunter tooke leaue of his said maister, and thence came to Burntwoode where his father dwelt, with whome he remained afterwarde, about the space of halfe a quarter of a yeare.

After this it happened, within 5. or 6. wekes, that William going into the chappell of Burntwoode, and finiding there a Bible lying on a deske, did reade therein. In the meane time there came in one father Atwell a Sumner, which hearing William read in y^e Bible, said to him, what medlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scriptures?

To whome William aunswared and sayde: father Atwell,* I take not vppon me to expounde the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withall, but I finiding the Bible here when I came, red in it to

my comfort. To whome father Atwell sayde: it was neuer mery since the Bible came abroad in English.

*To the which words William answered, saying: Father Atwell, say not so for Gods sake, for it is Gods booke, out of the which euery one that hath the grace, may learne to knowe what things both please God, & also what displeaseth him. Then sayd father Atwel: could we not tell before this time, as well as now, how God was serued: William answered: no father Atwel, nothing so wel, as we maye now, if that we might haue his blessed word amongst vs still as we haue had. It is true sayde father Atwell, if it be as you say.

Well sayd William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may haue the blessed Bible amongst vs continually.* To the which wordes father Atwell sayd, I perceiue your minde well enoughe, you are one of them that misliketh the Queenes lawes, and therefore you came frō London, I heare say. You learned these waies at London, but for all that, sayde father Atwel, you must turne an other leafe, or els you and a great sorte moe heretickes wil broyle for this geare, I warrāt you. To the which wordes William sayd: God geue me grace that I may beleue hys worde, & confesse his name, whatsoeuer come therof. Confesse his name, quoth olde Atwell? no, no, ye will goe to the deuill all of you, and confesse his name.

What, sayde William? you say not well father Atwell. At the which wordes hee went oute of the Chappell in a great furie,* saying: I am not able to reason with thee, but I will fetch one straight way which shall talke with thee, I warrant thee thou hereticke. And hee leauing William Hunter reading in the Bible, straight wayes brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southweld, which was at an alehouse euen ouer against the sayde Chappell:* who hearing olde Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chappel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, tooke the matter very hainously, saying: Sirha, who gaue thee leaue to reade in the Bible and to expound it?

Then William answered: I expound not the Scriptures Syr, but reade them for my comfort. What medlest thou with them at all, sayde the Uicar? It becommeth not thee, nor none suche to meddle with the Scriptures, But William answered: I wil read the Scriptures God willing, while I liue, and you ought (M. vicar) not to discourage any mā for that matter, but rather exhort men diligētly to read the scriptures for your discharge and their own.

Unto the which the Uicare answered: It becommeth thee well to tell me what I haue to doe. I see thou arte an hereticke, by thy wordes, William sayd, I am no hereticke for speaking the truthe. But the Uicar sayde,* it is a merye worlde when such as thou arte, shall teache vs what is the truthe, Thou art meddling, father Atwel telles me with the 6. of Iohn, wherein thou maist perceiue, how Christ saith: Except that yee eate the flesh of Christ and drinke his bloude, yee haue no life in you. William sayd, I reade the 6. of Iohn, in deede: howbeit, I made no exposition on it.

Then said father Atwel, when you read it I saide, that you there might vnderstande howe that in the Sacrament of the aultar is Christes very natural body and bloud: vnto the which you answered, howe that you would take the scriptures as they are, & that you would meddle wyth no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed with all.

Ah, sayd the Uicar? what say you to the blessed (Sacrament of the aultar) beleueest thou not in it,* & that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the very body & bloude of Christ? William answered, I learne no such thing in the 6. of Iohn, as you speake of. Why sayde the Uicare, doest thou not beleue in the Sacrament of the aultare? I beleue sayde William Hunter, all that Gods word teacheth. Why sayd the Uicar thou mayest learne this which I say plainly in the 6. of Iohn.

Then sayde William, you vnderstand Christe wordes muche like the carnall Capernaites,* whych thoughte that Christe woulde haue geuen them his flesh to feede vppon, which opinion our sauour Christ corrected, when he said. The wordes which I speake to you, are spirite and life.

Now, quoth the Uicar, I haue found you out: now I see that thou art an hereticke in deede, and that thou doest not beleue in the sacrament of the aultar.

Then said William Hunter,* wheras you doubt my beliefe, I would it were tried whether that you or I woulde stand faster in our faith. Yea thou hereticke, (sayde the Uicar) wouldest thou haue it so tried? William Hunter aunswered, that which you call heresie, I serue my Lorde God withall.

Then sayd the Uicar: canst thou serue God wyth heresie? But William answered, I would that you and I were euen now fast tied to a stake, to prooue whether that you or I would stand strongest to our faith. But the Uicare aunswered: it shal not so be tried. No quoth William, I thinke so: for if I might, I thinke I knowe who woulde soonest recant, for I durst sette my foote against yours euen to the death. That we shall see, quoth the Uicar, and so they departed, the Uicar threatning William much, how that hee would complaine of him: with other much communication which they had together.

Immediately after, this Uicare of Weilde tolde maister Browne of the cōmunication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when M. Browne vnderstoode,* immediatly he sent for Williams father and the Constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediatly after William Hūter and the Uicar had reasoned together, he tooke hys leaue of his father and fled, because Woode the Uicare threatened him. Now when the Constable and Williams father were come, and were before M. Browne, he asked where Williā Hunter was. His father answered, saying:* if it please you Syr, I knowe not where he is become. No, quoth maister Browne? I will make thee tel where he is, and fetch hym foorth also ere I haue done with thee. Sir saide Williams father, I know not where he is become, nor where to seke for hym.

Then sayde M. Browne, why diddest thou not bryng him whē thou haddest him? I promise thee if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison till I shal gette hym. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him, or els it is not best to looke me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Burntwood. Wel, quoth M. Browne to Williams father, see that thou seeke him foorth, and bring him to me.

Williams father aunswered: Syr, would you haue me seeke out my sonne to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth M. Browne, I will deale wel enough for that matter: thou shalt not neede to care for the matter. Fetch hym, and thou shalt see what I will doe for him.

Moreouer, if thou lackest money, quoth he, thou shalte haue some, & bad the Constable M. Salmon to geue him a crowne, but Williams father tooke none of him. Howbeit M. Browne would neuer rest, till Williams father hadde promised him to seeke out his sonne. And thus M. Brown sent the Constable home againe, and Wi•liams father, cōmaunding hym to seeke out William Hunter, and then to come againe and bring him to him.

After that olde father Hunter had ridden a two or three dayes iourneyes to satisfie maister Brownes expectation, it happened that William mette with his father in the high way as he trauailed, and first he seeing his father, came to hym, and spake to hym, and told him how that he thought [Page 1537](#) that hee sought for hym: and then hys father confessing it, wept sore and sayde, that maister Browne charged him to seeke him, and bring him to him: howbeit, sayde he, I will returne home agayne, and saye I can not finde you. But William saide: * father, I will go home with you & saue you harmeles, what soeuer commeth of it.

And thus they came home together: but William as soone as he was come home, was taken by the sayde Constable, and laid in the stockes till the day. Maister Browne hearing that William Hunter was come home, sente for him to the Constable, who broughte him immediately to maister Browne.

Now when William was come, maister Browne said to him, ah syrha, are yee come? and then by and by he commaunded the Bible to be brought, * and opened it, and then began to reason wyth William on this maner, saying: I heare say you are a Scripture manne, you: and can reason much of the sixt of Iohn, and expound as pleaseth you, and turned the Bible to the sixt of S. Iohn, and then he laid to his charge, what an exposition hee made, when the Uicare and he talked together. And William sayde, he vrged me to say so much as I did.

Wel, quoth M. Browne, because you can expound that place so well, how say you to an other place, turning to the xxij. of S. Luke? * and maister Browne sayde, looke heere (quoth he) for Christ sayth, that the bread is his body.

To the which William aunswered, the text sayth, howe Christ tooke bread, but not that he changed it, into an other substaunce, but gaue that which hee tooke, and brake that which he gaue, which was bread, as is euident by the text. For els he should haue had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason, sayd William.

At the which answeare M. Browne was very angry, & tooke vp the Bible and turned the leaues, and then flong it downe againe in such a fury, * that William could not wel finde the place againe wherof they reasoned.

Then M. Browne saide, thou naughty boye, wilt thou not take thyngs as they are, but expounde them as thou wilt? doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly, and thou wilt not beleeeue that the breade is hys body after the consecration? thou goest about to make Christ a liar.

But William Hunter aunswered: I meane not so sir, but rather more earnestly to searche what the minde of Christ is in that holy Institution, * wherein he commendeth vnto vs the remembraunce of his death, passion, resurrection and comming againe, saying: This d•e in the remembraunce of

mee. And also though Christe call the breade hys body, as he doeth also say, that hee is a vine, a doore. &c. yet is not his body turned into breade, no more then he is turned into a doore, or vine. Wherefore Christ called the breade his body by a figure.

At that worde M. Browne sayde, thou art a villaine in dede. Wilt thou make Christ a lier yet stil? and was in such a furie with William, and so raged, that William could not speake a woorde,* but hee crossed him, and scoffed at euerye woorde. Wherefore William seeing him in suche furie, desired hym that he woulde either heare him quietly, and suffer hym to aunsweare for himselfe,* or else send him away. To the which maister Browne aunsweared: in deede I will sende thee to morrowe to my Lorde of London, and hee shall haue thee vnder examination, and thus lefte of the talke, and made a letter immediately, and sente William Hunter with the Constable to Boner Bishop of London, who receiued William.

After that hee had read the letter, and the Constable returned home againe, the Bishoppe caused William to bee brought into a chamber, where he begā to reason with him in this maner: I vnderstād William Hunter (quoth he) by M. Brownes letter, how that you haue had certaine communication with the vicare of Wielde,* about the blessed sacramēt of the aultar, & how that ye could not agree, wherupon M. Browne sent for thee to bring thee to the Catholicke faith, from the which he sayth, that thou art gon. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt haue no harme, for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.

William aunsweared, saying: I am not fallen from the Catholicke faith of Christ, I am sure, but do beleue it, and confesse it with all my heart.*

Why, quoth the Byshop, how sayest thou to the blessed Sacrament of the aultar? wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before maister Browne, howe that Christes bodye is not in the Sacrament of the aultare, the same that was borne of the virgine Marie?

To the which William answered, saying? my Lorde I vnderstande, y^t M. Browne hath certified you of the talke, which he and I had together, and thereby ye knowe what I saide to him, the which I wil not recant by Gods helpe. Then said the Bishop, I thinke thou art ashamed to beare a fagot and recant openly, but if thou wilt recante thy say'inges, I will promise thee,* that thou shalt not be putte to open shame: but speake the worde here nowe betwene me and thee, and I will promise thee, it shal go no further, and thou shalt goe home againe without any hurt.

William answeared and sayd, my Lord: if you wil lette me alone and leaue me to my conscience, I will goe to my father and dwell with him, or els with my maister againe,* and so if no body will disquiet nor trouble my conscience, I will keepe my conscience to my selfe.

Then sayd the Byshop, I am content, so that thou wilt goe to the Church and receiue and be shriuen, and so continue a good Catholicke Christian. No, quoth William, I▪ will not do so for all the good in the world.

Then, quoth the Byshop, if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you. Wel, quoth William, you can doe no more then God will permitte you.* Wel quoth the bishop, wilt thou not recant in deede by no meanes? No, quoth Williā, neuer while I liue, God willing.

Then the Bishop (this talke ended) commaunded hys men to put William in the stockes in his gatehouse,* where he sate two daies and nights, onely with a crust of browne bread and a cuppe of water.

At the two daies end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread stil by him vpon the stocks, sayd to his men: take hym oute of the stockes, and let him breake his fast with you. Then they lette hym forth of the stockes, but would not suffer hym to eate wyth them, but called him hereticke. And he said he was as lothe to be in their companie, as they were, to be in his.

After breakefaste the Bishop sent for William, and demaunded whether he woulde recante or no. But William made him aunswere, howe that he woulde neuer recante that which he had confessed before men, as concerning hys faith in Christ.

Then the B. sayd that he wys no Christian, but denied the faith in which he was Baptised. But W. aunswared: I was baptised in the faith of the holy Trinitie, the which I will not goe from, God assisting me with his grace.

Then the Bishop sent hym to the conuicte prisone,* and commaunded the keeper to lay yrons on him as manye as he coulde beare, and moreouer asked him, how old he was: and William sayd, that he was 19. yeare olde.

Well sayd the Bishop, you wilbe burned ere you be 20. yere old, if you will not yeld your selfe better then you haue done yet. William aunswared, God strengthen me in his truth: and then he parted,* the Bishop allowing him a halfpennie a day to liue on in bread, or drinke.

Thus he continued in prison 3. quarters of a yeare. In the which time he had beene before the bishop 5. times, besides the time when he was condemned in the Consistorie in Paules, the 9. day of Februarie: at the which time I hys brother Robert Hunter was present,* when and where I heard the bishop condemne him, and fiue other more.

And then the Bishop calling William, asked him if hee would not recant, and so red to hym his examination and confession, as is aboue rehearsed, and then rehearsed howe that William confessed that he did beleue that he receaued Christes body spiritually, when he did receiue the communion. Doest thou meane, quoth the Byshop, that the bread is Christes body spiritually?

William answered: I meane not so, but rather when I receiue the holy Communion rightly and woorthely, I do feede vppon Christ spiritually throughe faith in my soule, and made partaker of all the benefites which Christ hathe brought vnto all faithfull beleeuers through hys precious death, passion, and resurrection,* and not that the breade is his body, either spiritually or corporally.

Then said the Bish. to William, doest thou not thinke (holding vp his cap) that for example heere of my cap, thou mayest see the squarenes and colour of it, and yet not to be the substance, which thou iudget by the accidences.

William answered: if you can separate the accidents from the substance, and shewe me the substance without the accidents, I could beleue. Then said the Bishop: thou wilt not beleue that God can do any thing about mannes capacite. Yes, said William, I must needs beleue that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can doe, but what hee will haue vs to learne in his holy Supper.

Then the Bishop saide, I alwaies haue founde thee at this poynt, & I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee vnto the Catholicke faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member, & then pronounced sentence vpon him, how that he should goe from that place to newgate for a time, & so from thence to Burntwood, where, sayd he, thou shalt be burned.

Then the Byshop called for an other, and so when hee had condemned them al, he called for William Hunter, and [Page 1538](#) perswaded with him,* saying: if thou wilt yet recant, I wil make thee a free man in the Citie, & geue thee 40. pound in good money to sette vp thine occupation withall: or I will make thee Steward of my house and set thee in office, for I like thee well,* thou hast witte inough, and I will preferre thee, if thou recant.

But William answered, I thanke you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my Lorde, sayd he, if you can not perswade my conscience with Scriptures, I can not finde in my hart to turne from God for the loue of the worlde:* for I count all things worldly, but losse and donge, in respect of the loue of Christ.

Then sayd the Byshop, if thou diest in this minde, thou art condemned for euer. William answered: God iudgeth righteously, and iustifieth them whom man condemneth vniustly.

Thus William and the Byshoppe departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained aboute a moneth,* which afterwarde were sent downe, William to Burntwoode, and the others into diuers places of y^e countrey. Now, when Williā was come downe to Burntwood which was the Saterdaye before the Annunciation of the virgin Mary that folowed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death, then for the holinesse of the day.

In the meane time Williams father and mother came to him,* and desired hartly of God that he might continue to the ende in that good way which God had begon, and hys mother sayd to him, that she was glad that euer she was so happy to beare such a childe, which could finde in his heart to •oo•e his life for Christes names sake.

Then William sayde to his mother: for my little paine whych I shall suffer, whych is but a shorte brayde, Christe hath promised me,* mother sayd he, a crown of ioy: may you not be glad of that mother? With that, hys mother kneeled downe on her knees, saying: I pray God strengthen thee my sonne, to the ende. Yea, I thinke thee as wel bestowed as any childe that euer I bare.

At the which woordes maister Higbed tooke her in hys armes, saying: I reioyce (and so sayd the others) to see you in thys minde, and you haue a good cause to reioyce. And his father and mother both said, that they were neuer of other minde, but praied for him, that as he had begon to confesse Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the ende. Williams father saide: I

was afraide of nothing, but that my sonne should haue ben killed in the prison for hunger and cold, the Bishop was so hard to him. But William confessed,* after a moneth that his father was charged wyth his boorde, that he lacked nothing, but had meat & clothing inough, yea euē out of y^e court, both money, meat, cloathes, woode and coales, and all things necessary.

Thus they continued in their Inne, beinge the Swan in Burntwoode, in a Parlor, whether resorted many people of the countrey to see those good men which were there: and many of Williams acquaintaunce came to hym, and reasoned with hym, and hee with them, exhorting them to come away from the abhomination of Popish superstition and idolatrie.

Thus passing away saterday, Sondag, and Monday, on monday at night it hapned that William had a dreame about 2. of the clocke in the morning,* which was this: how y^t he was at the place where the stake was pight, where he shuld be burned, which (as he thought in his dreame) was at the townes ende where the buts stode: which was so in deede. And also he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and also that there was a priest at the stake, which went about to haue him recant.

To whom he sayd (as he thought in his dreame) howe that he bad him away false prophet, and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to passe in deede. It happened that William made a noise to hym selfe in his dreame, which caused M. Higbed and the others to awake hym out of his sleepe, to knowe what he lacked. When he awaked, he told them his dreame in order, as is sayd.

Nowe when it was day, the shiriffe M. Brocket called on to set forward to the burning of William Hūter. Then came the Sheriffes sonne to William Hunter,* and embraced him in his right arme, saying: William, be not afraid of these men which are here present with bowes, bils, & weapons ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned. To whom William aunswered: I thanke God I am not afraide, for I haue cast my coumpt what it wil cost me already. Then the sheriffes sonne could speake no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked vp his gowne, & stepped ouer the Parlour grounsele, and went forward chearefully, the sheriffes seruauent taking him by the arme, and I his brother by an other, and thus going in the way, met w^t his father according to his dreame, & he spake to his sonne,* weeping and saying, God be with thee sonne William, and William sayd, God be with you father, & be of a good comfort, for I hope we shall meete againe when we shalbe mery. His father said, I hope so William and so departed.* So W. went to the place where the stake stode, euen according to hys dreame, whereas all thinges were very vnready. Then William tooke a wet broome fagot, & kneeled downe thereon, and red the 51. Psalme, till he came to these words, the sacrifice of God is a contrite spirite, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Then sayd M. Tirrel of the Beaches, called W. Tirel, thou lvest (sayd he) thou readest false,* for the wordes are an humble spirit. But W. said, the translation sayth a contrite heart. Yea, quoth M. Tirel, the translation is fals, ye translate bokes as ye list your selues, like hereticks. Wel, quoth William, there is no great difference in those words. Then sayd the sheriffe, heere is a letter from the Queene. If thou wilt recant thou shalt liue, if not thou shalt be burned. No,* quoth W. I will

not recante, God willing. Then W. roase and went to the stake, and stooode vpright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde a Bailiffe, and made fast the chaine about William.

[illustration]

The burning of William Hunter Martyr.

*

Then sayde M. Browne, here is not woode enough to burne a legge of him. Then said William: good people pray for me: and make speede and dispatch quickly: and pray for me while ye see me aliue, good people, and I praye for you likewise.

Now quoth M. Browne, pray for thee?* I will pray no more for thee, then I wil pray for a dogge. To whom William aunswared M. Browne: now you haue that whych you sought for, & I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgeue you. Then sayde maister Browne, I aske no forgeuenes of thee. Wel sayd William, if God forgeue you not, I shall require my bloude at your handes.

Then sayd William: Sonne of God shine vppon mee, and immediately the sunne in the element shone oute of a darke cloude, so full in his face, that he was constrayned to looke an other way: whereat the people mused, because it was so darke a little time afore.* Then William tooke vppe a fagot of broome, and embraced it in his armes.

Then this Priest which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popish booke to carye to William, that he might recant, which booke his brother woulde not meddle withall.

Then William seeing the priest, and perceiuing how he woulde haue shewed hym the booke, sayd: away,* thou false prophet. Beware of them good people, & come away from their abominatiōs, lest y^t you be partakers of their plagues. Then, quoth the Priest, looke howe thou burnest heere, so shalt thou burne in hel. William answered, thou liest, thou false prophet: away thou false prophet, away.

[Page 1539](#) Then was there a Gentleman whiche sayde, I praye God haue mercy vpon his soule. The people sayd: Amen, Amen, Immediatly fire was made.

Then William cast his Psalter right into his brothers hande,* who sayde: William thinke on the holy Passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death.

And William aunswared: I am not afraid. Then lifte he vp his handes to heauen, and sayd, Lorde, Lorde, Lord, receiue my spirit, and casting downe hys head againe into the smothering smoke, he yeelded vp his life for the truthe, sealing it with hys bloud, to the praise of God.

Nowe, by and by after, M. Browne commaunded one old Hunt to take his brother Robert Hunter, & lay him in the stockes till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Hornden on the hill,* the same day. Which thing olde Hunt did. Then maister Browne (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would doe as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered: if I do as my

brother hath done, I shall haue as he hath had. Mary (quoth M. Browne) thou mayest be sure of it.

Then M. Browne sayde, I maruell, that thy brother stode so to hys tackling: and moreouer, asked Robert if Williams Maister of London were not at hys burnynge.* But Roberte sayde that hee was not there: but Mayster Browne bare hym in hande that his master was there, and howe that he did see him there, but Robert denied it. Then master Browne commaunded the Constable and Robert Hunter to goe theyr wayes home, and so had no further talke wyth them.

Here followeth the hystorie of master Higbed, and master Causton, two worthy Gentlemen of Essex, which for the syncere confession of theyr faith vnder Boner B. of London, were Martyred and burned in Essex. An. 1555. Marche 26.

ALTHOUGH the cōdemnation of maister Higbed, and master Causton followed after the condemning of those other Martyrs,* which were condemned with Tomkyns and Hunter aboue mentioned, yet because the time of their execution was before the burning of the foresaid four martyrs, for so much as they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the 26. of Marche, I thoughte therefore next after the storie of the sayde William Hunter, folowing the order of time, here to place the same.

This maister Higbed, and maister Causton, two worshipfull Gentlemen in the Countie of Essex, the one at Hornden of the hill, the other of the parishe of Thunderst, being zealous and religious in the true seruice of God, as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition & wretched idolatrie, they could not long lie hidde and obscure in such a number of malignant aduersaries, accusers, and seruants of thys worlde, but at length they were perceaued and detected to the foresayde Edmund Boner Bishoppe of London,* peradventure not without the same organ which sent vp William Hunter, as is aboue declared. By reason whereof, by commaundement they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a seruant of Thomas Causton, who in this praise of Christian godlines, was nothing inferior to his maister.

Boner the forsayd Byshop, perceiuing these 2. Gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, & of great estimation in that countrey, least any tumult shoulde thereby arise, came thether himselfe, accompanied with M. Fecknam and certaine other,* thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour & diligence was taken therein, as wel by terrors and threatnings, as by large promises and flatteringe, and all faire meanes, to reduce them againe to the vnitie (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing coulde preuaile to make them assent to theyr doings, at length they came to thys poynte, that they required certaine respite to consulte with themselues what were best to doe. Whych time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and vnmooueable in their professed doctrine, and setting oute also their confession in wryting, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarying any longer there,* departed thence & caried them bothe with hym to London, and wyth them certaine other prisonners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after thys, but these prisonners being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundrye wise by the Bishop and his Chapleines to reuoke their opiniōs: at length, when no persuasions wold serue, they were brought forth to open examination at the Consistorie in Paules,* the 17. daye of Februarie. An. 1555. Where they were demaunded aswell by the said bishop, as also by the Bishop of Bathe & others, whether they would recant their errors & peruerse doctrine (as they termed it,) and so come to y^e vnitie of the Popish Church. Which when they refused to doe, the Byshop assigned them likewise the next day to appeare againe, being the 18. of Februarie.

On the whych daye, among many other thinges there sayd and passed,* he read vnto them seuerally certaine Articles, and gaue them respite vntill the next day, to aunswer vnto the same, & so committed them againe to prisone. The copie of which Articles here vnder foloweth.

Articles objected and ministred by Boner B. of London, seuerally against Tho. Causton, & Thomas Higbed of Essex.

First, that thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Higbed) hast bene and arte of the Diocesse of London,* and also of the iurisdiction now of me Edmund Bishop of London.

Item, that thou was in time past, according to the order of the Church of England, baptised and christened.

Item, that thou haddest Godfathers and Godmother, according to the said order.

Item, that the said Godfathers and Godmothers did thē promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion, that then was vsed in the realme of England.

Item, that that faith and Religion, which they did professe, & make for thee, was accompted and taken to be the faith and Religion of the Church, and of the Christian people: and so was it in very deede.

Item, thou comming to the age of discretion, that is to saye, to the age of xiiij. yeares, diddest not mislike nor disallowe that faith, that Religion, or promise then vsed and approued, and promised by the said Godfathers and Godmother, but for a time diddest continue in it, as other (taking themselues for Christen people) did likewise.

Item, that at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the Church, Catholicke and true, and euerye where in Christendom then allowed for Catholicke and true, and to be the profession of a Christen man, to beleeeue that in the Sacrament of the aultare, vnder the formes of breade and wine, after the consecration, there was and is, by the omnipotent power and will of almighty God, and his woorde, without any substance of breade and wine there remaining,* the true and naturall body and bloude of our Sauour Iesus Christ in substance, which was borne of the virgine Marie, and suffered vppon the Crosse, really, truely, and in very deede.

Item, that at that time thy father and mother, all thine auncestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance and frends, and thy sayd Godfathers and Godmother did then so beleeeue, and thinke in all the same, as the sayd Church did therein beleeeue.

Item, that thy selfe hast had no iust cause or lawfull ground, to departe or swarue from the sayde Religion or faith, nor no occasion at all, except thou wilt followe and beleue the erroneous opinion or beliefe, that hath ben against the common order of the Church, brought in by certaine disordred persons of late, and at the vttermost within these 30. or 40. yeares last past.

Item, that thou doest knowe, or credibly hast heard and doest beleue that D. Robert Barnes, Iohn Frith, Tho. Garrerd, Hierome,* Lassels, Anne Askew, Iohn Hooper, late Bishop of Gloucester, sir Laurence Saunders Priest, Iohn Bradford, sir Iohn Rogers Priest, sir Rowland Taylour Priest, sir Iohn Laurence Priest, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkyns, & Thomas Hawkes haue bene heretofore reputed, taken, and accompted as heretickes, and also condemned as heretickes, and so pronounced openly and manifestly: specially in holding & beleuing certaine damnable opinions, against the veritie of Christes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, & all the same persons, sauing Iohn Bradford, sir Iohn Laurence, William Pygot, Steuen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, haue suffered paines of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their said opinions and misbeliefe.

Item, that thou doest knowe, or credibly hast heard and doest beleue that Thomas Cranmer late Archbishoppe of Canterburie, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himselfe Bishop of London, Robert Ferrar late Bishop of S. Dauies, and Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester, haue bene, and are at this present reputed, accompted and taken as heretickes, and misbeleueers in maintaining and holding certaine damnable opinions, against the verity of Christes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Item,* that thou hast commended and praised all the sayd persons, so erring and beleuing (or at the least wise some of them) secretely, and also openly, taking and beleueing them to be faithfull and Catholicke people, and their sayde opinions to be good and true, and the same to the best & vttermost of thy power thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundrie times.

Item, that thou, hauing hearde, knowen, and vnderstanded all the premisses, thus to be as is aforesayde, haste not regarded al o•[Page 1540](#) any part thereof, but contrary to the same and euery part thereof, hast attempted and done, condemning, transgressing, and breaking that promise, faith, religion, order, and custome aforesayd: and hast becommen, and art an hereticke and misbeleueer in the premisses, denying the veritie of Christes body and bloud in the Sacrament of the aultar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of materiall bread and wine are there remaining, and that the substance of Christes body and bloud taken of the virginé Mary, are not there in the sayd Sacrament, really and truely being.

Item, that all the premisses be true, notorious, famous, and manifest, and that vpon all the same, there haue and be amongst the sad and good people of the Citie of London, and Dioces of the same in great multitude, commonly and publickely, a common and publicke fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast bene, within the sayd Dioces of London.

☞ These Articles being geuen to them in writing by the Byshop, the next day folowing was assigned to them to geue vp and to exhibite their aunsweres vnto the same.

***The third dayes Session vpon the examination of M. Causton and M. Higbed.**

Upon the which day being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton,* and Thomas Higbed Gentlemen being brought before the Byshop in the Consistory, there exhibited their aunsweres to the Articles aforesayd: the tenour of which aunsweres here followeth.

¶**The aunsweres of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, seuerally made to the foresaid Articles obiected, as before.**

TO the first, they aunswere and confesse the same to be true.

*To the second, they answere and beleeeue the same to be true.

To the third, they aunswere and beleeeue the same to be true.

To the fourth, they aunswere and thinke the same to be true.

To the fift, vnto this clause (and so was it in very deede) they aunswere and beleeeue the same to be true. And vnto that clause (and so was it in very deede) they aunswere negatiuely, and beleeeue that it was not in very deede.

To the sixt, seuenth, and eyght, they aunswere and beleeeue the same to be true.

To the ninth they aunswere and say, that they thinke they haue a iust and lawfull cause and ground to swarue and go from the sayd fayth and Religion, because they haue now read more of Scripture, then either themselues, or their Parents and kinsfolke, Godfathers or Godmothers haue read or seene heeretofore in that behalfe.

To the tenth, they aunswere, say, and beleeeue, that the sayd persons articulate, haue bene named, taken, and counted for heretickes, and so condemned for heretickes: yet about three yeares past, they were taken for good Christian persons. And for somuch as these Respondents did neuer heare them preach cōcerning the Sacrament of the aultar, they say that they preached well, in that they sayd and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the sayd Sacrament,* but that there is remayning the substance of bread and wine.

To the eleuenth, they aunswere and say, that howsoever other folkes do repute and take the sayde persons articulate, yet these Respondents them selues did neuer, nor yet do so accompt and take them. And further they say, that in case the sayd persons articulate named in this article haue preached that in the Sacrament of the altar is very materiall wine, and not the substance of Christes body and bloud, vnder the formes of bread and wyne, then they preached well and truly, and these respondents themselues do so beleeeue.

To the twelfth they aunswere and say, that where other folke haue disprayed the sayd persons articulate, and disallowed theyr opinions, these Respondents (for ought that they at any tyme haue heard) did like and allow the sayd persons, and theyr sayings.

To the thirteenth they aunswere and say, that they haue not broken or condemned any promise made by their Godfathers, and Godmothers for them at their baptisme, and that they are no heretickes nor misbeleueers, in that they beleue that there remayneth only bread and wine in the sacrament of the aultar, and that Christes naturall body is not there, but in heauen, for they say that the scriptures so teach them.

To the foureteenth they answere and beleue that the premisses before by them confessed be true, notorious and manifest.

After these answeres exhibited and perused, then the B. speaking vnto thē after this sort, beginneth first (as he did euer before) with Thomas Causton. Because ye shall not be sodenly trapped,*and that men shall not say that I go about to seke snares to put you away, I haue hitherto respited you, that you should way & cōsider with your self, your state and cōdition, and that you should, while ye haue time and space, acknowledge the truth, and returne to the vnity of the catholicke church. Then the bishop reading theyr former articles and aunsweres to the same, asked them if they would recant, which when they denyed, they were againe dismissed and commaunded to appeare the wensday next after, at two of the clocke at after noone, there to receaue their definitiue sentence agaynst them: Which thinge (as it seemeth) was yet differred.

¶An other examination of M. Causton and Maister Higbed.

The next Friday, being the eight day of March,* the sayd Thomas Caustō was first called to examinatiō before the bishop, Fecknam and D. Stempe, in his Pallace, and there had read vnto hym his foresayd articles with hys answeres therunto, & after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, & to be conformable to the vnitie of their church, they promised him (so doing) willingly to receaue him agayn therunto. To whō he answered, you goe about to catch vs in snares & ginnes: But marke by what measure ye measure vs, looke you to be measured with the same agayne at Gods hands. The bishop still perswaded with him to recant: To whom he answered no, I wil not abiure. Ye sayd that the bishops that were lately burned, be Heretickes: But I pray God make me suche an Hereticke as they were.

The bishop then leauing M. Causton, calleth forth M. Higbed: vsing with hym the like perswasīōs, that they did with the other: But he answered, I wil not abiure.* For I haue bene of this minde and opinion that I am now, these 16. yeares, and doe what ye can, ye shall doe no more then God will permitte you to doe, and with what measure ye measure vs looke for the same agayne at Gods hands.

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacramēt of the altar. To whom he answered:* I do not beleue that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will haue him, which is of mans making.

Both their answeres thus seuerally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, & to appeare the next day in the consistory at Paules, betweene the houres of one and three of the clocke at after noone.

The last appearaunce of M. Causton, and M. Higbed before Boner.

AT which day and houre, being the ninth day of march, they were both brought thether: ^{*} Where the Bishoppe caused M. Thomas Caustons articles and answeres first to be read openly, and after perswaded with him to recant and abiure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at the last to their mother the catholicke Church, and saue hymselfe.

But M. Thomas Causton answered agayn and said: No, I wil not abiure. For I came not hither for that purpose: ^{*} and therewithall did exhibite in writing vnto the Bishop (as well in his owne name, as also in Thom. Higbeds name) a confession of theyr fayth, to the whiche they would stand: and required leaue to read the same, whiche (after great suite) was obtained, and so he read it openlye in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

☞ The confession and fayth of Thomas Causton and Thomas Hygbed, which they deliuered to the Bishop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffes, and in the presence of all the people their assembled. Anno. 1555. the 9. of March, & were condemned for the same in the sayde Consistory in Paules Church, the yeare and day abouesayd.

1 First, we beleue and professe in Baptisme, to forsake the Deuill and his workes and pompes, ^{*} and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinfull lustes of the fleshe.

2. We beleue all the articles of our Christian fayth.

3. We beleue that wee are bound to keepe Gods holye will and commaundementes, ^{*} and to walke in the same all the dayes of our lyfe.

4. We beleue that there is contayned in the Lords praier all thinges necessary both for bodye and soule, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heauenly father, and to none other saint or angell.

5. We beleue that there is a catholicke Church, euen the Communion of Saintes, Built vppon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles (as S. Paule sayth) Christ being the head corner stone For the which Church Christ gaue himselfe, to make it to himselfe a glorious congregation, without faulte in his sight.

6. We beleue, that this churche, of her selfe, and by her [Page 1541](#) owne merites is sinfull, ^{*} and must needes say: Father, forgeue vs our sinnes: but through Christe and his merites, shee is freely forgeuen: For he in his owne person (sayth saint Paule) hath purged her sinnes, and made her faultles in hys sight. ^{*} Besides whome, there is no Saueour (sayeth the Prophete) neyther is there saluation (sayth Saint Peter) in any other name.

7 We beleue, as he is our onely Sauour, so is he our onely Mediatour. ^{*} For the holy Apostle S. Paule sayeth: There is one God, one Mediatour betweene God and man, euen the man Iesus

Christ. Wherefore seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Iesus Christ, therefore there is no mediator, but Iesus Christ.

8 We beleue that this Church of Christ is and hath bene persecuted by the wordes of Christe, saying: As they haue persecuted me,*so shall they persecute you: For the disciple is not aboue his maister. For it is not onely geuen vnto you to beleue in Christ (sayeth Saint Paule) but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will liue godly in Christ Iesus, must suffer persecution.

9 Wee beleue that the Church of Christe teacheth the worde of God truely and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing fro: and also doth minister the Sacraments according to the Primitiue Church.

10 We beleue that this Church of Christ suffereth all men to reade the Scriptures, according to Christes commaundement, saying: Search the Scriptures: for they testifie of me. We reade also out of the Actes, that when Saint Paule preached, the audience dayly searched the Scriptures,*whether he preached truely or no. Also the Prophet Dauid teacheth all men to pray with vnderstanding: For how shall the vnlearned (saith S. Paule) say, Amen, at the geuing of thanks, when they vnderstand not what is sayde? And what is more allowed, then true faith, which S. Paule saith, commeth by hearing of the word of God▪

11 Wee beleue, that the Church of Christe teacheth that God ought to be worshipped according to his word,*and not after the doctrine of men: For in vayne (sayth Christ) ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men.

Also we are commaunded of God by hys Prophet, saying:*Walke not in the traditions and preceptes of your Elders: but walke (sayth he) in my precepts: do that I commaund you: put nothing thereunto, neyther take any thing from it. Likewise (saith Christ) you shall forsake father and mother, and folow me Whereby we learne, that if our Elders teach otherwise then God commaunded, in that point we must forsake them.

*12 We beleue that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and chaunged, for as much as Christ himselfe being the wisdom of the father, did institute it. For it is written: Cursed is he that chaungeth my ordinaunces, and departeth from my Commaundements, or taketh any thing from them.

Now, we finde by the scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused.*

First, in that it is geuen in one kind, where Christ gaue it in both.

Secondly, in that it is made a priuate Masse, where Christ made it a Communion: for he gaue it not to one alone, but to all the Apostles, in the name of the whole Church.

*Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, wheras Christ ordeined it for a remembraunce of the euerlasting sacrifice, which was his owne body offered vpon the aultar of the Crosse once for all, as the holy Apostle sayth: Euen the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remission of sinne (saith he) there is no more sacrifice for sinne.

*Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commaundement, saying: Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands.

*Fiftly, in that it is geuen in an vnknowne tongue, whereby the people are ignoraunt of the right vse thereof, how Christ died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our iustification, by whome we be set at peace with God, and receaued to his fauour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seale and witnes.

*Besides this, it is hanged vp and shut in a boxe: yea many times so long, that wormes breedeth in it, and so it putrifyeth: whereby the rude people haue an occasion to speake vnreuerently thereof, whiche otherwise woulde speake reuerently.

Thereof they that thus abuse it, bring vp the sclaunder and not we, whiche pray dayly to God to restore it to the right vse, according to Christes institution.

Nowe, concerning Christes wordes: Thys is my body, we deny thē not, but we say, that y^e mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open scriptures, wherby we may come to the spirituall vnderstanding of them,* whiche shall be most to the glory of God. For as the holy Apostle sayth: There is no scripture that hath any priuate interpretation. Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figuratiue speeches: as for example, Christ sayeth: This cup is the new Testament in my blood. The rocke is Christ (sayeth Saint Paule.) Who soeuer receyueth a child in my name (sayth our saueour Iesus Christ) receyueth me.

Which sentences must not be vnderstand after the letter, lest we do erre, as the Capernautes did, which thought that Christes body should haue ben eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whome Christe sayd: Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the spirit (sayeth our Saueour Iesus Christ) that quickeneth: the fleshe profyteth nothyng: for my woordes are spirite and lyfe.

Thus wee see that Christes woordes must be vnderstanded spiritually, and not literally.* Therefore he yⁱ commeth to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his lawe, but his hart: neyther tooth nor belly: but Beleeue (sayth S. Augustine) and thou hast eaten it: so that we must bring with vs a spiritual hunger. And as the Apostle saith: Trie and examine our selues, whether our conscience doo testifie vnto vs, that we do truly beleeue in Christ, according to the Scriptures: whereof if we be truly certified, being new borne from our old conuersation in hart, minde, will, and deede, then may we boldly with this mariage garment of faith come to the feast.

In consideration whereof, we haue inuincible Scriptures, as of Christ himselfe: This do in the remembraunce of me. And S. Paule: As often (saith he) as ye eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye shall remember the Lords death vntill he come. Heere is no chaunge, but bread still.* And Saint Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a iust promise saying: Me you shall not haue alwayes with you. I leaue the world, and go to my father: for if I should not depart, the comforter which I will send, can not come vnto you. So according to his promise he is ascended: as the Euangelistes testifie. Also Saint Peter sayth: That heauen shall keepe him vntill the last day also.

Now, as touching his omnipotent power, we confesse and say with S. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is euery where: [*](#) but in that he is man, he is in heauen, and can occupy but one place: whereunto the Scriptures doth agree. For his body was not in all places at once, when he was heere: for it was not in the graue when the women sought it, as the Angell saith: neither was it at Bethania where Lazarus died, by Christes owne words, saying: I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy Supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receiue it, and corporally in heauen, both God and man.

And further, we make heere our protestation before God (whome we call to record in this matter) that this whiche we haue sayd, is neither of stubbornnes, nor wilfull mind) as some iudge of vs: but euen of very conscience, [*](#) truely (we trust) grounded in Gods holy word. For before wee tooke this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottome of our hartes, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus shewed his power in our weakenes, we can not woorthely prayse him: vnto whome we geue harty thanks, through Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

When he had thus deliuered and read their confession, the Bishop stil persisting sometime in faire promises, sometime threatening to pronounce iudgemēt, asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answeares? To whome Causton said, Yea, [*](#) we will stande to our answeares written with our hands, and to our beliefe therein contained. After which answeare, the Byshop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Then he said, that it was much rashnes, and without all loue and mercy, to geue iudgement without answering to their confession by the truth of Gods word, whereunto they submitted themselues most willingly. And therefore I, [*](#) quoth Causton (because I can not haue iustice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemne me) doo appeale from you to my Lord Cardinall.

Then D. Smith sayde, that he woulde answeare theyr confession. But the Bishop (not suffering him to speake) willed Harpsfield to say his minde, for the stay of the people: Who taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof.

Whiche done, the Bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton, and then calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answeres likewise to [Page 1542](#) be read. In the reading whereof Higbed sayd: Ye speake blasphemie against Christes passion, [*](#) and ye goe aboute to trap vs with your subtilties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolke, did beleue as you say, [*](#) yet they were deceiued in so beleeuing.

And further, where you say, that my Lord, named Cranmer (late Archbishop of Canterbury) and other specified in the said articles be heretikes: I do wishe that I were such an hereticke as they were and be. Then the Byshop asked him againe, whether he would turne from his errour, and come to the vnitie of their Church? To whome he sayde, No, I would ye should recant, for I am in the truth, and you in errour.

Well, quoth the Byshop, if ye will returne, I will gladly receiue you.

No, sayd Higbed, I will not returne as you wyll haue me, to beleue in the sacrament of the altar your God.

*Whereupon the Byshop proceeded, and gaue iudgement vpon him, as he had done before vpon Tho. Causton. When all this was thus ended, they were both deliuered to the Sheriffes, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of xiiij. dayes, prayes be God, not so much in afflictions, as in consolations.

For the encrease whereof, they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisterne in Christ to pray, that God for his sonnes sake would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begon in them, so that they might perseuere vnto the ende, to the prayse of the eternall God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These xiiij. dayes (after their condemnation) once expired,* they were the xxij. day of this moneth of March, fetched from Newgate at foure of the clocke in the morning, and so led through the Citie vnto Algate, where they were deliuered vnto the Sheriffe of Essex, and there beeing fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their seuerall appointed places of burning: that is to saye, Thomas Higbed to Horneden on the hill,* and Thomas Causton to Rayly (both in the Countrey of Essex) where they did most constantly,* the xxvj. day of the same moneth, seale this their faith with shedding of their bloud by most cruell fire, to the glory of God, and great reioysing of the godly.

At the burning of whiche, Mayster Higbed, Iustice Browne was also present, as is aboue specified, and diuers Gentlemen in the shiere were commaunded to be present, for feare belike, least they should be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burnyng of these two godly and constant Martyrs of God.

William Pigot, Steuen Knight, and Iohn Laurance, with their exanation and constant martirdome.

IN the Story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellowes,* mention was made of sixe, whiche were examined, and condemned together, by bishop Boner, the ninth day of February.* Of the which sixe condemned persons, two, which were Tomkins, and William Hunter, (as ye heard) were executed, the one vppon the 26. of February, and the other vppon the 26. day of March. Other three, to witte, William Pigot and Steuen Knight suffered vpon the eight and twenty day, and Iohn Laurence the nine and twenty of the sayd month of march.

Touching the which three Martyrs, now something to say of their examinations, it was first demaunded of them, what their opiniō was of the sacrament of the Aultar. Whereunto they seuerally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the aultar, vnder formes of bread and wine there is not the very substaunce of the body and bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and bloud of Christ: the very body and bloud of Christ being onely in heauen, and no where els. This answeere thus made, the bishop caused certayne articles to be read vnto them, tending to the same effect as did the articles before of Tomkins and of M. Causton. The tenour whereof here followeth.

***Articles or interrogatories objected by the bishop of London, to Willam Pigot, Steuen Kight, and Iohn Laurence, the 8. of February. 1555.**

Whether do you thinke and steadfastly beleue that it is a catholicke,* faithfull, christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach and say, that in the sacramentes of the aultar, vnder y^e formes of bread & wine, there is w^tout any sub^tstance of bread & wine there remayning, by y^e omnipotent power of almightye God, & his holy worde, really, truely, and in very deede the true and natural body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ, the selfe same in substaunce (though not in outward forme and appearaunce) whiche was borne of the Uirgine Mary, and suffered vppon the crosse, yea, or nay?

Whether doe you thinke,* and steadfastly beleue that your Parentes, kinsfolke, frendes, and acquaintance, here in this realm of England, before your birth a great while and also after your Birth, professing and beleuing the said doctrine and fayth, concerning the sayd sacrament of the aultar, had a true christian fayth, and were faythfull and true christen people, or no?

Whether do you think and steadfastly beleue that your Godfathers and Godmother,* professing and beleuing the said Doctrine and faith, concerning the sayde Sacrament of the aultar, had a true christen fayth, and were faythfull and true christen people or no?

Whether do you think and steadfastly beleue that your own self in times past, being of the age of 14. yeares,* and aboue, did thinke and beleue concerning the sayd sacrament of the aultar in all poyntes, as your sayde parentes: kinsfolke, friendes, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother did then thinke and beleue them, or no?

Whether doe you thinke, and steadfastly beleue that oure Soueraignes the king, and the Queene of thys Realme of England, and all the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laitie of this Realm, professing and beleuing the said doctrine and fayth, as other christian Realmes doe, concerning the sayd sacrament of the altar, haue a true christian fayth, and beleue as the Catholicke and true Church of Christ hath alwayes beleued, preached, and taught or no?

Whether do ye thinke and steadfastly beleue that our sauour Christ and his holy spirite hath bene, is,* and shalbe with his Catholicke church, euen to the worldes end, gouerning and ruling the same in all thinges, especially in the necessary poyntes of Christian Religion, not suffering the same to erre or to be deceiued therein?

Whether it is true that you, being suspected, or infamed to be culpable,* and faultie in speaking agaynst the sacrament of the Aultare, and agaynst the very true presence of Christes naturall body, and the substaunce thereof in y^e sayd sacrament, and thereupon called before mee vppon complaynt made to me agaynst you, haue not bene a good space in my house, hauing freely meate and drinke, and also diuers times instructed and informed,* as well by one being our Ordinary, as also by my chaplaines and dyuers other learned men, some wherof were bishops, some Deanes, and some Archdeacons, and euery one of them learned in diuinitie, and minding well vnto you, and desiring the safegard of your soule, and that you should folow and beleue the doctrine of the Catholicke church as afore, concerning the sayd sacrament of the aultar, and whether you did not at al times since your sayd comming to me, vtterly refuse to follow and beleue the sayd doctrine, concerning the sayd sacrament?

Whether can you nowe finde in your hart and conscience to conforme your selfe in all poyntes to the said fayth and catholicke church concerning the sayde Sacrament of the aaltar, faythfully, truely, and playnely, without anye dissimulation, beleeuing therein as our sayd soueraignes, with the Nobilitie, Clergie, and Laytie, of this Realme, and other Christian realmes: and other persons aforesaid, and also the sayd Catholicke Church haue, and do beleue in that behalfe?

In case you so cānot, what ground haue you to mayntaine your opinion, and who is of the same opinion wyth you, and what conference haue you had therein with any, what comfort and what reliefe haue you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling place?

Their aunsweres to these articles were not much discrepant from Tomkins, and other like Martirs aboue mentioned, as here followeth to be seene.

¶**The aunswere of Steuen Knight, and William Pigot, to the aforesayd Articles.**

TO the first article, they beleue that the contentes of this article, is not agreable to scripture.*

To the second, they answere and beleue, that their parentes and other expressed in the sayd article, so beleuyng, as is contayned in the same, were deceiued.

To the thyrd, they aunswere, that they so beleued: but they were deceiued therein, as they now beleue.

[Page 1543](#)To the fourth, they say, that they haue heretofore beleued as is conteined in the said article, but now they do not so beleue.

To the fift, they say, that if they so beleue, they are deceiued.

To the sixt, they beleue the same to be true.

To the seuenth, they answere and beleue the contents of the same to be true.

To the eight, they aunswere, that they can no whyt confourme themselues to the fayth and doctrine contayned and specified in this article, vntill it be proued by Scripture.

To the ninth, they say, that they haue no grounde to mainteine their sayd opinions, but y^e truth, which (as they say) hath bene perswaded by learned men, as D. Taylour of Hadley, and such other.

These aunsweres being made and exhibited, they were commaunded to appeare agayne the next daye, at eight of the clocke in the morning, and in the meane while to bethinke themselues what they would do.

An other appearaunce of the sayd prisoners before Boner.

*The next daye in the morning, being the 9. daye of February, before their open appearaunce, the Bishop sent for William Pigot, and Stephen Knight, into his great chamber in his Pallace, where he perswaded with them to recant: and deny their former profession.

Who answered, that they were not perswaded in their consciences to returne and abiure theyr opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within a while after, they were all three) with Thomas Tomkins, and William Hunter afore named) brought openly into the Consistorye, the ix. day of February aforesayd, and there had the same articles propounded vnto them, which were before propounded vnto the foresayde Thomas Tomkins (as appeareth in the discourse of his historye) and therto also subscribed these wordes: I do so beleue.

*The Bishop also vsed certayne talke vnto Iohn Laurence onely. Whereunto he aunswered in this manner: That hee was a Priest, and was consecrated and made a Priest about eightene yeares past, and that he was sometime a Blacke Fryer professed: that also hee was assured vnto a mayd, whome he intended to haue maryed.

And being agayne demaunded his opinion vppon the Sacrament, he said, that it was a remembraunce of Chrystes body, and that many haue bene deceiued in the beleeuing the true body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Aultar, and that all such as doe not beleue as he doth, doe erre. After this talke and other fayre wordes and threatninges, they were all of thē commaunded to appeare again at after noone.

The third and last appearaunce.

AT the which houre they came thyther agayne, & there <◇> the accustomed manner,* were exhorted to recant and reuoke their doctrine, and receiue the fayth. To the whiche they constantly aunswered, they woulde not, but would sticke to that fayth that they had declared and subscribed vnto, for that they did beleue y^t it was no errour whiche they beleued: but that the contrary therof was very heresy.

When the Bishop sawe that neither his fayre flatteringes,* nor yet his cruell threatnings would preuayle, he gaue them seuerally their iudgementes. And because Ioh. Laurence had bene one of theyr annoynted priestes, hee was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly disgraded, the maner whereof you may see in the history of Maister Hooper afore passed, pag. 1435.

Their sentence of condemnation, & this degradation once ended, they were committed vnto the custodie of the Sheriffes of London, who sent thē vnto Newgate, where they remayned with ioy together, vntill they were caryed downe into Essex, and there the 28. daye of March, the sayd William Pigot was burned at Brayntree: and Stephen Knight at Mauldon, who at the stake kneeling vpon the ground, sayd this prayer which here followeth.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight sayd at hys death vpon his knees, being at the stake, at Mauldon.

O Lord Iesu Christe, for whose loue I leaue willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of his Crosse with the losse of all earthly thinges,* then to abide the blasphemye of thy moste holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holye Commaundement: thou seest O Lorde, that where I

might liue in worldlye wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I chose rather the torment of the body, and the losse of this my lyfe, and haue counted all thinges but vile, duste, and dounge, that I might winne thee: whiche death is dearer vnto me, then thousandes of gold and siluer. Such loue, O Lord, hast thou layd vp in my breast, that I hunger for thee,* as the Deere that is wounded desireth the soyle. Send thy holy comforter O Lord, to ayd, comfort, and strengthen this weake peece of earth, whiche is emptye of all strength of it selfe: Thou remembrest O Lorde, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodnes and loue, thou hast bidden mee to this banket, and accompted mee worthy to drinke of thyne owne cup amongst thine elect: euen so geue me strength O Lord against this thine element: which as to my sight is most irkesome and terrible: so to my minde it may at thy commaundement (as on obedient seruaunt) be sweete and pleasaunt, that through the strength of thy holy spirite, I may passe through the rage of thys fire into thy bosome, according to thy promise: and for thys mortall, receiue an immortal, and for this corruptible, put on incorruption: Accept this burnt sacrifice and offeryng, O Lorde, not for the sacrifice, but for thy deare sonnes sake, my sauour, for whose testimonye I offer this free will offering with all my hart,* and with all my soule. O heauenly father forgeue me my sinnes, as I forgeue all the worlde. O sweete sonne of God my Sauoure, spread thy winges ouer me. O blessed and holy Ghost, through whose mercifull inspiration I am come hither, conduct mee into euerlasting life. Lorde into thy handes I commend my spirite. Amen.

The death and martyrdome of Iohn Laurence Priest.

THE next day being the 29. day of this moneth, the sayd Iohn Laurence was brought to Colchester,* and there being not able to go, (for that as wel his legges were sore worne with heauie irons in the prison, as also hys bodye weakened with euill keeping) was borne to the fire in a chayre, and so sitting, was in hys constant faith consumed with fire.

[illustration]

The cruell burning of Iohn Laurence Martir.

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At the burning of this Laurence, hee sitting in the fire the young children came about the fire, and cryed,* (as wel as young children could speake) saying: Lorde strengthen thy seruaunt, and keepe thy promise, Lord strengthen thy seruaunt, and keepe thy promise:: which thing, as it is rare so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, whiche wrought thys in the harts of these little ones: nor yet a litle commendation to their parentes, whiche from theyr youth brought them vp in the knowledge of God and his trueth.

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The history of Doctor Robert Farrar, Bishop of S. Dauids in Wales, who most constantly gaue his life for the testimonye of the truth. March. 30. an. 1555.

THE next day after, whiche was the xxx. day of the sayde moneth of march,* followed the worthy & constāt martirdome of the bishop of S. Dauids in Wales, called Robert Farrar, who was the next bishop in this Catalogue of Christian Martirs, that suffered after mayster Hooper. This foresayd Farrar, by the fauour and good will of the Lord protectour, was first called and promoted to that dignitie. This man I may well call twise a martyr, not onely for the cruell death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the dayes of Queene Mary, vnto the shedding of his bloud:* but also for diuers other iniuries & molestations in king Edwardes time, which he no lesse firmly, then vnworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerset. Of these his vexatiōs and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations layd against him, to the number of fifty and sixe, & of the malice conceiued agaynst him by certayn couetous Canons of the Church of Carmarthen, & what were the proceedinges of both partes, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty aduersaries, & what were their names in theyr articles agaynst him, in order here followeth.

The principall articles agaynst Bishop Farrar.

GEorge Constantine, Dauid Walter his seruant, Thomas [1] Young chanter of the Cathedrall Church, who was afterward Archbishop of Yorke, Rowland Merick, doct. of law, who was afterward Bish. of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins. &c.

THrough the procurement and instance of these his aduersaries, ioyning and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins priest, and Thomas Lee brother in lawe to the sayd George Constantine, did exhibite to the kinges most honourable counsell certaine articles and informations, conceiued and deuised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the bishops credit, and vtterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from hys bishopricke, and to bring him in a premunire. The cōpye of whiche articles, we thought here good to expresse, and so after them to set his answeres to the same.

Articles and informations to the kings honorable counsell, put vp and exhibited by Hugh Raulins, and Tho. Lee, agaynst the blessed man of God, Mayster Farrar, byshop of saint Dauids.

¶ Abuse of the authoritie to him committed.

IN primis when the sayde bishop first came to his dyocesse, [2] he appoynted his chauncellour by his letters of commission, omitting the kings maiesties stile and authoritie, and grounded his sayd commission vpon forrein vsurped lawes and authoritie: by force of whiche authoritie his sayd Chauncellour did visite certayne deanryes of hys sayd diocesse, and monished the Chauntor and chaptre of the cathedrall Church of S. Dauids aforesayd, agaynst a certaine day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the kinges highnes lawes and statutes, and in derogation of his highnes supremacy.

Item, that the sayde Chauntour and chaptre, perceyuing the faultes of the sayd commission, tooke the same frō the Registre into their custodie, refusing to appeare by vertue thereof, and by secrete and charitable wayes and meanes did admonishe the sayde Byshop of the vnlawfulnesse and faultes of the sayde commission and of the daunger that he had incurred for graunting and executyng the same: opening also vnto hym the effecte of the statute made in the xxviii. yeare of oure late Soueraigne Lorde Henry the eight: Whiche monitions notwithstanding, the sayd Bishop

neglecting the same, and continuing in hys malicious doyng or inexcusable ignoraunce, about the xx. daye of Auguste in the fourthe yeare of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lorde that nowe is dyd conferre vnto one Iohn Euans the Uicarage of Pembrin, instituting him by authoritie of the old forreigne vsurped lawe, making no mention of the kinges highnes authoritie, in contempt and derogation of the same.

Item, wheras the Chauncellour and Uicar generall [3] to the sayde Byshop, did vppon a lawfull title, and by the kinges highnes supreme authoritie admit and institute one Iohn Gough into the rectory of Haskard with thappurtenaunces, and gaue out in y^e kings name vnder his highnes seale ecclesiasticall appoynted for that office with the (teste) of the said bishop and subscription of the said chauncellour, a mādate to inducte accordingly: by vertue wherof the said Iohn Gough was inducted by the official there into reall possession of the same rectory, with the rightes and appurtenaunces to the same belonging: whereupon the register of the sayd dioces, at the request of the foresayd chauncellour did signifie the premisses, with all the circumstances, before diuers persons to the forenamed Byshop, Who notwithstanding, did institute and cause to be inducted one Harry Goddart vnto the same personage. making no mention of the kinges maiesties authority nor supremacie: in contempt and derogation of the same hys highnes crowne and dignitie, and in extolling the forreine vsurped aucthoritye, contrary to the fourme of the statute &c.

Item, the sayde Bishop immediately after the vnlawfull institution and induction of Goddart aforesayde, [4] molested the sayd I. Gough lawfully instituted inducted as before, citing him frō place to place, obiecting no matter vnto him of long season, till at the length hee articulated. Emong which Articles was contayned. Item Interrogatur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskard. So taking vppon him the cognition of the title of the hole fruites and patronage, in contempte of the kinges highnesse regall crowne and dignitie, and in derogation of the lawes and statutes of this Realme.

Item, hee hath commonly made his collations, and institutions, as hee did his first commission in hys owne [5] name and authoritie, without expressing the kinges supremacie.

Item, hee hath made vnder his seale one collation, two institutions, and three mandates, inducte in one [6] vocation of one benefice, to three seuerall persons, wythout order of law, or reuocation of anye of them, geuing to euery one like authoritye, title and right. Whereby, except good foresight aswell of Iustices of the peace, as of the frendes had not bene, there had ensued much inconuenience amonges the partakers of the intituled incumbentes in that behalfe.

Item, the sayde Bishop decreeing Caueates to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, [7] instituted, and causeth to be inducted without tryall of anye title or due order of lawe.

Item, hee directeth hys mandates of induction vnto priuate men, and not to Tharchdeacons nor theyr Officialles: [8] contrary to the lawe and custome vsed in that behalfe. Notwithstanding he hath bene counsayled to the contrary, of men that be learned.

Item, hauing no maner of knowledge nor practise in the lawe, he sitteth euery day, in haruest and other times, [9] vpon causes without assistaunce of learned in the law, hauing with him onely an

vnlearned boy, which is no Notary, to his scribe, neither obseruing the law, nor yet reasonable order. And therefore doth no good, but tryfeleth the time, as may appeare by his actes, if he haue them to be shewed.

Item, hee and his officers, by his knowledge, vseth to dispense with mariages, to be solemnized without banes, [10] contrarye to the lawes and ordinaunces in that behalfe.

Item, where as one Thomas Pricharde a Chapleine of his, solempnized matrimony in a priuate house wythout [11] banes, & that betwixt a priest, and a sister of hers, that was appointed to be maryed with the said priest that day: hee also being a parson, and leauing his cure vnserued that day being sondaye: notwithstanding, that one of the kinges counsell in the marches of Wales: enformed the sayd bishop of the same misdemeanours, requiring due reformation therof, he hath done nothing therein, but put the same Chapleine in office, and made him his Commissary generall since that tyme, bearyng a speciall fauour to the rest of the offendours.

Item, whereas one Meredith ap Thomas, his housholde seruaunt, was accused of one Sage Hugh, for to [12] haue bene father of her chylde, the sayde Byshop wythout purgation of his seruaunt, caused hym to sue the parentes of the sayde Sage of infamie, first in hys principall consistory, and from thence before a commissary of hys, being his housholde Chaplaine, and at the last tooke the matter before hymselfe, so rayling agaynst all his officers, because they proceeded not after hys parciall affection, and agaynst the lawe, that honest men of Carmarththē, where [Page 1545](#) he then satte vppon the cause, iudged him to be, or at the least to haue bene distracte of his witte: and by his partial handling, the cause remayneth vnfinished, and the childe without father.

Item, wheras one Ienkin Ph. accused William Chābers [13] a seruaunt of the Bishoppes, that founde this William in adulterouse maner with his wife, by reason wherof the Byshop expelled the wife out of his house, and the said infamie not purged, the parties haue bene both agayn in the Bishops house, and seruice, since that time, to the euill example of other.

Item, by his vnlawfull sequestration of the frutes of [14] the benefices of Langattocke, and Lamychangell, by the vndiscreete handling of the same, there were raysed the number of foure hundred people or more, which bickered sondry times together, to the great daunger of thinhabitauntes thereabout, had it not bene pacified by the discreete meanes of syr Roger Vaughan Knight.

Item, by his like vnlawfull collation of the Prebend [15] of Lambister, to one Stephen Grene a Chaplayne of his by couenaunt and promise to mayntayne the sute, by whose crafty and vndiscreete handling of the same, there was raysed in the countie of Radner the 19. day of August last yast, about three or foure hundreth men to like daunger, but that the matter was stayed by Iohn Bradshaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice, Iustices of the same countie. Who with great daunger to them selues and theirs, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offendours to warde.

Item, such as he oweth displeasure vnto, he citeth from [16] place to place, and daye to daye, onely for their vexation, laying no matter agaynst them: and being diuers tymes required the

copie of his proceedinges agaynst them, to thintent they might aunswere accordingly, and be at their lawfull defence: he denyeth to all such persons, the copies of his proceedinges.

Item, he and his officers winke at the manifest and open [17] crimes of his fautours and adherentes, to the euil example of the whole Dioces, and abuseth the censures of excommunication and suspension, making it an instrument of reuenging agaynst such, as they do not fauour.

Item, hauing receiued payment of the kinges maiesties [18] subsidie, due in October, the fourth yeare of his graces reigne, of the foresayde Chaunter of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Davids, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the Residentaries there, before Christmas last, he vniustly of a prepensed minde and purpose, afterward certified them for recusantes, to their vndoing, if they had not bene admonished of his cruell purpose, and prouided lawfull defence for the same.

Item, the sayd Bishop celebrating matrimony in his owne person, dispensed contrarye to the booke of ordynaunce, [19] with the parties maryed, for not receauing the holy communion: the parties both bring young, and lusty persones, hauing no reasonable cause wherefore they should abstayne. At whiche celebration, the Byshoppe communicated not himselfe. And further, the communion was celebrated by a Chapleyne of hys, with superstitious blowynges, kneelynges, and knockinges, both of the Chaplayne that ministred, & of all the company, onely one other Priest communicating for the maner.

***Mayntenaunce of superstition contrary to the kinges ordinaunce and Iniunctions.**

Item, where the Officiall of Tharchedeacon of Carmarthen, [20] in his visitation within Carmarthen, founde contrary vnto the sayde ordinaunce, an Aultar set vppe in the bodye of the Church, for celebration of the communion, and caused the sayd Aultar to be taken away, and a table to be set in the middle of the Church: the Byshop after the same, commaunded the Uicar of Carmarthen, to set the table without the chauncell agayne for the ministration of the communion.

Item, he being often in Carmarthen, and other places [21] in the chauncell at y^e time of holy communion, not onely caryed there hym selfe, neyther cōmunicating nor ministring bareheaded and vncoyffid, reuerently kneelyng, but also permitteth the people there to continue the chauncell and quire full, kneeling and knockyng their breastes. Whiche manner is yet vsed in all the dyocesse without any reformation or gaynesay of hym or any of his officers.

Item, whereas superstitious praying vppon beades [22] is not onely vngodly, but reprooued in the Kynges Maiesties iniunctions: the sayde Byshoppe meeting many with beades in their handes, neuer rebuked anye of them.

Item, the sayde Byshoppe beyng in the Pulpyt, and seeyng corses there within the Church, wyth a [23] great number of lightes vppon them, neuer spake against any of them.

Item, where as thordinaunce will, that no children be baptised but vppon the Sondaye, or holy day (onely [24] cause of necessitie excepted) he hauyng two children himselfe borne wythout

daunger, caused one of them to be baptised vppon the worke day. And by hys example, wythout anye contradiction or motion of reformation, it is vsed as it hath bene accustomed, in all the dyocesse commonly, contrary vnto the booke of ordinaunce in that behalfe.

¶ Couetousnes.

Item, from his first comming into the dyocesse, hee hath hadde and yet hathe hys onelye studye, laboure, [25] and practise, to suruey landes, and to looke for mines &c. neglecting his owne bounden duety to applye his booke and preaching.

Item, he keepeth no maner hospitalitie, but hath hys seruaunts table in one parlour with him, least any stranger [26] shoulde approche, hys seruauntes being at theyr meate.

Item, he is commonly talking, not of any godlynes but of worldlye matters, as baking brewing, enclosing, [27] plowing, mining of milstones, discharging of tenaunts, and suche like, not onely at his table, but also most commonly at other places.

Item, he hath warned diuers tenauntes out of theyr landes, whiche they and theyr elders haue enioyed for [28] their rentes, these hundred yeares, and more: and occupied with tillage, whiche he sayth he will enclose, and beyng sued to, of poore men, because of quietnes, he answered: the crowes shall eate the corne, rather then ye shal haue any profite thereof.

Item, when the Uicars Chorall of S. Dauids for reliefe of their hospitalitie, had an lland of hys, called the bishops [29] Isle, for xl. s. rent: he hath set it to a chapleyn of his for v.li. by yeare. And wher at the sute of the sayd Uicars, it was graunted by the bishop in the whole chapiter, that the Uicares should haue it for yeares at xl. s. rent, and pay xx.li. entrie: he now couetously and agaynst his promyse openly made, denyeth the same, except the Uicars would geue l.li.

Item, he caused the Curate of S. Dauids, to warne their tenauntes out of theyr sayde landes in the pulpit, to [30] the great offence of the people, which were wont to haue Gods word preached there: and so they sayd to the Curate at that tyme.

Item, to the plowing of a pasture not aboue x. dayes worke, in Lent. An. 1549. he had 32. ploughes in one day, [31] and those ploughes the priest bad in the Church, contrary to the statute of Gomortha in that behalfe prouided, and to the euill example of gentlemen in that country.

Item, where the kinges maiesties of godly remembraunce, [32] Henry theight, appointed at Brekenock a scholemaister, vssher, Reader of diuinitie, a Minister, & certain scholers, and for the mayntenaunce thereof, appoynted lx. and xij.li. of the pensions and reuenues of Brekenocke: the Bishop finding it so furnished, hath neither Reader nor Minister there, couetously conuerting their stipends to his owne vse.

Item, the Bish. was twise in one day presented in the great court holden in the towne of Carmarthen, for enclosing [33] and couetous encroching of the kinges hye way.

Item, he couetously occupyeth purchasing of landes, bying of cattell, marchaundise, and other thinges beyng [34] indetted a notable summe to the kinges Maiestie, as may by his accomptes in the courte of tenthes, and first frutes appeare.

Item, wheras one Lewis Iohn Thomas boole, putting from hym hys lawfull wedded wife, vppon Christmas [35] euen last past, without banes had mariage solemnizate with a concubine of hys in a Churche within 3. myles of the Byshoppes abode at that time: The Bishop since knowing the premisses hath not onely of a couetous mind entred familiaritye with the sayde Lewis, and bought a peece of land of him, but also euer since hath (for to haue hys landes good chepe) left both the parties and priest vnpunished, vsing hym to familiarly, that whereas a Somner cited the parties to appeare among other criminals for the same facte: the Byshoppe commaunded the sayde [Page 1546](#) Somner to lette hym alone, and so they all remaine vnpunished.

Item, where as the whole Chapter of Saint Davids (as it was thought) was in assured amitie wyth the Byshoppe, they all being his Officers or Chaplaines, he procured them to be unpleaded wyth Wryt of Quo warranto in the kings Bench, keeping the Wryt with hym secretly, at the least three monethes, not deliuering it, but onely tenne dayes before the day of their apparance, the parties beyng seuen dayes iourney distant from London.

Item, he is a wilfull wrong doer, and troubler of men in theyr rightes, entring vppon their lawfull possessions, stirring thereby much contention, and so notably knowen, to the offence of the country.

Wilfull negligence.

Item, whereas the Byshop aforesayde, was appoynted [38] in August. An. 1547. and consecrated in September following, hee neuer came into the Diocesse himselfe, nor sent or appoynted any Officer there before the moneth of April. An. 1548. to the great disorder of the kings Maiesties subiects, lacke of reformation, and ministration of iustice.

[39] Item, during his visitation, the sayde Bishop did not endeuer himselfe to see reformation, but roade surueying of landes, appoynting vaine enclosures, and suche other things. Which are no parte of the office to him committed, nor yet conuenient, namely, at that time.

[40] Item, the visitation finished, he neither appoynted his Officers to examine the cleargie of the places of Scripture to them appoynted to be studied in the same visitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinaunces of this realme.

[41] Item, the Byshoppe since his comming to the diocesse, neuer ministred the Communion, sauing onely at two times, that he ordred certaine Deacons: but in euery thing (but that he other whiles preacheth excepted) ordreth himselfe like no minister, nor man of his vocation.

[42] Item, he hath so alienated himselfe from studie, that he preacheth vndiscretely, discrediting the office, not only vntruly reporting the Scriptures, but also preaching the ten commaundements in one place in declaration of the eight of them, for lacke of stuffe, the pithe of his matter, was matrimonie of priestes.

[43] Item, the thirteene day of September last, he ordained certaine Deacons, and making hys exhortation, he taught that a man was not bounden to forgeue, but hym that asketh forgeuenesse, and being admonished frendly by a letter to better declare the same, because that diuers were offended wyth that doctrine: hee hath hetherto deferred so to doe, to the maintenaunce of malitious hearts in these parties.

[44] Item, since the first day of August. Anno 1549. vnto the feast of Candlemasse last, he hath preached but two or three Sermons, of which one was preached at Aberguilly vpon S. Stephens day last, to a great audience that vnderstode no English, being but a mile from Carmarthen, an English towne, and the chiefe of his Diocesse.

[45] Item, since his ordinary visitation, which was finished in Iulie. An. 1548. hee hath neither preached nor caused to be preached in the townes of Tinby, Pembroke, nor Hanerforde being English townes, nor muche distante from the place of his most continuaunce.

[46] Item, the Churches appropriate to the Bishop haue no Paraphrases in English, and fewe of them Bibles.

[47] Item, the Churches of the diocesse for the moste parte, and the cleargie almost euery one lacke Paraphrases, notwithstanding there hath bene these two yeares, and yet be a great number of them to be solde in the Diocesse.

Follie.

Item, to declare his follie in riding, he vseth bridle wyth [48] white studs & snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, white spurres, a Scottish padde wyth a little staffe of three quarters long, which he hath not only vsed superstitiously these foure or fiue yeares in communication, oftentimes boasting what Countreys hee hath compassed and measured wyth the same staffe.

[49] Item, he hath made a vowe, that hee will neuer weare a cappe: for hee sayeth, it is comely wearing of a hatte, and so commeth in his long gowne and hat, bothe into the Cathedrall church, and to the best Towne of his diocesse, sitting in that sorte in the kings greate Sessions, and in hys consistorie, making himselfe a mocke to the people.

[50] Item, he sayde that he would go to the Parliament on foote. And to his frendes that dissuaded him, alleaging that it is not meete for a man in his place: he answered, I care not for that, it is no sinne.

Item, hauing a sonne, hee went before the midwife to [51] the Church, presenting the childe to the Priest, and geuyng hys name Samuel, wyth a solemne interpretation of the name, appoynting also two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinaunce, making hys sonne a monster, and hymselfe a laughing stocke throughout al the country.

Item, he daily vseth whisteling of hys childe, and sayththat hee vnderstoode his whistle, when hee was but three dayes olde. And being aduertised of hys frendes, that men laughed at his follie:

he answered: they whistle their horses and dogges, and I am contented, they myghte also be contented that I whistle my childe, and so whistle hym daily, all frendly admonition neglected.

Item, in hys Ordinarie visitation among other hys [53] surueys, hee surueyed Milforde hauen, where hee espyed a Seale fish tombling. And he crept down to the water side, and continued there, whistling by the space of an houre, perswading the companie that laughed fast at him, that by his whistling he made the fish to tarie there.

Item, speaking of scarcitie of herrings, hee layeth the [54] fault to the couetousnesse of fishers, who in time of plentie, tooke so many, that they destroyed the breeders.

Item, speaking of the alteration of the coyn, he wished [55] that what metall so euer it were of, the penie shoulde be in weight worthe a penie of the same metall.

For a conclusion, the sayde Byshoppe in all his doings [56] since he came to his Diocesse, hath behaued hymselfe moste vnmeete for a man of hys vocation, being for a minister of Iustice, an abuser of the authoritie to him committed, for a teacher of the truthe, and reformer of superstition, a maintainer of superstition wythoute any doctrine of reformation, for a liberal, and hospital, an vnsatiable couetous man: for a diligent ouerseer, wilfull and negligent: for an example of godly wisdom, geuen wholly to follie: for a mercifull, a cruell reuenger. And further, for a peace maker, a sower of discorde. And so in all his behauour a discreditor and slaunderer of hys vocation, and a deceiuer of all men▪ that had hope that he should do any reformatiō. For he yet hath neither brought into his diocesse, nor hath belonging vnto hym any learned preacher. But such lerned preachers as he founde in the diocesse at his entrie, hee so vexeth and disquieteth, that they cannot attende to applye theyr preaching, for the defence of their liuings, againste hys quarellous inuentions and vniust certificates.

After these wrangling Articles and informations were geuen vppe, then was the Byshop called for to aunswere,* the hearing whereof was committed vnto D. Wotton, and Sir Iohn Mason knight, who likewise receiued the Byshops aunswares to the foresayde articles, the copie and effect of which aunswares hereafter followe.

The answere of Robert, Bishop of S. Dauids, to the Articles ministred vnto hym.

TO the first Article he sayeth, that after lawful monition in the kings Maiesties name & autoritie, from the sayd B. (being then at London) geuen to the Chanter & chapter of S. Dauids, for visitation at a certaine daye there to be entred: the sayd Byshop himselfe, for such purpose comming into the Diocesse, knowing also that the Chaunter, and one of the Canons of that Church, & late before commissaries in that Diocesse, had not onely by their owne euill example and winking at the faultes of other, or neglecting to correct the same, left there among priestes and others, much detestable whoredome: but hadde also spoyled the Cathedrall church of Crosses, Chalices and Censers, wyth other plate, iewels, and ornaments of the Church to the value of 5. C. markes or more, for their owne priuate lucre, (the Church remaining euen yet very vile & in great decay:) and hadde also made further vnder theyr Chapter seale many blankes to the number of twelue or moe, Sede vacante, wythout the kings licence or knowledge: Therefore he brought wyth him one Edmunde Farlee, Bachelor of lawe, by D. Tong and D. Neuinson, to hym commended as a man sufficient in faithfull truthe, and learning, to be hys Chauncellour. To

whome hee graunted and Sealed a Commission for that purpose, geuing credite to hym in hys facultie, concerning the draught and fourme therof. But the kinges Maiesties stile of Supremacie was •ullye sette foorth in the same commission. Whether there were anye defaulte of formall woordes in setting foorth of the kings authoritie therein, hee is not certaine. For hee committed the doing thereof to hys Chauncelloure, who was commended to hym for a learned manne. And the Byshop [Page 1547](#) sayeth, that he did neuer grounde the Commission vppon any forraine vsurped lawes or authoritie. Neither did hys sayde Chauncellour by force of suche authoritie, visite anye Deanrie of the sayde Diocesse, nor gaue anye monition to the Chauntour and Chapter there, by force of that Commission, for any like intent or purpose, but onely offered in y^e kings Maiesties name, and authoritie (to the said Bysh. committed) for to enter visitation of the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church, at an other daye to be executed by the Byshoppe himselfe, for reformation of the Chapter Church, and Ministers there, accordinge to the kings gracious ordinaunces and Iniunctions in that behalfe. But the aforesayd Chanter and Canon of the church, before the sight of any Commission, stubbornely answered the sayde Chauncellour, that they woulde not receyue him, nor any other to visit them, except he were one of their Chapter. And further desiring to see his Commission, de••uered the same into their handes, and would not deliuer it him again. And so it may appeare that he did nothing by force of that Commission.

To the seconde Article hee sayeth, that they opened not [2] vnto hym the danger of any statute to hys knowledge and remembraunce. Neuerthelesse, hee not knowing anye defaulte in the sayde Commission, and certainly minedynge wyth all diligence the faithfull execution of hys Office of preaching, and visitinge the whole Diocesse in hys owne persone, by the kings Maiesties authoritie, for the conseruation of Gods peace, and the kings, in that daungerous time of rebellion, then beginning to arise in other places, did neglect and lay apart the stubborne behaiour and vngodly doings of the sayde Chaunter and Canon, and agreed wyth them, omitting all contemptes and reproches towards him and his sayde Chauncellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing els that through theyr vnquietnesse, some tumult mighte haue risen amonges the people there, and did also make the sayd Chanter his Chācellour, and Canon hys Commissarie, according to theyr ambitious desires, to appease their malice in that daungerous time. And further, he sayeth that he made a Collation to syr Ioh. Euans of the Uicarage of Pembrin, what day or time he remembreth not, not by any olde forraine vsurped authoritie, but by the kinges authoritie onely, making full mention of the kinges stile and authoritie in the same Collation.

To the thirde and fourth hee sayeth, that whereas hee [3. & 4.] hadde graunted to George Constantine the office of a Register, who brought vnto hym a Commission for the Chācellourshippe to be sealed, and deliuered to the foresayde Chaunter of Saint Davids, desiring the sayde Byshoppe to Seale it, hee vtterlye refused so to doe, because the sayde George hadde put therein a clause of admitting Clearkes into benefices: the which authority the said Bishop would not in any wise graunte, reseruing the examination and admission of Clearkes, onely to hymselfe, for the auoiding of wicked briberie and parcialitie. Whereuppon the sayde George and the Chaunter promised the said Byshoppe by their faith and trouthe, afore three or foure honest witnesses, not to execute that clause of Institution into benefices, but onely to those Clearkes whome the Bishop did firste examine and admitte, and send vnto them for to be instituted and inducted, vppon whych promise the Byshop sealed the sayde Commission. And after that time,

the parsonage of Haskarde being voyde, and by the reason of laps deuolued to the Byshoppes gifte for that time, hee conferred it to one Sir Henrie Godherd wyth a Collation or Institution by the kings authoritie, not extolling any forreine vsurped authoritie. In the which collation or institution is fully mentioned the renuntiation of the Byshop of Rome, and all forreine powers and authoritie, wyth the full stile of hys Maiesties supremacie. And this collation of the Church of Haskarde he gaue, before he vnderstoode or knewe that hys Chauncellour had geuen oute the lyke, and hee surely thinketh, his Collation was the firste. That notwithstanding the sayde George Constantine, and the sayde Chaunter hauing a vowson determined by reason of laps, admitted and instituted one Iohn Gough, to the sayde personnage of Haskarde by vertue of their expired vowson and sealed hys institution wyth a wronge Seale, because they hadde not the right seale of office to that purpose) contrary to theyr former earnest promesse, and the Bishoppes ryghte, and wythout any manner of warning or foreknowledge thereof to hym geuen, whych thyng by them vntruely done, the sayd George Constantine neuerthelesse came to the Byshoppes house, and there did wryte wyth hys owne hand the letters of Induction for the said Sir Henrye Godherd Prieste, comprising in the same the whole summe of the Institution or Collation, whyche the sayde Byshoppe hadde made, and the same George did seale the sayde letters of induction wyth his owne hande, finiding no maner of fault therein, nor making any worde or mention of hys and the Chauntours former wrong doings, but so departed for that time. And afterward he came againe, and shewed the Byshoppe, what they hadde done before, concerning the Parsonage aforesayde. And further, the sayde Defendant sayeth, that he did not molest the sayd Iohn Gough, but lawfully did call him in the kings Maiesties name, not for any title of Patronage, but to knowe, whether he were Parson of Haskarde, and howe hee was thereto admitted and instituted, and inducted, and by what authoritie he presumed to preach there, wythout the kings Maiesties licence, wyth other like lawfull demaundes, whereunto he sturdely refused to geue answere: and sayeth that the Article contained in hys accusation, sayinge thus. Item interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskarde, was not ministred vnto the partie in that sorte, so farre as hee knoweth, but in these woordes or lyke. Quomodo intrauit in Rectoriam. &c.

To the fifth he sayth, that all be it George Constantine Register, did wilfully wythdrawe hys bounden seruice, [5] due to the Kings highnesse, and to the sayde defendaunt in the Kings name, refusing to attende either by hymselfe, or hys sufficient Deputie for wryting of Recordes and other Instruments, yet the sayd Defendant made his Collatiōs and Institutions in hys owne name, not by his owne authoritie, nor by any others, saue onely the Kings authoritie, according as hee hath declared in hys aunswere to the first Article, expressing in them the kings supremacie, with the Byshops owne name and seale of office, as hee oughte to doe, according to the prouision of the kinges Statute in suche a case.

To the sixth he sayeth, that the Uicarie of Pembrin being [6] voyde, he as righte patrone thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to Iohn Euans Clarke, wyth letters of institution and induction: and after when the kings presentation came to him for one Daud Ieinkin clarke, he desired fourtene daies respite at that time, either to shew auncient recorde for hys right, and then the matter to stande to the determination of the lawe, or elles if hee shewed not, bothe he and hys clarke, to geue place to the kings Clarke. Whych condition was by Syr Thomas Ioanes Knight, Doctour M. and the sayde Daud Ieinkin receyued, and an Institution, wyth an Induction was made conditionally to be putte into the handes of Sir Thomas Ioanes Knighte, for safe custodie for the kings Clearkes behoofe, after the fourtene dayes to be executed at the hands of the sayde

Defendaunt, if he failed to shewe. Wythin whyche time the sayde Defendaunt did shewe an olde auncient recorde, declaring the full righte of Patronage, on the sayde Defendautes behalfe, and so that Institution and Induction was neuer by the sayde Defendaunt putte in execution. Neuerthelesse, the sayde Dauid Ieinkin (contrary to hys promesse and othe, geuing thereuppon his righte hande to the sayde Syr Thomas Ioanes Knight) tooke aduauntage by the sayde wryting, wythout knowledge of the sayde Defendaunt. After whych time the Lord Chauncellour by hys letters wrytten to the sayde Defendaunt, aduertised hym, to admitte one Iohn Appowell clearke, presented by vertue of a vowson which the L. Chancellor iudged to be good, and so to be admitted, notwythstanding his former presentation, whereby he would not abarre the other mannes right. And so thys Defendaunt made one Collation, two Institutions and three Mandates, doying no wrong thereby to hys knowledge. And further he sayeth, that there was no businesse nor vnquietnesse aboute the possession of the sayde Uicarage, but this Defendaunt geuing place, was content to loose hys right for that time.

To the seuenth he sayth, that as he nowe remembreth, [7] hee neuer decreed anye Caueates to be made in benefices, neither did institute nor cause to be inducted, any into benefices, being knowne to hym litigious. [8]

To the eight he sayeth, that because the Archdeacons be absent from theyr Offices, and haue not had faithfull diligent Officials, he hathe directed his Mandates to them or their Officials, or to other lawfull persons in that behalfe, so farre as he knoweth. [9. & 10.]

To the ninthe and tenthe Articles, he denieth as verye vntrue. [11]

To the xi. he sayth, that whereas Syr Thomas Ioans Knyghte aduertised hym, that Thomas Pricharde had celebrated Matrimonie in a priuate house, betwixte a certaine Priest, and a woman whose sister hadde refused the same, the sayde Pricharde leauing his owne cure vnserued on that Sunday, this defendant did put the same Thomas Prychard to penance for so doing, marying them without [Page 1548](#) banes. And wheras he made the said Thomas Aprichard, who is a Bachelor of law, his Commissary: it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faythfully to execute his office according to Iustice. And the sayde Defendaunt dyd neuer fauour nor beare with any man wittinglye in his wrong doinges. He confesseth that the Matrimonye was solemnized in a priuate church, and that the cure was that day vnserued.

[12] To the 12. he sayth, that it is slaunderous and vtterlye vntrue. And that one syr Iohn Hughs Priest, made Sage Hughs (daughter to his Steppemother) an harlot at 11. yeares of age, and after maryed openly to an other man, being Minister thereof himselfe. After whiche doying, he tooke her away from her Husband agayne, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the sayde Iohn Hughs was lawfully conuicted before the sayde Byshop, in open Court at Carmarthen of that his abhominable adultery, clayming the kinges pardon thereof, yet the sayde Sage confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearaunce. Whiche latter crime he denyed. Neuerthelesse, she proued with childe, affirming both before the byrth and after, the childe to be his, the Midwife and other being witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstandinge George Constantine as a wicked Bolsterer of the sayde Priest in hys naughtye doinges, with the helpe of the aforesayd Chaunter, fyrst vttered that Meredith Thomas was Father of the sayd

childe, which matter was ordered in the Ecclesiasticall Court, according to Iustice without any parcial affection of the sayd Bishop, or of any other to his knowledge.

[13] To the 13. hee sayth, it is vtterly false so farre as he knoweth.

[14] To the 14. he sayth, that by lawfull sequestration in the Kinges Maiesties name, he committed the custody of the fruites of Langatnok, and Lanuihangell to two houost men, for the behoufe of the Kynges first fruites and tenthes, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor minister any cause of vnquietnesse in that behalfe.

To the 15. he sayth, that he made a collation, lawfull [15] as he supposeth, of the prebend of Lanbister, to Stephen Greene his Chapleine without any couenaunt or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalfe.

[16] To the 16. he sayth, all is vntrue as farre as he knoweth.

[17] To the 17. he sayth, it is all vntrue for his owne part, & for his officers, as farre as he knoweth.

[18] To the 18. he sayth, it is vntrue as farre as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recusants iustly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to paye the Kynges whole Subsidye, of theyr whole diuidenesse, as it standeth in the Kinges booke, perteyning to the Canons resident.

[19] To the 19. he sayth, that after trauayle of fourtene Miles, beyng not able fastyng to Celebrate Communion, in a Chappell within the house of Syr Thomas Ioanes Knyght, one of the Kinges Maiesties honourable Counsayle of the Marches of Wales: this Defendaunte celebrated Matrimony without the receyuing the Communion for the causes abouesayd, betwixt Mayster Griffith Ryce, and the Daughter of the sayde Syr Thomas Ioanes, accordyng to the kinges ordinaunces. And Thomas Upricharde Prieste administred the holy Communion there, without any superstition, to this defendauntes knowledge, and the maryed persons not disposed to receiue the holy Communion, he coule not compell them agaynst theyr consciences, and sayeth that hee didde not dispense with them as it is contayned in the article.

¶To the slaunderous and vntrue title of mayntenance of superstition. &c. he sayeth, that he did not maynteyne any superstition, contrary to the kinges ordinaunces and iniunctions, but abhorring in his hart all superstition, hath trauelled and doth trauell to abolish the same by true doctrine and doying, as much as he can, with the kinges peace amongst his people there.

[20] TO the 20. he sayth, that George Constantine in the third yeare of the kinges Maiestyes reigne, not regarding the daungerous time of rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled downe without any authoritey knowne to this defendaunt, the communion altar in Carmarthen Church, by his owne presumptuous mynde appointing the vse thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the Bishop fearing tumult, cōmaunded the vicar to set vp the communiō table (for the time) nere to the place where it was before.

To the 21. he sayth that he hath bene diuers tymes in [21] the quere of Carmarthen, and hath taried there in the communion time not communicating himselfe, and that in euery Church where he commeth on the holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the quere bareheaded, as well at Matines before the Communion, as at Euensong after without any superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the Communions sake to leaue kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneele nor knocke to the visible shew, or externall shewe of the Sacrament. And the queres of Carmarthen and other places there, are not close at the sides, so that the people may come in and forth at theyr pleasure. Moreouer the Kinges ordinaunces doth not authorise him to rebuke the people for knocking on theyr breasts in token of repentaunce of theyr sinnes nor for kneeling in token of submission to God for mercye in Christ.

To the 22. he sayth, that in time of rebellion in Deuon. [22] and Cornewall, threatening to come into Wales, he teaching the people the true fourme of prayer, accordinge to Gods holy word, and declaring the prayer vpon beades to be vayne and superstitious, yet durste not for feare of tumulte, forceably take from any man his beades without authority. And touching the not reproouing of suche as hee shoulde meete, wearing beades, hee remembreth not that he hath so done, vnlesse it were in the rebellion tyme, at whiche time he durste not rebuke suche Offenders.

To the 23. he sayth, that he beyng in the Pulpitte, hys [23] face towardes the people, did not see the lightes, if anye were set vp about the corpes behinde his backe, till after that he came downe from the Pulpitte. But he with George Constantine and the aforesayde Chauntour, sitting in the Church in Carmarthen, to heare causes, and seeing the Uicare with other Priestes, with song and lights bringyng a corpes vppe to the Church, called forthwyth the Uicare and Priestes, and rebuked them in open court as cormorantes and Rauens flying about the dead carcase for lucre sake.

To the 24. he sayeth, that he caused the one childe beyng [24] borne with great perill of death to the Mother, and it selfe lying for dead a certayne space after, to be christened on the workyng day: the other childe was Christened on the working day, because both Father and Mother, and al other people there, were in perill of death, by reason of the sodayne sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusatiō which is, that by that example, it is vsed after the olde accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

¶To the tytyle of Couetousnesse he sayth: that hys doynge prooue the contrarye as his neighbours knoweth.

And to the 25. Article he vtterly denyeth.

To the 26. he sayth, that his Hall at Aberguilly being [25] ruinous, he vseth for his Hall a greate Chamber adioyning, [26] for his selfe and his seruantes, and all manner of straungers, and besides twenty persons in house daylye. What other hospitality he keepeth, honest neighbours can testify.

To the 27. he sayth, that his talke is accordyng to his [27] hearers, that is to say reuerently and truly of fayth, loue, and honest lyfe, according to the Scriptures to like Auditours, and to other vnreuerent and rash Turmoylers of Scriptures and holye doctrine he doeth talke of honest

worldly thinges with Godly intent: and that he doeth not moste commonlye talke of suche thinges as are expressed in this Article, but when hee hath honest occation so to doe.

The 28. he sayth is vntrue, and that hee hath warned [28] no manne out of theyr landes: but where he is destitute of necessary prouision, and woulde haue part of his owne demayne from certayne free holdes, hauing it onelye from yeare to yeare, of pleasure, hee cannot obteyne it without brawlyng. Wherefore he suffereth them to keepe it euen yet still, agaynst right reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the Crowes should eat it. &c. he neuer spake any such word.

To the 29. he sayth that whereas hys Predecessour [29] Byshop Barloe did let to farme the Isle of Ramsay, to one William Browne, after whose handes this Defendaunt receiued it into his owne possession, the Uicars of Saynt Dauids being dispossessed of it long before, he letted it ouer to Stephen Greene for 40. shillings the groūd, as it was before, and three poundes more for seales, connies and foules there: & he knoweth of no right y^e Uicars Chorall had therein, who did refuse when this defendant [Page 1549](#) did diligently vpon reasonable conditions offer the same vnto them: and this defendant made no promise vnto thē, as is contened in the Article.

To the 30. he sayth he knoweth not, but that he aduertised [30] his Bayliffe to warne the freeholdes and other hauing his demayne to rent during pleasure, to leaue it at a lawfull day, to this Defendantes necessary vse, and dyd not cause the Curate to do as is contened in the Article to his remembraunce.

To the 31. he sayth, that he knoweth not what y^e priest [31] bad in the Churche, nor howe many plowes there came, vndesired of this Defendaunt. But he knoweth certainly, that he desired no mans labour but for his mony.

To the 32. he sayth, that he knoweth not any such appoyntment [32] of Schooles and reuenewes there but he foūd there (after the departyng of Byshop Barloe) a Schoolemayster, an Ussher being a Priest, and 20. Scholers, which he hath hitherto mayntained better then he founde it, to his knowledge: he did neuer conuert anye pennye therof to his owne vse, albeit he might lawfully haue done the same.

[33] The 33. he sayeth is all vntrue, so farre as hee knoweth.

To the 34. Article he sayth, he neuer purchased more [34] then three percels, whereof one was 2. shillinges 8. pence by yeare, the second, three shillinges foure pence, and the third 26. shillinges 8. pence or there about by yeare: the rest he denyeth.

To the 35. he sayeth, that he neuer bought of Lewes [35] Iohn Thomas his land good cheape, but after forty yeres purchase, not knowing at that time any suche thinge as is contayned in the article, agaynst the sayd Lewes Iohn. Neither badde he the Somner to lette him alone, but as soone as he hearde any thing of it, commaunded the Somner to cyte him, and so he was cyted in this Defendantes house, occasionyng him to breake his bargayne, to the which Lewes this Defendaunt sayde these wordes. If you would geue me your land with an house full of golde, I cannot, nor will not suffer you to keepe a Lemman. Then the sayde Lewes affirming the latter

woman to bee his wife, and the firste vnknowne to this Defendaunt, hee caused the sayde Lewes to bee called to the consistorye for tryall, where it hangeth yet: And also by lawfull processe excommunicated the firste Woman, for that shee would not by any meanes appeare in the Court to claime or to confesse marryage with the sayde Lewes and so she standeth this day, at the poynt of significait.

To the 56. he sayth, that whereas the Chauntour and [36] R. M. with other Chanons there, would not obey the Kynges Godlye Iniunctions, concerning the fyndyng a Schoole for poore mennes Chyl dren, a Lectur of Diuinitie, Sermons on the Sondayes, repayring of their Church and Mansion houses, decent order and ministration there, but stubbornely counted themselues (with the Chauntour) to be a bodye politicke, without regarde of the Byshoppe and his lawefull monitions, beyng hymselfe named in theyr Shyre Statutes, Decanus, & quasi Decanus, hauing also theyr Deanes stall in the quere, wyth a Prebende thereunto annexed, and the chiefe place in the Chapter house with a key of theyr Chapter Seale, beyng also by the Kynges Maiestyes Commission appoynted theyr Ordinary: yet woulde they not in anye wise deliuer vnto him a Booke of theyr Statutes, for the better knowledge of his and theyr dueties, nor shewe vnto him their Recordes and Monumentes, for declaration of the kings right and his. For which cause, this Defendaunt by writ of quo warranto, lawefully called them to aunswere, which yet lyeth a sleepe, to the losse of the Kinges Maiestyes right. The time of deliury of the sayd writte, he remembreth not.

The 37. he sayeth is all false, as farre as hee knoweth.

[37]

¶To the title of wilfull negligence: he sayeth that hee hath vsed, to his power willing diligence.

[38] TO the 38. he sayth, that he being attendant (according to his bounden duetye) to serue the Kinges highnesse during the time of the parliament, from the first, vnto the last day, and then immediately after repayred into his Dioces, and he might not trust R. M. the Chauntour, and George Constantine to execute faythfully the iurisdiction, because they had before (through theyr slaundrous life and not punishing misdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredome. And sayth farther, that one cause why he appoynted not an Officer. &c. was for that he lacked his letters of authority of Iurisdiction.

[39.40.] The 39. and 40. he sayth are vntrue.

To the 41. he sayth, that how often he did minister the Communion he doth not remember, but in all other thinges so farre as he knoweth, he hath studied to order hymselfe according to his vocation, as farre as he beleueth, hee goeth like a Minister.

To the 42. he sayeth, that hee hath not alienated hymselfe from studye, neyther preached vndiscreetly, nor reported [42] the Scriptures vntuely to his knowledge: (but he hath bene very much hindered both from study & preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and couetous behauiour of the forenamed persons.) And that he did set forth the doctrine of honest maryage, as well of all other menne, as of Priestes, euen as the Scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

To the 43. he sayth, that reciting the wordes of Luke, [43] if thy brother haue offended agaynst thee, blame him, and if he repent, forgeue hym, and if he haue offended agaynst thee seuen tymes in one day, and seuen times in the daye be conuerted vnto thee, saying: I am sory, forgeue him: He sayd farther these wordes in effect: it appeareth by this place of scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgeue him, but we are bound to pray to God to forgeue him, and to geue him grace to repent, that wee may forgeue him.

To the 44. he sayth, that he hath preached right often [44] at Carmarthen, as well as at other places, and hee sayeth that a great number at Aberguilly do vnderstand english very well.

To the 45. he sayth, that after he had preached fyrste at [45] Brecknocke, Carmarthen, Swanzy Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroke, Hereforde, Saynt Davids, Cardigan, with other notable Townes, he hath since that time preached to a greate manye other poore Churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroke: but for Hereforde he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first, a learned Preacher, of Godly life, the vngodly stubborne behaiour of the persons before named, weryed him away. And wheras he had waged an other learned man, to come into his Dioces to preache, George Constantine by hys discouragement aduertised him from this Defendaunt.

To the 46. he sayth, that in all his Churches appropriated, there is both Bible and Paraphrases so farre as [46] he knoweth: and if the Priestes there woulde not shewe him the lacke thereof, yet should the Officialles declare it vnto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

To the 47. he sayth, that George Constantine couetously [47] ingrossed into his handes a great number of Paraphrases, & wher as this Defendaunt hath admonished the Clergy to buy, euery one, for his discharge: and if the sayd George being Officiall of two Archdeaconries, and other Officials in theyr Office woulde declare vnto him, what Churches do lack Bibles or Paraphrases, he would cause it to be amended as much as in him lyeth.

¶To the title of Folly, he sayth that his desire is in true simple maner of his wordes, deedes, and other honest behaiour through Gods grace to shew Godly wisdom.

TO the 48. he sayth, that he thinketh no folly in the decent [48] colour or fashion with honest vse of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops, Staffe, and other like necessary or conuenient things, and sayth that he vseth a Saddle made after the Scottish fashion, with stirrops of iron vnuarnished & like spurs: and blacke bridle without studdes, the bit and snaffle white as other mens be.

To the 49. he sayth, that whē he goeth abroad in winter, [49] he weareth a hat to beare of rayne and snow, & in sommer, to shadow him from the Sunne, without any vowe of superstition or offence of the people.

To the 50. he sayth, that all is one to him, to ride or go, [50] as cause requireth, and whether he sayd as is conteyned in the article or not, he remembreth not. Howbeit he doth vse to go a foote.

To the 51. he sayth, that after lawfull prayer, it pleased [51] God to geue him a sonne begottē and borne in honest mariage: whome he therefore caused to be named Samuell, presenting him to

the minister to be receiued into Christes Church as a poore member of Christ: by the holy Sacrament of baptisme was this done openly in the Cathedrall Church, with earnest grauity, and without offending any man: and also 2. wiues being before at variaunce, desired both to be Godmothers, whiche were both receiued to make vnity betweene them, not knowing any lawe to the contrary, nor none offence therby conceiued of the people.

To the 52. he sayth, that he doth vse with grauity, all honest louing enterテインement of his Chylde, to encourage [52] him hereafter, willinglye at hys Fathers mouth, to receiue [Page 1549](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1550](#) wholesome doctrine of the true feare & loue of God, and sayeth that he hath whistled to hys Chylde, but sayde not, that the Chylde vnderstoode it, and that he aunswered to one that founde fault with it, as is conteyned in the article.

To the 53. he sayeth, that hee was neuer Surueyor, but went to see Milforde Hauen for honest purpose, and not to suruey it: and for that hee at the sighte of a Seale whistled in his fist, such as meant folly, might turne it to theyr purpose. And it is not true that he stode whistlynge an hower to the Seale, nor that anye faulte was founde with it, nor any such aunswere made by him to his knowledge.

To the 54. he sayth, that if he did say, the destroying of the Frie, letteth plenty of Fish, he thinketh the same not agaynst reason: but he remembreth not to haue sayd, as is conteined in the article.

To the 55. he saith, that he remembreth not that euer he sayd as they alledge.

To the slaunderous, vntrue, and vngodly conclusion, he saith that George Constantine with other his aduersaries before named, and theyr adherents, not regarding the feare of God, and theyr bounden duety, of louing obediēce towards God and the king, and his true Ministers, haue to much slaunderously with false tongues, contumelious wordes, and spitefull deedes, labored by all meanes to discredite and deface the kinges gracious authority, to hym committed. Who euer sithe he came to the Dioces, hath endeouored himselfe to shew his faythfull ministerye, by his true honest doinges, and to vse his authority according to his vocation, to Gods glory, and the kinges honour. And that he hath bene diligent in teaching of trueth, reforming of superstition, free of hospitality, diligent in ouerseeing with Godly wisdom, peace and mercifulnesse, as he trusteth in God, may be truely approoued. And he is able iustly to charge his aduersaries with all the faultes herein by them most vniustlye and slaunderously agaynst hym obiected. And he doth maruell greatly, that George Constantine with other his adherentes are not ashamed, maliciously to object for the intent to sclaunder hym, with molesting of preachers founden there. For trueth it is that he hath molested none, but hath iustly brought vnder significauit one Morice a Preacher, liuing lewdly for his stubborne behaiour and malicious contemptes, euen yet continuing in his wilfull contempt and irregularity. And he hath (to his knowledge) iustlye certified Hugh Raulyns Parson of Tynby, for his wilfull recusancy of two other Personages, shamefully deceiuing the Kynges maiestye by coulour of Commission, as appeareth by the same. And as for the rayling, contemptuous preaching of R. M. and the vnlearned arrogant preaching of the Chauntoure he referreth to discreete Hearers, whiche were offended thereat, as they shewed this Defendaunt. And this Deponent brought into his Dioces, both learned Preachers, and learned men in the lawe, to his verye great charges, which men George Cōstantine with his adherentes hath weried away.

¶After these aunsweres thus exhibited by the vertuous and Godly Byshop agaynst the quarrelling and friuolous articles of his foresayd aduersaryes, to wit Hugh Raulins, and Thomas Lee, then came in for witnes vpon the sayd articles and informations, George Constantine, and the Chauntour of S. Dauids, agaynst whom the Byshop layde first exceptions, then also exhibited matter iustificatory, the tenor and processe whereof here foloweth in order to be sene, first concerning the exceptions, and after the matter iustificatory.

***Exceptions generall, layd and purposed on the behalfe of Robert, Byshop of S. Dauids, agaynst all and singuler the pretended Witnesses produced on the behalfe of Hugh Raulins Clerke, and Thomas Lee vpon theyr vntrue surmised Articles, by them exhibited vnto and before the kinges most honorable Counsel, by the deuise and procurement of the Chaunter, and George Constantine, with R. M. Clerke, agaynst the sayd Byshop.**

First the sayd Byshop sayth and alledgeth that by law, there ought no fayth or credence to beeu vnto the depositions and sayings of the sayde witnesses, nor anye part thereof, because they are infamous, false, periured, and in some part of theyr depositions discording, parciall, conducted, subornate, instructed, and for fauour of the informers, & theyr bolsterers, haue deposed of malice, more then the articles wherupon they were produced doth cōteine, and beside, and without the compasse of the same articles, and in diuers other partes of theyr depositions, they depose vnum & eundem praemeditatum sermonem, as by theyr sayd depositions doth appeare, vnto the which the sayd Bishop referreth himselfe as much as it shalbe expedient for him, and none otherwise. And further, for other causes particularly and specially, as is declared in y^e booke of exceptions.

¶Exceptions agaynst the vnlawfull proceedinges of Hugh Raulins Clerke, and Thomas Lee, Promoters of the foresayd vntrue Articles, in executng of theyr commission, for prooffe of the same.

Item, the sayd Thomas Lee for himselfe and the other Promotour dyd, contrary to iustice at the execution of theyr Commission, examine certayne of the Wytnesses himselfe, in the house of his Brother in law George Constantine and the sayde Lee: and Dauid Walter the Byshoppes mortall enemy, and seruaunt to the sayd George Constantine, did write these Depositions vpon the Articles at theyr owne pleasures, and also after the deuise of the sayd George Constantine and the Chauntour and R. M. the Byshoppes mortall enemies, and the very Deuisers and Procurers of the informations and bolsterers and bearers of the Promotours in the suite thereof. These are the names of the Wytnesses so examined, whyche are already knowne. Dauid ap Syr Richarde of Gertus a periured and an adoulterous person•, standinge in the number for two Wytnesses, written in two places of the booke. Item, ap Ruddz of Kemarthe, Griffeth ap Howell, Guyne of Kennarthe, Lewes Dauid Clerke, Dauid ap Haruye Clerke, Syr Goghe alias Morgon. &c.

Item, one Iohn Draper of Carmarthen and adherent of the foresayd aduersaryes, and enemies to the sayd Bishoppe, did also contrary to the tenour of theyr Commission, examine certayne Wytnesses, and hadde to hys Clerke one William Dauids, seruaunt in Liury vnto the foresayd Griffith Donne, the Bishoppes vtter enemy, by whiche shamefull parciality, they haue written more matter, moe wordes, other termes and sentences, then some of the Deponentes hath deposed or coulde depose. Humphery Toye the fift Deponent, Rice Goughe the 14. Deponent, William ap Ienkins the 5. Deponent, Iohn Beng•y the lxviij. Deponent, Richard Parson. 39. which are already knowne, what maner of men the Promoters are.

Item, the sayd Hugh Raulins was not present at the Bishops sermon, whereof his information maketh mention, neither yet at there cutting of the Commission for prooffe therof: for the foresayd aduersaries did deuise y^e same & gaue it vnto the sayd Raulins to promote, choosing him for the same purpose, knowing him to be a man willing (& setting his whole delight) to worke mischiefe, both wyth word and deede, who abuseth his tounge most shamefully, with most vnsetting wordes, euer rayling vpon the sayde Bishop, to euery man that will heare him without eyther respect, or reuerence of the kinges Maiesties authoritie to the sayd Bishop committed. And the said Raulins hath 4. or 5. Benefices aboute the vallure of 200. Markes a yeare, and is resident vppon none of them, but spendeth his liuing to the hinderaunce of other men, going aboute here and there, wandring to and fro, without either man or boye wayting on him, more like a light person, then a man of such liuelode and of his vocatiō, being a preacher. And in deede he is taken for a lewd fellow of all that know his behauiour, in so muche that when a certayne man objected vnto the aduersaries that it was ill done to putte so lewd a fellow as Raulins to promote theyr cause, they answered and reported his honesty with these wordes: wee know Raulins to be a very knaue, and so meet for no purpose as he is to set forward such a matter: of which reporte there is sufficient witnesse. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his spitefull tounge: for he speaketh as boldly in this surmised matter to al the Couंसel, as though it were true, and much for the kinges profit.

Item, the other Promoter Thomas Lee is a Marchaunt, who hath sold his ware and spent his money, and now for want of other businesse, is become a Promoter of the foresayd articles, hauing his costes and charges borne by the sayd principall aduersaries, as it is alledged in the Bishops exceptions, which shalbe proued if commission might be awarded for the purpose.

¶ And thus much concerning the exceptions agaynst his pretended accusers: next foloweth the matter iustificatory exhibited by the sayde Bishop, in defence of his owne cause, as by the effect here appeareth.

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***Certayne Articles ministred by Robert Byshop of S Dauids, agaynst a surmised information exhibited by Thomas Lee, to the Kinges Maiestie his most honorable Counsell, agaynst the sayd Byshop.**

IN primis. viz: That there ought none aduauntage to be taken agaynst the sayde Byshoppe, of the contentes of the sayd pretended information, for the causes particularly folowing. And first, where as it is objected agaynst the sayde Byshoppe, in the Fyrste, Seconde, and Fyft articles of the same information, and that hee contrarie to the Kynges Highnesse Lawes and Statutes, and in the derogation of hys Hyghnesse Supremacy, passed a certayne Commission, Institutions, and Collacions to benefices, in his owne name, making no mention of the Kynges Highnesse authority, where as of trueth the sayd Byshop if he had passed out the Commission, Institutions, and Collacions in his owne name, and without the Kynges Maiestie hys Style, as is surmised (as hee did not) yet had he not offended neither Lawes nor Statutes of this Realme therein,* as doth and may appeare euidently by the same statutes and Lawes to the which he referreth himselfe.

Item, whereas it is deduced in the Thyrd Article of the sayd pretended information, that the Chauncellour of the sayde Byshop dyd admitte and institute Iohn Gough into the Rectorye of Haskarde, and gaue a Mandate for the induction of the sayd Iohn vnder the Kynges Maiesties

Seale Ecclesiasticall, for the Diocesse of Sayncte Dauids with the Teste of the sayd Byshoppe, and Subscription of the sayd Chauncellour, which thing so deduced, if it be true, yet the sayd Byshoppe cannot be worthely blamed therof. But the Chauntour, then his Chauncellour vnworthy, shewed himselfe therein verye ignoraunt of the Kynges Statutes of Parliament,* wherein it is expressly prouided, that in suche cases the Ordinarye ought to passe all suche Institutions and Inductions in his owne name, and vnder his owne Seale, and not in the Kynges Maiestyes name, nor vnder his Seale. And further of very trueth the sayd Chauncellour in admitting and instituting the sayd Clerke to the sayd benefice, without the knowledge and consent of the sayd Byshop, dyd exceed his Commission, forasmuch as the sayd Byshop at the graunting of his Commission of his Chauncellourshyppe vnto the sayd Chauntour, had restrayned him expressly from the admitting and instituting of any Clerke to any Benefice within the sayde Diocesse, except the same Clerke were first examined, found worthy, and admitted by the sayd Byshop himselfe to the same benefice.

Itē, wheras in the 4. Article of the sayd information it is contened, that the sayd Bishop, after the admitting and instituting of the sayd Iohn Gough, as is aforesayd, obiected articles agaynst him, amongst the which it was contened in effect.

*Item, interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haskarde: True it is that the sayde Byshop, without molestation of the sayd Gough, otherwise then Law did permitte, and without takyng vppon hym the cognition of tittle of the sayd fruites and patronage of the sayd benefice, in contēpt of the Kinges Maiesties regall Crowne and dignity, and without any derogation of the Kinges Maiesties lawes and statutes of this realme, did interrogate the sayd Iohn Gough, how he held the sayd Benefice, being admitted and instituted to the same, without his knowledge or consent, as he might lawfully do, and as it is meet euery Ordinary should know how Pastours are admitted to anye cure within theyr Dioces.

Item, touching the contentes of the Sixt article of the sayd information, the sayd Byshop aleadgeth that the vicaredge of Pembrin, in the Dioces of Saynt Dauids being voyde, he as Patrone thereof to hys knowledge conferred it to Iohn Euans Clarke, wyth Letters of institution and induction, and after when the Kynges presentation came to him for one Dauid Ienken Clerke, he desired xiiij. dayes respite at that day, eyther to shewe auncient recorde for his right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the Lawe, or els if hee shewed not, both he and his Clerke to geue place to the Kynges clerk: which condition was by Syr Thomas Ioanes Knyght, Doctour Merike, and the sayd Dauid Ienkin receyued, and an institution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the handes of Syr Thomas Ioanes Knyght, for safe custodye for the Kinges Clerke his behoue, after the xiiij. dayes to be executed at the handes of the sayd Byshoppe if he fayled to shewe, within whyche tyme the sayde Byshoppe did shewe an olde auncient recorde, declaring the full right of Patronage on the sayde Byshoppes behalfe, and so that institution and induction was neuer put in execution by the sayde Byshop. Neuerthesse the sayd Dauid Ienkin (contrarye to his promise and othe, geuyng thereupon his right hand to Syr Thomas Ioanes Knyght) tooke aduauntage by the said writing without knowledge of the sayde Byshoppe, after whiche time the Lorde Chauncellour by hys Letters written to the sayde Byshoppe, aduertised hym to admit one Iohn ap Howell Clerke, pretended by vertue of a vowson whiche the Lorde Chauncelloure iudged to bee good, and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former presentation whereby hee woulde not abarre the other mannes right: And so the sayd

Byshoppe made one collation, two institutions and three Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to hys knowledge. And further there was no businesse nor vnquietnesse about the possession of the sayd Uicarage. But the sayd bishop geuing place, was cōtent to lose his right for that time.

Item, whereas Syr Thomas Ioanes aduertised the sayd Byshop that Thomas Pricharde Clarke, had celebrated Matrimony in a priuate house, betwixt a certayne Prieste and a Woman whose Syster had refused the same (as it is deduced in the xi. Article of the surmised Articles layd in agaynst the sayd Byshop) the sayde Prichard leauing his owne cure vnserued, that Sondag, he did putte the sayd Thomas Prichard to penance for suche his misdoinges, and the sayde Pricharde did suche penance as was enioyned him to doe. And whereas the sayd Byshop made the same Thomas Prichard (who is Bachelour of law) his commissary, it was for the respect of his learning in the law, therby faythfully to execute his office according to iustice, and none otherwise.

Item, in the xiiij. Article of the sayde surmised Information it is vntruely declared that through the vnlawfull sequestration of the fruites of the Benefices of Langatok and Lanuihangell Cundy, and the vndiscreete handlyng of the sayd Byshoppe, there were raysed a great number of people, to the great daunger of the Inhabitanes therabouts. Trueth it is that the sayd Byshoppe vpon good and Lawefull considerations, and specially for that the Kynges Maiestye should be truely aunswered of his first fruites, and Tenthes of the sayd Benefices, he did lawfully (and as he was bounde to doe) sequester the sayde fruites in the Kinges Maiestyes name, and by his authority, and committed the custodie thereof for a time vnto two honest men, to the effect aforesaid, and none otherwise without any occasion of tumult or gathering of the people through his default or folly.

Item, whereas it is alleadged in the xix. article of the information, that the Byshop did celebrate Matrimonye in his owne person, without receiuing or Ministryng the Communion to the persons maryed, it is true, for that the sayd Byshop had trauayled xiiij. long wealche myles, and not able to celebrate the holye Communion fasting, and for other reasonable and lawefull causes him mouing, did in a Chappell within the house of Syr Thomas Ioanes Knighte (one of the Kinges honourable Counsell of the Marches of Wales) solemnise Matrimony betwixt Mayster Griffith Ryce, and the Daughter of the sayd Syr Thomas Ioanes, without either receiuing the holy Communion hymselfe or Ministring the same to the persons married, being as then not disposed so to do it, lawfully and godly without any such superstitious knockinges or blessinges or other vncomely gestures as is deduced in that article.

Item, touching the contentes of the residue of all the sayd articles, conteined in the sayde information, the sayde Bishop, partly for the auoyding of tediousnes, and partly for that some of them be vntrue and mere false, some other generall, obscure, friuolous, wayne, and of none effect, but of malice and euill will, contrary to truth conceaued, leaueth them particularly vnaunswered vnto.

Item, the sayd Bishop alledgeth that he hath not by al the time that he hath bene Byshop vsed any superstitions or Papisry as it is vntruely surmised agaynst him, but hath and doth to the vttermost of his power, witte, and cunning, set forth, maynteine, preach, and teache the true doctrine of the Gospell, and such laudable doctrine as hee ought to do by the kinges Lawes,

Iniunctions and proceedinges, and for such a teacher he hath bene and is commonly knowne, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriously.

And where the sayde Chauntour and George perceyued theyr depositions to be insufficient, they required, and hadde Commission into the Countrey to examine further Witnesses, which they executed very parcially, and vnlawfully, as is alleadged in the Byshops exceptions, aboue mentioned. And whereas to the sayd Raulins & Lee were awarded two seuerall Commissions, they by fauour [Page 1552](#) of the officers, and for sparing of costes, conioyned both in one, had iij. months to make returne, as appeareth by the copy of their commission, which hereafter followeth.

¶A copy of the Commission awarded downe into the Countrey, for the examination of Witnesses.

EDwardus sextus dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, & Hyberniae rex, fidei defensor, & in terra Ecclesiae Anglicanae & Hyberniae supremum caput, dilectis & fidelibus suis Georgio Harbert militi, Thomae Iones militi, & Iohanni Wogan militi, ac dilectis sibi Daudid Vaughan, & Owino ap Owen armigeris salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatibus, & prouidis circumspectionibus vestris plurimum fidentes, assignauimus vos, quatuor, tres, ac duos vestrum, ac tenore praesentium damus vobis quatuor, tribus, vel duobus vestrum plenam potestatem, & auctoritatem capiendi & recipiendi depositiones & examinationes quorumcunque testium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins Clerici, & Thomae Leghe, de & super quibusdam articulis per ipsos Hugonem, & Thomam Leghe consilio nostro exhibitis & praesentibus inclusis. Necnon depositiones & examinationes in scriptis redigendas. Et nos de huiusmodi examinationibus, & depositionibus cum sic per vos, quatuor, tres vel duos vestrum captae fuerint, in Cancellariam nostram in crastino Ascensionis domini proxime futurae, vbicunque tunc fuerit sub sigillis vestris, quatuor, trium vel duorum vestrum clausis certificandum remittentes nobis tunc articulos praedictos vna cum hoc breui. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa p^aemissa diligenter intendatis cum effectum.

Teste me ipso apud Westmon. 9. die Martij. Anno regni nostri sexto.

Marten.

DUryng all this tyme of the examination of the witnesses, the sayd Bishop was stayed at London, vpon the allegation of the sayd aduersaries, which was: that if the sayd B. should depart into his dioces, he would let them of their prooues.

And at the returne of their commission, it was signified vnto the Counsaile what a great number of witnesses they had examined, viz. sixe score and vij. which sounded very hamons in the counsailes eares.

And about three weekes after, Publication of theyr witnesses was graunted, and after that, it was a fortnight or the B. could get a copy written of their depositions, because the booke therof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the Bishop desired tyme: First, to enquire of what condition the persones were that had witnessed agaynst hym, and to make exceptions, and matters to iustifie direct contrary, and to

haue a commission for the prooffe thereof, which was then graunted. And now it is obiected that the Bishop was appoynted so to trauell with the expedition of hys matter, that he should haue sued out his Commission, and haue made returne therof at Alhallowtide last past, but there was no such decree put in writyng. And it was not possible for the Bishop to doe it in so short a time, these causes considered which he would not auoid, as followeth.

First, it was the latter end of Iuly, ere he came home to S. Davids, where he began his visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, he was by force of law constrained to aunswer at the barre daily, during all the tyme the great Sessions at Carmarthen, in defence of hys iust cause agaynst the pretended matter of premunire, which his aduersaries of meere malice hath procured agaynst hym.

Thirdly, the said aduersaries to molest hym further, did priuily packe a quest of ignorant persons of no reputation, and indited hym vpon the words of Raulins information, as appeareth by a copy of the inditement, entending thereby to make the matter sound more hainous, notwithstanding y^t the same cause dependeth before the kings high counsaile vndetermined.

Fourthly, hee was appointed by the Commissioners before his departure from London, to pay two hundreth pound (which was arrerages) into the court of first fruits and tenths, at Bartlemew day then next folowing, which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding, that hys aduersaries wrought meanes to haue made hym breake hys day: namely, one Edward Harbard Gentleman, who hath a personage of his to Farme, kept backe his rent to the very last day, because that money should not helpe to serue his turne: and so by crafty cauillation deteyneth it still in his hand with a yeres rent and a halfe more: for the sayd Edward Harbert is an adherent of the sayd Bishops aduersaries.

Fiftly, the booke of their depositions is so great, that it asketh a long tyme to peruse. And also the greatest part of their witnesses were vtterly vnknownen of the bishop and all his. And also dwellyng in so many sondry places of the Dioces among the mountaines and els where, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, another great Sessions holden at Carmarthen in the moneth of October last, during which tyme he was attendant there as is aforesayd. All which causes considered, beyng also in the tyme of his ordinary visitatiō, which he did execute himselfe, he could not make redy his exceptions in shorter tyme.

The sayd Bishop dispatched his man towards London, the 23. day of October, who euer sithens hath bene and is attendaunt in the same sute, for the obtainyng of the Commission, for prooffe of his matter agaynst hys aduersaries.

¶A copy of a certaine letter written by the Bish. of S. Davids.

MOst humbly sheweth vnto your honour, your poore Orator Robert Bishop of Saint Dauies, that where as one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of T. Y. and R. M. beyng both Canons of Saint Dauies, & George Constantine Register to the sayd Bishop) hath exhibited vnto your honour

agaynst him certayne articles, in the which are mentioned many triflyng things, vnworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and also theyr pretended weighty articles (as they haue alledged there) are vtterly vntrue: for prooffe whereof the sayd Thomas Lee hath had Commissions into the countrey: Therefore it may please your honour of your fauourable goodnes, to graunt vnto your sayd Oratour a lyke Commission for the examination of witnesse, in defence of his truth and honesty against the sayd Thomas Lee, George Constantine and the aforenamed Rowland Merike, and all other persons with theyr iniust articles, attestations, and sayings, which hath deposed against hym. And in tender consideration that your sayd Orator standeth bounden, and sureties with hym, in the summe of a thousand markes, to appeare before the Kings Iustice, in the Sessions at Carmarthen, in Iuly next commyng, to aunswer to a forged matter of premunire, by the procurement and counsaile of his forenamed aduersaries, maliciously surmised agaynst hym to his vtter vndoing. And furthermore, your Orator beyng in debt to the Kings Maiesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of his foresayd aduersaries, cannot (if hee remayne here) satisfie the same: for where as there be rerages to a great summe (as well of the Kings money as of his owne rentes) he can receiue none thereof, hys aduersaries hath made such ill report to his discredite, bearyng the people in hand, that he shall come no more thether. By reason of which brute, neither his owne tenants will pay theyr rentes and rerages, nor the priests their rerages due to the Kyngs Maiesty, as well for anno secundo, and tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In consideration of all which thyngs, it may ylease your honourable goodnes to licence your sayd Orator to depart into the Diocesse, for these affayres and other. And hee is ready at all tymes at your honourable commaundement, and pleasure, to repayre agayne, and euer to pray to the Lorde Iesu for the perpetuall conseruation of your honour, to his glory.

¶Another letter written by the Bishop of S. Dauies.

Right honourable, and my very especiall good Lorde, with humble seruice and harty thanks to God: and to you for your godly fauour towards me at all tymes, as right playnly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most louingly admonishing me to encline vnto that which is very necessary, as charitable concorde and vnitie: This is furtherly to besiche your Lordship for the Lordes sake not to be grieved, but benignly to heare, and grauely to ponder that weighty matter, which appearing (to other) but a light grieffe to me, is in very deede a right grievous offence to God, with no little hinderaunce of his holy word, and disturbance of the Kings godly proceedyngs, & may be a great occasion of much inobedience, and disorder of good lyfe. Wherefore I am straightly bounden for the true zeale that I (ought to) beare vnto Gods worde of lyfe, Christian religion, the Kings Maiesties honour, and the godly quiet state of hys people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redresse to bee sought at his Maiesties handes by the godly wisdom of hys most honourable and vpright Counsaile, but with harty affection to beare it vp against those high mynded, arrogant, stubburne, ambitious, couetous canons, trusting in their biting tonges, with crafty preuention, and vtterly vntrue surmises, to [Page 1553](#) stoppe the light that their vngodly misdoings in darknes shal either not be seene, or at the lest may seeme to appeare in colourable appearance of right. In so much that I doe not a little maruell at these qualities in M. Chaunter, the Canon, and the Deane of Worcester, whose vngentle and vntrue behauiour I haue not only knowen, but expertly prooued, and sensibly feelled in two of the first to my great losses whereof I make no complaynt. But I woonder in my mynd and lament in my heart the straunge alteration and wilfull goyng backward of myne old faithfull brother George Constantine, the whiche (knowing them all three to haue bene in tymes past eyther obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the Crosse of Christ, or at the least priuie lurkers vnder pretence of

fauour towardes the Gospell, to sting the poore followers thereof, seekyng but their owne lucre and pleasure in all their doinges) would so earnestly cleaue vnto them in their wrōg deeds, as to betray me with his tong, become vntrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sinne for lucre sake, euen yet stifly persisting in the same (namely) in thyngs manifestly known vnto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited. And as for their premunire, both George and they at my first commyng, vngētly deteining from M. Ferlee hys commission for the Chauncellorship, would haue faced mee downe with premunire, because it was written in my owne name accordyng to the statute: yet was I fayne for the zeale of vnitie, not to see their vncurteous deedes, departing with M. Farlee for the auoydyng of their malice and enuy, and gaue that office for the a••tie of George, vnto M. Chaunter his sonne in lawe, and to D. Merike the office of Cardigan. But seyng afterward their couetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of sinne and specially of shameles whoredome, I was compelled to remooue thē, sore agaynst their wyls: and where as I desired many and sondry tymes charitable redresse of their wrong doyngs in the vacation time, I obtained many faire words, and nothyng in deede. Also desiring to haue sight of the booke of Statutes of the church, for the knowledge of my duety and theirs, I could not obtayne. Desiring to haue a key of y^e Chapter seale, as my L. of Bathe had, they would not deliuer it but vpon conditions: yet was I content to be bridleed, receiuyng it, as pleased them to geue it. And further requiring the sight of necessary euidences, for the declaration of diuers thyngs in trauers of my right, they would in no wyse graunt it. And thereupon consideryng their vngentlenes, I mooued the quo warranto, knowyng right well that if they should shew any substantiall grant vnder the kings seale for their corporation, it must therein appeare the Bish. to be the hed, and euer hath bene vnder the kyng: for other they neuer haue, nor had, except they would returne to Rome againe, as I trust they will not. And yet perceiuyng afterward that they had no speciall graunt to shew, or els such as they would not shew. I my selfe for the respect of vnitie, wrote my letters to the kings Attorney, by reason whereof the quo warranto was stayed, and so yet remaineth. But touching the certificate, y^e kings subsidie beyng due at Michaelmas last, and forborne tyll after Christmas, and lawfully demaunded afore, they dyd vtterly refuse to pay, both to my Uice collector and to my selfe, except I would take it of thē in portions, not knowing where to aske the rest, and it is committed vnto me in the Kings roll, a whole summe in grosse to be receyued of the Canons Residentiaries for their diuidēt, who because they cannot agree in deuiding, would haue the kings maiestie to tary for hys money till they can agree to make diuision. And I cannot demaund it of any perticular person nor at any perticular place. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodnes for the Lordes sake, to persist and continue my good Lord and friend, vnto such tyme as ye fynd me eyther desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willyng to put the iudgement of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touchyng them and their vngentle, vntrue, and vngodly doyngs is too long, and I haue molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shall now surcease: humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldnesse, proceedyng of necessitie, and to pardon it for the loue of our Lorde Iesu, who saue and keepe you in health, comfort, and honor, long to endure for thaduancement of his glory.

Written at Aburguily this ix. of March.

Your Lordships to command during lyfe. R. F.

And thus you haue heard the first trouble of this blessed Martyr of the Lord, in King Edwards dayes, wyth the whole discourse thereof. Which we thought the rather here to expresse, to geue other good bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and haue about them. Briefly, in few wordes to conclude this processe, B. Farrer, partly vpon the importunate sute of his aduersaries, partly vpon the sinister and infortunate fall of the good Duke of Somerset, by whom he had bene before promoted and mayntained, hauyng but small fauour shewed, was deteined in prison, till the death of king Edward, and the commying in of Queene Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose vpon hym being now accused and examined for his fayth and doctrine. The processe of which his trouble here likewyse followeth.

After that the foresayd M. Farrer Bishop of S. Dauids had bene long deteined in custody vnder sureties, in the raigne of king Edward, not for any iust cause of hys part deserued, but by reason that he had bene promoted by the D. of Somerset, and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him agaynst such as hunted after his Bishoprike, at length after the decease of king Edward, by the commying in of Queene Mary, the state of religion began to be chaunged and altered.* Whereby a new trouble rose vpon hym, beyng now accused and examined, not for any matter of Premunire, but for his fayth and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Bish. of Winchester, with M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Bradford, M. Saunders and others aforesayde, the 4. of February. On the which day hee should also with them haue bene condemned: but because laisure or list did not so well then serue the Bish. his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison agayne, where he continued tyll the 14. day of the sayd moneth of February. What his examinations & aunswers were before the said B. of Winchester, so much as remayned and came to our handes, I haue here annexed in maner as followeth.

¶**The answer of Rob. Farrer B. of S. Dauids, before Winchester and others.**

AT his first commying and kneelyng before my Lorde Chauncellour, the Bishop of Duresme,* and the Bish. of Worcester, who sate at the table, and Maister Rochester Maister Southwell, Maister Bourne and other standing at the tables end, the Lord Chauncellor said vnto hym on this sort.

Winchester.

Now sir, you haue heard how the world goeth here.

Farrer.

If it like your honor I know not.

Winch.

What say you? Doe not you know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?

Farrer.

No my L. I know not.

Winchest.

Lo, what a froward fellow is this?

Farrer.

If it please your Lordship, how should I know any thyng abroad, beyng a prisoner?

Winch.

Haue ye not heard of the commyng in of the Lord Cardinal?

Farrer.

I know not my L. Cardinall, but I heard that a Cardinall was come in, but I did not beleue it, and I beleue it not yet.

Worcest.

I pray your Lordship (said the B. of Worcester) tell hym your selfe, that he may know what is done.

Winch.

The Queenes Maiesty and the Parliament,* hath restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginnyng of the raigne of K. Henry the 8. Ye are in y^e Queens debt, and her maiesty will be good vnto you, if you will returne to the catholike church.

Farrer.

In what state I am concernyng my debtes to the Queenes Maiestie in the Court of Exchequer, my Lorde Treasurer knoweth: and the last tyme that I was before your honor, & the first tyme also, I shewed you, that I had made an othe neuer to consent nor agree,* that the Bish. of Rome should haue any power or iurisdiction within this Realme: and further, I need not to reherse to your Lordship, you know it well enough.*

Bourne.

You wer once abiured for heresie (said M. Bourn) in Oxford.

Farrer.

That was I not.

Bourne.

You were.

Farrer.

I was neuer, it is not true.

Bourne.

You went from S. Dauids to Scotland.

Farrer.

That did I not.

Bourne.

You did.

Farrer.

That did I neuer, but I went from Yorke into Scotland.

Bourne.

Ah so said I: you went with Barlow.

Farrer.

That is true, but neuer from S. Dauids.

Bourne.

You caried bookes out of Oxford, to the Archb. of Yorke, L. Lee▪

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Farrer.

That did I not.

Bourne.

You did.

Farrer.

I did not, but I caried old bookes from s. Oswalds to the B. of Yorke.*

Bourne.

You supplanted your maister.

Farrer.

That did I neuer in my lyfe.

Bourne.

By my faith you did.

Farrer.

Forsooth I did not, neuer in my life, but I did shield and saue my Maister from danger, and that I obtained of King Henry the eight, for my true seruice, I thanke God therefore.

Bourne.

My L. (said M. Bourne to my L. Chauncellor) he hath an ill name in Wales, as euer had any.

Farrer.

That is not so. Whosoeuer sayth so, they shall neuer be able to prooue it.

Bourne.

He hath deceyued the Queene in diuers summes or money.

Farrer.

That is vtterly vntrue. I neuer deceiued king nor Queene, of one peny in my life, and you shall neuer be able to prooue that you say.

Winchest.

Thou art a false knaue.

Farrer.

Then Farrer stood vp vnbidden (for all that whyle he kneeled) and sayd: No my Lord, I am a true man, I thanke God for it. I was borne vnder King Henry the seuenth,* I serued King Henry the eight, and K. Edward the sixt truely, and haue serued the Queenes Maiestie that now is, truely

with my poore heart and word: more I could not do, and I was neuer false, nor shall be by the grace of God.

Winch.

How sayest thou, wilt thou be reformable?

Farrer.

*My L. if it like your honor, I haue made an othe to God and to K. Henry the 8. and also to K. Edward, and in that to the Queenes Maiestie, the which I can neuer breake while I liue, to dye for it.

Duresme.

You haue made another oth before.

Farrer.

No my Lord, I neuer made another oth before.

Duresme.

You made a vow.

Farrer.

That did I not.

Winch

You made a profession to lyue without a wyfe.

Farrer.

*No, my Lorde, if it lyke your honour, that did I neuer, I made a profession to lyue chaste, not without a wyfe.

Worcest.

You were sworne to him that was M. of your house.

Farrer.

That was I neuer.

Winchest.

Well, you are a froward knaue: we wil haue no more to do with you, seing that you will not come, we wil be short with you, & that you shall know within this seuennight.

Farrer.

*I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me, but I cannot breake my othe which your Lordship your selfe made before me, and gaue in example: the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can neuer breake that othe whilest I lyue to dye for it.

Duresme.

Well, sayeth he, he standeth vpon his othe: call an other.

My L. Chauncellor then did ring a little bell, and M. Farrer said: I pray God saue the King & Queenes maiesties, long to cōtinue in honor to gods glory, & their comfortes, and the comfort of the whole Realme, and I pray God saue all your honors, and so he departed.

After these examinations thus ended, B. Farrer so remayned in prison vncondemned, till the xiiij. day (as is aforesaid) of February, & then was sent down into Wales, there to receiue sentence of condemnation. Who then vpō the 26. of February, in the Church of Carmarthen, beyng brought by Griffith Leyson Esquire, shirife of the Countie of Carmarthen, was there personally presented before Henry Bish. of S. Dauids, * and Constantine the publike Notarie: which Henry, there and then discharged the said Shiriffe, and receyued hym into his owne custodie, further committing hym to the keping of Owen Iones, and thereupon declared vnto the sayd M. Farrer, the great mercy and clemency that the King and Queenes highnes pleasure was to be offered vnto him, which he there dyd offer vnto the sayd M. Farrer: that is to say, that if hee would submit himselfe to the lawes of this Realme, and conforme hymselfe to the vnitie of the vniuersall catholike church, he should be receiued and pardoned: and after that seeying the sayd M. Farrer to geue no aunswer to the premisses, the sayd B. ministred vnto hym these Articles followyng.

¶Articles deuised against B. Farrer.

1 First, whether he beleeueth the mariage of priests to be lawfull by the lawes of God & holy church, or no?

2 Item, whether he beleeueth, * that in the blessed Sacrament of the aaltar, after the wordes of consecration duely pronounced by the priest, the very body & bloud of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substāce of bread and wyne.

Unto the which articles the said B. required the sayd M. Farrer to answer vpon his allegiance. *

To which he said, he would aunswer when he sawe a lawfull commission, and would make no further answer at that tyme. Whereupon the sayd B. taking no aduauntage vpon the same

aunswer, committed him to the sayde keeper, to be kept in prison vntill a new monition, and in the meane tyme to deliberate with himselfe for his further answer to the premisses.

¶**Another examination of the Bish of S. Dauids, before Henry Morgan the pretended Bishop of S. Dauids, George Constantine his Register, and others, the last of February. Ann. 1555.**

THis day and place, Morgan the pretended Byshop of S. Dauids, sittynge as Iudge,* ministred vnto Bishop Farrer there personally present before hym certaine Articles and Interrogatories in writing, which beyng openly read and ministred vnto hym, the sayd B. Farrer refused to aunswere, vntill he might see his lawfull Commission and authoritie. Whereupon the foresayd pretended Bishop of S. Dauids, did pronounce him as Contumax, and for the punishment of this his contumacie, to be counted Pro confesso, and so did pronounce him in writyng: which beyng done, he committed the sayd Bish. to the custody of Owen Ihones, vntill Monday next, beyng the 4. day of March, then to be brought agayne into the same place, betweene one and two.

Another appearance of the said B. Farrer, before Morgan the pretended Bishop of S. Dauids.

ITem, the day and place appointed,* the said Bish. appearing agayne before the pretended B. humbly submittyng hymselfe as ready to aunswer to the articles and positions aboue mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent terme to be assigned vnto hym to answer for hymselfe: which beyng graunted vnto hym, & Thursday next beyng assigned vnto hym betweene one and thre, to answer precisely and fully, so he was committed againe to custody, as aboue.

Another appearance of the said Bishop.

ON Thursday as was appointed,* which was the 7. of March, the said B. personally again appeared, where he exhibited a certaine bill in writing, conteinyng in it his answer vnto certaine articles objected and ministred vnto him before. Then after Henry the pretended B. of S. Dauids offred him agayne the sayd articles as before: the tenor wherof tended to this effect.

First, that he willed him beyng a priest,* to abrenounce matrimony.

Secondly, to graunt the naturall presence of Christ in the sacrament, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Thirdly, that the Masse is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

Fourthly, that general Councels lawfully congregated, neuer did, nor can erre.

Fiftly, that men are not iustified before God by fayth only, but that hope and charity is also necessarily required to iustification.

Sixtly, that the catholike church which onely hath authority to expound scriptures, and to define controuersies of religion, and to ordeine things appertaining to publike discipline, is visible, and like vnto a citie set vpon a mountayne for all men to vnderstand.

To these articles thus objected to hym,* hee refused to subscribe, affirming that they were inuented and excogitated by man, and pertaine nothing to the Catholike fayth. After this the Bish. abouenamed, deliuered vnto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next followyng, to aunswer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatiuely, or negatiuely.

Another appearance of Bish. Farrer.

Vpon the which Monday, being the xj. day of March,* he appearing agayne before the Bish. and the foresayd [Page 1555](#) Notary George Constantine, exhibited in a written paper, his mynd & answer to the foresayd Articles, which the Bishop had twice now objected agaynst hym before. To the which Articles and aunsweres, he dyd so subscribe, addyng these wordes, as tenens se de aequitate & iustitia esse Episcopum Meneuensem, that the Bishop assigned the next Wednesday in the fore noone, to heare his finall and definitiue sentence.

¶The last appearance of Bishop Farrar.

The which day and place the said B. and true seruaunt of God M. Farrer,* personally there appearyng, was demanded of Henry the pretensed B. of S. Davids, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schismes, and errorrs (as hee called them) which hitherto hee had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholike articles, otherwise then he had done before.

After this the sayd godly M. Farrer did exhibite a certayne schedule written in English, and remayning in the Actes, appealyng withall by expresse word of mouth from the Bishop,* as from an incompetent Iudge, to Cardinall Poole, &c.

All which notwithstanding, the sayd B. proceeding in hys rage, pronounced the definitiue sentence agaynst him, conteyned in writyng, and there left in the Actes: by the which sentence he pronounced hym as an heretike excommunicate, & to be geuen vp forthwith to the secular power, namely to the Shiriffe of the towne of Carmarthen, M. Leyson. The tenour of which sentence, as well of hys condemnation, as of his degradation here followeth.

¶The sentence of condemnation agaynst Bishop Farrar.

IN Dei nomine. Amen. Nos Henricus permissione diuina Meneuen. episcopus iudicialiter, & pro tribunali sedentes, in quodam inquisitionis & haereticae prauitatis, negotio, contra te Robertum Ferrar praesbyterum, coram nobis in iudicio personaliter comparentem, & nobis super haeretica prauitate traditum, ac fama, & notorietate facti delatum, ac in ea parte legitime procedendo auditis, visis, & intellectis, rimatis, ac matura deliberatione discussis, & ponderatis dicti negotij meritis & circumstantijs, seruatisque in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de iure seruandis, ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine inuocato, ac ipsum solum deum prae oculis nostris habentes: Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, confessata & ex parte tua coram nobis in eodem negotio, saepius recognita, asserta, & confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas iudiciales, coram nobis iudicialiter factas, eriores, haereses, & falsas opiniones subscriptas, iure diuino, ac Catholicae vniuersalis & Apostolicae ecclesiae determinationi obuiantes, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, praedicasse, & dogmatizasse infra dioecesem nostram Meneuen. Viz. Quod licet cuicumque

religioso etiam expresse professo & praesbytero post susceptam professionem, & post susceptum praesbyteratus ordinem, ducere vxorem, ac cum eadem tanquam cum vxore legitima conuersari. Item sacras religiones ab ecclesia catholica institutas cum scandalo damnasse, & reprobasse. Item, quod in Eucharistia, siue altaris sacramento vna cum corpore & sanguine Christi remanet substantia panis & vini. Item, quod Missa non est sacrificium noui testamēti, propitiatorium pro vniuersis atque defunctis. Et Sacramentum altaris non esse in altari ministrandum eleuandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item, quod homo sola fide iustificatur. Quos quidem errores, haereses, & falsas opiniones iure diuino ac Catholicae vniuersalis & Apostolicae ecclesiae determinationi obuiantes, &c.

¶Here followeth the copy of his degradation.

IN nomine patris, ✚ & filij, ✚ spiritus sancti, ✚ Amen. Quia nos Henricus permissione diuina Meneuen. episc. per viam inquisitionis in negotio hereticae prauitatis cognoscentes te Robertum Ferrar clericum propter tuam manifestam contumaciam & obstinatiam per nos nunciatum fuisse & esse in illud detestabile crimen haeresis multipliciter incidisse & commisisse quod cum non solum grande, sed etiam damnabile & damnosum sit, & adeo enorme, quod exinde non tantum diuina maiestas offensa, sed & vniuersa dioecesis Mēeuensis cōmota est, & ab hoc indignus officio sacerdotali & ecclesiastico sis redditus. Idcirco nos auctoritate dei patris omnipotentis, & filij, & spiritus sancti, & nostra te ab omni huiusmodi officio sententialiter perpetuo priuamus in hijs scriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus realiter, & actualiter secundum traditionem Canonum deponendum, & degradādum, prout in ordinario & ponti ficali contineturdegradamus, prout sequitur. In primis amouemus a te. &c.

Thus this godly bishop being condemned and disgraded, was committed to the secular power: * who not long after, was brought to the place of executiō in the towne of Carmarthen, where he in the market place in the Southside

[illustration]

¶The cruell burnyng of Maister Farrar, Martyr.

* of the market crosse, the xxx. day of March, beyng Saturday next before Passion sonday, most constantly susteyned the torments and passion of the fire.

Touchyng the which constancie of this blessed Martyr, this is moreouer to be added and noted: * that one named Richard Iones, a Knights sonne, comming to maister Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the paynefulnesse of the death he had to suffer. Unto whome the Bishop aunswered agayne to this effect, saying: that if he saw hym once to stirre in the paynes of his burnyng, he should then geue no credite to his doctrine. And as hee sayd, so he right well performed the same, for so paciently he stode, that he neuer mooued, but euen as he stode holdyng vp his stumpes, so still he continued, till one Rich. Grauell with a staffe dashed hym vpon the head, and so stroke hym downe.

¶Letters.

As touching the letters of M. Farrer, we do not finde many that he did write. And peraduenture in Queene Maries tyme his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time it was permitted to hym to write. Albeit in his other troubles in kyng Edwards tyme, certayne letters he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the Erle of Warwike, which letters although they might be well referred to the first edition of this story, yet because in the sayd letters is conteyned briefly and in few lynes, the whole discourse of hys vniust vexation at that tyme wrought by his aduersaries, I thought good not to passe them ouer, but to communicate them vnto the Reader, for the better vnderstanding both of the innocencie of y^r blessed B. and of the crafty iniquitie of his conspired enemies: as in the sayd letters here folowing to the indifferent reader may easily appeare.

¶The copy of a certaine letter of the Bishop of S. Davids, written belike to the L. Chancellor Doct. Goodricke Bishop of Ely.

MOst humbly sheweth vnto your honor, your poore orator Rob. Bish. of S. Davids, that where as one Tho. Lee (by the procurement of Tho. Yong, Rowland Mericke beyng both Canons of S. Davids, and George Constantine Register to the sayd bishop) hath exhibited vnto your honor agaynst him certaine articles, in the which are mentioned many triflyng thyngs vnworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and also theyr pretensed weighty articles, (as they haue alledged there) are vtterly vntrue, for prooffe whereof, the sayd Thomas Lee hath had [Page 1556](#) Commissions into the countrey: therfore it may please your honour of your fauourable goodnesse, to graunt vnto your said Oratour a like Commission for the examination of witnesses in defence of his truth and honesty, against the aforementioned Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Tho. Yong, Rowland Mericke, and all other persons with their vniust articles, attestations, and sayings deposed agaynst hym. And in tender consideration that your said Orator standeth bounden and sureties with hym, in the summe of a thousand markes,* to appeare before the kyngs Iustice in the Sessions at Carmarthen, in Iuly next commyng, to aunswer to a forged matter of Premunire, by the procurement and counsaile of his forenamed aduersaries malitiously surmised agaynst hym, to his vtter vndoing: and furthermore, that your Orator beyng in debt to the kyngs maiesty, by reason of the malitious vexation of his foresayd aduersaries, cannot (if he remaine here) satisfie the same (for where as there be rerages to a great summe as well of the kyngs money, as of hys owne rentes, he can receyue none thereof, his aduersaries haue made such ill report, to his discredite, bearyng the people in hand that he shall come no more thither, by reason of which bruite, neyther hys owne tenaunts will pay their rentes and rerages, nor the priests their rerages due to the Kings Maiestie, as well for anno secundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto.) In consideration of all these thyngs, it may please your honourable goodnes to licence your sayd Oratour to depart into the Dioces for these affaires and other: & he shall be ready at all tymes at your honourable commaundement and pleasure to repaire againe, and euer to pray to the Lord Iesu for the perpetuall conseruation of your honor to his glory.

Besides this letter he wrote another likewise to y^e said Lord (who was, as seemeth, D. Goodricke L. Chancellor afore mentioned) wherein he declareth the whole cause of his trouble, how it rose against him by his aduersaries, as here followeth.

¶Another letter written by the B. of S. Davids, to the L. Chancellor aforesayd.

Right honourable, and my very especiall good Lorde, with humble seruice and hearty thanks to God,* and to you for your godly fauour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most louingly admonishing me to incline vnto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and vnity. This is further to beseeche your Lordship for the Lordes sake, not to be grieued, but benignly to heare and grauely to ponder that weighty matter, which appearing to other but a light griefe, to me is in very deede a right grievous offence to Godward, with no little hinderaunce of his holy worde, and disturbaunce of the Kings godly proceedyngs, and may be great occasion of much inobedience, and disorder of good lyfe.

Wherefore I am straitly bounden for the true zeale that I ought to beare vnto the word of lyfe, Christian religion the kings maiesties honor, and the godly quiet state of his people, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redres to be sought at his maiesties hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and vpriht Counsayle, but with hearty affection to beare it vp agaynst those high mynded, arrogant, stubborne, ambitious, couetous Canons, trusting in their biting tongues, with crafty preuention and vtterly vntrue surmises, to stop the lyght, that theyr vngodly misdoyns in darkenesse shal eyther not be seene, or at the least may haue a coulourable appearaunce of right. In so much that I do not a little meruayle at these qualities in Maister Chaunter, the Canon and the Deane of Worcester, whose vngentle and vntrue behauiour I haue not onely knowen, but expertly prooued, and sensibly felte in two of the first, to my great losses, whereof I make no complaint.

*But I wonder in my mynde and lament in my heart, the strange alteration & wilfull goyng backward of myne old faithful brother George Constātine, the which knowyng them all three to haue bene in tymes past, either obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the crosse of Christ, or (at the least) priuy lurkers vnder pretence of fauour towards the Gospell, to sting the poore followers therof, seking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleaue vnto them in their wrong deeds as to betray me with his tong, become vntrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sinne for lucre sake, euen yet stifly persisting in the same, namely, in thyngs manifestly knowen vnto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

And as for their Premunire, both George & they, at my first commyng,* vngently deteinyng from M. Ferlee hys commission of the Chauncellorship, would haue faced me down with the Premunire, because it was written in myne owne name according to the statute: yet was I faine for the zeale of vnity, not to see their vncurteous deedes, departing with M. Ferlee, for the auoyding of theyr malice and enuy, and gaue that office for the amitie of George, vnto M. Chaunter his sonne in lawe,* and to D. Mericke the office of Cardigan. But seeyng afterward theyr couetous respect to their owne glory and lucre, not regardyng the reformatiō of sinne, and especially of shameles whoredome, I was compelled to remooue them,* sore agaynst their wylls: and whereas I desired many and sundry tymes charitable redresse of their wrong doings in the vacation tyme, I obteyned many fayre wordes, and nothing in deede.

And desiring to haue sight of the booke of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duetie and theirs,* I could not obteine. Desiring to haue a key of the Chapter house seale, as my L. of Bath had, they would not deliuer it, but vpon conditions: yet was I contented to be brideled,

receiuyng it as it pleased them to geue it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary euidences for the declaration of diuers thyngs, in trauers of my right, they would in no wyse graunt it. And thereupon consideryng theyr vngentlenesse, I mooued the Quo warranto, knowyng right well that if they should shew any substantiall graunt vnder the kings seale for their corporation, it must therin appeare, the B. to be the head, and euer hath bene vnder the king: for other they neyther haue, nor had, except they would returne to Rome againe, as I trust they will not. And yet perceiuyng afterward, that they had no speciall graunt to shew, or els such as they would not shew, I my self for the respect of vnitie, wrote my letters to the Kyngs Attorney, by reason wherof the Quo warranto was stayed, and so yet remayneth.

But as touching the certificate, the kings subsidie beyng due at Michaelmas last, and forborne til after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did vtterly refuse to pay, both to my Uice collector and to my selfe, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowyng where to aske the rest, and it is committed vnto me in the kings roll a whole summe in grosse, to be receyued of the Canons residentaries for their Diuident: who because they cannot agree in diuiding, would haue the kings maiesty to tary for his money, till they can agree to make diuision: and I cannot demand it of any perticular person, nor at any perticular place.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodnes for the Lordes sake, to persist and continue my good Lord and friend, vnto such time as ye finde me either desiring to be defended in my wrōg, or not willyng to put the iudgemēt of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their vngētle, vntrue, and vngodly doyns is too long, and I haue molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shal now surcease: humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldnes proceding of necessity, and to pardon it for the loue of our Lord Iesu: who saue and keep you in helth, comfort, and honor, long to endure, for the aduauncement of his glory.

Written at Agurguily this ix. of March.

Your Lordships to command during lyfe. R. F.

¶The history of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiffe in Wales, about the moneth of March, for the testimony of Christes Gospell, reported by Iohn Dane beyng yet alyue, who was almost continually with hym duryng his trouble, vnto hys death.

FOr so much as we haue here passed the history of Maister Farrer,* burned at the town of Carmardē in Wales I thought to adioyne and accompany with the same, the history also of one Rawlins White, a Fisherman, whiche both in the like cause, and in the same countrey of Wales, & also about the same moneth of March, and yere aforesayd, gaue his life like a valiāt souldior of Iesus Christ, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiffe: the proces of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a Fisherman, liuing & continuing in the said trade by the space of xx. yeres at the least, in the town of Cardiffe, beyng (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, & well accompted amongst hys neighbours. As touchyng his religion at the first, it can not otherwyse be knownen, but that he was a great partaker of the

superstitiō and Idolatry that then was vsed, I meane in the raigne of K. Henry the 8. But after that God of his mercy had raysed [Page 1557](#) vp the light of his Gospell, thorough the blessed gouernment of K. Edward the vj. here in this Realme of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before hee had embraced, and to haue some good opinion of that which before by the iniquitie of the tyme had ben concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to passe, he began to be a diligēt hearer, and a great searcher out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether vnlearned, and withall very simple, he knew no ready way how hee might satisfie his great desire: At length it came in hys mynde to take a speciall remedy to supply hys necessite, which was this: He had a little boy which was his own sonne, which childe he set to schoole to learne to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently wel, his father euery night after supper, sommer and winter, would haue the boy to read a piece of the holy scripture, & now and then of some other good booke. In which kind of vertuous exercise, the olde man had such a delight & pleasure, that as it semed, he rather practised himself in the study of Scripture, then in the trade or science which before tyme he had vsed: so that Rawlins within few yeares in the said tyme of K. Edward,* through the help of his little sonne, as a special minister appointed by god (no dout) for that purpose, & through much conscience besides, profited & went forward in such sort, that he was able not onely to resolute himselfe touching his owne former blindnes & ignorāce, but was also able to admonish and instruct other: and therefore when occasion serued, he would go from one place to an other,* visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doying, he became in that countrey both a notable and open professor of the truth, beyng at all tymes and in all such places, not without y^e company of his litle boy, whom (as I haue said) he vsed as an assistance to this hys good purpose. And to this his great industry and indeuor in holy scripture, God did also adde in him a singular gyft of memory, so that by the benefite therof he would & could do that in vouching and rehersing of the text,* which men of riper and more profound knowlege, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish. In so much that he vpon the alledging of scripture, very often would cite the booke, the leafe, yea and the very sentence: such was the wonderfull working of God in this simple and vnlearned father.

Nowe when he had thus continued in his profession the space of fiue yeares, K. Edward died, vpon whose decease Queene Mary succeeded, and with her all kynde of superstition and Papistrie crepte in. Which thing beyng one perceyued, Rawlins did not altogether vse open instruction and admonition (as before he was woont) and therefore oftētimes in some priuate place or other, he would call his trusty friends together, & with earnest prayer and great lamentation passe away the time, so that by his vertuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he conuerted a great number, which number (no doubt) had greatly encreased, had not the cruel storme of persecution bene.

The extremitie and force whereof, at the last so pursued this good father Rawlins, that hee looked euery houre to goe to prison: whereupon many of those which had receyued comfort by his instructions, did resort vnto hym, and by all meanes possible began to perswade him to shift for hymselfe, and to dispose hys goods by some reasonable order to the vse of his wyfe and children,* & by that meanes he should escape that daunger which was imminent ouer his head.

But Rawlins nothyng abashed for hys owne part, through the iniquity of the tyme, & at all nothyng mooued with these their fleshly perswasions, thanked them most hartily for their good will, and told them plainely, that hee had learned one good lesson touching the confessing & denial of Christ,* aduertising them, that if he vpon their perswasions should presume to deny his maister Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and vtterly condemne hym: and therfore (quoth he) I will by hys fauourable grace confes and beare witnes of him before men, that I may find him in euerlastyng lyfe.

Notwithstandyng which aunswer, his friends were very importunate with hym. Howbeit, father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose, so long till at the last he was taken by the Officers of the towne, as a man suspected of heresie: vpon which apprehension he was conuented before the B. of Landaffe that then was,* the sayd B. lying then at hys house besides Chepstow: by whome, after diuers combates and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this hys kepyng, whether it were by the Bishops meanes, because he would rid hys handes of hym, or through the fauour of hys keeper,* was not so seuer and extreme, but that (if he had so listed) hee myght haue escaped oftentimes.

But that notwithstandyng, hee continued still, in so much, that at the last he by the aforementioned Bishop was remooued from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiffe, where he continued by the space of one whole yeare. Duryng which tyme, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other reliefe from this reporters mother (who was a great fauourer of those that were in affliction in those dayes) and other of hys friends: which he receyued not without great thanks and prayses geuen to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, as ye haue heard, to hys owne vndoyng in this world, and to the vtter decay of his poore wyfe & children: yet was hys heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of other in the way of saluation, that he was neuer in quiet, but when he was perswading or exhorting such of hys familiar frends as commonly came vnto him.* In so much that on the Sondayes and other tymes of laisure, when his friends came to visite hym, hee would passe away the tyme in prayer and exhortations, admonishyng them alwayes to beware of false Prophets which come in sheeps clothyng.

Now when hee had continued in Cardiffe Castle by the space of one whole yeare (as I haue sayde) the tyme of hys further triall was at hand. Whereupon,* the aforementioned Bishop of Landaffe caused him to be broughte agayne from the castle of Cardiffe vnto his owne house besides Chepstow, & whilest he continued there, y^e Bishoppe assayed many wayes howe to reduce him to some conformitie. But when all meanes eyther by theyr threatning wordes or flattering promises were to no purpose: the Byshoppe willed him to aduise and be at a full poynte with hymselfe, eyther to recant hys opinions, or els to abide the rigor of the lawe, and thereupon gaue him a day of determination.

Which day beyng come, the Bishop with hys Chaplaynes went into his chappell,* not without a great number of other by dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doyngs. When the Bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poore Rawlins was brought before them. The Bishop after great deliberation in addressyng hymselfe (as it seemed) and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present, vsed a long kynd of talke to him, declaring the cause of hys sendyng for, which was, for that hee was a man well knowen to hold hereticall opinions, and that

through his instruction many were led into blynd error. In the end he exhorted hym to consider hys owne estate wherein he stood: for (said the B.) Rawlins, you haue bene oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house,* and els where bene trauailed withal touching your opinions, and that notwithstanding ye seeme altogether obstinate and wilfull.

Now hereupon we thought good to sende for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this poynt, that if you shall shew your selfe repentant for that which you haue done both agaynst God and the princes law, we are ready to vse fauour towards you: but if by no meanes we can perswade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law vnto you, and therefore aduise your self what you will do.

When the B. had made an ende of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake very boldly to him, and sayd:* My Lord. I thanke God I am a christian mā, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God, & if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the worde of God, as a christian mā ought to be: many mo words in like sort wer betwene the B. & Raulins, which this reporter doth not wel remēber. But in the end when Rawlins would in no wyse recant his opinions, the B. told him plainly, y^t he must proceed against him by y^e law, & condemn him as an heretike.

Proceed in your law a Gods name said Rawlins, but for an heretike you shal neuer condemn me while y^e world standeth.* But (said the B. to his company) before we proceed any further with hym, let vs pray vnto God that he would send some sparke of grace vppon him, (meanynge Rawlins) & it may so chance that God through our prayer will here turne and conuert his heart. When Rawlins heard the B. say so, Ah my Lord, quoth he, now you deale well and like a godly Bish. and I thanke you most hartily for your great charity and gentlenes. Christ saith: where as two or three be gathered in my name, I will be in the midst of them, and there be moe then two or three of you. Now if it be so that your request be godly and lawfull, and that that you pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will heare you. And therefore my Lord goe to, doe you praye [Page 1558](#) to your God,* and I wil pray to my God, I know that my God will both heare my prayer, and performe my desire.

By and by the B. with his company fell to praier. And Rawlins turning himselfe to a pew that stood somewhat neare him,* fell downe vpon his knees couering hys face with his handes: and when they had praied a while, the B. with his company arose from prayer. And then also arose Rawlins, and came before the Bishop.

Then said the B. Now Rawlins▪ how is it with thee? wilt thou reuoke thy opinions, or no? Surely (said Rawlins) my Lorde, Rawlins you lefte me, and Rawlins you finde me, and by Gods grace Rawlins I will continue.* Certainly if your petitions had bene iust and lawefull, God woulde haue hearde them: but you honor a false God and pray not as ye should pray, and therfore hath not God graunted your desire: But I am one poore simple man as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his owne cause.

The Bishop when he perceiued that this hipocrisie of theirs tooke none effect, then with hot wordes he reprovved him, and forthwith was ready to read tht sentence. Howbeit vppon some aduise geuen to him by his Chapleynes that were there present, hee thought best firste to haue a

masse, thinking that in deed by so doing, some wonderfull worke should be wrought in Rawlins, and thereuppon a priest began Masse.

In the meane tyme poore Rawlins betooke himselfe to prayer in a secret place therby, vntill such time as the priest came to the Sacring (as they terme it) whiche is a principall poynt of theyr Idolatry. When Rawlins hearde the Sacring bell ring (as the vse was) he rose out of hys place and came to the Qu•ere doore, and there standing a while, turned himselfe to the people, speaking these wordes: good people,* if there be any Brethren amongst you, or at the least if there be but one Brother amongst you, the same one beare witnesse at the daye of iudgement, that I bowe not to this Idoll, meaning the Host that the Priest held ouer his head.

The Masse being ended, Rawlins eftsoones was called for agayne.* To whom the Bishop vsed many perswasions: but the blessed man continued stedfast in his former profession, that the Bishops talke was altogether in vayne, and to no purpose. Wherupon the Bishop caused the definitiue sentēce to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed, and from thence he was by the bishops commaundement caried agayn to Cardiffe, there to be put into the prison of y^e towne, called Cockmarell, a very darck lothsome, and most vile prison.

Rawlins in the meane while passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of Psalmes: which kynde of godly exercises he alwayes vsed, both at Cardiffe Castle & in all other places.

*Nowe, after hee hadde thus continued as Prisoner in Cockmarell Prison at Cardiffe (as is aforesayde) a good space, about three weekes before the daye wherein hee suffered, the head Officers of the Towne that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burne hym, because they woulde be sooner ryd of hym: hauing not in deede a writ of executiō awarded, as by the law they should haue.

Whereuppon one Henrye Lewes the Recorder of the Towne that then was, seeyng that they wente aboute to burne hym without any warrant by writ, came to them, and told them, that if they did burne hym before they had the writte De haereticis comburendis, the Wyfe of the sayde Rawlins would vpon iust cause by law, call theyr doings into question.

Immediately vppon this aduertisement, they sent to London for the writ aboue named: vpon the receipt wherof they made some speede to the execution of the sayd Raulins.* Nowe when the daye was come, wherein the good father should performe and accomplish the last Act of thys his worthy conflict, he was the night before wylled to prepare himselfe.

Now, when he perceiued his time no lesse neare then it was reported vnto hym, he sent forthwith to hys Wyfe, and willed her by the messēger that in any wise she should make readye,* and send vnto him his wedding Garment, meaning a Shyrt, whiche afterwarde hee was burned in. Which request or rather commaundement of his, his wife with great sorow and grieve of hart did performe, and early in the morninge did send it him, whiche he receiued moste gladly and ioyfully.

Nowe whē the houre of his execution was come, this good and constant father Raulins was brought out of prison, hauing on his body the long Shyrt, Whiche (as you heard before) he called

his wedding garment, and an olde Russet coate whiche he was wont to weare. Besides this, he had vpon his legges an olde payre of leather Buskins which he had vsed long afore. And thus being brought out of the prison (as I haue sayd) he was accompanied or rather garded with a great company of Billes and gleaues: * which sight when he behelde: Alas (quoth he) what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By Gods grace I wyll not start away: but I with all my hart & minde geue vnto God most harty thanks that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy names sake.

So he came to a place in his waye where as his poore wife and children stode weeping and makynge greate lamentation: the suddain sight of whom so pierced his hart, that the very teares trickled downe his face. * But he soone after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himselfe: In so muche that in striking his brest with his hand▪ he vsed these wordes: Ah flesh, stayest thou me so? wouldest thou fayne preuayle? Well, I tell thee doe what thou canst, thou shalt not, by Gods grace, haue the victory. * By this tyme this poore innocent came to y^e very altar of his sacrifice (I meane the place appoynted for his death) and there found a stake ready set vp, with some wood toward the making of the fire. Which when he behelde, he sette for7ard hymselfe very boldly: but in going toward y^e stake he fell down vpon his knees and kissed the ground, & in rising agayn, the earth a litle sticking on his nose, he said these wordes: Earth vnto earth, and dust vnto dust, thou art my mother, and vnto thee I shall returne. Then went he chearfully & very ioyfully, and set his backe close vnto the stake, & when he had stood there a while, he cast his eye vpon this Reporter, * & called him vnto him, and sayd: I feele a great fighting betwene the flesh and the spirit, & the flesh would very fayne haue his swinge, and therefore I pray you when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger vp to me, and I trust I shall remember my selfe.

As he was thus standing with his back close vnto the stake, a Smith came with a great chayne of yron: whom when he saw, he cast vp his hand with a loude voice, and gaue God great thanks. Then the Smith cast the chayne about him, and as he was making it fast on the other syde, * Rawlins sayde vnto him, I pray you good frend knocke in the chayne fast, for it may be that the fleshe would striue mightely: but God of thy great mercy geue me strength & pacience to abide the extremity.

Nowe when the Smyth had made hym sure to the stake, the officers beganne to lay on more woode, with a litle strawe and Reede: wherein the good old man was no lesse occupied then the best: * for as far as he could reach his handes, he would plucke the strawe and Reede, and lay it about hym in places moste conuenient for his speedy dispatche. Which thing he did with suche a chearefull countenance and familiar gesture, that al men there present were in a maner astonyed.

Thus when all thynges were readye, so that there lacked nothyng but the putting to of the fire, directly ouer against the stake in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, * whereon stept vp a Priest addressing hym selfe to speake to the people, which were many in number, because it was market day. Whē Rawlins perceiued him, and considered the cause of his comming, he reached a litle straw vnto him, and made two litle stayes, & set them vnder his elbowes. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherin he spake of many thinges touching y^e authoritie of the church of Rome. In the meane time Rawlins gaue such good care and intention, that he seemed nothing at all moued or disquieted. At the last the priest came to the

sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inuey against Rawlins opinions: in which his inuection he cited the common place of Scripture, and therupon made a Clerklye interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceyued that he went aboute not onely to preach and teach the people false doctrine, but also to confirme it by Scripture, he suddenly starte vp, and beckened his hands to the people, saying twise: Come hither good people, & heare not a false prophet preaching: and then sayd vnto the preacher: Ah thou naughty hypocrite, doest thou presume to proue thy false doctrine by Scripture? Looke in the text what foloweth: dyd not Christ say: Doo this in the remembraunce of me▪^{*} After which wordes the Priest being rather amazed then interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cryed out, Put fire, set to fire: which being set to, the strawe and Reede by and by caste vp both a great and suddaine flame. In the which flame this good & blessed man bathed his handes so long, vntill such time as the sinewes shronke, and the fatte dropped away, sauing that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. Al this while, which was somewhat long, he cryed with a loude voyce: O Lorde receiue my soule: O [Page 1559](#)

[illustration]

^{*}¶The burning of Raulins, Martyr.

^{*} Lord receiue my spirit, vntill he could not opē his mouth. At the laste the extremitye of the fire was so vehement agaynst his legges,^{*} that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned: whiche made the whole body fall ouer the chayne into the fire sooner then it would haue done. During which tyme of his burning it can not be sayd, that he suffered or felt any great paine, considering that not without his perfect memory he aboad both quietly and paciently, euen vnto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins for the testimony of Gods truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, w^t the crown of euerlasting life.

It is recorded furthermore of the sayd good father Raulins by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake,^{*} he seemed in a maner to be altered in nature. For wheras before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, hauing a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withall very soft in speech and gesture.

Now he went and stretched vppe himselfe, not onelye bolt vpight, but also bare withall a most pleasant and cōfortable countenaunce, not without great courage and audacity both in speache and behaiour. He had (of whiche thing I shoulde haue spoken before) about his head a kerchiefe. The heares of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe) and also of his beard were more inclined to white then to gray: whiche gaue such a shewe and countenaunce to his whole person, that he semed to be altogether angelicall.

^{*}It is also sayd by this Reporter, that a litle before the fire flashed vp to his body (as ye haue heard) many of his frendes came to him, and tooke him by the hand, amongst whome, the Reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose, and forced them to sunder. In the meane time the priest of whome I spake afore, cryed out, and sayd, that it was not lawfull for any man to take him by the hand, because he was an hereticke, and cōdemned

by the Church. The chiefe cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was at the time of his death, of the age of threescore yeares or thereaboutes.

***The summe of the wordes spoken by Queene Mary to certayne of her Counsellers. March. 28. an. 1555. touching the restitution of Abbey landes.**

BEfore I passe ouer this moneth of Marche, I can not but leaue a litle memorandum of the wordes or consultation of Queene Mary, vsed to certayne of the Counsel, the eight and twenty day of the sayd month of March, touching the restoring agayne of the Abbey landes. Who after she had called vnto her presence foure of her priuie Counsell, the day and Moneth aforesayd: the names of whiche Counsellers were these:

- 1 William Lord Marques of Winchester high treasurer of England.*
- 2 Syr Robert Rochester knight, the queenes Controller.
- 3 Syr William Peter knight, Secretary.
- 4 Syr Fraunces Inglefielde knight, Mayster of Wardes.

The sayde Queene Mary inferred these wordes: the principall effecte and summe whereof here foloweth.* You are here of our Counsell, and we haue willed you to be called vnto vs, to the entent ye might heare of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, cōcerning the lands & possessions as well of Monasteries, as other Churches whatsoever being now presently in my possession.

Firste, I doe consider, that the sayd landes were taken awaye from the Churches aforesayde, in time of schisme, and that by vnlawfull meanes, suche as are contrary both to the law of God and of the Church.* For the which cause my conscience doeth not suffer mee to deteyne them: and therefore I here expressly refuse eyther to clayme or to retayne the sayde landes for mine, but with all my hart, freely, and willingly without all paction or condition, here and before God I doe surrender and relinquishe the sayde landes and possessions or inheritaunces what so euer,* and doe renounce the same with this minde and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seeme best liking to our most holy Lord the Pope, or els his Legate the Lord Cardinall, to the honour of God and wealth of this our Realme.

And albeit you may obiect to me agayne, that considering the state of my kingdome, the dignity thereof, and my Crowne Imperiall can not be honorably mainteined and furnished without the possessions aforesayde: yet notwithstanding I set more by the saluation of my soule, then by x. kingdomes, and therefore the sayd possessions I vtterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and geue most hartly thanks to almighty God, which hath geuen me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in thys behalfe, then I am my selfe,

Wherefore I charge and commaund, that my Chauncellour (with whom I haue conferred my minde in thys matter before) and you foure,* to morow together do resort to the most reuerend Lord Legate, and doe signify to him the premises in my name, and geue your attendaunce vpon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdome, and of the foresayd possessions accordinglye, as you your selues do vnderstand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

This Intimation being geuen by the Queene, firste vnto the Counsellours, and then comming to the Cardinals hand, he drawing out a copy therof in Latine, sēt the same to the Pope: which copy drawne into Latine, & comming afterwarde to my hand, I haue thus translated into English, as ye haue heard.

Furthermore here by the way is to be vnderstand, that in the moneth before, which was February, and in the xix. day of the sayd moneth, the Bishop of Ely,* with the Lorde Mountacute, and seuen score horse, were sent as ambassadours from the king and Queene vnto Rome. For what cause, in story it is not expressed, but by coniecture it maye be wel supposed to be for the same cause of Abbey lands, as by the sequele therof may probably appeare.

For it was not long after, but the Pope did sette foorth in Print a Bull of Excommunication for all maner suche persons, without exception, as kept any of the Church or Abbey landes: by vertue of which Bull,* the Pope excommunicated as well all such as had any of the Church or Abbey lands, as also all such Princes, Bishops, & noble men. Iustices of peace, and other in office, who had not, or did not forthwith put the same Bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet to this day was neuer put in practise.

Wherein agayne is to be obserued an other Catholick fetch, not vnwoorthy perchaunce of marking. For where this kinde of Catholickes by rigour and force may ouermayster, they spare for no coste, but laye on loades enough. This well appeared,* & still doeth appeare in burnyng the poore pacient christiās, whō because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resiste them, and contente wyth patience to receiue what so euer is put vnto them, there they play the Lions, and make no end of burning and persecutinge. But where they spye themselues to bee ouermatched, or feare to receiue a foyle in presuming too farre, there they keepe in, and can stay the executiō of their lawes and Bulles, be they neuer so Apostolicall, tyll they spye their time cōuenient for theyr purpose, as in this case is euident [Page 1560](#) for all the world to see.*

For notwithstanding that the Popes Bull commyng downe with full authority for restitution of Abbey landes, did so thunder out most terrible excōmunication, not only agaynst them which deteined any such landes,* but also agaynste all other that did not see the Popes commaundement to be executed, yet neyther Winchester nor any of all the Popes Clergye woulde greatlye styrrer in that matter, perceiuing the Nobility to be too strong for them to match withall, and therefore were contented to let the case fall, or at least to staye for a time, while time might better serue them.

Yea, and moreouer vnder a crafty pretense, that the nobility and men of landes at the first commyng out of the Bull,* should not be exasperate too much against them, they subtly abused the Pulpites, and dissembled with the people, affirming that the sayde Popes late Bull sette forth in Print for restitution of Abbey landes, was not meant for England, but for other forreigne countries where in very deed the meaning of that Bull was onely for England, & no country els, as both by this intimatiō of Queene Mary here mentioned, and by many other coniectures, and also by Maister Fecknams Ballet of Caueat emptor, may appeare.* Whereby it is easie for all men to vnderstand what the purpose of those men was to doe, if tyme, which they obserued, might haue serued theyr deuotiō. But to let this matter passe of the Popes Bull, the time nowe serueth to entreat of Pope Iulius death, for so much as he made hys end about the latter end of this foresayd moneth of March. *Concerning the deedes and acts of which Pope, to make a full

declaratīō, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. *Under this Iulius florished the Archb. of Beneuentanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes a Casa, Deane of the Popes Chamber, & chiefe Legate to the Uenetians: who well declaring the fruit of that fylthy See, so farre forgat both honesty and nature, that hee shamed not onely to play the filthie Sodomite himselfe, & to boast openly of the same: but also tooke vpon hym most impudently in Italian metre, to al mens eares, to set forth the prayse & commendation of that beastly iniquity, saying that he himselfe neuer vsed other: & this booke was prynted at Uenice, by one Troianus Nauus: & yet the Pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameles beastlines, euen vnder his nose in his owne chāber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian bookes.

Amonges other pranks and deedes of this foresayde Pope, in his Iubilee, and in the Sinode of Trent, and in cōfirming of the Idole of Lauretane, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in Porkefleshe and Peacockes. Upon a tyme when he was admonished of his Phisition to abstayne from all Swynes fleshe, for that it was noysome for his Goute, and yet would not folow his counsell: the Phisition afterward gaue warnyng to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he shoulde set no more Porkeflesh before hym.

Wherupon when the Pope perceyued the sayd Porke flesh to be lacking in his accustomed seruice: where (sayde he) is my Porke? * And when his Steward had aunswered that his Phisition had forbidden anye Porke to be serued: thē the Pope bursting out in great rage, said in these wordes: Bring me, sayd he, my Porkefleshe Al dispetto di Dio• That is to to say in English, *In the despyght of Cod.

At an other time, he sitting at dinner, poynting to a Peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched, keepe sayd he, this colde Peacocke for me agaynst supper, and let me sup in the gardē, for I shall haue gwestes. So whē supper came, and amongst other hot Peacockes, he sawe not his colde Peacocke brought to his table: y^e Pope after hys wonted maner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage. * &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals sitting by, desired him saying: Let not your holinesse, I pray you, be so moued with a matter of so small weight. Then this Iulius the Pope answering agayne: What, sayd he, if God was so angrie for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, * why may not I beyng his vicar, be angry thē for a Peacocke, sithens a Peacocke is a greater matter then an apple? Beholde here good reader, by this Pope, the holines of that blasphemous See: and yet thou shalt see here, what affectiō was borne vnto this Pope here in England, by the Diriges, Hearses, and Funerals cōmaunded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the Queene and her Counsell, as may appeare by the copy of theyr letters here folowing.

¶A Letter from the Byshop of Winchester (being Lord Chauncellour) vnto Boner Byshop of London, touching the celebrating of the Popes Funeralls.

AFTER my harty commendations to your good Lordship: * The king and Queenes Maiesties hauing certayne knowledge of the death of the Popes holinesse, thought good there should be as well solemne Obsequies sayd for him throughout the Realme, as also these prayers (whiche I sende you herein enclosed) vsed at Masse tymes in all places at this tyme of vacation, and therefore willed me to signifye theyr pleasures vnto you in this behalfe: that thereupon ye might

proceede to the full accomplismente thereof by putting the same in due execution within your owne Diocesse, and sending worde to the rest of the Byshoys to do the like in theyrs.

Thus doubting not but that your Lordship will vse such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your Lordship hartily well to fare.

From my house at Assher, the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your assured frend and brother, Stephanus Winton. Chancel.

¶Prayers commaunded to be vsed in the funerall Masses for the Pope, Apostolica sede vacante.

SVpplici te domine humilitate deposcimus,* vt tua immensa pietas sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae concedat pontificem illum, qui & pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis veneradus, per dominum nostrum.

Secreta.

TVae nobis domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum maiestati tuae pontificem sanctae maris Ecclesiae regimini praeesse gaudeamus per dominum nostrum.

Post Communionem.

PReciosi corporis & sanguinis tui domine sacramēto refectos, mirifica tuae maiestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis assūptione laetificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus instruat,*& fidelium mentes, spiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per dominum nostrum.

Upon this commaundement, on wednesday in Easter weeke there were Hearses set vp, & Diriges song for the sayd Iulius in diuers places. At which time it chaunced a woman to come into S. Magnus church at the bridgefoot in Londō, & there seing an Hearse & other preparation,* asked what it meant: and other that stood by, said, that it was for the Pope, and that shee must pray for him. Nay (quoth shee) that will I not, for he needeth not my prayer: and seing he coulde forgeue vs all our sinnes, I am sure hee is cleane himselfe: therefore I neede not to pray for him. She was heard speake these wordes of certayne that stode by: which by & by caried her vnto the Cage at Londō bridge. and bade her coole her selfe there.

¶A spectacle for all Christians to beholde and to take heed of the Popes blasphemous Doctrine.

BY many and sundry wayes almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our latter yeares to embrace,* and not violently to repugne agaynst the light of his Gospell, as first by preaching of his word, secondly, by the bloud of the Martyrs, and thirdly, by terrible examples shewed from time to time vpon his Aduersaries. In the number of whom commeth here to be remembred the notable workyng of Goddes hand vpon a certayne Priest in Kent named Nightingall, Parson of Crondall besides Caunterbury: who vpon Shrouesonday, whych was about the third day of the sayde Moneth of Marche, and yeare of our Lord aforesayd, reioycing belike

not a little at this alteration of Religion, beganne to make a Sermon to his Parishioners, taking his Theame out of the wordes of S. Iohn: He that sayth, he hath no sinne, is a lyer,*and the trueth is not in hym. &c. And so vpon the same verye impertinently declared to them all suche Articles as were set forth by the Popes authority, and by the commaundement of the Byshoppes of this Realme: saying moreouer vnto the people in this wise: Now Maysters and neighbors reioyce and be mery, for the prodigall sonne is come home. For I knowe that the most part of you be as I am: for I know your hartes well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this weeke past. I was before my Lord Cardinall Pooles grace, & he hath made me as clean from sinne, as I was at the fontstone: & on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the same vnto you.* And I wyll tell you what it is. And so reading the Popes Bull of pardon that was sent into Englande, he sayde, he thanked God that euer he had liued to see that day: adding moreouer that he beleueed, that by the vertue of that Bull he was as cleane from sinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediately [Page 1561](#)

[illustration]

***The Description of a Popish Priest, who when he had taken away the glory and office of Christ, fell downe sodenly, and dyed.**

* vpon the same fel sodenly down out of the Pulpit, and neuer stirred hand nor foote, and so lay he. Testified by Rob. Austen of Cartham, which both heard and saw the same, & is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

¶Iohn Awcocke.

*IN the Moneth of Aprill, and the second day of the same Moneth, dyed in prison Iohn Awcocke, who after was buried in the fieldes, as the maner of the Papistes was to deny theyr christian buriall to such as dyed out of their popish Antichristian Church.

Now forasmuch as hauing passed the month of March, we are entred into the mouth of Aprill, so set downe in order out of publicke Recordes, what happened in the sayde Moneth, here followeth to be noted: That the 1. day of Aprill Ann. 1555. A Letter was sent to the Shiriffe of kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them vp to the Counsel.

The 7. day of the sayde Moneth an other Letter to the sayd Shiriffe for the apprehension of one Harwicke who went about with a boy with him preaching from place to place.

The 15. of Aprill, a letter was directed to Syr Nicholas Hare, and Syr Thomas Cornewallis, willing them to examine M. Flower alias Braunche what he meant to weare about his neck written, Deum time, Idolum fuge, and whō els he knew to weare the like praying also to speake to Boner Byshop of London speedely to proceed agaynst him for his Religion according to the lawes: and that the Iustices of Peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed agaynst him for shedding of bloud in the Church according to the statute, so as if he continue his opinion he might be executed at the farthest by the latter end of this weeke, and that his right hand be the day before his execution, or the same day stricken off.

The 22. of Aprill there was a like letter sent to the Iustices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the executiō of the sayd Flower, commaunding them to see his hand striken of before his burning.

The 29. of Aprill M. Robert Hornebey seruant then to the Lady Elizabeth was conuented before the Counsell for his religion: and standing constantly to the trueth, notwithstanding theyr threatens and other perswasions, was therfore committed to the Marshalsea.

¶A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marsh, who suffered most constant Martyrdome for the profession of the Gospell of Christ, at Winchester, the 24. day of Aprill. Ann. 1555.

The sayd George Marshe was borne in the Parishe of Deane,* in the Countye of Lancaster, and was well brought vp in learning and honest trade of liuing by hys Parentes, who afterwarde about the xxv. yeare of hys age, tooke to wife an honest mayden of the countrey, wyth whom he continued, earning theyr liuing vpon a Farme, hauing children betweene them lawefully begotten;* and then God takinge his wyfe out of thys Worlde, he beyng most desirous of godly studyes, (leauing his houshold and children in good order) went vnto the vniuersity of Cambridge, where he studyed, and much encreased in learning and godly vertues, & was a minister of Gods holy worde and Sacramentes,* and for a while was Curate to Laurence Saunders, as he himselfe reporteth. In whiche condition of life, he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth Gods true Religion, to the defacing of Antechristes false doctrine, by his Godly Readinges and Sermons, as well there and in the Parishe of Deane, or els where in Lanckeshyre.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certayne aduersaries he was apprehēded, & kept in close prison by George Cotes then Byshoppe of Chester,* in strayght Prison in Chester, within the precincte of the Byshoppes house, about the space of foure Monethes, being not permitted to haue reliefe and comfort of his frendes: but charge beyng geuen vnto the Porter, to marke who they were that asked for him, and to signify theyr names vnto the Byshop, as by the particular descriptiō of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more euidently may appeare in the processe hereunder folowing.

¶The handling, entreating, and examination of George Marsh, being sent first by the Earle of Derby to Doctor Cotes Byshop of Chester.

ON the monday before Palme Sonday, which was the xij. day of March,* it was told me at my mothers house that Rog. Wrinstone, with other of M. Bartōs seruants did make diligent search for me in Bolton, and when they perceiued that I was not there, they gaue strait charge to Roger Ward and Rob. Marsh, to finde & bring me to M. Barton the day next folowing, with others, to be brought before the honourable Earle of Darby, to be examined in matters of Religion. &c.

I knowing by this relatiō of diuers of my frends, was diuersly affected, my mother, and other my frendes aduertising me to flee and to auoid the perill, which thing I had intended afore after a weeke then nexte ensuing, if thys in the meane while had not chaunced, seeing, that if I were takē, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as God strengthening and assisting me with his holy spirit I neuer wyll) it woulde not onely haue put thē

to great sorow, heauines, & losses, with costes and charges, to theyr shame & rebuke in this world, but also mine owne selfe after troubles and paynfull prisonment, vnto shamefull death.

This considered,* they aduised me & coūselled me to depart & flie y^e coutry, as I had entended to haue done, if this had not happened. To whose coūsel my weak flesh would gladly haue cōsented, but my spirit did not fully agree: thin^kking and saying thus to my selfe, that if I fled so away, it would be thought, reported, and sayd, that I did not onely flie the countrey and my nearest and dearest frendes: but much rather from Christes holy worde, according as these yeares past I had with my hart, or at least with mine ou•ward liuing professed, and with my mouth & word taught, according to the small talent geuen me of the Lord. I being thus with theyr aduise & coūsell, and the cogitations & counselles of mine owne minde drawne, as it were diuers wayes, went from my mothers house, saying, I woulde come agayne at euening.

In the meane time I ceased not by earnest prayer to aske and seeke counsell of God (who is the geuer of al good gyftes) and of other my frendes, whose godly iudgemētes and knowledge I much trusted vnto. After this, I mette with one of my sayd frends on Deane Moore, about sunne goyng downe: and after we had consulted together of my busines, not without harty prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed, I not fully determinyng what to doe, but taking my leaue with my frende sayde I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would geue me such wisdom and counsell, as should be most to hys honor and glory, the profite of my neighbors and brethren in the worlde, and ob•eining of mine eternall saluation by Christ in heauen.

This done, I returned to my mothers house agayne, where had bene diuers of M. Bartons seruantes seekyng after me: who when they could not finde me,* straitly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smethehilles the next day: who beyng [Page 1562](#) so charged were gone to seeke me in Adderton, or elsewhere I know not. Thus intending afore to haue bene all night with my mother, but thē cōsidering that my taryng there would disquiet her with her householde, I departed from thence,* and went beyond Deane Church, and there taried all night with an old frend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with my selfe of my trouble.

So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faythfull frend of mine with letters, which I neuer read, nor yet looked on, who sayd this: My frendes aduise was that I should in no wise flie, but abide & boldly confesse the fayth of Iesus Christ. At whose wordes I was so confirmed & established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether was better to flie or to tarye, but was at a poynt with my selfe, that I woulde not flye, but go to maister Barton, who did seeke for me, and there present my selfe, and patiently beare suche crosse, as it shoulde please God to lay vpon my shoulders. Wherupō my mind and conscience afore being much vnquieted and troubled, was now mery and in quiet estate.

So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had sayd the English Letany (as my custome was) with other prayers kneeling on my knees by my frendes beddeside, I prepared my selfe to goe towarde Smethehilles: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdowes,* of my mother in law, of Rafe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardsonne, desiring them to pray for me, and haue me commended to all my frendes, and to comfort my

mother, and be good to my litle children, for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more, before y^e last day: & so tooke my leaue of thē not without teares shed on both parties,* and came to Smethehilles about 9. of the clocke, & presented my selfe afore M. Barton: who shewed me a letter from the Earle of Darby, wherin he was commaunded to send me with others to Latham.

Wherupon he charged my brother and William Marsh, to bring and deliuer me the next day, by x. of the clocke before the sayd Earle or his Counsell. I made earnest sute with other speciall frendes, which I had there at the same time, to M. Barton, that he woulde take some one of them or them all bound by recognisaunce or otherwise for mine appearing before the sayd Earle or his sayd Counsell, that my brother & William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seding, & their ploughes could not go if they wer not at home: but nothing could be obtained.

*So we went to my mothers, and there I dyned & shifted part of my clothes, and so praying, took my leaue of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both theyr householdes, they and I both weping, & so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were al night a mile and a halfe on this side Latham. So the next daye whiche was Wednesday, we arose, prayd, & came to Latham betimes, and taryed there till foure of the clocke at afternoone.

Thē was I called by Roger Mckinson, to come to my Lord and his counsell, & so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present Syr William Nores, Syr Pierce Alee,* Mayster Shereburne the Parson of Grapenhall, mayster More, with others. Where when I had taryed a litle while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name. I aunswered Marsh.

Then he asked whether I was one of those that sowed euill seed and dissention amongst the people. Which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be layd agaynst me:* but that I could not know.

Then sayd he, he would with his counsell examine me themselues, & asked me whether I was a priest. I sayd no. Then he asked me, what had bene my liuing? I aunswered, I was a Minister, serued a Cure, and taught a schole. Then sayd my Lord to his Counsell, this is a wonderfull thing. Afore he sayd he was no Priest, and now he confesseth himselfe to be one. I aunswered, by the lawes now vsed in this Realme (as farre as I do know) I am none.

Then they asked me who gaue me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I aunswered, I receiued orders of the Bishops of London and Lincolne.

Then sayd they one to an other, those be of these new heretickes, and asked me what acquayntaunce I had with them? I aunswered, I neuer sawe them, but at the tyme when I receiued orders.

They asked me how long I had bene Curate, & whether I had ministred with a good conscience? I aunswered I had bene Curate but one yere, and had ministred with a good conscience, I thanked God, and if the Lawes of the Realme, would haue suffered me, I would haue ministred still:* &

if the lawes at any time hereafter woulde suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister agayne.

Whereat they murmured: and the person of Grapnall sayd: this last Communion was the most deuilshe thing that euer was deuised. Then they asked me what my beliefe was.

I answered, I beleued in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the olde and new testament do teach and according as the 4. Symboles, or Creedes, that is to wit, the Creed commonly called Apostolorum, the Creed of Nice Councell, of Athanasius and of Austen, and Ambrose do teach.

And after a few wordes, the parson of Grapnall sayd: but what is thy beliefe in the Sacrament of the altar?

I aunswered, I beleued that whosoeuer, according to Christes institution,* dyd receyue the holye Sacrament of Christes body and bloud, did eate and drinke Christes body and bloud with all the benefites of his death and resurrection to their eternall saluation? for Christ (sayd I) is euer present with his sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the bread and wyne, by the vertue of the wordes pronounced of the Priest, were chaunged into the flesh and bloud of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were receiued or reserued, was the ve|ry body of Christ?

Wherunto I made aunswere,* I knew no further then I had shewed already. For my knowledge is vnperfected (sayd I:) desiring thē not to aske me, such hard & vnprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into daūger of death, & to sucke my bloud. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no bloud succours, and intēded nothing to me but to make me a good Christian man.

So after many other questions, whiche I auoyded as well as I could, remembring the saying of Paule: Foolishe and vnlearned questions auoide, knowing they do but ingender strife: my Lord commaunded me to come to the boord, and gaue me pen and incke in my hand and commaunded me to write mine aunsweres to the questions of the Sacrament aboue named: & I wrote as I had answered before.* Wherat he being much offended, cōmaunded me to write a more direct answere, saying, I should not chuse but do it.

Then I tooke the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat hee being sore greeued, after many threatnings, sayd I should be put to shamefull death like a traitor, with such other like words, and sometimes geuing me •ayre wordes, if I would turne and be conformable as other were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much adoe, he commaunded me to Ward in a cold windy stone house,* where was little roome where I lay two nightes without any bed, sauing a fewe great canuasse tentclothes, and that done, I had a payre of sheetes, but no wollen clothes, & so cōtinued till Palm-sonday, occupying my selfe aswel as I could in meditatiō, prayer, & study, for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day when he brought me meat and drinke.

¶An other examination of G. Marsh before the Earle of Darby.

ON Palme sonday at after dinner I was sent for to my Lord and his counsell (sauing Syr William Nores, & Syr Pierce Alec were not then present in place) amongst whō was Syr Iohn Beram, & the Uicar of Prescot. So they examined me yet once agayne of the sacramēt.* And after I had communed aparte with the Uicare of Prescot a good space cōcerning that matter, he returned to my Lorde and his Counsell with me, saying: that aunswere which I had made before, and then did make (as it is aboue writtē) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not professe a perfect knowledge in that matter, vntil such time as I had learned further.* Wherewith the Earle was very well pleased, saying hee doubted not, but by the meanes & help of the vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other thinges. So after many fayre wordes he commaunded I should haue a bed, with fire, and libertye to goe amongst his seruantes, so that I would do no harme with my communication amongst them.

And so after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my spirit then afore, because I had not with more boldnes confessed Christ, but in such sort,* as mine aduersaries therby thought they should preuayle agaynst me: wherat I was much greued: For hytherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid my self out of their handes, if by any meanes, without open denying of Christ and his word that could be done.

This considered, I cried more earnestly vnto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his holy spirit,* with boldnes to confesse him: and to deliuer me from their intising words, and that I were not spoyled through their Philosophy & deceitfull vanity after the traditions of men and ordinaunces of the world, and not after Christ.

[Page 1563](#)And so after a day or two I was sent for to y^e Uicar of Prescot, and the Parson of Grapnall: where our most cōmunication was concerning the masse: and he asked what offended me in the Masse. I aunswered the whole Masse did offend me,* first because it was in a straunge language, wherby the people were not edified, cōtrary to S. Paules doctrine, 1. Cor. 14. and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses & errors cōteined therin, contrary to Christs Priesthood and sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place therof, and I named certayne places: which places they went about with gētle and farre sought interpretations to mitigate, saying those places were vnderstood farre otherwise then the wordes did purport, or then I did take them.

I answered, I did vnderstand thē as they did purport, & as theyr owne books do comment and glose vpon them.

*They sayd, Sacrificium or Oblatio did not in the Masse signify any thing els, then either a Sacrifice of prayse and thanksgeuing, or els a memoriall of a sacrifice or oblatiō. So they caused a Masse booke to be sent for, and shewed me where in some places of the Masse was written,*Sacrificium laudis. Whereto I aunswered, that it folowed not therfore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of prayse or thanksgeuing: and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of prayse or thanksgeuing to bee offered for the sinnes of the people, for that did Christ by his owne Passion once offer on the Crosse: where the wordes of the Masse were that the Priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sinnes and offences both of himselfe and of the

people: for them that were dead, and for the saluatiō of the liuing: and that the commixion of the body and bloud of Christ was health both of body and soule.

The Uicare aunswered, that was to be vnderstanded of the commixion of Christes bodye and bloude with hys Church or people. So after much exhortatiō vnto me that I shoulde be conformable to the true Catholicke Churche (which as they ment, was the Romish Church) I departed, not consenting vnto them.

So within a day or twayne came to me Maister More bringing with him certayne Articles, whereunto Doctor Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certayne witnesses in the dayes of king Henrye the eight and willed me to read thē ouer,* & asked me whether I woulde consent and subscribe vnto those Articles: and after cōmunication had of one or two of the sayd Articles, I confessed playnly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those Articles. for then I did against mine owne conscience: and so he departed.

So within a short space after, which was on sherethursday, the sayd Parson and Uicar sent for me agayn, saying, my lord would be at a short poynt with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe vnto 4. Articles drawne out of the articles aforesayd, I must go to prison strait wayes.

*The first was, whether the Masse nowe vsed in the church of England, was according to Christes institution, & with faith, reuerence and deuotion to be heard and sene?

The second whether the almighty by the wordes pronounced by the Priest, did chaunge the bread and wyne after the wordes of consecration, into the body and bloud of Christ, whether it were receiued or reserued?

*Thirdly, whether the laye people ought to receiue but vnder the forme of bread onely, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

*Fourthly, whether cōfession to the Priest nowe vsed in England were godly and necessary?

These foure questions or articles they deliuered me in writing, and bad me goe to my chamber and subscribe my aunsweres with mine owne hand, and come agayne. So within one halfe houre, I came to them agayn, and deliuered them the questions with mine aunsweres.* The first I denied. The second I aunswered, as I did to my Lord afore, & as is aboue written. To the third I aunswered that the lay people by Christes institution ought to receiue vnder both kindes, & that it sufficeth not them to receiue vnder the one kinde onely. Fourthly▪ that though confession auricular were a commodious meane to instruct the rude people, yet was it not necessary nor commaunded of God.

They much exhorted me then to leaue mine opinions, saying I was much deceiued, vnderstanding the Scriptures amisse, and much counselled me to folow the Catholicke Church of Christ,* and to doe as other did. I aunswered, my fayth in Christ conceiued by his holy word I neyther could nor would deny, alter or chaūge, for any liuing creature whatsoever hee were, desiring them to speake to my Lord that during my life and imprisonment, my poore frendes might be suffred to relieue me with necessary thinges according to theyr powers, and so after much exhortation of

them to do & beleue as the Catholicke Church did, we departed: I from thēceforth continuing in the Porters ward not comming forth of my chamber sauing at noone and night while I dined and supped.

Upon one of the Easter holydaies maister Shereburn and M. More sent for me perswading me muche to leaue mine opinions: * saying all the bringers vp and fauorers of that Religion had euill lucke, and were either put to death or in prison, and in daunger of life. Agayne, the fauorers of the Religion now vsed had wondrous good lucke, & prosperity in al thinges: with many other worldly reasons of mans wisdom, for as for the scriptures, Maister Shereburne confessed himselfe ignoraunt.

I aunswered that I beleued and leaned onelye to the Scriptures, * not iudging thinges by prosperity or aduersity: but they earnestly aduised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame.

I aunswered that that whiche I dyd, I did not for the auoyding of any worldly shame, saying: my soule and lyfe were dearer to me thē the auoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vayn prayse of the world, but in the reuerent feare of God.

Then Maister More questioned with me of receiuing the Sacrament vnder the one kinde. I sayd Christes institution was playne that all men shoulde drinke of the cup. Then he tolde me of the 24. of Luke, and the 20. of the Actes, where was but mention of breaking of bread onely: * wherof he gathered, that they receiued the Sacrament but vnder one kinde.

That I denied, saying: those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lordes Supper, or els vnder the name of breaking bread, was signified and ment the receiuing of the Sacrament, both of the body & bloud of Christ, according to his institution. So after much communicatiō of that matter, M. Shereburne sayd it was great pity that I being a welfauored yoūg man, and one that might haue good liuing and do good, would so foolishly cast my selfe away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions.

I aunswered as afore I had done to my Lorde and to his counsell, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and frendes, with other delightes of life, * were as deare & sweet vnto me as vnto any other man, and that I would be as loth to lose them, as an other would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ: and seeing I could not doe that, my trust was that God would strenthen me with his holy spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take my selfe (sayd I) for a sheepe appaynted to be slayne, patiently to suffer what crosse so euer it shal please my merciful father to lay on me. And so after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my frendes might be suffered to relieue me, they departed.

Mayster More afore this brought vnto me a booke of one Alphonsus a Spanish Frier, * of all heresies wherwith the church of Rome, which he called Christes true church, had bene troubled since Christes time, willing me to read and take Counsell of that booke: & appoynted me a place, where this author did write agaynst them that say, the lay people ought to receiue vnder both kindes.

This Authour I perceiued did vehementlye write agaynst Luther, Melancthon, Pellicā & other Germaines of this our time, in all pointes defēding y^e blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish Church, condēning as detestable heresies, whatsoever was written, taught, or beleued contrary to the same, vsing for his strōgest and surest argumentes, the consent, agreement, and determinatiō of the Romish Church. So within a fewē dayes Mayster More came to me againe, asking me how I liked the booke. I sayd the authour of the booke did in all poyntes beyng a Papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish church,* and shewed him further, that this author without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures & olde Doctors, did condemn for heresy, the lay people receiuing of this sacrament vnder both kindes, where as this Authour witnesseth his owne selfe, that Christes church 900. yeares after Christ vsed the contrary.

So in conclusion he rebuketh me, saying I was vnlearned, & erred from the Catholicke fayth, stubburne, and stode altogether in mine owne conceite. I aunswered, for my learning, I knowledge my selfe to know nothing but Iesus Christ, euen him that was crucified, and that my fayth was groundēd vpon Gods holy word onely, & such as I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in vntill the last day, God assisting me: and that I did not say or do any thing, either of stubburnes, selfe wilfulnes, vayn glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the feare of God: and desired him to speake to my Lord and his Counsell, that I might finde some gētlēnes and mercy at theyr handes. He made me but short answerē. Then I sayd, I commit my cause vnto God, who [Page 1564](#) hath numbred the hayres of my head, and appoynted the dayes of my life saying: I am sure God which is a righteous Iudge, would make inquisition for my bloude, according as he hath promised. Then he tooke his booke frō me, and departed.

I continued still in Ward vntill Low sonday, and after dinner my keeper Richard Scot came to mee into my chamber,* and told me that two young men were come to cary me to Lancaster, and so deliuered me vnto them, a great company both of my Lordes seruauntes and others accompanying and bringing mee on the way, vnto Rich. Addertons and somewhat further, counselling and perswading like as is aforesayd.

To whome I made playne aunswere, that in matters of faith, I would geue place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and sayd y^t they wer sory for me, saying: if I knew mine opinion to be good, I did wel, and so they departed, willing my bringers to entreate me honestly.

My bringers by the way shewed me they were willed & aduised to binde me, and that they desired first to see me: and after they had looked on me, sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me beyng loose, for they sayd I seemed to be an honest man.

The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lācaster betimes at after noone and so they kept me all night with them of their gētlēnes, and on the morow deliuered me to y^e Iaylor, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remaine.

*After that, the sayd George came to Lancaster Castle, & there being brought with other prisoners vnto the Sessions, was made to hold vp his hāds w^t other malefactors. The Earle of Darby had this communication with him, as here followeth.

Communication betweene George Marsh and the Earle of Darby.

*I Sayd vnto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the countrey these three or foure yeares past, and came home but lately to visite my mother, children, and other my friends, and to haue departed out of the country before Easter thē next, & to haue gone out of the realme, Wherefore I trusted, seing nothing could be layd against me, wherein I had offended agaynst the lawes of this realme, his Lordship would not with captious questions examine me to bring my body into daunger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother but suffer me to auoyd peaceably, seeing I might haue fled out of the country, and yet of mine owne will came to hys Lordship.

He sayd to his Counsell, he had heard tell of me aboue at London: and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashyre or aboue at London, and asked me into what land I would haue gone.

*I aunswered, I would haue gone either into Almain or els into Denmarke. He sayd to his Counsell: in Denmarke they vsed suche heresie as they haue done in England: but as for Almayne hee sayde the Emperour had destroyed them.

So after such like woordes I sayde vnto him, my trust was that his Lordship being of the honourable Counsell of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning fayth toward God and religion vnder great payne, woulde not so soone after consent to put poore men to shamefull death, as he had threatned me, for embrasing the same with so good a conscience.

He aunswered that he, with the Lord Windsor, & Lord Dacars,* with one moe, whose name I haue forgotten, did not consent to those Actes, and that the nay of them foure would be to be seene as long, as y^e Parliamēt house stode. Then my Lord did rehearse the euill luck of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke with others, because they fauored not the true religion, and agayn the good hap and prosperitie of the Queenes highnes, because shee fauored the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good and of God, and the other to be wicked and of the deuill, & said that the Duke of Northumberland confessed so playnely.

¶**George Marsh to the Reader.**

*FOr asmuch as not onely when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I heare that there be diuers and sondry reportes, and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as wel at Latham as at Lācaster (as by credible persons I am informed) some saying it was onely because I would not do open penance, and some because I could not agree with my Lord and his counsell concerning the sacrament of Christes body and bloud, and the maner of Christes presence there: some because I woulde not graunt it sufficient and according to Christes institution the lay people to receaue the sayd sacrament vnder the one kinde onely I thought it good, dearely beloued in Christe, and my bounden duetie, to certifie you by mine owne hand writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the trueth as neare as I could, to quyet your minde in this behalfe, and therfore I haue here written with myne owne hand the certaynty of those thinges as neare as I could, here aboue expressed, not omitting any thing at al concerning Religion, wherof they did examine me: howbeit I perceiue in some thinges, I keepe not the same order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me afore or after, as it was in very deed in al points sauing this, telling the truth as neare as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bondes, that God would assist vs with hys holy spirite, that wee may with boldnes confesse his holye name: and that

Christ may be magnified in our bodyes, that wee may stand full and perfect in all the will of God: to whome be all honor and glory world without end. Amen.

And thus you haue heard all the whole trouble which George Marsh susteyned both at Lathum, & also at Lancaster, testified and written with hys owne hand wherto he addeth moreouer and sayth.

While I was (sayth he) in Ward at Lathum, diuers at sundry times came vnto me. Some sayd vnto me that all my fellowes had recanted and were gone home, where as in deede that was not so, for I saw diuers of them dyuers times after. Other sayd that it was reported amongst my Lordes houshold, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his counsell.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this Sessiō time many came to me to talke with me, some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gaue mee such like counsel as Peter gaue Christ as he went vp to Ierusalem when he tooke hym aside and began to rebuke him: * saying maister fauour thy selfe: this thing shall not be vnto thee. But I answered with Christes sharpe answeere vnto Peter agayne: who turned about, and sayd vnto Peter, come after me Sathan, and perceiuing that they were an hinderaunce vnto mee, and that they fauoured not the thinges which are of God, but the thinges that are of men, I made them playne answeere, that I neither could ne would follow their counsell, but that by Gods grace I woulde both liue and dye with a pure conscience and according as hetherto I had beleueed and professed. For wee ought in no wise to flatter and beare with them, * though they loue vs neuer so well, which go about to pluck vs away from the obedience that wee owe vnto God and to hys worde, but after Christes example sharply to rebuke them for theyr counsell.

Some others, yea euen straungers also, came to mee far vnlike to these, who after sober communication hadde, consented with mee in all thinges, lamenting muche my troublous estate, geuing me comfortable wordes, & some money to, and resorted to me often tymes, for the space of two three or foure, dayes. There came also many Priestes to me by 2.3.4.5. or 6. at once, * whose mouthes it was a thing easy enough to stopp, for the Priests (which is much to be lamēted) be not alwayes greatest clarkes & best learned in y^e lawe of God. At theyr departing they eyther consented w^t me, or els had nothing to say agaynst me, saying they could finde no fault with my wordes. My communication with them was about the Sacrament. There came also into y^e prison to me mayster Westby, Mayster Ashton of Hyll, M. Ashton of Chatertō, & many moe both gentlemen and others to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occasion to vtter a great parte of my conscience: for God so strengthen me with his spirite of boldnes, according to my humble request and prayer before (euerlastyng thanks be geuen him therfore) that I was nothing afraid to speake to any that came to me, no not euen to Iudges, * themselues, before whome I was thrise arraygned at the barre amongst the theeues wyth yrons on my feete, and put vp my hād as other did, but yet with boldnes I spake vnto them so long as they would suffer me.

They also sent for me the fourth tyme into their chamber, where amongst other thinges they layd it straitly to my charge, y^t I had reported that I knewe an whole messe of good gentlemen in Lancashyre of myne opinion, and straightly charged me vppon payne of allegiaunce to the Queenes grace, to shew who they were. But I denyed that I had spoken any suche thinge (as it was in deede a false forged lye of some wicked wretches.) After that, they threatned and rebuked

me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud, that the people in the streets might heare.* The truth is, I and my prison fellow Warbarton, euerye day kneeling on our knees did read morning and euening [Page 1565](#) prayer, with the english Letany euery day twice, both before noone and after, with other praiers moe, & also read euery day certain chapters of the Bible, cōmonly towards night: and we read all these thinges with so high & loude a voyce,* y^t the people without in the streetes, might heare vs, and would often times, namely in y^e eueninges, come and sit down in our sightes vnder the windowes & heare vs read, wherwith others being offended, complayned.

All this while George Marshe was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Doctour Cotes, placed the same time in the Bishopricke of Chester. Of whose comming then vnto Lancaster, the sayde George Marshe reporteth himselfe as followeth.

***How the Bishop came to Lancaster and of his doynge there.**

The bishop being at Lancaster, there set vp and confirmed all blasphemous Idolatry, as holy water casting procession gadding, Mattins mumbling, children confirming, Masse hearyng, Idols vp setting, with such hethe•ishe rites forbidden by God: but no Gospell preachyng, which Christ Gods sonne so earnestly cōmanded. He was informed of mee, and willed to send for me & examine me. Which thinge he refused to doe, saying he woulde haue nothing to do w^t heretickes so hastily: So hasty in iudgement and calling men heretickes are our bishops in their Lordly dignities,* afore y^e heare or see, what is to be amended or condēned, contrary to the expresse commandemēt of gods word, which sayth: Condemne no man before thou hast tryed out the truth of the matter, and when thou hast made inquisition then reforme righteouslye.* Geue no sentence before thou hast heard the cause, but first let men tell out their tale, and hee that geueth sentence in a matter before he heare it, is a foole & worthy to be confounded.

And in stead of his liberalitie towardes me poore prisoner, he sēt for the Iaylor and rebuked him because he suffered mee to fare so well, willing to haue me more straitly kept and dieted: but if his Lordship were tabled but one weeke with me, I do thinke he would iudge our fare but slender enough.

*Also, he and his Chapleines and Chancellour did finde fault with the Scholemaister and others, for speaking to one as to a most heinous hereticke, and also with y^e Iaylor for suffering them. Such is the mercy that these religious fathers shewe to the friendles and comfortles in their aduersities. If we may knowe the tree by the fruites (as Christ saith, no man can iudge such for any other but for very enemies to Christ and his true religion. God laye it neuer to their charges, but forgeue them and turne their hard hartes, if it be his will.

But it is no new thing for the bishops to persecute the truth and the Prophetes of the Lorde, for their constancie in preaching of the true fayth,* for so did their Pharisaicall forefathers, if ye marke well the histories of the holye Bible. Phasher was the head Bishop of the Temple, the ringleader of false Prophetes, the chiefe hereticke taker, that is as much to saye, the outthruster of true godlinesse. After that the dignitie of Priesthood was geuen vnto hym he abused it. For he taught not neither reprooued by the word, but feared the godly with crueltie. Hee not onely strocke, but also imprisoned the holye Prophet Ieremye, though he withstoode him not, but presently looked for the helpe of God,* steadfastly preaching the truth of God.

What mischief the vngracious bishop Iasō wrought among the Iewes,* destroying all godlines and setting vp abhominable Idolatrous lawes, ye may reade in the iiij. chapter of the 2. of Machabees. How the execrable & blind Byshops Annas and Caiphas, which neuer spake y^e truth of God themselues, vnlesse it were agaynst their willes, vnwittingly to their vtter destruction, howe (I say) they pressed the truth in Christe and his Apostles, is so well knowne that I neede not to rehearse it.

And thus much hitherto concerning the prisonment of George Marsh & his examinatiōs before the Erle of Darby & his deputies aboue named. Now proceeding further in the troublesome persecution of this blessed man, let vs likewise consider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed vnder the bishop of that same Dioces, which was Doctor Cotes: the effect whereof being drawne out of his own writing, here briefly is to be seene as followeth.

¶The troubles and examination of G. Marshe vnder Doct. Cotes Bishop of Chester.

YE heard before how G. Marsh being first imprysoned at Lathum, and afterward translated vnto Lancaster, was troubled by the Earle. Agayne, within few dayes after, the said Marsh was remoued from Lancaster, & comming to Chester, was sent for Doct. Cotes then B. to appeare before him in his Hal, no body being presēt but they twayne: and then he asked hym certayn questions concerning y^e sacrament: who made such aunsweres as the Bish. seemed therewith to be content, sauing y^t he vtterly denyed transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of y^e Masse nor that the lay people shuld receiue vnder one kind onely contrary to Christes institution: in which poynt the bysh. went about to perswade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vayne. Much other talke he had with hym, to moue him to submit himselfe to the vniuersall church of Rome: and when he saw he could not preuayle, he sent him to prison again: and after being there, came to him diuers times one Massy, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the Schoolemaister, one Hensham the Byshops Chaplayne, and the Archdeacon, with many moe: who with all probabilitie of words, and Philosophy or worldly wisdom, and deceitfull vanity after the tradition of men and the beggarly ordinaunces and lawes of the world, but not after Christ (as it were all singing one song) went about to perswade him to submit himselfe to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret y^e scriptures none otherwise then that church did: with manye such like argumentes & perswasions of fleshly wisdom.

To whom the sayd George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and beleue (though much euill be withall annexed) one holy catholicke and apostolicke Church,* without which there is no saluation, and that this church is but one, because it euer hath, doth, and shall confesse and beleue, one onely god, and him onely worship, and one onely Messiah, and in him onely trust for saluation: which church also is ruled and led by one spirite, one worde,* and one fayth and that this church is vniuersal and catholicke, because it euer hath bene since y^e worlds beginning, is, and shall endure to the worldes end,* and comprehending with in it all natiōs, kinreds, and languages, degrees, states, & conditions of men: and that this church is builded onelye vpon the foundation of the Prophetes and Apostles, Iesus Christ himselfe being the head corner stone, & not vpon the Romishe lawes and decrees, the Bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And where they sayd, the Church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops,* being ruled by generall Councels holy fathers, and the lawes of holy Church, and so had continued by the space of fiftene hundreth yeares & more: he made aunswere that the holy church, which is the

body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of Bishoppes, generall Councils, or Romish decrees, neither yet was bound to anye time, or place, ordinary succession, generall councils, or traditions of Fathers,* eyther had any supremacy ouer Empyres and kingdomes: but y^t it was a little poore sely flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepheard in the middest of wolues, or as a flocke of Orphanes or fatherles children: and that this Church was led and ruled by the onely lawes, counsels, and word of christ, he being the supreme head of this church, and assisting, succoring, and defending her from all assaultes, errors, troubles, and persecutions wherewith she is euer compassed about,

He shewed and prooued vnto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodome, the Israelites departing out of Egypt, by the parables of the sower,* of y^e kings sonnes mariage, of the great supper, and by other playne sentences of scripture, that this Church was of none estimation, & little in comparison of the church of hipocrites and wicked worldlinges.

He was thrust at withall violence of craft and subtilty but yet the Lord vpheld him and deliuered him.* Euerlasting thanks be to that mercifull and faythful Lord, which suffereth vs not to be tempted aboue our might, but in the middest of our troubles strengthneth vs with hys holye spirit of comfort and patience, geueth vs a mouth & wisdom how and what to speake: where agaynst all his aduersaries were not able to resist.

***An other appearaunce of George Marsh before the Byshop.**

NOW,* after that the sayd bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner and often reuilyng him, geuing tauntes, & odious names of hereticke. &c. hee caused him to be brought forth into a Chappell in the Cathedrall church of Chester, called our Ladye Chappell before him the sayd B. at two of the clocke in the after noone, who was there placed in a Chayre for that purpose, and Fulke Dutton Maier of the sayd Cittye, Doctour Walle, [Page 1566](#) and other priestes assisting him, placed not farre from the said Bishop, but somewhat lower, George Wenslow chācellour, and one Iohn Chetham Register, sat directly ouer agaynst the sayd Bishop.

Then they caused the sayd George Marshe to take an othe vpon a booke, to answere truely vnto suche articles as should be obiected agaynst him. Upon whiche othe taken, the Chauncellour layde vnto his charge, that hee had preach•d and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the Parishes of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other parishes within the Byshoppes Dioces, in the monthes of Ianuary, February, or some other time of y^e yeare last proceeding directly against y^e popes authoritie and Catholicke Church of Rome, the blessed Masse, the sacrament of the aultar, and many other Articles. Unto all which in summe he aunswered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake agaynst any of the sayd articles, but simply and truely, as occasion serued, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) mayntayned the truth touching the same articles, as (sayd he) all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late king Edward the vi.

*Then they examined him seuerally of euery Article, & bad him aunswere directly yea or nay, without circumstance: for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he aunswered them vnto euery article very modestly, according to the doctrine by publicke authoritie receiued, and taught in this Realme at the death of the sayd king Edward: whose

aunsweres were euerye one noted and written by the Register, to the vttermost that coulde make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake vpp, and hee was returned to his prison agayne.

¶The last and finall appearaunce of George Marsh before the Bishop.

*Within three weekes after this, or thereaboutes, in y^e sayd Chappell and in like sort as before, the said Bishop and others before named there being assembled, the sayd George Marshe was brought by the keeper and others with bils and diuers weapons, before them, where first the sayd Chauncellour by way of an Oration declared vnto the people present, the sayde Byshoppes charge and burning charitie, who euen like as a good shepheard doth see to his flocke, that none of his sheepe hath the scabbe or •ther disease for infecting other cleane sheepe, but wyll saue & cure the said scabbed sheep: so his Lordship had sent for the sayd George Marshe there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in shewing his charitable disposition towards y^e sayd Marsh, to reduce him frō his naughty heresies: but all that he could do, would not help: so that he was now determined, if the sayd Marsh would not relent & abiure, to pronounce and geue sentence definitiue agaynst him. Wherefore he bad the sayd George Marshe to be now well aduised, what he would do: for it stode vpon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be after the Sentence geuen, to late, though he would neuer so gladly desire it.

Then the sayd Chauncellour first asked him whether he were not one of the Bishoppes Dioces? *
To the whiche he aunswered, that he knewe not how large his Diocesse was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately bene at Deane Parish in Lancashyre, and there abode? And he answered yea.

Then the Chauncellour read all his former answeres that he made in that place at his former examination * & at euery one he asked him whether he would sticke to y^e same or no? To the which he answered agayne, yea, yea▪

How say you then to this, quoth the Chauncellor? In your last examinatioⁿ, amōgst many other dānable & schismaticall heresies, you sayd, that the Church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edwardes time, was the true Church, & the doctrine, the doctrine of the true Church & that the Church of Rome is not y^e true & catholick church.

I so sayd in deede, quoth Marshe, and I beleeeue it to be true. Here also others tooke occasion to aske hym (for that he denyed the Byshop of Romes authoritie in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were Byshops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered yes, and diuers others: but (sayd he) they claimed no more authoritie in England, then the Byshop of Caunterbury doth at Rome: and I striue not, (quoth he) with the place neyther speake I agaynst the person of the Byshop, but a'gaynst his doctrine, which in most poyntes is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ.

Thou art an arrogant fellow in deede then, sayde the Byshop. In what article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?

To whome George Marshe answered & sayd: Oh my Lord: I pray you iudge not so of me: * I stand nowe vppon the point of my life and death: & a man in my case hathe no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of y^e doctrine, among many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the Sacrament. For where Christ in y^e institution therof, did as well deliuer the cup, as the bread: saying Drinke ye all of this, & Marke reporteth that they did drinke of it: in like manner S. Paul deliuered it vnto the Corinthians. And in y^e same sort also was it vsed in the primitiue church by the space of many hundreth yeares. Now the Church of Rome both taketh away one parre of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherefore, if I coulde be perswaded in my conscience by Gods worde, that it were well done, I could gladly yeld in thys poynt.

Then sayd the Bishop. Non disputandum est cum haeretico That is, There is no disputing with an heretick. * And therfore when all his answeres were read, hee asked hym whether he would stand to the same, beyng as they were (sayd he) full of heresie, or els forsake them and come vnto the catholicke Church?

To whom he made this full aunswere, and sayde: that he held no hereticall opinion, but vtterly abhorred at kynd of heresie, * although they most vntruely so did sclaunder him. And hee desired all the people present to beare hym wiⁿesse (if hereafter anye would sclaunder him and say y^t he held any greuous heresie) that in all Articles of Religion, he he held none other opinion, then was by law most godly established and publickely taught in England at the death of king Edward the vi. and in the same pure Religion and doctrine he would (by Gods grace) stand, liue, * & dye. And here the Chauncellour spake to one Leache, which [•]tode neare vnto Marshe, and bad him stand farther from him, for hys presence did him no good.

This being done, the Bishop tooke out a writing of his bosome, & begā to read the sentence of condēnatiō: * but when the bishop had read almost halfe therof, the Chauncellour called to him and sayd: good my Lord, stay, stay, for if ye proceede any further, it will be to late to call it agayne and so the B. stayed. Then his popish Priestes and many other of the ignorant people called vpon Marsh, * with many earnest wordes to recant, and amongst other one Pulleyn a Shomaker sayd to hym: for shame man remember thy selfe and recant. They bad him kneele downe and pray and they would pray for him: So they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for thē.

The Bishoppe then asked hym agayne, whether hee would not haue the Queenes mercy in time: * and he aunswered hee did gladly desire the same, & did loue her grace as faythfully as any of them: but yet he durst not deny his Sauour Christ, for loosing his mercy euerlasting, and so winne euerlasting death.

Then the Bishop put his spectacles agayne vpon his nose, & read forward his sentēce, about v. or vi. lyues, and there agayne the Chauncellour with a glauering and smiling countenance, called to the B. and sayde: * Yet good my Lord once agayne stay, for if that word be spoken, al is past no relentyng will then serue: and the Byshop (pulling of his spectacles) sayd: I would stay and if it would be.

How sayst thou (quoth he) wilt thou recant? Many of the Priestes and ignoraunt people bad him so do,* and call to God for grace: and pulled him by y^e sleeue and bad him recant and saue his life. To whom he answered: I would as fayne to liue as you, if in so doyng, I shoulde not deny my mayster Christ, and agayne he should denye me before his father in heauen.

So the bishop read out hys sentence vnto the end and straight after sayd vnto him.* Nowe will I no more praye for thee, then I will for a dogge. And Marshe answered, y^t notwithstanding, he would pray for his Lordship: & after this the bishop deliuered him vnto the Sheriffes of the city. Then hys late keeper bad him fare well good George, w^t weeping teares, whiche caused y^e officers to cary him to a prisō at the Northgate, where he was very straitly kept vntill the tyme he went to hys death, during which tyme he had small comfort or reliefe of any worldly creature.

For being in y^e dongeon or darke prison, none y^t would hym good, could speake w^t hym, or at least durst enterprise so to doe for feare of accusation: and some of the Cittizens which loued him in God for the gospell sake (wherof there were but a fewe) although they were neuer acquaynted with him, would sometime in the euening at a hoale vpon the wall of the City (that went into the sayd darcke prisō) [Page 1567](#) call to him, and aske him how he did. He would answere them most chearefully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly that he woulde vouchsafe of his mercy to appoynt him to be a witnes of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most reioyce, beseeching him that he would geue him grace not to faynt vnder the Crosse, but patiently beare the same to his glorye and comfort of hys Church:* with many other like godly sayinges at sondrye tymes, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twise he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one tyme, & 2. shillings at an other time: for which he gaue God thanks, and vsed the same to his necessitie.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer: the Sheriffes of y^e Cittie (whose names were Amry & Couper) with their Officers and a great nūber of poore simple Barbers, with rousty Billes & Polaxes, went to the Northgate, & there tooke out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly & meekly, with a lock vpon his feete. And as he came vpon the waye towardes y^e place of execution, some folkes proferd him money, & looked that he should haue gone with a litle purse in his hand (as the maner of felons was,* accustomed in that Cittie in times past, at their goyng to execution) to y^e end to gather money to geue vnto a priest to say Trentals of Masses for thē after their death, wherby they might (as they thought) be saued:* but Marsh sayd he would not as thē be troubled w^t medling with mony, but willed some good man to take the mony, if y^e people were disposed to geue any, & to geue it vnto the prisoners or poore people. So hee went all the way vnto his death, w^t his booke in his hand, looking vpō the same, & many of y^e people sayd: this mā goeth not vnto his death as a theefe, or as one that deserueth to dye.

Now when he came to the place of execution w^tout the Citie,* neare vnto Spittle boughton, one Uawdrey, being then deputie chamberleine of Chester, shewed Marshe a writyng vnder a great seale, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Wherat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same (and sayd farther, that he loued the Queene) but for asmuch as it tended to plucke him frō God, he would not receiue it vpon that condition.

After that, hee began to speake to the people shewing the cause of his death,* and woulde haue exhorted them to sticke vnto Christ. Whereupon one of the Sheriffes sayd: George Marshe, we must haue no sermoning now. To whom he sayd, Mayster, I cry you mercy: and so kneeling downe made his prayers, and then put of his clothes vnto his shirt, and then was he chayned vnto the post, hauyng o number of Fagottes vnder him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tarre in the same ouer his head: & by reason the fire was vnskilfully made, and that the winde dyd dryue the flame to and fro, he suffered great extremitie in his death, whiche notwithstanding he abode very paciently.

[illustration]

¶The cruell burning of George Marsh, Martyr.

*

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when as hee had bene a long time tormented in y^e fire without mouing hauing his fleshe so broyled and puft vp that they whiche stode before him vnneth could see the chayne wherewith he was fastened, and therfore supposed no lesse but he had bene dead, notwithstanding sodenly he spread abroad hys armes, saying: father of heauen haue mercy vpon me, & so yelded his spirite into the handes of the Lord.

Upon this, many of y^e people sayd that he was a martyr, and died maruelous patiently and godly.* Which thing caused the Bishop shortly after to make a Sermon in the Cathedrall Church, and therein affirmed, that the sayde Marshe was an hereticke, burnt like an hereticke, & was a firebrand in hell.

In recompence of this hys good and charitable sermō within short time after, the iust iudgement of God appeared vppon the sayde Byshop:* recompensing hym in suche wise, that not long after he turned vp his heeles and dyed. Upon what cause his death was gendred. I haue not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voyce of y^e people is not alwayes to be followed. Notwithstanding such a report went in all mens mouthes, that he was burned of an harlot. Whereupon whether he dyed or no, I am not certayne, neyther dare leane to much vppon publicke speach. Albeit this is certayn, that whē he was afterward searched being dead, by some of hys secret frends & certain Aldermen for stoppyng the rumour of y^e people, this maydenly Priest and Byshop was foūd not to be free frō certayne appearaunce, which declared but small virginitie in him, & that the rumour was not raysed vp altogether vpō naught, amongst the people. But of this I will stay, and proceed no further, not because more cā not be said, but because I will not be so vncharitable in defacing these men, as they are cruel in condemning Gods seruants to death.

Letters of George Marshe.

This good mā wrote diuers and sondry letters out of prison besides his examinations, as before ye haue heard. Touching the which hys examinations, this letter first he sendeth to his frendes, the copy wherof here followeth.

¶A letter of George Marsh to the reader, touching the matter of his examination.

HEre haue ye dearely beloued frendes in Christ, the chiefe & principal Articles of Christian doctrine briefly touched,* whiche heretofore I haue both beleued, professed, and taught, and as yet do beleue, professe, and teach, and am surely purposed by Gods grace, to continue in the same vntill the last day. I do wāt both time and oportunitie to write out at large the probations, causes, partes, effectes, and contraries or erroures of these Articles, which who so desireth to know, let them read ouer the cōmon places of the godly learned men: Philippe Melancthon, and Erasmus Sarcerius, whose iudgement in these matters of Religion I do chiefly follow and leane vnto. The Lorde geue vs vnderstanding in all thinges, and deliuer vs from this present euill world, according to his will and pleasure, and bryng vs agayn out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleased the mercifull Lord to throw vs downe: and deliuer vs out of the mouth of the Lyon and from all euill doing, and keepe vs vnto his heauenly and euerlasting kingdome. Amen.

Though Sathan be suffered, as wheate to sift vs for a tyme, yet fayleth not our fayth through Christes ayde, but that we are at all tymes able and readye to confirme the fayth of our weake brethren,* and alwayes ready to geue an aunswere to euerye man that asketh vs a reason of the hope that is in vs, and that wyth meekenes and reuerence, hauing a good conscience, that when as they backbyte vs as euill doers, they may be ashamed, for asmuch as they haue falsely accused our good cōuersatiō in christ. I thought my selfe nowe of late yeares, for the cares of this lyfe well setteled with my louing and faithfull wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasaunt Euphrates, I do confesse it: but the Lord who worketh all thyngs for the best to them that loue him, would not there leaue me, but did take my deare and beloued wife from me: whose death was a paynefull crosse to my flesh.

Also I thought my selfe nowe of late well placed vnder my most louing and most gentle mayster Laurence Saunders in the cure of Langhton.* But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me there long to continue (although for the small tyme I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman) But he hath prouided me (I perceiue it) to taste of a farre other cuppe,* for by violence hath he yet once agayne driuen me out of that glorious Babilon, that I should not taste to much of her wanton pleasures but wyth his most dearely beloued Disciples to haue my inward reioysing in the Crosse of his sonne Iesus Christe: the glorye of whose Church I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious soūd of Bells and Organes, nor yet in the glistring of Mitors & Copes neither in the shining of gilte Images and lightes (as the blynde [Page 1508](#) Papistes do iudge it) but in continuall labours and dayly afflictions for his names sake.

God at this present here in Englande hath his fanne in hys hand, and after hys great haruest, whereinto these yeares past he hath sent his labourers, is now sifting the corne frō the chaffe and purging his floore, and ready to gather the wheate into hys garnar and to burne the chaffe with vnquenchable fire.

Take heede and beware of the leuen of the scribes and of the Saduces, I meane the erroneous doctrine of the papistes, whiche with their gloses deprauē the Scriptures. For as the Apostle S. Peter doth teach vs: There shalbe false teachers amongst vs, whiche priuily shall bring in damnable sectes: And sayth that many shall follow theyr damnable wayes, by whom the way of

trueth shall be euill spoken of: and that through couetousnes they shall with fayned wordes make marchaundise of vs. And Christ earnestly warneth vs, to beware of false Prophetes, which come to vs in sheepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening Wolues: by their fruites ye shall know them. The fruites of the Prophetes is theyr doctrine, In this place are we Christians taught that wee shuld try the preachers, & other that come vnder colour to set forth true Religion vnto vs, according to the saying of S. Paule: Try all thinges and chose that whiche is good. Also the Euangelist S. Iohn sayth: Beleue not euery spirite, but proue the spirites whether they be of God or not, for many false Prophetes (sayth he) are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt knowe the true Prophetes frō the false, try theyr doctrine at the true touchstone, whiche is the worde of God: and as the godly Thessalonians did, search ye the scriptures, whether those thinges which be preached vnto you be euē so or not: for els by the outward conuersatiō of thē ye may easely be deceiued. Desūt fortassis aliqua.

¶A letter exhortatory of George Marshe to the faythfull professours of Langhton.

GRace be vnto you, and peace be multiplied in y^e knowledge of Iesus Christ our Lord.* Amen.

I thought it my duety to write vnto you, my beloued in y^e Lord at Langhton, to stirre vp your mindes, & to call to your remēbrance the wordes which haue bene told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man & full of y^e holy Ghost Barnabas did the Antiochians) that with purpose of hart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lord, & that ye stād fast,* and be not moued away from the hope of the Gospel, wherof (God be thāked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you by your late pastor M. Saunders, & other faithfull ministers of Iesus Christ, which now, when persecution ariseth because of y^e word,* do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the Gospell wherof they haue bene preachers, but are willing and ready for your sakes (which are Christes misticall body) to forsake not onely the chiefe and principall delites of this lyfe (I do meane theyr natiue cuntryes, frendes, lyuinges. &c. but also to fulfill theyr ministry vnto y^e vtmost that is to witte, with their painefull imprisonmentes and bloudsheddinges (if need shall require) to confirme & seale Christes Gospell,* wherof they haue bene Ministers: and (as S. Paul sayth) they are ready not onely to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Iesu.

Whether these, being that good salt of the earth, that is true ministers of Gods worde,* by whose doctrine (beyng receiued through fayth) men are made sauory vnto God, & which themselues lose not theyr saltnes,* now when they be prooued with the boysterous stormes of aduersity and persecutiō: or others being that vnsauery salt which hath lost his saltnes, that is to witte, those vngodly ministers, which do fall from the word of God into the dreames and traditions of Antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and beleued, let all men iudge.

Wherefore my dearely beloued, receiue y^e word of God with meekenes, y^t is graffed in you, whiche is able to saue your soules:* And see that ye be not forgetfull hearers, deceiuing yourselues with sophistry, but doers of the word whom Christ doth liken to a wise mā,* which buildeth his house on a rocke, that when the great rayn descendeth, and the flouds come and beate vpon the house, it fel not, because it was grounded vpon a rocke: this is to witte, that when Sathan, with all his legion of deuils with all theyr subtile suggestions, and the world with all y^e mighty princes therof,* with their crafty counsels doe furiously rage against vs, we faint not, but

abide constant in the truth, being grounded vpon a most sure rock which is Christ, and the doctrine of the Gospell, against which the gates of hel (that is,* the power of Sathan) cannot preuaile.

And be ye followers of Christ and the Apostles, and receaue the word in much affliction (as the godly Thessalonians did):* for the true followers of Christ and the Apostles, be they which receiue the word of God. They onely receiue the word of god, which both beleue it, & also frame their liues after it, & be ready to suffer all maner of aduersitie for the name of the Lord, as Christ & all y^e Apostles did and as all that will liue godly in Christ Iesu must doe: for there is none other way into the kingdome of heauen,* but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for y^e kingdome of heauens sake, and for righteousnes sake, we haue the Prophetes, Christ, the Apostles and Martyrs for an ensample to comfort vs: for they did all enter into the kingdome of heauē at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth vnto life, which few do find.* And vnles we will be content to deny our owne selues, and take vp the crosse of Christ and hys sayntes, it is an euident argument, that we shall neuer raigne with him.

And agayne, if we can finde in our hartes paciently to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of y^e righteous iudgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. It is verily (sayth the Apostle) a righteous thing with God,*to recompence tribulation to them that trouble vs, and rest to vs that be troubled. For after this life, y^e godly being deliuered from theyr tribulations and paynes shall haue a most quiet and ioyfull rest, where as the wicked and vngodly, contrariwyse shal be tormented for euermore with intollerable and vnspeakable paines,* as Christ by the parable of the rich glutton & wretched Lazarus, doth playnly declare and teache These ought we to haue before our eyes alwayes, that in time of aduersitie and persecution (whereof al that wil be the children of God, shalbe partakers,* and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of vs in vre all ready) we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure euen vnto the end, that we may be saued. For vnlesse we like good warriours of Iesus Christ,* will endeuour our selues to please him who hath chosen vs to be souldiours, and fight y^e good fight of fayth euen vnto the end, we shall not obtayne that crowne of righteousnes, which the Lorde that is a righteous iudge, shall geue to all them that loue his comming.

Let vs therefore receiue with meeknes the word that is graffed in vs, which is able to saue our soules,* and groūd our selues on the sure rocke Christ. For (as the Apostle sayth) other foundation can no man lay,*besides that whiche is layd already, which is Iesus Christ. If any man build on this foūdation, gold, siluer, precious stones, timber, haye, stubble, euerye mans worke shall appeare, for the day shal declare it, and it shalbe shewed in the fire. And the fire shall try euery mans work what it is. If any mans worke that he hath builded vpon abide, hee shall receiue a reward: if any mans work burne, he shall suffer losse, but he shalbe safe himselfe: neuerthelesse yet as it were through fire.

By fi•e here doth the Apostle vnderstand persecution & trouble,* for they which do truely preach & professe y^e word of God, which is called the word of the crosse, shalbe rayled vpon, and abhorred, hated, thrust out of the companye, persecuted and tryed in the fornace of aduersitie, as golde and siluer are tryed in the fire.

By gold, siluer, and precious stones, he vnderstandeth them y^t in the mids of persecution abide steadfast in word.* By tymber, hay, and stubble, are ment such, as in tyme of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floore with the winde of aduersitie, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaffe whiche shall be burned with vnquencheable fire. If they then which do beleue,* do in time of persecution stand steadfastly in y^e truth the builder (I do meane y^e preacher of the word) shall receaue a reward, and the work shalbe preserued and saued: but if so be that they go back and swarue, when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer losse, that is to saye shall lose his labour and cost: but yet he shalbe saued, if hee being tryed in the fire of persecutiō, do abide fast in y^e faith.

Wherefore (my beloued) geue dilligent heed,* that ye as liuing stones be builded vpon this sure rocke, & be made a spirituall house and a holy Priesthoode for to offer vp spirituall sacrifices, acceptable vnto God by Iesus Christ. For we are the true temple of God,* and the spirite of God dwelleth in vs, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the Gospell. We are also an holy and royall Priesthode, for to offer vp spirituall sacrifices & oblations, for the sacrifices of the new Testament are spirituall & of three maners.

The first is, the sacrifice of prayse and thankesgeuing, which S. Paule doth call the fruites of those lippes which confesse the name of God.*

The second is, mercy towards our neighbours, as y^e Prophet Osee sayth: I will haue mercy and not sacrifice. Read the xxv. chapter of Mathew.

The thyrd is, whē we make our body a quick sacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, that is,* whē we mortifie & kill our fleshly concupiscences & carnall lustes, & so bryng our flesh thorough the helpe of the spirite, vnder y^e obedēce of Gods holy lawe. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, [Page \[unnumbered\]](#) whiche the Apostle calleth Our reasonable seruing of God And let vs be sure, that vnlesse we do now at this pre'sent take better heed to our selues, and vse thankfully the grace of God offered to vs by the Gospell preaching these yeaes past, wherby we are induced & brought to y^e knowledge of y^e truth:* vnles, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word, dwelling by fayth in y^e house & temple of our harts, the same thing that christ threatneth vnto the Iewes, shal happen vnto vs:* y^t is to witte, the vncleane spirite of ignorance, superstitiō, idolatry, and infidelitie or vnbeliefe, the mother & head of all vices, which by the grace of God was cast out of vs, bringing with him 7. other spirites worse then himself,* shall to our vtter destruction, returne again into vs: and so shall we be in worse case thā euer we were before. For if we, after we haue escaped from the filthines of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, be yet tangled therin agayn and ouercome, then is the latter ende worse then the beginning: and it had bene better for vs not to haue knowne the way of righteousness, then after we haue known it, to turne frō the holy commaundement geuen vnto vs.

For it is then happened vnto vs according to the true prouerbe: the dogge is turned to his vomit agayn, and the sowe that was washed, to wallowing in the myre. And thus to continue & perseuer in infidelitie, & to kick against the manifest and knowne truth, and so to dye without repentaunce and with a dispayre of the mercy of God in Iesus Christ, is to sinne agaynst the holy Ghost, which shall not be forgeuē, neither in this world, neither the world to come.* For it is not possible (sayth s. Paule) that they which were once lighted, and haue tasted of the heauēly gift:

and hast tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of y^e world to come: if they fall away, should be renued agayne by repentaunce, for as muche as they haue (as concerning themselues) crucified the some of God agayne, making a mocking of him.* S^r Paules meaning in this place is: that they that beleue truely and vnfaignedly gods word, do cōtinue and abide steadfast in the knowne trueth.

If any therfore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a playne token, that they were but dissēbling hipocrites for all theyr fayre faces outwardly,* & neuer beleued truely: as Iudas, Symon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the knowē veritie, and made a mocke of Christ: which S. Paule doth call here, to crucifie Christ a newe, because that they turning to their olde vomit agayne,* did most blasphemouslye tread y^e benefits of Christs death & passiō vnder their feet. They that are suche, can in no wise be renued by repentaunce: for their repentaunce is fleshly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, & Iudas was, which being without godly comfort, breadeth desperation vnto death. These are not of y^e number of the elect: & as S. Iohn doth say: They went out from vs, but they were not of vs, for if they had bene of vs they woulde haue remayned with vs vnto the end.* Also the Apostle saith in an other place If we sinne willingly after wee haue receaued the knowledge of the truth,*there remayneth no more sacrifice for sinne, but a fearfull looking for iudgement and violent fire, which shall deuoure the aduersaries.

They sinne willingly, whiche of a set malice & purpose do withhold the truth in vnrighteousnes & lying,* kicking agaynst the manifest & opē known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sinne,* but onely that omnisufficient sacrifice of Christes death: yet notwithstanding, they will not commit themselues wholly vnto it: but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sinne, inuented by the imagination of man (as we see by dayly experience) vnto whō if they abide still in their wickednes,* & sinne, remayneth a most horrible & dreadful iudgement. This is y^e sinne vnto death for which s. Iohn would not that a man shuld pray.*

Wherefore my dearly beloued in Christ, let vs, (on whō the endes of the world are come) taking dilligent heed vnto ourselues,* y^t now in these last and perilous times, in y^e which the deuill is come downe, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short,* & wherof the Prophetes, Christ & the Apostles haue so much spoken & geuē vs so earnest forewarning: we withhold not y^e truth in vnrighteousnes,* beleuing, doying, or speaking anye thing agaynst our knowledge & conscience, or without fayth. For if we do so,* for what soeuer cause it be, it is a wilfull & obstinate infidelitie, & a sinne vnto death: And as our Sauour Christ sayth: if ye beleue not: ye shall dye in your own sins. For vnles we hold fast the word of life,* both beleuing it & also bringing forth fruite worthy of repentaunce, we shal with the vnprofitable figge tree,* which did but cumber the ground, be cut downe, and our talent taken from vs and geuen vnto an other that shall put it to a better vse: & wee through our owne vnthankfulnes put from the mercy of God, shall euer be able to pay our debts: that is to say, we shall altogether be lost & vndone.* For the earth that drinketh in rayne that commeth o^t vppon it, & bringeth forth herbes meete for them y^t dresse it, receiueth blessing of god. But that ground that beareth thornes & brears, is reprooued and is nigh vnto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

Neuertheles deare frends,* we trust to see better of you and thinges whiche accompany saluation, and that ye being y^t good ground, watred with the moystnes of Gods word plenteously preached amongst you, will with a good hart heare the word of God & keep it,* bringing forth fruite with pacience. And be none of those forgetful and hipocritish hearers,* which although they heare the worde yet the Deuill commeth,* and catcheth away that which was sowē in the hart: either hauing no roote in themselues, endure but a season, and as soone as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended: eyther with the cares of this world & deceitfulnes of riches choke the word, and so are vnfruitful.* Read the parable of the sower, & among other thinges note and marke, that y^e most part of the hearers of Gods word are but hipocrites and heare the word without any fruit or profite, yea onely to theyr greater condemnation: for onely the fourth part of y^e seede doth bring forth fruite. Therefore let not vs that be Ministers, or professours, & followers of Gods worde, be discouraged, though that very few do geue credite, & follow the doctrine of the Gospell, and be saued.

Who soeuer therefore hath eares to heare, let him heare:* for whosoever hath, to him shal be geuen, and he shal haue aboundance: but who soeuer hath not frō him shalbe taken away euen that he hath: that is to say, they that haue a desire of righteousness and of the truth, shall be more & more illuminated of God, on the contrary part, they that do not couet after righteousness and truth, are more hardend and blynded, though they seeme vnto them selues most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a louing father,* which when he seeth that fatherly loue and correction doth not helpe towards his children, vseth an other way. He ceaseth to be beneficiall vnto them, & to minister vnto thē fatherly correction: he geueth them ouer vnto them selues, sufferyng them to lyue as they lust them selues.

But we trust to see better of you (my dearly beloued) and that ye lyke very Gadarenites,* for feare to lose your wordly substance or other delites of this lif, wil not banish away Christ & his gospell from amongst you:* but that ye with al diligence of mind wil receiue y^e word of god, taught you by such ministers, as now when persecution ariseth because of y^e word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lorde Iesus, but are content to suffer aduersitie with the Gospel, & therein to suffer trouble as euil doers, euen vnto bondes. And if ye refuse thus to do,* your owne bloud wil be vpon your owne heades. And as ye haue had plenteous preaching of the Gospel, more then other haue had: so shall ye be sure if ye repent not, and bring forth fruites worthy of repentāce, to be sorer plagued, & to receiue greater vengeance at Gods hand, then others, and the kyngdome of God shalbe taken from you, and be geuen to an other nation, which will bring forth the fruites thereof.

Wherefore my dearly beloued in Christ, take good heede to your selues, & ponder well in your mindes, how fearefull and horrible a thing it is to fal into the hādes of the liuing God. And see that ye receiue not the worde of God in vaine, but continually labour in fayth, and declare your fayth by your good workes, which are infallible witnesses of y^e true iustifying fayth, which is neuer idle, but worketh by charitie. And see that ye continually geue yourselues vnto all maner of good workes: amongst the which, the chieftest are to be obedient to the Magistrates, sith they are the ordinaunce of God, whether they be good or euil,* vnles they commaunde Idolatry and vngodlines, that is to say, thinges contrary vnto true Religion. For then ought we to say with Peter: We ought more to obey God then man. But in any wyse we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

The weapon of a Christian in this matter,* ought to be the sword of the spirite, which is Gods word and prayer, coupled with humilitie and due submission,* and with readynes of hart, rather to dye then to do any vngodlynnesse. Christ also doth teach vs, that al power is of God, yea euē the power of the wicked, which God causeth often tymes to raigne for our sinnes, & disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinaunce of God, and so purchase to him selfe vtter destruction and vndoing.

We must also by al meanes, be promoters of vnity, peace and concorde. We must honour and reuerence Princes,* and all that be in authoritie, and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profite and commoditie.

[Page 1570](#) Secondly, we must obey our parents, or them that be in their rowmes, & be careful for our households, that they be prouided for & fed, not onely w^t bodely foode, but muche rather with spirituall foode, which is the word of God.

Thirdly, we must serue our neighbors by all meanes we can, remembering well the saying of Christ: Whatsoever ye woulde that men shoulde doe vnto you,* doe ye likewise vnto them, for this is the lawe and the Prophets.

Fourthly, we must diligently exercise the necessarye worke of prayer for all estates:* knowing that God therefore hath so much commaunded it, and hath made so great promises vnto it, and doeth so well accept it. After these workes we must learne to know the Crosse, & what affection and minde we must beare towards our aduersaries and enemies, what so euer they be, to suffer all aduersities and euils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble vs: and by thus vsing our selues, we shal obtaine an hope & certaintie of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

And thus, I commende you brethren vnto God, and to the word of his grace,* which is able to builde further, & geue you an inheritaunce among al thē, which are sanctified: beseechyng you to helpe M. Saūders & me your late Pastours, and all them that be in bondes for the Gospels sake, with your praiers to God for vs, that we may be deliuered from all them that beleue not, and frō vnreasonable and froward mē, and that this our imprisonment & afflictio may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world, & that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by lyfe. Amen.

Salute from me all the faythfull brethren: & because I write not seuerall Letters to them, let them either ⟨◇⟩ or heare these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amē. The xxviii. of Iune, by the vnprofitable seruaūt of Iesus Christ, and now also his prisoner. George Marsh.

Saue your selues from this vntoward generation. *Pray, pray, pray. Neuer more neede.

An other Letter of the sayd George Marsh, to certaine of his dearely beloued frendes at Manchester in Lancashire.

GRace be with you, and peace from God ou• Father, and from our Lord Iesus Christ. Amen.

*After salutations in Christe to you, with thanks for youre frendly remembraunces of mee, desiring and wishing vnto you, not onely in my letters, but also in my daily praier, such consolation in spirite, and taste of heauenly treasures, that ye may therby continually worke in faith, labour in loue, perseueer in hope, and be pacient in all your tribulations and persecutions, euen vnto the ende and glorious comming of Christ: these shalbe ea•nestly to exhort and beseeche you in Christ, as ye haue receyued the Lord Iesus, * euen so to walke, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terrour of your aduersaries, be they neuer so manye and mighty, and you on the other side neuer so fewe and weake: for the battell is the Lordes. And as in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Dauid the Machabees and other, & fought for them, and deliuered all their ennemies into their handes, euen so hath he promised to be with vs also, vnto the worlds end, and so to assist, strengthen, and helpe vs, that no man shalbe able to withstande vs. For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee (sayth God) and wil neuer leaue thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and bolde: neither feare nor dread: for the Lord thy God is wyth thee, whether soeuer thou goest. Nowe if God be on oure side, who can be against vs? *

In this our spirituall warfare, is no man ouercome, vnles he traiterously leaue and forsake his captaine, * either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yelde himselfe to his ennemies, either fearefully turne his backe and flie. Be strong therefore in the Lord (deare brethren) and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, * that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the craftie assaults of the deuill.

Now, what weapons ye must fight withall, learne of S. Paul, a champion both much exercised, and also most valiaunt and inuincible. * For we must thinke none other, but that the life of man is a perpetuall warfare vppon earth, as the examples of all godly men, throughout all ages to declare. The valiant warrior S. Paul, being deliuered from the handes of the vngodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme pearils and dangers of death (as he his owne selfe doth witnes) is faine to commit him selfe in the ende to the rough waters of the sea: * where he was in great pearil and ieoperdie of his owne life: yet was God alwaies (to the great comfort of all that heare of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously deliuered him out of all his troubles: so that no manne that inuaded him, could doe him any harme, and in the ende he was compelled to saye: I haue finished my course: * the time of my departing is at hand: I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is best of all, most heartely desiring death.

These things be written for our learning and comforte, and be to vs a sure obligation, * that if we submit our selues to God & his holy word, no man shalbe able to hurt vs, and that he will deliuer vs from all troubles, yea from death also, vntil such time as we couet and desire to die. Let vs therefore runne with patience vnto the battaile that is set before vs, * and looke vnto Iesus the Captaine and finisher of our faith, and after his example, for the rewardes sake that is set out vnto vs, patiently beare the crosse and despise the shame. For all that will liue godly in Christ Iesu, shall suffer persecution.

Christ was no sooner baptised and declared to the world to be the sonne of God, * but Sathan was by and by ready to tempte hym: which thing we must looke for also: yea, the more we shall encrease in faith and vertuous liuing, the more strongly will Sathan assault vs: whom we must learne after the example of Christ, to fight againste, and ouercome with the holy and sacred Scriptures and worde of God (which are our heauenly armour) and sword of the spirite. And let

the fasting of Christ, while hee was tempted in the wildernes, be vnto vs an example of sober liuing, not for the space of 40. daies (as the Papists doe fondly fansie of their owne braines) but as long as wee are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Sathan,* who like a roaring Lyon walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our vtter destruction.

Neither can the seruants of God at any time come & stand before God, that is, leade a godly life, and walke innocently before God. But Sathan commeth also among them, that is, he daily accuseth, finedeth fault, vexeth,* persecuteth and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and propertie of the deuill alwayes to hurt, and do mischief, vnlesse he be forbidden of God: for vnlesse God do permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hogge: but we are more of price then many hogs before God, if we cleaue vnto his sonne by faith.

Let vs therefore knowing Sathans deceits and rancor, walke the more warely, and take vnto vs the shield of faith,* wherewith we may be able to quench and ouercome all the fiery and deadly dartes of the wicked. Let vs take to vs the helmet of saluation, & sworde of the spirit, which is the word of God, and learne to vse the same according to the example of oure graunde Captayne Christ. Let vs fast and pray continually. For this frantike kinde of deuils goeth not out otherwise (as Christ doeth teach vs) but by faithfull praier and fasting, whiche is true abstinence and sobernesse of liuing,* if we vse the same according to the doctrin of the gospell and worde of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisie, that is to say: •f we vse it to this entent, that thereby this mortall body and disobedient carcase maye be •amed and brought vnder the subiection of the spirite:,* and againe, if we fast to this intent, that we maye spare wherewyth to helpe and succour our poore needie brethren.

This fast do the true Christians vse all the dayes of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kinde of fasting, which God so earnestly reprooueth by his Prophet Esay. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with shewing mercye towardes our needy neighbours, we wil neither vnderstand nor heare of, but still thinke with the Iewes, that we doe God a great pleasure when we fast, and that we then fast,* when we abstaine from one thing, and fil our bellies with an other. And verely in this poynt doth our superstition much excede the superstitiō of the Iewes: for we neuer reade that they euer tooke it for a fast, to abstaine from flesh, and to eate either fish or white meat, as they call it.

To fasting and praier must be ioyned almes, and mercye towardes the poore and needie: and that our almes may be acceptable vnto God, three things are chiefly required.

First, that we geue with a chearefull and ioyfull heart: For the Lord loueth a chearefull geuer.

Secondly, that we geue liberally, putting aside al nigardship, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reape little, and hee that soweth plenteously, shall reape plenteously.* Lette euerye manne therefore doe accordinge as hee is able. The poorest caitiffe in the world may geue as great and acceptable an almes in the sight of God, as the richest man in the worlde can doe. The poore widowe that did offer but two mites,* whiche make a farthing, did highly please Christ: In so much that he affirmed with an othe, That shee of her penurie, had added more to the offrings of God, then all the rich men, which of their superfluitie had cast in very muche. For if there be

first a willing minde (as S. Paule sayth) it is accepted, according to that a mā hath,* and not according that a man hath not.

Thirdly, we must geue wythout hypocrisie and ostentation, not seeking the praise of men, or our own glorie of profite.* And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a rewarde to oure almes and other good woorkes, yet ought we not to thinke that wee doe merite or deserue any thyng:* but rather wee oughte to acknowledge, that God of his mere mercy rewardeth in vs hys owne giftes. For what hathe hee that geueth almes, that hee hathe not receiued, hee then that geueth vnto a poore man anye manner of thing, geueth not of his owne, but of those goodes whych he hath receiued of God. What haste thou [Page 1571](#) (saith the apostle) that thou hast not receiued? If thou hast receiued it, why reioycest thou, as though thou hadst not receiued it?

This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we haue nothing, but that which wee haue receiued, what can we deserue? or what neede we to dispute and reason of our owne merites? It commeth of the free gift of God, that we liue, that we loue God, that we walke in his feare. Where is our deseruing then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arme our selues with continuall praier, a very necessary, strong, and inuincible weapon, and after the example of Christ and al other godly men, crie heartily vnto God in faith, in all our distresses and anguishes. Let vs goe boldly to the seate of grace, where we shall be sure to receiue mercie,* and finde grace to helpe in time of neede. For now is pride and persecution encreased: nowe is the time of destruction and wrathfull displeasure.

Wherfore my deare brethren, be ye feruēt in the law of God, and ieoperd ye your liues if neede shall so require,* for the testament of the fathers, and so shall yee receiue great honour, and an euerlasting name. Remember Abraham: Was not he found faithfull in temptation,* and it was reckened vnto him for righteousnes? Ioseph in time of his trouble kept the commaundement, and was made a Lord of Egypt. Phinees was so feruent for the honor of God,* that he obtained the couenaut of an euerlasting Priesthode. Iosua for the fulfilling the word of God, was made the captaine of Israel. Caleb bare recorde before the Congregation, and receiued an heritage.* Dauid also in his mercifull kindnesse obtained the throne of an euerlasting kingdome. Elias being zealous and feruent in the law, was taken vp into heauen. Ananias, Azarias,* and Misael remained stedfast in the faith, and were deliuered out of the fire. In like maner Daniel being vnguiltie, was saued from the mouth of the Lions.

And thus ye may cōsider throughout al ages since the world began,* that who soeuer putte their trust in God, were not ouercome. Feare not ye then the wordes of vngodly men: for their glory is but dong and wormes: to day are they set vp, and to morowe are they gone: For they are toured into earth, and theyr memorial commeth to naught. Wherfore let vs take good hearts vnto vs, and quite our selues like men in the lawe: for if we doe the things that are commaunded vs in the law of the Lorde our God, we shall obtaine great honour therein.

Beloued in Christ, let vs not faint because of affliction, wherwith God trieth all them that are sealed vnto life euerlasting:* for the onely way into the kingdome of God, is through much tribulation. For the kingdome of heauen (as God teacheth by hys Prophet Esdras) is like a Citie builded and set vpon a broad field,* and full of all good thinges, but the entraunce is narrowe and sodaine,* [full of sorrow and trauaile, pearils and labours] Like as if there were a fire at the right

hand, and a deepe water at the les•• and as it were one straight path betwene them both, so smal, that there could but one man goe there. If this Citie now were geuen to an heire, and he neuer went through the pearillous way, how would he receiue his inheritaunce? Wherefore seeing we are in this narrowe and straight way, which leadeth vnto the most ioyfull and pleasaunt Citie of euerlasting life: let vs not stagger, eyther turne backe, being afraide of the daungerous and pearillous way, but followe our Captaine Iesus Christ in the narrowe and straight way, and be afraide of nothing, no not euen of death it selfe: * for it is he that must lead vs to our iourneys ende, and open vs the doore vnto euerlasting life.

Consider also the course of thys world, howe many there be which for their maisters sake, * or for a litle promotions sake, wold aduenture their liues in worldly affaires, as cōmonly in warres, & yet is their reward but light & transitory, & ours is vnspeakable, great and euerlasting. They suffer paines to be made Lordes on earth for a short season: howe much more ought we to endure like paines (yea peradventure much lesse) to be made kinges in heauen for euermore? Consider also the wicked of this worlde, which for a litle pleasures sake, or to be auenged on their ennemies, will fight with sworde and weapons, and put them selues in daunger of imprisonment and hanging. So much as vertue is better then vice, & God mightier then the deuil, so much ought we to excell them in this our spirituall battaile.

And seeing brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, Iohn Bradforde, your countrey men in the forefront of this battaile, where (for the time) is most daunger, I beseeche you all in the bowels of Christe to helpe vs and all other our felow souldiors standing in like perillous place, with your praiers to God for vs, that we maye quite our selues like men in the Lord, and geue some example of boldnes & constancie, mingled with pacience in the feare of God, that yee and others our brethren, thorough oure example, may be so encouraged and strenghtned to folow vs, that ye also may leaue example to your weake brethren in the world, to followe you. Amen.

Consider what I say: the Lorde geue vs vnderstanding in all things. * Brethren the time is short: it remaineth that yee vse thys world as though ye vsed it not: for the fashion of this worlde vanisheth away. See that ye loue not the world, neither the things that are in the world: but set your affection on heauenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be •eeke, & long suffering, serue and edifie one other, * with the gift that God hath geuen you. Beware of strange doctrine: lay aside the old conuersation of greedy lustes, and walke in a new life. Beware of all vncleannes, couetousnes, foolish talking, false doctrine & dronkennes: Reioyce & be thankful towards God, & submit your selues one to an other▪ Cease from sinne, spend no more time in vice, be sober and apt to pray, be pacient in trouble, loue each other, and let the glory of God and profite of your neighbor, be the onely marke ye shoote at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heede to your doings hereafter. And aboue all things cleaue yee fast to him, who was deliuered to death for our sins, & rose againe for our iustification. To whome with the father & the holy ghost be al honor & rule for euermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Christe all others, which loue vs in the faith, and at your discretiō make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and other in bondes for the Gospell, that the same God (which by his grace hath called vs from wicked papistrie, vnto true Christianitie, and

now of loue prooueth out patience by persecution, wil of his mercy and fauour in the end gloriously deliuer vs, either by death, or by life, to his glory, Amē

At Lancaster the 30. of August. 1554.

By me an vnprofitable seruant of Christ, George Marsh.

To his welbeloued in Christ Ienkin Crampton, Iames Leiuer, Elice Fogge▪ Rafe Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to euery one of them be these deliuered from Lancaster. G. Marsh.

The grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, & the loue of God, & the felowship of the holy Ghost be w^t you al. Amen.*

After salutations in Christ, and harty thanks for your frendly tokens, and your other remembraunces towards me, beseeching God y^t ye may encrease in faith, feare, loue, and 〈◇〉 good gifts, & grow vp into a perfit man in Christe: these be earnestly to exhort you, yea & to beseech you in the •ender mercy of Christe, that w^t purpose of heart ye continually cleaue vnto the Lorde, and that ye worship & serue him in spirite, in the gospel of his sonne. For God wil not be worshipped after the commandements & traditions of men, neither yet by any other meanes appoynted, prescribed, and taught vs, but by his holy word. And though all men for the most parte defile them selues with the wicked traditions of men & ordinances after y^e world, and not after Christ: yet doe ye after the ensample of Tobie,* Daniel & his 3. companions, Matharhias and his 5. sonnes, be at a poynt with your selues that ye wil not be defiled wyth y^e vncleane meates of the heathen, I do meane the filthinesse of Idolatrie, and the very Heathenish ceremonyes of the Papistes: but as true worshippers, serue ye God in spirite and verity, according to his sacred Scriptures:* which I would wish and will you aboue all things continually and reuerently (as both S. Paule and Christ commaund you) to searche and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same: to teach, exhort, comfort & edifie one an other,* and your brethren & neighbours, now in time of thys our miserable captiuitie, and great famishment of soules, for want of the foode of Gods worde. And doubt not,* but that the merciful Lord, who hath promised to be with vs euen vnto the worldes end, and that whensoever 2. or 3. be gathered together in his name, hee will be in the midst of them, will assist you, and teach you the right meanings of the sacred Scriptures, will keepe you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

And though ye thinke your selues vnable to teach, yet at the cōmaundement of Christ now in time of famine, the hungry people being in wildernes farre frō any townes,* which if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint & perish by the way, employ and bestow those fiue loaues and two fishes that ye haue, vpon that hungrie multitude, although ye thinke it nothing among so many. And y^t he increased the v. loaues and the ij. fishes to feede v. M. men,* besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in christ, but also to an exceding great increase of your know^lledge in God & his holy word. And feare not your aduersaries: for either according to his accustomed maner God shal blind their eies that they shal not espie you,* either get you fauour in their sight, either els graciously deliuer you out of their handes by one meanes or other.

Obeie with reuerence al your superiours, vnlesse they commaund idolatrie or vngodlinesse.*
Make prouision for your households, chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God.
Loue your wiues euen as your owne selues, & as Christ loued the congregatiō. Loue your
children, but rate thē not, lest they be of a desperate mind: and [Page 1572](#) bring them vp in the
nurture & information of the Lorde, and teache them euen as the godly parents of Tobie the
younger, and Susanna did teach their children, euen from their infancy to reuerence God
according to his lawe, & to abstaine from sin,* prouiding y^t in no wise they be brought vp in
idlenes & wantonnes, seing y^t ye reckon your selues to be the children of God, and looke for the
life whych God shall geue to them that neuer tourne their beliefe from him.* See that ye euer
feare God, and keepe his commandements: and though the plague of God chance vnto you, yet
remaine yee stedfast in the faith and feare of God, and thanke him and serue hym in such holines
and righteousnes as are acceptable before him all the dayes of your life. Comfort your selues in
all your aduersities, & stay your selues in him, who hath promised not to leaue you as fatherles
and motherles children without any comfort, but y^t he wil come to you like a most gentle &
merciful Lorde. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping and
succoring you at all times. I wil be with you (sayth he) vnto the ende of the world. And clea•e
you fast vnto him, which was incarnate• liued, wrought, taught, & died for your sinnes: yea rose
againē from death, ascended into heauen for your iustification. Repēt ye of the life that is past,
and cease from sinne, and from hence forward liue as much time as remaineth in the flesh, not
after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good & distribute, forget not. Fast and
pray busily, & as euery man hath receiued the gift, minister the same one to an other as good
ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Iesus
Christ, to whome be praise and dominion for euer, and while the world standeth, Amen.

Yours George Marsh.

An other Letter.

*The same grace and peace (dearely beloued in Christe) doe I intirely desire and wish vnto you,
which the Apostle S. Paule wisheth to all them, vnto whome he did write and send hys Epistles,
then which 2. things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is throughout all the
Epistles of Paule, taken for the free mercy and fauour of God, wherby he saueth vs freely,
without any deseruings or workes of the lawe. In like maner peace is taken for the quietnes and
tranquillitie of the conscience, being throughly perswaded that through the only merits of
Christes death and bloudshedding, there is an attonement and peace made betweene God and vs,
so that God will no more impute our sinnes vnto vs,* nor yet condemne vs.

Dearely beloued, I wil not be negligent to put you alwaies in remembraunce of things, though
that yee knowe them your selues, and be also established in the present truthe: notwithstanding, I
thinke it mete (as long as I am in this tabernacle) to stirre you vp, by putting you in
remembraunce. Wherefore I beseeche you brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Iesus, that ye
encrease more and more, euē as ye haue receiued how ye ought to walke and to please God. And
as Barnabas that good man, & full of the holy ghost,* exhorted the Antiochiās, with purpose of
hart, cleaue ye continually vnto the Lord. And stand fast, & be not moued frō the hope of the
Gospell, whereof (God be thanked) ye haue had plenteous preaching vnto you these yeares past,
by the faithfull Ministers of Iesus Christ, Leiuer, Pilkenton, Bradford, Saunders, and others like,*

which now when persecution ariseth because of the worde, doe not fall away like shrinking children and forsake the truthe, but are prest and ready for your sakes, which are hys mysticall body, to forsake the chiefe & principall delites of this life, and some of them in geuing place to the outrageous tyrannie of the world, to forsake their liuings, frends, natie land, and other chiefe pleasures of this life, and to commit themselues to painefull exile,* that if it please God, Christ may come againe out of Egypt. And other some are ready to fulfil their ministerie vnto the vtmost: that is to witte, with their painfull imprisonmentes and bloudshedding (if neede shall so require) to confirme and seale Christes Gospell, whereof they haue bene ministers: and as S Paul sayth: not onely to be cast into prison, but also to die for the name of the Lord Iesus.

Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimonie of our Lorde Iesus, neither be yee ashamed of vs which are his prisonners, but suffer ye aduersitie with the gospel, for which worde we suffer as euil doers, euen vnto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with vs. Therefore we suffer all things for the elect sake, that they also may obtaine the saluation which is in Christ Iesu, with eternall glory: wherefore stand ye fast in the faith, and be not moued from the hope of the Gospell,* and so shall ye make vs euen wyth ioy to suffer for your sakes, and as the Apostle sayeth. To fulfill that which is behinde of the passions of Christ in our flesh, for his bodies sake, which is the congregation. Saint Paul doth not here meane, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christe, which may be supplied by man, for the passion of Christ (as touching his owne person) is that most perfecte and omnisufficient sacrifice, wherby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his bloud: but these his words ought to be vnderstande of the elect and chosen, in whome Christ is and shall be persecuted vnto the worldes ende. The passion of Christ then, as touching his mysticall body which is the Church, shall not be perfecte till they haue all suffered, whome God hath appoynted to suffer for his sonnes sake. Wherefore stablish your selues and be of good, comfort, & be not mooued in these afflictions, knowing that we are appoynted therunto. For on your partes nothing cā be greater consolation & inwarde ioy vnto vs in our aduersitie, then to heare of your faith and loue, and that yee haue a good remembrance of vs alwaies, praying for vs as we doe for you, as the Apostle wryteth of the Thessalonians, saying:* Nowe are we alieue if ye stand stedfast in the Lorde: for good shepheardes doe alwayes count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christes flocke to be their owne: for while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth wel with them also in whatsoever affliction or aduersity they be: but when they see the churche in any pearill or weakenesse, then be they wearie of their owne liues, then can they haue no rest nor ioy. Who is weake, sayeth S. Paule, and I am not weake? Who is offended and I do not burne? But this affection is not in them that seeke their owne luker and glory.

And for asmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare vpon earth, let vs run with ioy vnto the battell that is set before vs,* & like good Warriours of Iesus Christ, please him, who hath chosen vs to be soldiours, & not like shrinking children faint and fall away from the truth now in time of aduersitie and tribulation, wherewith all that wil liuely godly in Christ Iesu, must be tried, euen as golde & siluer is prooued in the fire,* and whereof all the scriptures haue geuen vs so much forewarning For God is wōt for the most part, to warne his electe and chosen what affliction and trouble shal happen vnto them for his sake, not to the entent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their mindes against the boistrous stormes of persecution. As we haue a notable exāple in the Apostle S Paule, vnto whome God sent Agabus, who prophecied vnto him of the imprisonment and bandes, that hee should suffer at Ierusalem: In whom we haue also a good

example of constancie & stedfastnes, which regarding nothing the teares of his familiar frēds, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire & water go on stil to set forth the glory of God; and he being deliuered frō the hands of his vngodly & bloudthirsty enmies, & that so many times, is in cōclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the sea, where he was a long season in great peril & ieoperdy of his own life. But God was alwais (to the great cōfort of all that shal heare of it) most ready to help & succor hym. First he did send him a most frendly and swete cōpanye, I meane Aristarchus and Lucas, so ruling the heart of the vnder captaine Iulius, that he courteously intreated him,* & gaue him liberty to go to his frendes, and to refresh him selfe, and he was beneficiall vnto him at all times. In like manner was God with Ioseph, and deliuered him from all his aduersities, and gaue him fauoure and wisdom in the sight of Pharaο king of Egypt, in so much that he made him Gouvernour ouer all Egypt, and ouer all his houshold. In like manner was hee with Ieremie, and Daniel in theyr great troubles, and appoynted men for them in their most troubles, to relieue, succour, and helpe them to their singular comfort.

Also when Peter was in Herodes prison,* sleeping betwene 2. soldiours, bound with 2 chaines, and the keepers before the dore keeping the prisone, the same night that Herode had intended to haue brought him out vnto the people the day following, and to haue put him vnto death to please the Iewes withal, as a litle before he had killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the sword: god sent his angel, and the chaines fell off from Peters hands, and the yron gate opened vnto him by his owne accorde, and so was Peter wonderfully deliuered by God. For it is the true liuing God that looseth al bandes, and deliuereth out of prison, and not that fained God S. Leonard. On that true God did S. Peter call: vnto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliuerance, saying: Nowe I know of a truth that God hath sent his Angel. &c.

These things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comforte of the scriptures might haue hope. The God of patience and comfort, graūt that we be like minded one towardes an other, after the ensample of Christe Iesu, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorifie God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ.

A poore prisoner for Christ, George Marsh.

An other letter of George Marshe to Robert Langley.

THE grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, & the loue of God, and the fellowship of the holy Ghost be with you good brother in Christe, Robert Langley,* & with all them that loue the Lord Iesus vnfainedly. Amen.

After harty commendations to you, w^t thanks for that ye did visite me a prisoner in Christ, & vnacquainted with you, to your costes, this shal be to let you knowe, that yee shall receiue from me mine examination and handling at [Page 1573](#) Lathum, and the cause of mine imprisonmēt, according as I did promise you: and this ye shal receiue by my brother or some one of the Bradshawes of Bolton w^tin this seuen night, willing you to shew the same to such faithfull mē about Manchester or els where, as you do take to be fauorers of true religion, and Christes holy word, and then to deliuer it againe. And wheras you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary vnto thys life, you with some others, would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful affliction. I geue you most hearty thankes, and reioyce greatly in the Lord, who

stirreth vp the hearts of others to be carefull for me in this my great necessitie. I thanke God, as yet I doe want nothing, and intende to be as little chargeable vnto others (sauing my mother) as I can. If I do want, I wil be bolde wyth you and others, to send for your reliefe and helpe in my necessitie: desiring you in the meane while to pray for mee, and all others in the bondes of Christ: that God woulde performe the thing which he hath begon in vs, that we maye with boldnesse confesse Iesus Christe, and fighte the good fight of faith.

Yours George Marsh.

A letter of George Marshe to a certaine godly frende.

GRace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God and Iesus the Lord.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token,* but much more for your louing letters, ful of consolation to me as touching my person to you vnknownen: these shall be to certifie you that I reioyce greatly in the Lorde, when I do perceiue how my sweete sauour Christ doth stirre vp the mindes, not only of my familiar frends in times past, but also of sondry and diuers heeretofore vnto me vnknowne and vnacquainted, to beare part with me in this my painfull & costly imprisonment, sending me things not onely necessary for thys present life, but also comfortable letters, incouraging & exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and not to be moued away from the hope of the Gospell, wherof, according to my small talent I haue bene a minister: and daily I call and crie vnto the Lord, in whom is al my trust, and wythout whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begon a good worke in me, wold vouchsafe to go forth with it vntill the day of Iesus Christ, being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will so doe, for as much as he hath geuen me, that not only I shoulde beleue on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with hys holy spirite, that I maye be one of the number of those blessed, which enduring to the ende, shalbe saued.

And whereas you say that my suffering of persecution wyth Christ, is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answere that in all mine aduersitye and necessitye, nothing on your behalfe is greater consolation vnto me, then to heare of the faith and loue of others, and how they haue good remembrance of vs alwayes, euen as the Apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying: Now are ye aliue if ye stande stedfast in the Lorde. For my trust in the Lord is, that this my businesse shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetfull and hypocritish hearers,* whereof some being but wayside hearers, the deuil commeth and taketh away the woord out of their heartes, least they shoulde beleue and be saued (but lette praier be made without ceassing by the congregation vnto God for them) and (no doubt) God will to your consolation, gloriously deliuer by one mean•s or other his oppressed. Onely tary ye the Lords leisure: be strong, let your heart be of good comfort, and waite yee still for the Lorde. He tarieth not, that will come, looke for hym therefore and faint not, and he will neuer faile you.

Yours George Marsh.

A letter of a godly brother one Iames Bradshaw, sent to George Marsh in prisone.

GRace and peace from God the father, and the Lord Iesu Christ be with you alway.* Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great cōfort vnto vs, to see you take the crosse so thankfully. Trouble & affliction doth prooue, try, instructe, confirme & strengthen the faith, prouoke and stirre vp prayer, driue and force vs to amendement of life,* to the feare of God, to mekenes, to patience, to constancie, to gentlenesse, to sobernesse, temperancie, and to all maner of vertues, and are the occasion of exceeding much good, as wel transitorie as eternal, in this world as in the world to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor vngodly, but hee hathe one crosse or other. And although some there be that can shift for a while, and make prouision for thēselues for a time, by craft or subtilty and dissimulatiō, or by some fashion in fellowship (as they call it) yet they bring them selues at length into the highest danger, confusion and shame, both in this world, & in the world to come. And seing that all the troubles and aduersity in this world, are a thousand times more light & easy, yea nothing in cōparison of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the vnfaithfull and wicked enemies of God: all faithfull and godly persons ought to beare and suffer their transitorye affliction and aduersitie the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully: considering and remembring all the dearely beloued frendes of God, which were wonderfully vexed & plaged of their enemies Abraham of the Caldeis, Lot, of the Sodomites, Isaac, of Ismael, Iacob of Esau, Moses of his people, Dauid of Saule and of his owne sonnes. As for Iob,* he had not a drop of bloud in hys body. Iohn Baptist the holiest that euer was borne of a woman, was without any law, right or reason, beheaded in prison, as thoughe God had knowen nothing at all of hym.

We haue many thousand fellow martyrs and companions of our miserie and aduersitie, in respecte of whose imprisonment, racking, chaines, fire, wilde beastes, and other meanes, wherwith they were tormented, al that we suffer is but a blast of winde. Therefore nowe who soeuer is ashamed of the crosse of Christ, and agreued therewith, the same is ashamed to haue Christ for his fellow & companion, and therefore shal the Lord Iesus Christ be ashamed of him againe at the latter day.

Thus I leaue for this time, beseeching you to lette me haue your aduise, because I do not outwardly speake that with my tong, that I do thinke w^t my heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beseeche the holy Ghost haue you in hys keeping alway. Amen.

By your frend Iames Bradshaw.

A prayer of George Marsh, which he vsed daily to say.

OH Lord Iesu Christ, which art the onely phisition of woūded consciences, wee miserable sinners trusting in thy gracious goodnes, doe briefly open to thee the euil tree of our heart, with all the rootes, boughes, leaues and fruits, & withal the crookes,* knots and knoures, all which thou knowest: for thou throughly perceiuest as wel the inwarde lustes, doubtings, and denying thy prouidēce, as these grosse outward sinnes which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseeche thee, according to the litle measure of our infirmitie, althoughe we be farre vnable and vnapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stonie hearts, and for these old hearts, create new within vs, and replenish vs with a new spirite, and water vs and moysten vs wyth the iuyce of heauenly grace, and welles of spiritual waters, wher by the inwarde venome and noysome iuyce of the flesh may be dried vp, and custome of the olde man changed, and our heart alwaies bringing forth thornes and briars to be burned with fire, from hence foorth may beare spiritual fruites in righteousnes & holinesse, vnto life euerlasting. Amen.

Beloued, amonge other exercises, I doe daily on my knees vse this confession of sinnes, willing and exhorting you to do the same, & daily to acknowledge vnfaignedly to God your vnbelief, vnthakfulnes, & disobedience against him. This shal ye do if ye wil diligently consider and loke your selues first in the pure glasse of Gods commaundements, and there see our outward filthines and vncleannes, and so learne to vanquish the same, that is to wit, to fall in hearty displeasure against sinne, & therby be prouoked to long after Christ. For we truely are sinners: but he is iust, and the iustifier of all them that beleue on him. We are poore,*but he is rich in mercy towarde all them that cal vpon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousnesse, let vs resort vnto his table, for he is a most liberall feast maker. He wil set before vs his owne holy body, which was geuē for vs to be our meat, and hys precious bloud which was shed for vs, and for many for the remission of sinnes, to be our drinke. He biddeth, willeth, & calleth for geasts, which hunger and thirst. Come (sayeth he) all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, coole and ease you,* and you shall finde rest vnto your soules.

The life and historie of W. Flower, who for striking of a priest, was apprehended, first hauing hys hande cut off, and after martyred for his constant standing to the truth.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, first cōcerning his trade of life & bringing vp, he was born at Snowhil in the County of Cambridge,* where he went to schoole certaine yeares, and then came to the Abbey of Ely: where after hee hadde remained a while, hee was a professed Monke, according to the order and rule of the [Page 1574](#) same house, wherein hee remained, vsing and bearing the habite of a Monke, and obseruing the rules and orders of the same house, vntill he came to 21. yeres of age, or thereabout: and before hee came to that age, and being a professed Monke,* hee was made a priest also in the same house, and there did celebrate and singe Masse a good space together. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certaine Iniunctions geuen in the same time by the authoritie of king Henry the eight, he forsooke the same house, and casting frō him the sayd Monkes habite and religion aforesayde, tooke vpon him and vsed the habite of a secular priest, and returned to Snowhill, where hee was borne, and there hee did celebrate and sing Masse, and taught childrē their Primer and Accidence, about halfe a yeare together.

Then he went from thence to Ludgate in Suffolke, & there serued as a seculare priest about a quarter of a yeare: and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he taried and serued as a secular priest also, vntill the comming out of the sixe Articles: and then hee departed from thence, and went into Gloucester shiere, where after he had made his aboade in the countrey a while, at lengthe in Tewkesbury according to Gods holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he euer after faithfully and honestly cōtinued: and after his marriage, he taried in Tewkesbury about 2. yeares together:* and then from thence he went vnto Bros•ey, where he taried three quarters of a yere, and practised Phisicke and Surgerie, and from thence hee remooued to Northampton shier, where vnder a Gentleman he taught children their primers, and to wryte and read, a good space. And so departing from those parties, hee came to London, and there remained for a certain space. After that being desirous to see his countrey, he returned to Snowhil where hee was borne:* from thence to Brankstrey in Essex, then to Coxal, where he taught children a space: and so came to Lambeth beside London, where he hired a house, and placed his wife, where he and his wife did euer since dwell together till this time: howbeit for the most part he was alwayes abroade, and very seldome at home, except once or twise in a moneth,

to visite and see his wife: where hee being at home vpon Easter day about 10. and a 11. a clocke in the fore noone of the same daye, came ouer the water from Lambeth into Sainte Margaretes Church at Westminster,* where he finding & seeing a Prieste called Iohn Cheltam, ministring and geuing the sacrament of the aultare to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his cōscience with the Prieste for the same his doing (for that hee iudged hym not to be a Catholike Minister) neyther hys act to be catholike and laudable, according to Gods word, did strike and wounde him vpon the head, and also vppon the arme and hande with his woodknife, the Priest hauing the same time in his hande a Chalice, with certaine consetrated hostes therin, which were sprinkled with the bloud of the sayde priest.

*In the whych so doing, as in deede he did not well, or Euangelically, so afterward being examined before bishop Boner, did no lesse confesse his not well doing in the same, submitting therefore hym selfe willingly to punishmente, when it should come. Howbeit touching his beliefe in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither woulde nor did submit him selfe.

Wherupon the foresaid Wil. Flower, being first apprehended & laid in the Gate house at Westminster (where hee had geuen two groates y^e same day a litle before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) wyth as many yrons as he could beare: afterward was conuented before Boner his Ordinarie. April 19. anno 1555. where the B. after he had sworne hym vpon a booke (according to his ordinarye maner) ministred articles & interrogatories to him. But before I speake of the articles, firste we haue here to set forth what cōmunication passed betwixt him & Rob. Smith being then also there prisoner w^t hym in newgate, concerning his facte done at Westminster, the tenor & effect of which communication here foloweth.

A communication or debating betweene Robert Smith prisoner in Newgate, and W. Flower, concerning his striking of the priest at Westminster.

Robert Smith.

*FRend, for as much as I do vnderstand that you do professe the Gospell, and also haue so done a long season, I am bolde to come vnto you, and in the way of communication to demaunde and learne a truth at your owne mouth, of certaine thyngs by you committed, to the astonishynge not onely of mee, but of diuers other that also professe the veritie.

Flower.

I praise God for hys great goodnesse, in shewing me the light of hys holy woorde: and I geue you heartie thanks for your visitation: intending by Gods grace to declare all the truth that ye shal demaunde lawfully of me, in all things.

Smith.

Then I desire you to shewe me the truthe of your deede, committed on Iohn Cheltam priest, in the Church, as nere as you can, that I may heare of your owne mouth howe it was.

Flo.

I came from my house at Lambeth, ouer the water▪ and entring into saint Margaretes Church (so called) and there seeing the people falling down before a most shamefull and detestable Idoll,*
being moued with extreeme zeale for my God, whome I saw before my face dishonoured, I drewe foorth my Hanger, and strake the priest which ministred the same vnto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended: and this is most true, as the acte is manifest.

Smith.

Did ye not know the person that ye strake, or were ye not zelous vpon him for any euil wil, or hatred betwene you at any time.

Flo.

No verily, I neuer to my knowledge sawe the person before that present, neither ought him or any man aliuie euil wil, or malice: for if he had not had it, an other shoulde, if I hadde any time come where the like occasion had bene ministred, if God had permitted me to doe it.

Smith.

Doe ye thinke that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the Gospell.

Flo

I do confesse all flesh to be subiect to the power of almighty God,* whom he maketh his ministers to do his wil and pleasure: as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phinees, Iosua, Zimrie, Ihehie, Iudith, Mathathiah, wyth many other, not only chaunging degrees, but also planting zeales to hys honour, against all order and respect of flesh and bloude. For, as sayeth S. Paule, Hys workes are past finiding out: by whose spirite I haue also geuen my fleshe at thys present vnto suche order, as it shall please the good will of God to appoynt, in death, which before the act committed, I looked for.

Smith.

Thinke you it conuenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

Flo.

No verily: neither do I know if it were to do againe,* whether I coulde doe it againe, or no: for I was vp verry early at Paules church (so called) vpon Christes day in the morning, to haue done it in my ielousie: but when I came in place, I was no more able to doe it, then nowe to vndoe that is don: and yet now being compelled by the spirit, not onely to come ouer the water, and to enter the churche, but being in minde fully content to die for the Lord, gaue ouer my flesh willingly without all feare, I praise God: Wherefore I can not learne you to doe the like. Firste, because I knowe not what is in you. Secondly, because the rules of the Gospell commaundeth vs to suffer wyth pacience all wrongs & iniuries: yet neuerthesse, if he make you worthy, y^t hath made me zealous, ye shall not be letted, iudged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people hys vnspeakable

workes in all ages, which no man can cōprehend: I humbly beseech you to iudge the best of the spirit, and cōdemne not Gods doings: for I can not expresse wyth my mouthe the great mercies y^t God hath shewed on me in thys thing, which I repent not.

Smith.

Are ye not assured to haue death ministred vnto you for the same act committed, and euen with extremitie?

Flo.

I did before the deede committed, adiudge my bodye to dye for the same: [*](#) whereuppon I caryed aboute mee in wryting, mine opinion of God and the holy Scriptures: that if it had pleased God to haue geuē them leaue to haue killed my body in the church, they might in the sayde wryting haue seene my hope, which (I praise God) is layde vp safe within my brest, notwithstanding any death that may be ministred vnto my body in thys worlde: being ascertained of euerlasting life throughe Iesus Christe our Lorde, and being most heartily sorie for al mine offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly through hys mercye, to cease from the same.

Smith.

It is no neede to examine or commune with you of the hope that yee haue any further: for I perceiue (God be praised) ye are in good estate, & therefore I beseeche God for his mercies, spreade his wings ouer you, y^t as for his loue you haue ben zelous, euen to the losse of this life, so he may geue you his holy spirite to conduct you out of thys death, into a better life, which I thinke wil be shortly.

Flo.

I hunger for the same (deare frend) being fully ascertained that they can kill but the bodye, which I am assured shall receiue life againe euerlasting, and see no more death: entirely desiring you, and all that feare the Lorde, to praye wyth me to almighty God, to performe the same in mee shortly. And thus Robert Smith departed, leauing him in the dungeon, and went againe to hys warde. And thys (gentle Reader) is the truthe, as neare as the saide Smyth coulde reporte it.

[Page 1575](#) And thus muche concerninge the talke betweene hym and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning hys facte in striking the Priest. Nowe to returne againe to the matter of his examination, where we leaft, we shewed before how thys William Flower, after hys striking the Prieste, firste was layde in the Gatehouse: then being examined before Boner, had articles ministred against him: the copy wherof heere followeth.

Articles obiected and ministred by Boner, against William Branch, alias Flower, late of Lambeth, in the Countie of Surrie.

[*](#)First, that thou being of lawful age and discretion, at the least of 17. yeare old, wast professed a Monke in the late Abbey of Ely, wherin after thy profession thou remainedst vntill the age of 21.

yeares, vsing all the meane tyme, the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.*

Item, that after the premisses, thou wast ordered and made prieste, according to the laudable custome of the Catholike Church, and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a priest, and was commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

Item, that after the premisses, thou forgetting God, thy conscience, honestie, and the laudable order of the Catholike church, diddest contrary to thy profession and vow, take as vnto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the Dioces of Gloucester, with whom thou haddest mutuall cohabitation and carnall copulation, as man and wife, and begatest of her two children.

Item, that thou being a religious man and a Priest, diddest contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical lawes,* take vpon thee to practise in diuers places within the dioces of London, Phisicke and Surgerie, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item, that vpon Easter day last past, that is to witte, the 14. day of thys present moneth of Aprill, within the parish Church of S. Margarets at Westminster, wythin the Countie of Middlesex and Diocesse of London, thou dydst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pul out thy weapon, that is to wit, thy Woodknife or hanger. And wheras the priest and minister there called sir Iohn Cheltam, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing hys seruice, and ministring the sacramēt of the aultar to the communicants, then didst thou wickedly & abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first vpō the head very sore, & afterwards vpon his hands or other parts of his b / dy, drawing bloud abundantly vpon him: the sayd priest then holding the sayd sacramēt in his hand, and geuing no occasion why thou shouldest so hurte him: the people greuously being offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitantes were compelled to repaire to an other Church to communicate, and to receyue the sayde sacrament.

Item, that by reason of the premisses, thou wast and art by the ecclesiastical lawes of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicate and accursed, ipso facto, and not to be companied withal, neither in church, nor elsewhere but in speciall cases.

Item, that thou concerning the veritye of Christes naturall body and bloude in the sacrament of the aultar, haste ben by the space of these yeares.

20.19.18.17.16.15.14.13.12.11.10.9.8.7.6.5.4.3.2. and 1. or any one of them, and yet art at this present of the opinion: that is to say, that in the sayd sacrament of the aultare,* after the wordes of consecration, there is not really, truely, and in very dede, contained (vnder the formes of bread) the very true and naturall body of our sauour Iesus Christ.

Item, that thou for the hatred and disdaine that thou hadst & didst beare against the said sacrament, and the vertue thereof, and against the said priest ministring the same, (as before) did smite, wound, and hurte him in maner and forme as before is declared.

Iem, that thou ouer and besides the paynes due vnto thee for the doing of the cruell facte, art also by the order of the ecclesiasticall lawes of the church, and the laudable custome & ordinaunce of the same, to be reputed, taken, & iudged (as thou arte in deede) a very heritike, and to be punyshed by and with the pains due for heresie, by reason of thy sayd heresie and damnable opinion.

Item, that al the premisses be true, manifest, and notorious and famous, and that vpon the same, and euery part thereof, there was and is wythin the sayd parish of Saint Margaretes and other places thereabout, a publike voice and fame

The answeare of William Flower, made to the articles aforesayde.

TO the first article, he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in euery part thereof,* except that he sayth and confesseth that he neuer consented and agreed in hys heart to be a Monke.

To the second article he answeareth,* and confesseth the same to be true in euery part therof. Howbeit he saith, that he neuer did, nor yet doth esteme y^e said order of priesthoode, according to the said order of the Catholike church, because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

To the thirde article he answeareth, and confesseth that he intending to liue in godly matrimonie, & not forgetting God,* did mary with the saide Alice Pulton named in thys article, wherein he beleueth that he did well, and according to Gods lawes. Further, confessing and beleeuing, that al the time when he was professed Monke, and made priest, he did therby vtterly forget God: but when he did so mary the sayd Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her, did beget three children, he did remember God, as he sayeth, and beleeueth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he answeareth, and beleeueth the same to be true in euery part thereof.

To the fifth article hee answeareth, and confesseth that hys cōscience being greatly offended with the said sir Iohn Cheltam priest, for ministring of the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did smite and strike the same priest wyth hys hanger or woodknife, as wel vpon his head, as vpon other partes & places of his body, which he remembreth not, whereby the bloud ran out, and was shed in the saide Church, as he beleueth, hauing, as he sayth, none other cause or matter so to doe, but onely that his conscience was offended and greeued, in that the same Priest did so geue and minister the sayd Sacrament to the people: which people he beleeueth was greatly abashed and offended with his saide facte and doying, and were enforced and compelled to goe out of the Churche, and to repaire to an other to receiue the sayde sacrament. And further, being then demaunded and examined, whether he did then minde and intende to haue killed the said priest, or not? he said he would not answeare thereunto. And being further examined whether he did well or euil in striking the sayd priest? he would make no answeare thereunto, as he sayd.

To the sixt he answereth & saith, that whether he be so excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth him selfe herein to the Ecclesiasticall lawes.

To the seuenth he aunsweareth and sayeth, that by the space of sixe and twentie yeares now past, he hath alwaies bene, and yet is of this opinion touching the saide Sacrament of the aultare, as followeth: videlicet, that in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truely, and in very dede contained vnder the forme of breade, the very true naturall body of our sauour Iesus Christ.

To the eight he answeareth, and beleueth the same to be true in euery part thereof.

To the ninth he answeareth, & herein he referreth hym selfe to the said lawes, custome, and ordinaunce specified in this article, that is to say, the Canonickall lawes.

To the last he answeareth & beleueth, that those things before by him confessed be true, and those which he hath denied, be vntrue: and that the said common voyce and fame, hath and doth only labor and go vpon those things by him before confessed.

By me William Flower, alias Branch.

After this examination done, the bishop began after the best sort of his fine Diuinitie to instruct him,* and to exhort him to returne againe to the vnitie of his mother the Catholike church, with such reasons as he is commonly wōt to vse to others, promising many faire things if he woulde so do, besides the remitting of that was past.

To this William Flower answering againe, thanked him for hys offer: and where it was in his power to kill or not to kil his body, he stode therwith contented,* let him do therein what he thought: yet ouer his soule he had no suche power, whych being once separated from the bodye, is in the handes of no man, but onely of God, eyther to saue or spill. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he sayd, he would neuer goe from y^t he had spoken, do he wyth him what he would.

Then the B. assigned him againe to appeare in y^e same place at after noone, betwixte 3. or 4. In the meane time to aduise himselfe of his former answeres, whether he would stand to the same his opinions or no? which if hee so did, he would further proceede against him. &c.

[Page 1576](#)At after noone the sayd William Flower appeared agayne before the sayd B. the houre and place appoynted. To whome the B. sitting in his Consistorie, spake these wordes. Branch, ye were this forenoone here before me, and made aunsver to certaine articles:* and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you shoulde consider and weigh with your selfe your state, and to remember while you haue tyme, both your abhominable act, and also that euill opinion which ye haue conceyued touchyng the veritie of Christes true natural body in the sacrament of the aultar.

To whom the sayd Branch answered agayne, and said as followeth:* That which I haue sayd, I will stand too: and therefore I require that the lawe may proceed agaynst me. Wherupon the Bish.

commanded his Notary (Harward by name) to read to him agayne his articles, as before. Which beyng read, the said W. Flower persistyng in his godly sentence, answered to all partes of the articles, as in the forenoone before, saue onely that he requested the B. concernyng the fift article, he might alter somthing his answer therein, after this tenor and maner of wordes: to wit. And moreouer confesseth and sayth, that where as he strake the priest on Easter day last past, in S. Margarets church in Westminster, he hath since that tyme, & yet doth mislike hymselfe in that doying, and doth now iudge and beleue that the same his act was euill and naught. Howbeit he saith and beleueth, that as for the matter and cause wherfore he so stroke the said priest (which was for ministring of the sacrament of the aaltar,* which he taketh and iudgeth abhominable) he did nor doth not mislike hymself at all therein.

Moreouer, he desireth of the said B. licence to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ix. Article, & in place therof, these words to be placed: to wit, Herein he referreth himselfe to the lawes, custome and ordinance specified in this article,* &c. At which request, Boner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the actes.

After this, the B. turning agayne to his old maner of exhorting, went about with words (and words onely) to perswade him to submit himselfe to the Catholike church, and to the faith therof. Which all his perswasions notwithstanding, Wil. remained stil in the constancy of his sentēce, saying, that he would not be remooued from that hee had spoken, to die therfore. Whereupon the Bish. assigned him the next day (being the xx. day of Aprill) to appeare in the same day and place, betwene the houres of 8. and 9. before noone, there and then to heare the sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, &c.

¶The last appearance of William Flower, before Bishop Boner.

IN the which day, houre, and place, the said Wil. Flower as he was appoynted,* was brought by his keeper, belonging to the Warden of the Fleete, before Boner, who after his woonted maner of perswasion, goyng about to reduce hym to his catholike church and the vnitie thereof, that is, from Christ to Antichrist: sometimes with fayre promises alluring, sometyme with manasses and terrors, fearing hym,* &c. To this Wil. answering, said on this wise Do what ye will, I am at a point: for the heauens shal as soone fall, as I will forsake myne opinion, &c. Wherupon the B. after he had commaunded these wordes to be registred, called for the depositions of certaine witnesses, producted for the better information of this matter,* y^e names of which witnesses were these: Wil. Genings, I. Bray, Rob. Graunt, Richard Dodde, William Pampion, Rob. Smalwood, the parish Priest of S. Margarets at Westminster. The summe and effect of whose depositions here insueth.

¶The depositions or attestations producted vpon the aunswers of Wil. Flower.

ROBERT Grant of Westminster, examined vpon the said answers of Wil. Flower, sayth and deposeth: That he did heare and see the sayd Flower, acknowledge & recognise the sayd answers, and subscribe to the same with hys own hand, and also was present in the church of S. Margarets in Westminster, when the sayd Wil. Flower dyd smite and wound the Priest, when (as he sayth) hee was ministring the Sacrament: and how this examine amongst other, preased towards him to take him, and was hurt therby vpō his chin, & after he was takē, this examine help to conduct him to the gatehouse at Westminster.

Richard Dod of Westminster, examined vpon the sayd answers, sayth and deposeth: that he did heare and see the sayd Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, & subscribe to the same with his owne hand: & also did see & was present, when the sayd Flower vpon Easter day last past, drew his woodknife and strake the priest vpon y^e hed, hand, and arme: who beyng wounded therewith, and hauyng a chalice with consecrated hostes therin in his hand, sprinkled with the sayd priests bloud, was holpen & rescued by this examine, and the sayde Flower caried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his woodknife takē away by this Examine.

William Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the sayd parish church of S. Margaretes in Westminster, examined vpon the said answers of the sayd Flower, sayth and deposeth, that the same answers be true, & in hys sight were subscribed with the hande of the sayde Flower. And that vpon Easter day last past, about xj. of the clocke in the forenoone, in the parish church at S. Margarets in Westminster, among a great number of the people ready to be houseled, the priests backe beyng turned toward the sayd Flower, he the sayd Flower sodenly drewe forth hys woodknife, and strake sir Iohn Cheltham the priest, both vpon his head, hand, and arme, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly, and the chalice with consecrated hosts beyng in his hand, were sprinkled w^t hys bloud, and the people in great feare cried out lamentably, and thought they should presently haue bene killed.

Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined vpon the said answers, saith and deposeth: that he did heare and see the sayd Flower acknowledge and recognise the sayde answers, and subscribe the same with his owne hand, and sayth further, touching the striking and woundyng the priest in S. Margarets church in Westminster, vpon Easter day last, this examine sayth, he was not there when y^e fact was done, but immediately after, he came to church, and found sir Iohn hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arme, by the sayd Flower, and the people in great heuines by reason therof. Also the people did report (as this examine saith) that Flower did the deed, as the priest had the chalice in his hande, ministring the Sacrament to the people.

William Ienings of Westminster, beyng examined vpon the answers of the sayd Wil. Flower, sayth & deposeth by vertue of his oth: that he did heare and see the sayd Flower, acknowledge and recognise the sayde aunswers, and subscribe to the same with his owne hande in the consistory place: and further deposeth, that he (vpon Easter day last past) was present in the church of S. Margarets in Westminster, where Flower strake the sayd Sir Iohn Cheltham priest, first vpon the head, and afterward vpon his arme two sore strokes, whereby the sayd priest is lyke to loose his hand. Also this Iurate deposed, that the sayd sir Iohn Cheltham had a chalice with certaine consecrated hosts therein (in his hand) which were sprinckled with the bloud of the sayd priest, and after the sayd Flower was apprehended by this examine and others, they caried hym immediately to the gatehouse in Westminster.

Iohn Bray one of the churchwardēs of the parish church of S. Margarets in Westminster, sworne and examined vpon the sayd aunsweres, sayth and deposeth, that he did heare and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the sayd answers, & also subscribe vnto the same. And further deposeth of Flowers strikyng the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examines doe, and that this sayd Iurate was present there at the deed doying.

After the depositions of these foresayd witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the sayd B. speakyng to Wil. Flower, asked hym if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be red, and he to be pronounced as an heretike. Wherevnto the martyr of God answereth agayne as followeth: I haue nothyng at all to say, for I haue already sayd vnto you all that I haue to say, & that I haue said, I will not go from, and therefore do what you wyll, &c.

Which when he had spoken, the Bish. proceeded to the sentence,* condemnyng and excommunicating hym for an heretike, & after pronounced hym also to be disgraded, and so committed hym to the secular power. Upon the 24. day of the foresayd moneth of Aprill, which was S. Markes euen, he was brought to the place of martyrdome, whiche was in S. Margarets churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed, and there commyng to the stake [Page 1577](#)

[illustration]

☛ The burning of William Flower at Westminster, the 24. of Aprill. An. 1555.

where he should be burned, first he maketh his prayer to almighty God, with a confession of his Christian fayth, in maner as followeth.

¶ A prayer and confession of W. Flower.

OH eternall God, most mighty and mercifull father, who hast sent downe thy sonne vpon the earth,* to saue me & all mankynd, who ascended vp into heauen agayne, and left hys bloud here vpon the earth behynd hym, for the redemption of our sins, haue mercy vpon me, haue mercy vpon me, for thy deare sonne our sauour Iesus Christes sake, in whom I confesse onely to bee all saluation and iustification, and that there is none other mean, nor way▪ nor holynes, in which, or by which any man can be saued in this world. This is my fayth, which I beseech all men here to beare witnesse of.

Then he sayd the Lords prayer, and so made an end.

Then M. Cholmley came to him, willyng hym to recant his heresie,* whereby he might do good to the people, or els he would be damned.

Flower answered as followeth. Sir, I beseech you for Gods sake be contented: for that I haue sayd, I haue said, and I haue bene of this fayth from the beginnyng: and I trust to the liuyng God hee will geue me his holy spirite to continue to the ende. Then he desired all the world to forgeue hym whome he had offended, as he forgaue all the world.

This done, first his hand beyng held vp agaynst the stake, was stroken of, his left hand beyng stayed behynde hym. At the which striking of his hand, certaine that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely obseruyng the same, credibly enformed vs, that he in no part of hys body did once shrinke at the strikyng therof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set vnto hym, who burning therein cried with a loud voyce: Oh the sonne of God haue mercye vpon me, Oh the sonne of God receyue my soule, three tymes, and so his

spech beyng taken from hym, he spake no more, lifyng vp notwithstanding his stumpe with hys other arme, as long as he could.

And thus endured this constant witnes and faythfull seruaunt of God, the extremitie of the fire, beyng therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought, so that for lacke of fagots there not sufficient to burne hym, they were fayne to strike hym downe into the fire. Where he lying along (which was dolefull to behold) vpon the ground, hys nether part was consumed in the fire, whilest hys vpper part was cleane without the fire, hys tongue in all mens sight still moouyng in hys mouth.

May. 1555.

The 3. of May a letter was sent to George Colte and Thom. Daniell, to make search for, and apprehend Iohn Bernard and Iohn Walshe, who vsed to repaire to Sudbury, and caryng about with them the bones of Pigotte that was burned, do shew them to the people, perswading them to be constant in his religion, and vpon examination to commit them to further orderyng accordyng to the lawes.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the litle ease in the Tower, there to remayne two or three dayes, vntill further examination.

The 12. day M. Thomas Rosse preacher, was by the counsailes letters deliuered from the Tower to the Shiriffe of Northfolke, to be conueyed and deliuered to the B. of Norwich, and he eyther to reduce hym to recant, or els proceed agaynst hym according to the law.

The 16. a letter was sent to the L. Treasurer, signifiyng what the L. had done for Rosse, and that order should be geuen according to his L. request, for letters to the Bishops, & as Appes (whom the Lieuutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad) his L. perceiuyng the same to be true should commit hym to Bedlem, there to remayne vntill their further order.

The 26. a letter was sent to the L. Treasurer, to conferre with the B. of London, and the Iustices of Peace of that Countie, wherein they are to be executed, that are alredy condemned for religion, & vpon agrement of places, to geue order for their execution accordingly.

The 28. a letter was sent to the L. Treasurer, to cause speedie preparation to be made of such mony as was appoynted for such persons as should cary the ioyful tidings of Queene Maries good deliury of chyld, to diuers princes: so as they be not compelled to stay when tyme shall come. The Embassadors were to the Emperour, the L. Admirall, to the French King the L. Fitzwaters, to the kyng of Romaines Sir Henry Sidney, to the K. of Portingall, Rich. Shelley, whose free passage through France M. Doctor Wootton was willed to procure by letters the 24. of Iune.

The 29. was a letter directed to Sir Frances Inglefield [Page 1578](#) to make search for one Iohn D. at Londō,* and to apprehend him and send him to the Counsaile, and to make search for such papers & bookes as may thinke may touch the same D. or one Bengier.

☛The burning and Martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker, & Iohn Warne Vpholster, which suffered both together in Smithfield. An. 1555. May. 30.

VPon the 30. day of May suffred together in Smithfield Iohn Cardmaker, otherwise called Tailour, Prebendarie of the church of Wels: & Ioh. Warne Upholster, of the parish of S. Iohn in Walbrooke. Of whome it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with M. Cardmaker,* who first was an obseruant Frier before the dissolution of the Abbeyes: then after was a married Minister, and in king Edwards time appointed to be Reader in Paules, where the Papistes were so much agrieved with hym for his doctrines sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gowne with their kniues. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginnyng of Queene Maries raigne,* with M. Barlowe Bishop of Bathe, was brought to London: and layde in prison in the Fleete, king Edwards lawes yet beyng in force. But after the Parliament was ended, in which the Pope was againe admitted as supreme hed of the church, and the Byshops had also gotten power and authoritie, Ex officio, to exercise their tyranny: these two were both brought before Winchester Chauncellour, and others appointed by Commission (as before is mentioned) to examine the fayth of such as were then prisoners, and as vnto others before, so now vnto them, the Chancellor offred the Queenes mercy, if they would agree and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commissioners allowed them for catholike. Whether they of weakenes so answered, or he•of subletie would so vnderstand their answer,* that he might haue some forged example of a shrinking brother, to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceiued by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he obiected the example of Barlow & Cardmaker, commending their sobernes, discretion & lerning. But whatsoeuer their answer was, yet notwithstanding Barlow was led againe to the Fleete, from whence he afterward beyng deliuered,* did by exile constantly beare witnes to the truth of Christes gospell. Cardmaker was conueyed to the Counter in Breadstreete, the B. of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be deliuered, after that he had subscribed to Transubstantiation and certaine other articles.

To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Laurēce Sanders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against hym) where these two prisoners had such christian conference, that whatsoeuer the breath of the bishops blusted,* & the tickle cares of the people too lightly beleued, in y^e end they both shewed themselues constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Laurence Sanders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remayned there prisoner, to be baited of the Papistes, which would needes seeme to haue a certayne hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continuall and great conference diuers of them had with hym, with reasonyngs, perswadyngs, threatnyngs, and all to none effect. To the end that their doyngs might appeare, hee required them to put their reasons in writyng, and promised by writyng to answer them.

Doctor Martin who bare also a part in those pageants,* tooke vppon hym to be the chiefe doer by writyng, whose long vnsauery letters and simple reasons for Trāsubstantiation, and such papisticall trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, & substantially, confuting the same, openyng the falsehood of his arguments, and deliueyng the sentences of the Fathers which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true vnderstanding: which his answers I would had come

to our hands. Thus constantly abode this man of God all the enemies doyngs, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London. Whereof ye shall heare more anon, but first we will surveye the matter and maner of his articles objected against him by B. Boner, with his answers annexed to the same, as consequently here vnder followeth.

¶Articles objected by Boner against Ioh. Taylor, aliàs Cardmaker, with hys answers vnto the same.

First, I Edmund B. of London, object against thee Sir Iohn Taylor aliàs Cardmaker,* that thou wast and art of the citie and Dioces of London, and so of the iurisdiction of me Edmund B. of London.

Item, that thou in tymes past diddest professe the rule of S. Fraunces, and diddest by vow promise to keepe pouertie, chastitie, and obedience, according to the rule of S. Frances.

Item, that thou in tymes past didst receyue all the orders of the church then vsed, to wit, tam maiores, quam minores.

Item, that thou after thy said entrie into religion and profession and orders aforesaid,* didst take to wife a widow and with her hadst carnal copulation, and didst get of her a woman child, breaking thereby thy vow and order, & also the ordinance of the church.

Item, that thou hast beleued and taught, and so doest beleue that in the sacrament of the aulter vnder the visible signes there: that is to say,* vnder the formes of bread and wyne, there is really and truly the true and very naturall body and bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ.

Item, that the beliefe of the catholike church is,* that in hauing the body and bloud of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to haue (by the omnipotent power of almighty God) the body and bloud of Christ there inuisibly and really present vnder the said sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a newe Christ, or a new body of Christ.

Item, that it may stand wel together, & so is the fayth of the Catholike church: that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heauen, and there is in the visible forme of his humanitie: and yet the same body in substāce is inuisibly and truly conteyned in the sayde Sacrament of the aulter.

Item, that Christ at his last supper takyng bread into his hands, blessing it, breakyng it, geuyng it to his apostles, and saying: Take, eate, this is my body, did institute a Sacrament there, * willyng that his body really and truly should be conteyned in the sayd sacrament, no substance of bread and wyne there remainyng, but onely the accidents thereof.

¶Answers of Cardmaker, to the articles aforesayd.

TO the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in euery part therof.*

To the 2. article he aunswereth and confesseth, that he beyng vnder age, did professe the said order and religion, & afterward by the autoritie of K. Henry the 8. he was dispensed with for the same religion.

To the 3. he aunswereth, and confesseth the same to bee true in euery part thereof.

To the 4. he aunswereth, and confesseth the first part therof to be true: and to the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in mariage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to mary, both by the lawes of this realme, and also by the lawes and ordinaunces of the Church of the same.

To the 5. he answereth & confesseth, th th• hath beleueed & taught, as it is conteined in this acti•e, but he doth not now so beleue nor teach.

To the 6. he answereth, that he doth not beleue y^e same to be true in any part therof.

To the 7. he aunswereth, that he doth not beleuee the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the 8. he answereth and doth beleuee, videlicet, that it is true: that is to say,* that Christ takyng breade at hys last supper into hys handes, blessing it, breakyng it, geuyng it to his disciples, and saying: Take, eate, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, videlicet, (willyng that his bodye really and truely should be conteyned in the sayd sacrament, no substance of bread and wyne there remayning, but onely the accidents thereof) he answereth, that he doth not beleuee the same to be true.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

M. Cardmaker calling to mynd afterwards the redy cauillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to haue fully and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the last eight article, did the next day after the foresaid answers, exhibite vnto the Bish. in a schedule this here after followyng.

[Page 1579](#)Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, I meane not his sacramentall presence, for that I confesse, but my deniall is of his carnall presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers,* not only for the bread and wyne, but also for the whole administration and receiuyng of the same, accordyng to Christes institution: so I say, that Christ is present spirituallly too, and in all them which worthily receiueth the Sacrament:* so that my deniall is still of the reall, carnall, and corporall presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramentall nor spirituall presence.

This haue I thought good to adde to my former aunswer, because no man should misunderstand it.

By me Iohn Cardmaker.

Next to these articles of M. Cardmaker, I thought best to inferre the articles and answers likewise of Iohn Warne his martyr fellow, in maner as followeth.

¶Articles ministred agaynst Iohn VVarne Vpholster, of the parish of S. Iohn in Walbrooke, with his answers to the same.

*First, that thou Iohn Warne, beyng of the age of xxix. yeres, & of the parish of S. Iohn of Walbrooke in London, hast beleueed, and doest beleuee firmly and stedfastly, that in the Sacrament commonly called the Sacramēt of the aultar, there is not the very true and naturall body of our Sauour Christ in substaunce, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Item, that thou hast beleued, and doest beleue, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest,* there is not (as the church of England doth beleue and teach) the body of Christ: but that there doth only remayne the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the wordes of consecration: and that the sayd bread is in no wyse altered or changed.

Item, that thou hast sayd and doest beleuee, that if the Catholike church do beleue and teach,* that there is in the masse (now vsed in England and in other places of Christendome) a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament conteinyng the body and bloud of Christ really and truly: then that beliefe and fayth of the church is naught, and agaynst Gods truth and the scripture.

Item, that thou hast said, that where about a twelue moneths agone & more,* a great rough water Spaniell of thyne, was shorne in the hed, & had a crowne like a Priest made in the same, thou diddest laugh at it & like it, though thou didst it not thy selfe, nor knowest who did it.

Item, that thou, neither this Lent last past, nor at any tyme since the Queenes Maiesties raigne, hast come into the church, or heard masse, or bene confessed, or receiued the sacrament of the aultar: and hast said, that thou art not sory that thou hast so done, but thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldest so haue done.

Upon all which articles Iohn Warne being examined by the said Boner, in presence of diuers witnesses, the 23. of May, ann. 1555. did confesse and beleue the same, & subscribe hereunto his name with his owne hand.

By me Iohn Warne.

Also it was objected against the said Iohn Warne, by the B. aforesayd, as followeth.

Item, that thou Iohn Warne wast in tyme past here in the city of London, conuented in the Guildhal for heresie against the sacrament of the aultar, according to the order of the lawes of this Realme of England in the time of king Henry the 8. and when Alderman Barnes was shirife, & the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield, and therupon thou wast sent as a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmond B. of London did repayre with his chaplens, to instruct thee in y^e true faith of Christ, touchyng the said Sacrament of the aultar, & to bring thee from thy

error, which was, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal preence of Christes body & blood, vnder the formes of bread & wyne: but that in the sayd sacrament there is onely materiall bread & wyne, without any substance of Christs body and blood at all, & because thou wouldst not leaue & for sake thy sayd heresie therin, but persist & abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert according to y^e said lawes condemned to death,* & to be burnt: and thereupon labour beyng made for thee to the king and other in the Courte, thou hadst a pardon of king Henry the 8. and so thereby didst saue thy lyfe. Neuerthelesse, in thy heart, conscience, and mynd, thou didst both then and also afore, beleue no otherwyse then at this present thou doest beleue: that is to say, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is neyther the very true body or blood of Christ,* nor no other substace but the substaunce of materiall bread and wyne, and to receiue the sayd materiall bread and wyne, and to breake it, and to distribute it among the people, onely is the true receiuyng of Christes body, and no otherwise: so that thy fayth and beliefe is, that in the sayd sacrament there is no substance of Christes material body and blood: but all the thyng that is there, is materiall bread, and the receiuyng thereof as afore: and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ borne of the Uirgine Mary, is only in heauen, and not in the sacrament of the aultare. In which thine opinion, thou hast euer hitherto since continued, and so doest continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witnes therof, subscribing thy name thereunto as followeth.

By me Iohn Warne.

Iohn Warne beyng examined vpon these foresaid articles by the Bish. before certaine witnesses,* whose names were Iohn Boswel, Iohn Heywood, Robert Rauens, the xxij. of May, did aunswere to the same, confessing and graunting the articles and the contentes thereof to bee true, accordyng as they were objected in euery part, subscribing also the same with hys hand. Such strength and fortitude gods holy spirit wrought in hym, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of hys sonne.

Whereupon the B. exhorting him with many wordes to leaue his heresies (as he called them) and to returne to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appeare agayne the next day, being the xxiiij. of the same moneth.

Who so doying (and aunswering as he did before) was willed to come thither agayne at after noone, & so hee dyd:* where and at what tyme he was earnestly exhorted by the sayd Bish. to recant his opinions. To whom he aunswered, that he would not depart from his receyued profession, vnlesse he were therunto throughly perswaded by the holy scriptures.

Upon which aunswer he was willed to come agayne the next day, beyng the 25. day of the same moneth,* at one of the clocke in the after noone. At which day and houre, the B. examined him agayne vpon all his former articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did sticke, with his further aunswer thereunto added: I am persuaded, quoth he, to be in the right opinion, and that I see no cause to repent, for all filthines & Idolatry is in the church of Rome.

The B. then seyng that notwithstanding all his faire promises & terrible threatnyngs (whereof he vsed store) he could not any thing preuaile:* finished this examination with the definitiue sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said Iohn Warne, and so charged the Shiriffs

of London with him, vnder whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, vntil the 30. day of the same month of May.

Upon the which 30. of May, being the day appoynted for their execution, Iohn Cardmaker with the sayd Iohn Warne, were brought by the shiriffes to the place where they should suffer. Who beyng come to the stake, first the Shiriffes called Cardmaker aside, and talked with hym secretly, so long, that in the meane tyme Warne had made hys prayers, was chayned to the stake, and had wood and reede set about hym, so that nothyng wanted, but the firyng: but styll aboade Cardmaker talkyng with the shiriffes.

The people whiche before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this maner of doing,* were in a meruailous dumpe and sadnes, thinkyng in deede that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the Shiriffes, and came towards the stake, and (in his garments as he was) kneeled downe & made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet the people cōfirmed themselues in their fantasie of his recanting, seyng him in his garments praying secretly, & no semblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he rose vp, put of his cloths vnto his shirt, went with bolde courage to the stake,* and kissed it sweetly: he toke Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, & so gaue himselfe to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seyng this so sodenly done, contrary to their feareful expectation, as mē deliuered out of a great doubt, cried out for ioy (with so great a shout as hath not lightly ben heard a greater) saieng: God be praised, [Page 1580](#)

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Iohn Cardmaker, and Iohn Warne, Vpholster. An. 1555. May. 30.

the Lord strengthen thee Cardmaker,* the Lord Iesus receiue thy spirite. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed thorough the fire to the blessed rest and peace among Gods holy saints and martyrs, to enioy the crowne of triumph and victory prepared for the elect souldiors and warriours of Christ Iesus in his blessed kingdome. To whome be glory and maiesty for euer, Amen.

¶The confession of the fayth of Iohn Warne Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30. day of May. 1555.

I beleeeue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth.

A Father, because hee is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ,* who is the euerlasting word, whome before all worldes he hath begotten of himselfe, which worde was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his sonne: in whom he hath adopted vs to be his children, the inheriters of his kyngdom, and therefore he is our father: An almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and inuisible, both in heauen and in earth, euen all creatures conteyned therin, and gouerneth them.

And in Iesus Christ his onely sonne our Lord.

The eternall word, perfect God with his father of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and haue life, & without whom nothing liueth: he was made also perfect mā, and so being very God, and very man in one person, is the onely Sauour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the onely meane of our deliuerance, the hope of our health, the suretie of our saluation.

Which was conceived by the holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Fathers most mercifull promise, this eternal sonne of God, forsaking the heauenly glory, humbled himselfe to take flesh of a virgin, according to y^e scriptures, vniting the substance of the Godhed, to the substāce of the manhoode, which he tooke of the substaunce of that blessed virgin Mary, in one person, to become therein the very Massiah, the annointed king and priest, for euer appointed to pacifie the fathers wrath, which was iustlye gone out agaynst vs all for our sinne.

Suffred vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Iewrie, and so vniustly accused of many crimes, that the Ruler iudged him innocent, and sought meanes to deliuer him: but contrary to knowne iustice, he did let go Barrabas which had deserued death, and deliuered Christ to bee crucified, who deserued no death: which doth declare vnto vs manifestly, that he suffred for our sinnes, & was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witnes: thereby to haue it manifested to all men, that he is that Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world. Therefore sufferyng for our sinnes, he receiued and did beare our deserued condemnation, the paines of death, the tast of abiectiō, the very terror of hell, yelding his spirit to his father, his body to be buried in earth.

The third day he rose againe from death to lyfe.

To make full and perfect the whole worke of our redemption and iustification, the same crucified body which was layd in the graue, was raised vp againe the third day from death, by the power of hys Father, and glory of hys Godhead: he became the first fruits of the resurrection, & got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised vp from death. Thorough whome all true penitent sinners may now boldly come vnto the father, and haue remission of their sinnes.

He ascended into heauen, and sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty.

After that in his death and resurrectiō he had conquered sinne, death, and the deuil, and had bene conuersant 40. days in the earth being seene of the Apostles, & more then v. hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the worke of our saluation, he ascended into heauen with eternal triumph, for the victory ouer death, sinne and hel, leauing the passage open, by which all true beleeuers may and shal enter into his kingdom,* where he now sitteth at his fathers right hand, that is to say, in power & glory equall, in maiesty coeternall.

From thence he shal come to iudge the quicke & the dead.

He shal appeare againe in great glory to receiue his elect vnto himselfe, & to put his enemies vnder his feete, chaunging all liuyng men in a moment, and raising vp al that be dead, that all may be brought to his iudgement. In this shall he geue ech man according to his deedes. They which haue folowed him in regeneratiō, which haue their sinnes washed away in hys bloud, & are clothed with hys righteousnes, shall receiue the euerlasting kingdome, and raigne with him for euer: and they which after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam haue followed fleshe and [Page 1581](#) bloud, shall receiue euerlasting damnation with the deuill and hys angels.

I beleeeue in the holy ghost.

I do beleue that the holy ghost is God, the third person in Trinitie, in vnitie of the Godhed equal with the father & the sonne, geuen through Christ to inhabite our spirites, by which we are made to feele and vnderstand the great power, vertue, & louing kindnes of Christ our lord. For he illumineth, quickneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed vp vnto the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new cretures, so that by hym and through hym, we do receyue all the aboundāt goodnes promised vs in Iesus Christ.

The holy Catholike Church.

This is an holy number of Adams posteritie, elected, gathered,* washed, and purified by the bloud of the Lambe from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same, by the tyranny of Gog & Magog, that is to say, the Turke and his tyranny, and Antichrist, otherwyse named the Bish. of Rome and hys aungels, as this day also doth teach.

The Communion of Saints.

Which most holy congregation (beyng as Paule teacheth, builded vppon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes, Christ beyng the head corner stone) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions & painful torments: yet doth it remayne in one perfect vnitie both in faith and fellowship: which vnity is knit in an vnspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be liuyng, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue vntill they all do meete in the kyngdome, where the head Iesus Christ, with all hys holy members (of which number thorough Christ I assuredly beleeeue that I am one) shall be fully complete, knit, and vnited together for euermore.

The forgeuenesse of sinnes.

I do beleeeue that my sinnes and all their sinnes which do rightly beleeeue the holy Scripture,* are forgiven onely thorough that Iesus Christ, of whom onely I do professe that I haue my whole and full saluation and redemption, which S. Paule saith, commeth not through our workes and deseruyngs, but freely by grace, lest any should boast hymselfe. Thorough the bloud of his Crosse all thyngs in heauen and earth are reconciled, and set at peace wyth the Father, without him no heauenly lyfe is geuen, nor sinne forgiven.

The resurrection of the body.

I do beleue, that by the same my sauour Christ, I, and all men shall rise againe from death: for he, as Paul sayth, is risen agayne frō the dead, and is become the first fruits of them which sleepe.* For by a man came death, and by a man commeth the resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection, I beleue that we all shall rise agayne in these our bodyes: the elect clothed with immortalitie to liue with Christ for euer: the reprobate also shall rise immortall to liue with the deuill and his angels in death euerlasting.

And the life euerlasting.

Through the same Iesus & by none other, I am sure to haue life euerlasting. He onely is the way and entrance into the kingdome of heauen.* For so God loued the world, that he did geue his onely sonne Iesus Christ, to the ende that so many as do beleue in him, might haue euerlasting lyfe. The which I am sure to possesse so soone as I am dissolued,* & departed out of this tabernacle, & in the last day shall both body and soule possesse the same for euer: to the which God graunt all men to come,

I beleue that the sacramentes, that is to say, of Baptisme and of the Lordes supper are seales of Gods moste mercyfull promises towards mankind.* In Baptisme, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthines which hangeth on my flesh: so do I assuredly beleue, y^t I am by Christes blood washed cleane frō my sins, through which I haue sure confidence of my certaine saluation. In the partaking of the Lordes supper, as I receyue the substance of bread & wyne (the nature of which is to strengthen the body,) so do I by faith receyue the redemption wrought in Christes body broken on the crosse, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection, and in summe, all that euer Christ in his body suffered for my saluation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I beleue that God hath appointed the eatyng & drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper according to his word, to mooue and to stirre vp my mynd to beleue these articles aboue written.

This is my faith: this I do beleue, and I am content by Gods grace to confirme and seale the truth of the same with my blood.

By me Iohn Warne.

¶A letter of Iohn Cardmaker to a certaine friend of his.

The peace of God be with you.

Y^Ou shall right well perceiue,* that I am not gone backe as some men do report me, but as ready to geue my lyfe, as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a pollicie I haue a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth vnto me, and shortly shall appeare vnto all. That day that I recant any poynt of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kyndes of death, the Lord beyng myne assistance, as I doubt not, but he wil. Commend me to my friend, and tell hym no lesse. This the Lorde strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and pouertie is as it was woont to be, and I haue learned to reioyce in pouertie, as well as in riches, for that count I now to bee very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I haue conferred with some of my aduersaries, learned men, and I finde that they be but Sophistes and shadowes.

¶A note concerning M. Cardmaker.

MAister Cardmaker beyng condemned, & in Newgate one Beard a Promooter came to him two or thre daies before he was burned, and said vnto him: Sir,* I am sent vnto you by the Counsaile, to knowe whether ye will recant or no?

Cardmaker.

From which Counsaile are ye come? I thinke ye are not come, nor yet sent from the Queenes counsaile, but rather from the commissioners, vnto whō (as I suppose) ye belong. And where as ye would know, whether I wil recant or no, thus, I pray you, report of me to those whom ye said, sent you. I know you are a Tailor by your occupation, and haue endeououred your selfe to be a cunning workeman, and therby to get your liuing: so I haue bene a preacher these xx. yeres, and euer since that God by his great mercy hath opened myne eyes to see hys eternal truth, I haue by his grace endeououred my selfe to call vpō him, to geue me the true vnderstanding of his holy word, and I thanke hym for his great mercy, I hope I haue discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I haue receiued.

Beard.

Yea sir, but what say you to the blessed Sacrament of the aultar?

Card.

I say and marke it well, that Christ the nyght before hys bitter passion, ordeyned the holy and blessed Communion, & hath geuen commandement, that his death should be preached before the receiuyng therof, in the remēbrance of his body broken, and his precious bloud shed for the for|geuenes of our sinnes, to as many as faithfully beleeeue and trust in hym.

And furthermore,* to conclude the matter briefly wyth hym, he asked of him, whether the Sacrament he spake of, had a beginnyng, or no? Whereunto when he had graunted and affirmed the same to be, then maister Cardmaker againe thus inferred thereupon: If the Sacrament (said he) as you confesse, haue a beginning, and an ending, then it cannot bee God: for God hath no beginnyng nor endyng, and so willyng hym well to note the same, he departed from hym.

Iune. An. 1555.

The 5. day M. Secretary Bourne, the M. of the Roles Sir Frances Englefield, Sir Richard Read and Doctor Hughes, anchorising them or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to further examination of Benger, Cary, D. and Field, vppon such poynts as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touchyng their lewd & vayne practises of calculing or coniuryng, presently sent vnto thē with the sayd letters.

The 7. day there was another letter to sir Iohn Tregonwel, willing hym to ioyne in commission with the said L. North, and others abouenamed, about the examination of the said parties &

others, for coniuring & witchcraft. And the 29. of August Cary and D. were set at liberty vpon bands for their good abearyng vntil Christmas after.

The 12. day a letter was sent to the L. Treasurer, to cause Writs to be made to the Shirife of Sussex, for y^e burnyng and executing of Dirike a Brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stainings, the other at Chichester.

The 23. of Iune a letter was sent to Boner, to examine a report geuen to the counsail of 4. parishes within y^e Soken of Essex, that should still vse the English seruice, and to punish the offenders if any such be.

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¶The story of Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symson of the Parish of Wigborow the great, in Essex.

*With Mayster Cardmaker and Iohn Warne, vpon the same day, & in the same company, & for the same cause was also cōdemned Iohn Ardeley and Iohn Symson, which was the 25. day of Maye. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the King and Queenes letter, directed frō the Court the same day▪ and sent by a Poste early in the morning to the bishop in tenor and forme as foloweth.

¶To the right reuerend Father in God, our right trusty and welbeloued, the Bishop of London.

Right reuerend father in God, right trusty and welbeloued, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters to the Iustices of peace within euerye of the Countyes of this our Realme, wherby amongst other instructions geuen them for the good order and quiet gouernement of the Country about them, they are willed to haue a speciall regard vnto such disordred persons, as forgetting theyr dueties towardes God and vs, do leane to any erroneous and hereticall opinions, refusing to shew them selues conformable to the Catholick Religiō of Christes church: wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fayre meanes reforme them, they are willed to deliuer them to the Ordinarye, to be by him charitably trauelled withall, and remoued (if it may be) from their noughty opinions, or els if they cōtinue obstinate, to be ordered according to the lawes prouided in that behalfe: vnderstanding nowe, to our no little maruell, that diuers of the sayd disordered persons, being by the Iustices of peace for theyr contempt and obstinacy, brought to the Ordinaryes to be vsed, as is aforesayd, are either refused to be receiued at theyr hands, or if they be receiued, are neither so trauelled with, as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withall according to the order of Iustice, but are suffered to continue in theyr errors, to the dishonor of almighty God, and daungerous exemple of others: like as we finde this matter very straunge, so haue thought conueniēt, both to signify our knowledge & therwith also to admonish you to haue in this behalfe such regard hencefoorth to the office of a good pastor and Bishop, as whē any such offenders shalbe by the sayd Officers or Iustices of peace brought vnto you, you to vse your good wisdom & discretiō in procuring to remoue thē frō theyr errorrs, if it may be, or els in proceeding agaynst them (if they shall cōtinue obstinate) according to the order of the lawes: so as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may bee better

aduaunced, and the common wealth more quietly gouerned. Yeuen vnder our signet, at our honour of Hampton Courte, the 24. of May, the 1. and 2. yeares of our reignes.

This letter thus comming from the Court to the Bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we haue presently to entreat, of Iohn Symson, I meane and Iohn Ardeley. Whyche both beyng of one countrey, and of one Towne together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborow in Essex,*and also almost both of one age, sane that Symson was of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought vp both together, by the vnder Shyriffe of Essex, to Boner Bishop of London, vpō the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy.

As touching the order & maner of theyr examinations before the bishop, as the articles ministred against them, were much like: so theyr aunsweres agayne vnto the same were not much discrepant in maner & forme, as out of the Bishops owne Registers here foloweth expressed.

¶Articles obiected agaynst Iohn Symson, and Iohn Ardeley, of the Parish of Wigborow the great in Essex, husbandmen, by Boner Bishop of London, at Fulham. 22. of May. 1555.

*1. First, that thou Ioh. Symson (or Ioh. Ardeley) husbandman, of the age of 34. yeres, or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of great Wigborow, within the dioces of Londō, and thou hast not beleued, nor doest beleue, that there is here in earth one Catholicke and vniuersal whole Church, which doth hold and beleue all the fayth & religiō of Christ and all the necessary articles and sacramentes of the same.

2. Item, that thou hast not beleued, nor doest beleue, that thou art necessarily bounden vnder the payne of damnation of thy soule, to geue full fayth and credence unto the sayd Catholique and vniuersall Church, and to the Religion of the same, in all necessary poyntes of the sayd fayth and Religion, without wauering or doubting in the sayde fayth and Religion, or in any part therof.

3. Item, that thou hast not beleueed, nor doest beleue, that that fayth and Religion: whiche both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spayn, England, Fraunce, Ireland,* Scotland, and all other Churches in Europe, being true members and partes of the sayd Catholick & vniuersall church do beleue and teach, is both agreing with the sayd Catholicke and vniuersall Church, and the fayth and Religion, of Christ, and also is the very true fayth & Religion, which all Christen people ought to beleue, obserue, folow & keep, but contrariwise thou hast beleued, and doest beleue, that that fayth and Religion, which the sayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforesayd haue heretofore beleued, and do nowe beleue, is false, erroneous and nought, & in no wise ought to be beleued, obserued, kept, and followed of any Christian man.

4. Item, that albeit it bee true, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is in substance the very body and bloud of Christ vnder the formes of bread and wyne, and albeit, that it be so beleued, taught & preached vndoubtedly in the sayd Church of Rome, and all the other Churches aforesayd, yet thou hast not so beleued, nor doest so beleue,* but contrariwise thou hast & doest beleue firmly, & stedfastly, that there is not in the sayd sacrament of the aultar, vnder the sayd formes of breade and wine, the very substaunce of Christes body and bloud, but that there is onely the substaunce of material and common bread and wine, with the formes therof: and that the sayd materiall & commō bread and wine are onely the signes and tokens of Christs body and

bloud, and by fayth to be reciued, onely for a remembraunce of Christes passion & death, without any such substaunce of Christes body and bloud at all.

5. Item, that thou hast beleued and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maynteyned and defended, and so doest beleue, thinke, maynteyn and defend, that the very true receiuing and eating of Christes body & bloud, is onely to take materiall and commō bread,* and to breake it, and to distribute it amongst the people, remembring therby the passion and death of Christ onely.

6. Item, that thou hast likewise beleued, taught, and spoken, that the Masse now vsed in this Realme of England, and others the churches aforesayd,* is abhominable & naught and full of Idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the Pope, and not of the institution of Christ, & hath no goodnes in it, sauing the gloria in excelsis, and the Epistle and the Gospell, & that therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not come and be present at the Masse, nor receiue the Sacrament of the aultar, or any other Sacrament of the Church as they are now vsed in this Realme of Englande, and other the Churches aforesayd.

7. Item, that thou hast in tymes past beleued precisely, and obstinately affirmed and sayd, & so doest now beleue & thinke that auricular confession is not needfull to be made vnto the Prieste, but it is a thing superfluous and vayne, and ought onely to be made to God & to none other persō: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vayne, and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the seruice of the same, & hast sayd that no seruice in the church ought to be sayd, but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise sayd, it is vnlawfull and nought.

¶The aunsweres of Iohn Symson and also of Iohn Ardeley, to the foresayd Articles.

TO the firste, they beleue, that here in earth there is one Catholicke and vniuersall holy Church,* which doeth hold and beleue as is contained in the first article, and that this Church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the second, they beleue, that they be bound to geue fayth and credence vnto it, as is conteyned in the second Article.

To the third, as concerning the fayth and Religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spaine, Fraunce, Ireland, Scotland, and other Churches in Europa, they say, they haue nothing to doe with that fayth and Religion, but as concerning the fayth and Religion of England, that if the sayde Church of England be ruled and Gouerned by the word of life, then the Church of England hath the fayth & Religion of the Catholicke Church, and not otherwise: & doe say also, that if the Church of England were ruled by the word of life, it woulde not go about to condemne them and others of this heresy.

To the fourth they aunswere, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the aultar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor chaunged in substaunce in anye wise,* and that

hee that receiueth the sayde bread and wyne, doth spiritually and by fayth only receiue [Page 1583](#) the body and bloud of Christ,* but not the very naturall body and bloud of Christ in substaunce, vnder the formes of bread and wine.

To the fift they say, they haue aunswered aunswering to the sayde fourth article, and yet neuerthelesse they saye, that they haue beleued, and doe beleue, that in the sacramēt of the Aultar there is not the verye substaunce of Christes body and bloud, but onely the substaunce of naturall bread and wine.

To the sixt they say, that they beleue, that the Masse is of the Pope,* and not of Christ, and therefore it is not good, nor hauing in it any goodnes, sauing the Gloria in excelsis, the Epistle and Gospell, the Creed, and the Pater noster: & for this cause they say, they haue not, nor will not come and heare Masse.

To the seuenth, Iohn Ardeley aunswereth, and sayth, that he beleueth the contentes of the same to bee true: but Iohn Symson doth answere, that he is not as yet fully resolued with himselfe, what aunswere to make therunto, & further sayth, that as touching the common and dayly seruice sayd & vsed in the church, he sayth, that he neuer sayd, that seruice in the Churche ought to be sayd but in the Englishe tongue, nor yet he neuer sayd, that if it be otherwise sayd and vsed then in English, it is vnlawful and nought.

Iohn Ardeley, and Iohn Symson.

*Thus these articles being to them objected, and theyr aunsweres made vnto the same, as before, the Bishop according to the old trade of his Consistorie Court, respited them to the after noone, bidding them to make their appearaunce the sayd day and place, betweene the houres of two and three. At what tyme the sayd Byshop repeatyng agayne the sayd articles vnto them, and beginnyng with Iohn Ardeley did vrge and sollicitate, according to his maner of wordes, to recant.

To whom Iohn Ardely againe constantly standyng to his professed Religion,* gaue answere in wordes, as foloweth: My Lord (quoth he) neyther you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholique Church, for you be of a false fayth: and I doubt not but you shall be deceyued at length, beare as good a face as ye can. You will shedde the innocent bloud, and you haue killed many, and yet goe abot to kyll more. &c.

And added further, saying: If euery heare of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and fayth that I am now in. These with many other woordes he spake.* Then the Byshop yet demaunding if he woulde relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and be reduced againe to the vnitie of y^e Church, he answered, as foloweth: No, God foreshield that I should so do: for then I should loose my soule.

After this, the sayd Byshop asking Iohn Ardeley (after his formall manner) if he knewe any cause why hee shoulde not haue sentence condemnatorie agaynst hym, so read the condemnation, as he also did against Iohn Simson, standyng lykewyse in the same cause and constancie with Iohn Ardeley: which was done the xxv. day of May, and so were they both committed to the secular power, that is, to the handes of the Sheriffes, to be conueyed to the

place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not vnworthy the looking vpon, which happened in the closing vp of the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this.

A Note.

At the tyme of the examination of this Symson and Iohn Ardeley aforesaid,* there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the Consistorie was not able to hold them, they were fayne to stand in the Church, neare about the sayd Consistorie, wayting to see the prisoners, when they should depart. It happened in the meane time that the Bishop being set in heate with the stoute and bolde aunsweares of the sayd two prisoners (especially of Iohn Symson) burst out in his loud and angry voice, and sayd: Haue him away, haue him away.

Now the people in the Church hearing these wordes, and thinking (because the daye was farre spent) that the prisoners had their iudgement, they beyng desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, seuered them selues, one runnyng one way, an other an other way, whiche caused such a noyse in the Church, that they in y^e Consistorie were all amased, and marueiled what it should meane: wherfore the Byshop also being somewhat afrayde of this sodayne styrre,* asked what there was to do. The standers by answeyng, sayd, that there was like to be some tumult, for they were together by the eares.

When the Bishop heard this, by & by his hart was in his heeles, & leauing his seat, he with the rest of that court be tooke them to theyr legges, hastening with all speed possible to recouer the doore that went into the bishops house: but the rest being somewhat lighter of foot then my Lorde, did sooner recouer the dore, and thronging hastily to gette in kept the bishop still out, and cryed: Saue my Lord, saue my Lord, but meaning yet first to saue themselues, if any daunger should come, whereby they gaue the standers by good matter to laugh at: resēbling in some part a spectacle not much vnlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared then hurt, when as the Church there was noysed to be on fire, wherof ye may read before. pag. 1180.

But of this matter enough.

Now Iohn Symson and Iohn Ardeley being deliuered (as is aforesayd) to the Shiriffes,* were shortly after sent downe from Londō to Essex, where both they on one day (which was about the 10. daye of Iune) were put to death, albeit in seuerall places: for Iohn Sympsō suffered at Rochford, Iohn Ardeley the same day was had to Railey, where he finished his martyrdome most quietly in the quarrell of Christes Gospell.

**A note of Iohn Ardeley.*

FOR the better consideration of the rigorous crueltie of these Catholick dayes, this is furthermore not vnworthy of all men to be noted and knowen to all posteritie, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company: how that they being brought before the Commissioners were by them greatly charged of stubbornes and vayne glory. Vnto whom they aunswered in defence of their owne simplicitie, that they were content willingly to yeelde to the Queene all their goodes and landes, so that they might be suffered to liue vnder her, in keepyng their conscience free

from all Idolatie and papisticall Religion. Yet this would not be graunted, although they had offered all to their hart bloud: so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors of Christian bloud. The Lord geue them repentaunce if it be his wil, and kepe from them the iust reward of such cruel dealing. Amen.

The ridiculous handling and proceedyng of Byshop Boner and his mates against Iohn Tooly, first suspected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his graue, and geuen to the secular power, and so burned for an heretike.

ABout the same time of the burning of these two aforesayd, in the beginning of the sayd moneth of Iune,* fell out a soleme processe & much ado was made by the Popes spirituality agaynst Iohn Tooly, in a case of heresy. The story is this. There was about the tyme that the Spaniardes began first to keepe a stur in Englād, one Io. Tooly, a citizen & Pulter in London, who conspired with certain other of his society, to rob a Spaniard at s. Iames: & although the deed wer heinous & wicked of it self, yet was it aggrauated & made greater then it was by other, beyng cōmitted agaynst such a person, & agaynst such a countrey. which both the queene & her whole court did highly fauor. The robbery being known, & brought into iudgemēt, this Tooly was found guilty, and iudged to be hāged, wheras notwithstanding in this Realme there are many mo the•tes committed, then theeues executed.

The foresayd Tooly, being lead to the gallowes, (whiche stood fast by Charing Crosse a litle before he dyed, standing vpon the Carte, readde a certayne prayer in a printed booke, and two other prayers written in two seuerall papers, who then hauing the haltar about his necke, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to beare hym witnes that he dyed a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saued onely by the merites of Christes passion,* & shedding of his precious bloud, and not by any masses, or Trentalles, Images, or Saintes, which were (as he said) mere Idolatry and superstition, and deuised by the bishop of Rome: and as he the same Tooly, and two other his fellowes, which were there hanged with him, did steale and robbe for couetousnes, so the bishop of Rome did sell hys Masses and Trentalles, with such other peltrye for couetousnes, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) agaynst the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voyce these wordes folowing: From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities: From false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of the word and commaundement, good Lord deliuer vs.

And then adding further to the same, he spake vnto the people: All you that be true Christian men, saye with me, Amen. And immediately therupon three hundred persons and more to the iudgement & estimatiō of those that were there present, answered and sayd. Amen,* three tymes together [Page 1584](#) at the least.

After this it happened, that when Toolye had readde the Byll the fyrste tyme, it fell from him: and a certayne young man (who was thought to be a Prentise) stouped downe and tooke vp the Byll, and clymed vp by the Cart, and deliuered it vnto Tooly agayne, which he agayne di• reade to the people. That done, he deliuered vnto one of the Marshialles Officers the booke aforesayd, and wylled hym to deliuer it to one Haukes, saying that it was hys Booke. Furthermore, hee deliuered one of the Prayers written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley Sergeaunt, which desired to haue it of him. Upon the toppe of whiche Byll was written a line, conteynyng these wordes:

Beware of Antichrist: and subscribed vnderneath: Per me Thomam Harold prysoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antechriste. For the Byll aforesayde Robert Bromley was brought afterward Coram nobis, and was faine to aske pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the wordes of Tooly, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooly had made his prayers, as is aboue sayd, to be diliuered from the Popes tyranny, by the same prayer he fel into great tyranny. For so soon as the brute of this fact came vnto the eares of the Priests & Mitred prelates, they were not a litle mad therat, thinking it not tollerable that so great a reproch should be done agaynst the holy father. Calling therfore a coūsell together, as though it had bene a matter of great importance.* Toolyes talke at his death was debated among themselues.

At the last, (after much Pro and Contra) they all consented to those mens iudgements, which thought it meet that the vyolating of the Popes holynes shoulde be reuenged with fire and fagot. And I do easely beleue, that Cardinal Poole was no small doer in this sentence:* for as Winchester and Boner did alwayes thirst after the bloud of the liuing, so Pooles lightning was for the most part kindled agaynst the dead: and he reserued this charge onely to hymselfe, I knowe not for what purpose, except peraduenture being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought neuerthesse by this meanes to discharge his duetye towarde the Pope. By the same Cardinalles like lightening and fierye fist, the bones of Martine Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, which had lyen almost two yeares in theyr graues,* were taken vp and burned at Cambridge, as Toolyes carkase was here at London. And besides this, because he woulde shew some token of his diligence in both Uniuersities, he caused Peter Martirs wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the Churchyarde, and to be buried on the dunghill. Of these two prodigious actes, ye shal heare more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooly, which hauinge ended his prayer, was hanged, and put into hys graue, out of the which he was digged agayne, by the cōmaundement of the Bishops, and because he was so bolde to derogate the authority of the Bishop of Rome at y^e time of his death, it pleased them to iudge and cōdemne him as an hereticke, vpon the commaundement of the Counselles letter, as here appeareth.

¶A Letter sent vnto Boner Byshop of London, from the Counsell.

AFTER our very hartly commendations to your Lordship vnder standing that of late amongst others that haue suffered about London for theyr offences,* one leude person that was condemned for felony, dyed very obstinately, professing at the tyme of his death sundry hereticall and erronious opinions: like as we thinke it not conuenient that such a matter should be ouerpassed without some example to the world, so we thought good to pray your Lordshyppe, to cause further enquirye to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceede to the making out of such processe as by the Ecclesiasticall lawes is prouided in that behalfe. And so we bid your Lordship hartily well to fare. From Hamptō Courte, the 28. of April. 1555.

Your Lordships louing frendes.

- Ste. Winton Cancel.

- F. Shrewsbury.
- Iohn Gage.
- Thomas Cheney.
- R. Rochester.
- William Peter.
- Rich Southwell.

Anon after, a Citation was set vpon Paules Church doore vnder the Bishop of Londons great seale: the tenor wherof here ensueth.

¶The writ of Mandate of Boner B. of London, set vp at Charing Crosse, on Paules Church doore, and at S. Martins in the field, for the cityng and further inquiring out of the case of Iohn Tooly.

EDmond by the sufferance of God, Bishop of London,* to all and singular Parsons, Uicars, Curates, and others, Clerks and learned men, being within our Dioces of London, and specially vnto Richard Clony our sworn Sumner, greeting, salutation, & benediction. For so much as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one Iohn Tooly late Citizen and Pulter of London, the sonne of perdition and iniquity, comming to the profundity of malice, in the selfe same time in the which he should go to hanging, accor'dyng to the lawes of the Realme, for the greate the•e by him lately committed, at whiche time chie•ely he shoulde haue cared for the wealth of his soule, and to haue dyed in the vnity of the Catholique Church, did vtter diuers and sundry, damnable, blasphemous, and hereticall opinions, & errors, vtterly contrary & repugnant to the verity of the Catholicke fayth & vnity of the same, and did exhort, styrr vp, and encourage the people there standing in great multitude, to hold & defend the same errors and opinions: And moreouer, certain of the people there standing, as it did appeare, infected with errours and heresies, as •autours and defenders of the sayd Iohn, did confirme and geue expresse consent to the foresayd wordes, propositions, and affirmations: which thing we doe vtter with sorrow and bytternesse of hart.

We therfore the foresayd Edmond & bishop abouesayd,* not being able, nor daring passe ouer in silence, or winke at the foresaid hainous act, least by our negligence and slacknes, y^e bloud of thē might be required at our handes, at the most terrible day of iudgement, desiring to be certified and enformed, whether y^e premises declared vnto vs be of truth & least that any scabbed sheep, lurking amongst the simple flocke of our Lord do infect them with pestiferous heresy, to you, therfore, we straitly charge and commaūd, that you cite, or cause to be cited al and singular, hauing or knowing the truth of the premisses, by setting vp this Citation vpon the Church doore of Saint Martines in the field, being within our Dioces of London, and also vpon the Cathedrall Church doore of S. Paules in London, leauing there the copy hereof, or by other meanes or wayes, the best you can, that this Citation and Monition may come to theyr knowledge.

All which and singular by the tenor of these presentes, we cite and admonishe that they appeare, and euery one of them do appeare before vs or our Uicar generall, or Commissary, whatsoever he be in that behalfe, in our cathedrall Church of S. Paul in London, in the Consistory place vp on thursday the second day of May, now next ensuing, betwixt the houres of 9. & 10. of the clocke in the forenoone the same day, to beare witnes to the truth in this behalfe, and to depose and declare faythfully the trueth that they know or haue heard of the premisses: and moreouer, to do and receiue, that law and reason doth require.

Further, we commit vnto you, as before, and straytlye enioyning you do cōmaund,* that ye will generally cite the wife of the sayd Tooly that is dead & his children, his kynred by father and mother, his frendes, and his familiars in especiall, and all other and euery of thē, if there be any perhaps that desire to defend and purge the remembraunce of the person in the premisses, and that ye admonish them after the maner and forme aforesayd, whō we likewise by the tenor of these presentes, do in such sort cite and monish that they appeare all, & that euery one of thē do appeare (vnder pain to be cōpelled to keep silence for euer hereafter in this behalfe) before vs, or our Uicar generall in spirituall matters, or such our Commissary at the day, houre, and place aforesayd, to defende the good name and remembraunce of him that is dead, and to say, alledge, & propose in due forme of law, a cause reasonable, if they haue any or can tel of any why the sayd Iohn Tooly that is dead, ought not to be determined and declared for such an heretick and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heynous a deed and crime, & his body or carkas to lacke Church buriall,* as a rottē mēber cut of from the church, and the same to be committed to the arme & power secular, and they compelled hereafter for euer to hold theyr peace.

And furthermore, to do, receiue, & to suffer, as law and reason will, and as the quality of suche matter, and the nature of themselues do constrayne and require: and moreouer, that you cite and monish after the maner aforesayd, all and euery of the receiuers, fautours, and creditours of the sayd Iohn Tooly that is dead, especially if any of them doe accline and geue consent to th•se wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, that on this side the sayd thursday,* they returne and submit themselues vnto vs, and to the lap of the mother holy Church: which thing if they doe, we trusting vpon the mercye of almighty [Page 1585](#) God, do promise that we will receiue them beyng penitent for such theyr errors & faultes, with thanks, benignity, mercy and fauor, to the comfort and health of their owne soules, and in that behalfe saue their honesties to the vttermost of our power: otherwise if they wil not provide thus to come of theyr owne accord, but to abide y^e ordinary processe of the law, let those mē know that we will punish more seuerely this offēce, according to the vttermost of the law, and as farre as the law will beare it: & what you shal do in the premisses, let him among you which shall execute this our present Mandate, certify vs, or our vicar general in spirituall matters, eyther by his owne person, or by his letters patents, tog•ther with these autētically sealed. Dated at London vnder our seale, the last day saue one of April. 1555. and of our Translation the 16.

When the tyme of this Citation was expired, and thys Tooly being cited, dyd not appeare: next in order of lawe came the suspension (where as one suspension had bene enough for him) and after that commeth the Excommunication,* that is, that no man should eat or drinke with him, or if any mette him by the way, he shoulde not bidde hym good morrow, and besides that, he should be excluded from the Communion of the Churche. These thynges beyng prepared in such maner, as in such cases ful wisely they vse to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made aunswere to certayne articles, rehearsed in iudgement openly, and that in the behalfe of the dead manne. But when the poore dead man could neyther speake for himselfe, nor did, (as they sayd) sufficiently aunswere them by the other, to auoyde the name of an hereticke: first witnesses were producted agaynst him, whose names were Hēry Clarke Esquire,* Thom. Way keeper of the Marshalsey, Philip Andrew Undermarshal, William Holingworth Fishmōger, William Gellard, William Walton Chaundler, Richarde Longman Marchaunt Taylour, Philip Britten, Iohn Burton Brewer, Thomas Smyth Sergeant. Then hee was for an hereticke condemned, aand so committed

to the secular power,* namely to the Shiriffes of London, which with like diligence went aboute to execute their charge. Therefore receiuing the man being suspēded, excommunicated, condemned as an hereticke, and besides that beyng dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, for a continuall remembrance therof. This was done the fourth day of Iune.

***Here foloweth the history and Martyrdome of the worthy seruaunt of Christ, Thomas Haukes Gentleman, with his examinations and aunsweres had with B. Boner, recorded and penned with his owne hand.**

IMmediatly after the story of D. Taylor. pag. 1456. mention before was made of sixe men brought & conuēted before Bishop Boner vpon the eight day of February.* The names of which martyrs were Steuen Knight, William Pigot, Tho. Tomkins, Ioh Laurence, Wil. Hunter. In which number was also Tho. Haukes, & cōdemned likewise with thē the 9. day of the foresaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly followe wyth theirs, but was prolonged to this present x. day of the moneth of Iune, wherwith we are nowe in hand, it foloweth therefore now consequētly to enter tractation thereof, first, beginning briefly with his godly cōuersation & institution of life, then shewing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflictes with the bishop and other aduersaries according as the order of his story both require.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, first hee was of the countrey of Essex,* borne of an honest stocke, in calling and profession a Courtier, brought vppe daintely from his childhoode, and like a Gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comelines and stature, so well endued with excellēt qualities, that he might seme on euery side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But hys gentle behauour toward other, and especially his feruent study and singuler loue vnto true Religion and godlines did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorne him: euen so he being suche a valiaunt Martyr of God, may seeme to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright starre, to make the Church of God and his trueth, of thēselues bright and cleare, more gloriously to shine by his example.

For if the conquestes of martyrs are the triumphes of Christ (as Saynt Ambrose doth notably and truely write) vndoubtedly Christ in few mē hath either conquered more notably,* or triumphed more gloriously, then in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so constantly in his death.

But to the declaration of the matter: first this Haukes folowing the guise of the Court, as he grew in yeares, entred seruice with the Lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space,* being there right well esteemed & loued of all the houshold, so long as Edward the sixt liued. But he dying, all things begā to go backward, religiō to decay, godlines not only to waxe cold, but also to be in daūger euery where and chiefly in the houses of great men. Haukes mislikyng the state of thinges, and especially in such mens houses rather thē he would chaunge the profession of true godlines which he had tasted, thought to chaunge the place:* and so forsaking y^e Noble mans house, departed home to his own home, where more freely he might geue himselfe to God, & vse his owne conscience.

But what place in this worlde shall a man finde so secret for himselfe, whether that old wicked Serpent can not creep, wherby he may haue some matter to ouerthrow the quietnesse of the Godly? Nowe in the meane season (as it happened) Haukes keeping his house at home,* had borne vnto him a young sonne, whose baptisme was deferred to the third weeke, for that he would not suffer him to be baptised after the papistical maner, Which thing the aduersaries not able to suffer, laying handes vpon him,* did bryng him to the Earle of Oxforde, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he semed to contemne the sacramentes of the Church.

The Earle eyther intending not to trouble hymselfe in such matters,* or else seeyng hymselfe not able to weigh with him in suche cases of Religion, sent him vp to London with a messenger and letters, and so willing to cleare his owne handes, put him in the handes of Boner bishop of London: the contētes of which his letter sent to Boner, be these.

¶A Letter of the Earle of Oxford to Boner.

MOst reuerend father in God, be it knowne vnto you, that I haue sent you one Thomas Haukes,* dwelling in the County of Essex, who hath a child that hath remayned vnchristened more then three weekes, who being vpon the same examined, hath denied to haue it baptised, as it is now vsed in the Church: wherevpo n I haue sent him to your good Lordship, to vse as ye thinke best, by your good discretion.

Whē the bishop had perused this letter, and afterward read it to M. Haukes, he hearing the same, thought with himselfe, that he should not be very wel vsed, seing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the Queenes proceedynges. Then began the bishop to enter communication with M. Haukes, first asking what should moue him to leaue hys child vnchristened so long? To whom M. Haukes answered thus agayne as foloweth.

Haukes.

Because we be bound to do nothing contrarye to the word of God.*

Boner.

Why? Baptisme is •ommaunded by the worde of God.

Haukes.

His institution therin I do not deny.

Boner.

What deny ye then?

Haukes.

I deny all things inuented and deuised by man.

Boner.

What thinges be those that be deuised by man, that ye be so offended withall?

Haukes.

Your Oyle, Creame, Salt, Spettle, Candle,* and coniuring of water. &c.

Boner.

Will ye deny that which all the whole worlde, and your father hath bene contented withall?

Haukes.

What my father & all the whole world hath done, I haue nothing to do withall: but what God hath cōmaūded me to do, to that stand I.

Boner.

The Catholicke Church hath taught it.*

Haukes.

What is the Catholicke Church?

Boner.

It is the faythfull congregation, where so euer it be dispersed throughout the whole world.

Haukes.

Who is the head therof?

Boner.

Christ is the head therof.

Haukes.

Are we taught in Christ, or in the Church now?

Boner.

Haue ye not reade in the eyght of Iohn, where hee sayd, he would send his comforter which should teach you all thinges?

Haukes.

I graunt you it is so, that he woulde sende hys comforter, but to what ende? forsooth to this ende, that hee should lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

Boner.

A Syr, ye are a right scripture man. For ye wyll haue nothing but the scripture. There is a great number [Page 1586](#) of your countrey men of your opinion. Doe ye not knowe one Knight and Pigot?

Haukes.

Knight I know, but Pigot I do not know.

Boner.

I thought ye were acquaynted with him: it semeth so by your iudgement. What Preachers doe ye knowe in Essex.

Haukes.

I know none.

Boner.

Do ye not know one Baget there?

Haukes.

Yes forsooth, I know him.

Boner.

What maner a man is he?

Haukes.

An honest man, so farre as I know.

Boner.

Do you know him if you see him?

Haukes.

Yea that I do. Then sayd he to one of his seruantes, go call me Baget hither. And then he sayde to me: ye seme to be a very proud man & a stubburn. He that broght me vp, stood all this while by.

Haukes.

What should moue your Lordship so to say?

Boner.

Because I see in a man that came with you muche humility and lowlinesse.*

Haukes.

It semeth your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no more curtesy to you: and with that came Baget. Then the Bishop sayd to Baget: How say ye Syr, know ye this man?

Baget.

Yea forsooth my Lord: with that Baget and I shook handes. Then sayd the Bishop to Baget: Syr, this man hath a child,* which hath lien 3. weekes vnchristened (as I haue letters to shew) who refuseth to haue it baptised, as it is now vsed in the church: how say you thereto?

Baget.

Forsooth my Lord I say nothing thereto (with low curtesy to the hard ground.)

Boner.

Say ye nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequēted and vsed in the Church, or not.

Baget.

I beseeche your Lordship to pardon me, he is olde enough, let him aunswere for himselfe.

Boner.

Ah sir knaue, are ye at that poynt with me? Go call me the Porter,* sayd he, to one of his men. Thou shalt sit in the stockes, & haue nothing but bread & water. I perceyue I haue kept you to well. Haue I made thus much of you, and haue I you at this poynt? Then came the Byshoppes man, and sayd: The Porter is gone to London. Then said the Bishop to Baget:* Come with me,

and he went awaye with him, and commaunded me away, and bade one of his Gentlemē to talke with me (who was one of his own teaching:) who desired amongst all other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquaynted in Essex, and what mē they were that were my teachers.

Haukes.

When I see your cōmission, I will make you answere. And then immediatly came the Bishop agayne: but ere he came, his man and I had much talke. Then the byshop sate down vnder a vine in his orchyard, & called Baget to him, whom he caried away, & brought againe, & called me also, and sayd to Baget: How say you now sir vnto Baptisme? Say whether it be to be frequented and vsed in the Church, as it is now, or no?

Baget.

Forsooth my Lord, I say it is good.

Boner.

*I befoole your hart, could ye not haue said so before? Ye haue wounded this mans conscience. Then the bishop turned to me, and sayd: How say ye now sir, this man is turned and conuerted.

Haukes.

*I builde my fayth neither vpon this man, neither vpon you, but onely vpon Christ Iesus, who as Paule sayth is the founder and author of all mens fayth.

Boner.

I perceiue ye are a stubborn felow. I must be glad to worke an other way with you, to win you.

Haukes.

Whatsoever ye doe, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your handes to abide it.

Boner.

Well, ye are so: come on your wayes, ye shall go in and I will vse you Christianlike. You shall haue meate and drinke,* suche as I haue in my house: but in any wyse talke not.

Haukes.

I purpose to talke nothing but the worde of God and truth.

Boner.

I will haue no heresy talked on in my house.

Haukes.

Why is the trueth become heresy? God hath commaunded that wee shoulde haue none other talke in our houses, in our beddes, at our meat, and by the way, but all trueth.

Boner.

If ye will haue my fauor, be ruled by my counsell.

Haukes.

Then I trust you will graunt me my request.

Boner.

What is that?

Haukes.

That your Doctours and Seruauntes geue me none occasion: for if they doe, I wyll surely vtter my conscience. Then commaunded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talke together. And so thus we departed,* and went to dinner, and I dined at the Stewardes table.

After dynner, hys Chaplaynes and his men began to talke with me. But amongst all other, there was one Darbyshyre principall of Brodgate in Oxford,* & the Bishops kinsmā, who sayd to me, that I was to curious: for ye wil haue (sayd he) nothing but your litle prety Gods booke.

Haukes.

And is it not sufficient for my saluation? Yes (sayd he) it is sufficient for our saluation, but not for our instruction.

Haukes.

God send me the saluation,* and you the instruction. And as we thus reasoned, came the Byshop, who sayd vnto me: I gaue you a commaundement that you shoulde not talke.

Haukes.

And I desired you, that your Doctours and Seruauntes should geue me none▪ occasiō.* Then went we into his Orchard agayne he and his Doctors and I.

Boner.

Would not ye be contented to haue, that your childe shoulde bee Christened after the booke that was set out by king Edward?

Haukes.

Yes, with a good will: it is the thing that I desire.

Boner.

I thought so: ye would haue the same thing. The principal is in the name of the father, the sonne, & of the ho^ly ghost, and in necessity it may serue.

Haukes.

Christ did vse it without any such necessitye: and yet we lacke the chiefest poynt.

Boner.

What is that?

Haukes.

Go teach all nations, baptising them. &c.

Boner.

Thou speakest that because I am no Preacher.*

Haukes.

I speake the texte: I doe not meane you. Then spake all his Doctours, & his men that were with hym: he speaketh it of you my Lorde (with a greate noyse that they made.)

Boner.

Will ye be content to tary here, and your child shall be Baptised, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?

Haukes.

And if I would so haue done, I neded not to haue come to you: for I had the same counsell geuen before.

Boner.

You seeme to be a lustye young man: you will not geue your head for the washing. You will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your Countrey. Doe ye thinke that the Queene and I can not commaund it to be done in spite of your teeth?

Haukes.

What the Queene & you can do,* I will not stand in it: but ye get my conscience neuer the sooner.

Boner.

Well, you are a stubburne young man. I perceyue I must worke on other way with you.

Haukes.

Ye are in the handes of God, and so am I.

Boner.

What so euer you thinke, I woulde not haue you speake such wordes vnto me. And so we departed vntyll Euensong tyme: and ere Euensong was begon, my Lord called for me to come to him into the Chappell, and sayde: Haukes: thou art a proper young man, & God hath done his part vnto thee. I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy Pastour, and one that should aunswere for thee. If I woulde not teach thee well. I shoulde aunswere for thy soule.

Haukes.

That I haue sayd, I will stand to it God willing: there is no way to remoue it.

Boner.

Nay, nay Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilfull. Remember Christ had two go into his vineyard? the one said he would & went not, the other sayd he would not & went.

Haukes.

The last went.

Boner.

Doe thou likewise, and I will talke frendly wyth thee: howe sayest thou? It is in the sixt of S. Iohn:*I am the bread of life: and the bread that I will geue, is my flesh, which I will geue for the life of the worlde. And who so euer eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, hath euerlasting life. My flesh is very meat in deede, and my bloud is very drinke in deed. And hee that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye beleue this?

Haukes.

Yea, I must needes beleue the Scriptures.

Boner.

Why? then I trust that ye be sound in the blessed sacrament.

Haukes.

I beseech your Lordship to feele my conscience no farther then in that, that I was accused in vnto you.

Boner.

Well, well, let vs go vnto Euensong.

Haukes.

With that I turned my backe to goe out of the Chappell.

Boner.

Why, will you not tary Euensong?

Haukes.

No forsooth.

Boner.

And why?

Haukes.

For I will not.*
[_](#)

Boner.

And why will you not?

Haukes.

For because I haue no edifiyng thereby, for I vnderstand no Latine.

Boner.

Why? you maye pray by your selfe. What bookes haue ye?

Haukes.

I haue the new Testament, the bookes of Salomon, and the Psalter.

Bo.

Why, I pray you tary here, & pray you on your psalter.

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Haukes.

I wil not pray in this place, nor in none such. Thē sayd one of his chapleins: let him go my Lord, and he shal be no partaker with vs in our prayers.

Haukes.

I thinke my selfe best at ease when I am farthest from you: And so the Byshop went to Euensong, and I came downe and walked betwene the Hall and the Chap'pell in the Court, & taryed there till Euensong was done, and within an houre after that Euensong was done, the Bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself,* & when I came, there was he, and three of his Chapleins.

Boner.

Ye know of the talke that was betwene you & me, as cōcerning the sacramēt. You would not haue your conscience sought any farther, then in that ye were accused of.

Haukes.

I thought you would not be both mine accuser & Iudge.

Boner.

Well, ye shall aunswere me to the Sacrament of the aultar, the Sacrament of Baptisme, the Sacramēt of Penance, and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes.

There is none of these, but I dare speake my conscience in them.

Boner.

The sacrament of the aultar ye seme to be sound in.

Haukes.

*In the Sacrament of the aultar? why Syr, I do not know it.

Boner.

Well, we will make you to know it, and beleue in it too, ere euer we haue done with you.

Haukes.

No, that shall ye neuer do.

Boner.

Yes, a Fagot will make you do it.

Hauk.

No, no, a poynt for your fagot. What God thinketh meete to be done, that shall ye do, and more shall ye not do.

Boner.

*Do ye not beleue that there remaineth in the blessed Sacrament of the aultar after the wordes of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and bloud of Christ? and at that word he put of his cap.

Haukes.

I do beleue as Christ hath taught me.

Boner.

Why? did not Christ say: Take: eate, this is my body?

Haukes.

Christ sayd so: but therefore it foloweth not, that the Sacrament of the aultar is so as you reach, neither did Christ euer teach it so to be.

Boner.

Why? the Catholicke Church taught it so, and they were of Christes Church.

Haukes.

How proue ye it? The Apostles neuer taught it so. Read the Actes, the second, and the twenty. Neither Peter nor Paule euer taught it, neither instituted it so.

Boner.

Ah Syr? ye will haue no more then the Scripture teacheth, but euen as Christ hath left it bare.

Haukes.

Hee that teacheth me any otherwise, I wyll not beleue him.

Boner.

*Why, then ye must eate a Lambe, if ye will haue but Christes institution onely.

Haukes.

Nay, that is not so. Before that Christ did institute the Sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then begā the Sacrament.

Boner.

Alas, you know not how it begon, neither of the, in|stitution therof.

Haukes.

Then I would be glad to learne.

Boner.

Mary, we will teach you: but you are so stubburn that ye will not learne.*

Haukes.

Except ye learne me by the word of God, I wyll neuer credite you nor beleue you: and thus we concluded. Then the Bishop and his Chapleines laughed, and sayd: Iesu, Iesu, what a stubbernesse and arrogantnesse is this? and this was in his Chamber where he laye? Then sayde the Bishop to me, go ye downe and drinke, for it is fasting day: it is Midsommer euen, but I thinke ye loue neither fasting nor praying.

Haukes.

I will neuer deny fasting neither praying, so that it be done as it ought to be done,* and without hipocrisy or vayne glory.

Boner.

I lyke you the better for that: and so wee lefte for that night.

The next day the Bishop went to London: For Fecknam was made Deane that day, & I taried still at Fulhā. Then did the Bishops mē desire me to come to Masse, but I did vtterly refuse it, answering thē as I did theyr mayster.* That night the Bishop came home to Fulham agayn.

***Talke betwene Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.**

Then vpon the Monday Morning very earely the Byshop dyd call for me.* There was with him Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, to whom the Bishop sayd: this is the man that I told you of, who would not haue his child Christened, nor will haue any ceremonies.

Harps.

Christ vsed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and tooke spettle, & made the blind man to see?

Haukes.

I wotte well that, but Christ did neuer vse it in Baptisme. If ye will needes haue it, put it to the vse that Christ put it vnto.*

Harps.

I admit your child die vnchristened: what a heauy case stand you in?

Haukes.

I admit that if it do, what then?

Harps.

Mary then are ye damned, and your child both.

Hauk.

Iudge you no farther thē ye may by the scriptures.

Harps.

Do ye not know that your childe is borne in originall sinne?

Haukes.

Yes that I do.

Harps.

How is originall sinne washed away?

Haukes.

By true fayth and beliefe in Christ Iesus.

Harps.

How can your childe being an infant beleue.

Haukes.

The deliuerance of it from sinne, standeth in the fayth of his parentes.

Harps.

How proue you that?

Haukes.

By S. Paule in the 7. and the first to the Corinthians, saying: The vnbeleuing manne is sanctified by the beleuing woman,*and the vnbeleuing woman is sanctified by the beleuing man, or els were your children vncleane.

Harps.

I will proue that they whom thou puttest thy trust in, will be agaynst thee in this opinion.

Haukes.

Who be those?

Harps.

Your great learned men in Oxford.

Haukes.

If they do it by the Scriptures, I will beleue thē.

Boner.

Recant, recant: do ye not know that Christ sayd, except ye be Baptised, ye can not be saued?

Haukes.

Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonyes or no?*

Boner.

Partly it doth: what say you to that?

Haukes.

I say as S. Peter sayth: Not the washing of water purgeth the filthinesse of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting vnto God.

Harps.

Beware of pride brother, beware of pride.

Haukes.

It is written: Pride serueth not for men, nor yet for the sonnes of men.*

Boner.

Let vs make an end here. How say you to y^e Masse Syrha?*

Haukes.

I say it is detestable, abhominable, and profitable for nothing.

Boner.

What (nothing profitable in it? what say you to the Epistle and Gospell?

Haukes.

It is good, if it be vsed as Christ left it to be vsed.

Boner.

Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recāt: recant all, recant all.

Haukes.

I haue recanted nothing, nor will do.

Bonor.

How say you to Confiteor?

Haukes.

I say it is abhominable & detestable,* ye and a blasphemy agaynst God and his sonne Christ, to call vpō any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, saue only to Christ Iesus.

Boner.

To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call vpon thē, and to pray to them we bid you.* Do ye not know whē ye come into the Courte ye can not speake with the king & Queene, vnlesse ye call to some of the priuy chāber that are next to the king and Queene?

Haukes.

They that list receiue your doctrine. You teach me that I should not beleue nor trust in any, but to cal on thē: and S. Paule sayth: How should I call vpon him, on whome I beleue not?

Boner.

Wyll you haue no body to pray for you, when you be dead?

Haukes.

No surelye excepte you canne prooue it by the Scriptures. Then the Bishoppe pointed vnto Harpsfield and sayd vnto me: Is it not wel done to desire this man to pray for me?

Haukes.

Yes surely, so long as we liue, prayer is auaylable of the righteous man: but this mans prayers, you beyng dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner.

Will ye graunt the prayer of the righteous man to preuayle?

Haukes.

I graunt it doth for the liuing, but not for the dead.

Boner.

Not for the dead?

Haukes.

No forsooth, for Daudid sayth: No man can deliuer his brother from death, nor make agreement vnto God for him: *for it cost more to redeeme theyr soules, so that ye must let that alone for euer.

Also Ezechiell sayth: Though Noe, Daniell, or Iob dwelt amongst them, *yet can they in theyr righteousnesse excede no farther then themselues. Then the Bishop said to Harpsfield: Syr, ye see this man hath no need of our Ladye, neither of any of the blessed Sayntes. Well, I will trouble you no longer: I did call you, * hoping that you shoulde doe some good on him, but it will not be. And he said to me: Syr, it is tyme to begin with you: we will rid you awaye and then we shall haue one hereticke lesse.

Harps.

What bookes haue you?

Haukes.

The new Testament, Salomons bookes and the Psalter.

Harps.

Will you read any other bookes?

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Haukes.

Yea, if you will geue me suche bookes, as I will require.

Harps.

What bookes will you require?

Haukes.

Latimers bookes, my Lorde of Caunterburyes booke, Bradfords Sermons, Ridleyes bookes.

Boner.

Away, away, he will haue no bookes but suche as mayntayne his heresies: and so they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride vnto Oxforde, and I went to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶The next dayes talke.

*The next day came thither an old Byshoppe, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him to my Lord a dish of apples, & a bottle of wine. For he had lost his lyuing, because hee had a wife. Then the Bishop called me agayne into the Orchard, and sayd to the old Bishop: this young man hath a childe, and will not haue it christened.

Haukes.

I deny not Baptisme.

Boner.

Thou art a foole, thou canst not tell what yⁿ wouldest haue, and that he spake with much anger.

Haukes.

A bishop must be blamelesse or faultles, sober, discreete, no chider, not geuen to anger.

Boner.

Thou iudgest me to be angry: no by my fayth am I not, and stroke himselfe vpon the brest.

Then sayd the old Bishop: Alas good yoūg man, you must be taught by y^e church, and by your auncients, and do as your forefathers haue done before you.

Boner.

No, no, he will haue nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot he doth not vnderstād them. He will haue no ceremonies in the Church, no not one. What say you to holy water?

Haukes.

I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of hys making that made them.

Boner.

Why, the scriptures doth allow it.

Haukes.

Where proue you that?

Boner.

In the booke of kinges, where Elizeus threw salt into the water.*

Haukes.

Ye say truth, it is so written in the fourth booke of Kinges, the second chapter: the children of the Prophetes came to Elizeus, saying: The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water, and it became sweete & good and so when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salte make them sweete, cleare, and wholesome, wee will the better beleue your ceremonies.

Boner.

How say ye to holy bread?

Haukes.

Euen as I sayde to the others. What Scripture haue you to defend it?

Boner.

Haue ye not read where Christ fedde fiue thousand men with fiue loaues, and three fishes?

Haukes.

Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread.

Boner.

Looke I pray you, how captious this man is.

Haukes.

Christ did not this miracle, or other, because wee should doe the like miracle, but because we should beleue and credite his doctrine thereby.

Boner.

Ye beleue no doctrine, but that whiche is wrought by miracles.

Haukes.

No forsooth, for Christ sayth: These tokens shall follow them that beleue in me: they shall speake with new tongues they shall cast out Deuils,*and if they drinke any deadly poyson, it shall not hurt them.

Boner.

With what newe tongues doe ye speake?

Haukes.

Forsooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods word. I was a soule blasphemmer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I haue lauded God, praysed God, and geuen thanks vnto God euē with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?

Boner.

*How do ye cast out Deuils?

Haukes.

Christ did cast them out by hys word, and he hath left the same word, that whosoeuer doth credite and beleue it, shall cast out deuils.

Boner.

Did you euer drinke any deadly poyson?

Haukes.

Ye forsooth that I haue: for I haue dronken of y^e pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the Byshoppe of Rome.

Boner.

Now you shew your selfe to be a right hereticke.

Haukes.

I pray you what is heresie?

Boner.

*All thinges that are contrary to Gods word.

Haukes.

If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy so to be called.

Boner.

Thou art one, and thou shalt be burned, if y^u stand and continue in this opinion. Ye thinke we are afrayd to put one of you to death: yes, yes there is a brotherhead of you, but I will breake it, I warrant you.

Haukes.

Where proue you that Christ or his Apostles dyd kill any man for his fayth?

Boner.

Did not Paule excommunicate?*

Haukes.

Yes my Lorde, but there is a great difference betweene excommunicating and burning.

Boner.

Haue ye not read of the man and the woman in the Actes of the Apostles, whome Peter destroyed?

Haukes.

Yes forsooth, I haue read of one Ananias, & Saphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying agaynst the holy Ghost, which serueth nothing your purpose.

Boner.

Well you will graunt one yet.*

Haukes.

Well if you will haue vs to graunt you be of god, then shew mercy for that God requireth.

Boner.

We will shew such mercy vnto you, as ye shewed vnto vs: for my benefice or bishopricke was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to liue vpon.

Haukes.

I pray you my Lord, what do ye geue him nowe that was in the bishopricke or benefice before that ye came agayne to it? whereunto he aunswered me neuer a word: for he turned his backe vnto me, & talked with other men, saying that he was very sory for me, but he trusted that I would turne with S. Paul, because I was so earnest: and so he departed and went to dinner,* and I to the Porters lodge agayne.

After dinner I was called into the Hall agayne, and the Bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber for I would be glad (sayd he) if ye tould conuert him. So he took me into his chamber, & sate him down in a chayre, and sayde to me: I woulde to God I coulde doe you some good. Ye are a young man, and I woulde not wishe you to go to farre, but learn of your elders to beare somewhat.

Haukes.

I will beare with nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the olde Bishop shoulde haue made me an aunswere, and he was fast a sleepe.

Then I departed out of y^e chamber alone and went to the Porters lodge againe, and there saw I the old Bishop last: I suppose he is not yet awake.

Talke betweene Fecknam and Hawkes.*

THE next day came Fecknam vnto me and said: are ye he that will haue no ceremonies?

Haukes.

What meane you by that?

Fecknam.

Ye will not haue your childe christened, but in English, and you will haue no ceremonies.

Haukes.

What soeuer the scripture cōmaundeth to be done I refuse not.

Fecknam.

Ceremonies are to be vsed by the scriptures.*

Haukes.

Which be those?

Fecknam.

How say you by Paules breeches?

Haukes.

I haue read no such thing.

Fecknam.

Haue yee not read in the Actes of the Apostles, how thinges went from Paules body, and they receaued health thereby?

Haukes.

I haue read in the xix. of the Acts, how there went partlets and napkins from Paules bodye. Is it that that ye meane?*

Feck.

Yea the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?

Haukes.

I say nothing to y^e ceremonies. For the text sayth,* that God did so worke by the handes of Paule, that there went partlets & napkins frō him. &c. So that it seemed by y^e text, that it was God that wrought & not y^e ceremonies.

Feck.

How say ye to the woman that came behinde Christ and touched the hemme of his vesture? did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?

Haukes.

No forsooth: For Christ turned back and sayde to Peter: Who is it that touched me? and Peter sayd: Thou seest the people thrust thee: and askest thou who touched me? Some body hath touched me (sayth Christ) for vertue hath gone out of me. I praye you, whether was it the vertue that healed this woman, or his vesture?

Fecknam.

Both.

Haukes,

Then is not Christ true: for he sayd, Go thy way,*thy fayth hath made thee whole.

Boner.

Away, away to the sacrament, for these are but trifles to that.

Fecknam.

How say ye Syrha: Christ tooke bread, & brake it, and sayd: Take, eate, this is my body?

Haukes.

I graunt Christ sayd so.

Fecknam.

And is it not so?

Haukes.

No forsooth, I do not vnderstand it so.

Fecknam.

Why, then is Christ a lyer?

Haukes.

I thinke ye will so proue him.

Fecknam.

Will I? why,* I haue spoken the woordes that Christ spake.

Haukes.

Is euery worde to be vnderstand as Christ spake it? Christ said: I am a dore, a vyne, I am a king, a way. &c.

Feck.

Christ spake these wordes in parables.

Hau.

And why speaketh he this in parables, when hee sayd: I am a dore a vyne, a king, a way, &c. more then thys [Page 1589](#) when he sayd: This is my body? For after the same phrase of speache,

as hee sayth: This is my body: so sayth hee: I am a doore, a vine, a king, a way, he sayth not I am like a dore, lyke a vyne. &c.

Then Fecknam stoode vp and sayd: I had such a one before me this other day. Alas, these places serue nothyng for your purposes. But I perceiue ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes.

What meane you by that?

Fecknam.

I meane Latymer, Cranmer, and Rydley.

Haukes.

I know nothyng els by thē, but that they be both godly and learned.

Fecknam.

*wilt thou trust to such doltes? One of them hath written a booke, wherein he affirmeth a reall presence in the Sacrament.

Haukes.

What hee hath done, I know not, but what hee doth I know.

Fecknam.

Ridley hath preached at Paules Crosse openly, that the deuill beleueth better then you: for he beleueth that Christ is able of stones to make bread, and ye will not beleue that Christes body is in the Sacrament, and yet thou buildest thy fayth vpon them.

Haukes.

*I build my fayth vppon no man, and that shall ye well know: for if those men, and as many mo as they bee, should recant, and deny that they haue sayde or done, yet will I stand to it, and by this shall ye knowe that I build my fayth vpon no man.

Boner.

If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?

Haukes.

When they recant, I will make you aunswere.

Boner.

Then thou wilt say as thou doest now for all that.

Haukes.

Yea in deede wil I, & that trust to it, by gods grace

Boner.

*I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might haue his liuyng. And so the Byshop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, & I went agayne to the Porters lodge.

¶**Talke betwene Haukes and Chadsey.**

*The next day came Doct. Chadsey to the Byshop, and him. The Byshop declared vnto him that I hadde stande stubbornely in my defense agaynst the Christenyng of my childe, and against the ceremonies of the Church, and that I would not haue it Christened, but in English.

Then sayd Doct. Chadsey: then hee denyeth the order of the Catholicke Church.

Boner.

Yea, hee thinketh that there is no Churche but in England, and in Germany.

Haukes.

And yee thinke that there is no Churche but the Church of Rome.

Chad.

What say ye to the Church of Rome.

Haukes.

I say it is a church of a sort of vicious Cardinals. Priestes, * Monkes and Fryers, whiche I will neuer credite nor beleue.

Chad.

How say ye to the bishop of Rome?

Chad.

From him and all his detestable enormities good Lorde deliuer vs.

Chad.

Mary so may wee saye from king Henry the eight, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliuer vs.

Haukes.

Where were ye whiles that he liued, that ye would not say so?

Chad.

I was not farre.

Haukes.

Where were ye in his sonnes dayes.

Chad.

In prison.

Haukes

It was for your well doing.

Boner.

He will by no meanes come within my Chappell nor here Masse: for neither the Masse, neither the Sacrament of the aulter can hee abide, neither will he haue anye seruice but in English.*

Chad.

Christ neuer spake in English.

Haukes.

Neither spake he euer anye latine, but alwayes in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paule sayth, that tongues profite vs nothing. He maketh a similitude betweene the pipe and the harpe, and except it be vnderstanded what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himselfe to the battell: so if I heare the tongue which I do not vnderstand, what profite haue I therby? no more then hee hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chad.

If ye vnderstand Paules saying, he speaketh it vnder a prophecie. If we prophecie to you in tongues. &c.

Haukes.

Forsooth Paule speaketh playnly of tongues: for tongues serue not for them that beleue.

Chad.

I tell you Paul speaketh altogether vpō prophecy.

Haukes.

Paule maketh a distinction betweene prophecyng & tongues, saying, That if anye man speake with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, & let an other interprete it. But if there be no interpreter,*let them keepe silence in the congregation, and let himselfe pray vnto God: and then let the Prophetes speake two or three, and that by course, and let the other iudge: and if any reuelatiō be made to him that sitteth by, let the first holde his peace: so that it seemeth that Paule maketh a distinction betweene tongues and Prophecyng.

Boner.

The order was taken in the Catholicke Churche that y^e Latin tongue shuld serue through the whole world,* because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to auoyd all contention and strife, and to haue one vniuersall order through the whole worlde.

Haukes,

This did your Counsels of Rome conclude.

Boner.

Understande yee what the generall Councils of Rome ment?

Haukes.

In deede all your generall Councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an English man:* therefore I haue nothing to do with them.

Chad.

Ye are to blame, being an vnlearned man to reprove all the Councils throughout all the whole world.

Haukes.

I reprotoe them not, but Paule rebuketh them, saying: If any man preach any other doctrine then that whiche I haue taught, do you hold him accursed.

Chad.

Hath any man preached any other doctrine to you?

Haukes.

Yea, I haue bene taught an other Gospel since I came into this house.*

Chad.

What Gospell haue ye bene taught?

Haukes.

Praying to Sayntes, and to our Lady, and trust in the Masse, holy bread, and holy water, and in Idols.

Chad.

He that teacheth you so, teacheth not amisse.

Haukes.

Cursed be hee that teacheth me so: for I will not trust him, nor beleue him.

Boner.

You speake of Idols, and yee knowe not what they meane.*

Haukes.

God hath taught vs what they be: for whatsoever is made, grauen, or deuised by mans hand, contrarie to Gods word, that same is an Idoll. What say you to that?

Chad.

What be those that ye are so offended withall?

Haukes.

The crosse of wood, siluer, copper, or gold. &c.*

Boner.

What say ye to that?

Haukes.

I say it is an Idoll. What say you to it?

Bone.

I say euery Idoll is an image,* but euery image is not an Idoll.

Haukes.

I say, what difference is there betweene an Idol and an Image?

Boner.

If it be a false God: & an Image made of him,* that is an Idoll: but if an Image be made of God himselfe, it is no Idoll, but an Image, because he is a true God.

Haukes.

Lay your Image of your true God and of youre false God together, and ye shall see the differēce. Haue not your Images feete and goe not, eyes and see not, eares & heare not, handes and feele not, mouthes and speake not? and euen so haue your Idols.

Chad.

God forbid, sayth S. Paule,* That I should reioyce in any thing els, but in the Crosse of Christ Iesus.

Haukes.

Do ye vnderstand Paule so? Doe ye vnderstand Paule? Unto the which he aunswered me neuer a word.

Boner.

Where can wee haue a godlyer remēbraunce when we ride by the way: then to see the Crosse.

Haukes.

If the Crosse were such profite vnto vs, why did not Christes Disciples take it vp: and set it on a pole, and cary it in procession with Salue festa dies?

Chad.

It was taken vp.

Haukes.

Who tooke it vp? Helene, as ye say: for shee sent a peece of it to a place of Religion, where I was with y^e visiters when that house was suppressed, and the peece of the holy crosse (which the religious had in such estimatiō,^{*} and had robbed many a soule, committing idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proued, and all come to all, it was but a peece of a lath couered ouer with copper, double gilted as it had bene cleane gold.

Boner.

Fie, fie. I dare say thou slaunderest it.

Haukes.

I know it to be true, & do not beleue the cōtrary. And thus did the Bishop & the Doctour depart in a great fume: & Chadsay said vnto me, as he was about to depart: it is pitie y^t thou shouldest liue, or any such as thou art. I answered: in this case I desire not to liue, but rather to die

Chad.

Ye dye boldly, because ye would glory in your death as Ioane Butcher did.^{*}

Haukes.

What Ioan Butcher did, I haue nothing to doe withall: but I would my part might be to morow. GOD make you in a better minde, sayde they both, & so they departed, and I went to the Porters lodge with my keeper.

The next day Doct. Chedsey preached in the Boshops Chappell, & did not begin his sermon vntill all the seruice was done: and then came the porter for me, and sayd: my Lord would haue you come to the sermon, and so I went to the chappell dore, and stode without the dore.

Boner.

Is not this fellow come?

Haukes.

Yes I am here.

Boner.

Come in man.

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Haukes.

No that I will not. He called againe, and aunswered: I will come no nearer, and so I stode at the dore. Then said the Bishop, go to your sermon.

Then Doctour Chadsey put the stole about his neck, and caried the holy water sprinckle vnto the Bishop,* who blessed him, and gaue him holye water, and so hee went to his sermon. The text that he entreated on, was the xvi. of Mathew. Whome do men say that I the sonne of man am? Peter sayd: some say that thou art Helias, some saye that thou art Iohn Baptist, some say thou art one of the Prophetes. But whom say ye that I am? Then sayd Peter, thou art Christ the sonne of the euerliuyng God. Then left he the text there, & sayd? Whose sinnes soeuer ye binde: are boūd: which authoritie (sayd he) is left to the heades of the Church: as my Lord here is one, and so vnto all the rest that be vnderneath him. But the Church hath bene much kicked at sith the beginning: yet kicke the heretickes, spurne the heretickes neuer so much, the church doth stand and florishe. And then he went straight way to the sacrament, and sayd his minde on it, exalting it aboue the heauen, (as the most of thē doe) and so returned to hys place agayne, saying: whose sinnes ye do remit, are remitted and forgeuen:* and so he applyed it to the byshops & priestes to forgeue sinnes, and sayd, all that be of the Churche will come and receiue the same. And this he proued by S. Ioh. in the xi,* chapter, saying that Christ came to rayse Lazarus which when he was risen, was bound in bands: then sayd Christ to them that were in authoritie (who were his disciples:) go ye and lose him, lose him you. And this was y^e effect of his Sermon, applying all to them that they haue the same authoritie that christ spake of to his Apostles, and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

An other communication betweene Thomas Haukes, and the Byshop.

ANd after dinner I was called into the chappel, where as were certayne of the Queenes seruants and other straungers,* whom I did know.

Boner.

Haukes how like you the sermon?

Haukes.

As I like all the rest of his doctrine?

Boner.

What? are ye not edified therby.

Haukes.

No surely.

Boner.

It was made onely because of you.

Haukes.

Why? then am I sory that ye had no mo hereticks here, as ye call them, I am sory, that ye haue bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded.

Boner.

Well, I will leaue you here, for I haue busines. I pray you talke with him: for if ye could do him good (sayd he) I would be glad.

This the Bishop spake to the Queenes men, who said vnto me: Alas what meane you to trouble your self about such matters, against the Queenes proceedinges.

Haukes.

Those matters haue I aunswered before thē that be in authoritie: and vnles I see you haue a further commission,* I will aunswere you nothing at all. Then sayd y^e bishops men (which were many) my Lord hath commaūded you to talke with them.

Haukes.

If my Lorde will talke with me himselfe, I will answere him. They cryed fagottes, burne him, hang him, to prison with him: it is pitie that he liueth, lay Irons vpon him: and with a great noyse they spake these woordes. Then in the midst of all the rage, I departed from them, and went to the porters lodge againe.

The next dayes talke.

THE next day, the Bishop called me into his chamber, & sayd: ye haue bene with mee a great while: & ye are neuer the better but worse and worse:* and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate.

Haukes.

My Lord you ran do me no better pleasure.

Boner.

Why? would ye so fayne go to prison?

Haukes.

Truely I did looke for none other, when I came to your handes.

Boner.

Come on your wayes: ye shall see what I haue written. Then did he shew me certaine articles, and these are the contentes of them:*

Whether the Catholicke Church do teach and beleue y^t Christes reall presence doth remaine in the Sacrament or no, after the wordes of consecration: according to y^e words of S. Paule, which are these: Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we blesse, the partaking of the bloud of Christ? whiche if it were not so, Paule would neuer haue sayd it.

Haukes.

What your Church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy Catholicke Church doth neither so take it, nor beleue it.

Boner.

Whether doth the Catholicke Church teach and beleue the Baptisme that now is vsed in the Church, or no?

Haukes.

I aunswered to it, as I did to y^e other question before. Then did the Byshop with much flattery counsell me to be perswaded, & to keepe me out of prison,* which I vtterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should haue gone to prison, and so I had, saue for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whome the bishop had desired to talke with me, and began to perswade me concerning the Sacrament, & the ceremonies: and after much talke he sayd that the Sacrament of the aultar was the same body that was borne of y^e virgine Mary, which did hang vpon the Crosse.

Haukes.

He was vpon the crosse both aliue & dead: which of them was the Sacrament?*

Harps.

The Archdeacon aunswered, aliue.

Haukes.

How proue you that?

Harps.

Ye must beleue. Doth not S. Iohn say: He is already condemned, that beleueth not?

Haukes.

S. Iohn sayth: He that beleueeth not in the sonne of God, is already condemned: but he sayth not, he that beleueth not in the sacrament, is already condemned.

Harps.

There is no talke with you: for ye are both without fayth and learning, and therefore I will talke no more with you in scripture.

Haukes.

Thē ij. that stode by, bad me enter further in talke with him, and then said I vnto him: [*](#) why is the Roodeloft set betwixt the body of the Church, and the Chauncel?

Harps.

I cannot tell: for ye haue asked a question, which ye cannot assoyle your selfe.

Haukes.

Yes that I can: for this sayth one of your owne Doctours: that the body of the Church doth represent the Church militant: and the Chauncell the Church triumphant: and so because we cannot go from the Church militant to the Church triumphant, but that we must beare the crosse of Christ, this is the cause of the Roodeloft being betweene the body of the Church and the Chauncell.

Harps.

This is well and clarkely concluded.

Haukes.

As all the rest of your doctrine is: & so with many perswasions on his part we ended, and so departed: and I to the Porters lodge agayne.

¶An other dayes talke.

The next day in the morning, which was the first day of Iuly, the Bishop did call mee himselfe from the Porters lodge, commaunding me to make me ready to goe to prison, and to take such things with me,* as I had of mine owne. And I sayd, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steale, God willing. Then he did write my warrant to the Keeper of the Gatehouse at Westminster, and deliuered it to Harpsfield, who with his owne man and one of the byshops mē brought me to prison, & deliuered the warrant & me both to y^e Keeper: & this was contayned in y^e warrant.

I will and commaund you,* that you receaue him who commeth named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speake with him, and that ye deliuer him to no man, except it be to the Councell, or to a Iustice: For he is a Sacramētary, and one that speaketh agaynst Baptisme, a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous dayes.

And thus was I receiued, & they departed.* And there I remayned. xiiij. dayes, & then the bishop sent two of his mē vnto me, saying: My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I aunswered them, I doe like a poore prisoner. They sayd: My Lord would know whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed? I sayd, I am no chaungeling. They sayd, my Lord would be glad that ye should do well. I sayd: If my Lord wil me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my frendes to come to me. So they sayde they would speake for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes being examined by Edmund Boner, then Bishop of Lōdon, and by his Chaplaines and Doctours at Fulham 4. miles from London, where I lay till I came to prison to Westminster: and after his two men had bene with me, I heard no more of hym, till the thyrd day of September.

¶Here followeth the second tyme of mine examinacion, the whiche was the thyrd day of September for the Bishop did send his men for me, to come to hys Pallace to London, and so my keeper and his men brought me to his place the same day.

The Bishop of Winchester, then beyng Chauncellour,* preached that day at Paules crosse, and the Byshop of London sayd to my Keeper, I thinke your man will not go to the sermon to day.

Haukes.

Yes my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that that [Page 1591](#) is good, I will receiue, and y^e rest I will leaue behind me, and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I & my Keeper came to the Bishops house, and there we remayned till dinner was done: and after dinner the Bishop called for mee, and asked me if I were the same man that I was before.

Haukes.

I am no chaungeling nor none will be.

Boner.

Ye shall finde no chaungeling neither. And so hee returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheete of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chāber, & as many with

me as might wel stand in the chāber. And as I stode, Doctour Smith came vnto me (who once recanted,* as it appeared in Print) saying y^t he woulde be glad to talke brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then sayd they that stode by, he is D. Smith. Then sayd I: are you he that did recant? And he sayd, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

Haukes.

Ye were best to term it wel, for your own honesty.

D. Smith.

Shall I terme it as it pleaseth you?

Haukes.

*To be short with you, I will knowe whether ye wil recant anye more or no, before that I talk w^t you, credite you or beleue you: and so I departed from him to the other side of y^e chāber. Then sayd the Bishops men & hys Chaplaynes, that my Lord commanded me to talke with him. Then they that stoode by, cryed with a great noyse: hang him, burne him: it is pittie that hee liueth, that disobeyeth my Lordes commaundement.

Then sayd one Miles Huggard? where prooue you y^e infantes were baptised?

Haukes.

Go teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost. Syr here is none excepted.

M. Hug.

What shall we go to teach children?

Haukes.

That word doth trouble you: it might be left out full well: it is to much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

M Hug.

So am I called.

Haukes.

Be you not a Hosier, and dwell in pudding lane?

M. Hug.

Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes.

It would seeme so, for ye can better skill to eate a pudding and make a hose then in Scripture eyther to answeere or oppose.* With that hee was in great rage, and dyd chafe vp and downe. Then I desired that some mā would take some payne to walke the Gentleman, hee did fret so for anger. Then one that stode by mee, (who is parson of Hornechurch and Rumford in Essex) sayd: alas what doe you meane? a young man to be so stubburne? there semeth to much pride in you.

Haukes.

Are not ye the parson of Hornechurch?

Parson.

Yes that I am.

Haukes.

Did ye not set such a priest in your benefice?

Parson.

Yes for a shift.

Haukes.

Like will to like: such maister, suche man. For I know the Priest to be a very vile man,* as any could be. I asked the Parson what kinne he was to the weather cock of Paules? and he fell in a great laughter, with the rest of his companions. He sayd that I did rayle.

Then sayd an other that stode by vnto me: what booke haue you here? I aunswered the new testament. May I looke in it, sayd he? Yea that ye may sayd I. And so he looked in my booke, and sayde it was corrupt I aunswered him if the things contayned in it be true,* then are ye all false Prophetes. He said y^t he would appose me in the first word of y^e Testament, saying: here is a generatiō of christ. And Esay sayth, no man can tell his generation.

Haukes.

What meaneth Esay by that?

I would learne of you (sayd he.)

Haukes.

Ye would be angry if the scholler should teach the mayster: but if ye will haue me to teach you, I will tel you Esay as meaning.

Then sayd he, no man can tell the generation betwene the father and the sonne: but you (I dare saye) did knowe it before.

Haukes.

Why then Esay denieth not the generation.

Then sayd he, why is Christ called Christ?

Haukes.

Because he is a Messias.

Then said he, why is he called a Messias?

Haukes.

Because he was so prophecied by the Prophetes.

Then said he: why is your booke called a booke?

Haukes.

These wordes do breede more strife, then godly edifying.

Beware sayd he, that ye do not decline from the church for if ye do, you will proue your selfe an hereticke.

Haukes.

Euen as ye do call vs heretickes, that do encline to Christes Church,* from your Church: so are ye all false Prophetes, that do decline from Christes church, to your owne Church. And by this shall all men knowe you to be false Prophetes, if ye say, this sayth the Church, and wil not say, this sayth our Lord. And so he went his waye, as though he had a flea in his eare.

Then came an other and sayd vnto me,* he would talk with me, for he perceiued (as he sayde) that I was angry and out of pacience.

Haukes.

I will see your commission, or euer I talke wyth you, or with any man more. For I wist not how to be tyd of them: they came so thicke about me. For I sayde that I came to talke with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the Bishoppe, bringing a letter in hys hand the which he had written in my name, & read it vnto me after this maner: I Tho. Haukes, do here confesse and declare before my said Ordinary Edmund Bishop of Lōdon, that the Masse is abhominable and detestable, & full of all superstition, and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ (commonly called the sacrament of y^e aultar) that Christ is in no part therof, but onely in heauen: this I haue beleued, & this I do beleue &c.

Haukes.

Stop there my Lord: what I haue beleued, what haue you to doe withall? But what I doe beleue, to that stand I, and will.

Then he tooke his penne, & said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and sayde: I Thomas Haukes haue talked with my sayd Ordinary, & with certayne good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstāding I stand still in myne opinion.

Haukes.

Shall I graunt you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet graunt my selfe to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not graunt you to be good, godly and learned men.

Boner.

Ye will graunt that ye haue talked with vs: the other I will put out for your pleasure. Then saide al his Doctours, if your Lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out altogether: and then he read more vnto me. Here vnto this bill haue I set to my hand: and then he offered me the bill & his pene, and bad me set my hand to it.*

Haukes.

Ye get not my hand to any thing of your makyng or deuising.

Boner.

Wilt not thou set to thy hande? It shalbe to thy shame for the denying of it.

And then he called al his Doctours, and sayd he would haue euery mans hand to it that was in the chamber, & so he had of their hands to it, and said: he that wil not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged, and so saide all hys Chaplaines and Doctors with a great noyse.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger, and sayd he would be euen with me and with all such proud knaues in Essex.*

Haukes.

Ye shall do no more thē God shal geue you leaue.

Boner.

This geare shall not be vnpunished, trust to it.

Haukes.

As for your cursinges, raylinges, and blaspheminges, I care not for them: for I knowe the mothes and wormes shall eat you, as they eate cloth or wooll.

Byshop.

I will be euen with you, when time shall come.

Haukes.

Ye may in your malice destroy a man: but when ye haue done, ye can not do so much as make a finger, and ye be meetly euen with some of vs already.

Boner.

If I do thee any wrong, take the lawe of me.

Haukes.

Salomon saith: Go not to lawe with a Iudge. For hee will iudge according to hys owne honour.

Boner.

Salomon sayth: Geue not a foole an aunswere.

Haukes.

What? do ye count me a foole?

Boner.

Yea be my trouth do I, and so doest thou me to: but God forgeue thee, * and so do I.

Hatkes.

Thought is free my Lord. Then tooke Boner the bill and read it agayne, and when he saw that he could not haue my hand to it, then he woulde haue had me to take it into my hand, and to geue it him agayne.

Haukes.

What needeth that ceremonye? Neither shall it come into my hand, hart, nor minde. Then he wrapt it vp, and put it in his bosome, and in a great anger went hys way, & called for his horse and went to horsebacke, for the same day hee rode in visitatiō into Essex: and so went I to prison, from whence I came, with my Keeper. And thys was the second time of my examination. Written by mee Thomas Haukes, who desireth all faithfull men and brethren, to pray vnto God to strengthen me in his truth vnto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray.

The publicke examination of Thomas Haukes.

AFTER all these priuate conferences, perswasions, & long debatings had with Thomas Haukes in the byshops house, as hetherto haue bene declared, the Bishop seing no hope to winne him to his wicked wayes,* was fully set to proceede openly agaynst him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Wherupon T. Haukes shortly •fter was cited with the rest of his other fellowes, aboue specified, to [Page 1592](#) wit•e, Thom. Tomkins. Ste. Knight, W. Pygot, Iohn Laurence, and W. Hunter, to appeare in the bishops Cōsisto•y, the 8. day of February, this present yeare, videl. 1555. Upon which appearaunce was laid against him, in lyke order,* as to the other, first the bill o• his confession, writte• with Boners hand, to the whiche bill ye heard before how the blessed seruaunt of God denyed to subscribe.

A•ter which bill of confession being read, and hee constantly standing to the said confession, the Bishop then assigned him with the other v. the next day folowing, which was the ix. of February, to appeare before him againe, to geue a resolute aunswere what they woulde sticke vnto. Wh•ch day being come, and these foresaid vi. prisoners being se•erally called before the Bishop, at the comming of Thomas Haukes,* the Bishop willed him to remember what was sayd to him yesterday, and nowe while he had time and space, to aduise with himselfe, what he would answe•e: for he stode vpon life and death. Well, quoth maister Haukes againe, I wil willingly receaue what soeuer shal be put vnto me.

Then were certayn other Interrogatories or Articles commensed agaynst him by the said Bishop (in like maner as to the other) to the number of foure: with an other bill also, which Boner brought out of his bosome containyng priuate matters against the sayd Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errours, but we may better call them Christian verities. To the whiche matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly againe saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true, as it was: with moe woordes to the like effect. And this was on the forenoone, the ix. day of February.

In the after noone agayn the sayd Haukes appearing and hearing the •oresaid bill of his confession,* with the Articles and Interrogatories read vto him, with like constancie in answering

again to the b•shop: My Lord (saide he) as you being my frend haue caused these my sayinges to be writtē: so do you cause them to be read: and yet I wil neuer go from them.

And then being exhorted by the Byshoppe with many fayre wordes, to returne againe to the bosome of the mother Church: * No my Lord (sayd he) that will I not: for if I had an hundreth bodies, I woulde suffer them all to be torne in peeces, rather then I will abiure or recant.

And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were euer calling vppon him to come again to the vnitie of the Church he euer kept them of with this aunswere, * that he would neuer go from the beliefe he was in, so long as he liued. Wherupon Boner, at last read the sentence of death vppon him, & so was he cōdemned the same day with the residue of his fellowes which was the 9. of February.

Neuertheles his execution was prolonged, * and he remained in prison till the 10. day of Iune.

Then was he committed to the handes and charge of the Lord Rich, who being assisted with power sufficiēt of y^e worshipfull of the shyre, had the foresayd Tho. Haukes downe into Essex, with vi. other fellow prisoners (whose stories hereafter folow) there to suffer martirdōe, Haukes at Coxehall, the other seuerally in other seuerall places.

Thomas Haukes by the way vsed much exhortation to his frendes, and when soeuer oportunitie serued to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

A little before his death certayne there were of his familiar acquayntaunce and frendes, * who frequenting hys company more familiarly, which seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancie, & by hys talke: yet notwithstanding the same agayne being feared with the sharpenes of the punishment, which he was going to, priuely desired that in the midst of the flame hee would shewe them some token if he coulde, whereby they might be more certayn whether the payne of such burning were so greate, that a man might not therein keepe hys minde quiet and pacient. Which thing he promised them to do, and so secretly betwene them it was agreed, that if the rage of the payne were tollerable and might be suffered, then he should lift vp his handes aboue his head toward heauen before he gaue vp the ghost. *

Not long after, when the houre was come Thomas Haukes was leade awaye to the place apoynted for the slaughter, by the Lorde Rich & his assistaunce, who beyng now come vnto the stake, there mildly & patiently addressed himselfe to the fire, * hauing a straitte chayne cast about his middle, with no smal multitude of people on euery side compassing him about. Unto whome after he had spoken many thinges, but especially vnto the Lorde Rich, reasoning with him of the innocent bloud of Sayntes, at lēgth after his feruent prayers first made, and poured out vnto god, the fire was set vnto him.

[illustration]

¶The Martirdome of Thomas Haukes in Essex, at a Towne called Coxehall. Anno. 1555. Iune. 10.

In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had bene [Page 1593](#) gone, sodainely and contrary to all expectation, the blessed seruaunt of GOD, beyng myndefull of his promise afore made, reached vp his hands burning on a light fier (which was marueilous to behold) ouer his head to y^e liuing God, and with great reioysing,* as seemed, strooke or clapped thē three tymes together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause & outcry of the people, and especially of them which vnderstode the matter, that y^e like hath not cōmonly bene heard: And so the blessed Martyr of Christ, straight way sinckyng downe into the fire, gaue vp his spirite. An. 1555. Iune. 10. And thus haue you playnely and expresly described vnto you the whole story,* as well of the lyfe, as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a most constant & faythfull witnes of Christes holy Gospell.

¶Letters. ¶An Epistle to the Congregation by Thomas Haukes.

GRace, mercy, and peace, from God the father, and from our Lord Iesust Christ,* bee alway with you all (my deare brethren and sisterne in the Lord Iesus Christ) for euer: and his holy Spirite conduct and leade you all in all your doynge, that you may alwayes direct your deedes according to his holy word, that when he shall appeare to reward euery man according to their woorkes: ye may as obedient children be found watching, ready to enter into his euerlasting kingdome with your lamps burning, and when the Bridegrome shall shew himselfe, ye neede not to be ashamed of this life that God hath lent you, whiche is but trāsitory, vaine, and like vnto a vapour, that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soone passeth away all our terrestriall honour, glory, and felicitie. For all fleshe (sayth the Prophet) is grasse, and all his glory, as the floure of the fiede, which for a season sheweth her beautie, and as soone as the Lord bloweth vpon it, it withereth awaye, and departeth. For in this transitory and daungerous wildernes,* we are as Pilgrimes and straungers, following the footesteps of Moses, among many vnspeakeable daungers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vaine vanities, and vexation of mind: subiect to hunger, colde, nakednesse, bondes, sickenes, losse, labours, banishment, in daunger of that dreadfull dragon, and his sinnefull seede, to be deuoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaseth not behind euery bush to lay a baite, when we walke awry to haue his pleasure vpō vs, casting abroad his apples in al places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and entised to leaue the liuing God & his most holy Commaundements whereby hee is assured of euerlasting life, promising the world at will, to all that will fall downe in all ages, & for a messe of potage, sel & set at naught, the euerlasting kingdome of heauen. So frayle is flesh and bloud: And in especiall Israell is most ready to walke awry, when he is filled wyth al maner of riches ((as sayth the Prophet.)

Therefore I am bolde in bondes (as entirely desiring your euerlasting health & felicitie) to warne you, and most hartely desire you to watch and pray: for our estate is dangerous,* and requireth continuall prayer. For on the hygh mountaynes doth not grow most plenty of grasse, neither are the highest trees farthest from daunger, but seldome sure, & alwaies shaken of euery wind that bloweth. Such a deceitfull thing (saith our sauior) is honor and riches, y^t without grace it choketh vp the good seede sowne on hys creatures, & blindeth so their seeing, that they go gropyng at none day in darckenes: it maketh a man thinck himselfe somewhat, y^t is nothing at all. For

though for our honour we esteeme our selues & stand in our owne light,* yet when we shall stand before the liuing God, there shalbe no respect of persons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance: neither can we make the Lord partiall for money. But as ye haue ministred vnto the Saintes, so shall ye receiue y^e reward, which I am fully persuaded & assured shal be plenteously poured vppon you all, for y^e great goodnes shewed vnto the seruants of the liuing God. And I most hartely beseeche almighty God to poure forth a plenteous reward vpon you for y^e same, & that he wil assist you wyth his holy spirite in al your doings, that ye may growe (as you haue begon) vnto such a perfection as may be to gods honour, your owne saluation, and the strengthning of the weake members of christ.* For though the world rage, and blaspheme the elect of God, ye knowe that it did so vnto Christ, his Apostles, and to all that were in the primitiue Church, and shalbe vnto the worldes end.

Therefore beleue in the light, while ye haue it, least it be taken away from you: If you shall seeme to neglect the great mercy of God that hath bene opened vnto you, and your harts cōsented vnto it y^t it is the very and onely truth pronōuced by Gods onely sonne Iesus Christ, by the good will of our heauenly father. Therefore I say in the bowels of my Lord Iesus Christ, sticke fast vnto it: let it neuer departe out of your harts and couersation, that you with vs and we with you, at the great day being one flocke, as we haue one shepheard, may rise to the life immortall, through Iesus Christ our onely Sauour, Amen.

¶Yours in him that liueth for euer. Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth an other letter of Tho. Haukes sent to his wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in Newgate: the copy wherof is this.

¶The copy of Thomas Haukes letter to his wife.

GRace be with you, and peace from God the father,* and from our Lord Iesus Christ, which gaue himselfe for our sinnes, to deliuer vs from this present euill worlde, through the good will of God our father, to whō be praise for euer and euer. Amen.

My deare Yokefellow in the Lord, for as much as the Lord hath not onely called me to worke in his vineyarde but hath also fulfilled his good worke in me (I trust to his glory, & to the comfort of al those y^t looke for his comming) I thought it my duety (deare yokefellowe) to write vnto you some lessons out of Gods booke: and if you will direct your selfe therafter, doubt not of it, but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with theyr whole hart, will assist you with his holy spirit, and direct you in al his wayes, to his honour, and glory, who graūt it for his mer|cies sake. Amen.

First I exhort you to feare God,* to serue and honor his holye name, loue hym with all your hart, soule, and minde to beleue faithfully al his promises, to lay sure hold vpon them, that in al your troubles what so euer they are ye may runne straight to the great mercye of God, and hee will bring you forth of them, keepe you within hys wings then shall ye be sure that neither deuill, flesh, nor hell shall be able to hurt you.

But take heede: If ye wil not keepe his holy preceptes and lawes, and to the vttermost of your power, cal for the help of God to walke in the same, but will leaue them and runne to all abominations with the wicked world, & doe as they do, then be sure to haue your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that neuer shall bee quenched.* Therefore beware of Idolatrye, whiche doth most of all stincke before the face of almighty God, and was of al good men most detested from the beginning of the worlde. For the which, what kingdomes, nations, and realmes God hath punished with most terrible plagues, w^t fire,* brymstone, hunger, sword, and pestilence. &c. to the vtter subuersion of them, it is manifestly to be seene through the whole Byble. Yea his owne peculiar people, whome he had done so much for, when they fell from him, and went & serued other Gods, contrary to his commaundement, he vtterly destroyed, and rooted them out from of the earth: and as many as dyed in that damnable state (not repenting their abhominable euill) he threw them into y^e pit of hell. Again how he hath preserued those that abhorre superstition and Idolatry, and that haue onely taken hold vpon God with their whole hart, to serue him, & to loue him, to feare him, &c. it is most manifestly to be seene euen frō the beginning, out of what great daungers he hath euer deliuered them: yea whē al hope of deliuerāce was past as touchyng their expectation, euen then in y^e sight of all his enemies would he work his godly will and purpose, to the vtter amazing and destructiō of all those that were his manifest enemies.

Further I exhort you in the bowels of Christ,* that you will exercise and be steadfast in prayer: for prayer is y^e onely meane to pearce the heauens to obtayne at the hand of God, what soeuer we desire, so y^t it be asked in fayth. Oh what notable thinges do we read in Scriptures that hath bene obtayned through feruent praier? We are commaunded to call vpon him for helpe, ayde and succour in necessities & troubles, & he hath promised to help vs. Again they that will not cal vpon him, with thes whole hart, but vpon other dead creatures, in whō there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the booke, but onely the Lambe Christ whiche was killed for our sinnes) I saye who that wil refuse his help, must euen by y^e terrible iudgment of God, come vtterly to confusion: as it hath, and is dayly manifest to be seene. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, aske it for Iesus Christes sake,* for whom & in whō God hath promised to geue vs all things necessary. And though that which ye aske, come not by and by at y^e first and second calling, yet continue still knocking and hee will at the length open his trasures of mercye▪ so [Page 1594](#) that ye shalbe sure to obtaine: for he hath so promised if ye continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, w^t all such instructiōs as I haue told you by mouth, I do wish that ye would most earnestly learne: and then I doubt not, but God, who is the geuer of all grace, wyll assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdome, which is prepared through Christ.

*Further, where it hath pleased God to send vs childrē, my desire is that they may bee brought vp in the feare of God, and in his lawes. And this is to certifie you, that ye deliuer in any wise my eldest sonne vnto M. Throgmorton, who vpō his good wil hath promised me to bring him vp according to my desire, and (I trust) as God hath put into his hart. See therefore that ye deliuer him in any wyse without delay: and as for the other, if ye shall seeme to be burdened with him (which I thinke nature will not suffer) my desire is that it be brought vp in the feare of God to the vttermost of your endeouour, with some honest man that hath the feare of God before his eies, and let vs geue thanks vnto God which hath giuen them vs, beseechyng hym that they may be

counted worthy to be of that flocke that shall stand on the right hand of the Maiestie of God, when he shall iudge the world. Amen.

Yet once againe I warne you, that ye continue in feruent prayer, as I sayd before: then shall ye be sure, y^t God euen of his owne mercy, according as he hath promysed, will be an husband vnto you, & prouide better for you thē I was euer able to do: yea, he wil cause all men that feare him, to pitie you, to helpe you, succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he wil be ad•enged on hym. Moreouer, I wish you to keepe company w^t those,* of whome yee may learne to come to a more perfect knowlege in God, and I doubt not but God will prouide that such will bee glad to receiue you, if you shall professe and go forward in his truth.

Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple your selfe. See that he be a mā that feareth God,* loueth his lawes, and will walke in the same to the vttermost of hys power: such a one as can be content to loue you & to care for you. Take heede he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not giuen to filthines, no worldling, no dicer nor carder. In fine, no filthy person, but chuse you such a one as God may be glorified in both your liues. And again on your part, loue him, serue him, obey him in all godlines, as long as God shall geue you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtaine that kingdome which God the father hath prepared, and Iesus Christ obtayned for you, that neuer shall haue end, where I trust to abide your comming. Amen.

By your husband Tho. Haukes.

Ye heard before in the letter of Tho. Haukes written to his wyfe, mention made concerning his eldest sonne to be sent to M. Throgmorton. Now what he writeth hymselfe to the said M. Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his letter to the said party here vnder ensuyng, may appeare.

¶A letter of Thomas Haukes to M. Clement Throgmorton.

*GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Iesus Christ, be with you, & assist you in al your thoughts words, and works, that he in all things as most woorthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plenteously on you and all your posteritie.

Where as the loue of God hath mooued you to require my sonne to be brought vp before your eyes, & the selfe same loue hath also mooued me in like case to leaue hym in your hands, as vnto a father in myne absence, I shall require you in Gods behalf according to your promise, that ye will see hym brought vp in the feare of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learne to leaue the euill and know the good, and alwayes be pricked forward with fatherly instructions to folow my footsteps, that as almighty God hath made me worthy through his speciall grace to worke his will in obedience, he may learne to follow me his father in the like, to gods honor and prayse: And this I require you in Gods behalfe to fulfill or cause to be fulfilled, as ye before the liuing God will make aunswer for the same. I haue left for the child certaine bookes which shall be deliuered vnto you, wherein his instruction and saluation lieth, if he learne and practise the same. And thus, most humbly beseeching you once agayne, to be as good vnto him as your promise was to me, that is, to be a father, & a wall of defence vnto

hym in all troubles, I leaue him in your hand through the Lord Iesu, and desire him to blesse both him & you according to his good promise: & all that good which ye shal do vnto him, I shal most hartily desire the euerlasting God to recompence vnto you in hys kingdome, where I hope to meete both him and you among all Gods elect. To which God be all praise, honor and glory. Amen.

Yours and all mens in Christ Iesu, Tho. Haukes.

¶The history of Thomas VVattes, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the Gospell.

THomas Wattes of Billerica,* within the county of Essex, and of the Dioces of London, was by his occupation a linnen Draper, who before he was apprehēded, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things being set in order to his wyfe and children, & gaue away much of his cloth vnto the poore.* For he looked always to be taken by gods aduersaries and his, as shortly after came in deed to passe: so that vpon the 26. day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the L. Rich, and other Commissioners at Chelmesford, and the•e beyng accused for not commyng to the church, was vpon the same examined before the L. Rich, Henry Tyrel, Sir Anthony Browne, Edmund Tyrell, Tho. Mildman, Iohn Wiseman, Rog. Appleton, Rich. Weston, Iustice Gaudy. &c. The summe and principall effect of which examination here vnder followeth briefly expressed

¶The examination of Tho. VVattes, before the Lord Rich and others.

WHen this Tho. Wattes came before the L. Rich and other the Iustices,* whose names are specified in the letter followyng (which they sent vnto the B. of London agaynst him) at the sessions at Chelmesford, the Lord Rich sayd these words or the lyke in effect vnto hym.

Wattes, ye be brought hither (as I vnderstand) because of disobedience to the Kyng and Queens lawes. Ye will not come to the Church, ye will not heare Masse, &c. but haue your conuenticles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the K. and Queenes proceedings. Unto whiche hys words Wattes answered and sayd.

My L. if I haue offended a lawe,* I am subiect here to the lawe. Then Anth. Browne Iustice, sayd vnto hym: Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath bene thy schoole maister, to teach thee this geare,* or where didst thou first learn this religion? Forsooth (quoth Wattes) euen of you Sir: you taught it me, and none more then you. For in K. Edwards dayes in open sessions you spake against this Religion now vsed, no preacher more. You then sayd, y^e masse was abhominable, & all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should beleeeue therin, & that our beliefe should be onely in Christ: and you said thē whosoeuer should bryng in any strange natiō to rule here it were treason, and not to be suffred.

Then said Browne to my Lord Rich, he belies me my Lord. What a knaue is this? he wil soone belye me behind my backe, when he doth it before my face, and my L. Rich sayd againe, I dare say he doth so.

After these wordes, Wattes tooke occasion to speake somewhat of King Phillip and of hys commyng in, but what it was, I coulde not iustly learne. But this muche was heard, that after those wordes spoken, the Benche among themselues stood vp, and sayd one to another: treason, sayng one good man called Iustice Gawdy,* who a little before was about to speake: but when he heard them cry treason, he helde downe his head as one grieued and troubled at their doyngs.

In conclusion, the Commissioners being wery of him or els not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him vp to the B. of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending vp as by the contentes thereof here vnder followeth to be seene.

¶A letter sent by certaine Iustices in Essex to Boner B. of London.

AFTER our most hartly cōmendations to your good lordship, these shall be to aduertise you,* that at our Sessions of Oyer & Terminer holden at Chelmesford the 26. day of April last past, there came before vs in open Courte one Thomas Wattes of Billerica within your dioces, by ordinary proces, and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his parish Church, and there to receiue the sacrament of the aultar and heare diuine seruice, according to the institution of holy church, he openly there answered generally that like as the seruice of the Church set out in the dayes of late King Edward the 6. was sayd by vs now to be abominable, hereticall, schismaticall,* & all naught, so he sayd that all that is nowe vsed & done in the Church is abhominable, hereticall, schismaticall, and all naught, with diuers other erroneous & arrogant words: and therefore we haue thought good to send hym to your [Page 1595](#) Lordship, to be further examined by you of his perticular opinions, as to your pastorall office shall seeme conuenient, certifieng you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretikes that hath bene heard speake, or euer came before you, & not meet to be kept here in any Gaole, as well for feare of corrupting others, as for diuers & sundry other speciall causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leauing to molest your good Lordship, we commit you to the holy ghost.

Geuen at Chelmesford the 27. of Aprill. An. 1555.

Your good Lordships most assured,

- R. Rich.
- Henry Tirrell.
- *Anthony Browne.
- Edmund Tirrell.
- T. Myldman.
- Iohn Wiseman.
- Rog. Appleton.
- Rich. Weston.

Now when the B. had receiued him, how he vsed him 〈◇〉 is easie (by his common practises with others) to iudge. What his priuate conferēces were, I know not, but what was publicly done in the Consistory at Paules (the common stage for these tragedies) you shall here see.

The first appearance of Thomas Wattes in the bishops Consistorie.

Ffirst vppon Thursday, beyng the second day of May, Thomas Wattes was brought thether before the Bishop of London,* & there being examined vpon his words had before the L. Rich and others (as is conteined in their letters) he did earnestly affirme the same to be true. Wherupon the Bishop objected, and examined him vpon these Articles following, to the which he aunswered, as vnder may appeare.

¶Articles objected agaynst Thomas Wattes of Byllerica in the Countie of Essex, within the Diocesse of London, by Boner Bish. there, as ensueth.

1. Ffirst that the said Tho. Wattes was of Billerica, & so of the iurisdiction of the B. of London.*
2. Item, that he beleueed not in the Sacraments of the the holy and Catholike church, as the Catholike church of Rome, and all other Churches members of the same, euer hetherto hath beleued, & is taught of al good & faithful people, nor hath allowed the said sacraments, rites, vsages, or ceremonies of the said church,* but hath despised the same.
3. Item, that he beleueeth, & also hath taught others, that the substaunce of materiall bread and wyne do remaine in the Sacrament of the aultar after the consecration,* & that the sayd materiall bread and wyne are the signes & tokens of Christes body hanged vpon the crosse, and of hys bloud there shed, and that in the sayd Sacrament there is only a memory or remembraunce of Christes body & bloud, and nothyng els.
4. Item, that he beleueth, and doth precisely affirme, that the very true presence of Christes body and bloud in substaunce,* is not in the Sacrament of the aultar, but only in heauen, and no where els.
5. Item, that he beleueeth, affirmeth, and sayth, that the Masse now vsed in the church of Rome here in England, and other places is full of Idolatry,* abomination & wickednes, and that Christ did neuer institute it, nor ordayne it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thyng to be vsed in his Church.
6. Item, that he beleueeth and affirmeth that auricular confession to be made vnto the Priest, is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to beleue onely, & to confesse hymselfe vnto God, without any priest or minister at any tyme, though he may haue the Priest to confesse hym vnto.
7. Item, that he beleueth that Luther, Wickliffe, Doctor Barnes,* and all others that haue holden against the Sacrament of the aultar, & suffred death by fire or otherwise, for the maintenaunce of the said opinion, were good men, and faithfull seruauents and Martyrs of Christ, in so beleeuynge and dieng.
8. Item, that he hath and doth beleue, that to fast, pray, or to do almes deeds,* is a thyng vtterly vnprofitable: for if a man shal be saued, he shalbe saued without doing of them: and if he shall be damned, they shall not helpe him, or doe hym any good at all.

9. Item, that the said Wattes of late comming into open Court at the Sessions before the Lord Riche, Sir Henry Tirell Knight, Anthony Browne Esquier, and others, & beyng then and there examined,* did openly confesse, that hee had refused to come to the Church, and to heare there the diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament of the aultar, according to the order of the Church: because that like as the seruice of the Church set out in the dayes of the late king Edward the 6. was said and alledged to be abhominable, hereticall, schismaticall, and all naught: so hee the said Thomas Wattes thē and there said openly before the said Commissioners, that all that is now vsed and done in the Church, is abhominable, hereticall, schismaticall, and altogether naught: And that he did also then vtter before the sayd Commissioners, other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soule, and to the euill example of the people there present.

10 Item,* that he the said Thomas by reason of the premisses, was and is to be takē, had, reputed, and iudged as a manifest & open heretike, and for the same, by the order of ecclesiasticall lawes is to be declared, accursed: and beyng obstinate and incorrigible, is to be deliuered to the secular power, there to be punished as an heretike.

11 Item, that he ouer and besides all these offences, and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespassed, that is to wit: that he had beleued and deliberately spoken,* that the Church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, Sacramentes, constitutions, and traditions, is the Synagoge of Satan, and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion & beliefe, with one Iohn Tooly, of late hanged at Charing crosse, who at the tyme of his executing, desired the people to pray, to be deliuered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, with all his enormities: as who should say, that his authoritie and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12 Item, that the premisses and euery part thereof, bee true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken, & talked of amongst the honest & credible persons in great multitude, and that of all & singular the same within Billerica aforesayd, and other places there about, beyng of the diocesse of London, there is a common voyce and fame thereof.

¶The aunswer of the sayd Thomas VVattes to the foresayd Articles.

TO the first he sayd and confessed the same to bee true in euery part thereof.*

To the 2. Article he answered that he beleueth in al the Sacraments according to Christes institution, & the Catholike church: but not according to the Bish. of Romes church: and further said, that he doth not beleue now as he had done in tymes past: for in tyme past he beleueed as the church then beleueed, but now he doth not so beleue: for the church of Rome had deceiued vs, and therefore hee sayd he did not beleue as the church of Rome beleueth, but as Christ hath taught him: And further said,* that hee was so taught to beleue by preachyng of one M. Aluey, & other whose names he remembred not: which Aluey he said did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the 3. he aunswered, that he hath and doth beleue, that Christes body is in heauen, and no where els: & further, that he will neuer beleue that Christes body is in the Sacrament.

To the 4. he aunswered, confessing and firmly beleueing the same to be true.

To the 5. that he did beleue, that the Masse is abhominable, and that he will not go one iot from that his belief.

To the 6. that he neither did, nor yet doth beleue that the priest can absolue him of his sinnes: howbeit, he denieth not but it is good to aske counsell at the priests mouth.

To the 7. he sayd, that he knoweth not what the opinions of the sayd persons named in the sayd article were: and in case the said persones did beleue that the body and bloud of Christ were reall and in very deed in the Sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did beleue that the body & bloud of Christ was not in the Sacrament of the aultar really and truely, then he beleued that they were good christian men.

To the 8. that he had not spokē as is conteined in this article, but said, that he hath and doth beleue that fastyng, prayers and almes deeds be works of a liuely faith.

To the 9. he confessed, that he did vtter and speake, as in this article is conteyned, and further desired God that he might dye in that fayth and beliefe, wherein he now is.

To the x. he answered and said, that he wil submit him selfe herein to the order of the law: and further said that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although wyth men he be accursed.

To the xi. he sayd,* that he beleued that the B. of Rome is a mortall enemy to Christ and hys Church. And as for Tooly he sayd, he dyd neuer see or know hym: but in case the sayd Tooly dyd wish and pray as is conteyned in the Article, then he dyd likewyse wish and consent with hym therein.

[Page 1596](#)To the 12. he answered, that al which before he confessed to be true, is also true: and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth againe to be true, and beleueth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me Tho. Wattes.

An other appearance of Thomas Wattes in the Consistorie.

THEse Articles thus propounded and answeared, the bishop commaunded him to appeare again in the same place at 3. of the clocke in the after noone,* vppon the same day. At which houre being brought thither by his keeper, the Bishop beganne with him in this wise: Wattes, you know what I said vnto you to day, and what I appoynted vnto you at this time. The time is nowe come: waigh and consider with your selfe, that you are but a man: and allbeit that yee will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soule, but while yee haue time, retourne and confesse the truth.

*Whereunto Thomas Wattes answered and sayde: I am weary to liue in such idolatry as ye would haue me to l•ue in. Upon which aunswere the bishop caused his articles againe to be read. He thereto answered as before, and farther subscribed the same with his owne hand.

An other appearance before D. Harpsfield.

The bishop, after many perswasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come againe on Saturday at 8. of the clocke in the morning.* Where (the Bishop being absent) D. Nicholas Harpesfielde, as then being his deputie, did sit and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whome in the ende he answered.

Wel, ye haue a law to condemne me, and I submit my selfe to the law: but not to the lawes of the Church (as you call it.) And farther I doe affirme, and will stande to mine answeres that I haue made.

Wherupon D. Harpsfield willed him to appeare there againe vpon friday, being the 10. day of the same month of May. Uppon which day the bishop priuately sent for the sayd Thomas Wattes into his chamber, and there wyth many faire promises, tempted and tried him, whether hee would reuoke hys errorrs (as he then termed them.) But Wattes answered hym in this sorte: I will not beleue your Church, neither the Romish Church, and therefore you doe but labour in vaine thus to trauaile with me. He was here vpon againe dismissed for that time,* vntil friday the 17. day of May, and then commaunded to appeare in the Consistorie: whych commandement he obeyed, & hauing the accustomed former Articles ministred vnto him, made then such answeres as before.

Thomas Wattes brought againe to the consistorie.

Thus being tost to and fro, from day to day, and houre to houre: he was at the last, the 18. day of the month of May,* brought into the consistorie, where firste was made a brieue recitall of all the former processe: and there the sayd Wattes being (by the byshop and others) willed to deny his profession, made this final answer: God kepe me from the doctrine that ye wold haue me to come vnto, which ye haue now declared. And I beseech God y^t I may perseuer in that that I haue done, for I wil stand to mine answeres.

The Byshop perceiuing his faire flattering promises nothing to preuaile (& hauing no great store of other reasons to perswade with) put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation.* Which being ended, he was deliuered to the sheriffes of London, & by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained vntil the 9. day of Iune, or as some record, to the 22. of May: at what time he was caried vnto Chelmesforde, and there was brought to Scots house, keeping then an Inne at Chelmesforde, where, as they were eating meat with Hauks and the rest that came downe to their burning, they prayed together both afore and after their meate.

Then Wats went and praied priuately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his 6. childrē being there, and said these words in effect: Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you.* Therefore hence forth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath geuen you vnto me, so I geue you againe vnto the Lord, whom I charge you see you do obey, and feare him: and beware yee turne not to this abhominable papistrie, against the which I shall anone (by Gods grace) geue my bloude. Let not the murthering of Gods Saintes cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lords quarel, and I doubt not but he wil be a mercifull father vnto you. All these and suche like woordes spake he vnto them, and they vnto him, of whome two (as it is sayd) offered to be burnt wyth him. In the ende he badde them farewell, and kissed them all, and was caried to the fire.

[illustration]

The burning of Thomas Wattes, Martyr.

*

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord Rich, these or the like words: My Lord sayth he, beware,* beware, for you doe against your owne conscience herein, and without you repent, the Lord wil reuenge it: For you are the cause of this my death.

Concerning the childebed of Queene Mary, as it was rumoured among the people.

Long perswasion had bene in England with great expectation, for the space of halfe a yeare or more,* that the Queene was conceiued w^t childe. This report was made by the Queenes Phisitions, & other nie about the Court: so that diuers were punished for saying the contrary. And commaundement was geuen, that in all churches supplication and prayers should be made for the Queenes good deliuerie: the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the Counsel sent to Boner, pag. 1405. And also the same moreouer may appeare by prouision made before in the Act of Parliament for the childe. pag. 1410.

And now for somuch as in y^e beginning of this month of Iune about Whitsontide,* the time was thought to be nie, that this young Maister should come into the world, and that midwiues, rockers, nurses, with the cradle & all, were prepared and in a readines, sodēly vpon what cause or occasion it is vncertaine, a certaine vaine rumour was blowne in London of the prosperous deliuerance of the Queene, and the birth of the childe: In so muche that the Bels were rong, Bonfiers and processions made, not only in the Citie of London,* and in most other partes of the realme, but also in the towne of Antwarpe, gunnes were shot off vpon the riuer, by the English shippes, and the Mariners thereof rewarded wyth an hundred pistolettes or Italian crownes by the Ladie Regent, who was the Queene of Hungarie.* Such great reioysing and triumph was for the Queenes deliuerie, & that there was a Prince borne. Yea, diuers Preachers, namely one, the Parson of S. Anne within Aldergate, after Procession and Te Deum song, tooke vpon him to describe the proportion of y^e child, how faire, howe beautifull, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not bene seene.

In the midst of this great adoe, there was a simple man (this I speake but vpon information) dwelling wⁱn 4. miles of Barwicke, that neuer had bene before halfe way to London, whiche sayde concerning the Bonfiers made for Queene Maries childe: Here is a ioyful triūph, but at length al wil not proue worth a messe of potage,* as in dede it came to passe: For in y^e end al proued clean cōtrary, & the ioy and expectations of mē were much deceiued. For the people were certified, y^t the Queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue any child.

[Page 1597](#)At thys time many talked diuersly: some sayd thys rumour of the Queenes conception was spread for a po•icie: some other affirmed that shee was deceiued by a Tympanie or some other like disease, to thinke her selfe with child, and was not:* some thought she was with childe, and that it did by some chaunce miscarie, or els that she was bewitched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secrete. One thing of mine owne hearing, and seeing I can not passe ouer vnwitnessed.

There came to me, whom I did both heare and see, one Isabell Malt, a woman dwellyng in Aldersgate streete in Horne alley, not farre from the house where this present booke was Printed, who before witnes made this declaration vnto vs, that she beyng deliuered of a māchild vpō Whitsonday in the mornyng, whiche was the xi. day of Iune. an. 1555. there came to her the Lord North, and an other Lord to her vnknowē, dwellyng thē about old Fish streete, demaūdyng of her if she would part with her child, and would sweare that she neuer knewe nor had no such child. Whiche if she would, her sonne (they sayd) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with many fayre offers if she would part with the child.

After that came other womē also, of whō one she sayd should haue bene the Rocker, but she in no wise would let go her sonne, who at y^e writyng hereof being aliue & called Timothe Malt, was of the age of xiiij. yeares & vpward.

*Thus much (I say) I heard of the woman her selfe. What credite is to bee geuen to her relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the Reader, to beleue it they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them.

*Among many other great preparations made for the Queenes deliuerance of childe, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, vppon the whiche cradle for the child appointed, these Uerses were written, both in Latin and English.

Quam Mariae sobolem Deus optime summe dedisti,

Anglis inc•lumem redde, tuere, rege.

The Child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might hast send. To Englandes ioy in health preserue,* keepe and defend.

About this tyme there came ouer into England a certaine English booke, geuing warnyng to English men of the Spanyardes, and disclosing certaine close practises for recouery of Abbay landes, which booke was called A warnyng for England. Whereof ye shall vnderstand more (God willyng) when we come to the Spanish Inquisition. So that by the occasion of this booke, vppon the xiiij. day of this moneth came out a certaine Proclamation, set forth in the name of the Kyng and Queene, repealyng & disanullyng all maner of bookes writtē or Printed, whatsoever should touche any thyng the impayryng of the Popes dignitie, whereby not onely much godly edification was hyndred: but also great perill grew among the people. The copy of which Proclamation here foloweth.

A Proclamation set out by the King and Queene for the restraining of all bookes and wrytings tending againg the doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

WHere as by the Statute made in the seconde yeare of king Henrie the fourth concerning the repressing of heresies, there is ordained and prouided a great punishment, not only for the authours, makers, and wryters of bookes containing wicked doctrine and erroneous and hereticall opinions contrary to the Catholicke faith, and determination of the holy Church, & likewise for their fautors & supporters, but also for such as shal haue or keepe any suche bookes or wrytings,

and not make deliuerie of them to the Ordinarie of the Diocesse or his Ministers, wyth in a certaine time limited in the sayd Statute, which Acte or Statute being by authoritie of Parliament of late reuiued,* was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subiectes of the realme vpon such Proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penaltie of the sayde Statute, and as yet neuerthelesse, in moste partes of the Realme the same is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queene our soueraigne Lord and Ladie,* therefore. &c. straightly charge and commaunde, that no persone or persones, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be, from hencefoorth presume to bring or conuey, or cause to bee brought or conueied into this Realme, any bookes, wrytings or woorkes heereafter mentioned: that is to saye, anye booke or bookes, wrytings or woorkes made or sette foorth, by, or in the name of Martine Luther, or any booke or bookes, wrytings or woorkes made or sette forth, by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, Iohn Caluine, Pomerane, Iohn Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus Ochinus,* Erasmus Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latymer, Robert Barnes, otherwyse called Frier Barnes, Iohn Bale, otherwise called Frier Bale, Iustus Ionas, Iohn Hoper, Myles Couerdal, William Tyndal, Thomas Cranmer late Archbishop of Canterburie, William Turner, Theodore Basill, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, Ihon Frith, Roy, and the booke commonly called Halles Chronicle,* or anye of them, in the Latine tounge, Dutch tounge, English tounge, Italian tounge, or French tounge, or any other like booke, paper, wryting, or woorkes, made, printed, or sette foorth, by any other persone or persones, containing false doctrine contrarie, and against the Catholicke faith, and the doctrine of the Catholicke Church: And also that no person or persons presume to write,* printe, vtter, sell, reade, or kepe anye, or cause to bee wrytten, printed, vttered, or kept, anye of the sayde bookes, papers, woorkes or wrytings, or any booke or bookes wrytten or printed in the Latine or English tounge, concerning the common seruice and administration sette foorth in English to be vsed in the Churches of this Realme, in the time of king Edward the sixth, commonly called the Communion booke or booke of common seruice and ordering of Ministers, otherwise called The booke sette foorth by authoritie of Parliament, for common prayer & administration of the Sacramentes, or to be vsed in the mother tounge wythin the Church of England, but shall wythin the space of fyfteene dayes nexte after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliuer, or cause the sayde bookes, wrytinges, and woorkes, and euerye of them remaining in their custodies and keeping, to be broughte and deliuered to the Ordinarie of the Diocesse, where suche bookes, woorkes, or wrytinges be or remaine: or to his Chauncellour or Commissaries, without fraud, coulour, or deceite, at the sayde Ordinaries will and disposition, to be burnt, or otherwise to be vsed or ordered by the sayde Ordinaries, as by the Canons or spiritual lawes it is in that case limitted and appoynted, vppon paine that euerye offender contrary to this Proclamation, shal incurre the daunger and penalties contained in the sayde Statute, and as they will auoide theyr Maiesties high indignation and displeasure, and further answere at their vttermost pearils.*

And their Maiesties by this Proclamation geue full power and authoritie to all Byshops and Ordinaries, and all Iustices of peace, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes of Cities and Townes corporate, and other head Officers wythin this Realme and the dominions thereof, and expresly commaundeth and willeth the same and euery of them, that they and euerye of them within their seuerall limites and iurisdictions, shall in the default & negligence of the sayde Subiectes, after the sayde fyfteene dayes expired, enquire and searche out the sayde bookes, wrytings and woorkes, and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secrete places of euery persone, of what so euer degree, beyng negligent in thys behalfe, and suspected to keepe any

such boke, wryting, or woorkes, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the sayde Iustices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other heade Officers aboue specified, and euery of them wythin theyr sayde limites and iurisdictions, finiding any of the sayde subiectes negligent and faultie in this behalfe, shall commit euery such offender to Warde, there to remaine without baile or mainprise, till the same offender or offenders haue receiued such punishment, as the sayde Statute doeth limite and appoynte in this behalfe. Geuen vnder our Signes Manuel, at oure Honour of Hampton Courte, the thirteene day of Iune, the first and second yeares of our raignes.

Imprinted by Iohn Cawood. Anno. 1555.

Articles to be enquired vppon by the wardones of euery, companie, touching seditious bookes, especially touching the booke called A Warning for England.

1 WHether they haue seene any of the forsaid bookes.*

2 Whether they haue hearde of anye of the sayde bookes.

3 Where they were, and in what place they haue seene them.

4 Whome they know to haue lately come from beyonde the sea, especially from Zurik, Strausbrough, Frankford, Wezel, Emden, and Disburge.

5 Whome they knowe, or vehemently suspect to be common cariers of letters or money thether from hence.

6 That they bring to my Lord Maior all suche seditious bookes as they haue, or shall haue found hereafter.

In this proclamation thou hast hearde (Christian reader) the profounde and learned Censure of the Catholike Church of Englande, what bookes they mislike and reiect as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which Catholicke censure of these learned fathers, I haue [Page 1598](#) not at this time to inferre: neither doeth my laisure serue now to wryte Apologies in defence of these Authors here condemned. Onely so much leaue it may please the reader to graūt me to set before him here a pair of balance, where in to waigh the bookes on the one side condemned, wyth y^e bookes on the other side allowed, to the end that we waying the one with the other, may discern the better betwene them,* which part wayeth best with Gods holy trueth and true catholicke church against manifest idolatrie and palpable abomination. And nowe therefore, as they haue in this present proclamation geuen their condemnation vpon these bookes aboue recited, so I desire thee to geue thy censure vpon their bookes by them allowed, and vpon the matter in them contained, and marke wel what good stuff it is.

*And first to begin with the Primer in English for children after the vse of Salisburie, Imprinted wyth Priueledge according vnto the Kinge and Queenes Maiesties letters patentes in the raigne of Queene Mary. Lette vs repeate and suruey some part of the said Primer (for to expresse all it were too long) beginning wyth the firste lesson of our Ladye, in these wordes:

Holye Marye: mother most pure of virgines all: mother and daughter of the king celestiall: So comfort vs in our desolation: That by thy prayer and special meditation, we enioy the reward of the heauenly raigne. &c.

Conferre this with the Scriptures, good reader, and iudge vp rightly whether this doctrine •e tollerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the second Lesson.

Holy Mary of all godly the godliest,

Pray for vs of all holy the holiest.

That he our praier accept may in good wise.

which of thee was borne and raigneth aboue the skies. &c.

In the third lesson.

Thy sonne beseeche with humble intercession,

To purge vs cleane of our transgression,

That so being redeemed we may the place ascende,

Where thou dwellest with him world without ende.

The Uersicle.

Pray for the people, entreat for the Clergie, make enter cession for the deuout womankinde,*let al feele thy helpe that worthely solemnise thy memoriall. &c.

An other Uersicle.

Holy Mother of God make thy petition, that wee maye deserue Christes promission. &c.

And in the Antheme after Benedictus, thus it followeth.

We beseech thee of thy pitie to haue vs in remembraunce, & to make meanes for vs vnto Christ, that we being supported by thy helpe, may deserue to attaine the kingdome of heauen.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth.

*And graunte that through the gracious intercession of the virgine thy mother, wee may be deliuered from this present heauinesse, and haue the fruition of eternall gladnesse.

It followeth moreouer in the sayde Primer thus, concerning the materiall Crosse.

*O God which haste ascended thy most holy Crosse, and hast geuen light to the darkenesse of the world, vouchsafe by the vertue of thy Crosse to illumine, visite, and comfort both our hearts and bodies. &c.

Moreouer, in the name of S. Iohn Baptiste thus it prayeth.

*O Lord defend vs alway through the continuall succours of S. Iohn Baptist. For the more fraile we be, the more nede we haue to be relieued with necessary prayers. &c.

In which wordes note (good reader) not only the absurditie of doctrine, but also the stolidity of the reason. For where their doctrine pretendeth that saint Iohn Baptiste should pray for vs, * here we pray to God for s. Iohn Baptist, that he wil heare his praier praying for vs. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul.

Heare vs mercifully▪ and graunt that through the merites of them both, we may obtaine the glory euerlasting. &c.

And of S. Andrew.

So lette hym (O Lorde) be a continuall petitioner for vs to thee. &c.

Of S. Laurence thus.

S. Laurence the Deacon did worke a good worke. For by the vertue of the holy crosse he gaue sight to the blinde. &c.

And howe can this be true, when the holy Crosse was not yet found in the time of s. Laurence. For Helen whych first found the crosse (as they saye) came after S. Laurence more then 40. yeares.

*To Tho. Becket Archbishop of Canterburie.

By the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did spende,

Make vs Christ to clime, whether Thomas did ascende.

Of S. Nicholas.

O God which hast glorified blessed Nicholas thy holy Bishop with innumerable myracles graunt we beseeche thee, *that by his merites & prayers we may be deliuered from the fire of hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.

Graunt we beseeche thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for vs the blisse euerlasting. &c.

An other prayer of our Ladie.

The dolorous compassion of Gods sweete mother,
Bring vs to the blisse of almighty God the father. &c.

An other prayer in the sayd Primer to our Lady.

Establish vs in peace and tranquillitie,

And chaunge the name of sinfull Eua:

Loose thy prisoners from captiuitie,

Vnto the blinde geue sight againe.*
_

Deliuier vs from malignitie,

To the ende we may some grace attaine.

Shewe thy selfe to be a mother:

So that he accept our petition.

Deliuier vs from bondage of sinne. &c.

Item.

Holy mother succour the miserable, comfort the weake spirited, geue courage to the desperate,
praye for the people, make intercession for the Cleargy, and be a meane for the deuout
womankinde. &c.

An other blasphemous prayer.

O thou meeke mother haue mercy therefore,

On wretches, for whom thou haddest these paines all,*
_

Seeing thy sonne that vine cluster pressed sore,

And from the pestilence of death eternall,

Keepe vs by voiding the feende infernall,

And ioyne vs with them which rewarded be,

With eternall life, seeing the Deitie.

An other blasphemie in the sayde Primer.

Haile Queene mother of mercy, our life, our sweetnes,*oure hope Vnto thee do we crie and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come of therefore our Patronesse, cast vpon vs thy pitiful eyes, and after this oure banishmente, shewe to vs the blessed fruite of thy wombe. O gate of glory be for vs a reconciliation vnto the father and the sonne. From the wretched their faultes expell: wbye the spots of sinnes vncleane. &c.

Item to our Lady.

The fruite of thy wombe euerlasting,

We may behold through thy deseruing &c.

Item.

Graunt we beseeche thee,*that by her merites and praiers we may attaine to that vnspeakeable ioy, wheras she being assumpt, doth now enioy with thee in heauen for euer.

And thus much hitherto of this catholike Primer, called our Ladies mattens. Wherunto if it were not tedious for the Reader, we would also adioyne our Ladies Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they haue seene what bookes these Catholike fathers haue condemned and do cōdemne for hereticall: so the same may also see & iudge what bokes on y^e other side they approue as lawfull and Catholike. And for as muche as it is not knowen peradventure to all men, what our Ladies Psalter is, or what it meaneth: yea, and some peradventure will denie any such booke of our ladies psalter to be writtē or approued, here therefore we wil first produce the name of the author, who was Bonauenture a Seraphical doctor, bishop also & Cardinall, canonised moreouer by Pope Sixtus 4. an. 1482. for a saint in the Calēdar, who in his boke thus entituled in Latine: Incipit Psalterium beatae virginis,*compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonauenturam Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Praesbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis. &c. Fol. 84. in the second part of his whole woorkes (which were imprinted at Argentine.* An. 1495.) to shewe him selfe a deuout seruant to his Ladie, hath taken euery Psalme of Dauids Psalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to almighty God) and hath in diuers of the sayde Psalmes and verses putte out the name of the Lorde, and hath placed in the name of our Ladye. This being done through the whole Psalmes & euery one of them, it is now called our Ladies Psalter, vsed to be song & saide in the praise and seruice of our Lady. A briefe tast wherof for examples sake (for to shewe all it were too long) we thought here to exhibite vnto the reader, in order as foloweth.

The title in English of this Psalter.

☞ Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Uirgine, made by the Seraphicall Doctoure S. Bonauenture, the Bishop of Albane,* and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome. &c.

1 BEatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum Maria virgo, gratia tua animam eius confortabit.
Tanquam aquarum fontibus [Page 1599](#) irrigatum vberimum in eo fructum iusticiae propagabis.
&c. Vniuersas enim foeminas vincis pulchritudine carnis: superas Angelos & Archangelos

excellencia sanctitatis Misericordia tua & gratia vbique praedicatur. &c. Gloria patri. That is to say.*

Blessed is the man which vnderstandeth thy name, O virgine Marie, thy grace shall comforte hys soule. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruite of iustice, being watered as it were, wyth fountaines of water. All women thou passest in the beautie of thy body, all Angels and Archaungels in the excellencie of thy holinesse.* Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified euery where. &c. Glorie be to the father. &c.

2 Quare fremuerunt inimici nostri & aduersum nos meditati sunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua Mater Dei vt acies terribiliter confundens & destruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis & tribulati estis, & dabit refrigerium animabus vestris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus vestris, & stabiliet vos serenitas vultus eius Benedicite illam in toto corde vestro, misericordia enim illius plena est te•ra. &c. Gloria patri. &c.

Why doe our enemies freat and imagine vaine things against vs? Let thy right hand defend vs o mother of god, terribly cō•ounding & destroying them as a sword. Come vnto her all ye y^t labor and are troubled, and shee wil geue rest vnto your soules. Come vnto her in your temptations, and her louing countenance shall stablish & comfort you. Blesse her with all your heart: for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the father. &c.

3 Domina quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? In tempestate tua persequeris & dissipabis eos. Dissolue colligationes impietatis nostrae: tolle fasciculos peccatorum nostrorum. Miserere mei Domina & sana infirmitatem meam: tolle dolorem & angustiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die mortis meae comforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum salutis, & spiritum meum redde factori meo.

Why are they so many O Lady that trouble mee? In thy surye thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bondes of our impietie,* and take away the burden of our sinnes. Haue mercy vpon me, O lady, and heale my infirmitie. Take away my sorow and the anguish of my heart. Deliuer me not into the handes of mine enemies, & in the day of my death comfort my soule. Bring me vnto the hauen of saluation, and restore my spirit vnto my maker and creator. Glory be to the. &c.

4 Cum inuoca•em• exaudisti me Domina, & è sublimi solio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus praeparatis ad escam & de manibus quaerentium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniam benigna est misericordia & pietas tua in omnes, qui inuocant nomen sanctum tuum. Benedicta sis Domina in aeternum, & maiestas tua in seculum. Glorificate eum omnes gentes. &c.

When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to thinke vpon me.* From the roaring of them that prepare themselues to deuoure me, & out of the handes of such as seeke after my life, thy grace shall deliuer me: Because thy mercy and thy pitie are great towards all them that call vpon thy holy name. Blessed be thou O Lady for euer, and thy maiestie for euer and euer. Glorifie her all nations of the earth. &c.

5 Verba mea auribus percipe Domina. &c. Conuerte luctum nostrum in gaudium, & tribulationem nostram in iubilationem. Corruant ante pedes nostros inimici nostri: virtute tua eorum capita conterantur. &c.

Heare my wordes O Lady. &c. Turne our mourning into gladnesse, and our trouble into reioysing. Let our enemies fall before our feete, & wich thy power dash theyr hea•s in peeces.

*6 Domina ne in furore dei sinas corripere me, neque in ira eius iudicari. &c. De porta inferi & de ventre abyssi tuis sanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis ianuae sempiternae, vt enarremus in aeternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno sunt, laudabunt te Domina, sed qui tua gratia vitam aeternam obtinebunt.

O lady suffer me not to be rebuked in gods anger, nor to be chastened in his heauie displeasure. &c. From y^e gate and deepe pit of hel, with thy holy prayers deliuer vs. Let the euerlasting gates be opened, that we may shew foorth thy marueilous woorkes for euer. Because the deade: nor they that be in hell, shall not praise thee O Ladie, but they shall obtaine by thy grace life euerlasting.

7 Domina mea in te speraui, de inimicis meis libera me Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, & labia persequentium constringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis misericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat super nos, vt seruetur conscientia nostra apud altissimum. Si persequitur inimicus animam meam Domina, *adiutorio tuo comforter, ne vibret gladiū suum contra me.

O my Ladye, in thee doe I put my trust: deliuer mee from mine enemies o Lady. *Stoppe the mouth of the Lion, and binde the lippes of the persecutors, make no tarying for thy names sake, to shew thy mercy vppon me. Let the brightnes of thy countenance shine vpon vs, *that our conscience may be sauēd before the most highest. If the ennemy doe persecute my soule O Lady, helpe me that he destroy me not.

9 Confitebor tibi Domina in toto corde meo, & narrabo in populis laudem & gloriam tuam. &c. Inueniant gratiam per te inuentricem gratiae & salutis: Respirant ad indulgētiam humiles poenitentes: sana contritiones cordis eorum. &c.

I wil geue thanks to thee O Lady with my *whole heart, and wil shewe forth amongst the nations thy praise and glory. &c. They shall finde grace through thee, the sinder out of grace and saluation, the humble and penytent grone for pardon and forgeuenesse, heale thou the sores of their heart. &c.

11 In Domina confido. &c. Exquirite illam a inuentute vestra & glorificabit vos. &c. Misericordia illius nostrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, & foecūditatem nobis conferat meritorum. &c.

In thee O lady do I put my trust. &c. Seeke her euen from your youth: and shee shall glorify you. &c. *Her mercy take from vs the multitude of our sinnes, and geue vnto vs plenteousnesse of merites. &c.

12 Saluum me fac mater pulchrae dilectionis, sons clemenciae. &c. Gyrum terrae sola circuis, vt subuenias inuocantibus te. &c.

Saue me O mother of Loue, & fountaine of mercy. &c. Thou thy selfe alone haste gone about the compasse of the earth, to helpe them that call vpon thee, &c.

13 Vsquequo domina obliuisceris me, & non liberas me in d^ee tribulationis? vsquequo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me^a potentia virtutis tuae contere ipsum. &c. Magnificamus te gratiae inuentricem, per quam saecula reparantur. &c.

How long doest thou forget me O Lady, and dost not deliuer me in the day of my trouble? Howe long shal mine enemy triumph ouer me? With thy mighty power destroy him. &c. We magnifie thee the finder & the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired. &c.

16 Conserua me domina, quoniam speraui in te. &c. Benedicta sint vbera tua, quibus^{*} lacte deifico saluatorem enutristi. &c.

Preserue me O Lady, for in thee haue I put my trust. &c. Blessed be thy breastes,^{*} which with thy deifying milke diddest nourish the Sauour. &c.

18 Diligam te domina coeli & terrae: in gentibus nomen tuum inuocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, & roborabit vos contra inimicos vestros &c. Religiosi omnes honorate illam, quia ipsa est adiutrix vestra & specialis aduocata. Esto refrigerium nostrum gloriosa mater Christi, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum.

I will loue thee O Lady of heauen and earth: I will call vpon thy name among the nations. Confesse your selues vnto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shal strengthen you against your enemies. &c. Al ye cloisterers honoure her, for shee is your helper and speciall aduocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest,^{*} for thou arte the marueilous foundation of all religion.

20 Exaudi nos Domina in die tribulationis. &c. Ne proijcias nos in tempore mortis nostrae, sed succurre animae, cum deseruerit corpus suum. Mitte Angelum in occursum eius per quem ab hostibus defendatur &c. Sentiat in poenis refrigerium tuum, & concede ei locum inter electos Dei.

Here vs O Lady in the day of trouble, &c. Cast vs not away in the time of our death, but succour our soule when it forsaketh the body. Sende an Angell to meete it, that it may be defended from the enemies. &c. In torments and paines let it feele thy comforte, and graunt to it a place among the elects of God.

25 Ad te Domina leuaui animam. &c. Nō praeualeant aduersum me laquei mortis. &c. Ductrix mea esto ad patriam, & me coetui angelorum digneris aggregare:

To thee O Lady do I lift vp my soule. &c. Let not the snares of death preuaile against me. &c. Be thou my guide to the heauenly rest, and to the company of Angels associate me.

26 Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digressus sum: sed quia speraui in te, non infirmabor. &c.

*Judge thou me, O Ladye, for I am fallen from mine innocencie: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall. &c.

27 Domina illuminatio mea sit splendor faciei tuae. &c. serenitas gratiae tuae refulgeat menti meae. &c.

O Lady let the brightnesse of thy face be my light, and let the clearenesse of thy grace shine vnto my minde. &c.

28 Ad te Domina clamabo. &c. Miserere mei in die angustiae meae, & in luce veritatis tuae libera me.

To thee O Ladie. &c. Haue mercy vpon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliuer me. &c.

[Page 1600](#)31 In te Domina speraui, non confundar in aeternum, in gloria tua suscipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea & refugium meum▪ consolatio mea & protectio mea. &c. Educas me de laqueo, quem abscondiderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adiutrix mea. In manus tuas Domina commendo spiritum meum.

In thee O Lady do I put my trust, let me not be confounded for euer, *in thy glory receyue me. Thou art my strength & my refuge, my consolation and protection, &c. Deliuer me from the snare that they haue layd for mee, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my spirit, &c.

34 Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore. &c. In periculis, in rebus dubijs inuocate eam, & in necessitatibus inuenietis auxilium, &c. Sumite exemplum conuersationis eius & emulamini studia humilitatis eius. Quia ergo Domina humillima fuisti, verbum increatum ex te carnem suscipere coegisti.

I will alwayes prayse our Lady, &c. In perils, in aduersitie call vpon her, and in tyme of neede ye shall fynde succor. *Let her conuersation be an example vnto you, and follow the vertue of her humilitie. Because therefore, O Lady thou wast humbly and lowly, thou didst compel the word increate to take flesh of thee.

36 Dixit iniustus. &c. A malo proposito discedat mater Dei. Inclina vultum Dei super nos: Coge illum peccatoribus misereri, &c. Benedictum sit imperium tuum super coelos: benedicta sit magnificentia tua super terram.

The wicked man sayd, &c. Let hym depart from hys euill purpose, O mother of God turne the countenance of God toward vs: *Compell him to be merciful vnto sinners. Blessed be thy Imperie and dominion in heauen, & •lessed be thy magnificence vpon the earth.

45 Eructauit cor meum verbum bonum Domina, &c. Per tuam sanctitatem peccata mea purgentur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur, &c.

My hart is inditing a new matter O Lady. &c. By thy holynes let my sinnes be purged, * by thy integritie let me obtayne incorruption. &c.

47 Omnes gentes plaudite manibus. &c. Quoniā ipsa est porta vitae▪ ianua salutis, & vitae nostrae reconciliatrix: spes poenitentium, solamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atque salus. Miserere mei Domina, miserere mei, quia tu es lux & spes omnium cōfidentium in te. &c.

Clap your hands all ye people. &c. For she is the gate of life, * the dore of saluation, the reconciler of our lyfe: the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and saluation. Haue mercy vppon me O Lady, haue mercy vpō me, for thou art the light & hope of all that put their trust in thee.

51 Miserere mei Domina, quae mater misericordiae nuncuparis. Et secundum viscera miserationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. &c.

Haue mercy vppon me O Lady, which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compassion clense me from mine iniquities.

54 Domina in Nomine tuo saluum me fac, & ab iniusticijs meis libera me. &c.

*O Lady in thy name saue me, and from myne vnrighteousnes deliuer me. &c.

70 Domina in adiutorium meum intende. &c. Miserere seruorum tuorum super quos inuocatum est nomen tuum, &c.

Make hast O Lady to help me. &c. Haue mercy on thy seruants, vpon whom thy name is inuocated. &c.

71 In te Domina speraui, non confundar in aeternum, in tua misericordia libera me. &c.

*In thee Lady haue I put my trust: let me not confoūded for euer, in thy mercy deliuer me, &c.

79 Domina venerunt gentes in haereditatem Dei quas tu meritis tuis Christo confederasti &c.

O Ladye, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou diddest ioyne vnto Christ by thy merites, &c.

89 Qui regis Israell, &c. Odor vitae de illa progreditur & omnis salus de corde illius scaturizat. *

Thou that rulest Israel, &c. The sauour of life cōmeth from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c.

*91 Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei in protectione ipsius commorabitur. &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis vestris & flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo vestro. Fructus gratiae inueniet qui sperauerit in illa, porta paradisi reserabitur ei.

Who so dwelleth in the helpe of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection. &c. Cry vnto her in your daungers, and the scourge shall not come nere your tabernacle. The fruite of Grace shall be to hym who so trusteth in her, and the gate of Paradise shall be open to hym.

95 Venite exultemus Dominae nostrae. &c. Suscipe in fine animas nostras, & introduc nos in requiem aeternam. &c.

Come, let vs reioyce to our Ladye, &c. Receyue our soules at our last ende, and bryng them into euerlastyng rest, &c.

105 Confitemini Dominae nostrae, & inuocate nomen eius, *&c. Salus sempiterna in manu tua, Domina. &c.

Prayse our Lady and call vpon her name. &c. Euerlasting saluation is in thy hand O Lady, &c.

110 Dixit Dominus Dominae nostrae, sede mater mea a dextris meis &c.

The Lord sayd vnto our Lady: * sit here my mother on my right hand. &c,

114 In exitu animae meae ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina & suscipe eam &c. Esto illi scala ad regnum coelorum & iter rectum ad paradisum Dei. &c.

In the passing of my soule out of this world, come and meete it O Lady, and receyue it, &c. Be to it a ladder vnto the kingdome of heauen, and a right way to the Paradise of God, &c.

119 Miserationibus tuis plena est terra, ideo viam iustificationum tuarum exquisiui. &c. Concupiscam in aeternum laudare te Domina cum docueris me *iustificationes tuas. &c.

The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy iustifications. &c. I will couet for euer to praise thee O Lady, when thou shalt teache me thy iustifications. &c.

125 Qui confidunt in te mater Dei, *non timebunt à facie inimici. &c.

They that put their trust in thee O mother of God, shal not be afraid of the face of their enemy. &c.

127 *Nisi Domina aedificauerit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit aedificium eius.

Except our Lady shall build the house of our hart, the building therof shall not continue, &c.

128 Beati omnes qui timent Dominam nostram, & beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem tuam. &c.

Blessed is euery one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will. &c.

130 De profundis clamaui ad te Domina,*Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuae intendentes, &c.

Out of the deepe I haue called vnto thee O Ladye, O Lady heare my voyce, &c.

132 Memento Domina Dauid & omnium inuocantium nomen tuum. &c.

O Lady remember Dauid and all them that call vpon thy name. &c.

134 Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam omnes qui*speratis in nomine sancto eius. &c.

Behold and blesse now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name.

136 Super flumina Babylonis. &c.*Non inuenietur propitiatio sine illa. &c.

At the flouds of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her. &c.

140 Eripe me Domina ab omni malo,*& ab hoste inferni defende me. &c.

Deliuier me O Lady from all euill, and from the infernall enemy defend me. &c.

145 Oculi nostri sperant in te Domina. Mitte nobis cibum & escam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquitur lingua mea & benedicam te in seculum seculi.

Our eyes looke vp and trust in thee, do thou sende vs meate and food conuenient. &c. My tounge shall speake thy prayse, and shall blesse thee for euer.

148 Lauda Hierusalem Dominam, glorifica illam etiam ô Sion. Ipsa enim construit muros tuos & filios tuos benedicit. Gratia sua te impinguat, pacem{que} donat terminis tuis.

Prayse thou our Lady O Hierusalem, and glorify her also O thou Sion, for she buildeth vp thy wals,* and blesseth thy children, her grace maketh thee fat, & geueth peace vnto thy coastes. &c.

I could also recite other things moe of like blasphemy following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the Seraphicall doctor aforesayd, as these.

Ecce Domina Saluatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te,*& non timebo. &c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu. &c. Et facta es mihi in salutem. i Behold O Lady my Sauour, I will be bolde in thee, and will not feare. &c. Because thou art my strength, &c. And art become my saluation. &c.

Exulta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi mediatricem dominus Deus tuus. i. Reioyce
O all mankynde, because the Lord thy God hath geuen vnto thee such a Mediatrix. &c.*

Confitebor tibi domina, quia abscondisti haec à sapientibus, & reuelasti ea paruulis. i. I will
confesse to thee O Lady,* because thou hast hid these things from the wyse, and hast reuealed
them to the little ones. &c.

Generatio praua atque peruersa agnosce Dominam nostram salutricem tuā. Nunquid ipsa est
mater tua quae possidet te, & in fide [Page 1601](#) generauit te? i. O thou wicked and peeuish
generation, knowledge our Lady thy sauour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and
in fayth hath begotten thee?

O benedicta in manibus tuis reposita est nostra salus. i. O thou blessed,* in thy hands is layd vp
our saluation, &c.

I nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, coelestium. &c. In thy name let euery knee bend, in heauen
and earth, and in hell.

Quemadmodum infans sine nutrice non potest viuere: ita nec sine Domina nostra posses habere
salutem. i. Like as the in•ant cannot lyue without the nurse, so neither canst thou haue saluation
without our Lady.

Quicumque vult saluus esse ante omnia opus est vt teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam nisi
quisque in integram inuiolatamque seruauerit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit. i. Who so will
be saued, before all thyngs he must needes hold his beliefe of our Lady, which beliefe, vnles
euery one shal hold perfect and sound, shall perish without doubt for euer.

Moreouer, after these so horrible things & vntolerable to be heard, consequently in the next
tractation followeth the rosary or garland of our Lady, compiled by the said S. Bonaventure:
wherein these words are to be red as followeth: O Mediatrix betweene God and man, the Lorde
hath worthily magnified thee,*that thou onely shouldst conceyue hys sonne &c. Wherefore O
good Mary our mediatrix, mother of Grace, and mother of Mercy. &c. And moreouer within
fewe lynes it followeth in these woordes: Therefore O our Empresse and Lady most bountifull,
by the authoritie of a Mother commaund, commaund (I say) thy welbeloued sonne, that he wil
stirre vp our myndes from the loue of worldly thyngs, to heuenly desires. &c.

Item, O the Aduocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy seruants be directed to thee. &c.

To these premisses, I might also adioyne the horrible and most blasphemous wordes of the said
Bonaventure in the said booke, Fol. 100. pag. 2. col. 1. which I besech thee to read and note.
Quae maior bonitas quam quod Christus. i. What greater goodnes can be, then that Christ is
content to be captiue vpon the aultar.

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Ieremy, saying. Behold, I am in your hands, do with me
as you see good. &c. Where note (sayth he) that when any Duke or prince •s taken prisoner for
hys subiectes, he is not let goe, before he paye some great summe of mony for hys

ransome.*Euen so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands beyng our prisoner and captiue except he graunt vnto vs remission of our sinnes and his heauenly kingdome. The priest therfore lifteth vp the body of Christ vpon the aultar: as though he sayd thus: behold hym whome the whole world is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our captiue, wherfore let vs hold hym fast and not let hym go before we obtayne of hym our requests. &c.

Notes.

Is not here good Catholike stuffe (christen Readers) trow you? Conferre I beseech you this doctrine wyth the doctrine of the Apostles, which teach vs that we are fullye complet in Christ, and I wil referre me to no better iudge then to your own conscience. And now therfore, if any mā haue bene in doubt in tymes past of the doctrine and proceedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly char'ged with blynd errors, with blasphemy intollerable, & Idolatry abominable or not, here now may he be fully certified & resoluēd. For where was euer idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattins & Psalter of our Lady? * If Idolatry be to make an idoll to bee worshipped as God, which is no God, what doe we here but make an idoll of our Lady (as we call her) to be worshipped with no lesse dignity, glory, authority, reuerence, and seruice, then is the Lord God himselfe. As he is called our Lord, so she is called our lady. And if he be kyng, yet she is the queene of heauē.* And though he haue the name of god, yet she bereth so the title of the mother of God, that as mothers haue authority ouer their children, so she is willed to shew her selfe to be his mother, to cause him to grāt our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is she our patro'nesse. The commandement saith: Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and hym only shalt thou serue. And what worship or seruice can we geue to God, more then we doe ascribe vnto her? Or what benefit is to be asked at y^e hands of Christ our Sauour, which is not equally asked of her? To saue our soules, to geue vs peace, to graunt grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captiuitie, to release our sinnes,* to deliuer from the fiend, to bryng to heauen. &c. to her we pray, we cry, we creepe, we sigh, we grone, wee knock and kneele, to her we trust, and if we beleue not also in our Lady,* we be heretikes ipso facto.

Furthermore, as Christ our onely Lord and Sauour hath his Church and Congregation which professeth hys name, of whom we are called Christians: so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her Chapters, fraternities and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Ladies brethren, or white friers, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom euery one hath his peculiar church and religion by himselfe, yet all these together be included vnder the generall deuotion of our Lady their supreme patronesse and gouernesse.

Now to proceed further to the other prrt of the commaundement, which sayeth: Him onely shalt thou serue: What seruice hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also iointly with him hath the lyke? Her Masse, her Mattins, her Euensong, her Houres and Complin, her Rosaries, her Anthems, her Collects, her Primer, her Psalter, her holydaies likewyse, yea fiue to one. Finally, as y^e Lord hath his prayer called the Lordes prayer, so hath shee her Aue Maries, yea x. Aues to one Pater noster: yea, & read further in the said Bonauenture,* and ye shal see her also to haue her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat, and also her Quicunque vult.

If the Lorde our God had not expressed vnto vs hys own will by playne worde, limiting vnto vs by expresse iniunction, what to beleue, what to folow, & how to worship and serue him, & how

to receiue from him our saluation, but had left vs to the imagination of our owne inuētions, euery man to shift for himself after his own pollicy, then peraduenture this way taken by the Popes Church, to make frends & mediators betwene God and vs, for reconciliation, remission & saluation, might haue some ryme or reason: but now gods word doth bynde vs, doth prescribe and limite vs precisely in euery point touching saluation, what to beleue, & what to do, shewing vs plainly, that we cannot be saued, but by the bloud of hys sonne only, neither cā be iustified but by faith only in y^e same Christ his sonne. Wherefore not to beleue that which he hath promised is infidelitie, and to follow any other beliefe then he hath set vs, is plaine idolatry.* The which ij. special errors most commonly doe followe the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this primer and psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appeare.* For where the scripture perfectly doth promise and pronounce vs to bee iustified through our fayth in Christ, & willeth vs to seeke our saluation no where els, but onely in the merits of Iesus: the institution of the church of Rome neyther wyll receiue that God hath freely geuen (wherein standeth infidelity) neither yet will seek the same there where as they should, but in the merites and prayers of our Lady, of S. Iohn Baptist, s. Peter and Paule, s. Andrew, s. Nicholas, s. Thomas of Canterbury, & by the worthines of the materiall crosse, and such other vnlawfull meanes, wherein standeth plaine idolatry. And yet such bookes as these can be suffered among the Catholikes to be currant, as good, wholesome and lawfull bookes, where as the other which lead vs the true way from infidelitie and blynd idlatry, to true christianitie in no wise can be sufferable. But of this to complaine, it is vaine. Wherefore to passe from this proclamation, let vs proceede (God willing) in the course of our history.

¶The story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne Martyrs.

MEntion was made before in the storye of Thomas Haukes, of sixe prisoners besides,* whiche were sente downe with hym to Essex the same tyme as hee wente to execution. Of which sixe prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to doe penance: of whome it followeth next in story nowe to intreate. The names of which sixe were these, Thomas Osmund Fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, Weauer, Thomas Osborne Fuller, Nicholas Chamberlaine Weauer, Thomas Brodehill Weauer, Richard Webbe Weauer: beyng all of the towne of Coxehall. All which sixe Coxehall men nexte after the Examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas Wattes, were sent vp to Boner to bee examined by the Earle of Oxford and sir Phillip Paris knight, with a letter with them also sent, the copy whereof here followeth.

¶A letter sent from the Erle of Oxford to Boner B. of London.

AFTER our hartly commendations vnto your good Lord^dship,* this shalbe to aduertise the same y^t the Constables of Coxehall within your Dioces, haue brought before vs this day 6. persons dwelling in the town of Coxhal, aforesayd, [Page 1602](#) whose names hereafter do folow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlaine Weauer, Iohn Wallet Fuller, Tho. Brody Weauer, Rich. Web Weauer, William Bamford aliâs Butler, Weauer, and Tho. Osborne Fuller, for that they at the feast of Easter now last,* haue not obeyed to the order of the holy catholike Church in receiuyng of the sacraments: but o^stinately refusing the same, besides the holdyng of diuers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the said church. Wherefore we haue thought it good to send the

same persons vnto your good lordship, further to be ordered, as in such case shal appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordship to the keping of almighty God.

From Hedingham the 1. of May. 1555.

Your Lordships assuredly. Oxford. Phillip Paris.

Thus the said prisoners beyng sent vp the first day of May, were brought before the sayd Bishop the xvij. of the sayd moneth to be examined,* vpon diuers and sundry Articles ministred & obiected agaynst them: whereunto they were compelled to aunswer and to put theyr hands to the same: the copy of which their Articles and aunswers, beyng all one in forme and effect (if the Register say true) here followeth.

¶**The copy of the Articles obiected against Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlayne of Coxehall.**

1. Firſt that thou Thomas Osmund Fuller, waſt and art of the Pariſh of Coxehall,* within the Dioces of London, and thou haſt not beleueed nor doeſt beleuee that there is here in the earth one Catholike & vniuerſal whole Church, which doth hold and beleue all the fayth & Religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary Articles & ſacraments of the ſame.
2. Item, that thou haſt not beleueed nor doeſt beleue that thou art neceſſarily bounden vnder the payne of damnation,* of thy ſoule, to geue full fayth and credence vnto y^e ſayd Catholike and vniuerſall Church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame in all neceſſary poyntes of the ſayd fayth and religion, without doubting or wauering in the ſayde fayth and religion, or in any part thereof.
3. Item, that thou haſt not beleueed that the faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spayne, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, beyng true members and partes of the ſayd Catholike and vniuerſall Church do beleuee & teach,* is both agreeyng with the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion, which all chriſtian people ought to beleuee, obſerue, follow, and keepe: but contrarywiſe, thou haſt beleueed, and doeſt beleuee, that that fayth and religion, which the ſayd church of Rome, & all the other Churches aforeſayd, haue heretofore beleueed, and do beleue is falſe, erroneous, and naught, & in no wiſe ought to be beleueed, obſerued, kept, and followed of any Chriſtian perſon.
4. Item, that albeit it be true that in the ſacrament of the altar, there is in ſubſtance the very body and bloud of our ſauour Chriſt vnder the formes of bread and wyne: & albeit that it be ſo beleueed, taught and preached vndoubtedly in the ſayd church of Rome and all other churches aforeſayd, yet thou haſt not ſo beleueed, nor doeſt ſo beleuee, but contrarywiſe thou haſt beleueed, and doeſt beleuee firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſayd ſacrament of the aulter, vnder the ſayd formes of bread and wyne, the very ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud, but that there is only the ſubſtance of materiall and common bread and wine,* with the formes thereof, and that the ſayd material & common bread and wyne are onely the ſignes and tokens of Chriſtes body and bloud, and are by fayth to be receyued onely for a remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſtes body and bloud at all.

*5. Item, that thou hast beleued and taught, and hast opely spoken and defended, and so doest beleue, thinke, maintaine and defend, that the very true receiuing and eatyng of Christes body and bloud, is onely to take materiall and common bread, and to breake it, and distribute it amongst the people, remembring thereby the passion and death of Christ onely.

6. Item, that thou hast likewyse beleueed, thought, and spoken, that the masse now vsed in this realm of England and other the churches aforesaid,* is abominable & naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the Pope & not of the institution of Christ: and hath no goodnes in it sauynge the Gloria in excelsis, the Epistle and Gospell, and therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not come and be present at masse, nor receiue the sacrament of the altar, nor any other sacramēt of the church, as they are now vsed in this realm of England. &c.

7. Item, that thou hast in tymes past beleued, & yet doest now beleue,* that auricular confession is not necessary to be made vnto the priest: but is a thing superfluous, voyd, and naught, only to be made to God, & to none other person. And likewyse thou hast condemned as superfluous, vayne and vnprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the seruice of the same, and hast sayd that no seruice in the church ought to be sayd but in the English tong, and if it be otherwise, it is vnlawfull and naught.

8. Item, that thou beyng notoriously and openly suspected for an heretike, and a person culpable in the premisses, was of late called and cōuented before the Erle of Oxford, and M. Phillip Paris,* and there was charged with the said heresies, especially against the sacrament of the altar. And because thou didst maintaine and stand to thy said heresies, and wouldst not come to the church and be confessed and receiue the said sacrament as other christian people did, but vtterly didst refuse to doe the same, thou wast by the said Earle of Oxford, and M. Phillip Paris sēt vp by a Constable vnto me Bishoppe of London, and was by them denounced, detected, and put vp to me as an heretike and misbeleuyng person.

9. Item, that thou hast knowen and beleueed, thou doest know and beleue, or at the least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken, and said, that all and all maner persons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concernyng the sacraments of thr Church, or any the articles of the fayth, otherwise then is found already discussed and determined by the mother the holy church, or doth call into doubte or question that thyng which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do vtter openly or priuily, any slaunderous or blasphemous wordes concernyng the sayd Sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keepe any sect or kynd of heresie agaynst the wholesome doctrine of the church, & doe wittingly, willingly, or obstinately defend the said sect or kind of heresie, are by the Canons of the whole and vniuersall Catholike Church, and also by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of this Church of England by their so doing, accursed with that curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiuing of the Sacramentes, and from the company of faythfull people, and are (in continuynge in this sayd sect and heresie) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretikes, and to be deliuered to the secular power, and by the lawes temporall of this realme of England, and the custome of the same, to be by the sayde secular power put to death and burnt for this sayd sect and heresie.

10 Item, that thou by reason of the premisses wast & art to be pronounced, takē, had, reputed, and iudged for a manifest and open, wilfull and obstinate heretike, for a wycked and cursed person, and to bee punished accordingly for the same, accordyng to the said Canon lawes, vsages, and customes.

***The aunsweres whiche the sayd Thomas Osmund William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlaine seuerally made vnto these Articles.**

TO the first they aunswered and confessed the same to be true,^{*} except that they do beleue y^t there is here in earth one Catholicke & whole Church, and that the same church doth hold and beleue as is conteined in this Article.

To the second they aunswere, & beleue the sayd Article not to be true: for they say that they haue & doe beleue that they are necessarily bounden vnder payne of damnatiō of their soule, to geue full fayth and credēce vnto the said Catholicke Church & to the fayth and religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same fayth and religiō, without waueryng or doubtyng in any part therof.

To the third they aūswere, that the Church of Rome,^{*} & other Churches mentioned in this Article, bee not true mēbers & partes (as they be vsed in fayth & religion) of the Catholicke Church of Christ, & that the fayth and religion vsed in the sayd Churches, is not agreable with y^e Church of Christ, but are false and erroneous.

To the fourth they aunswere and say that how so euer the sayd Churches of Rome and others of Christendome haue and do beleue touchyng the Sacramēt of the aulter, yet they do beleue, that in the Sacramēt vnder the formes of bread & wine, there is not the very substaūce of Christes body & bloud, but that there is onely the substaūce of materiall bread and wine, & that the same materiall bread & wyne be onely the signes and tokēs of Christes body and [Page 1603](#) bloud, and are to be receiued onely for a remembraunce of Christes passion and death, without any substaunce of Christes body and bloud at all.

To the fi•t Article they aunswere, that the true receiuyng and eatyng of Christes body,^{*} accordyng to Christes institution, is to take, distribute and eate materiall bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receiue by fayth (as they beleue) Christes body and bloud and not otherwise.

To the sixt they aunswere the same to bee true in euery part therof, except that ouer and besides the Gloria in excelsis, the Epistle and Gospell, which they beleue to bee good they beleue the Pater noster and Cre•de vse in the Masse be also good.

^{*}To the seuēth they aunswere and confesse, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to the Priest: neuerthesse they th•ncke that it is necessary to goe to such a Priest, as is able to geue good counsell. And that for counsell only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they answer the same to be vayne & vnprofitable. No seruice in the Church ought to be sayde, but onely in the English tong.

To the eight they answer and beleue the same to bee true in euery part thereof, except that they doe not beleue that they be heretikes, or suspected of heresie.

To the ninth, Osmund and Bamford aunswered, that they referred themselues to the sayd lawes, mentioned in that article, but Chamberlaine made no aunswer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the sayd Osmond and Bamford answered and sayd, that by reason of their beliefe afore by them confessed, they are not to bee reputed, taken or iudged for wilfull and obstinate heretikes, nor to be punished therefore, as is declared in that article. The other aunswered nothyng.

¶**Scholies vpon the foresayd articles.**

THEse articles in the same forme & maner of words are commonly objected to all other that follow after,* with the same aunsweres also thereto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note (Reader) the crafty and subtile handlyng of these Lawyers and Registers, who so deceitfully frame theyr articles and positions, that vnlesse a man doe aduisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to aunswer to them, but he shall be snared and intangled. So they paynt their Church with such a visage of vniuersall, whole, holy, catholike, as who should saye: Hee that denieth Rome, denieth the holye Church of Christ here in earth. Likewyse in examinyng them, and specially the simple sorte in the matter of the Sacrament, to the materiall breade in the Sacrament, they put this worde (onely) very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst auauntage, makyng the people beleue that they take the holy Sacrament to bee no better then onely common bread* when they doe not so, but make a difference betweene the same, both in the vse, honour, & name thereof.

Agayne, when the Examinates hold but only agaynst the erroneous poyntes of Romish Religion, these bishops in theyr Interrogatories geue out the matter so generally as thogh the said Examinates in generally spake against all the articles of fayth taught in Rome, Spayne, England, Fraunce, Scotland. &c.

Moreouer, concernyng Latin seruice, in such crafty forme of words, they propound their article, that it might appeare to the people, these men do deny any seruice to be lawfull in any place, cuntry, or language, but onely in English.

And as these articles are crafty, captiously and deceitfully in forme of words deuised by the bishops and their Notaries, so the aunswers agayne to the same, be no lesse subtilly framed, & after the most odious manner put downe in the name of the Examinates, which beyng read vnto them, thus without further aduise they were constraigned vpon a sodaine to subscribe the same with their hands. Wherby if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerably subscribed: there the Papists take their aduantage agaynst them, to defame them and to bryng them into hatred with the people.

These Articles thus propounded and aunswered, they were vntil the after none dismissed. At what tyme they did agayne appeare, and there were examined and trauayled with by fayre and flattering speaches, as well of the Bish. as of others his assistance, to recant and reuoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remayned constant & firme, and therefore after the common

vsage of their Ecclesiasticall lawes,*were sent away agayne vntill the next day beyng Saturday, and the xvij. day of May. Then in the fore noone the Bishop vsing his accustomed maner of proceeding: which he hath vsed before as well with them as w^t others, did likewyse dismisse them, and at last in the after noone condemned them as heretikes,*and so deliuered thē to the Shirifes, in whose custodie they remayned vntill they were deliuered to the shiriffe of Essex, & by hym were executed, Chamberlayne at Colchester, the 14. of Iune, Thomas Osmund at Maningtree, the 15. of Iune, & William Bamford, aliâs Butler, at Harwich, the same 15. day in the month of Iune.

¶The history of the worthy Martyr and seruauent of God, M. Iohn Bradford, with his lyfe and actes, and sundry conflicts, with his aduersaries, and Martyrdome, at length most constantly suffered for the testimony of Christ and hys truth.

AS touching first the country and education of Iohn Bradford,* he was borne at Manchester in Lancastershire. His parents did bring hym vp in learnyng from his infancie, vntill he attained such knowledge in the Latin tong, and skill in writing, that he was able to gaine his own liuyng in some honest condition.* Then he became seruauent to sir Iohn Harington knight, who in the great affaires of K. Henry the 8. and K. Edward the 6. which he had in hand when he was Treasurer of the kings campes & buildyng, at diuers times in Bullonois, had such experiēce of Bradfords actiuitie in writyng, of expertnes in the arte of Auditors, and also of his faythfull trustines,* that not onely in those affaires, but in many other of his priuate busines he trusted Bradford, in such sort that aboue all other he vsed his faythfull seruice.

Thus continued Bradford certayne yeares in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, lyke to come forward (as they say) if his mynde could so haue liked, or had ben giuē to the world as many other be. But the Lord which had elected him vnto a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospell of Christ in that houre of grace which in his secret counsell he had appointed, called this his chosen chyld to the vnderstandyng and pertakyng of the same Gospell of lyfe. In which call, he was so truely taught, that forthwith his effectuall call was perceyued by the frutes. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affaires & forwardnes in worldly welth,* and after the iust accompt geuen to his Maister of all hys doyngs, he departed from hym, and with meruailous fauour to further the kyngdome of God by the ministry of his holy word,* he gaue himselfe wholly to the studye of the holy scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporall law is studied, and went to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, to learne by Gods law how to further the building of the Lordes Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conuersation so pleased all men, that within one whole yeare after that he had bene there, the Uniuersitie did geue hym the degree of a M. of Arte.

Immediately after the Maister and fellowes of Penbroke hal did geue him a felowship in their Colledge with them: yea that man of God Martin Bucer so lyked him,* that he had him not onely most deare vnto him, but also often tymes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford aunswered alwayes, that he was vnable to serue in that office through want of learnyng. To the whiche Bucer was wont to reply, saying: If thou haue not fine manchet bread yet geue the poore people barly bread,* or whatsoever els the Lord hath committed vnto thee. And whiles Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Doctour Ridley that worthy

Byshop of Lōdon and glorious Martyr of Christ, accordyng to the order that then was in the Church of England called hym to take the degree of Deacon.* Which order because it was not without some such abuse as to the whiche Bradford would not consent, the Byshop yet perceauyng that Bradford was willing to enter into y^e ministry, was content to order him Deacon without any abuse, euen as he desired. This beyng done, he obteyned for him a licence to preache, and did geue him a Prebend in his Cathedrall Church of Saint Paules.

In this preaching office by the space of three yeaes, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he labored, many partes of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reprobued sinne, sweetely he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errorrs, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed yong King Edward the sixt, when Queene Mary had gotten the crowne, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching [Page 1604](#) vntil he was vniustly depriued both of his office & libertie by the Queene and her Councell. To the doying whereof, because they had no iust cause, they tooke occasiō to do this iniurie for such an acte, as among Turkes and Infidels would haue bene with thankfulnes rewarded,* and with great fauour accepted, as in deed it did no lesse deserue.

The fact was this. The xiiij. day of August, in the first yere of the raigne of Queene Mary, M. Bourne then B. of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paules crosse in Lōdon, as partly is declared before, pag. to set popery abroch, in such sort that it mooued the people to no small indignation, beyng almost ready to pull hym out of the pulpit. Neither could the reuerence of the place, nor the presence of the B. Boner, who then was his maister, nor yet the commandement of the Maior of London, whō the people ought to haue obeied, stay their rage: but the more they spake, the more the people were incēsed. At length Bourn seyng the people in such a moode, and himselfe in such peril (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurlyng of a drawen dagger at hym as he stode in the pulpit) and that he was put from endyng his sermon, fearing least against his will, hee should there ende his wretched lyfe, desired Bradford who stood in y^e pulpit behynd him, to come forth and to stande in his place and speake to the people.* Good Bradford at his request was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whome as soone as the people saw to beginne to speake vnto them, so glad they were to heare him, that they cried with a great shout: Bradford, Bradford, God saue thy life Bradford: well declaring not only what affectiō they bare vnto him, but also what regard they gaue to his words. For after that he had entred a little to preach vnto them,* and to exhort them to quiet & pacience, eftsoones all the raging ceased, and they in the end quietly departed ech man to his house. Yet in the meane season (for it was a long tyme before that so great a multitude could all depart) Bourne thought (and truely) himselfe not yet full sure of his lyfe till he were safely housed, notwithstanding, that the Maior & Shirifes of London were there at hand to helpe him. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till hee were in safetie:* which Bradford according to his promise performed. For while the Maior and Shiriffes did leade Bourne to the Scholemaisters house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his backe, shadowyng him from the people with his gowne, and so to set him safe.

Let the Reader now consider the peril of Bourne, the charitie of Bradford, and the headines of the multitude, & also the grudging myndes of certaine, which yet still there remayned behind, greeued not a little theyr mindes, to see that so good a man should saue y^e life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly rayling against K. Edward. Among whō, one gentlemā sayd these words:

Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou sauest him y^t wil help to burne thee. I geue thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) t• him through with my sword. Thus Bourne for that tyme, through Bradfordes meanes escaped bodily death: but God hath his iudgement to be shewed in the tyme appoynted.*

The same sonday in the after noone Bradford preached at the Bow church in Cheapside, and reprov'd the people sharply for theyr seditious misdemeanor. After this he did abide still in London with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his iust doing.

Within three daies after he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the Queene then was, to appeare there before the counsell. There was he charged with this act of sauing of Bourne, which act they there called seditious, & also objected agaynst him for preaching, and so by them he was cōmitted first to the Tower, then vnto other prisons, out of the which neither his innocency, godlines, nor charitable dealing could purchase him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffred for Christes cause) he obteyned the heauenly liberty, of which neither Pope nor papist shall euer depriue him. From the Tower he came to the kinges Benche in Southwarke: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Counter in the Poultry in London: in the which two places for the time he did remayne prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, vnlesse sicknes hindered him: where also the sacrament was often ministred, & thorow his meanes (the keepers so well did beare with him) such resort of good folkes was dayly to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chāber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading & praying was all his whole life. He did not eate aboue one meale a day: which was but very little when he took it: & his continuall study was vpon his knees. In the midst of dinner he vsed often to muse with himselfe, hauyng his hat ouer his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of teares droppng on his trencher. Uery gentle her was <◇> man and childe, and in so good credite with his keeper, y^t at is desire,* in an euening (beyng prisoner in the kinges Bench in Soutwarke) he had licence vpō hys promise to returne agayne that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visite one that was sicke, lying by the Stilyard. Neither did he fayle his promise, but returned vnto his prison againe, rather preuenting his houre, then breaking his fidelitie: so constant was he in word in deede.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slēder, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, w^t an Awburne beard. He slept not commonly aboue foure houres in the night: & in his bedde till sleep came, his booke went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but onely in honest company, & comely talke, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the bourde, and so to prayer and his booke agayne. He counted that houre not well spent, wherein he did not some good,* either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others. &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate y^t he had to hys fellowe prisoners. And commonly once a weeke he visited the theeues, pickpurses, and such others that were with him in the prison where he lay, on the other side: vnto whō he would geue godly exhortation to learne the amendment of their liues by their troubles, and after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to theyr comfort.

By the way this I thought not to conceale. While he was in the kinges Bench,* and Mayster Saunders in the Marshalsey, both prisoners, on the backside of those two prisons they mette many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lorde worke for

them, euen in the middest of theyr troubles: and the sayde Bradford was so trusted with his keeper,* and had such libertie in the backside, that there was no day but that he might haue easily escaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had an other worke to doe for him. In the sommer tyme while he was in the sayd Kinges Benche, he had libertie of his keeper, to ryde into Oxfordshyre, to a Marchauntes house of his acquayntaunce, and horse and all thinges prepared for him for that iourney, and the partie in a readines that should ride with him: but God preuented him by sicknes that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintaunce came vnto him whilest he was prisoner, and asked hym, if he sited to get hym out, what then he would do, or whether he would go? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he said hee would marry,* and abyde still in England secretly, teaching the people as the tyme would suffer him, and occupy himselfe that way. He was had in so great reuerence and admiration wyth all good men, that a multitude which neuer knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea,* and a number also of the Papistes themselues, wished hartily hys lyfe. There were fewe dayes in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed,* neyther was there euer any prisoner with hym, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witnes, and haue confessed of hym no lesse, to the glory of God, whose societie he frequented, as among many, one speciall thyng I thought to note, which is this.

Bishop Farrer beyng in the kynges Bench prisoner, as before you haue hard, was trauailed withall of the Papists in the end of Lent, to receiue the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who after much perswading, yelded to them,* and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by gods prouidence) the Easter euen, the day before hee should haue done it, was Bradford brought to the Kings Benche prisoner, where the Lord making him his instrument▪ Bradford only was the meane that the said B. Farrer reuoked his promise and word, and would neuer after yeeld to bee spotted with that papisticall pitch: so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy seruauant of his. Such an instrument was he in gods church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious iewell and Gods true messenger.*

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was the saterday night, he was sore troubled diuers tymes in his sleepe by dreams, how the chaine for his burning was brought to the Counter gate, and how the next day beyng Sonday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as in deed it came to passe accordingly, which hereafter shalbe shewed. Now he beyng vexed so often tymes in this sort with these dreames, about 3. of the clocke in the morning, hee waked hym that lay with hym, and told him his vnquiet sleepe, & what he was troubled withall. Then after a little talke, Maister Bradford rose out of the bed, and gaue hymselfe to his olde [Page 1605](#) exercise of readyng and prayer, as alwayes he had vsed before: and at dinner according to his accustomed maner, he did eat his meat, and was very mery, no body being with hym from mornynge till night, but he that lay with hym, with whom he had many tymes on that day communication of death, of the kingdome of heauen, and of the ripenes of sinne in that tyme.

In the after noone they two walking together in the keepers chamber, sodainly the keepers wife came vp, as one halfe amazed,* & seeming much troubled, beyng almost wyndles said: Oh M. Bradford, I come to bring you heauy newes. What is that said he? Marry quoth she, to morow

you must be burned, & your chaine is now a buying, & soone you must go to Newgate. With that M. Bradford put of his cap, and lifting vp his eyes to heauen, sayd: I thanke God for it: I haue looked for the same a long time, and therefore it commeth not now to me sodainly, but as a thing waited for euery day and houre, the Lord make me worthy therof: & so thanking her for her gentlenes, departed vp into his chamber, and called his friend with hym, who when he came thither, he went secretly himselfe alone a long tyme and prayed. Which done, he came agayne to him that was in his chamber, and tooke him diuers writings and papers, & shewed him his mind in those things what he would haue done, and after they had spent the after noone till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him halfe a dosen of his friends more, with whom all the euening he spent the tyme in prayer and other good exercises, so wonderfully, that it was meruailous to heare and see his doyngs.

A little before he went out of the Counter, hee made a notable prayer of his farewell,* with such plenty of teares, and abundant spirit of praier, that it rauished the myndes of the hearers. Also, when he shifted himself with a cleane shirt that was made for his burning (by one M. Walter Marlars wyfe, who was a good nurse vnto him, & his very good friend) he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some of those that were present, were in suche great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on hym, as their eares gaue place to heare his prayer.* At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewyse a prayer, and gaue money to euery seruaunt and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to feare and serue God, continually labouring to eschew all maner of euill. That done, he turned him to the wall and praied vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vayne, but that the Lord would worke the same in them effectually,* for his Christes sake. Then beyng beneath in the Court, all the prisoners cried out to him and bid him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before with weping teares.

The time they caried him to Newgate, was about xj. or xij. a clocke in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: and yet contrary to their expectation in that behalfe,* was there in Chepeside & other places (betweene the Counter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitifull teares, and he againe as gently bade them fare wel, praying most hartily for them & their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandement from the Queene and her counsaile, or from Boner and his adherentes, or whether it were merily deuised of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, & Shiriffes of London, or no, I cannot tell: but a great noyse there was ouer night about the city by diuers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by 4. of the clocke in the mornyn,* before it should be greatly knowen to any. In which rumor many heads had diuers myndes: some thinking the feare of the people to bee the cause thereof. Other thought nay, that it was rather because the Papists iudged, his death would conuert many to the truth, and geue a great ouerthrowe to their kingdō. So some thought one thyng, and some another, that no iust coniecture of the cause could bee knowen that euer I heard yet. But this was certayne, the people preuented the deuise suspected: for the next day, at the said hower of 4. a clocke in the mornyn, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women,* that many beyng in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could haue warning of his death, being so great a number in so short tyme, vnlesse it were by the singular prouidence of almighty God.

Well, this tooke not effect as the people thought: for that mornynge it was ix. a clocke of the day, before Maister Bradford was brought into Smithfield: which in goyng thorow Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whō he loued, standyng on the one side the way to the Keepers houseward, vnto whom he reached his hand ouer the people, and pluckt him to hym, and deliuered to him from his hed, his veluet night cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. Which after a little secret talke with hym, and ech of them parting frō other, immediately came to him a brother in lawe of hys, called Roger Beswike, which as soone as he had taken the sayde Bradford by the hand, one of the Shiriffes of London called Woodroft, came with his staffe and brake the sayd Rogers head, that the bloud ran about his shoulders. Which sight Bradford beholdyng with griefe, bade his brother farewell, willyng to commend hym to his mother, and the rest of his frends and to get hym to some Surgeon betymes: and so they departing, had little or no talke at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct hym thither, as the lyke was not seene at no mans burning: for in euery corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those which stood about the stake. Bradford then beyng come to the place, fell flatte to the ground, secretly making his prayers to almighty god. Then rising agayne, and putting of his clothes vnto hys shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of xx. yeares of age, ioyfully and constantly, whose name was Iohn Leafe. Touchyng the order and maner of whose burnyng, more shal be sayd (God willyng) hereafter. In the meane tyme, we will now shewe foorth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences betwene hym and other hys aduersaries, duryng the tyme of his imprisonment, which was in all, two yeares lacking one moneth and a halfe. Which examinations here follow to be declared.

It was before a little aboue declared, that Ioh. Bradford within three dayes after the Sermon of M. Bourne, was by the Counsaile committed to the Tower, where he remayned from the moneth of August, an. 1553. to the 22. day of Ianuary, an. 1555. vpon which day he was called out to examination before Ste. Winchester and other of the Commissioners. The effect of which examination and communication which passed betwene him & them, proceded in maner as followeth.

¶The effect of the communication betweene Iohn Bradford and the Lord Chauncellour, and other in Commission with him, the xxij. of Ianuary. Anno. 1555.

After the L. Chancellor and the residue of the Queens Counsaile in Commission with him, had ended there talke with M. Farrer late Bish. of S. Davids, the vnder marshall of the kings Bench was commaunded to bring in Iohn Bradford: who beyng come into the presence of the counsaile sittynge at a table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediately by the L. Chancellor was bidden to stād vp, and so he did.

When he was risen, the L. Chauncellor earnestly looked vpon him, to haue (belike) ouerfaced him: but he gaue no place, that is, he ceased not in like maner to looke on the L. Chauncellor still continually, saue that once he cast vp his eyes to heauenward, sighing for gods grace, and so ouerfaced hym.

L. Chauncellor.

Then the L. Chauncellor as it were amased, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect: [*](#) that of long tyme he had bene imprisoned iustly for his seditious behaiour at Paules crosse, the xiiij. of August. an. 1553. for his false preachyng and arrogancie, takyng vpon hym to preache without authoritie. But now (quoth he) the tyme of mercy is come, and therefore the Queenes highnesse mynding to offer vnto you mercye, hath by vs sent for you, to declare and geue the same, if so be you wyll with vs returne: and if you wil do as we haue done, you shall find as we haue found, I warraunt you. This was the summe of his wordes, and in maner the same wordes which he spake.

Brad.

To these wordes Iohn Bradford spake (after reuerend obeisance made) in this maner. [*](#) My Lord & Lordes all, I confesse that I haue bene long imprisoned, & (wyth humble reuerence be it spokē) vniustly, for that I dyd nothing seditiously, falsly, or arrogantly, in worde or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietnes, as an obedient & faythfull subiect, both in goyng about to saue the Bish. of Bathe now, then M. Bourne, the preacher at the Crosse, and in preachyng for quietnes accordingly.

L. Chaunc.

At these words, [*](#) or rather before he had fully finished, the sayd L. Chauncellor somethyng snuffed, and spake with an admiration, that there was a loud lye: for (quoth he) the fact was seditious, as you my L. of London can beare witnes.

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Boner.

[*](#) You say true my Lord: I saw him with mine own eyes, when he tooke vpon him to rule and leade the people malaparty, thereby declaring that he was the authour of the sedition.

Brad.

My Lordes, notwithstanding my Lord Byshope seing and saying, [*](#) yet the truth I haue told, as one day my Lord God almighty shall reueale to al the world, whē we shall all come & appeare before him: In the meane season, because I can not be beleued of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayinges be, what so euer God shall licence you to do vnto me.

L. Chaunc.

I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shewes thou makest: [*](#) but all is lyes thou speakest. And agayne, I haue not forgotten howe stubborne thou wast when thou wast before vs in the Tower, wherupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion, I haue not forgotten thy behaiour and talke, wherthrough worthelye thou hast bene kept in prison, as one that woulde haue done more hurt then I will speake of.

Brad.

My Lord, as I said, I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now you will not so take it. Yea my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath M. Bourne will witnesse with me, that I sought his safegarde with the perill of mine owne life, I thanke God therfore.

Boner.

That is not true: for I my selfe did see thee take vpon thee too much,*

Brad.

No, I tooke nothing vpon me vndesired, and that of Mayster Bourne himselfe, as if he were here present, I dare say he would affirme. For he desired me both to helpe him to pacifye the people, and also not to leaue him tyll he was in safety. And as for my behauour in the Tower, and talke before your honours, if I did or sayde any thing that did not beseeme me,* if your Lordships would tell me wherin it was, I should and would shortly make you answere.

Chaunc.

Well, to leaue this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou returne againe, and do as we haue done, & thou shalt receiue the Queenes mercy and pardon?

Brad.

My Lorde, I desire mercye with Gods mercy, but mercy with Gods wrath, God keepe me from: Although (I thanke God therfore) my cōscience doth not accuse me, that I did speake any thing wherfore I should need to receiue the Queenes mercy or pardon. For all that euer I did or spake, was both agreyng to Gods Lawes, amd the lawes of the Realme at that present, and did make muche to quietnes.

Chaunc.

Well, if thou make this babling, rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant & vainglorious, and wilt not receiue mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the Queene is minded to make a * purgation of all such as thou art.

Brad.

The Lorde before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what vaynglory I haue sought, and seek in this behalfe: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the Queenes fauour, to liue as a subiecte without clog of conscience. But otherwise the Lordes mercye is better to me then life. And I know to whom I haue committed my life, euen into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it bee his pleasure. There are xij. houres in the day, and as

long as they last, so long shal no man haue power theron. Therefore his good will be done: life in his displeasure is worse then death, and death in his true fauor, is true life.

Chaunc.

I know well enough that we shal haue glorious talke enough of thee: be sure therfore, that as thou hast deceiued the people with false and deuilish doctrine, so shalt thou receiue.

Brad.

I haue not deceiued the people, nor taughte any other doctrine, then by Gods grace I am, and hope shall be ready to confirme with my life.* And as for the deuilishnes and falsenes in the doctrine, I would be sory you coulde so proue it.

Dures.

Why, tell me what you say by the ministration of y^e Communion, as now you know i[•] is?

Brad.

My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship and of all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now beginne. I haue bene sixe times sworne that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any iurisdiction,* or any authoritye on the Bishoppe of Romes behalfe within this Realme of Englande. Nowe before God I humblye pray your honours to tell me whether you aske me thys question by his authority, or no? If you doe, I dare not, nor may aunswere you any thing in his authority, whiche you shall demaund of me, except I woulde be forsworne, which God forbid.

Sec. Bourn.

Hast thou bene sworne sixe times? what office hast thou borne?

Brad.

For sooth I was thrise sworne in Cambridge, when I was admitted Mayster of Arte, when I was admitted fellow of Penbroke hall, & when I was there, the Uisitors came thither, and sware the Uniuersitye. Agayne,* I was sworne when I entred into the Ministerye, when I had a Prebend geuen me, and when I was sworne to serue the king a litle before his death.

Chaunc.

Tush,* Herodes othes a man should make no cōscience at.

Brad.

But my Lord, these were no Herodes othes no vnlawfull othes, but othes according to Gods word, as you your selfe haue well affirmed in your booke De vera obedientia.*

M. Roch.

My Lordes (quoth an other of the Counsell that stode by the table,* Mayster Rochester I weene) I neuer knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not bene good that this man had bene abroad,) What the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not: but I now wel know that not without a cause he was and is to be kept in prison.

Bourne.

Yea it was reported this Parliament time by the Earle of Darbye, that he hath done more hurt by Letters,* and exhorting those that haue come to him, in Religion, then euer he did whē he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calleth that whiche is not according to that he taught) and most hartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue styll in that they haue receyued by hym,* and suche lyke as he is. All which wordes diuers of the Coūsell affirmed. Wherunto the sayde M. Bourne added, saying: how saye you sir, haue you not thus seditiously writtē and exhorted the people?

Brad.

I haue not written, nor spoken any thing seditiously neither (I thanke God therfore) haue I admitted any sedious cogitation, nor I trust neuer shall do.

Bourne.

Yea, but thou hast written letters.

Chaunc.

Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he sayth?

Brad.

That I haue written, I haue written.

South.

Lord God,* what an arrogant and stubborne boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaueth himselfe be'fore the Queenes Counsel? Wherat one looked vpon an other with disdaynfull countenaunces.

Brad.

My Lordes and Maysters, the Lord God which is, and will be iudge to vs all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his maiesty: so with reuerence in hys sight I stand before you, & vnto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behaue my selfe. Yf you otherwyse take it, I doubt not but God in his time wil reueale it. In the meane season I shall suffer with all due obediēce your sayinges and doynge too, I hope.

Chaunc.

These be gay glorious woordes of reuerence: but as in all other thinges,* so herein also thou doest nothyng but lye.

Brad.

Well, I would God the author of truth, and abhorrer of lyes would pull my tong out of my head before you all, and shew a terrible iudgement on me here present, if I haue purposed, or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoeuer you shall aske me.

Chaunc.

Why thē doest thou not answere? Hast thou written such letters as here is objected agaynst thee?

Brad.

As I sayde, my Lorde, that I haue written, I haue written, I stand now before you, which eyther can lay my Letters to my charge or no:* if you laye anye thing to my charge that I haue written, if I deny it, I am then a lyer.

Chaunc.

We shall neuer haue done with thee, I perceiue now: be short, be short, wilt thou haue mercy?

Brad.

I pray God geue me his mercy, and if therwith you will extende yours, I will not refuse it, but otherwise I will none.

Here now was much adoe, one speaking this, and an other that of his arrogancy, in refusing the Queenes pardon, whiche shee so louingly did offer vnto him: whereto Bradford answered thus.

Brad.

My Lordes, if I may liue as a quiet Subiect without clog of conscience,* I shall hartily thanke you for your pardon: if otherwise I behaue my selfe, then I am in danger of the law: in the meane season I aske no more, but the benefite of a Subiect, till I be conuincd of transgression. I• I can not haue this, as hitherto I haue not had, Gods good will be done.

Chaunc.

Uppon these wordes my Lorde Chauncelloure beganne a long processe of the false doctrine wherwith the people were deceiued in the dayes of Kyng Edward,* and so turned the ende of his talke to Bradford, saying: Howe sayest thou?

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Brad.

My Lorde, the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was Gods pure Religion, the which as I then beleued, so do I now more beleue it then euer I did, & therin I am more confirmed and readye to declare it by Gods grace,* euen as he will, to the worlde, then I was when I first came into prison.

Dures.

What religion meane you in king Edwards daies? What yeare of his raigne?

Brad.

Forsooth euen the same yeare (my Lord) that the king dyed, & I was a Preacher. Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wote not what.

Chaunc.

Nowe after a litle pausing, my Lorde Chauncellour beginneth agayne to declare,* that the doctrine taught in king Edwardes dayes, was heresy, vsing for probation & demonstration thereof, no scripture nor reason, but this: that it ended with treason and rebellion, so that (quoth he) the very end were enough to improue that doctrine to bee nought.

Brad.

Ah my Lord, that you could enter into Gods Sanctuary, and marke the end of this presēt doctrine that you now so magnify.

Chaunc.

What meanest thou by that? I weene wee shall haue a snatch of rebellion euen now.

Brad.

My Lord. I meane no such ende as you woulde gather: I meane an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into Gods Sanctuary. If a man looke on present thinges, he will soone deceiue himselfe.

*Here nowe did my Lorde Chauncellour offer agayne mercy, and Bradforde aunswered, as before: Mercy wyth Gods mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he woulde none. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour did ryng a litle bell, belike to call in some body, for there was present none in maner, but onely those before named, and the Byshoppe of Worcester. Nowe when one was come in: it is best (quoth Mayster Secretary Bourne) that you geue the keper a charge of this fellowe. So was the vnder Marshall called in.

Chaunc.

*Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conferēce with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any Letters. &c. for he is of an other maner of charge vnto you now, then he was before. And so they departed, Bradforde looking as chearefully as any man coulde doe, declaring thereby euen a desire to geue his life for confirmation of that he hadde taught and written.

¶The effect of the second examination of Iohn Bradford in S. Mary Oueries Church, before the Lord Chauncellour, and diuers other Bishops, the 29. of Ianuary. 1555.

*After the excōmunication of Iohn Rogers, Ioh, Bradford was called in, and standing before the Lord Chaūcellor & other Bishops set with him, the said Lord Chauncellor spake thus in effect.

L. Chaunc.

Where before the xxij. of Ianuarye, the sayde Bradford was called before them (said he) and they offered vnto him the Queenes pardon, although he had contēned the same, and further sayd, that he would stiffely and stoutly maintein & defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the dayes of K. Edward the sixt: yet in consideration that the Queenes highnes was wōderfull mercifull, they thought good eftsoones to offer the same mercy agayn, before it were too late: therefore aduise you well (sayd he) there is yet space and grace before we so proceed, that you be committed to y^e•ecular power: as we must do and will doe, if you will not folow the example of mayster Barloe and mayster Cardmaker,* whome he there commended, adding Oratoriously amplifications to moue the sayd Bradford to yeld to the religion presently set forth.

Brad.

After the Lord Chauncellours long talke, Bradford began on this sort to speake: My Lord, and my Lordes all as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seate of the Lord, who (as Dauid doth witnesse) is in the congregations of Iudges, and sitteth in the midst of them iudging: and as you would your place to be now of vs taken as Gods place, so demonstrate your selues to folowe hym in your sitting, that is, seeke no guiltlesse bloud, nor hunt not by questions to bring into the snare, thē which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or giltles: if guilty, then proceed and geue sentence accordingly: if giltles, thē geue me the benefit of a subiect, which hytherto I could not haue.*

Chaunc.

Here the Lord Chauncellour replyed, and sayde, that the sayde Bradford began with a true sentence: Deus stetit in Synagoga. &c But (quoth he) this and al thy gesture declareth but hypocrisie and vayne glory. And further hee made much ado to purge hymselfe, that he sought no guiltles bloud, and so beganne a long processe how that Bradfordes fact at Paules Crosse was presumptuous, arrogāt, and declared a taking vpon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietnes, in that thou (speaking to Bradford) wast so pre•ract and stout in religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast bene kept in prison,* where thou hast written letters to no little hurte to the Queenes people, as by the report of the Earle of Darby in the Parliament house was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the sayd Bradford did stubbornly behaue hymselfe the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demaund of thee (quoth he) but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

Brad.

My Lord where you accuse me of hypocrisie & vaine glory, I must, and will leaue it to the Lordes declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth, and heartie meanings: in the meane season I will content my selfe with the testimonie of myne owne conscience, which if it yeld to hypocrisie, could not but haue God to be my foe also: and so both God and man were against me. As for my fact at Paules Crosse,* and behauiour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reueale it to my comfort. For if euer I did thyng, which God vsed to publike benefite, I thinke that my deed was one, and yet for it I haue bene and am kept of long tyme in prison. And as for letters and religion, I aunswer, as I did the last tyme I was before you.

Chaunc.

There diddest thou say stubbornly and malaper•ly,* that thou wouldst manly maintaine the erroneous doctrine in K. Edwards dayes.

Brad.

My Lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had sixe times taken an oth that I should neuer consent to the practising of any iurisdiction on the Bish. of Romes behalfe, and therefore durst I not aunswere to any thyng that should be demaunded so, least I should be forsworne, which God forbid. Howbeit, sauynge myne othe,* I sayde that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the dayes of K. Edward, then euer I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should bee, and thinke yet still I shall be found more ready to geue my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same.

Chaunc.

I remember well that thou madest such adoe about needles matter,* as though the othe against the Bish. of Rome were so great a matter. So others haue done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done, for thou pretendest a consciēce in it, which is nothyng els but meere hypocrisie.

Brad.

My conscience is knowne to the Lord: and whether I deale herein hipocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I said therfore then my Lord, so say I agayne now: that for feare lest I should be periured, I dare not make answere to any thing you shal demaund of me, if my answering should cōsent to the confirming or practising of any iurisdiction for the Bishop of Rome here in England.

L. Chaunc.

Why, diddest thou beginne to tell that wee are Dij and sit in Gods place, and now wilt thou not make vs an aunswere?

Brad.

My Lord, I sayd, you would haue your place taken of vs now, as Gods place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to folow God and his wayes at this present,* who seeth vs all, and well perceiueth, whether of cōscience I pretend this matter of the oth, or no.

L. Chaunc.

No, all men may well see thine hopocrisy, for if for thine othes sake thou diddest not answere, then wouldest thou not haue spokē as thou diddest, & haue answered me at the first: but now men well perceiue, that this is but a starting hole to hide thy selfe in, because thou darest not answere, & so wouldest escape, blinding the simple peoples eies, as though of conscience you did all you do.

Brad.

That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answere to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to laye for me mine othe. For I thoughte you woulde haue more wayed what I dyd speake, then you did: but when I perceiued you didde not consider it, but came to aske matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of Iurisdiction on the Byshoppe of Romes behalfe here in Englande, and so bee forsworne:* then of conscience and simplicitie I spake as I doe yet agayne speake, that I dare not for conscience sake answere you. And therefore I seeke no starting hoales▪ nor goe about to blinde the people as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me that you doe not aske me anye thing whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the Byshoppe of Romes Iurisdiction, aske mee wherein you will, and you shall here that I wyll aunswere [Page 1607](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1608](#) you as flatlye as euer any did that came before you. I am not afrayd of death, I thanke God: for I looke and haue looked for nothing els at your hands of lōg time, but I am afrayd when death commeth, I should haue matter to trouble my conscience by the guiltines of periury, & therfore do I answere as I do.

L. Chanc.

These be gay glorious wordes, full of hypocrisy and vayne glory, and yet doest thou not know that I sit here as Bishop of Winchester in mine owne Dioces, and therfore may do this which I do, and more too?

Brad.

My Lord, geue me leaue to aske you this question, that my cōscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here Coram Deo,* before God, all this audience beyng witnes, that you demaunde of me nothing whereby mine aunswering should consent to and confirme the practise of Iurisdiction for the Bishop of Rome here in England, & your honour shall heare me geue you as flat and as playn answeres briefly, to what so euer you shall demaūd me, as euer any did.

L. Chanc.

Here the Lord Chauncellour was wonderfully offended, and spake much, how that the Bishop of Romes authority needed no confirmation of Bradfordes aunswering, nor no suche as he was, and turned his talke to the people, how that Bradford folowed crafty couetous Marchauntes, which because they would lend no mony to their neighbors when they were in neede, woulde say that they had sworne oft that they woulde neuer lend any more mony, because theyr detters had so oft deceiued them. Euen so thou (quoth he to Bradford) doest at this present, to cast a myst in the peoples eyes, to bleare them with an heresye (which is greater and more hurtfull to the commō wealth then the other is) pretend thine othe, whereby the people might make a conscience, whereas they shoulde not. Why speakest thou not?

Brad.

My Lord, as I sayd, I say agayne: I dare not aunswere you for feare of periury, from which God defēd me: or els I could tell you that there is a difference betwene othes:* Some be according to fayth and charity, as the othe agaynst the Bishop of Rome, some be agaynst fayth & charity: as this: to deny by othe my helpe to my brother in his neede.

L. Chaunc.

Here my Lord Chancellor agayne was muche offended, still saying, that Bradford durst not aunswere and further made much ado to proue the othe agaynst the Byshop of Rome, that it was agaynst charity.

Brad.

But Bradford aunswered, that how so euer his honor tooke him, yet was he assured of his meaning, that no feare but the feare of periury made him vnwilling to aunswere. For as for my death my lord (quoth he) as I know there at 12. houres in the day, so with the Lord my time is appoynted. And when it shalbe his good time, then shall I depart hence: but in the meane season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworne my death. Into his handes I haue cōmitted it, and do: his good will be done. And sauing mine oth, I will aunswere you in this behalfe that the oth agaynst the Bishop of Rome was not, nor is not agaynst charity.

L. Chan.

How proue you that.

Brad.

Forsooth, I proue it thus.

¶**Argument.**

*Fe- Nothing is agaynst charity, whiche is with Goddes word, and not agaynst it.

sti- The othe agaynst the Bishop of Romes authoritye in England, is with Gods word, and not agaynst it:

no. Ergo, the othe against the Bishop of Romes authority in England is not agaynst charity.

L. Chanc.

Is it not agaynst Goddes worde that a manne should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his Realme?

Brad.

*No sauing still myne othe, it is not agaynst Gods word, but with it, being taken in suche sense, as it may bee well takē: that is, attributing to the kinges power the soueraignty in all his dominion.

L. Chanc.

I pray you, where finde you that?

Brad.

I finde it in manye places, but specially in the 13. to the Romanes, where S. Paule writeth: Euery soule to bee subiect to the superior power▪ but what power? Quae gladium gestat: The power verily which beareth the sword, which is not the spirituall, but the the temporall power. As Chrysost. full well noteth vpon the same place, which your honour knoweth better then I. He (Chrysostome I meane) there playnely sheweth that Bishops, Prophets, and Apostles are obedient to the temporall Magistrates.

L. Chaunc.

Here yet more the Lorde Chauncelloure was styrred, and sayd, how that Bradforde went about to deny all obedience to the Queene for his othe: and so (quoth he) this man would make Gods word a warrant of disobedience, for he will answere the queene on this sort, that whē she sayth,

now sweare to the Bishop of Rome, or obey his authority: No (will he say) for I am forsworne, & to make the Queene no Queene.

Brad.

No, I goe not about to denye all obedience to the Queenes highnesse, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demaunde it. For I was sworne to Kyng Edward, not simply, that is,* not onely concerning his owne person, but also concerning his successors, & therfore in denying to do the queenes request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient.

L. Chanc.

Yes that thou doest: and so he began to tel a long tale, how if a man should make an oth to pay to me an hūdred poundes by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forgeue the debt, the debter would say. No, you can not do it, for I am forsworne then.

Brad.

Here Bradford desired my Lord Chancellour not to trifle it, saying, that he wondred his honour would make solemne othes made to God, trifles in that sort: and make so great a matter concerning vowes (as they call it) made to the Bishop for Mariage of Priestes.

L. Chaunc.

At these wordes the Lorde Chauncellour was much offended, and sayd, he dyd not trifle: but (quoth hee) thou goest about to deny obedience to the Queene, which now requireth obedience to the Bishop of Rome.

Brad.

No, my Lorde, I doe not denye obedience to the queene, if you would discerne betwene Genus and Species.* Because I may not obey in this: Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet this notwithstanding, all his inheritāce is not let or sold: & so in this case all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch.

L. Chaunc.

I will none of these similitudes.

Brad.

I would not vse them, if that you went not about to perswade the people, that I meane that whiche I neuer meant: for I my selfe not onely meane obedience, but wyll geue ensample of all

most humble obedience, to y^e queenes highnesse, so long as she requireth not obedience agaynst God.

L. Chaunc.

No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man though he be sworne to the king that doth therefore breake his othe, if he afterwarde bee sworne to the French king and to the Emperour.

Brad.

It is true my lord: but the cases be not like. For here is an exception: thou shalt not sweare to y^e bishop of Rome at any time. If in like maner we were sworne: thou shalt not serue the Emperour. &c. you see there were some alteratiō and more doubt. But I beseech your honor remember what ye your selfe haue written, answering the obiections here agaynst in your booke De vera obedientia: Vincat modo diuini verbi veritas. i. Let Gods word and the reason therof beare the bell away.

L. Chaunc.

Here the Lorde Chauncelloure was throughly moued, and sayd still, how that Bradford had written seditious letters, and peruerted the people therby,* & did stoutly stand, as though he would defēd the erronious doctrine in king Edwardes tyme, against all men: and now (quoth he) he sayth, he dare not aunswere.

Brad.

I haue written no seditious letters. I haue not peruerted the people, but that which I haue writtē & spoken, that will I neuer deny, by Gods grace. And where your Lordshippe sayth, that I dare not aunswere you: that all men may know I am not afrayd, sauing myne othe, aske me what you will, and I will playnely make you answere by Gods grace, although I now see my life lyeth thereon. But Oh Lord, into thy handes I committe it: come what come wyll, onely sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace. Amen. Nowe aske what you will, and you shall see I am not afrayd,* by Gods grace flatly to answere.

L. Chaunc.

Well then, how say you to the blessed sacramēt? Doe you not beleue there Christ to be present concernyng his naturall body?

Brad.

My Lord, I do beleue that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word (corporally) I meane that Christ is there presēt corporally vnto fayth.*

L. Chaunc.

Unto fayth? we must haue many mo wordes to make it more playne.

Brad.

You shall so: but first geue me leaue to speake two wordes.

L. Chaunc.

Speake on.

Brad.

I haue bene now a yeare and almost three quarters in Prison, and of all this tyme you neuer questioned with me hereabout,* when I might haue spoken my conscience franckly without perill: but now haue you a law to hang vp and put to death, if a man answeere freely, & not to your [Page 1609](#) appetite: and so now you come to demaund this question. Ah my Lorde, Christ vsed not this way to bring men to fayth. No more did the Prophetes or Apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius the pope: Apostolos lego stetisse iudicandos,*sedisse iudicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit. &c. that is, I read, that the Apostles stode to be iudged, but I read not, that they sate to iudge. This shall be: that was. &c.

L. Chaunc.

Here the Lord Chauncellour was appalled, as it seemed, and sayde most gently, that hee vsed not thys meanes. It was not my doying (quoth he) although some there be, that thinke this to be the best way. For I for my part haue bene challenged for being too gentle oftentimes.* Which thing the Bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had bene euer to milde and too gentle.

Brad.

At which wordes Bradford spake thus. My Lorde, I pray you stretch out your gentlenes, that I may feele it, for hitherto I neuer felt it.

L. Chaunc.

As soone as euer he had spoken thus, the Lorde chancelor, belike, thinking that Bradford would haue had mercy and pardon, said, that with all his hart, not only he, but the Queenes highnes would stretch out mercy, if with them he would returne.

Brad.

*Returne my Lord? God saue me from that goyng backe: I meane it not so, but I meane, that I was three quarters of a yeare in the Tower: you forbad▪ me paper, pen, and ynke, and neuer in all that time, nor sithens did I feele any gentlenesse from you. I haue rather hytherto found, as I

looked for extremitie. And I thanke God that I perceiue nowe ye haue kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you woulde haue. Gods good will be done.

Here was now diuers telling my Lord it was dinner tyme. And so he rose vp, leauing Bradford speaking, and saying that in the after noone they would speak more with hym.* And so was he had into the Uestry, and was there al that day till darcke night, and so was conueyed agayne to prison.

In the meane tyme, about iiij. of the clocke the same after noone, a gentleman called Mayster Thomas Hussey of Lincolneshyre, which was once an Officer in the Duke of Northfolkes house, did come into the Reuestrye to enquire for one Stoning: and when it was aunswered hym by the vndermarshals officers of the Kinges Benche, that there was none such, hee entred into the house, and tooke acquayntance of Iohn Bradford saying,* that he would cōmon and speake with him the nexte morning for olde acquayntance.

The next morning about 7. of the clocke, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein Iohn Bradford dyd lye, and being with him, hee began a long Oration, how that of loue & olde acquayntāce he came vnto him to speak that whiche he woulde further vtter.* You did (sayd he) so wonderfully behaue your selfe before the Lord Chauncellour and other Bishops yesterday, that euen the veriest enemyes you haue, did see that they haue no matter agaynst you: & therefore I aduise you speaking (as though it came of his owne good will without making any other man priuy, or any other procuring hym, as he sayd) this day (for anone you shall be called before them again) to desire a time and men to conferre withal, so shall all men thinke a wonderfull wisdom, grauity and godlines in you: and by this meanes you shall escape present daūger, which els is nearer then you beware of. To this Iohn Bradford aunswered:* I neither can nor will make any such request. For thē shall I geue occasion to the people & to all other to thinke that I doubt of the Doctrine which I confesse: the whiche thing I do not for therof I am most assured, and therefore I will geue no such offence.

As they were thus talking, the chamber doore was vnlocked and Doctour Seton came in, who when hee sawe Mayster Hussey:* what Syr (quoth he) are you come before me? O Lord sayd Bradforde in his hart to God, goeth the matter thus? This man tolde me, no man knew of his comming: Lorde geue me grace to remember thy Lesson, Cauete ab hominibus illis.*Beware of those men. &c. Caste not your pearles before dogges: for I see these menne be come to hunt for matter, that the one may beare witnes with the other.

Seton.

*Doctour Seton after some by talke of Bradfordes age, of his country & such like, began a gay and long sermō of my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latimer, and M. Ridley, and howe they at Oxforde were not able to aunswere any thing at all: and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the Bishop of Duresme and others: al which talke tended to this end that Iohn Bradford should make the like sute, being in nothing to be cōpared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury.

Brad.

To this, Iohn Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Mayster Hussey.

Seton.

With this aunswere neither the Doctour nor Gentleman being cōtented, after many perswasions: M. Doctour sayd: I haue heard much good talke of you,* and euen yesternight a Gentleman made report of you at the Lorde Chaūcellors table, that ye were able to perswade as much as any that he knewe. And I (though I neuer hearde you preach, & to my knowledge neuer did I see you before yesterday) yet me thought your modesty was such, your behauior and talke so without malice and impacience, that I would be sory ye should do worse then my selfe. And I tell you further, I do perceiue my Lorde Chauncellour hath a fantasy towardses you: wherefore be not so obstinate but desire respite, and some learned man to conferre withall. &c.

Brad.

But Iohn Bradforde kept still one aunswere: I can not, nor I will not so offende the people. I doubt not,* but am most certayne of the doctrine I haue taught.

Seton.

Here Mayster Doctoure waxed hoate, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vayneglorious, and spake like a Prelate.

Brad.

But Bradforde aunswere, beware of iudgyng, least ye condemne your selfe. But styll Mayster Doctour Seton vrge him, shewing hym how mercifull my Lorde Chauncellour was, and how charitably they enterteyned hym.

Brad.

I neuer sawe any iustice, muche lesse loue,* I speake for my part (quoth Bradford) in my Lorde Chauncellor. Long haue I bene vniustly imprisoned, and handled in the same vncharitably, & now my Lord hath no iust matter agaynst me.

This talke serued not the Doctors purpose: wherefore he went frō matter to matter, frō this point to that poynt. Bradford still gaue him the hearing, and aunswered not: for he perceiued that they both did come but to fish for som such thinges as might make a shew that my Lord Chaūcellor had iustly kept him in prison.

When all theyr talke took no such effect as they would or looked for. Mayster Hussey asked Bradford:* will ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chauncellour should offer it publickely?

Brad.

Conference, if it had bene offered before the law had bene made, or if it were offered, so that I might be at liberty to conferre, and as sure, as he with whom I should conferre, then it were something: but els I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may geue more offēce, then do good. Howbeit, if my Lord shall make such an offer of his owne motion, I will not refuse to conferre with whom so euer he shall appoynt.

Mayster Doctour hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoeuer pleased him.*

Then Bradford perceiuing by them, that he shoulde shortly be called for, besought them both to geue him leaue to talke with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him: for (quoth he) otherwise I am helpelesse: and so they with much add departed. Then Bradford went to God & made his prayers, whiche the Lorde of his goodnesse dyd graciously accept in his need, praised therfore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Bradforde was lead to the foresayd church, and there taryed vncalled for, till eleuen of the clocke, that is, till Mayster Saunders was excommunicated.

***The effect and summe of the last examination of Iohn Bradford in the Church of S. Mary Oueries.**

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, Iohn Bradford was called in,* & beyng brought in before the Lord Chauncellour and other the Bishops there sitting, the Lord Chauncellour began to speake thus in effect: that Bradford being now eftsoones come before them would answere with modesty and humility,* and conforme himselfe to the Catholicke Church with them and so yet he might finde mercy, because they would be loth to vse extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the Lorde Chauncellor had ended his long Oration, Bradforde began to speake thus: As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the Maiesty and presence of God to followe him, which seeketh not to subuert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech euery one of you to do this day:* for that you know well enough that guiltles bloud wil cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordships to do as one that taketh vpon me to condemne you vtterly herein, but that ye might bee more admonished to do that which none doth so muche as [Page 1610](#) he should doe: For our nature is so much corrupt, that wee are very obliuio•s and forget•ull of God. Agayne, as yesterday I pretended mine othe and othes agaynst the Byshop of Rome, that I shoulde neuer con•ent to the practysing of anye iurisdiction for him or on his behalfe in the realme of England: so do I agayn this day, least I should be periured. And last of all, as yesterday the aunsweres I made were by protestation and sauing mine othe, so I would your honors should knowe that mine aunsweres shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltines of periury.

L. Chaunc.

At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour was wroth,* and sayd, that they had geuen him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errours of the blessed Sacrament, which yesterday (quoth he) before vs you vttered.

Brad.

My Lord you gaue me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speake anye thing of the Sacrament which you did disalow. For when I had declared a presēce of Christ to be there to fayth, you went frō that matter to purge your selfe that you were not cruell, and so went to dynner.

L. Chaunc.

What? I perceiue we must beginne all agayne with thee.* Did not I yesterday tell thee playnely that thou mad•st a cōscience where none should be? Did not I make it playne that the oth against the Bishop of Rome was an •••awfull oth?

Brad.

No in deed my Lord: You sayd so, but you proued it not yet, nor neuer can do.

L. Chaunc

Oh Lord God, what a felowe art thou? Thou wouldest go about to bring into the peoples heades, that we, all the Lordes of the parliament house, the Knyghtes and Burgesses, and all the whole realme be periured. Oh what an heresy is this? here good people you may see what a senceles heretick this fellow is. If I should make an oth I would neuer help my brother nor lend him mony in his need,* were this a good aunswere to tell my neighbour desiring my helpe, that I had made an oth to the contrary, O that I could not do it?

Brad.

*Oh my Lord, discerne betwixt othes, that be against charity and fayth, and othes that be according to fayth and charity, as this is agaynst the byshop of Rome.

Chaun.

Here the Lord Chauncellor made much ado, and a long time was spēt about othes, which were good & which were euill, he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct aunswere concerning othes: which Bradford woulde not geue simply, but with a distinction. Wherat the Chauncellor was much offended: but Bradforde still kept him at the bay, that the oth agaynst the Bishop of Rome was a lawful oth, vsing thereto the Lord Chauncellors owne booke, de vera Obedientia, for confirmation.

At the length they came to this issue, who shoulde bee Iudge of the lawfulness of the othe:*, and Bradford sayd the word of God, according to Christs word. Ioh. 12. My word shall iudge, and according to the testimony of Esay and Mithe, that Goddes worde comming out of Ierusalem, shall geue sentence among the Gentiles. By this word (quoth Bradford) my Lord, I will proue the othe agaynst the byshop of Romes authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawfull othe. So that the

Lord Chauncellor left his holde, and as the other day he pretended a deniall of the queenes authority and obedience to her highnes, so did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proued that obediēce in this poynt to the Queenes highnesse, if she should demaund an othe to the Bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a * generall deniall of her authority and of obedience to her: no more (quoth he) thē the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a mans inheritaunce proueth it a sale, gift or lease of the whole inheritaunce.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: The Lord Chauncellour talking much and vsing many examples of debt, of going out of the Towne to morow by oth, and yet tarying till Friday and suche like. Whiche trifling talke Bradford did touch saying: that it was a wonder his honor weyed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vowes of Priestes Mariages made to bishops, and be careles for solemne othes made to God,* & to Princes. Summa, this was the end. The Lord Chauncellor sayd, the Queene might dispense with it, and didde so to all the whole Realme. But Bradford sayd, that the queenes highnes could do no more but remitte her right: as for the othe made to God, she could neuer remit, forasmuch as it was made vnto God.

L. Chaunc.

At which wordes the Lord Chauncellour chaded wonderfully, and sayd that in playne sence I sclaundered the Realme of periury: And therefore (quoth he to the people) you may see how thys felow taketh vpon him, to haue more knowledge and conscience,* then all the wise mē of England, and yet he hath no conscience at all.

Brad.

Well my Lorde, let all the standers by see who hath conscience. I haue bene a yere and an halfe in prison. Now before al this people, declare wherfore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You sayd y^e other day in your owne house, my Lord of London witnessing with you, that I tooke vpon me to speake to the people vndesired. There he sitteth by you, I meane my Lorde of Bathe, which desired me himselfe for the passiō of Christ,* I would speake to the people. Upon whose words, I commyng into the Pulpite, had like to haue bene slayne with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I thinke) for it touched my sleeue. He then prayd me I would not leaue him, & I promised him as lōg as I liued, I would take hurt before him that day, and so went out of the pulpit, and entreated with the people, & at length brought him my selfe into an house.

Besides this, in the afternoone I preached in Bowe church, and there going vp into the Pulpit, one willed me not to reprove y^e people,* for (quoth he) you shal neuer come downe aliue, if you doe it. And yet notwithstanding I dyd in that Sermon reprove theyr fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doynge, I haue receiued this recompence, prison a yere and an halfe and more, and death now which you go about. Let all men be iudge where conscience is.

In speaking of these wordes, there was endeuour to haue letted it: but Bradford still spake on, & gaue no place till he had made an end, speake what they would. And thē the Lord Chauncellour sayd, that for all that fayre tale, his fact at the Crosse was nought.

Brad.

No, my facte was good,* as you your selfe did beare witnesse with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you your selfe dydde say that my facte was good, but (quoth you) thy mind was euill. Well (quoth I) then my Lord, in that you alow the fact and condemne my minde, for as muche as otherwise I canne not declare my minde to man, but by saying and doing, God one daye I trust will open it, to my comfort, what my mind was, and what yours is.

L. Chaun.

Here the Lord Chauncellour was offended,* and sayd, that he neuer sayd so. I (quoth he) had not so litle wit I trow, as not to discerne betwixt meaning & doing: And so brought forth litle to y^e purpose, many exāples to proue that men construe thinges by the meaning of men and not by theyr doinges. But when this woulde not serue, the• commeth he to an other matter, & sayd that Bradford was put in prison at the first, because he would not yeld nor be conformable to the Queenes Religion.

Brad.

Why my Lord, your honor knoweth, that you would not thē reason with me in religion, but sayd, a time should afterwards be found out, whē I should be talked withall. But if it were as your Lordship sayeth, that I was put in prison for religion? in that my religiō was then authorised by publick lawes of the realme, could cōscience punish me or cast me in prison therfore? Wherefore let all men be iudge in whom conscience wanteth.*

M• Cham.

Here came foorth M. Chamberleyne of Woodstocke and spake to my Lord Chauncellor how that Brad|ford had bene a seruing man and was with Maister Harrington.

L. Chaunc.

True, and did deceyue his Mayster of Seuen score pounds, and because of this he went to be a Gospeller and a Preacher (good people) and yet you see howe hee pretendeth conscience.

Brad.

My Lord, I sette my foote by his whosoeuer he be, that can come forth and iustly vouche to my face that euer I deceiued my Mayster. And as you are chiefe iusticer by office in England, I desire iustice vpon them that so slaūder me, because they can not proue it.

L. Chaunc.

Here my Lorde Chauncellour and M. Chamberleyne were smitten blanck, and sayd they heard it.* But quoth my Lord Chauncellour we haue an other maner of matter then this agaynst you: for you are an hereticke.

Lond.

Yea quoth the Bishop of London,* he did wryte letters to M. Pendleton which knoweth his hande as well as his owne, your honour did see the letters.

Brad.

That is not true, I neuer did wryte to Pendleton sithens I came to prison, and therefore I am not iustly spoken of.

Lond.

Yea, but you indited it.

Brad.

I did not, nor know not what you meane, and this I offer to proue.*

Here came in an other, I trow they call him, Maister Allen one of the Clerkes of the Councell, putting y^e Lord Chauncelor in remembrance of letters written into Lankyshire.

L. Chaun.

You say true: for we haue his hand to shew.

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Brad.

I denye that you haue my hand to shewe of Letters sent into Lankyshyre, otherwise then before you all I wil stand to, and proue them to be good and lawfull.

Here was all answered, and then the Lord Chauncellour began a new matter. Syr (quoth he) in my house the other day you did most cōtemptuously contēne y^e queenes mercy, and further sayd, that you would mainteine the erroneous doctrine in king Edwards dayes against all mē, And this you did most stoutly.

Brad.

*Well, I am glad that all men see now you haue had no matter to imprisō me afore that day iustly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemne the Queenes mercy, but would haue had it (though if iustice might take place I neede it not) so y^t I might haue had it with Gods

mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing agaynst God and his truth.* And as for maintenaunce of doctryne, because I cā not tell how you wil stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat agayne that which I spake, I sayd I was more confirmed in the Religion set forth in Kyng Edwardes dayes then euer I was: and if God so would, I trust I shoulde declare it by geuing my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I sayd then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to mainteine it, then pertaineth to a priuate person by confession, I thought not, nor thinke not.

L. Chaunc.

Well, yesterday thou didst mainteine false heresy concerning the blessed Sacramēt,* and therfore we gaue thee respite till this day to deliberate.

Brad.

My Lord, as I sayde at the first, I spake nothing of the Sacrament but that which you allowed, and therefore reproued it not, nor gaue me any time to deliberate.

L. Chaunc.

Why? diddest thou not deny Christes presence in the Sacrament?

Brad.

No, I neuer denyed nor taught, but that to fayth whole Christ, body and bloud was as presēt as bread and wine to the due receiuer.

L. Chan.

Yea, but doest thou not beleue y^t Christes body naturally & really is there, vnder the formes of bread & wine?

Brad.

My Lord, I beleue Christ is present there to y^e fayth of the due receiuer: as for transubstantiation I playnely & flatly tell you, I beleue it not.

*Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a slaunderer, for we aske no question (quoth my Lord Chauncellor) of transubstantiation, but of Christes presence.

Brad.

I denye not his presence to the fayth of the receiuer, but denye that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiate.

B. Worcest.

If he be not included, how is he then present?

Brad.

Forsooth though my fayth can tell how, yet my toūg can not expresse it, nor you, otherwise then by fayth heare it, or vnderstand it.

Here was much adoe, now one Doctour standyng vp and speaking thus, and others speaking that, & the Lorde Chauncellour talking much of Luther,* Zuinglius, Oecolampadius: but still Bradford kept him at this poynt, that Christ is present to fayth: and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the breade: but all thys would not serue them.

Therefore an other bishop asked this question, whether the wicked man receiued Christes very bodye or no?*_ And Bradford answered playnly no. Wherat the Lord Chauncellour made a long Oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the euill man receyued it. But Bradford put away all his Oration in fewe wordes, that grace was at that present offered to his Lordshyp,* although he receiued it not: So that (quoth he) the receiuing maketh not the presence, as your Lordshippe woulde inferre, but Gods grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence, whiche grace the wicked that lacke fayth can not receiue. And here Bradford prayd my Lord, not to diuorce that which God had coupled together.* He hath coupled al these together: Take, eate, this is my body: he sayth not: See, peepe, this is my body: but take eate. So that it appeareth this is a promise depending vpon condition, if we take & eate.

L. Chaunc.

Here the Lord Chauncellour and the other byshops made a great ado, that Bradford had foūd out a toy that no man els euer did, of the conditiō, & the Lord Chaūcellour made many wordes to the people there about.

Brad.

*But Bradford sayd thus: My Lord, are not these wordes, Take, eate, a commaundement? And are not these wordes, This is my body, a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commaudemēt, may you not deceiue your selfe?

L. Chaunc.

*Here the Lord Chauncellour denyed Christ to haue commaunded the Sacrament, and the vse of it.

Brad.

Why my Lord I pray you tell the people what mood Accipite, Māducate is: Is it not playne to children, y^t Christ in so saying commaundeth?

L. Chaunc.

At these wordes the Lord Chauncellour made a great toying and trifling at the imparatiue mood and fel to paresing or examining, as he should teach a childe: * & so concluded that it was no cōmaundemēt: but such a phrase as this, I pray you geue me drinke, which (quoth he) is no commaundement I trow.

Brad.

But Bradforde prayed him to leaue toying and trifling, and sayd thus: My Lord, if it be not a commaundement of Christ to take and eate the Sacrament, why dare any take vpon them to commaund and make that of neces'sity, which God leaueth free? as you do in making it a necessary commaundement, once a yeaere for all that be o• discretion to receiue the Sacrament.

L. Chaunc.

Here the Lord Chauncellour called him agayn *Diabolus or Calumniator, and began out of these wordes: Let a man proue himselfe, and so eate of the breade, (yea breade quoth Bradforde) and drinke of the cuppe, to prooue that it was no commaundement to receiue the Sacrament. For then (quoth he) if it were a cōmaundement, it should bind all men in all places, and at all times.

Brad.

O my Lord, discerne betwene commaundementes: * some be so generall, as the ten commaundemēts: that they binde alwayes, in all places, and all persons: some be not so generall: as this is of the Supper, the Sacrament of Baptisme, of the thrise appearing before the Lord yeaerly at Ierusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac. &c.

Here my Lord Chauncellour denied the cup to be cōmaunded of Christ, for then (quoth he) we should haue eleuen commaundementes.

Brad.

In deed I thinke you thinke as you speake, for els would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ sayeth: Drinke ye of it all. But howe saye you my Lordes: Christ sayth to you Bishops especially: Ite praedicate Euangelium. i. Go and preach the Gospell: Feede Christes flocke. &c. Is this a commaundement or no?

L. Chaun.

Here was my Lord Chauncellour in a chase, * and said as pleased him.

Duresme.

An other, the Bishop of Duresme I weene asked Bradford when Christ began to be present in the Sacrament? whether before the receiuer receiued it, or no?

Brad.

Bradford aunswered, that the question was curious and not necessary: and further sayd,* that as the cuppe was the newe Testament, so the breade was Christes bodye to hym that receiueh it duely, but yet so that the breade is bread. For (quoth he) in all the Scripture, you shall not finde this proposition, Non est panis, there is no bread. And so he brought forth Chrisostome: Si in corpore essemus. Homel. 83. in Mat. 34. Summa, much ado was hereaboutes, they calling Bradford hereticke, and hee desiring them to proceede on in Gods name, be looked for that which God had appoynted for them to do.

L. Chaunc.

This fellow is now in an other heresy of fatall necessity, as though all thinges were so tied together, that of mere necessity all must come to passe.

Brad.

But Bradford prayd him to take thinges as they be spoken, and not wrast them into a contrarye sence.* Your Lordship (quoth he) doth discerne betwixt God and man. Thinges are not by fortune to God at any tyme, though to man they seeme so sometimes. I speake but as the Apostles sayd: Lord (quoth they) see how Herode and Pontius Pilate, with the Prelates are gathered together agaynst thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsell hath before ordeyned for them to do.

L. Chaun.

Here began the Lord Chauncellour to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of Iohn Bradford Laicus, lay man: why (quoth he) art thou no Priest?

Brad.

No, nor neuer was, either Prieste, either benefited, either maryed, either any Preacher▪ afore publicke authority had established Religion, or Preacher after publicke authority had altered Religiō, and yet I am thus handled at your handes: but God, I doubt not, will geue his blessing where you curse. And so he fell downe on his knees, and hartily thanked God, that he counted him worthy to suffer for his sake.* And so praying God to geue him repētance, and a good minde, after the excommunication was read, he was deliuered to the Shyriffe of London, & so had to the Clincke, and after to the Counter in the Poultry in the same City of London, this being then purposed of his murtherers, that he should be deliuered from thēce to the Earle of Darby, to be cōueyed into Lankeshyre, and there to be burned in the towne of Manchester, where he was borne: but theyr purpose concerning the place was afterward altered: for they burned him in London.

After the condemnation of M. Bradford, which was the last day of Ianuary, M. Bradford being sent into pryson, dyd there remayne vntill the fyrst day of Iuly, during [Page 1612](#) all which time, diuers other conferences and conflicties he susteineth with sondry aduersaries, whiche repayed vnto him in the prison. Of whom first byshop Boner comming to the Counter to disgrace D. Taylor, the 4. daye of February entred talk with y^e said M. Bradford: y^e effect wherof here ensueth.

¶Priuate talke had with Iohn Bradford, by such as the Prelates sent vnto him, after the time of condemnation, by his own writing.

*VPpon the 4. of February, that is, the same day M. Rogers was burned, Bonor bishop of London came to y^e Counter in the Poultry to disgrace M. Doctor Taylor about one of y^e clocke at after noone. But before he spake to M. Taylor, he called for Iohn Bradford which was prisoner there whome when he saw, he put of his cap and gaue him his hand, saying: because I perceaue that ye are desirous to conferre with some learned men, therefore I haue brought M. Archdeacon Harsfield to you. And I tel you you doe like a wise man. But I pray you goe roundly to worke: for the time is but short.

Bradford.

*My Lorde as roundly as I can I will goe to worke with you: I neuer desired to conferre with any mā, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will haue one to talke with me, I am ready.

Boner.

What (quoth the Byshop in a fume to the keeper) did you not tell me that this man desired conference?

Keeper.

No my Lord, I told you that he would not refuse to conferre with any: but I did not say that it is his desire.

Boner.

Wel, M. Bradford, you are welbeloued, I pray you consider yourselfe, & refuse not charitie when it is offered.

Bradford.

*In deede my Lord, this is small charitie, to condemne a man as you haue condemned me, whiche neuer brake your lawes. In turky a man may haue charitie, but in England I could not yet finde it. I was condemned for my fayth, so soon as I vttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing agaynst the lawes. And as for conference I am not afrayd to talke with whom you will. But to say that I desire to conferre, that do I not.

Boner.

Well, well. And so he called for M. Taylour and Bradford went his way.

An other priuate matter of talke betweene M. Bradford and Willerton, Creswel, Harding Harpsfield, and other moe.

VUpon an other day of February one, M. Willerton, a Chapleine of the bishop of London,* did come to confer with Bradford: but when he perceaued that Bradford desired not his comming, and therfore wished rather his departing them abiding, well maister Bradford (quoth hee) yet I pray you let vs conferre a litle: perchaunce you may do me good, If I can doe you none: Upon which wordes Bradford was content, and so they began to talke. Willerton spake much of the Doctours, the fathers, of the bread in the 6. chapter of Sainct Iohn. &c. labouring to proue transubstantiation, and that wicked men doe receaue Christ.

But Bradford on the contrary part improued hys authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the scriptures and Doctours hys reasons, and Bradford would peruse them: and if hee coulde not answere them, then he would geue place. Likewyse should Bradford draw out his reasons out of the scriptures and Doctours, to which Willerton shoulde answere if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton sēt halfe a sheete of paper written on both sides,* contaynyng no reasons howe he gathered his doctrine, but onely bare sentēces: Panis quem ego dabo. &c. The bread which I wil geue is my fleshe: And the places in the 26. of Mathewe 14. of Marke. 22. of Luke, and the 10. and 11. to the Corinthians, with some sentences of the Doctours: All whiche made as much agaynst hym, as with hym.

*In the after noone he came himself, and there they had a long talke to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the Church, saying that Bradford swerued from the Church.

Brad.

No, that I do not, but ye doe. For the * Churche is Christes spouse, and Christes obedient spouse, which your Church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lords cup, and of seruice in the English tongue.

Willerton.

Why? it is not profitable to haue the seruice in English: for it is written: Labia Sacerdotis custodiunt legem. The lips of the Priest should keepe the law, and out of his mouth man must looke for knowledge.

Bradford.

Soulde not the people then haue the scriptures? Wherefore serueth this saying of Christ: Searche the Scriptures?

Willerton.

This was not spoken to the people, but to the Scribes and learned men.

Brad.

Then the people must not haue the scriptures.*

Willerton.

No, for it was written: Erunt docti a Deo: They shalbe all taught of God.

Brad.

And must we learne all at the priestes?

Willerton.

Yea.

Brad.

Then I see you would bring the people to hang vp Christ and let Barrabas goe: as the priestes did then perswade the people. At whiche wordes, Mayster Willerton was so offended that he had no lust to talke any more.* In the end Bradford gaue him the reasons which he had gathered agaynst transubstantiation, & prayed him to frame his into the forme of reasons, and then, quoth Bradford, I will aunswere them.

Willer.

Well I will do so. But first I wil answere yours. The which thing vntill this day he hath not done.

Upon the 12. of February there came one of the Earle of Darbies seruantes to Bradford, saying:* My Lord hath sent me to you: he willeth you to tender your selfe, and he would be good Lord vnto you.

Bradford.

I thanke his Lordship for his good will toward me: but in this case I can not tender my selfe more then Gods honour.

Seruaunt.

Ah M. Bradford, consider your mother, sisters, frendes, kinsfolke, and country, what a great discomfort it wilbe vnto them to see you dye as an hereticke.

Brad.

I haue learned to forsake father, mother, brother sister, friend, and all that euer I haue,* yea euen mine owne selfe, for els I cannot be Christes Disciple.

Seruaunt.

If my Lord shuld obtayne for you that ye might depart the Realme, would ye not be content to be at the Queenes appoyntment, where shee would appoynt you beyond the sea?

Bradford.

No,* I had rather be burned in England then be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should sēd me to Paris, Louaine, or some such place, forthwith they would burne me.

Talke betweene Maister Bradford and one Percevall Creswell, and after that with Doctour Harding.

Vpon the 14. of February, Perciuall Creswell,* an olde acquayntaunce of Bradfordes came to him, bryngyng with him a kinsman of Mayster Fecknams, who after ma'ny wordes sayd.

Creswell.

I pray you let me make labour for you.

Bradford.

You may do what ye will.

Creswell.

But tell me what sute I should make for you.

Brad.

Forsooth that ye wil do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your handes.* If the Queene will geue me life, I will thanke her. If she will banishe me, I will thanke her. If shee will burne me, I will thanke her: If she will condemne me to perpetuall prisonment. I wyll thanke her.

Hereupon Creswell went away,* and about a xi. of the clocke he and the other man came againe, & brought a booke of Mores making, desiring Bradford to read it ouer.

Bradford:

taking the booke, sayde: Good perciuall, I am setled for being moued in this article.

Creswell.

Oh, if euer ye loued me, do one thing for me.

Bradford.

What is it.

Creswell.

Desire and name what learned man or men yee will haue to come vnto you. My Lord •o York, my Lord of Lincolne, my Lorde of Bath, & others will gladly come vnto you.

Brad.

No, neuer will I desire them or anye other to come to conferre with me, for I am as certayne of my doctrine as I am of any thing, But for your pleasure, and also that all men may knowe I am not ashamed to haue my fayth •ifted and tryed, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them, So they went their way.

About 3. of the clocke in the after noone Mayster Doctor Harding,* who was then the B. of Lincolns Chaplayn came to Bradford, and after a great and solemne protestation, shewing how y^t he had prayed to God before he came to turne his talke to Bradfords good, hee began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford, and spent the time in such tratling, so that their talke was to little purpose: saue that Bradford praied him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to folow the world, nor to loue it: For the loue of God is not where the world is.

Harding.

But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable [Page 1613](#) estate, as one being out of the church, & therefore willed him to take heede of his soule, & not to dye in such an opinion.

Brad.

What M. Harding, quoth Bradford? I haue heard you with these eares maintaine this that I stand in.

Harding.

I graunt that I haue taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtill doctrine, but otherwise I neuer taught it. And so he enueying against mariages of Priestes,* and namely against Peter Martyr. Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking theyr vowes were iustly geuen vp into heresies (as he sayd) Bradford seyng him altogether geuen vp to Popery, after admonishment therof, bad him farewell.

Talke betweene D. Harpsfield Archdeacon, and Mayster Bradford.

*VPon the xxv. of February Perciuall Creswell came w^t M. Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, and a seruaunt wayting vpon him. After formall salutations, he made a long Oration, of which this is a short summe: That al mē euen the infidels, Turkes, Iewes, Anabaptistes, and Libertines desire felicitie as well as the Christians, and how that euery one thinketh they shall attayne to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not farre amisse.

Harps.

Then sayd Harpsfield, but the way thither is not al alike.* For the infidels by Iupiter, Iuno, the Turke by hys Alcoran: the Iew by his Thalmod, doe beleue to come to heauen, For so may I speake of suche as beleue the immor^talitie of the soule.

Brad.

You speake truely.

Harps.

Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this heauen.

Brad.

*We may not inuent any manner of wayes. There is but one way, & that is Iesus Christ, as he himselfe doth witnesse: I am the way.

Harps.

It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you meane by Christ, beleuing in Christ.

Brad.

I haue learned to discerne betwixt fayth & Christ, Albeit I confesse, that who so beleueth in Christ, the same shall be saued.

Harps.

No not all that beleue in Christ: for some shall say Lord, Lord, haue not we cast out deuils. &c. But Christ wil an^swere in the day of Iudgement to these: Depart from me, I know you not.

Brad.

You must make a difference betwixt beleuing, and saying I beleue,* As for example: if one shuld say & sweare hee loueth you, for all his saying yee will not beleue hym when you see he goeth about to vtter and do al the euill against you that he can.

Harps.

Well, this is not much material. There is but one way Christ. How come we to know him?
Where shall we seek to find him?

Brad

Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, * and after his word.

Harpsfield.

Very good, but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell vs this,
but by Baptism?

Brad.

Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Christ: I say outwardly,
because I dare not exclude from Christ all that dye without Baptism. I will not tie God, where
he is not bound. Some Infantes dye, whose Parentes desire Baptism for them, and can not haue
it.

Harps.

To those we may thinke perchance that God will shew mercy.

Brad.

Yea, the children whose parentes do contemne baptism, will not I condemne, because the childe
shall not beare the fathers offence.

Harpsfield.

Well, we agree that by Baptism then wee are brought, * and, as a man would say, begotten to
Christ. For Christ is our father, and the church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally
haue Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother: so all spirituall men haue Christ for
their father, and the Church for their mother. And as Eve was taken out of Adams side, so was
the Church taken out of Christes side: whereout flowed blood for the satisfaction and purgation
of our sinnes.

Brad.

All this is truly spoken.

Harps.

*Now, then tell me whether this Church of Christ hath not bene alwayes?

Brad.

Yea, sithens the creatiō of man, and shall be for euer.

Harps.

Uery good. But yet tel me whether this Church is a visible Church, or no?

Bradford.

It is no otherwise visible, then Christ was here on earth: that is, by no exteriour pompe or shewe that setteth her forth commonly, and therefore to see her wee must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see & know christ when hee walked here on earth: for as Eue was of y^e same substaunce that Adam was of, so was the Church of the same substaunce that Christ was of, flesh of his flesh, & bone of his bones, as Paule sayth, Ephes 5. Looke therfore how Christ was visibly knowne to be Christ when he was on earth, that is, by considering hym after the word of GOD so is the Church knowne.

Harps.

I do not come to reason at this present, & therefor• I will goe on forward.* Is not this Church a multitude?

Brad,

Yes that it is. Howbeit, lat•t anguis in herba, as the Prouerbe is. For in your question is a subtiltie. What visible multitude was there in He•ias tyme, or whē Moses was on the Mount, Aaron and all Israell worshipping the Cal•e?

Harps.

Ye diuert from the matter.

Brad.

No, nothing at all. For I doe preuent you, knowing well where about you go. And therfore f•wer wordes might well serue if that you so would.

Harfsfield.

Well, I perceauē you haue knowledge, and by a litle perceiue I the more. Tel me yet more, whether this multiude haue not the Ministry or preachyng of Gods worde?

Bradford.

Syr, ye goe about the bushe. If ye vnderstande Preaching for confessing the Gospel, I will go with you: for els if you will, you may knowe that persecution often letteth preaching.

Harps.

Well, I meane it so. Tell mee yet more: hath it not the Sacramentes administred?

Brad.

It hath the sacramentes, howbeit the administratiō of them is often letted. But I wil put you from your purpose, because I see where about you goe. If heretickes haue Baptisme and doe Baptise, as they did in S. Ciprians tyme, you knowe this Baptisme is Baptisme, & not to be reiterate. This Bradford did speake, that the stāders by might see, that though the Papistes Church haue baptisme which we haue receiued of them, yet therfore it is not the true Church, neither neede we to be baptised againe.

Harps.

You goe farre from the matter, and I perceiue you haue more errours then one.

Brad.

So you say: but that is not enough til you proue thē.

Harps.

Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Gospell, & the ministratiō of the Sacraments? & yet more: hath it not the power of Iurisdiction?

Bradford.

What iurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?

Harps.

I meane by iurisdiction admonishing one an other and so forth.

Brad.

Well, go to: what then?

Harps.

It hath also succession of Byshoppes. And here he made such a doe to proue y^t this was an essentiall poynt.

Bradford.

You say as you woulde haue it: for if this parte fayle you, all the Church y^t you go about to set vp will fall down.* You shall not finde in all y^e scripture this your essētiall parte of succession of Byshops. In Christes Church Antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth vs, as it went in the old Church afore Christes cōming, so will it be in the new church sithen Christes cōming: that is, as there were false Prophets, & such as bare rule were aduersaries to the true Prophets: so shall there be (sayth he) (false teachers, euen of such as are Byshops, and beare rule amongst the people.

Harps.

You go alwayes out of the matter: but I will proue further the succession of Byshops.

Bradford.

Do so.

Harps.

Tell me, were not the Apostles Byshops?

Brad.

No, except you will make a new definition of a Byshop, that is, geue him no certayne place.

Harps.

In deede, the Apostles office was not the Byshops office: for it was vniuersall, but yet Christ instituted Byshops in his church as Paule saith: he hath geuē Pastors, Prophetes. &c. so that I trow it be proued by the Scriptures the succession of Byshops to be an essentiall poynt.

Brad.

The Ministerie of Gods worde, and Ministers, be an essentiall poynt. But to translate this to the Byshops and their succession, is a plaine subiltie: And therfore that it may be playne, I will aske you a question. Tel me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference betwene Byshops and Ministers, which ye call Priestes?

Harps.

No.

Brad.

Well, then go on forewardes, and let vs see what ye shal get now by the succession of Byshops, that is, of Ministers, which can not be vnderstand of such Byshops as Minister not, but Lord it.

Harps

I perceiue that you are farre out of the way. By your doctrine you can neuer shew in your Church, a multitude which ministreth Gods word & his Sacramentes, which hath iurisdiction and succession of Byshops, which hath from tyme to tyme beleued as you beleue, beginning [Page 1614](#) now and so going vpwardes as I will do of our doctrine and therefore are ye out of the church,* & so cannot be saued. Perchaunce you will bring me downwardes a shewe to bleare peoples eyes: but to go vpwardes, that you can neuer do, and this is the true tryall.

Brad.

*Yee must and will, I am assured, geue me leaue to follow the scriptures and examples of good men.

Harps

Yea.

Brad.

Well thē, Stephen was accused and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine before the fathers of the Church then as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improoueth their accusation. But how? doth he it by going vpwardes? no, but by cōming downwardes, beginning at Abrahā, and continuing still till Esayas tyme, and the peoples captiuitie. From whence he maketh a great leape vntill y^t time he was in, whiche was (I thinke) vpon a 400. yeares, & called them by their right names helhoundes, rather then heauen hounds. On this sort will I proue my fayth, & that can you neuer do yours.

Harfsfield.

*Yea sir, if we did knowe that you had the holye Ghost, then could we beleue you. Here Bradford woulde haue answered, that Steuens enemies would not beleue he had the holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they dyd: but as he was in speaking. M. Harps. arose vp, & the keeper and others that stode by, began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heede to that maister Archdeacon spake, who still sayd that Bradford was out of the church.

Bradford.

Syr I am most certaine that I am in Christes Church, and I can shew a demonstration of my Religion from time to time continually.

God our father, for the name and bloud of his Christ be merciful vnto vs and vnto al his people, and deliuer them from false teachers, and blinde guydes, through whome (alas) I feare mee, much hurt will come to this realme of England. God our Father blesse vs, and keepe vs in hys truth and poore Church for euer. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, saying that he would come againe the next morning.

¶**The next dayes talke betweene Doctour Harpsfield and Maister Bradford.**

Vpon the xvi. of February in the morning the Archdeacon and the other two with him came again,* and after a few by wordes spoken, they sate downe.

Harps.

Maister Archdeacon began a very long Oration, first repeting what they had said, and how farre they had gone ouer night, and therw^t did begin to proue vpwards succession of Bishops here in England for 800. yeares in Fraunce at Lyons for 1200. yeares:* in Spayne at Hispalen for 800. yeares. In Italy at Milan for 1200. yeares, labouring by this to proue his Church. He vsed also succession of Bishops in the East Church for the more confirmation of his wordes, and so concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church: the interrogatiō, whether Brad-could shew any such succession for the demonstratiō of his Church (for so he called it) which followed.*

Bradford.

Unto this his long Oration Bradford made this short answere: my memory is euill, so that I cannot aunswere particularly your Oration.

Therefore I wil generally do it, thinking, because your Oration is rather to perswade then to proue, that a small aunswere will serue. If Christ or his Apostles being here on earth had bene required by the Prelates of the church then to haue made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high Priestes as had approued the doctrine which he taught,* I think that Christ would haue done as I do: that is, haue alledged y^t which vpholdeth the church euen, the veritie, y^e word of God taught & beleueed, not by the high Priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the Prophetes and other good simple men, which perchaunce were counted for heretickes of the Church: which Church was not tied to succession, but to the word of god. And this to thinke, S. Peter geueth me occasion, when he sayth that as it went in the Church before Christes comming, so shall it go in the Church after his comming: but then the pillers of the church were persecutors of the true Church: therefore the like we must looke for now.

Harps.

I can gather and proue succession in Ierusalem of the high Priestes from Aarons tyme.

Bradford.

I graunt, but not such succession as allowed the trueth.

Harps.

Why did they not allow Moses law?

Bradford.

Yes, and keepe it, as touchyng the bookes therof, as you doe the Bible, and holye Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you haue done & doe, and therefore the persecution which they sturred vpp against the Prophetes and Christ, was not for the lawe, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught as you do now,* that we must fetch the interpretation of the scriptures at your handes. But to make an end death I looke dayly for, yea hourelly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to spend as much tyme with God as I can whilst I haue it, for his helpe & comfort, and therefore I pray you beare with me that I do not now particularly and in moe wordes aunswere your lōg talk. If I saw death not so neare me as it is, I would then weigh euerye peece of your Oration, if you woulde geue me the summe of it, and I would answere accordingly: but because I dare not, nor I will not leaue of looking & preparing for that which is at hand, I shal desire you to hold me excused, because I do as I do, and hartely thanke you for youre gentle good will. I shall hartily praye God our father to geue you the same light and life I do wish to my selfe: & so Bradford began to arise vp.

Harps.

But then began Maister Archdeacon to tell hym that he was in very perilous case,* and that he was sory to see him so settled. As for death, whether it be nigh or farre of I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well.

Brad.

I doubt not in this case, but y^t I shall dye well: for as I hope and am certaine my death shall please the Lord so I trust I shall dye chearfully to y^e comfort of his childrē.

Harps.

But what if you be deceiued?

Bradford.

What if you shoulde say the sunne did not shyne now? (and the Sunne did shine through the windowe where they sat.)

Harps.

Well I am sory to see you so secure and carlesse.

Bradford.

In deed I am more carnally secure and carelesse then I shuld be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in y^e trueth.

Harpsfield.

That are ye not: for you are out of the Catholicke Church.

Bradford.

No, though you haue excommunicate me out of your Church, yet am I in the Catholicke Church of christ and am, and by Gods grace shalbe a childe & an obedient childe of it for euer. I hope Christ will haue no lesse care for me,* then he had for the blinde man excommunicated of the Synagoge: and further I am sure that the necessary Articles of the fayth, I meane the twelue Articles of the Creede, I confesse and beleue with that which you call the holy church, so that euen your church hath taken somthing to much vpon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the testimonye of my Lorde of Duresme in the booke of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred yeare after Christ, to beleue or not beleue.

Harps.

What is that?

Brad.

Transubstantiation.

Harps.

Why? ye are not condemned therfore onely.

Brad.

For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receiue Christes body.

Harpsfield.

You agree not with vs in the presence, nor in any thing els.

Bradford.

How you beleue you know: for my part I cōfesse a presence of whole Christ God and man, to the fayth of the receauer.

Harpsfield.

Nay, you must beleue a reall presence in the sacrament.

Brad.

In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor ty• him to it otherwise then faith seeth and perceiueth.* If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament or tye hym to it otherwise then to the faith of the receiuer, then the wicked men should receiue him, which I doe not, nor will by Gods grace, beleue.

Harpsfield.

More pittie: But a man may easely perceauē, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with vs.

Brad.

I confesse a presence, and a true presence, but to the fayth of the receauer.*

What (quoth one that stode by) of Christes very bodye which dyed for vs.

Brad.

Yea euen of whole Christ God & man to feed the fayth of hym that receiueth it.

Harps.

Why? this is nothing els but to exclude y^e omnipotency of God, and all kinde of miracle in the sacrament.

Brad.

I do not exclude his omnipotencie, but you doe it rather: for I beleue that Christ can accōplish hys promise,* the substaunce of bread and wyne being there, as well as the accidents, which you beleue not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feede our bodies, and therfore we haue but a little peece of bread, but we come to feed our soules with Christ by fayth, whiche the wicked doe want, and therefore they receiue nothing but Panem domini as Iudas did, & not Panem Dominum, as y^e other Apostles did.

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Harps.

The wicked do receauē the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body.

Brad.

They receiue not the body. For Christes bodye is no dead carcase: he that receaueth it, receaueth the spirite, which is not without grace I trow.*

Harps,

Well, you haue many erroures. You count the Masse for abhomination, and yet S. Ambrose sayd Masse: and so he read out of a book written a sentence of S. Ambrose to proue it.

Brad.

Why sir, the masse as it is nowe, was nothing so in S. Ambrose time. Was not y^e most part of the Canon made sithen by Gregory and Scolasticus?

Harps.

In deede a great peece of it was made, as ye say, by Gregory: but Scolasticus was before Saint Ambrose tyme.

Brad.

I weene not: howbeit I will not contend. S. Gregory sayth, that the Apostles sayd Masse without the Canon, onely with the Lordes prayer.

Harps.

You say true: for the Canon is not the greatest part of the Masse, the greatest part is the sacrifice, eleuation, transubstantiation, and adoration.

Brad.

I can away with none of those.

Harps.

No, I thinke the same: but yet Hoc facite, telleth plainely the sacrifice of the Church.

Brad.

You confound Sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the Church,* and for the Church. The sacrifice of the Church is no propiciatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice. And as for Hoc facite, is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of takyng, eatyng, &c.

Harps.

You speake not learnedly now: for Christ made his supper onely to the twelue Apostles,* not admittynge his mother or any of the seuentie Disciples to it. Nowe the Apostles do signifie the Priestes.

Brad.

I thinke that you speake as you would men should vnderstand it: for els you would not keepe the cup away from the Laitie. Wee haue great cause to thanke you, that you will geue vs of your bread. For I perceiue you order the matter so, as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Harps.

Then Harpsfield would haue proued Eleuation by a place of Basilius.

Brad.

*I haue read y^e place which seemeth to make nothing for eleuation: but be it as it is, this is no tyme for me to scan the doubtfull places of the doctors with you. I haue bene in prison long without bookes and al necessities for study, and now death draweth nye, and I by your leaue must now leaue of, to prepare for him.

Harps.

If I could do you good. I would be right glad eyther in soule or body. For you are in a perillous case both wayes.

Brad.

Syr I thanke you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thanke God it was neuer so well w^t me: for deathe to me shalbe life.

Creswel.

It were best for you to desire maister Archdeacon that he woulde make sute for you, that you might haue a time to conferre.

Harps.

I will do the best I can, for I pittie his case.

Bradford.

Sir, I will not desire anye body to sue for tyme for me. I am not wauering, neither woulde I that anye body should thinke I were so. But if you haue the charity and loue you pretend towardes

me, and thereto do thinke that I am in an errour, I thinke the same shuld moue you to do as ye would be done to. As ye thinke of me, so doe I of you, that you are farre out of the way, and I do not only thinke it, but also am thereof most assured. And in thys and such like gentle talke they departed.

¶**The talke of Doctor Heth Archbishop of Yorke, and day Byshop of Chichester, with Maister Bradford.**

THE xxiii. of the same moneth, the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Bishop of Chichester came to the Counter to speake with Bradford. When hee was come before them,* they both, and especially the Bishop of York, vsed him very gently: they would haue him to sit downe, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stode: & whether he woulde or not, they would needes he shoulde put on, not only his night cap but his vpper cap also, saying vnto him, that obedience was better then sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my Lord of Yorke, began to tell Bradford howe that they were not sent to him, but of loue & charitie they came to him: and he, for that acquayntance also whiche he had with Bradford, more then the Bishoppe of Chichester had: then after commending Bradfordes godly life, he concluded w^t this question: how he was certayne of saluation and of his Religion.

Brad▪

After thanks for theyr good will. Bradford aunswered: by the word of God, euen by the Scriptures I am certayne of saluation, and Religion.

Yorke.

Uery well sayd: but how do ye know the worde of God and the scriptures, but by the Church?

Bradford.

In deede my Lorde, the Churche was and is a meane to bring a man more speedely to knowe the Scriptures and the worde of God, as was the woman of Samaria a meane that the Samaritans knewe Christ: but

[illustration]

☛ **Certayne Bishops talking with Maister Bradford in prison.**

[Page 6116](#) as when they had heard him speake, they sayde: nowe we know that he is Christ, not because of thy wordes but because wee our selues haue heard him: so after we came to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures shewed vnto vs and discerned by the Church, we doe beleue them, and knowe them as Christes sheepe, not because y^e Church saith they are the Scriptures, but because they be so being thereof assured by the same spirite whiche wrote and spake them.

Yorke▪

*You knowe: in the Apostles time at the first the word was not written.

Bradford.

True, if you meane it for some books of the new Testament: but els for the old Testament Peter telleth vs Firm^{ore} sermonem propheticum habemus: We haue a more sure worde of prophecie▪ not that it is simply so, but in respect of the Apostles, which being aliue and compassed w^t infirmiti[•], attributed to the worde written m^{ore} firmitie, as wherewith no fault coulde be found, where as for the infirmitie of their persons men perchaunce might haue found some faulte at their preaching: albeit in very deede no lesse obedience and fayth ought to haue bene geuen to the one, then to the other: for all proceedeth foorth of one spirite of truth.

Yorke.

That place of Peter is not so to be vnderstand of the word written.

Brad.

Yea syr, that it is, and of none other.

Chic.

Yea, in deede Maister Bradford doth tell you truely in that poynt.

Yorke.

*Well, you know that Irenaeus and others doe magnifie much and alleage the Church agaynst the heretickes, and not the scripture.

Bradford.

True, for they had to do with such heretickes as did deny the scriptures, and yet did magnifie the Apostles so that they were inforced to vse the authoritie of those Churches wherein the Apostles had taught, and whiche had still retayned the same doctrine.

Chic.

You speake the very truth: for the heretickes dyd refuse all scriptures, except it were a peece of Lukes Gospel.

Brad.

Then the alledgyng of the Church cannot be princially vsed agaynst me, whiche am so farre from denying of the Scriptures that I appeale vnto them vtterly, as to the onely iudge.

Yorke.

A pretty matter, that you will take vppon you to iudge the Churche, I pray you where hath your Churche bene hetherto? For the church of Christ is Catholicke and visible hetherto.

Brad.

*My Lord, I doe not iudge the Church, when I discerne it from that congregation, & those whiche be not the Church, & I neuer denyed the Church to be Catholicke & visible althought at some times it is more visible then at some.

Chic.

I pray you tell me where the Church which allowed your doctrine, was these foure hundreth yeares?

Brad.

I will tell you my Lord, or rather you shal tell your selfe, if you will tell me this one thing, where the Churche was in Helias his time, when Helias sayde that hee was left alone?

Chic.

That is no aunswere.

Bradford.

I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your Lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherwith a man might haue espied the Churche then, you woulde not say it were no answer.* The fault why the Church is not seene of you, is not because the Churche is not visible, but because your eyes are not cleare inough to see it.

Chic.

You are much deceaued in making this collation betwixt the Church then and now.

Yorke.

Uery well spoken my Lord, for Christ sayde aedificabo Ecclesiam, I will build my Church and not I doe, or haue built it, but I will build it.

Bradford.

*My Lordes, Peter teacheth me to make thys collation, saying: as in y^e people there were false Prophetes, which were most in estimation afore Christes comming, so shall there be false

teachers amongst the people after Christes comming and very many shall follow them And as for your future tense, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude christes Church not to haue bene before, but rather that there is no building in the Church but by Christes worke onely: for Paule and Apollo be but watterers.

Chichester.

In good fayth I am sorry to see you so light in iudging the Church.

Yorke.

He taketh vpon him as they all doe, to iudge the Church.* A man shall neuer come to certaintie that doth as they do.

Brad.

My Lordes, I speake simply what I thinke, & desire reason to aunswere my obiections. Your affections & sorrowes can not be my rules. If that you consider y^e order and case of my condemnation. I can not thinke but y^t it should somethyng mo^e your honours. You knowe it well enough (for you heard it) no matter was layd against me, but what was gathered vpon mine owne confession. Because I did deny Transubstantiation and the wicked to receaue Christes body in the Sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excōmunicate, but not of the churche although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it.

Chichester.

No. I heard say the cause of your imprisonmēt was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattocke in the other.

Brad.

My Lord, I neuer ment any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort.*

Yorke.

Yea, and you behaued your selfe before the Counsel so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the Religion then: and therefore worthely were you prisoned.

Brad.

Your grace did heare me answere my Lord Chauncellour to that poynt.* But put case I had bene so stout as they and your Grace make it: were not the lawes of the Realme on my side then? Wherefore vniustly was I prisoned: onely that which my Lord Chauncellour propounded, was my confession of Christes trueth agaynst Transubstantiation, and of that whiche the wicked do receaue, as I sayd.

Yorke.

You deny the presence.

Brad.

I do not, to the fayth of the worthy receiuers.

Yorke.

Why? what is that to say other,* then that Christ lyeth not on the aultar?

Brad.

My Lord, I beleue no such presence.

Chichest.

It seemeth that you haue not read Chrisostome for he proueth it.

Brad.

Hetherto I haue bene kept well inough without bookes: howbeit this I doe remember of Chrisostome,* that he sayth that Christ lyeth vpon the aultar, as the Seraphines with their tongues touche our lippes with the coales of the aultar in heauen, which is an hyperbolicall loquution, of whiche you know Chrisostome is full.

Yorke.

It is euident that you are to farre gone: but let vs come then to the Church, out of the whiche ye are excommunicate.

Brad.

I am not excommunicate out of Christes Church my Lord,* although they which seeme to be in the Church and of the Church haue excommunicated me, as the poore blinde man was, Iohn. 9. I am sure Christ receiueth me.

Yorke.

You do deceiue your selfe.

Here, after much talke of excommunication, at length Bradford sayd.

Brad.

Assuredly, as I thinke you did well to departe from the Romish church, so I thinke ye haue done wickedly to couple your selues to it againe, for you can neuer prooue it, which you call the mother church, to be Christes Church.

Chichest.

Ah M. Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a yong man, and then comming frō the Uniuersitie, I went with the world, but I tell you it was alwayes against my conscience.

Brad.

I was but a child then: howbeit as I tolde you, I thinke you haue done euill.* For ye are come & haue broght others to that wicked man which sitteth in the Temple of God, that is in the church: for it cannot be vnderstand of Mahomet, or any out of the Church, but of such as beare rule in the Church.

Yorke.

See how you build your fayth vpon such places of Scripture as are most obscure to deceyue your selfe, as though ye were in the Church where you are not.

Brad.

Well my Lord, though I might by fruites iudge of you and others: yet will I not vtterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemne him vtterly, that is of my faith in the Sacrament: knowyng as you know, that at the least 800. yeares after Christ, as my L. of Duresme writeth,* it was free to beleue or not to beleue transubstantiation.

Yorke.

This is a toy that you haue found out of your own braine: as though a man not beleuing as the church doth, that is transubstantiation, were of the church.

Chichest.

He is an heretike, and so none of the Church that doth hold any doctrine against the definitiō of the church: as a man to hold against transubstantiatiō. Cyprian was no heretike though he beleued rebaptising of them which were baptised of heretikes, because hee helde it before the church had defined it, whereas if he had holden it after,* thē had he bene an heretike.

Brad.

Oh my Lord, wil ye condemne to the deuill any man that beleueueth truely the xij. Articles of the fayth (wherein I •ake the vnitie of Christes Church to consist) although in some points he beleuee

not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the Articles of our beliefe, though in other thyngs he dissent from your definitions, yet he shalbe sauēd.

Yorke.

Chichester. Yea, sayde both the Byshops? this is your Diuinitie.

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Brad.

No, it is Paules, which sayth, that if they holde the foundation Christ, though they build vpon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be sauēd.

Yorke.

Lord God, how you delite to leane to so hard and darke places of the Scriptures.

Chic.

I will shewe you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.

Brad.

My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you muche passe not, [*no](#) more do I in this case▪ My fayth is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Oecolampadius is this poynt: and in deede to tel you truely, I neuer read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are Gods Children and Sayntes with hym.

Yorke.

Well, you are out of y^e Communion of the Church.

Brad.

I am not: for it consisteth and is in fayth.

Yorke.

Loe, how make you your Church inuisible: for you would haue the Communion of it to consist in fayth.

Brad.

For to haue Communion with the Churche needeth no visiblenes of it: * for Communion consisteth, as I sayd, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paule, which would haue one fayth, and by Irenaeus to Uictor, for the obseruation of Easter, saying that disagreeing of fastyng shoulde not breake the agreeyng of fayth.

Chichester.

The same place hath often euen wounded my conscience, because we disseuered our selues from the Sea of Rome.

Bradford.

Well, God forgeue you: for you haue done euill to bryng England thether agayne.

Yorke.

Here my Lord of Yorke tooke a booke of paper of common places, and read a peece of Saint Austen contra Epistolam Fundamenti, * how that there were many thinges that did holde S. Augustine in the bosome of the Churche consent of people and nations, authoritie confirmed wyth myracles, * nourished with hope, encreased with charitie, established with antiquitie: besides this, there holdeth me in the Church, sayth S. Augustine, the succession of priests from Peters seate vntill this present Bishop. Last of all the very name of Catholicke doth hould me. &c. Lo (quoth he) how say you to this of Saint Augustine? paynt me out your Church thus.

Bradford.

My Lord these wordes of S. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might aunswere, that all this, if they had bene so firme as you make them, might haue bene alledged against Christ and his apostles. For there was the lawe and the ceremonies consented on by the whole people, confirmed with myracles, antiquitie and continuall succession of Byshops from Aarons tyme vntill that present.

Chich.

In good fayth M. Bradford, you make to much of the state of the Church before Christes comming. *

Brad.

Therein I doe but as Peter teacheth. 2. Pet. 2. and Paule very often. You would gladly haue your Churche here very glorious, and as a most pleasant Lady. But as Christ sayde: Beatus est quicumque non fuerit offensus per me: So may his Churche say: Blessed are they that are not offended at me.

Yorke.

Yea, you thinke that none is of the Churche but such as suffer persecution.

Brad.

What I thinke, God knoweth. I pray your Grace iudge mee by my woordes and speaking,* and marke that Paule sayth: Omnes qui. &c. All that will liue godly in Christ Iesu must suffer persecution. Sometimes Christes Church hath rest here: but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her forme will be more vnseemely.

Yorke.

But what say you to Saint Augustine? where is your Church that hath the consent of people and nations?

Bradford.

Euen all people and nations that be Gods people haue consented with me,* and I with them in y^e doctrine of fayth.

Yorke.

Lo, ye go about to shift off all thinges.

Bradford.

No my Lorde: I meane simply, and so speake, God knoweth.

Yorke.

Sainct Austen doth here talke of succession euen frō Peters seate.*

Brad.

Yea, that seate then was nothing so muche corrupte as it is now.

Yorke.

Well, you alwayes iudge the church.

Bradford.

*No my Lord, Christes sheepe discern Christes voyce, but they iudge it not: so they discern the Church, but iudge her not.

Yorke.

Yes, that you do.

Bradford.

No, and it like your grace: and yet full well may one not onely doubt, but iudge also of the Romish church: for she obeyeth not christes voyce, as Christes true church doth.

Yorke.

Wherein.

Brad.

In latin seruice, and robbing the Laitie of Christes cup in the sacrament and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege.

Chic.

Why? Latin seruice was in England when the pope was gone.

Brad.

True: the tyme was in England whē the pope was away, but not all popery: as in king Henries dayes.

Yorke.

Latin seruice was appointed to be song and had in the Queere, where onely were Clerici, that is,* such as vnderstode latin, the people sitting in the body of the Church praying theyr owne priuate prayers: and this may wel be yet seene by making of the Chauncell and Queere, so as y^e people could not come in, or heare them.

Brad.

Yea, but in Chrisostomes time, and also in the latin church in Saint Ieromes tyme,* all the Church (sayth he) reboat. Amen. That is, aunswereth agayn mightely, Amen. Whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them, and vnderstoode them.

Chic.

Ye are to blame to say that the Churche robbeth the people of the cup.

Bradford.

Well my Lorde, terme it as it please you: all men knowe that laytie hath none of it.

Chic.

In deede I would wish the Church would define agayne, that they might haue it, for my part.

Brad.

If God make it free, who cā define to make it bond?

Yorke.

Well mayster Bradford, we leese our labour,* for ye seeke to put away all thinges which are tolde you to your good: your Church no man can know.

Brad.

Yes, that ye may well.

Yorke.

I pray you whereby?

Brad.

Forsooth Chrisostome sayth:*Tantummodo per Scripturas, alonely by the Scriptures: and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know.

Yorke.

In deede that is of Chrysostome ••in opere imperfecto, whiche may be doubted of. The thing whereby the Church may be knowne best, is succession of Byshops.

Bradford.

No my Lorde: Lyra full well writeth vppon Mathew, that Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis secularis aut Ecclesiasticae, sed in hominibus in quibus est notitia vera, & confessio fidei & veritatis, That is:* The church consisteth not in men by reason either of secular or temporall power: but in men indued with true knowledge, and confession of fayth, and of veritie.

And in Hylarius tyme, you knowe he wryteth to Aurentius, that the Church did rather delitescere in cauer••s, then eminere in primarijs sedibus, That is, was hidden rather in caues and holes, then did glister and shyne in thrones of preeminence.

Then came one of the seruantes and tolde them that my Lord of Duresme taryed for them at Mayster Yorkes house: and this was after that they had taryed three houres with Bradford. And

after that their man was come, they put vp theyr writtten bookes of common places, and sayde that they lamented his case: they willed him to read ouer a booke, which did Doct. Crome good: & so wishyng hym good in woordes, they went their waye, and poore Bradford to his prison.

After this communication with the Bishops ended,* within two dayes following came into the Counter two Spanish Friers to talke with maister Bradford, sent (as they sayd) by the Earle of Darby, Of whome the one was y^e kinges Confessor: y^e other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish booke agaynst heresies, the effecte of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

Talke betweene mayster Bradford and two Spanishe Fryers.

VPpon the 25. day of February,* about 8. of the clock in the morning, two Spanish Fryers came to the Coüter where Bradford was prisoner: to whō Bradford was called. Then the one Fryer, which was the kinges Confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talke was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seene nor heard of one Alphonsus that had written agaynst heresies?

Brad.

I do not know him.

Confes.

Well this man (poynting to Alphonsus) is he.* Wee are come to you of loue and charitie, by the meanes of the Earle of Darby, because you desired to conferre with vs.

Brad.

I neuer desired your comming, nor to conferre with you, or any other. But seeing you are come of charitie, as you say, I cannot but thanke you: and as touchyng conference, though I desire it not, yet I wil not refuse to talk with you, if you will.

Alphon.

It were requisite that you did praye vnto God, that ye might follow the direction of Gods spirite, that he woulde inspire you so that ye be not addict to your owne selfe will or wyt.

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[illustration]

☞ The talke betweene M. Bradford, and two Spanish Fryers.

Brad.

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all theyr willes,* wordes, and works, as the wils, wordes, and workes of his children for euer.

Alph.

Yea, you must pray with your hart. For if you speak but with tounge onely, God will not geue you his grace.

Brad.

Syr do not iudge, least ye be iudged. You haue heard my words, now charity would haue you to leaue y^e iudgement of the hart to God.

Alph.

You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to your selfe, but as one standing in doubt: pray and be ready to receiue what God shall enspire, for in vain laboreth our tounge to speake els.

Brad.

Syr my sentence, if you meane it for Religion, must not be in a doubting or vncertain,* as I thanke God I am certayne in that for which I am condēned: I haue no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certayne of it, and therfore I praye God to confirme mee more in it. For it is his trueth, and because it is so certayne and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to haue it looked on, and conferre it with you, or any man: in respect wherof I am both glad of your comming, and thanke you for it.

Alph.

What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Brad.

Syr I haue bene in prison almost 2. yeares: I neuer transgressed any of theyr lawes wherefore I might iustlye be prisoned,* & now am I condēned onely because I franckly confessed (wherof I repēt not) my fayth concerning the sacrament, when I was demaūded in these 2. poynts: one that there is no transubstantiation: the other, that the wicked do not receiue Christes body.

Alph.

Let vs looke a little on the firste. Doe you not beleue that Christ is present really, and corporally in the forme of bread?

Brad.

No, I do beleue that Christ is present to the fayth of the worthy receiuer, as there is present bread and wyne to the senses and outward man: [*](#) as for any such presēce of including and placing Christ, I beleue not, nor dare beleue.

Alph.

I am sure you beleue Christes naturall body is circūscriptible. And here he made much ado of the 2. natures of Christ, how that the one is euery where, & the other is in his proper place, demaūding such questions, as no wise man would haue spent any time about. At length, because the Frier had forgotten to conclude, Bradforde put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: how that because Christes bodye was circumscribable concernyng the humayne nature in heauen, therefore it was so in the bread.

Brad.

How hangeth this together? Euen as if you should say: because you are here, Ergo it must needes followe that you are at Rome. For this you reason: Because Christes bodye is in heauen, Ergo it is in the Sacrament vnder the forme of bread: which no wise man will graunt.

Alph.

Why, will you beleue nothing, but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?

Brad.

Yes Syr, I will beleue whatsoever you shall by demonstratian out of the Scripture declare vnto me.

Alph.

He is obstinate, quoth Alphonsus to his felow: and then turning to Bradford sayd, is not God able to do it? [*](#)

Brad.

Yes, but here the question is of Gods will, and not of his power.

Alph.

Why? doth he not say playnely, this is my body?

Brad.

Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the fayth of the worthy receyuer.

Alph.

To the fayth? how is that?

Brad.

Forsooth Syr as I haue no tounge to expresse it: so I know ye haue no eares to heare & vnderstand it. For fayth is more then man can vtter.

Alph.

But I can tell all that I beleue.

Brad.

You beleue not much then. For if you beleue y^e ioyes of heauen, and beleue no more therof then you can tell, you wil not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable & receiueable thē the mouth: so it conceiueth more then tounge can expresse.

Alph.

Christ sayth it is his body.

Brad.

And so say I, after a certayne maner.

Alph.

After a certayne maner? that is, * after an other maner then it is in heauen.

Brad.

S, Augustine telleth it more playnely, that it is christes body after the same maner as Circumcision was the couenaunt of God, and the Sacrament of fayth is fayth: or to make it more playne, as baptisme and the water of baptisme is regeneration.

Alph.

Uery well sayd, Baptisme and the water therof is a Sacrament of Gods grace & spirite in the water clensing the Baptised.

Brad.

No Syr, away w^t your enclosing but this I graunt, that after the same sort Christes bodye is in the breade, on which sort the grace and spirit of God is in the water.

Alph.

In water is Gods grace by signification.

Brad.

So is the body in the bread in the Sacrament.

Alph.

You are much deceiued in that you make no differēce betwene the Sacramentes that be standers, and the sacramentes that are transitory and passers by. As for example, the Sacrament of Order, which you deny, though S. Augustine affirme it, it is a standerd, although the ceremony be past. But in Baptisme so soone as the bodye is washed, the water ceaseth not to be a Sacrament.

Brad.

Uery good, and so it is in the Supper of the Lord: no [Page 1618](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1619](#) longer then it is in vse, is it Christes Sacrament.

Here was the Fryer in a wonderfull rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole house rang agayne, cha•ing with om and cho. Hee hath a greate name of learning,* but surely hee hath little pacience. For if Bradford had bene any thing hote, one house coulde not haue held them. At the length hee commeth to this poynt, that Bradford coulde not finde in the Scripture Baptisme and the Lordes Supper to beare any similitude together. And here he triūphed before the conquest, saying that these men would receiue nothing but scripture, and yet were able to proue nothing by the Scripture.

Brad.

*Be pacient, & you shall see that by the Scripture I will finde Baptisme & the Lords supper coupled together.

Alph.

No, that canst thou neuer do. Let me see a text of it.

Brad.

Paule sayth: That as we are Baptised into one bodye: so were we potati in vno spiritu: that is: we haue dronk of one spirit, meaning of the cup in the Lordes Supper.

Alphon.

Paule hath no such wordes.

Brad.

Yes that he hath.

Confes.

I trow he hath not.

Brad.

Geue me a Testament, and I will shew you.

*So a Priest that sat by them, gaue him his Testamēt, and he shewed them the playne text. Then they looked one vpon an other. In fi•e the Friers found this simple shift, that Paule spake not of the Sacrament.

Brad.

Well the texte is playne enough, and there are of the fathers which do so vnderstand the place: For Chrisostom doth expound it so.

Alphon.

Alphonsus which had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foyle, turned the leaues of y^e book from leafe to leafe, till he came to the place. 1. Cor. 11. & there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lordes body.

Brad.

Yea, but therewith he sayth: He that eateth of the bread: calling it bread still,* and that after consecration (as ye call it) as in the 10. to the Corinthians he saith: The bread which we breake.*&c.

Alphon.

Oh how ignoraunt are ye, which know not that thinges after theyr conuersion doe reteine the same names which they had before,* as Moses rod: and calling for a byble, after he had found the place, he began to triumph: But Bradford cooled him quickly, saying:

Brad.

Syr, there is mension made of the conuersiō, as wel, as that the same appeared to the sence. But here ye can not finde it so.* Find me one word how the bread is cōuerted, & I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you

Alph.

At these wordes the Frier was troubled, & at length he sayd, how that Bradford hanged on his owne sence.

Brad.

No, that do I not: for I will bring you forth the Fathers of the Church 800. yeares after Christ, to confyrme this which I speake.

Alph.

No you haue the Church agaynst you.

Brad.

I haue not Christes Church agaynst me.

Alph.

Yes that you haue. What is the Church?

Brad.

Christes wife, the chayre and seat of verity.

Alph.

Is she visible?

Brad.

Yea that she is to then that will put on the spectacles of Gods word to looke on her.*

Alph.

This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will proue by all the good Fathers from Christes Ascensiō euen for 800. yeares at the least continually.

Brad.

What will you so proue? Transubstantiation?

Alph.

Yea, that the bread is turned into Christes body.

Brad.

You speake more then you can do.

Alph.

That do I not.

Brad.

Then will I geue place.

Alph.

Will you beleue?

Brad.

Beliefe is Gods gift: therfore can not I promise: but I tell you that I will geue place: and I hope I shal beleue his truth alwayes, so good is he to me in Christ my sauior.

Alph.

Here the Frier founde a great faulte with Bradford that he made no difference betwixte habitus,^{*} and actus: as though actus which he called crudelity, had bene in our power. But this he let passe, & came agayne asking Bradford if he could proue it as he said, whether he wuld geue place.

Brad.

Yea that I will. Then called he for paper, pen & inke, to write, and then sayd I: what and if that I proue by the testimony of the Fathers, that continually for viij. hundreth yeres after Christ at the least, they did beleue that the substance of bread doth remayne in the Sacrament? what will you do?

Alph.

I will geue place.

Brad.

Then write you here that you will geue place if I so proue, & I will write that I wil geue place if you so proue: because ye are the auncient, ye shall haue the preheminence.

*Here the Frier fumed maruellously, and sayde: I came not to learne at thee, Are not here witnesses? (meaning the two Priestes) be not they sufficient? But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed ouer this matter of writing, the Frier would haue fallen to playne scolding.

Confes.

At the length the kinges Confessour asked Bradford what the second question was?

Brad.

That wicked men receiue not Christes bodye in the Sacrament, as S. Augustine speaketh of Iudas, that hee receiued Panem Domini, but not Panem Dominum.

Alph.

S. Augustine sayth not so.

Brad.

Yes that doth he.* So they arose and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without byddyng Bradford farewell.

A Priest.

After they were none, one of the Priestes came, & willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

Brad.

Syr, be not you so wauering: in all the scripture can not you finde me, non est panis.

Priest.

Yes that I can in fiue places.

Brad.

Then I will eat your booke.* So the booke was opened, but no place found: and he went his way smiling. God helpe vs.

¶**Talke betwene Mayster Bradford and Doctour Weston and others.**

IT folowed after this, vpō the 21. of the moneth of march,* that by meanes of one of the Earle of Darbyes mē, there came to the Counter to dyner one M. Collier, once Warden of Manchester, and the sayde seruaunt of the Earle of Darby, of whom Mayster Bradford learned that Doctor Weston Deane of Westminster woulde be with him in the after noone about two of the clocke. At dynner time, when the sayd Warden did discommend king Edward, & went aʒbout to set forth the authority of the Pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the kinges fayth, that it was Catholicke, and that the authority of the bishop of Romes supremacy was vsurped,* bringing forth the testimonye of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of supreme head, to be a title of the forerunner to Antichrist: a woman prysoner was brought in, wherupon the sayd Bradford tooke occasion to rise from the table, and so wēt to his prison chamber to beg of God grace, and helpe therin continuing there still vntill he was called down to speak with mayster Weston, which was then come in.

Mayster Bradford then being called downe, so soone as he was entred into the Hall,* M. Weston very gentlye tooke him by the hand, & asked how he did, with such other talke. At length he willed auoydaunce of the chamber: So they all went out, saue Mayster Weston himselfe, M. Colliar, the Earle of Darbyes seruant, the Subdeane of Westminster, the Keeper, Mayster Clayden, and the Parson of the Church where the Counter is.

Now thē he began with M. Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to haue come vnto him, beyng therto desired of the Earle of Darby: and (quoth he) after that I perceiued by his man, that you could be contēted rather to speake with me, then any others: I coulde not come but to do you good, if I can, for hurt you be sure I will not.

Bradford.

Syr quoth Mayster Bradford when I perceyued by the report of my Lords seruant: that you did beare me good will, more (as he sayd) then any other of your sort, I tolde him then, that therefore I could be better content & more willing to talke with you, if you shoulde come vnto me. This did I say quoth he, otherwise I desired not your comming.

West.

Wel quoth he: now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talke, certayn principles we must agree vpon, which shall be this dayes worke.

First (quoth he) I shall desire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the prayse of the world.*

Brad.

Syr S. Augustine maketh that in deed a piece of the definitiō of an heretick, which if I cannot put away cleane (for I thinke there will a spice of it remaine in vs, as long as this flesh liueth) yet I promise you by the grace of God that I purpose not to yeld to it. God I hope wil neuer suffer it to beare rule in them that striue there against, & desire all the dregges of it vtterly to be driuen out of vs.

Weston.

I am glad to heare you say so, although in deed I thinke you do not so much esteeme it as others do.

Secondly, I would desire you that you wil put away singularity in your iudgement and opinions.*

Brad.

Syr God forbid that I should sticke to any singularity or priuate iudgement in Gods Religion. Hytherto I haue not desired it, neyther doe, nor mynde at any tyme to hold any other doctrine then is publick and catholick, vnderstanding catholicke as good men do: according to Gods word.

West.

Uery well: this is a good dayes worke, I hope to do you good: & therfore now thirdly I shall pray you to write [Page 1620](#) me Capita of those thinges, wherupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednes'day next: vntill which time, yea vntil I come to you again be assured that you are without all perill of death. Of my infidelity,* warrant you I, therfore away with all dubitations. &c.

Brad.

Syr I will write to you the groundes I leane to in this matter. As for death, if it come welcome bee it, this which you require of me: shall be no great let to me therin.

West.

You know that S. Augustine was a Manichean yet was he cōuerted at the length: so haue I good hope of you.

Brad.

Syr because I will not flatter you: I woulde you should flatly know, that I am euen settled, in the Religion wherfore I am condemned.

West.

Yea, but if it be not the truth, & you see euident matter to the contrary, will you not then geue place.

Brad.

God forbid but that I should alwayes geue place to the truth.

West.

I would haue you to pray so.

Brad.

So I do, and that he will more and more confirme me in it, as I thanke God he hath done and doth.

West.

Yea but pray with a condition, if you be in it.

Brad.

No Syr, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth.

Well quoth Weston, as the learned Bishop aunswered S. Augustines mother, that though she was obstinate, yet the teares of such a mother could not but winne her sonne: so (quoth he) I hope your prayers (for then Bradfordes eyes dyd shewe that hee hadde wept in prayer) canne not but be heard of God, though not as you would yet, as best shall please God. Do you not, quoth he, remember the hystory thereof?

Brad.

Yea Syr (quoth Bradford) I thinke it be of Saynt Ambrose.

West.

No, that it is not. And here Westō would haue laid a wager, and begā to triumph, saying to Bradford: as you are ouersene herein, so are you in the other thinges.

Brad.

Well Syr, I will not contēd with you for the name. This (I remember) Saynt Augustine writeth in his confessions.

After this talke Weston begunne to tell M. Bradforde howe the people were by him procured to withstande the Queene.*

Whereunto Bradforde aunswering agayne, bade him hang him vp as a traytour, and a thefe, if euer he encouraged any to rebellion: whiche thing his Keeper and others that were there of the Priests, affirmed on his behalfe. So much talke there was to litle purpose at that time. Doctor Weston declared moreouer howe he had saued men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like.

The end was this, that Bradford should send vnto him, capita doctrinae of the supper, & after wednesday he woulde come vnto him agayne, and thus departed he after that he had dronken to him in beare and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of Germane writers, of the feare of death and such other talke which are to no purpose.

***An other disputation or talke betwene Mayster Bradford and Doctour Pendleton.**

*IN the meane time, whē Mayster Bradford had written his reasons and argumentes, & had sent them to Doctor Weston: in short space after about the 28. of Marche, there came to the Counter Doctour Pendleton, and with hym the foresayd M. Collier, sometime Warden of Manchester and Steuen Bech. After salutations Mayster Pendleton began to speak to Bradford, that he was sory for his trouble. And further (quoth he) after that I didde knowe you could be content to talke with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to doe thee good and pleasure thee that I can, as ye would wish.

Brad.

Syr, the maner how I was content to speake wyth you, was on this sorte: Mayster Bech was often in hande with me whom he shoulde bring vnto me, and named you amongst other: and I sayd that I had rather speake with you then with any of all the other. Nowe the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remēber that once you were (as farre as a man might iudge) of the Religion that I am of at this present,* and I remember that you haue set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therfore would I learn of you what thing it was that moued your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you haue sene sithen, which you saw not before.

Pendleton.

Maister Bradford, I doe not know wherefore you are condemned.

Bradford.

Transubstantiation is the cause wherfore I am condemned, and because I denye that wicked men receyue Christes body: wherein I woulde desire you to shewe me what reasons, which before you knew not, did moue your conscience now to alter. For once (as I sayd) you were as I am in Religion.

Here mayster Pendleton halfe amazed, began to excuse himselfe if it would haue bene, as though he had not denied fully transubstantiation in deede, although I sayde (quoth he) that the word was not in Scripture,* and so hee made an endlesse tale of the thing that moued hym to alter: but (sayd he) I wil gather to you the places which moued me, and send you them. And here he desired Bradforde that hee might haue a cotype of that whiche he had sent to Mayster Weston: the which Bradford did promise him.

Syme reasoning also they had, whether euill men dyd receiue Christes body, Bradford denying and Pendleton affirming. Bradford sayd that they receiued not the spirit. Ergo, not the body: for it is no 〈◇〉 carkas. Hereto Bradford brought also S. Augustine, how Iudas receiued Panem

Domini, and not Panem Dominum, & how that he muste be in Christs body, which must receiue the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with idem, and not ad idem, and how that in Corpore Christi was to be vnderstand of all that be in the visible Church with Gods elect. Bradforde denyed this to be Saynt Augustines meaning, and sayd also that the allegation of idem▪ and not ad idem, could not make for that purpose. They talked more of Transubstantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian: **Panis natura mutatur.* &c. And Bradforde sayde that in that place natura did not signify substaunce. As the nature of an herbe is not the substaunce of it: so the breade chaunged in nature is not to be taken for chaunged in substaunce: For now it is ordeined not for the foode of the body simply, but rather for the soule. Here also Bradford alleadged the sentence of Gelasius. Pendleton sayde, that he was a Pope. Yea sayd Bradford, but his faith is my fayth in the Sacrament, if ye would receiue it.

They reasoned also whether accidentia were res or no. If they be properly res, sayde Bradford, then are they substaunces: and if they be substances they are earthly,* & then are there earthly substaunces in the Sacramen as Irenaeus sayth, which must needes be bread. But Pendleton sayde that the colour was the earthly thing, and called it an accidentall substaunce.

I omitte the talke they had of my Lord of Canterbury of Peter Martyrs booke, of Pendletons Letter layde to Bradfordes charge when he was condemned, with other talke more of the Church: whether Dic Ecclesiae was spokē of the vniuersall Church, or of a particular (which Pēdleton at the length graunted to bee spoken of a particulare Church) also of vayne glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of, and such like talke: A litle before his departing Bradford sayd thus: Maister Doctor,* as I said to M. Weston the last day, so saye I vnto you agayne, that I am the same man in Religion agaynst Transubstantiation styll, which I was whē I came into prison: for hitherto I haue sene nothing in any poynt to infirme me. At which words Pendleton was something moued, and said that it was no Catholicke doctrine. Yes, quoth Bradford, and that wil I proue euen by the testimony of the Catholicke fathers vntill Concilium Lateranense, or thereabout. Thus Pendleton wēt his way, saying that he would come oftener to Bradford. God our father be with vs all, and geue vs the spirite of his truth for euer. Amen.

The same day in the afternoone, about fiue of the clock, came Mayster Weston to Bradford: and after gentle salutations, he desired the company euery man to depart, & so they two sat downe. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing vnto him, he pulled out of his bosome the same writing, which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that foloweth.

***Certayne reasons agaynst Transubstantiation gathered by Iohn Bradford, and geuen to Doctour Weston and others.**

1. THat which is former (sayth Tertullian) is true: that whiche is latter is false.* But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Councel of Laterane, about 1215. yeares after Christes comming, vnder Pope Innocentius the thyrd of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to beleue it or not beleue it: as the Bishop of Duresme doth witnesse in his booke of the presence of Christ in his Supper lately put forth: Ergo the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is false.

2. That the words of Christes supper be figuratiue, the circūstāces of the scripture, the Analogy or proportiō of the sacramētes,* & the sentēces of all the holy fathers, which were & did write for

the space 1000. yeares after Christes Ascension, do teach: wherevpon it foloweth, that there is no transubstantiation.

[Page 1621](#)3. That the Lord gaue to his Disciples bread and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witnesse. For he gaue that & called it his body which he tooke in his handes, wheron he gaue thanks, which also he brake, & gaue to his Disciples, that is to say, bread, as the fathers, [*Iraeneus](#), Tertullian, Origene, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of antiquity, doe affirme: but in as much as the substaunce of breade and wine is an other thing then the substance of the body & bloud of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

4. The bread is no more transubstantiate then the wine: but that the wine is not trāsubstāiate, S. Mathew & S. Mark do teach vs: for they witnes that Christ sayd that he would drinke no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not bloud but wine: and therfore it foloweth, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostome vpō Mathew and S. Cyprian do affirme this reason.

5. As the bread in the Lodes Supper is Christes naturall bodye, so is it his mysticall body: for the same spirit that spake of it: This is my body, [*did](#) say also: for we many are one bread, one body. &c. but now it is not the mysticall body by transubstantiation, and therfore it is not his naturall body by transubstantiation.

6. The wordes spoken ouer the cup in S. Luke and Paule, are not so mighty and effectuell as to transubstantiate it: For then it or that which is in it should be transubstantiate into the new Testament: therfore the wordes spoken ouer the bread are not so migh^ty as to make transubstantiation.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those Churches whiche be Apostolicke, mother Churches or originall churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these Churches receiued of the Apostles, the Apostles of Christ, Christ of GOD. But it is manifest that the doctrine taught at this present of the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the Apostolicke and mother Churches in Grece of Corinthus, [*of](#) Phillppos, Colossia, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which neuer taught transubstantiation: yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in times past. For Gelasius the Pope setting forth the doctrine which that sea did thē hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproueth them of the sacriledge which deuide the mistery, and keepe from the Laity the cup: Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth.

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his bosome: & yet before he began to read it, he shewed Bradford that he asked of his conuersatiō at Cābridge sithen his last being with him: and (quoth he) Mayster Bradford, because you are a man not geuen to the glory of the world, I will speake it before your face: Your life I haue learned was such there alwayes, as all men, euen the greatest enemyes you haue, can not but prayse it, and therefore I loue you much better then euer I did: but now I will reade ouer your argumentes, and so we will conferre them. Such they are, that a man may well perceiue you stand on cōscience, & therfore I am the more redy & glad to pity you. So he began to read the first: to the which he sayd, that though the word transubstantiatiō began but lately: yet the thyng alwayes was, and hath bene sithen Christes institution.

Brad.

I do not contend or hang vpon the worde onely, but vpon the thing which is as new as the word.

West.

Then went he to the seconde, and there brought out S. Augustine,* how that if an euill man goyng to the deuill did make his will, his sonne & heyre would not say his father did lye in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ going to God, did neuer lye or vse any figuratiue spech in his last wil and testament. Do you not remember this place of S. Augustine, sayd he?

Brad.

Yes Syr, but I remember not that S. Augustine hath those wordes tropicè or figuratiue, as you rehearse thē: for any man may speak a thing figuratiuely, and lye not: & so Christ did in his last Supper.

West.

After this he went to the thyrd, and brought forth Cyprian, howe that the nature of the bread is turned into flesh. Here (sayth he) my Lord of Caunterbury expoundeth nature for quality, by Gelasius: the which interpretatiō serueth for the answere of your third argument, y^t Christ called bread his body: that is, the quality, forme, & apperance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names whiche they had before,* as Symon the Leaper: he was not so presētly, but because he had bene so.

Brad.

Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expoūd Gelasius, but Gelasius, Cyprian: and so they both teach that bread remaineth stil. As for things hauing still the names they had, is no aunswere, except you could shew that this nowe were not breade, as easily as a man might haue known & sene then Symon to haue bene healed and cleare from his Leprosye.

West.

After this he went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talke of Cyprians Epistle De Aquarijs: also of S. Augustine, expounding the breaking of breade by Christ to his two Disciples going to Emaus, to be the Sacrament, with such other talk to no certaine purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that in as much as he had written the reasons that stablished his fayth agaynst Transubstantiation,* so hee woulde likewise doe to him, that is, aunswere him by writing, and shew him moe reasons in writing to confirme Transubstantiation. Which Doctor Weston promised to do, & sayde that he would send or bring it to Bradford agayne within three dayes.

Thus when he had ouer read the argumentes, & here and there spokē litle to the purpose for the auoiding of thē, and Bradford had prayed him to geue him in writing hys aunsweres: then he

began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford neded not to feare any reproch or sclaunder he should suffer,* meaning belike, to haue Bradford secretly come to thē, as Grimoald did: for he subscribed.

Brad.

Maister Deane I would not gladly that you should conceiue of me that I passe of shame of men simply in thys matter: I rather would haue you to think of me,* as the very truth is, that hitherto as I haue not sene nor heard any thing to infirme my fayth agaynst Transubstantiation, so I am no lesse settled in it, then I was at my cōming hither. I loue to be playne with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall finde at the last.

West.

In good fayth maister Bradford, I loue you the better for your playnnes: & do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall finde me playne in all my talke with you.

Here Weston began to aske Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation: and so Bradford told him altoge|ther: how he had bene handled. Whereat Weston seemed to wonder: yea in playne wordes he sayd, that Bradford had bene handled otherwise thē he had geuē cause, & so shewed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deserued a Benefite at the Queenes hande, and at all the Counsell.

In this kinde of talke they spent an houre almost, and so as one weery, Bradford arose vp, and Weston called to the Keeper, and before him he bad Bradford be of good cōfort, and sayd that he was out of all perill of death.

Keeper.

Syr (quoth the keeper) but it is in euers mannes mouth that he shall dye to morow.

West.

Wherat Weston seemed halfe amazed, and sayde hee would go say Euēsong before the Queene,* & speake to her in his behalfe. But it is to be thought, that the queene had almost supped at that presēt? for it was past 6, of the clocke.

Brad.

Before the Keeper, Bradforde tolde Weston agayne that still he was one man: and euen as he was at the first, and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the cōtrary, he sayd he must needes so continue.

Keeper.

The keeper desired Bradford to harken to maister Doctors counsell, and prayd M. Doctour to be good vnto him: and so after they had dronke together, M. Doct. with most gentle wordes tooke his leaue for 3. dayes.

Now when he was gone, the Keeper tolde Bradford, that Mayster Doctour spake openly, how that he sawe no cause why they should burne him. Whiche sentence for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sory least he had behaued himselfe in any thing, wherein he had gathe'ed any conformablenes to them in theyr doctrine whyche God knoweth, sayeth Bradforde, I neuer as yet did. God our father blesse vs, as his children, and keepe vs from all euill for euer. Amen.

¶An other talke or conference betwene M. Bradford, and Doctour Weston.

Vpon the fifth day of April came M. Doctor Weston to the Counter about two of the clocke in the afternoone,* who excused himselfe for being so long absent: partlye by sicknes, partly for that Doctour Pendleton tolde him that he would come vnto him, and partly for that (quoth he) I withstood certayne Monkes, whiche woulde haue come agayne into Westminster telling him moreouer howe that the Pope was dead, & also declared vnto him how he had spoken to the Queene in his behalfe, and howe that death was not neare vnto him.

Weston.

Last of all, he excused himselfe for not aunswering his argumentes agaynst Transubstantiation: because my comming to day (quoth he) was more by fortune then of purpose,

Brad.

I woulde gladly M. Doctor if it please you, see your aunsweres to my argumentes.*

West.

Why you haue remēbred some thing what I spake to you when I was last with you.

Brad.

No Syr. I neuer called them in maner to mynde, sythen that tyme, as well because I hoped you woulde [Page 1622](#) haue written them: as also for that they seemed not to be so materiall.

West.

In good fayth I can not see any other or better way for you, then for to submit your self to the iudgement of the Church.

Brad.

Mary so will I Syr, if it so be by the church you vnderstand Christes Church.

West.

*Lo, you take vpon you to iudge the Church.

Brad

No sir that do I not: in taking vpon me to discerne I do not iudge the Church.

West.

Yes that you do, and make it inuisible.

Brad.

I do neither.

West.

Why, who can see your Church.

Brad.

Those Syr, that haue spirituall eies, wherwith they might haue discerned Christes visible conuersation here vpon earth.*

West.

Nay: Christes Church hath three tokens, that all mē may looke well vpon: namely, vnity, antiquity, & consent.

Brad.

These three, may be as wel in euil as in good, as wel in sin as in vertue, as well in the deuils church as in gods church: As for ensample, Idolatry amongst the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostome telleth plainely, as you well know, that the church is well known, Tantūmodo per scrip|turas, alonely by the scriptures.

West.

In good fayth, you make your Church inuisible whē you will haue it knowne alonely by the scriptures.

Brad.

No Sir the Scriptures doe playnely set forth to vs the church, that all mē may well enough therby know her, if they li•t to looke.

West.

The Church is like a Tower or towne vpon a hill, that all men may see.

Brad.

True Syr, all menne that be not blinde. Uisible enough is the church, but mens blindnes is great. Impute not therfore to the Church,* that which is to be imputed to mens blindnes.

West.

Where was your Church fourtye yeares agoe? or where is it now? except in a corner of Germany?

Brad.

Forsoothe Syr, the Church of Christ is dispersed, and not tyed to this or that place, but to the word of God: so that where it is, there is Gods Church, if it be truely taught.

West.

Loe, is not this to make the church inuisible? poynt me out a Realme a hundred yeres past, which mainteined your doctrine?

Brad.

Syr, if you will, or would wel marke the state of the Church before Christes cōming,* with it now (as S. Paule and Peter willeth vs) I thinke you woulde not looke for such shewes of the Church to be made, as to poynt it by Realmes. You know that in Helias time both in Israell, and els where, Gods Church was not poyntable: & therfore cryed he out that he was left alone.

West.

No mary, did not God say, that there was 7000. whiche had not bowed theyr knees to Baal? Loe then 7000. shew me seuen thowsande a hundred yeares agoe of your Religion.

Brad.

Syr, these 7000. were not knowne to men, for then Helias would not haue sayde, that he had bene left alone. And it is plain enough by that, which the text hath, namely that God saith, Reliqui mihi, I haue reserued to me. 7000. Marke that it sayth,* God had reserued to hymselfe, to his

owne knowledge, as I doubt not but a hundreth yeres agoe God had his 7000. in his proper places, though men knew not therof.

West.

Well, Mayster Bradford, I will not make your case worse, then for transubstantiation, although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it your selfe not worse. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no Prince, & therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit your selfe to the definition of the Church.

Brad.

Syr, so that you will define me your church, that vnder it you bring not in a false Church: you shall not see but that we shall soone be at a poynt.

West.

In good fayth M. Bradforde, I see no good will be done, & therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again, and so he sent for M. Weale, and departed.

Nowe after his departing, came the keeper M. Claydon, and Steuen Bech, and they were very hote with master Bradford, & spake vnto him in such sort that he should not looke but to haue them vtter enemies vnto him, notwithstanding the frendshippe they both had hytherto pretended. God be with vs, and what matter is it who be agaynst vs.

Among diuers which came to Mayster Bradforde in Prison, some to dispute and conferre, some to geue counsell, some to take comforte, and some to visite him, there was a certayne Gentlewomans seruaunt,*¹ whiche Gentlewoman had bene cruelly afflicted and miserably handled by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her fathers house, for not comming to the Masse, and like at length to haue bene pursued to death, had not the Lorde deliuered her out of her fathers house, beyng put from all that euer she had. This Gentlewomans seruaunt therefore being sent to Maister Bradford with recommendations, had this talke with him, which I thought here not to ouerslyp.

¶A Colloquy betwene M. Bradford and a Gentlewomans seruaunt, being sent to visite him in prison.

THIS seruant or messenger of the foresayd Gentlewomā comming to M. Bradford,*² and taking him by the hand sayd: God be thanked for you. How do you?

Brad.

Mayster Bradford answered: Well, I thanke God. For as men in sayling, which be neare to the shore or hauē where they would be, would be nearer: euen so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Seruant.

Sir, I haue neuer sene you so strong & healthsom of body, as me thinke you be now, God be thanked for it.

Brad.

Why, quoth he, I haue geuen ouer all care & study, and onely doe I couet to bee talking with him, whome I haue alwayes studyed to be withall.

Seru.

Wel, God hath done much for you, since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wonderously in you to his glory.

Brad.

Truth it is, for he hath dealt fauourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sinnes, but hath suffered me to liue, that I might seeke repentance.

Seru.

Truly we heare say, there is a rod made so greuous, out of the which I thinke no man shall plucke his head.

Brad.

Well, let all that be of Christes flocke, arme thēselues to suffer, for I thinke verely, God will not haue one of hys to escape vntouched, if hee loue him, let them seeke what meanes or wayes they can.

Seru.

We'l sir,* there goeth a talke of a Fryer that shoulde preach before the king, & should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent bloud that hath bene shed of late.

Brad.

Uerely, quoth Bradford, I had a booke within these two dayes of his writing, & therein he sayth, that it is not mest nor conuenient that the heretickes should liue: & ther^efore I haue maruell how that talke should rise, for I haue heard of it also, and I haue also talked with this Fryer (he is named Fryer Fonse) and with diuers other,* & I prayse God, they haue confirmed me: for they haue nothing to say but that which is most vayne.

Seru.

Syr, Father Cardmaker hath him commended vnto you.

Brad.

How doth he, how doth he?

Seru.

Well God be thanked.

Brad.

I am very glad therof: for in deed for my lord Chancellour did cast him in my teeth, but as Dauid sayth, God hath disappoynted him.

Seru.

Forsooth, Gods name be prayسد, he is very strong.

Brad.

And I trust, so are we. What els? our quarel is most iust: therefore let vs not be afrayd.

Seru.

My maystres hath her recommended vnto you.

Brad.

How doth she?

Seru.

Well, God be prayسد, but she hath bene sorer afflicted with her owne father and mother, then euer you were with your imprisonment, and yet God hath preserued her, I trust, to his glory.

Brad.

I pray you tell her, I read this day a godly historye, written by Basilius magnus,* of a vertuous woman whiche was a widdow, and was named Iuleddo. She had great landes, and many childrē, and nigh her dwelled a Cormorant, which for her vertuousnes, & godly lyuing had great indignitiō at her, & of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was cōstrained to go to the law with him: & in conclusion the matter came to the triall before the Iudge, who demaunded of this Tyrant why he wrongfully with held these lands frō this woman. He made answer & said: he might so do, for (sayth he) this womā is disobedient to y^e kings proceedings: for she wil in no

wise worship his gods nor offer sacrifice vnto thē. Then the Iudge hearing that, sayd vnto her: Womā, if this be true, thou art not only like to loose thy land, but also thy life, vnles that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice vnto them. This godly woman hearing that, stept me forth to the Iudge, & sayd: Is there no remedy, but either to worship your false gods, or els to loose my landes & life? then farewell sute, farewell landes, farewell childrē, farewell frendes, yea & farewell life too: and in respect of y^e true honor of the euerliuing God, farewell all. And with that saying did the Iudge cōmit her to pryson, [Page 1623](#) and afterward she suffred most cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all womē to be strong and constant. For (sayth she) ye were redeemed with as deare a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man,* yet be you also of his flesh: so that also in the case & triall of your fayth towards God, ye ought to be as strong. And thus dyed shee constantly, not fearyng death. I pray you tell your Maistresse of this history.

Seru.

That shall I sir by Gods grace: for she told me that shee was with you and M. Saunders, and receiued your gentle counsell.

Brad.

We neuer gaue her other counsell but the trueth, & in witnes therof we haue & wil seale it with our blouds. For I thought this night that I had bene sent for, because at a 11. of the clocke there was such rapping at the dore.

Then answered a mayd, and sayd: why thē I perceiue you were afrayd.

Brad.

*Ye shall heare how fearefull I was. For I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was a sleepe, these men came into the next chamber, and sang, as it was tolde me, and yet for all my fearefulnes I heard thē not: therfore belike I was not afrayd, that slept so fast.

Seru.

Do you lacke any thing toward your necessity?

Brad.

Nothing but your prayers, & I trust I haue them, and you mine.

Seru.

I saw a priest come to you to day in the morning.

Brad.

Yea, he brought me a letter from a Fryer, and I am writing an answeare.

Seru.

Then we let you, therefore the liuing God be wyth you.

Brad.

And with you also, and blesse you.

Seru.

Amen, sayd we, and gaue him thanks, & departed.

*Thus still in prison continued Bradford, vntill the moneth of Iuly, in such labors & suffrings as he before alwayes had susteyned in prison. But when the time of hys determined death was come, he was sodēly conueyed out of the Counter where he was prisoner, in the night season to Newgate, as afore is declared, & frō thence he was caried the next morning to Smithfield, where he constantly abiding in the same truth of God, which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent & to return to Christ, & sweetly comforting the godly yong springall of 19. or 20. yeares old, which was burned with him, chearefully he ended his paynefull life, to liue with Christ.

¶Iohn Leafe burnt with M. Bradford.

*With whō also was burnt one Iohn Leafe an apprētice to Humfrey Gawdy Tallow Chaundlor, of the parish of Christs church in London, of the age of 19. yeres and aboue, borne at Kirkeby Moreside, in the Countye of Yorke: who vpō the friday next before Palme sonday was cōmitted to the Counter in Breadstreete, * by an Alderman of London, who had rule & charge of that warde or part of the City, where the sayd Leafe did dwell. After he cōmyng to examination before Boner, gaue a firme & Christian testimony of his doctrine & profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the sayd Bishop.

First, as touching his beliefe & fayth in the sayd sacrament of the aultar, * he answered, that after y^e words of consecration spoken by the priest ouer the bread & wine, there was not the very true & naturall body & bloud of Christ in substance: and further did hold and beleue, that the sayd sacramēt of the aultar, as it is now called, vsed, & beleued in this realme of Englād, is idolatrous & abhominable: & also sayd further, that he beleued, that after the words of cōsecration spoken by the Priest ouer the material bread and wine, there is not the selfe same substance of Christes body & bloud there cōteined, but bread & wine, as it was before: and further sayd, that he beleued, that when the priest deliuereth the said material bread & wine to the cōmunicants, he deliuereth but onely * material bread and wyne, and the communicants do receiue the same in remēbrance of Christes death and passion, and spiritually in fayth they receiue Christs body and bloud, but not vnder the formes of bread and wine: and also affirmed that he beleued auricular confession not to be necessary to be made vnto a priest, for it is no poynt of soule health, neither that the Priest hath anye authority geuen him by the Scripture, to absolue and remit any sinne.

Upon these his answeres and testimony of his fayth, he at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the x. of Iune, to appere again in the said place, there and then to heare the sentence of his condemnatō: who so did. At what time the foresayd Bishop propounding the sayd articles again to him, as before, assaying by al maner of wayes, to reuoke him to his owne trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his perswasīōs, threatens and promises, found him the same man still, so planted vpon the sure rocke of truth, that no wordes nor deedes of men could remoue him.

Then the bishop after many wordes to and fro, at last asked him, if he had bene M. Rogers scholler? * To whō the foresayd Iohn Leafe answered agayne, graunting him so to be: and that he the same Iohn did beleue in the doctrine of the sayd Rogers, and in the doctrine of Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and other of their opinion, which of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would dye in that doctrine that they dyed for: And after other replications agayne of the Bishop, mouing him to returne to the vnity of the Church, he with a great courage of spirite answered agayne in these words: My Lord quoth he, you cal mine opiniō heresy: it is the true light of the word of God: and agayne repeating the same, he professed that he would neuer forsake his stayed & well grounded opinion, while y^e breath should be in his body. Wherupon the Bishop being too weake, eyther to refute his sentence, or to remoue hys constancy, proceeded consequently to read the Popish sentence of cruell condemnatō, * wherby this godly & constant young man being cōmitted to the secular power of the shiriffes there present, was thē adiudged, & not long after suffered the same day with M. Bradford, confirming w^t hys death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of the said Iohn Leafe, by one that was in the Counter the same time, and saw the thing, * that after his examinations before the Bishop, when two bills were sent vnto him in the Coūter in Bredstreet, the one conteyning a recantation, the other his confessions, to knowe to which of them he would put to his hand, first hearyng the Byll of recantation read vnto him (because he coulde not read nor write hymselfe) that he refused. And when the other was read vnto him, which he well liked of, in stead of a pen he tooke a pinne, and so pricking his hand, sprinckled the bloud vpon the sayd bill, willing the reader thereof, to shew the Bishop, that he had sealed the same Bill with his bloud already.

***The behauour of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and the young man that suffered with him in Smithfield, named Iohn Leafe, a Prentise, which both suffered for the testimony of Christ.**

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfielde to bee burned, * M. Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the yoūg man Iohn Leafe on the other side, they lay flat on theyr faces, praying to thēselues the space of a minute of an houre. Then one of the Sheriffes sayde to M. Bradford: Arise and make an end: for the prease of the people is great.

At that word they both stode vp vpon their feete: and then M. Bradford tooke a fagot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the Sheriffes that his seruant might haue his rayment. For (sayde he) I haue nothing els to geue him: and besides that, he is a poore man. And the Shiriffe sayde, hee should haue it. And so forthwith M. Bradford did put off his rayment, and went to the stake: and holding vp hys handes and casting his countenance to heauen, he sayde thus: O England, England, repent thee of thy sinnes, repēt thee of thy sinnes. Beware of Idolatrye, * beware of false Antichristes take heede

they do not deceiue you. And as he was speaking these wordes, the Sheriffe bade tye his hands, if he would not be quiet. O M. Sheriffe (sayd M. Bradford) I am quiet: God forgeue you this, Mayster Sheriffe. And one of the officers wich made the fire, hearing Mayster Bradford so speaking to the Shiriffe, sayde: If you haue no better learninge then that, you are but a foole, and were best to hold your peace. To the which wordes M. Bradford gaue no answe: but asked all the world forgeuenesse, and forgaued all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned hys head vnto the young man that suffered with him, and sayd: Bee of good comfort Brother, for we shall haue a mery supper with the Lorde thys night: and so spake no more wordes that any man did heare, but imbracing the Reedes, sayd thus: Strayt is the way, and narrow is the Gate that leadeth to eternall saluation,*and fewe there bee that finde it.

And thus they both ended theyr mortall liues, moste likest two Lambes, without any alteration of their countenance, beyng voyde of all feare, hoping to obtaine the price of the game that they had long runne at: to the which I beseeche Almightye God happily to conducte vs, thorow the merites of Iesus Christe our Lorde and Sauior. Amen.

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[illustration]

☛**The description of the burning of M. Iohn Bradford Preacher, and Iohn Leafe a Prentise.**

TOuching M. Wodroffe the Sheriffe, mention is made a little before,* how churlishly here hee aunswered M. Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speake, but cōmaunding his handes to be tyed. &c. The like extremity or worse, he vsed also before to M. Rogers: whereof ye haue heard before.

The sayd Wodroffe Sheriffe aboue mentioned, was ioyned in office with an other,* called Syr William Chester, for the yeare 1555. Betweene these two Sheriffes such difference there was of iudgement and Religion, that the one, that is, Maister Wodroffe, was woont commonly to laugh,* y^e other to shedde teares at the death of Christs people. And where as the other was woont to restrayne and to beate the people, whiche were desirous to take them by the handes that should be burned: the other Sheriffe contrariwise agayne with much sorrow and mildnesse behaued himselfe, which I wish here to be spoken & known to the commendation of him, although I doe not greatly know the partie.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the seuere punishmēt of Gods hand agaynst the sayde Wodroffe, as agaynst all other such cruell persecutours, so it happened, that within halfe a yeare after the burning of this blessed Martyr, the sayde Sheriffe was so stricken on the right side with such a paulsie, or stroke of Gods hand whatsoever it was, that for the space of eight yeares after, till hys dying day, hee was not able to turne himselfe in his bed, but as two men with a sheete were fayn to stirre him: and withall such an insaciable deuouring came vpon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight yeares together.

¶**In mortem Iohannis Bradfordi constantissimi Martyris.**

*Discipulo nulli supra licet esse magistrum:

Quique Deo seruit, tristia multa feret.

Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem:

Ad coelum stricta est difficilisque via.

Has Bradforde tuo dum condis pictore voces:

Non hominum rigidas terribilesque minas,

Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,

Tradis & accensae membra cremanda pyrae.

Here follow the letters of M. Bradford.

THis godly Bradford and heauenly martyr,* duryng the tyme of his imprisonment, wrote sondrye comfortable Treatises, and many godly Letters, of whiche, some hee wrote to the Citty of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lankeshyre and Chesshyre, & diuers to his other priuate friendes. By the which foresayd Letters, to the intent it may appeare how godly this man occupied hys time being prisoner, what speciall zeale he bare to the state of christes Church, what care he had to performe his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, howe tenderly he comforted the heauy harted: how fruitfully he confirmed thē whom he had taught, I thought here good to place y^e same although to exhibite here all the letters that he wrote,* (being in number so many, that they are able to fill a booke) it cannot well be compassed, yet neuerthelesse we mynde to excerpt the principal of them, referring the reader for the residue, to the booke of Letters of the martyrs, where they may be found.

And first, for so much as yee heard in the storye before,* how the Earle of Darby complayned in the Parliament house, of certayne Letters written of Iohn Bradford out of prison, to Lancashyre, and also howe hee was charged both of the Bishop of Winchester, and of M. Allen wyth the same letters, to the intent the Reader more perfectly may vnderstand what letters they were, being written in deede to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we wil beginne first with the same letters: the copy with the contentes wherof is thys, as followeth.

¶A comfortable letter of M. Bradford to hys Mother, a godly matrone, dwelling in Manchester, and to hys brethren and sisters, and other of his frendes there.

OUR deare and sweete Sauioure Iesus Christ, whose prisoner at this present (prayed be his name therfore) I am, preserue and keepe you my good mother,* wyth my brothers and sisters, my Father Iohn Traues, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and Iames Bradshawe, with theyr wiues and families. &c. now and for euer. Amen.

I am at this present in prison sure enough for starring, to confirme that I haue preached vnto you: as I am ready (I thanke God) with my lyfe and bloud to seale the same, if god vouch me worthy of that honor. For good mother and brethren, it is a most speciall benefite of God, to [Page 1625](#)

suffer for his names sake and gospel, as now I doe: I hartily thanke him for it, and am sure that with him I shal be partaker of his glory, as Paule sayth? If we suffer with hym we shall raygne with him. Therefore be not faynt harted, but rather reioyce,* at the least for my sake which now am in y^e right and high way to heauen: for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdome of heauen.* Now will God make knowne his children. When the winde doth not blow, then can not a man know the wheate from y^e chaffe: but when the blast commeth, then fleeth away the chaffe, but the wheate remayneth, and is so farre from being hurt that by the winde it is more clensed from the chaffe and knowne to be whea•e. Gold when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are Gods children by the crosse of affliction.* Alwayes God beginneth his iudgement at hys house. Christ and the Apostles were in most miserie in the land of Iewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now Gods Children are first chastised in this worlde, that they should not be damned with the world: for surely great plagues of God hang ouer this Realme.

Ye all know there was neuer more knowledge of god and lesse godly liuing and true seruing of God. It was counted a foolishe thing to serue God truely,* and earnest prayer was not past vpon. Preaching was but a pastime. The Communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the fleshe, was farre out of vse. Almes was almost nothing. Malice, Couetousnes, and vncleannes, was cōmon euery where, with swearing, dronkenes, and idlenes. God therfore nowe is come, as you haue hearde mee preach, and because he will not damne vs with the world he beginneth to punishe vs: as me for my carnall liuinge. For as for my preaching, I am most certaine it is & was Gods trueth, and I trust to geue my life for it by Gods grace: But because I loued not the Gospell truely, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me: nay rather in punishing blesseth me. And in deede I thanke him more of this prison,* then of any Parlour, yea then of anye pleasure that euer I had: for in it I finde God my most sweet good God alwayes. The flesh is punished, first to admonish vs nowe hartily to liue as we professe, secondlye, to certifie the wicked of their iust damnation, if they repent not.

Perchaunce you are weakened in that whiche I haue preached, because God doth not defend it (as you thinke) but suffereth the popish doctrine to come agayne and preuayle: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth proue and try his children & people whether they wil vnfaynedly and simply hang on him & his worde.* So dyd he w^t the Israelites, bringing thē into a Desert after theyr comming out of Egypt, where (I meane the wildernes) was want of all thinges in comparison of that which they had in egipt. Christ, whē he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietnes with him, but rather war The world (sayth he) shall reioyce, but ye shall mourne & weepe but your weeping shalbe turned into ioy:*and therefore happye are they that mourne and weep, for they shalbe comforted. They are marked then with Gods marke in their foreheades, and not with the beastes marke, I meane the popes shauen •rowne,* who now with his shauelinges reioyce: but woe vnto them, for they shalbe cast down, they shal weep and mourne. The rich glutton had here his ioye and Lazarus sorowe, but afterwarde the time was chaunged. The end of carnall ioy is sorrow. Now let the whoremōger ioy with the dronkarde, swearer, couetous, malicious and blinde bussarde syr Iohn: for the Masse will not byte them, neither make them to blushe, as preaching woulde. Nowe may they doe what they will, come deuils to the Church and goe deuils home, for no man must find fault. And they are glad of this: now haue they their hartes desire, as the Sodomites had when Lothe was gone, but what followed? Forsooth when they cried peace, al shalbe wel, then came Gods vengeance, fire &

brymstone frō heauen, and burnt vp euery mothers child: euen so deare mother will it do to our papistes.

Wherefore feare God: sticke to his word though all the world would swarue from it. Dye you must once, & when or how,* can you not tell. Dye therefore with Christ, suffer for seruing him truely and after his word: for sure may we be that of all deathes it is most to be desired to die for gods sake. This is the most safe kynde of dying: wee can not doubt but that wee shall goe to heauen, if wee dye for hys names sake. And that you shall dye for his names sake Gods word will warrant you, if you sticke to that which God by me hath taught you. You shal see that I speake as I thinke: for by Gods grace I will drincke before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

I doubt not but God wil geue me his grace, & strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a poynt euen when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, Prison nor pleasure (I trust in God) shalbe able to separte me from my Lorde God & his Gospell. In peace when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to heare mee, then did you beleue me and will you not do so now, seeing I speake that which I trust by Gods grace, if neede bee to verifie wyth my life? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I haue preached before him.

It is Gods truth I haue taught: It is that same infallible word whereof he sayd: Heauen and earth shall passe: but my word shall not passe The masse and such baggage as the false worshippers of God and enemies of Christes Crosse (the Papistes I say) haue brought in agayne,* to poyson the Church of God withall, displeaseth God highly, and is abhominable in his sight. Happy may he be whiche of conscience suffereth losse of life or goodes in dissalowing it. Come not at it. If God be God follow him: If y^e Masse be God: let them that will, see it, heare, or be present at it,* & go to the deuill with it. What is there as God ordayned? His supper was ordayned to be receiued of vs in the memoriall of his death, for the confirmation of our fayth, that his body was broken for vs, & his bloud shed for pardon of our sinnes: but in the masse there is no receiuing, but the p[•]iest keepeth all to himselfe alone. Christ sayth, Take eate: No, sayth the Priest: gape, peepe. There is a sacrificing, yea killing of Christ agayne as much as they may. There is Idolatry in worshipping the outward signe of bread & wyne, there is all in Latine, you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordeyned. Wherefore my good mother come not at it.

Oh, will some say, it will hinder you,* if you refuse to come to masse and to do as other do. But God wil further you, (be you assured) as you shall one day find: who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or losse of anye thing in this world, his great blessing here, and in y^e world to come life euerlasting.

You shall bee counted an hereticke: but not of others then of hereticke, whose prayse is a disprayse.

You are not able to reason agaynst the Priestes: but God wil, that all they shall not be able to withstand you. No body wil do so but you onely: In deede no matter, for •ewe enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to saluation. Howbeit, you shall haue with you (I doubt not) Father Traues and other my brothers and sisters to go with you therein: but if they will not, I your sonne in God (I trust) shall not leaue you an inche, but go before you: pray that I may, & geue thanks

for me. Reioyce in my suffering, for it is for your sakes to confirme the truth I haue taught. How soeuer you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traues his handes: [*](#) for if it should be knowne that I haue pen and inke in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to your selues keep this letter, commending me to God & his mercy in Christ Iesus, who make me worthy for his names sake, to geue my life for his Gospel and Church sake. Out of the Tower of London, the sixt day of October. 1553.

My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough: Like the letter neuer the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is no point either in hand or tongue rebell, but rather if they cōmaund that which with good conscience you cānot obey, lay your head on the blocke, and suffer what soeuer they shall do or say. By pacience possesse your soules.

After the time that M. Bradford, was condemned, and sent to the Counter, it was purposed of his aduersaries, as ye heard before, that hee shoulde be had to Manchester where he was borne, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the Cittye of London, thinking to take his last Vale of them in this letter.

¶To the Citie of London.

TO all that professe the Gospell and true doctrine of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ in the Cittie of London, [*](#) Iohn Bradford a most vnworthy seruaunt of y^e Lord now not onely in prison, but also excommunicated & condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, & peace with increase of al godly knowledge and pietie, from God the father of mercy, through the merites of oure alone and omnisufficient Redeemer Iesus Christ, by the operation of the holy spirite for euer. Amen.

My dearely beloued brethren in our Sauour Christ, although the tyme, I haue to liue is very little (for hourly I looke when I shoulde be had hence to be conueyed into Lankeshyre, there to be burned, and to render my lyfe by [Page 1626](#) the prouidence of God, where I first receaued it by y^e same prouidence, and although the charge is great to keepe me from all things wherby I might signifie any thing to the world of my state: yet hauing, as now I haue, pen & inke, through Gods working, maugre the head of Satan and his souldiours, I thought good to write a shorte confession of my fayth, and thereto ioyne a little exhortation vnto you all, to liue according to your profession.

First, for my fayth, I do confesse and pray all the whole Congregation of Christ to beare witnesse with me of the same, that I do beleue constantly through the gift & goodnes of God, (for fayth is Gods onely gifte) all the 12. articles of the Symbole or Creede, commonly attributed to the collection of the Apostles. This my faythe I woulde gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple: but alas, by starts & stealth I write in maner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this breuitie in good part. And this fayth I holde, not because of the Creede it selfe, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth euery Article accordingly. This worde of God written by the Prophetes and Apostles, left and contayned in the Canonick bookes of the whole Bible, I do beleue to containe plentifully all thinges necessary to saluation, so that nothing (as necessary to saluation) ought to

be added thereto and therefore the Church of Christ,* nor none of his congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, thē which hereout hath his foundation and ground. In testimony of this fayth, I render and geue my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichrist of Rome to be Christes vicar generall and supreme head of his Catholicke and vniuersall Church here or els wherevpon earth: as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of Transubstantiation, and Christes reall, corporall, and carnall presence in his supper, vnder the formes and accidences of bread and wine.

To beleue Christ our Sauour to be the head of hys Church, and kinges in their Realmes to be the supreme powers, to whom euery soule oweth obedience, and to beleue that in the supper of Christ (which the Sacramente of the aaltar, as the Papists call it, and vse it, doth vtterly ouerthrow) is a true and very presēce of whole Christ God and man to the fayth of the receiuer, but not to the stander by & looker vpon as it is a true & very presence of bread & wine to the senses of men: to beleue this (I saye) will not serue, and therefore as an herericke I am condemned, and shalbe burned: whereof I aske God hartily mercy that I do no more reioyce then I do, hauing so great cause as to be an instrument wherein it may please my deare Lorde God and Sauour to suffer.

For albeit mo manifold sinnes, euen sithen I came into prison, haue deserued at the handes of God, not onely this tēporal, but also eternall fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life, which y^e Lord pardō, for his Christes sake, as I knowe he of his mercy hath done, & neuer will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condēnation, so great is his goodnes (praised therefore be his holy name) althogh (I say) my manifold and greeuous late sinnes haue deserued most iustly all the tyranny that mā or deuill can do vnto me,* and therefore I confesse that the Lorde is iust: & that his iudgements be true and deserued on my behalfe: yet y^e Bishoppes and Prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himselfe, his worde, his trueth, and Religion. And therefore I haue great cause, yea most great cause to reioice that euer I was borne, and hetherto kept of the Lord: that by my death, which is deserued for my sinnes, it pleaseth y^e heauenly father to glorifie his name, to testifie hys truth, to confirme his veritie,* to repugne his aduersaries. Oh good God and mercifull father, forgeue my great vnthākfulnes, especially herein.

And you my dearely beloued, for the Lord Iesu Christes sake, I humbly and hartily in his bowels & bloude do now for my last Vale and farewell in this present lyfe, beseeche you and euerye of you, that you will consider this worke of the Lord accordingly: First, by me to be admonished to beware of hipocrisie and carnall securitie: professe not the Gospell with tongue and lippes onely, but in hart & veritie:* frame and fashion your liues accordingly: beware Gods name be not euill spoken of, and the Gospell lesse regarded by your conuersation. God forgeue me that I haue not so hartily professed it as I shoulde haue done, but haue sought much my selfe therein. The Gospell is a new doctrine to the old man: it is new wyne, and therefore cannot be put in old bottels,* without more great hurt thē good wine to the bottels. If we will talke with y^e Lorde, we must put of our shoes and carnall affections: if wee will heare the voyce of the Lorde, we must wash our garmentes and be holy: if we will be Christes disciples, wee must deny our selues, take vp our crosse and follow Christ we cannot serue two maysters. If we seeke Christs kingdome, we must also seeke for the righteousnes thereof.* To this petition (Let thy kingdome come) we must ioyn, Thy will be done, done, on earth as it is in heauen. If wee will not be doers of the worde, but hearers of it onely, we sore deceiue our selues. If wee heare the gospell, and loue it not, we

declare our selues to be but fooles, and builders vpon the sand. The Lordes spirite hateth fayning: deceitfulnes the Lord abhorreth: if we come to him, wee must beware that we come not with a double hart: for then may chance that God will aunswere vs according to the blocke which is in our heart, and so we shall deceiue our selues and others.

To fayth see y^t we couple a good conscience, least wee make a shipwracke.* To the Lord we must come with fear and reuerence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christes: if we be Christes, we must crucifie our flesh with the lustes and concupiscences therof: if we wil be vnder grace sinne must not beare rule in vs. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leaue our hartes els where, least the Lordes wrath waxe hot,* and he take from vs the good remayning. In no case can y^e kingdome of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore my dearely beloued, let vs repent and be hartily sory y^t we haue so carnally, so hypocritically, so couetously, so vaynegloriously professed the gospell. For all these I confesse my selfe to the glory of God, that he may couer mine offences in the day of iudgement. Let the anger & plagues of God, most iustly fallen vpon vs, be applyed to euery one of our desertes, that from the bottome of our hartes euery of vs may say: It is I Lord that haue sinned agaynst thee: it is my hipocrisie, my vaynglory, my couetousnes, vncleanes, carnalitie, securitie, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, selfeloue,* and such like, which haue deserued the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good ministers by exile, prisonmēt, and death: it is my wickednes that cau'seth successe and increase of authoritie and peace to thine enemies. Oh be mercifull, be mercifull vnto vs.* Turne to vs agayne, O Lorde of hostes, & turne vs vnto thee: correct vs, but not in thy furie, least we be consumed in thyne anger: chastice vs not in thy wrathful displeasure: reprove vs not, but in the middest of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou marke what is done amisse, who shall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulnes, that thou mightest be worshipped. Oh then be mercifull vnto vs, y^t we might truely worship thee. Helpe vs, for the glorie of thy name: be mercifull vnto our sinnes, for they are great: O heale vs, and help vs for thine honor. Let not the wicked people say, where is their God. &c.

On this sort my right dearely beloued, let vs hartily bewayle our sinnes, repent vs of our former euil life, hartily and earnestly purpose to amēd our lyues in all things continually watch in prayer, diligently and reuerently attend, heare, and reade the holy scriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren.* Let vs reprove the workes of darckenes. Let vs flee frō al Idolatrye. Let vs abhorre the Antichristiā and romish rotten seruice, detest the popishe Masse, abrenounce their Romishe God, prepare our selues to the crosse, be obedient to all that be in authoritie in all thinges that be not agaynst God and his word for then aunswere with the Apostles: It is more meete to obey God then man. Howbeit neuer for any thinge resiste,* or rise agaynst the magistrates, Auenge not your selues, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whome vengeance pertayneth, and he in his tyme will reward it. If you feele in your selues an hope and trust in God, that he will neuer tempt you aboue that he will make you able to beare,* be assured the Lord will be true to you: and you shall be able to beare all brundes. But if you want this hope, flee and get you hence rather then by your tarying Gods name should be dishonored.

In summe, cast your care on the Lorde, knowing for most certayne, that he is carefull for you: with him are all the heares of your head numbred, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and wille: muche more thē, nothing shall happē to your bodies, which shall not be profitable, how soeuer for a time it seeme otherwise to your sences. Hang on the prouidence of

God,* not onely when you haue meanes to helpe you, but also when you haue no meanes, yea when all meanes be agaynst you. Geue him this honour, which of all other thinges he most chiefly requireth at your handes: namely beleue that you are his children through Christ, that he is your father and God through him, y^t he loueth you, pardoneth you al your offences, he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for euer. When you fall, he will put vnder his hande, you shall not lye still: before you cal vpon him, he heareth you: [Page 1627](#) out of euill hee will finally bryng you, and deliuer you to his eternall ioy. Doubt not my dearly beloued hereof, doubt not (I say) this will God your father do for you in respect, not of your selues, but in respect of christ your Cap'tayne your Pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shalbe able to catch you,* in him be quiet, & oftē cōsider your dignitie, namely how that ye be Gods children, the saints of God, citizens of heauen, temples of the holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and Lordes ouer all.

Therefore be ashamed to think, speake, or do any thing that should be vnseemely for Gods children, Gods saynts Christes members.* &c. Marueile not though the deuill and the worlde hate you, though ye be persecuted here: for the seruaunt is not aboue his mayster. Couet not earthly ryches,* feare not the power of man, loue not this world, nor thinges that be in this world: but long for the Lord Iesus his comming, at whiche time youre bodies shall be made like vnto his glorious body, when he appeareth you shall be like vnto him: when your lyfe shall thus be reuealed, then shall ye appeare with him in glory.

In the meane season liue in hope hereof. Let the lyfe you lead be in the faith of the sonne of God: For the iust doth liue by fayth, which fayth fleeth from al euill, & followeth y^e word of God as a Lanterne to her feete and a light to her steppes: her eyes be aboue where Christ is, shee behouldeth not the thinges present, but rather thinges to come: she glorieth in affliction, she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory whiche God will reueale to vs,* and in vs. Of this glory GOD graunt vs here a liuely taste: then shall wee runne after the sent it sendeth forth. It wil make vs valiaunt men to take to vs the kingdome of God: whyther the Lorde of mercy bryng vs in hys good tyme, through Chryste oure Lorde, to whome with the father and the holy ghost, three persōs and one God, be al honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

My dearly beloued, I woulde gladly haue geuen here my body to haue bene burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I haue taught here vnto you. But that my Countrey must haue. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards euery of you. Impute the want herein to tyme and trouble. Pardon me mine offensiue and negligent behauiour when I was amongst you. With me repent, & labour to amend. Continue in the trueth whiche I haue truely taught vnto you by preaching in al places where I haue come, Gods name therefore be prayسد. Confesse Christ when you be called, whatsoever commeth therof, and the God of peace be with vs all. Amen.

This xi. of Februar. an. 1555.

Your brother in bondes for the Lordes sake, Iohn Bradford.

To the vniuersitie and towne of Cambridge.

TO all that loue the Lorde Iesus and his true doctrine, being in the vniuersitie and towne of Cambridge,* Iohn Bradford a most vnworthy seruaunt of the Lord, nowe not onely prisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth, grace peace, and mercye, with increase of all godlines from God the father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Sauour Iesus Christ, by the liuely working of the holy spirite for euer. Amen.

Although I looke hourelly when I should be had to the stake (my right dearly beloued in the Lord, and although the charge ouer me is great and strayt: yet hauing by the prouidēce of God secretly pen and an ynke, I could not but something signifie vnto you my solicitude which I haue for you and euerye of you in the Lord, though not as I woulde, yet as I may. You haue often and openly heard the truth, (specialllye in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needeles to do any more but onely to put you in remembraunce of the same: but hitherto haue you not heard it confirmed, and, as it were, sealed vp, as now you doe and shall heare by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I haue deserued (through my vncleannes, hypocrisie, auarice, vainglory, idlenes, vnthankfulnes, and carnalitie, wherof I accuse my selfe, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternall death, and hell fire, much more then this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearly beloued, it is not these, or any of these thinges, wherfore the prelates do persecute me, but Gods verity and truth: yea euen christ him selfe is the onely cause and thing wherfore I nowe am condemned,* and shalbe burned as an hereticke, for because I will not graunt the Antichrist of Rome to be Christes vicar generall and supreme head of his church here, and euery where vppon earth, by Gods ordinaunce, and because I will not graunt suche corporall, reall, and carnall presence of Christes body & bloud in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substaunce of bread and wine, and is receiued of the wicked,* yea of dogges & mise. Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christes Church, as a rotten braunche, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

Therefore ye ought hartily to reioyce with me, and to geue thanks for me, that God the eternall father hath vouched safe our mother to bring vp any childe in whom it would please him to magnifie his holy name as hee doth,* and I hope for his mercye and truthe sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefite vppon earth can it be, as that that which deserued deathe by reason of my sinnes, should be deliuered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of Gods veritie and trueth? Thou my mother the Vniuersitie hast not onely had the truth of gods word playnely manifested vnto thee by reading, disputinge and preaching publickely and priuately: but now to make thee altogether excuselesse, and as it were, almost to sinne agaynst the holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the romysh route to suppress the veritie, and set out the contrary, thou hast my lyfe and bloud as a zeale to confirme thee: if thou wilt be confirmed▪ or els to confound thee and beare witnes agaynst thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and Clergye,* which nowe fill vp the measure of their fathers which slew the Prophetes and Apostles, that all righteous bloud from Abell to Bradforde, sued vpon the earth, may be required at theyr handes.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as tyme and libertie woulde suffer me (for loue and duetye I beare vnto thee) to admonishe thee good mother, and my sister the Towne, that you

would call to minde from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first workes. You know (if you wil these matters of the * Romish supremacy, and the Antichristian transubstantiation, wh•••by Christes supper is ouerthrowne, his priesthoode euacuat•, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word vnplaced, repentaunce repelled, fayth faynted, godlines extinguished, the Masse mayntayned, idolatry supported, and all impietie cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these opinions are not onely besides Gods word, but euen directly agaynst it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part agaynst God, agaynst whome you cannot preuayle.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and bloud I beseeche you, to take Christes collyrium and eye salve to annoynt your eyes, that you may see what you doe and haue done in admitting (as I heare you haue admitted, yea alas authorised, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, whiche once you vtterly expelled. Oh be not canis reuersus ad vomitum, be not * Sus lota reuersa ad volutabrum coeni, Beware least Satan enter in with seuen other spirites, and then postrema shalbe worse then the first. It had bene better yee had neuer knowne the truth, then after knowledge to runne from it. Ah, woe to this world and the thinges therein,* which hath nowe so wrought with you. Oh that euer this dirt of the deuill shoulde daube vpp the eye of the Realme. For thou oh mother art as it were the eye of the Realme. If thou be light and geue shyne all the body shall fare the better: But if thou the light be darcknes, alas how great will the darckenes be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrels, that thou shouldest thus be afrayde of him?

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glorye in this worlde, but shame? Why art thou afrayde to carrye Christes Crosse? Wilt thou come into hys kingdome, and not drynke of his cup? Doest thou not know Rome to be Babilō? * doest thou not know that as the olde Babilon had the children of Iuda in captiuitie, so hath this Rome the true Iuda, that is the confessours of Christ? Doest thou not know, that as destruction happened vnto it, so shall it do vnto this (And trowest thou that God will not deliuer his people now when the time is come, as hee did the•. Hath not God commaunded hys people to come out from her• and wilt thou geue ensample to the whole Realme to runne vnto her• Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threatneh to offence geuers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a Mylstone were hanged about thy necke, and thou throwe into the sea, then that thou shouldest offend the little ones?

And alas, how hast thou offended? yea and howe doest thou still offend? * Wilt thou consider thinges according to the outward shew? Was not the Synagogue more seemely and like to be the true Church, then the simple flocke of Christes Disciples? Hath not the whore of Babilon more costly aray, and rich apparell externally to set forth her selfe, then the homely housewyfe of Christ? Where is the beautie of the kinges daughter the Church of Christ? without or within? Doth not Dauid saye wythin? Oh remēber that as they are happy which are not offended at christ so are they happy whiche are not offended at hys poore church. Can the Pope and his prelates meane honestly whiche make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The Church they magnifie, but Christ they contemne. If this Church were an honest woman (that is, Christes wife) except they woulde make much of her husband Christ and his worde, shee woulde not be made much of them.

When Christ and hys Apostles were vppon earth, who was [Page 1628](#) more like to be the true Church, they, or the Prelates, Byshops, & Synagogue? If a man should haue followed custome

vnitie, an^tiquitie, or the more part, shoulde not Christ and his companye haue bene cast out of the dores? Therefore bade Christ: Search the scriptures.* And, good mother, shall the seruauⁿt be aboue his master▪ shall we looke for other entertaynment at the handes of the world, then Christ and his deare Disciples found? who was taken in Noes tyme for the Church? Poore Noe and his familie, or others? Who was taken for Gods Church in Sodom? Lot, or others? And doth not Christ say: As it was than, so shall it goe now towards the comming of the sonne of man? What meaneth Christ when he sayth: Iniquitie shall haue the vpper hand? doth not he tell, that charitie shall waxe colde? And who seeth not a wonderfull great lacke of charitie in those, whiche woulde nowe be taken for Christes Church: All that feare GOD in thys Realme truely, can tell more of this then I can write.

Therefore deare mother, receiue some admonition of one of thy poore children, nowe goyng to be burned for the testimonye of Iesus. Come agayne to Gods truth: come out of Babilon: confesse Christ and his true doctrine: repent that whiche is past: make amendes by declaryng thy repentaunce by the fruites.* Remember the readings and preachinges of Gods Prophet and true Preacher M Bucer. Call to minde the threatninges of God, nowe something seene by the children Leauer and others. Let the exile of Leauer, Pilkinton, Grindall, Haddon, Horne, Scorye Ponet. &c. something awake thee. Let the imprisonmēt of thy deare sonnes, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer moue thee. Consider the Martyrdome of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And nowe cast not awaye the poore admonition of me goyng to be burned also, and to receiue the like crowne of glorye with my fellowes. Take to harte Gods calling by vs. Be not as Pharao was: for then will it happen vnto thee as it did vnto hym. What is that hardnes of hart. And what then? destructiō eternally both of body and soule. Ah therefore good mother awake, awake, repent, repent, buskle thy selfe, and make hast to turne to the Lord. For els it shalbe more easie for Sodome and Gomorra in the daye of iudgement then for thee. Oh harden not your hartes: Oh stop not your eares to day in hearyng Gods voyce, though it be by me a most vnworthy messenger. Oh feare the Lord, for his anger is begon to kindle. Euen now the axe is layd to the roote of the tree.

You know I prophecied truely to you before the Sweate came,* what would come, if you repēted not your carnall Gospelling. And now I tel you before I depart hence, that the eares of men will tingle to heare of the vengeance of God that will fall vpon you all, both Towne and Vniuersitie, if you repent, not, if you leaue not your Idolatrie, if you turne not speedely to the Lord, if you still be ashamed of Christes truth which you know.

Oh Perne repent, Oh Thomson repent, Oh you Doctors, Bachelers, & Maisters repent, Oh Maior, Aldermen, & Towne dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the nere vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hartes, & come apace, calling on the Lord. Let vs all say, Peccaumus, we haue all sinned, we haue done wickedly, we haue not hearkned to thy voyce O Lord. Deale not with vs after our desertes, but be mercifull to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh pardon our offenses. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turne vs vnto thee, O Lord God of hostes, for the glory of thy names sake. Spare vs, and be mercifull vnto vs. Let not the wicked people say: where is now their God: Oh for thine owne sake, for thy names sake, deale mercifully with vs. Turne thy selfe vnto vs, and vs vnto thee, and we shall prayse thy name for euer.

If in this sort (my dearely beloued) in hart and mouth we come vnto our father, & prostrate our selues before the throne of his grace, then surely surely we shall finde mercie. Then shall the Lord loke merely vpon vs, for his mercy sake in Christ: then shall we heare him speake peace vnto his people.* For he is gracious & mercifull, of great pitie, & compassion: he can not be chiding for euer: his anger can not last long to the penitent. Though we weepe in the morning, yet at night we shall haue our sorow to cease. For he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conuersion and turning.

Oh turne you now, and conuert yet once agayne I humbly besech you, and then the kingdome of heauen shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man is able to conceiue the ioyes prepared for vs if we repent, amende our liues, and hartely turne to the Lord. But if we repent not,* but be as you were, and goe on forwardes with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will leade you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickednes, your bloud will be vpon your owne heades, your part shalbe with hypocrites, where shalbe weepyng & gnashyng of teeth, ye shalbe cast from the face of the Lord for euer and euer, eternall shame, sorrow, wo, and miserie shalbe both in body and soule to you world without end. Oh therefore right deare to me in the Lord, turne you turne you, repent you, repent you, amende, amende your liues, depart from euill, do good, follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babilon, cast of the workes of darkenesse, put on Christ, confesse his truth, be not ashamed of his Gospell, prepare your selues to the Crosse, drinke of Gods cup before it come to the dregges: and then shall I with you and for you, reioyce in the day of Iudgement, which is at hand, and therefore prepare your selues thereto, I hartely beseche you. And thus I take my vale in aeternum with you in this present life, myne owne deare hartes in the Lord. The Lord of mercie be with vs all, and geue vs a ioyfull and sure meetyng in his kyngdome. Amen. Amen.

Out of prison the 11. of Februarie. Anno. 1555.

Your owne in the Lorde for euer, Iohn Bradford.

¶*To Lankeshire and Cheshire.*

TO all those that professe his name and true Religion of our sauour Iesus Christ in Lankeshyre and Chesshyre,* and specially abiding in Manchester and therabout Iohn Bradford a most vnworthy seruaunt of the Lorde, now not onely in boundes, but also condemned for y^e same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace and increase of all godlines from God the father of all pitty, through y^e desertes of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and liuely spirite the comforter for euer. Amen.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearely beloued in the Lord, that my heauenly father hath thought it good to prouide, that as I haue preached his true doctrine and Gospell amongst you by worde: so I shall testifie & confirme the same by deede: That is, I shall with you leaue my life, whiche by hys prouidence. I first receaued there (for in Manchester was I borne) for a seale to the doctrine I haue taught with you, and amongst you so: so that if from henceforth you wauer in the same, you haue none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, whiche exercise this crueltie vpon me (I speake in respect of myne offence which is none to themwardes) thinke by killing of me amongst you, to affray you and others, least they shoulde attempt to teach Christ

truely, or beleue his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heauenly father will be my death, more confirme you in his truth for euer. And therefore I greatly reioyce to see sathan and his souldiours, sup'planted in their owne sapience, which is playne foolishnes amongst the wise indeede, that is, amongst such as haue heard Gods worde, and doe followe it: for they onely are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Sauour.

In deede if I should simply consider my life with that whiche it ought to haue bene,* and as God in his lawe requireth, then could I not but cry as I do. Iustus es domine & omnia iudicia tua vera. i. Righteous art thou O Lord, and all thy iudgemēts are true. For I haue much greeued thee, and transgressed thy holy preceptes not onely before my professing the Gospell, but sithen also: yea euen sithen my comming into prison. I do not excuse, but accuse my selfe before God and al his Church, that I haue greeuously offended my Lord God, I haue not loued his Gospell as I should haue done, I haue sought my selfe and not simply, and onely his glory and my brethrens commoditie, I haue bene to vnthankfull, secure, carnall, hipocriticall, vayneglorious. &c. All which my euils the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christes sake, as I hope and certaynly beleue he hath done for his great mercy in Christ oure redeemer.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I doe no more reioyce then I doe. For it is Gods veritie and trueth:* So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply: but rather a condemnation of Christ and his trueth. Bradford is nothing els but an instrument, in whome Christe and his doctrine is condemned. And therefore my dearly beloued, reioyce, reioyce and geue thanks with me and for me, that euer God did vouchsafe so great a benefite to our countrey, as to choose the most vnworthye (I meane my selfe) to be one, in whome it would please him to suffer any kinde of affliction: muche more this violent kinde of death, whiche I perceiue is prepared for me with you for his sake. All glory and prayse be geuen vnto God our father, for his great exceeding mercy towards me, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

But perchaunce you will saye vnto me: what is the cause for the whiche you are condemned, we heare say that ye denye all presence of Christ in his holy Supper, and so make it a bare signe and common bread, and nothyng els. My dearly beloued, what is sayde of me, and what will [Page 1629](#) be, I cannot tell. It is tolde me that Pendleton is gone doune to Preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all knowe hee hath preached contrary to that hee was wont to preach afore I came amongst you) but to recant that which he hath recanted.* Howe hee will speake of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I muche passe not, for he that is so vncertayne, and wil speake so often agaynst him selfe, I can not thinke hee will speake well of me, except it make for hys purpose and profite: but of this inough.

In deede the chiefe thing, which I am condemned for as an hereticke, is because I deny in the sacrament of the aultar (whiche is not Christes supper, but a playne peruerting of it, being vsed as the papistes now vse it) to be a reall, naturall, and corporall presence of Christes bodye and bloud, vnder the formes and accidentes of bread and wine, that is, because I deny transubstantiation, whiche is the darling of the Deuill, and daughter and heyre to Antichristes religion, whereby the Masse is mayntayned Christes supper peruerted, his sacrifice and Crosse imperfited, hys Priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away repentaunce repelled, and all true godlynes abandoned. In the supper of our Lord or sacrament of Christes body and bloud, I

confesse and beleue, that there is a true, and very presence of whole Christ God and man, to the fayth of the receiuer (but not of the stander by and looker on) as there is a verye true presence of bread and wine to the sences of him that is partaker thereof. This fayth, this doctrine, whiche consenteth with the worde of God, and with the true testimony of Christes Church (whiche the Popishe Church doth persecute will I not forsake, and therefore am I condemned as an hereticke, and shall be burned. But my dearely beloued, this trueth (whiche I haue taught, and you haue receiued, I beleued, and do beleue, and therein geue my life) I hope in God, shall neuer be burned, bound, nor ouercome: but shall triumphe haue victorie, and be at libertye, maugre the head of all Gods aduersaries. For there is no counsayle agaynst the Lord, nor no deuise of man can be able to defeate the veritie in anye other, then suche as be children of vnbeliefe, whiche haue no loue to the truth, and therefore are geuen vp to beleue lyes. Frō which plague the Lord of mercies deliuer you and all the realme, my deare harts in the Lord I humblie beseeche his mercy. Amen.

*And to the ende you might be deliuered from thys plague (right deare to me in the Lorde I shall for my fare well with you for euer in this present lyfe, hartely desire you all in the bowels and bloud of our most mercifull Sauour Iesus Christ, to attend vnto these things which I now shall shortly write vnto you, out of the holy scriptures of the Lord.

You knowe an heauy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen vpon vs, * in takyng away our good Kyng, Gods true Religion, Gods true Prophetes and Ministers. &c. And setting ouer vs, such as seeke not the Lorde after knowledge: whose endeouours GOD prospereth wonderfully, to the tryall of many, that his people may bothe better knowe themselues, * and be knownen. Nowe the cause hereof is our iniquities and greuous sinnes. We did not know the tyme of our visitation: we were vnthankfull vnto God: we contemned the Gospell, & carnally abused it, to serue our hipocrisie, our vaynglory our viciousnes, auarice, idlenes, securitie. &c. Long did y^e Lord linger, and tary to haue shewed mercy vppon vs, but we were euer longer the worse. Therefore most iustly hath God dealt with vs, and dealeth with vs: yea yet we may see, that his iustice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let vs attribute that we are not vtterly consumed. For if the Lord should deale with vs after our desertes, alas, howe coulde we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeyng hee doeth remember his mercye vnderdeserued (yea vnderdesired on our behalfe) let vs take occasion the more speedily to goe out to meete him, not with force of armes (for we are not so able to withstand hym, muche lesse to preuayle agaynst him) but to beseeche hym to mercifull vnto vs, and according to his wonted mercye to deale wyth vs.

*Let vs arise with Daud and saye: Ne intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo, &c. i. Enter not into iudgement O Lorde with thy seruaunt, for in thy sight no fleshe liuyng shalbe iustified. Let vs send Embassadors with the Senturion, * and saye: Lorde we are not worthye to come our selues vnto thee, speake the word and we shall haue peace. Let vs penitently with the Publicane loke downe on the earth, * knocke our hard hartes to burst them, and crye out: Oh GOD be mercifull vnto vs wretched sinners. Let vs with the lost Sonne returne and saye: O Father, we haue sinned agaynst heauen and earth, * and before thee we are vnworthy to be called thy children. Let vs I say do on this sorte, y^t is hartily repent vs of our former euill lyfe, & vnthankfull gospelling past, conuert and turne to God w^t our whole hartes, hoping in his great mercy thorough Christ, and hartily calling vppon his holy name, and then vndoubtedly we shall finde and feelee otherwyse then yet we feelee, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feelee peace of conscience

betweene God and vs whiche peace passeth all vnderstanding, and outwardlye we shall feelee muche mittigation of these miseries, if not an vtter taking them away.

Therefore my dearely beloued in the Lorde, I youre poorest brother now departing to the Lord,* for my vale in aeternum for this present lyfe, praye you beseeche you, and euen from the verye bottome of my harte, for all the mercies of God in Christ shewed vnto you, most earnestly begge and craue of you out of prison (as often out of your Pulpies I haue done) that you wil repent you, leaue your wicked and euill life, be sorye for your offences, and turne to the Lorde, whose armes are wide open to receaue and embrace you, whose stretched out hande to strike to death, stayeth that he may shew mercy vpon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comforte, hee will not the death of a sinner, but rather that yee shoulde returne, conuert and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men:* his long sufferyng draweth to repentaunce before the tyme of vengeance, and the day of wrath which is at hand, doth come.

Now is the axe layd to the roote of the tree, vtterly to destroy the impenitente.* Nowe is the fire gone out before the face of the Lorde, and who is able to quenche it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to haue liued as we haue done. It is inough to haue pleased the wanton Gospellers, the proude Protestantes, Hypocriticall and false Chrystians, as alas, wee haue done. Now the Lorde speaketh to vs in mercy and grace: Oh turne before hee speaketh in wrathe. Yet is there mercye with the Lorde, and plenteous redemption: yet hee hath not forgotten to shewe mercye to them that call vppon him. Oh then call vpon him, while he may be found. For hee is riche in mercy, and plentifull to all them that call vpon hym. So that hee that calleth on the name of the Lorde shalbe saued. If your sinnes be as redde as scarlet, the Lord sayeth, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworne, and neuer will repent hym thereof, that he will neuer remember our iniquities, but as hee is good, faithfull and true, so will he be our God, and wee shall be his people: his law will he write in our hartes, & engraffe in our myndes, and neuer will he haue in mynde our vnrighteousnesse.

Therefore my deare hartes in the Lorde, turne you, turne you to y^e Lord your Father, to the Lord your Sauour, to the Lord your comforter. Oh why doe you stoppe your eares, and harden your harts •o day,* whē you heare hys voyce by me your poorest brot•••? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath shewed hymself true and me hys true preacher, by bringyng to passe th••lagues which at my mouth you ofte heard before they came to passe, specially when I entreated of Noes flood, and when I preached of the 22. chapter of Saint Mathews Gospell, on S. Steuens day the last tyme that I was with you. And nowe by me the Lord sendeth you worde (deare countrey men) that if you will go on forwards in your impenitency, carnalitie, hypocrisie, idolatry, couetousnesse, swearing, gluttony, dronkennesse, whoredome, &c. (Wherewith alas, alas our countrey floweth): if (I say) you will not turne and leaue of seyng me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you,* and is sory to doe you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance vpon you, oh your bloud wil be vpon your owne heades: you haue bene warned, and warned againe by me in preaching, by me in burning.

As I sayd therefore, I say agayne, my deare harts and dearlings in the Lord, turne you, turne you, repent you, repent you, cease from doying euill, study to do well,* away with idolatry, flye the Romish God and seruice, leaue of from swearing, cut of carnalitie, abandon auarice▪ driue away dronkennesse, flie from fornication and flattery, murther and malice, destroy deceitfulness,

and cast away all the works of darkenes. Put on pitie and godlines, serue God after his word, and not after custome, vse your tongs to glorifie God by prayer, thankesgeuing and confession of his truth, &c. be spirituall, and by the spirit mortifie carnall affections, be sober, holy, true, louyng, gentle, mercyfull, and then shall the Lordes wrath cease, not for this our doyngs sake, but for his mercies sake. Goe to therefore [Page 1630](#) good country men) take this counsell of the Lorde, by mee nowe sente vnto you, as the Lordes counsell, and not as mine, that in the daye of iudgement I maye reioyce wyth you, and for you: the which thing I hartely desire, and not to be a witnes agaynst you.* My bloud will crye for vengeaunce, as agaynst the Papistes Gods enemies (whome I beseech God if it be his will, hartely to forgeue, yea euen them which put me to death, and are the causers therof, for they know not what they do (so will my bloud cry for vengeaunce agaynst you (my dearly beloued in the Lord) if ye repent not,* amend not, and turne vnto the Lord.

Turne vnto the Lord yet once more, I hartely besech thee thou Manchester, thou Ashton vnderline, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigme, Lierpoole, Mottrine, Stepport, Winsley, Eccles, Priestwich, Middleton, Radcliffe, and thou City of Westchester, where I haue truely taught and preached the worde of GOD. Turne, I saye vnto you all, and to all the inhabitours there aboutes vnto the Lord our God and hee will turne vnto you, he will saye vnto his Aungell: It is enough, put vppe the sworde. The whiche thyng that he will doe, I humblye beseeche his goodnesse, for the precious bloudes sake of hys deare Sonne our Sauour Iesus Christ. Ah good brethren take in good parte these my last wordes vnto euery one of you. Pardon me myne offences and negligences in behaiour amongst you. The Lorde of mercye pardon vs all our offences, for our Sauour Iesus Christes sake, Amen. Out of Prison readye to come to you the eleuenth of February. Ann. 1555.

¶To the Towne of Walden.

*TO the faythfull and such as professe the true doctrine of our Sauour Iesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereaboutes, Iohn Bradford a most vnworthy seruaunt of the Lorde, nowe in bandes, and condemned for the same true doctrine, wyssheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the encrease of all godlynnesse in knowledge and liuing, from GOD the Father of all comforte, through the desertes of our alone and full redeemer Iesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most holy spirit, the comforter for euer. Amen.

When I remember how that by the prouidence and grace of God, I haue bene a man, by whome it hath pleased him through my ministry to call you to repentaunce, and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sowe amongst you his true doctrine and religion, least that by my affliction, & stormes now arisen to trye the faythfull, and to conforme them lyke to the Image of the sonne of GOD, into whose companie wee are called, you might be faint harted: I could not but out of prison secretly (for my keepers may not know that I haue penne & ynke) write vnto you a signification of the desire I haue, that you should not only be more cōfirmed in the doctrine I haue taught amongst you, which I take on my death, as I shall answere at the day of dome, I am perswaded to be Gods assured, infallible, and playne trueth:* but also should after your vocation auow the same by confession, profession and liuing. I haue not taught you (my dearly beloued in the Lord) fables, tales, or vntruthe, but I haue taught you the verity, as now by my bloud gladlye (praysed bee God therfore) I do seale the same.

In deed to confesse the truth vnto you, and to all the Church of Christ, I doe not thinke of my selfe, but that I haue moste iustly deserued, not onely this kinde but also all kindes of death, and that eternally,* for myne hypocrisy, vayneglory, vncleannesse, selfe loue, couetousnesse, idlenesse, vnthankfulnesse, and carnall professing of Gods holy Gospell, liuing therein not so purely, louyngly, and paynefully as I should haue done. The Lord of mercy for the bloud sake of Christ pardon me, as I hope, yea I certainly beleue he hath done for his holy names sake thorowe Christe. But my d•arely beloued, you and all the whole world may see, and easily perceiue, that the Prelates persecute in me an other thing then mine iniquities,* euen Christ himselfe, Christes verity and trueth, because I canne not, dare not, nor wyll not confesse Transubstantiation, and howe that wicked menne, ye Mise and Dogges eating the Sacrament, which they terme of the aultar, thereby ouerthrowing Christes holy Supper vtterly, do eate Christes naturall and reall body borne of the virgine Mary.

To beleue, and confesse as Gods worde teacheth, the primatiue Church beleued, and all the Catholicke and good holy Fathers taught fiue hundreth yeares at the least after Christ, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the Masse ouerthroweth, as it doth Christes Priesthooode, sacrifice, death and passion, the ministerye of his word, true •ayth repentance, and all godlines whole Christ God and man is present by grace, to the fayth of the receiuers, but not of the standers by, and lookers on, as bread and wyne is to theyr sences, will not serue: and therefore I am condemned & shall be burned out of hand as an hereticke. Wherefore I hartelye thanke my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whome he himselfe doeth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply,* because I haue deserued no lesse, but muche more at his handes and iustice: but rather because I confesse his verity and trueth, and am not affrayd through his gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore my dearely beloued. I hartely do pray you, and so many as vnfaynedly loue mee in God, to geue with mee and for mee most harty thanks to our heauenly Father, through our sweete Sauour Iesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you also, that your fayth wauer not from the doctrine I haue taught, and ye haue receiued. For what can you desire more to assure your cōsciences, of the verity taught by your preachers, then theyr owne liues?

Goe to therefore my deare hartes in the Lord, wauer not in Christes religion truely taught you, and set forth in king Edwardes dayes. Neuer shall the enemies be able to burne it, to prison it, and keepe it in bondes. Vs they may prison,* they may bynde and burne, as they doe, and will doe, so long as shall please the Lord: but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we confesse, they shall neuer be able to vanquish and put away. Theyr Idolatry and Popish religion, shall neuer bee builde in the consciences of menne that loue Gods trueth. As for those that loue not Gods truth, that haue no pleasure to walke in the wayes of the Lord, in those I say the Deuill shall preuayle: For God will geue them strong illusion to beleue lyes. Therefore deare brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you, and pray you in the bowelles and bloud of our Lord and Sauour Iesu• Christ,* now goyng to the death for the testimony of Iesus, as oftētimes I haue done before this present out of your Pulpitte, that you woulde loue the Lordes trueth: loue (I saye) to loue it, and frame your liues thereafter. Alas, you know the cause of all these plagues fallen vp vs, and of the successe which Gods aduersaries haue dayly, is for our not louing Gods word.

You knowe how that we were but Gospellers in lippes, and not in life. We were carnall, concupiscentious, idle,* vnthankfull, vncleane, couetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters. &c. and euen gluttoned with Gods word, yea, we lothed it,* as did the Israelites the Manna in the wildernes: and therefore as to them the Lordes wrath waxed hoat, so doth it vnto vs. So that there is no remedye, but that (for it is better late to turne, then neuer to turne) wee confesse our faultes, euen from the bottome of our hartes, & with harty repentaunce (which God worke in vs all for his mercyes sake) we runne vnto the Lord our God, which is exorable, mercifull, & sory for the euil poured out vpon vs, and crie out vnto him with Daniel saying: we haue sinned, we haue sinned grievously oh lord God, agaynst thy maiesty,* we haue heaped iniquitye vpon iniquity: the measure of our transgressions floweth ouer, so that iust is thy vengeance and wrath fallen vpon vs. For wee are very miserable, we haue contemned thy longe suffering, wee haue not harkened to thy voyce. When thou hast called vs by Preachers, we hardened our hartes, and therefore now deserue that they send thy curse hereupon to harden our hartes also, that we should henceforth haue eyes and see not, eares and heare▪ not, hartes and vnderstand not, leaste wee shoulde conuert and be saued. Oh be mercifull vnto vs: spare vs good Lord and all thy people, whom thou hast dearely bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and alwayes agaynst thee, for then will they be puffed vppe. Looke downe and beholde the pittifull complayntes of the poore: let the sorowefull sighing of the simple come in thy fighte, and bee not angry with vs for euer. Turne vs oh Lorde GOD of hostes vnto thee, and turne thee vnto vs, that thou mayest be iustified in thy sweete sentences, and ouercome whē thou are iudged, as now thou art of our aduersaries, For they say, where is theyr God? Can God deliuer them now? Canne theyr Gospell serue them? Oh Lord howe long? for the glorye of thy name, and for thy honors sake, in the bowels and bloud of Iesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help vs, for we are very miserable.

On this sort I say dearely beloued, let vs publickely and priuately bewayle our sinnes: but so that hereto we ioyne, ceasing from wilfulnesse & sinne of purpose, for els the Lord heareth not our prayers, as Deuid sayth. And in S. Iohn it is written:* The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Nowe, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend theyr liues. As for example: not only such which folow still theyr pleasures▪ vncleannes, carnality: but those also which for feare or fauor of men, doe agaynst theyr conscience to consent to the Romish ragges, and resort to the rotten Religion,* communicating in Seruice & ceremonies wyth the Papistes, thereby declaring themselves to loue more the worlde then God, to feare man more then Christ, to dread more the losse of temporall things, then of spirituall: in whom it is euident, the loue of God abideth not. For he that loueth the world, hath not Gods loue abiding in him sayth Saynt Iohn: therefore my deare hartes, and deare agayne in the Lord remember what you haue professed, Christes Religion and name, and the renuncyng of [Page 1631](#) the Deuill, Sinne and the world.

Remember that before yee learned A. B. C. your lesson was Christes crosse. Forgette not that Christ will haue no Disciples, but such as will promise to deny thēselues▪ & take vp their crosse (marke,* take it vppe) and folowe him: and not the multitude, custome. &c. Consider for Gods sake, that if wee gather not with Christe, wee scatter abroad. What should it profite a man to winne the whole worlde, and loose his owne soule? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a Paradise: here is not our home, we are now in warrefare: we must needes fight, or els be taken prisoners. Of all thinges we haue in this life, we shall cary nothing with vs. If Christ be our Captayne, we must follow him as souldiours. If we keepe company with him in

affliction, we shalbe sure of his society in glory. If we forsake not him, he will neuer forsake vs. If we confesse him, he will confesse vs: but if we deny him, he will deny vs. If we be ashamed of him he will bee ashamed of vs. Wherefore as he forsooke his father, and heauen, & all thinges to come to vs,* so let vs forsake all thinges and come to him, being sure and most certayne, that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall finde and feele it double, yea treble, whatsoeuer you loose for the Lordes sake: and you shall finde and feele peace of conscience, and frēdship with God which is more worth then all the goodes of the world.

My dearely be loued, therefore for the Lordes sake, consider these thinges which now I write vnto you of loue, for my Vale, & last farewell for euer in this present life. Turne to the Lord: repent you your euill and vnthankfull life, declare repentaunce by the fruites: take time while you haue it: come to the Lord whiles he calleth you: run into his lappe whiles his armes be open to embrace you: seeke him whiles he may be found: call vpon him whiles time is conuenient: forsake and flie from all euill, both in religion,* and in the rest of your life and conuersation. Let your light so shine before men, that they maye see your woorkes, and prayse God in the day of his visitation. Oh come agayne, come agayne you straunge children, and I will receiue you sayeth the Lorde. Conuert and turne to me, and I will turne vnto you. Why? wyll ye needes perish? As sure as I liue (swareth the Lorde) I will not your death: turne therefore vnto me. Can a woman forgette the childe of her wombe? If she should, yet will I not forget you, saith the Lod your God. I am he, I am he which put away your sinnes for mine owne sake.

O then deare frendes, turne I saye vnto your dearest father. Cast not these his sweete and louing wordes to the grounde, and at your taylor, for the Lord watcheth on his word to performe it: which is in two sortes: to them that lay it vp in theyr hartes, and beleue it, will he pay all, and eternall ioy and comfort. But to thē that cast it at theyr backes, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he poure out indignation and eternall shame. Wherefore I hartely yet once more beseech and pray you, and euery of you, not to contemne this poore and simple exhortation, which nowe out of prison I make vnto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be a witnesse agaynst you in the last day: as of truth I must be, if ye repent not, if ye loue not Gods Gospell, yea, if ye loue it not.

Therefore to conclude, repent, loue Gods Gospell, liue in it all your conuersation so shall Gods name be prayسد, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Graūt all this thou gracious lord god to euery one of vs for thy deare sonnes sake, our Sauour Iesus Christ: To whome with thee and the holy Ghost, be eternal glory for euer and euer. Amen.

The 12. of February. 1555.

By the bondman of the Lord, and your afflicted poore brother, Iohn Bradford.

**To my louing brethren B. C. &c. their Wiues and whole families, I. Bradford.*

I Beseech the euerliuing God, to graunt you all, my good brethren and sisters,* the comfort of the holy spirit, and the continuall sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for euer amen.

The world my brethren semeth to haue the vpper hand, iniquity ouerfloweth, the trueth and verity seemeth to bee suppressed, and they which take parte therewith, are vniustly entreated: as they

which loue the trueth lament to see and heare, as they doe. The cause of all this is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, because we haue greuously sinned agaynst him: his mercy, because he here punisheth vs, and as a Father nourtereth vs. Wee haue bene vnthankfull for his word: We haue contemned his kyndenesse: * Wee haue bene negligent in prayer: We haue bene so carnall, couetous, licencious. &c. We haue not hastened to heauen warde, but rather to hellwarde. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinaunces: so that of his iustice he coulde no longer forbear, but make vs feeble his anger: as now he hath done, in taking his worde and true seruice from vs, and permitted Sathan to serue vs with Antichristian religion, and that in such sort, that if we will not yelde to it, and seeme to allow in deede an outwarde facte, our bodyes are like to be layed in prison, and our goodes geuen we can not tell to whom.

This should we looke vpon as a signe of Gods anger, procured by our sinnes: which my good brethren, euery of vs should now call to our memories oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that wee might hartely lament them, * repent them, hate them, aske earnestly mercy for them, and submit our selues to beare in this li•e any kinde of punishment, which God will lay vpon vs for them. This should we do, in consideration of Gods anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seene, and should be sene in vs my dearly beloued, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish vs in this present life. If he should not haue punished vs, * do not you thinke that we would haue continued in the euilles we were in? Yes verely, we woulde haue bene worse, and haue gone forwardes in hardenyng our hartes by impenitency, and negligence of God & true godlines. And then if death had come, should not we haue perished both soule and body into eternall fire and perdition? Alas, what misery shoulde we haue fallen into, if God shoulde haue suffered vs to haue gone on forward in our euils? No greater signe of damnatiō there is, then to lie in euill and sinne vnpunished of God, as now the Papistes (my dearly beloued) are cast into Iezabels bed of security which of all plagues is the grieuousest plague that can be. They are bastards and not sonnes, for they are not vnder Gods rod of correction.

A great mercy it is therefore that GOD doth punish vs: For if he loued vs not, he would not punish vs. * Now doth he chastice vs, that we shoulde not be damned with the worlde. Nowe doth he nourtour vs, because he fauoureth vs. Now may we thinke our selues Gods house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at vs: Now calleth he vs to remember our sinnes past. Wherefore? that we might repent and aske mercy. And why? That he might forgeue vs, pardon vs, iustifye vs, and make vs his children, and so begin to make vs here lyke vnto Christ, that we might be lyke vnto hym elsewhere, euen in heauen where already wee are sette by fayth with Christ, and at his comming in very deede, we shall then most ioyfully enioy, when our sinnefull and vile bodyes shall be made like to Christes glorious body, accordynge to the power whereby he is able to make all thinges subiect to himselfe.

Therefore my brethren, let vs in respect hereof not lament, but land God, not to be sory, but be mery, not weep, but reioyce and be gladde, that God doth vouchsafe to offer vs his Crosse, * thereby to come to him to endlesse ioyes and comfortes. For if we suffer, we shall raigne, * if we confesse him before men, he will confesse vs before his father in heauen: if we be not ashamed of his Gospell now, * he wyll not be ashamed of vs in the last day, but will be glorified in vs, crowning vs with crownes of glorye and endlesse felicity: * For blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake, for theyrs is the kingdome of heauen: Be glad (say•h Peter) for the spirite of God resteth vpon you. After that you are a litle afflicted, God will comforte, *

strengthen, and confirme you.* And therefore my good brethren, be not discouraged for Crosse, for prison, or losse of goodes, for confession of Christes Gospell and truth,* whiche ye haue beleued, and liuely was taught amongst you in the dayes of our late good Kyng, and most holy Prince Kyng Edward. This is most certayne, if you loose any thing for Christes fake, and for contemning the Antichristian seruice, set vppe agayne amongst vs: as you for your partes, euen in prison shall finde Gods great and riche mercy, farre passing all worldly wealth: so shall your wiues and children in this present life, finde and feelee Gods prouidence, more plentifully then tongue can tell. For he will shew mercifull kindenesse on thowsands of them that loue hym.* The good mannes seed shall not goe a begging his bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christes sake.

I truste you all, my dearely beloued,* wyll consyder this geare with your selues, & in the crosse see Gods mercy, which is more sweete, and to be set by, then life it selfe, muche more then anye Mucke or Pelfe of this worlde. This mercy of God shoulde make you merye and chearefull: for the afflictions of this life,* are not to bee compared to the ioyes of the lyfe prepared for you. You knowe the way to heauen is not the wide way of the worlde,* whiche windeth to the deuill, but it is a strayte waye which fewe walke in. For fewe liue Godlye in Christ Iesu,* fewe regarde the lyfe to come, fewe remember the daye of iudgement, [Page 1632](#) few remember howe Christ will denye them before his father, that do deny him here, few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, whiche are ashamed of his truth and true seruice, few cast their accountes, what wil be layed to theyr charge in the day of vengeance,* few regard the condemnation of theyr owne consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disalow, few loue god better then theyr goodes.

But I trust yet you are of this fewe, my dearely beloued, I trust you be of that little flocke, which shall enherite the kingdome of heauē, I trust you are the mourners and lamenters,* which shalbe comforted with comfort, whyche neuer shall be taken from you, if you nowe repent your former euilles, if nowe you striue agaynst the euilles that are in you, if now you continue to call vpon God, if nowe you defile not your bodyes with any Idolatrous seruice,* vsed in the Antichristian Churches, if you molest not the good spirite of God, which is geuen you as a gage of eternall redemption, a counseller and Mayster to lead you into all trueth, whiche good spirite I beseeche the Father of mercye to geue to vs all, for his deare sonnes sake Iesus Christ our Lorde: to whome I commend you all, and to the worde of his grace,* which is able to helpe you all, and saue you all that beleue it folow it, and serue GOD thereafter.

And of this I would ye were all certayne, that all the heares of your heads are numbred,* so that not one of them shall perishe, neither shall any man or deuill be able to attempt any thing, much lesse to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heauenly father, which loueth you most tenderly, shall geue them leaue: and when he hath geuen them leaue, they shall go no further then he will, nor keepe you in trouble any longer then he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is carefull for you. Onely study to please hym, and to keepe your consciences cleane, & your bodyes pure from the Idolatrous seruice, whiche nowe euery where is vsed, and GOD will maruellouslye and mercifully defend and comfort you: which thing he doe for his holy names sake in Christ our Lord. Amen.

**To his dearely beloued in Christ, Erkinalde Rawlins, and his wife.*

GOD our deare and moste mercyfull Father thorough Christ,* be with you my good Brother and Sister, as with his children for euer, and in all thinges so guide you with his holy spirite, the leader of his people, as may bee to his glory, and your owne euerlasting ioy and comfort in him. Amen. Because I haue oftentimes receiued from either of you, comfort corporall (for the which I beseeche the Lorde, as to make me thankfull, so to recompence you both now & eternally) I can not but goe about (Lord help hereto for thy mercyes sake) to write some thing for your comfort spiritually.

My dearely beloued, looke not vpon these dayes and the afflictions of the same here with vs,* simplye as they seeme vnto you, that is, as dismall dayes, and dayes of Gods vengeaunce, but rather as lucky dayes, and dayes of Gods fatherlye kindenesse towards you, and suche as you be, that is, toward such as repent theyr sinnes, and euill life paste, and earnestly purpose to amende, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preseruacion of theyr pelfe, whiche will they nill they, they shall leaue sooner or later, and to whome or howe it shall be vsed, they know not. In deede to suche as walke in theyr wickednesse, and winde on with the worlde, this tyme is a tyme of wrath and vengeaunce, and theyr beginning of sorrowe is but now, because they contemne the Phisicke of theyr father, whiche by this purging time and cleansing dayes, would worke theyr weale, whiche they will nor:* and because they will not haue Gods blessing, which both wayes he hath offered vnto them by prosperity and aduersity:* therefore it shall be kepte farre enough from them. As when the sicke man will no kinde of Phisicke at the handes of the Phisition, he is left alone, and so the malady encreaseth, and destroyeth him at the length. To such men in deed, these dayes are and should be dolefull dayes, dayes of woe and weeping, because theyr damnation draweth nigh.

But vnto such as be penitent, and are desirous to liue after the Lordes wil (among whom I do not onely count you, but as far as a man may iudge, I know ye are) vnto such I say,* this time is and should be comfortable. For first now your father chastiseth you and me for our sinnes: for the which if he would haue destroyed vs, then woulde hee haue letten vs alone, and left vs to our selues, in nothyng to take to hart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth him to worke presently, because else where he wyll not remember our transgressions, as Paule writeth: He chastiseth vs in this world, least with the world we should perishe. Therefore my deare hartes, call to minde your sinnes to lament them,* and to aske mercye for them in hys sight, and withall vndoubtedly beleue to obteyne pardon and assured forgeuenesse of the same, for twise the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

So that I saye, first wee haue cause to reioyce for these dayes, because our father suffereth vs not to lye in Iesabels bed, sleeping in our owne sinnes and security, but as mindefull on vs, doth correct vs as his children. Whereby we may be certayne, that we be no bastardes, but children: for he chastiseth euery childe whom he receiueth.* So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemne it, declare themselues to be bastardes, and not children: as I know ye are, which as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to hart accordingly. And therefore be glad my deare hartes and folkes, knowing certaynelye euen by these visitatiōs of the Lord, that ye are his deare elect children, whose faultes your father doth visite with the rodde of correction, but his mercy will he neuer take away from vs. Amen.

Secondly, ye haue cause to reioyce for these dayes, because they are dayes of triall, wherein not onely ye your selues, but also the worlde shall knowe that ye be none of his, but the Lords dearelinges. Before these dayes came, Lord God, how many thought of them selues, they hadde bene in Gods bosome, and so were takē, and would be taken of the world? But now we see whose they are.* For to whome we obey, his seruauntes we are. If wee obey the world (which god forbid, and hitherto ye haue not done it) then are we the worldes: but if we obey God, then are we Gods. Which thing (I mean that ye are Gods) these dayes haue declared both to you, to me, & to all other that know you, better then euer we knew it. Therefore ye haue no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seing your selues to be Gods babes, and in seying that all Gods children do so count you.

What though the world repine thereat? What though he kicke? What though he seek to trouble and molest you?*_ My deare hartes, he doth but his kinde, he cannot loue the Lord, which liueth not in the Lorde, he can not brooke the childe, that hateth the Father, he canne not mind the seruaunt, that careth not for the Mayster. If ye were of the world, the world woulde loue you, ye should dwell quietly, there woulde be no grieffe, no molestation. If the Deuill dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not stirre vp his knightes to besiege your house, to snatch your goodes, or suffer his freendes to enter into your Hogges.* But because Christ dwelleth in you (as he doth by fayth) therefore styreth he vp his first begotten sonne the worlde, to seeke how to disquiet you, to robbe you, to spoyle you, to destroy you: and perchaunce your deare Father, to trye, and to make knowne vnto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to an other dwelling the• here on earth, to an other Citty then mannes eyes haue seene at any tyme: hath geuen, or will geue power to Sathan, and to the world, to take from you the thinges,* whiche he hath lent you, and by taking them awaye, to trye your fidelitie, obedience, and loue towards hym (for ye may not loue them aboue hym) as by geuyng that ye haue, and keeping it, he hath declared his loue towards you.

Sathan perchaunce telleth GOD (as he did of Iob) that ye loue GOD for your goodes sake. What now then, if the Lord do try you with Iob, shall geue him power on your goodes and body accordingly, should ye be dismaied? should ye dispayre? shoulde ye be faynt harted? shoulde ye not rather reioyce, as did the Apostles, that they were couēted worthy, to suffer any thing for the Lordes sake? Oh forget not the end that happened to Iob: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen vnto you. For GOD is the same God, and can not long forget to shew mercy, to them that look and long for it, as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loueth you, and neuer canne nor will forget to shewe, and poure out his mercy vpon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted & tryed you (sayth Peter) hee will visite, comfort and confirme you.* As to Iacob wrastling with the Aungell, at the length morning came, and the sonne arose: so deare hartes, doubtlesse it will happen vnto you. Howbeit do ye as Iob and Iacob did, that is (order and dispose your thinges that God hath lent you, as ye may and whiles ye haue time. Who knoweth whether God hath geuen you power this long euen to that end.

[Page 1633](#)Go to therefore, dispose your goodes, prepare your selues to tryall, that eyther ye maye stande to it like Goddes Champions, or els if ye feelee such infirmitye in your selues, that ye bee not able, geue place to violence, and goe where ye may with free and safe conscience serue the Lord. Thinke not this counsell to come by chaunce,* or fortune, but to come from the Lorde. Other Oracles wee may not looke for now. As God told Ioseph in a dreame by an Angell, that he

should flye: so if you fele such infirmity in your selues, as should turne to Gods dishonor and your owne destruction withall: knowe that at this present I am as Gods Aungell, to admonish you to take tyme whyles yee haue it, and to see that in no case Gods name by you might be dishonored. Ioseph might haue objected the omission of his vocation, as perchaunce ye will do. But deare hartes, lette vocations and all thinges else geue place to Goddes name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This I speake, not as though I would not haue you rather to tary, und to stand to it: but I speake it in respecte of your infirmity, whiche if you feele to be so greate in you that ye are not certayne of this hope, that God will neuer tempt you aboue your ability: flye and get you hence, and know that thereby GOD will haue you tryed to your selues, and to others. For by it you shall know howe to take this world, and your home here is no home, but that ye looke for an other, and so geue occasion to others lesse to loue this worlde, and perchaunce to some to doubte of theyr Religion. Wherin though they be earnest, yet would they not loose so much, as ye do for your Religion, which ye do confirme to me and others, by your geuing place to violence.

Last of al, ye haue cause to reioyce ouer these our daies, because they bee the dayes of conformation, in the whiche and by whiche, GOD our heauenly Father maketh vs like vnto Christes Image here,* that we may be like vnto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shal reigne also with him: if we be buryed with him, then wee shall rise with him agayne, if that we company with hym in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall reioyce wyth him in glory: if we now sow with him in teares, we shall reape with him in gladnes: if we confesse him before men, he will confesse vs before his father in heauen: if wee take his parte, he will take ours: if wee loose ought for his names sake, he will geue vs all thynges for his truthes sake. So that we ought to reioyce and be glad: for it is not geuen to euery one, to suffer losse of cuntry, life, goodes, house. &c. for the Lordes sake. What can God the father do more vnto vs, thē to call vs into the camp with his sonne? What may Christ our Sauior do more for vs, thē to make vs his Warriours? What can the holy Ghost do to vs aboue this, to marke vs with the cognisaunce of the Lorde of hostes?

This cognisaunce of the Lorde, standeth not in forked cappes,* typpettes, shauen crownes, or such other baggage and Antichristian pelfe, but in suffering for the Lordes sake. The world shall hate you, sayth Christ. Loe, •here is the Cognisaunce and Badge of Goddes children: The world shall hate you. Reioyce therefore my dearely beloued, reioyce, that God doth thus vouchsafe to beginne to conforme you, and make you like to Christ. By the tryall of these dayes yee are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to desire life euerlasting, more to be holy (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict vs) and so to come to Gods companye. Whych thing because we can not doe, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the dore of death we must enter with Christ into eternall life, and immortality of soule and body: whiche God of his mercy send shortly for our Sauior Iesus Christes sake. Amen.

¶To Maystres A. Worcup.

THE euerlasting peace of Christ be more and more liuely felte in our hartes,* by the operation of the holy ghost, now and for euer. Amen.

Although I knowe it bee more then needeth to write anye thing vnto you (good Sister) being, as I doubt not you be, diligently exercised in readinge of the Scriptures in meditating of the same, and in hartly prayer to GOD, for the helpe of his holy Spirite, to haue the sense and feeling, especially of the comfortes you reade in Gods sweete booke: yet hauinge such oportunitie, and knowing not whether hereafter, I shall euer haue the like (as this bringer can declare) I thought good in few wordes to take my farewell in writinge, because otherwise I canne not. And now me thinkes I haue doone it. For what else canne I, or shoulde I saye vnto you (my dearely beloued in the Lorde) but farewell? Farewell deare Sister, farewell: howbeit in the Lorde, our Lord (I say) farewell, * & so much the better, by howe muche in your selfe you fare euill, and shall fare euill.

When I speake of your selfe, I meane also this worlde, thys life, and all thinges properly perteyning to this life. In them, as you looke not for your welfare, so be not dismayed, when accordingly you shall not feele it. To the Lord our GOD, to the Lambe our Christ, which hath borne our sinnes on his backe, & is our Mediatour for euer, do I send you. In him looke for welfare, and that without all wauering, because of his owne goodnesse and truth, which our euilles and vntrueth can not take away: Not that therefore I would haue you to flatter your selfe in any euill or vnbeliefe, but that I woulde comfort you, that they should not dismay you. Yours is our Christ wholly, * yours I say he is, with all that euer he hath. Is not this welfare trow you▪ Mouſtaynes shall moue, and the earth shall fall before you finde it otherwise, say that liar Sathan what he list.

Therefore good Sister farewell, and be mery in the Lorde bee mery I say, for you haue good cause. If your welfare, ioy, and saluation hanged vpon any other thing then onely Gods mercy & truth, then might you well be sad, heauy, and stand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth onely vpon these two, tel Sathan he lyeth, * whē he would you to stand in a mammering, by causing you to caste your eyes (which onely in this case should be set on Christ your sweet Sauior) on your selfe. In some part in deede looke on your selfe, on your fayth, on your loue, obedience. &c. to wake you vp from security, to stirre you vp to diligence, in doing the thinges apperteyning to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and haue true consolation in your conscience, altogether looke vpon the goodnes of God in Christ. Thinke on this commaundement which precedeth all other: that you must haue no other Gods but the Lord Iehouah, which is your Lord & God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your sinnes in very deede. Remember that Christ commaundeth you to call him father for the same intent. And hereto call to minde all the benefites of God, hitherto shewed vpon you: and so shall you fele in very deede, that which I wish vnto you now, and pray you to wish vnto me. Farewell, or welfare in the Lord Iesus, with whom he graunt vs shortlye to meete as his children, for his name and mercies sake, to our eternall welfare. Amen.

¶To mine owne deare brother M. Laurence Saunders, prisoner in the Marshalsee.

MY good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father, alwayes to cōtinue his gracious fauor & loue towards vs, & by vs, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory &, the cōfusion of his aduersaries. * Ex ore infantium & lactentium fundet laudem ad destruendum inimicum. &c. Amen. 1. Out of the mouth of infantes and babes, he will shew forth his prayse to destroy the enemy. &c.

I haue perused your letters to my selfe, and haue read them to others. For aunswere whereof, if I should write what Doctor Taylor, and Mayster Philpot doe thinke, then must I say that they thinke, the Salt sent vnto vs by your * frende is vnseasonable. And in deede I thinke they both will declare it hartely, if they shoulde come before them. As forme, if you woulde knowe what I thinke (my good and most deare brother Laurence) because I am so sinnefull and so conspurcate (the Lord knoweth I lye not) with many greuous sinnes (which I hope are washed away Sanguine Christi nostri) I neither canne nor woulde bee consulted withall, but as a sypher in Agrime. How be it, to tell you how and what I minde, take this for a summe: I pray GOD in no case I may seeke my selfe, and in deede (I thank• GOD therefore) I purpose it not. Quod reliquum est Domino Deo meo committo, & spero in illum, quod ipse faciet iuxta hoc: Iacta in Dominum curam▪ &c. Omnis cura vestra coniecta sit in illum. &c. Reuela Domino viam tuam & spera. &c. Sperantem in Domino misericordia circundabit. i. That which remayneth, I commit to my Lord God: and I trust in him, that he will doe according to this: Cast thy care on the Lord. &c Cast all your care vpon him. &c. Reueale vnto the Lord thy way, and trust. &c. Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compasse him about. I didde not, nor do not knowe, but by your Letters, quod cras wee shall come, coram nobis. Mine owne heart, stick still to dabitur vobis. Fidelis enim est Dominus, dabit in tentatione euentum quo possumus sufferre. Nouit Dominus pios é tentatione •riperre. &c. O vtinam pius ego essem. Nouit Dominus in die tribulationis sperantes in se. &c. i. It shall be geuen you &c. For the Lorde is faythfull. He will in tentation make away that ye may be able to beare it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of tentation the godly. &c. O woulde God I were godly. The Lord knoweth howe to deliuer out of tentation suche as trust in him. &c. I canne no• thinke that they will offer any kinde of indifferent, or meane conditiōs: for if we wil not adorare bestiā, we neuer shalbe deliuered, but agaynst theyr will, thinke I, God our father & gracious Lord, make perfecte the good he hath begunne in vs. Faciet mi•••ter, [Page 1634](#) charissime frater, quem in intimis visceribus habeo ad conuiuēdum & commoriendum. O si tecum essem. Hee will doe it my brother, my deare brother, whom I haue in my inward bowels to liue and dye with. O if I were with you. Pray for me mine owne hart roote in the Lord.

For euer your owne, Iohn Bradford.

¶An other Letter to Mayster Laurence Saunders.

GODs sweete peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Iesus,* and with al your concaptiues. Amen.

I was letted this morning from musing on that, whiche I was purposed to haue thought on by reason of you, agaynst whome I saw my selfe guilty of negligence, euen in this poynt that I would not write, I should say, that I had not written vnto you as yet: therefore out of hande in maner I prepared my selfe, to purge my selfe hereof, not that I will go about to excuse my faulte (for that were more to loade me) but by asking both GOD and you pardon, to get it no more layed to my charge. Now then as I was thus purposing, and partly doynge, commeth there one with a letter from you, for the which as I haue cause to thanke GOD and you (howbeit not so that you should thinke, I geue not the whole to God) so I see my selfe more blame worthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit good brother, in this I haue geuen a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other thinges, and especially in praying for you,* and for the Church of GOD, which for my sinnes and hypocrisy (hypocrisye in deede euen in this writing,

GOD deliuer me from it) haue deserued to be punished. Iust is God, for we haue deserued all kindes of plagues at his handes: but yet mercifull is he that will on thys wyse chastise vs wyth this world, ne cum mundo condemnemur. i. That we should not be condemned with the worlde. He might otherwyse haue punished vs, I meane, he might haue for other causes cast vs in prison, me especially, then for his Gospell and wordes sake. Praysed therefore be his name, whiche voucheth vs worthye this honour. Ah good GOD forgeue vs our sinnes, and worke by this thy fatherly correction on vs, on me especially, affectually to loue thee and thy Christ: and with ioyfulnesse vnto the end, to carry thy Crosse through thicke and thinne. Alwayes set before our eyes, not this gallowes on earth, if we will sticke to thee, but the gallowes in Hell if wee denye thee, and swarue from that we haue professed.

Ah good Brother, if I could alwaies haue GOD, his Maiestye, mercy, heauen, hell. &c. before mine eyes then should I obdurare, as Paul writeth of Moses. Heb. 11. Obdurauit inquit, perinde quasi vidisset eum qui est inuisibilis. i. He endured (sayth he) as he that saw him which is inuisible. Pray for me, as I know you doe, and geue thanks also, for In Domino spero: non nutabo Si ambulauero per vallem vmbrae mortis, non timbo quia tu Domine mecum es. &c. Amen. i. In the Lord I trust: I shall not wauer. If I walk by the valley of the shadowe of death, I will not feare, for thou art with me O Lorde. I thinke we shall be shortly called forth, for now legem habent, & secundum legem. &c. otherwise will they not reason with vs: and I thinke theyr shootanker will be, to haue vs to subscribe. The which thing if we doe though with this condition: (so farre as the thing subscribed to, repugneth not agaynst Gods worde) yet thys will be offensiue. Therefore let vs vadere planè and so sanè, I meane, let vs all confesse that we are no chaungelings, but reipsa are the same we were in religion, and therefore can not subscribe, except we wil dissemble both with God, our selues and the world. Haec tibi scribo frater mi charissime in Domino. Iam legam tuam Epistolā. i. These things I write to you deare brother in the Lord. Now I will read your Epistle. * Ah brother that I had practicam tecum scientiam in vite illa quam pingis: roga Dominum vt ita verè sentiam. Amen. i. The practical vnderstanding with you in that vine whiche you describe. Pray the Lorde that I may so thinke in deed. God make me thankfull for you. Salutant te omnes concaptiui & gratias Domino pro te agun: idem tu facies pro nobis & ores. vt. &c. i. All our felow prisoners salute you, & geue thanks to God for you. The same do you for vs, & pray that. &c.

Your brother in the Lord Iesus, to liue and dye with you, Iohn Bradford.

To my deare Fathers, D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer.

IESus Emanuell. My deare fathers in the Lord, I beseech GOD our sweete Father through Christ, * to make perfect the good hee hath begonne in vs all. Amen.

I had thought that euery of your staues had stande nexte the dore, but now it is otherwise perceiued. Our deare Brother Rogers hath broken the ise valiauntly, and as this day (I thinke) or to morow at the vttermost, harty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylour end theyr course, and receiue theyr crowne. The nexte am I, whiche hourelly looke for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. GOD forgeue me mine vnthankfulnesse for this exceeding great mercy, that amongst so many thowsandes, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whome he will suffer. For although it be moste true, that iuste patior. i. I iustly suffer

(for I haue bene a great hypocrite, and a greeuous synner, the Lorde pardon me, yea hee hath done it, he hath done it in deede) yet, hic autem quid mali fecit? i. What euill hath he done? Christ, whome the Prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no euill, nor deserueth death. Therefore ought I most hartely to reioyce of this dignation and tender kyndnesse of the Lord towardes me,* which vseth the remedy for my sinne as a testimoniall of hys Testament, to his glory, to my euerlasting comfort, to the edefying of his Church, and to the ouerthrowing of Antichrist and hys kingdome. O what am I Lorde, that thou shouldest thus magnifye me so vile a man and miser, as alwayes I haue bene? Is this thy wont to sende for suche a wretche and an hypocrite as I haue bene, in a fiery Charyot, as thou diddest for Helias? Oh deare Fathers, be thankfull for me, and pray for me, that I styll may be found worthy in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you readye, for we are but your gentlemen hushers. Nuptiae agni paratae sunt, venite ad nuptias. 1. The mariage of the Lambe is prepared, come vnto the mariage. I now go to leaue my flesh there, where I receiued it.* I shall be cōueied thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to Leopardis: by whose euill I hope to bee made better. God graunt, if it be his will that I aske, it may make them better by me. Amen.

For my farewell therfore, I write and send this vnto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall neuer be separated. In the meane season I will not cease, as I haue done, to commende you to our father of heauen. And that you would so do by me, I most hartely praye euerye one of you. You knowe nowe I haue moste neede. But fidelis Deus, qui nunquam sinet nos tenta•i supra id quòd possumus. i. Faythfull is God, which will not suffer vs to be tempted aboue our strength. He neuer didde it hytherto, nor now, I am assured, he will neuer do. Amen. A dextris est mihi, non mouebor. Propter hoc laetabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me sanctum suum per gratiam in C•risto, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectens omni momento carnificem. i. He is on my righte hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my hart shall reioyce,* for he shall not leaue my soule in hell, neither shall suffer me his holy one by his grace in Christ, to see corruption. Out of prison in haste, looking for the Tormentour.

The 8. of February. Ann. 1555.

Ioohn Bradford▪

**To the honourable Lord Russell, now Earle of Bedford, being then in trouble for the verity of Gods Gospell.*

THE euerlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Sauour Iesu Christ,*lesse your good Lordshippe with all maner of heauenlye blessinges in the same Chryst our onely comfort and hope. Amen.

Praysed be God our Father which hath vouched you worthy, as of fayth in his Christ, so of his Crosse for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath deliuered you from one crosse, so he hath made you willing (I trust) and ready to beare another whē he shall see his time to lay it vpon you: for these are the most singular giftes of God geuen as to few,* so to none els but to these few whiche are moste deare in his sight. Fayth is reckoned, and worthely, among the greatest gyftes of GOD, yea it is the greatest it selfe that we enioy, for by it, as we be iustified

and made Gods childrē, so are we temples and possessours of the holy spirite, yea of Christ also. Eph. 4. And of the Father hymselfe. Iohn. 14. By fayth we driue the Deuill away▪ 1. Peter. 5. We ouercome the world. 1. Ioh. And are already Cittizens of heauen and fellowes wyth Goddes deare Sayntes. But who is able to reckon the riches that this fayth bringeth with her vnto the soule she sitteth vpon? No man or Aungell. And therefore (as I sayd) of all Gods giftes, she may be set in the top and haue the vpmost seate. The which thing if men considered (in that she commeth alonely from Goddes owne mercy seat, [*](#) by the hearing, not of Masse or Mattyns, Dyriges or such drasse, but of the worde of God in such a tounge as we canne and doe vnderstand) as they would be diligent and [Page 1635](#) take greate heede for doying or seeying any thyng whiche might cast her downe (for then they fal also) so would they with no lesse care read and heare Goddes holy word, ioyning thereto most earnest and often prayer, aswell for the more and better vnderstanding, as for the louing, liuyng and confessing of the same, mauger the head of the deuill, the worlde, our fleshe, reason, goodes, possessions, carnall frends, wife, children, and very life here: if they should pull vs backe to harken to the voyce and counsell, for more quiet, sure, and longer vse of them.

[*](#)Now, notwithstanding this excellency of fayth in that we read the Apostle to matche therewith, yea (as it were) to preferre suffering persecution for Christes sake, I trowe no man will be so fond as to thinke otherwise, but that I and all Goddes children haue cause to glorify and prayse God, whiche hath vouched you worthye so greate a blessing. [*](#) For though the reason or wisdom of the worlde thinke of the Crosse according to theyr reach and according to theyr present sence, and therefore flyeth from it as from a most great ignominye and shame: Yet Gods Scholers haue learned otherwise to thinke of the Crosse, that is the frame house in the which God frameth his children lyke to his sonne Christ: the Fornace that fineth Gods golde: the high way to Heauen: the Sute and Liury that Gods seruantes are serued withall: the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory. For they (I meane Gods scholers, as your Lordshyp is, I trust) doe enter into Goddes sanctuary, [*](#) least theyr fecte slippe. They looke not as beastes do, on thinges present onely, but on thinges to come, and so haue they as present to fayth, the iudgemente and glorious comming of Christ, like as the wicked haue now theyr worldly wealth wherein they wallow and will wallowe till they tumble headlong into Hell, where are tormentes too terrible and endlesse. [*](#) Nowe they followe the Feende as the Beare doth the trayne of Honye and the Sowe the swillinges, till they be brought into the slaughter house, and then they know that theyr prosperitie hath brought them to perdition. Then crye they woe, woe. We went the wrong way: [*](#) wee counted these men (I meane such as you bee that suffer for Goddes sake losse of goodes, frendes and life, whome they shall see endued with riche robes of righteousnesse, crownes of most pure precious golde, and Palmes of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the Lambe, where is eternall ioy, felicity, &c.) Wee counted (will they then say) these men but fooles and mad men, we tooke theyr conditions to be but curiosity. &c. But then will it be to late, then the time will be turned, laughing shal be turned into weeping, and weeping into reioysing, Read Sapien. 2.3.4.5.

Therefore (as before I haue sayd) great cause haue I to thanke God whiche hath vouched you worthy of thys most bountifull blessing: [*](#) mucche more then you haue cause (my good Lord) so to be, I meane thankfull. For looke vpon your vocation I pray you, and tell me how many noble menne, Earles sonnes, Lordes, Knightes, and menne of estimation hath God in this Realme of England dealt thus withall? I dare say you thinke not that you haue deserued this. Only Gods

mercy in his christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Ieremyes tyme on Abimelech, in Achabs time on Abdias, in Christes tyme on Ioseph of Arimathia, in the Apostles tyme on Sergius Paulus, and the Queene of Candaces Chamberlayne. Onely now be thankefull and continue, continue, continue (my good Lorde) continue to confesse Christ. Bee not ashamed of hym before men, for then will not he bee ashamed of you. Nowe will he trye you: sticke fast vnto him and he wyll sticke fast by you: he will be with you in trouble and deliuer you. But then must you cry vnto him, for so it proceedeth: * He cried vnto me and I heard him: I was with him in trouble. &c.

Remember Lottes wyfe whiche looked backe. Remēber Fraunces Spira. Remember that none is crowned but he that striueth lawfully. Remēber that all you haue, is at Christes commaundement. Remember he lost more for you then you canne lose for him. Remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake, * for you shall finde much more here and elsewhere. Remember you shall dye, and when, where, and howe, ye can not tell. Remember the death of sinners is most terrible. Remember the death of Gods Sayntes is precious in his sight. Remember the multitude goeth the wide waye whiche windeth to woe. Remember that the straight gate which leadeth to glorye hath but few traouellers. Remember, Christ biddeth you striue to enter in thereat. Remember, he that trusteth in the Lord shall receiue strength to stand agaynst all the assaultes of his enemies. Be certayn all the hearers of your head are numbred. Be certayne your good Father hath poynted boundes ouer the which the deuill dare not look. Commit your selfe to him: he is, hath bene, and will bee your Keeper. Cast your care on hym and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope and marke to pricke at: let hym be your patron to worke by: let him be your ensample to folow: geue him as your hart so your hand, * as your minde so your tounge, as your fayth so your feete, and let his word be your candle to go before you in all matters of Religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these Popish prayers, nor standeth at them nor sitteth at them: glorifye God in both soule and body. * He that gathereth not wyth Christ: scattereth abroad. Use prayer, looke for Gods help, which is at hand to them that aske and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayer I hartely desire your Lordshyp to remember vs, who as we are goyng with you ryght gladly (God therefore be prayسد) so we looke to go before you, hoping that you will folow, if God so will, according to your dayly prayer: Thy will be done on earth. &c. The good spirite of God alwayes guide your Lordshippe vnto the end. Amen.

Your Lordships owne for euer, Iohn Bradford.

**To M. Warcup and his Wyfe, Maistres Wilkenson and others of his godly frendes with theyr families.*

THE same peace our Sauour Christ left with his people, * which is not without warre with the world, almighty God woorke plentifully in your hartes now and for euer, Amen.

The tyme I perceiue is come, wherein the Lordes grounde will be knowne, I meane it will now shortly appeare who haue receiued Goddes Gospell into theyr hartes in deede, to the taking of good roote therein, for such will not for a litle heate or sunburning, wither, but stiffely will stand and grow on maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempestes. And for as much as (my beloued in the Lorde) I am perswaded of you, that ye be in deede the children of GOD, Gods good ground, whiche groweth and will grow on (by Goddes grace) bringyng foorth fruite to Goddes glory after your vocations, as occasion shall bee offered (burne the Sunne neuer so

hoate) therefore I can not but so signify vnto you, and hartely pray you and euery one of you, accordinglye to goe on forwardes after your Mayster Christ, not sticking at the foule waye and stormye weather, whiche you are come into and are like so to doe, of this beyng most certayne, that the ende of your iourney shall be pleasaunt and ioy full in suche a perpetuall rest and blissefulnesse as can not but swallow vppe the showers that ye nowe feelee and are soused in, if ye often sette it before your eyes after Paules counsell in the latter ende of the 4. and beginning of the 5. chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Read it I pray you, and remember it often, as a Restoratiue to refreshe you, leaste ye faynt in the way.

And besides this, set before you also, that though the weather be foule and stormes grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and sisters pad the same path, as Saynt Peter telleth vs, and therefore company shoulde cause you to be the more couragious and chearefull. But if ye had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if euen from the beginning the best of Goddes frendes haue founde any fayrer weather and way to the place whether ye are goyng (I meane heauen) then ye nowe finde and are like to doe,* excepte ye wyll with the worldinges, which haue theyr portion in this life, <◇> still by the way til the stormes be ouerpast, and then eyther night will so approach that ye can not trauell, eyther the doores will be sparred before ye come, and so ye shall lodge without in wonderfull euill lodgings. Read Apocal. 22. Begin at Abel, & come from him to Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Ioseph, the Patriarches, Moses, Daud, Daniell, and all the Sayntes in the olde testament, and tell me whether euer any of them found any fayrer way then ye now finde.

If the olde Testament will not serue,* I praye you come to the new, and beginne with Mary and Ioseph, and come from them to Zachary, Elizabeth, Iohn Baptist, and euery one of the Apostles and Euangelistes, and search whether they all founde anye other way into the Citty we trauallye towardes, then by many tribulations. Besides these, if ye shoulde call to remembraunce the primatiue Church, Lord GOD, ye shoulde see many to haue geuen chearefully theyr bodyes to most greuous tormentes, rather then they woulde be stopped in theyr iourney, that there is no day in the yere, but (I dare say) a thowsand was the fewest that with great ioy lost theyr homes here,* but in the Citty they went vnto, haue found other maner of homes then mans minde is able to conceiue. But if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as ye haue me your poore brother and bondman of the Lord, with many other, I trust in GOD: if ye had none other of the Fathers, Patriarches, Kynges, Prophettes, [Page 1636](#) Apostles Euangelistes, Martyrs, and other holy saincts and children of God, that in their iourney to heauenward, found as ye now finde and are lyke to finde if ye go on forward as I trust ye will: yet ye haue your Mayster and your Captayne Iesus Chryst, the deare dearlyng and onely begotten and beloued sonne of God,* in whome was all the fathers pleasure, ioy, & delectation ye haue him to goe before you, no fayrer waye but muche fouler, into this our Citty of Ierusalem. I neede not (I trust) to rehearse what manner of waye he found. Beginne at his birth, and till ye come at his buriall, yee shall finde that euery foote and stryde of his iourney, was no better, but much worse then yours is now.

Wherefore (my dearely beloued in the Lorde) be not so deintie as to looke for that at Gods handes your deare father, which the Fathers,* Patriarckes, Prophetes, Apostles, Euangelistes, Martyrs, Sainctes▪ and his owne sonne Iesus Christ dyd not finde Hetherto we haue had fayre way (I trow) and fayre weather also▪ now because we haue loytered by the waye, and not made the speede we

shoulde haue done, our louing Lorde and sweete father hath ouercast the weather, and styrred vp stormes and tempestes, that we might with more hast runne out our race before night come, and the doores be sparred. The Deuill standeth now at euery Inne doore in his Citie and Countrey of this world crying vnto vs to tary and lodge in this or that place tyll the stormes be ouerpast: not that he woulde not haue vs wet to the skinne, but that the tyme might ouer passe vs to oure vtter destruction. Therefore beware of his entisementes. Cast not your eyes on thinges that be present, how this man doth, and howe that man doth: But cast your eyes on the gleue ye runne at, or els ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleue, doth not looke on other that stande by, and go this waye or that way, but altogether hee looketh on the gleue, and on them that runne with him,* that those which be behynde ouertake hym not, and that he may ouertake them which be before: euen so shoulde we doe, leaue of looking on those which will not runne the race to heauen blisse by the pathe of persecution with vs, and cast our eyes on the ende of our race, and on them that goe before vs, that wee may ouertake them, and on them which come after vs, that we may prouoke them to come the faster after.

Hee that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shootyng on them that stand by,* or ryde by the wayes (I trowe) but rather at the marke he shooteth at, for els he were lyke to wyne the wrong way: Euen so my dearely beloued let your eyes be set on the marke ye shoote at, euen Christ Iesus, who for the ioye set before hym, did ioyfully cary his Crosse, contemning the shame and therefore he now sitteth on the right hande of the throne of God.* Let vs follow him, for this did he that wee shoulde not be faynhtarted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer wyth him, we shall vndoubtedly raygne with hym, but if wee denye him, surely he will deny vs: for he that is ashamed of me (saythe Christ) and of my Gospell, in this faythles generation, I wyll be ashamed of him before the Angels of God in heaven. Oh howe heauy a sentence is this to all suche as knowe the Masse to bee an abhominable idoll,* full of idolatrye, blasphemye, and sacriledge agaynst God and his Christ (as vndoubtedly it is) and yet for feare of men, for losse of lyfe or goodes, yea, some for aduaūtage and gayne, will honest it with theyr presence, dissemblyng both with God and manne, as their owne harte and conscience doth accuse them? Better it were that such had neuer known the truth, then thus wittingly, and for the feare or fauoure of man, whose breath is in his nosethrels, to dissemble it, or rather (as in deede it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse then their beginning. Such had neede to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrewes in the sixt and tenth Chapters,* least by so doying they fall therein. Let them beware they playe not wily begile themselues, as some doe, I feare me, whiche go to Masse, and because they worship not, nor kneele not, nor knocke not as others doe, but sit still in theyr pues, therefore they think they rather do good to others then hurte.

But (alas) if these men woulde loooke into their owne consciences, there shoulde they see they are very dissemblers and in seeking to deceiue others (for by this meanes the Magistrates thinke them of theyr sorte) they deceiue themselues. They think at the eleuation tyme, all mennes eyes are set vppon them, to marke howe they doe. They thinke others hearyng of suche men goyng to Masse, do see, o• enquire of theyr behauour there. Oh if there were in those men that are so present at the Masse, eyther loue to God, or to theyr brethren, then woulde they for the one or bothe, openly take Gods part, and admonish theyr people of their idolatry. They feare man more then hym, which hath power to cast both soule and bodye to hell fire: they halte on bothe knees: they serue two maysters. God haue mercy vppon suche and open theyr eyes with his eye salue, that they may see, that they which take no part with God, are agaynst God, and that they whiche

gather not wyth Christ, doe scatter abroad. Oh that they woulde read what S. Iohn sayth, will be done to the fearefull.* The counsaile geuen to the Church of Laodicea, is good counsaile for suche.

But to returne to you agayne (dearely beloued) be not yee ashamed of Gods Gospell, It is the power of God to saluation, to all those that doe beleue it.* Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shal make you able, knowyng for certayne, that he will neuer tempt you farther then hee will make you able to beare:.* and thinke it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for Gods truth, for the spirite of God resteth vpon you, and ye are happie, as one day yee shall see. Read 2. Thess. 1. Heb. 12. As the fire hurteth not gold but maketh it finer, so shall yee be more pure by suffering with Christ. 1. Pet 1. The flayle and wind hurteth not the wheat, but clenseth it frō the chaffe And ye dearly beloued are Gods wheate▪ feare not therefore the flayle, feare not the fanning winde, feare not the milstone, feare not the ouen,.* for all these make you more meete for the Lordes owne toothe. Sope, though it be blacke, soyleth not the clothe, but rather at the length maketh it more cleane: so doth the blacke Crosse helpe vs to more whitenes, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are Gods sheepe, prepare your selues to the slaughter, alwayes knoing that in the sight of the Lord, our death shall be precious. The soules vnder the aulter looke for vs to fill vp their number:.* happy are we if God haue so appoynted vs. How soeuer it be (dearely beloued) cast your selues wholly vpon the Lord with whome all the heares of your heades are numbred, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we nill we, we must drinke Gods cuppe, if he haue appoynted it for vs. Drinke it willingly then,.* and at the first when it is full, least peraduenture if we linger, we shall drinke at the length of the dregges with the wicked, if at the beginning we drinke not with his children: for with thē his iudgement beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Syon, then will he visite the nations round about.

Submit your selues therefore vnder the mighty hande of the Lorde.* No man shall touche you without his knowledge When they touch you therfore, know it is your weale. God therby will worke to make you like vnto Christ here, that yee may be also like vnto him els where. Acknowledge your vnthankfulnes and sinne, and blesse God that correcteth you in the world,.* because ye shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct vs, then in making vs to suffer for righteousnes sake: but this he doth because we are not of the world Call vppon his name through Christ for his helpe, as hee commaundeth vs. Beleeue that he is mercifull to you, heareth you, and helpeth you:.* I am with him in trouble, and will deliuer him, sayth hee. Knowe that God hath appoynted boundes ouer the whiche the Deuill, and all the worlde shall not passe. If all thinges seeme to be agaynst you, yet say with Iob: If he will kill me, I will hope in hym. Read the 91. Psalme, and pray for me your poore brother, and fellow sufferer for Gods Gospelles sake: his name therefore be praysed, and of his mercy he make me & you worthy to suffer with good conscience, for his names sake Die once we must, and when we knowe not:.* happy are they whome God geueth to pay Natures debte: I meane to dye for his sake.

Here is not our home, therefore let vs accordingly consider thinges, alwayes hauing before our eyes the heauenly Ierusalem Heb. 12. Apoc. 21 22 the way thether to be by persecutions: the deare frendes of God, howe they haue gone it after the example of our Sauoure Iesus Christ, whose footestepes let vs followe euen to the gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he within three dayes rose agayne immortall: euen so wee shall doe in our tyme: that is, when the

trumpe shall blow, and the Angell shall shoote, and the sonne of man shall appeare in the cloudes, with innumerable saintes and Aungels in maiestie and greate glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught vp into the cloudes to meete the Lorde, and so be alwayes with hym. Comfort your selues with these wordes, and praye for me for Gods sake.

E carcere. 19. Nouemb. 1553.

Iohn Bradford.

**To sir Iames Hales Knight, then prisoner in the Counter in Bredstreate.*

THE God of mercy and father of all comfort, plentifully poure out vpon you and in you his mercye,* and wyth his consolations comforte and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christes sake, Amen.

Although, right worshipfull sir, many causes myght moue me to be content, with crying for you to your God and my God, that he woulde geue you grace to perseu•re well, as he hath right notably begunne to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all suche as feare him, as lacke of learning, of familiaritie, yea, acquayntance (for I think I am vnknown to you, both by face and name) and other such like thinges: yet I cannot content my selfe, but presuming something to scribe vnto you, not that I thynke my scribling can do you good, but that I might declare my 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 and compassion, loue, and effection I beare towardses your maistership, which is contented, yea desirous [Page 1637](#) with vs poore misers, and to confesse Christes Gospell, in these perilous times and dayes of tryall. Oh Lord God how good art thou, which doest thus gleane out grapes, I meane children for thy self, and brethren for Christ? Looke good M. Hales on your vocation: not many Iudges,* not many knightes, not myny landed men, not many riche men: and wealthye to •iue as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as hee hath nowe done you. Certainly I dare say you thinke not so of your selfe, as though God were bound to preferre you, or had neede of you: but rather attribute this, as all good thinges, vnto his free mercy in Christ. Agayne, I dare say, that you being a wise man, doe iudge of thinges wisely, that is, concerning this your Crosse,* you iudge of it not after y^e world and people, which is magnus erro•is magister, nor after the iudgement of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishnesse to faythe, nor after the present sense, to the which non videtur gaudij sed molesti•e, i. it seemeth not to bee ioyous but greeuous, as Paule writeth: but after the worde of God, which reacheth youre Crosse to be, in respecte of your selfe betweene God and you,* Gods chastising and your fathers correction, nurture, schoole, tryall, pathway to heauen,* glory and felicitie, and the furnace to cōsume the drosse, and mortify the reliques of old Adam whiche yet remayne, yea euen the framehouse to fashyon you like to the dearest sayntes of God here, yea Christ to the Sonne of GOD, that elsewhere you might be like vnto him.

Now, concerning your crosse in respecte of the worlde betweene the world and you,* Gods word teacheth it to be a testimonial of Gods truth, of hys prouidence, of his power, of his iustice, of his wisdom, of his anger agaynst sinne, of his goodnes, of his iudgement, of your faith and religion: so that by it you are to the world, a witnes of god one of his testes that hee is true, he ruleth all thinges, hee is iuste, wise, and at the length will iudge the worlde, and cast the wicked into perdition, but the godly he wil take & receiue into his eternall habitation. I know you iudge

of thinges after faythes fetchē, and the effectes or endes of thinges, and so you see aeternum pondus gloriae. i. An eterweight of glorye, whiche this Crosse shall bryng vnto you dum non spectas ea quae videntur,*sed ea quae non videntur. i. While you looke not on thinges which are seene, but on the thinges which are not seene. Let the worldlinges way thinges,* and looke vpon the affayres of men with theyr worldly and corporall eyes, as did many in subscription of the kinges last will, and therefore they did that, for the whiche, they beshrewed themselues: but let vs looke on thinges with other maner of eyes, as God be prayesd you did, in not doying that which you were desired, and driuē at to haue done. You then behelde thinges not as a man, but as a man of God, and so you do now in Religion, at y^e least hetherto you haue done, and that you might do so stil, I humbly beseeche and pray you, say with Dauid: Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum,*quando consolaberis me? i. Myne eyes fayle for thy word, saying: when wilt thou cōfort me? Though you be as vter in fumo. i. like a bottell in the smoke: (for I heare you want health) yet ne obliuiscaris iustificationes Dei. i. Do not forget the statutes of y^e Lord: but cry out, quot sunt dies serui tui• quando facies de persecutibus me iudicium? i. Howe many are the dayes o• thy seruauant? when wilt thou execute iudgement on them that persecute me? And bee certayne quòd Dominus veniens veniet & non tardabit.*Si moram fecerit, expecta illum. i. The Lord will surely come, and not stay: though he tary, wayt for him: for he is but ad momentum in ira sua, & vita in voluntate eius, Ad vesperam demorabitur fletus, & ad matutinum laetitia. i. He is but a while in his anger, but in his fauour is life, weepyng may abide at euening, but ioye commeth in y^e morning, Follow therfore Esayes counsayl: Abscondere ad modicum,*ad momentum, donec pertranseat indignatio eius, i. Hide thy selfe for a very little while, vntil the indignation passe ouer, which is not indignatio in deede, but to our sense, and therfore in the 26. chapter of Esay God saith of his Church and people,* that as hee keepeth night and day, so non est indignatio mihi. i. There is no anger in me, (sayth he.)

The mother sometime beateth the childe, but yet her hart melteth vpon it euen in the very beating,* and therefore she casteth the rodde into the fire, and culleth the child geueth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And to say the trueth, the loue of mothers to their children is but a trace to trayne vs to beholde the loue of God towardes vs,* and therefore sayth he: can a mother forget the chylde of her wombe? As who say, no: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, sayth the Lorde of hostes. Ah comfortable saying: I will not forget thee, sayth the Lord. In deede the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry: Ne abscondas faciem tuam a me. &c. i. Hide not thy face from me. &c. Ne derelinquas me Domine. &c. i. Leaue me not O Lorde. &c. Whereas in very trueth it is not so but to their present sense,* and therefore Dauid sayd: Ego dixi in excessu meo, proiectus sum a facie tua. i. I sayd in my agony, I was cleane cast away from thy face. But was it so? Naye verely. Reade his Psalme and you shall see.* So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ, as when he sayth: Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquisti me. i. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? he sayth not, vt quid derelinquis? i. Why doest thou forsake me? or, derelinques? i. Why wilt thou forsake me? but, vt quid dereliquisti? Why hast thou forsaken me? Where in deede God had not lefte hym but that it was so to hys sense, & that thys Psalme telleth full well: which Psalme I pray you now and then reade, it is the 22. and thereto ioyne the 30. and the 116. with diuers other. The same we read in the Prophet Esay in his 40. chapter, where hee reprooueth Israell for saying, God had forgotten them. Nunquid nescis (sayth hee?) i. Knowest thou not? An non audiuisti? &c. i. Hast thou not heard? &c.*Qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinē. i. They that trust in the Lord shall renue theyr strength. And in his 54. chapter: Noli

timere. &c. Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te & in miserationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis obscondi faciem meam parumper à te, & in miserecordia sempiterna misertus sum tui, dixit redemptor tuus dominus. Nam istud erit mihi sicut aquae Noe. Vt enim iuraui ne porro aquae Noe pertransirent terram, sic iuraui vt non irascar tibi & non increpem te. Montes enim comouebuntur & colles contremiscent, miserecordia autem mea non recedet à te, & foedus pacis meae non mouebitur, dixit miserator tuus Dominus. i. Feare not. &c. For a little while I haue forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hyd my face from thee, for a little season: but in euerlastyng mercy haue I had compassion on thee, sayth the Lorde thy redeemer. For this is vnto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I haue sworne that the waters of Noe should no more goe ouer the earth, so haue I sworne that I would not be angry w^t thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountaynes shal remoue, and hilles shall fall downe, but my mercye shall not departe from thee, neyther shall the couenaunte of my peace fall awaye, sayth the Lorde, that hath compassion on thee.

But the scriptures are full of suche sweete places to them that will portare iram domini & expectare salutem & auxilium eius. i. Beare the wrathe of the Lorde,* and waye for his health and helpe. As of all temptations this is the greatest, that God hathe forgotten, or will not helpe vs through the pykes, as they say: so of all seruices of God, this liketh hym y^e best, to hope assuredly on him & for hys helpe alwayes, whiche is adiutor in tribulationibus. i. An helper in tribulations,* and doth more gloriously shew his power by suche as be weake, and feeble themselues so. For quo infirmiores sumus, eo sumus in illo robustiores. Sic oculi domini. i. The weaker we are, the more stronge we are in hym. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and feare. Voluntatem eorum faciet: i. hee will accomlishe their desire: he is with them in their trouble, hee will deliuer them. Antequam clamauerint exaudit eos. i. before they cry, he heareth them, as all the scriptures teach vs. To the reading whereof and hartye prayer, I hartily commend you, beseechyng almighty God, that of his eternall mercies hee woulde make perfecte the good hee hathe begunne in you, and strengthen you to the ende, that you might haue no lesse hope, but much more, of hys helpe to your comforte nowe agaynst your enemies, then already he hathe geuen you agaynst. N. for not subscribing to the kinges will.

Be certayne, be certayne good M. Hales, that all the heares of your head your deare father hath numbred, so that one of them shall not pearishe: your name is written in the booke of lyfe. Therefore vpon God cast all your care whiche will comforte you with his eternall consolations, and make you able to goe through the fire (if neede bee) whiche is nothing to be compared to the fire where into our enemies shall fall and lye for euer: from the whiche the Lorde deliuer vs, though it be through temporall fire, which must be construed according to the ende and profite that commeth after it: so shall it then not muche deare vs to suffer it for our mayster Christes cause, the whiche the Lord graunt for his mercies sake. Amen.

From the kings Bench.

Your humble Iohn Bradford.

To my very friend in the Lord Doctor Hyll Phisition.

The God of mercy and father of all comforte, at this present and for euer engraffe in your harte the sense of his mercy in Christ,* and for the continuance of hys consolation, whiche cannot but enable you to carrie wyth ioye, whatsoeuer crosse he shall lay vpon you, Amen.

Hetherto I coulde haue no suche libertie as to wryte vnto you, as I thynke you knowe: but nowe in that throughe Gods prouidence I haue no suche restraynte, I cannot but somthing write, as well to purge me of this suspicion of vnthankfulnes towardes you as also to signifie my carefulnes for you in these perilous dayes, least you should waxe colde in Gods cause (whiche God forbid) or suffer the light of the Lord once kindled in your harte to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the worlde and of many othere, whiche woulde haue bene accompted otherwise in our dayes, and yet still beguile themselues, still would be so accompted, although by their outward lyfe they declare the contrary, in that they thinke it inough to keepe the harte pure, notwithstandinge that the outward man doth curie fauour.

In whiche doyng, as they deny God to be ielous, and therefore requireth the whole man as well body as soule, being bothe create, as to immortalitie and societie wyth hym, so redeemed by the blood of Iesus Christ, and now sanctified by the holy spirite to be the temple of GOD, and member of hys sonne, as (I say) by their parting stake to geue God the harte,* and the world the body, they deny God to be ielous (for els they woulde geue hym both, as the wyfe would doe to her husband whether he be ielous or noe, if shee bee honest,) so they playe the dissemblers with the Church of GOD by theyr facte, offending the godlye, whome eyther they prouoke to fall wyth them, or make more carelesse and consciencelesse if they be fallen, and occasionyng the wicked and obstinate to tryumphe against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute theyr malyce agaynst suche as will not defile themselues in bodye or soule with the Romyshe ragges now reuiued amongst vs. Because of thys, I meane least you my deare Mayster and brother in the Lorde, shoulde doe as many of our Gospellers doe for feare of man, whose breathe is in hys nostrels, and hath power but of the body,* not fearyng the Lord which hath power both of soule and body, and that not onely temporallye, but also eternally: I could not but write something vnto you, aswell because duty deserueth it (for many benefites I haue receiued of God by your handes, for the whiche hee rewarde you, for I cannot, as also because charitie and loue compelleth me: not that I thinke you haue anye neede (for as I may rather learne of you, so I doubt not but you haue hetherto kept your selfe vpriht from haltyng) but that I might both quyet my conscience callyng vpon me hereabout,* and signifie vnto you by some thyng my carefulnes for your soule, as payneful and often you haue done for my body.

Therefore I praye you call to minde that there bee but two maysters, two kindes of people, two wayes, and two mansion places. The maysters by Christe and Satan: the people be seruitures to eyther of these, the wayes be stryght and wyde: the mansions be Heauen and Hell, Agayne, consider that thys worlde is the place of tryall of Gods people and the deuils seruauntes for as the one will follow hys mayster what soeuer commeth of it, so will the other. For a tyme it is hard to discerne who pertayneth to God and who to the Deuill: as in the calme and peace,* who is a good shipman and warriour, and who is not. But as when the storme aryseth, the expert mariner is knowne, and as in warre the good souldiour is seene, so in affliction and the Crosse, easily Gods children are knowne from Sathans seruauntes: for then as the good seruaunt will followe his

mayster, so will the godly followe theyr captayne, come what come will, where as the wicked and hipocrites will bid adewe, and desire lesse of Chrystes acquayntaunce. For whiche cause the Crosse is called a probation and tryall, because it tryeth who will goe wyth God and who will forsake hym.* And nowe in Englande wee see howe small a companye Christe hath in comparison of Sathans Souldiours. Let no manne deceiue hymselfe, for hee that gathereth not wyth Chryste, scattereth abroad. No man canne serue two maysters: the Lorde abhorreth double heartes: the luke warme, that is, such as are both hote and colde, hee spitteth out of hys mouthe. None that halte on bothe knees doth GOD take for hys seruauntes. The way of Chryste is the straye waye, and so straite, that as a few finde it and few walke in it, so no man can halte in it but must needs goe vpright: for as the straytnes will suffer no reeling to this side or that side: so if anye man halte, he is lyke to fall of the bridge into the pit of eternall perdition.

Striue therefore good mayster Doctour, nowe you haue founde it, to enter into it: and if you shoulde be called or pulled backe, looke not on this side or that side, or behynde you as Lots wyfe did: but strait forwardes on the end which is set before you (though it bee to come) as euen nowe present: lyke as you doe and will your pacientes to doe in purgations and other your ministrations,* to consider the effecte that will ensue, where through the bitternesse and lothsomnesse of the purgation is so ouercome, and the paynefulnes in abiding the woorkyng of that is minystred, is so eased, that it maketh the patient willyngly and ioyfullie to receaue that is to be receiued, althoughe it be neuer so vnpleasaunt: so (I saye) sette before you the ende of thys straye waye, and then doubtlesse, as Paule sayth, aeternum pondus gloriae pariet. i. It shall bryng with it an eternall weight of glory, whilest we looke not on the thinge whiche is seene, for that is temporall, but on the thyng whiche is not seene, whiche is eternall. So dothe the husbandman in plowing and tilling, set before hym the haruest tyme: so dothe the fisher consider the draught of hys nette, rather then the castyng in: so dothe the Marchaunt the returne of hys marchaundise: and so shoulde we in these stormye dayes set before vs not the losse of our goodes, libertye and verye lyfe, but the reapyng tyme, the commyng of oure Sauoure Christ to iudgement, the fire that shall burne the wicked and disobedient to GODS Gospell, the blaste of the Trumpe, the exceeding glory prepared for vs in heauen eternally, such as the eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, not the hart of man can conceaue. The more we lose here,* the greater ioye shall we haue there. The more we suffer, the greater triumphe. For corruptible drosse, wee shall finde incorruptible treasures: for golde, glorie: for siluer, solace without ende: for riches, robes royall: for earthly houses, eternall pallaces: myrthe without measure, pleasure without payne, felicitie endles: Summa we shall haue God the father, the sonne and the holie Ghost.

Oh happye place, oh that thys daye woulde come. Then shall the ende of the wicked be lamentable, then shall they receaue the iust rewarde of Gods vengeance, then shall they crye woe, woe, that euer they dyd as they haue done. Reade Sapien. 2.3.4.5. Read Mathew. 25. Read 1 Corinthians 15. 2. Corrinthians 5. and by faythe (which GOD increase in vs) consider the thing there sette foorth. And for youre comforte, reade Hebrewes 11. to see what fayth hath done, alwayes consideryng the way to heauen to be by many trybulations, and that all they which wyll lyue godlye in Christ Iesu, must suffer persecution. You knowe thys is oure Alphabet: He that will be my Disciple,* sayth Chryst must denye himselfe, and take vp hys Crosse and followe me not thys Byshop, nor that Doctour, not this Emperoure, nor that Kynge, but me, sayth Christ: For he that loueth father, mother, wyfe, children, or very life bettter then me, is not worthy of me.

Remember that the same Lorde saythe: Hee that will saue hys lyfe shall lose it. Comforte your selfe with thys,* that as the Deuils had no power ouer the Porkets or ouer Iobs goodes without Gods leaue, so shall they haue man ouer you. Remember also that all the heares of your head are numbred with God. The Deuill may make one beleue he will drowne hym, as the Sea in hys surges threatneth to the land: but as the Lorde hath appoynted boundes for the one, ouer the whiche hee can not passe: so hath he done for the other.

On God therefore cast your care, loue hym, serue hym after hys worde, feare hym, trust in hym, hope at hys hand for all helpe, and alwayes praye, lookyng for the Crosse, and whensoever it commeth, be assured the Lorde, as he is faythfull, so he will neuer tempte you further then hee will make you able to beare, but in the midst of the temptation will make suche an euasion, as shall be most to his glorie, and your eternall comforte. GOD for hys mercye in Christe with hys holye spirite endue you, comfort you, vnder the winges of hys mercye shadowe you, and as hys deare childe guyde you for euermore. To whose mercfull tuition, as I doe with my harty prayer commit you: so I doubt not but you pray for me also, & so I beseech you to doe still. My brother P. telleth me you woulde haue the last part of S. Hieromes woorkes, to haue the vse thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three dayes well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you if God let me not, and vse me and that I haue, as your owne. The LORD for hys mercye in Chryste directe our wayes to hys glorie,

Out of prison

by yours to commaund Iohn Bradford.

¶To Mistres M. H a godly gentlewoman, comfortyng her in that common heauinesse and godly sorrowe: which the feelyng and sense of sinne worketh in Gods children.

I Humbly and hartily praye the euerlasting good God [Page 1639](#) and Father of mercy,* to blesse and keepe your harte and minde in the knowledge and loue of his truthe, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of the holye spirite, Amen.

Although I haue no doubt, but that you prosper and goe forwardes dayly in the way of godlinesse, more and more drawing towards perfection, and haue no neede of anye thinge that I can write, yet because my desire is that you might be more feruent and perseuer to the ende, I coulde not but write something vnto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call vnto your minde, as a meane to stirre you hereunto, yea as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to beleue, that you are beloued of God, and that he is your deare father, in, through, and for Christ and his deatnes sake. This loue and tender kindnes of God towards vs in Christe, is abundantly herein declared, and that he hath to y^e Godly work of creation of this world, made vs after his image, redeemed vs being lost, called vs into his Church, sealed vs with his marke and signe manuell of Baptisme, kept and conserued vs all the dayes of our lyfe, fed, nourished, defēded and most fatherly chastised vs, and now hath kindled in our hartes the sparckles of his •eare, fayth, loue, and knowledge of his Christ and truthe, and therefore wee lament because we lament no more our vnthankfulnes, our fraylnes, our diffidence and wauering in thinges, wherein we should be most certayne.

All these thinges wee shoulde vse as meanes to confirme our fayth of this, that God is our God and father & to assure vs that he loueth vs as our father in Christ: to this end (I say) we should vse the thinges before touched especially in that of all thinges GOD requireth thys faythe and fatherly perswasion of his fatherly goodnesse,* as his chieftest seruice. For before he aske anye thing of vs, he sayth: I am the Lorde thy God, geuing himselfe, and then all he hath to vs to be our owne. And this he doth in respect of himselfe, of his owne mercy and and truthe, and not in respect of vs, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he sayth: Thou shalt haue none other Gods but me, thou shalt loue me with all thy harte. &c. though of duetie we are bound to accomlishe all that he requireth, and are culpable and giltie, if we doe not the same, yet he requireth not these thinges further of vs, then to make vs more in loue and more certayne of this his couenaunt, that he is our Lord and GOD. In certayntye wherof, as he hath geuē this whole world to serue to our neede and commoditie: so hath he geuen his sonne Chryst Iesus, and in Christe, hymselfe to be a pledge and gage: whereof the holy Ghost doth now and then geue vs some taste and sweete smell to our our eternall ioy.

Therefore (as I sayde) because God is your father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to beleue it, geue your selfe to obedience, although you doe it not with suche feeling as you desire. First must faithe goe before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frayltie, and many euils shoulde be occasions whereby Sathan woulde haue vs to doubte, as muche as we canne, let vs abhorre that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious: for so in deede it is. For when we stande in a doubte, whether God be oure Father, we cannot be thankfull to God, we can not hartily pray or thinke anye thyng wee doe acceptable to God, we can not loue our neighbours and geue ouer our selues to care for them, and doe for them as we should do, and therefore Sathan is most subtile hereaboutes, knowing full well that if we doubt of Gods eternal mercies towards vs through Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfectiō, frayltie, falles and offences, that we should doubte of Gods mercie, and fauour towards vs.

Therefore my good sister, wee must not be sluggishe herein,* but as Sathan laboureth to loosen our faythe: so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promyses and couenaunte of God in Christes bloude, namely that God is our God with all that euer hee hath: whiche couenaunte dependeth and hangeth vppon Gods own goodnes, mercy and trueth onely, and not on our obedience or worthines in any poynt, for then should we neuer be certayne. In deede God requireth of vs obedience and worthines, but not that thereby we might be his children and he our father,* but because he is our father and we his children through his owne goodnes in Christe, therefore requireth he fayth and obedience. Now if we want this obedience & worthines which he requireth, shuld we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthines the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our father: But rather because he is our father, and we feel our selues to want such things as he requireth, we shuld be styrred vp to a shamefastnes and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our father in prayer on this maner:

Deare father, thou of thyne owne mercye in Iesus Chryst hast chosen me to be thy childe, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy Church and faythfull companie of thy children: wherein thou hast kept me hetherto,*thy name therfore be prayسد. Now I see my self to want fayth, hope, loue. &c. whiche thy children haue and thou requirest of me, wherthrough

the deuill would haue me to doubt, yea vtterly to dispayre of thy fatherly goodnes, fauour and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my mercifull father through thy deare sonne Iesus Christ, and pray thee to helpe me good Lorde: helpe me, and geue me fayth hope, loue, &c. and graunt that thy holy spirite may be with me for euer, and more and more to assure me that thou art my father: that this mercifull couenaunt that thou madest with them respect of thy grace in Christ, and for Christ and not in respecte of any my worthines, is alwayes to me. &c.

On this sort (I say) you must pray and vse your cogitations, when Satan would haue you to doubte of saluation. He doth all he can to preuayle herein.* Do you al you can to preuayle herein agaynst hym. Though you feel not as you wold, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did. For alwayes (as I sayd) goeth fayth before feelyng. As certayne as God is almighty, as certayne as God is mercifull, as certayne as God is true, as certayn as Iesus Christe was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, as certayne as this is GODS commaundement: I am the Lord thy God. &c. so certayne ought you to be that God is your father. As you are boūd to haue no other Gods but hym, so are ye no lesse bound to beleue that God is your God. What profite shoulde 〈◇〉 be to you to beleue this to be true: I am the Lord thy God to others, if you shoulde not beleue that this is true to youre selfe? The deuill beleeueth on this sorte. And whatsoeuer it be that woulde moue you to doubte of this,* whether God be your God through Christ, that same cōmeth vndoubtedly of the deuill. Wherefore did God make you, but because he loued you? Might not he haue made you blind dumbe, deafe, lame, frantike. &c. Might not hee haue made you a Iew, a Turke, a Papist. &c? And why hath hee not done so? verily because hee loued you? And why dyd hee loue you? What was ther in you to moue him to loue you? Surely nothing moued him to loue you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodnes in Christ.* Nowe then in that his goodnes in Chryste still remayneth as much as it was, that is, euen as great as hymself, for it cannot be lessened: how shuld it be but y^t he is your God and father? Beleue this, beleue this, my good sister, for God is no chaungeling: them whome hee loueth, he loueth to the end.

Cast therefore your selfe wholly vpon him, and think without all wauering, that you are Gods child, that you are a citizen of heauen, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the holy Ghost. &c. If hereof you be assured as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted, then shall you lament more & more that you want manye thinges which God loueth:* then shal you labour to be holy in soule and bodye: then shall you go about that Gods glory may shyne in all your wordes and works: then shal you not be afrayd what man can doe vnto you: then shall you haue such wisdom to answere your aduersaries, as shall serue to their shame, and your comfort: then shal you be certayn y^t no man can touch one heare of your head further then shall please your good father, to your euerlasting ioye: then shall you be moste certayne, that God as youre good father, will be more carefull for your Children, and make better prouision for them, if all you haue were gone then you can: then shall you (being assured I say of gods fauour towardes you) geue ouer your selfe wholly to help and care for others that be in neede: then shall you contemne this life, and desire to be at home with youre good and sweete father, then shall you laboure to mortifie all thinges that would spot eyther soule or bodye. All these thinges spryng out of thys certaine perswasion and faith, that God is our father, and we are his children by Christ Iesus. All thinges should help our fayth herein: but Sathan goeth about in all thinges to hinder vs.

Therefore let vs vse earnest and hartye prayer: let vs often remember thys couenaunt: I am the Lord thy God: let vs looke vpon Christ and hys precious bloud shed for the obsignation and confirmation of his couenaunt: * let vs remember all the free promises of the Gospell: let vs set before vs Gods benefites generally in making this worlde, in ruling it, in gouerning it, in callyng and keepyng hys Church. &c. let vs set before vs Gods benefites particularly, howe hee hath made his creatures after his image, [Page 1640](#) howe hee made vs of perfecte lymmes, forme, beautye, memory, &c. how he hath made vs as Christians, and geuen vs a right iudgement in his religion: how he hath euer sithen we were b•rne, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended vs: how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected vs: how he hath spared vs & doth now spare vs, geuing vs tyme, space, place, grace. This if you doe & vse earnest prayer, and so flee from al things which might wound your conscience, geuing your selfe to diligence in your vocation, you shall finde at the length that (whiche God graunt to me with you) a sure certayntie of saluation, without all suche doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternall ioye, and comforte. Amen. Amen.

Yours to vse in Christ, Iohn Bradford.

¶An other letter full of Godly comfort, written to the same person.

THE good spirite of God whiche guideth hys children, be with you my good sister in the Lorde, for euer. Amen.

Although, as I to you, so you vnto me in person are vnknownen, * yet to hym whome we desire to please, wee are not onelye in persons, but also in hartes knowne and thorowly seene: and therefore as for hys sake you woulde by that you sent, of me bee perceiued how that in God you beare to me a good will: so, that I to you might be seene in God to beare you the lyke, I sēd to you these fewe wordes in writing, wishing that in all your doinges and speache, yea euen in your very thoughtes, you woulde labour to feele that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind and prayer made to God for the working of his spirite, therby, as a meane, you shall at the length feele more comforte and commoditie, then any man can knowe, but such as be exercised ther in. Howbeit, this is to be added, that in thinking youre selfe, & all that you haue and doe, to be in the sight of God: this (I say) is to be added, * that you thinke hys sight is the fight, not onely of a Lorde, but rather of a father, which tendereth more your infirmities, then you can tender the infirmities of any your Children. Yea when in your self you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weake, let the same be vnto you a trace to trayn you to see the vnspeakable kinde affection of God your father towardses you.

And therefore vpon the consideration of your infirmities and naturall euils, which continually cleaue vnto vs, take occasion to goe to God, * as your father through Christe, and before hys mercifull harte, laye open your infirmities and euilles, with desire of pardon and helpe, after hys good will and pleasure, but in hys time, and not when you will, and by what meanes he will, not by that waye you woulde: in the meane season hange on hope of his fatherly goodnes, and surely you shall neuer be ashamed. For if a woman that is naturall, cannot finally forget the Childe of her wombe, be •ure God whiche is a father supernaturall, * cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a woman coulde be so forgetfull, yet God hymselfe sayth, he will not be so.

This opinion, yea rather certayne perswasion of God our father through Christe, see that you cherishe and by all meanes, as well by dilligent consideration of his benefites,* as of his louing corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourishe: knowyng for certayne, that as the deuill goeth about nothing so muche as to bring you in a doubte whether yee be Gods childe, or no: so what soeuer shall moue you to admitte that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the Deuill. If you feele in your selfe not onely the want of good thinges, but also plentye of euill, do not therefore doubte whether you be Gods childe in Christ, or no.

For if for your goodnes or ilnesse sake, which you feel or feele not,* ye should beleue or doubte, then shoulde you make Christe Iesus for whose sake onely God is your father, either nothyng, or els but halfe Christ.

But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in euill, to goe to God as to your father, and to praye to him, that in asmuch as he commaundeth you to beleue that he is your God and father: so he would geue you his good spirite, that you might feele the same, and liue as hys childe, to hys glorye: and cease not vpon such prayers to look for comfort Gods good tyme, still hoping the best, and reiecting all dubitation, and so all euill workes, words and cogitations, as the Lord shal enable you by hys good spirite and grace, which I beseeche hym to geue vnto you, my good sister, for euer. And further I pray you, that as hee hath made you to be an helper vnto your husband, so you would endeuour your selfe therein to shewe the same as well in soule as body: and begge grace of God, that your indeuour may be effectual to both your comfortes in Christ. Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

**To my welbeloued in the Lord, VV. P.*

GRace and peace from God the father, through our Lorde Iesus Chryste. Amen.

Deare brother, God most iustly hath cast me downe into a dungeon, but much better then I deserue: wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can see any except they borne to me So•ething in the earth my lodgyng is: which as an example and memoriall of my earthly affections (which God I trust will mortifie) and of my sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bryng me in peace in hys good time. In the meane season hee geue me pacience, liuely hope, and his good spirite. I pray you praye for me, for the prayer of the godly, if it be effectuall,* worketh muche with God. I thanke God my common disease doth lesse trouble me, then when I was abroad, which doth teache me the merciful prouidence of God towards me. Vse true and harty prayer, and you shall perceiue GOD at length will declare himselfe to see, where now many thinke he sleepeth.

Out of the Tower,

by the Lordes prisoner, Iohn Bradford.

A letter whiche he wrote to a faythfull woman in her heauines and trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken harted for their sinnes.

GOD oure good father for hys mercies sake in Christe with his eternall consolation so comforte you,* as I de'sire to be comforted of him in my moste neede: Yea, he will comfort you, my deare sister, onely caste your care vppon hym, and he neuer can nor will forsake you. For his calling and giftes be suche, that he can neuer repente hym of them. Whome he loueth, he loueth to the end: none of his chosen can perishe.* Of whiche number I knowe you are my dearely beloued sister: God increase the fayth thereof dayly more and more in you, hee geue vnto you to hange wholly on hym and on his prouidence and protection. For who so dwelleth vnder * that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cocke sure for euermore. He that dwelleth I say: for if we be flitters and not dwellers: as was Loth a flitter from Segor, where God promised hym protection, if hee had dwelled there still, wee shall remoue to oure losse, as he did into the mountaynes.

Dwell therefore, that is, truste, and that finally vnto the ende, in the Lorde (my deare sister) and you shalbe as Mount Syon. As Mountaynes compasse Ierusalem: so dooth the Lorde all hys people. How then can hee forget you, whiche are as y^e apple of hys eye, for his dear sonnes sake. Ah deare heart, that I were now but one half houre with you, to be a Symon to helpe to cary your crosse with you. God sende you some good Symon to bee with you, and helpe you.

You complayne in your letters of the blyndenesse of your minde, and the troubles you feelee. My dearely beloued, God make you thankfull for that whiche God hathe geuen vnto you: he open your eyes to see what and howe great benefites you haue receiued, that you may be lesse couetous, or rather impacient, for so (I feare me) it should be called, and more thankfull. Haue not you receiued at his handes, sight to see your blindnesse, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lyeth in the mydday, as his deare Spouse speaketh of her selfe in the Canticles? Oh Ioyce, my good Ioyce, what a gifte is thys? Many haue some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing none this seeking whiche you haue, I knowe, but such as he hath married vnto hym in his mercies. You are not content to kisse hys feete w^t the Magdalen, but you would be kissed euen with the kisse of his mouthe. Cant. 1. You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth vs seeke hys face, Psalme. 27. yea, and that for euer. psalm 105. which signifieth no such sight as you desire, to bee in this present life, which would see God nowe face to face, where as he cannot be seene, but couered vnder something yea sometye in that whiche is (as you would say) cleane contrary to God: as to see his mercye in hys anger. In bringing vs to hell, fayth seethe hym bryng vs to heauen: in darkenesse it beholdeth brightnesse:* in hidyng hys face from vs, it beholdeth hys mery countenaunce. How dyd Iob see God, but as (you woulde saye) vnder Sathans clok? For who cast the fire frō heauen vpon hys goodes? Who ouerthrow hys house,* and styrred vp men to take away his cattell, but Sathan? And yet Iob pearce• thorough all these, and saw Gods worke saying: The Lorde hath geuen the Lord hath taken away. &c.

In reading of the Psalmes, how often doe you see that Dauid in the shadowe of death, sawe Gods sweete loue? And so (my dearely beloued) I see that you in your darknes and dimnesse, by fayth do see claritie and brightnesse: by fayth (I say) because fayth is of things absent, of things hoped for, of thinges which I appeale to your conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire

anye thinge [Page 1641](#) which you know not? And is there of heauenly things any other true knowledge then by fayth?

Therefore, my deare hearte, be thankfull, for (before God I write it) you haue great cause. Ah my Ioyce, how happy is the state wherein you are? [*](#) Uerily you are euen in the blessed state of Gods children: for they mourne, and doe not you so? And that not for worldly weale, but for spirituall riches, fayth, hope, charitie. &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousnes? [*](#) And I pray you sayth not Christ, who cannot lye, that happy are suche? How shuld God wipe away the teares from your eyes in heauen, if now on earth ye shed no teares? How coulde heauen be a place of rest, if on earth you did finde it? Howe coulde you desire to be at home, if in your iourney ye found no grieffe? How could you so often call vppon God, and talke wyth him, as I knowe you doe, if your enemy should sleepe all day long? How shoulde you elsewhere bee made like vnto Christ, I meane in ioye, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? [*](#) If you will haue ioy & felicitie, you must first needes feelee sorrow and miserye. If you will goe to heauen, you must sayle by hell. If you will embrace Christ in his robes you must not thinke scorne of him in his ragges. If you will sit at Christes table in hys kingdome, you must first abide with him in his temptations. If you will drinke of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominye.

Can the head corner stone bee reiected, and the other more base stones in gods building be in this world set by? You are one of his liuely stones: be content therefore to be hewen and snagged at, that you might bee made more meete to be ioyned to your fellowes which suffer with you Satans snatches, the worldes woundes, contempte of conscience, [*](#) and freattes of the fleshe, where through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are, who shal deliuer vs? You are of Gods corne, feare not therefore the Flayle, the Fanne, Milstone, nor Ouen. You are one of Christes Lambes, [*](#) looke therefore to be fleeced, hayled at, and euen slayne.

If you were a market sheepe, you should go in more fatte and grassy pasture. If you were for the Fayre, you should be stalfed and want no weale: [*](#) but because you are for Gods owne occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare Common. abiding the stormes and tempests that will fall. Happy and twise happy are you (my deare sister) that God now hayleth you whither you woulde not, that you might come whither you woulde. Suffer a little and be still. Let Satan rage agaynst you, let the worlde crye out, let your conscience accuse you, let the lawe loade you presse you downe, yet shall they not preuayle, for Christ is Emanuell, [*](#) that is, God with vs. If God be with vs, who can be agaynst vs? The Lorde is wyth you, youre Father cannot forgette you: your Spouse loueth you. If the waues and surges arise, [*](#) crye with Peter: Lorde I pearishe, and he will put out his hande and helpe you. Cast out youre anker of hope, and it will not cease for all the stormye surges, till it take holde on the rocke of Gods trueth and mercy.

[*](#)Thinke not that he whiche hath geuen you so manye thinges corporallye, as inductions of spirituall and heauenly mercies, and that without your desertes or desire, can deny you any spirituall comforte desiring it. For if hee geue to desire, he will geue you to haue and enioy y^e thing desired. The desire to haue, and the goyng about to aske, ought to certifie youre conscience, that they be hys earnest of the thing whiche you asking he will geue you, yea before you aske, and whilst you are about to aske hee will graunt the same (as Esay sayth) to hys glorye and your eternall consolation. Hee that spared not his owne sonne for you will not nor cannot thinke anye thinge to good for you, my hartily beloued.

If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath) he would not haue so called you: * he would neuer haue iustified you: he would neuer haue so glorified you with hys gracious giftes, which I know, praysed be his name therfore: he would neuer haue so exercised your fayth with tēptations, as he hath done and doth: if (I saye) hee had not chosen you. * If he haue chosen you (as doubtlesse deare heart, he hath done in Christe, for in you I haue seene hys earnest, and before me and to me you coulde not deny it, I knowe both where and when) if I say, he haue chosen you then neither can you, nor euer shall you pearishe. For if you fall, he putteth vnder his hand: you shall not lye still: so carefull is Christ your keeper ouer you. Neuer was mother so mindefull ouer her chylde, as hee is ouer you. And hath not he alwayes bene so?

Speake woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now trow you in your most neede doe otherwise, * you calling vpon him, and desiring to please hym? Ah my Ioyce, thinke you God to be mutable? Is he a chaungeling? Doth not he loue to the ende them whom he loueth? * Are not his giftes and calling suche, that he cannot repent him of them, for els were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power: for I am certayne his will towardes you, is not to be doubted of. Hath not the spirit which is the spirite of trueth, tolde you so? * And will you now harken with Eue to the lying spirite which woulde haue you now to despayre, (no he goeth more craftilye to worke, howbeit to that ende, if you should geue eare vnto it, which God forbid) but to doubt and stand in a mammering, and so shoulde you neuer truely loue God, but serue him of a seruile feare, least he shoulde cast you off for your vnworthines and vnthankfulnes: as though your thankfulnes or worthines were anye causes with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keepe you.

Ah myne owne deare harte, Christ onely, Christ only, and his mercy & truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy * this truth of God remayneth for euer, is certayne for euer, I saye for euer. If an Aungel from heauen should tell you contrary, accursed be he. Your thankfulnes and worthines are fruites and effectes of your election, they are no causes. These fruites and effectes shalbe so much more fruitfull and effectual, by how much you wauer not.

Therefore (my dearely beloued) arise, and remember from whence you are fallen. * You haue a shepheard which neither slumbreth nor sleepeth: No man nor deuill can pul you out of his handes. Night and day he commaundeth his Aungels to keepe you. Haue you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalme: * The Lorde is my shepheard I can want nothing? Do you not know that god sparred Noe in the Arke on the out side, so that hee coulde not get out? * So hath he done to you my good sister, so hath he done to you. Ten thousande shall fall on youre right hande, and twenty thousand on your left hand, yet no euill shal touch you. Say boldly therefore: * Many a tyme from my youth vpp they haue fought agaynst me, but they haue not preuayled, no, nor neuer shall preuayle, for the Lord is round about hys people. And who are the people of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lorde: and you are one of those, my deare heart, * for I am assured you haue hoped in the Lord: I haue your woordes to shewe moste manifestly, and I knowe they were written vnfaynedly. I neede not to say, that euen before God you haue simply confessed to me, and y^t oftentimes, no lesse. And once if you had this hope, as you doubtlesse had it, though now you seele it not, yet shall you feele it agayne: for the anger of the Lorde lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for euer. Tel me my deare heart, who hath so weakned you? * Surely not a perswasion which came from him that called you. For why should ye wauer? Why shoulde ye wauer, and be so heauy harted? Whome looke

you on? On youre selfe? on your worthines? on your thankfulnes? on that whiche God requireth of you, as fayth, hope, loue, feare, ioy. &c. Thē can you not but wauer in deed: for what haue you as God requireth? Beleue you, hope you, loue you &c. as muche as ye shoulde doe? No, no, nor neuer can in this life. Ah my dearly beloued, haue you so soone forgotten y^t which euer should be had in memory? namely, that when you would & shoulde be certayne and quiet in conscience, then should your fayth burst throughout al things not onely that you haue in you, or els are in heauē, earth▪ or hell, vntill it come to Christ crucified, and the eternall sweete mercies and goodnes of God in Christ? Here here is the resting place, here is your Spouses bed: creepe into it, and in your armes of fayth embrace him, bewayle your weakenes, your vnworthines, your diffidēce. &c. and you shall see he will turne to you. What sayde I, you shall •ee• Nay I should haue sayd, You shall feelee hee will turne to you. You know that Moses, when he went to the mount to talke with God, he entred into a darck cloude, and Helias had his face couered when God passed by. Both these deare frendes of God, heard God, but they sawe him not, but you woulde be preferred before them. See nowe my deare hart, how couetous you are. Ah bee thankfull, bee thankfull. But God be prayسد youre couetousnesse is Moyses couetousnes. Well, with him you shalbe satisfied. But when? Forsooth, when he shall appeare. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glasse. Isaac was deceiued because he was not content with hearing onely.*

Therefore to make an end of these many words, wherwith I feare me I doe but trouble you from better exercises: in asmuch as you are in deede the childe of God electe in Christ before the beginning of all times: in as much as you are geuē to the custody of Christ, as one of Gods most precious iewels? in as much as Christ is faythfull, & hytherto hath all power, so y^t you shall neuer perish, no, on•[Page 1642](#) heare of your head shall not be lost: I beseeche you, I pray you, I desire you, I craue at your hands with all my very heart, I aske of you with hand, penne, tongue, and minde, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his name, bloude, mercies,* power, and truthe sake (my most entirely beloued sister) that you admit no doubting of Gods final mercies towards you, howe so euer you feelee your selfe: but complaine to God, and craue of him as of your tender and deare father, al things, and in that time which shalbe most oportune, you shall finde and feelee farre aboue that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceiue, to your eternall ioy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good spirit of God alwaies kepe vs as hys deare children: he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted (my dearely beloued) for euermore. Amen.

I breake vp thus abruptly, because our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Christe dwell in both our hearts for euer. Amen.

As for the reporte of W. Po. if it be as you heare, you must prepare to beare it.* It is wrytten on heauens doore: Do wel, and heare euil. Be content therefore to heare what soeuer the enemy shall imagine to blot you withall. Gods holy spirite alwaies comfort and keepe you. Amen, Amen. This 8. of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you as well and as much felicitie, as to his owne heart.

John Bradford.

Heere followeth an other letter of hys, wrytten to the good Lady Uane, wherein he resolueth certaine questions which shee demanded. This Lady Uane was a speciall Nourse,* and a great supporter, to her power, of the godly Saints, which were imprisoned in Queene Maries time. Unto whom, diuers Letters I haue both of M. Philpot, Carelesse, Traherne, Thomas Rose, and of other moe, wherein they render vnto her moste gratefull thanks for her exceeding goodnes extended towarde them, with theyr singulare commendation and testimonie also of her Christian zeale towarde Gods afflicted prisonners, and to the veritie of his Gospell. Shee departed of late at Holburne. Anno 1568. whose ende was more like a sleepe, then anye death:* so quietly and meekely shee deceased and departed hence in the Lord.

Amongest other which wrote vnto her, M. Bradforde also sent these letters to the said Lady: the tenour whereof heere followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

THE true sense and sweete feeling of Gods eternal mercies in Christe Iesus, be euer more and more liuely wrought in your heart by the holy Ghost.* Amen.

I moste heartily thanke you (good Madame) for your comfortable Letters: and whereas you would be aduertised what were best to be done on your behalfe, concerning your three questions: the truth is, that the questions are neuer wel seene nor answered, vntill the thing wherof they arise, be well considered, I meane, vntill it be seene howe great an euill the thing is. If it be once in deede in your heart perceiued vpon probable & pithy places gathered out of Gods booke, that there was neuer thing vpon the earthe so greate, and so muche an aduersarie to Gods true Seruice, to Christes Death, Passion, Priesthood, Sacrifice, and kingdome, to the Ministerie of Gods woorde and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godlines of life, as that is whereof the questions arise (as moste assuredly it is in deede) then can not a Christian heart, but so muche the more abhorre it, and all thyngs that in any poynt might seeme to allowe it, or any thing pertaining to y^e same, by how much it hath the name of Gods seruice.

Againe, your Ladiship doth knowe, that as all is to be discommended and auoided, which is folowed or fled from in respecte of oure selues, in respecte of auoiding Christes Crosse: so the ende of all oure doings shoulde be to Godwards, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example, wherof none can be geuen in allowing any of the three questiōs by you propounded. But because this which I write nowe is briefe, and needeth the more consideration or explication: as I doubte not of the one in you, so from me by Gods grace, you shall receiue y^e other shortly. For I haue already wrytten a little booke of it, whiche I will sende vnto you, in the whiche you shall haue youre questions fully answered and satisfied,* and therefore I omit to write any more hereaboutes presently: beseeching God our good Father to guide you as his deare childe w^t his spirite of wisdom, power, and comfort vnto eternall ly^e, that you may be strong, and reioyce in hym and wyth his Church, to carie Christes crosse, if hee shall so thinke it nede. 1. Peter 1. Which is a thing to be desired, wished and imbraced, if wee looked on thinges after the iudgement of Gods word, and tried them by that touchstone.

If you be accustomed to thinke on the breuitie, vanitie, and miserye of this life, and on the eternitie, truth, and felicity of euerlasting life: if you looke on things after their endes, and not

after their present appearance onely: if you vse your selfe to set Gods presence, power, and mercy alwaies before your eies, to see them as God by euery creature woulde you shoulde: I doubt not but you shall finde suche strength and comforte in the Lorde, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. Gods mercye in Christ be with you, and his good spirit guide you for euer. Amen.

An other letter to the Lady Vane.

AS to mine owne soule, I wishe to your Ladishippe,* grace and mercy from God our deare father in Christe oure Lorde and Sauour.

I thanke God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated hys fatherly correction in vs both: I woulde to God hee had done so muche in the behalfe of the grieve of the body to you, as he hath done to mee. For as for the soule, I truste you feelee that which I pray God increase in you, I meane his fatherly loue, and graunt that I may with you feelee the same in suche degree as may please him: I will not say, as you feelee, least I should seeme to aske too much at one time. God doeth often much more plentifully visite with the sense of his mercy, them that humble them selues vnder his mighty hande, and are sore exercised (as you long haue bene) then others, whiche to the face of the worlde haue a more shewe and appearance.

Therefore I wish as I doe, and that not onely for mine owne commoditie, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodnesse of God, whiche I by your letters doe well esp•e, whych is in deede the hye waye, whereby as God encreaseth his giftes, so sheweth he more liuely his saluation. Psalme. 50.107. I haue receiued Gods blessing from you, the whiche I haue partly distributed vnto my three felowe prisonners, Maister Farrar, Maister Tailour, Maister Philpot, and the residue I will bestowe vppon foure poore soules whiche are imprisoned in the common Gayle, for Religion also. As for mine owne parte, if I hadde neede, I woulde haue serued my tourne also. But because I hadde not, nor (I thanke God) haue not, I haue bene and wil be your Almner in such sorte as I haue already aduertised you. God rewarde you, and geue you to finde it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I canne not talke with you, therefore on thys sort, as occasion and opportunitie will serue, I am ready to shewe my good will and desire of youre helpe and furtheraunce in the Lorde to euerlasting life, whereunto God bringe vs shortly, for his mercies sake. Amen.

Good Madame bee thankfull to God, as I hope you be: bee earnest in prayer, continue in reading and hearing Gods worde, and if Gods further Crosse come, as therein God doeth serue hys prouidence (for els it shall not come vnto you) so be certaine the same shall turne to your eternall ioy and comfort. Amen.

Ioohn Bradford.

To my deare friendes and brethren, R. and E. with their wiues and families.

THE comforte of Christe fealt commonly of his children in their Crosse for his sake,* the euerlasting God worke in both your heartes, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yokefelows, especially of good Mary my good sister in the Lord. Amen.

If I had not somthing heard of the hazard which you are in for the Gospels sake, if you continue the profession & confession therof, as I trust you do & wil do, and that vnto the ende, God enabling you, as hee will doubtlesse for hys mercies sake, if you hope in him (for this binedeth hym, as Dauid in Christes person witnesseth: Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliueredst them. &c. Psal. 22.) yet by cōiectures I coulde not but suppose, (thoughe not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hande. For now is the power of darknes fully come vpon this realme most iustly for o^r sinnes, and abusing the light lent vs of the Lorde, to the setting foorth of oure selues more then of Gods glory, y^t as wel we might be brought into the better knowledge of our euils, and so heartily repēt (which God graunt vs to doe) as also we might haue more feeling and sense of our sweete sauour Iesus Christ, by the humbling and delecting of vs, thereby to make vs, as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant vnto vs: the which thing the good spirite of God woorke sensibly in all oure hearts, for Gods holy names sake.

[Page 1643](#)For this cause I thoughte it my duetie, beyng now where I haue some libertye to write (the Lord be praised) and hearing of you as I heare: to doe that which I should haue done, if I had heard nothing at all: that is, to desire you to be of good cheare and comfort in the Lord (although in the worlde you see cause rather to the contrarye) and to goe on forewardes in the way of God whereinto you are entred, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more waxe strait to the outward man, by howe muche you drawe nearer to the ende of it: Euen as in the trauaile of a woman,* the nearer shee draweth to her deliuerie, the more her paines encrease: so it goeth with vs in y^e Lordes way, the nearer we drawe to our deliuerance by death to eternall felicitie.

Example whereof we haue, I will not say, in the holy Prophetes and Apostles of God, which when they were young, girded them selues, and went in manner whether they would,* but when they waxed olde, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning y^e outward man: but rather and moste liuely in our Sauour Iesus Christ, whose life & way was much more painfull to hym towardes the ende, then it was at the beginning. And no marueyle,* for Satan cane something abide a man to begin wel & set forewards, but rather then he should go on to the ende, he wil vomite his gorge, and cast flouds to ouerflow him, before he wil suffer that to come to passe.

Therefore as we should not be dismaide now at thys world,* as though some strange thyng were happened vnto vs, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the Deuill declareth him selfe after his olde woont, in that we haue professed no lesse but to forsake the world and the deuill as Gods very enemie, in that we learned no lesse at the first when we came to Gods schole, then to deny our selues, and take vp our crosse and folow our master, which leadeth vs none other way then he him selfe hath gone before vs: as (I say) we should not be dismaid: so we should with patience and ioy go forewards, if we set before vs as present, the time to come, like as the wife in her trauaile, doeth the deliuerance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our sauour and paterne Iesus Christe: for the Apostle sayeth.* He set before him the ioye and glorye to come, and therfore contemned the shame & sorow of the crosse: so if we did, we shoulde finde at the length as they founde. For whome would it greeue which hath a long iourney to go, to go through a peece of foule way, if he knewe that after that the way should be moste pleasaunt, yea the iourney shoulde be ended,* and he at his resting place most happie?

Who will be afeard, or lothe to leaue a litle pelfe for a little time, if he knewe he should shortly after receiue most plentifull riches? Who will be vnwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or frends. &c. when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated vnto them inseparably, euen after his owne hearts desire? Who wil be sory to forsake this life, which can not but be moste certaine of eternall life? Who loueth the shadowe better then the bodye? Who can loue this life, but they that regarde not the life to come? Who can desire the drosse of this worlde but such as be ignoraunt of the treasures of the euerlasting ioy in heauen? * I meane, who is afeard to die, but suche as hope not to liue eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, ioye, * felicitie, and all good things to them that for hys sake lose any thing, or suffer any sorrowe. And is he not true? Howe can hee but be true, for guile was neuer founde in his mouth.

Alas then, why are we so slacke and slow, yea harde of heart to beleue him, promising vs thus plentifully eternal blisfulnes, and are so ready to beleue the worlde promising vs many things, and paying vs nothing? If we will currie fauour now and haue on bothe partes, then it promiseth vs peace, * quietnesse, and many thinges els. But howe doeth it pay this geare? or if it pay it, with what quietnesse of conscience? Or if so: howe long I pray you? Doe not we see before our eyes men to die shamefully, I meane, as Rebelles and other malefactours, which refuse to dye for Gods cause? What way is so sure a way to heauen, as to suffer in Christes cause? If there be anye waye on horsebacke to heauen, surely this is the way: By manye troubles (sayeth the Apostle) wee must enter into heauen. * All that will liue godly in Christ Iesu, must suffer persecution. For the world can not loue them that are of God: * the deuill can not loue hys ennemies: the worlde will loue none but hys owne: you are Christes, therefore looke for no loue heere. Should we looke for fire to quenche our thirste? And as soone shall Gods true seruants finde peace and fauour in Antichrists regiment.

Therefore my dearly beloued, be stout in the Lorde, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour: stande in the libertie of Christe which you haue learned: reioyce that you may be counted woorthy to suffer any thyng for Gods cause: to all men thys is not geuen. Your rewarde is great in heauen, though in earth you find nothing. The iourney is almost past: you are almost in the hauen: halt on a pace I beseeche you, and merily ho•se vp your sailes. * Cast you selues on Christ, who careth for you. Kepe company with him now stil to the ende: he is faithfull and wil neuer leaue you, nor tempt you further then hee will make you able to beare: yea in the midst of the temptation hee will make an outscape. Nowe pray vnto him heartely, be thankfull of his indignation, reioyce in hope of the health you shall receiue, and be mindefull of vs which are in the vawarde, and by Gods grace trust in Christ to be made able to breake the Ise before you, that you followynge, may finde the way more easie. God graunte it may so be. Amen, Amen.

Out of prison by your brother in Christ, Iohn Bradford.

To Maistresse Wilkenson.

ALmighty God our most louing father increase in your heart (my good mother & deare maistresse in the Lord) his true knowledge and loue in Christe, * to y^e encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy dayes: as necessary vnto vs, so profitable if we per•iste vnto the ende, which thing God graunt to vs. Amen.

My righte dearely beloued, I knowe not what other thing to wryte vnto you, then to desire you to be thankfull vnto the Lord, in that amongst thee not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to geue you his rare blessing, I meane to keepe you from all the filthe wherewyth on^e Countrey is horribly defiled. Thys blessing assuredly is rare, as you see. But nowe if he shall blesse you with an other blessing which is more rare, I meane to cal you foorth as a Martyr, and a witnesse against this filth, I hope you will become double thankfull. For a greater token commonly we haue not to iudge of our election and saluation, next to Christe and faith in him, then the crosse, especiall ye when it is so glorious, as on this sorte to suffer any thing,* but chiefly losse of this life, which in deede is neuer founde til it be so lost: except the graine of wheate fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitlesse.

You know how that he which was rapt into the third heauen, and did knowe what he wrote, doeth say: That as the corne liueth not except it be dead, and cast into the earth,*so truely oure bodies. And therefore the crosse shoulde so little feare vs, that euen death it selfe shoulde altogether be desired of vs, as the Tailour which putteth off oure ragges, and araieth vs with the Royall Roabes of immortalitie, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it shoulde be for vs,* that all the whole creatures of God shoulde desire, yea, grone in their kinde for our libertie, and wee our selues to loath it: as doubtlesse we doe, if for the crosse, yea for death it selfe, we with ioy swallow not vp all sorrow that might let vs from following the Lordes calling, and obtaining the Lordes prouidence: whereby doubtles all crosses, and death it selfe doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof (right deare Mother) that this prouidence stretcheth it selfe so vnto vs, and for vs, that euē the hair of our heads are numbred with God, not one of them to fall to our hurte: surely we declare our selues very faint in faith, if we receiue not such comfort, that we can willingly offer our selues to the Lord, and cast our whole care vpon his backe, honouring him with this honour, that he is and euer will be carefull for vs, and all we haue, as for hys deare children. Be therfore of good cheare euen in the midst of these miseries, be thankful to the Lord, and prepare your selfe for a further triall, which if God sende you, as I hope, so do you beleeeue, that God therein wil help & comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, hauing this oportunitie, I thoughte good to wryte, praying God our father to recompence into your bosome, all the good that euer you haue done, to mee especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and alwaies heeretofore.

Your owne in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

*An other letter wrytten to certaine godly persons,*encouraging them to prepare them selues with patience to the crosse.*

GRatious God and moste mercifull Father, for Iesus Christes sake thy dearely beloued sonne, graunte vs thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and holy spirite, to counsaile, comforte, and guide vs in al our cogitations, woordes, and woorkes, to thy glorye, and our euerlasting ioy and peace for euer. Amen.

[Page 1644](#)In my last letter you might perceiue my coniecturing to be no lesse towards you, then now I haue learned. But (my dearely beloued) I haue learned none other thyng, then before I haue told you would come to passe,* if ye cast not away that which ye haue learned. I do appeale to both your consciences, whether herein I speake trueth, as well of my telling (though not so

often as I might and should, God forgeue mee) as also of your learning. Nowe God will trie you, to make others to learne by you, that whych ye haue learned by others: and by them which suffred thys day ye might learne, (if already yee had not learned) that life and honour is not to be set by more then Gods commandement.* They in no poynt for all y^t euer their ghostly fathers could do, hauing doctour Death to take their part, would consent or seeme to consent to the popish masse and papisticall God, otherwise then in y^e daies of our late king they had receiued. And this their faith they haue confessed with their deathes, to their great glorye, and all our comfortes, if we follow them: but to our confusion, if we starre backe from the same. Wherefore I beseeche you to consider it, as well to praise God for them, as to goe the same way with them, if God so will.

Consider not the things of this life, whyche is a verye prison to all Gods children: but the things of euerlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of thys geare,* ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith I shuld haue sayde, as Moses did, which set more by trouble wyth Gods people, then by the riches of Egypt, and Pharaos Court. Your house, home and goodes, yea life and all that euer yee haue, God hath geuen you as loue tokens, to admonish you of his loue, & to win your loue to him againe. Nowe will he trie your loue, whether ye set more by hym then by his tokens,* or no. If ye for his tokēs sake, that is, for your home, house, goods, yea life, will goe w^t the world, leas^t ye should loose them, then be assured your loue, as hee can not but espie it to be a strumpets loue,* so will he cast it away with the world. Remember that he which will saue his life, shall loose it, if Christ be true: but he which aduentureth, yea looseth his life for the Gospels sake, the same shalbe sure to finde it eternally. Do not ye knowe that the way to saluation is not the broade way, which manye run in, but the straight way, which fewe now walke in.

Before persecution came, men might partly haue stand in a doubt by the outward estate of the world with vs (although by Gods woorde it was plaine) whether was the high way,* (for there was as many that pretended the gospell, as poperie) but nowe the sunne is risen, & the winde bloweth, so that the corne which hathe not taken fast roote, can not nor will not abide: and therefore easily yee may see the straight way by the smal number that passeth thorowe it. Who will now aduenture their goods and life for Christes sake, whiche yet gaue his life for our sakes? Wee are now become Gergesites,* that would rather loose Christe, then our Porkets. A faithfull wife is neuer tried so to be, but when shee reiecteth and withstandeth woers. A faithfull Christian is then founde so to be, when hys faith is assaulted.

If wee be not able, I meane, if wee will not forsake this world for Gods glory and Gospels sake, trow ye that God will make vs able, or geue vs a will to forsake it for natures sake? Die ye must once, and leaue al ye haue (God knoweth how soone and when) will ye, or will ye not, and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now doe it for Gods sake?

If ye goe to Masse, and do as the most part doeth, then may ye liue at rest & quietly: but if ye deny to goe to it, then shall ye goe to prison, lose your goodes, leaue your children comfortles, yea lose your life also. But my dearly beloued, open the eyes of your faith, & see how short a thing this life is, euen a very shadow and smoke. Againe, see how intollerable the punishment of hel fire is, and that endles. Last of all, looke on the ioyes incomprehēible, which God hath prepared for all them worlde without ende, which loose eyther landes or goodes for his names

sake.* And then doe ye reason thus: If we goe to Masse, the greatest enimie that Christe hath, though for a little time we shall liue in quiet, and leaue to our children that they may liue heereafter, yet shall we displease God, fall into his handes (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazarde of falling from eternal ioy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the Deuil and all Idolaters.

Againe, we shall wante peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visite our Idolatrie on them in this life: yea our house and goods are in danger of loosing, as our liues be, through many casualties, & when God is angry with vs, he can send alwaies when he will, one meane or an other to take all from vs for our sinnes, and to cast vs into care for our owne sakes, which wil not come into some litle trouble for his sake.

On this sort reason with your selues, and then doubtlesse God will worke otherwise with you and in you, then ye are ware of. Where nowe ye thinke your selues vnable to abide persecutiō, be most assured, if so be ye purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to beare his Crosse, that therein you shall reioyce. Faithful is God,* (sayth Paul) which wil not tempt you further then he wil make you able to beare, yea hee will geue you an outscape in the Crosse, which shalbe to your comfort. Thinke howe great a benefite it is, if God will vouche you worthy thys honour, to suffer losse of any thing for his sake. He myghte iustly cast most greeuous plagues vpon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod wherby you shalbe made like to his Christe, that for euer ye may raigne wyth him. Suffer your selues therefore now to be made like to Christ, for els yee shall neuer be made like vnto him. The Deuill woulde gladly haue you nowe to ouerthrowe that which godly ye haue of long time professed. Oh howe woulde he triumph, if he could winne his purpose? Oh howe would the Papistes triumph against Gods gospell in you? Oh howe would you confirme them in their wicked Poperie? Oh how would the poore children of God be discomforted, if now ye should go to masse and other idolatrous seruice, and doe as the world doth?

Hath God deliuered you from y^e Sweate to serue hym so? Hath God myraculously restored you to healthe from your greeuous Agewes for suche a purpose? Hath God geuen you such blessings in this world and good things al the daies of your life hitherto, and nowe of equitie will ye not receiue at his hands, and for his sake, some euill? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care vpon God: commit your children into his hands: geue to God your goods, bodies, and liues as he hath geuen them or rather sent them vnto you. Say wyth Iob: God hathe geuen, and God hathe taken away, hys name be praised for euer. Caste your care vppon hym (I saye) for hee is carefull for you:* and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that ende.

And I beseeche thee, O mercifull Father for Iesus Christes sake, that thou wouldest be mercifull vnto vs, comforte vs wyth thy grace, and strengthen vs in thy trueth, that in heart we may beleeeue, and in tongue boldly confesse thy Gospell, to thy glorye, and our eternall saluation. Amen. Pray for me, and I by Gods grace will doe the same for you.

Iohn Bradford.

An admonition to certaine professours of the Gospell, to beware they fall not from it in consenting to the Romish religion, by the example of other halting and double faced Gospellers.

THE peace of Christe whiche is the true effecte of Gods Gospell beleued (my dearly beloued) be more and more plentifully perceiued of you,* through the grace of our dere father, by the mighty working of the holy spirite our comforter. Amen.

Though I haue many lettes presently to hinder mee from wryting vnto you, yet being desired, I could not but something signifie my ready good will in this behalfe, so much as I may, when I can not so much as I would.

You heare and see howe Sathan bestirreth hym, raging as a roaring Lyon to deuoure vs. You see and feele partly what stormes he hath raised vp to drowne the poore Boate of Christe, I meane hys Church. You see howe terribly he traineth his souldiers to geue a fierce onset on vowe of Gods battaile. You see how he hath receyued power of God, to molest Gods children, and to beginne at hys house. By reason whereof consider two thinges: one, the cause on our behalfe: the other, what will be the sequele on straungers.

For the first, if we be not blind, we can not but wel see that our sinnes are the cause of all this miserie:* our sinnes I say, which I would that euery one of vs would applye to our selues after the example of Ionas and Daud, turning ouer the wallet, that other mens offences myght lie behinde, and our owne before. Not that I woulde excuse other men, whyche exteriorly haue walked muche more grossely then manye of you haue done: but that I woulde prouoke you all as my selfe to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let vs more and more encrease to knowe and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy. &c.

[Page 1645](#)Let vs better feele and hate our selfloue, securitie, negligence, vnthankfulness, vnbelief, impacience. &c. and then doubtlesse the crosse shall be lesse careful, yea it shalbe comfortable, and Christ moste deare and pleasaunt: death then shalbe desired,* as the dispatcher of vs ou• of al miserie, and entrance into eternall felicitie and ioye vnspeakeable: the whych is so much the more longed for, by howe muche we feele in dede the serpents bits wherwith he woundeth our heeles, that is, our outward Adam and senses. If we had, I say, a liuely and true feeling of his poyson, we could not but as reioyce ouer oure captaine y^t hath bruised hys head,* so be desirous to followe his example, that is, to geue our liues with him and for him, and so to fill vp his passions, that he might conquere and ouercome in vs and by vs, to his glory and comfort of his children.

Nowe the seconde (I meane the sequele, or that whych will folowe on the straungers) my dearly beloued, let vs well looke vpon. For if so be that God iustly doe thus geue to sathan and his seede, to vexe and molest Christe and hys penitent people: Oh what and how iustly may he and wil he geue to Sathan to intreate the rechlesse and impenitent sinners? If iudgement beginne thus at Gods house, what will followe on them that be wythout, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserued the dregs of Gods cuppe, that is, brimstone, fire, and tempest intollerable. Now are they vnwillinge to drinke of Gods cuppe of afflictions which he offereth commō with his sonne Christ our Lord, least they shoulde lose their pigges with the Gergelites. They are vnwilling to come into the waye that bryngeth to heauen,* euen afflictions: they in their hearts

crie, Let vs cast his yoke from vs: they walke two wayes, that is, they seeke to serue God & Mammon, which is vnpossible, they will not come nigh the straight way that bringeth to life: they open their eyes to beholde present things onely: they iudge of Religion after reason, and not after Gods word: they folowe the more part, and not the better: they professe God wyth their mouthes, but in their hearts they denye him, or els they would sanctifie him by seruing hym more then men: they parte stake with God, which woulde haue all, geuing part to the world, to the Romish rout, and Antichristian Idolatrie now set abroad amongst vs publikely: they will haue Christ, but none of his crosse, which will not be: they will be counted to liue godly in Christ, but yet they wil suffer no persecution: they loue this world, wherthrough the loue of God is driuen foorth of them: they sauour of those things that be of menne, and not that bee of God: Summa, they loue God in theyr lippes, but in theyr hearts, yea and in their deedes deny hym, as well by not repenting their euils past, as by continuing in euill stil, by doing as the world, the flesh and the deuill willeth, and yet still perchaunce they will pray or rather prate: Thy will be done in earth, which is generallye that euery one shoulde take vp his crosse and follow Christe. But thys is a harde saying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be praied to depart, least al their pigges be drowned. The deuill shall haue his dwelling againe in themselues, rather then in their pigges, and therefore to the Deuill shall they go, and dwel with him in eternall perdition and damnation, euen in hell fire a torment endlesse, and aboue all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

Wherefore by them (my dearely beloued) be admonyshed to remember your profession, howe that in Baptisme you made a solempne vowe to forsake the Deuill, the world. &c. You promised to fight vnder Christes standard. You learned Christes Crosse afore you begunne wyth A. B. C. Goe to then, pay your vowe to the Lorde: fighte lyke menne, and valiant menne vnder Christes standarde: take vp your Crosse and follow your maister, as your brethren M. Hoper, Rogers, Tailor, and Sanders haue done, and as nowe your brethren M. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes. &c. be ready to doe. The Ise is broken before you, therefore be not afraide, but be content to die for the Lorde. You haue no cause to wauer or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the bloud of the pastours. Remember that Christ sayeth: He that will saue his life, shall lose it. And what should it profite you to winne the whole worlde, muche lesse a little quietnesse, your goodes. &c. and to lose your owne soules? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such meanes as he would haue you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christes disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Haue in mind, that as it is no small mercy to beleue in the Lorde, so it is no small kindnesse of God towards you to suffer any thing, much more deathe for the Lorde. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, howe shall they be that die for the Lorde? Oh what a blessing is it to haue death due for our sinnes, diuerted into a demonstration and testification of the Lordes trueth? Oh that we had a little of Moises faith to looke vpon the ende of the Crosse, to looke vpon the rewarde, to see continually wyth Christe and hys people, greater riches then the riches of Egypt. Oh let vs pray that God would open our eyes to see his hi• Manna, heauenly Ierusalem, the congregation of the first borne, the melodie of the Saintes the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then shuld we runne and become violent men, and so take the kingdome o• heauen as it were by force. God our father geue vs for hys Christes sake, to see a litle, what and howe great ioy he hath prepared for vs, he hath called vs vnto, & most assuredly geueth vs for his owne goodnes and truthe sake. Amen.

My dearely beloued, repent, be sober and watche in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations shewe your obedience to the higher powers in all thinges that are not against Gods word, therein acknowledging y^e soueraigne power of the Lorde: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels or rebellers for no cause: but because wyth good conscience you can not obey, be pacient sufferers, and the glorie and good spirit of God shall dwel vppon vs. I pray you remember vs your afflicted brethren, being in the Lordes bondes for the testimonie of Christ, and abiding the gracious houre of our deare and most merciful father. The Lord for Christes sake, geue vs merry hearts to drinke lustely of his sweete cuppe, which daily we grone and sigh for, lamenting that the tyme is thus prolonged. The Lorde Iesus geue vs grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the prouident houre of his most gracious good will. Amen. Amen.

From the Counter in the Poultrie.

Yours in Christ Iohn Bradford.

To my good brother Iohn Careles, prisoner in the kings Benche.

THE father of mercie and God of all comfort, visite vs with his eternall consolation, according to his great mercies in Iesus Christ our Sauour. Amen.*

My very deare brother, if I shall reporte the truthe vnto you, I can not but signifie that sithen I came into prisone, I neuer receaued so much consolation as I did by your last letter, the name of God be most heartely praised therefore. But if I shall reporte the trueth vnto you, and as I haue begonne, speake still the veritie, I must confesse that for mine vnthankefulnes to you wardes, and to God especially, I haue more neede of Gods mercifull tidinges, then I hadde euer heeretofore. Ah that Sathan enuieth vs so greatly. Ah that our Lorde woulde treade his head vnder our feete shortly. Ah that I mighte for euer, both my selfe beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of vnthankefulnesse. Good brother Careles,* we hadde more neede to take heede after a lightening, of a foile then before. God therefore is to be praised euen when he hideth, and that not of long, a chearefull countenaunce from vs, least we being not expert howe to vse it as we shoulde doe, doe hurt more oure selues thereby, so great is our ignoraunce and corruption. This my good brother & ryght deare to my very heart, I wryte vnto you as to one whom in the Lorde I embrace, and I thanke God that you doe me in like manner. God our father more and more geue vs both his good spirit, that as by faith we may fele our selues vnited vnto him in Christ, so by loue we may feele our selues linked in the same Christ one to an other, I to you, and you to me, we to al the children of God, and all the children of God to vs, Amen. Amen.

Commende me to our good brother Skelthrop, for whome I heartely praise my God,* which hath geuen him to see hys trueth at the length, and to geue place to it. I doubt not, but that he will be so heedie in all his conuersation, that hys olde acquaintaunce may euer thereby thinke them selues astray. Woe and woe againe shoulde be vnto vs, if we by our example should make menne to stumble at the trueth. Forgette not salutations in Christe, as you shall thinke good to Trewe, and hys fellowes. The Lorde hath his time (I hope) for them also, although we perchance thinke otherwise. A drop maketh the stone hollowe, not with once,* but wyth often dropping: so if with hearty praier for them and good example, you stil and drop vppon them as you can, you shall see

Gods worke at the length. I beseeche God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in vs all, Amen. I desire you all to pray for me the most vnworthy prisoner of the Lorde.

Your brother Iohn Bradford.

To M. Iohn Hall and his wife, prisoners in Newgate for the testimonie of the Gospell.

ALmightye God oure heauenly Father through Iesus Christ, be w^t you both my dearely beloued, as with hys [Page 1646](#) deare children for euer, & so he blesse you with his holy spirite, that you may in thys your crosse (for his cause doubtles) reioyce, and gladly take it vp to beare it so long as hee shall thinke good. I haue heard (my good brother & sister) how that god hath brought you both into his scholehouse, (whereas you were bothe purposed by his leaue to haue pla[•]ed the trewands) that thereby you might see his carefulnes & loue towarde you.* For if it be a token of a louing and careful father for his children, to preuent the purpose, and disappoynt the intent of his children, purposing to depart a while from the schoole for feare of beating, (whych thing they woulde not doe if they did as much consider the commodity of learning which there they might get): how should you take this worke of the Lorde preuenting your purpose, but as an euident signe of loue and fatherly carefulnes that he beareth towarde you? If he shoulde haue winked at your willes, then would you haue escaped beating: I meane the crosse, but then should you haue lost the commoditie of learning, which your father will now haue you to learne and feele, and therefore hath he sent to you his crosse. Hee I say, hath brought you where you be: and though your reason and wit wil tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dearely beloued) knowe for certaine that what so euer was the meane,* God your father was the worker heereof, and that for your weale, although otherwise your old Adam doth tel you, & you fele: yet I say of truth that your duty is to thinke of this crosse, that as it is of Gods sending, and commeth from him: so although your deserts be otherwise, it is of loue & fatherly affection for your weale and commodities sake.

What commodity is hereby, you wil perchance object. You are now kept in close prison you wil say: your family and children be without good ouerseers: your substance diminisheth by these meanes: pouertie will approche: and perchance more peari[•]s also, yea and losse of life too. These are no commodities but discommodities, and that no smal ones: so that iustly you would be glad to know what commoditie can come to you by this crosse, whereby commeth so great discommodities,

To these things I answer, that in deede it is true you •ay of your bodies, families, children, substance, pouertie, life. &c. Which things, if you would consider a while wyth inwarde eyes, as you beholde them with outwarde, then perhaps you should finde more ease.* Doe not you now by the inward sense perceiue that you must part frō all these and all other commodities in the worlde? Tell me then, haue not you this commoditie by your crosse, to learne to loath and leaue the worlde, and to long for and desire an other world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to haue (according to your profession in baptisme) forsaken the worlde and all earthly things, vsing the world, as though you vsed it not, Your hart only sette vpon your hurde in heauen,* or els you coulde neuer be Christes true disciples, that is be sauēd, and be where he is. And trowe you (my good heartes in the Lorde) trowe you I say, that this is no commoditie, by this crosse to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enioy with the Lord

endles glory? Howe now doth God (as it were) fatherly pull you by the eares to remēber your former offences concerning these things & al other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? Howe doth God now compell you to call vpon him, and to be earnest in prayer? Are these no commodities? * Doth not the scripture say, that God doth correct vs in the worlde because we shall not be damned with the worlde? That God chasteneth euery one whome he loueth? that the ende of this correction shall be ioy and holinesse? Doeth not the Scripture saye, That they are happie that suffer for righteousnesse sake, as you now doe, that the glory and spirite of God is vpon them? that, as you are now made like vnto Christ in suffering, so shall you be made like him in rainging? Doeth not the Scripture say that you are now going the high and right way to heauen? that your suffering is Christes suffering? My dearly beloued, what greater commodities then these, can a godly heart desire?

Therefore ye are commaunded to reioyce and be glad when ye suffer, as now ye doe: for through the goodnesse of God, great shalbe your reward: Where? Forsooth on earth first for your children: for now they are in Gods mere and immediate protection. Neuer was father so careful for his children, as Gods is for yours presently. Gods blessing which is more woorth then all the world, you leaue in dede to your children. Though all your prouidence for thē shuld be pulled away: yet God is not poore, he hath promised to prouide for them moste fatherly. * Cast thy burthen vppon me (sayth he) and I will beare it. Do you therfore cast them and commend them vnto God your father, and doubt not that he will die in your dette. He neuer yet was found vnfaithfull, * and he wil not now begin with you. The good mans seede shal not go a begging his bread: for he wil shew mercy vpon thousands of the posterity of them that fea•e him. * Therefore as I sayd, Gods reward first vpon earth shalbe felt by your children euen corporally, and so also vpon you if God see it more for your cōmoditie, at the least inwardly you shal feele it by quietnes and comfort of conscience: and secondly after this life, you shal find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seene, the eare hath not hard, the heart cannot conceiue how great & glorious Gods reward wil be vpon your bodies, much more vpon your soules. God open our eies to see and feele this in dede. Then shall we thinke the crosse which is a meane hereto, to be commodious. Then shal we thanke God that he would chastice vs. Then shal we say with Dauid: Happie am I that thou hast punished me, for before I went astray, but nowe I keepe thy lawes.

This that we may doe in dede my dearly beloued, let vs first know y^t our crosse commeth from God: Secondly, * that it cōmeth from God as a father, that is, to our weale and good. Therefore let vs thirdly cal to minde our sinnes and aske pardone. Whereto let vs fourthly looke for helpe certainly at Gods hand in his good time: helpe I •ay, such as shall make most to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our soules & bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceiue, then will there issue out of vs heartie thankes geuing, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let vs vse earnest prayer to our God and deare father, who blesse vs, keepe vs, and comforte vs vnder his sweete crosse for euer. Amen. Amen.

My deare hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure therof, though my life lay thereon, but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh y^t it would please our deare father shortly to bring vs where we shoulde neuer depart, but enioy continually the blessed fruition of his heauenly presence: pray, pray, that it maye speedely come to passe, pray. To

morrow I will send vnto you to know your estate, send me word what are the chieftest things they charge you withall. From the Counter.

By your brother in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

¶To Maistresse Hall prisoner in Newgate and readye to make aunswer before her aduersaries.

OVr most mercifull God and father through Christ Iesus our Lord and Sauour be merciful vnto vs,* and make perfect the good he hath begon in vs vnto the end. Amen.

My deare Sister reioyce in the Lord, reioyce: be glad (I say) be mery and thankefull, not onely because Christ so commaundeth vs, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no lesse, for we are the Lordes witnesses. God the father hath vouched safe to chose vs amongst many, to witnesse and testifie, that Christ his sonne is kyng, & that his word is true. Christ our Sauour for his loues sake towards vs, will haue vs to beare record that he is no vsurper nor deceiuer of the people, but gods Embassadour, Prophet, and Messias: so that of all dignities vpon earth▪ this is the highest. Greater honor had not his Prophets, Apostles,* nor dearest friends then to beare witnesse with Christ as we now do. The world followyng the counsaile of their Sire Sathan, would gladly condemne Christ and his veritie: but lo the Lord hath chosen vs to be his champions to let this. As stout soldiours therefore let vs stand to our maister, who is with vs and standeth on our right hand that we shall not be much mooued, if we hope and hang on his me•cy: he is so faythfull and true, that he wil neuer tempt vs further then he wil make vs able to beare.

Therefore be not carefull (for I heare say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall aunswer.* The Lord which is true and cannot lye, hath promised and will neuer faile nor forget it, that you shall haue both what and how to aunswer, so as shal make hys shameles aduersaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is an helper at a pinch and a most present remedy to them that hope in him Neuer was it heard of or shall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foile.

Therefore as I sayd, I say agayne, Deare Sister be not only not carefull for your answeyng, but also be ioyfull for your cause. Confesse Christ and be not ashamed, and he will confesse you & neuer bee ashamed of you. Though losse of goodes and lyfe bee like here to ensue.* Yet if Christ be true (as hee is most true) it is otherwyse in deede: For he that looseth his lyfe (sayth he) winneth it, but he that saueth it, looseth it. Our sinnes haue deserued many deathes. Nowe if God so deale with vs that hee wyll make our deserued death a demonstratio• of his grace, a testimoniall of hys veritie, a confirmation of hys people, and ouerthrowe of hys aduersaries: What great cause haue wee to bee thankefull? Be thankefull therefore good Sister, bee thankefull. Reioyce and be mery in the Lord, be stoute in his cause & qua•ell, be not faynt harted, but runne out your race, and set your captaine Christ before your eyes. Beholde howe great your 〈1 page missing〉 [Page 1648](#) a small congregation?

But be it so that Peter had as much geuen to him as they do affirme• Who yet will graunt that Peter had a patrimony geuen for his heires? He hath left (say the Papists) to his successors the selfe •ame right which he receyued.* Oh Lord God, then must hys successor be a Sathan: for hee

receyued that title of Christ hymselfe. I would gladly haue the Papistes to shew me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures I am sure that whē Paule purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable Primacie, & yet he is altogether in commendation of vnitie. After he hath made mention of one God the father▪ of one Christ, of one spirit, of one body of the Church, of one fayth, and of one Baptisme, then hee describeth the meane and maner how vnitie is to be kept: namely, because vnto euery pastour is grace geuen after the measure wherwith Christ hath endued them Where I pray you is now any title of Plenitudinis potestatis, of fulnesse of power? When he calleth home euery one vnto a certayne measure, why did he not forthwith say one Pope? Which thing he could not haue forgotten, if the thyng had bene as the Papists make it.

But let vs graunt that perpetuities of the Primacye in the church was established in Peter: I would gladly learne why the seat of the Primacy should be rather at Rome then elsewhere. Mary say they, because Peters chaire was at Rome. This is euen lyke to this, that because Moses the greatest Prophet, and Aaron the first Priest exercised their offices vnto their death in the deserte, therefore the principallest place of the Iewish Church, should bee in the wilderness. But graunt them their reason that it is good. What should Antioch claime? For Peters chaire was there also, wherin Paule gaue hym a checke, which was vnseemely and vnmanerly done of Paule, that would not geue place to his President and better.

No say the Papistes, Rome must haue this authoritie because Peter died there But what if a man should by probable coniectures shew, that it is but a fable, which is fained of Peters Bishoprike at Rome? Read how Paule doth salute very many priuate persons when he writeth to the Romaines. Three yeres after his Epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth that he was receiued of the brethren,* and yet in all these, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud as the Pope and Prelates be, or els he woulde haue visited Paule. Paule beyng in prison in Rome, did write diuers Epistles, in which hee expresseth the names of many whiche were in comparison of Peter, but rascall personages, but of Peter he speaketh neuer a word Surely, if Peter had bene there, this silence of hym had bene suspicious.* In the 2. Epistle to Tim. Paule complaineth that no man was with hym in his defence, but al had left hym.* If Peter had bene then at Rome, as they write, then eyther Paule had belied hym, or Peter had played his Peters part. Luke. 23. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with h•m, only Timothy excepted? Therefore we may wel doubt whether Peter was at Rome B. as they prate: for all this tyme & long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

But I will not stirre vp coles in this matter. If Rome bee the chiefe seate because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not Iames & Iohn which were taken with Peter to be as pillars.* Why (I say) shoulde not their seates haue honor next to Peters seate? Is not this geare preposterous, that Alexandria where Marke (which was but one of the disciples) was bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus where Iohn the Euangelist taught and was bishop, and before Ierusalē, where not only Iames taught and died bishop, but also Christ Iesus our Lord & high priest for euer, by whom beyng Maister (I hope) honour should be geuen to his chaire,* more thē to the chaire of his Chaplaines.

I need to speake nothyng how that Paule telleth Peters Apostleship to concerne rather circumcision or the Iewes, & therefore properly pertaineth not to vs. Neither do I need to bring in

Gregorius the first bishop of Rome, which was about the yere of our Lord.* 600. who plainly in his works doth write, that this title of Primacy, & to be head ouer all churches vnder Christ, is a title meete and agreyng only to Antichrist, and therfore he calleth it a prophane, a mischieuous and an horrible title. Whome should we beleeeue now, if we will neyther beleeeue Apostle nor Pope.

*If I should go about to tel how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose God willing to set it forth at large in a worke which I haue begun of Antichrist, if God for his mercies sake geue me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they wil needs haue the B. of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the Church, then will I vrge them that they shall geue vs a bishop. But they obtrude vnto vs a butcher rather, or a bitesheepe, then a Bishop. They brag of Peters succession, of Christes vicare, this is alwayes in theyr mouth. But alas, how can we call hym Christes Vicare that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his veritie, persecuteth hys people, and lyke a Prelate preferreth himselfe aboue God and man? How, or wherein doth the Pope and Christ agree? How supplieth hee Peters ministry, that boasteth of hys succession?

Therfore to beginne withall, which I will vse presently for a conclusion,* if the Papists will haue the B. of Rome supreme head of the Churche of Christ in earth, they must afore they attayne this, geue vs a Bishop in deed, and not in name. For whosoeuer he be that will make this the bond of vnitie, whatsoever the Bishop of Rome be, surely this must needes folow, that they do nothyng els but teach a most wicked defection, and departing from Christ.

But of this (if God lend me lyfe) I purpose to speake more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyship vnto the tuition of God our father, and Christ our onely head pastour & keeper, to whom see that you cleaue by true fayth which dependeth onely vpon the word of God, which if you doe follow as a lanterne to your feete, and a light to your steps, you shall thē auoyd darkenes, and the daungerous deepes whereinto the Papists are fallen by the iust iudgement of God, and seeke to bryng vs into the same dungeon with them, that the blynd following the blind they both mayfall into the ditch: out of the which God deliuer them accordyng to hys good will, and preserue vs for his names sake, that we beyng in his lyght, may continue therein, and walke in it whilst it is day: so shall the night neuer ouerpresse vs, wee goyng from lyght to lyght, from vertue to vertue, from fayth to fayth, from glory to glory, by the gouernaunce of Gods good spirite, which God our father geue vnto vs all for euer and euer. Amen.

Your brother in bondes for the testimonye of Iesus Christ, Ioh. Bradford.

Here followeth another letter of M. Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, shiriffe sometimes of Couentry,* & yet beyng (as I heare say) alyue. This Hopkins whom M. Bradford commendeth so much in this letter, duryng the tyme of his shiri•ealtie, was detected and accused by certaine malignant aduersaries, of matter pertaing to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, vnles it were for sending and lendyng vnto a theefe being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English booke of scripture for his spirituall comfort.

Whereupon, or els vpon some such like matter, he being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleete, and there endured a sufficient tyme, not wythout great perill of lyfe.

Notwithstanding, the sayd Hopkins beyng at length deliuered out of prison, followyng thys counsaile of M. Bradford, and mindyng to keepe his conscience pure from Idolatry, was driuen with his wife and 8. yong children, to auoyde the realme, and so leauyng all other worldly respects, with his great losse and dammage went into high Germany, where he contiued in the Citie of Basill, till the death of Queene Mary, being like a good Tobias, to his power a frendly helper, and a comfortable relieuer of other Englishe exiles there about him: Gods holy blessing so working with hym therefore, that in those far countries, neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his houshold, during all that tyme there miscaried, but so many as he brought out, so many he recaried home againe, yea & that with aduantage, and gods plēty withall vpon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by M. Bradford, is this.

¶A Letter to Maister Richard Hopkins, then Shiriffe of Couentry, and prisoner in the Fleete, for the faythfull and constant confessing of Gods holy Gospell.

DEarely beloued in the Lord, I wish vnto you, as vnto myne owne brother, yea as to myne owne hart roote,* Gods mercy & the feelyng of the same plentifully in Christ our sweete sauour, who gaue himselfe a raunsome for our sinnes, and price for our redemption, praysed therefore bee his holy name for euer and euer. Amen.

I will not go about to excuse my selfe for not sendyng vnto you hetherto, suffring for the Lordes sake as you do, to the comfort of mee and of all that loue you in the truth: but rather accuse my selfe both before God and you, desiring you of forgiuenesse, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my vnkind forgetting you, and al other my sinnes, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy, to do away for his Christes sake. Amen.

Now to make amends to you ward, I would be glad if I could, but because I cannot, I shall hartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shal now write vnto you, there after: I meane, after my will and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present my deare hart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather vnto your olde Adam, the which I [Page 1648](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1649](#) dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would haue him not onely discerned, but also vtterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Nowe his worde pronounceth of your state that it is happy, therefore it must needes bee so. To prooue this I thinke it need not: for you know that the holy ghost saith, That they are happy which suffer for righteousnes sake, and that Gods glory and spirit resteth on them which suffer for consciēce to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousnesse sake, and for conscience to Godwards, for els you might be out of trouble euē out of hand. I know in very deed that you haue felt and do feelee your vnthankfulnesse to God and other sinnes, to witnes to you, that you haue deserued this prisonment and lacke of libertie,* betwixt God and your selfe, and I would you so would confesse vnto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thanks geuing, for his correctyng you here. But you know that the Magistrates doe not persecute in you your sinnes, your vnthankfulnesse. &c. But they persecute in you Christ hymselfe, his righteousnesse, his veritie, and therefore happy be you that haue founde such fauor with God your father, as to accompt you worthy to suffer for his sake in the

sight of man: surely you shall reioyce therefore one day with a ioy vnspeakeable, in the sight of man also.

You may thinke your selfe borne in a blessed time, that haue found this grace with God, to be a vessell of honour to suffer with his Saints, yea with his sonne. My beloued, God hath not done so with many. The Apostle saith: Not many noble,^{*}not many riche, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then what cause haue you to reioyce, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one? For that cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his speciall dignation and loue towards you. It had not bene so great a thyng for M. Hopkins to haue suffred as M. Hopkins, as it is for M. Hopkins also to suffer as M. Shiriffe. Oh happy day that you were made shiriffe, by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, so by suffering in this roome he hath exalted you in heauen, and in the sight of his church & children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read, that a shiriffe of a citie hath suffred for the Lordes sake? Where read we of any Shiriffe that hath bene cast in prison for conscience to Godward? How could God haue delt more louingly w^t you, then herein he hath done? To the end of the worlde it shall be written for a memoriall to your prayse, that Rich. Hopkins shiriffe of Couentry, for conscience to do his office before God, was cast in the Fleete, and there kept prisoner a long tyme. Happy, & twise happy are you, if herefore you may geue your life. Neuer could you haue attayned to this promotion on this sort out of that office. How do you preach now, not onely to all men, but specially to magistrates in this realme? Who would euer haue thoght that you should haue bene the first magistrate that for christes sake should haue lost any thing?^{*} As I sayd before, therfore I say againe, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth vnto you, my conscience bearing me witnes, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

Be thankfull therefore, reioyce in your trouble, pray for pacience, perseuere to the ende, let paciēce haue her perfect worke.^{*} If you want this wisdom and power, aske it of God, who will geue it to you in his good tyme. Hope still in him, yea if he should slay you, yet trust in hym wyth Iob, and you shall perceiue that the ende will be to finde him mercifull & full of compassion: for he will not breake promise with you, which hitherto did neuer so with any. He is with you in trouble, he heareth you callyng vppon hym, yea before you cal, your desires are not only known, but accepted through Christ. If now and then he hide hys face from you, it is but to prouoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true: He is a comming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a tyme he seeme to tary, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderfull workes of the Lord. Oh beloued, wherefore should you be heauy? Is not Christ Emanuell, God with vs? Shall you not find that as he is true in saying: In the world you shall haue trouble:^{*} so is he in saying: In mee you shall haue comfort? He doth not sweare only that trouble will come, but with all he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort? such a comfort as the eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, nor the hart of man can conceiue. Oh great comfort: who shall haue this? Forsooth they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verily are you. Then (as I said) happy, happy, and happy againe are you my dearely beloued in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall bee glorified with him. Call vpon God therefore in your trouble, and he will heare you, yea deliuer you in such sort, as most shall make both to his & your glory also. And in this calling, I hartily pray you to pray for me your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to heauen, for by

many afflictions must we enter in thether, whether God bring vs for his mercies sake, Amen.
Amen.

Your fellow in affliction, Iohn Bradford.

To my good Sister Maistresse Elizabeth Browne.

GOod sister, God our Father make perfect the good hee hath begun in you vnto the end.*

I am afrayde to write vnto you because you so ouercharge your selfe at all tymes, euen when so euer I doe but send to you commendations. I would bee more bold on you then many others, and therefore you might suspend so great tokens til I should write vnto you of my need: which thyng doubtlesse I would do if it vrged me. Deare sister, I see your vnfained loue to me wardes in God, and haue done of long time, the which I do recompence with the like, and will do by gods grace so long as I liue, & therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poore prayers to haue you in remembraunce, as I hope you haue me.* Otherwyse I can do you no seruice, except it bee now and then by my writyng to let you from better exercise, where yet the end of my writyng is to excite and stir vp your hart more earnestly to go on forwards in your well begon enterprise. For you know none shalbe crowned, but such as striue lawfully, & none receiueth the gleue, but those that runne to the appointed marke.* None shall be saued but such as persist and continue to the very end.

Therefore (deare Sister) remember that we haue neede of patience, that when we haue done the good will of God, wee may receiue the promise. Patience and perseueraunce bee the proper notes whereby Gods children are knowne from counterfaites. They that perseuere not, were alwayes but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their progresse seemeth meruailous but yet after in the end they fayle. These were neuer of vs say•h S. Iohn: for if they had bene of vs, they would haue continued vnto the very end.

Go to now therefore myne own beloued in the Lord:* as you haue well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist and happily end, and then all is yours. Though this be sharpe and sower, yet it is not tedious or long. Do all that euer you doe, simply for God, and as to God, so shall neuer vnkyndnesse nor any other thyng make you to leaue of from well doying, so long as you may do well. Accustome your selfe now to see God continually, that he may be all in all vnto you. In good thyngs behold his mercy, and apply it vnto your selfe. In euill thyngs and plagues beho•d hys iudgements, where through learne to feare hym. Beware of sinne, as the serpent of the soule which spoileth vs of all our o• nature and seemely apparel in Gods sight. Let Christ crucified be your booke to study on, and that both night and day▪ Marke your vocation, and be diligent in the workes thereof. Vse harty & earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all thyngs geue thanks to God our father through Christ. Labour to haue here lyfe euerlastyng begun in you: for els it will not be elsewhere enioyed. Set Gods iudgement often before your eyes, that nowe examinyng your selfe, you may make diligent sute, and obtaine neuer to come into iudgement. Vncouer your euils to God, that he may couer thē. Beware of this Antichristian trash: defile not your selfe in soule or body therewith, but accomplish holynes in the feare of God, & beare no yoke with vnbeleeuers. Looke for the commyng of the Lord which is at hand: by earnest prayer and godly 〈...〉 it. God our father accomplish his good worke in you. Am•. Commend me to

my good mother maistres Wilkinson, & to my very deare sister maistresse Warcuppe▪ I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the lyke for me.

Iohn Bradford.

¶To a friend of his, instructing hym how he should aunswer his aduersaries.

MY good brother, our mercifull God and deare Father through christ, opē your eyes effectually to see,* & your heart ardently to desire the euerlasting ioy which he hath prepared for his slaughter sheep, that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such stormes sake. Amen.

When you shall come before the Magistrates to geue an aunswer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reuerence and simplicity. And because you may be something afayrd by the power of the Maistrates & cruelty which they will threaten against you, I would you set before you the good father Moses to follow his example:* for hee set the inuisible God before his eyes of fayth, and with them looked vpon God and his glorious Maestie and power, as with his corporal eies he saw Pharao and all his fearefull [Page 1650](#) terrors. So doe you my dearely beloued: let your inward eies geue such light vnto you, that as you know you ar▪ before the magistrates, so and much more, you & they also are present before the face of God, which will geue such wisdom to you, fearing him and seeking his prayse, as the enemies shall wonder at, and further, he will so order their harts and doyngs, that they shall, will they, •ill they, serue Gods prouidence towards you (which you can not auoyd though you would) as shall be most to his glory, and your euerlasting comfort.

Therefore my good brother, let your whole study bee onely to please God: put hym alwayes before your eies, for he is on your right hand lest you should be mooued, he is faithfull, and neuer will suffer you to be tempted aboue that hee will make you able to beare. Yea euery haire of your hed he hath numbred, so that one of them shal not perish without his good will, which cannot be, but bee good vnto you, in that he is become your father▪ through Christ, and therefore as he hath geuen you to beleue in hym (God increase this beliefe in vs all) so doth hee now graciously geue vnto you to suffer for his names sake: the which you ought with all thankfulness to receiue, in that you are made worthy to drinke of the self same cup, which not only the very sonnes of God haue dronke of before you, but euen the very natural sonne of God himself hath brought you good lucke. Oh he of his mercy make vs thankfull to pledge him agayne. Amen.

Because the chieftest matter they will trouble you and go about to deceiue you withall, is the Sacrament, not of Christes body and bloud,* but of the aulter (as they call it) thereby destroyeng the Sacrament which Christ instituted: I would you noted these two things: First, that the Sacrament of the aulter which the Priest offereth in the Masse, and eateth priuately with himselfe, is not the Sacrament of Christes body add bloud instituted by him, as Christes institution plainely written and set foorth in the scriptures, beyng compared to their vsing of it, playnely doth declare.

Againe, if they talke with you of Christes Sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christes body or no: aunswer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your tast and corporall senses it

is bread and wyne, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the consecration so: euē so to the eyes, taste, and senses of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heauen, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christs body and bloud, which spiritually your soule feedeth on to euerlasting life in faith and by faith, euē as your body presently feedeth on the sacramentall bread and sacramentall wyne.

By this meanes as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor none of their popish opinions: so shal you declare the Sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the Papistes make it. For they deny Gods omnipotencie, in that they say Christ is not there, if bread bee there: * but fayth looketh on the omnipotencie of God, ioined with this promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is able to geue that he promiseth vs spiritually by fayth, the bread still remaining in substāce, as wel as if the substance of bread were takē away: for Christ saith not in any place this is no bread. But of this geare God shal instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power & wisdom of his spirit, which vn•oubtedly as you are bounde to looke for, praying for it, so he hath bound himselfe by his promise to geue it: the which thing graunt vnto vs both, and to all his people, for his names sake, thorough Christ our Lord, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶To certaine godly men, whome he exhorteth to bee pacient vnder the crosse, and constant in the true doctrine which they had professed.

MY dearely beloued in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, * so I pray God I and you may continue in his true seruice, that perpetually we may enioy the same welfare, as here in hope so in heauen in deed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage & place wherein God trieth hys children, and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you: so I trust you know not it, that is, you allow it not, nor in any poynt will seeme so to doe, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hote sunne which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corne which is sown vppon sande and stony ground, beginneth to wither: that is, many which before tymes were taken for hartie Gospellers, begin now for the feare of afflictions to relent, yea to turn to their vomite agayne, thereby declaryng that though they goe from amongst vs, yet were they neuer of vs▪ for els they would haue stil taried with vs, and neyther for gayne nor losse, haue left vs either in word or deed As for their hart (which vndoubtedly is double and therefore in danger to Gods curse) we haue as much with vs, as the Papists haue with them, * and more too by their own iudgement. For they playing wily beguile thēse•ues, thinke it enough inwardly to fauour the truth, though outwardly they curry fauour▪ What though with my body (say they) I doe this or that▪ God knoweth my hart is whole with hym.

Ah brother, if thy hart be whole with God, why doest not thou confesse & declare thy selfe accordingly by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou beleueest in thy heart is good or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be euill, why doest thou keepe it in thy hart? Is not God able to defend thee, * aduenturyng thy selfe for hys cause? Or will hee not defend hys worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say that the eyes of the Lorde are on them that feare hym,

and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliuer their soules from death, and to feed them in the tyme of hunger.

If this be true (as it is most true) why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliuer vs, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are we afayrd of the losse of our goods, as though God would leaue them that feare hym, destitute of all good thyngs, and so do agaynst his most ample promises? Ah faith, faith, how few feelee thee now a daye? * Full tru•ly sayd Christ, that hee should scarsly finde fayth when he came, on earth. For if men beleued the•e promises, they would neuer do any thyng outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soeuer they bee, or how learned soeuer they be, can preuaile in this behalfe: for the paterne which wee must follow, is Christ himselfe, and not the more company or custome. His word is the lanterne to lighten our steppes, * and not learned men. Company and custome are to be considered accordyng to the thyng they allow. * Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to Gods lore and law, for els the more part goeth to the deuill. As custome causeth error and blindnes, so learnyng, if it be not accordyng to the light of Gods word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious. The Deuill is called Daemon for his cunnyng, and the children of this world are much wyser then the children of light in their generation: and I knowe the Deuill and his dearlyngs haue alwayes for the most part, * more helpes in this lyfe then Christes Church and her children. They (the deuill and his Synagogue I meane) haue custome, multitude vnitie, antiquitie, learnyng, power, riches, honour, * dignity & promotions plenty, as alwayes they haue had, and shal haue cōmonly and for the most part, vntill Christes commyng, muche more then the true church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall haue. For her glory, riches, and honour is not here, her triall, crosse, and warrefare is here.

And therefore (my deare hartes in the Lord) consider these thyngs accordingly. Consider what you be, not worldlyngs, * but Gods children. Consider where you be, not at home, but in a strange cuntry. Consider among whom ye are conuersant, euen in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction. Which you cannot be without, beyng as you be, Gods children, * in a strange country, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leaue your captaine Christ, and follow Sathan for the mucke of this mould, rest, and quietnes, which he may promise you, & you in deed thinke you shall receiue it by doyng as hee would haue you to do (my sweete hartes) hee is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and warre come from God, riches and pouertie, welth & wo. The Deuil hath no power but by Gods permission. If then God permit hym a little on your goods, body or lyfe, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you (as Peter sayth) you beyng followers of godlines? * Thinke you that God will not remember you in his tyme, as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the chyld of her wombe? And if she should, * yet will not I forget thee (sayth the Lord.) Looke vpon Abraham in hys exile & misery, looke vpon Iacob, Ioseph, Moses, Dauid, the Prophets, * Apostles, and all the godly from the beginning: and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a chaungeling? You haue heard of the pacience of Iob, (sayth S Iames) and you haue seene the end how that God is mercifull, pacient and long suffering: euen so I say vnto you that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be pacient, that is, if so be you feare hym, * set his word before you, serue him thereafter, and if he lay his crosse on you, you beare it with pacience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but accordyng to the end. Heb. 12. 2. Cor. 4.

Therefore I hartily besech you, & out of my bonds which I suffer for your sake, pray you (myne owne sweete harts in the Lord) that you would cleave in hart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other my brethren. For wee haue taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our owne fantasies, but the very word of GOD, which we are ready with our lyues (God so inhabling vs, as we trust he will) to confirme, and by the sheading of our blouds in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testifie and seale vp, as well that you might be more certaine of the doctrine, as that you myght [Page 1651](#) be ready to confesse the same before this wicked world, knowyng that if we confesse Christ and his truth before men, hee will confesse vs before his father in heauen: if so be we bee ashamed hereof for losse of lyfe friends or goods, he wil be ashamed of vs before his father, and his holy Angels in heauen.

Therefore take heede, for the Lordes sake take heed, take heed, and defile not your bodies or soules with this Romish and Antichristian religion set vp amongst vs agayne: but come away, come away, as the Angell crieth from amongst them in their idolatrous seruice, lest you be partakers of their iniquitie. Harken to your preachers as the Thessalonians did to Paule: that is, conferre their sayings with the scriptures, & if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shyne vpon them.

*Vse much and hearty prayer for the spirite of wisdom, knowledge, humblenes, meekenes, sobrietie, and repentaunce: which we haue great need of, because our sinnes haue thus prouoked the Lordes anger against vs: but let vs beare his anger, and acknowledge our faultes with bitter teares, and sorowfull sighes, and doubtles he will be mercifull to vs after his wonted mercy. The which thyng he vouchsafe to do for his holy names sake, in Christ Iesu our Lord, to whome with the father and the holy ghost, be all honour, glory, prayse, and euerlastyng thanks from this tyme forth for euermore. Amen.

Out of prison by yours in the Lord to commaund. Iohn Bradford.

¶A letter to M. George Eaton.

ALmighty God our heauenly Father, recompence abundantly into your bosome (my dearly beloued) here and eternally,* the good which frō him by you I haue continually receiued sithen my comming into prison. Otherwyse can I neuer be able to requite your louing kindnesse here then by praying for you, and after this lyfe, by witnessing your fayth declared to me by your fruits, whē we shall come and appeare together before the throne of our Sauour Iesus Christ, whether (I thanke God) I am euen now a goyng, euer looking when officers wyll come, & satisfie the precept of the Prelates, wherof though I can not complayne, because I haue iustly deserved an hundreth thousand deaths at gods hands by reason of my sinnes, yet I may and must reioyce, because the Pr•lates do not persecute in me myne iniquities, but Christ Iesus & his veritie: so that they persecute not me, they hate not me, but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

And because they can do hym no hurt (for he sitteth in heauen,* and laugheth them and their deuises to scorne, as one day they shall feelee, therefore they turne their rage vpō his poore sheepe, as Herode their father did vpon the infants. Math. 2. Great cause therefore haue I to reioyce, that my dere Sauour Christ wil vouchsafe amongst many, to chuse me to be a vessel of grace to

suffer in me (which haue deserued so often & iustly to suffer for my sinnes) that I might be most assured I shall be a vessell of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore (my right deare brother in the Lord) reioice with me, geue thanks for me, and cease not to pray, that God for his mercies sake would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I haue professed and preached, I do confesse vnto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall by gods grace in suffering,* that it is the very true doctrine of Iesus Christ, of his Church, of his Prophets, Apostles and all good men: so that if an Angell should come from heauen and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore wauer not (deare hart in the Lord) but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, whē God so will, confesse it, though it be perillous so to do. The end shall euidently shew an other maner of pleasure for so doynge, then tong can tell. Bee diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reuerent readyng of Gods worde. Set the shortnesse of this tyme before your eyes, and let not the eternitie that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in doing that you learne, by reading and hearing. Decline from euill, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bondes, especially for the Lordes cause, as members of your body, and fellow heires of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Syon, and the oppression of Ierusalem: and God our Father shall geue you hys continuall blessing thorough Christ our Lorde, who guide vs as hys deare children for euer, Amen. And thus I take my Vale and farewell with you (deare brother) for euer in this present lyfe, till wee shall meete in eternall blisse: whether our good God and Father bryng vs shortly, Amen. God blesse all your babes for euer, Amen.

Out of pryson this viij. of February.

Your afflicted brother for the Lordes cause. Iohn Bradford.

¶An other Letter to Maistresse Anne Warcuppe.

ALmighty God our heauenly father for his Christes sake, encrease in vs fayth,* by which we may more & more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in heauen, for all thē that beleeeue with the hart, and confesse Christ & his truth wyth the mouth. Amen.

My dearely beloued, I remember that once heretofore I wrote vnto you a Vale or a farewell vpon coniecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this lyfe in deed, vpon certaine knowledge. My staffe standeth at the dore, I continually looke for the shiriffe to come for me, and I thanke God I am ready for him. Now goe I to practise that which I haue preached. Now am I climbing vp the hill, it wil cause me to puffe and blow before I come to the cliffe. The hill is steepe and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I haue now thorough his goodnes, euen almost come to the toppe, I may by his grace, be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should bee. Oh louing Lord, put out thy hand, and drawe me vnto thee: for no man commeth, but he whō the father draweth. See (my derely beloued) Gods louing mercy: he knoweth my short breath & great weakenes. As he sent for Helias in a firy chariot, so sendeth he for me: for by fire, my drosse must be purified, that I may bee fine gold in his sight. Oh vnthankfull wretch that I am: Lord do thou forgeue me myne vnthankfulnes. In deed I confesse (right deare to me in the Lord) that my sinnes haue deserued hell fire, much more then

this fire. But loe, so louyng is my Lord,* that he conuerteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimoniall of his truth, and a testification of his veritie, which the Prelates do persecute in me, & not my sinnes: therfore they persecute not me but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part vnto the very end. Amen.

Oh that I had so open an hart, as could so receiue as I should do, this great benefite and vnspeakeable dignitie, which God my father offreth to me. Now pray for me, my dearely beloued: pray for me that I neuer shrinke. I shall neuer shrinke I hope, I trust in the Lord I shall neuer shrinke: for he that alwayes hath taken my part, I am assured will not leaue me when I haue most neede, for his truth and mercies sake. Oh Lord help me: Into thy handes I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what mā can do vnto me. Amen. My dearely beloued, say you Amen also, and come after if so God call you. Bee not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, but keepe company with him still. He wyll neuer leaue you, but in the midst of temptation will geue you an outscape, to make you able to beare the brunt. Vse hearty prayer, reuerently read and heare Gods word, put it in practise, looke for the crosse, lift vp your heads, for your redemption draweth nye: know that the death of Gods saints is precious in his sight: Bee mery in the Lord, pray for the mitigation of Gods heauy displeasure vpon our countrey. God keepe vs for euer, God blesse vs with his spirituall blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for euer in this present lyfe. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods sake, pray for me. God make perfect his good worke begun in me. Amen.

Out of prison this vij. of February.

Yours in the Lord. Iohn Bradford.

In the story of M. Bradford it was aboue rehearsed, how a certaine Gentlewoman beyng in trouble by her father and mother for not comming to Masse, sent her seruant to visite M. Bradford in prison. Who tendering the wofull case of the Gentlewoman, to the entent partly to confirme her with counsaile, partly to relieue her oppressed mynd with some comfort, directed this letter vnto her: the contents whereof are these.

¶To a certaine godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not comming to the Masse.

I Wish vnto you right worshipfull, and my dearely beloued sister in the Lord, as to my selfe,* the continual grace and comfort of Christ and of his holy word through the operation of the holy spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end, in the faithful obedience of Gods gospel, whereto you are called, Amen.

I perceiued by your selfe the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the Scholehouse, and triall parlour of the Lord,* which to me is (as the least it should be) a great comfort, to see the number of gods elect by you encreased, which is in that state wherof God hath not called many, as Paule saith. And as it is a comfort to mee,* so should it be a confirmation vnto me, that the Lord for his faithfulness sake, will make perfect and finish the good hee hath begun in you to the end.

If then your crosse be to me a comfort or token of your [Page 1652](#) election, and a confirmation of Gods continuall fauour (my •earely beloued): how much more ought it to bee so vnto you? Unto whom he hath not onely geuen to beleue but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake, and that not commonly of common enemies,* but euen of your owne father, mother, and all your fr•ends, I meane kinsfolks as you told me. By which I see Christes wordes to be true: How that he came to geue his childrē such a peace with him, as the Deuill might not, nor may abide, & therfore stirreth vp father and mother,* sister and brother, rather then it should continue. But (my deare sister) if you cry with Daud to the Lord, and complaine to him: how that for conscience to him, your father and mother haue forsaken you, you shal heare him speake in your heart, that he hath receiued you, and by this would haue you to see, how that he maketh you here lyke to Christ,* that elsewhere in heauen you might be like vnto him whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, euen whē Christ shall appeare, you shalbe lyke vnto hym. For he wil make your body which now you defile not with Idolatrical seruice in goyng to Masse,* lyke vnto his owne glorious and immortall body, accordyng to the power whereby he is able to do all thyngs. He wil confesse you before his father, which doe not deny his veritie in worde nor deede before your father: he wil make you to raign with him, that now suffer for him and with him: he wil not leaue you comfortles, that seeke no comfort but at his hand, though for a little tyme you be afflicted, yet therein will hee comfort and strength you, and at the length make you to be mery with hym, in such ioy as is infinite and endlesse. He wil wipe al the teares from your eyes: he will embrace you as your deare husband: he will after he hath prooued you, crowne you with a crowne of glory and immortalitie, such as the hart of man shall neuer be able to conceiue in such sorte as the thyng is. He now beholdeth your stedfastnes, and st•iuyng to doe his good will: and shortly will hee shew you how stedfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you haue fully resigned it to his will.

Pledge him in his cup of the crosse, & you shall pledge him in the cuppe of his glory. Desire to drinke it before it come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drinke, and all those that for feare of the crosse and pledging the Lord, doe walke with the wicked in betraying in fact and deed, that which their hart embraceth for veritie. The which thyng if you should do (which God forbid) then my deare Mistres and Sister in the Lord, you should not onely loose all that I haue before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternall ioy and glory, but also be a cast away, and partaker of gods most heauy displeasure in hell fire eternally: and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it wyll last, to l•ose for euer and euer, all ease and comfort. For hee that gathereth not with me (sayth Christ,* as no Masse Gospel•er doth) scattere•h abroad. Accordyng to that we do in this body, we shall receyue, be it good or badde. If of our words we shall be iudged to condemnation or saluation:* much more then of our factes and deedes. You cannot be partaker of Gods religion and Antichrists seruice, wherof the Masse is most principall. You cannot be a member of Christes Church, and a member of the Popes Church. You must glorifie God not onely in soule and hart, but also in body and deede. You may not thinke that God requireth lesse of you his wyfe now, then your husband dyd of you. I• both hart and body your husband would haue, shall Christ haue lesse (trow you) which hath so bitterly & dearely bought it? If your husband could not admitte an excuse how your hart is his onely if he should haue taken your body in bed with another: do you thinke that Christ will allow your body at Masse, although your heart consent not to it?*

God esteemeth his children, not onely of their hartes, but of their pure hands and workes,* and therefore in Helias tyme, he counted none to be his seruants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baall: as now he doth not in England accompt any other to be his derlings, which know the truth in hart, and deny it in theyr deeds, as do our Masse Gospellers.

We ought to desire aboue all thyngs the sanctifieng of Gods holy name, and the commying of his kingdom, and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at Masse, by making it a sacrifice propitiatorie, and setting forth a false Christ of the Priests and bakers makyng, to be worshipped as GOD,* and say nothing? The Iewes rent their clothes asunder in seeyng or hearing any thyng blasphemously done or spoken against God, and shall we yet come to Church where Masse is, and be mute? Paule and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia to offer sacrifice vnto them, and shall we see sacrifice and gods seruice done to an inanimate creature and be mumme? What thing helpeth more or so much Antichrists kingdom as doth the Masse?* And what destroyeth preachyng and the kyngdome of Christ vpon earth more then it doth? And how can we then say: Let thy kyngdome come, and go to Masse? How can we pray before God: Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our owne will, and the will of our father or friendes? How pray we: Deliuer vs from euill: which knowyng the Masse to be euill, do come to it?

But what goe I about to light a candle in the Noone day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to Masse, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprocue it, in that all men in so doying, do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How lōg will men yet halt on both knees (saith God)? Halting (sayeth Paule) bringeth out of the way, that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shal wither away, and be cast into hell fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his father, which be now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.*

Therefore my good maistresse take good heed: for it had bene better for you neuer to haue knowen the truth, and there through to haue escaped from papisticall vncleanes, then now to returne to it, making eftsoones your mēbers, beyng members of righteousness, members of vnrighteousnesse, as you do, if you do but goe to the Church where Masse is. Be pure therefore, and keepe your selfe from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstaine not onely from all euil, but from all appearance of euill.

And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall gouerne you, the spirite of God shall sanctifie you, and be with you for euer, to keepe you from all euill, and to comfort you in all your distresse and trouble, which is but short if you consider the eternitie you shall enioy in glory and felicitie in the Lorde, which vndoubtedly you shall not fayle but inherite for euer, if so be you, as the elect chylde of God, put your trust in hys mercy, call vpon hys name vnfainedly, and yeld not ouer to the wicked world, but sticke still agaynst it vnto the ende. God for his holy names sake, which is properly the God of the Widowes, be your good and deare Father for euer, and helpe you alwayes as I my selfe would bee holpen at hys handes in all thynges, and especially in this hys owne cause, Amen, Amen.

Iohn Bradford.

¶To one by whome he had receyued much comfort and reliefe in his trouble and imprisonment.

The mercy of God in Christ peculiar to hys children,* be euermore felt of you, my derely beloued in the Lord, Amen.

When I consider with my selfe the benefites whiche God hath shewed vnto me by your meanes, if I had so good and thankfull a hart as I would I had, I could not with dry eies geue him thanks? for certainly they are very many and great. And now beyng yet still the Lords prisoner, I perceiue from him mo benefits by you. For y^e which I thinke my selfe so much bounde to you my good brother (although you were but the instrument by whome God wrought and blessed me) that I looke not to come out of your debt by any pleasure or seruice that I shall euer be able to do you in this lyfe. I shall hartily praye vnto God therefore to requite you the good you haue done to me for hys sake: for I know that which you haue done, you haue done it simply in respect of God & his word. He therefore geue you daily more and more to be cōfirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully poure vpon you the riches of his holy spirit and heauenly treasures layd vp in store for you, that your corporall and earthly riches may be vsed of you as Sacraments and significations thereof: the more to desire the one, that is, the heauenly, & the lesse to esteeme the other, that is, the earthly. For Sathans sollicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and therby you should not haue accesse to the consideration of the heauenly, but as one bewitched should vtterly forget them, & altogether become a loue and worshipper of the earthlye Mammon, and so to fall to couetousnes,* and a desire to be rich, by that meanes to bring you into many noisome and hurtfull lustes: as now a dayes I heare of many whiche haue vtterly forsaken God and all his heauenly riches, for Antichrists pleasure, and the preseruing of theyr worldly pelfe, which they imagine to leaue to their posterity, wherof they are vncertaine, as they may be most certaine they leaue to them Gods wrath and vengeance, in his tyme to be sent by visitation, if they in tyme hartily repent not, & preuent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein my good [Page 1653](#) brother, if you be diligent, harty, and perseuere, I am sure God will preserue you from euill, and from yelding your selfe to do as the world now doth, by allowyng in bodily fact in the Romish seruice, that which the inward cogitation and mynd doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly & present things simply, then shall you fall into faithlesse follies and wounding of your conscience: from which God euermore preserue you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard & all your familie, to the which I wish the blessing of God now and for euer, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

I pray you geue thanks for me to your old bedfellow for his great friendship for your sake shewed to me when I was in the Tower.

John Bradford.

¶To a faithfull friend of his, and his wyfe, resolving their doubt why they ought not to come to auricular confession.

*The mercifull God, and father of our Sauour Iesus Christ, which loueth vs as a most deare Father, and hath put vppon hym towards vs the affection of a most tender mother towards her children, so that he can no lesse thinke vpon vs (although of our selues we be most vnworthy, and deserue nothyng lesse) then she can thinke on her onely begotten chyld in his distresse, yea

if she should forget her childe, as some vnnaturall mother will do, yet will he neuer forget vs, although for a tyme he seme to sleepe that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake hym: thys good God keepe you, my deare brother * Nathanaell, and your good yokefellow, my hartily beloued Sister in the Lorde, in all thyngs now and for euer, to his glory and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodnes he graunt you both the feelyng of that hope, which vndoubtedly he hath layd vp in store for you both, farre passing the store and prouision, not onely which you haue made but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you, but I besech him to encrease it more & more and kindle in you a hartly longyng for the enioying of the same, the which once felt & had in deed, then the meanes by the which we come thereto, cannot be so greatly dread, as most men doe dread them, because either they want this feeling (I meane it of altogether) or els because the sense of this present tyme & things therein, are as a mist to the hidyng of those thyngs frō our sight, least we should run and embrace them by hartly prayer: the spirit wherof God graunt vs, and in deed we should attaine enough in this behalfe, if we continued therein.

For auricular confession, wherein you desire my aduise for your good yokefellow and family (my most deare brother) I am as ready to geue it, as you to desire it, yea more glad, for as much as halfe a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my deare sister your wyfe) of a lothyng of my aduise, that to much had bene geuen, where in deed I should lament my too little feedyng you spiritually, as both you out of prison and in prison haue fed me corporally. But as I alwayes thought of her, so I yet thinke that she is the chyld of God, whom God dearely loueth, and wil in his good tyme to her eternall comfort, geue her her hartes desire in sure feelyng and sensible beleuyng of this, which I would she had often in her mynd: namely, that hee is her God & father through Christ Iesus our deare Lord and Sauour. A greater seruice to God she cannot geue,* then to beleue this. If Sathan say she beleueueth not, to answer, not hym but the Lord, and to say, yea Lorde helpe my vnbeliefe, and encrease my poore fayth, which Sathan fayth is no fayth: make him a lyer Lord, as alwayes he hath bene, is, and shall be. Vndoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously heare her grones, and keepe all her teares in his bottell, yea write them in his countyng booke, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature: he loueth mercy, he wil returne and shew her his mercy. he will cast all her sinnes and iniquities into the botome of the sea: and the longer that he tarieth (as he doth it but to prooue her) so the more liberally will he recompence her long lookyng, which no lesse pleaseth hym, then it grieueth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof, God vseth this crosse, and therefore if she desire to beare the same,* doubtles God will make her able to beare it: & in presumption of his goodnes and strength, let her cast her selfe wholly vpon him: for he is faithfull, and will assuredly confirme, and bring to a happy end that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thyng I desire hym to do for his owne glory & names sake. Amen. Amen.

*And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as it was first vsed and instituted (which was by the way of counsaile askyng) I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent, that is, neyther vnlawfull, nor necessarily bynding vs, except the offence of the weake could not be auoyded. But to consider it, as it is now vsed (I write to you but as I thinke, and what my mynd is, the which follow no further, then good men by Gods worde do allow it) to consider it I say, as it is now vsed, me thinkes it is plainly vnlawfull and wicked, and that for these causes.

First, because they make it a seruice of God & a thing which pleaseth God of it selfe, I will not say meritorious, this brynger my brother can tell you at large how great euill this is.

Secondly, because they make it of necessitie,* so that he or she that vseth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

Thirdly, because it requireth of it selfe an impossibilitie, that is, the numbring and tellyng of all our sinnes, which no man perceiueth, much lesse can vtter.

Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth praying to Saints, Precor Sanctam Mariam: you must say or the Priest for you.

Fifthly,* because it is very iniurious to the liberty of the Gospell, the which to affirme in example and fact, I take to be a good worke, and deare in Gods sight,

Sixtly, because (as it is vsed) it is a note, yea a very sinow of the Popish church: and therefore we should be so farre from allowyng the same, that we should thinke our selues happy to lose any thing in bearyng witnes there agaynst.

Seuenthy, because in stead of counsaile, thereat you should receiue poison, or if you refuse it vnder sir Iohns Benedicite, you should no lesse there be wound in the briers.

Eightly, because the end and purpose why we go thether, is for the auoidyng of the crosse, that is, for our owne cause, and not for Christes cause, or for our brethrens commoditie. For in that they make it so necessary a thyng, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be agaynst Christ, and the freedome of hys Gospell: and the same thyng teacheth vs, that it is agaynst the commoditie of our brethren, which eyther be weake, eyther be strong, eyther be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weake by your resortyng to it, they be made more weake. If they be strong, you do what you can to infirme their strength If they be ignorant, therein you helpe to keepe them by your facte. If they bee obstinate, your resortyng to it cannot but rocke them a sleepe in their obstinate error of the necessitie of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited doe shew you what I thinke in this: but my thinkyng must no further bynd you then a mans thought should do, except the same be grounded vpon Gods worde which byndeth in deede, as I thinke they doe. I doubt not but you waying these causes, and especially two of the first and the last, if you pray to God for his spirite to direct you, and thereto aske the aduise of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you should be guided to do that which is best in gods sight, although in the sight of the world perhaps you should bee counted foolish and precise. But bee at a poynt with your selues as the disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselues, to follow not your will, but Gods will, as you daily pray in the Lordes prayer.

The crosse of Christ bee willyng to cary, least you cary the crosse of the world, the flesh or the deuill.* One of these 4. crosses you must cary. Three of them bringeth to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heauen, but few go that way, as wel because the way is straite, as also because few walke in it. Howbeit,* though it bee straite, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the Patriarkes,

Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors and Christ Iesus, with all his gard and trayne. Thinke not scorne to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whose number I trust I am apointed to be one, and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sinnes deserue plagues, prison, and the losse of all that euer wee haue: therefore if God remooue our sinnes out of sight, and sende vs prison, or losse of goods and liuyng for his names sake, Oh how happy are we? My deare hearts in the Lord, consider this geare and bee assured that he which looseth any thyng for Christes sake, the same in his posteritie shall finde it here, and in heauen elsewhere. As for vnablenes to aunswer for your fayth: it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputyng. I thinke few if it came to disputing, could defend the godhead of Christ and many other articles: I speake it for the simple sorte. Pray for me. Lacke of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B. and my good sister his wyfe. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to heare how you do.

Iohn Bradford.

¶Another letter to N. and his wyfe.

GOds mercy in Christ I wish you to feelee,* my dere brother, with my faithfull sister your wyfe, now and for euer, Amen.

Hauing this occasion, I could not but write something as wel to put my selfe in remembrance of my duty to godwards for you both, in thankfulness and praier, as to put you in remembrance of me and your duety towards God for me, in praying for me: for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: nor that I would haue you to geue no thāks to God for his wonderfull great and sweete mercies towards me, and vpon me in Christ his sonne: but because [Page 1654](#) I haue not deserued it at either of your hands. For ye both know right wel, at least my cōscience doth accuse me, how that I haue not onely not exhorted & taught you, (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walke worthy of that vocation which god hath made you worthy of, and with trēbling and feare to woorke out your saluation, that is, in the feare of God to geue your selues to great vigilācie in praier for the encrease of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conuersation, not onely in works and woords, but also in thoughts, because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it commeth, that defileth vs in Gods sight: I haue (I say) not onely not done thys, but also haue geuen you example of negligence in praier, watching, fasting, talking and doing, so that woe to me for geuing suche offence. Partly for this cause deare brother and sister, God hath cast me heere that I might repent me and turne to him, and that ye might also by this correction vpon me, be more diligent to redresse these things and others if they in your conscience doe accuse you.

My dearly beloued, heauy is Gods anger fallen vpon vs all: doulefull is this day. Nowe hath Antichrist all his power again.* Now is Christes gospel troden vnder fote. Now is Gods people a derision and pray for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of al plagues fallen, the want of Gods word: and al these we haue, yea I alone haue iustly deserued. Oh that as I wryte (I alone) I could w^t Dauid▪ 1. Par. 21. and with Ionas in heart say so. But I doe not,* I do not I see not howe greuously I haue sinned, & howe great a misery is fallen for mine vnthankfulness for Gods worde, for mine hypocrisie in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of Gods word, for my

not praying to God for the cōtinuance of it, for my not louing of it thoroughly as it requireth. &c. I will speake nothing of my manifest euils, for they are knowen to you wel enough.

Deare brother and sister, wyth me say yee the lyke for your owne partes, and with me ioyne your hearts, and let vs go to our heauenly father, and for his Christes sake beseeche him to be mercifull vnto vs, and to pardon vs: Oh good father it is we that haue deserued the taking away of thy woorde, it is we that haue deserued these thy iust plagues fallen vpon vs, we haue done amisse, we haue dealt vniustly wyth thy Gospell, we haue procured thy wrathe, and therfore iust art thou in punishing vs, iust art thou in plaging vs, for we are very miserable. But good Lord and deare father of mercy, whose iustice is such, that thou wilt not punish the poore soules of thys realme, which yet haue not thus sinned against thee, as wee haue done (for manye yet neuer heard thy woorde) for oure trespasses, and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembraunce for thy Christes sake, if we repent and beleue: graunt vs we beseech thee, true repentance & faith, that we hauing obtained pardon for our sinnes, may thorough thy Christ get deliuerance from the tirannie of Antichrist now oppressing vs.

Oh good Father, whych haste sayde that the Scepter of the wicked should not long lie vpon and ouer the iust,*least they put foorth their handes to iniquitie also: make vs iust, we pray thee in Christes name, and cut a sunder the cordes of them that hate Sion: let not the wicked people say, wher is their God? Thou our God art in heauen, and doest whatsoeuer it pleaseth thee vpon earth.

Oh that thou wouldest in the meane whiles, before thou doe deliuer vs, that (I say) thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, & all other that shall come, what so euer they be, publicke or priuate, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come euen from thy hande, and that iustly and mercifully: iustly because we haue & doe deserue them, not only by our birth poysons still sticking and working in vs, but also by our former euill life past, whiche by thys punishment and all other p•nishmentes, thou wouldest haue vs to call to our remembraunce and to set before vs, that thou mightest put them from before thee, where as they stand so long as they are not in oure remembraunce, to put them away by repentaunce. Mercifully oh Lord God doest thou punish, in that thou doest not correct to kill, but to amend, that we mighte repent our sinnes, aske mercye, obtaine it freely in Christe, and beginne to suffer for righteousnesse sake: to be part of thy house, whereat thy iudgement beginneth: to be partakers of the afflictions of thy Church, and thy Christ, that wee might be partakers of the glorye of the same: to weepe here, that we might reioyce else where: to be iudged in this world, that we might with thy Saintes iudge here after y^e worlde: to suffer with Christ, that we might raigne with him: to be like to Christe in shame, that we might be like to hym in glory: to receiue our euils here, y^t we might with poore Lazarus finde rest else where: rest (I saye) and such a rest as the eye hath not sene, the eare hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceiue.

Oh that our eyes were open to see thys,* that the crosse commeth from thee to declare thy iustice & thy mercye, and hereto, that we might see howe short a time the time of suffering is: how long a time the time of reioysing is to them that suffer heere: but to them that will not, how longe and miserable a time is appoynted and prepared: a time withoute time in eternall woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought vpon. From the which keepe vs deare father, and geue more sight in soule to see thys geare, and how that all thy dearest children haue caried the crosse of greeuous affliction in this life: in whose cōpany do thou place vs, and such a crosse lay vpō vs as thou wilt

make vs able to bear to thy glory and our saluation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the dayes of this our great misery fallen vppon vs most iustly, and in the meane season geue vs patience, repentaunce, faith, and thy eternall consolation. Amen. Amen. Amen.

And thus deare heartes I haue talked (me thinkes) a litle while w^t you, or rather we haue all talked wyth God. Oh that God would geue vs his spirit of grace and prayer. My dea•ly beloued, pray for it, as for your selues, so for me, and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his names sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you. This 20. of December, by him whome by this bringer ye shal learne. I praye you geue me commendations to all that loue me in the Lorde. Be mery in Christe, for one daye in heauen we shall meete and reioyce together for euermore. Amen.

To my good brother Augustine Barneher.

Mine owne good Augustine, the Lorde of mercye blesse thee my deare brother for euer.* I haue good hope that if you come late at night, I shall speake with you, but come as secretly as you can: Howbeit, in the meane season if you can, and as you can, learne what maister G. hath spoken to Doctor Storie and others. The cause of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is said that I shalbe burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me. i. The Lordes will be done. Behold here I am Lord, send me. Ah mine owne sweete frend, I am now alone, leaste I shoulde make you and others worse. If I should liue, I would more warely vse the companye of Gods children, then euer I haue done. Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccaui ei. i. I wil bear the Lords anger, because I haue sinned against him. Commēd me to my most deare Sister, for whome my heart bledeth, the Lorde comfort her, and strengthen her vnto the ende. I thinke I haue taken my leaue of her for euer in thys life, but in eternall life we shall most surely mete and praise the Lord continually. I haue now takē a more certaine aunswere of death, then euer I did: and yet not so certaine as I thinke I shoulde doe. I am nowe as a sheepe appoynted to the slaughter. Ah my God, the houre is come, glorifie thy most vnworthy childe, I haue glorified thee, sayeth this my sweete father, and I will glorifie thee, Amen. Ah mine owne bowels, praise God for me, and pray for mee: for I am his I hope: I hope hee will neuer forsake me, though I haue aboue all other moste deserued it. I am the most singular example of his mercye: praised be hys name therefore for euer. Cause Mistres Perpoint to learne of the Sheriffe Master Chester, what they purpose to doe with mee, and knowe if you can, whether there be any wryt foorth for me. Factus sum sicut nicticorax in domicilio, & passer solitarius in tecto. i. I am like to an Owle in the house,* and as a sparowe alone in the house toppe Ah my Augustine, howe long shall Gods enemies thus triumphe? I haue sent you this of the Baptisme of children to wryte out: when this is done, you shall haue other things. Pray, pray mine owne deare heart, on whome I am bolde. The keeper telleth me that it is death for any to speake with me, but yet I trust that I shall speake wyth you.

Iohn Bradford.

To these letters of M. Bradforde aboue specified, here is also adioyned an other Letter of the sayde Bradforde, wrytten to certaine of his faithfull friendes, woorthy of all Christians to be read: wherein is described a liuely comparison betweene the Olde man and the Newe: Also betweene

the Law and the Gospell, containing much frutefull matter of diuinitie, necessary for Christian consciences to read and vnderstand.

A letter of M. Bradford, describing a comparison betweene the olde man and the newe. &c.

A Man that is regenerate and borne of God (the whiche thing that euery one of vs be,* our baptisme the Sacrament of regeneration doth require vnder paine of damnation, and therefore lette euery one of vs wyth the virgine Mary say: be it vnto me O Lord, according to thy word, according [Page 1655](#) to thy Sacrament of baptisme, wherein thou hast declared our adoption: and let vs lament the doubting hereof in vs, striuing againste it, as we shalbe made able of the Lorde): a man, I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men (as a man may say) namely of the olde man, and o• the newe man.* The olde man is like to a mighty Giant, suche a one as was Goliath, •or his birth is now perfecte. But the newe man is like vnto a little childe, such a one as was Dauid, for his birth is not perfect vntill the day of hys generall resurrection.

The old man therfore is more stronger, lusty, and stirring then is the newe man,* because the birth of the newe man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the olde man is more stirring, lustye and stronger then the newe man: so is the nature of him cleane contrary to the nature of the newe man,* as being earthly and corrupt with Sathans seede, the nature of the newe man being heauenly and blessed with the celestiall seede of God. So that one man, in as much as he is corrupte wyth the seede of the Serpent, is an olde man: and in as much as he is blessed with the seede of God from aboue, he is a new man. And as, in as much as he is an old mā, he is a sinner and an enemy to God: so in as much as he is regenerat, he is righteous & holy, and a frend to God, the seede of God preseruing him from sinne, so that hee cannot sinne, as the seede of the Serpent, wherewith hee is corrupt euen from his conception, inclineth hym, yea enforceth him to sinne, and nothing els but to sinne: So that the best part in man before regeneration in Gods sight, is not onely an enemy but enmitie it selfe.

One man therefore, which is regenerate, well may be called alwayes iust, and alwaies sinneful: iust in respect of Gods seede, and hys regeneration: sinnefull in respecte of Sathans seede and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therfore, there is cōtinual conflict, and warre most deadly. The flesh and olde man by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time, preuaile againste the newe man (being but a child in comparison) and that in such sorte, as not onely other, but euen the children of God them selues thinke that they be nothing els but old, and that the spirite & seede of God is lost and gone away, where yet notwithstanding, the truth is otherwise, the spirite and the seede of God at the length appearing againe,* and dispelling away the clouds which couer the sonne of Gods seede from shyning as the cloudes in the aire do the corporall Sunne: so that sometimes a man cannot tel by any sense, that ther is any Sunne, the cloudes and windes so hiding it from our sight: Euen so our cecitie or blindnes, and corrupte affections do often shadow the sight of Gods sede in Gods children, as though they were plaine reprobates. Whereof it cōmeth, that they praying according to their sense, but not according to the truthe, desire of God to giue them agayne his spirite, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God nor dothe in deede, although hee make vs to thinke so for a time: for alwayes hee holdeth hys hand vnder his children in their falles, that they lye not still as other doe which are not regenerate. And thys is the differēce betwixte Gods children which are generate and elect before all times in Christe, and the wicked cast awayes, that the elect lie not stil

continually in theyr sinne, as doe the wicked, but at the length doe returne agayne by reason of Gods seede, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes: as we maye see in Peter, Daid, Paule, Mary Magdalene, and others. For these (I meane Gods children) God hath made all thinges in Christe Iesu, to whom he hath geuen this dignitie, that they should be hys inheritaunce and spouses.

Thys our inheritour Christe Iesus, God wyth God, light of lyght, coeternall and consubstantiall wyth the Father and wyth the holy Ghoste, to the ende that he myghte become our husbāde (because the husbāde and the wyfe must be one body and flesh) hath taken our nature vppon him, communicating with it and by it in his owne person, to vs all his children,* his diuine maiestie (as Peter sayth) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of oure bones substantially:* as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, al that euer we haue pertaining to him, yea euē our sinnes: as al that euer he hath, pertaineth vnto vs, euen his whole glory. So that if Sathan should sommon vs to aunswere for oure dettes or sinnes, in that the wife is no sutable person but the husbād, we may well bid him enter his action against our husband Christe, and he will make him a sufficient aunswere.

For this ende (I meane that we might be coupled and married thus to Christe, and so be certaine of saluation, and at godly peace with God in our cōsciences) God hath geuen his holy worde, which hath two partes (as nowe the children of God do consist of two men): one part of Gods word being proper to the old man,* & the other part of gods word being proper to y^e new man. The part p^operly pertaining to the old man, is the lawe: the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the Gospell.

The lawe is a doctrine whych commaundeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and auoiding. Under it therefore are contained all preceptes, threatnings, promises vppon conditions of our doing and auoiding. &c. The Gospell is a doctrine which alwayes offere^h and geueth, requiryng on our behalfe, not as of worthinesse or as a cause,* but as a certificate vnto vs, and therefore vnder it are contained al the free and sweete promises of God: as, I am the Lorde thy God. &c.

In those that bee of yeares of discretion, it requyreth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument wherby we our selues may be certaine of our good husbāde Christ and of hys glory: and therefore when the conscience feeleth it sel^e disquieted for feare of Gods iudgement against sinne,* she may in no wise looke vpon the doctrine pertaining to the olde man, but on the doctrine onely that pertaineth to the new man, in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is faith, because we neuer beleue as we shoulde: but onely on it which it offereth, and whych it geueth, that is, on Gods grace and eternall mercye and peace in Christe. So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it altogether oute of her selfe, in Gods mercy in Christ Iesu: in whose lappe if shee lay her head wyth S. Iohn, then is she happy, and shall finde quietnesse in deede. When shee feeleth her selfe quiet, then (in Gods name) let her looke on the lawe, and vppon suche things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keepe downe the olde Adam, to slaye that Goliath: from whom she must needes keepe the sweete promises, beyng the bed wherein her spouse and she meete and lie together. For as the wife will keepe her bed onely for her husbāde, although in other things she is contented to haue fellowshipe wyth others, as to speake, sitte, eate, drinke, goe. &c. so our consciences, which are Christes wiues, must needes keepe the bed, that is, Gods sweete promises, alonely for our selues and oure husbāde, there to meete together, to embrace

and laugh together, and to be ioyfull together. If sinne, the lawe, the Deuill, or any thing would creepe into the bedde and lye there, then complaine to thy husbande Christe, and foorthwyth thou shalt see him play Phinees part. Thus my dearely beloued, I haue geuen you in few woordes, a summe of all the Diuinitie whyche a Christian conscience can not want.

A letter wrytten to his Mother, as a farewell, when he thought he should haue suffered shortly after.

THE Lord of life and sauour of the world Iesus Christe,* blesse you and comfort you, my good and deare mother, with his heauenly comforte, consolation, grace and spirite, nowe and for euer. Amen.

If I thought that daily, yea almost hourly you did not cry vpon God the father thorough Iesus Christ, that he would geue me his blessing, euen the blessing of his children: then wold I wryte more hereabouts. But for as much as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you good Mother to continue: I thinke it good to wryte something, whereby this your crying mighte be furthered. Furthered it will be,* if those things which hinder it, be taken away. Among the which, in that I thinke my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will there about spende thys Letter, and that briefly lest it might encrease the let, as my good brother this bringer can tel you. You shall know therefore good mother, that for my body, though it be in an house, out of the whych I cā not come when I will, yet in that I haue cōformed my wil to gods will, I finde herein liberty enough, I thanke God. And for my lodging, bedding, meate, drinke, godly and learned company, bookes and all other necessities for mine ease, comfort, and commoditie, I am in much better case then I could wish, & Gods merciful prouidence heere is farre aboute my worthines. Worthines, quoth▪ Alas I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But besides all this, for my soule I finde muche more commoditie. For God is my Father, I now perceauē: thorough Christ: therefore in prisonning me for his Gospell, he maketh mee like to the Image of his sonne Iesus Christ here, that when he commeth to iudgement, I might then be like vnto him, as my truste & hope is I shalbe. Nowe maketh he me like to his frendes the Prophetes, Apostles, the holy Martyrs and Confessours. Which of them did not suffer, at the least, imprisonment or banishment for hys Gospell and worde?

Nowe Mother, howe farre am I vnmeete to bee compared to them? I (I saye) whiche alwayes haue bene, and am so vile an hypocrite and greeuous a sinner? God myghte haue caused mee [Page 1656](#) long before this time to haue bene cast into prisone as a theefe, a blasphemer, an vnclane liuer, and an hainous offender of the lawes of the Realme, but deare Mother, his mercy is so great vpon both you and all that loue me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for anye suche vices: but onely for his Christes sake, for hys Gospels sake, for his Churches sake, that heereby, as I might learne to lament and bewail my ingratitude & sinnes: so I might reioyce in his mercye, be thankfull, looke for eternall ioy with Christ, for whose sake (praised be his name for it) I now suffer, and therefore should be mery and glad. And in deede good mother, so I am, as euer I was, yea neuer so mery and glad was I, as now I shoulde be, if I could gette you to be mery wyth me, to thanke God for me, & to pray on this sort: Ah good father which dost vouchsafe that my sonne being a greuous sinner in thy sight, shoulde finde this fauour with thee,* to be one of thy sonnes captaines and men of warre to fight and suffer for his Gospels sake, I thanke thee and pray thee in Christes name that thou wouldest forgeue him his

sinnes and vnthankfulnessse, and make perfecte in him that good which thou hast begon: yea Lorde I praye thee make him worthy to suffer, not onely imprisonment, but euen very death for thy truth, religion, and Gospels sake. As Anna did applye and geue her first childe Samuel vnto thee▪ so doe I deare father, beseeching thee for Christes sake, to accept this my gifte, and geue my sonne Iohn Bradforde grace alwaies truely to serue thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen. Amen.

If on this sort good Mother, from your heart you wold pray, as I shoulde be the moste meriest man that euer was: so am I certaine the lettes of your praier for my imprisonmēt, would be taken away. Good Mother, therefore marke what I haue wrytten, and learne this Prayer by heart, to say it daily, and then I shall be merye, and you shall reioyce if that you continue, as I truste you doe, in Gods true Religion, euen the same I haue taught you, and my father Traues (I trust) wil putte you in remembraunce of: * my brother Roger also I trust doeth so daily. Goe to therefore and learne apace, Although the deuill cast diuers lettes in the waye. God, in whome you truste, will cast them awaye for hys Christes sake, if you will call vppon him: and neuer will he suffer you to be tempted aboue that he will make you able to beare. But howe you shoulde doe heerein, the other Letter which I haue wrytten herewith, shall teache you, which I woulde none should reade till my father Traues haue read it, & he wil geue you by Gods grace, some instructions.

Nowe therefore will I make an ende, praying you good Mother, to looke for no mo Letters: for if it were knowen that I haue penne and inke, and did wryte, then should I want all the foresayd commodities I haue spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of yron: which thing I know would greeue you, and therefore for Gods sake, see that these be burned when this little prayer in it, is copied out by my brother Roger: for perchaunce your house may be searched for such geare, when you thinke little of it, and looke for no moe, sweete Mother, till eyther God shall deliuer mee and sende mee oute, eyther you and I shall meete together in heauen, where we shall neuer part asunder. Amen.

I require you Elizabeth and Margarete my sisters, that you will feare God, vse Prayer, loue your husbandes, be obedient vnto them, * as God willeth you: bring vppe youre children in Gods feare: and be good housewiues, God blesse you both, wyth both your husbandes, my good brethren, whome to doe good, because I nowe can not, I will pray for them and you. Commende me to my sister Anne, mother Pike, T. Sorrocolde and his wife, R. Shalcrosse & his wife, R Bolton, I. Wild, M. Vicare, the Parson of Mottrom, Syr Laurence Hall, with all that loue, & (I trust) liue in the Gospel: and God turne Syr Thomas his heart, Amen. I will daily pray for him. I nede not to set my name, you know it wel inough.

Because you shoulde geue my Letters to my father Traues to bee burned, I haue wrytten heere a Prayer for you to learne to pray for me good mother, and an other for all your house in your euening Prayer to pray with my brother. These Praiers are written wyth mine owne hande: keepe them still, but the letters geue to father Traues to burne, and geue father Traues a copie of the latter Prayer.

An other Letter to his Mother, as hys last farewell vnto her in this world, a litle before he was burned.

GOds mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceiued of vs, * Amen.

My moste deare Mother, in the bowelles of Christe I heartely pray and beseeche you to be thankfull for me vnto God, which thus nowe taketh me vnto hymselfe, I dye not, my good mother, as a theefe, a murderer, an adulterer. &c. but I die as a witnesse of Christe, hys Gospell and veritie, which hetherto I haue confessed (I thanke God) as well by preaching, as by prisonement, and now euen presently I shall moste willingly confirme the same by fire. I knowlege that God moste iustly mighte take mee hence simply for my sinnes (which are many, great, & grievous: but the Lorde for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all I hope): but nowe deare Mother, he taketh mee hence by this death, as a Confessour and witnesse, that the Religion taughte by Christe Iesu, the Prophetes,* and the Apostles, is Gods truth. The Prelates doe persecute in me Christ whome they hate, and hys trueth which they maye not abide, because theyr woorkes are euill, and maye not abide the truth and light, least men shoulde see theyr darkenesse. Therefore my good and moste deare Mother, geue thanks for me to God, that hee hath made the fruite of your wombe to be a witnesse of hys glory, & attend to the truthe (which I thanke God for it) I haue truely taughte out of the Pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continuall Prayer to God the Father through Christe. Hearken, as you may, to the scriptures: serue God after his word, and not after custome: beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not your selfe with it: carye Christes Crosse as he shall lay it vppon your backe: forgeue them that kil me: pray for them, for they knowe not what they doe: commit my cause to God our father: be mindefull of bothe youre daughters to helpe them as you can.

I send all my wrytings to you by my brother Roger, do with them as you will, because I cannot as I woulde, he can tell you more of my minde. I haue nothing to geue you, or to leaue behinde me for you: onely I pray God my father for his Christes sake, to blesse you and keepe you frō euil. He geue you pacience, he make you thankfull, as for me, so for your selfe, that wil take the fruit of your wombe to witnesse hys veritie: wherein I confesse to the whole world I die and depart thys life in hope of a much better: which I looke for at the hands of God my father thorough the merites of hys deare sonne Iesus Christ.

Thus my deare Mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the almighty and eternal father by Christ, to graunt vs to meete in the life to come, where we shall geue him continuall thanks and praise for euer and euer, Amen.

Out of prison the 24. of Iune. 1555.

Your sonne in the Lord, Iohn Bradford.

A letter sent wyth a supplication to Queene Mary, her Counsell, and the whole Parlament.

IN moste humble wise complaineth vnto your Maiestie and honours, a poore subiecte persecuted for the confession of Christes veritie:* the which veritie deserueth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing, by the whiche you raigne and haue your honour and authorities. Although we that be professours, and thorough the grace of God, the constante confessours of the same, are (as it were) the outswEEPINGS of the worlde: yet (I say) the veritie it selfe is a thing not vnwoorthy for your eares to heare, for your eyes to see, and for youre handes to handle, help, & succor, according to that the Lorde hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your highnesse and honours ought to knowe, that there is no innocencie in

woordes or deedes, where it is enoughe and suffiseth onely to accuse. It behoueth Kinges, Queenes, and all that be in authoritie, to knowe that in the administration of their kingdomes, they are Gods Ministers. It behoueth them to knowe,* that they are no Kinges but plaine Tyrannes, which raigne not to thys ende, that they may serue and set foorth Gods glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they woulde be wise, and suffer them selues to be taughte, to submit them selues to the Lords discipline, and to kisse their Soueraigne, least they pearish: as all those Potentates with their principalities and dominions can not long prosper but pearish in deede, if they and their kingdomes be not ruled with the Scepter of God, that is, wyth hys worde: which, who so honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lorde, the Lord will not honour them,* but bring them into contempt, and at the lengthe take hys owne cause, whiche hee hath moste chieflie committed vnto them to care for, into hys owne handes, and so ouerthrowe them, and set vp his trueth gloriously: the people also pearishinge wyth the Princes, where the worde of Prophecie is wanting, muche more is suppressed, as it is now in this Realme of Englande: ouer which the eyes of the Lorde are sette to destroy it,* your highnesse and al your honours, if in time you looke not better to youre office and duties herein, and not suffer your selues to be slaues & hangmen to Antichriste and his Prelates, which haue broughte your highnesse and honours already to let Barrabas lose, and to hange vp Christ: as by the grace and helpe of God I shall make apparante, if first it would please your excellent maiestie and al your honors, to take to heart Gods doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisies, I meane the Bishoppes and Prelates, then youre [Page 1657](#) consciences, is oppressed: and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to passe the lesse of it. For it (the doctrine I meane) is higher and of more honour and Maiestie, then all the whole worlde. It standeth inuincible aboue all power,* being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the euerliuing God and of his Christ, whom the father hath ordained king, to haue dominion from sea to sea, and from the riuer vnto the endes of the worlde. And truely so doth he and will he raigne, that hee will shake all the whole earth with his yron and brasen power, with his golden and siluerie brightnesse, onely by the rod of hys mouth, to shi•ers, in such sorte, as though they were pottes of claie, according to that which the Prophetes doe wryte of the magnificence of hys kingdome. And thus much for the thyng, I meane the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

*But nowe will our aduersaries mainly crie out againste vs, because no man maye be admitted once to whist againste them, that wee pretende falsely the doctrine and worde of God, calling vs the most wicked contemners of it, and heretikes, Schismatikes traytours &c. All which their sayings, howe malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose workes they haue condemned, and all that retaine any of them, publikely by proclamation: yet here will I occasion your maiestie and honours by this my wryting, to see that it is farre otherwise then they report of vs. God our father, for his holy names sake, direct my penne to be his instrument to put into your eyes, eares, and hearts, that which most may make to hys glory, to the sauegarde of your soules and bodies, and preseruacion of the whole Realme. Amen.

John Bradford.

To certaine his frendes, N.S. and R.C.

*I Wish to you my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christe, which I wishe and pray the father of mercies to geue me for his holy names sake. Amen.

Your letter thoughe I haue not read my selfe, because I would not alienate my minde from conceiued things to wryte to others, yet I haue hearde the summe of it, that it is of Gods election: wherein I will briefly wryte to you my faith, and howe I thinke it good and meete for a Christian man to wade in it. I beleue, that man made after the Image of God, dyd fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of him selfe and all hys posteritie. I beleue that Christ for man being thus fallen, did oppose him selfe to the iustice of God a Mediatour, paying the raunsome and price of redemption for Adame and his whole posteritie that refuse it not finally. * I beleue that all that beleue in Christ, I speake of such as be of yeares of discretion, are partakers of Christe and all hys merites. I beleue that faith, and to beleue in Christ (I speake not nowe of Faith that men haue by reason of myracles. Iohn 2.11. Actes 8. or by reason of earthly commoditie. Mathew 13. custome and authoritie of men, which is commonly seene, the hearts of them that so beleue, being not right and simple before God: but I speake of that faith which in deede is the true faith, * the iustifying and regenerating faith:) I beleue, I say, that this faith and beliefe in Christe, is the woorke and gift of God, geuen to none other then to those whych be the children of God, that is, to those whom God the Father before the beginning of the worlde hath predestinate in Christ vnto eternall life.

Thus doe I wade in Predestination, in suche sorte as God hath pa•ified and opened it. Though in God it be the firste, yet to vs it is last opened. And therefore I begin wyth creation, from whence I come to redemption, so to iustification, and so to election. On thys sorte I am sure, that warely and wisely a man maye walke in it easely by the light of Gods spirite, in and by his woorde, seeing this Faith not to be geuen to all men. 2. Thes. 3. but to suche as are borne of God, Predestinate before y^e world was made, after the purpose and good wil of God: which wil we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and feare submit our selues to it as to that whych can will none otherwise then that whych is holy, righte and good, howe farre soeuer otherwise it seeme to the iudgemēt of reason, which must needes be beaten downe to be more careful for Gods glory, then for mannes saluation, whyche dependeth onely thereon, as all Gods children full well see: for they seeke not the glory whych commeth of men, but the glory which commeth of God. Ieremie 9. Ihon 5. They knowe God to be a God whych doeth on earthe, not onely mercye, but also iudgement, which is hys Iustice and moste Iustice, althoughe oure foolishhe reason cannot see it. And in thys knowledge they glory and reioice, though others through vaine curiositie, grudge & murmure there againste. Thus brieflye I haue sente you my minde and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shal haue (I thinke) your letter particularly answered by M. Philpot: as also if I haue time, and so you require it, I will doe.

Iohn Bradford.

Notes vpon the same Epistle, and to the matter of election appertaining.

AS touching the doctrine of Election (wherof thys letter of M. Bradforde, * and manye other his letters moe doe much intreate) three thinges must be considered.

1 Firste, what Gods election is, and what is the cause thereof.

2 Secondly, howe Gods election proceedeth in woorking our saluation.

3 Thirdly, to whome Gods election pertaineth, and howe a man may be certaine thereof.

Betweene Predestination and Election,* thys difference there is. Predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the Elect. Election onely pertaineth to them that be saued.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the Reprobate, is called Reprobation: in that it respecteth the saued, is called Election, and is thus defined.

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God,* purposed before in him selfe, what shall befall on all men, eyther to saluation, or damnation.

Election is the free mercy & grace of God in his owne wil, through faith in Christ his sonne,* chusing and preferring to life, such as pleaseth him.

In thys definition of Election, firste goeth before (the mercy and grace of God) as the causes therof, whereby are excluded al woorkes of the lawe and merites of deseruing, whether they goe before faith, or come after. So was Iacob chosen, and Esau refused,* before either of them began to worke. &c.

Secondly, in that thys mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be (free) thereby is to be noted the proceeding and woorking of God not to be bounde to any ordinarie place, or to any succession of chaire, nor to state and dignitie of persone, nor to worthinesse of bloude.* &c. but all goeth by the meere wil of his owne purpose, as it is written: Spiritus vbi vult, spirat. &c. And thus was the outward race and stocke of Abraham after flesh refused (whych seemed to haue the preeminence) and an other seede after the spirite raised vp to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward Temple of Hierusalem and chaire of Moses, whyche seemed to be of price, forsaken, and Gods chaire aduanced in other nations. So was tall Saule refused, and little Dauid accepted: the riche, the proude, the wyse of this worlde reiected, and the woorde of saluation daily opened to the poore and miserable abiects: the hie mountaines caste vnder, and the lowe valleys exalted. &c.

Thirdly, where it is added (in his owne will) by thys falleth downe the free will & purpose of man,* with all hys actions, counsels, & strength of nature: according as it is written: Non est volentis, ne{que} currentis, sed miserentis Dei. &c. i. It is not in hym that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. So we see how Israel rā long, & yet got nothing. The Gentiles vnneth begā to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first houre did labor more, & yet they which came last, were rewarded with the first. Math. 20. The working will of the Pharisie seemed better:* but yet the Lords will was rather to iustifie the Publicane. Luke 18.* The elder sonne had a better wil to tary by his father, and so did in dede: and yet y^e fat Calfe was geuen to the yonger sonne that ran away. Luk. 15. Wherby we haue to vnderstand,* howe the matter goeth not by the will of man, but by the will of God, as it pleaseth hym to accept, according as it is wrytten:* Non ex voluntate carnis, ne{que} ex voluntate viri, sed ex

Deo nati sunt &c. i. Which are borne, not of the wil of the flesh, nor yet of the wil of man, but of God. Furthermore, as al then goeth by the will of God onely, and not by the wil of man: so againe here is to be noted, that this wil of God neuer goeth with out faith in Christ Iesus his sonne.

And therefore fourthly is this clause added in the definition (through faith in Christe his sonne.) Whych faith in Christ to vs ward maketh altogether. For first it certifieth vs of Gods election. As this Epistle of M. Bradforde doth wel expresse. For whosoeuer wil be certaine of hys election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ: which if he finde in him to stande firme, he may be sure and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of Gods [Page 1658](#) elect. Secondly, the said faith and nothing els, is the onely cōdition and meanes wherupon Gods mercy, grace, election, vocation, and al Gods promises to saluation do stay, according to the woordes of S. Paule: *Si permanseritis in fide. &c. i. If ye abide in the faith. Colos. 1. Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and nexte cause of oure Iustification simply, wythout any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes doe saue and iustifie vs vppon condition, if we beleue in Christ: so this faith onely in Christe wythout condition, is the next and immediate cause which by Gods promise worketh our iustification: according as it is wrytten: Crede in Dominum Iesum, & saluus eris tu & domus tua. i. Beleeue in the Lorde Iesus, * and thou shalt be saued, thou and thy whole house. Actes. 16. And thus muche touching the definition of Election, wyth the causes thereof declared. Which you see nowe to be no merites nor woorkes of man▪ whether they go before, or come after faith, but onely the meere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be borne of Adam, doe taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his apple: so al they that be borne of Christ, (which is by faith) take part of the obedience of Christ, although they neuer did that obedience them selues, whyche was in hym. Rom. 5.

Nowe to the second consideration: let vs see likewise, how, * and in what order this election of God proceedeth in chusing and electing them which hee ordaineth to saluation: which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first Gods mercy and free grace bringeth foorth election: Election worketh vocation or Gods holy calling, which vocation, thorowe hearing bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ, * Faith through promise obtaineth iustification, Iustification thorow hope waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Uocation and faith commeth in time. Iustification and glorification is wythout ende.

Election depending vppon Gods free grace and will, excludeth all mannes will, blinde fortune, chaunce, and all peraduentures.

Uocation standing vpon Gods election, excludeth all mans wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power and presumption.

Faith in Christ proceeding by y^e gift of the holy Ghoste, and freely iustifying man by Gods promise, excludeth all other merites of men, all condition of deseruing, and all works of the law, both Gods law and mans law, with all other outward meanes what soeuer.

Iustification comming freely by Faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, feare, or wauering in this lyfe.

Glorification pertaining onely to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preuenteth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiueth the word, whereby commeth faith.

Faith iustifieth.

Iustification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of Gods spirit by the woord) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of iustification.

And this order and connexion of causes is diligētly to be obserued,* because of the Papistes, which haue miserably confounded and inuerted this doctrine, thus teaching, that almighty God so farre foorth as he foreseeh mans merites before to come, so doeth he dispense his election. Dominus pro vt cuiusque merita fore praeuidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam. And againe, Nullis praecedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere: That is, That the Lorde recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merites preceeding: but yet graunteth the same to the merites which follow after: As though we had our election by our holinesse that followeth after, & not rather haue our holinesse by Gods election going before.

But we folowing the scripture, say otherwise, that the cause onely of Gods election,* is hys owne free mercy: and the cause only of our iustification is our faith in Christ, and nothing els. As for example: first, concerning Election, if the question be asked why was Abraham chosen, and not Nachor? Why was Iacob chosen, & not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaο hardened? Why Daud accepted, and Saule refused? Why fewe be chosen, and the moste forsaken? It can not be answered otherwise, but thus: because it was so the good will of God.

In like maner touching vocation and also faith, if the question be asked, why this vocation & gifte of faith was geuen to Cornelius the Gentil, and not to Tertullius the Iewe? Whye to the poore, to the babes, and little ones of this world, (of whom Christ speaketh: I thanke thee Father, which haste hidde this from the wise. &c. Mathew 11. Whye to the vnwise, the simple abiectes and outcastes in thys worlde? Of whome speaketh S. Paule. 1. Cor. 1. Yee see your calling, my brethren, howe not many of you. &c. Why to the sinners, and not to the iust? Why the beggers by the hye wayes were called, and the bidden gestes excluded? We can goe to no other cause, but to

Gods purpose & election, and saye wyth Christe our Sauour: Quia pater sic complacitum est ante te. i. Yea father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. Luke 18.

And so for Iustification likewise, if the question be asked why the Publicane was iustified,* and not the Pharisey? Luke 18. Why Marie the sinner, and not Symon the inuiter? Luke 11. Why harlottes and Publicanes goe before the Scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom? Mat. 21. Why the sonne of the free woman was receiued, and the bond womans sonne being hys elder, reiected? Genes. 21. Why Israel whych so long sought for righteousnes, found it not: and the Gentiles whych sought not for it, found it? Rom. 9. Wee haue no other cause heereof to render, but to say wyth S. Paule, because they soughte for it by woorkes of the Lawe, and not by Faith: which faith as it commeth not by mans will (as the Papist falsly pretendeth) but only by the election and free gift of God: so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of oure saluation is annexed, according as we read: And therefore of faith is the inheritaunce geuen, as after grace, that the promise might stande sure to euery seede. Rom. 4. Item in the same chap. Faith beleeuing in him which iustifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness.

And thus concerning the cause of our saluation, yee see howe faith in Christ, onely and immediately without any cōdition doth iustifie vs,* being so linked with Gods mercye and election, that where so euer election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needes folow after. And againe, whosoeuer beleeueth in Christ Iesu, through the vocation of God, he must needes be partaker of Gods election.

Whereuppon resulteth nowe the thirde note or consideration: whych is to consider, whether a man in this life may be certaine of his election. To answeere to which question, thys first is to be vnderstande:* that although oure election and vocation simplye in deede be knowen to God onely in hym selfe, à priore: yet notwithstanding it may be knowen to euery particular faithfull man, à posteriore,* that is, by meanes, which meanes is faith in Christ Iesus crucified. For so much as by hys faith in Christe, a man is iustified, and thereby made the childe of saluation, reason must needes lead the same to be then the childe of election, chosen of God vnto euerlasting life. For howe can a man be iustified, but he must needes be saued? and howe can a man be saued, but by consequence it foloweth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of Election it is truely sayd: De electione iudicandum est à posteriore: that is to say,* wee must iudge of election by that which commeth after, that is, by oure faith and beliefe in Christ: which faith although in time it followeth after election, yet is it the proper and immediat cause assigned by the scripture, which not onely iustifieth vs, but also certifieth vs of thys election of God.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth thys present letter of M. Bradford, wherein he sayeth: Election, allbeit in God it be the first, yet to vs it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first (sayth he) wyth creation,* I come frō thence to the redemption and iustification by faith, and so to election. Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to vs the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, wherby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christe. For all be it that election first be certaine in the knowledge of God: yet in our knowledge, Faith onely that wee haue in Christe, is the thyng that geueth to vs our certificate and comfort of thys election.

Wherefore, who soeuer desireth to be assured that he is one of the electe number of God, lette hym not clyme vp to heauen to knowe, but let hym descende into hym selfe, and there searche hys Faith in Christe the sonne of God: whyche if hee finde in hym not fained by the working of Gods holy spirite accordingly: thereupon let hym staye,* and so wrappe hym selfe wholly both body and soule vnder Gods generall promise, and cumber hys heade wyth no further speculations: knowing thys, that who so euer beleueth in him, shall not perish. Ihon. 3. shall not be confounded. Ro. 9. shal not see death. Ih. 8. shal not enter into iudgemēt. Ih. 5. shall haue euerlasting life. I•. 3.7. shall be saued. Mat. 28. Act. 16. shal haue remission of al his sinnes. Act. 10. shalbe iustified. Rom. 3. Ga. 2. shal haue flouds flowing oute of him of water of life. Iohn. 7. shall neuer die. Iohn 11. shalbe raised in the last day. Iohn 6▪ shal finde rest [Page 1659](#) to hys soule, and shalbe refreshed. Math. 11.

Now then for so much as we see faith to be the ground wherupon depēdeth the whole cōdition of our iustifying, let vs discusse in like maner what is this faith whereof the scripture so much speaketh,* for the more plaine vnderstanding of the simple. For many kindes there be of faith: as a man maye beleuee euery thing that is true, yet not euery truth doeth saue, neither doth the beleueing of euery truth iustifie a man.* He y^t beeueeth that God created all things of nought, beleueth truely. He that beleueth that God is a iust God, that he is omnipotēt, that he is mercifull, that he is true of promise, beleueeth well and holdeth the truthe. So hee that beleueeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same electe & predestinate, hath a good beliefe, and thinketh wel: but yet this beliefe alone, except it be seasoned with an other thing, wil not serue to saluation: as it auailed not the olde Iewes, which so thought of them selues, and yet thinke to this day to be only Gods elect people.

*Onely the faithe whiche auaieth to saluation is that, whose obiect is the body and passion of Iesus Christe crucified. So that in the act of iustifying these two, fayth and Christ haue a mutual relation, and must alwaies concurre together, faith as the action which apprehendeth: Christe as the obiect which is apprehended.

For neither doeth the passion of Christe saue wythout faith,* neither doeth faith helpe, except it be in Christ: As we see the body of man sustained by bread & drinke, not except the same be receiued and conueied into the stomacke: and yet neither doeth y^e receiuing of euery thing sustaine mans body, except it be meate and drinke, whych haue power to geue nourishment. In like sort it is with faith: for neither doth the beleueing of euery thing saue, but onely faith in the bloud of Christ: neither again doth y^e same bloud of Christ profite vs, except by faith it be receiued. And as the sunne being the cause of all lighte, shineth not but to them onely which haue eyes to see: nor yet to them neither, vnlesse they will open their eyes to receiue the light: so the Passion of Christ is the efficient cause of saluation, but faith is the cōdition wherby the sayd passion is to vs effectuell.

*And that is the cause, why we say with the Scripture, that faith only iustifieth vs, not excluding thereby al other externe causes that goe before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christe. &c. all whiche be externe causes working our saluation through faith. But when we say that faith only iustifieth vs, the meaning thereof is thys: that of all internall actions, motions, or operations in man, geuen to him of God, there is none other that contenteth &

pleaseth God, or standeth before hys iudgement, or can helpe any thing to the iustifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Iesus Christ the sonne of God.

For although the action of praying, fasting, almes, pacience, charity, repentance, the feare and loue of God be hie giftes in man, and not of man, geuen of God to man, yet be none of al these actions in man, imputed of God to saluation, but only this one action of faith in mā vpon Christ Iesus the sonne of God. Not that the action it selfe of beleeuing, as it is a qualitie in man, doeth so deserue, but because it taketh that dignitie of the obiect. For as I sayde, in the acte of iustifying, faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must euer go with his obiecte, and taketh his vertue therof. Like as the looking vp of the olde Israelites did not of it selfe procure any healthe vnto them, but the promise made in the obiecte, which was the brasen serpent, whereupon they looked, gaue them healthe by their looking vp. Euen so after like sort are we saued by our faith and spirituall looking vp to the bodye of Christe crucified. Which faith to define is this:

To beleeeue Iesus Christe to be the sonne of the liuing God sent into thys worlde, by hys death to satisfie for oure sinnes, and so to receiue the same.

And thus much touching election and Faith, with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our saluation. Whereby may appeare howe farre the pretended catholikes do swarne from the right mind of the scriptures. For where the scriptures in declaring the causes of saluation, do send vs only to faith, as the onely condition whereby these causes haue their working, these catholikes do quite leaue out faith, and in stead thereof place in other conditions of doings, merites, wil workes, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confession, with penance and satisfaction for our sinnes. &c.

And besides these letters aboue specified of M. Iohn Bradforde, there hath come to our handes certaine other letters of his not long a goe, sent by a certaine olde frende of the sayd Iohn Bradforde vnto vs. Which letters beyng written of him in former times, before his trouble, as they haue not bene yet printed nor seene abroade, so I thought it not amisse, to communicate the same to the ch•istian reader, for the worthinesse of the matter, and the goodnesse of the man, which may redound I trust, to no small fruite to him, that with godly eyes shall aduise the same.

A letter of M. Bradford, to father Trauers Minister of Blackeley.

THE abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christe our only sauour and high bishop, be increased in your heart, thorow the liuely woorker of all goodnesse, the holye spirite, vntill the day of the Lorde. &c.

I haue receiued youre two letters (good father Trauers) sithen y^t I did wryte any vnto you, whereof though honesty willeth to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and sayeth it is better wyth shame to confesse the fault (for therein is, as a man mighte say, halfe a deseruing of pardon) then without shame to lie. I might haue written vnto you twise (notwythstanding in deede some businesse, wherein I haue some thing bene occupied) but yet I haue not. Nowe the cause is, because I woulde not. And why woulde I not? But because I coulde not, I meane because my canning is taken away by sinne, for my sinnes doe forbid goodnesse vnto me. In

dede if my sinning were of infirmitie, there were good hope of recouerie of that, which I haue lost: But seeing, both willing and knowing I haue too much yeelded, and yet doe yeelde to my infirmities, iustly I doe deserue that, because I haue cast away, and reiected the woord of the Lord behinde my backe, that the Lord should reiecte me. And because I would not haue blessing, I am woorthye (as Dauid sayeth) that it be taken away from me. I haue nowe at length experience, that to bring a man foorth of Gods fauour, is sooner seene when a man hath receiued all things aboūdantly, then when nede or the crosse pincheth. Afore it pleased God to woorke the restitution (you know what I meane) and afore it pleased God to prouide for me, as he hath done, so that I can saye in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was an other maner of man, then nowe I am, and yet Gods deserts haue otherwise bounden me: But the scripture is true, I haue aduanced my children,* and nourished them, but they haue contemned me, I haue fedde them that they were fatte and grosse, and they spurned agaynste me. Perchaunce you will aske me wherein. Oh father Trauers, I warrante you, this my stile in carnall, and not in spirituall wryting, doeth some thing shewe vnto you, but as for it, in comparison of other things is nothyng. For where the life of man is such, that either it paireth or amēdeth, as Paule sayeth: the outwarde man is corrupted day by day, and therefore except the inwarde man be renewed, the shoe goeth awrie: euery building in Christ, doth grow to a holy temple, as the wicked, on the contrary parte shall proceede to worsen. 2. Tim. 3.* I haue made a change farre otherwise in going backe, than I thinke by letters I can perswade you: wherein, will you say? For the first, seconde and thirde, and to be brief in all things: As for an example. Gods true feare is flowen away from me, loue to my brethren is exiled from me, faith is vtterly taken away. In stead wherof is distrust, & doubtfulnes bearing rule. Contempt of Gods honor, & of my brethrē raining, & in stead of true feare, an imagined feare, accordinge to my brayne holding the principalitie. For I extenuate sinne, and I do not consider that in sinne, which a Christian ought to consider: that sinne being not forgeuen, is such a thyng, for the which God casteth his creature away, as exāples not only of Saule, of Iudas, of the Israelites (which were beloued in deede, & yet for sinne are reiected) but also of others, on whome lately for my warning, God hath shewed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my pen which writes this, for the wicked, sayth Salomon, when they come into the depth of their sinnes, then they grow in securitye,* I am I cānot tel what, I feare, but it is but blindly, or els wold I awake otherwise then I do,* I feare me I say that I am intangled of the deuil, after his desire. Pray for me that the Lord would geue me repentance, that I may escape out of his snares. Alas the spirite of praier, which before I haue felt plentifully, is taken cleane away from me. The Lorde be mercifull vnto me. I am solde vnder sinne, I am the bondslaue of sinne, for whome I obey, his seruaunt I am. I am ashamed to speake ofte, no I shame not at all, for I haue forgot to blush, I haue geuen ouer to wepe. And truly I obey, I obey I say mine owne cōcupiscences: namely in eating, in drinking, in iangling and idlenesse, I will not speake of vaine glorie, enuie, disdaine, hypocrisie, desire of estimation, selfeloue, and who can tell all? Is thys the rewarde thou renderest to GOD, O Bradforde? [Page 1660](#) It is true, yea to true, thou knowst it O Lord, for thy mercies sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no mans hart, but that consideryng the ingratitude of this world, this belly cheere (wherein you euen take me by the nose) &c. his eyes would tumble out great gushes of teares. The Lord be praysed which worketh so in you, for it is with me, as with them of whō you complain. In deed it may be so again, but oh it is very vnlikely, for my ennies are becom old, & are made by custom more then familiar, for they are as it were conuerted into nature in mee. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot perswade my selfe that God will helpe mee. O Lord be merciful vnto me for thy Christes sake. This day I

receiued the Lordes supper, but how I haue welcomed him, this night (which I haue spent in lasciuiousnesse, in wantonnes and in prodigalitie, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say or write any more, I know not, sleepe doth aggrauate myne eyes, and to pray I am altogether vnapt. All this is come through the occasion of makyng this bringer a Supper in my chamber, the Lord pardon me, I trust no more to be so far ouerseen. But this I write not that the anger of god which I haue deserued, so feareth me, thou knowest it O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

For Gods sake praye for mee good Father Traues, and write vnto mee as you maye by your weakenesse, your letters do me good. By this which I haue now writen, you may consider more, touche me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord (I trust) shall, and wil reward you. If God lend me lyfe, of which I am most vnworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters thē I haue done, but beare with me, I do it not of any euill will, the Lorde I take to iudge, there is none whose company and talke I more desire then yours, I speake it before God. Prooue my Mothers mynd how she can beare it, if when I shall come downe I shal shew my selfe an other man outwardly, but alas fainedly, then before I haue done. Marrie when my commyng will be, I know not. In deede two thyngs mooue me sore, the one for my mothers cause, concernyng her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto vse me his instrument, the other is to talke with you, and eftsoones to trouble you, as I haue hetherto euer done, but alwayes to my profite. For Gods sake pray for me, for I had neuer so much neede.

This Sonday at night, followyng S. Andrewes day, at Pembroke hall.

The most miserable hard harted vnthankfull sinner. Iohn Bradford.

¶An other letter of M. Bradford to Sir Thomas Hall and Father Traues of Blakeley.

THE grace of God our most mercifull father, kepe your mynd and soule in Christ Iesu, who alone is our full sufficient Sauior, for in hym we be complete, being made through his death and one onely oblation made and offered by himselfe vppon the crosse the children of God & fellow heyres with hym of the celestiall kingdome which is the free gift of God, and commeth not of merites, but of the meere grace of God geuen to none that putteth any maner of hope or trust in any other thyng visible or inuisible, then in that oblation of sweete sauour which Christ himselfe did offer vpon good Friday (as we call it) which oblation is alway recent and new in the sight of God the father, and maketh intercession for vs: vs I mean, which thinke that onely sacrifice then offered, to be sufficient as it is, hath bene, and euer shall be for all the faythfull, by the which sacrifice (if we beleue) we haue free pardon of all our sinnes. To him therfore which was both the offerer & offering, be all honour and prayse, with the father and the holy ghost, blessed for euer, Amen.

Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, myne old friend Iohn Traues shal declare vnto you: vpō the knowledge whereof, I doubt not of your pardon. I haue sent vnto you an English and a Latine Testament both in one print and volume, the which though it be not so beautifull without as I could haue sent you, yet no lesse beautifull within, and more I thinke for your profite, and better for your eyes, your eyes I meane of the body. For vndoubtedly, it giueth light vnto the soule, if she bee not dead. Whereof, take this for an argument & a true prooffe, If your

soule be not delited in it, if your soule do not hunger for it (I meane not the booke, but the doctrine in the booke) surely your soule is sore sicke: for as the body abhorring meate, is not well, euen so must the soule bee, for other meat hath she none. Christ whom you must beleue afore all men, affirmeth this to bee true in the 4. of Math. Not onely in bread, but in euery worde of God the soule doth lyue. Marke well he sayth not, one or two words, as an Epistle, or a Gospell, but he sayth, euery worde. Take heed, beleue Christ better then any man be he neuer so holy. For he that is of God (Ioh. 8.) heareth the worde of God. Will you haue a more plaine badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, then this text. Christ saith, He that is of God, heareth the worde of God, but other word of God haue we none, then in the Canon of the Bible, and all things written therein, are written for our learnyng, (sayth Paule) whereby he prooueth, seyng that it is a learnyng, yea our lerning, that we must learne it. Therfore woe bee to all them which either perswade men, that there is other doctrine of like authoritie, or that dissuade men from embrasing this word, this word of God, or that thinke this word, especially the new Testament, is not aboue all other to be loued, to be red, to be chewed. This is the precious stone which in the Gospel Christ saith: When a man hath found, he selleth all that euer he hath, and buyeth it. Marke now how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned men (nay deuils but no mē) thinke not necessary God helpe them. Christ bade his Disciples sell their coates and buy a sword, which is none other thyng then the word of God: for so S. Paule calleth it, the sword of the spirit. Nay, say our great learned men, (I lye, they haue said so, now they are ashamed) fetch fire and burne it.

This I say Sir Thomas to the intent no vngodly hypocrite should perswade you or dissuade you from reding the holy word of God the gospell of Iesus Christ. Follow you S. Paules lesson: Attend readyng, and the worde of God dwell in you. How much plentifully sayth he, and to what end, To feede the flocke of Christ euen as much as in you is, sayth Peter, not once a yeare or once a quarter as a Strawberry, but so much as in you is. This worde of God trieth all doctrine, for we ought to haue our conscience charged with nothyng as touching religion, except the worde of God in the Canon of the Bible set it out, I meane not onely in allegories, but euen in playne words. For no other foundation can any man lay, besides y^t which is layd. S. Paule sayth, the groundworke is layd alredy. Euen so sayth he to the Ephesians: We be his workmanship to do good workes, which God hath create that wee should walke in them. He sayth they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we thinke than in such works as mans wit hath founded, which yet seeme most holy, let Gods worde be iudge. Read the same diligently and reuerently with prayer (I meane not Latine seruice not vnderstoode, but with true hearty prayer) and marke what the law requireth, euen that which we cannot geue, the whole heart and more, if it were possible. But to this end, that we seyng our abominable vncleannes and inabilitie, might despaire in our selues, trembling at the iustice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so ampect Christ, in whome God the father is well pleased. Which Christ is the end of the law to iustifie all that beleueeth, and continue not in their popish ignorance, iustifieng themselues and treading Christes blood vnder their feete, denieng the Lord that bought them. All such be they neuer so well learned, neuer so holy, bee nothing but hypocrites, and playne Antichrists, which may not abide the sword of Gods mouth. For the trumpets of the army (I meane still Gods word) when they blow, the hye wals of Iericho, the figure of hypocrisie falleth down. Embrace therefore Gods holy worde, and be not onely a Reader, but a doer: for your callyng requireth you to be apt to teach such proud hypocriticall arrogant bablers, as I am now (which if I may vse this terme beshite Gods word) God forgeue me, and pray you for me, & geue

God thanks for me, that spareth me thus Luciferlike, not of a true zeale, but of a foolish bragging which prate of Gods holy word. I wot not what I do to confesse it. So it is. I haue sent to you other bookes which I pray you read, I haue written your name in them. The holy Ghost keepe you with your brother George, his wife and children, and with your brother Iames, &c. Sir Laurence, &c.

This 20. of March.

A very painted hypocrite Iohn Bradford. Yours in Christ for euer.

Pray for me, pray for me, geue God thanke for me, and take Iohn Traues help to read this letter written in hast.

If any thing but good bee chaunced to Iohn Traues (which God forbid) I pray you burne my letters out of hande.

[Page 1661](#)

¶An other letter of Maister Bradford, to father Traues.

Gratia misericordia & pax a Deo patre nostro, & Domino Iesu Christo Domino nostro.

IF myne heart were not altogether Adamantine, your kynd letters to me vnkynd miser, would cause me from the bottome of the same, to confesse myne ingratitude towards you vpon your behalfe anempst me so much deserued, but as I am to do, so shew I my selfe to write, and as I am vnable in the one, so am I foolish in the other, in all those vnkyndnesses, rudenes, &c. whereof you accuse your selfe. I am enforced to acknowledge my selfe most iustly condemned, not so fainedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters as in a glasse, I may learne by you in deiecting your selfe, to espy my nakednes which tofore I thought clothed duplici vestitu, now onely but with fig leaues hypocritishly gilded, of which deiection wrought in you by the holy ghost, be not proude: For what haue you that ye haue not receiued? but be thankful to the Lord, not onely therefore, but also for those surges which you feelee now thorough the cares accompanieng marriages, now thorough education and bringing vp of your children and family, now thorough that crosse of the common accustomed trade of liuyng: for Multas tribulationes oportet ingredi regnum Dei. Through many tribulatiōs we must enter into the kingdome of heauen, ye they be the cognisances of Gods election. The letter Thau the instruments which worke suspiria aeternae vitae, & therefore to be embraced. Beleeue me it is y^e moste excellent gift of God a man to deiect and humble himselfe, and to feelee the crosses of Christ as crosses. But I most hypocriticall wretch, not worthy that this earth should beare me, am euen a goyng to bed with Iesabel, and such as commit fornication with her, which is afflictio maxima, Oh Lord helpe me and deliuer me for Iesus sake, annoynt myne eyes with ointmēt that I may see, oh geue me not ouer into a lewd mind and reprobate sense, but awake my sleeping soule y^t Christ may shine in me. You know the crosse, the fatherly crosse the louyng Lord hath layd vpon me, but I, but I am little or nothyng mooued therewith. I worke therein (yet not I but Gods spirit) not of a repentant faythfull mynde, but (I cannot tell how) of a slouthfull blynd retchlesse entent. Oh Lord forgeue me for saying so (it is thy gift) forgeue me myne vnthankfulnes for Iesus sake, and

graunt mee as herein I blasphemed and dishonested thy holy name, so do thou by thy holy spirit glorifie by me the same. So be it, So be it.

Sithens my commyng to London, I was with M. Latymer, whose counsaile is as you shall heare, which I purpose by Gods grace to obey (if it be thy will oh Lord, fiat.) He willed me (as I haue done) to write to my maister who is in the countrey, and to shew hym that if within a certaine tyme which I appoynted xiiij. dayes, hee doe not go about to make restitution, that I will submitte my selfe to my L. Protector and the kings maiesties counsaile to confesse the fault and aske pardon. This lyfe is vncertayne and fraile, and when time is it must not be deferred. And what should it profite me to win the whole world, & to loose myne owne soule. If as I iustly haue deserued, I be put to death for it, Gods will be done. At the lest, slander, reproch, rebuke, losse of worldly frends, losse of liuing &c. shall ensue. What than? Lord thy will be done, thine I am, if death come, welcome be it, if slaunder, &c. Euen as thou wilt Lord▪ So be it. Onely graunt me a penitent louyng obedient hart, & of meere loue to go forwards herein, and not to shrinke, to stand and not to fall, y^t thy name onely be prayesd herein, Amen. Pray, pray for me, cry for me, and when you shall heare any thyng, comfort my mother, to whom for that this bringer hath not geuen me an houres warnyng of his departure, I haue not only written nothyng, but also haue thus pratted to you, who (as no man else would) I thinke you will beare with me. For as God knoweth, to whose grace I commit you & your bedfellow with all your children and familye. The shortnes of tyme, and this sayd bringers importaunce is onely the let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese, as by the next that cōmeth▪ I will God willyng send the premisses to you, and a goodly Testament for Sir Thomas Hall which is at the bindyng. But be not acknowen that I haue now written to you, for so I haue prayed this bringer. God be with vs and pray for me, and abhorre not my rude scribling, which if it were as well written, as it is ment, woulde deserue pardon. Thus make I an ende, imputing to the hastines of this bringer all blame which you may lay vnto me. From the Temple this Sonday, immediately after M. Latimers famous Sermon, whiche this bringer as hee sayth did heare.

By your poorest friend, Iohn Bradford.

It shall not be long God willyng, but you shall both haue and heare from me. Keepe with you Melanctons Common places, for I haue an other.

¶Another letter of Maister Bradford, to father Traues.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, through our Lord Iesus Christ, with encrease of all manner godly knowledge and liuing, bee with you and all your houshold, now and euer, Amen.

To excuse this my long silence, within v. or vj. dayes after my (like foolish) letters writtē to you by Ioh. M^sse it pleased God to send my M. hither to London, whome (as I lately tofore had aduertised by letters) I mooued, (you know wherein) and prayed him to discharge y^e same, or els I would submit my selfe, &c. Whereunto he answered, that if the bookes would declare it, he would satisfy, &c The bookes I shewed, whereupon he promised as much as I could aske. But beyng herein something more mooued then he had cause (God be prayesd therefore, which of his meere good pleasure wrought it) at tymes as I could, I desired to know how and in what tyme he

would discharge vs both. He thinking me to be ouer curious herein, was not therewith contented, and hearyng me to alledge the vncertaintie of tyme, and the feare of Gods iustice (which oh gracious Lord graunt me to feele in deede as much as thou knowest good for me) he aunswered me to be scrupulous and of a superstitious conscience (for animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt Dei) and plainely sayde further that I shold not know, nor (by these words) haue his head so vnder my girdle. And whē I shewed him that (God witnessed with me) I went about no suche thyng. He sayd that there was no godly conscience, seying he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at dyuers & sundry tymes, moouing eftsoones to know of hym the way and tyme of discharging the debt, and hauyng none other aunsweres then tofore, I doubting worldly wisdom, (which vseth delayes) to raigne in hym with this Mammon (the which oh merciful God eradicate out of his hart mynd, and all others) I was somethyng more sharp, and told hym (non ego tamen sed gratia tua Domine) I would obey God more then man, the which hee lightly regardyng (as seemed) I departed and went to M. Latimer to haue had hym to haue brought me to my L. Protector (whose grace than was purposed shortly to take his iourney to visite the Ports) M. Latimer I say willed me to stay vntill his returne, which will be not long tofore Easter. In this meane tyme I bade my bedfellow my maisters sonne whom my M. had vsed as his instrument, to mooue mee carnally (for my M. discharged him of hys exhibitio, tellyng hym that he could not be able to keep eyther house or chyld, for I purposed to vndoe both hym and all hys (vntruly thou knowest good Lord) and bade hym to take that as a warnyng, that both he and his brethren should prouide for themselves as they could) I bade I say my sayde bedfellow to shew my M. (as of himself) my further purpose, which thyng when he knew, so mooued & feared him, that he began somethyng to relent, & then made faire promises, that looke what I would deuise, that would he do. I deuised, but my deuises pleased hym not. And thus, but not vainly I trust (as I now do with you, but I knowe your gentlenes which euer hath borne with me) I spented the tyme in which I haue bene silent to write, nay bable to you. And he departing out of Londō tofore I knew did send me word by an other of his said sonnes, not so giuen to the Gospell, and a lyfe accordyng as my bedfellow, and therefore more to be suspected (for though pietas non est suspiciosa, as I should thinke my selfe rather impius, yet Christ bade vs to be prudētes sicut serpentes) this other brother I say told me that my M. would do all thyngs onely his fame and abilitie preserued (& quid prodest totum mundum lucrari animae vero iacturam facere.) And with the sayd brother my M. sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that he was contented within 12. months to deliuer to my hands the whole money, which bill I thinking not so good as it might haue bene, haue deuised an other, and haue sent it downe to hym in the countrey, with request that he will seale and signe it. For thus M. Latymer thinketh sufficiēt, but as yet I heare not of it, doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that ouercame Sampson, y^t mooued Daudid to slay Urias, that brought wyse [Page 1662](#) Salomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moued mee to perpetrate hoc facinus, the whiche worketh in my maisters hart, hauyng higher place there than Timor D[•]mini. What say I there, ye, ye, with me, it sitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliuer vs) doubtyng I say worldly wisdom, I remaine in that same state now for this matter (though in worse for my soule, which is more lamented, pray therfore I beseech you, pray with me and for me, that I may do so earnestly) than I was in at my last writyng vnto you. And as I than was purposed, so I doubt not (graunt it Lord) but that I shall perseuere, if in the meane season I shall not heare from my M. accordingly. Thus I haue (like my selfe) folishly, but truely declared vnto you in many babling wordes, which wit (if I had it) would haue shortly and briefly comprehended. Arrogant, nay Gods working vnthankfull wretch, my workyng in this matter, which is, and was, the onely

cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might aduertise you some certaintie in this thyng. And though silence had bene much better then this foolish pratyng, yet your fatherly kyndnesse euer towards me in expectyng from you a correction, as I haue herein geuen cause, may thogh not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembraunce of mee a most vnkynde wretche to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty mercyfull Lorde, that I maye more regard his will and pleasure herein, then all honour or shame in this lyfe. But I must confesse vnto you that my working in this matter is not of loue as I should do, nor of feare of Gods iustice (mine vnthankefulnes, myne vnthankfulnes, if nothyng else were, hath not only deserued it, but doth deserue more then euerlasting damnation, oh Lord bee mercifull to me) I doe not so repent it as I should do. Why say I So, as though this So were any thing, oh hypocritical wretch that I am. Alas father Traues (let me so call you) I am hard hearted, there was neuer any so obstinate, so vnkind, against so louing, so mercifull, so gracious, so good, so beneficiall a Lord, yea a father, as I wretch and most miserable sinner am. This I speak but not of humilitie, but of hypocrisie, yet I speake truely. I pray thee good father for Christes sake, I may thinke it truly as I write it, euen of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be such goodly, godly, and learned Sermons, which these vncircumcised eares of myne heareth at the lest thrise a weeke, which were able (y^e great louyng mercy of God offered to me in them I meane) to burst any mans hart, to relent, to repent, to beleue, to loue and to feare that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obstinate, most vnkynde, ingrate, vnthankfull hart, hearing my Lord, which is Lord ouer all Lordes, so graciously, so louingly, vouchsafe by so many hys instruments, to speake, to call, to cry vnto me, now by hys law, now by his threats, now by his gospell, now by hys promises, now by all his creatures to come, to come euen to himselfe, but I hide me with Adam in the garden, I playe not onely Samuell running to Hely, but I play Ionas runnyng to the sea, and there I sleepe vppon the hatches tumbling in Iesabels bed, quod est afflictio maxima, vntill it please God to annoynt myne eyes collyrio, vntill it please hym to raise vp a tempest to turne and looke vpon me, as Luke sayth he did on Peter. For oh Lord it is thy gift, and commeth of thee and of thy mere grace it commeth not of man, it commeth not of works to repent, to beleue, to feare and to loue. Worke thou therfore in me for Iesus Christs sake which am thy creature and most vnthankfull hypocriticall seruauant, not when I will, nor as I wyll, but when thou wilt, euen that which may bee most to the glory of thy name, Amen. What should I write, nay why do I not plucke these same wordes and paper in pieces, for I write altogether of hypocrisie and arrogant presumption I will confesse it, (thou wicked spirite the Lord iudge thee) I will confesse it, it is most true Iohn Traues, I write it but onely, for it is not I, it is hypocrisie. Scientia (if I had it) inflaret, oh Lord graunt me thy grace, & leaue me not to myne owne judgement and reason. Hypocrisie, arrogancy, and obstinate securitie enuiron me, yet I feele them not, the Lord deliuer me. Pray, pray for me. Geue God thanks for me, Oh Lord, euen tua fiat voluntas, Unlocke this, myne hart thou which hast the key of Dauid, which openest onely, that I may desire to haue the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentaunce, fayth, &c. Pray for me and be thankfull for me, oh father Traues, and wryte to me. Your letters I desire more to see, then any mans liuyng. Let me haue them therfore as you may, but your prayer at all tymes, that God would open myne heart to feede and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked) memento Iesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis. This text is a text of most comfort (as it is in deed, and when God will, I shal feede on it) Did Paul send to Tymothie to be his comfort in all places? For our saluation (this day of resurrection) is neerer now than when we beleueed. Therefore qui perseuerauerit saluus erit. For consummabitur praeuaricatio (sayth Daniel) finem accipiet peccatum delebitur iniquitas &

adducetur iustitia sempiterna. Deus enim ipse veniet & saluabit nos. Veniens veniet, & non tardabit & quodcumque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus tunc & nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus est vt multorum peccata tolleret rursus absque peccato conspicietur ijs qui illum expectāt in salutē. Sic semper cum Domino erimus proinde consolemini vos inuicem mutuo sermonibus hijs. Oh Lord open myne eyes which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most riche wordes, open myne eyes good Lord ne nunquā obdormiam in morte, Pray for me, and commend me to your good bedfellow, & omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto. Thus I make an ende (for it is tyme you may say) and I pray you still watter sir Thomas Hal, vnto whom I haue sent a faire Testament both in English and Latine, if this bringer will cary it. And I haue herewith sent you a letter which first peruse and read, and when you haue so done, abhorre not me but my wickednes, & pray for me. And as you can see a meete tyme, seale it, and deliuer it to Sir Nicholas Wolston•ros by such pollicy as you can thinke by Gods grace through prayer. I confesse vnto you, God is my witnesse, to my knowlege, I neuer in my beyng in the country this Winter at any tyme called it to remembrance, the Lord forgeue me. I would by some occasion if any could be had, afore the deliury of the letter by some story or communication that he did know, that abhomination to be sinne, for I feare me he thinketh it to be no sinne. The Lord open our eyes and forgeue vs, Amen. The peace of God be with you, Amen.

From the Temple this 22. of March. 1547.

Yours in Christ, most bounden. Iohn Bradford.

I haue sent you three payre of good spectacles I trow and other such bookes as haue your name writtē in them, which take in good woorth and pray for me, & geue thanks for mee.

¶Another letter of Maister Bradford, to father Traues.

Gratia misericordia, & pax, &c.

MY chance is not by this bringer to haue any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrayned tyme coarcting me, to write not so much of thyngs (which I will omitte) as my desire was. Concernyng the great matter you know of, it hath pleased god to bring it to this end, that I haue a bill of my M. hand, wherein he is bound to pay the summe afore Candlemas next commyng. This thinks M. Latimer to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to geue that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, & thanks vpon it for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which haue also in other thyngs no lesse cause to prayse Gods name, As for that I haue and sustain my M. sore displeasure, the which hath brough me (God I should say through it) vnto a more contempt of worldly thyngs, through the sequestration of such his busines, as tofore I had ado withall. I call it a contempt, well, take the word euen as it is, hypocritically and vayne gloriously spoken: for the whiche fault amongst my others innumerable, I trust you remēber in your prayers, whereof I haue (I would I knew) how much neede. There is yet another thyng whereof I will aduertise you euen to this ende, that you might pray if it be Gods will, that as I trust shortly to beginne, so he may vouchsafe to confirme that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceyued) I beleuee it is his workyng. If the thyng seeme by Gods sprite in you that I presume, then for the Lords sake aduertise me: for I am much geuen to that disease, the Lord deliuer me. I haue mooued my M. therein already by letters, to see if I shall haue any liuyng of hym as hitherto I haue had, but I

haue thereof no answer, nor as our naturall speech is any likelihood of any grant. Yet that I haue alredy I trust, be able for me for 3. yeres, you looke what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I doe it, because my long bablyng should be lesse tedious. Now shall you haue it. If Gods will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient) I am mynded afore Midsomer to leaue London to goe to my booke at Cambridge, and if God shall geue me grace, to be a minister of his worde. Thus you haue of a •lie an Elephant. Well, take it in good part though you see my etiam non, and not etiam, etiam. A tumblyng stone gathereth no mosse, so therfore pray for me. Perchaunce I do foolishly to forsake [Page 1663](#) so good a liuyng as I haue. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust as I said, for three yeres study, I haue sufficient, if my Maister take all from me: and when this is spent, God wil send more. I do not write this that you should thinke me to be in need of worldly helpe. And therfore as Friers were woont secretly to beg. No in y^e Lords name I require you not to take it so: for I had rather neuer send letter, afore I should be herein a crosse to you, for sufficit sua diei afflictio, we are more set by then many sparowes. But if my Mother, or Sir Thomas Hall murmure at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsaile. Howbeit, as yet I will not write to them of it, vntill such tyme as I bee goyng. I am somethyng fickle mynded and vnconstant, therefore praye for me, that my hande beyng put to the plough (presumptuously spoken) I looke not backe. You may gather by my wordes in this letter the Herodicall heart whiche lyeth in mee.

I haue sent you a booke of Bucer agaynst Winchester in English, lately translated, which I neuer red, therefore I cannot prayse it. And as I call to remembraunce, I did send you with the other bookes moe then you receyued, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, The Common places or the Declaration of the fayth by Urbanus Rhegius. Aske for it, or send me worde in whome the default is, you haue it not. Hereafter, and that shortly by God grace, I will send you primitiae laborum meorum, a worke or two which I haue translated into English, so soone as they bee printed, which will bee afore Whitsontide. Pray for me good father Traues, and God send you health of soule and body, as I would myne owne or any mans liuyng. But yet to warne you of that you knowe not in wrytyng your letters to me, you hit me home, and geue mee that I looke for. You are deceyued and so is all that knoweth me, I neuer came to any poynt of mortification, therefore a little ticklyng sets me a flote, God help me, and geue God thanks for me, as all men bee most bounden. Thus when Iones beginne to write to you, I run as the Priest sayth Mattins, for I thinke I may bee bold on you. The holy Ghost preserue you, your wife and family, and perseuere his grace in you vnto the ende. I pray you pray for me a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God bee with vs. From the Temple this xij. of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceyued mee, but hymselfe most. I desire to speake with hym, as this Winter it may chaunce if I discharge not my self of myne office to see him. Pray for hym and for me.

A very hypocrite, Iohn Bradford.

¶An other letter of Maister Bradford, to father Traues.

THE perseuerance of Gods grace, with the knowledge of his good will, encrease with you vnto the ende. To declare my selfe as I am a carnall man which vnderstandeth not the thyngs that be

of the spirit. These my letters though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spirituall wordes as the Deuill did in hys temptations to Christ, will declare no lesse. For I beginne with carnall thyngs in effect, and no meruaile if I so ende, for how can a man gather figs of bryers. These wordes as they seeme so they are spoken for a cloke to make you thynke otherwyse, but father Traues you can not thinke so euil of me, as I am to the matter. This present day by Gods grace, I take my iourney towards Cambridge, where I praye God, and so earnestly pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeme this tyme which God hath appointed (to me vnknownen) to lend me: for alas, I haue spent most wickedly the tyme past, for the which I must account euen for euery haire bredth as they say: for God hath not geuen here tyme to sine. But if I considered this as I do nothyng lesse, custome of sinne and pleasing my selfe hath so hardened my hart) I should then come to the feelyng of my selfe, then should I hate sinne which I now loue, then should I feare Gods wrath, which I now contemne, thē should I cry out and wepe, and continually pray, as now I am as dry as a stone, as dumbe as a nayle, as far from p•aying, as he that neuer knew any tast of it. Which thing once I felte (thanks to the Lord) but now for myne vnthankfulnesse I am almost (but most worthily) depriued. I feare me God will take hys grace from me I am so vnthankfull. Alas, why do I lye in saying I feare me, nay God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray, but seyng I can not, speake you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercies sake drawe me, ye compel me to serue, to feare, and to loue hym. Thus may you see how I presume, for myne entent was to haue bene a Minister of Gods worde, to haue bene hys instrument to cal from, as I haue called to sinne, but you see how that God punisheth myne arrogancy. Alas, what shall I doe. I am an vnprofitable and an idle member, I thought I shoulde haue bene therein profitable, but medice cura teipsum. How should I, or what should I doe? I cannot labour wyth my handes. Well, I trust God will geue mee grace and knowledge to translate nothyng I feare me, yea, I distrust me that I shall neuer be minister of Gods worde, yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how shuld I of all wretches the greatest, thinke me to looke to the highest rouse and vocation, that is vpon earth. Therefore eftsoones I desire you to pray for me, that Gods will may bee done in me whether I lyue or dye, so that hys name be honoured. My maister which was, hath denied me all his benefisēce, but I haue for this lyfe more then enough thanks bee to God. As this Winter I entend by Gods fauor to declare more vnto you. This booke which I haue sent, take it in good part, it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last God hath appoynted me to translate. The print is very false▪ I am sorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babling in the Prologues, &c.

John Bradford.

I will lye God willyng this Sommer at Katherines hall in Cambridge, write to me.

¶Another letter of Maister Bradford, to father Traues.

The louyng kyndnes and abundant mercy of God the father, poured plentifully vpon all the faythfull, in the bloud of that meeke Lambe Iesus Christ our onely satisfaction and mediator, thorough the working of the most holy spirite, be encreased and perceiued in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

Because I stand both in doubt of the readyng and deliuerie of such letters as I write and send vnto you (derely beloued father Traues) I am constrained to leaue of such griefes and spirituall

wantes, as thanks vnto the Lord I vnwillingly feelee, for the flesh as you knowe, loueth nothyng so much as securitie of all enemies most perillous, and not a little familiar with me, from the which, with vaine glory, hypocrisie, &c. and worldlines, the Lord deliuer me. I had not thought to haue writen thus much, but these I cannot keepe, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not thinke any ingratitude in me, as also that I might geue you occasion to write to me agayne, as heretofore I haue done, euen so doe I enterturbe & trouble you w^t my babling, but yet hauyng this cōmoditie, that I babble not so much as I was woont to do. The cause I haue declared, which had almost bene the cause I had not written at all. I did write vnto you from London when I came hither, sende mee word what letters you haue receiued, for from you I haue receiued but two, and both by Iohn Mosse, and in the latter I perceiued that the Lord had visited you with sickenes, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his loue vpon you, and that he careth for you vt in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breue tempus afflictus quo exploratio fidei multo praeciosior auro quod perit & tamen probatur, &c Siquidem in hoc vocatus es vt cum Christo patiaris nam & illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est si sufferimus & conregnabimus. You know that Christ etsi filius Dei erat tamen ex his quae pastus est didicit obedientiam. Patientia opus perfectum habeat vt sitis perfecti, & integri nulla{que} in parte diminuti, and dothe not patientia come of probatio, the one then you had, so that you were goyng a schoole to learne the other, with lerned what want you: the ende of all Gods proouing, is as Paule sayth, vt impartiat nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo patri qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui te parumper afflixit idem instauret te fulciet roboret stabiliat. And the Lord knoweth how eripere pios è testatione, and that in tempore oportuno euen shortly, for haud tardat qui promisit nam modicum tempus & videbitis me veniens enim veniet non tardabit. Itaque qui consortes estis crucis Christi gaudete sayth Peter, vt in reuelatione quoque gloriae eius gaudeatis exultantes. O how doth my will ouer runne my wit. Why Bradford whom writest thou vnto? Thou shewest thy selfe. Thus father Traues you may see my rashnes to rable out the scriptures without purpose, ryme, or reason. I will not blot it out as I had thought to haue done, for that hereby you shall see my neede of your prayer. Well, I looke for a watchword from you. Write for [Page 1664](#) Gods sake, and pray for me that I may be in somethyng profitable to the Lordes congregation, that I may bee no stumbling blocke, vt non confundantur in me qui illum expectant. Send me such counsaile as the Lordes spirite shall mooue you, how to study. My desire is in somethyng to be profitable if it were the Lordes will, for to be Minister verbi. Alas I am vnmeete, and my tyme, my tyme, yea the Lordes tyme, I haue hitherto euill, ye most wickedly mispent it, &c. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you, and your bedfellow, to whom haue me hartily commended, & to all your children and family, the which I beseeche the Lord to lighten his countenaunce ouer, and graunt you his peace, pray for me. I long for Winter to speake wyth you. Rescribe ora. Pray for mee.

This assumption daye in Katherines hall in Cambridge.

Yours with all I haue and can. Iohn Bradford.

¶Another letter of Maister Bradford, to father Traues.

ThE plentifull grace of God the father, through our only maister and Lord Iesus Christ, encrease in vs daily to the glory of his name, Amen.

Forasmuch as I haue often written to you good father Traues, and yet haue not once heard from you sithens Pentecost. I can not now bee so bolde either in writing much or often as I would haue bene: Howbeit, this I say, that I much meruaile, that I heare not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lordes spirite I am certaine doth not mooue you to write to me, yet for Gods sake pray for me, and in the Lordes name I desire you geue thanks to God for me. And when it maye please God to mooue you write to me, thogh it be but two wordes, and counsaile me how to study the worde of lyfe, the ministerie whereof, I desire if it bee the Lordes pleasure to professe, and that I may doe it both in liuyng and learnyng, pray for me. Herus meus omnibus rebus suis me abdicauit & quae prius concesserat, iam soluere renuit, & mihi prorsus factus & inimicus. I know not when I shal see you in body, therefore let me heare from you. I write not this that you should thinke me in aegestate aut angustijs esse. No father, the Lord geueth me omnia affatim and will doe. I trust I shall shortly here haue a fellowship, I am so promised, and therefore I haue taken the degree of maister of Arte, which els I could not haue attained. If I get a fellowship, I shall not need de crastino sollicitum esse, as here after I shal more write to you by Gods grace. I pray you write againe, and often pray for me. In hast as appeareth, the 22. of October. Ne sciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

Miserrimus peccator. Iohn Bradford.

Another letter of Maister Bradford to father Traues.

THE peace and plenteous mercy of God our heauenly father, in his Christ our onely Lord and Sauour, bee euer encreased in you by the holy spirit, qui efficit omnia in omnibus, Amen.

Father Traues though I might thinke my selfe more happy, if you would often write vnto me, yet because I ought to haue respect to your paynes, whiche nowe that olde man cannot so well sustaine as it might, I had rather loose my happines in y^t behalfe, then will your grief, forasmuch as it can be no happines vnto mee which turneth to your payne, yet because payne is not payneful when it is ioyned with gayne, I therefore desire you for Gods sake o pray often for me, for if I shall not be worthy of your praier, as the Lord who knoweth all thyngs doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, yet your good prayer shall returne into your owne bosome. And know this, that who so conuerteth a sinner by prayer, whether it bee by prayer, preaching, or writyng letters, &c. the same hath saued a soule. Use therefore, for Gods sake I aske it, that paynes whereunto is ioyned profite, I meane prayer to God for me a miserable and most wretched sinner, and as for the gayneslesse payne in writyng to me, vse it yet as you may, and surely God for whose sake you doe it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, wil in some thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spirituall profite I receyue by your letters, I am certayne you would not thinke all your labour lost. For Christes sake therefore begin agayne to write vnto me, and reprocue me sharply for my horrible vnthankfulnesse to GOD. You know how that God hath exonerated the loden consciēce of the great waighty burthen, for so I did write to you, yea the Lord hath in maner vnburthened me of the lesser burthen also: for I haue an as•uraunce of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Loe thus you see what a good God the Lord is vnto me. Oh father Traues geue thāks for me, and pray God to forgeue me my vnthankfulnesse. But what should I reherse the benefite of God towards me. Alas I cannot, I am to little for all his mercies, yea I am not onely vnthankfull, but I am to farre contumelious agaynst God. For where you know the Sonne, the Moone, and the seuen starres did forsake me,

& would not shine vpon me, you know what I meane per herum & heriles amicos, yet the Lord hath geuen me here in the Uniuersitie as good a liuyng as I would haue wished. For I am now a fellow of Pembroke hall, of the whiche I nor any other for me did euer make any sute: yea there was a contention betwixt the M. of Katherines hall, and the bishop of Rochester, who is M. of Pembroke hall, whether should haue me, sit hoc tibi dictum. Thus you may see the Lordes carefulnes for me. My fellowship here is woorth 7. pound a yere, for I haue allowed me 18. pence a weeke, and as good as xxxiiij. shillings foure pence a yeare in money, besides my Chamber, Launder, Barbour, &c. and I am bound to nothing but once or twise a yeare to keepe a Probleme. Thus you see what a good Lord, God is vnto me. But I pray you what do I now to God for all this, I will not speake of the great mercies he sheweth vpon my soule. Surely father Traues I haue cleaue forgottē God, I am all secure, idle, proud, hard harted, vtterly voyde of brotherly loue, I am enuious and disdaine others, I am a very starke hypocrite, not onely in my words and works, but euen in these my letters to you. I am all sensual without the true feare of God, an other manner of man then I haue bene sithens my call. Alas father Traues I wryte this to put my selfe in remembraunce, but I am wythout all sence, I do but only write it. For Gods sake praye for me which am onely in name a christian, in very deed a very worldlyng, & to say to you the very truth, a most worldling of all other. I pray you exhort my mother now & then with my sister Margaret to feare the Lord, and if my mother had not sold the Foxe furre which was in my fathers gown, I would she would send it me, she must haue your counsaile in a piece of cloth.

Yours for euer, I. Bradford.

Another letter of M. Bradford to father Traues.

THE selfe same mercy, grace and peace, which heretofore I haue felt plenteously, thogh now through myne vnthankfulnes & wilfull obedience, to the pleasure of thys outward man, I neither feele, neither can bee perswaded that I possesse, yea if I shall truly write, I in maner passe not vpon the same, so far am I fallen the Lord helpe me: the same mercy, &c. I say, I wish vnto you as I can with all encrease of godlines. Hipocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you in your earnest prayers to God to be an earnest suter vnto God for me whith am fallen into such a securitie, & euen an hardnes of hart, that neyther I sorow my state, neither with any grieve or feare of Gods abiectiō do write this: before the Lorde which knoweth the harts of all men I lye not. Consider for Christes sake, therefore good father Traues, my necessitie though I my selfe do it not, & pray for me, that God cast me not of as I deserue most iustly. For where I ought to haue well proceeded in Gods schoole, by reason of the tyme, I confesse it to my shame, I am so far gone back, as alas if shame were in me I might be ashamed to write it, but much more to write it, & to thinke it not, such is the reward of vnthankfulnes. For where God wrought the restitution of y^e great thing you know of, the which benefit should bynde me to all obedience. Alas father Traues I am to vnthankful, I find no will in hart (though by my writing it wil be hard to perswade you either to be thankfull, either to beginne a new life in all things to mortifie this outward man, and hartily to be well content to serue the lord in spirit & veritie, & withstand myne affections, & especially my beastly sensualitie in meat & drinke, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you, but now through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion of spirituum malorum possesseth me. The Lord whom I only with mouth (my hart stil abiding both in hardnes & wilfulnes) call vpon, deliuer me and helpe me. And for Gods sake geue you hartie thanks for the great benefite of restitution Pray to the Lord that at the length I may once returne

to the obedience of his good will, Amen. I thanke you for your cheese, & so doth father Latymer as vnknowⁿ, for I did geue it him, & he saith he did neuer eate better cheese, and so I dare lay he did not. I thanke him I am as familier with him, as with you, yea God so mooueth hym [Page 1665](#) against me, that his desire is to haue me come & dwel with him when so euer I will, and welcome. This doe I write yet ones more to occasion you to be thankfull for mee to y^t Lord, which by all meanes sheweth nothyng but most high loue to me. And I againe a very obstinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in hast.

The sinnefull. I. Bradford.

¶William Minge.

*The next day after M. Bradford & I. Leafe did suffer in Smithfield, Wil. Minge priest died in prison, at Maid stone, being there in bonds for religion, & like to haue suffered also, if he had continued the fury of his aduersaries, whose nature was to spare & fauor none that fauored christes pure gospel: which W. Minge with as great constācy & boldnes, yelded vp his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to haue called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake, and as hee himselve was ready also so to doe, if it had pleased God to haue called him thereunto.

¶Iames Treuisam buried in the fields.

Vpon the 3. of Iuly, 1555. died one Iames Treuisam in the parish of s. Margaret in Lothbury,* vpon a sonday, who being impotent & lame, kept his bed, for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Treuisam had a seruāt one I. Smal, which red on the Bible, & as he was in reading, Berd the Promooter came to the house, & would needs go vp the staires, where he found 4, persons besides him and his wife: to wit, the yong mā that red, & two men & a woman. All which folkes, the said Berd the Promooter there being, apprehended, & caried to the Counter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the frends they coulde make. Moreouer, the said Berd would haue had also Ia. the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart (& brought the cart to the dore) but for neighbors. Neuertheles the poore man was faine to put in two sureties for his forth cōming for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotēt, but also very sick the same time. So within a few dais, the said Iames lying in extremes, the person of the church named M. Farthing, came to him & had communicatiō with him,* & agreed wel, & so departed. It hapned after y^e priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller a Founder. Yea saith he, be ye agreed? I wil accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar. Upon that the person went to him againe, & then the priest & he could not agree. And so the parson went to the B. of London & tolde hym. The B. answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so when he dyed, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her haue the coffine to put him in, nor any thing els, but was faine to beare him vpō a table to More field, & there was he buried. The same night the body was cast vp aboue the ground, & his sheet taken from hym, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field seyng hym, buried him agayne, & a fortnight after, the Sumner came to his graue, and summoned hym to appeare at Paules, before his Ordinary, to answer to such things as shold be layd against hym. But what more befel vpon him, I haue not certainly to say.

☛ The history of M. Iohn Bland, Preacher, and Martyr, constantly suffering for the Gospell of Iesus Christ.

THE 12. of Iuly, I. Bland, I. Frankesh, Nich. Sheterden, & Humfry Middleton, were al 4. burned at Cant. together,* for one cause, of the which number, Frankesh & Bland, were ministers, & preachers of the word of God. The one beyng parson of Adesham, the other the vicar of Roluindon. This M. Bland was a man so little borne for his owne commoditie, that no part of his life was separated from the common & publike vtilitie of all mē. For his first doyngs were there employed to the bringing vp of childrē in learnyng & vertue. Under whom were trayned diuers towardly yong men, which euen at this present do handsomly florish.* In the number of whō is D. Sands, a man of singuler learning & worthines, as may well besee me a scholer meet for such a scholemaister, whom I here gladly name, for his singuler gifts of vertue and erudition.

After this he comming to the ministry in the church of god, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed w^t incredible desire to profit the congregation, which may appere by this: that where as he was cast into Cant. prison for y^e preaching of the gospel, & deliuered once or twice frō thēce at the sute of his frends: yet would he needs preach the gospel againe, as soone as he was deliuered. Whereupon hee being the third time apprehēded,* when his frends yet once again would haue found the means to haue deliuered him if he would haue promised to abstaine from preachyng: he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such conditiō, notably wel expressing vnto vs the maner & exāple which we read in the apostle Paule: Who shal separate vs from the loue of Christ? tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakednes, o^r daunger, or persecution, or the sword. &c. But to expresse the whole life & doings of this godly Martyr, seeing we haue his own testimony concerning the same: it shal be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, frō the beginnyng al^lmost to the latter ende, in order & maner as ye shal heare.

¶A discourse of the whole processe and doyngs of M. Bland, written and reported by himselfe to his father in his owne letter as followeth.

DERely beloued father in Christ Iesu, I thank you for your gētle letters. And to satisfy your mynd, as cōcernyng the troubles wherof you haue heard, these shal both declare vnto you all my vexations that haue chaunced me since ye were with me, and also since I receiued your last letters. God keepe you euer.

Your sonne, Iohn Bland.

Ffirst, the 3. of Sept. beyng Sondag, after seruice ended,* ere I had put of my surplice, Iohn Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lords table) & layed both hys hands vpon it, saying: Who set this here againe? Nowe they say they tooke y^e table downe the sonday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it vp again. The Clerke answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, he is a knaue that set it here. I was then goyng downe the church, maruelling what he ment, and said: Good mā Austen, the Queenes highnes hath set forth a proclamation▪ that ye may mooue no sedition. And ere I could speake any more, he said, thou art a knaue. And I said, well goodman Austen, that I haue said, I haue said. By gods soule quoth he, thou art a very knaue. Then my clarke spake to hym, but what I am not sure. But he said, ye are both heretike knaues, & haue deceiued vs with this fashion too long▪ & if he say any seruice here

again, I will lay the table on his face: & in that rage he with other tooke vp the table & layd it on a chest in the Chancel, & set the trestles by it. Wherefore I rode by & by to M. Isaac, & shewed him the cause, both how sediciously he had spoken, & performed it with a like deed. M. Isaac directed a warrant to the Constable or Bosholder, which was incontintly serued, so that he was brought before him the same night, & was bound by recognisance, with sureties, to appeare if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was neuer called for, the table was brought downe, and I was permitted, as before.

The 26. of Nouember being sonday, Rich. Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid Table after the communion was done, & as I was goyng by them, Richard said vnto me, M. parson, we haue to speake to you. And I said, what is your wil? And he said, you know that you tooke down the tabernacle or seeling wherin the roode did hang, & such other things: we would know what recompence you will make vs. For the Queens proceedings are (as you know) that such must vp againe.

Quoth I, I know no such proceedings as yet: & as for all that I did, I did it by commandement.

No, said Tho. Austen, ye wil not know the Queenes proceedings.

Yes, said I, I refuse not to know them.

Then said Rich. ye are against the Queenes proceedings: for you say,* that there are abominable vses & diuelishnes in the masse.

Goodman Austen said I, if I so said, I wil say it again and God willing, stand to the prooue of it.

Maisters all quoth Rich. Austen, beare record of these words, and went his way.

Quoth Tho. Austen,* thou wilt as soone eat this booke as stand to them. No quoth I, not so soone. Tell vs quoth he, what that diuelishnes is, that is in the masse.

I haue often preached it vnto you said I, & ye haue not beleued it, nor borne it away, nor wil now neither, though I should tell you.

Thou quoth he hast told vs alwayes like an heretike, as thou art. Now ye lie goodmā Austen quoth I, by your leaue. Mary quoth he, thou liest. And I sayd, and you lye: for I haue taught you Christ and his truth.

Quoth he, thou art an heretike, and hast taught vs nothing but heresie: for thou canst say nothing that is true.

[Page 1666](#) Yes, goodmā Austē, I cā say that God is in heauē, & ye wil say (I trow) y^t it is true, & so haue I taught you truly.

Quoth he, thou hast taught vs like an hereticke, & hast sayd, that there is no deuill in hell.

*Well sayd I, lie on: me think ye can say litle truth. Many other tauntes he gaue, too long to write. And at the last he sayd, ye pulled downe the aultar: will ye build it again? No (quoth I) except I be commaunded: for I was commaunded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, sayde he, then will I. For I am Churchwarden.

I charge you, sayd I, that you do not, except you haue authority. I will, sayd he, not let for your charge. For wee will haue a masse here on sonday, and a preacher that shall proue thee an hereticke,* if thou dare abide his comming.

Yes, quoth I, God willing, I will abide & heare him: for sure I am, that he can not disproue any doctrine that I haue preached.

Yes quoth he, and that thou shalt heare, if thou run not away ere then.

No, good man Austen, I will not run away.

Mary, quoth he, I cannot tell: thou art as like, yea, as nay: with many other words, we came out of the Church dore, and so departed.

When the sonday came, I looked for our preacher, & at the time of morning prayer I sayd to the clerke: why do ye not ring: ye forget that we shal haue a sermon to day? No quoth he, M. Mils seruant hath bene here this morning, & sayd, his mayster hath letters frō my L. Chancelor, that he must go to Lōdō, & cā not come. That day I did preach to thē a sermō in his stead. Now haue they slaundered me that I had prepared a cōpany from diuers places to haue troubled him:* but they agreed not in theyr lye. For some sayd, I had them at Adesham, & that Richard Austen had knowledge, & sent for the kings Constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lye. Other sayd, I had thē lying in wayt for him betwene Canterbury & Adesham: other sayd I had thē in both places, y^t if the one mist, the other should not. God forgeue them all. Now vpon these two matters they crake, that they sent two bills of complaynt to y^e counsell. Wherefore by the counsell of frendes, I made this testimony, and sent it vp by mayster Wiseman.

¶The behauour of Iohn Bland Parson of Adesham in the County of Kent, the sonday, the 3. day of December last past, conteyning the wordes which he there spake vnto the people.

*Whereas vpon certaine cōmunication had betwene y^e sayd parson & Rich. Austen, & Tho. Austē in the presēce of al y^t parish of Adeshā, the sōday before S. Andrewes day last, the said Austē thē declared, that the said parsō had taught there in times past great heresies, which to cōfoūd they would prepare a preacher agaynst the next sōday folowing, if so be the said parsō would abide, & not run away. Upon which rumor, diuers & sundry persons resorted out of the cōūtry vnto the sayd parish church, at the sayd same day appoynted, there to heare the preacher: and at the time in which y^e sermō ought to be made, no mā appereth there to preach. But it was reported vnto y^e parson, that y^e preacher appoynted, had vrgent busines, & could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the same par^{son} perceiuing that y^e peoples expectation was defrauded, said: Forasmuch as you are come willingly to heare some good aduertisement of the preacher, which now can not be present, I thinke it not conuenient to permit you to depart w^tout some exhortatiō for your edifyng. And so further declaring that he had no

licence to preach,* said, that he would not meddle w^t any matter in cōtrouersy. And thē he began the Epistle of the day, desiring his audience to marke three or foure places in y^e same Epistle, which touched quietnes & loue one to an other: & there briefly reading the Epistle, he noted the same places, & so making an end thereof, desired al mē to depart quietly & in peace, as they did, without any maner of disturbance, or token of euill.

Witnesses they vnder named, with diuers others.

- Edmond Mores.
- Richard Randall.
- Iohn Hils.
- William Forstall.
- Thomas Gooding.

***An other matter of trouble wrought agaynst Iohn Bland, as appeareth by his owne narration.**

VPon the Innocents day, being the 28. day of Decemb. they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them masse: he had nye made an end of mattins, ere I came: and when he had made an end of mattins, he sayd to me: mayster parsō, your neighbors haue desired me to say mattēs, and masse: I trust ye will not be agaynst the queenes proceedings. No, quoth I, I will offend none of the Queenes maiesties lawes, God willing. What say ye, quoth he, and made as he had not heard? And I spake y^e same wordes to him againe, with an hier voyce: but he woulde not heare, when all in the chaūcell heard: So I cryed the third tyme (that all in the Church heard) that I would not offend the Queenes lawes: and then he went to masse: and when he was reading the Epistle, I called the clerke vnto me, with the becking of my finger, and said vnto him: I pray you de'sire y^e priest, whē the Gospell is done, to tary a litle: I haue something to say to the people: and the Clerke did so.

And the priest came downe into the stall, where he sat: & I stood vp in the chancell dore, and spake to the people of the great goodnes of god, alwaies shewd vnto his people,* vnto the time of Christes cōming: and in him & his comming, what benefite they past, we present, & our successors haue: and among other benefites, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and bloud. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, & damnation to the wicked▪ I spake of the breade & wine,* affirming them to be bread & wine alter the consecration, as yonder Masse booke doth, saying: Panem sanctū vitæ æternæ, & calicem salutis perpetuæ. &c. Holy bread of eternall life, and the cup of perpetuall saluatiō. So that like as our bodely mouthes eat the sacramental bread & wine, so doth the mouth of our soules (which is our fayth) eate Christes flew and bloud. And when I had made an ende of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the masse: so that I iudged it in that vse no sacrament, and shewed how Christ bade vs all eat & drinke: and one onely in the Masse eateth & drinketh, & the rest kneele, knocke, & worship: and after these thinges ended, as briefly as I coulede, I spake of the benefactors of the masse, & began to declare what mē made the Masse, and recited euery mans name, & the patche that he put to the masse: & ere I had rehearsed thē al, the church warden and the Bosholder his sonne in lawe violentlye came vpon me, and tooke my book from me, and pulled me downe, and thrust me into the Chaūcell, with an exceding rore and cry. Some cryed. Thou hereticke: some thou traitour: some thou rebell: and when euery man had sayd hys pleasure, and the rage was something past: be quiet good neighbors sayde I, and let me speake to

you quietly. If I haue offended any law, I will make answeare before thē that are in authority to correct me. But they woulde not heare me, and pulled, one on this side, & an other on that, & began agayne.

Then Richard Austen sayd: Peace, Maysters, no more till Masse be done: and they ceased. Thē sayd I to y^e church wardē and the Bosholder, either holding me by the arme: Maysters, let me go into the Church yard till your Masse be done. No, quoth the Churchwarden, thou shalt tarye here till Masse be done. I will not, quoth I, but agaynst my wil. And they said: Thou shalt tary, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away. Then sayd I to the Bosholder: Laye me in the stocks, & then ye shall be sure of me, & turned my backe to the aultar. By that time Richard Austen had deuised what to do with me, and called to the Bosholder and the Churchwarden,* & bad them put me into a side Chappell, and shut the dore to me, & there they made me tary till masse was ended. When the masse was ended, they came into the chappel to me, and searched what I had about me, and found a dagger, and tooke it from me. Then sayd Tho. Austen Churchwarden, after manye brablings that they made with me: Thou keepest a wife here amongst vs agaynst Gods law and the Queenes. Ye lye, good man Austen, sayd I: it is not agaynst Gods law, nor, as I suppose agaynst the Queenes.

Thus they brought me out of the Church,* & wythout the dore they rayled on me, without pity or mercy: but anō the priest came out of the Church, and Ramsy that of late was Clarke, sayd vnto him: Syr, where dwell you? And therewith Thomas Austen tooke him by the arme, & sayde:* Come on sira, you are of his opinion, and took his daggar from him, & sayd, he should go with him. I am contēt, said he, and a litle mocked them in their enuious talke. By this time there came in at the Churche style one Iohn Gray of Wingham, seruauant to Iohn Smith,* and seing them hold Ramsy by the armes, said to him: How now Ramsy, haue you offended the Queenes lawes? No, quoth he, Then there is no transgression. Therewith Thomas Austen tooke him, & said: Ye are one of theyr opinion,* ye shall go to them for company, and tooke his daggar from him, & then demaunded what he did there? But after (I think) for very shame they let him go agayne. But they caried me and Ramsy to Canterbury, with 18. persōs weaponed. A sheet of paper will not holde the talke that we had that night w^t M. Hardes Iustice, M. Oxenden, M. Spilman, and M. Tutsam.

[Page 1667](#)The next day they made a Byll agaynst me, but it serued not theyr purpose: which was, that they woulde haue had me to prison. But Iames Chapman and Bartholmewe Ioyes were bounde in twentye poundes eyther of them for my appearaunce at the next general Sessions,* or in the meane time, to appeare, if I were sent for before the Queenes Maiesties Counsayle, or any other Cammissioners sent by the Queenes authoritye. And Ramsye was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaiour til the next Sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hogecking, and Si^lmon Barrat.

Now the 23. or 24. of February, Sir Thomas Finche knight, and M. Hardes sent for me and my sureties to M. Finches place, and tooke me from my sureties, and sent me to the Castle of Caunterbury, by sir Thomas Moyles cōmaundement (they sayd) where I lay ten weekes, & then was bailed, and bound to appere at the next Sessions holden at Canterbury: but after they chaunged it to be at Ashford on the Thursday in Whitson weeke, being the xix. of May: but in the meane time the matter was exhibited to the spirituall Court.

¶The first examination of M. Iohn Bland in the spirituall Court, before D. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and M. Collins Commissary.

THE xviiij. day of May, M. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury,* made the Maiors Sergeant to bring me before him and M. Collins Commissarye, into Christes Church, & they went with me into a chamber in the Su•fragan of Douers house. Thē the Archdeacō said: art thou a priest? And I sayd, I was one. And he sayd: Art thou any graduate of any vniuersity? And I sayd, Yea. What degree (sayd he) hast thou taken? The degree, quoth I, of a mayster of Art. The more pity quoth he, that thou shouldest behaue thy selfe as thou hast done. Thou hast bene a common preacher licenced, hast thou not? And I sayde, I haue bene so. Mary, quoth he, so I vnderstand.

What hast thou preached?

And I sayd, Gods word, to the edifying (I trust) of his people.

No, no, quoth he, to the destroying of theyr soules and thine both, excepte the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quoth I, what I haue preached.

Nay but tell me, quoth he, what one matter hast thou, preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayst? I will tell you no particular matter: for I perceiue you woulde haue some matter agaynst me.

No by my fayth quoth he, but y^e onely I would winne thee from heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected other withall.* For thou hast preached, as I am infourmed, that the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar is not the very body and bloud of Iesus Christ after the cōsecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not thys thine opinion?

Syr, quoth I, I perceiue (as I said) that ye seeke matter agaynst me. But seing that I am bound in the Sessiōs to my good behaiour for preaching, which may be broken with wordes, and well I know not with what wordes: and also both mine authority to preach, and my liuing are taken from me, I thinke I am not bound to make you an answer.

Collins.

M. Bland, do you not remember, that S. Peter biddeth you make aunswere to euery man that asketh you a reason of the fayth that is in you?

Bland.

*I know that, & am content so to aunswere as that text biddeth: but I knowe that mayster Archdeacon doth not aske me after that maner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they sayde, No: ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here.

Bland.

I am content for knowledge sake to common with you in any matter, but not otherwise. And so they fell in reasoning more then the space of an houre, of the sacramēt, both agaynst me. At the last M. Collins sayde: M. Bland will ye come, and take in hande to aunswere suche matter on monday next, as shalbe layed to you?

Bland.

Syr, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be sayd here for learnings sake.*
And they sayd, ye shall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland.

Syr, I am bound to appeare, as some tell me, on Thursday next, at Ashforde, I am in doubt whether I am or no: yet I haue purposed to be there, & so to goe to London to M. Wiseman, for an Obligatiō, that he hath, wherby I should receiue certayne mony to pay my debtes with all. Then sayd M. Archdeacon, I will write to M. Wiseman, that ye shall susteine no losse.

Bland.

That shall not neede: for I canne susteine no great losse, if I goe not. But I pray you to let me haue a longer day. No, quoth he.

Bland.

Syr, I cannot well come on monday.

Harps.

Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may commaund thee?*

Bland.

I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day.

Harps.

* Thou shalt haue no other day: I charge thee to come on monday.

Bland.

Syr, I perceiue it shalbe for this, or like matters, will it please you, or maister Collins, for Gods sake, to cōferre scriptures priuately with me in this matter, seing ye say ye would so gladly win me?

Harps.

With all my hart will I take the paynes, & I will also borowe my Lorde of Douers Library, to haue what bookes thou wilt, and thus they departed.

Now the xvij. of May, at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the spirituall Court for y^e same matter, but was bound to appeare at the Sessions holden at Crambroke, the third day of Iuly.

¶An other appearaunce of M. Bland before the Archdeacon, and his felowes.

THE 21. day of Maye I appeared in the Chapter house, wher was a great multitude of people,* vnlooked for of me: & M. Archdeacō sayd thus to me. Ye are come here, according as ye were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the Quenes highnes, here to place me, to see gods holy word set forth, & to reforme those that are here fallē in to great & heinous errors, to the great displeasure of god, & the decay of Christes sacramēts,* & cōtrary to the fayth of y^e catholick church, wherof thou art notably knowne to be one, that is sore poysoned with the same, & hast infected & deceiued many with thy euil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce & come home agayn to the catholick church, both I and many other moe would be very glad: and I for my part shalbe right glad to shew you the fauour that lyeth in me, as I sayd vnto you when you were appoynted hither, because ye then refused to satisfy agayne the people that ye had deceiued. And wheras it is fayned by you, y^t I should openly dispute the matter with you this day,* although I did neither to intēd nor appoynt, yet I am cōtēt to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wylt not without disputatiō helpe to heale the soules that are brought to helwarde by thee? What sayst thou?

Bland.

I do protest before God & you all that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy,* neither that I euer taught any error or heresy willingly. And where your mastership sayth, that I haue fayned an open disputatiō with you, it is not true, as I can thus approue: vpon saterday I was at Ugdens, & there M. Binghā laid it to my charge, that such an opē disputation as ye haue here offred, should be this day betwene you & me: wherat I much marueiled, & sayd to him,* that before that present I neuer hearde any such word: neither would I answeare nor dispute: & to this can master Uaghan, master Oxenden, master Seth of Ouerland, and master Ugden witnes: and further I sayd to them, that I neuer spake to you of any disputatiō, nor you to me. Now if your maystership haue any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answeare to it.

Harps.

Heare ye what he sayth? his conscience is cleare. I pray thee wheron groundest thou thy conscience: lette me heare what thy fayth is.

Bland.

I knowe not why ye should more aske me a reason of my fayth, then any other man in this open audience?

Harps.

Why thou heretick, art thou ashamed of thy faith? if it were a christē believe, thou nedest not to be ashamed of it.

Bland.

I am not ashamed of my faith.* For I beleue in god the father almighty, maker of heauen & earth, and in Iesus Christ his onely sonne our Lord. &c. withall the other articles of the Creed: and I do beleue all the holy scriptures of God to be most certayne and true.

Harps.

Wilt thou declare no more then this?

Bland.

No.

Harps.

Well, I will tell thee wheron I groūd my fayth▪ I do beleue & groūd my fayth & cōscience vpō all the articles of the Creed, & vpon all the holy scriptures, sacramentes,* & holy doctors of the church, & vpon all the generall coūcels that euer were since the apostles time. Loe hereupō groūd I my fayth: with many wordes moe, which I well remēber not. And when he coulde get no other answeere of me, thē I had sayd before, he called for a Scribe to make an act agaynst me. And after much cōmunicatiō I sayd: by what law and authority wil ye proceed agaynst me? M. Collins sayd: By the Canon law.

Bland.

I doubt whether it be in strength, or no.* Yet I pray you let me haue a Counsellor in the law, and I will make answeere according to the law.

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Harps.

Why thou hereticke, thou wilt not confesse thy fayth to me, that haue authority to demaund it of thee, and yet I haue confessed my fayth to thee before all this audience. As cōcerning the blessed sacramēt of y^e aaltar, thou hast taught that after the consecration it is bread and wine and not the body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ. How sayest thou?* hast thou not thus taught?

Bland.

Syr, as concerning this matter of the Sacramēt, when I was with you and mayster Collins, ye sayd then it was for other matters that I shoulde come hither for: and further, that ye would be content, at my desire, to con•erre scriptures with me, to see if ye coulde winne me: and ye sayd, ye woulde borowe my Lord of Douers Librarye, that I should haue what booke I would: and now ye require me thus to answere, cōtrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, & seek rather to bring me into trouble, then to winne me.

Harps.

I will, as God shall helpe me, doe the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable: and I trust to dissolue al thy doubttes, if thou be willing to heare. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my Lord of Douer, and mayster Collins to heare vs.

Bland.

No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shalbe no such witsesse. But when we agree, sette to our handes. Hereat made the people a noyse against me, for refusing y^e witnes: and here had we many moe wordes, then I can rehearse. But at the last I sayd: sir will ye geue me leaue to aske you one questiō? And he sayd, yea, with all my hart. For in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be wonne.*

Bland.

Syr, when it pleased almighty God to send his angell vnto the virgine Mary to salute her, & sayd: Haile ful of grace. &c. came any substance from God our father into the virgins wombe to become man? whereat as well M. Archdeacon, as my Lord of Douer, and mayster Collins stayd. But my Lord spake the first, and sayd: the holy ghost came to her: and ere he had brought out his sentence, mayster Syriac Peters sayd: Virtus altissimi obumbravit. Truth, sayd mayster Archdeacon: it was the power of God, sent by the holy Ghost. They had forgotten, that genitus fuit ex substantia patris: Or els they perceiued wherunto this question tended:* and so both I and they left it: by what words I can not tell, but I sayd: sir, shall I aske one other? And he sayd, yea. Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christes naturall body, with all the qualities of a naturall body, or no.

Harps.

Harke, sayd mayster Archdeacon: heare ye this hereticke? He thinkes it an absurdity to graunt all the quantities of Christes natural body to be in the sacrament. But it is no absurditye. For euen that naturall body that was borne of the virgin Mary, is glorified, and that same body is in the Sacrament after the consecration. But perceyue ye not the arrogancy of this hereticke, that will put me to answere him, and he will not aunswere me? he thought to put me to a pinche with his question: for I tell you it is a learned question.

Blad.

Syr, if ye be so muche discontented with me, I will say no more: yet I woulde all men hearde, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the Sacrament, after the consecration.

Harps.

*I may call thee grosse ignorant. Thou grosse ignoraunt, is not the same body glorified, that was borne of the virgin Mary? is it then any absurdity, to graunt that to be in the sacramēt? And whiles he spake many other words, I sayd to mayster Petit, that the Sacrament was instituted, deliuered, and receiued of his apostles, before Christes body was crucified: and it was crucified before it was glorified: which saying mayster Petit partly recited to maister Archdeacon.

Harps.

Thou art without all learning. Was not Christes body geuen to his Apostles, as in a glorified acte? and yet no incōuenience, although his naturall body was not crucified: for when he was borne of the virgin Mary without payne, was not that the acte of a glorified body? And whē he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the dores being shut fast, were not these actes of a glorified body?

Douer.

Then my Lorde of Douer helped him to a better place, and sayd: when Christ was in Mount Thabor, he was there glorified in his apostles sight.

Harps.

Ye say truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles.

Bland.

*This me thinke is new doctrine.

Harps.

Well, seing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and proue these matters agaynst hym. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a copy of the Byll of complaint that was put agaynst me at Christmas: and about that we talked a litle. And then Mayster Archdeacon rose vp, and said: see ye good people,* that know this matter, that ye come in, and proue it agaynst him. Wherevnto aunswere Thomas Austen: I pray you (sayde hee) let vs be no more troubled with him. And thē spake Iohn Austen, and Heath with one eie, and began to accuse me: but no aunswere they could haue of me, but do to me what ye can by lawe, and I will aunswere it. Then sayde Thomas Austen, Bland, ye were once abiured.

Bland.

Ye say not truely, goodman Austen, I was neuer abiured. Either, sayde he, ye were abiured, or els ye had the kinges pardon. Neither of both: ye speake this of malice: with many other brabbling woordes moe. Then M. Archdeacon departed, and le•t maister Collins to cōmaūd me to appeare the nexte day. Howbeit for certayne other vrgent businesse that I had, I did not appeare, but wrote a letter to M. Cōmissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my comming home agayne: and if he would not, I would be content to submitte my selfe to the lawe when I came home.

Now about the xxviij. day of Iune I came to mayster Commissary, to shewe him of my returne, and offered my selfe to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded agaynst me, before M. Cockes of Sturray, and Markes the Apparitor: but M. Commissary sayd gently, he had done nothing agaynst me.* And so appoynted me to appeare before hym the friday seuennight after. Nowe in the meane time was the Sessions holden at Crambroke, where I was bounde to appeare: and caryng suretye with me, to hee bounde agayne (for I looked for none other) did appeare the thyrd day of Iuly.*

And sir Iohn Baker sayde: Bland ye are, as we heare say, a Scot: where were ye borne and brought vp? And I sayd, I was borne in England. And he sayd, where? And I sayd, in Sedber, and brought vp by one Doct. Lupton, Prouost of Eton Colledge. Wel, said he, I know him wel. Remyne in your bond till after noone.

Then sayd sir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a stiffe harted felow. Thou wilt not obey the lawe, nor aunswere when thou art called. No will, quoth sir Iohn Baker? Mayster Shiriffe, take him to your warde: and the Bayliffe set me in the stockes, with other and woulde not heare me speake one word: & so we remayned in the gayle of Maidston, till a fourtnight before Michaelmas, or therabout: & then we were caried to Rochester to Assise holden there, where we were among the prisoners two dayes: & when we were called, & the Iudges of Assise asked our cau'ses, when my cause was rehearsed, M. Barrow Clarke of peace sayd, that I was an excommunicate person.

Then M. Roper of Linsted talked with the Iudges, but what, I am not able to say. But the Iudge of Assise sayd. Take them to Maidston agayne,* and bring them to the Session that shalbe holden nexte at the towne of Maldin: howbeit, the Shiriffe did not sende for vs, so that wee taryed at Maydstone till the Sessions holden at Grenewich the xvij. and xix. of Februarye, I and other beyng within the Barre amongst the felons, and yrons vpō our armes, were called out the latter day by the Gaoler & Bailiffes, and eased of our yrons, and caryed by them into the towne, to sir Iohn Baker, master Petit, maister Webbe, & other two, whom I know not.

¶An other examination of Mayster Bland before Syr Iohn Baker.

BAker.

Bland, wherfore were ye cast into prison?

Bland.

I can not well tell. Your maystership cast me in.

Baker.

Ye, but wherfore were ye in before that time?

Bland.

For an vniust complaynt put vpon me.

Baker.

What was the complaynt?

Band.

I told him as truely and briefly as I could.

Baker.

Let me see thy booke: and I tooke him a Latine Testament.

Baker.

Will ye go to the Church, and obey and followe the queenes procedings, and do as an honest man should do?

Bland.

I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do.

Baker.

Will ye do as I sayd?

Bland.

Will it please your maystership to geue me leaue to aske you a question?*

Baker.

Yea.

Bland.

Syr, may a man doe any thing, that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?

Baker.

Away, away, and threwe downe the Booke, and sayd: It is no Testament. And I sayd. Yes. And mayster Webbe tooke it vp, and sayde vnto me maruellous gently: mayster Bland, I knewe you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reforme your self: with better wordes then I will write. And I sayde: If ye haue [Page 1669](#) known me of an other opinion, then I am of now, it was for lacke of knowledge.

Baker.

Yea, sayest thou so? by S. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I wil geue sixe fagots to burne thee withall, or thou shouldest be vnburned,* Hence knaue, hence. And so were we reprimed into our place agayne, within the Barre. And at night when iudgement of felons, and all was done, we were called,* and the Iudge sayd to the Gaoler. Take thē with you, and deliuer them to the Ordinary, & if they wyll not be reformed, let them be deliuered to vs againe, & they shall haue iudgement & execution. And one of our company sayd: My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christes sake, we shall liue with him for euer.

***An other appearaunce of M. Bland in the Spirituall Court.**

Then came we to the Castle of Caunterbury, & there we remayned, till the second day of march, at which day we were brought into the Chapterhouse of Crechurch where were set the Suffragane of Canterbury,* mayster Collins, mayster Mylles, with other: and then went to them mayster Oxenden, mayster Petit, and mayster Webbe, maister Hardes Iustices. And whē I was called, mayster Webbe sayd: Here we present this man vnto you, as one vehemently suspect of heresy.

Bland.

And I sayde: Mayster Webbe, ye haue no cause to suspect me of heresy. I haue bene a prisoner this whole yere, and no matter proued agaynst me. I pray you wherfore I bene so long kept in prison?

Webbe.

Leaue your arrogant asking of questions, & aunswere to that that is layd to your charge.

Bland.

I do so: for I say you haue no cause to suspect me of heresy.*

Webbe.

Yes: ye denyed to Sir Iohn Baker, to be conformable to the Queenes proceedinges.

Bland.

Is it a iust cause to suspect me of heresy, for asking a question with leaue? So we had moe wordes there then I well remember.

Then stood vp mayster Petit, and sayd: Ye were cast in to prison, because ye fled away from your Ordinary.

Bland.

Then haue I had wrong. For I neuer fled, nor disobeyed mine Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let thē now say of I did: but they sayd nothing. And when I saw they held theyr peace, I sayd M. Commissary haue you bene y^e cause of this mine imprisōmēt? No, quoth he: ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appeare the friday after the Sessions. Here I was suffered to speake no more, but shut vp in a corner tyll my companions were likewise presented, and then wee were sent to Westgate into Prison, and were put in seuerall close holdes, that neuer one of vs could speake to an other, nor no mā was permitted to come to vs. We were foure times at this appearaunce.* But one they dispatched, by what meanes I can not tell: whose name was Cornewall a Tanner.

And thus hytherto passed the talke betweene Blande and the Iustices, and certayne Gentlemen of the shyre. Now foloweth the order of the reasoning betweene hym & the Clergy men before whome he was exmaind. But for as much as the chieftest doer and Iudge against him was the B. of Douer or Suffragan of Caunterbury called D. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appere what litle trueth or constancye is in these catholicke persecuters, I thought here to exhibite by the way a certayne popish letter, written of a papist vnto him. Wherin is declared what a gospeller the sayd Rich. Thornton was in K. Ed. time, which now turning with the world sheweth himselfe such a bitter persecuter agaynst Gods seruants in Q. Maryes tyme. The copy of this letter here foloweth.

***A copy of a popish letter written to the Byshop of Douer by one Thomas Goldwell a priest, declaring what a professour he was in king Edwardes tyme.**

Right reuerende and my good Lorde, after my hartye thanks for your good chere at my last being with your Lordship, this shalbe to certify you, that as soone as I arriued with my Lords Grace, I gaue him your letters, but I had mucche woorke to obteyne any thing of him for you.* For there hath bene geuen very euill informations of you, and it hath bene sayd, that you haue concurred with al maner of euill proceedinges, the which hath these yeares past bene in England, as wel agaynst the holy sacrament of the aultar, and agaynst the supreme authority of Christs vicar in earth,* as with the vse of the abhominable late Communion, and with the mariage of priestes, as well religious, as secular: and that you haue geuen orders to (I can not tell how many) base, vnlearned, & euill disposed people, by reason of the which they haue taken vpon them to preach, and to doe much hurt in Kent. So that menne thinke that yet if any new mutation (the which God forbydde) should chaūce, you woulde be as ready to chaunge, as any other. And in deed it maketh me to feare the same, by reason that notwithstāding it hath pleased almighty God to prouide, y^t your absolution was sent vnto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of matters, past, yet your Lordship (more regarding y^e vanity of the world, thē the offēce of God, the which he onely knoweth how much it greeues me, for the due loue I beare vnto you) presumed to sing Masse in Pontificalibus, the holy dayes immediatlie folowing, and

also to ministrare to childrē the sacrament of Confirmation, because that one (beyng a mēber of the Deuill) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

Oh my Lord, what honour should it haue bene both to God and your selfe, and also edefication to all good people, (though all worldly men & hereticks would therfore haue laught you to scorne) if you considering your great offences toward God, and his goodnesse agayne toward you, would like as you haue offēded in the face of the world, to the damnatiō of many, likewise haue shewed your self penitent in the face of the world, to the edefication of many▪ & not onely to haue celebrate for vanity Pontifical•ter, but also for a time to haue abstained for reuerence totaliter from the aultar, according to the old custome of the Church. The which I haue also seene obserued of some honest men, not being therto enioyned of any man. But that which is past can not be called agayne. And I thought it not my part to leaue your Lordship mine old frend and maister in y^e mire. Wherefore I ceased not to sollicite your cause with my Lordes Grace, till at the last I obtained of his Grace for your lordship all the faculties,* of the whiche I send you a cōpye here inclosed, partly for your owne consolation, & partlye for other, desiring your Lordship so to vse them to the honor of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receiue them. For hitherto there is neuer a bishop in England who hath graunted him so great authority concerning those the which be vnder his cure. Onely M. Archdeacon hath the like, & in one thing more greater then be these your Lordships. Wherefore your Lordshippe shall doe well to remit vnto him all such Priestes as haue cure of soule, whether they be beneficed men, or parish priestes. For he hath not onely authority to absolue them as you haue, but also to geue thē authority to absolue such as be vnderneath theyr cures. And thus I cōmit your Lordship to the protectiō of almighty God.

Written at Brussell the 16. of Iune. 1554.

Your Lordships beadman, Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Bishop of Douer, by way of digression. Now to returne agayn to the examinations of M. Bland, let vs heare his own report of his answeres, as foloweth.

¶Here foloweth mine aunswere, as nighe as I can call to remembrance, euery word, and sentence: yet if any that was present can helpe to perfect it, I woulde bee glad. But yet this dare I say, that there is neuer one sentence, but it was openly spokē the ninth of march, in the Chapterhouse of Crechurch, in the presence of as many as they had chosen, the Maior of the City being called to be assistance, and all other shut out.

¶The answer of Mayster Bland in his appearaunce before the Commissary and other in the spirituall Court.

MAyster Collins sayd: maister Bland, ye know that ye are presēted vnto vs, as one suspected of heresy.* How say ye, be ye contented to reforme your selfe to the lawes of this Realme, and of the holy church?

Bland.

I denye that I am suspected iustly of heresy, and that ye hearde when I was presented, that I denied the suspition to be iust, but to defed the vniust punishmēt that I haue suffered: neither can ye approue that any occasion hath bene geuē by me, wherby any man should suspect me therein. But if you haue any lawe or authority to proceede agaynst me for any thing done for an whole yeare ago and more, I wyll aunswere to it.

Col.

Ye were conuented before maister Archdeacon & me, and matter of heresy layd to your charge.

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Bland.

That matter was done and sayde a whole yeare agoe, and for that I haue bene in prison this yeare & more. If ye haue any thing agaynst me by any law, I desire you to let me know the lawe and the matter, and I will aunswere according to the lawe.

Then sayde my Lorde Suffragan: but that I am one of the Iudges, I would ryse, and stande by thee, and accuse thee to be a Sacramentarye, and bring witnesse to proue it: yea, and further, that thou hast called the Masse an abominable Idole.

Bland.

You (my Lorde) neuer hearde me saye so: But I hearde you once say,* that in your conscience ye had abhorred the Masse three yeares. Thou lyst (quoth he) I neuer sayde so.

Bland.

My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnes to approue it, with the day, tyme, and place: & I once did heare M. Collins at a visitation in Wingham say, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sinne present, past, and to come, contrary to that he sayth now.

And here we had moe wordes of this matter, which I let passe for lacke of good remembrance.

Maister Collins said, this is but a drift. You were better aunswere now: for els you shall to prison agayne, & be called on munday, & haue articles layd to you, & if ye then answere not directly, ye shalbe condemned pro confesso, & that will be worse for you.

Bland.

Syr, I doe not nowe, nor will not then denye to aunswere to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the lawe: wherefore I trust ye will let me haue the benefite of the lawe.

Collins.

This is the lawe, that if ye be required of your Ordinary, Reddere rationem fidei, then may ye not deny it. And that we doe nowe.

Bland.

To that then I will aunswere. For I beleue in God the Father Almighty, maker of heauen and earth, and in Iesus Christe his onely sonne our Lorde, with all the other Articles of the same Creede: * And I beleue all the Articles conteyned bothe in the Creede called the Masse Creede, & in the Creede of Athanasius: And I doe beleue, that all the holy Scriptures, & all thinges therin conteyned, are most true.

Collins.

This will not serue you: ye must aunswere to all suche Articles in all these as shalbe layde to you, or asked of you.

Bland.

Let me know the law that it is in that force (without any iuste cause of suspition proued agaynst me) and I will aunswere.

Collins.

How say ye will ye aunswere.

Bland.

Syr, I haue answered you. Haue him away, sayd my Lord of Douer: he had better haue answered.

Bland.

My Lord, I am ready to aunswere, if ye haue any thing agaynst me by the lawe.

B. Douer.

Ye haue preached many heresyas in Adisham, where I am Parson now: and therefore yee muste make aunswere to them.

Bland.

Lay them to my charge by the lawe, & I will aunswere them, if ye can approue that I am bound to answere to y^t was done a yere & more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, & compell me to answere to all thinges done in all my lyfe I trowe.

Collins.

It is not a yeare agoe since you were before M. Archdeacon and me.

Bland.

It is truth, it is a yeare and tenne weekes since the words were spoken: & I haue bene a prisoner euer since, and haue bene at fiue Sessions,* and neuer coulde haue any cause tryed. Me thinke your charities should thinke it punishment enough, if I had bene guilty.

Collins.

All this will not serue you: you muste needes aunswere, and it will be better for you to aunswere nowe, then an other tyme. Will ye reforme your selfe, and goe to the Church, and worshippe Christe in the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar, & be obedient vnto all the Queenes Lawes?

Bland.

*I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins

To aunswere to such thinges as are demaunded of you.

Bland.

Syr, I thoughte ye had had some matters agaynst me by the lawe.

Collins.

Well, on munday at .ix. of the clocke ye shall see y^e law, and haue articles layd vnto you.

Then they had spyed Mayster Cox the Lawyer, and called him in, and sayde: Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the lawe to aunswere: and he sayde, as they had sayde.

Collins.

Doe ye not beleeeue that after the consecration of the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar there remayneth no substance of bread, but the substaunce of Iesus Christ both God and man.

Bland.

Mayster Commissarye, I knowe not by any lawe why ye should aske me that question, more then any other man here. And after a little talke, my Lord of Douer asked me this question: Doest thou not beleeeue after y^e consecration, that it is the body of Christ? And I sayde, No,* I doe not so

beleue: for the Scriptures do not teach me, y^t there should remayne the flesh of Christ, to eate as a man should eate mans flesh?

Then maister Glasier sayd, that was the opinion of y^e Capernaïtes: there is no man here of that opinion, and spake long of cutting of Christs body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.

Then Mayster Doctour Faucet sayde: Mayster Bland, for as muche as you and I were broughte vp both in one house, and borne both in one Parish, I would be as glad as any man aliue, to doe you good: but ye may not thus stand against the Church. For Christ sayth: Ye must humble your self, and take vp his Crosse, and follow him. And to humble your selfe in this place, is to be content, and not sticke to your owne iudgement, but to humble your selfe to the holy Church, which hath determined, y^t after the cōsecration, there remaineth no bread, but the naturall body and blood of Christ.

Bland.

Mayster Doctour, if ye take humbling of our selfe in that place, to admitte the determination of the Church, then muste we knowe by the Scriptures,* that the same Churche determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I doe not beleue any such transubstantiation, nor neuer will, god willing. Thē (quoth he I haue done with you: I will no more prey for you then for a dogge.

Then sayde M. Glasier: how thinke ye? Did Paule when he sayd: Is not the bread that we breake a partaking of the body of Christ? Did he say Bakers bread?

Bland.

Though he did not meane bakers bread,* that doth not proue that hee brake naturall and reall flesh.

Gla.

No by saint Mary, we say not soe, but we saye, it is the naturall body glorified, vnder the formes of bread and wyne.

Bland.

Then the apostles had it not as we haue: or els his glorified body was crucified for vs.

Gla.

Tush, ye do not vnderstande the Scriptures. For Christes body was euer glorified, in that it was so maruellously vnited to the Godhead: yea, and he shewed hys body diuers tymes glorified, as in the Mount Thabor. And when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in hym. Was not that then a glorified body?

Bland.

Then belike Peters body was glorified: walking on the water was the deade of a glorified body: and the yron that Elizeus made to swim vpon the water.

Douer.

Tush, quoth my Lord of Douer, that was done by prayer. But they made such a noyse with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord sayd.

Bland.

Maysters, I knowe that it auayleth vs nothyng to reason with you, no more then it booted you in the tyme of the Gospell. For then neyther the reason of Eckius, [*Coclaeus](#), not yet of detection of the Deuilles sophistrye of my Lord Chauncellours doying, coulde take anye place. And it is knowne to some that be here, that somethyng I can say in them.

Douer.

No, you know Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and such other.

Bland.

In deede my Lorde, I haue seene parte of theyr doynge.

Douer.

That is seene by thee to day.

Gla.

I was glad when I heard you say ye beleueed the catholicke Church: and now goe you from it?

Bland.

No that I doe not. [*](#)

Gla.

Ye know that Christ sayth: If thy brother haue offended thee, goe and reconcile him, betweene thee and him. If he heare thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all thinges may be established. If he heare not then. Dic Ecclesiae: If he heare not the Church, take him as an heathen. I pray you, where could ye haue found this churche of yours fifty yeares ago?

Bland.

Ye knowe that the true church did not at all tymes flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted.*

Douer.

Then my Lorde cryed: No more, I commaunde you to holde your peace. Haue hym away, and bring in an other.

Collins.

Ye shall come agayne on Monday, at nyne of the clocke, and in the meane time ye shall haue whom ye wyll to conferre withall, your frend D. Faucet, or M. Glasier, if ye desire them.

Bland.

I will refuse to talke with no man: as for any conference [Page 1671](#) of your part, it is but weake lawes, established as they are. But when there was no lawe, I did desire conference. And so for that time I departed.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place agayne: And then M. Collins began to speak to me: but after what maner, it is cleane out of my minde: but the end was, that I woulde reforme my selfe. But as I did before, I demaunded what they had to lay to my charge, & to see the law, which they sayd before, I should see.

Douer.

What needes that? we hau• enough agaynst you. For ye * denied to me the Transubstantiation in the Sacrament.

Bland.

I did refuse to aunswere, till ye promised that I should see the Law, whereby ye may compell me to aunswere.

Douer.

My Lord tooke the Scribes book, and read the answere that I made to D. Faucets reason, which I knewe not that they had written.

Bland.

My Lord, I made you no such aunswere when ye asked me. I take M. Collins and M. Glasier to witnes. Then they brought forth a Decretall, a booke of the bishop of Romes law, to bind me to answere, whiche my hart abhorred to looke vpon. The effecte was, that the Ordinarye had

authority to examine,* and that they so examined, must needs aunswere. But I sayde, that it meened of suche as were iustly suspect, as I was not. And here we had muche communication. For I charged them with vniust imprisonment, which they could not auoyd.

*But M. Oxenden would haue helped them, and said, the Iustices put me in prison for a sermon sediously spokē, and for troubling a priest at masse.

Bland.

That is not true. For after I had bene 10. weekes in prison, I was bayled, till I was cast in agayne, (and as the Iustice sayd) for the disobeying mine Ordinary, which I neuer did.

Collins.

Will ye be content to conferre with some? It will be better for you: nowe we offer it you, because ye woulde not desire it.

Bland.

As I did not refuse before, no more will I nowe. But I did not perceyue before, but that one mighte haue come without any leaue asking, to conferre the scriptures: and therfore I looked that D. Faucet would haue come to me without desiring,* if any commodity to me had bene in conferēce: for though I was neuer able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

Collins.

A•e ye content to come to his Chamber at after noone?

Bland.

Syr, I am a Prisoner, and therefore it is meete that I obey,* and come whyther you will, and so departed. At this tyme wee were three. But they tooke an other to appeare before them the Tewesday seuennight after. And when he came, I knewe not what was done, but that I heare, they excōmunicated hym, and let him go. His name was Myller, a Clothyer.

¶Here foloweth a certayne confutation of M. Bland. agaynst false and manifest absurdities, graunted by M. Mylles, priest of Christes Church in Caunterbury.

MYlles.

*We say, that Christ is in or vnder the sacramēt really and corporally, which are the formes of bread & wyne, and that there is his body contained inuisibly, and the qualities which we do see, as whitenes and rōūdnes. be there without substance by Gods power, as quantitye and weight be there also by inuisible measure.

Bland.

This is your owne Diuinity, to make accidentes the Sacrament, and Christes reall body inuisibly conteyned in them, and so to destroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors saye: *Materia Sacramenti est panis & vinum. And GOD by his power woorkerh no myracles with Hoc est Corpus meum, so to chaunge the substaunce of breade and wine into hys bodye and blood, in that hee maketh accidentes to bee without theyr substaunce by inuisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christes Sacrament, contrary to your owne Doctours, and trifle so with Gods worke.

Mylles.

To Christe is geuen all power in heauen and in earth,* so that by his omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is where he listeth, and is in the Sacramente really and corporally without occupying of place: for a glo|rified body occupyeth on place.

Bland.

Marke your owne reason. All power is geuen to Christ, both in heauen and earth: by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list, Ergo, hee is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place, I denye your argument: for it foloweth neyther of your Maior nor Minor. And first I woulde learne of you,* howe you know that Christ listeth to be present at euerye Priestes list. For if the Priest list not to say your Masse, thē Christ listeth not to be there.

Agayne ye say, all power is geuen vnto Christ both in heauen and in earth, so that that is the cause by your reason, that by the omnipotēt power of his Godhead, he may be where he list: and by that reason he had not the power of his Godhead, till he had his humayne body, and then he was not equall with the father in diuinity: for all power was not geuen to Christe, before the humanitye and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he Filius. Here is more daunger then ye are ware of: if ye would stand to it with iust Iudges.

Milles.

We eate Christes flesh and blood spiritually when wee receiue it with fayth and charitye. And wee also doe eate it corporally in the Sacrament: ane the body that we so receiue hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto. Which although it be receiued with the body of Christ, yet it is not inuisible after a grosse sort, and the flesh of Christe that we receiue is liuely, for it hath the spirite of God ioyned to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiuinge of the blood of Christe, for it is contrary to the nature of Christes blood.* If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quāities, without substance of blood.

Bland.

I am glad that you are so muche agaynst all men, to saye that Christes body is aliue in the Sacramente: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Me thinke it is euill to keepe Christes body aliue in the Pixe, or els must ye graunt that he is aliue in receiuing, & dead

in the Pixe. And ye say truth that it is * not the naturall receiuing of Christes bloud that maketh a man drunken:* for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which ye denye not.

And a more truth ye confesse then ye dyd thinke, when ye sayd: If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substaunce of bloud: for in deede bloud hath no such qualities with it: which is euident that there is no naturall bloud. If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a myracle, as I thinke you will haue it, that the sayde accidentes should be without theyr naturall substaunce, and worke all the operations of both substaunce and accidentes: and so it foloweth that a man may be drunken by myracle. The body that ye receiue, ye say, is aliue, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that ye receiue is liuelye, because it hath the spirite of God ioyned to it.

This diuision is of your new inuentions to diuide the bodie and the flesh, the one aliue by the Godhead, the other liuely by Gods spirite, and both one Sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantasticall, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, as ye do qualities & quantities without substaunce, and a liuing body without qualities and quantities.

Milles.

If case so require, and there be a Godlye intent in the Minister to consecrate,* after the consecration thereof there is present the body and bloud of Christ, and no other substaunce, but accidentes without substaunce to a true beleuer.

Bland.

Ye graunt three absurdities, that in a Tunne of wine consecrate is nothinge but accidentes, and to encrease it withall, ye haue brought in two inconueniences: firste that it is not the worde of God that doth consecrate,* but the intent of the Priest must helpe to it: and if that lacke, ye seeme to graunt no consecration, though the Priest speake the word: and yet your Dotours say, that the wickednes of the Prieste minisheth not the sacrament.

And to an vnbeleuer ye seeme to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true beleuer: and then muste the beleuer haue some thing to do in the consecration. Incidit in scyllam qui vult vitare charibdim.

Mylles.

The substaunce of Christes bodye doth not fill the Mouses belly. For although he doth receiue the outward formes of bread and wine, yet hee doeth not receiue the substaunce inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouse doth not eate the bodye of Christ, to speake properly: for it doth not feede him spirituallye or corporallye as it doeth man, because hee doth not receiue it to any inducemente of immortality to the flesh.

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Bland.

Yee make not your doctrine playne to be vnderstand: we must know howe a Mouse can recieue the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye saye hee doth not receiue the substaunce inwardly: but without violation: *Ergo, with violation he receiueth the substaunce inwardly. Yee saye, that the Mouse cannot violate Christes bodye. But he violateth the substaunce that hee eateth. And this your proper speache doth importe as much, as that the Mouse should eate the sacrament to as great effecte▪ and the same thing, as doth the vnworthy receiuer. For if that be the cause that shee properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feede vppon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiueth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say: then it followeth, that the vnbeleuer and the * Mouse receiueth both one thinge. And yet it cannot be denied but the * Mouse will liue with consecrated bread, & then ye must graunt the absurditie, that a substaunce is nourished and fed onely with accidentes.

Milles.

Mens bodyes be fedde with Christes body, as with immortall meate, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life: but mens bodyes bee corporally nourished with qualities and formes of bread and wine: * and we deny, that by the sacramentall eatyng any grosse humor turned into bloud, is made myraculously in the body.

Bland.

Where it can not bee denied that a man may liue, and naturally be nourished in his naturall body with the Sacramentall bread & wine consecrated: ye cannot auoyd that: but then yee turne to the spirituall worshipping of mans bodye, by Christes body and Godhead annexed whiche is nothing to put away the absurditie, that either a mans naturall body shoulde be fedde naturally with accidentes, or els to haue them chaunged into grosse humours. But ye say, mens bodyes be corporally noureshed with quallities and fourmes of bread and wyne: * and thē must ye needes graunt that qualities and quantities must be made substaunce in man. For ex eisdem sunt & nutriuntur mixta, or els is al that is the nutriment in man, acciden^l•es and no substaunce.

Milles.

If the forms of bread & wine be burned, or worms engendred, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his bodye ceaseth to be there, and no substaunce commeth agayne,

Bland.

*Ye graunt here that a substaunce may be made of accidentes, as ashes or woormes: but I thinke you will haue it by your myracles, and this I count more absurditie then y^e other, that Christes body should cease to be there and no substance to come agayne: for no worde in all the whole Bible seemes to serue you for the ceasing of hys presence, though we graunted you which we doe not, that it were there.

God almighty open your hart, if it be his will & pleasure, to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would aunswere you to all the rest, in these and all other my doinges.

I submit my selfe to our saueour Iesus Christe and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same.

Your Oratour in the Lord, Iohn Bland.

¶The last appearaunce and examination of Mayster Bland.

Hitherto you haue heard the troublesome handelyng of this faythfull and blessed seruaunt of God, I. Bland, toste to and fro, from prison to prison, from Session to Session.* At last he was brought before the Bishop of Douer, the Commissarye, and the Archdeacon at Caunterbury, the thirteenth daye of Iune. The name of this Byshop was Richard Thorne-ton. The Commissary was Robert Collins: whome the Cardinall by his letters patent had substitute to his factor, before his comming ouer to Englande. The Archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great sorte of innocent Lambes of Christ were cruelly entreated and slayne at Caunterbury, amongst whome this foresayd Mayster Bland was one of the first:* who as it is sayd, being brought before the said Bishop and Colleagues, whiche were Iohn Frankeshe, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker. Umfrey Middleton, William Coker, was examined of articles. To whome it was objected by the Commissarye, whether hee beleue that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no. &c. To this he aunswered, and sayd: that hee beleueed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he iudged not Christ to be really in the sacrament▪

Wherupon the day being Monday, he was bid to appeare agayne vpon Wednesday nexte,* and from thence he was deferred agayne to monday following, being the xx. Iune in the same Chapterhouse, then to heare further what should be done, in case he would not relent to theyr minde.

The whiche daye and place, he appearing, as before,* was required to saye his minde playnely and fully to the foresayd articles, being agayne repeated to him. Whiche articles commonly and in course they vse to object to their Examinates which he wrought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that Countrey of Kent, to be repeated.

¶Articles ministred by Richard Byshop of Douer, to mayster Bland, and likewise to the rest followyng after him.

1. Firste, that thou arte of the Dioces of Caunterbury,* and so subiect to the iurisdiction of the Archbyshop there.
2. Item, that thou art a Christen man, and doest professe the lawes of God, and fayth of Christes Catholicke Church, and the determination of the same.
3. Item, that all Parsons which teach, preache, beleuee, affirme, holde, mayntayne, or saye within the Dioces of Caunterburye, otherwise then our holy mother y^e church doth, are excommunicate persons and heretickes, and as excommunicate and heretickes ought to be named, reputed, and taken.
4. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholicke faith and determination of our mother holy Church, within the Dioces of Caunterbury, hast openly spokē, mayntayned, holden, affirmed,

and beleued, and yet doest hold, maynteine, affirme, and beleue, that in the blessed Sacrament of the aaltar, vnder the fourmes of bread and wyne, there is not the very bodye and bloude of our Sauoure Iesus Christ in substaunce, but onely a token, signe and remembraunce thereof, and that the very body and bloud of christ is onely in heauen, and no where els.

5. Item, that thou contrary to the Catholicke fayth, and determination of our mother holye Church, hast wythin this Dioces of Caunterbury openly spoken, sayde, maintayned, holden, affirmed, and beleued, and yet doest holde, maynteine, affirme, and beleue, that it is agaynst Gods word, that the sacrament of Christes Church shoulde be ministred in an vnknowne tongue: and that no man safely and with a safe conscience, or without perill of sinne, receiueth any sacrament ministred in any tongue that he vn|derstandeth not.

6. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholicke fayth of our mother holy Church, hast, and yet doest hold opinion, and say: that is against Gods word, that the sacrament of the aaltar shoulde be ministred in one kinde: and that no man may with a safe conscience so receiue it.

7, Item, that the premisses be true, and that there is a common fame vppon them within the Dyoces of Caunterbury.

The aunsweres of Mayster Bland to the foresayd Articles.

1. TO these articles M. Bland aunswearing agayne in order as they were objected to him,* sayth to the first graunting the same, that he was a priest, and of the Dyoces of Caunterbury.

2. To the second also he aunswered affirmatiuely.

3. Item, to thirde hee aunswereth, that the Article is true, meaning the Catholicke Church to bee Chrystes Church.

4. Item, in the fourth Article, as touching the first parte of the Article, he doth confesse, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contayned in the same. And as touching the seconde parte of the article, he doth confesse, that he doth nowe also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

5. Item, to the fift article he graunteth.

6. To the sixt, hee hath preached held and doth holde, as it is conteyned in the article.

7. Item, to the last article he graunteth the same. &c.

This done, and his aunsweres and confession taken, respite was geuen hym yet a few dayes to deliberate with himselfe. So the xxv. day of the sayde moneth of Iune hee [Page 1673](#) making his appearing agayne in the sayd Chapterhouse, there openly and boldly withstoode the authoritie of the Pope, whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the forme and tenor of the sentence,* because all theyr sentences, of course agree in one, read before in y^e historye of Maister Rogers.

¶The prayer of Maister Bland before his death.

THE Lorde Iesus, for whose loue I doe willingly leaue thys life,* and desire rather the bitter death of this crosse, wyth the losse of all earthly thinges, then to abide the blasphemye of thy holye name, or els to obey man in breaking thy Commaundements, thou seest, Oh Lord, that where as I might liue in worldly wealth to worship false Gods, and honoure thy enemye, I chose rather the tormentes of this body, and losse of this my life, and haue counted al thinges but vile, dust, and dung, that I might winne thee: Which death is more deare vnto me, then thousands of gold and siluer. Such loue, Oh Lorde hast thou layde vp in my brest, that I hunger for thee, as the Deere that is wounded desireth the soyle. Send thy holy comfort, O Lorde, to ayd, comfort, and strengthen this weake peece of earth, whiche is voyde of all strength of it selfe. Thou remembrest, O Lorde, that I am but dust and not able to doe any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lorde as thou of thy accustomed goodnes hast bidden me to this banket, and counted me worthy to drinke of thine owne cup amōgst thine elect: geue me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most ••kesome and terrible, so to my minde it may be at thy commaundement, as an obedient seruauant, sweete and pleasaunt: and through the strength of thy holye spirite, I may passe through the strength of this fire into thy bosome, according vnto thy promise, and for this mortalitie, to receaue immortalitie, and for this corruptible, to put on incorruptible. Accept thys burnt offering and sacrifice, O Lorde, not for the sacrifice it selfe, but for thy deare sonnes sake my Sauour: for whose testimony I offer this free wil offering with all my hart and with al my soule. O heauenly father, forgeue me my sinnes, as I forgeue the whole world. O sweete Sauour, spread thy winges ouer me. O God, graunt me thy holy Ghost, through whose mercifull inspiration I am come hither. Conducte me vnto euerlasting lyfe. Lord into thy handes I commend my spirite: Lord Iesus receaue my soule. So be it.

¶The history of Iohn Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sheterden.

*HAuyng now passed ouer the examinations of Maister Bland, let vs further proceed to the rest of his felowes concaptiues, being ioyned the same time with him both in the like cause, and like affliction. The names of whome were Iohn Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker: of whome Thacker onely gaue back. The rest constātly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of Caunterburye, the 25. daye of Iune, the yeare aboue expressed. Touching whose examinations, I shall not need long to stand, for somuche as the articles ministred agaynst them, were all one: so in their aunsweres they little or nothyng disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lords help) you shal heare. In the meane time, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talke with the Archdeacon and the Commissary, I will first beginne with the same.

¶The first examination or reasoning of Nicholas Sheterden with M. Harpsfield Archdeacon, and M. Collins the Commissary, for the which they sent him to prison.

*First the Archdeacon and Commissary affirmed that the very wordes of Christ, when he sayd: This is my bodye, did chaunge the substaunce, without any other interpretation or spirituall meaning of the wordes.

Shet.

Then belike when Christ sayd: This cup is my bloud, the substaunce of his Cup was chaunged into hys bloud, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.

Arch.

Not so: for when Christ sayde: This cup is my bloud, be meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shet.

If Christ spake one thing, and meant an other, then the bare wordes did not chaunge the substaunce: but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup.

Arch.

There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise then the words stand. But of the bread it must be vnderstand onely as it standeth, without any other meaning.

Shet.

Then do ye make one halfe of Christes institution a figure, or borrowed speache, and the other halfe a playne speach, and so ye deuide Christes supper.

Arch.

Christ meant the wyne, and not the cup, though he sayd: This cup is my bloud.

Shet.

Then shew me whether the words which the priestes doe speake ouer the cup, do chaunge the substaunce, or whether the minde of the priest doth it?

Arch.

The minde of the priest doth it, and not the words.

Shet.

If the minde of the prieste doth it, and not y^e words, if the Priest then doe minde hys harlot, or any other vaine thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people doe worship the priestes harlot in stead of Christes bloud: and agayne, none of the people can tell when it is Christes bloud, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the minde of the Priest. For no man can tell what the priest meaneth, but himselfe: and so are they euer in daunger of committing idolatry.

Then was the Archdeacon somewhat moued, & sate hym downe, and sayde to the Commissarye? I pray you maister Commissary speake you to him an other while,* for they are vnreasonable and peruerse aunsweres, as euer I heard of. Then stode vp the Commissary, and sayd.

Commis.

Your argumentes is much agaynst your selfe: for ye graunt that the bread is a figure of Christes body▪ but the Cup can be no figure of his bloude, nor yet his verye bloud: and therefore Christ did not meane the cup, but the wine in the cup.

Shet.

My argument is not agaynst me at all: for I do not speake it to proue that the cup is his bloud, nor the figure of his bloud, but to proue that the bare wordes being spoken of the priest, do not chaunge the substaunce no more of the bread then they do chaunge the cup into bloud.

Commis.

It coulde not be spoken of the Cup, when hee sayde: This Cup is my bloud, but he meant the wyne in the cup.

Shet.

Then it remaineth for you to answere my question to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the minde of the priest when he speaketh ouer the cup, doth chaunge it into bloud or the bare wordes.

Commis.

Both together doth it, the wordes and y^e mind of the priest together: yea the intent and the wordes together doth it.

Shet.

If the wordes and intentes together doe chaunge the substaunce, yet must the cup be his bloud,* and not the wyne, for as much as the wordes are, This cup is my bloud, and the intent, ye say, was the wyne: or els the words take none effect, but the intent onely.

After, the Commissary in his chamber sayd, it was the intent of the priest before he went to masse, wythout the wordes: for the Priest did intend to doe as holy Church had ordayned, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.

Shet.

If the Sacramentes take effect of the intent of the Priest, and not of Gods word, then manye Parishes hauing a Priest that intendeth not wel, are vtterly deceiued,* both in Baptising, and also

worshipping that thing to be God, whiche is but bread, because for lacke of the priestes intente, the wordes doe take none effecte in it: so that by this, it is euer doubtfull whether they worship Christe, or bread, because it is doubtfull what the Priestes doe intende.

Commis.

Then the Commissary would proue to me, that Chrystes Manhood was in two places at one tyme,* by these woordes of Christ in Ioh. the thyrd Chapter, where he sayth, No man ascendeth vpp to heauen, but hee that came downe from heauen, that is to say, the sonne of man whiche is in heauen. By this he would proue, that Christe was then in heauen, and in earth also, naturally and bodily.

Shet.

This place and other must needes be vnderstand for the vnitie of persons, in that Christe was God & man, and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or els ye must fall into great error.

Commis.

That is not so: for it was spoken of the manhoode of Christ, for as much as he sayth, the sonne of man whiche is in heauen.

Shet.

If yee will needes vnderstande it to be spoken of Christes manhoode,* then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptistes, which deny that Christ took fleshe of y^e virgin Mary: for if there be no bodye ascended vpp, but that whiche came downe, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body downe with him.

Commis.

Loe how ye seeke an error in me, and yet see not how ye erre your selfe. For it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye graunt that God is passible, for God cannot come downe because he is not passible.

Shet.

If that were a good argumente that God could not come down because he is not passible: then it might be said [Page 1674](#) by the like argument, that God coulde not sit, and then heauen is not his seate, and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at.

Commis.

Then the Commissary affirmed playnly, that it was true, God hath no right hand in deede.

Shet.

Oh what a spoyle of Christes Religion will thys be, that because we cannot tell howe God came downe, therefore we shall say,* that he came not down at all, and because we cannot tell what maner of hand he hathe, to saye, that he hath no hand at all: and then he cannot reache the vtmost part of the sea. O miserie: at length it will come to passe, that God cannot sit, and then howe can heauen bee his seate, and if heauen be not his seate, then there is no heauen: and then at length I doubt ye wil say there is no God, or els no other God, but such as the heathens Gods are, which cannot goe nor feele.

Commis.

Why, doth not the scripture saye, that God is a spirite, and what hand can a spirite haue?

Shet.

Truth it is, God is a spirit, and therefore is worship'ped in spirit and truth, and as he is a spirite, so hath hee a spirituall power, so hathe hee a spirituall seate, a spirituall hand,* and a spirituall sword: which we shall feele if we go this way to worke, as we beginne. Because wee knowe not what hand God hath: therefore if we say he hath none then it may as well be sayd, there is no Christ.

Then the Commissary sayd, hee woulde talke no more w^t me, & so departed: and also the Commissarye was compelled to graunt, that Christes testament was broken, and his institution was chaunged from that hee left it: but hee sayd, they had power so to doe.

***My first aunswearing, after their law was stablished.**

BEcause I know ye will desire to heare from mee some certaintie o[•] my estate,* I was called before the Suffra|gā and seuen or eight of the chiefe priestes, & examined of certayne Articles, and then I required to see theyr Cōmission.

They shewed it to me, and sayde, There it is, and the Kinge and Queenes letters, also. Then I desired to haue it read: and so in readyng I perceaued, that on some notable suspition hee might examine vppon two articles: whether Chrystes reall presence were in the Sacrament, and whether the churche of England be of Christes Catholicke Church.

To that I aunswared, that I had bene a prisoner 3. quarters of a yeare, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would therefore that I should aunswaere to those thinges wherefore I was prisoner.*

Suff.

The Suffragan sayd, his Commission was I must aunswere directly, yea or nay.

Shet.

This Commission (sayde I) was not generall to examine whome he will, but on iust suspicion.

Suff:

He sayd: I was suspected, and presented to hym.

Shet.

Then I required that the accusation might be shewed.

Suff.

He sayd: he was not bound to shew it, but he commaunded me in the king and Queenes name, to aunswer directly.

Shet.

And I as a subiect do require of you iustice for that I haue done: I aske no fauour.

Suff.

He sayde I was suspected.

Shet.

I bad him proue that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect.

Suff.

Thou was cast into prison for that cause.

Shet.

That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to Gods law and the realme, that therefore I must now for a mendes be examined of suspition without cause, to hyde all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speake as I did: therefore in that poynte I could be no more suspect, then you which preached y^e same yourself not long before.

Suff.

That was no matter to thee what I preached.

Shet.

*Well, yet in the king and Queenes name I must aunswere directly: and therefore I require as a subiecte, y^t ye do not extend beyond your Commission, but proue me suspect, more then you your selfe.

Milles.

Then sayd M. Milles, I had written to my mother and he did see the letter, wherin I perswaded my mother to my opinions.*

Shet.

In that I did but my duetye, to certifie her I was not prison for any euill. And that was before the lawe also, and therefore no more suspicion was in mee, then was in them which taught the like.

Mill.

Well, yee are required here to aunswere directlye, yea, or no.

Shet.

First then I require of you to proue this suspicion: and thus we tossed to and fro. At last the byshop sayde, hee himselfe did suspect me. I asked wherby?

Suff.

W•ll sayd he, I my selfe did suspect thee, and it is no matter wherby.

Shet.

But your Commission doth not serue you so to doe without iust suspicion.

Suff.

Well, yet did I suspect you.

Shet.

It is not meete for you to bee my accuser, and my Iudge also, for that was too much for one man. And thus manye woordes were multiplied, and they were muche greeued.

Milles.

If you were a Christian man you would not be ashamed of your fayth being required.

Shet.

I am not ashamed in deede, I thanke God,* & if any man do come to me, either to teache or to learne I would declare it, but for asmuch as I perceau you come neither to to teache nor to learne, I holde it beste to aunswere you.

Milles.

If you will not, then will we certifie the kinges Councell.

Sheter.

I am therewith content that you shoulde certifie y^t I had suffered thr•e quarters, prison wrongullye, and therefore I desire to be iustified or condemned, first for that I suffered suche imprisonment: and then I will not refuse to aunswere your articles, though there were a bushell of them. But to say that I woulde aunswere, whereby you shoulde heale all your wrong done to me agaynst the law of God and the realme, I will not.

Here much adoe there was to proue that hee hadde no wrong, and agayn, y^t it was not they that did it.* But hee sayde the Commissary was one of them, he aunswereth no it was the Archdeacon. He sayd, you sate wyth hym, and he asked youre counsell in it, and yet if it were hee, it was your Church, except the archdeacon and you be deuided one from an other. Well sayd they: will ye now deny that ye sayd then, and promise here to submit your selfe henceforth, and ye shalbe deliuered?

Shet.

I am not to much bound to you to graunt, any such promise:* and agayne you shall well know that I woulde not promise to goe crosse the streete for you: but if I did at any tyme offend your law, let me haue the punishment, I aske no fauour.

Then sayd they that it was obstinacie in hym that hee would not aunswere, and a token that his faythe was naught, seeing he was ashamed to vtter it.

Shet.

Nay sayd he, ye shal wel know I am not ashamed of my fayth: but because you do so greedely seeke bloude, I will aunswere onely to that you haue agaynst me.

Suffr.

Nay, you shall aunswere to the articles, or els bee condemned vpon suspicion.

Shet.

I am content with that, yet all men shall know that as ye suspect and can proue no cause, so shall ye condemne me without a matter, and then shall all men knowe yee seeke bloud, and not iustice.

Suffr.

No we seeke not thy bloud, but thy conuersion.

Shet.

That we shall see. For then shal you proue my peruersion first, before you condemne me on your owne suspicion without prooffe of the same: and by that I shal know whether you seeke bloud or no. Many other wordes were betweene them.

At last stept vp one Louels a Lawyer, whiche woulde proue his prisonment not to be wrong, but right,* by olde statutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry. &c. but at last hee was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he sayd it was no wronge.

To this Nicholas sayde, if he coulde proue that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in y^e meane while make lawes, and thē vnder that hide the first wrōg then he sayd true, or els not.

Thus hee kepte the Bandogs at staues ende, not as thinking to escape them: but that I woulde see (sayde hee) the Foxes leape aboue the ground for my bloud if they can reach it (so it be the will of God:) yet we shal see them gape, and leape for it.

From Westgate in hast.

By yours Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden agaynst the false worshippe and oblation of the Sacrament.

THE holy signe in steede of the thing signified, is serui•e seruitude as S. Augustine termeth it, when the breade in the sacrament is by common and solemne errour worshipped in steade of the fleshe assumed of the worde of God.

There was no mension of worshipping the creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate:* therefore the saying of Christ concerning diuorce, may well be applied [Page 1675](#) to them: it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

The once made oblation of Christes is hereby derogate, when this sacramentall oblation and offeryng of thankesgeuing is beleued to be propiciatory, and that it purgeth the soule, as well of the liuing as of the dead, agaynst this saying to the Hebrues:*With one onely oblation he hath made perfect for euer those that are sanctified. Agayne, Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sinnes, making vs cleane by him.

This word (by hymselfe) hath a vehemencye and pyth, that driueth all Priestes frō authoritie to enterprise suche oblation, where as what he himselfe doth by himselfe, hee leaueth not for other to do. So seemeth our Purgatorye already past and done, not to come and remayning to be done.

His examination before the Byshop of Winchester then Lord Chauncellour.

I Was called into a Chamber before the L. Chauncellour the Suffragā,^{*} and other, Priestes I thinke for the moste part. He standing to the table called me to him, & because I saw the Cardinall was not there, I bowed my selfe and stode neare.

Then sayd hee, I haue sent for you, because I heare you are indyted of heresie: and being called before y^e Cōmissioners yee will nor aunswere not submit your selfe.

I sayd, if it like you, I did not refuse to aunswer: but I did playnely aunswere, that I had bene in prison long tyme, and reason it was that I shoulde be charged or discharged for y^t, & not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment, neither did I know any inditemēt agaynst me. If there were any, it could not be iuste, for I was not abroad since the law was made.

Winchest.

Well, yet if suche suspition be of you, if you bee a Christian ye will declare that it is not true,^{*} and so purge your selfe.

Shet.

I thought it sufficient to answere to myne offences. &c. trusting that they would lay no such burden vpon me, whereby the wrong done to me might bee couered, but I would be proued to haue wrong or right.

Winch.

He sayd, if thou wilt declare thy selfe to y^e Church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then haue a writte of wrong imprisonment. &c.

Shet.

I sayd I was not minded to sue nowe, but require to haue right iustice: but to make a promise I wil not: but if I offend the law, then punish accordingly. For it might be that my conscience was not perswaded, nor woulde be in prison, seeing those things which I haue learned, were by Gods law openly taught and receaued by authoritie of the Realme. And he sayd, it was neuer receaued that I might speake agaynst the sacrament. I sayd agaynst some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

Winch.

^{*}By no law, and that was notable to consider, y^t all that while God preserued that, so that no lawe coulde passe agaynst it.

Shet.

I sayd their law did not only perswade me, but this most: when they preached vnto vs, they tooke payne to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we may read & iudge whether they say

true or no, but now they take the light from vs, and woulde haue vs beleue it, because they say so, which is to me a great perswasion.

Winch.

It was not a few that coulde be your guide in vn'derstanding,* but the Doctors and all the whole Church: Now whome wouldest thou beleue? either the few, or the many?

Shet.

I did not beleue for the few, nor for the manye, but onely for that he bryngeth the word, and sheweth it to me to be so according to the processe thereof. &c.

Winch.

Well sayd he, then if the Arian come to thee with scripture, thou wilt beleue hym, if he shewe this texte: My father is greater then I.

Shet.

I aunsweared, no my Lorde, he must bring me also the contrarye places and proue them both true, where hee sayth: My father and I am one.

Winch.

Yea, sayd he, that is by charitie, as we be one with hym.

Shet.

I sayd, that glose would not stand with the rest of the scripture, where he sayd: I am the very same, that I say to you: He sayd the truth, and the truth was God. &c. wyth much such lyke. And here he made many wordes (but very gently) of the Sacrament: Likewise Christ sayd (quoth he) it was his body: yea that is to say) a figure of his body & how men did not consider the word was god, and God the word,* and so prouoked me with suche temptation: but I let hym alone, and sayd nothing.

So after many wordes he came to the Churches faith and comely orders of ceremonies and images. And then I ioyned to him agayne with the Commaundementes.

Winch.

He sayd that was done that no false thing shoulde be made, as the heathen would worship a Cat because she killed Myse.

Shet.

I sayd that it was playne that the lawe forbad not onely such, but euen to make an image of God to any maner of likenes.

Winch.

Where finde ye that?

Shet.

Forsoothe in the law where God gaue them y^e commaundementes, for hee sayd: Ye sawe no shape, *but hearde a voyce onely: and added a reason why: least they should after make images and marre themselues, so that God woulde not shew his shape, because they should haue no image of him which was the true God. &c.

Winch.

He sayd I made a goodly interpretation.

Shet.

I sayd no, it was the text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, hee bad finde it, and I shoulde strayght be confounded with myne owne wordes: so that if there wer^e any grace wyth me: I would trust myne own wit no more: & when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch.

Why sayd he, ye can ye read 〈...〉 ▪

Shet.

No. then was the English Bi••e brought. He bad me finde it: and so I read it aloud, and then h^e sayde loe here thou mayst see: this is no more to forbid the image of God, then of any other beast, foule or fishe (the place was Deut. .4.) I said it did playnly forbid to make any of these to the Image of God, * because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any Image, which is an image of God,

Winch.

Well yet by your leaue, so much as was seene we may, that is of Christ, of the holy ghost: and the father appeared to Daniel, like an old * man. &c.

Shet.

That is no prooffe that wee may make Images contrarye to the commaundement: for thoughte the holye Ghost appeared like a Doue, yet was he not like in shape, but in certayne quallities, and therefore when I sawe the Doue which is Gods creature, in deede I might remember the spirite to be simple and louing. &c. And with y^t he was somewhat moued, and sayd I had learned my lesson, and asked who taught me: with many wordes: and he said he would proue howe good and profitable Images were to teache the vnlearned. &c.

Shet.

At the last I sayd my Lorde, although I were able to make neuer so good a glose vpon the commaundements yet obedience is better then all our good intentes, & much adoe we had, at last he saw, he sayd, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charitie sake to talke with me, but now he would not medle, and sayd my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must cleare my selfe.

Sheter.

I sayd that was easie for me to doe. For I had not offended.

Winch.

He sayd I could not scape so: there I was deceyued.

Shet.

Well, then I am vnder the law &c?

Arch.

The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he layd to me,* that with such arrogancy and stoutnes as neuer was heard, I behaued my selfe before him, wheras he was minded with such mercy towarnes me &c. and many lyes he laid to me, that I was sent home til an other time: and I woulde not be contented but went out of y^e Church with such an outcry as was notable.

Shetter.

I declared, that he falsely herein reported me, & brought in the lawes then in the Realme, and y^e Queenes Proclamation, that none of her subiectes should be compelled till the law were to compell, and that I rehearsed y^e same in the Court for me, and I did vse him then (said I) as I vse your grace now, and no otherwise.

Winch.

He said, that I did not vse my selfe very wel now.

Shet.

I sayd, I had offerred my selfe to be bayled, and to conferre with them, when and where they would.

Winch.

He sayd, I should not conferre, but be obedient• I sayd let me goe and I will not desire to conferre neither: & when I offended, let them punish me, and so departed.

By your brother, Nicholas Sheterden prisoner for the truthe in Wes•ga•e.

***The last examination with the condemnation of Mayster Bland, Iohn Frankesh,* Nicholas Shetterden Vmfrey Middleton.**

AND thus much touching the particular, & seuerall examinations of Nicholas Shetterden, & of M. Bland. Now to touch somthing also of the other Martyrs, which the same time were examined,* and suffered with thē together, to witte, Umfrey Middleton of Ashford, and Iohn Frankesh Uirare of Roluynden in the Dyoces of Kent aboute [Page 1676](#) mentioned, here first would be declared the Articles whiche publickely in their last examinations were iointly and seuerally ministred vnto them by the foresaid Thornton Byshop of Douer. But forasmuche as these articles being ordinary & of course, are already expressed in the story of M. Bland: as may appeare before. It shall not therfore be needefull, to make any new rehearsall thereof.

To these seuen articles then being propounded to the fiue persons aboute named, to wit, Iohn Frankesh, Iohn Bland, Nicholas Shetterden, Umfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first aunswere Iohn Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be geuen him of 14. dayes to deliberate with himselfe. Whiche was graunted Maister Bland answered flattely and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden, and Umfrey Middleton answered to the first, and second articles affirmatiuely. To the third concerning the Catholicke Church after a sorte they graunted. To the fourth and fift and sixt touching the reall presence, and the sacramēt to be ministred in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refused vtterly to sweare Sheterden sayd he would not aunswere thereto before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so stil remayned prisoners, before the lawes of Parliament receiued. &c. Middleton added moreouer and confessed, that he beleued in hys owne God, saying, my liuyng God, & no dead God. &c. Thacker onely relented and was content to take penaunce.* Thus the foresayd foure vpon these aunsweres were condemned by the Byshop of Douer, the 25. day of Iune. an. 1555.

[illustration]

The burning of foure Martyrs.

*

And so being geuen to the seculer power, they were burned at Cant. the 12. of Iuly at two seuerall stakes,* but all in one fire together, where they in the sight of God and of his Aungels,

and before men, like true souldiours of Iesus Christ, gaue a constant testimony to the truth of his holy Gospell.

The prayer of Nicholas Sheterden, before his death.

O Lord my God and Sauour, whiche art Lord in heauen and earth, maker of all things visible and inuisible, I am the creature and worke of thy handes: Lord God looke vpon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly minded for thy lawes sake: Yea lord thy law it self is now trodē vnder foote, and mens inuentions exalted aboue it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures refuse the glory, prayse, and commoditie of this life, and do chuse to suffer aduersitie, and to be banished: yea to be burnt with the bookes of thy worde, for the hopes sake that it is layd vp in store. For Lorde thou knowest if we would but seeme to please men in thinges contrary to thy word, we might by thy permission enioy these commodities that other do, as wife children, goodes, and frendes, which al I knowlege to be thy giftes, geuen to the end I should serue thee. And now Lord that the worlde will not suffer me to enioye them, except I offend thy lawes, behold I geue vnto thee my whole spirite soule and body, and loe, I leaue here all the pleasures of this life and doe nowe leaue the vse of them for the hope sake of eternall life purchased in Christes blood,* and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with hym for his truth when soeuer the world and the deuill shall persecute the same.

O father I doe not presume vnto thee:* in mine owne righteousnes: no, but onely in the merites of thy deare sonne my sauour For the whiche excellent gifte of saluation I cannot worthily prayse thee, neither is any sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of oure bodyes mortified, and obedient vnto thy will, and now Lorde:* what soeuer rebellion hathe bene, or is found in my members, agaynst thy will, yet do I here geue vnto thee my body to the death, rather then I will vse anye straunge worshipping, whiche I beseech the accept at my hande for a pure sacrifice: let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, euen death, the ende of misery, and the beginning of all ioy, peace, and solace: and when the tyme of resurrection commeth, then let me enioy agayne these members then glorified, which now be spoyled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Iesu receaue my spirite into thy handes, Amen.

Letters of Nicholas Shetterden, and first a letter to his mother.

AFter my humble and bounden duety remembred, welbeloued Mother,* this shalbe to wishe you increase of grace and and godly wisdom, that yee may see and perceiue the craftye bewitching of Sathan our mortal enemy, which as I haue diuers times declared vnto you, doth not openly shewe himselfe in hys owne likenes, but vnder colour of deuotion deceiue them that keep not a dilligent eye vpon him,* but hauing confidence in mans traditions and customes of the worlde, leauing the commaundementes of God, and Testament of his Sonne Christ Iesus our Lord, doe grow more into superstition & hipocrisie, then into wisdom and true holynesse. For this is most true, that Sathan the enemy of soules, dothe by his ministers make many beleue, that those thinges whiche they compell vs vnto for theyr bellyes sake, haue many godly significations, although they be most contrary to Gods will, as doubtlesse they be, euen as did the serpent in Paradise to our first mother Eue. What (sayd he) hath God commaunded yee shall not eate of all the trees in the Garden? The woman sayd of the fruites of the trees in the Garden we may eate: but of the tree in the midst of the Garden, sayd God, see ye eate not, least ye dye.* Euē so our

Ministers now a dayes say: hath God commaunded ye shall not make you anye Image or likenes of any thing? Yea forsoothe. Tush say they, what harme can they doe? May we not remember God the better whē we see his Image or Picture? For they are good bookes for the lay men: but in deed they be better for the priestes, because they receiue the offeringes.

And looke howe truely the promise of the serpent was kepte with Eue, so is the perswasion of our Priests found true to vs.* For as Adam and Eue did become like God in knowing good and euill, so are we in remembring God by hys Image. For Adams eyes were so open, that he lost both innocencye and righteousnes, and was become most miserable of all creatures: and euen so we remember Christ so well by Images, that we forget his commaundements, and count his Testament confirmed in his bloud for starke madnesse or heresie: so miserably haue wee remembred him, that of all people we are most blinde.* and this doth followe vpon our presumption, when wee remember God by breking of hys law, and therefore surely except we repent shortly, God wil remember vs in his wrath, & reward vs with his plagues: as sure as there is a God it will come to passe.

But I know the craftines of them herein (I thanke God) whiche wil say: Where went he to schoole? Is he wiser then our great Doctours that studied all their life? And loe, they saye that it is good hay, although we smell it musty our selues, yet must we beleue it is sweete, and then pay them well for theyr so saying, and all is safe. But I might saye agayne: What sir, be ye wiser then Christ, and God hys father, or the holy Ghost? What wiser then the Prophetes, and the holy Apostles, and all the holye Martyrs? I pray you sir, where had you your high learning? It is higher thē God (being in heauen) is able to teache, or haue ye set it lower in hell then euer Christ durst to venter? For it is some straunge learning belike, that Christ nor his Apostles could neuer attaine to the knowledge of it. But vayne men are neuer without some shift: For peradventure they will not be ashamed to saye, that Christ cōming on his fathers message, did forget half his errād by the way. For I dare say, the greater halfe of theyr ceremonyes were neuer commaunded by Christ: Yea I doubt it would bee hard to finde one in the Churche perfectly as hee left: so Romishly hath Antichrist turned the church vpsidedown for lukers sake.

Beloued Mother, as I oftentimes sayde vnto you, euen so now I beseeche you from my very hart roote in Christ, to consider [Page 1677](#) your owne soules health is offered you, doe not cast it off: we haue not long time here. Why should we deceiue our selues either for ease of our fleshe, or for the winning of this worldes treasure? I know that some will say to you, why should wee condemne our fathers that liued thus? God forbid that wee shoulde condemne any that did according to their knowledge But let vs take heede that they condemne not vs: for if they had hearde the word as we haue, and had bene warned as wee haue, it is to bee thought that they would more thankfully haue receaued it thē we do:* yea they were more faythfull in that they knewe, then many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnation, if wee doe not embrace this grace offered vs. And surely looke how many of them God will accept and saue, those shall wee neuer see, nor haue any part among them: for our disobedience is more great then their ignoraunce. Wherefore if we will meete our fathers in blisse and ioye, let vs not refuse his mercye offered more largely to vs, then to them, euen according to Christes promise, which sayd, after such great ignoraunce, as to seek hym from country to country, and finde him not. Yet shall the Gospel (sayth he) be preached in all the world, and then shall the ende come.

And now let vs knowe the time of our visitation, and not turne backe agayne, seeing we are once deliuered: for surely God will not beare it at our handes to turne backward.* Oh remember Lots life God must needes punish out of hand our shamefull backesliding, eyther with induration and hardnes of hart, so that they shall persecute his Church and true seruauntes, or els reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruite of my loue & obedience to you. Would God we might be so knitte in fayth & trust in Gods word and promises here in this lyfe, as wee myght together enioye the blisse and consolation of eternall lyfe: which I desire and seeke aboue all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seeke the good will of men contrarye to my conscience, I could make some my frendes, whiche now peradventure are ielous ouer me amisse.* But I thanke God, let them waye the matter betweene God and theyr consciences, and they haue no iust cause so to do: neuerthesse I would they would yet refrain and put theyr matter and myne into the euen ballaunce of gods most holy worde, there to be wayed by the mynde of the holye Ghost, expressed vnto vs by the holy Patriarckes, and Prophetes and by Iesus Christ our onely Sauour and Mediatour, and by his holy Apostles: and then I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace, and ioyfulnes of hart, whiche God graunt vs for his mercies sake. Amen.

Your owne childe Nicholas Shetterden prisoner for the trueth in Westgate. 1555.

A letter to his brother VWater Sheterden,

*I Wishe you healthe in Christe, true knowledge of hys word & a faithful obedient hart vnto y^e same. It is shew^ded me my brother, y^t yee willed me by a letter made to a frend of yours, to perswade with me, that I shoulde be ruled by mine Uncle, which saith he wil bestow his goods very largely vpon me, If I shoulde not stand to highe in mine own conceipt. But my good brother, I trust ye doe not iudge so euill of me, that I should haue a fayth to sell for money. For though he or you were able to geue me the treasure of the whole countrey, yet I thanke my Lorde God, I do iudge it but an heape of dongue, in respecte of y^e treasure hid wⁱn: yet I do esteme a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good wil. And for to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my frends: I do not, neither haue refused it, if they require no more of me then my power, & that which belongeth to mortall men. But if they require of me any thing which pertayneth to God onely, there is neither high nor low, frend nor foe, I trust in God, shall get it of me, nor yet the Aungels in heauen.

For though I be not learned (as the vayne men of the world call learning) yet I thanke my Lorde God,* I haue learned out of Gods booke, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from hys sacramentes, and to put a difference betweene the merites of Christes Passion and hys Supper, & a difference betwene y^e water of Baptisme, and the holy Ghost, and not to mixe and mingle all thinges confusely together, so that if one aske me a question or a reason of my fayth, I must say thus, I beleue as holy Church beleueeth: if he aske me what is the order of that fayth, I should be so ignoraunt that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacramentes. If I should so monstrously vtter my faythe, that I were not able to iudge betweene Christes byrth and his buriall, nor which were first, of his mortification, and hys glorification, who would beleue that my faith wer sound?

For some affirme that Christ did not geue to his Apostles a mortall and a passible bodye, but an immortall & glorified body, so that he should haue a glorified bodye before his death & so his glorification was before hys resurrection: and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before hys Baptisme, and then they may as well say, he was Baptised before his Byrth, and borne before hee was conceiued, and conceiued before he was promised & that were euen right Antichrist to turne al things backward, & then say: Oh ye must beleue, for God is almighty he can do all things &c. Truth it is that God is almighty in deede,* and yet I may not beleuee thinges contrarye to hys word, that Christes body was glorified before he dyed: for Gods omnipotency doth not stand in thinges contrary to hys will, but in performyng his will at his pleasure in tyme, Neither doth he require of vs to iudge or beleue of his almighty power, that he hath made the ende of the world to come, before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before y^e blossome, & yet is he neuertheles almighty.

But if peradventure yee shall thinke with youre selfe, Why, they are learned:* it were maruell but they shoulde know what is the trueth, as well as other whiche neuer kept no such study. &c. To that I answere, that if they had studied Gods word the author of truth, as they haue done Logicke, and Duns, with the Legend of lyes, they shuld haue bene as expert in the truth, as they be now in balde reasons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, y^t suche should be deluded with lyes, which would not beleue nor walke in his truth.

And agayne: this is a good cause to make vs thynke surely, that thys was the cause that God gaue them ouer at the first to erreure, after the Apostles time by litle & litle, as they grewe in sinne. For seeing wee had hys trueth now among vs a few yeares, because we did not obey vn^{to} it, we see what a sodayne chaunge God hathe brought vpon vs for our sinnes sake. And why shuld not we think that this and such lyke disobedience was the cause y^t God tooke his word from all Christendome at the first, and cast a darkenes vpon them that would not walke in his light.* For it is euident enough to see how lyke theyr doynges be to Christes and hys Apostles, and that seene, eyther wee must iudge Christes doings very slender, and theirs good or els that in deede they be the very Antichristes, whiche should come and turne all thinges out of frame. Thus I haue bene bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not bee altogether in vayne. Pray for me, as I doe for you.

Your brother Nicholas Shetterden, prisoner for the truth in Westgate.

An other letter to hys brother.

GOd, whiche is the geuer of all goodnes, and that freely for hys loue to vs (not onely without our desertes, but contrary to the same) graunt you my brother suche encrease of Godlye knowledge and loue vnto the vertues thereunto belonging,* as may geue you such a tast in heavenly things that all treasures of earthly thinges may sauoure to you, as in deede they are, moste vayne and vncertayne, so shall ye neuer take them for no better then they be. Yea, whether God take them from vs, or geue them vnto vs, we shall know our selues neither richer nor poorer before God: But if we lay vp in our hartes the treasure of his word we shall not onely enriche our selues agaynst the tyme of neede, but also arme oure selues agaynst the battell with weapons and harnes, whiche is inuincible, and clothe oure selues agaynst the maryage: For beholde, the Lorde hath called vs of long tyme to the feast, and blowne the trumpet to prepare the battell.* Let vs

know the tyme of our visitation, least the Lord sittynge on his mount bewayle our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is iust to punishe such as continue in sinne, euen as he is mercifull to forgeue the repentaunt that turne in tyme: for so is God that cannot deny hymselfe.

Let vs therfore in this day, while it is called to day, heare his voyce, and not harden your hartes by resistance of hys will, least he sweare in hys wrath, that we shall not enter into hys rest. Let vs count that sufficient, that wee haue spent the tyme past (as S. Peter sayth) after the will of the Gentiles, in eatyng and drynking, chamberyng and wantonnesse, and in abhominable Idolatrye &c. And now let vs assay a new lyfe and trade our members in vertue an other while, least peradventure wee might run past any returne in the contrary. But if we now returne and laye hand of his worde in deede and veritie, as wee haue long tyme done in talke and libertie, then wil God heape vpon vs such certificate of conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in hym, so that all treasure shall be dounge,* to that excellent knowledge of our Sauour. Deare brother, my harts desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enioy the blisse of eternall inheritance by one spirituall regeneration and new byrth, as we are ioyned by nature. But alacke, the way and meane thereunto hath bene much neglected of me (I will not say of you) for I had rather ye should accuse your selfe: for no doubt the best of vs both hat•e not sought for wisdom in Gods worde, as some in the worlde [Page 1678](#) whom we knowe, haue sought for money: therefore they shall be our Iudges, if we do not learne by them: yea the very Emmet, as S•lomon saith, doth teach vs to prouide for the time to come: for •hee prouideth in Sommer against Winter.*

This is the best token I haue for you now, which thoughte it be simple, yet shal it declare partly my hearts desire to you ward, which is euen as mine owne soule.* Let nothing dismay you▪ for my cause: but be ye sure I shall haue victorie in the truthe, which truth is stronger then kings,* wine, or women. For as Zorobabel sayeth: Wine is vnrighteous, the king is vnrighteous, women are vnrighteous, yea al the children of men are vnrighteous, but the truthe endureth, and is alwaies strong, and conquereth for euer without end: Therefore this is to desire you & all other my frends that wish me good, to pray that God will alwaies keepe me in his truthe as he hath begonne, which prayer if it be of such a minde as laboureth to depart from euill, shall be to me the greatest pleasu•e vnder heauen. For I desire nothing in comparison of Gods truthe I thanke him of his mercy, which so hath wrought, for I take it as a sure seale of the endlesse ioy which shall hereafter followe: which God bring vs vnto, when his will and pleasure is, Amen.

From Canterburie.

By yours Nicholas Shetterden.

An other Letter of Nicholas Shetterden to his mother.

O My good mother, whom I loue with reuerence in the Lord,* and according to my duety, I desire your fauourable blessing, and forgeuenes of al my misdeds towards you. Oh my good mother, in fewe wordes I wish you the same salutation, which I hope my selfe to feelee, and partly tast of before this come to you to reade: And in the resurrection, I verely beleeeue to haue it more perfectly in body and soule ioyned together for euer: and in that daye God graunt you to see my face with ioy: but deare mother then beware of that greate Idolatrie and blasphemous Masse. O lette not that be your God, whiche mice and wormes can deuoure.* Beholde I call heauen and

earth to recorde, that it is no God, yea the fire that consumeth it, and the moystenesse that causeth it to moulde, and I take Christes Testament to witnesse, that it is none of his ordinaunces, but a meere inuention of men, and a snare to catche innocents bloud: and now that God hath shewed it vnto you, be warned in time: O geue ouer olde customes, & become new in y^e truth. What state soeuer your fathers be in, leaue that to God: * and let vs followe the counsell of his woorde. Deare mother, imbrace it with heartye affection, reade it wyth obedience, lette it be your pastime, but yet caste of all carnall affections, and loue of worldly things: so shall we meete in ioy at the last day, or els I bid you farewell for euermore: Oh, farewell my friendes and louers all, God graunt me to see your faces in ioy. Amen.

From Westgatethe 11. of Iuly. 1555.

Your childe wrytten with his hande, and sealed with his bloude, Nicholas Shetterden being appoynted to be slaine.

The copie of a letter wrytten to his wife.

I Wrote vnto you as one y^t longed more to heare of your healthe, * then of all worldly treasure, willing you to entreate Esau the elder brother by nature gently, geuing to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droues, and say they be Jacobs, and are sent for a present to my Lorde Esau, but he wil not take it. &c. Now my beloued ye knowe the blessing of oure father is, that the elder shall serue the younger, & wisdom our mother hath taught vs the same, and I know ye do complaine of your * seruaunt the flesh, that he is rebellious, diobedient, and vntoward: vnruely and crookedly ye thinke he doth his seruice: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent iudge: for if it be true that his seruice be not according to hys duetie, as it is many times found in seruaunts: yet (I say) can you shewe your cause to no indifferent iudge, but hee shall obiect against you that he is not kept like a seruant, but he lacketh both meat and drinke, and other necessities meete and due for a seruaunt: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, then remedy or vantage against your seruant, and it shalbe a cloke for him to hide all his rebellion and vntoward seruice, because ye haue misused him.

And therefore my sentence is, that yee patiently beare with him in small faultes, and amende your owne greate faultes, as oppression, crueltie and couetousnes, requiring more then a seruaunt can do, specially being tired wyth labour, famined wyth hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if hee doe hys seruice negligently, (as no doubt sometime he wil) yet then ye may boldly correct him with discretion, & sometime if he do not hys taske, ye may make hym go to bed supperlesse: but yet beate hym not with durable strokes, neither withholde hys meate in due time, and pinche him not by the belly continually, but * let him haue some thing to ioy in: onely watch hym, and keepe him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God: yet be good to straungers for we are all straungers in darkenesse, and captiues in sinne, as well soule and spirite, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet vn baptised with the terrible red Sea of deathe, and remember that one lawe abideth for the stranger, I meane one reward abideth both bodye and soule in the lande of euerlasting rest. And therefore intreat him gently, and deale with him iustly now: * for the time will come that the yoke of bondage shall be taken from his necke, and he shall be a fellow heire with your yonger brother.

Circumcise him therefore, but doe not misuse hym, nor keepe him from hys owne, but deale mercifully wyth the straunger, that he may saye: Oh of what vnderstanding heart is this people, who hath God? Or where is God so nigh as to these? God make you wise and politike in hart, victorious in fieldes of this world, to rule the nations with a rodde: but kill not the Gabaonites wyth whome peace is taken: but lette them drawe water, and hew woode,* but geue them their meate and drinke due for labourers, and be glad because your disease is so remedied: for it is better and easier for a thirstie labouring man to drinke, then for a drunken man to tell a sober tale. Yea, it is a token that yee haue earnestly followed your labour, and not kepte companie with drunkardes and belly Gods: and therefore be glad I say, yea and glad againe: for great is your rewarde in heauen: yea blessed shall they be, that in this your zeale shall meete you, and withdrawe your hande from reuenging your selfe vppon that churlish Naball: which thing I hope to doe nowe with these sweete reasons, and frailes of Figges, I being of one house with your seruauant Naball. I dare say to you, that churlishnesse is hys name: but reuenge not, for the Lorde shal do it in his due time. Farewell mine owne heart.

Yours in bondes at Westgate. Nicholas Shetterden.

The next day after the condemnation of these foresayd, which was the 26. day of Iulye, were also condemned for the same Articles W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambroke, Henry Laurence, Richarde Wright of Ashforde, W. Stere of Ashforde. But because the execution of these Martyrs pertaineth not to thys moneth, more shall be sayde (the Lorde willing) of them, when we come to the moneth folowing of August.

Nicholas Hall, and Christopher Waide, Martyrs.

THE same moneth of Iuly next after the suffering of the Kentishmen aboue named,* followed the death & Martyrdome of Nicholas Hall Brickelayer, and Christopher Waid of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice Bishoppe of Rochester, about the last daye of the moneth of Iune. The sixe Articles ministred to them, were of the same ordinarie course and effecte, wyth the Articles of the other Martyrs before specified, pag. 1582. the brief sum whereof were these.

A briefe summe of their Articles.

1. Firste, that they were Christen men, and professed the Catholicke determinations of oure Mother holye Church.*
2. That they which maintein or hold, otherwise then our holy mother the Catholicke Church doth, are heretickes.
3. That they haue and mainteine, that in the Sacrament of the aultare, vnder the formes of breade and wine, is not very body and bloude of Christe. And that the sayde verye bodye of Christe is verely in heauen onely, and not in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that they haue and do holde and mainteine, that the Masse, as it is nowe vsed in the Catholicke Church, is nought and abhominable.

5. Item, that they haue bene and be amongst the people of that Iurisdiction vehemently suspected vppon the premisses, and thereupon indicted. &c.

The aunsweres.

TO these Articles they aunswared, as commonly other vsed to doe, which stand with Christ and his truthe against these pretended Catholickes,* and their sinister doctrine. [Page 1679](#) Firste graunting them selues Christen men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy Church, that is, of the congregation or bodye of Christe: saue that Halle denyed to call the Catholicke and Apostolicke Church hys mother,* because he founde not this worde (mother) in the Scripture.

To the second they graunted. To the thirde Article as touching the very bodye and bloude of Christe to be vnder the formes of bread and wine in substance they woulde not graunt, only affirming y^e very body of him to be in heauen & in the sacrament to be a token or remēbrance of Christes death: Nicholas Halle adding moreouer, and saying, that wheras before he held the Sacrament to be but only a token or remembraunce of Christes death, now he sayd, that there is neither token nor remembrance,* because it is now misused and cleane tourned from Christes Institution. &c. And cōcerning the masse in the 4. article, to be abhominable, Christopher Waid with the other answered, y^t as they had confessed before, so would they now not goe from that they had said. To the 5. article, for y^e peoples suspition they made no great accompt nor sticking to graunt to the same.

And thus much concerning the articles and answeres of these good men.* Which being receiued, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the B. against them, the cōpye of which sentence, as it runneth muche what after the common course in condemning all other like seruants of Christ, so the same being examplified before in the story of M. Rogers, pag. 5453. shall not greatly neede heere againe to be repeated, but rather may be referred ouer to the place aboue noted. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19. day of Iuly.

*Furthermore, with the foresayd Hall and Waid, in the same moneth of Iuly: three other moe were condemned by Maurice bishop aforenamed, whose names were Ioane Beach widow, Ihon Harpoll of Rochester and Margery Polley. Of which Margerie Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here foloweth in storie.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Margerie Polley.

MArgerie Polley widowe, wife sometime of Richarde Polley of Pepingberie, was accused and brought before the said Maurice Bish. of Rochester,* about the beginning of the moneth of Iune. Which Bishop according to the Pontificall solemnitie of that Church, rising vp out of the chaire of his maiestie, in the high swelling stile after his ordinary fashion to dash the seely poore woman, beginneth in these woordes.

We Maurice by the sufferance of God bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our meere office in a cause of heresie, against thee Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepingbery of our Diocesse and

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Margery Polley.

*Jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all & singular these articles insuing. To the which, and to euery parcell of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plaine aunswere, by vertue of thine othe thereupon to be geuen &c.

Thus the oth first being ministred,* & the articles commenced against her, whiche Articles were the same ministred to Nicholas Hall and Waid before, she so framed hee answeres againe, especially answering to the 3. and 4. Article, that shee neither allowed the deitie of theyr Sacrament, nor the absurdity of their masse. For the which, sentence was read against her about the beginning of Iune, and she condemned for the same. But because her death folowed not vpon the same, we wil therfore defer the tractation therof to the due place and time, first setting downe in order of historie, the execution of Christopher Waid abo•e mentioned.

The execution and Martyrdome of Christopher Waide.

CHristopher Waide of Darford, in the Countie of Kent, Linnen weauer, was condemned by Maurice byshop of Rochester, and appoynted to be burned at Darforde aforesayde. At the day appoynted for his execution, which was in the moneth of Iuly, there was betimes in the morning carryed oute of the Towne in a Carte, a Stake, and therewith many bundles of Reedes, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the Towne, called the Brymthe, into a Grauell pitte thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a loade of Broome fagot, with other fagots and talwood. Unto which place resorted the people of the Countrey in great number, and there taried his comming. In so much that thither came dyuers Fruiterers wyth horse loades of Cherries, and sold them. About x. of the clocke commeth riding the Sheriffe, wyth a greate manye of other Gentlemen and their retinue, appoynted to assist him therein, and with them Waide riding pinioned, and by him one Margerie Polly of Tunbridge, both singing of a Psalme: whyche Margerie, as soone as she espied a farre off the multitude gathered aboute y^e place where she shoulde suffer, waiting his comming, she sayde vnto hym very loude and chearefully: You maye reioyce Waide, to see suche a companie gathered to celebrate youre marriage this day.

And so passing by the place, whych ioyned harde to the hye way, they were caried streighte downe to the Towne, where shee was kepte vntill the Sheriffe returned from Waids execution. And Waid being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an Inne, had broughte vnto hym a faire long white Shirte from hys wife, which being put on, and hee pinioned, was led vppe on foote againe to the foresayde place. And comming straite to the stake, tooke it in hys armes, embracing it, and kissed it, setting hys backe vnto it, and standing in a pitche Barrell, which was taken from the Beacon, being hard by: then a Smith brought a hoope of yron, and wyth two staples made him fast to the stake vnder hys armes.

As soone as hee was thus setteled, hee spake wyth hys handes and eyes lifted vp to heauen, wyth a chearefull and loude voyce, the laste verse of the lxxxvi. Psalme: Shewe some good token vppon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed, because thou Lord hast helped me, and comforted me. Neare vnto the stake was a litle hill, vpon the top wherof were pitched vp foure sta•es quadrangle wise, with a couering round about like a pulpit, into the which

place, as Wade was thus praying at y^e stake, entred a Frier wyth a booke in his hand, whō when Wade espied, he cried earnestly vnto y^e people, to take hede of the doctrine of the whore of Babilon, exhorting them to imbrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in K. Edward his daies. Whom the sheriffe, thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, be quiet Wade, and die paciētly, I am (sayde hee) I thanke God, quiet, Maister Sheriffe, and so trust to die. All this while the Frier stode still looking ouer the couerlet, as though he woulde haue vttered somewhat: but Wade very mightily admonished y^e people to beware of that doctrine: whiche when the Frier perceiued, whether he were amased, or coulde haue no audience of the people, withdrewe himselfe oute of the place immediately wythoute speaking anye woorde, and went awaye downe to the Towne. Then the Reedes being sette about hym, he pulled them and imbraced them in his armes, alwayes with his handes (making a hole against his face, that his voyce might be heard, which they perceiuing that were hys tormentours, alwaye caste fagottes at the same hole, whych notwithstanding he still as he coulde put off, [Page 1680](#) his face, being hurte with the ende of a fagotte cast thereat. Then sire being putte vnto him, he cried vnto God often, Lorde Iesus receiue my soule: wythout any token or signe of impacience in the fire, till at lengthe, after the fire was once throughly kindled, he was hearde no man speake, still holding hys handes vp ouer hys head together towards heauen, euen when he was dead and altogether rosted, as though they had bene stayed vppon wyth a proppe standing vnder them.

Thys signe did God shewe vppon hym, whereby his very ennemies might perceiue, that God had according to hys prayer, shewed such a token vppon hym, euen to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly Martyrs execution, thys was his ende. Whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbnes, the Frier that Locuste which was risen vp to haue spoken against hym: and also no lesse woonderfully sustained those handes which he lifted vp to him for cōfort in his torment.

Spectatores praesentes Richardus Fletcher pater, nunc Minister Ecclesiae Crambroke, Richardus Fletcher filius, Minister Ecclesiae Riensis.

The apprehension, examination, condemnation, and burning of Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder, who suffered martyrdome for the testimonie of Christes Gospel.

The 22. day of this moneth of Iuly, was burned at Lewes, within the Countie of Sussex, one Diricke Caruer, late of the parish of Brighthamsted in the same Countie. And the next day (being the 23. day of the same moneth) was also burned at Steuing, an other named Ihon Lander, late of Godstone, in the Countie of Surrey. Whych 2. men were (w^t others) about the ende of the moneth of October. An. 1554. apprehended by Edwarde Gage Gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling house of the said Diricke: and by him were sent vp vnto the Queenes Counsaile. Who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attende the leisure of Boner Bishop of London. From whence (vpon the Bishops receipte of a letter from the Lorde Marques of Winchester now Lord Treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison, the 8. of Iune next after, into the bishops chamber at his house in Lōdon: and there (being examined vpon diuers poynts of religion) they made their seuerall confessions, subscribing and signing them with theyr owne hands. Which being read, the Bishop objected vnto them certaine other Articles, causing them to sweare truely and directly to aunswere thereunto: whiche Articles they confessed to be true, referring them selues chiefly to theyr former confessions.

This done, after long perswasions and faire exhortations, they were demaunded whether they would stand to their aunsweres. To whom Launder sayde: I will neuer goe from these answeres, so long as I liue. The other also confirmed the same, and therfore they were commanded to appeare againe before the Bishoppe in the Consistorie at Paules, the 10. day of the same moneth nexte followynge. Which articles and confessions, wyth the afore mencioned letter do here ensue.

A letter sent from the Marques of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, vnto Boner B. of London, touching the examination of the said prisoners.

After my right hartly commendations to your good Lordship, I shall not forget your liuerie of blacke against this time: no more I shall maister Deane,* to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it: for my L. of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I haue geuen like knowledge by my letter now sent, and your Lordshippe must commaund the Sextens of youre church to be in readines for ringing in the time of seruice. And if ye be not furnished with blacke apparell for the aultar, and for the Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon, I must haue knowledge therof, that it be taken of the Queenes stuffe, whereof I pray you let me be aduertised.

And ye haue sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of heresie before you: but as I perceiue ye haue not sent me a Significauit, and therfore you must send me one that I may procede with him, and that shal I do, assone as I am answered of you.

There be diuers like prisonners that came from Sussex, that be not yet examined before you, lying nowe in Newgate, whych must be examined by you,* since they be come to London, and so I pray you they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I shall doe, thanking your Lordship heartely for my Conies, trusting to recōpence your Lordship again shortly with twise as many.

From my house this 7 of Iune. 1555.

Your louing friend, Winchester.

The Confession of Diricke Caruer, before Boner Bishop of London.

Dricke Caruer bearebrewer of Brighthamsted,* in the countie of Sussex, where he hathe dwelled by the space of 8. or 9. yeares, borne in the village of Dilson by Stockome in the land of Luke, 40. yeres of age, or thereabout, and nowe prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the Counsailes commaundement, since Alhollowne day last past, being examined concerning hys faith and beliefe in the sacrament of the altar,* sayeth that he hath & doth beleue, that the very substance of the body and bloud of Christ is not in the sayd Sacrament, & that there is no other substaunce remaining in the said sacrament after the woordes spoken by the Priest, but onely the substance of bread and wine.

Item, being examined concerning the Masse in Latin now vsed in the church of England,* he beleueth that there is no sacrifice in the sayde Masse, and that there is in it no saluation for a christian man, except it should be said in the mother tounge, that he might vnderstand it: and

cōcerning the ceremonies of the Church, he sayth and beleueeth, that they be not profitable to a Christian man.

Item,* being examined concerning auriculare confession, he answeareth: that he hath and doth beleue, that it is necessary to goe to a good Priest for good counsaile, but the absolution of the Priest, laying his hand vppon any mans head as is nowe vsed, is nothing profitable to a Christian mans saluation. And further he sayth, that he hath not ben confessed, nor receiued the sacrament of the aulter, since the coronation of the Queene that now is.

Item, concerning the faith & religion, now taught, setfoorth & beleued in the church of England, he answeareth and beleueth, that the faith and doctrine nowe taught, setfoorth, and vsed in the sayd Church of Englande, is not agreable to Gods word. And furthermore he sayth,* that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, & other of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good christian men, & did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as he beleueeth: and sayth that they did shed theyr bloude in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he sayth & beleueeth.

And further being examined saith, y^t since the Quenes coronation, he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English red in his house at Brighthamsted diuers times, and likewise since hys comming into Newgate, but the Keeper hearing thereof, did take them awaye: and sayeth also that about a twelue moneth now past, he had the English procession sayd in his house, with other English praier.* And further sayeth, that Thomas Iueson, Iohn Launder, and William Ueisey, being prisoners with hym in Newgate, were taken with this examinat in his house at Brighthāsted, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a litle before Alhollowne day last past, and brought to the Court: and being examined thereuppon by the Counsaile, were committed by them to prison in Newgate.

The confession of Iohn Launder, before Boner bishop of London.

IOhn Launder husbandman, of the Parish of Godstone, in the Countie of Surrey, of the age of xxv. yeres,* borne at Godstone aforesayde, being examined, doth confesse and say, that about two dayes next before Allhollon•ide nowe last past, this Examinee and one Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iueson, William Ueisie, with diuers other persons, to the number of twelue, (being all together in their prayers, and saying the seruice in English, set foorth in the time of King Edward the sixte, in the house of the sayde Diricke, situate at Brighthamsted in Sussex) were apprehended by one maister Edward Gage, and by him sent vppe hether to London, to the Kinge and Queenes Counsaile, and by them (vpon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he with his said other felowes hath euer since remained in prison.

And further being examined, he doeth confesse and say, that the occasion of his comming to the sayde Brighthamsted,* was vpon certaine busines there to be sped for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the saide Diricke was a man that did much fauour the Gospel, this Examinee did resorte to his house and companie, whome before that time hee did neuer see or know and by reason of that hys resorte, hee was apprehended as before: And further doth confesse and beleue, that there is heere in earth, one whole and vniuersall Catholicke Church, whereof the members he dispersed through the world, and doth beleue also, that the same Church doeth set foorth and teache onely two Sacraments: videlicet, the Sacrament of Baptisme,* and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord. And who [Page 1681](#) soeuer doth teach or vse any more

Sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not beleue that they be of the Catholicke Church, but doth abhorre them from the bottome of his heart: And doth further say and beleue, that all the seruice,* sacrifices and ceremonies, now vsed in thys Realme of England (yea, & in all other partes of the world, whych ben vsed after the same maner) be erroneous and naught, & contrary to Christes institution, and the determination of Christes Catholicke church, whereof he beleueth, that he him selfe is a member.

Also hee doeth confesse and beleue, that in the Sacrament,* nowe called the sacrament of the aultar, there is not really, and truly, contained vnder the formes of bread and wine, the very naturall body and bloude of Christe in substaunce: but his beliefe and faith therein is as followeth, Videlicet, that when he doth receiue the material bread and wine, he doeth receiue the same in a remembrance of Christes death and passion, and so receiuing it, he doth eate and drinke Christes body and bloude by faith, and none other wayes, as he beleueth.

And moreouer he doth confesse, say, and beleue, that the Masse now vsed in the Realme of Englande,* or els where in all Christendome, is nought and abhominable, and directly against Gods worde, and his Catholicke Church: and that there is nothing sayd or vsed in it good or profitable. For he saith, that albeit the gloria in excelsis, the Creede, Sanctus, Pater noster, Agnus, and other partes of the Masse, bene of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being vsed amongst other things that be naught and superfluous in the Masse, the same good things do become nought also, as he beleueth.

*Also he doth beleue and confesse that Auriculare confession is not necessary to be made to any Priest, or to anye other creature, but euery persone oughte to acknowledge & confesse hys sinnes onely to God: and also that no person hath any authority to absolue any man frō his sinnes: and also beleueth that the right and true way (according to the Scripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to sinne, to arise to Christe againe, is to be sorie for his offences, & to doe the same, or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the Priests handes. All whyche hys sayde opinions, hee hath beleued by the space of these seuen or eight yeares past, and in that time, hath diuers and many times openly argued and defendeth the same, as hee sayeth. &c.

Articles objected by Boner Bishop of London, against Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder.

1. Firste, I doe object against you, and euery of you, that yee and euery of you,* beinge within the sayde prisone of Newgate, and within this sayde Citie of London, are of my iurisdiction (being Bishoppe of London) and subiecte vnto the same, offending and trespassing wythin the sayd prison and Citie, in matters of Religion, and concerning the Catholicke faith and beliefe of the Church in any wise.

2. Item, I doe object against you and euery of you, that yee and euery of you,* since your first comming and entring into the sayde prisone, and during your abode there, bothe there, and in sundry places wythin this Citie and Dioces of London, haue holden, maintained, and defended sundry opinions against the Sacraments of the Church, especially against the Sacrament of penance, and also against the Sacrament of the aultar.

3. Item, I do likewise object that yee, and euery of you, in all or in some of the said places,* haue (as concerning the sacrament of the aultar) holden, mainteined, and defended, to the best of your power, that in the sayde sacrament of the aultar there is not the very substaunce of the body & bloud of our Sauour Christ, but that in the Sacrament there is onely the substaunce of naturall breade and wine, and no other substaunce.

*4. Item, I do likewise object that you and euery of you, in all or some of the said places: haue concerning the masse in Latine now vused in the Church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained and likewise defended, that the sayde Masse is not good or profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.

*5. Item, I do likewise object, that you and euery of you, in all, or some of the places, haue concerning y^e ceremonies of the Church, holden, mainteined, and likewise defended, that the saide ceremonies are not profitable to a Christian man, but hurtfull and euill.

*6. Item, I do likewise object, that you and euery of you, in all, or some of the sayd places, haue concerning the Sacrament of penance, holden, mainteined, and likewise defended, that auricular confession (being a part thereof, albeit it may be made vnto a good Priest for counsaile, yet the absolution of the Priest, laying hys hand vpon any mans heade, and doing as is now vsually done in the Church, is nothing profitable to any mans saluation, & that therefore yee neither haue bene confessed to the Priest, after the vsuall maner of the Church, nor yet receiued the sayd Sacrament of the aultar since the coronation of the Queenes Maiestie, whyche is more then the space of one yeare and a halfe.

7. Item, I do likewise object,* that ye and euery of you in all or some of the sayd places concerning the faith and religion now taught, set foorth, vused and beleued in the church of this Realme of Englande, and the doctrine of the same, haue holden, beleueed and sayde, that it is not agreeable to Gods woord, but cleane contrary to the same.

8. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and euery of you, in all, or some of the sayd places, haue beleueed, spoken, & sayd,* and to your power, vpholden, mainteined & sayd that byshop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of theyr opinion, which of late wythin this realme were burnt for heresie, were good Christian men, in speaking and holding against the said Sacrament of the aultar, and that they did preache nothing, but the true doctrine of Christe, shedding their bloud for the maintenance of the sayd doctrine.

9. Item, I do likewise object, that yee and euerye of you, haue earnestly laboured and traueiled to the best and vttermost of your power,* to haue vp againe the English seruice, and the Communion in all poyntes, as was vused in the latter daies of king Edward the sixt, here in this realm of Englande.

10. Item, I do likewise objecte, that ye, and euery of you haue thought and doe thinke, firmly and stedfastly,* and so haue and do beleuee, that the faith, religion, & doctrine, setfoorth in the 〈...〉 of the foresaid king Edward, was in all poyntes 〈...〉 godly, containing in it the true Faith and Religio• 〈...〉, in euery part.

11. Item, 〈...〉 likewise object and say, that ye, and euery of you, (for your misbelief, offence, transgression,* and misbehauour in the premisses, and for that also that you wold not come to your seuerall parish churches, and heare your diuine seruice there, as other Christian people did, and do: but absent your selfe from the same, and haue your priuate seruice in your houses, especiallye in the house of Diricke Caruer) were sent vp vnto the King and Queenes Maiesties priuie counsaile, and by them or some of them, sente afterward vnto the prison of Newgate aforesayd, hauing thereby their authoritie, remained as prisoners, during all the time ye haue bene there.

12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I the sayd byshop of London,* was commaunded by the authority of the sayd Counsaile, to make processe against you, and euery of you, so that it was not my procuring or searching, that yee should be commaunded or called before me in this matter of heresie, but partly your owne demerites, and partly the sayde commandement enforced me to cal and send for you, to make aunswere heerein, and heereof to shewe you the sayde letters.

Their answeres to the Articles.

Vpon Monday, being the sayd tenth day of Iune, these two persons (with others) were brought by the keeper vnto the bishops Consistorie (as it was before commaunded) at one of the clocke in the after noone, where the Byshop first beginning with the sayde Diricke Caruer, caused his confession with the Articles and Aunsweres, to be openly read vnto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of euery prisoner) asking hym whether he would stand to the same. To whom the sayd Diricke answered, that he would: for your doctrine (quoth hee) is poyson and Sorcerie. If Christe were heere, you would put him to a woorse death, then he was put to before.

You say, that you can make a God: ye can make a pudding as well.* Your Ceremonies in the Church be beggery and poyson. And farther I say, that auricular confession is contrary to Gods word, and very poyson: wyth diuers other such woordes.

The Bishop seeing this constancie, & that neyther hys accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruell threatnings could once moue this good man to encline to their idolatry, pronounced his vsuall and general blessing, as well towards this Diricke, as also vpon the sayde Iohn Launder (although seuerally). Who (after the like manner of processe vsd with him) remained in the same constancie, as dyd the other, and therefore were both deliuered vnto the sheriffes, who were there present, but afterwards were conueyed to [Page 1682](#) the places aboue named, & there moste ioyfully gaue their houses to bee burned in the fire, and their soules into the handes of Almighty God, by Iesus Christ, who hath assured them to a better hope of life.

*This Diricke was a man, whome the Lorde had blessed as well with temporall riches, as with hys spirituall treasures: which riches yet were no clogge or let vnto hys true professing of Christe, (the Lord by his grace so woorking in him:) of the which, there was such hauocke made, by the greedye raueners of that time, that hys poore wyfe and children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in yeares (and as it were, past the time of learning) yet he so spent his time, that being at hys firste apprehension vtterly ignoraunt of any letter of the booke, he coule before his death read perfectly any Printed English. Whose

diligence and zeale is worthy no small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to lette it passe ouer in silence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

Moreouer, at his comming into the towne of Lewes to be burned, the people called vpon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Iesus Christe.* Hee thanked them, and prayed vnto God, that of hys mercye hee woulde strengthen them in the lyke Faith. And when hee came to the signe of the Starre, the people drew neare vnto hym, where the Sheriffe sayde that he had founde him a faithfull man in all hys aunsweres. And as he came to the stake, hee kneeled downe and made hys prayers, and the Sheriffe made haste.

Then hys Booke was throwne into the barrell, and when he had stript him selfe (as a ioyfull member of God) he went into the barrell him selfe.* And as soone as euer hee came in, he tooke vp the booke and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriffe commaunded in the Kynge and Queenes name, in paine of death, to throw in the booke againe. And immediately, that faithful member spake with a ioyfull voyce, saying:

Deare brethren and sisterne, witnes to you all, that I am come to seale with my bloude Christes Gospell, for because I know that it is true: it is not vnknown vnto all you, but that it hath bene truly preached heere in Lewes, and in all places of Englande, and nowe it is not. And for because that I wil not deny heere Gods Gospel,* and be obedient to mans lawes, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisterne, as many of you as doe beleue vpon the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoste, vnto euerlasting life, see you do the woorkes appertaining to the same. And as many of you as doe beleue vpon the Pope of Rome, or any of his lawes, which he sets foorth in these daies, you do beleue to your vtter condēnation, and except the great mercy of God, you shall burne in hell perpetually.

Immediately the Sheriffe spake vnto hym, and sayde, if thou doest not beleue on the Pope thou art damned body and soule.* And further the Sheriffe sayde vnto hym: speake to thy God, that he maye deliuer thee nowe, or else

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Diricke Caruer.

* to strike me downe to the example of thys people: but this faythfull member sayde, the Lorde forgeue you youre sayinges.

And then spake hee againe to all the people there present, with a loude voyce, saying: deare brethren,* and all you whom I haue offended in woordes or in deede, I aske you for the Lordes sake to forgeue mee, and I heartely forgeue all you, which haue offended me in thought, word, or dede. And he sayd further in his praier, Oh Lord my God, thou hast wrytten: Hee that wil not forsake wife, children house,* and all that euer he hath, and take vp thy crosse and folow thee, is not woorthy of thee. But thou Lorde knowest that I haue forsaken all, to come vnto thee: Lord haue mercy vpon me, for vnto thee I commend my spirit: and my soule doth reioyce in thee. These were the last wordes of that Faythfull member of Christe, before the fire was put to hym.

And afterward that the fire came to him, he cried: Oh Lorde haue mercy vpon me, and spronge vp in the fire, calling vppon the name of Iesus, and so ended.

Thomas Iueson, Martyr.

AT Chichester,* about the same moneth was burned one Thomas Iueson of Godstone in the Countie of Surrey, Carpenter, whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, (for as much as it was at one time, and in one forme with Diricke Caruer, and Iohn Launder) I doe here omit, referring the reader to their hystorie & processe before mentioned, sauing onely this his seuerall confession, and priuate answers made before B. Boner at hys last examination in the Consistorie, I thought not to pretermit: who being examined vppon the foresayd Articles, answered as followeth.

The aunsweres of Thomas Iueson, to the obiections of Boner bishop of London, in a chamber at his house, in the moneth of Iuly.

1. First, that he beleued, that there is but one Catholike,* vniuersall and whole Church of Christ thorough the whole worlde, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessarye Articles of Christen beliefe, & all the Sacraments of Christe, with the true vse and administration of the same.
2. Item, that he is necessarily bounden to beleue & geue credite, in all the sayd faith, Articles of the beliefe, religion, and the Sacraments of Christe, and the administration of the same.
3. Item, that that faith, religion, and administration of Sacraments, which now is beleued, vsed, taught, and set forth in this our church of England, is not agreeing wyth the truth and faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the sayde Catholicke and vniuersall Church of Christ.
4. Item, concerning the Sacrament of the aaltar, he beleueth, that it is a very Idol, and detestable before God, as it is now ministred.
5. Item, that the Masse is nought, and not of the institution of Christ, but y^t it is of mans inuention: and demaunded whether any thing vsed in the Masse be good, he sayde that he would answere no further.
6. Item, that hee had not receiued the Sacrament of the aaltar, since it hath ben ministred as now it is in England neither was confessed at any time within this seuen yeres, nor he hath not heard Masse by the same space.
7. Item, that auricular confession is not necessarye to be made to a priest, for that he cānot forgeue, nor absolue him from sinnes.
8. Item, concerning the Sacrament of Baptisme, that it is a signe and token of Christe, as circumcision was, and none otherwise, and he beleueth that his sinnes are * not washed away thereby, but his body onely washed: for his sinnes be washed away onely by Christes blood.

9. Item, that there be in the Catholike Church of Christ, onely two Sacraments, that is to saye, the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, whiche are not rightlye vsed at this presente time in Englande, and therefore be vnprofitable.

10. Item, he beleueth, that all the ceremonies,* nowe vsed in this Church of England, are vaine, superfluous, superstitious, and nought.

Furthermore the saide Iueson being earnestly trauailed wythall to recant, sayde in this wise: I woulde not recant and forsake my opinion and belief, for all the goods in London. I do appeale to Gods mercy,* and wilbe none of your Church, nor submit my selfe to the same: and that I haue sayde, I will say againe. And if there came an Aungell from heauen, to teache mee anye other Doctrine then [Page 1683](#)

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Thomas Iueson.

* that which I am in now, I would not beleue him. Which aunswere thus made, he was condemned as an hereticke, and wyth the same persons was committed to the secular power, (as they terme it) and at the place aboue mentioned was burned: perseuering stil in his constant faith vnto the ende.

Iohn Aleworth.

IN the latter ende of thys moneth of Iulye, Iohn Aleworth dyed in prison,* at the Towne of Reading, beyng there in bondes for the cause and testimonie of the truthe of the Lordes Gospel. Whom although the Catholicke Prelates (according to their vsuall solemnitie) did exclude out of their Catholicke buriall, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christes holy martyrs and heires of his holy kingdome.

Iames Abbes, a Martyr of blessed memorie, suffering for the true cause of Christes Gospel.

AMong many that trauailed in these troublesome daies to keepe a good conscience, there was one Iames Abbes a young man, whych throughe compulsion of the tyrannie then vsed, was enforced to haue his part wyth hys brethren in wandring and going from place to place, to auoide the pearill of apprehendinge. But when time came that the Lorde had an other woorke to doe for hym, he was caught by the handes of wicked men, and broughte before the B. of Norwiche, D. Hopton. Who examining him of his Religion, and charging him therewyth very sore, both with threatens and faire speache,* at the laste the sayde poore Iames did yelde, and relented to their naughty perswasions, although hys conscience consented not thereto.

Nowe when he was dismissed, and shoulde goe from the Bishop,* the Bishop calling hym againe, gaue hym a peece of money, either fourty pence or twentie pence, whether I knowe not: which when the sayd Iames had receiued, and was gone from the Bishop, his conscience began to rob,* and inwardly to accuse hys facte, howe hee had displeased the Lorde by consenting to their beastly illusions, In which combate wyth himselfe (being pitiously vexed) he went immediately to the Bishop againe, & there threw hym his sayd money which he had receiued at

hys hande,* and sayd, it repented him that euer he gaue hys consent to their wicked perswasions, and that he gaue his consent in taking of hys money.

Now this being done, the bishop wyth his chaplains did labour a fresh to winne him againe:* but in vayne, for the sayd Iames Abbes would not yeelde for none of them all, although he had plaid Peter before through infirmitie, but stode manfully in hys masters quarel to the ende, and abode the force of the fire, to the consuming of his body into ashes, which tyrannie of burning was done in Berie the 2. day of August. An. 1555.

A discourse of the apprehension, examination, and condemnation of Iohn Denly Gentleman, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pachingham, Martyred for the testimonie of Christes Gospell.

IN the middest of this tempestuous rage of malignaunt aduersaries,* persecuting and destroying the poore •ocke of Christe, many there were, which thought they were no spirituall mē, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, & as one would say, to heape vp mo coales to this furious flame of persecution, whether of a blind zeale, or of a parasiticall flattery I knowe not. Amongest whiche, one was Edmonde Tyrell Esquier, and at that time a Iustice of peace wythin the Countie of Essex, an assister (as it seemeth) to the cruell murtherers of Gods Saintes. Who as he came from the burning & death of certaine godly Martyrs, met with M. Iohn Denly gentleman, and one Iohn Newman (both of Maidstone in Kent) trauailing vpon the way, and goyng to visite suche their godly frendes, as then they had in the sayde Countie of Essex. And vpon the sight of them as he yet braggeth, first vpon suspition apprehended, and searched them: and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in wryting about thē, sent thē vp vnto the Queenes Commissioners, directinge also vnto one of the same Commissioners, these hys fauourable Letters in theyr behalfe. The copie whereof heere may appeare as followeth.

A copie of Edmund Tyrels leter, to one of the Queenes Commissioners.

S^rIr, with moste harty commendations vnto you, these shal be to aduertise you,* that I haue receiued a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the King & Queenes Maiesties commissioners, by a seruaunt of the King and Queenes, called Iohn Failles, for certaine businesse, about S. Osythes, the which I could not immediately goe about, for that I had receiued a letter from the Counsell, to assist the Sheriffe for the execution of the heretickes, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rocheford, the which was done vpon Tuesday last.

And as I came homeward, I met wyth two menne: Euen as I sawe them, I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them, and I did finde about them certaine letters,* whych I haue sent you, and also a certaine wrytinge in paper, what their faith was. And they confessed to mee that they had forsaken and fled out of their country for Religions sake: and sithen they haue bene in many countreis, by their confession, whiche I haue sente you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more hadde of them, then I yet haue vnderstand) to sende them to you, whereby you and others of the King and Queenes Commissioners there, might trie them, so that their lewdnesse might be throughly knowen: for I

thinke these haue caused many to trouble their consciences. So thys hath bene some let to me, wherefore I coulde not go about these matters expressed in your letters: but to morrow no one I entende by Gods grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And this the holy Trinitie haue you euer in his keeping, I beseeche you to be so good maister, to discharge these pore men that bring these prisonners vp assone as may be. And thus moste hartly farewell,

from Raimesdon parke, the 12. day of Iune. 1555.

By your assured to commaund, Edmund Tyrel.

For so much as in this letter mētion is made of a certaine wryting in paper founde about them of their Faith, what this wrytinge was, and what were the contentes of it, the copie thereof heere ensueth.

¶Certayne notes collected and gathered oute of the Scriptures, by Iohn Denley Gentleman, with a confession of his faith, touching the Sacrament of Christes body & bloud, found about him ready wrytten, at his apprehension.

Christe is in the Sacrament, as hee is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

The difference of doctrine betweene the Faithfull & the Papistes concerning the Sacramente is: * that the Papistes say, that Christ is corporally vnder or in the formes of bread and wine: but the faithfull say, that Christe is not there neither corporally, nor spiritually: but in them that worthely eate and drinke the breade and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

For figuratiuely he is in the breade and wine, and spiritually hee is in them that woorthely eate and drynke the breade and wine: but really, carnally, * and corporally he is onely in heauen, from whence hee shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

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¶My beliefe in the Sacrament of the blessed body and bloud of my Sauour Iesus Christ.

*AS concernyng the Sacrament of the body and bloude of our Sauour Iesus Christ, my beliefe is this, that the bread and wyne is appointed vnto a Sacrament: and that after thanks be geuen to God the father, then it doth represent vnto me the very body and bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ: not that the bread is the body, or the wyne the bloud, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our sauour broken on the crosse, & his precious bloud plenteously shed for the redemption of my sinnes. * Also in faith I heare hym call vs vnto him, saying: Come vnto me all you that labour and are laden, and I wil refresh you. Esay. 55. a. b. Mat. 11. &c. In faith I come vnto him, & I am refreshed, so that I beleue that all that do come vnto the table of the Lord in this frith, * feare and loue, beyng sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conuersatiō in this vale of misery, do receiue the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our saluation.

I do vnderstand [spiritually] that as the outward mā doth eate the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man (thorough fayth) eate the bodye of Christ,

beleeuynge that as the breade is broken, so was Christes body broken on the Crosse for our sinnes, which comforteth our soules vnto lyfe euerlastyng: and signifieng thereby, that euen as that bread was deuided among them, so should his body and fruit of hys passion be distributed vnto as many as beleueed hys wordes. But the bread broken and eaten in the Supper, monisheth & putteth vs in remembrance of hys death, and so exciteth vs to thankesgeuyng, to laud and prayse God for the benefits of our redemption.

And thus we there haue Christ present, in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eate his body, and drinke his bloud, that is, we beleue surely that his body was crucified for our sinnes, and his bloud shed for our saluation.

Christes body and bloud is not conteyned in the Sacramentall▪ bread and wyne as the papists haue sayd,* & as some yet doe say, as ye read in these scriptures folowing: first read in S. Math. 9. Luk. 5. Math. 24. and 26. Marke 16. Luk. 24. Iohn 13. Luke 23. in the ende, Iohn 14.15.16.17. Acts 1.3.7.9. Rom. 8. Psalm. 8. 1. Cor. 10.11. Exod. 12. Col. 1.3. Ephe. 1.4. Phil. 2. 1. Thes. 1.4. Heb. 1.5.8.9.10.12. 1. Pet. 3. Psal. 11.47.103.10.

Christes materiall body is not in all places, as these Scriptures do testifie hereafter.

*First, reade Saint Mathew the last, Marke the last, Luke the last, Iohn 11.20.21. These places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body that was borne of the Uirgin Mary, cannot be in mo places then one, & that is in heauen on the right hand of God, and not in the Sacrament, nor in all places, as the Papists haue affirmed, and yet do affirme.

*Therefore who so euer they bee that doe worship the creatures of bread and wyne, doe commit Idolatrye, and make abominable Idols of them, and take the glory from God, and geue it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mynd of God, as these scriptures hereafter do testify, first in Exodus 20.22.23.24. Leuit. 19. Deut. 4.6.32. Psal. 80. Esay. 45. Mal. 2. Mathew. 4. Luke 4. Actes, 14. Reuel. 14. Psalm. 98. 1. Corinthe. 8. Ephes. 4. 1. Tim. 2. 1. Ioh. 5. Reuel. 19.22.

John Denley.

Now to returne to the Commissioners againe, they receiuyng these prisoners afore mentioned, after they saw they could little preuaile by their owne perswasions, sent them vnto B. Boner to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion. Which how discrete & fauourably it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequele of this doth manifestly declare. For the 28. day of Iune then next folowyng, he caused the sayd Denly & Newmā, with one Patrike Pakingham, to bee brought into his chāber within his house or pallace, there examinyng them vpon their confessions (which Tyrrell had founde about them) obiecing also vnto them certayne other Articles of hys owne. The which they all aunswered in effect one thing, although Denly answered more largely then the others, & therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, & in no part differing from the others, except that Pachingham had one Article of no great force obieced to hym, which the rest had not.

This done, the B. vsed with them his accustomed perswasions, to the which M. Denly said: God saue me from your counsaile, & keepe me in the mynde that I am in, for that you count heresy, I take to be the truth: * & thereupon they were commanded to appeare in the bishops Consistory the 5. of Iuly then next commyng in the after noone, where these Articles were objected against them.

¶The Articles objected by Edmond Boner, Bishop of London, against Iohn Denley, Iohn Newman, and Patrike Pachingham, ioyntly and seuerally, the xxviij. of Iune. 1555.

Ffirst, that the said N. now is of the dioces of London, & of the iurisdiction of the B. of London. *

Secondly, that the sayd N. hath not beleueed, nor doth beleuee that there is any Catholike Church of Christ here in earth.

Thirdly, that the said N. had not beleueed, nor doth beleue, that this church of England is any part or member of the said catholike church.

Fourthly, the sayd N. hath beleueed, * and doth so beleue that the Masse now vsed in this Realme of England, is naught, and full of Idolatry and euill, and playne against Gods word, and therefore he the sayd N. hath not heard it nor will not heare it.

Fiftly, that the sayd N. hath beleueed, & doth so beleue, * that auricular confession vsed now in this realme of England, is not good, but contrary to Gods word.

Sixtly, that the sayd N. hath beleueed, * and doth so beleue, that absolution giuen by the priest hearing confessiō, is not good, nor allowable by Gods word, but contrary to the same.

Seuenthly, that the sayd N. hath beleueed, * and doth so beleue, that christenyng of childrēn, as it is vsed in y^e church of England, is not good, nor allowable by Gods worde, but against it: likewise confirming of children, geuyng of orders, saying of Mattens & Euensong, annoyntyng or enelyng of sicke persons, makyng of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the Church.

Eightly, that the sayd N. hath beleueed, and doth so beleue, that there are but two Sacraments in Christes Catholike church, that is to say, the sacrament of Baptisme, & the Sacrament of the aultar.

Ninthly, that the sayd N. hath beleueed, & doth so beleue, that for as much as Christ is ascended vp into heauē, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the Sacrament of the aultar.

Tenthly, * that thou Patrike Pachingham now beyng of the age of 21. at the least, beyng within the house of the B. of London at Paules, and by him brought to the great Chappell to heare Masse there, the sayd 23. day of Iune, the yeare of our Lord, 1555. diddest vnreuerently stande in the sayd Chappell, hauyng thy cap on thy head all the Masse whyle, and diddest also refuse to receyue holy water and holy bread at the Priestes handes, there contemnyng and despising both the Masse, and the said holy water and holy bread.

¶The aunswer of Iohn Denley and the rest, to the Articles obiected.

TO the first Article, I answer, it is very true.*

To the second Article I answer, that it is not true: for I beleue the holy Catholike Church which is builded vpon the foundation of the Prophetes & Apostles,* Christ beyng the head, which holy Church is the Congregation of the faythfull people, dispersed through the whole world the which Church doth preach Gods worde truely,* and doth also minister the two Sacramentes, that is to saye, Baptisme, and the supper of the Lord, accordyng to hys blessed word.

To the third Article I aunswer, that I do beleue that this Church of England,* vsing the fayth & religion which is now vsed, is no part or member of the foresaid holy Catholike church, but is the church of Antichrist the Bish. of Rome beyng the head thereof: for it is playne, that they haue altered the testament of God, & set vp a testament of their own deuising, full of blasphemy & lies: for Christes testament is, that he would haue all things done to the edifieng of the people, as it appeareth when hee taught thē to pray, Math. 6. & also it appeareth by S. Paul, 1. Cor. 14. for he sayth: That hee that prophesieth, speaketh vnto men, for their edifieng for their exhortation, and for their comfort: hee that speaketh with the tong, profiteth hymselfe: he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation.

Also he sayth: Euen so likewyse when ye speak with tongs except ye speake words that haue signification,*how shall it bee vnderstand what is spoken? for ye shall but speake in the aire, that is as much to say, in vayne. Also he sayth: Thou verely geuest thanks well, but the other is not edified, I thanke my God, I [Page 1685](#) speake with tongs more then ye all, yet had I rather in the congregation to speake fiue words with vnderstandyng, to the information of other, then ten thousand words with the tong. Also he sayth: Let all thyngs be done to edification.

*Also it is written in the Psalme, 46. For God is kyng of all the earth: O sing praises vnto hym with vnderstandyng, &c. So it doth appeare that this Church of England now vsed, is not builded vppon Christ, if S. Pauls wordes be true, and also the Psalmes: therefore this Church is not builded vpon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I haue declared before.

*To this 4. Article I answer, and I do beleue (as I haue aforesayd) that the masse now vsed in this realme of England, is naught and abhominable, idolatry and blasphemy against Gods word: for Christ in his holy supper instituted the Sacramentes of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembraunce of his death till he come, & not to haue them worshipped, and make an Idoll of them: for GOD will not be worshipped in his creatures, but wee ought to geue him prayes for his cretures, which he hath created for vs. For he sayth in the second commandement: Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image,*nor the lykenes of any thing that is in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. So it appeareth by this commaundement, that wee ought not to worship the Sacrament of bread and wyne, for it is playn idolatry, for he sayth: No similitude, therefore Thou shalt not bow downe to them nor worship them. I pray you what doe you call kneelyng downe, holdyng vp the handes, knockyng of the

breast, puttyng of the cap, and makyng curtesie, with other like superstition? You would make men to be so blynd, that this is no worshipping.

*Peradventure you will object and say, you do not worship the bread & the wyne, but Christes body whiche was borne of the Uirgin Mary, conteyned vnder the forme of bread and wyne. But that is a very lye: for Christes body that was borne of the Uirgin Mary, is in heauen, if saint Paules words be true, as vndoubtedly they are: for hee sayth in the x. of the Hebrues: *But this man, after hee hath offered one sacrifice for sinnes, is set down for euer on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarieth till hys foes bee made hys footestool.

*Also in the 9. chap. he sayth: For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true thyngs, but is entred into very heauen, for to appeare nowe in the sight of God for vs, * &c. Also Phil. 3. But our conuersation is in heauen, from whence we looke for the Sauour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ, * &c. Thes. 1. For they themselues shew of you, what maner of entring in we had vnto you, and how ye turned to God from Images, for to serue the liuyng God, and for to look for his sonne from heauen, * whom he raysed from death, euen Iesus, which deliuered vs from the wrath to come, &c. Also Iohn 16. I went out from the father, and came into the world. Again, I leaue the world, and go to the father. &c. Iohn. 17. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee. And these places of the Scripture with other mo, proueth plainly to them that haue eares to heare, that Christes body that was borne of the Uirgin Mary, is in heauen, and not in the Sacramentall bread and wyne, and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, &c.

*To this fift Article I aunswer, that I do beleue as I haue aforesayd, that auricular confession is not good, as it is now vsed. Touching my sinnes wherein I haue offended God, I must seeke to hym for remission therof, for our Sauour Christ sayth in the xj. of S. Mathew: Come vnto me all ye that labour and are laden, * I will ease you, &c. The riotous sonne, Luke. xv. sayth: I will arise and go to my Father and will say to him, * Father, I haue sinned agaynst heauen and before thee, and am no more worthy to bee called thy sonne, &c. Psal. 31. * I sayd, I will knowledge myne offences, and accuse my selfe vnto the Lord, and so thou forgauest me the wickednesse of my sinne. &c. Iob. 13. But I will reprove myne own wayes in hys sight: * He shal make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before hym. Syrach. 34. sayth: Who can be censed of the vncleane? * And there was but one of the x. Lepers that were censed, that came to Christ to geue hym thanks. He asked for the other ix. But if I haue offended my neighbour, I must reconcile my self to my neighbour: * and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first & second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the Minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to bee taken as a Heathen person, not for a day, or xl. dayes, but vnto such tyme as I do openly in the congregation knowledge my fault, then the minister hath power by the word, to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Iesus Christ, as it is written in the 13. of the Acts of the Apostles, Math. 18. Other confession I know none.

To this 6. Article, I the sayd Iohn Denley haue aunswered in the fift. &c.

To this 7. Article I answer, that as touchyng the sacrament of Baptisme, which is the christenyng of childrē, as it is altered and chaunged: * for S. Iohn Baptist vsed nothyng, but the preachyng of the word and the water, as it doth appeare, whē Christ required to be baptised of him and others

also which came to Iohn to be baptised, as it appeareth Math. 3. Mark. 1. Luke. 3. and Act. 8. the chamberlaine sayd: See here is water,*what letteth me to be baptised? It appereth here that Phillip had preached vnto him, for he sayd, here is water. We do not read that hee asked for any creame, or oile, not for spettle, nor coniured water, nor coniured waxe, nor yet crysome, nor salt: for it semeth that Phillip had preached no such thyngs to hym, for he would as wel haue asked for them as for water: & the water was not coniured, but euen as it was afore. Also Act. x. Thē answered Peter:*Can any man forbid water that these shold not be baptised▪ &c. Actes. 16. And Paule and Silas preached vnto hym the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house: & he took them the same houre of the night, and washed their wounds, & so was he baptised, and al they of his houshold straight way. Where ye see nothyng but preachyng the word & the water. The lyke also is to be sayd of the rest of the ceremonies of your Church.

To the 8. Article I answer shortly,* that there bee Sacraments no mo but two, Baptisme and the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Christ, except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacramēt but hath a promise annexed vnto it.

To the 9. Article I doe aunswer you, that ye haue my mynd written alredy. For it was found about me whē I was taken, and also ye know my mynd in the 4. Article, plainly expressed concernyng the bodily presence: for christes body is in heauen, & will not be conteyned in so small a piece of breade. And as the wordes which Christ spake are true in deede, so must they also bee vnderstanded by other of the Scriptures, whiche Christ spake hymselfe, and also the Apostles after hym. And thus I make an ende, &c.

By me Iohn Denley.

The first day of the month of Iuly, the sayd thre prisoners were brought into the Consistory in Paules church, where he proceded against them after his vsual forme and maner of law, reading first their confessions, articles and answers, and then tempting them, sometyme with fayre promises, other whiles with threatnyngs, which were alwayes his chieftest argumentes and reasons to perswade withall. In the end, seeyng their vnmoueable constancye, vpon the 5. of Iuly he condemned them as heretikes, and gaue them vnto the shiriffes of London, as to his commō executioners, who kept them vntill they were commāded by writ to send them to their seuerall places of sufferyng:

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Maister Iohn Denley.

[*Page 1686](#) which was for M. Denley, Uxbridge: where the 8. day of August he was burned. And beyng set in the fire wyth the burnyng flame about hym, he sang in it a Psalme.

Then cruell D. Story beyng there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurle a fagot at hym,* whereupon beyng hurt therewith vpon the face that hee bled agayne, he left his singyng and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth D. Story to him that hurled the fagot, thou hast mard a good old song.

The sayd Iohn Denley beyng yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sang againe, yelding at the last his spirit into the hands of God through his sonne Iesus Christ.

*After the Martyrdome of M. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8. of August, suffered also not long after, Patrike Pachingham at the same towne of Uxbridge, about the 28. of the sayd moneth. This Pachingham was charged of Boner (as ye heard in the x. article before) for hys behaiour shewed in the Bishops chappell: who at y^e masse tyme there stāding, would not put of his cap, which was taken for an haynous offence. The said Pachingham also beyng much laboured by Boner to recant, protested in these wordes to the B. that the church which he beleueed, was no catholike church, but was the church of Sathan, & therfore he would neuer turne to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other which was Ioh. Newman Pewterer, dwellyng at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August at Saffron Walden in the Countie of Essex, whose examinatioⁿ and confession of his fayth and beliefe, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, here vnder followeth.

¶The examination of Iohn Newman Martyr.

Iohn Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwellyng in the towne of Maidstone, and there was examined before Doctor Thornton Suffragane, and others, at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Boner, and there condemned with M. Denley and Pachingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But because his examination and aunsweres before the Suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather then they should vtterly bee suppressed. And first what his answer was by wrytyng to the said Suffragan, after his apprehension, you shal heare by the tenor of hys owne wordes, as follow.

*IT may please you to vnderstand, that for the space of all the tyme of kyng Edwards raigne, we were diligently instructed with continuall Sermons made by suche men, whose fayth, wisdom, learning & vertuous liuyng, was commended vnto all men, vnder the kyngs hand & seale, and vnder the hands of the whole Counsaile. These men taught diligently a long tyme, perswadyng vs by the allegations of Gods worde, that there was no Transubstantiation, nor corporall presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not beleueed of vs sodainly, but by their cōtinuall preaching, and also by our continuall prayer vnto God that we might neuer bee deceiued: but if it were true, that God would encline our heartes vnto it: and if it were not true, that we myght neuer beleuee it. We waied that they laboured with Gods worde, and wee asked the aduise of our friends: neyther could we finde that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as wee dyd learne, that the Kyngs grace and hys Counsaile, and the most part of the whole Realme, beleueed as they taught, because no man preached the contrarye. Also wee knowe that the Preachers were commaunded by the Kyng and lawes of the Realme, to preach vnto vs such doctrine, as was to the authority of Gods worde, agreeable and no other. And by their diligent setting foorth of it, by the kings commaundement, and the whole consent of the whole Counsaile, and by the authoritie of the Parliament, wee embrased it, and receyued it, as a verie infallible truth taught vnto vs for the space of seuen yeares. Wherefore, vntill such tyme as our consciences are otherwyse taught and instructed by Gods worde, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences, take it, as many suppose at this tyme. And we trust in God that the Queenes mercifull hyghnesse, neither yet her most honourable Counsaile will in a matter of fayth vse compulsion, nor violence, because fayth

is the gift of God, and commeth not of man, neither of mans laws, neither at suche tyme as men require it, but at such tyme as God geueth it.

¶The examination and answers of Iohn Newman Martyr, before D. Thornton and others.

First, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench,* either the Archdeacon, or Fauced, or some other, whose name I. Newman doth not expres, beginneth asking in this wise.

Doctor.

How say ye to this? This is my body which is geuen for you.

New.

It is a figuratiue speach, one thing spoken, & another ment, as Christ sayth: I am a vine, I am am a dore, I am a stone. &c. Is he therfore a material stone, a vine, or a dore?

Doct.

This is no figuratiue speech. For he sayth: This is my body which is geuen for you, and so sayth he not of the stone, vyne, or doore: but that is a figuratiue speech.

New.

Christ saith, this cup is the newe Testament in my bloud. If ye wil haue it so ment, then let them take & eat the cup.*

Doct.

Nay, that is not so ment, for it is a common phrase of speech among our selues: we say to our friend, drynke a cup of drinke, & yet we ment he should drinke the drinke in the cup.

New.

Why if we will haue the one so vnderstand, ye must so vnderstand the other.

Doct.

Nay, it is a common vse of speech, to say drinke a cup of ale, or beere? And therfore it is no figuratiue speech.

New.

The often vsing of a thyng doth not make that thing otherwise then it is:* but wheresoeuer one thyng is spoken, and an other ment, it is a figuratiue speech.

Doct.

Well, we will not stand here about. How say ye by the reall presence? Is not Christs naturall body there that was borne of the Uirgin Mary?

New.

No, I do not so beleue, neyther can I so beleue: for the soule of man doth not feed vpon natural things as the body doth.

Doct.

Why, how then doth he feed?

New.

I thinke the soule of man doth feed as the angels in heauen, whose feedyng is only the pleasure, ioy, felicity, & delectation that they haue of God: and so the soule of mā doth feed and eat, through fayth, the body of Christ.

Collins.

Yea, but if the body doe not feede vppon naturall thyngs, the soule cannot continue with the body: * therefore the body must needs feed vpon naturall things, that both may lyue together.

New.

I grant it to be true: but yet the soule doth lyue otherwise then the body which doth perish: therefore naturall thyngs do but feede the body onely. I pray you what did Iudas receiue at the Supper?

Coll.

Marry, Iudas did receyue the very body of Christ, but it was to hys damnation.

New.

Why? was the deuill entred into hym before. Thē he had both the deuill and Christ in hym at one tyme.

Coll.

Nay, the deuil did enter into hym afterward.

New.

Yea, and before to, what doe ye thinke? * Had he but one deuill. Nay I thinke he had rather a legion of deuils at the latter end.

Coll.

Well, put case it be so, what say you to that?

New.

Mary, if Christ and the deuill were both in Iudas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Coll.

We grant they were both in Iudas at that tyme: for Christ may be where the deuill is, if he will, but the deuill cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

New.

Christ wil not be in an vncleane person that hath the deuill.

Thorn.

Why, will ye not beleue that Christ was in hel, and ye will grant that the deuill is there: * and so might he be in Iudas, and if it pleased hym.

New.

Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch hym, which sought hym at hys graue, and did loue hym entirely: much lesse he will suffer an vngodly man to receyue hym into his vncleane body.

Thorn.

Yes, seing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will: And doth not the Psalm say: he is in hell, and in all places. Why should wee then doubt of his beyng there?

New.

Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prooue that his humanitie is in all places.

Thornt.

No, do you not beleue that God is omnipotent, & may do all thyngs?

New.

I do beleue that God is almighty, & may do all that he will do.

Thornt.

Nay, but and if he be omnipotent,* he may doe all thyngs, and there is nothyng vnpossible for hym to do.

New.

I know God is almighty, and can do all that he wil but he cannot make his sonne a lyer, he cannot deny himself, nor he cannot restore virginity once violated & defiled.

Thornt.

What is that to your purpose. God doth not defile virginity: we speake but of thyngs that God doth.

New.

Why,* will ye haue the humanity of Christ in all places, as the deitie is?

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Thornt.

Yea, he is in all places, as the deitie is, if it please hym.

New.

I wil promise you that semeth to me a very great heresie: for heauen and earth are not able to containe the diuine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in euery place: & yet ye wil say, that wheresoeuer the deitie is, there is also the humanitie, and so ye wil make him no body, but a fantasticall body, and not a body in deed.

Thornt.

Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the deitie is, but if it please him he may be in all places w^t the deitie.

New.

I promise you that it semeth to me as great an heresie as euer I heard in my life: and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to bee a very man, and that were agaynst all the scriptures.

Thornt.

*Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not beleue, that Christ came out of his mo'ther, not openyng the matrice. Do you beleue that Christ rose from death and came through the stone?

New.

I doe beleue that Christ rose from beath: but I doe not beleue that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say.

Thornt.

Loe, how say you, hee doth not beleue that Christ came through the stone: & if he doth not beleue this, howe shall he beleue the other? If he could beleue this, it were easie for hym to beleue the other.

New.

*The scripture doth not say he went through y^e stone, but it sayth the angels of God came downe and rolled away the stone, & for feare of him, the keepers be came euen as dead men.

Thornt.

A foole, foole, that was because that women should see that he was risen agayne from death.

New.

Well, the scripture maketh as much for me as it doth for you, and more too.

Thornt.

Well, let vs not stād any longer about him. Back agayne to the reall presence. How say ye, is the bodye of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?

New.

I haue answered you already.

Thornt.

Wel, do ye not beleue that he is there really?

New.

No, I beleeeue it not.

Thornt.

Well, will ye stand to it?

New.

I must deeds stand to it, til I be perswaded by a further truth.

Thornt.

Nay, ye will not be perswaded, but stande to your owne opinion.

New.

Nay I stand not to myne owne opinion, GOD I take to witnes, but only to the Scriptures of God, & that can all those that stand here witnes with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witnes, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my cōscience, & if there be a further truth, hen I see, except it appeare a truth to me, I cannot receiue it as a truth. And seing faith is the gift of God, & commeth not of man, for it is not you that can geue me faith, nor no man els, therefore I trust ye wil beare the more w^t me, seing it must be wrought by God, & when it shal please God to open a further truth to me, I shal receiue it with all my hart and embrace it.

¶ Thornton had many other questions which I did not beare away: but as I do vnderstand, these are the chieftest: as for taunts, foolish, & vnlearned, he lacked none. Prayse God for his gifts, and God increase in vs strength.

The Arguments of Iohn Newman.

- *If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoeuer receiued the Sacrament, receiued also the body.
- The wicked receiuyng the Sacrament, receiue not the body of Christ.
- Ergo, the body of Christ is not really in the sacrament.

Argument.

- Ca- They which eate the flesh, and drinke the bloude of Christ, dwell in hym. and he in them.
- mes- The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.
- tres. Ergo, the wicked eate not the flesh, nor drinke y^e bloud of Christ.

Argument.

- Ca- They that haue Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. Iohn. 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in hym, bringeth forth much fruit. &c.

- mes- The wicked bryng forth no fruit of goodnes.
- tres. Ergo, they haue not Christes body dwelling in them.

Argument.

- Da- Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.*
- ti- Remembrance of Christes body is in the sacrament: Do this in remembraunce of me &c.
- si Ergo, Christes body there is imported to be absent.

Mary they wil say, we see hym not with our outward eies, but he is commended vnder the forme of bread and wyne, and that that we see, is nothing but a qualitie or an accidence. But let them shew me a qualitie or an accidence without a substance, & I wil beleue them. And thus much concernyng Newmans examinations and arguments.

***The fayth of Iohn Newman dwelling at Maydstone in Kent, who was by occupation a Peuterer.**

The Lord is the protector of my lyfe. The iust shall lyue by fayth, and if he withdrawe hymselfe,*my soule shall haue no pleasure in hym.

MY fayth is, that there is one God which is wythout beginnyng and without endyng.* This God created al things visible and inuisible. And after that he had made both heauen and earth with all other creatures, hee made man, & set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gaue to Adam hys commandements & precepts, and sayd, when so euer thou doest the thyng which I forbid, thou shalt surely die y^e death: yet did man for all this, disobey God his creator, & after his sinne he fled from God, hid hymselfe, & was in a miserable desperate case. But God seeing mā in this miserable estate,* because he & all his posteritie should not continue in deth, promised Adā that the womans seed shold breake the serpens head, wherby is ment y^t the son of God shold become man, & destroy the deuill. Which by his subtile perswasions had deceiued Adam. Then did Adā by fayth take hold of gods promise, and became the seruāt of righteousnes through the fayth which he had in the promise of y^e womans seed. So did Abel, Seth, Henoch, & Noe, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob, and the rest of the faythfull vntil Christes tyme, as S. Paul sayth: they did all eate of one spirituall meat, & did all drinke of one maner of spirituall drinke. They did drinke of that spirituall rocke that followed thē, which rocke was Christ that saueth vs.* And when the tyme was ful come, God sent his sonne made of a woman, that is, he tooke flesh of the virgin Mary, & became man, not the shadow of a man, nor a fantasticall mā,* as some falsly faine, but a very natural man in all points, sinne onely excepted, which God & man is Christ the promised womans seed. This Christ was here conuersant among men, for the space of 30. yeres & more,* and when the tyme was come, that he should goe to hys father, he gaue vnto vs the mistery of our redemption, that we thorough fayth should eate his body, and drinke hys bloud, that we myght feed on hym through fayth to the end of the world. After this Christ offred vp hys body on the crosse,* to pacify his father, & to deliuer vs from the thraldome of the deuill, in the which we were, through sinne original & actuall. And with that one sacrifice of his body once offered on the crosse,* hee hath made perfect for euer all them that are sanctified. He descended into hell, the third day he rose agayne from death, & was conuersant at certaine tymes w^t his disciples, for the space of 40. dayes after, he rose from death. Then in the sight of all his disciples he ascended into heauen, & as hys disciples stood lookyng vppward,* & beholding hym how he went into heauen, two men

stood by them in white apparell, which also sayd: ye men of Galilie, why stand ye gasing vp into heauen? This same Iesus which is taken vp from you into heauen, shall so come euen as ye haue seene hym goe into heauen,* S. Peter also sayth, that the heauens must receiue hym, vntill the tyme that all thynges whith God hath spoken by the mouth of all hys prophets since the world began, be restored again, which is the latter day, when he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead. I do beleeeue in the holy ghost, which is the spirite of God, proceeding from the father and the sonne, which holy spirit is one God with them. I beleeeue that there is an holy church, which is the company of the faythfull & elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout all the world,* which holy church or congregation doth not looke for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places, whereof Christ warneth vs, but as S. Paule sayth, in heauen: where he sitteth on the right hand of GOD the father,* they set their affection on thyngs that are aboue, and not on thyngs which are on earth. For they are dead concerning the thynges of this world, and their lyfe is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ which is their lyfe shall shew hymselfe, then shall they also appeare with hym in glory. I beleeeue that there is a communion of saints, euen y^e fellowship of the faythfull people which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mynde: they followe Christ their head, they loue one another as Christ loued them, & are knit together in one, euen in Christ, which Church, or [Page 1688](#) congregation hath forgeuenes of sinnes thorough Christ, and shall enter without spotte before the face of God into his glory. For as Christ being their head, hath entred pure and cleane, so they entering by hym, shall be lyke hym in glory. And I am certaine and sure that all they which doe dye, shall rise agayne and receiue their bodies. In thē shal they see Christ come in his glory, to iudge the quicke and the dead. At whose commyng all men shall appeare and geue a reckoning of their doyngs: he shall separte y^e good from the bad, he shall say to thē which are hys elect: come ye blessed of my father, inherite the kingdome prepared for you frō the beginning: but to the other that haue always resisted his will, he shall say: depart from me ye cursed into euerlastyng fire, which is prepared for the deuill and his aungels.

Thus haue I briefly declared my fayth, which were no fayth at all if I were in doubt of it. This fayth therefore, I desire God to encrease in mee. Prayse God for his gyftes.

☛ And thus haue you the Martyrdome with the confession of this blessed man and witnes of the Lords truth, who for that, gaue his lyfe as is before declared.

¶ **Richard Hooke.**

*Likewise Richard Hooke about the same season, & for the same matter gaue his like at Chichester.

¶ **The examinations, aunswers, and condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, William Stere, before the Byshop of Douer, and Harpsfield Archdeacon of Caunterbury.**

Mention was made a little before in the story of M. Bland,* and Nich. Sheterden, of certaine other Kentish men, who beyng the same tyme with them called forth and examined by Thornton Bish. of Douer, N. Harpsfield, Rich. Faucet, and Rob. Collins: yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of thē was differred a little longer, till the latter end of the moneth

of Aug. commyng therfore now to the tyme of their suffryng, we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and aunswers, as we find them in the Registers. The names of these were Wil. Coker, Wil. Hopper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Colliar, Rich. Wright, W. Stere. What the articles objected to M. Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which Articles they answered for themselves seuerally in effect as followeth.

*First Wil. Coker sayd, he would aunswer no otherwise then he had already answered: & beyng offered to haue longer respite of 6. dayes after, he refused to take it. and so vpon the same sentēce of condemnation, was read against hym, the 11. of Iuly.

*Wil. Hopper first seemed to graunt to the fayth & determination of the Catholike church: after callyng hymselfe better to mynd, constantly stickyng to the truth, he was condemned the next weeke after, the 16. of Iuly.

Henry Laurence examined the sayd 16. of Iuly, & partly differred to the 2. of August,* aunswered to the Articles objected against hym: first, denying auricular confession, and that he had not, nor would receiue the Sacrament, because (sayth he) the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the Sacrament.*

Moreouer, the sayd Laurence was charged for not puttyng of his cap when the Suffragan made mention of the sacrament & did reuerence to the same, the sayd Laurence answering in these words: what, said he, ye shal not need to put of your cap: for it is not so holy that you need to put of your cap thereunto.

Further, beyng apposed concernyng the veritie of the Sacrament geuen to Christes disciples,* he affirmed, that euen as Christ gaue his very body to his Disciples, and confessed it to be the same, so likewyse Christ himselfe sayd, he was a dore, &c. addyng moreouer, that as he had sayde before, so he sayth still, that the Sacrament of the aultar is an Idole, and no remembrance of Christes passion, & contrary he knoweth not. At last beyng required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words vnder the bill of their examinations: Ye are all of Antichrist and hym ye fol.* And here his hand was stayed to write any further: Belike hee would haue written out (follow) &c. And so vpon the same sentence was read agaynst hym the 1. of August.

¶**Rich. Colliar of Ashford.**

Richard Colliar aboue mentioned,* hauyng the 16. of August to appeare, examined of the Sacrament of the popish aultar, aunswered and sayd, that he did not beleue, that after the Consecration, there is the reall and substantiall body of Christ, but onely breade and wyne,* and that it is most abhominable, most detestable, and most wicked to beleue otherwyse, &c. Uppon this the Sentence was read agaynst hym, and he condemned the 16. of August. After hys condemnation he sang a Psalme.* Wherefore the Priestes and their officers rayled at hym, saying, he was out of hys wits.

¶**Richard Wright.**

Richard Wright the same place and day,* beyng the 16. of August, apperyng, and required of the Iudge what he deleeued of the reall presence in the Sacrament, answered agayne,* that as touchyng the Sacrament of the aulter and the masse, he was ashamed to speake of it, nor to name it, and that he allowed it not as it was vsed in the church. Agaynst whom the sentence also was read, the day & place aforesayd.

¶William Stere.

William Stere of the foresayd parish of Ashford,* likewise detected and accused, was brought to appeare the sayd 16. day of August, where he in the sayd Chapterhouse of Canterbury, beyng required to make aunswer to the positions layd vnto hym by the Iudge, made aunswer agayne, that he should commaund hys dogs and not him: and further declared,* that Dicke of Douer had no authoritie to sit agaynst hym in iudgement, and asked where his authoritie was. Who then shewed him certaine Bulls and writyngs from Rome, as he said. William Stere denying that to be of sufficient force, the sayd Dicke sayd also he had authoritie from the Queene. Then the Martyr alledgyng that the B. of Canterbury (who then was in pryson) was hys Diocessan,* vrged hym to shew hys authoritie from the Archbishop, or els he denied his authoritie to be sufficient. And as touchyng the Sacrament of the aultare, he found it not (he sayd) in the scripture, & therfore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreouer, the Iudge speaking of the Sacrament of the aultare, with reuerence thereof, and putting of his cappe, he sayd,* that he needed not to reuerence that matter so highly. And thus saying to the Iudge, that hee was a bloody man, &c. the sentence was pronounced agaynst hym: after which sentence beyng read, he sayd, that the sacrament of the aultar, was the most blasphemous Idoll that euer was, &c.

[illustration]

¶The burnyng of sixe godly Martyrs in one fire.

*
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[Page 1689](#) And thus these vj. heauenly Martyrs and witnes bearers to the truth, beyng condemned by the bloody Suffragan and Archdeacon of Canterbury, M. Collins, and M. Faucet, were burned altogether in the same towne of Canterb. at three stakes and one fire, about the latter ende of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatorie, you maye find aboue in the story of Iohn Rogers, for the papists in all their condemnations follow one maner of sentence of course commonly against all that be condemned through their vnmercifull tyranny.

¶The persecution of tenne Martyrs together, sent by certaine of the Counsaile to Boner to be examined.

AFTER the burning of these vj. aboue named: next followeth the persecution of x. other true seruantes and saints of the Lord,* not such saints as the Pope maketh, or which are mentioned in Legenda sanctorum, or in vitis patrū or in the fabulous booke de vita sanctorum Wallensium,

&c. but such as are spoken of in the holy Apocalyps, of whom it is written: *Hij sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quocun{que} ierit, quique lauarunt stolas suas in sanguine agni i. These bee they that follow the Lambe whether soeuer he goeth, & whiche haue washed their stooles in the bloud of the Lambe, &c. Thus these saints be not of the Popes making, or rather to say the truth, they are of the Popes making, of y^e Popes making (I say) in this respect, * not that the saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the Pope: so as by afflictions of Sathan Iobs patience was prooued, by Pharaos Gods power declared, and by Salmator, Tarentum was won (as Tullie writeth) for except he had lost it before, Q. Fabius could not haue recouered it: so in lyke maner, vnlesse by Antichrist good men had bene destroyed, otherwyse they had not bene tryed true Martyrs of Christ. The names of these were:

- *Elizabeth Warne.
- George Tankerfield.
- Robert Smith.
- Steuen Harwood.
- Thomas Fust.
- William Hale.
- Thomas Leyes.
- George King.
- Iohn Wade.
- Ione Layshford.

The prisons of London beginnyng now to be replenished with gods saints, and stil mo and mo comming in, the Counsaile & Commissioners thinkyng to make ready dispatch with the poore prisoners, caused these x. aboue named, to be sent with their letter directed to Boner Bish. of London, by hym to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

***A letter sent by the Commissioners to the B. of of London D. Boner.**

AFTER our hartly commendations to your good Lordship, wee send you here Ioh. Waid, * Wil. Haile, George King, Th. Leyes of Thorpe in Essex, Thomas Fust Hosier, Robert Smyth Painter, Steuen Harwood Brewer, George Tankerfield Cooke, Elizabeth Warne, Ioane Layshford of London, Sacramentaries: all whiche we desire your Lordship to examine, and to order accordyng to the Ecclesiastical lawes: praying your Lordship to appoynt some of your officers to receyue them at this bearers hand. And thus most hartily, fare your Lordship well.

From London this 2. Iuly.

Your lordships louyng friendes.

- Nich. Hare. *
- Will. Roper.
- Rich. Rede.
- Will. Cooke.

The history of Elizabeth VVarne widow, burnt at Stratford bowe.

NOW seuerally to prosecute the stories of these x. Martyrs aforementioned,* first we will begin with the historie of Elizabeth Warne, who in this moneth of August was burned at Stratford Bowe, nye vnto London, widowe, late the wyfe of Ioh. Warne Upholster, and Martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in hys storye is recorded. This Elizabeth had bene apprehended amongst others, the first day of Ianuary, in a house in Bow Church yard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was caried to the Counter (as is also aboue specified) where she lay as prisoner vntil the 11. day of Iune. At which time she was brought vnto Newgate, and remayned there in lyke case vnto the 2. day of Iuly. Then shee was sent by the Kyng and Queenes Commissioners vnto Boner B. of London, who the sixt day of the same moneth, caused her with diuers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before hym into hys Pallace, and there examined her vpon sundry Articles, such as of common order be ministred vnto the poore saints & Martyrs of God, as ye may more playnely perceyue by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

The chieftest obiection that he vsed,* eyther towards her, or the most of those, was touchyng the reall and corporall presence of the body and bloud of Christ in the Sacrament of the aultar, as the chieftest ground & profitablest foundation for their Catholike dignitie. Many other matters he objected agaynst them, as for not comyng to the Church, for speakyng agaynst the masse, for despising their ceremonies and new founde Sacramentes, with dyuers other fonde and triflyng toyes, not worthy any mentionyng.

In the ende, when she had bene diuers tymes brought before hym and other hys adherentes, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, shee sayde: Doe what ye will. For if Christ was in an errour, then am I in an errour.* Uppon which aunswere, she was the xij. day of the same moneth of Iuly, adiudged and condemned as an heretike, and so deliuered vnto the secular power (as they terme it (to be by them (yet at the Clergies appoyntment) put to death, which thyng was accomplished in her the same month aboue mentioned.

The chiefe procurer of this her death, was D. Story beyng (as it is thought) of some alliaunce eyther to her the sayd Elizabeth, or els to her late husband. Who,* thogh he was at the first apprehension of his sayd kinswoman, a very earnest suiter for her deliuerance to Doctor Martin, then one of the Kyng and Queenes Commissioners in matters of Religion (hymselfe beyng as yet not made Commissioner) and had by his sute obteyned her deliuerance for that present, as Doct. Martin hymselfe the authour hereof) hath reported, yet afterwards, vpon what occasion God onely knoweth, except vpon some burning charitie the sayd Doctor Story,* obteyning now the roome of one of the Commissioners, caused not onely the sayde Iohn Warne, but also hys wyfe, & afterwards his daughter to be agayne apprehended, neuer leauyng them, vntyll hee had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that deuout catholike, and white chyld of y^e mother church that neyther kinred nor any other consideratiō could preuaile with hym, although it dyd (at hys request) wyth others, who in respect of hym, were but straungers vnto them. The Lord if it be hys will turne hys hart, or els rid hys poore Church from such an Hibra, as thanked bee the Lord, now he hath.

¶George Tankerfield a faythfull Martyr and wnesse of the Gospell, constantly suffering for the testimonie of the same.

GEorge Tankerfield of London Cooke,* borne in the Citie of Yorke, about the age of xxvij. or xxviij. yeres, was in king Edwards daies a very papist, til the time Queene Mary came in, and then perceiuing the great crueltye vsed of the Popes side, was brought into a misdoubte of theyr doings, and begā (as he said) in his heart to abhorre them. And as concerning the masse, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much struiing with him self in that case, at length hee fell to prayer, desiring God in mercye to open to him the truth, that he might be thorowly perswaded therein, whether it were of God, or no: If not, that he might vtterly hate it in his heart, and abhorre it:* whiche according to his prayer, the Lorde mercifully heard, woorking daily more and more in him to detest and abhorre the same: and so was mooued to read the Testament, whereby (as is sayd) the Lord lightened his minde with the knowledge of the truthe, woorking liuely faith in him to beleue the same, and vtterly to detest all papistrie, and so he came no more to their doings: And not onely that,* but also thys liuely faith, sayd he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but vtter it selfe by confession therof, reprouing his owne former doings to his friendes, exhorting them likewise to conuert and turne to the truth with him, and thus he began to be smelled out among them, til at the last he was sent for, as followeth.*

It pleased God to strike him w^t sicknesse, whereby hee lay long sicke: and on a certaine day to take the air abroad, he rose vp and went and walked into the Temple fieldes, to see y^e shooters. In the meane season came Bearde home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only for to haue hym to come and dresse a bāket [Page 1690](#) at the Lord Pagets. The wife because of his apparell (which was very braue) tooke him to be some honeste Gentleman, and with all speede prepared her selfe to fetch her husband, hauing a good hope he should nowerne some mony: and least this gentleman should not be noyed with tarying,* she fet him a cushin to set him soft, and said a fayre napkin before him, and set breade thereon, and came to her husband: who whē he heard it, sayd: a banket woman? In deed it is such a banquet as wil not be very pleasant to the flesh but Gods will be done. And when he came home hee saw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceiued, & wherfore he came, like a tall woman, would play Peters part, and in sted of a sword took a spit, and had runne him thorow, had not the Constable which Bearde had sent for by his man, come in withall, who rescued him: yet she sent a brickebatte after him and hit hym on the backe.* And so Tankerfield was deliuered to y^e Constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February an. 1555. by the sayd Bearde Yeoman of the Gard, and Simon Ponder Pewterer, Constable of S. Dūstons in the West, sent in by Syr Roger Chomley knight and by Doctor Martin.

Tankerfield thus being brought to prison by hys aduersaryes, at lēgth w^t the other aboue named was brought to his examination before Boner. Who after his accustomed maner, ordered his articles and positions vnto him: the copy and tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read aboue expressed. pag. 1585.

To these Articles as aboue rehearsed, he aunswered agayne, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish alter, and likewise of the Masse.* &c. First that he was not confessed to any priest 5. yeaes past, nor to any other but only to God, and further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to anye Prieste, for that hee founde it not in Christes booke, and tooke it onely to be a counsell.

And concerning the sacrament, commonly called here in England of the aultar,* he confessed that hee neither had nor did beleue, that in the sayd sacrament, there is the reall body and bloud of Christ, because that the bodye is ascended into heauen, and there doth sit at the right hand of god the father.

And moreouer he sayd, that the Masse now vsed in the Church of England was nought,* and ful of Idolatry and abomination, and agaynst the word of God, affirming also, that there are but two Sacramentes in the Church of Christ, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord. &c. And to these assertions, he sayd, he would stand: and so he did to the end.

And when at last the Byshop began to read y^e sentence exhorting him before with manye woordes to reuoke hys professed opinion (which they called damnable & heretical) he notwithstanding,* resisted all contrary perswasions, answering the bishop agayne in this forme of words: I will not (sayd he) forsake mine opinions, except you (my Lord) can repell thē by scriptures, and I care not for your Diuinity:* for you condemne al men: and proue nothing against them. And after many fayre wordes of exhortation, which Boner then vsed (after his ordinary maner) to conuerte or rather peruert him, he aunswered boldlye agayne, saying moreouer: that the church wherof y^e pope is supreme head, is no part of Christes Catholicke Church: & adding thervnto, and poynting to the Bishop, spake to the people, say'ing: Good people beware of him, and such as he is: for these be the people that deceiue you. &c.

These with other wordes moe, he spake: whereupon the Bishop reading the sentence of his popish condēnatiō gaue him to the secular power.*

And so this blessed seruauent of God was had to saynct Albons,* and there with much pacience and constācy ended his life, the xxvi. day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will haue the victory.

***Certayne notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer martyrdome at Saynt Albons.**

IN primis, he was brought vnto S. Albons, by the high Shiriffe of Hereford Shyre, M Edw. Brocket Esquire and one Pulter of Hitchen which was vnder Shiriffe.

Item theyr Inne was the crosse keyes whereas there was great cōcourse of people to see and heare the prisoner, among the which multitude some were sory to see so godly a man brought to be burned, others praised God for his constancy and perseuerance in the trueth. Contrarywyse some there were which said it was pity he did stand in such opinions, and others both old womē & men cried against him one called him hereticke, & sayd it was pity that he lyued. But George Tankerfield did speake vnto them so effectually out of the word of God, in lamenting of theyr ignorance, & protesting vnto them his vnspotted conscience, & that God did mollify theyr hardened hartes insomuch y^t some of them departed out of the chamber w^t weping eies.

Item there came vnto him a certayne Scholemayster (which reteined vnto sir Tho. Pope knight) this man had certayne cōmunication w^t G. Tankerfield the day before he was cōming toward S. Albons, as touching theyr sacrament of y^e aultar & other poyntes of papisticall religiō, but as he vrged Tankerfield w^t the authority of y^e doctors, wrasting thē after his own will: so on y^e other side Tākerfield aunswered him mightily by y^e scriptures not wrested after y^e mind of any man

but being interpreted after y^e will of the Lord Iesus. &c. So that as he would not allow such allegatiōs as Tankerfield brought out of the scriptures w^t out the opiniōs of y^e doctors: so agayn Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true except he could cōfirme it by the scriptures. In y^e end Tankerfield prayd him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established. &c. and so he departed from him wishing him well & protesting that he meant him no more hurt thē his owne soule.

Item when the houre drew on apace y^t he should suffer he desired the wine drawer that he might haue a pinte of malmesey & a loafe that he might eat & drinke that in remēbrance of Christes death and passion, because he could nor haue ministred vnto him by others in such maner as christ cōmaunded, & thē he kneeled downe making his cōfession vnto the Lord w^t all those which were in the chāber wyth him, & after y^t he had prayd earnestly vnto the Lord, & had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Iesus, out of y^e euangelistes & out of S. Paule: he sayd O Lord y^u knowest it I do not this to derogate authority frō any mā, or in contēpt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot haue it ministred according to thy word &c. & when he had spoken these & such like wordes he receiued it with geuing of Thankes.

Item when some of his frends willed him to eat some meat, he sayd he would not eat that which should do other good that had more need, & y^t had lōgertime to liue thē he.

Item he prayd his host to let him haue a good fire in y^e chāber, he had so, & thē he sitting on a forme before the fire put of his shoes & hose & stretched out his leg to y^e flame, & whē it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg shewing how y^e flesh did perswade him one way & the spirit another way. The flesh sayd O thou foole wilt y^u burne & needest not. The spirit sayd be not afrayd, for thys is nothing in respect of fire eternall. The flesh sayd do not leaue the cōpany of thy frēdes & acquaintance which loue & will let thee lack nothing. The spirit sayd the cōpany of Iesus Christ & his glorious presence doth exceed al fleshly frēds. The flesh sayd do not shortē thy time now for y^u mayst liue if thou wilt much lōger. The spirit said this life is nothing vnto y^e life in heauen which lasteth for euer. &c. And all this time the shiriffes were at a certayn gētlemans house at diner not far frō the towne whither also resorted knightes & many gētlemē out of y^t coutry, because his sonne was married that day, & vntill they returned from diner the prisoner was lefte w^t his host to be kept & looked vnto. And G. Tankerfield all y^e time was kindly & louingly entreated of his host, and considering that his time was short his saying was, that although the day were neuer so long, yet at the last it ringeth to Euensong. &c.

Item about two of y^e clocke whē the shiriffes were returned frō diner they brought G. Tankerfield out of his Inne vnto y^e place where he shoulde suffer which is called Romeland, being a greene place nigh vnto y^e west end of y^e Abbey church, vnto the which whē he was come he kneeled downe by the y^e stake that was set vp for him & after he had ended his prayers, he arose & with a ioyfull fayth he sayd y^t although he had a sharpe diner, yet he hoped to haue a ioyfull supper in heauen.

Item while the fagots were set about him there came a priest vnto him, & perswaded him to beleue on y^e sacrament of y^e aulter & he should be saued. But G. Tankerfield cried out vehemētly & sayd, I defye the whore of Babilon, I defie the whore of Babilon, fie of y^e abhominable Idoll, good people do not beleue him, good people doe not beleue him. And thē y^e Maior of the towne

cōmaunded to set fire to the heretique, and sayd if he had but one loade of fagots in the whole world, he would geue thē to burn him. There was a certayne knight by & went vnto Tankerfield & took him by the hand & sayd good brother be strōg in Christ, this he spake softly, and Tankerfield sayd, O syr I thanke you I am so I thanke God. Then fire was set vnto him, & he desired the shiriffe & all the people that they woulde pray for him, the most part did so. And so embracing the fire he bathed

[Page 1691](#) himselfe in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Iesus he was quickly out of payne, &c.

After the martyrdome was ended & that he was fallen a sleepe in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women did blasphemously say that the Deuill was so stronge with him and all such hereticks as he was that they could not feele any payne almost, nor yet be sory for theyr sinnes.

***The history and examinations of Robert Smith, constantly maynteining the trueth of Gods word, and suffering for the same in the moneth of August.**

RObert Smith was brought vnto Newgate the fifte of Nouember, in the first and second yere of the king and queene, by Ioh. Mathew, yeomā of the gard o• the quenes side, by the commaudemēt of the Counsell. This Smith first gaue himselfe vnto seruice in the house of sir Thomas Smith knight, being thē Prouost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsore, hauing there in the colledge a clerkship of x. poūd a yere. Of stature he was tall & slēder, actiue about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of Painting, which many times, rather for his minds sake thē for any liuing or lucre, he did practise & excercise. In re'ligion he was feruent, after he had once tasted the trueth: wherin he was much confirmed by the preachings & readings of one M. Turner of Windsore & others: wherupō at the comming of Queene Mary he was depriued of hys Clerkship by her visitors, & not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examinatiō before Boner, as here foloweth, written and testified with his owne hand.

¶The first examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Boner.

*ABout nine of the clocke in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the Bishops house: and I first of al was brought before him into his chamber to whom the bishop sayd, as foloweth, after he had asked my name.

Boner.

How long is it agoe since the time that ye were cōfessed to any priest?*

Smith.

Neuer since I had yeres of discretion. For I neuer saw it needfull, neither cōmaūded of God to come to shew my faultes to any of that sinfull nūber, whō ye call priests.

Boner.

Thou shewest thy selfe euen at the first chop to be a ranke heretick, which being wery of painting, art entred into Diuinity, and so fallen, through thy departing frō thy vocation into heresy.

Smith.

Although I haue vnderstanding in y^e said occupation, yet (I prayse God) I haue had litle need all my life hitheyto to liue by the same,* but haue liued without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as ye haue liued in yours, and yet vsed the same better then euer you vsed the Pulpit.

Boner.

How long is it ago since ye receiued the sacrament of the aultar, and what is your opinion in the same?

Smith.

I neuer receiued the same since I had yeres of discretion,* nor neuer will, by Gods grace: neither do esteeme the same in any poynt, because it hath not gods ordinance, neither in name, nor in other vsage, but rather is set vp & erected to mocke God withall.

Boner.

Do ye not beleue that it is the very body of Christe that was borne of the virgin Mary, naturally, substantially and really, after the wordes of consecration?

Smith.

I shewed you before it was none of Gods ordynaunces, as ye vse it: thē much lesse to be God, or any part of his substance, but onely bread & wine erected to the vse aforesaid: yet neuerthelesse, if ye can approue it to be the bo|dy that ye spake of, by the word, I will beleue it: if not, I will, as I do, accoūt it a detestable Idol, not God, but contrary to God and truth.

Boner.

*Thē after many raging words & vayne obiectiōs, he sayd there was no remedy but I must be burned.

Smith.

Ye shall do no more vnto me, then ye haue done to better mē then either of vs both. But thinke not therby to quench the spirit of god, neither therby to make your matter good. For your sore is too well sene to be healed so priuily w^t bloud. For euē the very childrē haue al your deedes in

dirision: so that although ye patch vp one place with au'thority, yet shall it breake out in forty to your shame.

Boner.

Then after much ado, & many railing sentences, he sayd throwing away y^e paper of mine examinatio^o: wel euē now by my truth, euen in good earnest: if thou wilt go and be shriuen, I will teare this paper in peces.

Smith.

To which I aunswered: It would be too much to his shame to shew it to men of discretion.

After which aunswere, I was caried downe into the garden with my Gaoler, & there remayned vntill my brother Harwood was examined: * & thē being agayn brought vp before the sayd Bishop, he demaunded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, vpon these articles folowing.

Boner.

What say you to the Catholicke church? Do ye not confesse there is one in earth?

Smith.

Yes verely, I beleue that there is one Catholicke Church, or faythfull Congregation, which as the Apostle sayth, is builded vpon the Prophets and Apostles, Christ Iesus being the head corner stone: which church in all her wordes and workes, mainteineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority, & without it doth nothing, nor ought to doe, of which I am assured, I am by grace made a member.

Boner.

Ye shall vnderstand, that I am boūd when my brother offendeth, & will not be reconciled, * to bring him before the congregation: now if your Church be the same, where may a man finde it, to bring his brother before the same?

Smith.

It is written in the Actes of the Apostles, that whē the tyranny of the Bishops was so great agaynst the churche in Iewry, they were fayne to congregate in houses & priuy places, as they now do: and yet were they neuerthelesse the Church of God: and seing they had theyr matters redressed being shut vp in a corner, may not we do the like now a dayes?

Boner.

Yea, theyr Church was knowne full wel.* For saint Paul writ to the Corinthians to haue the man punished & excommunicate, that had committed euil with his fathers wife. Whereby wee maye well perceiue, it was a knowne church, but yours is not knowne.

Smith.

Then could ye not persecute it, as ye do: but (as ye say) the Churche of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul: euē so is this Church of God in England whome ye persecute, both knowne to God, and also euen to the very wicked although they know not, nor will not know theyr truth nor conuersation: yea and your sinneful number haue professed theyr verity, and maineteyned the same a long season.

Boner.

Well, thou sayest that the church of God was onely at Corinth when Paul writ vnto them, and so will I put in writing: shall I?

Smith.

I do maruell greatly, my Lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your Brethren on this manner.* This is now the third snare you haue layd for me. First to make me confesse that the Churche of Englande is not the church of Christ: Secōdly, to say, it is not knowne. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not vniuersall, but particular: and this is not the office of a bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would haue done your best (I see) to haue entangled him.

Harps.

Well frend, quoth one of my Lordes Chapleynes, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith.

By the grace of God, I am that I am: & this grace in me, I hope, is not in vayne.

Boner.

Well, quoth my Lord, laughing: tell me, how sayst thou of the church.

Smith.

I tolde you whereupon the true Chrch is builded, and I affirme in England to be the congregation of God, and also in Omnem terram, as it is written: Theyr sounde is gone forth into all landes, and that this is the afflicted & persecuted Church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay & kyll.* And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For Paul neither Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, & yet were they of the Church of God, as many thousandes moe, which also communicate in that holy spirit.

Boner.

What call ye Catholick, and what call you church?

Smith.

Catholique is vniuersall,* and Church is a congregation knit together in vnity.

Then after much like v••ne talke, it was layde to my charge, that my felowe and I spake one thing. Whereof I praysed God, and was sent agayne to a garden. Where after a while, as my Brother Harwood and I had bene together, commeth one of my Lords Chapleynes, that much desired to common with me, demaunding first if I were not a prisoner.

Smith.

I am in this fleshe a Prisoner, and subiecte to my Mayster and yours: but I hope yet the Lordes free man through Christ Iesu.

Doct.

I do much desire to talke with you louingly, for because ye are a man that I muche lament, with many other sweet wordes.

To which I aunswered: Sub melle latet venenum. And after much ado about his God, I cōpelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, & so fal into the draught. To which he answered.

Doct.

What derogation was it to Christ, whē the Iewes spit in his face?

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Smith.

If the Iewes being his enemies, did but spit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of vs haue deserued the greatest damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth iniury to Christ, shal haue a most plenteous saluation.*

Doct.

Then start he away, and would haue his humanity incōprehensible, making a comparison betwene our soule and the body of Christ, bringing in to serue his turne, whi'che way Christ came in among his disciples, the dores being shut?

Smith.

Although it be sayd, that when he came the doores were shut, yet haue I as much to proue, that the doores opened at his cōming, as ye haue to proue he came through the dore. For that mighty God that brought the Disciples out of prisons, which yet whē search came, were foūd shut, was able to let Christ in at the dore, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose, for they saw hym, heard him, and felt him, and so can we not say ye doe, neyther is he in more then in one place at once. At which aunswere, when he had made many scoffinges, he departed away from me, and we were caryed vnto my Lordes Hall; where we were bayted of my Lordes band, almost all the day, vntill our keeper seing theyr misorder, shut vs vp all in a fayre Chamber, while my Lord went into his Synagogue, to condemne M. Denly and Iohn Newman.

Then brought they vp my Lorde Maior to heare our matter aboue in the chamber, and I first of all was called into the chamber,* where my Lord intended to sup. Where my Lord Maior being set with the Bishop and one of the Sheriffes, wine was walking on euery side, I standyng before them as an outcast, which made me remember how Pilate & Herode were made frendes, but no man was sory for Iosephes hurt. But after my Lords had well drūke, my ar•icles were sent for, & read, and he demaunded whether I sayd not, as was written.

Smith.

That I haue sayde, I haue sayde, and what I haue sayd, I do meane vtterly.

Boner.

Well my Lorde Maior, your Lordship hath hearde somewhat, what a stout hereticke this is, and that his Articles haue deserued death: Yet neuertheles for so much as they report me to seeke bloud,* and call me bloody Boner, where as God knoweth, I neuer sought any mans bloud in all my life, I haue stayed him from the Consistory thys day, whither I might haue brought him iustly: and yet here before your Lordship, I desire him to turne, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of trouble: and this I professe before your Lordship and all this audience.

Smith.

Why, my Lord, do ye put out this fayre visor before my Lord Maior, to make him beleue that ye seeke not my bloud, to cloke your murthers through my stoutnesse, as ye call it? Haue ye not had my brother Tomkins before you,* whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his bodye, and not onely of him, but of a greate many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and liued vertuously, and also the Queenes Maiestyes moste true subiectes, as theyr goodes and bodies haue made manifest? and seing in these Sayntes ye haue shewed so little mercy, shall it seeme to my Lord and this audience, that ye will shew me more fauour? No, no, my Lorde. But if ye meane as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to aunswere you vnto?

Boner.

Well, what sayst thou by the Sacrament of the aultar? * is it not the very body of Christ, fleshe, bloud, & bone, as it was borne of the virgin?

Smith.

I haue aunsweared, that it is none of Gods order, neither any Sacrament, but mans owne vayne inuention, and shewed him the Lordes institution. But when he was so earnest before the audiēce, declaring that we knew nothing, brynging out his Hoc est corpus meum, to laye in my Dishe, I prooued before the audience, that it was a dead God, declaring the destinction appoynted betwene the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body with out bloud hath no life. At which Harpsfield found himselfe much offended, and tooke the tale out of my Lords mouth, saying:

Harps.

I will approoue by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is geuen in two partes, because there is two thinges shewed, that is to saye his body and his Passion, as sayth S. Paule: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representatiō of his death and bloud shedding.

Smith.

Ye falsify the worde, and racke it to serue your purpose. For the wine was not onely the shewing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Sauour sayth: So oft as ye do this, do it in remembraunce of me. And S. Paule sayth: So oft as ye eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye shall shewe the Lordes death till he come. And here is as much reuerence geuen to the one, as to the other.

Wherefore yf the bread be his body, the cuppe must be his bloud, and as wel ye make his body in the cup,* as his bloud in the bread. Then vp rose my Lorde and went to the table: where my Lorde Maior desired me to saue my soule. To whome I answered, I hope it was saued thorow Christ Iesus, desiring him to haue pity on his owne soule, and remember whose sword he caryed.

At which I was caryed into the Garden, and there abode vntill the rest of my frendes were examined,* and so were we sent away with many foule farewellles, to Newgate agayne, my Lord Bishop geuing the keeper a charge to lay me in limb•.

¶An other examination of Robert Smith before the sayd Bishop.

Vpon Saturday at eight of the clocke, I was brought to his chamber agayne, and there by him examined,* as foloweth.

Boner.

Thou Robert Smith. &c. sayst, that there is no catholicke Church here on earth.

Smith.

Ye haue heard me both speake the contrary, and ye haue written it as a witnes of the same.

Boner.

Yea, but I must aske thee this question: how sayest thou?

Smith.

Must ye of necessity beginne with a lye? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same. But there shall no Liers enter into the kingdome of God. Neuerthelesse, if ye will be aunswared, aske mine articles that were written yesterday,* and they shall tel you that I haue confessed a Church of God, as well in earth as in heauen, and yet all one Church, & one mans members, euen Christ Iesus.

Boner.

Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be vsed in Christes Church, and wilt not thou be shriuen of the priest?

Smith.

It is not needefull to be vsed in Christes Church, as I aunswered yesterday. But if it be needefull for your Church, it is to picke mens purses.* And such pickepurse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all is but mony matters that ye maynteyne.

Boner.

Why, how art thou able to proue that confession is a pickepurse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?

Smith.

I speake by experience. For I haue both hearde and seene the fruites of the same. For firste it hath bene, we see, a bewrayer of kinges secretes,* and the secretes of other mens consciences. Who being deliuered, and glad to be discharged of theyr sinnes, haue geuen to Priests great summes of mony to absolue them, & sing Masses for theyr soules health.

And for ensample, I beganne to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at saynt Thomas of Acres, and where I was sometime a childe waiting on a Gentleman of Northfolke,* which being bounde in conscience through the perswasion of the Priest, gaue away a great summe of his goodes, and forgaue vnto M. Gressam a great summe of money, and to an other as much. The priest had for his part a summe, and the house had an annuitie to keepe him, the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, & after declaration made to the Counsaile, how by the subtilty of the Priest he had robbed his wyfe & children, recouered a great part agayne, to the value of two or three hundred poundes of Maister Gressam and his other frende: but what he gaue to the house, could not be recouered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord saw it sauored not to his purpose, he began to reuile me, & sayde: By the Masse, if the

Queenes maiesty were of his mynde, I should not come to talke before any man, but should be, put into a sacke, & •ogge tyed vnto the same, & so should be throwen into the water.

Smith.

To which I answered againe, saying: I know you speake by practise, as much as by speculation: for both you & your predecessors haue sought all meanes possible to kyll Christ secretly: record of M. Hunne, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose, w^t hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, & sayde y^e same Hunne to haue hanged himselfe: and also a good brother of yours, a Byshop of your professiō hauing in his prison an innocēt mā, whom because he saw he was not able by the scriptures to ouercome, he made him priuily to be snarled, & his flesh to be torne and plucked awaye with a payre of pinsers, and bringing him before the people, sayd, the Rattes had eaten him. Thus according to your othe, is all your dealing and hath bene: and as you taking vpon you the office,* doe not without othes open your mouth, no more do you without murder maynteyne your traditions.

Boner.

Ah, ye are a generation of lyers: there is not one true word that commeth out of your mouthes.

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Smith.

*Yes, my Lorde, I haue sayde that Iesus Christ is dead for my sinnes, and risen for my iustification, and thys is no lye.

Boner.

Then made he his man to put in my tale of y^e gentleman of Northfolke, and would haue had me recite it agayne: which when I would not doe, he made his man to put in suche summes as he imagined. At the ende of thys, commeth in M. Mordant knight,* and sate downe to heare my examination. Then sayd my Lord. Howe sayest thou Smith to the seuen sacramentes? Beleeuest thou not that they be Gods order, that is to say, the sacrament of. &c.

Smith.

I beleue that in Gods Church are but two Sacramentes,* that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, & the sacrament of the Lordes supper: and as for the Sacrament of the aultar, and all your sacraments, they may wel serue your church, but Gods church hath nothing to do w^t them, neither haue I any thing to do to aunswere them, nor you to examine me of them.

Boner.

Why, is Gods order chaūged in baptisme? In what poynt do we dissent from the word of God?*

Smith.

First in halowing your water: in coniuring of the same: in baptising children, with annoynting and spitting in their mouthes, mingled with salt, and with many other lend ceremonies, of which not one poynt is able to be proued in Gods order.

Boner.

By the masse this is the vnshamefast heretique that euer I heard speake.

Smith.

Well sworne my Lord, ye keepe a good watch.

Boner.

Well, M. Controller, ye catche me at my wordes: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

Mordant.

By my troth, my Lord, quoth M. Mordant, I neuer heard the like in all my life. But I pray you my lord, marke well his aunswere for Baptisme. He dissalloweth therin, holy oyntmēt, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies which no Christian man will deny.

Smith.

That is a shamefull blasphemy agaynst Christ, so to vse any mingle mangle in baptising young infants.

Boner.

I beleue, I tell thee, that if they dye before they bee baptised, they be damned.

Smith.

Yee shall neuer bee saued by that beliefe. But I pray you my Lord, shewe me, are we saued by water, or by Christ?

Boner.

By both.

Smith.

Then the water dyed for our sinnes: and so muste ye say,* that the water hath life, and it being our seruaunt, & created for vs, is our sauour: this, my Lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

Boner.

Why, how vnderstandest thou these scriptures? Except a man be borne of water and of the spyrit, he can not enter into the kingdome of God.

And againe, Suffer (sayth our Sauour) these children to come vnto me: and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptised after the laudable order, thou lettest them to come vnto Christ.

Smith.

Where ye alleadge Saynt Iohn, Except a man &c. and will thereby proue the water to saue, and so the deede or worke to saue and putte away sinnes, I will send you to Saynt Paule, which asketh of the Galathians: Whether they receiued the spirite by the deedes of the law, or by the preaching of fayth? and there concludeth, that the holye Ghost accompanyeth the preaching of fayth, and with the worde of fayth entreth into the harte. So nowe if Baptysme preache me the washinge in Christes bloud, so doeth the holy Ghost accompanye it, and it is vnto me as a Preacher, and not a Sauour. And where ye say, I let the children to come vnto Christ,* it is manifest by our Sauours wordes, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessitye of water. For he sayth: suffer them to come vnto me and not vnto water, and therefore if ye condemne them, ye condemne both the merites and wordes of Christ. For our Sauour sayeth: Except ye turne and become as childrē, ye cannot enter into the Kyngdome of GOD. And so broughte I out manye other ensamples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original sinne, bringing in ensamples out of scriptures for the same.

Boner.

Then thou makest the water of none effect, and then put away water.*

Smith.

It is not (sayth Saynt Peter) the washynge awaye of the filth of the fleshe, but in that a good conscience consenteth vnto GOD. And for to prooue that water onely bringeth not the holye ghost, it is written in the 8. of the Actes, that Simon receiued water, but would haue receyued the holy ghost for money.* Also that the holy ghost hath come before baptisme, it is written that Iohn had the holy ghost in his mothers wombe. Cornelius, Paule, and the Queene of Candace seruant, with many other receiued the holy ghost before Baptisme. Yea, and although your generation haue set at nought the worde of God, and like swine turned hys wordes vpside downe, yet must his Church keep the same in order that he left them, whiche his Church dare not breake: and to iudge children damned that be not baptised, it is wicked.

Mord.

By our Lady syr, but I beleue that if my childe dye without water, he is damned.

Boner.

Yea, and so do I, and all Catholicke men, good M. Mordant.

Smith.

Well my Lord, such Catholicke, such saluation.

Boner.

Well Syr, what say you to the Sacrament of Orders?

Smith.

Ye may call it the Sacrament of misorders: * for all orders are appoynted of God. But as for your shauing, annoynting, greasing, poling, & rōūding, there are no such thinges appointed in Gods book, and therefore I haue nothing to do to beleue your orders. And as for you, my lord, if ye had grace or intelligēce, ye wold not so disfigure your selfe as ye do.

Boner.

Sayest thou so? * nowe by my troth and I wyll goe shaue my selfe to anger thee withal: and so sent for his barber, which immediatly came. And before my face at y^e doore of the next chamber he shaued himselfe, desiring me before he went, to answere to these articles.

Boner.

What say you to the holy bread and holy water, * to the sacrament of annoynting, & to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?

Smith.

I say, they be bables for fooles to play withall, & not for the children of God to exercise themselues in: and therefore they may go among the refuse. Then went away Maister Mordant, and my Lord went to shauing, leauing there certayne Doctors, as he called thē, to assay what they could doe, of whō I was baited for halfe an houre: of whō I also asked this questiō: Where were all you in the dayes of Kyng Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speake now?

Doct.

We were in England. *

Smith.

Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but nowe yee haue put on Lyons faces again, as sayth S. Iohn: Ye shew your selues now as full of malice as ye may be. For ye haue for euery time a visier: yea, & if an other king Edward shoulde arise, ye would then say, Downe with the Pope, for hee is Antichrist, and so are all his Angels.

Then was I al to reuiled, and so sent away, & brought in agayne to come before these men: & one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disobeyed confession?

Smith.

To whom I answered: Looke in mine articles, and they shall shew you what I allow.

Doct.

Your articles confesse that you allow not auriculare confession.

Smith.

I allow it not, because the word aloweth it not, nor commaundeth it.

Doct.

Why, it is written, thou shalt not hide thy sinnes & offences.*

Smith.

No more do I when I confesse them to almightye God.

Doct.

Why, ye can not say, that ye can hide them frō God, and therefore you must vnderstand the wordes are spoken to be vttered to them that do not know them.

Smith.

Ye haue made a good aunswere: then must y^e priest confesse himselfe to me, as I to him. For I know his faultes and secretes no more then he knoweth mine. But if ye confesse you to the Priest, and not vnto God, ye shall haue the reward that Iudas had: for he confessed him selfe to the priest, and yet went and hanged himselfe by and by: and so as many as do not acknowledge theyr faultes to God, are sayd to hide them.

Doct.

What did they that come to Iohn to be baptised?

Smith.

The came and confessed theyr sinnes vnto almighty God.

Doct.

And not vnto Iohn?

Smith.

If it were vnto Iohn, as ye are not able to proue, yet was it to God before Iohn, and the whole Congregation.

Doct.

Why, Iohn was alone in the wildernes.*

Smith.

Why, and yet the scriptures say he had many Disciples, and that many Phariseis and Saduces came to hys Baptisme. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselues to Iohn, as ye say, it was to all the Congregation, as saynt Paule doth to Timothy, and to all that reade his Epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an Apostle, because he had bene a Tyraunt. But as for eare confession, ye neuer heard it allowed by the worde. For the Prophete Daud maketh his confession vnto God, and sayeth: I will confesse my sinnes vnto the Lord. Daniell maketh his confession vnto the Lorde: Iudith, Tobye, Ieremye, Manasses, wyth all the forefathers did euen so. For the Lorde hath sayde: [Page 1694](#)Call vppon mee in the time of trouble,*and I will deliuer thee. Knocke, aske, seeke, with such like, and this is the woorde of God. Now bring somewhat of the word to helpe your self withall. Then they raged and called me dogge, and said I was damned.

Smith.

Nay, ye are dogges, that for because holy things are offered, you wyll slaye your frendes. For I maye say with S. Paul: I haue fought with beastes in the likenes of mē. For here I haue bene bayted these two dayes, of my Lord & his great Bulles of Basan, and in his hall beneath haue I bene bayted of the rest of his bande. With this came my Lord from shauing, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith.

Forsoothe, ye are euen as wise as ye were before ye were shauen.

Boner.

How standeth it, mayster Doctours, haue ye done any good?

Doct.

No, by my troth my Lord, we can do no good.

Smith.

Then is it fulfilled which is written: How can an euill tree bring forth good fruit?

Bonor.

Nay, noughty fellow, I set these gentlemē to bring thee home to Christ.

Smith.

Such Gentlemen, such Christes: and as truely as they haue that name from Christ, so truely doe they teache Christ.

Boner.

Well, wilt thou neither heare them nor me?

Smith.

Yes I am compelled to heare you: but ye can not compell me to folow you.

Boner.

Well, thou shalt be burned at a stake in smithfield if thou wilt not turne.

Smith.

*And ye shall burne in hell, if ye repent not: but my Lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am wery, I wyll strayne curtesy with you. I perceiue ye will not with your Doctors come vnto me, and I am not determined to come vnto you, by Gods grace. For I haue hardened my face agaynst you as hard as brasse. Thē after many rayling sentences I was sent away. And thus haue I left the trueth of mine answeres in writing (gentle Reader) being compelled by my frends to do it: that ye may see how the Lord hath according to his promise, geuen me a mouth and wise'dome for to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard.

¶The last examination of Robert Smith.

The 12. of Iuly I was with my brethren brought into the Consistory,* and mine articles read before my Lord Maior and the Shiriffes, with all the assistances: to which I answered, as foloweth.

Boner.

By my fayth, my Lord Maior, I haue shewed him as much •auor as any man liuing might do: but I perceiue all his lost, both in him and all his company.

Smith.

At this word which he coupled with an othe, came I in, and taking him with the maner sayd: My Lord, it is written: Ye must not sweare.

Boner.

Ah, mayster controller, are ye come? Loe, my Lord Maior, this is Mayster Speaker, poynting to my brother Tankerfield, and this is Mayster Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my articies, he perseuered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Northfolke, and then demaūded of my Lord Maior, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, No. To whō I answered.

Smith.

My Lorde Maior shall it please you to heare me to recite it, as I hearde it & tolde it, & then shall you heare the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is vntrue.

Boner.

How say you good M. Mordant, spake he not this that is here, as it is written? were ye not by?

Mord.

Yes, my Lord, that it is: I heard him say it.

Smith.

How heard ye me say it, and were not present whē I spake it? should such a man make a lye? it is manifestlye proued that the Prophet sayth: Euen as the king sayth. so saith the Iudge, that he may doe him a pleasure agayne. And so was brought out my Gaoler for tryall therof, who there openly professed, that neyther mayster Mordant nor the Doctors before mentioned were present when I spake it. At which maister Mordant with blushing cheekes, sayde, hee heard thē read, and heard me affirme the same, which was also not true. Then proceded my lord with the rest of mine articles, d•maunding of me, if I sayd not as was written. To whiche I aunswered, No: and turning to my Lorde Maior, I sayd: I require you, my Lord Maior in Gods behalfe, vnto whom

perteineth your sword & Iustice, that I may here before your presence answere to these obiections that are layd agaynst me, and haue the probatiō of the same: and if any thing that I haue sayd or will say, be to be approued (as my Lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my hart forsake the same, and cleaue to the truth, but also recant wheresoeuer ye shall assigne me, and all this audience shalbe witnesses to the same.

Maior.

Why Smyth, thou canst not deny, but this thou sayedst?

Smith.

Yes my Lord, I deny that which he hath written,* because he hath both added to, & diminished from the same: But what I haue spoken, I will neuer deny.

Maior.

Why, thou spakest agaynst the blessed Sacrament of the aultar.

Smith.

I denied it to be any Sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same: and if my Lorde here, or any of his Doctors be able to approue either the name, or vsage of the same, I will recant mine error. Thē spake my Brother Tankerfielde, and defended the probation of thinges, which they called heresy, to the which the Bishop aunswered.

Boner.

By my troth, Mayster speaker, ye shall preache at a Stake.

Smith.

Well sworne, my Lord, ye keepe a good watch.

Boner.

Well, mayster Controller, I am no Saynt.

Smith.

No, my Lord, nor yet good Bishop.* For a Bishop sayth S. Paule, should be faultles, and a dedicate vessell vnto god, and are ye not ashamed to sit in iudgement, & be a blasphemer, condemning Innocents?

Boner.

Well, M. Controller, ye art faultles.

Smith.

My Lorde Maior, I require you in Gods name,* that I may haue Iustice. We be here to day a great many of Innocentes, that are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seeme to be parciall, let me haue no more fauour at your handes, then the Apostle had at the handes of Festus and Agrippa, which beyng Heathen and Infidels, gaue him leaue not onely to speake for himselfe, but also hearde the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, which being a Christian Iudge, I hope will not denye me that right, whiche the Heathen haue suffered: if ye doe, thē shall all this audience, yea, & the Heathen speake shame of your fact. For a City (saith our sauour) that is builded on a hill, can not be hid: if they therefore haue the truth, let it come to light. For al that wel do, come to the light, and they that do euill hate the light.

Then my Lorde Maior hanginge downe his head, sayd nothing, but the Byshop tolde me, I shoulde preache at a Stake, and so the Shiriffe cryed, with the Byshop,* away with me.

Thus came I in before thē foure times, desiring Iustice, but could haue none: and at length my frendes requiring with one voyce the same, & coulde not haue it,* we had sentence, and then •eing caried out, were brought in agayne, and had it euery man seuerally geuen. But before the Bishop gaue me sentence, he told me in derision of my Brother Takerfielde, a tale betweene a Gentleman and his Cooke. To whiche I aunsweared: My Lorde, yee fill the peoples eares with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at bloud: but if ye were a true byshop, ye should leaue these railing sentences, and speak the wordes of God.

Boner.

Well, I haue offred to that noughty felow mayster Speaker, your companion the Cooke, that my Chancellor should here instruct him: but he hath here with great disda•ne forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou haue him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?

Smith.

My Lorde,* if your Chauncellour shall doe me any good, and take any paynes, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his handes, that ye haue obiected agaynst me, and either proue one of them heresy, or any thing that you doe, to be good: and if he be able so to doe, I stand here wyth all my hart to heare him: if not, I haue no neede, I prayse God of his sermon: for I come to answere for my life, and not heare a sermon.

Then beganne the sentence, In Dei nomine.* To whiche I answered, that he beganne in a wrong name, requiring of him, where hee learned in Scriptures to geue sentence of death agaynst any man for his conscience sake. To the which he made no aunsweare, but went forward to the end and immediately cryed. Away with me. Then I turned me to the Maior, and sayde: Is it not enough for you my Lord Maior, and ye that are the shiriffes, that ye haue left the strait way of the Lord, but that ye must condemne Christ causeles?

Boner.

Well Mayster Controller, nowe ye can not say, but I haue offered you fayre, to haue instruction. And now I pray thee, call me bloody Bishop, and say, I seeke thy blood.

Smith.

Wel, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shal these stones cry it out, rather then it shall be hidden.

Boner.

Away with him, away with him.

Woodrofe.

Away with him, take him away.

Smith.

Well, good frendes, yee haue seene and hearde the great wrong that we haue receiued this day, & ye are al recordes, [Page 1695](#) that we haue desired the probation of our cause by Gods booke, and it hath not bene graunted: but we are cōdemned, and our cause not heard. Neuerthesse my Lord Maior, for as much as here ye haue exercised Gods sword causelesse,* and will not heare the righte of the poore, I committe my cause to almighty God, that shall iudge all men according vnto right, before whō we shall both stand without authority: and there will I stand in the right, and haue true iudgement, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord graūt you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the rest of my brethren caryed away to Newgate.

Thus gentle Reader, as neare as I can, I haue set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine vniust condemnation for the truth, requiring god, that it may not be layd to the charge of thee, O England, requiring your harty prayers vnto God for his grace & spirit of boldnes: with hope euen shortlye to set to my seale, at Uxbridge, the 8. of August, by Gods grace: pray that it may be to his honor, my saluation, and your consolation, I pray you.

Da gloriam Deo.

Robert Smith.

Thus hast thou (good Reader) not onely to note, but also to folow in this man, a singular example of Christian fortitude, which so man•ully and val•auntly did stande in the defence of his maysters cause. And as thou seest hym here boldly stand in examination before the Bishoppe and Doctours: so was he no lesse comfortable also in the pryson among his felowes. Whiche also is to be obserued no lesse in his other prison felowes,* who being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly cōference with themselues, with dayly praying, and publick reading, whiche they to theyr greate comforte vsed in that house together: amongst whom this

foresayd Smith was a chiefe doer. Whose industry was alwayes solicitous, not onely for them of his owne company, but also his diligēce was carefull for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and diswade from theyr olde accustomed iniquity: and many he conuerted vnto his Religion. Diuers letters he wrote there in the prison to sūdry his frendes partly in metre, partly in prose. And first in metre as followeth.

[illustration]

☞ **A Picture describing the maner and place of them which were in bondes for the testimony of the truth, conferring together among themselues.**

*

¶ O ye that loue the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is euill.

ThE God that geueth life and light,

And leadeth into rest:

That breaketh bondes and bringeth out

The poore that are opprest,

And keepeth mercy for the meeke,

His treasure and his store:

Increase the life in perfect loue,

Both now and euermore.

That as thou hast begun to ground,

In fayth and feruent loue:

Thou mayest be made a mighty mount,

That neuer may remoue.

That thine ensample may be shewed

Among all thine encrease:

That they may liue and learne the like,

And passe theyr time in peace.

Thy salutations that were sent,

I hartely retayne:

And send thee seuentie times as much,

To thee and thine agayne.

And for because I know the gole,

That thou doest most desire:

I send thee here a paper full,

Is fined in the fire.

In hope thou wilt accept it well,

Although it be but small:

Because I haue none other good,

To make amendes with all.

For all thy free and frendly factes.

Which thy good will hath wrought:

I send the surely for a shift

The thing that cost me nought.

Absteyne from all vngodlines▪

In dread direct your dayes:

Possesse not sinne in any wise,

Beware of wicked wayes.

Hold fast your fayth vnfaynedly,

Build as ye haue begon:

And arme your selfe in perfect fayth,

To do as ye haue done.

Least that the wicked make a mocke,

That ye haue take in hand:

In leauing of the perfect rocke,

To build vpon the sand.

Beware these filthy Pharisies▪

Their building is in bloud:

[Page 1696](#)Eate not with them in any wise,

Their leauen is not good.

Their salte is all vnsauery,

And vnder good ententes

They mayntayne all their knauery,

And murder Innocentes.

They seeke to sit in Christes seate,

And put him out of place:

And make all meanes that may be made,

His doynges to deface.

They keepe him downe with bils & bat•

That made the blinde to see:

They make a God for myce and Rattes,

And say the same is he.

They shew like sheepe & sweate like Wolues

Their baytes be all for bloud:

They kill and slay the simple soules,

And rob them of ther good.

The darke illusions of the deuill,

Haue dimned so their eyes,

That they cannot abide the truth,

To sturre in any wise.
And if ye keepe the perfect path,
As I haue hope you doe,
Ye shall be sure to haue suche shame,
As they may put you to.
For all that leade a godly life,
Shall surely suffer losse:
And eke the world will seeke theyr shame
And make them kisse the crosse.
Ye shalbe killed sayth Christ,
Your sorrowes shall not cease:
And yet in your afflictions
I am your perfect peace.
For in the worlde ye shall haue woe,
Because ye are vnknowne:
And for because ye hate the world,
The world will loue his owne.
Be feruent therefore to the death,
Agaynst all their decrees:
And God shall surely fight for thee
Agaynst thine enemies.
Commit your cause vnto the Lord,
Reuenge not any euill:
And thou shalt see the wicked want,
When thou shalt haue thy will:

For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can say or doe:
They are not sure of the wealth,
We shall attayne vnto.
For I haue seene the sinners spread,
Theyr braunches like a bay:
And yet ere one could turne his head,
Were withered cleane away.
Beware that mony make ye not
In riches to aryse
Agaynst the goodnes of the Lord,
Among the worldly wise.
For many mischiefes it hath made,
That may not be exprest:
And many euils it hath begonne,
Which may not be redrest.
For money maketh many one,
In riches to rebell:
And he that maketh gold a God,
He hath a soule to sell.
It maketh Kinges to kill and slay,
And wast their wittes in warre:
In leauing of the Wolfe at home,
To hunt the Foxe a farre.
And where they should see iustice done

And set their realme in rest:
By mony they be made a meane,
To see the poore opprest▪
It maketh Lordes obey the lawes
That they doe ill and nought:
It maketh Bishops suck the bloud,
That God hath dearely bought.
And where they shuld be faythfull friends
And father to the flocke:
By money they do turne about,
Euen like a weather Cock.
The Prieste doth make a mony meane
To haue agayne his whoores,
To put away his wedded wife,
And children out of doores.
It holdeth backe the husbandman,
Which may not be forborne:
And will not suffer him to sow,
And cast abroad his corne.
In like case it doth let agayne,
When that the seede they sowe:
It choketh vp the corne agayne,
So that it cannot growe.
The husband he would haue a wife,
With nobles new and olde:

The wife would haue the husband hangd
That she might haue his gold,
It maketh murthers many a one,
And beareth much with bloud:
The childe would see the parentes slayne▪
To sease vppon their good.
And though it be a blessed thing,
Created in the kinde:
It is a necessary euill,
Annexed to the mind.
For who so playeth with the pitch,
His fingers are defiled:
And he that maketh gold a God
Shall surely be beguiled.
Be frendly to the fatherles,
And all that are opprest:
Assist them alwayes out of hand,
And see them set at rest.
In all your doinges and your deedes
Let mercy still remayne:
For with the measure that ye meate,
Shall ye be mette agayne.
Be alwayes lowly in your life,
Let loue enjoy her owne:
The highest trees are seldome sure,

And soonest ouerthrowne.

The Lyons lacke and suffer sore,

In hunger and in thirst:

And they that doe oppresse the poore,

Continue still accurst.

The Bee is but a little beast

In body or in sight:

And yet she bryngeth more encrease,

Then other Crow or Kyte.

Therefore beware in any wise,

Keepe well your watche alway:

Be sure of oyle within your lampe,

Let not your light decay.

For death despiseth them that lacke,

And hateth them that haue:

And treadeth downe the riche and poore

Together in the graue

Exhort your Children to be chaste,

Rebuke them for their ill:

And let them not at any wise

Be wedded to theyr will.

Laugh not with them, but keep them low

Shew them no mery cheare:

Least thou doe weepe with them also,

But bryng them vp in feare.

And let your light and liuing shyne,
That ye be not suspect
To haue the same within your selfe,
For which they are correct.
Be meeke and modest, in a meane
Let all your deedes be done:
That they which are without the law,
May see how right ye runne.
Keepe well the member in your mouth,
Your tongue see that ye tame:
For out of little sparkes of fire,
Proceedeth out a flame.
And as the poyson doth expresse
The natures of the Tode:
Euen so the tongue doth manifest,
The hartes that feareth God.
For therewith blesse we God aboue,
And therewith curse we men:
And therby murders doe aryse,
Through women now and then.
And seeing God hath geuen a tongue▪
And put it vnder power:
The surest way is for to set
A hatch before the doore.
For God hath set you in a seate,

Of double low degree:

Fyrst vnto God, and then to man

A subiect for to be.

I write not, that I see in you

These thinges to be suspect:

[Page 1697](#) But onely set before your face,

How sinne should be correct.

For flesh and bloud I know ye are,

As other women be:

And if ye dwell in flesh and bloud,

There is infirmitie.

Receave a warning willingly,

That to thy teeth is tolde:

Accompt the gift of greater price,

Then if he gaue thee gold.

A wiseman sayth Salomon,

A warning will embrace:

A foole will sooner (as sayth he)

Be smitten on the face.

And as your members must be dead,

From all thinges that are vayne:

Euen so by Baptisme ye are borne,

To liue with Christ agayne.

Thus fare well free and faythfull frend:

The Lorde that is aboue

Encrease in thee • perfect fayth,
And leade thee in his loue.
And as I pray with perfite loue,
And poure out bitter teares
For you and all that are at large,
Abroad among the bryers:
Euen so I pray thee to preferre,
My person and my bondes:
Vnto the euerlasting God,
That hath me in his handes,
That I may passe out of this ponde,
Wherein I am opprest:
Inclosed in a clod of clay,
That here can haue no rest.
That as he hath begon in me
His mercies many one,
I may attayne to ouertake
My brethren that be gone.
That when the death shall do his worst
Where he shall point a place,
I may be able like a man
To looke him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloke,
My body into dust:
Yet am I sure to saue a soule.

When death hath done hys worst.
And though I leaue a little dust
Dissolued out of bloud:
I shall receaue it safe agayne,
When God shall see it good.
For my redeemer I am sure
Doth liue for euermore,
And sitteth high vpon the heauens,
For whome I hunger sore.
Euen as the Deare with deadly wounds,
Escaped from the spoyle
Doth hast by all the meanes he may,
To seeke vnto the soyle.
Of whome I hope to haue a crowne,
That alwayes shall remayne:
And eke enioy a perfect peace,
For all my woe and payne.
The God that geueth all encrease,
And seeketh still to saue,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
Which I do hope to haue.
And I beseech the liuing God,
To hold thee in hys handes:
And wish thee euen with all my hart,
The blessing of my bandes.

Which I esteeme of hier price,
Then pearle or precious stone:
And shall endure for euermore,
When earthly thinges are gone.
For though the fire doe consume,
Our treasure and our store:
Yet shall the goodnes of the Lord,
Endure for euermore.
And where thou art a friend to him,
That is to me full deare:
That God of might make the amendes,
When all men shall appeare.
That hath shewed mercy to the meeke,
And rid them out of payne.
And thus the Lorde possesse thy spirite,
Till we do meete agayne.
If thou wilt haue a recompence,
Abide still in obedience.

**¶The exhortation of Robert Smith, vnto his children, commonly set out in the name of
maister Rogers.**

GEue eare my children to my words,
Whome God hath dearely bought:
Lay vp my law within your harte,
And print it in your thought.*
For I your father haue foreseene
The frayle and filthy way,

Which flesh and bloud would follow fayne,

Euen to theyr owne decay.

For all and euery liuing beast,

Their crib do know full well:

But Adams heyres aboue the rest,

Are ready to rebell:*

And all the creatures on the earth,

Full well can keepe their way:

But man aboue all other beastes,*

is apte to go astray.

For earth and ashes is his strength,

His glory and his rayne:

And vnto ashes at the length,

Shall he returne agayne.*

For flesh doth florish like a flower,

And grow vp like a grasse,

And is consumed in an houre,

As it is brought to passe.

In me the Image of your yeares,

Your treasure and your trust:

Whome ye do see before your face,

Dissolued into dust.

For as you see your fathers fleshe.

conuer•ed into clay:

Euen so shall ye my children deare.

Consume and weare away.

The sonne and moone and eke the starres

That serue the day and night:*

The earth and euery earthly thing,

Shalbe consumed quite.

And all the worship that is wrought

That haue bene heard or seene:

Shall cleane consume and come to naught,*

Ar it had neuer bene.

Therefore that ye may follow me:

Your Father and your frend,

And enter into that same lyfe,

Which neuer shall haue end,

I leaue you heare a little book,

For you to looke vpon:*

That you may see your Fathers face,

When I am dead and gone.

Who for the hope of heauenly thinges,

While he dyd here remayne*

Gaue ouer all his golden yeares,

In prison and in payne.

Where I among myne iron bandes,

Enclosed in the darcke

A few dayes before my death,

Did dedicate this worke.

To you myne heyres of earthly thinges

Which I haue left behynde:

That ye may read and vnderstand,

And keepe it your minde,

That as you haue bene heyres of that,

Which once shall weare away:

Euen so ye may possesse the parte,

Which neuer shall decay.

In following of your fathers foote,

In truth and eke in loue:

That ye may also be his heyres,

For euermore aboue.*
[_](#)

And in example to your youth,

To whome I wish all good,

I preache you here a perfite fayth

And seale it with my bloud.

Haue God alwayes before your eyes,*
[_](#)

In all your whole ententes:

Commit not sinne in any wise,

Keepe his commaundementes.

Abhorre that errant whoore of Rome,

And all her blasphemies:

And drincke not of her decretals,

Nor yet of her decrees.

Geue honour to your mother deare,*
[_](#)

Remember well her payne:

And recompence her in her age▪

[Page 1698](#)In lyke with loue agayne.

Be alwayes ayding at her hand,

And let her not decay:

Remember well your fathers fall,

That should haue bene her stay.

Geue of your portion to the poore,

As riches doth arise:

[*](#)And from the needy naked soule,

Turne not away your eyes.

For he that will not heare the cry,

Of such as are in neede:

Shall cry himselfe, and not be heard,

[*](#)When he would hope to speede.

If God haue geuen you great encrease,

And blessed well your store▪

Remember ye are put in trust,

[*](#)To minister the more.

Beware of foule and filthy lust,

Let whoredome haue no place:

Keepe cleane your vessels in the Lord,

[*](#)That he may you embrace.

Ye are the temples of the Lord,

[*](#)For ye are dearely bought:

And they that do defile the same,
Shall surely come to nought.
Possesse not pride in any case,
Build not your neastes to hye:
But haue alwayes before your face,
That ye be borne to dye.
Defraud not him that hyred is,
Your labours to sustayne:
But geue him alwayes out of hand,
His penny for hys payne.
And as ye would that other men
*Agaynst you should proceede
Do ye the same agayne to them
When they do stand in neede.
And part your portion with the poore
In mony and in meate
And feede the faynted feeble soule,
*With that which ye should eate,
That when your mēbers lacketh meate
*And clothing to your backe:
Ye may the better thinke on them
That now do liue and lacke
Aske counsell at the wise,
Geue eare vnto the end.
Refuse not you the sweete rebuke

Of hym that is your frend:

Be thankefull alwayes to the Lord,

*With prayer and with prayse.

Desire you him in all your deedes,

For to direct your wayes:

And sinne not like that swinish sorte

Whose bellies beyng fed,

Consume theyr yeares vpon the earth

From belly vnto bed.

Seeke first I say the liuing God

*Set him alwayes before:

And then be sure that he will blesse

Your basket and your store.

And thus if you direct your dayes,

*According to this booke,

Then shall they say that see your wayes,

How lyke me you do looke

And when you haue so perfectly,

*Vpon your fingers endes:

Possessed all within your booke,

Then geue it to your frendes.

And I beseeche the liuing God,

Replenish you with grace,

That I maye haue you in the heauens,

And see you face to face.

And though the sword haue cut me off,

Contrary to my kinde,

That I could not enioy your loue,

According to my minde,

Yet do I hope when that the heauens,

*Shall vanish like a scrole:

I shall receaue your perfect shape,

In body and in soule.

And that I may enioy your loue,

And ye enioy the land:

I do beseeche the liuing God,

To holde you in hys hand,

Fare well my children from the world

Where ye must yet remayne:

The Lorde of hostes be your defence,

Till we do meete againe,

Fare well my loue and louing wife,

My Children and my frendes:

I hope to God to haue you all,

When all thinges haue their endes.

And if you doe abide in God,

As ye haue now begonne:

Your course I warrant will be short,

Ye haue not farre to runne,

God graunt you so to end your yeares

As he shall thinke it best:
That ye may enter into heauen,
Where I do hope to rest.

Written at the request of a Lady in her booke.

IF you will walke the way,
That Christ hath you assignde:
Then learne this little verse,
Which I haue left behinde.
Be feruent in the truth,
Although it beare the blame:
And eke apply your youth,
To sticke vnto the same:
That when the age is come,
And death beginneth to call?
The truth may be your staffe,
To stay you vp withall.
And though it bryng rebuke,
And cause you kisse the crosse:
Yet is it a reward,
To all that suffer losse.
For here we doe lay out,
The thinges that be but vayne:
But we are sure to reape,
The thinges that doe remayne.
For all that ye do lose,

Is but a sinnefull slime:
And lyke vnto a Rose,
That taryeth but a tyme.
But if ye carry Christ,
And walke the perfect way,
Ye shall possesse the gold,
That neuer shall decay.
And all your fathers goodes,
Shalbe your recompense:
If ye confesse the worde,
With double diligence.
Not onely for to heare
His pure and perfite word:
But also to embrace,
The fire and eke the sword.
And if ye keepe this path,
And do not runne a croke,
Then shall ye meete the man,
That write this in your booke
In that eternall loye,
That alwayes shall remayne:
Thus fare well faythfull frend,
Till we do meete agayne.

Legem pone.

TEache me O Lorde to walke thy waies,

My liuing to amend:

And I shall keepe it all my dayes,

Euen to my liues end.

Geue me a minde to vnderstand,

So shall I neuer starte:

But I shall keepe all thy preceptes,

Euen wholly with mine hart.

Make me to go a perfect pace,

In that I haue begonne:

For all my loue and my delight,

Is in thy wayes to runne.

Encline my hart vnto thy wayes,

Set thou thereon my thought:

And let me not consume my dayes,

To couet that is naught.

O quicken me in all thy wayes,

The world for to despise:

And from all fond and foolish toyes,

Turne thou away mine eyes.

O plant in me thy perfect word,

Which is to me so deare:

Lay vp thy lawes within my hart,

To keepe me still in feare.

And robbe me of that great rebuke▪

Which I do feare full sore.

For all thy iudgementes and thy law

Endure for euermore.

Behold O Lord in thy preceptes

Is all my whole delight.

O quicken me in all my wayes

That I may walke aright.

To hys brother.

AS nature doth me binde,

Because thou art my bloud

According to my kinde

To geue thee of my good,

That thou mayest haue in minde

How I haue runne my race

Although thou bide behynde

But for a little space,

I yeauē thee here a pearle

The price of all my good

For whiche I leaue my life,

To buy it with my bloud

More worth then all the world

Or ought that I can note,

Although it be yclad,

In such a simple cote.

For when I had obtayned

This pearle of such a price

Then was I sure I gayned
The way for to be wise.
It taught me for to fight
My flesh for to despise
To sticke vnto the light
And for to leaue the lyes
In sending out my seede
With bondes and bitter teares
That I might reape with loye
In euerlasting yeares,
And haue for all my losse
My trauayle and my payne
A thousand tymes and more
Of better goodes agayne.
And for because the good
That hath bene gotte and gayned
And that the Lordes elect
Hath euermore obtayned
Is closed in this booke
Which I do geue to thee
Wherein I haue my parte
As thou thy selfe mayest see.
In which I hope thou hast
A stocke also in store:
And wilt not cease to sayle

Till God haue made it more,
I will thee to beware▪
Be sure thou keepe it well
For if thou do it lose
Thy part shalbe in hell.
And here I testifie
Before the liuing God,
That I detest to doe
The thinges that are forbod.
And as in iudgemente is
My body to be brent,
My hart is surely sette
Therewith to be content.
And sith it is his will,
To put in me his power
Vpon his holy hill
To fight agaynst this whore,
Full well I am content,
If he allowe it so
To stand with all my might
The whore to ouerthrow.
Euen with a willing minde
The death I will outface
And as I am assured
The battayle to embrace,

That they which heare the truth

How I haue past the pike

May set aside theyr youth

And learne to do the like.

[Page 1699](#) And though it be my lotte, to let her suck my bloud

Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good.

For she is set to kill The thinges she thinkes accurst,

And shall not haue her fill, of bloud vntill she burst.

And when that thou shalt see, or heare of my disease:

Pray to the liuing God, that I may passe in peace.

And when I am at rest, and rid out of my paine:

Then will I do the like, for thee to God agayne.

And to my woefull wyfe, and widow desolate:

Whome I doe leaue behynd, In such a simple state.

And compassed with teares, and morninges many one

Be thou her staying staffe, when I am dead and gone.

My mouth may not expresse, the dolours of my minde:

Nor yet my heauines, to leaue her here behinde.

But as thou art my bone, my brother and my bloud:

So let her haue thy hart, if it may do her good.

I tooke her from the world, and made her like the crosse:

But if she hold her owne, she shall not suffer losse.

For where she had before, a man vnto her make

That by the force of fire, was stranged at a stake,

Now shall she haue a king, to be her helpyng hand:

To whom pertayne all thinge, that are within the land.

And eke my daughter deare, whome I bequeath to thee:

To be brought vp in feare, and learne the A.B.C.

That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod:

To learne and lead her lyfe, within the feare of God:

And alwayes haue in minde, thy brother beyng dead

That thou art lefte behynde a father in my stead.

And thou my brother deare, and eke my mothers sonne

Come forth out of all feare, and do as I haue done,

And God shall be thy guide, and geue thee such encrease

That in the flames of fire, thou shalt haue perfect peace.

Into eternall ioy, and passe out of all payne:

Where we shall meete with mirth, and neuer part agayne.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,

Be mindfull of thy brothers bloud.

***To All whiche loue God vnfaynedly, and entend to lead a godly life according to his Gospell, and to perseuer in his trueth vnto the ende: grace, and peace from God the father, and from our Lorde Iesus Christ, Amen.**

*BE not afrayd, most dearely beloued in our Sauior Iesus Christ, at these most perillous dayes, wherein by the sufferaunce of God, the Prince of darkenes is broken lose, and rageth in hys members agaynst the electe of God wyth all crueltie, to set vp agayne the kingdome of Antichrist: agaynst whome, see that ye be strong in fayth to resist his most deuilishe doctrine with the pure Gospell of God, armyng your selues with pacience, to abide what soeuer shalbe layd to your charge for the truthe sake knowyng that thereunto ye be called, not onely to beleeeue in hym, but also to suffer for hym. Oh howe happy are ye that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ? Quiet therefore your selues (Oh my louing brethren) and reioyce in hym for whome ye suffer: for vnto you do remain the vnspeakable ioyes, which neither the eye hath seene, nor the eare hath heard, * neither the hart of man is able to comprehende in anye wyse. Be not afrayd of the bodily death, for youre names are written in the booke of lyfe, And the Prophetes doth recorde, * that in the sight of the Lorde, precious is the death of hys Saynctes. Watch therefore and praye, that yee be not preuented in the daye of temptation. Now commeth the day of your tryall, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy windes

blowe. Now shall it appeare whether ye haue builded vppon the fleeing sande,* or vppon the vnmoueable rocke Christe, whiche is the foundation of the Apostles and Prophetes: whereon euery house that is builded, groweth into an holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the holy Ghost.* Now approacheth the daye of your batttaye, wherein it is required that ye shewe your selues the valiaunte souldiours of Iesus Christ, wyth the armour of God, that yee may be able to stand fast agaynst all the craftye assaultes of the Deuill. Christ is your Captayne, and yee be his souldiours, whose cognisaunce is the Crosse, to the whiche hee wyllingly humbled hymselfe euen vnto the death, and therby spoyled hys enemies,* and now triumpheth hee ouer them in the glorye of hys father, makyng intercession for them that here doe remayne to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mysticall bodye. It behoueth therefore euery one that will be counted his scholler, to take vp his owne crosse and follow hym, as ye haue hym for ensample: and I assure you that hee being on your side, nothing shalbe able to preuayle agaynst you. And that he will be with you euen to the worldes ende, yee haue hys promise in the 28. of Mathew. He will goe forth wyth hys host as a conquerour to make a conquest.* He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortalitie, and yee, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the head. He hath your hart in hys hand as a bow bent after hys godly will: he shall dyrect the same accordyng to the riches of hys glory, into all spirituall and heauenly cogitations. He is faythfull,* and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, then he will geue you strength to ouercome, and in the most daunger he will make a waye, that ye may be able to beare it.

Shrynke not therefore deare heartes, when ye shalbe called to aunswere for the hope that is in you:* for we haue the comforter, euen the spirite of trueth whiche was sent from the heuens to teache vs. He shall speake in vs, hee shall strengthen vs: what is he then that shalbe able to confound vs? Naye, what Tiranne is he that now boasteth hymselfe of hys strength to doe mischief, whome the Lord shall not with the same spirite,* by the mouth of his seruautes, strike downe to hell fire? Yea, sodaynly will the Lord bryng downe the glory of the proud Philistians, by the handes of hys seruaunt Dauid. Theyr strength is in speare & shield, but our helpe is in the name of the Lord, which made both heauen and earth, He is our buckler and our wall,* a strong Tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. Hee shall bryng the counsels of the vngodly to nought. He shall take them in theyr owne nette. He shall destroy them in theyr own inuentions. The right hand of the Lorde shall worke this wonder. His power is knowne among the children of men.* Theyr fathers haue felt it, and are confounded. In lyke maner shall they knowe that there is no counsell agaynst the Lorde, when their secrets are opened to the whole worlde, and are found to be agaynst the lyuing God. Worke they neuer so craftily, builde they neuer so strongly: yet downe shall theyr rabble fall, and the builders them selues shall then be scattered vpon the face of the earth,* as accursed of God. The iust shall see this and be glad, & prayse the name of the Lord, that so meruellously hath delte with hys seruautes,* as to bryng theyr enemies vnder theyr feet. Thē shall the fearfull seed of Cayne trēble and quake. Thē shall the mockyng Ismaelites be cast out of the doore. Then shall the proud Nembroth see hys labour lost. Then shal the beast of Babilon, be troden vnder foot. Then shall the scribes and Pharisees for madnes fret and rage.* Then sha theyr paynted wisdom be knowne, for extreme folly. Then shall bloody Dragon be voyd of hys pray. Then shall the whore of Babilon, receaue double vengeance. Then shall they scratch theyr crownes for the fall of their Maistres harlot, whom they now serue for filthy lucre, whē no man will buy their wares any more. Then shall the Popishe Priesthoode crye weale away with care, euen when the Lord shall helpe his seruautes: which day is not farre of, the daye wherein the kingdome of Antichrist shall

haue an ende, and neuer aryse anye more.* In the meane tyme, abide in certayne and sure hope, cleauing vnto the promises of God, whiche in theyr owne tyme shalbe fulfilled. Acquite youre selues lyke men agaynst the enemies of GOD in all humblenes of minde,* strong in spirite to acknowledge one God, one holy Sauoure Iesus Christ, one onely euerlastyng and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sinnes euen the precious bodye of the Lorde Iesus once offered for all and for euer. Whiche now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall hee come,* to iudge both the quicke and the dead at the last day: & vntil that tyme, occupyeth that blessed body, none other place to dwell in, to be kepte in, to be closed in,* but onelye in the heauens, euen in the glorious maiestye of God, personally abidyng there in the fleshe, not commyng downe from thence till the last houre. And as hee neuer ceaseth to be man, so doth he neuer lose the similitude of man:* hys body there hath hys liniamentes, hee leaueth them not: so hath that body there hys highnesse, and shrinketh not, and hys manly shape, he altereth not at any tyme. He is in that he tooke of the virgin Mary, a naturall man in all conditions except sinne. And what he tooke of hys blessed Mother,* by the workyng of the holye Ghost, he tooke it for euer, and will not exchaunge the same for anye other. He tooke the shape of a man with the substaunce of hys manhoode, in one sacred wombe. There were they coupled together by the holy ghost,* neuer to be deuyded a sunder. He retayneth the one with the other, in seperablye. As he will not altar the substaunce of hys fleshe, into the substaunce of bread no more will hee altar the shape of hys bodye, into the forme of bread There cannot be a greater absurditie agaynst the truth, then to thinke that he would leaue the shape that he tooke in the virgins womb, being an accident vnto hys manhoode, and ioyned vnto the same a wafer cake baken in an ouen, or betwene a payre of yrons. As he is in heauen very man, one onely mediatour betwene God and man, euen the man Chryst Iesus,* hee it is that is the propitiation for our sinnes. Be bolde therefore, to confesse thys most pure and Apostolicall doctrine:* and also that all fauoure, mercy, and forgeuenesse commeth onely by him [Page 1700](#) He onely of God the father was made for vs, all wisdom, righteousnes, sanctification and redemption. All these are the giftes of God the father, freely geuen vnto vs by Christ Iesus God and man, through fayth in his bloud, and not by the merites of men. Giftes they are (I say) freely geuen vnto vs of fauoure,* wythout our deserte by beleeuing, and not by deseruing. To this doe the lawe and the Prophetes beare witnesse.

This doctrine haue all the blessed Martyrs of Christes church wytnessed wyth theyr bloude to bee true. To thys trueth, haue all the consciences of all true beleuers subscribed euer since the Ascension of Christ. This witnesse is not of man, but of God. What better quarrell can ye thē haue to geue your liues for,* then the trueth it selfe? That man that geueth his lyfe for the truth, taketh the rediest way to lyfe. He that hath the Popes curse for the truth, is sure of Christes blessing. Well then my brethren what shall now lette, but that ye goe forward as ye haue begon? Nay rather runne wyth the runners that ye maye obtayne the appoynted glorye. Holde on the right waye, looke not back, haue the eye of youre heart fixed vppon GOD, and so runne, that ye may get holde of it. Cast awaye all your worldly pelfe,* and worldly respects, as the fauour of friendes, the feare of men, sensuall affection, respect of persons, honour, prayse, shame, rebuke, wealth, pouertie, riches, landes, possessions, carnall fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the loue of your own selues, and in respect of that heauenly treasure ye looke for, let al these be denyed, & vtterly refused of you, so that in no cōditiō they do abate your seale, or quenche youre loue towards God. In this case make no acōpt of thē, but rather repute thē as vile, in comparison of euerlasting life.* Away with them as thornes that choke the heauenly seede of the Gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the fleshe, which encomber the soule

exchange them therefore for aduantage. Doth not he gayne that findeth heauenly and immortall treasure, for earthly & corruptible riches? * Loseth that man any thing, whiche of his carnall father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is receaued of God the father to be his childe and eyre in Christ? * Heauenly for earthly: for mortall, immortall: for transitory thinges, permanēt: is great gaynes to a Christian conscience.

Therefore as I beganne, I exhort you in the Lorde, not to be afrayd. Shrinke not my brethren, mistrust not God, bee of good comforte, reioyce in the Lord, hold fast your fayth, and continue to the end Deny the world and take vp your crosse and follow him whiche is your loadesman, * and is gone before. If you suffer with him, yea you shall raygne with him. What way can you glorifie the name of your heauenly father better, then by sufferyng death for his sonnes sake? What a spectacle shal it be to the world to beholde so godly a fellowship as you seruantes of God, in so iust a quarrell as the Gospell of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a fayth, and so liuely a hope, to offer your selues to suffer most cruell tormentes at the handes of Gods enemyes, and so to end your dayes in peace, * to receaue in the resurrection of the righteous, life euerlasting?

Be strong therfore in your battayle. The Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause: and against you be none, but the enemies of the crosse of Christe, * as the serpent and his seede, the Dragon with hys tayle, the marked men of the Beast, the ofspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of Vipers, murtherers, as theyr father the deuill hath bene from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lorde God hath alwayes abhorred, and in all ages resisted and ouerthrowne. God, from whome nothing is hid, * knoweth what they are. Hee that searcheth the heartes of men, he hath found them out to be crafty, subtile, full of poyson, proud, disdainefull, stiffnecked, deuourers, raueners, and barkers against the truth, filthy & shamelesse- and therefore doth the spirite of God, by the mouthes of hys holy Prophetes and Apostles, * call them by the names of Foxes, serpentes. Cockatrices, Lyons, Leopardes, Bulles, Beares, Wolues, Dogs, Swine, Beasts, teachyng vs therby to vnderstād, that their natural inclinatio is, to deceaue, poison, and destroy (as much as in them lyeth) the faythfull and elect of God. * But the Lord with his right arme shal defend his little flocke agaynst the whole rabblement of these worldlings, * which haue conspired against him: he hath numbred all the heares of his childrens heades, so that not one of thē shal pearish without hys fatherly wil. He kepeth the sparowes, much more will he preserue them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lambe. Hee will keepe them vnto the houre appointed, wherein the name of God shalbe glorified in his sayntes. In the meane tyme let them worke theyr willes, * let them enuy, let them maligne, let thē blasphemie let them curse, banne, betray, whippe, scourge, hang and burne: for by these meanes God will try his elect as gold in the furnace and by these fruites, shall they also bring themselues to be knowen what they be, for all their sheepes skinnies. For as he that in suffering patiently for the Gospell of God, is thereby knowne to be of Christ: * euen so in likewise is the persecutor of him knowne to be a member of Antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a meane, the sooner to prouoke God to take pittie vpon his seruantes, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entteate his people: as we may learne by the historyes, as well in the bondage of Israell vnder Pharaο in Egypt, * as also in the miserable captiuitie of Iuda in Babilon: Where as, when the people of God were in most extreeme thraldome, thē did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliuer his seruantes. Though God for a tyme, suffer them to be exalted in theyr owne pryde, yet shal they not scape his vengeance. They are hys

roddes, and when hee hath worne them to the stumpes, then will he cast them into the fire: this shalbe theyr final reward. Our duetye is in the meane while, patiently to abide the wil of God, which worketh al thinges for the best.

Thus dealeth he with vs, partly for our tryall, and partly also for our sinnes,* which we most greuously haue committed to the great slaunder of hys gospell, whereby the name of God was euil spoken of among hys enemies: for the whiche he now punisheth vs with his fatherly corrections in this worlde,* that wee shoulde not be dampned with the world. By thys meanes seeketh hee his sheep that were lost, to bring thē home to the fold agayn. By this w•y seeketh he to reform vs,* that we may be lyke vnto him after the image of his son Iesus christ, in al holines & righteousnes be'fore him. Finally, this way vseth his godly wisdom, to make vs therby to know him, & our selues in him,* that afore time had in a manner forgotten him, praysed be hys name therefore. And as for these Balaamites, whiche now do molest vs, commit, them to the handes of GOD, geue him the vengeance, and hee will reward them. Fall ye to prayer,* and let these belly GODS prate. For he is in heauen and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israell. He is in heauen that made the seas calme,* and when the Disciples were afrayd. Let vs nowe faythfully call vppon him and hee wyll heare vs. Let vs cry vnto the Lorde for he is gracious and mercifull. When we are in trouble he is with vs, he will deliuer vs, and he will glorifie vs. If we come vnto him, we shall find him turned vnto vs. If we repent vs of our wickednes done agaynst hym, thē shall he take away the plague that he hath deuised agaynst vs.

Let vs therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruites of repentaunce. Let vs study to be hys, then shall we not neede to feare what these hipocrites do agaynst vs,* whiche wyth theyr pretensed holines deceiue the harts of the simple, and abuse the authoritie of God in his Princes, causing them (by theyr pro'curement) to testify their ambitious prelacye, and to erect vpp theyr Idoll agayne with the Romish Masse.* God in whose hands are the hartes of kinges, open the hart of the Queenes highnesse to espy them out what they be, and so to wede thē out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God,* and to poyson the realme with Pope holy doctrine. God almighty for hys sonne Iesus Christes sake deliuer the Queenes highnes and this her church & realme, frō these proud prelates, which are as profitable in the Church of Christ as a polecatte in the midst of a Warran of connies.

To conclude my brethren, I commit you to God and to the power of his worde, whiche is able to establishe you in all truth. His spirite be with you and worke alway that ye may be mindfull of your dueties towards hym whose ye are both body and soule. Whome see that ye loue, serue, dread and obey, aboue al worldly powers, and for nothing vnder the heauē,* defile your consciēce before God. Dissemble not with his word: God will not be mocked: nay they that dissemble with hym, deceiue themselues. Such shal the Lord deny & cast out at the last day: such (I say) as beare two faces in one hoode: such as play on both hands: suche as deny the knowne trueth: such as obstinately rehell against him. All such with their partakers shall the Lord destroy.* God defend you from all such. and make you perfite vnto the end. Your sorrowe shall be turned into ioy.

¶An other letter sent to hys wife.

THE God and father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Iesus christ, keep thee deare wife now and euer, amen, and al thy parentes and friendes, I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better then woorse, looking dayly for the liuing God, before whome I hunger full sore to appeare, and receaue the glory, of whiche I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I geue God most hartly thanks therefore, desiring thee of all loues, to stand in that faith which thou hast receiued, and let no man take away the seed that almighty God hath sowne in thee, but lay hands of euerlasting lyfe, which shall euer abide, when both the earth, and all earthly frends shall perish, desiring them also to receaue thankfully our trouble whiche is momentane and light, and as S. Paule sayth not worthy of the thinges whiche shall be shewed on vs, that we patiētly carying our crosse may attayne to the place where our sauour Christ is gone before to the which I beseeche God of his mercye bryng vs speedely. I haue bene much troubled about your deliuerance fearing muche the perswasions of worldlings, and haue founde a friend, whiche will (I trust) finde a meane for you if you bee not alreadye prouyded desirynge you in anye case to abide suche order, as those my [Page 1701](#) friendes shall appoint in God. And beare well in mind y^e wordes which I spake at our departing, that as god hath found vs, and also elected vs worthy to suffer with hym. We may endeuour our selues to follow vprightly in thys our vocation, desiring you to present my hartye commendations to all our friendes, and in especiall to youre Parentes, keeping your matter close in any wise. Geue most hartly thanks to my frend, whiche onely for oure cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultles in all thinges. Beware abhominations. Keepe you cleane from sinne. Praye for me, as I doe for you. I haue sent you a peece of golde for a token, and moste entierlye desire you to send me word if ye lacke any thing. The lord Iesu preserue you and yours. Amen. From Newgate the 15. of Aprill.

By your husband here and in heauen Robert Smith.

This foresayde Robert Smith the valiaunt and constant martyr of christ, thus replenished (as ye haue heard) with the fortitude of Gods spirite, was condemned at Lōdon by Boner there Bishop,* the xii. day of Iulye, and suffered at Uxbridge the 8. day of August: who as he had bene a comfortable instrument of God before to all them that were in prison with him, so nowe also being at the stake, hee did no lesse comforte the people, there standyng aboute hym, willing them to thinke well of his cause, and not to doubte but that his bodye dying in that quarrell, shoulde rise agayne to life. And sayde hee, I doubte not, but that God wil shew you some token thereof. At length he being well nigh halfe burnt,* and all blacke with fire, clustered together as in a lumpe like a blacke cole, all men thinking him for dead, sodaynely rose vp right before the people, lifting vp the stumpes of his armes, and clapping the same together, declaring a reioysing heart vnto them, and so bending downe agayne, and hanging ouer the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortall life.

¶Letters. A sententious letter of Robert Smith to Anne Smith hys wyfe

*SEeke first to loue God deare wife, with your whol hart and then shall it be easy to loue your neighbour.

Be frendly to al creatures, and especially to your own soule.

Be alwayes an enemy to the deuill and the world, but especially to your owne flesh.

In hearyng of good thinges ioyn the eares of youre head and ha•t together.

Seeke vnitie and quietnes with all men, but especially with your conscience: for he wil not easely be entreated.

Loue all men, but especially your enemies.

*Hate the sinnes that are paste, but especiall ye those to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the childe of God.

Defile not that which Christ hath clēsed, least his bloud be layd to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue, w^t the teeth and lips, * that it might speake vnder correction.

Be ready at all tymes to looke in youre brothers eye, but especially in your owne eye. For hee that warneth other of that he himselfe is faultie, doth geue hys neighbour the cleare wyne, and keepeth the dregges for hymselfe

*Beware of riches and worldly honor: for without vnderstansting prayer, and fasting, it is a snare and also pouertie, all whiche are like to consuming fire, of whiche if a man take a little, it will warme hym, but if hee take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to cary fire in his bosome, and not be brent.

Shew mercy vnto the sayntes for Christes sake, and Christ shall reward you for the sayntes sake. Among all other prisoners visite your owne soule: * for it is enclosed in a perillous prison.

If ye will loue God, hate euill, and ye shall obteyn the reward of well doynge.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Haue me hartily com^mended to all that loue the Lorde vnfaynedly. I beseeche you haue me in your prayer while I am liuing, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring vp my children and yours in the feare of God, and then shall I not fayle but re^ceaue you together in the euerlasting kingdome of God, which I goe vnto.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

If ye will meete with me agayne,

Fosake not Christ for any payne.

¶**An other letter sent to his wife Anne Smyth.**

The grace of almighty God be alwayes with you and comfort, strength, and stablishe you in all thinges,* that what his blessed will is, ye may followe faythfully, to hys honour, my comfort, and your owne saluation, and the good ensample to our posteritie.

I haue receiued your letter, and I prayse God, without any danger:* neuerthelesse if Gods meruailous goodnes had not brought it to my handes by Peter the keeper there might haue risen a great trouble vpon the same. For will ye know that George is a wicked man, vtterly without all feare of God: and if he had gotten it, the Counsaile sure had seene it. But Peeter like an honest man neuer opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your letters be deliuered at Chauncery lanes ende, to my sister Tankerfield, and she may deliuer them safe into my hand. We are very straitely kepte, I prayse God of hys mercye Neuerthelesse, almighty God is alwayes with vs. I haue sent you that ye wrote for. The two Nutmegges y^t shulde haue gone by Nicholas to our frendes, I send nowe, and desire them to accept them as a poore prisoners gift vntill God geue more largely. Thomas Iuison sendeth you a peny, I pray you geue him thanks for the same, and Diricke also. I haue sent you of that little that I haue two peeces of spanishe mony. The Lorde Iesus haue you in his custody, & send you good speed. In any case keepe your selfe close, I doubt much of your walkings. Haue my harty commendations to your parentes, and desire thē with you to haue me in theyr prayers. Be feruēt in prayer, pray pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put vp his sword and looke on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next commer shall bryng vp the Epistle & exhortation. I haue written all this fourtnight for my Lady, yea, and almost done nothing els. I woulde haue sēt him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could haue deliuered it from the prison. The holy Ghost keepe you. I would ye could make a meanes for your money, to send a cheese to Peter: for I finde muche kindenesse at his handes. Ye shall alwayes heare of me at Tankerfieldes house. All the Congregation salute you. Fare you most hartily well.

I haue not yet (tell my brother) spoken with the person. There hathe come so straita a commaundement, that no man might come to vs, because Tooly cursed the pope at the gallowes. They thought it to be our counsell.

Yours, and euer yours, Robert Smith.

¶An other letter sent to hys wife.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from the Lord Iesus Christ be with you, deare wyfe, now & euer Amen: and preuent your wayes through hys holye spirite, that ye may in all your wordes and workes please God, and eschew euil, to hys honor and your saluation,* y^t they which see your conuersation, may in all things learne to doe like, euen to the vtter shame and confusion of the wicked and vngodly. Amen.

I sent you by M. Alexander, a purse with money. I haue certayne tokens for you, sent by my prison fellowes to you, y^t is,* from M. Haukes .xii. d. frō M. Simson .xii. d. from his wife .iiij. d. from M. Wattes fiue new grotes, frō M. Ardeley .xij. d. from M. Bradford xij. d. which men be all gone to death, except M. Bradford, he abideth stil. Ther is also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlayne, Tho. Osmund, William Bamford. There •s also condemned thys monday Diricke Caruer, Thomas Iuison, Iohn Launder, and William Uassy is repriued. Pray to God to haue

mercy vpon hys people, and bid my brother, if he can conueniently, come downe on monday next: if he can not wel do it, let hym abide at home. Haue me hartily commended to your parents. I haue sent each of them a token, a bowed grote, and desire them for Gods sake to helpe vs with theyr prayers. Haue litle Katherine in minde. Commend me vnto all good friendes. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanitie. Let not God be dishonored in your conuersation, but like a good Matron, keepe your vessel in holines. The peace of God rest with you for euer. Amen.

My brother Iuison sendeth to you a tokē, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, iij. pence. Iohn Launder sendeth you a peece of Spanish mony, father He|ralt a peece of vi. d. William Androwes sendeth you a rase of Ginger, and I sēd your mother one, and a Nutmeg. I send Katherine Comfites for a token to eate. I haue sent you a keyclog for a token.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

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A letter sent to his frende.

The eternall God keepe you in his feare. I haue hearty commendations vnto you and your husbände, beseeching almighty God to preserue you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Christe, that yee may be founde faultles in the day of the Lorde. I haue heard saye, that my frende is geuen ouer to vanitie: it breaketh my hearte, not onely to heare that he so doeth, but also teacheth other, that it is vnhurtful to goe to all abominations, whych nowe stand in the Idols temples: neuerthesse deare frende, be ye not mooued to follow sinners: for they haue no inheritance with God and Christe. But looke that by going into the Idoll temple, ye defile not the temple of God: for light hath no felowship w^t darkenesse. But looke what the Lord hath commaunded, that doe. For if not going to Churche were without persecution, they would not learne you that lesson. But all thing that is sweete to the flesh, is allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shal reward euery man according to his woorkes, and he that leadeth into captiuitie, shall go into captiuitie, and hee that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reape corruption. The Lorde Iesu geue thee his holy spirite. Amen.

I haue sent thee an Epistle in metre, whiche is not to be laid vp in thy cofer, but in thy heart.

Seeke peace and ensue it. Feare God, loue God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy strength.

Thy frend and al mens in Christ Iesus, Rob. Smith.

Scribled in much hast from N. the 12. of May.

Robert Smith to all faithfull seruants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong vnder persecution.

Content thy selfe with patience,

With Christ to beare the crosse of paine:

Which can and will thee recompence,

A thousande folde with ioyes againe.

Let nothing cause thy heart to quaille,

Lanch out thy boate, hale vp thy saile.

Put from the shore:

And be thou sure thou shalt attaine,

Vnto the port that shall remaine.

For euermore.

The burning of Steuen Harwood, and Thomas Fust, martyred for the testimonie of the Gospel.

ABout this time died also (by cruell fire) these two martyrs of God,* y^t is to saye, Steuen Harwoode, at Stratford, and Thomas Fust, at Ware. Which both two, as they were about one time burned with the fore mētioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places: so were they also examined and openly cōdemned togethers wyth them. Their processe because it was ioyned all in one with the processe of Robert Smith & other of the said company aboue mentioned, I thought it superfluous againe to repeate the same: saue that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that where as he in his last appering the 12. of Iuly, was mooued by the Byshop to reuoke his opinion,* thus he answered: No (said he) my Lorde, for there is no truth commeth out of your mouth, but all lyes. Yee condemne men, and will not heare the truthe. Where can ye finde any annoynting or greasing in Gods booke? I speake nothing but the truthe, and I am certaine that it is the truthe that I speake. This answer of hym onely I finde noted by the Register: although howe slenderly these Registrers haue dealt in vttering such matters, that is, in omitting those thinges which moste woorthy were to be knowen,* by their doings it is easie to be seene. But to be short, after their answeres made, both he & Thomas Fust were for their faithfull perseuerance condemned together by the Bishop in his accustomed pitie, as heretikes to be burned, and so (as before ye haue heard) finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the moneth of August and yere abouesayd.

The constant Martyrdome of William Haile, burned at Barnet.

*OF the same companie of these x. aboue recorded, whych were sent vp to Byshop Boner, by sir Nicholas Hare and other Commissioners, in the companie of George Tankerfielde and Roberte Smith, was also Willyam Haile of Thorpe in the Countie of Essex, who lykewise being examined with the rest, the 12. day of Iuly, receiued with them also the sentence of cōdemnation. Geuing thys exhortation with al to the lookers on: Ah good people, sayd he, beware of this Idolatrer, and thys Antichriste, poynting

[illustration]

The martyrdome of VWilliam Haile▪

* vnto the Bishop of London,* and so was he deliuered to the Sheriffes as an heretique to be burned, who sente him to Barnet, where, about the latter ende of August, hee moste constantly sealed vp his faith with the consuming of his bodye by cruell fire, yeelding hys soule vnto the Lorde Iesus his onely and most sure redeemer.

George King, Thomas Leyes, Iohn VVade, sickened in prisone, and were buried in the fieldes.

YEe hearde before of ten sundry personnes sent oute of Newgate by Maister Hare and other Commissioners, to be examined of Boner Bishoppe of London.* Of whome sixe already haue bene executed in seuerall places, as hathe beene shewed: whose names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfielde, Robert Smith, Steuen Harwoode, Thomas Fust, and William Haile.* Other three, to witte, George King, Thomas Leyes, and Iohn Wade sickening in Lollardes Tower, were so weake that they were remooued into sundry houses wythin the Citie of London, and there departed, and cast out into y^e fieldes, and there buried by nighte of the faithfull brethren,* when none in the day durste doe it, propter metum Iudaeorum. The last that remained of thys foresayde company, was Ioane Layshe or Layshforde, the Daughter in lawe to Iohn Warne and Elizabeth Warne Martyrs, but because shee was reprieued to a longer day, her storie and Martyrdom we will deferre till the moneth of Ianuarie the next yeare following.

William Andrewe.

THE like catholike charitie was also shewed vpon William Andrew of Horsley in the Countie of Essex Carpenter,* who was brought to Newgate the firste day of Aprill 1555. by Iohn Motham Constable of Mauldon in Essex. The first and principall promoter of hym was the Lorde Riche, who sent him first to prisone.* An other great doer against him also seemeth to be sir Richard Southwel Knighte, by a letter wrytten by him to Boner, as by the copie heereof appeareth.

A letter sent to Boner Bishop of London, from sir Richard Southwel knight.

PLEaseth it your Lordship to vnderstand, that the Lord Rich did about seuen or eight weekes past,* send vppe vnto the Counsaile, one Wil. Andrew of Thorpe within the Countie of Essex, an arrogant heretike. Their pleasure was to commaund me to commit him vnto Newgate where he remaineth, and as I am infourmed, hathe infected a nounter in the prisone wyth hys heresie. Your Lordshippe shall doe verye well (if it please you) to conuent him before you, and to take order with him, as his case doth require. I knowe the Counsaile meant to haue wrytte heerein

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[illustration]

🖼️The picture describing the straight handling of the cloase prisonners in Lollardes Tower.

vnto your Lordship, but by occasion of other businesse the thing hath bene omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleasure, I did aduise the keeper of Newgate to waite vpon you with these fewe lines. And so referring the rest to your vertuous consideration, I remaine your good Lordships to cōmaund, this 12. of Iune. 1555.

Richard Southwel.

*Thys William Andrewe being twice brought before Boner to examination, there manfully stode in the defence of hys Religion. At length through straite handlynge in the Prison of Newgate, there he lost his life, which els hys aduersaries woulde haue taken away by fire: and so after the popish manner he was cast out into the fielde, and by night was priuily buried by the handes of good men and faithfull brethren.

The Martyrdome of Rob. Samuel, Preacher, suffering for the true defence of Christes Gospell.

MAister Foster Iustice, dwelling at Cobdock in the Countie of Suffolke,* and a little from Ipswich, being in continuall hatred against the truthe and the professours of the same, did not onely not cease day nor night to studie howe to bring those in thrall and captiuitie, that were honest and godly inclined to religion, but also what soeuer they were that once came in hys clawes, they easily escaped not without clogge of conscience, or els losse of life: so greedy was he of bloude. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel in king Edwardes dayes,* a very godly and righte faithfull preacher of Gods woorde, who for his valiante and constante behaiour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfolde in Suffolke, where he taught faithfully & fruitfully that flocke which the Lord had committed to hys charge, so long as the time woulde suffer hym to doe hys duetie.

At the laste being remooued from the Ministerie, and put from hys Benefice (as manye other good Pastoures were beside) when hee coulde not auoide the raging violence of the time, yet woulde he not geue ouer his care that he had for hys flocke, but woulde teache them priuilye and by stealth, when he coulde not openly be suffered so to doe. At what time order was taken by the Queene, to be published by the Commissioners, that all Priestes whiche had married in kinge Edwardes dayes, putting theyr wiues from them, should be compelled to returne againe to theyr chastitie and single life. This Decree woulde not Samuel stande vnto, for that hee knewe it to be manifestly wicked & abhominable, but determining with himselfe that Gods lawes were not to be broken for mannes traditions, kept hys wife still at Ipswich, and gaue his diligence in the meane time to the instructing of other whyche were about him, as occasion serued. At laste maister Foster hauing intelligence heereof, beinge a greate doer in those quarters, foreslacked no time nor diligence, but eftsoones sendeth out his espialles abroad, laying hard waite for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at anye time, they myghte apprehend him, and carie him to prison.

In conclusion, when suche as shoulde betraye hym, espied him at home with his wife, they bringing woorde to the Officer, came immediately flocking about hys house, and besette it wyth a great companie,* and so tooke hym in the nyght season, because they durste not doe it in the daye time, for feare of trouble and tumult, althoughe good Samuell did nothing withstand them at all, but mekely yeelded himselfe into their clouches of his owne accord. When they had thus caughte hym,* they put hym into Ipswich Gaile, where he passed his time meekely among his

godly brethren, so long as hee was permitted to continue there. How•eit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carryed (through malice of the wicked sorte) to Norwiche, where the sayde bishop Doctour Hopton,* (whether he or Doctour Dunning his Chauncelloure) full like vnmercifull Prelates exercised greate crueltie againste hym, as in deede they were men in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for straitnes and cruell tormenting the bodies of the Saintes among all the rest beside, and specially through the procuring of Dunning. For althoughe the other were sharpe enough in their generatiō: yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and would goe no further. Neyther did I euer yet heare of anye besides these,* which so farre exceeded all bounds of pitie and compassion in tormenting their pore brethren as this Bishoppe did: in suche sorte that many of them hee peruerted and broughte quite from the truthe, and some from theyr wittes also.

The B. therefore, or els his Chancellor, thinking that he mighte as easily preuaile with Samuel, as he had done w^t other before, kept him in a very straite prison at his first comming, where he was chained bolte vpright to a greate [Page 1704](#) post, in such sort, that standing only on tiptoe, he was faine to stay vp the whole paise or waight of his bodye thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or paine that he suffered, they added a farre more greuous torment, keping him without meate and drinke,* whereby he was vnmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst: sauing that he had euery day allowed 2. or 3. mouthfuls of bread, and 3. sponefuls of water, to the ende rather that he might be reserued to farther torment, then that they woulde preserue hys lyfe. O worthy constancie of the Martyr. O pitillesse hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature.* O the wōderfull strength of Christ in his members? Whose stomacke, though it had ben made of Adamant stone, would not haue relented at these intollerable vexations, and extreme paines aboue nature? How oftentimes would he haue drūken his owne water, but hys body was so dried vp wyth this long emptinesse, that he was not able to make one drop of water?

At the laste when he was brought foorth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those paynes that he had passed, certaine there were that hearde hym declare what straunge things had happened vnto hym during the time of his imprisonment: to wit, that after he had bene famished or pined with hunger two or three daies together, he then fell into a sleepe, as it were one halfe in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white, seemed to stande before hym, which ministred comfort vnto him by these wordes: Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheare, and take a good heart vnto thee. For after this day shalt thou neuer be either hungry or thirsty: Which thing came euen to passe accordingly: for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he fealt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he, to the ende (as he sayde) that all men might beholde the wonderfull workes of God. Many moe like matters concerning the great comforte he had of Christe in his afflictions, he could vtter (he sayde) besides this, but that shamefastnes and modestie would not suffer him to vtter it. And yet if it had pleased God,* I would he had bene lesse modest in that behalfe, that the loue and care that Christe hathe of his, might haue the more appeared therby vnto vs by such present argumentes, for the more plentifull comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy scriptures already.

No lesse memorable it is, and woorthy also to be noted concerning the 3. ladders which he tolde to diuers he sawe in his sleepe,* set vp toward heauen: of the which there was one somewhat

longer then the rest, but yet at length they became one, ioyning (as it were) all three together. Thys was a forewarning reuealed vnto him, declaring vndoubtedly the martyrdome, first of him selfe, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought foorth & suffered in the same towne anone after.

As this godly martyr was going to y^e fire, there came a certaine maide to him,* which tooke him aboute the necke and kissed him, who being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prisone and burned, as the very party her self informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodnes wold haue it, she escaped their fiery handes, keeping her selfe secrete in the towne a good while after. But as this maide, called Rose Nattingham, was marueilously preserued by the prouidence of God: so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and furie of that time.* The one was a Bruers wyfe, the other was a Shoomakers wife, but both together nowe espoused to a newe husband Christ.

With these two was thys maid aforesaid very familiar and wel acquainted, who on a time geuing counsail to the one of them, that shee shoulde conuey her selfe away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the Quenes vniust procedings, had thys answer at her hands againe: I know well, sayth shee, that it is lawfull enough to flee away,* which remedy you may vse, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to an husbnde, and haue besides a sorte of yong children at home: and then I know not how my husband, being a carnall man, wil take my departure from him: therefore I am mineded for the loue of Christ and his truthe, to stande to the extremitie of the matter.

And so the next daye after Samuel suffered, these two godly wiues, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Ioane Trunchfielde, the wife of Michael Trunchfielde, Shomaker of Ipswich, were apprehended and had bothe into prison together.* Which as they were both by sexe and nature somewhat tender: so were they at first lesse able to endure the straitnesse of the prisone, and especially the Brewers wife was cast into marueilous great agonies and troubles of minde thereby. But Christ beholding y^e weake infirmitie of hys seruauant, did not faile to helpe her when

[illustration]

The cruel burning of Robert Samuel, Martyr.

* shee was in thys necessitie. So at the lengthe they bothe suffered after Samuel.* Anno 1556. Februarie 19. as shalbe by the Lordes grace declared heereafter. And these (no doubt) were those two Ladders, which being ioyned with the thirde, Samuel sawe stretched vp into heauen. Thys blessed Samuel the seruant of Christ, suffred the 31. of August. Anno 1555.

The report goeth amōg some that were there present, and saw him burne, that his body in burning did shine as bright & white as new tried siluer in the eyes of them that stode by: as I am infourmed by some which were there, and did beholde the sight.

Letters of Robert Samuel, Preacher.

A letter or exhortation to the pacient suffering of afflictions for Christes cause.

A Man knoweth not hys time, but as the fishe is taken with the Angle,* and as the birdes are caught with the snare: euen so are men caughte and taken in the perillous time when it commeth vppon them. The time commeth:* the day draweth neare. Ezechiel 7. Better it were to dye, (as the Preacher sayeth) then to liue and see the miserable workes which are done vnder the Sunne: suche sodaine and straūge mutations, such wofull, hainous, and lamentable diuisions so fast approacheth, and none or verye fewe thorowly repenteth. Alas for this sinfull nation, a people of great iniquity & sede of vngratiousnes, corrupting their wayes. They haue forsaken the Lord,* they haue prouoked the holy one of Israel to anger, & are gon backward. Who now liueth not in such securitie and rest,* as though all dāgers were cleane ouerpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christe, with seest me, and seest me not? Yea, who liueth not nowe in suche felicitie, worldlye pleasures and ioyes, wholly seeking the world, prouiding & craftily shifting for the earthly clod & all carnal appetites, as though sinne were cleane forgotten, ouerthrowne, and deuoured? Like hoggish Gergesites nowe are we more afraide and ashamed of Christe oure Messias, fearing the losse of oure filthy pigges, I meane our transitory goods,* and disquieting of our sinfull and mortall bodies in this short, vncertaine and miserable life, then of a Legion of Deuils, seducing and driuing vs from hearing, reading, and beleeuing Christ Gods eternal sonne, and his holy worde, the power to saue our soules: vnto vanities, lies and fables, and to this bewitching world.

Oh perilous abundance of goods, too much saturity of meates, wealth, and quietnes, which destroyed wyth so many soules, those goodly cities Sodom & Gomorre. Ieroboam, so long as he was but a pore man, not yet aduanced to his dignity, liued in y^e lawes of God without reprehension: but broughte once to wealth & prosperous estate, hee became a wicked and moste shamefull Idolater. And what made the couetous yong mā so loth to folow Christ, [Page 1705](#) when he was bidden to forsake but worldly wealth which hee then enioyed?*_ Woe be vnto these false elusions of the world, baites of perdition, hookes of the deuil, which haue so shamefully deceiued and seduced full many frō the right path vnto the Lorde,* into the high waies of confusion and perpetuall perdition.

We might nowe woorthily (deare Christians) lament & bewaile our heauie state, miserable cōdition, and sorowfull chaunce: yea, I say, we might well accuse our selues, and w^t Iob curse these oure troublous,* wicked, and bloody last dayes of thys worlde, were it not that wee both see and beleue, and finde in Gods sacred booke, that a remnaunt God hath in all ages reserued, I meane the faithful, as many as haue bene from the beginning of the worlde, exercised, whetted, and pullished with diuers afflictions, troubles and tossings, cast and dashed againste all pearils and dangers, as the very drosse and outcastes of the earth, and yet wil in no wise halte betweene God and Baall: for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he can not away with them that are betweene both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomite. Christe will not parte spoyle wyth his mortall enemie the deuil: he wil haue all or lose all: he will not permit the deuill to haue the seruice of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and minde: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirites,* which are hys, as S. Paule sayth. 1. Cor. 6. For he hath made all, boughte all, and dearely paide for all, as S. Peter sayeth: With his owne immaculate body hath he cleane discharged youre bodyes from sinne,* death and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransome and full price once for all and for euer.

Nowe what harme, I pray you, or what losse sustaine you by this? Why are you, O vaine men, more afraide of Iesus your gentle saueour, & his gospell of saluation, then of a legion of cruell deuils, going about w^t false delusions, vtterly to destroy you both bodies & soules? * Thynke you to be more sure then vnder your captaine Christ? Doe you promise your selues to be more quiet in Sathans seruice, then in Christes religion? esteeme you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, then God and all his heauenly treasures? * Oh palpable darknes, horrible madnes, & wilful blindnes, w^tout comparison, too much to be suffred any longer. We see, and wil not see: we know & wil not know: yea, we smarte and will not feele, and that our owne conscience well knoweth. Oh miserable and brainlesse soules, which would for foolish pleasures & slipperye wealth, loose the royall kingdome and permanent ioyes of God, wyth the euerlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truely loue hym, and renounce the world. The children of the world liue in pleasure and wealth, and the deuill, who is their God and prince of this world, kepeth their wealth which is proper vnto them, and letteth them enioy it. But let vs which be of Christe, seeke and enquire for heauenly things, which by Gods promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar vnto vs. Let (I say) the Crecians, Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnall people, passe for things that be pleasant for the body, and doe appertaine to this transitorie life: * Yet shall they once (as the kingly Prophet sayth) runne about the Citie of God, to and froe howling like dogges, desiring one scrappe of the ioyes of Gods elect, but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

Let vs therefore passe for those things that doe pertaine to the spirite, * and be celestiallyl, We must be here (sayth Paule) not as inhabitours and home dwellers, but as straungers: not as straungers onely, but after the minde of Paule, as painful souldiers appoynted of our gouernour to fight against the gouernour of darkenesse of this worlde, against spirituall craftinesse in heauenly things. The time is come: we must too it: the iudgement must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the greene and sappie tree? and what followed then on the dry braunches? Ieremie speaking in the persone of God, * sayeth: In the Citie wherein my name is inuocate, will I begin to punish: but as for you, (meaning the wicked) you shall be as innocentes and not once touched: for the dregges of Gods wrath, the bottome of all sorrowes, are reserued vnto them in the ende: but Gods houshold shall drinke the flower of the cup of hys mercye. And therefore let vs say w^t Ezechias: * Play the men & shrinke not: let vs comfort our selues, for the Lorde is with vs our helper, and fighteth for vs. The Lord is (sayth he) with you when you be with him, and when you seeke him he will be found of you: and againe, when you forsake him, he will forsake you.

Wherefore we ought not to be dismaid or discourage our selues, but rather to be of good comforte: not to be sad but merry: not sorrowful, but ioyfull, in that God of his goodnesse will vouchsafe to take vs as his beloued children, to subdue our sinful lustes, our wretched flesh and bloud vnto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (Paule meaning the body) be destroyed? * We know assuredly we shall haue a buildinge of God not made wyth handes, but euerlasting in heauen, * with such ioyes as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, nor charitye apprehendeth not. They passe all desires and wishes. Gotten they maye be by Christ, esteemed they can not be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the woorde of God bringeth, the more felicitye and greater ioy abideth in heauen. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the vngodly foolishly imagine to procure vnto themselues by persecuting, and

thrusting away the gospel, shall turne vnto theyr owne trouble, & at last vnto horrible destruction & mutations of realmes and countries,* and after this life (if they repent not) vnto their perpetuall infelicitie, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal and his temporal pleasures descend to the deuill, then with pore Christ and his bodely troubles, ascend vnto the kingdom of God his father. But an vnwise man (sayeth the Psalmist) compr•hendeth them not, neither doth the folish vnderstand them, <◇> these bloody persecutors grow vp & florish like the flower and grasse in the field. But vnto this end do they so florish, that they might be cut downe & caste into the fire for euer. For, as Iob sayth: Their ioy lasteth but the twinkling of an eie, and death shall lie gnawing vpon them, as doth the flock• vpon the pasture: yea the cruell worme, late repentaunce (as S. Marke sayeth) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for euermore.

Let vs therfore (good Christians) be constant in obeying God rather then men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea rather our deadly enemies) for Gods veritie: yet they can not do it,* but by Gods sufferance and good will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternall ioye and felicitie. For our blood shed for the Gospel, shall preache it wyth more fruite and greater furtheraunce, then did oure mouthes, liues and wrytings: as did the bloude of Abell, Steuen, wyth many other moe. What though they laughe Christ & his worde to scorne, which sit in the chaire of peruerse pestilent scornors? To whome as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the Gospel of Christ is but foolishnes, as it was to the Iewes a sclaunder and a stumblinge stone, whereat they now being fallen, haue prouoked the wrath and vengeance of God vpon them.

These are the dayes of vengeaunce (sayeth Luke) that all thinges wrytten may be fulfilled.* And surely it shall be no lesse then a huge storme of euils that shal come vpō vs, because that a long and a cursed obstinate maliciousnes of vs, hath gone before, crying in the eares of the Lorde God of hostes, who so many times and so many wayes haue bene prouoked with the vnspeakeable riches of his goodnesse, his pacience, and long suffering, to amendement, and haue neuerthelesse contemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, prouoking and stirring the presence of Gods maiestie vnto anger.

Now therfore sayth God by the mouth of his prophet: I wil come vpon thee, and I will send my wrath vpon thee:* vpon thee (I say) O Englande, and punish thee according to thy wayes, and rewarde thee after all thyne abominations.* Thou hast kindled the fire of Gods wrath, and hast stirred vp the coales. For thou wast once lightned, and hadst tasted of the heauenly gifte, and wast become partaker of the holy ghost, & haddest tasted of the good word of God: Yea, it is yet in thy mouth, sayth the Prophet. Alas O Englād, thou knewest thy Lorde and maisters wil, but diddest nothing thereafter:* Thou must therefore (sayeth hee) suffer many stripes, and many sharpe strokes, and walke on in the glittering and hot flame of thine owne fire, and in y^e coles that thou hast kindled. This commeth to thee from my hande, saith the Lorde: namely: That thou shalt sleepe in sorrowe, yea euen so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable iustice of the euerliuing God, and the ordinarie course of his plagues from the beginning confirmeth the same. The ioy of our heart (sayeth Ieremie) is gone,* oure glory is fallē away, our mery singing is turned into mour'ning, the garland of our head is fallen, Alas and weale away that euer we sinned so sore: Wo worth all abominations and wickednesse: wo woorth cloked hypocrisie: woe worth our carnall liberty: wo worth our most cursed idolatrie. For because of these things, sayth the Lorde, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christe, and all y^e vnbeleuers, look to be tormented and vexed with al hellish furies, and cleane wythout hope at Gods accompting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousnesse, their life, their onely saluation & alone sauour, nor beleue not in him. They must, sayth S. Iohn, needes abide and pearish wyth their sinnes in death and in eternall damnation. But we be the children of Saintes, as the [Page 1706](#) elder Toby did aunswer, and looke for an other life, which God shall geue to all them which chaunge not theyr faith, nor shrink not from him. Reioyce therefore ye Christian afflicted brethren, for they can not take our soules and bodies out of the handes of the almighty,* which be kept as in the bosome of our most swete and louing father, and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall liue for euer, Christ affirmeth the same, saying:*My sheepe heare my voyce, I knowe them, they hearken vnto me and to no straungers, and I geue them euerlasting life, for they shall not be lost, nor no manne shall plucke them oute of my handes: no nor yet this flattering world with all his vaine pleasures, nor any tyranne with his great threatens & stout bragges can once mooue them oute of the way of eternall life.* What consolation and cōfort may we haue more pleasant and effectuous then thys (God is on our side, & fighteth for vs: he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted wyth vs. As the world can doe nothing against his might, neyther in taking away, or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestiall throne: so can it not harme nor hurte any one of hys children without his good will. For we are members of his body, oute of hys fleshe and of hys bones,* and as deare to him as the apple of his eye.

Let vs therefore with an earnest faith, set fast hold and sure feeling vpon the promises of God in the gospell, & let vs not be sundred from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let vs consider the verity of God to be inuincible,* inuolable & immutable, Promising and geuing vs his faithfull souldiours life eternal. It is he onely that hath deserued it for vs: it is his onely benefite, & of his only mere mercy, & vnto him only must we render thāks. Let not therefore the vaine fantasies and dreames of men, the foolish gauds and toyes of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the deuil, driue and separate vs from our hope of the crowne of righteousnes, that is layd vp in store for vs against the last day. Oh that happy and merry last day, I meane to the faithfull,* when Christ by his couenaunt shall graunt and geue vnto them that ouercome and keepe hys woordes to the ende, that they may ascend and sitte in seate with him, as he hath ascended & sitteth on throne with hys father. The same body and soule that is now wyth Christ afflicted,* shall then be with Christ glorified: now in y^e butchers hands as shepe apoynted to die, then sitting at Gods table with Christ in his kingdom, as Gods honorable and deare children: where we shall haue for earthly pouertie, heauenly riches, for hūger and thirst, saturitie of the pleasant presence of the glory of God, for sorrowes, troubles, and colde yrons, celestiall ioyes, and the company of aungels, and for a bodely death, life eternal. Oh happy soules, Oh precious death and euer more blessed: right dear in the eyes of God,* to you the spring of the Lord shal euer be flourishing. Then (as sayth Esay:) the redeemed shal returne and come againe into Sion, praising the Lorde, and eternall mercies shalbe ouer their heads: they shall obtaine mirth and solace: sorrowe and woe shalbe vtterly vanquished: yea I am he, sayeth the Lord, that in all things geueth you euerlasting consolation. To whom with the Father, and the holy Ghost, be glory and praise for euer. Amen.

Robert Samuel.

An other letter wrytten to the Christian congregation, by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the confession of his faith.

The beliefe of the hert iustifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe. Rom. 10.

Feare not the curse of mē, be not afraid of their blasphemies and reuilings, for wormes and mothes shal eat them vp like cloth and woolle, but my righteousnesse shall endure for euer, and my sauing health from generation to generation Esay 51.

*Considering with my selfe these pearillous times, pearishing daies▪ and the vnconstante and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister reporte and false sclaunder of Gods most holy word, these vrgent causes in conscience do constraine me to confesse and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christes holy Religion, as S. Peter teacheth me, saying: be readye alwayes to geue an aunswere to euerye man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekenes and feare, hauing a good conscience, that when they backbite you as euill doers▪ they may be ashamed, for asmuche as they haue falsly accused your good conuersation in Christ.

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath geuen mee, God I take to recorde, mine owne conscience and mine audiorie knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor maners, willingly taughte any other thinge then I receiued of the holye Patriarckes, Prophetes, Christe and hys Apostles. For it were not onely sinne, but also the verye parte of a cursed miscreant, to denye, to be lye, or betraye the innocencye of that heauenlye doctrine, or to bee ashamed to confesse and stande to the defence of the same, seeing that Christe planted it with hys moste precious bloude: and all good menne haue more esteemed the true and infallible woorde of GOD, then all thys transitorye worlde, or their owne mortall liues.* And I beleeeue this doctrine of the Patriarkes, Prophetes, Christe and his Apostles to be sufficient and absolutely perfecte to instructe and teache mee, and all the holy Church, of our dueties towards God, the Magistrates, and our neighbours

Firste, and principallye I do assuredly beleeeue wythout any doubting, that there is one Deitie or Diuine essence, and infinite substaunce. which is both called, and is in dede God euerlasting, vnbodye, vnpartible, vnmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodnesse, the maker and preseruer of all thinges,* as well visible as inuisible: and yet there be three distincte persones, all of one Godheade or Diuine beyng, and all of one power, coequall, consubstantiall, coeternell, the Father, the Sonne, and the holye Ghoste.

I beleeeue in God the Father Almightye &c.* As touching God the Father of heauen, I beleeeue as muche as holye Scripture teacheth mee to beleeeue. The Father is the firste persone in Trinitie, first cause of our saluation, which hathe blessed vs with all maner of blessings in heauenly thinges by Christe: whych hathe chosen vs before the foundations of the worlde were layde, that wee shoulde be holye and wythout blame before hym: who hath predestinate vs and ordained vs to bee his childrenne of adoption,* thorough Christe Iesu. In hym, as it is sayde, we liue, wee mooue and haue oure being: he nourisheth, feedeth, and geueth meate to euery creature.

And in Iesus Christe his onely sonne our Lorde.* I beleue that the woorde, that is the Sonne of God the seconde person in Trinitie, did take mannes nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgine Marie: So that there be in hym two natures, a Diuine nature, and an humaine nature, in the vnitie of parson inseparable,* conioyned and knitte in one Christe, truely God and truely man, the

expresse and perfecte Image of the inuisible God,* wherein the will of God the Father shineth apparantly, and wherein man, as it were in a glasse, may beholde what he ought to doe, that he maye please God the Father.

Borne of the Virgine Marie: truely sufferinge his Passion, crucified, deade and buried, to the entent to bring vs againe into fauoure wyth God the Father almightie, and to be a sacrifice, hoste and oblation, not onely for originall sinne, but also for all actuall sinnes of the whole generation of mankinde. For all the woorkes, merites, deseruings, doinges,* and obedience of man towards God, althoughe they be done by the spirite of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validitie, worthine, nor merite before God, except God for his mercy and grace, accompte them woorthye for the woorthinesse and merytes of Christ Iesus.

The same Christ went downe to the helles, and truely rose againe the thirde day, and ascended into the heauē, that he might there stil raigne and haue dominion ouer all creatures: and from thence shall come. &c.

I beleue in the holy Ghost, coequall with God the Father and the Sonne, and proceeding from them bothe: by whose vertue, strength and operation, the true Catholicke Church, which is the Communion and societie of Saintes, is guided in all truthe & veritie, & kept frō al errors & fals doctrine, the deuill, & all power of sinne. Which Church is sanctified and halowed with the precious bloude, and spirite of our Lorde Iesus Christe:* whiche hathe also her signe and mark, that she heareth and foloweth the voice of her only and true pastour Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the liuing God, the pillar of truth, the liuely body of Christe, a Church both in name and in deede.

I beleue the remission of sinnes, by the only meanes and merites of Christes death & passion:* who made vnto vs of God that onely sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for euer, for all them that be sanctified.

I beleue the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day al men shal rise againe from death, the soules ioyned againe to the bodies, the good to euerlasting life,* the wicked to euerlasting pain and punishmēt. And nothing may more certainly stablish & confirme our faith, that we shall rise againe immortal both in body & soule, thē the resurrection of Christ our Sauour, and first fruites of the deade. Nowe that Christe our head is risen, we beyng hys body and members, must follow our head. Death, hell, and sinne, cannot sunder nor plucke vs from him. For as the Sonne can not be deuied nor sundred from the Father, nor the holy Ghost frō them bothe, no more maye wee beinge the faithfull members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection,* Christ would be seene after his resurrection in hys most glorious body, his woundes being handled and felte, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking▪ &c. Wee looke (sayeth S. Paul) for Iesus Christ our Sauour, which shall trāsfigure our vile bodies, & conform them to his glorious body by the same power [Page 1707](#) and vertue, wherwith he is able to subdue all things: euen like as the graine of wheate sown in the ground, is first putrified and brought as into a thing of nought, yet after that it springeth vp freshly with a more goodly colour, forme and beautie then it had before The body is sowne in corruption,* and riseth in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour.

Thus I verely know, and assuredly beleue the resurrection of oure bodies,* and to haue life eternall by Christ, and for Christes sake. Verely, verely, I say vnto you (sayth Christ,) he that heareth my woorde, and beleueeth on him that sent me, hath euerlasting life,* and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped frō death to life. It is Christe that died once for oure sinnes, and is risen againe, neuer more to die: it is he that swallowed vp death, & hath cast it vnder his feete for euer. What now can death do vnto vs? Verelye nothing els,* but for a little time separate oure precious soules from oure wretched bodies, that diuine substaunce from a masse of sinne, that eternall life from a body of death, and so send our soules oute of this miserable, wretched and sorrowfull lyfe, combred with all calamities, vnto that moste blessed felicitie and ioyes eternall.

As concerning the holy and reuerende Sacraments of Christes Church, which be in number two, the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord, I beleue them to be as S. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seales of Gods promises, whiche haue added to them a promise of grace, and therefore they are called visible signes of inuisible grace.

The Sacrament of Baptisme is a marke of Christes Church, a seale and confirmation of our acception into the grace & fauour of God for Christes sake. For his innocencie, his righteousness, his holinesse, his iustice, is ours, geuen vs of God, and our sinnes and vnrighteousnesse, by his obedience and abasing of him selfe to the death of the crosse, are his, whereof Baptisme is the signe, seale, and confirmation.

Baptisme is also a signe of repentaunce, to testifie that we be borne to the waues of pearils, and chaunges of life, to the intent that we should die continually as lōg as we liue from sinne, and rise againe like new men vnto righteousness. Rom. 6.

The other Sacrament which is the supper and holy Maundie of our Sauour Christ,* whereby the church of Christ is knowen, I beleue to be a remembraunce of Christes death and passion, a seale and confirmation of his moste precious bodye geuen vnto death, euen to the vile death of the crosse, wherewith wee are redeemed and deliuered from sinne, death, hell, and damnation, It is a visible woorde, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the worde worketh in the eares. For like as the worde is a meane to the eares, whereby the holy Ghost moueth the heart to beleue, Romanes 10. so this sacrament is a meane to the eyes, whereby the holy Ghost moueth the hart to beleue:* it preacheth peace betweene God and man: it exhorteth to mutuall loue and all godly life, and teacheth to contemne the world for the life to come, when as Christ shall appeare, which now is in heauen, and no where els as concerning his humane body.*

Yet do I beleue assuredly that his very body is present in his moste holy Supper at the contemplation of oure spirituall eyes,* and so verely eaten with the mouth of our faith. For as soone as I heare these most comfortable and heauenly woordes spoken and pronōced by the mouth of the Minister. This is my body which is geuen for you, when I heare (I say) this heauenly harmonie of Gods vnfallible promises and truthe: I looke not vpon, neyther doe I beholde breade and wine: for I take and beleue the wordes simply and plainly,* euen as Christe spake them. For hearing these wordes, my senses be rapt and vtterly excluded: for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh nor the carnall imaginations of our grosse, fleshly, and vnreuerent eating after the maner of our bodily foode whiche profiteth nothinge at all, as Christe witnesseth, Iohn 6 but with a sorrowfull and wounded conscience, an hungry and thirsty soule, a pure and

faithfull mind do fully embrace, beholde and feede, and looke vppon that most glorious body of Christ in heauen, at the right hande of God the father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slaine, and his bloud shed for our sinnes, there nowe making intercession, offering and geuing his holy body for me,* for my body, for my raunsome, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ and all that euer hee hath: and by this spirituall and faithfull eating of this liuelye and heauenlye breade,* I feele the moste sweete s•ppe and taste of the fruites, benefites, and vnspeakeable ioyes of Christes deathe and passion fullye digested into the bowelles of my soule. For my minde is quieted from all worldly aduersities, tormoylinges, and trouble: my conscience is pacified from sinne, deathe, hell, and damnation: my soule is full, and hath euen enough, and will no more: for all things are but losse, vile dounge and drosse, vayne vanitie, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Iesu my Lord and Sauour.

Thus nowe is Christes flesh my very meate in deede, and hys bloud my very drinke in deede,* & I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Nowe I liue, yet not I, but Christe liueth in me:* yea I dwell in him, and he in mee: for thorough faith in Christe, and for Christes sake we are one, that is, of one consente, minde▪ and fellowship with the Father, the Sonne and the hol Ghost. Iohn 17. Thus am I assured and fullye perswaded, and on this rocke haue I builded by Gods grace, my dwelling and resting place for body and soule, life and death. And thus I commit my cause vnto Christe the righteous and iust iudge, who will an other day iudge these debates and controuersies: whome I humbly beseeche to cast his tender and mercifull eyes vppon the afflicted and ruinous Churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetuall concorde. Amen.

Thus do I beleeeue, and this is my faith and my vnderstanding in Christ my Sauour, and his true and holy religion. And thys whosoeuer is ashamed to doe among this adulterous and sinnefull generation, of hym shall the sonne of man be ashamed,* when he commeth in the glory of his father with the holy Angels.

Robert Samuel.

William Allen, Martyr.

NExT after the suffering of Robert Samuel,* aboute the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, seruaunte sometime to Iohn Houghton of Somerton. He being brought before the Bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned: aunswared, that he was put in prison, because he woulde not followe the Crosse, saying that he woulde neuer go on Procession.

Then being willed by the Bishoppe to returne againe to the Catholicke Church, he aunswared, that he would turne to the Catholicke Church, but not to the Romishe Church, and said, that if he saw the King and Quene,* and all other folowe the crosse, or kneele downe to the crosse, he would not. For the which, sentence of condemnation was geuē against him, the 12. of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September, who declared suche constancie at hys Martyrdome, and hadde suche credite wyth the Iustices, by reason of hys vprighte and well tried conuersation among them, that he was suffered to goe vntied to hys suffering, & there being fastened with a chaine, stode quietly without shrinking, vntill he dyed.

The Martyrdome of Roger Coo of Melforde in Suffolke, Shereman, first examined before the Byshop of Norwich, and by him condemned. Anno 1555. August 12.

ROger Coo broughte before the Bishop,* first was asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo.

At the Iustices commaundement.

Bishop.

There was some cause why.*

Coo.

Heere is my accuser, let hym declare.

And his accuser sayde that hee woulde not receyue the Sacrament.

Bish.

Then the Bishop sayde that he thought he had transgressed a lawe.

Coo.

But Coo answered that there was no law to transgresse.

Bish.

The Bishop then asked, what he sayd to the law that then was?

Coo.

He answered how he had bene in prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, sayd his accuser, nor wilt not. My Lord, aske him when he receiued the Sacrament.

Coo.

When Coo heard him say so, he sayde:* I pray you my Lord, let him sit downe and examine me him selfe.

Bish.

But the Bishoppe woulde not heare that, but sayde: Coo, why? will ye not receiue?

Coo.

He aunswered him, that the Bishoppe of Rome had chaunged Gods ordinaunces,* and geuen the people bread and wine in the steade of the Gospell, and the beliefe of the same.

Bish.

Howe prooue you that.

Coo.

Our Sauour sayde: My fleshe is meate in deede, and my bloude is drinke in deede. He that eateth my fleshe,* and drynketh my bloud, abideth in me, and I in him, and the breade and wine doth not so.

Bish

Well Coo, thou doest sclaunder our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, geue thanks, and brake it, and said: This is my body?

Coo.

Yes, sayde hee, and so he went further wyth the texte, saying: Which shall be geuen for you: doe this in remembrance of me.

Bish.

You haue sayde the truth.

Coo.

Then Coo replyed further, and sayde: Christe willed to doe this in remembraunce of hym, and not to saye thys in the remembraunce of hym, neyther did the holy Ghoste so leade the Apostles, but taughte them to geue thanks, and to breake breade from house to house, and not to saye as the Bishop sayde.

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Bish.

How prooue you that?

Coo.

It is written in the 2. of the Acts.

Then the Bish. chaplayne sayd it was true.

Bish.

The Bish. asked hym if he could his beliefe.

Coo.

He answered yea, and so sayd part of the Creede, and thē after he said, he beleued more: for he beleued the x. commaundements, that it was meete for all such as looke to be saued to be obedient vnto them.

Bish

Is not the holy church to be beleueed also?

Coo.

Yes, if it be builded vpon the word of God.

Bish.

The Byshop sayd to Coo, that he had charge of hys soule.

Coo.

Haue ye so my Lord? Then if ye go to the Deuill for your sinnes, where shall I become?

Bish.

Do you not beleue as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo.

*It is written that after Christ hath suffred: There shal come a people with the Prince that shal destroy both Citie and Sanctuary. I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my fathers tyme, or now?

Bish.

The B. not answering his question, asked hym whether he would not obey the kyngs lawes?

Coo.

As farre as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them.

Bish.

*Whether they agree with the worde of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the kyng were an Infidel.

Coo.

If Sydrach, Mysaach, and Abednago had so done, Nabucha••nosor had not confessed the liuyng God.

Bish.

Then the B. told hym, that these 22. yeares wee haue bene gouerned with such kyngs.

Coo.

My L. why were ye then dumme, and did not speake or barke?

Bish.

I durst not for feare of death, and thus they ended.

☛ But after this done, it was reported that I rai•ed: wherfore I called it to memory, & wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darknesse, nor sinne for holynes, and the deuill for God, who ought to be feared & honoured both now and euer, Amen.

*This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflictes with his aduersaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford in the countie of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged yeares. An. 1555. Mens. Septemb.

†Thomas Cobbe of Hauerhill, butcher, Martyr.

Ouer and besides this foresayd Roger Coo, Wil. Allen, Iames Abbes of Stokennayland,* Robert Samuell and other moe, in the same yeare vpon the 12. of August, was also with them condemned Thomas Cobbe of Hauerhill Butcher, executed in the moneth of September aforesayd. Who beyng brought and examined by Michaell Dunnyngs the bloudy Chauncellour of Norwich, first whether he beleueed that Christ is really and substantially in the Sacrament of the aultar, aunswered that the body of Christ borne of the blessed virgin was in heauē, and otherwise (he sayd) he would not aunswere, because hee had read it in the Scripture,* that Christ did ascende, and dyd neuer descend since, and therefore sayd that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the Sacrament.

Furtheymore, beyng demanded whether he would obey the lawes of the realme of England,* made for the vnitie of fayth, or no, he aunswered that his body should be at the King and Queenes commaundement so farre as the law of God would suffer. &c. In fine the sayd Tho.

Cobbe beyng condemned the same xij. day of August, with the other his fellowmartyrs, was burned in the towne of Tetford. An. 1555. Mens. Septemb.

***The Martyrdome of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and Iames Tutty.**

NOwe from Northfolke and Suffolke, to returne agayne into the Diocesse of Caunterbury, we haue to entreat of fiue worthy Martyrs, whose bloud in the same yeare and moneth of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ, and his Gospels cause. The names of the which fiue Martyrs were these.

- George Catmer, of Hyth.
- Robert Streater, of Hyth.
- Anthony Burward, of Calet.
- George Brodbridge, of Bromfield.
- Iames Tutty, of Brenchley.

Who vppon the 3. day of August were brought before Thornton the foresaid Bish. of Douer and his complices,* and there were both iointly and seuerally examined vpon certaine Articles, touching the Sacrament of their aultar, auricular confession, and other such lyke.

To the which the sayd Catmer (being first examined) made aunswere on this wise:* Christ (quoth he) sitteth in heauen on the right hand of God the Father, and therefore I do not beleue him to be in the Sacrament of the aultar: but he is in the worthy receiuer spiritually, & the Sacrament as you vse it, is an abhominable Idoll.

Next vnto hym was called forth Rob. Streater:* who beyng also asked whether he dyd beleue the reall presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the aultar, sayd, that he dyd not so beleue: for you doe maintayne heresie and Idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worship a false God in the Sacrament, enclosed in a boxe. It is you that are the malignant Church: for in your Church there are twenty thyngs vsed agaynst the law of God.

The like obiection was articulate also against Anthony Burward, who also sayd,* that their Sacrament was made an Idoll.

After hym was George Brodbridge demanded what he sayd to those Articles. Who aunswered,* that hee would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgeue his owne sinnes: and further sayd, that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is not the real body of our sauour Christ, but bread geuen in the remembrance of him. Moreouer, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your Masse, I do (quoth he) vtterly defie them.

And last of all did also Iames Tutty make & confirme their sayd former aunswers.*

And therefore they were all fiue condemned to be burned as heretikes, and so were they all in one fire at Canterbury aforesayd, about the 6. day of September thē next followyng.

[illustration]

***The burnyng of fiue Martyrs at Caunterbury.**

*

¶Thomas Hayward and Iohn Goreway, Martyrs.

Althoꝛgh the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in Queene Maries dayes did chiefly lyght in London, Essex, Northfolke, Suffolke, and Kent,* as hath bene partly already declared: yet notwithstanding, besides the same, we finde but fewe partes of this Realme from this fatall storme, but some good Martyrs or other there shed their bloud. And first to begin with the Dioces of Lichfield and Couentry,* there we finde these two to bee condemned and also burned about the middest of the sayd month of September at the towne of Lichfield: whose names were Thomas Hayward, and Iohn Goreway.

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¶The persecution and story of M. Robert Glouer Gentleman, and of Iohn Glouer his brother, in the Dioces of Lichfield.

VNto this present tyme and moneth of September, pertaineth also the memorable Martyrdome, of M. Rob. Glouer Gentleman, in the Diocesse of Lichfield and Couentry. Of whose apprehensiō and troubles, because I cannot well entreate, but I must also intermixt some mention of his brother Iohn Glouer, for so much as this priuy Commission was chiefly sent downe for the said Iohn, and not for Rob. Glouer, (albeit it pleased almighty God, that Iohn escaped, and Rob. in his stead was apprehended) I thought therefore in one story to comprehēd them both, in describing some part of their vertuous institution and order of lyfe, and first to begin with Iohn the eldest brother. Who beyng a Gentleman, and heyre to his father, dwellyng in the towne of Mancetor, was endued with fayre possessiōs of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with Gods heauenly grace and inward vertues. Which grace of God so working in him, he with hys two other brethren, Rob. and Wil. not onely receyued and embraced the happy light of Christes holy Gospell, but also most zealously professed, and no lesse diligētly in their liuyng & conuersation followed the same: much vnlike vnto our tablegospellers now adaies, Virtutem qui verba putant, vt lucum ligna, as Horace sayth.

And as touchyng this foresayde Iohn Glouer (who through his manifold afflictions, seemed to haue a deeper taste and contemplation of spirituall thyngs, ioyned with mortification from all worldly eares more then the other had) although sufficient relatiō be made before in our first edition to be seene, yet as concernyng his spirituall conflicts, and the Lordes gracious workyng in hym, because the consideration thereof,* is both worthy of memory, and the example may worke experience peraduenture to the comfort of the godly, it shal not be hurtful to rehearse some part of the same. So it pleased God to lay his heauy hand of inward afflictions and greuous passions vpon this mā that though he suffred not the paynes of the outward fire, as his brother and other Martyrs did: yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mynd this man felt & suffred,* and that of so long tyme, he may well be counted with his brother Rob. for a Martyr,

beyng no lesse desirous w^t hym of the same Martyrdome: yea, & in comparison may seme to be chronicled for a double Martyr.

For as the sayd Rob. was spedily dispatched with the sharpe and extreme torments of the fire in a short tyme,* so this no lesse blessed Saint of God, what and how much more greuous pangs, what sorrowfull tormentes, what boyling heates of the fire of hell in hys spirit inwardly he felt and sustayned, no speech outwardly is able to expresse. Being yong,* I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by hys talke I perceiued, and partly by myne owne eyes saw to be so worne and consumed by the space of fiue yeares, that neither almost any brookyng of meate, quietnes of sleepe, pleasure of lyfe, yea and almost no kynd of senses was left in hym. And doubtlesse I haue greatly wondered oftentymes at the meruailous workes and operation of Christ shewed vpon hym, who vnlesse he had relieued betymes his poore wretched seruant so far worne, with some opportune consolation, now and then betwixt, it could not possible bee, that he should haue susteined so vntollerable paynes and tormentes.* And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy & blessed men, how the more deuout and godly they are, hauing the feare of God before their eyes, the more suspition and mistrust they haue of thē selues: whereby it commeth to passe, that often they are so terrified & perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains: where as contrary others there be, whom most hainous & very sore crimes in deed do nothyng touch or stirre at all.

The occasion of this was, that he beyng first called by the light of the holy spirit to the knowledge of the gospell, and hauyng receiued a wonderous sweet feeling of Christes heauenly kyngdom, his mynd after that fallyng a little to some cogitation of his former affayres belongyng to hys vocation, began by & by to misdoubt hymselfe vpō the occasion of these words written in the 7. to the Hebrues: For it cannot be that they which were once illumined, and haue tasted the heauenly gift, &c. Upon the consideration of which words he fully perswaded himselfe, that he had sinned verely against the holy Ghost: euen so much, that if hee had bene in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost haue dispaired no more of hys saluation. Here redily euery good man may iudge of hymselfe, what terrors, boylings, & conuulsions turmoiled in the meane tyme in his wofull brest: although it be hard for any mā to iudge the greuousnes therof, vnlesse he which hath experience of the lyke.

In comparing now the torments of all Martyrs with his paynes, I pray you what paynes, punishment,* and flames would not he willingly haue suffered, to haue had some refocillation and tyme of refreshyng? Who in suche intollerable griefes of mynd, although he neyther had nor could haue any ioy of hys meate, yet was he compelled to eate against hys appetite, to the end to differre the tyme of his damnation, so long as he might, thinking with hymself no lesse, but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breth beyng once out of the body. Albeit Christ he thought did pity hys case, and was sory for hym: yet he could not (as he imagined) helpe, because of the veritie of the word, which sayd: It cannot be, &c.*

And this I rehearse of hym not so much to open hys wounds and sorrowes,* as for that by his example all wee with hym may glorifie the sonne of God, who suffereth none to be tempted aboue hys strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperitie of euyls, that what seemeth to vs intollerable, not onely he doth alleuate the same, that we may beare it, but also turneth it to our further commoditie then we can thinke. Which well appered in this good seruaunt of God, in no

man more. Who albeit (as we haue sayd) suffred many yeres so sharpe temptations & strong buffetyngs of Sathan: yet the Lord,* who graciously preserued hym all the whyle, not onely at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed hym thereby to such mortification of lyfe, as the lyke lightly hath not bene seene, in such sort as he beyng lyke one placed in heauen alreedy and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestially, abhorryng in hys mynd all prophane doyngs. Neither was his talke any thyng discrepant frō the fruits of his lyfe, throwyng out neuer any idle, vyle, or vayne language. The most part of hys landes he distributed to the vse of hys brethren, and committed the rest to the guidyng of hys seruauntes and officers, whereby the more quietly he myght geue hymselfe to hys godly study, as to a continuall Saboth rest. This was about the latter end of K. Henries raigne, and continued a great part of the tyme of K. Edward 6.

After this in the persecuting dayes of Queene Mary, as soone as the B. of Couentry heard y^e fame of this Iohn aforesayde beyng so ardent and zealous in the Gospell of Christ, eftsoones he wrote his letter to the Maior and Officers of Couentry to apprehend hym as soone as myght be. But it chaunced otherwyse by Gods holy prouidence, disposing all thyngs after hys owne secret pleasure, who seyng his old and trusty seruaunt so many yeares with so extreme and many torments broken and dried vp, would in no wyse heape too many sorrowes vpon one poore sillie wretch: neyther would commit hym to the flames of fire, who had bene already baked and scorched with the sharpe fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burnyng dartes and conflictes of Sathan so many yeares. God therefore of hys diuine prouidence thinkyng it too much that one man should be so much ouercharged wyth so many plagues and tormentes, did graciously prouide, that Robert his brother beyng both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helpes of learnyng to aunswer the aduersaries (beyng a Maister of Arte in Cambridge) should sustaine that conflict, and euen so it came to passe, as ye shall heare.

For as soone as the Maior of Cauentry had receyued the Byshops letters for the apprehendyng of M. Iohn Glouer, he sent forthwith a priuy watchword to the sayde Iohn to conuey away hymselfe. Who with hys brother William, was not so soone departed out of hys house:* but that yet in sight of the shiriffe and other, the serchers came and rushed in to take hym, accordyng to the bishops commandement.

But when the sayde Iohn could in no place be found, one of the Officers goyng into an vpper chamber, founde there Robert the other brother lying on hys bed: & sicke of a long disease, who was by hym incontinent brought before the Shiriffe. Which Shiriffe notwithstanding fauouryng Robert and hys cause,* would in deed fayne haue dismissed hym, and wrought what meanes he could, saying, that he was not the man for whome they were sent: Yet neuerthelesse beyng feared wiche the stoute wordes of the officer contendyng with hym to haue hym stayed tyll the bishops comyng, he was constrained to cary him away agaynst his will, and so layed hym fast while the Bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble first concernyng the woorthy remembraunce of maister Iohn Glouer.

Now to enter the matter which principally we haue in [Page 1710](#) hand, that is, to consider the story and Martyrdome of M. Robert Glouer, forsomuch as the whole narration of the same by his owne record and testimony in a writyng was sent vnto his wife concerning the maner of his

ordering & handling, it shall therefore seeme best for the more credite of the matter, to exhibite the sayd his owne letter, the wordes and contents whereof here ensue, as followeth.

¶A Letter of M. Robert Glouer to his wyfe, conteinyng the whole discourse and description of hys troubles susteined in prison, and of his sundry conflicts betweene the Bishop and him about Religion.

¶To my entirely beloued wyfe Mary Glouer.

*The peace of conscience which passeth all vnderstāding, the sweete consolation, comfort, strength, and boldnes of the holy Ghost be continually encreased in your heart, thorough a feruent, earnest, and stedfast fayth in our most deare and onely Sauour Iesus Christ, Amen.

I thanke you hartily most louing wyfe, for your letters sent vnto me in my imprisonment. I red them with teares more then once or twise, with teares (I say) for ioy & gladnes, that God had wrought in you so mercifull a worke: first an vnfaigned repentance: secondly, an humble & hartie reconciliation: thirdly, a willing submission & obedience to the will of God in all thyngs. Which whē I red in your letters, & iudged them to proceed from the bottom of your hart: I could not but be thankfull to God, reioysing with teares for you & these his great mercies poured vpon you.

These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doyngs from tyme to tyme, haue much relieued and comforted me at all tymes, & shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, which set more by theyr owne pleasure and pelfe in this world, then by Gods glory, litle regarding (as it appeareth) the euerlasting health of their owne soules or others.* My prayer shalbe whilest I am in this world, that god which of his great mercy hath begun hys good worke in you, will finishe it to the glory of his name, and by the mighty power & inspiration of his holy spirit so strengthen, stablish, and confirme you in all hys wayes to the ende, that we may together shew forth hys prayses in the world to come, to our vnspeakable consolation euerlastingly. Amen.

So long as God shall lend you continuaunce in this miserable world, aboue all things geue your self continually to prayer,* lifting vp as S. Paule saith, cleane or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubtyng, forgeuing (as he sayth also) if you haue any thyng agaynst any man, as Christ forgeueth vs. And that we may bee the better willyng to geue, it is good often to call to remembraunce the multitude & greatnesse of our owne sinnes, which Christ daily and houely pardoneth and forgeueth vs, and then we shall, as S. Peter affirmeth, be ready to couer and hide the offences of our brethren, bee they neuer so many. And because Gods word teacheth vs,* not only the true maner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not do in the whole discourse and practise of this lyfe, what pleaseth or displeaseth God, and that, as Christ sayth, The worde of God that hee hath spoken shall iudge in the last day:* let your prayer bee to this ende specially, that God of hys great mercy would open and reueale more and more dailye to your hart, the true sense, knowledge and vnderstandyng of his most holy word, and geue you grace in your liuyng, to expresse the fruits thereof.

And for as much as it is, as the holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution,* peril, danger of losse of lyfe and goods, & what so euer semeth

pleasaunt in this world, as experience teacheth you in this tyme: call vpon God continually for his assistaunce alwayes, as Christ teacheth, castyng your accompts what it is like to cost you, endeuoring your selfe, thorough the helpe of the holy Ghost, by continuaunce of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storme or tempest shalbe able to ouerthrow or cast it down: remembring alwayes (as Christ saith) Lothes wyfe,* that is, to beware of looking backe to that thyng that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as Idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise then hys word commandeth: looke not backe (I say) nor turne not your face to their Idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word,* practise & example of Christ: as it is most manifest to all that haue any taste of the true vnderstandyng of Gods word, that there remayneth nothing in the church of England at this present, profitable or edifieng to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things beyng done in an vnknownen tong, contrary to the expresse commandement of the holy Ghost.

They obiect that they be the church,* and therefore they must be beleued. My aunswer was, the Church of GOD knoweth and reknowledgeth no other head but Iesus Christ the sonne of God, whome ye haue refused & chosen the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition, enemy to Christ, the deuils deputy and lieuutenant, the Pope.

Christes church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by hys word, as he sayth:*My sheepe heare my voyce If you abyde in me, and my word in you, you be my Disciples. Their Church repelleth Gods word, and forceth all men to followe their traditions.

Christes Churche dare not adde or diminish, alter or change his blessed Testament: but they bee not afrayd to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoryng (as the Scripture saith) with their owne inuentions,*Et laetari super operibus manuum suarum. i. To glory and reioyce in the workes of their owne hands.

The Church of Christ is, hath bene,* and shall be in all ages vnder the Crosse, persecuted, molested and afflicted, the world euer hating thē, because they be not o• y^e worlde. But these persecute, murther, slay and kil such as professe the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, liuing, conuersation and other vertues neuer so excellent.

Christ & his church reserued the triall of their doctrine to the worde of God,* and gaue the people leaue to iudge therof by the same worde, Search the Scriptures: But thys church taketh away the word from the people, & suffereth neither learned nor vnlearned, to examine or prooue their doctrine by the word of God.

The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist & withstand the lusts, desires, & motions of the world,* the flesh, and the deuil. These for the most part geue themselues to all voluptuousnes, & secretly commit such things which (as S. Paul sayth) it is shame to speake of.

By these and such like manifest probations they do declare themselues to be none of the church of Christ,* but rather of the sinagoge of Sathan. It shal be good for you oftentimes to conferre & compare their procedings and doings, with the practise of those whō the word of God doth reach to haue bene true members of the church of God, & it shal worke in you both knowledge, erudition, & boldnes to withstand with suffering, their doyngs. I likened them therefore to

Nemrod, whom the scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not haue by the worde, they would haue by the sword, & be the church whether men will or no, and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the deuill: and as their father the deuill is a lyer and murtherer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murtheryng.

Haue no fellowship with them therefore my dere wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sinnes, for whom is reserued a heauy damnation, without speedy repentaunce. Beware of such as shal aduertise you somethyng to beare with the world as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with gods matters: It is a fearefull thing (as S. Paule sayth) to fall into the handes of God. Remember the prophet Helias,*Why halt you on both sides? Remember what Christ sayth: Hee that putteth hys handes to the plough, and looketh backe, is not worthy of mee.*And seying God hath hetherto allowed you as a good souldior in the forward, play not the coward,* neither drawe backe to the rereward. S. Iohn numbred among them y^t shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearefull in Gods cause. Set before your eyes alwayes the examples of such as haue behaued themselues boldly in gods cause, as Steuen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widowes sonnes, and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, Iohn Bradford, with many other faythfull witnesses of Christ. Be not afraide in nothyng (sayth Saint Paule) of the aduersaries of Christes doctrine,*the which is to them the cause of perdition, but to you of euerlasting saluation. Christ commandeth the same, saying: Feare them not. Let vs not follow the example of him which asked tyme first to take leaue of hys friends. If we so doe, we shall finde fewe of them that wil encourage vs to go forward in our busines, please it God neuer so much. We read not that Iames and Iohn, Andrew and Symon, when they were called, put of the tyme till they had knowen their fathers and friends pleasure. But the Scripture sayth, They forsooke all,*and by and by followed Christ. Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious perle, the which whosoever findeth, selleth al that he hath for to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heauen is, will gladly forgo both life & goods for the obtainyng of it. But the most part now a dayes bee lyke to [Page 1711](#) Esopes cocke, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to haue found a barley corne. So ignorant be they how precious a iewell y^e word of God is, that they choose rather the thyngs of this world, which beyng compared to it,*be lesse in value then a barley corne.

If I would haue geuen place to worldly reasons, these might haue moued me: First, the forgoyng of you and my children: the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age and yong, apt and inclinable to vertue & learnyng, and so hauyng the more neede of my assistance, beyng not altogether destitute of gifts to helpe thē withall: possessions about the common sort of men: because I was neuer called to be a preacher or minister: & (because of my sickenes) feare of death in imprisonment before I should come to my aunswer, and so my death to be vnprofitable.

But these and such lyke, I thanke my heauenly father (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with hys holye Ghost,*for his sonnes sake my onely Sauour and redeemer) preuailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderfull permission of God, fallen into their handes, at the first sight of the Shiriffe, nature a little abashed: yet ere euer I came to the prison, by the workyng of God & thorough his goodnes feare departed. I sayd to the Shiriffe at his comming vnto me: What matter

haue you maister Sheriffe to charge me withall? He aunswere: you shall knowe when you come before the maisters: and so taking me with him, I looked to haue bene broughte before the maisters,* and to haue heard what they could haue burdened me withall: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the Iaile, not being called to my aunswere, little iustice being shewed therein. But the lesse iustice a man finedeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he finde from God: for whosoever is of the world, the world will loue hym.

After I came into prisone, & had reposed my selfe there a while,* I wept for ioy and gladnes my belly full, musing muche of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to my selfe after this sort: O Lorde who am I, on whome thou shouldest bestowe thus thy great mercye, to be numbred among the Saintes that suffer for thy Gospels sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection,* vnablenesse, sinnefull misery, and vnwoorthinesse, and on the other side the greatnesse of Gods mercye, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were amazed and ouercome for a while with ioy and gladnesse, concluding thus with my selfe in my heart: O Lord thou shewest power in weakenesse, wisdom in foolishnesse, mercy in sinfulness: who shall let thee to choose where & whom thou wilt. As I haue zealously loued the confession of thy woord, so euer thought I my selfe to be most vnworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

*Not long after, came vnto me M.W. Brasbrige, M.C. Phinees, M.N. Hopkins, traueling with me to be dismissed vpon bondes. To whome my answere was (to my remembrance) after this sorte: For as much as the Maisters haue imprisoned me, hauing nothing to burden mee with all, if I should enter into bondes, I should in so doing accuse my selfe: and seeing they haue no matter to laye to my charge, they may as well let me passe w^tout bondes, as wyth bondes.

Secondarily, if I shall enter bondes, couenaunt, and promise to appeare, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloke their wickednesse, and endanger my selfe neuerthelesse,* being bound by my promise to appeare. They alleaged many worldly perswasions vnto me to auoide the present perill, & also how to auoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise. I sayde vnto them I had cast my penywoorth by Gods help. They vndertooke also to make the bond easie.

And when they were somewhat importune, I sayd to maister Hopkins, that libertie of conscience was a precious thing, and toke as it were a pause, lifting vp my heart to God earnestly for hys aide and helpe, that I might doe the thing that might please him.* And so, when they had let their sute fal, my hart, me thought, was wonderfully comforted. Maister Dudly commoned with me in like maner: whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Afterwarde debatin[•] the matter wyth my selfe, these considerations came to my head: I haue from time to time wyth good conscience (God I take to recorde) mooued all such as I had conference withal, to be no daliers in Gods matters, but to shew themselues after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constante, and stable in so manifest a truthe, and not to geue place one iuate contrarye to the same. Nowe thought I, if I shall withdrawe my selfe, and make any shifts to pull my owne necke out of the collar,* I shall geue greatesse offence to my weake brethren in Christe, and aduantage to the enemies to sclaunder Gods word. It wil be sayd, he hath

ben a great boldner of others to be earnest and feruent, to feare no worldly pearils or daungers, but he him selfe will geue no such example.

Wherefore I thought it my bouēden duety both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodnes of God,* maruelously called and appoynted hereunto, to set aside all feare, pearils, and daungers, al worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heeretofore, according to the measure of my small gift, within the compasse of my vacation and calling, from the bottome of my heart vnfaignedly mooued, exhorted, and perswaded all that professe Gods woorde, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not wyth sworde and violence, but wyth suffering and losse of life, rather then to defile themselues againe with the whorish abhomination of the Romish Antichrist: so the houre being come, with my fact and example to ratifie, confirme, and protest the same to the hearts of all true beleeuers: and to thys end (by the mighty assistance of Gods holy spirit:*) I resolved my selfe wyth muche peace of conscience, willingly to sustaine what soeuer the Romish antichrist shuld doe against mee, and the rather because I vnderstoode the Bishops comming to be at hand, and considered that pore mens consciences shoulde be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Couentrie by the space of 10. or 11. dayes, being neuer called to my answere of the Maisters, contrary to the lawes of the Realme, they hauing neyther statute, lawe, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandement for my apprehension. They woulde haue laide all the matter vpon the Sumner. Who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my frendes tolde me) saying that he had no commandement concerning me, but for my elder brother. God laye not their extreeme doings against me, to their charge at the great day.

The seconde day after the bishoppes comming to Couentrie, M. Warren came to the Yeldhall, and willed the chiefe Iayler to carye me to the Bishop. I laide to maister Warrens charge the cruell seeking of my death: and when he would haue excused himselfe, I tolde him he coulde not wipe hys handes so: hee was as guiltie of my bloude before God, as though he had murdered me with his owne handes.

And so he parted frō me, saying, I needed not to feare if I would be of his beliefe, God open his eyes if it be hys will, and geue him grace to beleue this, which he and all of his inclination, shall finde (I feare) to true for their parts: that is, that all they whiche cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest and afflicte the members of Christe for their cōscience sake, and for the true testimonie of Christes worde, and cause them moste vniustly to be slayne and murdered: without spedy repentance, shall dwel with the deuil and his angels in the fiery lake euerlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, crie and call, but in vayne (as their right companion Epulo did) to be refreshed of them,* whome in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaues, misers, and wretches.

When I came before y^e bishop in one Dentons house, he began wyth this protestation, that he was my Byshop for lacke of a better, and willed me to submit my selfe.

I sayd to him, I am not come to accuse my selfe: what haue you to lay to my charge?*

He asked me whether I was learned? I aunswared, smally learned.

Maister Chauncellor standing by, sayde I was a maister of Arte.

Then my Lord laid to my charge, my not comming to the Church.

Heere I might haue dalied wyth him, and put hym to his proofes, for asmuch as I had not bene for a long season in his Diocesse, neither was any of the Citizens able to proue any suche matters against me. Notwythstanding I answered him through Gods mercifull helpe, that I neyther had nor woulde come at their church as long as theyr masse was vsed there, to saue (if I had them) fiue hundreth liues. I willed him to shew me one iote or title in y^e scripture for the prooffe and defence of the Masse.

He aunswered, he came to teache and not to be taught.

I was content (I tolde him) to learne of him, so farre as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Bishop.

Who shall iudge the worde?

Glouer.

Christ was content that the people shoulde iudge hys doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paule: me thinketh ye should claime no further priuiledge or preeminence then they had.

Thus spake Robert Glouer offering him further,* that he was content the primitiue Church next to the Apostles time, should iudge betwixt the bishop and him. But he refused also to be iudged by that. Then he sayde hee was hys Bishop, and therefore he must beleeue him.

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Glouer.

If you say blacke is white my L. (quoth Glouer) must I also say as you say, and beleeue the same because you say it is so? M. Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not geue place to my Bishop.

Glouer.

If you will be beleued because you be a Bish. why find you fault with the people that beleeued M. Latimer, M. Ridley, M. Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?

Bish.

Because they were heretikes.

Glouer.

*And may not you erre (quoth I) as well as they? I looked for learning at my Lords hand to perswade me, and he oppressed me onely with hys authoritie. He said I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before king Edwards tyme.

I desired hym to shew me where their church was in Helias tyme,* and what outward shew it had in Christes tyme.

Bish.

Helias complaint was onely of the x. tribes that fell from Dauids house, whom he called heretikes.

Glo.

You be not able to shew any Prophets that the other two tribes had at the same tyme.

My L. making no answer to that, M. Rogers one of the maisters of the citie commeth in the meane season, taking vpon hym as though he would aunswer to the text. But my L. forthwith commanded me to be committed to some Tower if they had any besides the common Gaole, saying he would at the end of his visitation of his dioces, weede out such wolues. M. Rogers willed him to contēt himselfe for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Euen where it pleaseth you, said I to my Lord, I am content: and so I was returned at that tyme to the common Gaole agayne from whence I came.

On the Friday mornynge beyng the next day after, I had warnynge by one of the prisoners to prepare my selfe to ride with my fellow prisoners the same day to Lichfield there to be bestowed at the Bish. pleasure.* Which tidynge at the first something discouraged me, searyng lest I shold by the meanes of my great sicknesse, through extreme hādlyng (which I looked for) haue dyed in the prison before I should come to my aunswer. But I rebuked immediately with Gods word this infidelitie in my selfe, and by y^e same corrected myne owne mistrust and fantasie after this maner. What make I of God? Is not hys power as great in Lichfield as in Couentry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Lichfield,* as to Couentry? Was hee not wyth Abacuck, Daniell, Misaach, and Ieremy, in theyr most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what thyngs we haue neede of. He hath numbred all the haire of our head. The Sparowe falleth not on the ground, without our heauenly fathers will: much more will he care for vs if we be not faythlesse, whom he hath made worthy to bee witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him we shall neuer be destitute of his helpe, neither in prison, neither in sickenes nor in helth, neither in life nor in death, neither before kyngs nor before Bishops: not the Deuill himselfe,* much lesse one of hys ministers shall bee able to preuaile agaynst vs. With such like meditations I waxed cherefull of good consolation and comfort: so that hearing one say that they could not provide horses enough for vs, I sayd, let them cary vs in a dung cart for lacke of horses, if they list: I am well content for my part.

Notwithstanding at the request of my friends, I wrote to M. Maior and his brethren, briefly requiring thē that I myght make aunswer here to such thyngs as should be layed to my charge: The contentes of which letter were these.

***A Letter of M. Robert Glouer, to the Maior of Couentry and his brethren.**

I Beseech you to vnderstand, that it is not vnknownen as well to the Keeper of the Gaole,* as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subiect to very great sicknesse, and haue bene by the space of seuen yeares and more, so that it is not like that I shall be remooued without perill and danger of lyfe. And because I was here committed to Warde by your appoyntment, I would gladly here aunswer to such thyngs as should bee layed to my charge. If I may obtayne this of you, I haue cause thankfully to reknowlege your indifferencie: if otherwyse, I praye God it be not layd to your charge at the great day, where euery man shall haue iust iudgement without respect of person.

Your prisoner in the Lord, alwayes myndefull of you in my poore prayer. Rob. Glouer.

But I receiued no answer of my letters to nor fro, I coniectured, that when the B. and the Chancellor had seen thē, it mooued thē the rather to haue me away, beyng more desirous (as I suppose) to haue had me dispatched priuily in prison, then to come openly to my answer. The maner of entreating and vsing me at my first commyng to prison, did partly declare the same.

Certayne Sergeaunts and Constables of Couentry,* beyng appointed to haue the conueying of vs to Lichfield to be deliuered there to one Iephcot the Chancellors man sent from Couētry with vs for the same purpose, we were commaunded to horsebacke about xj. or xij. of the clocke on Friday, beyng market day, that we might be the more gased and wondered at: and to kindle the peoples heartes more agaynst vs, they did proclayme a letter cōcernyng a proclamation made for calling in & disanullyng of all such bookes as truely expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about 4. of the clocke at night, & had leaue to repose our selues for our Supper tyme. We inned at the signe of the Swanne, where wee were entertayned friendly and gently.

After supper Iephcot repaired to vs,* whome we intreated that vpon sureties we myght rest our selues that nyght, beyng vnprouided of any thyng to help our selues withall in the prison at that present. He was content at the first (as he semed) but afterwards, whether it was by perswasion, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of pollicie put off the tyme till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder vpō vs, and also that we should prouide nothyng to ease our selues withall: he reuoked his promise,* and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wonderyng at vs. I willed Iephcot before, to execute his office with mercy, tellyng him that they should haue iudge|mēt without mercy, that shewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a prison the same night, where I continued vntill I was condemned, a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rowmes, strong of building, and very cold with small light, and there allowed he me a būdle of straw in stead of my bed, w^tout chaire, forme, or any other thyng els to ease my self withal. God of his mercy gaue me great patience through praier that night, so that if it had ben his pleasure, I could haue bene contented to haue ended my lyfe. But Iephcot & one

Persey the bishops man,* which afterwarde was my continuall keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whō I said, this is a great extremitie, God send vs patience, and no more.

Then they were content that I should haue a bed of myne owne procurement. But I was allowed no helpe, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sicknesse, nor yet paper, pen, nor inke, or bookes, sauynge my new Testament in Latine, & a praier booke which I priuily stole in.

Within two days after,* M. Chancellor and one Temsey a Prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Maister Chauncellour exhorted me to conforme my self to my Lord and to the Church. He wished to my soule no more hurt then to hys owne: belyke because I had layd to hys charge at Couentry, the seeking of my bloud vniustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second tyme I answered M. Chancellor to his exhortatiō, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to bee ordered and gouerned by the word of God.

Chaun.

He asked me how I knew the worde of God, but by the Church?

Glouer.

* The church sheweth which is the word of God, therefore the Church is aboue the word of God. This is no good reason in learnyng, sayd I to M. Chauncellour. For it is lyke vnto this: Iohn shewed the people who was Christ: Ergo, Iohn was aboue Christ. Or els, I haue a man that knoweth not the kyng, and I tell hym who is the kyng: am I therfore aboue the kyng?

M. Chauncellour sayd, he came not to reason with me and so departed. So remayned I without any further cōference of any man by the space of viij. dayes, and till the Bishops commyng: In the which tyme I gaue my selfe continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made vnto all without exception of person, that call vpon the name of his deare sonne Iesus Christ. I found in my selfe daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience,* and many consolations from God by the helpe of his holy spirit, and sometymes, as it were a taste and glimeryng of the lyfe to come: all for his onely sonne Iesus Christes sake: to hym be all praise for euer and euer.

The enemy ceased not many tymes, sundry wayes to assault me, oftentimes obiectyng to my conscience myne owne vnworthines, through the greatnesse of the benefite to be counted among the number of them that should suffer [Page 1713](#) for Christ, for his Gospels sake. Against him I replied with the worde of God in this sorte. What were all those whom GOD had chosen from the beginnyng, to be his witnesses, and cary his name before the world? were they not men as Paule and Barnabas sayd,* Similiter obnoxij peccato, as well subiect to wickednes, sinne, imperfectiōs, as other men be? Euen such were Noe, Abraham, Daid and all the rest. Quis prior dedit illi, as Paul saith, Who gaue first vnto him? And also speakyng to euery man: What hast thou that thou receiuedst not? Likewise Iohn: All haue receiued of his fulnesse: they were no bringers of any goodnes to God, but altogether receyuers. They choose not GOD first, but he

choose them. They loued not God first, but hee loued them first. Yea, hee both loued and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sinne and corruption, and voyd of all goodnes. Est Dominus omnium, diues in omnes & super omnes inuocantes eum. He is and wil be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willyng to forgeue sinnes without respect of person,* to the worlds end, of all them that call vpon hym. Propè est Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum: God is nere, he is at hand, he is with all, with all (I say) and refuseth none,* excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call vpon hym, in what houre, what place, or what tyme so euer it bee. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with hys promise, and of duetie to clayme and challenge hys ayde, helpe, and assistaunce in all our perils, daungers, and distresse, callyng vpon hym, not in the confidence of our owne godlynesse, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whome, and for whose sake, whosoeuer boldly approacheth to the mercy seate of the Father, is sure to receiue whatsoeuer is expedient or necessary eyther for bodye or soule,* in more ample wyse and large manner, then hee can well wish, or dare desire. His worde can not lye: Call vpon me in the day of trouble, and I will heare thee, & thou shalt prayse me.*

I aunswered the enemy also on this maner: I am a sinner, and therefore not woorthy to bee a witnesse of this truth. What then? Must I deny his worde because I am not woorthy to professe it? What bring I to passe in so doyng, but adde sinne to sinne? What is greater sinne then to deny the truth of Christes Gospell? as Christ himself beareth witnesse: Hee that is ashamed of me or of my wordes, of hym I will be also ashamed before my father and all his aungels. I might also by like reason forbear to do any of gods cōmandements.

When I am prouoked to pray, the enemy may say vnto me, I am not worthy to pray, therfore I shall not pray: & so in lyke maner of all the commandements: I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murthering, because I am not worthy to do any commaundement of God. These be the delusions of the Deuill, and Sathans suggestions, which must be ouercome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied accordyng to the measure of euery mans gift,* agaynst all assaults of the Deuill.

At the bishops first comming to Lichfield after myne imprisonment, I was called into a by chamber next to my prison, to my Lord. Before whom when I came and saw none but his officers, chaplains & seruants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed and lifted vp my heart to God for his mercifull helpe and assistance.

My Lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment. I gaue hym no aunswer touchyng that question. He proceded to perswade me to be a member of hys Church, which had continued so many yeares. As for our church (as hee called it) it was not knowen, he sayd, but lately in kyng Edwards tyme.

I professe my selfe to be a member of that * church (said I) that is builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, Iesus Christ beyng the head corner stone: and so alledged the place of S. Paule to the Ephes. And this Church hath bene from the beginnyng (said I) though it beare no glorious shew before the world, beyng euer, for the most part vnder the Crosse and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted. My Lord on the other side, contended that they were the Church.

Glouer.

So cryed all the Clergy agaynst the Prophets of Ierusalem, saying: Templum Domini, templum Domini, The Church, the Church, &c.

Bish.

And always when I was about to speake any thing my Lord cried, hold thy peace: I commaund thee by the vertue of obedience, to hold thy peace, callyng me a proud arrogant heretike.

Glouer.

I willed my Lord to burthen me with some specialties, & then to conuince me with some Scriptures and good learnyng.

Then my L. began to mooue certaine questions. I refused to aunswer him in corners, requiryng that I myght make my answer openly. He sayd I should aunswer hym there. I stood with hym vpon that poynt vntill he said I should to prison agayne, and there haue neither meate nor drinke till I had answered hym.

Then I lifted vp my hart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

Bish.

The first question was this: * how many sacraments Christ instituted to be vsed in the church?

Glo.

The Sacrament of Baptisme sayd I, and the Sacrament that he instituted at his last Supper.

Bish.

No more sayd he?

Glo.

To all those that declare a true and vnfayned repentaunce, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ, to such ministers (I grant) that they haue authoritie to pronounce by the power of Gods word, the remission of sinnes. *

Here interruptyng me, he would needes beare me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with hym in that poynt, because that matter was of no great waight or importāce: although he in so doing, did me wrong, for I called it not a Sacrament.

Hee asked me further whether I allowed theyr confession.

I sayd no.

Bish.

Then he would know my mynd what I thought of the presence of Christes body in the Sacrament.*

Glouer.

I aunswered that their Masse was neither sacrifice nor Sacrament, because (sayd I) you haue takē away the true institution, which when you restore agayne, I will tell you my iudgement concernyng Christes body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of God leaue behynd hym by his owne hand in writyng concerning the maner of hys vsing and entreatyng in pryson, and also of hys conflictes had with the Bishop and hys Chauncellor. Moe examinations he had (no doubt) with the Byshop in the publike Consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would haue left vnto vs, if either length of lyfe, or laysure of tyme, or haste of execution had permitted hym to finish that he intended: but by reason of the writ of his burnyng beyng come down from London, lacke of tyme neither did serue hym so to do, neither yet could I get the Records of hys last examinations wheresoeuer they are become.

Onely this which I could learne by relation of one Austen Bernher a Minister, and a familiar friend of hys, concernyng the goyng to his death, I can report, that the sayd blessed seruant of the Lord, M. Rob. Glouer, after he was condemned by the Bishop, and was now at a poynt to be deliuered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three dayes before, his hart beyng lumpish and desolate of all spirituall consolation, felt in hymselfe no aptnes nor willingnes, but rather a heauines and dulnesse of spirite,* full of much discomfort to beare that bitter crosse of Martyrdome ready now to be layd vpon hym.

Wherupon he fearing in himself, lest the Lord had vtterly withdrawne his woonted fauor from him, made hys mone to this Austen his frend aboue remembred, signifieng vnto hym, how earnestly he had prayed day and night vnto the Lord, and yet could receiue no motion nor sense of any comfort from hym.

Unto whom the sayd Austen answering agayne, willed and desired him patiently to waite the Lords pleasure and how so euer his present feling was, yet seing his cause was iust and true, he exhorted hym constantly to sticke to the same, & to play the man,* nothyng misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfie his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he sayd) he was right certayne and sure, & therfore desired hym when so euer any such feeling of Gods heauenly mercies should begin to touch his hart, that then he would shew some signification thereof, wherby he might witnesse with hym the same, and so departed from hym.

The next day when the tyme came of his martyrdome, as hee was goyng to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feele none, sodainly he was so mightily replenished with Gods holy comfort and heauenly ioyes, y^t he cryed out clapping his hands to Austen, & saying in these words, Austen, he is come, he is come, * &c. & that with such ioy and alacritie, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly daunger, to libertie of life, then as one passing out of the world by any paines of death. Such was the change of the meruailous workyng of the Lordes hand vpon that good man.

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¶ Cornelius Bongey fellow Martyr with Mayster Robert Glouer.

IN the same fire with him was burned also Cornelius Bongey a Capper of Couentry, * and condemned by the sayd Radulph Byshoppe of Couentry and Liechfield. As concerning the Articles which were to him objected, the effect therof was this.

*Firste it was articulate agaynste him, that these three yeres last, in the City of Couentry and Liechfield, & other places about, he did hold, mainteyne, argue and teach, that the Prieste hath no power here to absolue any sinner from his sinnes.

Secondly, that by Baptisme sinnes be not washed away, because he sayd that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly▪ and not the soule.

Thirdly, that there be in the Church onely two sacramentes, that is, Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.

Fourthly, that in the sacrament of theyr popish aulter, was not the reall body & bloud of Christ, but the substance of bread & wine there remayning stil, because S. Paul calleth it bread and wine. &c.

Fiftly, that he within the compasse of the sayd yeares & time, did hold, maintayne and defend, that the Pope is not the head of the visible church here in earth. &c.

Sixtly, that he was of the dioces and iurisdiction of the Bishop of Couentry and Liechfield. &c.

Seuēthly, that the premises are true, manifest and notorious, and that vpō the same there hath bene & is a publick voice and fame, as well in the places aboue rehearsed, as in other quarters also about. &c.

¶ His aunsweres.

*Unto the which articles he aunswering agayne, to the first he graunted, and to euery part therof, meaning after y^e Popish maner of absolution.

The second he graunted first, after reuoked the same.

To the thyrd also he graunted, adding withall, that in scripture there be no more conteined.

To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he graunted & to euery part therof.

To the fift concerning the Pope likewise.

Also to the sixt he graūted and likewise to the seuenth.

Upon these articles and his answeres to the same, the sayd Radulph the Bishop read the sentence, and so cōmitted him also after the condemnation of Mayster Roberte Glouer, to the seculer power.

Thus this foresayd Cornelius falsely condēned by the Bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same stake wyth the Christian Martyr Mayster Robert Glouer at Couentry, about the xx. day of September.

[illustration]

¶The burning of Mayster Robert Glouer, and Cornelius Bongey at Couentry.

*

¶Here foloweth the story of Iohn Glouer and William Glouer, how they were excommunicate and cast out after theyr death, and buried in the fieldes.

NOwe that wee haue discoursed the storye of Mayster Robert Glouer,* something also woulde bee touched of his other two brethrē Iohn and William Glouer. Who albeit they were not called to finishe theyr course by lyke kinde of Martyrdome in the fire, as the other did: yet because for theyr constaunt profession of Gods Gospell vnto the latter ende, they were exempted after theyr death, & cast out of the same Church, as the other was, I thought them not vnworthy therefore in the story to be ioyned together, which in one cause and the same profession were not sūdered one from the other.

And first concerning Mayster Iohn Glouer the eldest brother, what inward stormes and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described: nowe what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared. Whose rage and malice, although god so restrained, that they coulde litle preuayle agaynst him so long as his life endured, yet after his decease, hauing power vpon him, what they did ye shall now vnderstand.

After the Martyrdome of mayster Robert Glouer, although Iohn Glouer seing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small ioy of his life for the great sorow of his hart, wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly haue put himselfe in his Brothers stead, if frendes had not otherwise perswaded with him, shewing that in so doynge he might intangle himselfe, but should doe his brother no good. He thus in great care and vexation endured: yet notwithstanding, rubbing out as well as he could, til at lēgth about y^e latter end of queene Mary there was a new search made for the sayd Iohn Glouer.*

Whereupon the Sheriffes with theyr vnder Officers and seruauntes being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chaūced as he was in his chamber by himselfe, the Officers brusting into the house, and searching other roomes, came to the Chamber doore where this Iohn Glouer was. Who being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceiued and heard the Officers buskeling about the doore, amongst whome one of the sayd officers hauing the string in his hand, was ready to draw and plucke at the same.

In the meane time an other comming by (whose voice he heard and knew) bad them come away,* saying they had bene there before. Whereupon they departing thence, wēt to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glouer his wife, who being had to Liechfilde, & there examined before the bishop, at length after much ado was constrayned to geue place to their tyranny, Ioh Glouer in the meane time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woodes where he did lye, tooke an Agew, whereupon not long after he left this life, which the cruell Papistes so long had sought for.

Thus by the mighty protectiō of y^e almighty Lord, how Iohn Glouer was deliuered and defended frō the handes of the persecuting enemies during all the time of hys life, ye haue hearde, Nowe what befell after his death both to him & to William his brother it is not vnworthy to be remēbred. Who after that he was dead, & buried in y^e churchyard without Priest or Clerke, D. Dracot then Chauncellour,* sixe weekes after sent for the parson of the Towne & demaunded howe it chaunced that hee was there buryed. The parson aunswered that he was then sicke, and knewe not of it. Then the Chauncellour commaunded the parson to go home and to cause the body of the said Iohn Glouer to be taken vp, & to be cast ouer the wall into the hie way: The Parson agayne answered that he had bene 6. weekes in the earth & so smelled that none was able to abide the sa'uor of him. Well quoth D. Dracot, then take this byll and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soule, and a twelue moneth after take vp his bones (for then the fleshe will be consumed) and cast thē ouer the wall,* that cartes and horses may tread vpon them, and then will I come & hallow againe that place in the churchyard where he was buried. Recorded by the Parson of the towne who tolde the same to Hugh Burrowes dwelling at Fynden in Darbyshyre, and to M. Rob. Glouers wife, by whose credible information we receiued the same.

Not much vnlike vsage was practised also by these catholicke children of the mother Church vpon the body of Will. the third brother. Whō, after it had pleased almighty god about y^e same seasō to cal out of this vale of misery,* the good disposed people of the Towne of Weme in Shropshyre, where he dyed, brought the bodye vnto the Parishe Church, entending there to haue it buried. But one Bernerd, [Page 1715](#) being then Curate of the sayd Church (and is yet as I heare say to this day) to stoppe the buriall therof, rode to the bishop named Raufe Bayne, to certify him of the matter, and to haue his aduise therein. In the meane time, the body lying there a whole daye,* in the night time one Rich. Morice a Taylour woulde haue enterred him. But then came Iohn Thorlyne of Weme with other moe, & woulde not suffer the body to be buried: expressing to vs y^e contrary examples of good Toby, for as he was religious in buryng the dead so this man putteth religiō in not burying the dead: so that after he had layne there two dayes & one night, commeth the foresayd Bernerd the Curate with the Bishops letter, the contentes of which letter beyng copied out word for word here foloweth.

***A copy of the Byshops Letter written to the Parish of Weme.**

*VNderstanding that one Glouer an heretick is dead in the parish of Weme, whiche Glouer hath for all the time of my being in this country bene knowne for a rebellion agaynst our holy fath and Religion, a Contemner of the holy Sacramentes and ceremonies vsed in holy Church, and hath separate himselfe frō the holy Communion of all good Christian men, nor neuer required to be reconciled to our mother holy Church, nor in hys last dayes did not call for his ghostly father, but dyed without all rites belonging to a Christian man: I thought it good not only to commaund the Curate of Weme that he shoulde not be buried in Christian mans buriall, but also will and commaunde all the parish of Weme that no manne procure, helpe, nor speake to haue him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and commaund the Church Wardens of Weme in speciall, and all the parishe of the same that they assist the sayd Curate in defending and letting, and procuring that he bee not buried neither in the Church nor within the wanybles of the Churchyarde, and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to cary it away agayne, and that at theyr charge: as they will aunswere at theyr perill. At Ecclesch this 6. of September. an. 1558.

By your Ordinary Radulph Couentry and Liechfield.

*By y^e vertue of this foresaid letter so it fel out, that they which brought the corps thither, were fayne at their owne charges to carye it backe agayne. But for so muche as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that vnneth any man might come nere it, they were forced to draw it w^t horses vnto a brome field, and there was he buried.

Witnesses of the godly end of the sayde William Glouer dying in the true fayth and confession of Christe, Mayster Nowell Deane of Liechfielde, George Wilestone and hys wife, Tho Cōstantine, Roger Wydouse, Iohn Prynne, George Torpelley. &c.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholicke churchmen is also to be sene and noted in the burying of one mayster Edward Bourton Esquire,* who in y^e same Diocesse of Chester departing out of this worlde the verye day before Queene Elizabeth was crowned, required of his frendes, as they would aunswere for it, that his bodye should be buried in his Parishe Church (which was S. Chaddes in Shrousbury) so that no Massemonger should be present therat. Which thing being declared to the Curat of that Parish named sir Iohn Marshal, & the body being withall brought to the buriall, vpon the same day whē the Queene was crowned, the Curate being therewith offended, sayd playnely that he should not be buried in y^e church there. Whereunto one of his frendes, named George Torpelley answering againe said, that God would iudge him in the last day. &c. Then the priest, Iudge God (saith he) or Deuill, the body shall not come there. And so they buried him in his owne garden. Where he is no doubt as neare y^e kingdome of heauen, as if he had bene buried the middest of the Church.

*Moreouer, in the sayd County of Salop, I finde that one Olyuer Richardyne of the Parish of Whitchurch was burned in Hartford Weste, Syr Iohn Ygone being Sheriffe the same time. Whiche seemeth to be about the latter yeare of king Henry viij. Whose name because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to geue some litle touch of him, hauing now in hande to speake of the persecution within the Diocesse of Couentry and Liechfield.

¶The Martyrdome of William Wolsey, and Robert Pygot Paynter.

After the sufferyng of Mayster Robert Glouer & Cornelius Bongey at Couentrye, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed Martyrs which were iudged and condemned at Eley by Iohn Fuller the Bishops Chauncellour of Eley, Doctor Shax•on his Sus•ragane, Robert Steward Deane of Eley, Iohn Christopherson Deane of Norwich. &c. an. 1555. October 9. the names of which martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the Towne of Wisbich, whiche William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the Towne of Well, was there brought to death by the meanes and procurement of one Richard Euerard Gentlemā a Iustice appoynted for those dayes, who extremely handled the same William Wolsey, and bounde him to the good abearing, causing him to put in sureties vpon his good behauior vntill the next general Sessions holden within the Ile of Eley: and so the sayd Wolsey being dispatched of his office, and brought in trouble, remoued his house & dwelling place, comming to dwell in the Towne of Wisbiche. Then being called agayne at the nexte Sessions, hee was still constrayned to put in new sureties, which at the lēgth he refused to do, & so was commaunded to the Iayle,* at the Syse holden at Eley in lent.

In the Easter weeke folowing, there repayred to conferre with him, D. Fuller the Chauncellor, with Christopherson, and one D. Young: who layde earnestlye to hys charge that he was out of the catholicke fayth, willing him to meddle no further with the scriptures, thē it did become such a lay man as he was, to do. The said William Wolsey stāding still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise: Good M. Doctor, what did our Sauour Christ meane, when he spake these wordes written in the 23. Chapter of S. Mathewes Gospell: Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariseis, ye hipocrites for ye shut vp the kingdome of heauen before men: ye your selues goe not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in.

Yea sayeth Doctour Fuller, you must vnderstand, that Christ spake to the Scribes and Phariseys.

Nay Mayster Doctour (sayth Wolsey) Christ spake euē to you, and your felowes here present, & to al other such like as you be.

Away Mayster Doctor (saith Christopherson) for you can do no good with this man, Yet sayth D. Fuller, I will leane thee a booke to read. I promise thee, of a learned mās doing, that is to say of Doctor Watsons doing, (who was then Bishop of Lincolne.)

Wolsey receiuing the same booke,* did diligently reade it ouer, which in many places did manifestly appeare contrary to the knowne trueth of Gods word. At the length a fourtnight or three weekes folowing, the sayde Doctour Fuller resorting agayne to the prison house to confer with the sayd Wolsey, did aske him how he liked the sayd booke (thinking that he had won him by y^e reading of the same:) who aunswered him and sayd: Syr, I like the booke no otherwise then I thought before I should find it. Whereupon the Chauncellor taking his booke departed home.

At night when D. Fuller came to his chamber to looke on it, he did finde in many places cōtrary to his minde, the booke raced with a pen by the sayd Wolsey. The which hee seing, and being vexed therewith, sayd: Oh this is an obstinate hereticke and hath quite marred my booke.

Then the Syse holden at Wisbich drawing nye, Doctor Fuller commeth agayne to the sayd Wolsey, and speaketh vnto him on this maner: * Thou doest much trouble my cōscience, wherfore I pray thee depart, & rule thy 〈◇〉, so that I heare no more complaint of thee, and come to the Church when thou wilt, and if thou be complayned vpon, so farre as I may, I promise thee I will not heare of it.

Mayster Doctour (quoth Wolsey) I was brought hyther by a law, and by a law I will be deliuered.

Then being broughte to the Sessions before named, Wolsey was layd in the Castle at Wisbich, * thinking to him and al his frēdes, that he should haue suffered there at that present time, but it proued nothing so.

Then Robert Pygot the painter being at liberty, was there presented by some euill disposed persons (sworne mē as they called them) for not comming to the Church. *

The sayd Pygot being called in the Sessions, woulde not absent himselfe, but there did playnely appeare before Syr Clement Hygham being Iudge, who sayd vnto him: Ah, are you the holy father the Paynter? How chaunce ye came not to the Churche? Syr (quoth the Paynter) I am not out of the Church, I trust in God.

No Syr, sayd the Iudge, this is no Churche, this is a Haule. Ye sir sayd Pygot, I know very wel it is a Haule: but he that is in the true faith of Iesus Christ, is neuer absent, but present in the Church of God.

Ah Syrha, sayd the Iudge, * you are to high learned for me to talke withall: wherfore I will send you to them that be better learned then I, strayght wayes commaundyng him to the layle where Wolsey lay. So the Sessiōs being [Page 1716](#) broken vp and ended, * the sayd Wolsey and Pigot were caryed agayne to Eley into yrison, where they both did remayne till the day of theyr death.

In the meane time certaine of theyr neighbors of Wisbych aforesayd being at Eley, * came to see how they did.

There came thither also a Chapleine of Bishop Gooderikes a Frenchman borne, one Peter Ualentius, who said vnto the said Wolsey and Pygot: My brethren, according to mine office I am come to talk with you, for I haue bene Amner here this xx. yeares and aboue.

Wheerfore I must desire you my brethren to take it in good parte that I am come▪ to talke with you, I promise you, not to pull you from your fayth. But I both requyre and desire in the name of Iesus Christ that you stande to the truth of the Gospell and worde, and I beseech the almighty God for his sonne Iesus Christes sake to preserue both you & me in the same vnto the end. For I knowe not myselfe (my brethrē) how soone I shal be at the same point that you now are. Thus with many other like wordes he made an end, causing all that were there present to water theyr cheekes, contrary to al the hope they had in him, god be prayسد therfore.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey wer called to iudgement about the ix. daye of October, * before Doctor Fuller then Chauncellor, with old Doctor Shaxton, Christopherson, and

others in Commission, who layd earnestly to theyr charge for theyr belief in diuers articles, but especially of the Sacrament of the aultar. Whereunto theyr aūswere was: that the Sacrament of the aultar was an Idoll, and that the naturall body and bloud of Christe was not present really in the sayd Sacrament, and to this opinion they sayd they would sticke, beleuing perfectly the same to be no heresye that they had affirmed, but the verye truth wherupō they would stand. Then said the Doctors, that they were out of the Catholicke fayth.

*Then Doctor Shaxton sayd vnto them: good brethren remember your selues and become new men, for I my self was in this •ond opinion that you are nowe in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah sayd Wolsey, are you become a new man? Wo be to thee thou wicked new man,* for God shal iustly iudge thee.

Doctour Fuller then spake saying, this Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could neuer do good vpon. But as for the Paynter hee is a man quiet and indifferent (as farre as I perceiue) and is soone reformed, and maye very well be deliuered for any euill opinion I find in him.

Then Christopherson called for penne and yncke and wrote these wordes folowing:* I Robert Pygot do beleue that after •he wordes of consecration spoken by the Priest, th•re remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and bloud of Christ really, substauntially, the selfe same that was borne of the virgine Mary: and reading it to the Paynter, he sayd thus: doest thou beleue all this according as it is written?

Pygot.

No Syr, sayd the Paynter: that is your fayth and not mine.

Christopher.

Loe Mayster Doctor Fuller you would haue lettē this fellow go: he is as much an heretick as the other.

And so immediately iudgemēt was geuen vpon thē to dye. Which done, after the sētēce read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lye till the day of theyr death.

At which day one Peacocke Bachelor of diuinity being appoynted to preach, took his text out of the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corin. 5. chap. of one that had liued vnordinately by abusing his fathers wife:* likening the sayd Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, often times saying, that such members must be cut of from the congregation, most maliciously reporting the sayd Wolsey to be cleane out of y^e fayth, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

So his Sermon being ended, the forenamed, Pygot & Wolsey being brought to the place of executiō and so boūd to the stake with a chain, thither commeth one sir Richard Collinson a priest, at that time desolate of any biding place or stay of benefice, who sayd vnto Wolsey: brother Wolsey the preacher hath openly reported in his Sermon this day that you are quite out of

the Catholicke fayth, & deny baptisme, and that you do erre in the holy Scripture: Wherefore I beseech you for the certifying of my conscience wyth others here present: that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do erre or finde fault.

Wolsey.

*I take the eternall and euerlasting God to witnesse that I do erre in no part or poynt of Gods booke the holy Bible, but hold & beleue in the same to be most firme and sound doctrine in all poyntes most worthy for my saluation and for al other Christians to the end of the world. Whatsoeuer mine aduersaries report by me, God forgeue thē therfore. With that cōmeth one to the fire with a great sheet knit ful of books to burne, like as they had bene new

[illustration]

¶The burning of William Wolsey, and Robert Pygot, Martyrs.

* Testamentes. O sayd Wolsey, geue me one of thē, & Pigot desired an other, * both of them clapping them close to theyr brestes saying the 106. Psalme, desiring all the people to say Amen, and so receiued the fire most thankfully.

Witnesses and informers hereof.

- Robert Scottred.
- Robert Crane,
- Edward Story.
- Robert Kendall,
- Richard Best. &c.

Concerning the storye of William Wolsey I receiued moreouer from the vniuersity of Cambridge by a credible person and my faythfull frend William Fulke, this relatiō which I thought in this place not vnmeete to be notified vnto the Reader in order and forme as foloweth.

There were burned at Ely two Godly Martyrs, * the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appered diuers opinions of one spirit. Pygot was mylde, humble, and modest, promising that he would be cōformable to his persecutors, if they could perswade him by the Scripture. The other Wolsey, was stout, strong and vehemēt, as one hauing 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 of the spirite, * and detested all theyr doinges, as of whom he was sure to receiue nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderfull ielous ouer his cōpanion, * fearing lest his gentle nature would haue bene ouercome by the flattering inticementes of the worlde, and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would haue talked w^t him alone, he pulled him away front them almost by force. * He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderfull sore tormented in the prison with the toothe ake, hee feared nothing more, thē that he should depart before the day of executiō (which he called his glad day) were come.

This Wolsey being in prison at Elye, was visited by Thomas Hodilo Berebrier in Ely. To him he deliuered certayne mony to be distributed (as he appoynted) part to his wife, and part to his

kinsfolkes and frends,* and especially 6. shillings. 8. pence to be deliuered to one Richard Denton Smith dwelling at Welle in Cambridgeshyre wⁱn the iurisdiction of the Ile of Ely, with this commendation, that he maruelled that he taryed so long behinde him, seing he was the first that did deliuer him the book of scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth, desiring him to make hast after as fast as he could.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to auoyde daunger of the time,* and to haue a witnes of his doings herein deliuered the sayd summe of money, to one M. Laurence preacher in Essex (which then resorted often to his house) to be distributed as Wolsey had appoynted: which thing they performed, riding from place to place. And when this 6. shilling 8. pence was deliuered to Richard Denton with the commendation aforesayd, his aunswere was this: I confesse it is true, but alas I can not burne. This was almoste one whole yeare after Wolsey was burned.* But he that coulde not burne in the cause of Christ, was afterward burned agaynst his will whē Christ had geuen peace to his church. [Page 1717](#) For in the yeare of our Lord. 1564. On Tuesday beyng the 18. day of Aprill, his house was set on fire, & while he went in, to saue his goodes he loste his life, with two other that were in the same house.

*Witnessed by Thomas Hodilo, and William Fulke.

Not much vnlike to this, was also the example of M. West Chapleine to Bishop Ridley, who refusing to die in Christes cause with his Mayster, sayd Masse agaynst hys conscience, and soone after dyed.

¶Doctor Nicholas Ridley and M. Hugh Latimer, both Byshops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ, with theyr doinges, conferences, and sufferinges described.

THE same yeare, moneth, and day in whiche the foresayd 2. Martyrs William Wolsey,* & Tho. Pygot suffered at Eley, the which was an 1555 October 16. folowed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other speciall & singuler Captaines, & principall pillars of Christes Church. Mayster Kidley Bishop of London, & Mayster Hugh Latimer, Byshop sometimes of Worcester: of whose famous doinges & memorable learning, & incomparable ornaments & giftes of grace, ioyned with no lesse cōmendable sincerity of lyfe, as all the Realme ca^{••}e witnes sufficiently: so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but onely to cōprehend briefly in a few words touching the order of theyr liues, so much as necessarily serueth to the due instruction of y^e reader, & maketh to the vse of this present history, in declaring first theyr beginning & bringing vp, thē theyr studyes and actes in the Uniuersitye, theyr prefermentes also by theyr studyes to higher dignity, at last theyr trouble & trauell in setting forth Religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of theyr blood. And first to begin with the life of Mayster Ridley, whose story here ensueth.

AMong many other worthy and sundry historyes & notable acts of such as of late daies haue bene turmoile•, murthered, & martyred for the true Gospell of Christe in Queene Maries raigne, the tragicall story and life of Doctour Ridley, I thought good to commend to Chronycle and leaue to perpetuall memorye: beseeching thee gentle Reader, with care and studye well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy brest, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, & now written

doubtlesse in the booke of life, with the blessed Sayntes of the almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious cōpany of Martyrs. First descending of a stocke right worshipfull, he was borne in Northūberlandshire, who being a childe,* learned his Grammer with greate dexteritie in Newcastle, and was remoued from thence to the Uniuersity of Cambridge, where he in shorte space became so famous, that for his singular aptnes, he was called to hyer functions and Offices of the Uniuersity, by degree atteyning thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke hall, and there made Doctour of Diuinitye. After thys departing from thence, he trauelled to Paris, who at his returne, was made Chapleine to king Henrye the eight, and promoted afterwarde by him to the bishoprick of Rochester: and so from thence translated to the See and Bishopricke of London in king Edwardes dayes.

In which calling and offices he so trauelled and occupied hym selfe by preachinge and teachinge the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that neuer good childe was more singularly loued of his deare parents, then he of his flocke and Dioces. Euery holy day and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he wer other wise letted by weighty affayres and busines: to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coueting the sweete flowers and wholesome ioyce of the fruitfull doctrine, whiche he did not onely preach, but shewed the same by his life, as a glittering lanterne to the eyes and sences of the blinde, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from euil desires and concupiscences) that euen his very enemies could not reprove him in anye <◇> iote thereof.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memorye was greate,* and he of suche reading withall, that of right he deserued to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well diuers his notable workes, pythy sermons, and sundry his disputatiōs in both the Uniuersities, as also his very aduersaries, all whiche will saye no lesse themselues.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsell, deepe of wit, and very politicke in all his doings. How mercifull & carefull he was to reduce the obstinate papistes frō their erroneous opinions, & by gentlenes to win them to the truth, his gentle order•ng and curteous handling of Doc. Heath late Archbishop of Yorke being prisoner with him in king Edwardes time in his house one yere, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was suche a Prelate, and in all poyntes so good, godly, & ghostly a man, that England may iustly •ue the loue of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these publicke matters.

Now will I speake something further particularly of his person & conditiōs.* He was a man right comly & well proportioned in all poynts, both in cōplexion & lineamēts of the body. He tooke all thinges in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his hart, but straight wayes forgetting all iniuries & offēces done agaynst him. He was very kind & naturall to his kinsfolke, and yet not bearyng with them any thing otherwise thē right would require, geuing them alwayes for a generall rule, yea to his own brother & sister, that they doing euill, should seeke or look for nothing at his hand, but shoulde be as straungers and aliens vnto him, and they to be his brother or sister, which vsed honesty, and a godly trade of life.

He vsing all kindes of wayes to mortify himselfe, was geuen to much praier and contemplation: For duely euery morning, so soone as his apparell was done vpon him, he went forthwith to his bedde chamber, and there vpon hys knees prayed the space of halfe an houre: which being don,

immediately he went to his studye (if there came no other busines to interrupt him) where he continued till ten of y^e clocke, and then came to common prayer, dayly vsed in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dynner, where he vsed litle talke except otherwise occasion by some hadde bene ministred, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, & sometime mery, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long he vsed to sit an houre or therabouts talking or playing at the chests: That done, he returned to his study, & there would continue, except suiters or busines abroad were occasiō of the cō'trary, vntill 5. of the clocke at night, & then would come to cōmon prayer, as in the forenoone: which being finished he went to supper, behauing himselfe there, as at his dinner before: After supper, recreating himselfe in playing at chestes the space of an houre,* he would then returne againe to his studye: continuing there till 11. of the clocke at night, which was his cōmon houre to go to bed, then saying hys prayers vpō his knees as in y^e morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulhā, as diuers times he vsed to be,* he read daily a lecture to his family at the commō prayer, beginning at the acts of the apostles, & so going throughout all the Epistles of S. Paule, geuing to euey man that could read a new Testament, hyring thē besides with mony to learne by hart certayne principall Chapters, but especially the xiiij. chapter of the Actes, reading also vnto his housholde oftentimes the 101. Psalme, being maruellous carefull ouer his family, that they might be a spectacle of all vertue & honesty to other. To be short, as he was godly & vertuous himselfe, so nothing but vertue and godlines reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our sauour Iesus Christ.

Now remayneth a worde or two to be declared of hys gentle nature and kindly pittie in the vsage of an olde woman called Maystres Boner, mother to Doctour Boner, sometime Bishop of London: whiche I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Doctour Ridley, as the vnworthy immanity and ingratefull disposition again of Doctor Boner. Bishop Ridley being at his Manor of Fulham, alwayes sent for the sayd maistres Boner,* dwelling in an house adioyning to his house, to dyner and supper, with one Maistresse Mungey Boners sister, saying: go for my mother Boner, who cōming, was euer placed in the chayre at y^e tables end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, & taken, as though he had bene borne of her owne body, being neuer displaced of her seat, although the kings Counsell had bene present, saying, when any of them were there (as diuers times they were) by your Lordships sauor, this place of right and custome is for my mother Boner. But howe well he was recompenced for this his singular gentlenes, and pitifull pity after at the handes o• the sayd Doctor Boner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward,* was more enemy to Ridley, then Boner and his? Who more went aboute to seek his destruction, then he? recompensing his gentlenes with extreme cruelty. As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridleyes owne naturall sister, and George Shypside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentlenes [Page 1718](#) of the other did suffer Boners mother, sister, and other his kinred, not onely quietly to enioy all y^t which they had o• Boner, but also entertained them in his house, shewyng much curtesy and frendship dayly vnto them: whereas on the other side,* Bishop Boner being restored agayn, would not suffer the brother & naturall sister of Bishop Ridley, & other his frendes, not onely not to enioye that which they had by the sayd theyr brother Bishop Ridley, but also carrishly without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrasted from them all the liuinges they had.

And yet being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the meanes he could, to worke the death of the foresayd Shipside, saying, that he would make twelue godfathers to goe vpō him, which had bene brought to passe in deed at what tyme he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwyse wrought his deliuerance by meanes of D. Heath Byshop then of Worcester. Teste Georg. Shipsido.

Wherby all good indifferent Readers notoriously haue to vnderstand, what great diuersity was in the disposition of these two natures. Wherof as the one excelled in mercy and pity: so the other agayne as muche or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despitefull disdayne. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning Gods vocation, how Doctor Ridly was first called to the sauouring and fauouring of Christe and his Gospell, partlye by his disputation before, & other his Treatises it may appeare, that the first occasion of hys conuersion, was by reading of Bertrams book of the Sacrament,* whom also the conferēce with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr did not a litle confirme in that behalfe. Who now by the grace of GOD, being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zelous in his old ignoraunce: so was he as constant & faythfull in the right knowledge whiche the Lorde had opened vnto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doynges duringe all the time of Kyng Edward) and so long dyd muche good, while authoritye of externe power might defend and hold vp the peace of the church, and proceedinges of the Gospell. But after that it pleased so the heauēly will of our Lord our God to bereue vs of y^e stay,* and to call from vs Kyng Edward that precious Prince, as the whole state of the Church of Englande was leafte desolate and open to the enemies hande: so this Byshop Ridley, after the comming in of Queene Mary, eftsoone and with the first was layd handes vpō and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently bene expressed: first in the Tower, then after translated from thence with the Archebishop of Canterbury,* and mayster Latimer, to Oxforde, was with them inclosed in the common Gayle and prison of Bocardo, while at lēgth being disseuered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, wher he remayned till the last day of his death and martyrdome, which was from the yeare of our Lord. 1554. till the yeare 1555. and 16. day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations & cōflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his trauels in perswading and instructing the Lady Mary before she was Queene, his reasons & conference likewise had in the tower at the Lieutenants boord, enough hath bene sayd already. Besides this, other conferences hee had in prison both with D. Cranmer, and M. Latimer as here foloweth to be read.

***A conference had betwixt Mayster Ridley, and Mayster Latimer in prison, vpon the obiection of Antonian, meaning by that name some popish persecutour, as Winchester, alluding thereby to the story of Victor. lib. 3. de persecut. Aphri.**

IN writing agayne yee haue done me an vnspeakeable pleasure,* and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I haue receiued great comfort at your wordes: but yet I am not so filled withall, but that I thyrste much more nowe then before to drinke more of that cuppe of yours, wherein ye mingle vnto me profitable wyth pleasaunt. I pray you good father let me haue one draught more to comfort my stomacke. For surely except the Lord assist me with his

gracious ayde, in the time of his seruice, I know I shall play but y^e part of a white liuered knight. But truely my trust is in him, that in mine infirmitye hee should try himselfe strong, and that he can make the Coward in his cause to fight like a man.

Syr, now I looke dayly when Diotrephes wyth hys warriours shall assault me: wherefore I pray you good father, for that you are an olde Souldiour, and an experte warriour, and God knoweth I am but a young Souldiour, and as yet of small experience in these fittes, helpe me I pray you to buckle my harnesse. And now I would haue you to thinke, that these dartes are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes or Antonius souldiers.

The obiection of the Antonian.

All men maruell greatlye, why you,* after the libertye which you haue graunted vnto you, more then the rest, do not go to masse, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea of the Queene herselfe.

The aunswere.

Because no man that layeth hande on the plough and looketh backe is fitte for the kingdome of God,* and also for the selfe same cause why Saynt Paule woulde not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospell might remayne with vs vncorrupt. Gala. the second: and agayne. If I builde agayne the thinges which I destroyed, I make my selfe a trespasser. This is also another cause, least I should seeme by outward facte to allowe the thing, which I am perswaded is contrary to sounde doctrine, and so should be a stumbling stocke vnto the weake. But woe be vnto him by whom offence commeth: it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the midst of the sea.*

Except the Lord helpe me ye say. Truth it is. For with out me (sayth he) ye can do nothing much lesse suffer death of our aduersaries,* through the bloudy lawe now prepared agaynst vs. But it foloweth, if ye abide in me, and my woordes abide in you, aske what yee will, and it shall bee done for you. What canne be more comfortable? Syr, you make aunswere your selfe so well that I cannot beter it. Syr, I beginne now to smell what you meane by traueilling thus with me, you vse me as Bilney dyd once when he conuerted me? pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought wayes and meanes to teach me, and so do you. I thanke you therefore most hartely. For in deed you minister armour vnto me, whereas I was vnarmed before and vnprovided, sauing that I geue my selfe to prayer for my refuge.

What is it then that offendeth you so greatlye in the Masse, that ye will not vouchsafe once eyther to heare it,* or see it? And from whence commeth this new religion vp on you? haue not you vsed in times past to say masse your selfe?

I confesse vnto you my fault and ignorance: but know you that for these matters I haue done penance long agoe, both at Paules crosse,* and also openly in the Pulpit at Cambridge, and I truste God hath forgeuen mee thys mine offence: for I didde it vpon ignoraunce. But if ye be desirous to knowe, and will vouchsafe to heare, what thinges doe offende me in the Masse, I will rehearse vnto you those thinges whiche be moste cleare, and seeme to repugne most manifestly

agaynst Gods worde. And they be these. The straunge tongue: the want of the shewynge of the Lordes death: * The breaking of the Lordes commaundement of hauing a communion: the sacrament is not cōmunicated to all, vnder both kindes, according to the word of the Lord. The signe is seruilely worshipped, for y^e thing signified. Christes Passion is iniured, for asmuch as this Masse sacrifice is affirmed to remayne for the purging of sinnes: to be shorte, the manifolde superstitions, and triflyng fondnesse whiche are in the Masse, and aboute the same.

Better a few thinges well pondered, then to trouble y^e memory with to much, * you shall preuayle more with praying, thē with studying, though mixture be best. For so one shall alleuiate the tediousnes of the other. I entend not to contend much with them in wordes, after a reasonable account of my fayth geuen: for it shall be but in vayne. They will say, as theyr fathers sayd, * when they haue no more to say. We haue a law, and by our law he ought to dye. Be ye steadfast and vnmoueable sayeth Saynt Paule, * and agayne, persistito, stand fast. And how oft is this repeated, if ye abide, if ye abide. &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? So that a man hath need of much pacience, hauing to do with such men.

But you knowe howe greate a crime it is to separate your selfe from the communion or felowship of the Church, and to make a schisme, or diuision, * you haue bene reported to haue hated the secte of the Anabaptistes, and alwayes to haue impugned the same. Moreouer this was the pernicious error of Nouatus, and of the Heretickes called (Cathari) that they woulde not communicate wyth the Church.

I know that the vnity of the Church is to be reteyned by all meanes, & the same to be necessary to saluation. * But I doe not take the Masse as it is at this day, for the communion of the Church, but a Popishe deuise, whereby both the commaundement and institution of our Sauour Christ, for the ofte frequenting of the remembraunce [Page 1719](#) of his death, is eluded, & the people of God are miserablye deluded. The sect of the Anabaptistes, and the heresy of the Nouatians, ought of right to be condemned, for as muche as without any iust or necessary cause they wickedly separated themselues from the communion of the congregation: for they did not alleadge that the Sacramentes were vnduely ministred, but turning away theyr eyes from thēselues, wherewith according to Saynt Pauls rule they ought to examine themselues and ca•ing theyr eyes euer vpon others, * either Ministers, or Communicantes with them, they alwayes reprooued something for the whiche they abstained from the Communion, as from an vnholly thing.

I remember that Caluin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort with this saying of Hilary. * The name of peace is beautifull and the opinion of vnitye is fayre: but who doubteth that to be the true and onely peace of the Church, which is Christes? I would you had that litle booke: there should you see how much is to be geuen to vnity. Saynt Paule when he requireth vnitye, he ioyneth straight with al, * secundum Iesum Christum, according to Iesus Christ, no further. Diotrophes nowe of late did euer harpe vpon vnity, vnity. Yea Syr (quoth I) but in verity, not in popery. Better is a diuersity, then an vnitye in Popery. I had nothing agayne but scornefull giers, with commaundement to the Tower.

But admitte there be in the Masse that peraduenture might be amended, * or at least made better: yea, seing you will haue it so, admit there be a fault: if you do not consent therto. Why do you

trouble your selfe in vayne: do not you know both by Cyprian and Augustine that communiō of sacramentes doth not defile a man,* but consent of deedes.

If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of it selfe indifferent (although I woulde wishe nothing should be done in the Church,* which doth not edify the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietnesse I coulde be content to beare it. But forasmuche as thinges done in the masse tend openly to the ouerthrow of Christes institution, I iudge that by no meanes either in word, or deed I ought to consent vnto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be wel spoken, if it be well vnderstanded. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled, if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them, & is not ment of them which doe abhorre superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust vpon themselues, or vpon the Church in stead of Gods word, and the truth of the Gospell.

*The very marowe bones of the masse are all together detestable, and therefore by no meanes to be borne withal, so that of necessity the mending of it, is to abolish it for euer. For if you take away oblation, and oration, which doe hang vpon consecration and transubstantiation, the moste papistes of them all will not set a button by the masse, as a thing which they esteeme not, but for the gayne that foloweth thereon. For if the English communion, whiche o• late was vsed, were as gaynefull to them, as the Masse hath bene heretofore, they would striue no more for their masse: from thence groweth the grieve.

Consider into what daūgers you cast your selfe, if you forsake the church:* & you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to masse. For the Masse is the Sacrament of vnity: without the Arke there is no saluation. The church is the Arke and Peters ship.* Ye know this saying wel enough. He shall not haue God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreouer without the church (sayth S. Augustine) be the life neuer so wel spent, it shall not inherit the kingdome of heauen.

The holy Catholicke or vniuersall church, which is y^e communion of saintes, the house of God, the City of God the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar, and stay of the trueth, this Church I beleue accordinge to the Creede. This Church I doe reuerence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this Church is the word of God, according to which rule, we goe forward vnto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with S. Paul peace be vpon them, and vpon Israell which perteyneth vnto God. The guid of this church is the holy ghost. The markes, whereby this church is knowne vnto me in this dar•ke worlde, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generatiō, are these. The sincere preaching of Gods holy worde, the due administration of the Sacramentes, charitye, and faythfull obseruing of Ecclesiasticall discipline, according to the word of God. And that the Church or congregation whiche is garnished with these markes,* is in very deede that heauenly Hierusalem, whiche consisteth of those that be borne from aboue. This is the Mother of vs all. And by Gods grace, I will liue, and dye the childe of this Church. Forth of this (I graunt) there is no saluation: and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be vnderstanded of this Church onely.* In times past (sayth Chrysostome) there were many wayes to know the Church of Christ, that is to say, by good lyfe, by myracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministring the sacramentes. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the Church, it is onely knowne by the Scriptures whiche is the true

church. They haue all thinges in outwarde shew, which the true Church hath in truth. They haue tēples like vnto ours.

And in the end concluded. Wherefore onely by y^e scriptures do we know which is the true church. To that whiche they say, the Masse is the Sacrament of vnity. I aunswere. The bread which we breake,* according to the institution of the Lord, is the Sacrament of the vnity of Christes mistical body. For we being many, are one bread, and one body, forasmuch as we al are partakers of one bread. But in the Masse, the Lordes institution is not obserued: for we be not all partakers of one breade, but one deuoureth all. &c. So that (as it is vsed) it may seeme a Sacrament of singularitye, and of a certayne speciall priuiledge for one sect of people, wherby they may be discerned from the rest rather then a sacrament of vnity, wherin our knitting together in one is represented.

Yea, what felowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therfore is it not lawefull to beare the yoake with Papistes. Come forth from among them, & separate your selues frō them, sayth the Lorde. It is ane thing to be the Church in deed, another thing to counterfayt the church.* Would god it were well knowne, what is the forsaking of the church. In the kinges dayes that dead is, who was the church of Englande? The king and his fautors, or Massemongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his procedings, why be not we now the church abiding in the same procedinges? If clanculary Massemongers mighte bee of the Church, and yet contrary to the kinges proceedings, why may not we as well be of y^e church contrarying y^e queenes procedinges? Not all that be couered with the title of the church: are the church in deed. Separate thy selfe from thē that are such sayth S. Paule: from whom?* The text hath before. If any man folow other doctrine. &c. he is pint vp, and knoweth nothing. &c. Weigh the whole text, that yee may perceiue what is the fruit of contēcious disputatiōs. But wherfore are such men sayd to know nothing, when they know so many thinges? You know the olde verses.

Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire.

Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si caetera nescis.

That is: This is to be ignorant, to know many thinges without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well yⁿ know est enough, though thou know no more. Therefore would S^r Paule knowe nothing, but Iesus Christ crucified. &c.* As many as are Papistes and Massemongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ, forasmuch as in theyr massing they take much away from the benefite and merite of Christ.

That Christ which you haue described vnto me,* is inuisible, but Christes Churche is visible and knowne. For els why would Christ haue sayd, Dic Ecclesiae. Tell it vnto the church. For he had commaunded in vaine to go vnto the church if a man cannot tell which it is.

The Church which I haue described is visible it hath members which may be sene: and also,* I haue afore declared, by what markes & tokens it may be knowne. But if either our eies are so dazeled, that we cannot see, or that sa'than hath brought such darckenes into the world that it is hard to discern the true church: that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindenesse, or of Sathans darknes. But yet in this most deep darkenes, there is one most cleare candle, which

of it selfe alone is able to put away all darkenes. Thy word is a candle vnto my feet, and a lyght vnto my steppes.

The church of Christ is a catholick or vniuersall church, dispersed throughout the whole world: ^{*} this church is the great house of God, in this are good men & euill mingled together, goates and sheepe, corne and chaffe: it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes: this church cannot erre, because Christ hath promised it his spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hel shal not preuayle agaynst it, that he will be with it vnto the end of the world: whatsoever it shall loose, or binde vpon earth, shall be ratified in heauen. &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth: this is it for the which S. Augustine sayth, he beleeueth the Gospell. But this vniuersall Church aloweth the masse, because the more part of the same aloweth it. Therefore. &c.

I graunt that the name of the Church is taken after three diuers maners in the scriptures. ^{*} Some tyme for the [Page 1720](#) whole multitude of them which professe the name of christ, o^r the which they are also named christians. But as saint Paule sayth of the Iewe, not euerye one is a Iewe that is a Iewe outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of Israell, are counted the seede, euen so not euerye one which is a christian outwardly, is a Christian in deede. For if any man haue not the spirite of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that Church whiche is his body, and of whiche Christ is the head, standeth onely of lyuing stones, and true Christians, not onely outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in hart and in truth. But forasmuch as this church (which is the second taking of the church) as touchyng the outward fellowship, is contayned within y^e great house, & hath with the same, outward societie of the sacramentes, and ministry of the worde, manye thinges are spoken of that vniuersall Church (whiche saynt Austen calleth the mingled Church) whiche cānot truely be vnderstanded, but onely of that pure part of the Church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled Church, may here well take place: where there is attributed vnto the whole Church that whiche cannot agree vnto the same, but by reason of the one parte thereof that is eyther for the multitude of good men, which is the very true Church in deede, or for the multitude of euill men, whiche is the malignant Church and sinagogue of Sathan. ^{*} And is also the third taking of the Church of the whiche, although there be seldomer mention in the scriptu^{es}, in that signification, yet in the worlde, euen in the most famous assemblies of Christendome, this Church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the 3. sortes of Churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called Sinecdoche, to geue to the mingled and vniuersall Church, that which cannot truely be vnderstanded but onely of thone part therof. But if any man will stiffely affirme, that vniuersally doth so pertayne vnto the church that what soeuer Christ hath promised to the Church, it must needes bee vnderstanded of that, I would gladly knowe of the same man, ^{*} where that vniuersall Church was in the tym^s of the Patriarches and Prophetes, of 〈◇〉, Abraham, and Moses (at suche tyme as the people would haue sto^{ed} hym) of Helias, of Hieremy, in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the Apostles, in the time of Arius, when Constantius was Emperour, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthye to be noted, that Lira writeth vpon Mathew. The church (sayth he) doth not stand in men by reason of theyr power or dignitie, ^{*} whether it be Ecclesiastical, or secular. For many princes and Popes, and other inferiours haue bene o^ūd to haue fallen away frō God. Therefore y^e church con'sisteth in those persons, in whome is true knowledge and confession of the fayth, and of the truth. Euill men (as it is in a glose of the decrees) are in the Church in name, and not in deede. And S. Augustine, contra

Cresconium grammaticum sayth: Who soeuer is afrayd to be deceiued by the darkenes of thys question: * let hym aske counsell at y^e same church of it: which Church the scripture doth poynt out without anye doubtfulnes. All my notes whiche I haue written and gathered out of suche authors, as I haue red in this matter, and such like, are come into the handes of suche, as will not let me haue the least of all my wrytten bookes: wherein I am enforced to complayne of them vnto God: for they spoyle me of all my laboures, whiche I haue taken in my study these many yeares. My memorye was neuer good, for helpe whereof I haue vsed for y^e most part to g•ther out notes of my readyng, and so to place them, that thereby I might haue hadde the vse of them, when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be Gods will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoyled of the poore learning I had (as me thought) in store, to thintent that I now destitute of that, * shoulde from henceforth learne onely to knowe with Paule, Christ, and hym crucified. The Lord graunt me herein to be a good young scholer, and to learn this lesson so well, that neyther death nor lyfe, wealth nor woe, &c. make me euer to forget that. Amen. Amen.

I haue no more to say in this matter: for you your selfe haue sayd all that is to be sayd. That same vehement saying of S. Augustine, * I would not beleue the Gospell. &c. was wont to trouble many men: as I remember I haue read it well qualified of Philippe Melancthon: but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effecte: The church is not a iudge, but a witnes. There were in hys tyme that lightly esteemed the testimony of the Church, * & the outward ministry of preachyng, and reiected the outward word it selfe, sticking onely to their inward reuelations. Suche rashe contempte of the worde prouoked, and drone S. Augustine into that excessiue vehemency. In the which, after the bare sound of the wordes, he might seeme to such as do not attayne vnto hys meaning, that hee preferred the Church farre before the Gospell, and that the Church hath a free authoritie ouer the same: but that godly man neuer thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth agaynst the Anabaptistes, whiche thinketh the open ministerye to be a thinge not necessary if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not sticke to affirme that the more part of the great house, that is to say of the whole vniuersall Church may easely e•re. And agayne, I would not sticke to affirme that it is one thyng to be gathered together in the name of Christe, and an other thing to come together with a Masse of the holy ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth, in the latter the Deuill beareth the swinge: and how then can anye thyng be good that they goe about? From this latter shall our sixe articles come foorth agayne into the light, they themselues being very darckenes. But it is demaunded, whether the sounder or better part of the Catholicke Church may be seene of men or no? Sainct Paule sayth: * The Lord knoweth them that are hys. What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, * if we know as well as he, who are hys? Well, thus is the text: the sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath his seale: the Lord knoweth thē that are his: and let euerye man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquitie. Nowe howe many are there of the whole Catholicke Church of Englande whiche departe from iniquitie? Howe many of the noble men, how many of the Byshops or Clergy, how many of the rich men, or marchauntes, how many of the Queenes counsellours, yea, howe many of the whole Realme? In how small rome then I pray you is the true church within the Realme of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceite of mine owne well grounded (as they say) when I began: but now it is fallen by the way.

Generall counsels, represent the vniuersall Church, & haue this promise of Christ, where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of thē. * If Christ be present

with two, or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general counsels Masse hath bene approued and vsed. Therefore &c.

Of the vniuersall Church which is mingled of good and bad, thus I thinke: * Whensoever they whiche be chiefe in it, which rule and gouerne the same, and to whome the rest of the whole mysticall body of Christ doth obey, are the liuely members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of hys word, and go before the flocke towardes euerlasting life, then vndoubtedly Councils gathered together of such guides and pastours of the christian flock, doe in deede represent the vniuersall Church, and being so gathered in the name of Christe, they haue a promise of the gifte, and guiding of hys spirite into all truth. But that any such counsell hath at any time allowed the Masse, suche a one as ours was of late, in a straunge tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities errors, and superstitions, that I vtterly deny, and affirme it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darcknes, * betweene Christ and Belial, so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, wil worship, and the pure worshipping of God, suche as God requireth of his, that is in spirite and truth, can neuer agree together. * But ye wil say where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I aunswere: if there be one hundred good, and two hundreth bad (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinaunces are pronouced according to the greater number of y^e multitude of voyces) what can the lesse number of voyces auayle? It is a knownen thing, and a common prouerbe▪ Oftentimes the greater part ouercommeth the better. *

As touchyng general counsels, at this present I haue no more to say, then you haue sayd. Onely I referre you to your owne experience, * to thinke of our country parlamentes and conuocations, howe and what ye haue seene and heard. The more part in my tyme did bryng forth sixe articles: for then the king would so haue it, being seduced of certayne. Afterward the more part did repell the same, * our good Iosias willing to haue it so. The same articles now agayne (alas) another great, but woorse parte hath restored. O what an vncertaynty is thys? But after thys sorte most commonly are mans proceedings God be mercifull vnto vs. Who shall deliuer vs from such tormentes of minde? Therefore is death the best phisition, but vnto the faythfull whome she together, and at once, * deliuereth from all griefes. You must thinke this written vpon this occasion, because you woulde needes haue youre paper blotted.

If the matter should goe thus, that in general counsailes [Page 1721](#) men shoulde not stand to the more number of the multitude, (I meane of them whiche ought to geue voyces) then should no certaine rule be left vnto the Church, by the which controuersies in weighty matters might be determined: * but it is not to be beleued, that Christ woulde leaue his Church destitute of so necessary a helpe and safegarde.

Christ who is the most louing spouse of his espouse the church, who also gaue himselfe for it, that he might sanctify it vnto himselfe, * did geue vnto it abundantly all things which are necessary to saluation, but yet so, that the church should declare it selfe obedient vnto hym in all things and keepe it selfe within the boundes of hys commaundemēts and further, not to seeke any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary vnto saluation. Now further, for determination of all controuersies in Christes Religion, Christ him selfe hath left vnto the Church not onely Moses, and the Prophetes: * whom he willeth his Church in al doubtles to go vnto, and aske counsell at, but also the Gospelles, and the rest of the bodye of the newe testament: in the whiche what

soeuer is heard of Moses and the Prophetes, and whatsoeuer is necessary to be knowne vnto saluation, is reuealed and opened.

So that now we haue no neede to say, who shal clyme into heauen,* or who shall goe downe into the depth, to tel vs what is needefull to bee done? Christe hath done both and hath commended vnto vs the word of fayth, whiche also is abundantly declared vnto vs in his word written so that hereafter if we walke earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but thorough the certayne benefite of Christes spirite,* whiche hee hath promised vnto his, wee may finde it, and obtayne euerlasting life. Should men aske counsell of the dead for the liuing, sayth Esay? Let them go rather to the law, and to the testimony.* &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, vnto the scriptures, saying: searche the scriptures. I remember a like thing well spoken of Hierome:* Ignorance of the scriptures, is the mother and cause of all errors. And in an other place, as I remember in the same author: The knowledge of the scriptures is the foode of euerlasting life.* But nowe me thinketh I enter into a very broad sea in that I begin to shew, either out of the scriptures themselues, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teache the truth of our religiō. But this is it, that I am now about, that Christ would haue the church his spouse in al doubts to aske counsell at the word of his father written, & faythfully left, and commended vnto it in both Testaments, the olde and the new. Neither doe we read that Christ in anye place hath layde so great a burthen vpon the members of his spouse, that he hath commaunded them to go to the vniuersall Church.* What soeuer things are written saith Paule, are written for our learning. And it is true that Christ gaue vnto his Church, some Apostles, some Prophetes, some Euangelistes, some shepherdes and teachers, to the edifying of the sayntes, till we come all to the vnity of fayth. &c. But that all men should meete together out of all partes of the world, to define of the articles of our fayth, I neither finde it commaunded of Christe nor written in the word of God.

There is diuersitie betwixt things pertayning to god or fayth, and politicke and ciuill matters. For in the first we must stand onely to the scriptures, whiche are able to make vs all perfect and instructed vnto saluation, if they be well vnderstāded. And they offer themselues to be well vnderstanded onely to them, which haue good willes, and geue themselues to study and prayer. Neither are there any men lesse apte to vnderstand them, then the prudent & wise men of the world. But in the other, that is in ciuill or politicke matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a lesse euil, for auoyding of a greater: as they whiche haue this saying oft in their mouthes: Better an inconuenience then a mischiefe. And it is the property of a wise man (saith one) to dissemble many thinges: and he that cannot dissēble, cannot rule. In whiche sayinges they bewray themselues, that they do not earnestly weigh what is iust, what is not. Wherefore forasmuch as mans lawes, if it be but in this respect onely, that they be deuised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfectiō, but are inforced of necessitie to suffer many thinges out of square, and are compelled sometime to wincke at the worst things, seeing they know not how to mayntayne the common peace and quiet otherwise,* they do ordayne that the more part shal take place. You know what these kindes of speaches meane, I speake after the maner of men: yea walke after the maner of men: al men are lyers. And y^t of S. Augustine: if ye lyue after mans reason, yee do not lyue after the wyll of God.

If ye say y^e counsels haue sometime erred, or may erre, how then should we beleue, the catholicke Church? * For y^e counsels are gathered by the authoritie of the Catholicke Church.

From may be, to be in deed, is no good argument: * but from being to may be, no man doubteth, but it is a moste sure argument. But now that counsels haue sometime erred, it is manifest. How many counsels were there in the East partes of the world, whiche condemned the Nicene councell? and all those which would not forsake the same, * they called by a sclaunderous name (as they thought) Homonsians. Was not Athanasius, Chrysostome, Cyril Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly lyfe, banished and condemned as famous heretickes, and that by wicked counsels? * How many thinges are there in the Canons and constitutions of the counsels, which the papists themselues do much mislike? But here peraduenture one man wil say vnto me: We wil graunt you this in prouinciall counsels, or councelles of some one nation, that they may sometimes erre, * for asmuch as they do not represent the vniuersall church: but it is not to be beleued, that the generall and full councelles haue erred at any tyme. Here if I had my bookes of the counsels, or rather suche notes as I haue gathered out of those bookes, * I coulde brynge something which shoulde serue for this purpose. But now seeing I haue them not, I will recite one place onely out of saint Austen, which (in my iudgement) may suffice in this matter in stead of many. * Who knoweth not (sayth he) that y^e holy scripture is so set before vs, that it is not lawfull to doubt of it, and that the letters of Byshops may be reprov'd by other mens wordes, and by councelles, and that the counsels themselues whiche are gathered by prouinces and countries, do geue place to the authoritie of the generall and full counsels: and that the former and generall counsels are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of thinges, eyther that which was shut vpp, is opened, or that which was hid is knowne. Thus much of Augustine. But I wil plead w^t our Antonian, vpon matter confessed. Here with vs when as Papistry raygned, I pray you how doth that booke whiche was called the Byshops booke, made in the tyme of king Henrye theight, * wherof the byshop of Winchester is thought to bee eyther the first father, or chiefe gatherer: Howe doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine counsell, in whiche was decreed the supremacy of the Byshop of Rome, and that with the consent of the Emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those dayes, our learned auncient fathers, and byshops of Englande, did not sticke to affirme, that a generall councell might erre. But me think I heare an other man despising all that I haue broughte forth, and saying: these which you haue called counsels, are not worthy to be called counsels, but rather assemblies, & conuenticles of heretickes. I praye you sir, why doe you iudge them worthye of so slaunderous a name? Because (sayth he) they decreed thinges hereticall, contrary to true godlines, and sounde doctrine, and agaynst the faythe of christian religion. The cause is waightye, for the whiche they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so that all counsels ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godlines, forasmuch as the Masse, * such as we had here of late, is openly agaynst the word of God: forsoothe it must follow of necessitie, that all such counsel•, as haue approoued such masses, ought of right to be
 <◇> •nd despised, as conuenticles, and assemblies of men <◇> stray from the truth.

An other man alleadgeth vnto me the autho•ity of the Bishop of Rome, without which, * neither ••nne the Counsells (sayth he) be lawfully gathered ney•her being gathered determyne anye thinge concerning Religion. But this obiection is only grounded vpon the ambytious and shameles maintenance of the Romish tirranny, and vsurped dominion ouer the Clergy, which tyranny we Englishe men long agoe, by the consent of the whole Realme, * haue expulsed, and abiured. And how rightely we haue done it, a little booke set forth de vtraque potestate (that is of both the powers) doth clearely shew. I graunt that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to it self & to vsurpe such a priuiledge of old time. But the counsell of Carthage, in the

yeare of our Lord 457. did openly withstand it, and also the councell at Milenite,* in the whiche S. Augustine was present, did prohibite any appellations to be made to Byshops beyond the sea.

S. Augustine sayth, the good men are not to be forsaken for the euill,* but the euill are to be borne with all for the good. Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be euill.

I speake nothing of the goodnes or euilnes of youre [Page 1722](#) congregations:* but I fight in Christes quarrel against the Masse, which doth vtterly take away and ouerthrowe the ordinaunce of Christ. Let that be taken quite awaye, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife, shall be broken down.* Now to the place of S. Austen: for bearing with the euill for the goodes sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places, y^t is: if those euill men do cast abroad no seedes of false doctrine, nor lead other to destruction by their example.

It is perillous to attempt any new thing in y^e Church which lacketh example of good men. How much more perillous is it to commit any act, vnto the whiche, the example of the prophetes, of Christ, and of thapostles are contrary.* But vnto this your facte, in abstayning from the Church by reason of the masse, the example of the Prophetes, of Christ, and of thapostles are cleane contrarye. Therefore. &c. The first part of the argument is euident, and the second part I proue thus. In the times of the pro|phetes, of Christ, and his Apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people was miserably geuen to superstition, the priestes despised the law of God: and yet notwithstāding, we neither read that y^e prophets made any schismes or diuisions, and Christ himselfe haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Iewes. Peter and Iohn went vp into the temple at the 9. houre of praiere: Paule after the readyng of the lawe, being desired to say something to the people,* did not refuse to doe it. Yea further no man can shewe, that eyther the prophetes, or Christ, and his Apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to bee partakers of the Sacramentes of Moses law.

I graunt the former part of your argument, and to the second part I saye,* that although it contayne manye true thinges, as of the corrupt state in the times of the Prophetes, of Christ, and the Apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his Apostles, yet notwithstanding the second part of your argument is not sufficientlye prooued: For ye ought to haue proued, that eyther the prophetes, eyther Christ or hys Apostles did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping which is forbidden by the lawe of God, or repugnaunt to word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the Church I am not angry with it, and I neuer refused to goe to it, and to praye with the people, to heare the word of God, and to do all other things what soeuer may agree with the word of God. S. Augustine speaking of the ceremonies of the Iewes (I suppose in the Epistle ad Ianuarium) although hee graunt they greeuously oppressed that people,* both for the number, and bondage of the same yet he calleth them burdēs of the law, which were deliuered vnto thē in y^e word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding if they were not contrary to gods word, might alter a sorte be borne withall. But now, seeing they are contrarye to those thinges whiche are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let hym iudge whiche is spirituall, which feareth God more thē man, and loueth euerlastinge life, more then this short and transitory lyfe. To that whiche was sayd that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that haue gone before,* the contrary is most euident in the historye of Toby. Of whome it is sayd, that when all

other went to the golden calves, whiche Hieroboam the king of Israel had made, he himselfe alone fled al their companions,* and gotte hym to Ierusalem, vnto the temple of the Lorde, and there worshipped the Lorde God of Israel. Did not the man of God threatē greuous plagues both vnto the Priestes of Bethell and to the aulter which Hieroboam had there made after his own fantasie? Which plagues king Iosias the true Minister of God did execute at the time appoynted.* And where doe wee reade that the Prophetes, or the Apostles did agree with the people in their Idolatry? whē as the people went a whoring with their hill aulters, for what cause I praye you did the Prophetes rebuke the people so muche, as for theyr false worshipping of God after theyr owne mindes, and not after Gods word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophetes ceased not to maligne the true prophetes of God:* therefore they bet them, they banished thē &c. How els I pray you can you vnderstand that Sainct Paule alledgeth,* when he sayth? What concord hath christ with Beliall? Either what part hath the beleuer with the Infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the liuing God as God himselfe hath sayde:* I will dwell among them, and will be theyr God, and they shalbe my people. Wherefore, come out from among them,* and separte your selues from them (saythe the Lorde) and touch none vncleane thinge: so will I receaue you, and wil be a father vnto you, and ye shal be my sonnes and daughters sayth the Lord almighty.

Iudith that holy woman would not suffer herselfe to be defiled with the meates of the wicked.* All the Sayntes of God which truely feared God, when they haue bene prouoked to do any which they knewe to be contrarye to Gods lawes, haue chosen to dye, rather then to forsake the lawes of their God.* Wherefore the Machabees put themselues in daunger of death for the defense of the lawe, yea and at length died manfully in the defense of the same. If we do prayse (sayth S. Augustine) the Machabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand euen vnto death, for the lawes of theyr countrey▪ howe muche more ought wee to suffer all thinges for our Baptisme, for the sacramēt of the body and bloud of Christ. &c. But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I meane) as Christ commaundeth vs to celebrate, the Masse vtterly abolysbeth, and corrupteth most shamefully.

Who am I that I shuld adde any thing to this which you haue so well spoken? Nay, I rather thanke you,* that you haue vouchsafed to minister so plentifull armour to me, being otherwise altogether vnarmed, sauing that hee cannot be left destitute of helpe, whiche rightly trusteth in the helpe of God. I onely learne to dye in reading of the new testament, and am euer nowe and then praying vnto my God,* that hee will bee an helper vnto me in tyme of neede.

Seeing you are so obstinately set agaynst the Masse,* that you affirme, because it is done in a tongue not vnderstanded of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what: therefore it is not the true sacrament ordayned of Christ: I beginne to suspecte you, that you thinke not catholickely of Baptisme also. Is our Baptisme whiche we do vse in a tongue vnknowne to the people, the true baptisme of Christ or no? If it be, then doth not the straunge tongue hurt the Masse. If it be not the baptisme of Christ, tell me, howe were you baptised? Or whether will yee (as the Anabaptistes do) that al which were baptised in latin, should be baptised agayne in the English tongue?

Although I would wish baptisme to be geuen in the vulgar tongue for the peoples sake which are present, that they may the better vnderstand their owne profession,* and also be more able to

teache theyr children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of y^e vulgar tongue in baptisme, and in the Lordes supper. Baptisme is geuē to children, who by reason of their age are not able to vnderstand what is spoken vnto them, what tongue soeuer it be. The Lordes supper is, and ought to be geuen to thē that are waxen. Moreouer, in baptisme which is accustomed to be geuen to children in the latine tongue, all the substanciall poyntes (as a man would say) whiche Chryst commaunded to be done, are obserued. And therefore I iudge that baptisme to be a perfect and true baptisme: and that it is not onely not needefull, but also not lawfull for anye man so christened, to be Christened agayne. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the Catechisme of the christian fayth, when they shall come to yeares of discretion: Which Cathechisme whosoever despiseth, or wyll not desirously embrace and willingly learne, in my iudgement he playeth not the parte of a christian man. But in the popish mass• are wanting certayne substancialles, that is to say, things commaunded by the worde of God to be obserued in ministration of the Lordes supper: of y^t which there is sufficient declaration made before.

Where you say (I would wish) surely I would wishe, that you had spoken more vehemently and to haue sayd it is of necessitie,* that all thinges in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that y^e childe it selfe is sufficiently baptised in the latin tongue.

For asmuche as I perceaue you are so stiffely, I wyll not say obstinately bente, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no holesome counsailes,* no other kinde of meanes can call you home to a better mynde there remayneth that which in like cases was wonte to be the onely remedy against stiffe necked, and stubborne persons, that is, you must be hampered by the lawes, & compelled eyther to obey whether ye will or no, or els to suffer that, which a rebell to the lawes ought to suffer. Doe you not knowe that whosoever refuseth to obey the lawes of the realme, he bewrayeth himselfe to be an enemye to hys countrey? Do you not know that this is the redyest waye to stirre vp sedition, and ciuill warre? It is better y^t you should beare your owne sinne, then that through the example of your breache of the common lawes the common quyet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the Queenes true subiect, when as you do openly professe that you will not keepe her lawes?

O heauenly father, the father of all wisdom, vnderstanding, [Page 1723](#) and true strength,* I beseeche thee for thy onely sonne our sauour Christes sake, looke mercifully vppon me wretched creature, and send thine holy spirite into my brest, that not onely I may vnderstand according to thy wisdom,* howe this pestilent and deadly darte is to bee borne of, and with what aunswere it is to be beaten back but also when I must ioyne to fight in the field for y^e glory of thy name, that then I being strengthned with the defense of the right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy fayth, and of thy truth, and continue in y^e same vnto the end of my lyfe, thorough the same our Lord Iesus Christ. Amen.

Now to the obiection. I graunt it to bee reasonable, that he whiche by wordes and gentlenes cannot be made yeld to that is right, and good, shoulde be bridleed by the straite correction of the lawes: that is to say, he that wyll not be subiecte to Gods word, must bee punished by the lawes. It is true that is commonly sayd: He that wil not obey the Gospell, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law. But these thinges ought to take place agaynst him, whiche refuseth to doe that is right and iust, according to true godlines, not against him, which cannot quietly beare

superstitions, but doth ha•e, and detest from his age such kinde of proceedinges, and that for the glorie of the name of God. To that whiche ye say a trangressour of the common lawes bewrayeth himselfe to be an enemye of his countrey, surely a man ought to looke vnto the nature of the lawes, what maner of lawes they be which are broken. For a faythful Christian ought not to thinke alike of all maner of lawes. But that saying ought onely truely to be vnderstanded of suche lawes as be not contrarye to Gods word. Otherwise whosoever loue their countrey in truth (that is to say in God) they will alwayes iudge (if at any time the lawes of God and man be then contrarye to the other) that a man ought rather to obeye God then man.* And they that thinke otherwise, and pretend a loue to their countrey, forasmuche as they make their countrey to fight as it were agaynst God, in whome consisteth the onely stay of that country, surely I do thinke that such are to be iudged most deadly enemies, and traytours to theyr countrey. For they that fight agaynst God, whiche is the safety of their countrey, what doe they els but go about to bryng vpon theyr countrey a present ruine and destruction. But they that doe so are worthy to be iudged enemyes to their countrey, and betrayours of the Realme. Therefore &c.

But this is the redyest way (ye say) to stir vp sedition to trouble the quiet of the common wealth: therefore are these things to be repressed in tyme, by force of lawes. Beholde Sathan doth not cease to practise hys olde guiles, and accustomed subtilities.* Hee hath euer thys darte in a redines to hurle agaynst hys aduersaries, to accuse them of sedition that he may bryng them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers. For so hath hee by his ministers alwayes charged the Prophetes of God. Achab sayde vnto Elias: art thou he that troubleth Israell? The false Prophetes also complayned to theyr Princes of Hieremy, that hys wordes were seditious and not to be suffered: did not the scribes, and Pharisies falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake agaynst Cesar? Did they not at the last cry,* if thou let this man go, you are not Cesars frend? The Oratour Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paule before Felix the high Deputie? We haue found this man (sayth he) a pestilent fellow, & a stirrer of sedition, vn'to all the Iewes in the whole world. &c. But I praye you were these men as they were called seditious persons? Christ, Paule, and the Prophetes? God forbid. But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I praye you but because they reproued before y^e people their giles, superstition, and deceites. And when the other coulde not beare it, and would gladly haue had them taken out of the way, they accused him as seditious persons, and troublers of the common wealthe, that being by this meanes made hatefull to the people, and Princes, they might the more easely be snatched vpp to be tormented, and put to deathe. But howe farre they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, lyfe and conuersation doth well declare. For that which was obiected last of all, that he cannot be a faythful subiect to hys prince, which professeth openly that he will not obserue the lawes, which the Princes hath made: here I would wish that I might haue an indifferent Iudge, & one that feareth God to whose iudgement in this cause I promise I will stand. I aunswere therefore, a man ought to obey hys Prince, but in the Lord, and neuer agaynst the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince agaynst God, doth not a duety to the Prince, but is a deceauer of the Prince and an helper vnto him to worke his owne destruction. Hee is also vniust whiche geueth not the prince that is the princes, and to GOD that is GODS. Here commeth to my remembraunce, that notable saying of Ualentinianus the Emperoure for choosing the Bishop of Millayne. Set him (saith he) in the Bishoppes seate, to whome if we (as man) do offend at any tyme,* wee may submitte our selues, Policarpus the most constaunt Martyr, when he stode before the chiefe Ruler, and was commaunded to blaspheme Christ, and to sweare by the fortune

of Cesar. &c. he aunswered with milde spirite: wee are taught (sayth he) to geue honour vnto Princes, and those powers which be of God: but such honour as is not contrary to Gods religion.

Hither vnto ye see good father, how I haue in words onely made as it were a florisse before the fight, whiche I shortly looke after, and how I haue begonne to prepare certayne kindes of weapons, to fight agaynst the aduersary of Christ, and to inuse with my selfe, how the da•s of the olde enemy may bee borne of,* and after what sorte I may smite him againe with the sword of the spirit. I learn also hereby to be in vre with armour, and to assaye howe I can go armed. In Tindall where I was borne, not far from the Scottish borders, I haue knowne my countreyemen to watch night and day in theyr harnes, suche as they had, that is in theyr lackes, & theyr speares in their hands (you call them northern gads) specially when they had any priuy warning of the comming of the Scottes. And so doing, although at euery such bickerings some of them spent their liues, yet by such meanes like prettye men they defended their countrey, And those that so dyed, I thynke that before God they dyed in a good quarrell, and theyr ofspring and progeny all the countrey loued them the better for theyr fathers sake. And in the quarrell of Christ our sauour, in the defense of his owne diuine ordinaunces, by the which he geueth vnto vs lyfe and immortalitie, yea, in the quarrell of fayth, and christian religion, wherein resteth our euerlasting saluation, shall wee not watche?* shall wee not go alwayes armed? euer looking when our aduersary (whiche like a roaring Lyon seeketh whome hee may deuour) shall come vpon vs by reason of oure slouthfulnes? yea, and woe be vnto vs,* if he can oppresse vs vnawares whiche vndoubtedly hee will doe, if he finde vs sleepyng. Let vs awake therefore. For if the good man of the house knew what houre the theefe would come, he would surely watch & not suffer his house to be brokē vp. Let vs awake therfore I say: Let vs not suffer our house to be brokē vp.* Resist the deuill, sayth S. Iames, & he will flee frō you. Let vs therefore resist him manfully, and taking the crosse vpon our shoulders, let vs followe our captayne Christ who by hys owne blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way whiche leadeath vnto the father, that is,* to the light which no man can attayne, the fountayn of the euerlasting ioyes. Let vs follow I say, whether hee calleth & allureth vs, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment whereby he tryeth our fayth as gold by the fire, we may euerlastingly raygne and triumph with him in the glory of the father, and that through the same our Lord and sauior Iesus Christe, to whome with the father and the holye Ghost be all honour and glory nowe and for euer. Amen. Amen.

Good father, forasmuche as I haue determined wyth my selfe, to poure forth these my cogitations into your bosome, here me thinketh I see you sodainly lifting vp your head towardes heauen, after youre maner, and then looking vpon me with your propheticall countenaunce, and speaking vnto me, with these or like woordes. Trust not my sonne (I beseethe you vouchsafe me the honour of this name:*) for in so doing I shall thinke my selfe both honoured, and loued of you.) Trust not I say my sonne to these worde weapons: for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember alwayes the wordes of the Lord: do not imagine afore hand,* what and how you wil speake. For it shall be geuen you, euen in that same houre what ye shall speake. For it is not ye that speake, but y^e spirite of your father which speaketh in you. I pray you therfore father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care vppon him, & trust vpon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely perswaded,* that whatsoever I can imagine or think afore hand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his spirite when the tyme is. I beseeche you therefore Father, pray for me, that such a complet harnes of the spirite, such boldnes of minde may be geuen vnto me,* that I may out of a true faith say with Dauid. I wil not trust in my bow, and it is not my

sword, y^t shal saue me. For he hath no plesure in the strength of an horse. &c. But the Lordes delight is in them that feare him and put theyr trust in his mer•y. I beseech you pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I being not ouercome through his gracious ayde, may remayne, [Page 1724](#) and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in y^t which to them that obtayne the victorie,* shall be geuen the liuely Manna to eate,* and a triumphant Crowne for euermore.

Now Father, I pray you helpe me to buckle on thys geare a little better. For ye know the deepenes of Sathan being an olde souldiar, and you haue collored with him or now: blessed be God, that hath euer ayded you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the baye. But truly hee will not be so willing (I thinke) to ioyn with you, as with vs younglinges.*

Syr I beseeche you, let your seruaunt reade this my babling vnto you, and now and then as it shal seeme vnto you best, let your pen runne on my booke: spare not to blotte my paper. I geue you good leaue.

Syr I haue caused my man not onely to reade youre armour vnto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armure, but also well buckled armure. I see not how it coulde be better. I thanke you euen from the bottome of my hart for it, and my prayer shall you not lacke trusting that you doe the like for me. For in deede there is the helpe. &c, Many thinges make confusion in memory. And if I were as well learned as saint Paule, I woulde not bestow much amongst them: further then to gaul thē, and spurgal too, when and where as occasion were geuen and matter came to minde: for the lawe shalbe their shote anchor, staye, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedye, namely, now whē they haue y^e maister bowle in their hand and rule y^e roste, but pacience. Better it is to suffer what cruelly they wil put vnto vs, then to incurre Gods high indignation. Wherefore good my Lord be of good cheare in the Lord, with due consideration what hee requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more then God will permit him. God is faithfull, which wil not suffer vs to be tēpted aboue our strēgth &c. Be at a poynt what ye wil stand vnto: sticke vnto that and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kil the body, whiche otherwise is of it selfe mortall. Neyther yet shal they do that when they list, but when God wil suffer them, when the houre appoynted is come. To vse many wordes with them it shal be but in vayne, nowe that they haue a bloudy and deadly lawe prepared for thē. But it is very requisite that ye geue a reasonable accompt of your fayth,* if they wil quietly heare you, els ye knowe in a wicked place of iudgement a man may keepe silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceiue you with their sophistical Sophismes and fallacies you knowe that false thinges may haue more apparence of truth,* then thin'ges that be most true: therefore Paule geueth vs a watchē worde. Let no man deceiue you with likelines of speache. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye shulde follow strife of wordes,* which tend to no edification, but to the subuersion of the hearers, and the vayne braggyng and ostentation of the aduersaries. Feare of deathe doth most perswade a great number. Be well ware of that argument: for that perswaded Shaxton (as manye menne thought) after that he had once made a good profession, openly before the iudgement seate. The flesh is weake, but the willingnes of the spirite shal refresh the weakenesse of the fleshe.

The number of the cryars vnder the aultar must needs be fulfilled: if we be segregated thereunto, happy be wee. That is the greatest promotion that God geueth in thys world,* to be such

Phillippians to whome it is geuen, not only to beleue, but also to suffer. &c. But who is able to do these thinges? Surely all our habilitie, all our sufficiencie is of God.* He requireth and promiseth. Let vs declare our obedience to his wil, when it shalbe requisite, in the ryme of trouble, yea in the midst of the fire.

When that number is fulfilled, which I weene shalbe shortly, then haue at the papists, when they shal say peace al things are safe,* when Christ shal come to keep his great Parliament to the redresse of al things that be amisse. But he shal not come as the papistes fayne him, to hide himself and to play bo piepe as it were vnder a peece of bread: but he shal come gloriously,* to the terrour and feare of all Papistes: but to the great consolation and comfort of all that wil here suffer for him. Comfort your selues one an other with these wordes.

Lo syr, here I haue blotted youre paper vaynely, and played y^e foole egregiously: but so I thought better thē not to doe your request at this time. Pardon me and praye for me: pray for me I say, pray for me I saye. For I am some time so feareful, that I would creep vnto a mouse hoale: some time God doth visite me agayne with his comforte. So he commeth and goeth, to teache me to feel & to know mine infirmitie to thintent to geue thanks to him that is worthy,* least I shuld rob hym of hys duety, as many do, & almost al the world. Fare you well.

What credence is to be geuē to papists it may appeare by their racking, writhing, wrinching, and mōstrously iniuryng of Gods holy scripture, as appeareth in the popes law. But I dwell here now in a schole of obliuiousnesse. Fare you well once agayne, and be you steadfast and vn'moueable in the Lord. Paule loued Timothy meruelous well, notwithstanding he sayth vnto him. Be thou partetaker of the afflictions of the Gospell: and agayne. Harden thy selfe to suffer afflictions. Bee faythfull vnto the death, and I wyll geue thee a Crowne of life sayth the Lorde.

***Here followeth the letters of the reuerend Byshop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.**

***A letter sent from Bishop Ridley and his prison fellowes, vnto M. Bradford, and his prison fellowes in the Kynges Benche in Southwarke. an. 1554.**

Well beloued in Christ our sauour, we all with one hart wish to you,* with all those y^t loue God in deede and truth, grace, and health, and especially to oure dearely beloued companions which are in Christes cause, and the cause both of theyr brethren and of theyr own saluation, to put their neck willingly vnder the yoke of Christes crosse. How ioyfull it was to vs to heare the reporte of Doctour Taylour and of hys godly confession. &c. I ensure you, it is hard for me to expresse.

Blessed be God, whiche was and is the geuer of that, and of all godly strength and stomacke in the tyme of aduersitie. As for the rumours that haue or doe goe abroad,* eyther of our relenting or massing, we trust that they whiche knowe God and their duety towards theyr brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slaunders euill tongue, but a mans euill deede that can with God defile a man: and therefore with Gods grace, ye shall neuer haue other cause to do otherwise then ye say ye do, y^t is not to doubt, but that we wi^l, by Gods grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as yee haue heard of our comming to London, hath bene here spread of the comming of certayne learned men, prisoners, hither from London: but as yet wee knowe no certaintie whether of these rumours is, or shalbe more true. Know you that wee haue you in

our dayly remembraunce, and wishe you and al the rest of our foresayd companions, well in Christ.

It shuld do vs much comfort,* if we might haue know|ledge of the state of the rest of oure most dearely beloued, which in this troublesome tyme do stand in Christes cause and in the defence of y^e truth thereof. Somewhat we haue heard of mayster Hoopers matter: but of the rest neuer a deale. We long to heare of father Crome, Doctor Sandys M. Saunders, Ueron, Beacon, Rogers. &c. wee are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the maner of our entreating doth chaunge as sowre ale doth in summer. It is reported to vs of our keepers, that the Uniuersitie beareth vs heauily.* A cole chaunced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floore: and no more harme was done, the Balyffes seruauntes sitting by the fire. An other night there chaunced (as mayster Bailiffes told vs) a dronken fellow to multiply wordes, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the towne and country about, that we should haue broken the prison with such violence, as if mayster Bayliffes had not playde the prettye men, we should haue made a scape. We had out of our pryson a wall that we might haue walked vpon, and our seruauntes had libertie to goe abroad in the towne or fieldes but now both they and we are restrayned of both.

My Lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visite vs.* The same day beganne our restraynt to be more, and the booke of the Communion was taken from vs by the Bayliffes, at the Maiors commaundement, as the Bayliffes did report to vs. No man is licensed to come vnto vs: afore they might, that woulde see vs vppon the wall: but that is so grudged at, and so euill reported, that we are now restrayned. &c. Sir, blessed be god with all our euill reportes, grudges, and restrayntes, we are merry in God, and all our cure and care is and shall be (by Gods grace) to please and serue him, of whom we look and hope after this temporal and momentany miseries, to haue eternall ioye and perpetuall felicitie with Abraham,* Isaac, and Iacob, Peter, and Paule, and all the heauenly company of the Aungels in heauen, through Iesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was neuer learned man, nor anye scholer, or other that visited vs since we came into Bocardo, which nowe in Oxforde may be called a Colledge of [Page 1725](#)*Quondams. For as ye know, wee be no fewer then three and I dare say, euery one wel contented with his portion which I do reckē to be our heauenly fathers fatherly good and gracious gift.* Thus fare you well. We shal by Gods grace one day meete together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace: The Lorde graunt that it maye shortly come. For before that daye come, I feare me the world will waxe worse and worse. But then all our enemies shalbe ouerthrowne and troden vnder foote: righteousnes and truth then shall haue the victory, and beare the bell away, whereof the Lorde graunt vs to be partakers and al that loueth truely the truth.

We al pray you, as ye can, to cause all our commendations to be made to all such as ye know did visite vs and you, when we were in the Tower, with their frendly remembraunces and benefites. Maistresse Wilkenson and maistresse Warcup haue not forgottē vs, but euer since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and frendly beneuolence haue comforted vs:* not that els we did lacke (for God be blessed, he euer hitherto hath prouided sufficiently for vs (but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for vs to blesse God, when we see that he maketh them so frendly to tender vs, whom some of vs were neuer familiarly acquaynted withall.

Yours in Christ Nich Ridley.

¶Letter of mayster Ridley, sent to a Cosin of his.

*Gods holy spirite be with you now and euer. Amen.

When I call to remembraunce (beloued Cosin) the state of those that for feare of trouble, eyther for losse of goods, wil do in the sight of the world those thinges that they know and are assured are contrary to the wyll of God,* I can do no lesse but lamēt theyr case, being assured the end thereof will be so pittifull (without speedy repentaunce) that I tremble and feare to haue it in remembraunce. I would to God it lay vpon some earthly burden so that freedome of conscience might be geuen vnto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but onely lamenting the state of those, whome I thought now in this dangerous time should haue geuen both you and me comfortable instructions. But (alas) in steade thereof we haue instructions to folow (I lament me to rehearse it) superstitious Idolatrye. Yea, and that woorst of all is, they wil seeke to proue it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turne their hartes. Amen. Commend me. &c.

Yours, Nicholas Ridley.

¶To Mayster Bradford.

BRother Bradford, I wishe you and your company in Christ,* yea and al the holy brotherhood that now with you in diuers prisons suffereth and beareth paciētly christes crosse for the mayntenance of his Gospell, grace, mercy and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Iesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chiuallrie and warfare wherin I doubt not but we be set to fight vnder Christes banner,* and his crosse agaynst our ghostly enemy y^e deuill and the old serpent Satan, me thinke I perceiue 2. thinges to be hys most perilous and moste daungerous engynes whiche he hath to impugne Christes veritie, hys gospell, and hys fayth: and the same two also to be the most massy postes, and most mightye pillars, whereby hee mayntayneth and vpholdeth his Satanical sinagogue. These two, sir are they, in my iudgement: the one, his false doctrine & idolatrical vse of the Lordes supper, and the other, y^t wicked and abhominable vsurpation of the premacy of y^e See of Rome. By these two Satan seemeth to me principally to mayntayne and vphold hys kingdome: by these two he driueth downe mightily (alas) I feare me, the third parte of the stars in heauen. These two poysonfull rotten posts he hath so paynted ouer with such a pretense and colour of Religion, of vnitie in Christes Church, of the Catholicke fayth, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceiue (if it were possible) euen the elect of God. Wherefore Iohn sayd not without great cause: If any know not Satans subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wishe him no other burden to be laden withall.

Syr, because these be hys principall and mayne postes whereupon standeth all his falsehoode, crafte, and trechery, therefore according to y^e poore power that God hath geuen me, I haue bended mine artillery to shoote at y^e same. I knowe it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can doe and of my shotte I knowe they passe not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to doe the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten postes. The Lorde graunt me good successe, to the glory of hys name, and y^e furtherance of Christes Gospell. I haue now already (I thanke God) for this present tyme spent a good parte of my ponder in these scriblings,* wherof this bearer shal geue you

knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list, know you for a certaintie, by GODS grace, without all doubt, that in Christes Gospelles cause agaynst and vpon the foresayd Gods enemies, I am fully determined to liue and dye. Fare well deare brother, and I beseeche you and al the rest of our brethren, to haue good remembraunce of the condemned heretiques (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certifie you of our state. Farewell in the Lorde. From Bocardo.

Yours in Christ Nicholas Ridley.

***An other letter of Mayster Ridley, vnto Mayster Bradforde and other his prison fellowes. An. 1555.**

DEarely beloued, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.*

According to your minde. I haue runne ouer all your papers, and what I haue done (which is but small) therein may appeare. In two places I haue put in two loose leaues. I had muche adoe to read that was written in your great leaues, and I weene some where I haue altered some words,* because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall best be done w^t these thinges, now ye must consider: for if they come in sight at this time, vndoubtedly they must to the fire with theyr father: and as for any safegard that your custody can be vnto them, I am sure you looke not for it. For as you haue bene partner of the worke, so I am sure you looke for none other, but to haue and receiue like wages, and to drynke of the same cup. Blessed be God that hath geuen you liberty in the meane season, that you may vse your penne to hys glory, and the comforte (as I heare say) of many. I blesse God dayly in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseeche you commend me hartily. Nowe I loue my country man in deed & in trueth,* I meane Doctor Taylor not for my earthly cuntryes sake, but for oure heauenlye fathers sake, and for Christes sake, whome I heard say, he did so stoutly in tyme of perill confesse, and yet also for our cuntryes sake and for all our mothers sake,: but I mean of the kingdome of heauen, and of heauenly Hierusalem, and because of the spirite, whiche bringeth in hym, in you, and in your company such blessed frutes of boldnes in the Lords cause, of pacience, and constancie. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, performe and perfite this his owne deede, vntill his owne day come. Amen.

As yet I perceauē yee haue bene not bayted, and the cause therof God knoweth, which wil let thē doe no more to his, then is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer them to doe for his owne glory, and to the profite of them which be truely his. For the father whiche doth guide them that be Christes to Christ, is more mighty then all they, and no man is able to pul thē out of the fathers handes: except I saye, it please our father, it please our mayster Christe to suffer them, they shall not stirre one heare of your heades.

My brother P. the bearer hereof, and mayster Hoopers letters woulde that we shoulde saye what we thinke good concerning your * minde, that is, not for to answeere except ye might haue somewhat indifferent Iudges. We are (as yee knowe) separated, and one of vs cannot in any thing consult with an other, and much strayte watching of the Baliffes is about vs, that there be no priuie conference amongst vs. And yet as wee heare, the scholers beareth vs more heauily then

the townesmen. A wonderfull thing, among so many, neuer yet scholler offered to any of vs (so farre as I know) any maner of fauor, eyther for or in Christes cause.

Nowe as concerning your demaund of our counsell, for my part I do not mislike that which I perceiue ye are minded to do. For I looke for none other, but if ye aunswere afore the same Commissioners that we did, ye shall be serued and handled as we were, though ye were as wel learned as euer was either Peter or Paule. And yet further I thinke, that occasion afterward may be geuen you, and the consideration of the profite of your auditory may perchaunce moue you to do otherwise.

Finally, determinetely to say what shalbe best, I am not able, but I trust he, whose cause ye haue in hand, shall put you in minde to do that which shalbe most for his glory, the profite of his flock, and your owne saluation. This letter must be common to you and Maister Hooper, in whome and in his prison fellowe good father C. I blesse God, euen from the bottome of my hart: for I doubt not but they both doe to our maister Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable seruice, and profitable to his flocke: the one with his penne, and the other w^t his fatherly example [Page 1726](#) of pacience and constancie, and all manner of true godlinesse. But what shall I neede to say to you: Let thys be common among your brethrē, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with vs,* to whome all things heere are common, meat, mony, and whatsoeuer one of vs hath that, can or maye doe an other good. Althoughe, I sayde the Bailiffes and our Hostesse straitly watche vs, that we haue no conference or intelligence of anye thinge abroad, yet hath God prouided for euery one of vs, in steade of our seruauntes, faithfull fellowes, whyche will be content to heare and see, and to doe for vs what soeuer they can. It is Gods worke surely, blessed be God for his vnspeakable goodnesse. The grace of oure Lorde Iesus Christe, and the loue of God, and the communication of the holy Ghost be with you all. Amen. Amen.

*As farre as London is from Oxforde, yet thence wee haue receiued of late, both meate, money, and shyrts, not onely from suche as are of our acquaintaunce, but of some (whome thys bearer can tell) with whome I hadde neuer to my knowledge any acquaintance. I knowe for whose sake they doe it: to him therefore be all honor, glory, and due thanks.

And yet I pray you do so much as to shewe them that we haue receiued theyr beneuolence, and (God be blessed) haue plentie of al such things. This I desire you to do: for I know they be of M. Hoopers, & your familiar acquaintaunce. Maister Latimer was crased: but I heare now, (thanks be to God) that he amendeth againe.

Nicholas Ridley.

An other Letter of Maister Ridley vnto Maister Bradford.

OH deare brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heauenly father,* for Christe our sauour his sake, to call vpon you, and to bid you to come, happie are you that euer you were borne, thus to be found awake at the lords calling. Euge serue bone & fidelis: quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituet, & intrabis in gaudium Domini. i. Wel good seruaunt and faithful, because thou hast ben trusty in small matters, he shall set thee ouer great things, & thou shalt enter into the ioye of thy Lorde.

O deare brother, what meaneth thys, that you are sent into your owne natie countrey? The wisdom and policie of the worlde may meane what they will, but I trust, God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly prouidence, that some great occasion of Gods gracious goodnesse shal be plenteously powred abroad amongst his, our deare brethren in that country, by this your martyrdome, where the Martyrs for Christes sake shed their bloud, and lost their liues. O what wonderous things hath Christe afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christe sanctifie the place: Brother Bradford, then happy and holy shalbe that place, wherein thou shalt suffer, and shalt be with thy ashes in Christes cause sprinkled ouer withall. All thy countrey may reioyce of thee, that euer it brought forth such a one, which would render his life againe in his cause, of whome he had receiued it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall vnderstande thou art in thy iourney, by Gods grace I shall call vpon our heauenly Father for Christes sake, to sette thee safely home: and then good brother speake you, and praye for the remnant that are to suffer for Christes sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do loke now euery day when we shalbe called on: blessed be God. I weene I am the weakest many wayes of our companie: and yet I thanke oure Lorde God and heauenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our deare brother Rogers departing, and stout confession of Christe and his truth euen vnto y^e death,* my heart (blessed be God) reioyced of it, that since that time, I say, I neuer fealt any lumpish heauinesse in my heart, as I graunt I haue fealt sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that euer I knewe thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, Nicholas Ridley. Brother farewell.

To the brethren remaining in captiuitie of the flesh, and dispearsed abroad in sundry prisonnes, but knit together in vnity of spirit and holy Religion in the bowels of the Lorde Iesu.

GRace, peace & mercye be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render vnto the Lorde for you my brethren,* namely for y^e great cōsolation which through you we haue receiued in the Lorde, who notwithstanding the rage of Sathan that goeth about by all maner of subtil meanes to beguile the worlde, and also bu•l• laboreth to restore and set vp his kingdome againe, y^t of late began to decay and fall to ruine: ye remaine yet stil 〈◇〉, as men surely grounded vpon a strong rocke. And nowe, albeit that sathan by his souldiors and wicked ministers, daily (as we heare) draweth numbers vnto hym, so that it is sayd of him that he plucketh euen the very starres out of heauen, whiles hee driueth into some men th• feare of death and losse of all their goods, and sheweth and offereth to other some the pleasaunt baites of the worlde, namelye riches, wealth, and all kinde of delightes and pleasures, faire houses, great reuenues, •at benefices, and what not? and all to the intent they should fall downe & worship, not the Lorde, but the Dragon the olde Serpent, whych is the deuil, that great beast and his image,* and should be in•iced to commit fornication with the strompet of Babilon, together wyth the kings of the earth, wyth the lesser beast, and with the false Prophetes, and so to reioyce and be pleasant wyth her, and to be drunken wyth the wine of her fornication: yet blessed be God the Father of oure Lorde Iesus Christe, which hath geuen vnto you a manly courage,* and hath so strengthened you in the inwarde man by the power of his spirite, that you can contemne as well all the terrours, as

also the vaine flatteringe allurements of the worlde, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, & things of nought: Who hath also wroughte, planted, and surely stablished in your hearts so stedfast a fayth and loue of the Lorde Iesus Christe, ioyned with such constancie, that by no engines of Antichriste, be they neuer so terrible or plausible, yee will suffer any other Iesus or any other Christ to be forced vpon you▪ besides him whom the Prophet▪ haue spoken of before, y^e Apostles haue preached, the holy Martyrs of God haue cōfessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

In thys Faith stand ye fast my brethren and suffer not your selues to be brought vnder the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For ye know, brethren, howe y^t our sauour warned his beforehand, that such shoulde come as would poynt vnto the world an other Christ, and woulde set him out wyth so many fals myracles,* and with such deceiueable and subtyll practises, that euen the very electe (if it were possible) should be thereby deceiued: such strong delusion to come, did our Sauour geue warning of before:*. But continue ye faithful and constant, and be of good comfort, & remember that our graund captaine hath ouercome the world: for he that is in vs, is stronger then he that is in the world, and the Lorde promiseth vnto vs, that for the elects sake, the daies of wickednes shall be shortned. In the meane season abide ye & endure with patience as ye haue begun: endure I say,* and reserue your selues vnto better times, as one of the heathen Poetes said,* cease not to shew yourselues valiant Soldiours of the Lorde, and helpe to maintaine the traueilling faith of the Gospell.

Yee haue neede of patience, that after ye haue done the wil of God, ye may receiue the promises. For yet a very litle while, and he that shall come will come, and wil not tarie, and the iust shall liue by faith: but if anye withdrawe him selfe▪*my soule shall haue no pleasure in him (sayth the Lorde.) But we are not they which doe withdrawe oure selues vnto damnation,*but beleuee vnto the saluation of the soule. Let vs not suffer these woordes of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terrours or threatnings of the worlde. Feare not them which kil the body: the rest ye know. For I wryte not vnto you, as to menne which are ignoraunt of the truth, but which know the truthe, and to this ende onely, that we agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of an other, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We neuer had a better or more iust cause either to contemne our life or shed our blood:*. we can not take in hande the defence of a more certaine, cleare, and manifest truthe. For it is not any ceremonie for the which we contend, but it toucheth the very substance of our whole Religion, yea, euen Christ him selfe. Shall we,* either can we receiue and acknowledge any other Christe in steade of hym, who is alone the euerlasting sonne of the euerlasting Father, and is the brightnesse of the glory, and liuely image of the substaunce of the Father, in whome onely dwelleth corporally the fulnesse of the Godhead, who is the onely waye, the truth and the life? Let such wickednesse (my brethren) lette such horrible wickednesse be farre from vs. For althoughe there be that are called Gods, whether in heauen either in earth, as there be many Gods and many Lordes, yet vnto vs there is but one God, which is the Father, of whome are al things, and we in him, and one Lord Iesus Christ, by whome are all things, and wee by him: but euery man hath not knowledge. This is life eternal (sayth S. Iohn) that they know thee to be the onely true God,*and whome thou haste [Page 1727](#) sent, Iesus Christ. If any therfore would force vpon vs any other GOD, besides him whom Paule and the Apostles haue taughte, let vs not heare him, but let vs flee frō him, and hold him accursed.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deepe and profoūd subtleties of Satan: * for he will not cease to raunge about you, seking by all meanes possible whom he may deuour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lorde. And albeit your enemies and the aduersaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, doe set vppon you: yet be not ye faynt harted, nor shrinke not therfore: but trust vnto your Captayne Christ, trust vnto the spirit of truth, & trust to the truth of your cause: which, as it may by the malice of satan be darckened, * so can it neuer be cleane put out. For we haue (high prayse be geuen to God therfore) most playnely, euidently, and clearely on our side, all the Prophets, all the Apostles, and vndoubted^{ly} all the auncient Ecclesiastical writers which haue writtan, vntill of late yeares past.

Let vs bee hartye and of good courage therefore, and throughlye comforte our selues in the Lorde. Bee in no wise afrayd of your aduersaries: for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of saluatiō, and that of GOD. For vnto you it is geuen, that not onely ye shoulde beleeeue on hym, but also suffer for hys sake. * And when ye are rayled vppon for the name of Christe, remember that by the voyce of Peter, yea, and of Christe our Sauour also, ye are counted with the Prophetes, with the Apostles, and with the holy Martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed therefore: for the glory and spirit of God resteth vpon you.

On their part our Sauour Christe is euill spoken of, but on your part he is gloryfied. For what can they els do vnto you by persecuting you, and working al crueltie & villanie agaynst you, * but make your crownes more glorious, yea beautifie & multiply the same, & heape vpon them selues the horrible plagues and heauy wrath of God: and therfore good brethrē, though they rage neuer so fiercely against vs, yet let vs not wish euill vnto thē againe, knowing that whiles for Christes cause they vexe and persecute vs, they are lyke mad men, most outrageous and cruell agaynst them selues, heaping hot burning coles vpon their owne heades: but rather let vs wish well vnto thē, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christe Iesu, * that we should be heyres of the blessing. Let vs pray therefore vnto God, that he would driue out of their harts this darkenes of errours, & make the light of his truth to shine vnto thē, that they acknowledging their blindnes, may with al humble repentance be conuerted vnto the Lord, & together with vs confesse hym to be the onely true God, which is the father of light, & his onely sonne Iesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and veritie. Amen. The spirit of our Lord Iesus Christ comfort your hartes in the loue of God and pacience of Christ. Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signifie vnto you, ready alwayes by the grace of God, to liue and die with you.

¶ To the brethren which constantly cleaue vnto Christ in suffering affliction with him, and for his sake.

* Grace and peace from God the father, and frō our Lord Iesus Christ be multiplied vnto you. Amen.

Although brethren, we haue of late heard nothing from you, neither haue at this present any newes to send you: yet we thought good something to write vnto you, wherby ye might vnderstand that we haue good remembraunce of you continually, as we doubt not but ye haue of vs also. When this messenger comming vnto vs from you of late, had brought vs good tidings of

your great constancie, fortitude,* and patience in the Lord: we were filled with much ioy & gladnes, geuing thanks to God the father through our Lord Iesus Christe, which hath caused his face so to shine vpon you, and with the light of spirituall vnderstanding hath so lightened your hartes, that now being in captiuitie & bandes for Christes cause, ye haue not ceased, as much as in you lyeth, by wordes, but much more by deede and by your example, to stablysh and confirme that thing, which when ye were at libertie in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine: that is to say, holding fast the worde of life, ye shine as lightes in the worlde in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Iesus Christe,* and profite of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the Gospel.

And as for the darkenes that Satan nowe bringeth vpon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt therof? Of late tyme our Sauour Christe, his Apostles,* Prophetes, and Teachers, spake in the Temple to the people of England in the Englishe tongue, so that they might be vnderstanded playnly and without any hardnesse, of the godly and such as sought for heauenly knowledge in matters whiche of necessitie of saluation perteyned to the obteyning of eternall life: but now those thinges which once were written of them for the edifiyng of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretatiō, manifestly agaynst saint Paules commaundement, so that there is no man able to vnderstand them which hath not learned that strange and vnknownen tongue.

Of late dayes those heauenly mysteries, whereby Christe hath ingrafted vs into his body,* and hath vnited vs one to another, whereby also being regenerate & borne anew vnto God, he hath nourished, encreased, and strengthened vs, whereby moreouer, eyther he hath taught and set foorth an order amongst them which are whole, or els to the sicke in soule or body hath geuen, as it were wholesome medicines and remedies: those (I say) were al plainlye set foorth to the people in their owne language, so that what great and exceeding good thinges euery man had receiued of God: what duetie euery one owed to an other by Gods ordinaunce: what euery one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to obserue: where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God had geuen a desire and willing hart to vnderstand those thinges, might soone perceiue and vnderstand. But now all these thinges are taught & set forth in such sort, that the people redeemed with Christes blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christe himselfe ordeined, can haue no maner of vnderstanding thereof at all.

Of late, (for as much as we knowe not how to pray as we ought) our Lorde Iesus Christe in his Prayer, wherof he would haue no man ignoraūt, and also the holy Ghost in the Psalmes, Hymnes,* and spirituall songes which are set foorth in the Bible, did teache and instructe all the people of Englande in the Englyshe tongue, that they might aske such thinges as are according to the will of the Father, and might ioine their hartes and lyppes in prayer together: but nowe all these thynges are commaunded to be hid and shutte vp from them in a straunge tongue, whereby it must needes followe, that the people neyther can tell how to pray, nor what to pray for: and how can they ioine their hartes and voyce together, whē they vnderstande no more what the voyce signifieth, than a brute beast.

Finally, I heare say, that the Catechisme whiche was lately set foorth in the Englyshe tongue, is now in euery Pulpite condemned. O deuilish malice, and most spitefully iniurious to y^e

saluation of mankinde purchased by Iesus Christe. In deede Satan coulde not long suffer that so great light should be spread abrode in y^e world: he sawe well enough that nothing was able to ouerthrow his kingdome so much, as if childrē being godly instructed in Religion, should learne to knowe Christe whilst they are yet young: whereby not onely chyl dren, but the elder sort also and aged folkes that before were not taught to know Christe in their childehood, shoulde now euen with children and babes be forced to learne to know him. Now therefore he roreth, now he rageth. But what els do they (brethren) which serue Satan and become his ministers & slaues in mainteining of his impietie, but euen the same which they did, to whom Christ our Sauour threatneth this curse in the Gospell: Woe vnto you which shutte vp the kingdome of heauen before men,* & take away the key of knowledge from them: you your selues haue not entred in, neither haue you suffered them that would enter, to come in.

And from whence shall we say (brethren) that this horrible & mischeuous darknes proceedeth,* which is now brought vpon the worlde? From whence I pray you, but euen from the smoke of the great furnace of y^e bottomlesse pit, so that the sunne and the ayre are now darkened by the smoke of the pit? Now, euen now (out of doubt brethren) the pit is opened agaynst vs, and the Locustes begyn to swarme, and Abbadon now raigneth.

Ye therfore (my brethren) which pertaine vnto Christ, and haue the seale of God marked in your foreheades, that is to wit, are sealed with y^e earnest of the spirite to be a peculiar people of God, quite your selues like men, and be strong, for he that is in vs, is stronger then he which is in the world: and ye know, that al that is borne of God ouercommeth the world, and this is our victory that ouercommeth the worlde, euen our fayth. Let the world freat, let it rage neuer so much, be it neuer so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take vs out of the fathers handes, for he is greater then all: who hath not spared his owne [Page 1728](#) sonne, but hath geuen him to death for vs all, and therefore how shall he not with him geue vs all thinges also? Who shall lay any thyng to the charge of Gods elect? It is God that iustifieth, who shall then condemne? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather which is risen againe, who is also at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for vs. Who shall seperate vs from the loue of Christe? Shall tribulation,* or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednes, or perill, or sworde? the rest ye knowe, brethren. We are certainly perswaded with S. Paul, by the grace of our Lorde Iesus Christe, that no kynde of thyng shalbe able to seperate vs from the loue of God which is in Christ Iesus our Lord. Which thyng, that it may come to passe by the grace and mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ, to the comfort both of you & of vs all, as we for our partes will continually (God wylling) pray for you: so (deare brethren in the Lorde) with all earnest and harty request we beseech you, euen in the bowelles of our Lorde Iesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for vs. Fare ye well, deare brethren. The grace of our Lorde Iesus Christe be with you all euermore. Amen.

¶A Letter of Byshop Ridley answearyng to a certayne Letter of one Maister West, sometime his Chapleine.

*I Wishe you grace in God and loue of the truth, without the which truely stablished in mens hartes by the mightie hand of almighty God, it is no more possible to stande by the truth in Christe in tyme of trouble, then it is for the waxe to abide the heate of the fyre. Sir, knowe you this, that I am (blessed be God) perswaded that this worlde is but transitorie, and (as saint Iohn

sayth) The world passeth away and the lust thereof. I am perswaded Christes wordes to be true: Who soeuer shall confesse me before men, hym will I confesse also before my father which is in heauen: and I beleue that no earthly creature shalbe sau'd, whom the Redeemer and Sauour of the worlde shall before his father denie.* This the Lorde graunt, that it may be so graffed, established, and fixed in my hart, that neyther thinges present nor to come, hygh nor low, lyfe nor death be able to remoue me thence. It is a goodly wishe, that you wish me deeply to consider thinges perteyning vnto Gods glorye: but if you had wished also, that neither feare of death, nor hope of worldly prosperitie shoulde let me to mayneteine Gods worde and his truth, which is his glory and true honour,* it would haue liked me well. You desire me for Gods sake to remember my selfe. In deede sir, now it is time so to do, for so farre as I can perceiue, it standeth me vpon no lesse daunger, then of the losse both of body and soule, and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thyng will awake him.* He that will not feare hym that threatneth to cast both body & soule into euerlasting fire,* whom will he feare? With this feare, O Lord, fasten thou together our frayle flesh, that we neuer swarue from thy lawes. You say, you haue made much sute for me. Sir, God graunt that you haue not in suing for my worldly deliuerance, impayred and hindered the furtheraunce of Gods worde and his truth.

You haue knowen me long in deede: in the which time it hath chaunced me (as you say) to mislike some thinges. It is true, I graunt: for sodaine chaunges without substantiall and necessary cause, and the heady setting foorth of extremities, I did neuer loue. Confession vnto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, & informe the weake, wounded, and ignoraunt conscience, in deede I euer thought might do much good in Christes congregation, and so, I assure you. I thynke euen at this daye. My doctrine and my preaching you say, you haue hearde often, and after your iudgement haue thought it godly, sauynge onely for the Sacrament, which thing although it was of me reuerently handled, and a great deale better then of the rest (as you) yet in the margent you write warily, and in this worlde wisely: and yet me thought all sounding not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this worlde, & so much alteration, els at this your saying I would not a litle marueile. I haue taken you for my frend, and a man whom I fansied for plainnes and faythfulnes, as much (I assure you) as for your learning: and haue you kept this so close in your hart from me vnto this day? Sir, I consider moe things then one, and wil not say all that I thinke. But what neede you to care what I thinke, for any thing I shalbe able to do vnto you, eyther good or harme? You geue me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vayne glory. Truly sir, I herein like your counsell very well, and by Gods grace I intend to folow it vnto my lyues end.

To write vnto those whom you name, I can not see what it wyll auayle me. For this I woulde haue you knowe, that I esteeme nothyng auayleable for me,* which also wyll not further the glory of GOD. And now, because I perceiue you haue an entire zeale and desire of my deliuerance out of this captiuitie and worldly myserie, if I shoulde not beare you a good hart in God againe, me thinke I were to blame. Sir, howe nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this worlde is at hand, I can not tell: the Lordes wyll be fulfilled how sone soeuer it shall come. I knowe the Lordes wordes must be verified on me, that I shall appeare before the incorrupt Iudge, and be countable to him of all my former lyfe. And although y^e hope of his mercies is my shootanker of eternall saluation, yet am I perswaded, that who soeuer wittingly neglecteth & regardeth not to cleare his conscience, he can not haue peace with God, nor a liuely fayth in his mercy. Conscience therefore moueth me, considering you were one of my familie

and one of my houshold, of whom then I thinke I had a speciall cure, and of all them which were within my house, which in deede ought to haue bene an example of godlynes to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promotyng of Gods worde to the vttermost of their power, (but, alas,* now when the tryall doth separte the chaffe from the corne, how small a deale it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away) this conscience, I say, doth moue me to feare, lest the lightnesse of my familie shall be layde to my charge for lacke of more earnest and diligent instruction which should haue ben done. But blessed be God which hath geuen me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottome of my hart, before my departyng hence.

This conscience dooth mooue me also now to require both you and my friende Doctor Haruy, to remember your promises made to me in tymes past,* of the pure setting foorth and preachyng of Gods worde and his truth. These promises, although you shall not neede to feare to be charged with them of me hereafter before the worlde,* yet looke for none other (I exhort you as my friendes) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This conscience and the loue that I beare vnto you, byddeth me now say vnto you both in Gods name, feare GOD, and loue not the world: for GOD is able to caste both body and soule into hell fyre. When his wrath shall sodaynely be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in hym.* And the saying of saint Iohn is true: All that is in the world, as the lust of the fleshe, the lust of the eyes,* and the pride of lyfe, is not of the father, but of the worlde, and the worlde passeth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doth the wyll of God abydeth for euer. If this gyfte of grace (whiche vndoubtedly is necessarily required vnto eternall saluation) were truely and vnfainedly graffed and firmly stablished in mens hartes, they would not be so light, so sodenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as is now (alas) seene so manifestly of so many in these dayes.* But here peradventure you woulde knowe of me what is the truth. Syr, Gods woorde is the truth, as saint Iohn sayth, and that euen the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the Moone, yet Gods worde is stable & abydeth one for euermore: and of Christ it is truely sayd:* Christ yesterday and to day, the same is also for euer.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in Gods word,* agreed this to be a truth in Gods word written, that the common prayer of the Church should be had in the common tongue. You know I haue conferred with many, and I ensure you, I neuer founde man (so farre as I do remember) neither old nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what iudgement soeuer he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods word, thinke you that the alteration of the world can make it an vntruth? If it can not, why then do so many men shrynke from the confession & maintenance of this truth receyued once of vs all? For what is it, I pray you,* els to confesse or deny Christe in this worlde, but to mainteyne the truth taught in Gods word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? * This one thing haue I brought for an ensample: other thinges be in like case, which now particulerly I neede not to rehearse. For he that wil forsake wittingly, either for feare or gayne of the world, any one open truth of Gods word, if he be constrained, he wyl assuredly forsake God and al his truth, rather then he wyl endaunger hym selfe to loose or to leaue that he loueth better in deede, then he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like very well your plaine speaking, wherein you say, I must eyther agree or dye, and I thinke that you meane of the bodyly death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I knowe I must dye whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I

could neuer escape this death which [Page 1729](#) is so common to all, and also incurre the gylt of death and eternall damnation? Lord graunt that I may vtterly abhorre and detest this damnable agreement so long as I lyue. And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship vnto me this short earnest aduertisement, and I thynke verily, wishing me to lyue, and not to dye, therefore bearyng you in my hart no lesse loue in GOD, then you doe me in the worlde, I say vnto you in the worde of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my friendes and louers in God) that if you do not confesse & maintayne to your power & knowledge that which is grounded vpon Gods worde, but will eyther for feare or gayne of the worlde, shrinke and play the *Apostata, in deede you shall dye the death: you know what I meane. And I beseeche you all my true frendes & louers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time peradventure that euer I shall write vnto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the .viij. day of Aprill. 1555.

M. Grindal now Archbishop of Canterbury, being in the tyme of exile in y^e citie of Frankford, wrote to D. Ridley thē prisoner, a certaine Epistle, wherein first he lamenteth his captiuitie, exhorting him withall to be constant. Secondly he certieth him of y^e state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singuler prouidence of God in stirring vp the fauour of the Magistrates and rulers there towards them. Thirdly, he writeth to know his minde and will concerning the printing of his booke agaynst Transubstantiation, and of certayne other treatises and his disputations. Wherunto Bishop Ridley answereth agayne in order, as foloweth.

¶The aunsweare of Doctor Ridley to the letter abouesayd.

BLessed be God our heauēly father which enclined your hart to haue such a desire to write vnto me,* & blessed be he againe which hath heard your request, & hath brought your letters safe vnto my handes: and ouer all this, I blesse him through our Lorde Iesus Christe, for the great comfort I haue receiued by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloued brethren and countrey men in those parties beyond the sea.

Dearely beloued brother Grindall, I say to you and all the rest of our brethren in Christe with you, reioyce in the Lord, and as ye loue me and the other my reuerend fathers and concaptiues (whiche vndoubtedly are Gloria Christi,) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to geue to our heavenly Father for his endlesse mercies and vnspeakeable benefits euen in the myddest of all our troubles geuen vnto vs,* most hartly thanks. For knowe ye, that as the weight of his crosse hath increased vpō vs, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen vs, and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will so do for Christe our Maisters sake, euen to the end. To heare that you and our other brethren doo finde in your exile fauour and grace with the Magistrates, Ministers, and Citizens, at Tigury, at Frankford, and other where, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do in deede loue Christe and his true woorde. I ensure you it warmed my hart, to heare you by chaunce to name some, as Scory and Coxe. &c. Oh that it had come in your mynde to haue sayd somewhat also of Cheeke, of Turner, of Leauer, of Sampson, of Chambers, but I trust in God they be all well. And sir, seeyng you say, that there be in those parties with you of studentes and Ministers so good a number, nowe therefore care ye not for vs, otherwyse then to wish that Gods glory may be set forth by vs. For whensoever God shall call vs home (as we looke dayly for none other, but when it shal please God to say, come) you, blessed be God, are enough through his ayde, to light and set vp againe

the lanterne of his worde in Englande. As concerning the copies ye say ye haue with you, I wonder how euer they did and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except he haue that whiche I gathered my selfe after the disputation done, I can not thynke ye haue it truly. If ye haue that, then ye haue therewithall the whole maner after the which I was vsed in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English. Contra transubstantiationem, vix possum adduci vt credam operaepretium fore vt in latinum transferatur. Caeterum quicquid sit nullo modo velim vt quicquam quocun{que} modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constiterit: and thus much vnto your letters. Now although I suppose ye know a good parte of our state here (for we are forth commyng, euen as when ye departed. &c.)* You shall vnderstande that I was in the Towar about the space of two monethes close prisoner, and a•ter that had graunted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about halfe a yeaere, and then because I refused to allow the Masse with my presence, I was shut vp in close prison agayne.

The last Lent saue one,* it chaunsed by reason of the tumult styrred vp in Kent, there was so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latimer, Maister Bradford, and I were put altogether in one prison, where we remayned still almost to the nexte Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer and I, were sodenly sent a litle before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to haue nothing with vs, but that we caried vpon vs. About the Whitsontide followyng was our disputations at Oxford, after the which was all taken from vs, as pen and inke. &c.* Our owne seruantes were taken from vs before, and euey one had put to hym a straunge man, and we eche one appoynted to be kept in seuerall places, as we are vnto this day.

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheare. We haue looked long agoe to haue bene dispatched,* for we were all three on one day within a day or two of our disputations, of D. Weston being the head Commissioner, condemned for heretikes, and since that tyme we remayne as we were of hym left. The Lordes will be fulfilled in vs, as I do not doubt, but by his grace it shal be to his glory, and our endles saluation through Iesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserued aboue all our expectation, our deare brother, and in Christes cause a strong Champion Iohn Bradford.* He is likewyse condemned, and is already deliuered to the secular power, and writtes (as we haue heard say) geuen out for his execution, and called in agayne. Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserueth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderfull raging of the world. Many (as we heare say) haue suffered valiauntly, confessyng Christes truth, and nothyng yeeldyng to the aduersary, yea not for the feare or paynes of death.

The names of them whiche I knewe,* and haue nowe suffered, are these, Farrar the Bishop of S. Dauides, Hooper the Bishop of Worcester, Rogers tuus olim comprehendarius. D. Tailour of Hadley, M. Sanders, and one Tomkins a weauer, and now this last day M. Cardmaker, with an other, were burnt in Smithfielde at London, and many other in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the booke of lyfe, whom yet I do not know.

West, your olde companion and sometyme myne officer (alas hath relented (as I haue heard) but the Lorde hath shortned his dayes, for anone he dyed and is gon.* Grimbolde was caught by the heele and caste into the Marshalsey, but now is at liberty againe, but I feare me he escaped not without some becking and bowyng (alas) of his knee vnto Baall.

My deare friende Thomas Ridley of the Bulhead in Cheape, which was to me the most faythfull friende that I had in my trouble, is departed also vnto God. My brother Shipside that hath married my sister, hath ben almost halfe a yeare in prison, for deliuering (as he was accused) of certayne thynges, I wene, from mee: but now thanks be to God, he is at libertie agayne, but so that the Bishop hath taken from him his * Parke.

Of all vs three concaptiues at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least libertie, Vel quia viro in cuius aedibus, ego custodior, vxor dominatur (licet modo sit Prefectus ciuitatis) mulier vetula, morosa, & superstiosiss. quae etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime & cautissime custodire, vir autem ipse Irischius nomine, mitis satis est oībus, •xori vero plusquam obsequentiss. Licet vxorem (vti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine, quem cum istis coniugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere quam graue malum & intolerabile iugum sit cum mala muliere in coniugio coll•cari. Recte ergo sapiens dixit, vxor bona donum Dei: & iterum mulieris bonae beatus vir. Vel haec inquam causa est, vel quia á magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, vt ita fieret, ipsis mandatum: id{que} illi si quando de mea nimia seruitute apud eos conqueror,*sedulo saepe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge (as I heare say) Omnes studiorum & statutorum reformationes nuper factae, nunc sunt denuo deformatae & delete, & omnia sunt in pristinum chaos & in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum prefecti qui synceritati Euangelij fauebant, vel qui coniugati erant, loco moti• sunt, & alij Papisticae factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod & de socijs collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam & illud passim factum est in vniuerso [Page 1730](#) regno Angliae, in omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis. Prebendarijs, Sacerdotibus Ecclesiarum, & in toto cl•o: and to tell you muche naughty matter in fewe woordes, Papismus apud nos vbique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

The Lord be mercyfull, and for Christes sake pardon vs our olde vnkyndnesse and vnthankefulnesse: for when he powred vppon vs the gyftes of his manifolde graces and fauoure (alas) we did not serue him nor render vnto hym thanks according to the same. We pastors manye of vs were to colde and bare to much (alas) with the wicked worlde, our Magistrates did abuse to their owne worldly gayne, both Gods Gospell and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and vnkynde. Thus of euery side and of euery sorte we haue prouoked Gods anger and wrath to fall vppon vs: but blessed myght he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those wayes, which so wholly haue displeased his secrete Maiestie, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his owne sonnes crosse, vnto his glorie and our endlesse saluation, through Iesus Christe our Lorde.

My dayly prayer is (as God doth know) and by gods grace shall be so long as I lyue in this worlde, for you my deare brethren that are fled out of your owne Coun•y, because you will rather forsake all worldly thynges <◇> the truth of Gods worde. It is euen the same that I

⟨◇⟩ to make to GOD for all those Churches abroad through the worlde, which haue forsaken the kyngdome of Antichrist, and professed openly the puritie of the Gospell of Iesus Christ: * that is, that God our eternall father for our Sauour Christes sake, will dayly encrease in you the gracious gifte of his heauenly spirite to the true setting forth of his glory and of his Gospell, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same, that there arise no rote of bitternesse among you that may infect that good seede which God hath sowed in your hartes already, and finally that your lyfe may be so pure and so honest, accordyng to the rule of Gods worde, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by y^e Gospell of Christ our Sauour, that the honesty and purity of the same may prouoke all that shall see or knowe it, to the loue of your doctrine, and to loue you for your honesty and vertues sake, and so both in brotherly vnity of your true doctrine and also in the Godly vertue of your honest lyfe, to glorifie our father which is in heauen.

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arundellus, & Dominus Pachetus iam legatione funguntur, vna cum Cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (vt aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, * & Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, & partum reginae, quem iam quotidie expectamus & iam aliquandiu expectauimus, quem{que} Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare: nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostrae confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumpiales in domino coronas expectamus.

Omnium vestrūm precibus me humillime ex toto corde commendo: In primis, tuis o chariss. in Christo frater, & delectiss. Grindalle, & chariss. fratrum & vnicè mihi in domino delectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turnerī Leueri, Sampsonis, Chamberi, & omnium fratrum nostrorum & contreraneorum qui apud vos degunt & deligunt dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reuerendiss. patres & concaptiuos meos in domino Thomam Cranmerum, iam veri magni pastoris & Archipresulis nomine digniss. & veteranum illum Christi & nostrae gentis Anglicanae verum Apostolum Hugonem Latimerum. Condone mihi frater harum prolixitatem, non enim post hac credo charissime frater, meis literis iam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonij.

N. R.

¶To Augustine Bernher.

*BRother Augustine, I blesse God with all my hart in his maninifolde mercifull gyftes, geuen vnto our deare brethren in Christ, especially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased to set forth fyrst, no doubt but of his gracious goodnes and fatherly fauour towards hym. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hoper, Saunders, and Taylour, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battayle agaynst his aduersaries, and hath endued them all (so farre as I can heare) to stand in the confession of his truth, * and to be content in his cause, and for his Gospels sake to lose their lyfe. And euermore and without ende blessed be euen the same our heauenly father for our deare and entirely beloued brother Bradford, whom nowe the Lorde (I perceiue) calleth for: for I weene he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this worlde,. I do not doubt but that he (for those giftes of grace whiche the Lorde hath bestowed on hym plenteously) hath holpen those which are gon

before in their iourney, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keepe the hygh way, & sic currere vti tandem acciperent praemium. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thanke God hartely that euer I was acquainted with him, and that euer I had such a one in my house.* And yet agayne I blesse GOD in our deare brother, and of this tyme Protomartyr Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of London. And now because Grindall is gone (the Lorde I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him) I trust to God it shall please him of his goodnes to strengthen me to make vp the trinitie out of Paules Church, to suffer for Christe, whom God the father hath annoynted, the holy spirite doth beare witnes vnto, Paule & all the Apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper: I was constrained thus to write.

Besydes these letters of Byshop Ridley, diuers other tractations also were written by hym, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely amongst certaine other, there remayneth in my handes, certayne notes answering to the two notable Sermons of D. Watson▪ Bishop of Lincolne. &c.

¶Here beginneth the lyfe, actes, and doynge of maister Hugh Latimer, the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Christ and his Gospel.

NOW consequently after the lyfe of B. Ridley,* with other his letters, whiche partly we haue expressed, partly we haue differred to our later appendix, followeth lykewyse the lyfe and doynge of the worthy champion, and olde practised souldiour of Christe M. Hugh Latimer, of whose actes and long trauayles euen from his fyrst yeares and tender age, to beginne here to entreate: fyrst, he was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson in the Countie of Leicester, a housebandman of right good estimation: with whom also he was brought vp vntyll he was of the age of fower yeares or thereabout. At which tyme his Parentes (hauyng hym as then left for their onely sonne, with sixe other daughters) seeyng his ready, prompte, and sharpe witte, purposed to trayne him vp in erudition, and knowledge of good literature: wherein he so profited in his youth,* at the common Scholes of his owne countrey, that at the age of xiiij. yeares, he was sent to the Uniuersitie of Cambridge. Where after some continuaunce of exercises in other thynges,* he gaue hym selfe to the studie of such schole Diuinitie, as y^e ignoraunce of that age did suffer.

Zelous he was then in the Popyshe Religion,* and therewith so scrupulous (as hym selfe confessed) that beyng a Priest, and vsyng to say Masse, he was so seruile an obseruer of the Romishe Decrees, that he had thought he had neuer sufficiently mingled his Massing wine with water: and moreouer, that he shoulde neuer be damned, if he were once a professed Frier, with diuers suche superstitious fantasies. And in this blinde zeale he was a very enemy to the professours of Christes Gospell: as both his Oration made when he proceeded Bachlour of Diuinitie, agaynst Philip Melancthon,* and also his other workes did playnely declare. But especially his Popyshe zeale coulde in no case abyde in those dayes good Maister Stafford, reader of the Diuinitie Lectures in Cambridge, moste spitefully raylyng agaynst hym, and willyng the youth of Cambridge, in no wyse to beleue hym.

Notwithstandyng suche was the goodnesse and mercifull purpose of God, that when he saw his good tyme, by the whiche waye hee thought to haue vtterly defaced the professours of the Gospell and true Church of Christ, he was at lengthe hym selfe by a member of the same, pretily caught in the blessed nette of Gods woorde. For M. Thomas Bilney (whose storye is before

described) beyng at that tyme a tryer out of Sathans subtilties, and a secrete ouerthrower of Antichristes kyngdome,* seeyng M. Latimer to haue a zeale in his waies (although without knowledge) was stricken with a brotherly pittie towards hym, & bethought by what meanes he might best winne this zelous ignoraunt brother, to the true knowledge of Christe. Wherefore, after a shorte tyme, he came to M. Latimers study, and desired him to here him make his confession. Which thing he willingly graunted: by hearyng whereof, he was (through the good spirte of God) so touched, that hereuppon he forsooke his former studying of the schole Doctors, and other suche fopperies, and became a earnest student of true Diuinitie, as he hym selfe, aswell in his conference with M. Ridley, as also in his fyrst sermon made vpon the Pater noster, doth confesse. [Page 1731](#) So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christe, he was now a zelous seeker after h•m, chaunging his old maner of cauilling and rayling, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with M. Bilney and others,* & came also to M. Stafford before he dyed, and desired him to forgeue him.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his owne conuersion onely, but like a true Disciple of the blessed Samaritane, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a publike Preacher, and also a priuate Instructor to the rest of his brethren within the Uniuersitie, by the space of 3. yeres, spending his tyme partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, & partly amongst the simple people in his naturall and vulgar language. Howbeit,* as Satan neuer slepeth when he seeth his kingdome to begin to decay, so likewyse now seeyng that this worthy member of Christ would be a shreud shaker therof he raued vp his impious impes to molest & trouble him.

Amongest these there was an Augustine Frier, who tooke occasion vpon certaine Sermons that M. Latimer made about Christenmas 152•. aswell in the church of S. Edward,* as also in S. Augustins, within the Uniuersitie in Cambridge, to inuey against him, for that M. Latimer in the sayde Sermons (alludyng to the common vsage of the season) gaue the people certaine cardes out of the 5.6.7. Chapiters of S. Matthewe, whereupon they might, not onely then,* but alwayes els occupy their tyme. For the chiefe triumph in the cardes he limitted the Hart as the principall thing that they shoulde serue God with all: wherby he quite ouerthrew all hypocriticall and externall ceremonies, not tending to the necessarie furtheraunce of Gods holy word and Sacramentes. For the better atteyneng hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in Englysh, wherby the common people might the better learne their dueties, aswell to God, as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the tyme, and so pleasantly applyed of him, that not only it declared a singuler towardnesse of witte in the Preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruite, to the ouerthrowe of Popish superstition, and setting vp of perfect Religion.

This was vpon the Sundaye before Christenmas day, on which day commyng to the Church, and causyng the Bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into y^e Pulpit, takyng for his text the wordes of the Gospell aforesayd, red in the Church that day: Tu quis es. &c. In deliueying the whiche cardes (as is abouesayd) he made the Harte to be triumph, exhortyng and inuityng all men thereby to serue the Lord with inwarde hart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreouer to the prayse of that triumph, that though it were neuer so small, yet it woulde make vp the best cote carde beside in the bunch,* yea though it were y^e kyng of Clubs. &c. meanyng thereby, how the Lorde would be worshipped and serued in simplicitie of

the harte and veritie, wherein consisteth true Christian Religion, and not in the outward deedes of the letter onely, or in the glisteryng shewe of mans traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vowes, deuotions, voluntarie workes, and workes of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the Popes supremacie. &c. so that all these either were nedeles, where the other is present: or els were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

The tenour and effect of these his Sermons, so far as they could come to our handes, here foloweth.

¶The tenoure and effecte of certayne Sermons, made by mayster Latimer in Cambridge, about the yere of our Lord. 1529.

TV quis es? which wordes are as much to say in Englyshe, Who art thou? These be the wordes of the Phariseis, which were sent by the Iewes vnto saint Iohn Baptist in wilderness, to haue knowledge of hym, whom he was, which woordes they spake vnto hym of an euill intent, thinkyng that he would haue taken on hym to be Christe, and so they woulde haue had him done with their good willes, because they knewe that he was more carnall, and geuen to their lawes, then Christ in deede should be, as they perceyued by their old prophecies: and also because they maruayled muche of his great doctryne, preachyng, and baptising, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they sayd vnto him, who art thou? Then answered saint Iohn, and confessed, that he was not Christ. Now here is to be noted, the great, and prudent answere of sainte Iohn Baptist vnto the Phariseis, that when they required of him whom he was, he would not directly answere of himselfe what he was him selfe: but he sayd he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the Iewes and Phariseis out of their false opinion, & beliefe towards him, in that they would haue had him to exercise the office of Christ, and •o declared farther vnto them of Christ, saying: he is in y^e middes of you, and amongst you, whō ye know not, whose •atchet of his shoe I am not worthy to vnlose, or vndoe. By this you may perceiue that saint Iohn spake much in the lande, and prayse of Christ his maister, professing himselfe to be in no wise like vnto him. So likewise it shalbe necessary vnto all men & women of this world, not to ascribe vnto them selues any goodnes of themselues, but all vnto our Lorde God, as shall appeare hereafter, when this question aforesayd, (Who art thou?) shall be moued vnto thē: not as the Phariseis did vnto saint Iohn, of an euill purpose, but of a good and simple minde, as may appeare hereafter.

Now then, according to the preachers mynd, let euery man and woman, of a good & simple mind, contrary to the Phariseis intent, aske this question (Who art thou?) this question must be moued to themselues, what they be of themselues, on this fashion. What art thou of thy only and natural generatiō betwene father, & mother, whē thou camest into this world? What substāce, what vertue, what goodnes art thou of by thy selfe? which question if thou reher•e often times vnto thy selfe, thou shalt well perceiue, & vnderstand, how thou shalt make aunswer vnto it, which must be made on this wayes: I am of my selfe, and by my selfe, cōming from my naturall father & mother, the childe of the ire, & indignation of God, the true inheritour of hel, a lumpe of sinne, & working nothing of my selfe but all towards hell, except I haue better helpe of an other, then I haue of my selfe. Now we may see in what state we enter in to this world, that we be of our selues the true, and iust inheritours of hell, the children of the ire & indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserue of our selues perpetuall dampnation, by y^e

ryght iudgement of God, and the true clayme of our selues: which vnthrifty state that we be borne vnto, is come vnto vs for our own desertes, and proueth well this example followyng.

Let it be admitted for the probatiō of this, that it might please the kynges grace now being, to accept into his fauour a meane man, of a simple degre, and byrth, not borne to any possession, whom the kynges grace fauoureth, not because this person hath of himselfe deserued any such fauoure, but that the kyng casteth this fauoure vnto him of his owne mere motion, & fantasy: and for because y^e kings grace will more declare his fauoure vnto him, he geueth vnto his sayd man a thousand poundes in landes, to hym and his heyres, on this condition, that he shall take vpon him to be the chiefe captayne, and defendour of his towne of Calice, and to be trew, and faythfull vnto hym, in the custodie of the same, agaynst the Frenche men specially, aboue all other enemies.

This man taketh on hym this charge, promysing his fidelitie thereunto. It chaunceth in processe of tyme, that by the singuler acquaintaunce, and frequent familiaritie of this Captaine with the French men, these French men geue vnto this sayde Captayne of Calice a great summe of money, so that he will be content, and agreeable, that they may enter into the sayde towne of Calice by force of armes, and so thereby to possesse y^e same vnto the Crowne of Fraunce: vpon this agreement the French men doe inuade the sayde Towne of Calice, alonely by the neglygence of this Captayne.

Now the Kynges grace hearyng of this inuasion, commeth with a great puissaunce to defende this his sayd Towne, and so by good pollicie of warre ouercommeth the sayd French men, and entreth againe into his Towne of Calice. Then he beyng desyrous to knowe how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound searche, and enquire, by whom this treason was conspyred: by this searche it was knowen and founde, his owne Captayne to be the very authoure and beginner of the betraying of it. The King seeing the great infidelitie of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heyres, this thousande poundes possessions. Thinke you not but the Kyng doth vse iustice vnto him, and all his posteritie, and heyres? Yes truly: the sayde Capitayne cannot deny hymselfe, but that he hadde true iustice, consydering howe vnfaythfully he behaued hym to his Prince, contrary to his own fidelitie and promyse: so likewyse it was of our fyrst Father, Adam. He had geuen vnto him the spirite of science, & knowledge, to worke all goodnesse therewith: this sayd spirite was not geuen alonely vnto him, but vnto all his heyres and posteritie. He had also deliuered him the Towne of Calice, that is to say, Paradise in earth, the most strong and fayrest Towne in the worlde, to be in his custodie: He neuerthelesse, by the instigation of these Frenche menne, that is to say, the temptation of the Feende, dyd obey vnto their desire, [Page 1732](#) and so brake his promise and fidelitie, the commaundemēt of the euerlasting kyng, his maister, in eatyng of the apple by hym inhibited.

Now then, the kyng seyng this great treason in hys capitayne, deposed hym of the thousand pound of possessions, that is to say, from euerlasting lyfe in glory, and all his heires and posteritie: for likewyse as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heires, so in like maner whē he lost the same, his heyres lost it also by him, and in him. So now, this example proueth, that by our father Adam, we had once in hym the very enheritance of euerlasting ioy: and by him, and in him againe we lost the same.

The heires of the captaine of Calice could not by any maner of claime aske of the King the right & •itle of theyr father, in the thousand poundes possessions, by reason the kyng myght aunswer, and say vnto them, that although theyr father deserued not of hymselfe to enioy so great possessions, yet he deserued by hymselfe to loose thē, and greater, committynge so hygh treason as he dyd, agaynst hys Princes commaundementes: whereby he had no wrong to loose his title, but was vnworthy to haue the same, and had therein true iustice: let not you thinke which bee hys heyres, that if hee had iustice to loose his possessions, you haue wrong to loose the same: In the same maner it may be aunswered vnto all men and women now beyng, that if our father Adam had true Iustice to bee excluded from hys possession of euerlastyng glory in Paradise, let not vs thinke the contrary that be his heyres, but that wee haue no wrong in loosing also the same: yea, we haue true Iustice and right. Then in what miserable state be we, that of the right and iust title of our owne deserts, haue lost the euerlasting ioy, and clayme of our selues to be the true inheritours of hell? For hee that committeth deadly sinne, willyngly, byndeth hymselfe to be inheritor of euerlasting payne: and so dyd our forefather Adam willingly eate of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of euerlastyng ioy in Paradise, into this corrupt world, amongst all vilenesse, whereby of hymselfe he was not woorthy to do any thyng laudable or pleasaunt to GOD, euermore bound to corrupt affections, and beastly appetites, transfourmed into the most vncleannest and variablest nature that was made vnder heauen, of whose seede and disposition, all the world is lineally discended, in so much that this euill nature is so fused and shedde from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman liuyng, that can of themselues wash away this abhominable vilenesse: and so we must needes graunt of our selues to be in lyke displeasure vnto God, as our forefather Adam was: by reason hereof as I sayd, we bee of our selues the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true enheritours of hell, and workyng all towards hell, which is the answer of this question, made to euery man and woman by themselues, Who art thou?

And now the world standyng in this damnable state, commeth in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ: the Father in heauen perceiuyng the frayle nature of man, that he by hymselfe and of hymselfe could doe nothyng for hymselfe by hys prudent wisdom sent downe the second person in Trinitie, hys sonne Iesu Christ, to declare vnto man hys pleasure and commaundement: and so at the fathers wyll Christ tooke on hym humaine nature, beyng willyng to deliuer man out of this miserable way, & was content to suffer cruell passion in shedyng hys blood for all mankynd, and so left behynd for our safegard, lawes and ordinaunces to keepe vs alwayes in the right path, to euerlastyng lyfe, as the Euangelistes, the Sacramentes, the commaundementes, and so forth: which if wee doe keepe and obserue accordyng vnto our profession, wee shall aunswer better vnto this question, (Who art thou?) then we dyd before: for before thou diddest enter into the Sacrament of Baptisme, thou wert but a naturall man, a naturall woman: as I myght say, A man, A woman. But after thou takest on thee Christes Religion, thou hast a longer name: for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeyng thou art a Christian man, what shall be thy aunswer of this question▪ Who art thou?

The aunswer of this question is, when I aske it vnto my selfe, I must say that I am a Christian man, a christian woman, the childe of euerlastyng ioy thorough the merites of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a ioyfull aunswer. Here we may see how much wee bee bounde, and in daunger vnto GOD, that hath reuiued vs from death to lyfe, and saued vs that were damned, which great benefite we cannot well consider, vnlesse we doe remember what we were of our selues before

wee medled wyth hym or hys lawes: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set lesse by it, the more wee shall conc•iue and know in our heartes what God hath done for vs: and the more that we know what God hath done for vs, the lesse wee shall set by our selues▪ the more wee shall loue and please God, so that in no condition wee shall eyther know our selues or God, except wee doe vtterly conf•sse our selues to bee meere vilenesse and corruption. Well, now it is come vnto this poynt, that we bee Ch•istian men, Christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothyng els of a Christian man or a woma•, but that they will obserue hys rule. For likewyse as hee is a good Augustine Frier that keepeth well Saint Augustines rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christes rule.

Now then, what is Christes rule? Christes rule consisteth in many thyngs, as in the commaundements, and the workes of mercy and so forth. And for because I can not declare Christs rule vnto you at one tyme, as it ought to be done, I will applye my selfe accordyng to your custome this tyme of Christenmasse, I wyll as I sayde, declare vnto you Christes rule, but that shall bee in Christes cardes. And where you are woont to celeb•ate Christenmasse in playing at cardes, I intend with gods grace to deale vnto you Christes cardes, wherein you shall p•rceyue Christes rule. The Game that we will p•ay at, shal be called the Triumph, which if it bee well played at, bee that dealeth shall winne: the Players shall lykewyse winne, and the standers and lookers vppon, shall doe the same, in so much that there is no man that is willyng to play at this Triumph with these cardes, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore euery Christian man and woman playe at these cardes, that they may haue and obtayne the Triumph: you must marke also that the Triumph must apply to fetch home vnto hym all the other cardes, what so euer suite they bee of. Now then take ye this first carde, which must appeare and be shewed vnto you as followeth. You haue heard what was spoken to the men of the olde Lawe. Thou shalt not kyll, whosoever shall kyll, shall be in daunger of iudgement. But I say vnto you of the new Lawe (sayeth Christ) that who so euer is angry with hys neighbour, shall bee in dau•ger of iudgement, and whosoever shall say vnto hys neighbour Racha, that is to say, braynesse, or any other lyke worde of rebuking, shall be in daunger of counsayle: and whosoever shall say vnto his neighbour, Foole, shall be in daunger of hell fire. This carde was made and spoken by Christ, as appereth in the first chapter of S. Mathew.

Now it must bee noted, that who so euer shall playe with this carde, must first before they play with it, knowe the strength and vertue of the same: wherefore you must well note and marke tearmes how they be spoken, and to what purpose: Let vs therfore read it once or twise, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, This card is deuided into foure partes: The first part is one of the Commaundementes that was geuen vnto Moses in the olde lawe, before the comyng of Christ, which commaundement wee of the new Lawe be bounde to obserue and keepe, and is one of our commaundementes. The other three partes spoken by Christ, bee nothyng els but expositions vnto the first part of this commaundement: for in very effect all th•se foure partes be but one commaundement, that is to say, Thou shalt not kill: yet neuerthelesse, the three last parts doth shew vnto thee how many wayes tho• mayest kyll thy neighbour contrary to this Commaundement: Yet for all Christes exposition, in the last three partes of thys carde, the

termes bee not open enough to th•e that doest read and heare them spoken: no doubte the Iewes vnderstoode Christ well enough when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake vnto them in theyr owne naturall termes and tongue: wherefore s•yng that these termes were naturall termes of the Iewes, it shall be necessary to expounde them, and compare them vnto some lyke termes of our naturall speach, that we in lyke manner may vnderstand Christ, as well as the Iewes dyd: we wyll begin first with the first parte of this carde, and then after with the other three partes: you must therfore vnderstand that the Iewes and the Pharises of the olde lawe, to whome this first parte, this Commaundement, Thou shalt not kyll, was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge not to kyll with any maner weapon of materiall weapon, as sworde, dagger, or with any such weapon, and they thought i• no great fault whatsoeuer they sayd or dyd by their neighbour, so that they did not harme or meddle with their corporall bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as p•ooueth well the [Page 1733](#) three last other sentences followyng the first part of this carde.

Now as touchyng the three other sentences, you must note and take heede what difference is betweene these thre maner of offences, To bee angrie with your neighbour, To call your neighbour braynelesse, or any such worde of disdayne, Or to call your neighbour foole: whether these three maner of offences be of themselues more griuous one then other, it is to bee opened vnto you: Truely as they be of themselues diuers offences, so they kill diuersly more one then the other, as you shall perceyue by the first of these three, and so foorth: A man which conceyueth agaynst hys neighbour or brother, Ire, or wrath in hys mynde, by some maner of occasion geuen vnto hym, although he be angry in hys mynde agaynst his sayd neighbour, he will not peradventure expresse hys ire by no maner of signe, eyther in worde or deede: yet neuertheles he offendeth agaynst God, and breaketh this commaundement in killyng hys owne soule, and is therefore in daunger of iudgement.

Now to the second part of these three: That man that is mooued with ire agaynst his neighbour, and in hys ire calleth hys neighbour braynelesse, or some other lyke word of displeasure, As a man might say in a fury, I shall handle thee well enough, which wordes and countenaunces doth more represent and declare Ire to be in this man, thē in hym that was but angry, and spake no maner of word, ne shewed no countenance to declare hys Ire: wherefore he that so declareth hys Ire eyther by worde or countenance, offendeth more agaynst God: so he both killeth hys owne soule, and doth that in hym is, to kyl his neighbours soule in moouyng hym vnto ire, wherein he is faultie hymselfe, and so this man is in danger of counsaile.

Now to the third offence, and last of these three. That man that calleth hys neighbour foole, doth more declare hys angry mynde toward hym, then hee that called hys neighbour but braynelesse, or any such wordes moouyng Ire: for to call a man foole, that worde representeth more enuy in a man, then braynelesse doth. Wherefore hee doth most offende, because hee doth most earnestly with such wordes expresse hys Ire, and so he is in daunger of hell fire: wherefore you may vnderstand now these thre parts: Of thys carde be three offences, and that one is more greuous to God then the other, and that one killeth more the soule of man then the other.

Now peradventure there be some that wyll meruaile that Christ dyd not declare this commaundement by some greater faultes of Ire, then by these which seeme but smal faultes, as to bee angry and speake nothyng of it, to declare it, and to call a man braynelesse, and to call his

neighbour foole: truely these be smallest, and the lest faults that longeth to ire, or to killyng in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kynd of Ire, seeyng that the smallest be damnable to offend in: see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he myght bryng you from the smallest maner of faultes, and geue you warnyng to auoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your Neighbour thiefe, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names, which offences must needes haue punishment in hel, consideryng how that Christ hath appointed these three small faultes, to haue three degrees of punishment in hel, as appeareth by these three termes, iudgement, counsaile, and hell fire: these three termes doe signifie nothyng els but three diuers punishments in hell, accordyng to the offences, iudgement is lesser in degree then counsaile, therefore it signifieth a lesser payne in hell, and it is ordeined for him that is angry in his mynde with his neighbour, and doth not expresse hys malice neyther by worde ne countenance: counsaile is a lesse degree in hel, then hel fire, and is a more degree in hell then iudgement: and it is ordeyned for him that calleth hys neighbour braynelesse, or any such worde, that declareth his Ire and malice: wherefore it is more payne then iudgement, hel fire is more payne in hell, then counsaile or iudgement, and it is ordeined for hym that calleth hys neighbour foole, by reason that in callyng his neighbour foole, he declareth more hys malice, in that it is an earnest worde of Ire. Wherefore hell fire is appoynted for it, that is, the most payne of the three punishments.

Now you haue heard that to these diuers offences of Ire and killyng, be appoynted punishments according to their degrees: for looke as the offence is, so shall the paine be, if the offence be great, the payne shall be accordyng: if it be lesse, there shall be lesse paine for it. I would not now that you should thinke because that here is but three degrees of punishmentes spoken of, that there bee no more in hell: no doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishmentes, thinkyng they were sufficient enough for example, wherby we myght vnderstand, that there be as diuers and many paynes as there bee o^offenses: and so by these three offences, and these three punishmentes, all other offences and punishments may bee compared with an other: yet I would satisfy your mynds further in these three termes of iudgement, counsaile, and hell fire. Where you might say, what was the cause that Christ declared more the paynes of hell by these termes, then by any other termes? I tolde you afore that he knew well to whome he spake them: these termes were naturall and well known amongst the Iewes and Phariseies. Wherefore Christ taught them with their owne termes, to the intent they might vnderstand the better his doctrine: and these termes may bee likened vnto three termes which we haue common and vsuall amongst vs, that is to say, the sessions of enquirance, the sessions of deliuerance, and the execution day: Sessions of enquirance is lyke vnto iudgement: for when sessions of enquiry is, then the Iudges causeth xij. men to geue verdite of the felons crime, whereby he shall be iudged to be endited: sessions of deliuerance is much lyke counsaile: for at sessions of deliuerance, the Iudges go amongst themselues to counsaile, to determine sentence agaynst the fellow. Execution day is to be compared vnto hel fire: for the Iews had amongst themselues a place of execution named hell fire: and surely when a man goeth to hys death, it is the greatest payne in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our termes, as there is in those termes, these euill disposed affections and sensualities in vs, are alwayes contrary to the rule of our saluation. What shall we doe now or imagine to thrust downe these Turkes, and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond and subiect vnto a Turke: Nay it shall not bee so, wee will first cast a Trumpe in their way, and play with them at cardes who shall haue the better, let vs play therefore on this fashion with this carde. Whensoever it

shall happen these fowle passions and Turkes to ryse in our stomackes agaynst our brother, or neighbour, eyther for vnkynd wordes, iniuries or wrongs, which they haue done vnto vs, contrary vnto our mynd, straight wayes let vs call vnto our remembraunce, and speake this question vnto our selues. Who art thou? The answer is, I am a christian man.* Thē further we must say to our selues, What requireth Christ of a christian man? Now turne vp your trump, your hart, (hartes is trumpe as I sayd before) and cast your trumpe your heart on this carde, and vppon this carde you shall learne what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, ne mooued to Ire agaynst hys Neighbour, in mynde, countenaunce, nor other wayes, by word or deed. Then take vp this carde with your hart, and lay them together: that done, you haue won the game of the Turke, wherby you haue defaced and ouercome by true and lawfull play: but alas for pitie, the Rhodes are wonne and ouercome by these false Turkes, the strong Castle Fayth is decayed, so that I feare it is almost impossible to winne it agayne.

The great occasion of the losse of this Rhodes is by reason that Christian men doth so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianitie is decayed, which murther and killyng one of another, is encreased, specially two wayes, to the vtter vndoing of Christendome, that is to say, by example and silence. By example as thus: When the Father, the Mother, the Lord, the Lady, the Maister, the Dame,* be themselues ouercome with these Turkes, they be continuall swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, neuer in patience, and so forth in all other vices. Thinke you not when the Father, the mother, the Maister, the Dame bee disposed vnto vice or impatience, but that their children and seruants shall encline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the chylde shall take disposition naturall of their father and mother, so shal the seruaunts apply vnto the vices of their Maisters and Dames: if the heads be false in theyr faculties and crafts, it is no meruayle if the children seruaunts, and apprentices do enioy therein. This is a great and shameful maner of killyng Christian men, that the Fathers, the Mothers, the Maisters and the Dames shall not alonely kyll themselues, but all theyrs, and all that longeth vnto them, and so this way is a great number of christian linage murthered and spoiled. The second maner of killyng is silence. By silence also is a great number of christen men slayne, which is on this fashion: although that the father & mother, maister & dame of themselues be wel disposed to liue according to the law of God, yet they may kil their childrē and seruants in suffryng them to do euill before their own faces, and do not vse due correction accordyng vnto theyr offences: the maister seeth his seruaunt or apprentice take [Page 1734](#) more of his neighbour then the Kings lawes or the other of hys facultie doth admit hym, or that hee suffereth hym to take more of hys neighbour then he hymselfe would be content to pay if he were in lyke condition: thus doynge, I say such men kill willyngly their children and seruants and shall goe to hell for so doynge: but also their fathers and mothers, maisters and dames, shall beare them company for so sufferyng them. Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women, to geue good example vnto your children and seruauntes, and suffer not them by silence to offend: euery man must bee in hys owne house, accordyng to Saint Augustines mynde, a Bishop, not all onely geuyng good ensample, but teach accordyng to it, rebuke and punish vice, not sufferyng your children & seruauntes to forget the lawes of GOD: you ought to see them haue their Beliefe, to know the Commaundements of God, to keepe their holy dayes, not to loose theyr tyme in idlenesse: if they doe so, you shall all suffer payne for it, if God be true of hys saying, as there is no doubt thereof: and so you may perceyue that there be many one that breaketh this carde, Thou shalt not kill, and playeth therwith oftentimes at the blynde trompe, whereby they bee no winners but great losers: but who bee those now a dayes that can cleare themselues of this manifest murthers vsed

to their children and seruaunts? I thinke not the contrary, but that many hath these two wayes slayne their owne children vnto their damnations, vnlesse the great mercy of God were not ready to helpe them when they repent therefore.

Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sinne, let vs cast downe our selues wyth Mary Magdalene, and the more wee •ow downe wyth her toward Christes feete, the more we shall be afrayd to ryse agayne in sinne, and the more we knowe and submit our selues, the more we shall bee forgeuen: and the lesse we knowe and submit our selues, the lesse we shall be forgeuen, as appeareth by this example followyng.

Christ when he was in this world amongst the Iews and Phariseys, there was a great Pharisey whose name was Simon: this Pharisey desired Christ on a tyme to dyne with hym, thinkyng in hymselfe that hee was able and worthy to geue Christ a diner. Christ refused not hys dinner, but came vnto hym. In tyme of their dinner, it chaunced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named Mary Magdalene: As soone as she perceiued Christ, she cast her selfe downe, and called vnto her remembraunce what she was of her selfe, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceyued in Christ great loue, and so came neere vnto hym, and washed hys feete with bitter teares, and shed vpon hys head precious oyntment, thinkyng that by hym she should be deliuered from her sinnes: this great and proude Pharisey seeyng that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation agaynst this woman, and sayd to hymselfe: if this man Christ were a holy Prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner come so nigh hym: Christ vnderstandyng the naughty mynd of this Pharisey, sayd vnto hym: Simon, I haue somewhat to say vnto thee: say what you please (quod the Pharisey.) Then sayd Christ, I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whome is owyng xx. pound by one, and fourtie by an other, this man to whom this money is owyng perceyueth these two men bee not able to pay hym, he forgeueth them both. Which of these two debtors ought to loue this man most? The Pharisey sayd: That man ought to loue him best, that had most forgeuen hym: Likewyse sayd Christ, it is by this woman, She hath loued me most, therefore most is forgeuen her, she hath knowen her sinnes most, whereby she hath most loued mee: and thou hast least loued me, because thou hast least knowen thy sinnes: therefore, because thou hast lest knowne thine offenses, thou art least forgeuen. So this proud Pharisey had an aunswere to delay hys pryde: and thinke you not, but that there be amongst vs a great number of these proude Phariseys, which thinke themselues woorthy to bidde Christ to dinner, which wyll perke and presume to sitte by Christ in the Church, and haue disdayne of this poore womā Magdalene, theyr poore neyghbour, with a hygh disdaynous and solemne countenance: and beyng alwayes desirous to clymbe highest in the Church, reckonyng theyr selues more woorthy to sit there then an other, I feare me poore Magdalene vnder the boord, and in the belfrey, hath more forgeuen of Christ then they haue: for it is lyke that those Phariseys doe lesse knowe themselues and their offences, whereby they lesse loue GOD, and so they bee lesse forgeuen.

I would to God we would followe this example, and be lyke vnto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in fallyng into sinne, and in offendyng: but we be not agayne Magdalens in knowyng our selues, and in rising from sinne. If we bee the true Magdalens, wee should be as willyng to forsake our sinne, and ryse from sinne, as we were willyng to commit sinne, and to continue in it, and we then should know our selues best, and make a more perfect aunswer, then euer we did vnto this question, Who art thou? To the which we might answer, that we be true

Christian men and women: and then I say you should vnderstand, and knowe how you ought to playe at this carde, Thou shalt not kyll, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turkes: and so triumph at the last, by winnyng euerlastyng lyfe in glory. Amen.

It would aske a long discourse to declare what a stirre there was in Cambridge, vpon this preachyng of maister Latymer. Belike Sathan began to feele hymselfe and hys kyngdome to bee touched too neare, and therefore thought it tyme to looke about hym, and to make out hys men of armes.

First, came out the Priour of the Blacke Friers called Buckneham, otherwyse surnamed Domine labia,* who thinking to make a great hand agaynst Maister Latimer, about the same tyme of Christenmas, when Maister Latymer brought foorth hys cardes to deface belyke the doynge of the other, brought out hys Christenmasse Dice, castyng there to hys audience cinque and quater: meaning by the cinque fiue places in the New Testament, and the foure Doctors by the quater, by which his cinque quater, he would prooue, that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, least the ignoraunt and vulgar sort thorough the occasion thereof, myght happily be brought in daunger to leaue their vocation, or els to runne into some inconuenience: as for example.

The Plowman when he heareth this in the Gospell:† No man that layeth hys hand on the Plough, and looketh backe, is meete for the kyngdome of God, might peraduenture hearyng this, cease from his plough. Likewyse the Baker when he heareth that a little Leauen corrupteth a whole lumpe of dowe, may percase leaue our bread vnleuened, and so our bodies shall be vnseasoned. Also the simple man when he heareth in the Gospell: If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, may make him selfe blynd, and so fill the world ful of beggers. These with other mo, this clarkely Frier brought out to the number of fiue, to prooue his purpose.

Maister Latymer hearyng this Frierly Sermon of Doctour Bucknham, commeth agayne the after noone, or shortly after to the Church, to aunswer the Frier, where resorted to hym a great multitude, as well of the Uniuersitie, as of the Towne, both Doctours and other Graduates, with great expectation to heare what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latymer vnderneath the pulpit, sate Bucknham the foresayd Frier Prior of the blacke Friers, with his blacke Friers coule aboute hys shoulders.

Then M. Latymer first repeatyng the Frierly reasons of Doctour Bucknham, whereby hee would prooue it a daungerous thyng for the vulgare people,* to haue the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the Fryer, so aunswered to hys obiections, so dallied with hys balde reasons of the Ploughman lookyng backe, and of the Baker leauyng hys bread vnleuened, that the vanitie of the Frier myght to all men appeare, well proouyng and declaryng to the people, howe there was no such feare nor daunger for the Scriptures to be in English as the Frier pretended: at lest this requiryng, that the scripture might be so long in English tongue, tyll English men were so madde, that neyther the Ploughman durst looke back, nor the Baker would leaue hys breade vnleuened. And procedyng moreouer in hys Sermon, he began to discourse of the mysticall speaches, and figuratiue phrases of the Scripture: which phrases he sayd were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrue tongue most commonlye vsed and knowen, and not onelye in the Hebrue tongue: But also euerye speach (sayeth he) hath hys

Metaphors and lyke figuratiue significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very Painters do paynt them on walles and in houses.

As for example (sayeth he, lookyng toward the Frier that sate ouer agaynst hym) when they paynt a foxe preachyng out of a Friers coule, none is so madde to take this to be a Foxe that preacheth, but knowe well enough the meanyng of the matter, which is to paynte out vnto vs, [Page 1735](#) what hypocrisie, craft and subtile dissimulation lyeth hid many tymes in these Friers coules, willyng vs thereby to beware of them. In fine, Frier Bucknham wyth this Sermon was so dashed, that neuer after hee durst peepe out of the pulpit agaynst M. Latymer.

*Besides this Bucknham there was also another rayling Frier, not of the same coate, but of the same note and faction, a gray Frier and a Doctor, an outlandishman called D. Uenetus, who likewyse in his brawling sermons, rayled and raged agaynst M. Latymer, calling him a mad and braynelesse man, and willyng the people not to beleue hym, &c. To whome M. Latymer aunsweryng agayne, taketh for hys ground the wordes of our Sauour Christ, Math. 5. *Thou shalt not kyll, &c. but I say vnto you, who so euer is angry with hys neighbour shall bee in daunger of iudgement: and who so euer shall say vnto hys Neighbour Racha (or any other lyke wordes of rebukyng, as braynelesse) shall be in danger of counsaile: And who so euer shall say to his neighbour foole, shall be in daunger of hell fire. &c.

In discussing of which place, first hee deuideth the offence of killyng into three branches. *One to be with hand, an other with hart, the third with word. With hand when we vse any weapon drawn, to spill the lyfe of our neighbor. With hart, when we be angry with hym. With word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully reuile hym. Wordes of rebukyng are when we speake any opprobrious and vnseemly thyng, whereby the pacience of our neighbour is mooued, as when we call hym mad (sayd he) or braynelesse, or such lyke, which are guiltie of Counsaile. Wordes of spite or reuilyng, are, whē we call hym foole: which Christ saith is guilty of hell fire, &c.

Thus M. Latimer in handlyng and trimmyng this matter, after that with the weight of Christes words, and the explainyng of the same, hee had sufficiently borne the Frier cleane downe, then he turned to the v. chapter of the booke of Wisdome. Out of the which chap. hee declared to the audience, *how the true seruantes and Preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reuiled of the proud enemies of Gods word, which count them here as mad men, fooles, brainelesse, and *drunken: so did they (sayed he) in the Scripture call them which most purely preached, and set foorth the glory of Gods word. But (said he) what will be the ende of these iolly fellowes, or what will they say in the ende? Nos insensati, nos insensati, &c. We mad men, we mad fooles, We, we, our selues, &c. And that will be their end, except they repent. And thus endyng his Sermon, he so confounded the poore Frier, that hee droue hym not onely out of countenance, but also cleane out of the Uniuersitie.

But what should I here stand deciphryng the names of his aduersaries, when whole swarmes of Friers & doctours flockt against hym on euery side almost through the whole Uniuersitie, preachyng likewyse & barking against hym. Amongest whome was Doct. Watson Maister of Christes Colledge, whose scholer Latimer had bene afore. D. Notaries, Maister of Clarehall. D. Philo Maister of Michael house, D. Metecalfe Maister of Saint Iohns, D. Blithe of the Kyngs

hall. D. Bullocke Maister of the Queenes Colledge, D. Cliffe of Clement house, Doctor Donnes of Iesus Colledge, Doctor Palmes Maister of S. Nicholas Hostle, Bain, Rud, and Greenwood Bachelor of Diuinitie, all three of Saint Iohns Colledge. Also Brikenden Bachelor of Diuinitie of the same house, and Scholer sometyme to the sayd Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heds there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy Standerd bearer of Christes gospel sustayne.

Then came at last D. West B. of Ely, who preachyng agaynst M. Latimer at Barwell Abbey,^{*} forbade him with in the Churches of that Uniuersitie to preach any more. Notwithstandyng, so the Lord prouided, that D. Barnes Prior of the Augustine Friers, did licence Maister Latymer to preach in hys Church of the Augustines, & he himselfe preached at the church by called S. Edwards church, which was the first Sermon of the Gospell which doctor Barnes preached, beyng vpon Christenmas euen vpon a Sunday. Wherupon certayne Articles were gathered out of his Sermon, and were commenced against hym by M. Tirell fellow of the Kyngs hall, and so by the Uice chancellor presented to the Cardinal, as in his story before hath bene declared.

This M. Latimer (as you haue heard) beyng bayted by the Friers, Doctors, and maisters of that Uniuersitie, about the yeare aforesaid, 1529. notwithstandyng the maugre and malice of these malignant aduersaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of 3. yeres together▪ with such sauour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of hys enemies that heard hym, that the Bishop himselfe commyng in, and hearyng his gilt, wysshed hymselfe to haue the lyke, and was compelled to commend hym vpon the same.

So M. Latymer with M. Bilney, after this continued yet in Cambridge a certayne space,^{*} where he with the sayde Bilney vsed much to conferre and companie together, in so muche that the place where they most vsed to walke in the fieldes, was called long after, the Heretikes hill.

The societie of these two, as it was much noted of many in that Uniuersitie: so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doyngs, both in visityng the prisoners, in relieuyng the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of M. Bilney. In a place of hys Sermons, M. Latymer maketh mention of a certaine history which happened about this tyme in Cambridge betweene them two, and a certayne woman then prisoner in the Castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not vnworthy to be remembred. The historie is this: It so chaunced that after Maister Latymer had bene acquaynted with the fore sayd Maister Bilney, he went with hym to visite the prisoners in the Tower in Cambridge, and beyng there among other prysoners, there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her owne chylde, which acte she playnly and stedfastly denied. Whereby it gaue them occasion to searche for the matter, and at length they founde that her husbände loued her not, and therefore soughte all meanes he coulde to make her away. The matter was thus.

A child of hers had bene sicke a whole yere, & at length died in haruest tyme, as it were in a consumption.^{*} Which when it was gone, shee went to haue her neighboures to helpe her to the buriall, but all were in Haruest abroad: whereby she was enforced with heauinesse of heart, alone to prepare the chylde to the buriall. Her husband comming home, and not louyng her, accused her of murtheryng the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and M. Latimer by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guilty. Thē immediatly after, was he

called to preach before king Henry the 8. at Windsore: where after his sermon the kyngs maiestie sent for hym,* and talked with him familiarly. At which tyme M. Latimer finding oportunitie, kneeled downe, opened hys whole matter to the kyng, and begged her pardon, which the kyng most graciously granted, and gaue it hym at his return homeward. In the meane tyme the woman was deliuered of a chylde in the prison, whose Godfather was M. Latymer, and maistres Cheeke Godmother. But all that whyle he would not tel her of the pardone, but laboured to haue her confesse the truth of the matter. At length tyme came when she looked to suffer,* and Maister Latymer came as he was woont to instruct her: vnto whome shee made great lamentation and moue, to be purified before her suffring, for she thoght to be damned if she should suffer without purification. Then M. Bilney beyng with maister Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Iewes, and not to vs, and howe women bee as well in the fauour of GOD before they be purified, as after: and rather it was appointed for a ciuill and politike lawe, for naturall honestye sake, then that they should any thyng the more be purified from sinne thereby, &c. So thus they trauayled wyth this woman, till they had brought her to a good trade, and then at length shewed her the Kyngs pardon, and let her goe.

This good act among many other at this tyme happened in Cambridge, by M. Latimer, and Maister Bilney. But this was not alone, for many mo lyke matters were wrought by them if all were known, wherof partly some are touched before, such especially as concerne M. Bilney, mention whereof is aboue expressed. But as it is commonly seene in the naturall course of thynges, that as the fire beginneth more to kyndle, so the more smoke aryseth withall, in much lyke sort it happened with Maister Latymer, whose towardnesse the more it beganne to spryng, hys vertues to be seene, and hys doynge to bee knowen, the more hys aduersaries began to spurne and kindle against hym. Concernyng these aduersaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names bee aboue expressed. Among the rest of this number was Doct. Redman, of whome mention is made before in the raigne of king Edward, a man sauouring at that tyme somewhat more of superstition, then of true religion, after the zeale of the Phariseis, yet not so malignant or harmfull, but of [Page 1736](#) a ciuill and quiet disposition, and also so liberall in well doynge, that few poore Scholers were in that vniuersitie, which fared not better by his purse. This Doct. Redman beyng of no little authoritie in Cambridge, perceiuyng & vnderstandyng the bold enterprise of M. Latymer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the Gospell at thys tyme,* or much about the same, writeth to hym, seeking by perswasion to reuoke the sayd Latimer from that kynde & maner of teachyng: to whom M. Latimer maketh aunswer agayne in few words. The summe and effect of both their letters translated out of Latine, here followe to bee seene.

¶The summe of the Epistle written by Doctor Redman, to M. Latymer.

*GRace be vnto you, and true peace in Christ Iesu. I beseeche you hartily, and require most earnestly, euen for charities sake, that you wyll not stand in your owne conceite with a mind so indurate, nor preferre your owne singular iudgement in matters of religion and controuersies before so many learned men, and that more is, before the whole Catholike Church, especially consideryng that you neither haue any thyng at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any autenticall wryter. Nay, nay: I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanitie maye quickly bleare your eye, which doth sometyme transforme it selfe into an Aungell of lyght.

Judge not so rashly of vs, as that wicked spirite hath tickled you in the eare. Witte you well that we are carefull for you, and that we wish you to be saued, and that wee are carefull also for our owne saluation. Lay downe your stomacke I pray you, and humble your spirite, and suffer not the Church to take offence with the hardnes of your hart, nor that her vnitie and Christes coate without seame (as much as lyeth in you) should be torne a sunder. Consider what the sayeng of the wyseman is, and be obedient thereunto: Trust not in your owne wisdom. The Lord Iesus Christ, &c.

¶The summe of M. Latymers aunswer to Doct. Redman.

*REuerend M. Redman, it is euen enough for me, that Christes sheepe heare no mans voyce but Christ: and as for you, you haue no voyce of Christ agaynst me, whereas for my part, I haue a heart that is ready to harken to any voyce of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talkyng with the Lord my God.

*After Maister Latymer had thus trauailed in preachyng and teachyng in the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, about the space of three yeares, at length he was called vp to the Cardinall for heresie, by the procurement of certain of the sayd Uniuersitie, where he was content to subscribe and graunt to such Articles, as then they propounded vnto hym, &c.

*After that, he returned to the Uniuersitie again, where shortly after, by the meanes of D. Buttes the kyngs Phisition, a singuler good man, and a special fauourer of good procedyngs, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the kyngs supremacie. Then went he to the Court, where he remayned a certaine tyme in the sayd D. Buttes chamber, preachyng then in London very often. At last beyng weary of the Court, hauyng a benefice offred by the kyng, at the sute of the L. Crumwell and D. Buttes, was glad thereof, seekyng by that meanes to bee rid out of the Court, wherewith in no case he could agree, and so hauyng a grant of the benefice, cōtrary to the mind of D. Buttes, he would needes depart, and be resident at the same.

This benefice was in Wilshire, vnder the Diocesse of Sarum,* the name of which towne was called West Kington, where this good preacher did exercise hymselfe wyth much diligence of teaching to instruct hys flocke: and not onely to them his diligence extended, but also to all the countrey about. In fine, his diligence was so great, hys preachyng so mighty, the maner of his teaching so zelous, that there in lyke sort hee could not escape without enemies. So true it is that Saint Paul foretelleth vs: Who so euer will lyue godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. It so chanced,* that where as he preachyng vpon the blessed virgine Christes mother (whome we call our Lady) had thereupon declared his mynd, referring and reducing all honour onely to Christ our onely Sauior, certaine popish priests beyng therewith offended, sought & wrought much trouble against hym, drawyng out Articles and impositions which they vntruly, vniustly, falsly, and vncharitably imputed vnto hym: first that hee should preach against our Lady, for that he reprooued in a sermon the superstitious rudenesse of certaine blynd Priestes,* which so held altogether vpon that blessed Uirgin, as though shee neuer had any sinne, nor were saued by Christ the onely Sauour of the whole world.

Item, that he should say, that Saintes were not to be worshipped.

Item, that Aue Maria was a salutation onely,* and no prayer.

Item, that there was no materiall fire in hell.

Item, that there was no purgatorie, in saying, that he had leuer be in Purgatory, then in Lollards tower.

Touchyng the whole discourse of whiche Articles, with hys reply and aunswer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lordes assistaunce) when we come to his letters.

The chiefe impugners and molesters of hym, besides these countrey priests, were D. Powell of Salisbury,* D. Wilson sometyme of Cambridge, M. Hubberdin, and D. Sherwood. Of whom some preached agaynst hym, some also did write against hym: in so much that by their procurement he was cited vp, and called to appeare before W. Warrham Archbishop of Canterbury, & Ioh. Stokesley Bish. of London, ann. 1531. Ian. 29. the copy of which citation, here ensueth.

¶The copy of the Citation sent to the sayd M. Latimer by the Chancellor of Sarum, at the intercession of the Bish. of London.

Richardus Hilley decretorū Doctor, Reuerendissimi in Christo patris & domini, domini Laurentij, dei gratia Sarum Episcopi, in remotis extra regnum Angliae agentis vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, vniuersis & singulis rectoribus, vicarijs, capellanis, curatis, clerisque, & literatis per dioces. Sarum vbilibet cōstitutis, salutem in autoritate salutis. Vobis coniunctim, & diuisim committimus, ac firmiter iniungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis, vel citari faciatis peremptoriē magistrum Hugonem Latimer, Vicarium de Westkington in archimatu Wiltes Sarum dioces. quod compareat coram reuerendo in Christo patre, & domino domino Iohanne, dei gratia London Episcopo, aut eius vicario in spiritualibus generali, siue commissario in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Pauli London, in loco consistoriali ibidem, die lun•: videlicet, xxix. die mensis Ianuarij, iam instantis, inter horam, ix. & xi. ante meridiem eiusdem diei, certis articulis siue interrogatorijs, crimina seu excessus graues infra iurisdictionem London. per ipsum commis. concernentibus personaliter responsur. vltiusque factur. & receptur. quod iustitia in ea parte suadebit: & quid in praemissis feceritis, nos citra xxij. diem eiusdem mensis Ianuarij, vel in eo apud Sarum debite certificari curetis, vt nos certificatorium huiusmodi supradicto reuerendo patri, Domino London Episcopo erga dictum .xxij. diem transmittere valeamus, prout idem reuerendus pater nos in iuris subsidium ac mutuae vicissitudinis obtentu rogauit, & etiam requisiiuit. Datum Sarum, sub sigillo antedicti reuerendissimi patris ad causas, x. die mensis Ianuarij. An. 1531.

Against this citation,*although M. Latimer did appeale to his owne Ordinary, requiring by hym to bee ordered, yet all that notwithstanding, he was had vp to Lōdon before Warrham the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bish. of London, where he was greatly molested, and deteined a long space from his cure at home. There he beyng called thrise euery weeke before the sayd Bishops, to make aunswer for his preachyng,*had certaine articles or propositions drawen out and sayed to hym, whereunto they required hym to subscribe. At length he not only perceiuyng their practical procedyngs, but also much grieued with their troublesome vnquietnes, which neither would preach themselues, nor yet suffer him to preach & to do his dutie, writeth to the

foresayd Archbish. partly excusing his infirmitie, whereby he could not appeare at their cōmandement, partly expostulatyng with them for so troubllyng and deteinyng hym from his duetie doying, and that for no iust cause, but onelye for preachyng the truth agaynst certayne vayne abuses crept into religion, much needfull to be spoken agaynst. Which all may appeare by his Epistle sent to a certaine bishop or Archbishop, whose name is not expressed, the cōpye of which Epistle in Latine is this.

¶The copy of the Epistle written by M. Latimer to the Archbishop of Cant.

NON licet reuerendissime praesul per superuenientem aegrotationem ad tuum palatium venire,* non nouam quidem illam, sed inueteratam, & si nouis occasionibus nuper exasperatam. [Page 1737](#) Certe quantum videre videor, & quantum coniecturis ducor, hodie non licebit, citra meum (inquam) magnum malum non licebit. Et ne meum expectaret aduentum diutius tua dominatio frustra: en hanc qualem cun{que} schedulam mea manu oblitam ad tuam amplitudinem mitto, velut excusationis nostrae certissimum indicem. In qua vtinam vel per temporis importunitatem, vel per capitis gra edinem, iustam aliquam expostulationem liceret tecum facere, qui me, curam animarum habenrem ab earundem curatione debita tam diu detines inuitum, & hac quidem tempestate detines, qua pastores cum gregibus adesse oportet vel maxime. Quid ni enim expostulem, si modo tam vili mancipio cum tanto patre expostulare sit licitum. Nam si Petrus arbitr•batur iustum esse ratione officij sui, quamdiu in hoc foret tabernaculo, vt populum admonere & docere neutiquam cessaret, & quo propius morti hoc instantius, ergo non potest non videre iniustum si qui hodie ne{que} docent ipsi (vt iam nihil mirer si non ante docuerunt) ne{que} cupiētes docere permittunt, nisi quos habuerunt votis per omnia & in omnibus obsequundantes. Primum liberum erat me ipsum amplitudini vestrae praesentare & offerre, sed inde me ipsum eripere & extricare, parum nunc quidem videtur mihi liberum esse. Et dum aliud in principio praetenditur, aliud in progressu tam longo temporis tractu agitur, nostri negotij quis aut qualis sit futurus exitus, nō immerito dubitatur: sed veritas tandem liberabit vti spero. Dominus qui custodit veritatem in seculum liberabit, super quo quid scribit Hieronymus vtinam nunquam e memoria excideret. Non poterat me molestare quicquid essem pro veritate passurus: sed viuut deus, & ipsi cura est de nobis. Tum modo ad Lond. missus sum, caeterum coram Cant. interdum multis formidandis patribus stipato geruntur omnia. Res velut cancellos quosdam & limites habet, ab eo qui me misit praestitutos: verum sic tractatur causa, & ambagibus ducitur, quasi in infinitum abitura, nullo tādē claudenda termino, dum sine modo & fine, alia post alia ad me, siue pertinentia, siue impertinentia, nunc ab hoc, nunc ab illo interrogantur, si non egomet modo, & si forte inciuiliter, ac non imprudenter tamen (ni fallor) modum imponere, veritus ne inter multa,* dum multis respondet vnus, vnum aliquod (vt fit) ex inconsulto erumperet, quod causam laederet, alioqui iustissimam: & me malum ostendat oportet nemini volētem male moliri, si quid in conscientia est erroris: & meminisse omnino illud oportet, nempe ad gehennam edificare, contra conscientiam facere, hijs sat fuerit sua profiteri▪ sua asserere, sua defensare: mihi vero assertiones alienae obtruduntur, nescio quo iure asserendae. Sine exemplo, opinor hoc fit mihi, qui tamen intractabilis, fere videor, dum nihil aliud quam iniquis efflagitationibus (quod ego iudico) acquiescere detrecto. Aduersus praedicationes meas si quis quid in tentare conabitur, tanquam vel obscuriores, vel parum caute pronunciatas, paratus sum praedicationes praedicationibus illustrare, qui nihil aduersus veritatem, nihil aduersus decreta patrum, nil non catholice (quod sciam) praedicaui vnquam Id quod per aduersariorum & obloquentium testimonia commonstrare poteram esse verum.* Optaui & opto iudiciū vulgi reparari. Optaui &

opto discrimen rerum deprehendi, & sua dignitate suo loco, & tempore, suo gradu & ordine, vnamquam{que} rem pollere, gaudere, vt ingenue sciant omnes, permultum interesse inter ea quae praeparauit deus, vt in eis ambulemus, quisque vocationis opera sedulo facturi,* postquam quae omnibus sunt communia, pari sedulitate sunt facta, & inter ea quae spontanea sunt, vt in quibus non nisi nostropote Marte obambulamus. Imaginibus vti licet, peregrinari licet, sanctos inuocare licet, animarum in purgatorio residentium memores esse licet: sed sic temperanda sunt, quae voluntaria sunt, vt praecepta dei factu necessaria (quae facientibus vitam aeternam, non facientibus aeternam mortem afferunt) iusta estimatione non priuentur, ne praepostere diligentes deum stulte deuoti, deum contra experiamur non redamantem nos, sed odio potius prosequentem, cum hoc est deum vere diligere, nimirum praecepta dei diligenter seruare, iuxta illud Christi: qui habet praecepta mea & facit ea, hic est qui diligit me, ne quis tam vilia reputet praecepta Dei vocationem concernentia, in suis potius adinventionibus aberraturus, cum in fine ante tribunal Christi secundum illa, non secundum has, omnes ad vnum iudicabimur, iuxta illud Christi: sermo quem locutus sum, ipse iudicabit in nouissimo die. Et quis potest vnum praeceptum dei vllis additijs inuentis quamlibet aut multis aut spetiosis compensare. O si essemus ad ea quae Dei sunt peragenda tam propensi, quam sumus ad nostra excogitamenta exercenda seduli & deuoti. Multa sunt quae simplici fide facta non improbat deus, sed probat vtcunque, saltem quorundam infirmitati indulgens, quae tamen antequam fierent interrogatus, nec praeciperet, nec consuleret fieri, vtpote quae iustius toleranda sunt, dum sic fiant, quam praedicanda vt fiant: ne occasione praedicationis (vt fit) omittantur, quae periculo damnationis fieri debeant. Et quid magis indecorum, quam ad id praedicationem conuertere,* quod deus ipse, nec praeciperet, nec consuleret fieri, saltem quam diu negligenter fiunt quae praecipiantur facienda. Proinde ego ex parte mandatorum dei sto hactenus immobilis, sic non meum, sed Christi lucrum, non meam sed dei gloriā quaerens, & donec respirare licebit, stare nō desinam, sic germanos verbi precones, quotquot hactenus fuere imitaturus. Intollerabiles sane sunt, & diu fuere quarundam rerum abusus,* vt nemo Christianae gloriae studiosus potest, nisi abusus rerum multo etiam magis improbatis res ipsas e suggestu probare, quae si rari⁹ fierent (vt ne dicam nunquam) modo hac occasione quae mādantur a deo fieri, fierent officiosius, quid quaeso pateretur acturae religio christiana? nisi forte sic caecutimus miseri, vt illa turpi questu nostro, non cultu dei vero putentur consistere am non potest (opinor) fieri, vt damnabilis eiusmodi rerum abusus iuste reprobetur, nisi protinus infrequentior earundem vsus sequatur. Quanquam praestiterit quaedam nunquam fieri quam tam fiducialiter fieri, vt minus curentur quae oportuit fieri, cum alia oportet facere, alia oportet non omittere, alia nec oportet facere, & omittere licet. Et quis manifestum multarum rerum abusus non videt? quis vidit, & non vehementer dolet? quis dolet denique & non laborat amouere? & quando amouebitur, si vsus praedicatione celebrabitur, tacebitur abusus? Imo non potest non regnare & dominari abusus. Aliud est, res quae possunt in loco fieri, tolerare, aliud easdem pro rebus quae debent fieri, aut passim praedicare, aut legibus praedicanda constituere. Euntes docete (inquit) omnia. Quenam omnia? omnia quae ego praecipi vobis (inquit) non dicit omnia quae vobis ipsis videntur praedicanda. Agite igitur per immortalem deum.* Sic neruos intendamus nostros, vt quae dei sunt, praedicemus ad vnum omnes, ne adulteri & caupones praedicationis verius, quam viri praedicatores euadamus: maxime dum homines ad diuina sunt pigerrimi, ad sua velocissimi, vt nihil sit opus calcaribus: iniusta rerum aestimatione, & innata superstitione, certe ab ineunte aetate a maioribus contracta miserabiliter decepti, quibus rebus mederi vix vllis praedicationibus quamlibet frequentibus, quamlibet vehementibus, quamlibet sinceris & puris quimus. Quare prohibeat deus, ne in hac dierum malitia, qui debent ipsi potius praedicare (praecipit enim nobis, inquit Petrus, praedicare)

vel volentes & potentes praedicare praepediant, contra illud, noli prohibere eum benefacere qui potest, vel cauponantes praedicare compellant, sic miseram plebeculam in superstitione & fallaci fiducia damnabiliter detinētes. Quin deus potius misereatur nostri, vt cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, ne videamur in quos illud quadret digne, nō cogitationes meae, cogitationes vestrae, neque viae meae, viae vestrae, dicit dominus. Hinc ego nudis sententijs subscribere non audeo, domine cum primis obseruande, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturae quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo, ne mei ipsius damnationis simul sim author. Quod si dignus essem, qui tibi cōsiliū darem, colendissime pater, sed cohibeo me, quā sit prauum & intollerabile hominis cor detur vel coniectare. Neque sane quisquam nouit quae sunt hominis nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo. Non me superbia detinet vlla, ab illa subscriptione toties a tua dominatione cum maxima mei animi molestia rogata. Non potest non esse impium patribus & proceribus ecclesiae non obtemperare, sed videndum interim illis & quid & quibus imperent cum in loco, deo quam hominib{us} obedire oportet magis. Sic dolet mihi caput, & reliquum corpus languet, vt nec venire, nec haec rescribere licet, & emendare. Sed tua dominatio si non iudicium meum, certe studium spero probabit. Valeat dominatio tua.

In this foresayd Epistle as ye heare, he maketh mention of certayne articles or propositions, whereunto hee was required by the Bishops to subscribe. The copy and effect of those articles or nude propositions (as hee calleth them) be these.

¶Articles deuised by the Bishops, for M. Latymer to subscribe vnto.

I Beleeue that there is a purgatory to purge the soules of the dead after this lyfe.

That the soules in Purgatorie are holpen wyth the Masses, prayers, and almes of the liuyng.*

That the Saints do pray as Mediatours now for vs in heauen.

That they are to be honoured of vs in heauen.

That it is profitable for Christians to call vppon the Saintes, that they may pray as Mediatours for vs vnto God.

That pilgrimages and oblations done to the Sepulchres, and Reliques of Saints, are meritorious.

That they which haue vowed perpetual chastitie, may not marry, nor breake their vow, without the dispensation of the Pope.

That the keyes of bindyng & loosing deliuered to Peter, do still remaine with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they lyue wickedly, and are by no meanes, nor at any tyme committed to lay men.

That men may merite and deserue at Gods hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of pitie.

That they which are forbidden of the Bishoppe to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease vntill they haue [Page 1738](#) purged themselues before the sayde Bishops, or theyr Superiors, and be restored agayne.

That the fast whiche is vsed in Lent, and other fastes prescribed by the Canons, and by custome receiued of the Christians (except necessity otherwise require) and to be obserued and kept.

That God in euery one of the seuen Sacramentes geueth grace to a man, rightly receiuing the same.

That consecrations, sanctifynges and blessinges by vse and custome receiued in the Church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable Images of the Crucifix and other Sayntes, should be had in the Church as a remembraunce, and to the honour and worship of Iesus Christ and his Sayntes.

That it is laudable and profitable, to decke & to clothe those Images, and to set vp burning lightes before them, to the honor of the sayd Sayntes.

To these Articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is vncertayne.* It appeareth by his Epistle aboue written to the Byshoppe, that he durst not consent vnto them, where he writeth in these wordes: His ego nudis sententijs subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturae, quoad possum, autorculus esse nolo. &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterwarde to agree, through the cruell handling of the Byshoppes, it is in doubt. By the wordes and the Title in Tonstalles Register prefixed before the Articles, it may seeme that he subscribed. The wordes of the Register bee these: Hugo Latimerus in sacra Theologia Bacch. in vniuersitate Cantab. coram Cant. Archiepiscopo, Iohan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaque concione apud Westmonst. vocatus, confessus est & recognouit fidem suam, sic sentiendo vt sequitur, in his artic. xxi. die Martij. Anno. 1531. If these wordes be true, it may bee so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor maruell, the iniquitye of the time being such, that either he must nedes so do, or els abide the Bishoppes blessing, that is, cruell sentence of death,* which he at that time (as himselfe confessed preachinge at Stamforde) was lothe to susteine for such matters as these were vnlesse it were for Articles necessary of his beliefe, by whiche his wordes I coniecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was longe before he coulde be brought so to do. Yet this by the waye is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitfull handling of these Bishoppes in his examinations, what subtle deuises they vsed the same time to entrappe him in theyr s•ares. The trueth of the story he sheweth forth hymselfe in a certayne Sermon preached at Stamforde. ann. 1550. October 9. his wordes be these. I was once (sayeth he) in examinatio before fiue or sixe Bishops,* where I had much turmoyling, euery weeke thrise: I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were layde to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignoraunt of the Lawe, but that God gaue me answere and wisdom what I should speake: it was God in deed, for els I had neuer escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but nowe at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For where as before there

was wonte euer to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged ouer the chimney and the table stood nere the chimneis end.

There was amongst these Bishoppes that examined me, one with whom I haue bene very familier, and tooke him for my great frend, an aged man, and he sate nexte the table end.

Then amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one in deed, as I could not thinke so great daunger in. And when I should make aunswere, I pray you M. Latimer sayd one, speake out, I am very thicke of hearing, and here be many that fitte farre of. I maruelled at this, that I was biddē speak out, and began to misdeme, and gaue an eare to the chimney: and syr, there I heard a penne walking in the chimney behinde the cloth. They had appoynted one there to write all mine answeres: for they made sure, that I should not starte from them: there was no startinge from them, God was my good Lord, and gaue me aunswere, I could neuer elles haue scaped it. The question to him there and then obiected, was this: whether he thoughte in his conscience, that he hath bene suspected of heresye. This was a captious question.* There was no holding of peace would serue, for that was to graunt himselfe faulty. To answeere, it was euery way full of daunger. But GOD which alwaye geueth in neede what to aunswere, helped him, or elles (as he confesseth himselfe) he had neuer escaped theyr bloody handes. Albeit what was his answeere, he doth not there expresse. And thus hitherto you haue heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher in the time not onely of his being in the Uniuersitye, but especially at his benefice, as partly by his owne wordes aboue mentioned, and partly by his owne letters hereafter folowing may better appeare.

In these so harde and daungerous straites, and suche snares of the bishops, hard it had bene for him and impossible to haue escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the highest, as he styrred him vp, so haue preserued him through the fauoure and power of his Prince: who with muche fauour embraced him,* and with his mere power sometime rescued and deliuered him out of the crooked clawes of his enemies. Moreouer, at length also, through the procurement, partly of Doctour Buttes, partly of good Cromwell, (whose story ye had before) he aduanced him to the degree and dignity of a Bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester,* which so cōtinued a fewe yeares, instructing his Dioces, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant Pastor with wholesome doctrine and example▪ of perfecte conuersation duly agreeing to the same. It were a long matter to stand particularly vpon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his paynes, as study, readines and continuall carefulnes in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting,* correcting and reforming, either as his ability could serue, or els the time woulde beare. But the dayes then were so daungerous and variable, that he could not in all thinges do that he would? yet what he might doe, that he perfourmed to the vttermost of his strength, so that althoughe hee could not vtterly extinguish al the sparkling relicks of old superstition, yet he so wrought,* that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be vsed with as little hurt, & with as much profite as might be. As (for exāple) in this thing, as in diuers other it did appeare, that whē it coulde not be auoyded, but holy water & holy bread must nedes be receiued, yet he so prepared and instructed them of hys Dioces, with such informations and lessons, that in receiuing therof superstition shoulde be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the Ministers of his Dioces, in deliuering the holy bread and holy water, to say these wordes folowing.

¶ Wordes spoken to the people in geuing them holy water.

Remember your promise in Baptisme,

Christ his mercy and bloudshedding,*

By whose most holy sprinkeling,

Of all your sinnes you haue free pardoning.

¶ What to say in geuing holy bread.

Of Christes body this is a token,

Which on the crosse for our sinnes was broken,*

Wherefore of your sinnes you must be forsakers,

If of Christes death ye will be partakers.

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this Bishop was in doying the duety of a faythfull Pastor among his flocke.* And moreouer it is to be thoughte that he would haue brought more thinges elles to passe, if the time then had aunswered to his desire: for he was not ignorant, how the institution of holy water and holy bread, not onely had no ground in scripture, but also how full of prophane exorcismes and coniurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Gospell. Thus this good man behaued hymselfe in his Dioces, but, as before, both in the Uniuersity, and at his benefice he was tost and turmoyled by wicked and euill disposed persons,* so in hys Bishopricke also he was not all cleare and voyde of some that sought his trouble. As among many other euill willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story because he sheweth himselfe in a Sermon of his before K. Edward, I thought therfore to vse his owne wordes which be these.

In the kinges dayes that dead is, a great many of vs were called together before him,* to say our mindes in tertayne matters. In the end, one kneeleth downe and accuseth me of sedition and that I had preached sedititious doctrine. A heauy salutatiō, and a hard poynt of such a mans doing, as if I should name, ye would not thinke it.* The king turned to me and sayd: What say you to that syr?

Then I kneled downe, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him: Sir what forme of preaching would you appoynt me? in preaching before a king woulde you haue mee preache nothing as concerning a Kinge in the kinges Sermon? haue you any commission to appoint me [Page 1739](#) what I shal preach? besides this I asked him diuers other questions, and he would make me none aunswere to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

Then I turned me to the king, and submitted my selfe to his grace,* and sayd: I neuer thought my selfe worthye, nor I neuer sued to be a Preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to geue place to my betters: for I graunt there be a greate

many, more worthye of the roome then I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allowe them for Preachers, I coulde be content to beare theyr bookes after them. But if your grace allow me for a Preacher, I woulde desire your grace to geue me leaue to discharge my conscience, geue me leaue to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had bene a very dolte to haue preached so at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace.

*And I thanke almighty GOD (which hath alwayes bene my remedy) that my sayinges were well accepted of the king, for like a gracious Lord he turned into an other communication. It is euen as the Scripture sayth: Cor Regis in manu Domini. i. The Lord directed the kinges hart. Certayne of my frendes came to me with teares in theyr eyes, and told me they looked I shoulde haue bene in the Tower the same night.

Besides this diuers other conflictes and combats this godly Bishop susteined in his owne country and Dioces, in taking the cause of right and equitye agaynste oppressiō and wrong. As for an other example, there was at that time not far from the dioces of Worcester a certayn Iustice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This Iustice in purchasinge of certayne land for his brother,* or for himselfe, wēt about to wrong or damnify a poore man, who made his cōplaynt to M. Latimer. He first hearing, then tendering his rightfull cause, wrote his letter to the Gentleman: exhorting him to remember himselfe, to consider the cause and to absteine from iniury. The Iustice of peace not content withall (as the fashion of men is when they are tolde of theyr fault) sendeth word agayne, in greate displeasure, that hee would not so take it at his handes, with suche threatnyng wordes. &c. M. Latimer hearing this, aunswered agayne by writing to a certain gentleman: the copy wherof amōg his letters hereafter foloweth in the sequele of this story to be sene.

It were a large & long processe to story out all the doinges, trauels & writings of this christian Bishop neither yet haue we expressed all that came to our handes: but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a Bishop the space of certayne yeares, till the comming in of the 6. Articles.* Then beyng distressed through the straightnesse of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or els must forsake his Bishopricke, he did of his owne free accord resigne his pastorship. At which time Shaxton then bishop of Salisbry resigned likewise with hym his bishopricke. And so these two remayned a great space vnbishopped, keping silence till the time of king Edward of blessed memory.* At what time he first put of his Rochet in his chamber amōg his frendes, sodenly he gaue askip in y^e floore for ioy, feling his shoulders so light, and being discharged (as he sayd) of such an heauy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened,* but that troubles & labors folowed him wheresoeuer he went. For a litle after he had renounced his bishoprick, first he was almost slayne, but sore brused with the fall off a tree. Then comming vp to London for remedye, he was molested & troubled of the bishops, wherby he was again in no little daunger, & at length was cast into the Tower where he cōtinually remayned Prisoner, till the time that blessed K. Edward entred his crown, by meanes wherof the goldē mouth of this preacher, long shut vp before, was now opened agayne. And so he beginning a freshe to sette forth his plough agayne, continued, all the time of the said king▪ labouring in the Lordes haruest most fruitfully, discharging his talent, as well in diuers other places of this realme, as in Stamford, and before the Duches of Suffolk (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print) as also at London in the conuocation house: and especially before the king at the Court, in the same place of the inward garden which was before

applied to lasciuious & courtly pastimes there he dispensed the fruitfull word of the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ,* preaching there before the king & hys whole Court, to the edification of many.

[illustration]

***A description of M. Latimer, preaching before K. Edward the 6. in the preaching place at Westminster.**

IN this his paynefull trauell he occupied himselfe all K. Edwardes dayes,* preaching for the most part euery sonday twise, to no small shame of all other loytering and vnpreaching Prelates, which occupy great roomes and do litle good: and that so much more to theyr shame, because he being a sore brused man by the fall of the Tree, mentioned a little before, and aboue lxxvij. yeares of age tooke so little case, and care of sparing himselfe, to doe the people good Now to speake here of his indefatigable trauell and diligence in his owne priuate studies, who notwithstanding both hys yeares, and other paynes in preaching,* euerye mornyng ordinarily, Wynter and Sommer, about two of the clocke in the morninge was at his booke most diligently. Howe carefull his hart was of the preseruacion of the Church and the good successe of the Gospell, hys Letters canne testify, wherewith he continuallye admonished [Page 1740](#) such as then were in authority, of theyr duty, and assisted them with his godly counsell.

As the diligence of this man of God neuer ceased all the time of king Edward, to profite the Church both publickely and priuately, so among other doings in him to be noted,* this is not lightly to be ouerpassed, but worthye to be obserued, that God not onely gaue vnto him his spirite plenteously and comfortably to preache his word vnto hys Church, but also by the same spirite hee did so euidentlye foreshew and prophecye of all those kindes of plagues before, which afterward ensued, that if England euer had a Prophet he might seeme to be one. And as touching hymselfe, he euer affirmed that the preachinge of the Gospell would cost him his life, to the which he no lesse chearefully prepared himselfe, then certaynely was perswaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose,* as the euent did to truelye prooue the same. For after the death of the sayde blessed King Edward, not long after Queene Marye was proclaymed, a Pursuant was sente downe (by the meanes no doubt of Winchester) into the countrey, to call him vp, of whose comming although M. Latimer lacked no forewarning being premonished about sixe houres before by one Iohn Careles (whose story here after foloweth) yet so farre of was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himselfe towards his iorney before the sayd Pursuant came to his house.

At the which thing when the Pursuant maruelled, seing him so prepared towards his iourney, he sayde vnto him:* My frend, you be a welcome Messenger to me. And be it knowne vnto you, and to the whole world, that I go as willingly to Londō at this present, being called by my Prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as euer I was at any place in the worlde. And I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preache his word before two excellent Princes, so he wil able me to witnes the same vnto the thyrd, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally. &c. At the which time the Pursuant, whē he had deliuered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commaundement not to tary for him. By whose sodein departure it was manifest that they would

not haue him appere but rather to haue fled out of the realme. They knewe that his constancy should deface them in theyr Popery, and cōfirme the godly in the truth.

Thus Mayster Latimer being sent for, and comming vp to London through Smithfield (where merely he sayd that Smithfielde had long groaned for him) was brought before the Counsell,* where hee patientlye bearing all the mockes and tauntes geuen him by the scorneful Papistes, was cast agayne into the Tower, where he being assisted with the heauenly grace of Christ,* susteined most pacient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and vnmercifull handlinge of the Lordlye Papistes, whyche thought then theyr kingdome would neuer fall: yet he shewed hymselfe not onely pacient, but also chearefull in and aboue all that which they could or woulde worke agaynst him:* yea such a valiaunt spirit the Lord gaue him, that he was able not onely to despise the terriblesse of prisons & tormentes, but also to deride and laugh to scorne the doinges of his enemies. As it is not vnknowne to the eares of many, what he aunswered to the Lieutenaunt beyng then in the Tower. For when the Lieutenauntes man vpon a time came to him, the aged Father kept without fire in the frosty winter,* and well•ye starued for colde, merely bad the man tell his Mayster, that if he did not looke y^e better to him, perchaunce he would deceiue him.

The Lieutenaunt hearing this, he thought hymselfe of these wordes, and fearing least that in deede he thought to make some escape, beganne to looke more straightly to his Prisoner, and so comming to him, beginneth to charge him with his wordes, reciting the same vnto him whiche his man had told him before: how that if he were not better looked vnto, perchaunce he would deceiue them. &c. Yea Mayster Lieutenaunt, so I sayd (quoth he) for you looke I thinke that I shoulde burne:* but except you let me haue some fire, I am like to deceiue your expectation, for I am like here to starue for cold.

Many such like answeres and reasons, mery, but sauery, comming not from a vayne minde, but from a constant and quiet reasō, proceded from that man, declaring a firme and stable hart, litle passing for all this great blustering of theyr terrible threatens, but rather deriding the same.

Thus Mayster Latimer passing a long time in the tower,* with as much pacience as a manne in his case coulde do, from thence was transported to Oxforde, with Doctor Cranmer Archbishop of Caunterbury, and Mayster Ridley Byshop of London, there to dispute vpon Articles sent downe from Gardiner Bishop at Winchester as is before touched, the maner and order of whiche disputations betwene them and the Uniuersitye Doctours is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whome the sayd Latimer with his otherfellow Prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and so committed agayne to the Prison, and there they con•umed from the Moneth of Aprill aboue mentioned, to this present Moneth of October: where they were most godly occupied,* either with brotherly conference, or with feruent prayer, or with fruitfull writing.

Albeit M. Latimer by reasō of the feblenes of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment: yet in prayer he was feruently occupied, wherin oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that hee was not able to rise without helpe: and amongst other things, these were three principall matters he prayed for.

First, that as God had appoynted him to be a preacher of his worde,* so also he woulde geue him grace to stand to his doctrine vntill his death, that he might geue his harte bloud for the same.

Secōdly, that God of his mercy would restore his gospell to Englande once agayne, and these wordes once agayne, once agayne, he did so inculcate & beat into y^e eares of the Lord God, as though he had sene God before hym,* and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preseruacion of the Queenes Maiesty, that now is,* whome in his prayer he was wont accustomedly to name, and euen with teares desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortles realme of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestlye. Neither were these thinges of him desired in vayne, as the good successe thereof after following did declare: for the Lord most graciously did graunt all those his requestes.

First concerning his constancy, euen in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him.* For when he stode at the stake without Bocardo gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to sette the fire to him, and to the learned and Godly Byshop Mayster Ridley, he lifted vp his eyes towardes heauen with an amiable and comfortable countenaunce, saying these wordes: Fidelis est Deus qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus: God is faythfull, whiche doth not suffer vs to be tempted aboue our strength: and so afterwarde by and by shedde his bloude in the cause of Christ, the whiche bloud ranne of his hart in suche aboundaunce that all those that were present, being godly, dyd maruell to see the most part of the bloud in his body to bee gathered to hys hart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire: by the whiche thing God most graciously graunted his request, whiche was that he might shed his hart bloud in the defence of the Gospell.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his Gospell once agayne into this Realme,* these present dayes can beare record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, whiche being so mercifullye visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderlye and vnthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefite of God now present? The Lorde be mercifull vnto vs. Amen.

Agayne, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously graūted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his Gospell, and to the vnspeakable cōfort of this Realme. For whether at the request of his praiyr, or of other Gods holy Sayntes, or whether God was moued with the cry of his whole Church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily florished and triumphed, Gods word was banished, Spanierdes receiued,* no place left for Christes seruauntes to couer theyr heades: sodenly the Lord called to remembraunce his mercye, and forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of al these miseries, and wroughte a maruellous chaunge of thinges, at the chaunge whereof the said Queene Elizabeth was appointed and annoynted,* for whome this graye headed father so earnestly prayd in his imprisonment: through whose true, naturall, and imperiall Crowne, the brightnesse of Gods word was set vp agayne to confound the darcke and false visoured kingdome of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ reedified, the Captiuitie of sorowfull Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so manye good men, specially of this faythfull and true seruaunt of the Lord, M. Latimer.

The same God which at the requestes of his holy and faythfull Sayntes hath poured vpon vs such benefites of his mercy, peace and tranquility,* assiste our most vertuous and Christian Princesse: and her Subiectes, that wee may euery one in his state and calling to serue hys glory, & walke in our vocation, that we lose not that which they [Page 1741](#) haue obtained, but may proceed in all faythfulnes, to build and keepe vp the house and temple of the Lorde, to the aduansing of his glory, and our euerlasting comfort in hym. And thus much concerning the doings and laborious trauelles of M. Latimer. Now after these thinges thus finished, and discoursed pertaining to the story of his lyfe, lette vs come to his letters which he wrote at diuers and sundry tymes from the first beginning of his preachinge, all which here to comprehend whiche he wrote both in English and Latine, lacke of space and place at this present will not permitte, neuertheles certayne we will take, and fyrst concerning the articles aboue mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the Priestes of the country about his benefice at West Kington: whiche hee writeth thereof to M. Morice, the copy thereof here foloweth.

[Letters of M. Latimer.](#)

¶A Letter of M. Latimer to Mayster Morice, concerning the Articles written, which were falsely and vntruely layed agaynst him.

Right worshipfull, and mine owne good mayster Morice, salutem in Christo Iesu. And I thanke you for all hartly kindnesse, not onely heretofore shewed vnto me, but also that now of late, you would vouchsafe to write vnto me so poore a wretch, to my great comforte among all these my troubles. I trust and doubte nothing in it, but GOD will reward you for me, and supplye aboundantly mine vnabilitie. &c. Mayster Morice you woulde wonder to know how I haue bene intreated at Bristow. I meane of some of the Priestes, which first desired me, welcommed me, made me chea•e, hearde what I sayde, allowed my saying in all thinges whiles I was with them: when I was gone home to my Benefice, perceiuing that the people fauoured me so greatlye, and that the Maior had appoynted me to preache at Easter, priuilye they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the Bishoppes licence,* which they knew well enough I had not, & so craftely defeated mayster Maiors appoyntment, pretending that they were sory for it, procuring also certayne Preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powell, with other moe: whom when I had brought before the Maior and the wise Counsaile of the Towne, to know what they coude lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaymed agaynst me, they sayde they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing: So that they had place and time to belye me shamefully, but they had no place nor time to laye to my charge, when I was present and ready to make them answeere. God amēd them, and swage their malice that they haue agaynst the truth & me. &c.

Our Lady was a Sinner.

So they did belye me to haue sayd, when I had sayd nothing so, but to reprove certayne both Priestes and beneficed menne, whiche doe geue so muche to our Ladye,* as though she had not bene saued by Christe, a whole Sauour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saued: I did reason after this maner, that either she was a sinner, or no sinner: if a sinner, then she was deliuered from sinne by Christ:* so that he saued her, either by deliuering or by preseruing her from sinne, so that without hym neyther she, nor none other, neither be, nor could be saued. And

to auoyde all offence, I shewed howe it might bee aunswered, both to certayne Scriptures which maketh all generally sinners, and how it might be aunswered vnto Chrysostome and Theophilact, which maketh her namely and specially a sinner. But all woulde not serue, theyr malice is so great: notwithstanding that fiue hundred honest men can and will beare recorde.* When they cannot reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belye mee to say that thing that they can not reprove, for they will needes appeare to be agaynst me.

Sayntes are not to be worshipped.

So they lyed when I had shewed diuers significations of thys word (Sayntes) among the vulgare people. First Images of Sayntes are called Sayntes,* and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them: for they are neither Mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well vsed, when they be applied to that vse that they were ordeined for, to be lay mens bookes for remēbraunce of heauenly thinges. &c.

Take Sayntes for inhabitours of heauen, and worshippinge of them, for praying to them, I neuer denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our Mediatours, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alonely is a whole Mediatour,* both for them and for vs) yet by the way of intercession. &c.

Pilgrimage.

And I neuer denied Pilgrimage. And yet I haue sayed that much scurffe must be pared away ere euer it can be wel done, superstition, idolatry, false fayth, and trust in the Image,* vniust estimation of the thing, setting aside Gods ordinaunce for doynge of the thing: debtes must be payd restitutions made, wife & children prouided for, duetye to our poore neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it neede not to be done, for it is neither vnder the bidding of GOD nor of manne to be done. And Wiues muste counsell with Husbandes, and Husbandes and Wiues with Curates, before it be vowed to bee done. &c.

Aue Maria.

As for the Aue Maria, who can thinke that I would deny it? I sayd it was an heauenly greting or saluting of our blessed Lady,* wherein the Aungell Gabriell sent from the Father of heauen, did annunciate and shewe vnto her the good will of God towards her, what he would with her and to what he had chosen her But I sayd, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster,* whyche our Sauior Christ himselfe made for a proper prayer, and bade vs say it for a Prayer, not adding that we shoulde say 10. or 20. Aue Maries, withall: and I denyed not but that we may well saye the Aue Maria also, but not so that we shall thinke that the Pater noster is not good, a whole and a perfitt prayer, nor can not be well sayd without Aue Maria: so that I did not speake agaynst wel saying of it, but agaynst superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater noster to: and yet I put a difference betwixte that, & that whiche Christ made to be sayd for a prayer. &c.

No fire in hell.

Who euer could say or thinke so? Howbeit good Authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodyes,* and without bodyes. The soule without the body is a spirituall

substaunce, which they say can not receiue a corporall quality, and some maketh it a spirituall fire: and some a corporall fire. And as it is called a fire, so is it called a Worme, and it is thought of some not to be a materiall Worme that is a liuing beast, but it is a metaphor, but that is neither to nor fro. For a fire it is, a worme it is, a payne it is, a torment it is, an anguise it is, a griefe, a misery, a sorow, a heauinesse inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in euery poynt who can tell, but he that is of Gods priuy counsell▪ sayth S. Austen? God geue vs grace rather to be diligent to keepe vs out of it, then to be curious to discusse the property of it: for certayne we be, that there is litle ease, yea none at all, but weeping, wayling, and gnashing of teeth, whiche be two effectes of extreme payne, rather certayne tokens what payne there is, then what maner payne there is.

No Purgatory.

He that sheweth the state and condition of it, doth not denye it. But I had leauer be in it, then in Lollers tower the Bishoppes prison, for diuers skils and causes.*

First, in this I might dye bodily for lacke of meat and drinke: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might dye ghostly for feare of payne, or lack of good counsell: there I could not.

Item, in this I might be in extreme necessity: In that I coulde not, if it be perill of perishing.

Item, in this I might lacke charity: There I could not.

Item, in this I might lose my pacience: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be in perill and daüger of death, in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be without surety of Saluation, in that I could not.

Item, in this I might dishonor God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might murmur & grudge agaynst God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might displease God: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be displeased with God: In that I coulde not.

Item, in this I might bee iudged to perpetuall prison as they call it: in that I could not.

Item, in this I might be craftily handled: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be brought to beare a fagotte: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be discontented with GOD: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might be separated and disseuered from Christ: In that I could not.

Item, in this I mighte bee a member of the Deuill: In that I could not.

Itē, in this I might be an inheritor of hell: In that I could not.

Item, in this I might pray out of charity, and in vayne▪ in that I could not.

[Page 1742](#)Item, in this my Lord and his Chapleines might manacle me by night: In that they could not.

Item, in this they might strangle me, and say that I had hanged my selfe: In that they could not.

*Item, in this they might haue me to the Consistory and iudge me after theyr fashion. From thence they could not.

Ergo I had leuer to be there then here. For though the fire be called neuer so hoat, yet and if the bishops two fingers can shake away a piece, a friers cowle an other part, and scala coeli altogether, I wil neuer found Abbay, Colledge nor Chauntrey for that purpose.

For seing there is no payne that can break my charity, break my pacience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to ioy in God, nor that canne bring me to daunger of death, or to daunger of desperation, or from surety of saluation, that canne separate me from Christ, or Christ from me,* I care the lesse for it. Iohn Chrisostom sayth, that the greatest payne that damned soules haue, is to be separate and cut of from Christ for euer: which payne he sayth is greater then many helles: which paynes the soules in Purgatory neither haue nor can haue.

Consider M. Morice, whether prouision for Purgatorye hath not brought thousandes to hell. Debts haue not bene payd: restitution of euill gotten landes & goods hath not bene made: christen people (whose necessities we see, to whō whatsoeuer we do, Christ reputeth done to himselfe, to whom we are bounden vnder payne of damnation to doe for, as we would be done for our selfe) are neglecte and suffered to perish: last wils vnfulfilled and broken: Gods ordinaunce set aside: and also for Purgatory, foūdations haue bene taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we haue trifled away the ordinaunce of God, and restitutions. Thus we haue gone to hell, with Masses, Diriges, and ringing of manye a bell. And who can pull Pilgrimages from Idolatrye, and purge Purgatorye from Robbery, but hee shall bee in perill to come in suspition of Heresy with them? so that they may pill with Pilgrimage, and spoyle with Purgatory. And verely the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great luker and vauntage shall fall away from them, whiche had leuer haue profite with abuse, then lacke the same with vse: and that is the waspe that doth sting them,* and maketh them to swell. And if Purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christe, it woulde be but a poore Purgatorye: So poore that it should not be able to feed so fatte, and tricke vp so many idle and slothfull lubbers.

I take God to witnes I would hurt no man, but it greeueth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot vnderstand what they meane by the Popes pardoning of Purgatorye,* but by

way of suffrage: and as for suffrage, vnlesse he do his duety, and seeke not his owne, but Christes glory, I had leauer haue the suffrage of iacke of the skultery which in his calling doth exercise both fayth and charitye: but for his Masse. And that is as good of an other simple Priest as of him. For as for authoritye of keyes, is to loose from guiltinesse of sinne and eternall payne, due to the same, according to Christes word, and not to his own priuate will. And as for Pilgrimage, you woulde wonder what iuggling there is to gette money withall. I dwell within a halfe mile, of the Fosseway, and you woulde wonder to see how they come by flockes out of the West cuntry to many Images, but chiefly to the bloud of Hailes. And they beleue verely that it is the verye bloud that was in Christes bodye, shedde vppon the Mount of Caluerye for our saluation, and that the sighte of it with theyr bodily eye, doth certify them and putteth them out of doubte, that they bee in cleane life, and in state of saluation without spot of sinne, which doeth bolden then to many thinges. For you would wonder if you shoulde common with them both comming and going, what faythes they haue. For as for forgeuing theyr enemies, and reconciling theyr Christian brethren, they can not away withall: for the sight of that bloud doth quite them for the time.

I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romanes: Iustificati ex fide pacem habemus. i. We being iustified by fayth haue peace with God.

If I see the bloud of Christe with the eye of my soule, that is true fayth that his bloud was shed for me. &c.

An other in the Epistle of Iohn: Nos scimus quod translati sumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres. i. We know that we are translated from death to life, because we loue the brethren. But I read not that I haue peace with GOD, or that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodelye eye the bloud of Hailes. It is verye probable that all the bloud that was in the body of Christ,* was vnited and knitte to his Diuinity, and then no part thereof shall returne to his corruption. And I maruell that Christ shall haue two resurrections. And if it were, that they that did violently and iniuriouslye plucke it out of hys body when they scourged him and nayled him to the Crosse, did see it with theyr bodily eye, yet they were not in cleane life. And we see the selfe same bloud in forme of wine, when we haue consecrate, and may both see it, feele it, and receiue it to our damnation as touching bodily receiuing. And many do see it at Hailes without confession, as they say God knoweth all, and the Deuill in our time is not dead.

Christ hath left a doctrine behinde him, wherin we be taught how to beleue, and what to beleue: he doth suffer the Deuill to vse his craftye fashion for our triall and probation. It were little thanke worthy to beleue well & rightly, if nothing should moue vs to false fayth & to beleue superstitiously. It was not in vayne that Christ when hee had taught truely, by and by badde, beware of false Prophettes, whiche woulde bring in errour slielye. But we be secure and vncarefull,* as though false Prophets could not meddle with vs, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectuell, then is the warning of Mothers when they trifle with theyr children, and bid them beware the bugge. &c.

Loe Syr▪ how I runne at ryot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to haue written but halfe a dosen lynes: but thus I forget my selfe euer when I write to a trusty frende, which wyll take in worth my folly, and keepe it from mine enemy. &c.

As for Doctour Wilson, I wotte not what I should say: * but I pray God endue him with charity. Neyther he, nor none of his countrey men did euer loue me since I did inuey agaynst theyr factions, and partialitye in Cambridge. Before that, who was more fauoured of him then I? That is the byle that may not be touched. &c.

A certayne frend shewed mee, that Doctour Wilson is gone nowe into his countrey about Beuerley in Holdernes, and from thence he will go a progresse through Yorkeshire, Lancashyre, Cheshyre, and so from thence to Bristow. What he entendeth by this progresse God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Bristowe I shall here tell. &c.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a manne of no great learning, nor yet of stable witte. He is here seruus hominum: * for he will preach whatsoever the Byshops will bidde him preach. Verely in my minde they are more to be blamed then he. He doeth magnifye the Pope more then enough. As for our Sauior Christ and Christian kynges are little beholding to hym. No doubte hee did misse the cushion in many thinges. Howbeit they that did sende him (men thinke) will defend him: I pray GOD amend him, and them both. They woulde fayne make matter agaynst mee, entendyng so eyther to deliuer him by me, or els to ridde vs both together, and so they woulde thinke hym well bestowed. &c.

As touching Doctour Powell, * howe highly he tooke vpon him in Bristow; and how little hee regarded the sword which representeth the kinges person, many can tell you. I thinke there is neuer an Earle in this Realme that knoweth his obedience by Christes cōmaūdemēt to his Prince, & wotteth what the sword doth signify, that would haue taken vpon hym so stoutly. Howbeit Mayster Maior, as he is a profound wise man, did twicke him pretily: it were to long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholding to him. For to occasion the people to them, he alledged this text.

Omnis qui relinquit patrem, domos, * vxorem. i. Whosoeuer leaueth father, house, wife. &c. By that you maye perceiue hys hoate zeale and crooked iudgement. &c. Because I am so belyed, I could wish that it would please the kinges grace to commaunde me to preach before his highnesse a whole yeare together euerye Sondag, that he himselfe might perceiue how they belye me, saying, that I haue neither learning, nor vtterance worthy thereunto. &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

***A briefe digression touching the rayling of Hubberdin agaynst M. Latimer.**

FORasmuch as mention hath bene made in this letter of Hubberdin, an olde Diuine of Oxford, * a right paynted Pharisey, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realme to deface and impeach the springing of Gods holy Gospell, something woulde be added more touchinge that man, whose doinges and pageantes if they might be described at large, it were as good as any Enterlude for the Reader to beholde. Who in all his life and in all his actions (in one word to describe him) seemeth nothing elles but a right Image or counterfayt, * setting out vnto vs in liuely colours the paterne of perfecte hypocrisie. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead (although he little deserued to be spared, which neuer spared to worke what vilany he could agaynst the true seruantes of the Lord) this shall be enough for example sake, for all Christian men necessarily to obserue, howe the sayd Hubberdin after his long rayling in all

places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Iohn Frith, Tindale, Latimer, and all other like Professours,* after his hypocriticall opē almes geuen out of other mens purses, his long prayers, pretended deuotions, deuoute fastinges, hys wolwarde goyng, and other his prodigious demeanor, riding in his long Gowne downe to the Horse heeles like [Page 1743](#) a Pharisey, or rather like a slouen, dyrted vp to the Horse bellye, after his forged Tales and Fables, Dialogues, dreames, dauncinges, hoppinges and leapinges, with other like histrionicall toyes and gestures vsed in the Pulpit, and all agaynst heretickes: at last riding by a Church side where the youth of the Parishe were dauncing in the Churchyarde, sodeinly this Silenus lighting from his horse, by occasion of their dauncing came into the Church, and there causing the bell to tolle in the people, thought in stead of a fitte of myrth, to geue them a Sermon of dauncing. In the whiche Sermon after he had patched vp certayne common textes out of Scriptures, and then comming to the Doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Hierome, and Gregory, Chrisostome, and other Doctors, had made them euery one (after his Dialogue maner) by name to aunswere to his call, and to sing after hys tune for the probation of the sacramēt of the aulter against Iohn Frith,* Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latymer, and other Heretickes (as he called them) at last to shew a perfect Hermonye of all these Doctours together, as he had made thē before to sing after his tune, so now to make them daunce also after his Pye, fyrste he calleth out Christ and his Apostles, then the Doctors and auncient Seniours of the Church, as in a round ring all to daunce together: with Pye vppe Hubberdin. Nowe daunce Christ, now daunce Peter, Paul, now daunce Austen, Ambrose, Hierome, and thus olde Hubberdin as hee was dauncing with his Doctours lustely in the Pulpit, agaynst the Heretickes,* howe hee stampd and tooke on I cannot tell, but crashe quoth the Pulpit, downe commeth the dauncer, and there lay Hubberdyn not dauncing, but sprawling in the midst of his audiēce: where altogether he brake not his necke, yet he so brake his legge the same tyme and brused hys olde boanes, that hee neuer came in Pulpit more, and dyed not long after the same. Whereupon when the Church Wardens were called and charged for the Pulpit being no stronger,* they made aunswere agayne, excusing themselues that they had made theyr Pulpit for preaching, and not for dauncing. &c. But to spende no more paper about this idle matter, nowe to our purpose agayne.

Amongest many other impugnors and Aduersaries, whereof there was no small sort which did infest this good man in Sermons: some also there were, whych attempted the penne agaynst him. In the number of whom was one Doctour Sherwoode, whom vpon the same occasion of preaching of the Uirgine Marye (or as they thought,* agaynst the Uirgine) did inuade him with his pen, writing agaynst him in Latine, whose long Epistle, with M. Latimers aunswere also in Latine to the same, hereunder foloweth.

✠Epistola Gulielmi Sherwodi aduersus Dominum Latymerum expostulatoria.

¶Gulielmus Sherwodus praesbyter, D. Latymero Kyngtoniae, Rectori, gratiam & pacem à Deo patre nostro & domino Iesu Christo.

Nihil molestè feres sat scio, vir egregiè, ab homine Christiano christiané admoneri, quae res vna (est Deus testis) nos hoc tempore animauit liberius tecum per literas (quando corā fandi copia negatur) confabulari supernonnullis, quae parum christiané in concione illa tua (sit modo concio & non verius multo Satyra quaedam insana dicenda) Magnesfeldiae effudisse mihi videbare. Ac primum quidem prouerbio illo de fure & pastore (quanquam prouerbij vocem parabola vice mihi vsurpasse videtur Euangelista) carpsit, vt recte & vere aiebas, Christus Scribarum &

pharisaeorum (vtpote deus,* eo{que} 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉) vesaniam obduratam{que} incredulitatem, sed clam, sed tecté, sed in genere. Non aiebat, scribae & pharisei ad vnum fures sunt & latrones. Sed quid? Amen dico vobis qui non intrat per ostium in stabulum ouium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est & latro. Tu contra homo patentium intuior non mentium rimator. Episcopi omnes, papae omnes, Rectores ecclesiarum omnes (te vno paucis{que} alijs, quos nescio tuae fa•inae hominibus, id enim sensisse videris, exceptis) vicarij omnes fures sunt, & latrones, quibus furibus, quibus latronibus suffocandis ne Angliae totius quidem canapū sufficere predicabas, aut verius dementabas, hyperbole forsā, vt semper vsus, sed temeraria, sed audaci supra modum, sed truci, sed impia. Non est mi frater, non est sic temeré, si diuo credimus Paulo, ante tempus iudicandum, quod veniat Dominus qui & illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, & manifestabit consilia cordium, Christus quo{que} ipse, iudex viuorum & mortuorum, à deo patre constitutus temerariam eiusmodi proximi condemnationem apud Matthaeum, Christiano homini mihi sustulisse videtur, quum inquit: Nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini, nec tanti flagitij subticens poenam. Quo enim (inquit) iudicio iudicatis eo iudicabitur de vobis, & qua mensura metimini, ea metientur vobis & alij. Volo hominum vitia taxari, volo sua scelera populo praedicari, annunciari, reuelari, & si fieri possit, ob oculos poni, no debacchari in homines, eosque absentes, non poni lucem tenebras, & tenebras lucem, nō dici bonum malum, & malum bonum, dulce amarum, & amarum dulce. Quod si fit, verendum ne dum alius alium mordemus & deuoramus, vicissim alius ab alio consumemur. An ista partius, imo modestius viris obijcienda, ipse videto. Nouimus, & qui te transversa tuentibus hirqis, & quo: sed faciles nymphae risere sacello. Heu, heu, Latimere, quae te dementia caepit, vt mentireris, dixissem praedicares plures longe in Christi ecclesia fures esse, quam pastores, plures haedos quam oues? Non sic Cyprianus ille, non sic. Sed quid? Est, inquit, Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax Stat confessorum, hoc est (vt ipse intelligit) pie Christianorum, pars maior & melior in fidei suae robore, & in legis ac disciplina dominicae veritate, nec ab ecclesiae pace descedunt, qui se in ecclesia gratiam consequutos de Dei dignatione meminerunt. Atque hoc ipse ampliorem consequuntur fidei suae laudem, quod ab eorum perfidia segregati, qui iuncti confessionis consortio fuerint, à contagionis crimine recesserunt. Vero illuminati euangelij lumine, pura & candida domini luce radiati, tam sunt in conseruanda Christi pace laudabiles, quam fuerunt in Diaboli congressione victores. Quae sanctissimi hominis sanctissima verba, ausim, te etiam reclamante de ea ipsa, quae nunc ecclesia, praedicare, vereque affirmare, quam vbi ex confessoribus Christi filij Dei viui depinxisses, statim vbi esset gentium te nescire praedicabas. Dicebas enim, Quisquis cum Petro Christum Dei viuentis filium fatetur, Petrus est, & de ecclesia, seu, vti ipse interpretabaris, congregatione, (subdola nimirum vsus arte, ac caeco potius praestigio) ac si hoc loci magis nihil ad Petrum, Christi in terris summum vicarium attineret, quam ex Christianis alium quemlibet. Esto, simus nos, vt Origenis vtar verbis, aliquo modo Petrus, si dixerimus quod dixit Petrus. Tu es Christus, filius Dei viui, non carne & sanguine nobis reuelante, sed patre qui est in coelis mentem nostram illuminante, non alio dicendi genere dicemus haec nobis Petri competere verba, quam ipsi Petro? Absit procul, absit. Nam secundum Christi nomen omnes qui sunt illius, Christi dicuntur, dicente propheta: Vt saluos faciat Christos suos. Item, Nolite tangere Christos meos, & tum alio longe modo hic, alio illi vnctionis vocabulo insigniuntur. Sanius certe Roterodamus cuius imitatore, & sequacem strenuum in nonnullis video. Is (tu es Petrus & mox quae sequuntur) in primis in Romanū Pontificem, vt in christianae fidei principē competere ait, omnium semoto dubio, Annotatione in 16. Math caput: quanquam plus aequo Origenianae sententiae inniti ibidem mihi videtur. Quod si dixerimus te authore aequaliter, & indiscriminatim haec de Petro, & omnibus christianis intelligi, incidemus in illam Lutheranam sententiam. Omnes Christianos esse

sacerdotes, & Ordinatum nullam potestatem accipere, quam antea non habebat, sed deputari tantum ad licite utendum potestate, prius habita: quae sententia iam olim est ab ecclesia damnata.

Ad haec aiebas Christum, quum minima vocaret praecepta, Scribarum & pharisaeorum alluisse impietate, qui ut sua eueherent, & amplificarent, minima dicebant diuina. Multum hic discors es ab Origine, scripturarum interprete, saneque vigilantissimo, qui Homilia in Matthaeum quinta adeo non negat reuera quaedam Dei praecepta dici, & esse minima, ut ex solutione, & obseruatione eorum minimum & magnum dici in regno coelorum nihil obscure praedicet. Simul pugnat quod tum Christus ipse seorsum à plebe & populo cum pauculis discipulis, suae celestis, tum solis doctrinae capacibus in monte versabatur, nihil interim cum Scribis, nihil cum Phariseis tractans, ut diuina illa cōcione sua prorsus indignis.

Subiunxisti christiane parum ut mihi videbatur, hominem christianum carnis acquiescentem desiderijs, non magis christianum esse, quam sit Iudeus, quam sit Turcus. Hoc mihi non christianum, sed Oecolampadianum

*Desunt nonnulla, quae coniecturis forsitan vtcunque suppleri possunt ex sequente Latimeri responsione.

Sit opus, quàm ad beneficam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam. Quid tu hic tibi velis nescio. Si est aliquis Petri primatus, is certe Catholico cuilibet pro viribus defendendus est. Est aliquis Petri primatus: alioqui Christi verbum inefficax est, (tibi dabo clauēs regni coelorum. &c.) Si nihil est opus ut defensetur Petri primatus, nihil est opus ut defensetur veritas. Et ob veritatem ad necem vsque mortali cuilibet certandum. Non puto quenquam germanis fructibus referre posse beneficam Petri confessionem, negando Petri primatum benefica Petri confessio, an non est Iesum esse Christum filium Dei viuentis? Dei filius est veritas. At non Christus, si nullus est Petri primatus. Hic foedè lapsus mihi videre. Nihil enim alienum esse puto à benefica Christi confessione, si quis pro viri sedem tueatur, & defenset apostolicam.

Apertissimum mendacium esse clamitas, Christum cum pauculis discipulis in monte seorsum a turba versum fuisse. Apertissime tum mecum mentitus est Origenes, scripturarum interpres vigilantissimus, qui Homilia in Matthaeum 5. inquit: Descendete [Page 1744](#) Iesu de monte, sequutae sunt eum turbae multae, Docente vero domino in monte, discipuli erant cum ipso, quibus datum erat coelestis doctrinae nosse secreta, per quae salutis scientia brutorum corda salirent, coecorumque oculis per mundanae delectationis tenebras caligantibus, lucem patifacerent veritatis. Vnde & dominus ad eos: Vos estis (inquit) sal terrae, vos estis & lumina mundi. Nunc vero descendente eo de monte, tubae secutae sunt eum. In montem scilicet ascendere nequaquam poterant, quia quos delictorum sarcinae deprimunt, ad mysteriorum sublimia, nisi abiecto onere scandere minime valent. Audis nostram, non tuam ab Origene probari sententiam.

Notas praeterea, quos nescio, tibi tum notissimos, alij nulli pseudopraedicatores, qui populo suadent christiano sat esse, si credit quemadmodum credit ecclesia, & nescire interim quid, aut quomodo credat, ita miserum vulgus ab ampliore dei agnitione querenda dehortando. Iniqua, & praeceps satis censura in verbi Dei ministros. Tales siqui sunt, debemus Lutheranae & haereticorum ecclesiae: in nostra esse nequeunt, quum pollicitus sit spūs ad consummationem

vsque seculi se non deserturum sponsam suam ecclesiam. Quae dicis reliqua, quum sint mera conuitia, transeo.

Quod satis declarat, quod postremo penè dicis argutè philosophatum me de iustificatione fidei, interim mea nihil conuellens. An hoc est argutè philosophari de iustificatione fidei, dicere fidem iustificare, sed non solam, imo & opera suam habere iustitiam, sed in fide, sed in charitate? Hoc ego arguebam quod opera diceres non iustificare. Si hoc est philosophari, ego sum philosophatus, & non ego tantum, sed & Iacobus apostolus. Fides est, fateor, vt recte dixit Augustinus Fundamentum▪ & radix iustae vitae, qua consequimur bonorum operum voluntatem, ac ita iustitiam. Tantum ne putet quis iusticiam sola animi existimatione finiri omni bono & pio excluso opere. Caetera, quum nō agnoscis ego sepelio. Vnum id adiiciens, si bene feceris, bene recipies: sin autem male, ecce in foribus aderit peccatum tuum. Alias nacto otio abundantius. Interim vale. Derhamia.

Salutem plurimam.

NON EQVIDEM sum ego vel adeo ferox, quod sciam, vir item exemiè,* vt ab homine Christiano christianè admoneri moleste feram, vel adeo in sensatus, & à communi sensu alienus (ni fallor) vt me prius suggillatum fuisse abs te & inter pocula, neque semel suggillatum quam admonitum, imo nec admonitum tandem sed acerrimè potius redargutum, sed conuitijs & mandatijs male habitum potius, sed calumnijs inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius, constanter probem. Quod si tuis hisce literis pro illarum iure & mei animi ductu ego iam responderem. Sed cohibeo me, ne dum conor tuo morbo mederi, bilem tibi moue am homini vel citra stimulum (vt prę se ferunt literae) plus{quam} oportet bilioso. Imo det vtrique Deus, quod ipse vtrique norit commode fore, & mihi videlicet vel in medijs calumnijs patientiam christiano homine dignam, & tibi iuditiū aliquando tam rectum {quam} nunc habes zelum tu opte marte bene feruidum. Conducibilis, opinor, fuerit sic orare, {quam} eiusmodi criminationi apologiam parare, quum & ego iam negotiosior sum pro concione mihi perendie dicenda, {quam} vt commode possim respondere: & mēdatoria sint tua omnia, quam vt iure debeam ea confutare. Sed vt paucis tamen multis, si fieri possit, satisfaciam, primū operepraetium fuerit in mediū statuere, & quid ego dixi, & quid tu ex dictis collegisti. Collegisti quidem multa, veluti sanguinem è silice colligendo ex cussurus. Sed sic est affect{us} vti video, erga me tuus, quem ob rabiem eiusdem aegrè nosti dissimulare. Esto dixerim ego omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios rectores que omnes, per ostium non intrantes, sed ascēdentes aliunde fures & latrones esse. Dum sic dixi, ex introitu & ascensu, non ex personis & titulos cum Christo sum rem metit{us}. Hinc tu tua minerua colligis omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios rectoresque omnes, simpliciter fures esse, saltem sic me dixisse. Num iusta hic (mi frater) collectio? An non iuste in te quadret illud Pauli ad Romanos? sic aiunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis, sed quorum damnatio iusta est (inquit:) & tamen iustius videri possunt ex Paulo collegisse aduersarij, quam tu ex me. Iam si idem dei verbum nunc quod prius, neque minus deo gratum acceptumque, quisquis interim minister verbi fuerit nonne & eadem damnatio calumniatores ministri nunc manet quae olim? Longe interest dicas omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse, & omnes simpliciter fures esse. Sed vnde (quaeso) dum ego dico omnes per ostium non intrantes fures esse videor tibi dicere omnes simpliciter fures esse? nisi forte plaerique omnes videntur tibi aliunde ascendere, & non per ostium intrare? Quod si senseris, at nolito dicere, si sapis (sapis autem plurimum) quod sentis▪ Cum quanto enim id dixeris tuo periculo, ipsi videris. Et nisi id senseris, cur per Deum immortalem ego non possum dicere omnes esse fures, qui per ostium non intrantes

ascendunt aliunde, quibuscunque interim titulis splendant, nisi videar tibi dicere statim omnes ad vnum fures esse: & tum quae te potius caepit dementia, dum sic colligis, vt plures fures {quam} pastores colligendo esse feceris. Nam velis nolis verum est quod ego dixi nempe quotquot per ostium non intrant, sed aliunde ascendunt fures & latrones esse, seu papae seu episcopi fuerint. Quare dum sic in ipso exorbitas limine, quorsum attinet, reliqua examinare? Sed age, hoc tibi aridet plurimum, quòd Pharisaei sunt tam tectè à Christo repraehensi, & non palam, quomodo tum non displicebit è regione tibi acerbissima illa, simul & apertissima criminatio, in os & coram turba illis obiecta, (Vae vobis Scribae & Pharisaei hypocritae) vbi nominati taxantur? Sed Christus, inquis, deus erat peruicaciam cordis conspicatus. Tu vero homo, patentium intuior, no mentium rimator. Sum sane homo (vti dicis) id quod citra tuam operā iam olim habeo exploratum: homo (inquam) sum, non labem in alieno corde delitescens, sed vitam omnibus patentem & expositam intuitus, adeoque ex fructibus cognoscens, quos Christus admonuit ex fructibus cognoscendos, ipsum quorundam viuendi genus libenter damnans denique, quod in sacris literis sacrisque interpretibus damnatum toties comperio, nihil id quidem moratus, quaecunque ipsum amplectuntur personae: quod dum ego facio, neque cordium latebras vltius penetro, nonne immerito abs te reprehendor? qui non homo mecum sed plusquam homo es, dum mei animi emphasim melius nostri per arrogantiam, quam egomet noui, vtpote qui non sat habes quae dico nouisse, sed quae sentio nondum dicta noueris abditissima cordis mei penitissime rimatus, ne non cite in teipsum competeret, quod in me torquere molitus es: nimirum noli ante tempus iudicare, noli condemnare, vt discas quam oportet mendacem non esse immemorem, ne proprio forsan gladio iuguletur, & in foueam incidat ipse, quam struxerat alteri. Nam dum ego pronuncio fures esse, quotquot per ostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, tibi non verba solum audienti sed & corculum meum contemplāti omnes ad vnum fures esse pronuntio, excepto meipso videlicet & alijs meae farinae hominibus, nescio, (inquis) quos. Sed quis illam fecit exceptionem, nisi tu qui cognoscens occulta cordium, sic inquis, sensisse Videris? Sed tibi sic sensisse videor, cui & dixisse videor quod (vt liquidissime constat) neutiquam dixi. Sed tibi peculiare est alios à cordis intuitu prohibere, vt vpse intuearis solus, quicquid est in corde, acie videlicet tam perspicaci, vt videas in corde, quod in corde nondum est natum: id quod ibi facis quo{que}, dum quod ego de ecclesia recte dixi, tu tuo more calumniaris iniqué, quasi ego, quod ad vsum clauium attinet, aequassem omnes cum Petro, cum ne vnum quidem verbum de clauium potestate sit dictum. Imo ne cogitatum quidem, ne{que} Petri primatui derogatum, vt cuius nulla sit facta mentio. Sed tu pro tuo candore sic colligis, dum ego nil aliud {quam} admonui auditores ecclesiam Christi super petram non super arenam fundatam, ne mortua fide plus satis haereant tum perituri & portis inferorum foedissime cessuri, sed fidem opetibus ostendant, tum demum vitam aeternam habituri. Quid ego minus quam omnes christianos, vt ego sum, sacerdotes dixerim esse? Sed ocul•tissimi sunt inuidi ad colligendum quod venantur. Nonne hic optimo iure cogor nonnihil christianae charitatis in tuo pectore desiderare? qui dum nescis confutare quod dico, miris modis mihi impingis quod possis cōfutare. Tu vero optime nosti quid sentit Lutherus de Ecclesia. Et ego non grauabor subscribere, quid sentit post multos alios Lyranus super .xvi. Mathaei. Ex quo patet inquit, quod Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiae, seu secularis, quia multi principes & summi pontifices, inquit, inuenti sunt apostatasse à fide, propter quod ecclesia consistit, inquit, in illis personis, in quibus est notitia vera & confessio fidei & veritatis. Hic consensit & cum Hieronymo Chrisostomus Sic enim dicunt: (nescio an applaudant tibi quod dicunt, quippe qui in illis te prodixisse esse:) Qui promptiores sunt ad primatum Petri defensandum, etiam cum nihil sit opus, quam ad beatificam Petri confessionem germanis fructibus referendam. Sed tu mittis me ad Augustinum, bene liberalis

consultor. Ego optem te eundem legere si libeat in epist. Ioannis tractatu tertio. Videris enim in Augustinianis operibus non adeo exercitatus, cum de fidei iustificatione tam argute philosopharis. Quocirca cuperem te in collectaneis Bedae exertitationem fore, cum tua ipsius collectanea Augustinum non spirent, vt iam non pluribus neque illius, neque aliorum authorum locis querendis te grauem, Sed illud non omittam tamen, etsi aliò etiam me euocent negotia, non alluisse videlicet Christum pharisaeorum impietati, cum praecepta vocaret minima. Sic enim tu audes dicere, quia aliam in Origine interpretationem legisti. Pulchre admodum obiectum quasi vnus & idem scripturae locus non sit ab alijs aliter feré expositus: Origines de illusionem nō meminit, igitur nemo, qualis consecutio? Sed nihil, inquis, ibi Christo cum Phariseis: & id quoque non minus pulchre abs te dictum, quasi non statim post subderet Christus de Scribis & Phariseis mentionem, populum ab illorum iustitia humanis. i. suis ipsorum traditionibus stabilita reuocans. Nisi abundauerit iustitia vestra inquiens plus {quam} scribarum. &c. At versabitur tum, inquis, Christus cum pauculis discipulis seorsum à turba: imo hoc apertissimum mendatium est id quod verba Mathaei caput 7. claudencia luce clarius commōstrant, vt tolerabiliora sint mihi de me mēdatia tua, qui audes de [Page 1745](#) ipso Christo & eius sermone mentiri. Et factum est, inquit, vt cū finijisset Iesus sermones hos, obstupuerunt super doctrina eius. Ecce autem, si Christus seorsim à turba sit locutus, quomodo obstupuerunt super doctrina, quam per te non audierunt? Sed lucas Euangelista, siue de eodem, siue de consimili Christi sermone locutus, testatur turbam audijisse, capite. 7. Cum consummasset Iesus sermones hos (inquit) audienti populo, En quò prolabitur praeceptum iuditium tuum inuidia male deformatum? Scilicet tu ipse hīc non toto erras coelo? dignius videlicet qui aliorū errores expisceris & notes, & ad pallinodiam reuoces: Tu tuo sensui hic non fidis? Medice cura te ipsum, & disce quid sit illud: Hypocrita, cur vides festucam. &c. Disce ex suis trabibus alienis festucis parcere. Ego nihil dixi, testor Deum, non mentior, quod vel Oecolampadio, vel Luthero, vel Melanthoni acceptum referre debeam: & tamen tu, quae est tua charitas, non vereris id meo assuere capiti. Ego si feci istud, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis. Sed nescis tu quidem opinor cuius spiritus sis, dum mauis ministrumverbi impudentissimis mendatijs lacessere, quam testimoniū veritati perhibere, quod quantūsit piaculū in cōspectu dei, tu abs{que} doctore non ignoras, in cumulum damnationis tuae nisi respiscas. Iam vero num ego vitupero, vt quis credat quemadmodum ecclesia credit? Non sane vitupero, nisi quod maleuo lentia erga me tua tam surdas reddidit aures tuas, vt ne audiens quidem audias quae dicuntur. Sed hoc vitupero, vt quis cui christianorum suadeat, quemadmodum suadere solent pseudopraedicatores non pauci, sat per omnia esse, credere quemadmodum ecclesia credit, & nescire interim quid aut quomodo credit ecclesia, & sic miserum populum ab ampliori dei agnitione quaerēda dehortari? Quod postremo mihi obtrudis, mendatium est & illud, plus quam dici possit inhumanum, ne{que} eo mea verba sensu accipis, sensu quo sint à me dicta, ideoque Hieronimo super 26. Mathaei teste falsus testis coram deo futurus. Lege locum, & relinque falsum testimonium. Ego dico Christianum, i. baptismo in Christianorum numerum receptum, si professioni non respondeat, sed carnis desiderijs sese dedat, non magis christianum esse quod ad consecutionem aeternae vitae spectat, quae promittitur Christianis quam Iudaeum aut Turcam: in quam huius conditionem in illo die deteriore fore, si verum tibi dixit: melius esse viam veritatis non agnoscere, quam post agnitam. &c. Et quibus dicit Christus nunquam noui vos? Nonne his qui per nomen eius prophetantes, virtutes praestiterint't, nonne negabit Christus nos, illum praenegantes coram hominibus? Non statuemur inter oues Christi a dextris, si non vitam Christo dignam retulerimus professi Christum, sed professionem mala vita contaminantes. Sunt verius pseudochristiani quam Christiani habēdi: & ab Augustino & Christo vocantur Antichristi, Non nego quin oblige•io

manet, sed in maiorem damnationem manet si nō satisfacit obligationi, Officiū concionatoris est hortari auditores vt sic sint christiani, vt compatibles hic cum Christo, cum Christo conregnent in coelo, vt aliter christianum esse non sit illis christianum esse. Sic scripturae, sic interpretes scripturae loquuntur verbis haeretica tibi videatur loquutio, sed auarus, fornicator, homicida, inquis, catholicus est & Christi seruus: tamen sic animi gratia tecū ludā. Fornicator per te est Christi seru{us}. sed idēest pecti & diaboli seruus: ergo idem potest duobus dominis seruire {quod} Christum latuit, Et si fides mortua efficit catholicum, & daemones pertinēt ad ecclesiam catholicam, vtpote qui iuxta Iacobum credunt & contremiscunt. Fornicator (inquis) fidit Christo: spes non pudefacit. qui fidit Christo non peribit, sed habebit vitam aeternam. Ne{que} me latet ad Galathas scripsisse Paulum fide aber rantes ecclesiam tamen vocasse: sic idem ad Corinthios scribens eos in eodem capite nunc carnales appellat, nunc Dei templum Corinthios nimirum intelligens, sed alios at{que} alios? Neque enim templum dei erant qui carnales erant: quanquam nec me latet ecclesiam i. multitudinem profitentium Christum, partim ex bonis, partim ex malis conflata esse, nempe rete euangelicum ex omni genere congregari. Quid hoc aduersum ea quae ego dixi qui conabor omnes bonos non malos efficere, & ideo laborabā vt auditores mei non putarent magnum esse si in malis ecclesiastici inuenirentur: sed non visum est tibi piam praedicationem piē interpretari, dum existimas ad pietatem pertinere, si pie dicta impie reuocarentur. Si colloquia tua non sunt quam scripta clementiora, neque neutra ego optem mihi contingere. sed omnis amarulentia, tumor, ira vociferatio, maledicentia tollatur à te cum omni malitia: & tamen neque colloquijs neque scriptis me grauabis. Tu non optares (opinor) tales auditores, qualem te praestiteris. Sed deus te reddat benigniorem, vel à meis concionibus quàm longissime ableget. Vale.

☛ Spiritum Veritatis.

FLAMMIS, fumo{que} quam lectione, aut oculis digniores multo perlegimus tuas literas, quibus tua ipsius scelera in nos torquere subdole, & astutē admodum moliris Et quo firmitus ista tua statuas, veterē inter pocula me tui suggillatorem facis. Quod quam vere (vt omnia) dicas, iam vide. Narravit nobis praesentib{us} iamolim Marchfeldiae vnus & item alter, qui tuae interfuerant concioni, te palam summa{que} vt prae te ferebas, cum autoritate dixisse, indignos esse miseros homunculos, qui angelica salutatione salutent deiparam virginem ni velint ipsam rursum vt p•r•t Christum. Ego haec dixi, parum Christiane & religiose abs te dicta, cauendumque diligenter pijs quibusque christianis, ne huiusmodi fidem habeant concionatoribus. An hoc est te •uggillate an magis & tibi & illis pie, & religiose consulere? Nihil ego tibi & tu mihi, necdum viso, bilis impingo, sed summa raraque te esse modestia, & tolerantia hominem (vt videri vis) gaudeo, sed & gaudebo nec retorqueo in te conuitia, & probra, quibus tuae scatent literae. At istud non video quomodo dicas (imo nec admo'nitum tandem, sed acerimē potius redargutum, sed conuitijs & mendatijs male habitum potius, sed calumnijs inique affectum potius, sed falso condemnatum potius) Redargui fate or, at ea redargutio quam admonitio, aliud nihil. Conuitium nullum, mendatum nullum, calumnia nulla, quod sciam, in meis conspicitur literis, nisi mentitus est Paulus, Nisi calūniatus est Paulus, Nisi cō'uiciatus est Paulus quum diceret quosdam se dixisse, faciend• mala vt venirent bona. Nos calidi adhuc tuo spiritu, tua tibi tetulimus verba, id quod norūt probe omnes, qui te illic vna audiere. Vtinam tu nil tale effudisses, ego tum certe nihil tibi tale asscripsissem. Absit à me vt ego (quod dicere videris, vllo te animi odio, vllo te impio mentis affectu persequar. Didici ex Christo diligere etiam inimicos: tantum abest vt hominem fratrem, eiusdemque domini conseruum odio habeam Sed plus quam hostilia,

plus quam cruenta tua verba nequicquā me mouent. Tantum quam possum paucissimis tuis respondebo post hac te tuo relicturus iudici.

Primum quod dicis (Esto dixerim ego, omnes papas, omnes episcopos, vicarios, rectoresque omnes per ostium non intrantes sed ascendentes aliunde fures esse & latrones, dum sic dixi, ex assensu non ex personis & titulis cum Christo sum rem metitus.) Si id dixisses, nihil nobis tecum ea de re negotij fuisset. Sed (quod tu mea minerua collegisse dicis) dicebas, Papae videlicet omnes, episcopi omnes, vicarij omnes, rectores omnes fures sint, & latrones, nulla, quam audiui neque ascensus, neque descensus, neque per hostium, neque per fenestram mentione facta. Nec ego adeo surdis eram auribus, vt si quid tale suo loco dixisses, continuo non excepsissem. Eum quem nunc adfers sensum catholicum veneror, & exosculor: priorem reijcio & detestor. Sacra scripturae autoritas principi populi tui non maledicis) non sinit me vt sentiam, vt tu mihi ascribere videris, plerosque omnes aliunde ascendere. Quis sum ego vt iudicem alienum seruum (Vnusquisque enim propriam sarcinam baiulabit. Non ego, sed nec alius quisquam vetuit vnquā quo minus diceres omnes esse fures qui per hostium non intrantes ascendunt aliunde, quibuscunque interim titulis splendescant. sed qui per hostium non intrantes, ascendunt aliunde, iam primum audio quod si prius (vt iam dixi) adiecisses, verbum nullum. Quod dicis, quae me dementia coepe rit sic, collegisse, vt plures fures quam postores, plures hoedos quam oues esse in ecclesia dixisti. Quod quam dixeris, vt prius dixi, vere, ipse videto. Iam prioribus literis sanioem fuisse diui Cypriani Martyris de ecclesia censuram docuimus. Frustra dicis apertam illam & in os obiectam criminationem, vae vobis Scribae & Pharisei, hypocritae, mihi è regione displicituram, quum adeo, vt dicis arrideat tecta & parabolica illa, Qui non intrat per hostium in stabulum ouium &c. Non potest profecto mihi vnquam displicere aliquod sacrum Christi factum. Praesētes repraehendebat ipse impios, Scribas & Phariseos iuxta id: Annuncia populo meo scelera sua non aliena: absentes tu papas & episcopos, qui talia fecerant vae futurum praedixit: tu vocabula, quo nescio afflatu, tantum respiciebas. Nullius ego hominis animum iudico vnquam, sed nec iudicabo, tantum abest vt animi tui emphasin mihi arrogauerim vnquā. Desine mihi obijcere talia. Quod audiuius loquimur, quod vidimus testamur. Si sanè, & rectè ad quem libet Christianum interpretatus es id Matthaei. Tu es Petrus, aequaliter, vt dicis, de ecclesia, nihil omnino de vi clauium locutus, gaudeo. Mihi certe non arridet. Nec dixi te dixisse omnes Christianos, vt tu es, sacerdotes esse, sed illjusmodi nudam & confusam interpretationem non parum fouere & nutrire huiusmodi assertionem Lutheranam, id quod credo, ipse vides. Me illorum adijces numero, qui promptiores sunt ad primatum Petri defensandum etiam, vt ais, quum nihil * sed haereticum dictum videtur. Christianus enim conditionem significat non actionem sine actu, Signa latet quippiam. &c.

Besides these latine letters aboue expressed other letters also he wrote in English as well to others, as namely Syr Edward Baynton Knight, which letters because they do containe much fruitfull matter worthy to be read and knowne, I thought here presently to insert, which albeit may seeme somewhat prolix in reading: yet the fruite thereof I trust shall recompense the length of them.

¶The copy of a letter sent by mayster Latimer, person of Westekington, in the countie of Weltes. to Syr Edward Baynton Knight. Salutem in Christo.

Right worshipfull Syr, I recommend me vnto youre maystership, with harty thanks for your so frendly, so [Page 1746](#) charitable, and so mindefull remembraunce of me so poore a wretch. Wheras of late I receaued your letters by M. Bonnam, perceiuing therein both who be greeued w^t me, wherfore, & what behoueth me to do, in case I must needs come vp, whiche your goodnes towards me w^t all other such like to recompense, where as I my selfe am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lorde God, which both is able and also doth in deede reward all them that fauour the fauourers of his truth for his sake, for the truth is a common thinge, pertayning to euery man, for the which euery man shall aunswere an other daye. And I desire fauour neither of your maystership, neither of any man els, but in trueth, and for the trueth, I take God to witnesse whiche knoweth all. In verye deede maister Chauncellour dyd shew me that my Lord byshop of London had sent letters to him for me: and I made aunswere that he was myne Ordinary, and that both he might & shuld reforme me as farre as I needed reformation, as wel and as soone as my Lord of London. And I woulde be very loth (nowe thys deepe winter) being so weake and so feeble (not onely exercised with my disease in my head and side, but also wyth new, both the colike and the stone) to take suche a iourney: and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do: notwithstanding I sayd, if he to do my Lord of London pleasure to my great displeasure, woulde needes commaund me to go, I would obey his commandement: yea, though it shuld be neuer so great a greuance and paynefull to me: with the which answere he was content, saying he would certifie my Lord of London thereof, trusting his Lordship to be content with the same: but as yet I heare nothing from him. M. Chauncellour also said that my Lord of Londō maketh as though he wer greatly displeased with me, for y^t I did contēpne his authoritie, at my last being in London. Forsooth I preached in Abbe-church, not certayne then (as I remember) whether in his Dioces or no, intending nothing lesse then to contemne his authoritie, and this I did not of myne owne suinge, or by mine owne procuracion, but at the request of honest merchaunt men (as they seemed to me) whose names I do not knowe, for they were not of myne acquayntaunce before: & I am glad therof for their sakes, least if I knew thē I shoulde be compelled to vtter them so, and theyr godlye desire to heare godly preaching shuld return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and to say y^e truth euen importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certayn: But they shewed not onely themselues but also many other to be very desirous to hear me, pretending, great hunger, and thyrst of the word of God & ghostly doctrine. And vpon consideration, and to auoyd al inconueniences, I put them of, and refused them twise or thrise, till at the last they brought me word that the Parson and Curate were not onely content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name playnly, and also that I had not the bish. seale to shew for me, but onely a licence of y^e Uniuersitie, which Curate dyd receiue me, welcommed me, and when I shuld go into the pulpite gaue me the common benediction: so that I hadde not ben, alonely vncharitable, but also churlishly vncharitable if I would haue sayd nay. Nowe al this supposed to be trueth (as it is) I maruell greatly howe my Lorde of London can alledge any contempt, of him in me.

First, he did neuer inhibite me in my life, and if hee did inhibite his Curate to receaue me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any sute to the curate deceitfully, nor it did not appeare to me very likely that the Curate would so litle haue regarded my Lords inhibitiō, which he mayntayneth so vigilantly, not knowing my Lords minde before. Therefore I coniected with my self that eyther the Curate was of such acquayntaunce with my Lord, that he might admitte whome hee would, or els (and rather) that it was a trayne and a trap layde before me, to the intent that my Lorde himselfe, or other pertayning to hym was appoynted

to haue bene there, and to haue taken me if they coude in my sermon, which coniecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they speake neuer so fayre and frendly, and also rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be so, I woulde my Lorde him selfe might heare me euery sermon I preache. So certayne I am that it is trueth, that I take in hand to preache. If I had w^t power of my frendes (the Curate gaynesaying and withstanding) presumed to haue gone into the pulpitte, there had bene something wherefore to pretend a contēpt. I preached in Kent also, at the instaunt request of a Curate: yet here I not that his Ordinary layeth any contēpt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate. I maruel not a little, how my Lord Bysh. of London, hauing so brode, wyde, and large Dioces committed vnto hys cure, and so peopled as it is, can haue leysure for preaching and teaching the word of God, oportune importune, tempestiue, intempestiue, priuatim, publice to his owne flocke, i•stando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, c•m omni lenitate & doctrina, haue leysure (I say) eyther to trouble me, or to trouble him selfe w^t me, so poore a wretch, a stranger to him & nothing pertayning to his cure, but as euery man pertayneth to euery mans cure, so intermixing & interm•ling himselfe with an other mans cure, as though he had nothing to doe in his owne. If I would do as some men seyn my Lorde dothe, gather vp my •oyle, as wee call it, waresly and narrowly, and yet neyther preache for it in mine owne cure, nor yet other where, peraduenture he woulde nothing deny me. In very deede I did monish Iudges and Ordynaryes to vse charitable equitie in their iudgementes towardes suche as been accused, namely of suche accusers, which beene as like to heare and bewray, as other bene to say amisse, and to take mens words in the meaning therof, and not to wrast them in an other sense, then they were spoken in: for all suche accusers and witnesses be false before God, as saint Hierome saith vpon the xxvi. chapter of Mathew. Nor yet I do not accompt those Iudges wel aduised, which wittingly will geue sentēce after such witnesses, much lesse those whiche procure suche witnesses agaynst any man: nor I thinke not iudges now a dayes so deeply confirmed in grace or so impeccable, but that it may behoue and become preachers to admonish thē to do well as wel as other kindes of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the epistle whiche I declared. Rom. vi. wherein is this sentence, non istes sub lege, sed sub gratia, ye christen men y^t beleue in Christ, are not vnder the law. What a saying is this (quod I) if it be not rightly vnderstande, that is as saynct Paule did vnderstand it? for the wordes sound as though he would goe about to occasion Christen men to breake lawe, seeing they be not vnder the law: and what tht pseudapostles, aduersaryes to saint Paule would so haue taken them, and accused saint Paule of the same to my Lord of London? if my sayd Lord would haue heard saint Paule declare hys owne mynde, of his owne wordes, then he shoulde haue escaped, and the false Apostles put to rebuke: if he would haue rigorously followed vtennque allegata & probata, and haue geuen sētence after relation of the accusers, then good S. Paule must haue borne a fagot at Paules crosse, my Lord of Lōdon being hys iudge. Oh, it had ben a goodly sight to haue seene saynct Paule with a fagot on his backe, euē at paules crosse, my Lord of London Byshop of the same, sitting vnder the crosse. Nay verily I dare say, my Lord shoulde sooner haue burned him, for saynct Paule did not meane that christen men might breake law, and doe what soeuer they would, because they were not vnder the law: but hee did meane that Christen men might keepe the law & fulfill the lawe, if they woulde, because they were not vnder the law, but vnder Christ, by whome they were deuided from the tyranny of the law, and aboue the law, that is to saye, able to fulfill the lawe to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could neuer do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be vnder the law, after Saynct Paules meaning, is to be weake to satisfie the lawe: and what could saynt Paule doe withall, though his aduersaries would not so take it? But

my Lord would say peradventure that men will not take the preachers woordes otherwise then they meane therein, bona verba, as though S. Paules woordes were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the thyrd chapter to the Romaines, where hee sayth, quod iniustitia nostra dei iustitiam commendat, that is to say, our vnrighteousnes commēdeth and maketh more excellent the righteousnes of God, which soundeth to many as though they should be euill, that good shoulde come of it, and by vnrighteousnes, to make the righteousnes of God more excellent. So saynct Paule was reported to meane: yet he did meane nothing so, but shewed the inestimable wisdomes of God, which can vse our naughtines to the manifestation of his vnspeakable goodnes: not that we shuld do noughtily to that end and purpose. Now my Lord will not thinke (I dare saye) that S. Paule was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warely, or more playnely, to auoyd euill offense of the people: but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heede, and attendaunce to Paules speaking, to the vnderstanding of the same: yea, he will rather pittie the people, whiche had bene so long nozeled in the doctrine of the Phariseis, and wallowed so long in darcknes of mans traditions, superstitions, and trade of liuinge, that they were vnapt to receaue the bright lightnes of the truthe, and wholesome doctrine of God, vttered by Saynt Paule. Nor I thinke not that my Lord wil require more circumspection, or more conuenience to auoyd offense of errorrs [Page 1747](#) in me, then was in saint Paule when hee did not escape maleuolous corrections, & sclaunderous reportes of them that were of peruerse iudgementes, whiche reported hym to say, what soeuer he appeared to thē to say, or what so euer seemed to them to follow of his saying: but what followeth sic aiunt nos dicere, sic male loquuntur de nobis so they report vs to say, sayth saint Paule. So they speake euill of vs: sed quorum damnatio iusta est, but such, whose damnation is iust sayth he: and I thinke the damnation of al such that euill reporten preachers nowe a dayes, likewise iust: for it is vntruth nowe and then. Yea Christ himselfe was misreported, & falsely accused, both as touching his words and also as concerning the meaning of his wordes. First he sayd: destruite, that is to say, destroy you: they made it possum destruere,* that is to say, I can destroy: he sayd templum hoc, this temple, they added manu factum, that is to say made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inuerted his wordes, and also added vnto hys wordes, to alter his sentence: for he did meane of the temple of his bodye, and they wrast it to Salomons temple. Now I reporte me whether it be a iust fame raysed vpp, and dispersed after this manner.* Nay verely, for there be three maner of persons which can make no credible information. First, aduersaries, enemies: Second, ignoraunt & without iudgement: Thirdly, susurrone, that is to saye, whisperers, and blowers in mennes eares, whiche wyll spew out in hudder mudder, more then they dare auow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore relation of such is not credible, and therefore can make no fame lawfull, nor occasion anye indifferent Iudge to make processe agaynst anye man, nor it maketh no litle matter what they be themselues that report of any man, neyther well or euill, for it is a great commendation to be euill spoken of, of them that be naughty themselues, and to be commended of the same, is many tymes no lytle reproche. God send vs once all grace to wish one to an other, and to speake well one vpon an other. Me semes it were comely, for my Lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himselfe, hauing so great a cure as he hath, then to be a disquieter and a troubler of Preachers, and to preache nothing at all himselfe. If it woulde please his Lordship to take so great laboure and payne at anye tyme,* as to come preache in my little Byshoppricke at Westkington, whether I were present or absent my selfe, I would thank his Lordship hartily, and thinke my selfe greatly bounden to hym, that hee of his charitable goodnes would go so farre to helpe to discharge me in my cure or els I were more ••naturall then a beast vnreasonable nor yet I would dispute, contende

or demaunde by what authoritie or where he had authoritye so to do, as long as his predication were fruitfull, & to y^e edification of my parishioners. As for my lord may do as it pleaseth his lordship I pray God he do alwayes as wel as I would wishe him euer to do: but I am sure S. Paule y^e true minister of god, & faythfull dispensour of Gods miste & ries, right exemplar of all true and very byshoppes, saith in the first chapter to the Philippians, that in hys tyme some preached Christ for enuy of hym, thinking therby so to greeue hym withall, and as it were to obscure him, and to brynge hys authoritie into contempt, some of good wil and loue, thinking thereby to comfort him: notwithstanding (sayth hee) by all manner of wayes, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, as ye would say for truthe sake so that Christ be preached and shewed, I ioy and will ioy, so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christes doctrine, to the edification of christē soules then the mayntenaunce of hys own authoritie, reputation and dignitie, considering right well, as he sayd, that what authoritie so euer he had, it was to edification and not to destruction. Now I thinke it were no reproch to my lord but very commendable, rather to ioy with saynt Paule, & be glad that Christ be preached quouismodo, yea thoughte it were for em•y, that is to say in disdayne, despite and contempt of his Lordship (Which thing no man well aduised will enterprise or attempte) then when the preachyng can not be reproued iustly, to demaunde of the preacher austerely as the Phariseis did of Christ, quia autoritate haec facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem? as my authoritie is good enough, and as good as my Lorde can geue me any, yet I would be glad to haue hys also, if it wold please his Lordship to be so good Lorde vnto me. For the vniuersitie of Cambridge hath authoritie Apostolicke,* to admitte. 12. yearly, of the which I am one, and the kynges highnes. God saue his grace, did decree that all admitted of Uniuersities, should preache throughout all hys realm as lōg as they preached well, without distreine of any mā, my Lorde of Caunterbury, my Lorde of Duresme, wyth such other not a fewe standing by, and hearyng the decree nothing again saying it, but consenting to the same. Now to contemne my Lord of Londons authoritie were no litle fault in me: so no lesse fault might appeare in my Lorde of London to contemne the kinges authoritie and decree, yea so Godlye, so fruitfull, so commendable a decree pertayning both to the edification of christen soules, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace and authoritie Apostolique. To haue a booke of the kinges not inhibited, is to obey the kyng, and to inhibite a preacher of the king admitted, is it not to disobey the kinge? is it not one king that doth inhibite and admitte, and hath hee not as great authoritie to admitte as to inhibite? He that resisteth the power, whether admitting, or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinaunce of God? we low subiectes are bound to obey powers, and their ordinaunces: and are not the highest subiectes also, who ought to geue vs ensample of such obedience? As for my preaching it selfe, I trust in God my Lorde of London cannot rightfully belacke it, nor iustly reprove it, if it be taken with the circum'stance thereof, and as I spake it, or els it is not my preaching, but hys that falsely reporteth it, as the Poet Martiall sayd to one that deprauid hys booke: quem recitas meus est, o Fidentie, libellus: sed male cum recitas, incipit esse tuus. But now I heare say that my Lorde of London is informed, and vpon the sayd information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, agaynst his ordinaryes and iudges, whiche I ensure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with hys Iudges, except his Iudges did him wrong: for I did nothing els but monishe all Iudges indifferently to doe right, nor I am not altogether so foolish as to defende the thing which I knewe not. It might haue become a preacher to say as I sayd, though Bilney had neuer bene born I haue known Bilney a great while, I thinke much better then euer did my Lord of London: for I haue bene his ghostly father many a time: and to tell you the truth,* what I haue thought alwayes in him, I haue knowne hetherto few such so

prompt, and ready to doe euery man good, after hys power, both frends and foe, noysome wittingly to no man, and toward hys enemy so charitable: so seking to reconcile them, as he did, I haue knowne yet not many, and to be shorte in a summe a very simple good soule, nothing fitte nor meete for thys wretched worlde, whose blinde fashion and miserable state (yea farre from Christes doctrine) he could as euill beare, and would sorow, lamēt and bewayle it as much as any man that euer I knew: as for his singular learning, as well in holy scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speake of it. Notwythstanding if he eyther now of late, or at any tyme attempted any thing contrary to the obedience whiche a christian man doth owe, eyther to hys prince or to hys byshoppe, I neyther do nor will allowe and approue that, neyther in hym nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and readye to fall: wherfore he that standeth, let hym beware hee fall not. Now he ordered or misordered hymself in iudgemeēt, I cannot tell, nor I will not meddle wythall: God knoweth, whose iudgementes I will not iudge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man liuyng so mercifully, so charitably, so paciently, so continently, so studiously, and vertuously, and killyng hys old Adam, that is to say, mortifie his euill affections, & blynde motions of hys hart, so dilligently should dye an euill death, there is no more but let hym y^e standeth beware that he fall not: for if such as he shall dye euill, what shall become of me such a wretch as I am? but let this goe, a little to the purpose, and come to the poynt we must rest vpon. Eyther my Lord of London wil iudge my outward man onely, as it is sayde, Omnes vident quae foris sunt, or els he will be my God, & iudge mine inwarde manne, as it sayd Deus autem intuetur cor: if he will haue to do onely with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conuersation, how that I haue ordered my selfe toward my christen brethren the kynges liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lorde God, and also my Lorde of London: for I haue preached and taught but accordyng to holy scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpretours of the same, with the whiche I thinke, my Lord of London will be pacified: for I haue done nothing els in my preaching, but with all diligence moued my auditours to fayth and charitie to do theyr duety, and that that is necessary to be done. As for thinges of priuate deuotion, meane thynges, and voluntary thinges, I haue reprobued the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the thinges themselues, as it becommeth Preachers to do, which thyng if my Lord of London will do himselfe (as I would to God he would doe) he shoulde be reported (no doubt) to condempne the vse of such thynges, of couetous men which chaue dammage, and finde lesse in theyr boxes by condemnation of the abuse, whiche [Page 1748](#) abuse they sayd rather should continue stil, then your profite should not continue, (so thorny be theyr hartes:) if my Lord wyll needes coste and inuade my inward man, will I nill I, an• breake violently into my hart, I feare me I shall either displease my Lord of London, which I would be very lothe, or els my Lord GOD, which I will be more lothe: not for anye infidelitie, but for ignoraunce, for I beleue as a christen man ought to beleue: but peraduenture my Lord knoweth and wyll know many thyngs certaynely, which (perchaunce) I am ignoraunt in, wyth the which ignoraunce though my Lorde of London may if hee will, 〈◇〉 discontent, yet I trust my Lorde God will pardon it as long as I hurt no man withall, and saye to hym with dilligent study, and dayly prayer paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum, so studying, preaching, and taryng the pleasure and leisure of God. And in the meane season. Actes. viij. as Apollo did, when hee knew nothing of Christ, but Baptismum Iohannis, teach and preache myne euen christen that, and no farther then I know to be true. There be three Creedes, one in my masse, an other in my mattyns, the thyrd common to them that neyther sayeth masse nor mattyns, nor yet knoweth what they say when they say the Creede: and I beleue all three wyth all y^e God hath left in holy writte, for me and all other to beleue: yet I am ignoraunt in thynges whiche I truste hereafter to know, 〈◇〉 I do now know thinges, in which I

haue bene ignorau^t at heretofore: euer learne and euer to be learned, to profit[•] w^t learning, with ignorance not to noy. I haue thought in times past, that the Pope Christes Uicar, had bene Lord of all the world as Christ is, so that if he should haue depryued the kyng of hys Crowne, or you of y^e Lordshyp of Bromeham, it had bene enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hyred to thyncke otherwyse: not withstanding I haue both seene and heard scripture drawen to that purpose, I haue thought in tymes past, that the Popes dispensations of pluralities of benefices,^{*} and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuche as I had heard ecce vobiscum sum, & qui vos a[•]dit, me audit, bended to corroborate the same. Nowe I might be easely entreated to thinke otherwise &c.

I haue thought in times past y^t the P. could haue spoy^led purgatory at his pleasure w^t a word of his mouth: now learnyng might perswade me otherwise, or els I woulde maruayle why he would suffer so muche money to be bestowed that way, whiche so needefull is to be bestowed otherwise, and to depriue vs of so many patrones in heauē as he might deliuer out of purgatorye. &c. I haue thought in tymes past, that and if I hadde bene a Fryer and in a cowle, I could not haue bene dāpned, nor afeard of death and by occasion of the same I haue bene minded manye tymes to haue bene a Fryer, namely whē I was sore sick and diseased. Now I abhorre my superstitious foolishenes. &c. I haue thought in tymes past, that diuers Images of sayntes could haue holpen me, and done me much good, and deliuered me of my diseases: now I know that one can helpe, as much as an other. And it pittiyeth myne hart that my Lord and such as my Lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftely deceiued, it were to long to tell you what blindnes I haue bene in, and howe long it were or I coulde forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by cōtinual prayer cōtinual study of scripture, & oft cōmuning w^t men of more right iudgemēt, God hath deliuered me &c. Yea, mē thinketh y^t my lord himself hath thought in tymes past that by Gods lawe a man might marrye hys brothers wyfe, which nowe both dare thinke and say contrarye: and yet this his boldnes might haue chaunced in Pope Iulius dayes, to stand hym eyther in a fire, or els in a fagot. Whiche thing deeply considered, and pondered of my Lord, might something stirre hym to charitable equity and to be something remissable toward men, which labor to do good as theyr power serueth wyth knowledge, and doth hurt to no man with theyr ignorauncye, for there is no greater distaunce, then betweene Gods lawe and not gods law: nor it is not so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but because it is so or so in deede, therefore wee muste thynke it so, or so when God shal geue vs knowledge thereof, for if it be in deede eyther so or not: it is so or not so, though all the world hadde thought otherwyse these thousand yeares &c. And finally as ye saye, the matter is weightye and ought substantially to bee looked vpon, euen as weighty as my lyfe is worth: but howe to looke substantially vpon it, otherwyse know not I, then to pray my Lord God day and nyght, that as he hath bolded me to preache hys truthe, so hee will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which haue taken by the workyng of hym, fruite thereby, and euen so I desire you, and all other that fauour me for hys sake, lykewise to pray: for it is not I, (wythout his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brute, but I haue trust that God will helpe me in tyme of neede, whiche if I had not, the Ocean sea, I thinke should haue deuided my Lord of Lōdon and me by thys day. For it is a rare thing for a Preacher to haue fauour at hys hand which is no preacher him selfe, and yet ought to be: I pray God that both he and I may both discharge our selues, he in hys great cure, and I in my little, to Gods pleasure and safety of our soules. Amen. I pray you pardon me that I write no more dystinctly, more truely: for my head is so out of frame, that it should be to paynefull for me to write it agayne, and if I be not preuented, shortly I intend to make mery with

my Parishioners thys Christmas, for all the sorrowe, least perchaunce I neuer returne to them agayne: and I haue heard say, that a Doe is as good in wyn•er, as a Bucke in sommer.

***A letter of Syr Edward Baynton Knight, aunsweryng to the letter of M. Latymer sent to him before.**

MAyster Latimer, after hartye recommendations,* I haue cōmunicated the effect of youre letters to diuers of my frendes, such as for Christen charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, eyther in youre opinion) if it swerue frō the truth) or at the least in your maner and behaiour, in as much as it geueth occasion of sclaunder and trouble in let of your good purposes, then anye other inconuenience to youre person or good name.* And for asmuch as your sayd letter misliked them in some parte, and that I haue such confidence in your Christen breste, as in my iudgement ye wil conformably and gladly, both heare that may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so knowledge and confesse the same: I haue therefore desired them to take the payne to note theyr mindes in this letter whiche I send to you, as agregate of theyr sayinges, & sent from me your assured frend and fauourer, in that that is the very truth of Gods word, wherein neuerthelesse, as I trust ye your selfe will temper your owne iudgement, and in a sobernes affirme no truth of your selfe,* whiche shoulde deuide the vnitie of the Congregation in Chryst, and the receiued truth agreed vpon by holy fathers of the Church, consonaunt to the scripture of GOD, euen so what soeuer ye will do therein (as I thinke ye will not otherwise then ye should do) I beyng vnlearned, and not of the knowledge to geue sentence in this altera•ion and contention,* must rather of good congruence shew my selfe in that you disagree with thē, readyer to follow theyr doctrine in truth, then yours, vnlesse it may please almighty God to inspire and confirm the heartes of suche people to testify the same in some honest number as ought to induce me to geue credence vnto them.*

Onely God knoweth the certayne trueth, whiche is communicate vnto vs, as our capacitie may comprehend it by fayth, but that it is per speculum in enigmatē. And there haue bene qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam. Among whiche I repute not you,* but to this purpose I write it, that to cal this or that truth it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, consideryng that to me vnlearned, that I take for truth may be otherwyse, not hauyng sensus exercitatos, as saynct Paule sayth, ad discernendum bonum & malum, and it is shewed me, that an opinion or maner of teachyng, which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of S. Iohn in his Epistle, where he sayth: Omnis qui confitetur Christū in carne. &c. ex Deo est. And like as y^e word of God hath alwayes caused dissension among men vnchristened,* wherevpon hath ensued and followed Martyrdome to the preacher, so in Christes congregation amonge them that professe Christes name, In vno Domino, vno Baptismate & vna fide, they that preache and stirre rather contention, then charitie, though they can defēd their saying, yet theyr teachyng is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christen charitie, and maketh diuision in the people,* congregate and called by GOD into an vnitie of fayth and Baptisme. But for thys poynt I would pray to God, that not onely in the truth may be agreement, but also suche sobernes and vniforme behaiour vsed in teachyng and preaching,* as men may wholly expresse (as they may) the charitie of God tendyng onely to the vnion in loue of vs all, to the profite and saluation of our soules.

¶The aunswere of M. Latimer to the letter of Syr Edward Baynton aboue prefixed.

Right worshypfull sir, and my singular good mayster,* salutem in Christe Iesu, with due commendation and also thanks for your great goodnes towards me &c. And whereas you haue [Page 1749](#) communicate my last letters to certayne of your frendes, whiche rather desire this or that in me &c. what I thinke therein I wyll not now say, not for that there could be any perill or daunger in the sayd letters (well taken) as farre as I can iudge, but for that they were rashely and vndeuisedly scribled, as yee might well know both by my excuse, and by themselues also, though none excuse had bene made. And besides that, ye know right wel, that wheras the Bee gathereth honey,* euen there the spinner gathereth venome, not for any diuersity of the flower, but for dyuers natures in them that sucketh the flower: As in times past, and in the beginning, the very truth: and one thinge in it selfe was to some,* offence, to some foolishnes, to other otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diuersitie was in the redresse of hearers therof.

But this notwithstandinge, there is no more but eyther my wryting is good, or bad, if it be good, the communicatyng thereof to your friendes cannot be hurtfull to me? if it be otherwise, why shoulde you not communicate it to them, whiche both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reforme my errour.* Let this passe, I will not contend: had I wyst commeth euer out of season. Truly I were not well aduised if I would not eyther be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse myne owne reformation, but yet it is good for a man to looke or hee leapeth, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworne to me so wretched a foole, that you should not rather followe the doctrine of your frendes in truth, so great learned men as they appeare to be then the opinions of me, hauing neuer so christen a brest.

Wherefore doe as you will: for as I woulde not if I coulde so I cannot if I woulde, be noysome vnto you, but yet I saye I would my letters had bene vnwrytten, if for none other cause, at least way, in asmuche as they cause me to more wrytynge, an occupation nothyng meete for my mad head: and as touching poyntes whiche in my foresayde letters mislike your friendes, I haue now little leysure to make an answeere thereto for the great busines that I haue in my little cure, I knowe not what other men haue in their great cure seeyng that I am alone without anye Prieste to serue my cure without my scholer too read vnto me,* wythout any booke necessary to be looked vpon, without learned men to come and counsell withall All whiche thynges other haue at hand abundantly, but some thing must be done,* how soeuer it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper myne owne iudgement, affirming nothing with preiudice of better. First yee mislike, that I saye I am sure that I preache the truthe, saying in reproofe of the same, that god knoweth certayne truthe.* In deede alonely God knoweth al certayne truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certayne truth but God, and those which be taught of God, as saith S. Paule: Deus enim illis patescit: And Christ himselfe: erunt omnes docti a Deo: And your friendes deny not but that certayne truth is communicate to vs, as our capacitie may comprehend it by fayth, whiche if it be trueth as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacitie: nowe certayne it is that euery man hath not like capacitie. &c.

But as to my presumption and arrogancye: eyther I am certayne or vncertayne that it is trueth that I preache, If it bee truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receaue the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be vncertaine, why dare I be so bold to preache it? And if your friends in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselues, after their sermon I pray you aske them whether they be certayne and sure that they taught you the truth or no, and

sende me worde what they say, that I may learne to speake after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: If they say they be vnsure, whē shall you be sure that hath so doubtful teachers and vnsure? And you your selues, whether are you certayne or vncertayne, that Christ is your sauour, and so foorth of other articles that yee be bounden to beleue,* or whether be ye sure or vnsure, that ciuile ordinaunces be the good workes of God, and that you doe God seruice in doyng of them, if ye do them for good intent: if ye be vncertayne, take heede hee be your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then, with what conscience do you doubt: Cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum sit? But contrary say you, alonely God knoweth certayne truth, and ye haue it but per speculum in enigmat:* and there haue bene, qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam: and to call thys or that truth, it requireth a deepe knowledge, considering that to you vnlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not hauing sensus exercitatos (as Paule sayth) ad discernendum bonum & malum, as yee reason agaynst me, and so you do best to knowe surely nothyng for truth at all,* but to wander meekely hether and thether, omni vento doctrinae. &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but per spe|culum in enigmat? What then? Ergo it is not certayn and sure?

I deny your argument by your leaue: yea if it be by fayth, as ye say, it is muche sure, quia certitudo fidei est maxima certitudo as Duns and other schole Doctours saye: that there is a great discrepance betweene certayne knowledge,* and cleare knowledge: for that may be of thinges absent that appeare not, this requireth the presence of the obiect,* I meane of the thinge knowne so that I certainly and surely know the thinge whiche I perfectly beleue, though I doe not clearely and euidently knowe it. I know your schole subtleties, as well as you, whiche 〈◇〉 as though enigmaticall knowledge, that is to saye, darcke and obscure knowledge might not be certayn and sure knowledge because it is not cleare, manifest and euident knowledge: and yet there hath bene (they say) qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam, which haue had a zeale, but not after know|ledge. Truth it is, there hath bene suche, and yet be to manye to the great hinderaunce of Christes glorye, whiche nothing dothe more obscure, then an hote zeale accompanied with great authoritie without right iudgement. There haue bene also, Qui scientiam habuerunt absque zelo Dei, qui viuitatem Dei in iniustitia detinentes plagis vapulabunt multis, dum voluntatem Domini cognoscentes, nihil minus quàm, faciunt, I meane not among Turkes and Saracens that bee vnchristened, but of them that be christined▪ and there haue bene also that haue lost scientiam Dei, id est, spiritualem diuini verbi sensum, quam prius habuerunt. i. The spirituall knowledge of Gods word whiche they had before, because they haue not ensued after it, nor promoted the same, but rather with theyr mother wits haue impugned the wisdom of the father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, whiche therefore hath bene taken away from them, vt iustificetur Christus in sermonibus suis, & vincat cum iudicatur, threatning Math. 13. Ei vero, qui non habet, etiam quod habet, id est, quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo, cum abuti habito, vel non bene vti, sit non habere, nec non sit verum illud quoque, non habitaturam, videlicet sapientiam in corpore peccatis subdito, qui adhuc & si carnaliter sapiant plus satis, at stat, sententia, nem••e carnalem & Philosophicam scripturarum intelligentiam, non esse sapientiam Dei, quae à sapientibus absconditur, paruulis reuelatur. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deepe and profound knowledge, then eyther euery man hath a deepe and profound knowledge, or els no man can call this or that truth: & it behoueth euery Preacher to haue so deepe and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that hee taketh in hand to preache for the truth, and yet hee may be ignoraunt and vncertayne in many thinges, both this and that, as Apollo was: but which thinges, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for

the truth. And as for my self, I trust in God, I maye haue sensus exercitatos well enough ad discernendum bonum & malum. Sensus exercised to discerne good and euill in those thinges which wythout deep and profound knowledge in many thinges I preache not, yea there be manye thinges in scripture in whiche I cannot certaynely discerne bonum & malum, I meane verum & falsum, not with al the exercise that I haue in scripture, nor yet with helpe of all interpreters that I haue, to content my selfe and other in all scrupulosity, that may arise: but in such I am wont to wade no farther into the streame, then that I may eyther go ouer, or els returne backe agayne, hauing euer respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that heare me, as far forth as I can, neyther passing myne owne nor yet theyr capacitie.

And such manner of argumentes might well serue the Deuill contra pusillanimes, to occasion them to wander and wauer in the faythe, and to be vncertayne in thinges in whiche they ought to be certayne: or els it may appeare to make and serue agaynst such preachers which wil define great subtleties & high matters in the Pulpit, whiche no man can be certayne and sure of by Gods worde to be truth, ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum & malum exercitatissimos: as whether, if Adam had not sinned we should haue had Stockefishe out of Iseland: howe many Larkes for a peny if euery Starre in the element were a flickering Hobby: how many yeres a man shall lye in Purgatory for one sinne if he buy not plenty of the oile that runneth ouer our lampes to slake the sinne withall, and so forget hel whiche cannot be slaked, to prouide for Purgatory.

Such argumentation (I say) might appeare to make well agaynst such Preachers, not agaynst me, which simply and playnly vtter true fayth and fruites of the same, whiche bee the good woorkes of God, quae preparauit deus vt in eis ambularemus. i. which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, euery man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duety in his degree and cal'ling, as the word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with sobernesse, hauing sensus ad discernendum bonum & malum, vel mediocriter exercitatos. For it is but foolishe humilitey, willingly to continue alwayes infantulus in Christo & in infirmitate. i. an infant still in Christ, and in infirmity: in reproofe of which it was sayd 〈◇〉 estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo. For S. Paule sayth not: Estote humiles, vt non capiatis. For though he would not that wee shoulde thinke arrogantly of our selfe, and aboue that that it becommeth vs to thinke of our selfe, but so to think of our selfe, vt simus sobrij ac modesti, yet he biddeth vs so to think of our selfe, vt cuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei. i. as God hath distributed to euery one the measure of fayth. For he that may not with meekenesse thinke in himselfe what God hath done for him, and of himselfe as God hath done [Page 1750](#) for him, how shall he, or when shall he geue due thanks to God for his giftes? And if your frendes will not allow the same, I pray you enquire of them whether they may cum sobrietate & modestia be sure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, cum sobrietate & modestia folowe S. Paules bidding, where hee sayth vnto vs all: Nolite fieri pueri sensibus, sed malitia infantes estote. i. Be not children in vnderstanding, but in malitiousnesse be infantes.* God geue vs all grace to keepe the meane, & to think of our selfe neither to high nor to low, but so that we may restore vnto him, qui peraeagre profectus est, his giftes agayne cum vsura, that is to say, with good vse of the same, so that aedificemus inuicem with the same, ad gloriam Dei. Amen.

For my life I trust in god that I neither haue, neither (by gods grace) shall I, neither in sobernesse, nor yet in drunkennesse affirme any trueth of my selfe, therewith entending to diuide that vnity of the Congregation of Christ, and the receiued trueth agreed vpon by the holy Fathers of the

Church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be shewed you neuer so often, that an opinion or maner of teaching, whiche causeth dissention in a Christian Congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of Saynt Iohn in his Epistle where he sayth: Omnis qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est. i. Euery one that confesseth Christ in the flesh,* is of God. First not euery thing whereupon foloweth dissention, causeth dissention, as I woulde they that shewed you that, would also shew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not mary his brothers wife, be of God or of men, if it be of men, then as Gamaliell sayd, dissoluatur: if it bee of God, as I thinke it is, and perchaunce your frendes also, quis potest dissoluere nisi qui videbitur Deo repugnare? i. Who can dissolve it but shal seme to repugne against God▪ And yet there be many not heathennes, but in Christendome, that dissenteth from the same, which could beare full euill to heare sayd vnto them: vos ex patre diabolo estis. So that such an opinion might seme to some to make a dissention in a Christian Congregation, sauing that they may saye perchaunce with more liberty then other, that an occasion is sometime taken and not geuen, which with theyr fauor I might abuse for my defence, sauing that, non omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

The Galathians hauing for preachers and teachers the false Apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate frō the sweet liberty of the Gospell into the sowre bond of ceremonies, thoght themselves peraduenture a Christian Congregation when Saint Paule did write his Epistle vnto them, and were in a quiet trade vnder the dominion of maysterly Curates, so that the false Apostles might haue objected to S. Paule that this Apostleshippe was not of God, for as muche as there was dissention in a Christian Congregation by occasion therof, while some would renue their opinions by occasion of the Epistle some would opinari, as they were wont to do, and folow theyr great Lordes and maysters the false Apostles, whiche were not heathen and vnchristened, but Christened, and hie Prelates of the professors of Christ. For your frendes I know right well what Erasmus hath sayde in an Epistle set before the Paraphrases of the first Epistle to the Corinthians,* which Erasmus hath caused no small dissention with his pen in a Christian Congregation, in as much as many haue dissented frō him, not alonely in Cloysters, (men more then christened men) of high perfection, but also at Paules Crosse, and S. Mary Spittle: besides many that with no small zeale haue written agaynst him, but not without aunswere.

And I woulde fayne learne of your frendes, whether that S. Hieromes writing were of God, which caused dissention in a chri|stian Congregation, as it appeareth by his owne wordes in the prologue before the Canonical Epistles, which be these: Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum à me impensius Scripturae viritatē inquiris,* meam quodam modo senectutem inuidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec illorum inuidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturae veritatem poscentibus denegabo. I pray you what were they that called S Hierom falsarium and corrupter of Scripture, and for enuye would haue bitten him with theyr teeth? vnchristen, or christen? what had the vnchristen to doe with christen doctrine? They were worshipfull fathers of a Christian Congregation, men of much more hotter stomackes then right iudgemente, of a greater authoritye then good charity: but Saynt Hierome would not cease to do good for the euill, speaking of them that were nought, geuing in that an ensample to vs of the same: and if this dissention were in Saynt Hieromes time, what may be in our time? de malo in peius scilicet.

And I pray you what meaneth your frendes by a Christian Congregation? All those (trow ye) that haue bene christened? But many of those bene in worse condition and shal haue greater dānation,

then many vnchristened. For it is not enough to a christian Congregation that is of God, to haue bene Christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christened, to renounce Sathan, his woorkes, his pompes: Whiche thing if we busye not our selfe to doe, let vs not crake that wee professe Christes name in a Christian Congregation, in vno baptismo. i. in one baptisme.

And where they adde in vno Domino. i. in one Lorde, I reade in Math. 17. non omnis qui dicit Domine, Domine. &c. •. Not euery one that sayth Lord, Lord. &c. And in Luke the Lord himself complayneth and rebuketh such professors and confessours,* saying to them: Cur dicitis domine, domine, & non facitis quae dico? i. Why call you me Lord, Lord, and doe not that I bid you? euen as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian Congregation to say euery day, Domine Dominus noster, and to salute Christe with a double Domine. But I woulde your frendes would take the paynes to read ouer Chrysostome super Mathaeum,* hom. 49. cap. 24. to learne to knowe a Christian Congregation, if it will please them to learne at him. And where they adde, in vna fide. i. in one fayth, S. Iames sayth boldly: ostende mihi fidem ex operibus. i. shew me thy fayth by thy workes. And S. Hierome: Si tamen credimus, inquit, opere veritatem ostēdimus.* And Scripture sayeth, qui credit Deo, attendit mandatis: And the deuils beleue to theyr litle comfort, I praye God to saue you and your frendes from that beleuing Congregation, and from that faythfull company.

Therefore all this toucheth not them that be vnchristened, but them that be christened and aunswere not vnto theyr Christendome. For Saynt Hierom sheweth how true Preachers should order themselues, when euil Priestes and false Preachers and populus ab his deceptus. i. The people be by them deceiued, should be angry with them for preaching the truth. Tom. 5. in Hieremiam Capi. 26. exhorting them to suffer death for the same of the euill priestes and false Preachers and the people deceiued of thē, which euill Priestes and false Preachers with the people deceyued, be Christened as well as other: and I feare me that Saynt Hierome might appeare to some Christian Cōgregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to deuide the vnity of a great honest number, confessing Christ in vno baptismo, vno Domino, vna fide, saying: populus qui ante sub magistris consopitus erat, ibit ad montes, non illos quidem qui vel leuiter tacti fumigant, sed montes veteris & noui testamenti, Prophetas, Apostolos, & Euangelistas, & cum eiusmodi montium lectione versatus, si non inuenerit doctores (messis enim multa operarij autem pauci) tunc & populi studium comprobabitur, quo fugerit and montes, & magistrorum desidia coa•guetur. To. 6. in Naū. cap. 30.

I do maruell why our Christian Congregation be so greatlye greeued that lay people would read scripture, seying that Saynt Hierom alloweth and approueth the same, which compareth not here the vnchristened to the christened, but the lay people christened to theyr Curates christened, vnder the which they haue bene rocked and locked a sleepe in a subtile trade a greate while full soundly, though nowe of late they haue beene waked, but to theyr payne, at the least way, to the payne of them that haue weakened them with the word of God: and it is properly sayd of S. Hierome to call them Maysters and not seruautes, meaning that seruautes teacheth not their owne doctrine, but the doctrine of theyr Mayster Christ, to his glory. Maysters teacheth not Christes doctrine, but theyr owne, to theyr owne glory: which Maysterly Curates cannot bee quiet till they haue broughte the people a sleepe agayne: but Christ the very true Mayster sayth: vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem. Non cogitationes meae cogitationes vestrae, neque

viae meae viae vestrae, dicit dominus: & there haue bene, qui cogitauerunt concilia, quae non potuerunt stabilire. i. which haue gone about counsels, which they could not establish. I pray God geue our people grace so to wake, vt studium illorum comprobetur, and our maysters so to sleepe, vt non desidia illorum coarguatur. For who •s so blinde that he seeth not howe farre our Christian Congregation doth gaynesay S. Hierome, and speaketh after an other fashion. God amend that is amisse: for wee be something wide, ywis.

But nowe your frendes haue learned of S. Iohn, that omnis qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne, ex Deo est. i. Euery one that confesseth Iesus Christ in flesh, is of God. And I haue learned of Saynt Paule, that there haue bene, not among the heathē, but among the Christen, qui ore confitentur, factis autem negant i. which confesse Christ with theyr mouth, and deny him with their actes: So that Saynt Paule shoulde appeare to expounde S. Iohn sauing that I will not affirme any thing as of my selfe, but leaue it to your frendes to shew your vtrum qui factis negant Christum & vita, sint ex deo necne per solam oris confessionem: for your frendes knoweth well enough by the same. Saynt Iohn, qui ex Deo est, non peccat: and there both haue bene and be nowe too many, qui ore tenus confitentur Christum venisse in carne, whiche will not effectually heare the word of God by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that S. Iohn sayth, qui ex deo est, verbū Dei audit, vos non auditis quia ex deo nō estis: & many shal heare nunquam noui vos. i. I neuer knew you, which shall not alonelye be christened, but also shall prophettare, and do puissaunt thinges in nomine Christi: and Saynt Paule sayde there should come Lupi graues qui non percerent gregi. i. rauening Wolues which wyll not spare the flocke,* meaninge it of them that shoulde confite•i Christum in carne in theyr lips, and yet vsurpe by succession the [Page 1751](#) office, which Christ calleth pseudopphetas. i. false prophetes, & biddeth vs beware of them, saying they shal come in vestimentis ouium, id est, in sheepes cloathing, and yet they may weare both satten, silke, and veluet, called afterwarde serui ne quam, nō pascentes sed percutientes conseruos, edentes & bibentes cum ebrijs,* habituri tandem portionem cum hypocritis. They are called serui, seruauntes I trowe, quod ore confitentur Christum in carne: nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominum exercentes in gregem: And yet your frendes reason as though there coulde none barcke and bite at true Preachers, but they that be vnchristened, notwithstanding that S. Austen vpon the same Epistle of Iohn calleth such confessours of Christ, qui•ore confitentur, & factis negant, Antichristos: a straunge n•me for a Christian Congregation: and though S. Augusten coulde defende his saying, yet his saying might appeare not to bee of God, to some mens iudgement, in that it breaketh the chayne of Christes charity, so to cause men to hate Antichristianismum, Antichristes, according to the doctrine of S. Paule: sitis odio persequentes quod malum est. i. Hate that is euill: and so making diuision, not betwene christened and vnchristened, but betwene Christians and Antichristians, when neither penne nor tounge can deuide the Antichristians from theyr blind folly. And I would you would cause your frends to read ouer S. Austen, vpon the Epistle of S. Iohn, and tell you the meaning thereof, if they thinke it expedient for you to know it, as I remember it is tractatu. 3. but I am not sure nor certaine of that, because I did not see it since I was at Cambridge: and here haue I not S. Austins workes to looke for it: but well I wot, that there he teacheth vs to know the Christians frō the Antichristians, which both be christened, and both confesse Iesum esse Christum,* if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denyeth it in very deed: but to knowe whether, non linguam sed facta attendamus, & viuendi genus, nū studeamus officia vocationis praestare an non studeamus, immo persuasi forte sumus non necesse esse vt praestemus, sed omnia in primitiuam ecclesiam & tempora praeterita. &c. quasi

nobis sat sit dominari, & secula•ibus negotijs nos totos voluere, ac voluptatibus & pompae inhiare: and yet we will appeare, vel soli ex Deo esse: sed longe aliter Christum confitentur, qui confitēdo ex Deo esse comprobantur.

And yet as long as they minister the word of God or his Sacramentes or any thing that God hath ordeined to the saluation of mankinde, wherewith GOD hath promised to be present, to worke with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to bee honoured for Gods ordinaunce sake, which is effectuall and fruitefull, whatsoeuer the minister be, though he bee a Deuill, and neyther Church, nor member of the same, as Origene saith, and Chrisostome, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, Saynt Hierome sayth: but there is required a iudgement, to discerne when they minister Gods woorde and ordinaunce of the same, and theyr owne, least peraduenture we take chalke for cheese, whiche wyll edge our teethe, and hinder digestion. For as it is commonlye sayd, the blinde eateth many a flye, as they did which were perswaded à principibus sacerdotum vt peterent Barrabam, Iesum autem crucifige•ent. i. Of the high Priestes, to aske Barrabas and to crucify Iesus: and ye know that to followe blinde guides is to come into the pit with the same. And will you know, sayth Saynt Augustine, how apertly they resist Christ, when men beginne to blame them for they• misliuing, and intollerable secularity, & negligence? they dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himselfe, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whome they be blamed.

Therefore, whereas yee will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in vttering of the trueth, when shall that be as long as we will not heare the trueth▪ but disquiet with crafty conueiance the Preachers of the trueth, because they reprooue our euilnesse with the truth, And to say trueth better it were to haue a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without cauponation and adulteration of the word (as Lyranus sayth in his time few did, what they do now a dayes I report me to them that can iudge) then to haue such an vniformity, that the sely people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in theyr lamentably ignorance, corrupt iudgement, superstition and Idolatry, and esteeme things as they doe all, preposterously, doying that, that they neede not for to doe, leauing vndone that they ought to doe, for lacke or want of knowing what is to be done, and so shewe theyr loue to God, not as God biddeth (which sayth: Si diligitis me, praecepta mea seruate.* And agayne: Qui habet praecepta mea & facit ea, hic est qui diligit me) but as they bid qui quaerunt quae sua sunt, non quae Iesu Christi. i. Which seeke theyr owne thinges: not Christes as though to tythe mynt were more, then iudgement, fayth, and mercy.

And what is to liue in state of Curates, but that hee taughte which sayd: Petre amas me? pasce, pasce, pasce: Peter louest thou feede, feede, feede: which is now set aside, as though to loue were to doe nothing els, but to weare ringes: miters, and rochets. &c. And when they erre in right liuing, how can the people but erre in louing, and all of the new fashion,* to his dishonor that suffered his passion, and taught the true kinde of louing, whiche is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed (I trow) nisi per manū Dei validam. And I haue both S. Austen, and S. Thomas, with diuers other, that lex is taken, not alonely for Ceremonies, but also for Mo•als, where it is sayd: N• estis sub lege: though your frendes reproue the same. But they can make no diuision in a christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would haue a sobernes in our preaching, I pray god send it vnto vs, whatsoeuer ye meane by

it. For I see well, whosoeuer will be happy, and busye with vae vobis,* he shall shortly after come coram nobis.

And where your frendes thinke that I made a lye, when I said that I haue thought in times past that the Pope had bene Lord of the world, though your frendes bee much better learned then I, yet am I sure that they knowe not what eyther I thinke, or haue thought, better then I, iuxta illud nemo nouit quae sunt hominis. &c. as though better men then I haue not thought so, as Bonifacius (as I remember) Octauus,* the great learned manne Iohn of the burnt Tower: presbiter Cardinalis in his book where he proueth the Pope to be aboue the counsell Generall and Speciall, where he sayth that the Pope is Rex •egum,* & Dominus dominantium. i. The King of Kinges and Lord of Lordes, and that he is verus Dominus totius orbis, iure, licet non facto. i. the true Lord of the whole worlde by good right, albeit in fact he be not so: and that Constantinus didde but restore his owne vnto him, when he gaue vnto him Rome, so that in propria venit, as S. Iohn sayth Christ did, & sui eum non receperunt: and yet I heare not that any of our Christian congregation hath reclaimed agaynste him, vntill now of late, dissention began.* Who be your frendes I cannot tell: but I would you woulde desire them to be my good maysters, and if they will doe me no good, at the least way do me no harme: and though they can do you no more good then I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, maner of preaching or writing.

And as for the Popes high dominion ouer al, there is one Raphaell Maruphus in London, an Italian,* and in times past a Marchaunt of dispensations, which I suppose woulde dye in the quarell, as Gods true Knight, and true Martyr. As touching Purgatory, and worshipping of Sayntes, I shewed to you my minde before my Ordinary: and yet I maruelled something, that after priuate communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adiure mee to open my minde before him, not geuing mee warning before, sauing I cannot interpret euill your doinges towardes me: & yet neither mine Ordinary, nor you disallowed the thing that I sayd, and I looked not to escape better then Doctor Crome: •ut whē I haue opened my mind neuer so much, yet I shall be reported to denye my preaching, of them that haue belyed my preaching, as he was.* Sed opus est magna patientia ad sustinendas calumnias malignantis Ecclesiae.

Syr, I haue had more busines in my little cure since I spake with you, what with sicke folkes, and what with matrimonies, thē I haue had since I came to it, or then I would haue thought a man should haue in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed which haue great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your frendes that I sayd so foolishly, least I make a dissention in a Christian Congregation, and deuide a sweete and a restfull vnion, or tot quot, with haec requies mea in seculum seculi. Syr I had made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning •o write it agayne more truely and more distinctly, and to correcte it, but there came a man of my Lorde of Farleys, with a Citation to appeare before my Lord of London in haste, to be punished for suche excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I coulde not perfourme my purpose: I doubt whether ye can read it, as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you sende it me agayne, and that you so doe, whether you can reade it or not. Iesu mercy, what Worlde is this, that I shall be put to so greate laboure and paynes, besides great costes, aboue my power for preacheinge of a poore simple Sermon? But I trow, our Sauour Christ sayd true: Oportet pati,* & sic intrare: tam periculosum est in Christo pie viuere velle: yea in a christian Congregation. God make vs all Christian, after the right fashion. Amen.

Here foloweth an other letter of M. Latimer writtten to K. Henry the 8. vpon this occasion. Ye heard before of two sondry Proclamations set out by the Byshops in the time of K. Henry, the one in the yeare 1531. and the other set out an. 1546. In the which proclamatiōs b•ing authorised by the kinges name, were inhibited all english books either conteining or tending to any matter of the scripture. Where also wee haue expre•ed at large the whole Catalogue of all theyr errors & heresies, which the sayd Bishops falsely haue excerpted, and maliciously imputed to Godlye writers, with theyr places and quotations, aboue assigned in the page aforesayd. Now M. Latimer growing in some fauor with the king, and seing the great decay of Christes religion by reason of these Proclamations, and touched [Page 1752](#) therfore with the zeale of cōscience, directeth vnto K. Hēry this letter hereunder ensuing, therby entēding by all meanes possible to perswade the kinges mind to set opē again the freedome of Gods holy word amongst his subiectes. The copy and tenor of his letter here foloweth.

¶The Letter of Mayster Latimer written to King Henry, for the restoring agayne the free liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.

☛To the most mighty Prince King of England Henrye the eight, Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father by our Lord Iesus Christ.

The holy Doctour Saynt Austine in an Epistle whiche he wrote to Casulanus sayth that he whiche for feare of any power hideth the trueth, prouoketh the wrath of God to come vpon him: for he feareth men more then God. And according to the same, the holy man Saynt Iohn Chrisostome sayth: that he is not alonely a traytour to the truth, which opēly for truth teacheth a lie, but he also which doth not freely pronounce and shewe the trueth that he knoweth. These sentences (moste redoubted Kyng) when I read nowe of late, and marked them earnestlye in the inward partes of mine hart, they made me sore afrayd, troubled and vexed me grievously in my conscience, and at the last droue me to this strait, that either I must shewe forth such thinges as I haue read and learned in Scripture, or elles to be of the sort that prouoke the wrath of GOD vpon them, and be traitors vnto the trueth: the which thing rather then it shoulde happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

For what other thing is it to bee a Traytour vnto the trueth, then to be a Traytour and a Iudas vnto Christe, which is the very truth and cause of all trueth?* the whiche sayth that whosoever denyeth him here before men, he wil deny him before his father in heauen. The which denying ought more to be feared and dread, then the losse of al temporall goodes, honour, promotion, fame, prison, sclaunder, hurtes, banishmentes, and all manner of tormentes, and crueltyes, yea, and death it selfe, bee it neuer so shamefull and paynefull. But alas, how litle do mē regard those sharpe sayinges of these two holy men? and how litle doe they feare the terrible iudgemente of almighty God? and specially they which boast themselues to be guides and capitaynes vnto other, and chalenging vnto themselues the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither shewe the trueth themselues (as they be bounde) neither suffer them that would: So that vnto thē may be sayd that which our sauior Christ said to y^e Phariseis, Math. 23. Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariseis, which shut vp the kingdome of heauen before men,*and neither will you enter in your selues, neither suffer them that would, to enter in. And they will as much as in them lyeth, debarre, not onely the word of God, whyche Dauid calleth a light to direct and shew euery man how to order his affections and lustes, according to the Commaundementes of God: but also by

theyr subtle wylinesse they instruct,* moue, and prouoke, in a maner, all Kinges in christendome to ayde, succour, and helpe them in thys theyr mischiefe: and especially in this your Realme, they haue sore blynded your Liege people and Subiectes wyth their Lawes, Customes, Ceremonyes, and Banbery Glofes, and punished them wyth Cursynges, Excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I woulde say) and now, at the last when they see that they cannot preuayle agaynst the open trueth (which the more is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny) they haue made it Treason to your noble Grace to haue the Scripture in English.

Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me a while and paciently to heare me a worde or two: yea and thoughe it be so that as concerning your high Maiesty and regall power, whereunto almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference betweene you and mee, as betweene God and man. For you be here to me and to al your subiectes, in Gods sted, to defend, ayde, and succour vs in our right,* and so I should tremble and quake to speake to your grace. But agayne, as concerning that you be a mortall man, in daunger of sinne, hauing in you the corrupte nature of Adam, in the which al we be both conceiued and borne, so haue you no lesse need of the merites of Christes passion for your saluation, then I and other of your subiectes haue, whiche be all members of the mysticall bodye of christ. And though you be an higher member, yet you must not disdayne the lesser. For as Saynt Paule sayth: those members that be taken most vilest and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preseruacion and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your fauorable and gētle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter vnto your grace, trusting that you will accepte my true and faythfull minde euen as it is.

First and before all thinges I will exhort your grace to marke the life and processe of our Sauour Christe and his Apostles in preaching and setting forth of the Gospell,* and to note also the wordes of our Mayster Christ, whiche he had to his Disciples when he sent them forth to preache his Gospell, and to these haue euer in your minde the golden rule of our mayster Christ: The tree is knowne by the fruit. For by the diligent marking of these, your grace shal clearely know and perceiue who bee the true folowers of Christ and teachers of his Gospell, and who be not.* And concerning the first, all Scripture sheweth playnelye that our sauour Iesus Christes life was very poore.

Begin at his byrth, and I beseech you,* who euer heard of a poorer or so poore as he was? It were to long to wryte how poore Ioseph and the blessed Uirgin Mary took theyr iourney from Nazareth toward Bethlem, in the cold and frosty winter, hauing no body to wayte vpon them, but he both Mayster and man, and she both Mistres and mayde▪ How vilely thinkes your grace, they were intreated in the Innes and lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abiect place was this poore mayd, the mother of our Sauour Iesus Christ, brought to bed in, without company, lighte or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight? Was not here a poore beginning, as cōcerning the world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the processe and end of his life in this worlde, and yet he might by his godly power haue had all the goodes and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

But this he did to shew vs that his folowers and Uicars should not regard nor set by the riches and treasures of this worlde,* but after the saying of Dauid we oughte to take them, which sayth thus: If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiaunce, pleasure,

trust, & hart vpon them. So that it is not agaynst the pouertye in spirite which Christ prayseth in the Gospel of Saynt Mathew, chapter 5. to be rich, to be in dignity, and in honour, so that they hartes be not fixed and set vpō them so much, that they neither care for GOD nor good man. But they be enemies to this pouertye in spirite, haue they neuer so litle, that haue greedy and desirous mindes to the goodes of this worlde, onely because they woulde liue after theyr owne pleasure and lustes. And they also be priuy enemies (and so much the worse) which haue professed (as they say) wilfull pouerty, and will not be called worldly men. And they haue Lordes Landes, and kinges riches, yea rather then they would lose one iot of that whiche they haue, they will set debate betwene king and king,* Realme and Realme, yea betwene the king and his Subiectes, and cause rebellion agaynst the Temporall power, to the whiche our Sauour Christ himselfe obeyed and payed tribute, as the Gospell declareth: vnto whom the holy Apostle S. Paul teacheth euery Christen manne to obey. Yea and beside al this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lyeth, euen into the deepe pit of hell, all that gayne say theyr appetite, wherby they thinke theyr goodes, promotions, or dignities should decay.

Your grace may see what meanes and craft the Spirituality (as they will be called) imagine to breake and withstand the Actes which were made in your graces last Parliamēt against theyr superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may knowe them not to be true folowers of Christ.* And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this vnthrifty ambition: yet I meane not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them. Neyther will I that your Grace should take away the goodes due to the Church, but take away such euil persons from the goodes, and set better in theyr stead.

I name nor appoynte no person nor persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Sauour Christe, as in Mathew the seuēth Chapiter: *By theyr fruites ye shall know them. As touching the woordes that our Sauour Christe spake to his Disciples when hee sente them to preache hys Gospell, they be readde in Mathew the fiftenth Chapiter, where he sheweth,*that here they shall bee hated and despised of all men worldly, and broughte before the Kinges and Rulers, and that all euill shoulde be sayde by them,*for theyr preaching sake, but he exhorteth them to take paciently such persecution by his owne example, saying: It becommeth not the seruauant to be aboue the Mayster. And seing they called me Belz•bub, what maruayle is it, if they call you Deuillishe persons and heretickes? Reade the fourteenth Chapiter of Saynt Mathewes Gospell,* & there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true Preachers no worldlye promotions or [Page 1753](#) dignity, but persecution and al kindes of punishment, and that they should be betrayed euen by theyr owne brethren and children. In Iohn also he sayeth: In the worlde ye shall haue oppression, and the worlde shall hate you: but in mee you shall haue peace.* And in the 10. Chapiter of S. Mathewes Gospell sayth our Sauour Christ also: Loe I send you forth as sheepe among Wolues. So that the true Preachers go like sheepe harmelesse, and be persecuted, and yet they reuenge not theyr wronge,* but remit all to God: so farre it is of that they will persecute any other but with the worde of God onely, whiche is theyr weapon. And so this is the most euidēt tokē that our sauour Iesus Christ would that his Gospell and the Preachers of it should be knowne by, and that it shoulde be despised among those worldly wyse men, and that they should repute it but foolishnes and deceiuable doctrine, and the true Preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driuen from towne to towne, yea and at the last lose both goodes and life.

And yet they that did this persecution, shoulde thinke that they did wel, and a great pleasure to God. And the Apostles remembring this lesson of our Sauioure Christ,* were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Actes of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we neuer read that they euer persecuted any man. The holy apostle S. Paule sayth, that euery man that wil liue godly in christ Iesu, should suffer persecution. And also he sayth further in the Epistle written to the Philippians in the first chapter: that it is not onely geuen you to beleue in the Lord,*but also to suffer persecution for his sake.

Wherefore, take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truely preached, there is persecution,* aswell of the hearers as of the teachers: and where as is quietnesse and rest in worldye pleasure, there is not the trueth. For the world loueth all that are of the world, & hateth al thinges that is contrary to it. And to be short, S. Paule calleth the Gospell the word of the crosse,* the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the fauourers and followers of it in this worlde, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withall.

Therefore, pleaseth it your good Grace, to returne to this golden rule of our Mayster & Sauiour Iesus Christ, which is this: by theyr fruites ye shall know them. For where you set persecution, there is the Gospell, and there is the trueth: and they that doe persecute, be voyde and wythout all trueth: not caryng for the cleare light, which as our Sauior Iesus Christ sayth in the third Chapter of Saynt Iohns Gospell) is come into the worlde, and which shall vtter and shewe forth euery mans workes.* And they, whose workes be nought, dare not come to this light, but goe aboute to stop it and hinder it, letting as muche as they may, that the holy scripture should not be read in our mother toūg,* saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection, and so they perswade, at the least way they would faine perswade your Grace to keepe it back. But here marke their shamelesse boldnesse, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christes doctrine, to gather figges of Thornes, and grapes of bushes, and to cal light darcknesse, and darcknesse light, sweete sower, and sower sweete, good euill, and euill good, and to say that that, whiche teacheth all obedience, shoulde cause dissension and strife,* but suche is theyr bellye wysedome: therewith they iudge and measure euery thing, to holde and keepe still this wicked Mammon, the goods of this worlde, which is theyr GOD, and hath so blinded the eyes of theyr hartes, that they canne not see the cleare light of the Sacred Scripture, though they bable neuer so much of it.

But as concerning this matter, other men haue shewed your Grace theyr mindes, howe necessarye it is to haue the Scripture in Englishe. The whiche thing also your Grace hath promised by your last Proclamation: the whiche promise I pray God that your gracious highnesse may shortly perfourme, euen to day before to morrow. Nor let not the wickednesse of these worldly men deceiue you from your Godly purpose and promise.* Remember the subtle worldly wise Counsellours of Hammon the sonne of Naas, king of the Ammonites, which, when Dauid had sent his Seruauntes to comfort the young King for the death of his Father, by craftye imaginations counselled Hammon, not alonely not to receiue them gentlye, but to entreate them moste shamefully and cruelly saying: that they came not to comfort him,*but to espye and searche his lande so that afterward they bringing Dauid word how euery thing stood Dauid mighte come and conquere it. And so they caused the young king to sheare theyr heades, and cut theyr coates by the poyntes, and sent thē away like fooles: whom he ought rather to haue made much of, and to haue entreated them gently, and haue geuen them great thankses and rewards. O

wretched Councillers.* But see what followed of thys carnall and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole Realme, and also of all them whiche tooke theyr partes.

Therefore good king, seeyng that the right Daud, that is to say, our Sauour Christ hath sent his Seruautes, that is to say, true preachers, and his owne worde also to comfort our weake and sicke soules, let not these worldye menne make your Grace beleue that they wil cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefes as they imagine of theyr owne madde braynes,* least that he be auenged vpon you and your Realme, as was Daud vpon the Ammonites, and as he hath euer beene auenged vpon them which haue obstinately withstand and gainsayd his word. But peradventure they will lay this agaynst me, and saye that experience doth shew, how that such men as call them selues folowers of the Gospell, regardeth not your Graces commaundement, neither set by your Proclamation, and that was well prooued by these persons which of late were punished in London for keeping of suche bookes as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard or esteme other your Graces lawes, statutes and ordinaunces. But this is but a craftye perswasion. For your grace knoweth that there is no manne liuing, specially that loueth worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or enhaunce his enemy, wherby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the wayes possible that he can, vtterly to confoūd, destroy and put him out of the way. And so as cōcerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chiefe Counsellors (as men saye, and of likelyhoode it should be) were they whose euill liuing and cloked hypocrisy these bookes vttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were 3. or 4. that would haue had the Scripture to go forth in Englishe, yet it happened there, as it is euermore sene, that the most parte ouercommeth the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theyrs set foorth in your name, as they haue done many times moe, which hath put this your Realme in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it to great penury,* and more would haue done if God had not mercifully prouided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehoode and priuy treason, which theyr head and Captayne was about: and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duely searched. For what maruel is it, that they being so nigh of your Councell, and so familiar wyth your Lordes, shoulde prouoke both your Grace and them to prohibite these bookes, which before by theyr owne authority haue forbidden the new Testament, vnder payn of euerlasting damnation: for such is theyr maner, to sende a thousand men to hel, ere they send one to God, and yet the new Testament (and so I thinke by y^e other) was me•kely offered to euery man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreouer, I will aske them the causes of all insurrections, whiche hath beene in this Realme heretofore. And whence is it that there be so many Extortioners, bribers, murtherers, and theeues which dayly do not breake onely your graces lawes, ordinaunces, and statutes, but also the lawes and commaundementes of almighty God? I think they will not say these bookes, but rather theyr Pardons which causeth many a man to sinne in trust of them. For as for those malefactours which I nowe rehearsed, you shall not finde one amongst a hundreth, but that he wil cry out both of these bookes, and also of them that haue them, yea & will be glad to spend the good whiche he hath wrongfullye gotten, vpon Fagots to burne both the bookes and them that haue them.

And as touching these men that were latelye punished for these bookes, there is no man (I heare say) that can lay any word or deede agaynst them that shoulde sound to the breaking of any of

your graces lawes (this onely except) if it be yours, and not rather theyrs.* And be it so that there be some that haue these bookes, that bee euill, vnruely, and selfe willed persons, not regarding Gods lawes nor mās, yet these bookes be not the cause therof, no more then was the bodily presence of Christ and his wordes the cause that Iudas fell, but theyr owne froward mind and carnal wit, which shoulde be amended by the vertuous example of lyuing of their Curates, & by the true expositiō of the scripture. If the lay people had suche Curates that would thus doe theyr office,* these bookes nor the Deuill himselfe coulde not hurte them, nor make them to goe out of frame, so that the lacke of good Curates is the destruction and cause of al mischief. Neyther doe I write these thinges because that I will either excuse these menne lately punished or to affirme al to be true writtē in these books, which I haue not [Page 1754](#) all read, but to shew that there can not such inconuenience folow of them, and specially of the scripture as they would make men beleue should folow.

And though it bee so that your Grace maye by other bookes, and namely by the Scripture it selfe know & perceiue the hipocrite Wolues clad in sheepes clothing, yet I thinke my selfe bounde in conscience to vtter vnto your grace such thinges as God put in mind to write.* And this I do (God so iudge me) not for hate of any person or persons liuing, nor for that that I thinke the word of GOD should go forth without persecution, if your Grace hadde commaunded that euery man within your Realme should haue it in his mothers tongue. For the Gospell must needes haue persecution vnto the time that it bee preached throughout all the world, which is the last signe y^t Christe shewed to his Disciples that should come before the daye of iudgement: so that if your grace had once commaunded that the scripture shoulde be put forth, the deuill would set forth some wyle or other to persecute the trueth. But my purpose is, for the loue that I haue to God principally, & the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiaunce that I owe vnto your Grace, and not to hide in the gronde of my hart the talent geuen me of God, but to chaffer it forth to other, that it may encrease to the pleasure of God, to exhort your grace to auoid and beware of these mischieuous flatterers and their abhominable wayes and counsels.

And take heed whose counsels your grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that for feare of losing of their worldly worship and honor, will not leaue theyr opinion, which rashly, and that to please menne withall by whome they had great promotion, they tooke vpon them to defend by writing, so that now they thinke that all theyr felicity which they put in this life, should be mard, and their wisdom not so greatlye regarded, if that whiche they haue so slaunderously oppressed, should be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember S. Paul, how feruent he was agaynst the truth (and that of a good zeale) before he was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment & great persecutions for that which he before despised & called heresy. And I am sure that theyr liuing is not more perfect then S. Paules was, as concerning the outward workes of the law, before he was conuerted.

Also the king and Prophete Dauid was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the Temple,* after that the Prophet Nathan had shewed him that it was not the pleasure of god that he should build any house for him: and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed & praysed the purpose of Dauid, yet he was not ashamed to reuoke and eat his words againe when he knew that they were not according to Gods will and pleasure.

Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom that thinke it agaynst theyr worship to knowledge theyr ignoraunce: whom I pray to God that your grace may es•ye, and take heede of theyr worldly wisdom, whiche is foolishnes before God, that you may do that that God cōmaundeth, and not that seemeth good in your owne sighte without the word of God, that your grace may be founde acceptable in his sight and one of the mēbers of his church and according to the office that he hath called your Grace vnto, you may be found a faythfull minister of his giftes, and not a defender of his fayth, for hee will not haue it defended by man or mans power, but by his wordes onely, by the whiche he hath euermore defended it, and that by a way farre aboue mans power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible maketh mention.

Wherefore gracious king remember your selfe, haue pity vpon your soule, and thinke that the daye is euen at hand when you shall geue accountes of your office and of the bloud that hath bene shedde with your sworde. In the which day that your grace may stand stedfastly and be not ashamed, but to be cleare and readye in your reckoning & to haue (as they say) your Quites est, sealed with the bloude of our Sauour Christ whiche onely serueth at that day, is my dayly prayer to him that suffered death for our sinnes, which also prayeth to his father for grace for vs continually. To whom be all honour and prayse for euer. Amē. The spirit of God preserue your Grace. Anno Domini 1530. 1. die Decembris.

In this Letter of Mayster Latimer to the king aboue prefixed, many thinges we haue to consider: First his good conscience to God,* his good will to the king, the duety of a right Pastour vnto trueth, his tender care to the common wealth, and especially to the Church of Christ. Further we haue to consider the abuse of Princes courtes, how kinges many times be abused with flatterers and wicked coūsellors aboute them, and especially wee maye note the subtile practises of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kinges to set forth theyr owne malignaunt proceedings. We may see moreouer, and rather maruell at in the sayde letter, the great boldnes and diuine stoutnes in this man, who as yet being no Bishop,* so freely and playnely without all feare of death aduentring his owne life to discharge his cōscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a Prince, in such a daungerous case agaynst the kinges law and proc•amation set out, in such a terrible time, take vpon him to write, and to admonish that, which no coūseller durst once speak vnto him, in defence of Christes Gospell. Whose example if the Bishops and Prelates of this Realme, for theyr partes likewise in like cases of necessity would followe (as in deed they should) so many thinges peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and all for lacke that the officers of Gods word do not theyr duty.

Finally, this moreouer in the sayd letter is to be noted, how blessedly almighty God wrought with his faythfull seruaunt, whose bolde aduenture, and wholesome counsel, though it did not preuayl through the iniquity of the time:* yet notwithstanding GOD so wrought with his seruāt in doynge his duetye, that no daunger, nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the Prince: for not long after the same he was aduaunced by the king to the Bishopricke of Worcester, as is aboue declared.

Seing M. Latimer was so bolde and playne with the king (as is afore specified) no greate maruell if he did vse like freedome and playnes toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of theyr disorder, especially if anye such occasion were geuen, where trueth and equity requyred his defence agaynst iniurye and oppression. For example whereof we haue an other Letter of his,

written to a certayne Iustice of peace in Warwickshyre, who as he is long since departed, so he shall be here vnnamed. The letter although it may seme somewhat long and tedious: yet I thought here not to ouerpasse the same for diuers & sondry respectes: first that the vertue and faythfull conscience of this good Pastor may appeare more at large: also for that all other Bishops and pastors by this example may learn with like zeale and stomacke to discharge theyr duety and conscience in reforming thinges amisse and in pouderyng with the salt of Gods word the sores of the people.* Whiche thing if euery Bishop for his part within his Dioces had done in king Edwardes dayes, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verely I suppose that the persecution of queene Mary had not so plagued the Realme as it did: but where as neuer man almost liueth in due order, and yet neuer a Bishoppe will styrr to seeke redresse, what can become of the Realme? Item,* an other respecte is because of the Iustices and all other placed in roome and office, which may take heed hereby, not to abuse theyr authority to tread downe trueth and beare downe poore men with open wrong through extortion or partiality: and finally that all iniurious oppressors whatsoeuer, by the sayd letter may take some fruit of whol|some admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this letter, I shewed before. The tenour and purporte thereof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as foloweth.

¶A fruitfull letter of M. Latimer, written to a certayne Gentleman.

Right worshipfull, salutem in Domino. And now Syr I vnderstand, that you be in greate admirations at me,* and take very greeuouslye my maner of writing to you, adding thereunto that you will not beare it at my hande, no not and I were the best Byshop in England. &c.

Ah Syr? I see well I may say as the common saying is: Well haue I fished and caught a Frog: brought litle to passe with much ado. You will not beare it with me, you say. Why syr, what wil ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It may seeme vnseemely for a Iustice of peace to be a breaker of peace. I am glad the dotyng tyme of my foolishe youth is gone and paste? What will you then doe with me, in that you say you will not beare it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchaunce you will conuent mee before some Iudge,* and call mee into some court. Deus bene vertat. Equidem non recuso iudicium vllum, Accusemus inuicem, vt emendemus alius alium in nomine Domini. Fiat iustitia in iudicio. And then and there, doe best haue best, for club halfe peny. Or peraduenture ye will set penne to paper, and all to rattle me in a letter, wherein confuting mee you will defend your selfe and your brother agaynst mee. Nowe that woulde I see, quoth long Roben, vt dicitur vulgariter. Non potero sane non vehementer probare eiusmodi industriam: For so should both your integrityes and innocencyes best appeare, if you be able to defend both your owne procedinges, & your brothers [Page 1755](#) doinges in this matter to be vpriht. Et ego tum iustis rationibus victus, libenter cedam, culpam humiliter confessurus. But I thinke it will not be. But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not beare at my hande? What haue I done wyth my hande? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsoothe, that canne I tell, no man better: For I haue charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper dealing, and such like misbehauour. O quam graue piaculum? i. What a sore matter is this? And will ye not beare so much with me? Will ye not take suche a shew of my good will towardses you, and towarde the sauing of your soule at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would haue thought that Mayster N. had bene so impudent, that he would not beare a godly monition for the wealth of his soule? I haue in vse to commit suche trespasses manye times in a yeare with your betters by two ot three degrees, both Lordes and Ladyes, of the best in the

Realme, and yet hitherto I haue not heard that any of them haue sayd in theyr displeasure, that they will not beare it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught,* what is the office, liberty, & priuiledge of a Preacher? What is it els, but euen arguere mundum de peccato, without respect of persons, quod quidem ipsum est ipsius spiritus sancti peculiare in ecclesia munus & officium,* sed non nisi per Praedicatores legitimos exequendum. You could but ill beare (belike) to heare your fault openlye reproued in the Pulpit, which can not beare the same in a secret sealed vppe letter, written both frendly, charitably, and truely, nisi forte acriter reprehendere peccata, sit iam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere. But Mayster N. if you will geue me leaue to be playne with you, I feare me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifolde dregges of this deceiueable worlde, that I weene you haue forgotten your Catechisme. Reade therefore agayne the opening of the firste commaundement, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you haue iust cause to complayne. &c.

Item Syr, you sayd further that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour. &c. How so, good Mayster N? Wherein? Or how will you proue it to be true, and when? So you sayd that he had abused you, and geuen you wrong information, but the contrary is found true by good testimony of Mayster Chamber, whiche heard aswell as you, what my neighbour sayd, and hath testified the same, both to you, and agaynst you, full like himselfe. Maister N. to forge and feine (which argueth an ill cause) that is one thing: but to proue what a man doth say, that is an other thyng. As though you were priuiledged to outface poore men & beare them in hand what you list, as may seeme to make some mayntenaunce for your naughty cause. Trust me Mayster N. I was but a very litle acquaynted with my neighbor when this matter begā: but now I haue found him so conformable to honesty, vpright in his dealinges, and so true in his talke, that I esteeme him better, then I do some other whom I haue perceiued and founde otherwayes.* For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his backe in hys folly, but esteeme all menne as I finde them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad, In omnibus hominibus siue amicis siue inimicis,* iuxta praeceptum Paulinum, à filiis huius seculi in precio non habitum: Sitis odio, inquit, prosequentes quod malum est, adhaerentes autem ei quod bonum est: Neque bonum malum, nec malum bonum in gratiam hominum affirmemus vnquam, id quod filij huius seculi vulgo faciunt, vt est videre vbique. And nowe what maner of man doe you make me Mayster N. when you note me to bee so muche abused by so ignoraunt a man, so simple, so playne, and so farre without all wrinkles? Haue I liued so long in this tottering worlde, and haue I bene so many wayes turmoyled and tossed vp and downe, and so muche, as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to bee nowe so farre bewitched and alienated from my wyttes, as though I coulde not discern cheese from chalke, trueth from falsehoode, but that euery sely soule, and base witted man might easely abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may bee abused. But why doe you not tell we howe your brother abused me, promising before me and many moe, that he woulde stand to your awardship, and nowe doth denye it? Why do you not tell me, how those two false faythlesse wretches abused me, promising also to abide your awarde, and doth it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you your selfe haue abused me, promising me to redresse the iniury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and haue not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses bee nothing with you, but onely you muste needes burthen me with my neighbours abusing me, whiche is none at all, as farreforth as euer I coulde perceiue, so GOD helpe mee in my need. For if he had abused me as you and other haue done, I should be soone at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him. &c.

Item Syr, you sayde further, that I shall neuer bee able to proue that either your brother, or the two tenauntes agreed to stand to your award. &c. No Syr? Mayster N. you say belike as you would haue it to be,* or as your brother with his adherentes haue persuaded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your owne shame and rebuke, if you perseuer in the same, beside the perill of your soule, for consenting at least wa•, to the mainteinance by falshood of your brothers iniquity.* For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you shew your selfe nothing inclinable to the redresse of your brothers vnright dealing with an honest poore man, which hath bene readye at your request to doe you pleasure with his thinges, or els hee had neuer come into this wrangle for his owne goodes with your brother.

Ah Mayster N. what maner of man do you shew your selfe to be? or what maner of conscience do you shew your selfe to haue? For first, as touching your brother, you know right well, that Sir Thomas Cokin with a Letter of his owne hand writing, hath witnessed vnto your brothers agreement, which letter he sent to me vnsealed, and I shewed the same to my neighbour and other mo ere I sealed it, and perchaunce haue a cotype of the same yet to shewe. With what conscience then can you say that I shall neuer be able to prooue it? Shall not three men vpon theyr othes make a sufficient prooffe trow you? vel ipso dicente Domino:* in ore duorum vel trium. &c. Yea, you thinke it true I dare saye, in your conscience, if you haue any conscience, though I were in my graue, and so vnable to proue any thing. And as for the two tenauntes, they bee as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be: for there be three men yet aliue that dare sweare vpon a booke, that they both did agree. But what should we looke for at such mens handes, when you your selfe play the part you do? Verum viuuit adhuc Deus, qui videt omnia & iudicat iustè. &c.

Item Syr, you sayd yet further, that the Iustices of peace in the countrey thinke you verye vnnaturall, in taking part with me before your brother. &c. Ah Mayster N. what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth? For partaking is one thing? and ministring of iustice is an other thing: and a worthy minister of iustice will bee no Partaker, but one indifferent betweene party and partye. And did I require you to take my parte, I praye you? No, I required you to minister iustice betweene your brother and mine neighbour without anye partaking with either other. But what maner of Iustices bee they I praye you, whiche would so fayne haue you to take parte naturally with your Brother, when you ought and shoulde reforme and amende your brother? as you your selfe know, no man better. What? Iustices? no Iugglers you might more worthely call such as they be, then Iustices. Be they those Iustices whiche call you vnnaturall,* for that you will not take your brothers part agaynst all right & conscience, whom you had picked out & appoynted to haue the final hearing and determining of my neighbours cause after your substantiall and fine award making? Verely I thinke no lesse. Forsooth he is much beholding to you, & I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsell that you haue to geue your poore neighbours in theyr need? In deed you shew your selfe a worthy Iuggler: Oh, I would haue sayd a Iusticier, among other of your iuggling and partaking Iustices. Deum bonum, what is this worlde?* Mary Syr my neighbour had sponne a fayre thred, if your partaking Iustices through your good counsell had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God saue mee and all my frendes, with all Gods flocke, from the whole felowship of your so naturall and partaking Iustices. Amen.

Lord God, who would haue thought that there had beene so many partaking Iustices, that is to say, vniust Iustices in Warwickshire, if Maister N. himselfe one of the same order (but altogether out of order) and therefore knoweth it best, had not told vs the tale? but these call you (you saye) verye vnnaturall. &c. And why not rather (I pray you) to much naturall? For we reade de natura duplici, integra & corrupta. Illa erat iusticiae plena: * haec nisi reparata semper manet iniusta, iniusticiae fructus alios post alios paritura: so that he that will not helpe his brother hauing a iust cause in his neede, may be iustly called vnnaturall, as not doing iuxta instinctu naturae, siue integre, siue reparate. i. According to the instinct of nature either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But hee that will take his brothers parte agaynst right, as to ratifie his brothers wrong deceiuing, he is too muche naturall, tanquam sequens ingenium siue inclinationem naturae corruptae, contra voluntatem Dei. i. As one folowing the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature agaynst the wil of God: and so to be naturall maye seeme to bee cater cosin or cosin germane with, to be diabolicall.

I feare me we haue to many Iustices that be to much naturall to theyr owne perishment both body and soule. For worthy Iustices, hauing euer the feare and dread of God before their eies (quales sunt pauciores apud nos, quàm vellem) will haue no respect at all in theyr iudgementes and proceedinges, ad propinquitatem sanguinis, but altogether ad dignitatem & aequitatem causae, vt quod iustum est semper iudicent intuitu Dei, non quod iniustum est intuitu hominum: of whiche number I pray God make you one. Amen. Iustus est (sayth Iohn) qui facit iusticiam. At, qui facit peccatum (id quod facit, quisquis iniuste facit in gratiam & fauorem vllius hominis) ex diabolo est. i. He is iust that doth iustice. But he that sinneth (as they all do whiche doe vniustly for fauour and pleasure of men) is of the deuill [Page 1756](#) (saith he) which once all our pataking and vnnatural iustices be with all their partialitie and naturalitie. Quare dignum & iustum est, that as many as be such Iustices, iuste priuentur munere, & amplius quoque plectantur pro sui quisque facinoris quantitate, * vt vel sic tandem abscindantur, tanquam nati in incommodum reipub. nostrae, qui nos conturbant cum adiuuare debeant, Amen.

Quare seponite iustitiam, & sequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicales would haue you to doe, that is, euen as iust as Germaines lippes, which came not together by nine mile, Vt Vulgo dicunt &c.

Item Sir, finally and last of all you added these wordes following? Well (quod you) let maister Latimer take heede howe hee medleth with my brother, for he is like to finde as crabbed and as froward a peece of him, as euer he found in his life. &c. Ah sir? and is your brother such a one as you speake of in deede? mercyfull GOD, what a commendation is this for one brother to geue an other? Est ne eiusmodi gloriatio tua mi amice? And were it not possible, trowe you to make hym better? It is written: Vexatio dat intellectum. And againe, Bonum mihi Domine quòd humiliasti me. At least waye I may pray to God for hym as Dauid did for such like, ad hunc modum: Chamo & freno maxillas eorum constringe qui non approximant at te. In the mean season I would I had neuer knowne neither of you both: for so shoulde I haue bene without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see suche vntowardnes of you both to godlinesse: for I can not be but heauy harted, to see such men so wickedly minded. Well, let vs ponder a little better your woordes, where you saye, I shall finde him as crabbed and as frowarde a peece &c. Marke well your owne wordes. For by the tenour of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confesse your brothers cause wherein he so stiffely standeth, to be vniust and verye nought. For hee that

standeth so stiffly in a good quarrell and a iuste cause, as manye good men haue done, is called a fast man, a constaunt a trustye man. But he that is so obstable and vntractable in wickednesse and wronge doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward peece, as you name your brother to be.

Wherefore knowing so well youre brothers cause to bee so naughtie, why haue you not endeouored youre selfe, as a worthy Iustice, to reforme him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelue monthes agoe, if not altogether? Summa Summarum, Maister N. if you will not come of shortly, and apply your selfe thereunto more effectually hereafter then you haue done heretofore, be you well assured therof, I shall detecte you to all the friendes that I haue in Englande, both hye and lowe, as well his crabbednes and frowardnes, as your colourable supportation of the same, that I trust I shalbe able therby, either to bring you both to some goodnes, or at least waye, I shall so warne my friendes and all honest heartes to beware of your ilnes, that they shall take either no hurte at all, or at least waye, least harme by you through mine aduertisemente, in that,* knowing you perfectly, they may the better auoide and shunne youre companie. You shall not staye me maister N. no though you would geue me all the landes and goodes you haue as riche as you are noted to bee. Ego nolo tam iustam causam derelinquere, ego nolo peccatis alienis in hac parte communicare. For whether it be per detestabilem, superbiam, whether per abominabilem auaritiam, or by both two linked to gether, it is no small iniquitie to keep any one poore mā so long frō his right and duetie so stiffe neckedly and obstinately, or whether yee will crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then anye manner of wayes to consent to the same? You know I trowe, Mayster N. furtum quid sit: nempe quouis modo auferre vel retinere alienam •em inuito Domino, vt quidam definiunt. Si fur sit qui sic palam facit, quis erit qui facientem probat, tutatur, propugnat, vel quibuscunque ambagibus suffulcit? id est. What thefte is, that is, to take or deteyne by any maner of way,* an other mans good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a theef that so doth openly, what shall he be that approueth hym whiche is the doer, defendeth, mayntayneth, and supporteth him by any maner of colour? Consider with your selfe good maister N quid sit opprimere & fraudare in negotio fratrem, and what followeth thereof. It is truely sayde, non tollitur peccatum, nisi restituatur obl•tum. No restitution, no saluation▪ which is as well to bee vnderstand, de rebus per fraudes, technas, & dolos, as de rebus per manifestum furtum & latrocinium partis. Wherefore let not your brother mayster N. by cauillation continue in the Deuils possession. I will doe the best I can, and wrestle with the Deuill omnib {us} viribus, to deliuer you both frō him. I will leaue no one stone vnmoued, to haue both you and your brother saued. There is neither Archbishoppe nor Byshoppe, nor yet any learned man either in Vniuersities or elsewhere, that I am acquaynted withal that shall not write vnto you, and in theyr writing by their learning confute you. There is no Godly man of Lawe in this realme that I am acquaynted withall, but they shall write vnto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither Lord nor Lady, nor yet anye noble personage in this Realme, that I am acquaynted withall, but they shall write vnto you, and Godlye threaten you with their authoritie.

I will doe all this: yea,* and kneele vppon both my knees before the kinges maiestie, and all his honourable Counsaile, with most humble petition for youre reformation, rather then the Deuill shall possesse you still, to you •inall damnation. So that I doe not dispayre, but verely trust, one way or other, to plucke bothe you, and also your crabbed brother, as crabbed as you saye hee is, out of the Deuilles clawes, maugre the Deuilles heart.

These premisses well considered, looke vppon it, good maister N. that wee haue no farther adoe: Gods plague is presentlye vppon vs: therefore let vs now dilligently looke about vs, and in no wise defend, but willingly reknowlege, and amend what soeuer hath bene amisse. These were the capitall poyntes of youre talke (as I was informed) after you had perused that my nipping and vnpleasaunt letter: and I thought good to make you some aunswere to them, if perchaunce I might so moue you, the rather to call your selfe to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply your selfe, to accomplish and performe what you haue begunne and promised to doe, namely the thing it selfe being of suche sorte, as apparantly tendeth both to your worship, and also to Gods high pleasure.

Thus loe with a madde head, but yet a good will, after longe scribbling, I wotte not well what (but I knowe you can reade it, and comprehende it well enough) I bid you most hartily to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to Gods pleasure, Amen. From Baxsterley the xv of Iuly.

During the time that the said M. Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did wryte, besides his conference with Doctor Ridley, and his protesta^tion at the time of hys disputation. Otherwise of letters, we finde very fewe or none, that he did write to his friendes abroad, saue onely these few lynes, whiche hee wrote to one maistres Wilkinson of Londō, a godly matron, and an exile afterwarde for the Gospels sake. Who so long as she remayned in England, was a singular patronesse to the good saynctes of God, and learned Byshoppes, as to mayster Hooper, to the Byshop of Hereford, to Mayster Couerdale, M. Latimer, Doctor Cramner with many other. The copy and effect of which hys letter to Maystres Wilkinson here followeth.

¶A letter sent to maystres Wilkinson of London widowe, from mayster Hugh Latimer out of Bocardo in Oxford.

IF the gifte of a pot of a cold water, shall not bee in obliuion with God, how can God forget your manifolde & bountifull giftes, when he shall say to you: I was in pryson and you visited me. God graunt vs all to do and suffer while we be here, as may be to hys will and pleasure. Amen.

Yours in Bocardo Hugh Latimer.

Touching the memorable actes and doynges of thys worthy man, among many other this is not to bee neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sendyng to kyng Henry a present, the maner whereof is this. There was then, and yet remayneth still, an old custome receaued from the old Romaines, that vpon Newyeres day being the first day of Ianuary, euery Bishoppe with some handsome Newyeres gifte, shoulde gratify the king: * and so they did, some with golde, some with siluer, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some an other: but maister Latimer being bishoppe of Worcester then, among the rest presented a new Testament, for his Newyeres gifte: with a napkyn hauing this posie aboute it: Fornicadores & adulteros iudicabit Dominus.

And thus hast thou gentle reader, the whole life, both of maister Ridley, & of mayster Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, seuerally and by themselues sette foorth, and descrybed with all theyr doynges, writings, disputations, sufferinges, their paynefull trauayles, faythfull preachinges, * studyous seruice in Christes Church, their patiente imprisonmente, and

constaunt fortitude in that whiche they had taught, with all other their proceedinges from time to time, synce theyr first springinge yeares, to thys present tyme and Moneth of Queene Mary,* beyng the Moneth of October. Anno. 1555. In the whiche Moneth they were bothe brought foorth together, to theyr finall examination and execution. Wherefore, as we haue heretofore declared, both theyr liues seuerallye, and distinctlye one from the other, so nowe ioynntly to couple them bothe [Page 1757](#) together, as they were together both ioyned in one society of cause and Martyrdome, we will by the grace of Chryst prosecute the rest that remayneth, concerning their latter examination, disgrading, and constant suffering, with the order and maner, also of the Commissioners, which were Mayster White Byshop of Lincolne,* Mayster Brookes Bishop of Glocester, with others: and what were theyr wordes, theyr obiections, theyr Orations there vsed, and what againe were the aunsweres of these men to the same as in the processe here followeth to be seene.

The order and maner of the examination of Doctour Ridley, and mayster Latimer, had the xxx. day of September. 1555.

First, after the appearyng of Thomas Cranmer Archbyshop of Caunterbury, before the Popes Delegate, and the Queenes Commissioners in S. Maryes Church at Oxforde,* about the xii. day of September, whereof more shalbe sayde (by the Lordes grace) when wee come to the death of the sayd Archbyshoppe: shortly after vpon the 28. day of the sayd month of September, was sent downe to Oxforde an other Commission from Cardinall Poole Legate a latere, to Iohn White, Byshoppe of Lincolne, to Doctour Brokes Byshop of Glocester, and to Doctour Holiman, Byshoppe of Bristowe. The contentes and vertue of which Commission was, that the sayd Iohn of Lincoln, Iames of Glocester, and Iohn of Bristow, they or two of them,* shoulde haue full power and authoritye, to ascite, examine, and iudge mayster Hugh Latimer and M. Doctour Ridley, pretended Byshoppes of Worcester, and London, for dyuers and sundrye erroneous opinyons, whiche the sayde Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, dyd holde and mayntayne in open disputations had in Oxforde, in the Monethes of Maye, Iune, and Iuly, in the yeare of our Lorde 1554. as longe before in the tyme of perdition and sithen. The whyche opynions if the named persons woulde now recant, geuyng and yealdyng themselues to the determination of the vnyuersall and Catholicke Churche, planted by Peter in the blessed Sea of Rome, that then the deputed Iudges, by the sayd authority of theyr Commission, should haue power to receaue the sayde penitente persons, and forthwith minister to them, the reconciliation of the holye Father the Pope, but if the sayd Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley woulde stoughtly and stubburnely defend, and mayntaine these theyr erroneous and assertions, that then the sayd Lordes by theyr Commission, should proceede in forme of Iudgement, accordyng to the lawe of Hereticks that is degradyng them from theyr promotion, and dignitie of byshops, priests, & al other Ecclesiastical orders, shoulde pronounce them as Heretickes, and therefore cleane to cut them off from the Churche, and so to yealde them to receaue punishementes, due to all such heresy and schisme.

Wherefore, the last of September, the sayde two persones Nicholas Ridley,* and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appeare before the sayd Lordes, in the diuinitie schoole at Oxforde, at viij. of the clocke. At what time thether repayed the Lords, placyng themselues in high seat, made for publicke lectures and disputations, accordyng to the vsage of that schoole, beyng then fayre set, and trymmed with clothe of Tissue, and cushynges of Ueluet: and after the sayde Lordes were placed and set, the sayd Latimer & Ridley were sent for, and first appeared mayster Doctour

Ridley, and anone mayster Latymer. But because it seemed good seuerally to examine them, M. Latymer was kept backe, vntill Doctour Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore soone after the comming of Doctour Ridley into the schoole: the Commission was published by an appoynted Notary, and openly read. But Doctour Ridley standing bare headed, humblye expectinge the cause of that hys appearaunce, eftsoones as he had heard the Cardinall named, and the Popes holines, put on hys cappe. Wherefore after the commission was published, in forme and sense aboue specified, the Bishop of Lincolne spake in sense followyng.

Lincolne.

M. Ridley, although neyther I, neyther my Lordes here,* in respecte of our owne persones, doe looke for cappe or knee, yet because we beare & represent, such persones as we doe, that is my Lorde Cardinalles grace, Legate a latere to the popes holinesse, as well in that he is of a noble parentage, and therwith mayster Ridley mooued hys cappe with lowly obeysaunce descendyng from y^e regall bloud, as in that he is a man worthy to be reuerenced with all humility, for hys great knowledge and learning, noble vertues, and godly lyfe, and especially in that he is here in Englande deputye to the popes holynesse, it should haue becommed you at his name, to haue discouered your head. Wherefore excepte you will of youre owne selfe, take the paynes to put your hand to your heade, and at the nomination, as well of the sayde Cardinall, as of y^e Popes holines vncover the same, least that this your contumacy exhibited how before vs, should be preiudiciall to the sayd mo^{••}e reuerende persones (whiche thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause vs to take the payne, to cause some manne to plucke off youre cappe from you. To whome mayster Ridley makege his petition for lycence, aunswered.

Ridley.

As touching that you sayd (my Lord) that you of your owne persones desire no cappe nor knee,* but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the Cardinalles graces persone, I doe you to wit, and thervpon make my protestation, that I did put on my cappe at the naming of the Cardinalles grace, neither for any contumacye that I beare towards your own persones, neither for any derogation of honour towarde the Lorde Cardinalles grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humilitie, reuerence, and honour, in that he came of the most regall bloud,* & in that he is a man indued wyth manifolde graces of learning and vertue, and as touching these vertues and poynts, I with all humilitie (therwith he put of his cap, and bowed his knee) and obeysance that I may, will reuerence, and honour his grace: but in that he is Legate to the Byshop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whose vsurped supremacy, and abused authoritie, I vtterly refuse and renoūce, I may in no wise geue any obeysaunce, or honour vnto him, least that my so doing and behaiour, might be preiudiciall to mine othe, & derogation to the veritie of Gods word, and therefore that I might not onely by confession, professe the veritye in not reuerencing the renounced authoritie, contrarye to Gods worde, but also in gesture, in behaioure,* and all my doinges expresse the same, I haue put on my cappe, and for this consideration onely, and not for any contumacye to your Lorshipp, neither contempt of this worshipfull audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the Cardinall his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent quallities, I haue kept on my cappe.

Lincolne.

M. Ridley, you excuse your selfe of that,* with the whiche we pressed you not, in that you proteste you keepe on your cappe, neither for anye contumacie towardes vs (which looke for no such honour of you) neyther for anye contempt of this audiēce: which although iustly they may (yet as I suppose) in this case do not require any suche obeysaunce of you: neither in derogation of any honor but to my Lord Cardinales grace, for his regall discent (at which worde M. Ridley moued his cap) & excellent quallities: for although in all the premisses honour be due, yet in these respects, we require none of you, but onely in that my Lorde Cardinals grace is here in England, deputy of the Popes holinesse (at whiche worde the Lordes and others put of their caps,* and mayster Ridley put on hys) and therefore we say vnto you the second time, that except you take the paynes your selfe, to put your hande to your head, and put of your cap, you shall put vs to the payne, to cause some man to take it from you, except you alledge some infirmitie and sickenes, or other more reasonable cause, vpon the consideration whereof, we may doe as 〈◇〉 thinke good.

Ridley.

The premisses I sayd onely for this end, that it might as wel appeare to your Lordships,* as to this worshipfull audience, why and for what consideration, I vsed such kinde of behaiour, in not humbling my selfe to youre Lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickenes, I thanke my Lord GOD, that I am as well at •ase, as I was this long season:* and therfore I doe not pretend that which is not, but onely this, that it might appeare by this my behaiour, that I acknowledge in no poynt that vsurped supremacy of Rome and therefore contemne and vtterly despise, al authoritie comming from him. In taking of my cap, do as it shal please your Lordships, and I shal be content.

Then the Bishop of Lincolne, after the thyrd admonion, commaunded one of the Bedles (that is an officer of y^e vniuersitie) to plucke his cappe from his head. M. Ridley bowing his head to the Officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this, the Bishop of Lincolne in a long Oration exhorted M. Ridley, to recant and submitte himselfe to the vniuersall fayth of Christ, in this maner.

Lincol.

M. Ridley, I am sure you haue sufficiently •ōdered with your selfe, the effecte of this our commission with good aduisement, considering both poyntes thereof, how that authoritie is geuen to vs, if you shall receaue the [Page 1758](#) true doctrine of the Church, which first was founded by * Peter at Rome immediately after the deathe of Christe, and from him by lineall succession hath bene broughte to this our time, if you will be content to renounce your former errores, recant your hereticall and seditious opinions, content to yelde your selfe to the vndoubted fayth, & truthe of the Gospell, receaued and alwayes taught of the catholicke, and Apostolicke Church, the which the king and Queene, all the Nobles of this Realme, and commons of y^e same, al Christen people haue & do confesse, you onely standing alone by your selfe. You vnderstande and perceaue, I am sure, that authoritie is geuen vs to receiue you, to reconcile you, and vpon due penance to adioyne and associate you agayne into the number of the Catholickes and Christes Church, from the whiche you haue so long strayed, without the

which no man can be saued, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea and al, as wel Nobles and commons of this realme most hartily desire, and I for my part (wherwith he put of his cap) most earnestly exhort you to doe.

*Remember mayster Ridley, it is no straunge country whether I exhorte you to retourne. You were once one of vs you haue taken degrees in the schoole. You were made Prieste, and became a Preacher, setting foorth the same doctryne, which we doe nowe. You were made Byshoppe accordinge to our lawes: and to be short, it is not so longe agone, sithe you seperated your selfe from vs, and in the time of Heresy, became a setter foorth of that Deuillishe and seditious doctrine, whiche in these la•ter dayes was preached amongst vs. For at what tyme the newe doctrine of *onely faythe began to spryng the counsaile willyng to winne my Lord Chauncellour sent you to him• (I then being in my Lordes house vnknowne as I suppose to you) and after you had talked w^t my Lorde secretly, and were departed immediately my Lord declared certayne poyntes of your talke, & meanes of your perswasion, and amōgst other this was one, that you should say, *tush my Lorde this matter of iustification is but a trifle, let vs not sticke to condescende herein to them: but for Gods loue my Lord, stand stoutly in the veritie of the Sacrament: for I see they will assault that also. If this be true (as my Lorde is a man credible enough in suche a matter) hereby it is declared of what minde you were then, as touching the trueth of the moste blessed sacrament.

Also in a sermon of youres at Paules Crosse, you as effectually and as Catholickely spake of that blessed sacramēt, as any mā mighte haue done, wherby it appeareth that it is no straunge thing, nor vnknowne place wherevnto I exhort you. I wishe you to retourne thether from whence you came:*That is, together with vs to acknowledge the truth, to acknowledge y^e church of God, wherin no man may erre, to acknowledge the supremacye, of our moste reuerende father in God the Popes holynesse (whiche as I sayde) lineally taketh his dissent from Peter, vpon whome Christ promised before his deathe to builde his church the whiche supremacy or prerogatiue, the moste auncient fathers in all ages, in all tymes dyd acknowledge: and here hee broughte a place or two out of the Doctours, but especially stayed vpon a saying of Sainct Augustine, whiche wryteth in this manner: Totus orbis christianus intransmarinis,*& longe remotis terris Ro'manae Ecclesiae subiectus est. That is: All the christian cuntryes beyonde the sea, are subiecte to the Church of Rome. Here you see M. Ridley, that all Christendome is subiect to the church of Rome. What should stay you therfore to confesse the same with saynt Austen, and the other Fathers.

Then M. Ridley desired his pacience, to suffer him to speake somewhat of the premisses, least the multitude of thinges might confound his memory, and hauing graunt thereunto, sayd in this maner:

Ridley.

*My Lord, I most hartily thanke your Lordshyp, as well for your gentlenes, as also for youre sobrietye in talke, and for your good and fauourable zeale in this learned exhortation, in the whiche I haue marked especialye three poyntes, whiche you vsed to perswade mee to leaue my doctrine, and Religiō which, which I perfectly know & am throughly perswaded to be grouded not vpon mans imagination and decrees, but vpon the infallible truth of Christes Gospell, and not

to looke backe, and to returne to the Romish sea, contrary to mine othe, contrarye to the prerogatiue and crowne of this Realme, and especiall ye whiche moueth me most) contrary to the expressed worde of God.

*The first poynt is this, that the sea of Rome takynge hys begynninge from Peter, vpon whom you say Chryst hath builded hys Church, hath in all ages lineally from Bishop to Bishop bene brought to this time.

Secondly, * that euen the holye Fathers from time to time, haue in their writinges confessed the same.

Thirdly, that in that I was once of the same opinion and together with you I did acknowledge the same.

First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your Lordship gathereth the foundation of the Church vpon Peter, * truly the place is not so to bee vnderstande as you take it, as the circumstance of the place wil declare. For after that Christe had asked his Discyples whome men iudged him to be, and they had aunswered, that some had sayd he was a Prophet, some Helias, some one thing, some an other, then he said, whome say ye that I am? Thē Peter said: I say that thou art Christ the sonne of God. To whome Christ answered: I saye Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam. i. Thou art Peter, * and vpon this stone I wil builde my Church: that is to say, vpon this stone not meaning Peter himselfe, as though hee would haue constitute a mortall man, so frayle and brickle a foundation of his stable and vnfallible Church: But vpon this Rock stone, that is this confession of thine, * that I am the sonne of GOD, I wil build my Church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianitie, with worde, heart and minde, to confesse that Christ is the sonne of God. Whosoeuer beleueth not this, Chryst is not in hym: and hee cannot haue the marke of Chryste printed in his forehead, * whiche confesseth not that Chryst is the sonne of God.

Therefore Christ sayd vnto Peter, that vpon this rock that is vpon this his confession, that he was Christe the sonne of God, he would builde hys Church, to declare that without this fayth, no man can come to Christe: * so that this beliefe, that Christ is the sonne of God, is y^e foundation of our christianitie, and the foundation of y^e church. Here you see vpon what foundation Christes Church is built, not vpon the frailtie of man, but vpon the stable and infallible word of God.

Now as touching the lineall discent of the Bishoppes in the Sea of Rome true it is that y^e Patriarkes of Rome in the Apostles time, * and long after was a great maintayner, and a setter forth of Christes glory, in the which aboue all other cuntryes and regyons there especiall ye was preached the true Gospell, the sacraments wer most duely ministred, and as before Christes comming, it was a Cittie so valiaunt in prowesse, and marshall affayres, that all the worlde was in a manner subiect to it, and after Christes passion, and diuers of the Apostles there suffered persecution for the Gospelles sake: so after that the Emperours, theyr hartes being illuminated, receiued the gospell, and became Christians, the Gospell there, as wel for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of y^e place flourished most, * whereby the Byshops of y^e place wer had in more reuerence and honour, most esteemed in all counsayles and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was moste reuerenced and spoken of,

for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the Bishop of Lincolne in Sessions and sittings, hath the preheminance of the other Byshoppes, not that he is the head and ruler of them: but for the dignitie of the Byshoppricke (and therwith the people smiled.) Wherefore the Doctours in theyr writings, haue spoken moste reuerently of this Sea of Rome and in their writings preferred it: and this is the prerogatiue, which your Lordshippe did rehearse, the ancient Doctours to geue to the sea of Rome.

Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reuerence, and honour the sea of Rome,* as longe as it continued in the promotion, and setting forth of Gods glory and in due preaching of the Gospell, as it did many yeres after Christ. But after that the Byshoppes of that Sea, seeking their owne pride, and not Gods honour, began to set them selues aboue kings and Emperours, challenging to them the title of Goddes Uicars,* the Domynion and Supremacye ouer all the worlde, I cannot but with saynct Gregory a Byshoppe of Rome also, confesse that the Byshoppe of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof saynct Iohn speaketh by the name of the whore of Babilon, and say with the sayd saint Gregory: he that maketh himselfe a Byshop ouer all the worlde, is worse then Antichrist.*

Now, where as you say that saynct Augustine should seeme, not onely to geue such a prerogatiue, but also a supremacye to the sea of Rome, in that he sayth, all y^e chrystian world is subiect to the Churche of Rome, and there, fore shoulde geue to that Sea a certayne kinde of subiection: I am sure that your Lordship knoweth that in saynt [Page 1759](#) Austines time, there were foure Patriarckes, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioche and Rome, whiche Patriarckes had vnder them certayn Countryes, as in England the Archbyshop of Caunterbury hath vnder him diuers Byshopprickes in Englande and Wales, to whome he may be sayde to be theyr Patriarcke.* Also youre Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time saint Austine wrote this booke, he was then Bishop in Africa. Farther you are not ignoraunt, that betweene Europe and Africa lyeth the sea called Mare mediterraneum, so that al the countryes in Europe to him which is in Africa, may be called transmarine, countryes beyond the sea. Here of S. Austen sayth: Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis & longe remotis terris ecclesiae Romanae subiectus est. That is all the Chrystian Countryes beyonde the seas and farre Regions, are subiect to the sea of Rome. If I shoulde saye all Countryes beyonde the sea, I doe except Englande, whiche to me nowe beyng in Englande, is not beyonde the sea. In this sense saynct Austine sayth,* all the Countryes beyond the sea are subiecte to the sea of Rome, declarynge thereby that Rome was one of the seas of the foure Patriarckes, and vnder it Europe, by what subiection I praye you? onely for a preeminence, as we here in England say, that all the Byshopprickes in England, are subiect to the archbishopricke of Caunterbury and Yorke.*

For this preeminence also the other Doctours (as you recited) saye, that Rome is the mother of Churches, as the Bishopricke of Lincolne, is mother to the Bishoprick of Oxforde, because the Bishopricke of Oxford came from the Byshopricke of Lincolne, and they were bothe once one, and so is the Archbyshopricke of Canterbury, mother to the other Byshoppricks, which are in her prouince. In like sorte the Archbishopricke of Yorke, is mother to the Northbishoprickes: and yet no mā will say, that Lincolne, Caunterburye, or Yorke, is supreme head to other Byshopprickes: neyther then ought wee to confesse the sea of Rome to be supreme head, because y^e Doctours in their writings, confesse the sea of Rome to be mother of Churches.

Nowe where you say, I was once of the same Religion, whiche you are of, the trueth is, I cannot but confesse the same. Yet so was saynct Paule a persecutoure of Christe. But in that you saye, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I doyng my message to my Lorde of Winchester, shoulde desire him to stande stought▪ in that grosse opinion of the Supper of the Lorde, in very deed I was sent (as your Lordship sayd) from the Counsaile, to my Lord of Winchester, to exhort hym to receyue also the true confession of Iustification, and because hee was very refractorious, I sayde to hym, why my Lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise agaynst the sacrament of the aultar: I praye you my Lorde be dilligent in confounding them, for at that tyme my Lord of Winchester and I had to do, wyth two Anabaptistes of Kente. In this sense I willed my Lorde to be stiffe in the defence of the sacrament, agaynst the detestable erroures of Anabaptistes, and not in the confirmation of that grosse and carnall opinion nowe mayntayned.

In like sorte, as touching the sermon, whiche I made at Paules Crosse, you shall vnderstande that there were at Paules, and dyuers other places, fixed rayling billes agaynst the sacramente, termynge it lacke of the boxe, the sacramente of the halter, round Robin, with like vnseemely termes: for the whiche causes I to rebuke the vnreuerent behaiour of certayne euill disposed persones, preached as reuerently of that matter as I mighte, declaring what estimation and reuerence, ought to be geuen to it, what daunger ensued the mishandling therof, affirming in that sacramente to be truely and verely the bodye and bloude of Christe, effectuously by grace and spirite: whiche wordes the vnlearned vnderstanding not, supposed that I had ment of the grosse and carnall being, which the Romishe decrees set forth, that a body hauing lyfe and motion, shoulde be in deede vnder the shapes of breade and wyne.

With that the Bishoppe of Lincolne, somewhat interrupting him, sayde.

Lincol.

Well M. Ridley, thus you wrest places to your owne pleasure: for where as saynct Austen saythe that the whole Christian worlde,* is subiecte to the sea of Rome without any limittation, and vseth these wordes: In transmarinis, & longè remotis terris, onely to expresse the latytude of the dominion of the Sea of Rome, willyng therby to declare that all the world, yea cuntryes farre distaunt from Rome, yet neuertheles are subiecte to that Sea, yet you woulde wrast it, and leaue it onely to Europe. I am sure ye will▪ not deny, but that totus mundus is more then Europe.

Ridley.

In deede my Lorde, if saynct Austen had sayde simpliciter totus mundus, & not added in transmarinis it had bene without limitation:* but in that he sayd totus mundus in transmarinis partibus, all the Cuntryes beyond the seas he himselfe doth limite the vniuersall proposition, declaring how farre he ment by totus mundus.

The Byshop not staying for this aunswere, dyd proceede, saying.

Lincolne.

Well, if I woulde staye vppon this place, I coulde brynge many moe places of the Fathers, for the confirmation thereof, but we haue certayne instructions, accordinge to the whiche we muste proceede, and came not hyther to dispute the mater with you, but onely to take youre aunsweres to certayne Artycles, and vsed this in the waye of exhortation: in the whiche you interrupted mee, wherefore I wyll retourne thither againe.

Ye must consider that the Church of Chryste lyeth not hidden, but is a Citty in the mountayn,* and a candle on the Candlesticke. Ponder with your selfe, that the Church of Christ is catholica, catholicke whiche is deducted of 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, that is, per omnia: so that Christes Church is vniuersallye spreadde throughout the world not contayned in the * allegation of places, not comprehended in the circuite of Englande, not contayned in the compasse of Germany and Saxonie, as youre Church is.

Wherefore maister Ridley, for Gods loue be ye not singular: acknowledge with all the realme the truth, it shall not bee (as you alledge preiudiciall to the crowne, for the king and Queene their maiesties haue renounced that vsurped power taken of their predecessours, and iustly haue renounced it.* For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the Keyes. The sword is geuen to kings, and rulers of coutries: the Keyes were deliuered by Christe to Peter, and of him lefte to all the successours. As touchynge oure goodes, possessions, and lyues, wee wyth you acknowledge vs Subiectes, to the king and Queene, who hath the temporall sworde:* but as concerning matters of Religion, as touching Gods quarrell and his word, we acknowledge an other head: and as the king and y^e Queene their highnes do in all worldly affayres, iustly challenge the prerogatiue and primacie, so in spirituall and Ecclesiasticall matters they acknowledge themselues not to bee heades and rulers, but members of Christes bodye. Why therefore shoulde ye sticke at that matter, the whiche theyr maiesties haue forsaken and yelded?

Wherefore mayster Ridley,* you shall not onely not doe iniurye to the Crowne, and bee preiudiciall to theyr maiesties honour, in acknowledgyng with all Christendome the Popes holynesse to be supreme head of Chrystes Church here militaunt in earthe, but doe a thyng most delectable in theyr sight, and most desired of theyr highnesse. Thus if you will doe, reuoking together all youre erroures, acknowledging with the residue of the realme, the common and the publicke faulte, you shal doe that all men most hartily desire: you shall bryng quyettesse to your conscience, and health to your soule: then shall we with great ioy, by the authoritie committed to vs from the Cardinales grace, receyue you into y^e church agayne, acknowledgyng you to be no longer a rotten, but a liuely member of the same, but if you shall still bee singular, if you shall stil and obstinately perseuer in your erroures, stubbornely mayntayning your former heresies, then we must agaynst our will, according to our commission, separate you from vs, and cut you of from the church least the rottennesse of one part in processe of tyme, putrify and corrupte the whole bodye,* then must wee confesse and publish you to be none of ours: thē must we yeald you vp to the temporall iudges, of whome excepte it otherwise please the kinge and Queenes highnesse, you muste receaue punishment by the lawes of this Realme, due for heretickes.

Wherefore mayster Ridley, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soule, which Christ so dearely bought with hys precious blood, doe not

you rashly cast away that which was precious in Gods sight, enforce not vs to doe al that we may doe, which is onely to publish you to be none of vs, to cut you of from the Church for we doe not, nor can not condemne you to dye (as most vntruely hath bene reported of vs) but that is the temporall Iudges * office, we onely declare you to be none of the Church, and then must you, according to the tenour of them, and pleasure [Page 1760](#) of the Rulers, abide theyr determination, so that wee, after that we haue geuen you vpp to the temporall Rulers, haue no further to do with you. But I trust Mayster Ridley, wee shall not haue occasion to doe that wee may.* I trust you will suffer vs to reste in that poynte of our commission, whiche we most hartilye desire, that is, vppon recantation and repentaunce to receaue you, to reconcile you, and agayne to adioyne you to the vnitie of the Church.

Then M. Ridley with often interruption, at lengthe spake.

Ridley.

My Lord I acknowledge an vnspotted church of christ, in the which * no man can erre, without the whiche no man can be sau'd, the whiche is spread throughout all the worlde, that is the congregation of the faythfull: neyther doe I alligate or binde the same to any one place, as you sayd, but confesse the same to be spreadde throughout all the worlde: and whereas Christes Sacramentes are duely ministred, his Gospell truely preached and followed, there doth Christes Church shyne as a Cittye vppon an hill, and as a Candle in the Candlesticke: but rather it is such as you, that woulde haue the Church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome that there and no where els is the foundation of Christes church. But I am fully perswaded that Christes church is euery where founded, in euery place where his Gospell is truly receaued, effectually followed. And in that y^e church of God is in doubt, I vse here in the wise counsaile of Vyncentinus Lyranensis, whō I am sure you will allow, who geuing preceptes howe the catholicke church maye be in all schismes and heresies knowne, writeth in thys maner? When (sayth he) one parte is corrupted with heresy, then preferre the whole worlde before that one part: but if the greatest parte bee infected, then preferre antyquitie.

In like sort now, when I perceauē the greatest parte of Christianitie to be infected with the poyson of the sea of Rome, I repayre to y^e vsage of the primitiue church, which I finde cleane contrary to the Popes decrees, as in that the Priest receaueth alone, that it is made vnlawfull to to the Laitye to receaue in both kindes, and such lyke: Wherefore it requireth, that I preferre the antiquitie of the primatiue church, before the nouelty of the Romysh church.

Lincol.

Mayster Ridley these faults which you charge the Sea of Rome withall, are in deede no faultes. For first it was neuer forbid the Laitie, but that they myghte if * they demaunded, receaue vnder bothe kyndes. You know also, that Chryst after hys resurrection, at what tyme he went wyth hys Apostles to Galile opened hym selfe by breaking of bread. You know that saynct Paule after hys longe sayling towardes Rome brake breade, and that the Apostles came together in breakyng of bread whiche declareth that it is not vnlawfull to minister the Sacrament vnder the forme of breade onely: and yet the church hadde iust occasion to decree, that the laytye shoulde receaue in one kinde onely, thereby to take away an opinion of the vnlearned, that Chryst was not wholly

both flesh and bloud vnder the forme of bread. Therefore to take away theyr opinion, and to establishe better the peoples faythe, the holy Ghost in the church thoughte good to decree, that the Laitie woulde receaue onelye in one kynde: and it is no newes for the Church vppon iust consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Actes of the Apostles, that saynct Paule wrytyng to certayne of the Gentiles, whiche had receaued the Gospel biddeth them to abstayne a suffogato & sanguine, from thynges stifled, and from bloud, so that this seemeth to bee an expresse commaundement: yet who will saye but that it is lawfull to eate bloudings? how is it lawfull but by theyr permission of the Church?

Ridly.

My Lord, such thinges as saynct Paule enioyned to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Iewes to Christ, were onely commandementes of tyme, and respected not the successours: but Chrystes commaundement: do this (that is, that which he dyd in remembraunce, which was not to minister in one kind onely) was not a commaundement for a tyme, but to perseuer to the worldes end.

But the Bishop of Lincolne not attending to this answere, without any stay proceeded in his Oration.

So that the Church seemeth to haue authoritie by the holy Ghost, whome Christ sayd he woulde send after hys ascension, whiche should teache the Apostles all truthe, to haue power and iurisdiction to alter suche poyntes of the Scripture, euer reseruing the foundation: but wee came not, as I sayd before, in this sort to reason the matter wyth you, but haue certayne instructions ministred vnto vs, according to the tenour of the whiche wee must proceede, proposing certayne articles, vnto the which we require your aunswere directly, eyther affirmatiuely, eyther negatiuely to euery of them, eyther denying them, either graunting them without farther disputations or rea|soning,: for we haue already stretched our instructions, in that wee suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as wee haue done: the whiche articles you shall heare now, and to morrow at eyght of the clocke in saynct Maryes Church we will require and take youre aunsweres: and then according to the same proceede: & if you require a copy of them, you shall haue it, pen, inke and paper, also all such bookes as you shall demaunde, if they be to be gotten in the Uniuersitie.

The Articles.

IN dei nomine, Amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolne, Jacobus Glocest. & Iohannes Bristol. Episcopi per reuerendis. dominum Reginaldum miseratione diuina S. Mariae in Cosmedin. &c.

1 We doe obiecte to the Nic. Ridley, and to thee Hughe Latimer, ioyntly and seuerally, first that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high Uniuersitie of Oxford. Anno. 1554. in the monthes of Aprill, May, Iune, Iulye, or in some one or moe of thē, hast affirmed, and openly defended & maintayned, and in many other tymes and places besides, that the true and naturall body of Christe, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, that in the yeare and monthes aforesayde, thou hast publickely affirmed and defended, that in the Sacrament of the altar, remayneth still the substaunce of breade and wine.

3. Item, that in the sayde yeare and monthes, thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately mayntayned, that in the Masse is no propiciatory Sacrifice for the quicke and the dead.

4. Item, that in the yeare, place, and monthes aforesayd, these thy foresayd assertions solemnly haue bene condemned, by the scholasticall censure of this schoole, as hereticall, and contrarye to the Catholicke fayth, by y^e worshipful M. Doctor Weston Prolocutour then of the conuocation house, as also by other learned men, of bothe the Uniuersities.

5. Item, that all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, famous, and openly knowne by publicke fame, as well to them neare hand, as also to them in distaunt places farre of.

Examination vppon the sayd Articles.

ALL these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsall shall be of any of them, y^e reader may haue recourse hether, and peruse the same, and not to trouble the storye with seuerall repetitions thereof.

Lincolne.

After these Articles were read, the Bishoppes tooke counsaile together. At the last the Bishop of Lincolne sayde: * these are the very same Articles whiche you in open disputation here in the Uniuersitie did mayntayn and defend. What say you vnto the first? I praye you aunswere affirmatiuely, or negatiuely.

Ridly.

Why my Lorde, I supposed your gentlenes, had bene such, that you would haue geuen me space vntyll to morow, that vpon good aduisement, I might bring a determinate aunswere.

Lincoln.

Yea M. Ridley, I meane not that youre aunsweres nowe shall be preiudiciall to your aunsweres to morow. I will take your aunsweres at this tyme, and yet notwithstanding it shalbe lawfull to you to adde, diminish, alter, and chaunge of these answers to morow what you will.

Ridly.

In deede, in like maner at our laste disputations I hadde many thinges promised, and fewe performed. * It was sayde that after disputations, I shoulde haue a copye thereof, and licence to chaunge myne aunsweres, as I should thinke good, It was meete also that I should haue seene what was writtē by the Notaries at that time. * So your Lordship pretended great gentlenes in geuyng me a tyme, but this gentlenes is the same, that Christ had of the high priestes: for you, as youre Lordshippe saythe, haue no power to condemne me, neyther at anye tyme to put a man to

death, so in like sorte the high Priestes sayd, that it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death. but committed Christ to Pilate, neyther would suffer him [Page 1761](#) to absolue Christ, although he sought all the meanes therfore that he might. Then spake Doctour Weston, one of the audience.

West.

What? do you make the king Pilate?

Rid.

[*](#)No mayster Doctor, I doe but compare youre deedes with Cayphas his deedes and the high Priestes, whiche woulde condemne no manne to deathe, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolue and deliuer Christ.

Lincol.

M. Ridley, we minde not but that you shal enioy the benefite of aunswering to morow, and will take your aunsweres now as now, to morow you shal change take out, adde, and alter what you will. In the meane season we require you to aunswere directly to euery Article, either affirmatiuely, or negatiuely.

Ridly.

Seyng you appoynt me a time to aunswere to morow,[*](#) and yet will take mine aunsweres out of hande, first I require the Notaryes, to take and write my protestation, that in no poynt I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my Iudges, in that poynt you are authorised from the Pope. Therefore what soeuer I shall say or doe, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authoritie of the Pope: & if your Lordship will geue me leaue, I wil shew the causes, whiche moueth me thereunto.

Lincol.

No M. Ridley, wee haue instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you.

Ridley.

[*](#)I will be short: I pray youre Lordships suffer me to speake in fewe wordes.

Linc.

No M. Ridley, wee may not abuse the hearers eares.

Rid.

Why my Lord, suffer me to speake three words.

Linc.

Well M. Ridley, to morow you shall speake 40. The time is farre paste: therefore wee require your aunswere determinately. What say you to the first article? and thereupon rehearsed the same.

Rid.

*My protestation alwaies saued, that by this mine aunswere I do not condescend, to your authoritie, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I aunswere thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take really for verè, for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then is it true that the naturall body and bloud of Christe is in the sacrament verè & realiter, in deede and really: but if you take these termes so grossely, that you woulde conclude thereby a naturall body hauing motion, to be containyd vnder the formes of bread and wine verè & realiter, then really is not the body and bloud of Christ in the Sacrament, no more then the holy Ghost is in the element of water in our Baptisme. Because this aunswere was not vnderstoode, the Notaries wist not how to note it: wherfore the Bishop of Lincolne willed him to aunswere either affirmatiuely, or negatiuely, either to graunt the Article, or to deny it.

Rid.

My Lorde, you know that where anye aequiuocation (whiche is a woorde hauyng two significations) is, excepte distinction bee geuen, no direct aunswere can bee made: for it is one of Aristotles fallacies, containing two questions vnder one, the whiche cannot bee satisfied with one aunswere. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the verye true and naturall bodye and bloud of Christ, euen that whiche was borne of the Uirgine Marye,* whiche ascended into heauen, whiche sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come frō thence to iudge the quicke and the dead, onely we differ in modo:* in the way and maner of being: we confesse all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the maner of being there. I being fully by Gods word thereunto perswaded, confesse Christes naturall body to be in the sacrament in deede by spirite and grace, because that whosoeuer receiueth worthely that bread and wine, receiueth effectuously Christes body and drinketh his bloud, that is, he is, made effectually partaker of hys Passion: and you make a grosser kynde of being, enclosing a natuall, a lyuely and mouing body vnder the shape or forme of breade and wyne.

Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I aunswere:* that in the sacrament of the altar is the naturall body and bloud of Christ verè & realiter, in deede and really, if you take these termes in deed and really for spiritually by grace and efficacy: for so euery worthy receyuer receiueth the very true body of Christe: but if you meane really and in deede, so that therby you woulde include a liuely and a mouable body vnder the formes of bread and wyne, then in that sense is not Christes body in the sacrament really and in deede.

This aunswere taken and penned of the Notaryes, y^e Boshop of Lincolne proposed the second question or Article. To whome he aunswered.

Rid.

Alwayes my protestation reserued, I aunswere thus: that in the sacrament is a certayne chaunge in the•r y^e Bread whiche was before was common bread, is now made a liuely representation of Christes Bodye,* and not onely a figure, but effectuously representeth his body, that euen as the mortall bodye was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internall soule fed with the heauenly foode of Christes body, whiche the eyes of faythe seethe, as the bodily eyes seeth onely breade. Such a sacramental mutation I graunt to be in the bread and wyne, whiche truely is no small chaunge, but suche a chaunge as no mo tall man can make but onely that omnipotencie of Chrystes worde.

¶Then the Byshoppe of Lincolne willed hym to answere directly, eyther affirmatiuely or negatiuely, without further declaration of the matter. Then hee answered:

Rid.

That notwithstanding this sacramentall mutation of the whiche he spake,* and all the Doctours confessed the true substaunce and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the whiche the bodye is in like sorte nourished as the soule by grace and spirite with the body of Chryste. Euen so in Baptisme the body is washed with the visible water, and the soule is clesned from all filth by the inuisible holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water but keepeth the nature of water still: In like sort in the sacrament of the Lordes supper the bread ceaseth not to bee bread,

Then the Notaryes penned, that he aunswere affirmatiuely to the second article. The Byshop of Lincolne declared a difference betweene the sacramente of the altar and Baptisme,* because that Chryste sayde not by the water this is the holy Ghost, as he did by the bread: thys is my body.

Then mayster Ridley recited saynct Austen, whiche conferred both the sacramentes the one with the other: but the Byshoppe of Lincolne notwithstanding therevpon recited the third article, and required a directe aunswere. To whom Ridley sayd.

Rid.

Chryst as saynct Paule wryteth, made one perfecte sacrifice for the sinnes of the whole worlde, neyther can anye man reiterate that sacrifice of his,* and yet is the Communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of prayse and thanksgeuing: but to say that thereby sinnes are taken away (whiche wholly and perfectly was done by Christes passion, of the whiche the Communion is onely a memory) that is a great derogation of the merites of Chrystes passion:* for the sacrament was instituted that wee receyuing it, and thereby recognising and remembryng hys Passion, shoulde be partakers of the merites of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take vpon it the office of Christes Passion, whereby it might follow that Christe dyed in vayne.

¶The Notaryes penned this hys aunswere to be affirmatiuely. Then sayd the Byshop of Lincolne:

Lin.

In deede as you alledge out of Sayncte Paule, Christ made one perfecte oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloudy sacrifice vpon the crosse: * yet neuerthesse he hath lefte this sacrifice, but not bloudy, in the remembraunce of that, by the whiche sinnes are forgeuen: the whiche is no derogation of Christes Passion.

¶Then recited the Byshop of Lincolne the fourth article. To the which M. Ridley aunswered:

Rid.

That in some part the fourth was true, & in some parte false, true in y^t those hys assertions were condemned as heresies, although vniustly: * false in that it was sayde they were condemned scientia scholastica, in that the disputations were in suche sorte ordered, that it was farre from any schole acte.

¶This aunswere penned of the Notaryes, the Byshop of Lincolne rehearsed the fift Article. To the whiche he aunswered:

Rid.

That the premisses were in suche sorte true, as in these his aunsweres he had declared. Whether that al men spake euill of them he knew not, in that hee came not so much abroad to heare what euery man reported.

¶This aunswere also written of the Notaryes, the bishop of Lincolne sayde:

Lin.

To morow at eyght of the clocke you shall appeare before vs in S. Maryes Church, * and then because wee cannot well agree vpon your aunswere to the first article (for it was long before hee was vnderstoode) if it wyll please you to wryte youre aunswere, you shall haue penne, inke, and paper, & bookes suche as you shall require: but if you wryte any thing sauing your aunswers to these Articles, wee will not receaue it: so hee charging [Page 1762](#) the Maior with him, declaryng also to the Maior that he shoulde suffer hym to haue penne and inke dimissed M. Ridley, and sent for Master Latimer, who being brought to the Diuinitie Schole, there taryed tyll they called for hym.

¶Maister Latimer appeareth before the Commissioners.

NOW after M. Ridley was committed to the Maior, then the Bishop of Lincolne commaunded the Baillyffes to bring in the other prisoner, * who eftsoones as he was placed, sayd to the Lordes.

Lati.

My Lordes, if I appeare agayne, I pray you not to sende for mee vntyll you bee ready. For I am an olde man, and it is great hurt to myne olde age to tary so long gazyng vpon the colde walles. Then the Byshop of Lincolne sayd:

Linc.

M. Latimer, I am sory you are brought so soone, although it is the Bailyffes fault, and not myne: but it shall be amended.

Then Master Latimer bowed his knee downe to the ground,* holdyng his Hat in his hand, hauing a kercheffe on his hed, and vpon it a night cap or two, and a great cap (such as Townes men vse, with two broad flaps to batten vnder the chin) wearyng an olde thred bare Bristowe fryse gowne gyrded to his body with a peny leather gyrdell, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his necke vpon his brest. After this the Byshop of Lincolne began on this maner:

Linc.

M. Latimer, you shall vnderstande that I and my Lordes here haue a Commission from my Lord Cardinall Poles Grace Legate a latere,* to this Realme of England, from our moste reuerent father in God the Popes holynesse, to examyne you vpon certayne opinions and assertions of yours, whiche you as well here openly in disputations in the yeare of our Lorde. 1554. as at sundry and diuers other tymes dyd affyrme, mayntayne, and obstinately defende. In the whiche Commission be especially two poyntes: the one whiche we muste desire you is, that if you shall nowe recant, reuoke, and disanull these your errorrs, and togeather with all this Realme, yea all the worlde confesse the trueth, we vpon due repentance of your part should receiue you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheepe, but adioyne you agayne to the vnitie of Christes Church, from the which you in the time of schisme fell: So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you: I desire you but to returne thyther from whence you went.

Consider M. Latimer, that without the vnitie of the Church is no saluation,* and in the Church can be no errores. Therefore what shoulde stay you to confesse that whiche all the Realme confesseth to forsake that whiche the Kyng and Queene their Maiesties haue renounced and all the Realme recanted: it was a common errour, and it is nowe of all confessed: it shall be no more shame to you, then it was to vs all. Consider M. Latimer, that within these .xx. yeares this Realme also with all the worlde confesseth one Church, acknowledged in Christes Church an head, and by what meanes and for what occasion it cut of it self from the rest of Christianitie, it renounced that whiche in all tymes and ages was confessed, it is well knowen,* and might be now declared vpon what good foundation the sea of Rome was forsaken, saue that wee must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsall woulde be opprobrious: it is no vsurped power as it hath bene termed, but founded vpon Peter by Christe, a lure foundation, a perfect builder, as by diuers places as well of the auncient fathers as the expresse worde of God,* may be proued.

With that M. Latimer, which before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remoue his cap and kerchef from his eares.

The Byshoppe proceeded saying: for Christe spake expresly to Peter saying,* pasce oues meas, & rege oues meas, the whiche worde doth not onely declare a certayne rulyng of Christes flocke, but includeth also a certayne preeminence and gouernment, and therefore is the king called Rex à regendo: so that in saying rege, Christe declared a power whiche he gaue to Peter, whiche

iurisdiction and power Peter by hand deliuered to Clement, and so in all ages hath it remayned in the sea of Rome. This if you shall confesse with vs, & acknowledge with all the realme your errorrs and false assertions, then shall you doe that whiche we most desire, then shall we rest vppon the first part of our Commission, then shall we receiue you, acknowledge you one of the Church, and according to the authoritie geuen vnto vs, * minister vnto you vpon due repentaunce, the benefite of absolution, to the whiche the Kyng and Queene their Maiesties were not ashamed to submit them selues, although they of them selues were vnspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation, yet lest the putrifaction and rottennesse of all the body myght be noysome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I sayd) most humbly submitted them selues to my Lorde Cardinall his grace, by hym, as Legate to the Popes holynes, to bee partakers of the reconciliation: but if you shall stubburnely perseuer in your blindnes, if you wyll not acknowledge your errorrs, if you as you stande nowe alone, wyll be singular in your opinions, if by schisme and heresie you wyll styll diuide your selfe from our Church, then must wee proceede to the seconde part of the Commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemne you, for that wee can not doe (that the temporall sworde of the Realme, and * not wee will do) but to separate you from vs, acknowledge you to be none of vs, to renounce you as no member of the Church, to declare that you are filius perditionis, a lost chylde, and as you are a rotten member of the Church, so to cut you of from the Church, and so to commit you to the temporall Iudges, permittynge them to proceede agaynst you, accordyng to the tenor of their lawes.

Therefore M. Latimer, * for Gods loue consider your estate, remember you are a learned man, you haue taken degrees in the Schole, borne the office of a Byshop, remember you are an olde man, spare your body, accelerate not your death, & especially remember your soules health, quiet of your conscience, consyder that if you shoulde dye in this state, you shall be a stinkyng sacrifice to God: for it is the cause that maketh the Martyr, and not the death: consyder that if you dye in this state, you dye without grace, for without the Church can be no saluation. * Let not vayne glory haue the vpper hande, humiliate your selfe, captiuate your vnderstandyng, subdue your reason, submit your selfe to the determination of the Church, doe not force vs to doe all that we may doe, let vs rest in that parte whiche wee most hartely desyre, and I, for my part, (then the Byshop put of his cap) agayne with all my hart exhort you.

After the Byshop had somewhat paused, then M. Latimer lift vp his head (for before he leaned on his elbowe) and asked whether his Lordshyp had sayd: and the Byshop answered yea.

Lati.

Then will your Lordship geue me leaue to speake a worde o• two?

Linc

Yea M. Latimer, so that you vse a modest kynd of talke, without raysing or tauntes.

Lati.

I beseech your Lordshyp, licence me to sit downe. *

Linc.

At your pleasure M. Latimer, take as much ease as you wyll.

Lati.

Your Lordshyppe gentlye exhorted mee in manye woordes, to come to the vnitie of the Church. I confesse (my Lorde) a Catholicke Church, spread throughout all the worlde, in the whiche no man may erre, without the whiche vnitie of the Church no man can be saued: [*](#) but I knowe perfectly by Gods woorde that this Church is in all the worlde, and hath not his foundation in Rome only, as you say, and me thought your Lordshyp brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirme the same, that there was a iurisdiction geuen to Peter, in that Christe bad hym regere, gouerne his people. In deede my Lord, saint Peter did well and truely his office, in that he was byd regere: but since the Byshoppes of Rome haue taken a new kynd of regere. In deede they ought to regere, but how my Lord? not as they will them selues: but this regere must be hedged in, and digged in. They must regere, but secundum verbum dei: they must rule, but accordyng to the worde of God.

But the Byshops of Rome haue turned regere secundum verbum dei, into regere secundum voluntatem suam: [*](#) they haue turned the rule accordyng to the woorde of GOD into the rule accordyng to their owne pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a booke set foorth whiche hath diuers poyntes in it, and amongst other, this poynt is one, whiche your Lordshyppe went about to proue by this woorde regere, and the argument whiche he bryngeth foorth for the prooffe of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomie, where it is sayde: if there ryseth anye controuersie amonge the people, the Priestes Leuitici generis, of the order of Leuiticus shall decide the matter secundum legem dei, accordyng to the lawe of GOD: so it muste be taken. This booke perceyuing this authoritie to be geuen to the Priestes of the olde lawe, taketh occasion to proue the same to be geuen to the Byshops and other the Cleargy of the new law: but in prouyng [Page 1763](#) this matter, where as it was sayde there, as the Priestes of the order of Leuiticus shoulde determine the matter accordyng to Gods law (that accordyng to Gods law) is left out, and onely is recited: as the Priestes of the order of Leuiticus shall decide the matter, [*](#) so it ought to be taken of the people: a large authoritie I ensure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clippyng of Gods coyne? With the which termes the audience smiled. This is muche like the regere whiche your Lordshyp talked of. Nay, nay my Lordes, we may not geue such authoritie to the Clergie, to rule all thynges as they wyll. Let them keepe them selues within their commission. Now I trust my Lord▪ I do not rayle yet?

Linc.

No M. Latimer, your talke is more like tauntes then rayling: but in that I haue not red the booke which you blame so much, nor knowe not of any suche, I can say nothyng therein.

Lati.

Yes my Lorde, the booke is open to be red, and is intituled to one whiche is Bishop of Glocester,* whom I neuer knew, neither did at any tyme see him to my knowledge. With that the people laughed, because the Byshop of Glocester sat there in commission.

Then the Byshop of Glocester stoode vp, and sayd it was his booke.

Lati.

Was it yours my Lorde? In deede I knewe not your Lordshyp, neither euer did see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightnes of the Sunne shining betwixt you and me. Then the audience laughed agayne: and Maister Latimer spake vnto them saying: Why my maisters, this is no laughyng matter, I aunsweare vppon lyfe and death. Vae vobis qui redetis nunc, quoniam flebitis.

The Byshoppe of Lincolne commaunded silence, and then sayde:

Linc.

M. Latimer, if you had kept your selfe within your boundes, if you had not vsed such scoffes and tauntes, this had not bene done.

*After this the Byshop of Glocester sayde in excusing of his booke.

Gloc.

M. Latimer, hereby euery man may see what learnyng you haue.

Then M. Latimer interrupted hym saying:

Lati.

Lo, you looke for learnyng at my handes, whiche haue gone so longe to the schole of obliuion, makynge the bare walles my Librarie, keepyng me so long in prison without booke or penne and inke: and now you let me lose to come and aunsweare to Articles. You deale with me as though two were appoynted to fyght for lyfe and death, and ouer nyght the one through friendes and fauour is cheryshed, & hath good counsayle geuen hym howe to encounter with his enemye. The other for enuye or lacke of friendes,* all the whole nyght is set in the stockes. In the mornyng when they shall meete, the one is in strength and lusty: the other is starke of his limmes, and almoste dead for feeblenes. Thynke you that to runne through this man with a speare is not a goodly victory?

But the Byshoppe of Glocester interruptyng his aunswere proceeded, saying:

Glo.

I went not about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my booke: * for then if I had not recited it faythfully, you myght haue had iust occasion of reprehention: but I only in that place formed an argument á maior•, in this sense: that if in the olde lawe the Priestes had power to decide matters of controuersies, muche more then ought the authoritie to be geuen to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this poynt what auayleth the rehersall, secundum legem dei.

Lati.

Yes my Lorde, very muche. For I acknowledge authoritie to be geuen to the spiritualtie to decide matter of Religion, and, as my Lord sayd euen nowe, to regere: but they must do it secundum verbum dei, and not secundum voluntatem suam, according to the worde and lawe of God, and not after their owne will, after their owne imaginations and fantasies.

The Byshop of Glocester woulde haue spoken more, sauynge that the Byshop of Lincolne sayde, that they came not to dispute with M. Latimer, but to take his determinate aunsweres to their Articles, and so began to propose the same Articles whiche were proposed to M. Ridley. But M. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Glocester: well my Lord, I could wish more faythfull dealyng with Gods woorde, and not to leaue out a part, and snatche a part here and an other there, but to rehearse the whole faythfully.

But the Byshoppe of Lincolne not attendyng to this saying of Maister Latimer, * proceeded in rehearsing the Articles in forme and sense as I declared before in the examination of the Articles proposed to Maister Ridley, and requyred Maister Latimers aunswere the fyrst. Then Maister Latimer makynge his protestation, that notwithstanding these his aunsweres it shoulde not bee taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authoritie of the Byshoppe of Rome, saying that he was the Kyng and Queene their Maiesties subiecte and not the Popes, neyther coulde serue two maisters at one tyme, except he should first renounce one of them: required the Notaries so to take his protestation, that what soeuer hee shoulde saye or do, it shoulde not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authoritie that came from the Byshop of Rome.

Linc.

The Byshop of Lincolne sayd, that his protestation shoulde be so taken: * but he required him to aunswere briefly affirmatiuely, or negatiuely to the first Article, and so recited the same agayne: and Maister Latimer aunswere as foloweth.

Lati.

I doe not deny (my Lorde) that in the Sacrament by spirite and grace is the very body and bloud of Christ, * because that euery man by receiuyng bodylye that bread and wine, spiritually receyueth the body and bloud of Christe, and is made partaker thereby of the merites of Christes Passion: but I denye that the body and bloud of Christe is in such sort in the Sacrament as you woulde haue it.

Linc.

Then Maister Latimer, you aunswere affirmatiuely.

Lati.

Yea, if you meane of that grosse and carnall beyng,* which you do take.

The Notaries tooke his aunswares to bee affirmatiuely.

Linc.

What say you Maister Latimer to the seconde Article? and recited the same.

Lati.

There is, my Lorde, a chaunge in the bread and wine, and suche a chaunge as no power, but the omnipotencie of GOD can make, in that that whiche before was bread, shoulde now haue that dignitie to exhibite Christes body, & yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the chaunge is not in the nature, but in the dignitie, because now that whiche was common bread hath the dignitie to exhibite Christes body, for where as it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by Gods worde.

With that the Byshop of Lincolne smyled, saying:

Linc.

Lo Maister Latimer, see what stedfastnesse is in your doctrine: That whiche you abhorred and despised moste, you now most establyshe: for where as you moste rayled at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread.

Lati.

Tush, a rushe for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is an holy bread in deede.

But the Byshoppe of Lincolne interrupted hym and sayde.

Linc.

O, you make a difference betwene holy bread,* and holy bread (with that the audience laughed.) Well maister Latimer, is not this your aunswere, that the sustaunce of bread and wine remayneth after the wordes of consecration?

Lati.

Yes verely, it must nedes bee so, for Christ him selfe calleth it bread, Saint Paul calleth it bread, the Doctours confesseth the same, the nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it

holy bread,* not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread & this, but for the holy office whiche it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christes body, and not onely a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.

So the Notaries penned his aunswere to be affirmatiuely.

Linc.

What say you to the third question?* and recited the same.

Lati.

No, no my Lorde, Christe made one perfect Sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him agayne, neither can the Priest offer vp Christe agayne for the sinnes of man, which he tooke away by offeryng hym selfe once for all (as Saint Paul sayth) vppon the crosse, neither is there any propitiation for our sinnes, sauynge his crosse onely.

So the Notaries penned his aunswere to this Article also to be affirmatiuely.

Linc.

What say you to the fourth Maister Latimer? and recited it. After the recitall whereof,* when Maister Latimer aunswared not, the Byshop asked hym whether he heard him or no?

Lati.

Yes, but I doe not vnderstande what you meane thereby.

Linc.

Mary onely this, that these your assertions were [Page 1764](#) condemned by M. Doctor Weston as heresies: is it not so M. Latimer?

Lati.

Yes, I thinke they were condemned. But how vniustly, he that shall be iudge of all knoweth.

So the Notaries tooke his aunswere, to this Article also to be affirmatiuely.

Linc.

What say you M. Latimer to the v. Article? and recited it.*

Lati.

I knowe not what you meane by these termes. I am no Lawyer: I would you would propose the matter plainely.

Linc.

In that we proceede accordyng to the lawe, we muste vse their termes also. The meanyng onely is this, that these your assertions are notorious, euill spoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouthes of the people.

Lati.

I can not tell howe muche nor what men talke of them. I come not so muche among them, in that I haue bene secluded a long tyme. What men report of them I knowe not, nor care not.

This aunswere taken, the Bishop of Lincolne sayd:

Linc.

M. Latimer, we meane not that these your aunsweres shalbe preiudiciall to you.* To morowe you shall appeare before vs againe, and then it shalbe lawfull for you to alter and chaunge what you wyll. We geue you respite till to morowe, trustyng that after you haue pondered well all thynges against to morowe, you wyll not be ashamed to confesse the truth.

Lati.

Now my Lord I pray you geue me licence in three wordes to declare the causes why I haue refused the authoritie of the Pope.

Linc.

Nay M. Latimer, to morowe you shall haue lycence to speake xl. wordes.

Lati.

Nay my Lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your Lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to morow agayne.

Linc.

Yes M. Latimer, you must needes appeare againe to morowe.

Lati.

Truely my Lorde, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at a poynt: you shall geue me respite in vayne: Therefore I pray you let not me trouble you to morowe.

Linc

Yes, for wee trust God wyll woorke with you agaynst to morowe. There is no remedy, you must needes appeare agayne to morowe at eight of the clocke in saint Maries Church. And forthwith the Bishop charged the Maior with M. Latimer, & dismissed him, and then brake vp their Session for that day, about one of the clocke at after noone.

¶Here foloweth the second Session.

THE next day followyng (which was the fyrst daye of October) somewhat after eyght of the clocke, the sayde Lordes repayred to S. Maries Church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with clothe of tissewe and silke, then appeared M. Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the Bishops feete, which table had a silke clothe cast ouer it, the which place was compassed about with framed seates in quadrate forme, partly for Gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the Session day also of Gaile deliury) & heades of the Uniuersitie to sit, and partly to keepe of the preasse of the audience: for the whole body as well of the Uniuersitie as of the towne,* came thither to see the end of these two persons. After M. Ridleyes appearaunce, and the silence of the audience, the Bishoppe of Lincolne spake in maner folowyng.

Linc.

M. Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not vncouryng your head, you excused your selfe of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you dyd not put on your cap for any obstinacie towarde vs, whiche as touchyng our owne persons desired no suche obedience of you, but onely in respect of them whose persons we beare: neyther (you sayde) for any contempt that you beare to this worshipfull audience, whiche although iustly may, yet in this case require no such humilitie of you: neither for any derogation of honour to my Lorde Cardinalles grace, in that he descended from the regall bloud, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities & singular learnyng: for as touching those pointes, you sayde you with all humilitie woulde honour, reuerence, and worshyp his grace: but in that he is Legate to the most reuerent father in God the Popes holynes (with that the Bishop with all then present put of their cappes, but M. Ridley moued not his) you sayd you ne coulde ne would by any meanes be induced to geue him honor: but for as muche as this is the poynt as we tolde you yesterday, why we require honour and reuerence of you, we tel you nowe as wee did then, except you take the paynes to moue your bonet, we will take the paynes to cause your bonet to be taken from you, except you pretend sicknesse, as yesterday you did not.

Rid.

I pretende now none other cause,* then I did yesterday, that is, onely that hereby it may appeare that not onely in worde and confession, but also by all my gesture and behauiour, in no poynt I agree or admit any authoritie or power that shall come from the Pope, and nor for any pryde of mynde (as GOD is my iudge) neyther for contempt of your Lordshyps, or of this worshipfull audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my Lorde Cardinalles grace as concernyng those poyntes whiche your Lordshyp spake of, that is, his noble Parentage and singular graces in

Learnynge. And as for takynge my cap away, your Lordshyp may doe as it shall please you: it shall not offende me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalfe.

Linc.

For as much as you do aunswere now as you did yesterday, we must doe also as we did then, and forthwith one of the Bedles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

¶After this the Bishop of Lincolne began the examination in sense folowyng.

Linc.

Maister Ridley, yesterday wee tooke your aunswere to certayne Articles,* which we then proposed vnto you: but because wee coulde not be thoroughly satisfied with your aunswere then to the fyrste Article, neyther coulde the Notaries take any determinate aunswere of you,* we (you requiryng the same) graunted you lycence to bryng your aunswere in wryting, and thereupon commaunded the Maior that you shoulde haue penne, paper, and inke, yea any bookes also that you woulde require, if they were to bee gotten: we licenced you then also to alter your former aunsweres this day at your pleasure: Therefore we are come nowe hether to see whether you are in the same mynde nowe that you were in yesterdaye, (whiche we woulde not wyshe) or contrary, contented to reuoke all your former assertions, and in all poyntes content to submitte your selfe to the determination of the vniuersall Church, and I for my part moste earnestly exhort you (and therewith he put of his cappe) not because my conscience pricketh me as you sayde yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member and in the way of perdition.

Yesterday I brought forth amongst other S. Austen, to proue that authorite hath alwayes bene geuen to the sea of Rome, and you wrested the woordes farre contrary to S. Austens meanynge, in that you woulde haue totus mundus to be applyed onely to Europe, whiche is but the thirde part of all the worlde, where as in deede the processe of S. Augustines woordes wyll not admitte that your interpretation. For he sayth not totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis. &c. but first,*totus mundus Christianus Romanae Ecclesiae subiectus est: All the Christian world is subiect to the Church of Rome, and afterwarde addeth in transmarinis partibus, beyond the Sea, but onely to augement the dominion of the sea of Rome.

Rid.

But M. Ridley still perseuered in his former aunswere, saying:* I am sure my Lorde you haue some skill in Cosmography, in the whiche you shall vnderstande that there is a sea called Mare mediterraneum, cast betweene Europe and Africa, in the which he ment Europe beyond the Sea, euen as I shoulde say the whole worlde beyond the Sea, exceptyng England in the which I stand: and here many woordes were spent vpon the interpretation of the same place of S. Austen.

Lin.

After long disceptation, the Byshoppe of Lincolne sayde, that the meanynge of S. Augustine myght be knowen by the consent of other the Doctors, and rehearsed diuers.

Rid.

But M. Ridley required the rehearsall of the places, and to reade the very wordes of the Doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the Bishop rehearsed,* beyng proponed in other termes in the Doctors, would admitte a contrary meanyng and interpretation: but in that booke out of the which the Bishop rehearsed them, was none of the Doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of y^e Doctors of some studious man: he could not recite the very wordes of the Doctours.

Linc.

Then after he came to Cyrillus, which (as he said) made agaynst M. Ridley in the Sacrament,* euen by Philippe Melancthon his owne alledging in his common places, and forthwith called for Melancthon, but in vaine, because all such bookes were burned a litle before, wherefore he passed it ouer.

Cyrillus also in an other place pro•ing to the Iewes [Page 1765](#) that Christe was come, vseth this reason, * Altars are erected in Christes name in Britaine and in farre countreyes: Ergo, Christ is come. But we may vse the contrarye, of that reason: Altars are plucked downe in Britaine: Ergo, Christe is not come. A good Argument á contrarijs: I wyll stande to it in the Scholes by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Iewes, to proue that Christ is not come.*

D. Ridley smilyng, aunswared: your Lordshyp is not ignoraunt that this worde Altare in the Scripture signifieth aswell the Altar whereupon the Iewes were wont to make their burt Sacrifices, as the table of the Lordes Supper. Cyrillus meaneth there by this worde Altare, not that the Iewysh Altar, but the Table of the Lorde, and by that saying (Altars are erected in Christes name, Ergo Christ is come) he meaneth that the Communion is ministred in his remembraunce, Ergo Christe is come: for the strength of his argument is, because the remembraunce of a thyng can not be, except the thing it selfe be past: then coulde not all Countreys celebrate the Communion in the remembraunce of Christes passion, except Christe had bene come and suffered. As for the taking downe of the Alters, it was done vpon iust considerations, for that they seemed to come to nigh to y^e Iewes vsage. Neither was the supper of the Lorde at any tyme more better ministred, more duely receiued, then in these latter dayes when all thynges were brought to the rites and vsage of the primatiue Church.

Linc.

A godly receiuing I promise you, to set an Oyster table in steede of an Altar, and to come from Puddynge at Westminster, to receiue: and yet when your table was constituted, you coulde neuer be content, in placing the same now East, nowe North, nowe one way, nowe another, vntill it pleased GOD of his goodnesse to place it cleane out of the Church.

Rid.

Your Lordshyppes vnreuerent termes doo not eleuate the thyng.* Perhappes some men came more deuoutely from Puddynge then other men nowe do from other thynges.

Lin.

As for that, M. Ridley, you ought to be iudge of no man: but by this your reasonyng you cause vs to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate aunsweres to our Articles: and eftsoones he red the first Article in maner aboue specified.*

Now M. Ridley, What say you to the first Article? if you haue brought your aunswere in writing, we wyll receiue it: but if you haue written any other matter, we will not receiue it.

Rid.

Then M. Ridley tooke a sheete of paper out of his bosome, and beganne to read that whiche he had written: but the B. of Lincolne commaunded the Bedle to take it from hym.* But he desired licence to read it, saying that it was nothyng but his answers, but the Bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Rid.

Why my Lord, will you require my aunswere, and not suffer me to publysh it? I beseeche you my Lorde, let the audience beare witnes in this matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your pleasures: therfore let the audience be witnes to your doynge.*

Linc.

Well M. Ridley, we wyll first see what you haue written, & then if we shall thinke it good to be red, you shal haue it published: but except you wyll deliuer it first, we wyll take none at all of you.

With that M. Ridley seeing no remedy, deliuered it to an Officer, which immediatly deliuered it to the Bishop of Lincolne, who after he had secretly communicated it to the other two Bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written,* saying, that it contained wordes of blasphemie: therefore he would not fill the eares of the audience therewithall and so abuse their pacience: notwithstanding M. Ridley desired very instantly to haue it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing conteyned but the auncient Doctors sayinges for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the sayd Bishops had secretly vewed the whole, then the Bishop of Lincolne sayd: In the first part master Ridley, is nothyng conteyned but your protestation, that you would not haue these your aunsweres so to be taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the aucthority or iurisdiction of the Popes holines.

Rid.

No my Lord, I pray you reade it out that the audience may heare it: but the Byshoppe of Lincolne woulde in no wise, because (he sayd) there were conteyned wordes of blasphemie.

Then the Byshop of Lincolne recited the firste Article,* and required maister Riddleis aunswere to it. Then M. Ridley sayd, that his answere was there in wrytyng, and desired that it might be published: but the Byshoppe woulde not reade the whole, but here and there a peece of it. So the Notaries tooke his aunswere, that he referred him to his aunswere in writing exhibited now, and also before at the tyme of disputation, M. Doctor Weston beyng prolocutor.

In likewise the Byshop of Lincolne recited the second Article, and required an aunswere,* and M. Ridley referred him to his aunswere in wrytyng, exhybited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like aunsweres were taken to all the residue of the Articles.

These aunsweres in maner rehearsed, taken, and penned of the Notaries, the Byshop of Glocester began an exhortation to moue M. Ridley to turne.*

Glo.

If you would once empty your stomacke, captiuate your senses, subdue your reason, and to gether with vs consider what a feeble ground of your religion you haue, I doe not doubt but you might easely be perduced to acknowledge one Church with vs, to confesse one fayth with vs, and to beleue one religion with vs. For what a weake and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, & Ridley to the singularitie of his owne witte: so that if you ouerthrowe the singularitie of Ridleys wit, then must needes the Religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well M. Ridley, that the Prophet speaketh most truely, saying: vae, vae, wo, wo be to them which are singular and wise in their owne conceytes.

But you wyll saye, here it is true that the Prophete sayth: but how know you that I am wyse in myne owne conceyte? Yes Maister Ridley, you refuse the determination of the Catholike Church: you muste needes bee singular and wyse in your owne conceyte, for you bryng Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and wee also bryng Scriptures: you vnderstande them in one sense, and wee in an other. Howe wyll ye knowe the trueth herein? If you stande to your owne interpretation, then you are singular in your owne conceyte: but if you say you wyll followe the myndes of the Doctors and auncient Fathers, semblably you vnderstande them in one meanyng, and wee take them in another: howe wyll ye knowe the trueth herein? If you stande to your owne iudgement, then are you singular in your owne conceyte, then can you not auoyde the vae and woe which the Prophete speaketh of.

Wherefore, if you haue no stay but the Catholike church in matters of controuersie, except you wyll rest vpon the singularitie and wysedome of your owne brayne, if the Prophet most truely sayth, vae, vae, wo, wo be to them that are wyse in their owne conceite: then for Gods loue M. Ridley stand not singular, be not you wyse in your owne conceite, please not your selfe ouermuch. Howe were the Arrians, the Manicheis, the Futichiās, with other diuers Heretickes which haue bene in the Church, how I pray you were they suppressed and conuincd? by reasonyng in disputations? No truly, the Arrians had mo places of Scriptures for the confirmation of their heresie,* then the Catholickes for the defence of the trueth. Howe then were they conuincd? onely by the termination of the Church. And in deede except we do constitute the Church our foundation, stay, and iudge, we can haue no ende of controuersies, no ende of disputations. For in that we all bryng Scriptures and Doctors for the probation of our assertions,

who shoulde be Iudge of this our controuersie? If we our selues, then be we singular and wise in our owne conceites, then can not we auoyde the woe that the Prophet speaketh of.

It remayneth therefore that we submitte our selues to the determination and arbitrement of the Church, with whom God promised to remayne to the worldes ende, to whom he promised to sende the holy Ghost which shoulde teache it the trueth. Wherefore M. Ridley, if you will auoyd the wo that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wyse in your iudgement: if you wyll not be wyse and singular in your owne iudgement, captiuate your owne vnderstanding, subdue your reason, and submit your selfe to the determination of the Church.

This is briefly the summe of the Oration of the Byshop of Glocester, by the which he endeouored in many mo woordes, amplyfiyng and enlargyng the matter eloquently with sundry poyntes of Rethoricke, to moue affections, to perswade Maister Ridley to recant and forsake his Religion.

To whom M. Ridley aunswered in few wordes,* that he sayd most truly with the Prophet, wo be to him which is wyse in his owe conceite, but that he acknowledged no suche singularitie in hym, ne knewe any cause why he shoulde attribute so muche to him selfe. And where as he [Page 1766](#) sayde Maister Cranmer leaned to hym, that was moste vntrue, in that he was but a young Scholer in comparison of Maister Cranmer: for at what tyme he was a young Scholer, then Maister Cranmer a Doctor, so that he con•essed that M. Cranmer might haue ben his Scholemaister these many yeares. It seemed that he woulde haue spoken more, but the Bishop of Glocester interrupted hym, saying.

Glo.

Why M. Ridley, it is your owne confession, for M. Latimer at the time of his disputations confessed his learyng to lye in M. Cranmers bookes, and M. Cranmer also sayd, that it was your doying.

Linc.

Likewyse the Byshoppe of Lincolne with many woordes and gentle holding his Cappe in hand, desyred him to turne.* But M. Ridley made an absolute aunswere, that he was fully perswaded, the Religion whiche he defended to be grounded vpon Gods worde, and therefore without great offence towardes God, great peryll and damage of his soule, he coulde not forsake his Maister and Lorde God, but desired the Byshop to performe his graunt in that his Lordshyp sayde the day before, that he shoulde haue licence to shewe his cause why he coulde not with a salfe conscience admitte the authoritye of the Pope: but the Byshop of Lincolne sayde, that where as then he had demaunded licence to speake three woordes, he was contented then that he shoulde speake .xl. and that graunt he would performe.

*Then stepped forth D. Weston, which sate by and sayd, why my Lord, he hath spoken foure hundred already.

M. Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The Bishop of Lincolne bad him take his licence: but he shoulde speake but .xl. and he would tell

them vpon his fingers, and eftsoones M. Ridley began to speake:^{*} but before he had ended halfe a sentence, the Doctours sittynge by cryed and sayd, that his number was out, and with that he was put to silence.

After this the Bishop of Lincolne which sat in the middes, began to speake as foloweth.

Linc.

Now I perceiue M. Ridley, you will not permit ne suffer vs to stay in that point of our Commission which we most desired: for I ensure you, there is neuer a worde in our Commission more true then, dolentes & gementes. For in deede I for my part, I take God to witnesse, am sory for you. Whereunto M. Ridley aunswered:

Rid.

I beleue it well my Lord, for as much as one day it will be burdenous to your soule.

Linc.

Nay not so M. Ridley, but because I am sory to see suche stubbornesse in you, that by no meanes you may be perswaded to acknowledge your errorrs, and receiue the truth: but seeyng it is so, because you will not suffer vs to persist in the first, we must of necessitie proceede to the other part of our Commission. Therefore I pray you harken what I shall say,^{*} and forthwith did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long processe: the tenour of which because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meete in this place to omitte, forasmuche as they are rather wordes of course, then thinges deuised vpon deliberation.^{*} Howbeit in deede the effecte was, that for as much as the sayd Nic. Ridley dyd affirme▪ maintaine, and stubbornely defende certaine opions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the worde of God, and the receiued fayth of the Church, as in denying the true and naturall body of Christe, and his naturall bloud to be the Sacrament of the Altar: Secundarily in affermyng the substaunce of bread and wine to remayne after the wordes of the Consecration: Thirdly in denying the Masse to be a liuely Sacrifice of the Church for the quicke and the dead, and by no meanes woulde be perduced and brought from these his heresies, they therefore the sayde Iohn of Lincolne, Iames of Glocester, Iohn of Bristowe, did iudge and condemne the sayd Nic. Ridley, as an Hereticke, and so adiudged hym presently both by woorde and also in deede to be degraduated from the degree of a Byshoppe, from Pristhoode and all Ecclesiasticall order: declaryng moreouer the sayde Nic. Ridley to be no member of the Church, and therefore committed hym to the secular powers, of them to receyue due punishment accordyng to the tenour of the temporalll lawes: and further excommunicatyng hym by the great excommunication.

¶The last appearaunce and examination of M Latimer before the Commissioners.

^{*}This sentence beyng published by the Bishop of Lincolne, M. Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the Maior, and immediatly M. Latimer was sent for: but in the meane season the Carpet or cloth whiche lay vpon the table whereat M. Ridley stode, was remoued, because (as men reported) M. Latimer had neuer the degree o^r a Doctor as M. Ridley had. But eftsones as M.

Latimer appeared as he did the day before, perceiuyng no cloth vpon the table, layde his hat, which was an olde felte vnder his elbowes, and immediatly spake to the Commissioners, saying:

Lati

My Lordes, I beseech your Lordships to set a better order here at your entraunce: for I am an olde man and haue a very euill backe, so that the presse of the multitude doth me much harme.

Linc.

I am sory M. Latimer for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.

With that M. Latimer thanked his Lordshyp, making a very low curtesie. After this the Bishop of Lincolne began on this manner.

Linc.

M. Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your aunsweres to those Articles whiche we proposed, might haue iustly proceeded to iudgement against you,* especially in that you required the same, yet we hauyng a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you woulde recant, reuoke your errorrs, and turne to the Catholicke Church, differred farther processe tyll this day, and now accordyng to the appoyntment, we haue called you here before vs, to heare whether you are content to reuoke your hereticall assertions, and submitte your selfe to the determination of the Church, as we most hartely desire, and I for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly doe exhort you, eyther to know whether you perseuer still the man that you were, for the which we would be sory.

It seemed that the Bishop woulde haue farther proceeded, sauynge that M. Latimer interrupted hym, saying:

Lati.

Your Lordship often doth repeate the Catholike Church, as though I should deny the same. No my Lord,* I confesse there is a Cotholicke Church, to the determination of the which I will stande, but not the Churche which you call Catholicke, which soner might be termed diabolike. And where as you ioyn together the Romish and Catholicke Church, stay there I pray you. For it is an other thing to say Romish Church, and an other thing to say Catholicke Church:* I must vse here in this myne aunswere the counsell of Cyprianus, who at what tyme he was ascited before certayne Bishoppes that gaue him leaue to take deliberation and counsell to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: in stickyng and perseueryng in the truth, there must no counsel, nor delibera, tion be taken. And agayne beyng demaunded of them sitting in iudgement, which was most like to be of y^e Church of Christe, either he whiche was persecuted, eyther they which did persecute: Christ, sayd he, hath foreshewed, that he that doth follow hym, must take vp his crosse and follow him. Christ gaue knowledge that the disciples should haue persecution and trouble. Howe thinke you then my Lords, is it like y^e the sea of Rome,* which hath bene a continual persecutor, is rather the Church, or that swal flocke which hath continually ben

persecuted of it euen to death? Also the flock of Christ hath ben but few in comparison to the residue, and euer in subiection: which he proued, beginning at No•s tyme euen to the Apostles.

Linc.

Your cause and S. Cyprians is not one, but cleane contrary, for he suffered persecution for Christes sake and the Gospell: but you are in trouble for your errours and false assertions, contrary to the worde of God, and the receiued trueth of the Church.

Lati.

M. Latimer interruptyng hym, sayd: yes verely,* my cause is as good as S. Cyprians: for his was for the worde of God and so is myne.

But Lincolne goeth forth in his talke.

Also at the beginnyng and foundation of the Church, it coulde not be but that the Apostles shoulde suffer great persecution. Further, before Christes commyng, continually there were very fewe whiche truely serued God: but after his commyng beganne the tyme of grace, then beganne the Church to encrease, and was continually augmented vntyll that it came vnto this perfection,* and now hath iustly that iurisdiction whiche the vnchristian Princes before by tyranny dyd resist: there is a diuerse consideration of the estate of the Church nowe in the tyme of grace, and before Christes commyng. But Maister Latimer, although we had instructions geuen vs determinately to take your aunswere to suche Articles as we shoulde propose, without any reasonyng or disputations, yet wee hoppyng by talke somewhat to preuayle with you, appoynted you to appeare before vs yesterday in the Diuinitie Schole, a place for disputations. And whereas then notwithstanding you had licence to saye [Page 1767](#) your mynde, and were aunswared to euery matter, yet you coulde not be brought from your errours. We thynkyng that from that tyme ye would with good aduisement consider your state, gaue you respite from that tyme yesterday when we dismissed you,* vntill this tyme, and now haue called you agayne here in this place, by your aunsweres to learne whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we wyll propose vnto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate aunswere, without farther reasoning, and eftsones recited the first article.

Lati.

Alwayes my protestation saued, that by these mine answeres it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your Lordshippes authority in that you are legased by authoritie of the Pope, so that thereby I might seeme to consent to his iurisdiction, to the fyrst article I aunswere now as I did yesterday, that in the Sacrament the worthy receyuer receiueth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his bloud by spirite and grace. But after that corporall being which the Romish Church prescribeth, Christes body & bloud is not in the Sacrament vnder the formes of bread and wine.

The Notaries toke his aunswere to be affirmatiuely. For the seconde article,* he referred hymselfe to his aunsweres made before.

Linc.

After this the Bishop of Lincolne recited the third article, and required a determinate aunswere.

Lat.

Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and that a perfecte sacrifice, neyther needeth there to be any other, neyther can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice.

The Notaries tooke his aunswere to bee affirmatiuely.

In like maner did he aunswere to the other articles, not varying from his aunsweres made the day before.

After his aunsweres were penned of the Notaries, and the Bishop of Lincolne had exhorted him in like sort to recant as he dyd M. Ridley, and reuoke his errours and false assertions, and M. Latimer had answered that he ne could,* ne would deny his maister Christ and his veritie, the Bishop of Lincolne desired M. Latimer to harken to him, and then maister Latimer harkening for some new matter and other talke, the Byshop of Lincolne red his condemnation, after the publication of the which, the sayd three Bishops brake vp their Sessions, and dimissed the audience.

But M. Latimer required the Bishop to performe his promyse,* in saying the daye before, that he shoulde haue licence briefly to declare the causes why he refused the Popes authoritie.

Lincol.

But the Byshop sayde, that now he coulde not heare hym, neither ought to talke with hym.

Then M. Latimer asked hym whether it were not lawfull for him to appeale from this his iudgement. And the Byshop asked hym againe, to whom he would appeale. To the next generall Counsell, quoth M. Latimer, whiche shalbe truely called is Gods name.* With that appellation the Byshop was content: but he sayd it would be a long season before suche a conuocation as he ment would be called.

Then the Byshop committed M. Latimer to the Maior, saying: now he is your prisoner maister Maior. Because the presse of people was not yet diminished, ech man lookyng for farther processe, the Byshop of Lincolne commaunded auoydance, and willed M. Latimer to tary tyl the presse were diminished lest he shoulde take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entraunce. And so continued Byshop Ridley, and M. Latimer in durance till the .16. day of the sayd moneth of October.

¶A communication betweene D. Brokes, and D. Ridley, in M. Irysh his house, the xv. day of October, at which tyme he was degraded.

IN the meane season vpon the 15. day in the mornyng, and the same yeare aboue sayd,^{*} the Byshop of Glocester Doct. Brokes, and the Uicechauncelour of Oxford Doct. Marshall,^{*} with diuerse other of the chiefe and heades of the same Uniuersitie, and many other moe accompanying with them, came vnto M. Irish his house then Maior of Oxforde, where D. Ridley, late Byshop of London was close prisoner. And when the Byshop of Glocester came into the chamber where the sayde D. Ridley did lye, he told him for what purpose their comming was vnto him, saying:^{*} that yet once agayne the Queenes Maiestie did offer vnto hym by them, her gracious mercy, if that he woulde receiue the same, and come home agayne to the fayth which he was Baptised in, & reuoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destructiō of many. And further said, that if he would not recant, and become one of the Catholicke Church with them, then they must needes (against their willes) proceede according to the lawe, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise. But (sayth he) we haue bene often tim^s with you, and haue requested that you would recant this your fantastickall & deuilish opinion, where hytherto you haue not, although you might in so doing winne many, and do much good. Therefore good M. Ridley, consyder with your selfe the daunger that shall ensue both of body and soule, if that you shall so wilfully cast your selfe away in refusing mercy offered vnto you at this time.

My Lord, quoth D. Ridley, you know my mynd fully herein: and as for the doctrine which I haue taught,^{*} my conscience assureth me that it was sounde, & accordyng to Gods word (to his glory be it spoken) the which doctrine the Lord God beyng my helper, I wyll mayntaine so long as my tongue shall wagge,^{*} and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof, seale the same with my bloud.

Brok.

Well, you were best, M. Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the Church with vs. For you know this well enough, that whosoeuer is out of the Catholike church, can not be saued: therefore I say once agayne, that whiles you haue time and mercy offered you, receiue it, and confesse with vs the Popes holynes to be the chiefe head of the same Church.^{*}

Rid.

I marueyle that you wyll trouble me with any suche vayne and foolysh talke. You know my mynd concerning the vsurped authoritie of the Romishe Antichrist. As I confessed openly in the Scholes, so do I now, that both by my behauiour and talke I do no obedience at all vnto the Byshop of Rome, nor to his vsurped authoritie, and that for diuers good and godly considerations. And here Doct. Ridley would haue reasoned with the sayde Brokes Byshop of Glocester,^{*} of the Byshop of Romes authorities, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly agaynst the Pope therein, that the Byshop told hym, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled agaynst his wyll. And seeyng sayth he, that you wyll not receiue the Queenes mercy now offered vnto you, but stubburnly refuse the same, we must, against our wils, proceede according to our Commission to disgradyng, takyng from you the dignitie of Priesthode. For we take you for no Byshop, and therefore we will the sooner haue done with you: so, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.

Rid.

Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my hart.

Brok.

Put of your cap M. Ridley, and put vpon you this surples.

Rid.

Not I truly.*

Brok.

But you must.

Rid.

I wyll not.

Brok.

You must: therefore make no more a do, but put this surples vpon you.

Rid.

Truly if it come vpon me, it shalbe against my wil.

Brok.

Will you not do it vpon you?

Rid.

No, that I will not.

Brok.

It shalbe put vpon you by one or other.

Rid.

Do therein as it shall please you. I am well contented with that, and more then that: the seruaunt is not aboute his Maister. If they delt so cruelly with our Sauour Christe, as the Scripture maketh

mention, and he suffered the same patiently, howe much more doth it become vs his seruants? and in saying of these wordes they put vpon the sayde Doctor Ridley the surples, with all the trinkettes appertaynyng to the Masse, and as they were puttyng on the same,* Doctor Ridley did vehemently inuey against the Romysh Byshyp and all that foolysh apparell, callyng hym Antichrist, and the apparell foolysh and abominable, yea to fond for a Uice in a play, in so much that Brokes was exceeding angry with him, and bad hym holde his peace. For he dyd but rayle. Doct. Ridley aunswere agayne, and sayde: so long as his tounge and breath would suffer hym, he would speake agaynst their abominable doynges, what so euer happened vnto hym for so doyng.

Brok.

Well, you were best to holde your peace, lest your mouth be stopped. At which wordes one Edridge, the reader then of the Greeke Lecture standing by, sayd to Doct. Brokes: Syr, the lawe is he should be gagged, therefore let hym be gagged. At which wordes Doct. Ridley lookyng earnestly vpon him that so sayd, wagged his head at hym, and made no aunswere agayne, but with a sigh sayd: Oh well, well, well.

So they proceeded in their doinges: yet neuerthelesse [Page 1768](#) D. Ridley was euer talkyng things not pleasant to their eares,* although one or other bad hym hold his peace, least he should be caused against his wyll.

When as they came to that place where as D. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called •he singyng bread) they bade hym holde the same in hys hande. And Doct. Ridley sayd: they shal not come in my hands, for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me. Then there was one appoynted to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brookes red a certayne thyng in Latine, touching the degradation of spirituall persones, accordyng to the Popes law.

Afterward they put a booke in hys hand, and withall red (as is before sayd) a certayne thing in Latin, the effect therof was: We do take from you the office of preachyng the Gospel,* &c. At which wordes, D. Ridley gaue a great s•gh, lookyng vp toward heauen, saying: Oh Lorde God forgeue them this their wickednes.

And as they put vpon hym the Masse geare, so they began with the vppermost garment, in taking it away agayne, reading a thyng in Latine, accordyng to the order containyd in the sayd booke of the Popes law. Now whē all was taken from him sauynge onely the surples left on his backe, as they were readyng and takyng it away, D. Ridley sayd vnto them: Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he neuer had? I was neuer singer in all my lyfe, and yet you will take from me that which I neuer had.

So when all this their abhominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnely,* D. Ridley sayde vnto D. Brookes, haue you done? If you haue done, then geue me leaue to talke with you a little, concernyng these matters. Brookes answered and said: M. Ridley, we may not talke with you, you be out of the Church, and our law is that we may not talke with any that be out of y^e church. Then M. Ridley sayd: seeyng that you will not suffer me to talke, neyther will

vouchsafe to heare me, what remedy but patience? I referre my cause to my heauenly Father, who will reforme thynges that be amisse, when it shall please hym.

At which words they would haue bene gone, but that M. Ridley sayd: My L. I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read ouer and peruse a litle booke of Bertrams doyngs concernyng the Sacrament, I promise you, you shall finde much good learnyng therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent iudgement.* D. Brookes made no aunswer to this, but would haue bene gone away. Then M. Ridley sayd: Oh, I perceyue that you cannot away with this maner of talke. Well, it bootes not, I will say no more, I wil speake of worldly affaires. I pray you therfore (my Lord) heare me, and be a meane to the Queenes maiestie, in the behalfe of a great many of poore men, and especially for my poore sister and her husband, which standeth there. They had a poore liuing grāted vnto them by me,* whiles I was in the Sea of London, and the same is taken away from them, by hym that now occupieth the same rounge, without all law or conscience.

Here I haue a Supplication to the Queenes maiestie in their behalves. You shal heare the same red: so shal you perceyue the matter the better. Then he red the same, and when he came to the place in the Supplication, that touched hys Sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speake for weepyng. After that hee had left of weepyng, he sayde: This is nature that mooueth mee. But I haue now done, and with that read out the rest, and deliuered the same to hys Brother, commaundyng hym to put it vp to the Queenes Maiestie,* and to sue, not onely for hymselfe, but also for suche as had any Leases or Grauntes by hym, and were put from the same by Doctour Boner then Byshop of London, whereunto Brookes sayd: In deede Maister Ridley your request in this Supplication is very lawfull and honest: therfore I must needes in conscience speake to the Queenes Maiestie for them.

Ridley.

I pray you for Gods sake do so.

Brookes.

I thinke your request will be granted, except one thyng let it, and that is (I feare) because you do not allow the Queenes proceedyngs, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be graunted.

Ridley.

What remedy, I can doe no more but speake and write, I trust I haue discharged my conscience therein, and Gods will be done.

Brokes.

I will doe what lyeth in me.

The copy of this supplication written to the Queene, here followeth.

¶M. Ridley to the Queenes Maiestie.

IT may please your Maiestie for Christ our Sauours sake,* in a matter of conscience (and now not for my selfe but for other poore men) to vouchsafe to heare and vnderstande this mine humble supplication. It is so (honourable princesse) that in the tyme whyles I was in the Ministerie of the Sea of London diuers poore men Tenants thereof, haue taken new Leases of their Tenantries and holdyngs, and some haue renewed and chaunged their old, and therefore haue payed fines and summes of money, both to me, and also to the Chapter of Paules, for the confirmation of the same.

Now I heare say that the Bishop which occupieth the same rouse now, will not allow the foresayd Leases, which must redound to many poore mens vtter ruine and decay.* Wherefore this is myne humble supplication vnto your honourable grace, that it may please the same for Christes sake to be vnto the foresayd poore men their gracious patronesse and defender, eyther that they may enioy their foresayd Leases and yeares renewed, as (I suppose) when their matter shall be heard with consciēce, both iustice, conscience, and equitie shall require, for that their Leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraude or couen, eyther of theyr part, or of myne, and alwayes also the olde •ents reserued to the Sea without any kynd of damage thereof: or if this will not be graunted, then that it may please your gracious highnesse to commaund that the poore men may be restored to their former Leases and yeares and to haue rendered to them agayne such sūmes of mony as they payd to me, & to that chapterhouse for their Leases & yeares, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines payed to me, may bee easily done, if it shall please your Maiestie to commaund some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fledde in hope of pardon for my trespasses towards your grace, which goodes (as I haue heard) be yet reserued in the same house. I suppose that halfe of the value of my plate which I left in myne offices, and specially in an iron chest in my bed chamber,* will goe nigh to restore all suche fines receyued, the true summes and parcels whereof, are not set in their Leases: and therefore if that way shall please your highnesse, they must be knownen by such wayes and meanes, as your Maiestie by the aduise of men of wisdom and conscience shall appoynt: but yet for Christes sake I craue and most humbly beseech your Maiestie of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I haue also a poore Sister that came to me out of the North, with three fatherlesse children, for her reliefe, whome I married after to a seruauent of myne owne house: she is put out of that I did prouide for them. I beseech your honourable grace that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I neuer had of hym, which suffered indurance at my entrance to the Sea of London, not one peny of his moueable goodes, for it was almost halfe a yeare after hys deposition, afore I did enter into that place: yea, and also if any were left, knownen to be hys, hee had lycence to cary it away, or there for his vse it did lye safe, as hys officers do know. I payd for the lead which I found there,* when I occupied any of it to the behoofe of the Church or of the house. And moreouer, I had not onelye no part of hys moueable goods, but also (as hys olde receyuer and then myne, called M. Stanton, can testifie) I paid for him towards hys seruauents common lieries and wages, after hys deposition, 53 or 55. poundes, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable Maiestie to heare the aduise of men of conscience, and in especially the Archbishop of Yorke, which for that hee was continually in my house a yeare and more, before myne imprisonment, I suppose he is not

altogether ignorant of some part of these thyngs, and also hys grace doth knowe my Sister, for whose succour and some reliefe, now vnto your highnes I make most humble sute.

The 16. day of Octob. An. 1555.

N. R.

This degradation beyng past, and all thynges finished, D. Brookes called the Bailiffes, deliueying to them M. Ridley with this charge, to keepe him safely from any man speaking with hym,* and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then M. Ridley in praying God, brast out with these words & sayd: God I thanke thee, and to thy prayse be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely bee layd in my lappe, I see very well. Whereunto Brookes sayd, he played the part of a proud Pharisey, exalting and praying hymselfe.

But M. Ridley sayd: No, no, no, as I haue sayd before, to Gods glory be it spoken. I confesse my selfe to bee a miserable wretched sinner, and haue great need of Gods helpe and mercy, and doe daily call and cry for the same: therefore I pray you haue no such opinion in me. Then they departed, and in goyng away, a certaine Warden of a Colledge, of whose name I am not very sure, bad Doct. [Page 1769](#) Ridley repent hym, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto M. R•dley sayd: Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it be his blessed will) haue mercy vpon you, and graunt you the vnderstanding of his worde.* Then the Warden beyng in a chafe thereat, sayd: I trust that I shall neuer be of your erroneous and diuelish opinion, neyther yet to bee in that place whether you shal go. He is (saith he) the most obstinatest and wilfullest man that euer I heard talke since I was borne.

¶The behauiour of D. Ridley at his supper, the night before his suffering.

The night before he suffred, his beard was washed, and his legs, and as he sate at supper the same night at M. Irishes (who was his keeper) he had his hostesse, and the rest at the boord, to his mariage: for (saith he) to morrowe I must be married, and so shewed hymselfe to bee as mery as euer he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his mariage, he asked hys brother sitting at the Table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no, and he answered, yea, I dare say, with all her heart: at which word he sayd, he was glad to heare of her so much therein. So at this talke maistres Irish wept.

But M. Ridley comforted her, and sayd: Oh maistres Irishe, you loue me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weepe, it doth appeare you will not be at my mariage, neither are content therewith. In deede you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had bene. But quiet your selfe: though my breakefast shall be somewhat sharpe and paynfull, yet I am sure, my supper shalbe more pleasant and sweete, &c.

When they arose from the Table, hys brother offered hym to watch all night with hym.* But he said, no, no, that you shall not. For I mynd (God willyng) to goe to bed, and to sleepe as quietly to night, as euer I did in my lyfe. So hys brother departed, exhortyng hym to bee of good cheere, and to take hys Crosse quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

***The behauour of D. Ridley and M. Latymer, at the tyme of their death, which was the 16. of October. An. 1555.**

*VPon the Northside of the towne, in the ditch ouer against Baily Colledge, the place of execution was appoynted: and for feare of any tumult that might aryse, to let the burnyng of them, the L. Williams was commaunded by the Queenes letters, and the householders of the Citie to be there assistant, sufficiently appoynted, & when euery thyng was in a readines, the prisoners were brought forth by the Maior and Bailiffes.

M. Ridley had a faire blacke gounne furred, and faced with foines, such as he was woont to weare beyng Bish. and a tippet of veluet furred likewise about his necke, a veluet night cap vpon his hed, & a corner cappe vpon the same, goyng in a paire of slippers to the stake, & going betweene the Maior and an Alderman, &c.

After hym came M. Latimer in a poore Bristow freeze frocke all worne, with hys buttoned cap, and a kerchiefe on his hed, all redy to the fire, a new long shroud hanging ouer his hose downe to the feete, which at the first sight, stirred mens hearts to rue vpon them, beholdyng on the one side, the honour they sometyme had, on the other, the calamitie whereunto they were fallen.

M. Doctor Ridley, as hee passed towards Bocardo, lookyng vp where M. Cranmer did lye, hoppyng belike to haue seene hym at the glasse window, and to haue spoken vnto hym. But then M. Cranmer was busie with Frier Soto & his fellowes disputyng together, so that he could not see hym through that occasion.* Then M. Ridley lookyng backe, espied M. Latymer commyng after. Unto whome he sayd: Oh be ye there. Yea sayd M. Latymer, haue after as fast as I can follow. So he following a prety way of, at lenth they came both to the stake, one after the other, where first D. Ridley entring the place, maruelous earnestly holding vp both his hands, loked towards heauen: then shortly after espying M. Latimer, with a wonderous cheerefull looke, ranne to hym, embraced, and kissed hym, and as they that stoode neare reported, comforted hym,* saying: be of good heart brother, for GOD will either asswage the fury of the flame, or els strengthen vs to abyde it.

With that went he to the stake, kneeled downe by it, kissed it, most effectuously prayed, and behynd him M. Latymer kneled, as earnestly callyng vpon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little whyle, tyll they which were appoynted to see the execution remooued themselues out of the sunne. What they sayd, I can learne of no man.

Then Doctor Smith,* of whose recantation in K. Edwards tyme, ye heard before, began his Sermon to them, vpon this text of Saint Paule, in the xiiij. chapter of the first Epistle to the Corrinthians: Si corpus meum trad•m igni, charitatem autem non habeo, nihil inde vtilitatis capio: That is, If I yeld my body to the fire to be burnt, & haue not Charitie, I shall gayne nothyng thereby. Where in he alledged, that the goodnesse of the cause, and not the order of death: maketh the holynes of the person: Which he confirmed by the examples of Iudas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her selfe, for that they and suche lyke as he recited, might thē be adiudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lyues from their bodies,* as he feared that those men that stood before hym would do. But he cryed stil to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and dyed out of the Church. And on the other side, he declared

their diuersities in opinions, as Lutherians, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians,* of which secte they were, (he sayd) and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the Catholike fayth beleueed far otherwyse, At which place they lifted vp both their handes and eyes to heauen, as it were calling God to witnes of the truth. The which countenaunce they made in many other places of his Sermon, where as they thought hee spake amisse. He ended with a very short exhortation to them, to recant and come home agayne to the church, and saue their lyues and soules, which els were condemned. His sermō was scant in all a quarter of an houre.

Doctor Ridley sayd to Maister Latymer, will you beginne to aunswer the Sermon, or shall I? Maister Latimer sayd, begin you first I pray you. I will sayd Maister Ridley.

Then the wicked Sermon beyng ended,* Doctor Ridley and Maister Latymer kneled down vpon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the Uicechancellor of Oxford, and dyuers other Commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate vpon a forme therby. Unto whome Maister Ridley sayd: I beseech you my Lord euen for Christes sake, that I may speake but two or three wordes: and whylest my Lord bent hys head to the Maior and Uicechauncellour, to know (as it appeared) whether he myght geue hym leaue to speake, the Bailiffes and Doctour Marshall Uicechancellour ranne hastily vnto hym,* and with theyr handes stopped hys mouthe and sayd: Maister Ridley, if you will reuoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not onely haue libertie so to doe, but also the benefite of a subiect, that is, haue your lyfe. Not otherwyse sayd Maister Ridley? No quoth Doctor Marshall: therefore if you will not doe so, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your desertes. Well (quoth M. Ridley) so long as the breath is in my body, I will neuer deny my Lord Christ, and hys knowen truth: Gods will be done in me.* And with that he rose vp, and sayd with a lowde voyce: Well, then I commit our cause to almighty God, which shall indifferently iudge all.

To whose saying, Maister Latymer added hys olde Posie. Well,* there is nothyng hidde but it shall bee opened: and he sayd he could aunswere Smith well enough if he myght bee suffered. Incontinently they were commaunded to make them ready, which they with all mekenesse obeyed. Maister Ridley tooke his gown and his tippet, and gaue it to his brother in law M. Shepside, who all his tyme of imprisonment,* although he might not bee suffred to come to hym, laye there at his owne charges to prouide him necessities, which from tyme to tyme, he sent him by the Sergeant that kept hym. Some other of hys apparell that was little woorth, he gaue away, other the Bailifs tooke.

He gaue away besides, diuers other small thynges to Gentlemen standyng by,* and diuers of them pitifully wepyng, as to sir Henry Lea, he gaue a new grote, and to diuers of my L. Williams gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his Diall, and such other thyngs as he had about hym, to euery one that stooode next hym. Some plucked the pointes of his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of hym.

M. Latymer gaue nothyng, but very quietly suffered his keper to pull of his hose, and his other aray,* which to looke vnto was very simple: and beyng stripped into hys shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see: and where as in his clothes, he appeared a withered and crooked silke olde man, he now stood bolt vpright, as comely a fater as one might lightly behold.

Then M. Ridley standyng as yet in hys trusse, sayde [Page 1770](#) to his brother: it were best for me to goe in my trusse still. No (quoth hys brother) it will put you to more payne: and the trusse will do a poore man good. Whereunto Maister Ridley sayd: be it, in the name of God, and so vnclaced hymselfe.* Then beyng in his shirt, he stoode vpon the foresayd stone, and held vp hys handes and sayd: Oh heauenly Father, I geue vnto thee most hartly thanks, for that thou hast called me to bee a professour of thee, euen vnto death. I beseech thee Lord GOD take mercy vpon this Realme of England, and deliuer the same from all her enemies.

Then the Smith tooke a chaine of iron, and brought the same about both D. Ridleys, and M. Latimers middles: and as he was knockyng in a staple, D. Ridley took the chayne in his hand, and shaked the same, for it did gird in his belly, and lookyng aside to the Smith, sayd: good fellow knocke it in hard, for the flesh will haue hys course. Then his brother did bring hym gunpowder in a bag,* and would haue tied the same about hys necke. M. Ridley asked what it was. His brother said gunpowder. Then sayd he, I take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receyue it as sent of hym. And haue you any sayd he, for my brother, meanyng M. Latymer? Yea sir, that I haue (quoth hys brother.) Then geue it vnto hym sayd he, betyme, least ye come to late. So hys brother went, and caried of the same gunpowder vnto M. Latymer.

In the meane tyme D. Ridley spake vnto my L. Williams, and sayd: My L. I must be a suter vnto your lordship, in the behalfe of diuers poore men, and especially in the cause of my poore Sister: I haue made a supplication to the Queenes Maiestie in their behalves. I beseech your Lordship for Christes sake, to bee a meane to her grace for them. My brother here hath the Supplication, and wyll resort to your lordship to certifie you hereof. There is nothing in all the world y^t troubleth my conscience (I praise God) this onely excepted. Whiles I was in the Sea of London, diuers poore men tooke Leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I heare say, the B. that now occupieth the same rouse, wil not allow my graunts vnto them made, but contrary vnto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their liuynges, and will not suffer them to enioy the same. I beseech you my Lord, be a mean for them: you shall doe a good deed, and God wil reward you.

*Then brought they a fagot kindled with fire, and layd the same downe at D. Ridleys feete. To whome Maister Latymer spake in this maner: Be of good comfort maister Ridley, and play the man: wee shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as (I trust) shall neuer be put out.

And so the fire beyng geuen vnto them, when D. Ridley saw the fire flamyng vp toward hym, he cryed wyth a wonderfull lowd voyce: *In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum, Domine recipe spiritum meum, and after repeated this latter part often in English: Lord, Lord, receyue my spirit: M. Latymer crying as vehemently on the other side: Oh Father of Heauen, receyue my soule: who receyued the flame as it were embrasing of it. After, as he had stroked hys face with hys hands, & (as it were) bathed them a little in the fire, he soone died (as it appered) with very litle payne or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed seruaunt of God, M. Latymer, for whose laborious trauails, fruitfull lyfe, & constāt death, the whole Realme hath cause to geue great thanks to almighty God.

But M. Ridley by reason of the euill making of the fire vnto hym,* because the wooden fagots were laid about the gosse, and ouer high built, the fire burned first beneath, beyng kept downe by the woode. Which when he felt, hee desired them for Christs sake to let the fire come vnto him. Which when hys brother in law heard, but not well vnderstood, entending to ridde hym out of his payne (for the which cause he gaue attendance) as one in such sorow, not well aduised what he did, heaped fagots vpon hym, so that he cleane couered hym, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned cleane all hys neather parts before it once touched the vpper, and that made him leape vp and downe vnder the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come vnto him, saying: I cannot burne. Which in deed appeared well: for after hys legs were consumed by reason of his struglyng through the payne (whereof he had no release,* but only his contentation in God) he shew'ed that side toward vs clean, shirt and all vntouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgate not to call vnto God still, hauyng in his mouth: Lord haue mercy vppon me, intermedling this cry, let the fire come vnto me, I can not burne. In which paynes he laboured, till one of the standers by with his bill, pulled of the fagots aboue, and where he saw the fire flame vp,* hee wrested himselfe vnto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpouder, hee was seene stirre no more, but burned on the other side, fallyng downe at M. Latymers feete. Which some said hapned, by reason that the chaine loosed: other sayd that he fell ouer the chaine by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakenes of the neather limmes.

Some say that before he was like to fall from the stake he desired them to holde him to it with their billes. Howsoever it was, surely it moued hundredes to teares, in beholding the horrible sight. For I thinke there was none that had not cleane exiled all humanitie and mercy,* which would not haue lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage vpon their bodies. Signes there were of sorrowe on euery side. Some tooke it greuously to see their deaths, whose lyues they held full deare. Some pitied their persons that thought theyr soules had no neede thereof. His brother mooued many men, seying his miserable case: seeyng (I say) hym compelled to such infelicitie, y^t he thought then to doe hym best seruice, when he hastened hys ende. Some cryed out of the lucke, to see his endeour, who most dearely loued hym, and sought his release, turne to hys greater vexation, and encrease of payne. But who so considered their preferments in tyme past, the places of honor that they sometime occupied in this common wealth, the fauour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learnyng they had, could not chuse but sorow with teares, to see so great dignitie, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly vertues, the study of so many yeares, such excellent learnyng, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Wel, dead they are, and the reward of this world they haue already. What reward remayneth for them in heauen, the day of the Lordes glory when he commeth with his saints, shall shortly I trust declare.

Albeit I haue differred and put ouer many treatises, letters, & exhortations belongyng to the story of the Martyrs, vnto the latter appendix in the ende of this volume: thinkyng also to haue done the lyke with these farewels, & exhortations followyng of D. Ridley, yet for certain purposes moouing me thereunto, and especially consideryng the fruitfull admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations conteyned in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adioyne the sayd tractations of that learned pastour, with the lyfe and story of the authour. Whereof the two first be in a manner of hys farewels, the one to his kinsfolks, and generally to all the faithfull of the number of Christes congregation: the other more speciall to the prisoners, and banished Christiāns in the gospels cause: the third containeth a fruitfull and a

generall admonition to the cite of London, and to all other, with necessary precepts of christian office, as by the tenour of them here followeth in order to be seene.

¶A treatise or a letter written by D. Ridley, in steade of his last farewell, to all hys true and faythfull friendes in God, with a sharpe admonition withall vnto the Papistes.

AT the name of Iesus let euery knee bow, both of thynges in heauen, and thynges in earth,* and things vnder the earth, and let euery tongue confesse, that Iesus Christ is the lord vnto y^e glory of God the Father, Amen.

As a man mynding to take a farre iourney, and to depart from his familiar friendes, commonly and naturally hath a desire, to bidde his friendes farewell, before his departure: so lykewise now I looking daylye, when I should be cauled to depart hence from you, (O all ye my dearely beloued brethren, & sisters in our Sauour Christ that dwell here in this worlde) hauing a lyke mynde towards you all (and blessed be God for such tyme and leasure, whereof I right hartely thanke his heauenly goodnesse:) to byd you all my deare brethren & sisters (I saye in Christ) that dwell vpon the earth, after such maner as I can, Farewell.

Farewell my deare brother George Shippside, whom I haue euer found faythfull, trusty, and louyng in all s^tate and conditions, and now in the tyme of my crosse, ouer al other to me most frendly and stedfast, and that which lyked me best, ouer all other thynges, in Gods cause euer hartye.

Farewell my deare sister Alice his wyfe. I am glad to heare of thee,* that thou doest take Christes crosse which is layd now (blessed be God) both on thy backe and myne, in good part. Thanke thou God that hath geuen thee a godly and louyng husband: see thou honour hym, and obey hym, accordyng to Gods law, Honour thy mother in law [Page 1771](#) hys mother, and loue all those that pertaine vnto him, beyng redy to do them good, as it shall lye in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that hee which hath geuen him an hart to loue and feare God, and in God them that pertaine vnto him, shall also make hym friendly and beneficiall vnto thy children, euen as if they had bene gotten of his owne body.

*Farewell my welbeloued brother Iohn Ridley of the Waltoun, and you my gentle and louing sister Elizabeth: whom besides the naturall league of amitie, your tender loue, which you were sayde euer to beare towards mee aboue the rest of your brethren, doth bynde mee to loue. My mynde was to haue acknowledged this your louyng affection, and to haue acquitted it with deedes and not with wordes alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whome I loue for the meeke and gentle spirite that God hath geuen her, which is a precious thyng in y^e sight of God.

*Farewell my beloued sister of Unthanke, with al your children nephewes and neeces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my mynd was to haue bene vnto them in stead of their father, but the Lord God must and wyll bee their father, if they will loue hym and feare hym, and lye in the trade of hys law.

*Farewel my welbeloued and worshipful Cosins, M. Nich. Ridley of Willimountswike, and your wyfe, and I thanke you for all your kindnes shewed both to me, and also to all your owne

kinsfolke and myne. Good Cosine, as God hath set you in our stocke and kindered (not for any respect of your person, but of hys aboundaunt grace and goodnesse, to be as it were the belweather to order, & conduct the rest, and hath also endued you with hys manifold gyfts of grace, both heauenly and worldly aboue others: so I pray you good Cosin (as my trust and hope is in you) continue and encrease in the maintenaunce of the truth, honesty, righteousnesse, and all true godlinesse, and to the vttermost of your power, to withstand falshood, vntruth, vnrighteousnesse, and all vngodlinesses, whiche is forbidden and condemned by the worde and Lawes of God.

*Farewell my young Cosin Rafe Whitfield. Oh your tyme was very short with mee. My mynde was to haue done you good, and yet you caught in that litle time a losse, but I trust it shall bee recompensed, as it shall please almighty God.

Farewel all my whole kinred and countreyemen, farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my harts desire, my hope was of late that I should haue come among you, & to haue brought with me abundance of Christes blessed Gospell, according to the duetie of that office and ministerie, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerelesse Prince K. Edward, and so also denounced openly in his Court, by his priuy Counsaile.

I warne you all my welbeloued kinsfolke & countrymen, that ye be not amased or astonied at the kynde of my departure, or dissolution: for I ensure you, I thinke it the most honour that euer I was called vnto in all my lyfe, and therefore I thanke my Lord God hartily for it,* that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy vnto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and in hys cause: vnto the which honour he hath called the holy Prophetes and dearly beloued Apostles, and his blessed chosen Martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are Gods causes, and the causes of the truth, then I doubt that the Gospell which Iohn wrote, is the Gospell of Christ, or that Paules Epistles are the very word of God. And to haue a hart willyng to abide, and stand in Gods cause and in Christes quarell euen vnto death, I ensure thee (O mā) it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, geuen onely to the true elects and derely beloued childrē of God, and inheritours of the kingdome of heauen. For the holy Apostle and also Martyr in Christes cause S. Peter, saith: If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ,* that is, in Christes cause, and for hys truths sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the spirit of God resteth vpon you. If for rebukes sake suffred in Christes name, a mā is pronounced by the mouth of that holy Apostle, blessed & happy: How much more happy & blessed is hee that hath the grace to suffer death also? Wherefore, all ye that bee my true louers and friends, reioyce, and reioyce with mee againe, & render with me hartie thanks to God our heauēly father, that for his sonnes sake my sauour & redeemer Christ,* he hath vouchsafed to call me, beyng els without his gracious goodnes, in my selfe but a sinnefull & a vyle wretch, to call me (I say) vnto this high dignitie of hys true Prophets, of his faithfull Apostles, & of his holy elect & chosen Martyrs, that is, to dye and to spend this temporall lyfe in the defence & maintenance of his eternal and euerlasting truth.

Ye know that be my Countreyemen dwelling vppon the borders,* where (alas) the true man suffereth oftentimes muche wrong at the thieues hande, i• it chaunce a man to be slayne of a thiefe (as it oft chanceth there) which went out with his neighbour to helpe him to rescue hys

goods agayne, that the more cruelly he bee slayne, and the more stedfastly he stucke by his neighbour in the fight agaynst the face of the thiefe, the more fauour and frendship shall all his posteritie haue for the slayne mans sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact, and his posteritie doth endure: Euen so, ye that be my kinsefolke and countreyemen, know ye (how so euer the blynd, ignorant, & wicked world hereafter shall rayse vppon my death, which thyng they cānot do worse then their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Sauour, of his holye Prophets, Apostles & Martyrs:) know ye (I say) y^t both before God & all them that be godly, and that truly kn^ow, & follow the lawes of God, ye haue, and shall haue by gods grace euer cause to reioyce, & to thanke God highly, and to thinke good of it, and in God to reioyce of me your fleshe & bloud, whom God of his gracious goodnes, hath vouchsafed to associate vnto the blessed cōpany of his holy Martyrs in heauen, and I doubt not in the infinite goodnes of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect & chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather finde the more fauour and grace: For the Lord saieth, that he will be both to them and theyrs that loue him, the more louyng agayne in a thousand generations: the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which doe loue hym in deed. And Christ saith againe,* that no mā can shew more loue, then to geue his lyfe for his friend.

Now also knowe ye, all my true louers in God, my kinsfolke and Countreyemen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is euen after the same sort and condition, but touching more neere Gods cause, & in more waightie matters, but in the general kynd all one. For both is gods cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the common wealth, & both for the weale also of the Christiā brother: although yet there is in these two no small difference both concernyng the enimies, the goods stolne, & the maner of the fight. For know ye all,* that lyke as there whē the poore true mā is robbed by the thiefe of his own goods truly gotten, (whereupon he and his househould should lyue) he is greatly wronged, & the thiefe in stealing & robbing with violence the poore mā's goods, doth offend god, doth transgres his law, and is iniurious both to the poore man, and to the common welth: so I say, know ye all that euen here in the cause of my death it is with the Church of England, I meane the congregation of the true chosen children of GOD in this Realme of England, whiche I knowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spirituall brethren, & sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein by Gods grace I am and haue bene grafted in Christ.* This Church of England had of late of the infinite goodnesse and aboundaunt grace of almighty God, great substaunce, great riches of heauenly treasure, great plenty of Gods true and sincere worde, the true and wholesome administration of Christes holy Sacramentes, the whole profession of Christes Religion, truely and plainly set foorth in Baptisme, the playne declaration & vnderstandyng of the same, taught in the holye Catechisme, to haue bene learned of all true Christians.

This Church had also a true and sincere forme & maner of the Lordes Supper, wherein,* accordyng to Iesus Christes owne ordinaunce, and holy institution, Christes commaundementes were executed and done. For vpon the bread and wyne set vppon the Lordes Table, thanks were geuen, the commemoration of the Lords death was had, the bread in the remembrance of Christes body torne vpon the crosse, was broken,* and the cuppe in the remembraunce of Christes bloud shed, was distributed and both communicated vnto all that were present, and would receyue them, and also they were exhorted of the Minister so to doe.

All was done openly in the vulgar tong, so that euery thyng might be both easily heard, & plainly vnderstand of all the people, to Gods high glorye, and the edification of the whole Church. This Church had of late the whole diuine seruice, all common and publike prayers ordeined to be said and heard in the common congregation, not onely framed and fashioned to the true vayne of holy scripture, but also set foorth accordyng to the commaundement of the Lord, and S. Paules doctrine for the peoples edification,*[Page 1772](#) in their vulgare tong.

It had also holy and wholesome Homelies, in commendation of the principall vertues: which are commended in Scripture, and likewyse other Homelies agaynst the most pernicious and capitall vices that vseth (alas) to raigne in this Realme of England.* This Church had in matters of controuersie, Articles so penned and framed alter the holy Scripture, and grounded vpon the true vnderstandyng of Gods word,* that in short tyme if they had bene vniuersally receiued, they should haue bene able to haue set in Christes Church much concorde and vnitie in Christes true religion, and to haue expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this Church (alas) was almost ouergone.

But (alas) of late into this spirituall possession of the heauēly treasure of these godly riches,* are entred in theues that haue robbed and spoyled all this heauenly treasure away. I may well complayne on these thyngs, and cry out vpon them with the Prophet, saying: Deus venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, &c. Psal. 72. O Lord God, the Gentiles, Heathen nations are come into thy heritage: They haue defiled thy holy Temple, and made Ierusalem an heape of stones, that is, They haue broken & beaten down to the ground thy holy Citie. This Heathenish generatiō, these thieues of Samaria,* these Sabei and Chaldei, these robbers haue rushed out of their dennes, and haue robbed the Church of England, of all the foresayd holy treasure of God: they haue caried it away, and ouerthrown it, and in stead of Gods holy worde, the true and right administration of Christes holy Sacramentes, as of Baptisme and others,* they mixte theyr ministerie with mens foolish fantasies, and many wicked and vngodly traditions withall.

In stead of the Lordes holy Table, they geue the people with much solemne disguising, a thyng which they cal their Masse, but in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockerie of the true Supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty iuglyng,* whereby these false theeues & iuglers haue bewitched the myndes of the simple people, that they haue broght them from the true worship of god, vnto pernicious idolatry, and make them to beleue that to be Christ our Lord and Sauour, which in deed is neither God nor man, nor hath any lyfe in it selfe, but in substance is the creature of bread and wyne, and in vse of the Lordes Table, is the Sacrament of Christes bodye and bloud: and for this holy vse, for the whiche the Lord hath ordained them in hys table, to represent vnto vs his blessed body torne vpon the crosse for vs, and his bloude there shed, it pleased him to call them his body & bloud, whiche vnderstanding, Christ declareth to be his true meanyng, when he sayth: Do this in the remembraunce of me. And agayne,* Saint Paule likewyse doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same Sacrament, after the words of the consecration, saieng: As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lordes death vntill his commyng agayne.* And here agayne these thieues haue robbed also the people of the Lordes cup, contrary to the plaine words of Christ, written in his Gospell.

Nowe, for the common publike prayers whiche were in the vulgare tongue, these theeues haue brought in agayne a strange tongue,* whereof the people vnderstande not one worde. Wherein what doe they els, but robbe the people of their Diuine seruice, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister, and to pray in a strange tong, what is it, but (as Saint Paule calleth it) barbarousnesse, childishnes, vnprofitable folly, yea, and plaine madnesse?

For the godly Articles of vnitie in religion, & for the wholesome Homelies, what doe these Thieues place in the stead of them, but the Popes Lawes and Decrees, lying Legends, fayned fables and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicitie of the rude people. Thus this robbery and theft is not onely committed, nay, sacriledge and wicked spoyle of heauenly thyngs, but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed, the abhominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Senacherib, of the shamelesse faced kyng, and of the Babilonicall beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot cōsent, nor (God willyng) neuer shall so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy agaynst God, hygh treason vnto Christ our heauenly kyng, Lord, Maister, & our onely Sauour and redeemer, it is playne contrary to Gods word, and to Christes Gospell, it is the subuersion of all true godlinesse, and agaynst the euerlastyng saluation of myne owne soule, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Sauour hath so dearely bought, wyth no lesse price, then with the effusion and shedyng forth of hys most precious bloud. Therefore, all ye my true louers in God, my kinsfolke and countreyemen, for this cause (I say) knowe ye that I am put to death, which by Gods grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefore, in certayne hope without any doubtyng, to receyue at Gods hande agayne of his free mercy and grace, euerlastyng lyfe.

Although the cause of the true man slayne of the thiefe, helpyng hys neighbour to recouer hys goods agayne, and the cause wherfore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I sayd before) yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieues agaynst whom I do stand,* are much worse then the robbers and thieues of the borders. The goodes which they steale are much more precious, and their kynds of fight are far diuers. These thieues are worse (I say) for they are more cruell, more wycked, more false, more deceitfull and crafty: for those wyl kill the body, but these will not sticke to kill both body and soule. Those for the generall theft and robbery, be called & are in deed theeues and robbers: but these for their spirituall kynd of robbery, are called Sacrilegi, as ye would say Church robbers. They are more wicked: for those goe about to spoyle men of worldly thynges, worldly riches, gold and siluer, & worldly substance: these go about in the wayes of the deuill their ghostly father, to steale from the vniuersall Church, and perticularly from euery man, all heauenly treasure, true faith, true charity, & hope of saluation in the bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ, yea to spoil vs of our sauior Iesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heauēly spirit, & of the heauenly heritage of the kingdom of heauē, so derely purchased vnto vs, with the death of our maister and Sauour Christ. These be the goodes and godly substance whereupon the christian before God must liue, and without the which he cannot lyue: These goods (I saye) these theeues, these Church robbers, go about to spoile vs of. The which goods, as to the man of God they excell and farre passe all worldly treasure: so to withstand euen vnto the death, such theeues as go about to spoyle both vs & the whole Church of such goods, is most high and honourable seruice done vnto God.

These church robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitfull then the theeues vpon the borders, for these haue not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare auouch it, and

therefore as acknowledging themselves to be euill, they steale commonly vpon the nyght,* they dare not appeare at iudgements and Sessions, where Iustice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thether, they neuer hang any man, but they bee oft tymes hanged for theyr faults. But these Church robbers can so cloke & colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make the people to beleue falshood to be truth, and truth falshood, good to be euill, and euill good, lyght to be darknesse, and darknesse lyght, superstition to be true religion, and Idolatry to be the true worship of God, and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wyne, to bee none other substaunce but onelye the substaunce of Christ the liuyng Lord both God and man. And with this their falshood & craft, they can so iuggle and bewitch the vnderstanding of the simple, that they dare auouch it openly in Courte and in Towne, and feare neyther hangyng nor headyng, as the poore theewes of the borders doe, but stout and strong lyke Nembroth, dare condemne to bee burned in flamyng fire, quicke and alyue, whosoeuer wil go about to bewray their falshood.

The kynd of fight against these Churchrobbers, is also of another sort and kynd,* then is that which is agaynst the theewes of the borders. For there the true men go forth agaynst them with speare and launce, with bow and hyll, and all such kynd of bodily weapons as the true mē haue: but here as the enemies be of another nature, so the watch men of Christes flocke, the warrioures that fight in the Lordes warre, must be armed & fight with another kynd of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of GOD, the souldiours of Antichrist, although the battaile is set forth agaynst the Church by mortall men beyng flesh and bloud, and neuerthelesse members of their father the deuill, yet for that their graund maister is the power of darknesse, their members are spirituall wickednes, wicked spirites, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and vngodlinesse, spirits of Idolatry, superstition & hypocrisy, which are called of S. Paule, Principates and powers,* Lordes of the world, rulers of the darkenes of this world, & spirituall subtleties concernyng heauenly thyngs, and therefore our weapons must be fitte and meete to fight agaynst such, not carnall nor bodily weapons, as speare & launce, but spirituall and heauenly: we must fight agaynst suche with the armour of God, not entendyng to kill their bodies, but their erroures, their false craft and heresies, their [Page 1773](#) idolatry, superstition and hypocrisie, and to saue (as much as lyeth in vs) both their bodies and soules.

And therefore as s. Paul teacheth vs, we fight not against flesh and bloud, that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kil the man,* but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors & vice, & to saue both body and soule. Our weapons therefore,* are faith, hope, charitie, righteousnes, truth, patience, prayer vnto God, & our sword wherewith we smite our enemies, we beat and batter, and beare downe all falshood, is the worde of God. With these weapons vnder the banner of the crosse of Christ we do fight, euer hauing our eye vpon our graund maister, Duke and captaine Christ, & then we reckon our selues to triumphe & to win the crowne of euerlasting blisse, when enduryng in this battail without any shrinking or yeldyng to the enemies, after the example of our graund capitaine Christ our maister, after the example of his holy prophets, Apostles & Martyrs, when (I say) we are slaine in our mortal bodies of our enemies, & are most cruelly & without all mercy murdered down like a many of sheepe. And y^e more cruell, the more painful, the more vile & spiteful is the kind of the death whereunto we bee put: the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, (without all doubts) our martyrdome to be.

And thus much dere louers & friends in God, my coūtreymen & kinsfolke. I haue spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peraduenture sometymes to haue had honestie, pleasures & commodities) ye might be abashed or thinke any euill: wheras ye haue rather cause to reioyce (if ye loue me in deed) for that it hath pleased God to cal me to a greater honor and dignitie, thē euer I did enioy before, eyther in Rochester, or in the sea of London,* or euer should haue had in the Sea of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected & named: yea I count it greater honour before God in deede to dye in hys cause (whereof I nothing doubt) then is any earthly or temporal promotion or honor that can be geuen to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be Gods to be Christes quarel, & of his Gospell, to be the common weale of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritours of the kyngdome of heauen, who is he (I say) that knoweth this assuredly by Gods worde, and the testimony of hys owne conscience (as I thorough the infinite goodnesse of GOD, not of my selfe, but by his grace acknowledge my selfe to doe) who is hee (I saye) that knoweth this and both loueth and feareth GOD in deed and in truth,* loueth and beleueeth his maister Christ and his blessed Gospel, loueth his brotherhoode the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for euerlasting lyfe, who is he (I say agayne) that would not or can not finde in his hart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbidde that any such should bee that should forsake this grace of God.* I trust in my Lord God, the GOD of mercies & the Father of all comfort through Iesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mynd, will, & affection by his holy spirit in my hart to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to chuse rather the losse of al my worldly substance, yea, and of my lyfe too, then to deny his known truth, that he will comfort me, ayde mee, and strengthen me euermore euen vnto the end, and to the yeldyng vp of my spirit & soule into hys holy hands, whereof I most hartily beseech his most holy sacred Maiestie of his infinite goodnes and mercy, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Now that I haue taken my leaue of my cuntrymen and kinsfolke,* and the Lord doth lend me lyfe, and geueth me laisure, I will bid my other good friends in God of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, then the Uniuersitie of Cambridge, wheras I haue dwelt longer, found more faithfull and hartie friendes, receyued more benefits (the benefits of my naturall parents onely excepted) then euer I did euen in myne own natiue cuntry wherein I was borne.

Farewel therfore Cambridge my louyng mother and tender nurse.* If I should not acknowld thy manifold benefites, yea if I should not for thy benefites at the least loue thee agayne, truly I were to be counted to vngrate & vnkynde. What benefites hadst thou euer, that thou vsest to geue & bestow vppon thy best beloued children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestowe on mee all thy schoole degrees, of thy common offices, the Chaplaynship of the vniuersitie, the office of the Proctorship, & of a common Reader, & of thy priuate commodities & emoluments in colledges? what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholer, then to be fellow, & after my departure from thee, thou calledst me againe to a maistership of a right worshipful colledge. I thanke thee my louyng mother for al this thy kindnes, and I pray God that his lawes and the sincere gospell of Christ, may euer bee truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell Pembroke Hall,* of late myne owne Colledge, my cure and my charge: what case thou art in now God knoweth, I know not wel. Thou wast euer named sithens I knew thee which is

now 30. yeares agoe, to bee studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christes gospell, and of Gods true word: so I found thee, & blessed be God so I left thee in deed.* Wo is me for thee myne own deare Colledge, if euer thou suffer thy selfe by any meanes to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the wals, butts and trees, if they could speake, would beare me witnes) I learned without booke almost all Paules epistles, yea, and I weene all the Canonicall epistles, saue only the Apocalyps. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweete smell thereof I trust I shall cary with me into heauen: for the profite thereof I thinke I haue felt in all my lyfe tyme euer after, & I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the lyke. The Lord graunt that this zeale & loue toward that part of gods word, which is a key & true commentary to all holy scripture, may euer abyde in that Colledge so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kente by the Archbishoppe of Caunterbury Thomas Cranmer, that most Reuerend Father and man of God, and of hym by and by sent to be Uicare of Herne in East Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipfull and wealthy Parishe, the first Cure whereunto I was called to minister Gods word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft tymes the worde of GOD preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christes Gospell: Oh that the fruite had aunswered to the seede.* And yet I must knowledge me to bee thy debter for the doctrine of the Lordes Supper, whiche at that tyme I acknowledge God had not reueled vnto me: but I blesse God in all that godly vertue & zeale of Gods worde, which the Lord by preachyng of his word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the lyfe and works of that Godly woman there, my Lady Phines: the Lord graunt that hys worde tooke lyke effect there in many other moe.

Farewell thou cathedrall church of Caunterbury, the Metropolitike sea, whereof once I was a member. To speake things pleasant vnto thee, I dare not for daunger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God, and to say what lyeth in my hart, were now to much, & I feare were able to do thee now but little good. Neuerthelesse, for the friendship I haue found in some there, and for charity sake I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldlines and vngodlines, that thou mayst be found of God after thy name Christes church in deed and in truth.

Farewell Rochester, sometyme my Cathedrall sea, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentlenesse and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary,* but I did vse it to Gods glory and thyne owne profit in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightst haue continued and gone forward in the trade of Gods lawe wherein I dyd leaue thee: then thy charge and burden should not haue bene so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is lyke to be (alas) on the latter day.

To Westminster other aduertisement in God I haue not now to say,* then I haue sayd before to the Cathedrall church of Cant. & so God geue thee of his grace, that thou mayest learne in deed and in truth to please hym after his owne lawes, and thus fare you well.

Oh London, London, to whome now may I speake in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell?* Shall I speake to the Prebendaries of Paules? Alas, all that loued Gods word, & were the true setters forth therof, are now (as I heare say) some burnt and slaine, some exiled and banished and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christes gospel sake.

As for the rest of them, I know they could neuer brooke me well, nor I could neuer delight in them.

Shall I speake to the Sea thereof,* wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully by the space of iij. yeres? But what may I say to it, being (as I heare say I am) deposed and expelled by iudgement as an vniust vsurper of that rounge. O iudgement, iudgement. Can this bee iust iudgement to condemne the chiefe minister of gods word, the pastour and bishop of the dioces, and neuer bring him into iudgement, that hee might haue heard what crymes were layd to his charge, nor neuer suffer him to haue any place or tyme to aunswer for himselfe? Thinkest thou that hereafter when true Iustice shall haue place, thys iudgement can euer be allowed either of God or of man? Well, as for the cause and whole matter of my deposition, & the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I referre it vnto [Page 1774](#) God which is a iust iudge: and I besech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personall wrong, bee not layd to thy charge in the latter daye, this onely can I pray for.

*O thou now wicked and bloody Sea, why doest thou set vp agayne many aultars of Idolatry, which by y^e word of God were iustly taken away? Why hast thou ouerthrowen the Lordes Table? Why doest thou dayly delude thy people, making in thy Masses in stead of the Lordes holy Supper, which ought to be commō aswell (sayth Chrysostom, yea the Lord himselfe) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou denye to the people of Christ, contrarye to his expresse commaundement in the Gospell, his holye Cuppe? Why bablest thou to the people the commō prayer in a straunge tongue, wherein S. Paule commaundeth in the Lordes name, that no man should speake before the Congregation, except it shoulde bee by and by declared in theyr common tongue, that all might bee edified? Naye, harken thou Whoorishe Bande of Babylon, thou wicked lya••e of Antichrist, thou bloody Woolfe, why slayest thou downe, and makest hauocke of the Prophetes of GOD? Why marthe rest thou so cruelly Christes poore seely sheep which will not heare thy voyce because thou art a straunger, and will folowe none other but theyr owne Pastoure Christ his voyce? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the bloud of his sayntes at thy handes? * Thy GOD which is the worke of thy handes, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deafe and dumbe God (I say) will not in deede, nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the reuenging hand of the high and almighty God. But be thou assured that the liuing Lord our Sauour and redem••, which sitteth on the right hand of his father in glorye, he seeth all thy wicked wayes and crueltye done to his deare members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his handes (O thou Whorish Drabbe) shalte thou neuer escape.* In stead of my farewell to thee now I say, lye vpon thee, lye vpon thee filthy Drabbe, and all thy false Prophets.

Yet then O London, I may not leaue thee thus. Although thy Episcopall Sea, now being ioyned in League with the seate of Sathan, thus hath now both handled me and the Sayntes of God: yet I doe not doubte but in that great City there be many priuy mourners which do daily mourne for that mischie•e, the which neuer did nor shal cōsent to that wickednes, but do detest and abhorre it as the wayes of Sathan. But these priuy mourners here I wyll passe by, and bid them farewell with theyr felowes hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conuenientlye require. Among the worshipfull of the citty, and speacially which were in office the Maioralty, yea & in other Cittyes also (whome to name nowe it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of sir Rowland Dules yere vnto sir George Barnes yeare and a

great part thereof, I doe acknowledge that I founde no small humanity and gentlenes, as me thought: but (to saye the truth) that I do esteeme aboue al other for true christian kindnes which is shewed in Gods cause and done for hys sake.* Wherefore O Dobbes, Dobbes, Alderman & knight, thou in thy yeare diddest winne my hart for euermore, for that honorable acre, that most blessed worke of God of the erection and setting vp of Christes holy Hospitalles, and truely religious houses whiche by thee, and through thee were begonne. For thou like a man of God, when the mat'ter was mooued for the relief of Christes poore seely members to be holpen frō extreme misery, hunger and famine, thy hart (I say) was moued with pity,* & as Christes high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the Aldermen of the City, before whom thou brakest the matter for the poore: thou diddest plead theyr cause, yea, and not onely in thine owne person thou diddest sette forth Christes cause, but to further y^e matter y^u broughtest me into the Councell Chamber of the Citty before the Aldermen alone, whome thou haddest assembled there together to heare me speake what I coulde say as an aduocate by office and duety in the poore mennes cause. The Lorde wrought with thee, and gaue thee the consent of thy Brethren: whereby the matter was broughte to the common Counsell▪ and so to the whole body of the City, by whome with an vniforme consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and deuised by a certayne nūber of the most witty Citizēs and politique, endued also with godlynes, & with ready hartes to set forward such a noble acte, as coulde bee chosen in all the whole City, and they like true and faythfull Ministers▪ both to theyr City & theyr Mayster Christ, so ordered, deuised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of sely poore mēbers of Christ, which els for extreme hunger and miserye shoulde haue famished and perished, shalbe relieued, holpē and brought vp, and shal haue cause to blesse the Aldermen of that time, the cōmon Councell & the whole body of the City, but specially thee O Dobbes, and those chosen men, by whome this honorable worke of God was begon and wroughte, and that so long throughout all ages, as y^e godly worke shall endure: which I pray almighty God may or euer vnto the worldes end. Amen.

And thou O Syr George Barnes (the trueth is to be confessed to Gods glory, and to the good example of other) thou wast in thy yeare not onely a furtherer and con•i•ner of that which before thee by thy predecessour was well begunne: but also diddest labor so to haue perfited the work,* that it shoulde haue bene an absolute thing and a perfecte spectacle of true charity and Godlinesse vnto all Christendome. Thyne endeuoure was to haue set vppe an house of occupations, both that all kinde of pouerty being able to worke, shoulde not haue lacked, whereupon profitably they might haue bene occupied to their owne reliefe & to the profite and commoditie of the common wealthe of the City, and also to haue retired thither, the poore Babes brought vp in the Hospitals, when they had come to a certayne age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitalles aforesayd had bene cured of theyr diseases. And to haue brought this to passe, thou obteynedst (not withoute great diligence and labor, both of thee & of thy brethren) of that Godly King Edward, that Christian and pierlesse Princes hand, his Princely place of Bridewell,* and what other thinges to the performaunce of the same, and vnder what condition it is not vnknowne. That this thine endeuor hath not had like successe, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lorde of hys infinite mercy vouchsafe to amēd when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewell now all ye Citizens that be of God, of what state and condition so euer ye be.* Undoubtedly in London ye haue heard Gods word truely preached. My hartes desire and dayly

prayer shalbe for you (as for whome, for my time, I know to my Lord God, I am countable) that yee neuer swarue, neyther for losse of life nor worldly goodes, from Gods holy word, and yelde vnto Antichrist: wherevpon must needes folow the extreame displeasure of God, and the losse both of your bodies and soules into perpetuall damnation for euermore.

Nowe that I haue gone through the places where I haue dwelt anye space in the time of my pilgrimage here vpon earth, remēbring that for the space of king Edwardes raygne, whiche was for the time of mine office in the Seas of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the Parliament: [*](#) therefore (seing my God hath geuen me leisure and the remembrance therof) I will bid my Lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall haue no iust cause (by Gods grace, to take it that I entende to say, in ill part. As for the spirituall Prelacy that now is, I haue nothing to say to them, excepte I shoulde repeate agayne a great part of that I haue sayd before now already to the Sea of London. To you therefore my Lordes of the temporalty wil I speake, and this would I haue you first to vnderstande, that when I wrote this, I looked daylye when I shoulde bee called to the chaunge of this life, and thoughte that this my writinge shoulde not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my Body and soule should be expired, and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eies onely the feare of God, and christian charity toward you, which moued me to write: for of you hereafter I looke not in this worlde, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talke shall doe you neuer so much pleasure or profit, you cānot promote me, nor if I displease you ye cannot hurte me or harme me, for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore if you feare God, & can be content to heare the talke of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serue God and to do you good: harken what I say. I say vnto you, as S. Paule sayth to the Galathians: [*](#) I wonder my Lordes what hath bewitched you, that yee so sodenly are fallen from Christ vnto Antichrist, from Christes Gospell vnto mans traditions, from the Lorde that bought you, vnto the bishop now of Rome. [*](#) I warne you of your perill: be not deceiued, except you wil be fōūd willingly cōsēters vnto your own death. For if ye think thus: We are lay men, this is a matter of religion, we folowe as we are taught and led, if our teachers and gouernors teach vs & lead vs amisse, the fault is in thē, they shall beare the blame: My Lordes this is true (I graunt you) that both the false teacher, and the corrupt gouernour, shall be punished for the death of theyr Subiecte, whom they haue false'ly taught and corruptly ledde, yea and his bloud shall be required at theyr handes: but yet neuerthelesse shall that Subiecte dye the deathe hymselfe also, that is, he shall also be damned for his owne sinne: for if the blinde leade [Page 1775](#) the blinde, Christ sayth not the leader onely, but he sayth: both shall fall into the Ditch. Shall the Sinagogue, and the Senate of the Iewes (trowe ye) which forsooke Christ and consēted to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Cayphas, [*](#) with the Scribes and Phariesies and theyr Cleargy did teache them amisse? yea and also Pilate theyr Gouernour and the Emperours Lieuetenaunt by his tyranny, did without cause put him to death? Forsooth no my Lordes, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilates washing of his handes, neither of both shall excuse either that Sinagogue and Seigniorie, or Pilate: but at the Lordes hand, for the effusion of that innocent bloud, on the latter day all shall drinke of the deadly whippe. Ye are wittye and vnderstande what I meane: therefore I will passe ouer this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his aduersarye the Bishop of Rome.

And least, my Lords, ye may peraduenture think, thus barely to call the Bishop of Rome Christes aduersary, [*](#) or (to speake it in playne termes) to call him Antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I doe but rage, and as a desperate man doe not care what I say, or vpon whō I

doe rayle: therefore, that your Lordshippes may perceiue my minde, and thereby vnderstand that I speake the wordes of the trueth and sobriety (as Saynt Paule sayde vnto Festus) bee it knowne vnto your Lordshippes all,* that as concerning the Bishoppe of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place.* For I ensure your Lordshippes (the liuing Lorde beareth me witnesse, before whome I speake) I do thinke many a good holye man, many Martyrs and Sayntes of God haue sitte and taughte in that place Christes Gospell truely,* which therefore iustly may be called Apostolici, that is, true Disciples of the Apostles, and also that Church and Congregation of Christians to be a right Apostolicke church, yea and that certayne hundreth yeares after the same was firste erected and builded vpon Christ, by the true Apostolicall doctrine taught by the monthes of the Apostles themselues. If ye will know how long that was and how many hundreth yeares to be curious in poynting the precise number of the yeares I will not be too bolde, but thus I say: so long and so manye hundreth yeares as that Sea did truely teache and preach that Gospell,* that Religion, exercised that power, and ordered euery thing by those Lawes and rules whiche that Sea receiued of the Apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the Apostles of Christ, and Christ of God: so long (I say) that Sea might wel haue bene called Peter and Paules chaire and Sea, or rather Christes chaire, & the bishop thereof Apostolicus, or true disciple and Successor of the apostles, & a Minister of Christ.

But since the time that that Sea hath degenerated frō the trade of trueth and true Religion the which it receiued of the Apostles at the beginning,* and hath preached an other Gospell, hath set vppe an other Religion, hath exercised an other power, and hath taken vpon it to order and rule the Church of Christ by other straunge Lawes, Canons and Rulers then euer it receiued of the Apostles, or the Apostles of Christ, whiche thinges it doth at this daye, and hath continued so doing (alas,* alas) of too too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that Sea hath thus bene chaunged, in truth it ought of dutye and of righte to haue the names chaunged both of the Sea and of the sitter therein.* For vnderstand my Lords, it was neither for the priuiledge of the place or person thereof, that that Sea and Byshop thereof were called Apostolicke: but for the true trade of Christs religion which was taught and mainteined in that Sea at the first, and of those godly men.* And therefore as truely and iustlye as that Sea then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the Religion and doctrine of Christes Apostles, was called Apostolicke: so as truely and as iustly for the contrariety of religion, and diuersity of doctryne from Christ and his Apostles, that Sea and the Bishoppe thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are in deed Antichristian.

The Sea is the seate of Sathan, and the Bishop of the same,* that mainteineth the abominations therof, is Antichrist himselfe in deede. And for the same causes this Sea at this day is the same whiche S. Iohn calleth in his reuelation, Babilon or the Whore of Babilon, and spirituall Sodoma and Egyptus, the Mother of Fornication and of the abominations vpon the earth. And with this Whore doth spiritually medle and lieth with her, and committeth most stincking and abominable adultery before God, all those kinges and Princes, yea and all nations of the earth which doe consent to her abominations, and vse or practise the same: that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for example sake) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her inuocation of Saynts,* her worshipping of Images, her false counterfayt religion in her Monckery and Fryerage, and her traditions, whereby Gods lawes are defiled: as her Massing and false Ministring of Gods word and the Sacramentes of Christ clean cōtrary to Christes word, and the Apostles doctrine, wherof in particularity I haue touched something before in my talke had with

the Sea of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shal appeare I trust by Gods grace, plain^{ly} to the man of God, and to him whose rule in iudgement of Religion is Gods word, that that Religion,* that rule & order, that doctrine and fayth which this whore of Babylon, and the Beast whereupon she doth sit, mainteineth at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoyle & banishment (according to Daniels Prophecy) and finally with all falshood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kinde of vngodlines: are as cleane contrary to Gods word, as darkenesse is vnto light, or light vnto darckenes, white to blacke, or blacke to white, or as Beliall vnto Christ,* or Christ vnto Antichrist himselfe.

I know my Lordes, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not beyng before endued with the spirite of grace and the light of gods word, so many (I say) would at these my words lordlike stampe and spurne, and spitte thereat. But sober your selues with pacience and be still, and knowe ye that in my writing of this, my minde was none other, but in God (as the liuing God doth beare me witnes) both to do you profite and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shal come to your knowledge. I trust by gods grace to be in the hands and protection of y^e almighty, my heauenly father, and the liuing Lord, which is, (as S. Iohn sayeth) the greatest of all, and then I shall not need (I trow) to feare what any Lord, no nor what kyng or prince can do vnto me.

My Lordes, if in times past ye haue bene contented to heare me sometimes in matters of religion before y^e prince in the Pulpit, and in the Parliament house, and haue not seemed to haue despised what I haue sayd (when as els if ye had perceiued iust occasion, yee might then haue suspected me in my talk, though it had bene reasonable, eyther de^{sire} of worldly gayne, or feare of displeasure) how hath thē your Lordshyppes more cause to harken to my word and to heare me patiently, seing now ye can not iustly think of me being in this case appoynted to dye, and lookyng dayly when I shall be called to come before the eternall iudge, otherwise but that I onely study to serue my Lord God, and to say that thyng which I am perswaded assuredly by Gods woorde shall and doth please him, and profite all them to whome God shall geue grace to heare and beleue what I do say? And I do say euen that I haue sayd heretofore both of the Sea of Rome and of the Byshop thereof, I meane after this theyr present state at this day, Wherⁱⁿ if ye will not beleue the Ministers of GOD,* and true preachers of his word, verely I denounce vnto you in verbo domini, except ye do repent betime, it shall turne to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say my Lordes, for Gods sake forget not, but remember it vpon your bed. For I tell you moreouer, as I knowe I muste bee countable of this my talke and of my speaking thus, to the eternall Iudge (who will iudge nothing amisse) so shall you be countable of your duety in hearyng, and you shall bee charged, if ye will harken to Gods word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas my Lords, how chaunceth this, that this matter is now a new again to be perswaded vnto you? Who would haue thought of late, but your Lordships had bene perswaded in deed sufficiently,* or that ye could euer haue agreed so vniformelye with one consent to the abolishment of the vsurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy wherin the prince must be obeyed, howe is it now made a matter wherin (as your Clergy sayth now, & so sayth the Popes lawes in deed) standeth the vnity of the Catholicke church, and a matter of necessity of our saluation? Hath the time, being so short since y^e death of y^e two last kinges, Henry the 8. & Edward his sonne, altered the nature of the matter? If it haue not, but was of the same nature and daunger before God then as it is now, & be now (as it is sayd by the Popes lawes, and the instructions set forth in Englishe to the curates of the dioces of

Yorke) in deed a matter of necessity to saluation: how then chaunced it that ye were all (O my Lordes) so light, and so litle passed vpon the catholicke faith and the vnity therof (without the which no man can be sauēd) as for your Princes pleasures, which were but mortall men, to forsake the vnity of your catholick fayth, that is, to forsake Christ and his gospell? And furthermore, if it were both then and nowe is so [Page 1776](#) necessary to saluation, how chaunced it also that ye, all the whole body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not onely abolish and expell the Bishop of Rome, but also did abiure him in your owne persons, and did decree in your actes great othes to bee taken of both the spiritualtye and temporalty, whosoever shoulde enter into any weighty & chargeable office in the common wealth? But on the other side, if the law & decree which maketh the supremacy of the sea & bishop of Rome ouer the vniuersall church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required vnto saluation by an Antichristian law (as it is in deed) & such instructiōs as are geuen to the Dioces of Yorke, be in deed a setting forth of the power of that beast of babilon by the craft & falshood of his false Prophetes (as of truth, compared vnto Gods word, and truely iudged by the same, it shall playnely appere that they be) then my Lordes neuer thinke other, but the daye shall come when ye shalbe charged with this your vndoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your periury and breache of your othe, which othe was done in iudgement,* iustice, and truth agreeable to Gods lawe. The whore of Babilon may wel for a time dally with you, and make you so dronken with the wine of her filthy stewes & whooredome (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon à poena & culpa) that for dronkenesse and blindenesse ye may think your selues safe. But be ye assured, whē the liuing Lord shall trye the matter by the fire, and iudge it according to his word, when al her abominations shal appeare what they bee: then ye my Lordes, (I geue your Lordships warning in time) repent if ye be happy, & loue your owne soules health, repent I say, or els wythout all doubt, ye shall neuer escape the handes of the liuing Lord, for the guilt of your periury and breach of your oth. As ye haue banquetted and layne by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, Idolatrye, & suche like abominations: so shall ye drinke with her (except ye repent betime) of the cuppe of the Lordes indignation and euerlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophetes, and all theyr partakers. For he that is partner with them in theyr whoredome and abominations, must also be partner with them of theyr plagues, and on the latter day shall be throwne with them into the lake burning with Brimstone and vnquencheable fire. Thus fare ye wel my Lords all. I pray God geue you vnderstanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to beleue and embrace the truth. Amen.

***An other farewell to the Prisoners in Christes Gospelles cause, and to all them whiche for the same cause are exiled and banished out from theyr owne countrey, choosing rather to leaue all worldly commodity, then theyr mayster Christ.**

Farewell my dearely beloued brethren in Christ, bothe ye my fellow prisoners,* and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countreyes, because ye will rather forsake all worldly cōmodity, then the Gospell of Christ.

Farewell all ye together in Christ: farewell and be mery, for ye know that the triall of your fayth bringeth forth patience, and pacience shall make vs perfecte, whole and sound on euery side, and such after triall (ye knowe) shall receiue the crowne of lyfe, according to the promise of the Lorde made to his dearely beloued, let vs therefore be pacient vnto the comming of the Lord. As the husbandmanne abideth pacientlye the former and latter rayne for the encrease of his crophe,*

so let vs bee paciente and plucke vp our hartes, for the comming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let vs (my deare brethren) take example of pacience in tribulation of the Prophetes, which spake likewise Gods word truely in his name. Let Iob be to vs an example of pacience, & the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pitty. We know my brethren by Gods worde, that our fayth is much more precious then any corruptible golde, and yet that is tryed by the fire: euen so our fayth is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found when the Lord shal appeare, laudable, glorious and honorable. For if we for Christs cause do suffer, that is gratefull before God,* for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let vs be content. Christ we know suffered for vs afflictions, leauing vs an example that we shoulde folow his footsteps, for he committed no sinne, not was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was rayled vpon, and all to reuiled, he rayled not agayne: when he was euill entreated, he dyd not threaten, but committed the punishment therof to hym that iudgeth a right.

Let vs euer haue in freshe remembraunce those wonderfull comfortable sentences spokē by the mouth of our Sauior Christ: Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnes sake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen.* Blessed are ye when men reuile you, persecute you, & speake all euill against you for my sake: reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen: for so did they persecute the Prophetes which were before you. Therefore let vs alway beare this in our mindes, that if any incommodity doe chaunce vnto vs for righteousnes sake,* happy are we whatsoever the world doth thinke of vs. Christ our mayster hath tolde vs before hand, that the brother should put the brother to death, & the father the sonne, and the children should rise agaynst their parēts and kill them, and that Christes true Apostles should be hated of all men for his names sake: but he that shall abide patiently vnto the end, shalbe saued.

Let vs then endure in all troubles patiently after the example of our Mayster Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our mayster and Lord: how doth it not then become vs to suffer? For the disciple is not aboue his mayster,* nor the seruaunt aboue his Lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his maister, and the seruaunt to be as his Lord. If they haue called the Father of the family, the Mayster of the householde Belzebub, howe much more shall they call so them of his householde? Feare them not then (sayth our Sauour) for all p•iuityes shall be made playne: there is now nothing secret, but it shall bee shewed in light. Of Christes wordes let vs neither be ashamed nor afrayd to speake them, for so Christ our mayster commaundeth vs, saying:* that I tell you priuily, speake openly abroade, and that I tell you in your eare, preach it vpon the house toppe. And feare not them which kill the body, for the soule they cannot kill, but feare hym which can cast both body and soule into hell fire.

Know ye that the heauenly Father hath euer a gracious eye and respect towarde you, and a Fatherly prouidence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission, nothing canne doe you harme. Let vs therefore cast all our care vpon him, and hee shall prouide that whiche shall be best for vs. For if of two small sparowes whiche both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your father, and all the heares of our head are numbred, feare not them (sayth our Mayster Christ) for yee are more worth then many small sparowes.* And let vs not sticke to confesse our Mayster Christe for feare of daunger whatsoever it shalbe, remēbring the promise that Christ maketh, saying: whosoever shall confesse me before men, him shall I confesse before my father whiche is in heauen: but whosoever shall denye me, him shall I likewise denye before my father which is in heauen. Christ came not to geue vnto vs here a

carnall amity, and a worldly peace, or to knitte his vnto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and deuide them from the world, and to ioine them vnto himselfe: in whose cause we must, if wee will bee his, forsake father and mother, and sticke vnto him. If wee forsake him or shrinke from him for trouble or deathes sake, which hee calleth his crosse: he will none of vs, we cannot bee hys. If for his cause we shall lose our temporall liues here, wee shall finde them agayne and enioy them for euermore: but if in his cause we will not be contented to leaue nor loose them here: then shall we loose them so, that we shall neuer finde them again, but in euerlasting death. What thoughe our troubles here bee paynefull for the time,* and the sting of death bitter and vnpleasaunt: yet we know that they shall not last in comparison of eternity, no not to the twinckling of an eye, & that they paciētly taken in Christes cause, shall procure and gette vs vnmeasurable heapes of heauenly glory, vnto the which these temporall paines of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be reioyced vpon. Wonder not (sayth S. Peter) as though it were any straunge matter that ye are tryed by the fire (he meaneth of tribulation) which thing (sayth he) is done to proue you:* nay rather in that ye are partners of Christes afflictions, reioyce, that in his glorious reuelation, ye may reioyce with mery hartes. If ye suffer rebukes in Christes name, happy are ye, for the glory and spirit of God resteth vpon you. Of them God is reuiled and dishonored, but of you he is glorified.

Let no manne be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christes cause: for nowe is the time that iudgement and correction must beginne at the house of GOD, and if it begin first at vs: what shall be the end of those, thinke ye, which beleue not the Gospell? And if the righteous shall bee hardlye saued, the wicked and the sinner where shall he appeare? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the wil of God, let thē lay downe and commit theyr soules to him by well doing, as to a trustye and faythfull maker. This (as I sayde) maye not seeme straunge to vs, for we know that al the whole fraternity of Christes Congregation in this worlde, is serued with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the seruent loue that the Apostles had vnto their maister Christ,* and for the great commodities and increase of all godlines which they felt by theyr fayth to insue of afflictions in Christes cause, & thirdly for the heapes of heauenly ioyes which the same doe get vnto the godly; which shall endure in heauen for euermore: for these causes (I saye) the Apostles of their afflictions did ioy, and reioyced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies & rebukes for Christes name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace & fauor of God, whervnto he was brought & stooode in by fayth:* so he reioyced in hys afflictions the heauenlye and spirituall profites which he numbred to rise vpon them: yea, he was so farre in loue wyth that [Page 1777](#) that the carnall man lothed so much, that is, with Christes crosse, that he iudged himselfe to know nothing els but christ crucified: he will glory (he sayth) in nothing els but in Christes crosse, yea and he blesseth all those, as the onely true Israelites & elect people of God with peace and mercy, whiche walketh after that rule and after none other.

O Lord, what a wonderfull spirit was that that made Paule, in setting forth of himselfe agaynst the vanity of Satans Pseudopostles,* and in his clayme there, that he in Christes cause did excell and passe them all, what wonderfull spirite was that (I saye) that made him to reckon vppe all his troubles, his laboures, hys beatings, his whippinges and scourginges, his shippewrackes, his daungers and perilles by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakednesse, and colde, with many moe, and the dayly care of all the congregations of Christ,* among whom euery mans payne did pearce his heart, and euery mannes griese was grievous vnto him? O Lord, is this Paules primacye, whereof hee thought so much good that he did excell other? Is not this Paules

sayinge vnto Timothy his owne scholer? and doth it not perteyn to who so euer will be Christes true souldiours: beare thou (sayth he) affliction like a good souldiour of Iesu Christ This is true: if we dye with him (he meaneth Christ) we shall liue with him: * if we suffer with him, we shall raigne with him: if we deny him, he shall denye vs: if we be faythlesse, he remayneth faythfull, he cannot denye himselfe. This Paule would haue knowne to euery bodye: for there is none other way to heauen but Christ and his way: & all that will liue godly in Christ, shall (sayth S. Paule) suffer persecution. By this way went to heauen the Patriarches, the Prophets, Christ our Mayster, his Apostles, his Martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. * And as it hath bene of olde, that hee which was borne after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the spirite, * for so it was in Isaacks time: so sayde S. Paule, it was in his time also: And whether it be so or no now, let the spirituall man, the selfe same man I meane that is indued with the spirit of almighty God, let him be iudge. Of the crosse of the Patriarches, * as ye may read in theyr storyes if ye reade the booke of Genesis, ye shall perceiue. Of other S. Paule in few wordes comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderfull afflictions, death, and tormentes which the men of GOD in Gods cause and for the truth sake willingly and gladly did suffer. * After much particuler rehearsall of many, he sayeth: other were racked and despised and would not be deliuered, that they might obteyne a better resurrection. Other agayne were tried wyth mockinges and scourginges, and moreouer with bondes & imprisonment: they were stoned, beweeene asunder, tempted, fell & were slayne vpon the edge of the sword, some wandred to & fro in sheepes pilches, in goates pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, such godly men as the world was vnworthy of, wandring in wilderness, in mountaynes, in caues, and in dennes, and all these were commended for theyr fayth. And yet they abide for vs the seruauntes of God, and for those theyr brethren which are to bee slayne as they were for the word of Gods sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meete our Mayster Christ in the ayre at his comming, and so to be in blisse with him in body and soule for euermore.

Therefore, seing we haue so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christes names sake paciently, so many commodities thereby, so waighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, * so pure promises of eternall life and heauenlye ioyes, of him that cānot lye: Let vs throw away whatsoeuer might let vs, * all burden of sinne, and all kinde of carnality, and paciently and constantly let vs runne for the best game in this race that is set before vs, euer hauing our eyes vpon Iesus Christ the ringleader, Capitayne, and Perfiter of our fayth, which for the ioye that was set before him, endured the crosse, not passing vpon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hande of the throne of GOD. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners agaynst himselfe, that yee shoulde not geue ouer, nor faynt in your mindes. As yet brethren we haue not withstand vnto death, fighting agaynst sinne. Let vs neuer forget deare Brethren for Christes sake, that Fatherly exhortation of the wise that speaketh vnto vs as vnto his children the Godlye wysedome of God, * saying thus: My sonne, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall not from him when thou art rebuked of hym, for whom the Lord loueth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth euery childe whom he receiueth. What childe is he whom the father doth not chasten: * If ye bee free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastardes and no children. Seing then, when as we haue had carnall parents which chastened vs, we reuerenced them, shall not we much more be subiect vnto our spirituall father that we might liue? And they for a litle time taughte vs after theyr owne mind: but this father teacheth vs to our commodity, to geue vnto vs his holinesse. Al chastisement for the present tyme, appeareth not pleasaunt but paynefull: but afterward it rendereth the fruite of righteousnesse on

them, which are exercised in it. Wherefore let vs bee of good cheere (good Brethren) and let vs plucke vppe our feeble members that were fallen or beganne to faynt, hart, handes, knees, and all the rest, and let vs walke vpriight and straight, that no limping no• 〈...〉 bring vs out of the way. Let vs looke, not vpon the thinges that be present, but with the eyes of our fayth let vs stedfastly, behold the thinges that be euerlasting in heauen, and so choose rather in respecte of that whiche is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to beare Christes Crosse, then for this short life time, to inioy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broade worlde. Why should we Christians feare death? Can death depriue vs of Christ, which is all our cō•ort, our ioy, and our life▪ Nay forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliuer vs from this mortall body,* whiche lodeth and beareth downe the spirite that it cannot so well perceiue heauenly thinges: in the which so long as we dwell, wee are absent from God.

Wherefore, vnderstanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortall body, which is our earthly house,* were destroyed, we haue a building, a house not made with handes, but euerlasting in heauen &c. therefore wee are of good cheere, and know that when we are in the body, we are absent from GOD, for we walke by fayth, and not by cleare sight. Neuerthelesse we are bolde, and had rather be absent from the bodye and present with GOD. Wherefore, we strue, whether we be present at home, or absent abroad, that we may alwayes please him. And who that hath true fayth in our Sauior Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truely what Christ our Sauour is, that he is the eternall sonne of God, life, light, the wisdom of the father, all goodnesse, all righteousnesse and whatsoeuer is good that heart canne desire, yea infinite plentye of all these, aboue that that mans hart canne either conceiue or thinke, (for in him dwelleth the fulnesse of the Godheade corporally) and also that he is geuen vs of the Father, and made of GOD to be our wisdom, our righteousnesse, our hol•nesse, and our redemption: who (I say) is he that beleueth this in deede, that woulde not gladly bee with his mayster christ? Paul for this knowledge coueted to haue bene loosed from the body, and to haue bene with Christ,* for that he counted it muche better for himselfe, and had rather to be loosed then to liue. Therefore these wordes of Christe to the thiefe on the Crosse, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. To dye in the defence of Christes Gospell,* it is our bounden duety to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he dyed for vs, and rose agayne that he might be Lord ouer all. And seing he dyed for vs, we also (sayth S. Iohn) shoulde ieopard, yea geue our life for our Brethren, And this kinde of geuing and loosing, is getting and winning in deede: for hee that geueth or looseth his life thus, getteth & winneth it for euermore.* Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they dye in the Lordes cause, they are most happy of all. Let vs not then feare death, which can do vs no harme, otherwise then for a momēt to make the flesh to smart: but that our fayth whiche is surely fastened and fixed vnto the worde of GOD, telleth vs that we shall be anon after death, in peace, in the handes of GOD, in ioye, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight vnto life. For Saynt Iohn sayeth: he that liueth and beleueth in me, shall neuer dye.* And in an other place: he shall depart from death vnto life. And therefore this death of the Christian, is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entraunce into euerlasting life: Therefore Paule calleth it but a dissolution and resolution, and both Peter and Paul, a putting of this Tabernacle or dwelling house.* Meaning thereby the mortall body, as wherein the soule or spirite doth dwell here in this worlde for a small time. Yea this death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For so long as we liue here, we must passe through many tribulations before we canne enter into the kingdome of heauen. And nowe,* after that death hath shot his bolt, all the christian mans enemies haue done what they

canne, after that they haue no more to doe. What coulde hurte or harme poore Lazarus that lay at the rich mannes Gate? His former penury and pouerty? his misery, beggery,* and horrible sores and sicknesse? For so soone as death had stricken him with his dart, so soone came the aungels, and caryed him straight vp into Abrahams bosome. What lost he by death, who from misery and payne, is set by the ministry of Aungels in a place both of ioy and solace.

Farewell deare brethren, farewell, and let vs comforte our hartes in all troubles, and in death with the worde of God: for heauen and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for euer.

Farewell Christes dearely beloued spouse here wandering in this world as in a straunge land, farre from thine owne coūtry, & cōpassed about on euery hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, euer seeking thy destruction.

Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and vniuersall congregation of the chosen of God here liuing vpon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mysticall body of Christ, the very house holde and family of God, and the sacred temple of the holy ghost. Farewell.

Farewell,* O thou litle flocke of the highe heauenlye pastour Christ, for to thee it hath pleased the heauenlye father to geue an euerlasting and eternall kingdome. Farewell.

[Page 1778](#)Farewell thou spirituall house of God, thou holy and royall priesthood, thou chosē generatiō, thou holy nation, thou wonne spouse. Farewell. Farewell.

N. R.

¶An other treatise of B. Ridley, wherein is conteyned first a lamentation for the chaunge of Religion in England: then a comparison betwene the doctrine of the Gospell, and the Romish religion, with wholesome instructions in the end to all christians, how to behaue themselues in time of tryall.

ALas, what misery is thy church brought vnto (O lord) at this day?* Where of late the worde of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in euery towne, in euery Church, in euery village, yea and almost in euery honest mans house: alas now it is exiled, and banished out of the whole realme. Of late who was not taken for a louer of Gods word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, & for a learner of the same? And now (alas) who dare beare any open countenance toward it, but such as are content in Christes cause, and for his wordes sake to stand to the daunger and losse of all that they haue?

Of late there was to be found, of euery age of euery de|gree and kinde of people, that gaue theyr diligēce to learne (as they could) out of Gods word, the articles of the christian fayth, the commaundementes of God, and the Lordes prayer. The babes and young children were taughte these thinges of theyr parentes, of theyr maisters, & weekly of theyr Curates in euery church: & the aged folke, whiche had bene brought vp in blindnes, and in ignoraunce of those things, which euery christian is boūd to know, whē otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by oftē hearing theyr children, and seruantes repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas agayne) the false Prophets of Antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpittes vnto the

people of God, that the Catechisme is to be counted heresy: wherby theyr olde blindnes is brought home agayn: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abashed and ashamed, euen of that which they haue learned, though it be Gods woord, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in euery congregation throughout all Englād was made prayer and petition vnto God, to be deliuered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities: from al false doctrine and heresy: & now alas, Sathan hath perswaded England by his falshooode & craft, to reuoke her olde godly prayer, to recant the same & prouoke the fearefull wrath, and indignation of God vpon her owne pate.

Of late by strait lawes and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty,* and full agreement, & counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babilon, with lawes (I say) and with othes & all meanes that then could be deuised for so godly a purpose: but now (alas) all these lawes are troden vnder foote: the Nobles, the Commonalty, the Prelates and Cleargy are quite chaūged, and all those othes, though they were made in iudgement, iustice & truth, and the matter neuer so good, doth no more hold then a bond of Rushes, or of a Barley straw, nor publicke periurye no more feareth them, then a shadow vpon the wall.

Of late it was agreed in Englande of all handes, according to Paules doctrine,* and Christes commaūdemēt (as Paule sayth playnly) that nothing ought to be done in the Church, in the publicke congregation, but in that toūg which the Congregation could vnderstand, that all might be edefied thereby, whether it were Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacramentes, or any other thing belonging to publicke Ministerye of Gods holy and wholesome word: but (alas) all is turned vpside downe, Paules doctrine is put apart: Christs commaundement is not regarded: For nothing is heard commonly in the Church, but in a straunge tongue, that the people doth nothing vnderstand.

Of late al men and women were taught after Christes doctrine,* to pray in that toūg which they could vnderstād, that they might pray with hart, that whiche they shoulde speake with theyr tounge: now (alas) the vnlearned people is brought in that blindnes again, to think that they pray, when they speak with theyr tounge, they can not tell what, nor wherof: theyr hart is nothing mindefull at all, for that it can vnderstand neuer a whit therof.

Of late the Lordes Supper was duely ministred and taught to be made common,* to all that were true Christians, with thanksgeuing, and setting foorth of the Lordes death & passion, vntill his returning agayne, to iudge both quicke and dead: but now (alas) the Lordes table is quite ouerthrowne, and that whiche ought to be common to all godly, is made priuate to a fewe vngodlye, without any kind of thanksgeuing, or any setting foorth of the Lordes death at all, that the people is able to vnderstand.

Of late all that were endued with the light,* and grace of vnderstanding of Gods holy misteries, did blesse God, which had brought them out of that horrible blindnes and ignorance, wherby in times past being seduced by sathans subtleties, they beleued that the Sacrament was not the Sacrament, but the thing it self wherof it is a Sacramēt: that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing whiche hath neither life nor sense (alas suche was the horryble blindenesse) was the

Lord himselfe, which made the eye to see,* and hath geuen all senses and vnderstandinge vnto man: but now (alas) Englande is returned agayne lyke a Dogge to her owne vomitte and spuing, and is in worsse case thē euer she was: For it had bene better neuer to haue knowne the trueth, then to forsake the truth once receiued and knowne: and now, not onely that light is turned into darknesse, and Gods grace is receiued in vayne, but also lawes of death are made by high Courte of Parliament, maysterfully to mainteine by sword, fire, and al kind of violence, that haynous Idolatry wherein that adoration is geuen vnto the liuelesse and dumbe creature, which is only due vnto the euerliuing God: yea, they say they can, and do make of bread both manne and GOD, by theyr transubstantiation, O wicked mention, and Sathans owne broode.

Of late was the Lordes cuppe at his Table distributed, according to his owne cōmaundement,* by his expresse wordes in his Gospell, as well to the Laity as to the clergy, which order Christes Church obserued so many hundreth yeares after (as all the auncient Ecclesiasticall writers doe testify) without contradiction of any one of them, that can be shewed vnto this day: but now (alas) not only the Lords commaundement is broken, his cup is denied to his seruantes, to whom he commaunded it shoulde be distributed, but also with the same is set vp a new blasphemous kinde of sacrifice to satisfye and paye the price of sinnes, both of the dead and of the quicke, to the great & intollerable contumely of Christ our sauior his death & passion, which was and is the one only sufficient, and euerlasting auayleable sacrifice satisfactorye, for all the Electes of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be borne in the end of the world.

Of late the commaundement of God:*Thou shalte not make to thy selfe any grauen Image, nor any similitude, or likenes of any thing in heauen aboue, or in earth beneath, or in the water vnder the earth, thou shalte not bowe downe to them nor worship them: This commaundement of God (I say) was grauen almost euery where in Churches, was learned of euery body both young & olde: whereupon Images that prouoked the simple, and ignorant people vnto Idolatrie (as the wise man sayth) were taken out of the Churches,* & straightly forbidden that none shoulde any where, eyther bow downe to them, or worshippe them: but now (alas) Gods holy word is blotted, and rased out of Churches, & stockes and stones are set vp in the place thereof, God cōmaundeth his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remēbraunce at all times, and in euery place: and on the other side he forbade Images and Idols, so to be either made, or set in any place, where any should bowe or worship them: but now (alas) that which God cōmaūded, is not passed vpon, and that which he forbiddeth, is maysterfully mayntained by falshood and craft, and wickedly vpholden.

Of late all ministers that were admitted to the publick office, and ministry of Gods holy woorde, in theyr admission made a solemne profession before the Congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessarye to attayne eternall saluation, but that whiche is Gods owne holy woorde, or maye be thereof grounded without any doubt: whereby vanished and melted away of themselues many vaine, yea wicked traditions of man, as waxe before the fire: but now at one brunt they are reuiued, and are in full hope also to returne agayne, in as great strength as euer they haue bene. And howe can any man looke for any other thing, but when you haue receyued the head, you must also receiue the whole body withal, or els how can the head abide? The head, vnder Sathā, of al mischiefe is Antichrist, & his brood, & the same is he whiche is the Babilonicall Beast. The beast is he, whereupon the Whore sitteth. The whore is that City, sayeth Iohn in playne woordes, whiche hath Empyre ouer the kinges of the earth. This Whore

hath a golden cuppe of abominations in her hande, whereof shee maketh to drinke the kinges of the earth, & of the wine of this harlot hath all nations [Page 1779](#) dronke, yea, and kinges of the earth haue line by this Whore & Marchauntes of the earth, by vertue of her pleasaunt marchaundise haue bene made rich.

Now what Citie is there in all the whole worlde, that when Iohn wrote, [*](#) ruled ouer the kinges of the earth: or what Citty can be read of in any time, that of the Citty it selfe, chalenged the Empyre ouer the kinges of the earth, but onely the City of Rome, and that since the vsurpation of that Sea hath growne to her full strength? And is it not read, that the olde and auncient writers vnderstand, Peters former Epistle to be writtē at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle in playne termes, Babilon? by the abominations therof, I vnderstand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, vnder the name and title of Christ which is contrary to the onely rule of all true religion, that is Gods worde. What worde of God hath that Deuillish drabbe, for the maintenaunce of her manifolde abominations, and to set to sell such marchaundise, wher with (alas the madnesse of man) the wicked Harlot hath bewitched almost the whole wold? Did not Peter the very true Apostle of Christ, of whom this stincking Strumpet beareth her selfe so highe, but falselye and without all iust cause) did not he, I say, geue all the world warning of her pelfe and trash, of her false Doctours and Apostles (for this Whore and Beast will be called Dominus Apostolicus, who so euer say nay) after this maner in his latter Epistle? There was among the people in times past false Prophetes, [*](#)as shall bee there amonge you in time to come false Teachers, which shall priuily bring in pestilent sectes, euen denying the Lord which hath bought them, and redemed them, procuring to themselues swift damnation, and many shall folow their damnable wayes, by whom the way of truth shall be rayled vpon, & through couetousnesse by counterfait tales or sermons, they shal (sayth Peter) make marcdaundise vpon you &c. And doeth not Iohn likewise in his Reuelation, after he hath reckoned vp a great rablement of this whores mysticall marchaundise, [*](#) at the last (as though he would knitte vp all in plaine wordes, without any miste at all, setting out the whoores marchaundise) reckon vp among the rest, and concludeth saying, Et animas hominū: that is to say, and the soules of mē to? Wherupō I pray you els rose this true prouerb in Latine: omnia Romae venalia: All thinges for money are sette to sale at Rome? [*](#) was not that a worthy commendation of Christes Uicare in earth that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders a Bishoppe of Rome, thus I weene in Latin.

Veneit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum,

Vendere iure potest, emerat ille prius.

☞ These two verses in latin, I haue read thus of one translated into English rime.

Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,

[*](#) selleth for money both right and dome:

And all kind of holines the holy father doth not sticke,

to set to sell, ready money for to get.

And eke Christ himselfe he dare be bolde,

to chop and chaunge for siluer and gold:

And why should any thinke this to be sore,

For what doth he sell, but that he bought before?

I graunt these verses to be light gere, and the verse is but rude, but (alas) suche conditions were more wicked & leud then any wit could expresse. If these had bene but the faultes of one or a few in number, they had bene lesse pernicious, and might haue bene taken for personall crimes, not to be imputed vnto that Sea: but now (alas) the matter is more then euident to all that haue godly vnderstanding, that these crimes be grounded vpon lawes, be established by custome, and set forth by all kinde of wicked doctrine, falshood and craft, and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one mans or a few mens personall crimes, but are now by lawes, custome and doctrine incorporated into that wicked Sea, and maketh in deede the body of the Beast whereupon the abhominable whore doth sit.

But you would knowe which be those Marchaundise which I sayd this whore setteth forth to sell, for the whiche all her false Prophets with all theyr iuggelinges and crafty gloses cannot bring one iote of Gods worde. Surely, surely,* they be not onely all these abhominatiōs which are come into the Church of Englande alreadye (whereof I haue spoken somewhat before) but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses whyche now must nedes folow: as popish pardons, pilgrimages, romishe purgatory, romish masses, Placebo & Derige, with trentals and Scala coeli, dispensations and immunities frō all godly discipline lawes and good order, pluralities, vnions, and tot quottes, with a thousande moe. Nowe shall come in the flattering friers, and the false pardoners and play theyr olde pranckes and knauery as they were wont to do. Now you shall haue (but of the Sea of Rome onely, and that for mony) canonizing of such Sayntes as haue stand stout in the popes cause, shrining of reliques, & from any kinde of wickednes (if you will pay well for it) cleare absolution a poena & culpa, with thousandes of yeares, yea at euery poore Bishops hand and suffragan, ye shall haue halowing of Churches, Chappels, aulters, superaulters, chalices, and of all the whole housholde stuffe and adornamēt which shalbe vsed in y^e church after the Romish guise, for all these thinges must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrate bishop onely. O Lorde, all these thinges are suche, as thy Apostles neuer knew. As for coniuring (they call it halowing, but it is cōiuring in deede) of water and salt, of christening of belles and such like thinges, what neede I to speake? for euerye priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not onely to do that, but also hath suche power ouer Christes body, as to make both God and man once at the least euery daye, of a wafer cake.

After the rehearsall of the said abhominations, and remembraunce of a number of many moe, which (the Lorde knoweth) irketh me to thinke vpon, and were to longe to describe: when I consider on the other side y^e eternall word of God that abideth for euer, and the vndefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soule from all wickednes and geueth wisdomē vnto y^e innocent babes, I meane that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it,* that good word of God, that word of trueth whiche must be grauen within the hart and then is able to saue mens soules, that wholesome seede, not mortall but immortall of the eternal and euerliuing God, wherby the man is borne a new, and made the childe of God, that seed of God, wherby the man of God so being borne can not sinne, as Iohn sayeth (hee meaneth so long as that seede doth abide in him)

that holy scripture which hath not bene deuised by the wit of man, but taught from heauen by the inspiratiō of the holy ghost which is profitable to teache, to reprocue, to correct, to instruct and geue order in all righteousnesse that the man of God may be whole & sound, ready to performe euery good worke: when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true word that teacheth vs truely our bounden duety towards our Lorde God in euerye poynt, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodnes and mercy is, what he hath done for vs, how he hath geuē hys owne onely dearely beloued sonne to death for our saluation and by him hath sent vs the Reuelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternall word willeth vs both to beleue and also to doe, and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy Apostles with the holy ghost & sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them & other disciples of Christ inspired by the same spirite, to write & leaue behinde them the same thinges that they taught (which as they did proceed of the spirit of trueth, so by the confession of all them that euer were endued with the spirite of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternall saluation:) and likewise when I consider that al that man doth professe in his regeneration when he is receiued into the holy catholicke church of Christ, and is now to be accoūted for one of the liuely mēbers of Christes owne body, all that is groūded vpon Gods holy word, and standeth in the profession of that fayth, & obedience of those commaundements whiche are all contained and comprised in Gods holy word: & furthermore when I consider whom our Sauour Christ pronouceth in his gospell to be blessed, and to whom Moses geueth his benedictiōs in the law, what wayes y^e law, the Prophets, the Psalmes, and all holy Scriptures both newe and olde doth declare to be the wayes of the Lorde, what is good for man to obtaine and abide in Gods fauor, which is that fayth that iustifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth passe and excell all, whiche be y^e properties of heauenly wisdom, and whiche is that vndefiled religion, that is allowed of GOD, which thinges Christ himself called the weighty matters of the law, what thing is that which is onely auayleable in Christ, & what knowledge is that, that Paule esteemed so much, that he counted himself onely to know, what shall be y^e maner of y^e extreme iudgement of the latter day, who shall iudge & by what he shall iudge, & what shall be required at our handes at that fearefull day, howe all thinges must be tried by the fire, and that that onely shal stand for euer which Christes wordes shall allow, which shalbe the iudge of all flesh to geue sentēce vpon all flesh and euery liuing soule either of eternall damnation or of euerlasting saluation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeale, no witte shal serue to delude, nor no power to withstand or reuoke: [Page 1780](#) when (I say) I consider all these thinges, and conferre to the same agayne and agayne, all those wayes wherein standeth the substaunce of the romishe religion (wherof I spake before) it may be euident and easy to perceauē, that these two wayes, these two religions, the one of Christ, y^e other of the Romishe sea, in these latter dayes, be as farre distaunt the one from the other, as light and darckenes, good and euill, [*](#) righteousnes and vnrighteousnes, Christ and Beliall. He that is hard of beliefe, let him note and weigh well with himselfe the places of holy Scriptures, which be appoynted in the margent, wherupon this talk is grounded, & by Gods grace he may receyue some light. And vnto the contemner I haue nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the Prophet Esay, which Paule spake to the Iewes in the end of the Actes of the Apostles. After he hadde expounded vnto them the trueth of Gods word, and declared vnto them Chryst, out of the Lawe of Moses and the Prophetes, from morning to night all the day long, he sayd vnto them that would not beleue: Well (sayd he) spake the holy Ghost vnto our fathers, saying: go vnto this people and tell them: ye shall heare with your eares, and not vnderstande, [*](#) and seeing, you shall behold, and not see the thing, for the hart of this people is waxed grosse and dulle, and wyth their eares they are hard of hearing, and they haue shut together their eyes, that they shoulde not see,

nor heare with theyr eares, nor vnderstand with their hartes, that they might returne, and I should heale them, sayth the Lord God.

All as Englande, alas y^t this heauy plague of GOD shoulde fall vpon thee. Alas my dearely beloued country, what thing is it now that may doe thee good: Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is vtterly vncurable, but by the bottomlesse mercy, and infinite power of almighty God. Alas my deare country, what hast thou done, that thus hast prouoked the wrath of God, and caused him to poure out his vengeaunce vppon thee, for thine owne desertes? Canst thou be content to heare thy faults told thee? Alas thou hast heard ofte, and wouldest neuer amende. England, thy faultes of all degrees and sortes of men, of Magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were neuer more playnely tolde, since thou barest that name, then thou diddest heare them of late, euen before the Magistrates in king Edwardes dayes, but thou heardest them onely, and diddest amend neuer a whitte. For euen of thy greatest Magistrates, some (the kinges highnesse then, that innocent, that godly harted & pereles young Christian Prince excepted) euermore vnkindely and vngently, agaynst those that went about most busely, and most wholesomely to cure their sore backes, spurned pryuely, and woulde not spare to speake euill of them, euen vnto the Prince himselfe, and yet woulde they towards the same preachers, outwardly beare a ioly countenance, and a fayre face.

I haue heard that Cranmer and an other, whome I will not name,* were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but playnly and fullye in the Duke of Somersettes cause, and bothe of late, but specially Cranmer for repugning, as they might against the late spoyle of the Churche goodes, taken away onely by commaundement of the higher powers, wythout any lawe, or order of iustice, and without anye request of consent of them, to whome they did belong. As for Latimer, Leuer, Bradforde, and Knoxe, their tongues were so sharpe, they ripped in so deepe in theyr galled backes, to haue purged them (no doubte) of that filthy matter, that was festred in theyr hartes, of insaciable couetousnesse, of filthy carnalitie, and voluptuousnesse, of intollerable ambition and pride,* of vngodly lothsomnes, to heare poore mens causes, and to heare Gods word, that these men of all other, these Magistrates then could neuer abide. Other there were, very godly men, and well learned, that went aboute by the wholesome plasters of Gods worde, how be it after a more softe maner of handling the matter, but (alas) all sped in like. For all that could be done of all handes, theyr disease did not minishe, but dayly dyd encrease, which (no doubte) is no small occasion in that state, of the heauy plague of God, that is poured vppon Englande at thys daye. As for the common sorte of other inferiour Magistrates, as Iudges of the lawes, Iustices of peace, Sergeantes, common lawyers, it may be truely said of them, as of the most part of the Clergy, of Curates, Uicars, Parsones, Prebendaries, Doctours of the law, Archdeacons, Deanes, yea, and I may say, of Byshoppes also,* I feare me, for the moste parte, although I doubte not but GOD had and hath euer, whome hee in euery state knew, and knoweth to be hys, but for the most part (I say) they were neuer perswaded in theyr hartes, but from the teethe forward, and for the kinges sake, in the trueth of Gods word, and yet all these did dissemble, and bare a copy of a countenance, as if they hath bene sound within.

And this dissimulation Sathan knew well inoughe, and therefore desired, and hath euer gone about, that the highe Magistrates by anye manner of meanes, myght bee deceaued in matters of

religion, for then hee beyng of counsell with the dissimulation in the worldye, knewe well enough that he should bring to passe, and rule al euen after his owne will.

Hipocrisie and dissimulation saint Hierome doth call well a double wickednesse,* for neyther it loueth the trueth (whiche is one great euill) and also falsely it pretendeth to deceiue the simple for an other thing. This hipocrisie and dissimulation w^t God in matters of Religion (no doubt) hath wholly also prouoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were manye good, where they were well and dilligently taught, yet (God knoweth) a great number receaued Gods true word, and high benefites with vnthankfull harts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to haue seene in many places the people so lothsomly, and so vnreligiouslye to come to the holy Communion, and to receaue it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other Diuine seruice, which were according to the true vayne of Gods holye word, in all poyntes so godly, and wholesomely set foorth, in comparison of that blynde zeale, and vndiscreete deuotion, whiche they had afore tymes to those things, wherof they vnderstoode neuer one whi•, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And agayne, as for almes deedes, which are taughte in Gods word (whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them,* and dothe and will require suche at oure handes, whiche are a part of true religion, as Sayncte Iames sayth, and suche as he sayth himselfe, hee setteth more by, then by sacrifice, as to prouide for the fatherlesse infantes and orphanes, for the lame, aged, and impotent poore needye folke, and to make publicke prouision that the pouerty that might labour, shoulde haue wherwith to labour vppon, and so be kept from shameful beggery & stealing in these works: I say how wayward wer many, in comparison (I meane) of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend vpon flattering Fryers, false Pardoners, painting and gilting of stockes and stones, to be set vp and honored in Churches, playnely agaynst Gods worde. And yet because no place is to be defrauded of theyr iust commendation, London, I must confesse, for such godly workes in sir Rich. Dobs knight, then Lorde Maior hys yeare, began maruelous well: the Lord graunt the same may so likewise perseuer continue, yea, and encrease to the comforte and reliefe of the needy and helpelesse, that was so godly begunne, Amen.

All these thinges doe minister matter of more mournyng, and bewayling the miserable state that now is:* for by this it may be perceaued, how England hath deserued this iust plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good thinges, what soeuer they were that had theyr beginning in the tyme when Gods woorde was so freely preached, now with the exile and banishement of the same, will depart agayne.

But to returne agayne to the consideration of thys miserable state of Christes Church in Englande, and to leaue farther and more exquisite searchyng of the causes thereof, vnto Gods secrete and vnsearchable iudgements let vs see what is best now to be done for Chrystes little flocke. This is one maxime and principle in Chrystes law. He that denyeth Christ before men, hym shall Chryst deny afore hys father, and all hys Aungels of heauen. And therefore euery one that looketh to haue by Chryst our sauour euerlasting lyfe, let him prepare hymselfe so, that he deny not hys mayster Chryst or els he is but a cast away, and a wretche, how soeuer he be counted, or taken here in the world.

Now then seing the doctrine of Antichrist is returned agayne into this Realme,* and the higher powers (alas) are so deceaued, and bewitched, that they are perswaded it to be truthe, and Christes true doctrine to be error and heresie, and the olde lawes of Antichriste are allowed to returne with the power of theyr father agayne: what can be hereafter looked for by reason, to the man of God, and true christian abiding in this realme, but extreame vyolence of death, or els to denye his mayster. I graunt the hartes of Princes are in Gods handes, and whether soeuer he will, he can make them to bowe: and also that christian princes in olde tyme, vsed a more gentle kinde of punishment, euen to them whiche were heretickes in deede as degradation, and deposition out of theyr rouses and offices, exile and vanishment out of theyr domynions and [Page 1781](#) countryes, and also (as it is read) the true Bishoppes of Christes Church, were sometime intercessors for the heretickes vnto Princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of S. Augustine. But as yet Antichristes kingdome was not so erected at that time, nor is nowe accustomed so to order them, that will not fall downe and worship y^e beast and his Image, but (euen as al the world knoweth) after the same maner that both Iohn & Daniell hath prophesied before, that is by violence of death: and Daniell declareth farther, that the kinde of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment. Therefore if thou, O man of God, doest purpose to abide in this realm prepare and arme thy selfe to dye: for both by Antichristes accustomed lawes, and these prophecies, there is no appearaunce, or likelihood of any other thing, except y^u wilt deny thy mayster Christ, which is the losse at the last, both of body and soule vnto euerlasting death. Therefore my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou bee, to thee that canst,* and mayst so doe, that counsaile that I thinke is the best safegard for thee, both for thy body, and most suretie for thy soules healthe, is that whiche I shall shew thee hereafter. But first I warne thee to vnderstand me, to speake to hym or her, which be not in captiuitie, or called already for to confesse Christ, but are at libertye abroade.

My councell (I say) therefore is this, to flye from the plague, and to get the hence. I consider not onely the subtleties of Sathan, and how hee is able to deceiue by hys false perswasions (if it were possible) euen the chosen of GOD, and also the great frayltie, whiche is oftentimes more in a man, then he doth know in himselfe, whiche in the tyme of temptation, then will vtter it selfe, I doe not onely consider these thinges (I saye) but that our mayster Christ, whose life was, and is a perfecte rule of the Chrystian mans life, that hee himselfe auoyded oftentimes the furie, and madnes of the Iewes, by departing from the country or place.

Paule likewise, when hee was sought in Damasco, and the gates of the citty were layd in wayt for him, was conueighed by night, being let downe in a basket, out at a window ouer the wall: and Helias the Prophet fledde the persecution of wicked Iesabell: and Chryste our sauour sayth in the Gospell:*When they persecute you in one citie, flie vnto an other: and so did many good, great learned, & vertuous men of God, which were great and stout chāpions neuerthelesse, and stoute confessors, and mayntayners of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of suche was the great Clarke Athanasius. But this is so playn• to be lawfull by Gods worde, and examples of holy men, y^t I neede not to stand in it. Hauing this for my ground, I say to thee O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy sauegard, to depart and flye farre from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truely: before God,* I thinke that the abomination that Daniel Prophesied of so long before, is nowe set vpp in the holye place. For all Antichristes doctrine, lawes, rites and relygion, contrary to Christ, and to the true seruing and worshipping of God, I vnderstand to be that abomination: Therefore now is the time in England, for those wordes of

Christ, Tunc, inquit, qui in Iudea sunt fugiant ad montes. Thē (sayth he) marke this Christes [then] for truely I am perswa'ded, and I trust by the spirite of God, that this [then] is commaunded: Then (sayth Christ) they that be in Iewry, let them flye into the mountaynes, and he that is on the house top, let hym not come downe to take away any thing out of his house and he that is abroad in the fielde, let hym not retourne to take hys clothes. Woe be to the great bellied women, and to them that geue sucke, but pray (sayth Christ) that youre flight be not in Winter nor on the Sabbath day.

These wordes of Christe are misticall, and therefore haue neede of interpretation. I vnderstand all those to be in Iewry spiritually,* which truely confesse one true liuing God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctryne of the Gospell of Christ. Such are they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the raigne of Antichristes abhominations, to flye vnto the mountaynes: whiche signifieth places of safegard, & all such thinges which are able to defēd from the plague. That he biddeth hym that is in the house top, not to come downe, and hym that is in the field, not to retourne to take with hym his clothes, hee meaneth that they shoulde speede them to get them away betyme, leaste in theyr tarying, and trifling about worldly prouision, they be trapped in the snare ere euer they be aware, and caught by the backe, and for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themseues into great perilles of more waighty matters. And where he sayth: woe be to the great bellied woman, and to them that geue suck: women great with child and nigh to their lying downe, and to be brought to bed, are not able to trauell: nor also those women, whiche are brought to bed, and now geueth their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually vnderstandeth all suche to be in extreame daunger, whiche this worde [woe] signifieth: all suche (I say) as are so letted by any maner of meanes, that they no wayes be able to •lye from the plague. And where Christ sayth, pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day, in winter the common course of the yeare teacheth vs, that the wayes be foule, & therfore it is a hard thing, then to take a farre iourney for many incommodities, and daungers of the wayes in y^e tyme of the yeare: and on the Sabbath day it was not lawful to iourney, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that wee should haue neede, both to speede oure iourney quickly, which cannot be done in Winter, for the incommodities of the wayes, and also to go farre, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day: he biddeth vs therefore pray that our flight be not in winter, nor on the Sabbath day: that is, to pray that wee may flye in tyme, and also farre enough from the daunger of the plague. Now, the causes why we shoulde flye, followeth in the same place of saynct Mathewes Gospell, whiche I now passe ouer: thou maist read them there.

And in the xviii. chapter of the Reuelation, the angell is sayd to haue cryed mightely with a loud voyce:*Flye my people out of Babilon, least you be infected with her faultes, & so be made partners of her plagues for her offences and sinnes are •rowne so great, that they swel and are come vnto the heauens:•••aynely the tyme doth approche, and the Lordes day is at hand. Heare (I beseeche you) also holy Paule, that blessed Apostle: He playnely forbiddeth vs, ducere iugum cum incredulis, that is, to ioine or couple our selues with the vnfaythfull,*for what fellowship can there be (sayth hee) of righteousnes with vnrighteousnes, what companie hath lighte with darcknesse, or what agreement hath Christ with Beliall, or what part can the faythfull haue with the vnfaythfull, or how doth the temple of God agree with Images or Idols, for you are the temple of the liuing God: as God hath sayd, I will walke and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people, wherefore depart from amongst them and get you from them (sayth y^e Lord)

and touche no vncleane thing: and I will receaue you, & bee to you in the stead of youre father, and you shalbe vnto me as my sonnes and daughters, sayth the almighty Lord.

This counsell to depart the realme, I doe not maruel if it do seeme to diuers (euen of them I meane that beare fauour to Godward) diuersly.* Many (I trust) y^t bee learned shall thinke the counsell good. Other there be peradventure, that will thinke it rather a thinge to be more tollerable, and that it may be in deede by Gods worde lawfully done, rather then to bee counsayled to bee done, for they will peradventure say, we shoulde counsell a man alwayes to doe that, whiche is best of all, and of moste perfection: but boldly in Christes cause to spend a mans lyfe, is best of all, and of moste perfection, and to flye it maye seeme to smell of cowardnes. In many thinges, that whiche is best for one at some tymes, is not best for all at all tymes, and it is not most perfection,* nor meete for a childe to couet to run, before he can goe. I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might bee aunswered agayne: I leaue that to the wittie, and eloquent men of the world.

This is my minde, whiche I woulde thou shouldest know, O man of God, as I woulde wishe, and I do pray to almighty God it may be, that euery true Christian, either brother or sister (after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to striue in Christes cause for the best game, that is, to confesse the truth of the Gospell, and of the Christian fayth, in hope of euerlasting life) shoulde not shrink, nor relent one inch, or giue back, what soeuer shal befall, but stande to theyr tackle and sticke by it euen vnto death, as they wil Christ shall sticke by them at the latter day: so likewise I dare not wishe nor counsell any, either brother or sister of theyr owne swinge, to starte vp into the stage, or to cast themselues eyther before, or farther in daunger then tyme and neede shall require: for vndoubtedly when God seeth hys tyme, and his pleasure is, that his glory shall be set forth, and his Church edified by thy death and confession,* meanes shall be found by hys fatherly vniuersall prouidence, that thou without thyne owne presumptuous prouocation, shalt be lawfully called, to do thy feate, and to playe thy part. The miserable ende that one Quintus came vnto, may be a warning, and a feareful example for all men, to beware of presumption, and rashnesse in suche thinges (as Eusebius writeth in Eccle. historia) for euermore.

But a thyrde sorte of men there be, whiche also wyll be counted fauourers of Gods worde, and are (I feare) in number farre moe, and worse to be perswaded to y^t which [Page 1782](#) is y^r godly meane. I meane of such as wil peradventure say or thinke, that my former counsell, which was to slye the infection of the Antichristian doctrine, by departing out of the Realme, is more then needeth, and other waies and meanes may be found, both to abide, and also to be cleare out of daunger of the foresayde plague. If that coulde be found, both to abide, and also to be cleare out of daunger of the foresaid plague. If that coulde be found in deed truely agreeable to Gods word, I woulde be as glad to heare it (God is my witnesse) as who is the other. Yes peradventure will some say. Thus it may be. Thou mayst keep thy selfe,* thy fayth, and thy religion close to thy selfe, and inwardly and priuately worship God in spirite & trueth, and outwardly see thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor transgressour of common order: so mayst thou be suffered in the common wealth and yet vse thy religiō without offence of thy conscience. In other countryes somewhere this peradventure might be vsed, but in Englande what shall be, God wot, but it was neuer yet, so farre as euer I haue knowne or heard. And also how can it be, but eyther thou must transgresse the common order, and the Romishe lawes and customes, whiche haue bene vsed in England, in the times past of Popery, and now (it is certayne) they retourne agayne: I say, thou

mayst eyther be a breaker of these rites, lawes, and customes, and so bewraye thy selfe, or els if thou be in deede a man of GOD, thou shalt offend thy conscience, for in obseruing of them, thou shalt be compelled to breake Gods law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort euery holy day to the Church, and beare a face to worship the creature for the creatour, as thou must doe, & peraduenture confesse it too w^t thy mouth, and to sprinkle thy selfe with thy coniured water?

Thou must bee contributour also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of Antichristes seruice, of lights of the roode lofte, of the sepulchre, for setting vp & paynting of Images (nay in deede of Idolles) and thou muste beare a face to worship them also, or els thou must be had by the backe. Thou must serue the turne, to geue the holye loues (as they call it) whiche is nothinge els but a verye mockery of the Lordes holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparell, that y^e popishe sacrificing Priest, like vnto Aaron, must playe hys part in. Yea when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering Fryer to begge for the mayntenaunce of superstition except thou doe as thy neighbours doe, looke not long to liue in rest. If anye of thy housholde dye, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing, and singing, for Requiem Masses, Dirige, and commendations, and such like trumpery of y^e Antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt bee reckened for a catholicke man, or for amicus Caesaris? A hūdred thinges moe may be reckened, and many of more weight, and of more euident superstition and Idolatrye, then some of these which I haue nowe rehearsed,* whyche God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enoughe to declare, and to set before thyne eyes, the thing that I intend that is, if thou abyde and wilt dwell in Englande, thou must eyther doe these, and many other moe contrarye to Gods worde, whiche forbiddeth not onely the thing whiche is euill, but also sayth: Ab omni specie mali abstinete vos, abstayne from all thinges that haue anye appearaunce of euill: or els if thou wilt not doe them, howe thou canst liue in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

But peraduenture (as a man is readye to finde, and inuent some coloure to cloke hys conscience, to doe that thing that hys harte desireth) thou wilt say, though at any time I shalbe forced, to doe any of these thinges and suche like, yet will I haue no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body, I will keepe myne hart vnto God, and will not doe that of mine owne minde willingly neyther but to auoyd an other inconuenience: I trust therefore god will holde me excused, for he shall haue my hart, what can I doe more?

O my frend, beware for Gods sake and know that the subtleties of Sathan are deepe. Hee that is not able by Gods word to perceiue them, is heauily laden. Pray therefore with Daud: Lord let me not haue a mynde to inuente excuses for to cloke my sinne,* examine my deare frend, these thy wyly wayes with the worde of God, and if they do agree, thou maist vse them: if not, know, though they may seeme neuer so fine and goodly, yet in deede they be of Sathans broode. Gods worde is certayne, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the creatour, for that is haynous Idolatry, and agaynst the first commaundemēt of God,* and it is also agaynst the seconde commandement of the first table to bow downe, or to doe worship vnto any Images of God, or of anye other thinge: And Gods word, requireth not onely the beliefe of the hart, but also y^e confession of the mouthe: and to beare part of the charges, to the mayntenance of thinges vngodly, what is that,* but in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consensenters and the doers, Gods worde accounteth to be giltly bothe. And it is not lawfull by S. Paules doctrine

whiche was inspired hym by the spirite of God, to do ill that thereof the thing, which is good may come.

Thy hart (thou sayst) GOD shall haue, and yet wilt suffer thy body to doe the thinge that God dothe abhorre. Beware O man, take heede what thou sayest. Man may be deceaued, but no man may deceiue God, for he is called and is truely 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, that is to saye, the searcher of the hart. Now, to geue God thy heart, is to geue hym thy whole heart, to loue him, to dread him, and to trust in him aboue all other thinges. He that hath my commaundementes (sayth Christ) and obserueth and keepeth them, it is he that loueth me: and to dread God aboue all other, is rather willingly to incurre the daunger and perill of all fearful thinges, then wittingly to doe that thing which is contrarye to his blessed will and commaundement: and to truste in hym aboue all thinges, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of hys goodnes and mercy,* and to preferre that aboue all thinges in the world seeme they neuer so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truely, that God hathe thy heart after thys maner of sorte (which is to haue thy heart in deede) when thy deedes do declare farre an other thing? Thy bodye, O man is Gods, and all the partes therof, euen as thy soule is: hee made them both, and Christe with hys bloude redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearely, and darest thou suffer any parte of eyther of them to do seruice to Sathan? Surely in so doyng, thou committest sacriledge and doest robbe God, thou defilest the liuely temple of the liuing God if thou suffer thy body to doe Sathan seruice. Do you not know (sayth saynct Paule) that your body is a liuely temple of God? * And may a man then take and vse any part thereof but in the seruice of God? No surely, it is not lawfull so to do for the man of God, neyther with hand, tongue, nor foote, nor any parte of the whole body.

Doth not Paule commaund to the Romaynes,* which pertayneth to euery christian soule: As you haue in times past (sayth he) geuen your members to doe seruice vnto vncleannes and wickednes, from one wickednes to an other: so nowe geue youre members to doe seruice vnto righteousness, that you may be sanctified. And I pray thee good brother, what doest thou thinke is to beare the marke of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand that saynct Iohn speaketh of? I knowe wee ought warely to speake of Gods misteryes whiche he shewed by the spirite of prophesying to his seruaunt Iohn, yet to red them with reuerence, and to praye for the same so muche as God knoweth is necessarye for oure tyme to knowe, I thynke it necessarye and good.* Wherefore, what I suppose is to beare the Beasts marke, I will tell thee, and committe the iudgement of mine interpretation, as in all other thinges, to the spirituall man. I suppose he beareth the Beast of Babilons marke in hys forehead, whiche is not ashamed of the Beastes wayes, but will professe them openly to set foorth his mayster the beast Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his marke in hys hand, that wil, and doth practise the workes of the beast w^t hys power & hand. And likewise I wil not let to tel thee, what I thinke to be signed in the forehead for the seruaunt of God, whereof Iohn also speaketh, reckoning vp many thousands so to haue bene signed of euery tribe, I suppose he is signed in the forehead, for the seruaunte of God whome GOD hath appoynted of his infinite goodnes, and hath geuen him grace and strength, stoughtly to confesse hym, & his truth before the worlde. And to haue grace and strength to confesse Christe, and the doctrine of the crosse, and to lament and mourne for the abominations of Antichrist, I suppose is to be signed w^t Tau, whereof Ezechiell the Prophet doth speake. Thus I suppose these Prophetes are spirituallly to be vnderstanded: and to looke for other corporall markes, to be seene in mennes foreheads, or in their handes, is nothing els but to looke that there shoulde come some brute beast

out of Babilon, or some Elephant, Leopard, Lyon, or Camell, or some other such monstrous Beast with x. hornes, that should do all the wonderfull thinges spoken in Iohn: and yet of a Beast speaketh Iohn, but I vnderstand hym so to be called, not for that he shall be anye suche brute Beast, but for that he is, and shall bee the chylde of perdition,* whiche for hys crueltie and beastlye manners, is well called a Beast.

The carnall Iewes knew there was a promise made, that Helias should come before Christe the Messias, the [Page 1783](#) annoynted of God, to prepare hys wayes: they knew also there was a promise of Messias, that he shoulde come, and be a king, and raygne in the house of Dauid for euermore, but they vnderstoode al so grossely, and so carnally, that they neyther knewe Helias, nor Messias when they came, for they looked for Helias to come down from heauen in his own person, and for Messias to come & raigne in worldly pompe, power, riches and glorie, when as the prophesies of both wer spirituallly to haue bene vnderstāded: of Helias that he shoulde come not in persone, but in spirite, that is, one whiche shoulde be indued with the spirite, and giftes of grace of Helias, whiche was in deede Iohn Baptist, as Christ hymselfe did declare to his Apostles. And of Messias raygne, all the Prophetes were to be vnderstanded of the raygne of hys spirituall kingdome ouer the house of Iacob, and the true Israelites for euermore. And so by that their grosse, and carnall vnderstandyng, they mistooke both Helias, and the true Messias, and when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewise I feare me (nay it is certayne) the world that wanteth the light of the spirite of God (for the worlde is not able to receaue hym,* sayth Iohn) neither dothe, nor shall know the beast, nor his markes, though he rage cruellye and liue neuer so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like y^e sand of the sea. The Lord therfore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blinde, with the light of grace, that they may see and perceaue, and vnderstād the words of God, after the minde of his spirite, Amen.

Here remayneth two obiections, whiche may seeme wayghty, and the whiche may peraduenture moue many not to follow the former counsell. The former reason is, A man will say, O sir it is no small matter ye speake of, to depart from a mans owne natiue countrey, into a strange realme.* Many men haue so great lettes, as how it is possible that they can, or may do so? Some haue landes & possessions, whiche they cannot carry with them: some haue father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolke, from whome to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a straunge country, that thou knowest not, neyther the maner of the people, nor how thou mayst away either with the people, or with y^e country. Or what a hard thing it is to liue amonge a straunge people, whose tongue thou doest not vnderstand. &c.

I graunt here thou mayst heape a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a mans owne natiue country, I meane out of the whole realme, into a straunge land: but what of all these, and a thousand moe of the lyke sorte? I will sette vnto them one saying of our sauour Christ, whiche vnto the faythfull childe of God, and to the true christian, is able to counteruayle all these, yea and to way them downe. Christe oure sauoure sayth in Luke: If any come to me, and do not hate hys father and mother (hee meaneth, and wyll not in his cause forsake his father and mother) hys wyfe, children and brethren, yea and hys lyfe too, hee cannot bee my discipule: and whosoeuer doth not beare hys crosse and come after me, he cannot be my discipule. And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warriour, that euery man that wil not in Christes cause, forsake all that euer he hath, hee can not be his Discipule. Look the places who will: the matter is so

playnely set forth, that no gloses, nor cloking of conscience to the manne of God, can serue to the contrarye. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the imbrasing of Christes crosse, when Christ and his cause layeth it vpon our backe: but this is so playne that I neede here to rehearse no more.

This latter reason and obiection whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessitie, which after the common saying,* hath no lawe, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good aunswere. This may bee objected of some: alas sir I graunt al these thinges do greue me and because I vnderstand they doe not agree with Gods worde, whiche is the rule of my conscience, I loth eyther to looke on them, or to heare them. But sir (alas) I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sicke man, a lame man, or I haue so many small infantiles and a lame wife, which all liueth by my labour, and by my prouision: if I leaue them they shall sterue, and I am not able to cary them with me, suche is my state. Alas sir, what shal I do? And these causes may chaunce to some men of God, whereby eyther it shalbe for them vtterly impossible to departe the country or els in departing, they shalbe inforced to forsake suche in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hathe committed vnto them the care.

Alas what counsel is here to be geuen? O lamentable state. O sorrowfull hart that neyther can depart, and with out extreame daunger and perill, is not able to tarye still. And these are they whom our Sauour Christe sawe be'fore should be, and called them in his prophesie of the lat'ter time, great bellyed or traueilling women, and women that geue after they bee brought to bed, their small babes suck. The state of such are not able to flye the infection of y^e pestiferous plague of Antichristes abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, sayth: Wo be to the great bellyed and traueilling woman, and women that geue sucke in those dayes. For these alas my hart mourneth the more, the lesse I am able to geue any comfortable counsell: but this: that alwayes, as they looke for euerlasting lyfe, they abide still in the confession of his truth, what soeuer shall befall, and for the rest to put theyr trust now wholly in God, whiche is able to saue them agaynst al apparance, and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort fayleth,* and the danger is at highest, thē vnto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready for to put his helping hand. Daniel, God suffered to be caste into the Denne of Lyons, and the three children into the hote burning furnace, and yet he saued them all. Paule was plucked out of the mouthe of the Lyon (as he sayth of hymselfe) and in Asia he was brought in suche trouble, that he looked for no other thing, but for present death, and yet hee that rayseth the dead to lyfe agayne, did bring him out of all hys troubles, & taught him & all other that be in troubles for christes cause, not to trust to thēselues, but in almighty God.

Of Gods gracious ayde in extreeme perilles toward them that put theyr truste in hym, all Scripture is full bothe olde and new. What daungers were y^e Patriarcks ofte• brought vnto, as Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, but of all other Ioseph, and how mercifully were they deliuered agayne?• In what perilles was Moises when he was fayne to flye for the sauegard of hys life? And when was he sent agayne to deliuer the Israelites from the seruyle bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lorde mightely deliuer his people from Pharaos sword? Not before they were broughte into such straightes, that they were so compassed on euery side (the mayne sea on the one side, and the maine hoste on y^e other) that they could looke for none other (yea what did they els in deede looke for?) but eyther to haue bene drowned in the sea or els to haue fallen on y^e edge of Pharaos sword. These iudges

whiche wrought most wonderfull thinges in the deliuerie of the people, were euer geuen when the people was brought to most misery before as Othoniel, Aioth, Saugar, Gedeon, Iephthe, Samson. And so was Saull indued with strength and boldnes frō aboue, agaynst the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalechites for the defence of y^e people of God. Dauid lykewise felt Gods helpe most sensibly euer in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speake of the Prophetes of GOD, whome God suffered so oft to be broughte into extreame perilles, and so mightely deliuered them agayne: as Hel•as, Jeremy, Daniell, Micheas, and Ionas, and many other, whome it were but to long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord vse his seruauntes otherwise in y^e new lawe after Christes incarnation? Read the Actes of the Apostles, and you shall see no. Were not the Apostles cast into Prison, and brought out by the mightye hande of God? Dyd not the Aungell deliuer Peter out of the strōg prison, and bryng hym out by the yron gates of the Cittie and set hym free? And when, I pray you? Euen the same night before Herod appoynted to haue broughte him to iudgement for to haue slayne hym, as he had a little before killed Iames the brother of Iohn. Paule and Silas, whē after they had bene sore scourged, and wer put into the inner prison, and there were layde fast in the stockes, I pray you what appearaunce was there that the Magistrates should be glad to come the next daye themselues to them, to desire them to be content and to depart in peace. Who prouided for Paule, that hee shoulde bee safely conducted out of all daunger, and brought to Felix the Emperoures Deputie, when as both the hygh Priestes, the Phariseis, and rulers of the Iewes had conspired to require iudgement of death agaynst hym, he being fast in prison, and also more then xl. men had sworne eche one to an other,* that they would neuer eate nor drynke vntill they hadde slayne Paule? A thing wonderfull, that no reason could haue inuēted, or man could haue looked for: God prouided Paule hys owne sisters sonne a younge man, that disapoynted that conspiracie, and all theyr former coniuration. The maner how the thing came to passe, thou mayst read in the xxiii. of the Actes. I will not be tedious vnto thee here with the rehearsall thereof.

Nowe, to descend from the Apostles to the Martyrs that followed next in Christes Church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious oure good God euer hathe bene to worke wonderfully with them which in his cause [Page 1784](#) haue bene in extreme perilles, it were matter enoughe to write a longe booke. I will here name but one manne and one woman, that is, Athanasius the greate clarke and godly man stoutely standing in Christes cause against the Arrians, and that holy woman Blandina, standinge so constantly in all extreme paynes, in the simple confession of Christe. If thou wilt haue examples of moe, looke and thou shalt haue both these and a C. moe in Ecclesiastica historia of Eusebius, and in Tripartita historia.

But for al these examples both of holy scripture, and of other historyes, I feare me the weake man of God incombred with the fraylty and infirmitie of the fleshe, wil haue now and then such thoughtes and quawmes (as they call them) to run ouer hys hart, and to thinke thus: All these thinges which are rehearsed out of the scripture, I beleue to be true, and of the rest truely I do thinke well, & can be'leue thē also to be true: but all these we must needes graūt were speciall miracles of God, which nowe in our dayes are ceased we see, and to require them at Gods handes, were it not to tempt God.

Welbeloued brother, I graunt such were great wonderfull workes of God,* and wee haue not seene many of such myracles in our tyme, eyther for that our sight is not cleare (for truely God worketh with hys, his parte in all tymes) or els because we haue not the lyke faythe of them for

whose cause God wrought suche thinges, or because, after y^t he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many myracles to bee done was expired withall. Which of these is the most speciall cause of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth: I leaue that to God. But knowe thou this my welbeloued in God, that Gods hand is as strong as euer it was, he may do what his gracious pleasure is, & hee is as good and gracious as euer he was. Man changeth as the garment doth, but God our heauenly father is euen the same now that he was, and shalbe for euermore.

The world without doubt (this I do beleue, and therefore I say) draweth towardes an end, and in al ages God hath had hys owne maner, after hys secrete and vnsearchable wisdom, to vse hys electe, sometimes to delyuer them and to keepe them safe, and sometymes to suffer thē to drinke of Christes cuppe, that is, to feele the smart, and to feele of the whip. And though the fleshe smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other, is gladde of the one, and sore vexed in the other: yet the Lorde is all one, towardes them in both, and loueth them no lesse when hee suffereth thē to be beaten, yea & to be put to bodily deathe, then when he worketh wonders for theyr marueilous deliuary. Nay rather he doth more for them, whē in anguish of y^e torments he standeth by them & strengthneth them in theyr fayth, to suffer in y^e confession of the truth & his fayth, the bitter panges of death, then when he openeth y^e prison dore and letteth them go lose: * for here hee doth but respite thē to an other time, & leaueth thē in daunger to fall in like perill again: & there he maketh them perfite, to be without danger, paine, or perill after y^t for euermore. But this hys loue towards thē, howsoeuer the worlde doth iudge of it, is al one, both when he deliuereth & when he suffereth thē to be put to death. He loued as well Peter and Paul, whē after they had (according to hys blessed will, pleasure and prouidence, finished their courses, and done theyr seruices appoynted them by hym here in preaching of his Gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruell tyraunt Nero (as the Ecclesiasticall hystory sayth) as when hee sent the Aungell to bringe Peter out of prison, and for Pauls deliuary he made all y^e dores of the prison to flye wide open, and the foundation of the same like an earthquake to tremble and shake.

Thinkest thou (O thou man of God) that Chryst our sauour had lesse affection to the first martyr Stephen, because he suffered his enemies euen at the first conflicte to stone him to death? No surely, nor Iames Iohns brother which was one of the three that Paule calleth Primates or Principals amongst the Apostles of Christ. Hee loued him neuer a whit the worse thē he did the other, although he suffered Herode the tyrauntes sword to cut of his head. Nay, doth not Danyell say speaking of the cruelty of Antichristes time: *Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, & ruent in gladio & in flamma, & in captiuitate, & rapina dierum. &c. Et de eruditis ruent vt conflentur & eligantur, & dealbentur. &c. That is, and the learned (hee meaneth truely learned in Gods lawe) shall teache many, and shall fall vppon the sworde, and in the flame, (that is, shall bee burned in the flaming fire) and in captiuitie (that is, shall bee in prison, and be spoyled and robbed of theyr goodes for a longe season. *) And after a little in the same place of Daniell it followeth: and of the learned there be, whiche shall fall or be ouerthrowne, that they may be knowne, tryed, chosen, & made white: he meaneth, be burnished & scoured a new, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lustye. If that then was foreseene for to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let euery one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chaunce, be mery in God, and reioyce, for it is to Gods glory, and to his owne euerlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that euer he was borne, for whom thus graciously God hath prouided, hauing grace of God,

and strength of the holy Ghost so stand steadfastly in the height of the storme. Happy is he that euer hee was borne, whome God his heauenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoynt to glorifie him, and to edifie hys Church by the effusion of hys blood.

To dye in Christes cause is an high honour, to y^t whiche no man certaynly shall or can aspire, but to whō God vouchsafeth that dignitie: * For no man is allowed to presume for to take vnto hym selfe any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore Ioh. saith well speaking of them, which haue obtayned the victorie by the blood of the Lambe, and by the worde of hys testimony, that they loued not theyr liues, euen vnto death. And our sauour Christ sayth: He that shall lose his life for my cause shall finde it. * And this manner of speach pertayneth not to one kinde of Christians, (as the worldly dothe wickedly dreame) but all that doe truelye pertayne vnto Christ. For when Christe had called vnto hym the multytude together with hys Disciples, he said vnto thē (mark that he sayde not this to the Disciples and Apostles onely, but he sayd it to al) who soeuer wil follow me, let him forsake or deny hymselfe, and take vp his crosse and followe me: for who soeuer will saue his lyfe, shall lose it (he meaneth who soeuer will, to saue hys life, both forsake or leaue hym and his truth) and whosoever shall lose his lyfe for my cause, and the Gospels sake, shall saue it: For what shall it profite man if he shall winne the whole world and lose his owne soule? hys owne lyfe? or what shall a manne geue to recompence that losse of his owne lyfe, and of hys own soule: * Who soeuer shalbe ashamed of me & my words (that is to confesse me and my Gospell) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the sonne of man be ashamed when he commeth in the glory of hys Father, * with the holy Aungels. Know thou O man of God, that all thinges are ordayned for thy behoufe, and to the furthe'raunce of thee, towards thy saluation. All thinges (saith Paule) worketh with the good to goodnes, euen the enemies of God, & such kind of punishmentes whereby they goe about to destroy them, shall be forced by Gods power might, & fatherly prouidence, for to do them seruice.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that pouerty, aduersitie, sickenes, tribulation, yea paynfull death of the godly be tokens that God doth not loue them: but euen cleane the contrary, as all the whole course of scripture doth euidently declare, for then he would neuer haue suffered hys most dearly beloued the Patriarkes to haue had such trou'bles, his Prophetes, his Apostles, his martyrs and chiefe Champions and mayntayners of hys truth and Gospell, so cruelly of the wicked to haue bene murdered and slayn. Of the which some were racked (as the Apostle sayth) and woulde not be deliuered, * that they might receaue a better resurrection. Some were tryed by mockinges & scourginges, yea moreouer by bondes and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewen and cut a sunder, they were tempted, they were slayne with the sword, they wandered vp and down in sheepes skinnes and Gotes skinnes, beyng forsaken, afflicted and tormented: such men as y^e world was not worthy to haue, wādring in wildernes, in moūtaynes, in Dennes and Caues of the earth. All these were approued by the testimony of fayth, and receaued not the promise, because God did prouide better for vs, that without vs they should not be consummated. They tary now for vs vndoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commaunded to haue pacience yet (saith the Lord a litle while, vntill the number of theyr fellow seruauntes bee fulfilled, and of theyr brethren whiche are yet to be slayne, as they were.

Now (thou O man of God) for our Lordes sake, let vs not for the loue of thys lyfe, tary then to long, and bee occasion of delay of that glorious consummation, in hope and expectation wherof

the departed in the Lord, and the whiche also the liuing endued with Gods spirite, ought so earnestly to desire and to grone for with al the creatures of God. Let vs all with Iohn the seruaunt of God, cry in our harts vnto our sauour Christ: Veni Domine Iesu, come Lorde Iesu come. For then when Christ which is our life,* shall be made manifest and appeare in glorye, then shall the Children of God appeare what they be, euen like vnto Christ: for this oure weake body shall bee transfigured [Page 1785](#) and made like vnto Christes glorious body, and that by y^e power wherby he is able to subdue vnto himselfe al thinges. Then, that which is now corruptible, shall be made incorruptible: that nowe is vile, shall then bee made glorious, that is now weake, shal rise then mighty and strong that is grosse and carnall shall be made fine and spirituall for then we shal see and haue the vnspeakable ioy and fru[•]tion of the glorious maiestie of our Lord euen as he is.

Who or what then shall let vs to ieoparde, to ieopard? yea, to spende this lyfe whiche wee haue here, in Christes cause? in our Lorde God his cause? O thou therefore man of God, thou y^r art loden, & so letted like vnto a great bellied woman, that thou canst not flie the plague, yet if thou lust after suche things as I haue spoken of, stand fast what soeuer shall befall, in thy maysters cause: and take this thy letting to flye,* for a calling of God to fight in thy mayster Christ his cause. Of this be thou certaine, they can do nothing vnto thee, whiche thy father is not aware of, or hath not foreseene before: they can do no more thē it shal please hym to suffer them to do for the furtheraunce of his glory edifying of his Church, and thine owne saluation. Let thē then do what they shall, seeing to thee (O man of God) all thinges shall be forced to serue, and to worke with thee vnto the best before God. O be not afrayd and remember the end.

All this whiche I haue spoken for the comforte of the lamentable case of the man whome Christ calleth the greate bellied woman, I meane to bee spoken of likewyse to the captiue and prisoner in Gods cause: for suche I counte to be as it were already summonned and pressed to fight vnder the banner of the crosse of Chryste, and as it were souldiours allowed and taken vp for the Lordes warres, to do their Lorde and mayster good and honourable seruice, and to sticke to him, as men of trusty seruice in hys cause, euen vnto death, and to thinke their lyfe lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for euermore.

Therefore, now to conclude and to make an end of thys treatise, I say vnto all that loue God our heauenly father that loue Christ Iesus our redeemer and sauour: y^t loue to follow the wayes of the holy Ghost whiche is our comforter and sanctifier of all: vnto al that loue Christs spouse and bodye, the true catholicke Churche of Christe, yea that loue lyfe and theyr owne soules health: I say vnto al these hearken my deare breathren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sortes, ages, dignities, or degrees: hearken to the word of our sauour Iesus Christ spoken to his Apostles, and meant to all his in S. Mathewes Gospel: Feare not them whiche kill the body, for they cannot kil y^e soule: but feare hym more which may destroy and cast both body and soule into hell fire, Are not two small sparrowes sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light vpon the ground without your father? All the heares of your head be numbed.* Feare them not, you are muche more worthe then are the litle sparrowes▪ Euery one that confesseth me before men, him shal I likewise confesse before my Father which is in heauen. But who soeuer shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my father which is in heauen.

The Lord graunt vs therfore of his heauenlye grace and strengthe, that here wee maye so confesse him in thys world amongst this adulterous and sinneful generation, that he may

confesse vs agayne at the latter day before hys father whiche is in heauē, to his glory and our euerlasting comfort, ioy and saluation.

To our heauenly Father, to our sauour and redemer Iesus Christ, and to the holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for euer. Amen.

Thus with the deathe and martyrdome of these two learned Pastors and constant souldiours of Christ, mayster Latimer, and B. Ridley, you haue dyuers of theyr letters and other writings of theirs expressed, with y^e Farewels also of B. Ridley, wherein he tooke hys leaue of the world, taking hys iourney to the kingdome of heauen. Diuers and sondry other treatises of his remayne also in my hand both in Latine and English, to be remembred, by y^e leaue of the Lorde in time and place conuenient.

The death and end of Stephen Gardiner Byshop of Winchester.

THE next moneth, after the burning of Doctor Ridley and mayster Latimer,* which was the moneth of Nouember, Stephen Gardiner Byshop and Chauncelloure, a man hated of God and all good men, ended hys wretched lyfe. Concerning the quallities, nature, and disposition of which man, for somuch as somewhat hath bene declared before in the storye of kinge Edwardes raygne,* I shall neede therefore the lesse now to stand greatly vpon the same. First this Uipers byrd crept out of the towne of Bery in Suffolke, brought vp most parte of his youth in Cambridge, his wit, capacitie, memorye, and other indumentes of nature not to bee complayned of, if he hadde wel vsed and rightly applyed the same: wherein ther was no great want of Gods part in hym, if hee had not rather hymselfe wanted to y^e goodnes of his gifts. Through this promptnes, actiuitie, & towardnes of hys, he profited not a little in such studyes as he gaue hys head vnto, as first in the law ciuil, then in languages and such other like, especially in those artes and faculties, which had any prospect to dignitie and preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helpes of nature, memory chiefly seemed in hym very beneficiall, rather then dilligence of study.

To these giftes and quallities were ioyned agayne is great or greater vices,* which not so much followed hym as ouertooke him, not so muche burdened hym, as made hym burdenous to the whole realme. Hee was of a proude stomacke and high minded, in hys owne opinion and conceit flattering himselfe to much, in wit, crafty and subtile, towarde his superiour flattering and faire spoken to hys inferiours fierce, agaynst hys equall stoute and enuious, namely if in iudgement and sentence he any thyng withstoode hym, as appeared betweene the good Lorde Crōwell and hym in the raygne of kyng Henry, being of like hau•inesse of stomacke, as the Poets wryte of Pelides, Cedere nescius. Who although would geue no place to men yet notw^tstanding I wish he woulde haue geuen place to truth, according as he semed not altogether ignorant of y^e truth. What his knowledge was therin,* it is euident part^ly to vnderstand as wel by his book De vera obedientia, as also by his sermon before king Edward: also by his aunsweres to y^e Councell the same time, and moreouer by hys own wordes may be gathered in sundrye places, as more playnly may appeare by that whiche hereafter followeth,

Upon hys estimation and fame he stode •o too muche more then was meete for a man of hys coate and callynge, whose profession was to be crucified vnto the world, whiche thing made him

so stiffe in mayntayning that hee had once begon to take vpon hym. I will not heare speake of y^t which hath bene constantly reported to me, touching the monstrous making & mishaped fashion of hys feete and toes, the nayles wherof were sayd not to bee like to other mens, but to crooke downeward, and to be sharpe lyke y^e clawes of rauening beastes. What hys learning was in y^e Ciuil and Canon law, I haue not to say. What it was in other liberal sciences and artes thys I suppose, y^t neyther hys continuance in study, nor diligence of readynge was such (by reason of hys to muche intermedling in Prynces matters) as could truely wel merite vnto hym y^e title of a deepe learned man. But what learning or cunning soeuer it was he had, so it fared in him, as it dothe in Butchers, whiche vse to blow vp theyr flesh: euen so he with boldnes and stoutnes, and speciallye with authoritie made those giftes that he had to appeare much greater then they were in very deede. Wherunto vse peraduētūre also & experiēce abroad brought no little helpes, rather then eyther quicknes of wit, or happines of education.

And as touching Diuinitie, he was so variable wauering with time, that no constant censure can be geuē what to make of hym. If hys doynge and wringings were accordinge to hys conscience, no man can rightly saye whether he was a right protestant or Papist. If hee wrote otherwise then he thought, for feare, or to beare with tyme then was he a double deep dissēbler before God and man, to say & vnsay, to write and vnwrite, to sweare and forswear so as hee did.* For first in the beginning of queene Annes tyme, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the kings diuorce as Ste. Gard. who was first sent to Rome and then to the Emperour with Edward Foxe, as chiefe agent in the behalfe of Lady Anne. By whome also he was preferred to the Bishopricke of Winchester, & Ed. Boner was preferred to y^e Bishoprick of Londō. Agayn, at the abolishing of the Pope, who so ready to sweare, or so vehement to write agaynst the Pope as he, as not onely by hys sermons, but also by hys booke De obedientia may appeare. In whiche booke De obedientia, least any shuld thinke him drawne thereunto otherwise then by his own consent, he playnly declareth how not rashly nor vppon a sodeine, but vppon a long deliberation and aduisement in hymselfe about the matter,* he at length vttered hys iudgement: Whereof read before. And moreouer so hee vttered his iudgement in wryting agaynst the vsurped supremacie of the Pope, that comming to Louane, afterwarde hee was there accompted for a person excommunicate, and a schismaticke, in so much that he was not permitted in their Church to say Masse, and moreouer in their publicke sermons they openly cryed out agaynst hym. Whereof read hereafter following.

[Page 1786](#) And thus long continued he firme and forward so that who but Winchester during all the tyme and raigne of Queene Anne. After her decease that time by litle and litle caried him away, til at length the emulation of Cromwels estate,* and especially (as it seemeth) for his so muche fauouring of Boner (whom Winchester at that time in no case coulde abide) made him an vtter enemie both agaynst him, and also his Religion: till agayne in kyng Edwardes daies, he began a litle to rebate from certaine poyntes of Popery, and somewhat to smell of the Gospell, as both by his Sermon before king Edward,* and also by his subscribyng to certane Articles may appeare: and this was an hal• turne of Stephen Gardener from Popery againe to the Gospell, and (no doubt) he would haue further turned, had not the vnlucky decay of the Duke of Somerset cleane turned him away from true Diuinitie to playne Popery:* wherein he continued a cruell persecutour to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Ste. Gardiners Popish diuinity.* In which his popishe trade, whether he folowed more true iudgement, or els time, or rather the spirite of ambition & vaine glory, it is doubtful to say, & so much y^e more doubtfull, because in his doings & writings a man may see him not only contrary to him selfe, but also in some points contrary to other Papistes. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he seemeth therein not so much to folow his owne sense, as y^e mind & meaning of Perseus: out of whose booke the greatest part of Winchesters Diuinity seemeth to be borrowed.

And therefore, as in the true knowledge of Gods holy word & scripture he appeareth no body: so in his pen and stile of writings no lesse farre he is from commendation,* then he is frō al plainenes and perspicuitie. In whose obscure & perplexe kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no reader finde any sweetenes in his reading.

What moued him to be so sturdy against M. Cheke, and sir T. Smith for y^e Greke pronunciatiō, other may thinke what they please: I speake but what I thinke, that he so did, for that he sawe it a thing rather newly begun, then truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that mā (as it semeth) y^t of purpose he euer affected to seme to be a patron of al old customes, though they were neuer so rotten with age. Amongest other matters, this one thing I can not but meruaile at in my minde, when I see how proudly he braggeth and vaynely vaunteth him selfe (aswell in his letters to the L. Protector, & others of K. Edwardes counsell, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by hym vnto the Archbishop of Canterburie, and other the kyngs Commissioners, of the high fauour he had of the noble K. of famous memory K. Henry the 8. when in deede nothing was lesse true: neither did the king lesse fauour any of his Counsell, then him, affirming very often that he greatly suspected the sayde B. to be a secrete maynteiner of the B. of Romes vsurped authoritie, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedinges in reformation of Religion. And therefore dyd so muche dislyke with him, that he did not onely mynd (if the Lord had lent his highnes longer life) to haue vsed the extremity of law agaynst him, vpon very sore & iust matter of old committed by him (and yet not taken away by any pardon) commaunding thereupon often the L. Paget then his Secretarie, to kepe safe certaine writings which he had against him: But also commaunded that he should be put cleane out of his last will & Testament, not sufferiing him either to be any of his Executors, or els in any case of his sonnes counsayle, no although he were earnestly entreated to the contrary by sundry of the Lordes & others of his highnes Counsayle, saying, he was a wylfull, troublesome, and hed strong man, and not meete to be about his sonne, or to haue any thing to do by his wil. Now amōgst other causes that moued the K. thus to suspect his fidelity towards his godly proceedinges in religion, I find this to be one. It pleased his Maiestie after his abolishing of the B. of Romes vsurped authoritie (amongest other Embassages to forraine Princes) to send the sayd B. of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knyuet Knight, as ioynt Embassadors to the Emperour, being then at a dyet or counsayle at Ratisbone, appoynting also S. Iohn Barkeley, S. W. Blunt Knightes, and M. Andrew Baynton Esquier, (his highnes seruantes) to geue their attendaunce vpon the sayde S. Henry Knyuet for y^e more honoring of his ambassage. It happened also at that time, that S. Henry Knyuet enterteyned into his seruice (as Steward of his household) one Wil. Wolfe, who had in the same place & rome, before serued S. Thomas Wyat Knight the K. former Ambassadors there, and by that meanes had good acquaintaunce in those partes, aswell in the Emeperours Court, as els where. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of that dyet or counsell, happened to walke (as often he did) towards

themperours Pallace to heare some newes, where he met with one Ludouico, an Italian Merchaunt or banker, one of his old acquaintaunce: who, supposing the sayd Wolfe to haue attended vpon the B. of Winchester (not knowing of any other ioynt Ambassadour) required Wolfe for olde acquaintaunce, to do him a pleasure: whereunto he wyllingly graunted. Whereupon Ludouico shewed him, that the Popes legate, or Ambassadour to themperour (which was Cardinal Contarene) departing (the day) before towards Rome, and hauing no leasure to end his busines him selfe, had put the sayd Ludouico in trust for the accomplishyng of them: and amonges all other thinges he had especially charged hym that he should repayre to the Ambassadour of England, and require of him an aunswere of the Popes letters, which the Legat did of late sende vnto him, addressed to him from Rome, & that vpon the receipt thereof he should send thē after with all speede: and therfore if his L. Ambassadour woulde write by that currouer, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was tyme to write, for the currouer went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abashed, & yet partly gessing which Ambassadour he ment, thought it not mete to tell him whose seruaunt he was, but by other soothing talke, perceiued that he ment the B. of Winchester: and to thend that Ludouico shoulde suspect nothing, he aunswered him, that he beyng not the Ambassadors Secretary, coulde say litle therein, howbeit he woulde not misse to put his Secretarie in remembraunce of it: which thing Ludouicke also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintaunce with the Ambassadors, and so for that time they departed. This matter seming to Wolfe of some importaunce, dyd straight waies reueale it to sir H. Knyuet his M. Who, weighing also the greatnes of the case, and the disaduauntage it were, vpon one mans so bare a report to attempt ought, in a place and time, whereby suche a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe, wel to aduise him self, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did moue him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, that he weighed wel the weightines of the case, meete, as to his owne respect, to be passed ouer in silence, for auoyding of his priuate displeasure, if duty of alleageaunce bound him not otherwyse. But Sir, (quoth he) if ye thinke not my hearing hereof one to one to be sufficient, I warrent you to deuise meanes, that some others of your seruauntes shall heare the like wordes at Ludouickes owne mouth as wel as I. Upon which talke, sir H. Knyuet deuised, which of his seruauntes he might vse to that purpose, and at last rested vppon M. Thomas Chalenor his Secretary, because he had the Italian tonge. Not yet makyng him pryue of any matter, but wylled Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his owne priua motion, for they were very familiar friendes. Whereupon the next morning being sonday, Wolfe came to Chalenors chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walke with him abroad to y^e Piazza or marketstead: which he gladly graunting so did, not knowing of any speciall cause why. When they came to the Piazza, ouer against themperours pallace, (nere wherunto also the Popes legate had lodged) & had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludouicke, and espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, & entred into talke about the exchaunge, & sundry other matters, Chalenor being still with them. At last vpon occasion, they entred into like talk about the former letters that the Ambassadors of Englande had receiued from Rome by the Popes legate, of which Ludouico had in charge to receiue an aunswere, affirming, that the Post did depart the next day, & therfore prayed Wolfe to put the Ambassadors secretarie in remembrance of them. Wherunto Wolfe aunswered, that he would willingly do it: but he did not well know which Ambassadour he meant, for that there were two: one, the B. of Winchester, & the other, a Gentleman of the K. priuy chamber. To whom Ludouicke replied, that he ment not the Gentleman of the priuy chamber, but the Bishop. By which talke and more such like (as vpon the former day,) M. Chalenor being moued (and not knowing yet of his Maisters & Wolfes purpose) after the departure of Ludouico from them, sayd

vnto Wolfe that Ludouico had had but homely talke with him to be passed ouer lightly, & therefore he would tel his M. of it. To whom Wolfe aunswered, do as you wyll, if you thinke any matter therein. And therefore at his returne home he told sir H. Knyuet what spech he had hard at Ludouickes mouth. Sir H. Knyuet, being thus farther accertayned of the matter, opened the whole to sir I. Barkeley, sir W. Blunt, and to M. Baynton: who all agreed, yet to make a farther triall thereof. And therefore deuised that Wolfe should procure Ludouicke to bring certaine Ueluet and other Silkes [Page 1787](#) vnto sir H. Knyuets lodging, aswell for himselfe as for thother Gentlemen, which that after noone he did accomplysh, and brought Ludouicke vnto sir Henry, where also were thother gentlemen. After they had a while viewed the silkes, and had had some talke about the prices, Wolfe toke occasion againe to aske Ludouicke, if sir Henry were thembassadoure of whō he was to demaunde an answere of the letters sent by the Popes legate? to whom the Marchaunt aunswered no, it was not his seignorie, but it was a bishops, tearing him Reuerendissimo, whereby they easely perceiued whom he ment. Sir H. Knyuet hereupon somewhat dissembling y^e matter, entred into farther talke thereabouts, whereby Ludouicke opened asmuch in effect to them, as he had don before to Wolfe: but yet at last perceauing that asmel sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen did beholde him somewhat fixedly, he brake of his talke. Wherewith sir H. Knyuet, making as though he had noted nothing, did louingly dismisse him, praying him that when he had receiued the B. letters, he would also repaire to him for a packet to an Englyshe Gentleman of his acquaintance at Myllan: which he promised to do, and so departed againe. When sir Henry had thus made sufficiēt tryall of this matter, he forthwith (wrote his letters vnto the K. Maiestie, signifiyng vnto him the whole at large as he had learned. In the meane while, Ludouicke the next morning repaired vnto the B. of Winchesters lodging to demaunde an answere of those letters the Legate had sent vnto hym: but how he vsed him selfe, or whether he vttered the talke he had with sir H. Knyuet, and with Wolfe whom he supposed at the first to be the B. man, it is not certainly knowen. But the B. perceiuing that by mistaking one for an other (and in supposing Wolfe to be the B. seruauant) Ludouicke had vttered all his message from the Legate vnto Wolfe, and that thereby his practises would come to light, in great hasty rage caused Ludouicke to be stayed in his owne house, while in the meane time him self went to Grauuela one of themperors counsell, & so practised with him that Ludouick was secretly committed vnto prison in the custody of one of themperours Marshals, so as he could be no more talked withall, all the tyme of their aboad there. And then sending in great hast to sir H. Knyuet to come and speake with him (which he did) he fell into very hot speach with him, saying that he had poyson in his dysh, and that a knaue was suborned to be his destructiō: w^t many such like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he vnderstode it, and prayed him, that Ludouicke might be brought face to face to be examined in both their presentes. Which the B. would in no case agree vnto, affirming that he had so declared the case to Grauuela being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he woulde not meddell with Ludouicke nor speake with him: but that themperours counsell should examyne hym, & try what he was, for hym. To whom sir H. Knyuet againe very earnestly obiected, that he maruayled that the B. in matter, touching the K. Maiestie, their Maister, would vse the ayde or means of Grauuela, a forraine Princes minister, to make him priuie of their question. But stay & do what he would, he would neuer come to the speach of Ludouicke any more euer after. Whereupon there rose great and long controuersies betweene them (both wryting letters vnto the K. about that matter) vntill at last the K. Maiestie perceiuing his affayres otherwaies to slacke therby, wrote vnto them both, that they should lay all those things vnder foote and ioyned together in his seruice as before: which they did accordingly. But how soeuer this matter was afterwarde salued here with the K.

Maiestie, as eyther by the death of sir H. Knyuet (which I thinke was not very long after) or by other friendes the B. had here at home I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two monethes after died of a long cough of the Longues, vpon his death bed did agayne affyrme the premisses to be most true: and therefore in the presence of sir H. Knyuet, & diuerse other of his seruauits, he protested, that he had not inuented, sought, or procured this at Ludouickes handes, for any malice or displeasure borne to the B. but only for discharge of his fayth & duetie vnto the K. Maiesty, desiring that y^e same his protestation might be inserted in the end of his last will and testament: which was then presently done, & thereunto set his hand.

Now whether this was the matter that the K. moued so often M. Secretary Paget (being after L. Keeper) to keepe safe as sore matter agaynst the B. I know not: but yet it appears by some depositions of the Nobilitie and others, in the processe agaynst hym had in K. Edwardes dayes, that the K. Maiestie Henry .8. had this matter euer in his mynd: for in euery generall pardon that he graunted by Parliament after this practise, he did styll except all treasons committed beyond the seas, meaning thereby as it was supposed that the B. should not take any benefite by any general pardon, if at any time his Maiestie would call him to accompt: and therefore all thinges wel wayed, he had smal cause to vaunt of his great fauour he had of K. Henry his M. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fooles paradize, by the L. Paget: who (as he himsel^e reporteth in his depositions) in his messages from the K. to the sayd B. deluded hym, telling him muche otherwyse then the K. had spoken, & counsaling alwayes the K. hard speches agaynst him: which thing puffed vp this vaine-glorious Thraso not a litle. All whiche premises appeare more at large by the depositions of the Nobles & others, examined in y^e long processe against him in K. Edwardes raigne, as appeares in our first edition of actes and monumentes, from the .804. Page, vnto the ende of that processe, in that booke at large mentioned.

But whatsoever he was, seeing he is nowe gone, I referre him to his Iudge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I woulde they which were present thereat, would testifie to vs what they saw. This we haue all to thinke, that his heath happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to geue thanks to y^e Lord therfore: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in peruerting his Princes, in bringing in the vi. Articles, in murderying Gods saintes,* in defacing Christes sincere Religion. &c. as also especially for that he had thought to haue brought to passe in murdring also our noble Queene that now is. For what soeuer daunger it was of death y^t she was in, it did (no doubt) proceede frō that bloody bishop, who was the cause therof. And if it be certain which we haue heard,* y^t her highnes being in the Tower, a writte came downe from certaine of the Counsell for her execution, it is out of controuersie, that wily Winchester was the onely Dedalus & framer of that ingine. Who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole Realme into wofull ruine, had not the Lordes moste gracious counsell,* through M. Bridges then the Lieutenaunt, comming in hast to the Queene, certified her of the matter, and preuented Architophels bloody deuises. For the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and sauour, in y^e congregacion of al English churches, Amen.

Of thinges vncertaine, I must speake vncertainely, for lacke of fuller information, or els peraduenture they be in the Realme that can say more then here I haue expressed. For as Boner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfielde, Dunning, with other, were occupied in puttyng the poore braunches of Gods Saintes to death: so this Bishoppe for his part bent all his deuises and had

spent all his powder in assayling the roote, and in casting such a platforme (as he himselfe in wordes at his death is said to confesse) to buyld his popery vpō, as he thought should haue stand for euer and a day. But (as I sayd before) of vncertayne thinges I can speake but vncertainely. Wherefore as touching the maner and order of his death, how rich he died, what wordes he spake, what litle repentaunce he shewed, whether he died with his tongue swolne and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Caunterbury, or whether he stonke before he dyed, as Cardinall Wolsey did,* or whether he dyed in dispayre as Latomus and others did. &c. All this I referre either to their reportes of whom I hearde it, or leaue it to the knowledge of them whiche know it better.

Notwithstanding, here by the way touching the death of this foresayde B. I thought not to ouerpasse a certaine hearesay, which not long since came to me by information of a certaine worthy & credible Gentlewoman, & an other Gentleman of the same name and kinred: which Mistres Monday, beyng the wyfe of one M. Monday Secretary sometime to the old L. Thomas D. of Northfolke, a present witnes of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshypfull Citisen, bearyng yet office in this Citie, in wordes & effect as foloweth. The same day, when as B. Ridley, and M. Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the .19. day of October, there came to the house of Ste. Gardiner, the old D. of Norfolke with the foresaid M. Monday his secretary aboue named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke, there wayting & tariyng for his dinner, the B. being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to .3. or .4. of the clocke at after noone. At length, about .4. of the clocke commeth his seruauant posting in all possible speede from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the B. what he had heard & seene: of whom the sayd B. diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fyre, most certainly was set vnto them, commeth out reioysing to y^e Duke: Now sayeth he, let vs go to dinner. Whereupon, they beyng set downe, meate immediately was brought, and the Bishop began merely to eat: But what folowed? The bloody Tyraunt had not eaten a few bitte•, but the soden stroke of God, his terrible hande fell [Page 1788](#) vpon him in such sort, as immediatly he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bedde, where he continued the space of 15. dayes in such intollerable anguish and tormentes, that all that meane while, during those .15. dayes, he could not auoyde by order of vrine, or otherwyse, any thing that he receiued: whereby, his body being miserably inflamed within (who had inflamed so many good Martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no dout, as most like it is, came the thrustyng out of his tongue from his mouth so swolne and blacke, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burnyng persecutors.

But to proceede farther in the sequell of our storie: I coulde name the man (but I abstayne from names) who being then present, and a great doer about the sayd Winchester, reported to vs concerning the sayde Byshop, that when Doctor Day B. of Chichester came to him, and began to comfort him with woordes of Gods promise, and with the free iustification in the bloud of Christe our Sauour, repeating the Scriptures to him. Winchester hearyng that, what my Lorde (quoth he) will you open that gappe now? then farewell altogether. To me and such other in my case you may speake it: but open this window vnto the people, then farewell altogether.

Moreouer, what D. Boner then saw in him, or what he heard of him, & what wordes passed betweene them about the tyme of his extremitie, betwixt him, and him be it. If Boner did there beholde any thing which might turne to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware

in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the friuolous Epitaph which was made of his deth, deuised of a Papist for a Popish Bysh. but I pretermit it, & in steede thereof I haue here •ferred certayne gatheringes out of his Sermons, wordes and writings, wherein may appeare first what an earnest and vehement enemie he was to the Pope if he woulde haue bene constant in him selfe: then how inconstantly he varied frō himselfe: and thirdly how he standing vpon a singularity of his owne wit, wauering also from other Papistes in certaine poyntes. In the gathering whereof albeit there be some paines, & tediousnes also in readyng: yet I thought not to pretermit the same vppon certayne considerations, namely for that so many yet to this day there be, whiche sticke so muche to Gardiners wit, learnyng, & religion, taking him for such a doughty pillar of the Popes church. To the intent therefore, that such as hetherto haue bene deceiued by him may no longer be abused therein if they will either credit his owne wordes, workes, Sermons, writings, disputations: or els will be iudged by his owne witnesses of his owne party producted, we haue here collected such manifest probations, which may notoriously declare how effectuously first he withstode the Popes supremacie: and likewyse afterward may declare manifest contrariety and repugnaunce of the said Gardiner, first with other writers, and lastly with him selfe: first beginning with his Sermon preached before Kyng Edward. The summe and effect of which Sermon briefly collected by M. Udal, here vnder foloweth to be seene.

¶The summe and effect of the Sermons which Gardiner B. of Winchester preached before King Edward. An. 1550.

MOst honorable audience, I purpose by the grace of God to declare some part of the Gospell that is accustomedly vsed to be read in the Church as this day.* And for because that without the speciall grace of God, neither I can speake any thyng to your edifying, nor ye receiue the same accordingly, I shal desire you all, that we may ioyntly pray altogether for the assistance of his grace. In which praier I commend to almighty God, your most excellent Maiestie our soueraigne Lord, King of Englande, France & Ireland, and of the Church of England & Ireland next and immediately vnder God here on earth the supreme heade, Queene Katherine Dowager,* my Lady Maries grace, my Lady Elizabethes grace, your Maiesties most deare sisters, my Lorde Protectours grace, with all others of your most honorable Coūsaile, the spiritualtie and temporaltie, and I shall desire you to commend vnto God with your praier, the soules departed vnto God in Christes faith, and among these most specially our late soueraigne Lorde King Henry the eighte, your maiesties most noble father. For these and for grace necessary I shall desire you to say a Pater noster, and so foorth.

The Gospell beginneth: Cum venisset Iesus in partes Caesareae Philippi &c. When Iesus was come into the parties of Cesaria, a citie that Phillippus builded, he asked his disciples and sayde: whome doe men say that the sonne of man is?* They sayde, some say that thou art Iohn the Baptist, some that thou art Elye, some that thou art Ieremie or some of the Prophets. He sayd to them: but whome say ye that I am? Then aunsweared Simon Peter and sayd, thou art Christe the sonne of the liuing God. &c. I cannot haue time I thinke to speake of the Gospell throughly, for other matters that I haue here nowe to say, but I shall note vnto you such things as I may, and first of the diuersitie of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the people variable: but among his, that is the disciples of Christes schoole, there was no varietie, they agreed altogether in one truth, and amonge th•m was no varietie. For when Peter had for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest made his answere that Christ was the sonne of God,* they all with one

consent confessed that he had spoken the truthe. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honorable and not sclauderous: for to say that Christ was Elie and Iohn the Baptist, was honourable. For some thought him so to be, because he did frankely, sharply & openly rebuke vice. They that called him Ieremie, had also an honourable opinion of him, & thought him so to be because of his great learning which they perceyued in him, and marueiled where he had it. And they that sayde he was some of the Prophetes, had an honourable opinion of hym, and faouered him, and thought well of him.

But there was an other sort of people that spake euil of him, and sclaudered him, and railed on him, saying that hee was a glutton, and a drinker of wine, that he had a deuil in him, that he was a deceiuer of the people, that he was a Carpenters sonne as though he were the worse for his fathers crafte. But of these hee asked no question: for among these none agreed with the other. Wherin ye shall note that man of his owne power and strength can nothing do, nor nothing that good is, he can do of his owne inuention or deuise, but erreth and faileth when he is left to hys owne inuention, he erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and so stoute of his owne courage,* that he deuiseeth nothing well when soeuer he is left to him selfe, without God, and then neuer do any such agree in any truth, but wander and erre in all that they doe. As men of lawe if they be asked their opinion in any poynt touching the Law,* ye shall not haue two of them agree in opinion: in any poynt touching the law, ye shal not haue two of them agree in opinion one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they shoulde aunswere all one thing, they feare lest they should be supposed and thought to haue no learning. Therefore be they neuer so many of them, they will not agree in their aunsweres, but deuise ech man a sundry aunswere in any thing that they are asked.

The Philosophers that were not of Christes schole, erred euery one in their vayne opinions,* and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Yee men of simplicitie, though they meane well, yet being out of Christes schole, they agree not, but vary in their opinions:* As these simple people here spokē of, because they were not perfect disciples of Christes schole, they varied and agreed not in their opinion of Christ, though they thought well of him. Some sayde he was Iohn, some Elie, some Ieremie, but none made the right aunswere. He that answered here, was Symon the sonne of Ionas, and he sayde: Thou art Christe the sonne of the liuing God.

Where ye shall note the properties that were in Peter. He was called Symon▪ which is Obedience, and Ionas is a Doue,* so that in him that is of Christes schoole, must be these two properties, Obedience and Simplicitie. He must be humble and innocent as a Doue that will be of Christes schoole.* Pride is a let of Christes schoole, for as the wise man sayth: GOD resysteth the proude, and geueth grace vnto the humble and meeke. And according to the same,* dooth Christe in the Gospell say: O Father, I confesse vnto thee, that is: I laude and magnifie thee,* for that thou hast hidden these thinges from the wise, and hast opened them vnto the litle ones. Whereupon sayth S. Augustine, that the giftes of learnyng and knowledge of sciences, are no let to Christes schole, but a furtheraunce therevnto if they be well applied and vsed as they ought to be: but he that is proude, and feedeth him selfe with his owne conceite and opinion of him selfe and abuseth the giftes of God,* applying his learning and knowledge, to the satisfying and folowyng of his owne

fantasie, is no right Disciple of Christ, but falleth into errour. Dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti facti sunt: When they sayd and affirmed them selues to be wise, they were made fooles.

The Philosophers had euery one a secte of his owne, and had many gay sentences for the commendation of their opinons, and euery man thought his owne opinion to be best: but because they applyed all to their owne pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled them selues as they ought to haue done, but folowed their owne fansie, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of Christes schoole: and all that haue gone out of Christes schoole,* pride hath brought them out of it, and such as haue not entred, haue kept them selues out of it with pride likewyse: therefore all suche as wylbe scholers of Christes schoole and discipline, must be humble and meeke: otherwyse, Dicentes se sapientes esse stulti facti sunt.

He that can not learne this lesson of Peter, and humbly [Page 1789](#) confesse with Peter that Christe is the sonne of the lyuing God, is no scholer of Christes schole, be he otherwyse neuer so well learned, neuer so well seene in other sciences. But now concernyng the aunswere of Peter, Mattheue here in this place sayth: he aunswared: Tu es Christus filius Dei viui. S. Luke sayth, he aunswared: Tu es Christus Dei. And S. Marke sayth, he aunswared: Tu es Christus. But in all that is no varietie: for to say Christus filius Dei viui, and to say Christus Dei, and to say Christus, is in effect all one, and no diuersitie in it, for Christus alone is the whole, and he that confesseth throughly Christe, is throughly a Christian man, and doth therein confesse him to be the Lorde and Sauour of the worlde. But nowe we must consyder what Christ is. Christ was sent to be our Messias, our Sauour: he was sent to be our Byshop and also our Sacrifice, he was sent from the Trinitie to be our Mediatour betwene God and vs, and to reconcile ve to the fauour of God the Father: he was the Byshop that offered for our sinnes, and the Sacrifice that was offred, and as he is our Byshop, so is he our meane to pacifie God for vs,* for that was the office of a Byshop to sacrifice for the sinnes of the people, and to make intercession for the people, and as he was our Sacrifice, so was he our reconciliation to God agayne.

But we must confesse and beleeeue hym throughly I say: for as he was our Byshoppe then,* so is it hee that still keepeth vs in fauoure with GOD, and lyke as his Sacrifice then made was sufficient for vs to delyuer vs from our sinnes and to bryng vs in fauour with GOD, so to continue vs in the same fauoure of GOD,* he ordeyned a perpetuall remembraunce of hym selfe, he ordeyned hym selfe for a memory of hym selfe at his last Supper when he instituted the Sacrament of the Aulter, not for an other Redemption, as though the worlde needed a new Redemption from sinne, but that we myght throughly remember his most holy Passion he instituted this Sacrament by his most holy worde, saying: This is my body, which worde, is sufficient to proue the Sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substaunce thereof.* And this dayly Sacrifice he instituted to be continued amongst Christian men, not for neede of an other Redemption or Satisfaction for the sinnes of the worlde, for that was sufficiently perfourmed by his Sacrifice of his body and bloud done vppon the Crosse: neyther that he is nowe our Byshoppe for neede of any further Sacrifice to be made for sinne, but to * continue vs in the remembraunce of his Passion suffered for vs, to make vs strong in beleeuynge the fruite of his Passion, to make vs diligent in thanksgeuyng for the benefite of his Passion, to establyshe our fayth, and to make it strong in acknowledgyng the efficacie of his death and Passion suffered for vs. And this is the true vnderstandyng of the Masse, not for an other Redemption, but that we may be strong in beleeuynge the benefite of Christes death and bloud shedding for vs vppon the Crosse. And this it

is that wee must beleue of Christ and beleue it throughly, and therefore by your pacience, as Peter made his confession, so wyl I make confession, wherein by your Maiesties leaue and sufferance. I will playnly declare what I thinke of the state of the Church of Englande at this day,* how I like it, and what I thinke of it.

Where I sayd of the Masse, that it was a Sacrifice ordeyned to make vs the more strong in the fayth and remembraunce of Christes Passion, and for commendying vnto GOD the soules of such as be dead in Christe (for these two thynges are the speciall causes why the Masse was instituted) the Parliament very well ordeyned Masse to be kept,* and because we shoulde be the more strong in the fayth and deuotion towards GOD, it was well done of the Parliament, for mouyng the people more and more to deuotion, to ordeyne that the Sacrament shoulde bee receiued in both kindes.* Therefore I say that the Acte of Parliament for receiuing of the Sacrament of the Alter in both kindes, was well made.

I say also that the Proclamation whiche was made that no man should vnreuerently speak of the Sacrament, or otherwise speake of it then Scripture teacheth them, was well made. For this proclamation stoppeth the mouthes of all suche as will vnreuerently speake of the Sacrament: for in Scripture is there nothing to be found that maketh any thing agayng the Sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not vse any vnreuerent talke agaynst the Sacrament, nor blaspheme the holy Sacrament. For no worde of the Scripture maketh any thing agaynst it.

*But here it may be sayde vnto mee: Why Syr, is this your opinion? It is good you speake playnelye in this matter, and halt nothyng, but declare your mynde playnelye without any coulouryng or couert speakyng. The Acte for the dissoluyng and suppressing of the Chauntries seemeth to make agaynst the Masse, howe lyke you that Acte? What say you of it? or what woulde you say of it, if you were alone? I will speake what I thynke of it, I wyll vse no coulourable or couert woordes, I wyll not vse a deuised speeche for a tyme, and afterwarde * goe from it agayne. If Chauntries were abused by applying the Masse for the satisfaction of sinne, or to bryng men to heauen, or to take away sinne, or to make men of wicked iust, I lyke the Acte well, and they myght well be desolued, for the Masse was not instituted for any suche purpose: yet neuerthesse for them that were in them (I spake now, as in the cause of the poore) it were well done that they were prouided of lyuinges.* The Acte doth graciously prouide for them duryng thier lyues, and I doubte not but that your Maiestie and the Lordes of your most honorable Counsell haue willed and taken order, that they should be well looked vnto, but yet howe they shall be vsed at the handes of vnder officers, God knoweth, full hardly, I feare. But as for the Chauntries them selues, if there were any suche * abuse in them concerning the Masse, it is no matter if they be taken away.

Kyng Henry the eyght, a noble and wyse Prince, not without a great payne mayntained the Masse, and yet in his doctrine it was confessed that Masses of Scala Coeli were not to be vsed ne allowed, because they dyd peruert the right vse of and institution of the Masse. For when men adde vnto the Masse an opinion of satisfaction, or of a newe redemption, then doe they put it to an other vse then it was ordeyned for. I that allow Masse so well, and I that allowe praying for the dead (as in deede the dead are of Christian charitie to bee prayed for) yet can agree with the Realme in that matter of putting downe Chauntries.

But yet ye woulde say vnto me: there be fewer Masses by puttyng away the Chauntries. So were there when Abbeyes were dissolved: so be there when ye vnite many Churches in one. But this is no iniury nor preiudice to the Masse, it consisteth not in the number nor in the multitude, but in the thing it selfe, so that the decay of the Masse by takyng away of the Chauntries, is aunswereed by the Abbeyes. But yet I woulde haue it considered for the persons that are in thē, I speake of the poore mens liuinges.

I haue nowe declared what I thinke of the Acte of Parliament made for the receyuing of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christe in both kyndes.* Ye haue my mynde and opinion concernyng Proclamation that came foorth for the same Acte, and I haue shewed my mynde therein euen playnely as I thinke, and I haue euer beene agreeable to this poynt, I haue often tymes reasoned in it, I haue spoken and also written in it, both beyond the Seas and on this side the Seas: my bookes be abroade, which I cannot vnwrite agayne. I was euer of this opinion, that it myght be receiued in both kyndes, and it was a constitution prouinciall scarce two hundred yere agoe, made by Peckam then Archbyshoppe of Canterburie,* that it shoulde be receiued in both kyndes, at least wyse in ecclesijs maioribus, that is, in the greater Churches, for in the smaller Churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus haue I euer thought of this matter: I haue neuer bene of other mynde, nor I haue not changed my conscience, but I haue obeyed & followed the order of the Realme, and I pray you to obey orders as I haue obeyed, that we may all be the chyl dren of obedience.

Nowe I wyll returne to the Text. When Symon had aunswereed: Tu es Christus filius Dei viui. Thou art Christ the sonne of the Lyuing GOD. Then Christe sayde vnto hym: Blessed art thou Symon Boriona, for fleshe and bloud haue not opened that vnto thee, but my Father whiche is Heauen, and I say vnto thee that thou art Peter, and vppon this rocke will I buylde my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not preuayle agaynst it. Blessed art thou (sayde hee) for fleshe and bloud haue not opened that vnto thee. For otherwyse in Iohn, Andrewe tolde of Christe and sayd: I haue founde the Messias which is Christe.* But that is not enough. He that shall confesse Christe, must haue an inwarde teachyng, and must bee spiritually taught by the Father of Heauen, for Andrewes confession was nothyng but a carnall confession, and suche a one as any other might haue made by naturall reason: but the confession of Peter was aboue reason of man, for Christ was there a very man, and Peters eyes told him that he was a man and nothing els, but he was inwardly taught by the Father of heauen, and had a secrete knowledge geuen him from heauen, not by flesh and bloud, that is to say, by mans reason, but inwardly by the Father of heauen: and seeyng this was aboue reason, it is a merueylous thing that reason shoulde be vsed to impugne fayth,* whiche is not within the precinct of carnall men, and such as vse grosse reason.

But Peter had an other lesson inwardly taught him, and because he could his lesson, Christ gaue him a new name: for Petra is a stone, a new name of a Christian man,* for vppon this confession of thy fayth, here I will buyld my Church, that is, I wyll stablysh all those which I entend to gather vnto thee: Et Daemones non preualebunt aduersus eam, that is: and the Deuils shall not preuayle agaynst it: for he that with a good hart, and sure fayth confesseth this, he is sure from all euill: this world nor Sathan can do him no harme.

But now for a further declaration, it is a meruelous thing, that vppon these woordes the Byshoppe of Rome should founde his supremacie, for whether it be super Petram, or Petrum, all is one

matter, it maketh nothyng at all for the purpose to make a foundation of any such supremacie. For otherwyse when [Page 1790](#) Peter spake carnallye to Christe (as in the same Chapter a lytle folowyng) Sathan was his name, where Christe sayde: Go after me Sathan, so that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacie,* but as it is sayde in Scripture: Fundati e•tes super fundamentum Apostolorum & Prophetarum: that is, by participation (for godly participation geueth names of things) he myght be called the head of the Church, as the head of the Riuer is called the head, because he was the fyrst that made this confession of Christe, whiche is not an Argument for dignitie, but for the qualitie that was in the man. For the fyrst man is not euermore the best,. The Headman of a Queste is not alwayes the best man in the Queste, but is chosen to bee the Headman for some other qualitie that is in hym. Vertue may allure men, so that the inferiour person in dignitie may be the better in place, as the Kyng sometime chuseth a meane man to be of his Counsayle of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the Kyng the Kyng styll. And in some case the Kyng of Englande might sende to Rome, and if the Bishoppe of Rome were a man of suche wisdom, vertue, and learnyng, that he were able in matters of controuersie concerning Religion, to set a vnitie in the Church of Englande, the Kyng myght well enough sende vnto him for his Counsayle and helpe, and yet shoulde not in so doying, geue the Byshoppe of Rome any superioritie ouer the Kyng. For if a Kyng be sicke, he will haue the best Phisition, if he haue warre, he will haue the best Captaine, and yet are not those the superiours but the inferiours.

A Scholemaster is a subiect, a Phisition is a subiect, a Captaine is a subiect, Counsellours are subiectes, yet do these order and direct the Kyng.* Wherefore leauing the Bishop of Rome, this I say to declare of what opinion I am of. I do not now speake what I could say. I haue spokē beyond the Seas, I haue writtē, my bookes be abroad. But this is not the place here: I say that this place maketh nothing for the Bishop of Rome, but for Christe only, for none can put Aliud fundamentum nisi id quod positum est, qui est Christus Iesus.

But now to go forth declaring my mynde, in my tyme hath come many alterations. Fyrst a great alteration it was to renounce the Byshop of Romes authoritie,* and I was one that stode in it. A great alteration it was that Abbayes were dissolved. A great alteration it was that Images were pulled downe: and to all these did I condescende, and yet I haue beene counted a mayntainer of superstition, and haue beene called a Maister of Ceremonies and of outwarde thynges, and I haue beene noted to take that Religion which consisteth in outwarde thinges, as though he were a right Christian that fulfylled the outwarde Ceremonies,* whereof I promised to declare my conscience, and so will I, and howe I haue esteemed ceremonies, and that I haue neuer bene of other opinion then I am concerning ceremonies, and mine opinion I haue gathered of Augustine, and Ierome, ancient fathers and Doctours of the Church.

Ceremonies serue to mooue menne to serue GOD, and as longe as they bee vsed for that purpose,* they maye bee well vsed in the Church: but when manne maketh himselfe seruante to them, and not them to serue hym, then bee oure Ceremonies broughte to an abuse. If by ouer muche familiaritie of them, menne abuse them, they doe euill. For we must not serue creatures, but Deo. Wee hadde Monkerie, Nunnerie, Frierie of a wonderous nnumber, muche varietie of garmentes, varietie of deuises in dwelling,* manye sondrye orders and fashions in moouing of the body. These things were first ordained to admonishe them to their duetie to GOD, to labour for the necessitie of the poore, and to spare from their owne bellies to the poore, and therefore

was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these thynges,* and sette them in an hygher place then they ought to doe, not taking monition thereby, the better to serue God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them, they were dissolued, theyr houses and garmentes were taken away.

But one thing king Henrie woulde not take away, that was the vowe of chastitie.* The vowe of obedience hee conuerted to hym selfe: the vowe of chastitie he willeth still to remaine with them.

We had many Images whereto Pilgrimages were done, and many tombes that menne vsed to visite, by reason whereof they fell in a fansie of Idolatry and superstition,* aboue the things that they might haue bene taken for, and because they hadde not the vse that they were ordained for, they were left. When men put the Images in a higher place then they serued for: thē were they taken cleane away: as geue a childe a gaye booke to learne vppon, and then if he gase vppon the gorgeousnesse of hys booke, and learne not his lesson, according to the intent that that boke was geuen for, the booke is taken away from him agayne. So the Images, when menne deuised and fell to haue them in hygher place and estimation then they were first sette vp in the Church for, then they mighte be taken away: and I was neuer of other minde, nor neuer had other opinion of them. Diuers things there be in the Church which be in the libertie of the ruler to order as he seeth cause, and he that is ruler, may either let them stande, or els may cause them to be taken away.

There be two manner of reformations. We haue had of both sortes. There be things in the Church,* the which if they be abused, may not be taken away. As for baptisme, if it be abused, there may not an other thyng be putte in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed and broughte to the righte vse againe. Also preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken awaye, but must be reformed and broughte to the righte vse: but there be other thynges vsed in the Church, in which the rulers haue libertie, either to reforme them or to take them awaye. And because it was an easier way to take them away, then to bryng them to the right vse that they were ordained for, they were all cleane taken awaye, and so they might be. Yea Sir will yee saye, but yee haue maintained and defended them, and haue preached against such persones as despised them. It is truthe, I haue preached againste the despisers of them, and haue sayd, that Images might be suffered and vsed in the Church as laye mennes bookes, yet I neuer otherwise defended them, but to be vsed for suche purpose as they were first sette vppe in the Church for, but now that menne be waxed wanton, they are cleane taken away, wherein our religion is no more touched, then when bookes were taken awaye for abusing of them.

There was an order taken for bookes not to be vsed, wherein some might haue sayde, the bookes are good, and I know how to vse them, I maye therefore vse them well ynough. I will therefore vse them thoughe they be forbidden: but if thou haue anye charitie, thou oughtest to be contented, rather to haue them cleane taken away, then to declare thy selfe to haue an other opinion then thou oughtest to haue.

As touching ceremonies, I esteeme them all as Paule esteemeth them, things indifferent, where he sayth: Regnum Dei non esca & potus. So of Ceremonies. Neuerthelesse wee haue time, place, and number, as a certaine number of Psalmes to be sayde at times, whiche maye be vsed without superstition, but these thinges must serue vs, and not wee serue them. Yet if an order be sette in

them by suche as haue power, we must follow it, and we must obey the Rulers that appoynt such time, place, and number to be kept. Yee maye not saye, if the time will serue mee, then I will come an houre after. No Syr, yee must keepe thys time and thys houre, because it is so appoynted by the rulers, not for the thinges, but for the order that is sette. I haue bene euer of thys opinion.

Wee had palmes and candels taken awaye, which things may indifferentlye haue either of the two reformations aboue sayde.* When they were in place, they shoulde haue putte menne in remembraunce of their duetie and deuotion towards God, but because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christe is not in these exercises, and therfore in takyng away of them, the Religion of Christe is nothyng touched nor hindered.* But men must in suche thynges be conformable, not for the ceremonie, but for obedience sake. Saint Paule sayth, that we shoulde rebuke euerye brother that walketh inordinately. I haue tolde you myne opinion, and my conscience telleth mee that I haue spoken playnely, that ye may knowe what I am, and that ye maye not bee deceyued in mee, nor be sclaudered in me, nor make no further search to knowe my hart.

I like well the communion because it prouoketh men more and more to deuotion. I like well the proclamation,* because it stoppeth the mouthes of all such as vnreuerently speake or raile agaynst the Sacrament. I lyke well the rest of the Kynges Maiesties proceedinges concerning the Sacrament I haue now told you what I lyke But shall I speake nothing of that I mislyke?* ye will then say I speake not playnely. I will therefore shew my conscience playnely.

I mislyke that Preachers whiche preache by the Kynges lycence, and those Readers whiche by the Kynges permission and suffraunce doe reade open lectures, doe openlye and blasphemously talke agaynst the Masse, and agaynst the Sacrament. And to whom may I lyken suche Readers and Preachers? I may lyken them vnto Postes, for the Prouerbe sayth, that Postes do beare trueth in their letters and lyes in their mouthes: and so doe they, and to speake so agaynst the Sacramente, it is the most marueylous matter that euer I sawe or heard of. I woulde wysht therfore that there were a stay and an order in this behalfe, & that there myght be but one order or rule, for as the Poet sayth (I may vse the verse of a Poet well ynough, for so doth Paul of the great Poet, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉). And let no man of his owne head begin mattars, nor goe before the king. They call it going before the Kyng, and such make them selues Kynges. Well, what mislyketh me els?

It mislyketh mee that Priestes and men that vowed chastity,* shoulde openly marry and auow it openly: whiche is a thyng that since the beginnyng of the Church hath not beene seene in any tyme, that men that haue beene admitted to any ecclesiasticall administration shoulde marry. We reade of married Priestes, that is to say: of married men chosen to bee Priestes and Ministers in the Church. And in Epiphanius, we reade, [Page 1791](#) that some suche for necessitie were wincked at. But that menne being Priestes all ready shoulde marrye, was neuer yet seene in Christes Church from the beginning of the Apostles tyme. I haue wrytten in it, and studied for it, and the verye same places that are therein alleadged to maintaine the marriage of Priestes, being diligently read,* shall plainly confound them that maintaine to marrye youre Priestes, or at the farthest, wythin two lines after.

Thus haue I shewed my opinion in order, proceedynge from the inferiours, and in order proceedinge from the higher powers. And thus I haue (as I trust) plainly declared my selfe, without anye coueringe or counterfaitinge. And I beseeche youre moste excellent Maiestie to esteeme and take me as I am, and not to be sclaundered in mee, for I haue tolde you the plaine truthe as it is, and I haue opened my conscience vnto you. I haue not played the Poste with you, to carie truthe in my letters, and lyes in my mouthe: for I woulde not for all the worlde make a lye in this place: but I haue disclosed the plaine truth as it lyeth in my minde. And thus I commit your most excellent Maiestie and all your moste honourable Councillours, with the rest of the deuout audience here present, vnto God. To whom be al honour, lande, and glory, world without ende.

*Thus hauing comprised the summe and chief purpose of his Sermon, with other suche matter aboue Storyed, wherein may appeare the double faced doings of this bishop in matters of Religion: nowe for the more fortification of that which hath bene sayde, if any shall deny this foresayd Sermon, or any parte thereof to be true, to confirme therefore the same, wee will heere adioyne certaine brieue notes and specialties in maner of a summarie table, collected as well oute of the testimonies and depositions of his owne frendes and seruauntes, and other whyche were sworne truely to declare their knowledge in thys behalfe, as also out of his owne wrytings and woorkes agreeing with the same. In all which foresayd allegations it may remaine notorious and famous to all men, howe, in what poyntes, and how farre the sayd Bishop of Winchester agreed with the reformation of religion receiued, not onely in King Henries, but also in King Edwardes dayes.

And because it will be long, and a double labor to repeate all the woordes and testimoniall sayings of euerye witnes particularly, the same being expressed sufficientlye in oure firste impression before, it shall therefore suffice by quotations briefly to assigne the place to the reader, where he may finde all those poyntes of reformation, wherunto the sayd Bishop Gardiner fully agreed with the doctrine now receiued, and first in withstanding the Popes supremacie, as is heere vnder noted.

¶The Popes supremacie impugned by Byshop Gardiner.

First, as touching the confession & iudgement of Steuen Gardiner againste the supremacie of the B. of Rome,* reade in hys booke De vera obedientia. fol. 6.

Item, concerning the disputations and desensions of Bishop Gardiner at Louane against the Popes supremacie, reade in our first impression, pag. 802. also in this present Volume.

Item, howe the sayde Byshop Gardiner in his Sermones and preachinges, as where hee expoundeth the place [Tu es Petrus] nothing at all to make for the authoritie of the Romish Byshop, maruelling howe the Pope coulde vsurpe so much to take vppe that place to builde vppon,* when Christe had taken it vp before to builde his Church, reade in the olde booke, pag. 845. col. 1. pag. 647. col. 1. pag. 846. col. 1. and the depositions of Doct. Redman, pag. 853. col. 1.

Item, howe the confession of Peter was the confession of all the Apostles, like as the blessing geuē to Peter pertained as wel to all the Apostles as to Peter, read ibidem, pag 847. col. 1.

Item, that the place: Pasce oues meas, was not special to Peter alone, but generall to all the Apostles. Also that the Greeke Church did neuer receaue the sayde Bishop of Rome for their vniuersall heade, reade in the same booke, pag. 847. col. 1. pag. 836. col. 2.

Item, that the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, was not receiued of the most part of Christen Princes, read the depositions of sir Thomas Smith, pag. 827. col. 2.

Item, howe the sayde Bishop Gardiner would not graunt, that the sayde authoritie was receiued generally. Ibidem, pag. 827. col. 2.

Item, that the Church was builded vpon Christes faithe, and not vpon Peter, reade the depositions of Robert Willanton, pag. 836. col. 2.

And thoughe Peter was called Princeps Apostolorum, that was no thing els,* but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that companie, but because he speaketh first. Read in the depositions of M. Basset, pag. 850. col. 2. pag. 836. col. 2.

Item, when the keyes were giuen, they were giuen generally to all the Apostles. Reade the depositions of Robert Wilianon, pag. 836. col. 2.

Item, how the sayd Bishop taketh away all suche Scriptures which are thought to serue for the Popes supremacie, as Super hanc Petram: Pasce oues meas: Princeps Apostolorum. &c. prouing that they serue nothing for his authoritie, reade likewise in the same booke in the depositions of M. Basset his owne seruant, pag. 850. col. 2.

Item, howe the sayde Bishop in his booke De vera obedientia, did not onely wryte againste the Popes supremacie, but also did defende the same at Louane, pag. 802. And moreouer, in hys Sermons did alledge and preach the same. Pag. 774. col. 2 and that also Uehemently, page. 850. col. 2. Lin. 50. Pithely. pag. 846. col. 1. Lin 31.

Earnestly, pag. 143. col. 1. Lin. 75.*

Uery earnestly, pag. 843. col. 1. Lin. 44.

Uery forwardly, pag. 827. col. 2. Lin. 82.

And not only did so vehemently, pythely, earnestly, and forwardly preach him selfe agaynst the Popes supremacie, but also did cause M. White then Scholemaster, after Byshop of Wint. to make certayne verses extolling the kinges supremacie agaynst the vsurped power of the Pope, encouraging also his scholers to do the like. Read the depositions of Iohn White Scholemaister of Winchester, pag. 845. col. 2.

Item, how he, for the space of .14. yeares together, preached agaynst the Popes supremacie in diuers Sermons, and especially in one Sermon before king Henry, read the depositions of Iohn Potinger, pag. 844. col. 1. Lin. 1.

¶Places noted wherein B. Gardiner impugned Ceremonies, Monkerie, Images, Chauntries. &c.

Item, for ceremonies and Images which were abused,* to be taken away by publicke authoritie, he did well allow it, as a child to haue his booke taken from him when he abused it, or deliteth onely in the golden couer. Read in the foresayd old booke the depositions of Christopher Malton, pag. 846. col. 2. pag. 849. col. 2. pag. 841. col. 1.

Item, the dissoluing of Monasteries and religious houses he alloweth, and graunteth that they were iustly suppressed. Read the depositions of D. Weston, pag. 845. col. 1. pag. 837. col. 1. pag. 851. col. 1.

Concernyng Images being by King Edwardes Iniunctions abolished,* how the sayd Byshop exhorted the people in his Sermons to be contented therewith, read the depositions of W. Lorkyng, pag. 840. col. 1.

Monkes and Friers he calleth flatteryng knaues.* Read the depositions of Syr Thomas Smith, pag. 827. col. 2.

Friers he neuer liked in all his lyfe. pag. 827. col. 2. Monkes he counted but belly Gods. Ibid. pag. 827. col. 2.

The going about of S. Nicholas, S. Katherine, and S. Clement, he affirmeth to be childrens toyes. Ibid. pag. 827. col. 2.

The takyng away or transposing of Chauntrey Obites hee referreth to the arbitrement of the politicke rules, grauntyng that if they dyd dissolue them it myght well bee so doone. Read the depositions of M. Basset his owne seruaunt, pag. 850. col. 2.

Item, he wisheth them to be committed to a better vse, & that Monasteries were iustly taken away. Read the depositions of George Bullocke, pag. 847. col. 1.

The obseruyng of dayes, houres, nomber, tyme, and place,* if they be orderly and publikely commaunded by the rulers, it is but to set the Church in an outward and publicke order: but if a man inwardly and priuately be addicted to the same thinkyng his prayer otherwyse not auayleable but by obseruing thereof, it is an errour. Read the depositions of Doct. Redman, pag. 853. col. 2. pag. 854.

The Communion set out by K. Edwarde he lyketh well. Ibid. pag. 853. col. 2. pag. 854.

The booke of common Seruice he was content both to keepe him selfe, and cause it to be kept of others. Read the depositions of the Duke of Somerset, pag. 818. col. 2.

For the Homilies, he exhorted the people in his preaching to come to the Church to heare them. Read the depositions of M. Pottinger his one seruaunt, pag. 143. col. 1.

In summe, to all Iniunctions, Statutes, and Proclamations set foorth by the Kyng and superiour powers, hee yeelded and graunted. Read in the depositions of George Bullocke, pag. 847. col. 2.

Item, Cardinall Poole commyng to the Frenche Kyng to styrre hym vp agaynst Englande, Wint. caused hym to be expelled out of Fraunce. Witnes Cuth. Byshop of Duresme, pag 823. col. 2.

Item, the sayde Winchester sworne agaynst the Pope by expresse clauses in his proxie. Read in the deposition of Iohn Coke Regist. pag. 860. col. 1. Lin. 13.

Nowe (gentle Reader) lay these wrytynges, preachynges, [Page 1792](#) and doyns of this Bishop, in the dayes of K. Henry and King Edward, with his doyns in Queene Maries tyme, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to hymselfe, howe periured and false,* and farre differyng from that whiche hee was reported to bee in a certayne Englishe booke set out in Queene Maries tyme, which sayeth that there were iij. onely in England, whose conscience had bene neuer destained in Religion, of whom he falsly sayth, the foresayd Bishoppe of Winchester was one.

Although B. Gardiner in grauntyng to these poynts of religion (as ye haue heard) and other some agayne denying, coulde not therfore deserue the name and fame of a perfect christian, yet notwithstanding if he had continued in this iudgement still, & bene constant in hymselfe, he myght haue won more commendation both with God and man. But as soone as the tyme began to alter, he likewyse altering with the tyme, was so far changed from that he seemed, that neither he agreed with other Papists,* nor yet with hymselfe, as Doct. Ridley in certayne treatises hath noted well of hym: wherein as in a glasse may be seene the manifest contrarietie and repugnance in hym, not only from the truth of Gods blessed worde, but also how the sayd Bishop standyng so much in a singularitie by hymselfe, neither agreeth wyth other hys fellow writers of his own faction, nor yet fully accordeth with hymselfe in certain cases of the sacrament, as the foresayd D. Ridley in examinyng his wo•ds and works, hath well set out in this Table here vnder ensuyng.

¶Certaine matters wherein St. Gardiner B. of Wint. varieth from other of the Papists, touching the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.

[1] OTher Catholikes say, that the body of Christ is made of bread.*Thomas vult ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia, q. 75. art. 4 Winch. sayth, that the body of Christ is not made of y• matter of bread, nor neuer was so taught, but is made present of bread, pag. 89. lin. 8. p. 228. l. 44.

[*Confutation of Winch.](#) agaynst Cranmer.

Winchester sayeth, that Christ called bread his body, when he sayd: This is my body, p. 292. lin. 19. And in the deuils Sophistry, fol. 27. Other say contrary. And Smith fol. 53. Marc. Anton. obiect. 13.14.20.

Winch. saith, that bread is my body, is as much to say, as bread is made my body. And so he taketh (est) for (fit) p. 333. l. 25. p. 120. l. 23.28.30. Confutation. Other say that (est) is taken there substantiue, that is to say, only for is, and not for is made. Marc. Anton. fol. 171. fac. 2.

Wint. sayth that Christ is present in the sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same signification that he is in heauen, p. 161. l. 6. Confutation.

*Wint. sayth also, that when we speake of Christes bodye, wee must vnderstand a true body, which hath both forme and quantitie, p. 81. l. 5. Marc. Ant. object. 77. Smith saith that Christs body in the sacrament hath not his properforme & quantitie, fol. 106. And the contrary he sayth, [2] fol. 105. Chedsey in disputatione cum Petro Mart. fol. 41. fac. 2.

[3] Wint. sayth: we beleue simply that Christes body is [4] naturally and corporally in the sacrament without drawing away his accidēces, or adding, pag. 367. lin. 41. Smith sayth: we say that Christes body is in the Sacrament, agaynst nature, with all his qualities and accidences, fol. 105.

Wint. sayeth: that Gods workes be all seemelinsse [5] without confusion, although hee cannot locally distinct Christes hed from his feete, nor his legs from his armes, p. 70. l. 5.13.14. p. 69. l. 34. Confutation. Other say y^t Christes hed and feete, and other partes, be not in deede locally distinct in the sacrament, but be so confounded, that where so euer one is, there be all the rest, tert. parte sum q 76. art. 3. Innoc. ter. lib. 48.

[6] Wint. sayth: that Christes body is in the Sacrament sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally, p. 181. l. 13.22. &c. Confutation. Other say contrary, Smith, fol. 39.

[7] Other say that Christs feete in the Sacrament be there where hys hed is. Wint. sayth, that whosoeuer sayeth so, may be called mad, p. 70. l. 13.14. Confutation.

[8] Other say, that corporall Christ goeth into the mouth or stomacke, and no farther, Bonauentura, Hugo, Inno. 13. lib. 4. cap. 15. Glos. de consecrat dist. 2. cap. tribus, & in glos. non iste. Thom. parte. 3. quest. 80. art. 3. Tamdiu manet dum est in digestionē. Smith, fol. 64. He saith contrary, p. 59. l. 30. and p. 60. l. 3.8.12. Confutation.

[9] Wint. saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiueth the sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ, pag. 64. l. 22. Confutation. Other say contrary, Smith, fol. 64. &c. as before in the 7. lin. aboue.

Wint. sayth, that no creature can eat the body of Christ [10] but only man, p. 75. l. 24. Confutation. Other say cleane contrary, Thomas part. 3. q. 8. art. 3. hoc derogat [inquit] veritati corporis Christi. Perin. in hys Sermon of the Sacrament. What inconuenience is it though the im•assible body lye in the mouth or mawe of the beast? &c. M. Sententiarū Qui dicit corpus Christi non posse a mure manducari aut a bruto, is condemned.

Wint. sayth, that an vnrepentant sinner receiuyng the [11] Sacrament,* hath not Christes body nor spirit within him p. 256. l. 18.25.26. Smith sayth that he hath Christes body and spirit within hym, fol. 136.

Wint. sayeth: that of the figure it may not be sayd: Adore it, worship it: and that is not to be adored which the [12] bodily eye seeth,* p. 202. l. 38. p. 272. l. 6. Marc. Ant. fol. 175. fac. 2. Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis. Smith sayth contrary, fol. 145. fa. 2.

Wint. sayth, that reason will agree with the doctrine [13] of Transubstantiation well enough,* p. 30. l. 12. Confutation. Smith sayth that Transubstantiation is against reason, and naturall operation, fol. 60.

Other say that wormes in the sacrament be gendred of accidentes. Ex speciebus Sacramentalibus generanturvermes. [14] Tho. par. q 76. art. 5. Wint. sayth: that they bee wrong borne in hand to say so, p. 400. l. 1. Confutation.

Wint. sayth: that the accidentes of bread and wine, do [15] mould, sower, and waxe vineger, p. 300. l. 24. and p. 400. l. 6. Confutation. & Marc. Ant object. 73. But he answereth so confusely, that the Reader can not vnderstand hym, be he neuer so attentue. Smith sayeth: thus I say, that the consecrated wyne turneth not into vineger, not the consecrated bread mouldeth, nor engendreth wormes, nor is burned, nor receyueth into it any poison, as long as Christes body and bloud are vnder the formes of them: which do abide there so long as the naturall qualities & properties of bread & wine tary there, in their naturall disposition & condition, and the bread & wyne myght be naturally there, if they had not bene changed into Christes body and bloud, and also as long as the hoste and consecrated wyne are apt to be receiued of man, & no longer, but go & depart thence by Gods power as it pleaseth hym. & then a new substance is made of god, which turneth into vineger, engendreth wormes, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth Rats and Mice, receyueth poyson, &c. fol. 64. and fol. 105.

Wint. sayth: euery yea, containeth a nay in it naturally: [16] So as whosoeuer sayeth, this is bread, sayth it is no wyne. For in the rule of common reason, the grant of one substaunce is the deniall of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions throughly: whatsoever is bread, is no wyne: whatsoever is wyne, is no milke, and so forth. So Christ saying: This is my body, sayth it is no bread, p. 291. l. 22. and p. 300. l. 17. Smith sayth, that a boy which hath onely learned the sophistry, wil not dispute so sondly, fol. 77.

Other say that the Masse is a sacrifice satisfactory, by [17] the deuotion of the priest, & of them for whom it is offred,* and not by the thyng that is offred. Tho. part. 3.9.79. artic 5. Wint. sayth otherwyse, p. 92. l. 5. Confutation.

Wint. sayth, that the only immolation of Christ in him selfe vpon the aultar of the crosse, is the verye satisfactory sacrifice for the reconciliation of mankynd, vnto the fauor of God, p. 437. l. 31. Smith sayth: what is it to offer Christes body and bloud at Masse, to purchase thereby euerlasting life, if the masse be not a sacrifice to pacify gods wrath for sinne, & to obtaine his mercy, fol. 24.148.164. where he sayth further: Priests do offer for our saluation, to get heuen, and to auoyd hell.

¶Matters wherein the B. of Winchester varieth from hymselfe.

The body of Christ in the sacramēt is not made of bread [18] but is made present of bread,* p. 89, l. 9. &c. and p, 228. li. 44. Confutation agaynst Cranmer.

Of bread is made the body of Christ,* p. 388. l. 42.

The catholike fayth hath from the beginnyng confessed truly Christes intent, to make bread hys body, p. 29. l. 2. Confutation.

And of many breads is made one body of Christ, p. 167 l. 2. Confutation.

And faith sheweth me, that bread is the body of Christ that is to say, made the body of Christ, p. 333. l. 23.25. Confutation.

Christ gaue that he made of bread, p. 292. l. 34.

Christ spake playnly: This is my body,* makynge demonstration of the bread, when he sayd: This is my body. In the deuils Sophistry. 27.

The demonstration (this) may bee referred to the inuisible substance, p. 120. l. 41. Confutation.*

The verbe (is) was of his body and of his bloud, and not of the bread and wyne, p. 284. l. 43.

[Page 1793](#) Illis verbis (Hoc est corpus meum) substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de substantia sua, non aliena praedicetur. Mar. Anton. fol 24. fa. 2.

When Christ sayd: This my body, the truth of the literall sense hath an absurditie in carnall reason,* pag. 157. lin. 34. Confutation.

*What can be more euidently spoken, of the presence of Christes naturall body and bloud, in the most blessed Sacrament of the aultar, then is in these words: This is my body. In the deuils Sophistry, fol. 51.

*Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ god and man, and when we speake of Christes body, we must vnderstand a true body which hath both forme and quantitie, pag. 81. lin. 5. Mar. Ant. object. 77. Smith, fol. 105.

And he is present in the Sacrament, as he is in heauē, pag. 161. lin. 4. &c. Confutation.

We beleeeue simply the substance of Christes body to be in the Sacrament, without drawyng away of the accidēces or addyng, pag. 397. lin. 41. Confutation.

*Christ is not present in the Sacrament after the maner of quantitie, but vnder the forme & quantities of bread and wyne, pag. 81. lin. 89. and pag. 101. li. 22.

*In suche as receiue the Sacrament worthely, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, & carnally, p. 190. l. 7. p. 197. l. 27. p. 217. l. 10.

*The maner of Christs beyng in the Sacrament, is not corporall, not carnall, not naturall, not sensible, not perceptible, but onely spirituall, pag. 181. l. 18. &c. & l. 25. p. 223. l. 21. Confutation.

*We receyue Christ in the Sacrament of his fleshe and bloud, if we receiue hym worthily, p. 190. l. 7. p. 197. lin. 27. Confutation.

When an vnrepentant sinner receyue the Sacramēt he hath not Christes body within hym, p. 256. l. 18. Confutation.

He that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in hym, pag. 18. li, 51. Confutation.

*An euill man in the sacrament receiue in deed Christes very body, p. 18. l. 24.25.

Euill men eat verily the flesh of Christ, p. 256. l. 24.25 &c. Confutation.

*Christ geueth vs to be eaten the same flesh that he took of the virgin Mary, p. 274. l. 25.

*We receyue not in the Sacrament Christes flesh that was crucified, p. 276. l. 1. Confutation.

*S. Augustines rule in his booke De doctrina Christiana, pertaineth not to Christes supper, p. 132. l. 40.

*S. Augustine meaneth of the Sacrament, ibidem, and p. 10. l. 44. Confutation.

*Reason in place of seruice (as beyng inferior to fayth) wyll agree with the fayth of Transubstantiation well enough, p. 300. l. 12. Confutation.

And as reason receyued into faithes seruice, doth not strue with transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it: so mans senses be no such direct aduersaries to transubstantiation, as a matter wherof they cannot skill: for the senses cannot skill of substances, p. 307. l. 11. &c.

Thine eyes say there is but bread and wyne, thy taste sayeth the same,* thy feelyng and smellyng agreefully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal mans vnderstanding which because it taketh the beginning of the senses, procedeth in reasonyng sensually. In the deuils sophistry, fo. 6.

The Church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confusion of mans senses and vnderstandyng, fol. 15.

*It is called bread because of the outward visible matter, p. 327. lyne.

*When it is called bread, it is ment Christ the spirituall bread, p. 320. l. 41.

*And the Catholike fayth teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward signe, and not in the body of Christ, p. 165. lyne, 1. and pag. 392. lyne, 47. and in the Deuils Sophistry, fol. 17.

That which is broken, is the bodye of Christ, p. 392. lyne,* 49.

The inward nature of the bread is the substance, p. 323 lyne 14.*

Substance signifieth in Theodoret (he sayth) the outward nature,* p. 404. l. 40.

The substances of bread and wyne, be visible cretures, p. 322. l. 30. and 323. l. 32.

*Accidents be the visible natures, and visible elements, p. 1406. l. 16. and 25. &c.

*Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, & hath payd our whole debt to God the Father, for the appeasyng of hys wrath agaynst vs, p. 92. l. 6.7.

The act of the priest done accordyng to Gods cōmandement,* must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on, to haue a propitiatory effect, p. 437. l. 13.

The sacrifice of our Sauour Christ was neuer reiterate,* p. 416. l. 8.

Priests do sacrifice Christ, p. 431. l. 16.

And the catholike doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice,* to be the same in essence that was offered on the Crosse, p. 439. l. 11.

The Nestorians graunted both the Godhead & manhood, always to be in Christ continually, p. 348. l. 11.12.

The Nestorians denied Christ conceyued GOD, or borne God, but that he was afterward God, as a mā that is not borne a bishop, is after made a bishop. So the Nestorians sayd, that the Godhead was an accession after by merite, and that he was conceyued only man, p. 347. l. 47 50.51. and p. 148. l. 47.

Christ vseth vs familiarly as he dyd hys Apostles,* p. 93. l. 21.

Christ is not to be sayd conuersant in earth, pag. 114. lin. 11. &c.

¶Certaine things that Winchester granted vnto.

CHrist declared eatyng of hymselfe,* to signify beleeuing p. 29. l. antepenultima. Confutation.

Christ must be spiritually in man, before he receiue the Sacrament, or els he cannot receyue the sacrament worthily, p. 54. l. 44. p. 160. l. vltima, p. 196. l. 3. p. 105. l. 32.

How Christ is present, p. 69. l. 29. &c. p. 81. l. 12. p. 181. li. 26. p. 65. l. 15.

By faith we know only the beyng present of Christes most precious body, not the maner thereof, p. 70. l. 15.

When we speake of Christes body, we must vnderstād a true body, which hath both forme and quantitie, p. 81. l. 5. lin. 35.

Although Christs body haue all those truths of forme & quantitie: yet it is not present after the maner of quantitie, ibidem, l. 8.9.

The demonstratiue (this) may bee referred to the inuisible substance, p. 120. l. 42,

All the old prayers and ceremonies sound, as though the people did communicate with the priest, p. 165. l. 46.

The maner of Christs beyng in the Sacrament is not corporall nor carnall, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spirituall, p. 181. l. 19. &c. l. 25. p. 223. l. 21.

When the vnrepentant sinner receiueth the sacrament he hath not Christes body within hym, p. 256. l. 18.

We eat not Christ as he sitteth in heauen raignyng, p. 276. l. 18.

The worde (Transubstantiation) was first spoken of in a generall Councell, where the B. of Rome was present, p. 284. l. 11.

In the sacrifice of the church, Christs death is not iterated, but a memory daily renued of the death: * so as Christes offeryng on the crosse once done and consummate, is now only remembred, p. 440. l. 40. &c.

To these notes & places of D. Ridley, let vs also adioyne other 12. places or Articles of the lyke affinitie, taken out of his booke called y^e examination of the proud hunter, noted in y^e later end of D. Turners secōd course. By these Articles it may appeare how this Bishop swarueth no lesse from the sound truth of Christes Gospell, then he dyd in the other, both from hymselfe, and also from other hys fellow brethren of hys owne Catholike mother church of Rome. The Articles in summe are these.

¶Twelue new found Articles of Steuen Gardiners Creede, taught in hys booke called the examination of the hunter.

1. The ceremonies and traditions which the Bish. of Rome hath ordeyned, * and are now allowed in England, are the pale of the church of England, fol. 7.

2. The Popes ceremonies and traditions, are good and politike lawes, wherby God hath enclosed the kings subiects vnder hys maiestie alone, ibidem.

3. As king Richard an euill man, made a good politicke law for the body & common welth of England: so can the Pope an euill man, make good lawes and wholesome doctrine for mans soule and Christes church, fol. 23.

4. * Whatsoeuer is good spoken, and vsed by mā, is much more of God, then Christes doctrine, is hys fathers doctrine, fol. 33.

5. He that sayth that the law of the Gospell ought onely to be holden in Christes church, and is sufficient alone for it, speaketh so far out of reason, that he is not worthy to be reasoned withall. fol. 37.

6. They that hold that the crosse of siluer or golde, ought not to be worshipped with kissing of it, & bowyng & kneeling [Page 1794](#) to it, are enemies to Christes true crosse, & take away the meanes that might set out the glory of Christes crosse, fol. 49.

7. Neither Paule nor the crosse, can be worshipped with godly honour, fol. 61.

*8. As Christ vsed clay for an instrument to heale the blind mans eyes withall, & hath saued diuers by fayth, & made it an instrument of saluation, and as God hath ordained Timothy to be an instrument of saluation both to himselfe and for other, so may the Pope ordaine holy water to bee an instrument of saluation, both of body and soule, to all them that are sprinkled with it, fol. 64.

9. No man can commit Idolatry with his body alone, & in onely kissyng of an Image or Idol, & in only kneelyng to it, can no Idolatry be committed, fol. 52.

10. For as much as God vnderstandeth them that sing in Latin,* though they vnderstand not themselues, their praier is acceptable before God, fol. 76.

11. As a father may forbid certain of his children to marry, so may a king in hys kingdom forbid certayne of hys subiects to marry, that is to lay, all y^e priests of his realme, fol. 83.

*12. He that would take away the Popes ceremonies out of the church, should driue away all godlinesse and seemelines, all religious and deuout behauiour out of y^e church, fol. 94.

Here hast thou (good Reder) this stout prelate of Winchest. with all his properties, doyngs, & qualities, as in a certaine Anatomie proportioned out vnto thee, whereby thou maiest boldly iudge (and nothing erre in thy iudgement) what is to be esteemed of hym by his fruits, as who neither was tene Protestant nor right papist: neither cōstant in hys error, nor yet stedfast in the truth: neither frēd to the Pope,* & yet a perfect enemy to Christ: false in king Henries tyme, a dissembler in K. Edwards tyme, double periured, and a murderer in Queene Maries tyme, mutable and inconstāt in all tymes. And finally, where in his letters to the L. Protector and others, vsually he vanteth so much of his late soueraign lord K. Henry the 8. & of the great reputation that he was in with him, read I beseech thee, & behold in the depositions of the L. Paget in the old booke, pag. 806. col. 1. & also in the depositions of the Erle of Bedford, pag. 824. and there ye shall see the king before his death, both excepting hym out of his pardons, & quite strikyng hym out of his last wyll & testament, so detested & abhorred hym, as he did no

english man more. And where as the L. Paget beyng sent in message from the K. to the bishoppe, by other words then the kings mynde and will was, of his owne dexteritie gaue to hym good & gracious words, which in deed the kyng neither knew, nor yet wer sent by hym: the B. perswading himselfe otherwise of the kings fauor towards hym, then it was in deed, was therin far deceiued, and brought into a fooles paradise: wherof read both in the old booke before, and also in this present volume.

To describe & paint out the vnstable mutabilitie of this B. aforesaid, albeit here need no more to be added besides that which is alredy declared,* yet notwithstanding, seyng the matter is not long, it shal not be out of the way to annexe withall vnto the premisses a piece of Drianders letter, written to one Crispine phisition in Oxford, sent from Antwerpe concerning the doyngs and behaiour of this B. of Winchester, whose story we haue now in hand. The copy of which Drianders letter,* written to the sayd Crispine hys friend, beginneth thus.

¶**Doctissimo viro, Edmundo Crispino amico integerrimo, Oxoniae.**

ANte meam ex Lutetia profectionē, dedi literas ad te per Anglum illum, communem amicum nostrum. &c.

¶The English wherof, as much as to the present purpose appertaineth, here followeth translated.

BEfore my departure from the Citie of Paris, I wrote vnto you by our friend the Englishman, &c.

Now you shalbe contented onely with the narration of your B. of Winchester, who (as appertained to the embassadour of so noble a Prince) came to Louane with a great brauerie, and was there receiued at one Ieremies house,* and most honourably entertained, where the facultie of Diuines for honor sake, presented him wyne in the name of the whole Uniuersitie. But our famous doctors, and learned Maisters, for that they would more deeply search and vnderstand the learnyng and excellency of the Prelate, perused and scanned a certaine Oration, made by hym, and now extant, intituled De vera obedientia, in the which hys Oration, he did impugne the supremacy of the B. of Rome, and preferred his Lords and kyngs authoritie, before the holy Apostolike sea, as they terme it: whiche beyng read and considered by them, they did not onely repent them for geuyng hym such honour, but also recanted that which they had done: and did not so much honor him afore, but now they were as earnest & as spitefull agaynst hym. Richard Lathomus, interpreter of termes, with the fauourers of that fraternitie, and other champions of the fallyng church, disputed with hym concernyng the Popes supremacy. This B. stoutely defended his sayd Oration. The Diuines contrary stifly maintained their opinion, & diuers tymes openly with exclamations, called the sayde B. an excommunicate person, and a schismatike, to no litle reproch and infamy of the English nation.* The Byshop not long after, myndyng to say masse in S. Peters church, they did deny vnto hym as to an excommunicate person, the Ornamentes and Uestimentes meete for the same, wherewyth he beyng hyghly offended, sodaynely hastned hys iourney from thence. The Deane the next day after, made an eloquent Oration, wherein hee openly disgraced, and defamed hym. You haue heard now a true storye, for oure Doctour was a beholder of the whole Tragedie, &c.

And this now beyng sufficient for Gardiners story, to leaue hym to his iudge, & to let him go, we shall returne & proceed (by the grace & leaue of the Lord) as the course of these dolefull dayes shall lead vs, to prosecute the residue of Christes Martyrs, as now in order followeth.

¶The burnyng of Iohn Webbe gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Caunterbury, as followeth.

NExT after the death & constant Martyrdom of the two most worthy champions & standerbearers of Christes army, D. Nich. Ridley,* and M. Hugh Latymer (of whom ye haue heard at large) followed three other stoute and bold souldiours, that is to say, Iohn Web gentlemā, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

This Iohn Web was brought before the Bish. of Douer and Nich. Harpesfield,* or some other deputed in their rouse, long before the other two, videlicet, the xvj. day of September, and there had propounded vnto hym such ordinarie Articles (as it seemeth) as was commonly ministred by Boner to those of hys iurisdiction: & beyng willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with hymselfe vpon the matter,* agaynst the next tyme of his appearance, he made aunswer that hee would no otherwyse say (by Gods grace) then hee had already sayde, which was this: As touchyng the Sacrament of Christes bodye, I do beleeeue (quoth he) to be left vnto hys Church (wyth thankes geuyng) in commemoration of hys death & passion, vntill his commyng agayne. So that it is left in remembraunce of hys body, and not by the wordes of consecration to be made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was borne of the virgin Mary: I vtterly do deny that. After this (besides sundry other tymes) the third day of October, the sayd Ioh. Web, & Gregory Roper, & George Parke were brought all three together before the sayd Iudge: who there and then agreeyng, and stedfastly allowyng the former aunswere made before by Maister Webbe, were by the bloody Prelates adiudged heretikes, and therefore about the ende of the same month of October, or els as I otherwyse finde in the latter ende of Nouember, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of Martyrdom. Who by the way goyng toward the stake, sayd certaine Psalmes mournefully. Roper was a yonger man of a fresh colour, courage, & complexion, the other two were somewhat more elderly, all goyng in white linnen, with their gownes vpon. Roper at his commyng to the stake puttyng of hys gowne, fet a great leape. So soone as the flame was about hym,* the sayd Roper put out both hys armes from hys bodye lyke a Rood, and so stood stedfast, continuynge in that maner, not pluckyng his armes in, tyll the fire had consumed them, and burnt them of.

And thus these foresayde Martyrs of Christ, beeyng brought (as I sayde) to the stake,* and there compassed about with a chayne, were burnt and consumed all thre together in one fire at Canterbury, abidyng most patiently their torments, and countyng themselues happy,* & blessed of the lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christes Gospels sake.

***William Wiseman.**

THE 13. of Decemb. in the Lollards Tower died William Wiseman, a Clothworker of London,* where hee [Page 1795](#)

[illustration]

☞The order and maner of burying in the Fields such as dyed in prison and namely, of William Wiseman.

was in prison and bands for the Gospel & worde of God. How, and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certaine. Some thought that either through famine,* or ill handling of some murtheryng papists, he was made away. By reason whereof, the Crouner named Iohn Gibbes Gentleman, with an enquest of twelue men, were fayne to sit vpō hym, who although to the outward apperance were sayd to finde nothyng in hym els, but onely Gods visitation, yet what other priuy causes there might be of hys death, the Lord knoweth, I haue not to say. After the sayd William was departed (as is sayde) in the Tower, the holy Catholike church men, cast hym out into the fieldes, commanded that no man should bury him, according as theyr deuout maner is to do w^t all such as dye in lyke sort, whō they account as prophane, and worthy of no buriall, but to be cast to dogs and birdes, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, as the Poet sayeth. And yet all this their mercilesse commaundement not withstandyng, some good Tobies there were, which buried hym in the euenyng, as commonly they did all the rest, throwen out in lyke sort, whom they were woont priuily by night to couer, and many tymes the Archers in the fields standyng by, and singing together Psalmes at their buriall.

¶James Gore.

*IN the same month, about the 7. day of Decemb. deceased also Iames Gore in the prison at Colchester, layed there in bands for the right and truth of Gods word.

☞The processe and historie of M. Iohn Philpot, examined, condemned, and Martyred for the maintenance and defence of the Gospels cause, against the Antichristian Sea of Rome.

NExT foloweth the constant Martyrdome of M. Iohn Philpot,* of whome partly ye heard before in the beginning of Queene Maries time in prosecutyng the disputation of the Conuocation house. He was of a worshipfull house, a knights sonne borne in Hamshire, brought vp in the new Colledge in Oxford, where he studied the Ciuill lawe, the space of 6. or 7. yeares, besides the study of other liberall artes, especially of the tongs, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely in the knowledge of the Hebrue tong, &c. In wit•he was pregnāt and happy, of a singuler courage, in spirit feruent, in religion zelous and also well practised and exercised in the same (which is no small matter in a true deuine) of nature and condition plaine and apert, far from all flatterie, farther from all hypocrisie and deceitfull dissimulation. What his learnyng was, hys owne examinations penned of hys owne hand can declare.

From Oxford desirous to see other countries as occasion serued thereunto, he went ouer into Italy,* and places thereabouts, where he commyng vpon a tyme from Uenice to Padua, was in daunger through a certayne Franciscan Frier, accompanying hym in hys iourney, who cōmyng to Padua, sought to accuse hym of heresie. At length returnyng to England hys countrey agayne, as the tyme ministred more boldnes to hym in the dayes of King Edward, he had diuers conflicties with Gardiner the bishop, in the Citye of Winchester, as appeareth by dyuers of Winchesters letters, and hys examinations. Wherof read before.

After that, hauyng an aduauſon by the ſayd B. he was made there Archdeacon of Winchester, vnder D. Pomet,* who then ſucceeded Gardiner in that Biſhoprike. Thus duryng the tyme of K. Edward, he continued to no ſmall profite of thoſe parties thereabout. When that bleſſed king was taken away, & Mary hys ſiſter came in place, whoſe ſtudy was wholly bent to alter the ſtate of religion in the wofull realme of England:* firſt ſhe cauſed a Conuocation of the Prelates & learned men to be congregated, to the accompliſhment of her deſire.

In the which Conuocation, M. Philpot beyng preſent accordyng to hys roume and degree, with a few other ſuſtained the cauſe of the Goſpel manfully agaynſt the aduerſary part (as is aboue recited) for the which cauſe, not withſtandyng the liberty of the houſe promied before, hee was called to accompt before B. Gardiner the Chauncellour, then beyng hys Ordinary, by whome he was firſt examined,* although that examination came not yet to our handes. From thence agayne he was remooued to Boner and other Commiſſioners, with whom he had dyuers & ſundry conflictes, as in hys examination here followyng, may appeare.

¶The firſt examination of M. Iohn Philpot, before the Queenes Commiſſioners, M. Chomley, M. Roper, & Doct. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches,* at Newgate Sessions hall. 2. Octob. 1555.

DOct. Story, before I was called into an inner Parler where they ſate, came out into the Hall where I was, [Page 1796](#) to view me among other that there were, & paſſing by me ſayd: Ha M. Philpot, and in returnyng immediately agayne, ſtayed againſt me, beholdyng me, and ſaying, that I was well fed in deed.

Philpot.

*If I be fat and in good liking (M. Doctor) it is no maruell, ſince I haue bene ſtalled vp in priſon this twelue months and a halfe, in a cloſe corner. I am come to know your pleaſure wherfore you haue ſent for me.

Story.

We heare that thou art a ſuſpect perſon, and of hereticall opinions, and therefore we haue ſent for thee.

Phil.

*I haue bene in priſon thus long, only vpon the occaſion of diſputation made in the Conuocation houſe, and vpon ſuſpect of ſettyng forth the report thereof.

Story.

If thou wilt reuoke the ſame, and become an honeſt man, thou ſhalt be ſet at liberty, and do right well: or els thou ſhalt be committed to the Biſh. of London. How ſaiest thou, wilt thou reuoke it or no?

Phil.

I haue alredy answered in this behalfe to myne Ordinarie.

Story.

If thou answerest thus when thou comest before vs anone, thou shalt heare more of our myndes: and with this he went into the Par•er, and I within a little whyle after, was called in.

The Scribe.

Sir, what is your name?

Phil.

My name is Iohn Philpot. And so he intituled my name.

Story.

This man was Archdeacon of Winchester of Doct. Pomets presentment.

Phil.

I was Archdeacon in deed, but none of his presentment, but by vertue of a former aduouson geuen by my L. Chancellor that now is.

Story.

Ye may be sure that my L. Chauncellor would not make any such as he is Archdeacon.

Roper.

Come hither to me M. Philpot. We heare say that you are out of the catholike church, and haue ben a disturber of the same: out of the which who so is, hee cannot be the chyld of saluation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be receiued and finde fauour.

Phil.

I am come before your worshipfull Maisterships at your apointmēt,* vnderstanding that you are magistrates authorised by the Queenes maiesty, to whom I owe and wil do my due obedience to the vttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I haue offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cānot be charged with any particuler matter done contrary to the lawes of this Realme, I desire your maisterships that I may haue the benefit of a subiect, and be deliuered out of my long wrong •all imprisonment, where I haue lyen this twelue month and this halfe, without any calling to answer before now, and my liuyng taken from me without all law.

Roper.

Though we haue no perticular matter to charge you withall, yet we may both by our Commission, and by the law driue you to answer to the suspicion of a slaunder goyng on you: & besides this, we haue statutes to charge you herein withall.

Phil.

If I haue offended any statute, charge me therewithall: and if I haue incurred the penaltie therof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the Queens maiesties lawes, by force wherof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more then I haue done.

Cholm.

If the Iustice doe suspect a fellow, he may examine him vpon suspition therof, & commit him to prison though there be no fault done.

Sto.

I perceiue whereabout this man goeth. He is playne in Cardmakers case, for he made the selfe same allegatiōs. But they will not serue thee, for thou art an heretike, and holdest against the blessed masse: how sayst thou to that?

Phil.

I am no heretike.

Story.

*I wil prooue thee an heretike. Whosoeuer hath holden against the blessed masse, is an heretike: but thou hast holden agaynst the same, therefore thou art an heretike.

Phil.

That which I spake, & which you are able to charge me withal, was in the conuocatiō, where by the Queenes maiesties will & her whole counsail, liberty was geuen to euery man of the house to vtter his conscience, & to say hys mynd freely of such questiōs in religiō, as there were propounded by the Prolocutor, for the which now I ought not to be molested and imprisoned as I haue bene, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same.

Story.

Thou shalt go to the Lollards Tower, & be handled there like an heretike as thou art, and answer to y^e same that thou there didst speake, and be iudged by the Byshop of London.*

Phil.

I haue already bene conuented of this matter before my Lord Chancellor myne Ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison: therfore if his Lordship will take my lyfe away, as he hath done my liberty and liuyng, hee may, the which I thinke he cannot doe of hys conscience, and therefore hath let me lye this long in prison: wherefore I am content to abyde the ende of hym herein that is myne Ordinary, and do refuse the audiorie of the Bishop of Londō, because he is an vncompetent iudge for me, and not myne Ordinary.

Story.

But Sir,* thou spakest wordes in the Conuocation house, which is of the B. of Londons Dioces, & therefore thou shalt be caried to the Lollardes Tower to be iudged by hym for the words thou spakest in his Dioces agaynst the blessed masse.

Phil.

Sir, you know by the law, that I may haue Exceptionem fori: and it is agaynst all equitie, that I should bee twice vexed for one cause, and that by such, as by the lawe haue nothyng to do with me.

Roper.

You can not deny, but that you spake agaynst the Masse in the Conuocation house.

Sto.

Doest thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?

Phil.

I cannot deny that I haue spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here redy to suffer whatsoeuer I shall be adiudged vnto.

The Scribe.

This man is fed of vayne glory.

Cholm.

Play the wise gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborne in your opinions, neither cast your selfe away. I would be glad to you good.

Phil.

I desire you sir with the rest here,* y^t I be not charged further at your hands, then the law chargeth me, for that I haue done, since there was then no law agaynst that directly, wherewith I am now charged. And you M. Doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremitie.

Story.

I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholike man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gowne to doe thee good: but I wyll be no friend to an hereticke as thou art,* but wil spend both my gowne & my coat, but I wil burne thee. How sayest thou to the Sacrament of the aultar?

Phil.

Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your maistership, and the tyme now serueth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withall.

Story.

Wel, since thou wilt not reuoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards Tower.

Phil.

Sir, since you will needes shew me this extremitie,* and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your Commission, whether you haue this authority so to do, and after the view therof I shal (according to my duety) make you further answer, if you may by the vertue therof burthen me with my conscience.

Roper.

Let hym see the Commission: is it here?

Story.

Shall wee let euery vyle persone see our Commission?

Cholm.

Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our Commission.

Story.

No, let hym lie in the meane while in the Lollardes Tower: for I will sweepe the Kings Bench & all other prisons also of these heretikes: they shall not haue that resort as they haue had, to scatter their heresies.

Phil.

You haue power to transferre my body from place to place at your pleasure: but you haue no power ouer my soule. And I passe not whether you commit me, for I can not be worse entreated then I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherfore it is no maruell that my flesh is puft vp wherewithall M. Doctor is offended.

Story.

Marshall, take him home with you agayne, and see that you bring him againe on Thursday, and then we shal ridde your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretikes.

Philpot.

God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will iudge vs with righteousnesse, how so euer you iudge of vs now.

Roper.

Be content to be ruled by M. Doctor, & shew your selfe a catholike man.

Phil.

Sir,* if I should speake otherwise then my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: & why be you so earnest to haue me shew my self a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Roper.

We do not require you to dissemble with vs, but to be a Catholike man.

Phil.

If I do stand in any thing against that wherein any man is able to burthen me with one iote of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no Catholike man, or an heretike, as you please.

Story.

Haue we Scripture, Scripture? and wyth that he rose vp, saying: who shalbe Iudge I pray you? This mā is lyke his fellow Woodman, which the other day woulde haue nothyng els but scripture. And this is the beginning of this tragedie.

¶The second examination of Iohn Philpot before the Queenes Commissioners, M. Cholmley, Roper, D. Story, D. Cooke, and the Scribe, the 24th day of Octo. 1555. at Newgate Sessions Hall.

*AT my comming, a man of Algate of myne acquaintāce said vnto me, God haue mercy on you, for you are alredy condemned in this world: for D. Story said, that my L. Chancellor hath commaunded to do you away. After a little consultation had betwene them, M. Cholmley called me vnto him, saying.

Cholm.

M. Philpot, shew your selfe a wise man, & be not stubburne in your owne opinion, but bee conformable to the Queenes proceedyngs, and lyue, and you shall be wel assured of great fauour and reputation.

Phil.

I shall do as it becommeth a Christian man to do.

Story.

This man is the rankest heretike that hath bene in all my L. Chancellors Dioces, and hath done more hurt then any man els there: therfore hys pleasure is, that hee should haue the law to proceede against him, and I haue spoken with my L. herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the B. of London, & there to recant, or els burne. He houled and wept in the Conuocation house, and made such adoe as neuer man did, as all the heretikes doe when they lacke learnyng to aunswer. He shall go after hys fellowes. How sayst thou, wilt thou recant?

Phil.

I know nothyng I haue done, y^t I ought to recant.

Story.

Well, then I pray you let vs commit him to y^e Lollards Tower, there to remaine vntil he be further examined before the B. of London, for he is to fine fedde in the kings Bench, and he hath too much fauour there. For hys keper said at the doore yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best lerned in England: and with this he rose vp and went his way.

Cooke.

This man hath most stoutely mainteined heresies since the Queenes comming in, as any that I haue heard of: therfore it is most meete he should be adiudged by the B. of London, for the heresies he hath mainteyned.

Phil.

I haue mainteined no heresies.

Cooke.

No haue? Did ye not openly speake against the sacrament of the aultar in the Conuocation house? Call you that no heresie? Wilt thou recant that, or not?

Phil.

It was the Quenes Maiesties pleasure y^t we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other mens procuring, in the hearyng of the Counsaile.

Cooke.

Did the Queene geue you leaue to be an heretike? You may be sure her grace wyl not so do. Wel, we wil not dispute the matter with you, my L. of London shall proceed by inquisition vpon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

Phil.

My L. of London is not myne Ordinary in this behalfe, and I haue already answered vnto myne Ordinary in this matter: and therefore (as I haue sayd before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I haue sustained this long imprisonment, besides the losse of my liuyng.

Roper.

You were a very vnmeet man to be an Archdeacō.

Phil.

I know I was as meet a mā as he that hath it now.

Cooke.

A meete man quoth he? He troubled M. Roper and the whole countrey.

Phil.

There was neuer poore Archdeacon so handled at your handes as I am, and that without any iust cause ye be able to lay vnto me.

Cooke.

Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil.

I am Archdeacon still,* although another be in possession of my liuyng: for I was neuer depriued by any law.

Cooke.

No sir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretike should haue no Ordinary proceeding about his depriuation: but the B. may vpon knowledge thereof proceed to depriuation.

Phil.

M. Doctor, you know that the common law is other wise: and besides this,* the statutes of this Realme be otherwyse, which geueth this benefit to euery person, thogh he be an heretike, to enioy his liuyng vntill he bee put to death for the same.

Cholm.

No, there thou art deceyued.

Phil.

Upon the liuyng I passe not. But the vniust dealing grieueth me, that I should bee thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law.

Cholm.

Why, wyll you not agree that the Queenes Maiestie may cause you to be examined of your fayth?

Phil.

Aske you M. Doctor Cooke, and he will tell you that the temporall magistrates haue nothing to doe with matters of fayth for determination thereof. And S. Ambrose sayeth: Diuina Imperatoriae maiestati non sunt subiecta, that the thyngs of God are not subiect to the power and authoritie of Princes.

Cooke.

No? may not the temporall power commit you to be examined of your fayth to the bishop?

Phil.

Yea sir, I deny not that: but you will not grant that the same may examine any of their owne authoritie.*

Cooke.

Let hym be had away.

Phil.

Your maistership promised mee the last tyme I was before you, I should see your commission by what authoritie you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demaund.

[illustration]

☛ **Maister Philpots beyng in the Colehouse, where he found Thomas Whittle Priest, sittying in the Stockes.**

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Roper.

*Let him see the Commission.

The Scribe.

Then he exhibited it to M. Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cooke.

No, what will you do? he shall not see it.

Phil.

Then do you me wrong, to call me and vexe me, not shewing your authority in this behalfe.

Cooke.

If we do you wrong, complayne on vs: and in the meane while thou shalt lye in the Lollardes tower.

Phil.

Syr, I am a poore Gentleman: therefore I trust of your gentlenes you wil not commit me to so vile & strait a place, being found no haynous trespasser.

Cooke.

Thou art no Gentleman.

Phil.

Yes that I am.

Cooke.

An hereticke is no Gentleman: for he is a Gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Phil.

The offence can not take away the state of a Gentleman as long as he liueth, although he were a traytor: but I meane not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it vnder my f•ot, since you do no more esteeme it.

Story.

What wil you suffer this heretick to prate with you all this day?

Cooke.

He sayth he is a Gentleman.

Story

A gentleman quoth he? he is a vile hereticke knaue: for an hereticke is no Gentleman. Let the Keeper of Lollardes Tower come in, and haue him away.

The keeper.

*Here Sir.

Story.

Take this man with you to the Lollardes Tower, or els to the Bishops Colehouse.

Phil.

Syr, if I were a dogge, you coulde not appoynt me a worse and more vile place: but I must bee content wyth whatsoeuer iniury you do offer me. God geue you a more mercifull hart: you are very cruell vpon one that hath neuer offended you. I pray you M. Cholmly, shew me some frēdship, that I be not caryed to so vile a place. And he called me aside, and sayd:

Cholm.

I am not skilfull of theyr doinges, neither of their lawes: I cannot tell what they meane. I woulde I coulde do you good.*

Phil.

I am content to goe whyther you wyll haue mee. There was neuer man more cruelly handled, thē I am at your handes, that without any iust cause knowne, should thus be entreated.

Story.

Shall we suffer this hereticke thus to reproue vs? haue him hence.

Phil.

God forgeue you, & geue you more mercifull harts, & shew you more mercy in the time of neede: Et quod facis, fac citius: Do quickly that you haue in hand.

Story.

Do you not heare how he maketh vs Iud•sses?

Phil.

That is after your owne vnderstanding.

After this, I with foure other mo were brought to the Keepers house in Pater noster Row, where we Supped, and after supper I was called vp to a chamber by the arch'deacon of Londons seruant, & that in his maysters name? who offred me a bed for that night. To whō I gaue thanks, saying: that it shoulde be a grieue to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: wherefore I will begin (sayde I) as I am like to continue, to take such part as my felowes do.* And with that we were brought through Pater noster row, to my Lord of Londons Colehouse: vnto the whiche is ioyned a litle blinde house, with a great payre of stockes appoynted both for hand & foot, but thanks be to God we haue not playd of those organes yet,* although some before vs had tried thē) & there we founde a Minister of Essex a married priest, a man of godly zeale, w^t one other poore mā. And this minister (at my cōming) desired to speake w^t me, & did greatly lament his owne infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonmēt, he was constrayned by writing to yelde to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at li•erty,* and afterwarde felt suche a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrayne from destroying himself, and neuer could be at quiet vntill he had gone vnto the bishops Register, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soone as he had receiued, he tare it in pieces: & after he was as ioyfull as any man might bee. Of the whiche when my Lord of London had vnderstanding, he sent for him, and fell vpon him like a Lion, and like a manly Bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face blacke and blew, & pluckt away a great piece of his beard: but now thanks be to God, he is as ioyfull vnder the crosse, as any of vs, and very sorye of his former infirmity, I write this because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to theyr conscience: which is to fal into the paynes of hell. And here an end.

***The maner of my calling first before the Bishop of London, the second night of mine imprisonment in his Colehouse.**

The Bishop sent vnto me, M. Iohnson, his Register, with a messe of meate and a good pot of drinke, and breade,* saying, that my Lord had no knowledge erst o• my beinge here, for whiche he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my felowes that meat, knowing whether I would receiue the same.

I thanked God for my Lordes charity that it pleased him to remember poore prisoners,* desiring almighty God to encrease the same in him and in all others: and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence, and therwith tooke the same vnto my brethren, praying God for his prouidence towards his afflicted flocke, that he styrred our aduersaries vp to helpe the same in their necessity.

Iohnson.

My Lorde woulde knowe the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) & wondreth that he shoulde be troubled with prisoners of other dioces then his owne.

Philpot.

I declared vnto him the whole cause. After the which he sayd, my Lordes will was that I should haue any frendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lordes gentlemen cōmeth for me, and I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or foure of his chapleins waiting vpon him, and his Register.

Bon.

M. Philpot, you are welcome, geue me your hand.

Phil.

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I to render curtesy for curtesy, kissed my hande, & gaue hym the same.

Boner.

I am right sorry for your trouble,* & I promise you before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither: for I promise you I knew nothing thereof as yet, neither I woulde you shoulde thinke, that I was the cause thereof: and I maruell that other men wyll trouble me with theyr matters,* but I must be obedient to my betters: and ywis, men speake otherwise of me then I deserue.

Phil.

I shewed him the summe of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the conuocation house, for the which I was agaynst all right molested.

Boner.

I maruell that you shoulde be troubled therefore, if there was none other cause but this. But peradventure you haue mainteyned the same since, and some of your frendes of late haue asked, whether you doe stande to the same, and you haue said, Yea: and for this you might be cōmitted to prison.

Phil.

If it shall please your Lordshippe, I am burdened none otherwise then I haue tolde you, by the Commissioners, who haue sēt me hither, because I would not recant the same.

Boner.

A man may speake in the parliament house though it be a place of free speech, as he may be imprisoned for, as in case he spake wordes of high treason against the king or queen: & so it might be that you spake otherwise then it become you, of the Church of Christ.

Phil.

I spake nothing which was out of the articles whiche were called in question, and agreed vpon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the Queenes permissiō and the Counsell.

Boner.

Why, may we dispute of our fayth?*

Phil.

Yea that we may.

Boner.

Nay, I trow not, by the law.

Phil.

In deed by the Ciuill law I know it is not lawfull, but by Gods law we may reasō therof. For S. Peter saith: Be ye ready to render accompt vnto all men of that hope whiche is in you that demaund you of the same.*

Boner.

In deede Saynt Peter sayth so. Why, then I aske of you what your iudgement is of the Sacramente of the Aultar?

Phil.

My Lord, Saynt Ambrose sayth,* that the disputatiō of faith ought to be in the congregation, in y^e hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account therof to euery man priuately, vnlesse it be to edify. But nowe I cannot shewe you my minde, but I muste runne vpon the pikes in daunger of my life therfore. Wherefore, as the said Doctor sayd vnto Ualentinian the Emperour, so say I to your Lordship: Tolle legem, & fiet certamen:*Take awaye the lawe, and I shall reason with you. And yet if I come in open iudgement, where I am bound by the law to aunswere▪ I trust I shall vtter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Boner.

I perceiue you are learned, I would haue such as you be about me. But you must come & be of the church, for there is but one Church.

Phil.

God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same: for I know, as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholick church,*Vna Colūba, vna Sponsa, vna Dilecta: One Doue, one Spouse, one beloued Congregation, out of the which there is no saluation.

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Boner.

How chaunceth it then, that you go out of the same and walke not with vs?

Phil.

My Lorde, I am sure I am within the boundes of the Church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God.

Boner.

What age are ye of?

Phil.

I am foure and forty.

Boner.

*You are not now of the same fayth your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptised.

Phil.

Yes that I thank God I am: for I was baptised into the fayth of Christ which I now hold.

Boner.

How can that be? there is but one fayth.

Phil.

I am assured of that by Saynt Paule, saying: That there is but one God, one fayth, and one baptisme, of the which I am.

Boner.

You were xx. yeare ago of an other fayth then you be now.

Phil.

In deede (my Lorde) to tell you playne, I was then nullus fidei, of no fayth, a neuter, a wicked liuer, neither hoat nor colde.

Boner.

Why, doe you not thinke that wee haue nowe the true fayth?

Phil.

I desire your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that Gods worde throughlye with the Primitiue church and all the aũcient writers doe agree with this fayth I am of.

Boner.

Well, I promise you I meane you no more* hurte, then to mine owne person: I will not therfore burthē you with your conscience as nowe, I maruell that you are so mery in prison as you be, singing and reioysing, as y^e prophet saith: Exultātes in rebus pessimis: reioising in your naughtinesse. Me thinketh you do not wel herein: you should rather lament and be sorry.

Phil.

*My Lord, the myrth that we make is but in singing certayne Psalmes, according as we are commaūded by S. Paule, willing▪ vs to be mery in the Lord, singing together in Hymnes and Psalmes: and I trust your Lordship can not be displeased with that.

Boner.

We may say vnto you, as Christ said in the Gospel: Tibijs cecinimus vobis, & non planxistis.

Phil.

Here my Lorde stumbled, and coulde not bring forth the text, and required his Chapleines to help, and put him in remembrance of the text better: but they were mumme: and I recited out the text vnto him, whiche made nothing to his purpose, vnles he would haue vs to mourn, because they, if they laughe, sing still sorrowfull thinges vnto vs, threatning fagots and fire.

We are my Lord, in a darcke comfortlesse place, & therefore it behoueth vs to be mery, least, as Salomon sayeth: sorrowfulnesse eate vp our harte. Therefore I truste your Lordship will not bee angrie for our singing of Psalmes, since Saynt Paule sayth: If any man bee of an vpriht minde, let hym sing. And we therefore, to testifye that we are of an vpriht minde to God (though wee be in misery) doe sing.

Boner.

I will trouble you no further as now. If I can doe you any good, I will bee glad to doe it for you. God be with you, good Mayster Philpot, and geue you good night. Haue him to the Sellar, and let him drinke a cup of wine.

*Thus I departed, and by my Lordes Register I was brought to his Sellar doore, where I dranke a good cup of wine. And my Lords Chapleine M. Cousin folowed me, taking acquayntance, saying, that I was welcome, & wished that I would not be singular.

Phil.

I am well taught the contrary by Salomon, saying: Vae soli: Wo be to him that is alone. After that I was caryed to my Lordes Colehouse agayne, where I with my sixe felowes do rouse together in the straw as chearefully (we thanke God) as other do in theyr beds of Downe.

Thus for the third fitte.

¶The fourth examination of M. Philpot in the Archdeacons house of London, the sayd moneth of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Glocester.

BOner.

Mayster Philpot, it hath pleased my Lordes to take paines here to day, * to dine with my poore archdeacon, and in the diner time it chaunced vs to haue communication of you, & you were

pitied here of many that knew you in the new Colledge in Oxforde: and I also doe pittie your case, because you seeme vnto me by the talke I hadde with you the other night, to be learned, & therefore now I haue sent for you to come before them, that it might not be sayd hereafter, that I had so many learned Bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thanke them) they are content so to do. Now therfore vtter your mind freely, & you shal with all fauour be satisfied. I am sory to see you lye in so euill a case as you doe, and would fayne you should do better, as you may, if you list.

Bath.

My Lordes here haue not sent for you to fawn vpō you, but for charities sake to exhorte you to come into the right catholicke way of the church.

Worc.

Before he beginneth to speake,* it is best that he call to God for grace, and to praye that it might please God to open his hart, that he may conceiue the truth.

Phil.

With that I fell downe vpon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this maner.

Almighty God, which art the geuer of all wisdom, and vnderstanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodnes and mercye in Iesus Christ, to geue me most vile sinner in thy sight, the spirite of wisdom to speake and make answeere in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand & also to my better vnderstanding, if I be deceiued in any thing.

Boner.

Nay, my Lorde of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they haue a singular pride in, that they can oftē make their vain prayers in the which they glory much. For in this poynt they are much like to certayne errant heretickes,* of whom Pliny maketh mention, that didde dayly sing antelucanos Hymnos: Prayse vnto God before the dawning of the day.

Phil.

My Lord, God make me & all you here present suche hereticks as those were y^t soong those morning himnes: for they were right christians, with whom the tyrantes of the world were offendeh for their well doing.

Bath.

Proceede to that he hath to saye. He hath prayed I can not tell for what.

Boner.

Say on, M. Philpot: my Lordes will gladly heare you.

Phil.

I haue, my Lordes, bene this tweluemoneth and an halfe in Prison without any iust cause, that I knowe,* and my liuing taken from me without any lawfull order, and now I am brought (contrary to righte, from myne owne Territory and Ordinary, into another mans iurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships cā burden me with any euill done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no suche thing may bee iustly layd to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.

Boner.

There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to mee without my knowledge. Therefore speake your conscience without any feare.

Phil.

My Lord, I haue learned to aunswere in matters of Religion, In Ecclesia legitimè vocatus: In the Congregation being thereto lawfully called:* but nowe I am not lawfullye called, neither is here a iust congregation where I oughte to answere.

Boner.

In deede this man tolde mee the last time I spake with him, that he was a Lawyer, and woulde not vtter his conscience in matters of fayth, vnlesse it were in the hearing of the people, where hee mighte speake to vayne glory.

Phil.

My Lord, I sayd not I was a Lawyer, neither do I arrogate to my selfe that name although I was once a nouice in y^e same, where I learned something for mine owne defence, whē I am called in iudgement to answere to any cause, & whereby I haue bene taught, not to put my selfe further in daūger then I neede, and so farre am I a Lawyer, and no further.

Bath.

If you will not answere to my Lordes request, you seme to be a * wilfull man in your opinion.

Phil.

My Lorde of London is not mine Ordinarye before whom I am bound to answere in this behalfe, as maister D. Cole (which is a Lawyer) can well tell you by y^e lawe. And I haue not offended my Lord of Londō wherefore he should call me.

Boner.

Yes, I haue to laye to your charge, that you haue offended in my dioces by speaking agaynst the blessed sacrament of the aultar, and therefore I may call you & proceed agaynst you to punish you by the law.

Phil.

I haue not offended in your Dioces. For that whiche I spake of the Sacrament was in Paules Church in the Conuocation house,* which (as I vnderstand) is a peculiar iurisdiction belonging to the Deane of Paules, and therefore is counted of your Lordships Dioces, but not in your Dioces.

Boner.

Is not Paules Church in my Dioces? Well I wote, it costeth me a good deale of money by the yeare, the leading thereof.

Phil.

That may be, & yet be exempted from your lordships iurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your Dioces, yet I ought by the law, to be sent to mine Ordinarye, if I [Page 1800](#) require it, & not to bee punished by you that are not mine Ordinary. And already (as I haue told you) I haue bene conuented of mine Ordinary for this cause, which you goe about to enquire of me.

Boner.

How say you, M. D. Cole, may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my dioces?

Cole.

Me thinketh M. Philpot needeth not to stande so muche with your Lordship in that point as he doth, sithen you seeke not to hinder him, but to further him: therfore I thinke it best that he go to the matter that is layde agaynst him of the Conuocation, and make to longer delay.

Phil.

I would willingly shew my mind of the matter, but I am sure it will be layd agaynst me to my preiudice whē I come to iudgement.

Cole.

Why, then you may speake by protestation.

Phil.

*But what shall my protestation auayle in a cause of heresy (as you call it) if I speake otherwise then you wyll haue me, since that which I spake in the conuocatiō house, being a place priuiledged, can not now helpe me?

Boner.

But M. Doct. Cole, may I not proceede agaynst him for that offence he hath done in my dioces?

Cole.

You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be fouūd in your dioces?

Phil.

*But I haue by force bene brought out of mine owne Dioces to my Lordes, and required to be iudged of myne owne Ordinary: and therefore I know mayster Doctour will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship oughte to proceed agaynst me. And here Mayster Doctour would say nothing.

Worcest.

Doe you not thinke to finde before my Lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your owne Ordinary?

Phil.

I canne not blame my Lorde of Londons equitye, with whom (I thanke his Lordship) I haue found more gentlenes since I came, then of mine owne Ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelue moneth and this halfe before, who neuer woulde call me to aunswere, as his Lordship hath done now twise. Sed nemo prohibetur vti iure suo:* but I ought not to bee forestalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the same for diuers other considerations.

Boner.

Nowe you can not saye hereafter, but that ye haue bene gently cōmuned withal of my Lordes here, & yet you be wilfull & obstinate in your error, and in your owne opinions, & will not shewe any cause why you will not come into the vnity of the Church with vs.

Phil.

My Lordes, in that I doe not declare my minde according to your expectation, is (as I haue sayd) because I can not speak without present daunger of my life. But rather then you shoulde report me by this, either ostinate or selfe willed without any iust ground, wherupon I stand: I will open

vnto you somewhat of my minde, or rather y^e whole, desiring your lordships which seme to be pillers of the Church of Englande, to satisfye me in the same: and I will referre all other causes in the which I dissēt from you vnto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both: in the which if I can by the scriptures be satisfied at your mouthes, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all poyntes.

Boner.

These heretickes come alwayes with their ifs, as this man doth now,* saying: if he can be satisfied by the scriptures: so that he will alwayes haue this exception, I am not satisfied, although the matter be neuer so playnly proued agaynst him. But wil you promise to be satisfied, if my Lordes take some paynes about you?

Phil.

I say (my Lord) I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God & his eternall sonne Iesus Christ my Sauour, and the holy ghost and his Angels, and you here present that be iudges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opiniō of wylfulness, or singularity, but onely vpon my conscience, certainly informed by gods word, from the which I dare not go for feare of damnatiō: and this is the cause of mine earnestnes in this behalfe.

Boner.

I will trouble my Lords no longer, seing that you will not declare your minde.

Phil.

I am about so to doe, if it please your Lordshippe to heare me speake.

Bathe.

Geue him leaue (my Lord) to speake that he hath to say.*

Phil.

My Lordes, it is not vnknowne to you, that the chiefe cause why you do count me and such as I am for hereticks, is because we be not at vnity with your Churche. You say, you are of the true Church: and we say, we are of the true Church. You say, that who is out of your church, is damned: and we thinke verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, wheron we are graffed in Gods word, we should stand in the state of dānatiō. Wherfore if your Lordship can bring any better authorities for your church, then we can do for ours, & proue by the scriptures that the Churche of Rome nowe (of the which you are) is the true Catholick Church, as in al your sermons▪ writings, and argumentes you doe vpholde, and that all christen persons ought to be ruled by the same vnder pain of damnation (as you say) and that the same Churche (as you pretend) hath authority to interprete the scriptures, as it semeth her good, and that all men are bound to folow such interpretations onely: I shalbe as conformable to the same Church as

you may desire me, the whiche otherwise I dare not: therfore I require you for Gods sake to satisfy me in this.

Cole.

If you stand vpon this poynt onely, you may soone be satisfied if you list.

Phil.

It is the thing that I require, & to this I haue sayd, I will stand, and refer all other controuersies wherein I stand now agaynst you, and will put my hād therto, if you mistrust my word.

Boner.

I pray you, mayster Philpot, what faith were you of twenty yeares ago? This man will haue euery yeare a new fayth.*

Phil.

My Lorde, to tell you playne, I thinke I was of no fayth: for I was then a wicked liuer, and knewe not God then, as I ought to do, God forgeue me.

Boner.

No were? that is not so. I am sure you were of some fayth.

Phil.

My lord, I haue declared to you on my cōsciēce what I then was and iudge of my selfe. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

Boner.

Mayster Doctour Cole, I pray you say your mind to him.

Cole.

What will you say, if I can proue that it was decreed by an vniuersall coūcell in Athanasius time? that all the christen church should folow the determinatiō of y^e church of Rome? but I do not now remember were.

Phil.

If you Mayster Doctour canne shewe me the same, graunted to the Sea of Rome, by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly harken thereto. But I thinke you be not able to shewe any suche

thinge: for Athanasius was President of Nicene councell, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure.

Cole.

Though it were not then, it might bee at an other time.

Phil.

I desire to see the prooffe thereof. And vpon this M. Harpsfield Chauncellor to the Bishop of Londō, brought in a booke of Ireneus, with certaine leaues turned in, and layd it before the Bishops to helpe them in theyr perplexity, if it might be: the which after the Bishops of Bath and Glocester had read together, the Bishop of Glocester gaue me the booke.

Gloc.

Take the booke, M. Philpot, and looke vppon that place, and there may you see how the church of Rome is to be folowed of all men.

Phil.

I tooke the Booke, and read the place, the which after I had read, I sayd it made nothing agaynst me,* but agaynst the Arians and other Heretickes, agaynst whome Ireneus wrote, prouing that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and folowe after straunge doctrine in Europa, and that the chiefe Church of the same was founded by Peter and Paule, and had to this time continued by faythfull succession of the faythfull Bishoppes in preaching the true Gospell, as they had receiued of the Apostles, and nothing like to the late sprong Heretickes. &c. Whereby hee concludeth agaynste them, that they were not to be heard, neither to bee credited, the whiche thing if you my Lordes be able to prooue nowe of the Church of Rome, then had you as good authoritye agaynst me in my cause now, as Ireneus had agaynst those heretickes. But the church of Rome hath swarued from the truth and simplicitye of the Gospell,* whiche it maintained in Ireneus time, and was vncorrupted from that whiche it is nowe: wherefore your Lordships can not iustly apply the authority of Ireneus to the Church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the Primitiue Church.

Boner.

So will you saye still, it maketh nothinge for the purpose, whatsoeuer authority wee bring, and will neuer be satisfied.

Phil.

My Lorde, when I doe by iust reason, proue that the authorities which be brought agaynst me doe not make to the purpose (as I haue alredy proued) I trust you will receiue mine aunswere.

Worc.

It is to be prooued most manifestly by all auncient writers,* that the Sea of Rome hath alwayes folowed the truth, and neuer was deceiued, vntill of late certayne heretickes had defaced the same.

Phil.

Let that be proued, and I haue done.

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Worcest.

Nay, you are of suche arrogancy, singularitye, and vayne glory, that you will not see it, be it neuer so wel proued.

Phil.

Ha, my Lordes, is it nowe time (thinke you) for me to folow singularity or vayne glory, since it is now vpon daunger of my life and death, not onely presently, but also before God to come? and I know, if I dye not in the true fayth, I shall dye euerlastingly, and agayne I knowe, if I do not as you would haue me, you will kill me and many thousandes moe: yet had I leuer perish at your handes, then to perishe eternally. And at this time I haue lost all my cōmodities of this worlde, and now lye in a colehouse, where a man would not lay a dog, with the whiche I am well contented.

Cole.

Where are you able to prooue, that the Churche of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what Historye? certayne it is by Eusebius, that the Church was stablished at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop 25. yeares at Rome.

Phil.

I know well that Eusebius so writeth: but if we cōpare that which saynt Paul writeth to the Galathians the first it will manifestlye appeare the contrarye,* that he was not halfe so long there. He liued not past 35. yeres after he was called to be an Apostle: and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Hierusalem after Christes death more then 18. yeares.

Cole.

What did Peter write to the Galathians.

Phil.

No, I say Paule maketh mention of Peter writing to the Galathians, and of his abiding at Hierusalem. And further, I am able to proue, both by Eusebius & other Historiographers, that y^e

church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth erre, because shee agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitiue Church didde vse according to the Gospell, and there needeth none other prooffe but compare the one with the other.

Bon.

I may compare this man to a certayne man I reade of,* which fell into a desperation, & wēt into a wood to hang himselfe, and whē he came there, he went vewing of euery tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hange himselfe. But I will not apply it as I mighte. I pray you (M. Doctor) go forth with him.

Cole.

My Lord, there be on euery side on me that be better able to answer him, and I loue not to fall in disputation, for that now a daies a man shal not but susteine shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had leuer shewe my mind in writing.

Phil.

And I had leuer that you should do so then otherwise, for then a man may better iudge of your words then by argument, and I beseeche you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager an hundred pōundes, that you shal not be able to shew that you haue sayde,* to be decreed by a generall Counsell in Athanasius time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a generall Councell in Africa many yeares after, that none of Africa (vnder payne of excommunication) should appeale to Rome: the which Decree I am sure they woulde not haue made, if by the scriptures & by an vniuersall Councell it had bene decreed, that al mē should abide & folow the determination of the church at Rome.

Cole.

But I can shew that they reuoked that error again.

Phil.

So you say, M. Doctour, but I pray you shewe me where. I haue hitherto heard nothing of you for my contēation, but bare wordes without any authority.

Boner.

What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our fayth? Iustinian in the law hath a title, De fide Catholica, to the contrary.

Phil.

I am certayne the Ciuill lawe hath such a constitution: but our fayth must not depend vpon the ciuill law. For as saynt Ambrose sayth: *Non lex sed fides congregauit Ecclesiam: Not the lawe but the Gospell (sayth hee) hath gathered the church together.

Worcest.

M. Philpot, you haue the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yelde to the truth: leaue it for shame.

Phil.

Syr, I am sure I haue the spirite of fayth, by the which I speake at this present: neyther am I ashamed to stand in my fayth.

Glocest.

What do you thinke your selfe better learned then so many notable learned men as be here?

Phil.

Elias alone had the truth, when they were foure hūdreth priestes agaynst him. *

Worcest.

Oh, you would be counted now for Helias. And yet I tel thee he was deceiued: for he thoght there had bene none good but himselfe, and yet he was deceiued, for there were seuen hundred besides him.

Phil.

Yea but he was not deceiued in doctrine, as the other seuen hundred were.

Worcest.

By my fayth you are greatly to blame: that you can not be contēt to be of the Church which euer hath •en of that faythfull antiquity.

Phil.

My Lord I know Rome, and haue bene there, wher I saw your Lordship.

Worcest.

In deede I did flee from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there.* But I am sorry that you haue bene there: for the wickednesse which you haue seene there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do.

Phil.

No, my Lord, I doe not as I do, for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the Gospell, not altogether to refuse the minister for his euill liuing, so that he bring sound doctrine out of Gods booke.

Worc.

Doe you thinke that the vniuersall Church may be deceiued?*

Phil.

S. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth that there should come an vniuersall departing from the faith in the latter dayes before the cōming of Christ, saying: Non veniet Christus nisi venerit defectio prius: that is: Christ shal not come, till there come a departing fyrst.

Cole.

Yea, I pray you, how take you the departyng there in S. Paule? It is not meant of fayth,* but of the departing from the Empyre: For it is in Greeke, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .

Phil.

Mary in deed you (M. Doctour) put me in good remēbraunce of the meaning of S. Paule in that place, for Apotasia is properly a departing from the fayth, and thereof commeth Apostata, whiche properly signifieth one that departeth from his fayth: and S. Paule in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the Empyre.

Cole.

Apostasia doth not onely signify a departing frō the fayth, but also from the Empyre, as I am able to shew.

Phil.

I neuer read it so taken, and when you shalbe able to shew it (as you say in woordes) I will beleue it, and not before.

Worcest.

I am sorry that you shoulde be agaynst the Christen world.

Phil.

The world commonly and such as be called Christians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and bene enemies to the same.

Gloc.

Why, M. Philpot, doe you thinke that the vniuersall church hath erred, and you onely to be in the truth?

Phil.

The church that you are of, was neuer vniuersall,* for two parts of the world, which is, Asia & Africa neuer consented to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do folow his decrees.

Gloc.

Yes, in Florentines Councell they did agree.

Phil.

It was sayde so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so in deed, as the se|quele of them all hitherto doth proue the contrary.

Gloc.

I pray you by whom will you be iudged in matters of controuersy which happen dayly?

Phil.

By the word of God. For Christ sayth in S. Iohn: The word that he spake, shall be Iudge in the latter day.

Gloc.

What if you take the word one way, and I an other way: who shall be iudge then?

Phil.

The Primitiue Church.

Gloc.

I know you meane the Doctors that wrote thereof.

Phil

I meane verely so.

Gloc.

What if you take the Doctors in one sense, and I in an other, who shalbe iudge then?

Phil.

Then let that be taken whiche is moste agreeable to Gods word.

Cole.

My Lordes, why do you trouble your selues to answeere him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament, and he to shift himselfe of that, brought in another matter.

Phil.

This is the matter, M. Cole, to the which I haue referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied.

Worc.

It is wonder to see how he standeth with a few agaynst a great multitude.

Phil.

We haue almost as many as you. For we haue Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmarke, and a great part of France, and dayly the number of the Gospel doth encrease: so that I am credibly informed,*
that for this Religion in the whiche I stande, and for the whiche I am like to dye, a greate multitude doth dayly come out of Fraunce through persecution, that the Cityes of Germany bee scarce able to receiue them: and therefore your Lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, doe what you can to the contrary.

Worc.

They were wel occupied to bring you such newes, and you haue bene well kept to haue such resort vnto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow & stoutest fond fellow that euer I knew.

Phil.

I pray your Lordship to beare with my hasty speech: for it is part of my corrupt nature to speake somewhat hastily: but for all that I meane with humility to do my duty to your Lordship.

Boner.

M. Philpot, my Lordes will trouble you no further [Page 1802](#) at this time, but you shall goe from whence you came, and haue such fauor as in the mean while I can shew you: and vpon wednesday next you shalbe called agayn to be heard what you can say for mainteinaunce of your error.

Phil.

*My Lorde, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I haue required: and your Lordship shall finde me, as I haue sayd.

Worc.

We wish you as well as our selues.

Phil.

I thinke the same (my Lordes) but I feare you are deceiued, and haue a zeale of your selues, not according to knowledge.

Worc.

God send you more grace.

Phil.

And also God encrease the same in you, and opē your eyes that you may see to mayneteyne his trueth and hys true Church.

Then the bishops rose vp & consulted together, & caused a writing to be made, in y^e which I think my bloud by thē was bought & sold, & thereto they put to theyr handes, and after this I was caried to my Colehouse agayne.

¶Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end therof to his glory. Amen.

*BEcause I haue begon to write vnto you of mine examinations before the Bishop & other, more to satisfy your desire then it is any thing woorthy to be written: I haue thought it good to write vnto you also that whiche hath bene done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darcknes and priuy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might knowe how vnorderly, vniustly, & vnlearnedly these rauening wolues doe proceed agaynst the seely and faythfull flocke of Christ, and condemne & persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in vs, which they are not able by honest meanes to resist, but only by tyranny and violence.

***The 5. examination of Iohn Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Couentry, S. Asses (I trow) and one other, whose Seas I know not, Doctor Story, Curtop,**

Doctor Sauerson, Doctor Pendleton, with diuers other Chaplaynes and Gentlemen of the Queenes Chamber and diuers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of Londons Palace.

BOner.

M. Philpot come you hither, I haue desyred my Lordes here and other learned mē to take some paines once agayne,* and to do you good: & because I do minde to sit in iudgement on you to morow (as I am commaūded) yet I would you should haue as much fauor as I cā shew you, if you wilbe any thing cōformable. Therfore play the wise man, and be not singuler in your opiniō, but be ruled by these learned men.

Phil.

My Lord, in that you say you will sit on me in iudgement to morrow, I am glad thereof. For I was promised by them which sent me vnto you, that I should haue bene iudged the next day after: but promise hath not bene kepte with me, to my farther grieffe. I looke for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yeld my life in Christes cause, as you be to require it.

Boner.

Lo what a wilfull man this is? By my fayth it is but folly to reasō with him, neither with any of these heretickes. I am sory that you wilbe no more tractable, & that I am compelled to shew extremity agaynst you.

Phil.

My Lord, you need not to shew extremity against me v•les you list: neither by y^e law (as I haue sayd) you haue any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine Ordynary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison.

Boner.

Why, the Queenes Commissioners sent you hither vnto me vpon you examination had before them. I know not well the cause: but I am sure thhy would not haue sent you hither to me, vnles you had made some talke to them, otherwise then it becommeth a christian man.

Phil.

My Lorde, in deede they sent me hither without any occasion then ministred by me. Onely they layd vnto me y^e disputation I made in the Conuocation house, requyring me to aunswere the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sēt me hither to your lordship,

Boner.

Why did you not aunswere them thereto?

Phil.

For that they were temporall men, & ought not to be iudges in spiritual causes wherof they demaunded me, w^tout shewing any authority wherby I was bound to aunswere them, & hereupon they committed me to your prisō.

Boner.

In deed I remember now, you maynteined open heresy in my Dioces: * wherfore the Cōmissioners sent you vnto me that I shoulde proceede agaynst you, for that you haue spoken in my Dioces.

Phil.

My Lord, I stand still vpon my lawfull plea in this behalfe, that though it were a great heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore in respect of the priuiledge of the Parliament house, wherof the Conuocation house is a member, where al men in matters propoūded may franckly speake theyr mindes: * and here is presēt a Gentleman of the Queenes Maiesties that was presēt at the disputation, and can testifye that the questions whiche were there in controuersy, were not set forth by me, but by the Prolocutor, who required in the Queenes Maiestyes name, all men to dispute theyr mindes freely in the same, that were of the house.

The Queenes Gentleman.

Though the Parliament house be a place of priuiledge for men of the house to speak, yet may none speake any treason agaynst the Queene, or maintein treason agaynst the crowne.

Phil.

But if there be any matter whiche otherwise it were treason to speake of, * were it treason for any persō to speak therin, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I thinke not.

The Queenes Gentleman.

You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceiue, if you wil reuoke y^e same which you did there so stubbernelly mainteine.

S. Asse.

This man did not speake vnder reformatiō as manye there did, but 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 and 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 whiche is earnestly and perswa•bly as euer I heard any.

Phil.

My Lordes, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I haue lawfully done,* neither will admit my iust defence for that was spoken in the conuocation house by me, contrary to the lawes and custome of the Realme. I appeale to the whole Parliament house, to bee iudged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I haue there spoken.

Rochest.

But haue you spoken and maynteyned the same since that time, or no?

Phil.

If any man can charge mee iustly therewith, here I stand to make aunswere.

Rochest.

How say you to it now? will you stād to that you haue spoken in the Conuocation house, and do you thinke you sayd then well, or no?

Phil.

My Lorde, you are not mine ordinary to proceede ex officio agaynst me and therfore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demaundes.

S. Asse.

What say you now? Is not there in y^e blessed sacramēt of y^e aultar (& with that they put of al their caps for reuerence of that Idoll) the presence of our Sauour Christ,* really and substantially after the wordes of consecration?

Phil.

I do beleue in the Sacrament of Christes body duely ministred to be such maner of presēce, as the word teacheth me to beleue.

S. Asse.

I pray you how is that?

Phil.

As for that I will declare an other time when I shall be lawfullye called to dispute my minde of this matter but I am not yet driuen to that point. And the scripture sayth: All thinges ought to be done after an order.

An other Bish.

This is a froward & a vayneglorious man.

Boner.

It is not lawfull for a man by the ciuill lawe to dispute his fayth openly, as it appeareth in the title, De summa trinitate & fide catholica.

Phil.

My Lorde, I haue aunswered you to this question before.

Boner.

Why? I neuer asked thee of this before now.*

Phil.

Yes that you did at my last examination, by that token I aunswered your Lordship by S. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by mans law. Wherefore I adde now further of this saying: Quôd qui fidem repudiat, & legem obijcit, iniustus est, quia iustus ex fide vivit. i. That he which refuseth the word, and obiecteth the lawe,* is an vniust man, because the iust shall liue by fayth. And moreouer (my Lord) the title which your Lordship alledgeth out of the law, maketh it not vnlawfull to dispute of all the articles of the fayth, but of the Trinity.

Boner.

Thou lvest, it is not so? and I will shew you by the Booke how ignoraunt he is. And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fet his booke and openly read the texte and the title of the lawe, and charged mee with suche wordes as seemed to make for his purpose, saying: howe sayst thou to this.

Phil.

My Lord, I say as I sayd before, that the law meaneth of the catholicke fayth determined in the Councell of Calcedonia, where the articles of the creed were onely cōcluded vpon.

Bon.

Thou art the veriest beast that euer I heard, I must needes speake it, thou compellest me thereunto.

Phil.

Your Lordship may speake your pleasure of me. But what is this to the purpose, which your lordship is so earnest in? You know that our fayth is not grounded vpon the ciuill law: * therefore it is not materiall to me whatsoeuer the law sayth.

Boner.

By what lawe wilt thou bee iudged? Wilt thou bee iudged by the common law.

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Phil.

No my Lord, our fayth depēdeth not vpon the lawes of man.

S. Asse.

He will be iudged by no law, but as he list himselfe.

Worcest.

The common lawes are but abstractes of y^e scrip|tures and Doctors.

Phil.

Whatsoeuer you do make them, they are no groundes of my fayth, by the which I ought to be iudged.

Boner.

*I must needes proceed agaynst thee to morow.

Phil.

If your Lordship so do, I wil haue Exceptionem fori, for you are not my competent Iudge.

Bon.

By what law canst thou refu•e me to be thy iudge?

Phil.

By the Ciuill law, De competente Iudice.

Boner.

There is no such title in the law. In what booke is it, as cunning a Lawyer as you be.

Phil.

*My Lorde, I take vpon me no great cunning in the law: but you driue me to my shiftes for my defence, and I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to shew what I say.

Boner.

What? De competente Iudice? I will go fet thee my bookes. There is a title in deed De officijs Iud•cis ordinarij.

Phil.

Uerely that is the same De competente Iudice, whiche I haue alledged. With that he ran to his study, & broughte the whole course of the law betwene his hands, which (as it might appeare) he had wel occupied, by y^e dust they were embrued withall.

Boner.

There be the bookes: finde it now (if thou canst) and I will promise thee to release thee out of prison.

Phil.

My Lorde, I stand not here to reason ma•ters of the Ciuill law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same, for that I haue bene a Student in the same sixe or seuen yeares: but to aunswere to the Articles of fayth wyth the which you may lawfully burthē me. And whereas you go about vnlawfully to proceede. I challenge according to my knowledge, the benefite of the law in my defence.

Boner.

Why, thou wilt aunswere directly to nothing thou art charged withall: therefore saye not hereafter but you might haue bene satisfied here by learned mē, if you would haue declared your minde.

Phil.

My Lorde, I haue declared my minde vnto you and to other of the Byshops at my last being before you, * desyring you to be satisfied but of one thing, wherunto I haue referred all other controuersies: the whiche if your Lordships now, or other learned men can simply resolue me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all thinges, as you shall require: the which is to proue that y^e church of Rome (wherof you are) is the Catholicke Church.

Couen.

Why? do you not beleue your Creed, Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam.

Phil.

Yes that I do: but I cannot vnderstād Rome (wherwith all you burden vs) to be the same, neither like to it.

S. Asse.

*It is most euidēt that S. Peter did builde the Catholicke Church at Rome. And Christ sayd: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam.

Moreouer, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proued from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the Catholicke Church, as diuers Doctors do write.

Phil.

That you would haue to be vndoubted, is most vncertaine, & y^t by the authority which you alledge of Christ, saying vnto Peter: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church, vnles you can proue the rocke to signifye Rome, as you would make me falsly beleue. And although you can prooue the succession of Bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to proue Rome the catholicke church, vnles you can proue the profession of Peters fayth wherevpon the catholic church is builded, to haue continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remayne.

Bon.

Is there any mo churches thē one catholicke church▪ And I pray you tel me, into what faith were you baptised.

Philpot.

I acknowledge one holy Catholicke and Apostolicke Church, wherof I am a member (I prayse God) and I am of that catholicke fayth of Christ, where into I was baptised.

Couen.

I pray you, can you tell what this word Catholicke doth signify?* shew if you can.

Phil.

Yes that I can, I thanke God. The catholicke fayth, or the Catholicke Churche is not as now a dayes the people be taught, to be y^t which is most vniuersall, or of moste part of men receiued,* whereby you do inferre our fayth to hang vpō the multitude, which is not so, but I esteeme the

Catholicke Church to be as S. Austen defineth the same. Aestimamus fidem Catholicam a rebus praeteritis, praesentibus, & futuris.*i. We iudge (sayth he) the catholicke fayth, of that whiche hath bene, is and shalbe. So that if you can be able to prooue that your fayth and Church hath bene from the beginning taught, and is, and shalbe: then may you coūt your selues Catholicke, otherwise not. And Catholicke is a Greeke word compounded of 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, which signifieth after or according, and 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉, a summe, or principle, or whole. So that catholicke Church or Catholicke fayth is as much to say, as the first, whole, sound, or chiefest fayth.

Boner.

Doth S. Austen say so as he alledgeth it? or doth he meane as he taketh the same? How say you M. Curtop?

Curtop.

In deed (my Lord) S. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking agaynst the Donatistes, that the Catholicke fayth ought to be esteemed of thinges in times past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to bee through al ages, and not after a new maner, as the Donatistes began to professe.

Phil.

You haue sayd well M. Curtop, and after the meaning of S. Austen, and to confirme that which I haue said for the signification of Catholicke.

Couen.

Let the booke be sene my Lord.

Bon.

I pray you my Lord be cōtēt, or in good fayth I will breake euen of & let al alone. Do you thinke the Catholicke Church (vntill it was within these few yeres in y^e which a few vpō singularity haue swerued frō y^e same) haue erred?

Phil.

I do not thinke that the Catholicke Church can erre in doctrine: but I require you to prooue this Church of Rome to be the Catholicke Church.

Curtop.

I can proue that Ireneus (which was within an hundred yeares after Christ) came to victor then bishop of Rome,* to aske his aduise about the excōmunication of certayne heretickes, the which he would not haue done (by al likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreame head.

Couent.

Marke well this argument. How are you able to aunswere to the same (Aunswere if you can.

Phil.

It is soone aunswered my Lorde, for that it is of no force, neither this fact of Ireneus maketh no more for the supremacy of the Bishoppe of Rome, then mine hath done which haue bene at Rome as well as he, and mighte haue spoken with the Pope if I had list: and yet I would none in England did fauor his supremacy more then I.

S. Asse.

You are the more to blame (by the fayth of my body) for y^t you fauor the same no better, since all the Catholicke Church (vntill this fewe yeares) haue taken him to be supreame head of the Church, besides this good man Ireneus.

Phil.

That is not likely, that Ireneus so tooke him, or the primatiue Church: for I am able to shewe seauen generall Councils after Ireneus time wherein he was neuer so taken, which may be a sufficient prooffe that the catholick primitiue church neuer tooke him for supreme head.

The other Bish.

This man will neuer be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

Phil.

O my Lordes, would you haue me satisfied with nothing? Iudge (I pray you) who of vs hath better authority, he whiche bringeth the example of one manne going to Rome, or I that by these many generall councils am able to proue, that he was neuer so takē in many hūdred yeares after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephesine the first and the seconde,*Calcedone, Constantinopolitane, Carthaginens. Aquiliense.

Couen.

Why will ye not admit the Church of Rome to be the Catholicke Church?

Phil.

Because it followeth not the primitiue Catholicke church, neither agreeth with the same, no more then an apple is like a nut.

Couent.

Wherin doth it dissent?

Phil.

It were to long to recite all, but two thinges I will name: the supremacy and transubstantiation.

Curtop.

As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth & decreed for an article of fayth not much aboue 300. yeares, yet it was alwayes beleued in the church.

Bon.

Yea that it was. Uery well sayd of you M. Curtop.

Phil.

Ye haue sayde right, that Transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the byshop of Rome,* & you are not able to shew any auncient writer, that the primitiue church did beleue any such thing: and with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after, the Ambassadors of Spayne came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leauing the other with me. To whome I sayde: my Lordes, if you can shew me that this church of Rome (wherof you are members) is the true Catholicke Church,* I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things: for I know there is no saluation but within the Church.

Couen.

Can you disproue that the Church of Rome is not the Catholicke Church.

Phil.

Yea that I am able: but I desire rather to heare of you for the prooffe thereof.* And seing I cannot haue my request at your hāds, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will shewe you good prooffe why it is not. For if the primatiue Church were Catholicke, as it was in deed, and ought to be the form and scholemaysters of the Church to the worldes end: then is not the church of Rome now the Catholicke church which dissenteth so farre from the same [Page 1803](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 1804](#) both in doctrine and vse of the sacramentes.

Couent.

How proue you that the Church of Rome nowe dissenteth in doctrine and vse of the sacramentes from the primitiue Church?*

Phil.

Compare the one with the other, and it will soone appeare: as ye may see both in Eusebius and other Ecclesiasticall and auncient writers.

Couent.

What haue you to say more, why it is not the catholicke Church?

Phil.

Because it is not (by youre interpretation of Catholicke) vniuersall neyther neuer was, albeit you falsely perswade the people that it is so. For the world being deuided in three partes, Asia, Africa, and Europa, ii. partes therof, Asia, and Africa professing Christ as wel as we, did neuer consent to the Church of Rome, which is of Europa: whiche is a sufficient testimony that your faith was neuer vniuersall.

Couent.

How proue you that?

Phil.

At the Historiographers whiche write of the proceedings of the Church, doe testifie the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true which I say. For at this present the Church of Asia and Africa doe not consent to the church of Rome. Yea and besides all thys, most parte of Europa doth not agree neither allowe the Church of Rome: as Germanye the kingdome of Denmarke, the kingdome of Poole, a great part of Fraunce, England, and Zeland, which is a manifest probation that your Church is not vniuersall. And after this, the Bishop of London called away the other Bishops, and lefte with me diuers Gentlemen, with certayne of his Chaplaynes, as Doctor Sauerson an Englishman, which had proceeded Doctor in Bonony, who after began with me in this maner.

Doctour Sauer.

Mayster Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a Fryer (a notable learned man) commyng from Uenice to Padua in a barge.

Phil.

I cannot forget that, for the Fryer threatned me to accuse me of heresie as soone as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no suche learned manne as you name hym to be, but onely in hys schole poyntes a good Purgatory Fryer.

Doct. Sauer.

Well, he was a learned man for al that. And I am sorry to heare y^t you this day hauing cōmoned wyth so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them then you be.

Phil.

I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I praye you good mayster Doctour, be not so conformable to please men more then GOD, contrary to your learning for worldly estimations sake.

Doct. Sauer.

No that I am not. Upon what occasion shuld you thinke thus of me?

Phil.

Upon no euill that I doe knowe of you, Mayster Doctour: but I speake as one wishing that you shoulde not be led away from the truth for promotions sake, as many Doctours be now a dayes.

Doct. Sauer.

*I haue heard your argumentes hetherto, and me thinketh that a great many of the olde ancient writers be agaynst you in that you doe not allowe the churche of Rome neyther the supremacie: for saint Cyprian (whiche is an old ancient writer) doth allowe the byshop of Rome to be the supreme head of the Church.

Phil.

That I am sure of he doth not. For he writing vnto Cornelius then Byshoppe of Rome, calleth hym but his companion and fellow Byshop, neither attributed to hym the name either of Pope, or els of any vsurped terms which now be ascribed to the Bishop of Rome to the setting forth of his dignitie.

Doct. Sauer.

You cannot be able to shewe that S. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow Byshop.

Phil.

I will wager with you that I amble to make, that I can shew it you in Cyprian, as I haue sayd.

Doctor Sauer.

I will lay none other wager with you, but booke for booke,* that it is not so.

Phil.

I agree thereto, and I praye you one of my Lordes Chaplaynes to fet vs Cyprian hether for the tryal hereof. And with that one of them went to my Lordes study and brought forth Cyprian, & by and by he turned to the fyrst booke of his Epistles,* the 3. Epistle, and there would haue seemed to haue gathered a strong Argument for the supremacie of the Byshop of Rome, because he sayth: It goeth not well with the Church when the hygh Prieste is not obeyed, which supplyeth the stead of Christ after Gods word, and the cōsent of hys fellow Byshops. and the agreement of the people.

Doct. Sauer.

How can you auoyd this place which maketh so playnely for the Bishop of Romes supremacy?

Phil.

It maketh not so playne, mayster Doctour, on your side, as you gather, as by and by I wil geue you to vnderstand. But first I challenge the wager which wee made y^t your booke is mine.* For here you may see that hee calleth Cornelius his fellow byshop, as he doth also in other pla^{ces}. And now for the vnderstanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to make the high Priest onely for the Bish. of Rome and otherwise then it was in hys tyme. For there were by Nicene Councell iiii. Patriarckes appoynted, the Patriarcke of Hierusalem, the Patriarcke of Constantinople, the Patriarcke of Alexandria, and the Patryarcke of Rome, of whiche foure the Patriarcke of Rome was placed lowest in the Councell, and so continued many yeares, for the tyme o^r vii. or viii. generall Councelles, as I am able to shew.

Therefore S. Cyprian writing to Cornelius Patriarcke of Rome? whome he calleth hys fellowe Byshoppe) findeth himselfe offended, that certayne heretickes beyng iustly excommunicated by him (as the Nouatians were) did flye from the Dyoces, whiche was their chiefe bishop refusing to be obedient to him and to bee reformed, to the Bishop of Rome and to the Patriarcke of Constantinople, and there were receaued in communion of congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in y^e church and to the mayntayning of heresies and schismes: and that heresies did spring vp and schismes dayly rise hereof, that obedience was not geuen to the Prieste of God, nor once considered him to be in the Church, for the time, the priest and for the time the Iudge in Christes steade (as in the decree of Nicene Councell was appoynted) not the Byshop of Rome onely, but euery Patriarcke in his precinct: who had euery one of them a Colledge or Cathedrall church of learned Priestes, in hearyng of whome by a conuocation of his fellow Byshops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meanyng of S. Cypryan.

D. Sauer.

You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise.

Phil.

Upō what groūd it shuld seeme otherwise vnto you, I know not but this meaning whiche I haue declared y^e general Councils. 7. or 8. one after an other, confirmed it so to be, whiche did not allowe one supreme head onely.

Pend.

There were not so many generall Councils, but 4. onely allowed.

Phil.

That is not so M. Pendleton, although there be 4. specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinitie: but beside these foure there were many other generall Councils, as you may learne by many writers.*

A Chaplayne.

Did not Christ builde his Church vpon Peter S. Cyprian sayth so.

Phil.

S. Syprian De simplicitate praelatorum declareth in what respect he so sayd. In persona vnus dedit Dominus omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatem denunciaret. i. God gaue in person of one man the keyes to all, that he might signifie the vnitie of all men. And also saynt Austen sayth in the x. treatise of S. Iohn: Si in Petro non esset Ecclesiae mysterium, non ei diceret Dominus tibi dabo claues. Si autem hoc Petro dictum est non habet Ecclesia: si autem Ecclesia habet, quando claues accepit, Ecclesiam totam designauit. i. If in Peter hadde not bene the misterie of the Church, the Lord had not sayde vnto him (I will geue vnto thee the keyes. For if that were sayd vnto Peter, the Church hath them not: if the Church haue them,*when Peter receiued them he signified the whole Church. And also S. Hierome a Priest of Rome writing to Nepotian, sayth: that al Churches do leane to their owne Pastours,*where he speaketh of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie or regiment, where hee maketh no mention of the Bishop of Rome. And Ad Euagium hee sayth, that wheresoeuer a Byshop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Euagie, or at Regium, he is of one power and of one Iurisdiction.

D. Sauer.

S. Hierome De coelesti hierarchia? It was Dyonisius you meane.

Phil.

I say not that Hierome wrote anye booke so intituled. But I say, that in the Epistle by me alledged, hee maketh mention of the Ecclesiasticall regiment.

D. Sauer.

I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your errour, to your owne destruction.

Philpot.

I am sure we are in no errour, by thy promise of Christe made to the faythfull once, whiche is, that he will geue to hys true Church suche a spirite of wisdom, that the aduersaries therof should neuer be able to resist. And by this I knowe we are of the trueth, for that neyther by reasoning neyther by writing, your Sinagogue of Rome is able to aunswere. Where is there one of you all that euer hath bene able to answere any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who haue disclosed your counterfayt Religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to answere Caluins institutions, which is minister of Geneua?

D. Sauer.

A godly minister in deede of receite of •urpurses,* and runnagate traytours. And of late I can tell you, there [Page 1805](#) is such contention fallen betweene hym and his own sects that he was fayne to flye the towne, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Ieneua hether.

Phil.

I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that Godly church where he is minister, as it is your churches condition when you cannot answere men by learnyng, to oppresse them with blasphemies and false reportes. For in the matter of predestination hee is in none other opinion then al the Doctors of the church be, agreeing to the scriptures.

Sauer.

Men be able to answere hym if they list. And I pray you which of you haue answered Byshop Fishers booke.

Phil.

Yes (mayster Doctor) that booke is answered and aunswere agayn, if you list to seek what hath bene written agaynst hym.

And after this Doct. Story came in. To whom I said mayster Doctor,* you haue done me great iniury, and with out law haue straightly imprisoned me, more like a Dogg thē a man. And besides this, you haue not kept promise w^t me, for you promised that I should be iudged the next day after.

Story.

*I am come now to keepe promise with thee. Was there euer such a fantastickall man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast. Yea these heretickes be worse then brute beastes: for they will vpon a vayne singularitie take vpon them to be wiser then all men, being in deede very fooles and Asseheades, not able to mayntayne that whiche of an arrogant obstinacie they do stand in.

Phil.

M. Doct. I am content to abide your rayling iudgement of me now. Say what you will I am content, for I am vnder your feete to be troden on as you list. God forgeue it you: yet I am no hereticke. Neither you nor anye other shall be able to proue that I hold any iote agaynst y^e word of God, otherwise then a Christian man ought.

Story.

The word of God? forsooth the word of God. It is but a folly to reason wyth these heretickes, for they are incurable and desperate.* But as I may reasō with thee, not that I haue any hope to winne thee, whom wilt thou appoynt to be iudge of the word wherto thou standest?

Phil.

Uerely the word it selfe.

Story.

Doe you not see the ignoraunce of this beastly hereticke? He willeth the word to be iudged of the word. Can the word speake?

Phil.

If I cannot proue y^t which I haue sayd by good authoritie, I will be content to be counted an hereticke and an ignoraunt person, and further what you please.

Story.

Let vs heare what wise authoritie y^u canst bring in.

Phil.

It is the saying of Christe in S. Iohn: Verbum quod locutus sum,*iudicabit in nouissimo die The word which I haue spoken (sayth Christ) shall iudge in the last day. If the worde shall iudge in the last day,* much more it ought to iudge our doings now: And I am sure I haue my iudge on my side, who shall absolue and iustifie me in an other world. How soeuer now it shall please you by authoritie vnrighteously to iudge of me and others, sure I am in an other world to iudge you.

Story.

What? you purpose to be a stincking Martyr, & to sit in iudgement with Christ at the last day to iudge the 12. tribes of Israell.*

Phil.

Yea sir, I doubte not thereof, hauing the promise of Christ, If I dye for righteousnes sake, which you haue begon to persecute in me.

Story.

I told you it is but vayne to argue with this hereticke: he is drowned in his heresies without all learning.

Phil.

Syr, I haue brought you for that I haue sayd, good authoritie out of Gods booke, to the whiche you answere nothing, but go about still to geue rayling iudgement aagaynst me without any cause.

Story.

I will come to you by and by. When as the Iudge in Westminster hall geueth sentence, doth the worde geue sentence, or the Iudge? tell me.

Phil.

Ciuill matters be subiect to Ciuell men, & they haue authoritie by the worde to bee iudge of them.* But the word of God is not subiect to mans iudgemēt, but ought to iudge all the wisdomes, thoughtes, and doynge of men and therefore your comparison disproueth nothing that I haue sayd, neither answereth any whit therto.

Story.

Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church vpon the scriptures?

Phil.

Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you,* as I haue sayd heretofore, that if yee can proue the church of Rome (wherof ye are) to be y^e true Catholicke Church which I ought to follow, I wil be as ready to yeld therto (as long as it can be so proued) as you may desire me.

Story.

What a fellow is this? He will beleue nothing but what he list himselfe.* Are we not in possessiō of the church? Haue not our forefathers these many hundred yeares takē this church for the catholicke church wherof we are now? And if we had none other prooffe but this it were sufficiēt: for prescription of time maketh a good title in the law.

Philpot.

You doe well (mayster Doctour) to alledge prescription of many yeares,* for it is all that you haue to shew for your selues. But you must vnderstand, Ex diuinis nulla occurrit praescriptio, y^t prescription hath no place in matters belonging to God, as I am able to shewe by the testimony of many Doctours.

Story.

Well sir, you are like to go after your fathers Latimer the Sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to alledge for hymselfe but that hee had learned his heresie of Cranmer. Where I came to him with a poore Bachelor of Arte, he tremblēd as though hee had had the palsey, as these hereticke haue alwayes some token of feare whereby a man may know them,* as you may see this mans eies do tremble in his head. But I dispatched them: and I tell thee that there hath bene yet neuer a one burnte, but I haue spoken with him, & haue bene a cause of his dispatch.

Phil.

You haue the more to aunswere for, Mayster Doctor as you shall feele in an other world, how much soeuer you do now triumph of your proceedings.

Story.

I tell thee I will neuer be confessed therof. And because I cannot now tary to speake with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my comming was to signifie to his Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this hereticke away. And going away he sayd vnto me, I certifie thee that thou mayst thanke none other man but me.

Phil.

I thanke you therefore with all mine hart: and God forgeue it you.

Story.

What? doest thou thanke me? if I had thee in my study halfe an houre, I thinke I should make you sing an other song.

Phil.

No maister Doctour, I stand vpon to sure a ground to be ouerthrowne by you now.* And thus they departed al away from me one after an other, vntil I was left al alone. And afterwards with my keeper going to my Colehouse (as I went) I met with my Lord of London, who spake vnto me gētly, as he hath hetherto in words saying:

London.

Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may shewe you in my house, I pray you require it and you shall haue it.

Philpot.

My Lord the pleasure that I will require of your Lordship is to hasten my iudgement which is committed vnto you, & so dispatche me forth of this miserable world,* vnto my eternall rest. And for all this fayre speache I can not attain hetherto this fortnight space, neither fire nor cādle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, & to be counted amongst y^e vilest, that hee may in time of rewarde receiue exaltation & glory. Therfore praised be God y^t hath humbled me, & geuen me grace with gladnes to be content there withall.

Let all that loue the truth say. Amen.

Thus endeth the fift Tragedy.

***The sixt examination of Iohn Philpot had before the right honourable Lordes, Lorde Chamberlayne to the kinges Maiesty, the Vicount Herford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Rich, the Lord S. Iohns, the Lord Winsor, the Lord Shandoys, Sir Ioh. Bridges Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other moe whose names I know not, with the B. of London and Doctour Chadsey, the sixt day of Nouember. An. 1555.**

PHilpot.

Before that I was called afore the Lordes, and whiles they were in sitting downe, the Byshop of Lōdon came aside to me and whispered in myne eare,* willing me to vse my selfe before the Lordes of the queenes maiesties Councell prudently, and to take heede what I sayd: & thus he pretendeth to geue me counsaile because he wished me to do well, as I might now do if I list. And after the Lordes & other worshipfull gentlemen of y^e queenes Maiesties seruauntes were set, my Lorde of London placed himselfe at the end of the table, & called me to hym, & by the Lords I was placed at the vpper end agaynst him: where I kneeling downe, the Lordes commaunded me to stande vp, and after in this manner the Byshop began to speake.

London.

M. Philpot, I haue heretofore, both priuately my selfe, and openly before the Lordes of y^e Clergy,* mo times then once caused you to bee talked withall to reforme you of your errors, but I haue not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: Wherefore now I haue desired these honorable Lordes of the temporaltie and of the Queenes Maiesties Counsaile, who haue taken

paynes with me this day (I thanke them therefore) to heare you what you can say, that they may be iudges whether I haue sought all meanes to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say in theyr behalfe, that if you shew your selfe conformable to the Queenes Maiesties proceedinges, you shall finde as [Page 1806](#) much fauour for your deliuerance, as you can wishe. I speake not this to fawne vpō you, but to bryng you home into the Church. Now let them heare what you can say.

Phil.

My Lorde I thanke God of this daye, that I haue such an honorable audiēce to declare my mynd before.* And I cannot but commend your Lordships equity in this behalfe, which agreeth with the order of the primatiue church which was, if any body had bene suspected of heresie (as I am now) he should be called, first before the archbishop or byshop of the Dioces where he was suspected, secondly in the presence of others his fellow byshops and learned elders, and thirdly in hearyng of the layty: where after the iudgement of Gods word declared, and with the assent of other Bishops and consent of the people he was condemned to exile for an hereticke,* or absolved. And the seconde poynt of that good order I haue found at your Lordships hands already in being called before you & your fellow bishops: & now haue the third sort of mē at whose hands I trust to finde more righteousnes in my cause then I haue found w^t my Lordes of y^e Clergy, God graunt I may haue at last the iudgement of Gods word concerning the same.

London.

M. Philpot. I praye you ere you go any further tell my Lordes here playnely whther you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I haue shewed you anye crueltie sithen yee haue bene committed to my prison.

Phil.

If it shall please your Lordship to geue me leaue to declare forth my matter, I wil touch that afterward.

Rich.

Aunswere first of all to my Lordes two questions, & then proceede forth to the matter. How say you? wer you imprisoned by my Lorde or no? can you finde anye faulte since with his cruell vsing of you.

Phil.

I cannot laye to my Lordes charge the cause of my imprisonmēt, neyther I may say that he hath vsed me cruelly,* but rather for my part I might say that I haue found more gentlenesse at his Lordships handes then I dyd at myne owne Ordinaries for the time I haue bene wythin his prison, for that he hath called me three or foure times to mine answere, to the which I was not called twelue mōth and a halfe before.

Rich.

Well, now go to your matter.

Phil.

The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the Conuocation house agaynst the sacrament of the aaltar, which matter was not moued principally by me, but by the Prolocutor, with the consent of y^e Queenes Maiestie and of the whole house, and that house being a member of the Parliament house, ought to be a place of free speeche for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custome of this realme. Wherefore I thynke my selfe to haue sustayned hetherto great iniury for speaking my conscience freely in suche a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honorable Lordships iudgement which be of the Parliament house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustayne the losse of my liuing (as I haue done) and moreouer of my life, as it is sought.

Rich.

You are deceaued herein: for the Conuocation house is no part of the Parliament house.*

Phil.

My Lord, I haue alwayes vnderstāded the contrary by suche as are more experte menne in thinges of thys realme then I: and againe, the title of euery Acte leadeth me to thinke otherwise, which alledgeth the agreement of the spiritualitie and temporaltie assembled together.

Rich.

Yea, that is meant of the spirituall Lordes of the vpper house.

Winsor.

In deed the Conuocation house is called together by one writte of the Summons of y^e Parliament of an old custome:* notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament house.

Phil.

My Lordes, I must be contēted to abide your iudgementes in this behalfe.

Rich.

We haue told you the truth. Mary yet wee woulde not that you should be troubled for any thinge that there was spoken, so that you hauing spoken amisse, do declare now that you are sory therfore.

Lond.

My Lordes he hath spoken there manifest heresie, yea and there stoutly mayntayned the same against y^e blessed sacramēt of the aultar (and with that he put off his cap that al the Lords might reuerence & vayle theyr bonets at that Idoll as they did) and would not allow the reall presence of the body and bloude of Christe in the same: yet my Lordes, God forbid that I shoulde goe about to shewe him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent & reuoke his wicked sayings: & if in faith he wil so do, w^t your lordships consent he shalbe released by and by. Mary if he wil not, he shal look for y^e extremitie of the law, & that shortly.

Chamb.

My Lorde of London speaketh reasonably vnto you: take it whiles it is offered you.

Rich.

How say you? Will you acknowledge the reall presence of the bloud and body of Christ, as a• the learned mē of this realm do in the Masse, and as I do, and wil beleue as long as I liue, I do protest it?

Phil.

My Lord I do acknowledge in the sacramente of the body and bloud of Christ such a presence, as the worde of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich

That shalbe none otherwise then you lift.

London.

A sacrament is the signe of a holy thing:• So that there is both the signe which is the accident (as y^e whitenes, roūdnes, & shape of bread) and there is also the thyng it selfe, as very Christ both God and man. But these heretickes will haue the sacramentes to be but bare signes. How say you? declar• vnto my Lordes here whether you do allow the thing it selfe in the sacrament or no?

Phil.

I do confesse y^t in the Lordes supper there is in due respectes both the signe and the thing signified,• when it is duely ministred after the institution of Christ.

London.

You may see how he goeth about the bush (as he hath done before) with my Lords of the Clergy, and dare not vtter his minde playnly.

Rich.

Shew vs what maner of presence you allowe in the sacrament.

Philpot.

If it shall please you my Lord of London, to geue me leaue to proceede orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my minde without interruption, I wil throughly open my minde therin.

L. Shand.

I pray you my Lord, let hym speake his mynde.

Phil.

My Lordes, that at the first I haue not plainly declared my iudgemēt vnto you in this, because I cānot speake hereof without the daunger of my life.

Rich.

There is none of vs here that seeketh thy life, or meane to take any aduauntage of that thou shalt speake.*

Phil.

Although I mistrust not your honorable Lordships y^r be here of y^e tēporalty: yet here is one that sitteth against me (pointing to my Lord of London) that wil lay it to my charge euen to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing youre honours do require me to declare my minde of the presēce of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceauē that I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christe, neither doe mayntayne any opinion without probable and sufficient authoritie of the Scripture, I will shewe franckly my minde without all colour, what soeuer shall ensu• vnto me therfore, so that my Lord of London wil not let me to vtter my minde.

Rich.

My Lord, permit him to say what he can, seeyng hee is willing to shew his mind.

London.

I am content my Lordes, let him say what he can I will heare him.

Phil.

That which I doe entend to speake vnto you (right honourable Lordes) I do protest here,* first before God & his Angels, that I speake it not of vaynglory, neyther of singularitie, neither of

wilfull stubburnes, but truely vpon a good conscience grounded on Gods worde, against y^e which I dare not do for feare of damnation which wil follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neyther do I disagree to the proceedinges of this realme in the religion for that I loue not the Queene (whom I loue from the bottome of my hart) but because I ought to loue & fear God in his word more then man in his lawes, though I stand as I seeme to do in this consideration, and for none other as God I call to witnes.

There be two things principally, by the which y^e clergy at this day doth deceiue the whole realm: that is, * y^e sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, and the name of y^e Catholicke church: y^e which both they do vsurpe, hauing in deed none of them both. And as touching theyr Sacrament, which they terme of the aulter, I say now as I sayd in the Conuocation house that it is not the Sacramente of Christ, * neither in the same is there any maner of Chrystes presence. Wherefore they deceiue the Queenes maiesty: and you of y^e nobilitie of thys realme, in making you to beleue y^t to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest Idolatry in worshipping that for God, whiche is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest prooffe which I am able to make to the Queenes maiesty and to all you of her nobility, I will yeld my lyfe. The which to do, if it were not vpon a sure groūd, it were to my vtter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholicke church (wherby they blinde many folkes eyes) they are nothing so, * calling you from the true religion whiche was reuealed & taught in K. Edwardes time, vnto vaine superstition. And this I will say for the tryall hereof, that if they can proue themselues to be the catholicke church (as they shal neuer be able to do) I wil neuer be agaynst their doynge, but reuoke all that I haue sayd. And I shall desire you (my Lordes) to be a meane for me to the Queenes [Page 1807](#) maiestie, that I may be brought to y^e iust triall hereof. Yea I will not refuse to stand agaynst ten of the best of them in this realme. And if they be able to proue otherwise then I haue sayd, either by writing or by reasoning, with good & lawfull authoritie, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I haue sayd, * & to consent to them in all poyntes. And in the declaratiō of these things more at large, which now I write in summe: the Bishop of London eftsones would haue interrupted me, but the Lords procured me libertie to make out my tale, to the great grieve of my Lord bishop of London, as it appeared by his dumpes he was in.

Londō.

It hath bene told me before, that you loue to make a long tale.

Rich.

Al heretickes do boast of the spirite of God, and euery one would haue a church by himselfe: as Ioan of Kent and the Anabaptistes. I had my selfe Ioan of Kent a seuen night in my house after y^e writ was out for her to be burnt where my Lorde of Canterb. and Bishop Ridley resorted almost daily vnto her: but she was so high in the spirite y^t they could do nothing with her for all theyr learning. But she went wilfully vnto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now.

Phil.

As for Ioan of Kent, shee was a vayne woman (I knew her well & an heretick indeed,* well worthye to bee burnt because she stooode agaynst one of the manifest artycles of our faith, contrary to the scriptures: and such vayne spirites be soone known from y^e true spirite of God & hys church, for y^t the same abideth w^tin the limites of GODS word and will not go out of the same, neither stubburnely mayntaine any thing cōtrary to the word, as I haue gods word throughly on my side to shew for that I stand in.

London.

I pray you, how will you ioine me these ij. scriptures together: Pater maior me est, & pater & ego vnum sumu{us} I must enterprete the same, because my Lordes here vnderstand not the Latin: that is to saye: The Father is greater then I, and I and the father are one. But I cry you mercye my Lordes, I haue mispoken, in saying you vnderstande no Latine: for the most part of you vnderstand Latin as well as I. But I spake in consideration of my Lord Shādoys and M. Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now shew your cunning, and ioine these two scriptures by the word if you can.

Phil.

Yes that I can right well. For we must vnderstande that in Christ there be two natures, the diuinitie and Humanitie, & in respect of his humanitie it is spoken of christ The Father is greater then I. But in respect of hys Deitie, he sayd agayne: The Father and I be one.

London.

But what scripture haue you?

Phil.

Yes, I haue sufficient scripture for the prooofe of that I haue sayd.* For the first, it is written of Christ in y^e Psalmes: Diminuisti eum paulominus ab Angelis: Thou hast made him a little lesser then Aungels. It is the xv. Psalme, beginning? Coeli enarrant. And there I misreckoned, wherewithall my Lord tooke me.

London.

It is in Domine Dominus noster. Yee may see my Lords how wel this man is vsed to say his Mattins.

Phil.

Though I say not Mattins in suche order as youre Lordship meaneth: yet I remember of olde, that Domine Dominus noster, and Coeli enarrant, bee not farre asunder: and albeit I misnamed the Psalme, it is no preiudice to the truth of that I haue proued.

London.

What say you then to the second scripture? howe couple you that by the word to the other?

Phil.

The text it selfe declareth, y^t notwithstanding Chryst did abase himself in our humayne nature: yet he is stil one in Deitie with the Father. And this S. Paule to the Hebrues doth more at large set foorth. And as I haue by the scriptures ioyned these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other Articles of fayth which we ought to beleue and by the manifest word of God to expound them.

London.

How can that be, seing saynct Paule sayth, that the letter killeth, but it is the spirite that geueth life.

Philpot.

S. Paul meaneth not the worde of God, written in it selfe killeth, which is the word of life and the faythfull testimonie of the Lord, but that the worde is vnprofitable and killeth him that is void of the spirite of God, although he be the wisest man of the world, and therfore S. Paule sayd, That the Gospell to some was a sauour of life vnto lyfe, and to some other a sauour of death vnto death.* Also an example hereof we haue in the vi. of Iohn, of them who hearing y^e worde of God without the spirite were offended thereby: wherefore Christ sayd, The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirite that quickeneth.

London.

What? do you vnderstand that of S. Paule and of S. Iohn so?

Philpot.

It is not mine owne interpretation, it is agreable to the word in other places: and I haue learned y^e same of auncient fathers interpreting it likewise.* And to y^e Corinthians as it is written: Animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus Dei: spiritualis dijudicat omnia. The natural man perceiueth not the thinges that bee of the spirite of God: but the spirituall man whiche is indued with the spirite, iudgeth all thinges.

London.

You see my Lordes, that this man will haue but hys owne minde, and will wilfully cast away himselfe. I am sory for him.

Phil.

The words y^t I haue spoken be none of mine but of the Gospell, wheron I ought to stand. And if, you my lord of London, can bring better authoritie for the faythe you would draw me vnto, then that which I stand vpō, I wil gladly heare y^e same by you or by any other in this realm.

Wherefore I kneeling down, besought the Lords to be good vnto me a poore Gentleman,* that would fayne lyue in the world if I might: and to testifie: as you haue heard me to say this day, that if any man can approue y^t I ought to be of any other maner of faith then that of which I now am, and can proue the same sufficiently, I will be neyther wil•ull neither desperate, as my Lorde of London woulde make you beleue me to be.

Rich.

What countrey man be you? are you of the Philpots of Hampshyre?

Phil.

Yea my Lorde I was Sir Peter Philpots sonne of Hampshyre.

Rich.

He is my neare kinsman: wherefore I am the more sory for him.

Phil.

I thanke your Lordship that it pleaseth you to chalenge kinred of a poore prisoner.

Rich.

In faith I would go an hundreth miles on my bare feete to do you good.

Cham.

He may do well enough if he liSt.

S. Iohn.

M. Philpot: you are my countryman, & I woulde be glad you should do well.

Rich.

You said euen now, that you would desire to mayntaine your beliefe before ten of the best in the realme. You did not well to compare with the Nobilitie, of the Realme.* But what if you haue tenne of the best in the Realme to heare you, will you be tryed by them?

Phil.

My Lord, your Lordshippe mistaketh me to thinke that I challenge tenne of the best of the Nobilitie in thys realme: It was no part of my minde, but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side.

Rich.

Wel I take your meaning What if meanes be made to the Queenes maiestie, that you shall haue your request will you be iudged by them?

Phil.

My Lord, it is not meete that a man shoulde be iudged by his aduersaries.

Rich.

By whom then would you be iudged?

Phil.

I will make your honours iudges, that shalbe hearers of vs.

Rich.

I dare be bolde to procure for you of the Queenes maiestie that you shall haue tenne learned men to reason with you and twenty or forty of the Nobility to heare, so you wil promise to abide theyr iudgement. How say you? will you promise here afore my Lordes so to do?

Phil.

I will be contented to be iudged by them.

Rich.

Yea, but wil you promise to agree to theyr iudgemēt.

Phil.

There be causes why I may not so do, vnlesse I wer sure they would iudge according to the word of God.

Rich.

O, I perceauē you wil haue no man iudge but your selfe,* and thinke your selfe wiser then all the learned men of this Realme.

Phil.

My Lorde, I seeke not to be myne owne iudge, but am contēt to be iudged by other, so that the order of iudgement in matters of religion be kept that was in the primatiue Church, which is, first that Gods wil by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spiritualty and temporaltie was gathered together, and gaue theyr consentes & iudgement, & such kind of iudgement I will stand to.

London.

My Lordes he would make you beleue that hee were profoundly seene in auncient writers of the iudgementes of the primatiue Church, and there was neuer any such maner of iudgement vsed as he now talketh of.

Phil.

In the Epistles of S. Ciprian I am able to shewe it you.

London.

A, I tell you there is no such thing: fet me Cyprian hether.*

Phil.

You shall finde it otherwise when the booke commeth. And D. Chedsay his Chaplayne (whom he appointed to fet his booke) whispered the Bishop in his care, and fet not the booke, by likelihoode that he should haue susteined the reproche thereof if the booke had bene fet. Well my Lord (quoth I) mayster Doctor knoweth it is so, or els he would haue fet the booke ere this.

Rich.

You woulde haue none other iudge (I see) but the worde.

Phil.

Yes my Lord: I will be tryed by the word, & by such [Page 1808](#) as will iudge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controuersy betweene your Lordship and an other vpon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute iudge and determine the controuersie?

Rich.

*No mary the Iudges of the law may determine the meaning therof.

Load.

He hath brought as good an example agaynst hym selfe as can be.

And here the B. thought he had good handfast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many wordes to the iudgement of the Church.

The Lordes.

Hee hath ouerthrowne himselfe by his owne argument.

Phil.

My Lords, it seemeth to your honours y^t you haue great aduauntage of me by the example I brought in,* to expresse my cause? but if it be pondered throughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will aske of my Lorde Rich here whom I know to haue good knowledge in the lawes and statutes of this realm, albeit a Iudge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to y^e wordes, whether the same may iudge a meaning contrary to the expres wordes or no?

Rich.

He cannot so do.

Phil.

Euen so say I, that no man ought to iudge the word of God to haue a meaning contrary to the expresse words therof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things: and with this the Lordes seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Rich.

I meruaile thē why you do deny the expresse words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, This is my body, and yet you will not sticke to say it is not his body. Is not GOD omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotencie to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a peece of clay? Did not he say: This is my body whiche shalbe betrayed for you? and was not his very bodye betrayed for vs therefore it must needes be his body.

London.

My Lord Rich, you haue sayde wonderfull well and learnedly. But you might haue begon with hym before also in the 6. of Iohn, where Christe promised to geue his body in the sacrament of the aultar, saying: Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est: The bread which I will geue, is my fleshe. How can you answere to that?

Phil.

If it please you to geue me leaue to answere first my Lord Rich, I will also answere this obiection.

Rich.

Answere my lord of Lōdon first, & after come to me.

Philpot.

My Lord of London may be soone answered, that that the saying of S. Iohn is,* that the humanitie of chryst which he took vpon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodyes & soules be susteined to eternall lyfe, of the which the sacramentall bread is a liuely representation and an effectuall cohabitation to all suche as beleue on his Passion: and as Christ sayth in the same 6^a of Iohn,* I am the bread that came downe from heauen:, but yet he is not materiall neither naturall bread. Likewise y^e bread is his flesh, not naturall or substantiall, but by signification, and by grace in a sacrament.

And now to my Lord Riches argument. I do not deny the expresse wordes of Christ in the sacrament, This is my body: but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the expresse declaration of Christ saying, that the wordes of the sacrament whiche the Capernites tooke carnally, as the papistes nowe doe, ought to be taken spiritually, & not carnally, as they falsly imagine not waying what interpretation of Christe hath made in this behalfe, neither follow the Institution of Christ, neyther the vse of the Apostles and of the primatiue Church, who neuer taught, neither declared no such carnall maner of presence as is now exacted of vs violently without any ground of scripture or antiquitie,* who vsed to put oute of the Church all such as did not receiue the sacrament wyth the rest, and also to burne that which was left after the receiuing, as by the Canon of the Apostles and by the decree of the Councell of Antioch, may appeare.

London.

No, that is not so: they were onely Cathecumeni which went out of the Church at the celebration of the cōmunion, and none other.

Phil.

It was not onely of such as were Nouices in fayth but all others that did not receaue.

London.

What say you to the omnipotencie of God? is not he able to performe that which he spake, as my Lord Rich hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himselfe to be this carpet if he will.

Phil.

As concerning the omnipotencie of God, I say that God is able to do (as the Prophet Dauid sayth) what soeuer he willeth: but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to hys word: as that is blasphemy which my Lorde of London hath spoken, that God may become a Carpet. For as I haue learned of auncient writers: *Non potest Deus facere quae sunt naturae suae contraria: That is, God cannot doe that which is contrary to his nature, as it is contrary to y^e nature of God to be a Carpet. A Carpet is a creature: & God is the creator: and the creator cānot be the creature: wherfore vnlesse you can declare by the worde, that Christ is otherwise present with vs then spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught vs, * you pretend the omnipotencie of God in vayne?

London.

Why? wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? Or do you deny it?

Phil.

I deny not that Christ is really in the Sacrament to the receauer therof according to Christes institution. *

London.

What meane you by really present?

Phil.

I meane by really present, present in deed.

London

Is God really present euery where?

Phil.

He is so.

London.

How proue you that?

Phil.

The Prophet Esay sayth? That God filleth all places: and where soeuer there be two or three gathered together in Christes name, there is he in the midst of them.

London?

What? his humanitie?

Phil.

No my Lord, I meane the deitie, accordinge to that you demaunded.

Rich.

My Lord of London,* I praye you let mayster Doctour Chedsey reason with him, and let vs see how hee can aunswere him: for I tell thee he is a learned man in deede & one that I do credite before a great many of you, whose doctrine the Queenes maiestie and the whole realme doth well allow, therefore heare him.

Lond.

My Lordes I pray you, wil it please you to drinke? you haue talked a great while, and much talke is thursty.* I will leaue M. Doctour and him reasoning together a while, with your leaue, and will come to you by and by a'gayne. He went (as I suppose) to make rowme for more drinke, after the Lordes had dronken.

Rich.

My Lord Rich sayde to the Lordes, I praye you let the poore man drinke, for hee is thirsty: and with that,* hee called for a cup of drinke, and gaue it me, and I dranke before them all: God requite it hym, for I was a thyrst indeede. Afterwardes Doctor Chadsey began in this wise, making a great processe, of the which this is the effect.

Chadsey.

M. Philpot findeth fault with the Conuocation house before your Lordships, that he hath layne this long in prison, and that he had there a dosen Arguments,* wherof he could not be suffred to prosecute one throughly, whiche is not so, for he had * leaue to say what he could & was aunswere to asmuche as he was able to bring: and when he had * nothing els to say, he fell to weeping.* I was there present and can testifie therof: albeit there is a booke abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary in y^e which there is * neuer a true worde. And where as you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will shew you the * trueth therof, both by the scriptures, and by the Doctors.

Philpot.

It is a shrewed lykelihooode that you will conclude with any truth, since you haue begonne with so many vntruthes,* as to say that I was aunswere whiles I had any thyng to say, and that I wept for lacke of matter to say, and that the booke of the reporte of the disputation is nothing true. God be prayسد, there were a good many of Noble men, Gentlemen, and worshipfull men y^t heard and saw the doings therof, which can testifie that you here haue made an vniust report before these honorable Lords. And that I wept was not for lacke of matter, as you slaüder me: for

I thank God, I haue more matter thē y^e best of you all shall euer be able to answeere, as litle learning as I haue: but my weeping was, as Christes was vpon Hierusalem seeing the destruction that should fall vppon her: and I foreseeing then y^e destruction whiche you (thorough violence and vnrighteousnesse, which you there declared) would worke agaynst the true Church of Christ and his faythfull members (as this daye beareth witnesse) was compelled to weepe in remembraunce of that whiche I w^t infinite more haue felt and shall feelee.

Al these words I did then speake out, being interrupted by my Lord Rich, saying that I shoulde suffer hym to proceede out in his matter,* and afterwarde I shuld haue leysure to aunswere him in euery Article. But he promysed more then he could performe as the end did wel declare for he had not the consent of the spiritualtie to his promise, which now rule the rost. God shorten their cruell dayes,* for his electes sake. And therefore I adde this, which I had purposed to haue spoken if then I might haue bene suffered, least any that perfectly know not the thinges done in the Conuocation house and now layd to my charge, if they shoulde not be aunswered by me, might reckon Doctour Chadseys sayinges to bee true. And as concerning the [Page 1809](#) booke of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same & it is true in euery argument, as M. Deane of Roochester, and M. Cheyney Archdeacon of Herford (yet being aliue, and within the realme) can testifie.

Chadsey.

You haue of scriptures the foure Euangelistes for the probation of Christes reall presence to be in the sacrament after the wordes of consecration, with S. Paule to the Corinthians: whiche all saye: Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body. They say not as you woulde haue me to beleue,* this is not the bodye. But specially the 6. of Iohn proueth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to geue his body, which hee performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these wordes. Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mūdi vita: The bread whiche I wyll geue is my flesh, which I wil geue for the life of the world.

Phil.

My Lord Rich, with your leaue, I must needes interrupt him a litle, because he speaketh open blasphemy against y^e death of Christ: for if that promise brought in by s. Iohn was performed by Christ in his last supper, thē needed he not to haue dyed after he had geuen the sacrament.

Rich.

Let maister Doctour make an end of his argumēts, and afterward object to him what you can.

Chadsey.

You must note that there is twise *Dabo in thys saying of S. Iohn, & the first is referred to the sacrament of the au•tar: & the second to y^e sacrifice vpon the crosse: and besides these manifest scriptures, there bee many auncient Doctors prouing the same, as Ignatius, Irenaeus, & S. Cyprian (whose authoritie he recited at large) which I do omitte because I was not permitted to answeere the same.

Rich.

Now aunswere, and object to him what you can, & you shalbe heard.

Phil.

My Lord, the chieftest ground where he with the rest of his side do ground thēselues agaynst vs,* be these words This is my body, with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular aunsweres of all that he hath alledged, for that your Lordships may y^e better vnderstand me, what I meane and whereuppon I stand, I will require mayster Doctor to aunswere me one question. But first of all I do protest to your honours that I thinke as reuerently of the sacrament, as a christian mā ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and bloud of Christe, ministred after Christes Institution, to bee one of the greatest treasures and comfortes that he left vs on the earth: and contrariwise it is most discomfort and abhominable, not being ministred as it ought to be, as it is vsed now a dayes. And now to my question, which is this:* whether these wordes onely: Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body, spoken by a priest ouer the bread and wine, may make the body and bloud of Christ, as you suppose or no?

Chedsey.

Staggering what he might say, at last hee sayd, that these wordes alone pronounced by the Priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wyne the very bodye and bloud of Christ really.

Philpot.

*That is blasphemy to say, and agaynst al y^e scriptures and Doctours, who affirme that the forme and substance in consideration must be obserued whiche Christ vsed and did institute as S. Cyprian sayth: In sacrificio quod Christus est, non nisi Christus sequendus: In the sacrifice whiche is Christ, onely is Christ to be followed. And by the lawe it is forbidden to adde or take away from Gods word. And S. Peter sayth,*If anye man speake, let him speake as the worde of God. Wherefore whosoeuer sayth that these wordes onely: This is my body, do make a presence of christ, without, blesse, take, and eate, which be three as substanciall poyntes of the Sacramente as, Thys is my bodye, is, he is highly deceiued.

Therefore S. Austen sayth, Accedat verbum ad elementum & fit sacramentum: Let the word be ioyned to the element, and it be commeth a sacrament: So that if the entier worde of Christes Institution be not obserued in the ministration of a Sacrament, it is no sacrament: as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethell to God, were not acceptable because they were not in all poyntes done according to Gods word. Wherefore except blessing be made after the word (whiche is a due thanksgeuing for our redemption in Christ) and also a shewing forth of the Lordes death in such wise as the congregation may be edified: and moreouer a taking and eating after Christes commaundement: except (I say) these three partes be first performed (which is not done in the Masse) these wordes: This is my bodye, which are last placed in the Institution of the Lords supper, can not be verified. For Christe commaunded aswell, Take, ye, eate ye, as This is my body.

Chadsey.

Christ sayd: Take, eate, this is my body, and not, take ye,* eate ye.

Phil.

No did Mayster Doctour? Be not these the wordes of Christ: Accipite manducate? and do not these wordes in the plurall number signifie, Take ye, eate ye: and not take thou, eate thou, as you would suppose?

Chadsey.

I graunt it as you say.

Phil.

Likewise of conseqencie, you (Mayster Doctour) must needes deny, which you haue sayd, that these words, This is my body, being onely spoken, be sufficient to make y^e body and bloud of Christe in the sacrament, as you haue vntruely sayd.

London.

Then came in the bishop agayne, and sayd, what is it that you would haue mayster Doctor deny?

Phil.

My Lord M. Doctor hath affirmed that these words This is my body, spoken by the prieste, onely doe make the sacrament.

London.

In deede if mayster Briges shoulde speake these wordes ouer the bread and wine,* they woulde be of none effect: but if a priest speake them after a due maner, they are effectuell, and make a reall body.

Phil.

Mayster Doctor hath sayd otherwise.

London.

I thinke you mistake him: for hee meaneth of the wordes duely pronounced.

Philpot.

Let hym reuoke that he hath graunted, and then will I begin agayne with that whiche before was sayde: that, This is my bodye, hath no place, except, blesse, take, and eate, duely go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before This is my body, but preposterously follow in your sacrament of the Masse, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present.

Chadsey.

If, This is my body, onely do not make the Sacrament, no more do, blesse, take, and eate.

Philpot.

I graunt that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament vnlesse y^t whole action of Christ doth concurre together accordyng to the first Institution.

Chadsey.

Why, then you will not haue it to be the bodye of Christ, vnlesse it be receaued.

Phil.

No verely, it is not the very body of Christ to none other,* but to such as condignely receaue the same after hys Institution.

London.

Is not a loafe a loafe, being set on y^e table though no body eate therof.

Phil.

It is not like my Lord. For a loafe is a loafe before it •e set on the Table:* but so is not the Sacrament a perfecte Sacrament before it be duely ministred at the table of the Lord.

London.

I pray you, what is it in the meane while, before it is receaued.

Phil.

It is (my Lord) the signe begon of a holy thing, & yes no perfect sacrament vntill it be receaued. For in the sacrament there be two thinges to be considered, the signe and the thing it selfe, which is Christ and hys whole Passion, & it is that to none but to such as worthily receaue the holy signes of bread & wine, according to Christes institutiō.

Winsor.

There were neuer none, that denyed the words of Christ as you do. Did he not say: This is my body?

Philpot.

My Lord, I pray you be not deceaued. We do not deny the wordes of Christ: but we say,* these wordes bee of none effect, being spoken otherwise then Christe did institute them in hys last supper. For an example: Chryst biddeth the church to baptise in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost: if a Priest say those wordes ouer y^e water and there bee no childe to be Baptised, those wordes onely pronounced doe not make Baptisme. And agayne, Baptisme is not onely Baptisme to suche as bee baptised, and to none other standing by.

L. Chamb.

I pray you my Lord, let me aske him one question. What kinde of presence in the sacrament (duely minystred according to Christes ordinaunce) do you allow?

Philpot.

If any come worthely to receaue, then do I confesse the presence of Christ wholly to bee, with all y^e fruites of his Passion, vnto the sayd worthy receauer, by the spyrite of God, and that Christ is therby ioyned to hym and he to Christ.

L. Chamb.

I am aunswered.

London.

My Lordes take no heede of him, for hee goeth about to deceaue you. His similitude that he bryngeth in of Baptisme, is nothing like to the sacrament of the aultar. For if I should say to sir Iohn Briges beyng with me at supper, & hauing a fat Capō, take, eate, this is a fat Capon although he eate not thereof, is it not a Capon still? And likewise of a peece of Beefe, or of a cup of wyne, if I saye:* drinke, this is a good cup of wyne, is it not so, because hee drinketh not therof?

Phil.

My lord your similitudes be to grosse for so high misteryes as wee haue in hande, as if I were your equall, I could more playnly declare, and there is much more dissimilitude betweene common meates and drinkes then there is betweene baptisme and the sacramente of the body and bloud of Christ. Like must be compared to lyke. & [Page 1810](#) spir•tuall things with spirituall, and not spirituall things w^t corporall things. And meates and drinkes be of theyr owne natures good or euill, and your woordēs commending or discommēding, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the worde which Christ spake of them, of the which, Take ye, & eate ye, besome of the chiefe, concurrent to the making o• y^e same,

without the which there can be no sacraments: and therfore in Greeke, the Sacrament of the body and bloude of Christ is called 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 .i. Communion, and likewyse in the Gospell Christe commaunded, saying: Diuidite inter vos. i. Diuide it among you.

Chadsey.

S. Paule calleth it a Communication.

Phil.

That doeth more expresly shew that there must be a participation of the Sacrament together.

Lon.

My Lords, I am sory I haue troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good: I wil trouble you no longer now: * and with y^t the Lordes rose vp; none of them saying any euil worde vnto me, half amazed, in my iudgement, God worke it to good.

Thus endeth the sixt part of this Tragedie: The seuenth looke for with ioy.

The vij. examination of Iohn Philpot, had the xix. of Nouember before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chauncellour of Lichfield, and Doctour Chadsey.

LONDON

Syrha come hither. How chance you come no sooner? It is wel done of you to make master Chauncellor and me to tary for you this houre? * by the faith of my body, halfe an houre before masse, and halfe an houre euen at masse, looking for your comming?

Phil.

My Lorde, it is not vnknownen to you, that I am a prisoner, and that the doores be shut vpon me, & I can not come when I list: but as soone as the doores of my prison were open, I came immediately.

London.

We send for thee, to the intent thou shouldest haue come to Masse. Howe say you, woulde you haue come to Masse or no, if the doores had sooner bene opened?

Phil.

My Lord, that is an other maner of question.

Lon.

Loe maister Chauncellour, I tolde you we shoulde haue a froward fellow of him: he will answere directly to nothing. I haue had him before both spiritual Lords and the temporall, and thus he fareth stil: yet he rekeneth him selfe better learned then all the realme. Yea, before y^e temporall Lordes the other day, * he was so foolish to chalenge the best: he woulde make him selfe learned, and is a verye moraunt foole in deede.

Phil

I reckon I answered your Lordshippe before the Lordes plaine enough.

London.

Why answereest thou not directly, whether thou wouldest haue gone to Masse with vs or no, if thou haddest c•me in time?

Phil.

Mine answere shall be thus, that if your Lordship can prooue your masse, whereunto you would haue me to come, to be the true seruice of God, wherunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will.

London.

Loke I pray you: the King and the Queene, and all the Nobilitie of the realme doe come to Masse, and yet he will not. * By my faith thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Phil.

If to lie in a blind Colehouse, may be counted good handling, both without fire & candle, then may it be sayd, I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list.

Lond.

Thou art a foole, and a very ignoraunt foole. Maister Chauncellour, in good faith I haue handled hym and his fellowes with as much gentlenesse as they can desire. I lette their frends come vnto them to relieue them. And wot ye what? the other day they had gottē themselues vp into the top of the leades with a many of preutises, gasing abroad as though they had bene at libertie: but I shall cut of your resort: and as for the prentises, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot.

My Lord, we haue no such resorte to vs as your Lordship imagin•th, and there commeth very fewe vnto vs. And of prentises I know not one, neither haue we any leades to walke on ouer our Colehouse,* that I wot of: wherfore your Lordship hath mistaken your marke.

Lond.

Nay, nowe you thinke (because my Lorde Chauncellour is gone) that we wil burne no mo: yes I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, vnlesse yo• do recant.

Phil.

My lord, I had not thought that I shuld haue ben <◇> now,* neither so raw as I am, but wel rosted to ashes.

Chaunc.

Case not your selfe wilfully away M. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realme, and you may do wel inough.

Phil.

My conscience beareth me recorde y^t I seeke to please God, & that the loue and feare of God causeth me to do as I doe: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine owne will onely I did loose all the commodities I might haue in this life,* and afterward to be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my wil wheron I stande, but Gods will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure.

Chaunc.

You are not so sure, but you may be deceiued.

Lon.

Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by no faire meane, I will procede against thee Ex officio,* and therefore harken here to such articles as I haue heere wrytten, and I charge thee to make answere to them: and with that he red a li•ell which hee had in his hand of diuers Articles, and when he had done, he bad me answere.

Philpot.

Your libel (my lord) containeth in summe, 2. speciall poyntes: The first pretendeth, that I should be of your dioces, and therefore your lordship vpon diuers suspectes & infamies of heresie going vpon me, is moued to procede against me by your ordinarie office:* the which first is not true, for that I am not of your Lordships diocesse, as the libel doth pretēd. And the second is, that I

being baptised in the catholicke church, and in y^e catholicke faith, am gone from them: the which is not so, for I am of that catholicke faith and church as I was baptised vnto.

London.

What? art thou not of my Dioces? Where are ye now, I pray you?

Phil.

My lord, I can not deny but I am in your cole house, which is your diocesse: yet am I not of your diocesse.

Lond.

You were sent hether vnto me by the Queenes maiesties commissioners, and thou art nowe in my diocesse: wherefore I will proceede against thee as thy Ordinarie.

Phil.

I was brought hether through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocesse, is not enough to abridge me of mine owne ordinary iurisdiction,* neither maketh it mee vnwillingly subiecte to your iurisdiction since it commeth by force, and by such men as had no iust authority so to doe, no more then a sanctuarie man being by force brought forth of his place of priuiledge, doth ther by lose his priuiledge, but alwaies may challenge the same where soeuer he be brought.

Chadsey.

Hath not the Queenes maiestie authoritie by her commissioners, to remoue your body whether shee will? and ought you not to obey heerein.

Phil.

I graunt y^t the Queenes maiestie (of her iust power) may trāspose my body, whether it shall please her grace to commaunde the same. But yet by your lawes.**Spiritualia non sunt subiecta Imperatoris potestati.* i. Spiritual causes be not subiect to the temporal power. As for example: you M. doctor if the Queenes maiestie woulde appoynt two temporall men to be iudges ouer you in certaine spirituall matters, might not you alledge the priuiledge of a clearke, demaund competent spirituall iudges in your causes?

London,

Doth not a man (I pray you) sortiri forum ratione delecti?

Phil.

My Lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spirituall causes it is not so: which be otherwise priuiledged.

London.

What sayest thou then to the seconde article, and to the other?

Phil.

My Lord, I say that I am not bound to answere the second, neither the rest, vnlesse the first be prooued.

London.

Well, suppose the first may be prooued (as it will be) what wil you say then to the second, that you are not of the same catholicke faith, neither of the same church now, as you were baptised in?

Phil.

I am of the same catholicke faith, and of the same catholicke church which is of Christ, the pillar and stablshment of truth.

London.

Nay that you are not.

Phil.

Yes that I am.

London.

Your Godfathers and Godmothers were of an other faith then you be now.

Phil.

I was not baptised neither into my Godfathers faith nor my Godmothers, but into the faith,* & into the church of Christ.

London.

How know you that?

Phil.

By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith and the limites of the Church.

Lon.

Howe long hath your church stand I pray you?

Phil.

Euen from the beginning, from Christ and from his Apostles, and from their immediate successors.

Chaun.

He will prooue his church to be before Christ.

Phil.

If I did so, I goe not amisse: for there was a church before the comming of Christe, which maketh one catholicke church.

Chaun.

It is so in deede.

Phil.

I will desire no better rule then the same whiche is oftentimes brought in of your side, to proue both my faith [Page 1811](#) and the catholicke church: that is, antiquitie, vniuersality, and vnitie.

Lond.

Do you not see what a bragging foolish felow this is? He would seeme to be very well seene in the Doctors, and he is but a foole.* By what Doctour arte thou able to proue thy Church? Name him, and thou shalt haue him.

Phil.

My Lorde, lette me haue all your auncient wryters with pen, and inke, and paper, and I will prooue both my faith and my Church out of euery one of them.

Lond.

No that thou shalt not haue. You shall see howe he lieth. S. Cyprian sayeth, there must be one high Priest, to the which the residue must obey, and they will allowe no heade, neither Uicar generall.

Phil.

S. Cyprian saith not, that there shoulde be a Uicare general ouer al. For in his booke De simplicitate Praelatorū, I am sure he saith the contrary: *Vnus episcopatus est, cuius pars in solidum a singulis tenetur. i. There is but one bishopricke which is wholly possessed of euery Bishop in part.

London.

Fet hether the booke, thou shalt see the manifest place against thee.

D. Chadsey brought the booke, and turned to the place in an Epistle wryttē vnto Cornelius, then bish. of Rome, and recited these words in summe, that it went not wel with the Church, *where the high Priest was not obeied, & so would haue concluded for the confirmation of y^e Bishops saying.

Phil.

M. Doctour you misconstrue the place of S. Cyprian: for he meaneth not thereby the high Priest, the bishop of Rome: *but euery Patriarke in his precincts, of whome there were 4. appoynted in his time. And in wryting vnto Cornelius he meaneth by y^e high priest, himselfe, which was then chief Bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretickes began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, & sayth: the church can not be well ordered, where y^e chief minister by order, after the iudgement of the scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow Bishops, is not obeied.

Lond.

Hath not the Bishop of Rome alwaies bene supreme head of the Church, and Christes Uicare in earth euen from Peter?

Phil.

No, that he was not. For by y^e word of God he hath no more authoritie, *then the Bishop of London hath.

London.

Was not Peter head of the Churche? And hathe not the Bishop of Rome, which is his successour, the same authoritie▪

Phil.

I graunt that the B. of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had: but Peter had no more authority, *then euery one of the apostles had.

Chauncel.

Yes that S. Peter had: for Christ said specially vnto him: Tibi dabo claues regni coelorum: I wil geue thee the keies of the kingdom of heauen: The which he spake to none other of his Disciples singularly but to him.

Phil.

S. Augustine answereth otherwise to the obiection, and sayeth: That if in Peter there had not bene the figure of the Church,*the Lord hadde not saide to him, to thee will I geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. The which if Peter receiued not, the Churche hath them not. If the Churche hath them, then Peter hath them not.

Lond.

What if I can prooue and shew you out of the Ciuill lawe, that all Christendome ought to folowe the holy Catholicke Churche of Rome,* as there is a speciall title thereof, De Catholica fide & sancta Romana Ecclesia.

Phil.

That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subiect to mans lawes: and Diuine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

A Doctour.

What will you say, if I can prooue that Christ builded his Church vppon Peter, and that out of S. Cyprian?* Wil you then beleue that the B. of Rome ought to be supreme head of the Church?

Phil.

I know what S. Cyprian wryteth in that behalfe: but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A Doctour.

S. Cyprian hath these woordes: Quòd super Petrum fundata fuit Ecclesia, tanquam super originem vnitatis. That vpon Peter was builded the Church, as vppon the first beginning of vnitie.

Phil.

He declareth that in an example, that vnitie must be in the church:* he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not vpō men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the booke De simplicitate Praelatorum, saying: In persona vnus Christus dedit omnibus claues, vt omnium vnitatem denotaret. In the person of one man God gaue the keyes to al, that he in signification thereby might declare the vnitie of all men.

A Doctour.

What? will you vnderstande S. Cyprian so? That were good in deede.

Phil

I thinke you can not vnderstand s. Cyprian better, then he doth declare him selfe.

Lond.

I will desire you (M. Chauncellour) to take some paines with M. Doctor Chadsey, aboute his examination,* for I must go to the Parlament house. And I wil desire you to dine with me.

Phil.

Then the D. tooke againe his former authoritie in hand for want of another, and would haue made a farther circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whome I said, he knew not whereabout he went, and therewith he laughed. And I saide, his diuinitie was nothing but scoffing.

M D.

Yea? then I haue done with you: and so went away.

Phil.

You are too yong in diuinitie to teach me in the matters of my faith.* Though you be learned in other things more then I, yet in Diuinitie I haue ben longer practised then you, for any thing I can heare of you: therefore be not too hastie to iudge that you doe not perfectly know.

Chauncel.

Peter and his successours from the beginning haue bene allowed for the supreme head of y^e Church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ sayde vnto hym in S. Iohn thrise: Feede my sheepe, pasce oues meas.

Phil.

That is none otherwise to be taken, then Ite,*praedicate, go ye & preach: which was spoken to all the Apostles, as well as vnto Peter. And that Christ sayd thrise: Pasce oues meas, Feede my sheepe, it signifieth nothing else but the earnest studie that the ministers of God oughte to haue in preaching the woord.* God graunt that you of the Cleargie would way your duetie in this behalfe more then you doe. Is this a iust interpretation of the Scripture, to take pasce oues meas, for to be lord of the whole world? In this meane while came in a Batcheler of Diuinitie, which is a reader of Greeke in Oxford belonging to the Bishop, and he tooke vpon him to helpe M. Chancellor.

Scholer.

What wil you say if I can shew you a Greke author called Theophilact, to interprete it so? wil you beleue his interpretation?

Phil.

Theophilacte is a late wryter, and one that was a fauourer of the B. of Rome: * and therefore not to be credited since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general Councils.

Scholer.

In what general Council was it otherwise, that the Bishop of Rome, was not supreme head ouer all.

Phil.

In Nice Councell I am sure it was otherwise: for Athanasius was there the chiefe Bishop and president of the Counsell, and not the Bishop of Rome. *

Scholer.

Nay, that is not so.

Phil.

Then I perceiue you are better sene in wordes then in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so: as you maye see in the Epitome of the Councils.

Scholer.

I will set Eusebius and shew the contrary, and the booke of general Councils. He went into my Lordes closet, and brought Eusebius: * but the generall Councils he brought not, saying (for sauing of his honestie) that hee could not come by them, and there he wold haue defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to shew the same, and so shranke away confounded.

Chaun.

The church of Rome hath bene alwaies taken for the whole catholike church: therefore I would aduise you to come into the same with vs. You see all the men of this realme do cōdemne you. And why wil you be so singular.

Phil.

I haue said, and stil do say, that if you can be able to proue it vnto me, that I wil be of the same. But I am sure that the Church whiche you make so much of,* is a false church, and a synagoge of satan. And you with the learned men of the realme doe persecute the true church, and condemne such as be more righteous then you.

Chaun.

Do you heare (M. doctor) what he sayeth, that the church of Rome is the deuill?

Chad.

I wish you did thinke more reuerently of y^e church of Rome. What will you say if I can shewe you out of S. Austen in his Epistle wrytten vnto Pope Innocentius,* that the whole general Councell of Carthage did allowe the church of Rome to be chieftest ouer all other?

Phil.

I am sure you can shewe no such thing. And w^t that he set the booke of S. Austine, and tourned to the Epistle: but he could not prooue his allegation manifestly, but by coniectures in this wise.

Chad.

Here you may see y^t the council of Carthage writing to Innocent. the bish. calleth the sea of Rome the apostolike sea. And besides this they write vnto him, certifying him of thinges done in y^e council for the condemnation of the Donatistes, requiring his approbations in the same, which they would not haue done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for y^e supreme head of others. And moreouer you may see howe s. Austine doth proue the church of Rome to be the catholike church by cōtinuall succession of the B. vntil his time, which succession we can proue vntil our daies: therefore by the same reason of s. Austine we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholicke church.

Phil.

M. Doctour, I haue considered how you do weigh [Page 1812](#) S. Augustine:* and contrary to his meaning and wordes, you wou•d inferre your false cōclusion. As cōcerning that it was called by him the Apostolicall Sea, that is not material to proue the church of Rome now to be y^e catholicke church. I will grau•t it now that it is the Apostolicke sea in re•pect that Paule and Peter did once there preach the Gospell, and abode there for a certaine season. I woulde you could proue it to be the Apostolicall sea of y^e true religion and sinceritie as the Apostle left it, and did teach the same: the which if ye could doe, you might boast of Rome as of the Apostolicall sea: otherwise it is nowe of no more force, then if the Turke at Antioch & at Ierusalem should boast of the Apostolike seas, because the Apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

And where as that the whole Councell of Carthage did wryte vnto Pope Innocentius, certifying him of that was done in the general councell, & willing him to set his helping hand to the

suppressing of the Donatistes, as they had done, that facte of the Councell prooueth nothing the supremacie of the B. of Rome, no more then if the whole Conuocation house now gathered together, and agreeing vpon certaine articles, might send y^e same to some bishop, that vpon certaine impediments is not present, willing him to agree therto, & to set them forth in his dioces. The which fact doth not make any such bish. of greater authoritie then y^e rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

And touching the succession of the Bishops of Rome brought in by s. Austen, it maketh nothing nowe thereby to proue y^e same catholike church, vnles you can conclude w^t the same reason as s. Austen doth. And the rehearsall of the succession of the bishops doth tende to this only, to proue y^e Donatistes to be heretickes, because they began aswell at Rome as in Affrica, to founde an other church of their own setting vp then was groundd by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whome he reciteth vntill his time, which all taughte no such doctrine, neither no suche church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prooue by the bishops of Rome (wherof you do glory) that such doctrine hath ben taught by any of the successors of Peters sea, as is nowe taught & beleued of vs, you haue good reason against vs: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

Chaunc.

*Wel M. Doctour, you see we can doe no good in persuading of him: let vs minister the Articles, which my Lord hath left vs, vnto him. How say you M. Philpot to these articles? M. Ihonsō, I pray you write his answers.

Phil

M. Chauncellor, you haue no authoritie to enquire 〈◇〉 my beliefe in such articles as you goe about, for that I am not of my Lord of Londons Dioces: and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer heerein, then I haue already to the Bishop.

Chaunc

Why, then let vs go our waies, and let his keper take him away.

Thus endeth the vij. part of this Tragedie.

The summe of a priuate conference or talke betwene M. Philpot and the Bishop.

PHil.

The next day in the morning betime, the Byshop sent one of his mē vnto me, * to cal me vp into his chappell to heare Masse.

Bishops man.

Maister Philpot where be you?

Phil.

Who is that calleth me?

Bishops man.

My Lords wil is, you should rise and come to heare Masse: wil you come or no?

Phil.

My stomacke is not verye good this morning: you may tell my Lorde I am sicke. After this the Keeper was sen• to bring me to my Lord.

The keper.

M. Philpot, you must rise & come to my Lord.

Phil.

I am at your commaundement (M. Keeper) assoone as I can: [*](#) and going out of the prison he asked me, saying:

The Keeper.

Will you goe to Masse?

Phil.

My stomacke is to raw to digest such raw meates of flesh, bloud and bone this morning. After this my Keeper presented me to the Bishop in his Hall.

Lond.

M. Philpot, I charge you to answere to such Articles as my Chapleine, and my Register haue from me to ob•ect against you, go and answer them.

Phil.

My Lord, Omnia iudicia debent es•e publica: All iudgements ought to be publicke. Therfore if your Lordship haue any thing to charge mee lawfully withall, lette mee be in iudgement lawfully and openly called, and I wil answer according to my duetie: otherwise in corners I will not.

London.

Thou art a foolish knave I see wel inough: thou shalt aunswere whether thou wilt or no. Goe thy waies with them I say.

Phil.

I may well go with them at your Lordships pleasure: but I will make them no further answeare then I haue said already.

Lond.

No wilt thou knave? Haue him away, and set him in the stockes. What foolish knave?

Phil.

In deeds (my Lord) you handle me with others like fooles: and we muste be content to be made fooles at your handes▪ stockes and violence is your Bishoplike almes. You goe about by force in corners to oppresse, & be ashamed that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercies sake. And I was put by and by into the stocks, in an house alone, separte from my fellowes. God be praised y^t he hath thought me woorthy to suffer any thing for his names sake. Better it is to sit in the stockes of this world, then to sit in the stockes of a damnable conscience.

An other conference betwene the Byshop and M. Philpot and other prisoners.

PHil.

The next day after, an houre before day,* the Bishop sent for me againe by the Keeper.

The Keeper.

M. Philpot arise, you must come to my Lord.

Phil.

I wonder what my Lorde meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus earely. I feare he will •se some violence towards me, wherfore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of lawe, I will come and answer: otherwise, since I am not of his dioces, neither is hee mine Ordinarie, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come vnto him.

Keeper.

I will go tell my Lord what answeare you make: and so he wēt away to the bishop, and immediatly returned w^t two of the Bishops men, saying that I must come whether I would or no.

Phil.

If by violence any of you will enforce me to go,* then must I go, otherwise I wil not: and therwith one of them tooke me with force by the arme, and led me vp into the bishops gallerie.

Lond.

What? thou art a foolish knaue in deede: thou wilt not come without thou be •et.

Phil.

I am brought in deede (my Lord) by violence vnto you, and yo•r crueltie is suche, that I am afrayde to come before you. I would your lordship would gently procede against me by the lawe.

London.

I am blamed of the Lordes the Bishoppes,* for that I haue not dispatched thee ere this. And in Faith I made sute to my Lorde Cardinal, and to all the Conuocation house, that they would heare thee? And my Lorde of Lincolne stode vp, and said y^t thou wert a frantike fellow, and a man that wil haue the last worde.* And they all haue blamed me, because I haue brought thee so oftē before the Lordes openly: and they say it is meat & drinke to you to speake in an open audiēce, you glory so of your self. Wherefore I am commaunded to take a farther order with thee, and in good faith if thou wilt not relent, I will make no farther delay. Mary if thou wilt be cōformable, I wil yet forgeue thee all that is past, & thou shalt haue no hurte for any thing that is all ready sayd or done.

Phil.

My Lord,* I haue answered you already in this behalfe, what I will do. And as for report of master White, Bish. of Lincolne, I passe not: who is known to be mine enemie, for that I being Archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my maister were called a mad man, it is no maruell though ye counte me frantike.

London.

Haddest not thou a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it (I pray thee) but to kil thy selfe? Or as it is told me (Mary I am counselled to take hede of thee) to kil me? but I feare thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee vnder my feete: do the best thou cāst.

Philpot.

My Lorde, I can not denie but that there was a knife in the Pigges belly that was brought me.* But who put it in, or for what purpose I know not, vnlesse it were because he that sent the meate, thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your Lordshippe nedeth not to feare: for I was neuer without a knife since I came to prisone. And touching your owne persone, you should liue long if you should liue vntil I go about to kill you: and I confesse, by violence your Lordship is able to ouercome me.*

London.

I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a booke. Thou shalt sweare to answer truly to all [Page 1813](#) such Articles, as I shall demaunde thee of.

Phil.

I wil first know your Lordship to be mine Ordinarie, before I sweare herein.

London.

What, we shall haue an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawfull to sweare before a Iudge.

Phil.

My Lorde, I am no Anabaptist, I thinke it lawfull to sweare before a competent Iudge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to sweare in these causes before your Lordship, because you are not mine Ordinarie.

London.

I am thine Ordinary, & heere do pronounce by sentence peremptory,* that I am thine Ordinary, and that thou art of my dioces: and here he bad cal in more to beare witnes. And I make thee (taking one of his seruaunts by the arme) to be mine notarie. And now hearken to my articles, to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, fet me his fellowes, and I shall make them to be witnes against him.

In the meane while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the Bishop (calling for two chaires) placed by him, saying: M. Sheriffe I would you should vnderstand how I do procede against this man.* M. sheriffe, you shal heare what Articles this man doth maintaine: and so red a rablement of fained Articles: that I shoulde deny Baptisme to be necessary to them that were borne of Christian parentes, that I denied fasting and Prayer, and all other good deedes, & I maintained only bare faith to be sufficiēt to saluation what so euer a man did besides, & I maintained God to be the author of all sinne and wickednes.

Phil.

Ha my Lord, haue ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be faine to imagin these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well haue sayd I had killed your father. The Scriptures say, That God wil destroye all them that speake lies. And is not your Lordshippe ashamed to saye before this woorshipfull Gentleman (who is vnknown to mee) that I maintaine these abominable blasphemies whiche you haue rehearsed: whyche if I did maintaine, I were wel worthy to be counted an heretick, and to be burned an hundred times if it were possible.

London.

*I doe object them vnto thee, to heare what thou wilt say in them, and howe thou canst purge thy selfe of them.

Philpot.

Then it was not iustly sayd of your Lordship in the beginning, that I did maintaine them, since almost I hold none of these Articles you haue read, in form as they are wrytten.

London.

Howe sayest thou? wilt thou aunswere to them or no?

Phil.

I will first know you to be mine Ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with suche things, and then afterward being lawfully called in iudgemēt, I wil shew my minde fully thereof, and not otherwise.

London.

Well, then I wil make thy fellowes to be witnes against thee: * where are they? come.

Keeper.

They be heere my Lord.

London.

Come hether Syrs, holde them a booke, you shall swere by the contents of that booke, that you shal (all maner of affections laid a part) say the truth of all such Articles as you shalbe demanded of, concerning this mā here present, which is a very naughty man, and take you hede of him y^t he doth not deceiue you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errorrs.

Prisoners.

My Lord, we will not sweare except we know whereto: * we can accuse him of no euill, we haue bene but a while acquainted with him.

Phil.

I wonder your Lordship knowing the law, wil go about contrary to the same, to haue infamous persones to be witnesses, for your Lordship doeth take them to be heretickes, and by the law an hereticke can not be a witnes.

London.

Yes, one hereticke against an other may be well inough.* And master Sheriffe, I will make one of them to be winnesse against an other.

Phil.

You haue the lawe in your hande, and you will doe what you list.

Prisoners.

No my Lord.

London.

*No will? I will make you sweare, whether you will or no. I weene they be Anabaptists, M. sheriffe, they thinke it not lawfull to sweare before a Iudge.

Phil.

Wee thinke it lawfull to sweare for a man iudicially called, as we are not now, but in a blinde corner.

London.

Whye then, seeing you will not sweare againste your fellowe, you shall sweare for your selues, and I doe heere in the presence of maister sheriffe object the same Articles vnto you, as I haue done vnto him, and do require you vnder the paine of excommunication, to answer particularly vnto euery one of them when you shalbe examined, as you shall be by and by examined after by my Register and some of my Chaplaines.

Prisoners.

My Lord, we wil not accuse our selues. If any man can laye any thing against vs, we are heere ready to answeere thereto: otherwise we pray your Lordship not to burden vs: for some of vs are heere before you, we knowe no iust cause why.

London.

Maister Sheriffe, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men. And loe he rose vp and was going away, talking with maister sheriffe.

Philpot.

Maister Sheriffe,* I pray you recorde howe my Lorde proceedeth against vs in corners without all order of lawe, hauing no iust cause to lay against vs. And after this were all commaunded to be put in the stockes, where I set from morning vntill night, and the Keeper at night vpon fauour let me out.

An other priuate conference betwene the Bishop and Maister Philpot in the Colehouse.

PHil.

The Sonday after,* the bishop came into the Colehouse at night with the Keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was neuer here afore: whereby a man may gesse how he hath kept Gods commandement in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was neuer w^t them that haue bene so nigh his nose: And he came not then for any good zeale, but to view the place, & thought it too good for me, • therefore after supper betwene 8. and 9. he sent for me, saying.

Lond.

Sir,* I haue great displeasure of the Queene & the Counsell for keeping you so long, and letting you haue so much libertie. And besides that, you be yōder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errours, as I haue layde waite for your doings, & am certified of you well inough: I wil sequester you therfore from them, and you shal hurt no mo as you haue done, and I wil out of hand dispatche you, as I am commaunded, vnlesse you will be a conformable man.

Phil.

My Lorde, you haue my body in your custodye: you may transport it whither it please you: I am content. And I wold you wold make as quicke expeditiō in my iudgement, as you say, I long therfore, and as for cōformitie, I am ready to yeld to all truth, if any can bring better thē I.

London.

Why? you wil beleue no man but your self, what so euer they say.

Phil.

My belief must not hang vpon mens sayings, without sure authority of gods word, y^t which if any can shew me, I wil be pliant to the same: Otherwise I can not goe from my certaine faith, to that which is vncertaine.

London.

Haue you then the truth onely?

Phil.

My Lord, I will speake my minde freely vnto you, and vpō no malice I beare to you, before God. You haue not the truth, neither are you of y^e church of God: but you persecute both the truthe and the true churche of God, for the which cause you cā not prosper long. You see god doth not prosper your doinges according to your expectation. He hath of late shewed his iust iudgement against one of your greatest doers, who by reporte died miserably. I enuie not your authority you are in. You that haue learning should know best howe to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and liuing againe,* vse the same to Gods glory, & to the setting foorth of his true religion: otherwise it wil not continue, do what you can. With this saying he was apased, and sayd at length.

Lon.

That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the Keeper? Come let him haue him to the place that is prouided for him. Go your way before.

Phil.

And he followed me, calling the Keeper aside, commaunding to keepe all men from me, & narrowly to search me (as the sequele did declare) and brought me to his priuy dore that goeth into the church, and commaunded two of his men to accompany the Keper, and to see me placed.

And afterwardes I passed through Paules vp to Lollardes tower,* and after that turned a long al the West side of Paules throughe the wall, and passing through 6. or 7. dores, came to my lodging thorough many straits: where I called to remembrance that strait is the way to heauen. And it is in a Tower right on the other side of Lollardes tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paules, viij. foote of bredth, and xij. of length, and almost ouer the prison where I was before, hauing a windowe opening towards the East, by the which I may looke ouer the tops of a greate many of houses, but see no manne passing into them: and who so walketh in the Bishoppes vtter gallery going to his Chappell, may see my windowe & me standing in the same.*

And as I was come to my place, the Keeper pluckt of my gowne, & searched me very narrowly, and tooke away penner, inkhorne, girdle and knife, but (as God would) I had an inckeling a little before I was called, of my remouing, and therupon made an errant to the stole, where ful [Page 1814](#) sore against my will I cast away many a sweete letter and friendly: but that I had wrytten of my last examination before, I thruste into my hose, thinking y^e next day to haue made an ende therof, and with going it was falne downe to my legge, the which he by feeling did soone espie, and asked what that was. I sayd they were certaine letters: and with that he was very busie to haue them out. Let me aloue (sayde I) I will plucke them out,* with that I put in my hande, hauing two other letters therein, and brought vp the same wryting to my codpeece, and there left it, geuing him the other two letters that were not of any great importance. The which for to make a shewe that they had bene weightie, I began to teare aswel as I could, til they snatched them from me, & so deluded him (I thanke God) of his purpose.

After this hee went his way, and as he was goynge, one of them that came with him, sayd, that I did not deliuer the wrytings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hād before. No did quoth he? I wil go search him better: the which I hearing, conueied mine examination I had

writtē, into an other place besides my bed, and tooke all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again, and as he came I threw the same out of my window, saying that I hard what he said: wherefore I did preuent his searching againe, whereof I was right glad. God be praised that gaue me that present shift to blinde their eyes from the knowledge of my wrytings, the which if they had knowen, it would haue bene a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking vnto, although they looke as narrowly as they may.

The eight examination of Iohn Philpot before the B. of London, the B. of S. Dauids, M. Mordant and others, in the Bishops Chappell.

THE next day after, my Keeper came before daye in the morning to cal me downe,* & so was I brought down into his Wardrobe, where with a Keeper I was left, and there continued al the day. But after dinner I was called downe into the Chappell, before the Bishop of London, the B. of saint Dauids, M. Mordant one of the Queenes Counsaile, maister Archedeacon of London, and before a great many moe Balaamites: and the Bishop spake vnto me in this wise.*

Lond.

Sir, here I object and lay vnto you in the presence of my Lorde of S. Dauids, and of M. Mordant, & of these worshipfull men, these articles here in this libel cōteined, and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly haue answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but sayde, I shoulde haue leasure enough to saye what I would, when he had saide, & to these here I adde an other schedule. Also I require thee to aunswear to the Cathechisme set forth in the schismatical time of king Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certaine conclusions, agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I heere do bring forth these witnesses against thee, in thine own presence, namely my Lord of S. Dauids, maister Mordant, and master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the conuocation house, willing you to testifie (of your othes taken vpon a booke) his stubborne and vnreuerend behauiour he did there vse against y^e blessed sacrament of the aultar. Geue me a booke, and receiuing one, he opened the same, saying: I wil teach him heere one tricke in our lawe, which he knoweth not: that is, My Lord of S. Dauids, because you are a Bishop you haue this priuiledge, that you may sweare, *Inspectis Euangelijis & non tactis*: By looking on the Gospel booke without touching of the same.* And so he opened the booke in hys sight, and shut it againe, and caused the other to put theyr hands on the booke, and tooke their othe, and willed them to resort to his Register to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure: and afterwarde he tourned to me, and sayd: Now sir, you shall aunswear but 2. wordes, whether you will aunswear to these articles which I haue laid vnto you, directly, yea, or nay.

Phil.

*My Lord, you haue told a long tale against me, conteining many lying blasphemies, which cā not be answered in two woordes. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence and now will you not geue me leaue to speake? What law is this?

Lond.

Speake, yea, or nay: for you shal say no more at this time. The cause was (as I gesse) that he saw so many there gathered to heare.*

Phil.

Then my two wordes you would haue me speake, shall be that I haue appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient iudge.

Lon.

In dede (M. Mordant) he hath appealed to the king and to the Queene: but I wil be so bold with her maiesty, to stay that appeale in mine owne hands.

Phil.

You will doe what you list (my Lorde) you haue the lawe in your handes.

Lond.

Wilt thou answere, or no?

Phil.

I will not answere otherwise then I haue sayd.

Lon.

Register, note his answer that he maketh.

Phil.

Knocke me in the head with an Hatcher,* or set vp a stake, and burne me out of hand without further lawe: as well you may doe so, as doe that you doe, for all is wythout order of lawe. Suche tyrannie was neuer seene, as you vse now adaies. God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdome. And whilst I spake this, the Bishop went away in haste.

S. Davids.

M. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and haue pacience with you.

Phil.

My Lorde, I thanke God I haue pacience to beare and abide al your cruel intents against me, notwithstanding I speake this earnestly, being mooued thereto iustly, to notifie your vniust and cruell dealing with men in corners, without all due order of lawe.

After this, at nighte I was conducted againe by three or foure into the Colehouse.

The ninth examination of M. Philpot before Boner and his Chaplaines.

IN the morning the nexte daye I was called downe betunes, by my keper,* and brought againe into the Wardrobe, where I remained vntil the Byshop had heard hys Masse, and afterwarde he sent vp for me into his inwarde Parlour, and there he called for a chaire to sit downe, and brought his infamous Libell of his forged Articles in his hande, and sate downe, willing me to drawe neare vnto him, and saide:

Lon.

I am this day appoynted to tarry at home from the Parlament house, to examine you and your fellowes vpon these Articles, and you stande dalying with me, and will neither answere to nor fro. Ywis al your exceptions will not serue you. Will it not be a faire honestie for you, (thinke ye) that when thou comest afore my Lorde Maior and the Sheriffes, & other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I haue had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldest saye nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy bragges of learning, neither wouldest answere directly to any thing.

Phil.

My Lord, I haue told you my mind plaine enough:* but yet I do not intend to lose that priuiledge the law geueth me, the which is free choise to aunswere where I am not bound, and this priuiledge wil I cleaue vnto, vntil I be compelled otherwise.

Lon.

Well, I perceiue you will playe the obstinate foole. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in iudgement, and answere in the meane while to these articles.

Phil.

No, my Lord, by your leaue I wil not answeare to them, vntill my lawfull appeale be tried.

Lon.

Wel, thou shalt heare them, and with that he began to reade them.

Phil.

I shranke backe into the windowe,* and looked on a booke, and after he had read them ouer, he said vnto me.

Lon.

I haue read them ouer, although it hath not pleased you to heare mee. I marueile (in good faith) what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborne, seeing thou mayest doe wel enough if thou list. It is but a singularitie. Doest thou not see all the realme against thee?

Phil.

My Lord, I speake vnto you in the witnes of God, before whom I stand, y^t I am neither wedded vnto mine owne will, neither stand vpon mine owne stubbernesse or singularitie, but vpon my conscience instructed by Gods word: and if your Lordship can shew better euidence then I haue for a good faith, I will folowe the same.

Lon.

What, thou wilt not (loe) for all that. Well, all that is past shall be forgotten: and be conformable vnto vs. Iwis thou mightest find as much fauour as thou wouldest desire.

Phil.

Then I perceiuing that he fawned so much vpon me, thought it good to geue hym some comfort of relēting, to the end I might openly geue him and his hypocriticall generation, openly a further foyle, perceiuing that they dare reason opēly with none, but with such as be vnlearned; and for lacke of knowledge not able to aunswere, or els with such as they haue a hope, that for feare or loue of the worlde, will recant. I sayde: My Lorde, it is not vnknownen to you, that I haue openlye in the audience of a great number, stand to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, & by learning did offer to defende them: therefore [Page 1815](#) my Lord) I would it might openly appeare to the world, that I am wonne by learnyng, or els what wyll they say, but that eyther for feare or loue of the worlde, I am without any ground turned from the truth? and if I haue any kinde of learning openly shewed, I shalbe as conformable as you may require me.

Lond.

Yea mary, now ye speake somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might haue had a great deale more fauour in my house and libertie then you haue had: and you shall lacke nothing that is within my house, call for it, and you shall haue it. And what is it that you woulde openly by learnyng somewhat be satisfied in, tell me?

Phil.

My Lord, I haue openly sayd, and do beleeeue it also, that your sacrifice of the Masse is no Sacrament.

Lond.

*What, doe you deny the presence of Christe in the Sacrament?

Phil.

No, my Lorde, I deny not the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but I haue denyed the Sacrament of the Alter, as it is vsed in your Masse, to be y^e true Sacrament of Christes institution. And first it must be proued a sacrament, ere there can be any kind of presence graunted.

Lond.

Why, do you deny the Masse to be a Sacrament? I pray you what is a Sacrament? Is it not a signe of a holy thyng, as saint Austine doth define it?

Phil.

*Yes verily that it is.

Lond.

Then I make this argument vnto you. A Sacrament is the signe of a holy thing: but the Masse is a signe of a holy thing: Ergo, it is a Sacrament.

Phil.

You must adde this to your Maior or fyrst proposition, as saint Austine doth meane, that a Sacrament is the signe of a holy thing instituted of God, and commaunded: for otherwise it can be no Sacrament, for all men can not make a Sacrament.

Lond.

I graunt that, and such a signe of a holy thyng is the Masse of Christes institution.

Phil.

I deny that, my Lord:

Lond.

*I will proue this by S. Austine by and by. I will go shew you the booke, & you shall haue any booke I haue that you wyll demaund. Hoe, who is without there? call me M. Doct. Chadsey, M. Archdeacon, M. Cosins, and other Chapleynes hyther.

Here, my Lorde, Maister Doctour Chadsey is gone to Westminster, and Maister Archdeacon was here euen nowe.

Lond.

M. Cosins, I pray you examine him vpon these Articles, and write his aunswere he maketh to euery one of them. I will go examine his felowes, and sende you S. Austine by and by. I finde this man more conformable then he was before.

Cosins.

I trust my Lord, you shall finde him at length a good Catholicke man. Mary here be a sight of heresies: I dare say, you will hold none of them, neither stand in any of them. How say you to the first?

Phil.

M. Cosins, I haue tolde my Lord already, that I will aunswere to none of these articles he hath objected against me: but if you will with learning aunswere to that which is in question betweene my Lorde and me, I wyll gladly heare and common with you.*

Cosins.

No wyll you? Why, what is that then which is in question betweene my Lord and you?

Phil.

Whether your Masse be a Sacrament or no?

Cosins.

What, the Masse to bee a Sacrament? who euer doubted thereof?

Phil.

If it be an vndoubted trueth, you may the sooner proue it: for I doubt much thereof.

Cosins.

Why, I wyll prooue it. It is the signe of a holy thing: Ergo, it is a Sacrament.

Phil.

I deny your antecedent.

Cosins.

What, wyll you so? then there is no reasoning with you.

*Thus master Cosins gaue ouer in the plaine fielde for want of further prooffe. And then the morowe Masse Chaplein began to speake for his occupation, & with that M. Harpsfield came out from my Lord with S. Austines Epistles, saying:

Harps.

My Lorde hath sent you here S. Austine to looke vpon, and I pray you looeke what he sayth in a certayne Epistle which he writeth. I wyll reade ouer the whole. Here may you heare the celebration of the Masse, & howe he reproueth them that went a haukyng and huntynge before the celebration of the same, on the Sabboth and holy dayes.

Phil.

I perceiue the contentes of this Epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither nothing that maketh for the profe of your Sacrament of the Masse.

Harps.

No, doth he not make mention of the Masse, & the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more playne?

Phil.

S. Austine meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true vse of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, and not of your priuate Masse,* which you of late yeares haue erected in the steede thereof. For this worde Masse hath bene an old terme attributed to the Communion, euen from the Primitiue Church. And I pray you tell me what Missa doth signifie. I thinke not many that say Masse, can well tell.

Cosins.

No can? that is maruell.

Phil.

Then tel, if you can. But M. Cosins & my morow masse Chaplaine were dumbe, looking vpon M. Harpsfield for helpe, and at length he spake.

Harps.

You thinke it cōmeth of the Hebrue word Massah,* as though none were seene in the Hebrue but you.

Phil.

I haue not gone so long to Schole, to deriue the signification of Missa, which is a Latine worde out of Hebrue: but I haue learned to interprete Greeke wordes by Greeke, and Latine by Latine, and Hebrue by Hebrue. I take the Communion to be called Missa á mittendo, of such thinges as at the celebration of the Communion were sent by such as were of abilitie, to the reliefe of the poore, where the rich brought after their deuotion & abilitie, and required the Minister in the celebration of the Communion, to pray vnto God for them, and to accept their common almes, whiche they at suche times did sende for the helpe of their poore brethren and sisters: and for this cause was it called Missa, as learned men doe witnesse. At the which celebration of the Masse, all that were present did communicate vnder both kindes, accordyng to Christes institution, as they dyd in Saint Augustines tyme. But vnlesse you can shew that your Masse is vsed as thē was, ye shall neuer by the name of Masse (which saint Austine attributed to the true vse of the Communion) proue your priuate Masse to be a Sacrament, vnlesse ye can proue the same nowe to be in your Masses as was then, whiche is cleane contrary.

Harps.

What, deny you the Masse to be a Sacrament?* For shame speake it not.

Phil.

I wyll not be ashamed to denye it, if you can not proue it.

Har.

Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more thē a sacrament.

Phil.

You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall neuer make it a Sacrifice, as you imagine thereof, but first it must be a Sacrament, for of the Sacrament you deduce your Sacrifice.

Harps.

Why, doth not Christe say: This is my body? and doth not the Priest pronounce the same that Christ did?

Phil.

The pronounciation is not only enough, vnlesse the wordes be therewithall applied to the vse,* as Christ spake them to. For though you speake the wordes of Baptisme ouer water neuer so many tymes, yet there is no Baptisme vnlesse there be a Christian person to be baptised.

Harps.

Nay, that is not lyke: for, Hoc est corpus meum, is an indicatiue proposition, shewing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine.

Phil.

It is not onely an indicatiue proposition, but also imperatiue or commaundyng. For he that sayd: Hoc est corpus meum. i. This is my body, sayde also: Accepite, manducate. i. Take ye, eate ye. And except the former part of the institution of Christes Sacrament be accomplished accordyng to the Communion, the latter, This is my body, can haue no verification, take it which way you wyll, and how you wyll.

Morowmasse Chap.

Why, then you wyll make the Sacrament to stand in the receiuing, and that receiuing maketh it a Sacrament.

Phil.

I do not say,* that the receiuing maketh it the Sacrament onely: but I say, that a common receiuing must needes be con•urrent with the true Sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it can not be a Sacrament, because Christe hath made this a principall parte of the Sacrament, Take ye, eate ye, whiche you doe not in your Masse accordyng to Christes institution: wherefore it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christes institution.

Cosins.

We do forbyd none to come to it, but as many as lyst, may be partakers with vs at the Masse, if they require it.

Phil.

Nay, that they shal not, though they require it. You wyll minister but one kinde vnto them, which is not after Christes institution. Besides that, you ought before you go to Masse, to exhort al that be present, to make a Sacrifice of thanks geuing for Christes passion with you,* and to exhort them to be partakers with you, accordyng to Christes commaundemet, saying vnto all that be present: Take ye, eate ye: and likewyse by preaching shew forth the Lordes death, which you do not.

Cosins.

What and if al things be done euen as you would haue it, and whilest the Minister is about to minister the [Page 1816](#) Sacrament before any haue receyued it, there rise a sodain onely burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none hath communicated beside the priest?

Phil.

In this case where all thyngs are appoynted to bee done according to gods word, if incident necessity had not let, I can not say, but it is a sacrament, and that hee which hath receiued, hath receiued the true sacrament. After this the morowmasse priest made this apish reason.

The morowmasse priest.

If the sacrament of the masse be no Sacrament, vnlesse all do receiue it, because Christ sayde: Take ye, eate ye, then the sacrament of Baptisme is no Sacrament, where there is but one baptised, because Christ sayd to his Apostles: Go preach the Gospell to all creatures, baptising all nations in the name of the father. &c.

Phil.

In that saying of Christ: Baptising all nations, is a cōmaundement to the Apostles, to baptise all sorts of men, & to exclude none that do beleue, be he Gentile or Iew, not meanyng all at once,*
for that were impossible. And there are many examples, that baptisme may be singularly ministred to one person, as we haue example in Christ baptised o• Iohn, and in the Eunuch baptised of Phillip, with many mo such like: but so haue you not of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, but contrarywise by the expresse wordes of S. Paule you are commaunded to vse it in a Communion and participation of many together,* the 11. to the Corinthians: Quoties conuenitis ad manducādum, alius alium expectate: As ofte as ye come together to eate (meanyng the Lordes supper) tary one for an other. And also the Minister in the celebration of the sacrament, speaketh vnto all that be present in Christes behalfe, to cōmunicate with hym, saying: Take ye, and eate ye. Wherefore, as many as bee present and doe not communicate, breake Gods commandement in not receiuyng the same, and the minister is no iust minister that doth not distribute the sacrament as Christ did,* to all that are present, and where Gods word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, & consequently it is no Sacrament.

Harps.

What, would you haue it no sacrament without it be a Communion?

Phil.

I make it not so, but gods expresse word teacheth me so, yea, also all the auncient writers: as S. Chrysostome writing vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians saith:*That the oblation is in vayne, where as none doth communicate with the priest. If by his iudgement the action of the priest alone is in vayne, where is no Communion, how can that be a sacrament which he calleth a vayne oblation, and a vayne standyng at the aultar?

Cosins.

You are such another fellow as I haue not heard, that will not haue the Masse to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withall. Come, let vs go, poyntyng to the morrowmasse
Chaplaïne: we will leaue you (maister Archdeacon) and him together: and so they went away.
Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earnest perswasions with me, saying:

Harps.

M. Philpot you and I haue bene of olde acquaintance a long tyme. We were schoolefellowes both in Winchester and in Oxford many yeares. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as my selfe, & I pray you so thinke of mee.

Phil.

I thanke you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceiued (as I am sure you are) I shall desire you not to wish me deceyued with you.* For afore God I tell you plainly you are highly deceiued, and maintain fals religiō, and be not those men you take your selues for: and if you do not repent, & leaue of your persecuting of Christes truth, you will go to the deuill for it. Therefore consider it in time, I geue you warning: for in y^e day of iudgement, els I shall be a witnes agaynst you, that I told you this here talkyng together.

Harfsfield.

Fie, that is but your owne vayne singular opinion. I perceyue you are still now that man you were in Oxford.

Phil.

I trust you can report no notorious euill that euer you knew by me there.

Harfsfield.

I can say no euill of your conuersation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we mette in disputation in Paruis, you would not lightly geue ouer, and for that cause I speake that I haue sayd.

Phil.

M. Harpsfield, you know in the Schooles at Oxford, when we were young men, we did striue much vpō vaine glory, and vpon contention, more then for the truth: but now our yeares and our riper learnyng teach vs to fall to a truth, which must bee our portion for euer. And if I was then, in my tyme of ignorance earnest in myne owne cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Maister Christes cause, and in his truth. I knowe now that nothyng done vpon vayne glory and

singularitie, can please God, haue it neuer so goodly a shew: wherefore I pray you iudge not so of me now.

Harps.

What, will you thinke your selfe better learned, thē all the learned men in this realme?

Phil.

My faith hangeth not vpon the learned of the world,* but vpon the learned of Gods word.

Harps.

Well, I will talke with you no more as nowe, but pray to God to open your hart.

Phil.

I pray God open both our harts, to do more his wil then we haue done in tymes past.

Harps.

Ho Keper, take hym away with you.

Phil.

I pray you Maister Harpesfield, tell me what this Pronounce (Hoc) doth demonstrate and shew in this Indicatiue proposition, as you call it: Hoc est corpus meum:* This is my body.

Harpesfield.

It doth demonstrate the substaunce of breade, which by the words spoken by the Priest, and by the omnipotencie of God, is turned into the substance of Christs very body.

Phil.

Is the substaunce of the bread (as you say) turned into Christes body?

Harps.

Yea that it is.

Phil.

Why,* then Christes body receyueth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before, and by this you would seeme to make, that there is an alteration in Christes glorified body, which is a wicked thing to thinke.

Harps.

Then he set about agayne, and remembryng better hymselfe,* and seying the inconuenience of his first assertion of the transubstantiation of bread into Christes body, hee sayd, that the substance of bread after the words spoken by the priest, was euacuated or vanished away by the omnipotencie of God.

Phil.

This is another song then you sang first. And here you may see how contrary you are to your selues. For in deed your scoolemen do holde, that the very substaunce of bread is really turned into the substance of Christes body. And now you perceiuyng of late the inconuenience which is objected against you in that opinion,* you are driuen to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is cuacuated, contrary to that your church hath first beleued and taught. O what contrarietie is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth?

Harps.

Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he doe as hee hath sayd?

Phil.

But his omnipotencie wil not do as you say,* contrary to hys word and to hys honour. It is not Gods honor to include hym bodily in a piece of bread, and of necessitye to tye hym therto. It is not gods honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrifie after a certaine tyme. Is not Gods omnipotency as able to geue his body with the Sacramentall bread, as to make so many turnyngs away of y^e bread, as you doe, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it bread many tymes after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of y^e Lords holy institution as you do,* and to take away the substantiall partes of the Sacrament, as, Take ye, eate ye, drinke ye all of this. Do ye this in remembraunce of me: & to place in their steades, Heare ye, gaze ye, knocke ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quicke and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and hys Sacrament, to adde and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mynd of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ & hys Apostles, tell me.

Harps.

I know you haue gathered the sayings of the Doctors together, which make for your purpose. I wyll talke no longer with you.

Phil.

I pray God open both our harts, to do more his wil then we haue in tymes past.*

Harps.

O Keeper, take hym away with you.

¶The tenth examination of Iohn Philpot, before B. Boner, his Register, and others.

The next day after diuer I was brought into my Lords vpper Hall,* and there he called me before hym and his Register, and before Doct. Chedsey in the presence of two homely Gentlemen and a Priest, which I knew not: at what tyme the B. sayd.

London.

I do here lay vnto this man in your presence (requiryng you to be a witnesse against him, as much as you know in any of them) these articles, this booke of the Catechisme made in K. Edwards dayes, also these conclusions agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge: also I lay vnto hym, that he hath despised the Censures of the [Page 1817](#) Church, & hath stood accursed more then this twelmonth, and neuer required absolution thereof. How say you, wast thou not accursed by my L. Chancellor?

Phil.

I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, & without any iust cause and without order of law,* beyng neuer personally cited.

Lond

Didst not thou tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the masse, that thou wast excommunicated, & therefore by the law couldest not heare masse? How long hast thou •ene thus excommunicate?

Phil.

More then a xij. month and a halfe.

Lond.

Loe, you may heare what he sayth. Write it.

Phil.

But as you would haue written that I haue sayd, I haue bene thus long excōmunicated,* so also let him write, that I did require of my L. Chauncellor that did excommunicate me, my absolution: but he would not geue it me saying that I was excōmunicatus ipso iure, because I was an heretike

(as it pleased hym to call me) therefore accursed by your law, and so commaunded me to prison, where I remayne.

Gentleman.

Why do you not require absolutiō at my lords hands here now?*

Phil.

Because hee is not myne Ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right.

Lond.

What an obstinate foole is this? I tell thee I will be thine Ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

Phil.

*And because of this your vnrighteous force towards me, I haue appealed from you, & require you M. Register, that my appeale may be entred in writyng.

Lond.

Haue you heard such a froward fellow as this? hee seemed yesterday to be very tractable, & I had a good hope in hym. I tell thee thou art of my Diocesse.

Phil.

I am of Winchester Diocesse, and not of London Diocesse.

Lond.

I pray you may not a man be of two Diocesses at oute?

Phil.

No, that he cannot.

Lond.

Lo, wyll you see what an ignoraunt foole is this in the law, in that which he would seeme to be seene? I tell thee a man may be of three Diocesses at once: as if thou wer• borne in London, by reason therof thou shouldst bee of my dioces: or els, if thou wert not borne, but haddest a dignitie here, also thou art to be counted of my diocesse, or els by reason of thy habitation in my dioces.

Phil.

In none of these respects I am of your Lordshippes dioces. But for all that, this will not follow, that I dwellyng at Winchester, am at that present of London dioces.

London.

What will you lay thereof? wilt thou recant if I prooue it?

Phil.

But what shall I win, if you do not?

Lond.

I will geue thee my bishoprike, if I prooue it not.

Phil.

Yea, but who shall deliuer it me, if I win?

Lond.

Thou art an arrogant foole. Enter their othes, and take these witnesses depositiōs. I must be gone to the parliament house.

After this spake vnto me a Priest standing by, askyng me whether I was kin to my L. Rich, or no?

Phil.

I sayd, he sayd so himselfe vnto me the other day, but how, I know not.

Chadsey.

I heard him say, that he was his very nigh kinsman.

Baalamite.

Why, then you & I must be of kin, for hee is my nigh kinsman.* How chance it that you and I be of contrary iudgements?

Phil.

It is no meruail, for Christ prophesied, That the father shall be deuided agaynst the sonne, and the sonne against the father for my truths sake.

Baala.

You do hold (as I vnderstand) agaynst the blessed sacrament of the aulter, and agaynst the holy masse.

Phil.

If you can prooue it a Sacrament, I wil not hold agaynst you.

Baala.

*What prooue it a Sacrament quoth he? doth not S. Paul say: Quae oculus non vidit & auris non audiuit, ea praeparauit Deus diligentibus se? That such thinges as the eye hath not seene, neither eare heard, hath God prepared for them that loue hym.

Phil.

That saying of S. Paule concerneth nothyng your sacrament, but is ment of the heauenly ioyes that bee prepared for all faythfull beleeuers.

Baala.

Why, then I perceiue you vnderstand not S. Paul. By God, you are deceiued.

Phil.

You ought not to sweare kinsman, if you will that I shall so cal you, & without disworship of our kinred, I vnderstand S. Paul as wel as you, and know what I say: and with that shewed hym a Greeke Testament with Erasmus translation, & with the old also, demaundyng him which text he was best acquainted withall.

Baala.

I knew Greeke too once, as well as you, I care not which you read.

Phil.

You knowe them then all alike: you vnderstand the one as well as the other. With this my Baalamite kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day after I was brought down againe after dinner, to the Chappel,* and there my Baalamite kinsman (to verifie the scriptures, as a mans owne kinsfolks shall be hys enemies) came in with the B. as a witnes agaynst me: and there the B. caused another that came to hym about other matters, to sweare also to be a witnes against me, which was a priest also, saying.

London.

You shall sweare to depose all the truth of certain Articles you shall be enquired of concernyng this man: * & here I (accordyng to the lawe) do bryng them forth in thy presence.

Phil.

My Lord I doo not agree to the production of them but doo appeale from all these & others your proceedinges agaynst me: and require you, Maister Register, that my appeale may be entred, & I wil geue you for your labour.

Reg.

Your appeale shalbe entred at leasure. Whom doe you appeale vnto? tell me.

I appeale to a higher Iudge, as to the Lieutenaunt of the Archbishopricke of Canterbury: for I know not who is bishop therof at this present. With that y^e B. went away, and my Baalamite kinsman looking big vpon me, but sayd neuer a woord.

Thus I haue in hast scribled out all myne examinations hetherto, that the same whiche hath bene done vnto me in darke, myght come to lyght, & that the papistes vniust procedyngs and nakednes in their false religiō, might be known to their confusion. Iesus is Imanuel, that is, God with vs, Amen. 1555.

***The 11. examination of Iohn Philpot, had on S. Andrewes day, before the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bathe, the Bishop of London, the Prolocutor, Maister Christopherson, and Doct. Chedsey, Maister Morgan of Oxford, Maister Hussey of the Arches, Doctor Weston, Doctor Harpsfield, Archdeacon, M. Cosins and M. Iohnson Register to the Bishop of London, in hys palace.**

I Was commyng beyng sent for with my Keeper, * and the B. of London met me in his hall dore, and full manerly he played the Gentleman Usher to bryng mee before the Lordes, saying:

Lond.

My Lordes I shal desire you to take some paynes with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well: but he wil wilfully cast away hymselfe.

Dures.

Come hether sir, what is your name?

Phil.

My name is Philpot.

Dures.

I haue heard of that name to be a worshipful stock, and since you be a Gentleman, doe as you may liue worshipfully among other Gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now?

Phil.

I told hym the cause as in my former examinations is expressed.

Dures.

Well, all causes set apart, will you now bee a conformable mā to the catholike faith, and leaue all new fangled opinions and heresies? Iwis I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, & can tell how they began. Leaue them, and follow the Catholique church throughout the whole world, as the whole realme now doth.

Phil.

My Lord, I am of the Catholike fayth, and desire to lyue and dye in the same, but it is not vnknownen to your Lordshippe, that I with others these xx. yeres haue bene taught another maner of faith then you now goe about to compell vs vnto: wherefore it is requisite that we haue a tyme to weigh the same, and to heare how it agreeth with Gods word. For fayth is not at a sodaine, neither wonne, neither remooued, but as S. Paule saith: Fayth commeth by hearyng, and hearing by the worde: Fides ex auditu, *auditus per verbum.

Chich.

And if you will geue me leaue my L. I will shewe hym how he taketh the saying of S. Paul amisse, as many other now adayes alledgyng the same do, that they ought not to be compelled to beleue, where as S. Paul meaneth of Infidels, and not of the faithfull. And so S. Augustine writyng agaynst the Donatistes, sayth: that the faythfull may be compelled to beleue.

Philpot.

Saint Bernard (and if it please your Lordship) doth take that sense of Saint Paule as I doe, saying: that Fides est suadenda, & non imponenda: Faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enioyned. And Saint Augustine speaketh of suche as were first thoroughly perswaded by manifest Scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborne wilfulnesse.

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Chich.

So Bernard meaneth of Infidels also.

Phil.

No, my Lord, that he doth not: for he wryteth not of the Infidels, but hee writeth of such as were deceived by errours.

Chichester.

My L. of Duresme, I haue bene so bold to interrupt your Lordship of your tale: I pray you now proceed on.

Duresme.

M. Philpot will you bee of the same Catholike faith and Church with vs you were baptised in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do? and then may you be rid out of trouble. I perceiue you are learned, and it is pitie but you should do well.

Philpot.

I am of the same Catholique fayth and catholique Church I was baptised vnto,* and in that wyll I liue and dye.

Dures.

That is wel said: if you hold there, you cannot doe but well.

Chich.

Yea, my Lord, but he meaneth otherwyse then you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?

Phil.

I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptised vnto, which is, in the fayth of Christ. For I was not baptised in the faith of my Godfathers, but in the faith of Christ.

Christo.

S. Augustine saith, that Infants are baptised in fide susceptorum: In the fayth of their Godfathers.

Phil.

S. Augustine in so saying, meaneth of the fayth of Christ, which the Godfathers do or ought to beleeue, and not otherwyse.

Duresme.

How say you, will you beleue as we do, and all the learned of the Realme or no, and be of one church with vs?

Phil.

My Lordes it is not vnknown vnto you, that there hath bene alwayes two churches.

Chichest.

Nay, that is not so: there is but one Catholike church.

Phil.

*I shall desire your Lordships to heare out my tale, & to take my meanyng. For I knowe there is but one true Church: but alwayes from the beginnyng there hath bene ioyned to the same true Church, a false Church, aduersarie to the true, and that was declared at the first in Abell and Caine, who persecuted and slew hys brother, in whome (as Saint Augustine witnesseth) is represented the false & true Church. And after that, as soone as God hath chosen his peculiar people, and shewed vnto them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, anone after arose the false Church, and tenne of the twelue tribes of Israell deuied themselues from the true church of Iuda and Beniamin, and made to themselues at Bethel, & set vp golden calues, and yet pretended therewith to serue God, and so abused his word: Notwithstandyng, God was displeased with them, and ceased not hys wrath, vntill he had vtterly destroyed them.

Chich.

I will graunt you before the commyng of Christ, there were two churches in the old law: but in the newe law since Christes commyng, you cannot shew it to be so by the scripture.

Phil.

Yes my L. that I can, if you will geue me leaue. After Christ had chosē his xij. Apostles, was there not a Iudas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? And were not they of the false church?

Chich.

Yea, but I meane after the Gospell was written, where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the holy Ghost?

Phil.

The Gospell was within 8. yeares after the ascension written by S. Mathew, and the writyng therof is not materiall to the declaration of these two churches, to haue bene alwayes from tyme to tyme, as by example it may be shewed: and yet as euil as my memory is, I remember in the new Testament is mention made of two churches,* as it appeareth in the Apocalyps: and also S. Paule

to the Thessalonians maketh mention, that Antichrist with hys false generatiō shall sit in the temple. To the which Chichester replied not.

Dures.

The Church in the scripture is likened to a great fishers net, which conteineth in it both good fishes & bad fishes. I trust you wil be of the better sort, and leane to the truth.

Phil.

My Lord it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoeuer I haue done in times past, and to cleaue to gods truth.

Dures.

Do you so, and then shall you do well. It is almost night, my L. of London, I must needes be gone.

Lond

Nay, my L. of Duresme, I must desire your Lordship,* and my L. of Chichester to tary a litle while. And before he had so sayd, the B. of Bathe went his way without saying any word. What my L. of Bath will you be gone? I pray you tary. My Lordes, I haue earnest matter to charge this man withall, wherof I would your lordships to be made priuy▪ and I haue them here written in a libel. I pray you sit downe againe, or els I will. First I •ay to him here,* that hee hath written in a Bible which I tooke from hym, this erroneous saying: Quod spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra. i. The holy Ghost is Christes Uicare in earth. Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine. That the spirit is Christes vicar on earth?

Phil.

My L. it is not my saying, it is a better learned mā's then myne. For I vse not to write myne owne sayings, but the notable sayings of other auncient writers, as all the others be where ye find the same writen. And as I remember, it is euen the saying of Saint Bernard, & a saying that I neede not to be ashamed of, neyther you to bee offended, as my L. of Duresme, and my L. of Chichester by their learnyng can discerne, and will not reckon it euill sayd.

Lond.

No will? Why, take away the first syllable, and it foundeth Arius.

Phil.

That is farre fetched in deede: if your Lordship will scan mens sayings in such wise, you may finde out what you list.

Lond.

But to helpe this, I finde moreouer written wyth hys owne hand in another booke: *In me Ioanne Philpotto vbi abundauit peccatum, superabundauit & gratia: that is▪ In me Iohn Philpot where sinne did abound, grace hath superabounded. I pray you what superabundāt grace haue you more then other men? So said Arius, that he had the aboundance of grace aboue all other.

Phil.

My L. you neede not to be offended with that saying more then the other, for it is the saying of S. Paule hymself, and I did apply it to my self for my comfort, * knowing that though my sinnes be huge & great in the sight of God yet is his mercy & grace aboue them all. And concernyng Arius & his adherents, I defie them, as it is well known I haue written against them.

Lond.

Also I lay to thy charge that thou killedst thy father and wast accursed of thy mother in her deathbed, as I can bring witnes hereof.

Phil.

O Lord, what blasphemy is this? * Hath your Lordship nothing of truth to charge me withall, but (as I may speake it with your honoures) such forged blasphemous lyes? If any of these can be prooued, I will promise here to recant at Paules Crosse, what you wil haue me: I am so sure they are as great blasphemies as may bee objected agaynst any man. Ha, my Lordes, I pray you consider how my L. of London hath hitherto proceded against me: for in deed he hath none other but such pretensed slaunderous lyes.

Chich.

They be Parerga: that is, matters beside the purpose.

Dures.

My Lord, I must needes bid you farewell.

Lond.

Nay my Lord, here is a letter which I shall desire your Lordship to heare ere you goe. * This man (beyng in my kepyng) hath taken vpon hym to write letters out of prison, & to peruert a yong Gentleman called M. Greene in my house, (call him hither) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall heare, not beyng content to be euill himselfe, but to make others as bad as himselfe. He all to tare the letter when he saw my man went about to search hym, but yet I haue pieced it agayne togither, & caused a copy to be written therof, and he red the torne letter, biddyng M. Christopherson and Morgan to marke the copy thereof.

The contents of the letter was the examination of M. Greene before the B. of London in the presence of Maister Feckenham Deane of Paules, and of diuers others,* whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the Doctors was wondred at of the Deane hymselfe, and of many others, as M. Fecknam did report: and that he was committed to D. Chadsey, and to haue his meat from the Bishops owne table. How say you my Lords, was this wel done of hym beyng my prisoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a shamefull lye, that he was in D. Chadseys keping. How say you M. Doc. Chadsey, is it not a shamefull lye?

Chad.

Yes my L. he was neuer in my keping.

London.

Art thou not ashamed to write suche shamefull lyes? Come hether M. Greene,* did not I shew you this letter?

Greene.

Yea forsooth my L. you shewed it me.

Lond.

How thinke you my Lordes, is not this an honest man to belye me?

Phil.

Your Lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your Lordship may perceiue,* and all other that haue heard the same) was not written by me, but by a friend of myne, certifieng me at my request how M. Greene sped at the B. of Londons hands: and there is nothing in the [Page 1819](#) letter that either I, or he that wrote it neede to feare, but that might be written as my report.

London.

Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Phil.

No, my L. it is not my duty to accuse my friend, and specially seyng you will take all thyngs at the worst: neither you shall neuer know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in y^e end of the letter, that my friend did write vnto me vppon the occasion of my appeale which I haue made to the whole Parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

London.

I would see any so hardy to put vppe thine Appeale.

Phil.

My L. I cannot tell what God will worke, I haue written it,* speed as it may.

Lond

My L. I haue vsed him with much gentlenes since he came to me. How sayst thou, haue I not?

Phil.

If to lie in the vilest prison in this towne (being a gētleman, and an Archdeacon) and in a colehouse by the space of v. or vj. weekes alreedy, without fire or candle, bee to be counted gentlenes at your handes, I must needes say I haue found gentlenes. But there were neuer men so cruelly handled as we are at these dayes.

London.

Loe, what a Uarlet is this? Besides this (my Lordes) euen yesterday hee procured hys man to bryng a bladder of blacke Pouder, I can not tell for what purpose I.

Phil.

Your Lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make inke withall, for lack of inke, as I had it before in the kings Bench, when my keeper tooke away my inkehorne.

Lond.

And why shouldst thou go about any such thing vnknowyng vnto me beyng thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this house I tell thee.

Phil.

My L. because you haue caused my penner and inkehorne to bee taken from mee,* I woulde yet faine that my friends might vnderstand what I lacke, not that I intended to write any thing that I would be afraid shold come to your sight.

Lond.

More then this my L. he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife to be put betwene the skin, and the flesh, for what purpose iudge you. How sayest thou, didst thou not so?

Phil.

I cannot deny but there was halfe a pig sent me, and vnder the same a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill pur'pose that I knowe, your Lordship may iudge what you will.* It was not to kill my selfe, nor none other, as you would haue men to beleue: for I was neuer yet without a knife since I came to prison. Therefore all these bee but false surmises, and not worth rehearsall.

Lond.

I haue here to say to his charge (chiefest of all) hys booke of the report of the disputation had in the Conuocation house, which is the rākest heresie that may be, against the blessed Sacrament of the aaltar. How say you, Maister D. Weston? did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?

West.

Yea my L. that he did, and would neuer be aunswered. And it is pity that the same worshipfull congregation should be slaundered with such vntrue reports.

Phil.

*You answered me in deed, M. Doct. (beyng thē Prolocutor) goodly, with hold thy peace, and haue hym to prison, and put hym out of the house. I haue read the booke, & I fynde the report of euery mans Argument to be true in all poynts. And if there be any fault, it is, because he setteth forth your doynges too fauourably, and nothyng lyke to that you did vse me, beyng an Archdeacon, and not of the worst of the house.

West.

Thou art no Archdeacon.

Phil.

In deed M. Doct. ye haue among you vnarchdeaoned me as now (I thanke God of it) and that without all order of law.

Lond.

I pray you my Lordes hearken what he writeth of himselfe. I read it ouer this morning, and made a note of it. He saith, that D. Weston called hym frantike and mad man, and sayd, he should go to Bedlem.

Phil.

In deed my L. so it pleased M. Weston to taunt at me and say his shamefull pleasure: but yet I was no whitte the more for all his sayinges, then Christ was when the Scribes & the Pharises said likewyse he was madde, and that he was possessed of a deuill, most blasphemously.

Dures.

My L. of London I can tary no longer. I must needes bid you farewell.* M. Philpot, me thinketh you haue sayd well, that you will abide in the Catholike faith, and in the Catholike Church: I pray you so do, and you shall do right well. And so hee departed with M. Weston and M. Hussey.

Phil.

I haue purposed so to doe, how so euer I speede, by Gods grace.

Lond.

I pray you my L. of Chichester, and M. Prolocutor and M. Doct. Morgan, to common with hym whyles I bryng my L. of Duresme goyng.

Christopherson.

M. Philpot, I was acquaynted with you at Rome (if you bee remembred, but you haue forgotten me) and talked somewhat with you of these matters, and I finde you now the same man as you were then. I wish it were otherwyse. For gods sake bee conformable to men that be better learned then you, and stand not in your own conceit.

Phil.

Where as you call mee to remembraunce of acquaintance had at Rome, in deede it was so, though it were but very straunge on your part to meward, beyng driuen to necessitie.

Christoph.

You knowe the world was dangerous at that tyme.

Philpot.

Nothing so dangerous as it is now: but let that passe. Where as you say, you find me the same man I was then, I prayse God for that you see not me like a reed waueryng with euerye wynde. And where as you woulde haue me follow better learned men then my selfe: in deed I do acknowledge that you with a great many other,* are far better learned then I, whose bookes in respect of learnyng, I am not worthy to cary after you: but fayth & the wisdom of God consisteth not in learning onely, & therefore S. Paule willeth, that our fayth be not grounded vppon the wisdom of man. If you can shew by learnyng out of Gods booke, y^t I ought to be of an other fayth then I am, I will heare you and anye other man whatsoeuer he bee.

Christoph.

I meruaile why you should dissent from the catholike Church, since it hath thus long vniuersallye bene receiued, except within this fiue or sixe yeares here in England.

Phil.

I do not dissent from the true catholike church: I do only dissent from the B. of Rome, which if you can prooue to be the catholike church of Christ, I will bee of the same also with you.

Christo.

Wil you beleue S. Cyprian, if I can shew you out of hym. Quòd Ecclesia Romana est talis ad quam perfidia accedere non potest: That the Church of Rome is such a one, vnto the which misbeliefe cannot approach.

Phil.

I am sure you cannot shew any such saying out of s. Cyprian.

Christo.

What will you lay thereon?

Phil.

I will lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan.

Will you promise to recant, if he shew his saying to be true?

Phil.

My fayth shall not hang vpon any Doctours saying, further then he shalbe able to prooue the same by gods worde.

Christo.

I wil go fet the booke and shew it him by and by: and therewithall he went into the Bishops study, & fet Cyprian, & appointed out these words in one of his Epistles: Ad Romanos autem quorum fides Apostolo praedicante laudata est, non potest accedere perfidia: But vnto the Romaines whose fayth by the testimony of the Apostle, is praysed, misbeliefe can haue no accesse.

Phil.

These wordes of Cyprian doe nothing prooue your pretended assertion, which is, that to the Church of Rome there could come no misbeliefe.

Christoph.

Good Lord, no doth? What can bee sayde more plainely?

Philpot.

Hee speaketh not of the Churche of Rome absolutely.

Christo.

By God, a chyld that can but his Grammer, wyll not deny that you do, the words be so playne.

Phil.

Sweare not M. Doct. but weigh Cyprians wordes with me, and I shall make you to say as I haue sayd.

Christo.

I am no D. but I perceiue it is but labour lost to reason with you.

Boner.

And with that the B. of London came in blowyng agayne, and sayd: [*](#) What is my L. of Chichester gone away also? (for he euen a little before departed also without any other word saying, but he must needes be gone.) What is the matter you now stand vpon?

Morgan.

M. Christopherson hath shewed M. Philpot a notable place of the authoritie of the Church of Rome, and he maketh nothyng of it.

Boner.

Where is the place? let me see. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither sir, what say you to this? Nay tary a little, I will helpe this place with S. Paules owne testimony the first to the Romaines, where he sayeth, that their faith is preached throughout the world: how cā you be able to answer to this?

Phil.

Yes, my L. it is soone aunswered, if you will consider al the words of Cyprian: for he speaketh of such as in his tyme were faithfull at Rome,* that folowed the doctrine of saint Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified [Page 1820](#) throughout the world by an Epistle which he had written in the commendation of their fayth. With such as are praised of S. Paul at Rome, for followyng the true faith, misbeliefe can haue no place. And now if you can shewe that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now,* is that faith which the Apostle praised & allowed in the Romans in his tyme, then wil I say that S. Cyprian then said, and with you, that infidelitie can haue no place there: but otherwyse it maketh not absolutely for the authority of the Church of Rome, as you do mistake it.

Christo.

You vnderstand Cyprian well in deed: I thinke you neuer red hym in your lyfe.

Phil.

Yes, M. Doct. that I haue, I can shew you a booke noted with myne owne hand: though I haue not read so much as you, yet I haue read somewhat. It is shame for you to wrast and wreath the Doctors as you do, to maintain a fals religion, which be altogether against you, if you take them aright, and in deede your false packing of doctors together,* hath geuen me and others occasion to looke vpon them, wherby we find you shamefull liers, and misreporters of the ancient doctors.

Morgan.

What, wil you be in hand to allow doctors now? they of your sect do not so. I meruaile thereof you will allow them.

Phil.

I do allow them in as much as they doe agree wyth the scriptures, and so do al they which be of the truth, how so euer you terme vs: and I prayse God for that good vnderstandyng I haue receyued by them.

Christo.

What, you vnderstand not the Doctors, you may be ashamed to say it.

Phil.

I thanke God I vnderstand them better then you: for you haue Excaecationem cordis, The blindnes of heard, so that you vnderstand not truely what you read, no more then the wall here, as the takyng of Cyprian doth wel declare. And afore God, you are but deceyuers of the people,* for all your brag you make of learnyng, neyther haue ye Scripture or auncient doctour on your side, being truly taken.

Morgan.

Why, all the Doctors be on our side, and agaynst you altogether.

Phil.

Yea, so you say when you be in your pulpits alone, & none to answer you. But if you wil come to cast accounts with me therof, I will venter with you a recantatiō, that I (as little sight as I haue in the doctors) wil bring more authorities of ancient Doctors on my side, then you shall be able for yours, and he y^t can bring most, to him let y^e other side yeeld. Are ye so content herewith?

Christo.

It is but folly to reason with you: you wil beleue no man but yourselfe.

Phil.

I will beleue you or any other learned man, if you cā bring any thing worthy to be beleued. You cannot winne me with vaine words from my fayth. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan.

What, no truth, no truth? ha, ha, he.

Phil.

Except the Articles of the Trinitie, you are corrupt in all other thyngs, and sound in nothyng.

Morgan.

What say you? do we not beleue well on the sacrament?

Philpot.

It is the thing which (among all other) you doe most abuse.

Morgan.

Wherein I pray you? tell vs.

Phil.

I haue told you before (M. Doct.) in the Conuocation house.

Morgan.

*Yea marry: in deed you told vs there very well. For there you fell down vpon your knees, and fel to weepyng: ha, ha, ha.

Phil.

I did weepe in deed, and so did Christ vpon Ierusalem, and am not to be blamed therefore, if you consider the cause of my weepyng.

Morgan.

What, make you your selfe Christ? ha, ha.

Phil.

No sir, I make not my selfe Christ: but I am not ashamed to do as my maister and sauour did, to bewaile & lament your infidelitie and idolatrye, which I there foresaw thorough tyranny you would bryng agayne to this realme, as this day doth declare.

Morgan.

That is your argument.

Christo.

*Wherein do we abuse the Sacrament? tell vs.

Phil.

As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kynds as you ought to doe, but keepe the one halfe from the people, contrary to Christes institution.

Christo.

Why, is there not as much conteined in one kynd, as in both? And what neede is it then to minister in both kyndes?

Phil.

I beleeeue not so, for if it had, Christ would haue geuē but one kind only:* for he instituted nothing superfluous, and therfore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind, as in both, since the scripture teacheth otherwyse.

Christo.

What, if I can prooue it by scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appeare in the Actes of the Apostles, in one or two places, where it is written that the Apostles continued In orationibus & fractione panis: In prayers, and in breakyng of breade, which is ment of the Sacrament.

Philpot.

Why, Maister Doctour, do you not knowe that Saint Luke by the makying mention of the breakyng of bread, meaneth the whole vse of the sacrament, accordyng to Christes institution, by a Figure which you haue learned in Grammer, *Synecdoche, where part is mentioned, and the whole vnderstanded to bee done, as Christ commanded it.

Christo

Nay, that is not so. For I can shew out of Euseb. in Eccles hist. that there was a man of God, (whom he named) that sent the Sacrament in one kynd by a boy to one that was sicke.

Phil.

I haue read in deed that they did vse to geue y^t was left of the Communion bread, to children, to mariners, & to women, and so peraduenture the boy might cary a piece of that was left to the sicke man.

Christo.

Nay, as a Sacrament it was purposely sent vnto hym.

Phil.

If it were so, yet can you not precisely say, that he had not the cup ministred vnto him also by some other sent vn^to him: but though one man did vse it thus, doth it folow that all men may do the like? S. Cyprian noteth many abuses of the sacrament in his tyme, which rose vppon singular mē's examples, as vsing of water in stead of wyne: therfore he sayth: Non respiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, sed quid Christus qui omnium primus, ante nos fecerit & mandauit: that is, Wee must not looke what any man hath done before vs, but what Christ first of all men did & commanded.

Christo.

Hath not the church taught vs so to vse the sacrament? and how do we know that Christ is Homousios, that is, of one substance with the father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prooue that otherwise by expresse words of scripture, and where find you Homousios in all the scripture?

Phil.

Yes, that I doe, in the 1. to the Hebrues, where it is written, that Christ is the expresse Image of Gods owne substance, eiusdem substantiae.

Christo.

Nay, that is not so. It is. There is no more but expressa imago substantiae: The expresse image of gods substance, and Image is accident.

Phil.

It is in the text, Of his substance, Substantiae illius▪ or of his owne substance, as it may be right wel interpreted. Besides this, that which Christ spake of himself in s. Ioh. manifesteth the same, saying: I & the father be one thing: Ego & pater vnum sumus. And where as you say, Imago here is accident, the ancient fathers vse this for a strong argument, to prooue Christ to be God, because he is the very Image of God.

Christo.

Yea do? is this a good argument, because wee are the Image of God, Ergo, we are God.

Phil.

We are not called the expresse Image of God,* as it is written of Christ, and wee are but the Image of God by participation, & as it is written in Genesis, wee are made to the likenesse and similitude of God. But you ought to know (M. Christoph,) that there is no accident in God, & therefore Christ cannot be the image of God, but he must be of the same substance with God.

Christo.

Tush.

Morgan.

How say you to the presence of the Sacrament?* will you stand to the iudgement here of your booke, or no? or will you recant?

Phil.

I know you go but about to catch me in wordes. If you can prooue that booke to be of my setting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to iudgement.

Morgan.

Speake, be you of the same mynd as this booke is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, vnlesse you become another maner of man then you were.

Phil.

What I was, you know: what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I wil say to you by the way, that if you can prooue your Sacrament of the Masse (as you now vse it) to be a sacrament, I will then grant you a presence: [*](#) but first you must prooue the same a sacrament, and afterward entreat of the presence.

Morgan.

Ho, do you doubt that it is a sacrament?

Phil.

I am past doubtyng, for I beleeeue you can neuer be able to prooue it a Sacrament.

Christo.

Yea doe, good Lord, doth not S. Augustine call it the sacrament of the aultar? How say you to that?

Phil.

That maketh nothyng for the probation of your Sacrament. For so he with other auncient writers do call the holy Communion or the supper of the Lord in respect that [Page 1821](#) it is the Sacrament of the Sacrifice which Christ offered vpon the aultar of the Crosse, the which Sacrifice all the aultars and sacrifices done vpon the aultares in the olde lawe did prefigure and shadow, the which pertaineth nothyng to your sacrament hangyng vpon your aultares of lyme and stone.

Christo.

No doth? I pray you what signifieth aultar?

Phil.

[*](#)Not as you falsly take it, materially, but for the sacrifice of the aultar of the crosse.

Christo.

Where finde you it euer so taken?

Phil.

Yes that I do in S. Paul to the Hebrues 13. where he saith: Habemus altare de quo non est fas edere his qui tabernaculo deseruiunt: We haue an aultar, of the which it is not law full for them to

eate, that serue the tabernacle. Is not aultare there taken for the sacrifice of the aultar, and not for the altar of lyme and stone?

Christo.

Wel, God blesse me out of your company. You are such an obstinate heretike, as I haue not heard the lyke.

Phil.

*I pray God kepe me from such blind doctors, which when they are not able to prooue what they say, then they fall to blasphemynge (as you nowe doe) for lacke of better prooffe. In the meane while the B. of London was talking with some other by, & at length came in to supply his part and sayd.

Boner.

I pray you maisters, hearken what I shall saye to this man: come hither maister Greene. And now sir (poin|ting to me) you can not thinke it sufficient to bee naught your selfe, but must go about to procure this yong gentleman by your letters to do the lyke.

Phil.

My Lord he cannot say, that I euer hitherto wrote vnto hym concernynge any such matter, as hee here can testifie.

Greene.

No, you neuer wrote vnto me.

Boner.

Why, is not this your letter which you did wryte concernynge hym?

Phil.

I haue shewed your Lordship my mynd concerning that letter alreedy: it was not written to M. Greene, neyther was he priuy of the writynge thereof.

Lond.

*How say you then, If a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in such a case?

Philpot.

I am bound to do the best I can to bring hym out of it.

Lond.

If M. Grene here be in the like, are you not bounde to reforme him thereof if you can?

Phil.

Yes that I am, & wil do to the vttermost to my power therein. The B. remembryng hymselfe, thinking that he would but shrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather cōfirmed in that which he called an errour, ceased to go any further in hys demaund, and called M. Greene aside, and before his Register red hym a letter. I know not the contents thereof: and therewithal he gaue M. Greene the booke of my disputation in the cōuocation house, and afterward went aside, commoning w^t M. Christopherson, leauyng M. Morgan, maister Harpsfield, and M. Cosins to reason with me in the hearyng of M. Greene.

Morgan.

*M. Philpot I would aske you how old your religion is.

Philpot.

It is older then yours by a thousand yeares and moe.

Morgan.

I pray you where was it fifty yeares ago?

Phil.

It was in Germany apparant by the testimony of Husse, Ierome of Prage, and Wickliffe, whome your generation a hundreth yeares agoe and moe, dyd burne for preachyng the truth vnto you: and before their tyme and since hath bene, although vnder persecution it hath bene put to silence.

Morgan.

*That is a maruelous strange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it.

Phil.

It ought to be no meruail vnto you to see gods truth through violence oppressed: forsh it hath bene frō the beginning from time to tyme, as it appereth by stories, & as Christes true religion is now to be found here in Englād although hypocrisie hath by violence the vpper hād. And in the Apocalyps you may see it was prophesied, that the true Church should be driuen into corners, and into wildernes, and suffer great persecution.

Morgan

A, are you seene in the Apocalyps? there are many strange thyngs.

Phil.

If I tel you the truth which you are not able to refel beleeeue it, & dally not out so earnest matters. Me thinke you are liker a scoffer in a play, then a reasonable doctor to instruct a man: you are bare arsed & dance naked in a net, and yet you see not your owne nakednes.

Morgan.

*What (I pray you) be not so quicke with me. Let vs talke a little more coldly together.

Philpot.

I will talke with you as mildely as you can desire, if you wil speake learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude truth, I will not hyde it from you.

Morgan.

Why, will you not submit your iudgement to the learned men of this Realme?

Phil.

Because I see they can bring no good ground, whereupon I may with a good conscience settle my fayth more surely then on that which I am now grounded vppon by Gods manifest word.

Morgan.

No do? that is maruell that so many learned men should be deceyued.

Phil.

It is no maruell by S. Paule: for he sayeth, That not many wyse, *neither many learned after the world bee called to the knowledge of the Gospell.

Morgan.

Haue you then alone the spirite of God, and not we?

Phil.

I say not that I alone haue the spirite of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ, haue the spirit of God as well as I.

Morgan.

Howe knowe you that you haue the Spirite of God?

Phil.

By the fayth of Christ which is in me.

Morgan.

A, by faith do you so? I ween it be the spirit of the buttry,* which your fellowes haue had that haue ben burned before you, who were dronk the night before they wēt to their death, and I weene went dronken vnto it.

Phil.

It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the spirit of the Buttry, then with the spirit of God. Wherefore I must now tell thee (thou painted wall & hypocrite) in the name of the liuing Lord, whose truth I haue told thee, that God shal raine fire and brimstone vpon such scornors of his worde, and blasphemers of his people as thou art.

Morgan.

What, you rage now.

Phil.

Thy foolish blasphemies hath compelled the spirit of God which is in me, to speake that which I haue said vnto thee, thou enemy of all righteousnes.

Morgan.

Why do you iudge me so?

Phil.

By thine owne wicked words I iudge of thee, thou blynd and blasphemous Doctour: for as it is written: By thy words thou shalt be iustified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned. I haue spoken on Gods behalfe, & now haue I done with thee.

Morgan.

Why, then I tel thee Philpot, that thou art an heretike, and shalt be burnt for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell fire.

Phil.

I tel thee, thou hypocrite,* that I passe not this for thy fire and fagots, neither (I thanke God my Lord) stande in feare of the same: my faith in Christ shall ouercome thē. But the hel fire which thou threatnest me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (vnlesse thou spedily repent) and for such hypocrites as thou art.

Morgan.

What, thou speakest vpon wyne, thou hast tipled well to day, by likelihood.

Phil.

So said the cursed generation, of the Apostles beyng replenished with the holy Ghost, & speaking the wōdrous works of God, they said they were dronk, when they had nothing els to say, as thou doest now.

Morgan.

Why, I am able to answer thee, ywis, I trow.

Phil.

So it seemeth with blasphemies and lyes.

Morgan.

Nay, euen with learnyng, say what thou canst.

Phil.

That appeared well at my disputation in the Conuocation house,* where thou tookest vpon thee to aunswer those few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wast not able to aunswere one, but in thyne aunsweres did fumble and stammer, that the whole house was ashamed of thee: and the finall conclusion of all thine answers was, that thou couldst answer me, if I were in the scholes at Oxford.

Morgan.

What, did I so? thou beliest me.

Phil.

I do not belye thee: the booke of the report of y^e disputation beareth record therto, and al that were present then, can tell (if they list) thou saydst so. And I tell thee playne, thou art not able to

answer that spirit of truth, which spea|keth in me for the defence of Christes true Religion. I am able by the might therof, to driue thee roūd about this gallery before me: and if it would please the queenes maiesty and her Councell to heare thee and me, I woulde make thee for shame shrinke behinde the doore.

Morgan.

Yea would you so?

Phil.

Thou hast the spirite of Illusion and Sophistrye, which is not able to counteruaile the spirit of truth.* Thou art but an Asse in the true vnderstanding of thinges pertayning vnto God. I cal thee Asse not in respect of malice, but in that thou kickest agaynst the trueth, and art voyde of all godly vnderstāding, not able to answere to that thou braggest in.

Morgan.

Why, haue I not answered thee in all things thou hast sayd vnto me? I take them to record.

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Phil.

Aske of my felow whether I be a theefe.

Cosins.

Harke, he maketh vs all theeues.

Phil.

You know that phrase of the Prouerbe, that like will holde with like. And I am sure, you will not iudge with me, against him, speake I neuer so true: and in this sense I speake it. The strongest answere that he hath made against me is, that you will burne me.

Morgan.

Why, we doe not burne you: it is the Temporall men that burne you, and not we.

Phil.

Thus you woulde (as Pilate dyd) washe your handes of all your wicked doinges. But I pray you Inuocate seculare brachium: call vpon the secular power to be executioners of your vnrighteous

iudgementes. And haue you not a title in your law, De haereticis comburendis for, to burne heretickes?

Harps.

I haue hearde you both a good while reason together, and I neuer hearde so stout an hereticke as you are M. Philpot.

Cosins.

Neither I in all my life.

Phil.

You are not able to proue me an heretick, by one iote of Gods word.

Harps.

You haue the Spirite of arrogancy, I will reason with you no more.* And so he was departing, and M. Cosins also. And with that the bishop and Christoforsō came in agayne, and sayd.

Boner.

Mayster Doctour, howe doeth this man and you agree?

Morgan.

My Lord, I doe aske him where his church was fifty yeares agoe?

Boner.

Are you not halfe agreed, as one man sayd once to tway parties, of whō the one was equally disagreeing frō the other?

Christo.

My Lorde, it is but folly to reason with hym any further: your Lordshippe shall but loose time, for he is incurable.

Boner.

Well then, let his keeper haue him away. And with that Doct. Chadsey led me a way by the which we coulde not passe, and therfore came backe agayne through the byshops chamber, where al these doctors were clustred together: and as I was passing, the Bishoppe tooke me by the gowne and sayd: Wote you what M. Christoferson telleth me? I pray you M. Christoforson,

rehearse the sentence in Latine, and so he did. The contentes thereof was, that an hereticke would not be won.

Christo.

S. Paule sayth: Haereticum hominem post vnam atque alteram admonitionem deuita: Flee an heretick after once or twise warning.

All the Doctors.

Yea, my Lord, it is best you so do, & trouble your Lordship no more with him.

Phil.

*You must first proue me iustly to be an hereticke, before you vse the iudgement of S. Paule agaynst me: for he speaketh of such as hold opiniō against the manifest word, the which you cannot proue by me. And because you want in your prooffe, & be able to proue nothing agaynst me, ther'fore you go about falsly to suppose me to be an heretick, for the safegard of your owne counterfeit honesties: but afore God you are the heretickes, which so stoutly & stubbornly mainteine so many thinges directly agaynst Gods word, as God in his time shall reueale. As I wēt out of his chāber, the Bishop called me aside and sayd:

Boner.

I pray thee in good sadnes, what meanest thou by writing in the beginning of the Bible: Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in terris:*The spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth? Iwis you haue some speciall meaning therof.

Phil.

My Lorde, I haue none other meaning then (as I haue tolde you alreadye) that Christe since hys ascension worketh all thinkes in vs by his spirite, and by his spirite doth dwell in vs. I pray you my Lord, let me haue my bible, with other lawfull bookes and writinges whiche you haue of mine, whereof many of them be none of myne, but lent to me by my frendes.

Boner.

Your Bible you shall not haue, but I will perhaps let you haue an other: & after I haue perused the rest, you shall haue such as I thinke good.

Phil.

I pray your Lordshippe then, that you would let me haue candle light.

Boner.

To what purpose, I pray you?

Phil.

The nightes be long, & I would fain occupy my selfe about somewhat and not spend my time idly.

Boner.

You may then pray.

Phil.

I cannot well say my prayers without light.

Boner.

*Can you not say your Pater noster, without a Candle? I tell you sir, you shall haue some meate and drink of me, but candle you get none.

Phil.

I had leauer haue a Candle, then your meate or drinke: but seeing I shall not haue my request, the Lorde shalbe my light.

Boner.

Haue him downe.

Chad.

I will bring him to his keeper, my Lord. M. Philpot, I wonder that all these learned men whom you haue talked withall this day, can nothing perswade you?

Phil.

Why, M. Doctor, would you haue me to be perswaded with nothing? or would you haue me builde my fayth vpon sand? What do you all bring, wherby I ought by any sufficient authority to be perswaded to you?

Chad.

I am sorry you will so wilfully cast away your selfe, where as you might liue worshipfully. Do you not thinke other haue soules to saue as well as you haue?

Phil.

Euery man shall receiue according to his owne doinges. Sure I am you are deceiued and mainteine a false religiō: and as for my casting away, I would my burning day were to morow: for this delay is euery day to dye, and yet not to be dead.

Chad.

You are not like to dye yet, I can tell you.

Phil.

I am the more sory thereof. But the will of God bee done of me to his glory. Amen.

***12. Examination of Iohn Philpot, on Wednesdaye the fourth of December before the Bishop of London, the Byshop of Worcester, and the Byshop of Bangor.**

IN the morning I was fet down to the wardrobe adioyning to the chappell,* and within a while after came three of the Bishops Chapleines vnto me, saying:

Chapleines.

M. Philpot, my Lord hath sent vs vnto you, to desire you to come to masse, certifying you that ther is a Doctor of Diuinity a Chapleine of my Lordes,* a notable learned man, called Doct. Chadsey, going to masse: therefore we also pray you, good M. Philpot, be contēt to come: it is hard hereby.

Phil.

I wonder my Lorde woulde trouble you in sending you about this matter, seing he knoweth I am a man (by your law) that can not heare masse, because I stand excōmunicate.

Bishops Chap.

Your excommunication is but vpon a contumacy, and my Lorde will dispense with you, if you wyl come.

Phil.

My Lorde cannot, for he is not mine Ordinary, and I will not seeke any suche thing at his handes. With thys aunswere they went theyr way. And after Masse the Byshop called me before him into his Chappell, and there in the presence of his Register (after he had sayd his mynde, because I would not come to Masse) recited the Articles,* which he often times before had done in that behalfe, with the depositions of the witnesses, of whome some were not examined.

Boner.

Sir, what cā you now say, why I should not proceede to geue sentence agaynst thee as an hereticke?

Phil.

Why, my Lord, will you proceede to geue sentence against me before your witnesses be examined: * that is plain agaynst your owne Lawe, as all your doinges haue bene hitherto.

Boner.

See what a foole thou art in the lawe. I neede not to recite the depositions of the witnes, but if I liste: for I know them well enough already.

Phil.

It appeareth in deed you may do what you list.

Boner.

Tell me, I say, whether thou wilt answer, or no: & whether if thou were absolved of thine excommunication. thou wouldest come to masse, or no?

Phil.

I haue aunswered as much as I intend to do, vntyll I be called to lawful iudgemēt: and as concerning my cōscience, I will not make you God to sit there as yet: it is Gods part onely to be searcher of my hart.

Boner.

Looke how foolishly he speaketh. Art thou GOD? and yet doest thou not sit in thine owne conscience?

Phil.

I sit not in mine owne conscience: but I know it, & God there onely ought to sit, and no man els.

Boner.

Thou art a noughty felowe, and hast done mucche hurt, * & hast seduced other poore felowes here in prisō wyth the, by thy comforting of them in their errors, & hast made them reioyce and sing with thee.

Phil.

Yea, my Lord, we shall sing, when you and suche other as you are, shall cry, Vae, Vae, Woe, woe, except you repent.

Boner.

What an arrogant Foole is thys? I wyll handle thee like an hereticke, and that shortly.

Phil.

I feare nothing (I thanke God) you can doe to me. But God shall destroy suche as thou art, and that shortly, as I trust.

Boner.

Haue him away, this is a knaue in deed.

Phil.

And I was had into the Wardrobe again by my keper, and within an houre after was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcest•r and Bangor.

Boner.

Syr, I haue talked with you manye tymes, and haue caused you to bee talked with of manye learned men [Page 1823](#) yea and honourable both Temporall and Spirituall, and it auayleth nothing with you, I am blamed that I haue brought thee afore so many: for they say, thou gloryest to haue many to talke withall. Well, nowe it lyeth thee vpon to looke to thy selfe: for thy time draweth neare to an ende, if thou doe not become conformable. And at this presente we are sent from the Synode to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the vnity of the Church of Rome with vs, and acknowledge the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament of the aultar with vs, all that is past shalbe forgeuen, and you receiued to fauor.

Worcest.

Mayster Philpot, we are sent (as you here haue heard,* by my Lord of London) from the Synode, to offer you mercy, if you will receiue it. And of good will I beare you, I wishe you to take it, whilst it is offered, and bee not a singular man agaynste a whole multitude of learned men, which now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to deuise thinges to doe you good. There haue manye learned men talked with you: why should you think your selfe better learned thē them all? Be not of such arrogancy, but haue humility, and remember there is no saluatiō but in the church.

Bangor.

Me thinketh my Lorde hath sayde wonderfullye well vnto you, that you shoulde not thinke your selfe so well learned, but other men are as well learned as you, neither of so good wit, but other be as wise as you, neither of so good memory, but other haue as good memory as you. Therfore mistrust your owne iudgement, and come home to vs agayne.* I wis I neuer liked your Religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true Religion. And I was that same maner of man then that I am now, and a greate manye moe. Mary, for feare we held our peace, and bare with that time. Wherefore M. Philpot, I would you did wel, for I loue you: & therefore be content to come home with vs agayne into the catholicke church of Rome.

Phil.

Where, my Lorde (as I may begin first to aunswere you) you say, that Religion is to be misliked, which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you geue not mē occasion to thinke the same by yours at this day, which haue none other argument to stand by,* but violence. If you can shewe me by any good sufficient ground, whereby to ground my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true Catholicke church, wherunto you cal me, I wil gladly be of the same: otherwise I can not so soone chaunge the Religion I haue learned these many yeares.

Bangor.

Where was your Religion (I pray you) an hundred yeares agoe, that any man knew of it?

Phil.

*It was in Germany, and in diuers other places apparant.

Worc.

Jesus, will you be still so singuler a man? What is Germany to the whole world?

Boner.

My Lordes, I pray you geue me leaue to tell you, that I sent for him to heare masse, this morning: and wote you what excuse he made vnto me? forsoothe that he was accursed, alledging his own shame. He playeth as y^e varlet Latimer did at Cambridge.* When the Uicechancellor sent for him (who intended to haue excommunicated him for some of his heresies) & the Chancellor was cōming to hys chamber, he hearing that the Chancellor was comming, made answere that he was sick of the plague, & so deluded the Chancellor: euen so this man sayth, he is acursed, because he will not come to masse.

Worc.

My Lorde (I am sure) here doth behaue hymselfe like a father vnto you: therfore be admonished by him, and by vs that come now frendly vnto you, and folow your fa'thers before you.

Phil.

It is forbidden vs of God by the Prophet Ezechiel, to folow our fathers, neither to walke in theyr commaundementes.

Worc.

It is written also in an other place: Interroga patres: Aske of your fathers.*

Phil.

We ought to aske in deed our fathers that haue more experience and knowledge then we, of Gods will, but no more to allow them, then we perceiue they agree with the Scripture.

Worc.

You will be a contentious man, I see well: and S. Paul saith, that we, neither the church of god haue no such custome.

Phil.

I am not contentious but for the verity of my fayth, in y^e which I ought to contēd with all such as do impugne the same without any iust obiection.

Worc.

Let vs rise my Lord, for I see we shall doe no good.

Boner.

Nay, I pray you tary and heare the articles I laye to his charge. And after he had recited them, they arose, & after standing they reasoned with me a while,

Worc.

Mayster Philpot, I am very sory that you will bee so singular. I neuer talked with none yet in my Dioces, but after once cōmunication had with me, they haue bene contēted to reuoke theyr errors, & to teach the people how they were deceiued, & so do muche good, as you may, if you list. For as I vnderstande you were Archdeacon of Winchester (which is the eye of the Bishop) and you maye doe much good in that countrey, if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholicke church.

Phil.

Wherwithall you so soone persuaded thē to your wil, I see not Errour, that I knowe, I holde none, and of the Catholicke Church I am sure I am.

Worc.

The Catholicke Churche doeth acknowledge a reall presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and so wyll not you.

Phil.

That is not so: For I acknowledge a very essentiall presence in the duely using of the sacrament.

Worc.

What, a reall presence?

Phil.

Yea, a reall presence by the spirite of God in the right administration.

Worc.

That is well sayd: and do you agree with the Catholicke church also?

Phil.

I do agree with the true catholicke church.

Worc.

My Lord of Londō, this man speaketh reasonably now.

Boner.

You do agree in generalities, but whē it shal come to the particularities, you will farre disagree.

Worc.

Well keepe your selfe here, and you shall haue other learned Bishops to commō further with you, as my lord of Duresme, and my Lord of Chichester (whome I heare say) you do like well.

Phil.

I doe like them as I doe all other that speaketh the truth. I haue once already spoken with them, & they foude no fault with me.

Worc.

Pray in the meane season for grace to God.

Phil.

Prayer is the comfortablest exercise I feele in my trouble, and my cōscience is quiet, and I haue the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruites of heresy.

Worc.

We will bid you farewell for this time.

Phil.

AFTER diner they called for me agayne,* and demaūded of me whether I meant as I spake before diner, and not to go from it. To whom I aunswered that I would not go from that I had sayd.

Worc.

You sayd at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burne you, we should burne a catholick mā. Will you be a Catholicke man, and stand to the catholicke Church.

Phil.

I will stand to the true catholicke church.*

Worc.

Will you stand to the catholicke church of Rome?

Phil.

If you can proue the same to be the catholicke church I will be one therof.

Worc.

Did not Christ saye vnto Peter, and to all hys successors of Rome: Pasce oues meas, pasce agnos meos? Feed my sheepe, feed my Lambes? which doth signify, that he gaue him a more authority then the rest.

Phil.

That saying perteyneth nothing to the authority of Peter aboue others, but declareth what Christ requireth of his beloued Apostles, that they should with all diligence preache to the flocke of Christ, the waye of saluation, and that doeth the iteration of feeding spoken to Peter, onelye signify. But the Bishoppe of Rome litle regardeth thys spirituall feeding,* and therefore he hath

imagined an easier way to make himselfe Lord of the whole world, yea and of Gods word too, and doth not feede Christes flock as Peter did.

Worc.

How can you tell that?

Phil.

Yes, I haue bene there, and I coulde not learne of all his countrymen, what euer he preacheth.

Worc.

Though hee preacheth not one waye, he preacheth an other, by procuring good order for the Church to bee kept in.

Phil.

I am sure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaueth that he is commaunded of Christ, & setteth forth his owne decrees to deface the Gospell.

Worc.

It is the euill liuing that you haue seene at Rome, that causeth you to haue this ill iudgemēt of the church of Rome. I cannot tarry nowe with you to reason further of the matter. How say you to the reall presence of the sacrament, will you stand to that?

Phil.

I do acknowledge (as I haue sayd) a reall presēce of the sacrament in the due administration therof,* to the worthy receiuers by the spirit of God.

Worc.

You adde now a great many moe wordes then you did before: and yet you say more of the Sacrament, then a great many will do.

Thus they departed: and after them came in to me D. Chadsey, and D. Wright Archdeacon of Oxforde,* with a great many moe.

Chadsey.

Mayster Philpot, here is mayster Archdeacon of [Page 1824](#) Oxford come to you, to geue you good counsell: I pray you heare him.

Phil.

I will refuse to heare none that will counsell me any good: and if any can bring any matter better then I haue, I will sticke therunto.

Wright.

I would wyssh you, Mayster Philpot to agree with the Catholique Church, and not to stande in your owne conceite: you see a great many of learned mē against you.

Phil.

I am (Mayster Doctor) of the vnfayned Catholicke Church, and will liue and dye therein: and if you can proue your church to be the true Catholicke church, I wil be one of the same.

Wright.

I came not to dispute with you, but to exhorte you. Here be better learned then I that can enforme you better then I.

Chad.

What prooffe woulde you haue? I will prooue vnto you our church to haue his being and foūdatiō by the scriptures,* by the Apostles, and by the primitiue church, confirmed with the bloud of martyrs, and the testimony of al Confessours.

Phil.

Geue me your hand, M. Doctor, proue that, & haue with you.

Chadsey.

If I hadde my Bookes here, I coulde soone prooue it,* I will goe fet some: and with that he wente and fet his booke of Annotations, saying: I can not bring my Bookes well, therefore I haue brought my booke of Annotations, and turned there to a Common place of the Sacrament, asking me whether the Catholicke Church did not allow the presence of Christes body in the Sacrament, or no? I heare say, you doe confesse a reall presence: but I wil be hanged, if you wil abide by it. You will denie it by and by.

Phil.

That I haue sayd, I cannot deny, neither intend not, whatsoever ye say.

Chad.

If there be a reall presence in the Sacrament, then euill men receiue Christ, which thing you wil not graunt, I am sure.

Phil.

I denye the Argument. For I doe not graunte in the Sacrament,* by transubstantiatiō any reall presence, as you falsly imagine, but in the due administration to y^e worthy receiuers.

Chad.

I will prooue that the euill and wicked men eate the body of Christ, as well as the good men, by Saynt Austine here.

Phil.

And in the beginning of his Texte Sayncte Augustine seemeth to approoue his assertion: but I bade hym reade out to the end, and there saynt Austine declareth that it was quodam modo,* after a certayne maner the euill men receiued the body of Christ, which is sacramentally onely, in the vtter signes, and not really, or in deede, as the good doth. And thus all the Doctours that you seeme to bring in for your purpose, be quite against you, if you did rightly weigh them.

Chad.

By God you are a subtile felow. See how he would writhe S. Austines wordes.

Phil.

See who of vs wrieth S. Augustine more, you or I, which take his meaning by his owne expresse words. And seing you charge me of subtletye, what subtletye is this of you, to say, that you will proue your matter of the churche euen from the beginning,* promising to shew your Bookes therin, and when it commeth to the shewing, you are able to shew none, and for want of prooffe slip into a bymatter, & yet faynt in the prooffe thereof. Afore God you are bare arst in all your religion.

Chad.

You shalbe cōstrained to come to vs at length, whether you will, or no.

Phil.

Holde that argument fast: for it is the best you haue, for you haue nothing but violence.

¶The thirteenth examination of Mayster Philpot, before the Archbishop of Yorke, and diuers other Bishops.

*The Thursday after, I was called in the morning before the Archbishop of Yorke, the Byshop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bath, and the Bishop of London. The Byshop of Chichester being first come, beganne to talke with me.

Chich.

I am come of good will to talke with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the Catholicke church, & to will you mistrust your owne iudgement, & to learn first to haue humility, & by the same to learne of others that be better learned then you, as they did learne of such as were their betters before them.

Phil.

We must all be taughte of God, and I will with all humilitie learne of them that will infourme me by Gods worde, what I haue to doe. I confesse I haue but little learning in respect of you, * that both of your yeares and great exercise to excell therein: but fayth consisteth not onely in learning, but in simplicitie of beleuing that whiche Gods woorde teacheth. Therefore I will bee gladd to heare both of your Lordshippe, and of any other (that God hath reuealed vnto by hys word) the true doctrine therof, and to thank you, that it doth please you to take paynes herein.

Chich.

You take the first alleged, amisse, as though all men should be taught by inspiratiō, and not by learning. How do we beleue the gospel, but by the authority of the church and because the same hath allowed it?

Phil.

S. Paule sayth: He learned not the Gospell by men, * neyther of men, but by the reuelatiō of Iesus Christ: which is a sufficient prooffe that the Gospell taketh not his authoritie of man, but of God onely.

Chich.

S. Paule speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Phil.

Nay, hee speaketh of the Gospell generally, Whyche commeth not from man, but from God, * and that the Church must onely teach that which commeth from God, and not mans preceptes.

Chich.

Doth not Saynt Augustine say: I would not beleue the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not mooue me thereto?

Phil.

I graunte that the authoritye of the Church doeth moue the vnbeleeuers to beleue, but yet the Church geueth not the woorde his authority: * for the woorde hath his authority onely from God, and not of man: mē be but disposers thereof. For firste the woorde hath his beyng before the Church, and the woorde is the foundation of the church: and first is the foundation sure, before the building theron can be stedfast.

Chich.

I perceiue you mistake me. I speake of the knowledge of the Gospell, and not of the authority: for by the church we haue all knowledge of the Gospell.

Phil.

I confesse that. For fayth commeth by hearing, and hearing by the woorde. * And I acknowledge that God appoynteth an ordinarye meanes for men to come vnto the knowledge now, and not myraculously, as he hath done in times past: yet we that be taught by men must take heede that we learne nothing els but that which was taught in the Primitiue church by reuelation. Here came in the Byshop of Yorke, and the Bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and commoned a while together, the Archbishop of Yorke called me vnto them, saying,

Yorke.

Syr, wee hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to enforme you, & to bring you into y^e true fayth, and to the catholicke church againe, * willing you first to haue humility, and to be humble & willing to learne of your betters: for els we can do no good with you. And god sayth by his Prophet: On whom shall I rest, but on the humble & meeke, and such as tremble at my word. Now if you will so be, we will be glad to trauell with you.

Phil.

I know that humility is the doore wherby we enter vnto Christ, and I thanke his goodnes I haue entred in at the same vnto him, & with all humility heare whatsoever truth you shall speake vnto me.

Yorke.

What be the matters you stande on, and require to be satisfied in?

Phil.

My Lord, & it please your grace, we were entred into a good matter before you came, of the church and howe we should know the truth but by the church.

Yorke.

In deede that is the head, we neede to begynne at. For the church being truely knowne, we shal sooner agree in the particular thinges.

Phil.

If your Lordships can proue the church of Rome to be y^e true catholicke church it shall do much to persuaide me toward that you would haue me encline vnto.

Yorke.

Why, let vs go to the definition of the church. What is it?

Phil.

It is a Congregation of people, dispersed throughe the worlde, agreeing together in the woorde of GOD,* vsing the Sacramentes and al other thinges according to the same.

Yorke.

Your definition is of many wordes to no purpose.

Phil.

I do not precisely define the church, but declare vnto you what I thinke the church is.

Yorke.

Is the church visible or inuisible?

Phil.

It is both visible and inuisible.* The inuisible church is of all the electes of God onely: the visible consisteth of both good and bad, vsing all thinges in fayth, according to Gods word.

Yorke.

The church is an vniuersall congregation of fayth full people in Christ through the world: which this worde Catholick doth well expresse: for what is Catholicke els? * doth it not signify vniuersall?

Phil.

The church is defined by S. Austine to be called Catholike [Page 1825](#) in this wyse: Ecclesia ideo dicitur Catholica, quia vniuersaliter perfecta est & in nullo claudicat: The Church is called therefore Catholike, because it is throughly perfect, and halteth in nothyng.

Yorke.

Nay, it is called Catholike, because it is vniuersally receyued of all christian nations for the most part.*

Ph•lpot.

The Church was Catholique in the Apostles tyme: yet was it not vniuersally receyued of the worlde: but because their Doctrine whiche they had receyued of Christ, was perfect, and appoynted to be preached and receyued of the whole world, therefore it is called the Catholike fayth, and all persons receiuyng the same, to be counted the catholike church. And S. Austine in another place writeth, that the catholike church is that which beleeueth aright.

Yorke.

If you wyll learne, I wyll shewe you by Saint Austine,* writing agaynst the Donatistes, that he proueth the catholick Church by two principall pointes, which is, vniuersality and succession of Bishops in one Apostolical Sea from time to time. Now thus I will make myne argument.

*The Church of Rome is vniuersal, and hath her succession of bishops from time to time.

Ergo, it is the Catholicke Church.

How answer• you to this argumēt?

Phil.

I denye the antecedent, that the Catholique Church is onely knowne by vniuersality, and succession of Byshops.

Yorke.

I will prooue it. And with that he brought forth a booke which he had noted out of the Doctours, and turned to his common places therein of the church, and recited one or two out of S. Austine, & specially out of his Epistle written agaynst the Donatistes, where S. Austine manifestly * proueth, that the Donatistes were not the catholick church, because they had no successiō of bishops in their opinion, neither vniuersality: & the same force hath S. Austines argument agaynst you.

Phil.

My Lorde, I haue weighed the force of that Argument before now, & I perceiue it maketh nothing agaynst me, neither it commeth to your purpose. For I will stand to y^e triall of S. Austine for the approbatiō of the catholick Church, wherof I am. For S. Austin speaketh of vniuersality ioyned with verity, & of faythfull successours of Peter, before corruption came into the Church. And so if you can deduce your argumēt for the sea of Rome now, as S. Austin might do in his time, I woulde say it might bee of some force: otherwise not.

Yorke.

S. Austine proueth the Catholicke church * principally by succession of bishops, and therfore you vnderstād not S. Austen. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatistes, agaynst whom he wrote? Can you tell? What country were they of?

Phil.

They were a certayne sect of men, affirming among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacramentes depended vpon the worthines of the Minister: so that if the minister were good, the sacraments which he ministred were auayleable or els not.

Chichest.

That was theyr error, and they had none other but that: * And he read another authority of S. Austen out of a booke, which he brought euen to the same purpose that the other was.

Phil.

I challenge saynt Austen to be with me throughly in this poynt, & wil stand to his iudgement, taking one place with an other.

Chich.

*If you will not haue the Church to be certeine: I pray you by whom will you be iudged in matters of controuersy?

Phil.

I doe not deny the Churche to be certayne: but I denye that it is necessarily tyed to any place, longer then it abideth in the word, & for all controuersies the word ought to be iudge.

Chich.

But what if I take it one way, and you an other? how then?

Phil.

S. Austine sheweth a remedye for that, and willeth, quòd vnus locus per plura intelligi debeat: *That one place of the Scripture ought to be vnderstand by the moe.

Yorke.

How aunswere you to this argument?

*Rome hath knowne succession of Bishoppes whiche your church hath not.

Ergo, that is the Catholick Church, and yours is not, because there is no suche succession can be proued for your Church.

Phil.

I denye (my Lorde) that succession of Bishoppes is an infallible point to know the church by: for there may be a succession of bishops knowne in a place, * and yet there be no church, as at Antioche and at Hierusalem, and in other places, where y^e Apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops succession of doctrine withall (as S. Austen doth) I will graunt it to be a good prooffe for the Catholick church: * but a locall successiō onely is nothing vayneable.

Yorke.

You will haue no church then, I see well.

Phil.

Yes, my Lord, I acknowledge the catholicke church, as I am bound by my Creed: but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true.

Chich.

Why, is there two catholicke churches then?

Phil.

No, I know there is but one catholicke Church, but there haue bene and be at this present, that take vpō them the name of Christ & of his church, which be not so in deed, as it is written: That there be that call themselues Apostles & be not so in deed, but the Synagogue of Sathan and lyers: * And now it is with vs, as it was with the two women in Salomons time, whiche lay together, * and the one suppressed her childe, and afterward went about to challenge the true mothers childe.

Chich.

What a babling is here with you nowe? I see you lacke humilitie. You will goe aboute to teache, and not to learne.

Phil.

My lords, I must desire you to beare with my hasty speech: it is my infirmity of nature. All that I speake is to learne by. I would you did vnderstād all my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through better authority.

Chich.

My Lord, and it please your grace, turne the argument vpon him, which you haue made, and let him shewe the succession of the Bishoppes of his Church, as we can doe. How saye you, canne you shewe the succession of Byshops in your Church from time to time? I tell you, this argument trubled Doctour * Ridley so sore, that he coulde neuer answeere it: yet he was a man well learned, I dare say you will say so.

Phil.

He was a man so learned, that I was not woorthye to cary his bookes for learning.

Chich.

I promise you he was neuer able to aunswere that. He was a man that I loued well, and he me: for he came vnto me diuers times being in prison, and conferred with me.

Phil.

I wonder, my Lord, you should make this argumēt which you would turne vpon me, for the trial of my church whereof I am, or that you would make bishop Ridley so ignoraunt that he was not able to aunswere it, since it is of no force. For behold, first I denyed you that local succession of Bishops in one place, is a necessary poynt alone to proue the Catholicke church by, and that which I haue denyed, you can not proue: * and is it then reason that you should put me to the triall of that, which by you is vnproued, and of no force to conclude agaynst me.

Chich.

I see, my Lordes, we doe but loose our labours to reason with him: he taketh himselfe better learned then wee.

Phil.

I take vpon me the name of no learning? I boaste of no knowledge, but of fayth & of Christ, & that I am bound vndoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do.

Chich.

These hereticks take vpō thē to be sure of al things they stād in. You should say rather with humility, I trust I know Christ, then that you be sure therof.*

Phil.

Let hym doubte of his fayth that listeth: God geue me alwayes grace to beleue that I am sure of true fayth & fauour in Christ.

Bath.

How will you be able to answere heretickes, but by the determination of the knowne Catholicke church?

Phil.

I am able to answere all heretickes by the woord of God and conuince them by the same.

Chich.

Howe arrogantlye is that spoken? I dare not say so.

Phil.

My Lord, I pray you beare with me: for I am bolde on the truth side, & I speake somewhat by experience that I haue had with hereticks: and I know the Arians be the subtlelest that euer were, & yet I haue manifest scriptures to beat them downe withall.

Chichester.

I perceiue nowe you are the same manner of man I haue heard of, whiche will not be satisfied by learning.

Phil.

Alas, my Lord, why do you say so? I do desire moste humbly to be taught, if there be any better way y^t I should learne: and hitherto you haue shewed me no bett•r: therefore I praye your Lordshippe not to misiudge without a cause.

Bath.

If you be the true Catholicke church, then will you hold with the real presence of Christ in y^e sacrament, which the true church hath euer mainteined.

Phil.

And I my Lord, with the true Churche doe holde the same in the due ministration of the sacrament: but I desire you, my Lord, there may be made a better conclusiō in our first matter, before we enter into any other: for if y^e Church [Page 1826](#) be proued, we shall soone agree in the rest. In the meane while my Lorde of Yorke was turning his booke for moe places to helpe forth his cause.

Yorke.

*I haue found at length a very notable place, which I haue looked for all this while, of S. Austine De simplicitate credendi.

Chich.

It is but folly (my Lorde) that your Grace doe read him any moe places, for he esteemeth them not.

Phil.

I esteeme them, in as muche as they bee of force: as your Lordship doth heare me deny no doctors you bring, but onely require the true application of them, according to the writers meaning, & as by his owne wordes may be proued.

Yorke.

I will reade him the place, and so make an end. After he had read the sentence▪ he sayde, that by foure speciall poynts here S. Austine proueth the catholick church. The first is, by the consent of all nations, the secōd, by the Apostolick Sea, the third, by vniuersalitie, & the fourth, by this word Catholicke.

Chich.

That is a notable place in deede▪ and it please your Grace.

Phil.

I pray you, my Lord, of what church doth S. Austine write the same, of Rome, or not?

Yorke.

Yea, he writeth it of the Church of Rome.

Phil.

I will lay with your Lordshippe as much as I can make, it is not so▪ and let the booke be sene.

Bath.

What art thou able to lay, that hast nothing.

Yorke

Doth he not make mention here of the Apostolicke sea, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Phil.

That is very straitly interpreted my lord, as though the Apostolicke Sea had bene no where els but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet shall you neuer verify y^e same, vnlesse all the other conditions do go therewith as S. Augustine doth proceed withal, wherof none except the Apostolicke sea can now bee verified of the Church of Rome. For the fayth which that Sea now maynteineth hath not the consent of al nations neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot haue the name of Catholick, because it differeth frō the Catholicke Churches which the Apostles planted, almost in all thinges.

Yorke.

Nay, he goeth about here to proue the Catholicke Church by vniuersality:^{*} & how can you shew your church to be vniuersall fifty, or an hundreth yeares ago?

Phil.

That is not materiall, neither any thing agaynst S. Augustine. For my church (wherof I am) were to be coūted vniuersal, though it were but in x. persōs, because it agreeth w^t the same that the Apostles vniuersally did plant.

Yorke.

I perceiue you are an obstinate man in your opinion, & will not be taught: wherefore it is but lost labour to talke with you any lenger: you are a member to be cut of.

Chichester.

I haue heard of you before how you troubled the good Bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you that I haue heard.

Phil.

I trust you see no euill in me by this. I desire of you a sure ground to build my fayth on, & if you shew ne none, I pray you speake not ill of him that meaneth well.

Chichester.

Thou art as * impudent a fellow as I haue cōmuned withall.

Phil.

That is spoken vncharitably my Lord, to blaspheme him whom you can not iustly reprove.

Chich.

Why, you are not God. Blasphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man.

Phil.

Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy layde to man speaking in Gods cause, as you now do lay vnto me for speaking freely the truth afore GOD, to maynteyne your vayne Religion. You are voyd of all good ground. I perceiue you are blind guides and leaders of the blinde, & therfore (as I am bounde to tell you) very hipocrites, tyrannously persecuting the trueth, which otherwise by iust order you are able to conuince by no meanes. Your owne doctors and testimonies which you bring, be euidently agaynst you, and yet you will not see the truth.

Chichest.

*Haue we this thanke for our good will comming to instruct thee?

Phil.

My Lordes, you must beare with me, since I speake in Christes cause:* and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slayne by you, because they will not consent to the dishonor of God, and to hypocrisie with you. If I told you not your fault it should be required at my hands in the day of iudgement. Therfore know you (ye hypocrites in deed) that it is the spirit of God that telleth you your sinne, & not I. I passe not (I thank God) of al your cruelty. God forgeue it you, & geue you grace to repent. And so they departed.

¶An other talke the same day.

The same day at night before supper, the bishop sent for me into his chappell in the presence of y^e archdeacon Harpesfield, Doctor Chadsey, & other his Chapleines,* and his seruauntes: at what time he sayd.

Lond.

Maister Philpot, I haue by sundry meanes gone about to do you good, and I maruell you do so litle consider it: by my trueth I can not tell what to say to you. Tell me directly, whether you will be a conformable man or no, & wherupon you chiefly stand.

Phil.

I haue tolde your Lordships oftentimes playne enough, wheron I stand chiefly, requiring a sure probation of the Church wherunto you call me.

Harps.

S. Austen writing agaynst the Donatistes, declareth foure speciall notes to know the Church by: [*](#) the cōsent of many nations, the fayth of the Sacramentes confirmed by antiquity, succession of Bishops, and vniuersality.

Lond.

I pray you Mayster Archdeacon, fette the booke hither: it is a notable place, let him see it. And the booke was brought and the bishop read it, demaunding how I could aunswere the same.

Phil.

My Lorde, I like S. Austens foure poyntes for the triall of the catholicke church, whereof I am: for it can abide euery poynt therof together, which yours can not do.

Harps.

Haue not we succession of Bishops in the Sea and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our Church to be the catholicke church?

Phil.

D. Austine doth not put succession of Bishops onely to be sufficient, but he addeth the vse of the Sacramentes according to antiquity and doctrine vniuersally taughte & receiued of most nations from the beginning of the primatiue Church, the whiche your Church is farre from. But my church can auouch all these better then yours: therefore by S. Austins iudgement which you here bring, mine is the catholicke church, and not yours.

Harps. Chad.

It is but folly (my Lord) for you to reason w^t him, for he is irrecuperable. [*](#)

Phil.

That is a good shift for you to runne vnto, when you be confounded in your owne sayinges, & haue nothing else to say: you are euidently deceiued, and yet will not see it when it is layd to your face.

THus haue I at large set forth, as many of y^e sayd Iohn Philpot his examinations & priuy conferences, as are yet come to light, being faythfully written with his owne hand. And although he was diuers other times, after this examined, both openly in the Consistory at Paules, & also secretly in the bishops house: yet, what was there sayd, is not yet sufficiently knowne, either because M. Philpot was not himselfe suffered to write, or els for that his writings are by some kept close, and not brought forth otherwise thē as the bishops Register hath noted, whose handling of such matters, because it is (either for feare or for fauor of his Lord and maister) very slender, litle light of any true & right meaning can be gathered, especially in the behalfe of the answerer. Howbeit such as it is, such thought I good to put forth requiring the reader to iudge hereof according to his aunsweres in his former examinations.

¶The last examinations of M. Philpot in open iudgement, with his finall condemnation by Byshop Boner in the Consistory at Paules.

THE Bishop hauing sufficiently taken his pleasure with M. Philpot in his priuate talkes,* and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable Constancy, thought it now high time to rid his handes of him, and therefore on the 13. and 14. dayes of December, sitting iudicially in the Consistory at Paules, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for orders sake, thē for any good affection to iustice and right iudgement. The effect aswell of which two sundry their procedinges, as also of one other had y^e 11. day of the same month in his chappell, appeare in a maner to be all one. The Bishop therefore first speaking to Mayster Philpot, sayd:

Lond.

M. Philpot,* amongst other thinges that were laid and objected vnto you, these three thinges ye were especially charged and burdened withall.

The first is, that you beyng fallen from the vnitye of Christes Catholicke Church, do refuse and will not come and be reconciled thereunto.

The second is, that you haue blasphemously spoken agaynst the sacrifice of the Masse, calling it idolatry.

And the third is, that you haue spoken agaynst the sacrament of the aultar, denying the reall presence of Christes body and bloud to be in the same.

And according to the will and pleasure of the Synode legatiue, ye haue bene oft & many times by me inuited and required to go from your sayd errors and heresies, and to returne to the vnity of the catholicke Church, which if you [Page 1827](#) wil now willingly do, ye shalbe mercifully▪ & gladly receiued, charitably vsed, and haue al the fauor I can shew you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appoynted to geue sentence agaynst you, if you stande herein, & will not return. Wherefore if ye so refuse, I doe aske of you whether you haue any cause that you can shew, why I shoulde not now geue sentence agaynst you?

Phil.

Under protestatiō, not to go from my appeale that I haue made, and also not to consent to you as my cōpetent iudge, I say▪ touching your first obiection concerning the Catholick Church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the Masse, and the Sacrament of the * aultar, I neuer spake agaynst the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the Synode, I say: that these xx. yeares I haue bene brought vp in the fayth of the true catholick church, which is contrary to your church, whervnto ye woulde haue me to come: and in that time I haue bene many times sworne (as wel in the reign of K. Henry the 8. as in the reigne of good King Edward his Sonne) agaynst the vsurped power of the Bishop of Rome, which othe I thinke that I am bounde in my conscience to keepe quia teneor reddere Domino iuramentum. But if you or any of the Synode can by Gods worde perswade me that my sayd othe was vnlawfull, and that I am bound by Gods law to come to your church, faith and religion, wherof you be now, I will gladly yeld, agree, and be conformable vnto you: otherwise not.

Boner then not able with all his learned Doctours to accomplish this his offered condition,* fel to perswading of him, as well by his accustomed wayne promises, as also by blondye threatninges to returne to theyr Churche: to the which he answered.

Phil.

You and all other of your sorte are hypocrites, and I would al the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignoraunce and Idolatry.

Upon these wordes, the Bishop did for that tyme dismisse him, cōmaunding that on Monday the 16. day of the same moneth,* betwene the hours of one & three in the after noone, he shoulde agayne be brought thither, there to haue the definitiue sentence of condēnation pronounced against him, if he remayned then in his former constancy.

¶The last examination of Mayster Iohn Philpot.

AT which day and time, Mayster Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London,* Bath, Worcester, and Liechfield, Boner Bishop of London began hys talke in this maner.

London.

My Lorde Stokesley, my predecessour, when he went about to geue sentence agaynst an hereticke, vsed to make this prayer.

Deus qui errantibus vt in viam possint redire iustitiae veritatis tuae lumen ostendis,* da cunctis qui Christiana professione cēsentur, & illa respuere quae huic inimica sint nomini, & ea quae sint apta sectari per Christum dominum nostrum, Amen. Which I will folow. And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To the which Mayster Philpot sayd:

Philpot.

I would ye would speak in English, that all men might heare and vnderstand you: for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tounge that all men might vnderstand.

Wherupon the Bishop did read it in English: & when he came to these wordes: to refuse those thinges which are foes to this name, Philpot said:

Phil.

*Then they all must turne away from you: for you are enemies to that name (meaning Christes name) and God saue vs from such hypocrites as would haue thinges in a tounge that men cannot vnderstand.

London.

Whom do you meane?

Phil.

You and al other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sory to see you sit in the place that you now sitte in, pretending to execute iustice, & doe nothing lesse but deceiue all men in this Realme.

And then turning himselfe vnto the people, he farther sayd: oh all you Gentlemē, beware of these men (meaning the Bishops) and al theyr doinges, which be contrary vnto the primatiue Church. And I would knowe of you my Lord by what authority you do proceed agaynst me?*

Lond.

Because I am Bishop of London.

Philpot.

Well, then ye are not my Bishop nor I haue not offended in your Diocesse: and moreouer I haue appealed from you, and therefore by your owne law you ought not to proceed agaynst me, especially being brought hither frō an other place by violence.

Lond.

Why? who sent you hither to me?

Philpot.

That did Doctor Story and Doctor Cooke, with other the king and Queenes Commissioners: & my Lord, is it not enough for you to werry your owne sheep, but ye must also meddle with other mens sheepe?

Then the Bishop deliuered vnto Philpot two books, one of the ciuill law, and the other of the Canon, out of the which, he would haue proued that he had authority to proceede agaynst him in such sorte as he did. M. Philpot then perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender prooffe that was there alledged, sayd vnto the Bishop.

Philpot.

I perceiue your law and Diuinity is all one: for you haue knowledge in neither of them: and I woulde ye did know your owne ignoraunce: but ye daunce in a net, and thinke that no man doth see you. Hereupon they hadde much talke, but what it was, it is not yet knowne. At last Boner spake vnto him and sayd:

Lond.

Philpot, as concerning your abiectiions agaynste my iurisdiction, ye shall vnderstand that both the Ciuill & Canon lawes make against you: and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case. For it is written in the law: A iudice dispositionem iuris exequente, non est appellandum.

Phil.

My Lord it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye haue no knowledge therin,* nor that ye do vnderstand the lawe: for if ye did, ye would not bring in that Text.

Hereupon the Bishop recited a law of the Romaines that it was not lawful for a Iew to keepe a Christian man in captiuity, and to vse him as his slaue,* laying then to the sayd Philpots charge. that he did not vnderstand the law, but did like a Iew. Wherunto Philpot aunswered:

Phil.

No, I am no Iewe: but you my Lord are a Iewe. For you professe Christ and mainteine Antichrist: you professe the Gospell, & maynteine superstition, & ye bee able to charge me with nothing.

Lond. and other Bish.

With what can you charge vs?

Phil.

You are enemies to all truth, and all your doinges be noughte full of Idolatrie, sauing the Article of the Trinity.

Whilest they were thus debating the matter, there came thither syr William Garret knight then Maior of Londō,* Sir Martin Bowes knight, and Thomas Leigh, then Shiriffe of the same City, and sat downe with the sayd byshops in the sayd Consistory, where and what time bishop Boner spake these wordes in effect as foloweth.

Lond.

Philpot, before the comming of my Lord Maior, be|cause I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I haue heretofore & now intend to charge you with all, vntill his comming, I did rehearse vnto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which bishop Stokesly my predecessor vsed when he entended to proceede to geue sentence agaynst an hereticke.

And here they did agayne reade the sayd prayer both in English and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake agayne vnto him and sayd:

Lond.

Philpot, amongst other I haue to charge you especially with three thinges.

1. First, where you haue fallen from the vnity of Christs catholicke church,* you haue therupon bene inuited and required, not onely by me, but also by many & diuers others catholicke Bishops, and other learned men, to return and come agayne to the same: and also you haue bene offred by me: that if you would so returne and confesse your errors and heresydes, you should be mercifully receiued, and haue so much fauour as I could shew vnto you.

2. The second is, that you haue blasphemously spoken agaynst the sacrifice of the Masse, calling it Idolatry and abomination.

3. And thirdly that you haue spoken and holden agaynst the Sacrament of the aulter, denying the reall presence of Christes body and bloud to be in the same.

This being spoken, the Bishop recited vnto him a certayne exhortation in English, the tenour and forme wherof is this.

***Bishop Boners exhortation.**

MAyster Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the vnity of the catholicke church,* from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schisme here in this realme of England, agaynst the sea Apostolick of Rome, will now hartely & obediently be reconciled to the vnity of the same catholicke church, professing and promising to obserue & keep to the best of your power the faith and christian Religion obserued and kept of all faythfull people of the same: & moreouer if ye whiche heretofore, especially in the yere of our Lord. 1553. 1554. 1555. or in one of them, haue offended and trespassed grievously agaynst the sacrifice of the masse, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise haue offended & trespassed agaynst the sacrament of the aulter, denying the real presence of Christes body & bloud to be [Page 1828](#) there in the sacramēt of the aulter, affirming also withal material bread and materiall wine to be

in the sacrament of the aulter, & not the substaunce of the body and bloud of Christ: if yee, I say, wil be reconciled as is afore, and wil forsake your heresies and erroures before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will allowe also the sacrament of the Masse, yee shalbe mercifully receiued and charitable vsed, with as much fauoure as may be: if not, ye shalbe reputed, taken and iudged for an hereticke (as yee be in deede:) Now do you chuse what ye wil doe: you are counselled herein friendly and fauourable.

Ita est quod Ed. Boner. Epis. Lond.

The Bishoppes exhortation thus ended. M. Philpot turned himselfe vnto the Lord Maior and sayd:*

Phil.

To you my Lorde Mayor bearing the sworde, I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authoritie that hath defended the Gospell, and the truth of gods word: but I am sory to see that that authoritie whiche representeth the king and Queenes persons, should now be chaunged, and be at the commaundement of Antichrist. And ye (speaking to the Bishoppes) pretend to be the fellowes of the Apostles of Christ, & yet be very Antichristes and deceauers of the people: and I am glad that GOD hath geuen me power to stand here this daye, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore as touching your first obiection, I say that I am of the Cotholicke church,* wherof I was neuer out, and that your church (whiche ye pretend to be the Catholicke church) is the church of Rome, and so the Babilonicall and not the catholicke church: of that Church I am not.

As touching youre second obiection, whiche is, that I should speake agaynst the sacrifice of the Masse, I doe say, that I haue not spoken agaynst the true sacrifice, but I haue spoken agaynst your priuate Masses that you vse in corners, whiche is blasphemy to the true sacrifice, for your sacrifice dayly reiterated, is a blasphemye agaynst Chrystes death, and it is a lye of your own inuention. And that abhominable sacrifice which ye set vppon the aulter, and vse in your priuate Masses in steade of the liuing sacrifice, is Idolatry, and ye shal neuer proue it by Gods word: therefore ye haue deceiued the people with that your sacrifice of the Masse, which ye make a masking.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge that I deny the body and bloud of Christ to be in the sacrament of the aulter I cannot tell what aulter yee meane, whether it be the aulter of the Crosse, or the aulter of stone. And if yee call it the Sacrament of the aulter in respect of the aulter of the stone, then I defie your Christ: for it is a rotten Christ.

And as touching your transubstantiatiō, I vtterly deny it: for it was brought vp first by a Pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the Synode, whiche is gathered together in Antichristes name: proue me that to be of the catholicke Church (which ye shall neuer do) & I will follow you, and do as you would haue me to do. But yee are Idolaters, and dayly do commit Idolatry. Ye be also traytors: for in your Pulpits you rayle vpon good kings as king Henry, and king Edward his sonne, which haue stand agaynst the vsurped power of the Bishop of Rome: agaynst

whome also I haue taken an othe, which if ye can shew me by Gods law that I haue taken vniustly, I will then yeld vnto you. But I pray God turne the King and Queenes hartes from your Sinagogue and churche, for you do abuse that good Queene.

Here the Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield began to shew where the true church was, saying.

Couen.

The true catholicke church is set vpon an high hil.

Phil.

Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonicall church.

Couen.

No: in our true Catholicke church are y^e Apostles, Euangelistes, and martyrs: but before Martine Luther, ther was no Apostle, Euāgelist, or martyr of your church.

Phil.

Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesie, y^t in the latter dayes there should come false Prophetes and hipocrites, as you be?

Couen.

Your Church of Geneua, which ye call the Catholicke Church, is that which Christ prophesied of.

Phil.

I allow the church of Geneua, and the doctrine of y^e same: for it is, vna Catholica, & Apostolica, and doth follow the doctrine that the Apostles did preach: and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edwardes dayes, was also according to the same. And are yee not ashamed to persecute me and others for your Churches sake, which is Babilonicall and contrary to the true Catholicke Church?

And after this they had great conference togethers, aswell out of the Scriptures, as also out of the Doctours. But whē Boner saw that by learning they were not able to conuince M. Phil. he thought then by his diffamations to bryng him out of credite: and therefore turning himselfe vnto the Lord Mayor of London, brought forth a knyfe, and a bladder full of powder, and sayd.

London.

My Lorde, this man had a roasted pigge brought vnto him,* and this knife was put secretly betweene the skin & the flesh therof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this

pouder was sent vnto him, vnder pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eate or drinke: whiche pouder was onely to make inke to wryte withall. For when his keeper did perceauē it, he tooke it & brought it vnto me. Whiche when I did see, I thought it had bene gunpouder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burne. Then I tooke it for poyson, and so gaue it to a dogge, but it was not so. Thou I tooke a little water, and it made as fayre inke, as euer I did write withall. Therefore my Lord, you may vnderstand what a naughty fellowe this is.*

Phil.

Ah my Lord, haue ye nothing els to charge me withall but these trifles, seeing I stande vppon lyfe and death? Doth the knife in the pigge proue the churche of Rome to be a catholicke church. &c.

Then the bishop brought forth a certayne instrument conteyning Articles and Questions, agreed vpon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof yee haue mention before pag. 1428. Also he did exhibite two Bookes in Print: the one was y^e Catechisme made in king Edwards dayes. An. 1552. the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the Conuocation house, mention wherof is aboue expressed.

Moreouer hee did bring foorth and layde to Mayster Philpots charge two letters: the one touching Barthelet Greene, the other contayning godly exhortations & comfortes: which both were written vnto him by some of his godly friendes: the tenour whereof wee thought here also to exhibite.

A letter exhibited by Boner, written by some frend of M. Philpot, and sent to him concerning the handling of Mayster Greene in Boners house at London.

YOu shal vnderstand that M. Greene came vnto the Bishop of London on Sonday last, where he was curteously receaued:* for what policie the sequele declareth. His entertaynment for one day or two, was to dyne at my Lordes owne table, or els to haue his meate from thence. During those dayes hee lay in Doctor Chadseys chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deede the Bishop earnestly and faythfully promised manye right worshipful men (who were suters for him, but to him vnknown) that he in no case shoulde bee examined: before which M. Fecknam would haue had him in his frendly custody, if he would haue desired to haue conferred with him, whiche he vtterly refused. And in that the bish. objected agaynst him singularitie and obstinacie, his answere thereunto was thus: To auoyd al suspicion therof, although I my self am yong & vtterly vnlearned in respect of the learned (and yet I vnderstand, I thanke my Lord) yet let me haue such books as I shal require: and if I, by Gods spirite, do not therby answere all your books and obiections contrary therto, I wil assent to you. Wherunto the Bishop and his assented, permitting him at the first to haue suche bookes. Who at sondrye times haue reasoned with him,* and haue found him so stronge and rise in the scriptures and godly fathers, that sithens they haue not onely taken from him such libertie of bookes, but all other bookes, not leauing him so much as the new Testament. Since they haue bayted and vsed him most cruelly. This mayster Fecknam reported:* saying farther, that he neuer heard the like young man, & so perfect. What shall become farther of him God knoweth, but death I thinke for he remayneth more and more willing to dye, as I vnderstand. Concerning your bill I shal conferre with others therin, knowyng that the same Courte is able to redresse the same.* And yet I thinke it will not be reformed, for that I know

fewe or none that dare or wil speake therein, or preferre the same, because it concerneth spirituall thinges. Notwithstanding, I will assertain you therof: committing you to the holy Ghost, who keepe you & vs all as his.

Your owne. &c.

The copy of an other letter written by the faythful and Christen harted Lady^a the Lady Vane, to Mayster Philpot, exhibited lykewise by Byshop Boner.

HArty thanks rendered vnto you my welbeloued in Christ, for the booke ye sent me,* wherein I finde great consolations, and according to the doctrine therof, do prepare my cheekes to the strikers, and my womanish backe to theyr burthens of reproofe, and so in the strength of my [Page 1829](#) God I truste to leape ouer the wall: for his sweetnesse ouercommeth me dayly, & maketh al these poticary druggs of y^e world, euen medicinelike in my mouth. For the continuance wherof, I beseech thee (my deare fellow souldior) make thy faythful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtayne the reward, though it be no whit due to my worke, I am not content y^t you so often gratifie me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part & small reliefe to you. But if you would loue me so much, y^t I might supply your lackes, then would I think ye beleued my offers to be such, as agreed with my hart. And for the short charges ye speake of, y^e meanes are not so pleasant, if god (who my trust is in) will otherwise prepare: but Salomō saith: Al things haue here their time: You to day, & I to morow, & so y^e ende of Adams line is soone ronne out: The mightye God geue vs his grace, that during this time his glory be not defaced through our weakenes. Because you desire to shew your selfe a worthy souldiour, if neede so require. I will supply your request for the Scarfe yee wrote of, that ye may present my handy worke before your Captayne, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense which our beloued Christ offereth for his owne: to whom I bequeth both our bodies and soules.

Your owne in the Lord. F.E.

Ouer and besides these letters, the Bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by mayster Philpot vnto the high Court of Parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned: y^e copy wherof doth here ensue, as followeth.

To the King and Queenes Maiesties highnesse the Lordes spiritual and temporall, and the commons of this present Parliament assembled.

IN most humble wise complayneth vnto this honorable Courte of Parliament Iohn Philpot Clarke,* that where there was by the Queenes highnesse a parliament called in the first yeare of her gracious raygne, and after the olde custome a Couocation of the Clergy, your suppliant then being one of the sayd Conuocation house, and matters there rising vpon the vsing of the Sacramentes, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and hath had free speach, and ought not to be after troubled for any thinge there spoken, and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the sayd Parliament, your sayd suppliant (without any acte or matter) was commaunded to prison to the kings Benche by the late Lord Chauncellour, where he hath remayned euer sithens, vntil now of late that my Lord the B. of London, hath sent for your sayd

suppliant to examine him, (being none of his Dioces) vpon certayn matters, wherein they would haue your Oratour to declare his conscience▪ whiche the sayd bishop sayth hee hath authoritie to do, by reason of an Acte of Parliament made in the first and second yeares of the king and queenes Maiesties raignes, for the reuiuing of three Satutes made agaynst thē that hold any opinion agaynst the Catholicke fayth: whereby he affirmeth that euery Ordinary may Ex Officio examine euery mans conscience: [*](#) and for that your sayde Oratour hath and doth refuse, that the sayd Bish. of London hath any authoritie ouer your sayd Oratour, for that he is neyther Diocesane, nor hath publyshed, preached▪ nor held any opinion against the Catholicke faith (notwithstanding the said Bishop of London deteineth him in the Colehouse in the stockes, without eyther bed, or any other thing to lye vpon, but straw) and for that your sayde Oratour cannot appeale for his reliefe from the sayd Bishop, to anye other Iudge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by theyr law, and therefore hath no succour and helpe, but by this high Courte of Parliament, for the explanatiō of the sayd Acte: therefore it may please you, that it may be enacted by the kinge and Queenes Maiesties the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, that no Byshop nor Ordinary shall committe nor detain in prison, any suspect person or persones for the Catholicke fayth, except he or they haue spoken, written, or done some manifest Act against the Catholicke fayth, and the same to be lawfully proued agaynst euery such person and persons, by the testimony of two lawfull witnesses, to be brought afore the sayd person or persons so accused before he or they shal eyther be committed to prison or conuict for any such offence or offences: the sayd former statute, made in the sayd first & second yeare of our said soueraigne Lord and Lady notwithstanding. Whereby your sayde Oratour shal not only bee set at libertie, & diuers other mo remayning in prison: but also the bloude of diuers of the Quueenes Maiesties true and faythfull subiectes preserued.

The condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, Iohn Philpot.

THEse bookes, Letters, Supplications and other matters being thus read, the bishop demaunded of him, if the booke intituled The true report of the disputation. &c. were of his penning or not? Whereunto Philpot aunswered, that it was a good and true booke, and of hys owne penning and setting forth.

The bishops waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of Gods worde, or of the true ancient Catholicke fathers, [*](#) to conuince & ouercome him, fell by fayre and flattering speach, to perswade wyth him, promising that if he would reuoke his opinions, and come home agayne to their Romishe and Babilonicall Church, he should not onely be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with al fauour and chearefulnes of hart, receiue him agayne as a true member therof. Whiche words when Boner saw would take no place: hee demandeth of M. Philpot (and y^t with a charitable affection, I warrant you) whether he had any iust cause to alledge, why he shoulde not condemne him as an hereticke. [*](#) Well quoth M. Philpot: your idolatrous sacrament which you haue found out, ye would fayne defend, but ye cannot, nor neuer shall.

In the end, the Byshop seeing hys vnmoueable stedfastnes in the trueth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading wherof, when he came to these words: Teque etiam tanquam haereticum, obstinatum, pertinacem. & impenitentem. &c. M. Philpot

said, I thanke God that I am an hereticke out of your cursed Church: I am no hereticke before God. But God blesse you and geue you once grace to repent youre wicked doinges: and let all men beware of your bloody church.

Moreouer, whiles Boner was about the middest of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeue & sayd: My Lord, my Lord, knowe of him first whether hee will recant or no? Then Boner sayd (full like himselfe) oh let me alone: and so read forth the sentence.

And when he had done, hee deliuered him to the Sheriffes: * and so two officers brought him thorough the Byshops house into Pater noster rowe, & there his seruauant met him, and when he saw him, he said: Ah deare mayster.

Then M. Philpot sayd to his man: content thy self, I shall do well enough: for thou shalt see me agayne.

And so the Officers thrust him away, & had his mayster to Newgate: And as hee went, he sayde to the people: Ah good people, blessed be God for this day: and so y^e Officers deliuered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his mayster, and one of the Officers sayd vnto him: hence fellow what shouldest thou haue? And he sayd I would goe speake with my Mayster? M. Philpot then turned him about, and sayde to him, to morow you shall speake with me.

Then y^e vnder keeper said to Mayster Philpot: is this your man? And he sayd, yea. So he did licence his man to go in with him, and M. Philpot and his mā were turned into a litle chamber on the right hand, and there remained a litle time, vntil Alexander the chief keeper did come vnto hym: who at his entring, greeted him with these words Ah, sayd he, hast not thou done well to bringe thy selfe hether? Well sayde M. Philpot, I must bee content, for it is Gods appointmēt: & I shal desire you to let me haue your gentle fauour: * for you and I haue bene of olde acquayntaunce. Well sayd Alexander, I will shew thee gentlenes and fauour, so y^u wilt be ruled by me. Then sayd M. Philpot: I pray you shew me what you would haue me to do.

He sayd, if you would recāt, I will shew you any pleasure I can. Nay, sayd M. Phil. I wil neuer recant whylest I haue my life, that which I haue spoken, for it is a most certayne truth, and in witnesse hereof, I will seale it wyth my bloud. Then Alexander sayd: This is the saying of all the whole packe of you heretickes. Whereupon hee commaunded him to be set vpon the block, * and as many irons vpon his legges as he might beare, for that he would not follow hys wicked minde.

Then the Clarke tolde Alexāder in his eare that maister Philpot hadde geuen hys man money. And Alexander sayd to his man: what money hath thy mayster geuen thee? His man said: my mayster hath geuen me none. No sayd Alexander? hath he geuē thee none? that will I know for I will search thee. Do with me what you list, & search me all that you can, quoth hys s•ruauant. Hee hath geuen me a tokē or two, to send to hys frends, as to hys brother and sister. Ah sayd Alexander to M. Philpot: Thou art a mayntayner of heretickes. Thy man should haue gone to some of thyne affinitie: but he shal be known wel enough. Nay, sayd M. Philpot: I do send it to my frendes. There he is: let him make aunswere to it. But good mayster Alexander, be so much my frend, that these irons may be taken of. Well, sayd Alexander, geue me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt weare them still.

[Page 1830](#) Then sayd Mayster Philpot, sir, what is your fees? he sayd, foure pound was his fees, Ah sayd mayster Philpot I haue not so muche: I am but a poore man, and I haue bene long in prison. What wilt thou geue me then, said Alexander? Syr (sayd he) I will geue you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or elles I will lay my gowne to gage: for the time is not long (I am sure) that I shal be with you: for the bishop sayd vnto me that I shuld be soone dispatched.

Then sayd Alexander vnto him, what is that to me? & with that he departed from him, and commaunded hym to be had into Limbo,* and so his commaundement was fulfilled: but before he could be taken from the blocke, y^e clark would haue a grote.

Then one Wittrence, Steward of the house, took hym on his backe,* and caryed him downe, hys manne knewe not whether. Wherefore mayster Philpot sayd to his man: go to maister Sheriffe and shew hym how I am vsed, and desire maister Sheriffe to be good vnto me. And so hys seruante went straghtway, and tooke an honest manne with him.

And when they came to mayster Sheriffe (whiche was Maister Macham) and shewed him howe mayster Phil. was handled in Newgate. The Sheriffe hearyng this, tooke his ring of from his finger, and deliuered it vnto y^e honest man whiche came with M. Philpots man, and bad him go vnto Alexander y^e keeper, & cōmanded him to take of his irons, and to handle him more gentlye, and to geue his man again y^t which he had taken from him. And when they came agayn to the sayd Alexāder, & told their message from the Sheriffe, Alexander tooke the ring, and said: Ah, I perceauē that mayster Sheriffe is a bearer with him,* & all such heretickes as he is: therfore to morow I wil shew it to his betters: Yet at x. of the clocke he went into Mayster Philpot where he lay, and tooke of his irons, & gaue him such things as he had taken before from hys seruant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being y^e 17. day of December there came a messenger from the Sheriffes, and bad M. Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. M. Philpot aunswered and sayd, I am ready: God graunt me strength, and a ioyfull resurrection. And so he went vnto his chamber, and poured out his spirit vnto y^e Lord God, geuing him most hartly thanks that he of his mercy had made hym worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the Sheriffes came according to the order, about viii. of the clocke, and calleth for him, & he most ioyfully came downe vnto them. And there his man dyd meete him, and sayd: A deare maister, farewell. His mayster sayd vnto him, serue God and he will helpe thee.* And so he went with the Sheriffes vnto the place of execution: and when he was entring into Smithfield, the way was foule, & two officers tooke him vp to beare him to y^e stake. Then he sayd merily, what? will you make me a Pope? I am content to goe to my iourneys end on foote.* But first comming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there saying these wordes: I will pay my vowes in thee O Smithfield.

And whē he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake & saide:* shall I disdayne to suffer at this stake seeing my redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death vpon the Crosse for me? And then with an obedient hart full meekely he sayd the Cvi.Cvii. and Cviii. Psalms: and

when he had made an end of all hys prayers,* he said to the officers: What haue you done for me? & euery one of thē de|clared what they had don: & he gaue to euery of thē mony.

Then they bound hym vnto the stake, and set fire vnto that constant martyr: Who the xviii. day of December, in the middest of the fiery flames, yelded his soule into the handes of y^e almighty God, and full like a lambe gaue vp his breath his body being consumed into ashes.

Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the lyfe and doyngs of this learned and worthy souldiour of y^e Lord,* Iohn Philpot: w^t all his examinations that came to our handes: first penned and written with his owne hand, beyng meruaylously reserued from the sight and hands of hys enemies: who by all maner meanes sought not onely to stop hym from al writing, but also to spoyle and depriue him of that which he had written. For the which cause he was manye tymes stripped and searched in the prison of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writinges were conueyed and hid in places about him or els hys keepers eies so blinded that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the Bishops, they are yet remayning and come to light.

A prayer to be sayd at the stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

MERCifull God and father, to whome oure sauour Christ approched in his feare and neede by reason of death,* & found comfort: Gracious God and most bounteous Christe on whome Stephen called in his extreeme neede, and receiued strength: Most benigne holy spirite, whiche in the middest of all Crosses and death, diddest comfort the Apostle S. Paule, with more consolations in Christ, then he felt sorowes and terrors, haue mercy

[illustration]

☞The martirdome of maister Iohn Philpot Archdeacon, with the manner of his kneeling, and praying at the stake.

[Page 1831](#) vpon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now drawe neare the gates of death, deserued both in soule and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, olde and new transgressions, which to thyne eyes (O Lorde) are open and knowne: Oh be mercifull vnto me, for the bitter death and bloudshedding of thine owne onely sonne Iesus Christ. And though thy iustice do require (in respect of my sinnes) that nowe thou shouldest not heare me, measuring me with the same measure I haue measured thy Maiesty contemning thy dayly calles: yet let thy mercy whiche is aboue all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) preuaile towardes me, through and for the mediation of Christ our sauour. And for whose sake in that it hathe pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record bearer of thy veritye and trueth taught by him, to geue my life therefore (to which dignitie I do acknowledge dear God that ther was neuer any so vnworthy and so vnmeet, no not the thief that hāged with him on the Crosse): I most hūbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldest, accordingly, ayde, helpe, & assiste me with thy strength and heauenly grace, that with Christe thy sonne I may finde comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence, and gracious power, with Paule and all others whiche for thy names sake haue suffered affliction and death, I may finde so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my deathe glorifie thy holy name, propagate, and ratifie thy veritie,

comfort the hartes of the heauy, confirme thy Church in thy veritie, conuert some that are to be conuerted, and so depart foorth of thys miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heape sinne vpon sinne, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy: wherof now geue and encrease in me a liuely truste, sense, and feelinge, wherethrough the terrours of death, the tormentes of fire, the panges of sinne, the dartes of Sathan, and the dolours of hel may neuer depresse me, but may be driuen away thorough the working of that most gracious spirite: which now plenteously endue me withall, that through the same spirite I may offer (as I nowe desire to do in Christ by him) my selfe wholly soule and body, to be a liuely sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight. Deare Father, whose I am, and alwayes haue bene, euen from my mothers wombe, yea euen before the world was made, to whome I commend my selfe, soule and body, family, and frendes, countrey and all the whole Church, yea euen my very enemies, accordynge to thy good pleasure,* beseeching thee intirely to geue once more to this Realme of England, the blessing of thy word agayn, with godly peace, to the teaching & setting forth of the same. Oh dear father, now geue me grace to come vnto thee. Purge and so purifie me by this fire in Christes death and Passion through thy spirite, that I may be a burnt offering of sweete smell in thy sight which liuest and raignest with the sonne and the holy God, nowe and euermore world without end. Amen.

¶Letters of Mayster Philpot.

¶A letter which he sent to the christian congregation exhorting them to refrayne from the Idolatrous seruice of the papists, and to serue God after his word.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England,* the faithles departing both of men & women frō y^e true knowledge & vse of Christes sincere religion, which so plētifully they haue bene taught & do know, their own consciences bearing witnes to the veritie thereof. If that earth be cursed of God,* which eftsoones receiuing moisture & pleasant dewes from heauen, doth not bring forth fruite accordingly: how much more greuous iudgemēt shal such persons receiue, which hauing receiued from the father of heauē the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry therof,* do not shew forth Gods worship after the same? If the Lord wil require in the day of iudgemēt a godly vsury of all maner of talentes which he sendeth vnto men & women how much more wil he require the same of his pure religion reuealed vnto vs (which is of al other talents the chieftest & most pertayning to our exercise in this life) if we hide the same in a napkin and set it not forth to y^e vsurye of Gods glory, and edifying of his church by true confessiō? God hath kindled the bright light of his Gospel, which in times past was suppressed & hid vnder y^e vile ashes of mās traditiōs, and hath caused the brightnes therof to shine in our harts,* to y^e end y^t the same might shine before men to y^e honor of his name. It is not onely geuen vs to beleue, but also to confesse & declare what we beleue in our outwarde couersation.* For as S. Paule writeth to the Romaines: The beliefe of the hart iustifieth, and toe acknowledge wyth the mouth,*maketh a man safe. It is al one before God, not to beleue at al, & not to shew forth y^e liuely works of our belief. For Christe sayth:*Either make the tree good and his fruites good: or ells make the tree euill and the fruites euill, because a good tree bringeth forth good fruites: So that y^e person which knoweth his maysters will and doth it not,* shalbe beaten with many stripes. And not all they which say Lord Lord shall enter into the kingdome of God, but he that doth the will of the father. And whosoeuer in the tyme of tryall is ashamed of me (sayth Christ) and of my wordes, of him the sonne of man will be ashamed before his father. After that

wee haue built our selues into the true church of God,* it hath pleased him by geuing vs ouer into the hands of the wicked sinagoges, to proue our building, & to haue it knowne as wel to y^e world as to our selues y^t we haue bene wise builders into y^e true church of God vpon y^e rock, & not on the sand,* & therefore nowe the tempest is risen, and the stormes doe mightily blow agaynst vs, that wee might notwithstanding stand vpright and be firme in the Lord, to his honor and glory, and to our eternall felicitie. There is no newe thing happened vnto vs, for w^t such tãpests & dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually bene exercised. Nowe once agayne as the Prophet Aggeus telleth vs: The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for euer,* which be not ouerthrowne.

Therefore my dearely beloued, be stable and immouable in the word of God,* and in the faythfull obseruation therof, and let no man deceiue you with vayn words: saying, that you may keepe your faith to your selues, and dissemble with Antichrist, and so liue at rest and quietnes in the world, as most men doe, yelding to necessitie. Thys is the wisdom of the fleshe but the wisdom of the fleshe is death and enmitie to God,* as our sauour for ensãple aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to goe to Ierusalem to celebrate the Passouer and there to be slayn, but counselled him to looke better to himselfe.

Likewise the worlde woulde not haue vs to forsake it, neither to associate our selues to the true church which is the body of Christ, whereof we are liuely members, and to vse the sacramentes after Gods word with the danger of our liues. But we must learne to answeere the world,* as Christ did Peter, and say: Go behynd me Sathan, thou fauourest not the thinges of God. Shall I not drinke of the cup whiche the father geueth me? For it is better to bee afflicted and to be slayne in the church of God, then to be counted y^e sonne of the king and the sinagogue of false religion.* Death for righteousnes is not to be abhorred, but rather to bee desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crowne of euerlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christes martyrs, but crowne them with euerlasting felicitie, we were borne into this world to be witnesses vnto the truth, both learned and vnlearned.

Now since the time is come y^t we must shew our fayth and declare whether we will be Gods seruauntes in righteousness & holines, as we haue bene taught & are boũd to follow, or els with hipocrisie to serue vnrighteousnes: let vs take good heed that we be found faithfull in the Lords couenaut and true members of hys Church: in y^t which through knowledge we are engrafted, from the whiche if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straightly be required of vs, then many yet doe make accompt therof. We cannot serue two maysters: we may not halt on both sides, and thinke to please God:* we must bee feruent in Gods cause, or els hee will cast vs out from him. For by the first commaundement wee are commanded to loue God with all our hart, with all our mind with all our power and strength: but they are manifest transgressours of this commaundement, which with their heart, mynde or bodely power doe communicate with a straunge religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papisticall Sinagogue, which calleth it selfe the Church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so doe, as the Israelites did in tymes past by forsaking Ierusalẽ the true church of God and by going to Bethell to serue God in a congregation of theyr owne setting vp,* and after theyr own imaginations and traditions: for the which doying God vtterly destroyed all Israell, as all the Prophetes almost doe testifie. This happened vnto them for our ensample, that we might beware to haue any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

God hath one Catholicke church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our Creed to beleue one Catholicke Church, & to haue communion therewith: which catholicke church is grounded vpon y^e foundation of the Prophets and of the Apostles, and vpō none other, as S. Paule witnesseth to the Ephesians.* Therefore whersoever we perceauē any people to worship God truly after the word, there we may be certayne the church of Christe to bee: vnto the whiche we ought to associate oure selues, & to desire with the Prophet Dauid, to prayse God in y^e midst of this church.* But if we behold through iniquitie of time, segregations to be made with counterfayt religion, otherwise then the word of God doth teach, wee ought then if we be required, to be companions therof, to say agayne with Dauid:* I haue hated the Synagogue of the [Page 1832](#) malignant, and will not sit with the wicked. In the Apocalips y^e church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were Apostles, and were not in deede, & therefore would not abide the company of them. Further God commanded his people y^t they shuld not seek Bethel neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was vsed by the mouth of his Prophet Amos.* Also wee must consider that our bodies be y^e tēple of God, & whosoever (as S. Paule teacheth) doth prophane the tēple of God, him the Lord wil de|stroy.* May we thē take y^e tēple of Christ & make it y^e mēber of an harlot. All strange religion and Idolatry is counted whoredome with the Prophetes, and that more detestable in the sight of God, then the aduoutrous abuse of y^e bodye.

*Therefore the Princes of the earthe in the reuelation of S. Iohn, be sayd to go a whoring, whē they are in loue w^t false religion, and follow the same. How then by any meanes may a christian man thinke it tollerable to be present at the popish priuate Masse (which is the very prophanation of the sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation therof, in setting mans traditions aboue Gods preceptes, since God by his word iudgeth all straunge religion, whiche is not according to his institutiō, for whoredom & aduoutry.

Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not materiall, so that the hart doe not consent to theyr wicked doings.* But suche persons litle consider what S. Paule writeth to the Corinthians, commaunding them to glorifie God as well in body as in soule.

Moreouer, wee can doe no greater iniury to the true Church of Christ, then to seeme to haue forsaken her, and disallow her by cleauing to her aduersary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weake, that we allow the same & so contrary to y^e word, do geue a great offence to y^e church of God, and do outwardly sclaunder (as much as menne may) the truth of Christ. But woe be vnto hym by whom any such offence commeth. Better it were for him to haue a milstone tyed about his necke, and to bee caste into the bottome of the sea. Such be traytors to the truth, like vnto Iudas, who w^t a kisse betrayed christ. Our god is a gelous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other then of y^t vnspotted church, whereof he is the hed onely, and wherin he hath planted vs by baptisme. Thys gelousy which God hath towards vs, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against al such as now haue so large consciences to do that which is contrary to Gods glory,* and the sinceritie of hys worde, excepte they doe in time repent, and cleaue vnseperable to the Gospel of christ how much soeuer at this present both men and women otherwise in theyr owne corrupt iudgement,* do flatter thēselues.* God willeth vs to iudge vprightly, and to allow & follow that which is holy and acceptable in hys sight, and to abstayne

from all maner of euill, and therefore Christ cōmaundeth vs in the Gospell to beware of the leauen of the Phariseis, which is hipocrisie.

S. Paule to the Hebrues sayth: if any man withdraw hymselfe from the fayth, his soule shal haue no pleasure in hym: therefore he sayth also: That we are none suche as doe withdraw our selues into perdition, but wee belong vnto sayth, for the attaynment of life.* S. Iohn in the Apocalips telleth vs playnly, that none of those, who are written in y^e book of lyfe, doe receaue the marke of the beast, which is of the Papisticall Sinagogue,* eyther in theyr foreheades, or els in theyr hands, that is, aparantly or obediently.

S. Paule to the Philippians affirmeth, that wee may not haue any fellowship with the works of darkenes, but in the middest of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shyne lyke lightes vpholding the word of truth. Further hee sayth, that wee may not touch anye vncleane thing:. Which signifieth that our outward conuersation in forreigne thinges, ought to be pure and vndefiled as well as the inward, that with a cleane spirite and rectified body we might serue God iustly in holines and righteousnesse all the dayes of our life.

Finally in the 18. of the Apocalips, God biddeth vs playnely to depart from this Babilonicall Synagogue, & not to be partakers of her trespasse. S. Paule to the Thessalonians commaundeth vs in the name of the Lorde Iesus Chryst, to withdraw our selues from euery brother y^t walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution whych he had receaued of hym.

Ponder ye therefore well good brethren & sisters, these scriptures whiche be written for your crudition and reformation,* wherof one iot is not written in vayne: which bee vtterlye agaynste all counterfait illusion to bee vsed of vs w^t the papysts in theyr phantastical religion, and be aduersaryes to all them that haue so light cōsciēces in so doing: and if they do not agree wyth thys aduersary (I meane y^e word of God) which is contrary to theyr attēpts he will as it is signified in the Gospell deliuer them to the Iudge, which is Chryst,* and the Iudge will declare them to y^e executioner, y^t is the deuill, & the deuill shal commit thē to the horrible prison of hell fire (where is the portion of al hypocrites) with sulphure and brimstone,* wyth waylyng & gnashyng of teech world wythout ende. But yet manye wyll say for theyr vayne excuse: God is mercifull, and hys mercy is ouer al. But the scripture teacheth vs, that cursed is he that sinneth vpon hope of forgeuenes. Truth it is, y^t the mercy of God is aboue all his workes, & yet but vpon such as feare him: for so is it written in the Psalmes: The mercy of God is on thē that feare him, and on such as put theyr trust in him.* Wher we may learn y^t they only put theyr trust in God, that feare hym, & to feare God, is to turne from euil and to do that is good. So that such as do looke to be partakers of Gods mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest euil and detestable in y^e sight of god.

An other sort of persons doe make them a cloke for the rayne vnder the pretence of obedience to the Magistrates whome we ought to obey although they bee wicked.* But such must learne of Christ to geue to Caesar that is Cesars, and to God that is due to God, and with saint Peter to obey the hyher powers in the Lord, albeit they bee euill,* if they commaund nothing contrary to Gods word: otherwise we ought not to obey theyr commaundementes, although we shoulde suffer death therefore: as wee haue the Apostles for our example herein to follow, who

answered the magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked preceptes, saying: Iudge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey man rather then God.*

Also, Daniell chose rather to be cast into the denne of Lions to be deuoured, thē to obey y^e kings wicked cōmandements. If y^e blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of Gods worde, whether a man do it voluntarily or at commaundement, although great damnation is to thē, by whom the offence commeth. Some other there be y^t for an extreme refuge in their euil doings, do rū to gods predestinatiō & electiō,* say'ing: y^t if I be elected of god to saluation, I shalbe saued, whatsoeuer I do. But such be great tempters of GOD and abhominable blasphemers of GODS holy election, and cast them selues downe from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preser•• them by his aungels through predestination. Suche verily may reckon themselues to be none of Gods elect children, that will doe euill that good may ensue: whose damnation is iust, as S. Paule sayth. Gods predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye cōsidered, to make vs more warely to walke in good & godly cōuersation according to Gods word, & not to set cocke in the hoope, and put all on Gods backe to do wickedly at large: for the elect childrē of God must walk in righteousnes & holynes after y^t they be once called to true knowledge.* For so sayth S. Paule to y^e Ephesiā: That God hath chosen vs before the fōūdatiōs of the world were layd, that we should be holy & blameles in his sight.

Therefore S. Peter willet vs through good workes to make our vocation & electiō certaine to our selues,* which we know not but by the good workyng of Gods spirite in vs, accordyng to y^e rule of the Gospell: & he that cōformeth not him selfe to the same in godly conuersation, may iustly trēble & doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkenesse. For the children of light will walke in the workes of light and not of darkenes: though they fall, they do not lye still.*

Let all vayne excusations be set a part,* and whiles ye haue light, as Christ commaundeth, beleue the light and abide in the same, lest eternall darkenesse ouertake you vnwares. The light is come into the world,* but (alas) men loue darkenesse more thē the light. God geue vs his pure eyesalue to heale our blindnes in this behalfe. O that men and women would be healed, and not seeke to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes,* that they may see how daūgerous a thyng it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

But what sayd I conscience? many affirme their conscience will beare them well enough to do all that they do,* and to go to the Idolatrous Church to seruice: whose cōsciēce is very large to satisfie man more then God. And although their conscience can beare them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to doe: which cā not be good vnlesse it be directed after the knowledge of Gods word: and therefore in Latin this feelyng of mynde is called Conscientia, which soūdeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our conscience be led of her selfe, & not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused,* as S. Paul beareth witnes, saying: Although my cōscience acseth [Page 1833](#) me not, yet in this I am not iustified. And he ioineth a good cōscience with these 3. sisters, charitie, a pure heart, & vnfayned fayth. Charitie keepeth Gods commaundements, a pure hart loueth and feareth God aboue all, & vnfayned fayth is neuer ashamed of the profession of the Gospell,

whatsoever damage he shal suffer in body therby: the lord which hath reuealed hys holy will vnto vs by hys word, graunt vs neuer to be ashamed of it, and geue vs grace so earnestly to cleaue to hys holy word and true church, that for no maner of worldly respecte we become partakers of the workes of hipocrisie, which God doth abhorre: so that we may be found faythfull in the Lords Testament to the end both in hart, word, and deede, to the glory of God and our euerlasting saluation. Amen.

Ioh. Philpot prisoner in the Kinges Benche for the testimony of the truth. 1555.

***To hys deare frend in the Lord Iohn Careles prisoner in the kinges Benche.**

MY dearely beloued brother Careles, I haue receaued youre louing letters full of loue and compassion, in somuch that they made my hard hart to weepe, to see you so carefull for one that hath bene so vnprofitable a member as I haue bene and am in Christes church God make me worthy of that I am called vnto, and I pray you, cease not to pray for me but cease to weep for him who hath not deserued such gentle teares: and prayse God with me, for that I now approch to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament: God geue your pittiful hart, his inward consolation. In deede my deare Careles, I am in thys world in hell, and in the shadow of death: but he that hath brought me for my desertes downe vnto hell, shall shortly lift me vpp to heauen, where I shall looke continually for your commyng & others my faythfull brethren in the kinges Benche. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the iudgement of this world, yet assuredly I feele in the same the consolation of heauen, I prayse God: and thys lothsome and horrible prison is as pleasaunt to me, as the walke in the garden of the kinges Bench.

You know brother Careles, that the way to heauen out of this life, is very narrow, and wee must striue to enter in at a narrowe gate. If God do mitigate the ouglenes of myne imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appoynted? And this hath happened vnto me that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen vnto you or to any other of my deare brethren with you in these cruell dayes, in the which the deuill so rageth at the faythfull flock of Chryst, but in vayne (I trust against any of vs, who be perswaded that neither lyfe neither death is able to seperate vs from the loue of Christs Gospell, which is Gods high treasure committed to your brittle vessels to glorifie vs by the same. God of hys mercye make vs faythfull stewardes to the end, and geue vs grace to feare nothing what soeuer in hys good pleasure we shal suffer for the same. That I haue not written vnto you e•st, the cause is our strait keepyng and the want of light by night, for the day serueth vs but a while in our darke closet. This is the first letter that I haue writtē since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations: and I am fayne to scribble it out in hast.

Commend me to al our faythfull brethren, and bid thē with a good courage looke for their redemption, & frame themselues to be harty souldiours in Christ. They haue taken his prest money a great while, and now let them shew themselues readye to serue hym faythfully, and not to fly out of the Lordes campe into the world, as many do. Let them remēber that in the Apocalips the fearfull be excluded the kingdome. Let vs be of good cheare for our Lord ouercame the world, that wee shoulde doe the like. Blessed is the seruaunt whome when the Lord commeth, he findeth watching. O let vs watch and pray earnestly one for an other, that we be not led into tēptation. Be ioyful vnder the crosse & prayse the Lord cōtinually, for this is the whole

burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Cōmēd me to my father Hunt and desire him to loue and continue in the vnitie of Christs true Church, which he hath begon, and then shal he make me more & more to ioy vnder my crosse with him. Tel my brother Clements that he hath cōforted me much by his louing token in significatiō of an vnfayned vnitie with vs: let him encrease my ioy vnto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you al. Salute al my louyng frends. M. Mering, M. Crooche, with the rest, and specially. M. Marshal. & his wife, with great thāks for his kindnes shewed vnto me. Farewel my deare Careles. I haue dalied with the deuill a while, but now I am ouer the shoes: God sende me well out.

Out of the Colehouse

by your brother Iohn Philpot.

An other letter to Iohn Careles, profitable to be read of all them which mourne in repentaunce for theyr sinnes.*

THE God of all comfort, and the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, send vnto thee my deare brother Carles, y^e inward consolation of hys holy spirite, in all the malicious assaultes and troublous temptations of our common aduersarye the deuill. Amen.

That God geueth you so contrite a hart for your sins I cannot but reioyce to beholde the liuely marke of y^e children of God, whole propertie is to think more lowly and vily of themselues, then of any other,* and oftentimes doe set theyr sinnes before them, that they might the more hee stirred to bring forth the fruites of repentance, & learne to mourne in this world, y^t in an other they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruites of repentance, & learne to mourne in this worlde, that in an other they might bee glad and reioyce. Such a broken hart is a pleasaunt sacrifice vnto God: O that I had the like contrite hart. GOD mollifie my stony hart, which lamenteth not in suche wyse my former detestable iniquities. Praysed be God y^t he hath geuen you this sorrowful hart in respect of righteousness & I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrowes for sin, which be y^e testimony of the presence of y^e holy ghost Did not the sword of sorrow pearce the hart of the electe & blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weepe bitterly for his sinnes, which was so beloued of christ? Did not Mary Magdalen wash the feet of our sauour with her teares, & receaued therewithall remission of her seuenfold sinnes.

Be of good comfort therefore myne owne deare hart,* in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest peny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow laugh, for y^e spirite of God is with thee. Blessed be they (sayth Chryst) that mourne: for they shall be comforted. They went forth and wept saythe y^e prophet such shall come agayne, hauing theyr gripes full of gladnes. And although a sorrowfull hart in consideratiō of his sinne, be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby wee are styrrd vp to more thankfulness vnto God, knowing y^t much is forgeuen vs that we might loue the more: yet the mā of God must keep a measure in y^e same,* least he be swal^lowed vp by too much sorow. S. Paul would not y^e Thessaloniās to be sory as other mē which haue no hope: suche a sorrow is not cōmēdable, but worketh dānation, & is far frō y^e childrē of God, who are cōtinually sorrowfull in god whē they look vpō their owne vnworthines, with hope of forgeuenes. For God to this end by his spirite setteth the sinnes of his elect still before them, y^t where they perceiue sinne to abound,* there they might be assured y^t grace shall superabound: & bringeth them down

vnto hell, y^t he might lift thē vp with greater ioy vnto heauen. Wherefore myne own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not voyd altogether of hope: be not dismayd through your pens^{••}e hart for your sinnes, how huge so euer they haue bene, for God is able to forgeue more then you are able to sinne: yea, and he will forgeue hym which with hope is sory for his sins.

But know brother, that as oft as we doe go about, by the helpe of Gods spirite, to do that is good,* the euill spirite Sathan layeth hard wayt to turne the good vnto euil & goeth about to mixe the detestable darnell of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent hart. You be not ignoraunt of hys malicious subletie, and howe that continually he assaulteth y^e good which the grace of God planteth, I see the battel betwixt you and hym, but the victory is yours, yea and that dayly: For you haue layde hold vppon the anker of saluation, whiche is hope in Christe, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

Be not discomforted that you haue this conflict: but be glad that God hath geuen you the same to try your faith, & that you might appeare dayly worthy of the kingdome of God, for the whiche you striue. God beholdeth your stryuing faith against Sathan, & is pleased w^t your mighty resistance. The spirite which is in you, is mightyer then al y^e aduersaries power. Tēpt he may, & lying awayt at youre heeles, geue you a fall vnwares: but ouercome hee shall not: yea he cannot,* for you are sealed vp already w^t a liuely fayth to be y^e childe of God for euer: & whō God hath once sealed for hys owne, hym he neuer vtterly forsaketh. The iust falleth 7. times, but he ryseth agayne. It is mās fraylty to fall, but it is y^e propertie of the deuils child to lye still.

This strife against sinne is a sufficient testimonye that you are the childe of God, for if you were not,* you shoulde feele no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. Whē this strōg Goliah hath y^e hold, al things be in peace which he possesseth, & because he hath you not, hee will not suffer you vnassaulted. But stand fast,* & hold out the Buckler of fayth, & with the sword of Gods promises smite hym on y^e scalpe, y^t he may receiue a deadly wound, and neuer be able to stand agaynst you any more. S. Iames telleth you that he is but a coward, saying: Resist the deuill and he will flye away. It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet, or els he had done wyth you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shal receiue the [Page 1834](#) foyle at your hands, and encrease the crowne of your glory: for he that ouercommeth shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turne to your felicity. Be not afraide of your continuall assaults: which be occasions of your daily victorie.* The woorde of God abideth for euer. In what houre soeuer a sinner repenteth him of his sinnes, they be forgeuen. Who cā lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect: Do you not perceiue the manifest tokens of your election? First your vocation to the Gospell, and after your vocation, the manifest gifts of the spirite of God geuen vnto you aboue many other of your condition, with godlinesse which beleueth and yeldeth to the authority of y^e scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are Gods owne dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a deiecte minde for these temptations, neyther make your vnfaired frends to be more sorrowful for you, then neede doth require.

Since God hath willed you at your baptisme in Christ to be carelesse, why doe you make your selfe carefull: Cast all your care on him.* Sette the Lorde before your eyes alwaies, for he is on your right side, y^t you shall not be mooued. Behold the goodnesse of God toward me. I am careles, being fast closed in a paire of stockes, which pinche me for very straitnes: and wil you be careful? I wil not haue that vnseemely addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for

doubtles you haue none other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be stil careles in my careful estate, as you haue cause to be carelesse in your easier condition. Be thākful and put away all care, and then I shall be ioyfull in my straite present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to praye for me, that I may ouercome my tēptations: for the deuil rageth against me, I am putte in the stockes in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles, as they would charge me w^tall in a corner at the bishops appoyntment, and because I did not come to Masse when the bish. sent for me, I will sic all the dayes of my life in the stockes (by Gods grace) rather then I wil consent to y^e wicked generation. Praise God & be ioyfull, that it hath pleased him to make vs worthy to suffer somewhat for his names sake. The deuil must rage for 10. daies. Commend me to maister F. and thanke him for his lawe bookes, but lawe, neither equitie wil take any place among these bloud thirsty. I would for your sake their vniust dealing were noted vnto the parlament house, if it might auaille. God shortē these euil daies, I haue answered the bish. meetely plaine already, and I said to him, if he wil cal me in open iudgement, I wil answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I haue refused, because I feare they will condemne me in hugger mugger. The peace of God be with you my dear brother. I canne wryte no more for lacke of light, and that I haue wrytten I can not reade my selfe, and God knoweth it is wrytten farre vneasily. I pray God you may picke out some vnderstanding of my minde towards you. Wrytten in a Colehouse of darkenesse, oute of a paire of paynefull stockes, by thine owne in Christ.

Iohn Philpot.

An other letter of M. Philpot, to certaine godlye women, forsaking their owne countrey for the Gospell: full of frutefull precepts and lessons for all good women.

*The spirite of truthe, reuealed vnto you my dearely beloued, by the Gospell of oure Sauour Iesus Christe, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the liuely temple of God, through the mighty operation of hys power. Amen.

I reade in the Euangelistes, of certaine Godly women, that ministred vnto Christ, folowing him in the daies of his Passion, and neuer forsoke him, but being dead in his graue, brought oyl to annoynt him, vntill that he had shewed himselfe vnto them after his resurrection, and bidden them shewe vnto his Disciples, which at his Passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was ri•en, and that they shoulde see him in Galile. To whome I may iustly compare you (my louinge Sisters in Christe) who of late haue seene him suffer in his mēbers, and haue ministred to theyr necessity, annoynting them with the comfortable oyle of your charitable assistance, euen to the death: and now since yee haue seene Christ to liue in the ashes of them, whome the tyrans haue 〈◇〉, he willeth you to go away vpon iust occasion offred you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is 〈◇〉 and liueth in his electe members in Englande, and by death doth ouercome infidelitye, and that they shall see him in Galile, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to passe out of this world by those waies which he with his holy Martyrs hath gone on before.

God therfore (entire sisters) directe your way, as he did Abraham & Tobias vnto a strange land: God geue you health both of body and soule, that ye may go from vertue to vertue,* and grow from strength to strength, vntil yee may see face to face the God of Syon in his holy hil, with the

innumerable companie of hys blessed Martyrs and Saintes. Let there be continuall ascensions vnto heauen in your hearts. Let there be no decrease of any vertue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the iuste, such as Salomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weake vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobrietie, to al that ye shal come in company with all. Let your godly conuersation speake where your tounge may not, in the congregation. Be swift to heare, and slow to speake, after the counsell of S. Iames. Be not curious about other mens doings, but be occupied in praier, and cōtinual meditation, with reuerent talking of the word of God, wythout contention amongst the Saintes. Lette your faith shine in a straunge countrey, as it hath done in youre owne, that your father which is in heauen, may be glorified by you to the ende.

This farewell I send you, not as a thing nedefull, (which know already what your duety is, & be desirous to performe the same) but as one that would haue you vnderstand that he is mindeful of your godly conuersation, wherof he hath had good experiēce and therefore wryteth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, vntil our meeting together before God, where we shall ioy that we haue here louingly put one an other in memory of our duetie to performe it.

Farewell againe, mine owne bowels in Christ, and take me with you where soeuer you goe, and leaue your selues wyth me, that in spirite we may be present one with an other. Commende me to the whole congregation of Christe, willing them not to leaue their countrey without witnesse of the Gospell, after that we al be slaine, which already be stalled vp and appoynted to the slaughter, and in the meane season to praye earnestly for our cōstancie, that Christ may be glorified in vs, and in them bothe by life and death. Farewel in the Lord.

Yours for euer, Iohn Philpot.

An exhortation to his owne sister, constantly to sticke to the truth, which she had frutefully professed.

GOD the eternall Father,* who hath iustified you by the bloud of his sonne Iesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conuersation and profession of life, he sanctifie you with daily encrease of vertue & faith by his holy spirit, that you may appeare a vessell of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked & peruerse generation, to the laud and praise of the Gospel, Amen.

I haue occasion (mine owne deare sister) to praise God in you for 2. causes: the one, that to your habilitie you are ready to shew your self a naturall louing sister to me your poore afflicted brother, as by your gētle tokens you haue eftsoones testified being absent, as also presently visiting me: which wel declareth that you be a very naturall sister in dede, and to be praised in this behalfe. But in the other, y^t you be also a sister to me in faith after Christes Gospell, I am occasioned to thanke God so muche the more,* howe much the one excelleth the other, and the spiritual consanguinitie is more perdurable then that which is of flesh & bloud, & is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be vngodly, be vnnatural & only louers of themselues, as daily experience teacheth vs. The lyuing Lord, which through the incorruptible sede of his worde, hath begotten you to be my liege sister, geue you grace so to growe in y^t

generation, that you may encrease to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for euer.

Looke therefore that you continue a faythfull sister as you are called and are godly entered, not onely to me but to all the Church of Christ, yea to Christ himselfe, who voucheth you in this your vnfayned fayth, worthy to bee his sister. Consider this dignitie to surmount all y^e vayne dignities of the worlde, & let it accordingly preuayle more with you, then all earthly delightes: For therby you are called to an equall portion of the euerlasting inheritaunce of Christ, if now in no wise you do shew your selfe an vnnaturall sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will neuer for no kinde of worldly respect doe. You are vnder daungerous temptations to be turned frō that naturall loue you owe vnto Christ, and you shalbe tryed with Gods people thorough a siue of great afflictioⁿ:* for so Sathan desireth vs to be sifted, that through feare of sharp troubles we might fall from the stablenes of our fayth, and so be depriued of that honour, ioy, and reward, which is prepared for such as continue faythfull brothers and sisters in the Lordes couenant to the ende. Therefore the wise man in the booke of Ecclesiasticus: biddeth them that come to the seruice of the Lorde,*To prepare them selues to suffer temptations.

Since then y^t for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our [Page 1835](#) aduersary hath done all that he can, yet wee may be stable and stand: this Christ our first begotten brother loketh for at our handes, and all our brethren and sisters in heauen, desire to see our faith thorough afflictions to be perfecte, that we might fulfil their number:* and y^e vniuersal church here militant, reioyceth at our constancie, whom al by the contrary we should make sorie, to the daunger of the losse both of body and soule. Feare not therefore, what soeuer be threatned of the wicked world: prepare your back, and see it be ready to carye Christes crosse. And if you see any vntowardnes in you (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God) aske with faithfull praier that the good spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whether it would not:* for if we will dwell in the flesh and folow the counsell therof, we shall neuer doe the will of God, neither worke that tendeth to our saluation.

You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whores cup, vnles you be vigilant in praier. Take hede the Serpent seduce you not frō the simplicitie of your faith, as he did our first mother Eue.* Let no worldly felowship make you partaker of iniquitie. He y^t toucheth tarre can not but be defiled therby. With such as be peruerse, a mā shall sone be peruerted: with the holy you shalbe holy. Therefore say continually with the Prophete Dauid:*Vnto the Saints that be on the earth, al my wil is on them. You haue bene sanctified and made pure thorough the truth: take heede you be not vnholied and vndefiled, lest the last be worse then the first. I wryte not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance (of the which I haue had so good experience): but because the daies be euil, and in the same it is the duety of euery one of vs to exhort an other.

I am bold to put you (my good sister) in remembrance of y^t which doth not a litle comfort me to remember, in my troubles & daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not, you will take y^t in good part which commeth frō your brother both in spirit & body, who tendreth your saluation as earnestly as his owne, that we might ioye together eternally with such ioy as the world shal neuer be able to take from vs. Thankes be vnto God, you haue begon to run a good & great time wel in the waies of the Lorde: run out of the trace, to y^e end which you haue begon, & then shall you

receiue y^e crown of glory.* None shalbe crouned but such as lawfully striueth. Be not ouercome of euill, but ouercome euil w^t good,* & the Lorde shall make you one of those faithfull virgines that shal follow the Lambe wheresoeuer he goeth: the which Christ graunt both you and me, Amen.

Commend me to all them that loue me in y^e Lord vnfainedly. God encrease our faith, and geue vs neuer to be ashamed of his Gospell. That same request which I haue made to my brother Thom. I make also to you, desiring you by all meanes you can to accōplish my request,* y^t my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine owne, to the contentation of my minde, which can not be quiet vntill they be discharged: therefore I pray you help to purchase quietnes that I might depart out of this worlde in peace. My dissolution I looke for daily, but the Lorde knoweth howe vnworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath don of long imprisonment, for y^e which his name be praised for euer. Pray and looke for the comming of the Lorde, whose wrath is great ouer vs, and I wil pray for you as long as I liue. The 9. of Iuly in the kings Bench.

Your owne louing brother as well in faith as in body. Iohn Philpot.

An other Letter of Iohn Philpot to certaine Godly brethren.

The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our sauour Iesus Christ his eternall sonne,* and the consolation of the holy Ghost our comforter, strengthen your hearts and cōfort your mindes that you maye reioyce, and liue in the truthe of Christes Gospel to the ende. Amen.

I doe much reioyce, dearely beloued in the Lord, to heare of your cōstant faith in the word of God, which you haue so purely receiued: which doe not with the wordlings decline frō the purity therof,* albeit ye suffer grief & trouble therby: for the which I praise God most hartely: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begon this good woorke in you, make it perfite to the ende, as I doubt not but he wil, for the faithful zeale ye haue to his truth & to his afflicted church. Therefore that ye may the better stand and beare the brunte of many temptations, which you are like to be assaulted withall in these wicked and stormie daies:* I thought it good, as it is the duety of one christian man to exhort an other in the time of trouble, to put you in remembraunce therof, & to wil you with the wise man to prepare your selues to temptatiōs: & to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodnes of God, may not fall from your liuely knowledge and hope. It is an easie thing to begin to do wel, but to cōtinue out in well doing, is the onely property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shal be saued. For so sayth our Sauour in his Gospel:* Blessed are they that perseuere to the ende.

Let not therefore this certaintye of your saluation, which is cōtinuance in the sincerity of faith, slide frō you. Esteeme it more then al the riches & pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternall life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise marchant man, after the Gospell, doeth sell all that he hath, & bieth the same.* God in the 3. of the Apocal. doth signifye to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation vpon the whole world, to trye the dwellers on the earth. Frō the danger of which temptation al such shalbe deliuered as obserue his worde: which worde there is called the worde of patience:* to geue vs to vnderstande that we must be ready to suffer all kinde of iniuries and sclaunders for the profession thereof.

Therefore God cōmandeth vs there to hold it fast, that no man might berefte vs of our crowne of glorye,* and S Peter telleth vs now we are afflicted with diuers assaies, as it is need it should so be. That the triall of our faith being much more precious then gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Iesus Christ.* S. Paule to the Hebrues sheweth vs, that Christe our Sauour was in his humanitie made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly susteine the troubles of the worlde, by the which God geueth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holinesse. And in the 12. chap. of the said Epistle is wrytten: My sonne refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink not, when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastice euery sonne whome he receiueh. &c. Christ in the Gospell of S. Iohn biddeth his disciples to looke after afflictions,* saying in the worlde yee shall haue trouble, but in me yee shall haue ioy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble,* in the 21. of S. Luke hee biddeth them, looke vp and lift vp their heads, for your redemption (sayeth he) is at hand.* And in the 22 he sayth to all suche as be afflicted for him: You are those that haue abidden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoynt vnto you a kingdom, as my father hath appoynted for me, to eate and drinke vpon my table in my kingdome.

O howe glorious be the crosses of Christe, which bring the bearers of them vnto so blessed an ende.* Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring vs to so high a dignitie? God open their eyes to see al things, as they be, and to iudge vprightly. Then doubtlesse we would thinke with Moises, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God: then to be counted the king of Egypts sonne. Then should we ioyfully say with Dauid in all our aduersities and troubles: It is good (O Lord) thou hast brought me lowe, to the ende I might learne thy righteousnesse. Therefore S. Paule woulde not glory in any other thyng of the worlde, but in the crosse of Christ, & in other his infirmities. We haue the commaundement of Christe, daily to take vppe his crosse and follow him. We haue the godly ensamples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great ioy and exultation, haue suffered the losse of landes, goods and life, for the hope of a better reward: which is laide vp for all those in heauen, that vnfainedly cleaue to the gospel, and neuer be ashamed therof.

Great is the felicitye of the world to the outwarde man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights therof: but the rewarde of the rightuous after the word of God,* doth incomparably excell them all, in so much that S. Paul to the Rom. doth plainly affirme, that all the tribulations of this world can not deserue that glory which shall be shewed vpon vs.

Let vs therefore good brethren and sisterne, be mery & glad in these troublesome daies, the which be sent of God, to declare our faith, and to bring vs to the ende and fruition of that which we hope for. If we woulde enter into the Lordes Sanctuarie, and behold what is prepared for vs▪ we could not but desire the Lord to hast the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession, his glory. Neither should we be afraide to meete our aduersaries, which so earnestly seeke our spoile and death, as Christ did Iudas and that wicked route,* which came to apprehēd him, saying. I am he whom ye seeke. It is commaunded vs by the Gospel, not to feare them, that canne kill the bodye, but to feare God, who can cast both body and soule into hel fire. So muche wee are bounde to obserue this commaundement as anye other which God hath geuen vs. The Lorde encrease our faith, that we feare God more then man. The Lord geue vs such loue towards him & his truth, that we may be content to forsake all & followe him. Nowe wil it appeare what

we loue best: for to that we loue, we will sticke. There is none to be counted woorthy a Christian, except he can finde in his heart for Christes sake,* if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce al which he hath and followe him: and in so doing he gaineth an hundreth folde more in this life (as our Sauour sayde to Peter) and heere after is assured of eternal life. Beholde I pray you, what he loseth, wh•ch in this life receiueth a 100. for one, with assurāce of eternall 〈◇〉 .

[Page 1836](#) O hapy exchaunge. Perchaunce your outward man will say: if I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all. But where is this 100. folde in this life to be founde? Yes truely: for in stead of worldly riches which thou doest forsake, which be but temporall,* thou hast found the euerlasting riches of heauen, which be glory, honour and praise, both before God, aungels and men: and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternall mansion with Christ in heauen, for euen now thou art of the citie and housholde of the Saints with God, as it is verified in the 4 to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which canne last but a while, thou doest possesse the peace of God, which passeth al vnderstanding: and for the losse of a few frends, thou art made a felowe of the innumerable companie of heauen, and a perpetuall friend of all those that haue died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more then an 100. fold▪ Is not the peace of God which we in this world haue through faithfull imitation of Christ (which the world can not take from vs) x.M. fold more, then those thinges that moste highly be esteemed in the worlde, without the peace of God? Al the peace of the world is no peace but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hel. As of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach vs how horrible an euill it is to forsake the peace of Christes truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that neuer shall rest.

O that we would way this with indifferent ballances. Then shoulde we not be dismaied of this troublous time, neyther sorrow after a worldly manner, for the losse which we are now lyke to sustaine, as the weake faithlesse persones do, which loue theyr goods, more then God and the things visible, aboue those which be inuisible: but rather would heartely reioyce and be thankful, that it pleaseth God to call vs to be souldiours in his cause, against the woorkes of hypocrisie, and to make vs like vnto oure Sauour Christ in suffering, whereby we maye assure our selues of his eternall glory: For blessed are they, sayth Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake.* And as S. Paule witnesseth to Timothe: If we die with Christ, we shall liue with Christ: and if we deny him, he will deny vs.

O that wee would enter into the veile of Gods promises. Then should we wyth S. Paule to the Phillippians,* reiect all and count all things but for drosse, so that we may gaine Christ. God which is the lightener of all darkenesse, and putter awaye of all blindnesse, annoynte oure eyes with the true eyesalue, that wee might beholde his glory, and our eternall felicitie, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for vs that doe abide in his Testament: for blessed is that seruante, that whome the maister when he commeth, as Christ sayde, doth finde faithfull. Let vs therefore watch,* and pray one for an other, that we yelde not in any poynt of our Religion to the Antichristian Synagogue, and that we be not ouerthrowen of these temptations. Stande therefore, and be no cowardes in the cause of your saluation: for his spirite that is in vs, is stronger then he which in the worlde doth nowe rage against vs. Let vs not put out the spirit of God from vs, by whose might we shall ouercome our ennemies, and then death shall be as greate a gaine to vs as it was to the blessed Apostle S. Paule. Why then doe ye mourne? why do ye weepe? why be ye so carefull, as though God had forsaken you? hee is neuer more present with vs, then when we be in trouble, if we doe not forsake hym. We are in his handes, and no bodye can doe vs anye

iniurie or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commaunded hys aungels to kepe vs, that we stomble not at a stone without his diuine prouidence. The Deuill can not hurt anye of vs, and muche lesse any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternall father.

Therefore let vs be of good comfort, and continuallye geue thanks vnto God for our estate,* what so euer it be: for if we murmure against the same, wee murmure against God, who sendeth the same. Which if we doe, we kicke but against the pricke, and prouoke more the wrath of God against vs: which by pacient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our fauor through faithfull prayer.

I beseeche you with S. Paule, to geue your bodies pure, and holy sacrifices vnto God. He hath geuen vs bodies to bestowe vnto his glory, and not after our owne concupiscence. If manye yeares God hath suffered vs to vse oure bodies, which bee his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vaine delightes, not according to his glory: is it not our duetie in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yeelde vnto Gods glory our bodies, with all that wee haue, in demonstration of true repentaunce of that we haue euill spent before? Cannot the ensample of the blessed man Iob horribly afflicted, cause vs to say? The Lord hath geuen it,* the Lorde hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord Euen as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to passe. If we cast oure whole care likewise vpon God, he will turne our misery into felity, as well as he did to Iob. God tempteth vs now, as he did our father Abraham,* commaunding him to slaye his sonne Isaac in sacrifice to him: which Isaac by interpretation doth signifie mirth and ioy. Who by his obedience preserued Isaac vnto long lyfe, and offered in his stead a Ramme that was tied by the hornes in the brambles. Semblably we all are commanded, to sacrifice vnto God our Isaac, which is our ioy and consolation:* the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our ioy shall not pearish, but liue and be encreased, although our ramme be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signifie that the pride and cōcupiscence of our flesh entangled thorough sinne, with the cares of this stinginge world, must be mortified for the preseruatiō, and perfecte augmētation of our mirth & ioy, which is sealed vp for vs in Christ.

And to withstande these present temptations,* wherewithall we are nowe encombred, ye can not haue a better remedy then to set before our eyes, howe our Sauour Christ ouercame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample: that if the deuill hymselfe, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread, that is, to take suche a worldly wise way, that yee may haue your faire houses, landes, and goodes to liue on still, yee must say, that man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery woorde that procedeth out of the mouth of God.

Againe, if the deuill counsaileth you, to cast youre selues downe to the earth, as to reuoke your sincere beliefe, and Godly conuersation,* and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be wel enough content therewith: yee must aunsweare that it is wrytten, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the deuill offer you large promises of honoure, dignitie and possessions, so that yee will worshippe Idols in hys Synagogue, ye must say: goe behinde me Sathan, for it is otherwise wrytten, that a man must worship his Lorde God, and serue him onely.

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, childe, kinsman, or frend, do seeke of you, to do otherwaies then the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wiues, children and kinsmen, whiche doe the wil of God the father. To the which wil the Lord for his mercy, conforme vs all vnfaignedly to the end. Amen.

Your louing and faithful brother in Christ, in captiuitie, Iohn Philpot. An. 1555.

To his friend and faithfull brother in the Lord Maister Robert Harrington.

GEntle M. Harrington, I can not tell what condigne thanks I may geue vnto God for you,* in respecte of y^e great gentlenesse and paine which you haue taken for the reliefe of me and of other our afflicted brethren in Christe. God be praised for his mercy, whose louing prouidēce we haue seene towards vs by such faithful stewardest as you ben towards a great many. Blessed be you of God for the louing care whiche you haue taken for his poore flocke. God hath reserued your reward of thanks in heauen, and therefore I goe not about to render you any, least I might seeme to iudge, y^t you looked for that heere, which is reserued to a better place. I thanke God for that I haue found by your faithfull and diligent industry, & God forgeue me my vnworthinesse for so great benefites. God geue mee grace to serue him faithfully, & to runne out my race with ioy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Neuer had the electes of God a better time for theyr glory then this is. Nowe may they be assured vnder the crosse, that they are Christes disciples for euer.

Mee thinke I see you desiring to be vnder the same. The flesh draweth backe, but the spirite sayeth,* it muste be brought whether it would not. Here is the victorie of the world: here is true faith and euerlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be foūd faithfull to his maister? And now is the time that euery faithfull seruant of Christ hath iust oportunitie to shew himselfe a glorious soldior in the Lordes sight. Nowe doe the Amalechites inuade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with spede be glorified. I neede not, for want of vnderstanding, to admonish you hereof, but as a willing souldiour in Christ, to exhort you so to runne as you may get the victory, and that speedely with vs. A man y^t is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his frend to go w^t him & to be partaker thereof. God doth cal me most vnworthy, amōg other, to drink of the bridecup of his sonne, wherby we shalbe made worthy (as many of our brethrē haue ben before vs) to sit at y^e right hād & at the left hand of Christ. O what vnspeakable cōdition is that? May any worldly thing stay vs from the desire therof? Since we seeke the kingdome of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so neare offered vnto vs?

Let vs approach neare vnto God, and God will draw neare vnto vs. God drawe vs after him, that we may all runne after the sauour of his sweete oyntmentes. Christe annoynt vs, that we may be suppld in these euil daies to run lightly vnto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, losse of goods, and shedding of our bloud, be the iust price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherfore (dearly beloued in the Lord) let not the great charges keepe you backe frō bying this glory:* for the reward is x. [Page 1837](#) thousand fold greater then the price.

That you haue married a wife, whome God blesse, I can not excuse you from this Marte, but you must bryng your wife for a vsurie to the Lorde, whose pleasure is in godly yokefelows.* I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bandes, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring

you that we are made woorthy thorough Christ, of the kingdome for the which we suffer. Praised be y^e Lorde for the affliction which we suffer, and he geue vs strength to continue to the ende.

Commend me to M. Heath, & tel him that I woulde wish him w^t me, to prooue howe apt he is to cary the crosse of Christ. I praye for his continuāce in Christ, as for mine owne. Commend me to his wife and to mistres Hal, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hel, that I might neuer enter into the same, but be raised vp from hel to heauen, through y^e word that sanctifieth vs. Commend me to M. Elsing & his wife, and thank them that they remēbred to prouide me some ease in prison, & tell them that though my Lordes Colehouse be but very blacke, yet it is more to be desired of y^e faithfull, then the Queenes palace. God make her a ioyful mother, & preserue them both to y^e comfort of gods people. Thus for this time, farewell dear brother. Written in posthast because of strait keeping.

This daye I looke to be called before the Commissioners againe. Pray (deare brother) for the spirite of wisdom to remaine with me. Commēd me to your wife, and I thanke you both for your tokens. Your token I haue sent to your wife, and my token vnto you, is my faithfull hart w^t this letter. Commend me to all my frends, and tell them, I thanke God, I am chereful in Christ, wishing thē to feare God more then man, and to learne to despise earnestly the vanities of this worlde: desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my iourney with fidelitie. Amen.

Iohn Philpot.

Here followeth an other letter of M. Philpot to the Lady Vane, which, because for the length I could not wholly insert, I haue excerpated certaine specialties thereout, as followeth.

The principall spirite of GOD the father, geuen vnto vs by Christ Iesus our mercifull Sauour, confirme, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart (worshipfull and deare sister in the Lord) may attaine & tast with all the Saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweete crosse of Christ. Amen. &c.

O, happy are you amōgst all other women, that haue found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospell: for the which we ought to sell all other thinges, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hathe mooued and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Other seeke worldly goodes, hohours, and delightes: but you seeke with a good vnderstanding, to serue God in spirite and veritie. This is the gate that leadeth to heauen: this is your portion for euer. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is vnspeakeable ioy) & by this shal ye see a full sight of all the beautiful heauenly powers, and of all the celestiall Paradise. By this shal ye know them that you neuer knewe, and be ioyous and gladde wyth those whiche you haue knowen heere in God, world without end. &c.

Ah, I lament the infidelitie of Englande, that after so great light, is stept into so huge darkenesse againe. The seruauent that knoweth his maisters will and doeth it not,* shall be beaten wyth many stripes. Ah, great be the plagues that hang ouer England, yea though the Gospell shoulde be restored againe. Happye shall that personne be, whome the Lorde shal take out of this worlde, not to see them.* Ah the great periurie which menne haue runne into so wilfully against God by receiuing Antichrist againe and his wicked lawes: which doe threaten a greate ruine vnto

Englande. O that the Lorde woulde tourne his iust iudgements vppon the authours of the truce breaking betweene God and vs, that they myghte be broughte lowe (as Nabuchodonosor was) that his people might be deliuered, and his glorie exalted, God graunte that that good lucke which you hope shortly to come vppon the house of God, be a true prophecie, and not a well wishing onely. Ah Lorde, take away thy heauie hande from vs, and stretch it out vpon thine ennemies these hypocrites, as thou hast begon,* that they may be confounded. O let not the weake pearish for want of knowledge through our sinnes. Although thou kill vs, yet will we put our trust in thee.

Thus (deare heart) you teache me to pray with you in wryting. God heare our praier, and geue vs the spirite of effectuall prayer, to poure out our harts cōtinually together before God, that we may find mercy both for our selues, and for our afflicted brethren and sistern. I can not but praise God in you, for that pitifull heart that taketh other folkes calamities to heart, as your owne. Blessed be they that mourne, for suche shall be comforted. God wipe away all teares from your pitifull eies, and sorrow frō your merciful heart, that you may (as doutles you shal do shortly) reioyce with his elects for euer. You haue so armed me to the Lordes battell both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I can not faint, but ouercome by death. You haue appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the field, to so victorious a Captaine, and to so fauorable a Marshall, that if I should not goe on lustely, there were no spectacle of heauenlye manhode in me. I wil present your coate armour before my Captaine, and in the same I trust by him to ouercome.* The Scarffe I desire as an outward signe to shew our enemies, who see not our glorious ende, neither what God worketh inwardly in vs, thorough the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christes crosse in vs, whereby he hath sealed vp the truthe of his Gospell by his death vnto vs, that we by our death (if neede be) myghte confirme the same, and neuer be ashamed, whatsoever torment we doe suffer for his names sake: and our weake brethren seeing the same mighte be more encouraged to take vp Christes crosse, and to followe him. God geue vs grace to doe all thinges to his glory. Amen. &c.

The world wondreth how we can be mery in such extreeme misery, but our God is omnipotent,* which tourneth misery into felicity. Beleue me deare sister, there is no such ioy in the worlde as the people of Christ haue vnder the crosse. I speake by experience: therfore beleue me, and feare nothing that the world can do vnto you. For when they imprison our bodies, they sette our soules at liberty with God. When they cast vs downe, they lift vs vp: yea when they kill vs, then doe they bring vs to euerlasting life. And what greater glorie can there be, then to be at conformitie with Christ? which afflictions do worke in vs.

God open our eies to see more and more the glorie of God in the crosse of Iesus Christe, and make vs woorthy partakers of the same. Let vs reioyce in nothing with S. Paul, but in the crosse of Iesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified vnto vs, and wo to the worlde. The crosse of Christ be our standard to fight vnder for euer. Whiles I am thus talking with you of our common cōsolation, I forget howe I trouble you with my rude and vnordinate tediousnesse: but you must impute it to loue which can not quickly departe from them whome hee loueth, but desireth to poure himselfe into their bosomes.

Therefore though your flesh woulde be offended (as it might iustly be) at such rudenesse, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all thing in good part that commeth of loue. And now I am

departing: yet will I take my leaue ere I goe, and woulde faine speake somewhat that might declare my sincere loue to you for euer: farewell. O elect vessell of the Lorde, to the comfort of hys afflicted flocke, farewell on earth, whome in heauen, I am sure, I shall not forget. Farewell vnder the crosse most ioyfully: and vntil we meete, alwaies remember what Christe sayeth: Be of good cheare, for I haue ouercome the world. &c.

God poure his spirit abundantly vpon you mine owne deare bowels in Christ, vntil you may come to see the God of all Gods with his electes in the euerlasting Syon. I send to you the kisse of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leaue of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or els we could not be glorified. Your heart is heauy because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of the mercifull father, wherewithal you are contēt, and so am I. Be of good comfort: holde out your buckler of faith: for by the strength therof we shal shortly mete in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring both vs, Amen. Amen. The 10. of December. 1555.

Death why should I feare thee, since thou canst not hurt me,

But rid me from miserie, vnto eternall glorie.

Dead to the world, and liuing to Christ, your owne brother, sealed vp in the veritie of the Gospel for euer.

Iohn Philpot.

An other letter of M. Philpot, wrytten to the same Lady, being a great supporter of hym.

I Can not but most hartily geue God thāks for these hys gifts in you,* whose brightnes many beholding that are weake, are muche encouraged to seeke God likewise, & to cleaue to him, hauing the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queene of the South shall rise with the men of Christes generation, and condemne them, for that she came from the end of the world to heare the wisdom of Salomon: then shal your sincere and godly conuersation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of christes people (being a womā of a right worshipfull estate and wealthy condition) condemne in the latter day a great many of these faint harted gospellers, which so soone be gone backe and turned from the truth, at y^e voyce of a handmaiden: seeing that neyther the feare of imprisonment, neither the possessions of the world (wherw^tal you are sufficiently indued aboue a great many) can separate you from the loue of the truthe,* which God hath reueled vnto you. Wherby it appeareth that the seede of Gods word which was sown in you, fel not, neither in y^e high way, neither amōg the thorns, neither vpō [Page 1838](#) y^e stones, but vpon a good ground, which is blessed of god, and bringeth forth fruit, with great affliction, an 100. fold, to the glory of God, and the encrease of his church. &c.

In consideration wherof, S. Iames biddeth vs highly to reioyce, when soeuer we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but y^e triall of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellēt vertue pacience, by the which we are made like to our redeemer Christ, w^t whome we heere being like in suffering, assuredly shall heereafter be pertakers of his eternall glory. Therefore s. Paul saith: God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but in the crosse of our lord Iesus Christ. I

that am vnder the crosse with you (thankes be geuen to God therefore) haue felt in the same more true ioye and consolation, then euer I did by any benefite that God hath geuen mee in my life before. For the more the world doth hate vs, the nigher God is vnto vs, and there is no perfect ioy,* but in God. Wherefore Christ sayd: In me you shall haue ioy, but in the worlde affliction. Blessed be God which sendeth vs this affliction, that we mighte perfectly ioy in hym. For this cause in the ripest time of iniquitie, and in the moste feruent season of persecution of the true church,* which Christ in the 21. of Luke prophesied to come he willeth vs to be of good chere, and to lift vp our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

O that the Lorde would come and deliuer vs from this worlde, which is a vale of miserie, vnto his owne kingdome, where floweth perpetuall ioy and consolation. And verily that is the true and onely ioy which is conceiued, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we doe possesse, no body canne take it away from vs. To the which ioy all other ioyes being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, al sweetenes sower, all beauty filth, and finally al other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousnes. Your owne selfe is better witnes of thys, then I: aske your selfe, w^t whom you are best acquainted. Doeth not the holy Ghost speake the same in your heart? Haue you not perswaded your selfe this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For howe should you, being a woman, and a yong Gentlewoman, beautifull, and at your owne liberty, haue ouercome this your fraile kinde and age, and despised your excellent beautie and estate, vnlesse all those things which be subiect to the senses, had bene counted of you vile, & l^tle to be esteemed in cōparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you, to ouercome the flesh, the world, and the deuil. &c.

God encrease your ioy in all spirituall things, and establish your hope to y^e day of eternal rest. You haue forsaken darkenes, and are entred into light, God graunt the same may shine stil in you, vntil y^e perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation.* Here we must be darkened, that there we may appeare as brighte as the sunne in the face of the whole world, & of all them that now condemne vs for our wel doing: whose iudges then we shall be, to their horrible grieve, though nowe wrongfully they iudge vs. Pray hartily, & that often, that God once again for his Christes sake, woulde be mercifull to his afflicted church in England. Faithfull prayer is the onely remedy that we haue against the fierie dartes of the Deuil, that be kindled against vs. By prayer the Amalechites shall be ouercome, and the roarings of the Lion, which seeketh still to deuoure vs, shalbe stopped & put to silence. The Lorde stoppe Leuiathans mouth, that he swallow not vp Gods seely people, according to his expectation.

Praise the Lord for the faithfull testimonie and sacrifice which 2. of our brethren of late, haue through fire rendred to the truth of the gossell, which nowe triumpheth by the death of godly Martyrs.* The Lorde is at hande, therefore watche and pray. The last of May. 1555. Captiue in the kings Bench.

Yours with heart in Christ, Iohn Philpot.

An other letter of maister Philpot, to the godly Ladie Vane.

*GOd the Father of our Lorde Iesus Christ encrease in your godly heart the faith of the gospell, which is your eternall inheritance, & the holy ghost comfort your spirite w^t all spirituall consolation, to the day of the Lord. Amen.

I can not but praise God moste highly & earnestly, my deare & faithful lady, for the great & vnfaigned loue whych you beare vnto me in Christ, * declared oftentimes, as wel now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a mēber in his kingdome. For it can not be but such shal reape with abūdance in time of reward, that here do sowe so plenteously in well doing. Albeit I am moste vnwoorthy to receiue any suche benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christes church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeale of Christes church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfill your desire of me, y^t I may be fōūd constant, & no wandring starre. I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of Gods woorde, for that I haue (being letted by the iniquitie of time) little or nothing labored therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Iesus, and do reioyce of the veritie of his woorde: for the which (praised be hys name) hee hath counted mee worthy to suffer: * and in deede who that geueth a draughte of water in the name of a disciple (as Christ hath promised) shall not lose his reward. Therefore, that your gentlenes doth in the name of him, which I am not, the Lorde recompence vnto you in all hys blessings, which he is accustomed to powre on them which loue his flocke vnfaignedly.

Good Lady, you haue to ioy that the kingdome of God is thus continually before your eies, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of y^e glory euerlasting, which heere are not ashamed to take vp the crosse of Christ, & to folowe him. Heere we must weepe and lament, whiles the worlde laugheth & triumpheth ouer vs: but our teares shall shortly be turned into vnspeakeable ioy, and we shall eternally be merrie together, when the world shall lament their infidelitie without ende. &c.

I woulde I were able to doe any thing y^t myght shewe condigne thāks for that sincere loue you beare vnto me in Christ. You adiure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bolde on you in all my needs. I thanke God whych ceaseth not to prouide for his. I lacke nothing at this present, but only hability to thank your faithful hart for your goodnesse towards me. I loue you and not yours, as it is meete christians to loue one an other in God: & your faith which I beholde in you, is more woorth vnto me then al your possessiōs. And I thinke I shal not neede long to be chargeable vnto you, for y^t this weeke I looke for commissioners to sit on me, & my fellow prisoners in prison, least the spirit of our breath might blowe further abroad. The wil of God be don. We are not so good as Iohn the Baptist which was beheaded in prison. Darknes cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as shepe appoynted for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not feare the fire, for our Lord is a cōsuming fire which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from vs. Be not afraid of them y^t can kil the body, but feare him y^t can cast both body and soul into hel fire. God forbid that we should reioyce otherwise then in the crosse of Christ, & pray that he would make vs worthy to suffer for his sake. God wil haue our faith tried & knowen, * and therefore let vs willingly humble our selues vnder the mighty hād of God, that he may gloriously lifte vs vp in his good time. There is none perfectly faithfull in deede till he can say w^t S. Paule: I am perswaded that neither death, neither life, * neyther aungels, neither princes or powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highnes, neither lownes, neither any other creature is able to separate me from the loue of

God which is in Christ Iesu our Lord. This faith God plant both in you and me vnmoouably. In this faith we haue to reioyce, and in none other.

All the tribulations of the worlde are not worthy of the eternall weighte of glory which is prepared for them, that here do with pacience abide the crosse. Wherefore let vs be stronge with the strengthe in him, that is able to make vs strong, & lament the weakenes, I might say the infidelitie of our faint gospellers. Christ whome we woulde pretend to haue put vpon vs, is the strēgth of God, and how then may they be weake where Christe is? We haue more to be glad, touching our selues, of this time, then we haue had of any time before, in y^e which we haue so ready a way to goe vnto God, and so good occasion to shew our duety in glorifying his holy name.* For if we be imprisonned in this cause, we are blessed. If we loose all that we haue, we are blessed a 100. fold. If we die, we are blessed eternally: so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore (O elect Lady) of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the worlde. Embrace that which is perfect, and ioyfully looke for the comming and crosse of our Lorde Iesus Christ. &c. Thus desiring God to preserue you to his true peace, & to geue you victorie of that temptation which now is come to try our faith. Christe be with you, and blesse you both in body and soule: and my praier shal folow you wheresoeuer you goe, as I desire that you may be with me. The last weeke I sent your beneficence to Oxforde: I coulde not before haue a conuenient messenger. As soone as I haue worde, you shall be satisfied of your request. Loue me as you doe, and the God of loue be with you. The 20. day of August.

By yours with all his power, in the Lord, Iohn Philpot.

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An other Letter full of spiritual consolation, to the sayd Ladie.

The mercye of God the father, & the consolation of the holy ghost thorow Iesus Christ,* be with you & strengthē you my deare mother and sister in the Lord, in these daungerous dayes, to the crowne of eternall glorye whiche is now offered to all faithfull souldiours in the Gospell. Amen.

As your good Ladiship doeth desire to heare from me, so am I desirous to wryte, as your gentlenesse and daily goodnes binedeth me. But Sathan of late hath letted me, who enuying al good exercises which I haue had and receiued by mine easie imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the kings Bench, into the bishop of Londons Colehouse, a darke and a vgly prison as any is about London (but my darke body of sinne hathe well deserued the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkenes, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is moste present with his children in the midst of darkenesse) where I can not be suffred to haue any candle light, neither inke nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I can not wryte to you as I would, neither as my duety is. As Christ my maister was sent frō Annas to Caiphas, so am I sent from Winchester Dioces to London. I trust to make a speedye ende of my course: God geue mee grace and patience to be a faithfull follower of my master. I haue beene already this seuennight in his Colehouse, and haue of late bene foure times called to mine answeare, but hitherto not called to iudgement, which I do daily looke for, but I feare they wil prolong me and trie me by straight imprisonmēt a while, in the which Gods will be done.

*Pray (deare Lady) that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more liuely wyth mee then it hath beene in tymes past. I taste and feeble the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be wyth hys in their trouble, and to delyuer them. I thanke the Lorde, I am not alone, but haue sixe other faithfull companions: who in our darknesse doe chearfully sing Hymnes and praises vnto God for his great goodnesse. Wee are so ioyful, that I wish you part of my ioy. For you that are so carefull of my bodely reliefe, howe can I but wish you spirituall consolation, and that aboundantly? Let not, deare heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you: for it hath added and daily doth, vnto my ioy: but rather be glad and thankfull vnto GOD with me, that it hath pleased him to make me most wretched sinner, woorthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we haue not resisted vnto bloud God make vs neuer to count our bloud more precious in our eyes then his truth.

Ah my deare sister, I thanke you againe for your last letter you sent me: it is a singular comfort vnto me, as oft as I reade the same. I haue it in my bosome, and wil carie the same euen to the stake with me, in witnesse that Christ hath so constant and faithfull a Ladie in Englande. God succoure and keepe that spirite in you, for it is the verye spirite of adoption of the childe of God. Suche chearefull and holy spirites vnder the crosse, bee acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God: for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it shoulde be kindled. Be you feruent in spirite in our Christes cause, as you haue begonne, for that is the principall spirite wherewithall Dauid desired to be confirmed. O howe I doe reioyce your Ladiship to goe arme in arme with me vnto Christe, or rather before me. I can not but ioye of suche a worshipfull fellowe. Me thinketh I see you to mourne, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and fraile habitacle of this body. O how amiable and pleasant is it to dwel in the Lords tabernacle? Our Christe and his heauenly compagne looke for vs: let vs haste and runne thereto, for beholde the Lord is ready to embrace vs. Mine owne bowels in the Lorde, be merry in the Lorde with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful almes: which most vnworthely I do receiue still of you, vnto the Lorde. But nowe deare mother, you neede not to burden so muche your selfe (as my last letters did signifie) for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a litle nowe serueth me: wherefore I praye you sende no more vntill I sende to you, for I haue sufficient and abounde. Gods peace be with you for euer. Out of my Lord of Londons Colehouse, the last of October.

Your owne, Iohn Philpot.

An other Letter of Maister Philpot to the sayde Ladie, wherein partly he complaineth of the dissimulation and periurie of English men, falling againe to the Pope, and partlye he expresseth his ioy in his afflictions.

I Cannot but ioy with you, my hearty beloued in Christ, of the fall of Senacherib,* since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of theyr enemies before their face, according as it is wrytten: The iust shall reioyce when hee seeth the vengeance of the wicked.* God make this your ioy perfite: for as cōcerning my self, I counte not to see those good dayes whereof you haue a glimmering in this life. For although the Cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, w^t the whore of Babylon yet liueth. But a great hope there is of their shorte confusion, because god doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happiest shal he be, whome the Lorde shall moste soonest take out of this life, that he may not

see the plagues, which the manifest periurie, and the manifolde idolatrie and detestable dissimulation, and that of such as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is iust, & all vnrighteousnes displeaseth him, & either heere or els in an other world he will punish this grosse infidelity of the worlde: but his elect, and such as he loueth, wil he punish here, that they should not be condēned heereafter with the world eternally, we haue nothing so much to reioyce in, as in the crosse of Iesu Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest penie of that eternall kingdome, which he vppon the crosse for vs hathe purchased. For as Paule hys faithfull witnes saith: If we suffer with him, we shall raigne with him. If we die with him, we shall liue with him.

Wherefore mine owne deare bowels, praise God w^t me moste intirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visite the sinnes of my youth, & my huge vnthankfulnes, and by the same doth geue me such consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodnesse & mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God, what am I on whome he should shew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, inuisible, and onely wise, be all honor, praise and glory therfore, Amen.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let vs reioyce and be glad in y^e same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is ful of the peace of God,* & leadeth to eternal blisse, O how my heart leapeth for ioy, y^t I am so neare the apprehēision therof. God forgiue me mine vnthākfulnes, and vnworthines of so great glory. The swordes whyche pearced Maries hart in y^e passion of our Sauour, whych daily also go through your faithful hart, be more glorious and to be desired then the golden Scepters of this world, O blessed be they y^t mourne in this world to Godwarde, for they shall eternally be comforted. God make my stony heart to mourne more then it doth. I haue so muche ioy of the reward that is prepared for me most wretched sinner, y^t though I be in a place of darknes & mourning, yet I cā not lament, but both night & day am so ioyfull, as though I were vnder no Crosse at all: yea in all the dayes of my life I was neuer so merry,* the name of the Lorde be praised therfore for euer & euer, and he pardon mine vnthankfulnes. Our enemies do freat, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and heare that we, vnder this grieuous affliction in the world, can be so mery. We are of them counted as desperate persones, for the certaine hope & feeling which we haue of our euerlasting saluation: and it is no maruell, for the worldly man can not perceiue the things of God, it is meere foolishnesse and abomination to them.

Be thankfull vnto our God mine owne deare helper, for his wonderous working in his chosen people. Praye instantly y^t this ioy be neuer taken from vs, for it passeth all the delightes of this worlde. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all vnderstanding: this peace y^e more his chosen be afflicted, y^e more they feelee, & therfore can not faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Lette vs pray for our weake brethren & sisters sake, that it may please God to alleuiate the greuous and intollerable burden of these cruel daies. But touching our selues, let vs hartily besech our sauour to vouchsafe to geue vs this glorious gifte to suffer for hys Gospels sake, and that we may thincke the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is in deede. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to beholde what is prepared for vs. I lack nothing, praise be to God. I trust my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations as soone as I can get them wrytten, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your mercifull heart with all ioy and consolation of the hope to come. Out of the colehouse the 19. of Nouember.

Your owne loue, Iohn Philpot.

A Letter of M. Philpot, to a frende of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate, wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of Infants to be baptised.

THE God of all lighte and vnderstanding, lighten your heart wyth all true knowledge of his word,* and make you perfect to the day of our Lorde Iesus Christ, wherevnto you are nowe called, through the mighty operation of his holy spirite. Amen.

I receiued yesternight from you deare brother S. and fellow prisoner for the truth of Christes Gospell, a Letter, wherein you gently require my iudgement cōcerning the Baptisme of infantes, which is the effect thereof. And before I doe shewe you what I haue learned out of Gods [Page 1840](#) word & of his true & infallible church touchyng the same, I thinke it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night whiles musing on your letter I fell a sleepe, knowing that God doth not without cause reueale to his people who haue their mynds fixed on him speciall and spirituall reuelations to their comfort, as a tast of their ioy and kingdome to come, which fleshe and blood can not comprehend.

*Being in the midst of my sweete rest, it seemed me to see a great beautifull Citie all of the colour of Azure, and white, foure square in a marueilous beautifull composition in the midst of the skie, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to expresse the consolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my hart to leape for ioy, and as charitie is no churle, but would others to bee pertakers of his delight, so mee thought I called to others (I cannot tel whom) & whiles they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by to my great grieve it vaded away.

This dreame I thinke not to haue come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spirituall ioy, and I take it to be of the workyng of Gods spirite for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interprete this beautifull Citie to be the glorious Church of Christ,* and the appearance of it in the skie, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conuersation is in heauē, and that according to the Primitiue Church which is now in heauen, men ought to measure and iudge the church of Christ now in earth▪ for, as the Prophet Dauid sayth: The foundations thereof be in the holy hils,*and glorious thyngs be spoken of the city of God. And the maruelous quadrature of the same, I take to signifie the vniuersal agreement in the same, and that all the Church here militant ought to consent to the Primitiue Church throughout the foure parts of the worlde, as the Prophete affirmeth,* saying: God maketh vs to dwell after one maner in one house. And that I conceyued so wonderfull ioy at the contemplation therof, I vnderstand the vnspeakeable ioy which they haue that bee at vnitie wyth Christes Primitiue Church: For there is ioy in the holye Ghost, and peace, which passeth all vnderstanding, as it is written in the Psalmes: As of ioyful persons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderfull city, I conster it by the will of God this vision to haue come vppon me, musing on your letter, to the ende, that vnder this figure I might haue occasion to mooue you with many others, to behold

the Primatiue church in all your opinions concernyng fayth, and to conforme your selfe in all poynts to the same, which is the pillar and stablishment of truth, and teacheth the true vse of the sacraments, and hauyng with a greater fulnesse then we haue, now the first fruits of the holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretatiō of the scriptures accordyng to all veritie, euen as our Sauour promised to send them an other comforter, whiche should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught & reuealed to the Primitiue church which is our mother, let vs all that be obedient children of God submit our selues to the iudgement of the Church for the better vnderstanding of the Articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the scripture. Let vs not go about to shew in vs by followyng any priuate mans interpretation vpon the word, an other spirite then they of the Primitiue Church had, least we deceyue ourselues. For there is but one fayth and one spirit, which is not contrary to hymselfe, neyther otherwyse now teacheth vs then he did then. Therefore let vs beleue as they haue taught vs of the Scriptures, and be at peace w^t them, accordyng as the true Catholicke Church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with vs, & deliuer vs out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, & make vs partakers of their ioy and blisse, through our obedience to sayth with them.

*Therefore God commaundeth vs in Iob, to aske of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the Fathers. For we are but yesterdaies children, and be ignorant, and our dayes are like a shadowe, and they shall teach thee (sayth the Lorde) and speake to thee, and shall vtter wordes from their hartes. And by Salomon w^e are commaunded, * not to reiecte the direction of our mother. The Lorde graunt you to direct your steppes in all thinges after her, and to abhorre all contention with her. For as S. Paule writeth: If any man be contentious, neither we, *neither the Church of God hath any such custome.

Hitherto I haue shewed you good brother S. my iudge^ment generally of that you stande in doubt and dissent frō others, to the which I wishe you as myne owne harte to be conformable, and then doubtles you can not erre, but boldly may be glad in your troubles and triumph at the houre of your death, that you shall dye in the Church of God a faythfull Martyr, and receiue the crowne of eternall glory. And thus much haue I written vpon the occasion of a vision before God vnfayned. But that you may not thinke that I goe about to satisfie you with vncertain visions onely, and not after Gods word, * I will take the ground of your letter and specially answeare to the same by the scriptures and by vnfallible reasons reduced out of the same, & proue the Baptisme of Infantes to be lawfull, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seeme to stand in doubt.

In deed if you looke vppon the papisticall Synagogue onely, which hath corrupted gods word by false interpretations, and hath peruered the true vse of Christes sacraments, * you might seeme to haue good handfast of your opinion agaynst the Baptisme of Infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquitie and hath his beginning from gods worde, and from the vse of the Primatiue Church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish Church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be vsed in Christs church. Auxentius, one of the Arrians sect, with hys adherentes, was one of the first that denied the Baptisme of children, and next after hym, Pelagius the heretike, and some other there were in S. Bernardes tyme, as it doth appeare by hys writyngs, and in our dayes the Anabaptists, * an inordinate kynd of men stirred vp by the deuill, to the destruction of the Gospel. But the Catholike truth deliuered vnto vs by the Scriptures▪ playnly determineth, that al such are to be baptised, as whom God acknowledgeth for hys people, and

voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of theyr sinnes. Therefore since that Infants be in the number or scroll of Gods people, and be partakers of the promise by theyr purification in Christ, it must needes follow thereby, that they ought to be baptised as well as those that can professe their fayth. For we iudge the people of God as well by the free and liberall promise of GOD, as by the confession of fayth.* For to whome so euer God promiseth hymselfe to be theyr God, & whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impietie may exclude from the number of the faythful. But God promiseth, that he will not onely be the God of such as doe professe hym, but also of Infants: promising them hys grace and remission of sinnes, as it appereth by the words of the couenaunt made vnto Abraham:*I will set my couenant betweene thee and me (sayth the Lord) and betweene thy seede after thee in their generations, with an euerlasting couenaunt, to be thy God, and the God of thy seede after thee. To the which couenaunt Circumcision was added to be a signe of satisfaction as well in children as in men, & no man may think that this promise is abrogated with Circumcision & other ceremoniall lawes.* For Christ came to fulfill the promises and not to dissolue them. Therfore in the Gospell he sayth of Infants, that is, of such as yet beleueed not:*Let thy little ones come vnto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdome of heauen. Agayne,*It is not the will of your father which is in heauen, that any of these little ones do perish. Also, He that receyueth one such little chyld in my name, receyueth me. Take heede therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you, their Angels do continually see in heauen my fathers face. And what may be sayd more playner then this: It is not the wyll of the heauenly father, that the Infants should perish? whereby we may gather that he receyueth them freely vnto this grace, although as yet they confesse not their fayth. Since then that the worde of the promise which is conteyned in Baptisme, pertayneth as well to children as to men, why shoulde the signe of the promise which is Baptisme in water, be withdrawen from childrē when Christ hymselfe commandeth them to be receiued of vs, and promiseth the reward of a Prophet to those that receiue such a little Infant:* as he for an example dyd put before hys disciples.

Now will I prooue with manifest argumentes,* that children ought to be baptised, & that the Apostles of Christ did baptise children. The Lord commanded his Apostles to baptise all nations: therefore also children ought to bee baptised, for they are comprehended vnder this worde, All nations.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithfull, they are faythfull, for it was sayd to Peter,*That thyng which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to bee common or vncleane: But God doth repute children among the faithfull: Ergo, they be faithfull,* except wee had leaue to resiste God, and seeme stronger and wiser then he.

And without all doubte the Apostles baptised those which Christ commanded:* but he commanded the faythfull to be baptised, among the which infants be reckoned: The Apostles then baptised Infants.

[Page 1841](#)The Gospell is more then Baptisme, for Paule sayd: The Lord sent me to preach the Gospell, and not to baptise: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptise, but that he preferred doctrine before Baptisme, for the Lorde commaunded both to the Apostles:* but children be receyued by the doctrine of the gospel of God, & not refused: therfore what person being of reason, may deny thē baptisme, which is a thing lesser then the Gospell? for in the

Sacraments be two things to be considered,* the thing signified, and the signe, & the thing signified is greater thē the signe, and from the thing signified in Baptisme, children are not excluded: who therefore may deny them the sign, which is, Baptisme in water?

*S. Peter could not deny them to be baptised in water, to whom he sawe the holy Ghost geuen, which is the certayne signe of Gods people: For he sayeth in the Actes: May any body forbid them to be baptised in water,*who haue receyued the holy Ghost as well as we? Therefore S. Peter denied not Baptisme to Infantes, for hee knew certaynely both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the couenant which is euerlasting, that the kingdome of heauen pertayned to Infants.

None be receyued into the kyngdome of heauen, but such as God loueth,* and which are endued with his spirit, for who so hath not the spirite of God, he is none of hys. But Infantes be beloued of God, and therefore want not the spirit of God: wherefore if they haue the spirit of God as well as men, if they bee numbred among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptised with water, in the name of the Lord?

The Apostles in tymes past beyng yet not sufficiently instructed,* did murmure against those which brought their children vnto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, & said: Let the Babes come vnto me.* Why then doe not these rebellions Anabaptists obey the cōmandement of the Lord? For what do they now adayes els that bring their children to baptisme, then that they did in tymes past, which brought their children to the Lord, and our lord receiued them, and puttyng his hands on them, blessed them, & both by words and by gentle behauiour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloued of God.* But some will say, why then did not Christ baptise them? Because it is written: Iesus hymselfe baptised not, but hys disciples.

Moreouer, Circumcision in the old law was ministred to infants:* therefore baptisme ought to be ministred in the new law vnto children. For baptisme is come in the stead of Circumcision,* as S. Paule witnesseth, saying to y^e Collossians: By Christ yee are circumcised with a Circumcision which is without hands,*when ye put of the body of sinne of the flesh, by the Circumcision of Christ, beyng buried together with hym through Baptisme. Behold, Paule calleth Baptisme the Circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministred without handes, but that with hands no man any longer ought to bee circumcised, albeit the mysterie of Circumcisiō do stil remain in faythfull people.

To this I may adde, that the seruaunts of God were alwayes redy to minister the sacraments to them, for whō they were instituted. As for an example, we may beholde Iosue, who most diligently procured the people of Israell to be circumcised, before they entred into the lande of promise: but since the Apostles were the preachers of y^e word, and the very faithful seruants of Iesus Christ, who maye hereafter doubt that they baptised infants sithen baptisme is in place of Circumcision?

Item, the Apostles dyd attemperate all their doyngs to the shadowes and figures of the olde Testament: therefore it is certayne that they did attemperate Baptisme accordingly to Circumcision,* and baptised children because they were vnder the figure of Baptisme: for the people of Israell passed through the red sea, and the bottome of the water of Iordane, with their

children. And although the children be not alwayes expressed, neither the women in the holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and vnderstood in the same.

Also the Scripture euidently telleth vs, that the Apostles baptised whole families or households: But the children bee comprehended in a familie or householde,* as the chieftest and dearest part thereof: Therefore we may conclude, that the Apostles dyd baptise Infantes or children, and not onely men of lawfull age. And that the house or houshold is taken for man, woman, and chyld, it is manifest in the 17. of Genesis, and also in that Ioseph doth call Iacob with all hys house, to come out of the land of Chanaan, into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of auncient writers, that the Baptisme of Infantes hath continued from the Apostles tyme, vnto oures,* neyther that it was instituted by anye Councels, neyther of the Pope, or of other men, but commended from the Scripture by the Apostles themselues. Origene vpon the declaration of S. Paules Epistles to the Romaines, expoundyng the vj. chapter, sayeth:*That the Church of Christ receyued the Baptisme of Infants from the very Apostles. S. Hierome maketh mention of the Baptisme of Infantes, in the third booke agaynst the Pelagians, and in hys Epistle vnto Leta. Saint Augustine reciteth for this purpose, a place out of Iohn Bishop of Cōstantinople, in hys first booke agaynst Iulian, chap. 2. and he agayne writyng to S. Hierome Epist. 28. sayth: That Saint Cyprian not makyng any newe decree, but firmly obseruyng the fayth of the Church iudged with hys fellowe Bishops, that as soone as one was borne, he might bee lawfully baptised. The place of Cypriā is to be seene in his Epistle to Fidus.

Also S. Augustine writyng agaynst the Donatists in the 4. booke, chap. 23. and 24. sayth, That the Baptisme of Infantes was not deriued from the authoritie of man, neyther of Councels, but from the tradition or doctrine of the Apostles.

Cyrril vpon Leuiticus, chap. 8. approoueth the Baptisme of children, and condemneth the iteration of Baptisme. These authorities of men I do alledge, not to tie the Baptisme of children vnto the testimonies of men, but to shew how mens testimonies do agree with Gods word, and that the veritie of antiquity is on our side, & that the Anabaptists haue nothyng but lyes for them, & new imaginations which fayne the Baptisme of children to be the Popes commandement.

After this will I aunswer to the summe of your argumentes for the contrary. The first which includeth all the rest, is, It is written: Goe ye into all the worlde, and preach the gladde tidynges to all creatures. He that beleeueth and is baptised, shall bee saued: but hee that beleeueth not, shall bee damned. &c.

To this I aunswer, that nothyng is added to Gods word by the baptisme of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require, for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospell, among the nūber of such as beleue, as it appeareth by these words: He that offendeth one of these little babes which beleue in mee,*it were better for hym to haue a myllstone tyed about hys necke, & to be cast into the bottome of the sea. Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confesse their fayth, beleuers: because of his meere grace he reputeth them for beleeuers. And this is no wonder so to be taken,* sithen God imputeth fayth for righteousnes vnto mē that be of a riper age: for both in men and children righteousnes,

acceptation, or sanctification is of meere grace and by imputation, that the glory of Gods grace might be prayesd.

And that the children of faythfull parents are sanctified, and among such as doe beleue, is apparant in the 1. Cor. 7. And where as you doe gather by the order of the wordes in the sayd commaundement of Christ, that childrē ought to be taught before they be baptised, and to this ende you alledge many places out of the Actes, proouyng that such as confessed their fayth first, were baptised after: I aunswer, that if the order of wordes might weigh anye thyng •o this cause, we haue the Scripture that maketh as well for vs. For in * S. Marke we read, that Iohn dyd baptise in the desert, preachyng Baptisme of repentaunce. In the which place we see baptising go before, & preaching to follow.

And also I wyll declare this place of Mathew exactly considered, to make for the vse of baptisme in children, for S. Mathew hath it written in this wyse: All power is geuen me (sayth the Lord) in heauen and in earth, therefore going forth, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , that is, *Disciple ye (as I may expre the signification of the word:) that is, make or gather to me Disciples of all nations. And followyng, he declareth the way how they should gather to hym Disciples out of all nations, baptising them and teachyng: by baptising and teachyng ye shall procure a Church to me. And both these aptly and briefly seuerally he setteth foorth, saying: *Baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Sonne and the holy Ghost, teachyng them to obserue all thyngs whatsoever I haue commaunded you. Now then Baptisme goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles which neuer heard any thyng before of God, and of the sonne of God, and of the holy Ghost, ought to be baptised, neyther they would permit themselues to bee baptised before they knew to what end. But this I haue declared to shew you vpon how feeble foundation the Anabaptistes bee grounded. And playnly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord dyd onely commaund such to bee baptised [Page 1842](#) whome the Apostles had first of all taught. Neyther here verily is signified who onely be to be baptised, but he speaketh of such as bee not of perfect age, and of the first foundations of fayth, and of the Church to bee planted among the Gentiles which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may heare, beleue and confesse that is preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may iustly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for al this they be not to be excluded from Baptisme.

It is a generall rule: He that doth not labour, must not eate. But who is so barbarous that might thinke hereby, that children should be famished?

*The Lord sent hys Apostles at the beginnyng of the setting vp his true religion vnto al nations, vnto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the couenant of God, and truly such persons it behooued not first to bee baptised and afterward taught, but first to be taught and after baptised. If at this day we should go to the Turkes to conuert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptise such as would yeeld to be the seruants of Christ. Likewise the Lorde hymselfe in tymes past dyd, when first he renewed the couenāt with Abraham, and ordeyned Circumcision to be a seale of the couenānt after that Abraham was circumcised. But hee when he perceiued the infantes also to pertaine to the couenant, and that

Circumcision was the sealyng vp of the couenant, did not only circumcise Ismael his sonne y^t was 13. yeres of age, but all other infantes that were borne in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

Euen so faythfull people which were conuerted from Heathen Idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and cōfessing the faith, were baptised, when they vnderstood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that Baptisme was the token of the people of God,* they procured also their children to be baptised. Therefore as it is written: Abraham circumcised all the male children of hys house Semblably we read in the Actes and writynge of the Apostles, that after the Maister of the house was turned to the fayth, all the whole house was baptised. And as concernyng those which of olde tyme were compelled to confesse their fayth before they receyued baptisme, whiche were called Cathecumeni,* they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles to the Church, who beyng yet rude of fayth, they did instruct in the principles of their beliefe, and afterward they did baptise them: but the same auncient Fathers notwithstanding, dyd baptise the children of faythfull men, as I haue already partly declared.

And because you doe require a hasty aunswer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly, to go through your letter in aunswering thereto, knowyng that I haue fully answered euery part thereof, in that I haue already written, although not in such order as it had bene meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I vnderstand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the iudgement of Christes Primatiue Church, which is the body and fulnesse of Christ. I desire you in the entire loue of hym, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your ioy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to submit your iudgement to that Church, and to bee at peace and vnitie with the same, that the coate of Christ which ought to be without seame, but now alas most miserably is torne in pieces by many daungerous sectes and damnable opinions, may appeare by you in no part to haue bene rented, neither that any giddy head in these dog dayes myght take an example by you to dissent frō Christes true Church: I beseech thee deare brother in the Gospell, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious Martirs in the Primatiue Church, and of such as at this day folow the same: decline not from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death be it neuer so bitter, bee more sweeter then this lyfe: then shall Christ with al the heauenly Hierusalem triumphantly embrace your spirite with vnspeakeable gladnes and exaltation, who in this earth was content to ioyne your spirit with their spirites, accordyng as it is commaunded by the word, that the spirite of Prophets should be subiect to the Prophetes. One thyng aske with Daud ere you depart, and require the same that you may dwell with a full accorde in hys house,* for there is glory and worship: and so with Simeon in y^e temple embracing Christ, depart in peace: to the whiche peace Christ bryng both you and me, and all our louyng brethren that loue God in the vnity of fayth, by such wais as shall please hym to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ which he suffred for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly Martyrs of Christ haue endured before vs,* and also the inestimable reward of your lyfe to come, which is hidden yet a little whyle from you wyth Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

Your yoke fellow in captiuitie for the veri•ie of Christes Gospell, to lyue and dye with you in the vnitie of fayth, Iohn Philpot.

☛ Diuers other letters were written by M. Philpot to diuers, but these as most principall I haue excerpted, and inserted. Amongest which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adioyne an other certayne letter of a godly & zealous Gospeller (whose name in her writyng doth not appeare) who in defendyng and commendyng the quarell of this M. Iohn Philpot, Christes most famous and worthy Martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before B. Boner. And therefore beyng appoynted by the sayd bishop, to appeare vpon a certayne day to aunswer for her selfe, In deede kept not her day with the Bishop, but in stead of her appearance, sent hym this letter, here followyng.

¶ Wo be vnto the Idolatrous Shepherds of England that feede themselues. Should not the Shepherdes feede the flocke? but ye haue eaten the fatte, ye haue clothed you with the wooll, the best fed haue ye slayne, but the flocke haue ye not nourished, the weake haue ye not holden vp, the sicke haue ye not healed, the broken haue ye not bound together, the outcastes haue ye not brought agayne, the lost haue ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly haue ye ruled them. Ezech. 34.

FOR as much my Lord as my busines is such that I can not come vnto your Lordshippe accordyng to my promise, I haue bene so bold to write these few wordes vnto you, partly to excuse myne absence, and partly to answere your Lordships demaunds at my last most happy departure from you. As touchyng the breache of my promise w^t you in not commyng agayne at the hower appoynted, your Lordship shall vnderstand that I take the counsaile of the Angell, which warned the wyse men not to come agayne to Herode accordyng to their promise, but to turne home agayne another way. Now my Lord I perceiuyng your Lordship to be a more cruell tyraunt then euer was Herode, and more desirous to destroy Christ in hys poore members then euer was he, which to destroy Christ killed hys owne sonne, I thought good to take the Angels counsaile, and to come no more at you, for I see that you are set all in a rage lyke a rauenyng wolfe agaynst y^e poore lambs of Christ appoynted to the slaughter for the testimonye of the truth. In deed you are called the common cut throte & generall slaughter slaue to all the Bishops of Englande, and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheepe of the Lord, to keepe vs out of your butchers stalle as long as we can: especially seyng that you haue suche store alredy, that you are not able to drinke al their bloud, least you should breake your belly: and therefore let them lye still and dye for hunger. Therefore my L. I thought it good to tary a tyme vntill your Lordships stomacke were come to you a little better, for I do perceyue by your great fat cheekes that you lacke no lambes fleshe yet, and belike you are almost gluttet with suppyng so much bloud, and therefore you wyll let some of the leanest dye in prysonne, which wyll then bee meate good enough for your barkyng beagles Harpsfield and hys fellowes, but yet my Lord it were a great deale more for your Lordshippes honour, if your chaplaines myght haue the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea, and when it is somethyng fat and fayre likyng, for now they haue nothyng but skin and bones, and if the dogges come hastily to it, they maye chance shortly to be choked, and then your huntyng wyll be hindered greatly if it be not altogether marred. I heare say my Lord y^t some of the butcherly cures came of late to my house to seeke their pray, & that they go round about y^e citie (as Dauid sayeth) grinnyng and grudgyng that they haue not meat enough, therefore belyke they haue kylled my poore brethren and sistern that haue lye so long vpon the butcherly stall, and eaten them vp: for I heare say their friends could not be suffred to see them this three dayes & more, therefore I perceyue now that if I had come agayne accordyng to my promise, that your Lordship lyke a rauenyng Wolf, or els some of your

helhounds would quickly haue weried me: but I see wel my appoynted time is not yet come, therefore I wyll yet lyue and thanke him for my deliuerance, with continuall songs of laude and prayse. [Page 1843](#) Thus haue I ben bold to trouble your lordship w^t telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not vnto you again accordyng to my vnpurposed promise, I trust your Lordship wil take this in good part, and accept it as a law^ffull excuse, not doubtyng but your Lordship would haue done the lyke, if you had bene in my case.

Now as concernyng the second part that caused me to write vnto your Lordship, which is to answer vnto your subtile or rather cruell demaund of my iudgement of the death of that blessed Martyr of Christ Iesus, good maister Iohn Philpot, I will not aunswer your Lordship simply and plainly, what perill so euer shall come thereof. Truly my Lord I do not onely thinke, but I am also most certayne and sure, that he as a very man of God, dyed a true Martyr and constant confesser of hys deare Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, to whō he did most faithfully commit his sweete soule, who will surely kepe the same with hym in ioy and felicitie for euermore. Also my Lord I do verily beleue and know that your Lordship hath committed an horrible and most cruell murder in the vniustly condemnynge and killyng of hym, and that you shall make as heauy an account for hys bloud, which shortly shall be required at your handes, as euer your great graundfather cruell Caine did or shall do for his innocent brother Abell. Moreouer,* because I am crediblye informed that your Lordship doth beleue, and haue in secrete sayd, that there is no hell, I certifie you that your Lordship did neuer any thyng in all your lyfe that so much did redounde to your Lordships dishonor, and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killyng the body of this blessed Prophet doth, especially seeyng that he was none of your Dioces, nor had not offended any of your Lordships diuelish and cruel lawes. Uerily I heare almost euery body say in all places where I come, that your Lordship is made the common slaughter slaue to all your fellows, bitesheep Bishops I would say: yea the very papists themselues beginne now to abhorre your bloudthirstines, and speake shame of your tyranny. Lyke tyranny beleue me my Lord, euery chylde that can any whit speake, can call you by your name & say, bloody Boner is bishop of London, and euery man hath it as perfect vppon hys fingers endes, as his Pater noster, how many you for your part haue burned with fire, and famished in prison, they say the whole summe surmounteth to forty personnes within this three quarters of this yeare. Therefore my Lord, though your Lordship beleueueth that there is neither heauen, nor hell, nor God, nor deuill: yet if your Lordship loue your own honesty which was lost long agoe, you were best to surcese frō this cruel burnyng of true christian men, and also from murderynge of some in prison, for that in deed offendeth mens myndes most, yea euen your olde friendes the rankest papists that be. For say they Felix the Heathen ruler did not forbidde Paules friends to visite hym in prison, and to bring hym necessary reliefe, and therefore it is a very great shame and sinne, to see a Bishop that beareth the name of a christian, to be more cruell vpon his poore brethren, then an Heathen, Turke, or Infidell.

This is mens saying in euery place, not onely of this Realme, but also of the most part of the world, & the common talke they haue of your Lordship, therfore I thought to be so bold with your Lordship as to tell you of it, thogh perchance you wil geue me but small thanks for my labor. Well, as for that I put it to your Lordships choise, for I haue as much alrede as I looke for. Finally, my L. I will geue you to vnderstande, that the death of this constant Martyr and valiaunt souldiour of Iesus Christ, hath geuen a greater shake towards the ouerthrowyng of your papisticall kyngdome, then you shall euer be able to recouer agayne this 7. yeres, do the best ye

can, and set as many crafty dawbers to patch it vp with vntempered clay as you wyll, yea, though pratyng Pendleton that wycked Apostata, apply all hys wily wits to helpe them. Uerilye my Lord, by all mens reports, his blessed lyfe could neuer ha•e done the lyke sorrow to Satans Synagoge, whereof some say your Lordship is a mightye member, as hys happy death hath done. You haue broken a pot in deede, but the precious worde contened therein, is so notably therewithall shed abroad, that the sweete sauour thereof hath woonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abyde any more the stinkyng sauour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your Lordships Iudasses do set them a sayle euery where to fill your bagges, I put your Lordship out of doubt, that if you do breake mo such pots, you will marre your owne market altogether: for I promise you most men beginne to mislike your diuelish doyngs, and wonderfully to lothe your popishe pedlary wares.

Thus haue I accordyng to your Lordships commandements, shewed you simply what I thinke of that good mans death, whose bloud cryeth for vengeance agaynst your Lordships butcherly bloody proceedings in y^e eares of the Lord of hostes, who will shortly reuenge the same, vpon your pilled pate, and vpon the rest of all your pollshorne brethren, the very marked cattell of the great Antichrist of Rome. The measure of your iniquitie is filled vp to the brimme, therefore will God shortly poure in double vnto your deserued destruction. And then I weene your new made Prosolites will be glad to couer their crowns with a Cowe turd (sauyng your Lordships reuerence I should haue sayd first. Well, I rather desire the conuersion then confusion, the Lord send the one of them shortly as may be most to his glory. Amen.

I signifye also vnto your Lordshyp, that the raylyng words which your lying preacher shewed forth of hys filthy fountayne vpon Sondag, agaynst the deare seruaunt of God good M. Philpot, doth greatly redounde to your Lordships dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Uerily I see that the great wrath of GOD hath so blynded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomite out your owne shame, and make all the world wonder vpon you. Was it not enough for you to condemne hym most vniustly, ye contrary to your own lawes, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limme of the Deuill, to blaspheme, slaunder, and belye him now he is dead. Oh viperous generation▪ seed of the serpent, & right children of the deuill, full well doe you counterfaite the fathers steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a lyer from the beginnyng, which two thinges be the onely weapons of your war, wherwith you maintaine all your mischiefe, that is to say, lying and murder: for those whom ye cannot ouercome w^t your lying perswasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme & belye them with railyng sentences when they are deade. But all this will not blynd the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the lesse beleue the truth, nor abate their loue from y^e true preachers thereof, yea it is a true signe and token that they are the very disciples of Christ: for he hath sayd, Blessed are ye when men reuile you and say all maner of euill sayings agaynst you for my names sake. Reioyce & be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. And doubtlesse great is that good mans reward in heauen by this time, as your Lordships damnation shall be great in hel, except you repent and surcease from sheddyng innocent bloud. But it is to be feared your hart is hardned as Pharaoes was, seyng that with Iudas ye haue sold and betrayed your maister. Take heed my Lord lest you come to the same ende or a worse then he did. For verily I cānot perceiue how you should escape it long: Therefore say not but a womā gaue you warning if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth. I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtaine it so long as ye go

this way to worke as you doe: for verily I beleeeue that you haue lost the harts of 20000. that were ranke papists with in this 12. months.

It is found very true that one holy doctor sayeth, the bloud of the Martyrs, is the seed of the Gospel, when one is put to death, a thousand doth rise for hym. And that this is true, you may well perceiue by the harty loue that the people shewed vnto good M^r. Philpot at his goyng to his death. They went not about to make an Idoll of hym as your adders brood would beare mē in hand, but they worshipped God which gaue such strength to his deare child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, to y^e vtter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your lordship doth most diuelishly maintaine with the force of fire fagots, and sword: yea, & rather then faile, to famish men in prison agayne as ye haue done already. It is reported of your owne tormenters, that the 6. prisoners that you haue in your prison, be put into 6. seuerall places al the day and euery night brought together and set in the stocks. Forsooth my L. this doth get you a foule name all abroad the countrey, and yet all will not helpe your lordships pestilent purpose, but euery way hinder the fame. For Zorobabell will bee founde no lyer, which sayd, The truth should haue victory, you do but striue agaynst the streame and kicke against the pricke, the Lord doth laugh your doyngs to scorne, and will bring all your counsailes and deuises to naugh (as knoweth the Lord God) who of hys great mercy shortly conuert your Lordship, or vtterly cōfound you, and get his name a glory ouer you. Amen.

Your Lordships Oratour, who praieth daily to God that he may rewarde you according to your deeds.

[Page 1844](#)

****Anno. 1556. ¶The Story of seuen Martyrs suffryng together at London for the lyke testimony of Christes Gospel.**

THE Catholike prelates of the Popes band beyng as yet not satisfied with this their one •eres bloody murderynge of the reuerend, lerned, & principal members of Christes church, (whereof there were now very few, which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or els for the auoidynge of their pop•sh rage, compelled to flee their natural country) continued still this next yere also, which was an. 1556. in no lesse crueltie towards the more simple & inferior sort of people (I meane in degree, though, God be prayesed, not in stedfastnes) hauing yet sometimes amōgst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this history shall appeare.

Wherefore (as the first fruites thereof) to beginne this yere withall, about the 27. day of Ianuary were burned in Smithfield at London, these seuen personnes hereafter followyng, to witte:

- Thomas Whittle, Priest.
- Barthelet Greene, Gentleman.
- Iohn Tudson, Artificer.
- Iohn Went, Artificer.
- Thomas Browne.
- Isabel Foster, wyfe.
- Ioane Warren, alias Lashford, Mayd.

All whith seuen as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewyse all vppon one sort and forme of Articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gyfts of God in them were diuers (some more abounding in knowledge then others) their dealyngs wythall were also diuers, as shall be more plainly perceiued in the discoursing of their seuerall processes hereafter folowing. And therefore for the better vnderstandyng hereof, I will first (by the leaue of the Lord) passing ouer their priuate articles and examinations had at sundry tymes in the bishops house, set foorth their generall examinations in the publike Consistorie, vpon the Bishops articles there ministred vnto them, with their aunswers also vnto y^e same, accordyng as they all agreed after one maner and sort together, as here by the words both of the articles and theyr aunswers vnder written, may appeare.

¶The forme and wordes of Boners Articles ministred to the seuen persons aboue mentioned in his Consistorie.

AND first to behold the maner of speach in these bishops sittyng in their maiesty to terrifie the eares of the simple withall, let vs heare the pontificall phrase of this Bishops, beginnyng in this sort.

¶The within written articles, and euery of them, and euery part and parcell of them, we Edmund by the permission of God Bishop of London, do obiect and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, &c of our meere office▪ for thy soule health, & for reformation of thyne offences and misdemeanours, nourishyng thee in the vertue of obedience, and vnder the paynes of both censures of the Church, and also of other paynes of the lawe, to aunswere fully, playnely, and truely to all the same.

1 First, that thou N. hast firmly, stedfastly, and constātly beleueed in tymes past, and so doest now beleue at this present, that there is here in earth a catholike Church, in the which Catholike Church, the fayth and religion of Christ, is truely professed, allowed, receyued, kept and reteined of all faithfull and true christian people.

*2. Item, that thou the sayd N. in tymes past, hast also beleueed, and so doest beleuee at this present, that there are in the Catholique Church seuen Sacramentes, instituted & ordeined by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approoued, receiued, kept, and reteyned.

3. Item, that thou the sayd N. wast in tymes past baptised in the fayth of the sayd catholike church,* professyng by thy godfather and godmothers, the fayth and Religion of Christ and the obseruation thereof, renouncing there the deuil & all hys pomps and works, and wast by the said sacrament of baptisme incorporate to the catholike church, & made a faythfull member thereof.

4. Item, that thou the sayd N. commyng to the age of 14. yeares, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the sayd profession and fayth, nor diddest mislike any part of the same fayth or doyngs, but diddest like a faythfull Christian person abide and continue in all the same, by the space of certayne yeares, ratifieng and confirmyng all the same.

5. Item, that thou the sayd N. notwithstanding the premisses, hast of late, that is to say, within these two yeares last past, within the City & dioces of London, swarued at the lest way from

some part of the sayd catholike faith and religion: and among other thyngs thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken agaynst the sacrifice of the Masse,* the sacrament of the altar, and the vnity of the church, raisyng & malignyng on the authoritie of the See of Rome, and the fayth obserued in the same.

6 Item, that thou the sayd N. hast heretofore refused, & doest refuse at this present to be reconciled againe to the vnitie of the church,* knowledging and confessing the autoritie of the sayd See of Rome to be lawfull.

7 Item, that thou the sayd N. mislikyng the sacrifice of the Masse, and the sacrament of the aultar, hast refused to come to thy parish Church to heare Masse,* and to receyue the sayd Sacrament, and hast also expresly sayd, that in the sayd Sacrament of the aultar, there is not the very bodye and bloud of our Sauour Christ, really, substantially, & truly, but hast affirmed expresly that the Masse is idolatry and abhomination, and that in the Sacrament of the aultar there is none other substance, but only materiall bread, and materiall wyne, which are tokens of Christes body & bloud onely, and that the substance of Christes bodye and bloud is in no wyse in the sayd Sacrament of the aultar.

8 Item, that thou the sayd N. beyng conuented before certaine Iudges or Commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and beyng found obstinate, wilfull, and heady, wast by their commaundement sent vnto me and my prison, to be examined by me, & Processe to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

9. Item, that all and singuler the premisses haue bene, and be true and manifest, and thy selfe not onely infamed and suspected therof, but also culpable therein: and by reason of the same, thou wast and art, of the iurisdiction of me Edmund B. of London, and before me accordingly, to the order of the Ecclesiasticall lawes, art to be conuented, and also by me to be punished and reformed.

¶Here follow likewyse their aunsweres in a generall, made to the Articles aboue rehearsed.

¶And first concernyng the first Article, in beleeuynge there is a Catholike Church.

TO the first Article they altogether agreeynge,* affirmed the same to bee true: Iohn Tudson, and Thomas Browne, further addyng, that the Church of England as it was at that present vsed, was no part of the true catholike Church.

¶Concernyng the second Article, that there be in the Church seuen Sacraments.

To the second Article they aunswered,* that they acknowledged but onely two Sacraments in Christes catholike Church, that is to say, Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord: Iohn Went and Tudson affirmyng that the sacrament of the aultar as it is vsed, is an Idoll, and no sacrament at all.

¶Concernyng the third Article, that they were first baptised in the fayth of the Catholike Church, professing by their Godfathers the profession of the same. &c.

To the third article they agreed and confessed all to be true,* that they were baptised in the fayth of Christ and of the church then taught: and afterward duryng the time of K. Edward the vj. they hearyng the Gospel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of religion & doctrine then vsed and set foorth in the raigne of the sayd kyng Edward.

Concernyng the fourth Article that they for the space of certayne yeares did ratifie or allowe, and not departe from any part of the profession of the same Church.

To this fourth Article they graunted also and agreed: Iohn Went addyng moreouer,* that about seuen yeares past, he then beyng about twenty yeares of age, began to mislyke certayne thyngs vsed in the Church of England, as the ministration of the Sacrament of the aultare: likewyse all the ceremonies of the sayd Church, and dyd lykewyse at that present tyme mislike the same as they were vsed, although hys godfathers and godmothers promised for hym the contrary.

Iohn Tudson added also in much like sort, and sayde, that when he came to the yeres of discretion, that is, about nine yeares past, beyng about eightene yeares of age, he [Page 1845](#) did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, sauynge in king Edwards tyme, in whose tyme the Gospell was truly set forth: and further sayde, that the doctrine set forth in the Queenes raigne,* was not agreeable to Gods word, nor yet to the true catholike church that Christ speaketh of, &c.

Isabell Foster with other graunted, adding likewyse, and saying to the sayde foure Articles, that she continued in the same faith and Religion which she was baptised in, after she came to the yeres of discretion as other common people did: howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the raigne of King Edward the sixt: at which tyme shee hearing the Gospel truly preached and opened to the people, receyued thereupon the fayth and religion then taught and set forth. &c.

¶Concernyng the fift Article, that they of late yeares haue swarued and gone away, misliked, and spokē agaynst the profession of the same Church, at least some part thereof, especially, the sacrifice of the Masse, the Sacrament of the altar, and the authoritie of the Church of Rome.

To the fift article, they aunswered the same to be true, accordyng to the contents thereof: Tho. Whittle addyng moreouer, that he had swarued & gone away, not in whole but in part, not from the whole Catholike Church, but frō the church of Rome, in speakyng agaynst the masse the sacrifice thereof, and the Sea of Rome.

*Ioane Lashford (aliâs Ioane Warne) grauntyng with the other the sayd Article, addeth moreouer, that she neuer hitherto swarued or went awaye, nor yet doth, from any part of Christs catholike faith and religion: but saith, that from the tyme she was xj. yeres of age, shee hath misliked the sacrifice of the masse, the sacrament of the altar, and the authoritie of the See of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be agaynst Christes catholike church, and the right fayth of the same.

Bartlet Greene answering with the other to this Article, addeth, & saith, that he swarued not from the Catholike fayth, but only from the church of Rome, &c.

***¶Concernyng the sixt article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the vnitie of the sayd Church of Rome.**

To the 6. article they aunswer and confesse the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same church and doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagreeeth from the vnitie of Christes word, and the true catholike fayth, &c.

Whereunto Bartlet Greene answered▪ that he is contented to be reconciled to the vnitie of Christes Catholike church, but not of the church of Rome.

In lyke maner added also Iohn Went.

***¶Concernyng the seuenth Article, that they refuse to come to heare Masse, and to receyue the sayde Sacrament, callyng it an Idol, &c.**

To the seuenth Article, they aunswer and confesse the contents thereof to be true, geuyng withall the reason and cause of this their so doying, for that the masse with the sacrament thereof, as it was then vsed and set foorth in the Church of England, is dissonant to the word & teachyng of the Gospell. &c.

Iohn Went furthermore said, as concerning the masse, that he beleueth no lesse, but the masse which he calleth the supper of the Lord,* as it is now vsed in the realm of England, is naught, full of Idolatry, and against gods worde so farre as he seeth it: howbeit, he sayd y^t since the Queens coronation, by chance he hath bene present where y^e Masse hath bene sayd, whereof he is sory.

Isabel Foster also answering to the sayd articles with the other before, confessed moreouer, that since Queene Maries raigne she hath not heard Masse, nor receiued the sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministred: for she knoweth no such sacrament to bee. And beyng demanded of her beliefe in the same, she sayth, that there is but onely materiall bread, and material wine, and not the substance reall of the body of Christ in the same sacrament: for so she hath bene taught to beleue by the preachers in the tyme of K. Edward, whom she beleeueth to haue preached the truth in that behalfe.

¶Concerning the 8. Article, that they were sent by the Commissioners to the B. to be examined and imprisoned.*

To the 8. Article they grant the same, and the contents thereof to be so.

Thom. Whittle, addyng and affirmyng that the Lord Chancellor that then was, sent hym vp to the Bish. there present.

Bartlet Greene added, that he was sent vp to the sayd B. but for no offence herein articulate.

Iohn Went sayd that D. Story, Quene Maries commissioner examined hym vpon the Sacrament, & because he denied the reall presence, he presented this Examine to the bishop.

Iohn Tudson likewise examined by M. Cholmly and D. Story, vpon the same matters, and for not comyng to the Church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the B.

Tho. Browne also sayde, that he, for not commyng to the church of S. Brides, was brought by the Constable to the B. &c.

Ioane Warne confessed that she was sent by Doctour Story to the Bishoppe of London,* about twelue weekes agoe, since which tyme shee hath continued with the sayd Bishop.

¶ Concernyng the 9. Article.

To the 9. Article they confesse and say, that as they beleue the premisses before by them confessed to be true: so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they bee of the iurisdiction of London.

And thus hauyng expressed their Articles, with their answers iointly made vnto the same, yet remayneth further more fully now to discourse the stories & handlyng of all the 7. aforesayd Martyrs seuerally and particularly by themselues, first beginning with Tho. Whittle.

☛ **The history of all these 7. Martyrs, particularly described in order here followeth, & first of Tho. Whittle, who first recanting, then returning agayne with great constancy and fortitude, stode to the defence of Christes doctrine agaynst the Papists, to the fire.**

IN the story of M. Philpot, mention was made before, of a married Priest,* whom he found in the Colehouse at hys first commyng thither, in heauines of mynd and great sorow, for recantyng the doctrine which hee had taught in K. Edwards dayes, whose name was Thom. Whittle of Essex: and thus lyeth his story. This Tho. Whittle after he had bene expelled from the place in Essex where he serued, went abroad where he might, now here and there as occasion was ministred, preachyng and sowyng the Gospel of Christ. At length beyng apprehended by one Edmund Alabaster, in hope of reward & promotion,* whiche he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the B. of Winchester, who then was fallen lately sicke of his disease, whereof not long after hee dyed most straungely. But the apprehender for his profered seruice, was highly checked & rated of the B. askyng if there were no man vnto whome he might bring such Rascals, but to him? Hence (quoth he) out of my sight thou varlet, what doest thou trouble me with such matters? The greedy cormorant beyng thus defeated of his desired pray, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, caried his prisoner to the B. of London, with whom what an euill messe of hādling this Whittle had, and how he was by the B. all to beaten & buffeted about the face, by this his owne narration in a letter sent vnto his friend, manifestly may appeare.

Upon Thursday which was the x. of Ianuary, the B. of London sent for me Thom. Whittle minister out of the porters lodge,* where I had bene all night lying vpon the earth, vpō a pallet where I had as painful a night of sicknes as euer I had, God be thanked. And when I came before hym, he talked with me many thyngs of the sacrament so grossely, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other thynges he asked me if I would haue come to masse that mornyng if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered, that I would haue come to hym at hys cōmandement, but to your Masse (sayd I) I haue small affectiō. At which aunswer he was displeased sore,* & sayd I should be fedde with bread and water. And as I followed hym through the great hall, he turned backe and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheeke, and then on the other, as the signe of my beatyng did many dayes appeare. And then he led me into a little

salthouse, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nightes on a table, and slept soundly, I thanke God.

Then vpon the Friday next after,* I was brought to my L. and he then gaue me many fayre words, and said he would be good to me. And so he goyng to Fulham, committed me to Doct. Harpsfield, that he and I in that after noone should common together, and drewe out certayne Articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I shoulde bee dismissed. But D. Harpsfield sent not for me til night, and then perswaded me very sore to forsake my opinions. I answered I held nothing but the truth,* & therfore I could not so lightly turne therefrom. So I thought I should at y^e time haue had no more ado: but he had made a certaine bill, whiche the Register pulled out of his bosom, & red it. [Page 1846](#) The bill in deed was very easily made, and therefore more daungerous: for the effect therof was to detest all errours and heresies against the sacrament of the aultar, and other sacramentes, & to beleue the fayth of the catholicke church, and liue accordingly.

¶The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it please the gētle reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands we haue hereunto adioyned, written and conteined in theyr owne wordes, as foloweth to be sene.

¶The Bill of submission offered to Thomas Whittell to subscribe.

I Thomas Whittell Prieste, of the Dioces of London, knowledge and confesse with my mouth agreeing wyth my hart before you reuerend father in God Edm. bishop of London my Ordinary,* that I do detest and abhorre all maner of heresies and errours agaynst the Sacrament of the aultar, or any of the Sacramentes of the Church, whiche heresies and errours haue heretofore bene condemned in any wise by the catholicke church: and I do protest and declare by these presents that I do both now hold, and also entēd by gods grace alwayes hereafter to hold, obserue and keepe in all poyntes the Catholicke fayth and beliefe of Christes Church, according as this church of England being a member of the sayd Catholicke Church doth now professe and keepe, and in no wise to swerue, decline or go from the sayd faith during my naturall life, submitting my selfe fully and wholly to you reuerend father my sayd Ordinarye in all thinges concerninge my reformation and amendement at all times. In witnesse whereof I the sayde Thomas Whittell Prieste haue hereunto subscribed my name, written. &c.

*To this Bill I did in deed set to my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do, and the flesh being alwaies desirous to haue libertye. I considered not throughly the inconuenience that might come thereupon: and respite I desired to haue had, but earnestlye they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had litle ioy thereof. For by and by my mind and conscience tolde me by Gods worde that I had done euill by such a sleighty meanes to shake of the sweete Crosse of Christ, and yet it was not my seking, as God he knoweth, but altogether came of them. O the crafty subtlety of Sathan in his members. Let euery man that God shall deliuer into theyr hands, take good heede, and cleaue fast to Christ: for they will leaue no corner of his conscience vnsought, but will attempt all guilefull and subtle meanes to corrupt him, to fall both frō God and his trueth. But yet let no man dispayre of Gods help: for Peter did fall and rise agayne. And Dauid sayeth: A righteous man though he fall, he shall not bee cast away: for the

Lorde vpholdeth him with his hande. For I for my part haue felt my infirmities, and yet haue I found Gods present helpe and comfort in time of neede, I thanke hym therefore.

The night after I had subscribed, I was sore greeued, and for sorrowe of conscience coulde not sleepe. For in the deliuerance of my body out of bondes, whiche I mighte haue had, I could finde no ioy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more, being assured by Gods spirit and his word, that I through euill counsell & aduisement had done amisse. And both with disquietnesse of minde and with my other cruell handeling, I was sickly, lying vpon the ground when the keeper came: and so I desired him to pray Doctour Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

And when he came, and the Register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I told him I was greued very much in my conscience and minde because I had subscribed. And I sayd that my conscience had so accused me, through the iust iudgement of God and hys word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Sathan ready to deuoure me: and therefore I pray you M. Harpsfield (sayd I) let me haue the bill agayne, for I wyll not stande to it. So he gentlye commaunded it to be fetched, and gaue it mee, and suffered mee to pull out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should folow, And hereby I had experience of gods prouidence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble he gaue me warning of my deed, and also deliuered me, his name be prayd for euermore Amen.

Neither deuill nor cruell tyrant can plucke any of Christes sheepe out of his hand. Of the which flock of Christes sheepe I trust vndoubtedly I am one by meanes of hys death and bloudshedding,* which shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receiue with other his blessed benediction. And now being condemned to dye, my conscience and minde, I prayse God is, quiet in Christ, and I by hys grace am very well willing and content to geue ouer this body to the death for the testimony of his truth & pure religion, agaynst Antichrist and all his false Religion & doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speake not truely. And as for Fountayne, I saw not him all that while.

By me Thomas Whittell Minister.

¶Concerning the troubled mind of this Godly man, and tearing of his name out of the bill, here followeth the report of the same, written in the letters both of the sayde Harpsfield, and also of Iohnson the Register, beyng then present thereat, and reporters of the same vnto the bishop, as in theyr letters hereto annexed is to be sene.

***The Copy of Nich. Harpsfieldes Letter, touching Mayster Whittell, written to Boner Byshop of London.**

PLEaseth your good Lordship to vnderstand, that yesterday I dined with my Lord of Exceter,* who soon after my first cōming vnto him, asked me what newes. I answered none but good, that I had heard. No sayth he? Why, it is a rumour in the City, that to'morowe the Queenes Grace will take her iourney towards the king. I aunswered, that I thought it not to bee any whit true, but an inuention of Heretickes: yea and further sayeth he, there is report made abroad of my Lorde our

Mayster, that he is in discomfort, and therefore will suffer no man to come vnto him. When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and declare how vntrue this report was, so that my Lord (who before was very sad) afterward knowing the truth, reioyced much to heare that all was wel with your lordship, and desired me to do his harty commendations to your Lordship.

One of my Lord of Penbrokes retinue a very handsome mā, and as farre as I can yet learne Catholicke, is a suter to your lordship to haue licence to erect a schoole: and the order which he intēdeth to vse, is cōteined in this printed paper, which I send here in inclosed to your Lordship. I would be gladde for my Lorde of Penbrokes sake that he vnderstood, that vppon my motion your Lordship were content he should teach as he intendeth. Mayster Iohnson and I haue trauelled with the Prieste, and he hath subscribed his name to this draughte whiche is herein inclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the same before your Lordship.

When I had written thus much, sodenly came tydings to me that Iordanis conuersus est retrorsum.* Cluney comming to the Priest, found him lying prostrate, & groning as though he should haue dyed forthwith. Then Cluney tooke him vppe, and set hym vpon a stoole, and came to me and told me of this reuell. It chaūced that M. Iohnson was with me, and we went to this fond hereticke & fōūd him lying all a long, holding his hands vp, & looking hypocritically towards heauen. I caused Thomas More & Cluney to set him on the stoole, and with much adoe at length he tolde me that Sathan had bene with him in the night, and tolde him that he was damned, and weeping he prayed M. Iohnson and me to see the bill whereunto he subscribed, and when he sawe it, he tare out his name è libro scilicet viuientium. Me thinketh by him he will needes burne a Fagot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman. I haue enquired of the two persons which sue to haue a licence to eat flesh.* And the woman of Christ Church is in deed very much diseased, and hath bene long diseased, and she and her husband both Catholicke. Of the other yet I canne learne nothing. Thus Iesus euermore preserue your good Lordship, and my Mistres your Lordshippes sister, with all yours. This present Saturday.

Your Lordships most bounden seruaunt Iohn Harpsfield.

¶Here foloweth an other letter of Robert Iohnson Register, touching Thomas Whittell, written to Boner Bishop of London.

MY bounden duety premised, pleaseth your Lordshyp to vnderstande that this laste Fridaye in the after noone,* Mayster Archdeacon of London did diligently trauell with Syr Thomas Whittell I being present, and perceiuing his conformity, as outwardlye appeared, deuised a submission, and hee being content therewith did subscribe the same. But now this saterday morning Mayster Archdeacon and I, vpon Cluneys report, declaring that he fayned himselfe to be extracted of his senses, went vnto hym, to whom he declared that Sathan in the night time appeared vnto him, and said that he was damned, for that he had done against his conscience in subscribing the said submission, with other like wordes. &c. And thē Mayster Archdeacon at his earnest request, deliuered vnto him the submissiō. And thereupon the sayd Whittell did teare out his subscription, made in the foot of the same, as [Page 1847](#) your Lordshippe shall perceiue by the submission sent now vnto your Lordship by Mayster Archdeacō: wherewith the sayd Whittell was somewhat quieted.

And as touching Ioane Lashford, Mayster Archdeacon didde likewise trauell with her, and shewing her Syr Thomas submission,* which I readde vnto her two times, demaunded if she could bee content to make the like submission, and she desired respite vntill this morning. And beyng nowe eftsoones demaunded, in likewise, sayth, that she will not make any thing in writing, nor put any signe thereunto. Mayster Archdeacon and I entend thy• after noone to examine the sayd Syr Thomas vpon Articles: for as yet there doeth appeare nothing in writing agaynste hym, as knoweth almighty GOD, who preserue your good Lordshyp in prosperity long with honour to endure. From London thys Saturday.

By your Lordships dayly bedesman, and bounden seruaunt, Robert Iohnson.

¶The Condemnation, Death, and Martyrdome of Thomas Whittell.

Concerning the woordes and aunsweres of the sayde Thomas Whittell at his laste examination before the Bishop,* vpon the xiiij. day of Ianuary, the yere aboue expressed, Boner with his other fellow Bonerlinge• sitting in his Consistory at after noone, first called forth Thomas Whittell, with who he began in effect as foloweth: because ye be a Priest (sayth he) as I and other Bishops here bee, and did receiue the order of Priesthooe after the ri•e and fourme of the Catholicke Church, ye shall not thinke but I will minister iustice as well vnto you, as to other. And then the sayd Boner in further communication did charge hym: that when in tymes past he had sayde Mas•e according to the order then vsed, the same Whittell nowe of late had rayled and spoken agaynste the same, saying that it was Idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittell aunswering agayne sayd,* that at such times as he so sayde Masse, he was then ignoraunt. &c. adding moreouer that the eleuation of the Sacramente at the Masse geueth occasion of Idolatry to them that be ignoraunt & vnlearned.

After this the bishop making hast to the Articles (whiche in all his examinations euer he harped vpon) came to this Article:* That thou wast in times past baptised in the fayth of the catholicke church.

To this the sayd Whittell inferred agayne: I was baptised in the fayth of the catholicke church, although I did forsake the Church of Rome. And ye my Lord do call these heresies that be no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies, and ye ground your selfe vpon that religion whiche is not agreable to Gods word. &c.

Then the sayd victorious souldiour and seruant of our Sauior, constant in the verity receiued and professed, was agayne admonished, and with perswasions entreated by the bishop: who because he would not agree vnto y^e same, the bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actuall degradation, that is, to vnprist him of all his priestly trinkets, and clarkly habite. The order and maner of whiche theyr popish and most vayne degradation, before in the storye of Bishop Hooper pag. 1435. is to be sene. Then Whittell in the midst of the ceremonies,* whē he saw them so busy in disgrading him after theyr father the Popes Pontifical fashion, sayd vnto them: Paule and Titus had not so much ado with theyr priestes and bishops. And farther speaking to the bishop,* he sayd vnto him: My Lord, your Religion standeth most with the church of Rome, and not with the catholicke church of Christ.

The Bishop after this, according to his accustomed & formall proceedings, assayed him yet agayne with words, rather then with substantiall arguments, to conforme him to his Religion. Who then denying so to doe, sayd: As for your religion. I cannot be perswaded that it is accordyng to Gods worde.

The Bishop then asked what fault he found in the administration of the Sacrament of the Aultar.

*Whittell aunswered and sayde, it is not vsed according to Christes institution, in that it is priuately and not openlye done: And also for that it is ministred but in one kinde to the lay people, which is agaynst Christes ordinaunce. Farther, Christ commaunded it not to be eleuated nor adored: For the adoration and eleuation cannot be approued by Scripture.

Well, quoth Boner, my Lords here and other learned men haue shewed great learning for thy cōuersion, wherfore if thou wilt yet returne to the fayth and religion of the catholicke Church, I will receiue thee thereunto, and not cōmit thee to the secular power. &c. To make short, Whittell strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong & vnmoueable in that he had affirmed. Wherfore the sentēce being readde, the next day folowing he was committed to the secular power, and so in few dayes after brought to the fire with the other sixe aforenamed, sealing vp the testimony of his doctrine with his bloud, which he willingly and chearefully gaue for witnes of the truth.

¶**Letters of Thomas Whittell.**

¶**A letter of Thomas Whittell to Iohn Careles prisoner in the kinges bench.**

THE peace of God in Christ bee with you continuallye dearely beloued bother in Christ,* with the assistaunce of Gods grace and holy spirit, to the working and perfourming of those thinges which may comfort and edefye hys Church (as ye dayly doe) to the glory of his name, and the encrease of your ioye and solace of Soule in this lyfe, and also your reward in heauen with Christ our Captain, whose faythfull Souldiours ye are in the life to come. Amen.

I haue greatly reioyced (my deare hart) with thanks to God for you, since I haue hearde of your fayth and loue which you bare towards God and his Sayntes, wyth a most godly ardent zeale to the verity of Christs doctrine and religion which I haue heard by the report of manye, but specially by the declaring of that valiaunt captayne in Christes church, that stout Champion in Gods cause, that Spectacle to the worlde, I meane our good brother Philpot, who now lyeth vnder the Aultar and sweetly enioyeth the promised reward. And specially I and my cōdemned fellowes gene thanks to God for your louyng and comfortable Letter in the deepenesse of our trouble (after the flesh) sent vnto vs to the consolation of vs al but most specially to me most sinnefull miser on mine own behalfe, but happye, I hope, through Gods louing kindnesse in Christ shewed vnto me: who suffered me to faynt & fayle through humaine infirmity, by the working of the Archenemy in his sworne Souldiours the Bishops and Priestes:* In whom so liuely appereth the very visage & shape of Sathan, that a man (if it were not preiudice to Gods word) might well affirme them to be Deuils incarnate, as I by experience do speake. Wherefore, who so shall for cōscience matters come in theyr handes, had need of the wylynesse of the

Serpent to saue his head, though it be wyth the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heede how he consenteth to theyr wicked writings, or setteth his hād to theyr conueyances.

Sore did they assault me and craftely tempt me to their wicked wayes, or at least to a denegation of my fayth and true opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And (alas) something they did preuaile. Not that I did any thing at all like theyr opinions and false papisticall religion, or els doubted of the truth wherein I stand, but onely the infirmity of the fleshe beguiled me, desiring liberty by an vnlawfull meanes: GOD lay it not to my charge at that daye, and so I hartely desire you to praye. Howbeit vncertayne I am whether more profite came therby: profite to me, in that God suffered Sathan to buffet me by his foresayd minister of mischief, shewing me myne infirmity, that I should not boast nor reioyce in my selfe but onely in the Lord, who whē he had led me to hell in my conscience through the respect of his feareful iudgementes agaynst me for my fearefulnes, mistrust and crafty cloking in such spirituall and weighty matters (in the which mine agonye and distresse, I founde this olde verse true, Non patitur ludum fama, fides oculus) yet he brought me from thence agayne to the magnifyng of his name, suspecting of flesh and bloude, and consolation of mine owne soule, or els that I might feele disprofite in offending the congregation of God, which peraduenture wil rather adiudge my fall to come of doubtfulnesse in my doctrine and religion, then of humaine imbecility.

Well, of the importune burden of a troubled conscience for denying or dissembling the knowne verity,* I by experiēce could say very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warding of other, if God graunte time: For now am I and my felowes ready to go hence euen for Christs cause: Gods name be prayسد who hath hitherto called vs. Pray, I pray you that we maye ende our course with ioy, & at your appoynted time you shall come after. But as the Lorde hath kept you, so will he preserue your life still, to the intent you should labour (as you do) to appease and conuince these vngodlye contentions and controuersies which now do too much raygn, brawling about termes to no edificatiō. God is dishonored, y^e church disquieted, & occasiō to speake euill of the gospel ministred [Page 1848](#) to our aduersaries. But such is the subtlety of sathan that whom he cannot winne with grosse Idolatry in open religion, thē he seeketh to corrupt and deceiue in opinions, in a priuate profession. But here I will abruptly leaue, lest with my rude & simple veyne I should be tedious to you, desiring you (my louing brother) if it shall not seeme grieuous vnto you, to write vnto me & my fellowes yet once agayne, if you haue leysure, and we tune to the same.

*Prouide me M. Philpots 9. examinations for a friend of mine, and I shall pay you therefore, by the leaue of almighty God our heauenly Father, who correcteth all hys deare children in this world, that they should not be damned with the world, and tryeth the fayth of his Saynctes through many tribulations, that being founde constant to the end, he may crowne his owne giftes in them, & in heauen highly reward thē: Whether I trust to goe before, looking for you to followe (my faythfull frend) that we maye sing perpetuall praise to our louing Lord God for victory ouer Sathan and sinne, won for vs by Iesus Christ God and man, our onely and sufficient Sauour and Aduocate, Amen. Farewell and pray in fayth.

Yours Thomas Whittell Minister, and nowe condemned to dye for the Gospels sake. 1556.
Ianuary. 21.

¶All my felowes salute you. Salute all our faythful brethren with you.

¶To my deare frend and brother Iohn Went, and other his prison felowes in Lollardes Tower.

HE that preserued Ioseph prisoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the Lions denne,* and deliuered Paul, Peter and the Apostles out of prison, vouchsafe of his goodnes to keep, feed, and deliuer you my good brother Went, with the other our fellow souldiors your prison felowes, as may be most to his glory, to your consolatiō, and the edification of his Church.

I cannot but praise God most earnestly, when I heare of your constancy in the fayth and ioye in the crosse of Christ which you now beare and suffer together,* with many other good members of Christ: which is a token that by Christ you are counted worthy the kingdome of God, as Paule sayth. And though the world counteth the yoake and crosse of Christ as a most pernicious and hurtfull thing, yet we which haue tasted how frendly the Lord is, cannot but reioice in this persecution as touching our selues, in as much as the cause for the which we suffer is the Lordes cause, and not ours:* at whose hand if we endure to the end, we shall receiue through his liberall promise in Christ, not onely a greate reward in heauen but also the kingdome of heauen it selfe, & also in the meane season be sure to bee defended and cared for, so that we shall lacke no necessarye thinges, neither a heare of our heades shall perishe without his knowledge. Oh what is he that would mistrust, or not gladly serue so louing a father? O how vnhappy are they that forsake him and put theyr trust in man? But how blessed are they that for his loue and for his holy woordes sake, in these troublesome dayes doe committe theyr soules and bodyes into his handes with wel doing, counting it greater happines and riches to suffer rebuke with Christ and his Church,* thē to enioy the pleasures of this life for a litle short seasō? This crosse that we nowe beare hath bene common to all the faythfull from Abell hitherto,* and shalbe to the end, because the Deuill hauyng great wrath agaynst God and his Christ,* can not abide that hee should for his manifolde mercies bee lauded and magnified, and Christ to be taken and beleued vpon for our onely and sufficient redemer,* Sauour, and aduocate: and therefore, because we will not deny Christ, nor dissemble with out fayth, but openly protest and professe the same before the world, he seeketh by all meanes to styrr vp his wicked members, to persecute and kill the bodies of the true Christians: as S. Iohn sayth, the Deuill shall cast some of you into prison, And Dauid sayth, I beleued, and therefore haue I spoken, but I was sore troubled. This notwithstanding, goe forward deare brethren, as ye haue begon, to fight the Lords battel, considering Christe the Captayne of your warre, who will both fight for you, geue you victorie, and also highlye rewarde your paynes. Consider to your comfort, the notable and chiefe shepherdes and souldiours of Christe, whiche are gone before vs in these dayes, I meane those learned and godly Bishops, Doctours, & other ministers of Gods word: whose fayth and examples we that be inferiours ought to folowe, as S. Paule sayth: Remember them that haue declared vnto you the worde of God,* the ende of whose conuersation see that ye look vpon, and folow theyr faith. The grace & blessing of God, with the ministry of his holy Angels, be with you for euer, Amen. All my prison felowes greeete you.

From the Colehouse this 4. of December,

By your poore brother Thomas Whittell, an vnworthy Minister of Christ, nowe his prisoner for the Gospels sake. Amen.

¶To all the true professors and louers of Gods holy Gospell within the City of London.

THE same faith for the whiche Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary blessed,* the Lorde GOD encrease and make stable in your hartes, my deare and faithfull brethren & sisters of London, for euer and euer, Amen.

Dearely beloued, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some straunge thing had happened vnto you, but reioyce in as much as ye are partakers of Christes passions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be mery and glad. &c. Out of these wordes of S. Peter I gather most specially these 4. notes. First,* y^e persecution happeneth to Christes Church for their triall, that is, for the probation and prooffe of their fayth. Which fayth, like as it is knowne with God in the depth of our hartes, so will he haue it made manifest to y^e whole worlde through persecution, that so it may euidently appeare that hee hath such a Church and people vpon earth, which so trusteth in hym and feareth his holy name that no kinde of persecution, paynes, nor death,* shalbe able to separte them from the loue of hym. And thus was Abraham tried, and Iob tempted, that their fayth whiche before laye hid almost in their hartes, might bee made knowne to the whole world to be so stedfast and stronge, that the deuill, naturall loue, nor no other enemie, coulde bee able to bereaue them thereof. Whereby also GOD was to be magnified, who both tryeth his people by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles to deliuer them by lyfe or death, as he seeth best: like as he assisted Loth, and deliuered hym out of his enemies handes, Ioseph out of the handes of his Brethren and out of Prison,* Paule from his enemies in Damasco, and the Apostles out of the Stockes and Prison. These with many mo he deliuered to lyfe: And also he deliuered Abell, Eleazar, Steuen, and Iohn Baptist, with other manye by deathe, and hathe also by the tryall of their fayth made them good presidentes and examples to vs and all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause as Saynt Iames sayeth: Take, my brethren (sayth he) the prophets for an ensample of suffering aduersity and of long pacience, which spake vnto you in the name of the Lord: beholde we count them happy which endure. Y^e haue heard of the pacience of Iob, and haue knowne what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitifull and mercifull. Also the Lorde tryeth vs, to let vs see our owne hartes and thoughtes, that no Hypocrisy or Ambitiō deceiue vs, & that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not but endure to the ende, and that those that fall through fearefull infirmity, might speedely repent and rise agayne with Peter, and also that the weake ones might bewaile theyr weakenes, and crye with Dauid: haue mercy vpon me O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord heale me for all my bones are vexed.*

Of this opening of the heart by persecution, spake holy Simion to Mary Christes mother when he sayde:* the Sworde, that is, the Crosse of persecution shall pearse thy Soule, that the thoughtes of many hartes may be opened. For like as a king that should go to battell, is cōpelled to looke in his cofers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puisaunce of menne and weapons hee hath, so that if he himselfe be vnready and vnarmed to bicker with hys enemye, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: euen so wee by persecutions haue our heartes opened that wee maye looke therein to see what fayth in Christ we haue, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to beare the Crosse, that if we be riche in these treasures, we might reioyce and valiauntly go

to Battell: or if we want these things, with all speede to call and crye vppon him which geueth all good giftes to those that aske them. Item, the crosse trieth the good people from the bad, the faythfull from the worldlinges and hipocrites,* and also cleanseth and scoureth the faythfull hartes from all corruption and filthinesse both of the flesh and the spirit. And euen as yron, except it be often scoured, will soone waxe rusty: so except our sinnefull hartes and flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the Crosse, they will soone corrupt & ouergrowe with the ruste of all filthinesse and sinne. And therefore it is meete and good for vs (as the wise man sayeth) that as gold & siluer are tryed in the fire, so should the hartes of acceptable men be tried in the fornace of aduersity. Abide the triall (deare frendes) that yee may obteyne the Crowne of life. Fighte manfully in this the Lordes cause, that ye may obteyne a glorious victorye here,* and receiue a greate rewarde in heauen hereafter. As yee are called Christians, and woulde be angry to be called Iewes or Turkes, so declare your Christianity by folowing the steps of Christ, whose name ye beare: suffer with hym [Page 1849](#) and for his Gospelles sake, rather then to denye him or to defile your fayth and conscience with false worshipping of Romish religion.

Take vp your Crosse (my deare hartes) now when it is offered you, and go vp with Christ to Ierusalem amōgest the Bishoppes, Priestes, and Rulers if God call you thereto, and they will anone sende you to Caluery: from whence (dying in the cause of the Gospell, wherein our good Preachers and Brethren haue geuen theyr liues) your soules (I warrant you) through Christ Iesu, shall ascend to God that gaue them,* and the body shall come after at the last day, and so shal ye dwell with the Lord for euer in vnspeakeable ioy and blisse. O blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake, as Christes people in this Iewish Englande nowe doth, for theyrs is the kingdome of heauen. O my beloued, set your mindes on this kingdome where Christ our head and king is, considering that as the brute beast tooketh downewardes with the face towardes the earth, so man is made contrariwise with his face looking vppward towardes, the heauens, because his conuersation should be in heauen and heauenlye thinges, and not vpon the earth and earthly thinges, and S. Paule sayth: set your mindes on thinges whiche are aboue,* where Christ is. And agayne he sayth: our conuersation is in heauen, from whence we looke for our Sauour, who will chaunge our vile bodyes, and make them like to his glorious body. Oh y^e glorious estate that we be called vnto.* The Lord preserue vs harmeles to his eternal king'dome through Christ Iesus our Lord. Amen.

The second thing that I note in the foresayde wordes of Peter,* is that he calleth persecution no straunge thinge. And trueth it is: for which of the Prophetes were not persecuted with Christ and his Apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truthe sake? Cain killed Abell,* Isaac was persecuted of Ismaell, Iacob was hated of Esau, Ioseph was prisoned and set in the Stockes, the Prophet Esay was cut in two with a Saw, Ieremy was stoned, Micheas was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Helias was sore persecuted, Eleazar, and the woman with her 7. sonnes were cruelly killed. What Christ and the Apostles suffered it is well knowne. So that by many tribulations as (Paul sayth) we must enter into the kingdome of Heauen. All the holy Prophetes, Christ and hys Apostles suffered such afflictions not for euill doing, but for preaching Gods word, for rebuking the world of sinne, and for theyr fayth in Iesus Christ. This is the ordinance of GOD (my Frendes) this is the high way to heauen, by corporall death to eternall life: as Christ sayth, he that heareth my woordes and beleueueth in him that sent mee,* hath eternall life, and shall not come into iudgement, but is escaped from death to life. Let vs neuer feare death, which is killed by Christ, but beleue in him and liue for euer, as Paule sayth: There is

no damnation to them that are in Christ Iesu, which walke not after the fleshe, but after the Spirit. And agayne Paule sayth: Death where is thy styng? * Hell where is thy victory? Thankes be to God which hath geuen vs victory through Iesu Christe. Besides this, ye haue seene and dayly doe see the blood of your good Preachers and Brethren which hath bene shed in the Gospelles cause in this sinnefull Sodome, this bloody Ierusalem, this vnhappy City of London. Lette not theyr blood be forgotten, * nor the blood of your good Bishop Ridley, who like a Shepheard, to your comforte & exāple, hath geuen his life for his sheepe, good S. Paule sath: remember them that haue spoken to you the word of God, and looke vpon the end of theyr conuersation, and folow theyr fayth. *

The Deuill euer stirreth vp false teachers, as he hath done now ouer all Englande, as Peter, Paule and Iude prophesied it should be, to poyson and kill our soules with the false doctrine. And where he fayleth of his purpose that way, then mooueth he his members to persecute the seely carcasses of the Saynctes, because they will not denye nor dissemble theyr pure fayth in our liuing Christ, and confesse a dead breadye Christ, and honour the same as Christ God and man, contrary to Gods commaūdement. This is the working of Sathan, * who knowing hys owne iust damnation, woulde all mankinde to be partakers wyth him of the same: * such a mortall hatred beareth he agaynst GOD and his people. And therefore when this wicked Tempter coulde not kill Christe with subtile tentation to fall downe and worship him, * then he styrred vp his seruantes the Bishops and Pharises to kill his body, wherby notwithstanding the Deuill loste his title and interest whiche hee had to mans soule, and man by his precious passion and death was raunsomed from the Deuil, death and Hell, to immortality & life euerlasting: and so when Sathan thought to haue wonne all in killing of Christ, he lost all: and so shall he doe in vs if wee abide constaunt• and strong in the fayth of our Lorde and Sauour Iesus Christe vnto the ende. God graunte it for his mercyes sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put theyr trust in him, Amen.

Wherefore my hartely beloued brethren and sisters (be of good comfort through Iesus Christ: for he that is in vs, is stronger then he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye neare to God, and he will drawe neare to you. Resist the Deuill and he will (as Iames sayth) flee frō you. Beware of the leuen of the Phariseis. Touch not pitch, * least ye be defiled therewith. Eate no Swines flesh, for it is agaynst the law: I meane, defile not your selues neither inwardly nor outwardly with this false and wicked religion of Antichrist: for it is nothing els but pitche and Swines fleshe. Beware of the beastes marke least ye drinke of the cup of Gods wrath. If God haue geuen you knowledge & faith, * dissemble not therewith. Denye not the knowne veritye before men, least Christ deny you before his Father. * Come away from Babilon, as Iohn biddeth you, * and touche no vncleane thinge, but separate your selues from the company of the vngodly, as Paule commaundeth you. * Whatsoeuer ye haue done amisse heretofore, now repent & amend, for with the Lorde there is mercy and plenteous redemption.

The thirde thing and note which I gather out of the forsayd wordes of Peter, is this, that he sayth: * Reioyce because ye are pertakers of Christes Passion. Our sufferinges (my welbeloued) are Christes sufferinges: and that iniury that is done to vs for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himselfe, as he sayd to Paule: Saul, Saul, * why persecutest thou me? Therefore we ought to reioyce in our sufferinges, as Paule writeth: whiche we suffer with Christ and one with another, as Peter sayeth, and so to fulfill that whiche is behinde of the Passions of Christ in our flesh: whiche Christ hath by his Passion, * fully redeemed and saued vs in his owne person: how be it

hys electe must suffer with hym and for him vnto the worldes ende, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sinne in this worlde, and bee made more meete Temples for the holy Ghoste,* and also obteyne a greate rewarde in heauen for theyr suffering for righteousnesse sake, according to his promise. And therefore I saye (my Brethren) reioyce in the Lorde alwayes, and agayne I say reioyce.* Let vs reioyce in the Crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to vs, and we to it.

And why shoulde wee so greatly reioyce in the Crosse of Christ, which we now suffer? * Because (sayth Peter) when his glory appeareth, we may be mery and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his wordes aboue written: Wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this worlde: but at his comming to iudgement when we shalbe rayseed agayne: and then shal they that haue sowne in teares, reape in ioy, as Christ sayth: Blessed are they that weepe here, for they shall laughe.* Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of theyr companye, raylinge on you, and abhorring your name as an euill thing for the sonne of mans sake, reioyce ye in that day and be gladde, for your reward is greate in Heauen.

Wherefore (my dearely beloued) through the hope of this heauenly ioy and rewarde, which he that can not lye hath promised (whiche ioye is so greate that no eare hath heard, no eye hath sene, nor the hart can thinke, where we shall dwell for euer in the heauenly City, the celestiall Ierusalem, in the presence of God the Father, & Iesus Christ our Mediatour, as Paul sayth, and in the company of innumerable Angels, and with the spirites and soules of all faythfull and iust men) reioyce and be glad: and seing ye be called to so great glory,* see that ye make your election and vocation sure by good workes,* and specially by sufferinge aduersitye for the Gospelles sake: for it is geuen vs of GOD (sayth Paule) not onely to beleue in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Continue in prayer, and praye for me that I may ende my course with ioy. Haue Brotherly loue amongst your selues, whiche is a token that ye be Christes Disciples.* Edify and comfort one an other in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and loue be with you alwayes. Amen. For your liberality and kindnesse shewed vpon the Prisoners and afflicted people of GOD in thys time of persecution, the Lorde wyll reward you when he commeth to reward euery man according to theyr deedes, and will not leaue a cuppe of colde water bestowed vpon his faythfull people, vnrewarded.* God make you riche in all grace, that ye alwayes hauyng sufficient maye be riche vnto all manner of good woorkes. The Grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, the loue of GOD, [Page 1850](#) and the felowship of the holy ghost be with you alwayes. Amen.

Your brother now in bondes for the Gospell, Thomas Whittell.

***To my louing and faythfull brother, Iohn Careles Prisoner in the kinges bench.**

*The same fayth for the which Abraham was accounted iust & Mary blessed, whereby also all iust men liue the Lord GOD our louing father encrease and stablish in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Sauior Iesus Christ. Amen.

I can not worthely and sufficiently prayse GOD (my hartely beloued brother) for the consolation and ioy that I receiued by reason of your louing letters, repenting me much that I being so long so neare you, did not enterprise to styrre vppe familiarity and communication betweene vs by writing, to mutuall consolation in Christe. For what is there vpon earth wherein to reioyce (where

all thinges are transitory and vayne, yea manne himselfe, respecting this life) but, as Dauid sayeth, the Saynctes that dwell vpon the earth,* and such as excell in vertue? But here now I consider, that if the felowshippe, loue, and ioye of faythfull men and children of God being as wee nowe be in double bondage, the body within clay walles, and the soule within these frail earthly bodies, be so greate and comfortable: how vnspeakeable will these ioyes be, when we shall be deliuered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God? Where we shalbe present together continuallye in our glorified bodies,* beholding the face of our father presently (whō now we see but in the glasse of fayth) with his deare sonne Christ our redemer & brother, and the blessed company of Aungels and all faithfull sauēd soules.

Of the incomparable good thinges and heauenlye treasures layd vp for vs in heauen by Christ Iesu. For the obtaining wherof, we ought to set light by all temporall griefes and transitorye afflictions so much the more, in that our good God is faythfull & will not suffer vs to be tempted aboue our strength, & that name'ly in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth, lieth styll, as the preacher sayth: when euery one, causa sua dormit, & causa sua resurget: for els before the ende he suffereth his sometime to fall,* but not finally to peryshe: as Peter sinked vpon the Sea, but yet was not drowned, and sinned grievouslye vpon the land thorow infirmity denying his Mayster, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth oftentimes. And Christes holye Apostles are taught to •ay, remitte nobis debita nostra. Yea though the righteous fall, sayth Dauid, he shall not be cast away, for the Lord vpholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomlesse mercy of God to'wardes vs miserable sinners. He vouchsafe to plant in my heart, true repentaunce and fayth, to the obtaining of remission of all my sinnes in the mercies of God and merites of Christ his sonne, and therto I pray you say, Amen.

Oh my hartely beloued, it griueth me to see the spoyle & hauocke that Saule maketh with the congregation of Christe: but what remedy? This is Gods will and ordinaunce, that his people shall here both be punished in the fleshe, and tryed in theyr fayth, as it is written: Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth them out of all: for by a strait path and narrowe doore must we enter. Whether? Into the ioyfull kyngdome of heauen: therefore blessed are you, and other that suffer persecution for Christes sake, for the professing of the same. Pray for me & my felowes (good brother) that we may fight a good fight, that we may keepe the fayth, and ende our course with ioyfull gladnesse, for now the time of our deliuerance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend and keep vs and you, and al his people in our iourney, that we may safely through a shorte death passe, to that long lasting life.

Farewell my deare and louing brother and felowe souldiour in Christ: farewell (I say) in him: who receiue our soules in peace when they shall depart from these tabernacles, and he graunte vs a ioyfull resurrection, and a mery meeting at the last day, & continuall dwelling together in his eternall heauenlye kingdome, through Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Yours with my poore prayer, other pleasure can I do you none, Thomas Whittell, Minister.

***To my deare brethren M. Filles and Cutbert.**

MY deare and welbeloued brethren in Christ, Mayster Filles and Cutbert,* I wish you all welfare of soule & body. Welfare to the soule, is repentance of sinne, faythfull affiaunce in Christ Iesus,

& a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the same, with all necessary thinges for this bodely life. The soule of man is immortall, and therefore ought to be well kept, least immortality to ioy, should turne to immortality of sorow. As for the body, be it neuer so well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay: But those that are engrafted & incorporated into Christe by true fayth, feeling the motion of Gods holy spirite, as a pledge of theyr election and inheritaunce, exciting and styrring them, not onely to seek heauenly thinges, but also to hate vice, and embrace vertue, will not onely doe these thinges, but also if need requyre, will gladly take vp theyr Crosse and folow their capteine, their king,* & theyr Sauior Iesus Christ (as his poore afflicted church of England now doth) agaynst that false and Antichristian doctrine and religion now vsed, & specially that blasphemous Masse,* wherein Christs supper and holy ordinaunce is altogether peruerterd & abused contrarye to his institutiō, & to Paules procedinges: so that, that which they haue in theyr Masse, is neither Sacrament of Christ,* nor yet sacrifice for sinne, as the Priestes falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as S. Augustine saith,* a visible sign of inuisible grace, when it is ministred to y^e communicants according to Christes example, and as it was of late yeres in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sinne: for Christ with one sacrifice hath perfited for euer those that are sanctified.

Beware of false Religion, and mens vayne traditiōs, and serue God with reuerence and godlye feare according to the doctrine of his Gospell, whereto cleaue ye that yee may be blessed,* though of wicked men ye bee hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, then of the cuppe of that rosecoloured whore of Babilon, which is full of abominations. Rather striue ye to go to heauen by the path which is strait to flesh and bloud, with the litle flock, then to goe in the wide waye, folowing the enticementes of the world and the flesh, which leadeth to damnation. Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, sayeth S. Peter, so arme ye your selues with the same minde:* for Christ suffred for vs, leauing vs example to folow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake, great is their reward in heauen.* He that ouercommeth (sayth S. Iohn) shall eat of the tree of life: he shall haue a crowne of life, & not be hurt of the second death: he shall be clothed w^t white araye, & not be put out of the booke of life: Yea I will confesse his name sayth Christ, before my father, and before his Aungels, & he shalbe a pillar in the house of God, and sitte with me on my seat. And thus I bidde you farewell, myne owne Brethren and deare felowes in Christ. Whose grace and peace be alway with you. Amen.

This world I do forsake:

To Christ I me betake,

And for his Gospell sake.

Paciently death I take.

My body to the dust,

Now to returne it must:

My soule I know full well,

With my God it shal dwel.

Thomas Whittell.

¶An other Letter of M. Thomas Whittell written to a certayne Godly woman.

OH my deare and louing sister in Christe, be not dismayde in this storme of persecution,* for Paule calleth the Gospell the word of the Crosse, because it is neuer truely taught, but the crosse and cruell persecution immediately and necessarily doeth folow the same, and therfore it is a manifest token of Gods truth, and hath bene here and is still abroade, and that is a cause of the rage and crueltie of Sathan agaynste Christe and his members, which must bee corrected for theyr sinnes in this worlde: theyr fayth must be tried, that after triall and pacient suffering the faythfull may receiue the crowne of glorye. Feare not therefore my welbeloued, but proceede in the knowledge and feare of God,* and he will keepe you from all euill. Call vpon his holy name, & he will strengthen you and assiste you in all your wayes: and if it please him to lay his crosse vpon you for his Gospelles sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by vnlawefull meanes, leaste you should (as God forbidde) finde a more grievous crosse, and torment of conscience, if you shoulde dissemble and denye the knowen verity, then is any persecution or death of body.* Oh howe happye are they that suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake? their rewarde is great in heauen. The momentanie afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shal be shewed vpon vs. Oh remember the Godly weman of the old testament and new, which liued in Gods seruice and feare, and therefore are now in blisse and commended for euer: as namely Iudith, Hester, Abigael, the mother of the 7. sonnes, Mary, Elizabeth, Susanna, Lidia, and Phebe, and others. Set theyr examples before your eyes, and feare nothing: for Sathan is conquered by our Sauour Christe: sinne is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternall life is set wide open: God graunt we may enter therein through the doore Iesus Christ, Amen.

Thomas Whittell.

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¶The Story of Mayster Bartlet Greene, Gentlemanne and Lawyer, Martyr.

After the Martyrdome of Thomas Whittell, nexte followeth in order to speake of Bartlet Greene, who the nexte day after the foresayde Whittell, was likewise condemned. Thys Greene was of a good house, and hauinge such Parentes, as both fauoured learning, and were also willing to bring vp this theyr childe in the same. Who after some enteraunce in other inferiour Schooles, was by them sent vnto the Uniuersity of Oxforde: where thorow exercise and diligent study, he so profited, that within short time he attained, aswell to the knowledge of sundery prophane Sciences, and also now in his last yeares, vnto the godly vnderstanding of Diuinitye. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trayned vp from his youth) he was at the first an vtter enemy,

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***☞ Heere beginneth the XII. Booke, containing the bloudye doings and persecutions of the aduersaries against the**

Faithfull and true seruantes of Christ, with the particular processes and names of such as were put to slaughter from the beginning of Ian. An. 1557. and the fifte of Queene Marie.

The order and maner of the Cardinals visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking vp, and burning the bones and Bookes of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, An. 1557. Ian. 9.

Cardinall Poole, three yeares after his retourne into Englande, hauinge somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affaires of the realme, and hauing in all poyntes established the Romish religion, began to haue an eye to the vniuersity of Cambridge, whiche place amōg other, speciallye seemed to haue neede of reformation out of hand. To perform this charge,* were chosen Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated Bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, Archpriest of the people of Bodolon, in the dioces of Ueron, professed in bothe the lawes, and bearing the name of the popes Datary, Tho. Watson, elected Bish. of Lincolne, Iohn Chrystopherson, elected bish. of Chichester, and Henry Cole Prouost of the colledge of Eaton. There was good cause why the matter was especially cōmitted to these persons. For as touching Ormanet, it is wel knownen that he was a man of much estimation with Iulius the 3. at that time B. of Rome, and was appoynted to come into Englande with Cardinall Poole, because without his knowledge (as in whome hee put his chief trust and confidence) the B. would haue nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

These persones thus appoynted (in the meane while as the visitors were addressing themselues to their iourney) sent their letters with the Cardinals Citation before doctor Andrew Perne,* Uicechācellor then of Cambridge, with the other Commissioners associate, commāding him to warne all the Graduates of the Uniuersitie in theyr name, to be in a readinesse against the 11. day of Ianuarie, betwixt 8. and 10. of the clocke, in the church of S. Marye the virgin: willing him especially to be there hym selfe in presence, and also to sette forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, y^t they should search out all Statutes, Bookes, Priuiledges, and Monuments appertaining to the Uniuersitie, or to any of the Colledges, or finally to any of thēselues, and these to present the same before them at the day appoynted, and euery mā to appeare there personally: for they woulde not faile, but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seme necessary to this charge of reforming y^e vniuersitye, and further to geue charge of all such things as should seme most for the profit & behoue of the same, together with such thyngs as were to be done on theyr parte, accordinge as shoulde seme most agreeable to the Decrees of the Canon lawe.

This citation of the Cardinal being brought to Cambridge by master bullocke, was first exhibited in the Conuocation house of Regents, and there openly redde by the Orator of the Uniuersitie the 11. of December.

*After thys, vppon the 24. of December, whyche was Christenmasse euen, the Uicechancellor, wyth the heads of houses meeting together in the Schooles, it was there cōcluded, that the visitors charges should be borne by the vniuersitie and Colledges (which then cost the

Uniuersitie an 100. pound thicke) and also that no master of any Colledge should suffer any of the fellowes, scholers, or ministers, to goe foorth of the towne, but to retourne before the Uisitation.

On friday, the 8. of Ianuarie, the Queenes Commissioners, videlicet, Doctor Perne Uicechauncellor, Doctor Segewicke, Doctor Haruy, M. Francke, Kust, and an other who is here namelesse, also with sir Iames Dyer, the Recorder, M. Chapman, Euered sitting together in the Hal, certaine were there called by the appoyntment of L. Hawes, and charge giuen what should be done. And first the Commission was read. Then were all the high Constables called to bring in theyr precepts, and sworne. Also 2. of euery Parishe of 10. or 12. hundredes, were sworne to inquire of heresie, lollardie, conspiracie, seditious words, tales, and rumors against the King and Queene. Item, for hereticall and seditious bookes, for negligences & misdemeanour in the church, for obseruation of Ceremonies, for Ornaments, and stocke of the church.

We sayd at the first,* that the Cardinall thought the Uniuersitie to haue neede of reformation. The reason whye hee shoulde thinke so, was this: either because the same of long continuance since any man could remember, had cast of the Yoke of the B. of Rome, and cleaued to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, or els by reason that bothe for the late schisme, not yet worne out of memorie, and for the doctrine of Martine Bucer, who not long before openlye in the sayd Uniuersitie interpreted holy Scripture, they saw many so sore corrupted and spotted with thys infection, that (euen as when a fire is spred in a towne) vnlesse a speedy remedy were adhibited out of hande, it were not possible, to their thinking, to quench it many yeares after. Who also feared (if it were not looked to in time) least this mischief should take rote, and by litle and litle infect al the members next vnto it, which yet were whole and sounde.

This was the yeare of our Lorde 1556. To the intent therfore to make a salue for this sore, the Inquisitours,* of whome we spake before, came vnto Cambridge the 9. day of Ianuarie. And as they were yet on theyr iourney, not farre from the towne, diuers of the Masters & Presidents of the colledges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and after to their lodging. They were entertained in Trinity colledge by M. Iohn Christopher, son Master of the same house,* and lately before elected B. of Chichester. Notwithstanding they were desired, some to one place, and some to an other as occasion serued, eyther to do theyr dueties, or to shew theyr good wils: Cole to the kings Colledge, and D. Watson to S. Iohns. But whether it were for the acquaintaunce of Christopherson, or for the largenes of the house, which semed most conuenient for theyr purpose, they al tooke vp their lodgings in the sayd Colledge with M. Christopherson.

At theyr comming thether an Oration was made by a felowe of the house, who in the name of all the rest,* w^t long Protestation declared that they were moste heartely welcome thether, & that he and his fellowes gaue them great thanks, that it had pleased theyr lordships to haue so good opiniō of them, as to chuse their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had bothe encouraged them to stande in hope of some further beneuolence towards them, and also done great worship to theyr Colledge by theyr being there: wherefore they should looke at theyr hand agayne for as much duetie and reuerence, as lay in theyr power to perfourme.

To this Oration Watson made answer, that this forewarde and earnest good willes and mindes of theyrs,* in doing suche curtesie, was right thankfully taken, both of hun and his, exhortinge them to continue stedfastly in the same, and to procede also when nede should require: for it was so far from any of their thoughts, to stop thē in this theyr race, that they would rather haste them forward to runne throughe more speedely, being not w^tout good cause perswaded to conceiue good hope of their beneuolēce towards them, in asmuch as they would do for them, what soeuer might tourne to theyr profit and commoditie.

Thys day, for asmuch as it was towarde euening ere they came, and the sunne was going down,* was nothing els done. The next day being the 10. of Ianuarie, they bestowed in recreating them selues after theyr iourney, and in setting other things at a stay. Neuerthelesse to the entent the same should not escape altogether without doing of somewhat, they interdicted the 2. Churches, namely S. Maries, where Martin Bucer, and S. Michaels, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

Page 1957*These menne were dead a good while before Paulus Phagius had scarce yet shewed the prooffe of his wit and learning, when he departed to God. 1549. Bucer lyued but a little after. During which time somewhat by wryting, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man being painfull in the woorde of God,* neuer spared himselfe nor regarded his health) hee broughte all men into such admiration of him, that neyther his frends could sufficiently praise him, neither his ennemies in anye poynt finde fault with his singular life & sincere doctrine. A most certaine token wherof may be his sumptuous buriall, solempnised with so great assistance and gladnesse of all the degrees of the Uniuersitie, that it was not possible to deuise more to the settinge oute and amplifyinge of the same. The whole maner and order of the doying whereof, beyng wrytten by M. Nicholas Carre, a learned man in a little treatise to Syr Iohn Cheeke Knight, wyth an Epistle full of consolation as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterwarde vnto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, vnto the cōming of these visitours were passed aboute 3. or 4. yeares more or lesse. And from the time that that blessed Kynge Edward the vj. deceased, vnto that day, the Priests neuer ceased to celebrate theyr Masses, and other kinde of Ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of conscience, as farre as men could perceiue. But after the time that these Commissioners came thether, those things that before were accompted for sacred and holy, beganne to be denounced for prophane and vnholly. For they commanded that al those assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy Ceremonies, should be remoued to the kings Chappell, which is a place farre more stately then all the other.

*Now was come the 11. day, in the which the Uicechācellor of the Uniuersitie, with the maisters and presidents of the Colledges, and all the other Graduates of euerye house, were commanded to appeare before the said Commissioners in their habites. It was commanded that the scholers also should come in theyr surplises, but that was not done. They assembled in great nūber to Trinitie colledge: hauinge the Uniuersitie crosse borne before them, & in the gatehouse a forme was sette and couered, with cushings and carpet on the ground for the visitours. Where the Uicechancellor hauing on a Tishewe cope, sprinkled holy water on them, and purposed to sence them, but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterwarde in the Queenes Colledge and elsewhere they refused not.

There M. Iohn Stokes common Orator of the vniuersitie, made an Oration in the name of all the rest. The Copie whereof I thought good heere to exemplificate, in Latin as it was pronounced.

Maister Stokes Oration to Queene Maryes Visitors at Cambridge, An. 1557. Ian. 11.

*Academia, Reuerendi Patres, in expectatione aduentus vestri sollicita aliquandiu fuit, nunc praesentia dominationum vestrarum valde recreata libentissime vultus vestros intuetur, & ad apertam voluntatis suae testificationem, ecce vniuersa se suasque opes effudit. Conuenit in hunc locum tota Cantabrigiae frequentia, adsunt omnes ordines, de quorum certa mihi & explorata ad hanc rem voluntate, illud publica fide apud dominationes vestras affirmo, eos & separatim singulos, & coniunctim omnes optatissimum hunc aduentum mirificis studijs, & consentientibus animis gratulari. Illud enim omnium animis habemus persuasum, & negotium hoc quod hodierno die, fauente Deo, excellentia vestra auspicatur, ad academiae rationes fore accommodum, neque in re, ad communem salutem tam necessaria, operam aliquando vestram nobis defuturam. Permulta sunt ad hanc opinionem confirmandam, sed caetera non persequor: ea tantum oratione attingam, quae ita intimè cum praesenti negotio cohaerent, vt diuelli ab eo disiungique nulla ratione possint. Atque sunt illa quidem numero certa & finita: verum re & virtute, ita immensa, vt nulla dicendi facultate mea plene comprehendi possent: quoniam tamen & antea sum professus summam esse academiae laetitiam, eamque iustis de causis in aduentu vestro susceptam, quaeso à vobis, vt dum eas breuiter recenseo faciles mihi aures praebeatis.

Reuerendiss. in Christo Pater Cardinalis Polus, Legatus, qui religionem oppressam restituit,*patriae ruinas suffulsit, leges & decreta quasi postliminio reduxit, iste inquàm, iste Polus Anglus, & verè noster Moyses, legationis vestrae autor est, à cuius excellenti virtute in omnes suae patriae partes plurima commoda dimanarunt. Quo vinculo necessitudinis, & si omnibus temporibus optima ab illo sperare liceret, quòd ex corpore simus ipsius reipublicae, arctior est tamen & interior causa, quae nobis cum dominatione illius separatim intercedit. Superiore anno academiae procurationem in se humanissimè recepit, quam liberari custodia ita coeptam tenere se velle, literis significauit, vt non solum incommoda dimoueret, quibus studia nostra affligerentur, sed vt ornamenta adijceret ea, quorum splendore augeri dignitas academiae aut maximè illustrari posset. Quae res & spem antea nostram confirmauit, & nunc in eam cogitationem nos adducit, vt omnem illius humanitatem in hanc vnam visitationem esse collectam putemus, in qua quidem ea a vobis expectamus omnia, quae summi cancellarij nostri insignis amor praeter communem charitatem academiae, quasi pupillae suae propriae pollicetur. Atque vtinam quidem ipse sine reipublicae detrimèto, hoc tempore adesse posset, & academiam suam è tenebris & profunda nocte emersam, ipse suis radijs verae religionis splendore illustraret, verum optioni nostrae publica vtilitas repugnat, qua valde impeditus sanctissimae sedis Apostolicae legatus, vos Vicarios substituit: quorum naturas propter prouidentiam, personas propter dignitatem, voluntates propter educationem aptissimas ad hanc rem esse iudicauit. Ita que illud verè & ex animis istorum omnium affirmare possum, vos eos esse viros quorum religionem amamus, virtutem colimus, voluntatem, fidem, & consilium ad publicam salutem impendimus. Post quam enim singulari & praestantissima virtute Cardinalis Poli, legati è superiorum temporum caligine, & tenebris, lucem in republica respicere coepimus, vna certè grauissima etiam superioris aetatis mala sensimus, quibus profecto infinitis & miserrimis etsi antea premeremur, tamen ad calamitatis nostrae magnitudinem accessit eiusdem ignoratio, vt (mea quidem opinione) eo simus magis miserabiles iudicandi, quòd tam turbulenta tempestate iactati

ne moueri quidem nos, tam graui & periculoso haeresis morbo oppressi, aut aegrotare mentes nostras, non intelleximus. Valde enim periculosa est aegrotatio illa, quaecunque sine doloris sensu naturam conficit, & affectos saepe priùs extinguit, quam aegrotare se fateantur. Eiusmodi morbo Academia laborabat, quae ad alias fortasse res satis ingeniosa & solers, in hac Religionis causa, propter caput Ecclesiae laesum, vnde omnis sentiendi vis est, omnino hebes, stupida, & sine mente fuit, quoad tertio ante hunc anno diuina sanctissimi patris Iulij Clementia Angliae ferè emortuae miserata, iterum nos Ecclesiae inserit, corpus sensusque recreat, cuius ope conualescens Britannia, quam certa gehennae pericula effugerit, quiuis facile intelligit. Idem Academia cernit acutius, ne{que} quicquàm mali vsquam accidisse putat, quo nostra Regio in hac religionis vastitate & schismate miserius fuerit afflicta. Non est opus recensere in hoc loco euersa Monasteria, spoliata Tempia, strages sacerdotum, caedes nobilium, motus & tumultus populi, totius Regni egestatem, quae & si aliunde accidere possunt, tamen cum tam graua sint vt opprimant, vltionis & vindictae potius quam probandi causa in malos & nocentes infligi putamus. Sed sunt ista fortunae ludibria, grauiora sumus passi religionis & conscientiae detrimenta: pietas in Deum omnis euauerat, virginalis sacerdotum professio ad libidinem soluta est, animus quasi consopitus iacebat, quem nullae Ceremoniae excitabant, ipsa mens opinionum varietate ita distracta, ita sibi ipsi dissentiens, vt infinitis erroribus implicaretur. In his erant duo praecipue fontes, ex quorum riuiis & hausisse Academiam paulo liberalius, & illa potione ferme inebriatam confi•emur.

Prior ortum habebat ex illa nostri violenta diuulsione, à catholicae Ecclesiae vnitatem, re non dissimili illius pugnae, quam olim Menenius Agrippa in intestina ciuium discordia, de corpore humano memorabat. Posterior ex immensa palude & coeno Wicleuiano emanauit: quem celebris apud nos imo miserabilis de Sacramento altaris patefecit. De cuius rei veritate plerique suo sensu abundantes, pro arbitrio quisque suo statuerat. Nos Philosophos, nec illos quidem optimos, imitati ex Epicureorū schola ad scripturae lumen aliquid attulimus, quòd enim Christus omnino, praecise, & sine exceptione, de vera & perpetua sui corporis praesentia affirmarat (in cuius verbi veritate fundamentum fidei nostrae collocatur) id nos ita sumus interpretati, vt mācam & alienam Christi vocem iudicarem, nisi illa Epicuri propria particula (quasi) adderetur, & quod Christiani corpus & sanguinem, id nos quasi corpus & sanguinem diceremus. Sed non est istius temporis praeterita nimium meminisse, quae vtinam eterna obliuione obrui possent, neque vlla tantae labis memoria ad posteros nostros propagetur, tamen fuerunt attingenda generatim quidem, quòd erranti confessio salutaris sit, membratim verò, quod Academia his vulneribus à Censoria potestate confecta, à Censoria medicina ad salutem reduci postulat. Ipsa vero pro se & suis spondet omnes in authoritate vestra futuros, quos assiduis concionibus adeo ad poenitentiam edocuit, vt & eos ad sanam religionem fidissime transijsse, & in eadem diligenti praesentis vitae vsu superioris aetatis damna sarcituros putetis. Nam qui primi in hoc cursu sunt acerrime contendunt in eo, quod tam voluntarie susceperunt & qui pigrius egressi, quasi pomeridianis horis ad hoc certamen accesserunt, ea certè praebent iam immutatae voluntatis indicia, vt quomodo temerè & iuueniliter à sana religione defecerunt, ita non nisi maturi & [Page 1958](#) cum iudicio ab haeresi descivisse videantur. Vniuersis vero simul restituta & desiderata religio magis placere videtur, quia si assiduè praecepta, neque ad tempus obscurata fuisset.

Quapropter Academia supplex & prostrata primùm à Deo immortalis pacem & veniam petit precaturque ab eo, vt hodiernum diem ad suorum salutem conseruandam, & rempublicam hanc constituendam illuxisse patiatur. Deinde pro se, pro suis, pro vniuersis, pro singulis, hanc

petitionem ad celsitudines vestras affert, vt superiorum temporum offensas ex errore & iustitia profectas praesenti hominum industriae condonetis. De reliquis vero pro summa prudentia vestra, & singulari in nos amore eam sententiam feratis, vt suorum causas vel iustitia vestra bonas inueat, vel clementia bonas esse faciat. In vtroque parerit beneficium, si eadem Academiam pro causarum aequitate iudicaueritis, si eadem pro amoris vestri abundantia innocentem eam esse volueritis. Nos pro referenda gratia, summam in sacris modestiam, assiduam in literis operam, perpetuum verae religionis amorem, sempiternam vestri beneficij memoriam repromittimus.

When he had made an ende of speaking, the Byshop of Chester answered thereunto, that they tooke in ryghte good part, that the mother the Uniuersitie had made so open a declaration of her good will towards them: for the whych he gaue most hearty thanckes, desiring her to perfourme in deede and in her woorkes, the thyngs that shee had so largely promised of her selfe in woordes and communication.

AS concerning their good willes, there was no cause to mistrust. For theyr comming thether was not to deale any thyng roughly wyth such as fell to the amendement: but both the Cardinall hymselfe, and they also, were fully minded to shew fauour, deuising howe to bring al thyngs to peace and tranquillitie, desiring nothing more earnestly, then that they which haue erred & gone astray, shoulde retourne in the right pathe againe. The right reuerende father the Lord Cardinall (whom he wished to haue bene present) wished the self same thing also, desiring nothyng so much as he with hys owne hands to sustaine and hold vp nowe ready to fall, or rather to raise vp already fallen to the ground, the Uniuersitie hys ward: for he gladly taketh vpon him the name and duety of her Garden, whom it greatly grieued that the infections of the times past had spreade abroad so grievous diseases, that euen the Uniuersitie it self was touched with the contagious aire therof. For he woulde gladlier haue come thither to visite and salute it, then to correcte it, if the waightye affayres of the realme would haue permitted it. But now seing he could not so do, he had appoynted thys Commission, in y^e which he had assigned them to be his deputies, which (for because they knew him to set much store by the vniuersity) should extend the more fauor to it, and (for because they theselues had bene there brought vpp) woulde the more earnestly embrace it. The chiefe matter that they came for, tended to this ende y^t such as had erred should confesse their faults, and retourne into the right way againe. For they were in good forwardnesse of healing, that acknowledged themselues to haue offended. And therefore it was wisely propounded on hys part that he would not altogether excuse the faultes of the Uniuersitie, nor of other men, but confesse and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many thyngs had neede to be corrected and amended.

The cause why they were sent thither was to raise vp them that were fallen, and to receiue into fauour suche as were sory and would amend, wherin if (contrary to theyr expectation) they shoulde not be able to do so much wyth some men as they would: yet notwithstanding according to their duety, they wold shew themselues so dilygent for theyr parte, as that no lacke myghte be founde in them. For it was more openlye knowne than that it coulde be denied, that manye men did diuers thyngs of a frowarde wilfulnesse, and take stoutlye vppon them, wherewith as they were greatly mooued and agrieued (as reason was) so they coueted to remedy the mischiefe. Against whom, if any thing shuld seeme hereafter to be straitly determined, it was to be imputed to theyr own deserts, and not to the willes of them. Neither ought such as are whole & sound to be mooued at the chastisement of others, forasmuch as it pertained not onely to the wiping out of

the foule blotte, which now stuck in the vniuersitie, but also to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them.* For their owne partes, they more enclined vnto mercy then to rigour. Howbeit considering that so greate diseases could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driuen of necessitie to vse stronger. And yet if they would be contented to bee broughte againe to theyr ryght mindes, which thing they chiefly coueted (for they wished that all shoulde amende and be led by wholesome counsel) & would yet at length waxe wery of their errors, and in stead of them frequent againe the ancient customes of themselues, & of theyr forefathers, they myghte boldlye looke for all kinde of humanitie and gentlenesse at theyr hands, in al this theyr busines of reformation, which they had now entred and begon, requesting no more of the Uniuersity but to doe as became them: which being performed, he promised that theyr beneuolence, neyther in anye publike nor in any priuate personnes case shoulde in any wise be behinde hand.

These things being finished,* they were broughte processionally to the kinge colledge, by all the Graduates of the vniuersity, wheras was song a masse of y^e holy ghoste with great solemnitie, nothing wanting in that behalfe y^t might make to the setting forthe of the same. In this place it was marked that Nich. Ormanet, commonly surnamed Datary (who albeit he wer inferior in estate vnto Chester being a Bish. yet was superior to them all in authoritye) while the Masse was a celebrating, eft standing, eft sitting and sometime kneeling on his knees, obserued certaine ceremonies, which afterward were required of al others to be obserued, as in processe hereof was to be seene.

From thence they attended all vpon the Legates to s. Maries church, which we declared before to haue ben interdicted. In the which place,* for as much as it was suspēded, although no masse might be song, yet ther was a sermon made in open audience by M. Pecocke in the Latine tounge, preaching against heresies and hereticks, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley. &c. The which being ended, they proceeded eftsoones to the visitation. Where first D. Haruye did in the Cardinals name exhibite the cōmission to the bishop of Chester with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by M. Clarke openly redde to the end, then the Uicechancellor wyth an Oration did exhibite the certificate vnder his seal of office,* with the Cardinals citation annexed, conteining euery mans name in the Uniuersitie and Colledges, with the Officers and all the maisters of houses. Among whom was also Roberte Brassey maister of the kings colledge, a woorthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoare haires. Who hearing hys owne name recited next after the Uicechauncellours, sayd: he was there present as all the other were: neuerthelesse, for as much as y^e reformation of his house was wholly reserued to the discretion of the byshop of Lincolne, not only by the kings letters Patents,* but also by graunte of confirmation from the bishop of Rome him selfe, vnder a penaltie if he should suffer any strangers to entermeddle, he openly protested in discharge of hys duety, that vnlesse theyr Commission gaue them authoritye and iurisdiction vppon that Colledge, either by expresse woordes or manifest sense, he vtterly exempted himselfe from being present. This his exception they tooke all in great displeasure: alleaging that they were fullye authorysed for the order of that matter by the Cardinall, out of whose iurisdiction no place nor persons was exempted: wherefore he had done euil to call into question theyr authoritie,* so well knowen to all men. Chester seemed to be more mooued at the matter then all the other: and that was because Brassey had a litle before obtained the woorship of that rouse, eue• vtterly against his wil, and maugre his head, doing y^e worst he coulde against him.

After the formal solemnity of these things thus accomplished, the commission being red, and the citation exhibited, al the masters of houses being openly cited, euery mā for a while departed home to his owne house, wyth commandement to be at the common schooles of the sayd vniuersity at one of the clock the same day.* When the degrees of the vniuersitye, commonly called Regents & non Regents, were assembled thither, they spent the rest of y^e daye in reading ouer of Charters, graunted to the Uniuersity by kings and princes, in searching out of bulles & pardons from the pope, & in perusing of other Monuments pertaining to the Uniuersitie.

The next day folowing, being the 12. of Ianu. they resorted to the kings Colledge to make Inquisition,* eyther because the same for the woorthines therof was chiefe and soueraigne of all the residue, or els because that that house especially before all others, had beene counted, time out of minde, neuer to be without an hereticke (as they tearme them) or twaine. And at that present time, alb•it that many nowe alate had withdrawne themselues from thence, yet they iudged there were some remaining still. The order and maner how they would be intertained of euerye Colledge, when they shoulde come to make Inquisition,* they themselues appoynted, which was in this sort.

They commaunded the master of euery house together with the residue, as well fellowes as scholars, apparelled in priestlike garmēts (which they cal habits) to mete them [Page 1959](#) at the vttermoste gate of theyr house towarde the towne. The maister him selfe to be dressed in like apparell as the Priest when hee rauisheth himselfe to Masse, sauing that he should putte on vppermoste his habite, as the rest dyd. The order of theyr goynge they appoynted to be in thys wise.* The Maister of the House to goe formost. Next vnto him euery man in hys order as he was of degree, seigniority, or of yeres. Before the M. should be caried a crosse & holy water to sprinckle the Commissioners withal, and then after that the sayd Commissioners to be sensed. And so after this meeting, and mumbling of a few deuotions, they determined with this pompe and solempnitie to bee brought to the Chappell.

Many thought they tooke more honor vpon them than belonged to the state of man. Other some (forasmuche as at that time they not only pretended the iurisdiction of the Cardinall,* but also represented the power and authoritye of the Bishop of Rome himselfe, who was accoumpted to be more than a mortall man) sayde it was farre lesse then of duety appertained to hys holinesse, in that the honoure that was done to his Legates, was not done to them but to his holinesse. Now was the houre come, at which they appoynted to meete:* and being entred the kings colledge gate, where they looked for the maister and fellowes of the house, seeing no man came to meete them, they proceeded forth to the Church doore, where they staid. There perceiuing how the maister and the rest of y^e house were dressing themselues as fast as they coulde, as in such order as was appoynted before, they came in sodenly vppon them, before they had set out any foote out of theyr places.

Then the maister first excused himselfe, that hee was ready no sooner,* acknowledging that it had bene his duety to haue bene in a readinesse. Secondly, he saide he was very glad of their comming, promising firste in hys owne name, and after in the name of all the rest, as muche reuerence, as mighte be, in all matters concerning theyr common veilitie, the which he doubted not, but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But like as he had don the other day in S. Maries church,* the same exception he made to them nowe also: the whych

his doing he besoughte them not to be offended withall. For seeing he did it onely for the discharge of his duetie, he had iuster cause to be helde excused.

Hee had scarsly yet finished his tale, but the Bishop of Chester with a frowning looke and an angry countenāce, interrupting him of his talke,* said: he needed not to repeat the things hee had protested before, nor they to make aunswer any more to those things wherin they had sufficiently enformed him before. He rather feared that their quarel was not good, that they made such a doe about it, & sought such starting holes. For so were diseased persones oftentimes woont to do, when for the paine and grieve they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As thoughe that anye man were able to graunte so strong a priuiledge, as to w^lstand the Popes authoritye. As for the bishops letters, he sayd must nedes make on his side,* and with such as were with him, & could not in any wise be alleged against him. Therefore he admonished him to desist from his vnprofitable altercation, and to conforme himselfe and his to such things as then were in doing.

After thys they went to Masse. Whych finished, wyth great solemnitie, first they went to the high aultare of the churche,* & hauing there saluted theyr God, and searching whether all were well about him or no, they walked thorow all the inner chappels of the Churche. The Church goodes, the crosses, the chalices, the masse bookes, the vestments, and whatsoeuer ornamentes were besides, were commaunded to be brought out vnto them. Whē they had sufficiently viewed all things, & had called foorth by name euery fellow and scholler of the house, they went to y^e masters lodging, where first and formost swearing them vpon a booke to answer to all such interrogatories as should be propounded vnto them (as farre as they knewe) they examined first the master himself, and afterward al the residue,* euery man in his tourne. But there were some that refused to take this oth, because they had geuen their faith to the Colledge before, and also because they thought it against all righte and reason to sweare against themselues: for it was contrary to all law that a man should be compelled to bewraye himselfe, and not to be suffred to keepe his conscience free, when there is no manifest prooffe to be laid to his charge: but much more vniust is it, that a man shoulde be constrained perforce to accuse himselfe. Neuertheles these persons also, after much altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faithe geuen before to the Colledge, wer not impeched therby) wer cōtēted to be sworn.

Three daies long lasted the Inquisition there. Thys was nowe the 3. day of their comming, & it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer then neded.* For they looked to haue had much altercation and businesse about the matter. Nowe, forasmuche as the present state of the case required good deliberation and aduisement, the Uicechauncelor and the maisters of the colledges assembled at the common schooles, wher euery mā gaue his verdict what he thought meete to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed altogether in this determination: that for asmuch as Martin Bucer whiles he liued, had not onely sowed pernicious & erroneous doctrine among •hem, but also hadde hym selfe bene a sectarie and famous hereticke, erring from the Catholicke churche, and geuing others occasion to fall from the same likewise: a supplication should be made to y^e lord Commissioners, in the name of the whole vniuersity, that his deade carkas might foorthwith be digged vp (for so it was needefull to be done) to the intente that Inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine,* the which beyng brought in examination, if it were not foūd to be good and wholesome, y^e law might proceede against him: for it was against the rule of the holy Canons,* that his body should be buried in christen buriall. Yea, and besides that it was to the open derogation of Gods honor, and the

violating of his holy lawes, with the great pearill of many mennes soules, and the offence of the faithfull, especially in so difficulte and contagions a time as that was.* Wherefore it was not to be suffered, that they, which vtterlye dissented from all other men in the trade of their liuing, lawes, and customes, should haue any parte with them in honoure of buriall. And therefore the glory of God first and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riseth on them) with all speede putte awaye, no rouble at all left vnto those persones to rest in, who euen in the same places where they lay, were iniurious & noysome to the very elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying of the consciences of the weake. In executing whereof, so notable an example ought to be geuen to all men, that no man heereafter should be so bolde to attempt the like.

They gaue the same verdict by common assent vpon Phagius also.* Unto thys wryting they annexed an other by the which they lawfullye authorised Andrewe Perne the Uicechauncellour, to be the common factoure for the Uniuersitie. He was a man meere for the purpose, bothe for the office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of Chrystopherson hee was deemed to be the moste Catholicke of all others. This supplication confirmed by the consent of all the Degrees of the Uniuersitie, and signed with theyr common seale, the nexte daye, whiche was the 13. of Ianuarie, the Uicechauncellour putte vpp to the Commissioners. Note here good reader, what a feat conueiance this was, to suborne the Uniuersitie vnder a colourable pretence to desire this thinge of them by waye of petition. As who should say, if they had not done so, the other would neuer haue gone about it of themselues.

But thys glose was soone found out. For the Cōmissioners had geuē the Uicechancellor instructions in wryting before. But peraduenture they thought by this means to remooue the enuie of this acte from themselues.

Thus the Uicechauncellour came vnto the Commissioners according to appoyntment made the daye before, about seuen of the clocke in the morning. Hee hadde scarce declared the cause of his comming, but that he hadde not only obtained his sute,* but also euen at the very same time receiued the sentence of condemnation, for taking vpp Bucer and Phagius, faire copied out by Ormanet Datarie himselfe. This was to be confirmed by the consente of the degrees of the Uniuersitie. Whereuppon a solempne Conuocation called congregatio regentium & non regentium for the same purpose was appoynted to be at ix. of the clocke: where the graduates being assembled together, the demaunde was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, whyche was thys: Pleaseth it you that M. Bucer for the heresy es nowe recited, and many other by hym wrytten, preached, and taughte, wherein he dyed without repentaunce, and was buried in Christen buriall, may be exhumate and taken vp againe. &c. After this grace eftsoones being graunted, then was the Sentence of condemnation drawen by the Datarie, openlye redde, and immediatlye an other grace asked, that the same myghte bee Signed wyth the Common Seale. The whyche request was verye lightlye and easilye obtayned. And it was no meruaile.

For nowe after the deathe of Kinge Edward, since the time that the gouernement of the Realme came to the hande of Queene Marye, all suche persones being dryuen awaye as hadde reiecte the Romishe Religion (in whom wel nie alone rested whatsoeuer wit and learning [Page 1960](#) was in the whole Uniuersitie besides) such a sort of Raskals were put in their roubles, that all

places now swarmed with vnlearned and vnnurtured chaplains. To whō nothyng was greater pleasure, then to cause all men to speake slander and reproch of Bucer. There were dyuers yet left among them, that spake agaynst their demaunds. But they (because, as it commonly commeth to passe, that might ouercommeth right) could nothing auaile. For this is a common custome in all such matters & ordināces, that looke what the greater number decreeth, is published in y^e name of all: and that which the better part disallowed, semeth as though no man at all disallowed it.

*The next day beyng the 14. of Ianuary, all the Uisitors (onely Christopherson elect of Chichester excepted) came to the Kings Colledge. Where first goyng into the Church, and there makynge their prayers at the gresings, they so proceeded into the stalles, there sitting all the masse tyme, the company standyng in their copes, and singing a solemne Respond in honour of the Uisitors. After the respond done, the Prouost in the best Cope made to them his protestation, vnto whom the B. of Chester made aunswer also in Latine, declaryng that he could not perceyue to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and beare with him. Then went they to Masse, which ended, the Catholike Uisitors approched vp to the aulter, & tooke downe the Sacrament, & searched the pixe, but first the two Bishops sensed the Sacrament.

Then they went to the reuestry, and opened the Chalices, corporas cases, and crismatory, and viewed all those thyngs. And so re•urnyng into the Prouosts chamber, deuided themselues in examination of the Prouost, Uiceprouost, and the rest of the company. The same day D. Bacon M. of Gonwell hall, bad the Uicechauncellor, D. Young, D. Haruy, Swineborne, Maptide with others home to dinner.* These men immediately after diner, caused the cōmon seale of the Uniuersitie to bee put to the foresayd instrument of condemnation, accordyng as was determined the day before by the generall consent of the Graduates of the Uniuersitie. And by and by after, they caried the same to the Commissioners to their lodgyng. The which when they had receiued,* forasmuch as after more diligent perusing thereof, it liked them not in all points, some thynges they rased out, some they enterlined, other some they changed: so that in fine, they were faine to take the payne to engrosse it new agayne.

To the signing wherof, a congregation was eftsoones called of all the Graduates of the Uniuersitie agaynst the next day,* which there beyng red ouer, a new grace againe was asked and granted for setting to the seale. Thē were the Graduates dismissed, with commaundement to resort forthwith to S. Mary Church,* whether the Commissioners also repayed. When they had taken their places, D. Harny presented to them before all the company, a newe commission to make enquest vpon heresie then newly sent from the Cardinall, which was red immediately by Uincent of Noally, Ormanets Clarke. This done, D. Perne (who as ye heard, was factor for the Uniuersitie, exhibited to the cōmissioners in the name of y^e Uniuersitie y^e sentence of the foresayd condemnation.* The copy and tenour whereof, hereafter (God willyng) shall follow. This cōdemnation beyng openly red, then D. Perne aforesaid desired to send out processe to cite Bucer and Phagius to appeare, or any other that would take vpon them to pleade their cause, & to stand to the order of the court agaynst the next Monday: to the intent that when they had exhibited themselues, the Courte might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commissioners condescended to hys request, and the next day processe went out to cite the offenders.* This citation Uincent of Noally their common Notarie, hauyng first red it ouer before certayne witnesses appointed for the same purpose, caused to bee fixed vp in places conuenient, to witte, vpon S. Mary church doore, the doore of the common Schooles, and the crosse in the market steade of the same towne. In this was specified, that whosoouer woulde maintayne Bucer and Phagius, or stande in defence of their doctrine, should at the xvij. day of the same moneth, stand foorth before the L. Commissioners, in S. Mary Church, which was appoynted the place of iudgement, and there euery man should be sufficientlye heard what he could say. This Commaundement was set out with many wordes.

Shortly after, the matter drewe toward Iudgement. Therefore the next day before the day limited, which was the xvij. of January, the Uicechauncellor called to hym to Peterhouse (whereof he was M.) D. Young, D. Segiswike, & with them Bullocke, Taylor, Parker, and Redman, Whitlocke, Mitch, & certaine others. These men cast their heds together how they might beare witnes against Bucer & Phagius, to conuince them of heresie. For seying the matter was brought in face of open court, & because it might so come to passe, that some Patrones of their cause would come out, they thought it needfull to haue witnesses to depose of their doctrine. What came of this their cōsultation, it is not perfectly known.

The xvij. day the Uicechauncellor goyng to the Inquisitors sittynge at the Kyngs Colledge,* did put them in remembrance, that the same was the day in which by their processe sent forth the xvj. day before, they had commanded to appeare in S. Mary Church, such as would take vpon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He desired therefore that they would vouchsafe to sitte there, if perchaunce any man would try the aduenture of the law. They lightly condescended thereunto. When the Uicechauncellor had brought them thether, hee exhibited vnto them the processe of the Citation which he had receyued of them to publish a little before, saying, that he had diligently executed whatsoeuer the contents of the same required. After that they had taken their places, and that no mā put forth hymself to answer for the offenders, the Iudges called aside D. Yong, D. Segiswike, Bullock, Tailor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, aboue mentioned.* Also Browne, Gogman, Rud, Iohnson, Mitch, Rauens and Carre, who had before written out the buriall of Bucer, with a singular commendation of hym, and sent it to Sir Iohn Cheeke Knight. These men takyng first their othe vpon a booke, were commanded to beare witnes agaynst the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The 22. day of the same month was limited to this Iurie to bryng in their verdict.

In the meane while, Ormanet and Doctor Watson abode at home in their lodgyng to take the depositions of them whom we shewed you before to haue bene called to Peterhouse, & to haue communicated with the Uicechancellor as concernyng that matter, whose depositions (as I told you) neuer came to light. The B. of Chester and D. Cole this day visited them of Katherine Hall, where, as farre as could bee learned, nothyng was done worthy of rehersall.

As Ormanet the Popes Datary was sittynge at Trinitie Colledge,* Iohn Dale one of the Queenes Colledge came to hym, whom he had commanded before to bryng with hym the pixe, wherein the Bish. of Romes God of bread is woont to be enclosed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious iewell: the same was a linnen cloute that the Pope had consecrated with his owne hands, which he promised to bestow vpon them for a gift. But Dale misvnderstandyng Ormanet, in

steade of the pixe brought a chalice and a singyng cake called the hoste, the whiche hee had wrapped vp and put in hys bosome. When hee was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him y^e thyng he sent hym for. To whom he aunswered, he had brought it. Then geue it me (quoth he.) Dale pulled out the chalice and the singyng cake. When Ormanet sawe that,* hee stepped somewhat backe as it had bene in a wonder, callyng hym blockhed, and little better then a mad man, demaundyng what he ment by those thyngs, saying: he willed hym to bryng none of that geare, and that he was vnworthy to enioy so high a benefite: yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as hee had promised before to geue it them, hee would performe his promise. Whereupon with great reuerence & ceremony, he pulled out the linnen cloth & layd it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commandyng them both for the holynes of the thyng, & also for the author of it, to keepe it among them with such due reuerence as belonged to so holy a relique.

About the same tyme the Commissioners had geuen commandement to the maisters of the Colledges,* that euery man should put in writyng what books he had, with the authors names. And to the intent that euery mā shuld execute it without deceit, they tooke a corporal oth of them. This commandemēt some executed exactly and diligently other some, for as much as they deemed it wrongfull, executed it slacke enough.

We declared before that the xvij. day was limited for the day of iudgement. Whē the day came▪ and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appeare at their call in y^e court nor that any put forth hymself to defend them: yet the curteous Commissioner would not proceede to iudgement, which neuerthelesse,* for their con•umacy in absenting thēselues, they might haue done, consideryng how that daye [Page 1961](#) was peremptory. But these men beyng bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather shew some fauour, then to do the vttermost they might by the law. Whereupon Uincent published the second processe, and set it vp in the same places, as in maner before. The meanyng thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put of the iudgement day vnto the 26. of the same month. Uppon the which day the Uicechauncellor was sent for to their lodgyng, with whome they agreed concernyng the order of publishing the sentence. And because there should want no solemnitie in the matter, they commaunded him further to warne the Maior of the Towne to be there at the day appointed with all hys Burgesses, which the Uicechauncellour dyd speed with all readinesse.

This day (as I sayd) was the 26. of Ianuary, which beyng now come,* first all degrees of the mother Uniuersitie were assembled. And to fil vp this Pageant, thither came also the Maior and hys townesmen, and all met together in S. Mary Church to behold what there shoulde be determined vpon these men. After long attendaunce, at length the Commissioners came forth and went vppe to a scaffold that was somewhat higher then the residue, prepared for the same purpose.* When they had takē their places, D. Perne the Uicechauncellor, the player of this Enterlude, fashionyng hys countenance with great grauitie, reached to them the processe that was lastly published, to cite thē, saying these wordes: I bring forth againe (quoth he) to you right reuerend father and Commissioners, of the most reuerend my L. Cardinall Poole (payntyng out the rest of his stile) this Citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same: omittynge nothyng for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finished his tale, by and by the B. of Chester after he had a little viewed the people, beganne in maner as followeth.

¶The Oration of D. Scot B. of Chester, before the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

YE see ({quod} he) how sore the Vniuersitie presseth vpon vs, how earnest intercession it maketh vnto vs, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which these certayne yeares past haue spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretickes (as they be in deede) but also that we will commaund their dead carcasses, which vnto this day haue obtayned honourable buriall among you, to be digged vp, and as it is excellently ordained by the Canon law to be cast into fire, or whatsoeuer is more grieuous then fire, if any can bee. For the degrees of the Vniuersitie deale not slightly nor slackly with vs in this case, but do so presse vpon vs, and follow the sute so earnestly, that they scarce geue vs any respite of delay. And I assure you, albeit this case of it selfe be such, as that euen the vnworthinesse of those persons, though there were no further cause,* ought to induce vs to the doyng thereof, much the rather mooued with these so wholesome petitions, it is meete and conuenient we should graunt it. For howe soeuer we of our selues are enclined to mercye in our heartes, (then the which wee protest there is nothyng vnder the Sunne to vs more deare and acceptable) yet notwithstanding, the very law riseth vp to reuengement,* so that the common saluation of you all, which the law prouideth for, must bee preferred before the priuate charitie of our mynds. Neither ought any such negligence to ouertake vs for our partes, that we beyng scarce yet escaped out of the shipwracke of our former calamitie, shoulde now suffer this vnexpiable mischiefe, to disquiet any longer the consciences of the weake.

*Moreouer, it is but reason that we should doe somewhat at so earnest intreatance and sute of the Vniuersitie. It needeth not me to speake much of our selues. For if we had bene desirous to enterprise this matter, it had bene lawfull after the first Citation, to haue proceeded to iudgement: but for because we were willyng that their defendours should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the seconde processe.

If we had desired reuengement, we myght haue shewed crueltye vpon them that are alyue:* of the which (alas the more pitie) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for bloud, it was not to be sought in withered carcasses and drie bones. Therefore ye may well perceiue, it was no part of our wils that we now came hether,* but partly induced at the intreatie of the Vniuersitie, partly mooued with the vnworthinesse of the case it selfe, but especially for the care and regard we haue of your health and saluation, which we couet by all means to preserue.

For you your selues are the cause of this busines: you gaue occasion of this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remayne as a memoriall to them that shall come after, as in that which ye may learne not onely to shake of the filth which ye haue taken of these persons, but also to beware hereafter that ye fall no more so shamefully as ye haue done. But I trust God will defend you, and geue you myndes to kepe your selues from it.

As concernyng the parties themselues,* whose case now hāgeth in lawe, they bare about the name of the Gospell, where as in deede they wrought nothyng els than the euery and deceite. And so much the wickedder were they, in that they sought to couer so shameful actes, with the cloke of so faire and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will punish this despite of it selfe wicked, to you pernicious, by the authors therof shamefull and abhominable.

But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, wil winke at it for a tyme, yet notwithstanding, if we vppon whome the charge of the Lordes flocke leaneth, should permit so execrable crimes to escape vnpunished, we should not lyue in quiete one hower.

When he had thus spoken, hee recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of heresie: the form and tenour of which sentence, framed after y^e barbarous rude stile of that church, thus followeth.

The sentence of condemnation against M. Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

NOs Cutbertus Dei & Apostolicae sedis gratia Episcopus Cestrensis, Nicolaus Ormanetus, Archiepiscop. plebis Bodoloni Veronen. diocesis infra scripti,* Reuerendi Domini Cardinalis & Legati auditor, Thomas Watson Decanus Dunelmens. & Henricus Cole, Praepositus Collegij Etonens. ad Vniuersitatem studij generalis oppidi Cantabrigien. Elien. dioces. visitand. Necnon ad in quibuscunque causis in eodem oppido Cantabrigiae, & locis ei adiacen. commorantes personas, motis, & mouendis, inquirendum & quomodolibet procedendum, & expresse ad eorum, qui in haeresi decesserint, memoriam damnandum, per literas illustris. ac Reuerendis. in Christo patris, D. Reginaldi Mariae in Cosmedin, S. Romanae Ecclesiae Presbyteri Cardinalis Poli nuncupati, sanctis. Domini nostri Papae & sedis Apostolicae ad Serenis. Philippum ac Serenis. Mariam Angliae Regem & regi nā & vniuersū Angliae regnū de latere Legati, Commissarij, siue delegati specialiter deputati, & ad huiusmodi peragendum sufficienti facultate muniti, saluatoris & Domini nostri Iesu Christi nomine inuocato, pro tribunali seden. & solum Deum qui iustus est Dominus prae oculis habentes, per hanc nostram diffinitiuam sententiam, quam de sacrae Theologiae, & Iurisperitorum consilio erimus, in his scriptis, in causa & causis, quae coram nobis inter Vicecancellarium & Vniuersitatem Cantabrigien. denunciatores ex vna, & iniquitatis filios q•ondam Martinum Bucerum & Paulum Phagium, natione Germanos, & in hoc oppido olim commorantes & decedentes, reos denunciatos de & super crimine haeresis notorie per eos, dum vixerint, incurso, rebusque alijs in actis causae & causarum huiusmodi latius deductis, ex altera, partibus, in prima versae fuerunt & vertuntur instantia, pronunciamus, sententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus praedictos.

Martinum quidem Bucerum contra regulas & dogmata sanctorum patrum, necnon Apostolicas Romanae Ecclesiae,* & sacrorum conciliorum traditiones, Christianaeque religionis, hactenus in Ecclesia consuetos ritus ac processus (qui singulis annis die coenae domini per Romanos Pontifices celebrari & legi consueuerunt, in quibus, inter alia, Wickleffistae, & Lutherani, & omnes alij haeretici damnati, & an athematizati fuerunt) de Sacramentis Ecclesiae, praesertim circa illorum numerum, aliter quam sancta mater Ecclesia praedicat & obseruat, sentiendo, & docendo, ac sanctae sedis Apostolicae, & summi Pontificis primatum, & auctoritatem negando, & publicè damnando, & praesertim hunc articulum.

Quod Ecclesia erret in fide & moribus.

Hic in publicis commitijs expressè defendendo, & illum verum esse definiendo, & determinando, ac multa alia tam per dam natae memoriae Iohannem Wickleffe & id maxime.

Omnia fato & absoluta necessitate fieri.

Et per Martinum Lutherum & alios haeresiarchas proposita & damnata, quam à se etiam inuenta & fabricata, falsa & haeretica dogmata credendo, & sequēdo, ac desuper etiam libros scribendo & imprimi faciendo, impressosque publicando in illisque scripta etiam hic publicè legendo, & in publicis disputationibus defendendo, ac in pertinacione & obstinatione huiusmodi permanendo, & decedendo, notorium non solum haeticum, sed haesiarcham.

Paulum verò Phagium, qui praeter alia, quae haeresim sapiunt, [Page 1962](#) ab eo in suis scriptis prolata, impiae memoriae Iohannē Oecolampadium, ac Martinum Bucerum praedictum, necnon Philippum Melancthonem, & Iohannem Brentium, notorios & insignes haesiarchas, & eorum doctrinam, & in eius scriptis impressis & vulgo aeditis,* non solum probando, sed summis laudibus attollendo, se non solum haeticis fauere, sed eorum falsis dogmatibus assentire, & ea credere, & probare: ad eaque credēda,* alios inducere, niti manifeste se ostendit, & hic pro haetico communiter & notoriè habitus & reputatus, in huiusmodi errore impaenitens decessit, non solum haeticorum fautorem, sed haeticum fuisse, nec non eosdem Martinum Bucerum, & Paulum Phagiū excommunicationis & anathematis, ac alias quascunque contra huiusmodi personas, tam de iure communi, quàm per literas, processum, praedictorum statutas sententias, censuras & poenas damnabiliter incidisse & incurrisse: & eorum memoriam condemnandam esse, & condemnamus, ac eorum corpora & ossa quae hoc tempore perniciosissimi schismatis, & aliarum haesium, in hoc regno vigentium, Ecclesiasticae fuerunt temere tradita sepulturae quatenus ab alijs fidelium corporibus, & ossibus discerni possunt iuxta canonicas sanctiones, exhumanda, & procul ab Ecclesia projicienda, & exhumari & projici mādamus, & eorum libros ac Scripturas, si quae hic reperiantur, publicè comburen. & comburi praecipimus: ac eosdem libros & Scripturas quibuscunque, tam huius vniuersitatis, quàm oppidi, & locorum eis adiacentium, personis, sub poenis, tam ex iure communi, quàm literis processuum praedictorum, seu quomodo libet alias contra haben. & legen. libros haeticos statutis, interdicimus.

After the sentence thus read, the Byshop commaunded their bodies to be digged out of their graues, and beyng disgraded from holy orders, deliuered them into the handes of the secular power. For it was not lawfull for such innocent persons as they were, abhorryng from all bloudshed, and detestyng all desire of murder, to put any man to death.

¶The effect of Doctor Pernes Sermon against M. Bucer.

*OVer and besides this oration & sentence of D. Scot, came in also D. Perne Vicechancellour, with his sermon tendyng to the same effect, to the deprauyng of Maister Bucer, taking for his theame the place of the 132. Psalme: Behold how good & pleasant a thyng it is. &c.

Where beginning first with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knittyng together of the myndes, he alledged, that it was not possible to hold together, vnlesse the concorde were deriued out of the hed, the which he made to be the B. of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

After he had made a long protestatiō hereof, he passed forth to Bucer, vpon whom he made a shamefull railyng, saying: that his doctrine gaue occasion of diuision in the common wealth, & that there was not so grieuous a mischiefe, which by his meanes had not bene brought into the realme.

Although all men myght perceyue by the bookes hee had compiled, what manner of Doctrine it was: yet notwithstanstyng (he sayde) he knewe it more perfectly hymselfe, then any dyd, and that hee had learned it aparte at the Authours hande hymselfe.

For at such tyme as they had communication secretly amōg themselves,*Bucer (sayd he) would oftentymes wishe he myght be called by some other name, then by the name he had: for this purpose, as though knowyng hymselfe guiltie of so grieuous a crime, he might by this meanes escape vnknown to the worlde, and auoyd the talke that went among men of hym.

Moreouer, among other thyngs he told how Bucer held opinion (which thyng he should confesse to hym his own selfe) that God was the author and welspring,*not onely of good, but also of euill: and that whatsoeuer was of that sort, flowed from him, as from the headspring and maker therof. The which doctrine he vpheld to be sincere: howbeit, for offending diuers mens consciences, he durst not put it into mens heads.

Many other thyngs hee patched together of lyke purport and effect,* as of the supremacie of the Bish. of Rome, of the mariage of Priests, of diuorcements, and of shamefull vsurie also, as though he had deemed the same lawfull to be vsed among christen people, with diuers other of the lyke sort.

In all which his allegations, considering how lewdly without all shame he lied vpō Bucer (as his writyngs evidently declare) he dyd not so much hinder hys name with railyng vpon hym, as win vnto hymselfe an inexpressible infamy, by forging so shameful leesings vpon so worthy a man.

But what needeth wnesse to prooue hym a lyer? hys owne conscience shall make as much agaynst hym, as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth, and that by his owne familiar friends testified, that the said D. Perne himselfe, eiter immediately after hys Sermon, or els somewhat before he went to it, strikyng hymselfe on the brest,* and in a maner weepyng, wished at home at his house with all his heart, that God would graunt his soule might euen then presently depart and remaine with Bucers. For he knewe well enough that his life was such, that if any mans soule were worthy of heauen, he thought his in especially to bee most worthy.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in y^e meane tyme the leaues of the Church doores were couered ouer with verses:* in the which the yong men to shew their folly, which scarce knew hym by sight, blased Bucers name with most reprochfull Poetrie.

These thynges beyng dispatched, Perne (as thoughe he had sped his matter maruelously well) was for hys labour, of curtesie bidden to dinner to Trinitie Colledge by the Commissioners. Where, after the Table was takē vp they caused the sentence of condemnation to be copied out with all speed:* which beyng signed with the B. of Chesters seale, the next day followyng was for a triumph sent to London, with diuers of those verses and slaunderous Libels.

Besides this, they sent also their owne letters, wherein they both aduertised the Cardinall how farre they had proceeded in that matter, and also desired hys Grace that he would cause to be sent

out of hand to Smith the Maior of the Towne, the Commaundement, commonly called a Writte for the burnyng of Heretikes.* For vnlesse hee had the Queenes warrant to saue hym harmelesse, hee would not haue to do in the matter: and that which remained to be done in that case, could not be dispatched till that Warrant came.

Whiles this pursiuant went on his iourney, they willed to be brought vnto them the bookes that they commāded before to be serched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the same tyme D. Watson takyng occasion vppon the day, because it was a high feast, in the which was woont to bee celebrated the memoriall of the Purification of the blessed Uirgin,* made a Sermon to the people vpon that Psalme: We haue receyued thy mercye (O Lord) in the midst of thy Temple, &c. In the which Sermon he spake much reproche of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He sayd, that these men, & all the heretikes of our time that were of the same opinion (the which for the most part he said, were budded out of Germany) amōg other things which they had perniciously put into mens heds, taughte to cast away all Ceremonies. Whereas notwithstanding the Apostle hymselfe commanded all thyngs to be done in due order.

And vpon that deed of the blessed Uirgin and Ioseph which was done by them as vpon that day, it was manifestly apparant, that they with our Sauour beyng then a little babe, obserued these rites and ceremonies for catholike men to teach. For he sayd,* that they came to the Temple the same tyme with waxe Candles in their hands, after the maner of procession (as they terme it) in good order with much reuerence and deuotion, and yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mocke at these things with the heretikes and schismatikes.

As he was tellyng his tale of Christ, Mary, and Ioseph, one of them that heard hym, a pleasaunt & mery conceited fellow, turnyng himselfe to him that stood next him, and if it be true (quoth he) that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might spurre him a question) bare the crosse before them? * for that might not be missing in such solemne ceremonies. Not onely this man iested at the Preachers folly, but diuers other also laughed at his manifest vnshamefastnes, in preaching these so vain and foolish superstitions.

While hee was thus talkyng to hys audience,* Iohn Christopherson elected B. of Chichester, beyng strikē with a sodaine sicknes, fel downe in a sound among the prease, & with much adoe, beyng scarce able a good whyle to come to hymself againe, in the meane tyme babled many things vnaduisedly, and as though he had bene out of his wittes. Some thought it came vpon this occasion, because he had bene greatly accused before the Commissioners for mispēdyng & misordering the goods of the Colledge, & therefore was griued with the matter, knowyng that they had ben offended with hym, by that that Ormanet had canceled before his face a Lease of his, by the which hee had let to ferme to his brother in lawe a certaine Manor of that colledge, because the couenants seemed vnreasonable.

[Page 1963](#)By this tyme was returned agayne the Pursiuaunt, who (as we before tolde) was sent to London wyth the Commissioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men.

*Upon the receit wherof, they appoynted the vj. day of Febr. for the accomplishment of the matter. For it had hāged already a great while in hand.

Therefore when the sayd day was come, the Commissioners sent for the Uicechancellor, demandyng of hym in what case things stood, whether all things were in a readines for the accomplishment of this busines, or no. Understandyng by hym that all thyngs were redy, they commanded the matter to be broched out of hand.

*The Uicechancellor therefore taking with hym Marshall the common Notary, went first to Saint Michaels church where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, mē of the same parish, and bound them with an oth, to dig vp Phagius bones, and to bryng them to the place of execution. Marshall tooke their othes, receiuyng the like of Roger Smith and W. Hasell the Towne Sergeants, & of I. Capper, Warden of the same Church, for doyng the lyke with Bucer. Smith the Maior of the town, which should be their executioner, (for it was not lawfull for them to intermeddle in cases of bloude) commaunded certayne of hys Townesmen to wayte vpon hym in harnesse, by whō the dead bodies were garded, and beyng bound w^t ropes, and layd vppon mens shoulders (for they were enclosed in Chestes, Bucer in the same that hee was buried, and Phagius in a newe) they were borne into the middest of the Market steade, with a great trayne of people followyng them.

This place was prepared before, and a great Poste was set fast in the grounde to bynde the Carcasses to,* and a great heape of Woode was layed readye to burne them withall.

When they came thither, the Chestes were set vp on ende with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the Post with a long iron Chayne, as if they had bene alyue. Fire beyng forthwith put too, as soone as it began to flame round about, a great sort of bookes that were condemned with them, were cast into the same.

*There was that day gathered into the towne, a great multitude of countreyfolke (for it was market day) who seying men borne to execution, and learnyng by inquirie that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme crueltie of the commissioners toward the rotten carcasses, and partly laughed at their folly in makyng suche preparature. For what needeth any weapon, sayde they? As though they were afrayed that the deade bodies which felte them not, woulde doe them some harme? Or to what purpose serueth that Chayne wherewith they are tyed, sithence they might bee burnt loose wythout peryll? for it was not to bee feared that they woulde runne away.

Thus euery body that stode by, found faulte with the cruelnesse of the deed, either sharply, or els lightly, as euery mans mynde gaue hym. There were very few that liked their doyng therein.

¶The purpose of D. Watsons Sermon against Martin Bucer.

IN the meane tyme that they were a rostyng in the fire, Watson went into the Pulpit in S. Mary Church,* and there before his audience rayled vppon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying: that it was the ground of all mischief that had happened of a long tyme in the common weale. For beholde (sayd he) as well the prosperitie as the aduersitie of these yeares that haue ensued, and ye shall find that all thyngs haue chanced vnluckely to them that haue followed this new found fayth:* as contrary all thynges haue happened fortunately to them that haue eschewed it. What robberyng and pollyng (quoth hee) haue we seene in this Realme, as long as Religion was defaced with sects, the common treasure (gathered for y^e maintenance of the whole publike weale) and the goodes of the Realme shamefully spent in waste for the maintenance of a few folkes lustes, all good order broken, all discipline cast aside, holydayes appointed to the solemnising of ceremonies neglected: and that more is, the places themselues beaten downe, flesh and other kynde of prohibited sustenance eaten euery where vpon dayes forbidden, without remorse of conscience, the priests had in derision, the masse rayled vpon, no honour done to the Sacramentes of the church: all estates and degrees geuen to such a licentious liberty without checke, that all things may seeme to draw to their vtter ruine and decay.

And yet in the meane time the name of the gospel was pretended outwardly,* as though that for it men ought of duetie to geue credite to their erroneous opinions: where as in deed there is nothing more discrepant, or more to the slaunder of Gods worde then the same. For what other thyng taught they to remayne in that most blessed & mysticall Sacrament of the body of our Lorde, then bare vnleauened bread? And what els doe the remnaunt of them teach vnto this day? Whereas Christ by expresse wordes doth assure it to be his very body. Howe perillous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatall and absolute necessitie of Predestination? And yet they set it out in suche wyse, that they haue left no choise at all in things. As who should say, it skilled not what a man purposed of any matter, sithens he had not the power to determine otherwyse then the matter should come to passe. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the authour of euill, bringyng men thorough this perswasion into such a carelesse securitie of the euerlastyng eternitie, that in the meane season it made no matter eyther toward saluation, or toward damnation, what a man did in this lyfe. These errors (whiche were not euen among the Heathen men) were defended by them with great stoutnesse.

These and many such other thyngs he slanderously & falsly alledged against Bucer,* whose doctrine (in such sort as he himselfe taught it) eyther he would not vnderstand, or els he was mynded to slaunder. And yet he was not ignoraunt, that Bucer taught none other thynges then the very same whereunto both he and Scotte in the raigne of K. Edward the vj. had willingly assented by subscribyng thereto with their owne handes. While hee talked in this wyse before the people, many of them that had writtē verses before, did set vp other new, in the which lyke a sort of waterfrogges, they spued out their venomous malice agaynst Bucer and Phagius. This was the last act of this Enterlude, and yet there remained a few thynges to bee done, among the which was the reconciling of two churches, of our Lady, & of S. Michaell, which we declared to haue bene enterdicted before.

This was done the next day followyng, by the aforesayd B. of Chester, with as much ceremoniall solemnitie as the law required. But that impanate God, whom Bucers carcasse had chased from

thence, was not yet returned thether agayne: neither was it lawfull for hym to come there any more, but if he were brought thether with great solemnitie. As I suppose, duryng all the tyme of hys absence,* he was entertained by the Commissioners at Trinitie Colledge, and there continued as a Sojourner. For thither came al the Graduates of the Uniuersitie, the 8. of February, of gentlenes and curtesie, to bryng hym home agayne. Amongst the which number, the Bish. of Chester (worthy for hys estate to come nearest to hym, because hee was a B.) tooke and caried hym cladde in a long Rochet, and a large Tippet of Sarcenet about hys necke, wherein he wrapped his Idoll also. Ormanet Datarie had geuen the same a little before to the Uniuersitie, for that and such lyke purposes.

When this Idoll should returne home, hee wente not the straightest and nearest way as other folkes are woont to go, but he fetched a compasse about the most part of the towne, and romed through so many of the streetes, that it was a large houre and more, ere he could find the way into his Church agayne. I beleue the auncient Romaines obserued a custome not much vnlike this in their process•on, when they made supplications at the shrines of al their Gods. The order of which procession was this: the maisters Regents went before singyng with a lowde voyce:**Salue festa dies. &c.* Next then followed the B. of Chester, about hym went Ormanet and his fellowe Commissioners, with the maisters of the colledges, bearing euery mā a long Taper light in hys hand. After whom a little space of, followed other degrees of the Uniuersitie. Last behind came the Maior and hys Townesmen. Before them all went the Bedles, crying to such as they mette, that they should bowe themselues humbly before the hoste. If any refused so to doe, they threatned to send hym forthwith to the Tolboth. Their God beyng ledde with this pompe, and pacified with great sacrificed Hostes of Bucer & Phagius, at length settled hymselfe agayne in his accustomed rounge.

Scot of Chester prayed with many wordes, that that day might be luckie and fortunate to hymselfe, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (nowe that Gods wrath was appeased, and all other thyngs set in good order) al men would make themselues conformable to peace & quietnes, namely, in matters appertainyng [Page 1964](#) to Religion. After this they bestowed a few dayes in punishing and amercyng such as they thought had deserued it. Some they suspended from geuyng voyces eyther to their owne preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to haue the charge of pupils,* least they should infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what print soeuer should be layd vpon them) with corrupt doctrine and heresie, others they chastised wrongfully without any desert, and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certayne statutes, by y^e which they would haue the vniuersitie hereafter ordered. Wherin they enacted many thynges as concernyng the election of their Officers of the Uniuersitie, of keepyng and administryng the goods of the Uniuersitie,* and of many other thyngs. But especially they handled the matter very circumspectly for religion. In the which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all thyngs, eyther with opē blasphemy, or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed at how many Masses euery man should be day by day, and how many Pater nosters and Auies euery manne should say when he should enter into the Church, and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow hymself to the aultar, and how to the maister of the house, what he shuld do there, and how long he should tary, how many, & what praiers he should say, what, and how he should sing, what meditations other shoulde vse

while the Priest is in hys Memento, mumbling secretly to himselfe, what time of the Masse a man should stand, and when he should sit down, when he should make curtesie, when exclusiue, when inclusiue, and many other superstitious toyes they decreed that it was a sport then to behold their superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreouer, these maisters of good order, for fashions sake, ordained that euery man should put on a surples, not torne nor worne, but cleane, forbidding them in any wyse to wipe their noses thereon.

These thyngs thus set at a stay, when the Commissioners were now ready to goe their wayes, the Uniuersitie for so great benefits (which she should not suffer to fal out of remembraunce many yeares after) couetyng to shewe some token of curtesie towards them agayne,* dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of Doctorship for all the residue, sauyn Christopherson, who now, by reason he was elected Bishop, preuentynge that degree, had receyued that order before. Thus at length were sent away these peacemakers that came to pacifie strifes and quarels, who through prouokynge euery mā to accuse one another left such gaps and breaches in mens harts at their departure, that to this day they could neuer be closed nor ioyned together agayne.

These Commissioners, before they departed out of the Uniuersitie,* gaue commaundement, that the Maisters of euery house should copy out their Statutes, the which beside common Ordinaunces, contained in them certayne Rules of priuate Order, for euerye House particularly. Swinborne (who as I sayd, was M. of Clarehall) being demaunded whether he would haue those thyngs engrossed in parchment or in paper,* aunswered that it made no matter wherein they were written: For the Paper, or a sleighter thing that were of lesse continuance then Paper, would serue the turne well enough: For he sayd, a slenderer thyng then that, would last a great deale longer then those dercees should stand in force. Neither was the man deceiued in his coniecture: For within two yeares after, God beholdynge vs with mercy, called Queene Mary out of this life, the 17. day of Nouember, an. 1558. After whom her sister ELIZABETH succedynge in y^e kingdome, raised to life agayne the true religion. Whereupon as the church of Christ began by little & little to florish. So the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by Cardinall Poole) was restored agayne by this godlye Queene ELIZABETH, who gaue then in Commission to Math. Parker then Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Edmund Grindall then Bishop of London, to Maister Gualter Haddon and others: For the performaunce of whiche Commission, the sayd Reuerend Bishoppes addressed their Letters to the Uicechancellor, &c.

☛ The Oration of M. Acworth, Oratour of the Vniuersitie, at the restitution of Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius.

I Am in doubt whether I may entreate of the prayse and commendation of so great a Clarke (for the celebratyng whereof,* this assembly and concourse of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of the whiche we bee newly deliuered, or of them both, considering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In the which tymes ye felt so much anguish and sorrow (my right dere brethren) that if I should repeat them and bryng them to remembraunce agayne, I feare me, I should not so much worke a iust hatred in vs towards them, for the iniuries receyued in them, as renew our olde sorrow and heuines. Agayne, men must needes account me vnadvised and foolish in my doynge, if I should thinke my selfe able to make him which hath lyued before

our eyes in prayse and estimation, more famous and notable by my Oration, which he by his liuyng and conuersation hath oftentimes polished. But the wickednes of the tymes which endeouored to wipe cleane out of remembrance of men the name that was so famous and renoumed in euery mans mouth, did much profite hym. In so much, that both in his life tyme all thyng redounded to hys continuall renowme, and in especially, after hys decease nothing could be deuised more honourable, then w^t so solemn furniture & ceremonies, to haue gone about to haue hurt y^e memorial of such a worthy man, & yet could not bryng to passe the thyng that was so sore coueted, but rather broght that thing to passe, which was chiefly sought to be auoyded. For the desire that men haue of the dead, hath purchased to many men euerlasting fame, and hath not taken away immortalitie, but rather amplified and increased the same. By meanes whereof it commeth to passe, that he y^t wil intreat of those things that pertaine to the prayse of Bucer after hys death, can not chuse but speake of the crabbednesse of the tymes past, vpō the which riseth a great encrease and augmentation of his prayse. But his lyfe so excellently set foorth, not onelye by the writyngs of the learned Clarkes, Cheeke and Carre, and by the liuely voyce of the right famous D. Haddon, vttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body should be layd into his graue to bee buried, and after his buriall by the godly and most holye preachings of the right Reuerend father in Christ y^e Archbishop of Caunterbury that now is, and of D. Redman, the which for the worthinesse and excellencie of thē, ought to stick longer in our myndes vnwrittē, then many things that are penned and put in print, but also by the great assembly of all the degrees of the Uniuersitie the same daye, in bringyng hym to his graue, and the nexte day after by the industry of euery man that was endued w^t any knowledge in the Greeke or Latine tonges: of the which, there was no man but set vp some Uerses as witnesses of hys iust and vnfeined sorrow, vpon the wals of the Church: that neither at that tyme any reuerence or duety which is due to the dead departyng out of this lyfe, was then ouerslipped, or now remayneth vndone that may seeme to pertaine either to the celebratyng of the memoriall of so holy or famous a person, or to the consecrating of hym to euerlastyng memory. We at that tyme saw with our eyes this Uniuersitie flourishing by his institutions, the loue of sincere religion, not onely engendred, but also confirmed and strengthened through his continuall and daily preachyng. In so much that at such tyme as hee was sodainly taken from vs, there was scarce any man that for sorrow could find in his hart to beare with the present state of this life, but y^t either he wished with al his hart to depart out of this lyfe w^t Bucer into another, & by dieng to follow hym into immortality, or els endeouored hymselfe with weepyng and sighyng to call hym agayne, beyng dispatched of all troubles into the prison of this body, out of y^e whiche he is escaped, lest he shuld leaue vs as it were standyng in battaile ray without a Captayne, and he hymselfe as one casshed, depart with hys wages, or as one discharged out of the Campe, withdraw hymselfe to the euerlasting quietnesse and tranquillitie of the soule. Therefore all men euidently declared at that tyme, both how sore they tooke hys death to hart, and also, how hardly they could away with the misture of such a man. As long as the ardēt loue of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) florished, it wrought in our hartes an incredible desire of hys presence among vs. But after the tyme that the godly man ceased to be any more in our sight, and in our eies, that ardent and burnyng loue of religion by little and little waxed cold in our myndes, and according to the times y^t came after (which were both miserable and to our vtter vndoing) [Page 1965](#) it began not by little and little to be darkened,* but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we tell agayne into the troublesomnesse of the popish doctrine: the old rites & customs of the Romish church, were restored agayne, not to the garnishment & beautifieng of the christian Religion (as they surmised) but to the vtter defacing, violating, & defiling of the same. Death

was set before the eyes of such as perseuered in the christē doctrine that they had learned before. They were banished y^e realm that could not apply themselues to the tyme, & do as other mē did: such as remained, were enforced either to dissēble, or to hide themselues and creepe into corners, or els as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circes, to bee turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but (that far worse and much more monstrous is) from the likenes of God & his Angels, into the likenes of deuils. And all England was infected w^t this malady. But I would to God the corruption of those tymes which ouerwhelmed all the whole realme, had not at least wise yet pierced euery part & member thereof. Of the which there was not one but that (besides the grieffe y^t it felt, with the residue of the body, by reason of the sicknes & contagion spred into the whole) had some sorrow & calamitie peculiarly by it selfe. And to omit the rest (of the which to entreat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be spoken) this dwelling place of the Muses (which we call the Uniuersitie) may be a sufficient witnes what we may iudge of all the rest of the body. For certes my brethren, the thing is not to be dissembled, that cannot be hidden. We applieng our selues to those most fil^tthy tymes, haue most shamefully yelded like faint harted Cowards, which had not the stomackes to sustaine y^e aduersities of pouerty, banishment, and death. Which in our liuyng and conuersatiō kept neither the constancy taught vs by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught vs by holye scripture, which haue done all things at the commaundement of others. And therefore that which the Poete (although in another sence) hath trimly spoken, may well be thought to haue bene truly prophesied vpon vs.

The tymes and seasons changed be:

And changed in the same are we.

Diuers of them that were of a pure and sincere iudgement as conceruyng religion, beyng driuen from hence & distroubled, the rest that remained tasted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whose hands the authoritie of doing things here consisted: although to say the truth. I haue vsed a gentler terme then behooued. For it is not to bee accompted inhumanitie, but rather immanitie & beastly cruelty, the which, when they had spent all kynds of tormēts and punishments vpon the quicke, when they had cruelly taken from such as constantly perseuered, life, from others riches, honors, and all hope of promotion, yet they coulde not be so satisfied, but that incensed and stirred with a greter fury, it began to outrage euen agaynst the dead. Therfore where as in euery singuler place was executed a singular kynd of cruelty, in so much, that there was no kynd of cruelnes that could be deuised, but it was put in vre in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercise the cruelty vppon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quicke. Oxford burnt vp the right reuerend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer, the noble witnesses of the cleare light of the Gospell. Moreouer, at London perished these two lanternes of light, Rogers and Bradford: In whome it is hard to say whether there were more force of eloquence and vtterance in preaching, or more holynes of lyfe and conuersation. Many other without number both here and in other places were consumed to ashes for bearyng record of the truth. For what City is there that hath not flamed, I saye not with burning of houses and buildings, but with burnyng of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alyue vpon whom they might spue out their bitter poyson, played the mad Bedlem against the dead. The dead men, whose liuyng no man was able to finde faulte with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprocue, were by false and slanderous accusers indited, contrary to the lawes of God

and man sued in the law, condemned, their sepulchres violated and broken vp, their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire. A thyng surely incredible if wee had not seene it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly bene heard of. But the haynousnes of this wicked act, was spred abroad as a common talke in euery mans mouth, and was blowen and dispersed through all Christendome. Bucer by the excellency of hys wit and doctrine knowen to all men, of our countrey men in maner craued, of many others intreated & sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the christen religion, beyng spent with age, and hys strength vtterly decayed, forsooke his owne countrey, refused not the tediousnesse of the long iourney, was not afrayd to aduenture hymselfe vpon the sea, but had more regard of the dilatyng and amplifieng of the Church of Christ, than of all other thyngs. So in conclusion he came, euery man receyued and welcommed hym: afterward he liued in such wyse, as it might appeare he came not hither for his owne sake, but for ours. For he sought not to driue away y^e sicknesse that he had taken by the troublesome trauaile of his long iourney: and albeit his strength were weakened & appalled, yet he regarded not the recouery of hys health, but put hymselfe to immoderate labour and intollerable payne, onely to teach and instruct vs. And yet toward this so noble and worthy a person while he lyued, were shewed all the tokens of humanitie and gentlenesse, reuerence and curtesy that could be, and when he was dead, the most horrible crueltie and spight that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant vnto the liuyng house, and a bidyng place, and to the dead burial? Or what is he that will find in his heart to geue entertainment, & to cherish that person in his house with all kynde of gentlenes that he can deuise, vpon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow buriall when he is dead? Agayne, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much aduauncement and commendation of his vertues, to bury a man honourably, and anone after to breake vp his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him beyng deade, who duryng his lyfe tyme alway deserued prayse? All these things haue happened vnto Bucer, who whilest hee lyued, had free accesse into the most gorgeous buildyngs and stately pallaces of the greatest Princes, & when he was dead, could not be suffred to enioy so much as his poore graue. Who beyng layd in the ground, nobly to his eternall fame, was afterward to hys vtter defacing spightfully taken vp and burned. The which thynges albeit they did no harme to the dead (for the deade carcasses feelee no payne, neyther doth the fame of godly persons depend vpon the report of vulgar people, and the lyght rumours of men, but vpon the rightfull censure & iust iudgement of God) yet it reprooueth an extreme cruelnesse and vnsatiabie desire of reuengemēt, in them which offer such vtter wrong to the dead. These persons therefore whome they haue pulled out of their graues and burned, I beleue (if they had bene alyue) they would haue cast out of house and home, they would haue driuen out of all mens company, and in the ende with most cruell tormentes haue torne them in peeces, beyng neuerthelesse Alientes, beyng Straungers, and beyng also fetched hether by vs oute of such a countrey, where they not onely needed not to feare any punishment, but contrary wise were alwayes had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as also among the vulgare and common people. But yet how much more gentle then these men, was Byshop Gardiner, otherwyse an earnest defender of the Popishe doctrine. Who agaynst his owne countrey men, let passe no crueltie wherby he might extinguish with f•re & sword the light of the Gospell: and yet he spared Forreiners, because the right of them is so holye, that there was neuer nation so barbarous, that would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned Clarke Peter Martyr then teachyng at Oxford, he would not kepe hym to punish hym, but (as I haue heard reported) when hee should go his way, he gaue hym wherewith to beare hys charges. So that the thyng which he thought he might of right do to his owne countrey men, he iudged

vnlawfull to do to strangers. And whom the law of God coulde not withhold from the wicked murdering of his owne countrey men, hym did the lawe of man bridle from killyng of straungers, the whiche hath euer appeased all barbarous beastlynnesse, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a poynt of humanitie for man and man to meete together, and one to come to an other, though they be neuer so far separated & set asunder, both by sea & by land, without the which accesse, there can be no entercourse of merchādise, there cā be no conference of wits, which first of all engendred lerning nor any commoditie of societie long to continue. To repulse them that come to vs, and to prohibite thē our countries, is a poynt of inhumanitie. Now to entreat them euill that by our sufferance dwel among vs, and haue encrease of household and household stuffe, it is a poynte of wickednesse. Wherefore this crueltie hath farre surmounted the cruelty of all others, the which to satisfie the vnsatiable greedinesse thereof, drewe to execution, not onelye straungers, brought hether at our entreataunce and sending for, but euen the withered and rotten carcasses digged out of their graues: to the intent that the immeasurable [Page 1966](#) thirst which coulde not be quenched with shedding the bloud of them that were aliue,* might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead mens bones. These (my bretheren) these I say, are the iust causes which haue so sore prouoked the wrath of God agaynst vs, because that in doing extreme iniury to the dead, we haue bene prone and ready: but in putting the same away, we haue bene slow and slacke. For verely I beleue (if I may haue liberty to saye freely what I thinke) ye shall beare with me (if I chaunce to cast forth any thing vnadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my Oration) that euen this place, in the whiche we haue so often times assembled, being defiled with that new kinde of wickednesse, such as man neuer heard of before, is a let and hindraunce vnto vs, when we call for the helpe of God, by meanes whereof, our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, & to win him to be sauorable vnto vs agayne.

The bloud of Abell shed by Cain, calleth and crieth frō the earth that sucked it vp: likewise, the vnderdeserued burning of these bodyes, calleth vpon God almighty to punish vs, and cryeth, that not onely the Authours of so greates a wickednesse, but also the Ministers thereof are vnpure, the places defiled, in which these thinges were perpetrated, the ayre infected which we take into our bodyes, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sickenneses we may receiue punishment for so execrable wickednesse. Looke well about ye (my deare brethrē) and consider with your selues the euils that are past: & ye shall see how they tooke theyr beginning at Bucers death, following one in anothers necke euen vnto this day. First and formost whē we were euen in the chieftest of our mourning and scarcely yet recomforted of our sorrow for his death, the sweating sicknesse lighted vpon vs, the whiche passed swiftly thorow all Englande, and as it were in haste dispatched an innumerable company of men: Secondly, the vntimely death of our most noble king Edward the sixt (whose life in vertue surmounted the opinion of all men, and seemed worthy of immortality) happened contrary to mens expectation in that age, in which vnlesse violence be vsed, fewe do dye. The conuersion of Religion, or rather the euersion and turning therof into papistry. The incursiō and domination of straungers, vnder whose yoke our neckes were almost subdued. The importunate cruelty of the Byshops agaynst the Christians, which executed that wickednesse, for making satisfaction whereof, we are gathered together this daye. These are the thinges that ensued after his death: but after his burning ensued yet greeuouser thinges. Namely newe kinde of plagues, and contagious diseases, vnknowne to the very Phisitians, whereby eyther euery mans health was appayred, or els they were brought to theyr graues, or elles very hardly recouered: bloody battel•es without victory, whereof the profite redounded to the enemy, and to vs the slaughter with great losse. The which thinges doe

euidently declare, that God is turned from vs, and angry with vs, and that he geueth no eare to our prayers, and that he is not moued with our cries and sighes, but that he looketh, that this our meeting and assembly shoulde be to this end, that for as muche as we haue violated theyr coarces, we should doe them right agayne: so that the memoriall of these most holy men, may be commended to posteritye vnhurted and vndefamed. Wherefore amende yet at length (my brethren) which hytherto by reason of the variablenesse and vnconstancy of the times, haue beene wauering and vnstedfast in your hartes: shew your selues chearefull and forward in making satisfaction for the iniury you haue done to the dead, whome with so greate wickednesse of late ye endamaged and defiled: not by censing them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now worne out of vre, and put to flight, but with a true and vnfained repētance of the hart, and with prayer: to the intent that the heauenly Godhead, prouoked by our doinges to be our enemy may be our hūble submission be entreated to be fauorable and agreable to all our other requestes.

When Acworth had made an ende of his Oration, M. Iames Pilkinton the Queenes reader of the diuinity lecture,* going vp into the Pulpite, made a Sermon vpon the 111. Psalme, the beginning whereof is. Blessed is the mā that feareth the Lord.

Where intending to prooue that the remembraunce of the iust man shall not perishe, and that Bucer is blessed, & that the vngodly shall fret at the sight therof, but yet that all theyr attemptes shall bee to no purpose, to the entent this saying may be verified: I will curse your blessings, and blesse your curssinges, he tooke his beginning of hys owne person, that albeit he were both ready and willyng to take that matter in hande, partly for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe, and inesppecially for certayne singuler vertues, of those persons, for whome that Congregation was called, yet notwithstanding he sayde he was nothing meet to take that charge vpon him.

For it were more reason that he which before had done Bucer wrong, should now make him amendes for the displeasure. As for his owne part, he was so farre from working any euill agaynst Bucer, eyther in worde or deede that for theyr singular knowledge almost in al kind of lear'ning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all hys harte. But yet hee somewhat more fauoured Bucer, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquayntaunce. In consideration whereof, although that it was scarce conuenient, that he at that time should speake, yet notw^tstanding he was contented for frendshippe and curtesye sake, not to fayle them in this theyr businesse. Hauyng made this Preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous crueltye of the Court of Rome, so fiercely extended agaynst the dead. He sayd it was a more heynous matter then was to be borne with, to haue shewed such extreme cruelnesse to them that were aliue: but for any manne to misbehaue himselfe in such wise towarde the deade, was such a thing as hadde not lightly bene heard of. Sauing that he affirmed this custome of excommunicating and curssing of deade folke, to haue come first from Rome. For Euagrius reporteth in his wrytinges, that Eutichius was of the same opinion, induced by the example of Iosias, who slew the Priestes of Baall, and burnt vppe the boanes of them that were deade, euen vppon the Aultars. Whereas, before the time of Eutichius this kinde of punishment was welneare vnknowne, neither afterwarde vsurped of any manne (that euer he heard of) vntill a nine hundreth yeares after Christ. In the latter times (the whiche howe muche the further they were from that golden age of the Apostles, so much the more they were corrupted) this kinde of cruelnesse beganne to creepe further. For it is manifestlye knowne, that Stephen the sixt Pope of

Rome, digged vp Formosus, his last Predecessour in that Sea, and spoyling him of hys Popes apparell, buried him agayne in lay mans apparell (as the call it) hauing first cut off and throwne into Tyber his two fingers, with which, according to theyr accustomed maner, he was woont to blesse and consecrate. The whiche his vnspeakeably tyrannye vsed against Formosus, within sixe yeares after, Sergius the third encreased also agaynst the same Formosus. For taking vp his dead body and setting it in a Popes chayre, hee caused his heade to be smitten of, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be cast into the ryuer of Tyber, abrogating and disanulling all his decrees, which thinge was neuer done by any man before that daye. The cause why so great crueltie was exercised (by the reporte of Nauclerus) was this: because that Formosus had beene an aduersarye to Stephen and Sergius when they sued to be made Bishops.

This kinde of crueltie vnharde of before, the Popes a while exercised one agaynst an other. But nowe, or euer they had sufficiently felte the smarte thereof themselues, they had turned the same vpon our neckes. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among thē it might haue remayned still with the Authors thereof, & not haue bene spread ouer thence vnto vs. But such was the nature of all euill, that it quickly passeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the yeare of our Lord 1400. Iohn Wicklyfe was in lyke maner digged vp, and burnte into ashes, & throwen into a brooke that runneth by the towne where he was buried. Of the which selfe same sauce tasted also William Traye of Gloucester, a man of a worshipfull house, because he had written in his laste will that he shoulde be saued onely by fayth in Iesus Christe, and that there needed not the helpe of any manne thereto, whether he were in heauen or in earth, and therefore bequethed no legacye to that purpose as all other men were accustomed to doe. This deede was done sithens we may remember, aboute the 22. yeare of the raigne of Henry the 8. in the yeare of our Lord. 1530.

Now seeing they extended suche crueltie to the dead, he sayde it was an easie matter to coniecture what they would doe to the liuing. Whereof we had sufficient tryall by the examples of our owne men, these fewe yeares past. And if we woulde take the paynes to peruse thinges done somewhat lenger ago, we might find notable matters out of our owne Chronicles. Howbeit, it was sufficient for y^e manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the beastly butchery of the Frenche King executed vppon the Waldenses, at Cabryer, and the places nere thereabout, by his captayne Miner, aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 1545. [Page 1967](#) then the which there was neuer thing read of more cruelty done,* no not euen of the barbarous Paganes. And yet for all that when diuers had shewed theyr vttermost cruelty both agaynste these and many others, they were so farre from theyr purpose in extinguishing the light of the Gospell, which they endeouored to suppress, that it increased dayly more and more. The which thing Charles the 5. (then whom all christendome had not a more prudēt Prince, nor the Church of Christ almost a sorer enemy) easily perceiued, and therefore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomeran, with certayne other Preachers of the Gospell aliue, he not onely determined not any thing extreamely agaynst them nor violated theyr graues, but also entreating them gently sent thē away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the doctrine that they professed. For it is the nature of Christes Church, that the more that Tyrauntes spurne agaynst it, the more it encreaseth and florisheth. A notable prooffe assuredly of the prouidence and pleasure of God in sowing the Gospell, was that comming of the Bohemians vnto vs, to the intent to heare Wickliffe, of whom we spake before, who at that time read openly at Oxford: and also the goyng of our men to the sayde Bohemians, when persecution was rayased agaynste vs.

But much more notable was it, that we had seene come to passe in these our dayes: that the Spanyardes sent for into this Realme of purpose to suppress the Gospell, as soone as they were returned home, replenished many partes of their Countrey with the same trueth of Religion, to the which before they were utter enemyes. By the which examples it might evidently be perceiued, that the Princes of this world labour in vayne to ouerthrowe it, considering how the mercy of GOD hath sowne it abroad, not onely in those Countreies that wee spake of, but also in Fraunce, Poole, Scotland, and almoste all the rest of Europe. For it is sayd, that some partes of Italy, (although it be vnder the Popes nose) yet do they of late encline to the knowledge of the heauenly trueth: Wherefore sufficient argument and prooffe mighte be taken by the successe and encrease therof, to make vs beleue that this doctrine is sent vs from heauen, vnlesse we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that desired to be perswaded more at large in the matter, hee might aduisedlye consider the voyage that the Emperour and the Pope with both their powers together, made ioyntly agaynst the Bohemians. In the which the Emperour tooke suche an vnworthy repulse of so small a handfull of his enemyes, that he neuer almost in all his life tooke the like dishonour in any place. Hereof also might bee an especiall example that death of Henry Kyng of Fraunce, who the same day that he had purposed to persecute the Church of Christe, and to haue burned certayne of his Garde, whome he had in prison for Religion, at whose execution he had promised to haue bene himselfe in proper person, in the middes of his triumph at a tourney, was wounded so sore in the head with a Speare by one of his owne Subiectes, that ere it was long after he dyed. In the which behalfe, the dreadfull iudgementes of GOD were no lesse approued in our owne Countreymen▪ For one that was a notable slaughterman of Christes Sayntes rotted alieue,* and ere euer he dyed, such a rancke sauour stemed from all his bodye, that none of his frendes were able to come at hym, but that they were ready to vomit. Another being in vtter dispayre well nighe of all health, howled out miserably. The third ranne out of his wittes. And diuers other that were enemyes to the Church perished miserablye in the end. All the which thinges were most certayne tokens of the fauour and defence of the diuine Maiesty towades his Church, and of his wrath and vengeance towades the Tyrauntes. And for as much as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he sayd it was a most apte example that was reported of their Capitayne Zisca: who when hee should dye, willed his body to be slayne, and of his skin to make a parchment to couer the head of a drumme. For it should come to passe, that when his enemies hearde the sound of it, they should not be able to stand agaynst them. The like counsell (he sayd) he himselfe nowe gaue them as concerning Bucer. That like as the Bohemians dyd with the skinne of Zisca, the same should they doe with the Argumentes and doctrine of Bucer. For as soone as the Papistes shoulde heare the noyse of hym, their Gewgawes would forthwith decay. For sauing that they vsed violence to such as withstoode them, their doctrine conteyned nothing that might seeme to any man (hauing but meane vnderstanding in holy Scripture) to be grounded vpon any reason. As for those thinges that were done by them agaynst such as could not play the madmen as well as they some of them sauoured of open force, and some of ridiculous foolishnes. For what was this first of all? was it not friuolous, that by the space of three yeares together, Masse shoulde be songe in those places where Bucer and Phagius rested in the Lord without any offence at al? and assoone as they tooke it to be an offence, straight waye to be an offence if any were heard there? or that it should not be as good then as it was before? as if that then vpon the soddeyne it had bene a haynous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was past, should be counted the greuouser because it was done of lenger time before. Moreouer, this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius onely should be digged vppe as who shoulde say,* that he alonely had embraced the

Religion which they call heresy. It was well knowne howe one of the Burgesses of the Towne had bene minded towarde the Popish Religion. Who when he shoulde dye, willed neither ringing of Belles, Diriges, nor any other such kinde of trifles to be done for him in his anniuersary, as they terme it, but rather that they should go with Instruments of Musicke before the Maior and counsell of the Citty, to celebrate his memoriall, and also that yearely a Sermon shoulde bee made to the people, bequeathing a piece of money to the Preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to speak of Ward the paynter, who albeit he wer a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be despised for the religion sake which he diligently folowed. Neyther were diuers other moe to be passed ouer with silence, who were knowne of a certaynety to haue continued in the same sect, and to rest in other Churchyardes in Cambridge, and rather through the whole realme, and yet defiled not theyr Masses at all. All the which persons (for as much as they were all of one opinion) ought all to haue bene taken vppe, or els all to haue bene let lye with the same Religion: vnlesse a man would graūt, that it lyeth in theyr power to make what they list lawfull and vnlawfull at theyr owne pleasure. In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius (to saye the trueth) they vsed to much cruelty, and to much violence. For howsoeuer it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certaynely they coulde finde nothing wherof to accuse Phagius, in as much as he wrote nothing that came abroad sauing a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldy touniges, into Latine. After his comming into the Realme, he neuer read, he neuer disputed, he neuer preached, he neuer taught. For he deceased so soone after, that he coulde in that time geue no occasion for his aduersaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whome they neuer hearde speake. In that they hated Bucer so deadly, for the allowable maryage of the Cleargy, it was theyr owne malice conceiued agaynste him, and a verye slaunder raysed by themselues. For he had for his defence in that matter, (ouer and besides other helpes) the Testimony of the Pope Pius the second, who in a certayne place sayth that vppon waighty considerations Priestes wiues were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored agayne. And also the statute of the Emperour, they call it the Interim, by the which it is enacted that such of the cleargye as were maryed shoulde not bee diuorced from theyr wiues.

Thus turning his stile from this matter to the Uniuersity, he reprooued in fewe wordes theyr vnfaithfulnes towardes these men. For if the Lord suffered not the bones of the King of Edome, being a wicked man, to bee taken vppe and burnt without reuengement (as sayth Amos) let vs assure our selues he will not suffer so notable a wrong done to his godly Preachers, vnreuenged. Afterward, when he came to the condemnation (whiche we tolde you in the former action was pronounced by Perne the Uicechauncellour, in the name of them all) being somewhat more moued at the matter, he admonished thē how much it stode them in hand, to vse great circumspectnes, what they decreed vpon any man by theyr voyces, in admitting or reiecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the Uniuersity. For that which should take hys authority from them, should be a great preiudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that it had of theyr doctrine, iudgement, allowance, and knowledge) didde thinke nothing but well of them. For it would come to passe, that if they would bestow theyr promotions vpon none but meet persons, & let the vnmeet go as they come, both the common wealth should receiue much commodity and profite by them, and besides that they should highly please God. But if they persisted to be negligent in doing thereof, they should grievously endommage the common weale, and worthely worke theyr owne shame and reproch. Ouer and besides that the should greatly offend the maiesty of God, whose commaundement (not to beare false witness) they should in so doing breake and violate. [Page 1968](#) In the meane while that he was speaking these

and many other things before his audience,* many of the vniuersity, to set out and defend Bucer withall, beset the walles of the Church and Church porche on both sides with verses, some in Latine, some in Greeke, and some in English, in the which they made a manifest declaration howe they were minded both toward Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his Sermon was ended, they made common Supplication and prayers. After thanks rendred to God for many other thinges, but in especially for restoring of the true and sincere religion, euery man departed his way.

For as muche as mention hath beene made of the death of the worthy and famous Clerke, Martin Bucer, & of the burning of his boanes after his death, it shall not be vnfruitful, as the place here serueth, to induce the testimony or Epitaph of Doctor Redman which came not yet in print, vpon the decease of that man.

¶The Epitaph or funerall verse of D. Redman, vpon the death of Mayster Bucer.

ET tu liuor edax procul hinc abscede maligna,

facessito inuidientia,

Et procul hinc nemesis, procul hinc & Momus abesto,

labes lues{que} mentium,

Daemonibus similes homines quae redditis, aliam

foedatis atque imaginem

Quam nostro impressit generi pater ille supremus,

similes sui dum nos creat:

Contemptrix odij & mendacis nescia fuci

Adesto sancta Veritas.

Dicito quis qualis{que}, elatum funere nuper

quem vidimus tam flebili?

Est in quam misera hac defunctus luce Bucerus,

lux literati & dux Chori,

Doctrinae radios qui totum solis ad instar

misit per orbem splendidos.

Hunc dirae nuper sublatum vulnere mortis

lugubre flet Gymnasium,

Et pullata gemit maerens schola Cantabrigensis
orbata claro sydere.

Ergo, quasi obstructo doctrinae fonte, querelas
precesque nunc fundit.

Agnoscit nunquam se talem habuisse magistrum
ex quo sit olim condita.

Non vnquam Cathedrae gauisa est praeside tanto,
tam nobili & claro duce.

Cuius & ingenij & doctrinae munera, summum
virtutis ornauerat decus,

Integritas morum grauitas prudentia, sermo
semper dei laudem sonans,

Et sale conditus, qualem vult esse piorum
Apostoli sententia.

Accessit zelus feruens & praesule dignus,
peccata semper arguens.

Nunquam desidia, aut languori deditus,
vllum indulsit otium sibi.

Credibele est nimio fatum accelerasse labore,
prodesse cunctis dum studet.

Sed frustra laudes auguste carmine nitor
tam copiosas claudere.

Ergo Bucere, scholae & suggestus gloria sacri,
valeto etiam vel mortuus.

Aeternum in superis foelix iam viuito regnis,

exutus etsi corporis

Terrenis spolijs, huius miseri atque caduci:

Quod est sepulchro conditum

Christus depositum reddet cum fœnore magno,

Iudex breui quum venerit.

☞ The despightfull handling and madnesse of the papistes toward Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, taken vp frō her graue at the commaundement of Cardinall Poole, and after buried in a dunghill.

ANd because the one Uniuersity shoulde not mocke the other,* like crueltye was also declared vpon the deade body of Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, an honest, graue, and sober matrone, while she liued, and of poore people alwayes a great helper, as many that be dwelling there, can right well testify. In the yeare of our Lord. 1552. she departed this life, w^t great sorow of al those needy persōs, whose necessities many times & often she had liberally eased and relieued. Now, when Brokes Bishop of Glocester, Nicholas O•maner Datary, Robert Morwen President of Corpus Christi Colledge, Cole and Wright Doctors of the Ciuill Law, came thither as the Cardinals visitours, they among other thinges had in Commission to take vp this good woman agayne out of her graue, and to consume her carkas with fire, not doubting but that she was of y^e same religion that her husband had professed before, whē he read the Kinges lecture there. And to make a shewe that they would do nothing disorderly, they called al those before thē that had any acquayntance with her or her husband.* They ministred an othe vnto them that they should not conceale whatsoever was demaunded. In fine, theyr answere was that they knewe not what religion she was of, by reason they vnderstood not her language.

To be shorte, after these visitours had sped theyr busines they came for, they 〈◇〉 them to the Cardinall agayne, certifying him that vpon due inquisition made, they could learne nothing, vpon which by the law they might burne her. Notwithstanding the cardinall did not leaue the matter so,* but wrote downe his Letters a good while after to Marshall, then Deane of Frideswides that he should dyg her vp, and lay her out of christian buriall, because she was interred nigh vnto S. Frideswides relicks, sometime had in great reuerence in that Colledge. Doct. Marshal like a prety man calling his Spades and mattockes together in the euening,* when he was well whittled caused her to be taken vp, and buried in a dunghill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God vnder good Queene Elizabeth, to geue quietnes to his Church, long time persecuted with prison and death, then Doctour Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall Bishop of Lōdon, Richard Goodricke, with diuers other her Maiesties high Commissioners in matters Religion (nothing ignoraunt howe farre the aduersaries of the trueth had transgressed the boūdes of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or graue of that good and vertuous woman) wylled certayne of that Colledge, in the whiche this vncurteous touch was attempted and done, to take her out of that vncleane & dishonest place where she laye, & solemnely in the face of the whole towne, to bury her agayne in a more decent & honest monumēt. For though of the body being once dead, no great estimatiō were to be had,* how or

where the bones were layde: yet was some reuerence to be vsed toward her for sexe and womanhood sake. Besides, to saye the truth, it was great shame, that he which had trauelled so farre at king Edwardes request, from the place wherin he dwelt quietly, and had takē so earnest paynes, beyng an old man, in reading and setting forth the truth al he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so wel deserued of that Uniuersity: * should with so vngentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded agayne, as to haue his wife, that was a godly woman, a straūger, good to many, especially to the poore, and hurtfull to none, either in word or deede, without iust deseruing, & beside theyr owne law, not proceeding against her according to the order therof, spitefully to be layd in a stincking dunghill.

To all good natures the fact seemed odious, & of suche as be indued with humanity, vtterly to be abhorred. Wherfore M. Calfield, then Subdeane of the Colledge, * diligētly prouided, that from Marshalls dunghill she was restored and translated to her proper place agayne, yea & withall coupled her with Frideswides boanes, * that in case any Cardinall wil be so mad hereafter to remoue this womā's bones agayne, it shall be hard for thē to discerne the bones of her from the other. And because to the intent the same might be notified to the mindes of men the better, the next day after, which was sonday, M. Rogerson preached vnto the people, in whiche Sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the aduersaries, which were not contented to practise their cruelty against the liuing, but that they must also rage agaynst one that was dead, and had lien 2. yeares in her graue. God graunt thē once to see their own wickednes. Amen.

And thus much touching the noble actes and straungenes of this worthy Cardinal in both y^e vniuersities: whervnto it shall not be impertinent, here also consequently to adioyne and set forth to the eyes of the worlde, the blinde and bloudy articles set out by Cardinal Poole, to be inquired vpō within his dioces of Canterbury, whereby it may the better appeare what yokes and snares of fond & fruitles traditions were layd vpon the poore flock of Christ, to entangle and oppresse them with losse of life and libertye. By the which wise mē haue to see what godly fruits proceeded from that catholicke Church and See of Rome. In which albeit thou seest (good Reader) some good Articles insparsed withall, let that nothing moue thee: for els how could such poysō be ministred, but it must haue some hony to relish the readers taste.

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*¶ **Here folow the articles set forth by Cardinall Poole, to be inquired in his ordinary visitation, within his Dioces of Caunterbury.**

☞ Touching the Clergy.

1 Firste, whether the Diuine Seruice in the Church at times, * dayes, houres, be obserued and kept duly, or no.

2 Item, whether the Parsons, Uicars, and Curates do comely and decently in theyr maners and doinges behaue themselues or no.

3 Item, whether they do reuerently and duely minister the sacraments or sacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether any of theyr parishioners do die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligēce of theyr Curates or no.

5 Item, whether the sayd parsons, vicars, or curates, do haunt Tauernes or Alehouses, increasing thereby infamy and sclaunder, or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the Mydwiues how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the Canons of the Church or no.

7 Item, whether they see that the Font be comely kept, and haue holy water alwaies ready for children to be christened.

8 Item, if they do keepe a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duety of the Church.

9 Item, whether there be any Priestes, that late vnlawfully had women vnder pretended maryage, and hytherto are not recōciled, and to declare theyr names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they doe diligently teach theyr Parishioners, the articles of the fayth, and the ten commaundementes.

11 Item, whether they do decently obserue those thinges that do concerne the seruice of the church, & al those things that tend to a good and Christian life, according to the Canons of the Church.

12 Item, whether they do deuoutly in theyr prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the Kyng and Queenes Maiestyes.

13 Item, whether the sayd Parsons and Uicars do sufficiently repayre theyr Chauncels, Rectoryes, and vicarages, and do keep and mayntein them sufficiently repayed and amended.

14 Item, whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholicke fayth & vnity of the church.

15 Item, whether any of them do say the diuine seruice, or do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether any of them do suspiciously keepe any women in theyr houses, or do keepe cōpany with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether any of thē that were vnder pretence of lawfull matrimony married, and now reconciled, do priuily resort to theyr presented wiues, or that the sayd women do priuily resort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they do goe decently apparelled, as it becommeth sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they haue theyr crownes and beardes shauen.

19 Itē, whether any of thē do vse any vnlawfull games as di•e, cardes, & other like, wherby they grow to sclaunder and euill report.

20 Item, whether they do keepe residence and hospitality vpon theyr Benefices, and do make charitable cōtributions, according to all the lawes Ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they do keepe the booke or Register of Christening, Burying, and Mariages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

☛ Touching the lay people.

1 First, whether any maner of person, of what estate, degree,* or condition so euer he be, do hold, maintein, or affirme any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, cōtrary to the lawes Ecclesiasticall, and the vnity of the Catholicke Church.

2 Item, whether any person doe holde, affirme, or saye that in the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar there is not cōteined the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by any maner of meanes do contemne and despise the sayd blessed Sacrament, or do refuse to do reuerēce or worship thereunto.

3 Item, whether they doe contemne or despise by anye maner of meanes any other of the Sacramentes, Rites or Ceremonies of the Church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

4 Item, whether any do absent or refrayne, without vrgent and lawfull impedement, to come to the Church, and reuerently to heare the diuine seruice vpon Sondaies and holy dayes.

5 Item, whether being in the Church, they do not apply themselues to heare the diuine seruice, and to be contemplatiue in holy prayer, and not to walke, iangle, or talk, in the time of the diuine seruice.

6 Item, whether any be fornicatours, adulterers, or doe commit incest, or be baudes, and receiuers of euill persons or be vehemently suspected of any of them.

7 Item, whether any do blaspheme and take the name of God in vayne, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether any be periured, or haue cōmitted Simony or vsury, or do still remayne in the same.

9 Item, whether the Churches & churchyardes be well and honestly repared and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the Churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and bookes necessary, and whether they haue a Roode in theyr church of a decent stature, with Mary and Iohn, and an Image of the Patrone of the same church.

11 Item, whether any do withholde, or doth draw from the church any maner of mony or goodes, or that do withhold theyr due and accustomed tithes frō theyr Parsons & Uicars.

12 Item, whether any be common drunkardes, ribalds, or mē of euill liuing, or do exercise any lew pastimes, especially in the time of diuine seruice.

13 Item, if there be any that doe practise or exercise any artes of Magike, or Necromancy or do vse or practise any Incantations, Sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected therof.

14 Item, whether any be married in the degrees of affinity, or consanguinitye, prohibited by the Lawes of holye church or that do mary, the banes not asked, or do make any priuy contractes.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the aultar, or did reuerētly behaue themselues in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether any do keepe any secret conuenticles, preachinges, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrary to the lawes.

17 Item, whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and embring dayes.

18 Item, whether the aultars in the Churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the Sacrament be caryed deuoutly to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little Sacring Bell.

20 Item, whether the common scholes be well kept, and that the scholemaisters be diligent in teathing, and be also Catholicke, and men of good and vpright iudgemēt, & that they be examined and approued by the Ordinary.

21 Item, whether any do take vpon them to minister the goodes of those that be dead, without authority from the Ordinary.

22 Itē, whether the poore people in euery parish be charitably prouided for.

23 Item, whether there do burne a Lampe or a Candle before the sacramēt. And if ther do not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infantes & children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient time.

25 Item, whether any do keepe or haue in theyr custody any erroneous or vnlawfull bookes.

26 Item, whether any do withhold any mony or goodes bequeathed to the amending of the high wayes, or any other charitable deede.

27 Item, whether any haue put away theyr wyues, or any wiues do withdraw thēselues from theyr husbandes, being not lawfully diuorced.

28 Item, whether any do violate or breake the sondaies and holy dayes, doing theyr daily labors & exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the Tauernes or Alehouses, vpon the sondayes and holy dayes, in the time of Masse, matins and Euensong, do keepe open theyr doores, and do receiue people into theyr houses to drink and eat, and therby neglect theyr dueties in comming to the church.

30 Item, whether any haue, or do depraue or contemne the authority or Iurisdiction of the Popes holynes, or the See of Rome.

31 Item, whether any Minstrels, or any other persons do vse to sing any songes against the holy sacramēts, or any [Page 1970](#) other the rites and ceremonies of the church.*

32 Itē, whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, & whether the foundations of them be duely & truly obserued and kept. And whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33 Item, whether any goodes, plate, iewels, or possessions be taken away, or withholden from the sayd Hospitals, and by whom.

¶A History of tenne Martyrs condemned and burned within the Dioces of Caunterbury, for the testimony of Iesus Christ, and trueth of his Gospell.

*MEntion was made a little before of the persecution in Kent, pag. 1860. Where we declared, that fiftene were in the Castle of Canterbury imprisoned and cōdemned for Gods word. Of the which fiftene moreouer we shewed & declared fiue to be famished vnto death within the said castle, and buried by the high waye, about the beginning of Nouember. The other tenne, in the first month of the next yeare folowing, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1557. were committed vnto the fire, and there cōsumed to ashes, by Thornton, called Bishop or Suffragane of Douer, otherwise called Dicke of Douer, and by Nicholas Harsfield the Archdeacon of the sayd Prouince.

The names of these tenne godly and Christian Martyrs be these:

- Iohn Philpot of Tēterden.
- *W. Waterer of Bedingden.
- Stephen Kempe of Norgate.
- W. Haye Hythe.
- Thomas Hudsonne of Salenge.
- Mat. Bradbridge of Tenterden.
- Thomas Stephens of Bedingden.
- Nich. Finall of Tenterden.
- W. Lowicke of Crābroke.
- W. Prowting of Thornhā.

What the ordinarye articles were commonly obiected to them of Canterbury Dioces,* is before rehearsed, Pag. 1672. saue onely that to some of these, as to them that folowed after, as the time of theyr persecution did growe, so theyr articles withall did encrease to the number of two & twenty conteining such like matter as serued to the mainteinaunce of the Romish See.

To these articles what theyr answeres were, likewise, needed here no great rehearsall, seeing they all agreed together,* though not in the same fourme of woordes, yet in much like effecte of purposes: first graunting the Church of Christ, and denying the Church of Rome, denying the seuen Sacramentes, refusing the Masse, and the hearing of Latine Seruice, praying to Saynctes, iustification of works. &c, And though they did not al answere vniformely in some smaller thinges, as theyr learning serued them, yet in the most principall and chieftest matters they did not greatly discord. &c.

[illustration]

¶The burning of sixe Martyrs at Caunterbury.

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Of these tenne Godly Martyrs of Christe, sixe were burned at Canterbury, about the fiftene of Ianuary, that is. Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowike, Hudson, and Haye. Other two, that is, Stephēs, and Philpot, at Wye, about the same moneth. Other two, which were Finall & Bradbrige, were burned both together at Ashford, the xvj. of the same.

The next moneth folowing, whiche was Februarye, came out an other bloody Commission from the king and Queene, to kindle vp the fire of persecution,* as though it were not hoate enough already: the contentes of whiche Commission I thought here not to pretermit: not for lack of matter, whereof I haue too much: but that the Reader may vnderstand how kinges & princes of this world, like as in the first persecutions of the primitiue Church vnder Ualerianus, Decius, Maximian, Dioclesian, Licinius. &c. so now also in these latter perillous dayes, haue set out all theyr maine force and power, with lawes, policy, & authorit to the vttermost they coulde deuise agaynst Christe and his blessed gospel. And yet notwithstanding al these lawes, constitutions, Iniunctions, and terrible proclamations prouided agaynst Christ and his Gospell, Christ yet styll continueth, his gospel florisheth, & truth preuaileth: kings and Emperors in their owne purposes ouerthrown, their deuises dissolued, theyr counselles confounded: as exāples both of this & of all times & ages do make manifest. But now let vs heare the intent of this Commission, in tenor as foloweth.

¶A bloody Commission geuen forth by King Philip and Queene Mary, to persecute the poore members of Christ.

PHilip and Mary by the grace of God king & Queene of England.* &c. To the right reuerend Father in God our right trusty & welbeloued Counsellour Thomas B. Elye, and to our right trusty & welbeloued Williā Windsore knight, L. Winsore, Edw. North knight, L. North, and to our trusty & welbeloued Counsellours, Io. Bourn knight, one of our chiefe Secretaries, Iohn Mordaunt knight, Frances Englefield knight, maister of our Wards and Liueries, Edward Walgraue knight, Mayster of our great Wardrobe, Nicholas Hare knight,* master of y^e Rolles, and our high Court of Chauncery, & to our trusty and welbeloued Tho. Pope knight, Roger Cholmley knight, Richard Rede knight, Rowlād Hil knight, William Rastall Sergeant at law, Hēry Cole Clerke, Deane of Paules, William Roper, & Rafe Cholmley, Esquiers, Williā Cooke, Thomas Martin, Iohn Story, & Iohn Uaughan Doctours of Law, greeting.

For as muche as diuers deuillishe and sclaunderous persons, hauing not onely inuented, bruted, and sette forth diuers false rumors, tales, and sedicious sclauēders against vs, but also haue sowne diuers heresies, and heretical opinions,* and sette forth diuers seditious bookes within thys our Realme of England, meaning thereby to styrrē vp diuision, strife, contention, & sedition, not onely amongst our louing subiectes, but also betwixt vs & our sayd subiectes, w^t diuers others outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contemptes, and offences, dayly committed and done, to y^e disquieting of vs and our people, we minding the due punishment of such offenders, & the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehauours from hencefoorth, hauing speciall truste and confidence in your fidelities, wisdomes, and discretions, haue authorised appoynted & assigned you to be our Commissioners, and by these presentes do geue full power & authority vnto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the othes of twelue good and lawfull men, as by witnesses and all other meanes & politick wayes you can deuise, of all & singuler heretical opinions, Lollardies, heretical & seditious bookes cōcealemēts, contemptes, conspiracies, and all false rumors, tales, seditious and sclaunderous wordes or sayinges, raysed, published, bruted, inuented, or set forth against vs,* or either of vs or agaynst the quiet gouernance & rule of our peoples, & subiects, by bookes, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any Coūtie, Key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realme of England or els where, in any place or places beyond the Seas, & of the bringing in, vtterers, buyers, sellers, readers, kepers, or cōueyers of any such letter, books, rumor, and tale, and of all and euery theyr coadiutors, cōsellers, comforters, procurers, abettors, and mainteiners, geuing vnto you and three of you, full power & authoritye by vertue hereof, to search out and take into your hands & possessiōs, all maner of hereticall and sedicious bookes, letters & writinges, wheresoeuer they or any of them shalbe foūd, as well in Printers houses and shops, as elsewhere, willing you and euery of you to searche for the same in all [Page 1971](#) places,* according to your discretions.

And also to enquire, heare, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehauours, and negligences committed in any Church, Chappell, or other halowed place within this Realme,* and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any landes, tenementes, goodes, ornamentes, stockes of money, or other thinges belonging to euery of the same Churches & Chapels, and all accountes and reckoninges concernyng the same.

And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receiue the blessed sacrament of the aultar, to heare masse, or come to their parish Churches, or other conuenient places appoynted for diuine seruice, and all such as refuse to go on Procession,* to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise doe misuse themselues in any church or other halowed place, wheresoeuer any of the same offences haue bene, or hereafter shalbe committed within this our sayd Realme.

Neuertheles our will and pleasure is, that when, and as oftē as any person or persons, hereafter being called or conuented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any maner of heresy,* or hereticall opinion, that then ye or three of you do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be deliuered & committed to his Ordinary, there to be vsed according to the spirituall and ecclesiasticall lawes.

And also we geue vnto you, or three of you, full power and authority,* to enquire and search out all vacabondes, and maysterles men, Baretours, quarrellers, and suspect persons, abiding within

our City of London, & ten myles compasse of the same, and all assaultes and affrayes done & committed within the same city and compasse.

And further to search out all waste, decayes, and ruins of Churches,* Chauncelles, Chappelles, Parsonages and Uicarages in the Dioces of the same, being within thys Realme, geuing you and euery of you full power and authority by vertue hereof to heare and determine the same, and all other offences and matters aboue specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdomes, consciences, and discretions, willing and commaūding you or three of you, from time to time, to vse and devise all such politick waies and meanes, for the triall & searching out of the premises, as by you or three of you shal be thought most expedient & necessary: and vpon inquiry and due prooffe had, knowne, perceiued and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning y^e premises or any part thereof, or by any other waies or meanes requisite, to geue and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, & to take such order for redresse and reformatiō of the premises, as to your wisdomes, or three of you shalbe thought meet and conuenient.

Further willing and commaundyng you and euerye three of you, in case you shall finde any person or persons, obstinate or disobedient, either in theyr appearance before you or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or els in not accomplishing or not obeying your Decrees,* Orders, and commaundementes in any thing or thinges, touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending, to Ward, there to remaine, till by you or three of you he be discharged or deliuered. &c. And so forth with other such like matter, as foloweth, see in our first edition, pag. 1563.

The apprehension of two and twenty prisoners sent vp together for Gods word, to London, from Colchester.

AFTER this bloudye Proclamation or Commission thus geuen out at London, which was Februarye 8. the thyrde and fourth yeares of the Kynge and Queenes raighe, these new Inquisitours, especially some of them beganne to ruffle and to take vpon them no^t a little: so that all quarters were full of persecution and prisons almost full of prisoners, namely in the Dioces of Canterbury, wherof (by the leaue of Christ) we will say more anon.

In the meane time, about the Towne of Colchester, the wind of persecution beganne fiercely to rise: insomuch that three and twenty together, men and women were apprehended at one clap,* of the which xxiiij. one escaped. The other xxij. were driuen vp like a flock of Christen lambes, to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to geue theyr skinnes to be pluckt of for the Gospels sake.* Notwithstanding the Bishops, afrayd belike of the nūber, to put so many at once to death, sought meanes to deliuer them, and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out thēselues: notwithstanding diuers of thē afterward were takē againe & suffered, as hereafter ye shall heare (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way cōming vp, saw them in the fieldes scattering in such sort, as that they might haue easily escaped away. And when they entred into the townes, their keepers called them againe into aray,* to go two & two together, hauing a band or line going betweene them, they holding the same in theyr handes, hauing another corde euery one about his arme, as though they were tied. And so were these fourteene men & eight women caried vp to London, the people

by the way praying to God for them, to geue them strength. At the entring into London, they were pinioned, & so came into the city, as the Picture here shortly after folowing w^t their names also subscribed, doth describe. But first let vs declare concerning their taking and their attachers, contained in the Commissaryes letter, written to Boner: then, the Indenture made betwene the commissioners and the popish cōmissary. The letter of the Commissary is this.

¶The Letter of the Commissary, called Iohn Kingston, written to Bishop Boner.

AFTER my duety done in receiuing and accōplishing your honorable and most louing letters, dated the 7. of August: Be it knowne vnto your Lordship, that the 28. of August, the Lorde of Oxenford, Lord Darcy, H. Tyril, A. Brown, W. Bendlowes, E. Tyrill, Ric. Weston, Roger Apleton, published their cōmissiō to selfe landes and tenements & goodes of the fugitiues, so that the owners should haue neither vse nor commodity thereof, but by Inuētory remaine in safe keeping, vntill the cause were determined.

And also there was likewise proclaimed the queenes graces warrant, for the restitution of the Church goods within Colchester, & the hundredes thereabout, to the vse of Gods seruice. And then were called the parishes particularly, & the hereticks partly cōmitted to my examination. And that diuers persons should certify me of theyr ornamentes of theyr Churches, betwixt this and the Iustices next appearaunce, which shalbe on Michaelmas euen nexte. And that parish which had presented at two seuerall times, to haue all ornamentes, with other thinges in good order, were exonerated for euer, til they were warned againe, & others to make theyr appearaunce from time to time. And those names blotted in the Indenture, were indited for treason, fugit•ues, or disobedients, and were put forth by M. Brownes commaundement. And before the sealing, my Lord Da•cy said vnto me apart, and M. Bendlowes, that I should haue sufficient time to send vnto your Lordship, yea, if need were, the heretickes to remayne in'durance till I had an answeere from you: yea to the Lord Legates graces Commissioners come into the Country.

And mayster Browne came into my Lord Darcyes house & parlour belonging vnto M. Barnaby, before my sayd Lord and all the Iustices, and laid his hand of my shoulder, with a smiling cōūtenaunce, and desired me to make his harty commēdations vnto your good Lordship, and asked me if I would, and I said. Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I should not haue bene charged with so sodeine carriage. But after dinner, the Iustices counselled with the Bayliffes, and with the Gaolers, and then after tooke me vnto them, and made collation of the Indentures, and sealed; and then Mayster Browne commaunded me this after noone, being the 30. of August, to go and receyue my prisoners by and by. And then I sayd, it is an vnreasonable commaundemēt, for that I haue attended of you here these three dayes, and this Sondag early I haue sent home my men. Wherefore I desire you to haue a conuenient time appoynted, wherein I may know whether it will please my Lord my maister to sende his Commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them vnto his Lordship. Then M. Browne: We are certified, that the Councell hath written vnto your mayster, to make speed,* and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receiue your prisoners in haste. Then I: Sir, I shall receiue them within these tenne dayes. Then M. Browne: The limitation lyeth in vs, and not in you, wherfore get you hence.

Syr, ye haue indited and deliuered me by this Indenture, whose fayth or opinions I know not, trusting that ye will graūt me a time to examine them, least I should punish the Catholicks. Well sayd Maister Browne, for that cause ye shall haue time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say vnto you maister Bailiffes, if he do not receiue them at your handes on Wednesday, set open your doore, and let them go.

Then I: My Lord and maisters all, I promise to discharge the towne and countrey of these heretickes, within ten dayes. Then my Lord Darcy sayd: Cōmissary, we do and must all agree in one Wherefore do you receiue them on, or before Wednesday.

Then I: My Lord, the last I carryed, I was goyng betwixte the Castell and Sayncte Katherines Chappell, two howres and an halfe, and in great preasse and daunger: Wherefore th^s [Page 1972](#) may be to desire your Lordship,* to geue in commaundement vnto my Mayster Sayer, Bayliffe, here present, for to ayd me thorough his liberties, not onely with men and weapons, but that the Towne clarke may bee ready there with his booke to write the names of the most busie persons,* and this vpon three houres warning, all whiche both my Lorde and M. Browne commaunded.

And the 31. of August, William Goodwin of Muchburch husbandman, this brynger, and Thomas Alsey of Copforde youre Lordships Apparitour of your Consistory in Colchester, couenāted with me, that they shoulde hyre two other men at the leaste, whereof one should be a Bowman, to come to me the next day about two of the clocke at after noone, so that I might recite this bargayne before M. Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, 46. shillings 8. pence. Wherefore they should then go foorth wyth me vnto Colchester, & on Wednesday before three of the clock in the morning receiue there at my hand within the Castell, and Motehall, fourteen men, and eight women, ready bound wyth giues and hempe, and driue, cary, or lead and feede with meat & drinke, as heretickes ought to be found continually, vnto suche time that the sayd William and Thomas, shall cause the sayde 22. persones for to be deliuered vnto my Lord of Londons Officers and within the safe keeping of my sayd Lorde, and then to bring vnto me againe the sayd Giues, with a perfect token, of, or from my sayd Lord, and then this couenant is voyde, or els. &c.

Maister Bendlowes sayde vnto mee in my Lorde of Oxenfordes Chamber at the kinges head, after I had sayd Masse before the Lordes, that on the morow after Holy Roode day, when wee shall meete at Chelmesford for the deuision of these landes, I thinke Mayster Archdeacon, you, and Mayster Smith shalbe fayn to ride with certaine of the Iury to those porcions and manours in your part of Essex, and in like case deuide our selues, to tread and view the ground with the Quest, or els I thinke the Quest will not labour their matter, and so doe you saye vnto Mayster Archdeacon.

Alice the wyfe of William Walleys of Colchester, hath submitted herselfe,* abiured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemne penance in her Parish Church at Saint Peters on Sondag next, and to continue a Catholicke & a faythfull woman, as long as GOD shall send her lyfe. And for these couenauntes, her husband standeth bounde in fiue pounce. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your Indenture: and that shee is bigge with childe. Wherefore she remayneth at home, and this done in the presence of the Bayliffes, Aldermen, & towneclarke. And for that Maister Browne was certyfied, there was no Curate at

Lexdon, he inquired who was the Farmer. The aunswere was made, Syr Fraunces Iobson. Who is the Parson? They of the Questmen answered, Syr Roger Chostlow. When was he with you? *
Not this fourtene yeares. How is your Cure serued? Now and then. Who is the Patron? My Lord of Arundell. And within shorte tyme after Syr Fraunces Iobson came with great curtesy vnto my Lord Darcies place. And of all Gentlemē about vs, I saw no more come in Sir Robert Smith Priest, sometime Chanon of Bridlington: now Curate of Appledote, in the wild of Kent, came to Colchester the 28. day of Aug. with his wife bigge with childe, of late diuorced, taken on suspition, examined of the Lordes, and M Browne tolde me that they haue receiued letters from the counsell, for the attachment of certayn persons, and e•pecialllye of one Priest, whose name is Pullen (but hys right name is Smith) doubting this Priest to be he the sayd Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confesse the same.

Wherefore he lyeth stil in prison, but surely this is not Pullē. If it please your Lordshippe to haue in remembraunce, that the housholders might be compelled to bring euerye man his owne wife to her owne seate in the Churche in time of Diuine seruice it would profite much. And also there be yet standing Hospitals and other of like foundation about Colchester, whiche I haue not knowne to appeare at any visitation, as the Maister and Lazars of Mary Magdalene in Colchester, the Proctour of saynct Katherines Chappell in Colchester, the hospitall or Beadhouse of the foundation of Lord H. Marney, in Laremary, the Hospital and Beadman of little Horksley. Thus presuming of youre Lordships goodnes, I more then bold euer to trouble you, with thys worldly busines, beseeching almighty God to send your honorable Lordship a condigne reward.

From Eastthorp this present xxx. of August.

We found a letter touching the Maryage of Priestes in the handes of the foresayd Syr Robert Smith.* Also I desired Mayster Browne the doer of all thinges, to require the audience to bring in theyr vnlawfull writings and bookes. Who asked me if I had proclaymed the Proclamation. I sayd, yea. Then he sayd openly on the Benche, that they shoulde be proclaimed euerye quarter once And then take the Constables and Officers, and they alone •ake and punish the offenders, accordingly.

By your poore Beadman, Iohn Kingston, Priest.

An Indenture made betweene the Lordes and the Iustices within specified, and Boners Commissary, concerning the deliury of the prisoners aboue named.

THis Indētūre made the xix. day of August, in the third and 4. yeres of the raygnes of oure soueraigne Lord and Lady,* Philip and Mary by the grace of God King & Queene of England, Spayne, Fraunce, both Cicils, Ierusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the fayth, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, Myllayne, & Brabant Countyes of Hasburgh, Flaunders, and Tirell, betweene the ryght honourable Lord Iohn de Ueere, Earle of Oxenford, Lord high Chamberlayne of England, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chiche. Henry Tirel Knight, Anthony Browne, the King and Queenes Maiestyes Sergeaunt at lawe, William Bendelowes, Sergeaunt at lawe, Edmund Tirel, Richard Weston, Roger Appletō, Esquiers, Iustices of Ooyer, and determiner, & of the peace, within the sayd County of Essex, to be kept of the one party, and Iohn Kingstone clerke Bachelor at law, Commissary to y^e Bish. of London. of y^e other party, witnesseth that Ro. Colman of

Walton in y^e County of Essex labourer,* Ioan Winseley of Horseley Magna in y^e said County, Spinster, Steuen Glouer of Raylye, in the County aforesayd, Glouer, Richard Clerke of much Holland in the sayd County Mariner, William Munt of much Bently, in the sayde County husbandmā, Tho. Winseley of much Horseley in y^e sayd County, Sawyer, Margaret field of Ramesey, in the sayd County, Spinster: Agnes Whitlocke of Douercourt, in the sayd Countie, Spinster, Alice Munt of much Bentley in the sayd Countye, Spinster, Rose Alin of the same towne and County, Spinster, Richard Bongeor of Colchester in the sayd County Corier, Richard Atkin of Halstead in the sayd County, Weauer, Robert Barcocke of Wiston, in the sayde Countye of Suffolke, Carpenter, Rich. George of Westbarhoulte, in the county of Essex, laborer, Rich. Iolley of Colchester in the said County. Mariner, Tho. Feeresanne of the same towne and County, Mercer, Robert Debnam late of Dedham, in the said coūty, Weauer, Cicely Warren of Cocksall in the sayd county Spinster, Christian Peper widow, of the same town and County, Allin Simpson, Elene Euring, Alice the wife of William Walles of Colchester, Spinster, and William Bongeor of Colchester in the sayd County, Glasier, being indited of heresie, are deliuered to the sayde Iohn Kingstone Clerke, Ordinary to the Byshop of London, according to the statute in that case prouided.

In witnesse wherof to the one part of this Indenture remayning with the sayd Erle, Lord, and other the Iustices, the sayd Ordinary hath set to his hand and seale, and to the other part remayning with the sayd Ordinary, the sayd Earle, Lord, and other the Iustices haue set to their seuerall handes & seales, the daye & yeares aboue written.

- Oxenford.
- Thomas Darcy.
- Henry Tyrell.
- Antony Browne.
- William Bendelowes*
- Edmund Tyrell.
- Richard Weston.
- Roger Appleton.

These xxii. aforesayd prisoners thus sēt from Colchester to London, were brought at length to B. Boner. As touching the order and maner of their comming & brynging, the sayd Boner himselfe writeth to Cardinall Poole, as you shall heare.

***A letter of B. Boner to Cardinall Poole.**

MAY it please your good grace with my most humble obedience, reuerence and duetie,* to vnderstand that going to London vpon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with M. Germaines matter onely, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to wery a right strong body, I had the day following to comfort my stomacke withall letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the daye following I should haue sent thence 22. heretickes, indited before the Commissioners, & in dede so I had, & compelled to beare theyr charges as I did of the other, which both stode me aboue 20. nobles a summe of money that I thought full euill bestowed. And these heretickes, notwithstanding they had honest Catholicke keepers to conduct and bring them vp to me, and in all the way frō Colchester to Stratford of the Bow, did goe quietly, and obediently yet comming to Stratford, they began to take hart of grace and to doe

as pleased themselves, for there they beganne to haue theyr garde, which generally increased till they came to Algate where they were lodged Friday night.

And albeit I tooke order that the sayde heretickes shoulde be with me very early on saterday mornyng, to the intent they mighte quietely come and bee examined by me, yet it was [Page 1973](#)

[illustration]

¶The Picture of xxij. godly and faythfull Christians, apprehended about Colchester, prisoned together in one band, and so with three leaders at the most, brought vp to London.

* betweene x. and a xi. of the clocke before they would come, and no waye woulde they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousande Persons. Which thing I tooke very strange and spake to sir Iohn Gressam then being with me, to tell the Mayor and the Sheriffes that thys thing was not well suffered in the City. These naughty hereticks all the way they came through Cheapside both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort à promiscua plebe, and being entred into my house and talked withall, they shewed themselves desperate and very obstinate, yet I vsed al the honest meanes I could both by my self and other to haue wonne them, causing diuers learned men to talke with them: and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulnes, I thought to haue had them all hether to Fulham, and here to geue sentence agaynst them. Neuerthelesse perceiuing by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duetie before I any thing further proceded herein, to aduertise first your grace hereof, and knowe your good pleasure, whiche I beseeche your grace I may doe by thys trusty bearer. And thus most humblye I take my leaue of youre good grace, beseeching almighty God alwayes to preserue the same, At Fulllam, postridie Natiui .1556.

Your graces most bounden Bedesman and seruaunt, Edmond Boner.

By this letter of Bishop Boner to the Cardinall, is to be vnderstand, what good will was in this Bish. to haue the bloud of these men, and to haue past w^t sentence of condemnation agaynst them, had not the Cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) haue stayed his feruent headlines.* Concerning the which Cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his Actes and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet agayne it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloody & cruell sort of papistes,* as may appeare not only by staying the rage of this Byshop: but also by his solicitous wri^ting, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by y^e complaintes of certayne papistes, accusing him to the Pope to bee a bearer with the heretickes, & by the popes letters sent to him vpon the same, calling him vp to Rome, & setting Fryer Peto in his place, had not Q. Mary by special entreaty haue kept him out of the popes danger. All whiche letters I haue (if neede be) to shewe: besides also that it is thought of him that toward his latter end a little before his comming from Rome to England, he begā somewhat to sauour the doctrine of Luther, and was no lesse suspected at Rome:* Yea & furthermore did there at Rome conuert a certayne learned Spanyarde from papisme to Luthers side: notwithstanding the pompe and glory of the world afterward caryed him away to play the papist thus as he did. But of this Cardinall enough.

To returne now to this godly company agayne, first how they were brought vp in bandes to London, ye haue heard: Also how Boner was about to haue red the Sentence of death vpon them, & how he was stayed by y^e Cardinall ye vnderstand. As touching their confession, which they articulated vp in writing, it were tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lords Supper (for the whiche they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

The supper of the Lord.

W^heras Christ at his last supper, took bread, & whē he had geuē thanks he brake it & gaue it to hys disciples and sayd: take, eate, this is my body: [*](#) & likewise tooke the cup and thanked. &c. We do vnderstand it to be a figuratiue speache, as the most maner of his language was in parrables & darke sentences, that they which are carnally minded, should see with their eyes, and not perceiue, and heare with their eares & not vnderstand, signifying this, that as he did breake the breade among them, being but one loafe, & they al were partakers thereof, so we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered vpon y^e crosse for vs, are all partakers thereof, and his blood clenseth vs from our sinnes, & hath pacified Gods wrath towards vs and made the attonement betwene God & vs, if we walke henceforth in the light euen as he is the true light.

And in that he sayd further, do this in the remembrance of me, it is a memoriall and token of the suffering & death of Iesu Christ: and he commaunded it for this cause, [*](#) that y^e congregatiō of Christ should come together to shew his death, and to thanke and laud him for all his benefites, & magnifye his holy name, & so to breake the bread & drinke the wine, in remembrance that Christ had geuen his body and shed his blood for vs.

Thus you may well perceiue, though Christe called y^e bread his body, & the wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the substaunce of his body shoulde be in the bread and wine: as diuers places in Scripture are spoken by Christ and the Apostles in lyke phrase of speech, as in Iohn. 15. I am the true vine, also in Iohn the .10. I am the doore, and as [Page 1974](#) it is written in the 9. to the Hebrues, [*](#) and in Exodus 24. how Moyses tooke the blood of the Calues and sprinkled both the booke and all the people, saying: This is the blood of the couenant or Testament. And also in the 5. chapter of Ezechiell, how the Lord said vnto him concerning y^e third parte of his heare, saying: This is Hierusalem. &c.

Thus we see the Scriptures how they are spoken in figures, [*](#) and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would haue vs to say, that the bodily presēce of christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous vnderstanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy scriptures. Also we do see that great Idolatry is sprong out of y^e carnall vnderstanding of the word of Christ: [*](#) This is my body, & yet dayly springeth, to the great dishonour of God, so that men worship a peece of bread for God, yea and hold that to be their maker.

After this confession of their fayth and doctrine, being written and exhibited, they also deuised a letter withall, in maner of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the Iudges and Commissioners, requiring that Iustice and Iudgement, after the rule of Gods worde might be ministred vnto them. The cōpye of whiche theyr letter I thought here also to shew vnto the reader in forme as followeth.

***A letter or supplication of the prisoners to the Iudges.**

TO the right honourable audience before whome these oure simple writinges and the confession of our fayth shall come to be read or seene, we poore prisoners being fast in bandes vpon the tryall of our faythe,* whiche wee offer to bee tryed by the scriptures, pray most hartily, that for asmuch as God hath geuen you power, and strength ouer vs, as concerning our bodyes, vnder whom we submit our selues as obedient subiects in al things due, ye being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true iudgement, keepe the lawes of righteousness, gouerne the people according to right, and to heare the poore and helplesse in truth, and to defend their cause.

God for his sonne Iesus Christes sake, geue you the wisdom and vnderstanding of Salomon, Daud, Ezechias, Moyses, wyth diuers others most vertuous rulers, by whose wisdom & most godly vnderstanding, the people were iustly ruled, and gouerned in the feare of God, all wickednesse was by them ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and all godlinesse and vertue did flourish and spring. O God whiche art the most hyghest, the creator & maker of all thinges, and of all men both great and small, and carest for all alike, which doest try all mens workes and imaginations, before whose iudgement seate shal come both high and low, rich and poore, we most humbly beseeche thee to put into our rulers heartes the pure loue and feare of thy name, that euen as they thēselues would be iudged, and as they shall make aunswere before thee, so to heare our causes, to iudge with mercy, and to read ouer these our requestes and confessions of our fayth, with deliberation, and a godly iudgement.

And if any thing here seemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or disagreeing to the scripture, if it shall please your Lordship to heare vs patiently, whiche doe offer our selues to the scriptures, thereby to make aunswere, and to be tryed, in so doyng wee poore subiectes being in much captiuitie & bondage are most bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation.

The request of these men being so iust, and theyr doctrine so sound, yet all this could not preuaile with the Bishop and other Iudges, but that Sentence shoulde haue proceeded agaynst them incontinent, had not the goodnes of the Lord better provided for his seruantes, then the Bishoppe had intended. For as they were now vnder the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence it was thought otherwise by the Cardinall, and some other wiser heades, fearing belike, leas by the death of so many together, some disturbance might rise. peraduenture among the people, and so was decreed among themselues, that rather they shuld make some submission or confessiō, such as they would themselues, and so to be sent home agayne, as they were in deed: howbeit diuers of them afterward, wer apprehended and put to deathe. But in the meane space as touching their submission which they made, this it was, as in forme here followeth.

¶The submission or confession of these aforesayd prisoners.

*BEcause our sauour Christ at his last supper took bread and when he had geuen thanks, he brake it, and gaue it vnto his Disciples and sayde: Take, eate, this is my bodye whiche is geuen for you, this doe in the remembraunce of me: Therefore according to the wordes of our sauoure Iesus Christ, we do beleue in the sacrament to be Christes body. And likewise he tooke the cup, gaue thanks, and gaue it to his Disciples and sayd: This is my bloud of the newe Testament which is shed for many.

Therefore likewise we do beleue that it is the bloud of Christ, according as Christes Church dothe minister the same. Unto the whiche Catholicke Church of Christe, we do in this, like as in all other matters submit oure selues promising therein to liue as it becommeth good chrystian men, and here in this realme to vse our selues, as it becommeth faythfull subiectes vnto our most gracious king and Queene, and to all other superiours bothe spirituall and temporall, according to our bounden dueties.

The names of them which subscribed to this submissi^on were these, Iohn Atkine, Alyn Symson, Richard George. Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Ioly Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winsley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clerke, Stephen Glouer, Robert Colman, T. Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercocke, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euryng, Christian Pepper, Margaret feld, Alyce Munt, Ioane Winesley, Cysly Warren, Rose Alyn Anne Whitelocke, George Barker, Iohn Saxebye, Thomas Locker, Alyce Locker.

¶A story of fiue other godly Martyrs burned at one fire in Smithfield, the 12. daye of April.

TO proceede further in this story of persecuted martyrs next in order followe fiue other burned at London in Smithfield in the foresayd yeare of the Lord. 1557. April 12. whose names were these.*
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- Thomas Loseby.
- Henry Ramsey.
- Thomas Thyrtell.
- Margaret Hyde, and
- Agnes Stanley.*
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Who being, some, by the Lord Riche, some by other Iustices of peace, and Constables (their own neighbours) at the first accused, and apprehended for not comming to their parish Churches, were in the end sent vnto Boner Bish. of London,* and by hys commaundement the 27. day of Ianuary, were examined before Doctour Darbyshyre, then Chauncellour to the sayd Bishop, vppon the former generall Articles mentioned, pag. 1672.

Aunsweres to the Articles.

WHose aunsweres thereunto were, that as they confessed there was one true & Catholick church wherof they steadfastly beleueed,* and thought the Church of Rome to be no part or member: so in the same Church they beleueed there were but two sacraments,* that is to say Baptisme, and the supper of the Lorde. Howbeit some of them attributed the title and honour of a sacrament, to the holy estate of Matrimony, which vndoubtedly was done rather of simple ignoraunce then of anye wilfull opinion, and are thereof to be adiudged as before is admonished.

Moreouer, they acknowledged themselues to be Baptised into the fayth of that true Church, as in the thyrd article is specified. And here in reading, as wel of these Articles, as also of the rest, marke I beseech you, the crafty subteltie of these Catholicke Champions, who intermitting certayne poyntes of faith, and of the true Church, with the Idolatrous and superstitious mametry

of theyr romyshe Sinagogue, cause the poore and simple people, for lacke of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nettes.

For after they haue made them graunt a true Church with the Sacraments of the same, though not in such nūber as they would haue them, and also that they were christened into the fayth thereof, that is, * in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, they craftily now in the other their obiections, descending as it were from the fayth of the Trinitie, vnto theyr Idolatrous Masse & other superstitious ceremonyes, would make them grant that now in denying thereof, they haue seuered thēselues from the fayth of the true Church, whereunto they were Baptised, whiche is most false. For though the true lyght of Gods Gospel & holy word, was marueilously darkned and in a maner vtterly extinguished: yet the true fayth of the Trinitie, by the mercifull prouidence of God, was still preserued, and into the fayth therof were we baptised, and not into the beliefe and profession of their horrible Idolatry and vayne ceremonies.

These things not throughly wayed by these poore, yet faythfull, and true members of Christ, caused some of them ignorauntly to graunt, that when they came to the yeares [Page 1975](#) of discretion, * and vnderstood the light of the Gospell, they did seperate themselues from the fayth of the Church, mea'ning none other but only to separate themselues from the admitting or allowing of such their popishe and erroneous trash as they now had defiled y^e church of christ w^tall & not from their fayth receiued in baptisme, * which in expres words in their aunsweres to y^e other articles they constātly affirmed, declaring the Masse and sacrament of the aultar, to be most wicked blasphemy agaynst Christ Iesus, & contrary to the truth of his Gospell, and therefore vtterly they refused to assent and to be reconciled againe therunto.

These aunsweres in effect, of them thus taken by the sayd Chauncellour, they were for that time dismissed: but the Bishop taking the matter into his owne handes, the vi. day of Marche, propounded vnto them certayne other new articles, the copy wherof followeth.

¶Other articles objected by Boner Bi. of London agaynst Tho. Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thyrtell, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley, the vi. day of March, being the second tyme of theyr examination.

*1. Firſt, that thou hast thought, beleued, and spoken, w^t in some part of the citie and Dioces of London, that the fayth, Religion, and Ecclesiasticall seruice here obserued and kept, as it is in the Realme of England, is not a true and a laudable fayth, Religion, and seruice, especially concerning the Masse, * and the 7. sacramentes, nor is agreable to Gods worde & testament, & that thou canst not finde in thy heart without murmuring, grudging, or scruple to receaue and vse it, & to conforme thy selfe vnto it, as other subiectes of this realme customably haue done and doe. *

2. Item, that thou hast thought. &c. that the english seruice set forth in the time of kinge Edward the vi. here in thys Realme of England, was and is good and godly, & Catholicke in all poynts, and that it alone ought here in this realme to be receiued, vsed, and practised, & none other.

*3. Item, likewise thou hast thought. &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy Parishe Church, & there to be present, and heare Mattins, Masse, Euensong and other Diuine seruice, song or sayd there.

4. Item, thou hast thought. &c. that thou art not bound to come to procession to the Church vpon dayes and tymes appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish singing or saying then the accustomed prayers vsed in the Church,* nor to beare a taper or candel on Candelmas day nor take Ashes vpon Ashwednesday, nor beare Palmes vpon Palme sonday, not to creep to the crosse vpon daies accustomed, nor to receiue and kisse the paxe at Masse time nor to receiue holy water or holy bread, or to accept and al'lowe the ceremonies and vsages of the Church, after the maner and fashion as they are vsed in this realme.

5. Item, thou hast thought. &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confesse thy sinnes to any priest,* and to receiue absolution at his hands, as Gods Minister, not to receiue at any time the blessed sacrament of the aultar, especialllye as it is vsed in this Church of England.

6. Item, thou hast thought &c. that in matters of religion and fayth, thou must follow and beleue thine own conscience onely, and not to geue credite to the determination & common order of y^e Catholicke Church, & the sea of Rome nor to any member therof.

*7. Item, thou hast thought. &c. that all thinges do chance of an absolute and precise meere necessitie, so that whether man do wel or euil, he could not chuse but do so, and y^t ther'fore no man hath any free will at all.

*8. Item, thou hast thought &c. that the fashiō and maner of Christening of infantes, is not agreable to Gods word and that none can be effectually Baptised, and thereby saued except he haue yeares of discretion to beleue himself, & so willingly accept or refuse Baptisme at his pleasure.

9. Item, thou hast thought &c. That Prayers to Saints or Prayers for the dead,* are not auaylable and not allowable by Gods word, or profitable in any wise, and that the soules departed do straightwayes go to heauen or to hell, or els do sleep till the day of dome, so that there is no place of purgation at all.

10. Itē, thou hast thought &c. that all such as in the tyme of king Hen. the viii. or in time of Queene Mary of England, haue bene burned as heretickes, were no heretickes at all: but faythfull and good Christian people, especially Barnes, Garret, Ierome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer,* Ridley, and such like, and that thou diddest and doest allowe, like, and approue all their opinions, & doest mislike their condemnations and burnings.

11. Item, thou hast thought &c. that fasting and prayers vsed in this Church of England, and the appoynting of dayes for fasting, and the abstayning from flesh vpon fasting dayes, and especially in the tyme of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by Gods word, but is hipocrisie & foolishnes: and that men ought to haue libertie to eate at all tymes all kindes of meate.

12. Item, * thou hast thought &c. that the sacrament of the aultar is an idoll, and to reserue and keepe it, or to honor it, is playne idolatry and superstition: and likewise of the masse and the eleuation of the sacrament.

13. Item, thou hast thought. &c. that thou or any els, conuented before an Ecclesiasticall iudge concerning matters of beliefe and fayth, art not, * nor is bound to make answer at all, especially vnder an othe vpon a booke.

¶ Their aunsweres to the Articles before obiected.

Their aunsweres to these obiections were, * that as touching the first, second, thyrd, fourth, fift, ninth, tenth, & twelfth, they generally graunted vnto, sauing that they de'nyed the soules of the departed to sleepe til y^e day of iudgement, as is mentioned in the ix. article.

And as concerning the sixt obiection, they thought thē selues bound to beleue the true Catholicke Church, so far forth as the same doth instructe them according to Gods holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babilonicall Church of Rome.

As for the seuenth, eight, and thirteenth, they vtterly denyed, that euer they were of any such absurde opinions as are contayned therein, but they graunted that man of him selfe without the helpe and assistance of Gods spirite, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in Gods sight.

To the eleuenth they sayd, * that true fasting and prayer vsed according to Gods word, are allowable and auaylable in his sight, and that by the same word euery faythfull man may eate all meates at all times, with thankesgeuing to God for the same.

After this y^e first day of Aprill, were they agayne conuented before the Bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, excepte it were to know whether they would stand to their aunsweres, & whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant and deny the receiued and infallible truthe, the Byshop caused them to be brought into the open Consistory, the third day of the same moneth of Aprill in the forenone, where firste vnderstanding by them their immutable constauncye and stedfastnes, he demaunded particularly of euery one what they had to say, why he should not pronounce y^e Sentence of condemnation.

To whom Tho. Loseby firste aunswered: God geue me grace and strength to stand agaynst you, * & your Sentence, & also agaynst your law, which is a deuouring law, for it deuoureth the flocke of Christe. And I perceiue there is no way with me but death, except I would consent to your deuouring law, and beleue in that Idoll the Masse.

Next vnto him answered Thomas Thirtell, saying: my Lorde, I say thus, if you make me an hereticke, then you make Christ and all the 12. Apostles heretickes, * for I am in the true fayth and right beliefe, & I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall haue eternall lyfe therefore.

The Byshoppe then asked the lyke question of Henry Ramsey. Who sayd agayne: my Lord, will you haue me to go from the truth that I am in? * I say vnto you that my opinions be the very truth,

which I will stand vnto, and not go from them: & I say vnto you farther, that there are two Churches vpon the earth, and we (meaning himselfe & other true Martyrs and professours of Christ) be of the true Church, and ye be not.*

Unto this question next aunswered Margaret Hide, saying: my Lord, you haue no cause to giue Sentence agaynst me, for I am in the true fayth and opinion, & will neuer forsake it: & I do wishe that I were more stronger in it then I am.*

Last of all aunswered Agnes Stanley, & sayd: I had rather euery heare of my head were burned, if it were neuer so much worth, then that I will forsake my fayth and opinion which is the true fayth.

The tyme being now spent, they were commaunded to appeare agayne at afternoone in the same place, which commaundement being obeyed, y^e Bishop firste called for Loseby,* & after his accustomed maner willed his Articles & answeres to be read: in reading thereof, when mention was made of the Sacrament of the Aultar, the Bishoppe with his Colleagues put of their cappes. Whereat Loseby sayd: my Lord, seing you put of your cappe, I will put on my cappe, & there withall did put on his cappe. And after, [Page 1976](#) the Bishop continuing in his accustomed perswasions,* Loseby agayn sayd vnto him: my Lorde, I trust I haue y^e spirite of truth, which you detest and abhorre, for the wisdom of God is foolishnes vnto you. Whereupon the Byshop pronounced the sentence of condemnation agaynst him. And deliuering him vnto the Sheriffe, called for Margaret Hide, w^t whō he vsed y^e like order of exhortatōs

*To whom notwithstanding she sayd: I will not depart from my sayinges till I bee burned: and my Lorde (quoth she) I would see you instruct me with some parte of Gods word, & not to geue me instructiōs of holybread and holy water, for it is no part of the scripture. But he be'ing neither himselfe, nor any of his, able rightly to accomplish her request, to make short worke, vsed his final reason of conuincement, which was of the sentence of condēnation. And therefore leauing her off, called for an other, videl. Agnes Stanley, who vpon the Bishoppes like perswasions made this aunswere.

My Lord, wher you say I am an heretick, I am none: neither yet will I beleue you, nor any man y^t is wyse will beleue as you do. And as for these that ye say bee burnt for heresie, I beleue are true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and fayth,* as long as I liue.

Her talk thus ended, she receaued the like reward that the other had. And the bishop then turning his tale & maner of inticement vnto Thomas Thyrtel, receiued of him likewise this finall aunswere: My Lord, I will not holde with youre Idolatrous wayes, as you do: for I saye the Masse is Idolatry, and will sticke to my fayth and beliefe so long as the breath is in my body. Upon which wordes he was also condemned as an hereticke.

Last of all, was Henry Rāsey demanded if he would (as the rest) stand vnto his aunsweres, or els recanting y^e same, come home agayn, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he aunswered: I will not go from my religiō and belief as long as I liue: and my Lord (quoth he) your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to Gods worde.

After these wordes, the Bishop (to conclude) pronouncing the sentence of condemnation agaynst him and y^e rest: (as ye haue heard) charged y^e Sheriffes of London w^t thē: who being therunto commaunded, the xii. day of the same

[illustration]

***The cruell burning of 5. Martyrs in Smithfield.**

* month of Aprill, brought them into Smithfield, where altogether in one fire, most ioyfully & constantly they ended their temporall liues, reciuing therefore the life eternal.

Three burned in Saint Georges field in Southwarke.*

AfTer these, moreouer in the month of May followed 3. other that suffered in S. Georges field in Southwark William Morant, Stephen Gratwicke, with one king.

Among other histories after the persecuted and condemned saintes of God, I find the condemnation of none more straunge nor vnlawfull, thē of this Stephen Gratwicke. Who first was condemned by the byshopp of Wynchester and the byshop of Rochester, which where not hys Ordinaries.*

Secondly when he did appeale from those incompetēt Iudges to hys right Ordinary, his appeale coulde not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other shifte to colour theyr inordinate proceedings with all, they suborned one of the priestes to come in for a counterfayt and a false Ordinary and sit vpon him.

Fourthly being openly conuincd and ouerturned in his own argumentes, yet the sayd Byshop of Winchester D. White, neyther would yeald to the force of trueth, nor suffer any of the audience assistant, once to say, God strengthen him.

Fiftly, as they brought in a false Ordinarye to sit vpon him: so they pretended false articles agaynst him, whiche were no part of his examinations, but of their deuising, to haue his blood.

Sixtly and lastly, hauing no other groūd nor iust matters agaynst him, but onely for saying these wordes: that which I sayd, I haue sayde, they red the sentence of death vpon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, whiche needes will be reputed for Catholicke fathers of y^e spirituality succeders of the Apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy Church, and leaders of the people. Of whose doynges and proceedinges, howe agreable they are to the example of Christ and his Apostles, I leaue to discusse, referryng y^e iudgement hereof to them, which know the institution of Christes religion and doctrine.

Now least peraduenture the disordered misrule of these Christmas Lodes, will not be credited vppon the simple narration of the story, yee shall heare the whole discourse of this processe registred by the hand of the Martyr hymselfe, who as he could tell best what was done: * so I am

sure would not testifie otherwise, then trueth was, according as you shall heare by his owne declaration here following.

¶The declaration of Steuen Gratwicke concerning his owne story and condemnation.

Vpon the xxv. day of May, in y^e yeare of our Lord, 1557. I. Stephen Gratwick came before y^e Bishop of Winchester, D. White,* into S. Georges Church in Southwarke at eight of the clocke in the morning and then hee called me before him, and sayd vnto me.

B. Winchester.

Stephen Gradwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to reuoke thy heresies, the which thou hast mayntayned and defended here within my Dioces, oftentimes before me and also vppon Sondag last, ye stooode vp in the face of the whole Church mayntayning your heresies, so that you haue offended w^t in the libertie of my Dioces, and now I being your Ordinary you must aunswere to me directly, whether you will reuoke them or not: the which I haue here in writing, and if so be, that you wil not reuoke them, then I will excommunicate you: and therefore note well what you doe, for now I read here the Articles agaynst you.

And so whē he had ended, he bad me answer vnto them.

Grat.

My Lord, these articles whiche you haue here obiected agaynst me, are not mine but of youe owne making. For I neuer had any of mine examinations written at any time, and therefore these be the obiections that you laye agaynst me as a snare to get my bloud.

Wherefore I desyer your lawfull fauour, to allow my lawfull appeale vnto myne Ordinary,* for I haue nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I haue offended within your Dioces, it is nothing so, for I haue not interprised neyther to preache nor teache within your Dioces, but was apprehended by mine own Bishop & sent prisoner into your Dioces, by the consent of y^e Coūsell & mine own Ordinary, & therefore I so being in your Dioces, you haue no cause to let my lawfull appeale.

And with that there came the Bishop of Rochester, & was receaued at the B. of Winchesters hands with much gladnes, according to their determinate purpose,* before inuented. And so followed the Archdeacon of Canterbury And then the Bishop agayne start vp as a man halfe rauished of his wittes for ioye, embracing him with many gētle wordes, and sayd, y^t he was very glad of his comming,* making himselfe ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appeare to me. Then sayd Winchester.

B. Win.

Syr I am very glad of your cōming. For here I haue one before me, who hath appealed vnto you being his Ordinary. Then sayd the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Arch. Cant.

I know this man very well. He hath bene di'uers [Page 1977](#) times before me.* And then I aunswered and sayd.

Gratw.

My Lorde, I am not of his Dioces, not by fiue miles: for his Dioces reacheth on that parties but to the Cliffes of Lewes, & I dwelled at Bright Hempson, fiue miles beyond, in the Dioces of the Bishop of Chichester, and therefore I am not of his Dioces.

Then the the Bishop of Winchester, the B. of Rochester,* and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, cast their heades together, & laughed: and thē they sayd my Ordinary wold be here by and by, & so they sent forth for a counterfayte in steede of mine Ordinary and then I saw them laugh, and I spake vnto them, and sayd:

Grat.

Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my bloud,* and therein triumph? you haue more cause to looke waightely vpon the matter: For I stand here before you vpon life and death. But you declare youre selues what you are, for you are lapped in Lambes apparell, but I would to God ye had coates according to your assemblie here, which is scarlet gownes, for I do here perceiue you are bent to haue my bloud.

And then came rushing in their counterfayted Bishop who was the hyred seruaunt to deliuer me into the hands of y^e high Priest:* & the Bishop hearyng him come, w^t haste enquired of his man, who was there, and he sayd, my lord of Chichester. Then the Bish. with hast rose vp and sayd.

Wint.

Ye are most hartily welcome, and required him to sit downe: and then sayd the Bishop of Winchester to me: Loe here is your Ordinary. What haue you nowe to saye vnto him?

Grat.

I haue nothing to say vnto him. If he haue nothing to say vnto me. I pray you let me depart. Then aunswered my Counterfeyt Ordinary, and sayd.

Counterf.

Here you stand before my Lords and me in triall of your fayth, and if you bring the trueth, wee shall by compulsion geue place vnto you, as it is to be proued by y^e word, and your doctrine to be heard and placed for a truth.

Grat.

Then I demaunded of him whether hee meant by authoritie, or by the iudgement of the spirite of GOD in his members.

And he aunswere me, by authoritie as well as by the spirite.

Grat.

Then I sayd: Nowe will I turne your own Argument vpon you: * for Christ came before the high priests Scribes and Phariseis, bringing the truth with him, beyng the very truth hymselfe, which truth cannot lye, yet both he and his truth was condemned, and took no place with them. And also the Apostles, and all the Martyrs y^t dyed since Christ: therefore I turne your owne argument vpon you, aunswere it if you can.

Counterf.

Then he with a great hast of coller, sayd vnto y^e Bishop of Winchester: object some Articles agaynst hym, for he is obstinate, and would fayne get out of our handes therefore holde him to some particular: so that other aunswere could I not haue of his argument.

Wint.

Then the Bishop of Winchester began to reade hys obiections of his owne making agaynst me, * and bad me aunswere vnto them. And I sayd:

Grat.

No, except you would set the law apart, because I see you are mindfull of my bloud.

Wint.

Now you may see hee will not aunswere to these, but as he hath aforesayd. Then spake the Counterfeit Ordinary agayne, and sayd:

Counterf.

My Lord, aske him what he sayth to the Sacrament of the aultar. Then the Byshop asked me, as my Counterfeit Ordinary required him.

Grat.

*My Lord, I doe beleue that in the sacrament of the Supper of the Lord truely ministred in both kinds according to the institution of Christ, vnto the worthy receauer, he eateth mistically by fayth the body and bloud of Chryst. Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And hee sayde yes. Then sayd I, beare witnesse of the truth.

Winchester.

Then the Bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtilest to gather vpon my wordes,* sayd:
My Lord see you not how he creepeth away with his heresies, and couereth them priuely? Note how hee here separateth the Sacrament of the aulter, from the supper of y^e Lord meaning it not to be y^e true sacrament, & also how he condemneth our ministration in one kinde, and alloweth that the vnworthy receauer doth not eate and drinke the body and bloud of Christ:* which be sore matters truely wayed, being couered very craftely with his subtile shiftes of sophistry, but he shall aunswere directly or euer he depart.

Grat.

My Lord, this is but your gathering of my wordes for you before confessed the same sayinges to be the truth, & this you catch at me, and fayne woulde haue a vauntage for my bloud: but seeing you iudge me not to meane y^e sacramēt, of y^e aultar, nowe come to y^e probatiō of y^e same sacrament, and proue it to be the true sacrament, and I am with you: or els if you can proue your Church to be y^e true Church, I am also with you.

But then he called to memory the last probation of the Church and sacramentes, howe hee before was driuen to forsake the scriptures,* and to shew me by good reason how they might minister the sacrament in one kinde: & his reason was this: Like as a man or woman dyeth on a sodayn and so when we haue geuen him the body of Christ, in the meane time the partie dyeth, and so he eateth the body of Christ, & not drinketh his bloud. And this was his simple shift in the prouing of their Sacramentes: so that he was now halfe abashed to begin that matter agayne.

But yet a little subtile shift he brought in, and sayd.

Winc.

What sayest thou by the administration of y^e priests euery day for them selues, and they minister in bothe kindes?

To that I aunswered, you haue two administrations for I am sure at Easter you minister but in one kinde, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but after your owne imaginations.

Winc.

Why, then what sayest thou to these wordes: Take, eate this is my body. These are the wordes of Christe. Wilt thou deny them?

Grat.

My Lord, they are the words of scripture, I affirme them, and not deny them.

Rochest.

Why, then thou doest confesse in the sacrament of the aulter to be a reall presence, the selfe same body y^t was borne of the Uirgine Mary, and is ascended vp into heauen.

Grat.

My Lord, what do you now meane? do you not also meane a visible body? for it cannot be, but of necessitie, if it be a reall presence, and a materiall body, it must be a visible body also.

Winc.

Nay, I say vnto thee, it is a reall presence, and a materiall body, and an inuisible body to.

Grat.

My Lord,* then it must needes be a phantastical body, for if it shoulde bee materiall and inuisible as you affirme, then it must needes be a phantasticall body, for it is aparaunt that Christes humayne body was visible, and seene.

Winc.

Then the Bishop brake out and said, when diddest thou see him? I pray thee tell me.

Grat.

To that I aunswered and sayd: a simple argument it is. Because our corporall eyes cannot comprehend christ doth that proue or follow, that he is inuisible, because wee cannot see him?

Winc.

And with that the Bishop began to waxe weary of his argument, and remoued his talke to Iudas in eatyng y^e sacrament, & said: he eat him wholly, as the Apostles did.

Grat.

And then I asked him, if he meant Christes flesh and bloud the which he speaketh of in the 6. of Iohn, and saith: he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall lyfe in me.

Winc.

To that he aunswered, and sayd, yea.

Grat.

Then sayd I, of necessitie Iudas must needes be saued, because hee eate the fleshe,* and dranke the bloude of Christ as you haue affirmed, and also all the vngodly that dye without repentance,

because they haue eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh & bloud of Christ: therfore of necessitie they shall receiue the benefite thereof, y^t is, eternall life. Which is a great absurditie to graunt, & then of necessitie, it must follow, that all that eate not, & drynke not of your sacrament, shall finally pearish and bee damned: for Christ sayth, except you eate my fleshe and drinke my bloud, you can haue no life in me. And you haue afore sayd, y^t your sacrament, which you say is the same flesh & bloud that Christ speaketh of, and here I proue, that all children then, that dye vnder age to receaue the sacrament, by your owne argument, they must be damned, whiche is horrible blasphemy to speake. Nowe here I turne your owne argument vpon you, aunswere it if you can.

Winc.

My Lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he bringeth in here agaynst vs, mingled with sophistry, & keepeth himselfe in vauntage, so that we can get no holde vpon him. But I say vnto thee, thou peruerse hereticke, I see now, thou art a peruerse fellowe. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I see we lose our time about thee, yet I aunswere thee, S. Paule doth open the sixte of Iohn, playne, if thou wilt see, for he sayth: they eate Christes body and drinke his bloud vnworthely, and that was the cause of their damnation.*

Grat.

My Lord, take heede ye doe not adde vnto the texte for he that addeth vnto the text, is accursed of God, and I am sure here you haue brought more then Paule hath spoken, for he sayth not, because they haue eaten his body and dronke his bloud vnworthily, but S. Paule sayth: Who so euer shall eate of this bread, and drinke of the Cuppe vnworthely, shall be gilty of the body and bloud of Christ.

[Page 1978*](#)Note my lord, he saith not as you haue affirmed, but clene contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

Winch.

And the bish. of Winchester said, I belied the text.

Grat.

And then I called for the text.

Winch.

And he said, I asked thee euen now if thou vnderstoodest Latine, and thou saidest, whether I can or no, the people shall beare witnesse in English.

Grat.

And so I called againe for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English for the triall of the text.

Winch.

And then when the bish. of Winchester sawe that I cared not, whether of the Translations I had, he stode vp, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a booke there, & bad him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold at him that should bring a testament,* but God disappointed him therof, & so he flue away from his matter, and began to raile vpon me, & said my subtile Arguments shuld not serue, for if I would not answer directly, I should neuerthelesse be excommunicated: for (sayd he) I see a madde •oy in thine head: thou gloriest muche in thy talke, and thinkest nowe the people are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant heretical opinion.* For y^e last day when thou wast before me vpon Sunday in s. Mary Oueries church, thou there reprobuedst my sermon, & haddest a thousand by thee at the lest, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here that dare open his mouth to bid God strēgthen thee: he shall die the death that thou shalt die.

Grat.

*To that I answered: my Lord I know your crueltie doth extend more largelier then your pity. Good experience so I haue to say, for you kepe men in prison • yeare or two, taking their bookes from them, permitting thē not so muche as a Testament to looke vpon for theyr soules comfort, the which all men oughte to haue: and so you entreat them more like brute beastes then Christen men.

Winch.

No, syr we will vse you as we will vse the childe, for if the childe will hurte himselfe with the knife, we will kepe the knife from him.* So because you wil damne your soule with the woord, therefore you shall not haue it.

Grat.

My lord, a simple argument you bring for to maintaine and couer your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the woord the cause of our damnation? I neuer knew any man but only you that did not affirm our sinnes to be the cause of our damnation,* and not the word, as you say: and therefore if your Argument be good, then this is good also: Because that some men do abuse drinke, therefore the benefite of drinke should be taken from al men, or any other such like good gift.

Winch.

My lordes, here we lose much time, for this felow is peruerse, speaking nothing but sophistrie and peruerse questions: so that we can get no aduantage vpon him.

Then spake my Counterfait Ordinarie, as one halfe a sleepe al this while: yet somewhat with hast, when he was awaked he began to tell his tale, and sayde.

Counterf.

Read these articles against him once more, and if he wil not answer them, take him vpon his first words: That which I said, that I haue said.

Winch.

Then the Bishop of Winchester began to reade them againe.

Grat.

But I sayd vnto him, I would not aunswere them, because they were none of mine examinations, but obiections of their owne making, because they would haue my bloud. But yet I said, if they would set the lawe a part, I would talke my conscience freely to them.

Counterf.

Then my counterfet Ordinarie began to speake againe, charging mee with the saying of S. Peter, that I should render account of such hope as was in me.

Grat.

*So can I do, and yet shal I not please you, for here I now render my hope as S. Peter willeth me: I beleue only in Iesus Christ, to haue my saluatiō in him, by him, and through him: but I perceiue you would haue me rēder my faith in such sorte, as you may haue my bloud, and therfore you bring good Scriptures and euil apply them.

Win.

Why, this felow is peruerted, & we shal get no more at his hands then we haue already: therfore lette vs pronounce sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.

Grat.

Nay good my lordes, seeing you wil nedes haue my bloud, let me say a little more for my selfe.

*Upon sonday last, whē I was before you, you preached this, which was a truth, & agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle s. Iames, and said: If any mā thinke himself a religious man, & in the meane time seduce his tounge or hys heart, y^e same mans religion is a vain religion: and so my lord you stāding there in y^e pulpit, * in y^e mean time seduced your tōg to slander vs pore prisoners being there present in yron bondes, burdening vs w^t the sect of Arrians, and w^t the sect

of Herodiās, and w^t the sect of Anabaptists, and w^t the sect of sacramentaries, & with the secte of Pelagiās.

And when we stoode vp to purge our selues therof, you saide you would cut out our tonges, & cause vs to be pulled out of the church by violēce. But there you gaue your selfe a shrewde blow,* for your toungue in the meane time slandered your neighbor. For I my Lord wil geue my life against all these heresies, the which you ther burdened vs withall, euen as I will geue my life against that wherein I now stand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation and said.

Win.

Thou wilt graunt here no more, but this word: that I haue said, I haue said: and here I gather mater enough to condemne thee, for this is a confirmation of all y^t thou hast heretofore said.

Grat.

Then I answered: If you can proue that euer any of mine examinatiōs were written, it were inough: but you haue nothīg agaīst me, but obiectiōs of your own makīg.

Win.

Haue at thee now. If thou wil not yelde,* I wil pronounce sentence against thee, and so he proceded forth onward apace, curssing and banning in Latin: so that I told him: If the people might heare it in English, they would thinke you an vncharitable bishop.

Grat.

And then I said, stay my Lorde and note what you doe,* for you haue neither temporall law nor spiritual here against me in any cause.

Then stepped foorth a gentleman & said vnto my Lord: take hede what you do, for he doth hear say that you haue no title nor cause why you should condemne him.

Then the bish. looked about him againe, and asked me if I would recant.

I asked him whereof I should recant?

Then saide the bish. are you there? nay then I knowe what I haue to do, and so he proceded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was an other gentlemā which began to snap and snatch at me: and then said I, I would God I had knowen this or euer I had come from home: I would surely haue put on breeche, and not had my skin thus torne. And all this while the Bishop red fourth still.

At last his chaplains cried, stop, stop my Lord, for now he will recant, and then the bishop asked me againe.

And I answered & sayd: my lord, my faith is grounded more stedfastly, then to change in a momēt,* it is no proces of time can alter me, vnles my faith were as the waues of the sea: and so the B. made an end, & deliuered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be caried prisoner to the Marshalsey againe. And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice that he would not lay my blood to their charges, if it were his good will,* & so then they refused my praier and sent me away. Then I beganne to talke as I went, and they cried, cut out his tounge, or stop his mouth, and so I was broughte to the Malshalsey, and lapped in yron bandes. Therefore I pray vnto God that they vnto whom this present wryting shal come, may take example by my death and souldiour fare. So be it. By me Steuen Gratwicke, condemned for Gods euerlasting truth.

HEere for want of time I haue left out many matters, because the Lord hath hastened the time,*so that I haue wrytten but the briefnes of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of faith, the which the bish of Roch. & I debated vpon: the whych matter I wold haue ben very glad to haue set down in wryting.

Also much more talke there was, that the B. of Winch. and I had concerning my worldly frendes & personable estate: for he plaied sathan with me, hee caried me vp to the mountaines,*and there told me, my learning was good and my eloquēce, and also my knowledge, saue that I did abuse it (saide he): and then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comely & worthy to serue a Prince. Thus Sathan flattered with me to make me aunsweare vnto such obiections as he would lay against me, that I mighte fall into his Diocesse.

Thus Steuen Gratwicke this Christian Martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the bish. of Winchester (as ye haue heard) was burned with William Moraunt, and one King, in s. Georges field, about y^e latter end of May.

Seuen godlye Martyrs, v. women and ij. men, burned at Maidstone for the word of truth, and professing of sincere religion of Christ.

I Shewed a litle before, how after the vnmerciful proclamation was sent & set forth by the K. and Quene, in the month of Febr. last,* the storme of persecution began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before:) but yet in no place more thē in y^e country & dioces of Cāt. by reason of certaine the aforesaid inquisitors, being now armed w^t authority, but especially by reasō of Ric. Thornton Suffragan of Douer, and the Archd. of Cant. who of their owne nature were so furious and fierye against the harmles flocke of Christ,* y^t there was no nede of any proclamation to stir vp the coles of their burning crueltie: by reason wherof many a godly Saint lieth slaine vnder the altare: as in diuers places of this booke wel may appeare.

[Page 1979](#) And now to returne to the said dioces of Cant. againe, in the next moneth following, being y^e month of Iune, the 18. day of the same, were 7. Christian & true faithfull martirs of christ burned at Maidst. whose names here folow.

Ioane Bradbridge of Stapleherst. Walter Appelbie of Maidstone.*Petronil his wife. Edmund Alen of Fritenden. Katherine his wife. Ioane Mannings wyfe of Maidstone. Elizabeth a blinde Maiden.

As concerning the generall Articles commonly objected to them in the publicke Consistory, & the order of their cōdemnation, it differeth not much from the vsuall maner expressed before, pag. 1585. neither did their aunswares in effect much differre from the other that suffered vnder the same Ordinarie in the foresaid dioces of Canterburie.

Now as touching their accusers, and maner of apprehension, and their priuate cōflicts with the aduersaries, I finde no great matter comming to my hands, saue only of Edmund Alen some intimation is geuē men, how his troubles came, what was his cause and aunsweres before the Iustices, as here consequently ye shall vnderstand.

The examination of Edmund Alen.

THIS Allen was a milner of the parish of Frytenden in Kent, and in a deare yere, when as many poore people were like to starue, he fed them, and solde his corne better cheape by halfe then others did:*, and did not that only, but also fedde them with the foode of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests there abouts dwelling, by the procurement of them, namely of Iohn Tailor parson of Fritenden, and Thomas Henden parson of Stapleherst, he was eftsones cōplained off to the Iustices, and brought before syr Iohn Baker Knight, who first sending for them, committed both him and his wife to Ward: but not long after they were let out, I know not how, & so went ouer vnto Calice. Whereafter that he had continued a certaine space, he began to be troubled in conscience, & there meeting w^t one Iohn Web of the same parish of Fritēden,* (who was likewise fled from the tirāny of sir Iohn Baker, and parson Tailor) said vnto him, y^t he could not be in quiet there, what soeuer the cause was: for God (saide he) hadde some thing to do for him in Englād: & thus shortly he returned home again to the parish of Fritenden. Where was a cruel Priest,* there Parson, called Iohn Tailor.

This parson Tailor being infourmed by his brother Sertan, that Edmund Allen the Miluer & his wife, were returned, and were not at masse time in the churche: as he was the same time in the midst of his masse, vpon a Sondag, a little before the eleuation (as they terme it) euen almost at y^e lifting vp of his Romish God, he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all spede,* to go vnto their house, and apprehend them, and he wold come to them w^t as much hast as might be possible. Which promise he well performed. For he had not so soone made an end of Ite missa est, and the vestments of his back, but by and by he was at the house, and there laying hande of the said Alen, caused him againe to be brought to sir Ih. Baker, with a greuous complaint of his exhorting & reading the scriptures to the people, and so was he & his wife sent to Maidstone prison. Witnessed by Richard Fletcher Uicare of Crambroke, and Iohn Webbe of Fritenden.

They were not so soone in prisone, but maister Baker immediately sent vnto their house, certaine of his mē, Ih. Doue, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Perciuall Barbel, with the foresaide Iohn Tailor parson of Fritenden, and Thomas Henden Parson of Stapleherst, to take an inuentorie of all the goodes that were in the house. Where they found in y^e bedstraw a casket locked with a padlocke, & so cutting the wist therof, opened it, and founde therein a sackecloth bagge of money, containing the summe of 13. or 14. pound, partly in gold, & partly in siluer. Which money after they had told and putte in the bagge againe, like good caruers for themselues, they caried away with them.

Besides also they found there certaine bookes, as Psalters, Bibles, and other wrytings. All which bookes, with the money, were deliuered to the foresaid Priest Thomas Henden, parson of Stapleherst, and after in the raigne of this Queene,*an. 5. Reg. Elisab. was by right law recouered from him againe, as in Recordes remaineth to be seene.

Thus good Edmund Allen and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrōgfully imprisoned, & cruelly spoiled and robbed of al their goods, were brought (as is aforesaid) be'fore sir Iohn Baker the iustice, to be examined: who taūting and reuiling him w^tout all mercy and pity, asked him if those were y^e fruits of his gospell, to haue cōuenticles to gather people together, to make conspiracies, to sow sedition and rebellion: and thus he began w^t him to reason.

The talke or reasoning betwene Sir Iohn Baker, Colins his chaplaine, and Edmund Allen.

Baker

Who gaue thee authority to preache & interprete?*_ Art thou a priest? art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy licence. Mart. Collins, sir Ihon Bakers scholemaster said, surely he is an arrāt heretike & worthy to be burned.

Alen.

And it may plesse your honor to geue me leaue to answer in the cause of my faith, I am persuaded y^t God hath geuē me this authority as he hath geuē to al other christiās.* Why are we called christians if we do not folow Christ▪ if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others y^t haue not so much vnderstāding? Is not Christ our Father? shal not y^e son folowe the fathers steps? is not Christ our master? and shal y^e scholer be inhibited to lern & preach his precepts? Is not Christ our redemer? and shal not we praise his name, & serue him y^t hath redemed vs from sin & dānation? Did not christ being but 12. yeres of age dispute w^t the doctors, & interprete y^e prophet Esay, and notw^tstāding hee was neither of the tribe of Leuie,* whiche were Priestes, but of the royal tribe of Iuda, neither had taken any outward priesthode? wherefore if we be christians, we must do the same.

Col.

And it shal like your honor, what a knaue is this, y^t cōpareth himself w^t Christ.

Baker

Let him alone, he wil pump out anon an infinite heap of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thy self?

Alen.

Yea y^t I haue. Adam was licēced of God, & Abraham was cōmanded to teach his children & posteritye, & so Daudid teacheth in diuers psalmes: and Salomon also preached to y^e people, as y^e boke of the precher proueth very wel, where he teacheth y^t there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noe taught them y^t were disobediēt in his daies, and therfore is called

the 8. Preacher of righteousness in the 2. epistle of Peter. Also in y^e 11. of Numb. where Moses had chosen 52. elders to helpe him to teach & rule the rest, Eldad & Medad preached in y^e tents, wherefore Iosua being offended, cōplained to Moses y^e Eldad & Medad did preach w^tout licēce.* To whō Moses answered & wished y^t al y^e people could do y^e like. What shuld I be long? most of y^e priests were not of the tribe of Leuy & Aaron.

Col.

These are authorities of y^e olde testament, & therefore abrogated, but y^e art a foole, & knowest no schoole poynts. Is not y^e law deuided into the lawe ceremonial, moral, & iudicial?

Allen.

I graunt y^t the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as S. Paul proueth to the Heb. & to the Col. where he saith: Let no man iudge you in any part of a sabboth day, new moone, or other ceremonies which are figures of things to come,*for Christ is the body.

Collins.

And are not the iudicials abrogated by Christ?

Allin.

They are confirmed both by Christ in the 5. of Mathew, and by Paule in the 1. Epistle to Timothe 4. The law saith he is not set foorth for the vertuous & godly, but for men slayers, periured, aduouterers & such like.

Collins.

*Thou art an hereticke. Wilt thou call the Iudicials of Moses againe? wilt thou haue adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parēts to be stoned? wilt thou haue Legem talionis? But thou arte an Asse. Why shoulde I speake Latine to thee thou erroneous rebell? shall we now smite out eye for eye, toothe for toothe? thou art worthy to haue thy teeth and tonge plucked out.

Allin.

If we had that law, we should neither haue disobedient children, neither adulterers, neither false witnesse bearers, neither ruffians.

Baker.

Master Collins, lette vs returne to our first matter. Why diddest thou teach y^e people, whom thou saidst thou didst fede both bodely and spiritually, being no Priest?

Allin.

Because y^t we are al kings to rule our affections, preests to preach out the vertues & woorde of God, as Peter wryteth: & liuely stones, to geue light to other. For as out of flint stones commeth foorth that, that is able to set al the world on fire, so out of Christians shoulde springe the beames of the Gospell, whiche should inflame al the world. If we must geue a reckening of our faith to euery man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the Scriptures & practise them? What auaieth it a man to haue meate and will eate none, and apparell and will weare none, or to haue an occupation, and to teach none, or to be a lawyer and vtter none? Shall euery artificer be suffered, yea and commended to practise his facultie and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his: Doth not euery lawyer practise his law? Is not euery christiā a folower of Christ? Shall ignorance which is condēned in al sciences be practised of christians? Doth not s. Paul forbid any mās spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibite any man y^t hath any of these giftes, which he repeateth. 1. Cor. 14. to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth womē, but no man. The Iewes neuer forbad any. Read the Acts of y^e apostles. And y^e restraint was made by Gre. y^e 9. pope of that name, as I hard one, a learned mā preach in K. Ed. daies.

Col.

This villen (& it like your honor) is madde. By my Priesthoode, I beleue that her wil saye, a Priest hath no more authoritie then an other man. Doth not a Priest binde and loose?

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Allin.

No, my sinne bindeth me, and my repētance loseth. God forgiueth sin only, and no priest. For euery Christian when he sinneth, bindeth himselfe, and when he repēteth, loseth him self.* And if any other be losed from his sinne by my exhortation, I am saide to lose him: and if he perseuere in sin, notw^tstanding my exhortation, I am saide to binde him, althoughe it is God that bindeth and loseth, and geueth the increase: Therefore saith Christ. Mat. 18. Wheresoeuer 2. or 3. are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them, & whosoever sinnes they forgeue, they are forgeuen: and whosoever they retaine, they are retained. Neither hath the Pope any keies, saue the keies of error: for y^e key that openeth the locke to Gods mysteries and to saluation, is the key of faith and repentāce. And as I haue heard learned men reason, S. Austine and Origen, with others are of this opinion. Then they reuiled him and laide hym in the stockes all the night. Wherewith certaine that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, willed Allin to keepe his cōscience to him selfe, and to folow Baruckes counsel in the 6. chap. Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping thē,* behinde and before, say ye in your harts, O Lord it is thou that ought only to be worshipped.

Wherewith he was perswaded to goe to heare Masse the next day, and sodenly before the sacring went out, and considered in the Churchyard with him selfe, that suche a litle cake betwene the priests fingers could not be Christ, nor a materiall body, neither to haue soule, life, sinnewes, bones, flesh, legs, head, armes nor brest, and lamēted that he was seduced by the place of Barucke,* which his conscience gaue him to be no Scripture, or els to haue an other meaning,

and after this he was brought againe before syr Iohn Baker, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed Sacrament of the aultar.

Allin.

It is an Idol.

Collins.

It is Gods body.

Allin.

It is not.*

Collins.

By the Masse it is.

Allin.

It is bread.

Collins.

How proouest thou that?

Allin.

When Christ sate at his last supper, and gaue them bread to eate.

Col.

Bread knaue?

Allin.

Yea bread, which you cal Christes body. Sate he stil at the table, or was he both in their mouthes, & at the table? If he were both in their mouthes & at the table, then had he two bodies, or els had a fantastick body: which is an absurditie to say it.*

Sir Iohn Baker.

Christes body was glorified, and might be in mo places then one.

Allin.

Then had he more bodies thē one, by your own placing of him.

Collins.

Thou ignorāt Asse, the schoole men say, that a glorified body may be euery where.

Allin.

If his body was not glorified til it rose againe, then was it not glorified at his last supper, and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouthes, by your owne reason.

Collins.

A glorified body occupieth no place.*

Allin.

That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thing els: but Christes body say you, occupieth no place: therefore it is neither God nor any thing els. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then haue we iiij. in one Trinitie, which is the persone of the father, the person of the sonne, the person of the holy ghost, the humane nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needes confesse if he occupie no place, then is our study in vaine, our faith prostrate, and our hope without reward.

Collins.

This rebel wil beleue nothing but scripture. How knowest thou that it is the scripture but by the church? and so sayeth S. Austin.

Allin.

I cannot tell what Austine sayth, but I am perswaded, that it is Scripture, by diuers arguments.

*First, y^t the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me y^t of my selfe I am dāned: and this damnatiō, M. Collins, you must find in your self, or els you shal neuer come to repētaunce. For as this grief & sorow of cōscience, w^tout faith, is desperation, so is a glorious & Romish faith w^tout the lamentatiōs of a mās sins presūption.

The second is the gospel, which is the power & spirit of God. This spirite (sayth S. Paule) certifieth my spirite that I am the sonne of God, and that these are the Scriptures.

The thirde, are the wonderfull woorkes of God, which cause me to beleue that there is a God though we glorifie him not as God.* Rom. 1. The sunne, the moone, y^e starres and other his

workes (as Dauid discourseth in the xix. Psalme) declareth that there is a God, and that these are y^e scriptures, because that they teach nothing els but God and his power, maiestie and might: and because the scripture teacheth nothing dissonant from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the woord of God gaue authoritye to y^e church in paradise, saying that the seede of the woman should brast down the Serpents head. This sede is the gospel: this is al the scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternall life, and these words: The seede of the woman shall braste the serpent's heade, gaue authoritie to the church, and not the church to the worde.

Baker.

I hearde say that you spake against priests and bishops.

Allin.

I spake for thē, for now they haue so much liuing,* & especially bishops, archdeacons, and deanes, that they neyther can nor wil teach Gods woord. If they had a 100. pounds a peece, then would they apply their studie: now they can not for other affaires.

Col.

Who wil then set his children to schoole.

Allin.

Where there is now one set to schoole for that end, there would be 40. because that one Bishops liuing deuided into 30. or 40. partes, would finde so manye as wel learned men as the bishops be now, who haue all this liuing, neither had Peter or Paul any such reuenew.

Baker.

Let vs dispatch him: he wil mar all.

Collins.

If euery man had a 100. pounds, as he saith it wold make mo learned men.

Baker.

But our bishops would be angrie if that they knew it.

Allin.

It were for a common wealth to haue such bishoppricks deuided for the further increase of learning.

Baker.

What sayest thou to the Sacrament?

Allin.

As I sayde before.

Baker.

Away w^t him. And thus was he caried to prison, and afterward burned. And thus much touching the particular storie of Edm. Allin and his wife. Who with the v. other martyrs aboue named,* being vij. to wit, v. women, and ij. men were altogether burned at Maidstone, the yere and moneth afore mentioned, and the 18. day of the same moneth.

An other storie of like crueltie, shewed vpon other 7. Martyrs burnt at Cant. 3. men and 4. women.

AMong suche infinite seas of troubles in these most dāgerous daies,* who can withhold himselfe from bitter teares, to see the madding rage of these presented Catholickes, who being neuer satisfied with blood to maintaine their carnall kingdome, presume so highly to violate the precise law of Gods commandements in slaying the simple pore Lambes of the glorious congregation of Iesus Christ, and that for the true testimonie of a good cōscience, in confessing the immaculate gospell of their saluatiō. What heart wil not lamēt the murdering mischief of these men,* who for wāt of worke, do so wreke their tine on seely pore women, whose weake imbecillitie the more strēgh it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed of men y^t be stronger, and especially of Priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord omnipotent, who supernaturally, hath indued from aboue such weake creatures with such manly stomacke and fortitude, so constantly to withstād the vttermost extremitie of these pitillesse persecutors: as he did before strengthen the mother of the 7. sonnes in the Machabees, & as he hath done since with diuers & son|dry other godly womē in these our later daies, partly before mentioned, & partly to be mētioned hereafter, & heere presently may appeare by the martyrdome of these 7. here vnder folowing, of the which were 4. women and 3. men, burnt together at Canterb. the 31. day of the sayde moneth of Iune, in the yere aforesaid, whose names are these.

- Iohn Fishcocke. Nicolas White.
- Nicolas Pardue.
- Barbara Final, Widow.
- *Bradbrege's widow
- Wilson's Wife.
- Bendens Wife.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to prosecute the seuerall storie of euery one of these godly Martyrs: so I can not passe ouer vntouched the cruel and vnchristian handling of

Alice Benden during her imprisonment,* according as I haue receiued by the faithfull relation of them which best were acquainted with her, & partly also some doers in the matter, beinge her owne naturall brethren. The storie is thus.

¶The order of the imprisonment and tragicall handling of Alice Benden, wife of Edw. Benden of the parish of Stapleherst in the Countie of Kent, for the testimonye of Christes Gospell.

First Alice Bēden was broght before one M. Roberts of Crābroke in the said Countie,* the 14. day of Oct. in the yere of our lord 1556. of whom she was demāded, why she wold not go to the church. And she answered, that she could not so do w^t a good and cleare cōscience, because there was much idolatrie committed against the glory of God. For the which, with many mocks and taūts she was sent to prison, where she lay 14. daies. For on y^e 20. day of October her husband required his neighbors the welthy mē of Stapleherst to wryte to the Bishop of Douer, who had the chiefe gouernment of the tyrannical sword in Kent for those daies, which they did, desiring him to sēd her home.

Wherefore the B. called her before him, & asked her if she would go home & go to the church. Whereunto she answered: If I would haue so done I nede not to haue come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be shriuen of y^e parish Priest? And she sayd, no, that would she not.

Well, said he, go thy waies home, and go to the Church when thou wilt. Whereunto she answered nothing. But a [Page 1981](#) Priest that stoode by,* sayd: shee sayeth, shee will my Lord. Wherefore he let her goe, and shee came foorthwith home.

On the Saterdag following, her husbände willed her to goe to the Churche: which she both then and else when refused to do. Wherefore on the Sondag 14. daies after, he going to the church,* came into the companie of diuers inhabitaunts of the same parish, among whome thoroughe his fonde talke and behauior, he procured her to be sent to Syr Iohn Gilforde, who commaunded her to prisone againe, yea and the more to vtter his owne shame, th• said her husband tooke money of the Constable to carry her to prisone, the p•ice of his wiues bloud, meaning in deede to carry her to prison him selfe. But she hauing muche more care of his honest and good report, then he had regard (as it is easie to see) of his owne infamie, and no lesse ashamed of his so rude and vnnatural doings, chose rather to commit her selfe willingly into the hands of her enemies, then that the world shoulde witnesse against her husband, of so facinorous a fact. Wherefore she went to the Constable, desiring him to go with her. But he answered that he could not so doe, but graunted her his boy to go with her: with whom she went to prison, namely, the castle of Canterburie, according to the commaundement geuen.

*Where this one thing is woorthy to be noted, y• while she was in this prison, she practised with a prison fellowe of hers, the wife of one Potkin, to liue bothe of them w^t ij. pence halfpenie a day, to trie therby how well they coulde sustaine penurie & hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard that when they should be remooued from thence to the Bishops prison, their liuings should be but iij. farthings a peece a day, and did in dede both so liue for xiiij. daies ere shee were from thence remooued.

The 22. day of Ianuarie folowing, her husband went againe to the bishop, desiring hym to deliuer his wife out of prison: but he saide shee was an obstinate hereticke and would not be reformed, and therefore sayde that he could not deliuer her.

*Then said he: my Lord, she hath a brother whose name is Roger Hal, that resorteth vnto her. If your Lordship could keepe him from her, she would turne: for he comforteth her, geueth her money, and perswadeth her not to returne or relent.

This occasion was not so soone geuen, but it was as quickly taken,* and as cruelly put in execution. For y^e Bishop commaunding her vppon the same to a prison called Mondaies hole, there also he gaue strait charge, y^t if at any time her brother came, he should be taken & apprehended.

This prison was w^tin a Court where the Prebendes chambers were,* being a valt beneath the ground, & being before the window, inclosed with a pale of height, by estimation 4. foote & a halfe, and distant from the same 3. foote, so y^t she looking from beneath, might only see such as stood at the pale. After this her Brother sought often for her, w^t no les danger of life, then diligence. But for the vnknown situation of y^e place, it being also, but rarely vsed for a prison, and the matter as closely kept as it was secretly dou, he could neuer come to vnderstād of her being there, vntil through Gods merciful wil and vnsearchable prouidēce, he cōming thether very rathe in a morning,* her keper being then gone to the church to ring (for he was a bell ringer) chaunced to heare her voyce, as she powred out vnto God her sorrowful complaints, saying y^e Psalmes of Dauid: and there could he none otherwise relieue her, but by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking the same on a pole, and so reached it vnto her: for neither w^t meate nor drinke he could sustaine her. And this was 5. wekes after her comming thether. Al the which time no creature was knowen to come at her, more then her keeper.

Their lying in that prison was onely vpon a litle short straw, betwene a paire of stockes & a stone wall: being allowed iij. farthings a day, that is, a halfe penye bread, and a farthing drinke: neither could she gette any more for her mony.* Wherefore she desired to haue her whole allowance in bread, and vsed water for her drinke. Thus did shee lye 9. weekes. During all which time she neuer changed her apparel: wherby she became at the last a most pitious and lothsome creature to beholde.

At her first comming into this place, she did greuously bewaile with great sorrowe & lamentation, and reasoned with her selfe: why her Lorde God did with his so heauy iustice suffer her to be sequestred from her louing fellowes into so extreeme miserie.

In these dolorous mournings did shee continue til on a night as shee was in her sorrowful supplications in rehearsing thys verse of the Psalme:*Why arte thou so heauie O my soule? And againe: The right hande of the most highest can chaunge all: shee receiued comforte in the midst of her miseries: And after that continued very ioyfull vntill her deliuerie from the same.

About the 25. day of March,* in the yeare of our Lorde 1557. shee was called before the Bishop: who demaunded of her, whether shee would nowe goe home, and go to the church or no, promising her great fauour if she would be reformed and doe as they did.

To whom she answered: I am throughly perswaded by the great extremitie that you haue already shewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly, and I see (sayeth she) y^t you seeke my vtter destruction, shewing how lame she then was, of cold taken, & for lacke of foode, while she lay in that painful prison: whereby shee was not able to mooue her selfe without great paine.

Then did the bish. deliuer her frō that filthy hole, and sent her to Westgate, whereas after she had bene changed,* and for a while ben cleane kept, her skin did wholly so pill & scale off, as if she had bene w^t some mortal venome poysoned. Heere she continued till the latter end of Aprill. At which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the prisone called the Castle. Where shee continued till the slaughter daye, which was the 19. day of Iune, when by terrible fire they tooke away her life.

When she was at the stake,* she cast her handkerchiefe vnto one Iohn Bankes, requiring him to kepe the same in y^e memorie of her, and from about her middle she tooke a white lace which she gaue to the keeper, desiring him to geue the same to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell hym that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the chaine. A shilling also of Phillip and Mary shee tooke forth, which her father had bowed and sent her when shee was first sent to prison, desiring y^t her said brother should with obedient salutations render the same to her father againe, & shew him that it was the first peece of mony that he sent her after her troubles begon, which (as shee protested) she had kept & now sent him to do him to vnderstand that shee neuer lacked money while shee was in prison.

With this Alice Benden were burned also the residue of the other blessed Martyrs aboue named, being seuen in number. Who being brought to y^e place where they shuld suffer for the Lordes cause at Canterbury, vndressed them selues ioyfully to the fire, and being ready thereto: they all (like the communion of Saints) kneled downe and made their humble praiers vnto the Lorde, with such zeale and affection, as euen y^e enemies of the Crosse of Christ coulde not but like it. When they had made inuocation together, they roase and went to the stake, where being compassed with horrible flames of fire, they yeelded their soules and liues gloriously into the handes of the Lord.

This Bradbeges wife, when shee was condemned of the Bishop to be burned, had ij. children, named Pacience & Charitie. Who then said to the bishop, that if he woulde needes burne her, yet she trusted, that he woulde take and

[illustration]

The burning of seuen Martyrs at Caunterburie.

[*Page 1982](#) keepe Pacience and Charitie,* meaning her two children. Nay, quoth the Bishop, by the faith of my bodye, I will meddle with neither of them both.

[*The troubles and examinations of Mathew Plase.](#)

VNto these holy martyrs of Kent aboue specified, wher of seuen suffered at Maidstone, and seuen at Canterb. I thought not vnmeete heere also to be adioyned the examination of Mathew

Plase,* a Weauer of the same Countie of Kent, and a faithful christian. Who being apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimonie of a good conscience, in the Castell of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the Bishop of Douer, and Harpsfield the Archdeacon, as here is to be red and seene.

The examination and answeres of Mathewe Plase Weauer, of the Parish of Stone in the Countie of Kent, before Thornton Bishop of Douer, Harpesfield Archdeacon, Collins Commissarie, & other Inquisitours. An. 1557.

First when I came before the bishop, he asked me whether I were not of that Dioces, and where I dwelt, for that was my first Article.*

Ans.

I aunsweared, I was of the Parishe of Stone in Kent, and subiect vnto the King & Queene of England.

Bish.

Then he sayd, I was indicted by xij. men, at Ashford at the Sessions, for heresie.

Auns.

I sayd, that was sooner sayd then prooued.

Bish.

Then he sayde, it was the truthe that he had spoken to me, for he had whereby to prooue it.

Auns.

Then I desired him to let me heare it, and I would answere to it.

Bish.

But he sayd he would not so do, but I should aunsweare to my Article, yea or nay.

Auns.

I said, he could not: for I was not at Ashforde, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But nowe I perceiue you goe about to lay a net to haue my bloud.

Arch.

After many woordes betwixt the bishop and me, the Archdeacon said: peace, peace, we do not desire thy bloud, but we are glad to heare that thou art no hereticke, wyth many flattering woordes, and said: yet I was suspected of heresie, and if I woulde be content to confesse howe I did beleeeue as concerning those Articles, they woulde gladly teache me.

Auns.

But I sayd, I did not so thinke, for I talked wyth one of your doctors, and after long talke, he would nedes know how I did beleeeue in the Sacrament, and I recited vnto him the text, and because I would not make him an exposition, he would teach me nothing: yet I praied hym for my learning to wryte his minde, & if it were the truth, I would beleeeue him: and this I did desire him for y^e loue of God, but it would not be.

Arch.

Then sayd he, it was not so, he durst sweare vpon a booke.

Auns.

I sayd, it would be so prooued.

Arch.

Then he stooode vp with a long processe, and sayd: he would tell me the truth, and was sure that the same Doctour did beleeeue as he did.

Auns.

I asked him how he knew that, seing S. Paul doth say, that no man knoweth what is in man but the spirite which dwelleth in him: but if you wist what Christ meant by these words,*I require mercy and not sacrifice, you wold not kill innocents.

Bishop.

The Bishop began with me againe, and charged me in the king and Queenes name, and the Lord Cardinals, to answere yea or nay, to the Articles that followed.

Auns.

Then I commanded him in his name that should come in flaming fire with his mighty Aungels to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that beleued not the gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ, which should be punished with euerlasting damnation, y^t he should speake nothing but the truth grounded vpon Christ and hys Apostles, and then I would answer him, or els not.

Bish.

Then he was very angry, and sayd: if I would not answer he would condemne me in dede: vnlesse I would answer euery Article.

Auns.

Wel said I, if you do, you shalbe gilty of my bloud, and prooue your selfe a murtherer.

Arch.

Then the archdeacon tooke the articles in his hand, & red the seconde Article, which was, that I was a Christian man,* and did beleue in theyr mother the Catholicke church, and the determination thereof.

Auns.

I sayd, I was a Christian man in deede, and therefore they had nothing against me.

Arch.

Thē said he, what saiest thou to y^e catholicke church, which hath so long cōtinued, except it were 9. or 10. yeres, that this heresie hath sprong vp here in this realme.

Auns.

I sayde, no man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the catholicke church of Christ.

Bish.

Then saide y^e bish. doest thou not beleue the Creede?

Ans.

Yes verely I beleue my Creede,* & all that is written in the Testamēt of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.

Bish.

Then sayth he: thou doest confesse that there is a Catholicke church, I am glad of that: but tell me, is the King and Queene of that Church or not?

Ans.

Wel said I, now I perceiue, you go about to be both mine accuser, & also my iudge, contrary to all right.* I confesse Christ hath a Church vpon earth, which is built vpon the Apostles & Prophets, Christ being the head therof, and as touching the King and Quene, I answere, I haue

nothing to do with no mā's faith but with my owne: neither came I hether to iudge, for I iudge not my selfe, but the Lord must iudge me.

Bishop.

Then sayd he: Is there no part of that church here in England?

Auns.

Well I perceiue, you would faine haue some thing to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Christ sayeth, whereas two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst among them.

Then the archdeacon stode vp with his mockes,* to put me out of comfort, & said to the people: that I had no wit, but y^t I thought all they were deceiued so long time, and that halfe a dosen of vs should haue the truth in a corner, & that al they should be deceiued, with such like taunts and mockes: but would not suffer me to speake one woord.

Arch.

Then he red the Article of the Sacrament, and said, I did denie the reall presence to be in the Sacrament after it was once consecrated, and that I sayde, Christes body was in heauen & no where els, and that the bread was nothing but a signe, token, or remembrance.

Ans.

Then I said: you haue to shew where and what my woordes were: and heereof we talked a great while.

Bish.

At the last the bishop was so angrie, that he charged me in the Kinges, Queenes, and Cardinals name before the Maior and his brethren, taking them to witnesse, if I did not say yea or nay, he would condemne me.

Ans.

Then I saide: seeing you haue nothing to accuse me of, wherefore should I so answer?

Arch.

Then the archd. said, I was guilty: and sayd I was like a thefe at the barre, which would not cōfesse his fault because his accusers were not present: with a great many wordes, & would not let me open my mouth against him.

Ans.

Then I sawe where about they went, graunting to answere them by the woorde, or els I thinke they woulde haue cōdemned me for holding of my peace: and this was my beginning: I beleue that Christ tooke bread,* and when he had geuen thanks, he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, and sayde: Take, eate, this is my body which is geuen for you, this doe in remembrance of me.

Arch.

Doest thou beleuee y^t Christ meant euen as he sayd?

Ans.

I said, Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the very truthe.

Arch.

Thou hast very well sayd: we will make the best of thy words. Then he praised me with many words, going about to prooue it his body reall and substantiall, and said: Christ called himself bread: and this to proue, when Christ saide. This is my body: the breade was his body, saide he, in dede, real & substantial, not so long & so big as it hong on y^e Crosse, as the Capernaïtes did thinke: but we eate it, as mā's weake nature can eate Christ. Therfore when he had sayd: This is my body, the bread was his body in very dede.*

Ans.

Then I asked him, what Christ meant by these wordes. Which is geuen for you?

Arch.

He saide: Christ spake that by the bread also, but it was not written in Mathew, but Luke had those words.

Ans.

Then I asked him, if Christes bodye were made of bread, that was geuē for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for vs, or not?

Arch.

Then he sayd: no by saint Mary, I say not so.

Ans.

You haue said the truth in dede, & euen as I beleue.

Arch.

Then he stooode vp with a great many of words,* and sayd: that I did think it but bare bread stil, as other bread is: but he was sure Christe called it his body, and then it was his body in deede, for he would beleeeue Christ.

Ans.

When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to haue condēned me by their law, I said: he had not iudged right of mee, for I hadde not so spoken, but did beleue the wordes of Christ as well as he, and as much as he coulde prooue by the woorde.

Arch.

Then he would heare what I did say it was.

Ans.

I said, I did beleeeue it was that he gaue them.

Arch.

Then he asked me, what it was that he gaue them.

Auns.

I sayd, that which he brake.

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Arch.

*Then he asked me, what was that he brake?

Auns.

I sayd, that he tooke.

Arch

What was it that he did take?

Auns.

I sayd the text sayth, he tooke bread.

Arch.

Wel, then thou sayest it was but bread that his Disciples did eate, by thy reason.

Auns.

Thus much I say: looke what hee gaue them, they did eate in deede.

Arch

Why, then was not that his body that they did eate?

Auns.

It was that which he brake.

Arch.

Well sayd he, I perceiue thy meaning well inough, for thou doest thinke it is but breade still, and that hee was not able to make it his body.

Auns.

That is your exposition vpon my minde.

Arch.

Then saide he, what diddest thou receiue when thou diddest receiue last?

Auns.

I sayde, I doe beleue, that I did eate Christes flesh, and drinke his bloud. For he saith: My flesh is meat in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.

Arch

Then he sayd, I had well aunsweared, thinking to haue had some aduauntage at my hand, and praied me to tell him, how I did eate his flesh and drinke his bloud.

Auns.

Then I sayde, I must aunsweare you by the woorde, Christ sayeth: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloude, dwelleth in me, and I in him.

Arch▪

Then he faced out the matter with Sophistrie, and sayde, I did eate Christe, as that Church was in his eye, with many such like mockes, but woulde not let me aunswere one woorde.

Commis.

Then the Commissarie did aske mee, if I did not remember S. Paule, which did rebuke the Corinthes for theyr euill behauior, and because they made no difference of the Lordes body, and brought in to prooue hys matter, howe he called him selfe bread in the 6. of Iohn. So Paul sayth: *So oft as ye eate of this breade (meaning Christes body) vnwoorthely, ye eate and drinke your owne damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lordes body. For thus sayeth Christ: The bread that I will geue you is my flesh. Now, it is no bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alledged euery Scripture false to make vp the matter.

Auns.

Then I sayde, I did beleue the woordes of Paule very wel, euen as he had spoken them. For thus he sayeth: He that eateth and drinketh vnwoorthely, eateth and drynketh hys owne damnation, because hee maketh no difference of the Lordes body.

Commis.

What is the cause that he eateth his owne damnation?

Auns.

I sayd, Saint Paule declareth it plainly wyth these woordes: If ye had iudged your selues, ye should not haue bene iudged of the Lord.

Arch.

Then the Archdeacon sayde, he marueiled whye I would not say, * that he called the breade hys bodye, seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer with many other, sayd he called it his bodye.

Auns.

I saide, you haue condemned them as heretickes, and you wold haue me say with them, because you wold kill me.

Arch.

Then he saide: In that they said it was his bodye, they did say the truth.

Auns.

I asked wherefore they were killed, seeing they sayd the truth?

Bishop.

Then sayde the Byshop, that he had all theyr aunsweres, and that they did not beleue as they said. For they sayd, Christ called it his body, but it was not his naturall body: but thou shall answere me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or els I will anger thee.

Auns.

Then I sayd: I had answered him by the word already, and did beleue it also: therefore if he did condemne me for that, my life was not deare vnto me, & I was sure he should not scape vnpunished: for God wil be reuenged vpon such murtherers.

Arch.

Then the Archdeacon intreated mee to be ruled by him, & take mercy while it was offered: for if I were condemned, I must needes be burned. Yet he would not say but my soule might be saued: with many moe wordes, and desired me that I would beleue hym, for he would speake the truth, beginning how Christ fed fiue thousande wyth foure loaues, and how he turned y^e water into wine: euen so Christ tooke breade and blest it, and when he had done, he brake it, and sayd: This is my body, and then he commāded them to eat it, and therfore it must nedes be his body.

Auns.

Then I desired him to speake the text right, or els I would not beleue him.

Arch.

Then he stode vp and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and sayde: I was a stubberne fellow, and tooke scorne to be taught.

Auns.

I sayd, I ought to holde him accursed, if he taught doctrine contrary to Christ and his Apostles.

Arch.

Then he asked me, whether I did beleue that Christ did geue that he tooke, or not?

Auns.

I said, I do beleue as much as can be proued by the Scripture, and more I will not beleue.

Arch.

Then he began with Moyses rod, howe God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seing that this was by Moyses being but a man, how much more Christ being both God & man tooke one thing, and gaue to his Disciples an other? [*](#)

Ans.

I said, his comparison was nothing like, for Moyses rod when it was laid downe, he saw that it was tourned into a verye Serpent in deede, but in this Sacrament no mā can see neither qualitie nor yet quantitie to be chāged.

Bish.

Then sayd the Bishop, that mine opinion and Faith was like vnto the Capernaïtes.

Ans.

I sayd, theirs was more like theyr opiniō then mine.

Arch.

The Archdeacon asked me, whether Christe tooke not one thing, and gaue an other?

Auns.

I sayde, Looke what he brake, hee gaue vnto them, and had them eate: and other answere I will make none, contrary to the woorde.

Arch.

Then he sayd, he marueiled why I woulde not beleue them, seeing this learning had continued this fiftene hundred yeares: neither yet did saye, as other had before, howe Christ did call it his bodye.

Auns.

Then I sayde, when Cranmer whyche was heere Byshop, was in authoritie, he sayde, that he did holde the truth, and commaunded vs to beleue him, and hee hathe geuen his life for his opinion, and would you haue me to beleue you, because you say, that you holde the truth? and that which makes me beleue chiefly, is y^e scripture, which I am sure is the truth in deede.

Bish.

The Bishop sayd, he hath spoken the truthe, & that I would not beleue him.

Auns.

I sayde, if he did not nowe speake the truthe, I was sure he had spoken the truthe, for hee had preached before, doctrine cleane contrary vnto this.

Then were the rest of my articles read: which I aunswered, and in euery article, we had vp this breaden god. And they sent for a candle light, & I thought they woulde haue condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to haue theyr pleasure at that time: blessed he hys name for euermore. Amen.

Arch.

Then the Archdeacon was angry, & began to chide with me, because I woulde not desire a day of the byshop, and said: I was a noughty stubberne felowe, and sayde, it had bene my duety to haue desired him to haue bene good to me, that I might haue a day.

Auns.

Then I sayde: I haue spoken the truth, and therefore I would aske him no day, except he would geue me a day of his owne minde.

Commis.

Then sayde the Commissarie: Doest thou not thinke that thou maiest be deceiued, seeing hee may be deceiued that hath gone to study all the daies of his life?

Auns.

I saide, Yes, I mighte be deceiued in that I was a man: but I was sure Gods woord could not be deceiued.

Com.

Then hee praied me to be content, and confesse that I might learne, and said, they would be glad to teach me.

Auns.

And I sayde, I would be as glad to learne as any man. And thus they roase vp and went away, saying nothing.

What became of this Mathewe Plaise after, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or deliuered, I haue as yet no certaine knowledge.

The hystorie of ten true godly Disciples, and Martyrs of Christ, burnt together in one fire at Lewes. An. 1557. Iune 22.

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IN the towne of Lewes were ten faithfull seruauntes of God put in one fire, the xxij. day of Iune, whose names followe.

- 1 Rich. Woodman.
- 2 George Steuens.
- 3 W. Mainard.
- 4 Alexander Hosman his seruaunt.
- 5 Tomasin a Wood, Mainards maide.*
- 6. Margerie Moris.
- 7. Iames Moris her sonne.
- 8. Denys Burgis.
- 9. Ashdons wife.
- 10. Groues wife.

Of the which noubner Richarde Woodman was the firste. Concerninge whose apprehension firste by hys enemies, and of hys deliuerance oute of Byshoppe Bouers handes, then of hys second taking againe by the procurement of hys father, brother, kinsfolkes and frendes, also of hys sundrye examinations and couragious aunsweres before the Bishoppes, and lastly of his condemnation, and of his letters sent to his faithfull friendes,* heere foloweth to be declared by his owne woords, and relation reported. Which Rich. Woodman, by his occupation was [Page 1984](#) an Ironmaker,* dwelling in the Parish of Warbleton, in the Countie of Sussex, & Dioces of Chichester, of the age of 30. yeres, and somewhat more. The occasion of his first apprehension was this.

There was one Fairebanke, who somtimes had bene a married priest,* and serued the Cure of Warbleton, where he had often perswaded the people not to credite any other doctrine, but that which he then preached, taught, and set forth in K. Edwards dayes. And afterward in the beginnyng of Q. Maries raigne, the sayd Fayrebanke turnyng hed to taile, preached cleane contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman hearyng hym in the Church of Warbleton so to preache contrary to hymselfe, admonished hym of hys inconstancie, how before tyme he had taught them one thing,* and now another, and desired hym to teach them the truth. For the which words he was apprehended and brought before M. Iohn Ashbornham, M. Toston, M. Culpeper, and M. Robertes, Iustices of Peace in the Countie of Sussex, and by them committed to the Kyngs Bench, where he continued from Iune, the space almost of a yeaere and a halfe: and from thence was transferred by D. Story into Boners Colehouse, where he remayned the space of a moneth before he came to examination.

At length, the same day when M. Philpot was burned,* which was the 18. of December, he with 4. other prisoners was deliuered and set at libertie by Boner himself. Notwithstandyng, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found out and taken by meanes of hys father, brother, and certaine other his acquainted friendes, and so was sent vp agayne to London to B. Boner, where he remayned in the Colehouse 8. weekes. He was there sixe tymes examined, and 26. tymes before, so that his examinations in all, were 32. from his first apprehension, to his condemnation. Touching the whole discourse wherof, for so much as the matter is something strange, and will peraduenture scarce find credit vpon my narration, with thē which deny all

thynges, that lyke them not to beleue, ye shall heare himselfe speake, and testify both of the maner of his troubles, and also his owne examinations by himselfe recorded, in order as followeth.

✞ **A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, of his taking, & how he was brought to the Shiriffes the xv. of March, 1556. and how long he was in prison, and how he was there vsed, till he was broughte before the Bishoppe of Chichester at blacke Friers in London, with the order of his examinations followyng after the same.**

Gentle Reader, here you shall perceiue how the scriptures bee partly fulfilled on me, beyng one of the least of his poore Lambes. First, you shall vnderstād that since I was deliuered out of the Bishop of Londons hands, which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1555. and the same day that M. Philpot was burned, (which was the 18. of December) I lay in his Colehouse 8. weeks lacking but one day. And before that, I was a yeare and a halfe almost, in the Kings Bench after my first apprehension, for reproouyng a Preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two Sessions before I was sent to prison, and caried to two more Sessions whyle I was in pryson, twyse before the B. of Chichester, and fiue tymes before the Commissioners, & then sent to Londons Colehouse, & many tymes called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I wrote, the which examinations, the B. of Chichester now hath, for they were found in my house when I was takē, wherein is contened all the talke, which I had before them aforenamed. Also there be in London that had copies of the same of me, when I was in the Colehouse.

*And it pleased God to deliuer me, with foure or more, out of the butchers handes, requiring nothing els of vs but that we shuld be honest men, and members of the true Catholike Church that was builded vpon the Prophetes and Apostles, Christ beyng the head of the true Church, the which all we affirmed that we were members of the true Church, and purposed by Gods helpe therein to dye. And hereupon we were deliuered, but he willed vs many tymes to speake good of hym. And no doubt he was worthy to be praysed, because he had bene so faithfull an ayd in his maister the deuils businesse. For he had burnt good M. Philpot the same mornyng, in whose bloud his hart was so drunken (as I supposed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to vs, both before & after. For but two dayes before he promised vs that we should bee condemned that same day that we were deliuered: yea & the morow after that he had deliuered vs, hee sought for some of vs agayne, yea and that earnestly. He waxed dry after his great dronkennes, wherefore he is lyke to haue bloude to drink in hel as he is worthy, if he repent it not with speed. The Lord turne all their harts if it be his will.

This haue I written, chiefly to certifie all people how we were deliuered,* because many carnall Gospellers and Papists haue sayd, that it was prescribed that we should be so deliuered, because they thinke that God is subiect to man, and not man to God. For if they did, they would not blaspheme hym as they doe, or if they thought they should geue account for it. Haue not many of them red, how God deliuered Israel out of Egypt? Daniel out of the Lyons denne? Sydrach, Misaach, and Abednago out of the burnyng ouen? with diuers other such like exāples, yea God is the same God that he was then. He is no older, nor lesse in power, as some count hym in wondring at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was deliuered,* the Papists sayd that I hadde consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad: the which was the least part of my thought (I praise God therefore) as they well perceiued, and knew the contrarye within a while. For I went from parish to parish, & talked with them, to the number of 13. or 14. and that of the chieftest in all the Countrey: and I angered them so,* y^t they with the Commissioners complayned on me to my Lord Chamberlaine that was then to the Queene, Sir Iohn Gage shewyng him that I baptised children, and married folks, with many such lyes, to bryng me into their hands agayne. Then the Commissioners sent out certaine Citations to bring me to the Court.* My L. Chamberlain had directed out 4. or 5. Warrantes for me, that if I had come there, I should haue bene attached and sent to prisō strait way. Which was not Gods will: for I had warnyng of their laying await for me, and came not there, but sent my deputie, & he brought me word that the Bailifs waited for me there, but they mist of their pray for that tyme, wherevpon they were displeased.

Then within 3. dayes after,* my L. sent 3. of his men to take me, whose names were Deane, Ieffrey, and Frāces. I beyng at plough with my folkes, right in the waye as they were commyng to my house, least mistrusting thē of all other, came to them and spake to them, asking thē how they did. And they sayd,* they arested me in the Kyng and Queenes name, and that I must goe with them to their Maister the L. Chamberlaine. Which wordes made my flesh to tremble and quake because of that sodayne. But I answered them that I would go with them.* Yet I desired them that they would go to my house with me, y^t I might breake my fast, and put on some other geare, and they said I should. Then I remembred my selfe, saying in my hart: Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no euill to my charge. If they kill me for well doynge,* I may thinke my self happy. I remembred how I was contented gladly before to dye in that quarell, and so had continued euer since: and should I now feare to dye? God forbid that I should, for then were all my labour in vayne.

So by and by I was perswaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loth to forgo my wife & childrē and goods: for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soone as I was perswaded in my mynd to die, I had no regard of nothing in this worlde, but was as mery and glad and ioyfull, I prayse GOD, as euer I was. This battaile lasted not a quarter of an houre, but it was sharper then death it selfe for the tyme, I dare say.

So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to shew me their warrant, thinkyng thereby I should haue seene wherfore I was arested,* to the intent I might y^e better answer for my self whē I came before their maister. And one of them answered, they had not their warrāt there. Which words made me astonied, and it was put in my mynde by God, that I neede not to goe with them,* vnlesse they had their warrant. Then said I to them, that is meruaile that you will come to take a man without a warrant. It seemeth to me that you come of your owne mind to get thāke of your maister, for in deed I heard say (sayd I) that there was 4. or 5. warrants out for me, but they were called in agayne,* because I had certified my L. and the Commissary by a letter that I sent to the Commissaries court, that I was not faulty in that they layd to my charge, which was for baptising of children, and marying of folks: the which I neuer did, for I was neuer minister appointed to do any such thyng: wherfore set your hartes at rest, I will not [Page 1985](#) go with you (said I) vnlesse you will cary me by force, and if you will do so, at your owne aduentures. And so I rose from the boord and stepped into my chamber, meanyng to goe from them if I could possible, seeyng God had made the way so open for me.* I ment to play Peters part with them, but God

would not it should be so, but sent a feare amongst them, that as soone as I was gone into my chāber, ere euer I could come out againe, they were gone out of my house.

When I saw that, I knew it was Gods doying to set me at liberty once againe.* Yet I was compelled to speake to them, and said: If you haue a warrant, I desire you for Gods sake to shew it me, and I wil go with you, with all my hart: if not, I desire you to depart in Gods peace and the kings: for surely I will not go with you without the order of the law: for I haue bene too simple in such things already. For before I was sent to prison first, I went to the Iustices to two Sessions, without any warrant or cōmandement, but had word by one of their men, & I went gently to them, & they sent me to prison, and kept me there almost a yere and thre quarters, without all right or equitie, as it is openly known, not hearing my cause iustly debated. And it semeth to me that I should be thus euil hādled, and therefore I will not go to none of them all henceforth without the extremitie of the law.

Then one of them answered me, and said: we haue not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house: the worst is you can but make vs fetch it. Then I said: Fetch it, if you wil, but if you come in my house before you haue it, at your owne aduenture.* So I shut my doore, and went my way out of the other doore. So they got helpe to watch my house, while one of them fet the Constable and many moe, thinking to haue had me in my house, and to haue takē me in my house, & caried me away with a licence: but I was gone before as god would haue it.* Notwithstanding they sought euery corner of my house, but could not preuaile, I mistrusted they would search it again that night, and kept me abroad, and in deed there came seuen of his men & the Constable, and searched my house.

And when they sawe that they could not meete w^t me, they were redy to rent their coats, that I had scaped them so, knowing they should haue such a checke of their maister. When I heard that they had sought so for me againe, I perceiuyng that they were greedy of their pray, came home, and my wyfe told me all thyngs.

Then I supposed that they would lay all the countrey for me, and the sea coast, because I should not go ouer, and thē I thought that they would not mistrust that I would dare bee nigh home. So I tolde my wyfe that I woulde make my lodgyng in a woode not past a flight shotte from my house, as I did in deede, euen vnder a tree, and there had my Bible, my penne and myne inke, and other necessities,* and there continued a sixe or seuen weekes, my wife bringing me meate daily as I had neede. Yea I thought my selfe blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lye in the woodes for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the countrey, that I was seene and spoken too in Flaunders:* whereupon they left laying awaite for me for they had layd all the Countrey for me, and the sea coast from Portesmouth to Douer, euē as God put in my mind they would.

So when all was husht, I went abroad among our friends & brethren, and at length I went beyond the Sea both into Flanders and in Fraunce: but I thought euery day seuen yere or euer I were at home agayne. So I came home again as soone as it was possible. I was there but three weeks, but as soone as I was come home, and it once knowen among Baals priests, they could not abide it, but procured out warrantes agaynst me, causing my house to bee searched sometymes twice in a weeke. This continued from Saint Iames tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went

priuilly, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhile I was at home a month or fiue weekes together, liuing there most commonly and openly, doing such woorkes as I had to doe: and yet all mine enemies coulde lay no hands on me,* till the houre was ful come: and then by the voice of the country, and by manifest proofes, mine owne brother as concerning the flesh, deliuered mee into theyr hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

For my father & he had as much of my goodes in theyr hands,* as I might haue 56. pound for by the yeare cleare, and therunto praied. It was a Lordship and a honor, and halfe a honor that I had deliuered into their hands, to pay my debts, and the rest to remaine to my wife and childrē. But they had reported that it woulde not pay my debtes: which grieved me sore. For it was two hundred pounds better then the debts came to. Which caused me to speake to some of my frendes, that they would speake to them to come to some reckening with me, and to take all such money againe of me, as they were charged with, and to deliuer me such wrytings and wryts, as they had of mine, againe, or to whom I would appoynt them.

So it was agreed betwixt my Father and mee, that I should haue it againe, and the day was apoynted, that the reckening shoulde be made and sent to me that same daye that I was taken, my brother supposing that I shoulde haue put him out of most of al his occupying, that he was in: for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied▪ as all the countrey can and doe well knowe. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one Gradillar my next neighbor, and he told some of M. Gages men, or to M. Gage himselfe: and so he sent to his brother,* and hys brother sent 12. o• his mē (he being Sheriffe) in the night before I was taken, and laye in the bushes not farre from my house, till about 9. of the clocke, euen the houre that was appoynted amongst themselves: for about the same time they thought to haue had me within my house.

They had taken a man of mine and two of my childrē that were abroad in the land: and kept them with them til theyr houre was appoynted to come in, & then a litle girle one of my children, saw them come together, & came running in, & cried: mother, mother, yonder cōmeth 2. men. I sitting in my bedde and making of shoe thonge▪▪ heard the woordes, and suspecting straight way that I was betrayed, I stirred out of my bed & whipt on my hol▪▪ thinking to haue gone out of the doores or euer they had bene come. My wife being amased at the childes words,* looked out at the doore, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the doore and barred it fast, euen as I came oute of my chamber into the Hall, and so barred the other: So the house was beset round straightway, and they badde open the doores, or els they would breake them in peces. Then I had no shift, but either I must shew my selfe openly, or make some other remedy.

So there was a place in my house y^t was neuer found which was at the lest, I dare say 20. times,* and somtimes almost of 20. men searched at once, both by night & by day. Into which place I went: And assoone as I was in, my wife opened the doore: wherby incontinent they came,* and asked for me: and she sayd I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore shee shutte the dore, if I were not at home. Shee sayd, because shee had bene made afrayde diuers times, with such as came to search vs, and therefore shee shut the doore. For it is reported (sayth she) that who soeuer can take my husband, shall hang him or burne him strait way: and therefore I doubt they will serue me or my children so: for I thinke they may doe so vnto vs as well as to him, shee sayd. Well, sayd they, we know he is in the house, and we must searche it, for we be the sheriffes

men: let vs haue a candle. It is tolde vs, there be many secrete places in your house. So shee lighted a candle, & they sought vp and downe in euery corner that they coulde finde, and had geuen ouer, and many of them were gone out of my house into the churchyard, and were talking with my father, and with some that he had brought with him.

Now when they could not find me,* one of them went to him y^t gaue them word that I was at home, and sayde, we can not finde him. Then hee asked them whether they had soughte ouer a windowe that was in the Hall (as it was knowen afterwarde) for that same place I had tolde hym of my selfe. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to beare me company: yet as it chanced I had not tolde him the way into it. Then they began to searche a newe. One looked vp ouer the windowe, and spied a little loft, with three or foure chestes, and the waye went in betwixt two of the chestes, but there could no mā perceiue it. Then hee asked my wife which was the way into it. Here is a place that we haue not sought yet. Then she thought they wold see it by one meanes or other. She sayde, the way was into it out of a chamber they were in euen now. So shee sent them vp, and cried, Away, away. Then I knewe there was no remedye, but make the best shift for my selfe that I could. The place was boarded ouer and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needes come amongst them al in the hall. Then I had no shift,* but set my shoulders to the boardes that were nailed to the rafters to keepe out the raine, and brake them in peeces, which made a great noyse, and they that were in the other chamber, seeking for the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spyed me, and made an outcry. But yet I gotte oute, and leaped downe, hauing no shoes on.

So I tooke downe a lane that was ful of sharpe synders, and they came running after, with a great crie, with theyr swordes drawne, crying, Strike him, strike hym. [Page 1986](#) Which woordes made me looke backe, and there was neuer a one nigh me by a 100. fote: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behinde. And I tourned about hastily to goe my way, and stepped vppon a sharpe Sinder with one foote, & sauing of it, I stepped in a great miery hole,* and fell downe withall, and ere euer I coulde arise and get away, he was come in with mee. His name is Parker the wilde, as he is counted in all Sussex. But if I had had on my shooes, they had bene like to haue gone away arrandlesse, if there had beene 500. more, if I hadde caught the plaine grounde once, to the which I had not a stones cast: But it was not Gods will: for if it hadde, I shoulde haue scaped from them all, if there had bene tenne thousand of them.

Then they tooke me and led me home again to put on my shooes and suche geare as I had neede off. Then sayde Iohn Fancouer:* Nowe your maister hath deceiued you. You sayd, you were an Angel, and if you had bene an Angell, whye did you not flee away from vs? Then sayde I, what be they that euer heard me say that I was an Aungel? It is not the first lie by a thousande y^e they haue made of mee. Angels were neuer begotten of men, nor borne of women: but if they had saide, that they had heard me saye, that I doe trust I am a Saint, they hadde not said amisse. What, do you thinke to be a Saint? Yea that I do, and am already in Gods sight,* I trust in God: for he that is not a Saint in Gods sight already, is a deuil. Therefore he that thinketh scorne to be a Saint, let him be a deuil. And with y^e woord they had brought me to mine owne doore: where met w^t me my father, and willed me to remember my self.

To whom I answered: I praise God, I am wel remembred wherabout I go. This way was appoynted of God for me to be deliuered into the handes of mine ennemies, but woe vnto him by

whom I am betraied. It had bene good for that man, that he had neuer ben borne, if he repent not with speede. The Scriptures are nowē fulfilled on me: *For the father shall be against the sonne, and the brother shall deliuer the brother to death, as it is this daye come to passe. Then sayd one: He doth accuse his Father: a good childe in deede. I accuse him not, but say my minde: for there was no man knewe me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare saye, woulde not hurt me for all the good in this towne.

*There was one George Bechinge that marryed one of my sisters, & he thoughte that I had meant him, that he had betraied me: and he said: Brother, I would you shuld not thinke that I was the cause of your taking. To whō I answered, that I ment him not: I meant one that was nearer of my bloud then he was. Then said one of Lause, that had bene a gospeller, & stood from them, when I was brought to a sessions to Lause, and he said, I thought you would haue ben an honest man when you were at Lause, and I offered Hussey the sheriffe to be bound for you, that you shuld go home to your wife, and come to him againe. Then I remembred what he was, * and saide: Be you the Peauterer? And he saide, Yea. Then saide I: It is happened to you according to the true Prouerbe, as sayeth S. Peter: The dogge is tourned to his vomit againe, and the sowe that is washed, to wallow in the mire, and the ende of all suche will be worse then the beginning. Then his mouth was stopped so, that he had nothing to say.

*All this while I stoode at my doore without: for they would not let me goe in. So I put on my shooes and my cloathes, and then they putte on an harnesse aboute mine armes made of a dogs slip, which reioyced my heart, that I was counted woorthy to be boūd for the name of God. So I tooke my leaue of my wife and children, my father & other of my friendes, neuer thinking to see them more in this world. For it was so thought of all the country, that I should not liue 6. daies after my taking: for they had so reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, vnlesse God wold graunt it. I know what God can do: but what he wil do, I know not: but I am sure he wil worke al things for the best, for them that loue and feare him. So we dranke and went our way, and came to Firle about 3. of the clocke. And thus much touching the causes & effecte of the troubles of Rich. Woodman. Nowe let vs see his examinations, which follow in this order.

The first examination of Rich. Woodman, before Doctor Christopherson Bishop of Chichester, Doctor Story, Doctor Cooke, and other.

First you shal vnderstād, that I was sent from the sheriffes to London, the 12. day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord. 1557. and afterwarde vpon the 14. daye of the same moneth I was brought before the Bishop of Chichester, and doctor Story, and doctor Cooke. So the sheriffs man deliuered my warrant and me to the bishop. * Then the bishop asked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

Chichester.

I am sory for you, and so are all the worshipfull men of your Countrey. For it hath bene reported to me, that you haue bene a man of good estimation in all the Countrey, amongst the poore and riche, till nowē of late. Wherefore looke wel vpon your selfe, your wife, and children, your Father, and other of your frends, and be ruled. Thinke not your selfe wiser then all the Realme. Be enfourmed, and you shal haue theyr fauors all, as muche as euer you had.

Wood.

You haue charged me with many things, wherin I haue neuer offended, and if you will geue mee leaue, I will shewe you.

Chichester.

Yes, I pray you, say your minde.

Wood.

If it please you, you haue charged me as thoughe I made my selfe wiser then all the Realme: God doeth knowe, I stande to learne of euerye man that will or can teache me the truthe. And where as you say, I haue beene wel esteemed both of the poore and riche, God doth know, I knowe not that I haue geuen any iust offence, either to rich or poore. And as for my wife and children.* God doeth know how I loue them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children are all in Gods handes, and I haue them all as I had them not, I trust, according to S. Paules woords. But if I had x.M. pound of gold, I had rather forgoe it all, then them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God.

Chichester.

The sheriffe tooke paine to come to me of loue, he sayd which he bare to you, as to himselfe: and sayd, you were desirous to speake with me.

Wood.

I thought it mete to appeale to my Ordinarie. For they goe about to shed my bloud vnrighteously.* For they haue laid many vniust things to my charge. Wherefore I thoughte it meete to appeale to you, that if you can finde any fault in me, meete to be reformed by Gods woorde, I stād to be reformed: and likewise, if my bloud shalbe shed vnrighteously, that it mighte be required at your handes, because you haue taken vpon you to be the Phisition of our countrey.

Story.

Is not this a peruerse felow, to lay to your charge, that his bloude shalbe required at your hands?*_ Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death vniustly, y^t thy bloude should be required? No, if he should condemne a hundred such heretickes as thou art, I helped to ridde a good sort of you. And I promise thee I will helpe to ridde thee too, the best that I can.

Wood.

Then I would haue answered him, but the Bishop desired vs both to geue him place.

Chichest.

Well, neighbour Woodman: I call you neyghbour, because you be one of my Diocesse: and you are sent to me that I should geue you spirituall counsell: for I am your spiritual Pastour. Therefore heare what I shall say to you.

Wood.

First I desire you to heare me a few woordes. You haue said, you wil geue me spiritual counsell. Be you sure that you haue the spirite of God?

Chichest.

No, I am not sure of that?

Wood.

No, be you not sure of that?*

Chich.

So by S. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so: I doubt of that.

Wood.

Then you be like the waues of the sea, as saith S. Iames, that be tossed about with the wind, and be vnstable in all your wayes, and can looke for no good thyng at the Lordes hand: Yea, yee are neither hote nor colde, and therefore God will spew you out of his mouth, as sayeth S. Iohn. Then they were in a great furie, especially doc. Storie, saying:

Storie.

What a peruerse fellow is this? he hath the Deuil within him, and is madde. Hee is woorse then the Deuill.* Nowe I perceiue that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all suche heretickes, to boaste themselues.

Chich.

Yea surely, hee is sent to mee to learne, and taketh vpon him to teache me.

Wood.

I seeing their blindnesse and blasphemie, it made my heart melt, and mine eies gush oute with teares, saying: The Iewes saide to Christ, he hadde the Deuill, and was madde, as you haue said

heere by me. But I knowe, the seruante is not aboue his maister. And God forbid that I should learne of him that confessest that he hath not the Spirite of God.

Chich.

Why, doe you thinke that you haue the Spirite of God?*

Wood.

I beleeeue verely that I haue the spirite of God.

Chich.

You boast more then euer Paul did, or any of the apostles, the which is great presumption.

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Wood.

*I boast not in my selfe but in the gift of God, as Paule did: for he sayd, he beleued verily that he had y^e spirit of God, makyng thereof no doubt, in the 1. to the Cor. the 7. chap.

Chich.

*It is not so, you belye the text.

Wood.

If it be not so, let me be burned to morow.

Story.

Thou shalt not be burned to morow, but thou shalt be burned within these 6. dayes, I promise thee.

Chich

If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more.

Wood.

*Then one looked in a Latine Testament, and another in a Greeke Testament, and they said, it was in them both, that Paul supposed that he had the spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chich.

Euen so I hope and suppose that I haue the spirite of God, but I am not sure.

Wood.

If that place be wrong trāslated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, it cannot be auoyded, but offences must be geuen: But woe vnto them by whom they come. I may say woe vnto false Translators. For cursed are they that adde or take away. But take you heed that you belie not the Translators. I beleeeue they had the feare of God more before their eies then you report of them. And yet if that place bee wrong translated, I can prooue places enough that Paule had the spirit of God, as I my selfe and all Gods elect haue.

Chich.

How prooue you that?

Wood.

No man can beleeeue that Iesus is the Lorde, but by the holy Ghost.* First to the Corrinth. the 7. chap. I do beleeeue that Iesus Christ is my redeemer, and that I shall bee saued from all my sinnes, by his death and bloudshedding, as Paule and all the Apostles did, and as all faithfull people ought to do, which no man can doe without the spirite of God. And there is no damnation to thē that are in Christ Iesus: so is there no saluation to them y^t are not in Christ Iesu.* For he that hath not the spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a cast away as he saith in the same text. And againe: We haue not receyued the spirite of bondage,* to feare any more, but we haue receyued the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba father. The same spirit certifieth our spirites that we are the sons of God. Here are proofes enough, that Paule was sure that he had the spirite of God.* Also S. Iohn sayth: He that beleeueth not that Christ is come in the flesh, is an Antichrist, & denieth both the Father and the sonne: which is sinne against the holy Ghost, which shall neuer bee forgeuen in this world, nor in the world to come. Besides all this, Hee that beleeueth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in hym. So is it impossible to beleue in God, vnlesse God dwell in vs. Oh good God, what more iniurie can be done vnto thee, then to mistrust that we haue receyued thy holy spirite by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blindnes, and whose seruants they be, as they do declare themselues both by their words and deeds.

Story.

Oh my Lord, what an heretike is this same? Why heare you hym? Sende hym to prison to his fellowes in the Marshalsee, and they shall bee dispatched within these xij. dayes.

Wood.

When I heard hym say so, I reioyced greatly in my hart, desiring God if it were his will, to keepe hym in that mynd. For I looked surely to haue gone to the B. of Londons colehouse, or to Lollards tower: yea I thought my selfe happy if I might haue gone to Lollardes tower: but it pleased God to put in the hartes of them to send me to the Marshalsee amongst our brethren and my olde prison fellowes:* So mercifully hath God delt with mee in casing of my burden, that I

looked for. So when they perceiued that I feared not imprisonment, but rather reioyced as they well perceiued. Then said the B. Me thinkes he is not afraid of the prison.

Wood.

No, I praise the liuyng God.

Story

This is an heretike in deed. He hath the right terms of all heretikes: * the liuing God, I pray you be there dead Gods, that you say, the liuyng God?

Wood.

Be you angry with me because I speak the words which are written in the Bible?

Story.

*Bibble babble, bibble babble. What speakest thou of the Bible? There is no such worde written in all the Bible.

Wood.

Then I am much to blame if it bee not so written: Behold, for the offences that you haue done, you shall bee caried away captiue by Nabuchodonoser to Babylon, * and there ye shall be seuen generations: and when you be there▪ you shall see gods of gold, of siluer, of wood, and of stone borne before you & behynd you vpon mens shoulders, to cast out a feare among the Heathen. When you shall see all these abominations, then say in your heart: * It is the liuyng God that ought to bee worshipped. Here I prooue my saying true, both that there is a liuyng God, and that there be dead Gods. Also Daurid sayth in his Psalmes: * My soule hath a desire and longyng to enter into the courtes of the Lord: My heart and my flesh reioyce in the liuing God: with diuers other places that I coulede recite. Wherefore I meruaile that you rebuke me for speaking the truth.

Chich.

I doe not deny but it is written, and is the truth, * and I know it as well as you, but such is the speach of all heretikes.

Story.

My Lord, I will tell you how you shall knowe an heretike by his words, because I haue bene more vsed to them then you haue bene: that is, they will say (the Lord) and (we prayse God) and (the liuyng GOD.) By these words you shall know an heretike.

Wood.

All these wordes are written for our learnyng, and we are commanded of the Prophets to vse them daily, as this: The Lordes name be prayسد frō the rising vp of the sunne vnto the goyng downe of the same. Also, As many as feare the Lord, say alwayes, the Lord be prayسد.

Story.

My Lord, send hym to prison, you shall do no good with hym. I will go to church and leaue you here. This is an old heretike. Wast thou neuer before me ere now?

Wood.

Yes forsooth, that I haue.

Story.

Yea, I trowe so: and I sent thee to the B. of London, and he released thee, and thou promisedst him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true Catholike church, which thou hast not fulfilled.

Wood.

I promised him nothing but I haue fulfilled it. No man shall be able to prooue the contrary.

Story.

Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lorde, I will take my leaue. I feare me you shall doe this man no good.

Chich.

I would not haue you to vse such speach as you do, as the Lord be prayسد, and the liuing God,^{*} with such like words. Can you not say as wel, our Lord, or our God, as otherwyse?

Wood.

I meruaile why you should reprooue me therefore, seeing it is the words of God? I do not refuse to saye our God, or our Lorde, when I talke the Scriptures where it is written. If I should, it must follow that I denied the wordes of God, and must needs be an heretike: but I do not. Wherefore I meruaile what you meane to finde fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you mistrust that I beleue not as you do.

Chich.

Yea, that is my meanyng in deed.

Woodman.

I beleue in the liuyng God, if you doe not so, then our beliefes be not alike in deede. But if it please you to examine me vpon any perticular matter, now, or at any other tyme, I will make you answer thereto by Gods helpe.

Chich.

Though you beleue in God, I can prooue you beleue not as you ought to do, as I can shew you by your hand writing. You haue denied y^e catholike church, Wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be sayde that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the Church, from the whiche ye haue erred.* I canne shewe you perillous things of your writing, if it should be known, but ye shall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promise you I would not for three thousand poūd some had so much against me, as I cā shew against you of your owne hand writing, which you cannot deny.

Wood.

I will not deny my hand by Gods helpe. For I know well, I haue written nothing at any tyme but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be myne, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there be enow that know my hand.

Chich.

Do you know it your selfe if you see it?

Wood.

Yea, that I do. Then he arose and fet a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come see. I looked on them, and it was my hand in deed.

Chich.

How say you, is it not your owne writing?

Wood.

Yes surely it is.

Chich.

How say you to this, is not this your hand also?

Wood.

I looked, and it was. And I said, Yes verily is it.

Chich.

Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare say.*

Wood.

Yea, I know it very well: here is a great deale, the which I had thought had bene in my house, but I thanke God that it is here, for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talke that was betwixt the Commissioners and me, when I was before them fiue tymes, and also before the Bishop of London diuers tymes: and I am sure, you nor they shall finde no words false therein written:* and I thinke the shirifs mē when they searched my house for me, when I was taken, found this, and caried it with them, but I neuer knew it before now. But I am not sory for it, but am rather glad. For herein you may see all the wrong that I receyued at their hands, & how long I was in prisō, and how I was tossed vp and down, and how I was deliuered at length▪ [Page 1988](#) and by this you may try whether it be so or not.* I dare say they that found it, & they that brought it to you, had thoght it would haue turned me to displeasure: but in very deed all things worke for the best to them that feare God.

Chic.

In deed I find no great fault in this: but here is perillous geare, here is sedition. This was set vp vpon the church dore, you know it well enough.

Wood.

*In deed I wrote it to the Priest and to other that tooke vpon them to fetch my childe out of my house without my leaue, and vsed it at their plesure, when they knew it was baptised already, as they were wel certified before. Wherefore my conscience compelled me to shew them my mynd in writing, wherein is contained nothyng but the scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

Chichest.

Yea, but it is terribly ment, and vncharitably. It is such geare coupled together I promise you, as I neuer see the lyke. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should doe as well as myne owne soule and body. Be contented to be enformed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not your selfe away. Remember your wife and children, & the poore that lacke your occupying. Meane to follow your vocation.* Remember you are not called to bee a teacher nor a preacher. S. Paul saith: Let euery man walke wherein he is called, and therein abide. Remember you are called to another vocation, for Gods sake walke therin. It is not your office to do as you haue done. You might do as much good by the report of worshipfull men, as any man might do in all the Countrey by your example, and if you would follow the lawes of the catholike church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out as you are.

Wood

I would not that you should say, that I am out of the church of God,* for I am not, but do allow the Church of God accordyng to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could winne any into the true Church that be out, by any meanes that I could vse, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I loue all people as my self. And where you say I haue bene a preacher, it is not so. I neuer tooke any such thyng vpon me,* as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot deny: for it becommeth euery man to teach and instruct his houshold in the feare of God, and all other (as far as he can) that desire it of him. And where as you haue blamed me for reading the Scripture, and leauing my vocation (as you say) I le•• not my vocation in reading the Scripture. For I trust I followed my vocation the better therefore. And the greatest cause that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, because the preachers and teachers was so changeable.

Chic.

No? did you not preach at a Fayre?

Woodman.

No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a Fayre in deede. Whilest I was in prison, I had leaue of the Counsaile to goe home to pay my debtes, and then I went to a Faire to sell cattayle, and there mette with mee diuers poore men that I had set a worke, and of loue asked me howe I dyd, and how I coulde away with imprisonment. And I shewed them howe GOD had delte with mee, and howe he woulde deale with all them that putte their trust in hym:* and this they called preachyng. And since that it hath bene reported that I haue baptised children, and married folkes, the which I neuer dyd: for I was neuer Minister. Wherefore if I had so done, I had done contrary to the order of the Apostles, as God forbid I should.

Chich.

I am well apaid, if you be faultles in those thyngs, for I haue heard say the contrary.

Wood.

I haue shewed you the truth, and that no man liuyng shal be able to prooue the contrary.

Chich.

You sayd you doe not disallow the true Catholike Church.

Wood.

No, that I do not.

Chich.

*Why do you not then go to the Church? You come not there, it is enformed me.

Wood.

I trust I am in the true church euery day. But to tell you truth, I come not at the Church where the most do resort. For if I should, I should offend, and be offēded. For at the last tyme that I was there, I offended many, & was offended my selfe. Wherefore for conscience sake I would not come there. For I was sent to prison for my commyng there, & now I am sent to you for biding thēce. So they will not bee pleased any way with mee, for they seeke my lyfe. Wherefore looke you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defēce against myne enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my bloud shall be required at your hands. If you can finde any iust cause in me worthy of death by Gods word,* you may cōdemne me your self, and not offend god: wherfore looke to it, the matter is weighty, deliuer me not into their hands, and thinke so to be discharged.

Chich.

I tell you truth, I can doe little in the matter. For I haue not full authoritie as yet of myne office: but I wil send for you and talke with you, if I wis• I should do you any good.

Wood.

I would be glad to talk with you and to shew you my mind in any thing that you shall demaund of me, now or at any other tyme.

Chich.

So then he desired the shiriffes men to tary dinner with hym: that this man (said he) may dine with me also:* for it is possible that hee may haue no great store of meate whither he shall go.

Wood.

So we taried dinner with him,* and had no further talke, neither how to prooue where the true church of God is, nor of the Sacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to meward, not for the space of two houres or more: but he entred in talke with me, how I vnderstoode many scriptures, & for bishops and priests mariages, & whether Paul had a wyfe or not. To whom I answered: It is a thyng that I haue little to do with, as concernyng mariages: but I am very well content to talke with you in the matter, as far as my poore learning will serue.* So when he had talked with me of diuers Scriptures, he liked my talke well. He asked me how I said by S. Paul, whether he were married or not. To whom I answered: I prooue by the scriptures, that he was neuer married.

Chich,

How prooue you that?

Wood.

I will prooue it well enough by Gods helpe. But yet I will prooue that Paul might haue had a wife, as well as the other Apostles had.

Chich.

Why, had the Apostles wyues?

Wood.

Yea, all, sauing Paul and Barnabas, as I vnderstand it.* For these are Paules wordes in the 1. to the Cor. 9. chap. Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? haue I not seene Iesus Christ? Are not ye my worke in the Lord? And if I be not an Apostle to other, yet to you I am an Apostle For you are the seale of my Apostleship in the Lord. Myne aunswer to them that aske me, is this: Haue we not power to eate and to drinke? eyther haue we not power to lead about a sister to wyfe, as well as the other Apostles haue, and as the brethren of the Lord? Eyther haue not Barnabas and I power thus to doe? So this text prooueth, that Paul & Barnabas were vnmarried. But Paule declareth that the rest had wiues, & that they had power likewise so to haue, but they found no neede thereof. But Paul declareth in the 7. chap. of the 1. epistle to the Corin. that he that hath no power ouer his owne flesh, may marrie: For it is better to marrie then to burne. Wherefore, to auoyd fornication (saieth he) let euery man haue his wyfe.* Hee sayth, Let euery man haue his wyfe, and euery woman her husband. By this place of scripture I vnderstād,* that bishops & priestes may haue wyues, because they are men, rather then burne, or to commit fornication. But I thinke verily, he that can abstaine, hauing power of his owne wyll, doth best: but if he marrie, he sinneth not.

So then hee debated the Scriptures with me dyuers wayes, that a bishop nor a priest ought not to haue a wife: but I prooued by diuers Scriptures both in the old Law & in the new,* that women were at first made for the helpe of men, the which was spoken generally to al men. Wherefore (said I) euery man may haue a woman and sinne not in honest matrimony, as well bishops & Deacons, as other men, which you call priests, if they be true Ministers of Iesus Christ, & of that order that Bishops & Deacons were in Paules tyme.* For Paul declareth to Tim. 1. and the 3. That a Bishop should be the husband of one wyfe, & how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring vp their children, and likewise the Deacons. This (sayd I) prooueth more plainly, that both bishops & Deacons had wyues in the Apostles tyme, the which he could not deny. But then he alleaged that no bishop nor Priest might take a wife, after he had taken vpon him that office, but if he had a wife before he tooke the office tryed meet for the purpose, for his lyfe and for his learnyng, hee might keepe his wyfe, and bryng vp his children according to s. Paules meadyng to Timothie, or els might they haue no wyues.

Then sayd I, I thinke Paules meanyng in that place was, that a man that hath had two wiues, might not bee made a bishop nor a Deacon, if he had neuer so much learnyng. But that place maketh not that a bishop or a Deacō may not marry after they be made bishops and Deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop, whē he sayd: He had power to lead about a sister to wyfe, as well as the other Apostles had. Here Paul declareth,* that it was in his power to haue a wyfe, after he had the office of a Bishop, which was not in his power, if he had bene forbidden of God.

[Page 1989](#) Thus haue I shewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the mariages of bishops and priests, as I vnderstand the scriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I haue litle to doe withall: but as you required me to say my minde in that matter, so I haue done.

Chich.

Marye I am glad that you haue sayd as you haue done. Many doe affirme boldly that Paul had a wife, and yet can not prooue whether he had or had not, by y^e scriptures: but you haue said very wel. I am glad that yee are contented to be ruled by Gods woord. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no dout you shall do well: therefore gentle goodman Woodman be ruled. God hath geuē you a good wit.* I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine owne soule and body, and so would (I dare say) all the worshipfull men in the coūtre, as they haue reported to me.

Wood.

Why, my Lord, I take God to recorde (whome I trust to serue) that I woulde be as glad to liue in rest and peace, as any man in all y^e world, if I might. And I stand to learne, & am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be prooued that it be not agreable to gods woorde. And the truthe is so, I haue talked with a dosen Priests at the least, since I was deliuered out of prison, of certaine matters, and they haue not ben able to certify me in any thing that I haue asked them: and therefore haue they complained on me to the Sheriffe and Iustices, making tales and lies on me, to tourne me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many vnlearned Priests in your dioces, as in any one dioces in England I thinke: the more it is to be lamented.

Chich.

I promise you, I do much lament it my selfe: for I heare say no lesse: but it is true that you say. I woulde I could remedy it, but I can not: but I wil doe the best that I can, when I come into the cuntry, and I wil be glad to talke with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see I am very tender now, as I haue bene this halfe yeare and more. Come to dinner: our dinner is ready. I caused not you to tarie for any great chere that you shall haue, nor I would you should not thincke that I goe about to winne you with my meate. But you be welcome with all my heart. Come, sit downe.

Wood.

I thanked him, and wēt to dinner: and there dined with him a Marchant man, one of the sheriffes men, and I,* and no mo, & we had good chere, God be praised therefore. We had no talke of the scriptures all y^e dinner while: but when dinner was done, the bishop saide.

Chich.

Now cal M. Stories man. For the commissioners haue committed you to prison: but I wil sende for you or euer it be long, and I pray God I may doe you good. I would be very glad of it.

Wood.

If it please you to send for me, I woulde be verye glad to talk with you, for I like your talke wel. And then if it please your Lordship to examine me vpon any particular matter, I will shew you my minde therein, by gods grace,* without dissimulation. But I pray you let me haue nothing to doe wyth M. Storie, for he is a man wythout reason, me thinke.

Chich.

Wel, or euer you goe, how say you to the vij. Sacraments? Let me heare what you say to them, y^t I maye be the willinger to send for you againe.

Wood.

*I know not vij. Sacraments.

Chich.

Then what shall I talke with you? Howe many doe you know?

Wood.

I knowe but two: one the sacrament of baptisme, and the other the supper of the Lorde.* But if you can iustly prooue by Gods woord, that there be more then two, I stand to be reformed.

Chich.

If I prooue not vij. by Gods woord, then beleue me not: and so he bade me farewell.

Then the Sheriffes two men, and one of doc. Stories men, caried me to doc. Cookes house, which doctor Cooke commaunded them to carie me to the Sheriffes prisone in Southwarke: saying, he shall be called before vs agayne shortly and all his fellowes, and we shal dispatch them for troubling the countrey any more.

And so I was brought to the Marshalsea: where I now am mery (God be praised therfore) loking for iudgement of my flesh: for they intende to dispatch me shortly, if God will geue them leaue: but God hath theyr hearts in his hāds, and they can do nothing to me, but as God wil geue them leaue. Wherefore I commit my cause to God onely, and I am sure there shall not one haire of my head pearish without my heauenly fathers wil, although I bide neuer so much trouble. Iob pearished not for all his trouble, although God gaue the deuil leaue to trouble and try him diuers & many waies, as God hath suffered his mem^bers to trouble and trie mee diuers and many waies, I praise God. They shall as little preuaile against my faith) I haue no mistrust) as y^e deuil preuailed not against Iob,* whatsoeuer they doe with my goodes, life or body. For he that kept Iob in al his trouble, neither slombreth nor slepeth, but keepeth me & all his electe, that whether we liue or die, it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we liue, we liue at the Lordes wil,

and if we die, we die to the Lordes will: so, whether we liue or die, we are y^e Lordes, blessed be his name therefore.

Wherefore, dere brethren and sisters, to whom this my wryting shall come, be of good cheare and feare not what man can do vnto you. For they can but kill the body: * but feare him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once againe I bid you be of good cheare. For the Sheriffe with diuers other Gentlemen and Priests, whilst I was at the Sheriffes house, said to me that all y^e heretikes in the couñtrei hong on me, as the people did in times past vpon S. Augustine, or S. Ambrose, or such like. Wherefore said they, looke well on it, you haue a great thing to aunswer for. To the which I answered: I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, then he will doe for heresie, as I am sure he will not. For he hath set my sinnes as far from me, as it is from the East to the West: * So that I am sure they shall neuer come neare to mee anye more. Yea, & that they call heresie, wee serue God withall. * And I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughtes, that if they might winne me to them, they should winne a great many likewise: and thinking to kill mee, if they can not win me, as I trust in God, and am sure they shall neuer by Gods grace, if it were possible to kill me x. times: for I am so linked to Christ in a chaine by Faith, * that it is vnpossible for men to loose vs a sunder, neither for life nor death. I praise my Lord God therfore. And no dout their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make other afraide. Which death of my body were best of al for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may liue for the comfort of other, his name be praised therefore. I knowe what he can doe: but what he will do, I know not. But if death be offred me, so that I can not refuse it, without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shal not offēd my brethren in receiuing of death, but shall be rather an occasion of the strengthening of their faith, by chusing & receiuing of it, and that with ioy. For as Christ hath geuen hys life for vs, * so ought we to geue our liues for the defence of the gospel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the byshop sayeth, he will prooue vij. sacraments, be you oute of doubt he shal neuer be able to doe it, no more then he hath prooued other arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well frō the Marshalsey, where I now am, as a sheepe appoynted to be slaine, God be praised therefore.

The second examination of Richard Woodman, before the bishop of Chichester, two of his Chapleines: and D. Story at the last came to vs, the xxvij. day of Aprill.

First, I was sent for to the Marshalsey by Doctor Storie, * and was caried to his house besides S. Nicholas Shambles: and when I had spoken to him, he sent me to the bishop of Chichester, and sayde, he would come to him his selfe straight way: and when we were in the Bishops Hall, we had not taried long, but the Bishop sent for me: and when I came before him, I did my duetie to him as much as I could.

Chich.

Then said the Bishop: You be welcome: howe doe you nowe?

Wood.

Well, I praise God, thanking your Lordship for the gentle talke that you hadde with me at my last departing from you.

Chich.

Well, goodman Woodman, I haue sent for you of loue & good wil that I bare to you, to talke with you: and I would haue you to tel me your minde in few woordes. For in dede the last time that I talked with you, our talke was so long, that I fell into a great drieth thereby, & haue bene the worse in my body euer since. Wherefore I praye you shew me your minde briefly, in those particular matters that I shall demaunde of you, according to your promise that you made when you were with me the last time. How say you, will you?

Wood.

Yea forsooth: I wil answere to any thing that you shall demaund of me (by Gods helpe) as wel as I can.

Chich.

Howe say you by the vij. Sacramentes? for there we leaft off, and there we will begin againe. You sayde then there were but two. How say you now to it? wil you denie all sauing two?

Wood.

I say now, as I sayd then. You sayd, there be vij. sacraments, and I said, I knew but two: [*](#) but if you could [Page 1990](#) approue seuen by Gods word, when I came before you again, I must needes graunt thē. And you said, if you could not proue them by Gods word, I should not beleue thē: & now I am come to see how well you can proue thē. Herewit• he was moued and all his Chapleines.

Chich.

By GOD and my troth, I weene he thinketh I can not proue them. How say you to the sacrament of Matrimony?

Wood.

Why, my Lorde, Saynt Paule sayeth to Timothy: [*](#) A bishop should be faultles: and you vse much swearing, which is a greate fault in a Byshop, of all other, that should be an example to the flocke. Then he and his Prelates were in a great rage w^t me, because I reproued hym for his swearing.

Chich.

What, I perceiue this man is worse then he was the last day: what, he taketh vpō him to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.

Priest.

So me thinketh, my Lorde, he is a stout fellowe in deed, as we haue seene.

Wood.

Yea, I am stout, because I do that I am commaūded. I dare not for my life holde my peace, for I shoulde beare your sinne,* the which I will not doe for none of you all, I tell you playnely.

Chich.

Where finde you that you are commaunded to reprove me?

Wood.

If thou see thy Brother sinne, reprove hym: if hee repent, thou hast won thy Brother. But you repent it not, me thinketh, but rather goe about to mainteine the same. Christ sayth: He that breaketh one of the least of my commaundementes, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdome of heauen: and you goe about to teach men so, as farre as I see.

Priest.

Why my Lord, this man is past cure. I see no hope in him.

Chich.

*No, so me thinketh. I will neuer talke wyth hym more, Go cal M. Story: let him do with him what he wil. He hath bene with his felowes in the Marshalsea, & now he is worse then he was before. I had some hope in him y^e other day, but now I see none.

Wood.

No, I prayse God, my fayth hangeth vpon no mē, but vpon God.

Priest.

Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worse for thē: bu• I feare me they be the worse for him. I know this mā of old, before mine old Lord.

Wood.

Well my Lord, looke well to it: will you deliuer me to other men▪ to shed my bloud, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay you can not be so discharged.

Chichest.

I haue nothing to doe with you: but of my gentlenes I haue sent for you, because you said, you would declare you mind in any particular matter that I would demaund of you.

Wood.

Why, I doe not deny but I will doe so, if you doe demaūd it of me. But you go about to deliuer me to other to kill me? and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chich.

*I am not consecrated yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinal may examine you, and condemne you, or my Lord of London, for you are now in his Dioces.

Wood.

Yea my Lord, is the matter euen so? Then I perceiue wherabout you go. Nay, I will talke no more wyth you then, if you be at that poynt. Aske me what you will: but I will shew you nothing of my mind. I promise you, I will not aunswere in particuler matters, and so you to accuse me to other, and they to kill me.

Chich.

I goe not about to kill you, but woulde be glad to heare your minde in the sacramēts, that if you vnderstand them not aright, I would be glad with al my hart to shew you my mind how I vnderstand them. For I would you should do as well as mine owne selfe.

Wood.

If you woulde talke with me to doe me good, I would be content to heare you, and shew you my mind: otherwise I would be loth.

Chich.

Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harme: for if I meant to doe you harme, I could lay your owne hande writing against you, but I will not: * wherefore be in no doubt of me. How say you to y^e sacrament of Matrimony? Is it a sacrament or no? How thinke you by it?

Wood.

I thinke it is a holy institution ordeined of God in Paradise, and so to continue to the worldes end.

Chich.

Lo, now you shall see how you be deceiued in that, as you be in all the rest. Come hither. You can read Latin I am sure.

Wood.

Yea, I can read latin, but I vnderstand very litle.

Chich.

Come to me, you shall see that Paule calleth it a holy Sacrament. For these be the wordes: For this cause shall a man leaue father and mother,* and shall be ioyned to his wife: and two shall be made one flesh: This is a great Sacrament.*

Wood

I remember such a saying: but S. Paule calleth it not a sacrament. But he sayth: It is a great mystery.

Chich.

Where sayth he so?

Wood.

I am not sure in what Texte it is, but I am sure these be S. Paules wordes, and that he calleth it not a sacrament in all his writinges.

Chichest.

What, the last daye ye were full of Scriptures: here it is written and there it is written. What, wee can rehearse the Scriptures, as well as you. Wherefore, if we be sure it bee written, it is no greater matter for the place. Come hither, I will shew you the place, I thinke, that you meane.

Wood.

I looked, and it was writtē Sacramentum.* I know it is a great mistery in the English translation.

Chich.

I permit it be a mistery. What is a mistery?

Wood.

A mystery is (I take it) vnseene: for he sayth, he speaketh betwixt Christ & the congregation. So the great mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the fayth of them that be married, which is hid in christ, the which we see not, but Christe. But the deede which is in the congregation, which is the outward mariage we see, but the inward mariage of y^e hart we see not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a mystery. And therefore, if it be a sacramēt, it is inuisible to vs: It is not seene, as other sacraments be.

Chichest.

Nay, I tell you it is a visible Sacrament, seene as the other be: for is not the mariage seen? is not the man and woman seene?

Wood.

My Lord▪ I pray you what is a sacrament?

Chich.

It is the signe of a holy thing.

Wood.

Me thinkes you haue certified mee verye well. There neede not be a signe of a holy thing, where the holy thing is it selfe. Then hys Chapleynes woulde haue interrupted me, but I desired my Lorde I might say out my minde in the matter. So with much adoe he bade me saye what I could.

There neede not to be a signe of a thing, where the thing is it self.* Matrimony is a holy thing it selfe and is ended outwardly, and neede no more signes but themselues: Wherefore it canne not be a Sacrament as other bee.

Chich.

Loe, how much you speake agaynste your selfe.* And as for an example? I come by a Hosier, and there hangeth a payre of Hose, the which be Hose, and be a signe of hose that be to •ell within.

Priest.

How say you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home in deed.

Wood.

He hath hit me perillously, I tell you with sophistry to blinde mine eyes withall. I maruell you be not all ashamed of it. I can answere that, to all your shames, if I might be iustly heard, I tell you playnely.

Priest.

What, you be angry me thinkes.

Wood.

I am not angrye, but I am earnest, I tell you, to see your blindnes and folly.* I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is Gods worde, to prooue my matter true by, and you wil proue your matter true by a paire of hose. And as well can you proue it by that, as by Gods word.

Priest

Why, is there nothinge true, but that is written in the Bible?

Wood.

S. Paule saith to the Galathians the first chapter: If an Aungell come from heauen, and preach any other doctrine then may be proued by Gods word, hold him accursed: & so doe I, I tell you playnely.

Priest.

Here is a Testament in my hand: if I hurle him in the fire and burne him, haue I burned gods word, or not?* I will buy a new for xvj. pence.

Wood.

I saye, you haue burned Gods worde, and I beleue, he that will burne a testament willingly, would burn God him selfe, if he were here, if he could: for he and hys word are all one.

Then they made a great laughing at it,

Wood.

Laugh on (quoth I) Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such ioy will be turned to mourning. if you repent it not with speed.

Chich.

Then the bishop begon to helpe to cloake the Priestes folly, saying: why, if my Counting house were full of bookes, and if my house should be on fire by chaūce, and so be burned, were Gods word burned?

Wood.

No, my Lord, because they were burned against your will: but yet if you shoulde burne them willingly, or think it well, & not being sorry for it, you burn Gods word as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a shrewd turne, doth allow it to be good.

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Chich.

Folow your vocation: you haue a little learning. We haue an aultar, whereof you may not eate. What meane•h S. Paule thereby?

Wood.

[*](#)There is no manne so foolishe, to eate stones, I trowe.

Chichest.

What Mockers and Scorners be you, to saye no manne will be so foolishe, to eate stones? it is a playne mocke.

Wood.

Why, my Lorde, you sayde I had no learnyng, nor knowledge, nor vnderstanding. Wherefore it becommeth you to make things more plaine to me, & not to aske me such darcke questions, and yet blame me too: me thinke it is too much.

Chic.

I dare say you know what it meaneth wel enough. The most foole in my house will vnderstand my meaning better then you do.

Wood.

There stooode some of his menne not farre of, talking together beside a window. He called one of them by his name.

Chich.

Come hither. I say to thee, thou shalt not eate of this table. What do I meane therby?

The man.

*Forsoothe, my Lorde, you woulde not haue mee eate of this table, laying his hand thereuppon. With this answere he made all them in the house to fall on laughing, and I could not holde it in, but burste out with laughter, and sayd.

Wood.

Hee hath expounded the matter almoste as well as I.

Chich.

He meaneth well enough, if you woulde vnderstand him.

Aunswere me agayne, to make it more playne. I saye to thee, thou shalt not eate of this Table. What meane I thereby?

The man.

Forsoothe you woulde not haue mee eate thys Table.

Wood

These wordes made them al laugh. Wherwith the bishop was almost angry, because the answere proued no better, and sayd.

Chich,

He meaneth that I would not haue him eate anye of the meat that is set vpon this Table. How sayest thou, doest thou not meane so?

The man.

*Yes forsooth my Lorde, that was my meanyng in deede.

Wood.

Yea, my Lorde, nowe you haue tolde him what you meane, he can say so too: and so could I haue done (as litle witte as I haue) if you had sayd Paule meant that no man might eat of that which was offered vpon the aultar, but the priestes.

Chich.

Yea, I perceiue you vnderstande the meaning of Paule well enough, but that you list to cauell with me.

Wood.

Why, my Lord, doe you thinke I vnderstand such darcke places of the scripture, without learning? you sayd euen now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I aunswered you, as you iudged of me.

Chich.

*Well, let this matter passe, and let vs turne to the principall agayne. Howe say you by the Sacrament of the Aultar?

Wood.

You meane the sacrament of the body and bloud of Iesus Christ.

Chic.

I meane the sacrament of the aultar, and so I say.

Wood.

You meane Christ to be the aultar, do you not?

Chich.

I mean the sacrament of the aultare in the church. What, is it so straunge to you?

Wood.

It is straunge to me in deede, if you meane the aultar of stone.*

Chich.

It is that aultar that I meane.

Wood.

I vnderstand not the aultar so.

Chich.

No, I thinke so in deede: and that is the cause that you be deceiued. I pray you, how doe you vnderstand the aultar then?

Wood.

If you will geue me leaue till I haue done, I will shew you how I vnderstand the aultar, and where it is.

Chich.

Yes, you shall haue leaue to say your minde, as much as you will.

Wood.

It is written. Mat. 18. That wheresoeuer two or three be gathered together in Christes name,*there is he in the midst among them: and whatsoeuer they aske the father vpon earth, it shalbe graunted them in heauen, agreeing to the 5. of Math. saying: When thou comest to offer thy gift at the aultar, and there remēbrest that thy brother hath ought agaynst thee,*leaue there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift. The priests would haue interrupted me: but the bishop bad them let me alone.

Chich.

You shall heare a prety conclusion anone.

Wood.

I pray you let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of scripture,* I proue that Christ is y^e true aultar, wher on euery christian man & woman ought to come and offer their giftes. First wheresoeuer the people are gathered together in Christes name, there is he in the midst: & where he is, there is the aultar, so that we may be bold to come & offer our gift, if we be in loue and charity: if we be not, we must leaue there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, & agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer thy gift. Some will say, how shal I agree with my aduersary,* when he is not nigh by a hūdred miles? may I not pray till I haue spoken with him? To al such I answere: if thou presume to pray among the faithful, wyshing any euil to any mā, womā or child, thou askest vengeaunce vpon thy selfe. For no such asketh any thing els of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy aduersary: y^t is, make thy life agreable to Gods word. Saye in thy harte without dissimulation, that thou askest God and all the world forgeuenes from the bottom of thy hart, entending neuer to offēd thē any more. Thē all such may be bold to come & offer their gifte, their prayer on the aultar, where y^e people of god be gathered together. Thus haue I shewed you my mind, both of y^e aultar, & of the offering, as I vnderstand it.

Chich.

Doe you vnderstand the offering and the aultar so? I neuer heard any man vnderstand it so, no not Luther y^e great hereticke, that was condēned by a generall Coūcell, and his picture burned.

Wood.

If he were an heretick, I thinke he vnderstoode it not so in deed: but I am sure all Christians ought to vnderstand it so.

Chich.

O what vayne glory is in you, as though you vnderstood all thing, & other men nothing. Heare me: I will shew you the true vnderstanding, both of the aultar, & the offering on the aultar. We haue an aultar (sayd Paul) that ye may not eate of▪* meaning thereby that no man might eat of that which was offered on the aultar, but the Priest. For in Paules time all the liuing that the Priest had, the people came & offered it on the aultar, mony or other thinges: and when the people came to offer it, and then remēbred that they had any thing agaynst their brother, thē they left their offering vpon the aultar, and went & were reconciled to theyr brother: and they came agayne and offred their gift, and the Priest had it. This is the true vnderstanding of the place that you haue rehersed: wherefore you be deceiued.

Wood.

My Lord, that was the vse in the olde law. Christ was the ende of that. But in deede I perceiue by Paules wordes, the sacrifice was offered in Paules time: yet that maketh not that it was wel done, but he rebuked it. Wher^lfore, it seemeth to me that you be deceiued.

Chich.

Who shall be iudges betwixt vs in this matter?*

Wood.

The xij. of Iohn declareth who shall be iudge in y^e last day.

Chich.

You meane the word shall iudge the word: Howe can that be?

Wood.

Saynct Peter sayth: The Scripture hath no priuate interpretation▪ but one scripture must be vnderstand by an other.

Chich.

And you will vnderstande it one way, and I wyll vnderstand it an other way: and who shalbe Iudges betwixt vs then?

Wood.

The true church of God is able to discusse al doubttes: to whom I referre it.

Chich.

I am glad you say so, if you will say so in deed.*

Wood.

My Lord, I neuer meant otherwise.

Chich.

The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the aaltar.

Wood.

What do you offer now vpon the aaltar?

Chich.

We offer vp in the blessed Sacramente of the Aaltar the body of Christ,* to pacifye the wrath of God the Father: and therewith they put off their cappes all, to that abominable Idoll.

Wood.

Saynt Paule sayth to the Hebrues, in the x. chap. We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Iesus Christ vpon the crosse once for all: and euery Priest is dayly ministring & oftentimes offereth one maner of offering, which can neuer take away sinnes: and that is the offering that you vse to offer. As farre as I can see, you be priestes after the order of Aaron, that offered vp Sacrifice for their own sinnes, and the sinnes of the people.

Chichest.

Nay, Aarons sacrifice was with bloud, whiche signifieth the death of Christe, the whiche was ended vpon the Crosse by his bloudshedding: but we are Priestes after the order of Melchisedech,* the whiche offered breade to the king in remembraunce, and signified the geuing of Christes body in bread & wine at his last supper, the whiche he gaue to his disciples, & commaunded it to be vsed to the end of the world. This is the sacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Woodman.

Me thinke you haue made the matter verye [Page 1992](#) playne to me, that as Christ was the ende of all Sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the Sacramentes, willing them to be vsed in the remembraunce of him, to the worldes end.

Chichest.

What, in remembraunce of hym, and not hym selfe,* as his worde sayth: Take, eate, this is my body? It is not the signe onely, but the thing it selfe. How say you? is it not his body, after the words be spoken by the priest? How say you? goe briefly to worke, for I can not long tary with you.

Wood.

My Lord, if you will answere me to one sacramēt, I will answere you to another.

Chich.

Yes, I am very well contented with that.

Wood.

If you say the words of baptisme ouer the water, & there be no childe there, is there true baptisme?

Chich.

No, there must be the water, the worde, and the child, and then it is baptisme.

Wood.

Uerye well. Then if a childe bee Baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, it is not truely baptised.

Chich.

No the childe muste bee baptised in the name of the father, & of the sonne, & the holy ghost, or els it is not truly baptised.

Wood.

Then there may be nothing added, nor takē away from the Sacraments: may there?

Chich.

No, sayd the Bishop.

Wood.

Now, my Lord, I will answere to you, if it please you.

Chich.

Well, how say you. Take, eat, this is my body: is it not Christes body, as soone as the wordes be sayd?

Wood.

My Lorde, I will aunswere you by your owne wordes,* that you aunswered me, whi•h is true: the water, the word, and the childe, all these together make baptisme: the bread, wine, and the word make the Sacrament: & the eater, eating in true fayth, maketh it his body. Here I proue it is not Christes body, but to the faythfull receiuer. For he sayd: Take, eat, this is my body.

He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And Saynt Augustine sayth: Crede, & manducasti: Beleue, and thou hast eaten And Saynt Iohn sayth: He that beleueth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him: wherfore it is vnpossible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true fayth.

Priest.

*Then the fayth of the receiuer maketh it his body, & not his word, by your saying. I pray you, what did Iudas eate?

Wood.

Iudas did eat the sacrament of Christ, and the deuill withall.

Priest.

He eat the body of Christ vnworthely, as S. Paule sayth.

Wood.

Nay, S. Paule sayth no such thing. He speaketh not of eating of his body vnworthely, but of the sacrament vnworthely. For he sayth: Who soeuer eateth of this bread, & drinketh of this cup vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lordes body: and not because he eateth the Lordes body. If Iudas had eat Christes body,* it must needes folow that Iudas is saued. For Christ sayth in the sixt of Iohn: Who so euer eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp agayne at the last day.

Priest.

My Lord, this man is an interpreter after his own minde.

Chich.

I see it is but folly to talke with you: it is but lost labour. How say you? Doe you not beleue, that after the wordes be sayd,* there remayneth neither bread nor wyne, but the very body of Christ really? make me a playne aunswere, for I will talke no more with you.

Wood.

I will make you no directe aunswere, howe I beleue of the true Sacrament. I doe beleue, that if I come to receiue the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, truely ministred,* beleuing that Christ was borne for mee, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be sau'd from my sinnes by his bloudshedding, & so receiuing the Sacrament in that remembraunce, then I beleue I do receiue wholly Christ, God and mā, mistically by fayth: this is my beliefe.

Chich.

Why then it is no body without fayth. Gods word is of no force, as you count it.

Wood.

My Lorde, I haue tolde you my minde without dissimulation, & more you get not of me, without you will talke with me by the Scriptures: and if you will do so, I will beginne anew with you, & proue it more plainly thre or foure maner of wayes, that you shall not say nay to that I haue sayd, your selfe.

Then they made a great laughing, and sayd: Thys is an Hereticke in deede, it is time he were burned: Which wordes moued my spirite, and I sayde to them: Iudge not least you be iudged. For as you iudge me, you shall be iudged your selues. For that you call heresy, I serue God truely with, as you all shall well know, when you shalbe in hell, and haue bloud to drinke, and shalbe compelled to say for payne: This was the mā that we iested on, & whose talke we thought foolishnes, and his end to be without honour:* but now we may see how he is counted among the Sayntes of GOD, and we are punished. These wordes shall you say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my bloud: wherefore looke to it, I geue you counsell.

Priest.

What, you be angry, me thinkes. Now I will saye more to you, then I thought to haue done. You were at Baxill a twelue moneth agone, & sent for the Parson & talked with him in the Churchyard, and would not goe into the church: for you sayd: it was the Idols temple. Yea I was with mine olde Lorde, when he came to the Kinges Bench to you, and you sayd many stout wordes to him.

Wood.

That I sayde, I sayde: and where you sayde, I was angrie, I take God to my recorde, I am not, but am zelous in the truth,* & speake out of the spirite of God with chearefulness.

Priest.

The spirite of God? hough, hough, hough: thinke you that you haue the spirit of God?

Wood.

I beleue surely that I haue the spirite of GOD, I praise God therfore: and you be deceiuers, mockers, and scornors before God, and be the childrē of hel, all the sort of you, as farre as I can see. And therewith came in D. Story, poynting at me with his finger, speaking to the bishop in Latin, saying at length.

Story,

I can say nothing to him, but he is an hereticke.* I haue heard you talke this houre and a halfe, and can heare no reasonablenes in him.

Wood.

Iudge not, lest you be iudged: for as you iudge, you shalbe iudged your selfe.

Story.

What be you a preaching? you shal preach at a stake shortly with your felowes. My Lord, trouble your self no more with him.

With these wordes, one brought woorde that the Abbot of Westminster was come to dyne with the Byshop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then sayd Doctor Story to my keeper.

Story.

Cary him to the Marshalsee againe,* and let him be kept close, and let no body come to speake with him.

Wood.

And so they departed. Then one of the priestes begon to flatter with me, and sayd: for Gods sake remember your selfe. God hath geuen you a good wit: you haue read the scriptures well, & haue borne them wel in memory: It were great pity you should do amisse.

Wood.

What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I haue red the scriptures well: & but euen now you said I was an heretike & despised me. If I be an heretike I can haue no good wit as you

haue cōfessed. But I think your owne consciēce doth accuse you. God geue you grace to repent, if it be his will.

Priest.

I cal it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions.

Wood.

You may call it a wicked wit if it agree not with gods word. Then one cried: Away, away, here commeth strangers. So we departed, & I came againe to the Marshalsee with my Keeper.

¶The third examination of Richard Woodman (copied with his owne hand) before D. Langdall parson of Buxted in Sussex, and Chaplaine to my Lord Montague, and M. James Gage, at my Lord Montagues house beside S. Mary Oueries in Southwarke, the 12. day of May, Anno. 1557.

The 1^o. day of May the Marshal came to the Marshalsee & sent for me to speake with him.* When I came before him, & had done my dutie, he asked my name, & what countrey man I was, I shewed him both. Then he asked me when I was abroad in the city. To whom I answered, if it shal please your maistership, I was abroad in the citie on Monday was seuennight.

Marshall.

What made you abroad?

Wood.

The B. o^o Chichester sent for me to talke with mee at home at his house beside S. Nicholas shambles.

Mar.

Were you abroad no otherwise then so?

Wood.

No forsooth: I was neuer abroad since I was sent hither, but then. For I haue nothing to do abroad, vnlesse they send for me.

Mar.

This is a marueilous matter. I promise you I was not so rebuked these 7. yeares,* as I was for you within these 3. dayes. It is reported that you were abroad in the citie at certaine Tauernes, & spake seditious wordes both in the Tauernes and Streetes as you went.

Wood.

Syr, the trueth is, I was in neuer a house or Tauerne, whiles I was abroad, but in the bishops house, as my keeper can, & will (I am sure) testify: nor I neuer talked with any man in the streetes as I came, but with my keeper, sauing with one man in deede, of the Parishe of Framfield in Sussex, where M. Iames Gage dwelleth. His name is Rob. Smith, being one of my most enemies: who stood in a waine as we came by, and was vnloading of Cheese (me thought) but a litle way from the Marshalsee. In deede I bade him God speede, and asked him howe he did: and he sayd, well, he thanked me: and he asked me how I did, and I sayd, well, I prayse God: & that was all the talke that we had: & these wordes were spoken as I came by him. I promise you sir, I stooode not still while I spake thē, as my keeper can tell: and I thinke these words were no seditious wordes, but might be spoken well enough (I thinke) or els it were very strayt.

Marshall.

*Then it is to bee thought, that that man reported otherwise then it was. I am gladde it is as you say. Well make you ready, for you must go forth straight way, where you shall be examined of that and of other thinges, where you shal aunswere for your selfe. Go make hast: for I will •ary till you be ready.

Wood.

So I departed from him, & went to my prison felowes, & took my leaue of them desiring thē to pray for me, for I thought verely to come no more to them. For I supposed I should haue gone before the Counsell, because the Marshall sayd he would tary for me himselfe: and especially because he sayd it was reported that I had spoken seditious words, it made me to think it is possible that there may be some false things imagined vpon me, to bring me to my end. I remembred that Christ sayd: The seruant is not aboue his Lord. Seyng the Iewes brought false witnes agaynst Christ, I thought they would do much more, or at the least doe so to me, •• God would suffer thē: which made me cast the worste. But I was and am sure (I prayse my Lord God) that all the world is not able to accuse me iustly of any such thing. Which thing considered, made me mery and ioyfull: and I was surely certified that they coulde do no more against me, then God would geue them leaue: And so I bad my prison fellowes farewell, and went into the Porters Lodge to the Marshall, and he deliuered me to one of his owne men, and to one of my Lord Mountagues men, and bade me go with them: and they caryed me to my Lord Mountagues place in Southwarke not farre from S. Mary Oueries, and brought me into a chamber in my Lord Mountagues house: and there was one Doc. Langdale, chapleine to my Lord. My keepers sayd to the Docto•: this is the man that we went for.

Lang.

Is your name Woodman?

Wood.

Yea forsooth, that is my name.

Lang.

Then hee beganne with a greate Circumstaunce, and sayd: I am sorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but stand so much in your owne conceite, displeasing your father and other, iudging that all the Realme doth euil, saue a few that doe as you do: with many such wordes, whiche be too long to rehearse: but I will declare the substaunce of them.

Lang.

What think you of them that died long agoe, your Graundfather,* with theyr fathers before them? You iudge them to be damned, & all other that vse the same that they did, throughout all Christendome, vnlesse it be in Germany and here in England a few yeares, and in Denmark: & yet they are returned againe. Thus we are sure this is the truth, and I would you should do well. Your father is an honest man and one of my parish, and hath wept to me diuers times, because you would not be ruled: and he loueth you well, & so doth all the country, both rich and poore, if it were not for those euill opiniōs that you hold with many such like tales of Robin Hood.

Wood.

I pray you geue me leaue to speake a fewe wordes to you.

Lang.

Yes, say your mind.

Wood.

You haue told a great tale and a long, as it were agaynst me (as you thinke) saying, I hold this and that: I iudge my Father and my Graundfather, and almost al the world, without it be a few that be of our sect. But I iudge no manne. But the xij. of Iohn declareth, who it is that iudgeth, and shall iudge in the last day. The father shal not beare the sonnes offences, nor the sonne the fathers offences: but that soule that sinneth shall dye, as sayth the Prophet. And agayne,* we may not folow a multitude to do euill, as sayth the Prophet: For the most goe the wrong way. And Christ sayth in the xij. of Luke, that his flock is a litle flock. Here be places enough to discharge me, although I do not as the most doe. But can any man say, that I do not as I ought to do? where be my accusers?

Lang.

What, you be full of scripture me thinke, and call for your accusers, as though you were afraid to vtter your mind to me. But I woulde haue you not to be afraid to talk with me: For I meane no more hurt to you then I do to my selfe, I take God to my record.

Wood.

I cannot tell. It is hard trusting of fayre wordes, when a man cannot trust his father nor brother,* nor other that haue bene his familiar frendes, but they deceiue him. A man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that he neuer saw before, saying: Be as wise as Serpentes, and as innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they goe about to betray you. And it maketh me suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vantage of me, if I should speake mine owne wordes. Wherefore I will take as good heede as I can, because I haue bene deceiued already by them I trusted most. Wherefore blame me not though I aunswere circumspectly. It shall not be sayd, by Gods helpe, that I will run wilfully into mine enemyes handes, and yet, I prayse God, my life is not deare to my selfe, but it is deare with God: Wherefore I will do the vttermost that I can to keepe it.

Lang.

You be afayrd where no feare is,* for I was desired of Mayster Sheriffe and his brother, and of other of your frendes, to talke with you, and they told me thot you were desirous to talke with me, and now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to doe with me, & as though you were sent to prison for nothing: for you call for your accusers, as though there were no man to accuse you. But if there were no man to accuse you, your own hand writing did accuse you enough, that you set vpon the Church doore (if you be remembred) and other letters that you let fall abroad, some at one place, and some at an other. Wherefore you need not to cal for your accusers. Your own hand wil accuse you enough, I warrant you: it is kept safe enough. I would not for two hundred pounce there were so much agaynst me.

Wood.

I will not deny mine owne hand, by Gods helpe. For it cannot be lightly counterfayted. I doe not deny but I wrote a letter to the priest and other of the parish, declaring to them theyr folly and presumption, to come into my house without my loue or leaue and fet out my childe, and vse it at their pleasure.* Which moued me to write my mind to them: and because I coulde not tell how to conuey it to them, I set it on the Church doore. Which letter my Lorde of Chichester hath: for he shewed it me whē I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very scriptures, to theyr reproch. Let it be layde before me when you or hee will: I will answere to it by the helpe of God, to all theyr shames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you say I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honest neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me, for that I wil aunswere thē with Christes wordes, in the 18. of Math. woe vnto themselves, because they gaue me the occasion.

And whereas you sayd, I was desirous to speak with you, and that Maister Sheriffe and his brother, and other of my frendes willed me to talke with you, and that I fare nowe as though I had nothing to doe with you, and as though I were sent to prison for nothing: the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am sent to prison, thē the least child in this towne knoweth. And as for me, I desired not M. Sheriffe to speake with you: but in deede he desired me that I would speake with you, & to vtter my fayth to you.* For he supposed that I did not beleue well: & he reported you to bee learned. But I refused to talke with you at the first. For I remēbred not that you were the parsō of Buxted: wherefore I sayd to him, I would not vtter my faith to any but to the bishop. I sayd, he is mine Ordinary: wherefore I appeale vnto him. I am commaunded by S. Peter in the

first Epistle the thyrd chap. to render account of my hope that I haue in god, to him that hath authority: wherefore I will talke with none in that matter, but with hym. Wherefore send me to him, if you will, or els there shall no man know my fayth, I tell you playnely.

These wordes then made the Sheriffe angry, and he went his way: and when he was gone from me, I remēbred that it was you that he would haue me to talke with, and then I remembered that I had made a promise to my father, and goodman Day of Uefield, not past a fournight before I was taken,* that when so euer you came into the country, I would speak with you by Gods helpe, because they praysed you so much, that yee were learned, and they would fayne here vs talke.

So al these thinges called to remēbrance, I desired my keeper, which was the Sheriffes man to shew his maister that I would fayne speake with him: for I had remēbred things that were not in my mind before, when I spake to him. So he went to his maister, & shewed him the matter, [Page 1994](#) and he came to me: and then I told him my mind, & what promise I had made: and he said, he would send for you on the morow, as he did, and the messēger brought word you could not come: you preached before the Queene, he sayde. Whereupon the Sheriffe came vp himselfe, and spake to the Bishop that he should come downe, but he was sicke. So when he came home agayne, he sent me to the Bishop, and I haue talked with him twice already,* and I am sure he can find no fault in me, if he say iustly: and yet I know not wherefore I was sent to prison: For I was not guilty of that whiche was layde to my charge, that I had baptised children, the which I neuer did, as God knoweth: wherefore I haue wrong to be thus handled.

D. Lang.

In deed it hath bene reported that you haue christened children, & that you christened your owne child: but since I heard say you would not haue the child christened, which is a damnable way, if you deny baptisme: and they sayd, your child was not christened in a fournight or three weekes after it was borne, and the chieftest of the Parishe were fayne to fetch it out of your house agaynst your wyll. Wherefore you wrote rayling wordes agaynst the Prieste and them for theyr good will:* the which declareth that you allowe not baptising of children. And if the childe had dyed, it had bene damned, because it was not Christened, and you shoulde haue bene damned, because you were the lette thereof.

Wood.

What abhominable lies haue you told? Be you not ashamed to speake such wordes as you haue done? Fyrste you say, I christened mine owne childe, and by and by you sayd, I denyed baptising of childrē, and that my child was a fortnight or three weekes old ere it was baptised. What abhominable lyes be these? I neither baptised my child my selfe, neither held agaynst the baptising of it, but did moste gladlye allowe it: for it was baptised as soone as it was borne, and I was glad therof: therfore you be to blame to report so of me.

Lang.

*I pray you, who baptised it? some vnthrift of your prouiding.

Wood.

Nay surely the Midwife baptised it.

Lang.

But it was your mind that it should be so.

Wood.

Nay sure, I was not me home by almost xx. miles nor heard that my wife was brought to bed four dayes after the child was christened. For it was not like to liue: & therefore the Midwife baptised it.

Lang.

Would you haue had it to church to haue bene christened,* if it had not bene christened?

Wood.

That is no matter what I woulde haue yone. I am sure you can not denye but it is sufficiently done, if the Midwife do it, and I hold not agaynst the doing of it, neither did I it my selfe, as you sayd I did.

Lang.

Wherefore were you displeased with them that fet it to Church?

Wood.

First tell me whether the child were not truely baptised by the Midwife?

Langd.

Yes, it was truely Baptised, if shee Baptised it in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holye Ghost.

Wood.

Yes that I am sure shee did, and you graunte that was sufficient: and the cause that I blamed them for, was because they did more to it then neede was,* by your owne saying. Yea, they fet it out of my house without my leaue: the which was not well done.

Lang.

They had it to Church to confirme that was done.

Wood.

Yea, but th^{••} was more then needs. But God forgeue them, if it be his will. But let that matter passe. But I would you should not say that I hold agaynst baptising of children, for I doe not, I take God to recorde: but doe allowe it to be most necessary, if it be truely vsed. But me thought you spake wordes euen now that were vncomely to be spoken: if a childe die, & be not baptised, it is damned. How thinke you? be all damned that receiue not the outward signe of baptisme?

Lang.

Yea that they be.

Wood.

How proue you that?

Lang.

*Goe, sayth Christ, and baptise in the name of the father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, and he that beleueth, and is baptised, shalbe saued: and he that beleueth not shalbe damned. These be the wordes of Christ, which are my warrant.

Wood.

Then by your saying, baptisme bringeth fayth, and all that be Baptised in the water, shall be saued: shall they? how say you?

Lang.

Yea, that they shall: if they die before they come to discretiō, * they shalbe saued euery one of them, and all that be not baptised shall be damned euery one of them.

Wood.

Then my spirite was moued with him to reprocue him sharply, because I had manifest scriptures fresh in my mind agaynst his saying. Then sayd I.

O Lord God, how dare you speake suche blasphemye agaynst God and his word, as you doe? howe dare you for your life to take vpon you to preache, & teach the people, & vnderstand not what you say? * For I protest before GOD you vnderstande not the scriptures, but as far as naturall reason can comprehēd. For if you did, you would be ashamed to speake as you do.

Lang.

Wherein haue I spoken amisse? take heede, you haue a toy in your head wil make you dispayre. I dare say you can not tell what you say. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

Wood.

Because you blaspheme GOD: and as for dispayring, take heed to your selfe. For I can not see but you be out of your wit alreadye· and as for me, I prayse God, I can tell what I say, and what you haue sayd: the whiche shall turne to your shame, if you wil talke the Scriptures with me.

So, when hee perceiued that I spake earnestlye, and challenged hym to talke by the woorde, his colour began to chaunge, and his fleshe beganne to tremble and quake. And I sayd.

Proue your sayinges true, if you can: for I will proue them false, by Gods helpe. You sayd. All children, or other that be not baptised with water, all shall be damned. I dare not say so, for all the good in the worlde. And you brought in the saying of Christ for your warrant. In the xvi. of Marke it is written: Who so beleueth, and is baptised, shalbe sauēd: which words be very true: and who so beleueth not, shalbe damned. Which words be very true also. He sayeth: He that beleueth not, shalbe damned. Yea S. Iohn sayeth: He that beleueth not, is condemned already, because he beleueth not. But neither of these two scriptures, nor no other scriptures in all the newe Testament sayth, that he that is not baptised, shalbe damned, or is damned already. But if he beleue not, he shalbe damned, and is damned already, as is aforesayd. Then he woulde haue interrupted me, & would haue layd to my charge, that I was an Anabaptist. But I wold geue him no place to speake, but sayd:

Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall haue as much to doe, by Gods helpe, with this matter, as euer you had to aunswere thing in your life. You knowe (I am sure) it is no maner to plucke a tale out of a mans mouth, nor it is not the order of reasoning, as you know that better then I can tell you. Then Doctor Langdale bade me say on.

Wood.

My saying was, that they that beleue not,* shall be damned, and be dāned already. But I dare not say, for all the goods vnder heauen, that all they that receiue no materiall baptisme by the water, shall be damned, as you haue sayd: yet I would you should not gather of these wordes, that I denye Baptisme, as you were aboute to laye to my charge, or euer I had halfe told my tale. But I would not haue you, nor no man so rash in iudgement, to cōdemn the thing y^t they are not able to proue by the worde, & to make it seme to the simple, that the outward washing of the water were the cause of fayth.

Langd.

Why, is it not so? will you denye it? Howe say you? Will you denye it? I say, the childe hath no fayth before it is baptised: and therefore the baptising bringeth the fayth. How say you to it? Make me a playne answer to this question.

Wood.

Nowe I perceiue you goe about nothing els, but to take vauntage of my wordes. But by Gods helpe, I will aunswere you so,* that you shall well see your sayings vntrue. And yet I will not speak mine owne wordes, but the wordes of the holy Ghost, out of the mouth of the prophets and Apostles: and then aske them whether they wil deny it.

You sayd, that fayth commeth by Baptisme, had by the vse of material water.* I must be so bold to aske you where Iacob was baptised before he had fayth. S. Paule sayth in the ninth chapter to the Romanes: Or euer the childrē were borne, or euer they had done eyther good or bad, that the purpose of God which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of workes, but by the grace of the caller, the elder shall serue the younger. Iacob I haue loued, and Esau I hated. How think you, had this childe fayth or euer he were borne, or no? answere to this, if you can.

Lang.

What, you speake of the olde Lawe, Iacob was not christened, but circumcised. I speake of Baptisme and you are gone from baptising to the time of Circumcision: answere me to the baptising. And me thinke by your talk, you deny originall sinne and free will,* by the wordes that you brought in of S. Paule.

For if children can bee saued without baptisme, then it must needes follow, that children haue no originall sinne, the which is put away in the baptising. But I thinke you know not what originall sinne is, nor free will neyther [Page 1995](#) me thinke by your talke.

Wood.

Yes, I prayse God (I thinke) I can tell them all better then you can, me thinke euē by your words. First I pray you what free will hath man to doe good of himselfe? Tell me this first, & then I will answere to all your other questions that you haue obiected agaynst me.

Lang.

I say that all men haue as much free will nowe, as Adam had before his fall.*

Wood.

I pray you how proue you that?

Lang.

Thus I prooue it, that as sinne entred into the world, & by the meanes of one that sinned, all men became sinners, the whiche was by Adam, so by the obedience of man,* righteousnesse came vpon all men that had sinned, & sette them as free as they were before theyr fall, the whiche was by Iesus Christ. Rom. v.

Wood.

Oh Lorde, what an ouerthrowe haue you geuen your selfe here in originall sinne, and yet can not see it? For in prouing that we haue free wil, you haue denied quite original sinne. For here you haue declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall, & I am sure Adam had no originall sinne before his fall. If we be as free nowe as he was then, I maruell wherefore Paul complayned thrise to God, to take away the sting of it, God making him aunswere, and saying: My grace is sufficient for thee.

These wordes with diuers other, approueth originall sinne in vs: but not that it shall hurt Gods electe people, but that his grace is sufficient for all his.* But you saye in one place, it is not without baptisme: and in an other place you put it away quite by the death of Christ: and in verye deed you haue spokē truer in the matter thē you be aware of. For all that beleue in Christ, are baptised in the bloude of Christ that he shed on the Crosse, & in the water that he swet for payne & putting away of our sinnes at his death. And yet I say with Daudid in the 51. Psalme: In sinne was I borne, and in sinne hath my mother conceiued me: but in no suche sinne that shall bee imputed, because I am borne of God by fayth, as Sayncte Iohn sayth. Therefore I am blessed,* as sayth the Prophet: Because the Lorde imputeth not my sinne, and not because I haue no sinne: but because God hath not imputed my sinnes. Not of our owne deseruing, but of his free mercy he hath saued vs. Where is now your free will become that you spake of? If we haue free will, then our saluation commeth of our owne selfe, & not of God: the which is a great blasphemy agaynst God and his word.

*For Saynt Iames sayth: Euery good gift, and euery perfect gift commeth from aboue, from the father of light, with whō is no variablenes, neither is he chaunged into darcknesse. Of his owne will he begate vs. For the winde bloweth where it lusteth, and we heare the soūd therof, as sayth S. Iohn: But we cannot tell from whence it commeth,*neither whether it goeth: Euen so is it with euery one that is borne of God. For S. Paule sayth: It is God that woorketh in vs the will and also the deed,*euen of good will. Seing then that euery good and perfect gift commeth from aboue, & lighteth vpon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in vs both the will and the deede: me thinke all the reste of our owne will is little worthe,* or nought at all, vnles it be to wickednes. So me think here be places enough to proue that a man hath no free will to doe good of himselfe: with a hundred places moe, that I could recite if time did serue. And as for originall sinne, I thinke I haue declared my mind therin, how it remaineth in man: whiche you can not deny, vnlesse you deny the word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will proue my saying of Iacob and Esau, that I brought in, to proue that faith was before baptisme, and you refused it, because (you sayd) Iacob was not baptised.* If you will geue me leaue, you shall see what I can say therin: for me think you think my talke long. This I sayd, because I saw he was sore offended at my sayinges.

Lang.

Saye what you canne, For it auayleth me to saye nothing to you.* For I was desired to sende for you, to teache you, and there will no wordes of mine take place in you: but you goe about to reprove me. Saye what you will for me.

Wood.

I take not vpon me to teach you, but to aunswere to such thinges as you lay vnto my charge: and I speake not mine owne minde, but the minde of the holy Ghoste, written by the Prophetes and Apostles. Wyll you geue me leaue to aunswere briefly in that matter, that you may report to other what I holde? And he sayd, he was contēted. But I thinke it was for nothing, but to haue caughte vauntage of my wordes.

Wood.

*First, if you be remembred, you said, that if my child had dyed without baptisme, if I had bene the cause that it had not bene baptised, the child should haue bene damned, and I too. How say you?

Lang.

Yea that you should.

Wood.

That is moste vntrue. For the Prophete sayeth: The father shall not beare the chilles offences, nor the childe the fathers offences: but the soule that sinneth shall dye.* What could the child haue done withal, if it had died without baptism? the childe coulde not do withall. How say you vnto this? And I am sure: that which I brought in in the olde Law, to proue that fayth is before baptisme, is not disagreeable vnto the word. For Circūcision was a figure of baptisme. And that I may bring to proue baptisme by, as wel as S. Peter did: for he brought in Noes sloude,* whiche was a long time before Iacob & Esau, to proue baptisme, saying: While the Arke was a preparing,* wherein few (that is to saye) eight soules were saued by water, like as Baptisme also nowe saueth vs, not in putting away of the filth of the flesh, but there is • good conscience consenting to God.

Here Peter proueth, that the water had not saued Noe and the other seuen, no more then it saued all the rest, if it had not bene for theyr fayth, which fayth now saueth vs: not in putting away of the filthy sinne of the fleshe, by the washing of the water, but by a good conscience consenting vnto God.

But you sayd: If they be baptised with the water, if they dye before they come to yeares of discretion, they be al saued: the which S. Peter is cleane agaynste, vnlesse you graunt that children haue fayth before they be baptised.

Nowe I aske you what consent of conscience the children haue, being infantes. For you say they beleue not, before they bee Baptised: Ergo, then they consent not to be Baptised, because they beleue not. And by this it followeth that none shalbe saued, although they be baptised. I would fayne see how you can aunswere to this.

Lang.

You are the most peruerse man that euer I knewe. You wote not what you say. The children are baptised in theyr * Godfathers and Godmothers fayth, and that is the good conscience that S. Peter speaketh of: and the Christening is the keeping of the law, that S. Paule speaketh of, saying: neither is Circumcision any thing worth, nor vncircūcision any thing worth, but keping of the lawe is altogether. Like as the Circumcision was the keping of the old law, so is baptisme the keeping of the new law.

Wood.

Ah, me thought if you would talke with me, you should be fayne to bring in the old law, to mainteine your sayinges by (for all that you refused it) when I brought it in. But yet it serueth not for your purpose, so muche as you think for. For here you haue confessed that neither circumcision auayleth, nor vncircūcision: the which you your selfe haue coupled with Baptisme, prouing that none of them both preuaileth, but keping of the law is altogether: the which law is kept (you say) by the outward signes: the which is nothing so, for Abrahā beleued God, & that was counted to him for righteousnes: And this was before he was Circumcised.* So the children beleue before they be either Circumcised, or Baptised, according to my first saying of Iacob and Esau: Iacob I loued, but Esau I hated.

These wordes declared that Iacob hadde fayth in hys mothers wombe: also Iohn Baptist was sanctified in his mothers wombe, and therefore it was counted to them for righteousness: and I am sure, if they had dyed before, they had eyther receiued Circumcision or Baptisme as concerning the outward deed, they should haue bene saued. For Gods giftes and callinges are such, that he cannot repent him of them. But by your saying he doth both repent and chaūge. For you say, keeping of the outwarde law is altogether. But a bad excuse is as good as none at all.

And where you sayd, the children be Baptised in their Godfathers and Godmothers fayth, they being all vnbeleuers, in what fayth is that childe baptised then? in none at all, by your owne saying. Whiche woordes made him stampe and stare.

Lang.

What? then you woulde count that there were very few beleueurs, if there be not one of three that beleueeth. You enter into Iudgement agaynst the people. Belike you thinke there be none that beleue well vnlesse they be of your minde. In deed then Christes flocke were a very litle flocke.

Wood.

In deede these bee Christes woordes, in the 12. of Luke, the which we may see to be very true. Yea you sayd, if there were not one amongst three, that were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred, for any thing that I can see. For if there were, there would not be so many that would seeke their neighbors goodes & lyues as there be.

Lang.

Is the flocke of Christ such a litle flock as you speak of? you may call it a great flock. How many be there of thē: Can you tell me?

Wood.

A prety question, I promise you, it is that you aske me: as though I did make my selfe equall with God.

[Page 1996](#)No, no, you shal catch no such vauntage of my words nor I know not how many there be. But I will tell you as nigh as I can. For therefore you looke, I am sure, that I should enter into Iudgement.

Lang.

[*](#)Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, seing you be so cunning.

Wood.

You shall see my iudgement in it by and by. First the Prophet: Follow not a multitude to do euill, for they must go the wrong way. For the most go the wrong way. There is one poynt to know them.

Thē christ sayth in the 7. of Mat. Broad is the way & wide is the gate that leadeth into destruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and straye is the gate, and narrow is the waye that leadeth vnto life, and few there be that finde it. And in the xii. of Luke, it is written (which words were spoken of Christ) Come you little flocke, it is my fathers will to geue you a kyngdome. The third poynt is this. In the thyrd of Mark and second of Mathewe: You (saythe Christe) shall knowe the tree by the frutes.[*](#)A good tree bringeth forth good frutes, and a badde tree bringeth forth bad frutes: So by frutes I know them. For euery tree that bringeth not forth good frutes, must be hewn downe and cast into y^e fire (into hell I thinke Christ meant) and your frutes declare that you be one of them.[*](#) Thus haue I proued foure wayes that the people that shalbe saued, is but a small companie in comparison of the rest. But if that be not enough, for the prooffe thereof, I haue twenty wayes more to proue it by, and you were neuer the nere of your purpose.

Lang.

What a naughty man are you? you would make the patientest mā in the world angry with you. I thinke your talke is nothing but pryde and vayneglorye, w^t frumpes, and mockes, and dispising & iudging of men. It was time such a fellow were taken in deede. Suche a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I thinke he is blest of GOD that tooke you: for you are not meete to be in a common wealth.

Wood.

With diuers other such like wordes that I cannot recite, they came out so thicke, with stamping and staryng and chasing as though he had bene out of his witt. I held my peace, vntil he had made an end of his tormētors talk and then I spake.

Wherein haue I sayd amisse? or haue I not answered you vnto euery question that you haue demaunded of me? What fault can you finde in one word that I haue sayd? I dare say you can finde none. I maruayle why you take on thus agaynst me, hauing no cause so to doe.

Lang.

No, no, you haue not aunswered me to original sin, you deny originall sinne.

Wood.

With these wordes came in at the dore M. Iames Gage: And I thinke hee stoode at the dore a good whyle before he came in, and that Doctour Langdall sawe hym: For his face was to the dore ward,* and my face was from it.

Gage.

Ah Woodman, me thinke mayster Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood.

Yes sir me thinke we agree very well.

Lang.

Without doubte sir he is the naughtiest man that euer I talked with in all my life: for he will haue his owne way in all thinges.

Gage.

Woodman, leaue that pride. Do not trust so muche to your own wit. Harken to this man. This is a learned man, I tell you. He is knowne to be learned. For els hee shuld not be allowed to preach before the Queenes maiesty: and I dare say he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to doe nothing, but that he will do himselfe: and I dare say he will not go to the Deuill to bring the thether: How say you M. Doc.? Thou mightest think vs mad, if we would hurt our selues to hurte thee. No I promise thee, my brother, neither I, nor no gentleman in the Country, I think of my conscience, but would thou shouldst doe as well as their owne bodyes and soules, as a great many of them haue sayd to thy face whilest thou wast at my brothers, the which thou canst not deny.

Wood.

Sir, I can saye none otherwise but I was gently entreated at your brothers, both with meate and drynke & gentle wordes, both of you and him, and diuers other gētlemen: and I am sure you nor they can say, that you fouūd me vnreasonable at any time. For I sayde I was contented to learne of them that were able to teache me, and so I am, as God knoweth: and here M. Doctour (I think) can say no otherwise: for I dare say he can find no fault in the talke that we haue had.*

Lang.

No mary, I can finde nothing els in you, I promise you mayster Gage, if you had bene here, you woulde haue sayd so your selfe. He tooke me vp in deede, and sayd he maruailed how I durst preach. For he sayde, I vnderstoode not the scripture, but as farre as naturall reason comprehended? as though he vnderstoode all, and I nothing. With diuers other such like words he made a great complaint to him on me, & sayd to mayster Iames Gage, he would make you beleue that I could finde no faulte in in him. Yes iwis: he denieth originall sinne.

Gage.

Yea? doth he so? by S. Mary that is a great matter, Woodman: leaue y^t pride. That pride wil come to naught. Can ye liue without sinne?

Wood.

Sir, now I perceiue he will soone lye on me behinde my backe, when hee will not sticke to lye before my face.

He sayth I denied originall sinne: and it was he hymselfe, as I will let you be iudge in the matter. For as hee went about to proue that man hath free will, he sayd wee were set as free by the death of christ,* as Adam was before his fall: which wordes proue playnely that we haue no original sin: And I tooke him withall, & sayd: had Adam originall sinne before hys fall? and then hee coulde not tell what to say but cauilled with wordes, and sayd he meant not so: and therefore I maruell he is not ashamed to make such lies to my face, These wordes made them both astonyed.

Gage.

M. Doctour he sayd euen now you coulde finde no fault in all his talke. I will bid you aske him a question, that I will warrant you shall finde faulte enough, I pray you aske hym howe he beleueueth in the Sacramente of the Aultar. I thinke hee will make but a bad accompte thereof.

Wood.

Yes, I wil make accompt good enough of that, by Gods helpe.

Lang.

Well, how say you to the sacrament of the aultar?

Wood.

I say I know no such sacrament, vnlesse Chryst be the aultar that you meane.

Gage.

Lo, I told you, you should soone finde fault in him if you came to that poynt with him. You shuld haue begun with that first, and neuer haue talked with him about other thinges. What? * know ye not the sacrament of the aultar?

Wood.

No sure, I know no such, vnlesse christ be the aultar that you meane: for Christ is the aultar of al goodnes. And if you meane Christ to be the aultar of the sacrament you speake of, you shall soone heare my minde and beliefe therein.

Lang.

Well, we meane Christe to be the aultar. Say your minde, and go briefly to worke: for I thinke it almost dinner. *

Gage.

I pray you go roundly to worke, y^t you may make an end before dinner.

Woodman.

Yes, you shall soone heare my minde therin by Gods helpe. I doe beleue that whensoever I come to receaue the sacrament of the body and bloud of Iesus Christ being truely ministred according to Christes Institution I beleuing that Christ was borne of the virgine Mary, & that he was crucified on the crosse, and shed his bloude for the remission of my sinnes, and so take and eate the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembraunce, that then I doe receiue wholly Christ, God and manne, mistically by fayth. This is my beliefe of the sacrament, the whiche no man is able to disproue.

Gage.

By S. Mary I can finde no fault in this. * How say you Maister Doctour?

Lang.

Sir, you see not so much in it as I do. For he goeth craftely to worke: I tell you, as I haue heard. For though he haue graunted that the faythfull receauer receaueth the body of Christe, God and man, yet hee hath not graunted that it is the body of Christe before it bee receaued, as you shall see by and by I warrant you, by hys owne wordes. * How say you? is it the body of Christ as

soone as y^e words be spoken by the Prieste or not? for these wordes will try hym more then all the rest.

Wood.

Doth the worde say that it is his body before it is receiued? if it do, I will say so to.

Gage.

Why? then you shall agree well inough, if you wyll be tryed by the word.

Wood.

Yes forsooth, that I will: God forbid els.

Gage.

Why? the worde sayth it is his body before it is eaten.

Wood.

Those words would I fayne heare: * but I am sure they be not in the Bible.

Lang.

No, that you shall see by and by (M. Gage quoth he) & turned to the xxii. of Luke, & there he read, Whē supper was done, Christ tooke bread, gaue thanks, and brake it, * and gaue to his Disciples, and sayd: take, eate, this is my body. Then they spake both at once: Here he saith it is his body.

Wood.

M. Gage, I doe not deny but he called it his body but not before eating, as I saide before. Wherefore I pray you marke the wordes. Christ sayd, Take, eate, I pray you Sir marke these wordes that he sayd, Take and eate, * and thē he said, it was his body. So you see, eating goeth before. [Page 1997](#) For he sayd: eate, this is my body. So according to the verye worde, I doe beleue it is his bodye. Whiche wordes made them both astonied.

Lang.

Why, then by your saying, Iudas eate not the body of Christ. How say you? did he not?

Wood.

Nay, I ask you. Did he?

Lang

I aske you.

Wood.

And I aske you.

Lang.

And I aske you.

Woodman.

Mary and I aske you. And I bid you answer if you dare for your life. For what soeuer you aunswere: vnlesse you say as I haue sayd, you will damne your own soule. For M. Gage, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as myne owne owne soule and body: & it lamenteth my hart to see how you be deceaued with thē: they be deceauers all the sorte of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must proue Iudas to be saued, or els he must proue that it is no bodye before it bee receiued in fayth, as dou shall well perceiue by Gods helpe, if he dare to aunswere the question.

Gage.

Yes, I dare say he dareth. What? you neede not to threaten him so.

Wood.

Then let him aunswere if he can.

Then he sayd he knew what I woulde saye to him: therefore he was much in doubt to aunswere the question.

Lang.

Mayster Gage, I will tell you in your eare what words he will aunswere me, or euer I speake to him.

Wood.

Then he told M. Gage, a tale in his eare, & sayde:

Lang.

*I haue told M. Gage what you will say.

Gage.

Yea, and I will tell the truth for both parties.

Wood.

Well, how say you? did Iudas eate y^e body of christ or not?

Lang

Yea, I say Iudas did eate the body of Christ.

Wood.

Then it must needes f•llowe, That Iudas hath euerlasting life.* For Christ sayth in the 6. of Iohn: Who so eateth my fleshe and drinketh my bloud: hath eternall lyfe, and I will rayse him vp at the last day. If Iudas did eate Chrystes body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat hys flesh, and drynke his bloud, and then is Iudas saued by Christes owne wordes. Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was not christes body, or els that Iudas is saued.

Gage.

Surely these be the verye wordes that M.D. tolde me in mine eare, that you would say to hym.

Wood.

Well, let vs see, how well he can auoyd this argument.

Lang.

Iudas is damned, and yet he eate the body of christ: but he eate it vnworthely, and therefore he is damned:

Wood.

Where finde you that Iudas did eate the bodye of Christ vnworthely?

Lang.

*They be S. Paules wordes. i. Corinth xi. chap.

Wood.

M. Gage, I desire you for gods sake marke my wordes well what I saye. If S. Paule speake anye suche wordes there or in anye other place, if there be anye suche wordes written in al the whole

Bible,* that euer any man eate the bodye of Christ vnworthely, then say that I am the falsest man that euer you heard speake with tongue. But in deede these be the wordes of S. Paule: Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation;*because hee maketh no difference of the Lordes body: that is, because hee presumeth to eat the sacrament of the Lordes body without sayth, making no difference betwixt the sacrament and other bread and drynke: And that is S. Paules meaning, and not that any man doth or can eate the body of Christ * vnworthely. For who soeuer eateth the body of christ, hath euerlasting life, as is aforesayd in the 6. of Iohn. With which wordes one came from them to come to dinner in all the hast.

Gage.

I am sorry. I woulde fayne heare more of this talke but we shall haue an other day wel inough.

Lang.

Nay M. Gage, I will neuer talke with him more: for he is the vnreasonablest man that euer I talked wyth in all my life.

Wood.

Then M. Gage put of hys capp and desired hym y^t he would not refuse to talk w^t me, and that it might not bee greuous to hym. For he sayde: wee wyll seeke al the meanes possible to make him an honest man, and to keepe him from burning, if we coulde. For if my brother and I had not bene, he had bene burned ere this tyme. Thē there was great curtisie betwixt them.

Lang.

Sir, for your sake, & for my mayster your brothers sakes and for his fathers sake,* and other of his fryendes sakes, that haue spoken to me many tymes with weeping teares, I will doe the best to hym that I can: but for no loue nor fauour that I beare to him. I tell you truth.

Gage.

Woodman, you heare what M.D. sayth. When wyl you come agayne?

Wood.

Euen when you will send for me. For I am a prysoner, and cannot come when I woulde. Or if I shoulde desire to come, it will cost me money, and I haue none to geue: but if you send for me, it shall cost me none.

Gage.

Well, I will send for you on Friday or Saterdaye, at the farthest: for to morow I must ride forth of towne & I would fayne heare your talke.

Wood.

Sir I would be very glad you should heare oure talke alway, and I trust in God you shall heare me say no thing, but the word of God shall be my warrant. So M. Gage tooke his leaue and went his way to his lodgyng, which was right in my way as I went vnto prisonward agayne: and when hee came without my Lorde Mountagues gates: there we met with one Hode of Buxted, a Smith. Then sayd M. Gage.

Gage.

Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hode hath brought me in remembraunce of as soone as I saw hym, for hee heard when the tale was tolde me.

Gage.

Hode, did not you heare when Smith of Framfield tolde me that hee sawe Woodman abroad in the Cittie at libertie?

Hoode.

Yea forsooth, that I did.

Gage.

Yea surely, and I was very glad, for I had wel hoped you had bene conformable. But I heard otherwise af^terward agayne, that you had leaue of the keeper to go abroad and speake openly in the streetes, as you went vpp and downe.

Wood.

In deede so the Marshall told me to day.* But in deed I was neuer abroad since I came to prison, but whē I was sent for, and in deede the same time I was abroad with my keeper, comming from the Bysh. and as I was comming, euen not farre from y^e Marshalsey, I saw goodman Smith, stād in a Wayne vnlading of Cheese & I asked him how he did, euen as I went by and neuer stayed for the matter, and therupon it did rise. So I departed frō them, with my keeper to the Marshalsea agayne, where I now am mery I prayse God therefore, as a sheepe appoynted to be slayne.

***The fourthe examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Byshop of Winchester, the Byshop of Rochester, and a certayn Doctour, with diuers other Priests and Gentlemen, the xxv. day of May. Anno. 1557.**

Woodman.

I Was fet from the Marshalsea to the sayd Byshops and Priestes,* sitting in S. Georges Church in Southwark by one of the Marshals men and one of the Sheriffes mē, When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then sayd the Bishop of Winchester.

Winchester.

What is your name?

Wood.

My name is Richard Woodman forsooth?

Winchester.

Ah Woodman, you were taken and apprehended for heresie about a three yeares ago,* and were sente to prison in the kinges Bench, and there remayned a long time. Mine olde Lorde of Chichester, being a learned famous man well knowne in this realme of England, and almost throughout all Christendome. I think came to prison to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him diuers times, trauayling and perswading with you many wayes (because hee was your Ordinary) to plucke you from your heresies that you held, but he coulde by no meanes aduertise you.

Wherupon you were deliuered to the Commissioners and they could do no good with you neyther.* Then they sent you vnto my Lord of Lond. My Lorde of Lond. calling you before him diuers times, labour was made vnto him of your frendes, that you might be released. My Lord hauing a good hope in you, that you woulde become an honest man, because he had heard so of you in tymes past, yea & you your selfe promising him y^t you would go home and recant your heresies that you held, deliuered you: sending also a letter of your recantation to the Commissary y^t he should see it done.* But as soone as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as euer you were, & would neuer fulfill your promise, but haue hid your selfe in the woodes Bushes, Dennes & Caues, and thus haue continued euer since, til it was now of late. Thē y^e Sheriffe of that Shyre (being a worshipfull man) hearing thereof, sent certayn of his mē, & took you in a wood, & so caried you to his house. I cannot tell his name. What is your Sheriffes name?

Wood.

Forsooth his name is sir Edward Gage.

Winc.

Well, you were apprehended for heresie,* and beyng at M. Gages three weekes or more, yee were gentlye entreated there, he and other Gentlemen perswading wyth you diuers tymes, little preuayled.

Then you appealed to the Bishop of Chichester that now is▪ The Sheriffe like a worshipfull man sent you to [Page 1998](#) him, and he hath trauelled with you, and other also, & can do no good with you, whereupon we haue sent for you.

Wood.

Then I spake to him. For I thought he would be long, before hee woulde make an end. I thought hee was a yeare in telling of those lyes y^t he had told there agaynst me already. Yea I kept silence from good wordes: but it was great payne and grieffe vnto me (as Dauid sayd).

At length the fire was so kindled within my hart, that I could not chuse but speake with my tongue: for I feared least any of the company shoulde haue departed or euer I had answered to his lyes, and so the Gospell to haue bene sclaundered by my long silence keeping. So I spake I prayse God therefore, and sayd: my Lorde, I pray you let me now answere for my selfe, for it is time.

Winchest.

I permit you to answere to these things that I haue sayd.

Wood.

I thanke God therfore. And I thinke my self happy (as Paule sayd when hee was brought before king Agrippa) y^t I may this day aunswere for my selfe. My Lord I promise you there is neuer a worde of youre sayinges true that you haue alledged agaynst me.

Winch.

I can not tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I neuer did see you before this day: but I am sure it is not all lyes that I haue sayd,[*](#) as you report:

Wood.

Yes my Lord, there is neuer a true worde of that you sayd. And •urther, where you sayd you neuer sawe me before this day, you haue both heard me, and seene me, I dare say, before this day.

Winchester.

I thinke I heard you in deede on Sondaye where you playd the malapart •ellow: but I cannot tell y^t I sawe you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woodes by the Sheriffes men?

Wood.

No sure, I was taken besides my house, I beyng in my house when they came, wherefore that is not true,

Winchester.

Were not you at the Sheriffes 3. weekes.

Wood.

Yes that I was, a moneth iust, and was gently en^ttreated of him, I can say no otherwise: for I had meat and drinke inough, and fayre wordes.

Winch.

Ah. I am well appayd: it is not all lyes then, as it chaunced. For I spake, but of three weekes, and you confesse a moneth your selfe.

Woodman.

Yet your tale is neuer the truer for that. For you sayd I was there three weekes for heresie, the whiche is not so. For I was not apprehended for heresie at y^e first, neither did mine olde Lorde of Chichester trauayle wyth me to pull me from heresie, as you sayde: for I helde none then, neyther do I now, as God knoweth neither was I sent to the Commissioners nor to the Bishop of London for heresie, neyther was I deliuered to him for anye suche thing, nor promised him to recant, as you sayd I dyd. Wherefore I maruaile you be not ashamed to tel so many lyes, beyng a Byshoppe that should be an ensample to other.

Winch.

Lo, what an arrogant hereticke this same is. He will deny God: * for he that denyeth his owne hand denieth God.

Wood.

My Lord, iudge not least you be iudged yourselfe. For as you haue iudged me, you shalbe iudged, if you repent not. And if I haue set my hand to anye recantation, let it be seene to my shame, before this audience: For I wil neuer deny myne owne hand, by Gods helpe.

Win.

It is not here now, but I thinke it will be had wel enough: but if it cannot be found, by whom will you bee tryed.

Wood.

Euen by my Lord of London: for he delt like a good man with me in that matter that I was sente to pryson for.

For it was vppon the breache of a Statute, as Mayster Sheriffe here can tell.* For he was Sheriffe then, as hee is now, & can tell you how I was tossed vp and downe, frō Sessions to Sessions: and because I would not consent y^t I had offended therein, they sent me to prison agayn.

Then my Lorde of Chichester being myne Ordinary, and I being his tenaunt: came to me, to perswade wyth me that I should haue consented,* to them, and to finde my selfe in fault, where I was in none. To y^e which I would not agree, but I desired him that he would see me released of my wrong but he said he could not, but willed me or my frendes to speake to the Commissioners for me, because it was a temporall matter:* and when I came before them, they sent me to my Lord of London, and my Lord of London was certified by the handes of almost thirty mē, both Esquiers, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chieftest in all the country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in y^t matter that I was sent to prison for. Whereupon he deliuered me, not willing me to recant heresies, for I helde none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor I knowe not wherefore I was sent to prison, no more then anye man here knoweth: for I was taken away from my worke.*

Winch.

No? wherefore appealed you then to my Lorde of Chichester, if it were not for heresie?

Wood.

Because there was layde to my charge that I had Baptised children, and married folkes, the whiche I neuer did, for I was no where Minister. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinarye, to purge my selfe thereof as I haue. Wherefore if any man haue any thing agaynst me, let them speake, for I came not hither to accuse my selfe, neyther will I.

Winch.

Mayster Sheriffe, can you tell vpon what breache of Statute he was sent to prison first?

The Sheriffe.

Yea forsooth my Lord that I can.

Wood.

My Lord, if you will geue me leaue, I will shewe you the whole matter.

Winch.

Nay, M. Sheriffe, I pray you tell the matter, seeing you know it.

The Sheriffe.

My Lord it was for speaking to a Curate in the Pulpit, as I remember.

Winc.

Ah, like enough, that he would not sticke to reprove a Curate.* For did you not see how he fashioned himselfe to speake to me in the Pulpit on Sondag? You played y^e maliperte fellowe with me, and therefore it was no great maruell though he played that part with an other.

Woodman.

Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure. For we spake for no other cause, but to purge oure selues of those heresies that you layd to our charge. For these were your wordes: Good people, these men that bee brought before vs, being here, deny Christ to be God,* and the holy Ghost to be GOD (poynting to vs with youre left hand) the whiche might seeme to the whole audience, that you ment vs all. Wherefore to cleare our selues therof, we spake, and sayd we held no such thing. And you sayd you would cut out our tongues. But I am sure you haue no such law.

Win.

Yes, that we haue, if you blaspheme, and as it chaunced, I found such amongst you.

Wood.

In deede, after we spake, you declared who they were, but not before, for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged ourselues.

Winch.

But I pray you, how can you purge your selfe for speaking to the Curate that it is not heresie?*

Wood.

Forsooth these be the wordes of the Statute: Who soeuer doth interrupt anye preacher or preachers, lawfully authorised by the Queenes Maiestie, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that all such shall suffer three monthes imprisonment,* and furthermore be brought to the quarter Sessions, there (being sory for the same) to be released vpon his goodabering one whole yeare. But I had not so offended as it was well proued. For hee that I spake too, was not lawfully authorised, nor hadde not put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawfull for him to preache by your owne lawe, and therefore I brake not the Statute, though I spake to him.

Winch.

I am glad. I perceave thys man speaketh against Priestes Maryages, hee is not contented with Pryestes that haue wiues. He is honestest man,* then I tooke hym for, M. Sheriffe, haue him away. I am glad he loueth not Priestes Mariages.

Wood.

Then I would haue aunswere to hys sayinges, but he would in no wise heare me, but bad y^e Sheriffe haue me away. So the Sheriffe took me by the hand, & plucked me away, and would not let me speake, but goyng out of the Chauncell dore, I sayd: I would shew him the whole matter, if he would haue geuen me leaue, but seeing he wil not, if he will let me go so, they shall see whether I wyll not goe home to my wife and children, and keepe them as my bounden duety is, by the helpe of God. So I was sent to the Marshalsea agayne, where I now am mery, I prayse God therefore, as a sheepe appoynted to be slayne.

Moreouer, I was credibly enformed by one of oure brethren that heard our talke, that the Byshop sayd when I was gone, y^t they would take me whilst I was somewhat good. Which wordes seemed to many of the people that were there, that I spake agaynst priestes Maryages, but I did not, but did not onely aunswere to suche questyons as he asked me, as you shall perceave wel by y^e words if you marke them, which wordes were these.

How can you purge your self from heresie, for talking to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offende the Statute, sayd the Bishops? meaning thereby I thinke to haue taken vauntage of my wordes: but it was not Gods will y^t he should at that tyme. For I aunswere hym by y^e words of the Statute, which wordes bee as hereafter followeth (that is): whosoeuer doth interrupt any preacher, or preachers lawfully authorised by the Queenes Maiestie, or by any other lawfull Ordinary, that all such shall suffer three monthes imprisonment. But I proued that this mā was [Page 1999](#) not lawfully authorised to preach (by their owne law) because he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no Priest may say Masse, nor preach with the Masse, but he must first be separated from his wife. That is because honest Maryages be good and commendable,* and theyrs nought and abhominable, therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now, I geue you al to vnderstand, that I did not reprove this Priest he cause he had a wife, but because hee taught false doctrine, which greeued my soule, because hee had bene a feruent Preacher agaynst the Masse and all the Idolatry therof seuen yeares before, and then came & held with it agayne: for the which cause I reprovde him in the Pulpit. And the words that I spake to him are written in diuers of my examinations of my first imprisonment for that same.* But in very deede, I knew not of the Statute when I reprovde him. But because I was sent to prison vpon the breache of it, I bought a Statute booke, & when I had perused it, I perceiue I had not offended by theyr owne lawe: and therefore still when I was called to aunswere, I aunswere them with their owne lawe. But yet they kept me in prison a yeare and almost three quarters or euer I was released. I was at mine aunswere for that eighteen times. If any thinke I doe not allow Bishoppes and priestes mariages, let them looke in my first examination before the Bishop of Chichester that nowe is, duryng this my imprisonment, and there they shall finde what I haue found in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be cōdemned with my brother that same day. But we may also see that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I trust in God, I shall runne that ioyfull race that my brethren haue done. Thus I commit you all

into the handes of God, who is y^e preseruer, defender, and keeper of all his electe for euermore. Amen.

***The fift examination of Richard Woodman, had before the Bishop of Winchester, the Archdeacon of Cant. Doct. Langdale, with a fat headed Priest and other whose names I know not, with certain also of the Cōmissioners, at S. Maryes Oueries church in Southwarke, in the presence, of three C. people at the least, the xv. day of Iune. An. 1557.**

Winchester.

*Woodman, you were before vs the last day and would not be acknowne in any wise that you were sent to prison for heresie, and called for your accusers and stode stoutly in defending of your selfe, and in youre departing I had thought you had spoken agaynst priestes Mariages, thinking by youre wordes wee shoulde haue found you an honest man, and conformable when we had called you before vs agayne. You tolde such a fayre tale for your selfe, as though you had bene free from all that was layd to your charge. For you sayde it was all lyes that I tolde agaynst you: but since I haue proued the contrarye, as here is your owne hand to shew. By the which I haue proued that you reprobued not the priest for lacking of authoritie, and because he had not put away his wife, but because you liked not hys preaching. For in deede I tooke it that you reprobued him for because hee was not lawfully authorised, but I haue proued the contrary since.

Wood.

I told you not that I did either reproue hym for lacke of authoritie, or because I liked not his preachynge, but I told you wherefore I was first sent to prison. For you sayd I was sēt to prison for heresie, & made a long tale agaynst me. And in deede I told you that there was neuer a word of your saynges true, but was all lyes, as it was in deed. For I neuer was sent to prison for heresie, neither held I any then, nor do now. I take heauen and earthe to witnesse, but I tolde you I was sent to prison vppon the breach of a Statute, which was for speaking to a Priest in the Pulpit, and for that cause the Iustices of that country had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me be'fore them, and would haue had me to haue bene bound to my good abearing, and because I refused it, they sent me to prisō. And these be y^e wordes of the Statute, as I told you y^e last day. If any man do interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorised by the Queenes Maiestie, or by any other lawfull Ordinary;*that then euery partie that so offendeth, shall suffer three monthes imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter Sessions, and there being sorye for the the same, aad also bound for his good abearing, one whole yeare, to be released, or els to remayne to prison agayne.

And when I was in prison, I bought a Statute book which when I had perused ouer,* I founde by the wordes therof that I had not offēded, because he was not lawfully authorised, as the Bishop of London was certified by the handes almost of xxx. men: both Esquiers, Gentlemen and Yeomen, the chieftest in all that Countrey. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the Statute took no place on me, as I told you the other daye. Wherefore my Lord of London seeing me hauing so muche wrong, dyd like a good man to me in that matter, & released me. Now when I had tolde you this matter, you bad the Sheriffe haue me away: You sayd you were glad I h•lde agaynst Priestes Mariages, because I aunswered to the question you asked me.

The fat Priest.

My Lord, do you not heare what he sayth by my Lord of London? ^{*} He sayth he is a good man in that he released him, but he meaneth that hee is good in nothyng els.

Wood.

What? can you tell what I meane? let euerye man say as he findeth: he did iustly to me in that matter. I saye if he be not good in any thing els, as you say, he shal aunswere for it, and not I: for I haue nothing to doe wyth others mens matters.

Winc.

Well, how say you? howe liked you his preaching? I pray you tell vs.

Wood.

That is no matter how I liked it. How soeuer I liked it, I offended not the Statute. ^{*} Wherefore you haue nothing to say to me for that I am sure.

Winc.

Well, how like you this then? Here is youre owne hand writing: I am sure you will not denye it. Will you looke on it?

Wood.

It is mine owne handy worke in deede, the which by Gods helpe I will neuer denye, nor neuer did yet, I prayse God therefore.

Winchester.

And heare is good geare I tell you. I praye you harken wel to it: these be the wordes, before the Commissioners. How say you? Doe you not beleue, as soone as the wordes be spoken by the Priest, that there remayneth neyther bread nor wyne, but onely the verye bodye of Christ, both flesh and bloud as he was borne of the virgine Mary? these were the wordes of the Commissioners.

And then thou saydest: thou durst not saye otherwise then the scripture sayth. ^{*} I cannot finde (sayde you) that it is the body of Christ before it is receaued by fayth, bringing in the xxii. of Luke, saying: Christ sayde, take, eate, this is my body: so I cannot proue that it is his bodye before it is eaten. Then sayd the Commissioners: did not Iudas eate Christes body? And if you can proue that Iud^s is saued (sayd you) I must graunt that he eate his body. For christ sayth in the sixt of Iohn: Who so eateth my fleshe and drynketh my bloud, hath eternall lyfe, and I will

rayse hym vp at the last day: which words prooue (said you) that if Iudas eate the body of Christ, he must needes be saued. How say you now? did Iudas eate the body of Christ, or no?

Wood.

Then I perceiued they went about nothyng but to catch words of me in his Dioces, to condemn me with.* Though I should confound him neuer so much, I perceiued that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I answered and sayd:

I will answer you to no such thing, for I am none of your Dioces: Wherefore I will not answer to you.

Winchester.

Thou art within my Diocesse, and thou hast offended within my Dioces: and therefore I will haue to do with thee.

Wood.

Haue to do with me and you will:* but I wil haue nothing to do with you. I tell you plainly: For though I be now in your Dioces, I haue not offended in your dioces: if I haue, shew me wherein.

Winc.

Mary here is thine owne hand writyng, the which thou affirmedst in my Dioces.

Wood.

I do not deny, but it is myne owne hand writing: but that prooueth neuer the more that I haue offended in your Diocesse: for that doth but declare what talke there was betwixt the Commissioners and me, the which you haue nothing to do withall.

Winchest.

No? hold hym a booke, and thou shalt sweare, whether thou holdest it now or not, & whether thou wrotest it not in my Dioces, as I thinke thou didst: Lay thy hand on the booke.

Wood.

I wil not be sworne for you:* for I am not of your Dioces, and therefore you haue nothyng to doe with mee. And as for the writing of that same, I neuer wrote worde of it in your Dioces.

Lang.

No? did you not? my Lord let me see: I wyll finde where you wrote it.

Wood.

Then he tooke it & looked on it, and anone he found that I was sent for out of the Kings bench, to come before the Commissioners.

Lang.

My Lord, here you may see it was in the Kinges Bench, the which is in your Dioces.

Wood.

Although I were fet out of the Kings Bench, that [Page 2000](#) prooueth not that I wrote it there, nor I did not, I promise you truly.

The fat Priest.

Where wrote you it then?

Wood.

Nay, I owe you not so much seruice to tell you: find it out as well as you can: For I perceiue you go about to shed my bloud.

Winchester.

It is no great matter where it was written: it is here, and he denyeth not but he wrote it. You shall heare more of it. Here the Commissioners asked you whether Iudas did eate any more thē bare bread, and you answered, that he eate more then bare bread.

Whereupon they sent you away backe to the Kynges Bench agayne, and asked you not what more, for y^e whiche cause (as you haue written here) you had a hell burnyng in your conscience.* For you had thought they would haue sent a discharge to the Kinges Benche, and so let me goe (sayd you) and Register my name in their bookes, that I had graunted that Iudas did eate the body of Christe, and so the Gospell should haue bene slaundered by me. For the which cause I was in such case, I could scantly eat, drink, or sleepe for that space, as all my prison fellowes can testifie. If al you (I say) that go to the Church of Sathan, and there heare the detestable doctrine, that they spit, and spue out in their Churches, and Pulpits to the great dishonor of God, if all you (I say) that come there, hadde such a hell burning in your conscience for the time, as I hadde till I came before thē agayne & had vttered my conscience, more playnely. I dare saye you would come there no more. All this is your writing is it not? how say you?

Woodman.

I do not deny, but it was mine owne deed.

Winch.

And I pray you, where is there such spitting and spuing out of false doctrine as you speake of?

Wood.

In the sinagogue of Sathan, where God is dishonoured with false doctrine.

Winc.

And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood.

Nay, that iudge your selfe: I came not hether to be a iudge.

Winc.

Wel, here you haue affirmed that Iudas (your M.) eate more then bread: but yet he eate not the body of Christ as you haue declared by your wordes. For you had a hell burning in your conscience, because you were in doubt, y^t the commissioners vnderstoode by your wordes y^t Iudas had eaten the body of Chryst, because you sayd, he eat more then bread. Therefore thou haddest a great sorte of Deuils in thee, for in hell he many Deuils: and therefore y^e Deuil, and Iudas is thy mayster, by thyne owne wordes.

Wood.

Nay, I defie Iudas, and the Deuill, and his seruauntes: for they bee youre maysters and you serue them, for any thing that I can see, I tell you truth.

Winchest.

Nay, they bee thy maysters.* For y^e deuill is mayster wher hell is, and thou saydest thou hadst a hell burning in thee. I pray thee tell me howe thou canst auoyde it but that the Deuill was in thee by thine owne saying.

Wood.

The hell that I hadde, was the louing correction of GOD toward me, to call me to repentance that I should not offend God and his people in leauing thinges so darke, as I left that. For y^e whiche cause, my consciēce bare me record I had not done wel, as at al times I haue felte the sting of it when I haue broken the commaundemēts of God by any meanes, as al gods people do, I dare say, and it is the louing kindnes of god towards them, to driue them to repentaunce. But it is to be thought that your conscience is neuer troubled, how wickedly soeuer you do. For if it were, it

shoulde not be so straunge to you as you make it, which declareth playnely whose seruaunt you be.

Winch.

What a naughty fellow is this? This is such a per'uerse villayne as I neuer talked with in all my lyfe. Hold him a booke, I will make him sweare, to aunswere dyrectly to such thinges, as I will demaund of him: and if he will not aunswere, I will condemne him.

Wood.

*Call you me a fellow? I am suche a fellowe, I tell you, that will driue you all to hell if you consent to the shedding of my bloud, and you shall haue bloud to drynke as sayd S. Iohn in his Reuelation the ix. chapter and being in hell, you shall be compelled to say for payne of conscience: this is the man that we had in derision, & thought his life madnes, and his ende to be without honour, but now we may see how he is counted among the sayntes of God, and wee are punished. This shall you see in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemne me. This you shall finde in the fift chapter of the booke of wisdom, & therefore take heede what you doe, I geue you counsell.

Winchester.

Wisdom? What speakest thou of wisdom? thou neuer haddest it: for thou art as very a •oole as •uer I heard speake.

Wood.

Do you not know that the foolish things of this world must confound the wise things? * Wherefore it greeueth me not to be called a foole at your hand.

Winchest.

Nay thou art none of those fooles: thou art an obstinate foole, and an heretike. Lay hand on the booke, and aunswere to suche thynges as I wyll laye agaynst thee.

Woodman.

I will not laye hand on the booke for none of you all, You be not my Byshop, and therefore I wil haue nothing to do with you.

Winch.

I wyll haue to doe with you. * This man is with out law, he careth not for the king nor Queene, I dare say for he will not obey theyr lawes. Let me see the Kynges Commission. I will see whether hee will obey that or not.

Wood.

I would you loued the king and Queenes Maiesty, no worse then I do, if it pleased God: You would not do as you doe then.

Winch.

Holde him a booke, he is a ranke hereticke. Thou shalt aunswere to suche thynges as I wyll demaund of thee.

Wood.

I take heauen and earth to recorde I am no hereticke, neither can I tell wherfore I am brought to prison, no more then any man can here tel, and therwith I looked round about on the people, and sayde to the Bishoppe: If you haue any iust cause agaynst me, worthy of death •ay it agaynst me, and let me haue it: for I refuse not to dye (I praise God) for the truthe sake, if I hadde x. liues. If you haue no cause let me goe home (I pray you) to my wife & children to see them kept, and other poore folk y^t I would set a worke by the helpe of God. I haue set a worke a hundreth persons ere this, all the yeare together, and was vniustly taken from them: but God forgeue them that dyd it if it be his will.

Winchester.

Do you not see how he looketh about for help: But I would see any man shewe thee a cheerefull countenance, and especially you that be of my Dioces.* If any of you bid God strengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or shew hym a chearefull countenance, you shall be excommunicated, and shall not bee receaued in agayne, till you haue done open penance, and therefore beware of it.

Wood.

I looke for no helpe of men, for God is on my side I prayse him therefore, and therefore I neede not not care who be agaynst me, neither do I care.

Then they cryed: away with him, and bring vs an other. So I was caryed agayne to y^e Marshalsea, where I am now mery (I prayse God therfore) as a sheep appointed to be slayne. But for lack of time, I haue left out much of our talke, but this is the chieftest of it.

¶The 6. and last examinations of Richard Woodman written and copyed with his owne hand.

BE it knowne vnto all men by this present writing that I Richard Woodman, sometime of the parishe of Warbelton, in the County of Sussex: was condemned for gods euerlasting truth an. 1557. Iuly. 16^a by the byshop of Winchester, in the churche of S. Mary Oueries in Southwarke, there sitting with him the same time the byshop of Chichester, the Archdeacon of Caunterbury

Doctor Langdale, M. Roper with a fatte headed Priest, I cannot tell his name All these consented to the shedding of my bloud, vpon this occasion, as here after followeth.

I affirmed that Iudas receaued the sacrament with a sop and the Deuill withall, and because I would not bee sworne vppon a booke to aunswere directly to suche Articles as hee would declare to me: and because I would not beleue that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of consecration and that the body of Christ could not be receaued of any but of the faithfull. For these Articles I was condemned, as hereafter shal follow more at large, by the help of God.

First, the Bishop sayd when I came before him.

Win.

You were before vs on Monday last past: [*](#) & there you affirmed certayne heresies. Howe say you now? Doe you hold them still, or will you reuoke them?

Wood.

I held no heresy then, neyther do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Win.

No? did you not affirme, that Iudas receiued bread? which is no heresy, vnlesse you tell what more then bread.

Wood.

Is it heresy to say that Iudas receiued more then bread? I sayd he receaued more then bare bread: for he receiued [Page 2001](#) the Sacrament, that was prepared to shewe foorth the Lordes death: and because he presumed to eat without sayth, he eat the deuill withall, as the wordes of Christ declare: after he eate the soppe, the Deuill entred into hym, as you cannot deny.

Winc.

Hold him a booke. I will haue you aunswere dyrectly whether Iudas did eate the body of Christ, or no.

Wood.

[*](#)I will answere no more: for I am not of your Dioces: wherfore I will haue nothing to do with you.

Winc.

No, you be in my Dioces, and you be of my Dioces because you haue offended in my Dioces.

Wood.

I am not of your Dioces, although I am in your Dioces: and I was brought into your Dioces against my will: and I haue not offended in your Dioces: if I haue, tell me wherein.

Winchester.

Here is your owne hand writing, the whiche is heresie.* These be the wordes. I cannot find (say you) y^t it is the body of christ to any, before it be receiued in faith. How say you? is not this your owne hand writing?

Wood.

Yea, I do not deny but it is mine owne hand wryting: but when, or where was it written, or where wer the wo•des spoken?

Before the Commissioners: and here is one of them: Maister Roper,* the words were spoken before you. Were they not?

Roper.

Yes in deed, that they were Woodman. I am sure you will not deny them: for you haue written the wordes euen as you spake them.

Wood.

No sir, in deed I will not deny but that I spake thē and I am glad that you haue seene it. For you may see by that whether I lye or not.

Roper.

*In deede the wordes be written word by word as we spake them.

Winchest.

Well, here you affirme y^t it is your owne deede. How say you now? Will you be sorie for it, and become an honest man?

Wood.

My Lord, I trust no man can say, but that I am an honest manne: and as for that, I maruell that you wil lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lorde of London dyscharged me of all matters that were layde agaynst me, when I was released of him.

Winc.

You were released▪ and it might fortune, it was not layd to your charge then: * therefore we lay it to your charge now because you be suspected to be an hereticke: and wee may call you before vs, and examine you vpon your faith vpon suspicion.

Wood.

In deede S. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I haue in God, and I am contented so to do, if it please my Bishop to heare me.

Chichester.

Yes I pray you let vs heare it.

Wood.

I do beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauē & of earth, and of al things visible & inuisible, and in one Lord Iesus christ, my sauour very God and man. I beleue in God the holy Ghost, the comforter of al Gods elect people, and that he is equall with the father, and the sonne I beleue the true Catholicke church, and all the sacraments that belongeth thereto. Thus I haue rendered accompt of my hope that I haue of my saluation.

Winch.

And how beleue you in the blessed sacrament of the aulter? * And with that word they all put of their cappes to that abhominable Idoll.

Wood.

I pray you be contented: for I will not aunswere to any mo questions: for I perceauē you go about to shed my bloud.

Winch.

No, hold him a booke. If he refuse to sweare, he is an Anabaptist, * and shall be excommunicated.

Wood.

I will not sweare for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meete to take an oth, for you laid heresies to my charge in yonder pulpite, the whiche you are not able to proue: wherfore you bee not meete to take an othe of any man. And as for me, I am not of your Dyoces, nor will haue any thing to doe with you.

Winchester.

I will haue to do with thee: and I saye thou art a strong hereticke.

Wood.

Yea, all trueth is heresie with you: but I am content to shew you my minde,* how I beleue on the sacramēt of y^e body and bloud of Iesus Christe, without flattering. For that you looke for, I am sure. But I will meddle no •urther: But what I holde my selfe of it. I will not meddle of any other mans beliefe on it.

N Harp.

Why? I am sure al mens fayth ought to be alike.

Wood

Yea, I graunt you so, that all true Christians faith ought to be alike. But I will aunswere for my selfe.

N. Harp.

Well, let vs heare what you say to it.

Wood.

I do beleue that when I come to receaue the Sacrament of y^e body and bloud of Iesus Christ, if it be truly ministred according to Christes institutiō,* I comming in fayth, as I truste in God I will, whensoever I come to receiue it, I beleuing that Christ was borne for me: & that he suffered death for the remission of my sinnes, and that I shalbe saued by his death and bloud shedding, and so receaue the Sacramente of bread and wine in that remembraunce, that then I doe receiue whole Christ, God and man, mystically, by fayth. This is my beliefe on the sacrament.

Then they spake all at once, saying:* mystically by faythe The fat prieste. What a foole art thou? mystically by faythe thou canst not tell what mystically is?

Wood

If I be a foole, so take me:* But God hathe chosen such fooles of this world to confound such wife things as you are.

The fat priest.

I pray thee what is mystically?*

Wood.

I take mystically to be the fayth that is in vs, that the world seeth not, but God onely.

Winch.

He cannot tell what he sayth. Aunswere to the Sacrament of the aulter, whether it be not the body of Christ before it bee receaued, and whether it be not the bodye of Christ to whom soeuer receaueth it. Tell me, or els I will excommunicate thee.

Wood.

I haue sayd as much as I will say: excommunicate me if you will.* I am none of your Dioces The Bishop of Chichester is mine Ordinary. Let him do it, if you will needs haue my bloud, that it may be required at his hāds.

Chichest.

I am not consecrated yet, I tolde you when you were with me.

Wood.

No in deede, your kine bringe foorth nothing but Cow calues, as it chaunceth now: Meaning thereby that he had not his Bulles from Rome.

Then they were al in a great rage with me, and called me al to nought, and sayd I was out of my w•t, because I spake feruently to euey mans question: all the whiche I cannot remember: but I sayd:

So Festus sayd to Paule when he spake the words of sobernes and truth out of the spirite of God, as I do. But as ye haue iudged me, you be your selues. You will go to hell all the sorte of you, if you condemne me, if you repent i• not with speede.

Wood.

Then my keeper and the Sheriffes deputie Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharpely to them.* And I sayde: I praye you let me alone: I aunswere for my life.

Then there was mucche adoe, that I shoulde keepe silence, and so I held my peace. Then spake the Bishop of Winchester and the Archdeacon of Caunterbury, saying: we go not about to condemne thee, but goe aboute to saue thy soule, if thou wilt be ruled ane doe as we would haue thee.

Wood.

To saue my soule? nay you can not saue my soule. My soule is saued already, I praise God therefore. There can no man saue my soule, but Iesus Christ: and hee it is that hath saued my soule before the foundation of y^t would was layd.

The fat Priest.

What an heresie is that my Lorde? * here is an heresie. He sayth hys soule was saued before the foundations we•e layd. Thou canst not tell what thou saiest. Was thy soule saued before it was?

Wood.

Yes I prayse God, I can tell what I say, & I say y^e truth. Looke in the first of the Ephesians, and there you shall finde it, where Paule sayth: Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ * whiche hath bless•d vs with all maner of spirituall blessings in heauenly thinges by Christ, according as hee hath chosen vs in himselfe before the foundation of the earth was layd, that we shuld be holy and without blame before him, through loue, and thereto were wee pred•stinated. * These be the wordes of Paule, and I beleue they be moste true. And therefore it is my fayth, in and by Iesus Christe that saueth, and not you or any man els.

The fat priest.

What? fayth without workes? Saint Iames sayth: faythe without workes is dead, and wee haue free will to do good workes.

Wood.

I would not that any of you should think that I do disallow good workes. * For a good fayth cannot be w^tout good works. Yet not of our selues, but it is the gift of God, as sayth S. Paule to the Phillippians, the 2. Chapt. It is God that worketh in vs both the wil and also the deed, euen of good will.

Winchester.

Make an ende: aunswere to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of Caunterbury: * hee is made your Ordinary by my Lord Cardinall: and he hath autho'ritie to examine you of your fayth vppon a booke, to aunswere to such Articles as he will laye to you. And I praye you refuse it not: for the daunger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you shew your selfe a subiect in this matter.

Then they spake al, and said: loe, my Lord desireth you gently to aunswere to him, and so we do all. For if you refuse to take an othe, hee may excommunicate you. For my [Page 2002](#) Lord Cardinall may put whom he wil in the Bishops office, vntill he is consecrated.

Wood.

I know not so much. If you will geue me time to learne the trueth of it (if I can proue it be as you saye) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demaūd of me, without any flattering.

Priest.

My Lord and all we tell thee it is true: & therefore aunswere to him.

Wood.

I will beleue none of you all, for you be turne coates,* & chaungelinges, & be wauering minded, as sayth S. Iames: you be neither hoate nor colde, as sayth S. Iohn, therfore God will spue you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can beleue none of you all, I tell you truth.

Winchest.

What? be we turne coates and chaungelinges? what meanest thou by that?

Wood.

I meane that in king Edwardes time you taught the doctrine that was set forth then, euery one of you, and now you teach the contrary: and therfore I call you turne coates, and chaungelinges, as I may well enough. Which wordes made the most part of them to quake.

Winc.

Nay, not all, as it chaunced.

Wood

No? I pray you where were you then?

Winch.

I was in the Tower, as the Lieutenaunt wyll beare me record.

Wood.

If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare say: it was for some other matter.

Thē they tooke all hart of grace, and sayd: my Lord, he cōmeth to examine you, we think: if he will not answere to the Articles, you were best to excommunicate him.

Winch.

He is the naughtiest verlet hereticke, that euer I knew. I will read the sentence agaynst him.

Wood.

*Then they spake all at once: and I answered then as fast as I could. But I can not remember it all, the wordes came out so thicke, & that I spared them not (I prayse God therfore) for I spake freely.

Then they that stood by, rebuked me, & sayd: you cā not tell to whom you speake I thinke.

Wood.

No? thinke you so? they be but men, I am sure I haue spoken to as good as they bee, and better then they will euer be, for any thing that I can see, if they repent not with speed.

Winc.

*Geue eare: for I will read sentence agaynst you.

Wood.

Will you so? wherefore will you? you haue no iuste cause to excommunicate me: and therefore if you doe condemne me you wilbe condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I prayse God. I am not afrayd to dye for Gods sake, if I had a hundred liues.

Winch.

For Gods sake? nay for the Deuilles sake. Thou sayest thou art not afrayde to dye: No more was Iudas that hanged himselfe, as thou wilt kill thy selfe wilfully, be'cause thou wilt not be ruled.

Wood.

Nay, I defye the deuill, Iudas and all their members. And Iudas flesh was not afrayd, but his spirite and conscience was afrayde, and therefore despayred, and hong himselfe. But I prayse God, I feele no lothsomnes in my flesh to dye, but a ioyfull conscience and a willing mynde thereto. Wherefore my flesh is subdued to it, I prayse God: and therefore I am not afrayd of death.

Chichester.

Woodman, for Gods sake be ruled. You know what you sayd to me at my house. I coulde say more if I would.

Wood.

*Say what you can: the most fault that you founde in me was, because I praysed the liuing God, and because I sayd, I prayse God, and the Lorde: which you ought to be ashamed of, if you haue any grace, for I told you where the wordes were written.

Winc.

Well: how say you? will you confesse that Iudas receiued the body of Christ vnworthely? tell me playnely.

Wood.

*My Lord, if you, or any of you all can proue before all this audience, in all the bible, that any man euer eat the body of Christ vnworthely, then I will be with you in all thinges that you will demaund of me: of the which matter I desire all this people to be witnes.

Priest.

Will you so? then we shall agree well enough, S. Paule sayth so.

Woodman.

I pray you where sayeth he so? rehearse the wordes.

Priest▪

In the xi. of the first to the Corinthians, he sayeth: Who so eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup vnworthely, *eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lordes body.

Wood.

Doth these wordes proue that Iudas eat the body of Christ vnworthely? I pray you let me see them. They were contēted. Then said I: these be the wordes euen that you sayd. * Good people, harken well to them: Who so eateth of this bread, & drinketh of this cup vnworthely: He sayth not, who so eateth of this body vnworthely, or drinketh of this bloude vnworthely. But hee sayeth: Who so eateth of this bread, *and drinketh of this cuppe vnworthely (which is the sacrament) eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, because he maketh no difference of the sacrament which representeth the Lordes body, and other bread and drinke. Here good people, you may all see they are not able to proue their sayinges true. Wherefore I can not beleue them in any thing that they do.

Winc.

Thou art a rancke hereticke in deed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence agaynst thee.

Wood.

Iudge not leaste you be iudged. For as you haue iudged me, you be your selfe. Then he read the Sentence.* Why, sayd I? Will you read the Sentence agaynst me, and can not tell wherfore.?

Winc.

Thou art an hereticke, and therefore thou shalt be excommunicated.

Wood.

I am no heretick, I take heauē & earth to witnes, I defie all heretickes: and if you condemne me, you wilbe damned, if you repēt it not. But God geue you grace to re'pent all if it be his will:* and so he read forth the sentence in latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be iudge betwene thē & me. Whē he had done, I would haue talked my mind to thē, but they cried away, away w^t hym. So I was caried to y^e Marshalsea againe, where I am, & shalbe as long as it shall please God: & I prayse god most hartely, y^t euer he hath elected, & predestinated me to come to so high dignity, as to beare rebuke for his names sake: his name be praysted therfore, for euer and euer. Amen.

And thus haue you the Examinations of thys blessed Woodman, or rather Goodman: wherein may appeare as well the great grace and wisdom of God in that man, as also the grosse ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his aduersaries, especially of Doct. White bishop of Winchester. Now foloweth likewise the effect of his Letter.

A godly Letter of Richard Woodman written to a Christian woman Mistres Robertes of Hawkhurst.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from hys sonne our alone Sauour Iesus Christe, by the operation and working of the holy Ghost, be multiplied plenteously vpon you (deare sister Robertes) that you may the more ioyfully beare the crosse of Christ that ye are vnder, vnto the end, to your onely, cōfort and consolation, and to all our brethren and sisters that are round about you, both now and euer. Amen.

In my most humble wise I commend me vnto you, and to al our brethren and sisters in those parties, that loue our Lorde vnfaynedly, certifying you that I and all my brethren with me,* are mery and ioyfull, we prayse God therfore, looking daily to be dissolued frō these our mortall bodyes, according to the good pleasure of our heauenly father: praying God also for your cōstancy, and gentle beneuolence,* that you haue shewed vnto Gods electe people, in this troublesome time of persecution: which may be a sure pledge and token of Gods good will and fauour towardes you, and to all other that heare thereof. For blessed are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercy.* Wherfore the fruites declare alway what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of theyr hartes bring forth good thinges.

Wherfore deare Sister, it is not as many affirme in these dayes (the more it is to be lamented) that say God asketh,* but a mās hart: which is the greatest iniury that can be deuised agaynst god and his word. For S. Iames sayth: Shew me thy faith by the deeds, and I will shew thee my fayth by my deedes, saying: the deuilles haue fayth, and tremble for feare, & yet shalbe but deuils still,

because theyr minds were neuer to do good.* Let vs not therfore be like them, but let our fayth be made manifest to the whole world by our deedes: and in the midst of a crooked and peruerse nation, as S. Paule sayth, let your light shine as in a darcke place.

Oh deare hartes, nowe is the Gospell of God ouerwhelmed with many blacke and troublesome cloudes of persecution, for the which cause very few go about to haue their eies made clere by the true light of the Gospell, for feare of loosing of their treasures of this world which are but vayne, and shall perish.

Let not vs therfore be like vnto them which light their candle and put it vnder a bushell: but let vs set our candle vpon a cādlesticke, that it may geue light vnto all thē that are in the house:* that is to saye, let all the people of the housholde of God see our good workes, in suffering all thinges patiently that shalbe layde vpon vs for the Gospels sake, if it be death it selfe. For Christ dyed for vs, leauing vs an example, that we should follow his steps, and as he hath geuen his life for vs, so ought we to geue our liues for the defence of the Gospell, to the comfort of our brethren.

How is it then that some will say, that theyr fayth is good, & yet they do all the deedes of Antichrist the deuill,* and be not ashamed to alledge certayne Scriptures to mayntaine their wickednesse? Saynt Paule sayth: To beleue with the hart iustifieth, & to confesse with the mouth maketh a man safe. Oh good GOD: here maye all menne see that no man or woman can haue a true [Page 2003](#) faith,* vnlesse they haue deedes also: and he that doubteth, is like the waues of the Sea tossed about of the winde, and can looke for no good thing at the Lordes handes. Maye not a man iudge all such to be like those whiche Saynt Iohn speaketh of, that be neyther hoate nor colde,* and therfore God will (he sayth) spue them out of his mouth? If we iudge euill of such, haue not they geuen vs occasion? Had it not bene better for them to haue had a myll stone tyed about theyr necks, and to haue bene cast into the Sea, then they should geue such offences to Gods elect people in cōdemning them as they doe,* in going to the sinagogue of Sathan, and there to receiue the marke of the beast, in that they see and heare God blasphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow theyr doinges to be good? and these do not only defile themselues, but also be an occasion to confirme the Papistes in theyr Papistry, and so be an occasion of our weake brothers falling, the which will be all required at theyr handes: which will be to heauy a burden for them to beare,* if they repent it not with speed. For they that know theyr Maysters will & doe it not, shalbe beaten with many stripes Oh, do not we perceiue that now is the acceptable time that Christe speaketh of yea euen now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, so that euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruites now,* must be hewed downe and cast into the fire.

Now is the Lord come with his fanne in his hand, to trie the wheate from the chaffe. The wheat he will gather into his barne, and the chaffe hee will burne as is aforesayde. Nowe is the time come,* that we muste goe meete the bridgrome with oyle in our Lampes. We are also bidden to the feast: let vs make no excuses. Yea, our Maister hath deliuered his talentes vnto vs: God geue vs grace to occupy them well, that at his comming he may receiue his owne with vauntage. Yea nowe is the Lorde come to see if there be any fruit vpon his trees, so that if the Lord come & find none, he will serue vs as he did the wilde figge trees, that is, neuer fruit shall grow on him more.* Also, if we goe to meete the bridegrome without oyle in our lāpes, & should go to buy: the doubt is, we should be serued as was the foolishe virgins: that was, God sayd to thē depart,* I

know you not. Or if we should make excuses to come to the feast, other shalbe biddē in our roomes. If we occupy not our talentes wel,* they shalbe taken away from vs & geuen to other, and all such vnprofitable seruantes shalbe cast into prison in hell, whe•e shalbe weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Oh good God what a sort of feareful sayinges are here contened? what christian hart will not harken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceiue now that this is the time that our Mayster Christ speaketh of,* that the father should be agaynst the sonne, and the sonne agaynst the father, and one brother agaynst another: that the brother shal deliuer the brother to death: yea and that the wicked shall say all maner of wicked sayinges agaynst vs for his names sake?*& the which I haue well found by experience I prayse God therefore, that hath geuen mee strength to beare it. For I thinke there canne no euill bee deuised but it hath bene imagined agaynst me,* & that of my familiar frendes, as Dauid said: but I prayse my Lord God, they are not able to proue any of their sayinges true, but that they go about to finde fault in thē that God hath chosen, because they thēselues list not to take vp their crosse and folow Christ, & therfore they spake euil of the thing that they know not: the which shall geue account for it before him that is ready to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

But my trust is, that al the people of God wilbe ruled by the counsell of S. Iohn, saying: My sheepe will heare my voyce, straūgers the will not heare: meaning thereby that ye shoulde not beleue straungers, counting them straungers that go about to subuert the Gospell. Wherefore marke well what they be, and try thē well or euer you geue credite to thē, according to S. Iohns couſell in his Epistle, saying: Beleue not euery spirit, but trie the spirites whether they be of God or not: meaning thereby that they that be not of God, wil speake good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (deare sister) be of good cheare, & geue no credite to such people, what so euer ye heare them say. For I haue no mistrust, by Gods help, but that all the world shal see & know that my bloud shal not be deare in mine owne sight, whensoever it shall please God to geue my aduersaries leaue to shedde it. I doe earnestly beleue that God which hath begon this good worke in me, will performe it to the end, as he hath geuen me grace & wil alway, to beare this easy yoke and light burden: the which I haue alwayes found, I prayse my Lord God.

For when I haue bene in prison, wearing other while boltes other while shackles,* other while lying on the bare groūd, some time sitting in the stockes, sometime bound with cordes, that al my bodye hath bene swollen, much like to bee ouercome for the payne that hath bene in my flesh, sometime fayne to lye without in the woodes & fieldes, wandring to and fro, few I say, that durst to keepe my company for feare of the rulers, sometime brought before the Iustices, Shiriffes, Lordes, Doctours, and Bishoppes sometime called dogge, sometime deuill, hereticke, whoremonger, traytor, theefe, deceiuer with diuers other such like: yea & euen they that did eat of my bread, that should haue bene most my f•endes by nature, haue betrayed me. Yet for all this I prayse my Lord God that hath separated me from my mothers wombe,* all this that hath happened to me hath bene easy, light and most delectable & ioyful of any treasure that euer I possessed: for I praise God they are not able to proue one iote or tittle of their sayinges true. But that way that they call heresy, I serue my Lord God, and at all times before whomesoeuer I haue bene brought, God hath geuen me mouth and wisdom, where agaynst all my aduersaries haue not bene able to resist, I prayse God therefore.

Wherefore deare sister, be of good cōfort, with all your bre'thren and sisters, and take no thought what you shall saye,* for it shall be geuen you the same houre, according to the promises, as I haue alwayes found, and as you and all other of Gods elect shall well finde when the time is full come And whereas I and manye other haue hoped, that this persecution woulde haue bene at an end ere this time: now I perceiue, God will haue a further triall to roote out all dissēblers, that no man should reioice in himselfe: but he that reioyceth, shall reioyce of God.

Wherefore if prophecy should fayle, and touns should cease, yet loue must endure. For feare hath paynefulnesse, but a perfecte loue casteth out all feare: which loue I haue no mistrust but God hath poured it vpō you so aboūdantly, that nothing in the world shalbe able to seprate you from God. Neither high nor low, riche nor poore, life nor death, shalbe able to put you from Christ: but by him I trust you shall enter into new Hierusalem, there to liue for euer, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now haue, and all other faythfull people that cōtinue to the end. Geue all honour and glory to God the father, God the sonne, & God the holy Ghost, three persons and one God, to be honoured now and euer. Amen.

After these examinations thus had and commensed be'twene Richard Woodman and y^e Bishops, he was (as is afore told) iudged by sentence of cōdēnation, and so depriued of his life: with whom also was burned 9. other, to wit, fiue men and foure women, which were takē not past two or three dayes before theyr iudgement. The names of all which being also before expressed, here agayne folow in this order. Richard Woodman, George Steuēs, William Maynard, Alexander Hosman his seruant, Thomasine a Wood his mayde, Margerye Moris, Iames Moris her sonne, Denis Burgis, Ashdownes wife, Groues wife.

These persons here aboue named, and blessed martyrs, were put to death at Lewes, the xxij. of Iune▪

[illustration]

¶The burning of x. Martyrs at Lewes.

*

Of the which number the viij. last were apprehend (as is sayd) either the same daye, or the second or third day before, and so with the sayd Woodman and Steuēs were together committed to the fire:* in which space no writ could come downe from London to the Iustices, for theyr burning. Wherefore what is to be said to such Iustices, or what reckoning they wil make to God and to the lawes of this Realme, I referre that to them that haue to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found also of other Iustices, who without any lawfull writte of discharge, or order of law, haue vnlawfully and disorderly burnt the seruantes [Page 2004](#) of Christ (whhose bloud the lawe both may and also ought to reuenge:*) especially at Salisbury, and also at Canterbury, and Garnesey. But concerning these matters though mans law do wincke, or rather sleep at them, yet they shall be sure Gods law wil find such murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

¶One Ambrose dyed in Maydstone prison.

AFTER these x. aboue named burnt at Lewes, aboute the same time and moneth,* one Ambrose dyed in Maydstone prison, who els should haue bene burned in the like cause and quarell, as the other were.

The condemnation and Martyrdome of Richard Lush.

IN the Registers of Gilbert Bishop of Bathe & Welles, I finde a certificate made to K. Philip and Q. Mary of one Richard Lush,* there condemned & geuen to the secular power to be burned for the cause of heresy, whose affirmations in the sayde certificate he expressed in tenour and effect, as foloweth.

First, for denying the verity of the body & bloud of christ in the Sacrament of the Aultar.*

2 Item, for denying auricular confessiō to be made to the Priest.

3 Item, for affirming onely to be three sacramēts, to wit, of baptisme, of the supper, and of matrimony.

4 Item, for refusing to call the Lordes Supper by the name of the Sacrament of the aulter.

5 Item, for denying Purgatory, and that prayer & almes profite not the dead.

6 Item, that Images are not to be suffered in the church and that all that kneele to Images at the Church, be Idolators.

7 Item, that they which were burnt of late for religiō, died Gods seruants and good Martyrs.

8 Item, for condemning the single life of Priestes, and other votaries.

9. Item, for denying the vniuersall and catholicke church (meaning belike the Church of Rome.)

*For these assertions, as there are expressed, he was cōdemned, and committed to the Sheriffes, and also a certificat directed by the Bishop aforesayd, to the king and Q. Whereby we haue apparantly to vnderstand, that the said Richard Lush, thus condemned by Bishop Borne, was there burnt and executed, vnlesse peraduenture in y^e mean season he dyed or was made away in the prison: wherof I haue no certeinty to expresse.

A note of Iohn Hullier Minister and Martyr burned at Cambridge.

CONCERNING the story of Iohn Hullier, Martyr, partly mentioned before pag. 1864. for the more ful declaratiō of the death and martirdome of that good man,* because the story is but rawly and imperfectly touched before for the more perfitting thereof, I thought thereunto to adde that which since hath come to my hand, as foloweth.

First Iohn Hullier was brought vp at Eaton colledge and after, according to the fōundation of that house, for that he was ripe for the vniuersitye, he was elected scholer in y^e kinges colledge where also not taryng full the 3. yeares of probation, before he was fellow of the Colledge, he after a litle season was one of the x. Conductes in the kinges colledge, which was an. 1539. Then at length in processe of time, he came to be Curate of Babrame 3. miles from Cābridge, and so went afterward to Linne: where he hauing diuers conflictes with the papistes, was from thence caried to Ely, to D. Thuriby then bishop there: who after diuers examinations, sent him to Cambridge Castle, where he remayned but a while.

From thence he was conueyed to the town prison cōmonly called the Tolboth, lying there almost a quarter of a yere, while at lēgth he was cited to appeare at great S. Maries on Palmsonday euē, before diuers Doctors, both Diuines & Lawyers, amongst whō was chiefest Doctor Shaxton, also Doct. Young, D. Sedgewike, Doct. Scot, Mitch, and others. Where after examination had, for that he would not recant, he was first condemned, the sentence being read by D. Fuller.

Then consequētly he was disgraded after their popish maner with scraping crowne and handes. When they had disgraded him,* he sayd cherefully: this is the ioyfullest day that euer I saw, and I thank ye all, that ye haue deliuered and lightened me of all this paltry.

In the meane time whilest it was doying, one standing by, asked Hullier what book he had in his hand. Who aunswered a testamēt. Wherat this man in a rage tooke it and threw it violently frō him.* Thē was he geuen ouer to the secular powers, Brasey being Maior, who carying him to prison, agayne, took from him all his bookes, writings, & papers.

On Maundy Thursday comming to the stake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, & after holding his peace and praying to himselfe, one spake to him saying,* the Lord strenthē thee. Wherat a Sergeant named Brisley, stayed & bad him hold his tounge or els he should repent it.

Neuerthelesse Hullier answered and sayd (either thus or very like the effect was all one) frende I truste that as God hath hitherto begon, so also he will strengthen me,* & finish his work vpō me. I am bidden to a Maundy, whether I trust to goe, & there to be shortly. God hath layd the foundation, and I by his ayd will end it.

Then goyng to a stoole (prepared for hym to sit on) to haue his hosen plucked of, he desired the people to pray for him agayne, and also to beare witnesse that he dyed in the right faith, and that he would seale it with his bloud certifying them that he dyed in a iust cause, and for the testimony of the verity and truth,* & that there was no other rocke but Iesus Christ to builde vpon, vnder whose banner he fought, and whose souldiour he was: and yet speaking, he turned himselfe about towards the East, and exhorted the people there likewise.

Now it chaunced on a bancke to stande three Archpapistes George Boyes, Henry Barley, & Gray,* all three of Trinity Colledge. This Boyes was one of the Proctors of the Uniuersity that yere. To whome Mayster Graye spake, saying: heare ye not maister Proctor, what blasphemy this fellow vttereth? surely it is euil done to suffer him.

At whose words, this Boyes spake with a loud voice: M. Maior, what meane ye? if ye suffer him thus to talke at liberty, I tell ye the Counsell shall heare of it,* and we take you not to be the Queenes frend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harme then ye wote of. Wherat simple Hullier as meeke as a Lambe, taking the matter very patiently, made no answere, but made him ready vttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekely himselfe to the stake, and with chaines being bound, was beset with reed & wood, stāding in a pitchbarrell, & the fire being set to,* not marking the winde, it blew the flame to his backe. Thē he feeling it, began earnestly to call vpon God. Neuertheles his frendes perceiuing the fire to be ill kindled, caused the Sergeantes to turne it and fire it in that place where the winde might blow it to his face.

That done, there was a cōpany of bookes which were cast into the fire, and by chaunce a Communion booke fell betwene his handes, who receyuing it ioyfully, opened it,* & read so long as the force of the flame & smoke caused him that he could see no more: and then he fell agayne to prayer holding his handes vp to heauen, & the booke betwixte his armes next his hart, thanking God for sending him it: and at that time the day being a very fayre day & a whote, yet the winde was somewhat vp, and it caused the fier to be the fiercer,* and when al the people thought he had bene dead, he sodenly vttered these wordes: Lord Iesu receaue my spirit, dying very meekely

The place where he was burned is called Iesus grene, not farre from Iesus Colledge. Seager gaue him certeine gunpouder, but little to y^e purpose: for he was dead before it took fire. All the people praied for him, and many a teare was shed for him. Which the Papistes seing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, & being but a dāned man,* it could profit him nothing: neuertheles they cōtinued praying. Wher|at the Papistes fell in such a rage that they manaced them with terrible threatninges to ward. His flesh beyng cōsumed, his bones stood vpright euē as if they had bene aliue. Of the people some took as they could get of him, as pieces of bones. One had his hart•, the which was distributed so farre as it would go: one took the scalpe and looked for the tounge, but it was consumed except the very roote.

One rōuded him in the eare and desired him to be constaunt to the end, at which he spake nothing, but shewed a ioyful countenaunce, and so continued both constaunt and ioyfull to the end.

A Note of Thomas Rede.

THo. Rede who was burned at Lewes, as it appeareth aboue pag. 1807. before he was in prison,* determined w^t himselfe to go to church. The night following, he sawe in a vision, a company of talle young men in white, very pleasant to behold: to whō he would haue ioyned himself, [Page 2005](#) but it would not be.*

Then he looked on himselfe and he was full of spottes, & therewith waked & tooke hold and stood to the truth: god be thanked therefore, and so constantly was burned wyth his felowes, as is aboue specified. pag. 2095.

¶Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper burnt at Norwich.

IN the Moneth of Iulye nexte ensued the Martyrdome of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling then in the Towne of Linne, a Godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his trueth, detesting and abhorring the contrary enforced Religiō thē set forth, came from Linne to Norwich, where he standing in the prease and hearing of the people, comming out the same time from their popish seruice ended in the Church, began to aske them comming out of the Church, where he might go to haue the communiō. At which wordes diuers much maruelling to heare & see his boldnes, one that was an euill disposed Papist, hearing y^e same, said: y^t if he would needs go to a communion, he would go bring him thither where he should be sped of his purpose. Wherupō shortly after hee was brought to the Chauncellour of Norwiche (whose name was Dunning:) who after a few wordes & small talk passed with this examine, committed him to Warde.

In the meane while as he was in examination, he had in his shoo his confession written in a certein paper,* wherof a peece appearing aboue his shoo, was spyed and taken out. The Chauncellour asking if he would stand to the cōfession of the same fayth therin contened, he constantly affirmed the same. Wherupō as is sayd, he was committed. Thus the sayd Simon being in the Bishops house vnder custody of the keper there called M. Felow, how it happened it is not certayne, whether by gentlenesse of the keper (who was somewhat gentle that wayes) or by leaue geuē of the Bishop: or els whether he had cōdescended of a purpose to theyr articles,* he was dismissed and went home to his house at Linne. Where hee continued a certayne space, while he had disposed and set there all things in order.

That done, he returned againe to the bishops house to his prison and keeper, till the time at length he cōstantly abiding in his professed purpose, & defence of Gods trueth, was by the sayd byshop and his Chauncellour cōdemned and committed to the fire about the xiiij. day of Iuly.

¶Elizabeth Cooper Martyr.

With this Simon Miller also was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as is aforesayde) a Pewterers Wife,* dwelling in Saynt Andrewes parish in Norwich, where she had before recanted, and beyng vnquyet for the same, and greatlye troubled inwardlye, at the last came into the sayd Saynt Andrewes Church, the people beyng at theyr popish seruice, and there standing in the same, sayde she reuoked her recantation before made in that place, and was hartely sorye that euer she did it,* willing the people not to bee deceiued, neither to take her doynge before for an example. &c. These or suche like woordes shee spake in the Church.

Then cryed one Bacon of the sayd Parish, laying hys armes abroad, saying: Mayster Shiriffe, will you suffer this? and repeating the same, vrge hym to goe from the church to her house, at whose knocking she came downe, & was taken and sent to prison.

*This Shiriffe (named M. Thomas Sutterton) & she had bene seruantes together before in one house, & for the frendship he bare vnto her, & the more for the gospels sake he was very loth to do it, but that he was inforced by those other persons (before specified) much against his owne cōscience, which he now earnestly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned, and at the stake with Simon Miller to be burnt, when the fire came vnto her, she a little shronke thereat, with a voyce crying once, ha. When the sayd Simon Miller hearde the same, he put his hand behinde him towarde her, and willed her to bee strong, and of good cheare: For good sister (said he) we shall haue a ioyfull and a sweete supper. Whereat she beyng, as it seemed thereby strengthened, stode as still and as quiet as one moste glad to finish that good worke whiche before most happely shee had begonne.* So in fine she ended her life with her companion ioyfully, committing her soule into the handes of almighty God.

¶The Martyrdome of x. faythfull and blessed Martyrs, fiue men and fiue women, burnt at Colchester, fiue in the forenoone, and fiue in the afternoone, for the testimony and wnesse of Christ Iesus and his glorious Gospel.

AS it is no n•w thing in those whom we call Prelates and Priestes of the Church,* to be raysers vp of persecution agaynst Christ and his poore flocke: so is it much to be maruelled or rather lamented, that noble persons, and mē of honor, and worship, would be made such Ministers to serue the affections of these tyrauntes, as commonly, as well in all y^e sorowful dayes of the late Queene Mary, as namely in this present story is to be marked.

And first thou remembrest (gentle Reader) how mention was made a litle before pag. 1863. of xxij. which were sent vp prisoners together from Colchester to London by the Earle of Oxforde, the Lord Darcy, Maister Tyrrell of Saynt Osithes, and other Commissioners & Iustices. &c. The which xxij. (as is aforesayd) through a gentle submission put vnto them, were afterward released & deliuered.

In the number of these foresayd xxij. was one William Mount of Muchbently in Essex, husbandman,* with Alice his wife, and Kose Allin mayd, the daughter of the said Alice Mount: whiche comming home agayne to their house at Muchbently aforesayde, refrayned themselues from the vnsauery seruice of the Popish Church, and frequēted the company of good men and women which gaue themselues diligently to reading, inuocating, & calling vpon the name of God through Christ: wherby they so fretted the wicked Priest of the towne called Syr Thomas Tye,* & other like vnto him, that casting theyr heades together, they made a pestilent Supplication to the Lord Darcy, in the name of the whole Parish, the tenour whereof hereafter foloweth.

¶The maner of a Supplication to the Lord Darcy, and by him deliuered to Syr Iohn Kingstone Priest and Commissary.

PLEaseth it your honorable Lordship to be aduertised y^t we confesse,* whilst your good Lordship laye here in the country, the people were stayed in good order, to our great comfort: but since your Lordshippes departure, they haue made digression from good order in some places, & namely in the Parish of Muchbently, by reason of three seditious persons, William Mount and his wife, & Rose her daughter, who by theyr colourable submission (as it doth appere) were dismiss and sent nowne from the Bishop of London, and since theyr comming home thei haue not onely in their owne persons shewed manifest signes and tokens of disobedience, in not comming to the Church, nor yet obseruing other good orders: but also most maliciously and seditiously haue seduced many from comming to the Church, and frō obeying all other good

orders, mocking also those that frequent the Church, and calling thē Church Owles, and blasphemously calling the blessed Sacrament of the aultar a blind God, with diuers such like blasphemies. In consideration whereof, may it please your honour (for the loue of God, and for the tender zeale your good Lorshippe beareth to Iustice, and common peace and quietnes of the king and Queenes Maiesties louing subiectes) to award out your warrant for the sayd William Mount, his wife, & Rose her daughter, that they being attached & brought before your good Lordshippe, we trust the rest will feare to offend (their ring leaders of sedition being apprehēded) to the quietnes of theyr obedient subiectes.

Your dayly Orators the Parishioners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye Priest, Iohn Carter,*Thomas Candeler, Iohn Barker, Richarde Mere, Iohn Paynter, William Harrys, Iohn Richard, with other.

This being done, the said sir Thomas Tye bethought with himselfe where the persecuted did resorte.* For in the beginning of Queene Maries reign, for a xij. moneth and more, he came not to the Church, but frequented the cōpanye of Godlye men and women, which abstained from the same, and as they thought, he laboured to keepe a good cōscience, but the sequele shewed him to be a false brother.

Now (as I said) he partly knowing y^e places of refuge for honest mē, did further enquire of other about y^e same, & being therof sufficiently (as he thought) instructed to hys purpose, immediatly about y^e time the supplication aboue specified was exhibited to y^e sayd L. Darcy, wrote secretly a letter to Boner B. of Londō, wherein he maketh his accoūt how he had bestowed his time, & cōplayned of diuers honest mē, among the which was the sayd W. Mount & hys company. The tenour of which letter herafter foloweth.

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***A Letter sent to Boner Byshop of London, from Syr Thomas Tye Priest.**

*Right honourable Lord, after my bounden duety done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify vnto your Lordship the state of our parties concerning religion. And first since the comming downe, of the 24. rancke hereticks dismissed from you, the detestable sort of Schismaticks were neuer so bold since the king and Queenes Maiesties reignes as they are now at this present. In Muc•bently where your Lordship is Patrone of the Churche, since Williā Mount, & Alice his wife, with Rose Allin her daughter came home, they doe not onely absent themselues from the church, and seruice of God but do dayly allure many other away from the same, which before did outwardly shew signes & tokens of obedience.

They assemble together vpon the Sabbaoth day in the time of diuine seruice, sometimes in one house, sometime in an other, and there ke•pe theyr priuy conuenticles and scholes of heresy. The Iurates sayth, the Lordes Commission is out, & they are discharged of theyr othe. The Quest men in your Archdeacons visitation alleadged that forasmuch as they were once presented & now sent home they haue no more to do with them nor none other Your Officers sayth, namely Mayster Boswell, that the Coūsell sent them not home without a great consideration. I praye God some of your Officers proue not fauorers of hereticks. The rebels are stout in the Towne of Colchester.

The ministers of the Church are hemd at in the open streets, and called knaues. The blessed Sacrament of the aultar is blasphemed and rayled vpon in euery Alehouse and Tauerne. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talkes and newes are rife, both in towne and countrey, in as ample and large manner, as though there had no honorable Lords and Commissioners bene sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of Iohn Lone of Colchester H•e•h (a peruerse place) which Iohn Lone was twice indicted of heresye, and thereupon fled with his wife and householde, and h•s goodes seased within the Towne of Colchester, to the King and Queenes Maiesties vse. Neuerthelesse the sayd Iohn is come home agayne, and nothing sayde or done to him. Whereupon the heretickes are wonderfully encouraged, to the no litle discomfort of good and Catholicke people, which dayly prayeth to God for the profite, vnity, and restauration of his Church agayne, whiche thing shall come the sooner to passe, through the trauell and paynes of su•h honourable Lordes and reuerend fathers, as your good Lordshippe is, vnto whome I wish long life and continuaunce, with encrease of much honour.

From Colchester the xvij. of December.

Your humble Bedes man Thomas Tye Priest.

When Iudasly this wicked Prieste had thus wrought his malice agaynst the people of god, within a while after, the stormes began to arise agaynst those poore persecuted William Mount and his company, wherby they were enforced to hide themselues from the heat thereof. And continuing so a litle space at last, the vij. day of March. an. 1557. being the first Sondag in Lent, and by 2. of the clock in the morning, one Maister Edmund Tyrrell (who came of the house of that Tyrrels which murdered king Edward the v. and his brother) tooke with him the Bailiffe of the hundred called William Simuell, dwelling in Colchester, and the two Cōstables of Muchbently aforesayd named Iohn Baker & William Harries with diuers other,* a great nūber: & besetting the house of the said William Mount roūd about, called to them at length to open the doore, which being done M. Tyrrell with certein of his cōpany, went into the chamber where the sayd father Mount and his wife lay, willing them to rise:* for (sayd he) ye must goe wyth vs to Colchester Castle. Mother Mount hearing that, beyng very sicke, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drinke: for she was (she sayd) very ill at ease.

Then he gaue her leaue & bad her go. So her daughter the forenamed Rose Allin, mayde, tooke a stone pot in one hand, & a candle in the other, & went to draw drink for her mother: & as she came back again through the house, Tyrrel met her, & willed to geue her father & mother good coūsell, and to aduertise them to be better Catholicke people.

Rose.

Syr, they haue a better instructour then I. For the holy Ghost doth teach them I hope, which I trust wil not suffer them to erre.

Tyrrell.

Why, sayd Mayster Tyrrell, art thou still in that minde, thou noughty houswife? Mary it is time to look vpon such heretickes in deed.

Rose.

Syr, with that which you call heresy,* do I worship my Lord God. I tell you troth.

Tyrrell.

Then I perceiue you will burne, gossip, with the rest, for companies sake.

Rose.

No syr, not for companies sake, but for my Christes sake, if so I be compelled, and I hope in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enable me to beare it.

Tyrrell.

So he turning to his companye, sayde: Syrs thys gossip wil burne: do ye not thinke it? Mary sir, quoth one, proue her, and you shall see what she will do by and by.

[illustration]

 **The burning of Rose Allins hand, by Edmund Tyrrell, as she was going to fetch drinke for her Mother, lying sicke in her bedde.**

[Page 2007](#) Then that cruell Tyrrell taking the candell from her, held her wrest, and the burning candell vnder her hande, burning crosse wise ouer the backe thereof, so long till the very smowes crackt a sūder. Witnes hereof Williā Kandler then dwelling in Muchbently,* which was there presēt and saw it. Also Mistres Bright of Romford, with Anne Starky her mayd, to whom Rose Allin both declared the same, and the sayd Mistres Bright also ministred salue for the curing therof, as she lay in her house at Romforde going vp towards London with other prisoners.

In which time of his tyranny, he sayd oftē to her: why whore wilt thou not cry? Thou young whoore, wilt thou not cry? &c. Unto which alwayes she aunswered, that she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to reioyce. Hee had, she sayd more cause to weepe then she, if he considered the matter well. In the ende, when the sinnowes (as I sayd) brake that all the house heard them, he then thrust her from him violētly, and sayd: ha strong whore, thou shamelesse beast, thou beastly whore. &c. with such like vile wordes. But she quietly suffering his rage for the time, at the last,* said: Syr, haue ye done what ye will doe? And he sayd, yea, and if thou thinke it be not well, then mend it.

Rose.

Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and geue you repentance, if it be his will. And now if ye thinke it good begin at the feet,* and burne the head also. For he that set you a worke, shall pay you your wages one daye I warrant you: and so she went and caryed her mother drinke as shee was commaūded. Furthermore, after the searching of the house for more company, at the last

they found one Iohn Thurston and Margaret his wife there also, whome they caried with the rest to Colchester Castle immediatly.

And this sayd Rose Allin being prisoner, tolde a frend of hers this cruell act of the sayd Tirrell, and shewing him the maner therof▪ she sayd: while my one hand (quoth she) was a burning, I hauing a pot in my other hand, might haue laid him on y^e face with it,* if I had would? for no mā held my hand to let me therin. But I thanke God (quoth she) with all my hart, I did it not.

Also being asked of another howe she could abyde the paynefull burning of her hand, she said, at first it was some griefe to her, but afterward, the longer she burned the lesse she felt, or well neare none at all.

And because Mayster Tyrrell shall not goe alone in this kinde of cruelty, you shall heare another like example of a blynde Harpers hand burnt by Bishop Boner, as is testified by the relation of Ualentine Dyngley sometime gentleman to the sayd Bishop: who declared before credible witnes, as followeth: how the sayd Bishop Boner hauing this blind Harper before him, spake thus vnto him: that such blinde abiectes whiche folow a sorte of hereticall Preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, wyll be the first that will flye from it.

To whō the blind man sayd: that if euery ioynt of hym were burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord not to flye. Then Boner signifying priuily to certeine of his men about him what the should do, they brought to him a burning coale. Which coale being put into the poore mans hand, they closed it fast again, and so was his hand piteously burned. Amongest the doers wherof was the said maister Ualentine Dyngley witnes and reporter hereof, as is afore declared.

We read in the story of Titus Liuius of king Porsēna: who after the burning of the righte hande of M. Scaeuola, which came purposely to kill him, beyng onely contented therewith, sent him home to Rome agayne. But thus to burne the handes of poore men and women whiche neuer meant any harme vnto them, and yet not contented with that, but also to consume theyr whole bodyes without any iust cause, we find no example of such barbarous tyranny, neither in Titus Liuius, neither in any other story amongst the heathen.

But to returne to our Colchester Martirs againe, as touching William Munt & his Wyfe, and burning of their daughter Rose Allins hand, sufficient hath bene declared. With the sayd William Munt and his family, was ioyned also in the same prison at Colchester, another faithfull brother named Iohn Iohnson, alias Alikier, of Thorpe, in the County of Essex labourer, of the age of xxxiiij. yeares, hauing no wife aliue, but three yong children, who also was with them indicted of heresy, and so all these foure laye together in Colchester Castle.

The other sixe prisoners lay in Mote Hall in the sayde towne of Colchester, whose names were:

First, William Bongeor, of the parish of S. Nicholas in Colchester, Glasier, of the age of lx. yeares.

2. Tho. Benold of Colchester, Talow Chaundler.

3. W. Purcas of Bocking in the County of Essex, Fuller, a yong man, of the age of xx. yeares.

4. Agnes Syluerside, alias Smith, dwelling in Colchester, widow of the age of lx. yeares.

5. Helene Ewring, the wi•e of Iohn Ewring, Myller,* dwelling in Colchester, of the age of fiue and forty yeares or thereabouts, who was one of the two and twenty prisoners mentioned before. pag. 1863. sent vp in bandes frō Colchester to London, and after being deliuered with the rest, repayred home to Colchester agayne to her husbande, where notwithstanding she enioyed her liberty not verye long: for shortly after her returne, met with her one Rob. Maynard then Bayliffe of Colchester,* a speciall enemy to Gods Gospell, who spying her, came to her, & kissed her, & bade her welcome home from London. Unto whome she considerately aunswered agayne, and sayd, that it was but a Iudas kisse. For in the end (quoth she) I know you will betray me: As in deed it came to passe, for immediately after that talke she was apprehended by him againe, & there lodged with the rest in the towne prison (as is aforesayde) called the Mote hall.

6. The sixt of this company was Elizabeth Folkes, a yong mayd, and seruaunt in Colchester, of the age of twēty yeares.

These sixe were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote Hall, as the other soure aboue specified, were in the Castle.

Diuers examinations these good men had at sundrye times before diuers Iustices, Priestes, and Officers, as M. Roper, Iohn Kingstone Commissary, Iohn Boswell Priest and Boners Scribe, and others moe, whereof the sayd Boswell made relation to Bishop Boner, certifying him of their depositions, as is to be read in our first book of Actes and Monumentes. pag. 1607. Last of all they were examined again in Mote hall the xxiiij. day of Iune, by doctour Chadsey, Iohn Kingstone Commissary, with other Priestes, & Boswell the Scribe, in the presence of the two Bailiffes of Colchester, Robert Browne & Robert Maynard, with diuers other Iustices both of the town & country, and other Gentlemen a great sort: at which tyme and place, and before the said persons, they had sentence of condemnation read agaynst thē, chiefly for not affirming the reall presence of the Sacrament in theyr Aultar. The effect of theyr wordes therein, was this, or such like, as here foloweth.

¶First the Lordes faythfull prisoners in Mote Hall.

Williā Bongeor,* of the parish of S. Nicolas in Colchester, Glasier, sayd: that the sacramēt of the aultar was bread, is bread, & so remayneth bread, & for the consecration it is not the holyer, but rather the worse. To thys he did stand, as also agaynst all the rest of their Papisticall doctrine: and so had sentence read agaynst him.

Thomas Benold of Colchester, Talow Chaundler, affirmed the like in effect that the sayd Williā Bongeor dyd:* and so had sentence also read against him.

W. Purcas of Bocking said,* that when he receiued the sacrament, he receiued bread in an holy vse, that preacheth the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood and against other theyr popish matters: and so also had sētence read agaynst him.

Agnes Syluerside, alias Smith, sayd: that she loued no Consecration.* For the breade and wine is rather worse then better therby, she sayd. This good olde woman aunswered them with such sound iudgement and boldnesse, to euery thing they asked her, that it reioyced the heartes of many, and especially to see the pacience of such a reuerende olde age, agaynst the tauntes and checkes of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read agaynst her in like maner.

Helene Ewring aunswered the like in effect as y^e other did, clearely denying all the lawes set forth by the Pope,* w^t her whole hart. This good woman was somewhat thicke of hearing, but yet quick in vnderstanding the Lords matters (his name therfore be prayesd.) Agaynst her also there was sentence read.

Elizabeth Folkes the young mayden, being examined whether she beleued the presence of Christes body to be in the Sacrament substantially and really, or no: answered,* that she beleued that it was a substantiall lye, and a reall lye. At which wordes the Priestes and others chafed very much, and asked her agayne,* whether after the Consecration there remayned not the bodye of Christ in the Sacrament. And she aunswered, that before Consecration and after, it is but bread, and that man blesseth without Gods word, is cursed & abhominable by the word. &c. Then they examined her of confession to the Priest, of going to church to heare Masse, of the authority of the Bishoppe of Rome. &c. Unto all which she answered, that she woulde neyther [Page 2008](#) vse nor frequent none of them all, by the grace of God, but vtterly detest and and abhorre them from the bottome of our hart, and all such trumpery.

Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her.* In which time Doct. Chadsey wept, that the teares trickled downe his cheekes. So the sentence being read, she kneeled downe on both her knees, lifting vp her hāds & eyes vnto heauen, with seruent praier in audible voyce praying God that euer shee was borne, to see that moste blessed and happy day,* that y^e Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ: and Lord, sayd she (if it be thy will) forgeue them that this haue done against me, for they know not what they doe. Then rising vp, she exhorted al those on the Benche, to repentaunce, especially those who brought her to prison, as Robert Maynard the Bayliffe, and such like: which Maynard commonly when he sate in iudgment vpon life and death, would sit sleeping on the Bench many times: so careful was his mind on his Office.

Further shee willed halting Gospellers to beware of bloud, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in y^e end she told them all, laying her hand on the Barre, if they d^d not repent their wicked doynges therin, that vndoubtedly the very barre should be a witnes agaynst them at y^e day of iudgement, that they had there that day shed innocente bloud.

This Elizabeth Folkes, the day before she was condemned, was examined onely vpon this article, whether she beleued that there was a Catholicke Church of Christ or no. Unto which she answered, Yea. Then was she immediately (by Bowsels meanes the Scribe) deliuered vnto her vncl^e Holt^r of the same towne of Colchester, to keep who caried her home vnto hys house: & shee being there, might haue departed thence many tymes, if she had wold: for there was meanes offered to conuey her awaye. But she hearyng that some doubted that shee hadde yealded to the Pope (although it was most vntrue) would in no wise content her selfe,* but wept, and was in suche anguishe of minde and terroure of conscience, that (no remedye) shee woulde to the

Papistes agayne, for any perswasions that could bee, and commyng before them at Cosins house at the white Harte in Colchester, she was at vtter defiaunce with them and their doctrine: and so had, as ye haue heard in the end, a papisticall reward, as the rest of her brethren had.

¶The Lordes faythfull prisoners in Colchester Castle.

*William Munt of Muchbentley in Essex, of the age of 61. yeares, sayde: that the sacrament of the Aultar was an abhominable Idoll, and that if he should obserue any part of their popish proceedinges, he should dysplease God, and bring his curse vpon him, and therfore for feare of his vengeāce he durst not doe it. This good father was examined of many thinges, but God be thanked, he stode to the truth and in the end therfore had sentence of condemⁿation read agaynst hym.

Iohn Iohnson of Thorpe in Essex, wydower of y^e age of xxxiiii. yeares, was examined as the rest, and made answeare in suche sorte,* as the Papistes counted them none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with theyr bloudye sentēce, as they had done the rest before. This Ioh. Iohnson affirmed, that in the receauing of the sacrament, accordyng to Christes institution, he receiueth the body of christ spiritually. &c.

Alice Munt, the wife of the sayde William Munt, of y^e age of xli. yeares,* being also examined as the rest, sayd and confirmed the same in effect as her husband dyd, and was therefore also condemned by their bloody sentence in lyke maner.

Rose Allyn mayd, the daughter of the sayd Alice Munt of the age of twenty yeares,* being examined of auricular confession, goyng to the church to heare Masse, of the Popish seuen sacramentes &c. answered stoutlye that they stanke in the face of God, and she durst not haue to do with them for her life,* neyther was she (she sayde) anye member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichriste, and so shuld haue (if they repented not) the reward of Antichrist. Being asked further, what she could saye of the Sea of the Bishop of Rome, whethere she would obey hys authoritie or no: she aunswered boldly, that she was none of hys. As for hys See (quoth she) it is for Crowes,* kytes, owles and Rauens to swimme in, such as you be, for by y^e grace of God I shall not swimme in that See, while I lyue, nei^ther will I haue any thing to doe therewith. Then read they the sentence of condemnation agaynst her, and so sent her vnto prison agayne vnto the rest, where she song with great ioy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poore condemned Lambes, beyng deliuered into the handes of the secular power, were committed agayn euery one vnto y^e Prison from whence they came, where they remayned w^t much ioy & great comfort (in con^tinuall reading, and inuocating the name of God) euer loo^king and expecting the happy day of their dissolution. In which time the cruell Papistes left not their mischieuous attemptes agaynst them (although they would seeme now to haue no more to doe with thē) for bloody Boner, whose throte neuer cryed ho, shortly a[•]ter got a writ for the burning of the foresayd ten good creatures, and to shewe the more dilligence in the cause, he sent hys owne trusty man downe with it, named Edward Cosin, and with hym also his letter for the furtheraunce of the matter, the thirty day of Iuly, the next month after the condemnation.

The writ being thus receiued of the sayde Bayliffes, & they hauing then no leysure thereaboutes, appoynted the day of y^e executiō therof, to be y^e second day of August next following. And because the faythfull soules were in two seuerall Prisons, as the Castle was for the Countrey and Mote Hall for the Townte, therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote Hall should be burnt in the forenoone and those at the Castle, by the Sheriffe of y^e Shyre, in the after noone, as here thou mayest see it more playne how it came to passe accordingly.

The second day of August. 1557. betwixt sixe and seuen of y^e clock in y^e morning, was brought from Mote Hal vnto a plat of ground hard by the towne wall of Colchester on the outward side, William Bongeor, William Purcas Thomas Benold, Agnes Siluerside aliās Smith. Helene Euring & Elizab. Folkes aforenamed, which being there, & al things prepared for theyr martyrdome at the last these said constant martyrs kneeled downe and made theyr hūble prayers to God, but not in such sorte as they woulde: for the cruel tyrants would not suffer them: especially one Mayster Clere among the rest (who sometyme had bene a Gospeller) shewed hymselfe very extreme vnto them: the Lord geue him repentaunce (if it be hys good will) & grace to be a better man. Whē they had made their prayers, they rose, & made them ready to the fire. And Elizabeth Folkes when she had pluckt off her Peticote, woulde haue geuen it to her mother, (which came and kist her at the stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, woulde not suffer her to geue it. Therefore taking the sayd peticote in her hand, she threw it away from her saying: Farewell all the world farewell fayth, farewell hope: and so taking the stake in her hand, sayde: Welcome loue &c. Now she being at the stake, and one of the Officers nayling the chayne about her, in the striking of y^e staple, he mist the place and strake her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder bone: wherat she sodenly turned her head lifting vp her eyes to the Lorde, and prayed

[illustration]

¶The martyrdome of three men and three women at Colchester, burned in the forenoone, besides 4 other burned at after noone.

[*Page 2009](#) smilingly, and gaue her selfe to exhortyng the people agayne.

When all sixe were also nayled likewise at their stakes and the fire about them, they clapped their handes for ioy in the fire, that the standers by (which were by estimation thousandes) cryed generally all almost: The Lord strengthē them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord poure his mercies vpon them, with such like wordes, as was wonderfull to heare.

Thus yealded they vp theyr soules and bodyes into y^e Lordes handes, for the true testimony of his trueth. The Lord graunt we may imitate the same in the like quarrell (if hee so vouche vs worthe) for hys mercies sake. Amen.

In like manner, the sayde day in the afternoone, was brought forth into the Castle yard, to a place appoynted for the same, [* W. Munt](#). Iohn Iohnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allyn aforesayd, which godly constant persons, after they had made theyr praiers, and were ioyfully •yed to the stakes, calling vpon the name of God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from Idolatry, suffered

their martyrdome with such triumphe and ioye, that the people did no lesse showte therat to see it, then at the other that were burnt the same day in the morning.

Thus ended all these glorious x. soules that day, their happy liues vnto the Lord,* whose ages all did growe to y^e summe of 406. yeares or thereaboutes. The Lord graunt we may well spend our yeares and dayes likewise to his glory. Amen.

¶Iohn Thurston dyed in Colchester Castle.

BEfore you haue heard of y^e taking of one I. Thurston at Muchbentley,* in the house of one William Munt of the same towne: which sayd Iohn Thurston afterwarde, about the moneth of Maye, in the yeare aforesayde, dyed in Colchester Castle, a constaunt confessor of Iesus Christ.

¶The story and death of George Eagles, otherwise termed Trudgeouer, a most paynfull trauayler in Christes Gospell, who for the same Gospell most cruelly was martyred by the cruell papistes.

AMong other Martirs of singular vertue and constancie,* one George Eagles deserueth not the least admyration, but is so much the more to be commended, for that he hauing little learning or none, most manfully serued & fought vnder the banner of Christes Church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is to beautifie & adorn his kingdome w^t the weake & simple instruments of this world: such as in the old Testament Amos was, who w^t many other of obscure and vnknowne names, were called from the hearde and soldes to the honour of Prophetes: as likewise we read of the Apostles that were called from fishermens craft, and put into churches. Wherefore thys George Eagles is not to be neglected for his base occupation, whome Christ called thence to set forth and declare abroad his Gospell. Rather we ought to glorifie GOD the more thereby in his holinesse, whiche in so blinde a time inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancie of suffering: who after a certayne time hee had vsed the occupation of a Taylor, being eloquent and of good vtterance, gaue and applyed himselfe to the profite of christes Church.

Which man, as before in those moste bright and cleare dayes of king Edw. the 6. he had not vnfruitfully shewed and preached the power & force of y^e Lorde: so afterward in the tempestious time and fall of the church (at what tyme the confessours of Christ and hys Gospell were turmoyled, diuers of thē murdered, parte banished, & other some constrained for feare not to shew their heades) he expressed and vttered his manly stomacke. For he wandring abroad into diuers and farre Countryes,* where he could finde any of his brethren, he did there moste earnestly encourage & comfort them, not taryng in this town, and sometyme abiding in that certayn mōthes together, as occasion serued, lodgyng sometyme in the Countrey & sometime for feare liuing in fieldes & woods, who for his immoderate & vnreasonable goyng abroad, was called Trudgeouer. Oftentimes he did lye abroad in the night without couert spending the most part thereof in deuout and earnest pray^rer.

His dyet was so aboue measure spare and sclender, that for the space of three yeares, he vsed for the moste parte, to drinke nothing but very water, whereunto he was compelled through necessitie of the time of persecution: & after whē he perceaued that his body by Gods prouidence

proued well enough with this dyet, he thought best to inure himselfe therewithall agaynst all necessities.

Now when he had profited Christes Church in thys sort, by going about and preaching the Gospell a yere or two, and especially in Colchester and the quarters therabout, that priue enemy which enuieth alwayes the saluation and blessed estate of the good, lurketh & layeth wait by all meanes possible for hym, so that there were diuers espies sent out, who had in commaundement, where soeuer they found him, to bring him eyther quicke or dead.

But when this their attempt could not preuayle, but al was in vayne (the sayd Eagles with his brethren keping in close, and hiding themselues in out and darke places, as in barnes, thickets, holes, and priuy closets) hys aduersaries wēt about an other way to compasse this theyr enterprise of taking him. For in the Queenes name a greuous Edicte was proclaymed throughout foure Shyres Essex, Suffolke, Kent, and Northfolke, promising y^e party that tooke him, twenty pound for his paynes: doubtles a worthy hyre to entice any Iew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the mony, deuised and inuēted al waies and reasons they could possible to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this sely man.

At length it came to passe, that this George being seene by chaunce at Colchester vpō Mary Magdalens day, at which tyme they kept a Fayre in the Towne, should haue foorthw^t ben deliuered to hys aduersaries, if he perceiuing the same (as God would haue it) had not conueyed hymselfe away as fast as he could, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking dilligently for him. Who first hid hymselfe in a Groue, and then from thence he stole into a corne field there by, and so laye secretly couched from the vyolence of his enemies, in so muche as they were all, sayng one, past hope of taking him, and therefore readye to depart their way.

This one hauing more subtilly and wicked craft in his head then the rest, woulde not depart thence with his fellowes, but climed vp into a high tree, there to view & espy if he might see Eagles any where stir or moue. The poore man thinking al sure enough, by reason that hee heard no noyse abroad, rose vp vpon his knees, and lifting vpp his hands, prayed vnto God.* And whether it were for y^t hys head was aboue the corne, or because his voice was heard the lurker perceiuing hys desired pray that hee hunted after, forthwith came downe, and sodaynly laying hands on him, brought him as prisoner to Colchester. Notwithstan'ding the greedy and Iudas knaue which had so much promised him, was faine to be contented with a very smal reward, and glad to take that too, least he shoulde haue had nothing at all.

This George, not without great lamentation of dyuers good men: and great lacke vnto the Church of God (of whiche to his power hee was a worthy instrument) was committed to prison there, and from thence wythin 4. dayes after conueyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in deuout prayer, and would not sleepe, neither would eat or drinke, but bread and water. The next day he was caryed to London to the Bishop or the Counsayle, and there remayned a certayne time, & then was brought downe to Chelmsford to the Sessions, and there was indited and accused of treason, because hee had assembled cōpanyes together, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme in that case prouided. For so it was ordayned a litle before, to auoyd sedition, that if men shoulde flocke secretly together, aboue the number of six, they shoulde be

attached of treason: which strayte lawe was the casting away of the good Duke of Somerset before mentioned.

And albeit it was well known that poore Eagles did neuer any thing seditiously against y^e Queene, yet to cloke an honest matter withall, and to cause hym to be the more hated of the people, they turned religion into a ciuill offence and crime, and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or fayth before the Iudges: yet could he not bryng to passe by any meanes, but that hee must needes be indicted (as is sayd) of treason, whose inditement did runne muche after this fashion.

George Eagles, thou art indicted by y^e name of George Eagles, otherwise Trudgeouer the worlde, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer, that God shoulde turne Queene Maryes hart, or els take her away.*

He denyed that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed that he prayed that God would turn her hart in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding he was condemned for a traytor, although the meaning thereof was for Religion.

[Page 2010](#) This thing done, he was caryed to the new Inne, called the signe of the Crowne in Chelmsforde, by the beastly Bayliffes, which some of them were they that before dyd the best to take him, and being in the Inne, one Richard Potto the elder,* an Inholder, dwelling at the signe of the Cocke in the same towne, did muche trouble him in perswading him to cōfesse he had offended the Queene in his prayer which he was condemned for, and to aske her forgeuenes.

To whome he sayd hee had not offended her Grace in that behalfe. So in processe of time he was layd vppon a Sled with an Hurdle on it, and drawne to the place of execution being fast bounde, hauing in his hand a Psalme booke, of the whiche he read very deuoutly all the way w^t a loud voyce till he came there: and being on the Ladder, this foresayd Potto did much trouble him w^t the matter aforesayd, when he would haue vttered other thinges, tyll such time as the Sheriffe commaunded Potto to hold his peace and trouble him no more.

So he made his confession and stood very constant stil then he was turned of the ladder. With him were cast certayn theeues also, and y^e next day when they wer brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much set forth and declare the innocency and godlines of this man. For being ledde betweene two theeues to the place where he should suffer, when as hee exhorted bothe them & all other, to stand steadfastly to the truth, one of these turned the counsel he gaue, into a iesting matter, and made but a floute of it.

Why should we doubt to obtayne heauen, sayth he, for as much as this holy man shal go before vs, as captayne and leader vnto vs in the way. We shall flee thether strait as soone as he hath once made vs the entry.

In this, George Eagles and that other did greatly re'proue him, who on y^e other side gaue good heed to Georges exhortation, earnestly be wayling his owne wickednes, & calling to Christ for mercy. But the more that the first was bid to be still and to leaue off his scoffing, the more peruerse did he continue in hys foolishnes and his wicked be'hauour. At length he came to the

Gallowes, where they shoulde bee hanged, but George was caryed to an other place there by to suffer. Betweene the two it was y^e godlyers chaunce to go the foremost, who beyng vpon y^e ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and take heede to thēselues, how they did transgresse y^e commaundementes of God, and then hadde committed his soule in to Gods handes, he ended his life after a godly and quyet maner.

The mockers turn commeth next, which would haue sayd likewise somewhat, but his tongue did so fumble and falter in his head,* that hee was not able to speake a word. Fayne would he haue vttered his mind, but he coulde not bring it out. Then did the vnder Sheriffe bid him say the Lordes prayer, which he coulde not say neyther, but stutteringly, as a man would saye, one word to day, and an other to morowe. Then one did begin to say it, and so bad him say after.

Such as were there and saw it, were very much astonyed: especially those that did beholde the iust punishment of God, agaynst him that had mocked so earnest a matter. George Eagles in the meane tyme, after hee had hanged a small time, hauing a great check with the halter, immediately one of the Bayliffes cut the halter a sunder, & hee fell to the ground being still aliue, although much amased w^t the checke he had of the ladder.

*The one William Swallow of Chelmsford a Bayliffe did draw him to the Sledde, y^t he was drawn thether on, and layd his necke thereon, and with a Cleauer, such as is occupied in many mens kitchins, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and sometime hit his necke, and sometye his chinne, and did fowly māgle him, and so opened him. Notwithstanding this blessed Martyr of Christe abode steadfast and constant in the very midst of his tormentes, till such time as this tormentor William Swallowe dyd plucke the hart out of his body. The bodye being deuided in foure partes, and his bowels burnt, was brought to y^e foresayd Swallowes dore, and there layd vppon the fishe stalles before his dore, till they had made ready a horse to cary his quarters, one to Colchester, and the reste to Harwich, Chelmsford and S. Rouses.

His head was set vpp at Chelmsforde on the Market Crosse on a long pole,* and there stode till the winde dyd blowe it downe, and lying certayne dayes in the streete tumbled about, one caused it to be buried in the Churchyarde in the night. Also a wonderfull work of God was it that he shewed on this wicked Bayliffe Swallow, who within short space after this was so punished, that all the heare went welnere of his head, hys eyes were as it were closed vp and could scant see, the nayles of his fingers and toes went cleane off. He was in such case of his bodye, as though he had bene a leper,* and now in his last age almost a very begger, and his wife which he a little after married God hath punished with the falling sickenes, or a disease like vnto that: which may be a warning or glasse for al mē and women to look in, that be enemies to Gods true seruantes.*

No lesse token of his marueilous iudgement did God shewe vppon the foresayde Richard Potto, whiche did so much trouble this George Eagles in the Inne, and at the place of execution, as is aboue specified. He liued til the be|ginning of Queene Elizabethes raygne, al which time he little ioyed, & on a time being in a great chaufe wyth two or three of his neighbors in his own house, feeling himself not well, he said to one of hys seruantes: Goe with me in to the chamber & when hee came there, he fell downe on a low bed, as heauy as it had bene lead, & laye there fomyng at the mouth, & coulde neuer speake after, neyther yet vnderstand what was sayd to him, as by al meanes was tried by his neighbors with signes to him made, but laye as senceles as it had bene a

very dumb beast, and within three or foure dayes dyed. God graunt that this token sente of God, with many moe like, may bee a warning to vs euer hereafter, while we shall liue vnto the worlds end.

Besides this, God hathe wonderfully shewed hys worke. For at a time when they layd great wayte for thys George Eagles: so that it was thought that it was vnpos[sible but that he should be taken being so beset, his frends did put him in a Prentice apparill, that is to say, watche• hose, as their maner is, and an old cloke, and set him on a packe of woll, as though he had ridden to carry woll to y^e spinners, so he rode amongst the midst of his aduersaries and escaped them al for that time. An other troubler of the sayd George Eagles was also Iustice Browne, who enioyed not his cruelty many yeares after. &c.

Also when hee was at the Sessions at Chelmsforde, there was a rumor raysed that hee had accused diuers honest men that dyd keepe him in theyr houses, and was conuersaunt with him, and all to discredite him, which rumor was very false and vtterly vntrue. Witnes one Reynold, with diuers other dwelling in Chelmsford.

¶The martirdome and examination of Richard Crashfield of Wymoundham, condemned to death for the testimonye of Iesus Christ.

ABout this time suffered at Norwiche,* a godly man & a constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield whose examination before the Chauncellor, named Dunnynge, as he penned them with hys owne hand, so haue we faythfully recorded the same.

How say you Syrha, sayd the Chancellor,* to the ceremonyes of the Church?

Then sayd I: what ceremonies?

He sayd vnto me: Do you not beleue that all the ceremonies of the church were good and godly?

My aunswere was: I do beleue so many as are groüded in the testament of Iesus Christ.

Tush, sayd he,* do you beleeeue in the Sacrament of the aultar?

I sayd, I knew not what it was.

Then sayd he: Do you not beleeeue that Christe tooke bread, gaue thankes, brake it, and sayde: Take, eate, thys is my body.

Yes verily, sayd I, and euen as Christ did speake, so did he performe the worke.

Tush, sayd he, doe you not beleeeue this, that after the wordes be spoken by the prieste, there is the substaunce of Christes body, flesh, and bloud? How say you, doe you not beleue this? Speake man.

I doe beleue that Christes body was broken for me vppon the Crosse, and his bloud shed for my redemption, wherof the bread and the wyne is a perpetuall memory, y^e pledge of hys mercy, the ring and seale of hys promise, and a perpetuall memory for the faythfull, vnto the ende of the world. So then I was commaunded into prison vntil the next day.

¶An other examination of Richard Crashfield.

*

The daye following I was brought foorth. Then the Chauncellor sayd vnto me: Richard, how say you? Are you otherwise minded then you were yesterdaye? Hee rehearsing all the wordes that we hadde afore, sayde: are not [Page 2011](#) these your wordes? Whereto I aunswered, Yes.

Then sayd he: how say you, can you not finde in your hart, when you come to the Church, to kneele downe before the Roode, and make your prayer?

*I aunswered and sayd, No: rehearsing the commaundement of God forbidding the same.

He sayd: haue you not read or heard, that God commaunded an Image to be made?

I answered, what Image?

He sayd, the brasen serpent.

I sayd, Yes, I haue heard it read, how that God dyd commaunde it to bee made, and lykewise to bee broken downe.

Then D. Briggs sayd: Wherfore did God command the Seraphins and Cherubins to be made?

I sayd, I could not tell: I would fayne learne.

Then sayd the Chauncellor: But how say you to this? can you finde in your hart to fall downe before the picture of Christ, which is the Roode?

I sayd, No, I feare the curse of God: for it is wrytten that God curseth the handes that make them, yea, and the handes that make the tooles wherewith they are carued.

Then D. Briggs raged, and sayd: List now what a peece of scripture he hath here gotten to serue hys purpose for he will not allow but where he listeth.*

Then sayd the Chauncellor: How say you to Confession to the priest? when were you confessed?

I sayd, I confesse my selfe dayly vnto the eternal God whom I most greuously offend.

Then the Chauncellor sayd: You do not then take con'fession to the priest to be good?

I aunswered, No, but rather wicked.

Then the Chauncellor sayd, How say you by yonder geare,* yonder singing, and yonder playing at y^e Organs? is it not good and godly?

I sayd, I could perceauue no godlines in it.

Then he sayde: why, is it not written in the Psalmes: that we should prayse God with hymmes and spirituall songes?

I sayd, Yes, spirituall songes must be had: but yonder is of the flesh: & of the spirite of error. For to you it is pleasaunt and glorious, but to y^e Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then sayd the Chauncellor: why, is it not written: My house is an house of prayer?*

I sayd, Yes. It is written also: That you haue made my house of prayer a denne of theeues.

With that, the Chancellor looked, and sayd: Haue we?

I aunswered and sayde, Christ sayde so. Then was I commaunded to ward.

The thursday next following, was D. Briggess sent to me for to examine me of my fayth.* And he sayd: Countreyman, my Lord Bishop (for loue he would haue you saued) hath sent me vnto you, because to morow is your day appointed: therfore my Lord hath thought it meete, that you should declare vnto me your fayth: For to morow my lord will not haue much adoe with you.

I aunswered & said: Hath my Lord sent you? It is not you to whom I am disposed to shew my minde.

Then he sayd to me: I pray you shew me your minde concerning the sacrament of the altar.

I aunswered: Are you ignoraunt what I haue sayd?

He said▪ No: for it was wel writtē. Except you beleue, sayth he, as the Church hath taught, you are damned both body and soule.

I answered and sayd: Iudge not, least yee bee iudged: condemne not, least ye be condemned.

And he sayd: Loe: we shall haue a traytour as well as an hereticke: for hee will disallowe the kinges iudgement.

I sayd, No: I do not disallow the kinges iudgement but yours I do disallowe. For I praye you tell me, howe came you by this iudgement?

He answered and sayd: By the Church: for the Church hath power to saue and condemne, for if you bee condemned by the church, he ye sure, that you be damned both body and soule.

*Then I aunswered: If you haue this power, I am sore deceiued. For I beleue that Christ shall be our Iudge. But now I perceiue you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the payne.

Then he sayd: stand nearer countryman: why stand ye so farre off?

I sayd, I am neare enough, and a little to neare.

Then he sayd: Did not Christ say: Is not my flesh meate and my bloud drinke in deede?

I sayd: To whome spake Christ those wordes?

He sayd: To his Disciples.

I (intending to rehearse the texte) sayde: whereat did Christes disciples murmure inwardly?

He sayd: No, they did not murmure, but they were the Infidels (saith he:) for the Disciples were satisfied w^t those wordes

I sayd: Did not Christ say thus, as hee taught at Capernaum? whereas his Disciples murmured, saying▪ This is an hard saying. Who can abide the hearyng of it? Iesus percei'uing their thoughtes: sayd: Doth this offend you?

Then he raged and sayd: Oh, thou wrastest the text for thine owne purpose. For the disciples did neuer murmure but the vnbeleuers, as thou art.*

I sayd: Yes, but I perceiue you know not the text.

Then sayd he with much raging, I will laye my head thereon, it is not so.

Then sayd I: I haue done with you.

Then sayd he: What shall I tell my Lord of you?

If you haue nothing to tell him, youre errand shalbe the sooner done, sayd I. And so we departed.

Then on Friday I was brought forth to receiue iudge'ment. Then the Chauncellor said vnto me:* Are you a new man, or are you not?

I aunswered and sayd: I trust I am a new man born of God.

God geue grace you be so, sayd he. So he rehearsed all my examination, & sayd: How say you, are not these your wordes?

I sayd, Yes: I will not deny them.

Then he sayd to Doctour Pore, standing by: I praye you talke with him. Then he alledging to me many fayre flattering wordes, sayd: Take, eate, this is my body. How say you to this? Do you not beleue that it is Christes bodye? speake.

I sayd: Haue you not my minde? Why do you trouble me?

He sayd: What did Christ geue you? was it breade, or was it not?

I sayd: Christ tooke bread and gaue thanks, and gaue it, and they tooke bread, and did eate. And Saincte Paule maketh it more manifest, where he sayth: So oft as yee shall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, yee shall shew forth the Lordes death vntill hee come.* Saincte Paule sayth not here, as you say: for he sayth: So ofte as you shall eate of thys bread. He doth not saye, body. So they intendinge that I should go no further in the text, sayd: Tush, you goe about the bush. Aunswere me to the first question. Let vs make an end of that.

What say you to the bread that Christe gaue? Let mee haue your mind in that.

I aunswered: I haue sayd my mind in it.

Then the Chancellor sayde: No, wee will haue youre mind in that.

I aunswered: I haue sayd my minde in it.

Then the Chancellor: No, we will haue your mynde more playnly: For wee intend not to haue many wordes with you.

I said: My faith is fully groundd and stablished, that Christ Iesus the Easter Lamb hath offered his blessed body a sacrifice to God the father, the price of my redemptiō. For by that onely sacrifice are all faythfull sanctified, & he is our onely aduocate and mediatour, and hee hath made perfect our redemption. This hath hee done alone, wythout any of your dayly oblations.

Then Doctour Brigges starte vp, and sayd: Truthe, your wordes are true in deede. You take well the litterall sense: but this you must vnderstand, that like as you sayd that Christ offered his body vpon the Crosse, whiche was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice: so likewise wee dayly offer the selfe same body that was offered vpon the crosse, but not bloody and visible, but inuisible,* vnto God the father.

Doe you offer Christes body, I sayd? Why then chrystes sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men shalbe lyers.

Then he sayd: Thou shalt not feare him that hath power to kill the body: but thou shall feare hym that hath power to kill both body and soule.

I aunswered & sayd: It is not so But the text is thus: Thou shalt not feare them that haue power to kill the body, and then haue done what they can. But thou shalt feare him that hath power to kill both body and soule, and cast them both into hel fire, and not them.

He answered and sayd: Yes, for it is the Church.

I answered and sayd: Why, Christ sayth: I geue my lyfe for the redemption of the worlde. No manne taketh my lyfe from me (saythe hee) but I geue it of myne owne power, and so I haue power to take it agayne. Therefore Christ y^e sonne of god did offer his blessed body once for al. [Page 2012](#) And if you wil presume to offer his body dayly, then your power is aboue Christes power. With that he chafed, and sayd: What, shal wee haue doctrine? Ye are not hereto appointed.

Then the Chauncellor stooode vp, and sayde: will yee turne from this wicked error, and be an example of goodnes, as you haue bene an example of euill (for by youre wicked reading you haue perswaded simple women to be in this error) and ye shall haue mercy.

And I said: it is of God that I do craue mercy, whom I haue offended, and not of you.

Then sayde the Chauncellor: When were you at youre parishe Churche? These two yeares and more you haue stand excommunicate. Wherefore you are condemned. And so I was condemned.

*Thus hast thou, gentle Reader, the examinations of this godly young man, set forth and written with hys own hand, who not long after his condēnation was by y^e Sheriffes and Officers there, brought to the stake, where with much pacience and constancie he entered his blessed Martirdome. At the burning of whiche Christian Martyr one Thomas Carman the same tyme was apprehended, by what occasion, it is not yet to vs fully certayne, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pled'ging him at his burning, concerning which Thom. Carman, his story hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be seene.

¶One Fryer and a certayne godly woman burned at Rochester, who was the sister of George Eagles.

*

ABout the same time and month, one named Fryer, w^t a woman accompanying him, who was the sister of George Eagles in the like cause of righteousness, suffered the like martyrdome by the vnrighteous papistes, whose tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate & cut shorte, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better minde.

***The apprehension and death of Maistres Ioyce Lewes, the wife to Thomas Lewes, of Manceter, most constantly suffering for Gods word at Lichfield.**

*MAistresse Ioyce Lewes, a gentlewoman borne, was delicately brought vp in the pleasures of y^e world hauing delight in gay apparell & such like foolishnes, with y^e which follyes, the most part of the Gentlefolkes of England were then and are yet infected, who was married first to one called Appelby, afterwarde to Thomas Lewes of Manceter. In the beginninge of Queene Maryes tyme she went to the Church and heard masse as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that moste godly & learned M. Laurence Saunders, who suffered in Couentry, she began to take more heede to the matter, and enquired earnestly of such as she knew feared God, y^e cause of hys death: and when she perceaued it was because hee refused to receaue the Masse, she began to be

troubled in consciēce & waxed very vnquiet, & because her house was euen hard by M. Iohn. Glouers house, of whome mention was made before. pag. 1614. and 1620. a man of blessed memory and of a singular example of his vnfayned godlines and manifold troubles whiche he suffered for the Gospell) shee did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tel her the faultes that were in the Masse, and other thinges that at that time were vrged as necessary to saluation.

Now he perceiuing both her vnquiet minde, & also the desire she had to know the truth, dyd most dilligently instruct her in y^e wayes of the Lord, approuing vnto her out of Gods holy word, that the Masse, with all other papisticall inuentions, was odious in Gods sight: and besides this, reprobued her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By the which godly counsell geuē by him, it happened that she began to waxe weery of y^e world throughly sorrowfull for her sinnes, being inflamed with the loue of God, desirous to serue him accordyng to hys word, purposing also to flee from those thinges the whiche did displease the Lord her God. And because she had learned y^e masse to be euil & abhominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousnes of her husband to come to the Church, at the same tyme when the holy water was cast, shee turned her backe towards it, and shewed her selfe to be displeased with their blasphemous holy water, iniurious to the bloud of christ: Whereupon she was accused before the Bishop, for the despising of theyr sacramentals.

Immediately a Citation was sent for her to her husbandes house, to appeare before the bishop incontinently. The Sumner y^t brought the Citation deliuered it to her husband, who looking vpō it, & perceauing what it was, was moued w^t anger, willing the sumner to take the Cita^tion w^t him agayne (or els he woulde make him to eate it. The Sumner refused to take it agayne, for he thought no man durst haue bene so bold to trouble him. But in y^e ende Lewes compelled the sayd sumner to eate the Citation in^deed, by setting a daggar to his hart: & when hee had eaten it, he caused him to drinke to it, & so sent him away. But im^mediately after, the sayd Lewes with his wife were commaunded to appeare before the B. where the sayd Lewes by & by submitted himself, & desired the Bish. to be good to him, excusing himselfe after y^e best fashion he could. Whereupon the B. was content to receiue his submission, w^t condition that his wife shoulde submit her selfe also. But shee stoutly told the byshop, that by refusing of the holy water she had neither offended God nor any part of hys lawes. At the which words the bish. being greeuously offended, & because she was a Gentlewomā, he would not take her at y^e worst (as he sayd) he gaue her one monthes respite binding her husband in an hundred pound to bring her again vnto him at y^e monthes end, and so they were both let go.

When they came to their owne house, the sayde Maystresse Ioyce Lewes gaue her selfe to most dilligent praier and inuocating of the name of God,* resorting continually to the aboue named man of God, Maister Iohn Glouer who did most dilligently instruct her with Gods worde, willing her in any wise not to meddle with that matter in respect of vayne glory, or to get her selfe a name, shewyng her the great daungers shee was like to cast her selfe in, if shee shoulde meddle in Gods matters otherwyse then Christ doth teach.

When the moneth was nowe almost expired, and the time at hand that shee shoulde be brought before the Bishop, her husband being aduertised by the sayde Mayster Iohn Glouer and others, not to carry her to the Byshop, but to seeke some wayes to saue her, or if the worst should come, to be content to forfeit so much money, rather then to cast his own wife into y^e fire: He

answered, hee woulde not loose or forfeit anye thinge for her sake: and so lyke a murtherer of his owne wife, caryed her to the bloudye B. where she was examined, and found more stout then shee was before death was threatned. And to begin withal,* she was sent to such a stincking prison, that a certayn mayde which was appoynted to keep her companye, did sownd in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and oftentimes examined and euer founde stoute, at the length shee was brought in iudgement, & pronounced an hereticke, worthy to be burned. When the Bishop reasoned with her, why she would not come to the masse, and receiue the sacramentes and sacramentals of holy Church, she answered: Because I find not these thinges in Gods worde, which you so vrge and magnifie, as thinges moste needefull for mens saluation. If these thinges were in the same word of God commended: I would with all my hart receiue, esteeme, and beleue them. The Bishoppe aunswered: if thou wilt beleue no more then is in the scripture, concerning matters of religion: thou art in a damnable case. At the whiche wordes she was wonderfully amased, and being moued by y^e spirite of God, tolde the Bishop, that hys wordes were vngodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she cōtinued a whole twelue moneth in prison, because she was committed to the Sheriffe that was of late chosen, who coulde not be compelled to put her to death in his tyme, as he affirmed: for y^e which thing after her death, he was sore troubled and in daunger of his life. All that time shee was in prison,* her behaiour was such both in wordes and deedes, that al they that had any sparke of godlines or ciuile honesty, did greatly lamēt her case, that she should be put to death.

Now when the tyme did drawe neare the which God had appoynted for her deliuerance, the writte De comburendo, (as they terme it) beyng brought down from London, she desired certaine of her frends to come to her, with whom when they came, shee consulted how shee might be haue her self, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, cōfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable vnto the enemies of God. As for death, sayd shee, I do not greatly passe: when I behold the amyable countenance of Christ my deare Sauour, y^e vglesome face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In y^e which time also shee reasoned most comfortably out of Gods worde, of Gods election and reprobation.

In the euenyng, before y^e daye of her suffering, two of the priests of the close of Lichfield, came to the vnder Sheriffes house where shee laye, and sent worde to her by the [Page 2013](#) Sheriffe,* that they were come to heare her confession: for they would be sory shee shoulde dye without it. She sente them word agayne, shee had made her confession to Christ her sauour, at whose hands she was sure to haue forgeuenes of her sinnes.* As concerning the cause for the whiche she should dye, she had no cause to confesse that, but rather geue vnto God most humble prayse that he did make her worthy to suffer deathe for his worde: And as concerning that absolution that they were able to geue vnto her, being authorised by y^e pope, she did defie the same, euen from the bottome of her hart. The which thing when the priests heard, they said to the Sheriffe: Well, to morow her stoutnes will be proued and tryed. For although perhaps shee hath now some friendes that whisper her in her eares, to morow will we see who dare be so hardy as to come neare her: and so they went theyr wayes with anger, that theyr confession and absolution was nought set by.

All that night she was wonderfully chearefull & mery with a certaine grauitie, in so much that the maiestie of the spirit of God did manifestly appeare in her, who did expel the feare of deathe out of her heart, spending the tyme in prayer, reading, & talking with them that were purposely come vnto her for to comfort her with the word of God.

About three of the clocke in the morning, Satan (who neuer sleepeth especially when death is at hand) began to stirre himselfe busily,* shooting at her that fierye darte the whiche he is wont to doe agaynst all that are at defiaunce with him, questioning with her, how shee coulde tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ dyed for her. I graunt that he dyed, but that he dyed for thee howe canst thou tell? with this suggestion when shee was troubled, they that were about her, did counsell her to follow the ex'ample of Paule, Galathians, 2. where he sayth: Which hath loued me, and geuen hymselfe for me. Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of Gods word, was a manifest token of Gods loue towards her, especially that same holy spirite of God working in her hart that loue and desire towards God to please him, and to bee iustified by him through Christ &c. By these and like perswasions & especially by the comfortable promises of Christ,* brought out of the scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight of the clocke, maister Sheriffe came to her into her chamber, saying these wordes: Maistres Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the Queenes pleasure the whiche is, that you shall liue no longer but one houre in this world: therefore prepare your selfe therunto: 〈◇〉 stādeth you in hand. At which wordes being so grosely vttered and so sodaynly by such an officer as he was, she was somewhat abashed. Wherefore one of her friendes and acquayntaunce standing by, sayde these words: Maistresse Lewes, you haue great cause to prayse GOD, who wyll vouchsafe so speedily to take you out of this worlde, and make you worthy to be a witnesse to his truth, & to beare record vnto Christ that he is the onely sauour.

After the which words spoken thus, she sayde: maister Sheriffe, your message is welcome to me, and I thanke my God that he will make me worthy to aduenture my life in his quarrell. And thus maister Sheriffe departed: and within the space of one houre, he came agayn, cum gladiis & fustibus: and when he came vp into the chamber, one of her friendes desired him to geue him leaue to goe with her to the stake, & to comfort her, the whiche the Sheriffe graunted at that time, but afterwarde he was sore troubled for the same when she was dead.

Nowe when shee was brought throughe the towne with a number of bill menne,* a great multitude of people being present, she being led by two of her frends (whiche were M. Michael Reniger and M. Augustine Bernher) she was brought to the place of execution: and because the place was farre off, and the throng of the people great, and she not acquaynted with the fresh ayre (being so long in prison) one of her frendes sent a messenger to the Sheriffes house for some drinke: and after she had prayed three seuerall times, in the whiche prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous Masse, and to delyuer this realme from Papistry (at the end of the whiche prayers the most parte of the people cryed Amen, yea, euen the Sheriffe that stode harde by her,* readye to cast her in the fire for not allowing the Masse, at this her prayers sayde with the rest of the people, Amen) when she had thus pray'ed, she tooke the cup into her handes saying: I drynke to all them that vnfaynedly loue the Gospell of Iesus Christ and wish for the abolishment of Papistry. When she had dronken,* they that were her frends dranke also.

After that a great number, specially the women of the towne dyd drynke wyth her: which afterward were put to open penaunce in the Churche by the cruel Papistes, for drinking with her.

When she was tyed to the stake with the chayne, shee shewed such a cheerefulnes, that it passed mans reason, be^yng so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hartes did lament, and euen with teares bewayle the tyranny of y^e Papistes.*
When the fire was sette vppon her, she neither struggled nor sturred, but onely lifted vp her handes towards heauen, being dead very speedely: for the vnder Sheriffes at the request of her friendes had prouided such stuffe, by the whiche shee was sodenly dispatched out of this miserable worlde.

This amongst other thinges may not bee forgotten, that the Papistes had appoynted some to rayle vppon her openly, and to reuile her, both as shee went to the place of Execution, and also when she came at the stake. Amongst others there was an olde Prieste, whiche hadde a payre of writing tables to note bothe the names of the women that dranke of her cuppe (as before you heard) and also described her friendes by their apparell: for presentlye hee could not learne their names, and afterwarde enquired for their names, and so immediately after processe was sente out for them, bothe to Couentrye and other places: but God, whose prouidence sleepeeth not, did defende them from the handes of these cruell tyrauntes. Unto y^e whiche God, with the sonne▪ and the holy Ghost bee honour and glory for euer, Amen.

***The Martyrdome of Rafe Allerton, Iames Austo, Margery Awstoo, and Richard Roth burned at Islington.**

IN searching out the certayne number of the faythfull Martyrs of God y^t suffered within the tyme & raygne of Queene Mary:* I finde that about the 17. day of September, wer burned at Islington, nigh vnto London, these 4. constant professours of christ, Rafe Allerton, Iames Awstoo, Margery Austoo, his wife, and Richard Roth. Amongst the which: it first appeareth that this Rafe Allerton was more then a yeare before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lorde Darcy of Chich. and was there accused, aswell for that he woulde not consent and come vnto the idolatrye and superstition whiche then was vsed, as also that he had by preaching entised oothers to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, he confessed that hee comming into hys parishe Churche of Bentley, and seing the people sitting there, either gasing about, or els talking together, exhorted them that they would fall vnto prayer and meditation of Gods most holy worde, and not •it styll idly. Whereunto they willingly consented. Then after prayer ended, he read vnto them a chapter of the New testament, and so departed.

In which exercise he continued vntill Candlemas, & then being enformed that he might not so doe by the lawe (for that he was no priest or minister) he lefte of and kepte himselfe close in his house vntill Easter then nexte after.* At what time, certayne sworne men for the inquiry of such matters, came vnto hys house and attached him for reading in the Parish of Welley.

But when they vnderstood that he had red but once, & that it was of obedience (whereunto hee earnestly moued the people) they let hym for that tyme depart. Notwithstanding for feare of their

cruelty hee was not longe after constrayned to forsake his owne house, and keepe himselfe in woodes, barnes, and other solitary places, vntill y^e time of his apprehension.

After this examination, the Lord Darcy sent him vp to the Counsell: but they (not minding to trouble them selues with him) sent him vnto Boner. Who by threateninges and other subtyll meanes, so abused the simple and fearfull hart of thys man (as yet not thoroughly stayed vpon the ayd and helpe of God) that within shorte tyme hee won him vnto his most wicked will, and made him opely at Paules crosse to reuoke and recante his former profession, and thereupon set him at libertie of body. Whiche yet brought such a bondage and terrour of soule and conscience, and so cast him downe, that except the Lord (whose mercies are immeasurable) had supported and lifted hym vp agayne, he had perished for euer.

But the Lord, who neuer suffereth his elect Children vtterly to fall, castinge his pittifull eyes vppon this loste sheepe, with his mercifull and fatherly chastisement, dyd (w^t Peter) rayse hym vp agayne, geuing vnto him not only harty and vnfayned repentaunce, but also a moste constant boldnes to professe agayne (euen vnto the death) hys [Page 2014](#) most holy name and glorious gospel. Wherefore at y^e procurement of one Thomas Tie priest: sometime an earnest professor of Christ, but now a fierce persecutour of y^e same, (as appeareth more at large before in the history of William Munt and his wife, [* page 1979](#)) he was againe apprehended, and sent vp againe vnto Boner, before whome he was the 8. day of Aprill, and sondry other times else examined. The report of which examination, wrytten by his owne hand with bloud for lacke of other incke, heereafter followeth.

The examination of Rafe Allerton at his seconde apprehension, appearing before the Bishop of London at Fulham, the 8. day of Aprill. An. 1557. wrytten by him selfe, wyth his owne bloud.

Boner.

Ah syrrha, howe chaunceth it that you are come hether againe on this fashion? [* I](#) dare say thou art accused wrongfully.

Rafe.

Yea my Lord, so I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused off, then I would be very sorie.

Boner.

By saint Marie that is no• wel done. But let me heare: Art thou an honest man? for if I can proue no heresie by thee, then shall thine accusers doe thee no harme at all. Goe too, lette me heare thee: For I did not beleeeue the tale to be true.

Rafe.

My Lorde, who doeth accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answere thereunto.

Boner.

Ah, wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not to be afraide, nor ashamed to aunswer for thy selfe. But tell me in faith, hast thou not dissembled.

Rafe.

If I cannot haue mine accusers to accuse me before you, my conscience doth constrain me to accuse my self before you: For I confesse that I haue grievously offended God in my dissimulatiō at my last being before your lordship, for the which I am right sorrie, as God knoweth.

Boner.

Wherein I pray thee, diddest thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?

Rafe.

Forsooth my Lord, if your lordsh. remēber, I did set my hand vnto a certain writing, the contents wherof (as I remember) were, y^t I did beleue in all things as the catholike church teacheth. &c. In y^e which I did not disclose my minde, but shamefully dissembled, because I made no difference betwene the true church and the vntrue church.

Bon.

Nay, but I pray thee let me heare more of this gear. For I fear me y^u wilt smel of an hereticke anone. Which is the true church, as thou saiest? Dost thou not call the heretikes church y^e true church, or y^e catholike church of Christ? Now which of these 2. are the true church, saiest thou? Go too: for in faith I will know of thee ere I leaue thee.

Rafe.

As concerning the church of heretikes, I vtterly abhorre y^e same, as detestable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and heresies: and the church catholicke is it that I onely embrace, whose doctrine is sincere, pure and true.

Boner.

By s. Augustine, but that is wel said of thee. For by God almighty, if thou haddest allowed the church of heretikes, I would haue burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Morton.

Then said one Morton a Priest: My Lorde, you know not yet what church it is that he calleth catholicke. I warrant you he meaneth naughtely enough.

Boner.

Thinke you so? Now by our blessed Lady, if it be so, he might haue deceiued me. How say you syrrha, which is the catholicke church.

Rafe.

Euen that which hath receiued the wholesome sound, spoken of Esay, Daudid, Malachie, and Paule, with many other moe. The which sounde, as it is wrytten, hath gone throughout all the earthe in euery place, & vnto the endes of the worlde.

Boner.

Yea, thou sayest true before God. For this is the sound that hath gone throughout all Christendom, and he that beleeueth not the sound of the holy church, as S. Cyprian saith, doth erre. For he saieth, that whosoever is out of the Church, is like vnto them that were out of Noes ship when the flud came vpon al the whole world: so that the Arke of Noe is likened vnto the church: and therefore thou hast wel said in thy confession. For the church is not alone in Germanie, nor was here in England in the time of the late schismes, as the heretikes doe affirme. For if the church should be there alone, then were Christe a lier. For he promised that the holy Ghost should come to vs, leade vs into all truth, yea, and remaine with vs vnto the ende of the world. So now if we wil take Christ for a true saye, then must we needes affirme, that the waye whyche is taught in Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, Flanders, Denmark, Scotland, and all Christendome ouer, must needes be the true catholicke church.

Rafe.

My Lord, if you remember, I spake of al the world, as it is wrytten, and not of all Christendome only, as me thinke your Lordship taketh it, the whiche kinde of speaking you doe not finde in al the Bible. For sure I am that the Gospel hath bene both preached and persecuted in all lands: First in Iewrie by the Scribes and Phariseis, and since that time by Nero, Dioclesian and such like, & nowe here in these our daies by, your Lordship knoweth whō.* For truth it is that the church which you call Catholicke, is none otherwise Catholike then was figured in Caine, obserued of Ieroboam, Ahab, Iezabell, Nabuchadonozor, Antiochus, Herode, wyth innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniell and Esdras maketh mention of these last daies by a plaine prophecie, and now fulfilled as appeareth, and affirmed by our Sauour Christe, and hys Apostles, saying: There shall come greuous wolues to deuour the flocke.

Boner.

Nowe, by the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar, M. Morton, he is the rankest hereticke that euer came before me. How say you? haue you heard the like.

Morton.

I thought what he was my Lord, at the first, I.

Boner.

Now by all Halowes thou shalt be brent with •ire for thy lying, thou horeson verlette and prickelouse th••. Dost thou finde a prophecie in Dan. of vs: nay you knaue it is of you that he speaketh off, and of your false preten••d holinesse. Go too, lette me heare what is the saying of Esdras, and take heede ye make not a lie, I aduise you.

Rafe.

The saying of Esdras is this: the heat of a great multitude is kindled ouer you,*and they shall take away certaine of you, and feede the Idols with you, and hee that consenteth vnto them, shall be had in derision, laughed to scorne, and troden vnder foote: yea they shall be like mad men, for they shall spare no man: they shall spoile and wast such as feare the Lord &c.

Boner.

And haue you taken thys thinge to make youre market good? Ah syrrha, wilt thou so? by my Faith a 〈◇〉 instruction, and a necessary thing to be taught among the people. By my trouth I thinke there be no more of thys opinion. I pray thee tell me? Is there any that vnderstādeth this scripture on this fashion? Before God, I thinke there be none in all England, but thou.

Rafe.

Yes my Lord, there are in England three religions.*

Boner.

Saist thou so? which be those three?

Rafe.

The first is that whiche you holde: the seconde is cleane contrary to the same: and the thirde is an Neuter, being indifferent, that is to say, obseruing all things that are commaunded, outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being set wholly against the same.

Boner.

And of these three which art thou? for nowe thou must needes be of one of them.

Rafe.

Yea my Lord, I am of one of them: and that which I am of, is euen that which is contrary to that which you teach to be beleueed vnder paine of death.

Boner.

Ah syr, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheare, yea and mony in your purse when you went away, and by my faith I had a fauour vnto thee, but now I see thou wilt be a naughtie knaue. Why, wilt thou take vpon thee to read the Scripture, and canst not vnderstād neuer a woorde? For thou hast brought a text of scripture, the which maketh cleane against thee. For Esdras speaketh of y^e multitude of you heretickes, declaring your hate against the catholicke Church, making the simple or idle people that beleue that all is idolatrie that we do, and so intise them away vntill you haue ouercome them.

Rafe.

Nay not so my Lord. For he maketh it more plaine, and sayth on this wise: They shall take away their goodes,* and put them oute of their houses, and then shall it be knowen who are my chosen (sayth the Lord) for they shal be tried, as the siluer or gold is in the fire. And we see it so come to passe, euen as he hath sayd. For who is not now driuen from house & home, yea and his goodes taken vp for other menne that neuer swette for them, if hee doe not obserue as you command and set foorth? Or els, if he be taken, then must he either deny the truth, as I did, in dissembling, or els he shal be sure to be tried, as Esdras sayeth, euen as the golde is tried in the fire. Whereby all the worlde may knowe that you are the bloody church, figured in Caine the tyraunte, neither yet are ye able to auoide it.

Morton.

I promise you my Lorde, I like hym better nowe then euer I did, when he was heere before you the other time. For then hee did but dissemble, as I perceiued well inough: but nowe me thinke he speaketh plainly.

Bon

Mary syr, as you say in dede, he is plaine. For he is a plaine heretike and shalbe burned. Haue y^e knaue away. Let him be caried to little ease at London, vntil I come.

Rafe.

And so was I caried to London vnto Little case, and there remained that night, and on the next morrowe I appeared before him againe, the Deane of Paules and [Page 2015](#) the Chauncellour of London being present.* Then were brought foorth certaine wrytings that I had set my hand vnto.

Boner.

Come on your wayes, syrha. Is not thys youre hand,* and this, and this?

Rafe.

Yea, they are my hande all of them: I confesse the same, neither yet will I denie any thing that I haue sette my hand vnto. But if I haue sette my hand to anye thing that is not lawfull, therefore am I sorie. Neuerthelesse, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Boner.

Well sayde. Nowe yee must tell mee: Were you neuer at the Church since you went from mee, at Masse and Mattens? &c.

Rafe.

No my Lorde, not at Masse, Mattens, nor none other straunge woorshipping of God.

Boner.

Yea, sayest thou so? Wast thou neither at thyne owne parish church, nor at none other? And doest thou also say, that it is a straunge worshipping? Why I praye thee, wilt thou not beleue the Scripture to be true?

Rafe.

Yes my Lorde, I beleue the Scripture to be true, and in the defence of the same I entend to geue my life, rather then I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Deane.

My Lorde, this fellow will be an honest man, I heare by him. He will not stand in his opinion: for he sheweth himselfe gentle and pacient in his talke.

Boner.

Oh, he is a glorious knaue. His painted termes shall no more deceiue me. Ah horeson Prickelouse, doeth not Christ say: This is my body? And howe darest thou deny these woordes, for to say as I haue a wryting to shew, and thine owne hand at the same? Lette me see, wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine owne hande?

Rafe.

Yes my Lord, it is mine owne hand, neyther am I ashamed thereof, because my confession therein is agreeable to Gods woorde. And where as you doe laye vnto my charge that I shoulde denye the woordes of our Sauour Iesus Christ: Oh good Lord, from whence commeth this rash, hastie, and vntrue iudgement? Forsooth not from the spirite of truthe: for he leadeth men into all truthe, and is not the father of liers. Whereupon should your Lordship gather or say of me so diffamously? Wherefore I beseeche you, if I denie the Scriptures Canonically, or anye parte thereof, then let me die.

Tie the Priest.

*My Lord, he is a very sedicious fellow, and perswadeth other men to doe as he himselfe doth, contrary to the order appoynted by the Queenes highnesse and the Clergie of this Realme. For a great sorte of the parish will be gathered one day to one place, and an other day to an other place to heare him: so that very fewe commeth to the Church to heare diuine seruice: and this was not onely before that he was taken and brought vnto the Councell, but also since his retourne home againe, he hath done much harme. For where both men and women were honestly disposed before, by Saint Anne, now are they as ill as he almoste. And furthermore, hee was not ashamed to withstande me before all the Parish, saying that we were of the malignant church of Antichrist, and not of the true Church of Christ, alledging a great manye of Scriptures to serue for his purpose, saying: Good people, take heede, and beware of these bloudthirsty dogges. &c. And then I commaunded the Constable to apprehend hym, and so he did. Neuerthelesse after thys apprehension, the Constable let him goe about his businesse all the next day, so that wythout putting in of suerties, he lette him go into Suffolke and other places, for no goodnesse, I warrante you my Lorde: It were almes to teache suche Officers theyr duetie, howe they should let such rebels go at their owne libertie, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to keepe them fast in the stockes vntill they bring them before a Iustice.

Rafe.

As I sayde before, so say I nowe againe: thou arte not of the Church of Christe, and that will I prooue, if I may be suffered. And where you said, that you commaunded the Constable to apprehende mee, you did so in deede contrary to the Lawes of this Realme, * hauing neither to lay vnto my charge, Treason, Fellonie, nor murther: no neither had you Precept, Processe, nor Warrante to serue on me, and therefore I say, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you seeke to trouble the Constable, because he kept mee not in the stockes three dayes & three nightes, it doth shewe a parte what you are. And my going into Suffolke was not for any euill, but only to buye halfe a bushell of corne for bread, for my poore wife & children, knowing that I had no longer time to tarrye wyth them. But if I had runne away, then you woulde surely haue laid somewhat to his charge.

Boner.

Goe to, thou art a Marchant in deede. Ah syrrha, before God thou shalt be burnt with fire. Thou knowest Richard Roth, doest thou not? Is hee of the same minde that thou art off or no? canst thou tell.

Rafe.

He is of age to answer: let him speake for himselfe: for I heare say that he is in your house.

Boner.

Loe what a knaue heere is. Goe Clunie, fetch me Roth hither. By my trouth he is a false knaue: * but yet thou art woorse then he. Ah Syrrha, did not you sette your hand to a wryting, the tenoure whereof was, that if thou shoulde any time say or doe heretically, then it shoulde be lawfull for mee to take thee as a Relaps, and to proceede in sentence against thee?

Rafe.

Yea, that is so. But heere is to be asked whether it be sufficient, that my hād or name wryting be able to geue authoritie to you or to any other to kill mee. For if I, by wryting canne doe so muche, then must my authoritye be greater then yours. Neuerthelesse, I haue neither sayde nor done heretically, but like a true Christian man haue I behaued my selfe. And so I was committed into prison againe, and the 24. day of the same month, I was brought before the Bishop, the Lord North, D. Story and others, and after a long talke in Latine amongst themselues (vnto the which I gaue no answer, because they spake not to mee, although they spake of me) at the last the Byshoppe sayde.

Boner.

How say you syrrha? tell me briefly at one woord, wilt thou be contented to goe to Fulham with me, & there to kneele thee downe at masse, shewing thy self outwardly as though thou didst it with a good wil? Go to, speake.

Rafe.

I will not say so.

Boner.

Away with him, away with him.

The 2. day of May I was brought before the byshop, and three noble men of the counsell,* whose names I doe not remember.

Boner.

Lo my Lordes, the same is this fellowe that was sent vnto me from the Counsell, and did submit himselfe, so that I had halfe a hope of him: but by S. Anne I was alwayes in doubt of him. Neuerthelesse he was with me, and fared well, and when I deliuered him, I gaue hym money in his purse. How sayest thou? was it not so, as I tell my Lordes heere?

Rafe.

In deede my Lorde, I hadde meate and drynke enough: but I neuer came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gaue mee xij.d. howe be it I neuer asked none, nor would haue done.

A Lorde.

Be good to him my Lorde. Hee will be an honest man.

Boner.

Before God, howe should I trust him? He hathe once deceiued me already. But ye shall heare what he wil say to the blessed Sacrament of the altare. Howe say you sirha? after the woordes of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth no bread, but the very bodye of our sauour Iesus Christ, God and man, and none other substance, vnder the forme of bread?

Rafe.

Where finde you that, my Lord, wrytten?

Boner.

Lo Syr. Why? Doeth not Christ saye: This is my body? Howe sayest thou? Wilt thou denye these woordes of our Sauour Christ? Or els, was he a dissembler, speaking one thing, and meaning an other? Goe to, nowe I haue taken you.

Rafe.

Yea my Lord, you haue taken me in dede, and will kepe me vntill you kill me. How be it my Lord,* I maruel why you leaue out the beginning of the institution of the supper of our Lord? For Christ sayde: Take yee, and eate yee, this is my bodye. And if it will please you to ioyn the former woordes to the latter, then shall I make you an aunswer. For sure I am that Christe was no dissembler, neyther did he say one thing, and meane an other.

Boner.

Why? Then must thou needes saye, that it is hys body: for he sayeth it him selfe, and thou confessest that he will not lie.

Rafe.

No my Lorde: he is true, and all menne are lyers. Notwithstanding, I vtterly refuse to take the woordes of our Sauour, so fantastically as you teach vs to take them: for then should we conspire with certaine heretickes, called the Nestorians: for they denie that Christ hadde a true naturall body, and so me thinke you doe, my Lord. If you wil affirm his body to be there, as you say he is, then must you needes also affirme, that it is a fantastical bodye, and therefore looke to it for Gods sake, and let these wordes go before: Take yee, and eate ye, without which wordes the rest are sufficient: but when the worthy receiuers do take and eat, euen then is fulfilled the words of our Sauour, vnto him, or euery of them, that so receiueth.

Boner.

Ah,* I see well thou canste not vnderstand these woordes: I will shewe thee a Parable. If I should set a peece of beefe before thee, and say, eate: is it no beefe? And then take part of it away, & send it to my cooke, and he shal change the fashion thereof, and make it looke like breade. What wouldest thou saye that it were no Beefe, because [Page 2016](#) it hath not the fashion of beefe?

Rafe.

Let me vnderstand a little further my Lorde: shall the Cooke adde nothing therunto, nor take nothing there from?

Boner.

What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the shape is changed into an other likenesse?

Rafe.

Ah, will you so my Lord? your Sophistrie will not serue: the truth wil haue the victorie, neuerthelesse, as Esay sayth: * He that restraineth himselfe from euill, must be spoyled. * And Amos hath suche like woordes also. For the wise must be faine to holde their peace: so wicked a time it is, sayth he. Neuertheles he that can speake the truth, and will not, shall geue a strait accounts for the same.

A Doctor.

By my Lords leaue, here me thinks thou speakest like a foole. Wilt thou be a iudge of the scripture. Nay thou must stand to learne, and not to teache: for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long agoe.

A priest

No by your leaue, we haue a Church, and not a cong•egation. You mistake that worde, master Doctor.

Rafe.

Then sayd I to my fellowe prisoners standing by: My brethren, doe yee not heare howe these men helpe one an other? Let vs doe so also. But we neuer came all in together after that time, but seuerallye one after an other. Then was I caried away for that time. The xix. daye of May I was brought before the Bishop of Rochester, and Chichester with others.

B Rochest.

Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwise called Trudgeouer? My Lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Rafe.

I know him very well, my Lord.

Rochest.

By my faith I had him once, and then hee was as dronke as an Ape, for he stonke so of drinke, y^t I coulde not abide him, and so sent him away.

Rafe.

My Lorde, I dare saye you tooke your markes amisse. It was either your selfe or some of your own companie: for he did neither drinke Wine, Ale, nor Beere in a quarter of a yeare before that time, and therefore it was not he forsooth.

The rest of mine examinations you shal haue when I am condemned, if I can haue any time after my comming into Newgate, the which I trust shall touch the matter a great deale more plainly: for y^e pithie matters are yet vnwrytten. Thus fare you well good frendes all. Yea I say, farewell for euer in this present world. Greete yee one an other, and be ioyfull in the Lord. Salute y^e good widowes among you, with all the rest of the congregation in Barfold, & Dedham, and Colchester.

This promise of hys, being either not perfourmed, for y^t he might not thereto be permitted, or els if he did wryte the same not comming to my hands, I am faine in the rest of his examinations to follow the only report of the Register: who witnesseth that the 15. day of May. An. 1557. in the Byshops palace at London, he was examined vppon certaine interrogatories, the contents wherof be these.

First, that he was of the parish of Muchbentley, and so of the Diocesse of London.*

Secondly, that the 10. daye of Ianuarie then last past, M. Iohn Morant preaching at Paules, the said Rafe Allerton did there openly submit himselfe vnto the Church of Rome, with the rites and Ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did consent and subscribe aswell vnto the same submission, as also to one other bil, in y^e which he graunted, that if he should at any time turn againe vnto his former opinions, it shoulde be then lawfull for the Bishop immediately to denounce and adiudge hym as an hereticke.

Fourthly, that he had subscribed to a bill, wherein hee affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the woordes of consecration be spok•n by the Priest, there remaineth still materiall bread and materiall wine: and that he beleueth that the bread is the breade of thankesgeuing, and the memoriall of Christes death: and that when he receiueth it, he receiueth the body of Christ spiritually in his soule, but materiall bread in substaunce.

Fiftly, that he had openly affirmed, and also aduisedly spoken that which is contained in the sayde former fourth article last before specified.

Sixthly, that hee hadde spoken against the Bishop of Rome, wyth the Church and Sea of the same, and also against the seuen Sacraments and other Ceremonies and ordinaunces of the same Church, vsed then wythin thys Realme.

Seuenthly, that hee had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of M. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others of late burned within this Realme, and beleueed that theyr opinions were good and godly.

Eightly, that he hadde diuers times affirmed that the religion vsed within this realme at the time of his apprehension, was neither good nor agreeable to Gods woord, and that he coulde not conforme himselfe thereunto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the booke of Common prayer sette foorth in the raigne of king Edward the vj. was in all partes good and godly: and y^t the sayd Rafe and his company prisoners, did daily vse amongst themselues in prison some part of the booke.

Tenthly, that hee had affirmed, that if hee were out of prison, he would not come to Masse, Mattins, nor Euensong, nor beare Taper, Candle, or Palme, nor goe in procession, nor would receiue holy water, holy breade, ashes, or paxe, or any other ceremonie of the Church then vsed within this Realme.

Eleuenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at libertie, he would not confesse his sinnes to any Priest, nor receiue absolution of him: nor yet would receiue the Sacrament of the altar, as it was then vsed.

Twelfly, that he had affirmed, that praying to saints, and prayers for the deade, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bounde to fast and praye, but at his owne wil and pleasure, neither that it is lawful to reserue the Sacrament, or to woorship it.

Thirtenthly, that the sayd Allerton hath, according to these his affirmations, abstained & refused to come vnto his parishe Church euer sithens the 10. day of Ianuarie last, or to vse, receiue or allow any ceremonies, sacramēts, or other rites then vsed in the church.

To all these Articles he answered affirmatiuely, denieng precisely none of them: sauing to this clause contained in the 12. article, that a man is not bounde to fast and pray but at his owne will & pleasure, he sayde that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so oft as he was bounde to doe. And vnto this answer he also subscribed in this sorte.

Except it be prooued otherwise by the holy Scripture, I doe affirme these articles to be true. By me Rafe Allerton.

The next examination was the fourth daye of Iulie. The actes whereof, because they do appeare more amply in hys other examination, had the 10. daye of September, I doe heere omit, geuing you farther to vnderstande, that vppon the seuenth daye of the same moneth of Iulie, hee was brought before Doctor Darbishiere in the Byshops Palace, who examined him againe vppon the former Articles, and after perswaded him to recant, threatening hym that otherwise he should be burned. To whome he boldly answered: I woulde I mighte be condemned euen to morrowe: for I perceiue my Lord (meaning Boner) doth nothing but seeke mennes blood. Uppon whiche sayinge Darbishire committed him againe to prisone, and the 10. day of September, the Bishop caused him (with the other thre aboue named) to be brought vnto Fulham, and there in his priuate

Chappell wythin his house, hee iudiciallye propounded vnto him certaine other newe Articles: of the whyche, the tenours of the first, fifte, sixte, and seuenth are already mentioned in the seconde, thirde, and fourthe former obiections: as for the rest, the contentes thereof here followeth.

Thou Rafe Allerton canst not denie, but that the Information geuen against thee, and remaining now in the Actes of this court of thine Ordinarie, Edmund Bishop of London, was and is a true information.

This information was geuen by Tho. Tie,* Curate of Bentley (of whome yee haue already heard) and certaine other of the same parishe and affinitie: as namelye Iohn Painter, William Harris, Iohn Barker, Iohn Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffrey Bestwoode, Iohn Richarde, Richard Meere.

The effect whereof was, that one Laurence Edwards of Bentley aforesayde, had a child that was vnchristened,* and being demaunded by the sayde Tye, whye hys childe was not Baptised, he made aunswere it should be when he coulde finde one of his religion (meaning a true professour of Christes gospell) Whereat the Curate sayd: Ah, ye haue hadde some instructor that hathe schooled yo^r of late. Yea (quoth the sayd Edwardes) that I haue: and if youre doctrine be better then his, then I will beleeeue you: and therewithall fondly offered to fetch him.

Wherupon the Cōstable going with him, they brought before the said curate the said Rafe Allerton: of whome in this information they make this reporte that he was a seditious person, who sithens his comming down from the bish. had set vpon the Constables doore certaine seditious Letters, moouing and perswading thereby the people to folow his malicious disobedience: and that these his perswasions [Page 2017](#) had taken effecte in manye: And farther, that the saide Rafe Allerton (y^e Curate asking him whether he had instructed thys Laurence Edwardes that it was agaynst Gods commandement to enter into the church) casting abroad his hands, should say. Oh good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the godly Priest and Prophet Esdras, who sayeth: The fire of a multitude is kindled against a fewe: they haue taken away their houses,* & spoiled their goods. &c. Which of you all haue not seen this day, who is he here amongst you, that seeth not all these things done vpon vs this day. The church which they call vs vnto, is y^e church of Antichrist, a persecuting church, and the church malignant. With these and many mo words (said they most maliciously and falsly alledged out of the Scriptures, he thus perswaded a great multitude there present (as much as in him lay) vnto disobedience. For the which cause y^e constables did then apprehend him.

3. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canst not denie, but that the letter sent vnto me by my Lorde Darcie, beginning wyth these woordes (pleaseth it your Lordship. &c.) was thine owne letter, and was subscribed by thine owne hand.

The contents of the letter mentioned in this Article, and wrytten by Allerton, vnto the Lorde Darcie, was a confession of his demeanor before his first apprehension: the effect and purport whereof because it appeareth in the beginning of this his Historie, I doe heere omit.

4. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canst not deny, but that the other letter, sent also to me from my said Lord Darcy, beginning thus (pleaseth it youre Lordship. &c.) and ending with these woordes (whensoever it be) is thine owne very letter, and subscribed with thine owne hand.

This was also an other letter wrytten by hym vnto the Lorde Darcie, the contents whereof were, that where the said Lorde had commaunded him to declare where he had bene euer sithens Whitsontide last before hys first apprehension, this was to certifie his Lordship, that he was not able so to do, otherwise then as he had already shewed him by his former letters. And moreouer, where as hee charged him to haue read vnto the people abroad in the woodes, he certified him that he did neuer read any thyng abroad, sauing once whē he was in the cōpany of George Eagles and others, Richarde Roth tooke a wryting out of his bosome, and desired the saide Rafe to read it, which request heethen accomplished: and demaunding of hym whose doing the same was, the said Roth told that it was maister Cranmers, late Archbishop of Canterburie: and farther he could not shew him. Neuertheles he was ready, and willing to suffer such punishment as his lordship should thinke meete, desiring yet that the same myghte be with fauour and mercye, although hee feared neither punishment nor death, praying the Lord, that it might be in his feare, when soeuer it should be.

8. Item, thou Rafe Allerton canst not denie, but that the letters wrytten with bloud, beginning with these words (Grace, mercy and peace. &c. and ending thus.) Farewell in God) remaining nowe Registred in the Actes of thys Court, were wrytten voluntarily with thine owne hand.

He wrote this letter in the prison with bloud for lacke of other inke, and did meane to send the same vnto Agnes Smith, alias Siluerside, at that time imprisoned, and afterwarde burned at Colchester for the testimonie of the Gospell of Christe, as before is mencioned. The Copie of which letter heere ensueth.

A letter wrytten by Rafe Allerton, vnto Agnes Smith, Widowe.

GRace, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Iesus Christ,* with the assistance of Gods holy spirite, and the abundant health both of soule and body, I wish vnto you, as to mine owne soule, as GOD knoweth, who is the searcher of all secretes.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased almighty God of his infinite mercy, to call me to the state of grace, to suffer Martyrdom for Iesus Christes sake, although heretofore I haue most negligētly dalied therewith, and therefore farre vnwoorthy I am of suche an high benefite, to be crowned with the moste ioyfull crowne of Martyrdom: neuertheles it hath pleased God not so to leaue me, but hath raised mee vp againe according to his promyse, which sayeth: Although he fall, yet shall he not be hurt: For the Lord vpholdeth him with his hand.* Wherby we perceiue Gods election to be most sure: for vndoubtedly hee will preserue all those that are appoynted to die. And as he hath begonne thys worke in me: euen so do I beleue that he wil finish the same, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Iesus Christ. So beit.

Dearly beloued sister (I am cōstrained so to cal you because of your constante faith and loue vnfained) consider, that if we be the true seruants of Christ, then maye not we in any wise make agreement with his enemye Antichrist. For there is no cōcorde nor agreement betweene

them sayth the Scriptures, and a man can not serue two maisters, sayeth Christ. And also, it is prefigured vnto vs in the olde lawe, whereas the people of God were most straitly commaunded that they shoulde not mingle themselues with the vngodly heathen, and were also forbiddē to eate, drinke, or to marrye with them. For as often as they did either marrye vnto their sonnes, or take their daughters vnto them, or to their sonnes, euen so oft came the great and heauye wrath of God vpon his owne people, to ouerthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy Sāctuarie of God: & brought in straunge Princes to raigne ouer them, and wicked rulers to gouerne them, so that they were sure of hunger, sworde, pestilence, and wilde beastes to deuour them. Which plagues neuer ceased, vntill the good people of God were cleane separated frō the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh dearely beloued, this was wrytten for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might haue hope. And is it not in like case happened now in this Realme of England? For now are the people of god had in derision, & troden vnder foote, and the Cities, Townes, and houses wher they dwelt, are inhabited with them that haue no right therunto, & the true owners are spoiled of their labours: yea, and the holye sanctuarie of Gods most blessed word, is laid desolate and wast, so that the very Foxes run ouer it. &c. yet is it the foode of oure soules, the lanterne of our feete, and the lighte vnto our pathes: and where it is not preached, the people perish. But the Prophet sayeth: hee that refraineth himselfe from euill, must be spoyled.*
Why should we then be abashed to be spoiled, seeing that it is tolde vs before, that it must so happen vnto them that refrayne from euill? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

R. A.

Item, thou Rafe Allerton canst not denie, but that the letters wrytten with bloud, beginning with these woords in the ouer part thereof. (The angell of God. &c.) and ending thus (be with you, Amen) and hauing also this postscript (do ye suppose that our brethrē. &c.) remaining now registred in the actes of this Court, are thine owne hande wryting.

9. For the better vnderstanding of this Article, I haue also here inserted the Copie of the Letter mentioned in the same: which letter he wrote (by his owne confession) vnto Richard Roth, then in danger of the subtill snares of that bloody wolfe Boner.

A Letter wrytten by Rafe Allerton vnto Richard Roth, his fellowe Martyr.

ThE Angell of God pitch his tent about vs, and defend vs in all our waies. Amen. Amen.*

O deare brother, I pray for you, for I heare say that you haue ben diuers times before my Lorde in examination. Wherefore take heede for Gods sake what the wise man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are entised to confesse an vntruthe, for hope of life, but be ready alwaies to geue an answere of the hope that is in you. For whosoeuer confesseth Christe before men, him will Christ also confesse before his father. But hee that is ashamed to confesse him before men, shall haue his rewarde with them that doe deny him. And therefore deare brother goe forward: ye haue a ready way, so fair as euer had any of the Prophets or Apostles, or the rest of our brethren, the holy Martyrs of God. Therefore couet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Also deare brother vnderstande that I haue seene your letter, and although I cannot read it

perfectly, yet I partly perceiue your meaning therein, and very gladly I woulde copie it out, with certaine comfortable additions therunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to passe for lacke of paper, vntil my Lord be gone from hence, and then your request shalbe accomplished, God willing without delay. Thus fare ye well in God. Our deare brother and fellowe in tribulation, Robert Allen saluteth you, and the fellowship of the holye ghost be wyth you, Amen.

Rafe Allerton.

Doe ye suppose that our brethren and sisterne are not yet dispatched out of this world? * I thinke that eyther they are dead, or shalbe within these two daies.

And for the other Obiection yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more somewhat to shewe the follie of those bloudy tyrants (which of so small trifles take occasions to quarel with the Sainctes of God) then for any weighty thing therein contained: I woulde neither trouble you with y^e reading therof, nor yet my selfe with wryting. But that yee may iudge of them as their doings doe geue occasion, I will now proceede in the matter.

Page 2018* Item thou Rafe Allerton canst not deny, but confessest, that the wryting of letters in a little peece of paper on both sides of it, with this sentence on the one side following (looke at the foote of the stockes for a knife) and wyth this sentence following vpō the otherside (looke betwene the poste an• the wall for two bookes and two Epistles, leaue them here when ye goe) remaining now in the Reg••••ie and Acts of this courte is voluntarily wrytten by the• Rafe Allerton with thine owne hand.

Item, thou Rafe Allerton canst not denie, but that thou arte priuie to a certaine wryting, remaining nowe in the Registrie & acts of this Court, the beginning wherof is with these woordes (I would haue men wise. &c.) and ending thus (from house to house.)

Item, thou Rafe Allerton, canste not denie, but that thou art priuie and of consent and maintenaunce of a certaine great Woodknife, a long cord, a hooke, a stone, and of a trencher wrytten vpon with chalk, hauing this sentence (All is gon and lost, because of your follie:) of two bordes wrytten vpon with chalke, the one hauing this sentence (•nder the stone looke) and the other hauing thys sentēce, (whereas you •id mee take heede, I thanke you, I trust in God that I shall be at peace with him shortly) remaining now registred in the actes of this Court.

For answer vnto al these articles, he graunted that the first •x. were true, * as the Register recordeth. Howbeit, I finde noted in the backside of the information, specified in the 2. article (although crossed out againe) that he denied such things as were there in the same informed against him. Wherefore it is not likely that hee did simply graunt vnto the contents of the 2. article, but rather that he onely affirmed that such an information was geuē against him, and not that the same was true.

Thus much I thought to warne the reader of, lest that in mistaking his answers, it might seeme, that he graunted himselfe to be a sedicious and a rebellious persone: of which facte he was most cleare & innocent. And being farther demanded vpon the contentes of the 8. article, where he had

the bloud he wrote that letter withall: he sayd that Richard Roth, sometime his prison fellow, did make his nose blede, and thereby he got the bloud wherwith he did then wryte. The bish. again asked him, to whom he wold haue sent the same. He answered, vnto one Agnes Smith alias Siluerside of Colchester. Why (quoth the bish.) Agnes Smith was an Hereticke, and is burned for Heresie. Nay, said Allerton, shee is in better case, then either I my selfe, or any of vs all. Then being againe demanded (vpon the 9. obiection) to whom he would haue sent the letter mentioned in the same: he answered, that he ment to haue sent it vnto Richard Roth, at that present separated from him. Whereupon the bish. farther enquired, what he ment by these wordes (brethren and sistern) specified in the sayd letter? he answered that he ment therby, such as wer lately condemned at Colchester, and were like (at y^e wryting therof) shortly to be burned. Now, as for the contents of the 10. and 11. articles he vtterlye denied them. But to y^e 12. he confessed, that he wryt vpon the said trencher and other bordes, the woordes mentioned in the sayd Article, & that he did leaue the same in the prison house, to the entent that Richard Rothe shoulde read them. Boner also bringing out the wooden sword, mencioned in the saide article, asked him who made it, and for what purpose. Whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no euil purpose. But being idle in the prison, and finding there an old board, he thought y^e time better spent in making thereof, then to sit still and do nothing at all.

The forenoone being now spent, the rest of this tragedie was deferred vntil the afternoone. Wherin was ministred vnto him yet certaine other obiections, the tenoure whereof was.

*First, that hee hadde misliked the Masse, callyng vppon Saints, and caryinge the crosse in procession, wyth other theyr ceremonies, calling them Idolatrie, & also had dissuaded them there from.

1. Item, that he was muche desirous to haue the people beleue as he did, and therefore being in prisone with hys fellowes, did sing Psalmes and other songes againste the Sacrament of the Aultare, and other ordinaunces of the church, so loud, that the people abroad might heare them and delight in them.

2. Item, that he had diuers times conspired against hys keeper, and hadde prouided thinges to kill him, and so to breake the prison and escape awaye.

Item, that he had raised against the B. being his ordinarie, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant and rauening wolfe, and also against his officers, especially Clunie hys sumner, calling him butchers cur, with other such names.

4. Item, that he had murmured, grudged, disdained, and misliked that the bishop had proceeded against certaine of his Diocesse, and had condemned them as Hereticke: or that he should proceede nowe against him and others yet remaining in errours, notwithstanding that hee and hys chaplaines had charitably admonished and exhorted them from the same.

5. Item, that he ought faithfully to beleue, that there is one catholicke church, without the which there is no saluation: of the which church Iesus Christ is the very priest & sacrifice, whose body and bloud is really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altare vnder the formes of

breade and wine: the breade and wine being by the diuine power transubstanciati into his body and bloude.

6. Item, that he had kept himself, and also distributed to others certaine hereticall and corrupt bookes, condemned and reprooued by the lawes of this realme.

7. Item, that he had contrary to the orders and statutes of this realme, kept company with that seditious heretike and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Tru•gedner, and had heard him read in woodes and other places, yet not accusing, but allowing and praising him.

8. Unto which articles, because they were for the moste part, so foolish and full of lies, he would in a maner make no answer, sauing he graunted that he did misselike theyr masse and other ceremonies, because they were wicked & naught. And moreouer he told the bishop, that he and his complices, did nothing but seeke how to kill innocents.

The bishop then asked him, whether he would beleue in all poyntes touching the Sacrament of the altar, as is contained in the generall councell holden and kept vnder Innocentius 3. and therewithall he did read the decree of the sayd Counsel touching the Sacrament.

Wherunto Allerton againe made answer and sayd: I beleue nothing contained in the same Councell, neyther haue I any thing to doe therewith: and it were also very necessary that no man els should haue to do therewith.

Then (quoth Boner) thou arte of the opinion that the heretikes lately burned at Colchester were of.

Yea (said he) I am of their opinion, and I beleue that they be Saints in heauen.

This done, the Bish. perceiuing that he would not recant, demaunded what he had to say, whye he shoulde not pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him. To whom he answered: yee ought not to condemne me as an heretike, for I am a good christian. But now go to, doe as you haue already determined: For I see right well, that right and truth be suppressed, and cannot appeare vppon the earth.

These woordes ended, the bish. pronounced the Sentence of condemnation, & so deliuered hym vnto the temporall officers: Who reserued him in their custodie vntill the 17. day of September, at which time, bothe he and the other 3. before mencioned were all burned, as ye haue already heard. Of which other 3. because as yet litle is sayd, I wil therfore now procede to declare suche cause of theyr cruel deathes, as in the Registrie is recorded.

James Austoo and Margerie his wife

TOuching the first apprehension of these ij. persones, I finde neither occasion whye, neither time,* nor manner howe. Howbeit as the daies then serued, it was no harde or strange matter to fall into the hāds of such as with cruelty persecuted the true professors of Gods gospell, especially hauing so many promoters, and vnneighborly neigh|bors to help them forwards. By

which kinde of people, it is not vnlike these two godly yokefellowes were accused and taken: and being once deliuered into the pitiles hādling of Boner: their examinations (ye may be sure) were not long deferred. For the 16. day of Iuly 1557. they were brought before him into hys palace at London. Wher first he demāded of the said Iames Austoo (amongst other questions) where he had bene confessed in Lent, and whether he receiued the sacrament of the altare at Easter or not.

To whom he answered that in dede he had ben confessed of the curate of A•halowes Barking, •e to the tower of London, but y^t he had not receiued the sacrament of the altar, for he defied it from the bottome of his heart.

Why, quoth the Bishop, doest thou not beleue that in the sacrament of the altare there is the true body & bloude of Christ.

No sayd Austoo, not in the Sacrament of the altar, but in the Supper of the Lorde, to the faithfull receiuer is the very body and bloud of Christ by faith.

Boner not well pleased with this talke, asked then the wife, how she did like the religion then vsed in this cour•h of England.

[Page 2019*](#)Shee answered that shee beleueed, that the same was not according to Gods word, but false and corrupted, and that they which did goe thereunto, did it more for feare of the law, then otherwise.

Then hee againe asked her if shee woulde goe to the Churche and heare Masse, and pray for the prosperous estate of the king, being then abroad in his affaires.

Whereunto she said that she defied the Masse with all her heart, and that she would not come into any Churche wherein were Idols.

After this the Bish. objected vnto them certaine articles, to the number of 18. The tenor whereof (because they touch only such common & trifling matters as are already mentioned in diuers & sondry places before) I do here for breuitie sake omit and passe ouer: geuing you yet this much to vnderstand, that in the maters of faith, they were as soūd, and answered as truly (God be therfore praised) as euer any did, especially the woman, to whom the Lord had geuen the greater knowledge and more feruentnes of spirit. Notwithstanding, according to y^e measure of grace that God gaue them, they both stood most firmly vnto the truthe. And therefore to conclude, the 10. day of Sept. they were (with Rafe Allerton, of whō ye haue heard) brought againe before the bishop within his chappell at Fulham, where he speaking vnto them, said first on this wise: Austoo, doest thou knowe where thou art nowe, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou hast to doe?

Yea (quoth Austoo) I knowe where I am: For I am in an idols temple.

After which wordes their articles being againe red, & their constancie in faith perceiued, Boner pronounced against either of them seuerally the sentence of cōdemnation, and deliuering them

vnto the sheriff there present, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them: but the Lorde in the ende will iudge that: to whome I referre his cause.

It so happened vpon a night, that as this Margerie Austoo was in y^e bishops prisone (which prison I suppose was his dogge kennel,* for it was, as is reported, vnder a paire of staires) by y^e bishops procurement there was sent a stoute champion (as appeared) about 12. of the clocke at nighte, who suddenly opened the doore, and with a knife drawen or ready prepared, fell vppon her, to the intent to haue cut her throte. Which she by reason of the clearnes of the Moone perceiuing, and calling vnto God for helpe, he (but who it was she knewe not) geuing a grunt, and fearing (belike) to commit so cruel a dede, departed his waies without any more hurt doing.

The next night following, they caused a great rumbeling to be made ouer her head, which semed to her to haue bene some great thūder, which they did for to haue feared her out of her wittes, but yet thanks be to God, they missed of their purpose.

Richard Roth.

IN the godly felowship of the forenamed three Martyrs, was also this Rich. Roth,* as is alreadye specified. Who being apprehended and brought vp vnto the bish. of London, was by him examined y^e 4. day of Iuly: at what time the bish. did earnestly trauel to induce him to beleue that there were 7. sacraments in Christes church, and that in the sacrament of the altar (after the words of consecration duely spoken) there remained y^e very substance of Christes body and bloud and none other. Wherunto, (at y^e present) he made only this aunsweare: that if the scriptures did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so perswaded, he would so beleue, otherwise not. But at another examination (which was the 9. day of Sept.) he declared plainly, that in the said sacramēt of the altar (as it was then vsed) there was not the very body and bloud of Christ, but that it was a dead God, and that the Masse was detestable and contrary to Gods holy woorde and will, from the which faith and opinion he would not goe or decline.

The next daye being the 10. day of the same moneth of September, the Bishop at his house at Fulham (by waye of an article) laid and obiected against him: that he was a comforter and boldener of hereticks, and therefore hadde wrytten a letter to that effect vnto certaine that were burned at Colchester: the copie whereof ensueth.

A letter wrytten by Rich. Roth, vnto certaine brethren and sisters in Christ, condemned at Colchester, and ready to be burned for the testimonie of the truth.

O Deare brethren and sisters, how much haue you to reioyce in God,* that he hath geuen you such faith to ouercome thys bloud thirsty tyrants thus far: and no doubt he that hath begon that good worke in you, wil fulfil it vnto the end. O de•• 〈...〉 in Christ, what a crowne of glory shall ye receiue with Christe in the kingdom of God? Oh that it had bene the good will of God, that I had ben ready to haue gon with you For I lie in my 〈◇〉 little ease in the day, and in the night I lie in the Colehouse, frō Rafe Allerton, or any other: and we loke euery day whē we 〈◇〉 be condemned For he said that I shoulde be burned wythin 〈◇〉 daies before Easter: but I lie still at the pooles brinke, and euery man goeth in before mee: but we abide paciently the lordes l•isure, with many bandes, in setters and stockes: by the whiche we haue receiued great

ioy in God. And nowe fare you well deare brethren and sisters, in this worlde: but I trust to see you in the heauens face to face.

Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my deare sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake: with all the rest of my deare brethren & sisters knowen & vnknowen. O be ioyful euen vnto death. Feare it not, saith Christ: for I haue ouercome death, saith he. Oh deare hearts, seeing that Iesus Christ will be our helpe, oh tary you the Lordes laisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, & wait you stil for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea the angel of the lord pitcheth his tent rounde about them that feare him, and deliuereth them which way he seeth best. For our liues are in the lords hands: and they can doe nothing vnto vs before God suffer thē. Therefore geue all thanks to God.

Oh deare hearts, you shall be clothed with long white garments vpon the mount Sion, with the multitude of Saintes, and with Iesus Christ our Sauour, which will neuer forsake vs. Oh blessed virgins, ye haue plaied the wise virgines part, in that you haue taken oyle in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bride grom when he commeth into the euerlasting ioy wyth hym. But as for the folish they shalbe shut out, because they made not thēselues ready to suffer with Christe, neither goe about to take vp his crosse. O deare hearts, howe precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord? for deare is the death of his saintes. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lorde Iesus Christ be wyth you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

By me Rich. Roth, wrytten with mine bloud.

This letter he confessed in dede (vpon the sayd examination) to haue wrytten with his bloude, & that he meant to haue sent the same vnto suche as were condempned at Colchester for the gospel of Iesus Christ, and were afterwarde burned there, as ye haue already heard.

The bish. then farther asked him,* what he thought hys prison fellow Rafe Allerton to be?

He aunswared that he thought hym to be one of the elect children of God: and that if at any time heereafter he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, hee thought he shoulde die a true Martyr. And moreouer finding him selfe agreued with the Bishoppes priue and secrete condēning of Gods people, he said vnto him in this sort: My Lord, because the people should not see & behold your doings, ye cause me and others to be brought to our examinatiōs by night, being afraid (belike) to do it by day.

[illustration]

Fourē Marty•s burned at Islington.

*

[Page 2020](#)The Bishop not greatly caring for this talke,* proceeded to examine hym of other matters, amongst whiche this high and waighty thyng was one, videlicet, how he did lyke the order and rites of the Churche then vsed here in England.

To whome he said, that hee euer had, and yet then did abhorre the same with all his heart.

Then diuers of the Bishops complices entreated and perswaded him to recant, and aske mercy of the bishop.

*No (quoth Roth) I will not aske mercy of hym that cannot geue it. Wherupon he was (as the rest before mētioned) condemned, and deliuered vnto the Shiriffe, and the xvij. day of September, they all most ioyfully ended their lyues in one fire at Islington, for the testimonie of Christ, as before is declared.

¶Agnes Bongeor, and Margaret Thurston, two godly Christian women, burnt at Colchester for the sincere professing of Christes Gospell.

A Little before (gentle Reader) was mention made often that suffred Martyrdome at Colchester,* pag. 2007. at wh•ch tyme there were two other women also,* one called Margaret Thurston, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that should haue suffered with them, and were likewyse condemned at the same tyme and place that the other aboue named ten were, for the like cause, and aunswered also in their examinations the like in effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurston, that 〈◇〉 she should suffer with those that went from the Castle, was for that tyme deferred. What the cause was, the testimonie of Io•e Cooke shal declare vnto vs.* Which Io•e Cooke, the wife now of Iohn Sparke, beyng then in the castle of Colchester for religion, did demaund of this widow Thurston, whose husband died in the prison being imprisoned for religion, wherefore the sayd Margaret beyng a condemned woman, should be reserued, when the other suffred in the Castle Baily. She aunswered, that it was not for any feare of death, but beyng prepared as the rest were that suffered the same day, she felte in her selfe a great shiuering and trembling of the flesh. Whereuppon forsaking the company, she went aside to pray. And whilst she was a praying, she thought that she was lifted vp with a mighty wynd that came round about her. Euen at that instant came in the Gaoler and company with hym, & whilst she turned her selfe to fetch her Psalter, they tooke the other prisoners and left her alone. Shortly after shee was remooued out of the Castle and put into the Towne prison, where she continued vntill Friday seuennight after her company were burnt. That day, not two howers before her death, she was brought to the Castell agayne, where shee declared thus much to the aforesayde Ioane Cooke.*

The other named Agnes Bongeor, who should haue suffred in like maner with the 6. that went out of Motchal was also kept backe at that tyme, but not in lyke sort, because her name was wrong written within the writte, as in the Bailiffes letters of Colchester, sent to Boner about the same, more plainely doth appeare in the booke of our first edition, pag. 1632.

The same morning, the 2. of August, that the sayd sixe in Motehall were called out to goe to their Martyrdome, was Agnes Bongeor also called with them,* by the name of Agnes Bowyer. Wherefore the Bailiffes vnderstāding her (as I sayd) to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the sayd Agnes Bongeor to prison agayne, as ye haue heard in the letter before named, and so from Motehall that day, sent her to the Castle, where shee remayned vntill her death.

But when she saw her selfe so separated from her sayd prison fellowes in that sort, Oh good Lord what piteous mone that good woman made, how bitterly shee wepte, what strange thoughts came into her mynde, how naked and desolate she esteemed her selfe, and into what plunge of dispayre

and care her poore soule was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see: which all came because she went not with them to geue her lyfe in the defence of her Christ: for of all thyngs in the world, lyfe was least looked for at her hands. For that morning in which she was kept backe from burnyng, had she put on a smocke that she had prepared onely for that purpose.* And also hauyng a child, a little yong Infant suckyng on her, whom she kept with her tenderly all the tyme she was in prison, agaynst y^e day likewyse did she send it away to another Nurse, and prepared her selfe presently to geue her selfe for the testimonie of the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ. So little did shee looke for lyfe, and so greatly did Gods gifts worke in her aboue nature, that death seemed a great deale better welcome then lyfe. But this tooke not effect at that time as she thought it would, and therfore (as I sayd) was she not a little troubled.

Beyng in this great perplexitie of mynde, a friend of hers came to her and required to knowe whether Abrahams obedience was accepted before God for that hee did sacrifice his sonne Isaac, or in that he would haue offered hym. Unto which she answered thus.

I know (quoth she) that Abrahams will before God was allowed for the deede, in that he would haue done it, if the Aungell of the Lorde had not stayed him: but I (said she) am vnhappy, the Lorde thinketh me not worthye of this dignitie, and therfore Abrahams case and mine is not alyke.

Why (quoth her friend) would ye not willingly haue gone with your company, if God should so haue suffered it?

Yes (said she) with all my hart, and because I did not, it is now my chiefe and greatest grieve.

Then said her friend: My deare sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thy self well, & thou shalt see thou doest nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas (quoth she) there is a farre greater matter in Abraham then in me: for Abraham was tried with the offering of his owne childe, but so am not I, and therefore our cases are not lyke.

Good sister (quoth her friend) way the matter but indifferently. Abraham I graunt (sayd he) would haue offered his sonne: and haue not you done the lyke in your little suckyng babe? But consider further then this, my good sister (sayd he) where Abraham was commanded but to offer his sonne, you are heuy and griued because you offer not your selfe, which goeth somewhat more neere you then Abrahams obedience did, & therefore before God assuredly, is no lesse accepted & allowed in his holy presence: which further the preparing of your shroud also doth argue full well, &c. After which talke betweene them,* she began a little to stay her selfe, and gaue her whole exercise to readyng and prayer, wherein she found no little comfort.

In the tyme that these foresayd ij. good women were prisoners, one in the Castle, & the other in Motehall, God by a secret meane called the sayd Margaret Thurston vnto his truth agayne, who hauyng her eyes opened by the workyng of his spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, neuer more while she liued to doe the like agayne, but that she would constantly stand to the cōfession of the same,* against all the aduersaries of the crosse of Christ. After which promise made, came in

short tyme a writ from London for the burning of them, which accordyng to the effect thereof, was executed the 17. day of September, in the yeare aforesayd.

[illustration]

***The burning of Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongeor, at Colchester.**

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[Page 2022](#) to Laxfield to bee burned, and on the next day mornynge was brought to the stake where was ready agaynst hys commynge, the foresayd Iustice M. Thurstō, one M. Waller then beyng vnder shiriffe, and M. Tho. Louell beyng high Constable,* as is before expressed, the which commanded men to make redy all things meete for that sinful purpose. Nowe the fire in most places of the streete was put out, sauynge a smoke was espied by the said Tho. Louell proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which house the shiriffe and Grannow his man went, and brake open the dore and thereby got fire and brought the same to the place of execution. When Iohn Noyes came to the place of execution. When Iohn Noyes came to the place where he should be burned, he kneeled downe and sayde the 50. Psalme, with other prayers, and then they making haste bound hym to the stake, and beyng bounde, the sayd Iohn Noyes sayd: Feare not them that can kill the body, but feare hym that can kill both bodye and soule, and cast it into euerlastyng fire.

*When he saw his sister weeping and making mone for him, he bade her that she should not weepe for hym, but weepe for her sinnes.

Then one Nich. Cadman beyng Hastler, a valiaunt champion in the Popes affaires, brought a fagotte and set agaynst him: and the said Ioh. Noyes tooke vp the fagot and kissed it, and sayd: Blessed bee the tyme that euer I was borne to come to this.

Then he deliuered his Psalter to the vndershirife, desiring him to be good to his wyfe and children, & to deliuer to her that same booke: and the shiriffe promised hym that he would, notwithstanding, he neuer as yet performed his promise. Then the sayd Iohn Noyes sayd to the people: They say they can make God of a piece of bread, beleue them not.

*Then sayd he, good people beare witnes that I do beleue to be saued by the merites & passion of Iesus Christ, and not by myne owne deedes: and so the fire was kindled, and burned about him, and thē he sayd: Lord haue mercy vpon me, Christ haue mercy vpon me, Sonne of Dauid haue mercy vpon me.

[illustration]

¶The burnyng of Iohn Noyes, Martyr.

*

And so he yelded vp his lyfe, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coales and ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was vnburned, whole vp to the ankle, with the hose on, and that they buried with the rest.

Now while he was a burnyng, there stooode one Iohn Iaruis by, a mans seruante of the same towne, a plaine fellow,*which sayd: Good Lorde, how the sinewes of hys armes shrinke vp. And there stood behynd hym one Gran now and Benet beyng the shiriffes men, and they sayd to their maister, that Iohn Iaruis said, what villeine wretches are these. And their maister bade lay hand on hym, & then they tooke hym and piniond hym, and caried hym before the Iustice that same day, and the Iustice did examine hym of the words aforesayd, but he denied them, and aunswered, that he sayd nothing but this: Good Lorde howe the sinews of his armes shrinke vp. But for all this y^e Iustice did bynd his father and his maister in v. poundes a piece that he should be forth comyng at all tymes. And on the Wednesday next hee was broughte agayne before these Iustices, M. Thurston, and M. Kene, they sittying at Fresingfield in Hoxton hundred, and there they did appoint and commaund that the sayd Iohn Iaruis shoulde be set in the stockes the next market day, and whipt about the market naked. But his Maister one William Iaruis did after craue friendship of the Constables, and they dyd not set him in the stockes till Sonday morning, and in the after noone they did whip hym about the market wyth a dog whip hauyng three cords, and so they let hym go.

Some doe geue that Iohn Iaruis was whipped for saying that Nich. Cadman was Noyes Hastler, that is, such one as maketh and hasteth the fire.

The copy of a certaine letter that he sent to comforte his Wyfe at such tyme as he lay in prison.

Wife, you desired me that I would sende you some tokens that you might remember me.* As I did read in the newe Testament, I thought it good to write vnto you certayne places of the Scripture for a remembraunce. S. Peter sayth: Derely beloued, be not troubled with this heat that is nowe come among you to try you, as though some strange thyng had happened vnto you, but reioyce in so much as ye are partakers of Christes suffryngs, that whē hys glory appeareth, ye may be mery & glad. If ye be rayled on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory, and the spirit of God resteth vpon you.

It is better if the will of God be so,* that ye suffer for well doying, then for euill doying.

See that none of you suffer as a murtherer, or as a thiefe,* or an euill doer, or as a busie body in other mens matters: but if any man suffer as a Christian man, let hym not be ashamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalfe: for the tyme is come that iudgement must begin at the house of God. If it first begin at vs, what shal the end of them be that beleue not the gospel of God? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their soules to hym in well doying.

S Paule saieth: All that will lyue godly in Christ Iesu,* must suffer persecution.

S. Iohn saieth: See that ye loue not the worlde,* neither the thyngs that are in the world.

If any man loue the worlde, the loue of the father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of lyfe, is not of the father, but is of the world, which vanisheth away and the lust therof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for euer.

S. Paule saith: If ye bee risen againe with Christ,* seeke those things which are aboue, where Christ sitteth on the right hande of God. Set your affection on things that are aboue, and not on things which are on the earth.

Our Sauour Christ sayeth:* Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that beleue in me, it were better for hym that a milstone were hanged about his necke, and that he were cast into the sea.

The Prophet Dauid sayth:* Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth them out of all.

Feare the Lord ye his saintes, for they that feare hym lacke nothyng.

When the righteous crye, the Lorde heareth them and deliuereth them out of all theyr troubles: But misfortune shall slaye the vngodlye, and they that hate the righteous shall perish.

Heare oh my people. I assure thee O Israel, if thou wilt harken vnto me, there shall no strange God be in thee, neyther shalt thou worship any other God. Oh that my people would obey me, for if Israell would walke in my wayes, I should soone put downe their enemies, and turne my hande agaynst their aduersaries.

Our Sauour Christ sayth: The Disciple is not aboue hys maister, nor yet the seruant aboue his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple to be as his maister is, and that the seruant be as his Lord is. If they haue called the maister of the house Belzebub, howe much more shall they call them of his houshold so: feare not thē therefore.

S. Paule sayth: Set your selues therefore at large, and beare not a strangers yoke with the vnbeleuers:* for what fellowship hath righteousness with vnrighteousnesse? what company hath light with darkenes: either what part hath the beleuer with the Infidell? &c. Wherefore come out from among them, & separate your selues now (saith the Lord) and touch none vnclean thing: so will I receiue you, and I will be a father vnto you, & ye shall be my sonnes and daughters, sayth the Lord almighty.

[Page 2023](#)For neither eye hath seen, nor the eare hath heard, neither can it enter into the hart of man, what good thynges the Lord hath prepared for them that loue hym.

Ye are not bought neither with siluer nor gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.*

There is none other name geuen to men wherein wee must be saued.

So fare ye well wife and children, and leaue worldly care, and see that ye be diligent to pray.

*Take no thought (sayth Christ) saying: what shall we eate or what shall we drinke, or wherewith shall we be clothed: for after all these thynges seeke the Gentiles) for your heauenly father knoweth that ye haue need of all these thyngs, but seeke ye first the kingdom of heauen, and the rightousnesse thereof. And all these things shall be ministred vnto you.

¶The Martyrdome and sufferying of Cicelie Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the testimonie and wnesse of Christes Gospel.

About the 23. day of the sayd moneth of September, next after the other aboue mentioned, suffered at Norwich Cicelie Ormes, wyfe of Edmund Ormes Worstedweauer, dwelling in S. Laurence parish in Norwich, she beyng of the age of xxxij. yeares or more, was taken at y^e death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper aboue mēcioned, in a place called Lolardes pit without Bishoppes gate, at the sayd Norwich, for that shee sayde shee would pledge them of the same cup that they dranke on. For so saying, one Maister Corbet of Sprowson by Norwich, tooke her and sent her to the Chauncellor. When shee came before him, he asked her what she sayd to the Sacrament of Christes body.* And she sayd, she did beleue, that it was the Sacramente of the bodye of Christ. Yea saide the Chauncellor, but what is that that the priest holdeth ouer his head? Shee aunswered him and sayd, it is bread: and if you make it any better it is worse. At which words the Chauncellor sent her to the bishops Prison to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatning, & ho•e words as a man being in a great cha•e.

The xxij. day of Iuly shee was called before y^e Chaūcellor againe, who sat in iudgemēt with Master Bridges and others. The Chauncellor offred her if she would goe to the Church and keepe her tongue, shee should be at lybertie, and beleue as shee would. But she tolde him shee would not consent to his wicked desire therein, doe wyth her what he would: for if she should, she sayde GOD woulde surelye plague her. Then the Chauncellour tolde her, he had shewed more fauour to her, then euer he did to any, and that he was loth to condeme her, considering that shee was an ignoraunt, vnlearned, and foolysh woman. But she not weying his words, tolde him if he did, he should not be so desirous of her sinfull flesh, as she would (by Gods grace) be content to geue it in so good a quarell. Then rose he and red the bloody sentence of condemnation against her, and so deliuered her to the secular power of the shiriffes of the Citie, M. Thomas Sutherton, and M. Leonard Sutherton brethren, who immediately caried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where shee remayned vntill her death.

This Cicelie Ormes was a very simple woman, but yet zelous in the Lordes cause, beyng borne in East Deram, and was there the daughter of one Thomas Haund Tailor. She was taken the v. day of Iuly, and dyd for a twelue month before she was taken, recant, but neuer after was she quiet in conscience, vntill she was vtterly driuen from all their Poperie. Betweene the tyme she recanted and that she was taken,* she had gotten a letter made, to geue to the Chancellor, to let hym know that she repēted her recantation from the bottome of her hart, & would neuer do the like again while she liued.* But before she exhibited her bil, she was taken & sent to prison, as is before sayd. She was burnt the 23. day of September, betweene 7. and 8. of the clocke in the morning,* the sayd two shirifes being there, and of people to the number of 200. When she came to the stake, she kneeled downe and made her prayers to God. That beyng done, she rose vp and sayde: good people, I beleue in God the father, God the sonne, and God the holy ghost, three persons and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant, but I recant vtterly from the bottome of my hart, the doynge of the Pope of Rome, and all his popish priestes and shaelynges. I vtterly refuse and neuer will haue to do with them again by Gods grace. And good people, I would you shoulde not thinke of me that I beleue to be saued in that I offer my selfe here vnto the death for the Lordes cause, but I beleue to be saued by the death of Christes passion: and this my death is and shall be a witnesse of my fayth vnto you all here present. Good people, as many of you as beleue as I beleue, pray for me. Then she came to the stake and layd her hand on it, and sayd: welcome the Crosse of Christ. Which beyng done, she lookyng on her hand,* and seeyng it blacked with the stake, she wiped it vppon her smocke, for she was burnt at the same stake that Symon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper was burned at. Then after she had touched it with her hand, shee came and kissed it, and sayd welcome the sweete crosse of Christ, and so gaue her selfe to be bound thereto. After the tormentours had kindled the fire to her, she sayd:*My soule doth magnify the Lord, and my spirite reioyceth in God my Sauour, and in so

[illustration]

¶The burnyng of Cicelie Ormes at Norwich.

* saying she set her hands together right against her brest, rasting her eyes and head vppward, and so stood, heauyng vp her hands by little and little, till the very sinewes of her armes brast asunder, and then they fell: but she yelded her lyfe vnto the Lord, as quietly as she had bene in a slumber, or as one feelyng no payne: So wonderfully did the Lord worke with her: his name therefore be praised for euermore, Amen.

¶The trouble and disturbance among good men and women at Lichfield.

*

After the death and Martyrdome of maistresse Ioyce Lewys, a little aboue specified, diuers good men and women in the same towne of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the Bishop and his Chauncellor, for kissing the sayd Ioyce Lewys,* and drinking with her about the tyme of her death, the names of which persones were these: Ioane Loue, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddell, Helene Bouring, Margaret Cootesfote, Nich. Bird Ioh. Hurlstone and his wyfe, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glouer, Agnes Penyfater. &c. These with other were produced to their examination before the Bishop & his Chācellor for the cause aboue named, and therefore adiudged for heretikes, for that they did pray and drinke with the sayd maistresse Lewys, but especially Agnes Penyfater sustained the most trouble, for that she accompanied the sayde Ioyce Lewys goyng to her death. Whiche Agnes beyng examined further of the sayd Bishop, what words she had spoken to two priestes of the church of Lichfield, called Iohn Adye and Iames Foxe, concernyng the sayd Ioyce Lewys after her burnyng, sayd as followeth: that she beyng asked by y^e said two priests beyng at her fathers house in the Citie of Lichfield, at such tyme as she came frō the burning of the sayd Ioyce Lewys,* wherefore shee the sayd Agnes did weep for such an heretike, meanyng Ioyce Lewys, whose soule sayd they was in hell: the sayd Agnes Penyfater to the demaund made this aunswer, that she thought the sayde blessed Martyr to bee in better case [Page 2024](#) then the sayde two Priestes were.

With the which wordes she beyng charged, and willed to submit her selfe as the other had done aboue rehersed to such penaunce as they should inioyne vnto her, refused so to do, and therefore was commaunded to close prison, the shiriffes beyng charged with her vnder payne of one hundred poundes, that none should haue any accesse vnto her. At length at the perswasion of her friendes, shee was compelled to doe as the other had done before. And thus much concernyng thyngs done at Lichfield.

¶The Persecution and crueltie exercised by the Papistes in the Diocesse of Chichester.

*AND now from Lichfield to come to Chichester, although we haue but little to report thereof, for lacke of certaine relation and recordes of that countrey, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution there also to haue raged, as in other countreys. For what place was there almost in all the Realme, where the Popes ministers did not besturre them, murtheryng some or other, as in the Acts of this ecclesiastical history may sufficiently appeare. Wherefore as this plague of the popes tyranny was generall to all other people and countries of England, so likewise in the Diocesse of Chichester, diuers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousnesse within the compasse of Queene Maries raigne. In the number of whom were these.

Martyrs.

- Iohn Foreman, of Estgrimsted.
- Iohn Warner of Berne.
- Christian Grouer of the Archdeaconry of Lewys.
- Thomas Athoth Priest.
- *Thomas Auyngton of Erdinglie.
- Dennis Burgis of Buxsted.
- Thomas Rauensdale of Rie.
- Iohn Milles of Hellingleghe.
- Nich Holden of Withiam.
- Iohn Hart of Withiam.
- Margery Morice of Hethfield.
- Anne Trie of Estgrenested.
- Iohn Oseward of Woodmancote.
- Thomas Harland of Woodmancote.
- Iames Morice of Hethfield.
- Tho. Dugate of Estgrenested.
- Iohn Ashedon of Ketherfield.

The greatest doers against these godly and true faithfull Martyrs and sitters vpon their condemnation,* were these: Christopherson the Bishop after Day, Rich. Brisley Doctour of Lawe, and Chauncellour of Chichester, Rob. Taylor Bachelor of Lawe his Deputy, Tho. Paccard Ciuilian, Anth. Clarke, Albane Langdale Bach. of Diuinitie, &c.

¶The examination of Thomas Spurdance one of Queene Maries seruaunts, before the Chauncellour of Norwich.

THE Bishops Chauncellour did aske me if I had bene with the priest,* and confessed my sinnes vnto him. And I sayd no, I had confessed my sinnes to God, and God sayeth: In what hower so euer a sinner doth repent and be sory for his sinnes, and aske hym forgeuenes, willyng no more so to doe, he will no more reckon his sinne vnto him, and that is sufficient for me.

Then sayd the Chancellor: Thou deniest the Sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I shoulde shew my sinnes vnto the priest.

Then sayd the Chancellor, that is a denyng of the sacrament of penance.

Write this Article.

Haue you receiued the blessed sacrament of the aulter (sayd he) at this tyme of Easter?

And I sayd, no.

And why haue ye not, sayth he?

I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you vse it.

Why? do not we vse it truly, sayd he.

I sayde, no, for the holy supper of the Lord serueth for the Christen congregation, and you are none of Christes members, & therefore I dare not meddle with you, least I be like vnto you.

Why, are wee none of Christes members sayde the Chancellor?

I sayd: because you teache lawes contrary to Gods lawe.

What lawes are those, sayd he?

I sayd, these 3. articles that you sweare the people vnto here, be false and vntrue, and you do euill to sweare the people vnto them.

Then sayd hee: Good people take no heede vnto hys words: for he is an heretike & teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speake of that matter.

Then said he, how beleuest thou in the blessed Sacrament of the aultar? doest thou not beleue that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was borne of the virgin Mary?

I sayd: no, not the same body in substance: for y^e same body hath a substance in flesh, bloud and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice, and this is a dry sacrifice.

And I sayd, is the Masse a sacrifice?

Unto which a D. answered that sate by him, it is a sacrifice both for the quicke and the dead.

Then sayd I, no, it is no sacrifice: for s. Paul saith, that Christ made one sacrifice once for all, and I doe beleue in none other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Iesus Christ made once for all.

Then sayd the D. that sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the Masse is a dry sacrifice.

Then sayde I: * that same drye sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, & it is your sacrifice, it is none of mine

Then sayd the Chancellor, he is an heretike, he denieth the sacrament of the aulter.

Then sayd I: will ye know how I beleue in the holy supper of our Lord?

And he sayd, yea.

Then sayd I: I beleue that if I come rightly & worthily as God hath commaunded me, to the holy supper of the Lorde, I receiue him by fayth, by beleeuynge in hym. But the bread beyng receiued, is not God, nor the bread y^t is yonder in the pixe is not God. God dwelleth not in tēples made with hands, neither will be worshipped wyth the works of mens hands. And therefore you do very euill to cause the people to kneele down and worship the bread: for God did neuer bid you hold it vp aboute your heades, neither had the Apostles such vse.

Then sayd the Chauncellour: he denyeth the presence in the sacrament. Write this Article also. He is a very heretike.

Then sayd I: the seruant is not greater then his maister. For your predecessors killed my maister Christ, the Prophets and Apostles, and holy vertuous men, & nowe you also kil the seruants of Christ, so that al the righteous bloud that hath bene shed, euen from righteous Abell, vntill this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well, said the Chancellor, haue him away.

Another examination of Spurdance, before the Bishop in his house.

THE B. sayd: sirrha, doest thou not beleue in the catholike fayth of holy Church? *

And I sayd: I beleue Christes catholike church.

Yea sayd he, in Christes church, of the which the Pope is the head? Doest thou not beleue that the Pope is supreme hed of the catholike church?

And I sayd, no. I beleue not that he should bee aboute the Apostles, if hee take them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among y^e Apostles, who shuld be the greatest when their maister was gone, Christ aunswered them vnto their thoughtes: *The Kinges of the earth beare domination aboute other, but ye shall not so doe, for hee that will be greatest among you, shall become seruaunte vnto you all. How is it then (sayde I) that hee will climbe so high aboute his fellowes? And also wee were sworne by my Maister King Henries tyme, that wee should to the vttermost of our power, neuer consent to hym again. And therefore as he hath nothyng to doe here in Englande, so neyther in his owne countrey more, then a Bishop hath in his Dioces.

Yea sayd the B. what of that? We were then in error & sinne, now we are in the right way agayne, and therefore thou must come home again with vs, and knowledge thy fault, and become a christian man, and be sworne vnto the Pope as our supreme head. *Wilt thou be sworne vnto the Pope? How sayst thou?

Then I sayd, no I warrant you by the grace of God, not as long as I liue. For you cannot prooue by the scripture, that the Pope is head of the church, and may do therein what him list.

No, sayde he? yes I trowe: For as the Belweather whiche weareth the Bell, is head of the flocke of sheepe, Page 2025 euen so is the Pope the head of the Church of Christ. * And as the Bees in the hiue haue a maister Bee when they are gone out, to bring them home againe to the hiue: euen so the Pope when we be gone astray and wandered from the fold, from the hiue, &c. then is ordeined our head by succession of Peter, to bring vs home againe to the true church: as thou now my good fellow hast wandred long out of the way like a scattered sheepe, &c. Heare therefore that Belwether, the maister bell, &c. & come home with vs to thy mother the true church againe.

Unto whom I aunswered: My Lord, all this is but naturall reason, & no scripture: but since ye cannot prooue the Pope to be authorised by scripture, ye aunswer not me as I thought ye would.

Ha, sayd he, I see well ye be stout, and will not be answered: therefore ye shall be compelled by law whether ye will or no.

*My Lord sayd I, so did your forefathers intreat Christ and his Apostles. They had a law, and by their lawe they put hym to death: and so likewyse, you haue a law which is tyrannie, & by that would ye inforce me to beleue as you doe. But the Lord I trust will assist me agaynst all your beggerly ceremonies, and make your foolishnesse knowen to all the world one day.

Then sayd he, when were ye at church & went in procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?

And I sayd, neuer since I was borne.

No sayd he? How old are you?

And I sayd, I thinke about xl.

Why said he, how did you vse your selfe at Church xx. yeres ago?

I sayd, as you do now.

And euen now, said he, you sayd you did not the Ceremonies since you were borne.

No more I did sayd I, since I was borne a newe: as Christ sayd vnto Nicodemus, except ye be borne a newe, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heauen.

Then sayd a D. that sate by, he is a very Anabaptist: for that is their opinion playne.

No sir, you say falsely, sayd I, for I am no Anabaptist: for they denye Children to bee Baptised, and so doe not I.

Well sayd the B. why doest thou not go to the church, and do the ceremonies?

And I sayd: because they be contrary to Gods worde and lawes, as you your selfe haue taught: but nowe you say it is good agayne: and I thinke if there were a returne to morrow, you would say that is false again which you hold now. Therefore I may well say there is no truth in you.

Then sayd the B. thou art a stubborne fellow, and an heretike, and a Traitor.

No sayde I, I am no Traitour, for I haue done I thinke, better seruice to the crowne imperiall of England, then you.

If you had done so good seruice (said he) you would be obedient to the lawes of the Realme.

So I am, sayd I. There is no man alyue (I thanke God) to accuse me iustly that euer I was disobedient to any ciuill lawes.* But you must consider my Lord, that I haue a soule and a body, & my soule is none of y^e Queenes, but my body and my goods are the Queenes. And I must geue God my soule, and all that belongeth vnto it: that is, I must do the law and commandements of God, and whosoeuer commandeth lawes contrary to Gods laws, I may not do them for losing of my soule, but rather obey God then man.

And he sayd: why doest thou not these lawes thē? are they not agreeable to Gods law?

And I sayd, no, you cannot prooue them to bee Gods lawes.

Yes sayth he, that I can.

Then sayd I, if you can prooue me by the word of God that you should haue any grauen Images made to set in your churches for lay mens bookes, or to worship God by them, or that you should haue any Ceremonies in your church as you haue, prooue them by the word of God, and I will do them.

Then sayde hee, It is a good and decent order to furnishe the Church: ^{*} as when you shall goe to dinner, you haue a clothe vppon the table to furnish the Table before the meate shall come vppon it: so are these ceremonies a comely decent order to be in the Church among Christian people.

These sayd I are inuentions and imaginations out of your owne braine, without any worde of God to prooue them. For God sayth: looke what you thinke good in your owne eyes, if I commaund the contrary, it is abhominable in my sight. And these ceremonies are agaynst Gods lawes. For S. Paul sayth, they be weake and beggerly, & rebuketh the Galathians for doynge of them.

Well, sayd he: If you will not do them, seying they bee the lawes of the realme, you are an heretike and disobedient: and therefore come home agayne and confesse your fault with vs, that you haue bene in error, &c. Wyll you doe so?

And I sayd no, I haue bene in no error: for the spirituall lawes were neuer trulier set forth, then in my maister K, Edwards tyme, and I trust vnto God I shall neuer forsake them whiles I lyue.

Then came a Gentleman to me and sayd: are ye wiser then all men? and haue ye more knowledge then all men? will you cast away your soule willingly? my Lord and other men also, woulde fayne you woulde saue your selfe: therfore chuse some man where you will, eyther spirituall or temporall, and take a day: my Lord wyll geue it you.

Then sayd I, if I saue my lyfe, I shall loose it, and if I loose my lyfe for Christes sake, I shall finde it in lyfe euerlasting. And if I take a day, whē the day commeth, I must say then, euen as I do now, except I will lye, and therfore that needeth not.

Well, then haue him away sayd the Bishop.

This aboue named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queene Maries seruauntes, ^{*} and was taken by two of his fellowes, the sayd Queenes seruauntes named Iohn Haman, otherwise called Barker, and George Loos•n, both dwelling in Codman in the Countie of Suffolke, who caried hym to one maister Gosnall, dwellyng in the sayd Codnam, and by hym he was sent to Bury, where he remayned in prison, and afterward burned in the moneth of Nouember.

¶The story and Martyrdome of three constant witnesses of Christ.

NOt long after the Martyrdome of the two good women at Colchester, aboue named, ^{*} were three faythfull witnesses of the Lordes Testament, tormented and put to death in Smithfield at London, the 18. of Nouemb. in the yeare aforesayd, whose names hereafter follow.

- Iohn Hallyngdale.
- William Sparow.
- Richard Gybson.

Which three were produced before Boner B. of London, the v. day of Nouem. 1557. and had by hym and his Officers certaine Articles ministred, the summe whereof hereafter followeth.

***Articles ministred by Boner vnto Iohn Hallingdale.**

Ffirst, that the sayd Iohn Hallyngdale is of the Diocesse of London, and so subiect to the iurisdiction of the Bishop of London.*

Secondly, that the sayd Iohn before the tyme of the raigne of K. Edward the 6 late K. of England, was of the same fayth and religion that was then obserued, beleueed, taught, & set forth in the realme of England.

Thirdly, that duryng the raigne of the sayd K. Edward the 6. the said Iohn Hallingdale, vppon occasion of the preachyng of certaine ministers in that tyme, did not abide in his former fayth and religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he sayeth) tyll his lyues ende.

Fourthly, that the sayd Iohn Hallyngdale hath thought, beleueed and spoken diuers tymes, that the sayth, religion, and ecclesiasticall seruice receiued, obserued & vsed now in this realme of England, is not good and laudable, but agaynst Gods commādemēt and word, especially concernyng the Masse and the seuē Sacraments: and that he the sayd Iohn, wil not in any wyse conforme hymselfe to the same, but speake and thinke agaynst it duryng his naturall lyfe.

Fiftly, that the sayd Iohn absenteth himselfe continually frō his owne Parish church of S. Leonards, neyther hearing Mattins, Masse, nor Euensong, nor yet confessing his sinnes to the Priest, or receiuyng the Sacrament of the aultar at his hands, or in vsing other Ceremonies as they are nowe vsed in this Church and realme of England: and as he remembreth, he neuer came but once in the parish church of S. Leonard, and careth not (as hee sayth) if he neuer come there any more, the seruice beyng as it is there, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially [Page 2026](#) the Masse,*the Sacraments, and the ceremonies and seruice set forth in Latine.

6. Sixtly, that the sayd Iohn, when his wife, called Alyce, was brought in bed of a man child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same maner and forme in all poyntes, as it was vsed in the time of the reigne of king Edward the 6. aforesayd, and caused it to be called Iosue, & would not haue the sayd child christened in Latin after the forme and maner as it is nowe vsed in the Church and Realme of Englande, nor will haue it by his will (as he sayth) to be confirmed by the Byshop.

Unto all whiche Articles the sayde Iohn Hallingdale made aunswere,* confessing them all, and euery part of thē to be true, and saying that he would not reuoke hys sayde aunsweres, but stand vnto them according as it was in euery Article aboue written.

Furthermore, the sayde Iohn Hallingdale, being demaunded by the sayde Boner, whether he did firmly beleue that in the sacrament commonly called the sacrament of the aultar,* there is really and truely the very body and bloud of our Sauour Christ, or nor made answere that he neither in the time of the sayd king Edward 6. nor at that present did beleue, that in the sayd Sacrament there is really the very body and bloud of Christ. For he sayd that if he had so beleued, he would (as other had done) haue receiued the same, which he did not because he had and then did beleue

that the very body of Christ is onely in heauen, and no where els. And furthermore the sayd Ioh. Hallingdale sayd that Crāmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late haue bene burned for heretickes, were no heretickes at all, because they did preach truely the Gospell: vpon whose preaching, he grounded his fayth & conscience, as he sayde, according to the saying of S. Iohn in the xvij. chap. of his Reuelation, where he sayth, that the bloud of the Prophets and of the Sayntes, and of all that were slayne vppon earth, was founde in the Babilonick church by the which he said is vnderstād the church where the Pope is the head.

After which examination, the sayd Iohn was sent vnto prison agayne.* And the next day, being the vi. daye of the sayd moneth, he was called before the Bishop agayne, who perswading him with some wrested sentences of the Scripture, the sayd Iohn Hallingdale aunswered: Because I will not (sayth he) come to your Babilonick church, therefore (speaking vnto Boner) you goe about to condemne me. And being of Boner further demaunded, whether he would perseuer and stand in his opinions or no, he made aunswere that he would continue and persist in them vnto the death.* Then Boner read the bloody sentence of condemnation. At which time the sayd Iohn affirmed openly that (thanking God) he neuer came into the church since the abhomination came into it: and so he was sent to prison agayne.

Upon the same 6. day also, in the fornoone, was produced before the Byshop, the forenamed William Sparrow, and had layed vnto him certayne Articles, which hereafter foloweth.

***Articles ministred by Boner vnto William Sparrow.**

*First, that thou William Sparrow wast in times past detected & presented lawfully vnto thy Ordinary the Byshop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine Ordinary of the sayd dioces: and thou wast presented and detected vnto him for heresye, errors, and vnlawfull opinions, whiche thou diddest beleue, set forth, and holde.

2. Secondly, that thou before the sayd Ordinary didst openly & iudicially confesse the sayde heresies, errorrs, and vnlawfull opinions, as appeareth playnly in the actes of the court, had & made before thy sayd Ordinary.

3. Thirdly, that thou after the premises, didst make thy submission in writing, and diddest exhibite and deliuer the same as thy deed, to thy sayd Ordinarye: openly confessing and recognising thy heresies, errorrs, vnlawfull opinions, and thine offences & transgressions in that behalfe.

4. Fourthly, that thou after the premisses, diddest promise vnto thy sayde Ordinary voluntarily and of thine owne minde, that alwayes after the sayd submission, thou wouldest in all poyntes conforme thy selfe vnto the common order of the Catholicke Church obserued and kept here in this Realme of Englande, and in no wise fall agayne to heresies, errorrs, or vnlawfull opinions.

5. Fiftly, that thou since thy sayd submission, hast willingly fallen into certayne heresies and errorrs, and hast holden and sette forth diuers vnlawfull opinions, to the right great hurt of thyne owne soule, and also to the great hinderaunce and losse of diuers others, especially agaynst the

Sacrament of the Aultar, agaynste confession auricular, with other the Sacramentes of the Catholicke Church.

6. Sixtly, that thou since the sayd submissiō, hast willingly gone about diuers places within the dioces of London, and souldē diuers hereticall, erroneous, and blasphemous ballets about, and wast apprehended and taken with the sayd ballets about thee, & committed to prison.

Unto all which Articles the sayd William Sparrowe aunswered in effect as hereafter foloweth.

TO the first, second, third, and fourth articles he answered affirmatiuely, as thus: * that he was presented & detected to Boner, vnto whō he made his submission. &c. as in the articles.

To the fifth article, he aunswered, that if he had spoken agaynst thē, he had spokē but the truth: for they be nought, meaning the contentes of the sayd article.

To the sixte, he graunted to the article, adding that he did sell the sayd ballets then shewed and read before him, & that the same did contēne Gods word.

After which aunsweres the sayde William Sparrowe was sent vnto prison. And the same day in the afternoone, being produced before the Bishop agayne, and there charged with his said Submission, made the yeare before vnto the Byshop, he aunswered thus: I am sorry (sayd he) that euer I made it, and it was the worst deed that euer I did, adding further vnto them: Holde vp your abhomination so long as you can. Also being layd vnto him, and charged by the Byshoppe that he went to Church, and there was confessed and heard Masse, the sayde William Sparrow made answere and confessed, that he did so, but with a troubled conscience he sayde, God knoweth. And speaking further to the Byshoppe, he sayde: that which you call trueth, I doe beleue (sayd he) to be heresy. And also the Byshoppe charging him agayne with the contentes of the fifth article aboue named, he aunswered that he had so done, as is conteyned in the same article, and so will do agayne if he were at liberty. And being further demaunded of Boner, whether he woulde persist and continue in the same, or no: he made aunswere that he would not go from his opinions: and adding thereunto, he sayd: that which you call heresy (speaking to the Byshoppe) is good and Godly, and if euery hayre of my head were a manne (sayd he) I would burne them all, rathe then to goe from the truth.

Then being demaunded what ground of learning hee had to cleaue to his opinions, he made aunswere and sayd, that all the lawes now vsed (meaning the Ecclesiasticall lawes) are nought and abhominable. And further, therevnto he sayd: that the Masse is nought and abhominable. &c. Which wordes being spoken, * the Byshop immediately read the sentence of condemnation vpon him, and so deliuered him to the secular power, by whome he was sent to prison agayne.

Richard Gibson Martyr.

Wlth the other two aboue named, suffered also in the same fire, Richard Gibson, * who first was cast into the Counter in the Poultry (where he had bene prisoner by the space of two yeares for suretishippe in a matter of debt, & then stood vpon his deliuerance) then vpon suspition and euill will was accused to Boner, for that in the prison he was neuer confessed nor receiued at the

Popishe aultar: by reason whereof he was called for, and susteined diuers & sundry conflictcs and examinations in the cause of his fayth and religion. But first he semed to make a certeine submission which also he exhibited with the other 28. mentioned aboue pag. 1865. but because it seemed something to differ in wordes from the other, it appeareth not to be receiued: or whether it was receiued or no, it is not fully certayne. This is certayne, that although his submission was in the bishops Register recorded, yet he was not deliuered out from imprisonment till the daye of his burning. The Articles first objected and ministred vnto hym by the Bishop, were these.

Articles objected and ministred to Richard Gibson by Boner Bishop of London.

First, that the sayd Richard Gibson prisoner in the Counter in the Pultry in the dioces of Lōdō,*hath otherwise thē became a faythfull Christian man and a good subiecte of this Realme of England, behaued himselfe in wordes and deedes in diuers conditions and poyntes, contrarye to the order, Religion, and fayth of Christes Catholicke church, and contrary to the order of this Realme, to the pernicious and euill example of the inhabitauntes [Page 2027](#) of the City of London, and the prisoners of the prison of the sayd Counter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt & dammage of his owne soule, offending especially in the Artiles followyng. By reason whereof the sayde Richard Gibson was, and is of the iurisdiction of the sayde Byshoppe of London, and subiect to the sayd iurisdiction, to make aunsweare to his offences and transgression vnder written, according to the order of the law.

2. Secondly, that the sayd Richard Gibson hath vnreuerentlye spoken agaynste the Pope, and Sea and Churche of Rome, and likewise agaynst the whole Church of this Realme of Englande, and agaynst the seuen Sacramentes of the Catholicke and whole Churche of Christendome and agaynst the Articles of the Christian fayth here obserued in this Realme of England, and agaynst the commendable and laudable Ceremonies of the Catholicke Church.

3. Thirdly, that the sayd Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and also all other heretickes here in this Realme of Englande, according to the Ecclesiasticall lawes condemned for heretickes, and also liked all their hereticall and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially agaynst the Sacrament of the aultar, and the authority of the Pope and Sea of Rome, with the whole Religion therof.

4 Fourthly, that the sayd Richard Gibson hath cōforted, ayded, assisted and mainteined both by words and otherwise, hereticks and erroneous persons, or at the least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the Catholicke Churche, to continue in their hereticall and erroneous opinions aforesayde, fauouring and counselling the same vnto his power.

5. Fifthly, that the sayd Gibson hath affirmed and sayde that the Religion and Fayth commonly obserued, kepte, and vsed now here in this Realme of Englande,*is not good and laudable nor in any wise agreable vnto Gods word and commaundement.

6. Sixtly, that the sayd Gibson hath affirmed that the English seruice, and the bookes commonly called the bookes of communion, or common prayer, here set forth in this Realme of Englande in the time of K Edwarde the sixt,*were in all partes and poyntes good and godlye, and that the same onely and no other ought to be obserued and kept in this Realme of England.

7. Seuenthly that the sayd Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church,*or ecclesiasticall place to heare Mattins Masse▪ Euē|song, or any diuine seruice now vsed in this Realme of Englande, nor come to procession vpon times and dayes accustomed, nor beare at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receiue at any tyme Ashes, nor beare at anye time Palme, nor receiue Pax at Masse time, nor receiue holy water, nor holy bread, nor obserue the ceremonies or vsages of the Catholicke Church, here obserued or kept commonly in this realme of England.

8. Eightly, that the said Gibson hath affirmed that he is not boūd at any time, though he haue liberty, and the presence of a Priest conuenient and meete,*to confesse his sinnes to the sayd Prieste, nor to receiue absolution of his sinnes, at his handes, nor to receiue of him the sacrament commonly called the Sacramente of the aultar, after such forme as is now vsed within this Realme of England.

9. Ninthly, that the sayd Gibson hath affirmed, that prayer vnto Sayntes,*or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, auayleable, or profitable: and that no man is bound at any time, or in any place, to fast or pray, but onely at his owne will and pleasure, and that it is not lawful to reserue or keepe the sayd sacrament of the aultar, nor in any wise to adore and worship it.

The greatest matter whiche hee was charged withall, was for not comming to Confession, being thereunto required, for not receiuing of the sacramentes of the Popysh making, and for that he would not sweare to answere vnto theyr interrogatoryes layd agaynst him.

Notwithstanding after these his first examinations, he continued in the aforesayde Prison of the Counter a good space, from the moneth of May, vnto Nouember: at what time he was agayne produced vnto the finall examinatiō iudiciary.* Where is to bee noted, that M. Gibson being a very big and talle man, of a personable and heroycall stature, was sent for of Boner by a little and short person, a promoter, like Robin Papiste, called Robin Caley, if it were not he himselfe.

This Robin Caley hauing the conducting of the sayde Gentleman from the Pultry, would needes hale him thorow Chepeside, the gentleman desiring him to turne some other waye.* But the more the Gentleman entreated, the more fierce was the sely iack vpon him: and drawing and holding him by the arme, woold needes hale him through the high street, that the all world might see what he coulde do in his office. M. Gibsō desirous to be led without holding, willed and entreated him to let his arme loose: he would go quietly of his accord w^t him whether he would, onely crauing that he might go by him freely without noting of the people.

The saucy and impotent miser the Promoter hearing this, who was scarce able to reach vnto his shoulders: nay (sayth he) thou shalt not escape me so, come on thy wayes. Thou shalt not choose but come: & so reaching at his arme, would needes drag him vnto the Byshop. The Gentleman content to goe, yet loth to be notified in the streetes, gently requested agayne and agayne, that re•rayning hys hold, he would suffer him to goe of his owne free and volūtary will: he should not neede to feare him, for he would not start frō him. To whom the Caytiff, looking vp to his face: Come on thy way, sayth he, I wil hold thee fast, spite thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mayster Gibson seing and beholding the intollerable bragging of the wretched miser, and moued therwith not a little, could beare no longer, but sayd: Wilt thou sayd he? and addeth moreouer, bitterlye looking downe towards hym, that if he dyd not incontinentlye plucke away hys hand (and so stayed withall) he would immediatly wring his necke from his body. Whereupon Robin Papist the Promoter, was fayne to plucke away his holde, and so proceeded they vnto the Bishop, there to bee examined agayne before him.

After this,* an other day being assigned him to appeare agayne, muche talke past betweene him and Darbyshyre, then Chauncellour. But in fine, being required to sweare that he should aunswere vnto all they would demaund, he denyed to aunswere vnto all thinges the Bishops should commaund hym as Ordinary: for he is not (sayeth he) mine Ordinary, and so bidde him goe tell the Byshoppe. Before the which Byshoppe he being then commaunded to appeare the Friday next following, was brought vnto the Iustice Hall without Newgate, where he had the like conflictes with the foresayde Bishoppe and diuers other Iustices. At length he was assigned the Saterdaye folowing, to be present in the Bishops consistory Court, to heare his finall sentence. At whiche day and place, the sayd Examinee appearyng as he was commaunded, the Byshop after other matter of communication, asked hym if he knew any cause why the sentence should not be read agaynst hym. To whom the sayd Mayster Gibson aunswered, that the Bishoppe had nothing wherefor iustly to condemne him. The Bishops reason was agayne obiected to him, that men sayd he was an euil man. To whom Gibson replying agayne: yea, sayth he, and so may I saye of you also. To be short, after this and such other talke, the Bishop hasted vnto the sentence. Which being read, Gibson yet agayne admonished to remember himselfe and to saue his soule, sayd,* that he would not heare the Byshops babling, and sayde moreouer, boldly protesting and affirming that he was contrarye and an enemye to them all in his mind and opinion, although he had afore time kepte it secret in minde for feare of the law. And speaking to the bishop: blessed, sayd he, am I that am cursed at your handes. We haue no•hing now, but thus will I. For as the bishop sayth, so must it be. And now heresy is to turne the trueth of Gods word into lyes, and that do you, meaning the bishop and his felowes.

Thus this valiaunt souldiour fighting for the Gospel and sincere doctrine of Gods trueth and religion, agaynst falsehood and errour, was committed with his felowes to the secular power.

And so these three godly men, Iohn Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Maister Gibson,* being thus appointed to the slaughter, were the xij. day after theyr condemnation (which was the xviij. day of the sayde Moneth of Nouember) burnt in Smithfielde in London. And beyng brought thyther to the stake, after theyr prayer made, they were bound thereunto with cheines, and wood sette vnto them, and after wood, fire, in the which being compassed about, and the fierye flames consuming theyr fleshe, at y^e last they yelded gloriously and ioyfully theyr soules and lyues into the holy bandes of the Lord, to whose tuition and gouernement, I commend thee good Reader. Amen.

¶It is a litle aboue declared in this story of Richarde Gibson, how Boner ministred vnto the layd Gibson certeyne Articles, to the nūber of nine. Now let vs see lykewise the Articles which the sayde Gibson ministred agayne to Boner, according to the same number of nine for him to aunswere vnto, as by the same here vnder written may appeare.

***¶Articles proponed by Richard Gibson vnto Edmund Boner, Byshop of London, by him to be aunswered, be yea, or nay, or els to say he cannot tell**

1. Whether the Scriptures of God, written by Moyses, & other holy Prophetes of God, through fayth that is in Christ Iesus,* is auayleable doctrine to make all men in all thinges vnto saluation learned without the helpe of anye other doctrine, or no.

2. What is authority and from whence it commeth, to whom it apperteineth, and to what end it tendeth.

3. Whether the holy word of God, as it is written, doth sufficiently teach all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office so euer he or they be, theyr full, true, and lawfull duety in theyr office: and whether euery man of what dignity, estate, or calling by office so euer he or they be, are bound vpon the payne of eternall damnation in all thinges to do as they are hereby taught & commaunded, and in no wise to leaue vndone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commaunded by the same.

4 Whether any man, the Lorde Iesu Christ God and man onely except, by the holye ordinaunce of God euer was, is, or shall be Lord ouer fayth, and by what lawfull authority any man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soeuer he or they be, may vse Lordship or power ouer any man for fayth sake or for the secrecy of his conscience.

5. By what lawfull authority or power any man, of what dignity, estate, or calling so euer he or they be, may be so bolde as to alter or chaunge the holy ordinaunces of God, or any of them, or any part of them.

6. By what euident tokens Antichrist in his Ministers may bee knowne, seing it is written that Sathan can chaunge himselfe in to the similitude of an Aungell of light, and his ministers fashion themselves as though they were the Ministers of righteousnesse, and how it may be knowne to him that is desirous thereof, when he is one of that number or in the daunger thereof, or when he is otherwise.

7. What the beast is, the which maketh warre with the Sayntes of God, and doth not onely kill them, but also will suffer none to buy nor sell, but such as worship his Image, or receiue his marke in theyr right handes, or in theyr foreheades, his name or the number of his name, or do worship his Image, which hy the iuste and terrible sentence of God already decreed, shalbe punished in fire and brimstone before the holy Angels and before the lambe: and they shall haue no rest day nor night, but the smoake of their torment shall ascend vp for euermore: Also what the gorgious & glittering whore is, the which sitteth vpon the beast with a Cup of gold in her hand, full of abominations, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitours of the earth and she her selfe also is dronken with the bloud of Sainctes, which is the wine of her fornication, whose flesh the hornes of the beast shall teare in pieces, and burne her with fire. For god hath put in their hartes to do his will.

8. Whether a king ouer all those people whiche are borne and inhabite within his owne dominions, regions, and countryes, or any part of them, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soeuer they be, here vpon this earth immediately vnder Christ, by the holy ordinaunce of God, is lawfull, supreame, and chiefe Gouvernor or no: And whether a king ouer all those people within his dominions, regions and countryes, and euery part of them, by holy ordinaunce of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwise to doe, nor suffer otherwise to be done, then in his owne name, power, and authority (the name of God onely except) as lawfull, supreame and chiefe heade in all thinges that belongeth to rule (without exception) to gouerne and rule: And whether all those people of what dignity, estate, or calling soeuer they be, are boūd by the holy ordinaunce of God, to owe theyr whole obedience and seruice in all thinges without exception (theyr duety to god onely excepted) to their king onely, as to theyr supreame and chiefe Gouvernour vpon earth immediately vnder Christ: And whether a king without offence agaynst GOD and his people, maye geue away, and not himselfe vse that his authoritye and power geuen him of God, or lawfully may without offence to God and his people (after knowledge thereof hadde) suffer himselfe by fraud or guile, or by any other vnlawfull meane, to be beguiled, defrauded, and spoyled thereof, and whether any subiect, of what dignity, estate, or calling soeuer he or they be, without offence to God and to his kinge, to the minishing or derogating of the supreme prerogatiue roial of his king or of any part therof, may do ought, or after knowledge therof, had without offence to God & to his king, may conceale the same.

9. Whether the holy written law of God be geuen of God vnto all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soeuer they be,* aswell thereby to gouerne all theyr Dominions, Regions, and Countryes, and theyr people therin inhabiting, as themselues: and whether any law or lawes (the holy law of God onely excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or Country whereas it or they be vsed, may be lawfully vsed before it or they be, as the lawfull law or lawes of the same Dominion, Region o• Countrey, by publicke and common order of the same Dominion, Region, or Countrey lawfully allowed: and whether any subiect without offence agaynst God and his king, within the Dominion of his king, may lawfully vse any such lawe or lawes not so allowed.

Emanuel,

¶Ascribe vnto the Lord, O ye mighty, ascribe vnto the Lord, worship and strength: geue the Lord the honor of his name,* and bow your selues to the holy maiesty of the Lord.

I will harken what the Lord God will say:* for he shall speake peace vnto his people, that they turne not themselues vnto foolishnes. This 6. of Aprill. 1557.

By me Richard Gibson.

¶The death and Martyrdome of Iohn Rough Minister, and Margaret Mearing burned at London the 22. of December.

IN this furious time of persecution, were also burned these two constant and faythfull Martyrs of Christ, Iohn Rough a Minister,* and Margaret Mearing.

This Rough was borne in Scotland, who (as himselfe confesseth in his aunsweres to Boners Articles) because some of his kinsfolke woulde haue kept hym frō his right of inheritaunce which he had to certaine landes, did at the age of xvij. yeares,* in despite (and the rather to displease his frendes) professe himselfe into the order of the blacke Friers at Sterling in Scotlande: where he remained the space of xvj. yeres, vntill such time as the Lord Hamulton, Earle of Arren, and gouernour of the Realme of Scotland aforesayde (casting a fauour vnto hym) did sue vnto the Archbishop of Saynt Andrewes, to haue him out of his professed order, that as a Seculare Prieste he might serue hym for his Chapleine. At which request the Archbischoppe caused the Prouincial of that house, hauing thereto authority, to dispence with hym for his habite and order.

This sute beyng thus by the Earle obtained, the sayde Rough remayned in his seruice one whole yeare:* duryng which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to geue him some knowledge of his truth, and thereupon was by the sayd gouernour sent to preach in the freedome of Ayre, where he continued foure yeares, and then after the death of the Cardinall of Scotland, he was appoynted to abyde at S. Andrewes, and there had assigned vnto him a yearely pension of xx. pound from king Henry the eight Kyng of England. Howbeit, at last waying with himselfe hys owne daūger, and also abhorring the Idolatry and superstition of this countrey, and hearing of the freedome of the Gospell within this Realme of England, he determyned with himselfe not to tary any longer there: And therefore soone after the battel of Muscle bourough, he came first vnto Carliell, and from thence vnto the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protectour of England,* and by his assignment had appoynted vnto him out of the Kinges treasurye xx. poundes of yearely stipend, and was sent (as a Preacher) to serue at Carliell, Barwicke, and Newcastell. From whence (after he had there, according to the lawes of God and also of this Realme, taken a countrey woman of hys to wife) he was called by the Archbyshoppe of Yorke that then was, vnto a benefice nighe in the Towne of Hull: where he continued vntill the death of that blessed & good king Edward the 6.

But in the beginning of the reigne of Queene Marye (perceyuyng the alteration of Religion, and the persecution that woulde thereupon arise, and feeling hys owne weakenes) he fled with his wife into Friseland,* & dwelte there at a place called Norden, labouring truely for his liuing, in knitting of Cappes, hose, and such like thinges, till about the end of the moneth of October last before hys death. At which tyme, lacking yeare and other suche necessary prouision for the mainteinaunce of his occupation, he came ouer againe into England, here to prouide for the same, and the x. daye of Nouember arriued at London. Where hearing of the secret society, and holy Congregation of Gods children there assembled, he ioyned himselfe vnto them,* and afterwarde being elected theyr Minister and Preacher, did continue moste vertuously exercised in that Godly felowshippe, teaching and confirming them in the trueth and Gospell of Christ. But in the ende (suche was the prouidence of God, who disposeth all thinges to the best, the xij. day of December, he with Cutbert Symson [Page 2029](#) and others,* through the crafty and trayterous suggestion of a false Hipocrite and dissembling Brother called Roger Sergeaunt, a taylour, were apprehended by the Uicechamberlayne of the Queenes house, at the Saracēs head in Islington:* where the Congregation had thē purposed to assemble themselues to theyr Godly and accustomable exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the safegarde of all the rest, they yet at theyr examinations, couered and excused by hearing of a playe that was then appoynted to be at that place. The Uicechamberlayne after he had

apprehended them, caried •ough and Symson vnto the Counsell, who charged thē to haue assembled together to celebrate the Communion or Supper of the Lord, and therefore after sundry examinations and aunswares, they sent the sayd Rough vnto Newgate: but his examinations they sēt vnto the bishop of London, with a Letter signed with they handes, the copy wherof foloweth.

¶A Letter sent from the Queenes Councell vnto Boner, Bishop of London, touching the examination of Iohn Rough Minister.

*After our harty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here inclosed the examination of a Scottish man, named Iohn Rough, who by the Queenes Maiesties commaundement is presentlye sent to Newgate, beyng of the chiefe of them that vpon Sunday last, vnder the colour of comming to see a Play at the Saracens head in Islington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and receiued there among certayne other seditious and hereticall persons. And forasmuch as by the sayde Roughes examination, conteining the story and progresse of hys former life, it well appereth of what sort he is: the queenes highnes hath willed vs to remit him vnto your Lordship, to the ende that being called before you out of prison, as ofte as your Lordship shall think good, ye may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwise ordering of him, according to the lawes, as the case shall require. And thus we bidde your Lordshippe hartely well to fare. From Saynt Iames the 15. day of December. 1557.

Your Lordships louing frendes. Nicholas Ebor.

*F. Shrewsbery.

Edward Hastings.

Antony Mountague.

Iohn Bourne.

Henry Iernegam.

Boner nowe minding to make quicke dispatche, dyd wythin three dayes after the receipt of the Letter (the xviiij. day of December) send for this Rough out of Newgate, and in his Palace at London ministred vnto him 12. Articles: Many whereof because they conteine onely questions of the profession and Religion of that age, wherein both he and his Parentes were Christened (which in sūdry places are already mentioned) I doe here for breuity omitte: minding to touche suche onely, as perteyne to matters of fayth now in controuersy, and then chiefly obiected agaynst the Martyrs and Saynts of God, which in effect are these.

1. First, that thou Iohn Rough diddest directly speake agaynst the 7. Sacramentes,* vsed commonlye and reuerently, as thinges of estimation and great worthines in the catholick church: and also diddest reprove and condemne the substance of the sayd Sacramentes, but especially the Sacrament of the aultar, affirming that in that same is not really and truely the very body & bloud

of Christ: and that confession to the priest, and absolution geuen by him (as the minister of Christ) for sinnes, is not necessary or auayleable in any wise.

2. Item, thou hast misliked and reprobued the religion and ecclesiasticall seruice, as it is now vsed in this realme, and hast allowed the religion and seruice vsed in the latter yeares of king Edward the 6. and so much as in thee hath leyne,* hast by word, writing, & deed, set forwardes, taught, and preached the same openly, and in sundry places, affirmed, that the sayde Englishe seruice and doctrine therein contained, is agreable in all poyntes to Gods word and vnto the truth, condemning vtterly the Latine seruice nowe vsed in the Queenes reigne, and inducing other by thine example to do the like

3. Item, thou hast in sundrye places within this Realme commended and approued the opinion & doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury. Nicholas Ridley, & Hugh Latimer, concerning the Sacrament of the altuar, affirming that in the Sacrament there remayneth after the wordes of consecration, materiall breade and materiall wine, without any transubstantiation.

4. Item, thou hast in sundrye places of this Realme, since the Queenes reigne, ministred and receiued the Communion as it was vsed in the late daies of king Edward the sixt,* and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of diuers, that yet do keepe bookes of the sayd Communion, and vse the same in priuate houses ou• of the Church, and are of opinion agaynst the Sacrament of the altuar.

5. Item, that thou in sundry places of this realme hast spoken agaynst the Pope of Rome and his Apostolicke sea,* & hast plainly contemned & despised the authority of the same, misliking & not allowing the faith and doctrine therof, but directly speaking agaynst it, and by thine example hast induced other the subiects of this realme, to speake and do the like.

6. Item, thou doest knowe, and hast bene conuersaunt with all, or a great part of such English men as haue fledde out of this Realme for Religion, and hast consented and agreed with them in theyr opinions, and hast succoured, maynteyned, and holpen them, and hast bene a conueyer of theyr seditious Letters and bookes into this realme.

7. Item, that thou hast sayd, that thou hast bene at Rome, and taryed there about 30. dayes or more, and that thou hast sene litle good or none there, but very much euill.* Amongest the which thou sawest one great abomination, that is to say, a man (or the Pope) that shoulde goe on the ground, to bee carried vppon the shoulders of foure men, as though he had bene God and no mā: Also, a Cardinall to haue his harlot riding openly behinde hym: And thirdly a Popes Bull that gaue expresse licence to haue and vse the stewes, and to keepe open bawdry by the Popes approbation and authority.

8. Item, that thou sithens thy last comming into England out of the parties beyond the sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted diuers of the subiectes of this Realme, both young, olde men, and women, to haue and vse the booke of Communion, set forth in this Realme in the latter daies of king Edward the sixt, and hast also thy selfe read and sette forth the same, causing others to doe the like, and to leaue theyr comming to their parish churches to heare the Latine seruice now vsed.

9. Item, that thou the thirde sondaye of Aduent the xij. daye of this December. 1557. wast apprehended at the Saracens heade at Islington, in the county of Middlesexe and dioces of London, by the Queenes Vicechamberlayne, with one Cutbert a Taylour,* Hugh a hosier, and diuers other there assembled, vnder the colour of hearing a playe, to haue read the communion booke, and to haue vsed the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter dayes of king Edward the sixt.

The aunsweres of Iohn Rowgh to the foresayd Articles.

1. TO the first he said and confessed that he had spoken against the number of the sayde sacramentes,*being fully perswaded that there be but onely two Sacramentes: to wit, baptisme, and the supper of the Lord: and as for the other fiue, he denyed them to be sacramentes, and therefore hath spoken agaynste them. And as concerning the sacrament of the aultar (which he then called the supper of the Lord) he confessed that he had spoken and taught that in the sayde sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and bloud of Christ, but that the substance of bread and wine doth remayne in the sayde Sacrament, withou any transubstantiation at all. Farther as touching confession of sinnes to the priest, he answered that he thought it necessary, if the offence were done vnto the priest: but if the offēce were done to another, then confession made to the priest is not necessary, but reconciliation onely to bee made to the partye so offended.

2. To the second, he aunswered that he then did and had before misliked the order of latine seruice then vsed: and also did allowe the seruice vsed in the latter time of King Edwardes reigne, for that the holy scripture doth the same, and therefore he graunted that he did teach and set forth the sayd Englishe seruice, as in the same article is obiected.

3. To the third, he graunted that he had approued the doctrine of the parties articulate as agreable to Gods word, and that they were godly learned men, and such as had perfect vnderstandyng in the contentes of the same article.

4. To the fourth, he aunswered that hee did well like the Communion vsed in Kyng Edwardes dayes, but sayde that he had not ministred or receyued the same here in England since the Queenes reygne, neyther yet knewe any that had the bookes thereof. But on the other side, he knew many that had those bookes, and that there also hee hadde receiued the Communion in sundrye places.

5. The contentes of the fift he graunted to be true.

6. To the sixt, he confessed that he had bene familiar with diuers Englishe menne and women being in Friseland, and agreed with them in opinion, as Maister Scory, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundreth persons, whiche fled thither for Religion, vsing there the order set forth in the reigne of king Edward, and otherwise he denyeth the contentes of thys Article.

7. The contentes of the seuenth hee graunted in euery poynt to be true.

[Page 2030](#)*8. To the eight he aunswered and confessed that sithens his last comming into England (which was aboue the x. day of Nouember) he had in sundry places in the suburbes of London prayed and read such prayers and seruice, as is appoynted in the booke of the communion, and hadde willed others to doe the like, both men and women, which he did know by sight, but not by name. Howbeit he didde neyther cause any to withdrawe themselues from the Latine seruice, but he sayed that it were better to pray in a tongue that they didde vnderstande, then in an vnknowne tongue.

9. To the ninth, he confessed that the time and place articulate he was present to heare and see a playe, and there was apprehended by the Queenes Maiesties Vicechamberleyne, with one Cutbert a taylour, and one Hugh a hosier, and diuers other both men and women, whose names he knewe not, and by him was brought before the Counsell, who sent him vnto Newgate, and from thence he was brought to the bishop. And othwise he denieth the contentes of this Article.

Upon these answeres he was dismissed, and the nexte day (being the xix. of December) he was agayne brought before the sayd Byshop and others.* Who, when they perceiued his constantnesse, determined the nexte day after to bring him openly into the Consistory, there to adiudge, & condemne him as an hereticke. Whiche purpose they accomplished. For the xx. day at afternoone, in the presence of the Byshops of London, and S. Dauides, with Fecknam Abbot of Westminster, and others he was there produced. Where, after mucche and many fayre perswasions, Boner read vnto him the articles, and aunsweres before mentioned, in the which they charged him to haue receyued the orders of the church, and therefore might not mary, and that he had refused to consent vnto the Latine seruice then vsed in the Church. Whereunto he then aunswered and sayde, that theyr orders were no thing at all, and that he being a Prieste might lawfully mary, and that hys children whiche he had by his wife, were lawfull. And as touching the seruice then vsed, he vtterly detested it, saying, that if he should liue as long as did Methusalach yet he would neuer come to the Church to heare the abhominable Masse and other seruice, being as it was then. Upō which wordes the Bishop proceeded to the actuall degradation of the sayde Rough,* exempting him from all the benefites and priuiledges of theyr Church, and after condemning him as an hereticke, committed his body to the secular power, who taking him into their charge and custody, caried him vnto Newgate.

Moreouer, as touching the sayde M. Rough, this is further to be noted,* that he being in the North country in the dayes of king Edward the sixt, was the meane to saue Doctor Watsons life (who in queene Maryes tyme was Byshop of Lincolne) for a Sermon that hee made there. The sayd Watson after that, in the sayde dayes of Queene Marye, being with Boner at the examination of the sayde M. Rough, to requite the good turne in sauving his life, de, tected him there to be a pernicious hereticke who did more hurt in the North partes, then an hundreth besides of hys opinions. Unto whom M. Rough sayd agayne. Why sir, is this the rewarde I haue for sauving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the dayes of king Edward the sixt? This M. Rough sayd, he had liued thirty yeares, and yet had neuer bowed his knee to Baall: and being before Boner, among other talke, he affirmed that he hadde bene twice at Rome, and there had sene playnely with his eyes, whiche he had manye times heard of before, namelye that the pope was the very Antichrist, for there he saw him caried on mens shoulders, and the false named sacrament borne before him. Yet was there more reuerence geuen to him, then to that which they counted to be theyr GOD. Whē Boner heard this, rising vp, and making as though he

would haue torne his garmentes: hast thou (sayd hee) bene at Rome, and sene our holy father the Pope, & doest thou blaspheme him after this sort, and with that flying vpon him he plucked of a piece of his beard: and after making speedy haste to his death, he burnt him half an houre before sixe of the clocke in the morning, because the day (belike) shoulde not be farre spent, before he had done a mischieuous deed.

Furthermore note that this Mayster Rough being at the burning of Austoo in Smithfield, and returning home ward agayne, met with one Mayster Farrar, a Marchant of Hallifaxe, who asked him where hee had beene. Unto whō he aunswered: I haue bene (saith he) where I would not for one of mine eyes, but I had bene. Where haue you bene, sayd M. Farrar? Forsoothe sayth hee to learne the way. And so he tolde hym hee had bene at the burning of Austoo, where shortly after he was burned hymselfe.

¶A letter written by Iohn Rough, vnto certeine of his godly frendes, confirming and strengthning them in the truth, which he had before taught.

The comfort of the holy Ghost make you able to geue consolation to others, in these daungerous dayes, when Sathan is let lose, but to the triall onely of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the Chaffe. I haue not leysure & tyme to write the great tēptations I haue bene vnder. I speak to Gods glory: my care was to haue the senses of my soule open, to perceiue the voyce of God, saying: Who so euer denyeth me before men, him will I deny before my father and his aungels. And to saue the life corporall, is to lose the life eternall. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reigne with him. Therefore most tender ones, I haue by Gods spirite geuen ouer the flesh, with the fight of my soule, and the spirite hath the victory. The fleshe shall now ere it be long, leaue of to sinne: the spirite shall reigne eternally. I haue chosē the death to confirme the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Consider with your selues, that I haue done it for the confirmation of Gods trueth. Pray that I may continue vnto the end. The greatest part of the assault is paste, I prayse my God. I haue in all my assaultes felt the present ayde of my God, I geue him most hartly thanks therefore. Looke not backe, nor be ye ashamed of Christes Gospell, nor of the bonds I haue suffered for the same: thereby ye may be assured it is the true word of God. The holy ones haue bene sealed with the same marke. It is no time for the losse of one man in the battell, for the campe to turne backe. Vp with mennes hartes, blowe downe the dawbed walles of heresies: Let one take the Banner, and the other the Trumpette, I meane not to make corporall resistance, but pray, and ye shall haue Elias defence, and Elizeus company to fight for you. The cause is the Lordes. Nowe my brethren I can write no more, time will not suffer, and my harte with panges of death is assaulted: but I am at home with my God yet aliue. Pray for me, & salute one another with the holy kisse. The peace of god rest with you all. Amen. From Newgate prison in haste, the day of my condemnation.

Iohn Rough.

An other letter of Iohn Rough written vnto the Congregation two dayes before he suffered.

The spirite of all consolation be with you, ayde you and make you strong to runne to the fight that is layde before you: wherewithall God in all ages hath tryed hys elect, and hath found them worthy of himselfe, by copling to theyr head Iesus Christ: in whome, who so desireth to liue

Godly, the same must needs suffer persecution. For it is geuen vnto them not onely to beleue, but also to suffer. And the Seruaunt or Scholer can not be greater then his Lord or Mayster: but by the same way the head is entered, the members must folow: no life is in the members which are cutte from the body, likewise we haue no life, but in Christ: for by him we liue, moue, and haue our being. My deare sonne, now departing this life to my great aduantage, I make chaūge of mortality with immortality, of corruption, to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corne cast into the ground, which except it die first, it can bring forth no good fruite. Wherefore death is to my great vauntage, for therby the body ceaseth from sinne, and after turneth into the first originall: but after shall be chaunged, and made brighter, then the Sonne or Moone. What shall I write of this corporall death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men shall once die: happy are they that die in the Lord, which is to dye in the fayth of Christ, professing and confessing the same before many witnesses. I prayse my God I haue passed the same iourney by manye temptations, the deuill is very busye to perswade, the world to entise with promises and fayre wordes, which I omitte to write, least some might thinke I did hunt after vayne glorye, whiche is farthest from my hart. Lastly the daunger of some false brethren who before the Byshop of London purposed to confesse an vntrueth to my face: yet the God that ruled Balaam, moued theyr hartes, where they thought to speake to my accusation, hee made them speake to my purgation. What a iourney (by Gods power) I haue made, these eight dayes before this date, it is aboue flesh and bloud to beare: but as Paule sayth, I may do all thinges in hym which worketh in me, Iesus Christ. My course brethrē haue I run, I haue fought a good fight, the crowne of righteousnes is layd vp for me, my daye to receiue it is not long too. Praye Brethren, for the enemye doth yet assaulte. Stande constaunt vnto the ende, then shall you possesse your Soules. Walke worthely in that vocation, wherein you are called. Comfort the Bretheren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of [Page 2031](#) the Gospell of the Crosse,* by me preached, nor yet of my suffering: for with my bloud I affirme the same. I go before, I suffer first the bayting of the Butchers Dogges: yet I haue not done, what I should haue done: but my weaknes, I doubt not, is supplied in the strēgth of Iesus christ: and your wisdomes & learning will accept that small talent, which I haue distributed vnto you (as I trust) as a faythfull stewarde, and if what was vndone, impute that to my frayltye and ignoraunce, and with your loue couer that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye all are tender vnto me, my hart bursteth for the loue of you. Ye are not without your great pastor of your soule: who, so loueth you, that if men were not to bee sought out (as God be prayed, there is no want of men) he would cause stones to minister vnto you. Cast your care on that Rock, the wind of temptation shall not preuayle, fast and praye for the dayes are euill. Looke vp with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not farre off, (but my wickednesse hath deserued that I shall not see it.) And also that which is behind of the bloud of our brethren, which shall also be layd vnder the aulter, shall crye for your reliefe. Time wil not now suffer me to write longer Letters. The spirite of God guid you in and out, rising & sitting, couer you with the shadow of his winges, defend you agaynst the tyrannye of the wicked, and bring you happely vnto the Porte of eternall felicitye, where all teares shall be wyped from your eyes, and you shall alwayes abyde wyth the Lambe.

Iohn Rough.

¶Margaret Mearing Martyr.

IT is declared, that in the companye of Iohn Roughe, was burned one Margaret Mearyng,* who, as the Register maketh mention, was at one time and day brought wyth the sayde Rough foorth to examination: where the Byshop hauynge no priuate matters to charge her withall, did the eighteenth daye of December objecte agaynste her those common and accustomable Articles mentioned before pag, 1585. To which she aunswered as followeth.

Ffirst, that there is here in earth a catholicke Churche and that there is the true fayth of Christ obserued,*and kept in the same Church.

2 Item, that there were onely two sacramentes in the Church, namely the sacrament of the bodye and bloud of Christ, and the sacrament of Baptisme.

3 Item, that she was baptised in the fayth, & beliefe of the sayd Church, renouncing there, by her Godfathers and Godmothers, the Deuill and all his workes. &c.

4 Item, that when she came to the age of fouretene yeares, shee did not knowe what her true beliefe was, because shee was not then of discretion to vnderstande the same, neyther yet was taught it.

5 Item, that she had not gone from the catholicke fayth at any time: but she sayde that the Masse was abhominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true Christian people, and that it is the playne Cup of fornication, and the whore of Babilon. And as concerning the Sacrament of the aultar, she sayd she beleued there was no such sacrament in the catholicke Church. Also she sayd, that she vtterly abhorred the authoritye of the Byshop of Rome, with all the Religion obserued in the same Antichristes Church.

6 Item, she aunswered to the sixt Article, as to the first, before specified.

7 Item, that she hath refused to come to her Parish Church, because the true Religion of Christ was not then vsed in the same: and farther sayd that she had not come vnto the Churche by the space of one yeare, and three quarters, then last paste, neither yet did meane any more to come vnto the same in these Idolatrous dayes.

*8 Item, as touching the maner of her apprehension she said that Cluney the Bishops Somner, did fetch her to the Bishop.

These aunsweres being then registered, they were agayne (with the sayd Articles), propounded agaynste her the xx. day of December, and there being demaunded if she would stand vnto those her aunsweres, she sayde: I wyll stand to them vnto the death: for the very Aungels of heauen do laugh you to scorne, to see your abomination that you vse in the Churche.* After the whiche wordes the Byshop pronounced the sentence of condemnation: and then deliuering her vnto the Sheriffes, she was wyth the forenamed Iohn Roughe caryed vnto Newgate. From whence they were both together led vnto Smithfield, the xxij. day of the same Moneth of December, and there most ioyfullye gaue theyr liues for the profession of Christes Gospell.

When the latter end of this history of Mayster Rough,* and Margarete Mearing was in finishing, there came to our hands one necessary thing of the said Margaret Mearyng, which wee thought not good to omit. The matter is this. Mayster Rough being chiefe Pastour to the congregation in the said time of Queene Mary, as before ye haue heard (of which companye this Margaret Mearyng was one) did not well like the sayd Margaret, but greatly suspected her, as many other of them did besides, because she would often times bring in straungers among them, and in her talke seemed (as they thought) somewhat •o busye. &c. Nowe, what they sawe or vnderstoode further in her, we know not, but this followed the euill suspition conceiued of her. Mayster Rough the Fridaye before hee was taken, in the open face of the Congregation, did excommunicate her out of the same company: and so seemed with the rest to exclude, and cut her of from theyr fellowship and society. Whereat she being mooued, did not well take it, nor in good part, but thought her selfe not indifferently handled amonge them. Whereupon to one of her frendes in a heate, she threatned to remoue them all. But the prouidence of God was otherwise. For the Sondaye after Mayster Rough being taken by the information of one Roger, Sergeaunt to the Bishop of London (as here after thou shalt heare) was layd prisoner in the Gatehouse at Westminster,* where none of his frendes coulde come to him to visite him. Then this sayd Margaret hearing therof, gotte her a basket, and a cleane shyrt in it, and went to Westminster, where she fayning her selfe to be his Sister, got into the prison to him, and did there to her power not a litle comfort him.

Then comming abroade agayne, shee vnderstandinge that the Congregation suspected the said Sergeaunt to be his Promoter, went to his house, and asked whether Iudas dwelt not there. Unto whom aunswere was made, there dwelt no such. No, sayd she? Dwelleth not Iudas here that betrayed Christ? His name is Sergeaunt. Whē she saw she could not speake with him, she went her way. So the Friday after, she standing at Marke lane ende in London, with an other woman, a frende of hers, sawe Cluney Boners Somner, commyng in the Streete towards her house. Whome when she sawe, she sayed to the other woman standyng with her: whether goeth yonder fine felowe sayde she? I thinke surely he goeth to my house: and in viewing him still, at the last she saw him enter in at her doore. So immediately she went home, and asked him whome hee sought.* Whereunto Cluney made answere and sayd, for you: you must go with me. Mary, quoth she, here I am: I will go with you, and comming to the Bishoppe, she was layde in prison, and the Wednesday after burnt with Mayster Rough in Smithfielde, as ye haue heard.

Anno. 1558.

¶The Suffering & cruell tormentes of Cutbert Symson, Deacon of the Christian Congregation in London, in Queene Maries dayes, most patiently abiding the cruell rage of the Papistes for Christes sake.

NExt after the Martyrdome of M. Rough Minister of the Congregation, aboue mentioned,* succeeded in like Martyrdome the Deacon also of that sayde Godly company or Congregation in London, named Cutbert Symson, being committed to the fire, the yeare of our Lord. 1558. the 28. day of March.

This Cutbert Symson was a manne of a faythfull, and zealous hart to Christ and his true flocke, in so much that he neuer ceased labouryng, and Studying most earnestly, not onely how to

preserue them without corruption of the Popish religion, but also hys care was euer vigilant, how to keepe them together wythout peryll, or daunger of persecution. The paynes, trauayle, zeale, pacience, and fidelity of this man, in caryng, and prouiding for thys Congregation, as it is not lightly to be expressed▪ so is it wonderfull to beholde the prouidence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faythfull minister, and godly Deacon,* as in this here folowyng may appeare.

The Fridaye at nighte before Maister Rough Minister of the congregation (of whom mētion is made before) was takē, being in his bed he dreamed, that he saw 2. of the [Page 2032](#) Gard leading Cutbert Simson Deacon of the sayde congregation,* and that he had the booke about hym, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the Congregation. Whereupon being sore troubled, hee awaked, and called hys wife, saying: Kate strike lighte, For I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert thys nyght. When she hadde so done, he gaue himselfe to reade in his booke a while, and there feeling sleepe to come vpon him, he put out the candle, & so gaue himselfe agayn to rest. Being a sleepe, hee dreamed the like dreame agayn: & awaked therwith, hee sayde: O Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candle againe and rose. And as the •ayd M. Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert to see how he did, in the meane time the sayd Cutbert came in with the book, conteining the names & accompts of the congregation. Whom when Maister Rough hadde seene, he sayd: brother Cutbert, ye are welcome, for I haue bene sore troubled with you this night, and so tolde hym his dreame. After he had so done, he willed him to lay the booke away from him, and to cary it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert aunswered, he would not so doe: for dreames he sayd, were but phantasies, and not to be credited. Then maister Rough straightly charged him in the name of the Lord to doe it. Whereupon the sayde Cutbert tooke suche notes out of the booke, as hee had willed hym to doe, and immediately left the booke with M. Roughes wife.

The next day following, in the night, the said Maister Rough had an other dreame in his sleepe, concerning hys owne trouble. The matter wherof was this. He thought in his dreame that he was caried himselfe forceably to the Bishop, and that the Bishop pluckt of his beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these wordes: Nowe I may saye I haue had a peece of an heretick burned in my house, and so according it came to passe.

Now to returne to Cutbert agayne, as we haue touched something co•cerning these visions, so nowe remayneth to story also of his paynes and sufferinges vpon the racke, and otherwise like a good Laurence for the congregations sake, as he wrote it with his owne hand.

¶A true report how I was vsed in the Tower of London, being sent thether by the Counsell the xiii. day of December.

ON the Thursday, after I was called vnto the warehouse, before the Constable of the Tower and y^e Recorder of Londer Maister Cholmley, they commaunded me to tell, whome I did will to come to the Englishe seruice. I aunswered I would declare nothing. Wherupon I was set in a racke of Iron, the space of three houres, as I iudged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I losed, and caried to my lodging agayne. On the sonday after, I was brought into the same place agayne, before the Lieuetenaunt, and the Recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had sayde, I answered. Then the Lieuetenaunt did sweare by god I shuld tell. Then did they binde my 2. forefingers together, and put a small arrowe betwixt them, and drewe it through so fast that the bloude followed, and the arrowe brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I caryed to my lodging agayne, and x. dayes after the Lieuetenant asked me if I would not confesse that, which before they had asked me. I sayd I had sayd as much as I would. Thē fiue weekes after, he sent me vnto the high Prieste, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hande I receiued the Popes curse, for bearing witnesse of the resurrection of Ie|sus Christ. And thus I commend you vnto God, and to the worde of his grace, with all them that vnfaynedly call vpon the name of Iesus, desiring God of his endles mercy, through the merites of hys deare sonne Iesus Christe to bringe vs all to hys euerlasting kingdome. Amen. I prayse God for his great mercy shewed vppon vs. Syng Osanna vnto the highest with me Cutbert Simson, God forgeue me my sinnes. I aske all the worlde forgeuenesse, and I doe forgeue all the worlde, and thus I leaue thys world, in hope of a ioyfull resurrection.

A note for Cutbert Simsons patience.

NOw as touching this Cutbert Simson,* this further is to be noted, that Boner in his Consistory speaking of Cutbert Simson, gaue this testimony of hym there to the people, saying, ye see this man (sayth he) what a personable man he is: and after hee had thus commended hys persone, added moreouer:*. And furthermore concerning his pacience, I say vnto you, that if hee were not an hereticke, hee is a manne of the greatest pacience that yet euer came before me. For I tell you, he hath bene thrise racked vppon one day in the Tower: Also in my house hee hathe felt some sorrowe, and yet I neuer see hys pacience broken. &c.

[illustration]

☞ A true description of the racking and cruell handeling of Cutbert Simson in the Tower.

[Page 2033*](#)It is thought and sayd of some, that that arrowe, whiche was grated betwixt his fingers, being tyed together, was not in the tower, but in the Bishops house.

The day before the blessed Deacon and Martyr of god Cutbert Simson, after his paynfull racking should go to his cōdēnation before Boner,* to be burned, being in the Bishops colehouse there in the stockes, he had a certayne vision or apparition very straunge which he himself with hys owne mouthe declared to the Godly learned man M. Austen, to his owne wi•e, and Thomas Simson, and to others besides, in the prison of Newgate a litle before his death. The relation whereof I stande in no little doubt, whether to reporte abroad or not, considering with my sel•e, the greate diuersitie of mennes iudgements in the reading of historyes, and varietie of affections. Some, I see, will not beleue it, some will deride the same, some also will be offended with setting forth things of that sorte incertayne, esteeming all thinges to bee incertayne and incredible, whatsoever is straunge from the common order of Nature.

Other will be perchaunce agreeued, thinking with thē selues, or els thus reasoning with me, that althoughe the matter were as is reported, yet for somuch as the common error of beleuing rash miracles, phantasied visions, dreames, and apparitions thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the same to be vnsetforth.

These and such lyke will be, I know, the sayinges of many. Whereunto brieflye I aunswere, grauntyng firste, and admyttyng wyth the woordes of Basill, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 . That is, not euery dreame is strait waye a Prophecie. Agayne, neither am I ignoraunt that the Papistes in their bookes and legendes of saintes haue theyr prodigious visions, and apparitions of Aungelles of our Lady: of Christ, and other saynctes: which as I wil not admit to be beleueed for true, so will they aske me agayne, why should I then more require these to be credyted of them, then theirs of vs.

First I write not this, binding any manne precisely to beleue the same, so as they do theyrs, but onely reporte it as it hath bene heard of persons knowne, naming also y^e parties, who were the hearers thereof, leauing the iudgment therof notwithstanding free vnto the arbitrement of the reader.* A•beit, it is no good argument, proceeding from the singular or particular, to the vniuersall, to saye that visions be not true in some, ergo they be true in none. And if any shall muse, or object agayne, why should suche visions be geuen to him, or a few other singular persons, more then to all the rest, seeing the other were in the same cause and quarrell, and dyed also martyrs as well as hee? To thys I say, concerning the Lordes tymes and doings I haue not to meddle nor make, who may worke where and when it pleaseth him. And what if the Lorde thought chiefly aboute the other, with singular consolation to respecte him, who chiefly aboute the other, and singularly did suffer most exquisite tormentes for his sake? What greate maruell herein? but as I sayd, of the Lords secrete tymes I haue not to reason. This onely whiche hathe out of the mans owne mouth bene receiued, so as I receiued it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the Reader, for him to iudge thereof as God shall rule hys mynd. The matter is this.

The day before thys Simson was condemned, he being in the stockes, Cloney his keeper commeth in with y^e keies, about 9. of the clocke at night (after his vsuall maner) to view hys prison, and see whether all were present, who when he espyed the sayd Cutbert to be there, departed agayne, locking the dores after him. Within two houres after, about eleuen of the clocke, towarde midnichte, the sayd Cutbert (whether being in a slumber, or beyng awake I cannot say) heard one comming in, first openyng the outwarde dore, then the seconde, after the thyrd dore, and so looking into the sayd Cutbert, hauing no Candell or Torche that he could see, but geuing a brightnesse, and light most comfortable and ioyfull to hys hart, saying: Ha vnto him, and departed agayne. Who it was hee coulde not tell, neither I dare define. This that he saw, he hymselfe declared foure or fiue tymes to the sayd Mayster Austen, and to other. At the sight whereof hee receiued suche ioyfull comfort, that he also expressed no little solace, in telling and declaring the same.

Articles seuerally ministred to Cutbert Simson the xix. of March, with his aunsweres also to the same annexed:

First, that thou Cutbert Simson, art at this present abidinge within the Cittie and Dioces of London,* and not out of the iurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.

Item, that thou within the Cittie and Diocesse of London hast vttered many times, and spoken deliberately these wordes and sentences following, videlicet: that though thy parentes, auncestours, kinsefolkes, and friendes, yea, and also thy selfe▪ before the time of the late schisme here in this realme of Englande haue thought and thoughtest, that the fayth and religion obserued in times past here in this Realme of Englande, was a true fayth and religion of Christ, in all poyntes and Articles, though in the Churche it was set foorth in the Latine tongue, and not in Englishe, yet thou beleuest and sayest, that the faythe and religion, now vsed commonly in the Realme, not in the Englysh but in the Latine tongue, is not the true faythe and religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly agaynst it.

Item, that thou within the sayde Cittie and Dioces of London, hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously done,* & spoken agaynst the Rites and the Ceremonyes, commonly vsed here throughe the whole realme, and obserued generally in the Church of England.

Item, that thou hast thought, and beleued certaynly,* and so within the Dioces of London, hast affirmed, and spoken delyberately, that there bee not in the Catholicke Church seven Sacramentes, nor of that vertue and efficacie, as is commonly beleued in the church of England them to be.

Item, thou hast likewise thought, and beleued,* yea and so within the Cittie and Dioces of London spoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the sacrament of the aultar, there is not really, substantially, and truly, the very body and bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ

Item that thou hast beene, and to thy power arte at this present, a fauourer of all those, that eyther haue beene here in this Realme, heretofore called heretickes, or els conuented, & condemned by the Ecclesiasticall Iudges for heretickes,

Item that thou, contrary to the order of this Realme of Englande,* and contrary to the vsage of the holy Church of this Realme of England, hast at sundry tymes and places, within the Citye and Dioces of London, beene at assemblyes, and conuenticles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together, to h•are the Englishe seruice sayed, which was set forth in the late yeares of King Edward the sixte, and also to heare, and haue the Communion booke reade, and the Communion ministred, both to the sayd multitude, and also to thy selfe, and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken that the sayd Englishe seruice, and Communion booke, and all thinges conteyned in eyther of them was good and laudable, and for such thou diddest, and doest allowe, and approue eyther of them at this present.

***The aunswere of the sayd Cutbert to the foresayd articles.**

VNto all which articles the sayd Cutbert Simson aunswered thus, or the lyke in effecte.*

To the 1 2 3.4 5. and 6. article he confessed them to be true in euery parte thereof.

To the 7. article he sayd, that he was bounde to aunswere vnto it, as he beleeueth.

¶A letter of Cutbert Simson, written to his wyfe out of the Colehouse,

DEarely beloued in the Lorde Iesus Christe,* I can not write as I doe wishe vnto you.

I beseeche you with my soule, committe your selfe vnder the mighty hande of our God, trusting in his mercye, and hee will surely helpe vs, as shall be moste vnto his glory, and oure euerlasting comforte, being sure of this, that hee wyll suffer nothing to come vnto vs, but that whiche shall bee moste profitable for vs.

For it is either a correction for our sinnes, or a tryall of oure faythe, or to set forthe his glorye, or for altogether, and therefore must needes be well done. For there is nothing that commeth vnto vs by fortune or chaunce, but by oure heauenlye Fathers prouidence, And therefore praye vnto oure heauenly Father that he will euer geue vs his grace for to consider it. Let vs geue hym moste hartye thanks, for these his fatherly corrections: for as many as hee loueth, hee correcteth. And I beseech you now bee of good cheare, and compte the Cross• of Chryste greater ryches, then all the vayne pleasures of Englande. I do not doubt (I prayse God for it) but that you haue supped wyth Chryste at his Maundie, I meane beleue in hym, for that is the effecte, and then muste you drynke of hys cuppe, I meane hys Crosse (for that doth the cuppe signifie vnto vs.) Take the Cuppe wyth a good stomacke, in the name of GOD and then shall you be sure to haue the good wyne Chrystes bloude to thy poore thirstie soule. And when you haue the wy•e you muste drinke it out of this cuppe. Learne this when you [Page 2034](#) come to the Lordes supper, pray continually. In all thinges geue thanks.

In the name of Iesus shall euery knee bowe. Cutbert Simson.

Hugh Foxe.

Iohn Deuenishe.

*With Cutbert likewise was apprehended and also suffered (as is before mentioned) Hugh Foxe, and Iohn Deuenish. Who being brought into their examinations with the sayd Cutbert, before Boner Byshoppe of London, the xix. day of March, had articles and Interrogatories to them ministred by the sayd officer, albeit not al at one time. For first to the sayd Cutbert seuerall Articles were propounded, then other articles in generall wer ministred to them altogether. The order and maner of which articles, now ioyntly to them ministred here follow, with their aunsweres also to the same annexed, to be seene.

***Articles generally ministred to them all three together, the sayd xix. day of March with theyr answeres to the same annexed.**

AFTER these articles thus ministred and layd to Cutbert Simson,* w^t his aunsweres likewise vnto the same, the Bishop calling them altogether, obiected to them other po^sitions and articles, the same whiche before are mentioned in the story of Bartlet Greene. pag. 1736. onely the 8. Article out of the same omitted and excepted, which Articles because they are already expressed in the

page aboue mentioned, we neede not here to make anye newe reporte thereof, but onely referre the Reader to the place assigned.

¶The aunsweres generall of Cutbert Simson, Hugh Foxe, and Iohn Deuinishe, to the Articles by the Bishop to them generally proposed.

*TO the first Article they all aunswered affirmatiuely: but Iohn Deuenishe added, that that Church is grounded vpon the Prophetes and Apostles, Christe being the head corner stone, and how in that Church there is the true fayth and religion of Christ.

To the second Article, they all confessed and beleueed, that in Christes Catholicke Church, there are but two Sacramentes, that is to witte, Baptisme, and the supper of the Lord: otherwise they do not beleue the contentes of this Article to be true in any part therof.

To the 3. Article they all aunswered affirmatiuely.

To the 4. Article they all aunswered affirmatiuely.

To the 5. Article they all aunswered affirmatiuely, that they do beleue, and haue and will speake agaynst the sacrifice of the Masse, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise agaynst the authoritie

[illustration]

¶Three godly Martirs burned in Smithfield.

* of the sea of Rome, and are nothing sorry for the same but will do it still while they liue.

To the sixt Article, they al answered, and denied to acknowledge the authoritie of the sea of Rome, to be lawfull and good, eyther yet his religion.

To the seuenth Article, they all aunswered affirmatiuely, that they haue, and will doe still while they liue: and Iohn Deuinishe adding thereto, sayde that the sacrament of the aultar as it is now vsed, is no sacrament at all.

To the 8. Article, they all confessed, and beleueed all thynges aboue by them acknowledged and declared, to be true, and that they be of the Dioces of London, and iurisdiction of the same.

These three aboue named persons, and blessed witnesses of Iesus Christ, Cutbert, Foxe, and Deuenish as they were altogether apprehended at Islington, as is aboue declared, so the same all three together suffered in Smithfield about the xxviii. day of March, in whose perfect constancie the same Lorde (in whose cause and quarrell they suffered) giuer of all grace, and gouernour of all thinges, be exalted for euer. Amen.

¶The suffering and Martyrdome of William Nichole, put to death by the wicked hands of the papistes at Herefordwest in Wales.

WE finde in al ages from the beginning, that Sathan hath not ceased at all times,* to molest the Church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the tryall of theyr fayth, but yet neuer so aparauntly at anye time to all the worlde, as when the Lorde hath permitted him power ouer the bodyes of hys saynctes, to the shedding of theyr bloud, and peruertering of religion: for then sleepeth he not I warrant you, from murdering of the same, vnlesse they will fall downe with Achab and Iesabell to worship him and so kill and poyson their owne soules eternally: as in

[illustration]

The burning of W. Nicole at Herefordwest in Wales.

* these miserable latter dayes of Queene Mary we haue felt heard and seene practised vppon Gods people.* Amonge whome wee finde recorded an honest good simple poore man, one William Nicole, who was apprehended by the Champions of the pope, for speaking certayne wordes agaynst the cruell kingdome of Antichriste, and the ninth day of Aprill. 1558. was butcherly burnt and tormented at Herefordwest in Wales, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state, and gloriously gaue his soule into the handes of the Lorde, whose goodnes bee prayed for euer, Amen.

This William Nicoll (as we are informed) was so simple a good soule, y^t many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was we know not, but this are we sure he died a good man, and in a good cause, what soeuer they iudge of hym. And the more simplicitie of feeblenes of wit appeared [Page 2035](#) in him,* the more beastly and wretched dothe it declare their cruell & tyrannicall acte therin. The Lord geue them repentaunce therefore, if it bee his blessed will, Amen, Amen.

The Martyrdome of William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, put to death by the persecuting papists at Norwich in the county of Norfolke.

*IMmediately after William Nicoll succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of Martyrdome three constaunt godly menne at Norwiche in Northfolk, who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Iesus Christ, the xix. of May. an. 1558. Whose names be these.

- William Seaman.
- Thomas Carman.
- Thomas Hudson..

The sayde William Seaman was an Husbandman, of the age of xxvi. yeares,* dwelling in Mendlesham in the county of Suffolke, who was sūdry sought for tymes by y^e commandement of Sir Iohn Tirrell knight, & at laste he himselfe in the night searched his house and other places for him:* notwithstanding hee somewhat mist of his purpose, God be thanked. Then he gaue charge to hys Seruauntes, Robert Baulding, and Iames Clarke wyth others,* to seek for him. Who hauing no officer, went in the euening to hys house, where he being at home, they took him and

caryed him to theyr Mayster Syr Iohn Tirrell. This Baulding being Seamans nighe neighbour, and whome the sayde Seaman greatly trusted as a speciall friend,* notwithstanding to doe hys Mayster a pleasure, now became enemy to hys chiefe friend, and was one of the busiest in the taking of him. Now as they were goyng to cary hym to theyr Mayster Syr Iohn Tyrrell in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a lyghte betweene them out of the element and parted them. Thys Baulding being in company with the rest when the light fell,* and albeit he was then in hys best age, yet after y^e time neuer enjoyed good daye, but pyned away euen vnto the death.

Well, for all that straunge sight (as I sayd) they caried him to theyr Mayster.* Who when he came, asked him why he would not goe to Masse, and to receaue the sacrament and so to worship it? Unto which William Seaman aunswered, denying it to bee a sacrament, but sayde it was an Idoll,* and therefore would not receaue it. After whiche wordes spoken, sir Iohn Tirrel shortly sent hym to Norwiche to Hopton then Bishop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation agaynst him: and afterward deliuered him to the secular power, who kepte him vnto the day of Martyrdome.

This sayd William Seaman left behynde him when he dyed, a wife, and three children very young: and wyth the sayd young children, hys wife was persecuted oute of the sayde towne also of Mendlesham, because that shee would not go to heare Masse, and all her corne and goods seased, and taken awaye by Mayster Christopher Coles officers, he being Lorde of the sayd towne.

Thomas Carman (who as is sayd, pledged Richarde Crashfield at hys burning,* and thereupon was apprehended) being prisoner in Norwiche, was about one time wyth the rest examined and brought before the sayde Byshop, who aunswered no lesse in his Maysters cause, then the other, and therfore had the like rewarde, that the other had,* which was the Byshops bloody blessing of condemnation, and deliuered also to the Seculare power, who kept him with the other, vntill the day of slaughter, which hasted on, and was not long after.

Thomas Hudson was of Ailesham in Norfolke, by his occupation a Glouer,* a very honest poore manne, hauing a wife, and three children, and laboured alwayes tru^ly and dilligently in hys vocation, being of thirtye yeares of age, and bearing so good a will to the Gospell, that he in the dayes of king Edward the 6. two yeares before Q. Maryes raygne, learned to read Englishe of Anthony & Thomas Norgate of the same Towne, wherin he greatly profited about the tyme of alteration of Religion.* For when Queene Mary came to raygne, and had chaunged y^e seruice in the Church, putting in for wheate draffe, and darnill, and for good preaching blasphemous crying out agaynst truthe, and godlinesse, he then auoyding all theyr ceremonies of superstition,* absented hymselfe from hys house and went into Suffolkl a longe tyme, and there remayned traueilling from one place to an other, as occasion was offered. At the last, hee returned backe agayne to Northfolke to his house at A[•]lesham, to comfort his wyfe and children, being heauy, and troubled with hys absence.

Nowe when he came home, and perceiued hys contynuanace there would be daungerous, he and hys wife deuise^d to make hym a place among hys fagottes, to hide him selfe in, where he remayned all the day (in steede of hys chamber) reading and praying continually, for the space of

halfe a yeaere, and his wife lyke an honest woman being carefull for hym, vsed her selfe faythfullye, and dillygently towards him.

In the meane time came the Uicare of the Town, named Berry (who was one of the Byshoppes Commissaries,* a very euill manne) and inquired of this sayd Thomas Hudsons wife, for her husband. Unto whom he answered, as not knowing where hee was. Then the sayde Berry rated her, and threatned to burne her for that shee would not bewraye her husbände where hee was. After that, when Hudson vnderstoode it, hee waxed euerye day more zelous then other,* and continually read & sange Psalmes, to the wonder of many, the people openlye resorting to him, to heare hys exhortations, and vehement prayers.

At the last he walked abroad for certayne dayes, openly in the Towne, crying out continually agaynst y^e Masse and all theyr trumpery, and in the ende, commyng home in hys house, he sate him downe vpon hys knees, hauyng his book by hym, reading and singing Psalmes continually without ceassing, for three dayes and three nightes to'gether, refusing meate and other talke, to the great wonder of many.

Then one Iohn Crouch his next neighbour, went to the Constables Robert Marsham, and Robert Lawes in the night, to certifie them thereof: for Berry commanded openly to watche for hym, and the Constables vnderstanding the same, went cruelly to catche hym in the breake of the day, the xxii. of the moneth of Aprill. Anno. 1558.

Now when Hudson saw them come in, he sayd: Now myne houre is come. Welcome frendes welcome. You bee they that shall leade me to lyfe in Christ,* I thanke GOD therefore, and the Lorde ennable me thereto for hys mercyes sake. For his desire was, and euer he prayed (if it wer the Lordes will) that hee might suffer for the Gospell of Christ. Then they tooke him,* and lead him to Berry the Commissarye, whiche was Uicar of the towne, and the sayde Berrye asked him first: where hee kepte hys Church for foure yeaes before. To the whiche the sayde Hudson answered thus, where so euer he was, there was the church.

Doest thou not beleue, sayth Berry, in the sacramente of the aultar? What is it?

Hudson.

It is wormes meate: my beliefe (saythe hee) is in Christ crucified.*

Berry.

Doest thou not beleuee the Masse to putte awaye sinnes?

Hudson.

No, God forbidde: it is a patched monstre, and a disguised Puppet,* more longer a peeing then euer was Salomons Temple. At whiche wordes Berry stamped, fumed, and shewed himself as a mad man, and sayd: well thou villayn, thou: I wil write to the B. my good Lord, and trust vnto it, thou shalt be handled according to thy de'sertes. Oh sir, sayde Hudson: there is no Lorde but

God, though there be many Lordes and many Gods. With that Berry thrust hym backe with hys hand. And one Richard Cliffar standing by, sayde: I pray you sir,* bee good to the poore man. At which wordes Berry was more mad then before, and woulde haue had Cliffer bound in a recognysaunce of 40. poundes for hys good abearyng, bothe in worde and deede: whiche his desire tooke no effecte. Then he asked the sayd Hudson whether he would recant or no. Unto whiche wordes Hudson sayde: the Lorde forbid: I had rather dye many deathes, then to do so.

Then after long talke, the sayde Berry seeing it booted not to perswade with him, tooke hys penne and inke, and wrote letters to the Bishop thereof, and sent this Hudson to Norwiche bound like a theefe to him, whiche was 8. miles from thence, who with ioy and singing chere wēt thether, as mery as euer he were at anye tyme before. In prison he was a month where hee dyd continually read & inuocate the name of God.

These three Christians and constaunt Martyrs,* William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson after they were (as ye haue heard) condemned, the xix. day of May. 1558. were caryed out of prison to the place where they should suffer, whyche was without Byshoppes gate [Page 2036](#) at Norwich, called Lollards Pit. And being al there, they made their humble prayers vnto the Lorde. That beyng done, they rose and went to the stake, and standing al ther with their chaynes about them, immediately this sayde Thomas Hudson commeth foorth from them vnder the Chayne,* to the great wonder of many: whereby diuers feared and greatly doubted of hym. For some thought hee would haue recanted: other iudged rather that he went to aske a further day, and to desire conference, and some thought he came forth to aske some of hys parentes blessing. So some thought one thinge and some an other: but hys two companions at the stake cryed out to him to comforte him what they coulede, exhorting him in the bowelles of Christ to be of good cheare.* &c. But this sweete Hudson, felt more in hys heart, and conscience, then they could conceaue in him. For (alas good soule) hee was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grieve of minde, not for hys death, but for lacke of feeling of his Christ, and therefore beyng verye carefull he humbly fell downe vppon his knees,* and prayed vehemently and earnestly vnto the Lord, who at the last according to hys olde mercies sent him comfort, and thē rose he with great ioy, as a man new chaunged euen from death to life, and sayd:

Now I thanke God I am strong, and passe not what man can do vnto me. So going to y^e stake to his fellowes agayne, in the end they all suffered most ioyfully, constātly, and manfully the deathe together, and were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comforte of Gods Children, and the magnifyng of the Lordes name, who be prayسد therfore, for euer, Amen.

[illustration]

Three godly Martyrs burned at Norwich.

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After this, the forenamed Commissarye Berry made great stirre about other which were suspected within the sayd towne of Aylsham, and caused two hundred to creep to the crosse at Penticost, besides other punishmentes which they sustayned.

*On a tyme this Berry gaue a poore man of his parish of Marsham, a blowe with the swingell of a flayle, for a worde speaking, that presently thereon he dyed, and the sayd Berry (as is sayd) held vpp his hande at the Barre therefore.

*Then, after that in his parishe of Aylesham also, ann. 1557. there was one Alice Oxes came to his house, and going into the Hall, hee meeting her (being before moued) smote her with his fist, whereby shee was fayne to be caryed home, and the next day was founde dead in her chamber.

To write how many concubines and whores he had, none would beleue it, but such as knew him in the countrey he dwelt in. He was riche and of great authoritie, a great s•earer, altogether geuen to women, and persecuting the Gospell, and compelling men to idolatry.

*One Iohn Norgate a man learned, godly, and zelous who would not goe to their trashe, but rather dye, being sore hunted by the sayd Berry, prayed hartely to God, and the Lorde shortly after in a consumption deliuered hym. Notwithstanding, the rage of this wicked manne waxed more fiercer and fiercer. Hee troubled sundry men, * burnt all good bookes that he could get, and diuorsed many men and women for religion.

When he heard say that Queene Mary was dead, * and the glory of theyr triumph quayled, the sonday alter, being the xix. of Nouember. an. 1558. he made a great feast, & had one of hys concubines there, with whome he was in his chamber after dinner vntill Euensong. Then went he to Church, where hee had ministred Baptisme, and in going from Church homeward, after euensong, betwene the churchyard and his house, * being but a little space (as it were a churchyarde bredth asunder) he fell downe sodainly to the ground with a heauy grone, and neuer stirred af'ter, neyther shewed any one token of repentaunce. Thys hapned his neighbors being by to the example of al other The Lord graunt we may obserue his iudgementes: * And those that had his great riches, since his death haue so con'sumed with them, that they be poorer now then they were before they had his goodes, such iudgement hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all men.

At that tyme one Dunning, Chauncellor of Lincolne (which in some part of Queene Maryes dayes was Chā|cellor of Norwiche, * and a very mercilesse tyrant as liued) died in Lincolnshyre of as sodayne a warning, as the sayd Berry dyed.

Thus haue I shewed thee (good reader) the constancie, boldnes, and glorious victory of these happy Martyrs as also the tyrannicall cruelty of that vnfortunate Commissary, and his terrible end. The Lorde graunt wee may all effectually honour the iudgementes of God, and feare to displease his holy Maiesty, Amen.

The persecution of mother Seman.

ABout this tyme, or somewhat before, was one Ioane Seman, mother to the foresayd William Seman, * being of the age of 66. yeares, persecuted of the sayde Syr Iohn Tyrrell also out of the towne of Mendlesham aforesayd, because she would not goe to masse, and receyue agaynst her conscience. Which good old woman being frō her house, was glad sometime to lye in bushes, groues, & fieldes, and sometyme in her neighbors house, when shee could. And her husband

beyng at home, about the age of 80. yeares, fell sicke: and she hearing thereof, with speede returned home to her house agayn,* not regarding her life but considering her duetie, and shewed her dilligence to her husband most faythfully, vntill God tooke him away by death. Then by Gods prouidence she fell sicke also, and departed this lyfe within her owne house shortly after. And when one M. Simondes the Commissarye heard of it, dwelling thereby in a towne called Thorndon, he commaunded straitely that she shuld be buried in no Christian buriall (as they call it) where through her frendes wer compelled to lay her in a pit vnder a motes side.* Her husband and she kept a good house, and had a good report amongst theyr neighbours, willing alwayes to receiue straungers, and to comfort the poore and sicke, and lyued together in the holy estate of Matrimony very honestly a boue forty yeares, and shee departed thys life willingly & ioyfully, with a steadfast fayth and a good remembraunce of Gods promise in Christ Iesus.

The persecution of mother Benet.

IN the sayde time of Queene Mary, there dwelte in the towne of Wetherset by Mendlesham aforesayde,* a very honest woman called mother Bennet, a widowe whiche was persecuted out of the same towne because she woulde not goe to masse and other theyr beggarly ceremonies: but at the last shee returned home agayne secretly to her house, and there departed this lyfe ioyfully. But Syr I. Tyrrell & M. Simondes the Commissary,* would not let her be buried in the Churchyarde. So was she layde in a graue by the high way side.

The same good old woman mother Benet, in y^e tyme of persecution, met one of the sayd mother Semans neigh'bour, and asked her how the sayd mother Seman did, & she aunswered that she did very wel, God be thanked. Oh (sayd she) mother Seman hath slept a great sleepe before me: for she was neuer couetous that I could perceiue. Her husband in his mirth would say vnto her: O woman if thou were sparing,* thou mightest haue saued me an C. markes more then thou hast. To the whiche shee woulde aunswere agayne gently and saye: O man be content, and let vs be thankfull, for God hath geuen vs enough if we can see it. Alas good husband would shee saye, I tell you [Page 2037](#) truth, I cannot irken vp my butter, and keep my cheese in the chamber, and wayte a great price, and let the poore want, and so displease God. But Husband, let vs be riche in good workes: so shal we please the Lord, & haue al good thinges geuen vs.* &c. This good woman of that vice of couetousnesse (of all that knew her) was iudged least to be spotted, of any infirmitie she had. The Lord roote it out of the hartes of them that be infected therewith, Amen.

¶The Martyrdome of three constant and godly persons burnt at Colchester for the defence and testimony of Christes Gospell.

THou hast heard (good Reader) of the forenamed three that were burnt at Norwich,* whose bloud quenched not the persecuting thirst of the Papistes. For immedy'ately after, euen the same month, vpon the xxvi. day was seene the like murther also at Colchester in Essex of two men and a woman, lying there in prison, appoynted ready to the slaughter: who were brought forth the sayde daye vnto a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordinglye gaue theyr liues for the testimonye of the trueth, whose names likewise hereafter followeth.

- William Harryes.
- Richard Day.

- [*Christian George.](#)

These three good soules were brought vnto the stake and there ioyfully and feruently had made theyr prayers vnto the Lord.* At the last being settled in theyr places, and chayned vnto theyr postes, with y^e fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like constaunt Christians triumphātly praysted God within the same, and offered vp their bodyes a liuely sacrifice vnto his holy Maiestie: in whose habitation they haue now theyr euerlasting tabernacles: his name therfore be praysted for euermore. Amen.

The sayd Christian Georges Husbande, had an other wife burnt before this Christian, whose name was Agnes George, which suffered (as you haue heard) with the thirteene at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the sayde Christian, hee maryed an honest Godly woman agayne, and so they both, I meane y^e sayd Richard George and his last wife) in the end were taken also, and layde in prison,* where they remayned til y^e death of Queene Mary and at the last were deliuered by our most gracious soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, whom the Lorde graunt long to raygne among vs, for hys mercies sake, Amen.

In the month of Iune came out a certayne proclamation, short but sharpe, from the king and the Queene agaynst wholesome and godly bookes, which vnder y^e false title of heresie and sedition, here in the sayd Proclamation were wrongfully condemned.

By the king and Queene.

WHereas diuers bookes, filled both with heresie, sedition, and treason, haue of late, and be dayly brought into thys Realme,* out of forreine cuntryes and places beyonde the seas, and some also couertly printed within this Realme, and cast abroad in sundry partes thereof, whereby not onely God is dishonored, but also an encouragemēt geuen to disobey lawfull princes and gouernours: The king and Queenes maiesties, for redres hereof, doth by this theyr present Proclamation, declare & publish to all theyr subiectes, that whosoouer shall after the proclayming hereof, be found to haue any of the sayde wicked and seditious bookes, or finding them, do not forthwith burne the same without shewing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebell, and shall wythout delay bee executed for that offence according to the order of Martiall law.

Geuen at our Manor of S. Iameses, the sixt daye of Iune.

Iohn Cawood Printer

The order and occasion of taking certayn godly men and women praying together in the fieldes about Islington, of whom 13. were condemned by Boner, & after suffered in the fire for the truthe sake, as in the story here following may appeare.

*SEcretly in a backe close in the felde by the Towne of Islington were collected and assembled together a certayne companye of Godly and innocent persons, to the number of forty, men and women. Who there sitting together at prayer, and vertuously occupied in the meditation of Gods holy worde, first commeth a certayne man to them vnknowne: who looking ouer vnto them, so

stayed & saluted them, saying that they looked like men y^t meant no hurt. Then one of the sayd company asked the man, if he could tel whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold there to sit. Yes sayd he, for that yee seeme vnto me such persons as entende no harme, and so departed.* Within a quarter of an houre after, commeth the constable of Islington, named king, warded with sixe or seuē other, accompanying him in the same busines, one wyth a bow, an other with a Bill, and other with theyr weapons likewise. The which sixe or seuen persons the sayde Constable left a little behinde hym in a close place, there to bee ready if need should be while he with one with him shuld go and view them before. Who so doynge, came throughe them, looking and viewing what they were doynge, and what bookes they had: and so going a little forward, and returning backe agayne, bad them deliuer theyr bookes. They vnderstanding that he was Constable, refused not so to do. With that cōmeth forth the residue of his fellowes aboue touched, who bad them stande and not to departe. They aunswered agayne, they would be obedient & ready to go whether so euer they would haue them: & so were they first caryed to a bruehouse but a little way of, whyle y^e some of the sayd souldiers ran to the Iustice next at hand. But the Iustice was not at home: Whereupon they were had to sir Roger Cholmley. In the meane tyme some of y^e women being of the same number of the foresayde xl. persons, escaped away from thē, some in y^e close, some before they came to the bruehouse. For so they were caryed .x. w^t one man, 8. with an other, and with some moe, with some lesse, in such sorte that it was not hard for thē to escape that would. In fine, they y^t were caryed to Sir Roger Cholmley,* were 27. which Sir Roger Cholmley & the Recorder taking their names in a Bill, & calling them one by one so many as answered to theyr names, they sēt to Newgate. In the whiche number of them that answered, and y^t were sent to Newgate, were 22.

These 22. were in the sayde prison of Newgate seuen weekes before they were examined, to whome word was sent by Alexander the keeper, that if they woulde heare a Masse, they should all be deliuered. Of these foresayd xxii. were burned 13. In Smithfield 7. at Braynford 6.

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IN prison 2. dyed in Whitson weeke, the names of whō were Mathew Wythers, T. Taylar.

Seuen of them which remayned, escaped with theyr liues hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as GOD woulde) without burning. Whose names were these.

- Iohn Milles.
- Thomas Hinshaw.
- R. Baily, wolpacker.
- Robert Willeys.
- Hudleys.*
- T. Coast, haberdash.
- Roger Sandey.

The first seuen were brought forth to examination before Boner, and so hauing their condēnation, were burnt (as is sayd) in Smithfield. The other 6. followed not long after, and suffered at Brayneford, whereof specially here followeth now in order of story to be seene.

The examination and condemnation of seuen godly and faythfull Martyrs of Christe, burnt in Smithfield.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of these abouesayd,* whiche were apprehended and taken at Is•ington, 7. first were produced before Boner the 14. of Iune, to make aunswere to suche articles and interrogatoryes, as by the sayd Byshop should be ministred vnto them. The names of these seuen were:

- Henry Ponde.
- Raynold Eastland.
- Robert Southam.
- Mathew Richarby
- Iohn Floyd.*
- Iohn Holydaye.
- Roger Holland.

To these 7. constant and godly Martyrs produced before Boner, certayne articles were ministred in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

First that ye being within the Cittye and Dyoces of London▪ haue not (according to the commō custome of the catholick [Page 2038](#) church of this realme of Englande) come to your owne parishe church,* nor yet to the Cathedrall church of this citie and diocesse of London, to heare deuoutly and christianly the Matins, the Masse, the Euensong, song or sayd there in the Latine tounge, after the common vsage and maner of the church of this realme.*

2. Second, that ye haue not come to any of the said churches, to pray, to goe in procession, or to exercise your selues there in godly and laudable exercises.

3. Thirde, yee haue not conformed your selues duely to all the laudable customes, rites, and Ceremonies of anye the sayde churches.

4. Fourth, ye haue not bene confessed at due times and places to your owne curate, of your sinnes.

5. Fifth, yee haue not receiued at your sayd Curates handes (as of the minister of Christ) absolution of your sinnes.

6. Sixt, ye haue not at due times and places, of your Curate receiued reuerently and duely the sacrament of the altar.

7. Seuenth, yee haue not faithfully and truely beleueed, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is really and truely the very body and bloud of Christ.

8. Eight, yee haue not by your mouthe, nor otherwise by your deede expressed or declared in any wise, that ye without wauering or doubting doe thinke and beleue that the faith and religion now obserued in the church of England, is a true faith and religion in all poyntes.

9 Ninthe, yee haue not made any signification, that yee doe in deede approoue or allowe in any wise, the common seruice in Latine, heere obserued and kepte in the Church of this Realme of Englande.

10. Tenth, ye haue not beleueed, nor doe beleue at this present, that the seruice in Latine, commonly vsed and obserued in the Churche of this realme, is good and lawfull, and not against the woorde of God.

11. Eleuenth, yee haue in times past liked, allowed, and approued as good and godly and so do like, alow, and approue at this present, the seruice in English, the bookes of Common prayer, the bookes of Communion, the religion setforth and vsed in the time of king Edward the sixt, especially as it was set forth and vsed in the latter daies of the said king Edward.

12. Twelfth, ye haue in times past bene very desirous, and so are at this present, that the sayde English seruice, the sayde booke of common praier, the sayd booke of communion, and the sayd religion and faith so set foorth and vsed in King Edwardes time, might nowe againe be restored, set foorth, and vsed, and youre selfe freely at your libertie, without anye restraint, or lets to vse it: and also in all poyntes and things to doe therein, as ye did, especially in the latter daies of the said Edward the sixt.

13. Thirtene, yee haue of late bene charitably sent to from me the Bishop of London, and also by mouth exhorted, that where of late yee did leaue your Churches, and went in the time of diuine seruice into the fieldes and prophane places, to reade English Psalmes, and certaine English bookes, ye wold leaue of that, and being out of prisone, and at your libertie, come in to youre owne parish churches, there to heare Mattens, Masse, and Euensong, after the common order of the churches of this realme, & to make due confession of your sinnes to your owne curate, and receiue at his handes (as of the minister of Christ, hauing therein sufficient authoritie) absolution of your sinnes, heare Masse, receiue the Sacrament of the altare with a true faith, according to the beliefe of the catholicke church, and obserue all other the rites and customes of the saide catholicke churche vsed in thys realme of England, aswell in going in procession after the crosse, as also otherwise generally.

14. Fourtene, ye being so required, haue refused, and do refuse so to do, saying amongst other vaine and light wordes, that forasmuch as yee were imprisoned by the space of sixe weekes, not knowing wherewith you were charged, your petition should be and was, that yee might first aunswere to your former cause, and then ye would be ready to answere me the said bishop to al that by me should be laid to your charge.

Unto the which Articles, all the forenamed 7. (onely Reinold Eastland excepted) made answer in effect as here after followeth.

The aunsweres of the forenamed persons to the Articles aforesayde.*

1. TO the first article they aunswared affirmatiuely, Roger Holland adding that hee came not to their Latine seruice these two yeares before.

Mathewe Ricarby added that he came not to churche since Latine seruice was renewed, because it is against the woorde of God, and Idolatrie committed in creeping to the crosse.

Henry Pond added, if hee had licence then to goe to church, he woulde.

2. To the 2. Article, they all aunswared affirmatiuelye, Henrye Ponde adding as in the first Article. Iohn Floyd adde that the Latine seruice then vsed, was set vp by man, and not by God, & this he learned (he sayd) in king Edwardes daies, which he beleued to be true. Robert Southam added, that he refused to come to churche, because it is furnished with idoles, and because the sacrament of the altar he beleueed to be an idoll.

3. To the 3. Article they all aunswared affirmatiuely. For they sayd, that the customes, rites, and ceremonies of the church then vsed, are not agreeable to Gods woord.

4 5. To the 4 and 5. Articles, they all answeared affirmatiuely, adding that they beleueed no Priest hath power to remit sinne.

6. To the 6. Article Ihon Holiday, Henry Ponde, and Robert• Southam aunswared, that since the Queenes maiesties raigne, but Robert Southam added, not for 10. yeares before, he had receiued the Sacrament of the altar, either at their Curates hands or any other Priest. Ihon Floyde, Mathewe Ricarby, and Roger Holland answeared affirmatiuely, adding in effecte that the Sacrament of the altare is no Sacrament approued by the worde of God. &c.

7. To the 7. Article they all confessed the contentes thereof to be true in euery part: Henry Ponde adding that he knoweth not nor beleueeth any such Sacrament, called the Sacrament of the altare, but confesseth the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and beleueeth that to be approued. Iohn Floyde added that those that kneele and worship the Sacrament of the altare, committe idolatrie. &c.

8.9.10. To the 8 9.10. Articles, they all confessed the contentes of those Articles to be true. But Iohn Holiday, Henry Pond and Iohn Floyd added, that they do allow the Latine seruice for thē that vnderstandeth the same, so farre as it agreeth with Gods word. For some parte thereof is not agreeable to Gods woorde (they sayd:) but to such as do not vnderstand the sayd seruice in Latine, they doe not allowe it, for it doeth not profite them▪ Robert Southam added and sayd, that it was a fond question to aske a simple man, whether the Latine seruice be good and lawfull. Mathew Ricarby and Roger Hollande denied the seruice in Latine to be good.

11. To the 11. Article, they all confessed the same to be true in euery part, sauing Henry Pond, and Mathew Ricarby, who aunswared in effecte that they coulde not iudge thereof, but leaue them to be tried by the woorde of God.

12. To the 12. Article, they graunted and confessed the same to be true, and desired of God that the seruice were in the English againe.

13. To the 13. Article they all graunted and confessed the same to be true.

14. To the 14. Article they all graunted and confessed the same to be true in euery part.

Thus haue ye the aunsweres of these men to the foresayde Articles, saue that Reginald Eastlande required to aunswere therunto, refused so to do, alleaging y^t he know'eth that to ende a strife an othe is lawfull,* but to beginne a strife an othe is not lawfull, and therefore he nowe refuseth to take his othe in y^e beginning of this matter against him. Whereupon being charged by the Bishoppe, he said: for his not aunswearing to the Articles, he was contente to stande vnto the order of the lawe for his punishment, whatsoever it should be.

The 17. day after of the sayd moneth of Iune, the sayd Eastland appeared againe before the bishop,* who stāding firme in that he had sayd before, denied to make any aunswere in that case. &c. Whereupon the sayd Eastland wyth the other 6. his felow prisoners, were assigned by the Bishop to repaire againe to y^e same place at afternoone, who being there present in the foresaid consistorie as they were commaunded, and standing altogether before the said Bishop, he beginning thus with them, asked them, if hee had committed them to prisone. They sayde no, but Maister Cholmley and the Recorder of London committed them to Newgate.

Then being demaunded further by the Bishop, if hee had done any thing or acte to keepe them in prisone, or to hinder their libertie from prisone, to this they answered, they could not tel. Then the foresaid articles being againe recited to them, all they answered and knowledged them to be the articles, & that they would stād to their answers made to the same. Whereupon the bish. disseuering them a part one frō an other, proceeded with them seuerally, first beginning with Reginald Eastlande, who there declared y^t he had bene vncharitably handled and talked w^tal• since his first imprisonment in that behalfe. Then being required to reconcile him selfe againe to the catholike faith,* and go from his opinions, he sayd, that he knew nothing why he should recant, and therefore would not conforme hym selfe in that behalf. &c. and so the sentence was red against him, and he geuen to the secular power. &c.

After him was called in Iohn Holiday, who likewise being aduertised to renounce hys heresies (as they called them) & to returne to the vnitie of their church, sayde, that [Page 2039](#) hee was no heretike, nor didde holde any heresie, neither any opinion contrary to the catholike faith, and so would offer him selfe to be iudged therein. Whereuppon hee likewise persisting in the same, the sentence was pronounced against him,* condemning him to be burnt.

Next to hym was condemned wyth the like sentence, Henry Pond, because he would not submit him self to the Romish church, saying to Boner, that he had done or spoken nothing wherof he was or would be sorie, but that he did holde the truth of God and no heresie. &c.

After whome next followed Iohn Floyde, who likewise denied to be of the popes church,* and saide his minde of the Latine seruice, that the prayers made to Saintes is idolatrie, and that the Seruice in Latine is profitable to none, but only to such as vnderstand the Latine. Moreouer, being charged by Boner of heresie, and sayinge, that what soeuer he and such other now a daies do, all is heresie: for this hee was condemned with the same butcherlye sentence, and so by the secular power was sent away.

*Then Robert Southam, after him Mathew Ricarby and last of all Roger Holland were seuerally produced.

Thus Roger Holland with his fellowes (as ye heard) standing to their answeres, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, who were alltogether condemned, the sentence being red against them, and so al vij. by secular magistrates being sent awaye to Newgate the 17. of Iune, not long after about the 27. day of the said moneth were hadde to Smithfield, and there ended theyr liues in the glorious cause of Christes gospel. Whose particular

[illustration]

The burning of vij. godly Martyrs in Smithfield.

* examinations came not to our hands: sauing only the examinations of Roger Holland, whych here followe in order and maner as wee receiued them by the information of certaine, who were present at the same.

The examinations and condemnation of Roger Holland.

THis Roger Holland a marchant Taylor of London, was first prentise with one maister Kempton at the blacke boy in Watling streete,* where hee serued his prentiship w^t much trouble vnto his maister in breaking hym from his licencious libertie whych he had before ben trained and brought vp in, geuing himselfe to riote, as dauncing, fence, gaming, banketting, and wanton companie: and besides all this, being a stubborne & an obstinate papist, farre vnlike to come to any suche ende as God called him vnto: the which was as followeth.

His maister, notwithstanding this his leudnesse, putting him in trust w^t his accomptes, he had receiued for him certaine money, to the summe of 30. poundes, and falling into ill companie, lost the saide money euery grote at dice, being past all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to conuey him selfe away beyond the seas, either into Fraunce or into Flaunders.

Now hauing determind with himselfe thus to do, he called betimes in the morning to a seruaunt in the house, an auncient and discrete maide, whose name was Elizabeth, which professed the Gospel, with a life agreeing vnto the same, and at al times much rebuking the wilful and obstinate Papistrie, as also the licencious liuing of thys Roger Holland. To whome he sayd: Elizabeth I would I hadde followed thy gentle perswasions and frendly rebukes: which if I hadde done, I hadde neuer come to this shame and miserye which I am nowe fallen into: for this night haue I lost 30, pound of my masters mony, which to pay him and to make vp mine accomptes, I am not able. But thus muche I pray you desire my mistresse, that shee would intreat my master to take this bil of my hand, that I am thus much indebted vnto him, and if I be euer able, I wil see him paied, desiring him that y^e matter may passe with silēce, and that none of my kinred nor frendes neuer vnderstand this my leud part. For if it should come vnto my fathers eares, it woulde bring his graye heares ouer soone vnto his graue: and so was he departing.

The maide considering that it mighte be his vtter vndoing: stay said she, and hauing a peece of money lying by her, geuē vnto her by the death of a kinsman of hers, who (as it was thought,*

was doctour Redman) shee brought vnto him 30. pounce, saying: Roger, heere is thus much money: I will let thee haue it, and I will keepe this Bill. But since I do thus much for thee, to helpe thee, & to saue thy honestie, thou shalt promise me to refuse all leude and wilde companie, al swearing and ribaldrie talke, and if euer I know thee to play one 12. pēce, at either dice or cardes, then I will shewe this thy bill vnto my maister. And furthermore thou shalt promise me to resort euery day to the lecture at Alhallowes, and the sermon at Pauls euery Sondaye, and to cast away all thy bookes of papistrie and vaine ballets, and get thee the Testament and the Booke of seruice, and read the scriptures with reuerēce and fear, calling vnto God still for his grace to directe thee in hys truth. And pray vnto God feruētly, desiring hym to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sinnes of thy youth: and euer be afraid to breake his lawes or offend his maiestie. Then shall God keepe thee and sende thee thy hearts desire.

After this time, w^hin one halfe yeare God had wrought such a change in this man,* that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested al papistrie & euil company: so that he was in admiration to all them that hadde knowen him and seene his former life and wickednesse.

Then he repaired into Lankeshiere vnto hys Father, and brought diuers good bookes with him,* and bestowed them vppon his frendes, so that his father and others began to taste of the Gospell, and detest the Masse, idolatrie, and superstition: and in the ende his father gaue hym a stocke of money to begin the world withall, to the summe of fiftie pound.

Then he repaired to London againe, and came to the maide that lent him the money to pay his master withall,* and sayd vnto her: Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the frendship, good will, and the good counsel I haue receiued at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwise then to make thee my wife: and soone after they were married, which was in the first yeare of Queene Marie. And hauing a childe by her, hee caused maister Rose to baptise his said childe in his owne house. Notwithstanding he was bewrayed vnto the ennemies, and hee being gone into the countrey to conuey the childe away, that the papists shoulde not haue it in their anyoynting handes, Boner caused his goodes to be sea^ed vppon, and most cruelly vsed his wife.

After this he remained closely in the Citie, and in the Countrey in the congregations of the faithfull,* vntill the last yeare of Queene Marie. Then hee with the vj. other aforesaid, were taken in or not farre from s. Iohns wood, and so brought to Newgate vppon May day in the morning. An. 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, D. Chedsey, both the Harpsfieldes, & certaine other, after many other faire and craftie perswasions of doctor Chedsey, to allure hym to theyr Babylonicall church: thus the Bishop beganne with him.

Holland.

I for my part do wish well vnto thee, & the more for thy frendes sake. And as doctour Standish telleth me, you and he were both borne in one parish, & he knoweth your father to be a verie honest Catholicke Gentleman. And maister Doctour tolde me that he talked wyth you a yeare agoe, and founde you very wilfully addicte to your owne conceit. Diuers of the Citie also haue

shewed me of you, that you haue bene a great procurer of mens seruāts to be of your religion, & to come to your congregations: [Page 2040](#) but since you be now in the daunger of the law, I would wish you to playe a wise mannes parte: So shall you not want any fauoure I can doe or procure for you, bothe for your owne sake, and also for your friendes, which be men of worship and credite, and wish you well, & by my trooth Roger so doe I.

Then sayd M. Egleston, a gentleman of Lankeshire, and nere kinsman to Roger, being there present: I thank your good Lordship: your honour meaneth good vnto my cousin, I beseeche God he haue the grace to followe your counsaile.

Holland.

Syr, you craue of God you knowe not what. I beseech God open your eies to see the light of his worde.

Egleston▪

Roger, holde your peace, least you fare the worse at my Lordes handes.

Holland.

No, I shall fare as pleaseth God: for man can do no more then God doth permit him.

Then the bishop and the Doctors, with Iohnson the Register, casting their heades together, in the ende sayeth Iohnson: [*](#) Roger, how sayest thou? wilt thou submitte thy selfe vnto my Lorde, before thou be entred into the booke of contempt?

Holland.

I neuer meant but to submit my selfe vnto the Magistrate, as I learne of S. Paul to the Romaines, the 13. chap. and so he recited the text.

Chedsey

Then I see you are no Anabaptist.

Holland.

I meane not yet to be no Papist: for they and the Anabaptists agree in this poynt, not to submit thēselues to any other prince or magistrate, then those that must first •e sworne to maintaine them and their doings.

Chedsey.

Roger, remember what I haue said, & also what my Lorde hath promised, he will perfourme wyth further frendship. Take heede Roger, for your ripenesse of witte hath brought you into these errorrs.

Holland.

M. Doctor, I haue yet your words in memorie, though they are of no such force to preuail with me. Then they whispered together againe, and at the last saide Boner: Roger I perceiue y^u wilt be ruled by no good counsell for any thing y^t either I or your friēds or any other cā say.

Holland.

I may say to you my lorde, as Paul said to Felix & vnto the Iewes, as doth appeare in the 22. of the Actes, and in the 15. of the 1. Epistle to the Corinth.* It is not vnknown vnto my master whom I was prentise withall, y^t I was of this your blind religion that nowe is taught, and therein did obstinately & wilfully remaine, vntill the later end of K. Edward in maner, hauing y^e liberty vnder your auriculare Confession, that I made no conscience of sinne, but trusted in the Priests absolution, hee for money doing some penance also for me: which after I had geuen, I cared no further what offences I did, no more then hee passed after he had my mony, whether he fasted bread and water for me or no: so y^t lecherie, swearing & all other vices I accompted no offence of danger, so long as I could for money haue them absolved. So straitly did I obserue your rules of religion, that I woulde haue ashes vppon Ashwensday,* though I had vsed neuer so muche wickednes at night. And albeit I could not of conscience eat flesh vpon the friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dising al the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought vp, and herein haue I continued til now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentaunce of my former idolatrie & wicked life: for in Lankeshire their blindnes and whoredom is ouermuch more, then may with chaste eares be hearde. Yet these my friends which are not cleare in these notable crimes,* thinke the Priest with his Masse can saue them, though they blaspheme God, & keepe concubines besides their wiues, as long as they liue. Yea I know some priestes, very deuout, my Lorde, yet suche as haue 6. or 7. children by 4. or 5. sundry women.

M. Doctor, now to your antiquitie, vnitie, & vniuersalitie (for these D. Chedsey alledged as notes and tokēs of theyr religion) I am vnlearned. I haue no sophistrie to shifte my reasons withall: but the truthe I trust I haue, which nedeth no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquitie of our church is not from pope Nicolas or Pope Ioane, but our church is from the beginning, euen from the time that God saide vnto Adam y^t the seede of the woman should breake the Serpents head: and so to faithfull Noe: to Abraham, Isaac and Iacob, to whō it was promised that their seede should multiply as the starres in the skie: and so to Moses, Dauid & all the holy fathers y^t were frō the beginning, vnto the birth of our sauior Christ. All they y^t beleueed these promises, were of the church, though y^e number were oftentimes but few & small, as in Helias daies whē he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, whē God had reserued 7000. that neuer had bowed their knees to that idoll: as I trust ther be vij.C.M. more then I know of, that haue not bowed their knees to y^r idol your masse, and your god Ma•zim: the vpholding wherof is your bloody cruelty, whiles you daily persecute Helias & the seruants of God, forcing them (as Daniell was in his chamber) closely to serue the Lord their God: and euen as we by this

your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray vnto God that his holy worde may be once againe truely preached amongst vs, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous & bloody daies, wherein all cruelty raigneth. Moreouer, our church haue ben the Apostles and Euangelists, the Martyrs and Confessors of Christ that haue at all times and in all ages bene persecuted for the testimonye of the woorde of God.* But for the vpholding of your church and religion, what antiquitie can you shew? Yea the Masse, that idol & chiefe pillar of your religion, is not yet iiij.C. yeres olde, & some of your masses are younger, as that masse of S. Thomas Becket the traitor,* wherein you pray that you may be saued by the bloude of S. Thomas. And as for your Latine seruice, what are we of the laitie the better for it? I thinke he that should hear your priests mumble vp their seruice, although he did well vnderstand latine, yet should he vnderstand few words therof: the priests do so champ them and chaw them, & posteth so fast, that neither they vnderstande what they say, nor they that heare them: and in the meane time the people when they should praye wyth the priest, are set to their beads to pray our ladies Psalter. So craf•ie is Sathan to deuise these his dreames (which you defend with fagot and fire) to quench the light of the word of God: which (as Dauid saieth) shoulde be a lanterne to our seete. And againe, wherein shall a yong man direct his waies, but by the woorde of God? and yet you will hide it from vs in a tounge vnknown. S. Paul had rather in the church to haue 5. wordes spoken with vnderstāding, then x.M. in an vnknown tounge: and yet wil you haue your Latin seruice and praying in a strange tounge, wherof the people are vtterly ignorant, to be of such antiquitie? The Greke church & a good part of Christendom besides, neuer receiued your seruice in an vnknown tounge,* but in theyr owne natural language which al the people vnderstand, neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiuing all alone, your purgatorie, your images. &c.

As for the vnitie which is in your church, what is it els but treason, murther, poysoning one an other, idolatrie, superstition, wickednesse? What vnitie was in youre church, when there was iij. Popes at once? Where was your head of vnitie when you had a woman Pope? Here he was interrupted and could not be suffered to proceede, but sayth the Bishop: Roger, these thy woordes are very blasphemie, and by the meanes of thy friendes thou haste bene suffered to speake, and art ouer malepert to reache any heere: Therefore keeper take him away.

The second examination of Roger Holland.

THE day that Henrye Ponde and the rest were brought foorth to be againe examined, D. Chedsey said: Roger,* I trust you haue nowe better considered of the Church then you did before.

Holland.

I cōsider this much: That out of the church there is no saluation, as diuers ancient Doctors say.

Boner.

That is wel sayd. M. Egleston I trust your kinsman wil be a good catholicke mā. But Roger, you meane, I trust, the church of Rome.

Holland.

I meane that church which hath Christ for her head: which also hath his word, and his Sacraments according to his woord and institution.

Chedsey.

Then Chedsey interrupted him, and said, is that a Testament you haue in your hand?

Holland.

Yea M. doctor, it is the new Testament. You wil finde no fault with the trāslation (I thinke.) It is of your owne translation: it is according to the great Bible.

Boner.

Howe saye you? Howe doe you knowe it is the Testament of Christ, but onely by the Church? For the Church of Rome hathe and doeth preserue it, and oute of the same hathe made Decrees, Ordinaunces, and true expositions.

No (saith Roger) the church of Rome hath and doeth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition (I pray you) did the Pope make thereof, when he set his foote on the Emperours necke, and sayde: *Thou shalt walke vpon the Lion and the Aspe: the yong Lyon and the Dragon shalt thou tread vnder thy foote.

Then said the bishop: Such vnlearned wilde heads as thou and other, woulde be expositours of the Scripture. Woulde you then the auncient learned (as there be some heere aswell as I) should be taught of you?

Holland.

Youth delighteth in vanitie. My wildnesse hathe [Page 2041](#) bene somewhat the more by your Doctrine, then euer I learned ou• of this booke of God. But my Lorde, I suppose, some of the old doctors say: If a poore lay man bring his reason and argument out of the woorde of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be neuer so great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and giuen to pore fishermen. Notw^tstand•ng I am ready to be instructed by the church.

Boner.

That is very well said Roger. But you must vnderstand y^t the church of Rome is the catholicke Church. Roger, for thy friendes sake (I promise thee) I wish thee well, and I meane to doe thee good. Keeper, see he wante nothing. Roger, if thou lacke any money to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want. This hee spake vnto hym alone, his fellowes being aparte, with manye other faire promises, and so he was sent to prison againe.

The last examination of Roger Holland.

*The last examination of Roger Holland, was when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistorie, & there excommunicated all sauing Roger, & redy to haue their sentēce of iudgement, geuen w^t many threatning words to feare them withall: the Lord Strange, syr Tho. Iarret, M. Eagleston Esquier, and diuers other of worship, both of Cheshire & Lankeshire, that were Rog. Hollands kinsmē and friends, being there present: which had beene earnest suters to the Bishop in hys fauour, hoping of his safetie of life. Nowe the Bishop hoping yet to winne him with his faire and flattering woordes, began after this maner.

Boner

Rog. I haue diuers times called thee before, home to my house, and haue conferred with thee, and being not learned in the latine tounge, it doth appeare vnto me thou art of a good memorie & of a very sensible talke, but something ouerhastie: which is a naturall disease to some men. And surely they are not the worst natured men. For I my selfe shall now and then be hastie, but mine anger is soone past. So Roger, surely I haue a good opinion of you, that you wil not with these lewd fellowes cast your selfe headlong from the church of your parents & your frendes that are here, very good catholikes (as it is reported vnto me.) And as I meane thee good,* so Roger play the wisemans part, and come home with the lost sonne and say: I haue runne into the church of schismatikes and heretikes, from the catholicke church of Rome, and you shall, I warrante you, not only finde fauor at Gods hands, but the Church that hath authoritie, shall absolue you and put newe garments vpon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheare withall: That is, in so doing, as meate doth refresh and chearish the minde, so shalt thou finde as much quietnesse of conscience in comming home to the church, as dyd the hungry sonne that had ben fed afore with the hogs, as you haue done with these heretikes that seuer them selues from the church. I giue them a homely name, but they be worse (putting his hand to his cap for reuerēce sake) then hogs: For they know the church and will not followe it. If I shoulde saye thus muche to a Turke, hee woulde (I thinke) beleue me. But Roger, if I did not beare thee and thy friendes good will, I woulde not haue sayde so muche as I haue done, but I would haue let mine Ordinarie alone with you.

At these wordes his frendes that were there, gaue the Bishop thanks for his good will and paines that he had taken in his and theyr behalfe.

Boner.

Wel Roger, how say you now? Do you not beleue that after the Priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really & corporally vnder the formes of bread and wine: I meane y^t selfe same body that was borne of the virgine Mary, that was crucified vpon the crosse, that rose againe the third day.

Holland.

Your Lordship sayth, the same body which was borne of the virgin Marie, which was crucified vpon the Crosse, which rose againe the third day: but you leaue out which ascended into heauen:* and the Scripture sayeth, he shall there remaine vntil he come to iudge the quicke and

the deade. Then he is not contained vnder the formes of bread and wine, by Hoc est corpus meum. &c.

Boner.

Roger, I perceiue my paines and good will, will not preuaile, and if I shoulde argue with thee, thou art so wil•ul (as all thy fellowes be, standing in thine owne singularitie & foolish conceit) that thou wouldest still talke to no purpose this 7. yere, if thou mightest be suffered. Aunswer whether thou wilt confesse the reall & corporall presence of Christes body in the Sacrament, or wilt not.

Holland.

My Lord, although that God by his sufferaunce hath nere placed you to set forth his truth and glory in vs his faithful seruantes: notwithstanding your meaning is farre from the zeale of Christ, and for all your words, you haue the same zeal that Annas and Caiphas had, trusting to their authoritie, traditions and ceremonies, more then to the woorde of God.

Boner.

If I should suffer hym, he would fall from reasoning to railing, as a franticke heretike.

Lord Straunge.

Roger (sayth the Lord Straunge) I perceiue my Lorde woulde haue you to tell him whether you will submit your selfe vnto him or no.

Boner

Yea, sayeth Boner, and confesse this presence that I haue spoken of.

With this, Roger turning him to the Lorde Strange and the rest of his kinsmen and frendes, very chearefully kneled downe vpon his knees and said: God by y^e mouth of his seruant S. Paul hath said: Let euery soule submit him selfe vnto the higher powers, and he that resisteth receiueth hys owne damnation: and as you are • Magistrate appoynted by the will of God, so do I submit my selfe vnto you, and to all such as are appoynted for Magistrates.

Boner.

That is well sayde: I see you are no Anabaptist. Howe saye you then to the presence of Chr•stes bodye and bloud in the Sacrament of the altare?

Holland.

I say, and I beseeche you all to marke and beare witnes with me (for so you shal doe before the iudgement seate of God) what I speake: for heere is the Conclusion:*. And ye my deare frendes (turning him to his kinsmen) I pray you shew my father what I doe say, that he may vnderstand I am a christian man: I say and beleue, and am therein fully persuaded by the scriptures, that the Sacrament of the Supper of oure Lorde ministred in the holye Communion according to Christes institution, I beinge penitent & sorie for my sinnes, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so cōming worthely vnto Gods bord in perfect loue & charity, do there receiue by faith, the body & bloud of Christ. And though Christ in his humane person sitte at the right hand of his father, yet (by saith I say) his death, his passion, his merites are mine, and by faithe I dwell in him and he in me. And as for the Masse, transubstantiation, & the worshipping of the Sacrament, they are meere impietie and horrible idolatrie.

Boner.

I thought so much, sayth Boner (suffering him to speake no more) how he wold proue a very blasphemous hereticke as euer I heard. Howe vnreuerently doeth hee speake of the blessed Masse?*, and so read his bloody sentēce of condemnation, adiudging him to be burned.

All this while Roger was verye patient & quiet, and when he should depart. he sayd: my lord, I besech you suffer me to speake 2. words. The B. wold not hear him, but bad him away. Notw^tstanding, being requested by one of his frendes, he sayd: speake, what hast thou to say.

Holland

Euen now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his sufferance, and now I tel you, God hath heard the praier of his seruāts which hath ben powred forth with feares for his afflicted saintes,*, which daily you persecute, as now you do vs. But this I dare be bold in God to speake (which by his spirit I am moued to say) that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shal not molest his church: And this shal you in short time well perceiue, my deare brethrē, to be most true. For after this day, in this place shall there not be anye by hym put to the triall of fire and fagot: And after this daye there was neuer none that suffered in Smithfielde for the testimonie of the gspell, God be thanked.

After these woordes spoken, saith Boner: Roger,*, thou art I perceiue as madde in these thy heresies as euer was Ioan Butcher. In anger and fume thou woldest become a railing Prophet. Thoughe thou and all the sorte of you would see me hanged, yet I shall liue to burne, yea I wil burne all the sort of you that come in my handes, that wil not worship the blessed sacrament of the altare, for all thy pratling, and so he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his frendes to repentance, and to thinke wel of them that suffered for the testimonie of the Gospel, and with that the B. came back, charging the keeper that no man shoulde speake to them without his licence, and if they did, they should be cōmitted to prison. In the meane season H. Pond and Roger spake stil vnto the people,*, exhorting them to stande in the truthe: adding moreouer, that God woulde shorten those cruel and euil daies for his elect sake.

The day they suffred, a proclamation was made, y^t none should be so bold to speake or talke any word vnto them, or receiue any thing of them,* or to touche them vpō payne of imprisonment, without either bale or mainprise: wyth diuers other cruell threatninge woordes, contained in the same Proclamation. Notwithstanding the people cryed out, desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewyse still praied for the people, and the restoring of his woorde. [Page 2042](#) At length Roger embracing the stake,* and the reedes, said these woordes.

Lord, I most humbly thanke thy Maiestie, that thou hast called mee from the state of death, vnto the lighte of thy heauenlye worde, and nowe vnto the fellowship of thy Sainctes, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoastes. And Lord into thy handes I commit my spirite. Lord blesse these thy people, and saue them from Idolatrie, and so ended his life, looking vp into heauen, praying and praising God, with the rest of his fellowe Sainctes. For whose ioyfull constancie the Lord be praised.

The Martyrdome of vj. which suffered at Brainforde for the true testimonie of Iesus Christ.

NOt long after the death of the fore named vij. godlye Martyrs that suffered in Smithfielde, were vj. other faithfull witnesses of the Lordes true Testament,* Martyred at Braynforde, vij. miles from London, the xiiij. day of Iuly 1558. which sayd sixe were of that companie that were apprehended in a close harde by Islington (as is aboue specified) and sent to prisone. Whose names and articles proponed to them, with their answers vnto y^e same, hereafter followeth.

- Robert Milles.
- Stephen Corton.
- Robert Dynes.
- Stephen Wight.
- Iohn Slade.
- William Pikes, or Pikers, a Tanner.*

These vj. forenamed Martyrs (gentle Reader) hadde their articles ministred to them by Thomas Darbishire, Boners Chancellor, at sundrye times, as Robert Mules the 20. day of Iune, Stephen Wight the 21. day of the said moneth, Ste. Cotton and Iohn Slade the 22. day, & Robert Dines and William Pikes the 23. day. At which said times, though they were seuerally examined, yet had they all one maner of articles ministred to them, yea & th• selfe same Articles that were ministred to Iohn Holiday, Hēry Pond, and their companie aforesayd. Which sayde articles I leaue the reader to looke for in page 1967. and think it not necessarye anye more to rehearse them, but onely to proceede with their aunsweres to the same, which briefly and in summe hereafter followeth.

The answers of the forenamed persons to the Articles aforesayd.

1 TO the first Article they all graunted the same, and added thereto for going to Church, that Robert Milles and Stephen Wight came not there for 3. quarters of a yere before,* and Iohn Slade & William Pikes not since the Queenes raigne, Stephen Cotten not for a twelue moneth before, and Rob. Dynes not for two yeaes before.

The 2.3.4.5▪ and 6, Articles they all answered in effecte, as the forenamed Iohn Holiday, Henry Ponde and their companye did, pag. 1931▪ sauing they added, that as their rites, customes & ceremonies are against the worde of God, so will they obserue and keepe no parte of the same. Stephen Wight added further, that he receiued not their Sacrament of the aultar for two yeres before, nor Iohn Slade and William Pikes since Queene Maries raigne, nor Stephen Cotton for a twelue moneth before, nor Robert Dines for three yeres before.

To the 7. article, they all graunted the same in euerye parte like vnto the aforenamed Henry Pond and his companye, page 1931 sauing Rob. Dines added that it was no part of his beliefe.

To the 8. Article they all graunted the same in euery part, as the forenamed William Holliday and his companye, page 193•. but Robert Milles added therto that he wil not come to church, nor allowe their religion, so long as the crosse is crepte too, and worshipped, and Images are in the Church Iohn Slade affirmed in effecte as Robert Milles did, adding further that there be not 7. Sacraments, but 2. Sacraments, which is Baptisme & the Supper of the Lord. Stephen Cotton woulde no further allowe the Popish religion, then it agreeth with Gods woorde: and Robert Dines affirmed in effect the like to Stephen Cotton also.

To the 9. and 10 articles, Robert Milles, Iohn Slade & Steuen Cotton answered that they do not allow the popish seruice then set foorth, because it is against the truthe, and in a straunge language which the common people vnderstand• not. Robert Dines and William Pikes, will neither allow nor disallowe the Latine seruice, because they vnderstād it not. And Steuen Wight would make no directe aunswer to the articles at all, and to the 11.12.13. and 14. articles we finde no answeres recorded of the said Steuen Wight, but of the rest of his fellowe prisoners wee finde answers to those articles which hereafter followe.

To the 11. article, Robert Milles, Iohn Slade and Steuen Cotton answered, that concernīg the bookes, faith and religion specified in this article, they doe allowe them so farre foorth as they agree with Gods word. &c. Robert Dines would make no answer thereto, because he thoughte himselfe vnmeete to iudge thereof: and William Pikes doeth not remember that hee hath misliked the seruice, and the faith, and religion set foorth in king Edward the sixt his time.

To the 12. they graunt, that if they might receiue the sacrament as they did in king Edward the sixt daies, they would with all their heart so doe.

To the 13. and 14. articles, they confesse and graunt the contents of them to be true in euery part.

When at the daies before specified, these good men were produced before Boners Chancellour, Thomas Darbshire, and had the foresaide articles ministred vnto them, and they (as ye haue heard) had made aunswere vnto the same, in the ende the Chauncellor commaunded them to appeare before them againe the 11. day of Iuly after in the sayde place at Paules. Where when they came,* he required of them, whether they woulde tourne from their opinions to y^e mother holy church: and if not, that then, whether there were anye cause to the contrarye, but that they might procede with the sentence of condemnation. Wherunto they all answered, that they would not go from the truthe, nor relent from any part of the same while they li•ed. Then he charged them to appeare before him againe the next daye in the afternoone, betweene one and two of the

clocke, to heare the definitiue sentence redde agaynste them, according to the Ecclesiasticall lawes then in force. At which time, he sitting in iudgemēt, talking with these godly and vertuous men, at the last came into the sayde place syr Edward Hastings & sir Thomas Cornewales knights, two of Quene Maries officers of her house,* and being there, they sate them down ouer against the Chancellor, in whose presence the sayde Chancellor condemned those good poore Lambes, and deliuered them ouer to the secular power, who receiued and caried them to prisonne immediately, and there kept them in safetie till the daye of their deathe.

In the meane time this naughty Chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the Lorde Chancellors office, from whence the next daye after was sent a writ to burne them at Brainforde aforesaid, which accordingly was accomplished in the same place, the said 14. daye of Iulye: Whereunto they being brought, made theyr humble praiers vnto the Lorde Iesus, vndressed themselues, wente ioyfully to the stake whereto they were bounde, and the fire flaming about them, they yelded their soules, bodies, and liues into the handes of the omnipotent Lorde, for whose cause they didde suffer, and to whose protection I commend thee gentle Reader. Amen.

[illustration]

The burning of sixe Martyrs at Brainforde.

*

[Page 2043](#)*Among these 6. was due William Pikes (as yee haue heard) who sometime dwelt in Ipswiche in Suffolke, by his occupation a Tanner, a very honest godly man, & of a vertuous disposition, a good keper of hospitalitie, and beneicial to the persecuted in Queene Maries daies. Thys saide William Pikes, in the 3. yeare of Queene Maries raigne, a little after Midsomer, being then at libertie, wēt into his Garden, and tooke wyth him a Bible of Rogers translation, where hee sitting wyth his face towardes the South, reading on the said Bible, sodenly fell downe vpon his booke betwene a 11. and 12. a clocke of the day, foure drops of fresh bloud, & he knew not from whence it came. Then he seeing the same, was sore astonished, & coulde by no meanes learne (as I sayd) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the droppes with his finger, called his wife, and said: In the vertue of God wife, what meaneth this? Wil y^e Lord haue 4. sacrifices? I see wel enough the Lorde will haue bloude: his wil be done, and geue me grace to abide the triall. Wife, let vs pray (sayde hee) for I feare the day draweth nigh. Afterwarde he daily looked to be apprehended of the papistes, and it came to passe accordingly, as yee haue heard. Thus much thought I good to wryte heereof, to stirre vp our dull senses in considering the Lordes woorkes, and reuerently to honour the same. His name therefore be praised for euermore, Amen.

Moreouer, concerning the sayd William Pikes, as he was in Newgate sore sicke and at the poynte of deathe, so that no man looked he should liue 6. houres, there declared to them that stode by, that he had bene twice in persecution before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorifie his name at the stake, and so as he prayed, it came to passe at Brainford.

Ye hard before of those 22. taken at Islington, 13. were burned, and 6. escaped, albeit very hardly, & some of them not without scourging by the hands of the bishop. In the which number was Thomas Hinshaw & Ihon Milles, according to the expresse Picture here after purported.

Ex epigrammate Ennij apud Ciceronem allusio.

Si fas caedendo coelestia scandere cuiquam est,

Bonnero coeli maxima porta patet.

In effigiem Boneri, carmen.

QVae noua forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid aluus

Pondera quid ventris, crassitiesque velit?

Corpus amaxaeum, disten to abdomine pigrum

Rides, anne stupes, lector amice, magis?

Vasta quid ista velint, si nescis pondera, dicam,

Nam nihil hic mirum venter obesus habet.

Carnibus humanis & sanguine vescitur atro,

Ducentos annis hauserat ille tribus.

Ergo quid hoc monstri est, recto vis nomine dicam?

Nomen nec patris, nec gerit ille matris.

Qui patre Sauago natus, falso que Bonerus

Dicitur▪ hunc melius dixeris Orbilium.

The same in English.

MUse not so much, that natures woorke

is thus deformed now,

With belly blowen, and head so swolne,

for I shall tell you how:

This Canniball in three yeares space

three hundreth Martyrs slew:

They were his foode, he loued so bloud,

he spared none he knew.

It should appeare that bloud feedes fat,
if men lie well and soft:
For Boners bellie waxt with bloud,
though he semde to fast oft.
O bloody beast, bewaile the death
of those that thou hast slaine:
In time repent, since thou canst not
their liues restore againe.*

G. G.

In Bonerum.

Carnificis nomen debetur iure Bonero,
Qui sine Christicolas crimine mactat oues.
Certe carnificis immitis nomine gaudet,
Si que isto peius nomine nomen, amat.
Carnificem vocitas? ridet crudelia facta
Narris• rem gratam non facis ipse magis.
Det Deus vt sapias meliora Bonere, vel istis
Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.

The scourging of Thomas Hinshaw.

IN the godly number aboue mentioned, which were apprehended at Islington, there Congregated together

[illustration]

☛ **The right Picture and true Counterfet of Boner, and his crueltie, in scourging of Gods Saintes, in his Orchard a Fulham.**

*Page 2044 for their exercise of prayer and readyng, was this Thomas Hinshaw aboue named, a yong man of the age of 19. or 20. yeares, prentise in Paules churchyard with one M. Pugson. Who with the

rest was caried to the Constables of Islington,* and there euery one of them serched, and led forthwith to the chiefe lustice M. Cholmley, dwellyng in the Old Baily in London, & by him thā the said Th. Hinshaw was sent to Newgate, & there remainyng prisoner w^tout conference with any, about eight weekes, at the last was sent for to Boner Bishop of London,* and by hym, Harpsfield and Cole examined. After which examination he was sent to Newgate againe, where hee remayned a three weekes followyng. Which tyme beyng ouerpassed, he was sent for agayne before the sayd bishop, the day beyng Saturday, and with hym had much talke to litle purpose. The next day after also, which was Sondag, they perswaded with him very much in like maner, and perceiuyng they could not bend hym vnto their bowe, in the afternoone, the B. goyng vnto Fulham, tooke hym wyth hym,* where immediately after his commyng, he was set in the stockes, remainyng there all the first nighte wyth bread and water.

The next mornyng the Bish. came and examined hym himselfe, and perceiuyng no yelding to his mynde, he sent M. Harpsfield to talke with him: who after long talke, in the end fell to raging words, callyng the sayd Thomas Hinshaw p[•]euish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damne his soule, or no, &c. Unto whiche the sayd Tho. answered, that he was perswaded that they laboured to maintaine their darke and diuelish kingdom, and not for any loue to truth. Then Harpsfield beyng in a mighty rage, told the B. thereof. Whereat the B. fumed & fretted, that scant for anger beyng able to speake, he sayd: Doest thou answer my Archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured: so he sent for a couple of rods, and caused him to kneele agaynst a long bench in an arbor in his garden, where the sayd Thomas without any enforcement of his part, offered hymselfe to the beatyng,* & did abide the fury of the sayd Boner, so long as the fat panned B. could endure with breath, and til for werines he was fayne to cease, & geue place to his shamefull act. He had two willow rods, but he wasted but one, and so left of.

Now after this scourgyng, the sayd Thom. Hinshaw notwithstanding did sustaine diuers conflictes and examinations sundry tymes. At last beyng brought before the sayd Bishop in his chappell at Fulham, there hee had procured witnesses, and gathered Articles agaynst hym, which the yong man denied, and woulde not affirme, or consent to any interrogatory there and then ministred, do what they could.

¶The Articles were these.

COncernyng Palmes, Ashes, Holy bread, Holy water, Auricular confession,* receiuyng the Sacrament at Easter, hearyng deuine seruice then set forth, &c.

Whether he had receiued all these, or whether he would receiue them or no.

Item, what he thought of the seruice set forth in K. Edwards tyme, in his latter dayes, and in especiall, what he thought of the veritie of Christes body in the sacrament.

In which all his answers, the sayd Tho. Hinshaw kept an vpright conscience, and entangled himselfe with none of their ceremonies: so mercifull was the Lord vnto hym.

Not long after this his examination, about a fortnight or such a thyng,*the foresayd Examinee fell sicke of a burnyng ag••, wherby he was deliuered vpon entreatie vnto his maister Martin Pugson in Paules Churchyard aforesayd: for the bishop thought verily, he was more like to dye then to lyue. The whiche hys sicknesse endured a twelue month or more, so that in the meane tyme Queene Mary dyed. Then he shortly after recouered health, and escaped death, beyng at the wrytyng of this yet alyue, both witnesse and reporter of the same, the Lord therefore bee praysed, Amen.

The scourging of Iohn Milles by B. Boner.

BEsides the aboue named, was scourged also by y^e hāds of the sayd B. one Iohn Milles a Capper, a right faith full and true honest man in all his dealyngs and conditions. Who was brother to the foresayd R. Milles burned before at Brainford, as is aboue signified▪ pag. 1967. Who also was apprehended in the same number with them at Islington, as is mentioned also before, pag. 1969. and beyng brought before Boner and there examined, was commaunded to the Colehouse, with the foresayde Tho. Hinshaw, where they remained one night in the stocks. From thence he was sent to Fulham, where hee with the sayde Hinshaw, remayned 8. or 10. dayes in the stockes: during which tyme hee susteined diuers conflictes with the sayde Boner, who had hym oft tymes in Examination, vrgyng hym, and with a sticke which he had in his hand, oft times rapping him on the head, and flirting him vnder the chin & on the eares, saying he looked downe like a thiefe. Moreouer, after he had assaied all maner of wayes to cause him to recant and could not, at length hauyng him to his Orchard, there within a little arbor, with his owne handes beat hym first with a willowe rod, and that beyng worne well nigh to the stumps, he called for a birchin rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why hee so beat him, was this: Boner asked hym when he had crept to the crosse. He answered, not since he came to the yeares of discretion, neither would to be torne with wyld horses. Then Boner bade him make a crosse in his forehead, which he refused to do. Whereupon he had him incontinently to his Orchard, and there callyng for rods,* sheweth his crueltie vpon hym, as he did vppon Tho. Hinshaw, as is aboue declared.

This done, he had hym immediately to the Parishe Church of Fulham with the sayd Tho. Hinshaw, & wyth Rob. Willis, to whom there beyng seuerally called before hym, he ministred certaine Articles,* asking if they would subscribe to the same. To the which the sayd Iohn Milles made his answer according to his conscience, denying thē all, except one article which was cōcernyng K. Edwards seruice in English. Shortly after this beating,* Boner sent to him in prison a certain old priest lately come frō Rome to coniure out the euill spirite from hym, who laying hys hand vpon his hed, began with certaine words pronounced ouer hym, to coniure as hee had bene woont before to do. Milles meruailing what the Priest was about to doe, sayd he trusted no euill spirit to be within hym, & laughed hym to scorne, &c.

As this Iohn Milles was diuers tymes and oft called before Boner, so much communication and talke passed betwene them, which to recite all, it were too long. And yet it were not vnpleasaunt for the Reader that lusteth to laugh, to see the blynd and vnsauorie reasones of that B. which he vsed to perswade the ignorant withall. As in the processe of his other talke with this Milles, Boner going about to perswade hym not to meddle with matters of the scripture, but rather to beleue other mens teachyng,* which had more skill in the same: first asked if he dyd beleue the

scripture? Yea, sayd he, that I do. Then the Bish. Why (quoth he) S. Paul saith: if the man sleepe, the woman is at libertye to goe to another man. If thou were a sleepe hauing a wyfe, wouldst thou be content thy wyfe to take another man? And yet this is the scripture.

Item, if thou wilt beleue Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right. But if thou wilt beleue me. &c thou canst not erre. And if thou shouldst erre, yet thou art in no peril, thy bloud should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, & meete with a fatherly man as I am (for these were his termes) and aske the way to the head citie, and he should say, go this way,* and thou wilt not beleuee hym, but follow Luther and other heretikes of late dayes, and go a contrary way, how wi•te thou come to the place thou askest for? so if thou wilt not beleuee mee, but followe the leadyng of other heretickes, so shalt thou bee brought to destruction, and burne both body and soule.

As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their soules doe burne in hell,* because they erre from the church.

Oft tymes speaking to the sayde Iohn Milles, hee would say: they call me bloody Boner. A vengeance on you all. I would faine •e rid of you, but you haue a de•ire in burnyng. But if I might haue my will,* I would sowe your mouthes▪ and put you in sacks, and drowne you.

Now somewhat to say concerning the deliuerance of the said Iohn Milles, the same day that he was deliuered, Boner came vnto the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Wel said Milles, if it would please God I might haue a little strawe to lye or sit vpon.

Then said Boner: thou wilt shew no token of a christian man. And vpon this his wife came in vnknowyng vnto him, beyng very great with child, and lookyng euery hower for her lying downe,* entreating the Bishop for her husband, & saying, that she would not go out of the house, but there would lay her belly in the bishops house, vnlesse she had her husband with her. How saist y^u (quoth Boner) thou heretike? If thy wife miscarie, or thy child, or children [Page 2045](#) if she be with one,* or two, should perish, the bloud of them would be required at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he should hue a bed in the towne of Fulham and her husband should go home with her the morow after,* vppon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Rob. Rousie) should bring the sayd Milles vnto his house at Paules the next day.

Whereunto the sayd Milles sayd, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his wife beyng importunate for her husband, & seyng that she would go no further, but there remaine vnlesse she had her husband with her,* the bishop fearing belike the rumor which might come vpon his house thereby, bade the sayd Milles make a crosse and say: In nomine Patris & Filij, & Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Then the sayd Milles began to say: In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy ghost, Amē. No, no, sayth Boner, say it me in Latine, In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus sancti, Amen. Milles vnderstanding the matter of that Latine to be but good, said the same, and so went home with his wyfe, his foresayde kinsman beyng charged to bring hym the next day vnto

Paules, either els sayd Boner if thou doest not bring hym,* thou art an heretike as wel as he. Notwithstandyng, the charge beyng no greater, this kinsman didde not bring hym, but hee of his owne voluntarie accord came to the said B. within a fewe days after, where the B. put vnto him a certaine writing in Latin to subscribe vnto, conteyning as it semed to him no great matter, that he needed greatly to sticke at: albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell. So subscribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much cōcernyng the 22. taken at Islington.

The history and cruell handlyng of Richard Yeoman, D. Taylors Curate at Hadley, constantly sufferying for the Gospels sake.

AFTER the story of these 22. taken at Islington, proceedyng now (the Lord willyng) we wil prosecute likewise the taking and cruell handlyng of Richard Yeoman minister.* Which Yeoman had bene before D. Tailors Curate, a godly deuout old man, of 70. yeres, which had many yeres dwelt in Hadley, well seene in the scriptures, & geuing godly exhortations to the people. With hym Doc. Tailor left his cure at his departure. But as soone as M. Newal had gotten the benefice, he droue away good Yeoman as is before said, & set in a popish Curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion whiche nowe they thought fully stablished. Then wandered he long time frō place to place, moouing & exhorting all men to stand faithfully to Gods worde, earnestly to geue themselues vnto prayer, with patience to beare the crosse now layed vpon them for their triall, with boldnes to confesse the truth before the aduersaries, & with an vndoubted hope to waite for the crowne and reward of eternall felicitie. But when hee perceiued his aduersaries to lye in waite for him,* hee went into Kent, & with a little packet of laces, pinnes and points, and such like things, he trauailed from Uillage to village, sellyng such things, & by y^e poore shyft gate hymself somewhat to the susteining of himselfe, his poore wife and children.

At the last, a Iustice of Kent called M. Moyle, tooke poore Yeoman and set him in the stocks a day and a night,* but hauyng no euident matter to charge hym with, he let hym go againe. So came he secretly againe to Hadley, and taried with his poore wife, who kept him secretly in a chāber of the Towne house, commonly called the Guild hall, more then a yere. All the which tyme, the good olde father abyde in a chamber locked vp all the day, & spent his tyme in deuout prayer and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of w•ol which his wyfe did spin. His wife also did go and beg bread and meat for herselfe and her children, and by such poore meanes sustained they themselues. Thus y^e saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal liued in iollitie, and were costly pampered at Iesabels table.

At the last, person Newal (I know not by what means) perceiued that Rich. Yeoman was so kept by hys poore wyfe,* and taking with him the Bailiffes deputies and seruants, came in the night tyme & brake vp fiue dores vpon Yeoman, whom he found in bed with his poore wyfe and children. Whom when he had so found, he irefull cried, saiying,* I thought I should find an harlot and a whore together. And he would haue plucked the clothes of from them. But Yeoman held fast the clothes, and said vnto his wyfe, wife, aryse and put on thy clothes. And vnto y^e person he sayd: Nay Person, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, accordyng vnto Gods ordinance, and blessed be God for lawfull matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defie the Pope & all his Poperie. Then led they Rich. Yeoman vnto the cage, & set hym in the stocks vntill it was day.

There was then also in the cage an olde man named Iohn Dale, who had sitten 3. or 4. dayes,* because wh• the sayd Person Newall with his Curate, executed y^r Romish seruice in the Church, he spake openly vnto him and said: O miserable & blind guides, will ye euer be blind, leaders of the blynd? will ye neuer amend? will ye neuer see the truth of Gods word? wil neither Gods threatnes nor promises enter into you harts? wil not the bloud of Martyrs nothing mollifie your stonie stomacks? Oh indurate hard harted, peruerse, & crooked generation. O damnable sorte, whom nothyng can do good vnto.

These and like words he spake in feruentnes of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore per'son Newall caused hym forthwith to be attached, and set in the stockes in the cage. So was he there kept til sir Hēry Doile a Iustice, came to Hadley.

Now when poore Yeoman was taken, the person called earnestly vpon Sir Henry Doile to send them both to prison.* Sir Henry Doile earnestly laboured and entreated the person, to consider the age of the men, & their poore estate: they were persons of no reputation nor preachere: wherefore hee would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them goe, at the least Iohn Dale who was no priest, and therfore seeyng he had so long sitten in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for hys tyme. When the person heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretikes,* vnfitte to lyue in the common wealth of Christians. Wherefore I beseech you Sir (quoth he) accordyng to your office defēd holy church, and helpe to suppressse these sectes of heresies, &c. which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselues to the euill example of other, against the Queenes gracious proceedyngs. Sir Henry Doyle seeyng he coulde do no good in the matter, & fearing also his perill if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the Writte and caused the Constables to cary them foorth to Bury Gaole. For now were all the Iustices were they neuer so mightye, afrayde of euery shauen crowne, and stood in as much awe of them, as Pilate dyd stande in feare of Annas and Cayphas, and of the Pharisaicall broode, which cried Crucifie hym, Crucifie hym. If thou let hym goe,*thou art not Caesars friend.

Wherefore, whatsoeuer their consciences were, yet (if they would escape danger) they must needes bee the Popish Bishops slaues, and vassails. So they tooke Richard Yeoman and Iohn Dale, pinioned, and bound them lyke thieues, set them on horsebacke,* and bound their legs vnder the horses bellies, and so caried them to the Gaole at Bury, where they were tied in irons, and for that they cōtinually rebuked Popery, they were throwne into y^e lowest dungeon, where Iohn Dale through sicknesse of the

[illustration]

¶The burnyng of Richard Yeoman.

Page 2046 prison, and euil keping, died in prison, whose body when hee was deade, was throwen oute and buried in the fieldes. Hee was a man of 46. yeares of age, a Weauer by his occupation, well learned in the holy scriptures, faithfull and honest in all his conuersation,* stedfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in Kyng Edwards tyme: for the which he ioyfully suffred prison and chaines, and from this worldlye dungeon hee departed in Christ to eternall glory, and the blessed paradise of euerlasting felicitie.

After that Iohn Dale was dead, Rich. Yeoman was remooued to Norwich prison, where after strait and euill keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy K. Edward the 6. and from that he would in n• wyse vary. Beyng required to submit himself to the holy father the Pope, I defie him (quoth he) & all hys detestable abominations: I will in no wise haue to doe w^t him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief articles objected to him were his mariage, & the masse sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued stedfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, disgraced, & not only burnt but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended hee hys poore & miserable lyfe, and entred into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enioying with Lazarus the comfortable quietnes that God hath prepared for his elect saintes.

¶The story of Iohn Alcocke.

There was also in Hadley a yong man named Ioh. Alcocke, which came to Hadley seeking worke, for he was a Shereman by his occupation. This yong man after the Martyrdome of D. Tailor, & taking of Rich. Yeomā, vsed first in the church of Hadley to read the seruice in English, as partly is aboue touched. At length, after the comming of person Newal, he being in Hadley church vpon a sonday when the Person came by with procession, would not once mooue his cap, nor shew any signe of reuerence, but stood behind the font. Person Newal perceiuing this, whē he was almost out of the church dore, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the Constable.

Then came Rob. Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and asked: M. Person what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with hym?

He is an heretike and a traitor (quoth the Person) and despiseth the Queens proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the Queenes name, haue hym to the stockes, & see he be forth commyng.

*Wel quoth Rolfe? he shal be forth comming, proceede you in your busines and be quiet. Haue him to the stockes (quoth the Person.)

I am Constable (quoth Rolfe) and may baile him, and will baile him: he shall not come in the stockes, but he shal be forth comming. So went the good Person forth wyth his holy procession, and so to Masse.

At after noone Rolfe said to this yong man: I am sorry for thee, for truly the person will seek thy destructiō, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him.

The yong man aunswered: Sir, I am sorry that it is my lucke to be a trouble to you. As for my selfe I am not sorry, but I do commit my selfe into Gods handes, and I trust he will geue me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right.

Well (quoth Rolfe) yet beware of him. For hee is malicious, and a bloudsucker, & beareth an old hatred against me, and he wil handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me.

I feare him not (quoth the yong man) He shall doe no more to me then God wil geue him leaue: and happy shal I be if God wil call me to die for his truths sake.

*After this talke, they then went to the person, who at the first asked hym: Fellow, what saiest thou to the sacrament of the aulter?

I say (quoth he) as ye vse the matter, ye make a shame full idoll of it, and ye are false idolatrous priests all the sort of you.

*I told you (quoth the person) he was a stout heretike.

So, after long talk the person committed him to ward and the next day rode he vp to London, and caried y^e yong man with him, and so came the yong man no more againe to Hadley, but after long imprisonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himselfe to aske forgeuenes of the Pope and to be reconciled to the Romish religion,* he was caste into the lower dungeon, where with euill keeping & sickenes of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a Martyr of Christes veritie, which he hartily loued & constantly cōfessed, & receiued the garland of a well foughten battaile at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out & buried in a dunghil.* For the Papists would in all things be like thēselues: Therfore would they not so much as suffer y^e dead bodies to haue honest and conuenient sepulture.

¶Thomas Benbrige Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruell Papists, for the defence of the Gospell of Christ Iesu.

THoms Benbrige a Gentleman, single and vnmarried,* in the Dioces of Winchester, although hee might haue liued a pleasaunt and a Gentlemans lyfe in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ, had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heauenlye possession of lyfe in the Lordes kingdome, then here to enioy pleasures present with vnquietnes of consciēce. Wherefore manfully standing against the Papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christes Gospell, hee spared not hymselfe to confirme the doctrine of the Gospell. For the which cause he beyng apprehended for an aduersary of the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before D. White Bish. of Winchester,* where he susteined sundry conflictes for the truth agaynst the sayd Bishop & hys Colleagues. The Articles of the Bishoppe ministred to hym, with his aunswers to the same annexed, be here followyng.

¶Articles ministred to M. Benbrige, with his answers followyng the same.

First, we articulate against you, that the Church of God ministreth rightly,* according to the rite Apostolicall

To this he aunswereth, that Baptisme is not administred at this present, so as it was in the Apostles tyme, for that it is not ministred in the English tongue.

2. Item,* we articulate that the church of God doth beleue and hold, that in the sacrament of thankesgeuyng, after the words of consecration pronounced of the priest, the true and naturall body of Christ is present really.

He answereth,* that he beleueth not that in the sacrament is contained the body and bloud of our sauour Iesu Christ, saying: this is the marke that ye shoote at.

3. Item, we articulate, that the church holdeth and beleueth, that confirmation is a sacrament in the church,* and that by imposition of hands of a Bishop, commeth grace.

He aunswered,* that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a Sacrament or not, and whether the Bishop geueth grace or not: hee knoweth not the order and fashion of ministration.

4. Item, we articulate, that penance is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by auricular confession and absolution pronounced by the priest, sinnes be forgeuen.

He answered negatiuely, denying sinnes to be forgeuen,* by absolution pronounced of a priest, and that it is not necessarye for a man to recite all his sinnes to a priest.

5. Item, we articulate agaynst thee, that the Church doth beleue and hold, the same authoritie to bee now in the Church which Christ gaue to his Apostles.

He answered negatiuely,* for that the Church hath not the same power and strength to worke.

6. Item, we articulate, that the Church beleueth and holdeth that the order of ministers now beyng in the church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himselfe.

He answered that he beleueth not the bishops to be the successors of the Apostles, for that they be not called as they were,* nor haue that grace.

7. Item, we articulate that the church beleueth and holdeth,* the Pope to be supreme head in the Church, and the Vicare of Christ in earth.

He answered, that it is not the Pope,* but it is the deuill that is supreme hed of the church which you speake of.

8. Item, we articulate, that the church doth hold and beleue that it is necessary to be baptised.

He denied not the same.

9. Item, we articulate, that the church doth hold and beleue,* that there is purgatory, and that the soules of the dead bee relieued with the almes and prayers of the liuyng.

He answereth and sayth, as touching purgatory, hee will not beleue as their church doth beleue.*

10. Item, we articulate, that the church holdeth and beleueth, that Matrimony is a sacrament of the Church.

He aunswered, that he will not say that Matrimony is a Sacrament, but to bee a sacrate order and signe of an holy thyng.* &c.

Moreouer, hapning into the mention of Martine Luther, he sayd:*that the sayd Martine Luther dyed a good [Page 2047](#) christen man, whose doctrine and lyfe he did approue and allowe.

Thus haue ye the articles ministred by the Bishop, & also the answers of the sayd M. Benbrige vnto the same for the which he was then condemned,*and after brought to the place of Martyrdome, by the shiriffe called sir Rich. Pecksall, where as he stāding at the stake, began to vntie hsi pointes,*and to prepare himselfe. Then hee gaue hys gowne to the keeper, beyng belyke his fee. His Ierkin was laid on with gold lace faire and braue, which he gaue to Sir Richard Pecksall the high shiriffe. His cap of veluet he tooke of from his hed, and threw it away. Then lifting his mynd to the Lord, he made his prayers.

*That done, beyng now fastened to the stake, D. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should haue his pardon: but when he saw it preuailed not to speake, the said dreamyng and doltish Doct. willed the people not to pray for him vnlesse he would recant, no more then they would pray for a dog.

M. Benbrige standyng at the stake with his handes together in such maner, as the Priest holdeth hys handes in his memento, the sayd D. Seaton came to hym agayne, and exhorted hym to recant: vnto whome he sayde, away Babilonian, away.

Then sayd one that stooode by: Sir, cut out his tongue, & an other beyng a temporall man, rayled on hym worse, then Doct. Seaton did a great deale, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yeld, they bade the tormenters to set to fire, and yet he was nothing like coue:red with fagottes. First the fire tooke away a piece of hys beard,*whereat hee nothing shranke at all. Then it came on the other side and tooke his legges, and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intollerable heate thereof made him to cry: I recant, and sodenly therwith he thrust the fire from hym. And hauyng two or three of hys friends by, that wished his lyfe,*they stept to the fire and holpe to take it from him also: who for their labour were sent to prison. The shirife also of his own authoritie tooke hym from the stake and sent him to prison againe: for the which he was sente vnto the Fleete, and there lay a certaine tyme. But before he was taken from the stake, the sayd Seaton wrote articles to haue hym to subscribe vnto them as touchyng the Pope, the Sacrament, and such other trash. But the sayde M. Benbrige made much ado ere he would subscribe thē, in so much that D. Seaton willed thē to set to fire againe. Then with much paine and great grieve of heart,*hee subscribed to them vpon a mans backe. That beyng done, he had his gowne geuen hym agayne, and so was led to prison. Beyng in prison he wrote a letter to D. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, vnto which he had subscribed: for he was grieved that euer hee dyd subscribe vnto them. Whereuppon expressyng his conscience, he was the same day seuēnight after burnt in deed, where

[illustration]

The burning of Thomas Benbrige, Gentleman.

the vile tormenters did rather broyle hym, then burne him. The Lord geue his enemies repentance.

The vniust execution and Martyrdome of foure burned at S. Edmunds Bury.

IN this yeare aforesaide, which was the last of Queene Maries raigne, D. Hopton beyng B. of Norwich,and D. Spenser bearing the roume of his Chauncellor, about S. Iames tyde, at S. Edmunds bury, were wrongfully put to death foure christian martyrs, to wit:

- Iohn Cooke a Sawyer.
- Rob. Myles aliâs Plummer, a Shereman.and
- Alexander Lane a Wheelewright.
- Iames Ashley, a Bachelor.

The examination of these forenamed persones, beyng seuerally called before the B. of Norwich, & Sir Edward Walgraue with others, was partly vpon these articles followyng.

First,and sir Edward Walgraue called Ioh. Cooke to him and said: How fortuneth it, that you go not to church?

Iohn Cooke sayd: I haue bene there.

Sir Edward said:and what is the cause that you goe not thither now in these dayes?

Iohn Cooke said, because the sacrament of the aultare is an abhominable Idol, and (saith he) the vengeance of God will come vpon all them that do maintaine it.

Sir Edward said: O thou ranke traitor, if I had as good commission to cut out thy tong, as I haue to sit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to haue it cut out. Then cōmanded he the Constable to haue him away, saying: hee was both a traitor and a rebell.

Then he called Rob. Myles, and said:and How fortuneth it that you go not to the church?

Rob. Myles answered, because I will follow no false Gods.

Then said the B. who told thee that it is a God?

Then said Myles: Euen you and such as you are.

Then the B. commaunded him aside, & to appeare before hym the next day.

Then he called Alexan. Lane before him,and asked him how it chanced that he would not go to the church?

He sayd that his conscience would not serue him so to doe.

Then sir Edward said: How doest thou beleeeue.

Then said Lane, euen as it is written in Gods booke.

Then sir Edward commanded him to say his beliefe.

Then the said Lane being somewhat abashed, said his beliefe to these words, which he missed vnwares: Borne of the virgin Mary.

Then sir Edward said: What, was he not born of the virgin Mary?

Yes, sayd Lane, I would haue said so.

[illustration]

Foure burned at S. Edmondsbury.

[Page 2048](#)Nay, said sir Edward, you are one of Cookes scholers and so commanded him away,* and to come before him the next day.

*After the lyke maner they passed also with Iames Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewyse to appeare before them againe. So in fine they appearing againe, had their condemnatiō. And thus these foure blessed Martyrs & seruants of Christ, innocently suffred together at s. Edmundsbury, as is aforesayd, about the beginnyng of August, not long before the sicknes of Queene Mary.

¶The Martyrdome of two godly persons sufferying at Ipswich for the Gospell of Christ and his euerlastyng testament, named Alexander Gouche, and Alice Driuer.

MAister Noone a iustice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martlesham,* huntynge after good men to apprehend them (as he was a bloudy tyraunt in the dayes of triall) at the length had vnderstanding of one Gouche of Woodbridge, & Driuers wyfe of Grosborough, to bee at Grosborough together, a little from his house, immediately tooke his mē with hym and went thether, and made diligent search for them, where the poore man and woman were compelled to step into an hay golph to hide themselues frō their cruelty. At the last they came to search the hay for them, and by gaging thereof with pitchforkes, at the last found them: so they tooke them & led them to Melton Gaole, where, they remainyng a tyme, at the length were caried to Bury, against the Assise at S. Iames tide, and beyng there examined of matters of fayth, did boldly stand to confesse Christ crucified, defyng the Pope with all his papisticall trashe. And among other thyngs Driuers wife likened Queene Mary in her persecution, to Iezabell, and so in that sense callyng her Iezabel, for that sir Clement Higham beyng chiefe Iudge there, adiudged her eares immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she ioyfully yelded her selfe to the punishment, and thought her selfe happy that she was couēted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

After the Assise at Bury, they were caried to Melton Gaole agayne, where they remained a tyme. This Alexāder Gouch was a man of the age of 36. yeares or thereabouts,* and by his occupation was a Weauer of shredding Couerlets, dwellyng at Woodbridge in Suffolke, & borne at Ufford in

the same Countie. Driuers wife was a woman about the age of 30. yeares, & dwelt at Grosborough where they were taken, in Suffolke. Her husband did vse husbandry.* These two were caried from Melton Gaole to Ipswich, where they remayned & were examined. The which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

The examination of Driuers wyfe, before Doct. Spenser the Chauncellor of Norwich.

First, she comming into the place where she should bee examined,* with a smiling countenance. Doct. Spenser said: Why woman, doest thou laugh vs to scorne?

Driuers wyfe.

Whether I do, or no, I might well enough, to see what fooles ye be.

Doct. Spenser.

Then the Chauncellour asked her wherfore she was brought before hym, and why she was layed in prison.

Dry.

Wherefore? I thinke I neede not to tell you: for ye know it better then I.

Spens.

No by my troth woman, I know not why.

Dry.

Then haue ye done me muche wrong (quoth shee) thus to imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no euill that I haue done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I haue done, iustly.

Spenser.

Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed Sacrament of the aultar? Doest thou not beleeeue that it is very flesh and bloud, after the words be spoken of consecration?

Driuers wife at those words helde her peace, & made no answer. Then a great chuffeheaded priest that stood by, spake, and asked her why shee made not the Chauncellour an aunswere. With that, the sayd Driuers wyfe looked vpon hym austerely, and sayde: Why Priest, I come not to talke with thee, but I come to talke with thy Maister:* but if thou wilt I shall talke with thee, commaunde thy Maister to holde his peace. And with that the Priest put his nose in hys cappe, and spake neuer a worde more. Then the Chauncellor bade her make aunswere to that he demaunded of her.

Dry.

Sir (sayd she) pardon me though I make no aunswer, for I cannot tell what you meane thereby: for in all my lyfe I neuer heard nor read of any such Sacrament in all the Scripture.

Spens.

Why, what scriptures haue you read, I pray you.

Dry.

I haue (I thanke God) read Gods booke.

Spens.

Why, what maner of Booke is that you call Gods booke?

Dry.

It is the old and new Testament. What call you it?

Spens.

That is Gods booke in deed, I cannot deny.

Dry.

That same booke haue I read thoroughout,* but yet neuer could find any such sacrament there: & for that cause I cannot make you aunswer to that thing I knowe not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a Sacrament, called the Lords supper: and therefore seyng I haue graunted you a Sacrament, I pray you shew me what a sacrament is.

Spens.

It is a signe. And one D. Gascoine beyng by, confirmed the same, that it was the signe of an holy thing.*

Dry.

You haue sayd the truth sir, sayd she. It is a signe in deede, I must needes graunt it: and therefore seyng it is a signe, it cannot be the thyng signified also. Thus farre we do agree: for I haue graunted your owne saying. Then stode vp the sayd Gascoine, and made an Oration wyth many fayre wordes, but little to purpose, both offensiue & odious to the myndes of the godly. In the ende of which long tale,* he asked her if shee did not beleeeue the omnipotencie of God, and that

he was almighty, and able to performe that he spake. She answered, yes, and said: I do beleue that God is almighty, and able to performe that hee spake and promised.

Gasc.

Uery well. Then he sayd to his disciples: Take, eate, this is my body: Ergo, it was his body.* For he was able to performe that he spake, and God vseth not to lye.

Dry.

I pray you did he euer make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gasc.

Those be the wordes. Can you deny it?

Dry.

No, they be the very wordes in deed, I cannot deny it: but I pray you, was it not breade that hee gaue vnto them?

Gasc.

No, it was his body.

Dry.

Then was it his body that they did eat ouer night.

Gasc.

Yea, it was his body.

Dry.

What body was it then that was crucified the nexte day?

Gasc.

It was Christes body.

Dry.

How could that be,* when his disciples had eaten him vp ouer night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had: one they did eate ouer night, and another was crucified the next day. Such a Doctor, such doctrine. Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In the 22. of Luke, He tooke bread, and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying: Take, &c. and do this in the remembraunce of me. Saint Paule also sayeth, 1. Cor. 11. Do this in the remembraunce of me: for as often as ye shall eate this bread, and drinke this cup, ye shall shewe the Lordes death till he come: and therefore I meruaile ye blushe not before all this people, to lye so manifestly as ye doe. With that Gascoine held his peace, & made her no answer: for,* as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doyngs. Then the Chancellor lift vp his hed of from his cushion, and commanded the Gaoler to take her away.

Dry.

Now, sayd she, ye be not able to resist the truth, ye cōmaund me to prison agayne. Well,* the Lord in the end shal iudge our cause, and to hym I leaue it. Iwisse, iwisse, this geare will go for no payment then. So went she with the Gaoler away.

The second examination of Alice Dryuer.

THE next day she came before them agayne, & the Chancellor then asked her,* what she said to the blessed sacrament of the aulter.

Dry.

I will say nothing to it: for you will neither beleue me nor your selues. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you sayde, it was a signe, and I agreed therto, & sayd, it was the truth, confirming it by the scriptures, so that I went not from your owne words: & now ye come and aske me agayne of such a sacrament as I told you I neuer red of in the scriptures.

Spens.

Thou lyeest naughty woman, we did not say that it was a signe.

Dry.

Why maisters be ye not the mē that you were yesterday? will ye eat your owne wordes? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speake the same?

Then stode vp D. Gascoine & said, she was deceyued: for there were three churches: the malignant church, the [Page 2049](#) church militant, and the church triumphāt. So he would •ame haue made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Dry.

Sir, is there mention made of so many Churches in the scripture?

Gasc.

*Yea.

Dry.

I pray you where find you this word (Church) written in the scripture?

Gasc.

It is written in the new Testament.

Dry

I pray you sir shew the place where it is written.

Gasc.

I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that she desired him to looke in his Testament. Then he fumbled & sought about him for one: but at that tyme he had none & that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At the last she said: Haue ye none here sir?

Gasc.

No.

D•y.

I thought so much in deede, that ye were little acquainted withall. Surely, you be a good Doctor. You say you sit here to iudge accordyng to the law,* and howe can you geue iudgement, & haue not the booke of the law with you? At which words Gascoine was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

Dry.

No, sayd she.

Gasc.

Then sayd he, I am as good a doctor as you.

Dry.

Well sir, I had one, but you tooke it from me (as you would take me from Christ, if you could) and since would ye not suffer me to haue any booke at all: so burnyng is your charitie.* But you

may well know (I thanke God) that I haue exercised the same: Els could I not haue answered you (to Gods glory be it spokē) as I haue. Thus she put them all to silence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to speake.

Dry.

Haue you no more to say? God be honoured. You bee not able to resist the spirit of God in me a poore woman, I was an honest poore mans daughter, neuer brought vp in the vniuersitie as you haue bene,* but I haue driuen the plough before my father many a tyme (I thanke God:) yet notwithstanding in the defence of Gods truth, and in the cause of my maister Christ, by his grace I will set my foote against the foote of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand lyues, it would go for payment thereof.* So the Chancellour rose vp, and red the sentence in Latine of condemnation, and committed her to the secular power, & so went she to prison agayne, as ioyful as the bird of day, praysing and glorifyng the name of God.

¶Alexander Gouche, Martyr.

AT which tyme Alexander Gouch also was examined, who was taken with her, as before is said, whose examination here after followeth.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the Sacrament & other ceremonies of the popish church.* And as for that his beliefe was, that Christ was ascended into heauen, and there remayneth, & that the Sacrament was the remembraunce of his death and passion, and for refusing the Masse, and the Pope to be supreme hed of Christs Church, for these causes was he condemned, & died with Alice Dryuer at Ipswich, the 4. of Nouember which was the Monday after All Saintes, 1558. D. Myles, Spenser beyng Chancellor, they both endyng their lyues with earnest zeale, nothing fearyng to speake their conscience whē they were commaunded to the contrary.

These two godly personnes beyng come to the place where the stake was set by 7. of the clocke in the morning,* notwithstanding they came the selfe same mornyng from Melton Gaole, which is vj. myles from Ipswich, beyng in their prayers, and singyng of Psalmes both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell then beyng Shiriffe, was very much offended with them, and wylled the Bailiffes of Ipswich to bidde them make an ende of their Prayers, they kneelyng vpon a broome fagot, one of the Bailiffes, whose name was Richard Smart, commaunded them to make an ende, saying: On, on, haue done, haue done: make an ende, nayle them to the stake, yet they continued in prayer.

Then sir Henry sent one of his men, whose name is Rich. Coue, that they should make an end.

*Then Gouch stood vp, and sayd vnto the Shiriffe: I pray you M. Shirife let vs pray a litle while, for we haue but a litle tyme to lyue here.

Then said the Bailife: Come of, haue them to the fire.

Then the sayd Gouch and Alice Driuer sayde: Why M. Shiriffe, and M. Bayliffe, wyll you not suffer vs to pray?

Away, said sir Henry, to the stake with them.

Gouch answered: Take heed M. shiriffe. If you forbid praier, the vengeance of God hangeth ouer your heds.

[illustration]

The Martyrdome of Alexander Gouch, and Driuers wyfe.

Then they beyng tied to the stake, and the iron chaine b•yng put about Alice Driuers necke: O (said she) here is a goodly neckerchiefe, blessed be God for it.

Then diuers came & tooke them by the handes as they were bound standing at the stake. The shiriffe cryed, laye hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great nūber ran to the stake. The shirife seyng that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate a Barbour, a busie doer about thē, who hauing thē a freese gowne vpon hym, sold it immediately: saying, it stunke of heretikes,* with other foule wordes moe. After this, within three or foure weekes, Gods hand was vpon hym, and so he dyed very miserably in Ipswich.

The Martyrdome of three which were burned at Bury, for the true testimony of Iesus Christ.

ALthough our history hasteth apace (the Lord be prayd) to the happy death of Queene Mary,* yet she died not so soone, but some there were burned before, and moe should haue bene burnt soone after them, if Gods prouision had not preuented her with death. In the number of them which suffred the same month when Queene Mary died, were three that were burned at Bury, whose names were these:

- Phillip Humfrey.
- Iohn Daid.
- Henry Daid, his brother.

Concernyng the burnyng of these three,* here is to bee noted, that sir Clement Higham about a fortnight before the Queen died, did sue out a writ for the burning of these three aforesayd godly and blessed Martyrs, notwithstanding that the Queene was then known to be past remedie of her sicknesse.

The trouble and Martyrdome of a godly poore woman which suffred at Exeter.

*
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ALthough in such an innumerable company of godly Martyrs, which in sundry quarters of this Realme were put to torments of fire in Q. Maries time, it be hard so exactly to recite euery

particular person that suffred, but that some escape vs eyther vnknown, or omitted: yet I [Page 2050](#) can not passe ouer a certaine poore woman, and a sely creature, burned vnder the sayd queenes reigne, in the City of Exeter (whose name I haue not yet learned:) who dwelling sometime about Cornewall, hauing a husbände and childrē there,* much addicted to the superstitious sect of popery: was many times rebuked of thē, & driuē to go to the church, to their Idols and ceremonies, to shrift, to follow the Crosse in Procession, to geue thanks to God for restoryng Antichrist agayne into this Realme. &c. Which when her spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer vnto God, calling for helpe and mercy, and so at length lying in her bed, about midnight, she thought there came to her a certaine motion and feeling of singuler comfort.* Whereupon in short space, she beganne to grow in contempt of her husband and children, and so taking nothing from them, but euen as she went, departed from them, seeking her lyuing by labor & spinning as well as she could, here & there for a time. In which time notwithstanding she neuer ceased to vtter her minde, as well as she durst: howbeit she at that time was brought home to her husband agayn. Wher at last she was accused by her neighbours, and so brought vp to Exeter, to be presented to the Bishop and his Clergy. The name of the Bishop which had her in examination, was Doctour Troubleuile. His Chauncellour (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chieftest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned, was for the Sacrament (which they call of the Aultar) and for speaking against Idols, as by the declaration of those which were present▪ I vnderstand, which report the talk betwene her and the bishop on this wise.

Bishop.

*Thou foolish woman (quoth the Byshop) I heare say that thou hast spoken certayne words of the most blessed Sacrament of the Aultar, the body of Christ. Fye for shame. Thou art an vnlearned person and a woman: wilt thou meddle with such highe matters, whiche all the Doctours of the worlde can not define? Wilt thou talke of so high misteryes? Keepe thy worke, & medle with that thou hast to do. It is no womans matters, at cardes and towe to be spoken of. And if it be as I am infourmed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Woman.

My Lord (sayde she) I trust your Lordship will heare me speake.

Bish.

Yea mary (quoth he) therefore I send for thee.

Woman.

I am a poore woman & do liue by my hands, getting a peny truely & of that I get I geue part to the poore.

Bish.

That is well done. Art thou not a mans wife?

And here the Bishop entred into talke of her husband.

To whom she answered againe, declaring that she had a husband and children: and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused not, neyther husband, nor children.* But now standing here as I doe (sayd she) in y^e cause of Christ & his trueth, where I must either forsake Christ, or my husband, I am contēted to sticke onely to Christ my heauenly spouse, and renounce the other.

And here she making mention of the words of Christ: He that leaueth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband. &c. the Byshop inferred that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, which dyed because they would not doe sacrifice to the false Gods.

Woman.

Sikerly syr, and I will rather dye then I will do any worship to that foule Idoll, whiche with your Masse you make a God.

Bish.

Yea, you callet, will you say that the sacrament of the aultar is a foule Idoll?

Wom.

*Yea truly, quoth she: there was neuer such an Idoll as your sacramēt is, made of your priestes, & cōmaūded to be worshipped of al mē, with many fōd phantasies, where Christ did commaund it to be eaten & drunken in remembraunce of his most blessed passion our redemption.

Bish.

See this pratling woman. Doest thou not heare, that Christ did say ouer the bread: This is my body, & ouer the cup: This is my blood?

Wom.

Yes forsooth, he sayd so, but he meant that it is hys body and blood not carnally, but sacramentally.

Bish.

Loe, she hath heard pratling among these new preachers, or heard some peeuish book. Alas poore womā, thou art deceiued.

Wom.

No, my Lorde, that I haue learned, was of Godly preachers,* & of godly books which I haue heard read. And if you will geue me leaue, I will declare a reason why I will not worship the sacrament.

Bish.

Mary say on, I am sure it will be goodly geare.

Woman.

Truely such geare as I will loose this poore life of mine for.

Bish.

Then you will be a martyr good wife.

Woman.

In deed if the denying to worshippe that bready God be my martyrdome, I will suffer it with all my hart.

Bish.

Say thy minde.

Wom.

You must beare with me a poore woman, quoth she.

Bish.

So I will, quoth he.

Woman.

I will demaunde of you, whether you can denye your creed, which doth say, that Christ perpetually doth sit at the right hand of his father both body & soule, vntill he come againe, or whether he be there in heauē our aduocate & do make prayer for vs vnto God his father. If it be so, he is not here in the earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, & if he do not dwel in temples made with hands, but in heauen, what shall we seeke him here? if he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? if w^t once offring he made al perfect, why do you with a false offring make al vnperfect? if he be to be worshipped in spirite and truth, why doe you worship a piece of bread? if he be eaten & drunkē in faith & truth, if his flesh be not profitable to be among vs, why do you say, you make his body and fleshe, and say it is profitable for body & soule?

Alas, I am a poore woman: but rather then I would do as you doe, I would liue no longer. I haue sayd syr.

Bish.

I promise you, you are a iolly protestant, I pray you in what schooles haue you bene brought vp?

Wom.

I haue vpon the sondayes visited the sermons, and there haue I learned suche thinges, as are so fixed in my brest that death shall not separate them.

Bish.

O foolish woman, who wil wast his breath vpō thee or such as thou art? But how chaunceth it that thou wentest away from thy husbände? if thou were an honest woman, thou wouldest not haue left thyne husband and children, and runne about the country like a fugitiue.

Wom.

Syr, I laboured for my liuing: And as my mayster Christ counselleth me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled vnto another.

Bish.

Who persecuted thee?

Wom.

My husband and my children.* For when I woulde haue him to leaue Idolatry, and to worship God in heauen, he would not heare me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft, but because I would be no partaker with him & his, of that foule Idoll the Masse. And whersoever I was, as oft as I could vpon sondayes and holy dayes I made excuses not to go to the popish church.

Bish.

Belike thē you are a good houswife, to flee from your husband, and also from the church.

Wom.

My houswifry is but small but God geue me grace to go to the true church.

Bish.

The true church: what doest thou meane?

Woman.

Not your Popish Church, full of Idolles and abominations, but where three or foure are gathered together in the name of God, to that Church wil I go as long as I liue.

Bish.

Belike then you haue a Church of your owne. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison, vntil we send for her husband.

Wom.

No, I haue but one husband, which is here already in this city and in prison with me, from whom I will neuer depart: and so theyr communication for that day brake of. Blackstone and others perswaded the Bishop that she was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wit (which is no new thing, for the wisdom of God to appere foolishnes to carnall men of this world) & therefore they consulted together, that she should haue liberty and go at large. So the keper of the bishops prison had her home to his house, where shee fell to spinning and carding, and did all other worke as a seruant in the said kepers house & went about the city, when and whither she would, and diuers had delight to talke with her. And euer shee continued talking of the sacrament of the aultar. Which, of all thing they coulde least abide. Then was her husband sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence wherof she there stood before the Bishop and the priestes.

Then diuers of the Priestes had her in handling,* perswading her to leaue her wicked opinion about the sacrament of the aultar, the naturall body and bloud of our Sauour Christ. But she made them aunsweare, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the naturall body of Christ, which bread doth vinow, and Mice oftentimes do eate it, and it doth •ould & is burned: And (sayde she) Gods owne body wyll not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes, or aumbries. Let it be your God: it shall not be mine: for my Sauour sitteth on the right hand of God, & doth pray for me. And to make that sacramētal or significatiue bread instituted for a remēbrance, the very bodye of Christ, and to worship it, it is very foolishnes and deuillish deceit.

Now truly (sayd they) the deuill hath deceiued thee.

No (sayd she) I trust the liuing God hath opened mine [Page 2051](#) eyes, and caused me to vnderstand the right vse of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth vse, but the false church doth abuse.

Then stept forth an old Frier, and asked what she said of the holy Pope.*

I (sayd she) say that he is Antichrist and the deuill.

Then they all laughed.

Nay (sayde she) you had more neede to weepe then to laugh, & to be sory that euer you were borne, to be the chapeines of that whore of Babilon. I defie him and all hys falshood: and get you away frō me: you do but trouble my conscience. You would haue me folow your doinges: I will first loose my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou foolish woman (sayd they) we come to thee for thy profite and soules health.

O Lord God (sayd she) what profite riseth by you that teach nothing but lyes for trueth? how saue you Soules, when you preach nothing but damnable lyes, and destroy soules.

How prouest thou that (sayd they?)

Do you not damne soules (sayd she) when you teache the people to worship Idolles, Stockes, and Stones, the worke of mens handes? and to worship a false GOD of your owne making, of a piece of breade, and teach that the Pope is Gods Uicar, and hath power to forgeue sinnes? and that there is a Purgatory, when Gods sonne hath by his Passion purged all? and say, you make God and sacrifice him, when Christes bodye was a Sacrifice once for all? ^{*} Doe you not teach the people to number theyr sinnes in your eares, and say they be damned, if they confesse not all: when Gods word sayth: Who can number hys sinnes? Do you not promise them Trentals and Diriges, & masses for soules, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inuentions of your owne imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Doe you not teache vs to pray vpon Beades, and to pray vnto Sayntes, and say they can pray for vs? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray Deuils? Doe you not a thousand more abhominatiōs? And yet you say, you come for my profite and to saue my soule. No, no, one hath saued me. Farewell you with your saluation. Muche other talke there was betwene her and them, which here were too tedious to be expressed.

In the meane time during this her monethes libertye graunted to her by the Byshop, which we spake of before, it happened that she entring in saynt Peters Church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman how he made new noses to certayne fine Images whiche were disfigured in Kyng Edwardes time: What a madde man art thou (sayde she) to make them new noses, which within a few dayes shall all lose theyr heades. The Dutchman accused her, & layde it hard to her charge. And she sayd vnto him: Thou art accursed, and so are thy Images. He called her Whoore. Nay (sayd she) thy Images are Whoores, and thou art a Whore hunter: for doth not GOD say: You go a whoryng after straunge Gods, figures of your owne making? and thou art one of them. Then was she sent for, and clapped fast: and from that time she had no more liberty.

Duringe the time of her imprisonment, diuers resorted to her, ^{*} to visit her, some sent of the byshop, some of their owne voluntary will: amongst whō was one Daniell a great doer and preacher sometimes of the Gospell, in the dayes of king Edward, in those parties of Cornewall and Deuonshyre, whom after that she perceiued by his owne confession, to haue reuolted from that whiche he preached before, through the grieuous imprisonmentes (as he sayd) and feare of persecution, whiche he had partly susteined by the cruell Iustices in those parties, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreouer, there resorted to her a certeine worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Rauley, a womā of noble wit, and of a good & godly opinon, came to the prisō & talked with her: she sayd her creede to the gentlewoman, & when she came to the Article· He ascended: there she stayed, and bade the Gentlewoman to seeke his blessed bodye in heauen, not in earth, & told her playnly that God dwelleth not in temples made with handes, & that sacrament to be nothing els but a remembrance of his blessed passion, & yet (sayd she) as they now vse it, it is but an Idoll, & far wide from any remembrance of Christes body? which (sayd she) will not long continue, & so take it good maistres. So that as soone as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life, she neuer heard a woman (of such simplicity to see to) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, & so earnestly: in so much that if God were not with her, shee could not speak such things: to the which I am not able to answere her (sayd she) who can read, and she can not.

Also there came to her one William Kede,* and Iohn his brother, not onely brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that Country of great credite, whose father Robert Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the Gospell. These two good and faythfull brethrē were present with her, both in the hall and also at the prison, & (as they reported) they neuer heard the like woman: of so godly talke, so faythfull, or so constant, & as godly exhortations she gaue them.

Thus this good matrone, the very seruant and handmayd of Christ,* was by many wayes tried both by harde prisonment, threatninges, tauntes, and scornes, called an Anabaptist, a madde woman, a drunkard, a whoore▪ a runnagate. She was prooued by liberty to goe whither she would: she was tryed by flattery, with many fayre promises: she was tryed with her husband, her goodes and childred, but nothing could preuayle: her hart was fixed, shee had cast her anker, vtterly contēning this wicked world: A rare ensample of constancy to all professors of Christes holy Gospell.

In the bill of my Information, it is so reported to me, that albeit shee was of suche simplicity and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but she would tell you the Chapter: yea, she woulde recite to you the names of all the bookes of the Bible. For whiche cause one Gregory Basset a rancke Papist, sayd, she was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture,* as a dogge rangeth farre of from his mayster whē he walketh in the fieldes, or as a stolen sheepe out of his maisters handes, she wist not wherat, as all heretickes do, with many other such tātes, which she vtterly defyed.* Whereby as almighty God is highly to be prayed, working so mightely in such a weake vessell: so men of stronger and stouter nature, haue also to take example how to stand in like case: whē as we see this poore woman, how manfully she went through with such constancy and pacience.

At the last, when they perceiued her to be past remedy, and had consumed all theyr threatninges, that by neyther prisonmēt nor liberty, by manaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doinges, then they cryed out, An Anabaptist, an Anabaptist. Then at a daye they brought her from the Bishops prison to the Guildhall,* & after that deliuered her to the tēporall power, according to their custome, where shee was by the Gentlemen of the countrey exhorted yet to call for grace, & to leaue her fond opinions: And go home to thy husband (sayd they:) thou art an vnlearned woman, thou art not able to answere to such high matters.

I am not, sayd she: yet with my death I am content to be a witnes of Christs death: and I pray you make no lōger delay with me: my hart is fixed, I will neuer otherwise say, nor turne to theyr superstitious doinges.

Then the bishop sayd, the deuill did lead her.

No my Lord (sayd she) it is the spirite of God whiche leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, & at midnight opened his truth to me. Thā was there a great shout and laughing among the priestes and other.

During the time that this good poore woman was thus vnder these priestes handes, amongst many other baytinges and sore conflictes whiche she susteyned by thē, here is moreouer not to be forgotten, howe that Mayster Blaxton aforesayd, being treasurer of the Church, had a concubine which sundry times resorted to him, with other of his gossips: so that alwayes when they came, this sayde good woman was called forth to his house, there to make his miniō with the rest of the company some myrth, he examining her with suche mocking & gyruing, deriding the truth, that it would haue vexed any christian hart to haue seene it. Then when he had long vsed his foolishnes in this sort, & had sported himselfe enough in deriding this christian martyr: in the end he sent her to prison agayne, and there kept her very miserablie, sauing that sometimes he would send for her, when his foresayd guest came to him, to vse with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in sine, these vile wretches (after many combates and scoffing per|swasions) whē they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, at length condemned her, and deliuered her ouer to the secular power.

Then the Indictment beyng geuen and read, whiche was, that she should go to the place whence she came,* and from thence to be led to the place of execution, then & there to bee burned with flames till shee shoulde bee consumed: shee lifted vppe her voyce and thanked GOD, saying: I thanke thee my Lord my God, this daye haue I founde that which I haue long sought. But such outcries as ther were agayne, and such mockings were neuer seene vpō a poore seely woman: Al which she most paciently took. And [Page 2052](#) yet this fauour they pretended after her iudgement, that her life should be spared, if she would turne & recant. Nay, that will I not (sayd she:) God forbyd that I shoulde loose the life eternall for this carnall and shorte life. I wyll neuer turne from my heauenly husband, to my earthly husband: from the feloshippe of aungels, to mortall children: And if my husband and children be faythfull, then am I theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman, God is my frend moste faythfull.

Then was she deliuered to the Shiriffe, & innumerable people beholding her,* she was led by the officers to the place of executiō, without the walles of Exeter, called Sothenhey, where agayne these superstitious priestes assaulted her: and she prayed them to haue no more talke wyth her, but cryed still, God be merciful to me a sinner, God be mercifull to me a sinner. And so whiles they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would geue no answeere to thē, but with much pacience tooke her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire consumed: and so ended

[illustration]

¶The cruell burning of a woman at Exeter.

* this mortall life as cōstant a woman in the fayth of Christ, as euer was vpon the earth. She was as simple a womā to see to as any man might beholde: of a very little & short stature, somewhat thicke, about 54. yeares of age. She had a chearefull countenance, so liuely, as though she had bene prepared for that day of her mariage to meete the Lambe: most pacient of her wordes & answeres, sober in apparel, meat & drinke, and would neuer be idle: a great comfort to as many as would talke with her: good to the poore: and in her trouble, mony, she sayde, she woulde take none: for she sayd, I am going to a city wher mony beareth no maistry: whiles I am here, God hath promised to feede me. Thus was her mortall life ended. For whose constancie God be euerlastingly prayed. Amen.

Touching the name of this woman (as I haue nowe learned) she was the wife of one called Prest, dwelling in the Dioces of Exeter, not farre from Launceston.

¶The Persecution and Martyrdome of three godly men burnt at Bristow, about the latter yeares of Queene Maries reigne.

IN writing of the blessed Sayntes, which suffered in the bloody dayes of queene Mary,* I had almost ouerpassed the names and story of three godly Martyrs, whiche with theyr bloud gaue testimony likewise to y^e gospell of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristow. The names of whom were these:

- Richard Sharpe.
- Thomas Benion.
- *Thomas Hale.

First, Richarde Sharpe Weauer, of Bristowe,* was brought the 9. day of Marche. an. 1556. before M. Dalbye Chauncellour of the Towne or City of Bristow, and after examination concerning the sacrament of the aultar, was perswaded by the sayde Dalbye and others, to recant, and the 29. of the same moneth was enioyned to make his recantation before the Parishioners in his parish Church. Which whē he had done, he felt in his cōscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to worke in his occupation, but decayed and chaunged, both in colour and liking of his body. Who shortly after vpon a sonday came into his parish Church, called Temple, & after high masse, came to the queere doore & sayd with a loud voyce: Neighbors, beare me recorde that yonder Idoll (and poynted to the aultar) is the greatest and most abhominable that euer was: and I am sory that euer I denied my Lord GOD. Then the Constables were commaunded to apprehende him, but none stepped forth, but suffered him to goe out of the Church. After by night he was apprehended and caried to Newgate, & shortly after, he was brought before the sayd Chauncellor,* denying the sacrament of the aultar to be the body & bloud of Christ, & sayd, it was an Idoll, and therfore was cōdemned to be burnt by the sayd Dalby, He was burnt the 7. of May. 1557. and dyed godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our fayth.

¶Thomas Hale, Martyr.

THE Thursday in the night, before Easter .1557. came one M. Daudid Herris Alderman, & Iohn Stone,* to y^e house of one Thomas Hale, a Shoomaker, of Bristowe, & caused him to rise out of his bedde, & brought hym foorth of his dore. To whō y^e said Tho. Hale said: You haue sought

my blood these two yeares, & now much good do it you w^t it. Who being committed to the watchmen, was caried to Newgate, the 24. of April, the yere aforesaid was brought before M. Dalby the Chancelor committed by him to prison, & after by him condemned to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar to be an Idoll. He was burned the 7. of May, with the foresayd Rich. Sharpe, & godly, patiently, and constantly embracing the fire with his armes.

[illustration]

Two Godly Martyrs burned at Bristow.

*

Richard Sharpe & Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound backe to backe.

Thomas Benion.

THomas Benion a Weauer, at the commaundement of the Commissioners, was brought by a Constable,* the thirteenth daye of August. 1557. before Mayster Dalbye Chauncellour of Bristow, who committed him to pryson for saying there was nothing but bread in the Sacrament as they vsed it. Wherefore, the twenty day of the sayd August he was condemned to be burnt by the sayd Dalby, for denying fiue of theyr Sacramentes, and affirming two, [Page 2053](#) that is: the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the Sacrament of Baptisme. He was burnt the seuen and twenty of the sayd moneth and yere, and dyed godly,

[illustration]

Thomas Benion burned at Bristow.

* constantly and patiently, with confessing the articles of our christian fayth.

¶The Martyrdome of fiue constant Christians, which suffered the last of all other in the time of Queene Mary.

*The last that suffred in Queene Maries time, were fiue at Caunterburye, burned about sixe dayes before the death of Queene Mary, whose names follow here vnder written.

- Iohn Corneford, of Wortham.
- Christopher Browne, of Maydstone.
- Iohn Herst, of Ashford.
- *Alice Snoth.
- Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

These fiue, to close vp the finall rage of queene Maries persecution,* for the testimony of that word, for whiche so many had died before, gaue vp theyr liues, meekly and patiently suffering the violent malice of the Papistes. Which Papists although they then might haue either well spared them, or els deferred theyr death, knowing of the sicknesse of Queene Mary: yet such was

the implacable despite of that generation, that some there be that say, the Archdeacō of Canterbury the same time being at London, & vnderstanding the daunger of the Queene, incontinently made al post hast home to dispatch these, whom before he had thē in his cruell custody.

The matter why they were iudged to the fire, was for beleuing the body not to be in the sacrament of the aulter,* vnlesse it be receiued, saying moreouer that we receiue an other thing also beside Christes body, which we see, and is a temporall thing, according to S. Paule: The thinges that be sene, be temporall. &c.

Item, for confessing that an euill man doth not receiue Christes body: Because no man hath the sonne, except it be geuen him of the father.

Item, that it is Idolatry to creepe to the crosse and S. Iohn forbidding it, sayth, Beware of Images.

Itē, for confessing that we should not pray to our Lady and other Sayntes, because they be not omnipotent.

For these and such other articles of Christian doctrine, were these fiue committed to the fire. Agaynst whom whē the sentence shoulde be read, and they excommunicate, after the maner of the papistes,* one of them, Iohn Cornford by name, styrrred with a vehemēt spirit of the zeale of god, proceeding in a more true excōmunication agaynst the papistes, in the name of them all, pronounced sentēce against them, in these wordes as folow.

In the name of our Lord Iesus Christ the sonne of the most mighty God, and by the power of his holy spirite,* & the authority of his holy catholick & Apostolick church, we do geue here into th• handes of Satan, to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers & hereticks, that do mainteine any error agaynst his most holy word, or do cōdemne his most holy truth for heresy, to the mainteinaunce of any false Churche or fayned Religion, so that by this thy iuste iudgement, O most mighty God, against thy aduersaries, thy true religion may be knowne, to thy great glory, and our comfort, and to the edifying of al our natiō. Good Lord so be it. Amen.

This sentence of excommunication beyng the same time openly pronounced and registred, proceeding so, as it seemeth from an inwarde fayth and hartye zeale to Gods trueth and Religion, tooke such effect agaynst the enemye, that within sixe dayes after, Queene Mary dyed, and the tyranny of all Englishe Papistes with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the sicknes and death of that queene, wherof they were not ignorant, yet the Archdeacon, with other of Caunterbury,* thought to dispatch the Martyrdome of these men before.

[illustration]

¶The burning of fiue Martyrs at Caunterbury.

*

In the which fact, the tyranny of this Archdeacon seemeth to exceede the crueltye of Boner: who notwithstanding he had certayne the same time vnder his custodie, yet he was not so importune

in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Liuing and his wife, and diuers other, who being the same time vnder the custody and daunger of Boner, deliuered by the death of Queene Mary, remayne yet some of them aliue.

These godly martirs in theyr prayers which they made before their martirdome, desired God y^t theyr bloud might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This Katherine Tynley was the mother of one Robert Tynley now dwelling in Maydstone, which Robert was in trouble all Queene Maryes time. To whom hys Mother comming to visite him, asked him how he tooke this place of Scripture (which she had seene, not by reading of the Scripture, for she had yet in maner no taste of Religion, but had found it by chaunce in a Booke of prayers: I will poure out my spirite vpon all flesh, and your sonnes and your daughters shall prophesy: your olde men shall dreame dreames, and your young men shall see visions.*And also vpon the seruantes, and vpon the maydes in those dayes will I poure my spirite. &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the Gospell, growing more and more in zeale and loue thereof, and so continued vnto her Martyrdome.

Among such young women as were burned at Caunterbury, it is recorded of a certayne mayd, and supposed to be this Alice Snoth here in this story mentioned,* or els to be Agnes Snoth aboue storied, pag. 1751. (for they were [Page 2054](#) both burned) that when she was brought to bee executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The Iustice hearing her, sent for thē, but they durste not come. Notwithstanding the Iustice willed the messēger to go agayne, and to shew them that they should incur no daunger therfore.

Then they hearing that, came to knowe the matter of theyr sending for.* When the maide saw them, she asked thē what they had promised for her: and so she immediatly rehearsed her fayth, and the commaundements of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalfe: and they sayd no.

Then sayd shee: I dye a Christian woman: beare witnes of me, and so cruelly in fire was she consumed, & gaue ioyfully her life vp for the testimony of Christes Gospell, to the terrour of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the stopping of the sclauderous mouthes of suche, as falsly doe quarrell agaynst these faythfull Martyrs for going from that religion wherein by theyr Godfathers & Godmothers they were first baptised.

¶The story and condemnation of Iohn Hunt, and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but by the death of Queene Mary escaped the fire.

BESides these Martyrs aboue named, diuers there were in diuers other places of the Realme imprisoned,* whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined, some begon to be examined but were not yet condemned, certayne both examined and condemned but for lacke of the writ escaped.

Other there were also, both condemned, and the writ also was brought downe for theyr burning, and yet by the death of the Chaūcellor, the bishop, and of Queene Mary happening together about one time, they most happely & maruellously were preserued and liued many yeres after. In

the number of whom was one Iohn Hunt and Rich. White imprisoned at Salisbury. Touching which historie something here is to be shewed.

First these two good men and faythfull seruauntes of the Lord aboue named, to wit, Iohn Hunt, and Richarde White had remayned long time in prison at Salisbury, & other places therabout, the space of two yeaes and more. During which time, oft times they were called to examination, & manifold waies were impugned by the Bishop, and the Priestes. All whose examinations, as I thoughte not much needefull here to prosecute or to searche out, for the length of the volume: so neither agayne did I thinke it good to leaue no memorye at all of the same, but some part to expresse, namely of the examination of Richarde White before the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Glocester, with the Chauncellour and other Priestes, not vnworthy perchaunce to be rehearsed.

***The examination of Richard White, before the Byshop of Salisbury in his chamber in Salisbury, the 26. day of Aprill. an. 1557.**

*The Bishop of Salisbury at that time was Docor Capon. The Bishop of Glocester was Doctor Brookes. These with Doctour Geffrey the Chauncelour of Salisbury, and a great number of Priestes sitting in iudgemēt, Richarde White was brought before them. With whome first the Bishop of Glocester, which had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Bishop Brookes.

Is this the prisoner?

The chauncellour.

Yea my Lord.

Brookes.

Frend, wherefore camest thou hether?

White.

My Lord I trust to know y^e cause, for y^e lawe saith: in the mouth of two or three witnesses things must stand.

Doctour Capon.

Did not I examine thee of thy fayth whē thou camest hether?

White.

No my Lord, you did not examine me, but cōmaūded me to the Lollardes Tower, and that no man should speake with me. And now I do require mine accuser.

*Then the Register said: the Maior of Marlborow did apprehend you for wordes that you spake there, & for that I commaunded you to be conueyed hither to prison.

White.

You had the examination of me in Marlborow. Say you what I haue sayd. And I will aunswere you.

Geffray.

Thou shalt confesse thy fayth ere thou depart, and therefore say thy minde freely, and be not ashamed so to do.

White.

I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, because it is the power of God to saluation vnto all that beleue, & S. Peter sayth: If any man do aske thee a reasō of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct aunswere, and that with meekenes. Who shall haue the examination of me?

Chaunc.

My Lord of Glocester shall haue the examinatiō of thee.

White.

My Lorde, will you take the paynes to wet your coate in my bloud? be not guilty thereof: I warne you before hand.

Brookes.

I will do nothing to the contrary to our law.

White.

My Lorde, what is it that you doe request at my handes?

Brookes

I will appose thee vpon certayne articles, & principally vpon the sacramēt of y^e aultar? How doest thou beleue of the blessed Sacrament of the aultar? Beleuest thou not the reall, * and corporall presence of Christ in the same, euen the very same Christ that was borne of the virgine Mary, that was hanged on the Crosse, and that suffe'red for our sinnes? (and at these words they al put of their cappes and bowed theyr bodyes.)

White.

My Lord what is a Sacrament.

Brookes.

It is the thing it selfe the which it representeth.

White.

My Lord that can not be, for he that representeth a Prince can not be the Prince himselfe.

Brookes.

How many sacraments findest thou in the scriptures called by the name of Sacramentes?

White.

I finde 2. Sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of the sacramentes. But I thinke S. Augustine gaue them the first name of Sacramentes.

Brookes.

Then thou findest not that word sacramēt in the Scriptures.

White.

No my Lord.*

Brookes.

Did not Christ say: This is my body? and are not his words true?

White.

I am sure the wordes are true, but you play by me as the deuill did by Christ, for he sayd, If thou be. Mat. 4. For it is. &c. Psal. 91.* But the words that folowed after he clean left out, which are these: Thou shalt walke vpon the Lion and Aspe. &c. These woordes the Deuill lefte out because they were spoken agaynst hymselfe: and euen so doe you recite the Scriptures.

Brookes.

Declare thy fayth vpon the Sacrament.

White.

Christ and his Sacramentes are like,* because of the natures, for in Christ are 2. natures, a diuine and a humane nature: so likewise in the Sacrament of Cristes body and bloud, there be two natures: the which I deuide into 2. partes, that is, externall and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of S. Austine. The internal part is the inuisible grace which by the same is represented. So is there an externall receiuing of the same Sacrament, & an internall. The externall is with the hande, the eye, the mouth, and the eare.* The internall is the holy ghost in the hart, which worketh in me fayth. Wherby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying the same wholly vnto my saluation. If this bee truth beleue it, and if it be not, reprove it.

Doct. Hoskins.

This is Oecolampadius doctrine, & Hooper taught it to the people.

Brokes.

Doest thou not beleue that after the wordes of cōsecration there is the naturall presence of Christes body?

White.

My Lord, I will aunswere you, if you wyll aunswere me to one question. Is not this article of our beliefe true: He sitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty? if he be come from thence to iudgement, say so.

Brokes.

No. But if thou wilt beleue the Scriptures, I will proue to thee that Christe was both in heauen and in earth at one time.*

White.

As he is God, he is in all places: but as for hys manhood, he is but in one place.

Brokes.

S. Paule sayth. 1. Cor. 15. Last of all he was seene of me. &c. Here S. Paule sayth he sawe Christ, and S. Paule was not in heauen.

White.

S. Pauls chief purpose was by this place to proue the resurrection. But how do you proue that Christ when he appered to S. Paule, was not still in heauen: like as he was sene of Stephen, sitting at the right hand of God? S. Augustine sayth the head that was in heauen dyd crye for the body and members which were on the earth & said Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And

was not Paule taken vp into the thyrd heauen where hee might see Christ▪ as he witnesseth. Cor. 15. For there he doth but onely saye that he saw Christ, but concerning the place, hee speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of scripture proueth not that Christ was both in heauen and earth at one tyme.

Brokes.

I told you before he woulde not beleue. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholickes.* If you the Oecolampadians haue the truth: then the Lutherians & we the catholickes be out of the way. If the Lutherians haue the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholickes be out of the way. But if we the catholicks haue the truth, as we [Page 2055](#) haue in deede, then the Lutherians and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way: as ye are in deede, for the Lutherians do call you heretickes.

White.

My Lorde, ye haue troubled me greatly wyth the Scriptures.

Brokes.

Did I not tell you it was not possible to remoue him from his errorr? Away with him to the Lollardes Tower, and dispatch him as soone as ye can.

This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations I had after this, which I haue no tyme now to write out.

*Amongest many other examinatiōs of the foresaid Richard White, at diuers and sondry times susteined, it happened one time, that Doctour Blackston Chancellour of Exeter sa•e vpon him, with diuers other, who alledging certayne Doctors, as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Tertullian, agaynst the sayd Richard, and being reproued by hym for his false patching of the Doctors, fell in such a quaking, & shaking (his conscience belike remorsing him) that he was fayne, •lowping downe, to laye both his handes vpon his knees. to stay his body from trembling.

Then the sayd Iohn Hunt and Richard White, after many examinatiōs and long captiuity, at length were called for and brought before Doctour Geffrey the Byshops Chancellor,* there to be condemned, and so they were. The high Sheriffe at that present was one named Syr Anthony Hungerford, who being thē at the Sessions, was there charged with these two condēned persōs, with other, malefactours there condemned likewise the same time, to see the execution of death ministred vnto them.

In the meane tyme M. Clifforde of Boscon in Wiltshyre,* sonne in law to the sayd Syr Anthony Hungerford the Shiriffe, commeth to his father, exhorting him & counselling him earnestly in no case to medle with the death of these two innocent persons: and if the Chauncellour and Priestes would needes be instant vpon him, yet he should first require the writ to be sent downe De comburendo, for his discharge.

Syr Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and vnderstanding Iustice Browne to be in the town the same time, went to him to aske his aduise & coūsel in the matter: who told him that without the writ sent downe from the superiour powers, he could not be discharged: and if the writte were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The Sheriffe vnderstanding by Iustice Browne how farre he might go by the lawe,* and hauing at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next daye after taking his horse departed.

The Chauncellor all this while maruelling what the Sheriffe ment, and yet disdayning to go vnto him but looking rather the other should haue come first to him, at last hearing that he was ridden, taketh his horse and rideth after him: who at length ouertaking the said Sheriffe, declareth vnto him, how he had committed certaine condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had bene to haue sene execution done vpon the same: which for that he had not done, the matter he sayd, was great, and therefore wyllled him to look well vnto it how he would aunswere the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherin note, gentle Reader, by the way, the close and couert hypocrisy of the Papistes in theyr dealinges.* Who in the forme and stile of their owne sentence cōdemnatory. pretend a petition vnto the seculer power, In visceribus Iesu Christi, vt iuris rigor mitigetur, atque vt parcatur vitae, That is, That the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that their life may be spared. And how standeth this now with their owne doinges and dealinges,* when this Chauncellour (as ye see) is not onely contented to geue Sentence agaynst them, but also hunteth here after the Officer, not suffering him to spare them, although he would? What dissimulation is this of men, goyng and doying contrarye to their owne wordes and profession? But let vs returne to our matt•• agayne.

The Sheriffe hearing the Chaūcellours wordes, and seeing him so vrging vpon him, tolde him agayne that he was no babe, which nowe was to be taught of hym. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, saith the Chauncellour, did not I geue you a writ, with my hande and 8. moe of the Close set vnto the same? Well quoth the Sheriffe that is no sufficient discharge to me, and therefore as I told you, if ye haue a sufficient writ and warrant frō the superiour powers, I know then what I haue to do in my office: otherwise, if you haue no other writ but that, I tell you, I wil neither burne them for you nor none of you all. &c.

Where note agayne (good Reader) how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poore Saintes and Martyrs of God,* such as had bene burned at Salisbury before, were burned belike without any authorised or sufficient writ from the superiours, but onely vpon the information, of the Chauncellour and of the Close, through the vncircumspect negligence of the Sheriffes, which shoulde haue looked more substantially vpon the matter. But this I leaue and referre vnto the Magistrates. Let vs returne to the story agayne.

Doct. Geffrey

the Chauncellour thus sent away from the Sheriffe, went home, and there fel sicke vpon the same (for anger belike) as they signified vnto me, whiche were the partyes themselues, both godly and

graue persons, who were then condemned, the one of them,* which is Richarde White being yet aliue.

The vnder Sheriffe to this Syr Anthony Hūgerford aboue named, was one M. Michell, likewise a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burne the aboue named Rich. White,* & Iohn Hunt, but the vnder Sheriffe receiuing the said writ, sayd I will not be guilty (quoth he) of these mens blood, & immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. With in 4. dayes after the Chauncellour dyed. Concerning whose death this cōmeth by the way to be noted, that the 2. foresaid Iohn Hunt and Richard White being the same time in a lowe and darcke Dungeon, being Saterdag, toward euening (according to theyr accustomed maner) fell to euening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they should begin theyr prayer,* sodēly fel both to such a straūge weeping & tendernes of hart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one word, but so cōtinued a great space brusting out in teares. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first word they heard, was that the Chauncellour theyr great enemy was dead. The tyme of whose death they found to be the same houre, whē as they fell in such a sodeyne weeping. The Lord in all his holy workes be praysed. Amen. Thus mucche concerning the death of that wicked Chauncellour.

This Richard White, and the sayd Iohn Hunt, after the death of the Chauncellour, the Byshop also being dead a litle before, continued still in prison til the happy cōming in of Queene Elizabeth: and so were set at liberty.

***The Martyrdome of a young lad of eight yeaes olde, scourged to death in Bishop Boners house in London.**

IF bloody torm•ntes and cruell death of a poore innocent suffering for no cause of his owne,* but in the trueth of Christ and his Religion, do make a Martyr, no lesse deserueth the child of one Iohn Fetty, to be reputed in y^e Catalogue of holy Martirs, who in the house of Bishop Boner vnmercifully was scourged to death, as by the sequele of this story here folowing may appeare.

Amongest those that were persecuted & miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christes Gospell, & ye• mercifully deliuered by the prouidence of God, there was one Iohn Fetty, a simple and godly poore man dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwell, & was by vocation a Taylor, of the age of 42. yeres or therabout, who was accused and complained of, vnto one Brokenbury a priest & a parson of the same parish, by his own wife, for that he would not come vnto the church, & be partaker of theyr Idolatry & superstition: & therfore through y^e sayd priestes procurement, he was apprehēded by Rich. Tanner & his fellow, constables there, and one Martin the Hedborough.* Howbeit immediatly vpō his apprehēsiō, his wife (by the iust iudgemēt of God) was stricken mad, and distract of her wits: which declared a maruelous exāple of the iustice of God agaynst such vnfaythfull and most vnnaturall treachery. And although this example perhaps for lack of knowledge & instruction in such cases little moued the consciences of those simple poore mē• to surcease their persecutiō: yet natural pity towards that vngratefull woman, wrought so in theyr harts that for the preseruatiō & sustentatiō of her & her 2. children (like otherwise to perishe) they for that present let her husband alone and would not cary him to prison, but yet suffered him to remayne quietly in his own house. During whiche time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and vnkinde fact of his wife, did yet so cherish and prouide for her,

that within the space of three weekes (through Gods mercifull prouidence) she was well amēded, and had recouered agayne some stay of her wits and senses.

But suche was the power of Sathan in the malicious hart of that wicked woman, that notwithstanding his gētle dealing with her, yet she so soone as she had recouered some health, did agayne accuse her husband: * whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and caryed vnto Syr [Page 2056](#) Iohn Mordaunt Knight, one of the Queenes Commissioners, and he vppon examination sent him by Cluny the Bishops Sumner, vnto the Lollardes Tower: where he was (euen at the first) put into the paynefull stockes, and ha• a dish of water set by him, * with a stone put into it. To what purpose God knoweth, except it were to shew that he shuld look for litle other sustenance. Which is credible inough, if we consider their like practises vpon diuers before mentioned in this history, as amongst other (vppon Richard Smith, who dyed through theyr cruel imprisonmēt. Touching whom, when a godly woman came vnto Doct. Story to haue leaue y^t she might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or bloud in his mouth: but what he ment therby, I leaue to the iudgement of y^e godly wise.

After the foresayd Fetty had thus layn in the prison by the space of xv. dayes, hanging in the stockes, sometye by the one legge and the one arme, sometime by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy, of the age of eight or nine yeares) came vnto y^e Bishoppes house to see if he could get leaue to speak with his father. * At his comming thether, one of the Bishoppes Chaplaynes met with him and asked him what he lacked, and whome he would haue. The childe answered that hee came to see his father. The Chaplayne asked agayne, who was his father. The boy then tolde him and poynting towards Lollardes Tower, shewed him that his father was there in prison. Why (quoth the priest) thy father is an hereticke. The childe being of a bold and quicke spirit, and also godly brought vp and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered & sayd: my father is no here'tick: but you are an heretick: For you haue Balams mark

*With that the Priest tooke the childe by the hand, & caried him into the Bishops house (whether to the Bishop, or not, I know not, but like enough he did) & there amōgest them they did most shamelesly and without all pitty, so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender childe, that he was all in a gore bloud, and then, in a ioly brag of their Catholicke tyranny, they caused Cluny, hauing his coate vpon his arme, to cary the childe in his shyrt vnto his father being in prison, y^e bloud rūning downe by his heeles.

At his comming vnto his father, the child fel down vp-his knees, * and asked him blessing. The poore man then beholding his childe, & seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cryed out for sorrow and sayd: Alas Wil, who hath done this to thee? The boy aunswered, that as he was seeking how to come to see his father, a priest with Baalams mark took him into the Bishops house, and there was he so handled. Cluny therwith violently plucked the childe away out of his fathers handes, and caryed him backe agayne into the Bishops house, where they kept him three dayes after.

And at the three dayes end, Boner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poore mā, for this their horrible fact) determined to release him, and therefore caused him early in a morning to be brought out of Lollardes tower, * into his bedchamber, where he foūd the B. basting of himselfe against a great fire: & at his fyrst entring into the chamber, Fetty said, God

be here & peace. God be here and peace (quoth Boner) that is neither God speede, nor good morrow. If yee kicke agaynst this peace (sayd Fetty) then this is not the place that I seek for.

A Chaplayne of the Bishops standing by, turned the poore mā about, & thinking to deface him, said in mocking wise: what haue we here? a plaier? whilst this Fetty was standing in the bishops chamber, he espied hanging about the Bishops bed a great payre of blacke beades: wherupon he said: * my Lord, I thinke the hangman is not far off: •o• the halter (pointing to the beades) is here already. At which wordes the Bishop was in a marueilous rage.

Then immediately after he espyed also, standing in the sayd Bishops chamber in the windowe, a little Crucifixe (before which belike Boner vsed to kneele in the tyme of his hipocriticall prayers. *) Then he asked the Bish. what it was: and he answered that it was Christ. Was he hādled so cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth Fetty?

Yea that he was, sayd the Bishop.

And euen so cruelly will you handle suche as come before you. * For you are vnto Gods people, as Cayphas was vnto Christ.

The Bishop being in a great fury, sayd: thou art a vile hereticke, and I will burne thee, or els I wil spend al that I haue vnto my gowne.

Nay my Lord, sayd Fetty, yee were better to geue it to some poore body, that he may pray for you. But yet Boner bethinking in himselfe of the daunger that the childe was in by theyr whipping, and what perill might ensue therupon, thought better to discharge him: whiche thing was accomplished.

Wherupon, after this and suche talke, the Bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home and cary hys childe w^t him: whiche he so did, and that with a heauy hart to see hys poore boy in such extreme payne and grieve. * But within 14[▪] dayes after the childe dyed, whether thorough this cruell scourging, or any other infirmitie: I know not & therfore I referre y^e truth therof vnto y^e Lord, who knoweth al secretes, and also to the discreete iudgement of the wise reader. But howe soeuer it was, the Lorde yet vsed this theyr cruell & detestable fact, as a meanes of his prouidence for the deliury of this good poore man and faythfull Christian, his name be euer prayed therefore. Amen.

The cruell handling and burning of Nicholas Burton Englishman and Marchaunt in Spayne.

FORasmuch as in our former booke of Actes and Monuments mention was made of the Martyrdome of Nicholas Burton, * I thought here also not to omit the same the story being suche as is not vnworthy to be knowne, as wel for the profitable example of his singular constancie, as also for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruell reuenging of those Catholicke Inquisitours of Spayne, who vnder the pretensed visour of Religion, do nothyng but seeke theyr owne priuate gaine and commoditie, with crafty defending and spoyling of other mens goodes, as by the noting of this story may appeare.

The fift day of the moneth of Nouember, about the yeare of our Lord God .1560. this Nicholas Burton Citizen sometye of London and Marchaunt,* dwellyng in the Parishe of little Saint Barthelmew, peaceably and quietly followyng his traffike in the trade of Marchaundise, and beyng in the Citie of Cadix in the parties of Andolazia in Spayne, there came into his lodgyng a Iudas (or as they terme them) a Familiar of the Fathers of the Inquisition. Whom asking for the sayde Nicholas Burton, fayned that hee had a Letter to deliuer to his owne handes: by which meanes he spake with him immediatly And hauing no Letter to deliuer to him then the said Pro|moter or Familiar, at the motiō of the Deuill his maister, whose messenger he was, inuented an other lye, and sayde that he would take ladyng for London in such shippes as the said Nicholas Burton had fraited to lade, if he would let any: which was partly to know where he laded hys goods, that they might attache them, and chiefly to detract the tyme vntill the Alguisiel, or Sergeant of the sayd Inquisition might come and apprehende the body of the sayd Nicholas Burton: which they dyd incontinently.

Who then wel perceauyng y^t they were not able to bur'den nor charge him y^t he had written, spoken, or done any thyng there in that countrey against the Ecclesiasticall or Temporall lawes of the same Realme, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did so Arrest hym and bad them to declare the cause and he would aunswere them. Notwithstanding, they aunswered nothing, but commaunded him with cruell threatnyng woordes to hold his peace, and not to speake one word to them.

And so they caryed hym to the cruell and filthy common prison of the same Town of Cadix,* where he remayned in yrons 14. dayes amongst theeues.

All which time he so instructed the poore prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had geuen hym in that behalfe and also in the Spanyshe tongue to vtter the same, that in short space he hadde wel reclaymed sundrye of these superstitious and ignoraunt Spanyardes to embrace the word of God, and to reiecte theyr popish traditions.

Which being knowne vnto the officers of the Inquisition,* they conueyed hym laden with yrons from thence to a citty called Siuill, into a more cruell and straighter prison called Triana, where the sayd fathers of the Inquisition proceeded agaynst him secretly according to theyr accustomable cruell tyranny, that neuer after he could be suf'fered to write or to speake to anye of his nation: so that to this day it is vnknowne who was hys accuser.

Afterward the the xx. day of December, in the foresayd yeare,* they brought the sayde Nicholas Burton with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true Christian Religion, into the Cittye of Siuill, to a place where the sayde Inquisitours sate in iudgement, whiche they called the Awto, with a Canuas coate, wherupon diuers partes was paynted the figure of on huge Deuill, tormenting a soule in a flame of fire, & on his head a copping tanke of the same worke.

His tongue was forced out of hys mouthe with a clouen sticke fastened vpon it,* that hee shoulde not vtter hys conscience and fayth to the people, and so he was set with an other englishmā of Southampton, and diuers others condemned menne for Religion, as wel Frenche menne, [Page 2037](#)

[illustration]

☛The maner of the Popish Spaniardes, in caryng Nicholas Burton a blessed Martyr of Christ, after most spitefull sort, to the burning.

as Spanyardes, vpon a Scaffold ouer agaynst the sayde Inquisition, where their sentences and iudgementes wer read and pronounced agaynst them.*

And immediately after the sayd sentences geuen, they were all caryed from thence to the place of execution wyth out y^e citty, where they most cruelly burned him, for whose constant fayth God be prayسد.

This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in y^e flames of fire made so chearfull a countenaunce, embracing death with all pacience and gladnesse, that the tormentors and enemies which stode by, sayd that the Deuill hadde hys soule before he came to the fire, and therefore they sayd his senses of feeling were past him.

It happened that after the Arrest of thys Nicholas Burton aforesayd, immediately all the goodes and Marchaundise whiche he brought with him into Spayne by y^e way of trafficke, were according to their common vsage, seised, and taken into the Sequester: amonge the whiche they also rolled vp much that appertayned to an other En'glish Marchaunt, wherwith he was credited as Factour. Wherof so soone as newes was brought to the Marchant aswell of the imprisonment of hys Factoure,* as of the Arrest made vppon his goodes, hee sent his Attorney into Spayne with authoritie from hym, to make clayme to his goods, and to demaund them: whose name was I. Fronton Citizen of Bristow.

When his Attorney was landed at Siuill, and hadde shewed all hys Letters and writinges to the holye house, requiring them that such goodes might be deliuered into his possession, aunswere was made him that hee must sue by Bill, and retayne an Aduocate (but all was doubtlesse to delay him) and they forsoothe, of curtesie assigned hym one to frame his supplication for him, and other such bills of petition, as he had to exhibite into theyr holye Courte, demanding for eche Bill viii. Rials, albeit they stode him in no more stead, then if he had put vp none at al. And for the space of three or foure monthes this fellow missed not twise a day, attending euery morning and afternoone at the Inquisitours Palace, suing vnto them vppon hys knees for hys dispatche, but specially to the Byshoppe of Tarra•on, who was at that very time chiefe in the Inquis•tion at Siuill, that he of hys absolute authoritie woulde commaund restitution to be made thereof: but the bootie was so good and so great, that it was very hard to come by it agayne.

At the length, after hee had spent whole 4. monthes in sutes and requestes, and also to no purpose, hee receaued this aunswere from them, that he must shewe better euidence and bring more sufficient certificates out of Englād for prooffe of his matter, then those whiche he had already presented to the Courte.* Whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speede returned to Ciuill agayne with more ample and large letters testimonialles and certificates, according to theyr request, and exhibited them to the Court.

Notwithstanding, the Inquisitours still shifted hym off, excusing themselves by lacke of leysure, and for y^e they were occupied in greater and more weighty affayres, and with suche aunsweres delayed hym other foure monthes after.

At the last, when the party had wellnigh spent all hys money,* and therefore sued the more earnestly for hys dyspatch, they referred the matter wholly to the Byshop. Of whom, when he repayred vnto him, he had this aunswere that for himselfe he knew what he had to do: howbeit hee was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertayned vnto the other Commissioners as well as vnto him: and thus by posting & passing it from one to an other, the party could obtayn no end of his sute. Yet for his importunitie sake, they were resolved to dispatche hym, it was on this sort: One of the Inquisitours called Gasco a man very well experienced in these practises, willed the party to resort vnto hym after dinner.

The fellow being glad to heare these newes, and supposing that his goodes should be restored vnto hym, and that he was called in for that purpose to talk with y^e other that was in prison, to conferre with him about theyr accomptes, the rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the Inquisitour cast out a word, that it shoulde be needeful for him to talk with the prisoner, and being therupon more then halfe perswaded, that at the lengthe they ment good fayth, did so, and repayred thether about the euening. Immediately vppon his comming, the Iayler was forthwith charged with him, to shut hym vp close in such a certayne prison, where they appoynted hym.

The party hoping at the first that he hadde bene called for about some other matter,* and seeing himselfe contrary to his expectation, cast into a darcke dungeon, perceyued at the length that the worlde went with hym farre otherwise then he supposed if would haue done.

But within two or three dayes after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he beganne to demaunde hys [Page 2058](#) goodes:* and because it was a deuise that well serued their turne without any more circumstance they bad him saye his Aue Maria.* The party began & said it after this maner Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus te cum, benedicta tu in mulieribus & benedictus fructus ventris tui Iesus. Amen.

The same was written word by word as hee spake it: and without anye more talke of clayming his goodes because it was booteles, they commaunde him to prison agayne, and enter an action agaynst him as an hereticke, for asmuch as he did not say his Aue Maria after the romish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously, for he should haue added moreouer: Sancta Maria mater Dei ora pro nobis pecca toribus, by abbreviating whereof, it was euident enough (sayd they) that he did not allow the mediation of saintes.

Thus they picked a quarrell to deteine him in prison a longer season, and afterwarde brought him forth into their stage disguised after theyr manner: where sentence was geuen that he should loose all the goodes whiche he sued for, though they were not his own, and besides this suffer a yeares imprisonment.

¶The Martyrdome of an other Englishman in Spayne.

*AT what tyme this blessed Martyr of Christe suffered, which was the yeare of our Lord .1560. December. 22. there suffered also an other Englishman, with other xiii. one of them being a Nunne, an other a Fryer, both constant in the Lord. Of which xiii. read before, pag. 934.

*Iohn Baker and Willam Burgate Martyrs.

*IOhn Baker and William Burgate, bothe Englishmen in Cales, in the cuntry of Spayne, were apprehended and in the Citty of Siuill burned the second day of Nouember.

¶Marke Burges and William Hoker Martyrs.

*MARke Burges an Englishman, Mayster of an English ship called the Minion, was burned in Lushborn a citty in Portingale. an. 1560.

William Hoker a young manne, about the age of xvi. yeares,* being an Englishman, was stoned to death of cer'tayne young men there in the Citty of Siuill, for the confession of his fayth. an. 1560.

But of these and such other actes and matters paste in Spayne, because they fell not within the compasse of Q. Maryes raygne, but since her tyme, an other place shall serue hereafter (the Lord willing) to entreat more at large of the same, when we come to the yeares and raygne of the Queene that now is, where we haue more conueniently to inferre not onely of these matters of the Martyrs (wher'of somewhat also hath bene touched before, pag. 907. but al'so of the whole Inquisition of Spayne, and Plackarde of Flanders, w^t the tragical tumults & troubles happening w^tin y^e last memory of these our latter dayes, according as it shall please the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeour with grace and space to the accomplishment therof.

¶A chapter or treatise concerning such as were scourged and whipped by the Papistes in the true cause of Christes Gospel

AND thus through the mercifull assistaunce and fauourable ayd of Christ our Sauour, thou hast as in a generall Register (good Reader) the story collected, if not of all, yet of the most part, or at least, not many I trust omitted of such good Sayntes and Martyrs as haue lost theyr lyues, and geuen theyr bloud, or dyed in prison for the testimony of Christes true doctrine and sacramentes, from the time of the cruell Statute first geuen out by king Hēry the 4. Ex officio, pag. 523. vnto this present tyme, & especially vnder the raygne of Queene Mary.

Now after this bloody slaughter of GODS good sayntes and seruau•tes thus ended and discoursed, let vs proceede (by the good pleasure of the Lord) somewhat like wise to entreate of such as for the same cause of Religyon haue bene, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the aduersaries of Gods worde, first begynning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Farefaxe, who about the tyme of Anne Aschue, wer pittifully rent & tormented with scourges and stripes for theyr faythfull standing to christ, and to hys truth, as by the story and examination both of the sayde Rich. Wilmot, and of Thomas Farefaxe nowe following, may appeare.

The scourging of Richard Wilmot, and Thomas Fayrefaxe.

AFTER the first recantation of Doct. Crome for his Sermon which he made the fift Sondag in Lent at Saint Thomas Acons, being the mercers Chappell,* his Sermon was on the Epistle of the same day, written in the x. chap. to y^e Hebrues, wherein he proued very learnedly by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was y^e onely and sufficient Sacrifice vnto God the Father,* for the sinnes of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sinne by the Priestres, for as much as Christ had offered his body on the Crosse, and shed his blood for the sinnes of the people, & that once for all. For y^e which Sermon he was apprehended of Boner & brought before Stephen Gardynner & other of the Counsell, where he promised to recant his Doctrine at Paules Crosse, y^e second Sondag after Easter. And accordingly, he was there & Preached, Boner w^t all his Doctours sitting before him but he so Preached and handled his matter,* that he rather verified his former saying, then denyed any parte of that which he before had Preached. For the whiche the Protestantes praysed God, and hartely reioysed.

But Byshop Boner with his Champions, were not therewith pleased, but yet notwithstanding they had hym home w^t them, & so handled him amongst the woluish generation. that they made him come to the Crosse agayne y^e next Sondag.

And because the Magistrates shoulde now heare him, & be witnesses of this recantation which was moste blasphemous,* to deny Christes sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, & to say that the sacrifice of the Masse was good godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatorye and auayleable both for the quicke and the deade: Because (I saye) that they would haue y^e nobles to heare this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chiefe of the Counsell to be there present.

Nowe to come to our matter at this tyme, the same weeke, betweene his first Sermon and the last,* and while Doct. Crome was in duraunce, one Rich. Wilmot being Prentise in Bow lane, being of y^e age of eightene yeares, and sytting at his worke in his Maysters shop the Tuesday, in y^e moneth of Iuly, One Lewes a Welchmā, being one of the Garde, came into the shoppe, hauing things to doe for himselfe.

One asked him what newes at the Court, and he answered that the old hereticke D. Crome had recanted now in deede, before the Counsell,* and that he should on Sondag nexte bee at Paules Crosse agayne and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his Maysters worke, & hearing hym speake these wordes and reioysing in the same began to speake vnto hym,* saying y^t he was sorry to heare these newes. For (sayd he) if Crome should say otherwise then he hath sayd, then is it contrary to the truth of Gods worde, and contrary to his owne conscience, which shall before God accuse hym.

Lewes

answered and sayd that he had Preached & taught heresy, and therefore it was meete that he should in such a place reuoke it.

Wilmot

tolde him that he would not so say, neyther did he heare hym Preach any doctrine contrary to Gods worde written, but that he proued his doctrine, and that sufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes

then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot

Aunswered by the Scripture of God, wherein he shall find GODS will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do and what not to do: and also by them he should prooue and trye all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewes

sayde: it was neuer mery since the Bible was in Englishe: and that he was doth an hereticke and a traitour that caused it to be translated into Englishe (meaning Cromwell) and therefore was rewarded according to his desertes.*
[_](#)

Wilmot

aunswered agayne: what his desertes and offences were to his Prince, a great many do not knowe, neyneyther doth it force whether they do or no: once he was sure that he lost his lyfe for offending his Prince, and the law did put it in execution: Adding moreouer concerning that man, that he thought it pleased GOD to rayse hym vp from a low estate, and to place him in hyghe authority, partly vnto this, that he should do that as all the Bishops in the Realme yet neuer dyd, in restoring agayne Gods holy worde, which being hyd long before from the people in a straunge tongue, & now comming abroad amongst vs, will bring our Byshops & Priestes, sayde he,* in lesse [Page 2059](#) estimation among the people.

Lewes

asked why so?

Wilmot

sayde: because their doctrine and liuing was not according to his word.

*Then sayde Lewes: I neuer heard but that all men shoulde learne of the Byshops and Priestes, because they are learned men, and haue bene brought vp in learning all the dayes of their liues. Wherefore they must needes know the truth, and our fathers did beleue their doctrine and learning, and I thinke they did well: for the worlde was farre better then, then it is now.

Wilmot aunswered: I will not say so: For wee muste not beleue them beause they are Bishops, neyther because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow theyr doctrine. For I haue read in Gods booke how that Byshoppes and learned men haue taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the Priestes from time to time and in deede those people our forefathers beleued as they taught: and as they did thinke, so did the people thinke. But for al this,* Christ calleth thē false Prophetes, theeues and murtherers, blinde leaders of the blinde, willing the people to take heede of them, least they should both fal into the ditche.

Moreouer, we read that the Byshoppes, Priests, and learned men haue bene commonly resisters of the trueth, from time to time, and haue alwayes persecuted the Prophetes in the old lawe, as theyr successours did persecute our Sauour Christ and hys Disciples in the newe lawe.* We must take heed therefore, that we credite them no further then God will haue vs, neyther to followe them nor our forefathers, otherwise then he commaundeth vs. For almighty God hath geuen to all people, as well to kings and Princes, as Byshoppes, Priests, learned and vnlearned men, a commaundement and law, vnto the which he willet all men to be obedient. Therefore if any Bishop or Prieste, preache or teache, or Prince or Magistrate commaunde any thing contrary to his commaundement, we must take heede how we obey them. For it is better for vs to obey God then man.

Mary sir, quoth Lewes, you are a holy Doctoure in deede. By Gods bloud if you were my man, I woulde set you about your busines a little better, and not to look vpon bookes: and so woulde your Mayster if hee were wise. And with that in came his mayster and young man wyth hym, which was seruaunt with M. Daubny in Watling streete.

His mayster asked what the matter was.

Lewes sayd that he had a knauish boy here to his seruaunt,* and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, then keepe him in his house.

Then his Mayster, being somewhat moued, asked his fellowes what the matter was.

They sayde: they began to talke about Doct. Crome.

Then hys Mayster asked hym what hee hadde sayde, swearyng a great othe, that he would make hym to tell hym.

He sayd that he trusted he had sayd nothing, whereby either he or M. Lewes may iustly be offended. I pray you (quoth Wilmot) aske him what I sayd.

Mary sir (sayd Lewes) thys he sayd, that Doct. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and howe that if he recant on Sondag next, he would be sory to heare it, & that if he do, he is made to doe it agaynst his conscience. And more he sayth, that we must not follow our Bishops doctrine and preaching: For sayth he, they be hinderers of Gods word, and persecutors of that: and how Cromwell dyd more good (that traytour) in setting foorth the Bible, then all our Byshops haue done these hundreth yeares: thus reporting the matter worse then he had sayd.

Then sayde Wilmot, that in many thinges hee made his tale worse then it was. His Maister hearyng of thys was in a great fury, and rated him, saying: that eyther he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his bookes and burne them.

*The younge man (Mayster Dawbnies seruant) standing by, hearing this, beganne to speake on his part vnto Lewes: and his talke confirmed all the sayinges of other to be true.

This young man was learned: his name was Tho. Fayrefaxe. Lewes hearing this young mans talk, as wel as the others, went his way in a rage vnto the Court.

On the morowe they heard newes, so that the sayde Wilmot and Tho. Fayrefaxe were sent for, to come to the Lord Maior. The messenger was M. Smart, Swordbearer of London. They came before dinner to y^e Mayors house, and were commaunded to sit downe at dinner in y^e Hall, and when the dinner was done they were both called into a Parlour, where the Mayor and Syr Roger Cholmley was, who examined them seuerally, *y^t one not hearing the other.

The effect of their talke with them was this, Syr Roger Cholmley sayd vnto the foresayd Wilmot, y^t my Lorde Mayor and hee had receiued a commaundement from the Counsell, to send for hym and his companion, and to examine them of certayne thinges, which were layde vnto theyr charge.

Then sayd Mayster Cholmley to hym: Syrra, what Countreyman art thou? He aunswered that he was born in Cambridgeshyre, and in such a towne. Then he asked him how long he had bene in the City. He told him.

Then he asked what learning he had. He sayde: little learning, and small knowledge. Then (deridingly) he as^ked how long he had knowne Doct. Crome, he sayd: but a while about two yeares. He sayd that he was a lying boy, and said that he the sayd Wilmot was his sonne.

The other sayd vnto hym, that was vnlike, for that he neuer see his mother nor she him, Cholmley sayd he lyed, Wilmot sayd hee coulde prooue it to be true. Then hee asked him how he liked his sermon that he made at S. Thomas of Acres Chappel in Lent. He sayde that in deede hee heard him not. He sayd yes, and the other nay. Then says he, what say you to his sermon made at the Crosse the •ast day, heard you not that?

Wilmot.

Yes, and in that sermon he deceaued a great nūber of people.

Cholmley.

How so?

Wilmot.

For that they looked that he shoulde haue recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley.

Yea Syr, but how say you now to him? for hee hath recanted before the counsell: and hathe promised on Sunday next to be at the crosse agayne, how thinke ye in that?

Wilmot.

If hee so did, I am the more sory for to heare it: and sayd he thought he did it for feare and safegard of hys lyfe.

Cholmley.

But what say you? was hys first sermon heresie or not?

Wilmot.

No, I suppose it was no heresie. For if it were S. Paules Epistle to the Hebrewes was heresie,* & Paule an hereticke that preached such doctrine, but God forbyd that any Christian man should so thinke of the holy Apostle: neyther do I so thinke.

Cholmley.

Why how knowest thou that saynct Paul wrot those thinges that are in English now, to be true, wheras Paule neuer wrot english nor latine?

Wilmot.

I am certified that learned men of God, that dyd seeke to aduaunce hys word, did translate the same out of the Grecke and Hebrue, into Latine and english, and that they durst not to presume to altar the sense of the scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Iesus.

Then the Lorde Mayor being in a great furye, asked hym what he had to do to read such bookes, and sayd that it was pittie that his mayster did suffer him so to doe, and that he was not set better to worke: and in fyne sayd vnto him: that he had spoken euill of my Lord of Winchester & Boner, those reuerend & learned fathers & coũcellours of this Realme, for the which his fact he saw no other but he must suffer, as due to the same. And M. Cholmley sayd: yea my Lord, there are such a sort of heretickes & trayterly knaues taken now in Essex by my Lord Rich, that it is to wonderfull to heare. They shall be sent to the Byshoppe shortly, and shall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot.

I am sory to heare that of my Lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gaue me my name at my Baptisme.

Cholmley

asked him when he spake with him.

He sayd not these xii. yeares.

Cholmley.

If he knew that he were such a one, he woulde do y^e like by him, and in so doying he should do God great seruice.

Wilmot.

I haue read the same saying in the Gospell, that Christ sayd to his Disciples: The tyme shal come (sayth he) that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shal do God hygh seruice.

Well sir, sayd Cholmley, because yee are so full of youre Scripture, and so well learned, wee consider you lacke a quyet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would wish you to study how you will answere to the Counsell of those thinges which they haue to charge you w^t, for els it is like to cost you your best ioynt. I know my lord of Win. wil hādle you wel enough whē he heareth thus much. Thē was the Officer called in, to haue him to the Counter in the Poultrye, and the other to the other Counter,* not one of them to see an other: and thus remayned they viii. dayes [Page 2060](#) In the which time their Maisters made a great labor vnto the Lord Mayor, and to sir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be deliuered.

*At length they procured the Wardens of the company of Drapers to labour with them in theyr sute to the Mayor. The Mayor went with them to the Counsell: but at that time they could finde no grace at Winchester's hand & Sir Anthonie Brownes, but that they had deserued death and that they should haue the law.

At length through entreatance, he graunted thē thus much fauour, that they should not dye as they had deserued, but should be tyed to a cartes tayle, and be whipped three market dayes through the Cittye. Thus they came home that day, and went an other day, and the Mayor & the Wardens of the company kneeled before them to haue this open punishment released, for asmuche as they were seruantes of so worshipfull a companye, and that they might be punished in theyr own hall before the Wardens and certayne of the companye. At length it was graunted with condition, as some said as shalbe hereafter declared.

Then were they sent before the Maysters the next day to the hall, both theyr maysters being also present, & there were layd to theyr charges, the heynous offences by them committed,* how they were both heretickes and traytors, and haue deserued death for the same, and this was declared w^t a long processe by the Mayster of y^e company, whose name was M. Brooke, declaring what

great labour and sute y^e Mayor & the Wardens had made for thē, to saue thē frō death, which they (as he said) had deserued, & from opē shame, which they shoulde haue had, being iudged by the Counsell to haue bene whipped iii. dayes through the city at a cartes tayle, and from these two daungers had they laboured to deliuer them, but not without great sute and also charge. For, saith he, the company hath promised vnto the Counsaile for this their mercy and fauour shewed towards them, being of such a worshipfull company, a C. poundes, notwithstanding we must see them punished in our Hall within our selues for those theyr offences. After these and many other wordes, hee commaunded them to addresse themselues to receiue their punishment.

Then were they put asunder, and stripped from the wast vpward one after an other,* and had into the hal, and in the middest of the hall, where they vse to make theyr fire there was a great ring of Iron, to the whiche there was a rope tyed fast, and one of theyr feete thereto fast tyed.

Then came two men down, disguised in Mommers apparell, with visors on theyr faces, and they beate them with great rods vntill y^e bloud did follow in their bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lye in his bead 6. nightes after, for Brooke played the tyraunt with them. So it was, that with the beating and the flight, and feare they were neuer in health since,* as the sayd Wilmot with hys owne mouth hath credibly ascertayned vs, and we cā no lesse but testifie the same.

Thus haue we briefly rehearsed this little tragedye, wherein ye may note the malice of the enemies at al times to those which professe Christ, and take hys parte, of what estate or degree so euer they bee, according to the Apostles saying, It is geuen vnto you not onely to beleue, but also to suffer with him. To whome be honor and glory. Amen.

Next after these two aboue specified, followeth y^e beating of one Thomas Greene, who in the time of Queene Mary, was caused likewise to be scourged and beaten by Doctor Story. What the cause was, here followeth in story and examination to be seene, whiche hee penned wyth his owne hand, as the thing it selfe will declare to the reader. The copy and wordes of the same as he wrote them, here follow. Wherein as thou mayst note (gentle reader) the simplicitie of the one, so I pray thee, marke the cruelty of the other part.

The scourging of Thomas Greene.

IN the reygne of Queene Mary, I Thomas Greene be'ing brought before D. Story,* by my M. whose name is Iohn Wayland a Printer, for a booke called Antichrist, the whiche had bene distributed to certayne honest menne he asked me where I had the booke, and sayde I was a traytour. I told him I had y^e booke of a Frenchman. Thē he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell hym no more, nor could not. Then he sayd: it was no heresie but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawne, & quartered, and so he called for Cluny the keeper of y^e Lollardes tower, and bad him set me fast in the stockes.

*I was not in the Lollardes tower two houres, but Clauy came and tooke me out, and caryed me to y^e Colehouse, and there I found a frenchman lying in the stocks, and he tooke him out, and put on my right legge a bolte & a fetter, & on my left hand an other, and so hee set me crosse fettered in the stockes, and tooke the Frenchman away w^t him, and there I lay a day and a night.

On the morow after, he came and sayd: let vs shift your hand and legge, because you shall not be lame: and he made as though he pi^tied me, and sayde, tell me the trueth, and I will be youre frend.

And I sayd, I had tolde the truth and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my legge in the stockes, & so went his way, and there I remayned 6. dayes, & could come to no answeere.

Then Doctor Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tel him I truth, where I had the booke.* I sayd I had told him, of a frenchmā, he asked me wher I came ac^qainted w^t the Frenchman, & where he dwelt &, where he deliuered me the booke. I sayde, I came acquaynted w^t him in Newgate, I comming to my friendes which wer put in for Gods worde and truthes sake, and the Frenchman comming to his friendes also: there we did talke together and became acquaynted one with an other, and dyd eate and drinke together there with our friends in y^e feare of God.

Then Story scoffed at me and sayde: then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ,* and reuiled me & called me an hereticke, and asked me if I had the booke of him in Newgate. I sayd no, and I tolde him, as I went on my businesse in the streete I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also: so falling in communicatiō he shewed me that booke, and I desired him that hee woulde let me haue it.

In this examination Story sayd, it was a great booke and asked me whether I bought it, or had it geuen me. I tolde him I bought it. Then sayd he, I was a theefe, and had stollen my maysters money. And I sayd, a little mony serued, for I gaue hym but foure pence, but I promised him at our nexte meeting, I woulde geue twelue pence more. And he sayd: that was boldly done, for such a booke as spake both treason and heresie.

Then Story required me to bring him two sureties, & watche for him that I had the booke of, and I shuld haue no harme. I made him aunswere, I would bring no sureties, nor I could not tell where to finde them. Then said he: this is but a lye, and so called for Cluny, and bad hym lay me fast in the Colehouse, saying, he would make me tel an other tale at my next cōming: and so I lay in y^e stockes day and night, but onely when I eate my meate, & there remayned x. dayes before I was called for agayne.

Then Doctor Story sent for me agayne, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth. I sayd,* I could tell him no other truth then I had, nor would. And while I was ther standing, there were two brought, whiche I tooke to bee prisoners.

Then mistres Story fell in a rage, and sware a great othe,* that it were a good deede to put a hundred or two of these hereticke knaues in a house, & I my selfe (sayth she) would set it on fire. So I was cōmitted to prison agayn, where I remayned 14. dayes and came to no aunswere.

Then Story sent for me againe, and called me into the gardē, and there I found with him my Lord of Windsors Chaplayne, and two Gentlemen more,* and he told them all what they had sayd and done. They sayd, the book was a wonderous euill booke, and had both treason and heresie in it. Then they asked me what I said by the book. And I sayd: I know no euill by it.

At which wordes Story chafed, and sayd hee woulde hang me vp by the hands w^t a rope, and said also he would cut out my tonge, & mine eares also frō mine head. After this they alledged two or three thinges vnto me out of the book. And I aunswere, I had not read the book through out, and therefore I could geue no iudgement of the book.

Then my Lord of Windsors chaplayne and the other two Gentlemen tooke me aside, and entreated me verye gently, saying: tell vs where you had the booke, and of whō: wde will saue you harmelesse. I made them aunswere, I had told all that I could to Doct. Story, & began to tell it thē agayn: but they sayd, they knew y^t already: so they left that talke and went agayne to Story with me.

Then Story burdened me with my fayth▪ and sayd I was an hereticke.* Whereupon the Chaplayne asked me how I did beleue. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my beliefe, but he bad me let that alone. Then hee asked me how I beleued in Christe. I made him aunswere that I beleued in Christ which dyed and rose agayne the thyrd day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I made him aunswere,* I thought it was his glory. Then sayd he, so they say all. And he asked me whē he would •e wery of sitting there. Then inferred [Page 2061](#) my Lord of Windsors Chaplayne, asking me what I said by the masse. I sayd: I neuer knew what it was, nor what it ment, for I vnderstoode it not, because I neuer learned any Latin, and since the time that I had any knowledge, I had bene brought vp in nothing but in reading of Eng^lish, and with such men as haue taught y^e same: with many moe questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Moreouer, he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ,* flesh, bloud and bone in the Masse, after the Priest had consecrated it. And I made him aunswere: as for the Masse I cannot vnderstand it, but in the new Testament I read, that as the Apostles stode looking after the Lord when he ascended vp into heauen, an Angel sayd to them: Euen as you see him ascend vp, so shal he come agayne. And I told them an other sentēce: where Christ saith: The poore shall you haue alwayes with you, but me shall you not haue alwayes.

Then M. Chaplaine put to me many questions more to the which I could make hym no aunswere. Among all other, he brought Chrisostome and S. Hierome for hys purpose. To whome I aunswere, that I neyther mynded nor was able to answere their Doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no: but to that whiche is written in the new Testament I would aunswere. Here they laughed me to scorne and called me foole, & sayd they would reason no more with me.

Then Doctor Storye called for Cluny, and bad hym take me away,* and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So was I sent to the Colehouse: where I hadde not ben a week, but there came in xiiii. prisoners: but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called the Salthouse, hauing vpon my legge a bolt and a fetter, and my handes manacled together with yrons,* and there continued x. dayes, hauing nothing to lye on, but bare stones or a boorde.

On a time whiles I lay there in prison, the Byshop of London comming downe a payre of stayres on the backside vntrust, in his hose and doublet, looked in at y^e grate, and asked wherfore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him aunswere, y^t I was put in for a booke called Antichrist,* by Doctor Story And he sayde: you are not ashamed to declare wherfore you were put in, and said it was a very wicked booke, and bad me confesse the truth to Story. I sayd, I had told the truth to him already, & desired him to be good vnto me, and helpe me out of prison, for they had kept me there long. And he sayd, he could not medle with it: Story hath begon it: and he must end it.

*Then I was remoued out of the Salthouse to geue place to two women, and caryed to the Lollardes Tower and put in the stockes: and there I founde two prisoners, one called Lyon, a Frenchman, and an other with hym: and so I was kept in the stockes more then a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speake w^t me, but onely my keeper which brought me meate.

Thus we three being together, Lyon the Frenchman song a Psalme in the Frenche tongue, and wee sang with him, so y^t we were heard down into the street, and the keeper comming vp in a greate rage,* sware that he would put vs all in the stockes, and so tooke the Frenchman and commaunded him to kneel downe vppon his knees, and put both his handes in the flockes, where hee remayned all that night till the next day

After this I beyng in the Lollardes Tower 7. dayes, at my last being with Story hee sware a great othe that he would racke me,* and make me tell the truth. Thē Story sending for me, commaunded me for to bee brought to Walbroke, wher he & the Cōmissioners dyned: and by the way my keeper told me y^t I should go to the Tower & be racked. So when they had dyned, Story called for me in, and so there I stode before thē, & some sayd I was worthy to be hanged for hauing such hereticall books. After I had stayde a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commaunded him to cary me to the Lollards Tower agayne, and sayde: I haue other matters of the Queenes to do with the Commissioners:* but I will finde an other time for him. Whilest I lay yet in the Lollardes Tower, the womā which brought the bookes ouer, being taken, and her bookes, was put in the Clinke in Southwarke by Hussy, one of the Arches: and I Tho. Greene testifie before God, now that I neyther descryed the man nor the woman, the whiche I had the bookes of.

Then I lying in the Lollardes Tower, being sent for before M. Hussy,* he required of me, wherfore I was put into the Lollardes Tower, and by whome. To whome I made aunswere, that I was put there by Doctor Story for a booke called Antichrist. Then he made as though hee would be my friend, and sayd he knewe my friendes, and my father and mother, and bad me tel him of whom I had the booke, and sayd: come on, tell me the truth, I told hym as I had told Doctor Story before.

Then he was very angry and sayd: I loue thee well & therfore I sent for thee, and looked for a further truth: but I would tell him no other: whereupon he sent me agayne to the Lollardes Tower. At my going away he called me backe agayn, and sayd that Dixon gaue me the books

being an old man, dwelling in Birchin lane: and I sayde he knew the matter better then I. So he set me away to the Lollardes Tower, where I remayned vij. dayes & more.

Then M. Hussy sent for me agayne and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth then I had told Doctor Story before.

Then hee began to tell me of Dixon of whome I had the bookes, the which had made the matter manifest afore: * and he told me of all thinges touching Dixon and y^e books more then I could my selfe, in so much y^t he told me howe many I had, and that he had a sacke full of the books in his house, and knew where the woman lay, better then I my selfe. Then I sawe the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it profited not me to stand in the matter. Hee asked me where I had done the books, and I told hym I had but one, & that Doct. Story had. He sayd I lyed, for I had three at one time, & hee required we to tell him of one.

Then I tolde hym of one that Iohn Beane had of me being prentise with Mayster Tottle. * So he promised me before and after, and as he shuld be saued before God, that he should haue no harme. And I kneeling downe vppon my knees, desired him to take my bloud, and not to hurt the young man. Then sayd he: because you haue bene so stubburne, the matter being made manifest by other and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you wil stand to my iudgement. I sayd yea, take my bloud, and hurt not the young man.

Then he made me answere, I should be whipped like a theefe and a vacabond: and so I thanked him, * and went my way with my keeper to the Lollardes tower: where I remayned two or three dayes, and so was brought by the keeper Cluny, by the commaundement of the Commissioners, to Christes hospitall, sometime the Gray Friars: and accordingly had there for the time the correction of theeues and vacabondes, and so was deliuered to Trinian the Porter, and put into a stincking dungeon.

Then after a fewe dayes I finding frendship▪ was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, & walked in a yarde by the dungeon in the day time, and so remayned prisoner a month and more.

Where at length Doctour Story came and two Gentlemē with hym, and called for me, * and so I was brought into a counting house before thē. Then he sayd to y^e gentlemen: here commeth this hereticke, of whom I had y^e book called Antichrist, and began to tell them how many times I had bene before him, and sayde: I haue intreated hym very gently, and he would neuer tell me the truth till y^t it was found out by other. Then sayd he: it wer a good deed to cut out thy tongue and thy eares of thy head, to make thee an example to all other hereticke knaues. And y^e gentlemen said: nay y^t were pittie. Then he asked if y^t I would not become an honest mā: & I sayd yes, for I haue offēded God many wayes. Whereupon he burdened me with my fayth. I told him I had made hym aunswere of my fayth before my Lord Windsors chaplaine, as much as I could.

So in the end he commaunded me to be stripped he standing by me, and called for two of the Beadels and the whippes to whippe me: * and the two Beadels came wyth a cord, and bound my handes together, and the one end of the corde to a stone pillar. Then one of my friendes, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundell of rods, whiche seemed

something to pacifie y^e minde of his crueltie: and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me if I would go vnto my Mayster agayne, and I sayd nay. And he sayd: I perceiue now he wil be worse then euer he was before: but let me alone (quoth he): I will finde him out if he be in England. And so with many other things which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bad me pay my fees and go my wayes.

¶Doctor Story commaunded that he should haue an hundred stripes, but the Gentlemen so intreated: that hee had not so many, Story saying: if I might haue my will, I would surely cut out his tongue.

Of the scourging of M. Bartlet Greene, also of Iohn Milles, & of Thomas Hinshaw, ye heard before. In like maner was ordered Ste. Cotton, burned before at Bramford, who testifieth himselfe to be twise beaten by Boner, in a letter of hys written to his brother, as by the same here following for the more euidence may appeare.

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The Copie of Steuen Cottons letter, wrytten to his brother, declaring howe he was beaten of Bishop Boner.*

BRother, in the name of the Lord Iesus I cōmend me vnto you, and I doe heartely thancke you for your godly exhortation and counsell in your last letter declared to me. And albeit I doe perceiue by your letter, you are informed, that as we are diuers persons in number, so we are of contrary sectes, conditions, and opinions, contrary to that good opinion you had of vs at your last being with vs in Newgate: be you most assured good brother in the Lorde Iesus, we are all of one minde, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Iesus, whome I trust we altogether with one spirite, one brotherly loue, doe daily call vpon for mercy & forgeuenesse of our sinnes, with earnest repentaunce of our former liues, and by whose precious bloudshedding wee trust to be saued onely, and by no other meanes. Wherefore good brother, in the name of the Lorde, seeing these impudente people, whose mindes are altogether bent to wickednesse, enuie, vncharitablenesse, euill speaking, doe goe about to slaunder vs with vntruth, beleeeue them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you againe, although now I am in Gods prison, which is a ioyfull schoole to them that loue theyr Lord God, and to me being a simple scholer most ioyfull of all.

Good brother, once againe I doe in the name of oure Lorde Iesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight stronglye in the Lordes battaile, to bee a good souldioure to my Captaine Iesus Christ our Lord, and desire my sister also to do the same: and doe not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and ioyful of this my trouble: For I trust to be loosed out of this dongeon shortly, and to go to euerlasting ioy, which neuer shal haue end. I heard how ye were with the Commissioners. I pray you sue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I shal desire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witnes with me that I shal die, I trust in God, a true Christian, and (I hope) all my cōpanions in the Lord our God: and therefore beleue not these euil disposed people, who are the authors of all vntruthes.

I pray you prouide me a long shirt against the day of our deliuerance: for the shirt you gaue me last, I haue geuen to one of my companions who had more neede then I: And as for the money and meat you sent vs, the Bishops seruants deliuered none to vs, neither he whome you had so great trust in. Brother, there is none of them to trust to: for qualis Magister talis Seruus. I haue beene twice beaten and threatned to be beaten againe by the bishop himselfe.* I suppose we shall go into the Countrey to Fulham, to the bishops house, and there be arraigned. I woulde haue you to harken as much as you can. For when we shall goe, it shall be sodenly done. Thus fare ye well, from the Colehouse, this present Fridaye.

Your brother, Steuen Cotton.

The scourging of Iames Harris.

IN this societie of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one Iames Harris of Billerica in Essex, a stripling of the age of 17. yeares: who being apprehended and sent vp to Boner in the company of Margaret Ellis,* by Syr Iohn Mordant Knight, and Edmund Tyrel Iustices of peace (as appeareth by their owne letters before mentioned, pag. 2020.) was by Boner diuers times straitly examined. In the which examinatioⁿ he was charged not to haue come to his parish church by the space of one yeare or more.* Wherunto he graunted, confessing therewithal, that once for feare he had bene at the Church, and there had receiued the Popish sacrament of the aultare, for the whych he was hartely sorie, detesting the same with all his hart.

After this and such like answeares. Boner (the better to try him,) perswaded him to goe to shrift. The lad somewhat to fulfil his request,* consented to go, & did. But whē he came to the Priest, he stode stil and saide nothing. Why quoth the Priest, sayest thou nothing? what should I say, sayd Harris? Thou must confesse thy sins, sayd the priest. My sinnes (saith he) be so many, that they cānot be numbred. With that the Priest told Boner what he had sayde, and he of his accustomed deuotion, tooke the pore lad into his garden, and there with a rod gathered out of a Cherie tree, did most cruelly whip him.

The scourging of Rob. Williams a Smith.

OVer and besides these aboue mētioned, was one Roberte Williams, who being apprehended in the same cōpany, was so tormented after the like maner wyth rods in his arbour: who there subscribing and yelding himselfe by promise to obey the lawes,* after being let go, refused so to doe: whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himselfe close, and went not abroad but by stelth: & now in the meane time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed thys life, and so escaped the handes of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for euer. Amen.

¶And for asmuch as I haue begon to wryte of Boners scourging, by the occasion therof commeth to minde to inferre by the way, his beating of other boyes and children, and drawing them naked through the nettels, in his iourney rowing toward Fulham. The storie although it touch no matter of Religion, yet because it toucheth some thyng the nature and disposition of that man, and maye refreshe the Reader, wearied percase with other dolefull stories, I thought not to omitte.

Boner causeth certaine Boyes to be beaten.

BOner passing from London to Fulham by Barge,* hauing Iohn Milles and Thomas Hinshaw aboue mētioned with him, both prisoners for Religion, by the way as he went by water, was saying Euensong with Harpsfield his chaplaine in the barge, and being about the middle of their deuout orisons, they espied a sort of yōg boyes swimming and washing themselues in the Thames ouer against Lambeth, or a little aboue: vnto whome hee went and gaue very gentle language, and faire speach,* vntill he had let his man a lande. That done, his men ran after the boyes to get them, as the Bishop commaunded them before, beating some with nettles, drawinge some throughe bushes of nettles naked, and some they made leape into the Thames to saue them selues, that it was maruell they were not drowned.

Now as the children for feare did crie, and as this skirmishing was betweene them, immediatly came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter ment that the boyes made suche a noise. Whome when the bishop espied, he asked him whether he wold maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the yong fellow made answer stoutly, yea. Then the B. commanded him to be taken also: but he ran away with spede, and there auoided the bishops blessing. Now when the B. sawe him to flee away, & an other man sitting vpon a rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewise to stop the boy: and because he wold not, he commaunded his men to fet that man to him also: but he hearing that, ran away as fast as he coulde, and by leaping ouer the ditch, escaped the bishop in like maner.

Then the Bishop seeing the successe of his battaile to prooue no better, cried to a couple of fery boies to run and holde him that last ran away. And for that they sayde they could not (as in deede it was true) therefore he caused his men by and by to take and beat them. The boyes hearing that, lept into the water to saue themselues: notwithstanding they were caught, and in the water by the Byshops men were holden and beaten.

Now, after the ende of this great skirmish, the bishops men returned to their maister againe into the barge,* and he and Harpsfielde his chaplaine went to their Euensong a fresh where they left, and so forsooth the rest of their seruice, as cleane without malice, as an egge wythout meat. The Lorde geue him repentaunce (if it bee his will) and grace to become a new man. Amen.

The whipping of a begger at Salisburie,

VNto these aboue specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain pore starued seely begger, who because he would not receiue the sacramēt at Easter in the towne of Colingborow,* was brought to Salisbury with billes and gleiues to the Chancellor doctor Geffrey who cast him into the Dongeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped of two catchpoles. The sight wher'of made all godly hearts to rew it, to see such tyrannye to be shewed vppon such a simple and seely wretche: for they which saw him haue reported, that they neuer saw a more simple creature: But what pitie can mooue the heartes of mercilesse Papists?

Besides these aboue named, diuers other also suffered the like scourgings and whippings in their bodies for the faithfull standing in the truth. Of whom it may be sayde, as it is wrytten of the holy

Apostles in the Actes. Which departed from the counsel,* reioysing that they were counted woorthy to suffer for the name of Iesus.

¶An other treatise of suche as being pursued in Queene Maries time, were in great daunger, & yet through the good prouidence of God, mercifully were preserued.

ALthough the secreat purpose of almighty God, which disposeth all thinges, suffered a greate number of hys [Page 2063](#) faithfull seruauntes both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies handes, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whippes, with rackes, with fetters and famin, with burning of handes,* with plucking of beardes, wyth burning also both hand, beard, and body. &c.

Yet notwithstanding some there were againe, and that a great number, who myraculously by the mercifull prouidence of God, against all mannes expectation, in safetie were deliuered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by voydinge the Realme, or shiftinge of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or disposing the oportunitie of time, or woorking some suche meanes or other for hys seruauntes, as not onely ought to stir them vp to perpetuall thanckes, but also may mooue all menne both to beholde and magnifie the wonderous woorkes of the almightie.

About what time it began to be knowen that Queene Mary was sicke, diuers good men were in hold in diuers quarters of the realme, some at Burie, some at Salisb. as Iohn Hunt and Richard White, of whome we haue storied before, and some at London, amongst whome was Wil. Liuing with hys wife, and Iohn Lithall, of whome something remaineth now compendiously to be touched.

The trouble and deliuerance of William Liuing with his wife, and of Iohn Lithall, Ministers.

ABout the time of the latter end of Queene Marie, she then beinge sicke,* came one Coxie a Promoter, to the house of William Liuing, about 6. of the clocke, accompanied with one Iohn Launce of the Graihound. They being not ready, they demaunded for buttons, sayinge they shoulde be as well payed for them, as euer was any: and he would come about 3. houres after againe for them.

*In the meane while he had gotten the Constable called maister Deane, and George Hancocke the Beadle of that Ward, and searching his bookes, founde a booke of Astronomie, called the worke of Ioannes de sacro busto de sphaera, with figures, some round, some triangle, some quadrate: which booke because it was gilted, seemed to him the chieftest booke there, and that he caried open in the streate, saying: I haue founde him at length. It is no maruaile the Queene be sicke, seeing there be suche coniurers in priuie corners: but now I trust he shall coniure no more, and so brought him and his wife from Shoe lane through Fleet streete into Paules Churchyarde, with the Constable, the Beadle, and 2. other following them, til they were entred into Darbishires house, who was bishop Boners Chancellour: And after the Constable and they had talked wyth Darbishire, he came foorth and walked in his yard, saying these woordes.

Darbishire.

What is your name?

Liuing.

William Liuing.

Darb.

*What are you? a Priest?

Liuing.

Yea.

Darb.

Is this your wife that is come with you?

Liuing.

That shee is.

Darb.

Where were you made Priest?

Liuing.

At Obourne.

Darb.

In what Bishops daies?

Liuing.

By the Bishop of Lincolne, that was king Henries ghostly father in Cardinall Wolsies time.

Darb.

You are a schismaticke and a traytor.

Liuing.

I would be sorie that were true. I am certaine I neuer was traitor, but alwais haue taught obedience, according to the tenour of Gods woord: and when tumults and Schismes haue beene stirred, I haue preached Gods word, and swaged them, as in the time of king Edwarde.

Darb.

What? you are a Schismaticke. You be not in the vnitie of the catholike church: for you pray not as y^e church of Rome doth: You pray in English.

Liuing.

We are certaine we be in the true church.

Darb.

There be that doubteth therof, for so much as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learne against I talke with you againe, to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

Liuing

If the church of Rome be of that Churche whereof Christ is the head, then am I a member thereof: for I know no other Church but that.

Darb.

Wel Cluny, take him with thee to the Colehouse.

Then called he Cluny again, and spake secretly to him, what I know not.*

Then sayde Cluny: wilt thou not come: and so pluckt me away violently, and brought me to his owne house in Pater noster Rowe, where hee robbed mee of my pursse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a new Testamēt of Geneua, and then broughte me to the Colehouse to put mee in the stockes, saying: put in both your legges and your handes also: and except you fine w^t me, I will put a collar about your necke. What is the fine, quoth I? Fortie shillinges quoth he, I am neuer able to pay it, sayd I.

Then said he: you haue friendes that be able.* I denyed it: and so he put both my legges into the stockes til supper time, whyche was 6. of the clocke, and then a cosine of my wiues brought me meat, who seeing me so sit there, sayd: I will geue you 40. pence and let him goe at libertie: and he tooke her mony, and presently let me forth in her sighte, to eate my supper. And at 7. of the clocke he put mee into the stockes againe, and so I remained till 2. of the clocke the next day, and so he let mee foorth till nighte. This woman aboue mentioned, was Griffins first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanberie, and yet alieue in Chepeside.

The thursday following at afternoone was I called to the Lollardes tower, and there put in the stockes,* hauing the fauour to put my legge in that hole that Master Iohn Philpots legge was in, and so lay all that night, no body comming to me, either with meat or drinke.

At 11. of the clocke on the Fridaye, Clunie came to mee with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clocke he brought me to Darbishires house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them, I said I know none of them, but Foster. And so I kneeled downe vpon my knees, and praied him that he wold not enquire thereof any farther.* And with that came foorth two godly women, which sayd: Master Darbshire, it is inough, and so became sureties for mee, and paied to Clunie xv. s. for my fees, and bad me goe with them.

And thus mucche concerning William Liuing. After this came his wife to examination, whose answeares to Darbshire the Chancellor, here likewise follow.

The examination of Iulian Liuing, wife to William Liuing.

DArbshire.

Ah syrha: I see by your gowne you be one of the Sisters.*

Iulian.

I weare not my gowne for Sisterhood, neither for nunnerie, but to keepe me warme.

Darb

Nunne? No I dare say you be none, Is that man your husband?

Iulian.

Yea.

Darb.

He is a Priest.

Iulian.

No, he sayeth no Masse.

Darb.

What then? He is a priest. How darest thou marry him.

Then he shewed me a rolle of certaine names of Citizens. To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then sayd he: you shall be made to know them.

Then said I: do no other but Iustice and right, for the day will come that you shall answer for it.

Iulian.

Why womā, thinkest thou not that I haue a soul.

Iulian.

Yes, I knowe you haue a soule: but whether it be to saluation or damnation, I can not tell.

Darb.

Ho Cluny haue her to the Lollardes tower.* And so he tooke me, and caryed me to his house, where was one Dale a Promoter, which sayde to me: Alas good woman, wherefore be you heere.

What is that to you sayd I?

You be not ashamed, quoth Dale, to tel wherfore you came hither.*

No quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Christes Testament.

Christes Testament, quoth hee? it is the Deuils Testament.

Oh Lorde, quoth I, God forbid that any man shoulde speake any such woorde.

Well, well quoth he, you shall be ordered wel enough. You care not for burning quoth he. By Gods bloud, there must be some other meanes founde for you.

What quoth I, will you find any worse then you haue founde?

Wel quoth he, you hope and you hope: but your hope shalbe a slope. For though the Queene faile, shee that you hope for, shall neuer come at it: For there is my lord Cardinals grace, and many more betweene her and it.

Then quoth I: my hope is in none but God.

Then saide Clunye: Come with me: and so went I to the Lollardes Tower.* On the next daye Darbshire sent for me againe, and enquired againe of those Citizens that he enquired of before.

I answered I knewe them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on sonday [Page 2064](#) was fortnight?

And I sayd, in no place.

Then the Constable of S. Brides, beinge there, made sute for me.

And Darbishyre demaunded of him if hee would be bounde for me.

*He answered, yea. And so he was bounde for my appearance betwixt that and Christmasse.

Then Darbshire sayd: you be Constable, and should geue her good counsell.

So do I quoth he. For I bid her goe to Masse, and to say as you say. For by the Masse, if you say the Crowe is white, I will say so too.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Liuing and his wife, whom although thou seest heere deliuered through the request of women, *hys sureties, yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sicknesse of Queene Marie abated and brided then the crueltie of those Papists, which otherwise would neuer haue let them goe.

The trouble and deliuerance of Iohn Lithall.

AT the taking of William Liuing, it happened that certaine of his Bookes were in the custodie of one Iohn Lithall, *whyche knowen, the Constable of the Warde of Southwarke, with other of the Queenes seruantes, were sent to his house, who breaking open his doores and chests, tooke away not onely the bookes of the sayde William Liuing, but also all his owne bookes, wrytings, and billes of debtes, which he neuer had againe. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saterdaye after, as hee was returned, and knowen to be at home, Iohn Auales and certaine of the Queenes seruantes besette his house all the night, wyth such carefull watch, that as he in the morning issued out of his doores, thinking to escape their handes, Iohn Auales sodenly brusting out vpon him, cried, stop the traitor, stop the traitor. Whereat Lithall being amased, looked backe.

And so Iohn Auales came running to him, wyth other that were with him, saying: ha syrra: you are a prety traitorly fellow in deede: we haue had somewhat to do to get you. To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the Queenes maiestie then he. For you (sayd he) are commaunded by God to kepe holy the Sabboth day, and you seeke to shed your neighbours bloud on the Sabboth day. Remember that you must answer therfore to God. But he said, come on you villaine, you must goe before y^e counsell. So was Lithal brought into Paules Churchyard to the bishops Chauncellour, *by Iohn Auales, saying, that he had there caught the Captaine of these fellowes, and so caused him to be called to examination before D. Darbshire, who entred with him talke in this wise.

Chaunc.

What countrey man are you?

Lithall.

I am an Englishman, borne in Staffordshire.

Chaunc.

*Where were you brought vp?

Lith.

In this our countrey of England.

Chaunc.

In what Uniuersitie?

Lith.

In no Uniuersitie, but in a free schoole.

Chaunc.

We haue had certaine bookes from your house & wrytings, wherein is both treason and heresie.

Lith.

Syr, there is neither treason nor heresie in them.

Chaunc.

Thē he asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith.

If you haue ought to lay to my charge, I will aunswer it: but I wil haue no other mans bloud vpō my hed.

Chaunc.

Why come you not to the Churche? Of what Churche be you, that you come not to your owne Parish Church?

Lithall.

I am of the Church of Christ, the fountaine of all goodnesse.

Chanc.

Haue you no ministers of your church but Christ.

Lith.

We haue others.

Chanc.

Where be they?

Lith.

In the whole world disparsed, preaching and professing the Gospell and faith onely in our Sauior Iesus, as he commaunded them.

Chauncellour.

You boast muche euery one of you of your faith and beliefe: Lette me heare therefore the effecte howe you beleue.

Lith.

I beleue to be iustified freely by Christe Iesu, according to the saying of S. Paule to the Ephesians,* without either deedes or workes, or any thing that may be inuented by man.

Chaunc.

Faith can not saue without woorkes.

Lith.

That is contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles.

Chaunc.

Iohn Auales, you and the Keeper haue this fellow to prisone.

Clunie, and Iohn Auales.

Then Iohn Auales and Clunie the Keeper had me into Paules, and would haue had me to haue seene the apostles masse.

Lithall.

I knowe none the Apostles had, and therefore I will see none.

Clunie, and Iohn Auales.

Come kneele downe before the roode, and say a Pater noster and an Ave in the woorship of the fiue woundes.

Lith.

I am forbidden by Gods owne mouthe to kneele to any Idoll or Image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremitie, y^e one hauing me by one arme, and the other by the other, but God gaue me at that present time more strēgth then both these, his name be praised for it.

Then when they coulde not make me to kneele before the roode, neither to see their Masse,* there gathered a great company about vs, and all against me. Some spit on me, and sayd: Fie on thee hereticke, and other said it was pitie I was not burned already.

Then they caried me to Lollardes Tower, and hanged me in a great paire of stockes, in the which I lay three daies and three nightes, till I was so lame that I coulde neither sturre nor mooue.

Then I offered the Keeper certaine money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stockes, and he sayde I would not be ruled by him, neither to see masse nor to kneele before the Roode, and therefore I should lye there still. But I sayde I would neuer doe the thyng that shoulde be againste my conscience, and thoughe you haue lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he lette me out of the stockes, more for the loue of my money (as it maye be thought) then for any other affection, and within four or fiue daies my wife gotte leaue of maister Chauncelloure to come to mee, to bring me suche things as were needefull for me, and there I lay fiue weekes and odde dayes. In the which time diuers of my neighbours and friendes made sute to the Chauncellor for my deliuerance, the Bishop, as they sayd, at that time being at Fulham sicke. So my neighbors being there, aboute twentie of them, the Chauncellour sent for me out of the Lollardes Tower to his own house,* and sayde as followeth.

Chauncellour.

Lithall, heere be of thy neighbours whych haue bene with me to intreat for thee, and they haue informed me that thou hast bene a very honest & a quiet neighbor amongst them, and I thincke it be Gods will that I should deliuer thee before my Lorde come home. For if he come and thou go home againe, I will be burned for thee, for I knowe his minde already in that matter.

Lith.

I geue you hearty thanks for your gentlenesse, and my neighbours for their good report.

Chauncellour.

Lithall, if thy neighbours will be bounde for thy fourth comming whēsoeuer thou shalt be called for, and also thou wilt be an obedient subiect, I shalbe content to deliuer thee.

Neighbours.

If it please your woorship, we will be bounde for him both in body and goodes.

Chauncellour.

I will require no such bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in 20. pound a peece, that he shal come to aunswere when he shall be called.

Lithall.

Where finde you, maister Chancelloure in all the Scripture, that the Churche of God did binde any manne for the profession of his faithe? whiche profession you haue heard of me, that all oure iustification, righteousnesse, and saluation, commeth onely and freely by the merites of our Sauour Iesus Christe, and all the inuentions & workes of men, be they neuer so glorious, be all together vaine, as the wise man sayeth.

Chauncellour.

Loe, where he is now, I put no such matter to you: for in that I beleeeue as you doe: but yet S. Iames sayth that a man is iustified by woorkes.

Lithall.

Sainte Iames spake to those that boasted themselues of faithe, and shewed no woorkes of faith.* But O maister Chauncellour, remember I praye you, howe all the promises and Prophetes of the holy Scripture, euen from the firste promise that God made to Adam, and so euen to the latter ende to the Reuelation of Sainte Iohn, doe testifie that in the name of Iesus, and onely by hys merites, all that beleeeue shalbe saued from all their sinnes and offences. Esay sayeth:*I am founde of them that sought mee not, and am manifest to them that asked not after mee: but against Israel he sayeth:*All daye long haue I stretched oute my hande to a people that beleeeue not. And when the Iayler asked S. Paule what he shoulde doe to be saued, the Apostle sayde: Beleeeue in the Lorde Iesus, and thou shalt be saued and all thy housholde.

Againe, S. Iohn sayeth in the Reuelation, that there was none, neither in heauen, nor in earth, neither vnder y^e earth, that was able to open the booke nor y^e seales therof, but onely the Lambe Iesus our onely Sauour. And S. [Page 2065](#) Paule sayth: With one offering hath he made perfecte for euer them that are sanctified.

Chaunc.

*With vaine glory you rehearse much Scripture, as al the sort of you do: but you haue no more vnderstanding then a many of sheepe. But to the purpose. Will you that your neighbors shall enter into bōds for you, or not?

Lith.

By my minde they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not binde me, but let me serue God with my conscience freely.* For it is wrytten: They that leade into captiuitie shall goe into captiuitie, and they that strike wyth the sworde, shall pearish with the sworde.

Also it is wrytten in the Gospel of our Sauour Iesus Christ:*that who so doeth offend one of these little ones whych beleue in mee, it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his necke, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea. Of the which I am assured by his holye spirite that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you shew, vnto you shall be shewed the like.

Chaunc.

You are a mad man. I would not binde you, but that I must needes haue somewhat to shewe for your deliuerance. Then he called ij. of my neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, which offered themselues to be bounde, and called me before them, and sayd: I haue a letter of his own hand wryting with his name and seale at it, with a booke also againste the Regiment of women, for the which I coulde make him to be hanged, drawen, & quartered, but on my faith I will him no more hurt, then I meane to mine owne soule.

Lith.

I desire you that be my neighbours and frends, that you wil not enter into bondes for me: for you knowe not the danger therof, neither I my selfe: It goeth against my conscience that ye should so doe.

Chaunc.

Why I wil not binde you to do any thing against your conscience.

Neighbours.

*Then they made the bonde and sealed to it, and willed me y^t I shoulde seale to it also: and I saide that I would not, neither could I obserue the bond, and therefore I would not set too my hand.

Chaunc.

It is pitie that thou hast so much fauour shewed thee: yet for these honest mens sake I wil discharge thee.

Notwithstanding all these dissembling woords of maister Darbshire, pretending for fauoure of his sureties to set him at libertye, it was no suche thing, nor anye zeale of charitie y^t mooued him so to do, but onely feare of the time, vnderstanding the daungerous and vnrecoerable sicknesse of Queene Mary, which then began somewhat to asswage the cruel proceedings of thes^e persecutors, wherby they durst not do that they would: for els Lithall was not like to haue escaped so easily.

Edward Grew.

MOREouer, there was one Edward Grewe priest, and Appline his wife,* compelled to flie from theyr dwelling at a Towne called Broke: and the man being verye aged, trauailed abroad to keepe a good conscience.

At the last he was taken and laid in Colchester Castle, where he remained till Quene Elizabeth came to her regal seat, and by the alteration of Religion he was deliuered. His wife, good womā, was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Browne.

William Browne, Parson of Little Stanham, in the Countie of Suffolke,* made a Sermon in the sayde Towne, incontinently after the buriall of our good King Edward, and in his sermon he sayde: there goeth a report that our good king is buried with a Masse by the Bishop of Winchester, he hauing a miter vpon his head. But if it were so (sayeth hee) they are all traitours that so doe, because it is bothe againste the truthe and the lawes of thys realme, and it is greate Idolatrie and blasphemie, and against the glory of God: and they are no frends neither to God,* the king, nor yet vnto the realm that so do. For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefielde, an aduersarye to the truth, being then constable of the sayd towne, and bail•se vnto sir Iohn Ierningham knight (the chiefe lord of y^e towne) immediatly rode foorth,* & brought home w^t him one Edward Goulding, which was then vnder sheriffe, Syr Thomas Cornewalis being then high sheriffe.

So the sayd Golding and Blomfield sent for certaine men of the sayd Towne, and examined them for the Sermon. Wherunto they made but a small answer. Then the Sheriffe made a Bill, and so feared the men, that 2. or 3. of them set to their hands, and one of them neuer ioyed after but it was a griefe to him till he died.

Then did they take men with them vnto the Parsones house, and in the night they tooke him,* and wyth watchmē kept him vntill it was day. Then should he haue bene caried the next day to the Counsell: but y^e said Rob. Blomefield was taken so sicke, that hee was like to die: so that he could not carie him for his life.

Then the sayd sheriffe sent him to Ipswich againe, and there he was for a time. Then hee was sent to Burie prison, & from thence to the Councel, and then into the Flete: and so he lay in prisone from the beginning of haruest till it was nigh Christmasse, and he sayd God gaue him •uche answeres to make when he was examined, that hee was deliuered with quietnes of conscience.* And hauing his libertie, he came againe vnto the foresayd Towne: and because he

would not goe to Masse, his liuing was taken away, and he & his wife were constrained to flie heere and there, for his life & conscience. In the last yeare of Queene Maries raigne, God did take him out of this life in peace.

Where moreouer is to be noted, y^t this Robert Blomfield aboue named, immediately after he had apprehended the saide Browne fell very sicke: * And though at that time he was a welthy man and of a great substance (beside his land, which was better then twentie pound a yeare) after thys time, God so plagued his housholde, that hys eldest sonne died, and his wife had a pining sicknesse till she departed this life also.

Then married he an other, a richer widow: but all wold not helpe, and nothing would prosper: For hee had a sore pining sicknesse, being full of botches and sores, whereby he wasted away both body and goodes, till he died.

So when he died, he was aboue ix. •core pounds in det, and it was neuer heard of any repentaunce he had. But a litle before his death, he bragged, & threatned a good man, one Symon Hariston, to putte him foorth to the Officers, because he did weare no Surplis when he sayd seruice.

Wherefore it is pitie suche baites of Poperie are lefte to the enemies to take Christians in. God take them away, or els from them: for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindnesse and strife amongst men.

Furthermore, out of the sayde Towe were constrayned to flye Robert Boele and Iohn Trapne, because they woulde not goe to Masse and receiue their Sacrament of the aultare.

Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatise of the scourging of Thomas Grene, how he was troubled and beaten by doctour Storie, for a certaine booke called Antichriste, which he receiued of a woman, because in no case he woulde detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who comming from Emden to England, brought with her diuers bookes, and sparsed them abroad in London, for the which shee being at length espied and laied fast, was brought to examination 13. times before the Catholicke Inquisitours of heretical prauitie. O. the which her examinations, nine haue come to our handes.

Wherein how fiercely she was assaulted, how shamefully shee was reuiled, how miserably handled, and what answeres she made vnto the aduersaries in her owne defence, and finally after all this, how she escaped and passed through y^e pikes (being yet, as I heare say, aliue) I thought to geue the reader here to see and vnderstande.

The first examination of Elizabeth Young, before maister Hussie.

WHO examined her of many thinges: First where she was borne, and who was her father and mother. *

Elizabeth Young.

Syr, all this is but vaine talke, and very superfluous. It is to fil my head with fantasies, that I shoulde not be able to aunswere vnto suche thinges as I came for. Ye haue not (I thinke) put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you goe to the matter that I came hether for.

M. Hussie.

Wherfore wentest thou out of the realme?

Elizabeth.

To keepe my conscience cleane.

Hussie.

When wast thou at Masse?

Eliz.

Not this three yeares.

Hussie.

Then wast thou not there iij. yeares before that.

Eliz.

No Syr, nor yet iij. yeares more before that, for and if I were, I had euill lucke.

Hussie.

How old art thou?

Eliz.

Fourty and vpwardes.

Hussie.

Twentie of those yeares thou wentest to Masse.

Eliz.

Yea, and twentie more I may and yet come home as wise as I went thether first, for I vnderstand it not.

Hussie.

Why wilt not thou go to the Masse?

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Elizabeth.

Syr, my conscience will not suffer me: For I had rather that all the world should accuse me, then mine owne conscience.

Hussy.

*What and if a louse or a flea sticke vpon thy skinne, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a conscience in the taking her off: is there not a conscience in it?

Elizabeth.

That is but an easie Argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my saluation dependeth vpon: for it is but an easie conscience y^t a man can make.

Hussy.

But why wilte thou not sweare vpon the Euangelist before a Iudge?

Eliz.

*Because I know not what a booke oth is.

Hussy.

Then he began to teach her the booke oth.

Eliz.

Syr, I do not vnderstand it, and therefore I wil not learne it.

Hussy.

Then sayde hee: thou wilt not vnderstand it: and with that rose vp and went his way.

Her second examination before Doctour Martin.

Who sayd to her: Woman, thou art come from beyōd the sea,* and hast brought with thee bookes of heresie and treason, and thou must confesse to vs, who translated them, Printed them, and who sent them ouer (for once I knowe thee to be but a messenger:) and in so doyng the Queenes highnesse will be good to thee (for shee hath forgeuen greater things then this) & thou shalt find as much fauour as is possible.* But if thou be stubborne, and wilte not confesse, thou wilt be wondrous euill handled: for we know the truth already, but thus we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true of thy woord, or no.

Eliz.

Syr, ye haue my confession, and more then that I can not say.

Martin.

Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Doest thou thinke that we wil be full answered by this examination that thou hast made? Thou rebell whoore and traitorly heretike,* thou dost refuse to sweare vpon the Euangelist before a Iudge, I heare say. Thou shalt be racked inch meale, thou traitourly whoore and hereticke, but thou shalt sweare afore a Iudge before thou goe: yea, and thou shalt be made to confesse how many bookes thou hast sold, and to whom.

Eliz.

Syr I vnderstand not what an oth is, and therfore I will take no suche thing vppon me. And no man hath boughte any bookes of mee as yet, for those bookes that I had, you Commissioners haue them all.

Martin.

Thou traitorly whore, we knowe that thou haste sold a number of bookes, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou hast bene here, and where thou layest, and euery place that thou hast bene in. Doest thou thinke that thou hast fooles in hand?

Eliz.

No syr, you be too wise for me: for I can not tel howe manye places I haue bene in my selfe: but if I were in Turkey, I should haue meate and drinke and lodging for my money.

Mart.

Thou rebel whoore, thou hast spoken euil woordes by the Queene,* and thou dwellest amongst a sort of traitours and rebelles, that can not geue the Queene a good worde.

Eliz.

I am not able to accuse any man thereof, nor yet is there any man that can approoue anye such things by me, as ye lay vnto my charge. For I know by Gods woorde, & Gods booke hath taught me what is my duetie to God, and vnto my Queene, and therefore (as I sayd) I am assured that no man liuing vpon the earth, can approoue any such things by me.

Mart.

Thou rebell and traitourly whoore, thou shalt be so racked & handled, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorly whoores and heretikes: And thou shalt be made to sweare by the holye Euangelist, and confesse to whome thou haste solde al and euery of these heretical bookes that thou haste solde: for wee knowe what number thou haste solde, and to whome: but thou shalt be made to confesse it in spite of thy bloud.

Eliz.

Here is my carkas: do with it what ye wil, and more then that ye can not haue. Master Martin, ye can haue no more but my bloude.

Then fared he as though hee had bene starke mad, and sayd: Martin? Why callest thou me Martin?

Eliz.

Sir, I knowe you well enough, for I haue bene before you ere now. Ye deliuered me once at Westminster.

Martin.

Where diddest thou dwell then?

Eliz.

I dwelled in the Minories.

Martin.

I deliuered thee and thy husband bothe: and I thought• then that thou wouldest haue done otherwyse then thou dost now. For if thou hadst bene before any Bishop in England, and said the woordes that thou didst before me, thou haddest fried a fagot: * and thoughe thou didst not burne then, thou art like to burne or hang now.

Eliz.

Syr, I promised you then, that I woulde neuer be fed with an vnknownen tongue, & no more I will not yet.

Martin.

I shall feede thee well enoughe. Thou shalte be fedde with that (I warrant thee) which shall be finally to thine ease.

Eliz.

Doe what God shall suffer you to doe: for more yee shall not. And then he arose, and so departed, and went to the keepers house, and sayd to the wife: Whom haste thou suffered to come to this vile traitourly whoore and heretike to speake wyth her? Then sayde the keepers wife, as God receiue my soule, here came neither mā, woman, nor childe to aske for her.

Mart.

If any man, woman, or childe come to aske for her,* I charge thee in paine of death, that they be layed fast, and geue her one day bread, and an other day water.

Eliz.

If ye take away my meat, I trust that God wil take away my hunger: and so he departed, and sayde, that was too good for her: and then was shee shutte vppe vnder two lockes in the Clincke, where shee was before.

The third examination before Doctour Martin againe.

Then was shee broughte before hym in his Chamber,* within my Lorde Chauncellours house. Who asked her, saying: Elizabeth, wilt thou confesse these thynges that thou hast bene examined vppon? For thou knowest that I haue bene thy frende: and in so doing,* I wil be thy frende againe: geuing her manye faire woordes, and then demaunding of her how many Gentlemen were beyond the Seas.

Eliz.

It is too much for me to tel you how many are on the other side.

Mart.

No, I meane but in Franckford & Emden, where thou hast bene.

Eliz.

Syr, I did neuer take accounte of them: it is a thing that I looke not for.

Martin.

When shall I heare a true woorde come out of thy mouth?

Eliz.

I haue tolde you the truth, but because that it soundeth not to your minde, therefore ye will not credite it.*

Martin.

Wilt thou yet confesse? and if thou wilt, that that I haue promised, I will doe: and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must goe euen hence to the racke, and therfore confesse.

Eliz.

I can say no more then I haue sayde.

Martin.

Well, for as muche as shee will confesse no more, haue her away to the Racke, and then shee will be marred. Then aunsweared a Priest that sate there, and sayde: Woman, take an othe and confesse. Wilt thou be hurte for other men?

Eliz.

I can confesse no more then I haue. Doe with my carkas what yee will.*

Martin.

Did yee euer heare the like of thys Heretique? What a stoute heretique is thys? We haue the truthe▪ and we knowe the truth, and yet looke whether shee will confesse. There is no remedie, but shee muste needes to the Racke, and therefore away with her, and so commaunded her out of the doore, and called her keeper vnto hym, and sayde to him: There is no remedie but this heretike must be racked: and talked with him more, but what it was she heard not.

Then he called her in againe, and sayde: Wilte thou not confesse, and keepe thee from the Racke? I aduise thee so to doe: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the payne yet, but thou shalt do.

Eliz.

Syr, I canne confesse no more. Do with my carkas what yee will.

Martin.

Keeper, away with her. Thou knowest what I sayde. Let her knowe the paine of the Racke. And so shee departed, thinking no lesse, but that she should haue gone to the Racke, till shee sawe the keeper tourne toward the Clincke againe.* And thus did God alienate their heartes and diminish their tyrānous power, vnto the time of further examination: for she was brought before the byshop, the Deane, and the Chauncellour, and other Commissioners, first and last thirteene times.

The fourth examination was before the Byshop of London, Syr Roger Cholmley, Doctour Cooke, the Recorder of London, Doctour Roper of Kent, and Doctour Martin, as concerning her faith. &c.

Firste, shee being presented by Doctour Martin, before the Bishop of London. Doctour Martin beganne to [Page 2067](#) declare against her, saying: The Lord Chauncellour hath sent you heere a woman, which hath brought bookes ouer from Emden, where al these bookes of heresie and treason are printed, and hathe therewith filled all the lande wyth Treason and heresie:* neither yet will shee confesse, who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them ouer. Wherefore my Lord Chācellor committeth her vnto my Lorde of London, he to doe with her as he shall thinke good.* For shee will confesse nothing, but that shee bought these said bookes in Hamsterdame, and so brought them ouer to sell for gaine.

D. Cooke.

Let her heade be trussed in a small line, & make her to confesse.

Martin.

The booke is called Antichrist, and so may it be wel called, for it speaketh against Iesus Christ & the Queene. And besides that, shee hathe a certaine sparke of the Anabaptists, for she refuseth to sweare vpon the iiij. Euangelistes before a Iudge: For I my selfe and M. Hussy haue had her before vs foure times, but we can not bring her to sweare. Wherefore my Lord Chauncellor would that shee should absteine & fast, for she hath not fasted a great while: For she hathe laine in the Clincke a good while, where she hath had too much her libertie.

Then said the bishop: why wilt thou not sweare before a Iudge? that is the right trade of the Anabaptists.

Eliz.

My Lord, I wil not sweare that this hand is mine.

No, sayd the bishop? and why?

Eliz.

*My Lorde, Christ sayeth, that what soeuer is more then yea, yea, or nay, nay, it commeth of euill. And moreouer, I know not what an oth is: and therefore I wil take no such thing vpon me.

Then saide Cholmley: xx. pounce, it is a man in a woman clothes: xx. pound it is a man.

Boner.

*Thinke you so my Lord?

Cholm.

Yea, my Lord. &c.

Eliz.

My Lord, I am a woman.

Bish.

Sweare her vpon a booke, seeing it is but a question asked.

Then said Cholmley: I will lay twentie pounce it is a man.

Then D. Cooke brought her a booke, commanding her to lay thereon her hande.

Eliz.

No, my Lorde, I will not sweare: for I knowe not what an oth is. But I say that I am a woman, and haue children.

Bish.

That know not we: wherefore sweare.

Cholmley.

Thou yll fauoured whore, lay thy hande vpon the booke: I will lay on myne, and so he laied his hande vpon the booke.

Eliz

So will not I mine.

Then the Bishop spake a woorde in Latine, out of S. Paule, as concerning swearing.

Elizab.

My Lorde, if you speake to mee of S. Paule, then speake English, for I vnderstand you not.

The bish.

I dare sweare that thou doest not.

Eliz.

My Lord: S. Paul saith, that fiue wordes spoken in a language that may be vnderstand, is better then manye in a foreine or strange tongue which is vnknown.

Doctor Cooke.

Sweare before vs whether thou be a man or a woman.

Eliz.

If ye wil not beleue me, then send for women into a secrete place, and I will be tried.

Cholm.

Thou art an ill fauored whore.

Then said the Bishop: How beleeuest thou in the Sacrament of the altar?*

Eliza.

My Lorde: if it will please you that I shall declare mine owne faith, I will.

The bish.

Tell me how thou beleeuest in the sacrament of the altar.

Eliza.

Will it please you that I shall declare my Faithe? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I wil beleue it.

D. Cooke

That is well sayd, declare thy faith.

Eliz.

I beleue in God the Father almighty, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost,* three persons and one God. I beleue all the Articles of my Crede. I beleue al things wrytten in the holy Scripture, and all thinges agreeable wyth the Scripture, geuen by the holy Ghoste into the Church of Christ, set

forth and taught by y^e church of Christ. I beleue that Iesus Christ the only sonne of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to saue sinners, & that in him, by him,* & throughe him I am made cleane frō my sinnes, and without him I coulde not. I beleeue that in the holy sacrament of Christes body and bloud, which he did institute and ordaine, and left among his Disciples the nyght before he was betraied, whē I do receiue his Sacrament in faith and spirite, I do receiue Christ.

Bish.

No more, I warrant you, but the sacramēt of Christes body and bloud, receiued but in spirit and faith, wyth those heretiques.

Cholm.

Ah whoore, spirite and faith, whoore?

Eliz.

This sacrament neuer man coulde or did make, but only he that did, which no man could do.*

Mart.

Then thou must allowe that grasse is a sacrament: for who could make grasse but he only?

Eliz.

Syr, he hathe suffered, and made a sufficient Sacrifice once for all, and so hath he made hys Sacrament sufficient once for all, for there was neuer man that could say: Take, eate, this is my body that is broken for you, but only Iesus Christ, who had his body broken for the sinnes of the world: which Sacrament he hath left here amongst vs for a testimonial of his death, euen to the worldes ende.

Mart.

Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scorie?

Eliz.

Yea, Bishop Scorie and other that I haue heard.

Bish.

Why, is Scory Bishop now?

Eliz.

If that doe offende you, call him Docteur Scorie, if yee will.

Roper.

I knew when he was but a poore Doctour.

Mart.

What doe ye call Scorie?

Eliz.

Our Superintendent.

Bish.

Loe, their Superindent.

Mart.

And what are ye called?

Eliz.

Christes congregation.

Bish.

Lo, Christes congregation, I warrant you.

Doctor Cooke.

What liuing hath Scorie?

Eliz.

Sir, as farre as I do know, he liueth by his owne, for I know no man that geueth him ought.

Recorder.

Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough sent hym out of England.

Eliz.

Syr, I know no such thing.

Cholm.

Harke whore, harke: harke how I do beleue.

Eliz.

My Lord, I haue tolde you my beliefe.

Cholmley.

Harke, thou yll fauoured whoore, howe I doe beleue.* When the Priest hath spoken the wordes of Consecration, I do beleue that there remaineth the very body that was borne of the virgine Marie, was hanged on the crosse, was deade and buried, and descended into hell, and rose againe on the thirde day, and ascended to heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The same body when the priest hath spoken the woords, commeth down, and when the priest lifteth vp his body on this wise (he lifting vp his handes) sayd there it is.

Eliz.

I haue tolde you also how I do beleue.

Mart.

Away with her.

Cholmley.

Ah euill fauoured whore, nothing but spirit and faith whore?

Mart.

Away with her, we haue more to talke withall.

Then was shee caried into the Colehouse,* and searched for bookes, and then put into the stockhouse, and her knife girdle, and aporne taken from her.

The fifth examination before the Bishop of Londons Chancellour. &c.

Then was she brought out of the stockhouse & brought before the bishops Chauncellour,* who required of her what age shee was of.

Eliz.

Sir, fortie yeares and vpwardes.

The Chauncellour.

Why, thou art a woman of a faire yeares: what shouldest thou meddle with the Scriptures? it is necessary for thee to beleue, and that is inoughe. It is more sitte for thee to meddle with thy distaff, then to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy beliefe? I woulde heare it: for it can not be good, in that thou art brought into prison.

Eliz.

Syr, if it will please you to heare it, * I will declare it vnto you. But I praye you that you will take your pen and wryte it, and then examine it: and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a Christian woman, then teache me better, and I will learne it.

Chaunc.

Wel said. But who shalbe Iudge betwene thee and me?

Elizab.

The Scripture.

Chaunc.

Wilt thou stand by that?

Eliz.

Yea sir.

Chaunc.

Wel, go thy way out at the doore a litle while, for I am busie, and I will call for thee anon againe.

Then he called me againe, and said: Nowe woman, the time is too long to wryte. Say thy minde, and I wil bear it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him, as shee had done before the Bishop.

Chaunc.

Woman, spirit and faith I do allow, * but dost not thou beleue that thou doest receiue the body of Christ really, corporally, and substantially?

Eliz.

These wordes really and corporally, I vnderstond not: as for substantially, I take it, ye meane I should beleue that I should receiue his humane body (which is vpon the right hand of God, and can occupy no moe places at once) and that beleuee not I.*

Chanc.

Thou must beleuee this, or els thou art damned.

Eliz.

Sir, can ye geue me beliefe or fayth?

Chanc.

No, God must geue it thee.

Eliz.

God hath geuen me no such fayth or beliefe.

The Chauncellor then declared a text of S. Paule in Latine, and then in English, saying: I could make thee beleuee, but that thou hast a cankered heart, and wilt not beleuee. Who then can make thee to beleuee?

Eliz.

You sayd euen now, that fayth or beliefe commeth of God, and so beleuee I, and then may not I beleue an vntruth to be a truth.

Chanc.

Doest thou not beleuee that Christes flesh is flesh in thy flesh?

Eliz.

No sir, I beleuee not that, for my flesh shall putrifie and rot.

Chanc.

Christ sayd, my flesh is flesh in flesh.

Eliz.

Who so receiueth him fleshly, shall haue a fleshly resurrection.

Chanc.

Christ sayeth in the 6. of Iohn: My fleshe is meate in deed, and my bloud is drinke in deed.

Eliz.

*Christ preached to the Capernaits, saying: Except ye eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye shall not haue lyfe in you: and the Capernaïtes murmured at it. And his Disciples also murmured, saying among themselues: This is an hard saying, and who can abide it? Christe vnderstoode their meanyng, and sayde: Are ye also offended? Will ye also goe away? What and if ye shall see the sonne of man ascende vp to heauen from whence hee came? will that offende you? It is the spirite that quickeneth, the fleshe profiteth nothyng. I praye you Sir, what meaneth Christ by that?

Chanc.

O God forbid. Would ye haue me to interprete the Scriptures? We must leaue that for our olde auncient fathers, which haue studied scriptures a long tyme, & haue the holy ghost geuen vnto them.

Eliz.

Why sir, haue ye not the holy ghost geuen and reuealed vnto you?

Chanc.

No, God forbid that I should so beleeeue: but I hope, I hope: But ye say, ye are of the spirit. Will you say that ye haue no profit in Christes flesh?

Eliz.

Sir, we haue our profite in Christes flesh, but not as the Capernaïtes did vnderstand it: For they vnderstoode that they must eate his fleshe as they did eate Oxe fleshe and other, and drinke his bloud, as we drinke Wyne or Beere out of a Bole. But so we must not receyue it. But our profite that we haue by Christ, is to beleeeue that hys body was broken vpon the Crosse, and his bloude shedde for our sinnes: That is the very meanyng of Christ, that so we should eate his fleshe, and drinke hys bloude, when he sayde: My fleshe is meate in deede, and my bloud is drinke in deede.

Chanc.

How doth thy body lyue, if Christes flesh bee not flesh in thy flesh?

Eliz.

Sir, I was a body before I had a soule: which body God had created, & yet it could not lyue, til God had breathed lyfe into me, and by that lyfe doth my body lyue. And when it shall please God to dissolue my lyfe, my flesh will offer it selfe vnto the place from whence it came, & through the merites of Christ, my soule wil offer it selfe to the place from whence it came.

Chanc.

Yea, but if thou doe not beleeeue that Christes flesh is flesh in thy flesh, thou canst not be saued.

Eliz.

*Sir, I do not beleeeue that.

Chauncel.

Why, doth not Christ saye: My fleshe is meate in deede, and my bloude is drinke in deede? Canst thou denye that?

Eliz.

I denye not that: for Christes fleshe and bloude is meate and drinke for my soule, * the foode of my soule. For who so euer beleeueth that Iesus Christ the sonne of God hath dyed and shed his bloud for his sinnes, his soule feedeth thereon for euer.

Chauncel.

When thou receiuest the Sacrament of the aultar, doest thou not beleeeue that thou doest receiue Christes body?

Eliz.

Sir, when I do receiue the Sacrament which Christ did institute and ordaine the night before he was betraied, and left among hys Disciples, as often (I say) as I receiue it, I beleeeue that spiritually, and by fayth I receyue Christ. And of this Sacrament, I knowe Christ himselfe to be the author, and none but hee. And this same Sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, * & an augmenting to my fayth.

Chaunc.

Why did not Christ take bread and gaue thanks, and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples, and sayde: Take, eate, this is my body that is geuen for you? Did he geue them his body, or no?

Elizabeth.

He also tooke the cuppe and gaue thanks to his Father, and gaue it vnto his Disciples, saying: Drynke ye all hereof: for this is the Cuppe of the newe Testament in my bloude which shall bee shedde for many. Nowe I praye you Sir, let me aske you one question: * Dyd he geue the cuppe the name of hys bloud, or els the wyne that was in the cuppe?

Then was he very angry and sayd: Doest thou think that thou hast an hedge priest in hand?

Eliz.

No sir, I take you not to bee an hedge priest. I take you for a Doctor.

Chauncel.

So me thinketh: Thou wilt take vpon thee to teach me.

Eliz.

No sir: But I let you know what I know: and by argument one shall know more.

Christ sayd: As oft as ye do this, *do it in the remembrance of me: but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also S. Paule saith: So oft as ye shall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lordes death till he come. Then we may not looke for hym here, vntill his cōmyng agayne at the latter day. Agayne, is not this article of our beliefe true: He sitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty: from thence he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead? But if hee shall not come, * before hee come to iudgement, then how is he here present in your sacrament of the aultar? Wherefore I beleeeue that the humaine bodye of Christ occupieth no more but one place at once, for when he was here, he was not there.

¶The sixt examination before the sayd Chauncellor.

W^Ho sayd vnto her: Woman, the last tyme that thou wast before me, * our talke was concernyng the Sacrament.

Eliz.

Sir, true it is, and I trust that I sayd nothyng that ye can deny by the scriptures.

Chanc.

Yes thou wilt not beleeeue that Christes fleshe is flesh in thy flesh. *

Eliz.

No sir, God hath geuen me no such beliefe, for it can not be found by the scriptures.

Chanc.

Wilt thou beleue nothing but what is in the scripture? Why, how many Sacraments doest thou find in the Scripture?

Eliz.

The church of Christ doth set forth twaine.

Chanc.

I will as well finde seuen by the scripture, as thou shalt finde twaine.

Eliz.

Sir, I talke not to you thereof, but I saye that the church of Christ setteth out twaine,* & I haue bene taught no more.

Chanc.

What are those twaine?

Eliz.

The Sacrament of Christes body and bloud, and the sacrament of Baptise.

Chauncellour.

What sayest thou by the Sacramente of Wedlocke?*

Eliz.

I haue not heard it called a Sacrament, but the holy estate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all mē that take it vpon them.

Chanc.

How sayest thou by Priestres?* Is it good that they should marrie? is it to be kept of them?

Eliz.

I come not hither to reason any such matters, for I am no Diuine, and also it is no part of my faith.

Chanc.

Can ye not tell? ye shall tell or euer you go.

Eliz.

Sir, then must ye keepe me a good while, for I haue not studied the scriptures for it.

Chaunc.

No? why, ye will not be ashamed to flee vnto the highest mysterie, euen to the Sacrament at the first dashe, and ye are not afrayd to argue with the best doctour in the lande.

Eliz.

Gods mysteries I will not meddle w^t, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.*

Chanc.

What say ye by prayer for the dead? is it not meete that if a mans friend be dead, his friend cōmend his soule vnto God?

Eliz.

There is no Christian man that will commend hys friend nor his foe, vnto the Deuill. And whether it be good for him, when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alyue.

Chaunc.

Then thou allowest not prayer to bee good for thē when they be dead, & lying in Purgatory.* Is it not meete that prayer be made vnto God for them?

Eliz.

Sir, I neuer heard in the Scriptures of Purgatory, but in the scripture I haue heard of heauen and hell.

Chaunc.

Why,* ye haue nothyng but the skimmyng of the Scriptures, Our auncient fathers could finde out in the [Page 2069](#) bottome of the scriptures that there is a Purgatory. Yea, they could finde it in the new testament, that a Priest shall take the Sacrament and go to the aultar and make an oblation and offer it vp every day.

Eliz

Sir, that could neuer be found in the Bible nor Testament, as farre as euer I could heare.

Chanc.

Whome doest thou heare read either the Bible or Testament, but a sorte of chismatikes, bawdie Byshops, and hedge Priests (which haue brought into the Churche a stinkyng Communion,^{*} which was neuer heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) whiche haue deceyued the king and all the Nobilitie, and all the whole Realme.

Eliz.

Sir, it is a vile name that ye geue them all.

Chanc.

Where are all the hedge knaues become now, that they come not to their answer?

Eliz.

^{*}Aunswer Sir? why, they haue aunswered both with the Scriptures and also with their bloud, and then where were you that ye came not forth to answer in their times? I neuer knew none of you that were troubled, but twain and that was not for Gods worde, it was for their disobedience?

Chaunc.

No I pray you? did ye not knowe that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed.

Eliz.

Sir, I neuer knew that any of you euer was eyther hanged, killed, burned or headed.

Chanc.

^{*}No? did ye neuer heare that the Byshop of Rochester lost hys head for the supremacie of the Bishoppes of Rome.

Eliz

Then he died not for Gods word.

Chaunc.

^{*}Well, thou wilt beleeeue nothyng but that which is written in Gods worde. Where canst thou finde the Saboth written in the Scripture, by the name of the Saboth? For the right Saboth day I will prooue to be Saterday. Or where canst thou finde the Articles of y^e Creede in the Scripture by the name of the Articles? Or where canst thou find in the Scripture that Christ went downe into hell.

Eliz.

What place or part in the scripture can ye finde for to disprooue any of these things?

Chaunc.

What priest hast thou lyen withall, that thou hast so much Scripture? Thou art some Priestes woman, I thinke, for thou wilt take vpon thee to reason and teach, the best Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz.

I was neuer yet Priests wyfe, nor yet Priests woman.

Chanc.

Haue I touched your conscience?

Eliz.

No Sir, ye haue not touched my conscience, but beware ye hurt not your owne.

Chanc.

Thou hast red a little in the Bible or Testament, & thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a Doctor that hath gone to schoole thirtie yeares: * and before God, I thinke if I had talked thus much with a Iewe, as I haue done with thee, he would haue turned ere this time. But I may say by you as Christ sayd by Ierusalem, saying: O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how ofte would I haue gathered thee together: euen as a henne gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldst not. And so would we gather you together in one fayth, but ye will not: and therfore your owne bloude bee vpon your own heds, for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest heretikes that euer I heard, for thou beleeuest nothyng but what is in the Scripture, and therfore thou art damned.

Eliz.

I do beleue all thinges written in the scripture, and all things agreeable with the scripture, geuen by the holy Ghost into the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ, * and shall I be damned because I beleue the truth, and will not beleue an vntruth?

Then the Chancellor called the keper, saying: Clunie take her away, thou knowest what thou hast to doe with her. And so she departed and was brought agayne to the stockhouse, and there she lay certaine dayes and both her hands ma^aced in one iron: and afterward was remooued into the Lollards Tower, and there she remained w^t both her feete in the stockes and irons till the next tyme of examination.

¶The 7. examination before the Chancellor and the Bishops Scribe.

WHen she was brought before the sayd Chancellour and the Scribe,* the Chancellor sayd vnto her: Woman, thou hast bene twise before me, but thou & I coulde not agree: and here be certaine articles that my Lorde the B. of London would that thou shouldst make answer vnto, which are these. First, how many Sacramentes thou doest allow.

Eliz.

Sir, as many as Christes Church doth allowe, and that is twaine.

Then sayd the Scribe.* Thou wast taught 7. before K. Edwards dayes.

Chanc.

Which two Sacraments bee those that thou doest allow?

Eliz.

The sacrament of the body & bloud of Iesus Christ, and the sacrament of Baptisme.

Chaunc.

Doest thou not beleeeue that the Pope of Rome is the supreme head of the Church, immediately vnder God in earth?

Eliz.

No sir, no man can be the head of Christes Church: for Christ himselfe is the head,* and hys word is the gouernour of all that be of that Church, where so euer they bee scattred abroad.

Chanc.

Doest thou not beleeeue that the Byshop of Rome can forgeue thee all thy sinnes, hereticall, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancie vnto this day?

Eliz.

Sir, the Bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgeue me my sinnes,* but hee onely that is without sinne, and that is Iesus Christ whiche dyed for my sinnes.

Chanc▪

Doest thou not know that the Pope sent ouer hys Iubilies, that all that euer would fast and pray, and go to the church, should haue their sinnes forgeuen them.

The Scribe.

Sir, I thinke that she was not in the Realme then.

Chanc.

Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome,* and all his detestable enormities?

Eliz

Yes that I haue.

Chanc.

And art thou not sory for it?

Eliz.

No sir, not a whit.

Chanc.

Hast thou not sayd, that the Masse was wicked, & the sacrament of the aultar most abhominable?

Eliz

Yes that I haue.

Chanc.

And art thou not sory for it?

Eliz.

No sir, not a whit.

Chanc.

Art thou content for to go to the Church and heare Masse?

Eliz.

I will not goe to the church, either to Masse or Mattins, till I may heare it in a tong, that I can vnderstand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language. And alwaies the Scribe did write euery of these articles, as they were demanded, and answered vnto.

Then the Scribe asked her from whence she came.

The Chauncellor sayd: this is she that brought ouer all these bookes of heresie and treason.

Then sayd the Scribe to her: Woman, where haddest thou all these bookes?

Eliz.

I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them ouer to sell, thinking to gayne thereby.

Then sayd the Scribe, what is the name of the booke?

Eliz

I cannot tell.

The Scribe.

Why, wouldst thou buy bookes and knowe not their names?

Then sayd Cluny the keeper: Sir, my L. Bishop did sende for her by name that she should come to Masse, but she would not.

Chanc.

Yea, did my Lord send for her by name, and would she not go to masse?

Eliz.

No sir, I will neuer go to masse, till I do vnderstand it, by the leaue of God.*[_](#)

Chanc.

Understand it? why, who the deuill can make thee to vnderstand Latine, thou beyng so old?

Then the Scribe commaunded her to set to her hande to all these sayd thyngs.

Elizabeth sayd: sir, then let me heare it read first.

Then sayd the Scribe, M. Chauncellor, shal she heare it read?

Chanc.

Yea, let the heretike heare it read.*

Then she heard it read, and so she set to her hand.

¶The eight examination before the Bishop.

WHen she was brought before the B. he asked the keeper: is this the woman that hath the three children?*

And the keeper sayd: yea my Lord.

Bish.

Woman, here is a supplication put vnto my handes for thee. In lyke case there was another supplication put vp to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madest as though that I should keepe thy children.

Eliz.

My L. I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other.

Then said the Bish. M. Deane,* is this the womā that ye haue sued so earnestly for?

The Deane.

Yea, my Lord.

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The Deane.

Woman, what remaineth in the sacrament of the aultar, when and after that the Priest hath spoken the words of consecration?

Eliz.

A piece of bread. But the Sacrament of Christes body and bloud, which he did institute and leaue amongst his disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministred according to his word, that sacrament I do beleeeue.

The Deane.

How doest thou beleeeue concernyng the bodye of Christ? where is his body, and how many bodies hath hee?

Eliz.

Sir, in heauen, he sitteth on the right hand of God.

The Deane.

From whence came his humane body?

Eliz.

He tooke it of the Uirgin Mary.

The Deane.

That is flesh, bloud, & bones, as mine is. But what shape hath his spirituall body? hath it face, handes, and feete?

Eliz.

I knowe no other body that he hath, but that bodye whereof he ment when he sayd: This is my body whiche is geuen for you: and this is my bloud which shall be shed for you. Whereby he plainly meaneth that body & no other, which he tooke of the virgin Mary, hauyng the perfect shape and proportion of a humane body.

Story.

*Then said Story: Ye haue a wise body, for ye must go to the stake.

The Deane.

Art thou content to beleue in the faith of Christes Church? But to aske of thee what Christes church is, or where it is, I let it passe.

Eliz.

Sir, to that church I haue ioyned my faith, and from it I purpose neuer to turne by Gods helpe.

The Deane.

Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Eliz.

Sir, if it please God to geue me leaue.

The Deane

Art thou content to confesse thy selfe to bee an ignorant and a foolsh woman, and to beleeeue as our holy Father the Pope of Rome doth, and as the Lorde Cardinals grace doth, and as my Lord the Bishop of London thine Ordinary doth, and as the Kinges grace and the Queenes grace,* and all the Nobilitie of England do: yea, and the Emperors grace, and all the noble princes in christendome.

Eliz

Sir, I was neuer wise, but in fewe wordes I shall make you a briefe answer how I do beleeeue. I do beleeeue all thynges that are written in the Scriptures geuen by the holy Ghost vnto the Church of Christ, set foorth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith and on no man.

Then said Story: and who shall be Iudge?

Eliz.

Sir, the scripture.

Story.

And who shall read it?

Elizabeth.

He vnto whom God hath geuen the vnderstandyng.

Bish.

Womā, be reformable, for I would thou were gone, and M. Deane heare hath earnestly sued for thee.

Deane.

Woman, I haue sued for thee in deede, and I promise thee if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good vnto thee.

Elizabeth.

I haue bene before my Lord Bishop, and before Maister Chauncellour three times, and haue declared my fayth.

Deane.

And yet I know that M. Chancellor will say, that thou art a ranke heretike.

Story.

Away with her.

Bish.

*M. Deane, ye knowe that I may not tary, nor you neither. Let her keeper bryng her home to your own chāber soone at foure a clocke at after noone, and if that ye find her reasonable, then let her goe, for I would that she were gone.

Then sayd the Deane, with a good will, my Lord: and so she was sent vnto the place from whence she came, vntill it was 4. of the clocke at afternoone.

¶The ix. examination before the Deane, before whom it pleased God to deliuer her.

*When it was 4. of the clock at afternoone, as y^e houre was appointed, & the Deane was set, he asked her: Art thou a foole now as thou wast to day?

Eliz.

Sir, I haue learned but small wisdomes since.

Deane.

Doest thou thynke that I am better learned then thou? *

Eliz.

Yes sir, that I do.

Deane.

Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?

Eliz.

Yea sir, and if it please God that ye will.

Deane.

Then I wyll doe thee good in deede. What doest thou receyue when thou receyuest the Sacrament which Christ left among his Disciples the night before hee was betrayed?

Eliz.

Sir, that that his Disciples did receiue.

Deane.

What did they receyue?

Eliz.

Sir, that that Christ gaue them, they receyued.

Deane.

What aunswere is this? Was Christ there present?

Eliz.

Sir, he was there present, for he instituted his owne sacrament.

Deane.

He tooke bread, and he brake it, and gaue it to hys disciples, and sayd: Take, eate, this is my body which shall bee broken for you. When thou receiuest it, doest thou beleeeue that thou receiuest his body?

Eliz

Sir, when I receiue, I beleeeue that through faith I do receiue Christ.

Deane.

Doest thou beleeeue that Christ is there?

Eliz.

Sir, I beleeeue that he is there to me,*_ and by fayth I do receyue hym.

Deane.

He also tooke the cup and gaue thanks, and gaue it to his Disciples, and sayd: Drinke ye all hereof. This is the cup of the new Testament in my bloude, which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes. When thou doest receiue it after the institution that Christ ordained among his Disciples, the night before he was betrayed, doest thou beleeeue that Christ is there?

Eliz.

Sir, by faith I beleeeue that he is there, and by fayth I do beleeeue that I do receiue hym.

Deane.

Now thou hast answered me. Remēber that thou sayest, that when thou doest receiue according to the institution of Christ, thou doest receiue Christ.

Eliz.

Sir, I beleeeue Christ not to be absent from his owne sacrament.

Deane.

How long wilt thou continue in that beliefe?

Eliz.

Sir, as long as I do lyue by the help of God: for it is and hath bene my beliefe.

Deane.

Wilt thou say this, before my Lord?

Eliz.

Yea sir.

Deane.

Then I dare deliuer thee. Why, thou Calfe, why wouldst thou not say so to day?

Eliz.

Sir, ye asked me no such question.

Deane.

Then ye would stande in disputation how manye bodies Christ had.

Eliz.

Sir, in deed that question ye did aske me.

Deane.

Who shall bee thy Sureties that thou wylte appeare before my Lorde of London and me, vpon Friday nexte?

Eliz.

Sir, I haue no Sureties, nor knowe not where to haue.

Then spake the Deane vnto two women that stoode there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying: women,* wil ye be her sureties that she shall appeare before my Lord of London and me, vpon Friday next.

The Women.

Yea sir, and it please you.

Deane.

Take heede that I finde you no more a brabler in the Scripture.

Eliz.

Sir, I am no brabler in the Scripture, nor yet any man can burthen me therewith.

Deane.

Yes, I haue hearde of you well enough what ye are.

Then sayde hee to the two Women: what if a man should touch your conscience, do ye not smell a little of heresie also?

The women.

No sir.

Deane.

Yes, a litle of the frying pan, or els wherefore haue ye twaine so earnestly sued for her?

The one woman aunswered, because that her children were lyke to perish, and therefore God put me in mynd to sue for her.

Then sayd the other woman: And I gate her chyld a Nurse, and I am threatened to stande to the keepyng of her chylde, and therefore it standeth me in hand for to sue to haue her out.

Deane.

Woman, geue thanks vnto these honest women who haue so earnestly sued for thee,* and I promise thee so haue I. These great heretikes will receiue nothyng but in spirit and fayth, and so he rose and departed.

Eliz.

Sir, God be prayسد, & I thanke you for your goodnes and theirs also, and so he went away: & vpon the fridday next because she was acrased, her two sureties wente thither and were discharged.

¶Elizabeth Lawson.

IN the towne of Bedfield, and in the countie of Suffolk,* was dwellyng a godly auncient Matrone named Elizabeth Lawson, about the age of lx. yeares. This Elizabeth was apprehended as an heretike, by the Constables of the same towne, named Robert Kitrich,* and Thomas Elas, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1556. because she woulde not go to Church to heare Masse, and receyue the Sacrament, and beleeeue in it.

[Page 2071](#)First they layd her in a dungeon, and after that shee was caried vnto Norwich, and from thence to Bury Gaole, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In y^e mean tyme sir Iohn Sylliard had her home vnty hys house, hee beyng high Shiriffe that yere,* where she was hardly kept and wrapped in irons, till at length when they by no wise could mooue her co recant, shee was sent to prison agayne with shamefull reuilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two yeares and three quarters. In the meane tyme there was burnt her sonne and many other, whereby she would often say: Good Lord,* what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, & not myne.

Not long after this, (most happily) followed y^e death of Queene Mary, after whom succeeded our Queene that now is. At which tyme this Elizabeth Lawson remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bayled vppon sureties, or els she could not be deliuered. For she beyng a condemned person, neither the temporalty, nor yet spirituall authoritie would discharge her without sureties.

Now she beyng abroad, and her sureties made afrayd by wicked men, sayd, they would cast her againe in prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a supplication, to go vnto the Queenes maiestie,* and came to a friend of hers to haue his counsail therein: who willed her to stay a while, because she was old, the dayes short, and the expenses great, and Winter fowle (for it was a little before Christmas) & to tary vntill Sommer. In the meane tyme God brake the bond, & shortened her iourney: for hee tooke her home to hymselfe out of this lyfe in peace.

This good old woman, long before she went to prison had the fallynge sicknesse,* and told a friend of hers, one Symon Harlston, after she was apprehended, that she had it neuer more, but liued in good health & ioy of hart, through her Lord Christ.

She had a very vnkinde man to her husbnde, who while shee was in prison, solde away her raimente, and would not helpe her, and after she was out of prison, shee returned home vnto him, yet would he shew her no kindnesse, nor helpe her neither: and yet the house & land that he dwelt in, he had by her, wherfore as long as she lyued, she was found of the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawson also had a sister, wyfe to one Rob. Hollon of Mickfield in the same countie of Suffolk, which likewise was persecuted and driuen out from house to house, & a yong man her sonne with her, because they would not go to the church to heare masse, & receyue the sacrament of the aaltar.

¶Thomas Christenmasse and William Wattes.

IN this perillous rage of Queene Maries raigne, were two men persecuted,* one called Tho. Christenmas, the other Wil. Wats of Tunbridge in Kent. As these trauailed from place to place, not resting two nights together in one place, it happened them on a tyme to come to Rochester in Kent, where as they entryng into the Towne, euē at the Townes ende met with a little Damosell of eyght yeares of age, but whether she went, they knewe not. It was then night, and they wery, and fayne therfore would haue lyen in the same town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody Catholickes. At last they deuised to aske the Damosell whether there were any heretikes in the towne, or no? and she said, yea. They asked her where. She aunswered them.* At such an Inne, tellyng them the name, and where the Inne was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themselues better, and God so moouyng their hartes, they went to the childe agayne, and asked her how she knew that the Innekeper (of whome shee spake before) was an heretike. Marrie (quoth she) well enough, and his wyfe also. How knowest thou, prety mayden, said they? I pray thee tel vs. How know I, sayd she? Marrie because they go to the church: and those that will not holde vp their handes there, they will present them, and hee hymselfe goeth from house to house, to compel them to come to Church. When these two men heard this, they gaue God prayse, and auoyded that house, takyng the warnyng of that Mayde (of good bringyng vp, as it should seeme) to be Gods maruelous prouidence towards them.

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¶Another escape of William Wats.

THis foresayd William Wats, dwelling in Queen Maries dayes at Seale in Kent, the last yere of her raigne saue one, was apprehended by his enemies,* and brought by the Constables before the Bish. and Iustices at Tunbridge, where the B. and Iustices would haue perswaded hym all they coulde, to turne from the truth: howbeit in vayne, for they could not remooue him, although they spēt all the forenoone therabouts, with many flattring words: so mercifull was the Lord vnto hym.

Now, when dinner tyme was come, as they shoulde rise, they committed the prisoner to the constables againe, and so rose vp to go to diner. The Constables tooke Wats and led him to a vitailing house, where after they had wel filled themselues, they fel a sleepe, supposing their prisoner to be sure enough vnder their handes. Wats wife beyng then in the house with her husband, and very carefull for his well doying, seyng the Constables thus fast a sleep, desired her husband to depart and go thence, for so much as the Lord had made such away for hym. Unto which her words he would not consent, although she perswaded him all that she could.

At the last,* (they replieng one against an other) a sträger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that shee was so earnest with her husbände. The wyfe tolde hym. Then sayde the straunger vnto Wats these words: Father, goe thy wayes in Gods name, and tary no longer: the Lorde hath opened the way vnto thee. Wherevpon the sayde Wattes went hys way, and his wyfe departed from hym, and went home to her house at Seale, thinkyng her husband had gone another way. Nowe as she was goyng in at her dore tellyng her friendes of hys deliuerance, immediately came the sayd Wattes in also, and they all beyng amased thereat, willed hym in all haste to get hym away, for they thought there would bee search for hym immediately.

Then Wats sayd, he would eate meate first, and also pray: which he did, and afterward departed thence.* So soone as he was out of the dores, and had hid hymselfe in an holly bush, immediately came the said constables with thirtie persons into the sayd house to search for him, where they pierced the Fetherbeds, broke vp hys Chestes, and made such hauocke, that it was wonderfull:* and euer among as they were searchyng, the Constables cryed: I will haue Wats, I will haue Wats I tel thee, I wil haue Wattes: but (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they saw it booted not to search for hym, in the ende they tooke his wyfe, and set her in a payre of stockes where she remayned two dayes,* and she was very bolde in the truth, and at the last deliuered thorough the prouidence of God: whose name be glorified in all his workes, Amen.

***Iohn Glouer of Manceter, Gentleman.**

W^Hat a fatherly and manifest prouidence of the Lord likewyse did appeare in the preseruynge of M. Iohn Glouer in the Diocesse of Couentry and Lichfield,* in the Towne of Manceter: first at the takyng of Robert hys brother. At which tyme although the Commission came downe for hym, yet so God ordered the matter, that hys brother beyng sicke was apprehended, and yet hee beyng whole escaped, wherof mention is made before, pag. 1709.

And agayne, another tyme how miraculously the mercifull prouidence of the Lorde wrought his escape oute of his enemies handes, they beyng at his chamber dore, and drawyng the latch to search for hym: and how hys wyfe the same tyme was taken and sent to Lichfelde, read before, pag. 1714.

¶One Dabney.

T^Here was at London a certaine honest godly person, a Painter, named Dabney,* whom Iohn Auales in the tyme of Queene Mary had brought before Boner to bee examined for his fayth. It happened the same tyme. as the sayde Dabney was there, that the Bishop was occupied with examination of other, so that hee was bidde to stand by, and to wayte the Bishops laysure. Uppon

the same, or not long after, sodainely commeth worde to the Bishop to prepare hym in all speede, the generall procession taried for hym. The Bishop hearyng that, setting all businesse aparte, bustleth hymselfe with all speede possible to the Churche, there to furnishe Procession. By reason whereof Dabney, which newly came to the house, was there left alone, while euery man els was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward, accordyng as the case required.

To bee short, as the tyme called on, Boner with hys houshold maketh hast so fast as they can out of the dores to [Page 2072](#) the procession. Dabney beyng left alone, commeth downe to the outward Court next the gate, there walkyng with hymselfe all heauy, lookyng for nothing lesse then to escape that daunger. The Porter who was onely left at home, seeyng the man to walke alone,* supposing hee had bene some Citizen there left behynde, and waityng for openyng of the Gate, went and opened the wicket, askyng if hee would goe out. Yea sayd he, with a good wyll, if ye wyll let me out. With all my hart quoth the porter, and I pray you so do.

And thus the sayd Dabney taking the occasion offered of god, being let out by the porter, escaped out of y^e wolues mouth. The procession beyng done, when the B. returned home, Dabney was gone and could not be found. Wherevpon much search was made, but especially Ioh. Auales sayd much priuily waite for hym: who after long searching, when he could not get hym, at length he receyued fiftene crownes of his wyfe to let hym alone when he should see him, and so that good man escaped.

¶Alexander Wimshurst.

ALike example of God almighties goodnes toward his afflicted seruaunts in that daungerous tyme of persecution may also appeare evidently in one Alexāder Wimshurst a Priest,* sometye of Magdalene Colledge in Oxford, and then the Popes owne Knight, but since an earnest enemy to Antichrist, and a man better instructed in the true feare of God. It happened that one had promoted hym to Boner for religion, vppon what occasion I do not vnderstand. Accordyng to the olde maner in such cases prouided, he sent forth Robin Caly, otherwyse called Robin Papist, one of his Whelpes to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poore man to appere before him. Litle Robin lyke a proper man bestirreth hym in hys busines,* and smelleth hym out, and when he had gotten hym, bringeth hym along by Chepeside, not sufferyng hym to talke with any of his acquaintance by the way, though there were of his olde friendes of Oxford that offered to speake vnto hym.

When they came into Paules, it happened this Alexander to espy D. Chadsey there walkyng vp and downe. To whom, because he was able in such a case to doe pleasure, and for that he had bene of his olde acquaintance in Oxforde, he was very desirous to speake to hym ere hee went through. Chadsey perceiuyng that Robin Caly dyd attend vpon hym, sayd that he durst not meddle in y^e matter.* Yes (sayth litle Robin) you may talke with hym if it please you M. Doctor. To bee short, Alexander openeth his case, and in the ende desireth for old acquaintance sake that he would finde meanes he myght be rather brought before Doctor Martine to bee examined, then any other. Nay sayth he (alleggyng the wordes of Christ vnto Peter in the last chapter of Saint Ioh.) You remember brother what is written in the Gospell:*When thou wast yong thou diddest girde thy selfe, and wentest whether thou wouldest: but beyng aged, other men shall girde thee and leade thee whether thou wouldest not. Thus abusing the Scripture to hys priuate

meanynge, whereas notwithstanding hee might easily haue accomplished so small a request if it had liked hym.

Thence was he caried to Story and Cooke Commissioners, there to learne what should become of hym. Before them he did vse hymselfe boldly & stoutly, as they on the other side did vrge him with captious questions very cruelly. When they had baited the poore man their fill, they asked hym where his whore was. She is not my whore (sayd he) but my lawful wife. She is thy whore, said they. She is not my whore (said he againe) but my wife I tell you. So whē they perceiued that he would not geue place vnto them, nor attribute to them so much as they looked for at his hand, accordyng to the ordinary maner they cōmaunded him to prison. And nowe marke well the prouidence of God in his preser••tion.

He was brought into Clunies house at Pater noster row, thence to be caried to Lollards tower out of hande, but that Cluny (as it happened) his wyfe and his mayde were so earnestly occupied about present busines, that as then they had not laisure to locke vp their prisoner. In the hall where Alexander sate, was a strange woman, whose husband was then presently in trouble for religiō, which perceiued by some one occasion or other, that this mā was brought in for the lyke cause. Alacke good man sayth she: if you will you may escape the cruel hands of your enemies,* forasmuch as they be all away that should looke vnto you, God hath opened the way vnto you of deliuerance, and therefore loose not the oportunitie thereof, if you bee wise. With those and such lyke wordes beyng then perswaded, he gate out of the dores and went away without any hast making at all: so that if any had followed, he might haue bene easily recouered againe. But vndoubtedly,* it was Gods will that he should so escape the furie of his aduersaries, and be preserued from all daungers of death & imprisonment.

¶Bosomes wyfe.

AS the workes of the Lord are not to bee kept secrete,* whatsoeuer the persones be in whom it pleaseth hym to worke: •o commeth to remembraunce the story of ore Bosoms wyfe not vnworthy to be considered. This good woman beyng at Richmond with her mother, was great|ly called vpō, and vrged to come to church. At length thorough importunate crying and calling vpon, she granted vnto them, and came. Beyng in the church, & sitting with her mother in the pue,* contrary in al things to the doings of the Papistes shee behaued her selfe: to wit, when they kneeled, she stood, when they turned forward, shee turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the church,* at length y^e Constable and Churchwarden named Sanders, attached her in the Queenes name, charging her with her Mother, the next day to appeare at Kingston. Who at their commaundement so did.

The next day according as they were assigned, they came to Kingston to appeare before the foresayd officers, who at the same tyme (as it chanced) were going ouer the Fery, & meeting them by the way,* saluted them by their names, but at that tyme had no further power to speake vnto them. Afterward, as they were in the boat goyng ouer, they knockt their hands, stamp and stared, same •yng that they had let them so passe their hands. This the Feryman declared vnto them, and what they sayd in the boat. Whereupon the good woman taking her iourney to London,

escaped their cruelty, through the secret working (no doubt) of the Lord: who in all his workes and euermore be prayesd, Amen.

¶Lady Kneuet in Northfolke.

AMong the number of the godly that were kept vnder the prouidence of the Lord in those perillous dayes,* I may not forget an auncient good Lady of much worship, called Lady Anne Kneuet, who till her death dwelte in Norfolke, in a towne named Wimon•ham vj. miles from Norwich. Which sayd good Lady in Queen Maries days beyng iudged by the common people, more then an hundreth yeare of age, and by her owne estimation well towards a C. kept her selfe from their popish church, or hauyng any papisticall trash ministred in her house, but only the seruice that was vsed in the latter dayes of K. Edward the 6. which daily she had sayd before her, either by one M. Tollin who was then by Gods prouidence preserued in her house, or els by one of her Gentlewomen or houshold seruant that could serue the place in the sayd M. Tollins absence.

Now this worshipfull Lady continuing in this maner of true seruynge of God,* she and her familie were many tymes threatened by messengers, that the Bish. would visite her therfore. Unto which messengers she would always answer, that if his Lordship sent word before what day he would come, he should thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whose prouidence ruleth the ragyng seas, neuer suffred them al that toyling tyme to molest her. Although oftentimes whē she had seruice before her, there were very great enemies to the truth and of much authoritie, that came in, and kneled to prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her therfore.

This good Lady (gentle Reader) kept good hospitalitie▪ as any in that countrey, of her liuyng. She also succored many persecuted that came to her house in the said M. Maries dayes. Were they neuer so simple, they were esteined of her as the frends of y^e gospel, and departed not frō her without money and meat.* Borne she was long before K. Edward the 4. dyed, and ended her life in the Lord Iesus peace, about the beginning of the 2. yeare of our most soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeths raigne, as one falllyng into a most sweete sleepe.

Unto whom not vnworthely may bee compared the Lady Elizabeth Uane,* who likewyse beyng a great harborer and supporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confessors of Christ, was in great •assards & daungers of the enemies, and yet notwithstanding, thorough the mercifull prouidence of the Lord, remained still vntouched. Of this Lady Uane thou shalt read before.

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¶Iohn Daus, of the age of twelue yeares and vnder.

AN Dom. 1546. and the last yeare of King Henry the 8. Iohn Daus,* a child of xij. yeares & vnder, who dwellyng in the house of M. Iohnson Apothecarie, in y^e toune of Worcester, his vncle, vsing sometymes to read of the testament and other good English bookes, was complained of by Alice Iohnson his maistresse, which Alice beyng an obstinate person, consulted with one Tho. Parton, & one Alice, wyfe to Nich. Brooke Organemaker, with certaine of the Canons, and M. Iohnson Chancellor to D. Heath their Bish. The meanes wherby he was entrapped, was

wrought by the foresayd Alice Brooke, who procured Olyuer her sonne, schoolefellow with the sayd Iohn Daus, to faine friendship with hym, and vnder pretence to be instructed, to see his English bookes, and especially to gette some thyng of his writyng against the vj. Articles. Which beyng had, was soone brought to the Canons of y^e church, and the Chauncellor. Wherupon, Tho. Parton, whether beyng sent, or of his owne mynd, came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced agaynst his will, to bynde the poore boyes armes behynd him: and so hee was brought to the Officers of the towne, where he lay from the 14. of August, till the last of September. Then was he commāded to the Free mans prison, where one Rich. Howborough commyng to perswade him from burnyng, willed hym to prooue first with a candle, who then holdyng hys finger, and the other the candle vnder it a good space, yet (as the partie hymselfe to me assureth) felte no burnyng therof, neither would the other that held the candle beleue hym a great while, til he had looked, and saw no skorching of the candle at all appeared.

Then was the child remooued from thence to an inner prison called Peepehole, where the lowe Bailiffe called Rob. Yould, layd vpon hym a paire of bolts, so y^t he could not lift vp his small legs, but leanyng on a staffe, slipt thē forward vpon the ground, the coldnesse of which irons, he feeleth yet in his ankles, and shall so long as he lyueth, with these bolts, his lying was vpon the cold ground, hauyng not one locke of strawe, nor cloth to couer him, saue onely two sheepe skins, neither durst father nor mother, or any of his friends come at hym. Besides this and many great threatates of the papists, there was a mad man put to hym in the prison, with a knife about hym, wherewyth he oft tymes in his frantike rage, profered to thrust hym in.

After this came to him one Iolyfe, and N. Yewer, two Canons, which had his writings against the sixe Articles, and his Ballet called Come downe for all your shauen crowne: to see whether he would stād to that he had writen. Which done, with many great raging wordes, not long after sate M. Iohnson the Chancellour in the Guild hall vpon the poore lad. Where first were brought in hys accusers and sworne, then were sworn also 24. men which went on his Quest, and found hym guiltie, but hee neuer came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common Gaole among thieues and murtherers, there to tary the commyng of the iudges, and so to be had straight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate & miserable when all other helpe is past, so prouided for this silly condemned lad, that the purpose of all his hard harted enemies was disappointed. For before the Iudges came, God tooke away Henry the 8. out of this lyfe. By reason whereof, the force of the lawe was then staied, howbeit, he was neuerthelesse arraigned, beyng holden vp in a mans armes at the Barre before the Iudges, who were Portman and Maruen. Which when they perceiued that they could not burne him, would haue hym presently whipped. But M. Iohn Bourne Esquire declared to the Iudges how hee had whipping enough. After that hee had lyen a weeke more in prison, had hym home to hys house, his wyfe annoynted his legs her selfe with ointment, which then were stiffe and nummed with irons, till at length when M. Bourne and his wyfe sawe they could not winne hym to the beliefe of their Sacrament, they put him away, least he should infect their sonne Anthony as they thought with heresie.

Thus Iohn Daus of the age aforesayde, in what damage he was for the Gospell ye see, and howe the Lorde preserued hym, ye vnderstand. He endured in prisone from the 14. day of August, till within seuen dayes of Easter, who is yet alyue, and a profitable Minister this day in the Church of England: Blessed bee the Lord, qui facit mirabilia solus.

¶Maistresse Roberts.*

FUrthermore to both these may also be associate another Gentlewoman to make the third, named maistres Robertes, yet liuyng and dwellyng (as I vnderstand) in the towne of Haukehurst in Sussex. She beyng earnestly addicted to the truth of Christes Gospell, and no lesse constaunt in that whiche shee had learned therein, so kepte her selfe duryng all the brunte of Queene Maries tyme, that she neuer came to their popish seruice, nor would pollute her conscience with hearyng their Idolatrous masse. There dwelt the same tyme not farre of, a Iustice called sir Iohn Gilford, who beyng as feruent on the contrary side, to set forward the proceedyngs of Q. Mary, thought to prooue masteries with this Gentlewoman, in forcyng her to the Church. And first sendyng his wyfe, he attempted her by faire wordes and gentle perswasions to conforme herselfe to the Princes lawes, and to come as other christian people did, to the Church. Notwithstanding, she constantly persisting in the sinceritie of the truth, woulde by no perswasions be won to do therein against her conscience: and so kept at home a certayne space, till agayne the second tyme, Maister Gilford thinkyng not to geue her ouer so, sent his Officers and seruauntes to her, by force ond power to hale her out of her house to the church, and so dyd. Where by the way she for grieve of conscience swounded, and so of necessitie was brought home againe, and fallyng into an Ague, was for that tyme dispensed withall.

The third tyme yet the vnquiete spirite of M. Gilford beyng not content, after the tyme that she recouered helth againe, would needes come his owne person to compell her, wild she, nild she, to come to Church. But (as y^e Prouerbe goeth) who can let that God would haue done? For when M. Gilford had purposed as pleased hym, the Lord so disposed for his seruaunt,* that as the sayde M. Gilford was commyng vp the staires toward her chamber, sodainly hys olde disease the Goute so tooke hym and terribly tormented hym, that he could goe no further: And so he that purposed to cary her to the church against •er wil, was fayne hymselfe to be caried home to his house to hys payne, protestyng and swearyng that hee woulde neuer from henceforth trouble that Gentlewoman more, and no more he dyd.

¶Maistresse Anne Lacie.

IN this number of good Gentlewomen beyng in trouble and danger for Gods word,* is not to be omitted the memory of one maistresse Anne Lacie widowe in Notinghā|shire, who was in great danger in Queene Maries time in so much that the processe was forth against her, and she ready to haue bene apprehended, beyng so neerely pursued, that she was driuen to hide her Bible and other bookes in a dunghill. M. Lacy her brother was then Iustice of peace: but to whom (as I haue heard) she was but smally beholden. Neuertheles where kindred faileth, yet gods grace neuer fayleth such as sticke to hym: for in this mean tyme, as the processe came out against her, Queene Mary dyed, and so she escaped.

¶Crosmans wyfe.

ONe Crosmans wyfe of Tibnam longrowe in Norfolke,* in Queen Maries tyme for not going to church was sought for at her house by one Barbour of the sayde towne, then Constable of the hundreth: who whē he came to her house, shee beyng at home with a childe sucking in her armes, stept into a corner on the one side of the chimney, and they seeking the chambers, the

child neuer cryed, (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, & so by this meanes the Lord preserued her.

The congregation at Stoke in Suffolke.

There were some likewise which auoyded the violent rage of the aduersaries by meanes onely of their number,* and mutuall concord in godlinesse, wherein they dyd so holde together that without muche adoe none well could be troubled: whereof we haue example in a certain towne of Suffolke called Stoke. After the three sharpe yeares of Queene Maries persecution beyng past, yet notwithstanding the inhabitantes of the towne aforesaid specially the women, came not to their Church to receyue after the Popish maner, the Sacrament. Who, if they had bene but fewe, they could by no meanes haue escaped imprisonment. But because there were so many, the Papists thought it not best to lay handes vpon them. Onely they [Page 2074](#) appoynted them 16. dayes respite after Easter, wherein as many as would, should receiue the Sacrament: those that would not, should stand to the peril that would folow. Of this company which were many, geuing theyr handes together, the chieft doers were these.

- Eaue, an old woman of three score yeares.
- Alice Coker her daughter.
- *Elizabeth Foxe.
- Agnes Cutting.
- Alice Spenser.
- Henry Cauker.
- Ioane Fouke.
- Agnes Spaulding.
- Iohn Steyre, and hys brother.
- Iohn Foxe.

These, after the order was taken for theyr not comming to the Church, tooke aduise ment among themselues what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they woulde not receiue at all. Yet some of them afterwarde being perswaded with fayre promises that the Communion should be ministred vnto them according to Kyng Edwardes booke, gat them vnto the parish Priest (whose name was Cotes) and asked him after whiche sort he woulde minister the Sacrament.* He aunswered to such as he fauoured, that he woulde geue it a•ter the right sort: the rest should haue it after the papisticall maner.

To be short, none did communicate so, but onely Iohn Steyre and Iohn Foxe:* of whiche the one gaue his Wyfe leaue to do as she thought best. The other wēt about with threatens to compell his wife, saying that otherwise hee would diuorce himselfe from her. As for the rest, they dyd withdraw themselues from church, resorting to their wōted company. Onely Foxes wife taried still at home, all in her dumps and heauines, whose husband practised wyth the Curate in the meane time, that the nexte daye after he shoulde geue her the sacrament, whiche was the xvij. daye after Easter. But the very same day, vnknowing vnto her husband, she gat her selfe secretly to her companye, & with teares declared how violently her husband had delt wyth her.* The other women had her notwithstanding to be of a good cheare, and sayde that they woulde make theyr earnest prayers vnto the Lord, both for her and her husband, and in deed when they had so done, the matter tooke verie good successe. For the next day after, goodman Foxe came of his

owne accorde vnto them, a farre other man then hee was before, and bewayled his owne headines and rashnesse, praying thē that they would forgeue him, promising euer after to be more strong in fayth, to the great reioysing both of them and his wife.

About halfe a yeare after this, the Bishop of Norwich sendeth forth certaine of his Officers or Apparatours thither, which gaue them warning euery one to come to the Church the next Sunday following. If they would not come,* they shoulde appeare before the Commissary out of hand, to render account of theyr absence. But the women hauing secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to auoyd the sūmons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the Church at the day appoynted, the Commissary did first suspend them according to the Bishop of Romes lawe, and within three weekes after did excommunicate them.* Therefore when they perceiued that an Officer of the Towne was sette to take some of them, they conueying themselves priuily out of the towne, escaped all daunger.

¶The Congregation in London.

*NO lesse maruellous was the preseruacion of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of Queene Mary, to the latter end thereof, continued notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, deuise, searching and inquisition of men, or streitnes of lawes could work to the contrary. Such was the mercifull hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodnes, euer working with hys people. Of this great bountifull goodnes of the Lord, many and great examples appered in the congregation whiche now I speake of. How oft, and in what great daūgers did he deliuer them?

*First at the Blacke Friers, when they should haue resorted to Syr Thomas Cardens house, priuy watch was layd for them, but yet through the Lordes vigilant prouidence the mischief was preuented, and they deliuered.

Agayne howe narrowly did they escape about Algate, where spies were layd for them,* & had not Thomas Simson the Deacō espied them, and bid them disperse thēselues away, they had bene taken. For within two houres the Constable comming to the house after they were gone, demaunded of the wife what company had bene there. To whom she to excuse the matter, made aunswere agayne: saying that halfe a dosen good fellowes had bene there at breakefast, as they went a maying.

An other time also about the great conduit, they passing there through a very strait Alley, into a Cloth workers loft, were espied, and the Sheriffes sent for but before they came, they hauing priuy knowledge thereof immediatly shifted away out of the Alley,* Iohn Auales standing alone in the Mercers Chappell staring at them.

An other like escape they made in a ship at Billingsgate belonging to a certayne good man of Ley, where in the open sight of the people they were congregated together, & yet through Gods mighty power escaped.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Redriffe, in a ship, called Iesus Ship, twise or thrise they assembled hauing there closely,* after theyr accustomed maner, both Sermon, prayer & cōmunion, and yet through the protection of the Lorde they returned, although not vnspied, yet vntaken.

Moreouer in a Coopers house in Pudding Lane, so neare they were to perill and daungers, that Iohn Auales comming into the house where they were,* talked with the good man of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed, God so working that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

But they neuer escaped more hardly, thē once in Thames street in the night time,* where the house being besette with enemies, yet as the Lord would, they were deliuered by the meanes of a Mariner, who being at that present in the same cōpany, and seing no other way to auoyd, pluckt of his slops, and swam to the next boate, and so rowed the company ouer, vsing his shooes in steed of owres, & so the ieopardy was dispatched.

I haue heard of one who being sent to thē to take their names, and to espy theyr doinges, yet in being amongst them was conuerted and cryed them all mercy.

What should I speak of the extreame and present daūger whiche that Godly companye was in at the taking of maister Rough theyr minister,* and Cutbert Simson their Deacon, had not the Lords prouidence geuen knowledge before to maister Rough in his sleepe that Cutbert should leaue behinde him at home the booke of all theyr names, which he was wont to cary about him? whereof mention is made before. pag. 2034.

In this Church or congregation were sometyme xl. sometymes an hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometymes mo, and sometymes lesse. About the latter tyme of Queene Mary, it greatly increased. From the first beginnyng, which was about the first entry of Queen Maries reigne, they had diuers ministers, first M. Scamler, then Thom. Fowle, after him M. Rough,* then M. Augustine Bernher, and last M. Bentham. Concerning the deliuerance of which M. Bentham (beyng now B. of Couentry and Lichfield) Gods mighty prouidence most notably is to be considered. For how is it possible by mans estimation, for the sayd M. Bentham to haue escaped, had not the present power of the Lord, passing all mens expectation, bene prest and redy to helpe his seruaunt in such a straite. The story and case is this.

At what tyme the vij. last burned in Smithfield,* mentioned in this booke before, pag. 2039. were condemned & brought to the stake to suffer, came downe in the name of the king and Queene a proclamation, beyng twise pronounced openly to the people, first at Newgate,* then at the stake where they should suffer, straightly charging and commanding, that no man should either pray for them, or speake to them, or once say God helpe them.

It was appointed before of the godly there standyng together, which was a great multitude, that so soone as the prisoners should be brought, they should goe to them to embrace and to comfort them, and so they did. For as the sayd Martyrs were comming toward the place in the peoples sighte, beyng brought with bils & glaues (as the custome is) the godly multitude and Congregation with a generall sway made toward the prisoners, in such maner, that the byllmē and the other officers beyng all thrust backe, could nothyng do, nor any thing come nigh.* So the

godly people meetyng and embracing, and kissing them, brought them in their armes (which might as easily haue conueied them cleane away) vnto the place where they should suffer.

This done, and the people geuyng place to the Officers, the proclamation with a loud voyce was read to the people, containyng (as is before sayd) in the K. & Queens name, that no man should pray for them, or once speake a word vnto them. &c. Maister Bentham, the minister then of the congregation, not sparyng for that,* but as zeale and Christian charitie moued hym, and seeyng the fire set to them, turnyng his eyes to the people, cried and sayd: We [Page 2075](#) know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say: God strengthen thē: And so boldly he sayde: Almighty God for Christes sake strengthen them.* With that, all the people with a whole consent and one voice folowed and sayd: Amen, Amē. The noyse whereof was so great, and the criers thereof so many, that the Officers could not tell what to say: nor whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faythfull, assembling together at London in the time of Queene Mary.

The said M. Bentham an other time, as he passed thorow S. Katherines,* intending to walke and take the ayre abroad, was enforced by two or three men, approching vpon him, needes to go with them to a place whether they would lead him. M. Bētham astonied at the sodeinnes of the matter, and maruelling what the thing shoulde be, required what theyr purpose was, or whether they woulde haue him. They aunswered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the Crowners quest was called and charged to sit vpon him, of the whiche quest he must of necessity be one. &c. He agayne, loth to medle in the matter, excused himselfe, alledging that in such kind of matters he had no skill, and lesse experience: if it would please them to let him goe, they should meete with other more meete for theyr purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he alledged further, that he was a scholer of Oxford, and thereby was priuiledged from being of any inquest. The Crowner demaunded the sight of his priuiledge.* He sayd, if he woulde geue him leaue, he would fetch it. Then sayd the Crowner: the queene must be serued without all delay, & so cōstrayned him notwithstanding to be with thē in hearing the matter.

Beyng brought to the house where the Crowner and the rest of the quest were sitting, as the maner is, a booke was offered him to sweare vpon.* M. Bentham opening the booke, and seing it was a papisticall Primer, refused to sweare thereupon▪ and declared moreouer what superstition in that booke was contained. What, sayde the Crowner? I thinke we shall haue here an hereticke among vs. And vpon that, after much reasoning amongst them, he was committed to the custody of an officer till further examination: by occasion wherof, to all mens reason, hard it had bene and ineuitable for M. Bentham to haue escaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What folowed? Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating about matters of heresye,* sodeynly commeth the Crowner of the Admiralty, disanulling and repealing the order & calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he sayde) perteyning to his office, and therefore the other Crowner and his company in that place had nothing to do: And so the first Crowner was discharged and displaced: by reasō whereof M. Bentham escaped theyr handes, hauing no more sayd vnto him.

***English men preserued at the taking of Calice.**

The worthy workes of the Lordes mercy toward hys people be manifolde and can not be comprehended,* so that who is he liuing in the earth almost who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord, at some time or other vpon him? Amōgst many other, what a piece of gods tender prouidence was shewed of late vpon our English brethren and country men, what time Calice was takē by the Tyrant Guise, a cruell enemy both to Gods truth and to our English nation? And yet by the gracious prouision of the Lorde, few or none at all, of so many that fauoured Christ and his Gospell, in that terryble spoyle miscaried. In the number of whome there was a godly couple, one Iohn Thorpe and his wife,* which feared the Lord, and loued his trueth, who being sicke the same time, and cast out into the wild fieldes, harbourles, desolate, and despayring of all hope of life, hauing theyr young infant moreouer taken from them in the sayd fieldes, and caried awaye of the souldiors: yet the Lord so wrought, that the poore woman being almost past recouery of life, was fet and caried, the space welnigh of a mile, by straungers whome they neuer knewe, into a village, where both shee was recouered for that night, & also the next day comming toward England, they chaunced into the same Inne at the next town, where they found theyr young child sitting by the fire side.

¶Edward Benet.

ONe Edw. Benet about the second yeare of the reigne of Q. Mary, then dwelling at Quenehieth with one Grynocke a Baker, was desired of one Tyngle prisoner then in Newgate, to bring him a new testament, He procuring one of M. Couerdals translatiō, wrapt it in a handkerchiefe, saying to George the keeper whiche asked hym what he had, that it was a piece of pondred biefe. Let mee see it, sayd he. Perceiuing what it was, he brought him to Syr Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did so, saying that booke was not lawfull, & so committed him to the Counter in woodstreet, wher he continued 25. weekes.

Doctor Story comming to the prison to examine other Prisoners, this Benet looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to be good vnto him, and to helpe hym out, for he had lien long in prison. To whom D. Story thē aunswering: What, sayd he, wast not thou before me in Christes Church? Yes forsooth, sayd Benet. Ah, sayd Story, thou doest not beleue in the Sacrament of the Aultar. Mary I will helpe thee out: come, sayd he to the keeper, turne him out, I will helpe him: and so tooke Benet wyth him and brought him to Cluney in Pater noster Row, and bade him bring him to the Colehouse, and there he was in the stockes a weeke.

Then the Bishoppe sent for him to talke with him, and first asked him if he were shriuen? No, sayd Benet. He asked him if he would be shriuen? No, sayd he. Then he asked him if the Priest could take away his sinnes? No, sayd Benet, I do not so beleue. Then he and Harpsfielde laughed at him and mocked him, asking him if he did not beleue that what so euer the Prieste here bounde in earth, should be bound in heauen: and what so euer he loosed in earth, shoulde be loosed in heauen? No, quoth Benet: But I beleue that the Minister of God preaching Gods word truely, and ministring the Sacramentes accordyng to the same, whatsoeuer he bindeth in earth, shalbe bound in heauen, and what so euer he looseth. &c. Then the Bishop putting him aside, sayd, he should go to Fulham and be whipped.

Then came to him M. Buswell a Pries•, lying in the Colehouse in the stockes, and brought Cranmers recantation, saying that he had recanted. My fayth, sayth the other, lyeth in no mans booke but in him which hath redeemed me. The next saterday, Benet with fiue other was cal^dled for to come to masse, into the Chappell. The Masse being done and they comming out,* fiue of thē went to prison and were after burned. Benet being behind and comming toward the gate, the porter opening to a company goyng out, asked if there were no prisoners there. No, sayd they. Benet standing in open sight before him, with other seruing men whiche were there by reason that Boner made many priestes that day (hauing one of his sleues and halfe the fore part of his coat burned of in prisō, being more like a prisoner then any of the other) when the gate was opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.*

Agayne, in the last yeare of Queene Mary, the same Benet being taken againe with the 24. beyond Islington, and brought to Syr Roger Cholmleys, the people comming very thicke did cut of some of them, to the number of 8. which were behinde, among whom was Benet.* Then he knocking at the gate to come in, the Porter sayd, that he was none of the company. He sayde yes, and knocked agayne. Thē there stood one by of the congregation, named Iohnson, dwelling now at Hamersmith, which sayd: Edward, thou hast done well, do not tempt God, go thy way. And so taking the warning as sent of God, with a quyet conscience eschued burning.

¶Jeffrey Hurst brother in law to George Marsh the Martyr.

IN the Towne of Shakerley in Lancashyre dwelled one Ieffrey Hurst the sonne of an honest yeoman,* who had besides him 11. children, the sayd Ieffrey being the xij. and eldest of the rest: and for that theyr father being willyng to bring them vp, so that they should be able another day to helpe themselues, he did binde this Ieffrey prentise vnto the craft of nayling, to make all kinde of nayles: which occupation he learned and serued out the time of 7. yeaes. The which yeres being expired, he gaue himselfe at times to learne of his other Brethren which went to schole: and as he was very willing to the same, so GOD sent hym knowledge wherein he did perseuer and go forwardes, in such sort that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuaunce came by more knowledge, and so hauing the Bible and diuers other bookes in his house, dyd come by pre•ye knowledge in the Scripture.* After this he tooke vnto him a wife being the Sister of Maister George Marsh, of whose Martyrdome mention is made before pag. 1484. and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now whē queene Mary was entred, the first yeare of her reigne he kept himselfe awaye from their doings & came not at the church: Wherupon he [Page 2082](#) was layd in wayt for, and called hereticke, and Lollard, & so for feare of further daunger, he was compelled to leaue his wife and his child, and all, and fled into Yorkeshyre, & there beyng not knowne did lead his life,* returning sometimes by night to his house to comfort his wife, and bringing with him some preacher or other, who vsed to preach vnto them so long as the time would serue, and so departed by night agayne. The names of the Preachers were: M. Reneses, M. Best, M. Brodbanke, M. Russell, & euery time they came thither they were about 20. or 24. sometimes, but 16. at least, who had there also somtimes a Cōmuniō. And thus in much feare did he with other lead his life, till the last yeare of the reigne of Queene Mary. Thē it chaunced that the sayde Ieffrey Hurst, after the death of his father, came home, and kept himself close for vij. or viij. weekes.

There dwelt not farre of at Morlesse, a certayne Iustice of peace and of quorum, named M. Thomas Lelond, who hearing of him, appoynted a time to come to hys Fathers house where he then dwelt, to rifle the house for bookes, and to search for him also, and so did. Ieffrey and hys company hauing knowledge of his comming, tooke the books which were in the house, as the Bible, the Communion booke, the new testament of Tindals translation, and diuers others, and threw them all vnderneath a tubbe or •at, conueying also the sayd Ieffrey vnder the same, with a greate deale of strawe vnderneath him: for as it chaunced they had the more time, because that whē the Iustice came almoste to the doore, he stayed and woulde not enter the house till he had sent for Hurstes mothers Landlady: M. Shakerley, and then with her consent to go forwards. In the meane time, Ieffrey by such as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the testamēt of Tindals trāslation, and a litle booke conteneing the third part of the bible, with y^e booke of Ecclesiasticus, to try what they would say vnto them.

This done, Mistres Shakerley came. Unto whō eftsoones the Iustice declareth the cause of his comming and how he was sory to attempt any such thing agaynst any of her tenauntes for her sake, but notwithstanding he muste needes execute his office. And agayne you must (sayde he) note this, that a skabbed sheepe is able to infect a great nūber: and especially hauing, as he hath, so many brethren, & sisters, he is able to marre them all, if he be not looked vnto in time. And thus concluding, M. Lelond entred into the house,* & being come in, set himselfe in a chayre in the middle of the house, and sending Syr Rafe Parkinson his Priest, and one of his men, and one of Mistres Shakerleys men about the house, to searche and rifle the chestes for bookes (whiche so did) in the meane time he talked with Hurstes mother, being of the age almost of lx. yeares: And chiding with her that she would suffer her sonne so to order and be haue himselfe like an heretick, said: thou olde foole I know my selfe that this new learning shall come agayne: but for how long? euen for three moneths or foure monethes and no longer. But I will lay thee olde foole in Lancaster dūgeon for this geare, and well worthy.

Now as concerning the searchers, they fōūd nothyng but latin books, as Grammer, and such like. These be not they that we looke for (sayde they) we must see further, and so looked into Hurstes chamber where they found the foresayd books. Then syr Rafe taking vp the testament, looked on it, and smiled. His Mayster seing that, sayd: nowe Syr Rafe, what haue we there? Forsooth, sayth he, a testament of Tindals translation, plaine heresy, and none worse then it. Then is all theyr goodes, sayth he, lost to the Queene & theyr bodyes to prison, and was wonderfully hasty: notwithstanding through Mistres Shakerley, for a space hee was content to see farther.

Then the Priest looked on the other booke: What saye ye to that Syr Rafe, is that as euill as the other? No sayde he, but it is not good that they should haue such Englishe Bookes to looke on: for this and suche others, maye doe much harme. Then he asked the Mother where her eldest sonne was, and her daughter Alyce? She aunswered she could not tell: they were not with her of long time before. And he swore by Gods bodye, hee woulde make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaster Dungeon, and yet he would haue them, notwithstanding too, To be shorte,* for feare he hadde hys Brother Iohn Hurst and hys Mother bounde in an hundreth pounce to bring the parties before him within xiiij. dayes, and so departed he, and the Priest put both the bookes in his bosome, and caryed them away with him. Then Iohn Hurst went after them, desiring that he mighte haue the booke which the Priest found no fault with: but he (sayd they) should aunswere to them both, and which so euer was the better, was not good.

As this past on, when the time was come that Ieffrey Hurst and his sister shoulde be examined, the Iustice sent for them betimes in the morning,* & had prepared a masse to beginne withall, asking Ieffrey Hurst if he would first go and see his maker, and thē he would talke further with him. To whom then Ieffrey answered and sayd:* Syr my Maker is in heauen, and I am assured in goyng to your Masse I shall finde no edification thereby, and therefore I pray you hold me excused.

Well, well, sayd he, I perceiue I shall finde you an hereticke, by God: but I will go to Masse, & I will not lose it for all your pratling. Then into his Chappell he went,* and when masse was done, he sent for them, and caused his Priest to read a scrole vnto them as concerning the 7. Sacraments, & euer as he spake of the body & bloud of Christ, he put of his cappe, and sayd: loe ye may see:* you will deny these thinges and care not for your Prince: but you shall feele it ere I haue done with you, & all the faculty of you, with other talke more betwene them, I know not what: but in the end they were licensed to depart vnder suretyes to appeare agayne before him within 3. weekes,* and then to go to Lancaster. Howbeit in the meane while it so pleased God, that within foure dayes of the day appoynted, it was noysed that the Queene was deade, and within xiiij. dayes after, the sayd Ieffrey Hurst fet home his 2. bookes, and nothing was sayd vnto him.*

It folowed after this that Gods word begon to take place, and the Queenes visitors came down into that coūtry, who did choose foure men in the parish: to wit, Simōd Smith, Ieffrey Hurst, Henry Browne, George Eccersly,* which foure were Protestantes, to see the Queenes procedinges to take place: which according to theyr power dyd the same, notwithstanding it did little preuayle: & therfore the sayd Ieffrey being sore greued with the office, fell sick, in which sickenes it pleased God to call him, making a very godly end, God haue the prayse for it.

Nowe to returne to the foresayde Thomas Lelond agayne, he continuing in his office still,* did very few tymes come to the Church, but sayd he was aged and might not labor, and there kept with him Syr Rafe Parkinson hys Priest, which could (as it was said) minister the Communion vnto the people, and sing Masse to his mayster: Yea and (as the fame reported) did a pretyer feate then all that: for he begat two children by a seruant in a house, his mayster knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good masse Priest.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same Iustice Lelondes behauiour at seruice tyme, that he had a little dog which he would play with, all seruice time, and the same Dogge had a coller full of Bels,* so that the noyse of them did molest and trouble others as well as himselfe, from hearing the seruice. Also in the same Iustice it was noted & obserued, that as he sate in his Chappell at seruice time, his maner was on a willow barke to knitte knottes, for that he could not be suffered to haue his beades, and to put the same vpō a string also. Witnes hereof Edward Hurst, with others.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Browne one of the 4. chosen men aboue mencioned,* this is also to be added, that the sayd Henry Browne dwelling in the towne of Pinington in the same Parish an. 1564. had a litle boy, who as he was playing in the Towe, one Glaues wyfe gaue vnto the boye a payre of Beades made of woode, to play him withall. The little boy being glad therof to haue suche a trim thing, went home & shewed his father of thē. His Father seing the Beades,

tooke them and burned thē, and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had geuen vnto his litle boy that payre of Beades.

That did I, sayd Glaues wife.*

Well sayd he, I haue burned them.

Hast thou so, sayd she? and thrust him from her. They shalbe the dearest Beades that euer thou sawest, & incōtinent went & cōplayned vnto the said Iustice, how Brown had burned her beades.

This matter the Iustice tooke sore to snuffe,* and was very angry, and did direct his letter vnto the constables of the same Towne, by his owne hand subscribed: the title of which superscription on the backside was this: To the Cōstables of Pinington geue this.

This done the Constables according to this their charge did bring him afore the Iustice at tyme appointed,* and when the Iustice came to talke with him, he was in suche a chafe, that he called him theefe, and sayde that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beades, and that there was ringes and other Iuels on them, and that he might as well haue picked her purse: wherefore I will lay thee (sayd he) in Lancaster for this geare.

Whilest they were thus talking, there came all hys [Page 2077](#) seruauntes about them from theyr worke, saying: is thys M. Doctor Browne that will burne Beades? I pray you Syr, let vs haue him here and preach. I will geue a quarters wages,* sayth one: and I will geue mony sayth an other, and he shall be mayster Doctour: with much derision and scoffing at this poore man.

He hearing this, spake agayn boldly, and sayd: did you send for me to make a laughing stocke of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the Church, and see suche Papistry abolished your selfe, then thus to trouble me for doyng my duety: but I tell you playnely, you do not come to Church as you ought to doe, and wherefore with more thinges that I haue to charge you withall, I say you doe not well. When all this misdemeanour of the Iustice layd to his charge, woulde not preuayle, and also witnes came in of the Papistes, which did know the Beades, & testified that they were playne & cost but a halfepeny, he then went into his Parlor in a chafe, and one M. Erberston a papist with him.* Which Erberston turned backe and sayd: is it you Henry Browne, that keepeth this styrr? you are one of them that pulled downe Crosses in the church, and pulled downe the Roode seller, and all the Sayntes: you were best now to goe paynt a blacke Deuill, and set him vp and worship him, for that will serue well for your religiō. And thus vnder suretiship he did depart til Iuly folowing and then he sayd he should go to Lancaster prison,* and so came he away.

The time drew on that he should appeare, but GOD stayed the matter, and in Iuly, as the foresayde Thomas Lelond sate in his chaire talking with his friendes, he fell downe sodeinly dead,* not much mouing any ioynt: And thus was his end: from such God vs defend.

¶William Wood of Kent.

The examination of William Woode Baker, dwelling in the Parish of Strowd, in the County of Kent, before Doctor Kenall Chauncellour of the Dioces of Rochester,* Doctor Chadsey, the Maior of Rocher, and M. Robinson the Scribe, the 19. day of October, and in the secōd yeare of Queene Mary, in S. Nicholas Church in Rochester.

M. Robinson.

William Wood, you are presented because you will not come to the Church,* nor receiue the blessed sacrament of the Aultar. Howe say you? haue you receiued, or haue you not?

Wood.

I haue not receiued it, nor I dare not receiue it, as you do now minister it.

Kenall.

Thou Hereticke, what is the cause that thou hast not receyued the blessed Sacrament of the Aultar? and at this word all they put off theyr cappes, and made low beisaunce.

Wood.

There be three causes that make my conscience afeard that I dare not receiue it.* The first Christ did deliuer it to his xij. Apostles, and sayd: Take, eat: And drinke ye all of this. &c. and ye eate and drinke vppe all alone. The seconde cause is: you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to Gods comaūdements: Thou shalt not bow downe nor worship. The third cause is: you minister it in a straunge tounge, contrary to S. Paules doctrine: I lad rather haue fiue wordes wyth vnderstanding, then ten thousand with tounes: by reasō wher of the people be ignoraunt of the death of Christ.

Kenall.

Thou hereticke, wilt thou haue any playner wordes then these: Hoc est corpus meum? Take, eat, this is my body? wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood.

I will not deny the holy Scripturs: GOD forbid, but with my hart I do faythfully beleue them. Saynt Paule sayth: God calleth those thinges that are not, as though they were. And Christ sayth: I am a Vyne: I am a doore. Saynt Paule sayth: The Rocke is Christ: All which are figuratiue speaches, wherein one thing is spoken, and an other thing is vnderstanded.

Robins.

You make a very long tale of this matter. Learne Wood, learne.

Kenall.

Nay, these heretickes will not learne. Looke howe this heretike glorieth in himselfe. Thou foole, art thou wiser then the Queene and her Counsell, and all the learned men of this Realme?

Wood.

And it please you, Mayster Chauncellour, I thinke you would be loth to haue such glory, to haue your life and goodes taken away, and to be thus rayled vppon, as you rayle vppon me. But the seruaunt is not greater then his Mayster. And where you do mocke me, and saye I am wiser then the Queene and her Counsell, S. Paule sayth: The wisdom of the wise of this world is foolishnesse before God, and he that will be wise in this world, shall be accounted but a foole.

Kenall.

Doest not thou beleue that after these wordes spoken by a priest: Hoc est corpus meum: This is my body: there remayneth no more bread and Wine, but the very fleshe & bloud of Christ, as he was borne of the virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hāg vpon the Crosse?

Wood.

I pray you M. Chaūcellour, geue me leaue for my learning, to aske you one question, and I will aunswere you after.

Kenall.

It is some wise question, I warrant you.

Wood.

God spake to the Prophet Ezechiell, saying: *Thou sonne of man, take a rasour and shaue of the heare of thy head & of thy beard, and take one part and cast into the ayre: take the second part and put it into thy coat lap, and take the third part & cast it into the fire: & this is Ierusalem. I pray you, M. Chaūcellour, was this heare that the Prophet did cast into the fire, or was it Ierusalem?

Kenall.

No, it did signify Ierusalem.

Wood.

Euen so this word of Christ: This is my body: is not so to be vnderstanded that Christes carnall, naturall, * & reall body is in the same, in quantity and quality, as it was borne of the virgin Mary:

and as he was crucified vpon the crosse, is present or inclosed in the sacramēt: but it doth signify Christes body, as S. Paule sayth: So oft as ye doe eat of this bread and drinke of this cup, you shall shew forth the Lordes death til he come. What should the Apostle meane by this word, till he come, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really in the same quantity and quality as he was borne of the virgine Mary, and as he did hang on the crosse, as you say? but Saynt Paule saith: You shall shew the Lordes death till he come. This doth argue that he is not here as you would haue vs to beleue.

Doctour Chadsey.

I will proue that Christ is here present vnder the forme of bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall sayde: yes he is here present in quantitye and quality.

Chadsey.

He is here present vnder a forme, and not in quātity and quality.

Yes, sayd Kenall.

No, sayd Chadsey.*

I will proue him here in quantity and qualitie, sayde Kenall.

I will proue the contrary, sayd Chadsey.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirme, the other to deny, contending & raging so sore one at the other, that they fomed at y^e mouth, & one was ready to spit in an others face, so that in a great fury and rage the two Doctors rose vp from the iudgemēt seat, and Doctor Kenall departed out of the Churche in greate rage and fury immediatly.

Wood.

Behold good people, they would haue vs to beleue that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity & quality present in the Sacramēt, and yet they can not tell themselues, nor agree within themselues how he is there.

At these wordes the people made a great shout and the Maior stood vp and commaunded the people to be quiet, & to keep silence. And that God yⁱ did deliuer S. Paul out of the handes of the high Priests,* by the contention that was betwene the Phariseis and the Saduces, did euen so deliuer me at that time out of the mouthes of the bloudy Papistes, by the meanes of the contention of these two Doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord which hath promised to laye no more vpon his, then he will make them able to beare, and in the midst of temptation he can make a way for his (whome and when it pleaseth him) to escape out of all daungers.

Many other like examples of Gods helpyng hande haue bene declared vpon his elect Sayntes and Children in deliuering them out of daunger by wonderfull and miraculous wayes, some by one meanes some by an other. What a notable worke of Gods mightye hand was seene in Simon Grinaeus, mentioned in the Commentary of Melancthon vpon Daniell. Who hauing a sodeine warnynge by a certaine olde man, who was not seene after, nor knowen then of any what he was, auoided the peril of taking and burning, as by the relation of Melancthon writing and witnessing of the same, may appeare in the wordes of hys owne story here folowing.

***The History of Simon Grinaeus collected out of Melancthons Commentaris vpon the x. Chapter of Daniell.**

WHen I was (sayth he) at the assembly holden at Spyre in the yeare of our Lord 1529. by chaunce Simon Grynaeus came thither vnto me from the Uniuersity of Hedelberge, where he hearde Faber the Byshoppe of Vienna in a Sermon, defend and maynteyne certayne detestable errors. When the Sermon was done, he folowed Faber goyng [Page 2078](#) out of the Church and saluted him reuerently, declaring vnto him that he was moued of a good zeale & intent, somewhat to say vnto him.*Faber was contented to talke with him.

Then Grinaeus sayde vnto him that he was very sorry that a man of such learning and authority shoulde openly mayntein such errors as were both contumelious against God, & also might be refuted by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture. Irenaeus writeth (sayd he) that Polycarpus was wont to stop his cares whensoever he heard any erroneous & wicked doctrine.* With what mind then (thinke you) woulde Polycarpus haue heard you argue and reason what it is that the mouse eateth, when shee gnaweth the consecrated host? Who would not bewaile such ignorance and blindnes of the Church? With this Faber brake of hys talke, as he was about to saye more, and asked his name. This man dissembling nothing, gently tolde him that his name was Grinaeus.

This Faber (as many well knew) was alwayes tymerous and fearefull in the company of learned men. Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and feruent zeale of Grinaeus, specially in such a matter as this was, fayned as though he had bene sent for by the king, and that he had no leysure now to reason vpon this matter. He pretended that he was very desirous of acquayntaunce and longer talke with Grinaeus, intreating him, that bothe for hys owne priuate cause, and also for the common wealth, he would come agayne the next day vnto him, and so shewed him his lodgyng, and appoynted him an houre when hee should come. Grinaeus thinking that he had spoken vnfaynedly, promised so to do.

When he was departed frō Faber, he came straight way vnto vs, and was scarsly set at the table (for it was supper time) reciting a part of his talk with Faber vnto me and others there present, when as I sitting with my company, was sodeinly called out of the Parler by a certayne auncient fatherly man,* who shewing a singular grauitye in hys countenance, wordes, and behauior, spake vnto me & said, that the Sergeantes would by and by come vnto our lodging, being sent by the kinges commaundement, to carye Grinaeus to Prison, whom Faber had accused to the Kynge, commaunding that Grinaeus should straight wayes depart out of the towne, & exhorted me that we shoulde in no case delay the time: and so bidding me farewell, departed. But what olde man

this was, neither did I know then nor afterward could vnderstand. I returning agayne vnto my company, bad them rise, and told them what the olde man had sayd vnto me.

By and by, we taking Grinaeus in the midst of vs, caryed him through the street to the Riuer of Rhene, whereas after he had stayd vpon the hether bank a while, vntil Grinaeus with his companiō were caried ouer in a small boat,* returning agayne to our lodging, we vnderstoode that the Sergeants had bene there, when we were but a little way gone out of the house. Now in what great daunger Grinaeus should haue bene,* if he had bene caried to prison, by this cruelty of Faber euery man easily may coniecture. Wherefore we iudged that that most cruell entent and purpose of him, was disapoynted by Gods merciful prouidence. And as I can not say, what olde man it was that gaue me that warning, euen so likewise the Sergeants made such quick speede, that except Grinaeus had bene couered and defended by Aungels through the maruellous prouidence of God, he could neuer haue escaped.

Cōcerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet aliue, which both knowe the same, and also were present at the doing thereof. Therfore let vs geue thanks vnto God, which hath geuen vs his Angels to be our keepers and defenders, wherby with more quiet mindes, we may fulfill and do the office of our vocation.

With such like examples of Gods mighty and merciful custody, the church of Christ in all ages doth aboūd, as by manifold experiences may appeare as well among the Germanes, as also in all other places and ages, but in no place more, nor in time more plentifull, then in this persecuting time of Queene Mary in this our Realme of Enland: as partly hath bene already historyed, and parte yet remayneth (the Lorde willing) moreouer hereunto to bee added.

☛Lady Katherine Duches of Suffolcke.*

STephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, surmising the Ladye Katherine Baronesse of Willoughby and Cresby and Duchesse Dowager of Suffolcke, to be one of his auncient enemies, because he knew he had deserued no better of her, deuised in the holy time of the first Lent in Queene Maries reigne, a holy practise <◇> •euēge, first by touching her in the person of her husbād M. Richard Berty Esquyre, for whom he sent an attachment (hauing the great seale at his deuotion) to the Sheriffe of Lincolnshyre with a speciall Letter commaunding moste straitly the same Sheriffe,* to attache the sayd Richard immediatly, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great Lordship. M. Berty her husband being cleare in conscience, and from offence toward the queene, could not coniecture any cause of this straunge processe, vnlesse it were some quarell for Religion, which he thought coude not be so sore as the processe pretended.

The Sheriffe notwithstanding the commaundement, aduentured onely to take the bonde of M. Bertye with 2. sureties, in a thousand poūd for his appearance to be made before the Byshop on good Friday folowing,* at which day M. Berty appeared, the Bishop then lying at his house by S. Mary Oueries. Of whose presence when the Byshop vnderstood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallery into his dining chamber, where he found a prease of suters, saying he woulde not that daye heare any, but came forth only to know of M. Berty, how he being a subiect durste so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the Queenes.

M. Berty aunswere^d,^{*} that albeit my Lordes woordes might seme to the rest somewhat sharpe towards him, yet he conceiued greate comfort of thē. For whereas he before thought it extremity to be attached, hauing vsed no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those wordes, that my Lord meant not otherwise but to haue vsed some ordinary processe: albeit in deed none came to his handes.

Yea Mary, quoth the Byshoppe, I haue sent you two subpenas, to appeare immediatly, and I am sure you receiued them, for I committed the truste of them to no worsse man but to Mayster Solicitour, and I shall make you an example to all Lyncolnshyre for your obstinacy.

M. Berty denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordship to suspend his displeasure & the punishment till he had good trial therof, & then, if it pleased him, to double the payne for the fault, if any were.

Well, quoth the Byshoppe,^{*} I haue appoynted my selfe this day (according to the holines of the same) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enioyn you in a thousand poūd not to depart without leaue, and to be here againe to morow at 7. of the clocke. M. Berty well obserued the houre, and no ote ayled: At whiche time the B. had with him M. Seriant Stampford, to whō he moued certayn questions of the sayd M. Berty, because M. Serieaunt was towards the Lorde Wriothesley late Earle of Southhampton, and Chauncellour of England, with whom the said M. Berty was brought vp. M. Seriant made very frendly report of M. Berty of hys owne knowledge for the time of theyr conuersation together. Wherupon the Bishop caused M. Berty to be brought in, and first making a false trayne (as God would, without fire) before he woulde descend to the quarrell of Religion, he assaulted him in this maner.

Winch.

The Queenes pleasure is (quoth the Byshoppe) that you shall make present payment of 4000. pound due to her father by Duke Charles,^{*} late husband to the Duchesse your wife, whose executor she was.

Bert.

Pleaseth it your Lordshippe (quoth M. Berty) that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallement, truly aunswere^d.

Winch.

Tush (quoth the Byshop) the Queene will not be bounde to estallementes,^{*} in the time of Kettes gouernement, for so I esteme the late gouernement.

Bert.

The estallement (quoth M. Berty) was appoynted by king Henry the 8. besides the same, was by speciall cōmissioners confirmed in king Edwardes tyme, and the Lord treasurer being an

executor also to the Duke Charles soly and wholly, tooke vpon him before the sayd Commissioners, to discharge the same.

Winch.

If it be true that you saye (quoth the Byshoppe) I will shew you fauor. But of an other thing M. Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I heare euill of your Religion: yet I hardly can thinke euil of you, whose mother I know to be as Godlye and Catholicke, as any within this Lande, your selfe brought vp with a mayster, whose education if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his errour. Besides, partly I know you my selfe, and vnderstande of my frendes, enough to make me your frend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but I pray you if I may aske the question of my Ladye your wife, * is she now as ready to set vp the Masse, as she was lately to pull it downe, when she caused in her progresse, a dog in a Rochet to be caried, & called by name? or doth she think her [Page 2079](#) lambes now safe enough, which sayd to me whē I vailed my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was mery with the lambes, now the Wolfe was shut vp? * Another time my Lord her husband hauing inuited me and diuers Ladies to dinner, desired euery Lady to choose him whom she loued best, and so place themselues: My Ladye your wife taking me by the hande, for that my Lord would not haue her to take himselfe, sayd that for so much as she could not sit downe with my Lord whom she loued best, she had chosen me whom she loued worst.

Of the deuise of the Dogge, quoth M. Berty, she was neither the author nor the allower. The wordes, though in that season they sounded bitter to your Lordship, yet if it should please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching setting vp of Masse, which she learned not onely by strong perswasions of diuers excellent learned men, * but by vniuersall consent and order whole vj. yeares past, inwardly to abhorre (if she should outwardly allowe, she should both to Christ shew her selfe a false Christian, and to her prince a masquing subiect. You know my Lord, one by iudgemēt reformed, is more worth then a thousand transformed tēporizers. To force a confession of Religion by mouth, cōtrary to that in the hart, worketh damnation where saluation is pretended.

Yea mary (quoth the Bishop) that deliberation would do well i• she neuer required to come from an old Religion to a new. But now she is to returne from a newe to an auncient Religion: Wherin when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any.

For that, my Lord (sayd M. Berty) not long sithen, she aunswered a frend of hers v•ing your Lordships speach, * that Religion went not by age but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuation and not by commaundement.

I pray you (quoth the Bishop) thinke you it possible to persuade her?

Yea verely (sayd M. Berty) with the truth: for she is reasonable enough.

The bishop thereunto replying, sayd: it will be a maruellous grieve to the Prince of Spayne, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall finde but two noble personages of

the spanish race within this lād, the Queene, and my Lady your wife, and one of thē gone from the fayth.

M. Berty aunswered, that he trusted they should find no fruites of infidelity in her.

So the Bishop perswading M. Berty to trauell earnestly for the reformation of her opinion,* and offring large frendship, released him of his bande from further appearaunce.

The Duchesse and her husband, dayly more and more, by their frendes vnderstanding that the Bishop meant to call her to an accoūt of her fayth, whereby extremity might followe, deuised wayes how by the Queenes licence they might passe the Seas. M. Berty had a ready meane: for there rested great summes of mony due to the old Duke of Suffolke (one of whose executers the Duches was) beyond the Seas,* the Emperour himselfe being one of those debtors. M. Berty communicated this his purposed sute for licence to passe the Seas, and the cause, to the Bishop-adding, that he tooke this time most meet to deale with the Emperour, by reason of likelyhoode of Mariage betwene the Queene and his sonne.

I like your deuise well (quoth the bishop) but I think it better, that you tary the Princes comming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father.

Nay (quoth M. Berty) vnder your Lordships correction and pardon of so liberall speache, I suppose the tyme will then be lesse conuenient: for when the Mariage is cōsūmate, the Emperour hath his desire: but till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with vs.

By S. Mary (quoth the Bishoppe, smiling) you gesse shrewdly. Well, proceed in your sute to the Queene, and it shall not lacke my helping hand.

M. Berty found so good successe, that he in fewe dayes obtained the Queenes licence, not onely to passe the seas, but to passe and repasse then so oftē as to him semed good, till he had finished all his busines and causes beyonde the seas. So he passed the seas at Douer about the beginning of Iune in the first yeare of her reign, leauing the Duchesse behinde, who by agreement and consent beewixt her & her husband, folowed, taking Barge at Lyon Key, very early in the morning, on the first day of Ianuary next ensuyng, not without some perill.

There was none of those that wēt with her, made priuy to her going till the instant, but an old Gentleman called M. Robert Cranwell,* whom M. Berty had specially prouided for that purpose. She tooke with her her daughter an infant of one yeare, & the meanest of her seruants, for she doubted the best would not aduenture that fortune with her. They were in nūber 4. men, one a Greek borne, which was a rider of horses, an other a Ioyner, the thyrde a Brewer, the fourth a foole one of the kitchin, one g•ntlewoman, and a Laundreue.

As she departed her house called the Barbican,* betwixt 4. and 5. of the clocke in the morning, with her company & baggage, one Atkinson a Herauld, keper of her house: hearing noyse about the house, rose and came out with a torch in his hand as she was yet issuing out of the gate: wherewith being amased, shee was forced to leaue a male wyth necessaryes for her young daughter,* and a milke pot wyth milke in the same gatehouse, commaūding all her seruantes to

speed them away before to Lyon Key, and takyng with her onely the two womē and her child, so soone as she was forth of her owne house, perceiuing the Herauld to folow, she stept in at Garter house hard by. The Herauld comming out of the Duchesse house, and seeing no bodye stirring, not assured (though by the male suspecting) that she was departed, returned in: and while he stayed ransacking parcelles left in the male, the Duchesse issued into the street, and proceeded in her iourney, he knowing the place only by name where she should take her boate, but not the way thither, nor none with her. Likewise her seruauntes hauing diuided themselues, none but one knewe the way to the sayd key.

So she apparelled like a meane Marchantes wife and the rest like meane seruantes, walking in the streetes vnknowne, she tooke the way that led to Finesbury field and the others walked the city streetes as they lay open before them, till by chaunce more then discretion, they met all sodeinly together a litle within Mooregate, frō whence they passed directly to Lyon keye, & there tooke barge in a morning so misty, that the stearesman was loth to launch out,* but that they vrged him. So soone as the day permitted, the Councell was informed of her departure, and some of thē came forthwith to her house to enquire of the maner thereof, and tooke an inuentry of her goodes, besides further order deuised for search and watch to apprehend and staye her.*

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lands end, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling a marchant of Londō, an old acquaintance of Cranwels, whither the sayd Cranwell brought the Duchesse, naming her Mistres White,* the daughter of Mayster Gosling, for such a daughter he had which neuer was in that coutry. There she reposed her, and made new garmentes for her daughter, hauing lost her owne in the male at Barbican.

When the time came that she shoulde take ship, being constrayned that night to lye at an Inne in Leigh (where she was agayne almost be wrayed) yet notwithstanding, by Gods good working she escaping that hassard, at lēgth, as the tyde and wind did serue, they went aboard,* & being caryed twise into the seas, almost into the coast of Zeland, by contrary wind were driuē to the place from whēce they came, and at the last recuile, certayne parsons came to the shore, suspecting shee was within that shippe: yet hauing examined one of her company that was a land for fresh Achates, and finding by the simplicitie of his tale, onely the appearaunce of a meane Marchauntes wife to be a shipboord, he ceased any further search.

To bee shorte, so soone as the Duchesse had landed in Brabant,* she and her womē were apparelled like the women of Netherlande with hukes, and so she and her husband tooke theyr iourney towardēs Cleueland, and being ariued at a towne therin called Santon, took a house there vntill they might further deuise of some sure place where to settle themselues.

About fiue miles from Santon, is a free towne called Wesell, vnder the sayd Duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Haūs townes, priuiledged with the company of the Steelyard in London, whether diues Wallons were fled for religion, and had for theyr Minister one Frances Perusell, then called Frances de Riuers, who had receiued some curtesy in England at the Duchesse handes. Maister Berty being yet at Santon,* practised with him to obtaine a protection from the Magistrates for his abode & his wiues at Wesell: whiche was the sooner procured because the state of the Duchesse was not discouered but onely to the chiefe Magistrate, earnestly bent to shewe them pleasure, whiles this protection was in seeking.

In the meane while, at the Towne of Santon was a muttering that the Duchesse & her husbande were greater personages then they gaue themselues forth, and the Magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the Bishop of [Page 2080](#) Arras also being Deane of the great Minster, order was taken, that the Dutches and her husband should be exami'ned o• their condition and Religion vppon the sodayne.* Which practise discouered by a gentleman of that country to Mayster Bertie, he without delay taking no more then the Duches her daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the ayre, about three of y^e clock in the afternoone in February, on foot, without hiering of horse or wagon for feare of disclosing hys purpose, meant priuily that night to get to Wesel, leauing his other family still at Santon.

After the Duches and he were one englishe mile from the town, there fell a mighty rayne of continuance, wherby a long frost and ise before congealed, was thawed, whiche doubled more the wearines of those new lacquies. But being now on the way, and ouertakē with the night, they sent their two seruantes (which onely went with them) to villages, as they past, to hyre some carre for theyr ease, but none could be hyred. In the meane time M. Bertye was forced to cary the childe, and the Duches his cloke and rapier.* At last betwixt vi. & vii. of the clocke in y^e dark night, they came to Weesell, and repayring to theyr Innes for lodging and some repose after such a paynfull iourney, found hard intertaynment, for goyng from Inne to Inne offring large mony for small lodging, they were refused of all the Inholders, suspecting Mayster Bertye to bee a Launceknicht, and the Duches to be hys woman. The Childe for cold and sustenance cryed pittifully, the mother wept as fast, the heauens rayned as fast as y^e cloudes could poure.

Mayster Bertie destitute of all other succour of hospitalitie, resolved to bring the Duchesse to the porche of the great churche in the towne, and so to buy coales, victualls and straw for theyr miserable repose there that night, or at least till by Gods helpe he might prouide her better lodging. Mayster Bertie at that time vnderstoode not muche dutche, and by reason of euill weather and late season of y^e night, he could not happen vppon any that coulde speake english,* Frenche, Italian, or Latine, till at last goyng towards the Church porch, he heard 2. striplinges talkyng Latin, to whom he approched and offered thē two stiuers to bring him to some Wallons house.

By these boyes, and Gods good conduicte, hee chaunced at the first vppon the house where Mayster Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the Magistrates of that towne. At the first knocke, the goodman of the house himselfe came to the dore, and opening it, asked Mayster Bertie what he was. Maister Bertie sayd, an englishman, that sought for one M. Peruselles house. The Wallon willed M. Bertie to stay a while, who went backe and told Mayster Perusell that the same english gentleman of whome they had talked the same supper had sent,* by likelihoode, his seruaut to speake with hym. Whereupon M. Perusell came to the dore, and beholding Mayster Bertie, the Duchesse, and theyr childe, their faces, apparelles, and bodyes so farre from their old forme, deformed with durt, wether, & heauines, could not speake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recouering them selues, they saluted one an other, and so together entred the house, God knoweth ful ioyfully. Mayster Bertie chaunging of his apparrell with the goodman, the Duchesse with the good wife, and theyr childe with the childe of the house.

Within fewe dayes after, by M. Peruselles meanes, they hyred a very fayre house in the towne, and did not let to shew themselues what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this tyme through the whole towne what discourtesie the Inholders had shewed vnto them at their entrie,* in so muche as on y^e Sonday following, a preacher in the Pulpit openly in sharpe termes rebuked that great inciuiltie towardes straungers, by allegation of sundry places out of holye scriptures, discoursing how not onely Princes sometyme are receiued in the Image of priuate persons, but Angels in the shape of men, and that God of his Iustice would make the straungers one daye in an other lande, to haue more sense of the afflicted hart of a stranger.*

The time was passing foorth, as they thought themselues thus happily settled, sodainly a watchworde came from sir Iohn Mason, then Queene Maries Ambassador in Netherland, that my Lorde Paget had fayned an errant to the Bathes that waies: and whereas the Duke of Brunswick was shortly with x. ensignes to passe by Wesell for the seruice of the house of Austricke agaynst y^e frēch king, the sayd Duchesse, and her husband shoulde be wyth the same charge and company intercepted.

Wherefore to preuent the cruelty of these enemies, M. Berty with his wife and childe departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutchland vnder the Palsgranes Dominion, where vnder his protection they continued tyll their necessities began to fayle them,* and they almost feyn'ting vnder so heauy a burden, began to fayle of hope.

At what tyme, in the midst of theyr dispayre, there came sodeinly letters to them from the Pallatine of Uilua and the kyng of Poole, being instructed of theyr hard estate by a Baron named Ioannes Alasco, that was sometyme in England offering them large curtesie.* This puruison vnlooked for, greatly reuiued theyr heauye spirites. Yet considering they shoulde remoue from manye theyr countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so farre distant a Country not haunted with the English, and perhappes vpon their arriual not finding as they looked for, the end of their iourney should be worse then the beginning: they deuised thereupon with one M. Barloe, late Byshoppe of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some payns therein, they would make him a fellowe of that iourney.* So finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king and Pallatine, and also with a fewe principall Iewelless (which onely they had lefte of many, to sollicite for them, that the king would vouchsafe vnder his seale, to assure them of the thing whiche hee so honourably by letters offered.

That sute by the forewardnes of the Pallatine, was as soone graunted as vttered. Upon whiche assurance the sayd Duchesse and her husband, with their familye, entred the iorney in Aprill. 1557. from the Castle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towardes Franckford. In y^e which their iorney, it were long here to describe what daungers fell by the way vpon them, and theyr whole company,* by reason of theyr Lantgraues Captain, who vnder a quarrell pretended for a spaniell of M. Berties, set vpon them in the high way, with his horsemen, thrusting their borespeares through the wagon where the Children and Women were, M. Bertie hauing but 4. horsemen with hym. In the which brable it happened the Captaynes horse to be slayne vnder him.

Whereupon a rumour was sparsed immediately thorough townes and villages about, that the Lantgraue captayne should be slayne by certayne Wallons, which incensed the ire of the

countrymen ther more fiercely against M. Bertie, as afterward it proued. For as he was motioned by his wife to saue himselfe by y^e swiftnes of his horse and to recouer some towne there by for his rescue, hee so doing was in worse case then before, for the townsmen and the Captaines brother supposing no lesse but that the Captayne had bene slaine, pressed so egerly vpon him, that he had bene there taken and murthered among them, had not he (as God would) spying a ladder leaning to a wyndow, by the same got vp into the house, and so gone vp in to a garret in the top of y^e house, where hee with his dagge and rapyre defended himselfe for a space: but at lengthe the Burghmayster comming thither with an other Magystrate, which could speake latin, he was counselled to submit himselfe to the order of the law. Mayster Bertye knowing himselfe cleare, and the Captayne to be aliue, was y^e more bolder to submit himselfe to the iudgement of y^e law, vpon condition that the Magistrate woulde receiue hym vnder safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Whiche being promised, M. Bertie putteth him selfe and his weapon in the Magistrates hande, & so was committed to safe custodie, while the trueth of hys cause should be tryed.

Then Mayster Berty writing his letters to y^e Lantgraue and to the Erle of Erbagh, the next day early in the mornyng the Erle of Erbagh dwellyng within 8. miles, came to the towne whether the Duchesse was broughte with her wagon, M. Bertie also beyng in the same towne vnder custody.

The Earle, who had some intelligence of the Duches before, after hee was come and had shewed suche curtesie as hee thought to her estate was seemely, the Townesmen perceyuyng the Earle to behaue hymselfe so humbly vnto her, beganne to consider more of the matter, and further vnderstandyng the Capitayne to bee alyue, both they, and especially the authors of the sturre shrunke away, and made all the friendes they could to maister Bertie and his wife, not to report their doyngs after the worst sorte.

And thus Mayster Bertie and his wife escaping that daunger, proceeded in their iourney toward Polelande, where in conclusion they were quietly entertayned of the king,* and placed honourably in the Earldome of the sayd king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozā, wher M. Berty with the Duchesse hauing the kings absolute power of gouernement ouer the saide Earldome, continued both in [Page 2081](#) great quietnesse and honoure, till the deathe of Queene Mary.

¶Thomas Horton Minister.

*AS yee haue heard of the daungerous troubles of the Duchesse of Suffolke in time of her exile for religion sake, whom notwithstanding the Lordes present protection still deliuered in all distresses, as well from her enemies in England, as in Dutchland frō y^e Launceknights there: so haue we no lesse to behold and magnifie the lords mercifull goodnes in preseruing of Thomas Horton frō the like perilles of the same Countrey.

Whiche Thomas Horton, what a profitable instrument hee was to the Church of Christ in Queene Maries time, all our Englishmen almost beyond the seas then, did both know and feelee.

This good Thomas Horton, as he vsed oftentymes to trauayle betweene Germany and England, for the behoofe and sustenance of the poore English exiles there: so he iournyng vpon a time betweene Masticke and Collē chaunced to bee taken there by certayne Rouers, and so being led

by them away, was in no little daunger: and yet this daunger of his was not so great, but the present helpe of the Lord was greater to ayd and deliuer him out of the same.

¶Thomas Sprat of Kent, Tanner

VNto these afore rehearsed examples of Gods blessed prouidence towards his seruauntes,* may also be added the happy deliueraunce of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companion, now Minister. Whose story briefly to course ouer, is this.

This Thomas Sprat had bene seruaunt sometimes to one M. Brent a Iustice,* and a heauy persecutour, and therefore forsaking his Mayster for religious sake, he wēt to Calice, from whence he vsed often with the sayd William Porrege for theyr necessary affayres, to haue a recourse into England.

It so happened about the fourthe yeare of Queene Maryes raygne, that they landing vppon a tyme of Douer, and taking theyr iourney together toward Sandwich sodenly vppon the way within three myles of Douer, met with the foresayd M. Brent, the two Blachendens, and o'ther Gentlemen moe, with theyr seruaunts, to the number of x. or xii. horses.* Of the which two Blachendens, being both haters and enemies of Gods worde and people, the one had perfect knowledge of William Porrege, the other had not seene him, but onely hadde heard of his name before.

Thus they being in the way where this Iustice wyth his mates shuld meete them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat first espying M. Brent, was sore dismayde, saying to hys companion: yonder is M. Brent. William Porrege God haue haue mercy vpon vs. Well quoth the other, seing now there is no remedy, let vs go in our waye. And so thinking to passe by them,* they kept themselues aloufe, as it were a score off from them, Thomas Sprat also shadowing his face with his cloke.

Notwithstanding, one of M. Brentes seruauntes aduising him better then his mayster did: yonder, sayd he to his Mayster, is Thomas Sprat. At whiche wordes they all rayned theyr horses, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They cal you, sayd William Porrege. Now here is no remedy but we are takē: and so perswaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those playnes and downes, where was no wood neare them by a myle, nor hedge ney'ther, but onely one, which was a byrdbolt shot off.

All this notwithstanding, Sprat stayed and woulde not go. Then they called agayne, sitting still on horseback. Ah sirra, quoth the Iustice? why come ye not hether? And still his companion moued him to go, seying there was no other shift to flee away. Nay, sayd Sprat, I will not goe to them, and therwithall tooke hys legges, running to the hedge that was next him. They seeying that, sette spurres to their horse, thinking by and by to haue hym, and that it was vnpossible for him to escape their hands, as it was in deede, they beyng on horse backe and he on foote, had not y^e Lorde myraculously deliuered his seely seruant frō the gaping mouth of the Lyon ready to deuour him.

For as God would, so it fell out that hee had got ouer the hedge, skrawling through the bushes, when as they were euen at his heeles, striking at him with theyr swords out of the Blachendens crying cruelly: cut off one of hys legges.

Thus Sprat had scarcely recouered the hedge from hys enemies, when one of M. Brentes seruaunts,* which had bene fellow sometymes in house with him, followed him in hys bootes: and certayne rode vp at one side of the hedge, and certayne at the other, to meete him at the vpper end.

Now while they were following the chase after Tho'mas Sprat, onely one remayned with William Porrege (who was one of the Blachendens, not he whiche knewe him, but the other) who began to question with hym: not asking what was hys name (as God would (for then hee had bene knowne and taken: but from whence hee came and how he came into Sprats company, and whether he went: Unto whome he aunswered and sayd: from Calyce and that Sprat came ouer with him in the passage boate, and they two were goyng to Sandwich, and so wythout any more questions he let him depart.

Anone as he kept along the hedge, one of the horsemen which rode after Sprat, returning backe,* and meeting w^t the sayd W. Porrege, demaunded the very same questions as the other had done, to whome he made also the like answere as afore, and so departed, taking an other contrary way from the meeting of the other horsman. And thus W. Porrege escaped.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, he being pursued on the one side by horsemen,* on the other side by his own fellow, who followed after hym in his bootes, crying: you were as good to tarry, for we will haue you, we will haue you: yet notwithstanding he still kept on his course till at length he came to a steepe downe hil at y^e hedge end, downe the which hil he ran from them, for they could not ride downe the hill, but must fetch a great compasse about and so this Thomas Sprat ran almost a mile, and as god would got a Wood.*

By that tyme he came to the Wood, they were euen at hys heeles: but the night drew on, and it began to rayne and so the malice of these persecutors was at an ende, the Lord working for his seruauntes, whose name be praised for euer and euer, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two Blanchendens aforesayd, which so cruelly sought the destruction of other, was cruelly murdered by hys owne seruauntes.

¶Iohn Cornet.

HEre might also be recited the hard aduētures and sufferinges of Iohn Cornet,* and at lengthe his deliuerance by Gods good working, out of the same.

Who being a prentise with a minstrell at Colchester, was sent by hys mayster about the 2. yeare of Queene Maryes raygne, to a wedding in a towne thereby called Roughhedge, where hee being requested by a companye there of good men, the Constables also of the parish being present thereat, so sing some songes of the scripture, chanced to sing a song called Newes out of London, whiche tended agaynst the Masse, and agaynst the Queenes misproceedinges.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the Parson of Roughhedge called Yackesley, and so committed,* first to the Constable, where both his mayster gaue hym ouer and hys mother forsooke and cursed him. From thence hee was sent to the next Iustice, named M. Cānall: and then to the Earle of Oxford, where he was first put in yrons & chaynes, and after that so manacled that the bloude spurt out of hys fingers endes, because he woulde not confesse y^e names of them which allured hym to sing.

And marueile it was that the cruell Papistes were so contended, that they sent him not also to Bishop Boner,* to suffer the extremitie of the fire. But Gods gracious pro|uidence disposed otherwise for hys seruauant. For after hee was manacled, the Earle cōmaunded hym to be brought agayne to the towne of Roughhedge, & there to be whipped till the blood followed, and to be banished the towne for euer: and so hee was, during all the time of Queene Mary.

¶Thomas Bryce.

IF our story should proceede so wide and so large, as dyd the exceeding mercy of Gods prouidence in helpyng hys seruauantes out of wretchednes and thraldome of those bloody dayes, our treatise, I thinke,* would extende to an endlesse processe.

For what good man or woman was there almost in all this tyme of Queene Mary, who eyther in caryng a good conscience out of the land, or taryng within y^e realm could well escape the Papistes handes, but by some notable [Page 2082](#) experience of the Lordes mightye power and helpyng hand working for him? What shoulde I here speake of the myraculous deliuerance of Thomas Bryce, who beyng in the house of Iohn Seale,* in the parish of Horting, and the Bayliffe with other neighbours comming in, sent by Sir Iohn Baker to search and apprehend hym, & knowing perfectly both hys stature and colour of his garments yet had no power to see or know him standing before their faces. So mightely the Lorde did blinde their eyes, that they asking for him, and looking vpon him, yet notwithstanding he quietly tooke vpp his bagge of books, and so departed out of the house, wythout anye hand layd vpon him.

Also an other time, about the 2. yeare of Queene Mary,* the sayde Thomas Bryce, with Iohn Bryce his elder brother, comming then from Wesell, meeting together at their fathers house, as they iornyed towards London to geue warning there to one Springfield, whiche els was like to bee taken vnawares by his enemies wayting for him vpon Gaddes hill, fell in company with a promoter, which dogged them and followed them again to Graues•ad, into the towne, and layed the house for them where they were, and all the waies as they should go to the water side: so that it had not bene possible for them to haue auoyded the present daunger of those persecutors, had not the Lordes prouident care otherwise disposed for hys seruauantes through the Hostler of the Inne,* couertly to conuey them by a secret passage: whereby they tooke Barge a mile out of the towne, and so in the ende both the liues of them, and also of Springfield was preserued, through the Lordes gracious protection.

¶Gertrude Crockhey.

*Gertrude Crokehey dwelling at S. Katherines by the Towne of London, and being then in her husbandes house, it happened, in the yeare 1556. that the Popes childish S. Nicholas went about

the parish. Whiche shee vnderstanding, shut her dore agaynst him, not suffering him to enter into her house.

Then Doct. Mallet hearing thereof, and being then Mayster of the sayd S. Katherines, the next daye came to her wyth twenty at hys tayle,* thinking belike to fray her, and asked why shee woulde not the night before let in S. Nicolas and receaue hys blessing. &c. To whom she aunswered thus. Syr I knowe no S. Nicholas (sayd she) that came hether. Yes quoth Mallet, here was one that represented S. Nicolas.

In deede sir (sayd she) here was one y^t was my neighbours childe, but not S. Nicolas: for S. Nicolas is in heauen. I was afayrde of them that came with him to haue had my purse cut by them: for I haue hearde of men robbed by S. Nicolas clerkes. &c. So Mallet perceiuyng that nothing could be gotten at her handes, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then in the yeare 1557. a little before Whitsontide, it happened that the sayde Gertrude aunswered for a childe that was baptised of one Thomas Saunders,* whyche childe was christened secretly in a house after the order of y^e seruice booke in king Edwardes time, and that beyng shortly knowne to her enemies, she was sought for. Whiche vnderstanding nothing therof, went beyond the Sea into Gilderland, to see certayne landes that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a straunger borne, & being there about a quarter of a yeare at the lengthe comming homeward by Andwarpe, shee chaunced to meete with one Iohn Iohnson a Ducth manne alias Iohn de Uilla of Andwerpe shipper who seeing her there, went of malice to the Margraue, and accused her to be an Anabaptist: whereby shee was taken and caryed to prison. The cause why this naughty manne did thus, was for that he claymed of M. Crockhay her husband a peece of mony whiche was not his due, for a ship y^t Mayster Crockhay bought of him, and for that hee coulde not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight. In the whiche time she sawe some that were prisoners there,* who priuily were drowned in Renish wine fattes, and after secretly put in sakes and cast into the Riuer. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so serued, tooke thereby such feare that it brought the begynning of her sicknesse, of the whiche at length she dyed.

Then at the last was she called before the Margraue and charged with Anabaptistry: whiche shee there vtterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before hym in Dutch her fayth boldly, wythout any feare. So the Margraue hearyng the same, in the end beyng well pleased w^t her profession, at y^e sute of some of her frends,* deliuered her out of prison, but tooke away her booke, and so shee came ouer into England agayne.

¶William Mauldon.

I Lightly passe ouer here the tedious afflictions of William Mauldon,* how in the daungerous time of the 6. articles, before the burning of Anne Askew, hee was scourged being young, of his father, for professing and confessing of true Religion:* and afterward being examined in auricular confession by the Priest, hys bookes were searched for, and so at length hee was presented vp by y^e same Priest in a letter written to the Byshop. Which letter, had it not bene burned by an other Priest to whose handes it came (as the Lord would haue it) it had vndoubtedly cost hym his life.

This one thinge in the sayde William Mauldon is to bee noted, that being younge, in those dayes of kinge Henry, when the masse moste florished, the aultars wyth the sacrament therof being in their moste high veneration y^t to mans reason it might seeme vnpossible that the glory and opinion of that Sacramente and Sacramentalles, so highly worshipped, and so deeply rooted in the hartes of so many, could by any meanes possible so soone decay and vanish to naught: yet notwithstanding hee being then so young, vnder the age of xvii. yeares, by the spirite (no doubt) of prophesie, declared then vnto his parentes, that they should see it shortly euen come to passe,* that both the Sacrament of the altar and the altars themselues, with al such plantations which the heauenly father did not plant, should be plucked vp by the rootes: and euen so within the space of very fewe yeares the euent thereof followed accordingly: the Lorde therefore bee prayed for his moste gracious reformation.

¶Robert Horneby.

I Let passe lykewise the daungerous escape of Robert Horneby,* seruaunt sometyme and groome of the Chamber to Ladye Elizabeth, shee being then in trouble in Queene Maryes dayes: who being willed to come to Masse, refused so to doe, and therefore comming afterward from Woodstocke to Hampton Courte, was called before the Counsayle, & by them committed to the Marshalsey, and not vnlyke to haue susteyned further daunger, had not the Lordes goodnes better prouided for him, who at length by Doctour Martyn was deliuered.

¶Mistres Sandes.

The lyke also may be testified and recorded of Mistres Sandes, nowe wyfe to Syr Morice Bartlet,* then Gentlewoman wayter to the sayde Ladye Elizabeth being in the Tower. Which Mistres Sandes denyed in lyke maner to come to Masse, and therefore beside the heauye displeasure of her father was not onely displaced from her rouse, and put out of the house, but also was in greate ieopardye of further tryall. But the Lorde who disposeth for euery one as he seeth beste, wroughte her way out of her enemyes handes by flying ouer the Seas, where shee continued amongst other banished exiles in the Cittye of Geneua & of Basil, till the death of Queene Marye.

*The storye of Thomas Rose yet liuing, a Preacher, of the age of lxxvi. yeares, in the towne of Luton, and Countye of Bedford.

THis Thomas Rose a Deuonshyre man, was borne in Exmouth, and being made Priest in that couñtre, was brought out of it by one M. Fabiā,* to Polsted in Suffolke where y^e sayd M. Fabian was Parson, & in short tyme after, by his meanes was placed in y^e town of Hadley, wher he first cōming to some knowledg of the gospel, began first there to intreat vpon the Crede, & therupon to take occasiō to inueigh against Purgatory, praying to Saints & Images, about the tyme y^t M. Latimer began first to preach at Cambridge, in the tyme of Bilney & Arthur .47. yeares ago, or thereabout, in so much that many imbracing y^e truth of Christes Gospell, against the sayd Purgatory and other poynts: and the number of them daily increasing, y^e aduersaries beganne to stirre agaynst him, in so muche that M. Bale (who afterwarde became a godly zelous man) was [Page 2083](#) then brought to preach agaynst the sayd Thomas Rose, & so did. This notwithstanding he continued still very vehēment agaynst Images, & the Lorde so blessed his

labours that many began to deuise how to deface and destroy them and especially foure men, whose names were Ro. King, Ro. Debnam, Nic. Marsh, and Ro. Gard. which vsually resorted to his sermons & vpō his preaching were so inflamed with zeale, that shortly after they aduentured to de|stroy the Roode of Douercourt, which coste three of them theyr liues, as appeareth before pag. 1031. The three persons which suffered, and were hanged in chaynes, wer offered theyr liues,* to haue accused the sayd Thomas Rose, as of counsell with them, which refused so to do, and therfore suffered. The sayd Tho. Rose had the coat of the sayd Roode brought vnto him afterward, who burned it. The Roode was sayde to haue done many great myracles and great wonders wrought by him, and yet being in the fire could not help him selfe, but burned like a block, as in very deede he was.

At this time there were two sore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerke, and Iohn Clerke, two brethren, these cōplayned to the Counsayle, that an hundred men were not able to fetch the sayde Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was vpon examination of his doctrine, committed to the Commissaries keeping. And in deede such was y^e zeale of a number towards the truth thē in that towne, y^t they were much offended, that their Minister was so taken frō them, and had therefore by force fet him from the Commissary, if certain wise men hadde not otherwise perswaded, which at length also with more quiet did set him in his office agayne,* which thing so angred y^e two brethren, Walter Clerke & Ioh. Clerk, that they complayned to y^e counsaile, as aforesayd, wherupon a serieant at armes named Cartwright, was sent from the counsaile, who arested the sayd Thomas Rose, & brought him before the counsaile. Then his aduersaries being called, they layd to his charge, y^t hee was priuy of the burning of the Rood of Douercourt, and vpon this he was committed to the prison in the Bish. of Lincolns house in Holborne, Bishop Langly the kinges Confessor, and there remayned he in prison, frō Shroftide till tyll Mydsomer very sore stocked tyll after Easter.

The stocks were very hye, & great, so that day & night he did lye with his backe on the ground,* vpon a litle straw with his heeles so hye, y^t by meanes the bloud was fallen from his feete, his feet wer almost without sense for a long time, & he herewith waxed very sicke, in so much that hys keeper pittying his estate, and hearing him cry sometye thorow the extremetie of payne, went to the bishop, & told him that he would not keep him to dye vnder his hand, & vpon this he had some more ease & libertie. Now at thys time his mother was come frō Hadley to see him, but she might not be suffered to speake w^t the saide Tho. Rose her son (such was their cruelty) but the B. flattered her, & gaue her a payre of pardon beades, & bade her go home & pray, for she might not see him, which thing pierced y^e harts both of y^e mother & sonne not a litle. At this time also certain mē of Hadley, very desirous to see him, trauallyd to speake w^t him, but might not be suffered, til at length they gaue the keeper 4. s. & yet then might not speake to him, or see hym otherwise then through a grate. And thus continued he til midsomer in prison there. Then was he remoued to Lambeth,* in the first yere of D. Cran. consecration, who vsed him much more courteously then euer the B. of Lincolne did, & at length worked his deliuerance, & set him at liberty: but yet so, that he was bounden not to come within xx. myles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the gospell halfe a yere, till Hadley men hearing therof, labored to haue him to Hadley agayn, & in deed by meanes of sir Iohn Rainsford knight, obtained at y^e Arch|bishops hād to haue him thither: howbeit, by meanes one was placed in y^e cure at Hadley, he could not enioy his office again there, but went to Stratford three miles off, and ther cōtinued in preaching y^e word 3. yeres til at lengthe the aduersaries procured an

inhibition from the Bysh. of Norwiche, to put him to silence. But a great number trauayled to haue him continue in preaching, & subscribed a supplication to y^e archb. with seuē score hands, who vnder their seales also testified of his honest demeanor, so that the aduersaries this way preuayling not, they indicted him at Bury in Suffolk, so that he was constrayned to flee to lōdon, & to vse y^e aid of the L. Audly, then Lord Chauncellor who remoued the matter from thē, & called it before hym & after certain examination of the matter, did set him free & did send him by a token to the Lord Crōwell then L. pryuie Seale, for a licence frō the king, to preach, which being obteyned by the L. Cromwell his meanes (who hereupon also had admitted the sayd Thomas Rose his chaplayne) forthwith he was sent into Lincolnshyre and to Yorke. In the meane time such complaynt was made to the Duke of Northfolke,* for that he had preached against auricular cōfession, transubstantiation, & such other poyntes contened in the 6. articles (whiche then to haue done, by lawe was death) that the Duke in his owne person not onely sought him at Norwich, but also beset al the hauens for him, from Yarmouth to Londō, & being Lieuutenant, cōmaunded, y^t who soeuer could take y^e said T^r Rose, should hang him on y^e next tree. Howbeit the sayd Tho. Rose at hys commyng home, hauing warning hereof by certayne godly persons was conueyed away, & passed ouer to Flanders, and so to Germany vnto Zuricke, where a tyme he remayned with M. Bullinger, & afterward went to Basill, & there hosted w^t M. Grineus, till letters came that M. Doct. Barnes shuld be B. of Norwiche, & things shuld be reformed, & he restored. But whē he came ouer into Eng. againe it was nothing so, & therfore forthwith f^{led} agayne beyond y^e seas being so beset, as if the mighty prouidence of God had not sent him in readines to receaue him, y^e self same man,* bote and boy, y^t before caryed him ouer, it had not bene possible for him to haue escaped. But such was the goodnes of god towards him, that he safely was conueyed, & liued at Barow the space of 3. yeares, til at length purposing to come ouer into Englād, about busines that he had, he, his wife, & their chyld being but a yeare & three quarters old, vpō y^e sea, the ship being in great danger, wherin they sayled (for the mast being hewn downe in that perill, they wer caried whither soeuer the waues tossed them) they with dyuers others made a full accompt of death. Howbeit, at lengthe they wer taken prisoners, & caryed into Deepe in France hauing al their stuffe takē frō them, & xl.li. in mony. There they remayned prisoners frō Michaelmas til Hallowtide in great heauines, not knowing what woulde become of thē, but depending onely vpon Gods prouidēce, it pleased God at the same time, that one M. Young of the towne of Rye (who had heard hym preach before) came thither for y^e redeeming of certayne English men there takē prisoners. This M. Young moued to see them in this case, muche pitied them, & comforted them, and told them hee would pay their ransome, & so he did, had them away, & brought them to Rye, & from thence by stealth came they to London. At length the honourable Earle of Sussex hearing of the said Tho. Rose, sent for him, his wife, & his childe, & had them to his house at Attelborough, where they continued,* til at length it was blased abroad, that the Earle was a maintainer of such a man to reade in his house, as had preached against the Catholicke fayth (as they terme it.) The Earle being at the parlament, & hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warne him to make shift for himselfe, & to auoyd. So that frō thence he passed to London, making strait shiftes for a yeare there & somewhat more, til the death of king Henry. After the kinges death, he & others which in the kings general pardon were excepted (& therefore dead men, if they had bene taken whilest king Henry liued) by certaine of y^e Coūsayle were let at liberty, & at length, after K. Edward was crowned, were licensed to preach agayne by the king, who gaue vnto y^e said Tho. Rose, the benefice of Westham by London. But at the death of that vertuous and noble prince, he was deprived of al, & so should also haue bene of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who receiued him in London

secretly, as their teacher in the congregation, amongst whom for the pore prisoners at their assēblies .x.li. a night oftentimes was gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, & with the Lady Uane almost a yere, in the raigne of Q. Mary. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly whilst he read to y^e godly in sundry places of London, yet at length through a Iudas that betrayed them, he with .xxxv. that were with him,* were takē in Bowchurchyard at a Shiermans house on Newyeres day at night being Tuesday. The residue being cōmitted to prisons, the sayd Tho. Rose was had to the B. of Winchester Ste. Gardiner, but the Bishop would not speeke with him that night, but committed him to the Clinkē tyl Tuesday after.

***The first examination of Thomas Rose before Winchester at saint Mary Oueries.**

ON Thursday being brought before the B. of Winchester at S. Mary Oueries, the said Tho. Rose spake as followeth.*

Rose.

It maketh me to maruayle (my Lord, quoth he) that I should be thus troubled for that which by the worde of God hath bene established, & by the lawes of this Realme allowed, & by your own writing so notably in your booke De vera obedientia, confirmed.

Bysh.

Ah sirha, hast thou gotten that?

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Rose.

Yea, my Lord, I thanke God, and do confesse my self much thereby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of the supremacie agaynst the B. of Romes vsurped authoritie, no man hath sayde further. And as I remember you confesse in it, that when this truth was reuealed vnto you you thought the scales to fall from your eyes.

Bishop.

Thou lvest like a varlet, there is no such thinge in my booke, but I shall handle thee and suche as thou art well enough. I haue lōg looked for thee, & at length haue caught thee. I will knowe who be thy maynteiners, or els I will make thee a foote longer.

Rose.

My Lord, you shall doe as much as pleaseth God, & no more, yet the lawe is in our hand: but I haue God for my maynteiner▪ & none other. At these wordes one of his seruāts stepped forth and said: my lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich in sir Iohn Robsters house, & in hys praier he desired God to turne Q. Maries hart, or elles to take her out of the world: and this was in K. Edw. time.

Rose.

My Lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the king I prayed for her after this sort, saying: Ye shall pray for my Lady Maries grace, that God wil vouchsafe to indue her with his spirite, that she graciously may perceiue y^e misteries contained within his holy lawes, and so render vnto him her hart purified w^t true fayth, & true & loyall obedience to her soueraigne lord and king, to the good ensample of the inferiour subiects. And this, my Lord, is already aunswered in mine own hand writing to y^e counsel. Unto this he sayd little, but turning his face to certayne y^t were by him: This is he (quoth the Bishop) that my Lord of Norwich told me had begotten his mayd with chylde.

Rose.

This is no heresie, my Lord, although it be a lye. In deed certayn wicked persons rayseed this report of me, for y^e hatred they bare to the doctrine whiche I preached: but for purgatiō of my self herein. I had no lesse then 6. of the counsaills hands, y^t there might be due & dilligent examinaⁿtion for this matter in the country by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can al testifie (I thank god) that I am most cleare frō such wickednes, & in deede they haue cleared me frō it, & therfore I doubt not but all good mē will espye y^e mischieuous deuise of mine aduersaries, whych (when other wayes fayled) by such sinister means went about to draw me into discredite & hatred: but God which is the helper of y^e innocēt, & searcher of mens harts hath & doth defend me, & hath layd open thinges that wer hid, to their shame. One of y^e chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse my self, was one M. Clarke seruauant & in some estimation w^t the old Lord Treasurer of England re^puted & taken for a coniurer, who afterwards for his good demerites hanged himself in the Tower. Then the bishop commanded y^t I shoulde be caryed to the tower,* & be kept safely, where I did lye til it was the weeke before Whitsōtide. Before which time I was twice called, when as the bish. came to the tower about other prisoners. Notwythstanding the B. had no great talk with me, but spake frēdly. Howbeit, one sir Rich. Southwell knight still accused me for my prayer, & sayde, I did put a difference betwixte Lady Mary & Lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in king Edwardes fayth, & prayed that he would confirme Lady Elizabeth in that which was well begō in her. Unto this the bish. sayde little: but in the weeke before Pentecost I was conueyed from the tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bish. and his clergy, as concerning my faith the maner wherof here followeth.

¶The second examination of Tho. Rose before the bishop of Norwiche, Hopkins by name, in his owne Palace in the presence of sir William Woodhouse knight, M. Stewarde the Chauncellor, Doct. Barret, with diuers others, the Wednesday in Whitson weeke. an. Domini. 1553.

*After I was presented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had bene a Minister.

Bishop.

What is this to the purpose, were yee a Fryer or a Priest▪

Rose.

Fryer was I neuer, but a Prieste haue I bene, and beneficed by the kinges Maiesty.

Byshop.

Where were ye made Priest?

Rose.

In Exceter, in the county where I was borne. Thē the bishop required of me my letters of orders. I told hym I knew not where they were become, for they wer things of me not greatly regarded.

Byshop.

Well, you are sent to me to be examined: what say you, will you submit your selfe to the order of the Church of England?

Rose.

My Lord, I trust I am not out of the order of chrystes Church in England, neither do I knowe my selfe an offender there agaynst.

Bysh.

What, ye•, ye haue here preached moste damnable & deuilish doctrine.

Rose.

Not so, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached, was both true, sincere, & holy. But in deede the doctrine y^t is now set forth, is most wicked and damnable, yea & that both agaynst Gods lawes & mans. But as for the doctrin by me preached, it is grounded vpon the word of God, set out also by the authoritie of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the Nobilitie and clergy of the same, so y^t I preached nothing but their lawfull proceedinges, hauing their lawfull authoritie vnder their broad Seales for confirmation of y^e same, for which my doying ye cannot iustly charge me. For why, sithens the lawe ceased, I haue kept silence, so that the Counsaile which sent me vnto you haue not charged me therwith. Wherefore ye doe me open wrong to burden me with that wherein I am free.

Chanc.

What sir? ye are very captious, answerest thou my Lord after such a sort?

Rose.

Syr (sayd I) I aunswere for my selfe, and accordyng to the truth, wherwith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chaunc.

Thou art an euill man. Wast thou not abiured be^fore now?

Rose.

No, ye vntruely report me, and are in no wise able to proue that whiche ye haue spoken: so that your wordes appeare to proceede altogether of malice, whiche I haue not deserued at your handes. But in this I well perceiue ye are made an instrument to vtter other mennes malice conceiued of olde.

Chaunc.

What sayest thou to the reall presence in the sacrament?

Rose.

I wist right well yee were made an instrument to seeke innocent bloud: well ye may haue it, if God permitte it is present and at hande, for I am not come hither to lye, but to dye (if God see it good) in defence of that whiche I haue sayd. Wherefore ye may begin when ye shall thinke good, for I haue sayd nothing but the trueth, and y^e which in those dayes was of al men allowed for truth, & agaynst the which ye at that time durst not once whisper, although ye now brag neuer so much.

Bish.

Wel father Rose, sayd he, what soeuer hath ben done in times past, shal not now be called in question, so that ye now submit your self. For not only you, but all the whole realm hath bene out of y^e right way, both high & low, spiri^tual & tēporal but al notw^tstāding haue submitted thēselues & acknowledged their faith. Wherefore if ye wil be accoūted for an Englishman, ye must likewyse submit your selfe.

Rose.

My L. I am an Englishman borne, & do most humbly require of y^e christian congregation of England,* to bee counted as a perticular member of the same, & with al due reuerence submit my self as in forme & maner followyng: That whatsoever law or laws shal be set forth in the same for the establishment of Christs true religion, & that according to y^e faith & doctrine of y^e holy patriarchs & prophets, Iesus Christ, & his holy apostles, w^t the faithful fathers of Christs primatiue church: I do not only hold it & beleeeue it, but also most reuerently obey it. At which my assertion, the B. seemed to be greatly reioiced, & said: well, then we shall soone be at a point. But said he, you shal take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, so

that ye shall now depart & pawse your selfe, vntill we call for you againe, and so ended our first meetyng.

¶The third examination of Thomas Rose.*

ON the Friday following, I was called agayne into Christes church within their Ladies chapell (as they termed it) where was gathered a great part of the whole citie of Norwich, & after I was by my keper presented, y^e B. began with a great protestation, & after many wordes demanded of me whether according to my former promise I would submit my selfe or no? I answered as before I had done, y^t according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey. Then said the Chauncellor, to vtter hys gentlenes, I thinke ye do but fayne.

Rose.

The fault then (said I) shal be in your selfe, and not in me. For if ye burthen me with nothing but scriptures, & the fathers of Christes primatiue church, then, as I sayde before, so I say agayne, I shall most gladly obey.

Chanc.

Well then, seeyng you chalenge to be a member of the church of England, your mother here for triall of obedience, prouoketh you, as mothers are woont, to allure you to receiue this little gift at her hand.

Rose.

Forsooth sayd I, if she offer it me, as receyued of God my father, I shal gladly receiue it, as from the hand of my very true and ghostly mother.

Chanc.

What say you to care confession? [*](#) is it not a law ecclesiasticall, and necessary for the church of England?

Rose.

Some wayes it might be permitted, & some wayes [Page 2085](#) not, & that because it had not his originall of God & hys blessed word: and yet I deny not, but y^t a man beyng troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreete, sober & christian learned man, for the quieting of hys mind, might well be permitted: but to binde a man vnder payne of dānation, once euey yeare to number his sinnes into y^e eare of a filthy lecherous priest, is not of God, neither cā be approued by his word.

Bish.

Ah sirrha, yee will admitte nothing but scripture, I see well.

Rose.

No truely, my Lord, I admit nothing but scripture for the regiment of the soule: * for why, faythe commeth by hearing, & hearing by the word of god, and where y^e word of God is not, there ought no beliefe to bee geuen. For what soeuer is not of fayth, is sinne, and here they leaue of speaking any more of that matter.

But then M. Chancelor began to whet his teeth at me saying: Yea, but you haue here preached that the reall, naturall, and substantiall presence of Christ is not in the Sacrament of the altar: what say ye to that?

Rose.

Uerily I say, that you are a bloody man, & seeke to quench your thirst w^t the bloud of an innocent, & therefore to satisfie you in that behalfe, I say verily vnto you, that euen so I haue here preached, and althoughe contrary to law, you charge me with y^e same, yet will I in no wise deny it, though iustly I might do it, but stand thereunto, euē to seale it with my bloud, desiring all that be here present, to testifie the same, and beleue it as the onely truth.

Bish.

I charge you all beleue it not.

Rose.

Yea, But my Lord, sayde I, if ye will needes haue credence geuen you, you must bring Gods word to main^tayne your sayinges.

Bish.

Why, doth not Christ say: This is my body? and can there be any playner wordes spoken?

Rose.

It is true, my Lord, y^e words be as playne as can be and euē so be these, where as it is said, I am a dore, a vine and Christ called a stone, a Lyon, and yet is hee naturally none of these. For they be all figuratiue speeches, as both the scriptures and fathers do sufficiently proue.

At which my saying, the Bishop woulde haue had me stay, saying, I should haue an other day, wherin I might take better aduisement.

Rose.

Not so, my Lord, sayde I, for I am at a full point w^t my selfe in that matter, * and am right well able to proue both your transubstantiation, with the reall presence, to be agaynst the scriptures &

the ancient fathers of the primatiue church. For Iustinus which is one of the ancientest writers that euer wrote vpon the sacramentes, wryteth in his 2. Apologie, that the bread, water, and wine in the sacrament, are not to be taken as other meates & drinkes, but bee meates purposely ordayned to geue thanks vnto God, and therefore be called Eucharistia, and also haue the names of the body and bloud of Christe, and that it is not lawfull for anye man to eate and drinke of them, but suche as professed the religion of Christ, and liue also accordyng to theyr profession: and yet sayth he, the same bread & drink is chaunged into our flesh and bloud, and nourisheth our bodyes. By which saying it is euident, that Iustine ment that the bread and wine remayne still, or els they coule not haue bene turned into our fleshe and bloud, and nourish our bodyes. At which my saying they were not a litle troubled, but enforced themselues to haue denyed the Doctor, and would suffer me to speake no more, but strait way was I caryed away vnto my lodging: and so ended the second day of mine appearaunce, whiche was the Friday in Whitson weeke, and then was I appoynted to appeare agayne on the monday following. Howbeit, vpon what occasiō, I know not, it was deferred vnto the Wednesday, which was Corpus Christi Euen.

His talke with the Earle of Sussex, sir William Woodhouse, and the Bishops chaplaines.

IN the meane time the Byshop sent two of his chaplens to me, with whome I had communication about the reall presence: and after long reasoning to & fro, concerning this poynt, at length I droue them to this issue, whether they did confesse that Christ in the selfe same bodye whiche was conceiued of the virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose agayne, do in the selfe same body naturally, substancially, and really sit at the right hande of God the father, without returne from thence vntill the daye of the generall iudgement or not? Whereunto they aunswered, Yes truly, sayd they, we confesse it, hold it, and beleue it. Then I agayne demaunded of them, whether they did affirme, after the wordes pronounced by the minister ther to remayne flesh, bloud, bones, heare, nayles, as is wonte most grossely to bee preached, or not? And they with great deliberation aunswered, that they did not onely abhorre y^e teaching of such grosse doctrine,* but also would detest thē selues, if they should so thinke.

At which two principall poyntes, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I euer taught, I was not a little comforted and reioyced, but marueilously encouraged. Wherupon I demaunded againe of them, what maner of body they then affirmed to be in the Sacrament? Forsooth, sayd they, not a visible, palpable, or circumscribable bodye, for that is alwaies at the fathers right hande, but in the sacrament it is inuisible, and can neither be felt, seene, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotēcie of Gods woorde they knowe not howe.

And for this they brought in S. Augustine, although of them not truly vnderstanded, yet would they admit none other sense then their owne, but would take vpon them to confirme it with Martine Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Caluine, so that I perceiuing their obstinacie in that behalfe, gaue them ouer for that time, & afterwarde talked with Doctour Barret, whome I also found of the same iudgement in that behalfe. For (sayd he) if ye shoulde dissent from the Fathers of the Primatiue church in thys behalfe, of which S. Augustine is one, ye shall be counted to die out of the fauour of God. Well, all this their obstinacie and blasphemous errors imprinted and deeply weighed in my minde, I gaue them al ouer, and the more quietly to bring them to confesse that openly, whiche they vnto me had graunted priuately, I graunted them, according to the scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

After all this, came there vnto me the honorable Earle of Sussex, and that gentle knight sir William Woodhouse, wyth great perswasions: vnto whome I sayd, after long talke, that I would doe all that I might, sauing my conscience, whiche I would in no wise pollute, and no more I haue, as knoweth God, by whome all menne must be iudged.

***His last appearance before the Bishop.**

NOw to come to my last appearaunce,* after I was before the Bishop presented, he forthwith demaunded of me, whether I were resolu'd, as hee had hearde say. To whom I aunswared, that euen as alwayes I had sayde before, y^t euen so I was now. Unto whom by low bowing my knee. I gaue my due reuerence, and the rather for that y^e honorable Earle of Sussex was there. Wherewith some which would be counted great Gospellers, were, contrary to all Christianitie, sore offended. Then I sayde, that what soeuer lawes were set forth for y^e establishment of Christes true religion, & that according to the doctrine of Christes holy Apostles, & the faithful fathers of y^e primitiue church, I did not only obey them, but most earnestly imbrace and beleue them. Yea, and yet to the further blynding of theyr eyes, I sayd, y^t yf any thing could iustly be proued by gods holy worde, by me heretofore preached or taught vntruly, either for lacke of learning, slide of tongue, or of ignorāce, yet by better knowledge whē it shall iustly be tryed & examined by the same: I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly approued) to reuoke y^e same. Prouided alwayes, the word of God herein to be iudge.

Al this spake I (as God knoweth) to keepe them from suspecting that which I went about, and that they should haue none occasion to iudge me of obstinacy. Then sayd I moreouer. Al you must of force confesse, that y^e doctrine by me heretofore preached, had besides the authority of Gods eternall veritye, the authority of two most noble & mighty princes, with the aduice and counsel of al the Nobility and Clergy of the same, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in both y^e Uniuersities: enacted also by parlament with the consent of the whole body and Commons of the same, and that without any resistance or gainsaying established, as a religion most pure & perfect, most earnestly and sincerely preached by y^e principall Bishops and Doctors, and y^t before the kinges maiesties person, & I as one being called to that office, did the like, with all the rest, and in the zeale of God, & wyth a pure conscience did set forth the same as the onely & absolute truth of God, and the iust and most true proceedings of my soueraigne Lord and king, and I had then my head at that present euen where it now standeth, betwixt myne eares, altogether applying the same, to apprehende wyth all dilligence, that which then was established and taught as the onely and absolute truth, and a thing vnto me most desirous and well liking, without my desire to heare the contrary, till now through this my captiuitie I am compelled to heare the contrary part speak, who are euen here present, and which my Lord sent vnto me.

[Page 2086](#)Of whom after long disputations priuately to and fro before this time had betwixt vs, at length I haue heard by them a cōtrary doctrine, which I neuer before had heard, and therefore must confesse myne owne ignoraunce in the same. For (quoth I) after I had inforced these men here present (meaning the Bishops two Chapleynes) to confesse Iesus Christes naturall body with his full complete members in the due order and proportiō of a perfect mans body to be present at the right hand of God the father, and that w^tout returne from thence vntill the last iudgement, and also that after the woordes pronounced by the Priest, there remaineth no suche grosse presence of

flesh, bloude, bones, heare, and nailes, as was wont to be preached, but that after I had demaunded of them what maner of body they affirmed to be present, they saide: A body inuisible by the omnipotencie of Gods word, which neither can be felt nor seene, nor that hathe anye distinction of members, but such a body as occupieth no place, but is there, they know not how, necessity compelled me to confesse mine ignorāce in that behalfe: although in very deede they perceiued not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thoughte they should so doe. For by this their confession, and my silence, afterward I perceiued their horrible blasphemies.

And me thought, in this I had well discharged at that time my conscience, in causing them in open audience to confesse the same, and so I graunted a presence, but not as they supposed.

For onely I sayd, that Christ after the worde pronounced, is present in the lawfull vse and right distribution of his holye Supper, which thing I neuer denied, nor anye godly man that euer I heard of. For (sayde I) Eusebius Emissenus, a man of singulare fame and learning, aboute 300. yeares after Christes Ascension, saieth: That the conuersion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and bloude of Christ, is like vnto our conuersion in Baptisme, where nothing is outwardly chaunged, but al the chaunge is inwardly by the mightye woorking of the holy Ghost,* which fashioneth and frameth Christe in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people. Actes 2. By which he so p•erced theyr consciences, that they openly with most earnest repentāce confessed their sinnes, saying: Men & brethren, what shall we doe? Repent, and be baptized euery of you (said Peter) in the name of Iesus Christ: so that at this Sermon there were which turned vnto Christ, three thousand persones, in whome Christ was so fashioned and framed, as that he did dwell in euery one of them, and they in him: and after the like maner (sayd I) is Christ present in the lawfull vse and right distribution of his holy Supper, and not otherwise. For although I sayd, according to the truth, y^e Christ dwelt in euery one of these persones rehearsed, yet meant I nothing lesse, then that he in them should haue a grosse, carnall, or fleshly dwelling.

*And no more meant I (as knoweth God) hym carnally or naturally to be in the Sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, that is, to the spirituall nourishment of all such as woorthelye come vnto that holy Supper, receiuing it according to his holy Institution.

And thus I ended, whych the Papistes moste maliciously and sclaunderously named a recantation, whyche I neuer meant nor thought (as God knoweth).

Now after I had thus concluded my speache, the Bishop taking me by the hand, sayd: Father Rose, you may be a woorthy instrument in Gods church, and we will see to you at our comming home (for hee was aboute to take hys iourney in visitation of his Diocesse) and they feared much at this very time, least Queene Marie should haue miscaried in childe trauaile, which was looked for, beyng then accounted very greate with childe, so that they were not so fierce as they had bene, and doubted very muche of some sturre, if I shoulde haue suffered, and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that by any colourable meanes for theyr owne discharge it might be: so that the night folowing I was onely committed to mine olde lodging.

On the morowe when the Bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiuing that sir William Woodhouse did beare me great fauoure, sayde, he was sorie for

me and my expenses, and therefore wished that I were somewhere, where I might spend no more money, till his retourne. Why my Lord (quoth Syr William Woodhouse) he shall haue meate and drinke, and lodging with me, til your returne againe, seeing you now breake vp house, and hereuppon I went home wyth Syr William that good Knight,* who most gently entertained me, and I had great libertie. Uppon thys the Papisticall priestes of the Colledge of Christes Church in Norwich, for that they sawe me at libertye in Sir Williams absence (who also was then from home a fortnight) blased it abroad, that sir William was bounden for me in body & lands. At his comming home therfore I asked sir William if he were so bounden for me: and he denied it. Then sayd I: syr, but for the reuerence I beare to you, I might haue ben an hundred miles from you ere this. But I trust now sir, seeing you be not bounden for me, I may go visite my frends. Go where you wil, said sir William, for (quoth he) I tolde the bishop I would not be his gailer, but promised onely meate, drinke, and lodging for you. Shortly after, vppon the deuise of some friendes, I was closely conueyed to a friendes house, where almost a moneth I was secretly kept, til rumours were ouer. For at the Bishops returne, searching was for mee, in so muche as all houses where it was knowen I had bene acquainted, were searched, and the shippes at Yarmouth.

At the length the Bishop sent to a Coniurer, to know of him which way I was gone, and he answered, that I was gone ouer a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And in very deede I was passed ouer a small water, and was hid by a blessed woman and godly widowe (whiche liued in a poore cottage) the space of iij. weekes, till all the great heate was ouer.

Then was I conueyed to London, and from thence passed ouer the seas, where I liued till the death of Quene Marie, and that it pleased GOD for the comforte of his Church, and restoring of all poore exiles and prisonners for his names sake, to blesse thys Realme, wyth the gouernement of our noble Queene, whome God to the glory of his owne name, and the defence of his Church, according to his good will and pleasure long preserue and continue ouer vs. Amen.

A briefe discourse concernyng the troubles and happy deliuerance of the Reuerend Father in God, Doct. Sandes, first Bish. of Worcester, next of London, and now Archb. of Yorke.

King Edward died, the world being vnworthie of hym, the Duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauyng Commission to proclaime Lady Iane Queene, and by power to suppress Lady Mary, who tooke vpon her that dignitie, and was proclaimed Queene in Northfolke. The Duke sent for D. Sandes being Uicechancellor, for D. Parker, for D. Bill, and M. Leauer, to suppe with hym. Amongst other speeches he sayd: Maisters, pray for vs that we speede well, if not, you shall be made Bishops, and we Deacons. And euen so it came to passe, D. Parker, and D. Sandes were made Bishops, and he and Sir Iohn Gates, who was then at the Table, were made Deacons ere it was long after, on the Tower hill. D. Sandes beyng Uicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an Auditorie, and to speake of such a matter: yet hee refused not the thing, but went into his chamber, & so to bed. He rose at 3. of the clocke in the mornyng, tooke his Bible in his hand, and after that hee had prayed a good space, he shut his eyes, and holding his Bible before hym, earnestly prayed to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for hym to intreat of. The Bible as God would haue it, fell open vpon the first chapter of Iosua, where he found so conuenient a piece of Scripture for that tyme, that the lyke he coulde not haue chosen in all the

Bible. His texte was thus: Responderunt{que} ad Iosue atque dixerunt, Omnia quae precepisti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obediuius in cūctis Mosi ita obediemus & tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Mose, qui contradixerit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos preceperis ei, moriatur: tu tantum comfortare & viriliter age. Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselues by the state, and withall, the Auditorie, the tyme, and other circumstāces, he shall easily see that this text most fitly serued for the purpose. And as God gaue the text, so gaue he hym suche order and vtterance, as pulled many teares out of the eye of the biggest of them.

In the tyme of his Sermon one of the Gard lift vp to hym into the Pulpit a Masse booke and a Graile, whiche sir George Haward with certaine of the Gard had taken that night in M. Hurlestons house where lady Mary had bene a little before, and there had Masse. The Duke with the rest of the nobilitie, required Doct. Sandes to put hys sermon in writyng, and appointed M. Leauer to goe to London with it, and to put it in print. D. Sandes required [Page 2087](#) one day and a halfe for writyng of it. At the tyme appoynted he had made it ready, and M. Leauer was ready booted to receiue it at his handes, and cary it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the Bedles named M. Adams, came weping to hym, and prayed hym to shift for hymselfe, for the Duke was retired, and Queene Mary proclaimed.

Doctor Sandes was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the sermon written to M. Layfield. M. Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one M. Mores a Bedle, his great friend. At the dinner, maistresse Moores seyng him mery and pleasant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke vnto hym, saying: M. Uicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the last tyme that euer I shall see you. And so it was, for she was dead before D. Sandes returned out of Germany. The Duke that night retyred to Cambridge, and sent for Doct. Sandes to go with hym to the Market place to proclaim Queene Mary. The Duke cast vp his cap with others, and so laughed that the teares ranne downe hys cheekes for grieffe. He told D. Sandes that Queene Mary was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaryng, that he had sent vnto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a generall pardon. Doctor Sandes answered, my life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I done or sayd any thyng that vrgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I haue instructions warranted by the subscription of xvj. Counsailors. Neither can speach bee treason, neither yet haue I spoken further then the worde of God, and lawes of this Realm doth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall neuer escape death: for if she would saue you, those that now shall rule, will kill you.

That night the Gard apprehended the Duke, and certaine Groomes of the Stable were as busie with Doctor Sandes as if th•y would take a prisoner. But Sir Iohn Gates who lay then in Doctor Sandes his house, sharply rebuked them, and draue them away. Doct. Sandes by the aduise of Sir Iohn Gates, walked into the fields. In the meane tyme, the Uniuersitie contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered, that D. Mouse and D. Hatcher, should repaire to D. Sandes lodgyng, and fee away the statute booke of the Uniuersitie, the keys, and such other things that were in his keepyng, & so they did, for D. Mouse beyng an earnest Protestant the day before, and one whom Doct. Sandes had done much for, now was he become a Papist, and his great enemy. Certaine of the Uniuersitie had appointed a congregation at after noone. As the Bell rang to it, D. Sandes commeth out of the fieldes, and sending for the Bedles, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to waite vppon hym to the Schooles, accordyng to their

duetie. So they did, And so soone as D. Sandes, the Bedles goyng before hym, came into the Regent house & tooke his chaire. One M. Mitch with a rabble of vnlearned Papists, went into a by schoole, and conspired together to pull hym out of his chaire, and to vse violence vnto hym. D. Sandes began his Oration, expostulatyng with the Uniuersitie, charyng them with great ingratitude, declaring that hee had sayd nothing in his sermon, but that he was ready to iusti••e, and that their case was all one with his: For they had not onely concealed, but consented to that whiche hee had spoken.

And thus while hee remembred vnto them howe beneficiall he had ben to the Uniuersitie, and their vnthankfulnes to him agayne, in commeth M. Mitche with hys conspirators about xx. in number. One layeth hand vpon the chaire to pull it from hym, another told hym that that was not hys place, and another called hym traitor. Wherat he perceuyng how they vsed violence, & beyng of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as gods enemies, if D. Bill and D. Blith had not fallen vpon hym, and prayed hym for Gods sake to holde his handes and be quiet, and patiently to beare that great offred wrong. He was perswaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his Oration, & hauing some money of the Uniuersities in his handes, he there deliuered the same euery farthyng. He gaue vp the bookes, reckonings and keyes, pertainyng to the Uniuersitie, and withall, yelded vp his Office, praying God to geue to the Uniuersitie a better Officer, and to geue them better and more thankefull hartes, and so repaired home to his own Colledge.

On the morrowe after, there came vnto hym one M. Gerningham, and one M. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham tolde hym, that it was the Queenes pleasure that two of the Gard should attend vpon hym, & that hee must be caried prisoner to the Tower of London with y^e Duke. M. Mildmay sayd, he meruailed that a learned mā would speake so vnaduisedly agaynst so good a Prince, and wilfully run into such danger. D. Sandes aunswered. I shal not be ashamed of bonds, But if I could do as M. Mildmay can, I needed not feare bondes: For he came downe in payment agaynst Queene Mary, and armed in y^e field, and now he returneth in payment for Queene Mary, before a traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot with one mouth blow whote and cold after this sort.

Upon this, his stable was robbed of foure notable good geldinges, the best of them Maister Hudlestone tooke for hys owne Saddle, and roade on hym to London in hys sight. An Inuentory was taken of all his goodes by M. Moore Bedle for the Uniuersitie. He was set vpon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thyng a friend of his perceiuyng, prayed that he myght lend hym a nagge. The yeomen of the Gard were content. As he departed forth at the Townes ende, some Papists resorted thither to giere at hym, some of his friends to mourne for hym. He came into the ranke to London, the people beyng full of outcryes. And as he came in at Bishops gate, 〈◇〉 like a milk wife hurled a stone at hym, and hit 〈...〉 brest wyth such a blow, that he was lyke to fall of 〈...〉. To whō he mildly sayd: Woman, God forgeue it thee. Truth is, that iourney and euill intreatyng so mortified him, that he was more ready to die, then to lyue.

As hee came through Tower hill streete, one woman standing in her doore, cried: Fie on thee thou knaue, thou Knaue, thou Traitor, thou Hereticke. Whereat hee smiled. Looke, the desperate Hereticke (sayeth shee) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other side of the streat, answered, saying: Fie on thee neighbor, thou art not woorthy to be called a woman, railing vpon thys Gentleman whome thou knowest not, neither yet the cause why he is thus intreated. Then

shee sayd, good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and geue thee strēgth to stand in Gods cause euen to the ende. And thus he passed thorow fire and water into the Tower. The first prisoner that entred in that day, which was S. Iames day. The yeomen of the garde tooke from him his borrowed Nagge, and what els so euer he had. His man one Quinting Suainton broght after him a Bible, and some shirtes and suche like thinges. The Bible was sent in to him, but the shirtes and suche like, serued the yeomen of the Garde.

After he had bene in the Tower three weekes in a bad prison, he was lifte vp into Nonnes bower, a better prison, where was put to him maister Iohn Bradforde.

At the day of Queene Maries Coronation, their pryson doore was sette open, euer shutte before. One maister Mitchel his olde acquaintance, and had bene prisoner before in the same place, came in to him and sayde: Maister Sandes, there is suche a stirre in the Tower, that neyther gates, doores, nor prisoners, are looked to this day. Take my Cloake, my Hatte, and my Rapier, and get you gon, you may goe oute of the gates without questioning, saue your selfe, and let me doe as I may. A rare friendship: but he refused the offer, saying: I knowe no iust cause whye I should be in prison. And thus to do were to make my selfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet must I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you, and so maister Michell departed.

While D. Sands and M. Bradford were thus in close prison together 29. weekes, one Iohn Bowler was their Keeper, a very peruerse Papist, yet by often perswading of him, for he would geue care, and by gentle vsing of him at the length he began to mislike Poperie and to fauor the Gospell, and so perswaded in true religion, that on a sonday when they had Masse in the Chappell, he bringeth vp a Seruice booke, a manchet and a glasse of wine, and there D. Sandes ministred the Communion to Bradforde and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their sonne begotten in bondes when Wiate was in armes, and the olde Duke of Northfolke sent foorth with a power of men to apprehend him, that rouse might be made in the Tower for him and other his complices, Doctor Cranmer, D. Ridly, and M. Bradford were cast into one prison, and Doctour Sands with 9. other preachers were sent into the Marshalsea.

The Keeper of the Marshalsea appoynted to euerye preacher, a man to leade him in the streete, he caused them goe farre before, and he and Doc. Sandes came behinde, whom he woulde not lead, but walked familiarlye wyth him. Yet D. Sandes was knowne, and the people euery where prayed to GOD to comfort him and to strength him in the truthe. By that time the peoples mindes were altered, Poperie began to be vnsauerie. After they passed the Bridge, the keeper Thomas Way sayd to D. Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would set you forward to the fire, yee are as vaine as they, if you being a yong man wil [Page 2088](#) stande in youre owne conceite, and preferre youre owne knowledge before the iudgement of so many worthy Prelates, auncient, learned, and graue menne as be in thys Realme. If you so doe, you shall finde me as strait a keeper as one that vtterly misliketh your Religion. Doctour Sandes answered: I knowe my yeares young and my learning small, it is enoughe to knowe Christe crucified, and he hath learned nothing that seeth not the greate blasphemie that is in Poperie, I will yeelde vnto God and not vnto man, I haue reade in the Scriptures of manye godly and courteous Keepers, God may make you one. If not, I trust hee will geue me strengthe and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Sayth Thomas Way, doe yee then minde to stande to your Religion: Yea sayth Doctor Sandes, by Gods grace. Truly sayeth the Keeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you.

What fauour I can shew you, you shalbe sure of, and I shal think my selfe happie if I maye die at the stake with you. The sayde Keeper shewed Doctour Sandes euer after, all frendship: he trusted him to goe into the fieldes alone, and there mette with M. Bradforde, who than was remooued into the Benche, and there founde like fauour of his Keeper. He laid him in the best chamber in the house: he wold not suffer y^e Knight Marshals man to lay fetters on him, as others had. And at his request he put M. Sandes into him, to be his bedfellowe, and sondrye times suffered hys wife, who was M. Sandes daughter of Essex, a Gentlewoman, beutifull both in body and soule to resort to hym. There was great resort to Doctor Sands, and M. Sanders, they had much money offered them, but they would receiue none. They hadde the Communion there 3. or 4. times, and a great sort of Communicants. Doctor Sands gaue such exhortation to the people, for at that time being young, he was thoughte verye eloquent, that hee mooued many teares and made the people abhorre the Masse, and defie all Poperie.

When Wyat with his armie came into Southwarke, he sent two Gentlemen into y^e Marshalsea to D. Sandes: Saying, that maister Wyat would be glad of his companie and aduice, and that the gates should be sette open for all the prisonners. He aunswared: Tell maister Wyat, if this his rising be of God it will take place: If not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hether by order, I wil be discharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So answeared maister Sanders, and the rest of the preachers being there prisoners.

After that doctor Sands had bene 9. weekes prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of syr Thomas Holcroft then Knight Marshall he was sette at libertye. Syr Thomas sued earnestly to the Bishop of Winchester, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after many repulses, except doctor Sandes woulde be one of their secte, and then he coulde want nothing. He wroong out of him that if the Queene coulde like of his deliuerance, he woulde not be against it: for that was Syr Thomas last request. In the meane time he hadde procured two Ladies of the Priuie chamber to mooue the Queene in it: Who was contented if the bishop of Winchester coulde like of it. The next time that the Bishop went into the priuie Chamber to speake wyth the Queene, master Holcroft followed and had his warrant for doctor Sandes remission readye, and prayed the two Ladies, when as the Bishoppe shoulde take hys leaue to put the Queene in minde of doctor Sandes. So they did. And the Queene sayde, Winchester: what thinke you by D. Sandes, is he not sufficiently punished. As it please your Maiestie sayeth Winchester. That hee spake, remembring his former promisse to M. Holcroft, that hee woulde not be against D. Sandes, if the Queene shoulde like to discharge him. Sayeth the Queene: Then truely, we would that he were set at libertie. Immediately M. Holcroft offered the Queene the Warrant. Who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put too hys hande, and so he did. The Warrant was geuen to the Knyghte Marshall againe, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the Bishop went foorth of the priuie Chamber dore, he called M. Holcroft to him: Commaunding him not to set D. Sandes at libertie, vntill he had taken suerties of two Gentlemen of his countrey with him, euery one bounde in 500. pounds that D. Sands should not depart out of the realme without licence. Master Holcroft immediatly after mette with two Gentlemen of the North, friendes and cousins to D. Sandes, who offered to be bounde in bodye, goodes and landes for him. At after dinner the same day, M. Holcroft sent for D. Sandes, to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the Keeper to company with him. Hee came accordingly, finiding M. Holcroft alone, walking in his garden. Maister Holcroft imparted his long sute, wyth the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to Doctor Sandes: muche reioycing that it was his good happe i• to doe him good, and to procure hys libertie, and that

nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two suerties, for not departinge oute of the Realme. Doctour Sandes answered: I geue God thanks, who hath mooued your heart to minde me so wel, and I thinke my selfe most bounde vnto you, God shall requite, and I shall neuer be founde vnthankful. But as you haue dealt friendly with me, I will also deale plainly wyth you. I came a free man into prison, I will not goe foorth a bondman. As I cannot benefite my frendes, so will I not hurt thē: And if I be set at libertie, I will not tarie 6. dayes in this Realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not goe free foorth, sende mee to the Marshalsea againe, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answeare much misliked M. Holecroft: He told Doctor Sands that the time woulde not long continue, a chaunge would shortly come: the state was but a cloud, & would soone shake away. And that his cousin sir Edward Bray woulde gladly receiue him and his wife into house, where he should neuer nede to come at Church, and how the Ladie Braye was a zealous Gentlewoman, who hated Poperie. Adding that he would not so deale with him to loose all his labour. When D. Sandes coulde not be remooued from his former saying, maister Holcrofte sayde: Seeing you can not be altered, I will chaunge my purpose, and yeelde vnto you. Come of it what will, I wil see you at libertie: And seeing you minde ouer Sea, get you gone so quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you wryte nothing to come hether, for so ye may vndo me. He frendly kissed D. Sands, bad him farewell, and commaunded the Keeper to take no fees of him: Saying, let me answer Winchester as I may. Doctour Sandes retourned with the keeper to the Marshalsee taried all night. There on the morow gaue a dinner to all the prisoners, bad his bedfellow, and sworne stake fellowe, if it had so pleased God, maister Saunders farewell, with manye teares and kissings, the one falling on the others necke, and so departed, clearly deliuered without examination or bonde. From thence hee went to the Benche, and there talked with M. Bradforde, and M. Farrar Bishop of Dauids, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happie deliuerance. Hee went by Winchesters house, and there tooke boate, and came to a frends house in London, called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to another frendes house, and there hee learned that searche was made for him.

Doctor Watson and M. Christopherson commyng to the Bishop of Winchester, told hym that hee had set at liberty the greatest heretike in England, and one that had of all other most corrupted the Uniuersitie of Cambridge D. Sandes. Whereupon the Bish. of Winchester beyng Chancellor of England, sent for all the Constables of Lōdon, commanding them to watch for D. Sands, who was then within the Citie, and to apprehend hym, and who so euer of them should take hym and brin• him to hym, hee should haue v. pounds for his labour. D. Sandes suspectyng the matter, conueighed hymselfe by night to one M. Barties house a straunger, who was in the Marshalsee with him prisoner a while, he was a good Protestant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was sixe dayes, and had one or two of his friends that repaired vnto hym. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone a Skinner, dwellyng in Cornehill, hee caused hys man Quinting to prouide two geldings for hym, mindyng on the morrow to ride into Essex to M. Sandes hys father in lawe, where his wyfe was.

At his goyng to bedde in Hurlestons house, he had a paire of hose newly made that were too long for hym. For while he was in the Tower, a Tailor was admitted him to make hym a paire of hose. One came vnto hym whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant dwellyng in Birching lane: he

might not speak to hym, or come vnto him to take measure of hym, but onely looke vpon his leg, hee made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he prayed the good wyfe of the house to sende to some Taylor to cut his hose two ynches shorter. The wyfe required the boy of the house to cary them to the next Taylor to cut. The boy chaunced (or rather God so prouided) to go to the next Taylor which was Beniamin that made them, which also was a Constable, and acquainted wyth the Lord Chauncellors commandement. The boy required hym to cut the hose. He sayde I am not thy Maisters Taylor. Sayth the boy, because ye are our next neighbour and my maisters Tailor dwelleth farre of I came to you, for it is farre nightes, and he must occupy them tymely in the mornynge. Beniamin tooke the hose and looked vppon [Page 2089](#) them, he knew his handy worke, and sayd: These are not thy maisters hose, but Doct. Sandes, them I made in the Tower. The boy yelded and sayd, it was so. Sayth he, go to thy maistresse, pray her to sit vp till xij. of the clock, then I will bring the hose and speake with D. Sandes to his good.

At middennight, the goodwyfe of the house, and Beniamin the Taylor, commeth in to Doct. Sandes chamber. The wyfe praieth him not to be afraid of their commynge. He aunswereth, nothyng can be amisse, what God will, that shal be done. Then Beniamin telleth him y^t he made his hose, and by what good chaunce they now came to hys handes, God vsed the meane that he might admonish him of his perill, and aduise hym how to escape it, tellyng him that all the Constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for hym, and some were so greedily set, that they prayed hym if he tooke hym, to let them haue the cariage of hym to the Bishop of Winchester, and he should haue the v. pound. Saith Beniamin, it is knowen that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mynde to ride out at Algate to morrow, and there then ye are sure to bee taken. Follow myne aduise, and by Gods grace ye shall escape their handes. Let your man walke all the day to morrow in the streete where your horses stand, booted and ready to ryde. The goodmans seruaunt of the house shall take the horses and carye them to Bednoll greene. The goodman shall bee booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about viij. of the clocke, it is both Terme and Parliament tyme, here wee will breake our Fast, and when the streete is full, we will go forth. Looke wildely, and if you meete your brother in the streete, shunne hym not, but outface hym and knowe hym not. Accordingly D. Sandes did, clothed lyke a gentleman in all respectes, and looked wildly as one that had bene long kept in prison out of the light. Beniamin caried hym through Birching lane, and from one lane to another, till he come at Moore gate. There they went foorth vntil they came to Bednoll greene where the horses were redy, and M. Hurleston, to ride with hym as his man. D. Sandes pulled on his bootes, and takyng leaue of hys friend Beniamin, with teares they kissed eche other, hee put hys hand in his purse, and would haue geuen Beniamin a great part of that litle he had, but Beniamin would take none. Yet since, D. Sandes hath remembered hym thankfully. He rode that night to hys father in lawe, M. Sandes where his wyfe was, he had not bene there two howers, but it was told M. Sandes that there was two of the Garde which would that night apprehend Doctor Sandes, and so they were appoynted.

That night Doct. Sandes was guided to an honest Farmer neere the Sea, where hee taried two dayes and two nights in a chamber without all company. After that hee shifted to one Iames Mower a Shipmaister, who dwelt at Milton shore, where hee expected wynde for the English Fleete redy into Flaunders. While he was there Iames Mower brought to hym fortie or fiftie

Mariners, to whom he gaue 〈◇〉 exhortation, they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, or that he should be apprehended.

The 6. of May beyng Sondag, the wynd serued. Hee tooke his leaue of his Hoste and Hostesse, & went towards the ship, in taking his leaue of his Hostesse who was barren, and had bene married viij. yeares. Hee gaue her a fine handkerchiefe and an old royall of gold in it, thanking her much, and sayd: Be of good comfort, or that an whole yere be past, God shall geue you a child, a boy. And it came to passe, for that day tweluumoneth lacking one day, God gaue her a faire sonne.

At the shore D. Sandes met with M. Isaac of Kent who had his eldest sonne there, who vpon the likyng hee had to D. Sandes, sent his sonne with hym, who afterward died in his fathers house in Franckford. D. Sands and D. Coxe, were both in one ship, beyng one Cockrels ship. They were within the kennyng, when two of the Gard came thether to apprehend D. Sands. They ariued at Andwerpe, beyng bid to dinner to M. Locke. And at dinner tyme one George Gilpin beyng Secretary to the English house, and kinsman to D. Sandes, came to hym and rounded hym in his eare, and sayde: King Phillip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehende you. Hereuppon they rose from their dinner in a meruailous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the lande of Cleue. There they founde a Wagon and hasted away, and came safe to Ausburg in Cleueland where D. Sands taried 14. dayes, and then iorneyed towards Strausborough, where after he had lyued one yeaere, his wyfe came vnto hym. He fell sore sicke of a flixe, which kept hym nine monthes, and brought him to deathes dore. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wyfe at length fell sicke of a consumption and dyed in his armes, no man had a more godly woman to his wyfe.

After this, M. Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilfull in the Hebrue. M. Grindall went into the countrey to learne the Dutch tongue. D. Sandes still remayned in Strausborough, whose sustentation then was chiefly from one M. Isaac, who loued him most dearely, and was euer more redy to geue, then he to take. He gaue hym in y^e space aboue one hundreth marks, which summe the sayd D. Sandes payd him agayne, and by hys other gifts and friendlines, shewed hymselfe to bee a thankfull man. When his wyfe was dead hee went to Zurike, and there was in Peter Martyrs house for the space of fiue weekes. Beyng there, as they sate at dinner, word sodenly came that Queene Mary was dead, and Doct. Sands was sent for by his friendes at Strausborough. That newes made M. Martyr, and M. Iaret then there, verye ioyfull, but D. Sands could not reioyce, it smote into his hart that he should be called to misery.

M. Bullinger and the Ministers feasted him, and hee tooke his leaue and returned to Strausborough where he preached, and so M. Grindall and he came towards England, and came to London the same day that Queene Elizabeth was crowned.

A Complaint against such as fauoured the Gospell in Ipswich, exhibited to Queene Maries Counsaile, sitting in Commission at Beckles in Suffolke, the 18. of May. Ann. 1556. by Phillip Williams, aliàs Footeman, Iohn Steward, and Mathew Butler, sworne for the purpose.

¶The names of such as fled out of the Towne, and lurked in secret places.

- **S. Mary Tower.**
- Robert Partriche.

- Rose Nottingham, daughter of William Nottingham the elder.
- **S. Laurence.**
 - Anne Fenne, seruaunt to Robert Nottingham.
 - Andrewe Yngforbye his wife and daughter.
 - Thomas Thompson shomaker, supposed to haue receiued but twise these 17. yeares.
 - Marten Algate, lockesmith his wife.
- **S. Margarets.**
 - William Pickesse, Tanner.
 - Iohn Whoodles, Couerlet weauer, and his wife.
 - William Harset, Bricklaier.
 - Thomas Fowler, Shomaker.
 - W. Wright his wife at the Wind mill.
 - Laurence Waterwarde late Curate, borne in a towne called Chorley, in Lankeshire.
- **S. Nicholas▪**
 - Widowe Swaine.
 - Mathew Birde and his wife.
 - Stephen Greenwich and his wife.
 - Wil. Colman, seruaut to the sayde Stephen▪
 - Robert Colman and his wife.
 - Roger Laurence, aliàs Sparow.
 - Iohn Carelton, Sadler.
 - William Colman.
 - Iames Hearst his wife.
- **S. Peters.**
 - Richard Houer apprentice with Nicholas Nottingham.
 - Rich. Hedley a seller of hereticall bookes.
- **S. Stephens.**
 - Iames Bockyng Shoomaker, his wyfe.
 - Iohn Rawe, late seruaut to Iames Ashley.
 - William Palmer. seruants to Steuen Grene Shomaker.
 - Rich. Richman. seruants to Steuen Grene Shomaker.
 - Iohn Deersley. seruants to Steuen Grene Shomaker.
 - Rich. Richman Shoomaker his wife, daughter to mother Fenkell Midwyfe.
- **S Cletes.**
 - Mistresse Tooley, who departed to Darsham in Suff.
 - Agnes Wardal the elder widowe.
 - Robert Wardal her sonne.
- - Iohn Shoomaker and his wife.

The names of such as haue not receiued the Sacrament.

- **S. Clementes.**
 - Robert Bray.
 - Iohn Nottingham.
 - Agnes Wardal, wife of Robert Wardal.
 - Nicholas Nottingham.
 - Richard Mitchel.

- William Iordane his wife.
- Richard Butteral.
- Robert Browne.
- **S. Peters.**
- Iohn Reade.
- Thomas Spurdance.
- Iohn, seruaunt to Stephen Grinleffe.
- **S. Stephens.**
- Robert Scolding.
- **S Margarets.**
- Iohn Greenewich and his wife.
- **S. Nicholas.**
- Thomas Sturgeon Mariner.
- Iohn Finne his wife.
- **S. Mary .**
- Robert Branstone, brother and seruaunte to William Branstone.
- **S. Mary Tower.**
- Marten Iohnson, who lieth bedrede.
- Agnes his keeper. seruaunts to Rob. Nottingham.
- Bent Alceede. seruaunts to Rob. Nottingham.
- **S Laurence.**
- Robert Sylke his sonne.
- **S. Mary at Elmes.**
- Iohn Ramsey and his wife, now in prisone.

Names of such as obserue not Ceremonies.

- **S. Clementes.**
- Robert Cambridge refused the Paxe.
- Robert Brage his wife refused to suffer anye childe to be dipped in the Font.
- Ioane Barber widowe. refused to beholde the eleuation of the sacrament.
- Thomasine her Daughter. refused to beholde the eleuation of the sacrament.
- Mistresse Ponder, mother to Ioane Barber. in the same fault.
- Tie a Mariner his wife.
- **S. Mary at Elmes.**
- Richarde Hawarde refused the Paxe at Masse in S. Laurence.
-
- M. Lyons at Masse at Saint Mary Stoke refused the Paxe.
- **S. Peters.**
- Mother Fenkel. refuse to haue Childrenne dipped in Fontes.
- Ioan Warde, alias Bentleys wife. refuse to haue Childrenne dipped in Fontes.
- **S. Stephens.**
- Mother Beriffe Midwife, refuseth to haue childrē dipped in Fontes.
- **S. Nicholas.**
- George Bushe his wife reiected the Hoaste after receit of it.

Names of priestes wiues, that haue accesse to their husbandes.

- Rafe Carleton his wife, Curate of S. Mathewes, and S. Mary at Elmes.
- Elizabeth Cantrel, wife to Rafe Cantrel.
- Iane Barker, wife to Roberte Barker Prieste, late of Burie.
- Latimer his wife, curate of S. Laurence, and S. Stephens.
- William Clearke his wife, late Curate of Barkeham, and S. Mary at Elmes.

Names of maintainers against this complaint.

- Robert Sterop, Customer to Queene Marie.
- Gilbert Sterop, deputie to Edward Grimstone Esquier, for his Butlerage.
- Maister Butler the elder, Searcher.
- Maistresse Tooly, swellynge by muche ritchesse into wealth.
- Margaret Bray, who also presumeth vppon the office of a Midwife, not called.
 - **S. Clementes.**
 - Ioane Barber widowe, practisinge muche wholesome counsell.
 - **S. Mary keye.**
 - Mistresse Birde. practisinge muche wholesome counsell.
 - Bastian Mannes wife, and him selfe more riche then wise.

Their requests to punish and conuent certaine, whose ensample might reuerse other from their opinions, as

- To conuent Richard Birde gailer, who by euill counsel doth animate his prisoners of his secte. Also for that he with his wife did checke vs openly with vnseemely woordes, tending almost to a tumult.
- To conuente Thomas Sadler, for certaine woordes spoken to Iohn Bate the Crier of the towne, the sixte of Maye.
- That it might please the Bishop to wish his Commissarie and Officiall, to be vpright and diligente in theyr office, and to appoynt a Curate of more abilitie to feede his cure wyth Gods woorde.
- That none may be suffred to be midwiues, but such as are Catholicke, because of euill counsell at suche times as the necessitie of womennes trauaile, shall require a number of women assembled.
- That Rafe Carleton Curate, may be conuented, whether by corruption of mony he hath ingrossed his boke, of any that are there named, and hathe not receyued in deede as it is reported.

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The myraculous preseruacion of Lady Elizabeth, nowe Queene of England, from extreme calamitie and danger of life, in the time of Q. Marie her sister.

*BUt when all hath beene sayde and tolde, what soeuer canne be recited touching the admyrable woorking of Gods present hande in defending and deliuering any one person oute of thraldome, neuer was there since the memorie of oure fathers, any example to be shewed, wherein the Lordes mightye power hathe more admirably & blessedly shewed it selfe, to the glory of his owne name, to the comforte of all good heartes, and to the publicke felicitie of thys whole

Realme, then in the myraculous custodie and outscape of this our soueraigne Lady, now Queene, then Ladye Elizabeth, in the straighte time of Queene Marye her sister.

In which Storie, first we haue to consider in what extreme miserie,* sicknes, feare, and pearil her highnes was: into what care, what trouble of minde, and what danger of death shee was brought. Firste with great routes and bands of armed men (and happie was he that might haue the carying of her) being fetched vp as the greatest traytour in the world, clapped in the Tower, and againe tossed from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner in her own house, and garded with a sort of cutte throtes, whych euer gaped for the spoyle, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondly, to consider againe we haue, all thys notw^tstanding, howe straungely, or rather myraculously from daunger shee was deliuered: what fauour and grace shee founde with the almighty, who when all helpe of man, and hope of recouerie was past, stretched out his mighty protection, and preserued her highnesse, and placed her in this Princely seate of rest and quietnesse, wherein nowe shee sitteth, and long may shee sit, the Lorde of his glorious mercy graunt, we beseeche him.

In which storie, if I should sette foorth at large and at full, all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as iust occasion of the historie requireth, besides the importunate length of the storie discoursed, peraduenture it might mooue offence to some being yet alieue, and truth might gette me hatred. Yet notwithstanding I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to vse suche breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glorye of God, the discharge of the storie, the profite of the Reader, and hurte to none, suppressing the names of some, whome heere although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, then the Queene hath bene mercifull in pardoning their liues.

Therefore now to enter into the discourse of thys tragical matter,* first here is to be noted, that Queene Marye when shee was first Queene, before shee was crowned, would goe no whither, but would haue her by the hande, and send for her to dinner and supper: but after shee was crowned, shee neuer dined nor supped wyth her, but kept her aloofe from her. &c. After this it happened, immediatly vpon the rising of sir Thomas Wiat (as before was mentioned, pag. 1418.1419.) that the Ladye Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with false suspition of Syr Thomas Wyates rising. Whereuppon Queene Marye, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the sayde Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge, the next day after the rising of Wyat, sent to her three of her Counsaillours, to wit,* Sir Richard Sowthwel, syr Edward Hastings, then maister of the horse, and Syr Thomas Cornwalles, with their retinue and troupe of horsemen, to the number of 200. and 50. Who at their sodaine and vnprouided comming, founde her at the same time sore sicke in her bedde, and very feeble & weake of body. Whither whē they came, ascending vp to her graces priuie Chamber, they willed one of her Ladies, whome they mette, to declare vnto her grace, that there were certaine come from the court, which had a message from the Queene.

Her grace hauing knowledge therof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit being then very sicke, and the night farre spent (which was at 10. of the clock) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the

sayde messenger sent woorde againe, that they must needes see her, and would so do, in what case soeuer she were. Wherat the Lady being against, went to shewe her grace theyr woordes: but they hastely folowing her, came rushing as soone as shee into her graces chamber vnbidden.

At whose so sodaine comming into her bed chamber, her grace being not a litle amased, sayd vnto them▪* 〈◇〉 the hast suche, that it myghte not haue pleased you to 〈...〉 morrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were righte sorye 〈◇〉 her in that case. And I (quoth shee) am not glad to see 〈◇〉 here at this time of the night. Whereunto they answered, that they came from the Queene to doe their message and duetie: which was to this effecte, that the Queenes pleasure was, that she shoulde be at London the 7. day of that present moneth. Whereunto shee sayde: Certesse, no creature more glad then I to come to her maiestie, being right sorie that I am not in case at this time to waite on her, as you your selues doe see and can well testifie.

In deede we see it true (quoth they) that you doe say: for which we are very sorie.* Albeit we •ette you to vnderstande, that our Commission is such, and so straineth vs, that we must needes bring you with vs, eyther quicke or dead. Wherat she being amased, sorowfully said, that their Commission was very sore: but yet notwithstanding she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait. Yes verely, said they. Whereupon they called for two Phisitions, Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendy, demaunded of them, whether she might be remoued from thence with lyfe, or no. Whose aunswere and iudgement was, that there was no impediment to theyr iudgement, to the contrary, but that shee might trauallye without daunger of lyfe.

In conclusion, they willed her to prepare agaynst the morning at nine of the clocke to goe with them,* declaring that they had brought with them the Queenes Litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times & daies, so departed to theyr chamber, being entertained and cheared as appertained to their worships.

On the next morow at the time prescribed, they hadde her forth as shee was, very faynt and feeble, and in suche case, that shee was ready to swound three or foure tymes betweene them. What shoulde I speake here that cannot well bee expressed,* what an heauy house there was to behold the vnreuerend and doulefull dealyng of these men, but especially the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent Lady and Mistresse.

Now to proceed in her iourney from Ashrydge, al sick in the Litter, she came to Redborne, where she was garded all night: From thence to S. Albones, to Syr Rafe Rowlets house, where she taryed that night, both feble in body, and comfortles in minde. From that place they passed to Maister Doddes house at Mymmes, where also they remayned that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate: where she being very sicke, taryed that night and the next day. During whiche time of her abode there, came many Purseuantes and messengers from the court: but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From y^e place she was conueied to the Court: whereby the way came to meete her, many Gentlemen, to accōpany her highnesse, which were very sory to see her in that case.* But especially a great multitude of people ther were standing by the way, who then flocking about

her Luter, lamēted and bewailed greatly her estate. Now, when she came to the Court, her grace was there straight wais s••t vp, and kept as close prisonner a fortnight, which was till Palme sonday, seeing neither King nor Queene, nor lead, nor frend, all that time, but only then the Lord Chamberlaine, Syr Iohn Gage, and the Uicechamberlaine, which were attendant vnto the dores.* About whiche time Syr William Sentlowe was called before the Counsaile. To whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyats rebellion. Which he stoutly denied, protesting y^t hee was a true man, both to God & his Prince, defying al traytors and rebels: but being straitly examined, he was in cōclusion committed to the Tower.

[Page 2092](#)The Friday before Palme sonday, the B. of Winchester, with xix. other of the Counsaile (who shall bee here namelesse) came vnto her grace from the Queenes Maiestie, and burdened her with Wiates conspiracie: which she vtterly denied,* affirmyng that she was altogether gilt lesse therin. They beyng not contented with this, charged her grace with busines made by sir Peter Carew, and the r•st of the Gentlemen of the West country: which also she vtterly denying, cleared her innocencie therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto her, that it was the Queenes will & pleasure that she should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further •ried and examined.

Whereat shee beyng agaste, said, that shee trusted the Queenes Maiestie would bee more gracious Lady vnto her, and that her highnesse would not otherwise conceyue of her, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the Lordes, that she was innocent in all those maters wherein they had burdened her, & desired them therfore to be a further meane to the Queen her sister, that she beyng a true woman in thought,* word, and deed towards her Maiesty, might not be committed to so notorious and dolefull a place, protesting that she would request no mercy at her hand, if she should bee prooued to haue consented vnto any suche kynde of matter as they layed vnto her charge: and therefore in fine desired their Lordshippes to thinke of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be delt withall for her truth.

Wherunto the Lords answered againe, that there was no remedy, for that the Queenes Maiestie was fully determined that she should go vnto the Tower. Wherewith the Lords departed, with their caps hangyng ouer theyr eyes. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid Lordes of the counsaile, which were the Lord Treasurer, the B. of Winchester, the lord Steward, the Erle of Sussex, with the gard, who wardyng the nexte chamber to her,* seclused all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, sauyng that for one Gentleman Usher, three Gentlewomē, and two Groomes of her Chamber, were appoynted in their roomes three other men of the Queenes, & three waiting women to geue attendance vpon her, y^t none shoulde haue accesse to her grace.

At which tyme there were an hundreth of Northren souldiours in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire beyng made in the midst of the hall, and two certaine Lordes watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saterdag followyng, two Lordes of the counsaile (the one was the Erle of Sussex, the other shall bee namelesse) came and certified her grace, that forthwith she must go vnto the tower, the barge beyng prepared for her, and the tide now redy, which tarieth for no body. In heauy moode

her grace requested the Lords that she might tary another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neither tide nor tyme was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she myght bee suffred to write to the Queenes Maiestie,* he aunswered, that he durst not permitte that, addyng that in his iudgemente it woulde rather hurte, then profite her grace in so doyng.

But the other Lorde, more curteous and fauourable, (who was the Erle of Sussex) kneelyng downe, told her grace that she should haue libertie to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the Queenes highnesse, and bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came therof. Wherupon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the Queene to her great discomfort, beyng no offender against the Queenes Maiestie.

And thus the tyde and tyme passed away for that season, they priuily appointing all things redy that she shuld go the next tyde which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they stayed till the next day, beyng Palme Sondag, when about ix. of the clocke these two returned agayne, declaring that it was tyme for her grace to depart. She answering, if there be no remedy, I must be contented, willyng the Lordes to go on before. Beyng come forth into the gardē, she did cast vp her eyes toward the window, thinkyng to haue seene the Queene, which she could not. Whereat she sayd, she meruailed much what the nobilitie of the realme ment, which in that sort would suffer her to bee ledde into captiuitie, the Lord knew whether, for she did not. In the meane tyme commandement was geuen in all London, that euery one should keepe the Church and carye their Palmes, while in the meane season she might be conueied without all recourse of people into the Tower.

After all this, she tooke her Barge with the two foresayd Lordes, three of the Queenes Gentlewomen,* and three of her owne, her Gentleman Usher, and two of her Groomes, lying and houeryng vpon the water a certai•e space, for that they could not shoote the bridge, the Barge men beyng very vnwilling to shoote the •ame so soone as they bid, because of the danger thereof: for the sterne of the boate, stroke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallowe, that the boate beyng vnder the bridge, there stayed agayne a while. At landing, she first stayed, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offenders customably vsed to land, neyther well could she, vnlesse she should go ouer her shoe. The Lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the Lordes went back againe to her, & broght word she would not come.

Then sayd one of the Lordes which shall be nameles, that she should not chuse: and because it did then raine, he offred to her his cl•ke, which she (puttyng it backe wyth her hand with a good dash) refused. So she comming out, hauing one foote vpon the staire, saide:* Here lande•• as true a subiect beyng prisoner, as euer lāded at these stair•: And before thee O God I speake it, hauyng none other friends but thee alone.

To whom the same Lord aunswered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her lāding there was a great multitude of their seruantes & Warders standyng in their order, What needed all this said she, It is the vse (sayd some) so to be when any prisoner came thether. And if

it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseeche you that they may be dismissed, Whereat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voyce desired GOD to preserue her grace, who the next day were released of their cold coates.

After this passing a little further, she sate downe vpon a cold stone & there rested her selfe. To whome the Lieuutenant then beyng, said: Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholsomly. She then replieng, answered againe: better sitting here then in a worse place: for God knoweth, I know not whether you wyll bring me. With that her Gentleman Usher wept: she demaunding of hym what he ment so vncomfortably to vse her, seyng she toke him to be her comforter, and not to dismay her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for her. But forth she went into the prison.

The dores were locked and bolted vpon her: whiche did not a little discomfort and dismay her grace. At what time she called to her Gentlewomā for her booke, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation vppon the sandes but vpon the rocke,* wherby all blasts of blustering weather shuld haue no power agaynst her. The dores being thus locked, & she close shut vp, the Lordes had great cōference howe to keep warde and watch, euery man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing straightly and circumspectly, to keepe her.

Then one of them, whiche was the Lorde of Sussex swearing, sayd: my Lordes, let vs take heede,* and doe no more then our commission will beare vs, what soeuer shal happē hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king, our Maistres daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing, that we may aunswere vnto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for iust dealing (quoth he) is alwayes answerable: Whereunto the other Lords agreed that it was well sayde of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two daies commaundement was that she should haue Masse within her house. One M. Yong was then her Chapleyne: and because there was none of her men so well learned to helpe the priest to say masse, y^e masse stayed for that day.

The next day two of her Yeomen, who had gone long to schoole before and were learned, had two Abcies prouided and deliuered them, so that vppon the Abcies they should helpe the Priest. One of the sayd Yeomen, holdyng the Abcie in his hand, pretending ignoraunce at Kirie •leyson, set the priest, making as though he could aunswere that no farther.

It would make a pittiful and a strange story, here by the way to touche and recite what examinations and rackinges of poore men there were to finde out that knife that should cut her throat: what gaping among my Lords of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rochetes in her innocent bloud, but especially the Bysh. of Winchester Steuen Gardiner, then L. Chauncellour, ruler of the rost, who then within fiue days after came vnto her, with diuers other of the counsell, and examined her of the talke that was at Ashridge,* betwixt her and sir Iames Acroft, concerning her remouing from thence to Dunnington Castle, requiring her to declare [Page 2093](#) what she ment thereby.

At the first, she being so sodainly asked, did not wel remember any such house: but within a while, well aduising her selfe, she sayde: In deede (quoth she) I doe now remember that I haue such a place,* but I neuer laye in it in all my lyfe. And as for any that hath mooued me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then to enforce the matter, they broght forth sir Iames Acroft. The B. of Winchester demaunded of her what she said to that man. She answered, that shee had little to say to hym, or to the rest that were then prisoners in y^e tower. But my Lordes (quoth she) you do examine euery mean prisoner of me, wherein me thinkes you doe me great iniury. If they haue done euill and offended the Queenes Maiesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you my Lords, ioyne not me in this sort with any of these offenders. And as concerning my goyng vnto Dunnington Castle, I do remember that M. Hobby and mine officers and you sir Iames Acroft, had such talk: but what is that to the purpose, my Lordes, but that I may goe to myne owne houses at all tymes?

*The L. of Arundell kneeling downe, said: your grace sayth true, and certainly we are very sory that we haue so troubled you about so vayne matters. She then sayd: my Lordes, you do sift me very narrowly. But well I am assured, you shall not do more to me then God hath appointed, and so God forgeue you all.

At their departure, sir Iames Acroft kneeled downe, declaring that he was sory to see the day in which he shuld be brought as a witnesse against her grace. But I assure your grace (sayd he) I haue bene maruelously tossed and examined,* touching your highnesse, which the Lord know'eth is very strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you haue layd to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driuen to so strait a triall.

That day, or thereabouts, diuers of her owne officers who had made prouision for her diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the Tower, the common rascall souldiors receiuing it:* which was no small grieve vnto the Gentlem[•]n, the bringers therof. Wherefore they required to speak with the Lord Chamberlaine, being then Constable of the Tower. Who, commyng before his presence, declared vnto his Lordship, that they were much afayrd to bryng her graces diete, and to deliuer it vnto such common and desperate persons as they were which did receiue it, beseeching his honor to consider her grace, and to geue such order, that her viands might at all tymes bee brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. Yea Sirs said he? who appointed you this office?* They answered, her graces counsaile. Counsaile quoth he? There is none of them which hath to do, either in that case, or any thing els within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be serued with the Lieuetenaunts men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the Gentlemen sayd, that they trusted for more fauour at his hands, considering her personage, saying, that they mistrusted not, but that y^e Queene and her Counsaile would be better to her grace then so,* & therewith shewed themselues to be offended at y^e vngratefull words of the L. Chamberlaine towards their Ladye and maistresse.

At this he sware by God, strikyng hymselfe vpon the brest, that if they did either fronne or shrug at him, he wold set them where they should see neither sunne nor Moone. Thus takyng their leaue, they desired God to bryng hym into a better mynde toward her grace, and departed from hym.

Upon the occasion wherof, her graces Officers made great sute vnto the Queenes Counsaile, that some might be appointed to bring her dyet vnto her, and that it might no more be deliuered into the common Souldiours of the Tower. Which beyng reasonably considered, was by thē granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her clarke of her kitchin, & her two

Purueiers to bring in her prouision once a day. All which was done, the Warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof.

The Lord Chamberlaine himselfe being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched, and searched what they brought, and gaue heede that they should haue no talke with any of her graces waiting seruauntes, and so warded them both in and out. At the said sute of her officers were sent by the commandement of the Counsaile, to waite vppon her grace, two Yeomen of her chamber, one of her Robes,* two of her Pantry & Ewry, one of her Buttry, another of her Seller, two of her Kitchin, & one of her Larder, all which continued with her the tyme of her trouble.

Here the Constable, beyng at the first not very well pleased with the commyng in of such a company agaynst his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with her Graces men. Which her seruaunts at no hand would suffer, desiring his Lordship to be contented, for that order was taken,* that no stranger should come within their Offices. At which answer beyng sore displeased, he brake out into these threatnyng wordes: well (sayd he) I will handle you well enough. Then went hee into the kitchin, and there would needs haue his meat roasted with her Graces meate, and sayd, that his Cooke should come thether and dresse it. To that her Graces Cooke answered: my Lord, I will neuer suffer any stranger to come about her diete, but her owne sworne men, so long as I lyue. He said they should. But the Cooke sayd, his Lordship should pardon hym for that matter. Thus did hee trouble her poore seruants very stoutly: though afterward he were otherwise aduised, and they more curteously vsed at his handes. And good cause why. For he had good •here, & fared of the best, & her grace payed well for it. Wherefore he vsed himselfe afterward more reuerently toward her grace.

After this sort, hauyng lyen a whole moneth there in close prison, and beyng very euill at ease therewithall, she sent for the L. Chamberlaine, and the Lord Shandoyes to come and speake with her. Who commyng, she requested them that she might haue liberty to walk in some place, for that she felt her selfe not well. To the which they aunswered,* that they were right sorye that they coulde not satisfie her graces request, for that they had commaundement to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break. Furthermore, she desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walke but into the Queenes lodgyng. No nor yet that (they answered) could by any meanes bee obtained without a further sute to the Queene & her Counsaile. Well sayd she, my Lordes, if the matter be so harde y^t they must be sued vnto for so small a thyng, & that friendship be so strait, God comfort me, and so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kynde of comfort but onely God.

The next day after, the L. Shandoyes came again vnto her grace, declaryng vnto her that he had sued vnto the counsaile for further liberty. Some of them consented therunto, diuers other dissented, for that there were so manye prisoners in y^e tower. But in conclusion, they did al agree, that her grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he and the L. Chamberlaine, and three of the Queens Gentlewomen did accompany her, the windowes beyng shut, and she not suffred to looke out at any of them: wherwith she contented her selfe, and gaue him thanks for hys good will in that behalfe.

Afterwards there was libertie graunted to her grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shut vp,* which notwithstanding was as much discomfort vnto her, as the walke in the

garden was pleasaunt & acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side straightly were commaunded not to speake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till her grace were gone out agayne, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus her grace with this small libertie, contented her selfe in God, to whom be prayse therefore.

During this tyme, there vsed a little boy, a mans child in the Tower, to resort to their chābers, and many times to bring her grace floures, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Wherupon naughty & suspicious heades thinking to make and wring out some matter therof, called on a time the childe vnto thē,* promising him figges and apples, and asked of him whē he had bene with the Earle of Deuonshyre, not ignoraunt of the childes wounted frequenting vnto him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thether.* Further they demanded of him, when he was with the Lady Elizabethes grace. He answered: euery day: Furthermore they examyned him, what the Lord of Deuonshyre sent by him to her grace. The childe sayd, I will go know what he will geue to cary to her. Such was the discretion of the childe, being yet but foure yeares of age. This same is a craftye boye, quoth the Lord Chamberlayne. Howe say you my Lorde Shandoyes? I pray you my L. (quoth the boy) geue me the figges you promised me. No Mary (quoth he) y^u shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lorde Courtny. The boy aunswere: I will bryng my Lady my mistres, more floures. Wherupon the childs father was commaunded to permit the boye no more to come vp into theyr chambers.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the gardē, the childe peeping in at a hole in the dore, cryed vnto her, saying: mistres, I can bring you no more floures. Wherat she smiled, but sayd nothing, vnderstanding thereby what [Page 2094](#) they had done. Wherefore afterwards the Chamberlaine rebuked highly his father, commaunding him to put him out of the house. Alasse poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue,* quoth the Lorde Chamberlaine: let me see him heere no more.

The 5. day of May, the Constable was discharged of hys office of the Tower, and one Syr Henry Benifielde placed in his rowme, a man vnknownen to her grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sodaine mutation was vnto her no little amaze. Hee brought with him an 100. souldiers in blew coates, wherwith she was marueilously discomforted, & demaunded of such as were about her, whether the Lady Ianes scaffold were taken away or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue played her part. To whom aunswere was made, that the scaffold was taken awaye, and that her grace needed not to doubt of any suche tyrannie: for God would not suffer any such treason against her Person. Wherewith beyng contented, but not altogether satisfied, shee asked what syr Henry Benefield was, and whether hee was of that conscience or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof.

*She was answeared, that they were ignoraunt what maner of man he was. Howbeit they perswaded her that God would not suffer such wickednesse to proceede. Wel, quoth shee: God graunt it be so. For thou, O God, canste mollifie all suche tyrannous heartes, and disappoynte all such cruell purposes: and I beseeche thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruauant and at thy commaundement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

About which time it was spread abroad, that her grace should be carried from thence by this newly iolly Captaine and his souldiours: but whether, it could not be learned. Which was vnto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appoynted to her gard, requesting rather to continue there still, then to be ledde thence with suche a sort of rascals. At last, plaine answer was made by the L. Shandoyes, that there was no remedye, but from thence she must needs depart to the Manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demaunded of her, for what cause: for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be furnished. Shee being desirous to knowe what hee meant thereby, demaunded, wherewith. He answered, with such matter as the Queene and Counsaile were determined in that behalfe, whereof he had no knowledge: and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinitie Sunday being the 19. day of Maye, shee was remooued from the Tower, the Lorde Treasurer being then there for the lading of her Car•es, and discharging the place of the same. Where Syr Henry Benifielde (being appoynted her Gailer) did receiue her wyth a companie of rakehelles to Garde her, besides the Lorde of Darbies band•, wayting in the Countrey about for the mooneshine in the water. Unto whome at lengthe came my Lorde of Tame, ioyned in Commission with the sayd Syr Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prisone: and they together conueied her grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth.

The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night,* being restrained of her owne men, whych were lodged in oute Chambers, and Syr Henry Benifields souldiours appointed in their rouses to geue attendance on her person. Wherat she being maruelously dismaid, thinking verely some secret mischief to be a working towards her, called her Gentleman Usher, and desired him, with the rest of his company, to pray for her. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherwith he being stricken to the heart, sayde: God forbid that any such wickednes should be pretended against your grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at last hee burst out into teares, and went from her downe into the Courte, where were walking the Lorde of Tame and Syr Henry Benifielde.

Then he comming to the Lorde of Tame (who hadde profered to him muche friendship) desired to speake wyth him a woord or two. Unto whome he familiarly sayde, he should with all his heart. Which when Syr Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the Gentleman Usher answered: no great matter Syr (sayd he) but to speake with my Lord a woord or two.

Then, when the Lorde of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise:* My Lord (quoth he) you haue ben alwayes my good Lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, vnfainedly to declare vnto mee whether any daunger is meant towards my Mistresse this nighte, or no, that I and my poore fellowes may take suche part as shall please God to appoynt: for certainly we wil rather die, then she should secretly and innocently miscarie. Mary (sayde the Lord of Tame) God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather then it shuld be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foote also:* and (so praised be God) they passed that dolefull nighte, wyth no ••tle heauinesse of heart.

Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond, going towards Wyndsore, her grace espied certaine of her poore seruantes standing on the other side, whiche were very desirous to see her.

Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she sayde: yonder I see certaine of my men: goe to them and say these woordes from me: Tanquam ouis.

So she passing forward to Windsore,* was lodged there that night in the Deane of Windsores house, a place more meete in deede for a Priest then a Princesse.

And from thence her Grace was garded and brought the next night to M. Dormers house,* where much people standing by the waye, some presented to her one gifte▪ and some an other, so that sir Henry was greatly moued therewith, and troubled the poore people very sore, for shewing their louing hearts in suche a maner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile woordes.

Besides, as she passed through y^e villages, the townes men rang the bells, as being ioyful of her comming, thinking verely it had bene otherwise then it was in deede, as the sequele prooued after to the sayd poore men. For immediately the saide syr Henry hearing the same, sent his souldiours thether, who apprehēded some of the ringers, setting them in the stockes, & otherwise vncourteously misusing other some for their good willes.

On the morrow her grace passing from maister Dormers (where was for y^e time of her abode there,* a straight watch kept) came to the Lord of Tames house, where she lay all the night, being very princely entertained, bothe of Knightes and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Syr Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, saying vnto them, that they coulde not tell what they did,* and were not able to answere to their doings in that behalfe, letting them to vnderstand that shee was the Queenes Maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise: aduising them therefore to take heede and beware of after clappes. Wherunto the Lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was wel aduised of his doings, being ioyned in Commission as well as he, adding with warrāt, that her grace might and should in his house be merry.

The next day, as she should take her iourney frō Richmond toward Woodstocke, the Lord of Tame, with an other Gentleman being at Tables, playing,* and droppying vie crownes, the Ladie Elizabeth passing by, stayed and sayde, she would see the game plaied out, which sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running longe about, and they playing drop vie crownes, come on,* sayth he, I will tarie, sayth she, and will see this game out.

After this, sir Henry went vp into a chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foote carpet very faire & princelike, wherein presumptuously he sate, and called one Barwike his mā to pu• of his bootes. Which as soone as it was known among y^e ladies and Gentles, euery one mused therat, and laughed him to scorne, obseruing his vndiscrete maners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When supper was done, he called my L. and willed him that all the Gentlemen and Ladies should withdraw themselues euery one to his lodging, meruailing much y^t he would permit there such a cōpany, considering so great a charge committed to him.

Sir Henry (quoth my Lord) content your self, all shal be voyded, your men and all. Nay my souldiours (quoth sir Henry) shall watch all night. The Lord of Tame aunswered, it shall not

need. Well sayd he, neede or neede no•, they shall so do, mistrusting belike the company, whiche God knoweth was without cause.

The next day her grace tooke her iourney from thence to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the souldiors garding and wardyng both within and without the walles, euery day to y^e number of three score, and in the night without the wals xl. during the tyme of her imprisonment there.

At length shee had gardens appointed for her walke, which was very comfortable to her grace. But alwayes when she did recreate her selfe therein, the dores were •ast locked vp, in as straite maner as they were in the Tower, beyng at the least v. or vj, lockes betwene her lodging and her walkes: Sir Henry himselfe keping the keyes, and trusting no man therewith. Wherupon she called him her Gaoler: and he kneeling downe, desired her grace not to cal him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From such officers (quoth she) good Lord deliuer me.

[Page 2095](#) And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, & yet not impertinent to the same: occasion here moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelye what hapned in the same place and time by a certayne mery conceited man,* being then about her grace: who noting the strait and straunge keeping of his Lady and Mistres by the sayd Syr Henry Benifield, with so many lockes & dores, with such watch & ward about her, as was straūge & wonderful, spyed a Goate in the ward where her grace was: and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by Syr Henry, either els both, he tooke it vp on his necke, and folowed her grace therewyth as she was going into her lodging.

Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing to let it alone. Unto whom the sayd party aunswered: no by Saynt Mary (if it like your grace) will I not: for I cannot tell whether he be one of the Queenes frendes or no. I will cary him to Syr Henry Benifielde (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing her grace, he went with the Goate on his necke, and caryed it to syr Henry Benifield. Who when he saw him comming wyth it, asked him halfe angrily what he had there.

Unto whom the party aunswered, saying: Syr (quoth he) I can not tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I founde him in the place where my Ladyes Grace was walking,* and what talke they haue had I can not tell. For I vnderstād him not, but he should seme to me to be some straunger, and I thinke verely a Welchman, for he hath a white frie•e coate on his back. And forsomuch as I being the Queenes Subiect, and perceiuing the strait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no straunger should haue accesse to her without sufficient licence, I haue here foūd a straunger (what he is I cannot tell) in place where her Grace was walking: & therefore for the necessary discharge of my duety, I thought it good to bring the sayde straunger to you, to examine, as you see cause: and so he set him down. At which his words Syr Henry semed much displeased, and sayd: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I see: and so they departed.

Now, to returne to the matter from whence we haue digressed, after her Grace had bene there a time, she made suite to the Counsell that she might be suffered to write to the Queene.* Which at last was permitted: So that Syr Henry Benifield brought her penne, inke, and paper: and standing

by her while she wrote (which he straitly obserued) always she being wery, he would cary away her letters, and bring them agayne when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would haue bene messenger to the Queene of the same. Whose request her grace denied, saying: one of her owne men should cary them, and that she would neither trust him, nor none of his therein.

Then he answering agayne, said: none of them durst be so bold (he trowed) to cary her letters, beyng in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I haue none so dishonest that would deny my request in that behalf, but wil be as willyng to serue me now as before. Well (sayd he) my commission is to the contrary,* and I may not so suffer it. Her grace replying againe, said: you charge me very oftē with your commission. I pray God you may iustly aunswer the cruel dealing you vse towards me.

Then he kneeling downe, desired her grace to thinke and consider how he was a seruant, & put in trust there by the Queene to serue her Maiestie, protesting that if y^e case were hers, he would as willingly serue her grace, as now he did the Queenes highnesse. For the which his aunswer her grace thanked hym, desiring God that she might neuer haue neede of such seruauntes as he was: declaryng further to hym, that his doynge towards her were not good nor answerable, but more then all the friends he had would stand by.

To whome Sir Henry replied and sayde, that there was no remedy but his doynge must be aunswered, and so they should,* trusting to make good accompt therof. The cause which mooued her grace so to say, was for that hee would not permit her letters to be caried iij. or v. dayes after the writyng thereof. But in fine hee was content to send for her Gentleman from the Towne of Woodstocke, demaunding of him whether he durst enterprise the cariage of her Graces letters to the Queene, or no: & he aunswered, yea Sir, that I dare, and will withall my heart. Whereupon sir Henry halfe, agaynst his stomacke, tooke them vnto hym.

Then about the viij. of Iune came downe Doctour Owen and Doctour Wendye,* sent by the Queene to her grace, for that she was sickly: who ministring to her, and lettyng her bloud, taried there and attended on her grace v. or vj. dayes. Then she being wel amēded, they returned againe to the Courte, making theyr good reporte to the Queene and the Counsaile of her graces behaioure and humblenesse towards the Queenes highnesse. Which her Maiestie hearing, tooke very thankfully: but the bishops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth,* and tolde the Queene, they marueiled that she submitted not her selfe to her maiesties mercye, considering that shee had offended her highnesse.

About this time, her Grace was requested by a secrete frende, to submit her selfe to the Queenes maiestie, whych woulde be very well taken,* and to her great quiet & commoditie. Unto whom she answered, that she would neuer submitte her selfe to them whome she neuer offended. For (quoth she) if I haue offended and am giltye, I then craue no mercy, but the law, which I am certaine (quoth she) I should haue had ere this, if it coulde be prooued by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the daunger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the pearil of my ennemies, and then I am assured I shoulde not so be locked and bolted vp within walles and doores as I am. God geue them a better minde when it pleaseth him.

About this time was there a great consulting among the Bishops and Gentlemen touching a Mariage for her grace,* which some of the Spanyardes wished to be wyth some straunger, that she might go out of the Realme with her portion: some saying one thing, and some an other.

A Lorde (who shalbe heere namelesse) being there, at last sayd, that the King should neuer haue any quiet common wealth in Englande, vnlesse her head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spanyards answered, saying: God forbid that their king and master should haue that minde to consent to such a mischiefe.

This was the curteous aunswer of the Spanyardes to the Englishmen, speaking after that sorte against theyr owne country. From that day the Spaniardes neuer left of their good perswasions to the king, that the like honour he shoulde neuer obtaine, as he shoulde in deliuryng the Lady Elizabeths grace out of prison: wherby at lēgth she was happely released from the same. Here is a plaine and euident example of the good clemencie and nature of the King and his Counsellors towards her grace (praised be God therefore) who mooued their heartes therein. Then heereuppon shee was sente for shortlye after to come to Hampton Court.

But before her remoouing away from Woodstocke,* we will a litle stay to declare in what dangers her life was in during this time shee there remained: first thorough fire, which began to kindle betweene the boardes and seeling vnder the chamber where shee lay, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a cranye, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth knowe. Neuerthesse a woorshipfull Knight of Oxfordshire, whyche was there ioyned the same time with Syr Henry Benifield in keeping that Ladye (who then tooke vp the boardes and quēched the fire) verely supposed it to be done of purpose.

Furthermore it is thought,* and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Peny a Keeper of Woodstocke, a notorious ruffin and a butcherly wretch, that he was appoynted to kill y^e sayd Lady Elizabeth: who both sawe the man being often in her sight, and also knewe thereof.

An other time, one of the priuie chamber,* a great man about the Queene, and chiefe darling of Steuen Gardiner, named master Iames Basset, came to Blandenbridge a mile from Woodstocke, with 20. or 30. priuie coates, and sent for Syr Henrye Benifielde to come and speake with him. But, as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will, so it happened, that a lyttle before the sayd Syr Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the Counsell, leauing straight woord behinde him with his brother, that no man, what so euer hee were, thoughte comming with a Bill of the Queenes hand, or any other warrant, should haue accesse to her before his retourne againe. By reason wherof it so fell out, that M. Benifields brother comming to him at the Bridge, would suffer hym in no case to approche in,* who otherwise (as is supposed) was appoynted violently to murder the innocent Lady.

In the life of Steuen Gardiner wee declared before, page 1787. howe that the Ladie Elizabeth beyng in the Tower, a Wrytte came downe, subscribed wyth certaine handes of the Counsell for her execution. Which if it were certaine, as it is reported, Winchester (no doubt) was deuiser of that mischieuous drift: and doubtlesse the same Achitophel had brought hys impious purpose that daye to passe, had not the fatherly prouidence of almighty God, (who is alwayes stronger then the deuill) stirred vp M. Bridges, Lieutenaunte the same time of the Tower, to come in hast to the

Queene, to geue certificate therof, and to knowe further her consent touching her sisters deathe. [Page 2096](#) Whereuppon it followed, that all that deuise was disappoynted, and Winchester deuelish plat forme, which hee sayd he had cast through the Lordes great goodnesse, came to no effecte.

Where moreouer is to be noted, that during the prysonment of this Ladye and Princesse, one M. Edmund Tremaigne was on the Racke, and maister Smithwike, & diuers other in the Tower were examined, and diuers offers made to them to accuse the gittlesse Ladie, being in her captiuitie. Howbeit al that notwithstanding, no matter could be prooued by all examinations, as shee the same time lying at Woodstocke, had certaine intelligence by the meanes of one Iohn Ga•er: who vnder a colourable pretence of a letter to mistres Cleue from her father, was let in, and so gaue them secretly to vnderstande of all thys matter. Whereuppon the Lady Elizabeth at her departing out from Woodstocke, wrote these Uerses with her Diamond in a glasse windowe.

Much suspected by me: Nothing prooued can be.*Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at Woodstocke. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the Lorde of Tame had laboured to the Queene, and became surety for her, to haue her from Woodstocke to his house, and had obtained graunte thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her comming. But through the procurement either of M. Benifield,* or by the doing of Winchester her mortall enemye, letters came ouer night to the contrary: wherby her iourney was stopped.

Thus this woorthy Ladie oppressed wyth continuall sorrowe, coulde not be permitted to haue recourse to any frendes she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and vtterly destitute of all that might refresh a doulefull heart, fraughte full of terroure and thraldome. Whereupon no maruell, if she hearing vpon a time out of her garden at Woodstocke, a certaine milkemaide singing pleasantly,* wished her selfe to be a milkemaide as she was, saying that her case was better, and life more merier then was hers, in that state as shee was.

Now after these things thus declared, to procede further there where we left before, Syr Henry Benifield and hys souldiours, wyth the Lorde of Tame, and Syr Rafe Chamberlaine, garding and waiting vpon her, the firste night from Woodstock she came to Ricot.* In which iourney such a mighty wind did blow, that her seruants were same to holde downe her cloathes about her: In so much that her hooide was twise or thrise blowen from her head. Whereupon shee desirous to retourne to a certaine Gentlemans house there neare, coulde not be suffered by Syr Henry Benifield so to doe, but was constrained vnder an hedge to trimme her head aswell as she could.

After thys, the next nighte they iourneyed to M. Dormers, and so to Colbroke, where shee lay all that nyghte at the George: and by the way cōming to Colbroke, certaine of her graces Gentlemen and Yeomen mette her, to the number of three score, muche to all theyr comfortes, which had not seene her grace of long season before, notwythstandinge they were commaunded in the Queenes name immediately to depart the towne, to both their, and her graces no little heauinesse, who coulde not be suffered once to speake with them. So that night al her men were taken from her, sauing her Gentleman vsheer, three Gentlewomen, two Gromes, and one of her Wardrope, the souldiours watching and warding aboute the house, and shee close shut vp within her prison.

The nexte day following, her grace entred Hamptoncourt on the backside, into the princes lodging, y^e doores being shut to her, and she garded with souldiours, as before,* say there a fortnight at the least, or euer any hadde recourse vnto her. At length came the L. William Haward, who maruellous honorably vsed her grace. Whereat shee tooke much comfort, and requested him to be a meane that shee might speake with some of the Counsell. To whome (not long after) came the Bishop of Winchester, the Lord of Arundel, the Lord of Shrewsbury, and Secretary Peter, who with great humilitie humbled them selues to her grace. Shee againe likewise saluting them, sayde: My Lordes (quoth shee) I am glad to see you: for me thinke, I haue ben kept a great while from you desolately alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane to the Kyng and Queenes Maiesties, that I maye be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue bene kept a long space, as to you my Lordes, it is not vnknownen.

When she had spoken, Steuen Gardiner the bishop of Winchester kneeled downe,* and requested that she would submit her selfe to the Queenes grace, and in so doing hee had no doubt but that her Maiestie would be good vnto her: shee making answeare that rather then she would so doe, shee wold lie in prison all the dayes of her life, adding that she craued no mercy at her maiesties hand, but rather desired the Lawe, if euer shee did offende her Maiestie in thought, woorde, or deede: And besides this, in yealdinge (quoth shee) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offender, which neuer was towards her Maiestie: by occasion whereof the King and the Queene might euer heereafter conceiue of mee an ill opinion: And therefore I say my Lordes, it were better for me to lye in prison for the truth, then to be abroad and suspected of my Prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the Queene.

On the next day, the bish. of Winchester came againe vnto her grace, and kneelinge downe,* declared that the Queene marueiled that she would so stoutly vse her selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should seme the Queenes Maiestie, wrongfully to haue imprisoned her grace.

Nay quoth the Lady Elizabeth, it please her to punish me as shee thinketh good.

Well quoth Gardiner, her Maiestie willeth me to tell you, that you must tell an other tale ere that you be sette at libertie.

Her grace answered, that she had as lief be in prison with honesty & truth, as to be abroad, suspected of her maiestie: and this that I haue said, I wil (said she) stand vnto, for I wil neuer bely my selfe.

Winchester againe kneled down, and said: Then your grace hath the vantage of me & other the Lordes for your long and wrong imprisonment.

What vantage I haue (quoth she) you knowe, takyng God to record I seeke no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgeue you & me also. With that the rest kneeled desiring her grace that all myght bee forgotten, and so departed, shee beyng fast locked vppe agayne.

A seuen night after the Queene sent for her grace at x. of the clocke in the nyght to speake with her: [*](#) for shee had not seene her in two yeares before. Yet for all that shee was amased at the sodayne sendyng for, thinkyng it had bene worse then afterwarde it prooued, and desired her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to pray for her, for that shee could not tell whether euer shee should see them agayne or no.

At which tyme Sir Henry Benifield with Maistresse Clarencius comming in, her grace was brought into the garden vnto a staires foote that went into the Queenes lodgyng, her graces Gentlewomen waiting vppon her, her Gentleman Usher & her Groomes going before with torches, [*](#) where her Gentlemen and Gentlewomen being commanded to stay all sauing one woman, maistres Clarencius conducted her to the Queens bed chamber where her maiestie was.

At the sight of whome, her grace kneeled downe and desired God to preserue her Maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should try her selfe as true a subiect towards her Maiestie, as euer did any, and desired her Maiestie euen so to Iudge of her: and sayde that shee should not finde her to the contrary, what so euer reporte otherwyse had gone of her.

To whom the Queene aunswered: you will not confesse your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: [*](#) I pray God it may so fall out.

If it doth not, quoth the Ladye Elizabeth, I request neyther fauour nor pardon at your Maiesties hands. Wel sayd the Queene, you stifly still perseuere in your truth. Belike you wil not confesse but that you haue ben wrongfully punished.

I must not say so (if it please your Maiesty) to you.

Why, then (sayd the Queene) belyke you wyll to other.

No, if it please your Maiesty (quoth she) I haue borne the burden, and must beare it. I humbly beseeche your Maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, [*](#) and to thynke me to be your true subiect, not onely from the beginnyng hitherto, but for euer, as long as lyfe lasteth: and so they departed with very few comfortable words of the Queene, in English: but what she sayd in Spanish, God knoweth. [*](#) It is thought that king Phillip was there behynde a cloth, and not seene, and that he shewed himselfe a verye friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departyng, went to her lodgyng agayne, [Page 2097](#) and the seuen night after was released of Sir Henry Benifield her Gaoler (as she termed hym) and his soldiours, and so her grace beyng set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the countrey, and had appoynted to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, [*](#) one of Queene Maries Counsailors, and one of her Gentlemen Ushers, Maister Bage, and thus straitly was she looked to all Queene Maries tyme. And this is the discourse of her highnesse imprisonment.

Then there came to Lamheyre, M. Ierningham, and M. Norris Gentleman Usher, [*](#) Queene Maries men, who tooke away from her grace Maistresse Ashley to the Fleete, and three other of her Gentlewomen to the Tower: which thing was no little trouble to her grace, saying: that she thought they would fetch all away at the ende. But god be prayd, shortly after was fetched

away Gardiner through the mercifull prouidence of the Lords goodnes, by occasion of whose opportune decease (as is partly touched in this story before, pag. 1705.) the lyfe of this excellent Princesse, the wealth of all England, was preserued. For this is credible to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this onely most principall marke, bent all hys deuises, to bring this our happy and deare soueraigne out of the way, as both by his words and doyngs before notified, may sufficiently appeare.

But such was the gracious and fauourable prouidēce of the Lord, to the preservation not onely of her royal maiestie, but also the miserable and woful state of this whole Iland, and poore subiectes of the same, whereby the proud platformes and peeuish practises of this wretched Achitophel preuayled not: but contrarywise, both he, and all the snares and trappes of his pernicious counsaile layed agaynst another, were turned to a net to catche hymselfe, accordyng to the Prouerbe: *Malum consilium, consultori pessimum.*

*After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and droppynge away of other her enemies, whereby by little and litle her ieopardy decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle intertainment daily did grow vnto her, till at length to the moneth of Nouember, and xvij. day of the same, three yeares after the death of Ste. Gardiner, followed the death of Queene Mary, as hereafter God graunting shall be more declared.

*Although this history followyng bee not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not vnaptly be inserted, for that it doth discouer and shew forth the malicious heartes of the Papistes toward this vertuous Queene our soueraigne Lady in the tyme of Queene Mary her sister, which is reported, as a truth credibly tolde by sundry honest persones, of whome some are yet alvye, and doe testifie the same. The matter wherof is this.

Soone after the s•urre of Wiate and the troubles that happened to this Queene for that cause: it fortun'd one Robert Farrer a Haberdasher of London, dwelling nere vnto Newgate market, in a certaine mornynge to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he was seldome absent) and falling to his common drinke, as he was euer accustomed and hauing in his company three other companions lyke to hymselfe, it chaunced the same tyme one Laurence Shiriffe Grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come into the said Tauerne, and finding there the sayde Farrer (to whom of long time he had borne good will) sate down in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer hauyng in hys full cups, and not hauing consideration who were present began to talke at large, & namely against the Lady Elizabeth, and said: that Gill hath bene one of the chiefe doers of this rebellion of Wiat,* and before all be done, she and al the heretikes her pertakers, shall well vnderstand of it. Some of them hope that she shal haue the crowne, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop hedlesse, or be fried with Fagots before she come to it.

*The aforesaid Laurence Shiriffe Grocer, beyng then seruaunt vnto the sayd Lady Elizabeth, and sworne vnto her grace, could no longer forbear his olde acquaintance and neighbour Farrer in speaking so vnreuerently of his Mistres, but sayd vnto him: Farrer, I haue loued thee as a neighbour, and haue had a good opiniō of thee, but hearing of thee that I now heare, I defie thee: and I tel thee I am her graces sworne seruaunt, and she is a Princesse, and the daughter of a noble kyng, and it euill becommeth the• to call her a Gill, & for thy so saying, I say thou art a knaue,

and I will complain vpon thee. Do thy worst said Farrer, for that I said, I will say againe,* and so Shiriffe came from his company.

Shortly after the said Shirife taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the Commissioners to complaine: the which Commissioners •ate then at Boner the Bishop of Londons house beside Paules, and there were present Boner then beyng the chiefe Commissioner, the L. Mordant, sir Iohn Baker, D. Darbishiery Chauncellour to the Bishop, Doctour Story, Doctour Harpsfield, and other.

The aforesayd Shiriffe commyng before them, declared the maner of the sayd Rob. Farrers talke agaynst the Lady Elizabeth. Boner answered, peraduenture you tooke him worse then he ment.

Yea my L. sayd D. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better Catholike, nor an honest man in the Citie of London.

Well, sayd Sheriffe, my Lord, she is my gracious Lady and mistres, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a princes by the name of a Gil: And I saw yesterday in the Court that my Lord Cardinall Poole meeting her in the Chamber of presence, kneeled downe on his knees and kissed her hand, & I saw also that King Philippe meeting her, made her such obeisance that his knee touched the ground: and then me thinketh it were too much to suffer suche a varlet as this is, to call her Gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish her grace to enioy the possession of the crowne when God shall sende it vnto her as in the righte of her inheritaunce. Yea? stay there quoth Boner.* When God sendeth it vnto her, let her enioy it. But truely (sayde he) the man that spake the woordes that you haue reported, meant nothing against the Ladie Elizabeth your Mistresse, and no more doe we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of Religion, whiche euerye good manne ought to feare: and therefore (sayde Boner) good man goe your wayes home and reporte well of vs toward your Mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and vndiscrete woordes, and we trust he will not doe the like againe. And thus Sheriffe came awaye, and Farrer had a flappe with a foxe taile.

Nowe that yee may be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whom D. Story praised for so good a man, ye shal vnderstande that the same Farrer hauing two daughters being handsome maidens,* the Elder of them for a summe of money he him selfe deliuered to Syr Roger Cholmley to be at his commandement, the other he sold to a Knight called Syr William Good dolphin to be at his commandement: whom he made his lackie and so caried her w^t hym, being apparelled in mans apparel to Bolein, and the sayd Farrer followed the Campe. He also was a greate, and a horrible blasphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common dronkarde. And nowe I referre the life of these Catholickes to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

But of this matter enough and too much. Now let vs retourne where we left before, which was at the deathe of Quene Marie. After whose decease succeeded her foresayd sister Ladie Elizabeth into the right of the crown of England: who after so long restraintment,* so great daungers escaped, suche blusterous stormes ouerblowne, so many iniuries digested and wronges sustained by the mightye protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comforte and

commoditie, hath ben exalted and erected out of thrall to Libertie, out of daunger to Peace and quietnesse, from dread to Dignitie, from miserie to Maiestie, from mourning to Ruling. Briefly, of a prisonner made a Princesse, and placed in her throne Royal proclaimed now Quene, with as many glad hearts of her subiects,* as euer was any King or Queene in this Realme before her, or euer shall be (I dare say) heereafter.

Touching whose flourishing state, her Princely reigne and peaceable gouernment, with other things diuers and sondrye incident to the same, and especiall ye touching the great stirres & alterations which haue happened in other foreine nations, and also partly among our selues here at home, for so much as the tractation heereof requireth an other Uolume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next Booke or Section insuing: wherein (if the Lorde so please to sustaine me with leaue and life) I may haue to discourse of all and singulare suche matters done and atchieued in these our latter daies and memorie, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this Realm, from the first beginning of Queene Maries reigne, wherein so many men, women, and children were burned, many imprisoned and in prisonnes starued, diuers exiled, some spoyled of goodes & possessions, a great number [Page 2098](#) driuen from house to home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hartes, so many children made fatherles, so many fathers bereft of theyr wiues and children, so many vexed in conscience, and diuers against conscience cōstrained to recant, and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the Realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution: after all this (I say) now we are come at length (the Lord be prayesd) to the 17. day of Nouember, which day as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from theyr carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of Queene Mary. Who being long sicke before vpon the sayd xvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare aboue sayde,* about 3. or 4. a clocke in the morning, yelded her life to nature, and her kingdome to Queene Elizabeth her sister.

As touching the maner of whose death, some say that she dyed of a Tympany, some by her much sighing before her death, supposed she dyed of thought & sorow. Wherevpon her Counsell seing her sighing, & desirous to know the cause, to the ende they might minister the more readye consolation vnto her, feared, as they sayd, that she took y^e thought for the kinges Maiesty her husband, which was gone from her. To whom she answering againe: In deed (sayd she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth my oppressed minde: but what that was she would not expresse to them.

Albeit, afterward she opened the matter more plainly to M. Rise and Mistres Clarentius (if it be true that they tolde me, whiche hearde it of M. Rise himselfe) who then being most familiar with her, & most bold about her, tolde her that they feared she took thought for king Philips departing from her.* Not that onely (sayde she) but when I am dead & opened, you shall find Calice lying in my hart. &c. And here an end of Queene Mary, and of her persecution.

*Of which Queene this truely may be affirmed & left in story for a perpetual memorial or Epitaph for al kings and Queenes that shal succeed her to be noted, that before her neuer was readde in story of any King or Queene of England since the time of king Lucius, vnder whome in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning: so much Christian blood, so many

Englishmens liues were spilled within this Realme, as vnder the sayd Queene Mary for the space of foure yeres was to be sene, and I beseech the Lord neuer may be sene hereafter.

☛ A briefe declaration, shewing the vnprosperous successe of Queene Mary in persecuting Gods people, and how mightily God wrought agaynst her in all her affayres.

NOw, for so much as Queene Mary, during all the time of her reigne, was suche a vehement Aduersary and Persecutour agaynst the sincere Professours of Christ Iesus and his Gospell: * for the which there be many which do highly magnify & approue her doinges therein, reputing her Religion to be founde and Catholicke, and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almighty God: to the intēt therfore: that all men may vnderstande, howe the blessing of the Lorde God did not onely not proceed with her proceedings, but cōtrary, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought agaynst her, in plaguing both her and her Realme, and in subuerting all her counselles and attemptes, whatsoeuer she tooke in hand: we will bestow a litle time therein, to perpend and suruey the whole course of her doinges and •heuaunces: and cōsider what successe she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall finde neuer no reigne of any Prince in this Land, or any other, whiche had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so many arguments of Gods great wrath & displeasure, as was to be sene in the reigne of this Queene Mary, whether we behold the shortnes of her time, * or the vnfortunate euent of all her purposes? who seemed neuer to purpose any thing that came luckely to passe, neither did any thing frame to her purpose what so euer she tooke in hande touching her owne priuate affayres.

Of good kinges we read in the Scripture, in shewing mercy and pity, * in seeking Gods will in his word, & subuerting the monumentes of Idolatry, howe God blessed theyr wayes encreased theyr honours, and mightely prospered all their proceedings: as we see in king Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Iosaphath, Ezechias, with such other. Manasses made the streetes of Hierusalem to swimme with the bloud of his subiects▪ but what came of it the text doth testify.

Of Queene Elizabeth, whiche nowe raigneth among vs, this we must needes say, which we see, that she in sparing the bloud, not onely of Gods seruantes, * but also of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the raygne of Queene Mary her sister, with such aboundance of peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to say, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in Queene Maryes tyme, or of Gods fauour and mercy in these so blessed & peaceable dayes of Queene Elizabeth.

Gamaliell speaking his minde in the Counsaile of the Phariseis concerning Christes religion, gaue this reason, * that if it were of God, it should continue, who soeuer sayd nay: If it were not, it could not stand. So may it be sayde of Q. Mary and her romishe Religion, that if it were so perfect and Catholicke as they pretend, and the contrarye fayth of the Gospellers were so detestable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this so Catholicke a Queene, suche a necessarye pillar of his spouse hys Church, continued no longer, till shee had vtterly rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it rather, y^e almightye God, to spare these poore heretickes, rooted out Q. Mary so soone from her throne, after she had reigned but onely v. yeares and v. monthes?

Now furthermore, howe God blessed her wayes and endeouours in the meane tyme,* while shee thus persecuted the true seruantes of God, remayneth to bee discussed. Where first this is to be noted, that when shee first began to stand for the title of the Crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance agaynst Christ and his Gospell, but had promised her fayth to the Suffolke men,* to mayntayn the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long GOD went with her, aduanced her, and by the meanes of the Gospellers brought her to the possession of the Realme. But after that she breaking her promise with God & man began to take part with Steuen Gardiner, and had geuē ouer her supremacie vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left her, neyther did any thing wel thriue with her afterward during the whole time of her Regiment.

For first incontinently the fayrest and greatest ship she had, called great Harry, was burned:* suche a vessell as in all these partes of Europe was not to be matched.

Then would she needes bring in king Philip, and by her straunge maryage with him,* make the whole realme of England subiect vnto a straunger. And all y^t notw^tstanding, either that she did or was able to doe, she coulde not bring to passe to set y^e crowne of England vpon hys head. With king Phillip also came in the Pope and his popishe Masse: w^t whom also her purpose was to restore agayn y^e Monkes and Nunnes vnto theyr places, neyther lacked there all kind of attemptes to the vttermost of her ability: & yet therin also God stopt her of her wil, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in her tyme here in her land? the like whereof hath not lightly in England bene seene, in so much that in sundry places her poore subiects were fayne to feed of accornes for want of Corne.

Furthermore, where other kinges are wont to bee renowned by some worthy victory and prowes by them achieved,* let vs now see what valiaunt victory was go••en in this Queene Maryes dayes. King Edward the vi. her blessed brother, how many rebellions did hee suppress in Deuonshyre, in Northfolke, in Oxfordshyre, & els where? * what a famous victorie in hys time was gotten in Scotlād, by y^e singular working (no doubt) of Gods blessed had rather then by any expectation of man? K. Edw. the thyrd (which was the xi. K. frō y^e conquest) by princely puissance purchased Calice vnto Englād,* which hath bene kept english euer since, til at length came Quene Mary, y^e xi. likewise from the sayd K. Edward, which lost Calice frō England agayne: so that the winninges of this Queene wer very small: what the losses were, let other men iudge.

Hetherto the affayres of Queene Mary haue had no great good successe, as you haue heard.* But neuer worse successe had any woman, thē had she in her childbyrth. For seing one of these two must needes be granted, that either she was with child or not with child, if she were w^t child & did trauaile, why was it not seene? if shee were not, howe was al the realm deluded? And in the meane while where were all the praiers, y^e solemne processions, y^e deuout masses of the Catholicke Clergy? why did they not preuayle with God, if theyr Religion were so godly as they pretēd? If theyr Masses Ex opere operato be able to fetch Christe from heauen, and to reach down to Purgatory, how chāced then they could not reach to the Queenes chamber, to helpe her in her trauayle, if she had ben with child in deed? if not, howe then came it to passe, that all the Catholicke Church of England did so erre, & was so deeply deceiued? Queene Mary, after these manifold plagues and correctiōs, which might sufficiētly admonish her of Gods disfauour [Page 2099](#) prouoked agaynst her, would not yet cease her persecution, but stil continued more and

more to reuenge her Catholicke zeale vpon the Lordes faithfull people, setting f••e to theyr poore bodyes by dosens and halfedosens together. Wherevpon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more agaynst her, ceased not to touche her more neare with priuate misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (whiche chiefly and aboue all thinges she desired) then he bereft her of that,* which of all earthly thinges should haue bene her chiefe stay of honor, and staffe of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affectiō and company euen of her owne husband, by whose mariage she had promised before to her selfe whole heapes of such ioy & felicity: but now the omnipotent gouernour of all thinges so turned the wheele of her owne spinning agaynst her, that her high buildinges of such ioyes & felicities, came all to a Castle come downe, her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who semed neither to haue the sauour of God, nor the harts of her subiectes, nor yet the loue of her husband:* who neither had fruite by him while she had him, neither could now enioy him whō she had maryed, neither yet was in liberty to mary any other whom she might enioy. Marke here (Christian Reader) the wofull aduersity of this Queene, and learne withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulnes will needes resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fayre admonitions would take no place with the Queene, nor moue her to reuoke her bloody lawes,* nor to stay the tyranny of her Priestes, nor yet to spare her owne Subiectes, but that the poore seruauntes of God were drawne dayly by heapes most pitifully as sheepe to the slaughter, it so pleased the heauenly Maiesty of almighty God, when no other remedy would serue, by death to cut her of, which in her life so litle regarded the life of others: geuing her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christes Church and people, to an other who more tēperatly and quietly could guid the same, after she had reigned here the space of fiue yeares and fiue monethes.* The shortnes of which yeares and reigne, vnneth we finde in any other story of King or Queene since the Conquest or before (being come to theyr own gouernment) saue onely in king Richard the thyrd.

And thus much here, as in the closing vp of this story, I thought to insinuate, touching the vnlucky and ruefull r•ign of queene Mary: not for any detraction to her place and state royall,* wherunto she was called of the Lord, but to this onely intēt and effect, that forsomuch as she would needes set her selfe so confidently to woork and striue agaynst the Lord and his proceedings, all readers & rulers not only may see how y^e Lord did work agaynst her therfore, but also by her may be aduertised & learn what a perillous thing it is for men and women in authority, vpon blind zeale & opinion, to styrre vp persecution in Christes Church, to the effusion of Christian bloud, least it proue in the end with them (as it did here) that while they think to persecu•e hereticks, they stumble at the same stone as dyd the Iewes in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to theyr owne confusion and destruction.

***The seuer punishment of God vpon the persecutours of his people and enemyes to his word, with such also as haue bene blasphemers, contemners, and mockers of his Religion.**

LEauing now Queene Mary, being dead and gone, I come to them whiche vnder her were the chiefe Ministers and doers in this persecution,* the Byshops (I meane) and Priestes of the Clergy, to whō Queene Mary gaue all the execution of her power, as did Queene Alexandra to the Phariseis after the tyme of the Machabees. Of whom Iosephus thus writeth: Ipsa solum

nomen regium ferebat, caeterum omnem regni potestatem Pharisei possidebant. That is: She onely reteyned to her selfe the name and title of the kingdome, but all her power, she gaue to the phariseis to possesse. &c. Touching which Prelates and Priestes, here is to be noted in lyke sorte the wonderfull and miraculous prouidence of almighty GOD, which as he abridged the reigne of theyr Queene, so he suffered them not to escape vnuisited: first beginning with Stephen Gardiner the Archpersecutour of Christes Church, whom he tooke away about the middest of the Queenes reigne. Of whose poysoned lyfe and stincking end,* forsomuche as sufficient hath bene touched before. pag. 1786. I shall not need here to make any newe rehearsall therof.

After him dropped other away also, some before the death of Queene Mary, and some after,* as Morgan Byshop of S. Dauids, who sitting vppon the condemnation of the blessed Martyr bysh. Farrar, and vniustly vsurping his rowm, not long after was stricken by Gods haue after such a strange sort, that his meate would not go down but rise & pycke vp agayne, somtyme at his mouth, sometyme blowne out of his nose most horrible to beholde, & so he continued till his death. Where note moreouer y^t when Mayster Leyson being then Sheriffe at Byshop Farrars burning, had fet away the cattell of the sayde Byshoppe,* from his seruauntes house called Mattheue Harbottell, into his owne custody, the cattell comming into the Sheriffes ground, diuers of them would neuer eate meate but lay bellowing and roaring, and so dyed.

This foresayd Byshoppe Morgan aboue mentioned, bringeth me also in remembraunce of Iustice Morgan,* who sate vpon the death of the Lady Iane, & not long after the same, fell mad and was bereft of his wittes, & so died, hauing euer in his mouth, Lady Iane, Lady Iane. &c.

Before the death of Queene Mary, dyed Doct. Dunning the bloody and wretched Chauncellour of Norwich who, after he had most rigorously condēned and murdered so many simple and faythfull Sayntes of the Lord, cōtinued not longe himselfe, but in the middest of his rage in Queene Maryes dayes dyed in Lincolnshyre being sodaynly taken (as some say) sitting in his chayre.

The like sodayne death fel also vpon Berry Commissary in Northfolke,* who (as is before shewed in the story of Thomas Hudson) foure dayes after Queene Maryes death, when he had made a great feast, and had one of hys concubines there, comming home from the Church after Euensong, where he hadde ministred Baptisme the same tyme, betweene the Churchyard and his house, sodeinly fell downe to the ground with a heauy grone, and neuer styrred after, neither shewed any one token of repentance.

What a stroke of Gods hand was brought vppon the cruell persecutour of the holy and harmeles sayntes of the Lord, Byshop Thornton, Suffragan of Douer,* who after he had exercised hys cruell tyranny vpon so many Godly men at Canterbury, at length comming vppon a Saterdag from the Chapter house at Caunterbury to Borne, & there vpon sonday following, looking vpon his mē praying at the bowles, •ell sodēly in a Palsey, and so had to bed was willed to remember God, Yea, so I doe (sayd he) and my Lord Cardinall to. &c.

After hym succeeded an othher Byshop or Suffragan ordayned by the foresayd Cardinall. It is reported that he had bene Suffragan before to Boner,* who not <◇> after was made Bysh. or

Suffragan of Douer, brake his necke fallyng downe a payre of stayres in the Cardinals chāber at Grenewich, as he had receiued the Cardinals blessing.

Among other plentifull and sondrye examples of the Lordes iudgement and seueritie practised vpon the cruell persecutors of hys people, that is not the least that followeth, concerning the story of one William Fenning, y^e effect and circumstance of which matter is this.

Iohn Cooper, of the age of 44. yeaes, dwelling at Watsam in the County of Suffolke, beyng by science a Carpenter, a man of a very honest report & a good housekeeper, a harbourer of straungers, that trauayled for conscience, and one that fauoured Religion, and those that were religious, he was of honest conuersation and good lyfe hating all popish and papisticall trash.

This man being at home in his house, there came vnto hym one William Fenning, a seruing man dwellyng in the sayd Town of Watsam, and vnderstanding that the sayd Cooper had a couple of fayre Bullockes, did desire to buy them of hym, whiche Cooper told hym that hee was loth to sell them, for that hee had brought them vp for hys owne vse, and if he shoulde sell them, he then must be compelled to buy other and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them (for he had often assayed the matter) he sayd he woulde sit as much in his light, and so departed, and wēt and accused him of high treason. The words he was charged with wer these: how he should pray that if God would not take away Queene Mary, that then he should wishe the Deuill to take her away. Of these wordes did this Fenning charge him before sir Henry Do•ell knight (vnto whome he was caryed by M. Timperley of Hinchlesā in Suffolke, & one Grimwood of Lowshaw Cōstable) which words Cooper sta•ly denied: & sayd he neuer spake them, but that coulde not helpe.

Notwithstanding he was arrayned therfore at Berry before sir Clement Higham, at a Lent assise, and there this Fenning brought two noughty menne that witnessed the speaking of the foresayd wordes, whose names were Richard White of Watsam, and Grimwood of Higham, [Page 2100](#) in the sayd Countie of Suffolke. Whose testimonies were receiued as truth, although this good man Iohn Cooper had said what he could to declare himselfe innocent therein, but to no purpose God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the ende appeared by sir Clement Hyghams woordes, who said he should not escape, for an example to all heretickes, as in deede hee thoroughly performed. For immediatly he was iudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed vpon him shortly after, to the great grieffe of manye a good heart. Heere good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaues behinde him aliue his wife and 9. children with goodes and cattell, to the value of 3. hundred markes, the which substance was al taken away by the sayd sir Henry Doyel Sheriffe, but his wife & pore children left to the wide world in their cloathes, and suffered not to enioy one pennie of that they had sore laboured for, vnlesse they made frendes to buy it with money, of the sayd Sheriffe so cruel and greedy was he and his officers vpon such things as were there left.

Wel, now this innocēt man is dead▪ his goods spoiled, his wife and children left desolate and comfortlesse, and all things is hushte, and nothing feared of any parte, yet the Lord who surely doth reuenge the guiltles bloud, would not stil so suffer it,* but began at the length to punish it him selfe. For in the haruest after, the sayde Grimwood of Hitcham one of the witnesses before

specified, as hee was in his labour staking vp a goffe of corne, hauing hys health, and fearing no pearill: sodenly his bowels fell out of hys body, and immediately most miserably he died: suche was the terrible Iudgement of God, to sh•we his displeasure against this bloody act, and to warne the rest by these hys iudgements to repentance. The Lorde graunt vs to honour the same for his mercies sake. Amen.

This foresaid Fenning, who was the procurer of this tyrannie against him, is yet aliue, and is nowe a minister, which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that fact, that he may declare himselfe hereafter, such a one as may well aunswere to his vocation accordingly.

But since we haue heard that he is no chaungeling but continueth still in his wickednes, & therefore presented before the woorshipfull Mayster Humerston Esquire and Iustice of Peace & Coram for that he had talke with some of his friendes (as he thoughte) how many honest women (to their great infamy) were in the Parish of Wensthaston wherein he is now Ui•are resident, wherefore he was commaunded the next sonday ensuing, to aske all the Parish forgiuenes vpō his knees openly in seruice tyme, which he did in Wensthaston Church before sayd, & moreouer the abouesayd Fenning is reported, to be more lyke a shifter then a Minister.

To these examples also may be added y^e terrible iudgment of God vpon the Parson of Crondall in Kent, who vpon Shrouesonday hauing receiued the Popes Pardon from Cardinal Poole, came to his Parish, and exhorted y^e people to receiue the same, as he had done himselfe: saying y^t he stooode now so cleare in cōscience as whē he was first borne,* & cared not now if he should dye the same houre in y^e clearenes of conscience: whereupon being sodenly stricken by the hand of God, & leaning a little on the one syde, immediately shronke down in the Pulpit, & so was found dead, speaking not one word more. Read before pag. 1560.

Not long before y^e death of Queene Mary dyed Doctour Capon Bishop of Salisbury. About the which tyme also followed the vnprepared death of Doctour Geffrey Chancellour of Salisbury, who in the midst of his buildings, sodainly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yelded his lyfe, which hadde so little pittye of other mens lyues before. Concerning whose crueltye partly mention is made before pag. 2055.*

As touching moreouer this foresayde Chauncellour, here is to be noted, that he departing vpon a Saterdag, y^e next day before the same, he hadde appoynted to call before him .90. persons and not so fewe, to examine them by Inquisition, had not the goodnes of the Lord, and his tender prouidence, thus preuented him with death, prouiding for his poore seruauntes in tyme.

And now (to come from Priests to Lay men) we haue to finde in them also no lesse terrible demonstrations of Gods heauy iudgement vpon such as haue beene vexers and persecutours of his people.

Before in the story of M. Bradford .1624. mention was made of Maister Woodroffe, who being thē Sheriffe, vsed much to reioyce at the death of the poore Saints of Christ,* and so hard he was in his office, that when Mayster Rogers was in y^e cart going toward Smithfield, and in the way his childrē wer brought vnto him, y^e people making a laue for them to come: Maister Woodroffe bad the carmans head should be brokē for staying his cart. But what happened? He was not come

out of his office the space of a weeke, but he was stricken by the sodaine hand of God,* the one halfe of his body in suche sorte y^t he lay be nummed and bedred, not able to moue himself but as he was li•ted of other, and so contynued in that infirmity the space of 7. or 8. yeares tyll his dying day, pag. 1624.

Lykewise touching Rafe Lardyn the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of some, that y^e sayd Rase afterward was attached himselfe, arraegned, and hanged.

Who being at the barre, had these woordes before the Iudges there, and a greate multitude of people. This is most iustly fallen vpon me (saythe he) for that he hadde betrayed the innocent bloud of a good & iust man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of Queene Maryes raygne thorough his procurment who sold hys bloud for a little money. Not much vnlyke stroke of these seuerally, was shewed vpon W. Swallow of Chemlford, & his wife, also vpon Rich. Potto, & Iustice Browne cruel persecutors of y^e sayd George Egles, concerning whose story Reade before, pag. 2009.

Amonge other persecutours also came to our handes y^e cruelty of one Maister Swingfield an Aldermans Deputye about Thamys streete, who hearing 〈◇〉 Angelles wyfe, a midwyfe that kepte her selfe from their Popishe Church, to be at the labour of one Mistres Walter al crooked Lane ende▪ tooke three other with him, and besette the house about, and tooke her and caryed her to Boners officers, bigge with childe, 28. weekes gone, who layd her in Lollardes Tower, where as the same daye shee came in, thorough feare and a fall at her taking, she was deliuered of a man childe, & could haue no woman with her in that needefull tyme. Lying there 5. weekes, she was deliuered vnder suertes by friendship, and Doctor Story hearing thereof charged her with felony, and so sent her to Newgate. The cause was for that she had a womā at her house in her labour that dyed, and the child also, and so he charged her with their death.

But when Syr Roger Cholmley hearde her tell her tale, he deliuered her:* and not much more then 10. weekes after, if it were so long, dyed the sayd Maister Swingfield, and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which haue such a great deuotion in setting vp y^e Popish Masse, I shal desire thē to marke well this story following. There was a certain Bailiffe of Cowlād in Lincolnshire named Burton,* who pretending an earnest frendship to the Gospel in king Edwards dayes, in outward shew at least (although inwardly he was a Papist or Atheist, and wel knownen to be a man of a wicked & adulterous life) set forth the kinges proceedinges lustely, till the time that king Edward was dead and Queene Mary placed quietly in her estate.

Then perceiuing by the first proclamation concerning Religion, how the world was lyke to turne, the Bailiffe turned his Religion likewise: and so he moued the Parish to shew themselues the Queenes friendes, & to set vp the Masse speedely. Neuertheles the most substauntiall of the Parish, marueling much at the Bailiffes inconstant lightnes, considering also his abominable lyfe, and hauing no great deuotion vnto his request: knowing moreouer that their duty & frendship to the Queene stode not in setting vp y^e Masse, spared to prouide for it, as lōg as they might: but the Bailiffe called on them still in the Queenes name.

At last, when he saw his wordes were not regarded, & purposing to wynne his spurres by playing the man in y^e Masses behalfe and the Queenes, he got him to the church vpon a sunday morning, & when the Curate was beginning the Englishe seruice, according to the Statute secte forth by King Edward the vj. the Bailiffe commeth in a great rage to the Curate & sayth: Syrrha will you not say Masse? buckle your selfe to Masse you knaue, or by Gods bloud I shall sheathe my dagger in your shoulder. The poore Curate for feare fetled himselfe to Masse.

Not long after this, the Bailiffe rode from home vpō certaine busines, accompanied with one of his neighbors and as they came ryding togeather vpon the Fennebanke homeward agayne,* a Crow sitting in a willow tree tooke her flighte ouer hys head, singing after her woonted note, knaue, knaue, & withall let fall vpon his face, so that her excrements ran from y^e top of his nose down to his beard.

The poysoned sent & sauour whereof so noyed his stomacke, that he neuer ceased vomiting vntil he came home, wherwith his hart was so sore & his body so distempered: that for extreme sicknes he got him to bed, and so lying, he was not able for the stincke in his stomacke and paynefull vomiting, to receaue any reliefe of meate or drinke, but cryed out still, sorowfully complayning of that stincke, & [Page 2101](#) with no smal othes, cursing the Crow that had poysoned him. To make short, he continued but a few daies, but w^t extreme paine of vomiting and crying, he desperately died without any token of repentance of his former life.

*Reported and testified for a certaintie, by diuers of his neighbours, both honest and credible persons.

Of Iames Abbes Martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whose Martyrdom, what befell vpon a wicked railer against him,* now ye shall further vnderstand. Wherby all such railing persecutors may learne to feare Gods hand, and to take heede, howe or what they speake againste his seruaunts. As this Iames Abbes was led by the sheriffe toward his execution, diuers poore people stood in y^t way, and asked their almes.* He then hauing no money to geue them, and desirous yet to distribute some thing amongst them, did pull off all his apparell sauing hys shirt, & gaue the same vnto them, to some one thing, to some an other: in the geuing wherof he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Christ, to stand stedfast vnto the truthe of the Gospell, which hee (through Gods helpe) would then in their sight seale and confirme w^t hys bloud. Whiles he was thus charitably occupied, and zealously instructing the people, a seruaunt of the Sheriffes going by & hearing him, cried out aloud vnto them, and blasphemously sayd,* beleue him not good people. He is an hereticke and a mad man, out of his wit: beleue him not, for it is heresy that he saith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, so did thys wicked wretche still blowe foorth his blasphemous exclamations vntill they came vnto the stake where he should suffer. Unto y^e which this constant Martyr was tied, & in the ende cruelly burned, as in his storie more fully is already declared.

*But immediatly after the fire was put vnto him (such was the fearfull stroke of Gods iustice vpon this blasphemous railer) that he was there presently in the sight of all the people, stricken with a frenesy, wherewith he had before mooste railingly charged that good Martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madnesse, casting off hys shoes, with all the rest of his cloathes, cried out vnto the people, and sayde: Thus did Iames Abbes the true seruaunt of God, who is saued,

but I am damned. And thus ranne hee rounde about the Towne of Burie, still crying out that Iames Abbes was a good man and saued, but he was damned.

The Sheriffe then being amazed, and caused him to be taken & tied in a darke house, and by force compelled hym againe to put on his cloathes, thinking thereby wythin a while to bring him to some quietnes. But he (all that notwithstanding) as soone as they were gone, continued his former raging: and casting of his cloathes, cried as he did before: Iames Abbes is the seruant of God and is saued, but I am damned.

At length he was tied in a carte, & brought home vnto his Maisters house, and wythin halfe a yeare or thereabouts,* he being at the poynt of death, the priest of the parish was sent for: who comming vnto him, brought wyth him the Crucifixe, and theyr houseling host of the aultare. Which geare when the poore wretch sawe, he cried oute of the Priest, and defied all that baggage, saying y^t the Priest wyth suche other as he was, was the cause of his damnation, and that Iames Abbes was a good man, and saued. And so shortly after he died.

*Clarke an open enemie to the Gospell and all Godly preachers, in king Edwards daies hanged him self in the Tower of London.

*The great and notable papist called Troling Smith, of late fell downe sodenly in the streete and died.

Dale the Promoter was eaten into his body w^t Lice, and so died, as it is well knowen of manye, and confessed also by his fellow Iohn Auales, before credible witnesse.

Coxe an earnest protestant in king Edwardes dayes, and in Quene Maries time a papist and a Promoter, going wel and in health to bed (as it seemed) was deade before the morning. Testified by diuers of the neighbours.

Alexander the Keeper of Newgate, a cruell enemie to those that lay there for Religion,* died very miserably, being so swollen y^t he was more like a monster then a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruell wretch, to hasten the poore lambes to the slaughter, would go to Boner, Story, Cholmley, & other, crying out: rid my prison, rid my prison: I am too much pestered with these heretickes.

The sonne of y^e saide Alexander called Iames, hauing left vnto him by his father great substaunce, within three yeres wasted al to nought:* And whē some marueled how he spent those goodes so fast: O sayde he, euill gotten, euill spent: and shortly after as hee went in Newgate market, fell downe sodenly, and there wretchedly died.

Iohn Peter, sonne in lawe to this Alexander,* an horrible blasphemmer of God, & no lesse cruell to the said prisoners, rotted away, and so most miserably died. Who commonly when he woulde affirme any thing, were it true or false, vsed to say: If it be not true, I pray God I rotte ere I die. Witnesse the Printer heereof, with diuers other.

With these I mighte inferre the sodeine death of Iustice Lelond persecutor of Ieffray Hurst,* mentioned before, pag. 2076.

Also the death of Robert Baulding stricken w^t Lightning at the taking of William Seamen, whereuppon hee pined away and died: the storie of the which W. Seaman, see pag. 2035.

Likewise the wretched end of Beard the promoter.*

Moreouer, the consuming away of Rob. Blomfielde, persecutor of William Browne, specified pag. 2065.

Further, to returne a little backwarde to king Henries time, here might be induced also the example of Ihon Rockewoode, who in his horrible ende, cried all to late, w^t the same woordes which he had vsed before in persecuting Gods poore people of Calice, pag. 1055.

Also the iudgement of God vpon Lady Honor a persecutor, and of George Bradway a false accuser, both bereft of theyr wittes, page. 1227.

And what a notable spectacle of Gods reuengyng iudgement, haue wee to consider in Syr Rafe Ellerker, who as hee was desirous to see the heart taken out of Adam Damlyp, whom they most wrongfully put to death: so shortly after the sayd Syr Rafe Ellerker being slaine of the Frenchmen, they all too mangling him, after they had cutte off hys priue members, woulde not so leaue hym, before they myght see hys heart cutte oute of hys bodye, pag. 1229.

Doctor Foxlorde, Chauncellor to bishop Stokesley, a cruell persecutor, died sodeinly, read pag. 1055.

Pauier or Pauie, Towne Clearke of London, and a bitter enemie to the Gospell, hanged him selfe, pag. 1055.

Steuens Gardiner hearing of the pitiful end of Iudge Hales after he had drowned himself, taking occasiō thereby, called the following and professiō of the Gospel a doctrine of desperation. But as Iudge Hales neuer fell into that inconuenience before hee had consented to Papistrie: so who so well considereth the ende of Doctour Pendleton (which at hys death ful sore repented that euer he had yeelded to the doctrine of the Papists, as he did) and likewise the miserable ende of the moste parte of the Papistes besides, and especially of Steuens Gardiner him selfe, who after so longe professinge the doctrine of Papistrie, when there came a Bishop to him in his deathbed,* and put him in remembraunce of Peter denying his Maister, he aunswearing againe, sayd: that he had denied with Peter, but neuer repented with Peter, and so both stinckingly & vnrepentantly died: will say, as Steuens Gardiner also hym selfe gaue an euident exāple of the same, to all men to vnderstand that Poperie rather is a doctrine of desperation, procuring the vengeance of almighty God to them that wilfully do cleaue vnto it.

Iohn Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Syr Thomas More, in Kyng Henryes time, after they hadde brought Iohn Frith, Baifield, and Baynham, and diuers other to theyr death, what great reward wanne they therby with almighty God? Did not the sworde of Gods vengeance light vpon their

owne neckes shortly after, and they them selues made a publicke spectacle at the tower hil, of bloody deathe, which before had no compassion of the liues of others? Thus ye see the saying of the Lord to be true: *Hee that smiteth with the sword, shall pearish with the sword.

So was Heliodorus in the old time of the Iewes plagued by Gods hand in the Temple of Hierusalem. *

So did Antiochus, Herode, Iulian, Ualerianus the Emperour, Decius, Maxentius, with infinite others, after they had exercised theyr crueltye vpon Gods people, feele the like striking hand of God them selues also, in reuenging the bloud of his seruants.

And thus much concerning those persecutors, as well of the Clergy sort, as of the laity, which were stricken, and died before the death of Quene Mary. With whom also is to be numbered in the same race of persecuting Byshops, which died before Quene Mary, these bishops folowing.

Bishops.

- Coates Bishop of Westchester.
- Parfew Bishop of Harford. *
- Glinne Bishop of Bangor.
- Brookes Bishop of Glocester.
- King Bishop of Tame.
- Peto Elect of Salisburie.
- Day Bishop of Chichester.
- Holyman Bishop of Bristow.

[Page 2102](#) Now after the Queene immediately followed, or rather waighted vpon her, the death of cardinal Poole, who the next day departed: Of what disease, although it be vncertaine to many, yet to some it is suspected that hee tooke some Italian Physicke, which did him no good. Then folowed in order.

Bishops.

- Iohn Christopherson B. of Chichester.
- Hopton B. of Norwich.
- *Morgan B. of S. Dauids.
- Iohn White B. of Winchester.
- Rafe Baine B. of Lichfield and Couentrie.
- Owen Oglethorpe B. of Carlile.
- * Cuthert Tonstall B. of Durham.
- Thomas Rainolds elect of Herford, after hys depriuation died in prison.

Besides these Bishops aboue named, first died at the same time.

- D. Weston Deane of Westminster, afterwarde Deane of Windsore, chiefe disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

- M. Slerhurst, maister of Trinitie colledge in Oxforde, who died in the Tower.
- Seth Holland deane of Worcester, and Warden of Alsoule Colledge in Oxforde.
- William Copinger, Monke of Westminster, who bare the great Seale before Steuen Gardener, after the death of the sayde Gardener, made him selfe Monke in the house of Westminster, and shortly after, so fell madde, and died in the Tower.
- Doctor Steward Deane of Winchester.

¶To beholde the woorking of Gods iudgements, it is wonderous. In the first yeare of Quene Marie, when the Clergy was assembled in the Conuocation house, and also afterwarde, when the Disputation was in Oxford against Doctor Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, he that had seene then Doctor Weston the Prolocutoure in his ruffe, howe highly he tooke vpon him in the Schooles, and how stoutly he stode in the Popes quarell against simple and naked truth, full litle would haue thought, and lesse did he thinke him self (I dare say) that his glory and lofty lookes shoulde haue bene brought downe so soone, especiall by them of hys owne Religion, whose part he so doughtely defended. But such is the rewarde and ende commonly of them, who presumptuously oppose them selues to striue against the Lord, as by the example of this Doctorly prolocutor right wel may appeare.* For not long after the disputation aboue mentioned, against Bishop Cranmer and hys fellowes, God so wrought against the sayd Doctour Weston, that hee fell in great displeasure wyth Cardinall Poole and other Bishops, because hee was vnwilling to geue vp his Deanery and house of Westminster, vnto the Monkes and religious men, whom in deede he fauoured not, although in other things he maintained the Church of Rome. Who notwithstanding, at last through importunate sute, gaue vp Westminster, & was deane of Windsore: Where not long after, he was apprehended in adulterie,* and for the same, was by the Cardinall put from all hys spirituall liuings.

Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to haue fledde out of the Realme, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London, and there remained vntill Queene Elizabeth was proclaimed Queene, at whych time he being deliuered, fell sicke and dyed. The common talke was,* that if he had not so sodely ended his life, hee woulde haue opened and reuealed the purpose of the chiefe of the Cleargy, meaning the Cardinall, whyche was to haue taken vp K. Henries body at Windsore, and to haue burned it. And thus much of doctor Weston.

The residue that remained of the persecuting Clergy, and escaped the stroke of deathe, were depriued, and committed to prison: the Catalogue of whose names heere followeth.

In the Tower.

- Nicholas Death, Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour.
- Thomas Thurlby B. of Ely.
- *Thomas Watson B. of Lincolne.
- Gilbert Burne B. of Bath and Welles.
- Richard Pates B. of Worcester.
- Troublefield B. of Exeter.
- Iohn Fecknam Abbot of Westminster.
- Iohn Boxal Deane of Windsore and Peterborough.

Of Dauid Poole B. of Peterborough, I doubte whether he was in the Tower, or in some other prisone.*

Ran away.

- Goldwell B. of S. Asse.
- Maurice Elect of Bangor.
- Edmund Boner B. of London, in the Marshalsea.
- Thomas Wood B. Elect, in the Marshalsea.
- Cutbert Scotchish. of Chester, was in the Fleete, from whence he escaped to Louane, and there died.

In the Fleet.

- Henry Cole Deane of Paules.
- Iohn Harpesfield Archdeacon of London, and Deane of Norwich.
- Nicholas Harpesfield Archd. of Cant.
- Anthony Draycot Archdeacon of Hūtington.
- W. Chadsey Archdeacon of Midlesex.

¶Concerning which Doctour Chadsey here is to be noted,* that in the beginning of king Edwards raigne he recanted and subscribed to 34. Articles, wherein hee then fully consented and agreed with his owne hand wryting to the whole forme of doctrine approoued & allowed then in the church, as well concerning iustification by faith only, as also the doctrine of the two sacramentes then receaued, denying as well the Popes supremacie, transubstantiation, Purgatory, Inuocation of Saints, eleuation and adoration of the Sacrament, the sacrifice, & veneration of the Masse, as also all other like excrements of Popish superstition, according to the kings booke then set forth.

Wherefore the more maruel it is, that he being counted such a famous and learned Clearke, would shew himselfe so fickle and vnstable in hys assertions, so double in hys doinges, to alter hys Religion according to time, and to maintein for truth, not what he thought best, but what he myght most safely defend. So long as the state of the lord Protectour and of hys brother stode vpprighte, what was then the conformitie of this D. Chadsey, hys owne Articles in Latine,* wrytten and subscribed wyth hys owne hand, doe declare, which I haue to shewe, if he will denye them. But after the decay of the kings vncles, the fortune of them turned not so fast, but his Religion turned withall, and eftsoones he tooke vppon hym to dispute agaynste Peter Martyr, in vpholding Transubstantiation at Oxforde, which a little before with his owne hād wryting he had ouerthrowen.

After this ensued the time of Queene Mary, wherein doctor Chadsey to shew hys double diligence,* was so eger in his commission to sit in iudgement, & to bring poore mē to their death, that in the last yeare of Quene Mary when the Lord Chauncellor, Syr Thomas Cornwalles, Lorde Clinton, & diuers other of the Counsell had sent for hym by a special letter to repaire vnto London out of Essex, he wryting againe to the bishop of London, sought meanes not to come at

the Counsels bidding, but to continue still in his persecuting progresse. The Copie of whose letter I haue also in my handes (if neede were) to bring forth.

Mention was made not long before, of one William Mauldon, who in king Henries time suffered stripes and scourgings for confessing the veritie of Gods true religion. It happened in the first yeare of Queene Elizabeth,* that the sayd W. Mauldon was bound seruaunt with one named Maister Hugh Aparry then a wheat taker for the Quene, dwelling at Grenewich. Who being newly come vnto him, and hauing neuer a booke there to looke vpon, being desirous to occupie himself vertuously, looked about the house, and founde a Primer in English, whereon hee read in a winters euening. Whiles he was reading, there sat one Iohn Apowel that had ben a Seruing man, about 30. yeres of age, borne toward Wales, whom the said M. Hugh gaue meat and drink vnto, til such time as he could get a seruice. And as the foresayd William Mauldon read on the Booke, the sayde Iohn Apowell mocked hym after euery worde, with contrary gaudes and flouting wordes vnreuerently, in so muche that he coulde no longer abide him for grief of hart, but turned vnto him, and sayd: Iohn take heede what thou doest: Thou doest not mocke mee, but thou mockest God. For in mocking of his word, thou mockest hym: and thys is the word of God, though I be simple that read it: and therfore beware what thou doest.

Then Mauldon fell to reading agayne, and still hee proceeded on in hys mocking, and when Mauldon had redde certayne Englyshe Prayers, in the ende he redde, Lorde haue mercye vpon vs, Christe haue mercye vpon vs. &c.

And as Mauldon was reciting these wordes, the other with a start sodenly sayd: Lord haue mercy vpon me.

With that Mauldon tourned and sayde, what ailest [Page 2103](#) thou Iohn?

He sayee, I was afraide.

Whereon wast thou afraide, said Mauldon?

Nothing now, sayd the other? and so he would not tel hym. After thys, when Mauldon and he went to bedde, Mauldon asked him whereof he was afraide?

He sayde, when you red Lord haue mercye vpon vs, Christ haue mercy vpon vs, me thought the haire of my head stode vpright, w^t a great feare which came vpon me.

Then sayd Mauldon: Iohn thou mayest see, the euill spirite could not abide that Christ should haue mercy vpon vs. Wel Iohn (said Mauldon) repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mocke and iest at his woord, he will punish vs.

Also you vse rebauldry woordes and swearing verye much: therfore for Gods sake Iohn amend thy life. So I will (sayd he) by the grace of God: I pray God I may. Amen said the other, with other words, and so went to bed.

On the next day, about 8. of the clocke in the morning, the foresaid Iohn came running downe out of his chamber in his shirt into the Hall, and wrastled with hys mistresse as he would haue throwen her downe.* Wherat she shrieked out, and her seruauntes holpe her, and tooke hym by strength, and caried him vp vnto his bed, & bound him downe to his bed (for they perceiued plainly that he was out of his right minde.)

After that, as he lay, almoste day and night his tounge neuer ceased, but he cried out of the deuill of hell, and hys woordes were euer stil: O the deuill of hell: now the deuill of hell: I would see the deuill of hell: thou shalt see the deuill of hel: there he was, there he goeth, with other words, but most of the Deuill of hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about 6. daies, that his maister and all his houshold was weary of that trouble and noyse. Then his maister agreed with the keepers of Bedlem, and gaue a peece of money, and sent hym thether. It seemeth that he was possessed with an euill spirit, from the which God defend vs all.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therfore repent & amend, lest the vengeance of God fall vpon you in like maner. Witnes heereof William Mauldon of Newington.

*The same William Mauldon chaunced afterwarde to dwel at a Towne 6. miles from London called Waltamstow, where his wife taught yong children to read, which was about the yeare of our Lorde 1563. and the 4. yeare of Queene Elizabeths raigne. Unto this schoole, amongst other children, came one Benfieldes daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelue yeares.

As these children sate talking together, they happened among other talke (as the nature of children is, to be busy with many things) to fall in communication of God, and to reason among them selues, after their childish discretion, what he should be.

Whereunto some answered one thing, some an other. Among whom when one of the children had sayd, that he was a good olde father: the foresayd Denis Benfielde casting out impious woordes of horrible blasphemie: what he (sayd shee) is an olde doting foole.

What wretched and blasphemous woordes were these yee heare. Nowe marke what followed.

When William Mauldon heard of these abhominable woordes of the girle, hee willed his wife to correcte her for the same. Which was appoynted the nexte day to be done. But whē the next morow came, her mother would nedes send her to the market to London, the wenche greatly intreating her mother that she might not go, being marueilously vnwilling thereunto. Howebeit thorough her mothers compulsion, shee was forced to goe, and went. And what happened? Her businesse being done at London, as she was returning againe homewarde, and being a little past Hackney,* sodenly the yong girle was so stricken, that all the one side of her was black, and she speachles. Wherupon immediately she was caried backe to Hackney, and there the same night was buried. Witnes of the same storie William Mauldon and his wife, also Benfielde her father, and her mother, which yet be all aliue.

A terrible example (no doubt) both to old and young, what it is for children to blaspheme the Lord theyr God,* and what it is for parentes to suffer their young ones to grow vp in such blasphemous blindnes, & not to nurture them betime in the rudimēts of the christian Catechisme, to know first their creation, and then their redemption in Christ our Sauour: to feare the name of God, and to reuerence his Maiestie. For els what do they deserue but to be taken away by ••eathe, whiche contemptuously despise him, of whome they take the benefite of life?

And therefore let all young maides, boyes, and yong men, take example by this wretched seely wench, not only not to blaspheme the sacrede Maiestie of the omnipotent God their creator, but also not once to take his name in vaine, according as they are taught in hys commaundementes.

Secondly, let all Fathers, Godfathers,* and Godmothers take this for a warning, to see to the instruction and Catechising of their children, for whom they haue bounde them selues in promise both to God and to hys Church. Which if the Father, and godfather, the Mother and godmothers had done to this younge girle, verely it maye be thought this destruction had not fallen vpon her.

Thirdly, al blinde Atheists, Epicures, Mammonists, belly Gods of this worlde, and sonnes of Beliall,* hypocrites, infidelles, and mockers of Religion, which saye in their hearts (there is no God) learne• also hereby, not only what God is, and what he is able to doe, but also in thys miserable creature here punished in this world, to behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come, vnlesse they will be warned betime, by such examples as the Lord God doth geue them.

Fourthly and lastly, heere may also be a spectacle for all them which be blasphemous and abhominable swearers,* or rather tearers of God, abusing his glorious name in suche contemptuous and despitefull sort as they vse to do. Whome if neither the woorde and commaundemente of God, nor the calling of the preachers, nor remorse of conscience, nor rule of reason, nor theyr wytheringe age, nor hory haire will admonish: yet let these terrible examples of Gods districte Iudgement, somewhat mooue them to take heede to them selues. For if thys young maiden, who was not fully 12. yeares old, for her vnreuerent speaking of God (and that but at one time) did not escape the stroke of Gods terrible hande, what then haue they to looke for, which being men growen in yeares, and stricken in age, being so often warned & preached vnto, yet cease not continually with theyr blasphemous othes, not only to abuse his name, but also most cōtumeliously and despitefully to teare him (as it were) and all his partes in peeces?

About the yeare of our Lorde 1565. at Bryhtwell in the County of Backshyre,* vppon certaine communication as touching the right reuerende Martyrs in Christ, Byshop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and maister Hughe Latimer, there came into an house in Abyngdon, one whose name is Leuar, being a Plowman, dwelling in Bryhtwel afore sayd, and sayd, that he saw that euill fauoured knaue Latimer when he was burned: And also in despite sayd, that he had teeth like a horse. At which time and hour, as neare as could be gathered, the sonne of the sayde Leauer moste wickedly hanged him selfe, at Shepton in the Countie aforesayd within a mile of Abingdon.

These wordes were spoken in the hearing of me Thomas Ienens of Abyngdon.

Did not Thomas Arundell,* Archbishop of Canterburie geue sentence against the Lord Cobham, and died him self before him, being so stricken in his tounge, that neither he could swallow nor speake for a certain space before his death? pag. 588.

Frier Campbell,* the accuser of Patricke Hamelton in Scotlande, what a terrible ende hee hadde, reade before, pag. 957.

Haruey a Commissarie, that condemned a poore man in Calice, was shortly after hanged, drawen, and quartered, pag. 1229.

William Swallow the cruell tormentor of George Egles, was shortly after so plagued of God, that al the hair of his heade, and nailes of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes welneare closed vppe, that hee coulde scante see. Hys wife also was stricken wyth the falling Sicknesse, wyth the whych Maladie shee was neuer infected before. pag. 2010.

Likewise Richard Potto, an other troubler of the sayd George Egles,* vppon a certaine anger or chafe with hys seruantes, was so sodenlye taken with sicknesse, that falling vpon his bed lyke a beast, there he died & neuer spake woorde, pag. 2010.

Richard Denton, a shrinker from the Gospel,* while he refused to suffer the fire in the Lordes quarell, was afterward burned in his owne house with two mo, pag. 1717.

The wife of Iohn Fettye beinge the cause of the taking of her husband, how she was immediatly vppon the same by Gods hand stricken wyth madnesse, and was distracte out of her wittes, read before, pag. 2055.

Thomas Mowse and George Reuet, two persecutors were stricken miserably wyth the hand of God, and so died, pag. 1917.

Also Robert Edgore, for that hee hadde executed the office of a Parish Clearke against his conscience, thorough [Page 2104](#) anguish and grief of conscience for the same, was so bereft of his wits, that he was kept in chaines and bondes many yeares after, pag. 1917.

As touching Iohn Plankney fellow of new Colledge in Oxford,* Ciuilian, and one Hanington, both fellowes of the same house aforesaid, and both stubburne Papistes, the matter is not much worthy the memory: yet the example is not vnworthy to be noted, to see what little cōfort & grace commonly followeth the comfortlesse doctrine and profession of papistry,* as in these two yong men, amongst many other may well appeare. Of whome the one, which was Plankney, scholer somtyme to Marshal (who wrote the booke of the crosse) is commonly reported and known to them of that Uniuersitie, to haue drowned himselfe in the riuer about Ruly, at Oxford. anno. 1566. the other in a Well about Rome, or as some do say, at Padua, and so beyng both drowned, were both taken vp with Crucifixes as it is sayde of some, hangyng about their neckes: The more pitie that such young studentes did so much addicte their wittes, rather to take the way of papistrie, then to walke in the comfortable light of the Gospell, nowe so brightly spreading his beames in all the worlde, which if they had done, I thinke not contrary, but it had prooued much better with them.

Albeit (I trust) the Gospell of Christ beyng now receiued in the Queenes Court amongst the Courtiers and seruants of her Gard, hath framed their lyues and maners so to lyue in the due feare of God, and temperance of lyfe, with all sobrietie and mercifull compassion toward their euenchristen, that they neede not greatly any other instructions to be geuē them in this story: yet for so much as examples many tymes doe worke more effectually in the myndes and memories of men: & also partly considering w^t my selfe, how these, aboue all other sorts of men in the whole Realme, in tyme past haue euer had most neede of such wholesom lessons and admonitions, to leaue their vnordinate riote of quaffing and drinking, and their Heathenish prophanatie of lyfe: I thought here to set before their eyes a terrible example, not of a strange and forreine person, but of one of their owne coate, a Yeoman of the Gard, not fayned by me, but brought to me by Gods prouidence for a warnyng to all Courtiers, and done of very truth no longer ago then in the yeare of our Lord, 1568. And as the story is true, so is the name of the partie not vnknownen, beyng called Christopher Landesdale, dwellyng in Hackney in Middlesex. The order of whose lyfe, and maner of his death beyng worthy to be noted, is this as in story here vnder followeth.

This foresayd Landesdale beyng married to an auncient woman yet liuing,* hauing by her both goods & lands, notwithstanding liued long in filthy whoredome with a yonger woman, by whom he had two children, a sonne & a daughter, and kept them in his house vnto the day of his death. Also when he should haue bene in seruing of God on the Saboth day, hee vsed to walke or ride about hys fieldes, and seldome hee or any of his house came to the Church after the English seruice was againe receyued. Besides this, he was a great swearer, and a great drunkard, and had great delight also in makyng other menne drunken, and would haue them whom he had made drūkards, to call him father, and he would cal thē his sonnes: and of these sonnes by report, he had aboue fortie. And if he had seene one that would drinke freely, hee would marke hym, and spende his money with him liberally in ale, or wyne, but most in wyne, to make him the sooner drunken. These blessed sonnes of his should haue great chere oftentimes, both at his owne house and at Tauernes: and not long before his death he was so beastly drunken in a Tauerne ouer against his dore, that he fell downe in the Tauerne yard, and could not arise alone, but lay grouelyng, till he was holpen vp and so caried home.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and welthy of Hackney and others,* so hys poore neighbours and poore tenantes fared little the better for hym: except it were with some broken meate, which after his feastes, his wyfe would cary and send vnto them, or some almes geuen at his doore.

Besides all this, he did much iniury to his poore neighbours in oppressing the commons nere about hym, which was a speciall reliefe vnto them, so that his cattaille eat vp all without pitie or mercy.

There chaunced after this about two yeres before hee died, a poore man, beyng sicke of the bloody flixe, for very weakenes to lie downe in a ditch of the sayd Landsdales,* not a stone cast from his house, where he had a litle straw brought him. Notwithstanding, the said Landesdale had backe houses and Barnes enough to haue layed hym in, but would not shew hym so much pitie. And thus poore Lazarus there lay night and day, about sixe weekes ere he died.

Certaine good neighbours hearyng of this, procured things necessary for his reliefe, but he was so farre spent, that he could not bee recovered: who lay broyling in the hote sunne, with a horrible smell, most pitifull to behold.

This poore man a little before he died, desired to be remooued to another ditch into the shadowe. Whereuppon,* one of the neighbours commyng to Landesdales wyfe for a bundle of strawe for him to lye vppon, shee required to haue hym remooued to Newyngton side, because (she said) if he should dye, it would be very farre to cary him to the Church.

Besides this, there was a mariage in this Landsdales house, and the gestes that came to the mariage, gaue the poore man mony as they came & went by him, but Landesdale disdained to contribute any relief vnto him, notwithstanding that he had promised to M. Searles, one of the Queenes Gard (who had more pitie of him) to minister to him things necessary.

To be short, the next day poore Lazarus departed this lyfe, & was buried in Hackney churchyard:.* Upon whom Landsdale did not so much as bestow a •inding sheet, or any thyng els towards his buriall. And thus much cōcerning the end of poore Lazarus. Nowe let vs heare what became of the rich glutton.

About two yeres after this, the said Landesdale beyng full of drinke (as his custome was) came ridyng in great hast from London on s. Andrews day in the euening, an. 1568. and as it is reported by those that sawe him reelyng too and fro lyke a drunkard with his hat in hys hand, and commyng by a ditch, there tumbled in headlong into the ditch. Some say that the horse fell vppon him, but that is not lyke. This is true, the horse more sober then the maister, came home leauyng his maister behynde him.* Whether he brake his necke with the fall, or was drowned (for the water was scarsly a foote deepe) it is vncertayne: but certaine it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he beyng found dead in the ditch, the Crouner (as the manner is) sate vpon him: and how the matter was handled for sauynge his goods, the Lord knoweth: but in the end so it fell out, that the goods were saued, and the poore horse indited for his maisters death.

The neighbours hearing of the death of this man, and considering the maner thereof, said, it was iustly fallen vpon him, that as he suffered the poore man to lie and dye in the ditch nere vnto hym, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise.* And thus hast thou in this story (Christian brother and Reader) the true image of a rich glutton & poore Lazarus set out before thine eyes, whereby we haue all to learne, what happeneth in the ende to suche voluptuous Epicures and Atheistes, which beyng voyde of all senses of Religion and feare of God, yelde themselues ouer to all prophanitie of lyfe, neither regardyng any honestie at home, nor shewyng any mercy to their needye neighbour abroad.

Christ our Sauour saith: Blessed be the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercy:.*but iudgement without mercy shal be executed on them which haue shewed no mercy, &c. And S. Iohn sayth: He that seeth his brother haue neede,*and shutteth vp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of God in hym? &c. Agayne, Esay against such prophane drunkards and quaffers, thus crieth out: Wo be vnto them that rise vp early to follow drunkenness, and to them that so continue vntill night, till they bee set on fire with wyne. In those companies are Harpes and Lutes, Tabrets and Pipes, and wine: but they regard not the workes of the Lord, and consider not

the operation of his hands, &c. Woe be vnto them that are strong to spue out wyne, and expert to set vp dronkenness.

The punishments of them that be dead, be wholsome documents to men that be aliue. And therefore as the story aboue exemplified may serue to warne all Courtiers and Yeomen of the Gard: so by this that followeth,* I would wish all gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betime, to leaue their outrageous swering and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the tyme and raigne of K. Edward, there was in Cornewall a certaine lusty yong Gentleman, which dyd ride in company with other mo Gentlemē,* together with their seruants, beyng about the number of xx. horsemen. Amongst whom this lusty yonker entring into talke, began to sweare, most horribly blasphemynge the name of God, with other ribauldry words besides. Unto whome one of the company (who is yet aliue, and witnes hereof) not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abhominatiō, in gentle wordes speaking to him, said, he should [Page 2105](#) geue answere and account for euery idle word.

The Gentleman taking snuffe therat: Why (sayd he) takest thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding sheete. Well (quoth the other) amend, for death geueth no warning:* for as soone commeth a lambes skin to the market, as an olde sheepes. Gods woūdes (sayth he) care not thou for me, raging still after this maner worse & worse in words, till at length passing on theyr iourney, they came riding ouer a great bridge, stāding ouer a piece of an arme of the sea.* Upon the which bridge this Gentleman swearer spurred his horse in such sort, as he sprang cleane ouer with the man on his backe. Who as he was going, cryed, saying: horse & man, and all to the deuil. This terrible story happening in a Towe in Cornewall, I would haue bene afrayde amongst these storyes here to recite, were it not that he which was then both reprehender of his swea'ring & witnes of his death, is yet aliue, and now a Minister, named Heynes. Besides this, also bishop Ridley thē bishop of London, preached and vttered euen the same fact and example at Paules Crosse. The name of the Gentleman I could by no meanes obteyne of the party & witnes aforesayd, for dread of those (as he sayd) which yet remaine of his affinity 〈◇〉 kinred in the sayd country.

Hauing now sufficiently admonished, first the Courtyers, then the gentlemen: now thirdly for a briefe admonition to the Lawyers, we will here insert the strange end and death of one Henry Smith student of the law.

This Henry Smyth hauing a Godly Gentleman to his father. & an auncient protestant, dwelling in Camden, in Glocester shyre, was by him vertuously brought vp in the knowledge of Gods word, & sincere religion: wherin he shewed himselfe in the beginning, suche an earnest professor, that he was called of the Papistes, pratling Smith. After these good beginnings it folowed, that he cōming to be a student of the law in the middle Temple at London, there through sinister cōpany of some, & especially as it is thought, of one Gifford, began to be peruerted to popery, & afterward going to Louane, was more deeply rooted & groūded in the same: and so continuing a certayne space amōg the papistes, of a yong protestant, at lēgth was made a perfect papist. In so much, that returning from thēce, he brought with him pardōs, a Crucifixe, with an Agnus dei, which he vsed cōmonly to weare about his necke,* & had in his chamber images before which he was woont to pray. Besides diuers other Popish trashe, whiche he brought with

hym from Louane. Now what ende followed after this, I were loth to vtter in story, but that the fact so lately done this present yeare, ann. 1569. remayneth yet so fresh in memorie, that almost all the Citie of London not onely can wnesse, but also doth wonder thereat. The end was this.

Not long after, the said Henry Smith with Gifforde his companion, was returned from Louane, beyng now a foule gierer, and a scornfull scoffer of that religion which before he professed, in his chamber where he lay in a house in S. Clements parish without Temple barre,* in the Euening as he was goyng to bedde, and his clothes put off (for he was found naked) he had tied his shirt, (which he had torne to the same purpose) about his priuy places, and so with his owne girdle, or ribond garter (as it seemed) fastned to the bedpost, there strangled himselfe. They that were of his Quest and other, which saw the maner of hys hanging, and the print where he sate vpon his bed side, do record that he t•rust himselfe downe from his beddes side where he sate, the place where he had fastned the girdle beyng so low, that his hips well nere touched the floore, his legs lying a crosse, and his armes spread abroad. And this was the maner of his hangyng, hauyng his Agnus Dei, in a siluer tablet with his other idolatrous trash in the window by him. And thus being dead and not thought worthy to be interred in the Churchyard, he was buried in a Lane, called Foskew Lane.

This heauy and dreadfull ende of Henry Smith, although it might seeme enough to gender a terrour to all yong popish students of the law: yet it did not so worke with all, but that some remayned as obstinate still as they were before. Amongst whom was one named Williams, a student of the Inner Temple,* who beyng sometyme a fauourer of the Gospell, fell in like maner from that, to be an obstinate Papist, a despitefull railer agaynst true religion, and in conclusion was so hote in his catholike zeale, that in the midst of his railing, he fell starke madde, and so yet to this present day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turne him to a better mynd, and conuert him, if it bee hys pleasure, Amen.

The miserable ende of Twyford is here no lesse to bee remembred, a busie doer sometymes in K. Henries dayes by Boners appointment,* in setting vp of stakes for the burnyng of poore Martyrs. Who when he sawe the stakes consume away so fast: yea sayd hee, will not these stakes hold? I will haue a stake (I trow, that shall hold, and so prouided a big tree, and cutting of the top, set it in Smith field. But thanks be to God, or euer the tree was all consumed, God turned the state of Religion, and hee fell into an horrible disease, rottyng alyue aboue the ground before he died. Read more of hym, pag. 1258. But because the story both of hym and of a number such other lyke, is to bee founde in sundry places of this history sufficiently before expressed, it shall be but a double labour agayne to recapitulate the same.

☛ Ye haue heard before, pag. 1911. of the condemnation and Martyrdome of a certain boy called Tho. Drowry, condemned by Williams Chauncellour of Gloucester, contrary to all right and counsaile of the Register then present, called Barker. Now what punishment fell after vpon the said Chancellor, followeth to be declared.

¶The strange and fearefull death of the same Doctor Williams.

WHen God of his inestimable mercy hauing pitie of vs, and pardoning our sinnes for hys sonnes sake Christ Iesu, had now taken from vs that bloody Princesse, and sent vs this iewel of Ioy, the

Queenes maiestie that now raigneth (and long might she raigne) ouer vs: and that the commissioners for restitution of religion wer comming toward Glocester. The same day D. Williams the Chauncellour, dined with W. Ienings the Deane of Gloucester, who with all his men were booted redy at one of the clocke to set forward to Chipping Norton, aboute xv. miles from Gloucester, to meete the Commissioners which were at Chipping Norton, and sayd to him, Chancellor, are not thy bootes on?

Chanc.

Why should I put them on?

To go with me (quoth the Deane) to meet these commissioners.

Chanc.

I will neither meet them, nor see them.

Deane.

Thou must needs see them, for now it is past xij. of the clocke, and they will be here afore iij. of the clocke, and therefore if thou be wise, on with thy bootes and let vs goe together, and all shall be well.

Chanc.

Go your wayes M. Deane, I will neuer see them.

As I sayd, W. Ienings the Deane set forward wyth his company toward the Commissioners, and by and by commeth one vpon horsebacke to the Deane, saying: M. Chancellor lyeth at the mercy of God, and is speachlesse. At that worde the Deane with his company pricked forward to the Commissioners, and tolde them the whole matter and communication betwene them two, as aboue. And they sent one of their men with the best wordes they could deuise, to comfort him with many promises. But to be short: albeit the Commissioners were now nerer Gloucester, then the Deane and his company thought, making very great hast, especially after they hadde receyued these newes. Yet Doct. Williams, though false of religion, yet true of his promise, kept his vngracious couenaunt with the Deane: for he was dead or they came to the citie, and so neuer saw them in deed.

Wherefore, to passe ouer our owne domesticall examples of English persecuters playd by Gods hand (wherof this our present story doth abound) I will stretche my penne a little further to adioyne withall a few like examples in forraine countries.*

🔗[Foraine Examples.](#)

HOOfmeister the great Archpapist,* and chiefe maisterpillar of the Popes fallyng Church, as hee was in hys iourney goyng toward the Councell of Ratisbone, to dispute agaynst the defenders of

Christes gospel, sodainly in his iourney, not farre from Ulmes, was preuented by the stroke of Gods hand, and there miserably died, with horrible roing and crying out. Ex Illyrico de vocabulo fidei.

What a pernicious and pestilent doctrine is this of the papists,* which leadeth men to seeke their saluation by merites and workes of the lawe, and not by faith onely in Christ the sonne of God, and to stay themselues by grace? And what inconuenience this doctrine of doubting & desperation bringeth men to at length, if the playne word of [Page 2106](#) God will not sufficiently admonish vs, yet let vs be warned by examples of such as haue bene either teachers or followers of this doctrine, and consider well what ende commonly it hath and doth bring men vnto. To recite all that may be sayd in this behalfe, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonitions sake, it shalbe requisite.

In the Uniuersitie of Louane was one named Guarlacus a learned man,* brought vp in that Schoole, who at length was reader of Diuinitie to the Monkes of s. Gertrudes order. Where after he had stoutly mainteyned the corrupt errors of such popish doctrine, at last falling sicke, when he perceiued no way with him but death, he fell into a miserable agonie and perturbation of spirite, crying out of his sinnes, how wickedly he had liued, and that he was not able to abide the iudgement of God, and so casting out wordes of miserable desperation, saide: his sinnes were greater then that he could be pardoned, and in that desperation wretchedly he ended his lyfe. Ex Epistola Claudij Senarclaei ad Bucerum ante histor. de morte Diazij.

Another like example we haue of Arnoldus Bomelius,* a young man of the sayd Uniuersitie of Louane, well commended for his fresh flourishing wit and ripenesse of learnyng, who so long as he fauoured the cause of the gospell, and tooke part with the same agaynst the enemies of the truth, he prospered and went well forward, but after that he drew to the company of Tyleman, maister of the Popes Colledge in Louane, and framed hymselfe after the rule of his vnsauourie doctrine, that is, to stande in feare and doubt of hys iustification, and to worke his saluation by merites and deedes of the lawe, he began more and more to growe in doubtfull despaire and discomfort of mynd: as y^e nature of that doctrine is, vtterly to pluck away a mans mynd from all certaintie and true liberty of spirit,* to a seruile doubtfulnes, full of discomfort and bondage of soule.

Thus the yong man seduced and peruerted thorough this blynd doctrine of ignoraunce and dubitation, fell into a great agonie of mynde, wandryng and wrestlyng in him selfe a long space, till at length beyng ouercome with despaire, and not hauyng in the popish doctrine wherewith to rayse vp his soule, he went out of the citie on a tyme to walke, accompanied with three other Studentes of the same Uniuersitie, his speciall familiars. Who after their walke, as they returned home agayne, Arnoldus for wearinesse (as it seemed) sate down by a spring side to rest him a while. The other supposing none other, but that hee for wearines there rested to refresh hymselfe,* went forward a little past hym. In the meane tyme what doth Arnoldus, but sodainly taketh out his dagger, and stroke himself into the body.

His fellowes seeyng him shrinking downe, and the fountaine to be all coloured with the bloude which issued out of the wound, came runnyng to him to take hym vp, and so searching his body where the wound should be, at length found what he had done, and how hee had stricken hymselfe

with hys dagger into the brest. Whereupon they tooke hym and brought hym into an house next at hande, and there exhorted hym as well as they could, to repente hys fact: who then by outwarde gesture seemed to geue some shew of repentance. Notwithstanding, the sayd Arnoldus espyng one of hys friendes there busie aboute hym, to haue a knyfe hangyng at hys girdle violentlye plucked out the knife, and with mayne force stabbed hymselfe to the hart.

*By these Louanian examples, as we haue all to learn, no man to be sure of his life, but that he alwayes needeth to craue and cal vnto the Lord to blesse him with his truth and grace: so especially would I wish our English Louanians, which nowe make fortes in that Uniuersitie against the open truth of Christs gospel, to be wise in time, and not to spurne so against the pricke. Ne forte. &c.

*Or if they thinke yet these examples not enough for sufficient admonition, let them ioyned hereto the remembraunce also of Iacobus Latomus, a chiefe and principall captayne of the same Uniuersitie of Louane. Who after he had bene at Bruxels, and there thinkyng to do a great acte agaynst Luther and his fellowes, made an Oration before the Emperour, *so foolishly and ridiculously, that hee was laughed to scorne almost of the whole Courte. Then returnyng from thence to Louan agayne, in his publike Lecture he fell in an open fury and madnesse, vttrng such words of desperation and blasphemous impietie, that the other Diuines which were there, and namely, Ruardus Anchusianus, were fayne to cary him away as he was rauyng, and so shut him into a close chamber. From y^t tyme vnto his last breath, Latomus had neuer any thyng els in hys mouth, but that he was damned and reiected of God, *and that there was no hope of saluation for hym, because that wittingly and against his knowledge, he withstoode the manifest truth of his word. Ex Epist. Senarclaei ante hist. de morte Diazij. Item, ex Oratione Pauli Eberi in comitijs Wittembergae habita.

Thus almighty God not onely by his worde, but by examples also, diuers and sundry wise doth warne vs, *first to seeke to knowe the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God appoynted in his worde. The perfect will and full testament of the Lord in his word, is this, that he hath sent and geuen his onely sonne vnto vs, beyng fully contented to accept our fayth onely vpon him for our perfect iustification and full satisfaction for all our transgressions: and this is called in Scripture, Iusticia Dei. *To this will and righteousnesse of God, they that humbly submit themselves, finde place and rest in their soules, that no mā is able to expresse, and haue strength enough agaynst all the inuasions and temptations of Sathan.

Contrarywise, *they that will not yeld their obedience vnto the wyll and ordinaunce of GOD •xpressed in hys worde, but will seeke their owne righteousnesse, which is of man, labouryng by their merites and satisfactions to serue and please God: these not onely do finde with God no righteousnesse at all, but in stead of hys fauour, procure to themselves his horrible indignation, in steade of comfort, heape to themselves desperation, and in the end what inconuenience they come to by these aboue recited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is euident to see. *And out of this fountayne springeth not onely the punishmentes of these men, but also all other inconueniences whiche happen amongst men, where so euer this pernicious and erroneous doctrine of the Papistes taketh place.

A Dominike Frier of Mounster,* as he was inueighyng in the Pulpitte agaynst the Doctrine of the Gospell then springyng vp, was striken with a sodayne flashe of lighnyng, and so ended his lyfe. Ex Pantal. in 2. parte. Rerum memor.

Manlius in his booke, De dictis Philippi Melanct. maketh mention of a certayne Tailors seruaunte in Lypsia, who receiuing first the Sacrament in both kyndes wyth the Gospellers,* and afterward beyng perswaded by the papists, receiued with them vnder one kynd. Whereupon beyng admonished of his maister to come to the Communion againe in the Church of the Gospellers, hee stode a great while and made no answer. At last crying out vpon a sodaine, he ran to the window thereby, and so cast hymselfe out, and brake his necke.

In the same Manlius mention is also made of a certayne Gentleman of name and authoritie, but he nameth hym not, who hearyng these wordes in a song: Ein feste burg ist vnser Gott: that is: * Our onely holde or fortresse is our God. Psalme. 46. aunswered, and sayd: Ich will helffe die burg zerschiesse, oder ich wil nit leben: that is, I will help to shoote agaynst thy stayer or forte, or els I will not liue. And so within three dayes after hee dyed without repentaunce, or confessing his fayth. Ex Manlio, De dictis Philip. Melanct.

Of Sadoletus the learned Cardinall likewise it is reported of some,* that he dyed not without great tormentes of conscience and desperation.

The Commendator of S. Anthony, who sate as spirituall Iudge ouer that godly learned man Wolfgangus burned in Lotharing, in Germany,* and gaue sentence of his condemnation, fell sodenly dead shortly after. Read before pag. 884.

Also his fellow the Abbot of Clarilocus,* and Suffragan to the bishop of Metz, at the cracke of gunnes sodenly fell downe and dyed. pag. 824.

Dauid Beaton Archbishop of s. Andrewes in Scotland, shortly after the beginning of M. George Wisard,* how hee by the iust stroke of God was slaine, and wretchedly ended his lyfe within his owne Castle, in the discourse of his story is euident to see, who so listeth further to read of that matter, pag. 1272.

Ioannes Sleidanus in his 23. booke,* maketh relati• of Cardinall Crescentius, the chiefe President and moderator [Page 2107](#) of the Councell of Trident, ann. 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that hapned to him was strāge and notable, the exāple of him may be profitable to others such as haue grace to be warned by other mēs euils. The narration is this.

The 25. day of March, in the yere aforesaid, Crescentius the Popes Legate,* and Uicegerent in the Councell of Trident, was sitting all the day long vntill darke night, in writing letters to th• Pope. After his labour when night was come, thinking to refresh himselfe, he began to rise: and at his rising, beholde there appeared to hym a mighty blacke dogge, of a huge bignes, his eyes flamying with fire, and his eares hanging low downe welneere to the ground, to enter in, and straite to come toward hym, & so to couch vnder the boord. The Cardinall not a little amased at the sight thereof, somewhat recouering himselfe, ralled to his seruauntes, which were in the outward chāber next by, to bring in a candle, and to seeke for the dog. But when the dog could

not be found, neither there, nor in no other chamber about, the Cardinall thereupon stricken with a sodaine conceit of mynd, immediately fell into such a sicknes, wherof his Phisitions which he had about hym, with all their industry and cunningg coulde not cure hym.* And so in the towne of Uerona died this popish cardinall, the Popes holy Legate, and President of this coucel: wherein his purpose was (as Sleidane saith) to recouer and heale againe the whole authoritie and doctrine of the Romish see, and to set it vp for euer.

There were in this Councell beside the Popes Legates and Cardinall of Trident, lxij. Bishops, Doctours of Diuinitie xliij. And thus was the ende of that Popishe Councell, by the prouident hand of the almighty, dispatched and brought to naught. Ex Sleidano, Li. 23.

This Councell of Trident being then dissolved by the death of this Cardinal, was afterward notwithstanding recollected againe about the yeare of our lord, 1562. against the erroneous proceedings of which Councel,* other writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to story, I thought hereunto to adde concernyng two filthy adulterous bishops, to the sayd Councel belonging of whome the one haunting to an honest mans wife, was slaine by the iust stroke of God with a Borespeare. The other Bishop, whose haunte was to creepe through a window, in the same window was subtilly taken and hanged in a grinne layed for hym of purpose, and so conueied, that in the mornyng hee was seene openly in the streete hangyng out of the windowe, to the wonderment of all that passed by. Ex protestatione Concionatorum Germa. aduersus conuentum Trident. &c.

Amongst all the religious order of Papists, who was a stouter defender of the Popes side, or a more vehement impugner of Martin Luther, then Iohn Eckius, who, if his cause wherein he so trauailed,* had bene godly, had deserued (no doubt) great fauour and condigne retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now for so much as we cannot better iudge of him then by his ende, let vs consider the maner of his departing hence, and compare the same with the end of M. Luther.

In the which M. Luther beyng such an aduersarye as he was to the Pope, and hauyng no lesse then al the world vpon him at once,* first this is to bee noted, that after all these trauailes, the Lord gaue him to depart both in great age, and in his owne natiue countrey where he was born. Secondly, he blessed him with such a quiet death, without any violent hande of any aduersary, that it was counted rather a sleepe then a death. Thirdly, as the death of hys body was myld, so his spirit & mynde continued no lesse godly vnto the end, continually inuocating and calling vpon the name of the Lord, and so commending his spirite to hym with feruent prayer, he made a blessed and an heauenly ending. Fourthly, ouer and besides these blessings, almighty God did also adde vnto him such an honourable buriall, as to many great Princes vnneth happeneth the like. And this briefly concernyng the ende of M. Luther, as ye may read before more at large, pag. 863.

Now let vs consider and conferre with this the death of Iohn Eckius and the maner thereof, which we find in the English translation of the history of Iohn Carion, fol. 250. in these words expressed. This yere (saith he) died at Ingold state, Doctor Eckius a faithful seruant and champion of the Pope,* and a defender of the abhominable Papacie. But as his lyfe was full of all vngodlines, vncleannes, and blasphemy, so was his end miserable, hard, and pitifull, in so much that his last wordes (as it is noted of many credible personnes) were these: In case the foure

thousand guildens were ready, the matter were dispatched, &c.* (Dreamyng belike of some Cardinalship that he should haue bought.) Some say, that the Pope had granted him a certaine Deanry, which he should haue redeemed from the Courte of Rome with the foresayd summe. Now what a heauenly ende this was of M. Eckius, I leaue it to the Readers iudgement.

In the Citie of Andwerpe was (as they terme hym there) a Shoulted, that is to say,* the next Officer to the Markgraue, one named Iohn Uander Warfe, a Bastard sonne of a stocke or kinred called Warfe, of good estimation amongst the chieftest in Antwarpe. Who, as he was of nature cruell, so was he of iudgement peruerse and corrupt, and a sore persecutor of Christes flocke, with greedines seekyng and sheddyng innocent blood, and had drowned diuers good men and women in the water: for the which he was much commended of the bloody generation. Of some he was called a bloudhound or bloody dog. Of other he was called Shildpad: that is to say,* Sheltode: for that hee beyng a short grundy and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a churl of the countrey.

This man after he was weary of his office (wherein he had continued aboue xx. yeres) he gaue it ouer: and because he was now growen rich and welthy, he entended to passe the residue of his lyfe in pleasure and quietnes.

During which tyme, about the second yeare after hee had left his office, he came to Antwarpe to the feast called our Ladies Oumegang, to make mery: which feast is vsually kept on the Sonday followyng the assumption of our Lady. The same day in the after noone about foure of the clock▪ he being wel loden with wine, rode homewards in his wagon, with his wife and a gentlewoman waiting on her and his foole. As soone as the Wagon was come without the gate of the citie called Croneborgh gate, vpon the wooden bridge beyng at that tyme made for a shifte, with railles or barres on both sides, for more safetie of the passengers (halfe a mans heighth & more) the horses stood still and would by no meanes go forward, whatsoever the guider of the wagon could do.

Then he in a drunken rage cried out to him that guided the wagō, saying: Ride on in a thousand deuils name, ride on. Wherat the poore man answered, that he could not make the horses to goe forward. By and by, whyle they were yet thus talking, sodenly rose, as it were, a mighty hurlewynd, with a terrible noyse (the wether beyng very faire & no wynd stirring before) & tost the wagon ouer the barre into the towne ditch, the ropes whereat the horses had bene tied, beyng broken a sunder in such sort, as if they had bene cut with a sharp knife, the wagon also being cast vpsidedowne, with the fore end thereof turned toward the towne agayne, and he drowned in the mire: and when he was taken vp, it was found, that his necke also was broken. His wife was taken vp aliue, but died also within three dayes after. But the Gentlewoman and the foole by Gods mighty prouidence, were preserued & had no harm.* The foole hearing the people say, that his Maister was dead, sayd: & was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done, an. 1553. Witnesse hereof not onely the Printer of the same story in Dutch dwelling then in Andwerpe, whose name was Fraunces Fraet a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of Papistes, but also diuers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great number of English merchants, which then were at Antwerpe, & are yet alyue.

Of the sodaine death of Bartholomeus Chassaneus, or Cassanus, persecutor, read before, pag. 943.

Of Minerius the bloody persecutor, or rather tormētōr of Christes saints, how he dyed with bleeding in hys lower partes, ye heard before, pag. 953.

And what should I speake of the iudge which accompanied the sayd Minerius in his persecution,* who a little after as he returned homeward, was drowned, and three mo of the same company, killed one another vpon a strife that fell amongst them, pag. 953.

Ioannes de Roma cruell Monke, whom rather wee may call a hell hound, then persecutor, what hellishe tormentes hee hadde deuised for the poore Christians of Angrongne, the cōtents of the story before doth expresse, pag. 216. Agayne, with what like tormentes afterward, & that doublefold, the Lord payd him home agayne, who in hys rottyng and stinking death, neither could find any enemy to kill hym, nor any friend to bury him, who neither could abide his owne stinking carion, nor any man els to come [Page 2108](#) neare hym. Hereof read also in the same page and plate aboue specified.

Such a like persecutor also the same tyme was the lord of Reuest,* who likewise escaped not the reuenging hand of Gods iustice being stricken after his furious persecution, with a like horrible sicknes, and such a furie and madnesse, that none durst come neare him, and so most wretchedly died. Whereof read before, pag. 943.

*Touching the like grieuous punishment of God vpō one Iohn Martin a persecutor, read pag. 955.

Erasmus in an Epistle or Apologie written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certayne noble person of great riches and possessions, who hauyng wyfe and children, with a great familie at home (to whom by S. Pauls rule he was bound in conscience principally aboue all other worldly thyngs to attend) had purposed before his death to go see Ierusalem. And thus all thyngs beyng set in order, this Noble man about to set foreward on his iourney, committed the care of his wife (whom he left great with childe) and of his Lordshippes and Castles to an Archbishop, as to a most sure and trusty father. To make short, it happened in the iourney, this Noble man to dye. Whereof, so soone as the Archbishop had intelligence, in stead of a father, he became a thiefe and robber, seising into his owne handes all his Lordshippes and possessions. And moreouer, not yet contented with all this, he layed siege agaynst a strong fort of his (vnto the which his wife for safegard of her selfe did flee) where in conclusion, shee with the child that she went withall, pitifully was slaine, and so miserably perished. Which story was done (as testifieth Erasmus) not so long before his tyme, but y^t there remayned the nephews of the said Noble man then aliue, to whom the same inheritance should haue fallen, but they could not obtaine it.

What commeth of blynd superstition, when a mā not conteyning himselfe within the compasse of Gods worde,* wandereth in other bywayes of his owne, and not contented with the religion set vp of the Lord, wyll binde his conscience to other ordinaunces, prescriptions, and religious deuised by men, leauyng Gods commaundements vndone for the constitutions and preceptes of men,* what ende and reward (I say) commeth thereof at length, by this one example, beside

infinite other of the like sort, men may learne by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend Idolatrous pilgrimage and rash vowes, let them well consider hereof. It is rightly sayd of saint Hierome, to haue bene at Hierusalem,* is no great matter, but to lyue a godly and vertuous lyfe, that is a great matter in very deede.

*In the yere of our Lord, 1565. there was in the town of Gaunt in Flanders, one William de Weuer, accused & imprisoned by the Prouost of S. Peters in Gaunt (who had in his Cloister a prison and a place of execution) and the day when the sayd William was called to the place of iudgement, the Prouost sent for M. Gyles Brackleman, principall aduocate of the Counsaile of Flaunders, & Borough maister and Iudge of S. Peters in Gaunt, wyth other of the rulers of the towne of Gaunt, to sit in iudgement vpon hym, and as they sate in iudgement, the Borough maister named M. Gyles Brackleman reasoned with the sayd William de Weuer, vpon diuers articles of his fayth.

*The one whereof was, why the sayd William de Weuer denied that it was not lawfull to pray to Saintes: and he aunswered (as the report goeth) for three causes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the creator.

The second was, that if he should call vpon them, the Lord did both see it, and heare it, & therefore he durst geue the glory to none other, but to God.

The third and chieftest cause was, that the creator had commaunded in his holy word, to call vpon him in troubles: vnto which commaundement he durst neither adde nor take from it.

The Borough maister M. Gyles Brackelman also demaunded whethere he did not beleue that there was a Purgatory which he should go into after this lyfe, where euery one should be purified and cleansed.

He aunswered, that he had red ouer the whole Bible, and could finde no such place, but that the death of Christ was his Purgatory,* with many other questions proceeding after their order, vntill hee came to pronounce hys condemnation. But or euer the sayd condemnation was red forth, the iudgement of God was laid vpon the sayd Borough maister, who sodainly at that present instant was stricken with a Palsey, that his mouth was drawen vp almost to his eare, and so hee fell downe,* the rest of the Lordes by and by standing vp and shadowyng him, that the people coulde not well see hym: and also the people were willed to depart, who beyng still called vpon to depart, aunswered, the place was so small to go out, that they could goe no faster. Then the Borough maister beyng taken vp, was caried to his house, and it is not yet vnderstood nor commonly knowen, that euer he spake word after he was first stricken,* but was openly knowen to bee dead the next day followyng. And yet notwithstanding that this was done about tenne of the clocke, they burned the sayd William de Weuer within three houres after on the same day.

The 4. day of March, 1566. the lyke example of the Lordes terrible iudgement was shewed vpon sir Garret Triest knight, who had long before promised to the Regent to bring downe the preachyng. For the which act (as the report goeth) the Regent agayne promised to make hym a Graue, which is an Erle. Of the which sir Garret it is also said, that he commyng from Bruxels towards Gaunt, brought with him the death of the Preachers, and beyng come to Gaunt, the

sayde sir Garret with other of the Lordes hauyng receiued from the Regent a Commission to sweare the Lordes and Commons vnto the Romish Religion, the sayd sir Garret the 4. day of March aboue noted, at night beyng at supper, willed the Lady his wyfe to call hym in the mornynge one houre sooner then he was accustomed to ryse, for that hee should the nexte day haue much businesse to doe in the towne house, to sweare the Lordes and people to the Romish Religion. But see what happened. The sayd sir Garret goyng to bedde, in good health (as it seemed) when the Lady his wife called him in the mornynge, accordyng to his appoyntment, was found dead in her bedde by her, and so vnable to prosecute his wicked purpose.

The fift day of March, 1566. which was the day that Sir Garret Triest appoynted to be there, and the Lords of Gaunt were come into the Towne house (as they had afore appoynted) to proceed and to geue the othe,* accordyng as they had their Commission, and Maister Martin de Pester the Secretary, beyng appoynted and about to geue the othe as the first man should haue sworne, the sayd Martine de Pester was stricken of God with present death likewyse, and fell downe, and was caried away in a chaire or settell, and neuer spake after. Witnes hereunto:

- Peter de Bellemaker.
- Abraham Rossart.
- Maerke de Mill.
- Lieuen Hendrickx.
- Ian Coucke.
- Roger Vanhulle.
- loys Neuehans.
- Lyauin Neuehans.
- Wil. vanden Boegarde.
- loys de Pitte.

About the borders of Sueuia in Germany, not farre from the Citie of Uberlyng, there was a certayne Monastery of Cistercian Monkes, called Salmesnisie, founded in the dayes of Pope Innocent. 2. by a noble Baron named Guntherame, about the yeare of our Lord, 1130.* This Celle thus beyng erected, in processe of tyme was enlarged with more ample possessions, findyng manye and great benefactoures and endowers, liberally contributyng vnto the same: as Emperours, Dukes, and rich Barons.

Amongest whome most especiall were the Earles of Montforte, who had bestowed vpon that monastery many new liberties and great priuiledges, vpon this condition, that they shoulde receiue with free hospitalitie any stranger both horseman or footeman, for one nightes lodging, who so euer came.* But this hospitalitie did not long so continue, through a subtile and diuelish deuise of one of the Monkes, who tooke vpon hym to counterfeite to play the part of the Deuill, ratling and raging in his chaynes, where the straungers should lie, after a terrible maner in the night tyme to fray away the gestes: by reason wherof no stranger nor traueiler durst there abide, and so continued this a long space.

At length (as God would) it so happened, that one of the Earles of the sayde house of Mountforte, benefactours to that Abbey, commyng to the Monastery, was there lodged, whether of set purpose, or by chance, it is not knowen.

When the night came, and the Earle was at hys rest, the Monke after his woonted maner beginneth his pageant, to play the tame, yea rather the wylde Deuill. There was stampyng, rappyng, spittynge of fire, roring, thunderyng, [Page 2109](#) bousing of boordes, and ratling of chaines, enough to make some man starke mad. The Erle hearing the sodaine noyse, and beyng somewhat peradventure afraid at the first, although he had not then the feate of coniuring, yet taking a good hart vnto him,* & running to his sword, he layd about him well fauoredly, and followyng still the noyse of the deuill, so coniured him at last, that the monke which counterfeited the deuill in iest, was slayne in hys owne likenes in earnest. Ex Gaspare Bruschio, in Chronologia Monasteriorum Germaniae.

☛ After the imprisonment of the congregation, which were taken hearyng Gods word in S. James streete in Paris, an. 1558. (as is aboue storied) was a letter written to the king, which was diuulgate abroad, proouing & declaring by diuers histories, what afflictions and calamities from tyme to tyme, by Gods righteous iudgement haue fallen vpon such as haue bene enemies to his people, and haue resisted the free passage of his holy word. In which letter, forsomuch as beside the sayd examples, much other good fruitfull matter is conteined, worthy of all mē to be read, and especially of Princes to bee considered, I thought here good to copy out the whole, as the Frenche booke doth geue it. The translation of the which letter into English, is after this tenor, as followeth.

¶ A Letter translated out of French into English, written to K. Henry the 2. French kyng.

* Consider I pray you sir, and you shall finde, that all your afflictions haue come vpon you, since you haue set your selfe agaynst those which are called Lutherans.

When you made the Edict of Chasteaubriant, God sent you warres▪ but when ye ceased the execution of your sayde Edict, and as long as ye were enemye vnto the Pope, and goyng into Almanie for the defence of the libertie of the Germanes afflicted for Religion, your affaires prospered as ye would wishe or desire.

* On the contrary, what hath become vpō you since you were ioyned with the Pope agayne, hauing receiued a sword from him for his own safegard? And who was it that caused you to breake the truce? God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not onely the state of your own person, but of your kingdome also.

To what end became the enterprise of the Duke of Guise in Italy,* goyng about the seruice of the enemy of God, and purposing after his returne to destroy the Vallies of Piemont, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his victories? The euent hath well declared, that God can turne vpsidedowne our counsailes and enterprises: as he ouerturned of late the enterprise of the Constable of Fraunce at S. Quintins, hauyng vowed to God, that at his returne,* he would go and destroy Geneua when he had gotten the victory.

Haue you not heard of L. Ponchet Archbish. of Toures, who made sute for the erection of a Court called Chamber Ardente, wherein to condemne the Protestantes to the fire? who afterwarde was stricken with a disease called the fire of God: whiche began at his feete, and so ascended vpwrd,

that he caused one member after another to be cut off, and so died miserably without any remedy?

Also one Castellanus, who hauyng enriched himselfe by the Gospell, and forsaking the pure doctrine thereof, to returne vnto his vomite again, went about to persecute the Christians at Orleans, & by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a sickenes vnknown to the Phisitions, the one halfe of his body burnyng as whote as fire, and the other as colde as Ise: and so most miserably crying and lamentyng, ended his lyfe.

There be other infinite examples of Gods iudgements worthy to be remembred: * as the death of the Chauncellour and Legate du Prat, which was the first that opened to the Parliament, the knowledge of heresies, and gaue out the first Commissions to put the faythfull to death, who afterwarde died in his house at Natoillet, swearyng and horribly blasphemying GOD, and hys stomacke was founde pierced and gnawen a sunder wyth wormes.

*Also Iohn Ruse, Counsailor in the Parliament, comming frō the Court after he had made report of the processe agaynst the poore innocentes, was taken with a burnyng in the lower parte of his belly, and before he could be brought home to his house, the fire inuaded all his secret partes, and so hee died miserably, burnyng all his belly ouer, without any signe or token of the acknowledging of God.

Also one named Claude de Asses, a Counsailour in the sayd Courte, * the sayde day that he gaue his opinion and consent to burne a faythfull Christian (albeit it was not done in deede as he would haue it) after he had dyned, committed whoredome with a seruante in the house, and euen in doying the acte, was stricken with a disease called Apoplexia, whereof he dyed out of hande.

Peter Liset, chiefe President of the sayd Courte, and one of the authors of the foresayd burnyng chamber, * was deposed frō his office, for beyng known to be out of his right wit and bereaued of his vnderstandyng.

Also Iohn Morin, Lieuetenaunt Criminall of the Prouost of Paris, after he had bene the cause of the death of many christians, was finally stricken with a disease in his legs, called the Wolues: whereby he lost the vse of them, & died also out of his wits, many dayes before, denieng and blaspheming God.

Likewise Iohn Andrew, Bookebinder of the Pallace, a spie for the President Liset, and of Bruseard the kings sollicitor, died in a fury and madnes.

The Inquisitor Iohn de Roma in Prouence, his flesh fell from hym by peece meale, so stinkyng that no man might come nere hym.

Also Iohn Mineries of Prouence, which was the cause of the death of a great number of men, women, and children, at Cabriers & at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower partes, the fire hauing take his belly▪ blaspheming and despising of God, besides many other wherof we might make recital which were punished with the like kynd of death.

It may please your maiesty to remember your self that ye had no sooner determined to set vpon vs, but new troubles were by and by moued by your enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement, which God would not suffer, for as much as your peace was grounded vpon the persecution which ye pretended against Gods seruantes: As also your Cardinals can not let through their crueltie the course of the Gospell, which hath taken such roote in your realme, that if God should geue you leaue to destroy the professors thereof, you should bee almost a kyng without subiects.

Tertullian hath well sayde,* that the bloud of Martyrs is the seed of the Gospell. Wherefore to take away all these euyls commyng of the riches of the papistes, which cause so much whoredome, Sodomitie, and incest, wherein they wallowe lyke hogs, feeding their idle bellies: the best way were to put them from their lands and possessions, as the old sacrificing Leuits were, according to the expresse commaundement which was geuen to Iosua. For as long as the ordinance of God tooke place, and that they were voyde of ambition, the puritie of religion remayned whole and perfect: but when they began to aspire to principalitie, riches, and worldly honours, then began the abomination of desolation that Christ found out.

It was euen so in the Primatiue church: for it flourished & continued in all purenesse,* as long as the Ministers were of smal wealth, and sought not their particuler profite, but the glorie of God onely. For since the Popes began to be princelike, and to vsurpe the dominion of the Empire vnder the colour of a fals donation of Constantine, they haue turned the Scriptures from their true sense, and haue attributed the seruice to themselues, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Maiestie may seise with good right vpon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe conscience for to employ them to their true & right vse.

First,* for the findyng and maintainyng of the faithfull Ministers of the word of God, for such liuyngs as shall be requisite for them, accordyng as the case shall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your Iustices that geue iudgement. Thirdly, for the relieuyng of the poore, and maintenance of Colledges to instruct the poore youth in that which they shall be most apte vnto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remayne for the entertainment of your owne estate and affaires, to the great easement of your poore people, which alone beare the burthen, and possesse in maner nothyng.

In this doynge, an infinite number of men, and euen of your Nobilitie, which lyue of the Crucifix, should employ themselues to your seruice and the common wealths so much the more diligently, as they see that ye recompence none but those that haue deserued: where as now there is an infinite number of men in your kingdome, which occupy the chieftest & greatest benefices, which neuer deserued any part of them, &c. And thus much touching the superfluous possessions of the Popes Lordly Clergie. Now procedyng further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth.

But when the Papists see that they haue not to alleadge for themselues any reason,* they assay to make odious to your maiesty the Lutherans (as they call vs) and say: if their sayinges take place, ye shall be faine to remaine a priuate person: & that there is neuer change of religion, but there is also chaunge of pryncedome. A thyng as false as when they accuse vs to be Sacramentaries, and that we deny the authoritie of Magistrates, vnder the shadow of certaine furious Anabaptists,

which Satan hath rayseed in our tyme to darken the light of the Gospell. For the histories of the Emperours which haue begun to receiue the Christian religion, and that which is come to passe in our tyme, shew the contrary.

Was there euer Prince more feared and obeyed, then Constantine in receiuing the Christian Religion? was hee therefore [Page 2109](#) <1 page duplicate> [Page 2110](#) put from the Empire? No▪ he was thereby the more confirmed & established in the same, and also his posterity which ruled themselues by his prouidence. But such as haue fallen away and folowed mens traditions,* God hath destroyed, and theyr race is no more knowne in earth: So much doth God detest them that forsake him

And in our time the late kinges of England and Germanye, were they cōstrayned in reprobuing superstitions, which the wickednes of the time had brought in, to forsake their kingdomes & principedomes? Al men see the contrary: and what honor, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that haue receiued the reformation of the Gospell, do vnder theyr princes and superiors. Yea, I may say, that the princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignoraunt people receiued so readily the dispēsations of the Pope, to d•iue out their owne kinges and naturall Lordes.

The true and onely remedy, sir is, that ye cause to be holden a holy and free Counsell, where ye shou•d be chiefe, and not the Pope & his, who ought but onely to defende their causes by the holy scriptures: that in the meane while ye may seeke out mē not corrupted, suspected, nor partial▪ whō ye may charge to geue report faythfully vnto you of the true sence of the holy scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kinges Iosaphath, Ezechias, & Iosias, ye shall take out of the Church all Idolatry, superstition, & abuse which is found directly contrary to the holy scriptures of the old and new testament, & by that meanes ye shall guid you• people in the true & pure serui•e of God, not regarding in the meane time the cauilling pretenses of the papists which say, that such questiōs haue bene already answered at generall Counsels: for it is knowne well enoug•, tha• no Counsell hath bene lawfull since the Popes haue <◇> the principality & tyranny vpon mens soules, but they haue made them serue to their couetousnes, ambition and cruel•y <◇> the contrariety which is amōg those coūsels, maketh enough for their disproofe, beside a hundred thousand other absurdities ag•in•• the word of God, which be in them. The true prooffe for such matters is in the true & holy Scriptures, to the which no time, nor age hath any prescription to be alledged agaynst thē: fo• by them we receiue the Counsels founded vpon the worde of God, and also by the same we reiect that doctrine which is repugnant.

And if ye do thus Syr, God will blesse your enterprise, he will encrease & confirme your raigne and Empyre, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and vnhappy are the people which shall dwell vnder your obediēce.* There is no doubt but God will hardē your hart as he did Pha•aos and take of the crowne from your head▪ as he did to Ieroboam. N•dab, Baza▪ Achab, and to many other kinges, which haue folowed m•ns traditions, agaynst the commaundemēt of God and geue it to your enemies to triumph ouer you and your children▪

And if the Emperour Antonine the meek, although he were a Pagan & Idolater, seing himselfe bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutiōs which were in his time agaynst the christians, and determined in the ende to heare their causes and reasons, how much more ought you that

beare the name of moste Christian king, to be carefull and diligent to cease ⟨◇⟩ persecutions agaynst the poore Christians, seing they h•ue not t•oubled, nor doe trouble in any wise the state of your kingdome, & your affayres: considering also that the Iewes be suffe•ed through all Christendome, although they be mortall enemies o• our Lorde Iesus Christ, which we holde by common accorde and consent for our God, Redeemer, and Sauour: and that vntill you haue heard lawfully debated, and vnderstand our reasons takē of the holy Scriptures, and that your Maiestye haue iudged, if we bee worthy of such punishmentes: For if we be not ouercome by the worde of God, the fires, the sworde, nor the c•••lest tormentes shall make vs afrayd. These be the exercises that God hath promised to his, of the which he foretolde shoulde come in the laste times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come vpon them.

Translated out of the French booke intituled, Commentaries of the state of the Church and publicke weale. &c. pag. 7.

¶The story and end of the french king.

WHosoeuer was the authour or authours of this letter aboue prefixed, herein thou seest (good Reader) good counsell geuen to the king, if he had the grace to receiue it, and had folowed the same, no doubt but Gods blessing working with him, he had not onely set that Realme in a blessed staye, from much disturbaunce, but also had continued himselfe in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For so doth the lord commonly blesse and aduaunce such kinges & Princes, as seeke hys honor, and submit their wils to his obedience. But cōmonly the fault of kinges and Potentates of this world is, that being set about with Parasites, either they seldom heare the truth told thē, or if they do, yet will they not lightly be put from their owne willes, disdayning to be admonished by their inferiors, be theyr counsell neuer so holsom & godly. Which thing many times turneth them to great plages & calamitie, as by plentiful exāples of kings destroyed, woū|ded, imprisoned, deposed, drowned, poysoned. &c. may wel to thē y^t read histories appeare, but especially in this presēt example of Henry French king, the seconde of that name, is in this our age notoriously to be considered. Who b•ing well warned before (as may seeme) would not yet surcease his cruell persecution agaynst the Lordes people, but rather was the more hardened in hart, and inflamed against them: in so muche that he sayd to Anne du Bourg, one of the high Court of Parliament in Paris, threatning hym, that he would see him burne with his own eyes.

Further,* how his purpose was to extende his power and force likewise agaynst other places moe, in persecutyng the Gospell of Christe, and professours thereof, to the vttermost of his abilitie, I leaue it to the reporte of them, which in this matter know more then I here will vtter.

But notwithstanding al these cracks and threatnings of the king (to see what the Lord can doe in making hygh kinges to stoupe) euen the same day when the king was in his most rage agaynst these good men,* almighty God taking the cause in hand to fight for his Church, so turned y^e matter, that he made the great enemy of hys, both with his mouth and with his hand, to worke his own destruction: with his mouth in commaunding, with his han• in geuing him the Lance into hys hand, which the same day gaue him his deathes wound: as by the sequele hereof in reading ye may vnderstand.

¶The stroke of Gods hand vpon Henry .2. French king.

KIng Henry being in the Parliamēt house, which was kept at the Fryer Augustines at Paris, because y^e Pallace was in preparing agaynst the mariage of hys daughter and his sister, and hauing heard the opinion in religiō of Anne du Bourg Counsaylour in the lawe, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the sayd Anne du Bourg and Loys du Faur Counsaylours, to be taken prisoners by y^e Constable of Fraunce, who apprehended them, and delyuered them into the handes of the Countye of Mongommery, the which caryed them to prison. Agaynst whom the king being wrathfull and angry, among other talke, sayd to the sayd Anne du Bourg: These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt: And so on the 19. of Iune, Commission was geuen to the Iudges to make his Proces.

During this meane while, great feastes and banquets were preparing in the Courte, for ioy and gladnes of the mariage that should be of the kinges daughter and sister, agaynst the last day of Iune saue one.* So when the day & tyme aboue prefixed was come, the king employed all the morning in examining as wel the Presidentes, as Counsaylours of the sayde Parliament agaynst these prisoners and other theyr companions that were charged with the same doctrine, which being done, they went to dinner.

The king after he had dyned, for that he was one of y^e defendantes at the Tourney, which was solemnly made in S. Anthonies Strete, neare to the prison where the foresayde Prisoners were committed, hee entred into the Lystes, and there in iusting: as the manner is, had broken many Staues right valiauntly as could be, runnyng as well agaynst the Countye of Montgommery, as other moe.

Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers on. And because he had done so valiauntly,* and was thought nowe to haue done enough, hee was desired to cease with praise. But he being the more inflamed with hearing of hys prayse, woulde needes runne an other course wyth Montgommery: who then refusing to runne agaynst the king, and kneling vpon his knees for pardon not to run: the king being egerly set, commanded him vpon his allegiance to runne, and (as some affirme) did also him selfe put the staffe in his hand, vnto whose handes he had committed the foresayd prisoners a little before.* Montgommery thus being enforced whether he would or no, to run agaynst the king, addressed hymselfe after the best wyse to obey the kinges commaundement.

Whereupon he and the king met together so stoutly y^t in breaking theyr Speares, the king was stricken with the counter blowe, so right in one of hys eyes, by reasonne that the visour of his Helmet so sodenly fell downe at the same instaunt, y^t the shiuers entred into hys head: so that y^e braynes was peryshed, & thereupon so festred, that no remedy could bee founde, although Phisitions and Surgeons were sent for from all places in the Realme, as also [Page 2112](#) frō Brabant by king Philip, but nothing auayled, so that the xj. day after, that is, the x. of Iuly. 1559. he ended his life in great dolour, hauing raigned xij. yeares, three monethes and ten dayes.

*Some report, that among other wordes he said, that he feared he was strickē for casting y^e poore christians wrongfully in prisō: but the Cardinal of Loraine standing by (as he was alwayes at hād) sayd vnto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, & that he should be stedfast in the fayth.

By this meanes the Hall which was prepared for a place of ioy and gladnes,* did now serue for a Chappel to keep the corps, being dressed with blacke mourning cloth, & night and day t•ere was nothing heard but mournyng and lamenting for the space of xl, dayes.

About two yeares after this, which was the yeare of our Lord .1561. there were certayne Gentlemen put to death at Amboise,* for taking armes agaynst the house of Guise. Touching which Gentlemen, this is to be noted, that as one of thē should be brought to the place of executiō, where the other lay dead before him, he thrust his handes into the bloud of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and then lifting them vp to heauen, cryed with a loud voyce: Lord behold the bloud of thy childrē: thou wilt in time and place reuenge it.

Not long after the same, the Chancellor Oliuier, who was condemner of thē,* at the instigatiō and pursuit of the Cardinall of Loraine, through great remorse of cōscience fell sicke, and in a frensy casting out sighes vncessauntly, & afflicting himselfe after a fearefull and straūge fashion for his vnrighteous sentence, and more then barbarous cruelty, shrieked vpon a sodeyne with an horrible cry, & sayd: O Cardinall thou wilt make vs all to be damned. And within a very few dayes after he dyed.

Fraunces the second of that name, king of Fraunce, at the perswasion of the Cardinall of Loraine & of certeyne others, caused an assēbly of the Estates of the realm in the towne of Orleans, among other things to mainteine the Papall See, to the ouerthrow of those which would lyue after the sincerity of the gospel: but being fallen sick, shortly after in the foresayd place, of a feuer, through an Impostume in his left eare, he dyed, the fourth of Decemb. 1561. hauing reigned but one yeare and about fiue monethes.

It was sayd of this king Fraunces (as the authour aboue mentioned reporteth) that when he was drawyng toward his end, the Cardinal of Loraine made him to say and pronounce these words which folow:*Lord forgeue me my trespasses, and impute not vnto me the faultes which my ministers haue done vnder my name and authority.

Neither is it vnworthy of obseruation, that after the father happened in much like sort by gods mighty iudgement vpon Carol. 9. his second sonne, & brother to Frances aboue mentioned, in these our latter dayes, who after the horrible and bloody murder of the Admyrall,* & other true professors of Christes Gospell, both men, womē, and children, to the nūber of many thousandes, of diuers Cityes, in so much that the prisōs & streetes are said to be coloured w^t bloud, smoking after such a cruell sort, as in our time or country the like hath not hitherto bene sene: by the terrible stroke of gods iust reuenge, the same king, by credible report of stor•, is sayd to dye of bleeding, not onely at his eares and nose, but in all other places of his bodye, where bloud might haue any issue.

Unto these afore recited historyes of king Henry and hys two Sonnes,* might also be added the death of the Emperour Charles the fift. Who in like maner beyng an enemy, and a great terrour to the Gospell, was cut of like wise for doing any more hurt to the Church, muche about the same time, an. 1558. which was but three monethes before the death of Queene Mary, and ten monethes before the death of the sayd Henry the 2. Touching the death of which Charles and

Henry, & Fraunces, this Epitaph folowing was written in Latine verses, and printed in the French story booke, aboue alledged.

Consilij Christum oppugnans & fraudibus, ingens

Regum ille terror Carolus,

*Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus & excors,

Totus repentè corruit.

Tu{que} Henrice, malis dum consultoribus vtens,

Sitis piorum sanguinem,

Ipse tuo vecors inopina caede peremptus,

Terram imbuisti sanguine.

Henrici deinceps sectans vestigia patris

Franciscus infoelix puer,

Clamantem Christum surda dum negligit aure,

Aure putrefacta corruit.

Versuti, fatui, surdi, haec spectacula Reges,

Vos sapere vel mori iubent.

Not long after Anne du Bourges death, the President Minard, who was a sore persecutour,* and the condemner of the sayd Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the Pallace or Counsell chamber, to his owne house, beyng vpon his Mule, euen hard by his house was slayne with a Dag but who was the doer thereof, or for what cause hee was slayne, for all the inquisition and dilligent searche y^t coulde be made, it was neuer knowne.

Amongst many other examples worthy to be noted,* let vs also consider the end of the K. of Nauarre, brother to the worthy Prince of Condy, who after he had sustained a certayne time, the cause of the Gospell, at length being allured by the flattering words of y^e Duke of Guise and the Cardinall of Loraine his brother, and vpon hope to haue his landes restored againe, which the king of Spayne reteyned from him, was contented to alter his religion and to ioyne side with the Papists, and so being in camp with the Duke of Guise at the siege of Roane, was there shot in with a pellet. After which wound receiued, being brought to a towne three miles from the campe, called Preaux, hee did vehemently repent and lament his backsliding from y^e Gospell, promising to God most earnestly, y^t if hee might escape that hurt, he woulde bring to passe that the Gospell should be preached freely through all Fraunce: Notwithstanding within fiue or sixe dayes after he dyed.*

Neyther did the Duke of Guise himselfe, the greate Archenemy of God and his Gospell, continue in life long after that, but both he with y^e whole triumvirat of France that is, three the greatest captayns of popery, were cut off for doyng any more hurt, to wit, the Duke of Guise before Orleance, the Constable before Paris, the Marshal of S. Andrew before Dreux.

¶Of the Emperour Sigismundus.

Amongest others, here is not to bee past ouer nor forgotten the notable examples of Gods iust scourge vpon Sigismundus y^e Emperour, of whō mentiō is made before, in the condemnation of Iohn Husse, & Hierome of Prage, pag. 596. After the deathe and wrongfull condemnation of which blessed martyrs: nothing afterward went prosperously with the sayd Emperour, but all contrary: so that both he dyed without issue, & in his warres euer wēt to the worst. And not long after, Ladislaus his daughters sonne king of Hungary, fighting agaynst the Turk, was slayne in the fielde. So that in the tyme of one generation, al the posteritie & ofspring of this Emperor perished. Besides this, Barbara his wife came to suche ruine, by her wicked leudnes, y^t she became a shame and slaunder to the name & state of all Queenes. Whereby all Christian princes and Emperours may sufficiently bee admonished, if they haue grace, what it is to defile themselues with the bloud of Christes blessed sayntes and Martyrs.

¶A note of Christopher Parker.

CHristopher Parker, called Parker the wilde, mentioned before in this booke of Monumentes, pag. 1986. who being a persecuter of Richard Woodman, did manacle his handes with a corde, did cast himselfe into a pond, and so drowned himselfe at Herstnonceux in Sussex, the 8. of September. 1575.

*The story of one Drayner of Kent, commonly called Iustice Nyne hooles.

I May not in this place omit the tragedy of one Drayner of Smarden in the Coun•y of Kent, Esquire,* who bearing grudge against one Gregory Doddes, Parson of the sayde towne, for reprobuing his vicious lyfe, sent for hym by two men, which tooke hym & brought him before him, where he was had into a Parlour, as it were to breakfast. In which behinde y^e doore he had placed one Roger Mathew secretly, to beare witnes what he shuld say, no more being in sight but y^e sayd Drayner & one of hys men, who willed and perswaded him to speake freely his minde, for that there was not sufficient record of his wordes to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talke without perill,* wherby the sayd Drayner sent hym to the next Iustice called M. George Dorell, who perceiuing it to be done more of malice thē otherwise, deliuered him vpon sureties, to appeare at the next Sessions at Cant. and at length was banished the Countrey.

This sayd Drayner afterward, being chosen Iustice, to shew himselfe diligent in seeking y^e trouble of his neigh•bors, made in y^e Rodeloft nyne hooles, that he might looke about the church in Masse tyme. In which place alway at the sacring therof, he would stand to see who looked not, or [Page 2113](#) held not vp his hands therto: which persōs so not doing, he would trouble & punish very sore. Wherby he purchased a name ther, & is called to this day Iustice nine holes: who now (God be thanked) is Iohn out of office, & glad of his neighbors good will.

It so fell out, that since this was published, the sayde Drayner came to the Printers house, with other associate, demaunding: Is Foxe here? To whome aunswere was geuen, that maister Foxe was not within. Is the Printer within (quoth Drayner? It was aunswere, yea: Wherevpon being required to come vp into his house, was asked what his will was. Mary, sayth he, you haue printed me false in your booke: Why sayth the Printer is not your name M. Drayner, otherwise called Iustice nine holes? It is false sayth he: I made but v. with a great Augure, and the Parson made the rest. It was answered: I haue not read that a Iustice shoulde make him a place in the Roode loft to see if the people held vppe theyr handes. He sayd where as you alleadge, that I did it to see who adored y^e sacrament, or who not, it is vntrue: for I set as litle by it, as the best of you all. In deede sayth the Printer, so we vnderstand now, for you being at a supper in Cheapside among certaine honest company, and there burdened with the matter, sayd then, that you did it rather to looke vpon fayre wenches, then otherwise. He being in a great rage▪ sware to the purpose, saying: Can a man speake nothing, but you must haue vnderstāding therof? But sayth he, did I any man any hurt? It was aunswere, that hee meant litle good to M. Doddes aforesayd, especially procuring a secret wisse behinde his doore, to catche some wordes that might tend to Doddes destruction. Whiche thing, Drayner sware, as before, was not true. To whō the printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since vpon his knees, asking forgeuenesse for his intent, confessed the same to Doddes himselfe.* I will hang that knaue sayth he: And so he departed in a rage: and since is deceased, whose death & order therof, I referre to the secret Iudge.

¶A Lamentable History of Iohn Whiteman, Shoomaker, who suffered most cruell tormentes at Ostend in Flaunders, for the testimony of Iesus Christ, and the truth of his Gospell. an. 1572.

*IOhn Whiteman Shoomaker, being about the age of 49. yeares, borne in Tinen a towne in Brabant. After hys comming ouer into England, dwelt in Rye in the County of Sussex, maryed xxiiij. yeares: alwayes a professour of the Gospell, as well in the time of the freedome therof, as in time of persecution. About Candlemas in the yeare 1572. vnknowne to his frendes in Rye, vnderstanding of shipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Ostend in Flaunders, went aboorde the Saterday morning and arriued at Ostend that night, where he lodged wyth one of his kinsmē there dwelling. The next day being Sonday, in the morning, he accompanied with his sayd kinsman, tooke his iourney as it were to haue passed hither into the countrey.

When they were about three mile on theyr way out of the Towne, sodeynely Whitman stayd, and would go no further: but immediatly returned back againe to Ostend, whither so soone •s he was come, it being seruice tyme in theyr Church, he forthwith addressed himselfe thither, and at the time of the heaue offering stept to the sacrificer,* and tooke from ouer his head his Idoll, saying these words in the Dutch tongue: Is this your God? and so breaking it, cast it downe vnder his feet and trode theron. Forthwith the people in an vpror came to lay holde on him, and hardly in the Church escaped he death by the souldiers there present, but being rescued by some, to the intent to be further examined and made a publicke spectackle, he was carryed immediatly to prison. Upon the next day, being monday, the Iudges & other Counsellors being assembled, he was brought forth into the common hall, and examined of hys fact, the intent, the counsell, and abettors thereof, and also of his fayth: where he very cōstantly in defence of his christian fayth, & great detestation of Idolatry, demeaned him selfe in such sort, that he wrong teares from the

eyes of diuers, both of the chiefe, & others present. So was he committed agayne to prison. The next day being Tuesday, he was brought out agayne before the Iudges into the same place. And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his cōstancy.* Whereupō sentēce was geuē vpō him, to haue his hand cut of, and his body scorched to death, & after to be hāged vp. So the day folowing, being wednesday, he was brought out of prisō to the towne hal, standing in the market place, all thinges belōging to execution being made ready there. Which when they were al ready, the hangman went into the hall, & with a cord tyed y^e hands of Whitman, & came out leadyng him thereby: so soone as Whitman was out of the house, he made such hast & as it wer ran to the place of execution, y^t he drew y^e hangman after him. There was a post set vp with sparres frō the top therof, aslope downe to the ground, in maner of a Tent, to the end that he shoulde be onely scorched to death & not burned. When he was come to the place, y^e hangmā commaunded him to lay downe hys right hand vppon a block, which he immediately w^t a hatchet smote of, the good man stil cōtinuing constāt, y^e hangman stept behind him, & bid him put out his tonge, which he forthw^t did, as far as he could out of his mouth, through y^e which he thrust a lōg instrument like a Packe needle, and so let it sticke. Then the Iudges standing by in the common Hall, read agayn his fact and sentence.* Wherunto hee coulde make no aunswere, his tongue hāging out of his head: so was he stripped out of his Cassocke, his hose being put of in prison: & put wⁱⁿ his Tent, & made fast with two chaynes, and fire and put round about, which broyled and scorched his body most miserably, al blacke, he not being seene, but heard to make a noyse within the Tent. When he was dead, hee was caryed out to be hāged vpon a gybbot beside y^e town.

Spectatores praesentes, Cutbert Carr, Bartholomeus Bellington, Nautae Rienses.

¶Admonition to the Reader concerning the examples aboue mentioned.

IT hath bene a long perswasion gendred in the heades of many men these many yeares, that to ground a mans fayth vpō Gods word alone, and not vpon the See and Church of Rome, following all the ordinaunces and constitutions of the same; was damnable heresie, and to persecute such men to death, was hygh seruice done to God. Whereupon hath risen so great persecutions, slaughters, and murders, with such effusion of Christē blood through all partes of Christendome, by the space of these 70. yeares, as hath not before bene seene. And of these men Chryst himselfe doth full well warne vs long before, true prophesiying of such times to come, when they that flea his Ministers and seruantes, shuld thinke themselues to do good seruice vnto God. Ioh. 16. Now, what wicked seruice, and howe detestable before God this is, which they falsly perswade themselues to be godly,* what more euident demonstrations can we require, then these so many, so manifest, & so terrible examples of Gods wrath pouring down from heauen vpon these persecuters, whereof part we haue already set forth:* for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is vnpossible. Wherefore, although there be manye whiche will neyther heare, see, nor vnderstand, what is for theyr profite, yet let al moderate & wel disposed natures take warning in time. And if the playne word of God will not suffice thē, nor the blood of so many martirs wil moue thē to embrace the truth and forsake errour, yet let the desperate deathes & horrible punishments of their own papistes perswade thē, how perillous is the end of this dānable doctrine of papistry. For if these papistes which make so much of their painted antiquitie, do thinke theyr proceedings to be so Catholick, & seruice so acceptable to God, let thē ioyn this withal, & tel vs, how commeth then theyr procedings to be so accursed of God, & their

end so miserably plagued, as by these examples aboue specified, is here notoriously to be seene? Agayne, if the doctrine of them be such heresie, whom they haue hetherto persecuted for heretickes vnto death, howe then is almighty God become a mayntayner of heretickes, who hath reuenged theyr bloud so greuously vppon theyr enemyes and persecuters?

The putting out of the French kinges eyes, which promised before with his eyes to see one of Gods true seruantes burned who seeth not with his eyes to be the stroke of Gods hand vpon him? Then his sonne Frances after him,* not regarding his fathers stripe, would needes yet proceed in burning the same man: and did not the same God whiche put out his fathers eyes, geue hym suche a blow on the eare, that it cost him his life if the platform of Steuen Gardiner had bene a thing so necessary for the church and so gratefull vnto God, why then did it not prosper with him nor he with it: but both he and his platforme lay in the dust, and none left behinde him to build vpon it? After the tyme of Steuen Gardiner, and at the Councell of Trent,* what conspiracies and pollicies were deuised? what practises and traynes were layde through the secret confederacy of princes and prelates, for the vtter subuersion of the Gospell and all Gospellers, which if God had seen to haue bene for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whome were they disclosed and foreprised but by the Lord himself, which would not haue them come forward?

The vehement zeale of Queene Mary, whiche was like to haue set vp the Pope here agayne in England for euer,* if it had so much plesed the Lord God as it pleased her self: or if it had bene so godly as it was bloody, no doubt but Gods blessing would [Page 2114](#) haue gone withall. But when was the Realme of England more barren of all Gods blessings? what Prince euer raigned here more shorter time, or lesse to his owne hartes ease then didde Queene Mary?

*The Constable of Fraunce when he conuented with GOD, that if he had victory at S Quintines, he would set vpon Geneua, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargaine with God: Much like to Iulian the Emperour, who going against the Persians, made his vow that if he spedde well, he would offer the bloud of Christians. But what did God? came not both theyr vowes to like effect?

The examples of such as reuolted from the Gospell to Papistry, be not many: but as fewe as they were, scarce can any be found which began to turne to the Pope, but the Lord began to turne from them,* and to leaue them to theyr ghostly enemy: As we haue heard of the king of Nauarre in Fraunce, of Hēry Smith and Doctor Shaxton in England, with other in other Countries moe, of whom some dyed in great sorow of conscience, some in miserable doubt of their saluation, some stricken by Gods hand, some driuen to hang or drowne themselues.

The stincking death of Steuen Gardiner, of Iohn de Roma, of Twyford, of the Bayliffe of Crowland: The suddeyne death of the Suffragane of Douer, of Doctour Dunning, of Doctour Geffray, of Berry the Promoter: The miserable and wretched end of Poncher Archbishop of Towers, of Cardinall Crescentius, Castellanus: The desparate disease of Rockewood, of Latomus, of Guarlacus: The earthly ending of Henry Beauforde Cardinall of Winchester, of Eckius, of Thornton called Dicke of Douer: The wilfull and selfe murder of Pauyer, of Richard Long, of Bomelius, besides infinite other: The dreadfull taking awaye and murren of so many persecutyng Byshoppes, so many bloudye Promoters, and malicious Aduersaries, in suche a

shorte tyme together with Queene Marye, and that wythout anye mans hand, but onely by the secret working of Gods iust iudgement.

To adde to these also the stincking death of Edmund Boner, commonly named the bloudy Bishop of London: who not many yeares agoe, in the time and reigne of Queene Elizabeth, after he had long feasted and banquetted in Durance at the Marshalsea, as he wretchedly dyed in his blinde Popery, so as stinckingly, and as blindely at midnight was he brought out & buried in the outside of all the Citty, amonges theeues and murderers, a place right conuenient for such a murderer: with confusion and derision both of men and children, who trampling vpon his graue, well declared how he was hated both of God & man. What els be all these (I say) but playne visible argumentes, testimonies, and demonstrations euen from heauē agaynst the pope, his murdering Religion, and his bloudy doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whose end is so euill. If Christ bid vs to know mē by their fruits, & especially seing by the end all thinges are to be tryed, howe can the profession of that doctrine please God, which endeth so vngodly? Esaias chap. 50. prophesying of the ende of Gods enemyes, whiche woulde needes walke in the lighte of theyr owne setting vppe, and not in the light of the Lordes kindling,* threatneth to them this finall malediction: In doloribus (sayth he) dormietis i. In sorow shall you sleepe. Let vs now take a suruey of all those persecuters, whiche of late haue so troubled the earth (and almost haue burned vppe the world with fagots and fire, for mainetenaunce of the Popes Religion) and see what the end hath bene of them that are nowe gone, and whither their Religion hath brought them, but either to destruction, or desparation, or confusion & shame of life. So many great Doctors and Bishops haue cried out of late so mightely agaynst priestes marriage, and haue they not, by Gods iust iudgement working theyr confusion, bene detected themselues and taken the most part of them in sinnefull adultery,* & shamefull fornication? Cardinall Ioannes Cremensis the Popes Legate here in England, after he had set a law that Priestes shoulde haue no wiues, was he not the nexte daye after, being taken with hys whores, driuen out of Londō with confusion and shame enough, so that afterward he durst not shew his face here any more? Besides the two Bishops in the late counsell of Trent, most shamefully taken in adultery, mentioned before. Also besides innumerable other like forreigne storyes,* which I let passe, to come now to our owne domesticall examples. I could wel name halfe a score at least of famous Doctors, and some Byshops, with theyr great maysters of Popery, who in standing earnestly agaynst the mariage of Priestes, haue afterward bene taken in such dishonest factes themselues, that not onely they haue caried the publicke shame of adulterous lecherers, but some of them the markes also of burning fornication with them in theyr bodyes to theyr graues. Whose names although I suffer here to be suppressed, yet the examples of them may suffice to admonishe all men that bee wise,* and which will auoyde the wrath of Gods terrible vengeance, to beware of Popery.

And thus hauing hitherto recited so manye shamefull lyues and desperate endes of so many popish Persecutours stricken by Gods hand: nowe let vs consider agayne on the contrarye syde the blessed endes geuen of almighty God vnto them, which haue stooode so manfully in the defence of Christes Gospel, and the reformation of his religion, and let the Papists themselues here be iudges. First what a peaceable and heauenly ende made the worthy seruauant and singular Organe of God M. Luther?

To speake likewise of the famous Iohn Duke of Saxonie and prince Elector, of the good Palsgraue, of Phillip Melancthon, of Pomeranus, Vrbanus Rhegius, Berengarius, of Vlricus

Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Pellicanus, Capito, Munsterius, Ioannes Caluinus, Petrus Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, Ioan. Musculus, Bibliander, Gesnerus, Hofman, Augustinus,* Marloratus, Lewes of Bourbon Prince of Condy, and his godly wife before him, with many mo, which were knowne to be learned mē, and chiefe standers of the Gospel side against the Pope, and yet no man able to bring forth any one example eyther of these, or of any other true Gospeller, that eyther killed himselfe, or shewed forth any signification or appearaunce of despayre, but full of hope and constant in faythe, and replenished with the fruite of righteousness in Christ Iesu, so yealded they theyr lyues in quiet peace vnto the Lord.

From these Forrayners, let vs come now to the Martyrs of England, and marke likewise the ende both of them, and semblably of all other of the same profession. And first to beginne with the blessed and heauenly departure of King Edward the vi. that first put downe the Masse in England,* and also of the lyke godly end of his good Vncle the Duke of Sommerset, which dyed before him, with an infinite number of other priuate persons besides of the like religion, in whose finall departing, no suche blemishe is to bee noted like to the desperate examples of them aboue recited: Let vs now enter the consideration of the blessed Martyrs, who although they suffered in their bodyes, yet reioyced they in theyr spirites, and albeit they were persecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lorde wyth suche inwarde ioy and peace of conscience, that some writing to theyr friendes, professed they were neuer so merrye before in all theyr lyues, some leapt for ioye, some for tryumphe woulde put on theyr Scarfes, some theyr wedding garment goyng to the fire,* other kissed the stake, some embraced the Fagottes, some clapte theyr handes, some song Psalmes, vniuersally they all forgave, and prayed for ther enemies, no murmuring, no repining was euer heard amongst them, so that moste truely might bee verified in them, whiche their persecuters were wonte to sing in theyre Hymnes.

Caeduntur gladijs more bidentium,

Non murmur resonat, nec querimonia:

Sed corde tacito mens bene conscia,

Conseruat patientiam. &c.

Briefly, so great was theyr patience, or rather so great was Gods spirite in them, that some of them in the flaming fire, moued no more, then the Stake whereunto they were tyed. In fine, in them most aptly agreed the speciall tokens whiche most certaynly follow the true children of God: that is, outward persecution, and inward comfort in the holy Ghost.* In the world (sayth Christ our Sauour) ye shall haue affliction, but in me yee shall haue peace. &c.

And likewise the wordes of S. Paule be playne. Whosoeuer (sayth he) studyeth to liue godly in Christe, shall suffer persecution &c.

But then what followeth with this persecution? the sayde Apostle agayne thus declareth, saying: As the passions of Christ abound in vs: so aboundeth also our consolation by Christe. &c. According as by the examples of these godly martyrs right perfectly we may perceauce. For as theyr bodyes outwardly lacked no persecutions by the handes of the wicked: so amongst so many hundreds of them that stood and dyed in this religion, what one man can be brought forth,

which eyther hath bene founde to haue killed himselfe, or to haue dyed otherwise then the true seruaunt of GOD, in quiet peace and much comforte of conscience?

Whiche being so, what greater prooffe can we haue to iustifie theyr cause and doctrine agaynst the persecuting Church of Rome, then to behold the endes of them both: First,* of the Protestantes, how quietly they tooke theyr deathe, and chearefully rested in the Lord: and contrariwise to marke these persecuters what a wretched end commonly they doe all come vnto.

Experience whereof we haue sufficient, in the examples aaboue declared: and also of late in Boner, who albeit he dyed in his bed vnrepentaunt, yet was it so prouided by God, that as he had bene a persecuter of the light, and a childe of darkenes, so his carkase was tumbled into the earthe in obscure darcknes at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Christians: and as he had bene a murderer, so was hee layd amongst theeues & murtherers, a place by Gods iudgement rightly appoynted for him.

And albeit some peradventure that haue bene notable persecutors in tyme past, doe yet remayne alieue, who being in the same cause as the other were, haue not yet felte the weyght of [Page 2115](#) Gods mighty hand, yet let not them thinke that because the iudgement of God hath lighted sooner vpon other, therefore it will neuer light vpon them: or because God of his mercy hath graunted them space to repent, let not them therefore of Gods lenitye build to themselues an opinion of indemnity. The bloud of Abel cryed long, yet it wrought at length. The soules of the Saynctes slayne vnder the aultar, were not reuenged at the first. Apoc. 6. but read forth the chapter, & see what folowed in the end. Bloud especially of Christes seruauntes, is a perillous matter, and cryeth sore in the eares of God, and will not be stilled with the lawes of men.

Wherefore let such bloud guilty homicides beware, if not by my coūsell, at lest by the examples of theyr felowes. And though Princes and Magistrates,* vnder whose permission they are suffered, do spare theyr liues, let them not thinke therefore (as some of them shame not to say) that man hath no power to hurt them, and so thinke to escape vnpunished, because they be not punished by man, but rather let them feare so much the more. For oftentimes suche as haue bene persecutours and tormentours to Gods children, God thinketh them not worthy to suffer by mā, but either reserueth them to his owne iudgement, or els maketh them to be theyr owne persecutors, and theyr owne hands most commonly hangmen to theyr owne bodyes.

*So Saul after he had persecuted Daud, it was vnneedfull for Daud to pursue him agayne, for he was reuenged of him, more then he desired.

It was needlesse to cause Achitophell to be hanged, for hee himselfe was the stifeler or strangler of his owne life.*

Neither for the Apostles to pursue Iudas that betrayed their Mayster, for he himselfe was his owne hangman, & no man els, that his body brust, and his guts brast out.

Senacharib, had he not for his Persecutors his own sonnes, and cost Ezechias nothing to be reuenged of him for his tyranny.

Antiochus and Herode, although the Children of GOD whom they so cruelly persecuted, layd no hand vpon them, yet they escaped not vnpunished of Gods hand, who sent Lyce and Wormes to be theyr Tormentours, whiche consumed and eate them vp.

Pilate, after he had crucified Christ our Sauour, within few yeares after was he not driuen to hang himselfe?

Nero, after his cruell murders and persecutions stirred vp agaynst the Christians, when he shoulde haue bene taken by the Romaynes, God thought him not so worthy to be punished by the handes of them, but so disposed the matter, that Nero hym selfe when he could finde no frend nor enemy to kill him, made his owne handes to be his owne cutthroat.

Dioclesianus, with Maximinian his fellowe Emperour, whi• were the Authours of the tenth and laste Persecution agaynst <◇> Christians,* being in the midst of theyr furious tyranny ag•nst the name of Christ, needed no mans helpe to bridle them an•lucke them backe: for God of his secret iudgement put such <◇> in the mouthes of these Tyrauntes, that they themselues <◇> •heyr owne accorde deposed and dispossessed themselues of theyr •periall function, and liued as priuate persons all theyr liues afte• And notwithstanding that Maximinian after that, sought to <◇> his Imperiall state agayne, yet by Maxentius hys Sonne hee was resisted and shortly after slayne.

*What should I here speake of the cruell Emperour Maximinus, who when he had set forth his Proclamation engrauen in Brasse, for the vtter abolishing of Christ and his Religion, was not punished by man, but had Lice & Vermin gushing out of his entrals, to be his tormentors, with such a rotting stinch layd vpon his body, that no phisitions could abide to come neare, and were caused to be slayne for the same. pag. 82.

*Maxentius the sonne of Maximinian, and Pharao the king of Egypt, as they were both like enemies agaynst God and his people, so dranke they both of one cup, not perishing by any mans hand but both in like maner after were drowned with their harnes in the water.

Furthermore, and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the Kynges among the Iewes, which were bloody and wicked, were not spared, as Achaz, Achab, Iesabell, Manasses, Ioachim, Sedechias, with many other but hadde at length, although it were long, the hyre of theyr iniquity: let not these bloody Catholickes then thinke, which haue bene Persecutors of Christes Sayntes, that they being in the same cause as the other were aboue recited, shall escape the same iudgement, which the longer it is deferred, the sorer many times it striketh vnles by due repentaunce it be preuented in time: which I pray God it may.

*Innumerable examples moe to the same effecte and purpose might be inferred, whereof plentiful store we haue in all places, and in al ages of men to be collected. But these hitherto for this present maye suffice, whiche I thought here to notify vnto these our bloody children of the murdering mother church of Rome, of whom it may well be sayd: Manus vestrae plen• sunt sanguine. &c. Your handes be full of blood. &c. Esay. Chapter. 1. to the intent that they by the examples of their other fellowes before mentioned, may be admonished to followe the Prophetes counsell, which followeth and biddeth: Lauamini. mundi estote. &c. Be you washed, and make

your selues cleane &c. Esay. 1. and not to presume to farre vppon their owne securitie,* nor thinke themselues the further of from Gods hand, because mans hand forbeareth them.

I know and graunt, that man hath no further power vppon any, then God from aboue doth geue.* And what the lawes of this Realme could make agaynst them, as agaynst open murderers, I will not here discusse, nor open that I could say (because they shall not say that we desire their bloud to be spilled but rather to be spared:) but yet this I say, and wishe them well to vnderstand, that the sparing of their liues which haue bene murderers of so many, is not for want of power in magistrates, nor lack of anye iust lawe agaynst them, whereby they might iustly haue bene condemned, if it had so pleased the Magistrates to proceed (as they might) agaynst them: but because almighty God peradventure of so secret purpose hauing some thinge to doe wyth these persecuters, hath spared them hitherto,* not that they shuld escape vnpunished, but that peradventure he will take his owne cause in his owne hand, eyther by death to take them away (as he did by Boner, and by al Promoters in a manner of Queene Maryes time) or els to make them to persecute themselues with their own handes, or will stirre vp their conscience to be theyr owne confusion, in such sort as the Church shall haue no neede to lay handes vpon them.

Wherefore with this short admonition to close vp the matter as I haue exhibited in these histories the terrible endes of so many persecuters plagued by Gods hand: so would I wish all suche whome Gods lenitie suffereth yet to liue, this wisely to ponder with themselues, that as their cruell persecution hurteth not the sayntes of God, whome they haue put to death: so the patience of Christs church suffering thē to liue, doth not profite thē, but rather heapeth the great iudgment of God vpō thē in the day of wrath, vnlesse they repent in tyme, which I pray God they may.

And nowe to reenter agayne to the time and story of Queene Elizabeth where we left before.

In whose aduauncement and this her princely gouernance, it cannot sufficiently be expressed, what felicitie and blessed happines this Realme hath receaued in receauing her at the Lordes almighty and gracious hād, for as there haue bene diuers kinges and rulers ouer this Realme, & I haue read of some, yet I coulde neuer finde in Englishe Chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble & worthy Queene, whose comming in not onely was so calme, so ioyfull, and so peaceable, without shedding of any bloud, but also her reigne hetherto (rayninge nowe 24. yeares and more, hath bene so quiet, that yet (the Lord haue all the glory) to this present day, her sword is a Uirgine, spotted and polluted w^t no drop of bloude. In speaking whereof I take not vpon me the part here of y^e morall or of the diuine Philosopher, to iudge of thinges done but onely keep me within the compasse of an historiographer, declaring what hath bene before, and comparyng thinges done, with thinges now present, the like wherof as I sayde, is not to be found lightly in Chronicles before. And this as I speake truely, so I would to be taken without flattery, to be left to our posteritie, ad sempiternam clementiae illius memoriam. In commendation of whiche her clemēcy I might also here adde how mildly her grace after she was aduaunced to her kingdome, dyd forgeue y^e foresayd sir Henry Benifield, without molestation,*suffering him to enioy goodes, lyfe, landes and libertie. But I let this passe.

Thus hast thou, gentle Reader, simply, but truely described vnto thee the tyme, first of the sorrowfull aduersitie of this our most soueraigne Queene that now is: also the miraculous protection of God, so graciously preseruing her in so many strayghtes and distresses, which I

though• here briefly to notifie, the rather for that the wondrous workes of the Lord ought not to be suppressed, and y^t also her maiesty, and we likewise her poore subiectes, hauyng thereby a present matter alwayes before our eyes, bee admonished bothe how muche we are bounde to his diuine Maiestie, and also to render thankes to him condignely for the same.

Now remayneth likewise in prosecuting the order of this, as of other histories before, to notify and discourse of thinges memorable especially in the Church, such as happened in the time of this her Maiesties quiete and ioyfull gouernment.*And first here I let passe by the way the death of Cardinall Poole,*which was the next day after y^e death of Queene Mary, y^e death also of Christopherson B. of Chichester. Hoptō B. of Norwich, omitting also to speak of Doct. Weston, who being chiefe disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, & Latimer, as is before declared, first fell in displeasure with the Cardinall & other Byshops, because [Page 2116](#) he was vnwilling to parte from his Deanerie and house of Westminster vnto the Monkes, whom in deede he fauoured not, although in other things a mayntainer of the Church of Rome. Then being remoued from thence, was made Deane of Windsor, where he being apprehended in aduoutry, was by the same Cardinall put from all his spirituall liuings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, & flying out of the Realme, was taken by the waye, & clapt in the Tower of London, where he remayned vntill this time that Queene Elizabeth was proclaimed. At whiche time being deliuered, he fell sicke and dyed.

Also I let passe the Coronation of this our moste noble and Christian Princesse, & the order of the same, which was the xv. day of Ianuary. Anno. 1559. To passe ouer also the tryumphant passage and honourable enterテインement of the sayd our most dread Souereigne, through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomminges, cryes, tender wordes, Pageantes, Enterludes, declamations and verses set vp, as the like hath not commonly beene seene, arguing and declaring a wonderfull earnest affection of louinge hartes towardes theyr Soueraigne. Item, to pretermitt in silence the letters gratulatory, sent to her Maiestie from diuers and sondry forreigne places, as from Zuricke, Geneua, Basill, Berne, Wittemberge, Argentine, Frankeforde. &c. These I saye with many other thinges to let passe, we will nowe (God willing) beginne with the disceptation or conference betwene the Popishe Bishops, and the learned men exiled in Germany, had at Westminster. After that first we haue inserted a certayne Oration of a worthy Gentleman called M. Iohn Hales, sent and deliuered to the sayd queene Elizabeth in the beginning of her reigne, the copy wherof is this.

¶An Oration of Iohn Hales, to the Queenes Maiestie, and deliuered to her Maiestye by a certayne Noble man, at her first entrance to her reigne.

¶To the Noble Queene Elizabeth,

ALbeit there be innumerable giftes and benefites of almighty God, whereof euery one would wonderfully comfort any person, on whome it should please his goodnes to bestowe it: yet is none of them either separate by it self,* or ioyned with any other, or yet al mingled together, to be compared to this one: that it hath pleased God of his mercy to deliuer this Realme our Countrey from the tyranny of malicious Mary, & to commit it to the gouernemēt of vertuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treasure of Salomon, and might not be suffred to haue the vse therof: in what better case were he then miserable Tantalus, ouer whose head the apples

continually hung, yet being hunger sterued, could he neuer touch them? If a man had as strong a body as had Sampson, and besides were as whole as a fish, as the prouerbe is, yet if he were kept in bandes, what should it auayle him? Yea rather if it bee well considered, it is a hurte to him, if continuance of tormentes and paynes may be a hurt.

If a man had as manye children as had Gedeon the Iudge, and might not be so suffered to bring them vpp in the feare of God, & good knowledge & maners, had he not bene more happy to be without them, then to haue them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had Saynt Paule, and durst not professe it openly with mouth, as he is commaunded, but for feare of death shoulde declare the contrary in deede, sclaunder the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, shoulde it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation, then otherwise?

And to be short, if any one man had all these giftes together, or generally all the giftes of Fortune, the body, the minde, and of grace, yet if hee mought not haue the vse of them, what should they profite him? Ueryly nothyng at all.* For felicitye is not in hauing, but in vsing, not in possessing, but in occupying: not in knowledge, but in doing.

But alas, our naturall Mother Englande, whiche hath bene counted to be the surest, the richest, and of late also the most godly Nation of the earth, hath bene these whole fiue yeares most violently by Tyrauntes forced to lacke the vse of all the giftes and benefites that GOD and nature had endued her. Her naturall and louynge children could not be suffered to enioy theyr right inheritance, whereby they might relieue and succour her or thē|selues: but whatsoeuer they had, was eyther by opē force or by crafty dealing pulled from thē. And surely this had bene tollerable, if none other mischiefe had bene therwith intended.

He is a gentle theefe (if theeues may bee counted gentle) that onely robbeth a man of his goodes, & refrayneth violent hands from his parson. For suche losse with labor and dilligence may be recovered. He may be called a mercifull murtherer, that onely killeth the aged Parentes, & vseth no force on the children.

For nature hath made al men mortall, and that in like space, and to kill the parentes, is as it were but a preuention of a shorte tyme, if it were to the vttermost enioyed. But these Tyrantes were more vngentle then common thieues, more empty of mercy, then common murtherers. For they were not onely not contented to haue the goods of the people, but they would haue it deliuered to them by the owners own handes, that it might be sayd to y^e world they gaue it with the hart:* and were not therwith pleased but they would haue theyr liues, that they should not bewray them, and yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progenie and nation of English men, that none should be lefte to reuenge or crye out on theyr extremities, and to bring our Countrie into the Spanyardes dominion.

It is an horrible crueltie for one brother to kill an other, muche more horrible for the children to lay violent & murthering handes on theyr parentes, but most horrible of all to murther the children in the sight of the parentes, or the parentes in the sight of their children, as these moste cruell tormenters haue done.

But what do I stand in these things which haue some defence, because the Turkes perchaunce vse so to doe, and Ethnykes kill one an other, to make sacrifice of menne to theyr phantasticall Gods?

It was not enough for these vnnaturall English tormentours, Tyrantes, and false Christians, to be Lordes of the goodes, possessions, and bodyes of theyr brethren & Country men: but being verye Antichristes and enemies of Christes crosse, they would be Gods, and raygne in the consciences and soules of men. Euery man, woman, and childe, must deny Christ in word openly, abhorre Chryste in theyr deedes, sclauder his Gospell with word & deed, worship and honour false gods as they would haue them and themselues did, and so geue body and soule to the deuill theyr maister, or secretly flee, or after inward torments to be burned openly. O crueltie, cruelty,* farre exceeding al cruelties committed by those ancient and famous tyrants and cruell murderers, Pharao, Herode, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Diocletian, Decius, whose names for theyr cruell persecution of the people of God, and their open tyranny practised on the people haue bene, be, & euer shalbe in perpetuall hatred, and theyr soules in continuall torment in hell. If any man would take vppon hym to set foorth particularly all the actes that haue bene done these full fiue yeares by this vnnaturall womā: No, no womā, but a monster, and the deuill of hel couered with the shape of a woman, as it is most necessary for the glorye of God, and the prophet of his churche, and this realme it shoulde be done, hee shall finde it a matter sufficient for a perfect great History, and not to be cōtayned in an Oration, to be vttered at one tyme by the voyce of man. But to comprehend the summe of all theyr wickednes in few wordes: behold, whatsoeuer malice in mischief, couetousnes in spoyl, crueltie in punishing, tyranny in destruction could do, that all this poore English nation these full fiue yeares eyther suffered already, or should haue suffered, had not the great mercy of God preuented it.

And albeit there haue ben many that haue hazarded & lost theyr liues to shake of this moste rough brake (wherewith this Uiragin rather then Uirgin as she woulde bee called and taken) boasted her selfe to be sent of God, to ride and tame the people of Englande albeit there haue bene many that haue gone about to lose theyr brethren out of y^e yoke of this moste miserable captiuitie: & albeit some haue proued to breake the bandes of this most cruell tyranny, yet coulde they neuer bring to passe, that they so earnestly labored, and so manfully attempted.

And it is nothing to be wondered, let y^e papistes boast therof what it pleaseth them. For almighty God being a most indifferent gouernour, punishing euill, & rewarding good, could not of his iustice suffer his scourge so soone to be taken from this land, if he meaneth the salutation of the people, as most manifestly it appeareth he did. For hauing once geuen to this realme the greatest Iewell that myght be, that is, the free vse of his liuely worde, whiche if they had imbraced and folowed, would haue reformed al disorders & sinnes. Wherefore his wrath is kindled and prouoked, the people nothing regarded it, but eyther vtterly cōtemned it, or abused it, and many made it a cloke & colour to couer theyr mischief. So that if he should sodaynly haue withdrawne this plague, as tyrants & euill gouernors be [Page 2117](#) the plague of God, they would neyther haue passed on his iustice, nor yet should they haue felt the sweetenesse of hys mercy. For commonly the people regard but thyngs present,* and neither remember thynges past, nor yet passe on thyngs to come, vnlesse they be warned by exceedyng extremities.

Besides this, it is most euident, that hee had determined to make this noble conquest alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it should be done by man, least man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his owne strength,* or to his owne pollicie, or that Fortune should seeme to beare any stroke in so glorious conquest, and so be partaker in mens opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

Neither did his almighty power worke this when man would haue it dispatched, that is, as soone as the enemy began to gather their force, for it is not so great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed people, as it is to destroy a perfectly vnited army, but he suffred them to make their force as great as was possible to worke whatsoeuer mischiefs by spoyle, banishment, prisonment, hangyng, headyng, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

Neither would his most prouident wisdom doe it out of season: but as the good husbandman doth not crop his tree, till it haue rendered his fruit: so would hee not root out these pestilent tyrannies, til the most profit might be taken thereof.

When he had geuen sufficient laisure to all kynd of mē to declare themselues who were Crocodiles, sometyne lying in water, sometyne on land, that is, both Gospellers and papists.* Who were Sponges, suspected whether they had lyfe or no lyfe: whether they were Christians or Epicures: who were Cameleons, that could turn themselues into all colours, with Protestantes, Protestantes: with Papists, Papists: with Spaniards, Spaniards: w^t Englishmen, Englishmen: who were Gnatoes y^t could apply themselues to euery mans appetite that was in authoritie: who were Marygolds, that followed Maries mad affections: who were Weathercockes that did turne with euery wynd: who were Mastiues that could byte & barke not: who were Currese euer barking: who were Foxes that would promise much, and performe nothyng: who could bynd themselues with many othes, & do cleane contrary: who were Caines that sought the innocent Abels death: who were the Wolfes that wearied y^e lambs: and finally, when he had suffered the spirituall shauelings to spue out their venom, and euery man plainly to declare outwardly, what he was inwardly: then doth hee worke this most victorious conquest. And with his workes seemeth plainely to say thus vnto vs:* Ye see (my people) what I haue done for you, not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plenteously poured on you, and haue deserued most greuous punishment for your vnthankfulnes: but of myne infinite mercy, and for my glories sake, which I will haue opened to all the world in these latter dayes, to the feare of euill doers, & to the cōfort of the well doers. Prouoke no more my wrath, ye see what will follow it, be hereafter more prudent and wyse then ye were before. Ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in tyme to come, then ye haue bene in tyme past: ye may if ye list put me to lesse trouble, and keepe your selues in more safetie. I haue not onely discouered myne, yours, and my land of Englands enemies, & all the crafts subtleties, and pollicies that haue bene, or may be vsed by them, or any like hereafter, but I haue also taken away their head and captaine, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them, and some of them haue I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples to the terrour and feare of their posterity. Loue me, and I will loue you, seeke my honour and glory, and I will worke your commoditie and safetie: walke in my wayes and commaundements, and I wil be with you for euer. Surely, if we consider the wonderfull mercy that it hath pleased God to vse towards vs in the deliueying of this Kealme and vs his people,* out of the handes of these most cruell tyrants, as we cannot but do, vnlesse we wyll declare our selues to be the most vnthankfull people that euer liued, we must

needs iudge it not onely worthy to be compared, but also farre to exceed the deliuerance of the children of Israell out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaο, and from the powers of Holofernes and Senacherib. For it is not read, that either Pharaο or the other two sought any other thing, then to be Lords of the goods and bodies of the Israelites, they forced them not to committe Idolatry, and to serue false Gods, as these English tyrāts did.

But besides, if we will note the wonderfull works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceiue, that farre much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profite of his church and people, then perchance all men at the first do see. For he hath not onely dispatched the Realme of the chiefe personages and hed of these tyrants: but also as it were, declareth, that he mynded not that eyther they or their doynge, shoulde continue. For albeit that all actes done by tyrantes tyrannouslye, bee by all Lawes, reason and equitie, of no force, yet because no Disputation shoulde follow on this, what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannouslye done, hee hath prouided that this question needeth not come in question.* For hee vtterly blinded their eyes, and suffred them to builde on false grounds which can no longer stande, then they bee propped vp with rope, sword and fagot. For her first parliament whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyrannie, and wherein they ment to ouerthrowe whatsoeuer king Edward had for the aduancement of Gods glory brought to passe, was of no force or authoritie. For she perceiuing that her enemies stomacke coulde not be emptied, nor her malice spued on the people by any good order, she committeth a great disorder. She by force and violence, taketh from the Commons their libertie, that according to the auncient lawes and customes of the Realme, they could not haue their free election of knights and Burgesses for the Parliament. For shee well knew, that if eyther Christian men, or true English men, should be elected, it was not possible to succeed that she intended. And therfore in many places diuers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serue her malicious affectiōs. Wherfore y^e parliamēt was no parliamēt, but may be iustly called a conspiracy of tyrantes and traytors. For the greater part by whose authority and voyces thinges proceeded in that Court, by their actes most manifestly declared themselues so, the rest being both Christians and true English men, although they had good wills, yet not able to resist or preuayle agaynst the multitude of voyces and suffrages of so many euill false to God,* and enemyes to their countrey. Also diuers Burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully retorned, as in some places the people did what they could to resist her purposes, were disorderly and vnlawfully put out, and others without any order or lawe in their places placed. Doctour Taylour Bishop of Lincolne a Christian Byshop and a true English man, being lawfully and orderly called to the Parliament, and placed in the Lords house in his degree, was in his robes by vyolence thrust out of the house. Alexander Nowell with two other, al three being Burgesses for diuers shyres and Christian men and true Englishe men, and lawfully chosen, retorned, and admitted, were by force putte out of the house of the Commons, for the which cause the same Parliament is also voyde, as by a President of the Parliament holden at Couentry in the 38. yeare of K. Henry the sixt, it most manifestly appeareth. And the third Parliamente called in the name of her husband, and of her euill grace, wherein they would haue vndone, that her noble Father and the Realme had brought to passe for the restitution of the libertie of the Realme, and for extinguishment of the vsurped authoritie of the Bish. of Rome, is also voyd, and of none authoritie.* For that the title and stile of supreme head of the church of England, which by a Statute made in the 35. yeare of the raigne of the sayd K. Henry, was ordeined, that it should be vnited and annexed for euer to the imperiall crowne of this Realme, was omitted in y^e writs of summonyng. Wherefore as a woman can bryng foorth no chyld without a man, so cannot those

writs bring forth good and sure fruit, because this part of the title which was ordeined by the Parliament for the forme to bee alwayes vsed in the kings stile, was left out. For greater errorr is in lacke of forme, then in lacke of matter. And where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no law spirituall nor temporal (as they terme them) nor no good reason, but allow these rules for infallible principles. And if any man will say, that it was in the free choise, libertie, and pleasure of the king of this Realme and the Queene, whether they would expresse the said title in their stile, or not, as that subtile serpent Gardiner beyng Chancellor of the realme, and traiterously sēdyng out the writs of Parliament without the same stile, perceiuing he had ouershot himselfe in calling the Parliament, and hauing committed many horrible murthers, & most mischieuous acts, would haue excused it, as appeareth by a piece of the Statute made in the same Parliament, in the 8. chap. and 22. leafe, it may be iustly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For albeit euery person may by law renounce his own priuate right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the common wealth or a third person.

And this title and stile more touched the common [Page 2118](#) wealth and realme of England, then the king. For as I said before, it was ordeined for the conseruation of the libertie of the whole realme, and to exclude the vsurped authoritie of the B. of Rome. And therefore no K. or Queene alone could renounce such title: but it ought (if they wold haue it taken away) be taken away orderly and formally by acte of Parliament sufficiently called and summoned. For the naturall and right way to loose & vndoe things, is to dissolue them by that meanes they were ordeined. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, nor authoritie: but all that they haue done, hath ben meere tyrannie. O most maruelous prouidence of almighty god, that alwayes and in all thinges, doth that is best for the welth of his people. O most mighty power, that so sodenly ouerthroweth the counsailes of the wicked, and bringeth their deuises to naught. O infinite mercy, that so gently dealeth with his people, that hee saueth them whome hee might most iustly destroy. O most ioyfull, most mery, and neuer to be forgotten Hopwednesday,* in which it hath pleased thee O God, to deliuer thy church this realm, and thy people from so horrible tyrannie. No tongue can expresse, no penne can endite, no eloquence can worthely set out, much lesse exornate these thy meruailous doings. No hart is able to render vnto thy goodnes, sufficiēt thanks for the benefites we haue receyued. Who could euer haue hoped this most ioyfull tyme? Yea, who dyd not looke rather for thy most sharpe visitation and vtter destruction of this Realme, as of Sodome, Gomorra, and Hierusalem.

But we see and feele good Lord, that thy mercy is greter then all mens sinnes, and farre aboue all thy workes. And albeit there is no Christian and natural Englishmā, woman or child, eyther present, or that shall succeede vs, which is not or shall bee pertaker of this most exceedyng mercy and wonderfull benefite of almighty God, & therefore is bound continually to prayse and thanke hym: yet there is not one creature that is more bound so to do, then you noble Queene Elizabeth. For in this horrible tiranny and most cruell persecution, your grace hath bene more hunted for, then any other. Diuers tymes they haue taken you, sometime haue had you in strong hold, secluded from all liberty: sometime at libertie, but not without most cruell Gaolers custody, and many tymes they determined, that without iustice ye should be murdered priuily. They thought if your grace had bene suppressed, they shoulde haue fully preuailed. If ye had bene destroyed, their doyngs for euer should be stablished. If ye had bene taken out of the way, there

were none left that would or could vndoe that they ordeined. But he that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madnesse, would not suffer that the malicious purposes,* most cruell deuised iniustice should haue successe. He tooke vpon hym the protection of you. He only hath bene your Ieoseba, that preserued you from this wicked Athalia. He onely was the Ioiada, that destroyed this cruell Athalia. Hee onely hath made you Queene of this Realme, in steade of this mischieuous Marana. No earthly creature can claime any piece of thanke therefore, no mans force, no mans counsail, no mans ayd hath bene the cause thereof. Wherefore the greater his benefites hath bene toward you, the more are you bounde to seeke hys glory, and to set forth his honour. Ye see his power what he is able to do, he can alone saue, and hee can destroy, hee can pull downe, and he can set vp. If ye feare hym & seeke to do his will, then will he fauour you, and preserue you to the end from all enemies, as he did king Dauid. If ye now fall from him or iuggle with hym, looke for no more fauour then Saule had shewed to hym. But I haue a good hope, that both his iustice and benefites bee so printed in your hart, that ye will neuer forget them, but seeke by all meanes to haue the one, and to feare to fall into the other. I trust also your wisdomes will not onely consider the causes of this late most sharpe visitation, but also to your vttermost power endeouour to out roote them.

And forasmuch as besides this infinit mercy poured on your grace, it hath pleased his deuine prouidence to constitute your highnesse to be our Debora, to be the gouernesse and heade of the bodye of this Realme, to haue the charge and cure thereof, it is requisite aboue all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietnesse and safety, to labour that the same body now at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as if the body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his thinges at home, much lesse to doe any thing abroad: so if the body of a Realme be corrupt & out of order, it shal neither be able to do any thing abroad: if necessitie should require,* nor yet prosper in it selfe. But this may not be done with piecing & patching, coblyng & botching, as was vsed in tyme past whilst your most noble father and brother raigned. For as if a man cut of one hed of the serpent Hidra, and destroy not the whole body, many will growe in stead of that one, and as in a corrupt body that hath many diseases, if the Phisition should labour to heale one part, and not the whole, it will in short tyme breake out a fresh: so vnlesse the body of a Realme or common wealth be cleane purged from corruption, all the perticular lawes and statutes that can be deuised shall not profite it.

We need no forraine examples to prooue it, looke vpon this Realme it selfe, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the bodye from his corruption, but there must be also preseruatiues ministred to keep it from putrefaction: for naturally of it selfe it is disposed to putrifie: so after the body of a realme is purged, vnles there be godly ordinances for the preservation thereof ordeined and duely ministred, it will returne to the olde state. For this body which is the people, is vniuersally naturally disposed to euill, and without compulsion will hardly do that is his duety.

This must your grace do if ye mynd the aduancement of Gods glory, your owne quietnesse and safetie, and the wealth of this your politike body. And they be not hard to bring to passe, where goodwill will vouchsafe to take to her a little payne. The Realm will soone be purged, if vice and selfloue be vtterly condemned. It will be in good state preserued if these three things, Gods word truely taught and preached, Youth well brought vp in godly and honest exercises, and Iustice rightly ministred may bee perfectly constituted. And without this foundation,* let men imagine

what it pleaseth them, the spiritual house of God shal neuer be well framed or builded, nor the publike state of your Realme well ordered. For in what body gods word lacketh, the vnitie and charitie, that ought to bee among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is soone extincted. Where the youth is neglected, there can no good successe bee hoped, no more then the husbandman can look for a good crop where he sowed no good seed. And where iustice is not truely and rightly ministred, there the more laws and statutes together be heaped, the more they be contemned. And surely, if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compassed, as God forbid, that charges should be weyed be they neuer so great, where Gods glory and the wealth of the realme may be furthered: yet ought it not to be neglected.* What charges did K. Dauid the father, & king Salomon his sonne, employ to build the stony house of God? Howe much more charges should a christian prince employ to build & set vp the liuely house of God? But verily, I am fully perswaded that it shall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deale of superfluous charges, which otherwise your grace shall be forced to sustaine, shal thus be cleane cut away, and so your reuenues by a meane most profitable, & to no good person hurtfull, encreased.

Wherefore for Gods sake noble Queene, let not the oportunitie now by God offered be by your Grace omitted. A Phisition can in nothing so much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchase hymselfe so great estimation, as when he findeth his pacient thoroughly sicke and weakened, and doth restore hym to his perfect health and perfection. Likewyse if a Prince should desire of God a thyng whereby he might declare the zeale that he beareth to GOD, or whereby hee myght winne fame and glory, he could desire nothyng so much, as to come into a state corrupted, as this Realme of England at this present is, not to destroy it as did Caesar, but to make it as did Romulus.

If your grace can bring this to passe, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly: Ye shall doe more, then any of your progenitours did before you. All men shall confesse that you are not onely for proximitie of bloude preferred, but rather of God specially sent and ordeined. And as the Queene of Saba came from farre of to see the glory of K. Salomon, a woman to a man: Euen so shall the Princes of our tyme, come men to a woman, and Kinges maruell at the vertue of Queene Elizabeth. Thus shall wee your subiects be most bound to prayse God, and to thinke our selues most happy, that beyng so sodainly from the worse, be forthwith preferred to the best: rid from extremest calamitie, and brought to the greatest felicitie: and it shall be besides an example for all euil Princes to leaue their persecution of Christ and his members, to cease from their tyranny, wherewith they continually oppresse theyr poore subiectes. And so all people, not onelye wee of this your Realme, but of all other nations, shall haue iust cause to [Page 2119](#) pray for your graces health and ancrease of honour.

This Oration of M. Hales beyng premised, now let vs prosecute, the Lord willing, that which we promised, concernyng the Disputation or Conference had at Westminster. The copy whereof here followeth.

☞ **The Conference or Disceptation had and begun at Westminster, the last of March, vpon certaine Questions or Articles of Religion proposed, and also of the breaking vp of the same, by the Papistes default, at the first beginning of Queene ELIZABETH.**

SO it pleased the Queenes most excellent maiestie, hauyng heard of diuersitie of opinions in certaine matters of religion amongst sundry of her louyng subiects, and beyng very desirous to haue the same reduced to some godly and Christian concord, by the aduise of the Lordes and others of the priuy Counsaile, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtfull, as also for the knowledge of the very truth in certaine matters of difference, to haue a conuenient chosen number of the best learned of eyther part, and to conferre together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereuppon by her Maiesties commaundement, certaine of her priuy Counsaile declared this purpose to the Archbishophe of Yorke (beyng also one of the same priuy Counsaile) and required hym that he would imparte the same to some of the Bishops, and to make choise of viij.ix. or x. of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also declared to hym (as then was supposed) what the matter should be. And as for the tyme, it was thought meet to be as soone as possible might be agreed vpon. And then after certaine dayes past, it was signified by the sayd Archbishophe, that there was appointed by such of the Bishops, to whome hee had imparted this matter eight persons, that is to say, 4. Bishops and 4. Doctours. The names of whom here follow vnder written, &c.

***The Papistes.**

- The B. of Winchest.
- The B. of Lich.
- The B. of Chest.
- The B. of Carlile.
- The B. of Linc.
- D. Cole.
- D. Harpsfield.
- D. Langdale.
- D. Chedsey.

***The Protestants.**

- D. Scory B. of Chich.
- D. Coxe.
- M. Whitehed.
- M Grindall.
- M^r Horne.
- M Doct. Sands.
- M. Gest.
- M. Aelmer.
- M. Iuell.

Who were content at the Queenes Maiesties commaundement, to shewe their opinions, and as the sayde Archbishop termed it, render accompte of their fayth in those matters which were mentioned and that especially in writyng, although he sayd, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute vppon them. The matter which they should talke vpon, was comprehended in these three propositions, here vnder specified.

1. It is agaynst the worde of God, and the custome of the auncient Church, to vse a tongue vnknownen to the people, in common prayer, and the administration of the Sacraments.

2. Euery Church hath authoritie to appointe, take away, and change ceremonies and Ecclesiasticall rites, so the same be to edification.

3. It cannot be prooued by the worde of God, that there is in the Masse offered vp a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead.

It was hereupon fully resolved by the Queenes maiestie, with the aduise aforesayd, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both partes, for auoyding of much alteration in wordes, and that the sayd Bishops should, because they were in authoritie of degree superiours, first declare their myndes and opinions to the matter, with their reasons in writyng. And the other number beyng also viij. men of good degree in schooles, and some hauyng bene in dignitie in the church of England, if they had any thing to say to y^e contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in lyke manner, and so eche of them should deliuer their writings to the other, to bee considered what were to bee improoued therein, and the same to declare agayne in writyng at some other conuenient day, and the like order to bee kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed vpon with the Archb. of Yorke, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, diuers of the Nobilitie and states of the realme vnderstanding that such a meting and conference shoulde bee, and that in certaine matters whereupon the Courte of Parliament consequently followyng, some lawes might be grounded. They made earnest meanes to her Maiestie, that the parties of this conference, might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the Nobilitie and others of her Parliament house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their owne iudgements, to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend hereupon.

This also beyng thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties and so fully agreed vpon, and the daye appoynted for the first meetyng, to bee the Friday in the forenoone, beyng the last of March, at Westminster church. At which foresayd day and place, both for good order & for honour of the conference by the Queenes maiesties commandement, the Lordes and others of the priuy counsaile were present, and a great parte of the nobilitie also: And notwithstanding this former order appoynted, and consented vnto by both partes, yet the Bishop of Winchester & his Colleagues alledging they had mistaken y^t their assertions and reasons should be written, and so onely recited out of the booke, sayd their booke was not ready the•• written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that tyme repeate in speache that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and specially from that which themselves had by the sayde Archbishop in writyng before required, adding thereto the reason of the Apostle, that to contend with wordes, is profitable to nothyng, but to subuersion of the hearer, seemed to the Queenes maiesties counsaile somewhat strange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistakyng the order, and agreed that they would not faile but put it in writing and accordyng to the former order, deliuer it to the other part, and so the sayd Bishop of Winchester and hys Colleagues, appoynted Doctour Cole Deane of Paules, to be the vtterer of their myndes, woo partly by speech onely, and partly by readyng of authorities written, and at certayne tymes beyng enformed of his Colleagues, what to say made a declaration of their meanynge and their reasons to their first proposition, which being ended, they were asked by the priuy Counsaile if any of them had any more to be sayd, and they sayd no. So as the other parte was licenced to shewe their myndes, which they dyd accordyng to the first order, exhibitynge all that whiche they ment to be propounded, in a booke written, which after a prayer and inuocation made most humbly to almighty God for the enduyng of them with his holy spirite, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the Catholike Church builded vpon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Prophets and the Apostles, was distinctly red by one Robert Horne Bachelor in Diuinitie, late Deane of Duresme, and after Bishoppe of Winchester. The Cope of which their Protestation here followeth, accordyng as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their preface also before the same, as is here expressed.

Forasmuch as it is thought good vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiesty (vnto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we should declare our iudgement in writyng vpon certayne propositions: we, as becommeth vs to doe herein, most gladly obey.

Seeing that Christ is our onely maister, whome the father hath commaunded vs to heare: and seying also hys worde is the truth, from the which it is not lawfull for vs to depart not one haire bredth, and against the which (as the Apostle saith) we can do nothing, we doe in all thinges submitte our selues vnto this truth, and doe protest that we will affirme nothyng agaynst the same.

And forasmuch as we haue for our mother the true and catholike Church of Christ, which is grounded vpon the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophetes, and is of Christ the head in all things gouerned, we do reuerence her iudgement, we obey her authoritie as becommeth children: and we do deuoutly professe and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three Creedes, that is to say, of the Apostles, of the Councell of Nice, [Page 2120](#) and of Athanasius.

And seying that we neuer departed, neither frō the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy Canonick Scriptures, nor yet from the fayth of the true and catholike church of Christ, but haue preached truely the worde of God, and haue sincerely ministred the sacraments accordyng to the institution of Christ, vnto the which our doctrine and fayth, the most part also of our aduersaries did subscribe not many yeares past, (although now as vnnaturall they are reuolted from the same) wee desire that they render accompt of their backsliding, and shewe some cause wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which they haue before professed, but also persecute the same by all meanes they can. We do not doubt but through the equitie of the Queenes most excellent maiesty, we shall in these disputations be entreated more gently then in yeres late past, when we were handled most vniustly, & scanty after the common maner of men. As for the iudgement of

the whole controuersie, we referre vnto the most holy scriptures, and the catholike church of Christ (whose iudgement vnto vs ought to be most sacred): notwithstanding by the catholike church we vnsterstand not the Romish church, whereunto our aduersaries attribute suche reuerence, but that which S. Augustine & other fathers affirme, ought to be sought in the holy scriptures, and which is gouerned and led by the spirite of Christ.

*It is against the worde of God and the custome of the Primitiue Church to vse a tong vnknown to the people in common praiers & administration of the sacraments.

By these words (the word of God) we meane only the written word of God, or canonicall scriptures.

And by the custome of the primitiue church, we meane the order most generally vsed in the church for the space of 500. yeres after Christ, in which times liued the most notable fathers, as Iustine, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basill, Chrysostome, Hierome, Ambrose, Austine, &c.

*This assertion aboue written hath two partes. Fyrst, that the vse of the tongue not vnderstanded of the people in common prayers of the Church, or in the administration of the Sacramentes, is agaynst Gods worde.

The second, that the same is agaynst the vse of the primatiue Church.

The first parte is most manifestly prooued by the 14. chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians,* almost thorow out the whole chapter. In the whiche chapter Saynt Paule intreateth of this matter, ex professo purposely. And although some do cauel that Saint Paule speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of Preaching, yet is it most euident to any indifferent reader of vnderstanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the beste writers, that hee plainly there speaketh not onely of Preaching and Prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgeuing, and generally of all other publicke actions, whiche require any speache in the Church or congregation. For of praying he sayth: I will pray with my spyrite, and I will pray with my minde, I will singe with my spyrite, and I will singe with my minde. And of thanksgeuing (which is a kinde of prayer:) Thou geuest thanks well, but the other is not edyfied. And how shall he which occupyeth the rounge of the vnlearned say, Amen to thy geuing of thanks when he vnderstandeth not what thou sayest? And in the ende, descending from particulers to a generall proposition, cōcludeth that all thinges oughte to be done to edyfication. Thus much is cleare by the very words of Saint Paule: and the auntyent Doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierom, and other do so vnderstand this chapter, as it shal appeare by their testimonies which shall follow afterwarde.

¶Upon this Chapter of Saint Paule we gather these reasons following.

1. All things done in the Church or congregation, ought so to be done as they may edifye the same.*

But the vse of an vnknowē tongue, in publicke prayer or administration of Sacramentes doth not edifye the congregation.

Therefore the vse of an vnknown tongue in publicke prayer or administration of Sacramentes is not to be had in the Church.

*The first part of this reason is grounded vpon Saynt Paules wordes, commaunding all thinges to be done to edyfication.

*The seconde parte is also prooued by Saynte Paules playne wordes. Fyrst by this similitude. If the trumpet geue an vncertayne sounde who shall be prepared to battaile? Euen so likewise when ye speake with tongues, except ye speake wordes that haue signification, how shall it be vnderstanded what is spoken? for ye shal but speake in the ayre, that is to say, in vayne, and consequently without edifieng.

And afterward in the same chapter he sayth: how can he that occupieth the place of the vnlearned say, Amen, at thy geuing of thanks, seeyng he vnderstandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily geuest thanks well, but the other is not edified.

These be Pauls words, plainly proouing, that a tong not vnderstanded, doth not edifie. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus prooued by S. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

Secondly, nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an vnknown tongue,* except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be vnderstand. For saith Paul, if there be no interpreter to him y^t speaketh in an vnknown tong, taceat in ecclesia, let him hold his peace in the church. And therfore the commō praiers & administratiō of sacramēts, neither done in a known tong, neither interpreted, are against this commandement of Paul, and not to be vsed.

The minister in praier or administration of sacramēts vsing language not vnderstanded of the hearers,* is to thē barbarous, an alien, which of Saint Paul is accompted a great absurditie.

It is not to bee counted a Christian common prayer,* where the people present declare not their assent vnto it by saying Amen, wherein is employed all other words of assent.

But S. Paul affirmeth that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen,* except they vnderstand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common prayer where the people vnderstandeth not what is sayd.

Paule would not suffer in this tyme a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speach was then a miracle, & a singular gift of the holy ghost, whereby infidels might bee perswaded and brought to the faith: much lesse is it to bee suffred now amongst christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle, nor especiall gift of the holy ghost.

Some will peraduenture answer, that to vse any kind of tong in common prayer or administration of sacramēts is a thing indifferent.*

But S. Paul is to the contrary. For he commaundeth all things to be done to edification, he cōmandeth to keepe silence if there be no interpreter,* and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus. If any man be spirituall or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commaundementes of the Lorde. And so shortly to conclude, the vse of a strange tongue in prayer and ministration is agaynst the word and commandement of God.

To these reasons, grounded vpon S. Pauls wordes, which are the most firme foundation of this assertion, diuers other reasones may bee ioyned, gathered out of the scriptures and otherwise.

In the old testament all things pertainyng to y^e publike prayer, benedictions, thankesgeuings, or sacrifices,* were alwayes in their vulgar and naturall tong. In the 2. booke of Paralipom. chap. 29. it is written that Ezechias commanded the Leuites to praise God with y^e Psalms of Dauid, and Asaph the Prophet, which doubtlesse were written in Hebrew their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadowes of the law, much more ought we to doe the like, who (as Christ saith) must pray in spiritu & veritate.

The finall end of our prayer (as Dauid sayth) is,* vt populi conueniant in vnum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes eius in Hierusalem.

But the name and praises of God cannot be set foorth to the people, vnlesse it be done in such a tong as they may vnderstand, therfore common prayer must bee had in the vulgar tongue.

The definition of publike prayer out of the wordes of S. Paule. Orabo spiritu, orabo & mente. Publicè orare,* est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, & ea spiritu, hoc est, lingua testari. Common prayer is to lifte vp our common desires to God with our myndes, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues, which definition is approoued by S. Augustine, de magistro. cap. 1. Nihil opus est (inquit) loquutione, nisi forte vt sacerdotes faciunt, significandae mentis causa, vt populus intelligat.

The ministration of the Lordes supper and baptisme are as it were Sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.*

But Sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may perceiue, otherwise they shoulde be had in vayne.

It is not lawfull for a christian man to abuse the gifts of God,* but he that praieth in the church in a strange tong abuseth the gifts of God. For the tong serueth onely to expresse the mynd of the speaker to the hearer. And August. sayth: De doctrina Christiana, li. 4. ca. 10. loquēdi omnino nulla [Page 2121](#) est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos vt intelligant loquimur. There is no cause why wee shoulde speake if they for whose cause we speake, vnderstande not our speaking.

*The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sortes of men, were they neuer so wylde, euermore made their prayes and sacrifices to their Gods in their owne mother tongue. Which is a manifest declaratiō that it is the very light and voyce of nature.

¶ Thus much vpon the ground of S. Paule and other reasons out of the Scriptures, ioyning therewith the common vsage of all nations, as a testimony of the lawe of nature.

*Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, that the vse of a strange tongue in publike prayer and administration of sacraments, is against the custome of the Primitiue church, which is a matter so cleare, that the deniall of it must needes proceed either of great ignorance, or els of wilfull malice.

For first of all Iustinus Martyr describing the order of the communion in his tyme,* sayth thus: Die solis vrbanorum ac rusticorum coetus, fiunt vbi Apostolorum prophetarum{que} literae, quoad fieri potest praeleguntur: Deinde cessante lectore, praepositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationē tam honestarum rerum inuitans. Posthaec consurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus sinitis profertur (vt diximus) panis, vinum & aqua: tum praepositus quantum potest, preces offert, & gratiarum actiones, plebs vero Amen accinit.

That is to saye: Uppon the Sondag assemblies are made both of the citizens and countrey men, whereas the writings of the Apostles and of the Prophets are red, as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth cease the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhortyng them to fol•ow so honest thyngs. After this, we rise altogether and offer praiers, which beyng ended (as we haue sayde) bread, wine & water are brought forth. Then the hed Minister offreth prayers and thansgeuing, as much as he can and the people answereth, Amen.

☞ These wordes of Iustine, who liued about 160. yeares after Christ, considered with their circumstance, declare playnely that not onely the Scriptures were red, but also that the prayers and administration of the Lords supper were done in a tongue vnderstanded,

Both the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the Communion,* the people wer appointed to answer to the prayer of the Minister, sometymes Amen, sometymes, Lord haue mercy vppon vs, sometymes, and with thy spirite, and we haue our hartes lifted vp vnto the Lord, &c. Which aunswers, they coulde not haue made in due tyme, if the prayers had not bene made in a tong vnderstanded.

And for further prooffe, let vs heare what Basill writeth in this matter to the Clarkes of Neocaesarea.*Caeterum ad obiectum in Psalmodijs crimen quo maxime simplices terrent calumniatores, &c. As touching that is layed to our charge in Psalmodies and songs, wherwith our slaundersers doe fraie the simple, I haue thus to say, that our customes and vsages in all Churches, be vniforme, and agreeable.

For in the night the people with vs riseth, goeth to th• house of prayer, and in trauaile, tribulation, and continual teares, they confesse themselues to God, and at the last rising agayne, go to their songs or Psalmody, where being deuided into two partes, sing by course together, both deeply weying and confirmyng the matter of the heauenly sayinges, and also stirring vp their attention and deuotion of heart, which by other meanes bee alienated and plucked away. Then appoynting one to beginne the song, the rest followe, and so with diuers songes and prayers passing ouer the nyght, at the dawning of the day, altogether euen as it were, with one mouthe and one heart, they

sing vnto the Lord a song of Confession, euery man framyng to hymselfe meete wordes of repentaunce.

If you will flie vs from hencefoorth for these thynges, ye must flie also the Egyptians, and both the Libianes, ye must eschew the Thebanes, Palestines, Arabians, the Phenices, the Syrians, and those that dwell besides Euphrates. And to be short, all those with whome watchinges, prayers, and common singyng of Psalmes are had in honour.

☞ **Testimonies of S. Ambrose, written vpon the 14. to the Corinth. the first epistle. Super illud qui enim loquitur linguis.**

Hoc est quod dicit, quia qui loquitur incognita lingua, &c. This is it that he sayth: [*](#) because he which speaketh in an vnknownen tongue, speaketh to God. For he knoweth all thyngs but men know not, & therefore there is no profit of this thyng.

¶ The same author afterwarde, Super illud, si benedixeris spiritu. [*](#)

Hoc est, si laudem dei lingua loquaris ignota, &c. Uppon these wordes, if thou blesse or geue thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the rounge of the vnlearned, say, Amen at the geuyng of thanks, seeyng he vnderstandeth not what thou sayest?

That is (sayth Ambrose) if thou speake the prayse of God in a tongue vnknownen to the hearers. For the vnlearned hearing that which he vnderstandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not Amē. That is as much to say as (true) that the blessing or thāksgeuyng may bee confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer, Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the mindes of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.

¶ Afterward in the same place vpon these wordes, if any Infidell or vnlearned come in. [*](#)

Quum enim intelligit & intelligitur, &c. For when hee vnderstandeth, and is vnderstanded, hearing God to bee prayed, and Christ to bee worshipped, he seeth perfectly, that the religion is true, and to be reuerenced, wherein he seeth nothyng to be done colourably, nothyng in darkenesse, as among the Heathen, whose eyes are couered, that they seyng not the thyngs which they call holy, might perceyue themselues to be deluded with diuers vanities. For all falsehood seketh darkenes, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore, with vs nothing is done priuily, nothing couertly, but one God is simply prayed, of whom are all things, and one Lord Iesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can vnderstand, or of whome hee may be tried, he may say, there is some deceit and vanitie, which is therfore song in tongues (not vnderstanded hee meaneth) because it is a shame to open it.

Vpon this place: Omnia ad aedificationem fiant. [*](#)

Conclusio haec est vt nihil incassum in ecclesia geratur: hocque elaborandum magis, vt & imperiti proficiant, ne quid sit corporis per imperitiam tenebrosum. Let all thyngs be done to edifie,

This is the conclusion, that nothyng should be done in the Church in vayne, and that this thyng ought chiefly to bee laboured for, that the vnlearned also myght profite, least any part of the body should bee darke thorough ignoraunce.

Agayne: Si non fuerit interpretes,* taceat in Ecclesia.

Hoc est, intra se tacitè oret aut loquatur deo, qui audit muta omnia. In Ecclesia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus prosit.

If there be no interpreter, let hym keepe silence in the Church.

That is, let him pray secretly, or speake to God within hymselfe, which heareth all dumme thyngs: for in the church he ought to speake which may profit all men.

☞ **Testimonies out of S. Hierome, vpon that place of Paule: Quomodo qui supplet locum idiotae, &c.**

PER illum, saith S. Hierome, qui supplet locum idiotae,* laicum intelligit, qui nullo gradu ecclesiastico fungitur. It is the lay men saith he, whom Paule here vnderstandeth to be in the place of the ignoraunt man which hath no Ecclesiasticall office. How shall he answer Amen to the prayer that he vnderstandeth not?

¶ **And a little after vpon these wordes: Nam si orare lingua, &c.**

Hoc dicit, quoniam si quis incognitis alijs linguis loquatur, mens eius non ipsi efficitur sine fructu, sed audienti. Quicquid [Page 2122](#) enim dicitur ignorat. This is Pauls meanyng, saith Hierome. If any man speaketh in strange & vnknown tongs his mynd is not to hymselfe without fruit and profite, but he is not profited that heareth hym.

And in the end of his commentary vpon the Epistle to the Galathians, he saith thus:

Quod autem (Amen) consensum significet audientis, &c. That (Amen) signifieth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing vp of the truth, Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, teacheth, saying. But if thou shalt blesse in spirit, who supplieth the place of the ignorant? How shall he at thy prayer aunswere (Amen) seeyng he knoweth not what thou sayst? Wherby he declareth, that the vnlearned man cannot aunswer, that that which is spoken, is true, vnlesse he vnderstand what is sayd.

The same Hierome sayth in the Preface of S. Pauls Epistle to the Galathians, that the noyse of (Amen) soundeth in the Romane church like an heauenly thunder.

*As Hierome compareth this sound of common praier to thunder, so compareth Basill it to the sound of y^e sea, in these words: If the sea be faire, how is not the assembly of the congregation much fairer, in the which a ioyned sound of men, women and childrē, as it were of the waues beatyng on the shore, is sent forth in our praiers vnto our God.

*Cum populus semel audiuit, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉 , statim omnes respondent Amen.

When the people once heare these words (world without end) they all forthwith answer, * Amen.

And the same writer vpon the same chapter, vppon these words: How shall hee that occupieth the rounge of the vnlearned: say Amen. En rursus amussi (quod dicitur) saxum applicat, ecclesiae aedificationem vbi{que} requi•ens. &c. Behold againe, he applieth the stone vnto the squire (as the Prouerbe is) requiring the edifieng of the Congregation in all places. The vnlearned he calleth the common people, and sheweth that it is no small discommoditie, if they cannot say, Amen.

And agayne the same Chrysostome: Quin & in precibus viderit quis populum multum simul offerre, *tum pro energumenis, tum pro poenitentibus. Communes enim preces & a sacerdote & ab illis fiūt, & omnes dicunt vna orationē, orationē misericordia plenam. Iterum, vbi excluderimus a sacerdotalibus ambitibus eos qui non possunt esse participes sanctae mensae, alia sacienda est oratio, & omnes similiter surgimus, &c. That is, yea in the prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the Priestes and the people pray altogether commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excl•ding out of the Priests limites all such as cannot bee pertakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all after one sort lye downe vppon the earth, and all agayne after one sort ryse vp together. Now when the peace is geuen, we all in lyke maner salute one another, and the Priest in the reuerent mysteries wisheth well to the people, and the people vnto hym, for Et cum spiritu tuo is nothing els but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgeuing, is common to all. But he geueth not thanks alone, but all the people with hym.

Hereby it may appeare, that not the priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all vnderstood, & all were able to say with the priest, which could not haue bene, if he had vsed a straunge tong in the ministration of the sacraments.

*Dionysius describing the maner of the ministration of the Lordes supper, sayth: That hymnes were said of the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian sayth: The priest doth prepare the myndes of the brethren, * with a preface before the prayer, saying: Lift vp your hartes, that whiles the people doth aunswer, we haue our hartes lifted vp to the Lord, they may be admonished that they ought to thinke of none other thing then of the Lord.

S. Augustine, Quid hoc sit, intelligere debemus, &c. What this should be we ought to vnderstand, * that we may sing with reason of man, not with chatting of birdes. For Ousels and Popiniayes, and Rauens, and Pies, & other such like birds are taught by mē to prate they know not what. But to sing with vnderstanding, is geuen by Gods holy will to the nature of man.

The same Augustine. There needeth no speach when we pray, * sauing perhaps as the priestes doe, for to declare their meanyng, not that God, but that men may heare them, and so being put in remembraunce by consentyng with the priest, may hang vpon God.

To these testimonies of the auncient writers, we will ioine one constitution of Iustinian the Emperour, who liued 527. yeares after Christ: Iubemus vt omnes Episcopi pariter & Praesbyteri. &c. We commaund that all bishops & priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the praiers vsed in holy Baptisme, not speaking low, but with a cleare or loud voyce, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the mynd of the hearers may bee stirred vp with greater deuotion, in vttering the prayes of the Lord God. For so the holy Apostle teacheth in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, saying: Truly if thou onely blesse or geue thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the vnlearned, say the Amen, at the geuing of thanks vnto god? for he vnderstandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily geuest thanks wel, but another is not edified. And again, in the Epistle to the Romans he sayth: Corde creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem fit confessio ad salutem, with the heart a man beleueth vnto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made vnto saluation.

Therefore for these causes it is conuenient, that amōgst other prayers, those thinges also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be vttered and spoken of the most religious bishops and priests vnto our Lord Iesus Christ our God with the father and the holy Ghost, with a lowde voyce. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things in y^e dreadful iudgement of the great God and our sauour Iesus Christ, neither will we when we know it, rest, and leaue it vnreuenged.

¶ Out of this constitution of Iustinian the Emperour, three things are worthy to be noted.

First, that the common prayer and ministration done with a lowd voyce, so as may be heard and vnderstanded of the people, is a meane to stirre vp deuotion in the people, contrary to the common assertion of Eckius & other aduersaries, who affirme that ignorance maketh a great admiration and deuotion.

Secondly, that Iustinian maketh this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers, so as it may be vnderstanded of the people, not a matter of indifferencie, but such a thyng as must be answered for at the day of iudgement.

Thirdly, that this Emperour beyng a christian Emperor, doth not onely make constitution of Ecclesiasticall matters, but also threateneth reuenge and sharpe punishment to the violaters of the same.

These are sufficient to prooue, that it is agaynst Gods word, and the vse of the primitiue church, to vse a lāguage not vnderstanded of the people, in common prayer & ministration of the sacraments. Wherefore it is to be meruailed at, not onely how such an vntruth and abuse crept at the first into the Church, but also how it is maintayned so stifly at this day, and vpon what ground these that will be thought guides and pastors of Christes church, are so loth to returne to the first originall of S. Pauls doctrine, & the practise of the primitiue catholike Church of Christ.

☛ The God of pacience and consolation, geue vs grace to bee lyke mynded one towardes another in Christ Iesu, that we all agreeyng together, may with one mouth prayse God the father of our Lorde Iesus Christ, Amen.

- Iohn Scory.
- Rich. Coxe.
- Dauid Whitehead.
- Edmund Grindall.
- Iohn Iewel.
- Rob. Horne.
- Iohn Aelmer.
- Edmund Gest.

And the same beyng ended with some likelyhood as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audiēce: certaine of the Bishops began to say contrary to their former aunswer, that they had now much more to say to this matter, wherein although they might haue bene well reprehended for such maner of cauillation: yet for auoidyng of any more mistakyng of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they should vtter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered & thus openly agreed vpō of both partes in the full audience, that vpon the monday folowing, the bishops should bring their minds & reasons in writyng to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same: and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And beyng red, ech of them should deliuer to other the same writings. And in the meane tyme, the Bishops should put in writyng, not onely all that which D. Cole had that day vttered, but al such other matters as they any otherwise could thinke of for the same, and as soone as they might possible, [Page 2123](#) to send the same booke touching that firste assertion to the other part, and they should receiue of them that writyng which Mayster Horne had there read that day, and vpon Monday it should be agreed what day they should exhibite theyr aunsweres touching the first propositiō. Thus both partes assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

***The order of the second dayes talke. ¶The Lord keeper of the great Seale, the Archbyshop of Yorke, the Duke of Northfolke, and all the Counsell being set, the Byshops on the one side, and the Protestantes, that is, the late banished Preachers on the other side, thus beganne the Lord Keeper.**

MY Lords and maisters, I am sure ye remember well, what order of talke and writing was appoynted to be had this day in this assembly,* at our last meeting, whiche I will not refuse now to repeat agayne for the shortnes of it, which was that ye appoynted here on both sides should bring in english writing, what ye had to say in the second question, and in this place appoynted to reade the same. Therefore begin my Lordes.

Winchester.

I am determined for my part that there shall be now red, that which we haue to say for the first questiō.

L. Keper.

Will ye not then proceede in the order appoynted you?

Winch.

I am, as I sayd prouided for the first question or proposition: and we should suffer preiudice if ye permit vs not to intreat of that first, and so we would come to the second questiō, and this is the order we would vse. I iudge all my brethren are so minded.

Bishops.

We are so determined.

L. Keper.

I know not what you would do for your determined order: but ye ought to looke, what order is appointed you to keepe, which ye by this meanes doe breake and litle regard.

Winch.

Sith our aduersaries part, if it please your Grace and honours, haue so confirmed theyr affection and purpose, we suffer a preiudice or damage, if ye permit vs not the like. Hereat Doctour Watson bishop of Lincolne being at this talke very desirous to haue spoken, sayd now to the Bishop of Winchester. I pray you let me speake, which was permitted him, we are not vsed indifferently, sithen that you allowe vs not to open in present writyng what we haue to say for the declaration of the first question, in so much, as that whiche ye take for the infirmation of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose, for that which Mayster Cole spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our case, but he made his Oration of himselfe, and ex tempore, that is, with no forestudied talke.

At such the Bishops wordes, the Nobility and other of the audience muche frowned and grudged at, sith that they well knew that Maister Cole spake out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same, & in that the same places which the Bishop informed him and appoynted him vnto with theyr fingers, all whyche thinges doe well declare the matter to bee premeditate, and not done ex tempore, for that Mayster Cole was appoynted by them to be theyr speaker. Whereupon this, the bishop of Lincolne was the worse takē, notwithstanding he went onward complayning & sayd: we are also euil ordered as touching the time, our aduersaries part hauing warning long before, & we were warned only two dayes before the last assembly in this place. What with this busines & other trouble, we haue bene driuen to haue bene occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the case of God, nor will not doe, but susteine it to the vttermost of our powers, as we ought so to endeouour by all maner of meanes. But hereunto we want presētly indifferent vsing.

L. Keper.

Take ye heede that yee deceiue not your selues when it shall come to iust triall of the matter, and that thē it be not proued agaynst you, that ye complayne without cause when the order and your maner towardes it shalbe duely wayed. I am willing and ready to heare you after the order taken and appoynted for you to reason therein, and farther or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Lich. Cou.

Let vs suffer no misorder or iniury herein, but be hea•d with indifference, that is to say: conuenient and meet we should haue here.

L. Keper.

I praye you Syrs heare me, and marke it you well. It was concluded on by my Lordes of the counsell, who you wel know of, that theyr writing, whiche ye are now so willing to haue heard, should haue bene read the first day, and then did we vnderstande that Mayster Cole had sayd what you would haue him, and as much as you willed him to say, and vpon that indifferency emonges, I iudge ye were asked in the ende of Mayster Coles rehearsall, whether that whiche he spake, was it ye woulde haue him say, and ye graunted it. Then whether ye would that he shuld say any more in y^e matter. Ye answered no, wherupon the other part was hard, which you hearing then in deede without all good indifferencie or playne dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to saye. So marke you wyth how small equitie you vsed your selfe.

The B.

We had in deede more to say, if we might haue bene indifferently heard.

L. Keeper.

Geue me leaue I saye, and looke what gaynes you should haue if your present request should be granted you: that call so muche of indifferent vsing, howe you shoulde vse those other men. For many who are here presently, were then away, so would you haue your writyng now red to them, whiche heard not this. Marke ye whether it had not bene more fit that ye had prouided it against the first day, when they orderly read theyrs, sith to my knowledge, and as farre as I haue hadde to doe in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one tyme. Howbeit to satisfy your importunacie and earnestnes of this crying out to haue your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the Queenes most honorable Counsell, that you dispatching the worke on the second question, appoynted for this daye, and geue vs vp your writing for the first, so that when the daye commeth that each of you shall aunswer the other in confirmation of the first question, that then the same daye ye shall haue time to read this your first writing, whiche ye now would so fayne read. To this order all the Counsel willingly condescended.

Lich Co.

Nay my Lordes, they reading one, and we two bookes in one day, wee shoulde not haue time enough to read them both. It would occupy to much time.

L. Keeper.

For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and I iudge the rest of the Counsell, and lykewise the whole audience. At whiche saying there was a shoute crying on all sides: yea, yea, wee woulde heare it gladly.

Lincolne.

We cannot read them both at one time: for theyr writing (I am sure) would require an houre and a halfe, if so be it be so long as theyr laste was, and then our aunswere woulde require no lesse time after the fyrste question.

L. Keeper.

I haue shewed you we could be well contented to tary out the time when it commeth thereunto. Therefore ye neede not to be therein so curious, and wee graunting you thus muche, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I shall say vnto you.

Lincoln.

We haue bene wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation. For first it was appoynted vs by my Lord the Archbishop that we shoulde dispute, and that in Latine, and then had wee an other commaundement that we should prouide a Latine writing, and nowe at last we willed to bring forth our writinges in english.

At these wordes the Lord keeper of the great seale, the Archbishop, with all the Counsell muche mused, and many murmured at such his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon with an admiration the Lorde keeper aunswered: I maruaile much of the vsing of your selfe in this poynt, sith I am assured the order was neuer otherwise taken then that you shoulde bring forth in Englishe writing what you had to say for your purpose.

Hereupon the Byshops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my Lord of Lincolne, sayd: we so vnderstood the order, my Lordes.

L. Keeper

Howe likely is that, sith that it was so playnely told you? But to end these delayes, I pray you follow the order appoynted, and beginne to entreate of the seconde question.

Lich. Co.

We were appoynted this day by youre honours to bring in what we had to say in the first question.

At the which saying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talke, contrary to such his reporte.

L. Keeper.

The order was taken, for that your writinges were not ready the last time that ye shoulde yeld the same to these men, meaning the Protestantes, as soone as ye might, and vpon the receipt of your writinges, you shuld haue theyrs, and this day ye should entreate of the second question, and of

the thyrd, if that ye had leysure enoughe. This was the order my Lordes, except my memory much fayle me. The same all the Counsell affirmed.

Lincoln.

We were willed then to bring in this daye oure writing for the first question also.

Lorde Keeper.

Ah syrs, if ye bee so harde to bee satisfied, and to encline to the trueth, let my Lordes [Page 2124](#) here say what was then determined.

B. Yorke.

Ye are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a playne decreed order taken for you to intreat of the second Question. Wherefore leaue you your contention herein, and shew what ye haue to say in the second Question.

L. Keper.

Go to now, begin my Lordes.

Linc. Couen.

It is cōtrary to the order in disputatiōs that we should begin.

Chester.

We haue the negatiue: the affirmatiue therefore they must begin.

Lich. Couen.

They must first speake, what they can bring in agaynst vs, sith that we are the defending part.

Chester.

So is the schole maner, and likewise the maner in Westminster hall is, that y^e plaintifes part should speak first, and then the accused party to answere.

Lich. Couen.

I pray you let the proposition be read, & then let vs see who hath the negatiue part, and so let the other begin.

L. Keper.

The order was taken that ye should begin.

Lich. Couen.

But then we should do agaynst the Schoole order.

L. Keper.

My maisters, ye inforce much the schole orders. I wonder muche at it, sith diuers of those orders are ofte times taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to mainteine a fashion and many prescriptions, whiche we neede not here to recite, much lesse obserue. We are come hither to keepe the order of God, and to set forth his truth & herevnto we haue taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to chaunge.

Carlile.

We are of the catholicke church, and abide therein, and stand in the possessions of the truth, and therefore must they say what they haue to answere against vs, and so we to mainteine and defend our cause.

Lich. Couen.

Yea, euen so must the matter be ordered.

Chester.

When they bring any thing agaynst vs, it is sufficient for vs to deny it. Therfore must they begin.

Lich.

And when they affirme any thing, and we say naye, the prooffe belongeth to them, and so it behoueth them to shew first what they affirme, and for what cause and purpose.

L. Keper.

Here resteth our purpose, & whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, sith it was determined ye should begin.

Lich. Couen.

We heard of no such order.

L. Keper.

No did? Yes, and in the first question ye began willingly. How cometh it to passe that ye will not now do so?

Chester.

Then had we the affirmation, which sith that our aduersaries haue now, they should presently begin.

This the Protestantes denyed, saying that they in the first day had the negatiue, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

L. Keper.

If you haue any thing to say, my Lordes, to the purpose, say on.

Lich.

A particular sorte of men can neuer breake an Uniuersall Church, which wee nowe mainteine: and as for these men, our Aduersary part, I neuer thought that they would haue done so much as haue named themselues to be of the catholicke Church, challenging the name as wel as we.

Protestantes.

We doe so, and we are of the true Catholicke church, and maynteyne the verity therof.

Lincolne.

Yet woulde ye ouerthrowe all Catholicke order.

Horne.

I wonder that ye so much stand in who shoulde begin.

Lincolne.

You count it requisite that we shoulde followe your orders, as we haue takē the question at your hands, in that sort as you haue assigned them.

Lich. Couen.

Yea, euen so are we driuen to do now.

L. Keper.

Nay, I iudge if ye marke the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your devise to them, but offred indifferently to you both.

Horne.

In deed my Lordes of the Queenes most honourable Counsell, these questions or propositions were proposed vnto vs by your honors, and they then hauing the preheminence, chose to themselues the negatiue, & yet frely began first: now agayne why do they not the like.

Liechfield being angred that he shoulde so straightlye speake agaynst them, went quite from the matter, saying: My Lord keeper of the great seale, and you the rest of the Queenes most honorable Counsel, I hope that you all, & the Queenes Maiesty her selfe, are inclined to fauour the verity in all thinges, & the truth of the catholicke church, which we must, will, or can do no otherwise, but earnestly maynteyne to the vttermost of our power, and to thys purpose let vs now well way who are of the true Catholicke church, they or we.

L, Keeper.

Tary, now you goe from the matter, and make questions of your owne.

Lichfield.

Yet not straying from his digression, sayd thus: we must needes goe to worke, and trye that first, of what Church they be of. For there are many Churches in Germany. Mayster Horne, maister Horne, I pray you which of these Churches are you of?

Horne.

I am of Christes catholicke Church.

L. Keeper.

Ye ought not thus to runne into voluntary talk of your owne inuenting, nor to devise newe questions of your owne appoyntment, and thereby enter into y^t talke: ye ought not so to doe. But say on, if you haue anye thing to say in this matter.

Lich.

Nay, we must first thus go to worke with them as I haue sayd, if that we will search a truth: howbeit of the truth we haue no doubt, for that we assuredly stande in it. These men come in, and they pretend to bee doubtfull. Therefore they shoulde first bring what they haue to impugne or withstand vs withall.

Winch.

Let them begin: so will we goe onward with our matter.

Chester.

Otherwise, my Lordes, if they should not begin, but end the talke, then shoulde the verity on our sides bee not so well marked, for they should depart speaking last, cum applausu populi, with the reioising triumph of the people.

Winch.

Therefore I am resolued that they shall begin or that we say any thing.

Chester.

I am sory my Lordes, that wee shoulde so longe stand in the matter, with your honours and make so many wordes, and so much adoe with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency if they begin not: and surely we thinke it meete, that they shoulde for theyr partes geue vs place.

Lich.

Yea, that they shoulde and ought to doe where anye indifferencie is vsed.

Aelmer.

We giue you the place (do we not?) and depriue you not of the preeminence, because you are Byshoppes: therefore I pray you begin.

The Byshop.

A goodly geuing of place I assure you: yea marie ye gaue place, suche wordes they vsed, wyth more scoffes.

L. Keeper.

If ye make this assembly gathered in vayne, and will not go to the matter, let vs rise and depart.

Winch.

Contented, let vs be gone: for we will not in this poynt geue ouer.

I pray you my Lords, require not at our hands that we should be anye cause of hinderaunce or lett to our religion, or geue any such euil example to our posteritie, whiche we shoulde doe if we gaue ouer to them, whiche in no wise we may, or will do.

L. Keeper.

Let vs then breake vp, if you bee thus minded. With these wordes the Bishoppes were strayght wayes rising. But then sayd the Lord keeper: let vs see whether euery one of you be thus minded. How say you my Lorde of Winchester, will you not begin to read your writing?

Winch.

No surely. I am full determined, and fully at a poynt therein, how soeuer my brethren do.

Then the Lord Keeper asked how the Bishoppe was called who sate next to Winchester in order. It was the Bishoppe of Exceter, who being enquired his mind herein, answered that he was none of thē. Thē the Lord Keeper asked the other in order, and first Lincolne, who sayde he was of the same minde that Winchester was of: & likewise answered Lichfield Couen. Cole and Chedsy. Then Chester being asked his sentence, sayd: My Lordes, I say not that I will not read it, if yee commaund vs: but wee ought not to do it: yet I desire your honors not so to take it, as though I would not haue read it. I meane not so.

L. Keeper.

How say you to it: my Lord of Carlile?

Carlile.

If they should not read theyrs this daye, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read.

L. Keeper.

So would ye make orders your selues, and appoynt that we should spend one day in hearing you.

Abbot.

Then y^e Abbot of Westminst. was asked his mind who sayd: and if it please your honours, I iudge that my Lordes here stay most on this poynt, that they feare when they shall begin first, and the other aunswere thereupon, there shall be no time geuen to them to speake, whiche my Lord misliketh.

L. Keeper.

Howe can it otherwise be in a talke appoynted in such assembly and audience: thinke you that there can be continuall aunswering one another? when shoulde•• after that sort haue an end?

Lich. Couen.

It must bee so in a disputation to seeke out [Page 2125](#) the trueth.

L. Keper.

But how say you, my Lord Abbot, are you of the mynde it shalbe read?

Abbot.

Yea forsooth, my lord, I am very wel pleased with all. Harpesfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keper.

My Lordes, sith that ye are not willing but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, wee wyll breake vp and departe: and for that ye wyll not that wee should heare you, you may perhaps shortly heare of vs.

THus haue we declared the order and maner of this cōmunication or conference, at Westminster, betweene these two parties, wherin if any law or order were brokē, iudge (good reader) wher the fault was, and consider with al what these Papistes be, from whō if ye take away their sword and authority from them, you see all their cunning how soone it lyeth in the dust, or els why would they not abide the triall of writing? why would they or durst they not stande to the order agreed vpon? Whether shoulde we say ignoraunce or stubbernes to be in them more, or both together? Who first being gently (as is sayd) and fauorably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being secondly (as appeared by the Lord Keepers words) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the authority. &c. of that place, nor their owne reputation, nor the credite of the cause, vtterly refused that to doe. And finally being agayne particularly euery of them aparte distinctly by name required to vnderstande theyr opinions therin, they al, sauing one (which was the Abbot of Westminster, hauing some more consideratiō of order and hys duety of obedience then the other) vtterly and playnly denyed to haue theyr booke read, some of them as more earnestly then other, some so also, some other more vndiscretly, and vnreuerently then others. Wherupon geuing such example of disorder, stubbernes, and selfe will, as hath not bene seene and suffered in such an honorable assembly, being of the two estates of this Realme, the nobility and the commons, beside the presence of the Queenes Maiestyes most honorable priuy counsell, the same assembly was dis. missed, and the Godly and most Christian purpose of the Queenes Maiesty made frustrate. And afterward for the contempt so notoriously made, the Byshop of Winchester & Lincolne,* hauing most obstinately both disobeyed commō authority, and varied manifestly from theyr owne order, and specially Lincoln, who shewed more folly then the other: were condignely committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (sauing the Abbot of Westminster) stode bound to make dayly theyr personall appearaunce before the counsell, and not to depart the Cittye of London and Westminster, vntill further order were taken with thē for their disobedience and contempt.

Besides the former protestation or libell written and exhibited by the Protestantes, concerning the first question, there was also an other like writing of the fayde Protestantes made of the second question, but not published, which if it come to our hand, we wil likewise impart vnto thee.

As these Byshops aboue named were committed to the Tower, so Boner Bishop of London, about the same time,* was commaunded to the Marshalsea, whereas hee both in his blinde bloody heresy, and also in his deserued captiuity long remayned, abiding the Queenes pleasure, gods pleasure, I beseech him, so be wrought on that person, that the Church of Christes flocke, if they can take or looke for no goodnesse of that man to come, yet they maye take of him and of other no more harme hereafter, thē they haue done alredy. We al beseech thee this O Lord eternal per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Aboute this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reigne of Queene Elizabeth, was a Parliament summoned, and holden at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching religion, and great study on both parties employed, the one to reteine still, the other to impugne the doctrine and faction which before in queene Maries time had bene established. But especially here is to be noted that though ther lacked no industry on the papistes side, to holde fast that, which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, & by al meanes practised to come by: Yet notwithstanding, such was the prouidence of God at that time, that for lacke of the other bishops, whome the Lorde had taken away by death a little before, the residue that there were left, could doe the lesse: and in very deede, God be praysed therefore, did nothing at all in effect. Although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neyther will nor labour to do what they could, if their cruell abilitie there might haue serued. But namely amongst all other,* not onely the industrious courage of Doctor Story but also his wordes in this Parliament are worthy to be knowne of posteritie, who like a stout and furious champion of the popes side, to declare himselfe howe lustie hee was, & what he had and would do in his maisters quarrell, shamed not openly in the saide Parliament house to brast out into such impudent sort of words, as was wonder to all good eares to heare, and no lesse worthy of history.

The summe of which his shameles talke was vttered to this effect: First beginning with himselfe, hee declared,* that where as he was noted commonly abroad, and much complayned of, to haue bene a great doer, and a •e•ter forth of such religion, orders, and proceedinges, as of hys late soueraigne that dead is, Queene Mary, were set forth in this Realme, hee denied nothing the same, protestyng moreouer that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as wel then commaund him, as now also doth discharge hym for the same, being no lesse ready now also to doe the like, and more, in case hee by this Queene were authorised likewise, and commaunded thereunto. Wherefore as I see (sayth he) nothing to be ashamed of, so lesse I see to be sory for, but rather sayd that he was sory for thys, because he had done no more thē he did, and that in executing those lawes, they had not bene more vehement and seuer. Wherein he sayd, there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both ofte and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little greeued with them, for that they laboured onely about the young and little sprigges and twigges, whyle they should haue stroken at the roote, and cleane haue rooted it out. &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, hee denyed not, but that he was once at the burning of an herewygge (fo• so he termed it) at Uxbridge, where he tost a faggot at his face as hee was singing Psalmes,* and set a wynbushe of thornes vnder his feete, a little to pricke him, wyth many other words of like effect. In the whiche words he named moreouer syr Phillip Hobby, & an other knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his Counsell was to plucke at: & to bring them vnder coram, wherein sayd he if they had followed my aduise, then

had they done well and wisely. This or much like was the effect of the shameles and tyrannicall excuse of hym selfe, more meete to speake with the voyce of a beast, then of a man.

Although in this Parliament some diuersitie there was of iudgement & opinion betweene parties, yet notwithstanding through the mercifull goodnes of the Lord, the true cause of the Gospell had the vpper hand, the Papistes hope was frustrate, and theyr rage abated, the order and proceedinges of king Edwardes time concerning religion was reuiued agayne, the supremacie of the Pope abolished, the articles and bloudy statutes of Queene Mary repealed, briefly the furious firebrandes of cruell persecution, which had consumed so many poore mens bodyes, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the olde Byshops deposed, for that they refused the othe in renouncing the pope and not subscribing to the Queenes iust and lawfull title. In whose rowmes and places, first for Cardinall Poole, succeeded D. Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. In the place of Heth, succeeded D. Young. In steede of Boner, Edmund Grindall was Bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlby Tonstall, Pates, Christoferson, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feasy, White, Oglethorpe. &c. were placed Doctor Iohn Parkust in Norwich, D. Coxe in Ely, Iuell in Salisbury Pilkenton in Duresme, Doctor Sandes in Worcester Mayster Downam in Westchester, Bentam in Couentry and Lichfield, David in S. Dauies, Ally in Exceter, Horn in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Best in Carlile, Bullingham in Lincoln Scamler in Peterbury, Bart let in Bath, Gest in Rochester, Barlo in Chi. &c.

¶And here to make an end of this Story. Now it remayneth to proceed further to the Appendix in supplying such thinges as haue either bene omitted, or newly inserted, as foloweth.

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☛ The Appendix of such Notes and Matters, as either haue bene in this History omitted or newly inserted.

IN this Story of Sir Roger Acton aboue mentioned pag. 587.* I finde that with him were taken many other persōs, that all the prisons in & about London were replenished with people. The chiefe of thē, which were 29. were condemned of heresy, & atteynted of high treason, as mouers of war agaynst theyr king, by the temporall law in the Guild hall the 12. day of December, and adiudged to be drawne and hanged for treasō, and for heresy to be consumed with fire, Gallowes and all, which iudgement was executed in Ianuary following on the sayde Syr Roger Acton and 28. other.

Some say that the occasion of theyr death was the cōueyance of the Lord Cobham out of Prison. Other write that it was both for treason (as the aduersaries termed it) and heresy.

Certayne affirme that it was for feyned causes surmised by the spiritualty, more of displeasure thē truth, as seemeth more neare to the truth.

***Concerning Iohn Frith, of his life and story this foloweth more to be added, and to be referred to the page. 103•.**

Firſt this Iohn Frith was borne in the Towne of Weſtme in Kent,* who after by diligent eſpecialles was takē in Eſſex flying beyond the ſeas & brought before the Counſaile, Syr Thomas More thē being Chauncellor, and ſo from them committed vnto the Tower, where he remayned priſoner the ſpace of a quarter of a yeare or there about. It chaunced that Doctour Curreyne ordinary Chapleyne vnto King Henry the eighte, preached a Sermon in Lent before his Maieſty. And there verie ſore enueying agaynſte the Sacramentaryes (as they thē termed and named) which fauored not the groſſe opinion that Chriſtes body was carnally reall in the Sacrament, he ſo farre diſcourſed in that matter that at the length he brake out thus far and ſayd. It is no maruayle though this abhominable heresy doe muche preuayle among vs, for there is one nowe in the Tower of London ſo bolde as to write in the defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation, meaning Iohn Fryth, who then had aunſwared Syr Thomas More in writing agaynſte a confutation of that erroneous opinion which of late before the ſayd Maister More had writen agaynſt Iohn Frythes aſſertion in that behalfe. This Sermon of purpoſe was deuised and appoynted by the Byſhop of Wincheſter and other to ſeek the deſtruction of Fryth by putting the king in remembraunce that the ſayd Fryth was in the Tower there ſtayd rather for hys ſauęgarde then for his puniſhment by ſuche as fauored hym as the Lorde Cromwell who being Uicegerent in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall came then into ſuſpition therefore. For in ſuche ſorte was the matter handeled before the Kyng that all men mighte well vnderſtande what they meant. The Kyng then being in no poynte reſolued of the true and ſincere vnderſtanding of the doctrine of that Article, but rather a peruerſe ſtout Aduerſary to the contrary, called to hym my Lorde of Caunterburye and my Lord Cromwell, and willed them forthwith to call Fryth vnto examination, ſo that he might eyther be compelled to recant or elles by the Lawe to ſuffer condigne puniſhment.

Frythes long protract in the Tower withouten examination was ſo heynouſly taken of the King, that nowe my Lorde of Caunterburye with other Byſhoppes, as Stokesly thē biſhop of London & other learned mē were vndelayedly appoynted to examine Fryth. And for that there ſhuld be no concourſe of Citizens at the ſayd examination: my L. of Canterbury remoued to Croydon vnto whome reſorted the reſt of the Commiſſioners. Nowe before the day of execution appointed, my Lord of Cant. ſent one of his gentlemen and one of his porters: whoſe name was Perlebene a Welchman borne, to fetch Iohn Frith from the Tower vnto Croydon. This gentleman hadde both my Lords letters and the kings ring vnto my Lord Fitzwilliams Conſtable of the Tower then lying in Canon row at Weſtmiſter in extreme anguiſh and payne of the ſtrangulion for the deliuey of the priſoner: Maister Fytzwilliams more paſſionate then patient, vnderſtanding for what purpoſe my Lordes gentleman was come, banned and cursed Frith and all other heretickes, ſaying take this my King vnto the Lieuテナunt of the Tower and receiue your man your hereticke with you, and I am glad that I am ridde of him. When Frith was deliuered vnto my Lord of Caunterburyes Gentleman, they twaine with Parlebeane ſitting in a Wherry and rowing towardes Lambeth. The ſayd Gentleman much lamenting in his mind, the infelicite of the ſayd Frith, began in this wiſe to exhort him to conſider in what eſtate hee was, a man altogether caſt away in this worlde, if hee did not looke wiſely to himſelfe. And yet though his cauſe were neuer ſo daungerous, he might ſomewhat in relenting to auctoritie, and ſo to geue place for a time: helpe both hym ſelfe out of trouble, and when oportunitie and occaſion ſhould ſerue, preferre his cauſe which he then

went about to defend, declaring farther that he had many welwillers and friendes, whiche would stande on his side so farre forth as possible then were able and durst do: adding hereunto that it were great pittie that he being of such singuler knowledge both in the Latine, Greeke, both ready and rype in all kind of learning, and that namely aswell in the Scriptures as in the auncient Doctours, should now sodeinly suffer all those singuler giftes to perishe with him without little commoditie or profite to the world, and lesse comfort to his wife and children, and other his kinsfolkes friendes. And as for the veritie of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and bloud of our sauour Christ: It is so vntimely opened here among vs in England, that you shall rather do harme then good, wherefore be wyse and be ruled by good counsell vntill a better oportunitie may serue.

This I am sure of (quoth the gentleman) that my Lord Cromwell and my Lorde of Caunterbury much fauouring you and knowyng you to bee an eloquent learned young man, and nowe towards the felicitie of your lyfe, young in yeares, olde in knowledge, and of great forwardnes and likelihoode, to be a most profitable member for this Realme, will neuer permitte you to susteyne any open shame, if you will somewhat bee aduised by theyr Counsayle: on the other side, if you stand stiffe to your opinion, it is not possible to saue your lyfe. For like as you haue good friendes, so haue you mortall foes and enemies.

I most hartily thanke you, quoth Mayster Frith vnto the generall, both for your good will and for your counsayle: by the which I well perceauie that you minde well vnto me, howbeit my cause and conscience is suche, that in no wise I may not nor cannot for no worldly respect without daunger of damnation starte aside and flye from the true knowledge and doctrine whiche I haue conceyued of the supper of the Lorde or the Communion, otherwise called y^e sacrament of the aultar: for if it be my chance to be demaunded what I thinke in that behalfe, I must needes saue my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I haue written therein already, though I should presently lose xx. lyues if I had so many. And this you shall well vnderstand that I am not so furnished, eyther of Scriptures or auncient Doctors, Scholemen, or other for my defence, so that if I may be indifferently heard, I am sure that mine aduersaries cannot iustly cōdemne me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemne with me both S. Augustine and the most parte of the olde writers, yea the very Byshoppes of Rome of the oldest sorte shall also say for me & defend my cause. Yea mary quoth the gentleman [Page 2127](#) you say well: if you might be indifferently heard. But I muche doubt thereof, for that our Mayster Christ was not indifferently hearde, nor shoulde bee as I thinke if he were nowe present agayne in the worlde specially in this your opinion, the same beeing so odious vnto the worlde, and wee so farre off from the true knowledge thereof.

Well, well (quoth Fryth, then vnto the Gentleman) I know very wel, that this doctrine of the Sacrament of the Aultar which I holde and haue opened contrarie to the opinion of this Realme, is very hard meate to be digested both of the Cleargye and Layety thereof. But this I will say to you, taking the gentleman by the hand, that if you liue but twenty yeares more, whatsoeuer become of me, you shall see this whole Realme of mine opinion concerning this Sacrament of the Aultar, namely, the whole estate of the same though some sort of men perticularly shall not be fully perswaded therein. And if it come not so to passe then account me the vaynest man that euer you heard speake with tongue: Besides this, you saye that my death would bee sorrowfull and vncomfortable vnto my frendes.

I graunt (quoth he) that for a small tyme it would so be. But if I should so mollify, qualifye, and temper my cause in such sort as to deserue onely to be kept in prison, that would not onely be a much long griefe vnto me, but also to my friendes woulde breede no small disquietnesse both of body and of minde. And therefore all thinges well and rightly pondered, my deathe in this cause shall bee better vnto me and all mine then life in continuall bondage and penuries. And almightye GOD knoweth what he hath to doe with his poore seruaunt, whose cause I now defend and not mine owne: from the which I assuredly doe entend (GOD willing) neuer to start or otherwise to geue place, so long as God will geue me life.

This communication or like in effecte, my Lorde of Caunterburyes Gentleman and Fryth had comming in a Whery vpon the Thames frō the Tower to Lambeth.

Now, when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at Lambeth, the Gentleman, the Porter, and Fryth, went forward towards Croydon on foote. This Gentleman still lamenting with himselfe the harde and cruell destiny towards the sayde Fryth, namely, if hee once came amongst the bishops: & nowe also perceiuing the exciding constancye of Fryth, deuised with himselfe some waye or meanes to conuey him cleane out of theyr handes, and thereupon considering that there was no mo persons there to conuey the Prisoner, but the Porter and himselfe, he tooke in hand to winne the Porter to his purpose. Quoth the Gentleman vnto Perlebeane the Porter (they twayne priuately walking by themseues wythout the hearing of Fryth) you haue heard this man I am sure, and noted hys talke since he came from the Tower. Yea that I haue righte well marked him (quoth the Porter) and I neuer hard so constant a man nor so eloquent a person. You haue heard nothing quoth the gentleman in respecte of his both knowledge and eloquence, if he might liberally either in Uniuersity or pulpit declare his learning you woulde then much more maruell at his knowledge. I take him to be suche a one of his age in all kind of learning and knowledge of tonges, as this Realme neuer yet in mine opinion brought forth, & yet those singuler giftes in him are no more considered of our Byshops then if he were a very Dolte or an Idiot, yea they abhorre him as a deuill therfore, & couet vtterly to extinguish him as a member of the Deuill, without any consideration of gods speciall gifts. Mary quoth the Porter if there were nothing els in him but the consideratiō of his personage both comly and amiable, & of naturall disposition, gentle, meek and humble: it were pity that he should be cast away. Cast away (quoth the Gentleman) He shall be sure cast away if we once bring him to Croydō, & surely (quoth the Gentleman) before God I speake it, if thou Perlebeane were of my mind we would neuer bring him thither. Say you so quoth the Porter, I knowe that you be of a great deale more credit then I am, in this matter, and therefore if you can devise honestly or finde some reasonable excuse, wherby we may let him goe & prouide for himselfe, I will with all my hart condescend to your deuise. As for that quoth the gentleman it is already inuēted how & which waies he shall conuey himselfe without any great daunger or displeasure taken towards vs, as the matter shalbe handled. You see quoth the gentlemā yonder hill before vs, named bristow cawsy, 2. miles frō Lōdon, there are great woodes on both sides, when we come there we will permit Frith to go into y^e woodes on the left hand of y^e way wherby he may cōuey himselfe into kent amōg his frends for he is a kentish man borne, & whē he is gone we will linger an houre or twayn about y^e high way vntill that it somewhat draw towards the night: Then in great hast we will approach vnto Streatham which is a myle and a halfe of, and an outcry in the Towne that our prisoner is broken from vs into the woodes on the right hand towards Waynisworth, so that we will drawe as manye as wee may of the Towne to search the country that way for our

prisoner, declaring that wee followed aboue a myle and more, and at length loste him in the woodes because wee hadde no more companye, and so wee wyll rather then fayle lye out one night in searching for him and sende worde from Stretham to my Lorde of Canterbury at Croyden in the euening of the prisoners escape and to what Coast hee is fledde. So that by the morning if hee haue any good lucke at all, hee will so prouide for himselfe, that the Byshoppes shall fayle of their purpose. I assure you quoth Perlebeane I like very well the deuise herein, and therefore goe ye to Frith, and declare what wee haue deuised for hys deliuary: for nowe we are almost at the place.

When my Lorde of Caunterburyes gentleman came nyghe to the hill, he ioyned himselfe in companye wyth the sayd Frith, and calling him by hys name, sayd: Now Mayster Frithe, let vs twayne commune together an other whiles: you must consider that the iourney whiche I haue nowe taken in hande thus in bringing you to Croyden, as a sheepe to the slaughter, so it greueth me, and as it were ouerwhelmeth me in cares and sorrowes, that I little passe what daunger I fall in, so that I could finde the meanes to deliuer you oute of the Lyons mouthe. And yet yonder good fellowe and I haue so deuised a meanes, whereby you maye bothe easily escape from this great and Imminent daunger at hande and wee also bee rydde from any vehement suspicion. And thereupon declared vnto Fryth the full processe discoursed before, how euery thing in order should be handled.

When Frith had dilligently heard all the matter concerning hys deliuary, he sayd to the gentleman: Oh good Lorde wyth a smiling countenance, is this the effecte of youre secret consultation, thus longe betweene you twayne? Surely surely you haue loste a great deale more labour in tymes past, and so are you lyke to doe this, for if you should both leaue me here and goe to Croyden declaring to the Byshoppes that you had lost Fryth, I would surely follow as fast after as I might, and bring them newes that I hadde founde and brought Fryth agayne. Do you thinke, quoth he, that I am afrayde to declare my opinion vnto the Byshoppes of Englande in a manifest trueth.

You are a fonde manne quoth the Gentleman, thus to talke: As thoughe youre reasoning with them might do some good. But I doe much maruell, that you were so willing to flye the Realme before you were taken, and nowe so vnwilling to saue youre selfe. Mary there was and is a great diuersitie of escaping betweene thone and thother, quoth Frith.

Before I was in deede desirous to escape because I was not attached but at libertie, which liberty I woulde fayne haue enioyed for the maynteynance of my study beyond the See where I was a reader in the Greeke tong according to S. Paules Counsaile. Howbeit now being taken by the higher power, and as it were by almighty gods permission and prouidence deliuered into the hands of the Bishops only for religion & doctrines sake, namely such, as in conscience and vnder paine of damnation I am bound to maynteyne and defend, if I should now start aside and runne away: I should runne from my God and from the testimony of his holy worde, worthy then of an 1000. hels. And therefore I most hartily thanke you both, for your good willes towards me beseching you, to bring me where I was appointed to bee brought for els I will go thether all alone. And so with a chearfull & mery countenance he went with them, spending the time with pleasant & godly communication vntil they came to Croyden, where for that night he was wel entertained in y^e Porters lodge. On the morow he was called before certayn Bish. and other

learned men sitting in commission w^t my Lorde of Cant, to be examined, where he shewed himself passing ready & ripe in answering to all obiections as some then reported incredible and contrary to al mens expectatiōs, And his allegations both of S. Augustine & other ancient fathers of the Church was such, that some of them much doubted of S. Augustines authoritie in that behalf. Insomuch that it was reported of suche as were nigh and about the Archbishop of Caunterbury (who then was not fully resolved of the sincere truth of that article) that when they had finished their examination with Frith, the Archbyshoppe conferring wyth Doctour Heathe priuately [Page 2128](#) betwene themselues sayd. This man hath wonderfullie trauayled in this matter, and yet in mine opinion hee taketh the Doctours amisse. Well my Lord should D. Heth say, there was no man that coulde auoyd his authorities of S. Augustine. Wherein sayd my Lord. Then Doctour Heth began to repeate the sayd authorities of Saynt Augustine againe, inferring and applying them so strayghtly agaynst my Lord of Caunterbury, that my Lord was driuen to this shotte anker, and sayd. I see by it quoth he to Heth, that you with a little more studye will bee easely brought to Frythes opinion: or such like wordes in effect, And some Chapleines there were of my Lorde of Caunterburys which openly reported that Doctor Heth was as able to defend Frythes assertion in the Sacrament as Fryth was himselfe.

This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon to vnderstand what he could say or do in his cause, there was no man willing to preferre hym to aunswere in open disputation as poore Lambart was. But nowe without regarde of learning, or good knowledge hee was sent and deteyned vnto the Botchers stall: I meane Byshop Stokeleyes Consistory, there to heare not the opinion of Saynt Augustine and other auncient Fathers of Christes primatiue Church of the sayde Sacramēt, but either to be instruct and to heare the maymed and halfe cutaway Sacrament of Antichrist the Bishop of Rome with the grosse and fleshly imagination thereof or els to perish in the fire as he most constantly did, after hee had before the Byshop of London, Winchester and Chichester in the Consistory in Paules Church most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and fayth in thys weighty matter. &c. pag. 1032.

¶A note of William Plane.

IN the latter dayes of king Henry the eight, aboute that time Anne Askew was in trouble, one Doctour Crome was trauayled withall to recant, for that he had preached somewhat agaynst thinges mayntained of the papistes in the Church. And one M. Tracy hearing therof, brought a letter secretly to one Plane dwelling in Bouge row, and desired him to cary it to Doctor Crome, which letter tended to the end to perswade him not to recant, but to stand to the trueth. When this good man, William Plane had it (as he was euer willing to further the truth) so he gladly deliuered the same to Doctor Crome. Which when he had receiued and read it, he layd it downe vpon the table, and after the sayd William Plane was gone, an Arche Papist came thither to perswade him to recant, and in trauelling with him he found the sayd letter on the boord, which whē he had read it, he examined him from whence it came: so what thorow flattery, and threatning, he declared who was the messenger that brought it. Then was William Plan• sent for, cast in the Tower, where he lay miserably xiiij. weekes, none admitted to come to him, in which time he was extremely racked, within halfe a finger breadth as farre as Anne Askew: but they could neuer get of hym of whome he had the letter, nor neuer for all theyr extremity would accuse any man, so in the end he was deliuered out of the Tower and liued aboute three yeares after, and so godly ended his life. But vnto this day would that Tracy neuer enquire in what

condition his wife and children were left, although he was his Messenger in caryng the letter, but good Lord, the straunge disease that grew vpon him by that extreme racking as it is odious to rehearse, so I will wish thē to repentance that were the instruments of his tormentes if they be alieue, & warne other papists to the same, in whom any cruelty hath bene in the like cause.

A note of Lady Iane.

The Lady Iane, she whom the Lorde Gilford maryed, being on a time when she was very yong at Newhall in Essex at y^e Lady Maries,* was by one lady Anne Wharton desired to walke, and they passing by the chappell, the Lady Wharton made lowe curtesie to the popish Sacrament hangyng on the aulter, which when the Lady Iane saw, meruailed why she did so, and asked her whether the Lady Mary were there or not. Unto whome the Lady Wharton answered no, but she said that she made her curtesie to hym that made vs all. Why, quoth the lady Iane, how can hee be there that made vs all, and the Baker made him? This her aunswere commyng to the Lady Maries eare, she did neuer loue her after, as is credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that christian profession.

¶The copy of Queene Maries letters to the Duke of Northfolke.

Right trustie & right entirely beloued Cosin, we greete you well,* and hauing by the assistance of God and our louing subiects discomfited Wiate and the other rebels of our Countie of Kent, who hauyng passed the Riuer of Kingston, came backe agayne towards London, & were encountred aboute Charing crosse, and there were ouerthrowen, and the most part of them were there slaine, Wiate, and three of the Cobhams, Bret, Kneuet, Rudstone, Iseley, and other the chiefe Captaines taken prisoners: Wee haue thought good as well to geue you knowledge hereof, to the ende ye may with vs and the rest of our louyng subiects reioyce and geue God thanks for this our victory, as also further to signifie vnto you, that where the sayd rebell did alway pretend the matter of our mariage to be the cause of this vnlawfull stirre, now playnely appeareth by good and substantiall examinations of diuers of the sayd traitours, that whatsoever they pretended, the finall meanyng was to haue depriued vs frō our estate and dignitie royall, and consequently to haue destroyed our person, which thing as we do ascertain you of our honour to bee matter of truth, so wee praye you to cause y^e same to be published in all places of that our countries of Norfolke and Suffolke, to the intent our good and louing subiects thereof be no more abused with such false pretenses or other vntrue rumours or tales, by whom so euer the same shall be set forth. And now things beyng in this sort quieted, we cannot but geue you thanks for the readinesse that you haue bene in with the force of our said countrey, to haue serued vs if neede had bene, praying you to do the like on our behalfe to all the Gentlemen and others with you, with whom neuerthesse we require you to take such orders as the force of our sayd countrey may be still in like readines, to be employed vnder good & substantiall Captaines, to be chosen of the Gentlemen inheritours within the sayd shiere for our further seruice, vpō one houres warning, when so euer we shall require the same. And in the meane tyme our pleasure is, that ye haue good regard to the quietnes and good order of the country, specially to the apprehension of spreaders of false and vntrue tales & rumors, wherby ye shall both deserue well of your whole country, and also do acceptable seruice, which we will not faile to remember accordingly. Yeauen vnder our signe at our pallace of Westminster, the 8. of Febr. the first yeare of our raigne. In hast.

¶A Treatise of M. Nich. Ridley, in the name, as it seemeth, of the whole Clergie, to King Edward the vj. concernyng Images not to be set vp, nor worshipped in Churches.

☞ Certaine reasons which moouē vs that we cannot with safe consciences, geue our assentes that the Images of Christ, &c. should be placed and erected in Churches.

First the words of the Commandement, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image,* &c. And the same is repeated more playnely, Deut. 27. Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile & conflatile, &c. ponit illud in abscondito, &c.* That is, Curied is the man which maketh a graven or molten image, &c. and setteth it in a secret place, and all the people shall say, Amen.

In the first place these wordes are to be noted, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe, that is, to any vse of religion.

In the latter place these words: And setteth it in a secret place: for no man durst then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appeare, that images both for vse of religion, and in place of perill for idolatry, are forbidden.

God knowyng the inclination of man to Idolatry, sheweth the reason why he made this generall prohibition, Ne forte errore deceptus adores ea & colas: That is to say, Least peradventure thou beyng deceiued, should bow downe to them and worship them.

This generall lawe is generally to be obserued, notwithstanding, that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appeare by the example followyng.

God forbade the people to ioine their children in mariage with strangers, addyng the reason: Quia seducit filium tuum •e sequatur me: That is, For she will seduce thy [Page 2129](#) sonne, that he shall not follow me. Deut. 7.

Moses was not deceyued or seduced by Iethroes daughter, nor Booz by Ruth, beyng a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the generall law was to be obserued, Thou shalt ioine no mariage with them. And so likewise, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image, &c.

Deut. 4. God geueth a speciall charge to auoyde images. Beware (saith he) that thou forget not the couenaunt of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, & so make to thy selfe any graven image of any thing which the lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a consumyng fire, and a iealous God.

If thou haue children and nephews, and doe dwell in the land, and beyng deceiued, do make to your selues any graven image, doyng euill before the Lord your God and prouoke him to anger, I do this day call heauen and earth to witnesse, that you shall quickly perish out of the lande which ye shall possesse, ye shall not dwell in it any longer tyme, but the Lord will destroy you & scatter you amongst all nations, &c.

Note what solemne obtestation God vseth, and what grieuous punishments he threateneth to the breakers of the second commaundement.

In the tabernacle and temple of God, no image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practise afterwards vsed or permitted, so long as religion was purely obserued: so that the vse and execution of the lawe, is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

If by vertue of the second commaundement Images were not lawfull in the temple of the Iewes, then by the same commaundement they are not lawfull in the Churches of the Christians. For beyng a morall commaundement and not ceremoniall (for by consent of writers, only a part of the precept of obseruyng the Saboth, is ceremoniall) it is a perpetuall commandement, and byndeth vs as well as the Iewes.

The Iewes by no meanes would consent to Herode, Pilate, or Petronius, that Images should bee placed in the temple at Hierusalem, but rather offred themselues to the death, then to assent vnto it. Who besides that they are commended by Iosephus for obseruyng the meanyng of the law, would not haue endangered themselues so farre, if they had thought images had bene indifferent in the tēple of God: For as S. Paule sayth: 2. Cor. 6. Quid templo Dei cum simulachris, &c. Ioseph. Antiq. libr. 17. cap. 8, lib. 18. cap. 5. & 15.

Gods Scripture doth in no place commend the vse of Images, but in a great number of places doth disallowe and condemne them.

They are called in the booke of Wisedome, the trap & snare of the feete of the ignorant.

It is sayd the inuention of them was the beginnyng of spirituall fornication. And that they were not from the beginnyng, neither shall they continue to the end.

In the xv. chap. of the same booke it is sayd, Vmbra pictura labor sine fructu, &c. And againe, they are worthy of death both that put their trust in them, & that make them, and that loue them, and that worship them.

The Psalmes and prophets are full of like sentences, and how can we then prayse the thing which Gods spirit doth alwayes dispraise.

Furthermore, an Image made by a father (as appeareth in the same booke) for the memoriall of his sonne departed was the first inuention of images, and occasion of Idolatry. Sap. 14.

How much more then shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set vp in the place of religion occasion the same offence. Euseb. Eccles. histor. lib. 7. cap. 18. Images haue their beginning frō the heathen, & of no good ground therfore they cannot be profitable to Christians. Whereunto Athanasius agreeth, writing of Images agaynst the Gentils. Athanas. con. gentes, 〈 in non-Latin alphabet 〉. That is to say: The inuention of Images came of no good but of euill and what so euer hath an euill beginning can neuer in any thing be iudged good seing it is wholly nought.

S. Iohn sayth, my little children beware of Images, but so set them in Churches which are places dedicated to the seruice and inuocation of God, and that ouer the Lordes table, being the highest & most honorable place where most daunger of abuse both is and euer hath bene, is not to

beware of them nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receiue them. Tertullian expounding the same wordes, writeth thus. Lib. de corona militis. Filioli custodite vos ab idolis, non iam ab idolatria quasi ab. officio, sed ab idolis. i. ab ipsa effigie eorum. That is to say. Little Children keepe your selues from the shape it selfe, or forme of them.

Images in the Churche either serue to edify or to destroy, if they edifye, then is there one kinde of ••ification which the scriptures neither teach nor commaūd, but alwayes dissalow: if they destroy, they are not to be vs•d for in the church of God all thinges ought to be done to edify. 1. Cor. 14.

The commaundement of God is, thou shalt not laye a stumbling blocke or stone before the blinde: and cursed 〈◇〉 he that maketh the blinde wander in his way.

The simple & vnlearned people who haue bene so long vnder blinde guides, are blind in matters of religion and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore to set images before them to stumble at▪ (Nam laquaei pedibus insipientium sunt) that is, They bee snares and •rappes for the 〈◇〉 of the ignoraunt, or to lead them out of the true waye is not onely agaynst the commandement of God but deserueth also the malediction and curse of God. Sap. 14.

The vse of images is to the learned & confirmed in know|lege neither necessary nor profitable. To the superstitious a confirmation in error. To the simple & weak an occasiō of fall and very offensiue and wounding of theyr consciences: And therefore very daungerous. For S. Paul sayth 1. Cor. 9. offending the brethren and woūding their weake consciences, they sinne agaynst Christe. And Math. 18. Woe be to him by whom offense or occasion of falling cōmeth, it were better that a milstone were tyed about hys necke and he cast into the sea then to offend one of the 〈◇〉 ones that beleue in Christ. And where obiection may bee made that such offence may be taken away by sincere doctrine and preaching, it is to be aunswered that that is not sufficient as hereafter more at large shall appeare.

And though it should be admitted as true, yet shoulde it followe that sincere doctrine and preaching shoulde alwayes and in all places continue as well as Images: & so that whersoener an Image to offend were erected there should also of reason a godly and sincere preacher be continually mayntayned: for it is reason that the remedye 〈◇〉 as large as the offence, the medicine as generall as the poison, but that is not possible in the realme of England that Images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

As good magistrates which intēd to banish al whoredome, doe driue away all naughty persons, specially out of such places as be suspected: euen so Images being Meretrices. id est. Whores for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophetes fornication, and adultery ought to be banished and especially out of churches which is y^e most suspected place, and where the spirituall fornication hath bene most omitted.

It is not expedient to allowe and admitte the thinge which is hurtfull to the greatest number, but in all Churches and common wealths the ignoraunt and weake are the greatest number to whome Images are hurtfull and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged that Images in Churches do stirre vp the minde to deuotion, it may be aunswered that contrariwise they doe rather distracte the minde from prayer, hearing of Gods word & other godly meditations, as we read that in the Counsell Chamber of the Lacedemonians no picture or Image was suffered, least in consultation of wayghty matters of the common weale, their mindes by the sight of the outward Image might be occasioned to be withdrawne or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this present time doth declare that those partes of the realme whiche thinke and are perswaded that God is not offended by doing outward reuerēce to an image, do most desire the restitution of Images, and haue bene most dilligent to set them vp agayne▪ Restitution therfore of them by common authoritie shall confirme them more in theyr error to the daunger of theyr soules, then euer they were before, for as one man writeth.

Nihil magis est certum, quam quod ex dubio factum est certum, that is to say nothing is more certayne or sure, then that which of doubtfull is made certayne.

The profit of Images is vncertayne, the perill by experience of all ages and states of the Church (as afore) is most certayne.

The benefite to be taken of them (if ther be any) is very smale: the daunger in seeyng of them which is the danger of Idolatry is the greatest of all other. Nowe to allowe a moste certayne perill for an vncertayne profite, and the greatest daunger for the smallest benefite, in matters of fayth and Religion is a tempting of God and a grieuous offence.

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¶**Probations out of the Fathers, Councils, and histories.**

First it is manifest, that in the primitiue church images were not commonly vsed in Churches, Oratories, and places of assembly for religion: but they were generally detested and abhorred, in so much, that the want of imagerie was objected to the christians for a crime.

Origen reporteth that Celsus objected the lacke of Images, lib. 4. contra Celsum.

Arnobius saith also, that the Ethnikes accused y^e christians that they had neither altars nor images.

Zephirus in his Commentarie vpon the Apologie of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullians wordes: Qui locus persuadendi frigeret penitus, nisi perpetuò illud teneamus: Christianos tunc temporis odisse maximè statuas cum suis ornamentis, &c. That is to say, Which place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this alwayes, that Christians in those dayes did hate most of all Images with their trimme decking and ornaments.

Irenaeus, lib. 1. cap. 24. reprooueth the heretikes called Gnostici, for that they caried about y^e image of Christ made in Pilates tyme after his owne proportion (whiche were much more to be

esteemed then any that can be made now) vsing also for declaration of their affection towardes it, to set garlands vpon the head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly: Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, vbicun{que} symulachrum est: lib. Diuin. instit. 2. cap. 19. That is to say: It is not to be doubted y^t there is no religion wheresoeuer is any Image. If Christians thē had vsed images, he would not haue made his proposition so large.

S. Augustine De ciuitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 31. commendeth Uarro the Romaine in these wordes. Quum Varro existimauerit castius sine symulachris obseruari religionem, quis non videt, quantum appropinquauerit veritati▪ That is to say, when as Uarro thought religion might bee kepte more purely without Images, who doth not see how neare he came to the truth? So that not onelye by M. Uarroes iudgement, but also by S. Augustines approbation, the most pure and chast obseruation of religion, and nerest the truth, is to be without Images.

The same S. Augustine in Psal. 113. hath these words: Plus valent symulachra ad curuandam infoelicem animam, quā ad docendam. That is to say, Images haue more force to bowe downe and crooke the sillie soule, then to teach it.

And vpon the same Psalme he mooueth this question: Quiuis puer imò quis bestia scit non esse Deum quod vident, cur ergo spiritus sanctus toties mouet cauendum quod omnes sciunt? That is to say, Euery child, yea euery beast knoweth that it is not God which they see, why then doth the holy ghost so oft geue warnyng to beware of that thyng which all do know? S. Augustines answer.

Quoniam quum ponuntur in templis, & semel incipiunt adorari a multitudine, statim nascitur sordidissimus affectus erroris. That is to say: For when they are set in Churches, & begin once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway springeth vp a most filthy affection of errour.

This place of S. Augustine doth wel open how weak a reason it is to say, Images are a thyng indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, maner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thyng. It is lawfull to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawfull to eate and drinke but not so in Churches. And therefore sayth Saint Paule, Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? An ecclesiam Dei contemnitis? That is to say, Haue you not houses to eat and drinke in? Do you contemne the church of God?

Many other actions there bee which are lawfull and honest in priuate place, which are neither comely nor honest, not onely in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

Tertullian sayeth he vsed sometymes to burne frankincense in his chamber, which was then vsed of Idolaters, and is yet in the Romish Churches, but hee ioyneth withall: Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud Idola. That is to say, But not after such a rite or ceremonie, nor after such a fashion, nor wyth such preparation or sumptuousnesse, as it is done before the Idols.

So that Images placed in Churches, and set in honorabili sublimitate, that is to say, in an honourable place of estimation, as S. Augustine sayth, and especially ouer the Lordes table, which is done (vsing the words of Tertullian) eodem ritu, & eodem habitu, that is, after the same maner and fashion which the Papists did vse, especially after so long continuance of abuse of Images, and so many beyng blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certaine ruine of many soules.

Epiphanius in his Epistle to Iohn bishop of Hierusalem (which epistle was translated out of the Greeke by S. Hierome, beyng a likelyhoode that S. Hierome misliked not the doctrine of the same, doth write a facte of hys owne, which doth most clearely declare the iudgement of that notable learned Bishop concernyng the vse of Images, his words are these: Quum venissem ad villam quae dicitur Anablatha, vidissem{que} ibi praeteriens lucernam ardentem, & interrogassem quis locus esset, didicissem{que} esse Ecclesiam, & intrassem vt orarem: inueni ibi velum pendens in foribus eiusdem ecclesiae tinctum at{que} depictum, & habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cuiusdam, non enim satis memini cuius fuit, cum ergo hoc vidissem in Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, &c. Et paulò post. Et praecepi in ecclesia Christi istiusmodi vela quae contra religionem nostram veniunt non appendi, &c. That is to saye: When I came to a village called Anablatha, & sawe there as I passed by, a candle burnyng, & enquiring what place it was, and lerning that it was a church, & had entred into the same to pray, I found there a vaile or cloth hanging at the dore of the same church, died and painted, hauing on it the image of Christ as it were, or of some Saint (for I remember not well whose it was) Then when I sawe this, that in the Church of Christ against the authoritie of the scriptures the image of a mā did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c. And a little after. And commaunded that such maner of vailles or clothes which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the church of Christ.

Out of this place of Epiphanius diuers notes are to be obserued.

First, that by the iudgement of this ancient Father, to permit Images in Churches, is against the authoritie of the scriptures, meanyng agaynst the second commaundement, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image, &c.

Secondly, that Epiphanius doth reiect not only grauen and molten, but also painted Images: for so much as he cut in pieces the Image painted in a vaile hangyng at the church dore, what would he haue done, if he had found it ouer the Lordes table?

Thirdly, that he spareth not the Image of Christ, for no doubt that Image is most perillous in the Churche of all other.

Fourthly, that he bid not onely remooue it, but with a vehemencie of zeale cut it in pieces, followyng the example of the good king Ezechias, who brake the brasen serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

Last of all that Epiphanius thinketh it the duetie of vigilant bishops to be carefull that no such kind of paynted Images be permitted in the church.

Serenus bishop of Massilia, broke downe Images, & destroyed them when he did see them begin to be worshipped, Greg. in Regist. epist. 109.

Experience of the tymes since hath declared whether of these two sentences were better. For since Gregories time the Images standyng in the Westchurch, hath bene ouerflowed with Idolatry, notwithstanding his or other mens doctrine. Whereas if Serenus iudgement had vniuersally taken place, no such thyng had happened. For if no Images had bene suffred, none could haue bene worshipped, and consequently no idolatry committed by thē.

¶To recite the processe of histories and counsels about the matter of Images, it would require a long discourse, but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

IT is manifest to them that read histories, that not onely Emperors, but also diuers and sundry Counsels in the East church haue condemned and abolished images both by decrees and examples.

Petrus Crinitus de honesta disciplina, lib. 9. cap. 9. ex lib^{is} Augustatibus, haec verba transcripsit. Valens, & Theodosius Augusti Imperatores praefecto praetorio ad hunc modum scripserit. Quum sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus superni numinis religionem tueri. Signum saluatoris Christi nemini quidem concedimus coloribus lapide aliáue materia fingere, insculpere aut pingere, sed quocū{que} reperitur locotolli iubemus, grauissima poena eos mulctando qui contrarium decretis nostris, & imperio quicquam tentauerint. That is to say, Petrus Crinitus in his booke of honest discipline, the 9. booke, the 9. chapiter, wrote out of the Emperours bookes, these wordes. Ualens and Theodosius the Emperours, wrote to the high Marshall or Lieuetenant, in this sort. Where as wee are very carefull that the religion of almighty God should be [Page 2131](#) in all thinges kept. We permit no man to cast, graue, or paint the Image of our Sauour Christ, either in colors, stone, or other matter: but wheresoeuer it be found, wee commaund it to be taken away, punishing them most greuously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and Empire.

Leo the 3. a man commended in histories for his excellent vertues and godlinesse, who (as is iudged of some men) was the author of the booke De re militari, that is, Of the feate of Warre, beyng translated out of Greeke by sir Iohn Cheeke, and dedicated to king Henry the viij. your highnes father, by publike authoritie commaunded, abolishing of Images, and in Constantinople caused all the images to be gathered together on a heape, & burned them vnto ashes.

Constantine the first his sonne, assembled a Council of the bishops of the East church, in which Councell it was decreed as followeth. It is not lawfull for them that beleeeue in God through Iesus Christ, to haue any Images neither of the Creator, nor of any creatures set vp in temples to be worshipped, but rather that all Images by the law of God, and for the auoiding of offence ought to be taken out of churches. Which decree was executed in all places where any Images were, either in Greece or in Asia. But in all these tymes, the bishops of Rome rather mainteining the authoritie of Gregory, weighing like christian bishops the perill of the Church, alwayes in their assemblies allowed Images.

Not long after the Bishop of Rome practising wyth Tharasins Patriarch of Constantinople obteyned of Irene the Empresse, her sonne Constantine being thē yong, that a Councell was called at Nice, in the which y^e Popes Legates were Presidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that Councell it was decreed, that Images should not onely be permitted in churches, but also worshipped, which councell was confuted by a booke written by Carolus Magnus the Emperour, callyng it a foolish and an arrogant councell.

Soone after this Councell, arose a sharpe contention betwene Irene the Empresse, and her sonne Constantine the 6. the Emperour, who destroyed Images. And in the end as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her father in lawe Constantine the v. so afterward vnnaturally she put out the eyes of her owne sonne Constantine the sixt.

About which tyme as Eutropius writeth, the Sunne was darkened most terribly for the space of 17. days, God shewyng by that dreadfull signe, how much hee misliked those kynds of proceedyngs.

To bee short, there was neuer thing that made more diuision, or brought more mischief into the church, then the controuersie of Images: by reason whereof, not onely the East church was deuided from the West, and neuer since perfectly reconciled, but also the Emperour was cut asunder and deuided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turkes to enter and ouercome a great piece of Christendome. The fault whereof most iustly is to bee ascribed to the patrons of Images, who could not be contented w^t the ensample of the Primitiue Church beyng most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture. For as Tertullian sayth: Quod primum verum, quod posterius adulterinū. That is to say, What as is first, that is true, & that that is latter is counterfeit. But w^t all extremitie, mainteined the vse of images in churches, whereof no profite nor commoditie did euer grow to the church of God. For it is euident, that infinite millions of soules haue bene cast into eternall damnation by the occasion of Images vsed in place of religion, and no history can recorde that euer any one soule was wonne vnto Christ by hauing of Images. But least it might appeare that the West church had alwayes generally retained and commended Images. It is to be noted that in a Councell holden in Spaine called Concilium Eliberinum, the vse of Images in churches was clerely prohibited in these forme of wordes. Placuit in ecclesijs picturas esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur. That is to say, Wee decree that pictures ought not to be in churches, least that be painted vpon the walles which is worshipped or adored.

But this notwithstanding experience hath declared, that neither assembling in Councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, makyng of lawes, prescribing of punishments, hath holpen against Images, to the which Idolatry hath bene committed, nor against Idolatry whilst Images stooode. For these blynde bookes and dumme schoolemaisters (which they call lay mens bookes) haue more preuailed by their carued and painted preachyng of Idolatry, then all other written bookes and preachynges in teaching the truth, and that horror of that vice.

Hauing thus declared vnto your highnes a few causes of many which do mooue our consciences in this matter, we beseech your highnes most humbly not to strayne vs any further, but to consider that Gods worde doth threaten a terrible iudgement vnto vs, if we being pastors and ministers in his Church, should assent vnto the thing which in our learnyng and conscience wee

are perswaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition and Idolatry, and finally, to the ruine of the soules committed to our charge, for the which we must geue an account to the prince of pastors at the last day, Heb. 13. 1. Pet. 5. Wee pray your maiestie also not to bee offended with this our plainnesse and libertie, which all good and christian princes haue euer taken in good parte at the handes of godly Bishops.

S. Ambrose writing to Theodosius the Emperour vseth these wordes: Sed neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere. Item in causa verò Dei quem audies, si sacerdotem non audies cuius maiore peccatur periculo, quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si sacerdos non audeat? Epist. lib. 5. Epist. 29. That is to say, But neither is it the part of an Emperour to deny free libertie of speaking, nor yet the duety of a priest not to speake what hee thinketh. And agayne, In gods cause whome wilt thou heare, if thou wilt not heare the priest to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth vnto thee, if the priest dare not? These and such like speeches of S. Ambrose, Theodosius and Ualentinianus the Emperours did alwayes take in good part, and we doubt not but your grace will do the lyke, of whose not onely clemēcie but also beneficence, we haue largely tasted.

We beseech your Maiestie also, in these and such lyke controuersies of religion, to referre the discussement and deciding of them to a Synode of your bishops and other godly learned men, accordyng to the example of Constantinus Maximus, and other christian Emperours, that the reasons of both parts beyng examined by them, the iudgement may be geuen vp rightly in all doubtfull matters.

And to returne to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your maiestie to consider, that besides waightie causes in pollicie which wee leaue to the wisdom of your honourable counsailors the stablishment of Images by your authoritie, shall not onely vtterly disceredite our ministers as builders vp of the thinges which wee haue destroyed, but also blemishe the fame of your most godly father, and such notable fathers as haue geuen their lyfe for the testimony of Gods truth, who by publike lawe remooued all Images.

The almighty and euerliuyng God plentifully endue your maiestie with his spirite and heauenly wisdom, and long preserue your most gracious raigne and prosperous gouernment ouer vs to the aduancement of his glory, to the ouerthrow of superstition, and to the benefit & comfort all your highnes louyng subiects.

¶A note of M. Ridley.

MAister D. Ridley sometyme B. of London, of whom mention is made,* pag. 1717. was a man so reuerenced for his learning and knowledge in the scriptures, that euen his very enemies hath reported him to haue bene an excellent clarke, whose lyfe if it might haue bene redeemed with the summe of 10000. markes, yea, 10000. pounds, the Lorde Dacres of the North beyng his kinsman, woulde haue geuen to Queene Mary, rather then he should haue burned. And yet was she so vnmercifull, for all hys gentlenes in king Edwards dayes, that it would not be grāted for no suite that could be made. Oh, that she had remēbred his labour for her to king Edward the 6. with Cranmer before mentioned,* 1205. in such sort that euen shee had yelded but the reward of a Publicane, Math. 5. then had the earth not so bene berefted of him as it was: but the Lord forgeue

vs our sinnes which was the cause thereof, and graunt that we neuer so prouoke his anger agayne, if it be his blessed will. Amen.

¶ Another note of M. Ridley.

MAister Ridley late B. of London beyng prisoner in the tower, had there geuen the libertie of the same,* to prooue belike whether he would go to Masse or no, which once he dyd. And M. Bradford beyng there prisoner also the same tyme, and hearing thereof, taketh his penne and inke, and writeth to hym an effectuall letter to perswade hym from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which (God bee honoured) did M. Ridley no little good, for he repented his fact therein, as he hymselfe maketh mention, writyng agayne in the latter end of [Page 2132](#) the booke of Marcus Antonius, which he sent to M. Brad|ford, and neuer after that polluted himselfe with that filthy dregs of Antichristian seruice.

☞ A Commission sent from the Pope, with the sentence diffinitive to proceed against the reuerend Archb. of Cant. Thomas Cranmer.

PAulus Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei charissimo in Christo filio Philippo Regi, & charissimae in Christo filiae Mariae Reginae, Angliae, Franciae, illustribus ac venerabilibus fratribus Londonensi & Eliensi episcopis salutem, & apostolicam benedictionem. Dudum per literas vestras charissime fili Philippe Rex, & christiana filia Maria Regina nobis significatur, quod iniquitatis filius Thomas Cranmerus, olim Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, in haereses aliáque tam grandia & enormia crimina erat prolapsus, quod non solum regimini ecclesiae Cantuariensis se reddi derat indignum, verum etiam maiori poena se fecerat obnoxium. Nos de praemissis certam notitiam non habentes, & tanta crimina si vera essent, impunita, ecclesiámque ipsam sine pastore idoneo de•elinquere nolentes, dilecto filio nostro Iacobo, tituli Sanctae Mariae in via, tunc sancti Simeonis, praesbytero Cardinali puteo nuncupato, vel de praemissis etiam summarie, simpliciter, & de plano sine strepitu & figura iudicij, ac sine vlla terminorum substántialium vel telae iudiciariae obseruatione, citato dicto Thoma se informaret, & quicquid inuenisset nobis referret, per specialem commissionem manu nostra signatam, dedimus in mandatis, sibi attribuentes potestatem in curia, & extra, citandi, & inhibendi, ac literas compulsoriales, generales & speciales ac remissoriales, in forma consueta ad partes decernendi, & personas quascunque, si opus esse arbitraret, ad exhibendum iura, siue ad perhibendum testimonium etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas cogendi, & compellendi, seu, si pro celeriori expeditione sibi videretur, ad recipiendum informationem huiusmodi, aliquem probum virum in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus istis commorantem cum simili citandi, inhibendi & cogendi facultate, deputandi, ac subdelegandi: ac sicut exhibiti nobis nuper pro parte vestra, fili Rex, & filia Regina petitio continebat, dictus Iacobus Cardinalis, commissionis huiusmodi vigore, citatione ad partes contra eundem Thomam ad vestram, fili Rex & filia Regina instantiam decreta, venerabilem fratrum nostrum Episcopum Gloucestrensem, vna cum certis alijs eius in ea parte collegis, & eorum quemlibet in solidum ad informationem super praemissis recipiendum subdelegauit, eisque vices suas in praemissis commisit. Et postquam dictus episcopus Gloucestrensis in causa huiusmodi ad certos actus processerat, & ipsum Thomam super prae|missis examinauerat, citatione praedicta, vna cum eius legitima executione in partibus facta coram eodem Iacobo Cardinali iudicialiter producta, & processu per audientiam literarumstrarum contradictarum contra eundem Thomā citatum & nō comparentem decreto, cum processu coram dicto Episcopo

Gloucestrensi contra ipsum Thomam in patribus habito coram praefato Iacobo Cardinali productus fuisset, & idem Thomas, ad id citatus contra eum nihil diceret, imo comparere non curaret, praefato Thoma ad videndum per ipsum Iacobum Cardinalem referri causam & referri iuramentum in supplementum plenae probationis quantum opus esset, & ad concludendum & audiendum sententiam diffinitiuam, ad certam tunc expressam diem, & horam per audientiam literarum contradictarum huiusmodi citato, omnibus actis & actitatis causis huiusmodi diligenter visis & consideratis, causam ipsam ac omnia in praemissis actitata nobis in consistorio nostro secreto fideliter retulit: Qua relatione nobis vt praefertur facta, & causa ipsa cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae Cardinalibus tunc in eodē consistorio existentibus, plenē discussa, & maturē examinata, cum dilecti filij Petrus Rouilius, clericus Ippotegiensis, ac Antonius Massa de Gallesio in dicta curia causarum, & vestrum fili Rex & filia Regina procuratores, de quorum procurationis mandato in actis causae huiusmodi legitimis constare dignoscitur documentis, & Alexander Paleotarius, fisci nostri procurator pro eius iure & interesse, in ipsius Thomae citati & non comparentis contumaciam in causa huiusmodi concludi & diffinituē pronounciari petijssent, nos pro tribunali, in Throno iustitiae, more Romanorum pontificum, praedecessorum nostrorum sedentes, in causa huiusmodi conclusimus, & nostram desuper in scriptis, quā per secretarium nostrum legi & publicari mandauimus, & quam ipse de verbo ad verbum legit, & publicauit, diffinitiuam tulimus, & promulgauimus sententiam, sub huiusmodi tenore.

Nos Paulus, diuina prouidentia Papa quartus, saluatoris & domini nostri Iesu Christi, cuius vices, (licet immerito) in terris gerimus nomine inuocato, in throno iustitiae pro tribunali sedentes, & solum Deum, qui iustus est dominus, & in iustitia iudicat orbem terrae, prae oculis habentes, per hanc nostram diffinitiuam, quam de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae Cardinalium consilio ferimus in his scriptis, in causa & causis quae coram dilecto filio nostro Iacobo tituli sanctae Mariae in via, praesbytero Cardinali, de puteo nuncupato, nobis in consistorio nostro secreto (vt moris est) referenda inter charissimos in Christo filios nostros Philippum Regem & Mariam Reginam Angliae illustres denunciatores ex vna, & quendā Thomam Cranmerum olim Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem reum & denunciatum de & super crimine haeresis & alijs excessibus censuris & poenis propter crimen & excessus huiusmodi per dictum Thomam reum denunciatum ac confessum & conuictum incursis, rebúsque alijs in actis causae & causarum huiusmodi latius deductis ex altera parte in prima instātia vigore specialis commissionis nostrae versae fuerunt & vertuntur pronunciamus, sententiamus, decernimus, & declaramus dictum Thomam tunc Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum animae suae salutis immemorem contra regulas & dogmata ecclesiastica sanctorum patrum nec non Apostolicas Romanae ecclesiae & sacrorum conciliorum traditiones christianae religionis hactenus in ecclesia consuetos ritus, praesertim de corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi & sacri ordinis sacramentis aliter quam sancta mater ecclesia praedicat & obseruat sentiendo & docendo, & sanctae sedis Apostolicae & summi pontificis primatum & auctoritatem negando, nec non contra processus qui singulis annis per praedecessores nostros in die coenae domini more solito celebrati fuerunt, prout & nos dante domino in futurum celebrare intendimus, in quibus processibus per Romanos pontifices praedecessores praefatos ad retinendam puritatem religionis Christianae & ipsius vnitatem quae in coniunctione membrorum ad vnum caput Christum videlicet eiusque vicarium principaliter & sanctam fidelium societatem ab offensione seruanda consistit inter alia Wiclefistae & Lutherani & omnes alij heretici damnati & Anathematizati fuerunt etiam abiuratam olim per Berengarium Andagauensem ecclesiae

Diaconum haeresim innouando, & tam illam quam etiam per damnate memorie Iohannes Wiclef, & Martinum Lutherum haeresiarchas, alias proposita & damnata falsa & haeretica dogmata credendo & sequendo & desuper etiam libros scribendo & imprimi faciendo impressos{que} publicando in illis{que} scripta etiam in publicis disputationibus defendendo ac etiam coram subdelegato nostro in responsionibus ad positiones sibi factas pertinaciter asseue•ando, ac in pertinacia & obstinatione huiusmodi permanēdo, excommunicacionis & Anathematis nec non priuationis Archiepis. Cantuar. praedicti aliorum{que} beneficiorum & officiorum ecclesiasticorum si quae obtinet & annuarum pensionum si quas super beneficijs ecclesiasticis assignatas habet, iurium{que} actionum & priuilegiorum quorumcunque bonorum quoque & seniorum ecclesiasticorum patrimonialium & secularium nec non inhabitatis ad quoscunque dignitatis & beneficia, & alias contra tales personas tam de iure communi quam per literas processuum praedictorum statutas poenas non solum tanquam credentem haereticis praedictis & illorum sequacem, sed etiam tanquam haesiarcham notorium damnabiliter incidisse & incurrisse, propterea{que} ipsum Thomam excommunicatum, anathematizatum, & Archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi alijs{que} praelaturis dignitatibus officijs & beneficijs nec non pensionibus, iuribus, priuilegijs, bonis & feūdis praedictis, primatum, & ad illa ac alia quaecunque inhabilem▪ Curiae seculari tradendum, bonaque eius per eos ad quos spectat confiscanda fore & esse prout eum tradi & eius bona confiscari mandamus & concedimus omnes quoque & quascun{que} personas Thomae praefato ratione dicti Archiep. Cantuar. & aliarum praelaturarum si quas obtinuit & obtinet olim subiectas à quibuscunque fidelitatis & obedientiae iuramentis ei praestitis absoluendas & liberandas fore & esse prout absoluimus & liberamus, ac iuramenta huiusmodi relaxamus, nec non super omnibus & singulis praedictis eidem Thomae perpetuum silentium imponimus, supplentes omnes & singulos tam iuris quam facti defectus, si qui forsitan in processu causae huiusmodi interuenerint ita pronunciauimus. Cū autem à dicta sententia vt pote in causa haeresis & per nos de fratrum nostrorum consilio lata appellari non potuerit & dicti Petrus & Antonius & Alexander procuratores citat per audientiam literarum huiusmodi coram nobis praefato Thoma ad videndum decerni literas executoriales ad aliquem praelatum qui actuale ipsius Thomae degradationem faciat eum{que} curiae seculari tradat in partibus deputari in contumaciam dicti Thomae vt praefertur cita•i & non comparentis literas executoriales decerni ac aliquos praelatos qui actuale ipsius Thomae degradationem faciant & eum curiae seculari tradant in istis partibus deputa•i per nos multa cum instantia postulauerint, nos huiusmodi iustis postulationibus annuentes literas executoriales praedictas Apostolica autoritate decreuimus ac vos fratres Episcopi qui actuale ipsius Thomae degradationem faciatis▪ & ea facta cum curiae seculari praemissa tamen in ipso actu traditionis incessionem ad iudicem secularem pro huiusmodi tradendis per ecclesiam solita fieri tradatis autoritate, & tenore praedictis deputauimus. Qua propter vos omnes & singulos supradictos quibus praesentes nostrae literae diriguntur rogamus, & vobis fratres Episcopi per Apostolica scripta mandamus, & in virtute sanctae obedientiae & sub suspensionis à diuinis & interdicti ingressus ecclesiae sententijs districtius iniungimus vt ad vltiorem executionē sententiae nostrae praedictae procedatis. Et vos fili Rex & filia Regina bon• ipsius confiscetis seu per eos ad quos spectat confiscari, & ipsum Thomam postquam curiae seculari iuxta tenorem praesentium [Page 2133](#) traditus fuerit, id quod iuris fuerit, fieri mandetis & faciatis. Vos vero fratres episcopi, vel alter vest•ū, ita quod alter pro altero se non excuset, sed haec omnia in solidum sub sententijs praedictis exequamini, nec conrra ea excusationem aut exceptionem apponere valeatis autoritate nostra ceremonijs in similibus seruari solitis plenē obseruatis actuale ipsius Thomae degradationem faciatis, eum{que} postea curiae seculari modo vt praefertur tradatis

contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita compescendo non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis contrarijs quibuscunque, aut si aliquibus communiter vel diuissim ab eadem sit sede indultum quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per literas Apostolicas non facientes plenam & expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulta huiusmodi mentionem. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum. Anno incarnationis domini, Millesimo, Quingentesimo, Quinquagesimo, Quinto. Decimo nono Calendas Ianuarij Pontificatus Nostri, anno primo.

I. Bareng.

The forme of disgrading an Archbishop.

IN primis, in publico extra ecclesiam paratur aliquis eminens locus congruens spacij, pro degradatione fienda.

Item, supra eundem ordinetur vna credentia simplici tobalea cooperta.

Item, supra eandem credentiam ponuntur ampulla vini & ampulla aquae.

Item, liber Euangeliorum, liber Epistolarum, liber Exorcismorum, liber Lectionum, Antiphonarium.

Item, Bacile cum baculo & Mantili.

Item, vnum candelabrum cum candela extincta.

Item, clauus, forfices, cultellus seu petia vitri.

Item, calix cum patena.

Paramenta pro Degradando.

SVperpellicium, Sandalia cum caligis, amictus, alba, cingulum, Manipulus, Tunicella, Stola, Dalmatica, Chirothecae, alia stola, planeta, Mitra, Anulus pontificalis, pallium, Baculus pastoralis, & aliqua vestis habitus secularis.

Pro Degradatore & Officialibus.

Item, paretur faldistorium pro pontifice degradatur.

Item, Sedilia pro Officialibus.

Item, ad sint ministri pontificis.

Item, iudex secularis, cui degradatus committatur.

Item, Notarius, qui processum degradationis legat, si opus erit, vel episcopo Degradatori placuerit.

Item, Barbitonsor.

Item, hora conuenienti degradandus, habitu suo quotidiano indutus super dictum locum adducatur, & à clericis induatur omnibus paramētis sui ordinis.

Item, eo sic induto, pontifex degradator indutus amictu, alba, cingulo, stola, & pluuiali rubeis, ac mitra simplici, baculum pastorem in sinistra manu tenens ascendet ad locum praedictū, & ibidem sedebit in faldistorio, in conuenienti loco sibi parato versus ad populum, astante sibi iudice seculari.

Tunc degradandus omnibus sui ordinis vestibus sacris indutus & singulis ornamentis ornatus, habens in manibus ornamentum ad ordinem suum spectans, ac si deberet in suo officio ministrare adducitur ante pontificem, coram quo genu flectit.

Tunc pontifex degradator (sedens vt supra) populo in vulgari notificat degradationis huiusmodi causam.

Deinde contra degradandum sententiam fert in haec verba, si huiusmodi sententia lata non sit.

IN nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen:

Quia nos N. Dei & Apostolicis sedis gratia Episcopus, &c.

Degradation frō the order of Archbishop.

Degradatio ab ordine Archiepiscopali.

Primo, pallium degradator aufert à degradando, dicendo.

PRaerogatiua pontificalis dignitatis quae in pallio designatur te eximimus, quia malè vsus es ea.

Secundo, mitram aufert à degradando, dicendo.

Mitra pontificalis dignitatis, videlicet ornatu, quia eam malè praesidendo foedasti, tuum caput denudamus.

Tertio, librū Euangeliorum à degradandi manibus aufert, dicendo.

Redde Euangelium, quia praedicandi officio, quo spreto Dei gratia te indignum fecisti, te iuste priuamus.

Quarto, anulū aufert de digito degradandi, dicendo.

Anulum, fidei scilicet signaculum tibi digne subtrahimus, quia ipsam sponsam Dei ecclesiam temerè violasti.

Quinto, baculo pasto••li per vnum de ministris 〈◇〉 manus degradandi tradito, illum aufert degradator, dicendo.

Aufetimus à te baculum pastorem, vt perinde correctionis officium quod turbasti non valeas exercere.

Sexto, chirothecis per ministros extractis Degradator abradit degradādo pollices & manus leniter, cū cultello aut vitro, dicendo.

Sic spiritualis benedictionis, delibutionis mysticae gratia, quantum in nobis est te priuamus, vt sanctificandi & benedicendi perdas officium & effectum.

Septimo, caput degradandi cum eodē aut vitro abradit, Degradator leniter dicendo.

Consecrationem & benedictionem ac vnctionem tibi traditam radendo delemus, & te ab ordine pontificali, quo inhabilis es redditus, abdicamus.

Tum Degradando per ministros extrahuntur sandalia.

Degradation frō the order of priesthood.

Degradatio ab ordine praesbyteratus.

Calice cum vino & aqua & patena & hostia, per ministros in manus degradādi traditis, Consecrator aufert potestatē celebrandi, dicens.

A Mouemus à te, quin potius amota esse ostendimus potestatem offerendi Deo sacrificium, Missamque celebrandi, tam pro viuīs quam pro defunctis.

Pollices & manus abraduntur sub hac forma.

Potestatem sacrificandi & benedicendi quam in vnctione manuum & pollicum recepisti, tibi tollimus hac rasura.

[Page 2134](#)Casulam siue planetam per posteriorem partem captiui accipit degradator, & degradandum exuit dicens.

Veste sacerdotali charitatem signante te meritò expoliamus, quia ipsam & omnem innocentiam exuisti.

Quarto, stolam aufert dicens.

Signum Domini per hanc stolam signatum turpiter abiecisti: ideo{que} ipsam à te amouemus, quem inhabilē reddimus ad omne sacerdotale officium exercendum.

Degradatiō from the order of Deaconship.

Degradatio ab ordine Diaconatus.

1. Libro euangeliorum degradando in man{us} per ministros tradito, degradator aufert librū, dicens.

A Mouemus à te potestatem legendi euangelium in ecclesia Dei, quia id non competit nisi dignis.

2. Dalmaticam aufert, dicens.

Leuitico ordine te priuamus quia tuum in eo ministeriū non impleuisti.

3. Stolum auferens de humeris degradādi degradator pro iicit eam post tergū, dicens.

Stolum candidam, quam acceperas immaculatam in conspectu domini perferendā, quia non sic cognito mysterio exemplum conuersationis tuae fidelibus praeuisti, ut plebs dicata Christi nomini possit exinde imitationem acquirere, iuste à te amouemus, omne Diaconatus officium tibi prohibentes.

Degradatiō from the order of a subdeacon.

Degradatio ab ordine Subdiaconatus.

1. Epistolarum librum degradādo in manum tradito, degradator eundē aufert, dicens.

Auferimus tibi potestatem legendi Epistolam in Ecclesia Dei, quia hoc ministerio indignus es redditus.

2. Tunicella aufertur, dicendo.

Tunica subdiaconali te exuimus, cuius cor & corpus timor domini castus & sanctus in aeternum permanens non constrinxit.

3. Manipulū aufert, dicendo.

Depone manipulum, quia per fructus bonorum operum quos designat, non expugnasti spiritualis insidias inimici.

4. Amictus aufertur sub hac forma.

Quia vocem tuam non castigasti, ideò amictum à te auferimus.

5. Vreolis cum vino & aqua & bacili cū manutergio degradādo traditis ea aufert Archidiaconus.

Et nihil dicit.

6. Calicem vacuum cum patena traditū in manus degradādi, aufert degradator dicendo. Cingulum album & amictum exuūt ministri.

Potestatem introeundi sacrarium, tangendi pallas, vasa & alia indumenta sacra, omnéque subdiaconatus ministerium exercendi à te amouemus.

Degradation for the order of Benet and Collet.

Degradatio ab ordine Accolytatus.

Vrceolum vacuum in manus degradādo traditum aufert degradator, dicens.

IMmunde, vinum & aquam ad Eucharistiam de caetero non ministres.

Candelabrum cum ceteo extincto degradator accipit de manibus degradandi, dicens.

Dimitte perferendi visibile lumen officium, qui praebere spirituale moribus neglexisti, ac vniuersum Accolytatus officium hic depone.

Degradatiō from the order of Exorcising.

Degradatio ab ordine Exorcistatus.

Librum exorcismorum aufert pontifex degradator, dicens.

PRiuamus te potestate imponendi manum super energumenos, & daemones de obsessis corporibus expellendi, omni tibi exorcistatus officio interdicto.

Degradatiō from the order of Readership.

Degradatio ab ordine Lectoratus.

Librum Lectionum aufert pontifex degradator dicens.

IN Ecclesia Dei non legas vlterius, neque cantes, neque panes aut fructus nouos vllatenus benedicas, quia tuum officium non impleuisti fideliter & deuote.

Degradatiō from the order of Dorekeepership or Sextonship.

Degradatio ab ordine Hostiariatus.

Claues ecclesiae aufert pontifex degradator, dicens.

QVia in clauibus errasti claues dimitte, & quia hostia cordis tui male daemonibus ob serasti, amouemus à te officium hostiarij, vt non percutias cymbalum, non aperias ecclesiam, non sacrarium, non librum amplius praedicanti.

Degradatio à prima tonsura.

Superpellicium degradando extrahit pontifex degradator dicens.

AVtoritate dei omnipotentis, patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, ac qua fungimur in hac parte tibi auferimus habitum clericalem, & nudamus te religionis ornatu, atque deponimus, degradamus, spoliamus & exuimus te omni ordine, beneficio, & priuilegio clericali & velut clericali professione indignum redigimus te in seruitutem * & ignominiam habitus secularis ac status.

Eum forficibus tōdere incipiat pontifex Degradator, & per Barbitonsorem ibidem praesentem totaliter tonderi faciat caput degradādi, dicens.

Te velut ingratum filium à sorte domini ad quam vocatus fueras abijcimus, & coronam tui capitis regale quidem signum sacerdotij de tuo capite amouemus propter tui regiminis prauitatem.

Deinde si velit pontifex dicat.

Quod ore cantasti, corde non credidisti, nec opere impleuisti, ideò cantandi officium in ecclesia Dei à te amouemus.

Tum ministri pontificis exuunt degradatum veste, & habitu clericali, & ipsum induunt habitu seculari.

[Page 2135](#) Si degradatus tradi debeat curiae seculari.

Pontifex degradator degradatum amplius non tangit, sed in hūc modum pronunciat, dicens.

Denunciamus vt hunc exutum omni ordine ac priuilegio clericali, curia secularis in suum forum recipiat

Rogat iudicem secularē vt citra mortis periculum. &c.

Domine iudex, rogamus vos cum omni effectu quo possumus, vt amore Dei, pietatis & misericordiae intuitu, & nostrorum interuentu precaminum miserrimo huic nullum mortis vel mutilationis periculum inferas.

¶A Note concerning Doctor Cranmer in his disputation.

THat day wherein Doctour Cranmer late Bishoppe of Caunterbury aunswered in the diuinity schoole at Oxford there was alledged vnto him by Doctor Weston that he the sayd Cranmer in his booke of the Sacrament falsely falsified the saying of the Doctours,* and specially the saying of S. Hilary in these wordes Vero for Vere, shewing a print or two thereof to haue defaced his doinges therein, but Doctor Cranmer with a graue and fatherlye sobriety aunswered that the print of S. Hylaryes works whereout he tooke his notes was verbatim according to his booke, and that coulde his bookes testify if they were there to be sene. Saying further that he supposed Doctor Smith in that order rehearsed it in his booke of the Sacramēt, to the which Doctor Smith there present (though he were demaunded the aunswere thereof) stood in silence As Canis mutus non valens latrare. But by and by Doctour Weston without shame, to shadow Doctor Smithes silence, spitefully sayde to Cranmer: belike you tooke your learning out of M. Doctor Smithes booke.

All this already is testified. pag. 1437.

IT chaunced •t that present to be in the schole one William Holcot gentleman thē a sojourner in the Uniuersity Colledge, he hearing the same vntruth, & remembring that he had amongst his bookes in his study the said book of Doctor Smith. At his returne to his sayde study desirous to see the truth therein, found it agreable to the writing and affirmation of Doctor Cranmer. And the sayde Holcot then and there better remembring himselfe found emongest his bookes the booke of Stephan Gardiner intituled the Deuilles Sophistry. In which booke the sayde saying of S. Hylary alledged by the said Stephen verbat. both in Latine and English according to Doctor Cranmers confirmation. Then the sayd William Holcot supposing (for the manifest opening and tryall of the trueth therein) to haue deliuered the sayde Gardiners booke to Doctour Cranmer, brought it to Bocardo the Prison of Oxford, where Doctor Cranmer then remayned, but ther in the deliury thereof he was apprehended by the Bayliefes, and by them brought before Doctor Weston & his Colleagues then at diner at Corpus Christi Coledge, who strait wayes layd treason to the charge of the sayd William Holcotte, for the mayntenaunce of Cranmer (in his naughtines as they called it) and so vpon strait examination, to know who were priuy to his doinges in deliury of the sayd Gardiners booke, committed him to the sayde prison of Bocardo where he sojourned & slept in the straw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Doctor Cole yet aliue, then Deane of Paules, and Doctor Ieffrey, two of thē then Uisitours, further examined the sayd Holcotte of that his doinges: Threatning him to lay treason to hys charge, and so to send him for the triall thereof to the then Lord Chauncellor Stephen Gardiner, willing him presently to subscribe to the Articles then in question, but he refused desiring respite vntill the lawes of the realme had determined the same. And so was he againe committed to the sayd Prison. And after three dayes Doctor Weston & the residue of the Uisitours solemnely in Saynt Maryes Church pronouncing sentence agaynst the late Bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Amongst other called ther before them the sayd Holcot willing him to subscribe to theyr three Articles, he demaunding them then these demaundes, first whether they thought in theyr consciences that the articles whereunto they willed him to subscribe▪ were according to the scriptures, and that the religiō that they went about to plant were the true religion of Christ: they aunswered all with one voyce, yea, yea. Then asked he them whether they thought themselues able to aunswere and would aunswere before God for him if he subscribed thereunto as they willed him: And they likewyse aunswered yea, yea. And so he the sayd Holcot through feare and frayltie of the fleshe (As Neophitus) vpon theyr threatens subscribed. Then they with many fayre flattering wordes deliuered him, but would not let him haue again his book brought to Bocardo, least (as it semed) he should shew it to theyr shame. And they priuily willing the maister and the felowes of the sayd Uniuersity colledge to see the sayd William Holcot forth comming: And if they with in a fortnight after did not heare frō the then L. Chauncellour what should be done with him, that then they at the fortnightes end to expell him out of the said Colledge▪ which they would haue done, if the then Uicechauncellor had not willed thē to the contrary. Which Holcot though then an Apostata, is yet now a penitent preacher.

¶An Epistle of Bishop Hooper in Latine sent to the conuocation house touching matters of Religion.

***Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & ceteris Cleri ordinibus in Synodo Londinensi congregatis: Gratiam & Pacem á Domino.**

NON vos latet (Viri doctissimi) in rebus arduis, ambiguis,* & causis difficili oribus, iudicium apud veteres (iuxta mandatum dei) delatum fuisse semper ad sacerdotes Leuitas, & ad praesidem, qui pro tempore, iudicis munere fungebatur: vt omnes hi causas & lites difficiliores explicarent, ex praescripto legis dei. Ita qualescun{que} controuersiae fuerunt: ex sententia sacerdotū- & praesidis, ad normam & praescriptum legis Dei lata, componebantur. Et ab eo quod iudices, partibus litigantibus statuissent: nullo modo erat declinandum. Quod si quis contumacius sacerdoti aut praesidi non paruisset, iuxta legem Dei sententiam pronuncianti: poenas contumaciae morte tuebat, quo populus hac vltione & contumaciae vindicta admonitus, metueret: & deinceps inolescere desisteret. Quam difficiles, imò quàm periculosae, inter nos & vos de re Eucharistica, lites agantur: vestrae conciones, scripta, & libelli testantur: nos verò qui meliorem, veriolem, & antiqui ssimam fidē sustinemus, confiscatione omnium bonorum nostrorum, dura & inhumana carceris seruitute sentimus. Quare mei ipsius nomine, ac omnium fratrum qui mecum eandem Catholicae ac sanctae religionis veritatem profitentur: vos omnes in Christo Iesu obtestor, vt causam hanc, vel aliquam quamcum{que} ob religionem ortam, inter nos & vos, deferre dignemini ad supremam, curiam parlamenti: vt ibi vtra{que} pars coram sacro & excelso senatu sese religiose, & animo submisso, iudicio, & auctoritati verbi Dei subijciat. Et si vestram religionem quam sanctam, orthodoxam, ac Catholicam esse contēditis, ex verbo dei asserere potestis, illam & nos libenter amplexabimur: Nostram quam modo pro sacrosancta defendimus, repudiantes. Gratias item Deo & vobis agentes quam maximas, {quod} per vos ab erroribus liberati, ad veritatis cognitionem reuocemur. Non solum aut hoc a vobis obtestamur, vt vos vestram{que} causam iudicio verbi dei coram summo parlamento deferatis: verum etiam vt nobis commodum detur tempus, quò veterum scripta & sacras literas euoluam{us}, á sancto senatu impetrare dignemini. Et si ibi iustas ac legitimas rationes fidei nostrae, non reddiderimus: iudicio magistratus nos ipsos submittimus, vt debitam vltionem nostri sceleris & impietatis nobis infligat. Si haec facere non recusaueritis, religio quam castam, illibatam, & saluam, ac ab omnibus amplectendam esse contenditis: gloriosius de vestra fide & religione, ac de nobis ipsis (qui illam impiam esse & falsam contestamus) victoriam reportabit. Nam si vestra religio & cultus in causa Eucharistiae, fontem & originem ducunt ex verbo dei: procul dubio sanctam, & sempiternam esse oportet. Et scitis quod res sancta & vera quo magis examinatur, & per verbum Dei exploratur: eo fit illustrior & purior. Et quāto purior & illustrior fit: tanto magis ab omnibus desideratur, & obuijs vlnis excipitur. Quis enim non desideraret & amplecteretur religionem & cultum, á Deo mandatum, & ab illius verbo sancitum ac confirmatum? Quare si vestra religio & cultus dei res sit adeo vera, sancta, & á Deo mundo exhibita: non est quod ei metuatis. Nam quod varijs modis temptatur ac probatur, modó pium ac sanctum fuerit: iacturam ab hostibus nullam sentit, sed potius hostes conculcat ac interficit. Solis radij sterquilini sordibus, non coinquinantur: verita{que} diuini verbi, errorum tenebris & caligine, non offunditur. Nec est quod vobis ipsis metuatis: modó re ipsa id praestetis, quod vbi{que} iactatis. Nam quotquot vestras partes non sequuntur, aliquo grauissimo ignominiae genere, nimis superbē afficitis: nos [Page 2136](#) omnes omnino indoctos esse praedicatis, aut plane dementatos affirmatis. Vobis autem plusquam diuinam vendicatis prudentiam: nobis verò plusquám beluinam stoliditatem

tribuitis. Iam quám facilé erit doctis indoctos, hominibus sanae mentis insania percitos, ingenio & prudentia, flagrantibus stolidos & ignaros vincere: sacer parlamenti conuentus, nullo negotio intelliget. Ideo si omnino ob Christū & illius causae gloriam quam nos defendimus, aut ob salutem nostram, vt vestra prudentia nos stultitiae arguamur, vestra{que} doctrina & eruditione nos ignorantiae accusemur, hoc facere non vultis: tamen vt publicé impietatis conuincamur, coram summo senatu, hoc praestate. Et si istis rationibus nihil moueamini: tamen vestra ipsorum causa certé postulat, vt palam eae lites inter nos componantur, id{que} coram competenti iudice: né apud omnes pios malé audiat: & fortassis hac suspitione laboret, quasi lucem & publicum examen fugiat, né impietatis, & idololatriae per verbum Dei deprae hendatur. Et vos qui malam causam, imó pessimam, ferro & igne defenditis, non tam docti nec pij, vt omnino videri & haberi vultis, inueniamini: sed potius ignorantiae & stultitiae, quas nobis impingitis, redarguamini. Non vos fugit quomodo publicé, palam, & in facie ac in praesentia omnium statuum huius regni, in summa curia parlamenti, veritas verbi Dei per fidos, doctos, & pios ministros, de vestra impia missa, gloriosé victoriam reportauit: quamuis per trecentos annos non solum locum & templum Dei occupauerit, verum etiam corda hominum (tan quám Deus) inhabitauerit. Sed quocun{que} titulo, nomine, honore, reuerentia, sanctitate, tempore, patronis, vniuersalitate splenduit, vbi per sanctiss. Regé Edouardū sextū sanctiss. memoriae, ad viuum lapidē lydeum verbi Dei examinari per proceres, heroes, ac doctos huius regni erat mandatum: statim euanuit, & nihil aliud apparuit, quám spurcissimum & immundissimum idolū sub pallio, & nomine Dei impie contextum: Aequa & iusta petimus, vt palam & publicé: lites inter nos componantur. Si igitur vestrae causae & vobis ipsis non diffidatis, vná nobiscum apud sanctum senatum agere dignemini: vt coram illo, autoritate verbi dei, quis nostram verio rem partem defenderit, dignoscatur. Nullis enim legibus sanctis & iustis vnquám fuit permissum, vt vna pars litigans, de altera parte iudex constitueretur. Nam in omnibus controuersiis & causis defici lioribus (maxime in religione) medius aliquis, & neutra litigantium pars, in iudicem eligenda est. Nec Christus ipse (quamuis ipsa veritas) aeterni patris filius, hanc potestatem & imperium iudicandi sibi vindecavit: quandocun{que} lites de eius doctrina inter illum & phariseos, vel quoscun{que} alios contigerunt. Sed semper ad legem appellauit, aduersarios{que} suos vt legis praescripto & sententia starent, rogauit: scrutamini (inquiens) scripturas. Nos etiam a vobis nihil aliud in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi, supplices petimus & rogamus, nisi vt causa de qua inter nos litigatur, sententia & autoritate verbi dei decidatur ac finiatur. Et si per verbum dei fidem nostram parum candidam & iam, ostendere valet: porregemus vobis herbam, dabim us{que} dexteras. Nec in impios Arrianos pij & sancti, patres, hanc iudicandi potestatem sibi assumpserunt: sed adfuit disputationi pius princeps Constantinus imperator, qui rationes partium litigantium, diligenter perpendit: & sententiam at{que} iudicium causae, soli auctoritati verbi dei detulit. Quid hoc est igitur? quo iure contenditis? vultis & nostri & causae nostrae, testes, accusatores, & iudices esse? nos tantum legem & euangelium Dei in causa religionis, iudicē competentem agnoscimus: illius iudicio stet vel cadat nostra causa. Tantum (iterumat{que} iterum) petimus, vt coram competēti iudice detur nobis qui vincula & carceres sustinemus, amicū Christianum{que} auditorium: vim haud dubitamus, quin nostras rationes, & argumenta autoritate verbi diuini sum{us} stabilituri, ac vestra plané subuerturi. Hactenus praeiudicio iniusté grauamur: nec mirum, cum vna pars litigantium iudex alterius partis constituatur. Quapropter ad verbum dei, tanquam vnicum & solum competentem in causa religionis, iudicem appellamus. Si praeter & contra hanc legem dei, falsa & impia (vt coepistis) vi & dolo promouere non desistetis, sed fratres vestros truculenter persequendo pergetis: nos in tantis periculis constituti, ad misericordiam dei confugiemus, qui solus & possit & velit nos á vestris erroribus, incolumes & saluos conseruare. Praeterea, vt olim

aliqui ex nobis, pro salute & incolumitate aliquot vestrum, apud magistratum ciuilem intercessimus: sic & nunc pro omnium vestrum salute in Christo Iesu, apud patrem coelestem intercedere non desistemus, vt tandem ad meliorem & sinceriolem mentem reuersi, vnicum Christum Iesum quem praecinuerunt prophetae, praedicauerunt Apostoli, quem{que} omnes pij agnoscūt (iam quo ad humanitatem, sedentem ad dextram patris in coelis amp•ectamini, & exosculimini: repudiato conficto, & ementito illo Christo ex pane confecto: quem nō solum iuuenes, virgines, & se•es, verum etiam oues & boues, pecora{que} campi, volucres coeli & pisces maris panem agnoscunt ac sentiunt, & non deum. Desistite rogamus igitur enixé vltorius oculos piorum perstringere. Verus enim Christus quatenus homo, iam amplius sursum ac deorsum per manus sacerdotū, agitari & immolari nō potest. In•ernum vicit, peccata vestra in cruce perlitauit, mortem destruxit, & iam astra te•e: quem olim videbitis venientem in nubibus coeli cum potestate magna & gloria, sempiternis{que} poenis vos plangetis, nisi hic poenitētiam falsae & impiae vestrae doctrinae egeritis. Si deus autem pro sua inexhausta bonitate & clemētia, per verbum suum lites istas inter nos componi dignetur: non dubito quin oculos vestros ita sit aperturus, vt quām horribiliter, & impié dei ac hominum testimonio & scriptis abuti videatis. Sed si furioso, & ex candescenti spiritu, vestras partes citra auctoritatem verbi dei, defēdere velitis: actum est omnino de vestra aeterna salute: {quod} dominus propter filiū suum vnicū auertat. Cogitate etiā apud vos ipsos an hoc sit piorū ministrorū ecclesiae officiū, vi, metu, & pauore corda hominū in vestras partes cōpellere? Profectō Christ{us} nō ignē, non gladiū, nō carceres, nō vincula, nō violentiā, nō confiscationē bonorū, nō regineae maiestatis terrorē, media organa constituit, quibus veritas sui verbi mundo promulgaretur: sed miti ac diligenti praedicatione euāgelij sui, mundū ab errore & idololatria conuerti praecepit. Vos nō Christi sed Antichristi armis vtimini, quibus populū inuitum ad vestra sacra cōpellitis: & non vol•tē, & instructū verbo dei trahitis. Sed quām malus custos 〈...〉 sit timor, non ignoratis. Certē qui timet nisi dei spiritu •per reuocetur, odit. Tra dite igitur saluberrima praecepta legis & euangelij populo dei vt pro Christi ministris per verbum Christi, ab omnibus agnoscantini. Ideo enim ministri ecclesiae Christi estis constituti, vt tantum Christi doctrinam populum dei doceretis▪ & non vt nouā, & á Christo alienam obtruderetis. Quae iam vos in ecclesia agitis, si coram aequo iudice, amicam ac Christianam disputationē, non recusaueritis: ex verbo dei ostendemus, vel á lege Mosaica mutuata: vel per Antichristum, & pseudoministros in ecclesiā fuisse introducta vt hoc breui tractatu exelsae parliamenti curiae facilé constabit. Scio inter vos esse tam turgido, & iniquo spiritu praeditos, qui putant nos tantū inanis gloriae, superbiae, arrogantiae, & famae nostrae fumo duci, & ideo velle potius semper malé currere: quām admoniti de errore bené recurrere. Sed hoc Deus nouit, quod tantum illius gloriam, nostram{que} salutem in Christo quaerim{us} dicant aduersarij quid velint. Meminerint autē nostri aduersarij & cogitēt: quāquām apud illos nec pro doctis, nec pijs hominib{us} habeamur (& haud dubiē nos ipsos omnis impietatis & peccati apud deum quotidie accusam{us}) tamē homines sumus ratione pediti. Et quis (nisi insanus) iactura & amissione omniū bonorū suorum, vxoris, liberorum, libertatis & vitae: redimeret, famae aut inanis gloriae titulum? Profecto tanti poenitere (vt dicitur) non emerimus. Igitur illius verbi veritatem nostris bonis omnibus ac vitae ipsi praeterimus: Et si centies (Deo nos adiuuante) moriendum nobis fuerit: ad idololatriam & impium cultū Dei, quae Dei misericordia hactenus reliquimus, non reuertemur. Domini sumus siué viuimus siue morimur: eius igitur voluntas in vobis & in nobis, cum misericordia fiat, Amen.

Vestrae salutis in Christo studiosissimus. Ioh. Hoperus.

A note of Bish. Farrer.

DOctour Leison, doctor of lawe, a Ciuilian, a Iustice of peace, the same who is mentioned,* pag. 1555. woulde not suffer bishop Farrer (when he was at the stake to bee burnt) to speake his mynd, and about halfe a yeare after, the said Doc. Leison died, and when he would haue spoke himselfe, he could not.

The trouble and examination of Thomas Hitton Martyr, with his examinations, answers, condemnation and Martyrdome, An. Dom. 1529. the 20. of February.

THomas Hitton of Martham in the Diocesse of Norwich, an honest poore man and religious,* euer fearyng God from his youth and louyng his worde. When persecution for the same word in the dayes of king Henry the 8. grew to bee somewhat hote, tooke his iourney toward Rochester in Kent, intyndyng to haue gone to Douer, & so to haue crossed the seas into Fraunce and other countries▪ for a tyme, where reposing himself a while, he might be free from the heat of persecution.* As he was goyng on his intēded iourny, one Thomas Swainesland, Bailly to William Warrham Archbish. of Canterbury, meting him by the way, and suspecting him to be (as they called them) an heretike, caused him to be staied, and brought before the said William Archb. of Cant. his maister, who demanded of him from whence he came, and whether he intended to haue gone, if he had not bene intercepted. The sayd Tho. answered that he came out of the Dioces of Norwich,* and purposed to haue gone beyond the seas, if God had so permitted. Then the Bishop asked him if he had euer bene beyond the seas before, and what bookes he had brought ouer. He answered that he had bene once beyond the seas before, and had brought certaine bookes with hym from thence, namely, two new Testaments, and one Primer in English. The Bishop asked him to whome hee gaue the [Page 2137](#) sayde bookes. He aunswered, he would not declare. For (saieth he) such is your bloudy crueltye, that you woulde neuer sleepe quietly, till you had sucked their bloude as you meane to do myne. The Bishop seyng he could extort no more out of him, and perceiuyng his constant spirite and feruent zeale to the truth, commanded hym to prison till further oportunitie might serue for the shedding of his bloud.

The second appearance of Thomas Hitton before the said Archb. of Cant.

WWithin a while after, the bishop commanded the sayd Thomas to be brought before him agayne, who demanded of him how he iudged and beleued of the religion then in force, and of the authoritie of the bishop of Rome. The said Thomas answered, that the religion then vsed, was most abhominable idolatry, and contrary to the holy word of God. And as for the Pope (quoth he) he is Antichrist, the first borne of Sathan, and hath no more power or authoritie, then any other bishop hath in his owne diocesse, nor so much neither. The Bishop hearing this, was in such a peltynge chafe, that at that tyme he would talk no more with hym, but returned hym from whence he came, namelye, to Bocardo, with commaundement to appere before him agayne, vpon the 13. day of the same month folowyng, at his Manor of Knoll, to aunswer to such Articles and Interrogatories as should be obiected ex officio, against hym.

The third appearance of Tho. Hitton before the said Archb. of Cant.

The sayd Thomas Hitton at the day prefixed, made his personall appearance before the bishop at the place appointed, to whom the Bishop ministred certaine articles and interrogatories for him to aunswer vnto, commaundyng him to sweare to answer truly and vnfainedly vnto them, and euery part of them. The sayd Tho. Hitton refused to sweare, saying: It is against Gods lawes and good conscience for any man to sweare to shed hys owne blood,* for so he should be a murtherer of hymselfe, and become guiltie of his owne death. But yet notwithstādyng that he refused to sweare to aunswer, yet he answered truly and directly to euery perticular Article and Interrogatorie propounded vnto hym, but so as was finally to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly. This done, the Bishop brake of hys session for that tyme, and commaunded him to prison agayne, and to appeare before hym in the place aforesayde, vpon the Friday next followyng, to aunswer further as should be demaunded of hym, granting him liberty withall, to adde too, or subtract from his former aunswers, eyther els vtterly to deny and reuoke the same.

The fourth appearance of Tho. Hitton before the said Archb. of Cant.

The day and tyme approching, the sayd Thom. Hitton appeared agayne accordingly, and hauing heard hys former aunswers and confessions distinctly by the Notarie red vnto hym, hee reformed them in certaine pointes, to some he added, from other some he subtracted, but none he denied. Then the Bishop perceiuyng his vnmoueable constancie in the truth, setting learnyng and reason apart, beyng not able to conuince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to improoue the spirite which spake in hym, fell to exhortyng of him to haue respect to his soules health, and not so wilfully (as he termed it) to cast away himselfe for euer, but to repent, and to abiure his errors, and in so doyng, he would be good vnto him, he sayd. When the bishop with all his perswasions could doe no good with hym to withdraw him from the truth of gods word, then the doctors and other the assistants attempted the lyke, all which notwithstanding,* the said Thomas Hitton would not desist nor shrinke one iote from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former articles and confessions to the ende. Inferring withall, that they sinned against the holy Ghost, in as much as they knew that Gods worde was the truth, and that the Masse and all popish religion, is nothing els but Idolatry, lies, and open blasphemy against the maiestie of God and his word, and contrary to Gods word in euery respect, and yet they would allowe and maintaine the same, contrary to their owne consciences, whereat all the Bench was greatly offended, & commaunded him to prison agayne, assignyng him a day to come before them agayne.

The fift appearance of Tho. Hitton before the said Archb. of Cant.

AT the day appointed, the said Tho. Hitton appeared, to whom the bishop sayd, Thomas,* doest thou beleeeue that any man either spirituall or temporall, is of sufficient authoritie to set forth any lawe or sanction of himselfe, the breach whereof is Mortall or Ueniall sinne. To whome Tho. Hitton answered: that no man either spirituall or temporall might make any lawe or sanction, the breache whereof, is mortall or veniall sinne, except the same lawe or sanction bee drawen out of the worde of God, or els grounded vpon the same with a good conscience. And therefore, neither the church cannot set forth any lawe, the breach whereof is Mortall or Ueniall sinne, vnlesse it bee grounded vpon the word of God also. But if any man, or the church of God it selfe, do set

forth any lawe grounded vpon the word of God & good conscience, the breach thereof to the violater, is mortal and deadly sinne. After all maner of wayes and meanes attempted to drawe this poore man from Christ and his truth, the bishop see yng that hee could not preuayle, determined to send hym to the bishop of Rochester, and so did, who assayed by all meanes possible to remooue him from his former professed truth. But seyng all his endeours frustrate, and that he profited nothyng, he signified the same to the Archbishop, and withal both went himselfe vnto hym, and caried the poore prisoner with him thether also.

In the afternoone of the same day, the said Archbish. of Cant. the bish. of Rochester, and diuers others assistantes called the sayd poore man before them agayne, and caused all the former Articles, Interrogatories and demaundes, to be red vnto hym in English, to the end he should either haue reuoked the same, or els recanted them altogether, vsing both threatens and faire promises to the performaunce thereof, but all in vayne: for his fayth was built vpon the rocke Christ Iesus, and therefore vnable to be remooued with any stormes of persecution, whatsoeuer.

In fine, the Archbishop (with mature iudgement you must beleeeue) consulting with the B. of Rochester and other, proceeded to his condemnation,* reading the bloody sentence of death agaynst him, and so was he beyng condemned, deliuered to the secular power, who caried hym to the prison, and soone after hee was burned for the testimonie of Iesus Christ, as you may see more at large, pag. 997.998. for whose constancie in the truth, the euerlasting God be prayed. Amen.

¶A note of a certayne good man troubled in Bulloyne the first yeare of king Edward the sixt for the Gospell.

The examination of me William Hastlen Gunner in the Castle of high Bulloyne, in the yeare of our Lorde 1547. and the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the sixt. As I was in the church at Bulloyne called the stals, vpon the 10. of Aprill being Easter Tuesday, reading of a godly booke called the lamentation of a Christian, against the citizens of London betweene the houres of three and foure at after noone, there came certaine men to me as I stode at an alter in the Church reading to my selfe, and asked me what good booke I had, and I sayd they should heare if they pleased, thē they desired me to read out y^t they might heare, and so did I very gladly, but I had not read long but the Priestes and Clearkes were at theyr Latine Euensong, and I reading mine English book there came a tipstaffe for me, taking my two bookes from me and commaunded me to go with him, for he sayde I must goe before the counsaile of the towne, then went I forthwith with him, and a little without the Church doore, sir Iohn a Briges met vs, and bad the tipstaffe cary me to sir Leanard Beckwith Knight to be examined, and comming before his presence, hee asked me what bookes they were that I had at the church and was reading of one of them, openly in the Church to the people, and I sayd so farre as I hadde read them they were good godlye bookes, and he said they were heresie, and with that he asked me how I did beleeeue of the Sacrament of the aultar, whether I did not beleue y^t to be the very body of Christ, flesh, bloud, and bones, and I asked him whether hee ment that, that was in the pixe or no, and he sayde yea? euen that in the pixe, and I said that since I had sure knowledge of scriptures I did not beleeeue it to bee the body of Christ, but a bare peece of bread, nor by Gods helpe I will neuer beleue it otherwise to be, then he sayd I was an hereticke, & asked me what I made of the sacrament, and I sayd, if it were duely ministred according to Christes institution▪ [Page 2138](#)

that then I did beleue that the faythfull Communicantes, in receiuing that blessed Sacrament, did receaue into their inward man, or soule, the very body and bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ. Then sayd he, doest thou not beleue •t to remaine the very body of Christ after the wordes of consecration pronounced by the priest, and I sayd no. Thē said he, what doest thou make of the Church, I said as it is now vsed, it is a den of theeues, and the sinagoge of Sathan, thou hereticke sayd he, there remaineth the very body of Christ. But I saide that Christ being God and man, dwelleth not in temples made with mens handes: much other communication had we at that time but thys was the effecte that daye. Then hee asked me whether I would be forth comming till to morrow, and I saide Sir if you think that I will not, you may lay me where as I shall so be, then he let me goe for that night, and sayde we shall talke farther with thee to morrow, so I departed home. And about the space of two houres after, Mayster Hountington the preacher (which did muche good wyth his preaching in Bulloyn at that time) came to me, and sayde that hee heard me spoken of at my Lorde Grayes, which was then Lord Debitie of the towne and Country of Bulloyn, and I perceaue sayd he that you are in great daunger of trouble, if you scape with your lyfe, for there are some of the counsaile, merueilously bent agaynst you, I sayd the Lordes will be done: well said he, without you feele in your selfe, a full purpose by Gods helpe to stand earnestly to the thing that yee haue spoken, you shall doe more hurt then good, wherefore said he if you will goe to Callis, I will send you where you shall be well vsed, and be out of this daunger. Then I thanked M. Hountington, saying I purpose by Gods assistance to abide the vttermost that they can do vnto me, well then sayd he, I can tell you, you wil be sent for to morrow betimes before the whole Counsaile: that is sayd I the thing that I look for. Then rose I betimes in the morning and went into the market place, that I might spye whiche way the Officer should come for me, I had not taryed there longe, but I spyed a tipstaffe, and went toward him and asked hym whome he sought, and he sayde a Gunner of the great ordinaunce in the Castle of Bulloyn, and I sayd that I am he, thē said he you must go with me to my Lords, & I said therefore I looked. When I came there, I saw my Lorde and the whole Counsaile were assembled together in a close parlour, doing my duetie to them, my Lord saide to me, it is informed me that thou hast seditiously congregate a companie together in the Church, and there in the time of seruice thou didest read vnto them an heretical booke, and hast not reuerently vsed silence in the time of y^e diuine seruice, what sayest thou to this? I sayd, & it please your honour, I was in the church a good while before any seruice began, and no body with me, reading to my self alone, vpon a booke that is agreable to Gods worde, and no heresie in it that I red, and when it drewe toward seruice time, there came men to the church, and some of then comming to me whō I knewe not, asking me what good booke I had, I sayd it was a new booke that I haue not yet read it ouer, then they prayed me that I would read so that they might heare some part with me, and so I did, not calling, pointing, nor assembling any company to me. And for the seruice being in latine, that for the strangenes of the tongue, besides muche superstition ioyned with it was not vnderstood of the most part of them, that saide or sounge it, much lesse of them that stood by and did heare it, where as by the word of God all thinge in the Church or congregation shuld be done to the edifying of the people, and seeing I could haue no such thing by theyr seruice, I did endeouour to edifie my selfe, and other that were desirous of reading of godly bookes. And because the Church is so abused contrary to the worde of God, being beset round about, with a sorte of abhominable Idols, before whome no man ought to kneele, nor doe no maner of reuerence, because the scriptures doth curse, both the Idoll and the Idoll maker, and all that doth any worship or reuerence, vnto them, or before them, for that cause I vsed no reuerence there. Well sayd my Lorde, I woulde thou couldest aunswere to the rest as well as thou hast done to

this, but I feare me thou canst not, for it is tolde me that thou hast spoken agaynst the blessed sacrament, and I said and it please your Lordship, that did I neuer in al my life, nor neuer wil doe by the grace of God. With that my chief accuser sir Leonard Becksmith knight, sayd to me, diddest thou not say to me yesterday, that thou diddest not beleue the sacrament of the aluter after the wordes of consecration by the priest, to be the very body of Christ, flesh bloud & bones, as it was borne of the virgine Mary. It is true in deede that I sayd so, for neyther do I beleue it to remayne Christes body, nor neuer will by the grace of God beleue it so to be, for I beleue that christ with that body that was conceaued and borne of the virgine Mary did ascend vp into heauen, and there (according to our beliefe) he sitteth on the right hand of God the father, and from thence that body shal come at the day of iudgement to iudge the quick and the dead, and yet in the meane while I beleue (that y^e sacrament duely ministred according to Christes institution) that the faithfull receauers of this sacrament lifting vp the eyes of theyr minde into heauen where Christes body is, that they do receaue in that sacrament into theyr soule or inward man, the very body of our sauour Iesus Christ, yea and I beleue further, that Christ concerning his diuine power or the power of his godhead is whersoouer two, or three be gathered together in his name, that he is in the midst euen amongst them, and that hee is so with his faythfull flocke euen to the worldes end, then they layed theyr heades together and had priuie talke, after that two of them said to me that it was rancke heresie that I did beleue it to remayne bare bread after the Priest had consecrated it, and not to beleue it to be the very body of Christ, I was worthy to be burned, then sayde I earnestly vnto thē, thinke you not though I be a vile abiecte in your sight, and he that is most busie among you to seek my bloud, but that my bloud shall be required at hys, or theyr handes. Then had they priuy talke together againe, after the which my Lord sayd vnto me, thou hearest that they here lay heresie to thy charge, and I am a manne of warre, & haue no skill in such high misteries, wherefore thine accusers say that thou must suffer here as an hereticke, that all the rest of the garrisene may beware by thee y^t they fal not into the like heresie, and so cast away themselues. Then sayd I, I appeale from this Counsayle, to the Counsayle of England, then sayd my Lord I am very glad that thou hast appealed to the Counsayle of England, for there are learned menne, and Diuines, that can skil of such matters, thether shalt thou be sent or it be long. Then was I caryed to sir Iohn Abridges house, and hauing pen and incke, I was bidden to write mine articles, which were in effecte those poyntes of Religion that you haue heard before in my examination, then on the morow being Thursday, and the fiftene of Aprill I was brought to the prison in the towne called the Marshalsea, where I was very gently vsed, for a good gentleman one Maister Waghan was the keeper there, at that time, but surely when I was apprehended, I had not so much as one peny to helpe my selfe with, for we had bene longe vnpayd, furthermore I thought in that towne of warre, that there was very few or none that fauoured the word of God, for I looked for no helpe there, but to be hated and despised of all menne there, for I knewe not past two or three there, that hadde any loue to the Gospell, till I was in prison, and then there came very many souldiours vnto me that I neuer knew before, and gaue me mony, so that I hadde as good as a three pound geuen me in a smale tyme that I was in prison. The fourthtene day of May toward night, I was sent into Englande, one Mayster Messenger, and one other man brought me to London, euen the same day being sonday at night, and 15. daye of May, there was a great talke ouer all the Cittye of one Doctor Smith that recanted that daye, they brought me to the Marshalsea, and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thether: but Mayster Huntington as a faythfull minister of Iesus Christe, that gaue me warning before of all this trouble, came from Bullyn to London, causing my Articles to be seene, so that by his paynefull dilligence to the Counsayle for me, after that I had bene there little more

then one •oneth, I was dyscharged forth of prison, and bed get me home to Bullin to my liuing agayne.

But surely if I hadde not appealed to the Counsayle of Englande I hadde bene burned in Bullyn, for it was tolde me of them that knew mucche in that matter that it was already determined, shortly to haue bene accomplyshed if I had not appealed: for the whiche deliuerance I geue prayse to the euerliuing God.

¶**This was layed in Queene Maryes Closet vpon her deske agaynst her commyng vnto her prayers.**

O Louesome Rose most redolent,

Of vading flowers most fresh:

In England pleasant is the sente,

For now art thou peerelesse.

This Rose which beareth such a smell,

Doth represent our Queene:

O listen that I may you tell,

Her colours fresh and greene.

[Page 2139](#)The loue of God within her hart,

Shall beutifie her grace:

The feare of God on the other part,

Shall stablish her in place.

This Loue and Feare her colours are,

Whereby if she be known:

She may compare both nie and farre,

Unable to be ouerthrown.

The loue of God it will her cause,

Unfained if it bee:

To haue respect vnto his lawes,

And hate idolatrie.

If that she haue the feare of God,
And be thereto right bent:
She will do that he her bode,
And not her owne intent.
O noble Queene take heed, take heed,
Beware of your owne intent:
Looke or you leape, then shall you speed,
Haste maketh many shent.
Remember Saule that noble king,
What shame did him befall:
Because that vnto the Lords •idding,
He had no lust at all.
The Lord hath bid, you shall loue him,
And other Gods defye:
Alas take heéde, do not beginne
To place Idolatry.
What greater disobedience
Agaynst God may be wrought
Then this: to moue mens conscience,
To worship thinges of nought.
What greater folly can you inuent
Then such men to obey:
How can you serue your owne intent,
Not foreseeing your owne decay.
And where as first ye should mainteine,

Your Realme in perfect vnity:

To rent the peoples hartes in twayne,

Thorow false Idolatry.

Is this the way to get you fame,

Is this to get you loue:

Is this to purchase you a name,

To fight with God aboue.

Is this your care to set vp Masse,

Your Subiectes soules to stroy:

Is this your study, no more to passe,

Gods people to anoy.

Is this to reigne, to serue your will,

Good men in bondes to keépe:

And to exalt, such as be euill,

And for your grace vnmeét.

Such as made that fond diuorce,

Your mother to deface:

Are nighest you in power and force.

And most bounden vnto your Grace.

Well, yet take heéd, of had I wist,

Let Gods word beare the bell:

If you will reigne, learne to know Christ,

As Daudid doth you tell.

What great presumption doth appeare,

Thus in a weéke or twayne:

To worke more shame then in vij. yeare.
Can be redrest agayne.
All is done without a law,
For will doth worke in place:
And this all men may see and know,
The weakenes of your case.
That miserable masking Masse,
Which all good men doth hate:
Is now by you brought vp agayne,
The roote of all debate.
Your Ministers that loue Gods worde,
They feele this bitter rodde:
Who are robbed from house and goodes,
As though there were no God.
And yet you would seeme mercifull.
In the midds of Tyranny
And holy, whereas you mayntayne
Most vile Idolatry.
For feare that you should heare the truthe,
True preachers may not speake:
But on good Prophetes you make ruthe,
And vnkindely them intreate.
Him haue you made Lord Chauncellor,
Who did your bloud most stayne:
That he may sucke the righteous bloud,

As he was wont agayne.
Those whome our late king did loue,
You doe them most disdayne?
These thinges doth manifestly proue,
Your colours to be but vayne.
Gods word you cannot abide,
But as your Prophetes tell:
In this you may be well compared,
To wicked Iesabell.
Who had 400. Prophettes false,
And fiftie on a rough:
Through whose false preaching,
Poore Ely was chased in and out.
Gods Prophetes you do euill entreate,
Balles Priestes defend your grace:
Thus did the Iewes put Christ to death,
And let go Barrabas.
Hath God thus high exalted you,
And set you on a trone:
That you should prison and deface,
His flocke that maketh mone.
The Lord which doth his flock defend,
As the Aple of an eye:
Of this full quickly, will make an end,
And banish crueltie.

Therefore my Counsell I you take,
And thinke thereof no scorne:
You shall finde it the best counsell,
Ye had since you were borne.
Put away blinde affection,
Let Gods word be vnper,
To try out true religion,
From this euill fauoured geere.
Finis

{quod}. W.M. as it is supposed.

***The instruction of king Edward the sixt, geuen to Sir Anthony Seyntleger Knight of his priuie chamber being of a corrupt iudgement of the Eucharist. Vpon this saying of an ancient D. of the Catholicke Church.**

Dicimus Eucharistiam Panem vocari in scripturis, Panis in quo gratiae actae sunt &c.
IN Euchariste then there is bread,

Wherto I do consent:
Then with bread is our bodyes fed,
But farther what is ment.
I say that Christ in flesh and bloud,
Is there continually:
Unto our soule a speciall food,
Taking it spiritually.
And this transubstantiation, I,
Beleue as I haue read:
That Christ sacramentally,
Is there in forme of bread.

S. Austen sayth the word doth come,

Unto the element:

And there is made he sayth in somme,

A perfect sacrament.

The Element then doth remayne,

Or els must needes ensue:

S. Austens wordes be nothing playne,

Nor cannot be found true.

[Page 2140](#)For if the words as he doth say,

Come to the element:

Then is not the element away,

But bides there verament.

Yet who so eateth that liuely foode,

And hath a perfect fayth:

Receiueth Christes flesh and bloud,

For Christ himselfe so sayth.

Not with our teeth hys flesh to teare,

Nor take bloud for our drinke:

To great an absurditie it were,

So grossely for to thinke.

For we must eate hym spiritually,

If we be spirituall:

And who so eates hym carnally,

Thereby shall haue a fall.

For he is now a spirituall meate,

And spiritually we must:

That spirituall meate, spiritually eate,
And leaue our carnall lust.
Thus by the spirite, I spiritually
Beleeue, say what men list:
None other Transubstantiation, I
Beleeue of the Eucharist.
But that there is both bread and wyne,
Which we see with our eye:
Yet Christ is there by power diuine,
To those that spiritually.
Do eate that bread, and drinke that cup,
Esteemyng it but lyght:
As Iudas did, which eate that soppe,
Not iudgyng it aryght.
For I was taught not long agone,
I should leane to the sprite:
And let the carnall flesh alone,
For dyd it not profite.
God saue hym that teachyng me, taught,
For I thereby did winne:
To put me from that carnall thought,
That I before was in.
For I beleeue Christ corporally,
In heauen doth keepe his place:
And yet Christ sacramentally,

Is here with vs by grace.

So that in this high mysterie,

We must eate spirituall meate,

To keepe hys death in memory,

Least we should it forget.

This do I say, this haue I sayd,

This saying, say wyll I:

This saying though I once denaid,

I will no more to dye.

FINIS.

¶ This yong Prince became a perfect schoolemaister vnto old erroneous men, so as no Diuine could amende hym, and therfore this piece is worthy of perpetuall memory to his immortall fame and glory.

¶ When Queene Mary came to her raigne, a friend of maister Sentlegers charged him with this his Pamphlet. Well, {quod} he, content your selfe, I perceiue that a man may haue too much of Gods blessing. And euen here Peter began to deny Christ, such is mens frailtie.

¶ **A note of a Letter of one Iohn Meluyn Prisoner in Newgate.**

***Christi electis Salutem.**

Esdr. 4.

¶ Hoc Seculum fecit altissimus propter multos, futurum autem propter paucos.

¶ The almighty Lorde hath made this worlde for many: but the world or life or come but for a few.

MOst certayne it is dearely beloued that Christes elect be but few in comparisō of that great number which go in the broad way to euerlasting perdition,* whiche lyfe after the flesh, louing this present euill world, deny God in word and deed,* whose eies are blinded and their harts hardened.

Most certaine it is also that our Sauior Iesus Christ hath and knoweth his owne, whose names are written in the booke of life redemed with the most precious bloud of our sauour Iesus Christ.* So that the eternall Father knoweth them which be his.

The almighty and eternall God graunt that we may haue the testimony of our conscience, and the spirit of god to beare record with our spirites that we be his elect children walking in the spirite not fulfilling the lustes of the flesh but as Christes members hauing Christ Iesu fixed before our eyes, he being to vs the true way, the infallible verity & the eternall life. Christ hath geuē vs example, let vs folow him as deare children, for Gods delight is to beholde his Saintes which be in the earth.* Let vs put on the whole armour of God, and walke in the light in these euill dayes in the whiche Sathan in his Aungels seeketh whom he may deuour. The almighty Lorde deliuer vs from the mouthes of those vnshamefast dogs. They truely seeke ours and not vs vnto the Lord. Esdras sayth and writeth truely, the world is made for them: and they for the world. Dearly bought let vs remember Christ which sayth I haue chosen you out of the world, you shalbe hated of al worldly men. Did euer the couetous, Idolaters,* Oppressors or Whoremongers loue vs? Nay they loue Masse Mongers which say peace, peace, when there is no peace. Nay either then flatter the eares, or els they say no thing, as dum dogges not able to barke, of whom be you ware of, for though they come in sheepes clothing: they be rauening Wolues, whose damnation sleepeth not from whose captiuitie the holy will of God saue and preserue you. Amen.*

Dearely beloued we hauing the record of our conscience that we be very members in Christes body separate from that malignant Antichristes Church. Let vs reioyce in conscience and in the Lord, hauing heauenly hope in al his promises, which be eternall and most sure to vs, in Christ our Sauour, who looseth none of all them, whom the eternall Father hath geuen him, but at his appearing to be our mercifull Iudge,* shall rayse vs vppe at that last day, for the trumpe of God shall blow, and be heard of all Adams posterity, sounding Venite ad iudicium. Come vnto iudgement, come and be iudged. Let vs therfore be prepared hauing the wedding garment,* yea the whole armour of God, the mariage garment, cleare Lampes, that is pure hartes, and burning heauenly light in the same. Let vs prepare our selues richly to restore to our Lord and Mayster our talentes with the increase of heauenly liuing and occupying, then without all doubt, we shall heare that most blessed wish of our alone Sauour Iesus Christ who shall then say reioyce good seruauntes, I will make you Stewardes, ouer many thinges. Enter into the euerlasting rest, and kingdome, whiche hath bene prepared for you from the beginning. This is the Kingdome of Iesus Christ, whiche at this present is in Babilon and banished to the desert, the troublesome waters of Sathan in the Antichrist and his shauelings spiewed out of Christs mouth. The Lord be our ayde, auenger and deliuerer when his holy will is. Amen.

Dearely bought with the most precious bloud of our Sauour Iesus Christ, that we be not deceiued by the Antichrist, let vs ponder, wey, marke and study, the heauenly doctrine of our Sauour Christ in his last Supper, the text is, Bene dixit, dixit bene, gratias egit, he spake heauenly and well, he gaue thanks, he tooke bread, brake it & gaue it to his Disciples, saying, take, eate, this Sacramentall bread, and me the breade of life, whiche came downe from heauen, which geueth life to the worlde, take true fayth, heauenly hope kindled with christen charitie, thanks geuing for my death: let these heauēly vertues enter in your soules, then enter I. This is my body. This is the true eating of my body, which is geuen to the death of y^e crosse, for the ransome and sinnes of Gods elect: Likewise after supper he tooke the cup, hee spake well, gaue thanks and gaue it them: saying, drinke ye all of this: drinke I say by this infallible veritie, and euerlasting word ioyned and anexed with this cup, my bloud which is shed from before the beginning of the world, for many in remission of sins, he or shee that thus dwelleth in me, and I in him, eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud. Saint Augustine sayth, why prearest thou thy tooth and belly?

beleue and thou hast eaten. Sainct Barnarde saith, when fayth, hope, christian loue,* and thanks geuing for Christes death enter in a Christian, Christ entereth, and agayn S. Augustine sayth vpon these wordes of Christ you shal alwayes haue the poore with you, but me shall ye not haue [Page 2141](#) alwayes with you. The Church had him but a few dayes touching his humanitie,* nowe they haue him by fayth, with these eyes they do not see him. O Iesus Christ thou sonne of the liuing God, whiche art in the bosome of thy father God with God, the very Image of God the father eternall, geue vs victory ouer this Antichrist in thy most precious bloud. Be faythfull to the ende and oure sauour shall crown vs in glory: let vs sanctify the name of God in thought, word, and deede.

I say vnto the Papist and will not flatter.

our God is in heauen whome they will not see:

And is no such little prety mattere,

as their God the Pope faineth him to be.

Pray for all the preachers of the veritie,

that God may geue vs grace and constancie.

They sing and say they haue him in a string,

tye not the dog so, for feare of hanging.

To all the faythfull whose names in generall,

in the booke of lyfe, by Christ are written all.

The godly thought and patient minde,

doth liberty in prison finde.

Who so to patience can attayne,

shall finde in prison is no payne.

Thrall, trouble, bownd, or free,

as pleaseth God, so shall all be.

Wherefore I neuer will forsake,

what pleaseth God lay on my backe.

Iohn Meluine preacher and priprisoner in Newgate.

¶A note concerning the trouble of Iulius Palmer, lately come to my handes.

To his assured friend and brother in Chryst Mayster Perry preacher at Beuerstone geue these.

*MAyster Perry after my hartly commendations in the Lord Iesus Christ vnto you and your wife &c. wheras you haue written vnto me for my help in stoppyng the malicious and enuious mouth of Thomas Thackam, I would be as glad as any man to testifie the truth, both for that I know of the shameles malice of the sayd party, agaynst the members of Christ, as also the godly and vertuous behaiour of Palmer both before he was in prison, and after in prison, with the credite of that good and godly worke of that history: but surely many thinges are out of my hed, which I cannot as yet remember. And for these things I know, I wryte vnto you. And first as touching the frendship shewed vnto the Lady Uane, and hys zeale therein vttered, trueth it is that hee receaued her into hys house for mony for a small space, in the whiche time they two did not well agree, for that she coule not suffer hys wickednes of wordes and gestures vnreproved, but that his wife many times being of more honesty made y^e matter well agayne, but to be short, suche was his frendshyp in the ende towards that good Lady, being out of hys house, that she feared no man more for her lyfe, then him. And I being her man she gaue me great charge alwayes to beware of him. As touching his frendship towards Iohn Bolton in prison, I am sure he neuer found any, as they that vsed to visite him, can somewhat say: Except you accompt this friendship, that he beyng bereft of hys senses, Thac. wrought him to yeld vnto the papistes, and as a right member of them became his suretie to be obedient vnto them. And hee beyng burdened in conscience therewith, fled away vnto Geneua, for the which flieng Thac. had nothing sayd vnto hym, which sheweth that he was their instrument. And this friendship to Iohn Bolton, for Downer I haue heard no euill of him: for Gateley and Radley now Uicar of S. Laurence, and Bowyer a Tanner, they three left no meanes vnpractised to catche and persecute the members of Christ as I my selfe can well prooue. As touching Palmer, for that I many tymes frequented his company in his lodging, he woulde vtter sometymes vnto me the grieue of his mynd. Among other things once he told me, that for that he heard he was somewhat suspected with the womā of the house, he was much grieued withall, the which he vttered with many teares. I then counsailling him to depart thence to auoyd the occasion of offence, he sayd no, but the Lord should try him or it were long: for sayd he, Thac. hath let me his schole, and now would haue it againe, and because I will not let him haue it, this he hath brought vpon me, but God forgeue him. Afterward beyng in prison, I talking with hym at the grate, he shewed me his iudgement of the scriptures, and deliuered it vnto me, what became of it I knowe not now. He prayes God highly for his estate, and then hee sayd he trusted it would appeare whether Thac. had sayd of him well or not. And further he sayd, that now Thack. hath his will to haue his schoole agayne: for if I woulde haue yelded vp the schoole, he would haue sent me away, I neuer trusted him so well sayd he, to communicate my mynd vnto hym before witnesse, but sometyme alone, and therefore he hath deuised a letter in my name, and brought it to light to cause me to bee examined of my conscience. This is as much as I can say at this tyme. Thus fare you well in the Lord, Amen. From Corsly this 18. of May.

Yours to commaund in Christ, Iohn Moyer Minister.

Haue me commended I pray you to all my friends at Readyng.

A note of Iulius Palmer.

ALso being at Magdalene colledge about a moneth before he was burned, and reasoning against one Barwike Maister of Arte sometime his familiar friende and olde acquaintance in the sayd Colledge, after much talke▪ Barwike said vnto him, Well Palmer, Now thou talkest boldly and stoutly at thy pleasure, if thou were brought to a stake, thou wouldst tell me another tale. Take heed, it is an hard matter to burne. Hereunto Palmer answered. In deed it is an hard matter for him to burne y^t hath his soule linked to his body as a thieffes foote is tied in a paire of fetters. But if a man be once able through Gods helpe to separte and deuide the soule from the body▪ for him it is no harder a thing to burne, thē for me to eat this crumme of bread.

¶A true Copy of the Confession of Patricke Patingham sent out of Newgate to certayn of his friends.

I Patricke Patingham, being condemned for the veritie of Gods trueth that is to say in confessing of one God,* which was the creatour of all things visible and inuisible and also that he made those by his sonne, whome he hath made heyre of all thinges. And also I confesse, that he is the onely begotten sonne of God, in whome we haue redemption, euen the forgeuenes of sinnes. And also in confessing Gods most holy Church, being builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles, and Prophetes Iesus Christ being the head corner stone. In whome sayth S. Paule euerie building coupled together groweth to an holy temple in the Lord, in whome I beleeeue I am builded together as a member and made an habitation for God in the spirite. And also I confesse that Christ is the head of the holy Church, as S. Paule sayth, and that God is Christs head.

And also I had x. articles that is to say agaynst theyr wicked traditions and commaundementes whiche they vse, whiche are agaynst the commaundementes of God, whereof they did condemne me not suffering me to speake in the consistory house, but condemning me not my cause heard. But yet I did protest vnto them, that their Church or synagoge is of Sathan, that is to say, Sathan beyng the head thereof. Furthermore, my friend or friendes vnknown, I haue receiued your letter and red it ouer, wherin you say that I am in a blasphemous errour. In deede friends I confesse, that it is an error. If you will make my beliefe, that is to say, that Christ is the sonne of the liuyng God, to be an errour, and to beleeeue that there is one god as S. Paule saith, and one mediatour betwixt God and man, euen the man Christ Iesus. And although there bee that are called Gods, whether in heauen or in earth, as there be Gods many and Lordes many, yet vnto vs is there but one God which is the father, of whome are all things, and we in hym, and one Lord Iesus Christ, by whom are all thyngs, and we by him. I beleeeue that there is but one Lord, one fayth, one Baptisme, and one God in all, and aboue all, and thorough all, which onely God as S. Paule sayeth, worketh in all creatures that beleeeue in him, and speaketh in them as S. Paule sayeth: God in tymes past diuersly and many wayes spake vnto the fathers by prophets, but in these last daies he spake vnto vs by his sonne whom he hath made heire of all thyngs. My friend or friends, be it known vnto you, that this is no errour as ye suppose, but it is the truth of Gods will, that we should beleeeue as S. Iohn sayth: That Christ Iesus [Page 2142](#) is the sonne of the liuyng God, and in so beleeuynge wee should haue euerlasting lyfe. Thus with loue I write vnto you, praying God night and day to deliuer you frō euill which is in you, and to keepe you from it. Wherefore my friend or friendes, you are not crucified with Christ, you are not dead with him as concerning sinne, you are not graffed with him in Baptisme, nor you know not god nor his sonne whome he

hath sent, nor his commaundements which he hath commaunded, and yet will ye teach other, with most hearty prayer praying to God for you continually.

Patrike Patingham.

A note of a certaine letter of Wil. Tymmes.

GRace, mercy, and peace, from God the father, through the mercies of his deare sonne Iesus Christ,* our Lord and onely Sauour, with the comfort of his holy spirite, that as you haue full godly begun, euen so to continue to the end, to the glory of God and your euerlasting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to geue you grace, who is the geuer of all good and perfect gifts, to the glory of hys holy name, Amen.

My dere sisters, after most hartly commendations vnto you, and also most hartly thanks geuing vnto you for all the great kyndnesse that you haue always shewed vnto me most vnworthy of the same. I certifie you that I am very glad to heare of your good health, which I pray God long to continue to his glory. And especially I doe much reioyce in your most godly constancie in the Gospell of Christ, which is the power of God vnto saluation, vnto so many as beleuee it. Therefore my deare hartes goe forward as you haue godly begunne, for the tyme will come that these cruell tyrants which now so cruelly persecuteth the true members of Christ, shall say for very anguish of mynde, These are they whom we sometyme had in derision and iested vppon.* We fooles thought their lyfe to haue bene very madnesse, and their ende to haue bene without honour. But lo how they are counted among the children of God, and their portion is among the Saints, therefore we haue erred from the way of truth. The light of righteousnes hath not shined vnto vs, and the sonne of vnderstandyng rose not vpon vs. We haue wried our selues in the way of wickednesse and destruction. Tedious wayes haue we gone, but as for the way of the Lord we haue not knowen it. What good hath our pride done vnto vs, or what profit hath the pompe of riches brought vs. All these things hath passed away as a shadow, or as a Messenger running before. As a sheepe that passeth ouer the waues of the water, which when it is gone, by the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path in the flouds. &c. For as soone as we were borne, we began inordinately to drawe to our ende, and haue shewed no token of vertue, but are consumed in our owne wickednesse. Such wordes shall they that thus haue sinned, speake in the hell, &c. But the righteous shall lyue for euermore, their reward is also w^t the Lord, and their remembraunce with the highest: therfore shall they receiue a glorious kingdome, and a beautifull crowne at the Lordes hand, for with his right hande shall he couer them, and with his holy arme shall he defend them, &c. The soules of the righteous are in the hāds of God,* and the paynes of death shall not touch them, but in the sight of the vnwyse they appeare to die, and their end is taken for very destruction, but they are in rest. And though they suffer payne before men,* yet is their hope full of immortalitie. They are punished but in few thynges, neuerthelesse in many things shall they be wel rewarded: for God prooueth them and findeth them meete for hymselfe, yea as the golde in the fornace doth he try them, and receiueth them as a burnt offering: and when the tyme commeth, they shall be looked vppon, the righteous shall shine as the sparkes that runneth through the red bushe, they shall iudge the nations and haue dominion ouer the people, and their Lord shal raigne for euer. They that put their trust in hym shall vnderstand the truth, and such as be faithfull will agree vnto hym in loue, and he shall be a pillar in the temple of God, and shall no more go out, and there shall be written vppon him the name of God. And they shall

lye vnder the aultar (which is Christ) crying w^t a lowd voyce, saying: How long tariest thou Lord, holy and true, to iudge and auenge our bloud on them y^t dwell on the earth, and they shall haue long white garmentes geuen vnto them, and it shall be sayd vnto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, til the number of their fellowes and brethren of them that should bee killed as they were, were fulfilled. For as S. Iohn sayth, they are worthy that thus ouercommeth, to bee clothed in white aray, and their names shall not bee put out of the booke of lyfe, but shall be seperated from the Gotes and set on Christes right hand, hearing his sweet and comfortable voice, whē he shall say, Come ye blessed of my Father, and possesse the kingdome prepared for you from the beginnyng of the world: And the very redy way to obtaine the same, is as our maister Christ saith, to forsake our selues, takyng vp our crosse followyng our maister Christ, which for the ioy that was set before him, abode the crosse, and despised the shame, and is set downe on the throne of the right hand of God: therefore let vs follow his example in sufferyng for his worde, seeyng that hee of his mercifull goodnesse suffered so muche for vs when wee were his enemies, for it was our sinne that killed Christ, and by his death hath made vs on lyue. Therefore with ioy seeing all these his merciful benefites purchased for vs onely by his death and bloudshedding: Let vs with boldnesse confesse his holy word before this wicked generation, euen to death, and we be called thereto, and so be well assured that our lyues be not in the hands of men, but in Gods handes. Therefore my deare sisters, as you haue godly begun, so go forward euen through many tribulations, euen into the euerlasting kingdom of heauen. To the which God the father of all mercy for his deare sonne Christes sake, bring both you and all yours, Amen.

Yours to commaund, to my poore power. Wil. Tymmes.

Continue in prayer,

Aske in fayth,

And obtaine your desire,

Praying for you as I know that you do for me.

¶Another Sermon of M. Latimer concerning his playing at Cardes.

NOW you haue heard what is ment by this first carde, and how you ought to play with it,* I purpose againe to deale vnto you another carde, almost of the same sute: for they be of so nigh affinitie, that one cannot be wel plaied without the other. The first Carde declared that you should not kill, which might bee done diuers wayes, as beyng angry with your neighbour, in mynde, in countenance, in word, or deed. It declared also how you should subdue the passions of Ire, and so cleare euermore your selues from them: and where this first Card doth kill in you these stubburne Turkes of Ire: This second Carde will not all onely they should be mortified in you, but that you your selues shall cause them to bee likewyse mortified in your neighbour, if that your sayd neighbour hath bene thorough your occasion mooued vnto Ire, either in countenance, word or deed. Now let vs heare therfore the tenour of this Carde.

When thou makest thy oblation at myne aultar, & there doest remember that thy neighbor hath any thing against thee, lay downe there thy oblation, and go first and reconcile thy neighbour, and then come and offer thy oblation. This Card was spoken by Christ as testifieth S. Marke in

his v. chapter, against all such that do presume to come vnto the church to make oblation vnto GOD either by prayer, or any other deede of charitie, not hauyng their neighbors reconciled. Reconciling is as much to say, as to restore thy neighbor vnto charitie, which by thy words or deeds is mooued against thee: then if so be it that thou hast spoken to, or by thy neighbour, wherby he is mooued to Ire or wrath, thou must lay downe thy oblation. Oblations be prayers, almes deeds, or any worke of charitie: these bee called oblations to God. Laye downe therefore thine oblation, begin to do none of these foresaid workes before thou goest vnto thy neighbor, and confesse thy fault vnto him, declaryng thy mynde, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amendes, as far forth as thy words and substaunce will extend, requiring him not to take it at the worst. Thou art sory in thy mynd that thou shouldest be the occasion of his offending. What maner of Carde is this will some say, why? What haue I to do with my neighbours or brothers malice? As Caine said: Haue I the keeping of my brother, or shall I aunswer for him and for his faultes? This were no reason: As for my selfe, I thanke God I owe no man malice nor displeasure, if other owe me any, at their owne perill. Let euery man answer for himselfe: Nay sir not so, as you may vnderstand by this Card: for it sayth. If thy neighbor hath any thing, any malice against thee, through thine occasion, lay euen downe saith Christ thine oblation: pray not to me, do no good deeds for me, but go first vnto thy neighbour, and bring him againe vnto my flocke whiche hath forsaken y^e same through thy naughty words, mocks, [Page 2143](#) scornes, or disdainous countenance, and so forth: & then come and offer thine oblation, then do thy deuotion, then do thy almes deeds, then pray, if thou wilt haue me heare thee. O good Lord this is an hard reckoning, that I must go and seeke him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go vnto him. Peraduenture he is a 100. miles from me beyond the seas, or els I cannot tell where: and if he were here nigh, I woulde with al my hart go vnto him. This is a lawfull excuse before God on this fashion, That thou wouldest in thy hart be glad to reconcile thy neighbour, if he were present, and that thou thinkest in thy heart when so euer thou shalte meete with him, to go vnto him and require him charitably to forgeue thee, and so neuer entend to come from him vntill the tyme that you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ. Yet peraduenture there be some in the world that be so diuelish and so hard harted, that they will not apply in no condition vnto charitie. For all that, do that lyeth in thee by all charitable meanes to bring him to vnitie: If he will in no wayes apply therevnto, thou mayest be sorrowfull in thy hart that by thine occasiō that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state, this notwithstanding, If thou do the best that lyeth in thee to reconcile hym, accordyng to some Doctours mynde, thou art discharged towards God. Neuerthelesse, S. Augustine doubteth in this case whether thy oblations, praiers or good deedes, shal auaille thee before God or no, vntil thy neighbour come againe to good state, whome thou haste brought out of the way, doth this noble doctor doubt therein? what ayleth vs to be so bold, and count it but a small fault or none, to bring another man out of patience for euery trifle that standeth not with our minde? You may see what a grievous thing this is to bring another man out of patience, that peraduenture you cannot bring in againe with all the goods that you haue: for surely after the opinion of great wise men, friendship once broken will be neuer well made whole agayne. Wherefore you shall heare what Christ sayth vnto such persones: Sayeth Christ, I came downe into this worlde, and so tooke on mee bitter passion for mans sake, by the merites whereof I intended to make vnitie and peace in mankynd, to make man brother vnto me, and so to expel the dominion of Sathan the deuill, which worketh nothyng els but dissention: & yet now there bee a great number of you that haue professed my name, and say you be christian men which doe rebel against my purpose and mynde. I goe about to make my fold, you go about to

breake the same and kill my flocke. How darest thou (sayeth Christ) presume to come vnto my aultar, vnto my church, or vnto my presence, to make oblation vnto me, that takest on thee to spoile my lambs? I goe about like a good shepeheard to gather them together: and thou doest the contrary, euermore ready to deuide and loose them. Who made thee so bolde to meddle w^t my silly beasts which I bought so dearely with my precious bloud? I warne thee out of my sight, come not in my presence. I refuse thee and all thy workes, except thou goe and bring home againe my lambes which thou hast loste: wherefore, if thou thy selfe intend to be one of myne, lay euen down by and by thine oblation, and come no further toward mine aultar, but goe and seeke them without any questions, as it becommeth a true and faithfull seruaunt? A true and faithfull seruaunt when so euer his maister cōmaundeth him to do any thing, he maketh no stoppes ne questions, but goeth foorth with a good mynde: and it is not vnlike, he continuing in such a good mynde and will, shall well ouercome all dangers and stoppes, whatsoever betides him in his iourney, and bring to passe effectually his maisters will and pleasure. In the contrary, a slouthfull seruaunt when his maister commaundeth him to any thing, by and by he wil aske questions, where, whē, which way? and so foorth, and so he putteth euery thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be neuer so plain, ye• by his vntoward and slouthfull behauiour, his maisters commaundement is either vndone quite, or els so done, that it shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good seruaunt, and aske no such questions, & put no doubts, be not ashamed to do thy maisters and Lordes will, and commaundement. Go as I said vnto thy neighbour that is offended by thee, and reconcile him as is aforesaid, whom thou hast lost by thy vnkynde wordes, by thy scornes, mockes, and other disdainous words and behauiours, and be not nise to aske of him the cause why hee is displeased with thee: require of him charitably to remit and cease not till you both depart one from the other true brethren in Christ. Do not lyke the slouthfull seruant, thy maisters message with cautels and doubts: come not to thy neighbour whom thou hast offended, and geue hym a peny woorth of ale, or a banket, and so make hym a fayre countenance, thinking that by thy drinke or dinner, he wil shew the like countenance. I graunt you may both laugh and make good cheere, and yet there may remaine a bag of rustie malice, twentie yere old, in thy neighbours bosom, when he departeth from thee with a good countenance, thou thinkest all is well then. But nowe I tell th•e it is worse then it was, for by such cloked charitie, where thou doest offend before Christ but once, thou hast offēded twice herein, for now thou goest about to geue Christ a moche, if he would take it of thee: Thou thinkest to blynde thy maister Christes commaundement. Beware, doe not so, for at length he will ouermatch thee and take thee tardie whatsoever thou be, and so as I sayd, it should bee better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it wyll stand thee in no purpose. What? some will say, I am sure he loueth me well inough. He speaketh faire to my face, yet for all that thou mayest be deceiued. It prooueth not true loue in a man to speak faire. If he loue thee with his mind and hart, he loueth thee with his eies, with his tong, with his feete, with his hands and his body: for all these parts of a mans body be obedient to the will and mynd. He loueth thee with his eyes that looketh chearefully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee prosper and do well: he loueth thee with his tong that speaketh well by thee behynde thy backe, or geueth thee good counsaile: he loueth thee with his feete that is willyng to go to helpe thee out of trouble and businesse. Hee loueth thee with his hands that will helpe thee in tyme of necessitie, by geuing some almes deedes, or with any other occupation of the hand. He loueth thee with his body, that will labour with his body, or put his body in daunger to do good for thee, or to deliuer thee from aduersitie, and so forth with the other mēbers of thy body. And if thy neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayest thinke that he loueth thee wel,

and thou in likewise ought to declare and open thy loue vnto thy neighbour in lyke fashion, or els you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect loue be ingendered amongst you. It may fortune thou wilte say, I am content to doe the best for my neighbour that I can, sauing my selfe harmelesse, I promise thee Christ will not heare this excuse: for he himselfe suffred harme for our sakes, and for our saluatiō was put to extreme death. I wisse if it had pleased him, hee myght haue saued vs and neuer felt payne, but in suffring paines and death, he did geue vs example, and teach vs how wee should do one for another, as he did for vs all: For as hee sayth himselfe, he that will be myne, let him deny himselfe and folow me in bearing my crosse and suffring my pains. Wherefore we must needes suffer paine with Christ to doe our neighbours good, as well with the body and all hys members, as with hart and mynd.

Now I trust you wot what your Card meaneth, let vs see how that we can play with the same. Whensoever it shall happen you to goe and make your oblation vnto God, aske of your selues this question, who art thou? the answer, as you know is, I am a christian man: then you must agayne aske vnto your selfe what Christ requireth of a christen man? by and by cast down your trompe, your Hart, and looke first of one Card, thē of an other. The first Carde telleth thee thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not bee angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt looke if there be any mo Cardes to take vppe, and if thou looke well, thou shalt see an other Carde of the same sute, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bounde to reconcile thy neighbour. Then cast thy trompe vnto them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the vertue of thy Cards, and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turkes, and discomfite and thrust them downe. Thou shalt againe fetch home Christes sheepe that thou hast lost, whereby thou mayest goe both patiently, and with a quiet mynd vnto the Church, and make thy oblation vnto God, and then without dout he will heare thee. But yet Christ will not accept our oblation, although we be in patience, & haue reconciled oure neighbour. If that our oblation be made of another mans substāce, but it must be our own. See therefore y^t thou hast gotten thy goods according to the laws of God and of thy prince. For if thou getst thy goods by polling & extortiō, or by any other vnlawfull wayes, then if thou offer 1000. pound of it, it will stand thee in no good effect, for it is not thine. In this poynt a great number of executours do offend, for when they be made riche by other mens goodes, then they will take vpon them to build Churches, to geue ornamentes vnto God, and his aulter, to gild sayntes, & to do many good works therwith: but it shalbe all in their owne name, and for their owne glory. Wherefore (sayeth Christ) they haue in this world their reward, and so their oblations be not their owne, nor be not acceptable before [Page 2144](#) God. An other wayes God will refuse thy voluntary oblation, as thus: If so be it that thou hast gotten neuer so truly thy goods, according both to the lawes of God and man, and hast with the same goodes not relieued thy poore neighbour, when thou hast seene him hungry, thirstie, and naked, he will not take thy oblation when thou shalt offer the same, because he will say vnto thee: When I was hūgry, thou gauest me no meat: When I was thirstie, thou gauest me no drinke: and when I was naked, thou didst not clothe me. Wherefore I will not take thy oblation, because it is none of thine. I left it thee to relieue thy poore neighbors, and thou hast not therein done according vnto this my commaundement, misericordiam volo & non sacrificium, I had rather haue mercy done, then sacrifice or oblation. Wherefore vntil thou doest the one more then the other, I will not accept thine oblation. Euermore bestow the greatest partes of thy good in workes of mercy, & the lesse part in voluntary workes. Voluntary workes bee called all maner of offering in the Church, except your foure offering dayes: and your tythes, setting vp candles, gilding and paynting, building of Churches, geuing of ornamēts, going on

pilgrimages, making of high wayes and such other be called voluntary workes, which workes be of themselves marvellous good, and conuenient to bee done. Necessary workes, and workes of mercy are called the commaundementes, the foure offering dayes, your tithe and such other that longeth to the commaundementes: and workes of mercy consisteth in relieuing and vysiting thy poore neighbors. Now then, if men be so foolish of themselves, that they will bestow the most part of theyr good in voluntary workes, which they be not bounde to keepe, but willingly, and by theyr deuotion, and leaue the necessary workes vndone, which they are bounde to doe, they and all theyr voluntary workes are like to goe vnto euerlasting damnation. And I promise you, if you builde a hundred Churches, geue as much as you can make, to gilding of Sayntes, and honouring of the Church, and if thou goe as many pilgrimages as thy body can well suffer, and offer as great candles as okes, if thou leaue the workes of mercye and the commaundementes vndone, these workes shall nothing auaille thee. No doubt the voluntary workes be good, & ought to be done: but yet they must be so done, that by theyr occasion the necessary workes, and the workes of mercy be not decayed, and forgotten: if thou wilt builde a glorious Church vnto God, see first your selues to be in charity with your neighbours, & suffer not them to be offended by your works. Thē when you come into your parish Church, you bring with you the holy temple of God: as Saynt Paule sayth, you your selues be the very holy temples of God, and Christ sayth by his Prophet: in you I wil rest, and intend to make my mansion and abiding place: agayne, if you list to gild and paynt Christ in your Churches, and honour him in vestimentes, see that before your eyes the poore people dye not for lacke of meat, drinke, and clothing. Then do you decke the very true temple of God, and honour him in rich vestures, that will neuer be worne, and so forth vse your selues according vnto the commaundementes: and then finally set vp your candles, & they will report what a glorious light remayneth in your hartes: for it is not sitting to see a dead man light candles. Then I say go your pilgrimages, builde your materiall Churches, doe all your voluntary workes, & they will then represent vnto God, and testify with you, that you haue prouided him a gloryous place in your hartes. But beware I say agayne, that you doe not runne so farre into your voluntarie workes that ye do quite forget your necessary workes of mercye, which you are bound to keepe: you must haue euer a good respect vnto the best and worthiest workes toward God, to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondariely. Thus if you doe with the other that I haue spoken of before, you may come according to the tenor of your cardes, and offer your oblations and prayers to our Lord Iesu Christ, who will both heare and accept them to your euerlasting ioy and glory, to the whiche he bring vs, and all those whom he suffered deathe for. Amen.

¶A note of William Gie.

ONe William Gie seruant with Mayster Reuet marchant, bought a Bible and seruice booke of Richard Waterson, who then dwelt with maister Duixle in Pauls Churchyarde, and one Spilman bound the booke: and when the sayd Gye had enquired for the sayde Richard to haue his booke at Duxele, aunswere was made that hee was not within, and so the sayde Gie went his way to Spilmans for the booke: and because it was not done left it there, and immediately searche was made in Spilmans house, and the sayd bible and seruice booke was founde & caryed to Boner then Bishop of London, hee hauing the bookes commaunded Spilman for the binding thereof to Lollardes Tower, and as Cluny went for the key therof Spilman conueyed himselfe awaye. After that Waterson and Gie being apprehended by Robin Caly, Iohn Hil, & Iohn Auales, and being two dayes in the Counter, were brought before Boner and other Commissioners. Beyng

examined D. Story demanded Gye: Wherefore he bought the Bible. He answered to serue God withal. Then said Boner: our Lady matines would serue a christen man to serue God. The Bible sayd Story, would breed heresies: a bibble babel were more fit thee. So they concluded that eyther of them shoulde haue xl. stripes lacking one, and Boner sayd it was the law. And they sayd to Waterson, if he would pay xl. poūd, he should be released of his stripes at length they came to x.li. & when they saw he would not they made a warrāt to mayster Grafton, and sent Waterson and Gie to Bride well to be beaten vpon the Crosse. And because the matter shoulde not be slightly handled, Story was sent with thē to see it done. Gie being whipped vpon the Crosse, intercession was made that he might be forgeuen part of his penaunce.

¶A note of Michaels wyfe.

Michaels wife afore mentioned pag. 1893. being prisoner in Ipswicke for religion,* resorted dayly from the prison to her husbandes house, and returned agayn, keeping fayth and promise. And her husband thereat beyng fearefull, she would comfort him, saying: she came not to trouble him, neither shoulde hee susteyne trouble by her. Wherefore she would will him to be of good cheare, for her comming was of good will to see him and her children, & not to bring him into trouble, but to shew her duety therin while she might haue libertie.

¶A note of Iohn Spicer.

IN Queene Maryes time, there was one Iohn Spicer, of whome mention is made pag. 1894. he being at the stake ready to geue his lyfe for the truth,* a bagge of gonpowder was brought him by his sonne. And an other stāding by (one named maister Beckinham) tooke the gonpowder of his sonne, and put it vnder the girdle of y^e sayd Spicer, and exhorted him to be strong in the Lord: also diuers of the sheriffes seruauents comforted him in like maner, and desired him not to faynt. Unto whome Spicer answered. Doubt ye not of me (sayth he) my soule is quiet: but be you strong and stand fast in the Lord Iesus, and commit your selfe to him in y^e confession of his holy name and profession of his truth.

¶A note of Mandrell.

MAndrell standing at the stake as is mentioned before, pag. 1894.* Doctor Ieffray the Chauncellour spake to him, wishing him to yelde to the Doctoures, who many hundreth yeares had taught otherwise then hee doth beleue. &c. Unto whome Mandrell answered. M. Chauncellour sayd he, trouble me with none of youre Doctours whatsoever they say: but bring me the booke of God the olde Testament and the new, and I will aunswere you. What sayest thou Mandrel (quod he) by the sayntes in the Church, the image of our Lady, of the crucifixe, and other holy Sayntes? be they not necessary. &c. yes M. Chauncellour, sayd hee, very necessary to rost a shoulder of mutton. Then Doctor Billing, a frier once, standing by, sayd. Mayster Chauncellour, quod hee, heare howe these heretickes speake agaynst the crucifixe and the holy crosse, and yet the holy Crosse is mentioned in all the tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latine. For in Latine it is called t. in Greeke tau &c. Whereupon one Thomas Gilford, a marchaunt of Poole standing by, sayd: ah mercifull Lord, sayd he, is not this a maruellous matter for a poore man thus to be charged and put to the paynes of fire for t. tau?

When Maundrell and Spicer were examined before the Chauncellour, the Chauncellour called them, saying. Come on, come on, sayth he, thou Spicer art to blame, for thou haste taught Maundrell these heresies. Thou arte by thy occupation a Brickeleyer: Yea that I am. And can sing in the Quyre: Yea, that I can sayth he. And can play on the Orgaynes. True sayth hee. Well then sayde the Chauncellour, and thou hast marred this poore man and hast taught him all these heresies. No Mayster Chauncellour (quoth he) I haue not taught him, but I haue read to him. He is able thanks be to God, to teache both you and me.

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¶A note of Elizabeth Pepper.

*Elizabeth Pepper before mentioned, pag. 1916. when she was burned at Stratford, was xj. weekes gone w^t child, as she then testified to one Bosomes wife, who then vnloosed her neckerchiefe, saying moreouer whē she was asked, why she did not tell them, aunswered, why (quoth she) they know it well enough. Oh suche is the bloody hartes of this cruell generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischieuous murdering of the saintes of the Lord, that truly professe Christ crucified onely, and alone, for the satisfaction of their sinnes.

¶A note of one confessing Gods truth at the Gallowes.

A Notorious fellone, one Dick Adams, beyng vpon the gallowes making his confession, and ready to be caste downe from the ladder, was desired at that instant by one maistres Harries the Grammer schoolemaisters wyfe, to remember the blessed sacrament before he died, to whome the said Adams sayde: marrie maistresse neuer in better tyme, who went vp to the toppe of the ladder, and sayde it was the most abhominable idoll that euer was, and willed all men to take it so: for we haue bene greatly deceyued thereby. Whereupon the Shiriffe caused him to holde his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place and was cast from the ladder, speaking to his last worde, that it was an abhominable Idoll, his bodye therefore was buried out of the Church yarde by the high way, who although he was a chiefe in his life, yet he earnestly repented thereof, that I doubt not but he dyed the childe of God, and not vnworthy to be put in the register of the Lordes accepted Confessors.

¶A note of Gertrude Crokehay.

IN the late dayes of queene Mary, among other straūge dealinge of the Papistes with the faythfull,* this is not with the rest to be forgotten that a godly Matrone named Gertrude Crokhay, the wife of Mayster Robert Crokehay dwellinge then at S. Katherins by the Tower of London, absteyned her selfe from the Popish church. And she being in her husbands house it happened in an. 1556. that the foolish popishe Saynt Nicholas went aboute the Parish, which she vnderstanding shut her doores agaynst him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Doctor Mallet hearing therof (and being thē maister of the sayd Saint Katherins) the next day came to her with xx. at his tayle, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in Saynt Nicholas, and receiue his blessing. &c. To whom she aunswered thus. Syr, I know no Saynt Nicholas, sayd she, that came hither, Yes quoth Mallet, here was one that represēted S. Nicolas. In deed sir, sayd she, here was one that is my neighbours childe, but

not S. Nicholas. For S. Nicholas is in heauen, I was afraide of them that came with him to haue had my purse cutte by them. For I haue heard of men robbed by Saint Nicholas Clerkes. &c. So Mallet perceiuing nothing to be gotten at her handes, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then in an. 1557. a litle before Whitsontide, it happened that the sayd Gertrude aunswered for a childe that was baptised of one Thomas Saunders, whiche childe was christened secretly in a house after the order of the seruice booke in king Edwardes time, and that being shortly knowne to her enemies, she was sought for, which vnderstanding nothing therof, wēt beyond the sea into Gelderland for to see certayne lands that should haue come to her childrē in the right of her first husband, who was a straūger borne. And being there about a quarter of a yeare, at the length comming homeward by Antwarpe, chaunced to meet with one Iohn Iohnson, a dutch man, alias Iohn Dewille of Antwarpe, shipper, who seing her there, went of malice to the Margraue, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and caried to prison. The cause why this noughtye man did thus, was for that hee claymed of Mayster Crokhay her husband a piece of money which was not his due, for a shippe, that the sayd master Crokhay bought of him: and for that he could not get it, wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight: in whiche time she sawe some, that were Prisoners there, who priuily were drowned in Renishe wine fattes, and after secretly put in sakes and cast into the Riuer. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so serued, tooke thereby such feare that it brought the beginning of her sickenes, of the which at length she dyed.

Then at the last she was called before the Margraue and charged with Anabaptistrie, which shee there vtterly denied, & detested the error, declaring before him in dutch her fayth boldly, without any feare. So the Margraue hearing the same, in the ende being well pleased with her profession, at the sute of some of her frendes deliuered her out of prison, but tooke away her booke, and so she came ouer into England agayne. And being at home in her husbandes house, he thinking to finde meanes to gette her to go abroad, made one Uicars a yeoman of the Tower hys frend, who was great with Boner, to worke that liberty for her. Now this Uicars making meanes to Boner for the same, Boner put the matter ouer to Darbishyre hys Chauncellour, who enioyned her to geue certeyne money to poore folkes, and to goe on the Wednesday and sonday after to Church to Euensong, which she so did, and afterward had such trouble in her conscience thereby, that shee thought verely God had cast her off, and that she shoulde be damned and neuer saued, so not long after this it happened mayster Rough of whom mention is made Page 2034. came to her house,* vnto whō she made mone of her vnquietnes for going to Church, and desired his counsell what she might doe, that should best please God and ease her troubled soule &c. Unto whō M. Rough replied many comfortable sentences of scripture to comfort her, and in the end gaue her counsell to goe to the christian congregation, which secretly the persecuted had, and confesse her fault vnto them, and so to be receiued into theyr felowship agayne: which hearing that, was glad and entended so to do, and so would haue done if sore sicknes had not immediatly preuented the same. But when doctor Mallet heard by one Robert Hemminges, Woodmonger, that she laye very sicke in deed, which Hemminges was her great enemy, he came to her twice to perswade her to recant and to receiue (as the Papistes terme it) the rites of the Church. Unto whom she aunswered she could not, nor would, for that she was subiect to vomit and therefore he would not, (she was sure she sayd) haue her, to cast vp theyr God agayne, as she should do if she did receiue it. And so immediatly vomited in deed, wherfore he seing that, went frō her into the hall to her

daughter named Clare sacke, and tolde her, if her mother would not receiue, she should not be buried in christian burial, as he termed it. Then Clare went and tolde her sicke mother what he sayde vnto her. Which hearing the same, spake these wordes following. Oh (sayd she) how happy am I, that I shall not rise wyth them, but agaynst them. Well (quoth she) the earth is the Lordes and all that therein is, and therefore I commit the matter to him. &c.

Shortly hereupon, that is the 27. day of March 1558. the sayd Doctor Mallet came agayne to her with one D. West Queene Maryes Chapleyne. And comming in, hee saluted her, and tolde her that he had brought her a good learned man to perswade her, who was one of y^e queenes Chapleines. &c. and therefore he desired her to heare and beleue him, in that he should say. &c. Then D. West exhorted her to receiue theyr Sacrament, and to be aneled, for he sayd, she was strong enough for it. &c. Unto whom she aunswered, that shee was able and strong enough to receiue it in deede, but she woulde not, for that it was abhominable. &c. Then sayd West, ye be in an ill minde: doe ye thinke to dye a christian woman? yea sayd she that I do. I pray you sayd West, how came you first into that opinion. Mary (sayd she) there he is that first taught it me (meaning D. Mallet) at the mariage of my brother & his sister, where I heard him earnestly preach this doctrine, whiche I now do holde. And if God shall lay our sinnes to our charge, if we repent not, muche more damnable is his offence, being once a publicke Preacher of the same, & now to turne from it. Then Mallet tolde her he was then deceiued, by little newfangled two peny bookes, as you bee now (sayd he) but now I am otherwise perswaded, as I would haue you, and to receiue the Sacrament, whiche if you would, you should, I warrant you be saued, my soule for yours. At those wordes she earnestly desired them to be content, for sayth she, ye be come to rob and to draw me from my Christ, which I tell you truth you shall not doe, for I will neuer consent to you while I liue. When West heard her saye so, he drewe his stoole nigher to heare her speake, and being dronken, he fell downe, whereby Mallet was fayne to helpe him vp agayne, and so immediatly after they departed thence. And the xiiij. day of Aprill next after that, she dyed constantly in the Lord, and yelded her soule and life into his holy handes, with these wordes. Oh Lord into thy handes receiue my soule, and so immediatly gaue vp her life vnto the Lord, to whome be prayse for euer. Amen.

While she was beyond sea, as is sayd before, Mayster Crockhay her husband, by the procurement of D. Mallet, [Page 2146](#) was cited to come before Mayster Hussey the Commissary, who had it not bene for that he made meanes vnto the sayd Hussey before) woulde haue sent him to prison, and bound him in recognisaunce to seeke her out. But he more easily escaped theyr handes by frendship, as before I haue sayd.

Now when D. Mallet heard of her death, M. Crockhay, and one Robert Hemminges, Bailiefe of S. Katherins, being before him for y^e burying of her, he sayd plainely, she should be buried nigh to some high way, & a marke set vp, in token that an hereticke was buried there. Then the sayd Hemminges tolde him, the hogges would scrape her vp, which were not decent nor best, and M. Crockhay intreated she might be buried in his Garden, whiche at length he graunted, and willed the sayde Hemminges to set it done, and that he should be sure he buried her there in deede.

After, when the corpes was brought to the sayd Garden, the sayd Robert Hemminges the Bailife would needes see it opened, which when the couer was taken of, the wife of the sayd Hemmings put her hand wⁱn the sheete, & felt the hayre of the sayde dead corpes, saying: now will I iustify

that she is here, and so she did, telling Mallet that those her handes did feelee her: this is the effecte of thys Story.

Now since the comming in of Queene Elizabeth the sayd D. Mallet came to the sayd M. Crockhay and asked him forgeuenes, alleading this verse of the Poet.

¶Amantium irae amoris redintegratio est.

The Lord geue him repentaunce, and grace to seeke perfect frendwip with him, if it be his blessed will. Amen.

¶A note of William Woode.

ACcording as I haue sent vnto you the true recorde of my examination before the Doctors aboue mētioned, so I thought it not inconuenient to send you likewise certayne uotes of my other two deliuerances in Queene Maryes time, and this I doe not as God knoweth to get any prayse to my selfe or to reproche any other, but that God may be glorified in his workes, and that our brethrē may knowe that though there be, many times, but little help in earth,* yet that there is more in heauen: About a month after my examination, there was one Apleby and hys wife, that were persecuted from Maydstone in Kent came to my house in Strowde & desired me that he might haue a place in my house for him and his wife for a tyme, because persecution was so hote, that hee coulde no longer stay there, and I at his instaunce let him haue a place with me, but within a fortnight after the Papists espyed him and complayned of him to the Bishop of Rochester, and the bishop sent his chiefe man called Raphe Crowch, and he caryed him to Rochester before the Byshop & the sayd Apleby stood in the defence of the trueth boldly, and the Bishoppe sent both hym and his wife to the Iayle of Maidstone, and there they were burned for the Testimony of the Gospell of God. And the Friday fortnight after I was in the market at Rochester talking with an other man, and the sayde Raphe Crowch was sent for me and he comming within a stones cast of me where I was talking with my neighbour George Smally, and one William Stanley a papist dwelling also in Strowde, met with the sayd Crowch, and they two talked together a whyle, and I doubted that they talked of me because many times in theyr talke they looked on me, and then the said Raphe Crowch went ouer the streete to an other officer or constable whiche knewe not me, and sent the sayde Constable for me, and comming for me, knowing my neyghbour, George Smally tooke him in the steade of me, and caryed him to the Byshop, and when he came before hym the Byshop sayd to the officers this is not he knaue, thys is not he knaue, and the bishop checked the Mayor & hys officers and sayd that they mocked him, because he caryed the other man for me, suche was the mighty prouidence of God to defend me, and the Mayor the same night sent 40. Billes and menne with other weapons to beset my house to take me, but the Lord kept me from them and deliuered me out of theyr handes, to hym be glory therefore, Amen.

The third time that the Lorde deliuered me was on Easter day next after, I had bene at London all the Lent and on Easter euen at night I came home to Strowde to to my wife, and a childe of three yeares olde tolde one of the neighbours that her father was come home. And on Easter day after theyr popishe euensong was done, came Maister Read Thomas Crowch brother to the abouesaid Raphe Crowch, William Stanley, Thomas Bettes, Lionell Newman and Roger Braunche, with a 60. people or there aboutes and searched my house very straightly for me, but as Gods

prouidence was, there was mault a drying vppon the Kell, and they searched so narrowly for me that I was glad to heaue vp a corner of y^e hayre wheron the mault lay, and went into the Kell hole, and there stood till they were gone, and so I escaped from them, but within an houre after there came a woman to my wyfe to borrow a brush, and spyed me thorough the key hole of a dore, and she carying tidinges abroad. Immediately came a great company of men and beset my house rounde about, and I said to my wife, you see that these foure men seeke for my life, that is, Maister Read, Thomas Crowch William Stanley, and Thomas Bettes, for I doe thinke that none of the rest will lay handes on me, and therefore I pray thee wife follow these 4. men, and talke lowde to them y^t I may heare & so escape, & if they search on y^e backe side I may auoyd on y^e street side, & be of good comfort for our liues are in Gods hand, and though there be little helpe here on earth, yet there is help enough from heauen; and when these men were searching on the backside, I went into the streete, among as I gesse an 100. people, and none of them layd handes on me, neyther sayde they anye thing to me, so I went out of the towne, & lay there at an honest mans house at the parish of Cobham that night.

And at that same time also two of my neighbours, honest men and of good wealth, the one called Iohn Pemmet a fisherman, the other named Iohn Bayly a glouer, because they came not to theyr popish Church to buy none of their Idolatrous wares, were complayned of to the Iustices, who did binde them to aunswere for theyr fayth before the Iudges at the ascises whiche were holden at midsommer after as I remember at Rochester in y^e pallace yard, and there was at that tyme a sayle cloth of a ship tyed to the top of the Byshops Pallace wall to keep away the sonne from the Iudges because it was hote, and the winde blew and shooke the sayle, so that when these two men were called to be examined, and when they shoulde haue aunswered, there fell from the top of the wall, 3. or 4. great stones vpon the Iudges neckes, so that some of thē whiche sate on the Benche were sore hurt and maymed so that they arose sodenly all amased and departed, and the two men were deliuered.

From Tuddenham in Suff. the 25. day of Iuly. 1583.

Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham.

The history of Iohn Alcocke.

THis Iohn Alcocke or Aucock, of whome mention is made before pag. 1561. was a very faythfull and honest man, by his occupation a woad setter, singularly wel learned in y^e holy scriptures, and in all his conuersation a iust and righteous man, that feared God, and studyed to do in deed that thing that he had learned in the scriptures. Nowe after that sir Richard Yeaman was driuen away, and the people on sondayes and other dayes came to the Church, and had no man to teach them any thinge (for as yet person Newall was not come to Hadley to dwel, nor had gotten any Curate. Besides that, the lawes made by king Eward were in force, and the latin mumblings not yet receaued euery where.) Iohn Alcocke therefore tooke the english booke vsed by king Edward, exhorting the people to pray with him, and so red certain prayers in english before them: and moreouer hee gaue them godly lessons and exhortations out of the chapters that he red vnto them. For this, the Bishoppe of Winchester Steuen Gardiner sent for him, cast him into Newgate at London where after many examinations and troubles, for that he woulde not submitte himselfe to aske forgeuenesse of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the romish religion, he was cast into the

lower doungeon, where with euill keeping, and sicknesse of the house he dyed in prison. Thus dyed he a martyr of Christes veritie, whiche hee hartely loued and constantly confessed, and receaued the garland of a well foughten battell at the hand of the Lorde. His body was cast out and buried in a dounghill, for the Papists would in all thinges be like themselues: therfore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodyes to haue honest and conuenient sepulture.

He wrote two Epistles to Hadley, whiche followe here.

***The first Epistle of Iohn Alcocke.**

GRace be with you, and peace from the father and our Lord Iesus Christ, which gaue himself for our sinnes, that he might deliuer vs from this present euill world,* according [Page 2147](#) to the will of God our father, to whome be praise for euer and euer, Amen.

Oh my brethren of Hadley, why are ye so soone turned from them which called you in the grace of Christ vnto an other doctrine, whiche is nothing els but that there be some which trouble you, and entēd to peruert the gospell of the Lord and sauour Iesus Christ. Neuerthelesse though these shoulde come vnto you that haue bene your true preachers, and preache an other way of saluatiō, then by Iesus Christes death and passion, hold them accursed. Yea if it were an Aungell came from heauen, and woulde tell you that the sacrifice of Christes body vpon the crosse,* oute for all euer, for all the sinnes of all those which shalbe saued, were not sufficient: accursed be he. If he were an aungell, or what soeuer he were, that would say that our seruice in English were not right Gods seruice, but will better allow that moste wicked mumming that you now haue.* Those what soeuer they be, except they doe repent & allow the Gospell of Iesus Christ, they shall neuer come into that kingdome, that Christ hath prepared for those y^t be his. Wherefore my dearly beloued brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you haue bene taught heretofore of the Lorde Gods true and simple Prophetes,* that onely did wish your health and consolation.

Do not my good brethren, I pray you, forget the comfortable worde of our Lorde and sauour Iesus Christe. Come vnto me all you that are troubled and loden,* with the daungers that yeare in these stormy dayes, and heare my wordes and beleue them, and you shal see the vnspeakable comfort that you shal receue. The Lord is my shepheard,* sayth the Prophet Dauid, so y^t I cā want nothyng. He feedeth his sheepe in greene pastures, and leadeth thē vnto cleare and holsome waters of comfort. I am that good Shepheard sayth our Sauour Iesus Christe: for I geue my lyfe for my sheepe,* and I knowe my sheepe, and my sheepe know me: but my sheepe will not know an hyerling: for hee careth not but onely for his God the belly, and so seeketh the destruction of theyr soules. Therefore beware of hirelinges, you that count your selues the sheep of Iesus Christ.* Be sure that ye know his voyce and obey it, and be not deceiued through straunge voyces, but goe from them, and earnestly abide by your professiō that you haue made in your baptisme, and shrinke not from it. For if you do, you shall declare your selues to be a vayne people, and without vnderstanding. And for this cause doth God plague his people, and suffereth them to be deceiued with false Prophets & wicked men,* I pray you note what that Prophet Esay sayth to the people of those dayes, because they were slipping from the Lord theyr God, which had done so maruellous workes for them, as you well do know in the historyes of the Bible. Heare O heauen (sayeth he) and harken thou earth, for the Lord hath spoken, I haue nourished and brought vppe children, but they haue done wickedly agaynst me. The Oxe hath knowne hys

owner, and the Asse his maysters Cribbe: but Israel hath receiued no knowledge. My people hath no vnderstanding. Alas for this sinnefull nation, a people of great iniquity, a froward generation, vnnaturall children. They haue forsaken the Lorde, they haue prouoked his wrath & are gone backward.* Harken also what the Prophet Hieremy sayth. Be astonyed ye heauens, be afrayde and ashamed at suche a thing, sayeth the Lorde, for my people hath done two euilles. They haue forsaken me, the well of the waters of life, and digged them brokē pittes that can hold no water. Is Israel a bond seruaunt or one of the householde of the Lord? Why then is he so spoiled? Why then do they roare and cry vpō him as a Lyon? Understand those thinges now in these dayes that the Prophet spake of thē, O my brethren of Hadley. Why commeth this plague vpon vs, that we haue now in these dayes and other times? Harken what the Prophets say: commeth not this vpon thee because thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God?* Thyne owne wickednesse shall reprove thee, and thy turning away shall condemne thee, that thou mayst know and vnderstand, how euill and hurtful a thing it is, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, sayth the Lord God of hostes, the holy one of Israell, that is to say: he that maketh Israell holy.* And vnderstande by Israell, the children of God, and those things that were spoken to the carnall Israel, are spoken vnto vs, that are or should be the spirituall Israell. Grace be with you all. Amen.

Yours, Iohn Alcock Prisoner for Gods word, in Newgate at London.

***The second Epistle of Iohn Alcock.**

MY Brethren of Hadley, note well what S. Paul said in the x. chap. to the Corinth. Brethren I would you should not be ignoraunt of this,* that our fathers were all vnder the cloud, and all passed through the Sea,* and were baptised vnder Moyses, in the cloud and in the sea, & dyd all eate one spirituall meate, and dronke of one spirituall drinke, They dronke of that spiritual rocke that foloweth them, which rocke was Christ: neuerthelesse in manye of them had God no delight, for they were ouer smittē in the wilderness. These are examples vnto vs, tha• we should not lust after euill thinges as they lusted, that is to say: we should stand forth to defend the verity of God, which we do right well, alas, were it not for losse of goodes, we do so much lust after them, that we will rather say, there is no God,* then we will professe his word to be truth to the losing of our goodes. And our Sauour Christ sayth, he that is not content to forsake Father and Mother, Wife, and children, house and lande, corne and cattell, yea, and hys owne life for my truthe sake, is not meete for me.* And if we bee not for our Lorde God, then we muste needes be meete for the Deuill, and we must needes be seruauntes to one of them. If we bee not ashamed of the Gospell of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, but earnestly confesse it, to the vttermost of our power, thē are we sure to be confessed of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, and that before y^e Angels in heauen to be his seruants.* But if we will so lust to keepe our goodes, and rather deny hym then to loose our goodes, then doth it folow whose seruantes we are. Therefore my deare brethren of Hadley, beware that you doe not consent to any thing agaynst your conscience. For if you do, beware of Gods great wrath. I exhort you therefore (my beloued brethren in the Lord, and Sauour Iesus Christ) to stand fast in your profession, and become not manifest runne awayes from the truth of our Lord God, but stick earnestly to it, and doubt not but our Lord God wil be vnto you a strong defence and refuge in the needfull time. Bow downe thine eare O Lorde (sayth Dauid) and heare me, for I am poore and in misery. Bee mercifull vnto me O Lord, for I will call daily vpō thee:* comfort the soule of thy seruaunt, for vnto thee O Lord do I lift vp my soule.

For thou Lord art good and gracious, and of great mercy, vnto all thē that call vpon thee. Geue eare Lorde vnto my prayer, and ponder the voyce of my humble petition. All nations whom thou hast made, shall come and worship thee, O Lord, & shall glorify thy name. For thou art great, and doest wonderfull things: thou art God alone, Teach me thy wayes Oh Lord, and I will walke in thy truth: O knit my hart vnto thee, that I may feare thy name. I will thanke thee O my God with all my hart, and will prayse thy name for euer. O you Christen people of Hadley, comfort your selues one another, in these notable psalmes of dauid, & the whole bible.* Embrace y^e notable iewell of our Lord God the bible, & endeuer your selues to walke the way that it doth teach you.

My good brethren: we as helpers, sayth S. Paule doe exhort you that ye receiue not the grace of God in vayne. For behold, now is the accepted time, now is the daye of saluation. Let vs beware that we take sure hold while we haue time, for time will away. While wee haue the lighte walke in it, least when ye would desire it,* ye can not haue it. Understand the light to be the knowledge of Christe, & to obey, that is to haue the light. For that cause came our Sauour Iesus Christe, to make himselfe knowne vnto those that did receiue him.* He gaue power to be y^e sonnes of God, and so to bee made inheritours of his kingdome, which shal neuer haue end: who would not be glad to become the kinges sonne,* that he therby might be partaker of the kingdome that neuer shall haue end? O vayne man what art thou that will refuse euerlasting life for a day or two, or an hower? thou canst not tell howe short.* Open thine eies, & see thine owne cōfort & refuge to christ. O flie & refuse this worldly wisdom: for worldly wisdom doth shut out the wisdom of God. For the word of the crosse is foolishnesse vnto them that perish: but vnto vs whiche are saued, it is the power of God. For it is written:* I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the vnderstanding of the prudent. Where are the wise? where are the Scribes? where are the disputers of this worlde? hath not god made the wisdom of this world foolishnes? For in so much, as the worlde by the wisdom thereof, knew not God in his wisdom: it pleased God through foolishnesse of preaching to saue them that beleue. For the Iewes require tokens, and the Greekes aske after wysedome: but we preach Christ crucified, sayth S. Paule, to the Iewes an occasion of falling: and vnto the Greekes (a people that are wise in theyr owne conceites) to them is the preaching of Christ crucified foolishnesse. But vnto them that are called both Iewes and Greekes, we preach Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishnes of God is wiser then men, and the weaknes of God is stronger then men. Brethren looke vpon your [Page 2148](#) calling, how that not many wise men after the fleshe, not many mighty, not many of high degree, are called. But that which is foolish before the world, hath God chosen, that he might confound the wise: and that which is despised before the worlde hath he chosen, and that whiche is nothing, that he might destroy that which is ought, that no flesh should reioyce. Of the same are ye also in Christe Iesu, whiche is made of God vnto vs wisdom & righteousness, and sanctifying and redemption, according as it is written: he that reioyseth should reioyce in the Lorde, that your fayth should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. We speake of this wisdom among them that are perfecte, not the wisdom of thys world, nor the rulers of this world, which go to nought, but we speake of the wisdom of God, which the carnall man doth not vnderstand. The naturall man perceiueth nothing of the spirite of God. It is foolishnes with hym. But God hath opened it to vs, by his spirite. For the spirite searcheth out all thinges. Wherefore my deare Brethren, trye your selues well, whether ye haue the spirite of Christ or no.* If you haue the spirite of Christ, then are ye dead concerning sinne: but ye are aliue vnto god, through Iesus Christ. If this spirite dwell in you, then will ye increase and go

forward in your profession, & not feare what flesh may do vnto the carkasse. Therefore, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free,* and bee not wrapped vp agayne in the yoke of bondage, that is to say: to go from God by wicked life, or serue God an other way then he hath commaunded in his holy word. I truste you go forward my deare Brethren and Sisterne in your promise that you made to your Lorde God in your baptism: I pray God open vnto you the knowledge of hym selfe, and lighten the eyes of your vnderstanding, that ye may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritaunce is vpon the Sayntes. For ye are the chosen generation,* the kingly Priesthoode, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that should shewe the vertues of him which hath called you out of darcknes into his maruellous light, that is to say, to feare God and to worke righteousnesse, and so to receiue the end of your fayth, the saluation of your soules. This is a true saying: if we be dead with Christ, we shall liue with him also. If we be patient,* we shall also reigne with him. If we denye him, he also shall denye vs. If we beleue not, yet he abydeyth faythfull, he can not deny himselfe. The very God of peace sanctify you throughout, and I pray God that your whole spirit,* soule, and bodyes be kept blameles vnto the cōming of our Lord Iesus. Faythfull is he that hath called you, which will also do it. Brethren, pray for vs, and great all the brethren among you.

By me your brother in the Lord and Sauour Christ, Iohn Alcocke Prisoner in the Lorde, at Newgate.

☛ Geue glory to God.

GOD be mercifull to thee O England, & send thee great number of such faythfull Fathers and godly Pastors, as Doctor Taylour was, to guide thee, feede thee, and cōfort thee, after thy great miseries and troubles, that thou hast suffered vnder the tyrannous captiuitie and rage of the Romaine Antichrist, and such rauening Wolues, as haue without all mercy murdered thy godly and learned preachers, and geue all men grace to consider, that suche horrible plagues and mutations, haue iustly fallen vpon this Realme for sinne, and with vnfayned hartes to turne to GOD, who as he hath scourged vs with lesse plagues then we deserued: so calleth vs agayne by his vnderdeserued and vnspeakeable mercy vnto repentaunce and amendement of our liuing. It is doubtles now high time to turn vnfaynedly to God, and to correct our sinnefull liuinges, and to remember what S. Iohn Baptist sayd.* The Axe is now set to the root of the tree, and euery tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewne downe and caste into the fire. For this may all men assure themselues of, both rich and poore, high and low, olde and yong, that the almighty, zelous, and righteous God, will not suffer the sinnefull and wicked life of the vngodly, vnrepētant, that contemne his mercy nowe profered vnto them, to be vnpunished, but as he hath from the beginning of the world shewed himselfe a righteous Iudge, and punisher of wickednes, euen so will he do stil now. God expulsed our first parentes, Adam and Heua from Paradise, and layd vpon them and vpon vs all these miseries,* sicknesses, calamities and death, that we dayly feelee, and miserably are oppressed withal. God in Noahs dayes drowned the whole world,* onely eight persons were preserued. God burnt vp Sodom and Gomor, with fyre and brimstone frō heauen, and destroyed those Cityes and all the Countrey about.* God gaue ouer Hierusalem called the holy Citty of God, and deliuered his owne people the Iewes into perpetuall captiuitie. If we seeke the cause of these punishmentes, was it not sinnefull liuing & vnrepentant harts? What should I recite the calamities of other lands, seying Gods iudgementes hath not bene vnexecuted vpon this Realme of England for sinnefull liuing? * The olde Brytaynes were with

Cadwallader theyr king, constrayned to flye, and leaue this land, because of pestilence & famyne, what miseries & destructions brought the Danes in with them? and what troubles susteyned the inhabitauntes of this Realme afore the same were agayne driuē out? What bloudshed was here in king William Conquerors daies? were not the noble men slayne, and gentlemen brought into bondage? were not their matrons defiled, and theyr daughters geuen to be kitchen drudges vnder the Normandes proud Ladyes? were not theyr landes, houses & possessions diuided by lote vnto straungers? Their golde and siluer wherein they trusted, was the bayte that theyr enemyes hunted after, what a plague was the ciuill war betwene the kinges and Barons? what horrible bloudshed was in this Realme, till at the last Gods mercifull prouidence ended those miseries by the happy ioyning of the 2. regall houses together in the mariage of king Henry 7. What miseries haue chaunced in our time, we haue not onely sene and heard, but we haue felt them, and God be praised, had our partes of them. Doubtles this all hath chaunced for the sinnes of the people,* as the Prophet Ieremy playnely teacheth, saying: who is a wise man that vnderstandeth this? And to whome shall the word of the Lords mouth come, that he may preach it forth? why hath the land perished, and is burnt like a wilderness, so that no man may passe through it? And the Lord sayth: because they haue forsaken my law, which I haue geuen them, & they haue not hearde my voyce, and haue not walked in them, and haue gone after the vanity of theyr owne harts. And after Baalim the Images of Baall, which they haue learned of theyr fathers, we see here playnely the contēpt of Gods word, and of the preachers of the same, walking after theyr couetous mindes and leudnesse of theyr hartes, and folowing of their idolatrous inuentions, brought the wrath of God vpon the people,* as witnessed also Iesus Syrach, saying: because of vnrighteous dealing, wrong, blasphemies, and diuers deceites, a Realme shalbe translated frō one people to an other. And a litle after he sayth: the Lorde hath brought the congregations of the wicked to dishonour, and destroyd them vnto the ende. God hath destroyd the seates of proud Princes, and set vp the meek in their stead. God hath withered the root of the proud nations, and planted the lowly amōg them. God hath ouerthrowne the Landes of the Heathen, and destroyed them vnto the ground. He hath caused them to wither awaye: He hath brought them to nought, and made the memoriall of them to cease from the earth. But what auailleth it to read such threatens of God, if we beleue them not? Or, if we beleue them to be Gods threatens, and despise thē? Doubtlesse the Lorde is righteous, a ielous God, a Punisher of sinne, as he sayth himselfe. I punish the sinnes of the fathers vpon theyr childrē, vnto the third and fourth generatiō, of them that hate me.* God geue vs grace to remember this, and with speedye and vnfayned repentaunce to turne vnto God. I say (vnfayned repentaunce) and not (alas) as we haue done in times past like hypocrites to dissemble with God and man, making Gods holy worde nothing els but a cloke to couer our malice, couetousnesse, whoredome, pride, excesse, glotony, wrath, enuy, hatred, murder, with all other wicked liuing most detestable in the sight of God. If men will well consider themselues, they haue long enough dissembled and heaped the wrath of God heauy enough vpon theyr heades. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend in deed,* and to folow the counsell of the holy Ghost, saying vnto vs by the Prophet Hieremy. Why do mortal men murmur agaynst God? let them murmur agaynst theyr own sinnes. Let vs search our owne wayes, and let vs seek and returne vnto the Lorde. Let vs lift vp our hartes and handes vnto the Lord in heauen, for we haue done wickedly and prouoked the Lord to wrath, and therefore wilt thou not be entreated. Doubtles the Lord will not be entreated, except men very earnestly turne vnto him, we haue felt in our selues, and seene before our eyes, that when GOD striketh, no man can be able to abide the heauy stroke of his fist. Hee hath hitherto corrected vs with mercy, as a father: let vs thanke him, returne vnfaynedly, so will he not

extend his wrath as a Iudge. His will is, that we should returne & liue, & not perish with the wicked.* I liue (sayth the Lord) [Page 2149](#) and will not the death of a sinner, but that he be conuerted and liue. Here the godly othe certifieth vs of forgeuenes, & requireth an vnfayned conuersion vnto God, that ts, that men acknowledge in hart theyr wicked liuing & be sory, that euer they haue with wicked lyuyng offended agaynst that so good and louing a father, and truste to haue forgeuenes through Christes blood, and fully and firmly set theyr hartes to serue GOD, and to walke the wayes of his commaundementes all the dayes of theyr life. Then shall we be the true Christians, built vpon the corner stone Christ, not wauering or chaunging at euery puffe of winde, not seeking an Epicurish life in all voluptuous and vaine vanitie, not rauening extortioning, or with vsury oppressing the poore and nedy, but stedfast, vnmoueable, liuing in the feare of Gods iudgementes, and trust vpon his mercy, mortifying our brutish and carnall lustes, being mercifull and helpful to the poore and nedy, wayting for the blessed time when Christ shall call vs, to be ready & accepted before him. Our merciful Lord & good Father graunt vs grace so to doe, for the loue of his deare sonne Iesus Christ, our certayne and most deare Sauior, to whom with the father & the holy ghost, be all honor for euer and euer. Amen.

Psalme. Cxv.

Precious in the sighte of the Lord is the death of his sayntes.

Apocalips. vi.

These are they which are come out of great troubles, and haue washed theyr clothes, and made them white in the bloude of the lambe.

¶Certayne Cautions of the Authour to the Reader, of thinges to be considered in reading this story.

AMongst other escapes and ouersightes in the Edition of this story committed, part of them we leaue to thine owne gentle castigation gentle reader: certaine other specialities there be, whereof wee thought it good and expedient to geue thee warning as hereafter followeth.

First, when mention is made pag. 34. of Peters being at Rome and suffering at Rome, following certayne Authors:* yet forsomuch as other writers there be, & reasons to proue that he was not at Rome. I desire thee ther'fore that this my affirmation may not preiudice other mens iudgementes, if anye see or can say further in that matter.

Touching the story of the Turkes, where as I in following our Christian Authours writing of the Turkes, haue noted in the pag. 747. Solymannus to be the 12. Turke, after Ortomannus as they do all record: I haue found since by the computation of the Turkes set forth in the Table of theyr owne discent, the sayde Solymannus to be but y^e 6. emperor of the Turks: & this Solimannus his sonne which now reyneth, to be but y^e twelue. Which I thought here to signifie vnto thee, because of theyr own turkish prophecie noted in the pag. 771. lest in construing of that Prophecie being in the same place expounded, thou be deceiued.

Item 1245. where mayster George Blag is named to be one of the priuie chamber: here is to be noted also that although he were not admitted as one of the priuy chamber yet his ordinary resort thither and to the kinges presence there, was such, as although hee were not one of them, yet was he so commonly taken.

Item, pag. 1367. in the story of the Duke of Somerset, where it is sayde that at the returne of the Earle of Warwicke out of Norfolke there was a consultation amongst the Lordes assembling themselues together in the house of M. Yorke. &c. agaynst the Duke of Somerset: here is to be noted that the comming of the Lordes to the said house of M. Yorke was not immediately vpon the Duke of Northumberlandes returne, but first hee went to Warwicke, and from thence after a space came to the house aforesayd.

Item, here is also to be noted touching the sayd Duke of Somerset, that albeit at his death relation is made of a sodeine falling of the people, as was at the taking of christ this is not to be expounded as though I compared in any part the Duke of Somerset with Christ.

And though I do something more attribute to the cōmendation of the sayd Duke of Somerset, which dyed so constantly in his religion, yet I desire thee gentle reader, so to take it, not that I did euer meane to derogate or empeyre the martiall prayse or •actes of other men, which also are to be commended in suche thinges where they well deserued.

Item, touching the same Duke of Somerset, where the story sayth, pag. 1367. he was attaynted, read indited.

Item, pag. 1418. where mention is made of one Nicolas Underwood to be the betrayer of the Duke of Suffolke: * ioyne with the sayd Underwood also Nicolas Laurence, alias Nicolas Ethell keeper of Asteley Parke, who taking vpon him and promising to keepe the Duke, for 2. or three dayes vntill hee might finde some meanes to escape, conueyed him into an hollowe tree, and after moste trayterously bewrayed him.

Item, fol. 1419. in the Storye of Syr Thomas Wyat there is also to be corrected, that where the story sayth that he was taken by Syr Clement Parson, which was not so, nor he no such knight, amend it thus, that he first came to Clarentius being sent vnto him, and afterward yealded him to Syr Mortis Bartly.

Briefly and in generall, besides these castigations aboue noted, if thou finde any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I desire thee gentle reader, to bestowe a little paynes with thine owne hand to amend them.

***Notes omitted of them that were burnt at Bristowe.**

The viij. daye of August 1553. was brought Wil. Sarton weauer of Bristow,* before one Dalbie Chauncellour of Bristow aforesaid, and by him committed to prison and also condemned, for holding that the sacrament was a signe of an holy thing: also he denied, that the flesh and bloud of Christ is there after their words of consecration: he was burned the xvij. of september. 1556. and as he wēt to the fire, he sang y^e Psalmes. The Sheriffe Ioh. Griffith had prepared greene

wood to burne him, but one mayster Iohn Pikes pitieng the man, caused diuers to goe wyth him to Ridland, halfe a myle of, who brought good store of helme sheaues, which in deede made good dispatch with little payne, in comparison to that he should haue suffered with the greene woode. In the meane space, whilst they went for the sheues, the sayde Sarton made many good exhortations to the people, and after dyed constantly and patiently with great ioyfulnes.

***A note of Prestes wyfe of Exceter.**

IN Cornewall not farre from Launceston,* within the Dioces of Exceter, in Queene Maryes dayes, dwelled a poore man, whose name was Prest, his wife beyng an honest woman, very simple, but of good zeale and vpright life, being taught by God, in hearing of his worde (albeit it was in those dayes very seldome preached anye where) and feeling a sweete taste thereof, framed her lyfe a new after the rule of the same. And banished quite from her,* all the popishe dregges of superstition and hipocrisie, & gaue her selfe wholly to prayer, and inuocating the name of God, both for the afflicted Church of Christ in those dayes very dangerously rost and tormoyled: as also for her own inward contentation, and spirituall consolation, whiche she no little felt to her vnspeakeable ioy, and incomparable comfort. And when some, who before had known her sawe that marueilous chaunge in her, and (as the cruell serpent) enueying her felicitie, went vpō the same immediately and accused her to certayn Iustices of the shire, being extreme enemies to the truth and very persecutors of the same, who taking the matter in hande, as very glad of such occasion, sent for her to the place where she was, and began at the second, if not at the first dash, to demaund her beliefe in theyr popish sacrament of the aulter.

The good poore woman, who had learned, not to bee ashamed to confesse her mayster Christ, before menne, and to render accōptes of her fayth, when it was asked, tould freely and franckly her opinion therein, and hid backe nothing, that eyther shee thought might profite them, if they had anye grace to receiue it, or els might sounde to Gods glory and prayse, though it were neuer so muche by them threatned and rebuked. Whereupon shee was forthwyth committed to the Gayle of Launceston, where she remayned a quarter of a yeare, or thereaboutes, and afterwards was dispatched of that vile and filthy prison, and deliuered ouer to the handes of two champions of the Popes, y^e one called Doctor Raynoldes, Deane of Exceter, and the other named mayster Blaxton,* treasurer of y^e same church men surely feruent hote in the furtheraunce of the romysh affayres, and in withstanding the truth of the pure euangelicall gospell. So the time that this good poore woman was vnder theyr handes, shee had many sore conflictcs by them. And the sayd Blaxton hauing a Concubine, whiche sondry tymes resorted to him, with other of his gossippes alwayes when they came, this sayde good woman was called forth to his house, and there to make his minion with the rest of his company some mirth, hee woulde examine her, with such mocking maner, in deriding the truth that it would haue vexed any christian soule to haue seene [Page 2150](#) it. Then when he had long vsed his foolishnes in this sort and had sported himselfe enough in deriding this chrysten martyr: in the end sent her to prison agayn, and there kept her very miserably, sauing sometimes he woulde send for her, when hys foresayd gest came to him, to vse with her his accustomed folly aforesayd. But in fine, the vile wretches (after many combattes, and scoffing, perswasions) when they had played the parte of a cat with a mouse at length they condemned her & deliuered her ouer to the secular power, who within shorte space after most cruelly brought her forth to the place where she should suffer, and there in great contempt of the truth (which she most constantly confessed) they consumed her carcas

immediately with fire into ashes: which she very patiētly suffered, and most ioyfully receiued, yelding her soule and lyfe to the Lord, and her body to the tormentors, for the whiche the Lordes name therefore be prayesd, Amen.

¶The martirdome of one Snel, burned about Richmond in Queene Maryes tyme, omitted in this history.

AT Bedaile a market towne in Yorkshyre, were two men in the latter dayes of Queene Mary,* the one named Iohn Snel, and the other Richard Snel. Who being suspected for Religion, were sent vnto Richmond, where Doctor Dakins had commission from the Bishop of Chester to haue the examination of them.

This Doctor Dakins many times conferred wyth them, sometimes threatning fire and fagot if they woulde not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fayre fables if they would returne into the holy catholick church. But they stood constantly to the sure rocke Iesus Christ, in whome they put theyr whole trust and confidence, whiles at last being so sore imprisoned that theyr toes rotted of, and the one of them could not go without crouches they brought thē to the church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abhominable Masse, hauing a certaine summe of mony geuen him by the beneuolence of the people, and so departed thence: but the first newes that was heard of hym within three or foure dayes was that he had drowned him self in a riuer running by Richmond called Swaile.

Immediately after D. Dakins geuing sentence that y^e other should be burnt,* came home to hys house and neuer ioyed after, but dyed. The Commissary of Richmond named Hillinges, preached at his burning, exhorting him to returne to the Church, but hys labour was in vayne, the constant martyr standing strongly to the fayth which hee professed.

Then being brought to the stake, whereunto hee was tyed by a girdle of iron, there was geuen vnto him gunpouder and a little straw was layd vnder his feete, and set round about with smale woode and tarre barrells, the fire was put in the straw, which by and by flamying about his head, he cryed thrise together: Christ helpe me: Insomuch that one Robert Atkinson being present, sayde: hold fast there & we wil all pray for thee. Thus this blessed martyr ended his life.

¶A story of one Laremouth, omitted in the body of the story.

ALbeit I am loth to insert any thing in this book which may seeme incredible or strange to ordinary working for quarelling aduersaryes, whiche doe nothing but spye what they may cauill: yet forsomuch as besides other reporters the person is yet aliue, called Thorne a godly minister, which heard it of the mouth of the party himselfe, I thought therefore first for the incredible strangenes therof neither to place this storye in the bodye of these Actes and Monumentes, and yet in some outcorner of the booke not vtterly to passe it vntouched, for the reader to consider it, and to credite it as he seeth cause. The story is this.

There was one Laremouth, otherwise called Williamson, Chaplayne to Lady Anne of Cleue, a Scottishman, to whome being in prison in Queene Maryes daies, it was sayd, as he thought, thus sounding in hys eares: arise and go thy wayes.* Whereunto when he gaue no great heed at the

first, the second time it was sayd to him agayne in the same wordes. Upon this as he fell to his prayers, it was sayd the thyrd time likewise to him, arise and go thy way, which was about halfe an houre after. So he arising vpon the same, immediately a peece of the prison wall fell downe, and as the officers came in at the outwarde gate of the Castle or prison, he leaping ouer the ditche escaped, and in the way meeting a certayne beggar, chaunged hys cote with him, and comming to the Sea shore, where hee found a vessell ready to go ouer, was taken in, and escaped the search, which was straytly layd for hym in all the coūtry ouer.

¶**A little short letter of William Hunter sent out of prison to his mother a little before hys martirdome, to be referred and placed in his story, pag. 1538.**

MOST reuerent & louing mother, after my most humble wyfe I haue me harty commēded vnto you▪ desiring you to pray vnto God most hartely for me,* that I may haue his blessing and yours, the which I esteeme more worth vnto me, thē any worldly treasure. In this present letter you shall vnderstand the cause of my writing vnto you at this tyme, that I am in good health and prosperitie, as euer I was in this present life. Wherefore I render thanks vnto almighty God for it, who alone is moste woorthye of all prayse, trusting in God you bee in health also. Furthermore I certifie you wherefore my father continueth here, to the intent to heare some godly and ioyfull tidynge, both for soule and body, whiche I trust it shalbe to your singular comfort and consolation, and to the great reioysing of all other of my frendes. Therefore I desire you, gentle mother to admonish my brother vnto a godly life, with dilligent attendance and to pray for me, considering his bound duety, that God may by your faythfull prayer, ayd and strengthen me in this my prosperous iourney and course, whiche I run trusting to obtayne a crowne of euerlasting life, whiche doth euer endure.

No more vnto you at this time, but God preserue you vnto euerlasting life. So be it.

¶**The Oration in effecte of Sir Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England spoken in the Starre Chamber the 29. of December in the 10. yeare of the reigne of our Souereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, Defender of the fayth &c. And in the yeare of our Lord God .1567. Then being present.**

Mathew, Archbishop of Caunterbury.

William, Marques of Northhampton.

Fraunces, Earle of Bedford.

Lord Clinton, Admirall of England.

William Howard, Lord Chamberleyne.

Byshop of London.

Lord Gray of Wilton.

Sir Edward Rogers Knight, Controuer.

Sir Ambrose Caue Knight, Chanc. of the duchy.

Sir William Cicill Knight, principall Secretary.

Sir Fraunces Knolles Knight, Vicechamberleyne.

Sir Walter Mildemay Knight, Chauncelor of the Eschequer.

Lord Cattelene chiefe Iustice of the kings bench.

Lord Dyer chiefe Iustice of the common place.

Sir William Cordale Knight, M. of the Rolles.

Iustice Weston.

Iustice Welch.

Iustice Southcotes.

Iustice Carowes.

IT is geuen to the Queenes Maiestye to vnderstand that certayne of her Subiectes by theyr euill dispositions do sow and spread abroad diuers sedicions to the derogation and dishonor, first of almighty God, in the state of Religion stablished by the lawes of this Realme and also to the dishonor of her highnesse in disprouing her lawfull right of supremacy amongst her subiectes. And this that they doe, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly auouched, & in all companies disputed on. And thus by theyr bold attemptes seme not to obey or regard the authority of lawes nor the quiet of her subiectes. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad diuers leud libels and sedicious bookes from beyonde the seas, and in suche boldnes that they do commend those writers in their sedicious bookes conteining manifest matter agaynste the estate established. Which boldnesse of men so Vniuersally and euery where seene and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and ayd or at the least way winckt at by thē whō the Queenes highnes hath placed in authority to repres these insolencyes. And the Queenes highnes can not more iustlye charge any for this disorder, then such who be in commissiōs [Page 2151](#) chosen to repress these disorders. If it be aunswered me that they cannot see such opē boldnes & factious, disorders: I must say that they haue no eyes to see, & if they heare not of suche contemptuous talke and speeche, I may say that they haue no eares. I would haue those men iudge what will come of these vnbridled speeches in the end, if reformatiōs be not had therof. What cōmeth of factions & seditions we haue bene taught of late yeares what the fruites be, which I beseech God long to defend vs from. If such disorders be hot redressed by law, then must force & violence reforme. Which when they take place may fortune fall assoone on thē that seeme to haue least consideration in this matter. If force and violence preuayle, then ye know that law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should onely maynteine good order. If it

be replied agaynst me, that to the suppressing of these open talkes there is no law, which by speciall letter can charge any man offender, I must say, that whatsoever the letter of the law be, the meaning of the law was and is cleane contrary to the liberty of these doinges. If it be sayd, that no man can be charged by the law except it can be proued agaynst him, that his speeche and deedes be done maliciously: what ye call malice I can not tel. But if the bringing in of these sedicious bookes make mē's mindes to be at variance one with one another, destruction of mindes maketh sedicions, seditions bring in tumults, tumults worke insurrections and rebellion, Insurrections make depopulations and desolations, and bringeth in vtter ruine & destruction of mens bodies, goodes & landes: And if any sow the roote wherof these men come, & yet can be sayd that he hath no mallice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroye both publicke & priuate wealth, I can not tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously. And further if it be sayd to me that the man which should be charged with offēce must be proued to haue done his acte aduisedly: To that I answer: If any bring in those hookes, distribute them to others, commend & defend them, & yet can not be charged to haue done aduisedly, I haue no skill of their aduisednesse. If it be sayde that the law intreateth of such actes as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct ouerthwarting the Law, when the contrary thereof is playnely treated, holden and defended, and the truth by argumentes condemned. It maye be sayd agayne that the worlde doth not now like extremitie in lawes penal and calleth them bloody lawes. As for extreme and bloody lawes I haue neuer liked of them. But where the execution of such lawes touching halfe a dosen offenders, and the not execution may bring in daunger halfe a hundred. I thinke this law nor the execution therof may iustly be called extreme and bloody. In such like comparison I may vtter my meaning as to make a difference betwene whipping & hanging. In deed though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may escape hanging, in this respect, not whipping bringeth in this bloudinesse and extremity and not the execution of the law: And better it were, a man to bee twice whipped then once hanged: The paynes do differre, but wise men will soone consider the diuersity. The truth is to suffer disobedient subiectes to take boldnes agaynst the lawes of God & their prince, to wincke at the obstinate minds of such as be vnbridled in theyr affections: to mainteine a forraigne power of the Byshop of Rome, directly agaynst the Princes prerogatiue stablished by lawes, is not this to hatch dissentiō, to chearish sedition? To extoll the writings of such, who by all their wittes devise to supplant the princes lawfull authority: If these doinges be not meanes to the disturbance & vtter ruine of the Realme, I know not what is good gouernance. If these be not the sparkes of Rebellion: What be they. Thus much hauing spoken to your wisdomes, I doubt not of your assenting with me, the rather also because I vtter them vnto you as from the Queenes Maiesty by commaundement, who doth require of vs all a more dilligēce in execution of lawes, then is spyed commonly abroad: Whereby we shall do our duties to almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our Souereigne, regard the maiesty of the lawes, loue the quiet of our country, and procure the safety of our selues.

God saue the Queene.

And here I trust, we are now come to an end of al our English Martyrs which hetherto haue bene burnt, for the veritie of the gospels, if we adde besides to the same, a godly countryman more of ours, one named Richard Atkins an Hartfordshyre man, who of late about two yeares past in the reigne of this our gracious Queene, an. 1581. most miserably was tormented at Babilon, that is in y^e citie of Rome. The cause and maner of whose suffering and martirdome here ensueth, taken

out of a certayne late printed story, and testified by such as were present witnes and beholders of the same most tragicall execution. The purport of whiche story in wordes, as is put downe by the said reporter, here vnder followeth.

***A true report of the horrible, and merciles martyrdome of one Richard Atkins, an Englishe man, with extreeme tormentes, and most cruell rage of furious tyrantes persecutors, put to death at Rome.**

ABout the month of Iuly, an. 1581. one Richard Atkins borne in Hartfordshire an english man came to Rome and hauing found the englishe Colledge, knocked at the dore. To whome diuers of the studentes there came out, to welcome him, vnderstanding that he was an Englishe man. Among other talk had with him, they willed him to goe to the hospitall, and there to receiue his meat and lodging, according as the order was appoynted, whereunto he aunswered, I come not (my countrimen) to any suche intent, as you iudge, but I come louingly to rebuke the great misorder of your liues, whiche I greeue to heare, and pity to beholde, I come likewise to let youre proude Antichrist vnderstand, that hee doth offend the heauenly maiestie, robbe God of his honour, and poysoneth the whole world with his abhominable blasphemies: making them homage stockes, and stones, and that filthy sacramēt which is nothing els but a foolish Idol. When they heard these wordes one Hugh Griffin, a Welche man, and a student in the Colledge caused him to be put in the Inquisition, where how they examined him, and howe he aunswered them, I know not, but after certayn dayes he was set at libertie agayne. And one day going in the streete, he met a priest carying the sacrament, whiche offending hys conscience, to see the people so crouche and bow downe to it: he caught at it to haue throwne it downe, but missing of his purpose, and being iudged by the people, that hee dyd catch at the holinesse, that (they say) commeth from the sacrament, vppon mere deuotion, hee was let passe, and nothing sayd to him: few dayes after, hee came to S. Peters Church, where diuers gentlemen, and other were hearing Masse, and the Priest at the eleuation: he vsing no reuerence, stepped among the people to the aultar, & threw downe the Chalice with the wine, striuing likewise to haue pulled the cake out of the priestes handes, for whiche diuers rose vp, and beate hym with theyr fistes, and one drewe his rapier, and woulde haue slayne him: so that in briefe he was caryed to prison where hee was examined, wherfore he had committed such a hainous offence: wherunto he aunswered, that he came purposely for that intent to rebuke the popes wickednes, and theyr Idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned: which sentence, he sayd, hee was right willing to suffer, and the rather because the summe of his offence, pertayned to the glorie of God. During the time he remayned in prison sundry English men, came vnto him, willing him to be sory, for that he hadde done, and to recant from his damnable opinion, but all the meanes they vsed were in vayne, hee confuted theyr dealinges by diuers places of scripture, and willed them to be sory for theyr wickednesse, while God did permit thē tyme, els they were in danger of euerlasting damnation: these wordes made the English men departe, for they could not abide to heare them. Within a while after, he was set vpō an Asse, without any saddle, he being from the middle vpward naked, hauing some englishe priestes with him to talke with him, but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good a language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them for Christes sake, to haue regard to y^e sauing of theyr soules. All the way as he went, there were foure did nothing els but thrust at his body with burning Torches, whereat he neuer moued, nor shronke one iote, but with a cherefull countenance, laboured to perswade the people often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thrust at him, and woulde take

them in hys owne hand, and hold them burning still vppon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost y^e space of halfe a mile, till he came before S. Peters, where the place of execution was. When he was come to y^e place of execution, there they had made a deuise, not to make the [Page 2152](#) fire about him, but to burne his legges first, whiche they did: he not dismayng any whit, but suffered all meruaylous cherefully, whiche moued the people to such a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a crosse and willed him to embrace it in token that hee dyed a christian, but he put it away with hys hand, telling them, that they were euill men to trouble him with suche paltry, when he was preparing himselfe to God, whome he beheld in maiestie, and mercy, ready to receaue him into the eternall rest. They seeing him in this minde, departed saying, let vs goe, and leaue him to the deuill, whome hee serues. Thus ended this faythfull souldiour, and Martyr of Christe, who is no doubt, in glory with hys mayster, whereunto God graunt vs all to come, Amen.

This is faythfully auouched by Iohn Young, who was at that tyme and a good while after in Rome, in seruice with mayster Doctor Morton, who seing the Martirdome of this man, when he came home to hys house in presence of M. Smith his sonne, M. Creede, and the sayd Ioh. Young spake as followeth. Surely this fellow was meruaylous obstinate, hee nothing regarded the good counsaile which was vsed to hym, nor shronke all the way, when the torches wer thrust at hys naked body. Beside in the place of execution hee did not faynt nor cry one iote in the fire, albeit they tormēted him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees as his legges first, to put him to the greater payne, yet all this he did but smile a•. Doubtlesse, but that the worde of God cannot be but true, els we might iudge this fellow to be of God: for who could haue suffered so much payne as he did? but truely I beleeeue the Deuill was in him.

***The cursed lyfe, and bloody end of Doctor Story a cruell persecuter of Christ in hys members.**

I had thought christian reader here to haue made an end, and to haue concluded the volume of this booke, had not the remembraunce of Doctour Story an Archenemy to Christes gospell, and a bloody persecuter of Gods people come into my minde. The discourse of whose lyfe, and doinges, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world as followeth. This Doctor Story beeing an Englishe man by byrth,* and from his infancie not onely missed in papistry, but also euen as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat to riper yeares, in the dayes of Queene Mary became a most bloody tyrant, and cruel persecuter of Christ in his members (as all the stories in this booke almost doe declare) Thus hee raging all the raygne of the foresayde Queene Mary agaynst the infallible truth of Christes Gospel,* and the true professors thereof, neuer ceased till hee had consumed to ashes: two or three hundred blessed martyrs who willingly gaue their liues for the testimony of his truthe, and thinking theyr punishment in the fire not cruell enough,* went about to inuent new tormentes for the holy martyrs of Christe, suche was his hatred to the trueth of Christes Gospell: but in the ende the Lorde God looking vpon the affliction, and cruell bloudshedding of his seruauntes, tooke away Queene Mary the great pillar of papistry: After whome succeeded Ladye Elizabeth nowe Queene of Englande, who staying the bloody sworde of persecution from ragyng any further, caused the same Doctor Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward with many other his complices,* sworne enemies to Christes glorious gospell. The sayd story hauing bene a while deteined in prison, at the last by what meanes I knowe not,* brake forth of hold, and

conueyed himselfe ouer y^e seas where he continued a most bloody persecutor, still raging against Gods saynctes with fire and sworde. In somuche as hee growing to be familiar and right deare to Duke Dalua in Antwerpe, receiued a speciall commission from him to search the Shippes for goodes forfayted and for english bookes, and such like.

And in this fauour and authoritie hee continued there for a spare, by the which meanes he did muche hurte, and brought many a good man and woman to trouble, and extreme perill of life thorough his bloud thyrstye cruelty: but at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquitie was full) proceeded in iudgement agaynst him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man, whiche came to passe in order as followeth.* It being certainly knowne (for the bruite thereof was gone forth into al landes) that he not onely intended the subuersion, and ouerthrowe of his natieue countrey of England by bringing in forreigne hostilitie, if by anye meanes he might compasse it, but also dayly and hourelly murdered gods people, there was this platform layd (by Gods prouidence no doubt) that one M. Parker a marchaunt should sayle vnto Antwerpe,* and by some meanes to conuey Story into England.

This Parker arriuing at Antwerpe, suborned certain to repayre to Doctor Story and to signifie vnto him, that there was an english ship come, fraught w^t marchandize, & that if he would make search thereof himselfe, he should find store of english books, & other things for his purpose. Story hearing this and suspecting nothing, made haste towardes the ship thinking to make the same his praye, and comming a boord searched for english heretical books (as hee called them) and going downe vnder the hatches because he would be sure to haue theyr bloud if hee coulde,* they clapped downe the hatches, hoysed vp their sayles, hauing (as God would) a good gale, & sayled away into England where they arriuing, presented this bloody butcher, and trayterous rebell Story, to the no litle reioysing of many and Englishe hart. He being now committed to prison, cōtinued there a good space: during all which time, he was labored and solicited daily by wise, and learned fathers, to recant his deuillishe and erroneous opinions to conforme himselfe to the trueth, and to acknowledge the Queenes Maiesties supremacy. All which he vtterly denyed to the death, saying that he was sworne subiecte to the King of Spayne, and was no subiecte to the Queene of England, nor she his souereigne Queene, and therfore (as he well deserued) he was condemned (as a traytor to God, the Queenes Maiesty, & the Realme) to be drawne,* hanged, and quartered, which was performed accordingly, he being layde vpon an hurdle, and drawne from the tower along the streetes to Tiborn, where he being hanged till he was halfe dead, was cut downe and stripped, & (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his priuy mēbers, he rushing vp vpon a sodeine gaue him a blow vpon the eare, to the great wonder of all that stood by, and thus ended this bloody Nemrode his wretched life, whose iudgemēt I leaue to the Lord.

***A not• of Raphe Lurdane persecuter of George Eagles.**

IN the history of George Eagles, alias Trudgeouer the world, pag. 2009. mention is made of his apprehension jn a corne field, where by the benefite of the heighth of the corne, and breadth of the field he had escaped, had not one of his persecuters with more malicious crafte climed a high tree to view ouer the place, & so descried him. This persecutor named Raph Lurdane (as we haue since learned) a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredome, was within few yeares after he had

apprehended the foresayd George Eagles for gayne of money, attached of felony for stealing horse, condemned, and hanged in the same place, & Towne of Chelmesford, where George Eagles before suffered Martyrdome.

¶A briefe Note concerning the horrible Massaker in Fraunce. an. 1572.

HEre before the closing vppe of this booke, in no case woulde bee vnremembred the tragicall and furious Massaker in Fraunce,* wherein were murdered so many hundrethes, and thousands of Gods good Martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in english at large, in a booke by it selfe, and extant in print already, it shall the lesse neede nowe to discourse that matter with any new repetition: only a briefe touch of summary notes for remembraunce maye suffice. And first for breuity sake, to ouerpasse the bloody bouchery of the Romish Catholickes in Orynge, agaynst the Protestantes,* most fiercely and vnawares breaking into theyr houses, and there without mercy killing man, woman & child: of whom some being spoyled and naked they threw out of theyr loftes into the streetes, some they smothered in theyr houses with smoake, with sword & weapon, sparing none, the karkases of some they threwe to dogges which was an. 1570. in the reign of Charles 9.* Likewyse to passeouer the cruell slaughter at Rhoane, whereas the Protestants being at a Sermon without the City Wals vpon the kings edict, the Catholiques in fury ranne vpon them comming home,* and slew of them aboue 40. at least, many moe they wounded. This example of Roane styrred vp the Papists in Dyepe to practise the like rage also agaynst the Christians there returning from the sermon, whose slaughter had bene the greater, had they not more wisely before bene prouided of weapon, for theyr own defence at need. All which happened about the same yeare aforesayd. an. 1570. but these with such like I briefly ouerslippe, to enter now into the matter aboue promised, [Page 2153](#) that is briefly to entreat of the horrible and most barbarous massaker wroughte in Paris, suche as I suppose, was neuer heard of before in no ciuill dissention amōgest the very heathen. In few wordes to touch the substaunce of the matter.

After long troubles in Fraunce, the Catholique side foreseeing no good to be done agaynst the Protestantes by open force, began to deuise how by crafty meanes to entrap them.* And that by two maner of wayes: The one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower countrey, wherof the Amirall to be the Captayne, not that the king so meant in deed, but onely to vnderstand thereby, what power and force the Amirall hadde vnder him, who they were, and what were theyr names. The second was by a certeine mariage suborned, betwene the Prince of Nauare, and the kinges sister. To this pretended mariage, it was deuised that all the chieftest Protestantes of Fraunce shoulde be inuited,* and meete in Paris. Emong whome first they began with the Queene of Nauare, Mother to the Prince, that should mary the kings sister, attempting by all meanes possible to obtaine her consent thereunto. She being then at Rochell, and allured by many fayre wordes to repayre vnto the king, consented at length to come, and was receiued at Paris, where she after much a do, at length being wonne to the kinges minde, and prouiding for the mariage, shortly vpon the same fell sicke, & within fiue daies departed: not without suspitiō, as some sayd, of poyson. But her body being opened, no signe of poyson could there be founde, saue onely that a certayne Poticary made his brag that he had killed the Queene, by certayne venomous odours and smelles by hym confected.

After this notwithstanding the mariage still goyng forward, the Amirall, Prince of Nauare, Condee, wyth diuers other chiefe states of the Protestantes, induced by the kinges letters and many fayre promises, at last were brought to Paris. Where with great solēnity they were receiued, but especially the Amirall. To make the matter short. The day of the mariage came, which was the 18. of August. an. 1572. which mariage being celebrate and solēnised by the Cardinall of Borbone, vpon an high stage set vp of purpose without the Churche walles,* the Prince of Nauare, & Condee, came downe, wayting for the kinges sister being then at Masse. This done, they resorted altogether to the Bishops Palace, to dinner. At euening they were had to a Palace in the middle of Paris to Supper. Not long after this,* being the 22. of August, the Amirall comming from the Counsell table, by the way was stroken with a Pistolet charged with iij. pellets, in both hys armes. He being thus wounded and yet still remayning in Paris,* although the Uidam gaue him counsell to flye away, it so fell out that certayne souldiors were appoynted in diuers places of the Citty to be ready at a watchword at the commaudemēt of the Prince. Upon which watchword geuē, they burst out to the slaughter of y^e protestantes, first beginning with the Amirall himselfe, who being wounded with many sore woundes was cast oute of the window into the street, where his head being first stroken of, and imbalmed with spices to bee sent to the Pope,* the sauadge people raging agaynst him, cut of hys armes and priuy members, and so drawing him 3. dayes through the streetes of Paris, they dragged him to y^e place of execution, out of the City, and there hanged him vp by his heeles to the greater shew and scorne of him.

After the Martyrdome of this good man, the armed souldiours with rage and violence ranne vpon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the Protestantes they knew or coulde finde within the Citty gates inclosed. This bloudye slaughter continued the space of many dayes, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first dayes,* in which were numbred to be slayne, as the story writeth, aboue x. thousand, men and women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were caryed in Cartes to be throwne in the Riuer, so that not onely the Riuer was all steined therwith, but also whole streames in certayn places of the City did runne with goare bloud of the slayne bodyes. So greate was the outrage of that Heathenish persecution, that not onely the Protestantes, but also certayne whome they thought indifferent Papists they put to the sword in sted of Protestantes. In the number of them that were slayne of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus an other notorious learned man, Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapesius,* with others.

And not onely within the walles of Paris this vpror was contained but extended farther into other cities and quarters of the Realme, especially Lyons, Orliens, Tholous, and Roane. In which cities it is almost incredible, nor scarce euer heard of in any natiō,* what crueltie was shewed, what numbers of good men were destroyed in so much that with in the space of one moneth xxx. thousand at least of religious Protestantes are numbred to be slayne, as is credib•ely reported and storied in the cōmētaryes of them which testify purposely of the matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the Pope first heard of this bloody styrr, he with his Cardinales made such ioy at Rome, with theyr procession, with their gunshot and singing Te Deum, that in honor of that festiuall acte, a iubile• was commaunded by the Pope wyth great indulgence, and much solemnity,* wherby thou hast here to discern, and iudge, with what spirite and charity these Catholiques are moued to mainteine their religion withall, which otherwise would fall to the ground with out all hope of recouery. Likewise in Fraunce no lesse

reioysing there was vpon the xxviij. day of the sayd Moneth,* the king commaunding publique processions thorow the whole City to be made, with bonefires, ringing and singing, where the king himselfe, with the Queene his mother, and his whole Court resorting together to the Church, gaue thanks and land to GOD, for that so worthy victory atchieued vpon S. Bartholomews day agaynst the Protestantes,* whome they thought to be vtterly ouerthrowne and vanquished in all that Realme for euer.

And in very deede to mans thinking might appeare no lesse after such a great destruction of the Protestantes hauing lost so many worthy and noble captaynes as thē were cutte of,* whereupon many for feare reuoking their religion, returned to the pope, diuers fled out of y^e realme such as would not turn, keeping themselues secret, durst not be knowne nor seene, so that it was past all hope of man, that the Gospell shoulde euer haue any more place in Fraunce: but suche is the admirable working of the Lord, where mans helpe and hope most▪ fayleth there hee most sheweth his strength and helpeth, as here is to bee seene and noted.* For where as the litle small remnant of the Gospell side, being now brought to vtter desperation were now ready to geue ouer vnto the king, and many were gone already agaynst cōscience, yelding to time, yet the Lord of his goodnes so wrought, that many were stayed and reclaymed agayne through the occasion first of them in Rochell:* Who hearing of the cruell massaker in Paris, and slaughter at Tholous, most constantly with valiaunt hartes (the Lord so working) thought to stand to theyr defence agaynst the kinges power, by whose example certayne other Cities,* hearing therof tooke no litle courage to do the like, as namely Montalbane, the Citty called Nemansium, Sansere in Occitania, Milialdum, Mirebellum, Fuduzia, with other townes and Citties moe: who being confederate together, exhorted one an other to be circumspect and take good heede of the false dissembling practises not to be trusted of the mercilesse papistes, entending nothing but bloud and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochell, the king hearing thereof,* geueth in commaundement to Capteyne Strozzius, & Guardius to see to Rochell. After thys he sendeth a noble man one Biromus, requiring of the Rochell men to receiue him for theyr Gouvernour vnder the king. Of this great consultation being had, at length the Rochell men began to condescend vpon certayne conditions, which being not easily graunted vnto, and especially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of theyr felowes, which had submitted themselues, thought it so better to stand to the defence of theyr liues & consciences and to aduenture the worst.* Whereupon began great siege and battery to be layde agaynste Rochell both by land and sea, which was an, 1572. about the 4. day of December, it woulde require an other volume, to describe all thinges, during the time of this siege, y^t passed on either side, betwene the kinges part, and the towne of Rochell, briefly to runne ouer some parts of the matter. In the beginning of the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1573. in the moneth of Ianuary cōmaundement was geuen out by the king to all and sondry nobles and piers of Fraunce, vpon great punishment,* to addresse themselues in moste forceable wise to the assaulting of Rochell. Wherupon a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of Fraunce, was there assembled, amongst whom was also the Prince of Aniw, the kinges Brother (who there not long after was proclaymed kyng of Polonie) accompanied with his other Brother Duke Alanson, Nauare, Condie, & other a great nūber of states besides. Thus the whole power of Fraūce being gathered agaynst one poore Towne, had not the mighty hande of the Lord stood on theyr side, it had bene vnpossible for thē to escape. Duryng the time of this siege, which lasted [Page 2154](#) about 7. monethes,* what skirmishes and conflicts were on both

sides, it would requyre a lōg tractatiō. To make short, 7. principal assaults were geuen to the poore town of Rochell, with all the power that Fraunce could make. In all which assaultes euer the Popes catholick side had the worst. Concerning the first assault thus I finde written, that within the space of xxvj. dayes, were charged agaynst the walles and houses of Rochell, to the number of xxx. thousand shot of yron bullets and globes, wherby a great breach was made for the aduersary to inuade the City: but such was the courage of them within, not men onely, but also of women, matrons, and maydens with spits, fire, & such other weapon as came to hande, that the aduersary was driuen backe, with no small slaughter of theyr souldiours: onely of the townesmen were slayne & wounded to the number of lx. persons. Likewise in the secōd assault 2000. great field peaces were layde against the towne, whereupon the aduersary attempted the next day to inuade the towne: but through the industry of the souldiors and citizens, and also of women and maydes, the inuaders were forced at length to flye away faster thē they came. No better successe had all the assaults that folowed: Wherby consider (gentle reader) with thy selfe in what great distresse these good men were in, not of Rochell onely, but of other Cityes also, during these 7. Monethes aboue mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord almighty susteined them. Concerning whose wondrous operation for his seruants in these hard distresses, three memorable thinges I finde in History to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of Sanser, which City being terribly battered and rayised with gunshot of great Cannons,* & field pieces, hauing at one siege no lesse then iij. thousand bullets and gunstones flying vppon them, wherwith the cristes of their helmets were pierced, their sleeues, their hose, their ha*tes pierced, theyr weapons in their handes broken, their walles shaken, theyr houses rent downe, yet not one person slayne nor wounded with all this, saue onely at the first a certeine mayden with the blast of the shot flying by her was stroken downe & died.

The 2. thing to be noted is this, that in the same City during all the time of the siege, which lasted 7. Monethes and halfe,* for all the ordinaunce, and battering pieces discharged agaynst them, which are numbred to 6. thousand not so much as xxv. persons in all were slayne.

The third example no lesse memorable was at Rochell: Whereas the poorer sort began to lacke corne & victuall,* there was sent to them euerie day in the Riuer (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fishe (called surdones) which the poorer people did vse in stead of bread. Which fish the same day as the siege brake vppe, departed, and came no more. Testified by them, whiche were present there in Rochell all the time.

What number was lost on both sides, during all this 7. monethes warre, it is not certeinly knowne. Of the kinges Campe what number was slayne,* by this it may be coniectured, that 132. of theyr Captaynes were killed & slayne, of whom the chieftest was Duke damoule.

To close vp this tragicall story, concerning the breaking vp of this 7. Monethes siege, thus it fell out, that shortly after the seuenth assaulte geuen agaynst Rochell,* which was an. 1573. about the moneth of Iune, worde came to the Campe, that Duke Andius the kinges brother, was proclaymed king of Polonie. Wherat great ioy was in the Campe. By occasion whereof, the new king more willing to haue peace, entred talke with thē of Rochell, who as he shewed himselfe to them not vngentle, so found he thē again, to him not vnconformable. Whervpon a certeine agreemēt pacificatory was concluded betwene them, vpon conditions. Which agrement the new

Polone king eftsoones preferred to the Frenche King hys Brother not without some sute and intercession to haue it ratified. The king also himselfe partly being weary of these chargeable warres, was the more willing to assent therunto. And thus at length, through the Lordes great worke, the kinges royal consent vnder forme of an Edict, was sette downe in writing, and confirmed by the king, conteining 25. Articles. In which also wer included certeine other Cittyes of the Protestantes, graunting to them benefit of peace and liberty of religion. This edicte or mandate sent downe from the king by his Heralde at armes, Bironius in the kinges name caused to be solemnely proclaymed at Rochell. an. 1573. the x. day of Iune.*

The yeare next folowing. 1574. for two thinges seemeth fatall and famous, for the death first of Charles the 9. the french king, also most of all for the death of Charles Cardinall of Lorayne, brother to Guise. Of the maner of the Cardinals death I finde litle mentiō in stories.* Touching the kinges death although Ric. Dinothus sayth nothing, for feare belike, because he being a french man, hys name is expressed and known: but an other story (whom the sayd Dinothus doth followe) bearing no name, sayeth thus, that he dyed the xxv. day of May, vpon Whitson euen, being of the age of 25. yeares: and addeth more, profluuiū sanguinis illum laborasse certū est. Certayne it is that his sickenes came of bleeding. And sayth further: Cōstans fert fama, illum dum evarijs corporis partibus sanguis emanaret, in lecto saepe volutatum,*inter horribilium blasphemiarū diras, tantā sanguinis vim proiecisce, vt paucas post horas mortuus •uerit. That is. The constant report so goeth, that his bloud gushing out by diuers partes of his body, he tossing in his bedde, and casting out many horrible blasphemies, layed vpon pillowes with his heeles vpward, and head downward, voyded so much bloud at his mouth, that in few houres he dyed. Which story if it be true, as is recorded and testified,* may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kinges and Princes polluted with the bloud of Christian Martyrs. And thus muche briefly touching the late terrible persecution in Fraunce.

¶The Conclusion of the worke.

AND thus to conclude (good Christian Reader) this present tractation not for lacke of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largenes of the volume, I here stay for this present time with further addition of more discourse either to ouerweary thee with longer tediousnes, or ouercharge the booke with longer prolixity, hauing hitherto set forth the Actes and Proceedinges of the whole Church of Christ, namely of the Church of England, although not in such particular perfectiō, that nothing hath ouerpassed vs. Yet in such generall sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped vs, necessary to be knowne, touching the principall affayres, doinges and proceedinges of the Church and Churchmen. Wherein may be seene the whole state, order, discent, course and continuaunce of the same, the encrease and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderfull assistaunce of the almighty in mainteining his truth, the glorious constancy of Christes Martyrs, the rage of the enemyes, the alteration of times, the trauelles and troubles of the Church, from the first primatiue age of Christes Gospel, to the end of Queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious Queene Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reigne, which hath hetherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the space now of 24. yeres, as my wish is, so I would be glad, the good wil of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamētable stories may euer bee offered hereafter to write vpon. But so it is I cannot tel how, the elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nerer it hasteneth to his end, the more Sathan •ageth: geuing still new

matter of writing bookes and volumes: In so much that if all were recorded and committed to history, that within the sayd compasse of this Queenes reigne hitherto, hath happened in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spayne, Germany, besides this our owne Countrey of England and Ireland, with other Countreyes moe, I verely suppose one Eusebius or Polyhistor, whiche Plinnye writeth of, woulde not suffice thereunto. But of these incidentes and occurrentes hereafter more, as it shall please the Lord to geue grace and space. In the meane time the grace of the Lord Iesus worke with thee (gentle Reader) in all thy studious readings. And while thou hast space so employ thy selfe to read, that by reading thou mayst learne dayly to knowe that may profite thy soule, may teach thee experience, may arme thee with pacience, and instruct thee in all spirituall knowledge more and more, to thy perpetuall comfort and saluation in Christ Iesu our Lord, to whome be glory in Secula Seculorum. Amen.

FINIS.

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☛ A diligent Table or Index, of the most notable and memorable thyngs contained in the whole volume of this Booke: wherein if thou wilt finde any thing (good Reader) reuolue in thy mynde the letter wherewith the word beginneth, and the number of the Page shall direct thee vnto it.

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☛ The end of the Table.

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